A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary
Professor Harry Shorto (1919-1995)
edited by Paul Sidwell, Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer


Meant to be published in the early 1980s, Shorto’s manuscript was rediscovered by his daughter Anna, and has been carefully edited in line with the author’s intentions. The MKCD presents 2,246 etymologies with almost 30,000 lexical citations; even today, it is the most extensive analysis of Mon-Khmer to appear since Wilhelm Schmidt laid the foundations of comparative Mon-Khmer exactly 100 years ago with the Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen (1905) and Die Mon-Khmer-Völker (1906).

A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary includes numerous Munda, Austronesian, Thai, Burmese and Chinese lexical comparisons. It is an incomparable resource for studying Southeast Asia’s rich legacy of language contact, and for investigating distant genetic relations with its largest, oldest language family. Clearly establishing the terms of reference for future discussion of Mon-Khmer etymology, Shorto’s MKCD joins such defining works as Emeneau and Burrow’s A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (1961) and Turner’s A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages (1966-85) in the canon of 20th century comparative linguistics.

2006 ISBN 0858835703 643 pp
A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary
Pacific Linguistics 579

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A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary

Harry Shorto (1919-1995)

Main editor: Paul Sidwell
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Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
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Preface

Paul Sidwell
Australian National University

It gives me great personal and professional satisfaction to join my colleagues Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer in presenting the long-awaited *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary (MKCD)* by the late Professor Harry Shorto (1919-1995).

The *MKCD* will occupy an important place in the literature. Certainly, it is indelibly marked by its era: the Austric hypothesis was still in play, and various branch alignments, particularly among the Katuic and Bahnaric languages, had not yet been fully worked out. But the *MKCD* also represents the state of the art today: such is the void we confront that it stands, *sui generis*, as the 20th century’s only published attempt at a broad comparative analysis of the full Mon-Khmer language family.

The *MKCD* was originally meant to see print at the end of the 1970s. However, Shorto decided to further revise his manuscript, taking new sources of data into account, and time and health eventually failed him. Publication as originally intended would and should have been a fitting climax to Shorto’s career, but it has fallen to a new generation to bring his final work to press.

We do so with the conviction that the contribution of Shorto’s *MKCD* is as relevant now as it would unquestionably have been twenty-five years ago. Then, the *MKCD* would have crystallised the state of the art in comparative-historical Mon-Khmer linguistics. Today, it will reinvigorate the field of comparative linguistics in Southeast Asia, providing an extensive, integrated framework for building, criticising, and contextualizing our ongoing research efforts.

It is inevitable that a quarter-century of new field research will require extensions to, and adjustments in, Shorto’s technical analysis. Nevertheless, the *MKCD* will make striking contributions to comparative Mon-Khmer studies, kick-start the etymological analysis of modern Mon-Khmer languages like Vietnamese and Khmer, and have a marked impact on comparative and historical linguistics for the other Southeast Asian language families, including Austronesian (especially the Cham language), Tai-Kadai (particularly Thai and Lao), Sino-Tibetan (especially Burmese), and Hmong-Mien.

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1 In addition to the tremendous assistance I received from Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Bernard Comrie and the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig) for financial support received for this and related projects during 2005 and 2006. I would also like to thank Anna Shorto for her hospitality and generosity in helping to make this publication possible. A number of scholars also offered useful advice: Bob Blust, Anthony Grant, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Justin Watkins.
To help the reader appreciate both the historical position and present-day value of the MKCD, an extended discussion of the work follows. It begins with a description of the editorial choices and challenges encountered in bringing the manuscript to publication. A survey of Mon-Khmer linguistics in the past century comes next, as a preliminary to the critical assessment of the MKCD that forms the main part of this Preface. Finally, Christian Bauer’s Background Notes discuss the long genesis of Shorto’s work, and Doug Cooper’s Future of the MKCD describes our plans for incorporating the MKCD into an ongoing Mon-Khmer Languages Project.

The Road to Publication

The MKCD manuscript was first brought to my attention by Anna Shorto, daughter of the late Professor, in mid-2003. Over the course of several months we established an understanding about the disposition of the MKCD and of related unpublished notes in Anna’s possession. It was her father’s wish that the complete collection should appear in print, a view that I firmly shared and willingly agreed to work toward.

The simplest approach would have been to scan the manuscript pages and distribute the image files electronically. But while this would have been quick and inexpensive, it would have merely preserved Shorto’s manuscript as an historical artifact, obscuring its treasure trove of data, analysis, and commentary, including some 2,246 etyma, and almost 30,000 citations drawn from nearly 250 languages.

Making the data within the manuscript directly available to researchers via an online database was a far more desirable alternative. I had already been discussing plans for a Mon-Khmer etymological database with colleagues, and had begun to cooperate with computer scientist Doug Cooper (Center for Research in Computational Linguistics) in making my own Katuic and Bahnaric resources Web-accessible.

Cooper suggested that we produce an electronic text that closely followed Shorto’s manuscript in order to publish a typeset, printed volume as expeditiously as possible, and then convert this same text into the XML-tagged format needed to build an online database, and allow more extensive data mining in the longer term. We resolved to proceed on that basis, and began to contact Mon-Khmer specialists seeking support for the combined text-and-database project.

To our delight, we discovered that Christian Bauer (Humboldt University), who had been Shorto’s student while the manuscript was being developed, had independently visited Anna Shorto, making copies of the papers, and taking preliminary steps toward having a facsimile edition of MKCD published in Europe. This included typing the drafts of Parts 1 and 2, and exchanging correspondence with a potential publisher.

Bauer, Cooper and I readily agreed to work together (from Berlin, Bangkok, and Canberra, respectively). This has been a truly collaborative effort, with Sidwell taking charge of reconstructing Shorto’s text as Main Editor, Cooper accepting responsibility for digitization, data mining, and ongoing electronic publication, and Bauer (who had worked under Shorto in the critical period 1977—1982, with yearly visits thereafter) providing an essential link in clarifying the author’s intentions and final thoughts.
Editing the Manuscript

The text presented here is derived from a combination of Shorto’s drafts, notes, and unpublished papers, carefully edited and joined to construct a work that is coherent and faithful to the author’s intentions.

Shorto’s original plan called for three main sections. These were Part 1: Vocalism, Part 2: Consonantism, and Part 3: Comparative Dictionary, as well as various indexes and appendices. Parts 1 and 2 posed significant editorial challenges; in particular, although Part 3 had gone though two complete drafts, the extant manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 were written in support of the first draft of the comparative dictionary, and had not been updated by the author to reflect his revisions. Furthermore both manuscripts were received incomplete, with an unknown number of end pages missing.

Part 3, which we received as a 600-page typed text, is the largest, most important, and most completely realised section. As noted, this was actually a second draft (the first had been compiled from file cards, now lost) that was essentially completed when Bauer arrived at SOAS to write his dissertation under Shorto in 1977.

Shorto continued to update this draft, however, including data from newly available language sources, and pencilling numerous notes in the margin. As he did not manage to retype the augmented text, we eventually integrated the greater part of these marginalia in the course of typesetting and proofing of the text for publication.

Part 3 also included two appendices: A—Stiengan (South Bahnaric) and B—Northern Mon-Khmer (Palaungic). These contain several hundred lexical comparisons that are particular to the respective sub-groups. The text of Part 3 includes many references to entries in these appendices, and we can expect that more extensive comparative work will see many of them integrated into a revised Proto-Mon-Khmer reconstruction.

Part 1

Part 1 concerns Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism. Shorto clearly intended to explicate this aspect of the reconstruction with an extensively detailed text that would run to more than one hundred pages. Unfortunately, this was never finished; Shorto left us an early but complete paper on proto-vocalism, along with a partial draft of Part 1 of the MKCD.

Part 1 as it appears now in print is a hybrid of these two articles, which are discussed in more detail below. First, the detailed justification of Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism found in the early, complete paper, including tables showing the Mon: Khmer vowel correspondences and the evolution of Old Mon vocalism, was integrated into the unfinished draft of Part 1. Then, the merged text was edited to reconcile the forms and numbering of reconstructions with those seen in Part 3 (the comparative dictionary). Part 1 ends where the manuscript breaks off.

Shorto’s paper on proto-vocalism was written in the late 1960s, long before the first draft of the comparative dictionary was finished. Its main section contains some 600 etymologies that illustrate phonological correspondences using Mon and Khmer as criterion languages, plus supporting comparisons from other languages drawn from the missing card files.

This paper is particularly important from the programmatic perspective. In tabulating vowel correspondences between Mon and Khmer, Shorto suggests that there were various vowel alternations (or ‘alternances’ as he calls them) within Proto-Mon-Khmer. This principle let Shorto separate a core of regular correspondences from a large
set of alternances, and appears to be his answer to a problem mentioned by various writers (e.g. Thomas 1964, Blood 1966): the apparent great confusion of correspondences that had resisted systematisation and blocked the reconstruction of proto-vocalism.

The surviving partial draft of MKCD Part 1 is quite different. It begins with a short introduction to the history and state of the art of Mon-Khmer comparative studies. Then, with little preparatory justification, it launches directly into a table of proto-vocalism, giving the list of reconstructed phonemes, and supporting examples grouped according to the class of vowels.

Proto-Mon-Khmer word-final consonants were also meant to be dealt with in Part 1, as is made clear by a mention in the beginning of Part 2. However, the section is absent from the surviving text, which has only a truncated discussion of rhymes with finals *-ʔ and *-h.

Shorto raises several issues concerning these finals. First, a number of etymologies appear to show alternances between finals *-ʔ and *-h, the function and distribution of which are not understood. Second, Shorto reconstructs final clusters of the type *-
Cʔ and *-Ch in some etyma on the basis of their reflexes in Vietnamese and Mường. Now, it is known (since Haudricourt 1952) that certain Vietnamese tones correlate with final stops and fricatives in other Mon-Khmer languages. The occurrence of these tones where the rhyme is already closed by a continuant implies the reconstruction of an additional final segment in Shorto’s analysis. Third, in a small number of entries Shorto also presents a final cluster with *-s, which he posited as an instrumental suffix.

Finally, it is apparent that Shorto made a small alteration to his proto-vocalism at the time of the second major draft: an additional vowel *ɯə is posited in a small number of cases, although always bracketed.

Part 2

Part 2 comes to us in a more complete form, missing only a final few pages. It includes a table of initial consonant correspondences for twenty Mon-Khmer languages, and a systematic explanation of the reconstruction of initial clusters. Although the etymological illustration of cluster reconstructions is truncated, this does not seriously affect the substance of the discussion.

But although Part 2 is nearly complete, the table of consonant correspondences and reconstructions was prepared for the first draft of the comparative dictionary. The second and final draft incorporates an important change in the reconstruction that is not reflected in that table. Examining the proto-forms in Part 3, one will notice that, in addition to proto-phonemes *t, *d and *n, Shorto reconstructs forms with *t₁, *t₂, *d₁, *d₂, *n₁ and *n₂ in non-final positions.

We puzzled over these for some time until, during a visit in late 2005, I fortuitously stumbled upon an unpublished manuscript still in Anna Shorto’s possession. In this paper, titled “On Mon-Khmer inter-branch relationships,” Shorto discusses the phonological correlates of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, and writes:

“The whole of this group is characterized by a shift of *t in initial position in structures *CCVC (in some cases) to a sibilant, prima facie via an affricate stage. This minor shift is interesting because it apparently extends to Munda. Its incidence may be conditioned by the lost (in Mon-Khmer) V₁ of Proto-Austroasiatic *CVCVC, or it may entail reconstructing an additional proto-phoneme (*t₁, *t₂). Thus we find
'taro', Khm. trav, Ste traw; RL ʰsaroʔ, Khs. shriew, Sora ʰsaroː-gai-an, Mundari sārū, Santali saru;

'sun, day', Old Mon tney, Khm. thnay; KY saŋiʔ, RL ʰsɑŋiʔ, Khs. sŋi, Mundari sṅi.

Contrast (a bad example since it uses infixed forms, but with a Munda cognate)

'new', Khm. thmmy ~ Middle Mon t/am, RL ʰt/ɑn/mē, Khs. th/m/me, Kharia t'/ɑn/mē.

A parallel shift of ʰd to a palatal is attested at least for Khmuic and Palaungic, and one of ʰn > ʰl at C2 in structures ʰCCVC certainly for these languages and possibly for Khasi. A reconstruction of two ʰt's, two ʰd's and two ʰn's would of course—for those who favour the Austric hypothesis—bring PAA closer to Proto-Austronesian.”

Shorto was clearly referring to himself as a supporter of the Austric hypothesis, so his motivation for altering the consonant reconstruction between the first and second drafts is made plain. However, only ʰt₂, ʰd₂ and ʰn₂ are reconstructed to account for the sibilant and lateral reflexes in Northern Mon-Khmer. A second set, consisting of ʰt₁, ʰd₁ and ʰn₁, is not dealt with in Part 2. Yet our text of the MKCD distinguishes between the three notational sets ʰt, ʰd, ʰn : ʰt₁, ʰd₁, ʰn₁ : ʰt₂, ʰd₂, ʰn₂. At this time, we suggest that the unmarked notation indicates that the reconstruction is intentionally underdetermined in order to avoid a clumsy notation such as ʰt₁/₂.

Aside from this point, the major editorial issue for Part 2 was synchronizing the form and numbering of examples with Part 3. There were also some issues concerning language (sub)branch names and the treatment of marginal notes.

The first naming issue relates to Shorto’s treatment of Bahnaric, which can now readily be seen as having been based on the limited data available in the 1960s. In editing MKCD, we have globally replaced the terms Stiengan and Bahnaran throughout with the more recognizable South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric. But aside from this change in terminology, Shorto’s outdated classification has not been altered. We discuss the issue further below.

The second naming issue involves the Katuic branch, which was also poorly understood in the 1960s. For reasons discussed below, Kuy (then thought to be closely related to Khmer) was originally Shorto’s primary Katuic representative. His later notes and marginalia make it clear that as data on lesser-known Katuic languages came into his possession in the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto recognized and began to correct his error. In editing Parts 2 and 3, we have replaced ‘Kuy’ with ‘Katuic’ where and whenever it is clear that Shorto intended to designate this branch of Mon-Khmer.

Finally, as new language data became available throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto never ceased adding marginal notes and alterations. We have integrated these marginalia into the text, excepting those cases where Shorto’s pencilled notes were not legible enough to allow accurate readings.

Part 3
The comparative dictionary of Part 3 arrived in our hands as a carefully typed and painstakingly corrected manuscript.

Preparing Part 3 for publication was a massive but relatively straightforward task. All of Shorto’s typographic corrections were applied, and his extensive marginal notes were incorporated into the text. His layout was slightly modified in the interests of
Before we can consider the content and contribution of Shorto's MKCD, it is necessary to survey the larger stage of Mon-Khmer research.

The MKCD forms a link in a chain that reaches back to the foundational works of the German comparativist and ethnologist Pater Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), who pioneered the application of neo-grammrian principles in investigating language families beyond Indo-European.

With the European colonisation of Southeast Asia, scholars began to have access to increasingly reliable lexical data for many languages of the region: colonial authorities carried out linguistic surveys, missionaries generated lexicons and bible translations, and dictionaries of Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese became available. Schmidt drew upon these sources to establish the field of comparative Mon-Khmer studies with a series of four major publications at the beginning of the twentieth century (1901, 1904, 1905, 1906).

The first (1901) examined the Aslian languages of Malaya (Senoi and Sömang specifically), demonstrating that they are genetically part of the Mon-Khmer family. This contrasted with Skeat and Blagden (1906), who in their contemporaneous study concluded that there was merely a Mon-Khmer stratum among languages of the peninsula.

Schmidt (1904) next discussed Northern Mon-Khmer languages, dealing with Khasi and Palaungic only, as he lacked Khmuic data. A third paper, Schmidt 1905 (usually referred to as the Grundzüge [roughly, 'Foundations'] from the title) was a systematic treatment of Mon, Khmer, Stieng and Bahnar. He treated this group as forming a core Mon-Khmer family, to which other languages could be compared and related within a wider Austroasiatic or Austric framework.

The Grundzüge is an extensive attempt to analyse the historical phonology of the Mon-Khmer family. Schmidt's method relied upon interpreting the Indic-based scripts used to write Mon and Khmer. It assumed that the spellings faithfully recorded phonetic values when and where those scripts were adopted (roughly mid-first Millennium).

For Bahnar and Stieng he utilised lexicons that had been compiled in Vietnam by Dourisbourne (1889) and Azémar (1886). The data from these languages revealed relatively conservative, unrestructured phonologies, largely confirming the interpretations of Written Mon and Khmer.

By choosing to work mainly with written languages Schmidt followed established methods, as the comparative investigation of Indo-European had proceeded principally by using Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Although Schmidt did err to some extent by placing
too much importance on the etymologically Indic phonetic values of the spellings, he established basic patterns for reconstructing proto-consonantism that endure to this day.

Schmidt’s treatment of proto-vocalism was less successful. His failure to understand differences in the inherent vowels of the Mon and Khmer scripts led him to ignore important length and quality distinctions among the low central and back vowels. The apparent confusion of vowel correspondences created such difficulty for Schmidt that he was only able to posit phonetic equations, and not proper vowel reconstructions.

On the other hand Schmidt’s morphological analyses, which related affixes to various phonetic changes, and established the importance of the patterning of segmental collocations within the rhyme, were brilliantly insightful.

Thus the *Grundzüge*, with more than 900 Mon-Khmer lexical comparisons, reconstruction of proto-consonantism, and morphological analyses, laid the foundation for all subsequent comparative work. Astonishingly, given the absence of any comparably extensive synthesis later in the 20th century the *Grundzüge* was not exceeded (in print) until the appearance of the present *MKCD* 100 years later.

Schmidt’s ultimate work in this series was his (1906) attempt to link Mon-Khmer and Austronesian in a grand Austric macro-family. This bold hypothesis remains controversial. Although it faces serious difficulties in the light of Shutler and Marck’s (1975) now generally accepted formulation of a Formosan homeland for Austronesian, it still competes with other models of deep genetic relationship among the various language families of Asia (see Sagart et al. 2005 for recent papers and discussion). Schmidt’s evidence was both lexical (more than 200 comparisons) and morphological (including parallels in prefixes and infixes), and found a small and enthusiastic following, including Shorto, and nowadays notably Laurence Reid (e.g. 1994, 1996, 2005).

Contemporary with Schmidt was Skeat and Blagden’s (1906) massive comparative Aslian lexicon. It was richly annotated with wider Mon-Khmer comparisons, and serves as a useful complement to Schmidt’s work. However, Skeat and Blagden did not use their lexical materials within the framework of comparative reconstruction, instead, seeing the presence or absence of etyma in various languages as evidence of ancient migrations and population mixing. These ultimately contributed to unhelpful notions about language classification, and comparative Aslian studies languished for another 70 years.

Other resources that became available during this highly productive period include the ongoing publication of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, especially the survey of Mon, Khmer, Siamese, and Chinese families (Grierson 1903). However, despite ever-increasing access to data, and a solid foundation of comparative analysis, comparative Mon-Khmer studies soon fell into a prolonged lull, overwhelmed by what appeared to be a series of intractable problems.

Vietnamese was a striking example. Some scholars (e.g. Maspero 1912) sought to explain its tonal nature by invoking Thai and/or Chinese ancestry; as late as 1942 Sebeok cast doubts on its relation to various Mon-Khmer languages. Still, a solid line of inquiry based on the epigraphic tradition continued at SOAS (London) and the French EFEO.

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2 That paper was written specifically to refute Dyen’s (1965) classification that suggested a Micronesian homeland for Austronesian. By implication it also refuted the idea, expressed by Shorto from time to time, of an Indochinese homeland, which would have reconciled more easily with the Austric hypothesis.
The key transitional figures were Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), and Gordon Luce (1889-1979). Working at SOAS well into the 20th century, Blagden developed considerable interest in Mon, and had prepared a preliminary etymological dictionary on index cards by 1928. Never completed, Blagden’s notes informed various research publications and four fascicles and a plates volume of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* (between 1919 and 1936), and were eventually passed on to Luce.

An indefatigable field worker, Luce compiled thousands of pages of notes and wordlists for the languages of Burma. Luce clearly meant to carry through Blagden’s dream of a Mon etymological dictionary. He expanded and corrected Blagden’s corpus of transcribed Mon texts, developed a set of lexical comparisons, and also improved the morphological analyses of the language(s). Luce published extensively, including the three-volume *Old Burma-Early Pagan* (1969-70), and the posthumously published two-volume Paris lectures *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma* (1985), but included only comparative lists rather than reconstructions.

The mid-20th Century saw a rebirth of interest in comparative Mon-Khmer studies. Haudricourt (1952, 1953) breathed new life into the field with his proof that Vietnamese tones could be explained by direct reference to Mon-Khmer etymology, rather than to Thai or Chinese. This was a powerful demonstration of the insights into phonology and proto-history that comparative investigation of Mon-Khmer languages could offer, and came as a new wave of field data began to emerge, particularly from Indo-China.

1959 was an especially good year, bringing the publication of the first volume of the huge multi-dialectal Bahnar dictionary of Guilleminet, as well as Heinz-Jürgen Pinnnow’s *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*.

Pinnnow’s understated title suggests a tentative historical phonology of Kharia (a Munda language of India), but his 514 pages of dense text were a first attempt at an Austroasiatic etymological dictionary, with more than 550 etyma and a representative set of languages. Issues of Kharian phonological evolution were handled in the context of a preliminary Proto-Munda and Proto-Austroasiatic reconstruction: more than 400 cognate sets supported the proto-vocalism, and more than 500 supported the consonantism.

Pinnnow made extensive Mon-Khmer comparisons, with the implication that regular Munda : Mon-Khmer correspondences would reliably establish etyma as ancient within the Mon-Khmer family, even if they are now apparently isolated within particular Mon-Khmer branches. For an example close at hand, see #182 in this volume: Kuy (Katuic) *bru:* ‘hill’ is related to Kharia *biru* ‘hill’, demonstrating the root at both Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic levels. But Pinnnow’s results were hampered by a lack of data, and by problems of interpreting sources. His book’s ultimate impact on the field was not nearly commensurate with the effort that had gone into it.

As the 1960s progressed Mon-Khmer research positively blossomed. A generation of young and mostly American scholars traveled to Indo-China, collecting data on many previously little-known and undocumented languages, and preparing various sub-group-level reconstructions. These include Proto-Mnong (Blood 1966), Proto-East-Katuic (Thomas 1967), Proto-Viet-Mường (Barker 1963, Barker and Barker 1970), Proto-Jeh-Halang (Thomas and Smith 1967), and Proto-North Bahnaric (Smith 1972).

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3 The Luce Papers are now held in the manuscripts collection of the Australian National Library. The Mon-Khmer and Sino-Tibetan lexical materials are are being scanned by CRCL, and will be published on-line in 2007 at http://archives.sealang.net/luce.
1964 also saw the founding of the journal *Mon-Khmer Studies* in Saigon; it is today based at Mahidol University, Thailand. European interest was rekindled at this time as well. For example Michel Ferlus (CNRS, France) began his decades-long commitment to collecting data on various languages of Laos and Vietnam, and Scandinavian scholars, including the Kammu specialist Kristina Lindell, became increasingly active.

The world-wide interest in Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic linguistics stimulated a major international conference on comparative Austroasiatic at the University of Hawai‘i in 1973; a substantial two-volume set of proceedings was published in 1976 (Jenner et al.). A second Austroasiatic conference was held at Mysore (India) in 1976.

Throughout this period, Harry Shorto was in the thick of things as both author and editor. Taking up the torch from Blagden and Luce after accepting a lectureship at SOAS in 1948, Shorto first published his *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* (1962). He followed this up with *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* (1971), which included extensive etymological commentary, reflecting progress that would lead to the first draft of the *MKCD* (the genesis and history of these books is detailed in Bauer’s article, below). As his work on the *MKCD* progressed, Shorto actively sought out scholarly discussion and debate. He presented his reconstruction of Mon-Khmer proto-vocalism to the Hawai‘i comparative Austroasiatic conference, and defended the Austric hypothesis at a symposium in Toronto in 1976. In both cases he made extensive reference to his draft *MKCD* (the Toronto paper is reproduced as Appendix E).

But the 1970s also marked a turning point. With the political transformation of Indo-China attentions were refocused elsewhere. As Cold War funding dried up, the field began to dissipate as researchers turned to other languages and interests. Nevertheless, a core of highly motivated scholars continued their efforts.

Gérard Diffloth was the most notable member of this group. Beginning with Aslian, he produced a reconstruction of Proto-Semain in 1977. Diffloth then ambitiously widened his research program, boldly proposing to systematically work through each Mon-Khmer sub-group, and eventually arrive at a comprehensive Mon-Khmer database and reconstruction. He produced some very important early results, which include book-length reconstructions of Proto-Waic (1980) and Proto-Monic (1984), and a substantial paper on Proto-Katuic (1982). Since then, however, Diffloth has concentrated more on data collection and analysis, choosing to delay the release of his results.

Independently of Diffloth, Ferlus (1983) produced his own Proto-Monic reconstruction. He also began working on the history of the Vietic languages, and has produced an extensive body of work on the topic (e.g. 1982, 1991, 1992a, 1997, 2001 etc.). Ferlus has also offered a reconstruction of the history of Khmer (1992b).

From the mid-1980s and into the 1990s, while important descriptive work on Mon-Khmer languages was pursued by various researchers, the output of comparative studies generally declined, e.g. the Proto-Plang of Paulsen (1989), Proto-South Bahnaric of Efimov (1990) and Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996). But since the year 2000—as we approach the centenary of Schmidt’s foundational efforts—a new generation of comparative studies has begun to appear, producing extensive work on Bahnaric (Sidwell 2000, Sidwell and Jacq 2003) and Katuic (Thongkum 2000, Sidwell 2005).

In conclusion, an overall evaluation of the progress of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics in the 20th century reveals periodic ebb and flow. The field advanced in fits and starts through Pinnnow’s attempted consolidation in 1959, then lost focus when no
similar effort was completed in the 1970s or 1980s. Although branch level comparative studies continued to be pursued, these were conducted without reference to any published, overarching analysis of Mon-Khmer. Predictably, results were mixed.

For example, Diffloth’s comparative analyses of Waic (1980) and Monic (1984) were of the highest analytical standards. The years he had invested in compiling notes for a comparative dictionary and preliminary PMK reconstruction—never published, although substantial fragments of early drafts of these works can be inspected at the Cornell University Library manuscript archives—clearly informed Diffloth’s consideration of branch-level hypotheses.

In contrast, the South Bahnaric reconstruction of Efimov (1990) and the Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996) both offered highly defective results. Their analyses were conducted in isolation from the broader Mon-Khmer context: borrowings were not reliably distinguished from inherited forms because there was no reference to the distribution of etyma across the family, and proposed sound laws were formulated without consideration of how they might be reconciled with the deeper historical foundations of Mon-Khmer languages.

In this light, the failure of Shorto’s *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* to have been published was a terrible loss for the field. As we shall discuss below, it is inevitable that some of Shorto’s analysis must be extended or discarded; but no amount of re-evaluation is likely to obscure the tremendous amount of scholarship that forms the body of the *MKCD*.

**Assessing Shorto’s *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary***

We can categorize Shorto’s results as follows:

- **Phonological reconstruction**: PMK vowels and consonants, and the sound laws that relate these to daughter forms.
- **Lexical reconstruction**: identification of lexical cognates, specification of appropriate levels for reconstruction, and (after relating these to the proposed sound laws) the construction of proto-lexemes.
- **Specification of internal branching and classification**.
- **External comparison**: identification of Munda and Austronesian parallels, and documentation of forms influencing (or influenced by) Thai, Lao, Chinese, Burmese and others.

An exhaustive critique of the *MKCD* would be a major project in itself; it would significantly delay publication, yet probably be less useful than the collection of specialized articles that publication is likely to inspire. I offer instead a brief summary review, touching upon those issues which I consider most important, and which are most likely to require reconsideration.

In doing so, I note that our greatest difficulty with the *MKCD* is the incomplete textual justification for its results, due to the unfortunate demise of the author before he was able to complete, present and defend his work. Nevertheless, while we gladly adopt a generous attitude in assessing the work of a man who is no longer able to defend and explain his magnum opus, we must, still, cast a heartlessly impartial light in raising questions that must be answered.
Phonological reconstruction: vocalism
We are at an advantage insofar as Shorto (1976c) had already begun to explain his reconstruction of the proto-vocalism, with only a very minor modification admitted sometime after that. The proto-vowel inventory applied in the MKCD is tabulated as follows:

```
*i  i   u   aa   uu
 e  e  o  ee  oo
 a  c  aa  cc  eu
 i  [ɯə]  ai
```

The principal justification for this reconstruction (excepting the bracketed item) is provided in Table 1 of Part 1. The system is strictly Mon-Khmer in the sense that it is derived exclusively by comparison of those two languages. The resulting reconstruction is then generalised to the family as a whole.

This is an interesting approach for Shorto to have taken. It contrasts utterly with his treatment of the proto-consonantism, where correspondences were compiled for criterion languages that were (within the available data) broadly representative of the whole family.

For the vocalism, Shorto restricted the criterion languages to just two, arguing that this produced an entirely expected result consisting of a substantial core of regular correspondences, and a residue of more-or-less chaotic correspondences. The former securely reflect the proto-system with minimal changes, while the latter are interpreted in two ways: some result from numerous isolated factors that are difficult to identify within the limits of the dataset, while others may reflect a system of vowel grades or alternations within the proto-language, evoking something akin to Indo-European ablaut.

This idea is not well developed and may well turn out to be an artifact of Shorto’s particular methodological bent. My view is that narrowly basing the vocalism on Mon and Khmer is not entirely desirable. Ideally one would work through the various branches of the family, reconstructing the proto-vocalism for each, and then using those results as the input for the ultimate reconstruction.

But Shorto was working without branch level reconstructions. In those circumstances, any attempt to assemble a comprehensive tabulation of correspondences between modern languages belonging to different branches would definitely have produced an unmanageable chaos of data.

Instead, he not unreasonably assumed that the Old Mon and Old Khmer vowel systems—which are very similar to each other, and which are both recorded in vernacular script—are archaic. If this assumption is correct, the binary comparison of Mon and Khmer should produce a reconstruction that is reliable at least insofar as these two languages had not undergone parallel independent developments. The latter should become apparent when a sufficient number of other languages are considered.

Does the reconstructed vocalism have any characteristics that are typologically odd, or that otherwise give us cause for question? Certainly. Indeed, Shorto himself remarks briefly in Part 1 on the lack of a distinction between open and half-open front vowels, speculating that his *e and *ee may actually subsume *ɛ and *ɛɛ. Given that such
a distinction is typologically common among Mon-Khmer languages, I am almost certain that it is the case. We can also note the absence of a close central vowel, such as long or short i or u. Shorto is probably correct here, as these frequently develop as conditioned variants of front and/or back vowels, and by (typically) unconditioned raising of the other central vowels.

What will be the consequences of re-evaluating Shorto’s results? Consider the reconstruction of the etymon underlying #1070 *priit; *priat ‘banana.’ Shorto offers this on the basis of forms such as Bahnar priit. However, more recent data reveals reflexes such as Jru’ priit, and point to a merger of *iə and *ii in Central Bahnaric. Further afield the Old Mon cognate brāt (compare in Shorto 1971 but absent from the MKCD!) clearly indicates that Proto-Bahnaric *iə derives from a raising of PMK *aa. The same correspondence can be found elsewhere, e.g. ‘bone,’ compare: Bahnar ktiŋ, Jru’ ktiŋ, and Palaung kəʔŋ (at #553 and #488 respectively, and arguably the same correspondence for ‘rain’ at #127 and #141 and ‘dry hill-field’ at #1651).

These examples reflect two different but related problems. In the case of ‘banana,’ admitting new comparisons will indicate a revision of the reconstruction, although not a revision of the proto-system. In the case of ‘bone,’ the Bahnaric and Palaungic reflexes have been assigned to quite separate reconstructions that, arguably, should be collapsed into one. Therefore the recognition of new sound laws, a very likely eventuality, is going to indicate revisions to the proto-lexicon. Here I expect that substantial improvements to the reconstruction will emerge.

Various issues concern the diphthongs *iə, *uə, *ai and [*ɯə]. The first two of these are reconstructed on the principle that they are reflected largely unchanged in Khmer. However, it is very often the case that reflexes in other languages are not diphthonged, appearing rather as *ɛɛ and *ɔɔ, respectively. It is known that low, long monophthongs have a strong tendency to diphthongise in Mon-Khmer languages (e.g. see the discussion and diagram in Huffman 1985), perhaps more often than the reverse change is apt to occur. Thus, it is entirely likely that PMK *ɛɛ and *ɔɔ underlie various examples of Khmer iə, uə that Shorto uses to reconstruct *iə and *uə.

One will note numerous examples of *iə and *uə reconstructed in the MKCD where there is no Khmer reflex, or in fact no diphthonged reflex at all. Consider #467 ‘hair,’ for which the four alternates *suk, *suuk, *suk, *sak are reconstructed. In this case, *suk is posited on the basis of reflexes that in isolation would only suggest *ɔɔ. However, influenced by his theory of vowel alternations, Shorto reconstructs the uu ~ uə alternance to link the ɔɔ forms in Bahnaric with u in Palaungic. I am sure that integrating the results of comprehensive branch level reconstructions will eliminate many of these alternate reconstructions, and reassign many proto-diphthongs to monophthongs.

The diphthong *ai is also problematic, a fact acknowledged by Shorto. It is posited to explain the rather infrequent correspondence of Mon a to Khmer e. I doubt whether it reflects anything other than a fronting in Khmer (and it is likely that similarly fronted reflexes in Kuy are Khmer loans), although a detailed analysis of reflexes in other languages is required to solve this.

In his second draft of the MKCD Shorto introduced a doubtful proto-diphthong [*ɯə] in some eight reconstructions. It is not indicated by the Mon : Khmer correspondences, but rather is based on four examples of a correspondence of Palaung u to Kammu Yuan uə in closed syllables (#410, #503, #1179, #1328). This is then
invoked to explain three cases of open syllable ɔw in Bahnar (and similar reflexes elsewhere in Bahnaric) corresponding to Palaung ɯ(#6, #45, #264).

It is very doubtful that these two groups of correspondences can be linked. The first group has many parallels with etyma for which *iə is indicated, so we need to find cognates beyond Northern Mon-Khmer for those four cases. The other group is perhaps sufficiently explained by contextual changes to PMK *uu. An additional reconstruction of [*[uə]] at #573 lacks Bahnaric or Palaungic reflexes that follow either pattern, and is instead based upon a correspondence of Mon u to Vietnamese ưở and Stieng ɔː, and requires further investigation.

These considerations would lead us to revise Short’s proto-vocalic inventory to the following:

```
*/  i   u   aa   uu
   e   θ   o   ee   ee   oo
   θ   a   ø   ee   aa   oo
  iə   uu /
```

The revised inventory is only provisional, and may be subject to further changes in the light of new data and analyses. For example, there are strong indications of Proto-Katuic high central vowels *ɯ, *ɯɯ, *ɯə (see Diffloth 1982, Sidwell 2005). If these are found to have cognates with similar values in other branches, this will indicate reconstruction to PMK. On the other hand, if these are isolated within Katuic, the more likely explanation will be raising from PMK *ə, *əə etc. Such issues can only be addressed by comprehensive branch-level reconstructions.

**Phonological reconstruction: consonantism**

The table of proto-consonants presented by Shorto in his first draft, below, matches exactly that offered by Diffloth in his 1974 Encyclopaedia Britannica article (and passim). It effectively reflects a consensus view that can be traced back to the foundation laid by Schmidt, and it is not anticipated that further research will be likely to significantly alter this model.

```
*/  p   t   c   k   ?
 b   d   j   g
 ɓ   ɗ
 m   n   ɲ   ŋ
 w   r   l   y
 s   h   /
```

Additional segments *t₂, *d₂, *n₂ were added by Shorto in the course of his second draft (already discussed to some extent above). They were posited to account for certain correspondences among Northern Mon-Khmer and other Mon-Khmer languages: between dental sibilants and dental stops (e.g. #31 *t₂ŋiiʔ ’sun, day’ on the basis of such forms as Palaung ʂaj and Khmer thąj), and between laterals and dental nasals (e.g. #1906 *bn₂əs ’spear’ on the basis of such forms as Riang-Lang ples and Old Mon bnəs).

However, it is important to note that the tabulated proto-consonants are posited as the initial segments in sequences CVC, whereas the *t₂ and *d₂ were specifically
motivated by correspondences of preconsonantal segments. In the rare cases where the second series were reconstructed for prevocalic stops (e.g. #553 *knt₂iŋ ‘bone’), the reconstruction is in all but three cases specifically intended to explain the sibilant reflexes within North Bahnaric, and thus is likely to reflect a quite different phenomenon.

The exceptions are readily explained by other processes: #534 *kt₂aŋ ‘bitter’ and #1621 *kt₂uur ‘ear’ suggest fusion of *kt > c > s in Northern languages; #543a *t₂aŋ ‘knee’ also has evidence of preconsonantal k. Similarly, #1343 *t₂əm ‘plant’ is infixed in Northern languages, relegating the reflex of *t₂ to the preconsonantal position, so that it actually patterns regularly after *t₂ŋiiʔ ‘sun, day.’

Therefore, the table above still holds, leaving us with the separate problem of explaining a correspondence pattern that is restricted to preconsonantal dental stops. Typologically it would be very strange if the set of preconsonantal segments included forms not also occurring as CVC initials, in which case some other explanation must be offered. Shorto himself suggested that it may be explained by the assimilation of a vowel which has since been eliminated by changes to syllabic structure. Given the CVVC typology of Munda roots, this vocalic explanation is surely more likely than the *t₂ and *d₂ modeled after the more speculative Austric parallels.

The n₂ reconstructions are more problematic. There are only seven cases: #344, #593, #1367, #1369, #1476, #1631, and #1906. All involve n₂ as the second member of various clusters, so there is in fact no underlying structural parallel to the *t₂/*d₂ issue. In at least two cases (#1476, #1631) it is likely that Austronesian loans are confusing the issue, and in three (#593, #1367, #1369) we cannot rule out dissimilation from the final nasal (cf. #1401 *liəm ‘good’: Bahnar liem and Sre niam). This leaves the identification of n₂ unlikely to withstand close investigation.

The reconstruction of initial clusters is based upon the following relation between the registers of Mon and Khmer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMK</th>
<th>Mon</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless + voiceless</td>
<td>head register</td>
<td>head register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless + voiced</td>
<td>chest register</td>
<td>head register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced + voiceless</td>
<td>head register</td>
<td>chest register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced + voiced</td>
<td>chest register</td>
<td>chest register</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The underlying principle is that Mon registers reflect only the voice quality of the prevocalic consonant, but Khmer registers regularly reflect the voice quality of the initial.

The formulation appears (so far as I can tell) to hold up fairly robustly, although the same caveat applies in respect of the proto-vocalism: reconstruction on the basis of this formula will not recover any features that have been lost due to parallel developments in the criterion languages. In this respect I anticipate that the integration of new data from (in particular) Aslian, Khmuic, Vietic and Katuic has the potential to indicate at least a fine-tuning, if not a thorough overhaul, of Shorto’s PMK clusters.

**Lexical reconstruction**

Shorto’s reconstruction of 2,246 groups of proto-lexemes rests on two pillars: 1) the identification of cognates that indicate etyma were present at the PMK level, and 2) the application of sound laws to these cognates in order to generate proto-forms.
The generation of proto-forms is, inevitably, an ongoing process even for the most well-studied language families. As we have just seen, specific aspects of Shorto’s phonological analysis may require revision on the basis of existing data, or even reanalysis as new information becomes available. We can expect that such reanalysis will have the beneficial effect of simplifying Shorto’s reconstructions, reducing the number and complexity of the variant forms.

Shorto’s methodology for identifying etyma at the PMK level must be reviewed more critically. Lacking a coherent model of inter-branch relations between Mon-Khmer languages—a situation that arguably still persists—Shorto was in a sense forced to work without a safety net in order to achieve the heights he wished to attain.

Shorto does not provide any formula to specify the precise mix of languages or sub-groups an etymon would have to be attested for in order to justify a triangulation back to PMK. Despite this, we can readily discern several principles he consistently invoked to justify Mon-Khmer heritage:

- attestation in both Mon and Khmer where borrowing from a non-Mon-Khmer source is considered unlikely,
- attestation in Munda and in at least one Mon-Khmer language,
- attestation in Austronesian and in at least one Mon-Khmer language where borrowing into the Mon-Khmer language is considered unlikely.

The great majority of Shorto’s cognate groups are based on evidence from multiple branches of Mon-Khmer, and will be strengthened as more data becomes available. The 354 items supported by Munda attestation are particularly likely to be legitimate, regardless of how many MK branches they occur in (although Munda forms have radically complex morphologies that present special difficulties to comparativists). This issue is discussed below in Relation to Munda.

In a few cases Shorto relied on a single MK branch without citing external comparisons. In a regular pattern of error whose root cause I will return to below, he appears to have consistently treated South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric as separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purpose of lexical reconstruction. This led to entries such as #1401 *liəm ‘good,’ for which only Bahnaric forms are cited.

Shorto’s Austronesian connections are obviously the least justifiable. Assuming an Indo-Chinese origin, before Shutler and Marck’s results supporting a Formosan homeland for Austronesian, the Austric hypothesis was of crucial importance, spurred on by the increasing availability of extensive and reliable Austronesian reconstructions. But Shorto’s use of Austronesian data as evidence in his phonological and lexical reconstruction of Mon-Khmer will certainly be the most controversial aspect of his work.

Even if one accepts the Austric hypothesis, the discrimination of borrowings from genetic inheritance at great time depths is extremely problematic. Normally one would expect to see strong additional evidence (such as distributional factors) taken into account before borrowing is discarded as the null hypothesis.

Shorto does not explain his reasoning in 30 MKCD entries of etyma that appear to be isolated within single branches of Mon-Khmer, yet have been accepted as archaic on the basis of questionable Austronesian parallels. A good example is #1476 ‘dove,’ for which Proto-Austronesian *pun.ai is invoked to justify projecting Palaung [ə plləy] and Riang-Lang *ploe to PMK *pn2[uu]y. This can only be accepted on the basis of the
questionable 1 : n correspondence, or the phonetic equation evaporates and the etymon is better relegated to the Palaungic level until wider Mon-Khmer cognates can be found.

Regardless of one’s view of the Austroic hypothesis, a great number of Mon-Khmer-Austronesian lexical comparisons compiled by Shorto extensively catalog a long history of poorly understood language contact. They provide a detailed and well-documented overview not generally accessed by specialists working strictly within either the Austroasiatic or Austronesian traditions, and create the opportunity to address some of the larger issues of Southeast Asian linguistic history.

Aside from the readily identified deviations discussed above, Shorto’s approach to lexical reconstruction is fundamentally sound. Some of his comparisons will ultimately be rejected as not justifying lexical reconstructions, but it would be a mistake to rule out, a priori, all cases that raise questions because of the limited data presented at this time.

Internal branching and classification
The problem of determining the structure of the Mon-Khmer family has vexed linguists since the time of Schmidt, and it is fair to say that it remains unsolved. A confusing muddle of tree diagrams have been offered over the past century, although none, to my knowledge, have been determined on the basis of explicit formulae of shared innovations.

Since the 1960s two consistent (albeit irreconcilable) schemes have emerged. Each is based on essentially lexical methods, reflecting the longstanding absence of a well-developed phonological reconstruction. One approach is championed by Diffloth, who has consistently grouped Mon-Khmer branches into three large divisions. This implies that the languages must have diverged gradually over thousands of years, with speakers undertaking multiple migrations (see Diffloth 2005 for his most recent view).

An alternative view derives from lexicostatistical studies (e.g. Thomas 1966; Thomas and Headley 1970; Huffman 1976, 1978; Smith 1981) that have generally found that Mon-Khmer languages branch into at least 10 more-or-less equidistant groupings. These results suggest a simple “rake”-shaped tree, and imply that at some point in time Proto-Mon-Khmer expanded rapidly over a vast area.

Shorto’s method effectively assumed the rake model, as he compiled etymologies on the assumption that attestation in any two branches was a reasonable minimum criterion for identifying Mon-Khmer heritage. Given the state of the art in the mid-1970s, we hardly fault Shorto for adopting the rake model, inasmuch as it is founded on empirical studies. However, issues regarding understanding and treatment of Bahnaric and Katuic led Shorto to inconsistencies and mistakes in his analysis.

Shorto cites examples from Bahnaric—a single branch in the rake model—extensively in the MKCD. It is second only to Mon and Khmer in importance, echoing the approach of Schmidt (1905). When he began working, the Bahnaric languages were classified into two groups: Stiengan and Bahnaran (reflecting the fact that Stieng and Bahnar were the first Bahnaric languages to be extensively documented). This two-way division was subsequently renamed South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric respectively by Thomas and Headley (1970). Shorto nominally subscribed to an analysis that held Bahnaric to be a single branch, noting comparisons as “Bahnaric” in the MKCD when they had both Stiengan and Bahnaran reflexes.

Yet despite the above, it is apparent that Shorto treated Stiengan and Bahnaran as reflecting two separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purposes of lexical reconstruction.
He posits some 146 PMK reconstructions on the basis of Bahnaric forms alone, as if attestation in these two “branches” justifies triangulation of the etymon back to PMK, rather than merely to Proto-Bahnaric. In addition, in Appendix A of Stiengan/South Bahnaric etymologies Shorto constructs putative PMK antecedents without recourse to other Bahnaric comparisons or intermediate Bahnaric level reconstructions.

Shorto’s error is compounded by his choice of representative languages for these putative branches. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly recognised that Bahnar does not belong in the North Bahnaric branch, and is probably more closely related to South Bahnaric (see Sidwell 2002). Moreover, the language Röngao, which was treated as a dialect of Bahnar in the dictionary of Guilleminet (1959-63) that Shorto relied upon, is most certainly a distinct North Bahnaric language.

The consequence of Shorto’s handling of Stiengan and Bahnaran is that 146 etymologies technically do not justify PMK reconstructions; a large proportion of these do not even justify Proto-Bahnaric reconstructions. It can be expected that although wider MK etymologies will be found for many, others—particularly those attested only in Bahnar and South Bahnaric—will turn out to be Austronesian borrowings. While this in no way undermines the rest of Shorto’s achievement, all of the 146 reconstructions in question must be treated as provisional until more data is considered.

Another issue involves the Katuic branch, which was very poorly understood until recently. The Kuy language, which has hundreds of thousands of speakers in the lowland areas of Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos, was the principal representative of Katuic in the MKCD. Unfortunately, Kuy is not a very good exemplar for the Katuic branch. Besides borrowing numerous Cambodian words, Kuy has highly innovative phonology, having undergone a vowel split parallel to that of Middle Khmer.

Shorto initially assumed that Kuy was closely related to Khmer, rather than being an aberrant member of a separate and more conservative Mon-Khmer branch, as has been subsequently shown (see Diffloth 1982). However, after completing the second draft of Part 3, Shorto realized and began to correct his error as data on the various Katuic languages spoken by small and diverse communities in the upper Sekong valley of Laos and the adjacent Vietnamese hills came to his attention.

Katu, the most linguistically archaic of these, was just beginning to be known to outsiders, and a published lexicon only came into Shorto’s possession in the 1980s. In piecing together notes retained by Anna Shorto, it is apparent that he also obtained lexicons for several other Katuic languages, including Bru, Ngeq, and Pakoh.

Using this information, Shorto developed two preliminary reconstructions: one for Proto-Bruan (designating the Bru-Kuy subgroup), and one for Proto-Katuic, based on data from Ngeq, Pakoh, and Katu sources. Consequently he made many marginal annotations of Bru forms in Part 3, the comparative dictionary proper, and had begun to add Pacoh forms when circumstances intervened and the work was abandoned. Shorto’s unpublished notes on Katuic reconstruction are archived at http://archives.sealang.net/shorto.

Relation to Munda

Shorto’s conviction in the Austric hypothesis made it nearly inevitable that consideration of Munda, a large and deeply complex language family of India, would be somewhat marginalized. It has been recognised since Mason (1854) that Munda languages are related to Mon-Khmer, but the structure of that relationship is still unclear. While the
received view is that Mon-Khmer and Munda are sister branches of the Austroasiatic macrophyllum, there is no real consensus.

The recent classification by Diffloth (2005) treats Munda as a branch on a par with Northern Mon-Khmer, such that there is no meaningful distinction between Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic. In contrast, the noted Munda specialist David Stampe (pers. com.) considers it more likely that Mon-Khmer is an offshoot of Munda, and in a sense is the reverse of Diffloth’s formulation.

Although he does not raise the issue explicitly, Shorto’s analysis agrees with Diffloth. Shorto reproduces Austroasiatic etymologies from Pinnow (1959), and in some cases relies upon Munda comparisons to justify reconstructions where Mon-Khmer reflexes are restricted in their distribution (e.g. #182 *bruuʔ ‘hill’).

Elsewhere, in his discussion of the t2, d2 problem (quoted above), Shorto notes that the sibilant reflexes of Northern Mon-Khmer are also found in Munda, not the phonological contrast (e.g. #31 *t̪ɔ̄ŋiiʔ ‘sun, day’: Khmer thəaj, Palaung səŋi, Mundari səŋgi). This would suggest that Munda and Northern Mon-Khmer descend from a common branch, reducing Munda to a much less important place in the phylogenic tree.

This position is consistent with the greater emphasis Shorto places on comparing Mon-Khmer to Austronesian, without attempting to posit intermediate Proto-Austroasiatic forms. After all, if Munda is merely a sister to Northern Mon-Khmer, then the PMK reconstructions will in principle be equivalent to Proto-Austronesian.

A present-day perspective would undoubtedly hold that despite uncertainties concerning the phylogenic relation of Munda to Mon-Khmer, they share a closer relation to each other than either might share with Austronesian. The comparative reconstruction of Proto-Munda must take priority, fully informing the Proto-Mon-Khmer/Austroasiatic reconstruction before we attempt to analyse the phonological and lexical implications of any putative Austric comparisons.

Conclusion

It is fair to say that the transformative role of the MKCD in Mon-Khmer studies will, in time, be comparable to other works of similar scope and quality, such as: Otto Dempwolff’s (1938) Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes or Emeneau and Burrow’s (1961) Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.

No scholar would claim that either of these provided wholly definitive results or reached entirely error-free conclusions. Yet both crystallised decades of scholarship in their respective fields, and each stimulated tremendous improvements in the quality of subsequent research. Their meticulously organised and analysed data were immediately useful for reference; indeed, careers were established on the basis of ideas gleaned while fishing through their pages.

More importantly, they established neutral playing fields for future generations, making it possible to unambiguously cite an etymology or theoretical model in a context whose forms and issues were recognized and accepted by the entire profession. Shorto’s citation of Dempwolff’s forms in his Austric comparisons amply demonstrates the point. Although they are now outdated now by almost 70 years, any comparative Austronesianist will immediately recognise them, and can easily relate them to modern forms.
This is the unique contribution of canonical texts to research: defective and incomplete as they may be, they are essential to the progress of any field. Their value is based not on the absence of error, but on the honesty and scholarship with which they attempt to account for the field's current state of knowledge. And by this standard, Shorto’s *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* richly deserves its pride of place at the head of 20th Century Mon-Khmer linguistics.

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Canberra, June 2006
Some Background Notes

Christian Bauer
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Any posthumous publication warrants some remarks about the historical context in which it was created; information privy to those who had the privilege of working closely with its author, and which may shed light on aspects of its compilation. This is all the more true in this particular case as the *Comparative Dictionary* has its origin in Mon lexicography and a lineage going back to as early as 1928.

Harry Shorto graduated in Modern and Medieval Languages from Cambridge University. He spent the war years as a commissioned officer in the Fourteenth Army in Burma. From anecdotes he told me during classes I know that, at some stage, he was involved in reconnaissance missions in the Shan states.

Following an initial posting as an assistant lecturer in linguistics in 1948, Shorto was appointed to a lectureship in Mon at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1952. His ties to SOAS were extensive; officers involved in reconnaissance missions and intelligence work received language training in Japanese and Burmese in the linguistics department, headed by J. R. Firth, and all newly employed language lecturers at SOAS were instructed in general linguistics and phonetics under the supervision of Eugénie Henderson (1914-1989).

The availability of a Mon lectureship is not as incongruous as it may seem today. The British assumed that Burma would join the Commonwealth after gaining independence, and that the major ethnic groups would be accorded a measure of autonomy. The need for intensive regional language study in the wake of decolonization was, therefore, a given.

The Scarbrough Report of 1947 had reviewed the state of Asian language instruction at British universities, and recommended the creation of a number of lectureships in Southeast Asian languages. At the School of Oriental and African Studies, it was even planned to create positions for Shan and Karen at a later stage. Although these never materialized, Mon had already been established at SOAS in all but name for several decades.

Mon was first introduced by J. A. Stewart (1882-1948), Professor of Burmese, who as a colonial administrator in lower Burma had collected Mon texts, and who later initiated a certificate in Mon at the School. He was followed by Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), first Lecturer (1917) and then Reader in Malay, who succeeded in deciphering the Old Mon inscriptions of Pagán, Prome, Thaton and Lamphun. It is actually Blagden’s materials from which *A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* ultimately derives, as we shall see below.
Shorto began to study modern Mon in 1949 when the Mon monk U Wāyama, originally from Kawbein, was resident in London for about a year. U Wāyama was no mere language assistant. An educator and modernizer, he conceived and co-wrote the seven-part series of Mon Readers for language instruction in the schools of lower Burma, and also authored an introduction to Mon for Burmese speakers. U Wāyama came from a long line of distinguished Mon Sayadaws that include Silawantathera (Shwe Ngwè) and U Kosalla, in whose monastery Shorto was to reside as a layman.

After a year of typical armchair preparatory work in London, Shorto left for Burma and took up residence in U Kosalla’s monastery in Mudun on Bilu Island. To students of my generation this had always appeared to be a period of unrestricted travel and carefree research opportunities. However, his fieldwork was actually severely hampered by travel restrictions, which limited his access to detailed information on Mon dialects in Burma.

Shorto never traveled south of the mainland township Mudon, and his occasional sorties from Bilugyun were limited to Moulmein, Martaban and Kyaikmaraw. Shorto was, however, able to do fieldwork on Mon dialects in Thailand, where he met William Gedney. And it was Gedney who provided him with a Mon contact, Mahā Phuan, who acted as informant for his ‘Lopburi’ dialect.

Shorto remained in Southeast Asia until 1952.

The first draft of the Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon was written during the steamer journey back to England. In addition to Shorto’s field work, his lexicographic description of Mon was based on Robert Halliday’s Mon-English Dictionary of 1922, and on material Stewart had bequeathed to the School and now lost: mainly songs, folktales and pieces of traditional literature. This material was complemented by wordlists written by U Wāyama.

However, the dictionary was not published for a full decade. The delay was due, among other factors, to Firth; the “Philological Society” was willing to defray the cost of printing but Firth insisted that the dictionary be revised to include a concordance of written forms as well.

Shorto began his study of Old Mon under Gordon Luce (1889-1979), who had been appointed visiting professor at the School for three years until 1953. Luce was by then Professor of Far Eastern History at the University of Rangoon and had studied Old Mon, Chinese and Sanskrit in Europe since 1918 during his annual leaves of absence. After a decade of study and correspondence with Blagden, Luce had secured funds from University College Rangoon in 1929 to publish Blagden’s Dictionary of Old Mon with cognate forms in Khmer, etc.—as its title was intended to be—to be followed by an Old Mon grammar. The dictionary was meant to include cognates from other Mon-Khmer languages; no surprise, considering that Blagden, after years of colonial service in Malaya, had co-written Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula with W. W. Skeat, and had corresponded, in German, with Pater Wilhelm Schmidt.

Blagden had continued his editorial work on Old and Middle Mon inscriptions through the war years, carefully noting etymologies in a 5,000-card index. After Blagden’s death in 1948, his daughter sent his papers to the School. These papers consisted, among others, of the 5,000-card index, on which the projected epigraphic Mon dictionary was to have been based, and a notebook with transcriptions of unpublished texts and a concordance. The fate of the collection of rubbings was never established.
When Luce returned to Burma it was agreed that Shorto would update and edit Blagden’s index and notes, rework them into a dictionary, and arrange for publication. Shorto completed a first draft of the Old Mon dictionary by 1956. Throughout 1956-57, the draft was checked against epigraphic data in Burma wherever possible. Mainly, this was confined to stone inscriptions and ink glosses from Pagan as well as the Middle Mon bell inscriptions.

Further etymological material was incorporated through Shorto’s own fieldwork on the Northern Mon-Khmer languages Palaung and Praok (a Wa dialect). Pinnow’s Habilitation of 1959 provided new comparative Munda material. No further epigraphic data were added beyond findings of the early 1960s, thus excluding significant early data from Northeastern Thailand.

The dictionary was eventually published in 1971, as *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the 6th to the 16th centuries, incorporating materials collected by the late C. O. Blagden* (henceforth *DMI*). Shorto, since 1964 Reader in Southeast Asian Languages and Literatures, was then promoted to a personal chair in Mon-Khmer Studies.

Although still immensely useful to epigraphic research to this day, *DMI* is not without its deficiencies. Paradoxically, these have a direct bearing upon—and more importantly, a direct benefit for—the execution of this *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary*. To Shorto, the phonological reference form was of key importance. The notation of special glyphs, so dear to the epigrapher, would only distract and could hence be ignored as being of no phonological impact. Thus, the transliterated forms found in *DMI* are, in fact, *transcriptions*, with a few exceptions a practice inherited from Blagden. In *DMI*, features of the writing system, including special ligatures, abbreviated rhyme notations and superscripts, were all normalized; which is to say they were not noted at all.

Shorto’s compilation of the *DMI* (and later the *Comparative Dictionary*) was also greatly influenced by Sir Ralph Turner (1888-1983), who published the first and main volume of his *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* in 1966. Sir Ralph, director of the School from 1938 to 1957, had taken an avid interest in the progress of *DMI*, and it is hardly surprising that Shorto found inspiration, both in form and method, in the magnum opus of his senior colleague.

The main Old Mon entries in *DMI* served as building blocks against which a series of cognates could be set, in the same manner that Turner used Vedic and Sanskrit citations (rather than reconstructions) to head the entries. It is telling that Middle Mon forms in *DMI* do not appear as separate main entries whenever an Old Mon form is attested: convenient for the etymologist, but frustrating indeed for the epigrapher in the field.

In a sense, then, *DMI* was from its inception a prototype or blueprint for an etymological Mon-Khmer dictionary to come, in which Mon was intended as one of three *Testsprachen* or criterion languages, along with Khmer and Vietnamese. Shorto recognised the importance of including more representative criterion languages in the analysis, hence his interest in adding to the knowledge of Northern Mon-Khmer; his work on Palaung was actually a check on Mrs. Milne’s data of the 1920s.

Acquiring a working knowledge of Khmer, probably in the early 1960s, lead him to reject all previous reconstructions of the early Mon vocalism he had envisaged. Shorto
arrived at his definitive reconstruction of the Old Mon vocalism with his 1965 London paper.¹

For the Comparative Dictionary Shorto carried on the notation and symbols of Turner’s CDIAL, although his layout and method of reconstruction are more reminiscent of Dempwolff’s comparative Austronesian, particularly in basing the reconstructions on a small set of criterion languages chosen to represent a large and under-documented language family.

In January 1973 Shorto débuted a preliminary version of the proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system to the First Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics in Hawai‘i. In September of the same year he presented his view of Southeast Asian linguistic proto-history, which was meant to be part of the introduction of the Comparative Dictionary, to the London Colloquy on Early Southeast Asia. And, by 1976 he was able to propose a reconstruction of Austric, based on 200 roots, at a Toronto conference dedicated to Benedict’s Austro-Thai hypothesis.

When I arrived at SOAS in September 1977 to learn Mon and write my doctoral dissertation under Shorto’s supervision, the second draft of the Comparative Dictionary was ready in typewritten draft form, although some issues in Vietic and other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages remained to be solved. This was essentially the same state of affairs when I took the final examination in the autumn of 1982. On one of my subsequent annual visits from Mahidol to London—Shorto had retired in 1984—he confided that he had changed the reconstruction of the vowels again. And that he was still occupied with writing the introduction.

Christian Bauer
Berlin, August 2006

The Future of the MKCD

Doug Cooper
Center for Research in Computational Linguistics

Paul Sidwell and Christian Bauer have described the present and past of Shorto’s MKCD. We now turn to a preview of its future as an electronic resource.

As Sidwell notes in his Preface, we originally began working together to make the few available Mon-Khmer branch reconstructions and their supporting lexical data more accessible for research and reference. These included Diffloth’s analyses of Monic and Waic, Ferlus’s forthcoming presentation of Vietic, and Sidwell’s own comparative dictionaries of Katuic and Bahnaric.

Tying these works into a single, unified resource, with branch reconstructions pointing to Mon-Khmer roots, was an obvious goal, but it was an objective that was by no means trivial. An underlying skeleton of Mon-Khmer etyma that could ease the task of organizing data—far less a systematic attempt at reconstructing the proto-language—simply did not exist.

We became more frustrated as we began to find extensive, unpublished documentation for little-known, highly endangered Mon-Khmer languages, both in manuscript form (as in the Australian National Library’s Gordon Luce collection), and buried in the appendices of theses and lexicons. While we could readily scan and archive these texts, we had no desire to manage a museum of fossils. Again, we needed a way to incorporate the data into the larger body of Mon-Khmer research.

The appearance of Shorto’s manuscript changed everything. Its coverage is broad and deep enough to provide a rational framework for most Mon-Khmer language resources, including both reconstructions and lexical data. As a result, our efforts to prepare the MKCD for publication have also focused on deconstructing Shorto’s text in preparation for a much broader project.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project
This effort, scheduled to commence formally in 2007, will carry on where Shorto leaves off. Initially, the complete content of Part 3’s Comparative Dictionary will be extracted, XML-tagged, and made freely available on line. All of the text’s constituent parts, including etyma, reconstructions, and lexical citations, will be accessible both in accordance with Shorto’s analysis and layout, and as a collection of independent datasets.

Shorto’s data will form the core of a new resource: the Mon-Khmer Etymological Database. A companion Mon-Khmer Languages Database will be dedicated to purely lexicographic data, obtained from as wide a variety of both published and unpublished sources as possible, including original manuscripts from Luce and others. Shorto will
continue to be identified with all of the elements and relations defined in *MKCD*, but new
language data, etyma, reconstructions, and citations can be added to both databases.

The MKL Project presents the opportunity to make a clean break with an outdated
tradition: to challenge the view of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics as an essentially
solitary task, based solely on traditionally published work.

Both Sidwell and Bauer have described the patrimony of file cards handed down
from generation to generation. Although some scholars have begun to rely on electronic
databases for recordkeeping in recent decades, use of the Internet as a means for active
collaboration has barely penetrated the field’s consciousness. Data has been
computerized, but its management has not been modernized, and some of the social and
academic practices that restrict access to data are unchanged since Blagden’s day.

This would not be a problem for comparative work if branch-level issues were
well-resolved, with authoritative, published proto-language reconstructions that had
stood the test of time. And, indeed, in the 1960s and 1970s there was every reason to
believe that this happy state of affairs lay just around the corner.

But it has not come to be. Nor is the situation improving; as lack of funding
reduces the number of practitioners in the field, the gridlock of academic publication has
worsened apace. Publishers are famously hesitant to print large, specialized monographs
whose sales will not cover typesetting costs, and qualified editors able to make the
substantial time commitments that highly technical works require are an endangered
species. Worse, every missing publication has a ripple effect: unpublished field notes
cannot help to build dictionaries; unpublished dictionaries cannot support branch-level
analysis; and the missing branch-level analyses have led to deadlock in the field.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project will enable a new alternative, founded on
Shorto’s data and analysis, and open to ongoing development. The Mon-Khmer
Etymological Database will focus on etyma, reconstructions, and relations. It will initially
consist of data mined from Shorto’s *MKCD*; however, a new numbering system will be
applied to make the database easier to extend.

The companion Mon-Khmer Languages Database will also initially contain
lexicons derived from the *MKCD*. We anticipate that it will grow rapidly; we have a
substantial amount of language-specific data, and have received offers of additional
contributions for nearly every branch of the Mon-Khmer family from colleagues around
the world.

Both databases will be open for inspection and addition. Any suitably tagged
dataset can easily be harvested via the Internet and incorporated into the system. Because
every single item is identified by its contributor, the obvious issue of quality control is
dealt with in a transparent, elegant manner: source-filtering lets the databases be
customized on the fly. Only sources the user trusts, or items that been vetted by scholars
the user trusts, will actually figure in responding to any of the user’s queries.

Thus, the project will not screen data. Rather, we provide simple tools necessary
to let the scholarly community collaborate in certifying data and relations: not by
majority vote, but by the same process of consideration, occasional rejection, and
eventual consensus that traditional publishing has always provided. It is likely to be a
painful process at first, but absent a new Golden Age of funding for Southeast Asian
scholarship, editors, and publication it cannot be avoided.
Technical Notes on this Edition

Shorto’s text incorporates a dizzying array of symbols used in a half-dozen different traditions for linguistic transcription and transliteration. To ensure the most accurate data entry possible we relied on Keyster, a software tool developed at CRCL for digitizing dictionaries as part of the SEAlang Library project. Keyster supports independent double-key text entry, followed by a third pass that reconciles any differences between the two operators.

To catch the small number of misreadings that passed the two independent typists (an inevitability, given the large number of scripts Shorto used, and his many handwritten corrections), Sidwell and I spent weeks painstakingly proofreading the work, again using custom software that let us make a heads-up comparison between the typed output and the source image, one line at a time. The result was a Unicode-encoded plaintext file that (once several dozen Chinese characters supplied by Geoff Wade were added) matched Shorto’s manuscript exactly, and was ready for Sidwell to copy edit.

A small suite of Perl programs then analyzed the plaintext, making thousands of small changes in layout, labeling, and expansion of abbreviations, and inserting some 100,000 tags to individually mark each feature, including citations, reconstructions, transcriptions, transliterations, glosses, references, and notes.

This feature-tagging was simply a means to an end. After transforming the text into MS Word format, macros relied on the tags to create an important visual aid for copy editing: an extensive palette of fonts and colors uniquely distinguished every element type. A final laborious proofing pass by Sidwell ensured that the text would be properly formatted for this print edition, and could be accurately XML-tagged for service as a Web-based resource in the future.

We take full responsibility for any errors made in transcribing the text, and in the interests of accountability for content (per Bird and Simons 2003), scans of Shorto’s original manuscripts are available for inspection at http://archives.sealang.net/shorto. These will be linked to the electronic edition of MKCD, which can of course be immediately corrected if and as errors are reported.

Doug Cooper
Bangkok, August 2006
References

[Editorial note: the following is a consolidated list of references covering both the MKCD and the front matter. The manuscript that Shorto had left was so incomplete that we were unable to construct the bibliography as he had intended.]

[addenda to Shorto 1971]


References


Notes on the Dictionary Entries

Entries in Part 3 are constructed of up to seven parts:

- Numbered etyma, with a semicolon-separated list of PMK reconstructions, and italicized English glosses
- Supporting etymologies (labels A, B etc. correspond to the semicolon-separated list, and are followed by branch names in parentheses)
- Remarks on the reconstructions/etymologies
- Comparative works used as sources, in parentheses
- Munda comparisons and sources, if any
- Austronesian comparisons and sources, if any
- Other remarks or comparisons (more often Sino-Tibetan)

Each entry comprises at least the first two parts.

Some 156 extended etyma numbers (e.g. #6a, #798a) indicate Shorto’s intention to insert new items and renumber the complete system. We have preserved all original numbering for fear of introducing any errors among the numerous cross-references.

References to the sources of lexical citations are often more implicit than explicit, reflecting the author’s approach to economy of text. Although Shorto’s draft bibliography is sketchy, we have made every possible effort both to identify sources, and to confirm the accuracy of citations.

The dictionary is based initially upon a synthesis of published comparative works. The texts drawn on for each etymology are listed in parentheses accordingly. This leads to some underspecification, as there are overlaps between these works, and items taken directly from the primary sources, e.g. Stieng items drawn directly from Azémar (1886) are not distinguished from Schmidt’s citations from the same source.

Where particular forms are not drawn from published comparative works, their source may (although not always) be indicated immediately after their citation within the etymology, e.g.: in #2 *ʔiiʔ person, Stieng ʔan is marked as being from Blood (1966), as it was not taken from Azémar (1886). The author also introduced various new comparisons; some of their sources are marked, but others are not. As Shorto had not finished redrafting the full text before his passing, it is a fact that not all sources have been identified, and we beg the reader’s understanding.
Symbols & Abbreviations

* hypothetical, reconstructed, unattested
† Munda cognate cited
‡ Austronesian cognate cited
> becoming, developing into
< deriving from
→ loanword into
← loanword from
~ morphologically related to
= the same (etymon) as
≠ differs from
* except for letters following or preceding symbol the same as form last cited

cf. compare
ib. in the same work
intr. intransitive
n. noun
tr. transitive
v. verb
v.i. verb intransitive
v.t. verb transitive
**Part 1 Vocalism**

**Introduction**

More than sixty years have passed since Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, in a celebrated series of monographs, laid the foundations for modern comparative study of the Mon-Khmer languages as a group and within the Austric family to which they ultimately belong (Schmidt 1904, 1905, 1906). Few scholars now, in spite of intervening controversies, would seriously dispute his main findings; but there have been marked differences in the rate of progress in the various branches of the field which he opened up. Austronesian studies have proliferated, following on the classic work of Otto Dempwolff (1934-38); more recently H.-J. Pinnow (1959) has provided a comparable, if in some respects more modest, systematization of Munda. In Mon-Khmer itself, the kernel of Schmidt’s inquiries, the equivalent synthesis has yet to be achieved. A good deal of additional cognate material has been assembled, notably by Skeat and Blagden (1906) and Shafer (1952, 1965); but attempts at a systematic reconstruction have run into difficulties most obviously in the face of irregularities in the correspondences of vowels.³ The pivotal character of this part of the problem is my excuse for anticipating the comprehensive account which must follow later by putting forward the data from which the Mon-Khmer vowel system may be reconstructed.

The solution I propose depends on the recognition, alongside the vocalism reflected in a set of “regular” correspondences, of a number of types of vowel variation or gradation in Proto-Mon-Khmer with the variants distributed more or less randomly in modern dialects. It will readily be seen that, if such an interpretation of the data is correct, then the wider the extension of a cognate set the greater the chance of its including one or more vowel-variant forms. It follows that a comparison which, as most recent ones have, embraces the largest possible number of languages will elicit a very large number of partially similar correspondences. If, on the other hand, comparison is

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¹ [Editorial note: for spoken Mon and modern Khmer Shorto uses the symbols b and d for IPA ɓ and ɗ respectively; spoken Mon hw corresponds to IPA ɸ.]

² The term “Mon-Khmer” has been used in two senses: of Mon, Khmer, and the languages of the Annamite Chain as in the titles of Schmidt’s three monographs; and of the whole of the eastern branch of Austroasiatic, i.e. AA excluding Munda. Pinnow has proposed “Khmer-Nicobar” for the latter grouping. Until the position of Nicobarese is clarified I adhere to the older term; but my use of “Mon-Khmer” in the wide sense will be unambiguous, since I prefer to divide Mon with Nyahkur as “Western MK” from the remainder of the languages in Schmidt’s narrower group, which designates “Eastern MK”.

³ Cf. David D. Thomas (1964), “A survey of Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies”, p. 161: “So in general Schmidt’s work on initial consonants can be considered sound, the final consonants can be considered valid at most points, and the vowels are as he left them–chaotic.”
restricted to two languages—and given that the incidence of vowel variation is limited—we should expect a relatively high number of regularly related cognates and a smaller number of “irregular” ones attributable to variation. These again will be likely to show the following features: doublets will occur at least occasionally in each language; variations being randomly distributed will generate multiple correspondences, e.g. *i in Language A versus *ii in Language B, and *ii in A versus *i in B; the correspondences so generated will be relatively infrequent as well as numerous. These expectations are borne out in the material presented below.

The two languages to be thus compared are Mon and Khmer. I choose them in the first place because the amount of lexical material available guarantees a maximum number of cognate pairs. In addition, their relationship is distant enough to provide a useful baseline when the comparison is extended to other dialects; and with Mon at any rate it is possible to trace the evolution of the language and so to go behind more recent perturbations of its phonological system.

For Mon, Old Mon is taken as the standard of reference and forms from the inscriptions are cited wherever possible, their counterparts in modern spoken Mon, if any, being also noted. Old and Middle Mon are cited from my Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions (1971); spoken Mon from my Dictionary of modern spoken Mon (1962); most of the literary forms cited will be found in P. Halliday, A Mon-English dictionary (Bangkok, 1922; repr. Rangoon, 1955), but some are taken from unpublished lexical collections.4

In the case of Khmer my knowledge does not allow me to base the comparison on epigraphic material in the same way. For many of the Old Khmer forms cited I am indebted to the kindness of [ms. blank here].5 Most of the modern Khmer forms are taken from Syndulphe Tandart [1877-1931], Dictionnaire-cambodgien-français (1935); those bearing the rubric “(Guesdon 1930)” are from Joseph Guesdon, Dictionnaire cambodgien-français. In addition, my colleague Mrs J. M. Jacob has kindly supplied a number of references to the 1969 edition of Vacananukram Khmer. All modern forms are transcribed according to the system set out in Eugénie J. A. Henderson, “The main features of Cambodian pronunciation”, BSOAS, XIV, 1952, pp. 149-74. This differs in certain minor respects from that used in Judith M. Jacob, Introduction to Cambodian (1968), to which reference is made at appropriate places below.6 Where it is necessary to refer to the Cambodian orthography, the transliteration used is of the conventional Sanskrit type with the following modifications: the long inherent vowel is represented by ā, the inherent vowel plus short mark (bōntk) or in a non-final syllable by ɔ; ā plus short mark, and ā plus anusvāra before ṅ, is represented by ɔ; the vowel signs which are

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4 [Editorial note: Bauer confirms that Shorto is referring to lexicographical material compiled by J. A Stewart, C. O. Blagden and U Wāyama which used to be kept in metal file-card boxes at Shorto’s office and in the form of notebooks. The material is presumed to be lost. He kept a handwritten copy of Stewart’s collection of Mon folktales, of which lexical and syntactical samples were entered into the Mon dictionary of 1962. Bauer possesses a photocopy of it as well as of interleaved notes of Blagden’s annotations to various Mon texts.]

5 [Editorial note: It is likely that Shorto meant to thank Saverous Pou and his colleague J. M. Jacob, but hesitated due to concerns over various sensitivities. Mrs. Jacob had compiled a glossary of pre-Angkorian Khmer and may have supplied a number of samples.]

6 There are marginal advantages in citing Khmer forms in a transcription which represents the modern pronunciation. The relation of the latter to the orthography is indicated in the discussion of each correspondence.
Part 1 Vocalism

respectively the fifth, sixth, ninth to twelfth, and fourteenth in the Cambodian syllabary are represented by \( u, \ddot{u}, u\acute{a}, \dddot{a}, \dddot{u}, i\acute{a}, e, \).\(^7\)

The proposed reconstruction was developed from a comparison of these two languages in the first instance, and is presented in terms of them here for clarity of demonstration. However, its extension to other Mon-Khmer dialects has necessitated some modifications of the scheme first derived from comparison of Mon and Khmer. Since I do not posit an immediate relationship between the two within the larger group, there would be little point in establishing the first version of the system only to reformulate it later, and I do not so. At those points, therefore, where Mon and Khmer are insufficient to establish distinctions attributed to the Proto-Mon-Khmer system, forms from other dialects are quoted in order to justify the reconstructions made. The vowel system to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer comprises seven simple vowels, in all of which length is distinctive, and three diphthongs: \( i, ii, e, ee, e, a, aa, \dddot{a}, \dddot{a}, o, oo, u, uu, i\acute{a}, uu, ai. \)

The principal types of variation postulated are (i) between short and long vowel: \( i/\ddot{i}, etc.; (ii) between simple vowel and diphthong: \( ii/i\acute{a}, uu/u\acute{a}, \dddot{a}/ \dddot{a}; (iii) between diphthong and \( \dddot{a} : i/\ddot{a}, uu/\ddot{a}. \) They may occur in combination, e.g. \( i/\ddot{i}/i\acute{a}/\dddot{a}. \)

Some other, minor types, may be noted.

Before proceeding further we shall consider the vowel systems of Mon and Khmer. The Old Mon system, in its maximal extension before velars, may be phonologically interpreted as \( /i, e, a, \dddot{a}, o, u, uu, ai/. \) Its graphic representation, which is not fully systematic, is noted at the appropriate places below and summarized in Table 1. Of the nine terms listed, \( /ai/ \) occurs only before velars and \( /uu/ \) only before velars and laryngeals; \( /i, e/ \) do not occur before \( /y/; /o, u/ \) do not occur before \( /w/. \)

The subsequent evolution of this system is summarized in Table 2. The main steps were as follows. (i) In Middle Mon \( /o/ \) lost its rounding, and \( /uu/ \) became rounded (\( /o/ > /i; /uu/ > /u/), following a nasal and following medial \( /?/ < /n?/. \) The disappearance through merger of final \( /c, n/ \) added a further diphthong to the system before velars, which was and is not distinguished in writing from \( /e/, but survives in spoken Mon as \( ai. \) (ii) At a later stage \( /a/ > /o/ \) before most finals following \( /n, m/ \) (the position is complicated, however, by interdialectal borrowing); then \( /o/ \) disappeared before laryngeals as a result of \( /o?/ > /uu/, /oh/ > /uh/; /uu/ and /o/ merged as a central vowel. (iii) The emergence of a register distinction, probably towards the end of the sixteenth century, set in train the complex series of splits, shifts, and mergers which produced the modern system. These changes were conditioned partly by register, partly by the nature of the preceding consonant, and partly by that of the final one. They are reflected in the orthography only to the extent that rhyme mergers have led to historically misleading “phonetic” spellings of particular words.

The Khmer system is most conveniently set out in terms of its orthography, which like the Mon one antedates the splits which have followed the development of register. In its maximal extension, in closed syllables before most finals, the written system is (not in syllabary order) \( i/uu, i, i\acute{a}, e, e, a, \dddot{a}, \dddot{a}, o, u, uu, ia, y, iu, uu, ia. \) In the contexts in question these symbols are pronounced, according to register, \( y/\ddot{u}, i; i\acute{a}/\ddot{a}, e/\ddot{e}, ae/\ddot{e}; a/\ddot{a}/\ddot{a},\)

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\(^7\) I am grateful to Mrs Jacob for looking over the Khmer material in this paper. Any errors which remain, however, are mine.

\(^8\) In complementary distribution.
The sixteen terms of the maximal system include four pairs which are functionally distinguished by length, or appear to have been so at the time when the orthography was established: \( i, \tilde{i} \) (or \( u, \tilde{u} \); but these symbols are of relatively recent introduction), \( a, \tilde{a}, \tilde{a}, \tilde{u}, \tilde{u} \). Further simplifications are suggested by a study of distribution after known loanwords have been eliminated, as by inspection of the correspondences set out below. \( \tilde{u} \tilde{a} \) seems to occur only in loans from Thai, while \( \tilde{u} \tilde{u} \) has a very restricted distribution in native words and is then probably environmentally conditioned. \( i \) does not occur in head-register words; oppositions of \( e \) and \( \tilde{e} \) are relatively infrequent and show at least a partial correlation with register.

I shall now set out the Mon : Khmer correspondences in their relation to the reconstructed Proto-Mon-Khmer system, dealing at first with the regular correspondences. The order to be followed is dictated by simplicity of exposition and is, \( ^*a, ^*aa, ^*i, ^*ii, ^*i\tilde{a}, ^*u, ^*uu, ^*u\tilde{a}, ^*\tilde{a}, ^*\tilde{a}\tilde{a}, ^*e, ^*ee, ^*o, ^*oo, ^*ai \).
### Table 1: Mon : Khmer correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMK</th>
<th>Old Mon orthography</th>
<th>Old Mon phonology</th>
<th>Khmer orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i, u, a, i, ŭ, e, ui, ei</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>i, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-iʔ</td>
<td>-i(ʔ)</td>
<td>-i(ʔ)</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ii</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i, u&lt;sup&gt;(1)&lt;/sup&gt;, ŭ&lt;sup&gt;(1)&lt;/sup&gt;, e&lt;sup&gt;(2)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-iiʔ</td>
<td>-ey</td>
<td>ɔy</td>
<td>-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e&lt;sup&gt;(3)&lt;/sup&gt;, e&lt;sup&gt;(4)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ee</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e&lt;sup&gt;(5)&lt;/sup&gt;, e&lt;sup&gt;(6)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a; e&lt;sup&gt;(7)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>a&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>a, a&lt;sup&gt;(9)&lt;/sup&gt;, a&lt;sup&gt;(10)&lt;/sup&gt;, e&lt;sup&gt;(11)&lt;/sup&gt;, ɔ&lt;sup&gt;(12)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*aa</td>
<td>ā; e&lt;sup&gt;(13)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ā&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;, ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ə</td>
<td>i etc.; a&lt;sup&gt;(14)&lt;/sup&gt;, o&lt;sup&gt;(12)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(12,14)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ɔ, ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(9)&lt;/sup&gt;, a&lt;sup&gt;(2)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*əə</td>
<td>i etc.; ŭ&lt;sup&gt;(10)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ŭ&lt;sup&gt;(10)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(9)&lt;/sup&gt;, a&lt;sup&gt;(2)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ɔ</td>
<td>o&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;, a</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ɔ, ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(15)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ɔɔ</td>
<td>o&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;, a</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(15)&lt;/sup&gt;, ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(16)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ɔ̄</td>
<td>ɔ̄</td>
<td>ɔ̄</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(16)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ɔɔ̄</td>
<td>ɔ̄</td>
<td>ɔ̄</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(16)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u, ŭ, o&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;, i etc.</td>
<td>ŭ&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;, ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(15)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(15)&lt;/sup&gt;, ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(16)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uu</td>
<td>ŭ, u</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
<td>ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(15)&lt;/sup&gt;, ŧ&lt;sup&gt;(16)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-uuʔ</td>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>ɔw</td>
<td>-au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*iə</td>
<td>e; a&lt;sup&gt;(17)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ei; ɔ&lt;sup&gt;(17)&lt;/sup&gt;(?); iə&lt;sup&gt;(18)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>iə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uə</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>uə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ai</td>
<td>a; e&lt;sup&gt;(13)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ai&lt;sup&gt;(8)&lt;/sup&gt;, a</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Mon historical developments
(Spoken Mon open syllables, and Literary Mon -ā, -ī, -ū, au, reflect Old Mon final /r, l, w/; Literary Mon -a, -i, -u reflect Old Mon final /ʔ/.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Mon phonology</th>
<th>Literary Mon</th>
<th>Spoken Mon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i, ĩ</td>
<td>oe i i(19); oi ĩ(20); e i ĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ea ṇa(20); e ̄e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>-a, -ā; -au(21); -ā(23); -ā-</td>
<td>a(e) ṇ(a)(19); e ṇa(20); a ĩ(20); a ĩ(22);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a e(24); -ai -āi(25); -ao -āa(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð</td>
<td>ui; ɨ(26); i, ĩ</td>
<td>a ĩ(20); ī ĩ(26); -oi(25); ī (a) ĭ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td></td>
<td>or as &lt; Old Mon /i/(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò</td>
<td>ā(20), -au(21), a</td>
<td>ā ĭ; -o -o- -uh(28); -oa -āa(25); -ao -āa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or as &lt; Old Mon /u/(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>-o? -ɔʔ; -uh -ūh; -oa -āa(25); o ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u, ū</td>
<td>ao u ū(19); ə ū(20);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-æ -ui -ūi(25); ū u ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu</td>
<td>o(29), ui; u(27)</td>
<td>ŗ(30); ə ŗ(20); or as &lt; Old Mon /u/(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ai āi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. "Post-dental" shift. The incidence varies according to the vowel.
3. Head register.
4. Chest register; head register *h, (?) *w.
5. Head register; chest register before *ʔ.
6. Chest register; (?) head register before s.
7. Before y, optionally before c, ř.
8. Before laryngeals and velars.
9. Before *ʔ, ř, r.
10. Before *y.
11. Chest register before ř (?).
12. Before *h.
13. Optionally before velars.
14. Before s.
15. Before *ʔ.
16. Before r.
17. Before s following consonant cluster.
18. Before r, l, w.
19. In open syllables and before laryngeals.
21. Old Mon -w.
22. Before dentals.
23. Before velars, h.
24. Before p, m.
25. Old Mon -y.
27. By post-nasal split.
28. Following n, m.
29. Rare except before */ʔ/.
30. Before laryngeals.
Vowels before Stops, Nasals and Liquids

*a, *aa, *ai.

*a. Before final *k, *ŋ, *t, *n, *p, *m the reconstruction of *a presents little difficulty. It follows from correspondences of a in Eastern Mon-Khmer languages other than Khmer (Bahnaric, Khmuic) and in Temiar, ā in Vietnamese and MƯONG, and orthographic ă in Khmer and in Old and Middle Mon.

Mon: Old Mon a is interpreted as phonological /a/ before velars (and laryngeals) and /ɔ/ before other finals. Modern Mon has correspondingly e, chest-register ā before velars; ă (and following nasal o), chest-register ṃ otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic a is realized as a in head-register words, and in chest-register words as ā before velars, ă before other finals.

Palaungic: the Riang-Lang correspondences are a before velars and ə before other consonants. Palaung has aʔ < *-ak and ə before other consonants, so that PMK *a can generally be reconstructed from Palaung -aʔ: Riang-Lang -ak; Palaung -aŋ: Riang-Lang -aŋ; Palaung -ot: Riang-Lang -ot, etc. Praok, which shows indications of having been a register language at an earlier stage, has o before velars following an originally voiceless initial complex, u following an originally voiced one; before the other consonants in question it has u irrespective of the initial.

Khasi most often has a; but in a significant minority of cases—about a quarter, before all finals—it has e. This is too frequent to account for by assuming PMK variants in *ə, nor can it readily be explained by environmental conditioning. I make no special reconstruction in these cases.

Most of these reflexes are illustrated in the following examples.

1. Middle Mon jag, Modern Mon cəak ‘to march, set out’; Sre jaʔ ‘to tread on, trample’, Bahnar jak ‘to go away’; Riang-Lang _cak ‘to put on, wear [shoes]’ (and by extension ‘... [headgear, rings]’); ‘Central Sakai’ jak ‘to tread on’ (301 *jak).


3. Middle Mon kwak ‘to hang (v.i.t.)’, Modern Mon kwek v.t.; Khmu Yuan wak; Palaung hvaʔ v.i.; Khasi wah v.t.; MƯONG beschäftigung (#459 *kwak). From a nasal-infix form is Vietnamese mạc v.t.


9 [Editorial note: The original title for this section was “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, but Shorto changed his mind and in the typescript “Non-Laryngeal Finals” is crossed out and “Stops, Nasals and Liquids” written over it. The significance of this change in title can be inferred from Shorto 1976c, which presents a reconstruction of PMK vocalism specifically restricted to the rhymes with laryngeal finals. Structurally the reconstruction in that paper corresponds to that offered in the present chapter, which we know was prepared for the first draft of his MK comparative dictionary (Bauer confirms that Shorto was reworking his PMK vocalism for the second version, although no relevant manuscript has been found). We can thus deduce that the paper (1976c) is the missing companion to “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, reworked to appear as a stand-alone paper.]


10. Middle Mon that ‘to be powerful, severe’, Modern Mon thát ‘to be strong’; Khmer thôt ‘to be fat’; Palaung hat ‘to be thick’ (#111 *dhat). Riang-Lang khôt ‘to be thick’ shows a secondary prefix.

11. Mon klôn ‘python’; Khmer thlân, Stieng (Azémard 1886) klân, Sre, Biat klân; Khasi thlên, lên; Vietnamese trân id.; (?) Che’ Wong talôn ‘snake’ (#1205 *t1lân).

12. Stieng, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Kuy káp ‘to bite’; Temiar kab (#1231 *káp). From a prefixed form are Khasi jkêp ‘to bite’, jkap ‘snapping with teeth’.

13. Old Mon kâm ‘arrow, projectile’, Modern Mon kem ‘bullet, cartridge’; Khmer kam ‘projectile’, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Khmu Yuan kam ‘arrow’ (#1308 *kam). Khasi has khnám id., from an infixed form. See also the forms with variant, nos. 62-3, 66-9, 72-3, 77 below.

Before final *c, *n fronted and raised vowels are found in the Stieng dialect described by Azémard; Bahnar, Jeh, and Halang; Khmuic; Palaung; and Temiar, corresponding to the reflexes specified for *-k etc. in other languages. This is accompanied by a shift of the final nasal to a velar one in the North Bahnaric languages and Palaung. We find e in Bahnar, so frequently accompanied by lengthening that this should probably not be treated as irregular; è in Azémard’s Stieng; e in Jeh, Halang, and Temiar; and i in Khmu’, while Khmu Yuan has -ec (see no. 27 below), -iè. Palaung has -iè < *-añ following a voiceless initial complex, -eñ following a voiced one, but the reflexes before stop have not been determined.

In one instance also (no. 19) Khmer has è, and this is taken to be the chest-register reflex before a palatal.
Part 1 Vocalism

In Old Mon before these finals a or e may be written allographically for /ɔ/; thus kuṁlacak, kuṁlmlec /kɔːlɔː/ ‘thief’; srath, sreň /srɔːŋ/ ‘silver’.

14. Khmer kac ‘to break [rigid-object]’, Stieng kac ‘to strip [leaves, grain]’, Sre kac ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kac ‘to strip [grain]’, Bahnar (kac beside) dial. kac ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’; Riang-Lang kac ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’; Khasi kh care ‘to pluck, gather’; Vietnamese cár, Mường cách ‘to cut up’; Bateg Deq kac ‘to cut’ (#800 *kac). Note further Bahnar kanec ‘to break [ear, twig, etc.] with nail’, from an infixed form.

15. Mon wôt ‘to wring out’; Sre wac, Biat [dax] wac [weːl] ‘eddy’; ‘Central Sakai’ wêt, uêt ‘to twist, wring’ (#863 *wac). Khasi khyrwait ‘id., to strangle’, from a prefixed form, is to be compared with Biat rwac ‘to twist [hair] into knot’.


17. Old Mon pañ, Modern Mon pön ‘to shoot’; Khmer bän, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat pən id., Bahnar pən ‘to beat cotton with a bow’, Jeh, Halang pən, Khmu, Khmu Yuan pɨn ‘to shoot’; Palaung pɨn, Riang-Lang pən id.; Vietnamese bán, Mường paragraph (#905 *pən). Riang-Lang u is otherwise attested only in Shan loans; its occurrence here may conceivably reflect the complex final, but the point cannot be proved.

18. Literary Mon. saman ‘star’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau samən, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat maŋ, Khmu Yuan sərmən; Palaung səmn, Riang-Lang səknən, Praok səmn (#888 *smən).

19. Late Middle Mon mən, Modern Mon parən ‘smallpox’; Khmer mənən ‘ulcer, cancer, chancre, gangrene’, Biat mənən ‘chancre’; Palaung bən ‘smallpox’ (#923 *mənən).

20. Kuy kəsamən ‘snake’; Palaung hiŋ, Riang-Lang hən; Khs bənən, seıñ (#937 *bən). From a form with r-infix are Praok siʔup; Vietnamese [con] rán. (Khmer msən ‘year of the snake’ is reportedly a loanword from a Mường dialect.) See also 65-4 below.

21. Mon po ‘to fly’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Bahnar par, Jeh pal, Halang par; Palaung par, Riang-Lang par, Praok po; Vietnamese bay, Mường pə l (#1633 *par; note also Kuy paal). Khasi her ‘feather’—beside sner, with secondary prefix—from an infixed form, is to be compared with Sre ddar, Chrau, Bahnar ponar ‘wing’ inter alia. (Note here Biat nat ‘wing, feather’, with unexplained long vowel; Khmu Yuan pənir ‘wing’ shows contamination by tiir ‘to fly’.) See also 70 below.

From *-ar Praok has -o (following originally voiceless initial; the post-voicing reflex has not been determined). Vietnamese has -ay (i.e. with short /a/), -dy, variation between these finals being common in the language. Thus:

- Mon po ‘to fly’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Bahnar par, Jeh pal, Halang par; Palaung par, Riang-Lang par, Praok po; Vietnamese bay, Mường pə l (#1633 *par; note also Kuy paal). Khasi her ‘feather’—beside sner, with secondary prefix—from an infixed form, is to be compared with Sre ddar, Chrau, Bahnar ponar ‘wing’ inter alia. (Note here Biat nat ‘wing, feather’, with unexplained long vowel; Khmu Yuan pənir ‘wing’ shows contamination by tiir ‘to fly’.)

See also 70 below.

From *-al Praok has -o, following originally voiceless initial; Vietnamese has -ay. In the one available example Riang-Lang has a, not o. Thus:
22. Khmer *tbal* ‘rice-mortar’ (Tandart gives *tbal*, with possibly secondary lengthening; so Stieng (Azémard 1886) *pəl*?; Palaung *pər*, Riang-Lang *pəl*, Praok *po* (#1757 *tpal*). Sre, Biat *mpal*, Bahnar *tapal* are from an infixed form.

See also 71 below.

**Other correspondences.** In three items Khmuic exhibits an unexplained high back unrounded vowel.

23. Khmu Yuan *lik* ‘to be blind’. Cf. Mon *klek* ‘to be filled in, closed, blind’; Khasi [mat]lah ‘blind’ (#433 *klak*).

24. Theng *drn̪* from prefixed form *c∧ndruŋ*, Khmu Yuan *centriŋ* ‘horn’. Cf. Old Mon *drn̪* ‘elephant’s tusks’; Modern Mon *krən* ‘horn, tusks’; Khasi *ruŋ* ‘horn’; Khasi *rəŋ*; Vietnamese *sīng* (#699 *dจร*); and from prefixed form Riang-Lang *kəmран*.


It is doubtful whether these cases are environmentally conditioned. (Contrast here with (#707) *mraŋ* ‘horse’ > Palaung *braŋ*, Riang-Lang *mран*, Praok *bruŋ*; (*kuan mraŋ > ) *k-mraŋ* > Khmu’ *hmран*, Khmu Yuan *hampран*, *kəmран*.)

In four items Vietnamese exhibits a similar vowel; apart from no. 24 above all involve final *-e*.

26. Vietnamese *dült* ‘to be broken, snapped, to be cut’. Cf. Khmer *dac* ‘(to) break’, Stieng (Azémard 1886) *təc* ‘to break’, Sre *tac* ‘broken, cut’, Biat *tac* ‘(rope) to break’; Khasi *thait* ‘to cut asunder, to snap’ (#812 *təc*).


28. Vietnamese *niült* ‘to crack open, split open’. Cf. Mon *dot* ‘to hatch out (v.i.)’ (#821 *rdot*; Sora *raˈdaj*).

In none of these cases do I make a special construction.

*aa. The normal correspondences from which *aa* is reconstructed before the same finals are of orthographic *a* in Old and Middle Mon and in Khmer; long /aː/ in other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages (noted as aa in Kuy, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan), Temiar (noted as ā), and Khasi (written a); Vietnamese and Mường a; Palaung a, Riang-Lang a. Praok has a following an originally voiceless initial complex and usually e following an originally voiced one.

Mon: Old Mon ā is interpreted as /ai/ before velars and /a/ before other finals. In the first context e may be written allographically, e.g. *kyāk*, *kək* /ˈkyaik/ ‘sacred being...’; Modern Mon has correspondingly ai, chest register āi before velars; before other finals a; chest-register e before labials, -eə from Old Mon -ār, -āl, ā otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic ā is realized as a: in head-register words, ɨː in chest-register ones.

Thus:

29. Mon *kətaik* ‘tongue’; Kuy *ntəʔ*, Khmu Yuan *həntaak*; Riang-Lang *tək*, Praok *dak*; Temiar *lətəg* (#320 *ntəaak*, *l(n)təaak*). Palaung has *kərtaʔ*, with a
secondary prefix seen also in Nicobarese kaletak; note also Khmer ondəat, with assimilated final.

30. Old Mon kyāk, kyek, Modern Mon caik ‘sacred being or thing’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) ciak ‘bloodsucking male witch’, Sre caa ‘evil spirit’, Biat ciak ‘ghost’, West Bahnar kiak (and kiek; with secondary shortening following semivowel?), ‘corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts’, Jeh kaya:k ‘to die’, Halang kaya:k ‘corpse’ (#388 *kyaak).

31. Sre kaan ‘jaw’, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm kañ ‘chin’, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kañ ‘chin, jaw’; Mùông cāng ‘chin’ (#497 *kaan?).


34. Mon sát ‘to vale’; Khmer saac ‘id., to throw from bucket’, Sre saac ‘to empty with a bucket’; Riang-Lang hai ‘earth cast of land-crab etc.’; Vietnamese tát ‘to irrigate, bale out’ (#872 *saac). Khasi snāid ‘strainer’, from an infixed form, formally parallels Biat nhāc ‘drizzle’ (and Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm nhāc, with perhaps contextual shortening).

35. Old Mon smān, Modern Mon hman ‘to ask, inquire’; Khmu, Khmu Yuan maan ‘to ask’; Palaung hman ‘to request’, Riang-Lang män ‘to inquire, request’, Praok mán ‘to request’; Temiar samān ‘to inquire, (#912 *smaan).

36. Mon hwat ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’; Khmer pat ‘to trim down, file down’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) pat ‘to cut oneself on something sharp’, Bahnar pāt ‘to whet’; Vietnamese, Mùông phat ‘to cut, trim’ (#1026 *cpaat).

37. Mon dan ‘path’; Khmer daan ‘path, trail, scent’ (and ləam, by levelling on the infixed form lûm?ən id.; #1123 *l2aan).

38. Sre caan ‘to borrow, hire, buy on credit’, Bunör, Central Rölöm caan ‘to borrow’, Bahnar caan ‘[to buy] on credit’ (#1141 *.caan). From an infixed form is Praok san ‘debt’.

39. Bahnar haap, həap, Jeh kaqap, Halang kaqap ‘to yawn’; Riang-Lang hap (#1229 *sʔaap). From an infixed *snʔaap are Mon hap id.; Khmer snaper, Biat ngap [bək], Bahnar h(ə)ngaper, Theng haper; Vietnamese ngap id.; Khasi səgəp ‘gills’ (and Sre ngap ‘to yawn’, with contextual shortening?).

40. Stieng (Azémar 1886) tap, Sre taap ‘to clap, slap’, Biat, Jeh tap ‘to slap’, Bahnar, Halang tap ‘to slap, hit’; Praok tap ‘to strike, beat’; Khasi thab ‘to hit with hand, slap’ (#1251 *təaap).

41. Khmer kδam, Stieng (Azémar 1886) təm, Sre taam ‘crab’; Riang-Lang kətam; Khasi tham (#1348 *ktəam). From a nasal-infix form are Mon hatam id.; Bahnar, Halang kətam, Jeh kətam, Khmu Yuan kataam; ‘Central Sakai’ kətam.

42. Khmer chiːam ‘blood’ (#1430 *jhaam); and with n-infix Kuy həaam id.; Palaung hnam, Riang-Lang nəm, Praok nam; Khasi ‘nam, səam; with m-infix, Sre məam, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat məam, Bahnar, Jeh pəam, Halang məam, Khmu Yuan məam; Kensiu məam. (Old Mon chiŋ, Modern Mon chim represent an isolated front-vowel variant.)
43. Mon **hapa** ‘flat surface, back [of hand etc.]’; Khmer **tomba**: ‘flat surface’ (#1639 *tnpaar*).

44. Old Mon **bär**, Modern Mon **mèa** ‘to kneel with bowed head’; Khasi **par** ‘to kneel’; Vietnamese **bái** ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 *ʔbaar*; the Vietnamese tone may be attributable to the initial sequence).

45. Other correspondences. Praok a following an originally voiced initial may be regular before certain finals. For *-aac* we have **lac** it ‘to sleep late’ : Riang-Lang _lac_ ‘to be lazy’ (*laac*), and **vac** ‘sword’ : Riang-Lang _vac, _wac_ (#864 *waac*). nam ‘blood’ < *jnaam_ (no. 42) probably reflects Proto-Palaungic *hnam_, with loss of *j_. But there is a discrepancy between e.g. *ke_ 3rd pers. dual pronoun : Palaung **gar**, Riang-Lang _kor_ (*gaar_ and ma ‘dry hill field’ : Palaung **mar**, Riang-Lang _mar_ (#1651 *[ ]maar_). The point must remain undetermined for the present.

46. Middle Mon **kṣā**, Modern Mon **cha** ‘split bamboo fibre’; Riang-Lang **khal** _[ro?]_ (#1802 *ksaal_).

In four items Vietnamese exhibits -út-, -úa_ /uə/, a development to be compared with ú < *a (nos. 24, 26-8 above).

47. Vietnamese **út** ‘to be wet’; Temiar **kaʔaj_ (#795 *kʔaac_); and from an infixed form Vietnamese **mutér** ‘to trickle’; Kintaq Bong **maʔaj** ‘to be wet’ (contrast **tát** < #872 *saac_, no. 34).

48. Vietnamese **uót** ‘to be wet’; Temiar **kaʔaj_ (#795 *kʔaac_); and from an infixed form Vietnamese **mutér** ‘to trickle’; Kintaq Bong **maʔaj** ‘to be wet’ (contrast **tát** < #872 *saac_, no. 34).

49. Biat **maʒn** ‘to borrow’; Vietnamese **muṭm**, Mường **maŋh_ (*maŋn_; contrast **lan** ‘[water, fire, vegetation] to spread’ < *s-laɲ, ad Bahnar **laɲ**, and **sŋ-laŋ > Mon **hanan**, see #926).

50. Vietnamese **ŋùña**, Mường **nğá** ‘to lie on one’s back’ (#1590 *[I]naarh_); so from infixed forms Mon **taŋẹ̀a** ‘id., to be the right way up’; **taŋẹ̀a** ‘to turn [something] the right way up’; Khmer **phaː**a: ‘on one’s back, the right way up, looking back’ (contrast **bāi** < *ʔbaar, no. 44).

51. Old Mon **kinṭāl**, Modern Mon **hata** ‘under-surface, bottom’; Vietnamese **dụṭrī** ‘(to be) below, under’ (#1735 *kt,aal, ad Theng **tāl** (space) under, underneath’).

In the following example Bahnar fronting following a palatal+liquid cluster probably requires no special explanation.

52. Bahnar **hliṭ** ‘to flee in terror’; Praok **lat** ‘to be afraid’ (#1086 *[c]laat_); cf. with the causative **palit, pahlit** ‘to frighten’ Khmer **cumliːat**, which is perhaps not formally parallel.

Contrast, however, Bahnar **hlak** ‘numeral classifier for pieces of thatch...’ if : Old Mon **clāk** ‘shingle’.
Distinctive reflexes are not limited to Khmer. (i) Stieng usually has e: following voiced initial (and two instances of a: may be attributable to borrowing). (ii) From *-aik
Sre has -a, distinct both from -aa < *-aak and -a’ < *-ak. (iii) Khasi has ie /ɛː/ or less frequently ia; the latter perhaps < *ia by metathesis. (iv) Vietnamese has -ach, -anh, implying palatalization of the final velar.

It may be assumed that an original *ai was merged with *aa before other finals early in the history of Mon-Khmer. This choice of reconstruction, consonant with the development of a mid front vowel in Khmer and Khasi and the final palatalization in Vietnamese, has the further merit of perhaps explaining the merger of *aa and *ai before velars as /ai/ in Mon. We may also note that variants in *ai and *ia are found in a significant number of cases; not improbably exhibiting metathesis.

Examples:
53. Khmer khɔaek, Theng kɔaak ‘crow’, Bahnar āk ‘to croak, (se:m—) crow’;
Palaung (Milne 1931) aʔ ‘to caw’; ‘Central Sakai’ ək-ak ‘crow’ (#270 *kʔaik). From an infixed *klʔaik are Old Mon kl’aik etc., Modern Mon hədaik ‘crow’; Sre kənda, Biat nʔaik; Palaung kəʔaʔ, Praok lək (and by metathesis Riang-Lang lʊk ək).
54. Old Mon tɓai ‘to slash’, Modern Mon pəai ‘to slash, cut, cut down, fell’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) bək ‘to break, split, burst (v.i.)’, Biat bai:k ‘to notch’; Khasi piaik to cut in two; Sakai bai ‘to split’ (#364 *bəai).
55. Old Mon məri, Modern Mon pəari ‘peacock’; Stieng braik (loanword?), Sre brai, Chrau braʔ, Bunȯr, Central Rōlôm, Biat brai;k; Palaung dialects phraʔ, braʔ (whence Riang-Lang prək) (#416 *mərai).
56. M ləi k ‘to split [bamboo] into fibres’; Khmer rəi:k ‘to divide up, share out’, Biat rəi:k ‘to divide up’; (or from prefixed form?) Khasi thliə ‘to split’ (#451 *rlai:k).
59. Old Mon kuɾimbaŋ etc. ‘city etc. wall’, Modern Mon kəmaiŋ ‘brick or stone wall’; Khmer kɔmpɛŋ ‘(city) wall’ (beside kɔmpʰæŋ, by back-borrowing from Thai kamphaŋ; #626 *kbaŋ).
60. Khmer vəŋ ‘long’, Khmu Yuan wəŋ ‘long (space, time)’ (#768 *waiŋ).

Variation. Here we shall note, first, the occurrence of length variation (i) between *a and *aa, and (ii, which I treat on the same footing for convenience) between *a and *ai; secondly, the few cases of apparent variation between *aa and *ai.
Isolated divergences from a reasonably widely attested form may be due to innovation in one language, or otherwise explicable (e.g. nos. 6, 7, 11 above), and are excluded from this head. But doublets in any language may constitute evidence of variation if neither form is readily attributable to borrowing.

*a ~ *aa

62. (#374) *[d]bak: Khmer pèak ‘to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride’, Stieng, Chrau baʔ ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’, Sre baʔ ‘to carry in a shawl on one’s back’, Biat baʔ ‘to carry [person] on one’s back’, Bahnar bak ‘to wear round neck’, Khmu’ bak ‘to mount, ride, be astride’; ([d]rbak) Mon həbek ‘to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck’; Bahnar dialects habak, təbak ‘to hang over sth.’; ([d]nbak) (Sre ma’ = ba’ ← ?) Bunör mʔnak, Central Röëlöm fak ‘to hang up’, Biat mbak ‘to carry on a yoke’.

*[d]baak: Bunör, Central Röëlöm baʔ ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’; ([d]nbaak) Stieng (Azémar 1886) nbaʔ ‘to carry over one’s shoulder’; Vietnamese vàc id. (or *[d]r-?; with unexplained loss of glottalization).

Either variant may underlie Palaung baʔ ‘to ride, drive’; Khasi ba h ‘to carry on back or shoulders’, tabah ‘to throw, hang, across shoulder’.

63. (#487) *cʔaŋ: Khmer aŋ ‘to roast, to warm oneself’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) aŋ ‘to grill’; Khasi s’ang, syang ‘to roast, toast’; ([c][n]ʔaŋ) Mon həɛŋ ‘to warm, dry, at fire, to toast’.

*[c]ʔaaŋ: Vietnamese nůŋ, Muông nãng ‘to roast, toast’ (with tone from the initial sequence?).

64. (#874) *ksac: Khmer khsac ‘sand’; (*kmsac) Riang-Lang mac id. (and by metathesis *krəc > *krəc > Khmu Yuan creś id., with contextually conditioned fronting).

*[c]kəac by metathesis: Kuy sakaac id.; Vietnamese cát, Muông cach; *kmsaac: Praok mac id.


*pnaŋ: Old Mon pənŋ ‘army’, Modern Mon nan ‘army, war’; Palaung nan = neŋ, Praok nəŋ ‘war, army’.


*[t]kəaṭ: Praok kat id.

67. (#1119) *ʔan: Bahnar an, Khmu’ ʔan ‘to give’.

*[ʔəan: Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat ʔən id.

68. (#1225) *ʔap: Khmer ap ‘dull, dim’; Palaung ap ‘to be dark’, Riang-Lang əp ‘shadow, to overshade’.

*[ʔəap: Palaung ap = ap; with probably secondary prefixation West Bahnar aap ‘shady retreat’; Palaung iʔap ‘darkness’.


*[s]məram: Mon həram ‘dust, powder’; Khmer sərməm ‘rubbish, straws, sweepings, dirt’.

70. (#1630) *[ʔ]nar: Stieng nar ‘sun, day’.

*[ʔ]naar: Bunör, Central Röëlöm, Biat, Bahnar nar; (by secondary prefixation?) Bahnar kənar id.
71. (#1762) *cbal: Biat bal 'companion'.
  cbaal: Mon hwèa 'close male friend'; Praok [paw] pe friend.

*a ~ ai
72. (#352) *lpak: Khmer bak 'to be broken', Stieng (Azémard 1886) pak 'to break (v.i.t.)', Sre pa' id., Biat [tovm] pa? 'to share out', Rôngao pak '[cord &c.] to be broken', Theng păk 'to break'; (*tlpak) Rôngao tapak 'to break, be broken', Khmu Yuan talpak, Theng tlpăk 'to break'.
  *lpai: Old Mon păk 'to be shattered', Modern Mon paik 'to split'; Khmer baek 'to break (v.i.)', (Sre [tam] paa ← ?) Bunör, Central Râlôm pa? 'to share out'; (or from affixed form) Praok pak 'half, part'; (*lmpaik) Old Mon ĭmpek 'either of two sides', Modern Mon kəpai, kəpaik 'id., half, part'.
  *lpaik: Old Mon pāk 'to be shattered', Modern Mon paik 'id., half, part'.

73. (#714) (*laŋ laŋ > ) *lnlaŋ: Mon kənaŋ 'kite'; *klaŋ: Stieng (Azémard 1886) klaŋ 'hawk, owl, (—pə) kite', Sre klaŋ 'hawk, large raptor', Chrau khlaŋ (with unexplained -h-) 'eagle'.
  *laiŋ: Semai (Tauern 1914) laŋ 'buzzard' (but perhaps from Malay lang 'hawk, kite, eagle', which is ultimately cognate); (*klaiŋ) Khmer khlaeŋ 'kite', Bunör (and Sre, B.) klaŋ, Central Râlôm tlaŋ 'eagle', Bahnar, Jeh, Halang klaŋ 'hawk etc.', Khmu Yuan klaaŋ 'eagle'; Palaung, Praok klaŋ, Riang-Lang klaaŋ 'hawk etc.', Khmu Yuan klaaŋ 'eagle'; Khasi khlieng, lieng 'kite, eagle'.
  *aa ~ *ai
Few instances of this variation have been noted, and it is possible that some of them result from interdialectal borrowing (as was suggested of Sre paa—otherwise < *lpaak—in connexion with *lpaijk, no. 76 above). All are listed below.

74. (#291) *caak: Khmer caak 'to leave' (G. 'to be separated from').
  *caik: Khmer caek 'to divide up'; Khasi siah 'to cut, pare, shave off' (or from an associated variant *ciak, in Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic).
  Other reflexes are not phonologically distinctive, but an assignment might be attempted on semantic grounds. Cf. (*ca[a]k) Old Mon cāk 'to be parted'; Chrau sàʔ, Bunör, Central Râlôm sak (also Central Râlôm sak) 'to go, return'; (*ca[i]k) Mon caik 'to tear, be torn'; 'Central Sakai' châk 'to chop'; (*pca[i]k) Mon phyaik 'to split up, punctuate [text]'. Perhaps two distinct roots should be postulated.

75. (#404) *craak: Khmer crèk 'to part [e.g. curtains], (—pûh) cut way through'; Vietnamese râch, Muông réch 'torn'.
  *[c]raik: Khmer crèk 'to part [e.g. curtains], (—pûh) cut way through'; Vietnamese râch, Muông réch 'torn'.
  *khaak: Khmer khaak 'to hawk, clear the throat', (*kmhaak) komhaæk 'phlegm'; and with secondary prefixation Khasi kyrkhah 'phlegm, to clear the throat'.
  *khai: Khmer khaak = khaik (Tandart; not Vacanakrâm Khmer), (*kmhaik) komhaæk = komhaæk.
Assignable to either form are Mon *khaik* ‘to hawk...’; Biat *runhaïk* ‘phlegm’. But since the term is onomatopoeic, *khaik* may well be a Khmer innovation.

77. (#496) *kaaŋ*: Khmer *kæŋ* ‘to spread [wings, arms, clothes] apart’, (*ckaan*) *chkaaŋ* ‘to skewer with wings open’; (*knaaŋ*) Vietnamese, Mường *ngãng* ‘to be horizontal, level, to be wide; across’.

*kaai(ʔ):* Vietnamese *cãnh, cánh*, Mường *kên* ‘wing’ (and Vietnamese *cành*, Mường *kèn* ‘branch’ by secondary variation); (*knaaiʔ*) Khmer *khnaæŋ* ‘cross-shaped; side-shoot on branch of tree’; Vietnamese *ngãnh* (and *ngãnh*) ‘branch of river etc.’ On semantic grounds we might assign to this variant Middle Mon *knæŋ* ‘branch’, Modern Mon *næŋ* (merging Middle Mon *tnæŋ* id., of separate origin).

A third variant *kæŋ* underlies Old Mon *knaŋ* [ko'] ‘collar-bone’, Modern Mon *neŋ* ‘crosspiece’; and Biat *rkaŋ* ‘transverse, across’. This is perhaps the most telling of the *aa~*ai variants, though as in 78 a consistent semantic distinction can be made.

Structurally the relationship of the diphthong *ai* to *aa* might be thought analogous to that of the diphthongs *ia*, *ua* to *ii*, *uu* (for which see the next two sections). The parallel does not hold good for distributional frequency. *ia*, *ua* are both more frequently attested than either the long or the short simple vowels, whereas *ai* is relatively infrequent so far as our material allows us to distinguish it from *aa*. Moreover the other two diphthongs alternate rather more often with the corresponding long vowels than with the short, whereas with *ai* the opposite is the case.

*i, ii, iə*

Since problems arise in deciding when to reconstruct a high front and when a central vowel before a final palatal, discussion of these occurrences will be deferred until Section (d).\(^{10}\)

We shall consider first the long vowel *ii*, and proceed then to the reconstruction of its short counterpart *i*.

*ii.* I reconstruct *ii* from correspondences of a high front vowel in languages which do not show a vowel-length distinction (or show only a fragmentary one), in most of them qualitatively different from the reflex of *i*; and in part of a long vowel of similar quality in languages which have the length distinction. Many of the latter, however, have undergone contextually conditioned splits—of broadly similar incidence and perhaps of a single origin—which complicate the reconstruction. They will be dealt with in turn below.

We have, then, regularly Old Mon /i/ (written i, i); i in Palaung, Riang-Lang, Praok, Khasi, and Vietnamese; long ii in Khmuic and, usually, Sre (but short i is noted by Dournes with such frequency that it is unlikely that it represents a short-vowel variant in all cases). In many comparisons we find Khmer head-register *ya*, chest-register *ii*; and *i* in other South Bahnaric languages and in Bahnar. A diphthongization to *ia* appears to be regular before stop final in Jeh and Halang.

Mon: Old Mon /i/, written i for preference in the ‘high literary’ inscriptions but usually i in less formal ones, before stops and nasals yields Middle Mon i; modern oi, òi before velars, before dentals and labials e, i, ɪ (head-register e, i by a split originally

\(^{10}\) [Editorial note: the alluded to Section (d) was not found.]
contextually conditioned, now contrastive but of low functional load). Old Mon /ir, il/ > Middle Mon → modern -əe, -i, -i.

Khmer: in chest-register words i: is the realization of orthographic i. In closed syllables in head-register words this symbol is not found; the distribution suggests merger of earlier short and long i in such contexts. y is the realization of the (now) complementarily distributed symbols i (before k, n, m), i (before t, n, p).

Examples of these ‘straightforward’ reflexes follow.

78. East Bahnar tsik ‘disagreeable in taste’; Palaung sik, swi-, Riang-Lang -cik ‘to be astringent in taste’ (#294 *ćiik).

79. Old Mon jik, Modern Mon cóik ‘to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate’; Old Khmer jjak, Modern Khmer čik, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm jík, Chrau jíʔ ‘to dig’, Sre jíi, Biat jįk ‘to grub up weeds’, Jeh, Halang jįak ‘rice-field’ (#300 *jiik; Rõngao has jejk ‘to plough, prepare for cultivation; cultivated field’). From an infixed *jنيik is Bahnar niik ‘hoe, mattock’.


81. Sre ntiň, Stieng, Central Rölöm tin, Chrau, Bunör, Biat ntiň, Bahnar katiň ‘bone’ (#553 *ktiň).

82. Kammu Yuan kantiň ‘navel’; Riang-Lang kandih (#582 *k Diane); and with r-infixed Palaung kariň id.

83. Khmer kdvτ ‘anus’; Riang-Lang tit ‘anus; to break wind’; Vietnamese dit ‘anus’ (#1007 *kt,iti).

84. Sre priit, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat prite, Jeh, Halang priat ‘banana’ (#1070 *priit). (Bahnar prit is an isolated short-vowel form.)

85. Khmer hvt ‘to sniff at’, Stieng (Azémard 1886) hit ‘to sniff; cold in the nose’; Vietnamese hit ‘to inhale’, Mường hit ‘to smell, (#1104 *hiit).

86. (#1288 Palaung lip ‘to enter’, Praok lip [lu] ‘to enter [trance]’; Khasi lip ‘to be extinguished, to extinguish’ (*liip; Khmer has liup ‘to withdraw, [sun] to go in’, from a short-vowel variant). From a prefixed form are Jeh kliap, Halang gliap [sun] to set’; Praok kliip id.


88. pal. tim, Riang-Lang ‘tim ‘nine’ (*[cl],iim). Praok sidim id. reflects a nasal-infix form.

89. Literary Mon sî ‘to be numerous, plentiful’; Sre ir (Blood 1966 ʔịr), Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm ʔịr, Biat ir ‘too much’ (#1557 *[c]ʔịir).

90. Theng pir ‘pumpkin’; Vietnamese bî (#1637 *[c]piir). An infixed form underlies Mon hapse id. and probably Riang-Lang sapir. (Maspero (1955) often notes short vowel before Theng -r, -l where Kammu and/or Kammu Yuan have a long one. The two-plosive sequence attested by Riang-Lang may account for the Vietnamese tone.)

91. Old Mon kunsir ‘parents-in-law’ (and Modern Mon khamse, for **kasae, originally as learned form); Semai gansir ‘husband’ (#1679 *kmsiir).
92. Khmu' *srii* [gold] (and Theng *srii*; #1789 *[c]riiil). From a prefixed form are Palaung *krhïr*, Praok *khri* id.

See also 136-40.

**Splits.** Khmer has orthographic e, head-register e: following t, l, and in some cases d, r. Chest-register ê: is attested in one case (and doublets in another: 101 below) following l where the register and antecedent voicing are thought to be secondary (though voicing is already present in Old Khmer in 101).

93. Khmer *dek* ‘to lie down, sleep’; Kensiu *tik* (#305 *tiik). Old Mon *stik*, whence Modern Mon *toiik*, is probably a normalized hypothetical form, ‘intending to sleep’; so Khmer ‘going to sleep’. (Khasi *thiah* reflects a variant *tiak.*

94. Literary Mon *latï* ‘kind of flowering plant’; Old Khmer *raiñtïyañ*, Modern Khmer *rûmdeñ* ‘galanga’ (#564 *rmïiïñ*).

95. Khmer *preñ*, Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat *prïïñ* ‘oil, fat’ (#702 *prïïñ*).

96. Khmer *tê* (and Sre *dit*, with secondary shortening?) ‘small’; Vietnamese *nît* (#1016 *kîïiit*). Khasi *khîndïit* ‘a little, few’, from an infixed form, establishes the initial.—See also 195.

(Chest register) see 100-1.

Contrast with 93-4 *ktïïi* > Khmer *kîït* ‘anus’, 87; *tiik* > *dyk* ‘to lead...’, 98; and with 95 *t-riïïp* > *trîïp* ‘floating mat of vegetation’, 104; **cnriït** > *çøïïrï* ‘cricket’, 207. It would be possible to account for these exceptions by postulating isolated short-vowel variants (*kïït*, etc.; as in 86). But in view of the doublets in 101 dialectal divergence followed by interdialectal borrowing cannot be ruled out in all cases.

The South Bahnaric split is wider in its incidence, and is almost certainly complicated by dialect borrowing. The ‘shifted’ reflexes are Chrau, Bunör, Biat e; Central Rõlõm i; (Blood reconstructs Proto-Mnong *e*: in these cases, opposed to *i*: in the set exemplified above). Stieng shows i: in some instances and e: in others; either the incidence of the split is different in Stieng (which is not improbable), or some items—but which?—are loans. The examples below are representative.

97. Stieng *chïïk* (Azémar 1886 *ciïk*), Sre *sii*, Chrau *sec*, Bunör *sek*, Central Rõlõm *suk*, Biat *cheïk* ‘tooth’ (#289 *ciïiïk*).

98. Old Khmer *tïk*, Modern Khmer *dyk* ‘to lead [animal], to cart’ Stieng *teïk* (Azémar 1886 *tïïk*), Sre *tii*, Chrau *teïk*, Bunör *teïk*, Central Rõlõm *tïïk* ‘to lead by a rope’ (#304 *tiik*).

99. Stieng (Azémar 1886) *jriïïñ*, Biat *jreñ*, Kontum Bahnar *jriñ* (and Sre *jriïïñ*; with secondary shortening?) ‘wax’ (#919a *jriïïñ*; Bahnar has *jren*, from a variant *jriïïñ*).

100. Khmer *thliïñ* ‘to hobble [animal]’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) *glïïïñ* ‘elephant hobbles’, Bahnar *klenj*, *glenj* (and Sre *kliïñ*; with secondary shortening?) ‘to hobble’ (#745 *Tliïïñ*); and with nasal infix Khmer *tûnliïïñ* = Stieng, Biat *glenj* ‘hobbles’. (For the initial cf. further, from a variant *Tliïïñ*, Mon *klaenj* ‘to bind’, *kaneïïñ* ‘bonds’.)

102. Biat et ‘to confine, pack close together’ (#949 *cʔiit); *cnʔiit yields Kuy ηʔiit ‘narrow’, Bahnar jaliit ‘packed together’ (cf. further for the initial, with variant vocalism, Khmer conʔiit ‘narrow, confined, cramped’).

103. Stieng (Azémard 1886) [peʔ] treq ‘cricket’, (?) Sre triit ‘to whistle’ (#1068 *t,riiit); Paluagn akriit ‘cricket’ reflects a prefixed form. If *t- is to be reconstructed it is secondary here, cf. (with infix) Mon koreit caariit ‘cricket’; Khmer conʔiit id. (*cnʔiit, or by back-borrowing from Thai čąq riit?); ‘Central Sakai’ jareθ ‘variety of mole-cricket’.

104. Biat rep ‘grass’; Praok rip (#1269 *riip). From prefixed forms are Khmer tərip ‘floating mat of vegetation’, perhaps < *t-rip) and Sre samprip (Dournes_1950; correct to -rip?) ‘tall grass’.

105. Sre tiil, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat teil, Central Rölöm təl, Bahnar del ‘footprint(s), tracks’; ‘Semang’ til, Sak. dii (#1733a *tiil).

106. Stieng biil, Sre biil, Chrau, Bunör beil, Central Rölöm buiil ‘mat’, ‘Semang’ pil; and Biat mbeil id.; Praok bi (Editor’s note: Shorto subsequently altered his analysis in the light of Munda data reconstructed *[e] (& *ee ?) instead of *ii for this etymon, see #1761.)

107. Stieng uiil ‘to surround animal in order to capture it’, Biat [daik wac] weil ‘eddy’, Bahnar wiil ‘round’; Paluagn vir ‘to return’ (#1794 *wiil); and with prefix inter alia Old Mon tirwil ‘to attend on’, Modern Mon kawii [kawaj] ‘to be attended by’; (*p-wiil?) Biat [təl pac] peil ‘spiral’. (Cf. 131 below for a short-vowel variant.)

In the following example the reflexes are mixed, and vowel lowering does not extend to the second infixed form except in Biat, which has doublets (by borrowing?):

108.11 Bunör per, Central Rölöm pur ‘fence, wall’ (*piir); Stieng (Azémard 1886) panir ‘bamboo partition’ (and Sre panir id. with secondary shortening?; *p[m]niir); Bunör mpiir ‘wall’, Central Rölöm piir id. (whence Chrau pir ‘fence, wall’ ?), Biat mpiir ‘fence, stockade’ (and mpiir ‘wall, partition’, from Bunör?; *mpiir).

In the following the Biat lowering is perhaps a function of the nasal affix:

109. Sre sakij ‘on one’s side, to one side’, Biat nkeiη ‘to lean over; on one’s side’ (#504 *jkiig)); the simplex underlies Sre kiŋ ‘edge, direction’, Jeh kiŋ ‘edge’.

110. Sre sampit, Biat mpeit ‘stopper, cork’ (< #1098 *siit by infixation).

111. Biat nhcer ‘to blow [nose]’; the simplex (#1680) *ksiir in Sre chir ‘to blow nose’.

Cf. also 112-13.

Leaving aside 109-11, the South Bahnaric lowering has thus been noted following t, r, and l, as in Khmer; p, and b < *bp; w, ø (< *c?-); and the correspondence from which *[ ]c- was constructed in 97. There are some counter-examples.

(1) Following t: with 98, 105 contrast 81, 136. But the Mngon and Chrau vocalism in 81 parallels that from *pmpiir, 108; Biat ntiŋ may be borrowed from Bunör or Chrau. We do not know the Mngon or Chrau reflexes of 136. At worst, lowering is markedly more frequent in this context than the converse.

(2) Following r: with 99, 104 (and *kriŋ > Biat kreŋ ‘kind of bamboo’; *critoit > Biat chriet ‘close together’), contrast 84, 95. Again, there is lowering in a majority of cases.

(3) Following (*)p: with 106, 108, 110 contrast *ppiiik > Biat mpiik ‘class of small mammals’. So following w: with 107 compare *wiik > Bunör, Central Rölöm wiik

11 [Editorial note: Shorto assigned this etymology to item 147 of the South Bahnaric Index.]
'owl'. (Note that this last case may not be discrepant, since we have not Mpong reflexes of *wiil—we have of the variant *wil—or Biat of *wiik.)

(4) Following *cʔ:- with 102 contrast 89. In the latter case we might reconstruct *sʔ-, but a differential development would be a little surprising. If conceivably Biat et reflects *cnʔit rather than *cʔit, 102 would be brought under the rubric of 109-11.

Bahnar also, as the reader will have noted, shows at least sporadic lowering. It is difficult to systematize and may be of dialectal origin in many cases. I have already cited kleŋ, gleŋ, 100 (though this may be borrowed from Khmer via Cham kleŋ); dël, 105; Rōngao jeęk, 79. Katet `clitoris' might tentatively be referred to *ktiit 'anus', 83. In addition we have the following:

112. Bahnar plēn 'fat' (#1196 *[ ]liin); cf. Sre kānii 'fat, robust', Biat ɲlem 'fat'.

113. Sre palin 'miracle, magic act', West Bahnar palem 'to be wide-eyed, look startled' (#1206 *pliin).

114. West Bahnar tem 'to beat, hammer, forge' (#1340 *t1iim); other languages reflect variant vocalism, e.g. (Palaungic *tiim) Palaung tem 'to hammer', Praok tem 'to hammer, beat out'.

115. Old Mon wir 'husbandry', Modern Mon wi 'to raise, tendy; Bahnar weër 'to look after, tend' (#1670 *wiir).

See also 157 (*riiŋ > reŋ)

To account for these phenomena Blood (1966) reconstructed distinct vowels *i: and *e: in both Proto-Mpong and Proto-South Bahnaric, reasonably enough on his limited canvas. I prefer to postulate splits of a Proto-Mon-Khmer *i: in spite of the overlapping distribution of the reflexes. First, the multiplication of protophonemes would entail an improbably complex proto-system; the one we shall arrive at is complex enough. Secondly, the overlaps are not so extensive as to defy explanation given an average incidence of dialect borrowing in the languages concerned, which share a relatively high degree of contiguity and differentiation. The lowering is found predominantly in post-dental contexts. The case is thus parallel to that of the Palaung reflexes of *iə, discussed below; where eə and iə are distinctive but have a low functional load, eə occurring mostly following dentals and iə mostly in other environments.

*i. In reconstructing *i we may consider, first, the reflexes in ‘vowel-length’ languages. Of these Sre, Bunör , Bahnar and Khmuic neatly enough have short i regularly. (But we have seen that Sre i by itself is not convincing testimony against *ii.) Khmer has orthographic i, ɪ in complementary distribution, realized as ɤ, ū; it thus merges *i and *ii in head-register words. This backing of the vowel reappears in Central Rofolm, which has regularly u; and Biat, which has u except following ch, when it has i.

The remaining vowel-length languages also have reflexes which differ according to context, so far as the rather limited material goes. (1) Stieng has i before n, c < *k; e before l; uu before t, r. (In Azémard 1887 we find i, e; a(i); but with slight differences of distribution—cf. e.g. 126, 130, below—which suggest that Azémard’s and Blood’s Stieng differ dialectally as well as historically.) (2) Chrau has i before *k, uu before t, n, l. (3) We find Jeh ę, Halang i in 126, 130, but Jeh, Halang e in 125 and i (following c) in 135;
the differences being apparently conditioned by the initial (voicing?) rather than the final.

In non-vowel-length languages we find, first, Old Mon /ɔ/ (written usually i, u, a), whence usually Literary Mon uï, modern a, ă before velars, ɒ before dentals and labials, -ɒ -ə -ɔ < /or ol/; or as a result of the Middle Mon post-nasal split the same reflexes as for *ii following nasals other than ɲ < Old Mon /ng/, m < Old Mon /mb/.

Palaung and Riang-Lang have e. Praok has -e < PMK *-il in three instances, but firm evidence of the reflex before other finals is lacking; it must be left open whether Praok i represents short *i in some items. Khasi has i as from *ii. Vietnamese and Mường have ã, with the same lowering to a high mid vowel as Palaung and Riang-Lang.

Examples follow.

116. Stieng tic, Sre ti’, Chrau ti? (← Sre? cf. 117), Bunôr tik, Central Rõlõm tuuk ‘deaf’ (# 303 *tik; Vietnamese diéc and Biat tok [to:r] reflect variants *tiak and *tak respectively).

117. Sre di’ ‘slavery’, Stieng dic (whence Chrau dic? cf. 116), Bunôr dik, Central Rõlõm, Biat duk ‘slave’ (#329 *dik; Mon and Bahnar reflect a long-vowel variant), see 132.

118. Palaung leʔ, Riang-Lang _lek, (?) Praok lik ‘pig’; Sak. lũ: (#417 *lik[ ]; Old Mon clïk etc., Modern Mon kloik is to be connected with a long-vowel variant).

119. Mon kãŋ ‘to row’; Khasi king (#507 *gïŋ).

120. Mon paŋ ‘reservoir fish-trap of permanent type’; Old Khmer piŋ, Modern Khmer bern ‘lake, pool, marsh’ (#602 *piŋ).

121. Sre riŋ ‘to be level, equal’ (#655 *riŋ). Variously affixed forms underlie Biat ndruŋ ‘to make equal’; Palaung (Milne 1931) kɔʁpren ‘to be equal’; Riang-Lang tɔrken ‘equal amount’. (East Bahnar riŋ raŋ ‘equal’ is likely to reflect a long-vowel variant.)

122. Mon dot ‘to be powdered, composed of small particles’; Khmer lɔvt (#952 *lɔit; Khmer lɔ-, for **d-, by levelling on caus. lɔumɔvt ‘to pulverize’). Khasi lɔvit ‘very finely broken or pounded’ is probably connected.

123. Khmer kūt ‘to think, consider’, Sre, Bunôr git, Stieng, Chrau, CP, Biat gut ‘to know, understand’ (*git).12

124. Mon [dog] bot ‘to be tired’; Vietnamese mêt (*lõit). (Editor’s note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.)

125. Khmer chɔvrn, Stieng, Sre, Bunôr sɨn, Chrau, Central Rõlõm sun, Biat chin, Bahnar tsin, Jeh, Halang cen ‘to be cooked’; Temiar cet (#1137 *cin; for final, and the long-vowel variants, see 134).

126. Stieng sin (Azémã 1886 sɛn), Sre, Bunôr sɨn, Chrau, Central Rõlõm sun, Biat chin, Bahnar tasin, Jeh tαcɛn, Halang cacin ‘nine’ (#1144 *dɛin; cf. Vietnamese chún, from a long-vowel variant; Old Mon Lph. dincit, Modern Mon hacit suggests a construction *dɔciit).

127. Old Mon tin, Modern Mon tun ‘to go up, come up’; Vietnamese đẹn, Mường tɛnh ‘to arrive (at), come (to), reach’ (#1153 *tɨn[?]).

128. Sre (B.), Bunôr lip, Central Rõlõm lup ‘to spread on, spread out’ (#1285 *lip).

[Editorial note: this etymology is missing from the etymological dictionary, and it is possible that Shorto abandoned it on the basis that it may be a borrowing of Sanskrit gîta.]
129. Sre, Bunör *gir*, Stieng, Central Rölöm *gur* ‘to fish with fish-basket’ (*gir*).


See also 133, 135-6.

**Length variation.** Variation between *i* and *ii* may conveniently be dealt with at this point. We have already noted *wi* ~ *wiil* ‘to go round, turn round’ (131/107). Other examples follow.

132. *ɗiik* ‘slave’, see 117. (#329)

133. *ɓiŋ*: from prefixed form Palaung *əbe*ŋ ‘spider’. (#630)

134. *cin* ‘to be cooked’, see 125. (#1137)


136. *til*: Old Mon *til*, Modern Mon *tɒ* ‘to plant (a seed of)’. (#1733)

*iə*. The correspondences from which *iə* is reconstructed are of diphthongs, with a high (or rarely high mid) front starting-point moving to a relatively low, usually central position in at least some cases in almost all languages other than Mon and Bahnar (the Aslian reflexes await determination). Thus we have regularly Khmer orthographic *iə*, realized as *iə*, *iə*; Sre *ia*; Stieng, Central Rölöm *ia*, Chrau *ia*, following *ʔ* or *h* realized as *ye*. In many comparisons we find Bunör *ya* (and *nia*- < *nia*-), a special case); *ia* in Biat, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan, Khasi; Riang-Lang *iə*; Vietnamese, Mường *chɨn* ‘coocked’.

Khmer *chəvn*, cited at 125, might in fact reflect either variant.


136. *til*: Old Mon *til*, Modern Mon *to* ‘to plant (a seed of)’. (#1733)

*ia*. The correspondences from which *ia* is reconstructed are of diphthongs, with a high (or rarely high mid) front starting-point moving to a relatively low, usually central position in at least some cases in almost all languages other than Mon and Bahnar (the Aslian reflexes await determination). Thus we have regularly Khmer orthographic *ia*, realized as *iə*, *iə*; Sre *ia*; Stieng, Central Rölöm *ia*, Chrau *ia*, following *ʔ* or *h* realized as *ye*. In many comparisons we find Bunör *ya* (and *nia*- < *nia*-), a special case); *ia* in Biat, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan, Khasi; Riang-Lang *iə*; Vietnamese, Mường *chɨn* ‘coocked’.

Mon: Old Mon has regularly */e*/*, written e, whence modern *ea*, *є* before velars, *e, ᥜ* elsewhere. (It cannot be shown that Old Mon */e* was not diphthongised at least in

13 [Editorial note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.]

14 [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction from *i to *ə.]*
some environments, as the modern reflexes before velars suggest; cf. further the reflex of *
*iəl, below.)

Bahnar: e, less frequently e, can probably be taken as the normal reflex in Bahnar. Most of the cases in which we find ie; ie can be attributed to secondary palatalization resulting from the initial. e, ie are likely to result from secondary shortening, sometimes clearly due to remodelling on variants which reflect *i to fit words into a sound-symbolic system of word-play.

In some languages the reflexes before *-l differ slightly from those specified above as a result of the vocalization of the final; they are indicated in their place below.

Contextually conditioned splits are to be inferred in Bunör, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Khmuic, Northern Mon-Khmer, Khasi, and Vietnamese. Except for Jeh-Halang the 'shifted' reflex is a low mid front vowel similar to the normal Bahnar one; i.e. Bunör, Biat e, Khmu’ e, Palaung, Riang-Lang, Praok e, Vietnamese and Mường, Khasi e (and in one instance ie, probably by secondary lengthening). But since Khasi e also reflects *ə, we cannot certainly exclude a variation *iə ~ *ə as the explanation of such cases; the partial assignment of e to *iə rests on a balance of probabilities.

For Jeh-Halang we find variously Jeh eː, Halang ea; and (*-iar >) Jeh -il, Halang -iar.

*iə as reconstructed shows a high frequency of occurrence, the instances being roughly equal in amount to those of *i and *ii combined.

I give examples first of the 'straightforward' reflexes.


138. Mon kreak to split, slit open’; Khmer conriak ‘to split (into slats etc.)’ (#402 *cnriak).

139. Palaung (Milne 1931) hleəʔ, Riang-Lang riekk ‘to be hoarse’ (B 39 *[s][l]iək).

140. Khmer iəŋ ‘out of the vertical’; (?) Vietnamese hiəŋ ‘to have a squint’ (#494 *liəŋ?) From a nasal-infix form are Mon hæəŋ ‘to be out of the vertical’; Vietnamese nghiêng id.


142. Old Mon weŋ ‘to avoid, to turn aside’, Modern Mon wəəŋ ‘to avoid’; Khmer vəŋ ‘way round, bend’, Bahnar wəŋ ‘to surround, to hold in crook of arm; curving round, winding round’ (x wiəŋ ‘curve, eddy’, from a variant); Palaung (Milne 1931) vəŋ ‘to move aimlessly’ (#765 *wiəŋ). From a prefixed form are Bahnar kwəŋ ‘curving, winding’; Palaung karveəŋ ‘coil; to be coiled, to coil’; Khasi khvrwiəŋ ‘to go round’.

143. Stieng rəhiaŋ, Sre rəhiaŋ, Chrau riəŋ, Bunör raŋyaŋ, Central Rölöm hiaŋ, Biat riaŋ, Bahnar dialects həəŋ (etc.), Jeh reŋ, Halang reŋ ‘hundred’ (#792 *rəiaŋ).

144. Mon təŋət ‘to crush in mill etc.’; Sre səŋiat ‘to crush, compress’ (#977 *[n]giət).

146. Mon krep ‘to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped’; Khmer triap ‘packed close together’, (?) West Bahnar jarép ‘to wedge between two props’ (#1279 *triap). Bahnar kamrép ‘to be crushed’ reflects an infixed form.


149. Stieng, Central Rölöm ziar, Sre, Biat iar, Chrau iyar, Bunör iyar, Bahnar yér, iér, Jeh iél, Halang iar, Khmu Yuan [h]iyiar ‘fowl’; Palaung iar, Riang-Lang yér, Praok iia; Khasi iar (#1552 *[ ]?iar).


Bahnar iɛt; etc. in the following items can be ascribed to a preceding palatal or secondarily palatalized consonant (including one subsequently lost):

151. Sre tian, Stieng, Chrau, Central Rölöm tian, Bunör cyaŋ, Biat cian, Bahnar kien (most dialects; also tiɛŋ, teŋ, etc.). Jeh teŋ, Halang teŋ ‘tail’ (#542 *[t]eŋ[ŋ]).

152. Bahnar miɛt ‘to stop up’ (#1039 *[c]biat; cf. with variant vocalism Palaung kanbit ‘to block’, and from the simplex e.g. Khmer bvt ‘to cover, close’, Riang-Lang *bit ‘id., to stop up’).

The effect extends to the context following h, where we may assume the laryngeal to have been accompanied by constriction in the palatal region.

153. Sre hian ‘asthma, tuberculosis’, Biat hian ‘asthma’, Bahnar hien (and dialects sien inter alia) ‘to cough’; Vietnamese [bînh] hen ‘asthma’ (#1215 *hîan).—Cf. also, dialects hreŋ beside hareŋ < *rhian, 143.

The last two instances are perhaps dialectal in origin:


155. Stieng lapiet (Azémard 1886; Blood 1966 has pelpiap), Sre, Biat mpiat, Chrau lapiat, Bunör mpyat, Central Rölöm piat, Bahnar dialects rapiet, lapiet, hapiet, Jeh lapiat, Halang rapiat ‘tongue’ (#1075 *l-m-piat; the simplex in Palaung (Milne 1931) leat, Riang-Lang _liet, Praok let ‘to lick’).

The monophthongized reflexes in Bunör and Biat appear to be coincident, so far as our evidence goes. They have been noted in a variety of contexts, broadly similar to those associated with the South Bahnaric lowering of *ii: following nasals; liquids and w; nt-; r(ə)d- < *rd-; p; kh-. The items are listed below.

156. Stieng, Bunör, Biat net, Central Rölöm niat ‘comb’ (#1097 *s-n-iat; cf. with variant vocalism Khmer svt, Chrau sanit; and Khmer svt ‘to comb’). Stieng net may be a loanword, as weər is assumed to be in 162. Azémard (1886) has ceər ‘to blow [nose]’, presumably < *[k][s]iar ~ *[k][s]iir, 111; but this may be a special development following c-.
157. Biat meŋ ‘edge, margin’ (#656 *r-m-iŋ; cf. the simplex in Old Mon reŋ ‘to arrange’, Modern Mon riaŋ ‘to form a row, to place in a row’; Khmer riaŋ ‘continuously, in succession’, Stieng (Azémard 1886) riaŋ ‘perpetually’; Khasi riang ‘in order, in a row’; and for this sense, with variant vocalism, Sre reŋ, Bahnar reŋ ‘to skirt’).

158. Khmer mian ‘ring, circle’, Stieng (Azémard 1886) mien, Biat meŋ (whence Sre meen?) ‘ring round haft of dah etc.’ (#1182 *m[ ]iŋ, perhaps *m-wiŋ, ad *wian 178; Sre then perhaps from a variant *m-wiŋ).

159. Central Rölöm riak, Bunör, Biat rek ‘to reap’; Khasi riah ‘to pluck [e.g. herbs]’ (#390 *riak).


161. Biat ler ‘to jut out, project’; Palaung liar ‘to protrude (v.i.t.)’; Vietnamese lè ‘to stick [tongue] out’ (#1663 *liar; Sre has liu ‘to stick out’, from an assimilatory *liäl). Riang-Lang ‘klìər ‘to protrude’ reflects a prefixed form.

Cf. also Bunör, Biat kleŋ < *[k]liŋ), 154.

162. Khmer viə ‘to go aside, avoid’, Bunör weə, Central Rölöm wiər ‘taboo’, Biat weər ‘unlucky’ (whence, or from Bunör, Stieng weər, Sre wer ‘taboo’), Bahnar wèr ‘to go aside, avoid’; Palaung (Milne 1931) viər, Riang-Lang _viər, Praok viia id. (#1669 *wiər).

From prefixed forms are Biat kwer ‘bend’; and Khasi tawiar ‘to go round and round’. Mon hote ‘to lament’; Biat ntər ‘to cry aut, (#1622 *[g]ntiər); and from a homophonous nominal formation Middle Mon gater ‘long-drawn-out intonation’; Biat ntər ‘cry’. The simplex *[g]tiər perhaps in Bahnar tər ‘[lightning] to strike; thunderclap’.

163. Bunör radeŋ, Central Rölöm diaŋ, Biat rdeŋ ‘to cart’ (#590 *rðiŋ; Palaungic has a variant *rðiŋ, for which cf. e.g. Palaung dəŋ ‘road’).


The Bunör-Biat monophthongization is regular following liquids and w, and following nasals if Bunör niær ‘top layer of bamboo floor’ is borrowed from Central Rölöm niær (#1632 *tniær) also following d, 164, on the evidence of that single case. Monophthongization following nt- (163) does not extend to *t in the absence of a nasal affix, which is palatalized in both languages; cf. e.g. 151 *tiaŋ, 181 *tiaır. 165 is anomalous in the light of 141 *[s]piaŋ, 155 *mpiaŋ; is Biat pet a loan from Bahnar, and thence by levelling mpet? 166 is equally isolated: contrast 143 *rhiæŋ, and Biat nchiæŋ kæŋ ‘to chew the cud’ ad *khiaŋ.

For Khmuic the evidence is limited; it suggests monophthongization following k (velars?) and h.

167. Mon kep ‘to pinch, grasp with claws’; Khmer kiaŋ ‘to nip, pinch’, Khmu’ kep ‘to grasp with tongs’ (*k[i]kiaŋ; distinguish *giep, 185). From an infixed form are Middle Mon sakep, Modern Mon hakep ‘tongs’; Khmu’ srkep; while Bahnar nèp id. shows secondary infixation.

15 [Editorial note: Shorto revised the reconstruction to derive both Biat and Vietnamese from *kh[ee]r.]
168. Khmu’ *heem* ‘younger sibling of same sex’, Khmu Yuan *heem* ‘younger sibling’ (Khmuic *hiam*; ~ *tiam*, > Stieng (Azémar 1886) *iem* ‘elder sibling’; Vietnamese *en* ‘younger sibling’).

Khmuan *ʔet* ‘few’ is likely to be borrowed from Mûông *ʔet* ‘a little’ (183) in view of *hayiar* ‘fowl’ < *kuan ?iar* (cf. 149).

Monophthongal reflexes in the Northern Mon-Khmer languages are not necessarily coincident. In particular Praok is apt to show a monophthong where the other two do not, though in some of these cases we ought perhaps to assign Praok to a variant in *ə*.

For Palaung we have one, seemingly discrepant, instance.

169. Khmu’ *hriaŋ*, Khmu Yuan *riaŋ* ‘intestines’; Palaung *reŋ* (#708 *[s]riaŋ[ŋ]). Contrast Palaung *hraŋ*, Riang-Lang *riŋ* ‘straw’, < *riaŋ* (Editor’s note: *riaŋ* appears to related to #693, although it appears that the analysis had changed).

For Riang-Lang we have two.

170. Stieng (Azémar 1886) *siet* ‘to cut up [meat]’, Sre *siat* ‘to cut, sever’, Biat *čiat* ‘to cut up’, West Bahnar čet ‘to chop [edibles etc.] obliquely’; Riang-Lang *sɛt* ‘to cut, gash’ (#981 *ciat*). This might be attributed to absorption of /ə/ following the palatal, *ciet* > *e’t* > *sɛt*; there are no counter-examples.

171. Palaung *miam*, Riang-Lang *mem* ‘tea’ (prima facie *miam*; but Riang-Lang may conceivably reflect a variant *məam*).

Praok disagrees with other languages in two instances: *let* ‘to lick’ < *liet* (Palaung *leat*, Riang-Lang *liet*; see 155); and *tem* ‘to hammer...’ < *tiam* (Palaung *team*; see 114). Palaung or Riang-Lang comparisons are not available in two other items.

172. Praok *ŋet* ‘to listen (to), obey’ (#942 *[n-]iat*; the simplex in Stieng (Azémar 1886) *iet* ‘to listen to, obey’, Sre, Biat ıat ‘to listen to’, Chrau ʔyet, Bunöṛ ʔyat, Central Rölöm ʔiat ‘to listen, hear’).

173. Mon *ken*, *taken* ‘finger, toe’; Praok *gen* ‘finger’ (#1128 *ŋkian[ ]*).

Both these involve earlier prenasalized forms. Contrast, therefore, e.g. Praok *biat* < *[p]miat*, 165.

Instances in which Khasi e might be assigned to *i*- are the following:

174. Old Mon *ckem* ‘to grasp, pick up; handful’; Modern Mon *kem* ‘to grasp’; Khasi *skhem* ‘firmly, securely’; [shi]-khem ‘handful’ (shi ‘one’); Vietnamese *kêm* ‘pincers, tweezers’ (#1312 *ckiom*).

175. Khasi *syrdeng* ‘fence, plank partition’ (#578 *t-s-diaŋ*; cf. for the simplex Old Mon *tadeŋ* ‘screen, railing’, (in part) Modern Mon *hatтан* ‘(wall of) twilled bamboo’).

176. Mon *kret* ‘to creak’; Khmer *kriot* ‘creakily’; Khasi *khret-khret* ‘grating’ (#1064 *kriot*; a metathetic *rkiat* underlies Sre *rkiat*, Biat *rıat* ‘to grind, creak, gnash’).

177. Khmer *phliaŋ* ‘rain, to rain’, Tolo Bahnar *pleŋ* ‘sky’; Khasi *bneng* id.; Mnar *phuyan* (#930 *[p]liang*).

178. Mon *kamęn* ‘cripple’; Khasi *lymmen* ‘digitless extremity’ (#1208a *lm-wian*; the simplex in Mon *wën* ‘to be crooked, deformed’; Khmer *vian* ‘to curl up tight’; other affixed forms in Bahnar, Vietnamese, Aslian). A variant *-wan?* is attested by Vietnamese *quăn* ‘to be rolled round, to roll round’, but the closest semantic parallel is with the Mon form.
Khase *ie* in one instance suggests secondary lengthening of *e*:

179. Mon **kolem** ‘to taste’; Khase **yjellim** ‘[dog] to lick lips’; (*[c]lìom*?; the simplex in Bahnar **le:m** ‘to lick one’s fingertips’; Vietnamese **liêm** ‘to lick’, if not from AnCh. *liam*).

The conditions are obscure, and suggest shortening following certain complex initials.

Vietnamese has usually -e < *-iar*, the only exception being nia ‘winnowing-basket’ < *pniar* (150). Cf. besides là ‘to stick tongue out’ < *liar*, 161:

180. Vietnamese che ‘to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter’ (#1592 *ciar*; ~ *cir*, > Old Mon **cir** ‘to ward [off]’, Middle Mon cuïw ‘to screen’, Modern Mon cs ‘to cover over, to wall’).

181. Stieng (Azémard 1886) **thier** (!), Sre **tiar**; Biat **ciar** ‘to forge’, Bahnar **tirr**, ter ‘to hammer to an edge’; Vietnamese de ‘anvil’ (#1610 *tiar*).

182. Riang-Lang chier ‘to tear’; Vietnamese xe id. (*chiar*?).

Before other finals Vietnamese e has been noted following laryngeals, velars, and l. We have besides em ‘younger sibling’ < *?iام* (168), bĩng hen ‘asthma’ < *?ián* (153):

183. Mường ét ‘a little’ (whence probably Khmu Yuan èt ‘few’; #939 *?iät*; ~ *-i(i)t*, > Sre it ‘a little’; Vietnamese it).

184. Vietnamese ghen ‘to be jealous, envious’ (#1125 *kiän*? Stieng (Azémard 1886) **kien**, Sre **kiän**, Biat **cian** ‘to gnaw’).


186. Vietnamese lën ‘to stuff, cram in’ (#1197 *lian*; *[I]nliän underlies Palaung nian ‘to strangle, throttle’, Mon also ‘to roll [rice] into a ball’).

187. Vietnamese tròt to smear, to caulk’ (#1076 *[k]piät; cf. for the simplex Old Mon let, Modern Mon lêt ‘to smear on’; Khmer liat [bxt] ‘to plaster’; and for *ktliat* Mon klet ‘be glutinous, sticky, adhesive’; Palaung klet ‘to be smooth, slippery’).

The only obstacles to regarding Vietnamese e as regular in these environments are hỏi ‘to have a squint’, a slightly suspect derivation from *lziän(?)* (140, #494); kiêt [ly] ‘dysentery’ (#960 *[t]kiat; ~ *[t]kiit, > Mon [nèa] kiet ‘to have dysentery’, and with infix hakit ‘dysentery’); and liêm ‘to lick’ ad *[c]liöm*? (see 179), perhaps a Chinese loan.

Jeh has *e*, Halang ea in **tiäŋ**, 151; *[k]lìam, 154; *rhiän, 143. Both have ia in **Impiät, 155; *[k]lìam, 147; *liäm, 148. Jeh has -*l, Halang -*l in *ziar, 149; note further Halang prial (and Jeh priıl, unless from a variant) ‘ice, hail’ < *prial, 200. It is thus possible that these alternants are conditioned by the nature of the final.

*-ial*. Sre and Biat reflexes of this rhyme presuppose a vocalization of the final similar to that attested in Vietnamese (in monophthongization contexts) -e. We have already referred Sre liu ‘to stick out’ to a variant *liał of *liar* (165). Biat has -*iu, (in monophthongization context) -eu.

Mon has *-ea, -ëa*, written -ey. Unfortunately the Old Mon reflex of this rhyme is not recorded; but by analogy with Old Mon /il/ > Middle Mon -i > modern -oe, -i, -i it seems likely that -I has been lost and that the modern reflexes preserve the ancient
diphthong via Old Mon. (Mon shows distinct reflexes of PMK *-iaw and *-ew, the latter corresponding to Old Mon /ew/; it is therefore possible that the Old Mon orthography masks a distinction between /ea/ and /e/ which we have failed to infer.)

Khasi has usually *-ia, with loss of *-l, elsewhere reflected as -n. In 191 it may have *-ew, with monophthongization corresponding to that suspected in 174-8.

In the same item Vietnamese has *-êu, apparently corresponding to *-iê- in other contexts.

188. Mon ea s’ey ‘to wither, become withered, dry up’; Jolong Bahnar yel ‘poor harvest’; Vietnamese, Mường hế ‘to wilt, dry up, wither’ (#1697*[c]iəl[ ]).

189. Biat rʔiː ‘to become rancid; Khmu Yuan pa’ial ‘smell of fish’ (#1698 *prʔial).

190. Mon rɛ̀a ‘to cut up’; Khasi riə ‘small, broken’ (#1786 *riəl).


Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. In addition to instances already noted in passing, some illustrative examples follow. The simple vowel may be long or short, or both.

192. *priiŋ ‘oil, fat’, see 95.

*priəŋ: Palaung preəŋ ‘fat, to be delicious’, Riang-Lang *priəŋ ‘to be delicious’. Khasi has phniang ‘oil-seed’, perhaps by metathesis from a nasal-infix form.

193. *pliŋ: Rơngao pliŋ ‘sky’; Palaung pleŋ, Riang-Lang *pleŋ id. (#930)

*[p]liŋ: Jeh, Halang pliŋ id.; Temiar balik.

*[p]liəŋ, see 177.

194. kdiit and kdit ‘small’, see 96. (#1016)

*kdiat: Khmu’ liat, Khmu Yuan liət ‘to be short’; Palaung diat ‘to be small’; Mường dêt ‘small’. From an infixed form are Riang-Lang _kandiat ‘to be small’; Khasi khyndiat ‘a little, few’ (= khyndit, ad var.); and by contraction Vietnamese nhât ‘to be small’.


*kri-t, see 180.

196. *sliŋ: Vietnamese lên, Mường lênh ‘to go up’. (#1207)

*[p]liəŋ: Palaung (Milne 1931) siap ‘to pile neatly, to lay one thing on another in a pile’; Khasi bsiap ‘to put between two things, to insert’, siap ‘to insert’.

198. *c(i)m ‘bird’, see 135. (#1324)

*ciam: Kuy sem, Bahnar sem id.; and by contraction from *kuan ciam Old Mon kiñcem, Modern Mon hœcem id. (Biat has chium, for expected **chiam.)

199. *wir: Khmu Yuan wer[kaay] (!) ‘to turn (v.i.)’; Vietnamese vê, Mường wêl ‘to return’. Bahnar rawir ‘to stir’ is from a prefixed form. (#1669)
**wiir**: Bahnar **wir** ‘to twist’. Vietnamese *vi*, in compounds, ‘to surround; circumference’ is from a prefixed form. Praok *vi* ‘to visit’ and Khasi **wir** ‘astray’ may reflect either of these two variants.

*wiar* ‘to turn aside, avoid, go round’, see 166.

200. *pril*: Khmer **prūl** ‘hail’ (x *briiʔ ‘rain’); Praok **pre** id. (#1791)

*prial*: Bahnar **pre** id., Hal **prial** (and probably Jeh **pril** ‘ice, hail’); Palaung **preər** ‘hail’, Khasi **phria** ‘hailstone’.

201. *wil* ‘to turn round...’, see 131; and *wiil* id., see 107. (#1794)

*wiə*: Khmer **vīə** ‘to dig round, cut round, to enlarge [hole]’; Riang-Lang _viɛl_ ‘to turn round’; Vietnamese **vẹ** ‘to be twisted, crooked, distorted’. Note among reflexes of prefixed forms Bahnar **kuɛl** ‘enclosure’; **kvel** ‘small and bent’, probably cognate with Palaung **kərviař** ‘to encircle, surround’.

### Back Vowels before -h and -s

*-*uh *-*uuh *-*u. Although *-*uh and *-*uuh are merged in Khmer and probably North Bahnaric and Aslian, distinct reflexes have been noted for most other languages. A straightforward length distinction is found in Stieng, Chrau and Sre, and the South Bahnaric languages as a whole show characteristic reflex sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>*-*uh</th>
<th>*-*uuh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stieng</td>
<td>-oh</td>
<td>-oːh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Azémar)</td>
<td>-uh</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sre</td>
<td>-uːh (-oh)</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>-uh</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cent. Rōlōm</td>
<td>-oh</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunör</td>
<td>-uːh (-oh)</td>
<td>-oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biat</td>
<td>-oh (-uːh)</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*-uh*. For South Bahnaric see above. old Mon has /uːh/ (merging *oh: below), whence modern -oh -oːh (merging Old Mon /oːh/ < *əəh; /əs/), by post-nasal split -uh -uːh. Khmer has -oh -uːh, written -uːh; in the spoken language merging with -us < *-us as well as with *-*uuh. Kuy has -uh -uːh.

North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -oh, -uuh, Jeh and Halang -uh, -uːh; Bahnar vowel height and Jeh/Halang register are not consistently correlated. The origin of the variation (further discussed below) is obscure. It might be attributed to length variation; from *-*uuh we find only Bahnar -uuh, Jeh, Halang -uːh. Khmuic has -uh, following dental -oh.

The Palaungic reflexes are difficult to codify. Riang-Lang in two instances has -o; but more often -u, as < *-*uuh. Riang-Lang -a < *-ah suggests that this may result from normal compensatory lengthening following the loss of *-h. Palaung has variously -uuh, -oh, -oːh, -uːh. If we assume -u always to reflect (variant) *-*uuh, and the two instances of -oh variant *-*əah, the remaining reflexes appear as contextually determined: -oh following dental, -uuh otherwise. Similarly, if Praok -u reflects variant *-*uuh and -o variant *-*əah, -o is left as the regular reflex of *-*uh.
Khasi has -ut /ʊt/; Vietnamese -ơ with hỏi or ngà tone. Finally, in Aslian we note variously Northern -uh; Southern -ơ, -uh; Central -ơ, -uh (and in Temiar -ơh, with seemingly automatic lengthening).

Examples:


203. Khmer puh ‘to boil, bubble’, Bahnar buh ‘welling up’ (#2038 *ɓuh &c.); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer papuuh ‘foam’; ‘Central Sakai’ bubuh ‘id., froth’; (ii) Mon həbuh id. (< *bruh —> Cham parapoh); (iii) Stieng (Azémard 1886) sambuh, Biat mbuh, East Bahnar kamuh id. Vietnamese mü ‘pus’ reflects a long-vowel variant, as Khmer, Bahnar, and Aslian may do.

204. Old Mon muh &c. /muh/, Modern Mon múh ‘nose’; Kuy múh, Stieng (a.), Sre, Chrau much, Central Rölöm moh, Bunör (← ?), Biat moh, Bahnar much; Jeh, Halang moh, Khmu’ much id.; Khasi mut; Temiar mûh (#2045 *muuh); and from a prefixed form Khmer cramoh, Stieng tramoh (Azémard 1886 tramuh) id. Palaung (Milne 1931) muh presumably reflects a long-vowel variant (as Khmer, Kuy, Bunör, and North Bahnaric also may do), Vietnamese mü (*muus).

205. ‘Central Sakai’ loh ‘perforated’ (#2069 *luh; add perhaps Riang-Lang _lu ‘hole, pit’; Vietnamese lô ‘hole’); prefixed formations include (i) Mon kluh ‘to penetrate’ (~ Old Mon kirloh /korluh/ id.; cf. also ii); Khmer kloh, Stieng (Azémard 1886) kluh ‘to pierce bullock’s nose’; (ii) Mon klnh ‘to be penetrated’ (if = ‘to penetrate’, i); Khmer thluh ‘to be pierced through’; (iii) Sre bluh ‘hole, perforation’, Biat bloh ‘having a hole in’, ~ Bahnar boluh ‘hole, perforation; to make a hole in’; (iv) Bahnar hluh ‘perforated, open’; Temiar saluh ‘to shoot with blowpipe’. Cognate with (i), (ii) or (iv) is Riang-Lang _lo ‘to pierce, penetrate’ (~ Palaung karluh ‘to penetrate’, with presumed variant vocalism), and with (ii) or (iv) Khasi [pej] syllut ‘clean through’.

Variant reflexes: South Bahnaric. Sre has -oh following (*)nasal + glottalized consonant, in sondoh ‘to jump’ < *[s]-n-duh (~ Khmer stūh); and probably sometimes following r. Biat has -uh only in mbuh < *s nvuh (no. 203 above), i.e. in the same context as Sre sondoh; the Stieng cognate militates against assuming length variation here. Bunör -oh is attested only in moh (no. 204), against four instances of -uh, and is probably to be explained either by borrowing from Biat or by length variation.

North Bahnaric. If the divergent reflexes in North Bahnaric are to be attributed to length variation, which is formally possible, an unusually high frequency of variation must be assumed; the hypothesis seems prima facie unlikely. The divergence does not appear to be contextually conditioned. Bahnar tuh < *tuh (no. 202) contrasts with toh ‘to hit, beat’ < *tuh (: Palaung toh, Riang-Lang tu ‘to pound’), while the same root *btuh (#2008) yields the Bahnar doublets doh ‘to explode’, duh ‘pus; to suppurate’. Note also the divergence in reflexes of *ruh (#2051) and its prefixed formations: Bahnar rüh, Jeh, Halang rüh ‘to fall’; Bahnar proh ‘to gush out’, beside West Bahnar pruh ‘to squirt from mouth’; Jeh kadruh ‘to jump down’, Halang gadrüh ‘to fall’. (The simplex correspondence here should be contrasted with that in no. 204 above.)
*-uuh. Khmer has *-uh; Old Mon has /uh/, whence modern -aoh -uh -uh. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has *-uh, Jeh and Halang -uh. Khmuic: Khmu Yuan has apparently -oh -øh. In Palaungic Palaung has *-uh, Riang-Lang -u; Praok *-u may reflect variant *-uuh (above). Khasi has */d/ ut/; Vietnamese -u with hóí or ngá tone.

Kuy and Aslian reflexes are unknown. Note that North Bahnaric and Riang-Lang are, probably, ambiguous as between *-uh, *-uuh.

Examples:


208. Mon taoh ‘to rub, scrub, scour’; Khmer doh ðus: ‘to rub, polish’ (#2004 *tuuuh); and from an affixed form Khmu Yuan hantah ‘to rub’. Thai thúu confirms Khmer *-h in spite of the spelling.


Length variation. Isolated or perhaps isolated long-vowel variants were noted in nos. 203, 204 above. Some further illustrations follow.

211. *guuh: Palaung (Milne 1931) guuh ‘to open, to swell’, Praok go [glun] ‘to swell’; ~ *guuh: Mon kūh ‘to swell up’; Palaung (Milne 1931) guuh = guuh. (#1976)

212. *buh: Stieng (Azémard 1886) buh ‘ash’; from affixed forms (i) Mon hapɔh ‘dust, powder, spoil’; (ii) Stieng (Azémard 1886) nbuh ‘ash’, Sre kambuh ‘powder, dust, waste from first pounding of paddy’; ~ *buh: Sre buh, Biat buh, Khmu Yuan pɔh ‘ash’. (#2034)

213. *khuuh: Sre khuuh, Biat khoh ‘to boil (v.i.)’; ~ *kuuhuh: Sre khuuh (Blood 1966, ~ khuuh), Bunör khoh, Central Rölöm khoh id.

*-uəh. Constructions of *-uəh are relatively infrequent, and are usually variants of other finals. The following are probable reflexes: Old Mon /oh/, whence modern -əh; following consonant cluster usually /əh/, whence modern -əh; Khmer -əh, written -əh; perhaps also, or in complementary distribution, (əh?) -aəh, written -əh; Stieng, Chrau, Bunör , Central Rölöm, Biat -əh, Sre -əh, -uəh; Bahnar -uəh (and dialectally -uəh, -əah), -əh, Jeh (and Halang?) -əh; (Palaung -əh, p. uh 2), Praok (-ə, ib.; -uəh).

Isolated variants were noted in nos. 205 and perhaps 207 above. I add here the


215. Stieng toh ‘to explode’, Sre toh ‘cutaneous eruption’ (#2008 *buəh); and from infixed forms (i) Chrau ntəh ‘to explode’; (ii) Sre bartoh, Bunör ratəh, Central

16 [Editorial note: this comparison was deleted in the author's revision of the comparative lexicon.]
Rölöm ṭah, Biat ṭah id. Khmer pḥṭuh phduḥ ‘to crackle, to burst, explode’ may rather reflect the variant *btuh (also in Mon, Bahnar, Palaungic).

216. Bahnar prɔːh ‘outflow’ (*pr-ruh); with a different prefix Sre səkrʌh ‘to shake down’ (*s-ruh). Praok phrua ‘to sprinkle’ may be cognate with Sre, or, with khrua ‘to shake off’, grua ‘to drop, fall away’, be assignable to an *s- suffix formation attested by e.g. Khmer prùːərhuas ‘to squirt from mouth’ (with which Mon pruh proh id. is probably cognate). Variant of *ruh &c. (#2051).

217. Khmer soh suh, Sre soh ‘empty’, East Bahnar sɔːrh ‘empty, stripped’ (#2088 *suəh); with a different prefix Sre səkrʌh ‘to shake down’ (*s-ruh). Praok phrua ‘to sprinkle’ may be cognate with Sre, or, with khrua ‘to shake off’, grua ‘to drop, fall away’, be assignable to an *s- suffix formation attested by e.g. Khmer prùːərhuas ‘to squirt from mouth’ (with which Mon pruh proh id. is probably cognate). Variant of *ruh &c. (#2051).

*-*us &c. Even in languages in which PMK *-s is not preserved as such, reflexes distinct from those of *-h occur following back vowels in most cases. There is thus relatively little difficulty in discriminating between the two finals in reconstruction.

*-*us. The following are considered to be reflexes of *-*us: Old Mon /ɔs/, whence modern -ɒh -ɔh; Khmer -əh, written -us; Kuy -uəh; Sre -us, -os, Biat -uih; Palaung -ur, -or, Riang-Lang -ɔs, -os; Praok -aw; Khasi -ut; Vietnamese -ōi with hôi or ngā tone. The low frequency of the rhyme compared with *-*uus may reflect the development of the latter from earlier suffixed forms in some cases: *-*uus < *-*uh-s, &c. All instances of *-*us noted are variants (except perhaps no. 223 below); it is therefore possible that some of the Bahnaric and Aslian forms reconstructed with long vowel in fact reflect *-*us.

Variant reflexes: Sre has -os following r, -us elsewhere. The conditioning of the Palaungic reflexes is unclear; within the limited material Palaung -ur corresponds to Riang-Lang -ɔs, Palaung -or to Riang-Lang -os.

Examples will be found in the sections on variation below; I note here:


*-*uus. Old Mon has /us/, whence modern -uəh -uəh. Khmer has -uəh, written -ūs; aoh, written -os; Kuy has -uəh.

South Bahnaric: Sre has -ous; Bunör and Central Rölóm have -uih; Stieng, Chrau, Biat have -uih, -oih. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -uih, -oih, Jeh and Halang -uyh.

Palaungic: Palaung has -ur, Riang-Lang -us; Praok -u in one instance reflects *-*uus or less probably *-*uuh, -ɔ in another may reflect *-*uus or *-*uəs. Khasi has -ud. Vietnamese -ői is presumed to reflect *-*uus in no. 204 above.

In Aslian I have noted Northern -os; Central (Temiar) -os, -ūs.

The splits in Khmer and Biat are compatible with those found before other non-laryngeal finals. Those in Stieng and Chrau are difficult to interpret for paucity of evidence.

Again, virtually all instances involve variation; examples should be sought in the relevant sections.

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17 [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction to *-[k]ruh (#2054).]
Length variation. Examples:

219. *pʔus: Vietnamese ơi ‘guava tree’; ~ pʔuus: Sre pʔuus id. (#1876)
220. *[r]kus: PalMon [i]kur ‘porcupine’; from an infixed form Riang-Lang 
  *raykos id.; ~ *[r]kus: Temiar kus id. Khasi dyngkhied reflects a variant in *-ias (as 
  Danan tŏŋkiet suggests), or one in *-as with secondary lengthening. (#1883)
221. *bús: Mon boh ‘to boil (v.t.)’; ~ *búus: Palaung bur, Riang-Lang *bus ‘foam, 
  froth’; Temiar būs ‘bubbles’. (Earlier *buh-s; for *buh see no. 203 above; *-s causative is 
  assumed in Mon) (#2038)
222. *t-prus: Khmer proh prus ‘male’ (Danaw pʰrɛh is a loan, probably from an 
  unattested Riang-Lang form); and *t-m-rus: Old Khmer tamrus, Kuy ntruh id.; ~ *truus: 
  Old Mon trūs &c. /trus/, Modern Mon kraoh id.; Khmer traoh tros ‘male, ungelded 
  [animal]’; and with p-infix Khmer praoh ‘male’. (#1940)

In the following instance it is possible that only a short-vowel form should be 
reconstructed, since the Stieng and North Bahnaric reflexes of *-us are not known.
223. *mus or *muus: Stieng (Azémard 1886) muih, Sre mūs, Biat mūi ‘to clear 
[forest]’, Bahnar muiih ‘clearing of forest’, Jeh, Halang muuh. (#1922)

*-uas. Old Mon has /os/, whence modern -uh; following consonant cluster usually /as/, 
whence modern -oh-ôh. Khmer has -ūah, written -uas.

South Bahnaric: the following are considered to be normal reflexes: Stieng 
(Azémard 1886) -ueh, -oeh, -oeh, Sre -oas, Biat -oih. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -oih, 
Jeh and Halang -uayh. Khmu has -ueh, Khmu Yuan -uas.

224. *t, uas: Old Mon tos /tos/ ‘to utter, proclaim’; with nasal infix (*tntuas) 
Praok dua ‘to assert’. (#1899)
225. *puas: Stieng (Azémard 1886) poeh [jəŋ], Jeh, Halang puayh ‘calf of leg’;
Palaung puar [grəŋ]. (The Stieng short vowel is exceptional.) (#1913)
226. *kruas: Khmer kruah kruas, Stieng (Azémard 1886) kroeh ‘gravel’; 
Vietnamese sōi ‘pebble, gravel’. Mon kreh reflects a front-vowel variant. (#1936)
‘knife, dagger’. (#1953)

In the following instance Bahnaric shows variants in *-uas, *-was; the latter is 
probably secondary.
228. *r[ ]uas: Stieng (Azémard 1886) ruæh, Jeh, Halang ruayh ‘elephant’. *rwas: 
Stieng ruæh, Sre rawas, Chrau rawæh, Bunör, Biat ruæh, Bahnar dialects rooih, roæh, 
ruæh, id. Bahnar roih, dial. ruih, reflects *ruus, which is less readily explained if *rwas 
is the primary form; while Vietnamese con voi may be evidence for a metathetic *swuar 
(from earlier *ruw[a]s?). (#1930)
**Variation between simple vowel and diphthong.** Examples:

229. *ʔus: Khmer oh as ‘firewood’; ~ *ʔus: Kuy ʔuh, Sre ous ‘fire’; Temiar ŋū s id.; ~ *ʔuai: Middle Mon ‘oh /ʔɔh/, Modern Mon uh ‘firewood’. (#1872)


232. *tpuus: Old Khmer pos, Modern Khmer baoh pos ‘to sweep’ (with vocalism by levelling on omboah ‘broom’), Stieng poiih (Azémar 1886 puiiḥ) id.; and from affixed forms (i) Bahnar dialects hapuiiḥ &c. id.; (ii; *tnpuus > *tmpuus by metath. > *pmuus > ) Chrau poiḥ id.; ~ *tpuas: Middle Mon twah, Modern Mon kwaih id. (or *tpas, for which cf. e.g. Sre pas); and with secondary infixation Stieng (Azémar 1886) branuəch ‘broom’. (A front-vowel variant *tpiis is seen in Palaungic: Palaung pir, &c., and in Bunör mpəi ‘broom’.) (#1916)

*ʔh. No differentia have been found for *ʔh, *ʔh. I write *ʔh in all cases, which should be understood as subsuming the strict formula *ʔ(ə)h.

Differentia for *ʔh, *ʔh have been found so far only in Mon, Biat, and (inferentially and on scantly material) in Kuy. Old Mon has /ʔh/ < *ʔh, /ʔuh/ < *ʔh; Biat respectively -ʔh, -ʔh. Kuy *ʔh < *ʔh contrasts with -ʔh, which in no. 240 below reflects either a variant in *ʔooh or else *ʔuus < *ʔ-u-s. (Further differentia will be proposed for *ʔh = *ʔooh.)

The reflexes of *ʔh in other languages are Khmer -ʔh -ūʔh, written -ʔh; Sre -ʔh, all other South Bahnaric languages -ʔh; Bahnar -ʔh, -ʔh, Jeh and Halang correspondingly -ʔh, -ʔh; Khmuic -ʔh; Palaung -ʔh, Riang-Lang -ʔ; Khasi -ʔt; South Aslian -ʔh, Central -ʔh. Praek and Vietnamese reflexes have not been determined.

Examples:


234. Stieng (Azémar 1886) koh to cut, lop’, Sre koh ‘to cut (down, up)’, Biat koh ‘to cut (up, off)’, Bahnar kəh ‘to cut’, Jeh koh ‘to chop’, Halang koh ‘to chop, cut’, Theng koh ‘to cut (up)’; Palaung koh ‘to cut (down, off)’; Semai koh ‘to cut’ (#1969 *koh); and from affixed forms Khasi dkhót ‘part, piece, member’; lyngkhot, lyngkot ‘piece’.


236. Sre boh, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat boh, Bahnar boh, Jeh, Halang boh ‘salt’ (#2037 *ɓəh).18

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18 [Editorial note: Shorto later revised his analysis to distinguish a long vowel in this case.]
*-ɔs, *-ɔɔs, *-ɔs is tentatively reconstructed in the two following cases; either might alternatively be reconstructed *-ɔs. (The Khmer vowel-shift does not operate before a spirant.)

237. Khmer tūah das’ (and doh) ‘to dam’ (#1902 *[j]t[ɔ]s); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer thnūah ‘fish-weir, fish-crawl, of branches’; (ii) Mon hatch ‘dry-dam fish-trap’.

238. Mon klah ‘to throw (at, away )’ (#1948 *[c]l[ɔ]s); and from an infixed form Khmer cralas’ ‘to throw, hurl’.

*-ɔɔs is reconstructed in the following case, on the assumption that the Biat vocalism before *-s parallels that before *-h.

239. Sre loos (and los), Biat lɔːih ‘iron’ (*lɔɔs).

*-oh. The following reflexes of *-oh have been established (for the distinction from *-ɔh see above): Old Mon /u̯h/ (as < *-uh); Khmer, Stieng, Sre as < *-oh, Biat -oh; Bahnar -ɔː (dialectally -oː); Jeh and Halang -oh; Praok -o; Vietnamese -o with hői tone.

Only two certain cases are known:

240. Middle Mon loh /l̄u̯h/ ‘to uncoil (v.t.)’, Modern Mon ləh ‘to come unwound’; Old Khmer loh ‘to free’, Modern Khmer lūah loh ‘to redeem, ransom’ (#2067 *[lo̯h]); and from prefixed forms inter alia (i) Old Mon plu̯h &c. ‘to attain Buddhahood’, Modern Mon ploh ‘to come unwound, to unwind’; Stieng (Azémard 1886) ploh ‘to peel off, skin’, Sre ploh [bos] ‘[snake’s] slough’, Bahnar dialects plôh, plo̯h ‘to open, undo, undress’; Praok plo ‘to rise in baking’; Vietnamese trô ‘to shoot forth, sprout’; (ii) Bahnar klah ‘[scab] to come away’. Bahnar dialects plo̯ih = plôh reflects a form with *-s suffix (*plo̯h-s > *plo̯os; → Achinese plôh ‘to unfasten, unroll, take off’); Kuy plo̯h ‘to swell’ perhaps more probably a long-vowel variant.

241. Biat, Jeh, Halang lôh ‘to go out’; Palaung ləh ‘to go, come’ (#2068 *[lo̯h]).

Items for which no reflexes from criterion languages are available are reconstructed with *-ɔ][h.

*-ooh. The reconstruction of *-ooh is supported by two items, one of them tentative. The reflexes are Old Mon /o̯/ (as < *-u̯a); Khmer -ɔ (as < *-ɔh, *-oh); Palaung -o (?), Praok -o; Vietnamese -o with hői tone.

242. Old Mon poh /poh/, Modern Mon puh ‘to shoot with pellet-bow’; Khmer bɔh poh ‘to throw, to gin [cotton]’; Praok [ak] pɔ ‘bow’ (*pɔo̯h); and from an infixed form Mon nuh ‘pellet-bow’; Khmer pnoh ‘bow for beating cotton’; Vietnamese nô ‘crossbow’.

243. Middle Mon tha̯boh /təboh/ ‘cake of rice-flour’, Modern Mon [kwain]habuh ‘rice-flour’; (?) Palaung (Milne 1931) karboh ‘airborne dust, to be dusty’ (*t[l]booh). Though the Palaung comparison is tentative, there is support in Munda for the reconstruction.

No reconstructions of *-os, *-oos are made apart from the suffixed variant (Bahnar dialects -ɔiːh) under no. 240.
Part 2 Consonantism

We reconstruct the following consonant system for PMK:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
*/ & p & t & c & k & q & \theta \\
& b & d & j & g & \beta & \delta \\
m & n & \eta & \eta \\
w & r & l & y & s & h & / \\
\end{array}
\]

Final consonants have already been treated in Part 1; neither voiced plosives nor glottalized *\(\delta\), *\(\beta\) are reconstructed in final position. Here we shall consider first the reflexes at C₁ in forms with the structure *CVC. All the above consonants may be reconstructed in this position.

1 STRUCTURE *CVC

1.1 Voiceless plosives: *k *c *t *p

*\(k\), *\(t\), *\(p\) are preserved in most of the languages compared. The main exceptions are that (i) in Khasi they are reflected by voiceless aspirates kh, th, ph; (ii) in Khmer and Vietnamese (but not in Mường) *\(t\), *\(p\) are glottalized: d, b in the Khmer transcription, d, b in the Vietnamese. Vietnamese /k/ is written c or k according to the following vowel. (For divergences in the Biat and Lawa reflexes of *k, *t see below.)

In Mon, Khmer and Khmu Yuan (not in some other Khmuic dialects) words with these initials have head register, unmarked in the transcriptions. In Riang-Lang they have high tone, and in Vietnamese and Mường tones of the ‘high’ series: ngang, sác, hói.

These reflexes are illustrated in the following examples:

‘Fish’: Old Mon ka(‘), Modern Mon kaʔ, Khmer kaː-[moŋ \&c.] (in specific names), Sre ka, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kaː, Theng, Palaung ka, Riang-Lang ʻkaʔ, Praok ka, Lawa kaʔ, Khasi kha (~ dohkha), Mường, Vietnamese cá, Temiar kaʔ (16 *kaʔ).


[Editorial note: the typescript of Part 1, as it came to us, lacked a discussion of final consonants, so that we are left with what can be surmised from the reconstructions presented in the comparative lexicon (Part 3).]

36
‘To pluck, break off, cut’: Khmer kac ‘to break [rigid object]’, Sre kac ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Biat kac ‘to strip [grain from ear]’, Bahnar dial. kɛc ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’, Riang-Lang kɛc ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’, Khasi kheit ‘to pluck, gather’, Mường cách, Vietnamese câ’t ‘to cut up’ (#800 *kac).

Cf. for *k* also #18, #278–#281, #317, #495–#506, #779–#803, #889–#893, #956–#963, #1125–#1129, #1231–#1238, #1308–#1313, #1442–#1447, #1564–#1573, #1702–#1712, #1814–#1820, #1967–#1973.

‘Hand, arm’: Old Mon təi, Modern Mon toa, Khmer dəi, Sre ti, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar tii, Palaung ti, Riang-Lang tii?, Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang təi?, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang te?, Temiar from nasal-suffix form tik (#66 *t,iʔ?). Khasi has *ti* by levelling on the prefixed form kti, where -t- is regular (see below). Mường thay, Vietnamese tay, < #244 *siiʔ?, are not cognate.

‘To weave, plait, twill’: Modern Mon tən, Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar tən, Jeh, Halang tən, Khmu Yuan tən, Riang-Lang *tən, Praok tən, Lawa tən, Khasi thaiŋ, Mường tən, Vietnamese dan, Temiar təc (#898 *tən).


‘To bury’: Old Mon tip, Modern Mon təp, Chrau təp, Biat təp, Röngao təp ‘to bury’, Jeh təp ‘to set in ground’, Halang təp ‘to put in ground’, Khasi thep ‘to entomb [bones]’ (beside tep ‘to bury’, which is unexplained: #1252 *təp(ə)p).

Cf. for *t- also #64–#75, #303–#323, #542–#568, #812–#815, #896a–#899a, #998–#101, #1153–#1156, #1250–#1257a, #1340–#1353, #1463–#1458, #1610–#1624, #1733–#1738, #1825–#1828, #1899–#1903, #1996–#2009.


‘Four’: Old Mon pan, Modern Mon pon, Khmer buən, Sre pən, Chrau pən, Biat pən, Bahnar dialects puən, Jeh, Halang puən, Riang-Lang *pon, Praok po, Lawa Bo Luang paŋ, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang paun, Mường pən, Vietnamese bən (#1127 *pən? &c.). Palaung has phən by counting deformation on phən ‘five’, < #1214 *m-sən.


‘You’ (pl.): Palaung pe, Riang-Lang *peʔ, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang paiʔ, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang pəʔ, Khasi phi (#99 *piʔ).

Cf. for *p- also #98–#106, #345–#355, #602–#618, #823–#825, #905–#907, #1020–#1030, #1162–#1168, #1371–#1372, #1478–#1481, #1633–#1640, #1752–#1760, #1833, #1908–#1918, #2021–#2031.

In Biat *k, *t are palatalized to c- before -iaC (< *-iaC). The same development is found in the closely related Bunör (and also in Preh: see Blood 1966:21) in corresponding contexts. Thus we have Mon kit ‘to bite’, Sre kiat, Chrau kiat ‘to itch’, Biat ciat ‘to sting, smart’, Bunör cyat ‘to itch’ (#957 *kiit &c.); Sre kiaw, Biat ciaw, Bunör ce: w ‘left-hand’ (1814 *kiəw, *giəw); Sre tiəŋ, Chrau tiəŋ, Biat ciəŋ Bunör cyəŋ, Jeh teŋ ‘tail’ (#542 *t,iəŋ); Sre tiər, Biat ciar ‘to forge’, Bahnar t(ɨ):r ‘to hammer to an edge’ (and
Vietnamese đe ‘anvil’; *1554 *tiaŋ).

Palatalization does not occur before an undiphthongized high front vowel, nor generally before -cːC < *-iaːC. It is, however, found in Sre tiaː mat, Biat ceːh mat ‘blind’. (Contrast in *C JVC structures e.g. Biat teːt ‘parakeet’ < #1010 *giatan, *giatan; nteh ‘noise’ < #1900 *kt as; whereas before -iaːC in these contexts there is palatalization as above.) The development is likely to be recent.

A somewhat similar palatalization is found in one item in Lawa Umpai: Khmer keh keh, Lawa Bo Luang kaih, Lawa Umpai ces ‘mountain goat’ (#1967 *k[i][i][h], *kia[h]).

The palatal term of the voiceless plosive series, *c, may be presumed to have been—or to have given rise to—an affricate in all the languages. The affricate is preserved in Mon, Khmer, Rōngao, Jeh, Halang, Vietnamese and Mường (orthographic ch-), and Aslian. In most of South Bahnaric, Khmu, Northern Mon-Khmer, and Khasi the plosive element has been lost and the reflex is s. Biat has ch; but it should be noted that this is also the reflex of *s- (> Sre &c. s, §1.6), so that Biat differs phonetically rather than systemically from the main part of South Bahnaric. The phonetic direction of the merger may reflect the proximity of North Bahnaric. Finally, variant reflexes are found in Stieng (s, c) and Bahnar (s, ts, c); they will be discussed in detail below. Thus we have:

‘Louse’: Mon coa, Khmer cay, Stieng siːh, Sre say, Chrau siː, Biat chiː, Bahnar siː, Khmu Yuan seʔ, Palaung si, Riang-Lang siʔ, Lawa Bo Luang soiʔ, Lawa Umpai seʔ, Lawa Mae Sariang seiʔ, Khasi ’si (~ksi), Vietnamese chí, ch.dylib, Temiar ceʔ (#39 *ciʔ).


‘Cooked’: Mon cin, Stieng siːn, Sre sin, Chrau sun, Biat chin, Bahnar tsin, Jeh, Halang cen, Theng, Palaung sin, Riang-Lang sin, Mường, Vietnamese chín, Temiar ceːt (#1137 *ciːʔ &c.). Khmer has chʔvn by metathesis.

‘Bird’: Stieng cuːm, Sre siːm, Chrau sum, Biat chium, Bahnar seːm, Jeh, Halang cim, Khmu Yuan siːm, Palaung sim, Riang-Lang sim, Praok sim, Lawa Bo Luang saip, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang saim, Khasi sim, Mường, Vietnamese chim, Temiar cep (#1324 *çim &c.).

Cf. also v. #39-#48, #289-#299, #520-#535, #807-#810, #981-#989, #1137-#1145a, #1243-#1246, #1324-#1329, #1591-#1599, #1725-#1726, #1821-#1821a, #1887-#1896, #1982-#1990.

The discrepant Stieng and Bahnar reflexes with c (in three items: #981, #1243a, #1324) may tentatively be attributed to clusters arising from prefixation, and thus eliminated. Stieng s and c, and Bahnar s and ts, occur with nearly equal frequency. It is thus not very likely that the divergences can be attributed to borrowing, nor can they readily be accounted for by reference to the vocalism or other contextual factors. We may note, however, that Stieng s corresponds to Bahnar s, and Stieng c to Bahnar ts, in three-quarters of the cases where both languages show cognates, against a random expectation of one-half: (Stieng, Bahnar s) 39 (‘louse’, above), #40, #43 (‘grandchild’, above), #514, #947 (Jōlong s-t beside c-t), #950; (Stieng c, Bahnar ts) #286, #288, #781; (others)
This degree of agreement, between languages at opposite ends of the Bahnaric area, may be significant. I shall not use it to postulate an additional protophoneme, the nature of which would in any case be obscure. But it may be a relic of an early split the conditions of which are difficult to discern.

1.2 Voiced plosives: *g *j *d *b

All four voiced plosives are preserved in Bahnaric, Khmuic other than Khmu Yuan, Palaung, and Aslian; but in Chrau the dental and labial terms (written d, v) have both plosive and fricative allophones. Khasi preserves j, but for the other three terms has plain voiceless reflexes: k, t, p. The older voiceless-voiced contrast is thus maintained, under one form or another, in the relevant consonant systems of all the above languages; and, partly, in Khmer.

In Mon, Khmer, and seemingly Khmu Yuan the reflexes are k, c, t, p and are accompanied by chest register, marked by grave accent in the transcriptions. (The marking of chest register in Lindell 1971 is not wholly consistent if the above formulation is correct.) The Khmer dental and labial terms remain distinct from the glottalized reflexes of *t, *p.

In the three tone languages the reflexes fall together with those of the voiceless series, except that in Riang-Lang *j yields a dental affricate [ts], here transcribed c. They are accompanied by low tone in the case of Riang-Lang and by tones of the ‘low’ series -huyên, nàng, ngã—in that of Viet-Mường (note that Mường nàng tone corresponds to Vietnamese nàng and ngã, Mường lacking the second of these).

Finally, in Praok and the Bo Luang and Mae Sariang dialects of Lawa the reflexes of *g, *d, *b fall together with those of the voiceless series without register or tonal distinction, but with differences in vocalism which testify to the register stage through which Waic is presumed to have passed. In Lawa Umpai the reflexes are aspirates or h-clusters: kh, th, ph (for contextual palatalization see below). As with Riang-Lang, *c and *j remain distinct, the latter yielding Praok, Lawa Bo Luang c, Lawa Umpai ch, Lawa Mae Sariang c ~ ch.

Fewer items with these initials have a general MK distribution than was the case with their voiceless counterparts. Hence it will be necessary to illustrate them with more numerous but more limited examples.

‘Those, they’: Khmer kè: ‘one, someone, he, they’, Sre go indefinite pronoun (weak form), Rōngao ge:, ge:, weak form ga: ‘he, she’, Khmu Yuan kì: (!) ‘this’, Palaung ge, Riang-Lang _kəʔ (weak form), Praok ki ‘they’, Lawa Bo Luang ke ‘he, she’, Khasi ki ‘they’ (#27 *ge[ʔ]).


‘To winnow’: Mon kùm, Chrau, Biat, Theng gum ‘to winnow’, Palaung gum ‘to clean [rice] by tossing’ (#1317 *gum &c.).


‘To enter’: Khmu Yuan kùt, Riang-Lang _kut ‘to enter’, Khasi kot ‘to reach’ (#968...
*guut, *gu[ə]t*).

Cf. for *g*—also #281a-#284, #507-#518, #804-#805, #964-#972, #1130-
#1134, #1239-#1242, #1314-#1320, #1574-#1584, #1713-#1721, #1820a, #1884,

'To break ground for cultivation': Old Mon *jik*, Modern Mon *côik* ‘to harrow, to
cultivate’, Khmer *côk* ‘to dig’, Sre *ji*, Chrau *ji*, Biat *jô*, Jeh, Halang *jîak* ‘to plough;
cultivated field’, Jeh, Halang *jîak* ‘ricefield’, Praok *cî:ak* ‘to dig’, Lawa Bo Luang
*cûk*, Lawa Umpai *cûk*, Lawa Mae Sariang (*c*hîk* ‘irrigated field’ (#300 *jîik*,
*jîak*).

‘Foot, leg’: Old Mon *jûn*, Modern Mon *côn*, Khmer *çô:n*, Sre, Chrau *jan*, Biat *jâ:n*,
Praok *cô:n*, Lawa Bo Luang *cû:n*, Lawa Umpai *chûn*, Temiar *jûk* (#538(I) *jûn* &c.).

‘To sew’: Old Mon *jîn*, *jîn*, Modern Mon *côn*, Sre *jîn*, Chrau *jîn*, Palaung
*jîn*, Praok *côn*, Lawa Bo Luang *cû:n*, Lawa Umpai *cî:n*, Lawa Mae Sariang (*h)iñ (#894
*jîn*, *jîn*).

‘To descend’: Chrau *jur*, Biat *jur*, Bahnar *jûr:* ‘to descend’, Jeh *jôl*, Halang *jur*
‘down’, Khmu Yuan *cûr* (!) ‘to descend’, Palaung *jûr* ‘valley’, Riанг-Làng _cûr_ ‘to
descend’, Praok *cî:a* ‘to fall, be shed’, Lawa Bo Luang *co*, Lawa Umpai *chua* ‘to leak’,
Khasi *jûr* ‘descent’, Semai *jû:* ‘to fall’ (#1606 *jûr* [ ] &c.).

‘Moist, swampy’: Mon *chîm* ‘to be swampy’, Khasi *jum-jum* ‘full of juice’,
Vietnamese *chîm* ‘to sink, be submerged’ (#1330 *jîim* &c.).

‘Quick, to run’: Sre *jâr* ‘quick, urgent’, Mon *côkh* Vietnamese *chây* ‘to run’
(#1602 *jâr*?).

Cf. for *j*—also #300-#302, #535a-#540, #811, #990-#996, #1146-#1150,
#1247-#1249, #1330-#1338, #1461-#1462, #1600-#1608, #1727-#1731, #1822-
#1823, #1897-#1898a, #1991-#1995

‘To run away’: Old Mon *dôw*, Modern Mon *têa* ‘to run away’, Khmer *trû* ‘to go
(away)’, Sre *dû?, Chrau, Biat *dû*, Khmu Yuan *tû?, Palaung *dô* ‘to run away’, Temiar
*dô?* ‘to run’ (#84 *dû?*).

‘To block, dam’: Khmer *tûp* ‘to block, dam’, Chrau *dap* ‘to dam’, Riанг-Làng _tap_
‘to stop, dam’, Vietnamese *dûp* ‘dam’ (#1219 *dâp*).

‘To lodge for the night’: Old Mon *dûm*, Modern Mon *tôm* ‘to lodge ...’, Khmer *tûm*
‘to perch’, Rõngao *dû:vm* ‘to camp out’, Jeh *dâm*, Halang *dôm* ‘to sleep away from home’,
Khmu* dûm* ‘to stay overnight’, Palaung *dâm* ‘to lodge’, Praok *tôm* ‘to lodge, alight’
(#1357 *dâm*, *dûum*). Khasi has *dêm* ‘to alight, to lie down’, perhaps by the attraction
of *p дем* ‘to incubate’, < #1356 *dâm*, *dûum*).

‘Vicious’: Riанг-Làng _tam tak* ‘gur (palm syrup)’, Vietnamese *dûc* ‘to be viscous,
to coagulate’ (#326 *dâk*).

‘Flower’: Praok *tay*, Lawa Bo Luang *tia*, Lawa Umpai *thia*, Lawa Mae Sariang *tuai*
‘flower’, Vietnamese *dôi* ‘calyx’ (#1469 *dây*).

Lawa Mae Sariang tu, Mon *dôi* ‘hill’ are to be compared either with Old Mon *dal*, Modern Mon * tô* (see #1741 *dul*) or with Sre *dor*, Halang *doar* (see
#1626 *d*). Cf. for *d*—also #322-#328, #569-#580, #816, #900-#902, #1010a-#1012,
#1157, #1258-#1259, #1354-#1359, #1469-#1471, #1625-#1629, #1739-#1745,
#1829, #2010-#2012. Khasi *t*- is attested in #325 (teh ‘to bind, fasten’: Mon *têak* ‘to
tie, tether, link...`) and #570 (`tong ‘to draw [water &c.]:’ Khmer `tiuan ‘to pull back and forth’, &c.).

‘To bind’: Mon `pak ‘to put [waistcloth] round’, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang `puk, Lawa Umpai `phuk ‘to tie, bind’, `muong `puoc, Vietnamese `buoc, Temiar `bog ‘to bind’ (#357 `bak &c.).

‘Belly’: Mon `pan, Khmer `puan, Bahnar `buon, Khmu Yuan `pon (!), Vietnamese `bung (#624 `bun[ ], *bunn?). Khasi has ‘poh ~ `kpooh, with a final variation of a type found in a few other items; perhaps attributable to the final cluster.


Cf. for `b- also #107-#119, #356-#366, #619-#629a, #826, #908, #1031-#1037, #1169-#1176, #1482a-#1488, #1641-#1646a, #1761-#1763, #1834-#1835, #1920-#1921, #2032-#2035.

In Lawa Umpai the reflex of *g palatalized before a high front vowel, or diphthong with that starting-point (cf. the palatalization of *k noted previously). Thus we have Riang-Lang `kit ‘to scratch’, Praok `kiat, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang `kiat, Lawa Umpai `chiat ‘to bite’ (#964 `giit, *giat); and the Waic items Praok `kac, Lawa Bo Luang `kik, Lawa Umpai `chiac, Lawa Mae Sariang `kuic ‘ashamed’ (sc. *gaac) and Praok `ki, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang `kih, Lawa Umpai `chis ‘salt’ (sc. *giis). Evidence is lacking as to a Biat palatalization corresponding to that of *k, *t.

In Chrau, Bahnar (possibly North Bahnaric generally), Riang-Lang and Khasi there are isolated instances of a semivowel corresponding to reflexes assigned to *j- elsewhere. The majority occur before (original or secondary) high vowels. We shall generally treat them as a sporadic development and reconstruct *j-, though some may reflect clusters arising from affixation. Thus we find (i) Chrau `iuun ‘to give’ ( ~ `niun ‘to hand over’) but Old Mon `jin `/jøn/, ‘to make over, hand over’, Khmer `cúnn ‘to offer’, Sre `jun ‘to bring’, West Bahnar `jenn ‘to bring, convey’, Semaq Beri (South Aslian) `jon ‘to give’ (#1148 *jun, *jüun; contrast Chrau `jur < *jüur ‘to descend’, #1606);

(ii) Bahnar `yøn ‘important, great’ ( ~ `kajun ‘high, long, big’), Sre `joøn ‘long, high, tall’, Khmu Yuan `coŋ, Central Nicobarese `coŋ ‘high’ (#537 *jøn, *jooln); Bahnar `yım ‘like, thus, so’, Riang-Lang `cam ‘in order to’, and from an affixed form Praok `jım ‘manner, action, condition’ (#1332 *jam, *jœm; contrast Bahnar `jøøn < *jœn ‘foot, leg’); Bahnar `yuŋ ‘to stand up’, Jeh `yuän ‘to get up’, Halang `yuæn ‘to stand’ < *juŋ (#538II, cf. iv below). But Bahnaric y- in these cases may reflect forms with nasal affix; `yım would then parallel Praok `jam.


(iv) Khasi `iæŋ, Palaung `jaŋ, Mah Meri (South Aslian) `juuk ‘to stand’ (#538II *jaŋ; cf. with variant vocalism Bahnar `yuŋ, &c.; connected with ‘foot, leg’, p. 2.10). Contrast Khasi `um-jer ‘dew’ < #1344 *jør or *jør.

Note that similar, but differently distributed, mixed reflexes are provisionally assigned to *y- (see below).
1.3 Glottalized consonants: *ɗ, *ɓ

Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi and Viet-Mường show two distinct sets of correspondences to the reflexes associated with *ɗ and *ɓ elsewhere. (So too do Kuy and, for the dental term only, Central Nicobarese.) One set has been described in the last section: Vietnamese d, b, Mon etc. t, p, with chest register or low tone as appropriate. The other set comprises Mon (glottalized) d, b, accompanied by head register; Riang-Lang d, b, normally with high tone; Khasi d, b; Vietnamese n, m and Mường d, b, both with tones of the high series. From correspondences involving the second set we reconstruct PMK glottalized *ɗ and *ɓ.

*CVC examples which demonstrate the coherence of the criterion languages are few, especially for the labial term; though they are bolstered by those involving more complex structures. We may cite the following.


‘Crushed to bits’: Literary Mon (p)dut ‘to be broken, bruised’, Riang-Lang duc ‘to be ground to powder...’, Mường dāch, Vietnamese nát ‘to be broken, crushed’ (#818 *[ ]duuc, *[ ]daac).


‘To have ...’ : Riang-Lang ᵂday future prefix (with phrasal low tone), Khasi dei ‘must’; and Chrau di: -(in order) to’, Biat ᵅɑi ‘to be [un]able to’, Bahnar dei: ‘to have, possess’, Palaung di future prefix, Praok ti ‘(in order) to’ (#1472 *ɗāy, *ɗay).


‘Askew, out of shape’: Mon ꚹa, Vietnamese méo (#1764 *ɓia[l]?).


But most reconstructions of *ɗ- and *ɓ- rest on the evidence of one criterion language only; thus the next two examples depend on that of Mon.


‘Two’: Old Mon ᵅァr, Modern Mon ba, Khmer pi:, Sre bar, Chrau va:r, Biat, Bahnar, Halang bar:, Jeh ba:l, Khmu Yuan par (#1562 *ɓァar, *[ɓir]).

Cf. also for *ɓ- #367-#375, #630-#637, #827-#831, #909-#910, #1038-#1044,

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3 [Editorial note: here the symbols d, b are as used as in Shorto’s 1962 spoken Mon dictionary—the IPA values they indicate are the implosives (‘glottalized’) d, b, for which OUP typesetters substituted d, b. The same applies to modern Khmer notations. Spoken Mon hw corresponds to IPA ħ.]
The citation of ‘two’ raises a point of principle which should be mentioned here. The Pre-PMK reconstruction of this root was made to account for unexpected dialectal variants in PMK: Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường and Nicobarese apparently reflect *ʔaarr. On the evidence so far presented it might therefore be argued that the eastern languages—Khmer and Bahnaric—had not developed glottalized consonants at the PMK stage and that the latter have a merely dialectal status there. However, besides the distinct reflexes in Kuy (closely related to Khmer), most South Bahnaric languages show a distinctive development following a nasal in *(C)CCVC structures (see below). We need not, then, doubt the PMK status of *ɗ and *ɓ although there are certain irregularities in their distribution.

Ambiguous reconstructions. Where no reflex is found in any criterion language, reconstructions remain ambiguous between *d- and *ɗ-, *b- and *ɓ-. In such cases I note *[d], *[b], except where factors other than the direct comparison of cognates (probable relationship with other roots, loan forms in non-MK languages) favour the alternative reconstruction. Cf. for *[d]-, #79, #84a, #569, #1259, #1354, #1357, #1626, #2012; for *[b]-, #107, #109, #111, #119, #356, #360-#361, #366, #629a, #1031, #1034-#1035, #1484, #1641, #1920.

This notation is a matter of convenience, not statistical probability. In *CVC structures, assured reconstructions of *d- indeed outnumber those of *ɗ-, while those of *b- and *ɓ- are of nearly equal frequency; but in *CCVC structures those of the glottalized consonants are markedly more frequent.

1.4 Nasals: *ŋ *ɲ *n *m
Four nasals corresponding in points of articulation to the two plosive series are for the most part preserved in the languages compared, with chest register or low tone where appropriate. They are infrequent initially in *CVC structure except for the labial term, which accounts for some five-eighths of the listings. I shall illustrate it first.

‘You (singular)’: Sre mi sing., Chrau may, Biat mai masc., Khmu Yuan me: (!) masc. sing., Palaung mi, Riang-Lang _miʔ, Praok may, Lawa Bo Luang maiʔ, Lawa Umpai miʔ, Khasi me, Vietnamese mây sing. (#128 *mi[i]ʔ).

‘Mother’: Middle Mon mi, Modern Mon miʔ ‘mother’, Khmer mɛː term of address to old women, Sre, Chrau meː, Biat mɛː, Bahnar meʔ, Khasi mei, Mường mɛ, Vietnamese meʔ ‘mother’ (#131 *mɛʔ, *ʔmɛʔ).


‘Nose’: Old Mon mòh, Modern Mon mùh, Sre, Chrau muh, Biat moh, Bahnar mùh, Jeh, Halang, Khmu Yuan mùh, Palaung muh, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang
mauh, Lawa Umpai maus, Khasi 'mut, Mường, Vietnamese mủi, Temiar mə:h (#2045 *muh &c.).

Cf. for *m- #127-#149, #376-#382a, #638-#646, #832-#835, #911-#912, #1045-#1052, #1181-#1189, #1378-#1380, #1494-#1499, #1649-#1655, #1772-#1779, #1922-#1923, #2044a-#2047.

Examples of the remaining nasals are of limited incidence. We may note for the velar: 'to bow head, nod': Khmer ṣok 'to bend over and look, to nod off', Rōngao ṣuk 'to incline head, bow head', Khasi [koh]nghu 'to nod...' (#287 *ŋuk &c.).

'To be extinguished, to extinguish': Chrau ɲat v.t., Riанг-Lang ɲat v.i.t. (#973 ɲat).

'Hungry': Biat [ji:] ɲat 'hunger, to be hungry', Riengkap ɲuat 'to starve, to be hungry' (#975 *ɲut, *ɲuat).

'Eye': Bahnar [ɔn] ɲa:i '[pupil of] eye', Palaung, Praok ɲay, Riengkap ɲay 'eye, face' (#1453 *[ɲaay]).

'To nod head, to sway': Bahnar ɲel 'to shake head', [ɲe:] ɲel 'to sway', Riengkap ɲil ɲil 'to nod', Vietnamese nghêo 'to tilt [head] to one side' (#1722 *ɲil &c.).

'Price': Old Mon ṅūn, Modern Mon ɲu, Palaung ɲuə, Praok ṅo, Lawa Bo Luang ɲuah, Lawa Umpai ɲuas, Lawa Mae Sariang ɲoih (#1886 *ɲus &c.).

A South Bahnaric placentalization when high front vowel is assumed in the following item (see below for the parallel development in *CCVC structure).

'To swallow, drink': Middle Mon nūt, Modern Mon nūt 'to swallow', Stieng niat, Biat nēt 'to drink', Palaung (Milne 1931) nēt 'to swallow'; and with back vocalism Khasi ngu{id id., Semai -ɲat 'to drink' (#806 *[ɲuuc &c.).

'Morinda sp. (kind of tree)': Khmer ɲō, Vietnamese nhâu (!);#61 *ɲo?.

'To suck up, drink': Sre ɲu 'to drink [spirits]', Praok ɲaa, Lawa ɲoʔ, 'to drink', Semai -ɲoʔ 'to suck' (#63 *ɲuu?).

'Larva': Riengkap ɲan 'caterpillar', Khasi 'niang 'worm, insect' (#541 *ɲan).

'To receive, suffer': Old Mon ɲīn passive auxiliary, Theng ɲən 'to receive', Riengkap ɲan 'to bear, endure', Vietnamese nhánh 'to receive' (#1151 *ɲan?, *ɲən[ ]).

In the next example Theng has y-, perhaps a special development in weak position (contrast the last and following ones). 'Person': Old Mon ɲah, Modern Mon ɲīh id., Theng yeʔ 'him', Riengkap ɲeʔ 'who, anyone', Jah Hut (Central Aslian) ɲah 'who?' (#63 *ɲa?, *ɲah).

In the next, Bahnar has y-, dialectally n-, perhaps the regular reflex; the status of Khmu Yuan n- is uncertain in the absence of comparanda. 'Small': Middle Mon ɲī, Modern Mon ɲiʔ 'to be small in quantity', Bahnar yeʔ, West Bahnar also ɲeʔ, Khmu Yuan ɲeʔ, Theng ɲe 'small' (#59 *ɲ[ee]2).

For *ɲ- 58a-63, 541, 997, 1151-1152, 1339, 1609, 1732.

The dental term presents no irregularities. We note 'this': Mon -nəʔ 'this', Khmer nah 'that, there', Chrau nəʔ (!) 'there near at hand', Bahnar dialects nəu &c. 'here, this', Vietnamese no 'this' (#92 *nəʔ, *nah).

'This': Khmer neh, nih 'this', Stieng nei, ni: 'this, here', Sre ne 'there', Khmu Yuan niʔ (!) 'that', Riengkap ɲi, Khasi -ne, Mường nī (!) 'this' (#91 *nəʔ, *nih).

'To know': Khmu Yuan nəŋ 'to know', Khasi nag 'to be able, to know' (#592 *[ɲəŋ[əŋ]).

'Urine, to urinate': Khmer nōm n.v., Stieng nōm, Chrau, Bahnar nōm v., Khmu
Part 2 Consonantism

Yuan [ðɔm] nu:m (!) n., Riang-Lang _num, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai naum n.v. (#1365 *n,uum). Khmu Yuan perhaps rather reflects a sandhi-form in *kn-, cognate with Palaung hnum and Mon nom.

‘Sun, day’: Stieng, Chrau nar, Biat, Bahnar na:r (#1630 [*]nar, [*]naar).

Cf. for *n- #91-#97, #342-#344, #591-#601, #1365-#1370, #1475-#1477, #1749-#1751, #1832, #1905-#1907, #2017-#2020.

1.5 Liquids and semivowels: *y *r *l *w

We shall consider the liquids first. *r and *l are the most frequent of all protophonemes in this position, as in prenuclear position generally; though as the roots in question show a high incidence of prefixation this frequency is not correspondingly reflected in the overall distribution of *CVC forms.

*r- is preserved in the majority of languages. In Lawa Mae Sariang it is reflected as a uvular fricative, noted ſ. The Vietnamese reflex is /z/; properly written r, but in about one-third of cases we find gi-, which is homophonous in northern Vietnamese. Of the two Mường correspondents noted, one is written with r, one with gi-. These reflexes, as with all consonants of this group, are accompanied by chest register or low tone where appropriate.

‘To pull out, pull up, reap’: Mon ṛot ‘to reap’, Khmer ṛọe ‘to pull out, draw out’, Palaung ruıt ‘to pull out’, Praok rut ‘to pull apart, away’, ruc, Khasi rat ‘to uproot’, Vietnamese giąd ‘to pull forcibly, snatch’ (#1058 *rut &c.).


‘To help, to lend’: Old Mon rim [bān], Modern Mon rım ‘to help’, Riang-Lang _rom ‘to lend, borrow [money]’, Palaung rom ‘to borrow [money]’, Lawa Bo Luang rım ‘to borrow’, Khasi ram ‘debt, loan’, Vietnamese giöm ‘to help’ (1390 *rum &c.).

‘Fly’: Mon rūi, Khmer rūy, Stieng ruai, Chrau raway, Bahnar rai, Jeh rōy, Halang rōay, Khmu Yuan rōy, Riang-Lang _ruay, Lawa Bo Luang rōi, Lawa Umpai rūa, Lawa Mae Sariang yuai, Vietnamese rūt (1534 *ruy &c.).


Cf. for *r- #160-#161a, #390-#397, #655-#670, #837-#844, #1055-#1063, #1269-#1275, #1383-#1391, #1500-#1506, #1785-#1787, #1840-#1842, #1924-#1932, #2050-#2053.

*l- is preserved in all languages. Quotable examples, however, have limited distributions.

‘To take’: Palaung lê, Riang-Lang _lêʔ, Mường lề, Vietnamese lây (!) (#188 *liz).

‘To try, test’: Khmer lɔŋ, Biat lɔŋ [uŋ], Stieng, Sre, Jeh loŋ id., Bahnar lɔŋ ‘to be tested’, Lawa Bo Luang lanŋ, Lawa Umpai lɔŋ ‘to try, test’ (#723 *lɔŋ).

‘Penis’: Sre lɔc, Bahnar lɔ: (!), Khmu Yuan lɔk, Khasi loh (#855 *lɔc &c.).
‘To slip’: Old Mon lot, Modern Mon lôt ‘to fall prone’, Khmer lût ‘to slip away, to let go of’, Chrau lac ‘to fall out through hole’, Biat lat ‘to abort (v.t.)’, Palaung lut, (Mon also) luit ‘to take off [clothes &c.]’, Khasi loit ‘to take off, untie, detach’, Vietnamese lot ‘to slip or fall into’, lût ‘to strip off, to slough’ (#1081 *lût &c.).

‘To pass, to exceed’: Middle Mon l(w)on ‘to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed; exceedingly’, Modern Mon lôn also ‘to go past’, Khmer lûan ‘excessive(ly)’, Sre lin ‘to exceed’, Biat lan ‘past, ago’, Praok luon ‘to go past, to pass, escape’, Lawa Bo Luang loan, Lawa Umpai lon ‘very’, Vietnamese lûôn ‘to pass, slip through or under’ (#1200 *lûan &c.).

‘Again’: Riang-Lang *lay (i) ‘more, longer, else’, Praok lay marker of continuous or habitual action, Mûtông lê (!), Vietnamese lâi ‘again’ (#1511 *l[i]ay[?] , *l[i] aay[?]). Praok has exceptionally r- in rwan ‘to swallow’: Sre loan, &c., < #1201 *luon, perhaps by levelling on the affixed form rjuan. Bahnar dâah ‘or’ < #2065 *lah is likely to represent a special development in weak position.

Cf. for *l- also #188-#196a, #417-#432, #710-#729, #924-#927, #1075-#1084, #1195-#1202, #1401-#1404, #1511-#1517, #1662-#1666a, #1853-#1856, #1941-#1945a, #2062-#2072.

The normal reflexes of *w- in all languages fall within the categories of bilabial or labiodental semivowel or fricative. They are noted as *v- in Khmer, Palaung, Praok and Vietnamese; in Vietnamese *w- merges with the reflex of earlier intervocalic *b (i.e. PMK *b at C1 in *CCCCV structure: see below). In Riang-Lang Luce notes variously w- and vw-, here rewritten v-; sometimes as alternatives; suggesting the sort of allophony found in Palaung (Shorto 1960, 547; there between bilabial and labiodental fricative). Jeh and Azémard notes u-, and in two instances before high front vowel (variant) vu-. Thomas has Chrau u-, in place of w-, in one instance.


**Other reflexes of *w-.** In two items, both with final *c, where Palaungic and Khasi appear to call for the reconstruction of *w-, Temiar has ʔ-. In the first of them this consonantism is found in all three branches of Aslian. In the second, where Temiar appears to reflect a secondary back vocalism, Semai has y- and Southern dialects the
normal w-, while most Northern ones have w- with an anomalous final nasal; two have h-, perhaps from a distinct etymon. In both cases we shall reconstruct *w-, assuming a rule of ‘de-dissimilation’.


A similar development involving final *ŋ is seen in Waic if Praok in to go back, return’, Lawa Bo Luang ʔain, Lawa Umpai ʔeijn. Lawa Mae Sariang ʔeijn ‘to come, return’ are cognate with Khmer vən ‘back (again)’, &c., < #931 *wijn &c.

Cf. for *w- also #233-#236, #454-#458, #765-#769, #862-#866, #1090-#1091, #1529-#1531a, #1669-#1672, #1794-#1798, #1950-#1951, #2080a-#2081.

*y- is of low frequency and rather more troublesome. The normal reflex appears to be /y/ in the majority of languages; in Khasi written r-, in Siang i- and in two instances before high back vowels (variant) j- (cf. u-, u- < *w-). It appears from the third example below that the Viet-Muông reflexes may be Muông gi-, Vietnamese nh-.

The Temiar reflex has not been noted.


‘To take’: Khmer yō:k, Bahnar yōk id., Khasi īoh ‘to obtain, receive, have’ (#384 *yōk, *yōk).

‘To lift’: Old Mon yukan, Modern Mon yàk ‘id., to carry in arms’, Khmer yūak ‘to lift up’, Chrau yaʔ ‘to take off, lift’, Siang juːk, Sre yə, Praok yaok, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai yuak ‘to lift’, Palaung yuʔ ‘to raise, to raise’, (? Muông giác, Vietnamese nhác, nhâc ‘to lift, raise’ (#835 *yukan &c.). But Viet-Muông may well reflect an affixed form in view of the sâc tone.

‘To weep’: Old Mon yām, Modern Mon yēm, Khmer yûm, Khmu Yuan yàm, Palaung yam, Riang-Lang yam, Praok yem, Lawa yuam, Khasi yâm (#1337 *yam).

With *y- affricate reflexes occur sporadically—or appear to—in other Bahnaric and Palaungic languages beside Siang, before original or secondary high back vowels. Similar mixed reflexes are assigned to *j-. In determining which protofoneme should be reconstructed the evidence of languages which show no variation—notably Mon and Khmer—is given most weight. In Bahnar at least, which figures in both variant sets, hypercorrection may play a part.

Thus we find Biat jual ‘to carry on head’, Bahnar jâːl ‘to raise higher than oneself, hold out’ beside Old Mon yil ‘to place on one’s head’, Modern Mon yâ ‘to support or carry on head, to lift’, West Bahnar yûl ‘to hold out’ (#1781 *yjul, *yâl; contrast Bahnar yøːc ‘fault, offence’ < #836 *yuøːc; dialect borrowing between Biat and Bahnar may be in question); and Bônöm Bahnar jok ‘in good health’ beside Mon [thɔ] yðk (#386 *yuuk). Note also 1780 *yjil ‘barking deer’, a speculative reconstruction; perhaps rather *ziːl.
1.6 Spirants and glottal stop: *s *h *

*s- is preserved in Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Biat, Jeh, Halang and Aslian. Biat has ch-, Bahnar variously ts-, s-; the latter in about one item in three (it may reflect borrowing from Jeh-Halang). In Khmuic and Palaungic s- has shifted to h-. In Viet-Mường we find Mường th-, Vietnamese t-; suggesting as an intermediate stage a shift to a voiceless dental fricative [ʃ] (found also in Danaw and, perhaps more relevantly, as a stage in the history of Cham). Finally, in Khmer we find s- [s] in two instances and sh- [ʃ] in one. sh- (which cannot reflect *c-) has been taken for the regular reflex; the distribution over all positions is complex and has undoubtedly been affected by analogy and back-formation; but remains in many respects obscure.

As do other consonants of this group, *s- gives rise to head register or high tone where these are applicable.

The Khmuic-Palaungic shift results in merger between *s- and *h-. In South Bahnaric and in most dialects of Bahnar, on the other hand, *s- merges with *c-. Fully distinctive reflexes can be made whenever Khmu or a Palaungic language has a cognate in South Bahnaric or Bahnar. (Occasionally Palaung post-dental vocalism may favour the reconstruction of *s- even in the absence of these criteria; I then note *[s]-.)

‘Hair’: Old Mon sok, Modern Mon sok, Khmer, (→ ?) Chrau sok, Sre so?, Biat chok, Bahnar tsok, Jeh suck, Halang sok, Palaung hu?, Riang-Lang ‘huk, Praok haak, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang hauk, Lawa Umpai hauk, Mường thác, Vietnamese tóc, Temiar sog (#467 *suk &c.).


‘To sting’: Khmer soc ‘small kind of mosquito’, Sre souc ‘to prick, sting’, Biat choc, Bahnar dialects tsuc, tso:c, Khmu Yuan huc, Riang-Lang ‘huc, Praok huc ‘to sting’ (#873 *suc &c.).

‘Sharp, to sharpen’: Sre sout, Chrau sott, Biat chott ‘sharp’, Khasi shut ‘to sharpen’ (#1100 *suut).

Khasi san ‘five’: Riang-Lang ‘han id., Mon [coh] san ‘fif[teen]’ (#1214 *suun &c.) may have s- by counting deformation on saw ‘four’. But there is no such explanation for sum ‘to bathe, wash’: Mường thám, Vietnamese tám (#1417 *sam?, *sum[ ]).

Cf. for *s- also #243-#245, #463-#468, #777-#780, #870-#873, #1098-#1101, #1211-#1214, #1417-#1419a, #1537-#1538, #1675-#1678, #2084-#2088.

We come now to the two laryngeals *h *ʔ. It must be noted first that in a proportion of cases these alternate giving rise to doublets, as in other positions including final position. It does not appear that the alternances can be explained by any such theory as Dyen proposed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian; at least at the present stage of inquiry. We shall accordingly treat first the invariable correspondences, and note the other
cases at the end of the section.

*h-* is preserved in all languages, being consequently merged with *s-* in Khmuic and Palaungic.

‘To open [mouth]’: Mon ha (!), Khmer, Stieng, Sre (!) ha:, Chrau ha:? (!), Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ha:, Vietnamese há (#251 *ha?).

‘To open [mouth]’: Khmu Yuan hoc particle of completed action, Riang-Lang *hac* ‘all, to exhaust’, Praok huac ‘to have finished; perfect auxiliary’, Lawa Bo Luang hauk, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang hic ‘finished’, Temiar haj ‘already’ (#875 *huc &c.).

‘To suck, drink’: Khmer hot ‘to suck up, swallow in a gulp’, Stieng hutt ‘to inhale, to suck up last of drink’, Sre huc, Chrau huc, Halang hut ‘to drink’, Bahnar huc ‘to drink from spoon’, Jeh hut ‘to drink, suck’, Vietnamese hút ‘to suck, inhale’, Temiar huj ‘to sip’ (#1106 *hut &c.).

‘To suck, drink’: Khmer hot ‘to suck up, swallow in a gulp’, Stieng hutt ‘to inhale, to suck up last of drink’, Sre huc, Chrau huc, Halang hut ‘to drink’, Bahnar huc ‘to drink from spoon’, Jeh hut ‘to drink, suck’, Vietnamese hút ‘to suck, inhale’, Temiar huj ‘to sip’ (#1106 *hut &c.).


Bahnar has djëp beside hiëp ‘to suck, suck the blood of...’ < #1294 *hiëp, perhaps an expressive deformation.

Cf. for *h-* also #250-#251, #470-#475, #783-#784, #1104-#1106, #1215-#1220, #1424-#1426, #1539-#1540, #1682-#1687, #1803a-#1804, #1868-#1869; and the forms with alternant cited below.

The reflexes of *ʔ-* to be expected in most contexts are in Khmer, Lawa, and Temiar noted ʔ-, and in Old Mon ’-. In the remaining languages initial vowel is written. It is likely that in most or all of them a glottal articulation is present, as explicitly in Mon (Shorto 1962:xi) and Palaung (Shorto 1960:547). Khmu Yuan has, unexpectedly, low tone in half the relevant items.

‘Person, I’: Old Mon ’ey, Modern Mon oa, Khm ʔap, Stieng i:, Sre ap, Chrau ap, in, Bahnar i:n, Röngao a:u, Jeh, Halang aw, Khmu Yuan ʔo, Palaung o, Riang-Lang ʔo, Praok ao, Lawa Bo Luang ʔai?, Lawa Umpai ʔau?, Lawa Mae Sariang ʔau? ’I’, Khasi i ’he, she, it’, Semai I ʔi ’I’ (#2 *ʔi?) Some Aslian languages in all three branches have an isolated y- (Temiar ye:ʔ); this may be related to the developments before *ia noted below.


‘Upper garment’: Khmer ʔaw, Biat a:, Sre, Chrau, Jeh, Halang a:w, Bahnar a:o, Mường, Vietnamese də (#1813 *ʔaaw?).


When *ʔ* precedes *ia* the initial element of the diphthong is consonantized in Chrau, Riang-Lang, and at least dialectally in Bahnar; yielding Chrau ʔy-, Riang-Lang high-tone y-, Bahnar y-.

Riang-Lang has usually the corresponding development of high-tone w-/v- when *ʔ precedes *u: (but contrast ʔuɑn ‘fossor wasp’ < *ʔuɑn, above); thus ʔat, ʔat ‘to wipe’ < #946 *ʔuat; we &c. ‘three’: Palaung uay, cf. #98 *pi?

Cf. for *ʔ- also #1-#6, #265-#268, #482a-#485, #794, #882-#885, #939-#946, #1115-#1121, #1224-#1225, #1297-#1299, #1434-#1438, #1552-#1556, #1694-#1696, #1813, #1871-#1873, #1956-#1959.

Variant constructions are not numerous in relation to those just surveyed; about one in eight of all laryngeal-initial items. In the larger group *ʔ- is to be regarded as the primary initial, and we take it first.

Some items are susceptible of special explanation. *huh &c. ‘to blow’ (Nicobarese, and affixed forms in Waic, Khs.) beside #1958 *ʔuh &c. (South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobarese) may reflect an earlier reduplication *ʔuh ʔuh. Contamination by *hur ‘to expose to heat’ (#1685; Bahnaric) may account for *huhl &c. ‘to grill’ (Stieng, affixed forms in Biat, Bahnar) beside #1812 *ʔual (South Bahnaric, affixed (?) form in Khm.); note also #1501 *ʔu(u)r &c. ‘warm, (Stieng) to heat’. At least three items are grammatical words perhaps subject to special conditions of stress or junction. We find *haʔ ‘we’ in Kuy, South Bahnaric, Aslian and Nicobarese beside *ʔiʔ in Khmu, Palaungic and Temiar (1); *h[i]ʔ deictic in South Bahnaric, North and South Aslian, and dialectally in Bahnar beside *ʔiʔ, *ʔih in Bahnar, Palaungic, Vietnamese, North Aslian, Nicobarese, and affixed form in Khmer (2); Riang-Lang *haʔ, Vietnamese hán pronoun 3 sing. beside Palaung/Central Nicobarese an id., Stieng an interrogative pronoun, Riang-Lang an clause-subordinating particle (#1115 *ʔ[a]n? &c.). Here we might also cite Mường hai ‘two’ beside e.g. Palaung, Khasi ar, Central Nicobarese āː: (#1562 *ʔaar < Pre-PMK *biʔaar). Finally, expressive deformation might account for Palaungic *hul[ ] ‘to vomit’ beside #1695 *ʔul[ ] &c. ‘nausea’ (Kmer, North Bahnaric, Vietnamese).

In the remaining items the incidence of the h-form is more or less trivial. We have Biat hok ‘to spill’ but e.g. Sre o: ‘to empty [pot]’, Bahnar uk ‘to pour out, empty out’, Riang-Lang uk ‘to pour away, to spill’ (#267 *ʔuk &c.); Khmu Yuan hcm: ‘younger sibling’ but Vietnamese em id., Stieng iam ‘elder sibling’ (#1306 *ʔi:am); Palaung hɔʔ ‘brains’ (and affixed form in Riang-Lang) but Vietnamese óc (#475 *huak, *ʔuak); and Mường, Vietnamese hét ‘to end, be finished...’ but e.g. Mon ot ‘to be exhausted...’, Kmer ʔat, ʔôt ‘to be without’, Biat ot ‘to abstain from’, Bahnar ot, ʔt ‘[wind] to stop…’, Riang-Lang ot ‘to cease’ (#943 *ʔat &c.).

In two cases the primary form is to be constructed with *h-. We have South Bahnaric *ʔum > Sre um ‘to bathe’, &c., but e.g. Mon hum, Bahnar, Semelai hum, probably (cf. *sum[ ] #1417) Palaung hum (#1426 *huum &c.; Khmu may reflect an affixed form in *ʔ-); and Lawa ʔaup ‘cooked rice, but Mon hap ‘to eat [rice]’, Kmer hop ‘to eat’, Sre hup ‘to lift [food-bag] to mouth’, Palaung hap ‘food, to eat’, Vietnamese hūp ‘to slurp [rice-gruel]’ (#1295 *ʔaup &c.).

We may note also the apparent connexion between *huc &c. (#875); *hɔy, *huay ‘finished’ (#1539) and *ʔuc &c. (#798); and that between Palaungic, Khasi *ʔiim
‘to live, be alive’ and affixed forms in *h generally meaning ‘breath’, where variants are reconstructed (#1299).

The reflexes set out in this chapter are summarized in tables 3a, 3b, and 3c.

2 STRUCTURE *CCVC

*CCVC forms comprise both simplexes containing *CCVC roots, and affixed forms of *CVC ones whether prefixed (*C-CVC) or infixed (*C/C/VC). Our discussion will be illustrated preferentially with examples of the first kind, where the possibility of disturbance due to morphological levelling is more remote. In many languages some *CC-sequences are reflected as C-. The reconstruction of certain forms as *CCVC will in consequence depend on the evidence of related affixed forms. At such points of the discussion we shall be thrown back on the evidence of more conservative languages (notably Mon, Khmer, Khasi, and also Aslian and Nicobarese), and sometimes on comparison of their patterns as well as that of strictly cognate forms.

All the consonants listed in the table on p. 2.1 may occur at C₂ in structures *CCVC. Glottalized consonants, semivowels and *h do not occur at C₁. Of the nasal series we reconstruct a nasal homorganic with the following consonant (schematically *N), and *m; these two terms are distinctive only before liquids.

The *CC- sequences attested in the corpus are collated in Table 4.

2.1.1. Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiceless
Sequences of two voiceless plosives are generally preserved in Mon, Khmer, Khasi and Aslian; the consonant reflexes being the same as initially in forms of *CVC structure except where otherwise stated. In Aslian and modern Mon a vowel ə is found between the two plosives. The first plosive may be voiced, under conditions yet to be determined, in Aslian languages.

In Bahnaric, Khmu, Palaungic and Viet-Mường we shall for the moment assume that *C₁ in this type of sequence is regularly lost. Such forms as Bahnar kətən ‘to hear’, ad #542 *ktən, which apparently preserve it, will then reflect related affixed forms (cf. with Bah. Sakai ʒerték). (The possibility that this is an insufficient formulation of the rules is discussed at the end of this section.) ԭック tone in Mường and Vietnamese non-stop-final words may point to, though it cannot assure, the reconstruction of *CC-.

Exceptions, however, are relatively frequent. Many of them can be plausibly explained from borrowing, analogy, or contamination. Where there is evidence for *CC- from any criterion language I usually reconstruct it without reserve.

These general statements will first be exemplified from the reflexes of *kt-, which is particularly well represented in the material. In this case we have an additional criterion: the sequence (like *kd-, see below) is palatalized in Chrau, yielding c- or occasionally ch-. The first three items raise no difficulty.

‘Hot’: Mon kətao, Khmer kədau, West Bahnar toʔ, Eastern to: (#70 *ktuʔ2).

### Table 3a: C. in *CVC reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMK</th>
<th>*ʔ</th>
<th>*h</th>
<th>*k</th>
<th>*g</th>
<th>*ŋ</th>
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Table 3c: C1 in *CVC reflexes

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1 Head register; (Riang-Lang) high tone; (Mường, Viet.) ngang, sác, hối tones.
2 Chest register; (Riang-Lang) low tone; (Mường, Viet.) huyễn, năng, ngã tones.
3 Lawa Mae Sariang c(h).
4 Lawa Mae Sariang ɣ.
Table 4: PMK *CC- sequences attested in the corpus

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/
'Wart': Mon kətɔt, Stieng tɔ:t, Chrau cɔ:t, Biat tʊ:t, Palaung tɔt (#1009 *kt,uut, *kt,uat).

Chrau t- in the next two items almost certainly results from borrowing.

‘Bitter’: Mon kətɛŋ, Stieng, Chrau (!), Biat, Bahnar tæŋ, Khasi khaŋ, Vietnamese ðaŋ (#554 *kt,æŋ; Khasi -th- probably by levelling, cf. byrthang id.).


In the next example the Riang form probably incorporates the small-animal prefix, originally a weak form of *kuan ‘child’; Khasi results from false division, assuming the same prefix!

‘Crab’: Khmer kdaːm, Stieng, Sre taːm, Chrau caːm, Riang-Lang katam, Lawa tam, Khasi tham (!) (#1348 *kt,aam).

In the next, the Khmer form is attributed to contamination. From Khmer and Modern Mon it would be possible to construct *ntu(u); it is the Middle Mon initial which, taken with Chrau, is clinching for the reconstruction.


The final item is less satisfactory, in that Temiar and other Central Aslian languages show an unexplained apparent loss of *C₁. Although Nicobarese seems to confirm the implication of the Chrau form, I note the reconstruction as provisional.

‘Egg’: Sre, Biat tap, Chrau cap, Temiar tab (!), Shom Pe Nicobarese kaːteːəb (#1253 *(kt)tap). Jehai (North Aslian), Semnam (Central Aslian) kətad may show *kt- with assimilation of the final.

The examples of other voiceless plosive sequences below are illustrative rather than comprehensive.

*tk-: ‘island’: Old Mon tko, Modern Mon kɔ? (!), Khmer kɔh (!), Stieng kɔ: [də:k], Biat kɔ:u [da:k] (#23 *tɔːk, *tɔːh; → Thai kɔʔ). For some sequences there is at least sporadic loss of *C₁ in Khmer (cf. below ‘to plant’, ‘to calculate’, ‘to sweep’), so perhaps Khmer → Thai, whence Mon k- by contamination; but modern Mon loses C₁ also in ‘flower’, below.

‘Cold’: Biat kat ‘cold’, Khmu Yuan kat, Palaung kat, Praok kuat, Lawa Bo Luang koat, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang kɔt ‘cold [weather]’, Proto-Semai *dɔk at ‘cold’ (#962 *tkat &c.).

h following C₁ in Khmer in certain sequences is prosodic (Jacob’s transcription reproduces the orthography preferred in Vacananauckram Khmer, which is not absolutely consistent); so e.g. phk- transcribes /pk/.

*pt-: ‘floral decoration’), Khmer phkaː, Stieng kəo, Sre bɔkaw (!) by back-borrowing ← Röglai, Biat kəɔ:; Semnam (Central Aslian) &c. bɔkaw (#1819 *pkaaw, *pka?).


*p following a plosive loses its occlusion and becomes w in Old Mon; then Old
Mon tw- > Modern Mon kw- except before high or high mid back vowel, when -w- is lost. *t before plosive > Khasi s, sh (cf. ‘ear’, p. 2.42; and the similar development before nasal—also in Palaungic—below).

*tp-: ‘to step’: Old Mon tvek ‘to walk, pace’, Modern Mon kwaik ‘to walk’, Mường pùtć, Vietnamese bùtć ‘(to) step’ (#349 *tŋpaaK).

‘To calculate’: (Old Mon * twok >) Mon tok, Khmer bo:k! (#351 *tpuuk, *tpuak).

‘To bind round’: Mon kwoiŋ id. (with vocalism by contam. homoiŋ ‘to wind round...’), Khasi spong ‘turban, to put turban on’ (#613 *tp[oo]ŋ).


*c following a plosive retains its affrication in South Bahnaric, Khmu Yuan, and Riang-Lang; at least dialectally in Bahnar, and under conditions yet to be determined in Palaung (whereas in *CVC forms *c- > Sieng s, c, Biat ch, Bahnar s, ts, Sre, Chrau, Khmu Yuan, Palaung, Riang-Lang s). These clusters are the main source of c- in the above languages apart from loans. Sre sometimes has ch- (see ‘to die’, ‘charcoal’); one instance of ch- in Chrau (‘charcoal’) may result from assimilation. Old Mon kc- > Modern Mon ch-, Literary Mon (properly) khy-; Old Mon pc- > Modern Mon phy-.

*kc-: ‘to prick...’: Sre kok id., Biat kok ‘to peck, [snake] to bite’, Bahnar cok ‘to cut a notch, (?)’, Palaung caʔ ‘to prick’, Vietnamese chóc (!) ‘to pierce, puncture’ (#295 *kco:k, *kcook; *k- is established from a Khmer affixed form).

‘die’: Old Mon kcit, Modern Mon chut, Sieng ccat, Sre chat, Chrau cut id., Palaung cut ‘[ghost] to leave the world’, Mường chût, Vietnamese chét ‘to die’ (#987 *kca:j). Biat has khat, perhaps by hypercorrection related to the palatalization of *kiat &c.

‘Scattered’: Mon chai ‘to be separated, scattered...’, Khmer khca:y ‘to scatter, spread (v.i.t.)’, West Bahnar cai ‘to scatter...’ (#1460 *kcaay).

‘Charcoal’: Mon, Sre, Chrau chah, Praok sua, Lawa Bo Luang sai:h, Lawa Umpai sas (#1824 *kcas &c.; *k- is established from affixed forms in Khmu Yuan and Riang-Lang).


Old Mon c before plosive yields Middle Mon s and falls (with s < *s) in modern Mon; *cp- > Old Mon cw- > Modern Mon hw-.

*ck-: ‘to grasp, hold’: Old Mon c kem, Modern Mon kem ‘to grasp’, Khasi skhem ‘firmly, securely’ (with -kh- by levelling on shikhem ‘(one) handful?’), Vietnamese kém ‘pincers, tweezers’, (?) Kensiu (North Aslian) eakam ‘to hold’ (#1312 *ekiam &c.).

*cp-: ‘to pull sharp instrument across’: Mon hwat ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’, Khmer pa:t (!) ‘to trim or file down’, Sieng pa:t ‘to cut oneself on a sharp instrument’, Bahnar pāt ‘to whet’ (#1026 *cpaat; note Mường, Vietnamese pāt ‘to cut, trim’). The Khmer reflex is discussed below.
In three items *c- has been speculatively reconstructed to account for unexplained aspiration in Stieng and/or Sre: note Stieng phuŋ ‘to wallow’ < #612 *[c]puuŋ; Sre khual ‘to bark’, Stieng kuɔl, (Blood 1966) khual ‘to call’, < #1709 *[c]kuul &c.; Stieng phuɔl ‘kind of gourd or melon’ beside pual ‘kind of greenish cucumber’ < #1756 *[c]puuŋ, *[c]pul [JI]; Stieng ghuuŋ ‘ladder’, Chrau guuŋ id. < #515 *[c]guuŋ &c.

Reconstructions of sequences of like consonants are rare: one each of *cəc-, *pəp-, *dəɗ-, *bəɓ-. Only *bəɓe? ‘goat’, an onomatope, has a general distribution. The other three, one also an onomatope, are found in Mon and Khmer only and may belong to the post-PMK period of mutual influence between these two languages. In Mon they develop as disyllables, *C₁ yielding h-. We note in this section:

‘House lizard’: Mon həcɛt, Khmer ɔcəc (974 *ktɔɔt).


Other reflexes. In four items where plosive sequences are or might be reconstructed we find Khmer unglottalized t-, p-. We have already cited pa:t ‘to trim down...’ < *cpaat. From taak ‘gills’, taak taak ‘temples’: ‘Semang’, Sak. pɛtɔk ‘temples’ the reconstruction *ptəak (#321) also seems assured. taok ‘spoonful’ (T.), ad #315 *ʔtuuk ‘to scoop up’, seems to require a prefixed form. A similar construction might account for tak ‘sound of dripping’, ad #314 *tuək ‘to drip’, with several derivatives; but it may be a back-formation from tətak ‘to drip’, if that is a loan from western Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Malay titek ‘drop...’).

These are obscure. We shall propose *ʔt- as a possible source of Khmer t-. Borrowing from Stieng or another South Bahnaric language could account for them, but no obvious etyma are recorded.

In khtɔt ‘to cackle’: Mon katɔt (974 *ktɔɔt) onomatopoeia sufficiently explains the anomalous reflex.

Cf. also (for *cκ-) #19, #801, #1236, #1237, #1970;
(*tκ-) #23, #505, #506, #961, #962, #1818;
(*pκ-) #1238, #1819;
(*kκ-) #47, #295, #296, #530, #987, #988, #1252a, #1460, #1597a, #1892, #1893;
(*tκ-) #531, #981, #982, #986;
(*pκ-) #299, #989, #1895;
(*kκ-) #70, #317, #554, #555-#557, #815, #988, #1007, #1008, #1009, #1252a, #1254, #1348, #1348a, #1620, #1621, #1735, #1736, #1825, #1826, #1900, #2005;
(*cκ-) #1351;
(*pκ-) #321, #1827, #1828, #1903;
(*kκ-) #611, #1025, #1167, #1914, #1915;
(*cɛ-) #1026, #1638;
(*pɛ-) #72a, #350, #351, #1757.

We have so far assumed that the loss of *C₁ in this type of sequence is regular in Bahnaric, Khmuc and Palaungic as well as in Viet-Muông (where of course all forms are reduced to monosyllables usually of CV(C) structure). This is without doubt true of South Bahnaric. Even in the case of the other languages such an assumption cannot be easily
disproved, inasmuch as any root may in principle be combined with an affix, and—as we shall see—formally most if not all syllables in North Bahnaric etc. can be accounted for from affixed protoforms. Such arguments are most convincing when affixed forms are attested elsewhere. Thus in the case of ‘crab’ (#1348) Mon hətəm, ‘Semang’ kəntəm require the construction of an infixed *k/n/taam, and we refer Jeh kətə:m, Bahnar, Halang, Khmu Yuan kətə:m to it. Similarly with ‘charcoal’ (#1892), where we have Rōngao kəcaʔ, Jeh kəcaʔ, Halang kəcaʔ, infixed forms are attested in both Khmu Yuan (kənsah) and Riang-Lang (kərc(h)as).

It is less easy to see why an infixed form should be used for ‘to die’ (ib.) when we find Jeh kəcɪət, even beside West Bahnar kəcit with the developed sense ‘to die miserably’. Again, Khmu Yuan pətaʔ ‘smoke’ may well reflect an affixed form vis-a-vis Riang-Lang *təʔ _nal, Praok təw (#1828 *ptə[əw]ʔ); but we should prefer independent evidence. And in Riang-Lang at least, where reconstructible infixed elements all appear to have overt reflexes at any rate in some contexts—we cannot say that they are not generalized to others by analogy—there are difficulties in accounting for all simple two-plosive reflexes in this way. In discussing sequences of plosive+nasal or liquid it will be suggested that divergent reflexes in Palaungic especially are attributable to differences at V₁ in Pre-PMK *CVCVC structure. It is not beyond possibility that the same factor might result in the retention of two-plosive sequences in Palaungic and elsewhere. The question awaits further research (and above all more extensive lexica).

2.1.2 Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiced

In Old Mon we find clusters of voiceless + voiced plosive, tg- etc., which are taken to be reflexes of corresponding PMK sequences. Two other distinctive reflexes can then be established: Khmer cognates have head register, and Bahnar also Hre/Sedang (but not Jeh or Halang) have voiceless initial, implying in each case devoicing of the second plosive under the influence of the first. (The corresponding voicing of an originally voiceless plosive following a voiced one is recorded in the next section.)

*C₁ is lost in Khmer in half the items in a rather short list, this limited evidence suggesting a tendency to preserve back consonants (*k, *c) and drop front ones (*t, *p). Khasi loses *C₁ in the two items recorded.

The one item recorded for Temiar (tajuʔ ‘snake’ < #54 *tjooʔ) preserves the PMK sequence, as do cognates in both other Aslian branches.

Modern Mon forms have chest register. Some Old Mon forms have a vowel inserted following C₁ (note pdar, pudar ‘to shade’); C₁ then > Modern Mon h. Old Mon kj- > Modern Mon c-, Literary Mon gy-; Old Mon pj- > Modern Mon py- (cf. Old Mon ke- etc.). The Mon treatment of *b- is irregular, presumably as a result of dialect borrowing; it is sometimes preserved, but usually becomes w with voicing of the preceding plosive. Note *cb- > Old Mon jw- > Modern Mon hw-.

Chrau has j- < *kd- (as c(h)- < *kt-) in jɔː prɨt ‘plantain flower’ < #82 *kdɔʔ. Correlations between Mon and Khmer or Bahnar are seen in the following examples.

‘To take hold of’: Mon pəkɔn ‘to yoke’, Literary Mon bgan also ‘to take hold of, come to grips’, Khmer kən ‘to hold’ (→ Stieng kən ‘to take, accept’) (#1134 *pgan).

‘Old’: Old Mon pjʊ, Modern Mon pyʊʔ ‘to be old, aged, dilapidated’, Bahnar tsɔ ‘old, antiquated, dilapidated’, probably Palaung jo ‘lifetime’ (#57 *pjooʔ).
‘To rub’: Middle Mon jwit ‘to pass one’s hand over’, Modern Mon hwit to stroke’, Khmer brt ‘to rub on, apply’ (#1036 *cbit).

Clusters of this type are reconstructed wherever there are voicing discrepancies between appropriate languages. The reconstruction of *C₁ may then depend on affixed forms, or in some cases be arbitrary. Thus:


The next item assumes borrowing from Jeh to account for Bahnar g-. Mon shows the same sporadic loss of *C₁ as was seen in *tkoa (#23), *pkaaw (#1819).
‘Fork, clamp, to clamp’: Mon kèp (!) ‘fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride’, Khmer ka:p ‘frame, cramp-iron, tongs, (beside kì:əp ‘to press, squeeze’ by levelling on der.), Stieng ga:p ‘to take in tongs, clamp’, Sre gap ‘to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.]’, Jeh ga:p ‘to hold with slit stick’ (→ Bahnar ga:p ‘to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fix with clamp’), Palaung gap ‘to affix’, Vietnamese ca:p ‘to edge mat; rim, edge’ (#1242 *[t]gap, *[t]gaap). The Sre short vowel is further evidence for *CC-.

Cf. also (for *cg-) #514, #515, #1237, #1449, #1581a;
(*tg-) #248, #516, #517, #893a, #1242;
(*pg-) #518, #1133, #1134;
(*kj-) #52, #1335, #1461, #1608;
(*tj-) #54, #895, #1336;
(*pj-) #57, #1150, #1728;
(*kd-) #82, #574, #576, #577, #1011, #1012, #1628, #1745;
(*td-) #83;
(*pd-) #84;
(*cb-) #1036, #1485, #1646, #1742;
(*tb-) #364, #907, #1646a, #1763.
(*kb-) #1484.

2.1.3 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiceless
The opposite voicing discrepancy—Khmer chest register and/or Bahnar voiced initial against voiceless-initial reflexes in other languages—leads to the reconstruction of the third type of plosive sequence. *C₁ is preserved in Khmer in about one item in three, the evidence again suggesting a tendency—not a rule—to retain back consonants but not front ones; *j before plosive > Khmer s, Ø. The sequence is preserved in about half the items in Khs.; specifically *dk- > dkh-, *bc- > bs-, but *dc- > s-, *dp- > ph-; the occurrences are too few to be certain that these developments are regular. Note that *d, *b at *C₁, when retained, are not devoiced as in *CVC structure. So far as the evidence goes, these sequences are again preserved in Temiar (but not apparently always in all Aslian languages). A voiced plosive is lost before a voiceless one in Mon; *p at *C₂ is then preserved.
Reconstructions are straightforward where the sequence is directly attested in Khmer, Khasi or Aslian.


‘To adjoin, adhere’: Old Mon cap ‘to adhere’, Modern Mon cɔp, cip ‘to be set edge to edge’, Khmer cɔap ‘to adhere’, Sre, Biat cap ‘to fasten together’, Bahnar ji:ap ‘joined edge to edge’, Palaung si:ap ‘to adhere’, Khasi bsap ‘to mix with, to insert’ bsiap (beside siap; c.f., or by back-formation) ‘to put between two things, insert’, Vietnamese cháp ‘to join, assemble’ (#1974 *bkap &c.).


‘(To) thunder’: Khmer khtɔ: ‘to reverberate’, Chrau tə:rh ‘thunder’, Biat [tah] tɔr ‘(to) thunder’ (#1622 *gtar; Bahnar tɛ:r ‘thunderclap; [lightning] to strike’ is likely to be a loan from Jeh/Halang, though the etymon is not recorded).


One widely distributed item causes difficulty. From Old Mon pi:n, Modern Mon po:iŋ, Khmer pɛn ‘(to be) full’, Sre pij ‘to overflow’, Bahnar be:n ‘full’, Khasi po:iŋ ‘entirely’ it is possible to construct *[d]pən &c. (#907). But Stieng bi:i:ŋ, Sre bi:ŋ, Chrau ve:ŋ, Biat beŋ, Jeh biŋ ‘full’, Halang biŋ ‘full of water, can be reconciled with this on the assumption of borrowing of this core item from Bahnar into Jeh/Halang and from Bahnar or Khmer into Proto-South Bahnaric. However, Temiar has tabik, with a consonanism consistent throughout Central Aslian. Rather it is preferable to assume doublets at PMK level in *dp-, *tb- by voicing shift (note Sre doublets: piŋ, biŋ); and I do so.

Cf. also (for *jk-) #20, #504, #1817, #1971; (*dk-) #892, #1129, #1711, #1237, #1446, #1570, #1972, #1973; (*bk-) #803, #1571, #1712; (*dc-) #1144, #1329; (*bc-) #532, #1245, #1246, #1599; (*gt-) #71, #1010, #1622, #1623; (*jt-) #318, #558, #1257, #1902; (*bt-) #74, #562, #563, #1156, #1352, #1468, #1738, #2008; (*dp-) #907, #1027, #1028, #1168, #1468, #1759. (*gs-) #1102.

### 2.1.4 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiced

It follows from the last three sections that a sequence of two voiced plosives should be reconstructed when, given evidence of a plosive sequence as such, Khmer and/or Bahnar is in agreement with other languages in having a voiced-initial reflex. The four types of plosive sequence yield e.g. the following correspondences:
*C₁ is preserved in Khmer more often than not; there are doublets, k- ~ phk-, &c., in about a quarter of the instances; *j before voiced plosive > Khmer s-. So far as the evidence goes, *C₁ appears to be preserved in Aslian. The case of Mon requires discussion.

*b following voiced plosive usually > Old Mon w, Modern Mon w, as following voiceless plosive. Correspondents reflecting other C₂ are hard to find unless we assume that the sequences were preserved in Old Mon with inserted vowel (actual Old Mon attestations are wanting). The Old Mon initial plosive whether voiced or voiceless would yield Middle Mon voiceless plosive (also in infixed forms) by a voicing distribution rule, thence Modern Mon h-. It cannot be proved that such Modern Mon forms do not always reflect affixed protoforms, but the development would be solidary with that of *Cb-. We shall adopt the hypothesis.

We may then cite:


‘Stump, log’: Middle Mon taguiw, Modern Mon həkal ‘id., floating log’, Biat gal ‘log (nq.)’ (#1719 *dəgal &c.).

‘To emit smoke’: Mon həkuî ‘to smoulder, smoke’, Temiar bəguy ‘[smoke] to waft’ (#1450 *bguy).


‘Bad’: Kuy cùː; Rōngao coː (!), Palaung jo, Praok caw, Mah Meri (South Aslian) bajaw (#58 *bjooʔ &c.; Khmer cəː ‘to rebuke, insult’ is connected with a front-vowel var.).

‘To gather together’: Khmer cùm, phcùm id., Stieng jəːm[jaːl] ‘to meet (together)’, Vietnamese chụm ‘to assemble, join, gather’ (#1338 *bjum &c.). Jeh yum ‘to pick up in a bunch’, Halang yuːm ‘to gather together’ may be cognate or may reflect a nasal-infix form.


‘Walling material’: Mon hətɛəŋ ‘(wall of) twilled bamboo’ Khmer phtɛəŋ ‘panel, leaf, partition’ (#580 *bdaŋ).


‘To climb, scale’: Old Mon dwən ‘to assault, march against’, Modern Mon kwən ‘to climb’ (Literary Mon dwən also ‘to assault’), Khmer piːən ‘to climb, to march against’ (#1175 *dbaːn).

But Literary Mon baŋ [bway] ‘marshy pool’ reflects *db-, or perhaps *tb-, on the
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evidence of affixed forms in Khmer and South Bahnaric with Lawa and Vietnamese cognates (#628 *[d]ban[ ]&c.).
   Cf. also (for *bg-) #1320, #1450;
   (*bj-) #58, #1338, #1823;
   (*gb-) #627, #1645;
   (*jb-) #363, #1173, #1174, #1486;
   (*db-) #628, #629, #1175.
   Ambiguous reconstructions, implying *b or *ɓ, are made in #1035 (*g[b]-), #1834 (*d[b]-).

2.1.5 Other consonant+plosive
In this section we discuss sequences of liquid; *s; nasal; and glottal stop, followed by plosive in each case. The order is one of convenience.

(a) Liquid + plosive. Sequences of this type are not very frequent, to which circumstance their observable liability to metathesis may well contribute. But the opposite metathesis of the high-frequency sequence type plosive+liquid is to be found especially in Bahnaric, where it is favoured by the pattern generated by related sequences + *r- infix.
*ɿ appears to be lost in all languages least before voiceless plosive, except perhaps in Aslian. Such reconstructions then depend on the evidence of affixed and metathetic forms.


‘To separate, pick’: Mon poh ‘to be displaced’, Khmer beh ‘to pick, pluck’, East Bahnar peh, West Bahnar peʔ ‘id., to strip, peel, scale’, Palaung peh, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang poih, Vietnamese bê ‘to pick, pluck’ (#2030 *pliaq; ~ *pliah, in Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric; note also from an infixed form Middle Mon lapah [ket] ‘to pick up’).

Kensiu latig ‘tongue’ < #320 *ntaak may reflect secondary *ɿ < *n, attested also in Palaung and Nicobarese Cf. further (for *lt-,) #322; (*lp-) #352, #354, #616, #2030, #2030a.

*ɿ + voiced plosive is attested by simple forms only in #1921 *[l]baas. (Old Mon, which preserves *r in the parallel sequences, has one provisionally read instance of lj- in (l)ja ‘to halt, rest’.)

Sequences of *r + voiced plosive are demonstrably preserved, as sequences, in Old Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Lawa and Khasi *r then > Jeh, Khla l; Proto-Waic *r > Lawa Umpai ra-, Lawa Mae Sariang ya- (and BL ʔa-, Praok si-). Old Mon r- is lost in Modern Mon except that Old Mon rj- > Modern Mon s-, with chest register.

‘To shake’: Chrau rgu:, Biat rgu: v.t., Lawa Umpai rakhol, Lawa Mae Sariang yahu v.i. (#30 *rguu &c.).


‘Firm, secure’: Old Mon rbīn, Modern Mon pān id., Khasi lpan ‘stoutly’, Mường pēn, Vietnamese bèn ‘durable’ (#1176 *rbīn &c.).
Riang-Lang has \textit{pat} ‘to fan, winnow...’ < #1037 *\textit{rbot}, but the affixed form \textit{smpat} ‘flail, fan; to thresh, beat’ suggests an intermediate secondary *\textit{tbat}.

Cf. also (for *\textit{rg}-) 29, #1452; (*\textit{rj}-) by metathesis) #172; (*\textit{rb}-) #118, #1037, #1176, and ambiguously *\textit{r[b]}- in #366.

For the treatment of *\textit{r} + voiceless plosive the evidence is both patchier and less conclusive. It suggests that in Bahnaric and Waic, perhaps Palaungic generally, the sequences are normally preserved but *\textit{C}1 lost in compounded forms.

Two metathetic items may be Bahnaric (or in the first case South Bahnaric) innovations. We have Sre \textit{rakiat}, Biat \textit{ciat} ‘to grind, creak, gnash’ < #1064 *\textit{rkiat}, ~ *\textit{kr✿iat}; and Chrau \textit{ratiyan} ‘giant reed’, Bahnar dialects \textit{rate✿yan} &c. ‘kind of reed’ < #693 *\textit{rt✿yan}, ~ *\textit{tr✿yan}.

To #1820 *\textit{rk✿aw}’? ‘husked rice’ we must certainly refer Riang-Lang ‘kɔ’ id. and Khasi \textit{khaw} ‘rice’. Lawa Bo Lang \textit{aksiw✿}, Lawa Umpai \textit{rak✿w}, Lawa Mae Sariang \textit{yako✿} cannot, and Palaung \textit{rako✿} probably cannot, be referred to the nasal-infix form attested by e.g. Praok \textit{gaw} and Khmu Yuan \textit{ro✿ŋko✿}, and with reserve we refer them to the simplex. The relevance of compounding to the foregoing is seen in #2009 *\textit{rt✿ah} ‘to explode’, with its Biat doublets: \textit{rta✿h} ‘to burst’, \textit{tah} [\textit{tor}] ‘(to) thunder’, Bahnar \textit{ta✿h} (contrast \textit{rate✿yan}, above) ‘[lightning] to strike’, Praok \textit{tu} ‘to flash’ (or < *\textit{btuuh}), Lawa Bo Luang [\textit{ta✿}] \textit{tauh✿}, Lawa Umpai \textit{tas✿} [\textit{ta✿}], Lawa Mae Sariang \textit{toih✿} [\textit{ta✿}] ‘lightning’. Cf. further for *\textit{rk✿}- #1446a, #1820, for *\textit{rt✿} #565, #693, #2009.

For *\textit{rp}– we have two items which are difficult to interpret. In Old Mon \textit{rwas} ‘weapon’, Khmer \textit{rab✿h} ‘thing, gear, tool...’ < #1917 *\textit{rp✿3}is, Old Mon may have \textit{w} by analogy if *\textit{rp✿3}is is a nominal formation from an unattested verbal root *\textit{r✿3}is. #1918 *\textit{rup✿us} &c. apparently yields Mon \textit{puh} [\textit{toa}] ‘index finger’: Sre [\textit{ti]} \textit{poa✿}, Bahnar dialects [\textit{kɔn✿}] \textit{po✿ih} ‘fourth finger’; but \textit{puh} may rather be a byform of \textit{kapuh} ‘index finger’ < Old Mon \textit{r/wi✿/pus [tey]}.  

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{s} + \textit{plosive}. \textit{s} is preserved before plosive in Old Mon and except before a palatal one in Khmer; in Khasi we have dialectal \textit{shk-} < *\textit{sk-} in one item, but before voiced plosive \textit{s} is lost. Old Mon \textit{s}– is lost in Modern Mon except that (i) Old Mon \textit{sc}– > Modern Mon \textit{s}; (ii) *\textit{sp}- > (Old Mon \textit{sw}- >) Modern Mon \textit{hw-} /\\. Khmer shows sporadic, not regular, devoicing of a voiced plosive following *\textit{s} (cf. the treatment following voiceless plosive), issuing in head register.

In other languages, including Temiar, *\textit{s} appears to be lost; except that *\textit{sk-} yields Palaungic \textit{kh-}, perhaps reflecting a regular metathesis. We do not find the corresponding development in other sequences of the type.

‘Companion, company’: Old Mon \textit{sko✿} ‘company’, Stieng \textit{kɔ✿u✿} ‘together, with, and’, Synteng Khasi \textit{shkaw✿} ‘spouse’ (24 *\textit{skɔ✿}).

‘Chaff’: Mon, Theng \textit{kam✿}, Palaung \textit{kham✿}, Riang-Lang ‘\textit{kham✿}, Vietnamese \textit{cām✿} (#1313 *\textit{skaam✿}). Khmer \textit{ʔaŋkaːm✿} suggests a reconstruction *\textit{h/n/k-}, but is perhaps borrowed by an obscure route from Khmu (Khmu Yuan \textit{haŋkaːm✿}); *\textit{s}- is assured by the loanword \textit{ʔēkam✿} in Malay.

‘Kind of millet’: Khmer \textit{skuːay✿} ‘Job’s tears’, Riang-Lang ‘\textit{kay✿} ‘Panicum millet’ (#1447 *\textit{skuːay✿}).

‘To shine’: Literary Mon \textit{sān} id., Khmer \textit{caen✿} ‘shining’ (#535 *\textit{scai✿}; \textit{sc-} does not occur in Khmer!).
\end{itemize}
‘Right-hand’: Old Mon stūm, Khmer sdam, Palaung [i]təm, Lawa Bo Luang [ka]təm, Lawa Umpai təm, Mường təm, Temiar təp (#1309 *stəm &c.).

‘Thatching-grass’: Mon [nəm] hwoʔ, Khmer sbo:v (#106 *spuʔ; *s—rather than *c—seems to follow from Central Nicobarese fo ‘thatch’).

‘To be cut short, to cut’: Old Mon sgūt ‘to be interrupted, cut short’, Khmer skat ‘to interrupt, to take a short cut, (→ Biat kat ‘to decide judicially, to take a short cut?’), Theng gūt ‘to cut down’, Khasi kut ‘to come to an end’, Vietnamese cut ‘to be too short, to be crippled’, Temiar gət ‘to cut down’ (972 *sguut &c.). Khmer has head register < *sb- < *sb- in 1493; contrast the register in the next item.

‘Drum’: Khmer skɔ̀ː, Biat gɔːrd., Palaung gər ‘noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]’ (1584 *sgɔr; *s is assured by an Old Mon affixed form).

Cf. also (for *sk-) #24, #1313, #1447, #1572, #1573;
(*st-) #73, #75, #567, #1353;
(*sp-) #106, #618;
(*sg-) #972, #1584, #1721, #1980;
(*sd-) #1629;

Prak, Lawa Bo Luang kh- < *sk- are attested in #24.

Ambiguous reconstructions are relatively numerous, mainly owing to difficulty in determining whether *s or *c should be reconstructed at *C1. Cf. (for *[s]t-) #75, #568; (*[s]p-) #602, #996; (*[s]j-) #1731; (*[s][d]-) #2012.

(c) Homorganic nasal + plosive. Reconstructions of nasal-plosive sequences are to be expected on general grounds, as the counterpart of similar sequences involving other classes of *C2. They fit conveniently into Austric comparative theory as correspondents of Austronesian reduplicate bases of the type of *k’ink’in ‘ring’ (Shorto 1976b:97,102). However, there are difficulties, in a not copious inventory, in reconciling all the apparent correspondences. Different sets are to be stated for sequences with voiceless and those with voiced plosive; in the case of the latter there are further irregularities, which may call for the reconstruction of a different type of sequence in some items or perhaps reflect otherwise irrecoverable differences of articulation point of the original nasal.

The starting-point for all these reconstructions is the supposed Old Mon prenasalized plosives, represented variously by spellings of the type of ’b- ~ mb- ~ ’amb-. We begin with the voiceless-plosive set.

Sequences of homorganic nasal + voiceless plosive are preserved as such in Old Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Stieng, Khmu Yuan, Waic, Aslian (on the evidence of Skeat and Blagden), and Nicobarese Old Mon voiceless prenasalized plosive yields Middle Mon la- + plosive, Modern Mon ka-, before k tə-, with occasional byforms without presyllable. Khmer has sequences of the type ʔɔnd- etc., Khmu Yuan correspondingly hant- etc. (and Nicobarese preserves a first-syllable vowel). Proto-Waic prenasalized voiceless plosive loses its nasal element in Lawa Bo Luang, is voiced in the other two dialects, and is voiced with loss of the nasal element in Prak.

The nasal is lost in Stieng and Riang-Lang Vietnamese has the corresponding nasal with a high tone in one case and a low in another. Bahnar loses the nasal, Jeh apparently the plosive, but both develop initial h as in Khmu Yuan (so that common protoforms might be set up for North Bahnaric-Khmu). The Palaung and Khasi reflexes are not known.

‘(Kind of) owl’: Chrau nko: ‘screech-owl’, Stieng kau, Sak. ŋkō ‘owl’ (#1816 *ŋk[awʔ]).

‘Ring’: Middle Mon lacin, Modern Mon kacin, Khmer ʔoɲcian (→ Stieng nciam), Lawa Umpai njaim, Vietnamese nhăn (#1145 *nciin [ ] &c.).


‘Tongue’: Mon kətaik (?), Khmer ʔondaːt (by assimilation), Khmu Yuan hǎntaːk, Riang-Lang ʔtŋ, Praok dək, Lawa Bo Luang taak, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang ndak (#320 *nt,aak; Mon perhaps reflects var. *l/ntaak, cf. Temiar lentaːg).

‘(To) dream’: Old Mon ‘ampo’ n., Modern Mon kəpɔʔ, Sre mpaʔ v., Bahnar (h)apɔ ‘prophetic dream’, Jeh hmɔʔ ‘to dream’, Khmu Yuan həmpɔʔ, Central Nicobarese enʃuːə n.v. (#105 *mp[ʔ]?).

In #1327 *nciːm &c. ‘to eat, to feed’ Mon and Khmer reflect *nc-, but Bahnaric and Palaungic similarly show reflexes associated with *c-; we reconstruct *cuum etc., *cim cim > *nciːm. But it is conceivable that all the forms might be referred to a sequence *mc-.

Cf. for *nt- also #72, #320, #561.

What are presumed to be sequences of homorganic nasal + voiced plosive give rise to two distinct sets of reflexes in Khmer and South Bahnaric. So far as the evidence goes they are complementarily distributed; but it is hard to see how the difference might arise from the environment. In the attestations the sequences *ŋg-, *nd- are preserved; but the nasal element of *nj-, *mb- is lost.

For other languages the evidence is incomplete; we find the sequence preserved in Old Mon and Lawa; Old Mon /ŋ, ʔj, ʔb/ > Modern Mon ŋ-, ʔ-, m- ~ b-, with chest register. The nasal is lost in North Bahnaric and Temiar. Vietnamese has usually the corresponding nasal, but with variant (South Vietnamese) /y/ from the palatal. Palaung has in one item y- < *nj-.

(Type 1) ‘to sit down’: Khmer ʔoŋkúy, Sre nguy, Mưông, Vietnamese ngo đ, Semai gɔːy (#1448 *ɲguy).

‘Eel’: Khmer ʔɔnttiaŋ, Stieng ndhuː-, Sre, Chrau, Biat ndu- (#579 *nduŋ &c.).


‘Dark in colour’: Mon yöm id., Khmer cɔːm ‘discoloured, stained, bruised...’, Palaung yam ‘black, swarthy’, Mưông giɔm ‘black’ (#1337 *ŋjum &c.).


Cf. also for (*mb-) #117, #365;

(*ŋg-) #1448, #1591, #1720;

(*nj-) #55, #56, #811, #1330, #1337;

(*nd-) #579.
(d) *ʔ+ plosive. With the exception of *ʔb-, for which we have reasonably coherent evidence, reconstructions of this type of sequence rest on evidence which is more or less anecdotal. We shall take *ʔb- first.

*ʔb- is reconstructed from (i) reflexes associated with *p- in Khmer, South Bahnaric, and (with sāc tone) in Vietnamese; (ii) with *ɓ- in Riang-Lang but (iii) with *b- in Khasi and probably Khmu Yuan, and with either in North Bahnaric, the rest of Palaungic, and Aslian; and (iv) with *mb- in Mon (The occurrence of a glottal Palaungic, and Aslian; and (iv) with *mb- in Khasi and probably Khmu Yuan, and with either in North Bahnaric, the rest of Bahnaric, and (with sāc tone) in Vietnamese). Four sequences involving glottalized consonants have a plosive as the first member in some languages cited in the next item: "Afraid, to fear": Kuy ʔatuuŋ, Khmer ʔatuuŋ, Modern Khmer ʔatuuŋ, Riang-Lang ʔatū, #1521; to which can be added one where the closely related Kuy has ʔat-. In the first of these Old Khmer (*t)- corresponds to Riang-Lang high-tone c-, as from *kc.

‘Old’: Old Khmer (*t)cas, Modern Khmer caḥ, Stieng ceːh, Riang-Lang ʔca2 (#1891 *ʔcas &c.).

Old Khmer (*t)- > Modern Khmer t- (whereas *t- > Khmer d-); in the other languages cited in the next item *ʔt- merges with *t-.


‘Afraid, to fear’: Kuy ʔatuuŋ, Khasi tieng (Mnar tyoŋ), Temiar tuk (552 *ʔtuy小狗; the unexpected Khasi vocalism may result from the initial).

In #529, #1987 *ʔc- is tentatively reconstructed to account for correspondences of Khmer c- to c- in South Bahnaric (as from *kc- etc.); cf. also #46. *-t- is tentatively reconstructed to account for Khmer t- in #550, #1346.

2.2.1 Voiceless plosive + glottalized consonant

Sequences involving glottalized consonants have a plosive as the first member in some eight-ninths of all instances; and in about three-quarters of these cases the plosive is a voiceless one. Generally, the reconstruction of *d or *ɓ at C2 depends on the same languages—Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi, Viet-Miông—as at C1 in *CVC structures (section 1.3). Sequences *kd- etc. are preserved as sequences in Old and Middle Mon (the initial consonant being lost in modern Mon) and normally in Khasi.
Such sequences are also to be reconstructed when evidence of a glottalized consonant in a criterion language coincides with evidence of a sequence in a language which merges glottalized consonants and voiced plosives: generally Khmer, in one instance Chrau (with j- < kf-); cf. section 2.1.2. Note that in Bahnar the reflexes of *d* *ɓ* unlike those of voiced plosives, are not devoiced following voiceless plosive. Distinctive evidence may also be derived from the South Bahnaric reflexes of related nasal-infix forms.

Mon and/or Khasi initial clusters are seen in the following examples.


‘To break, snap’: Mon k⁶kam ‘to break, snap’, I provisionally reconstruct *k- as established from parallel western Austronesian forms: Malay kām, Lawa, BL poŋ, Lawa Mae Sariang phoŋ, phuŋ, Vietnamese mǔm-mém ‘to mumble, chew’ (#1375 *kɓiim &c.).

‘To have in one’s mouth’: Khmer biam ‘to hold in mouth, suck’, Chrau vəm ‘to suck in mouth’, vum ‘mouthful [of rice wine]’, Riang-Lang ‘bum’ ‘to hold in mouth’, Khasi kbum ‘to close one’s lips’, Vietnamese mǔm-mém ‘to mumble, chew’ (#1375 *kɓiim &c.).


In the next group of examples the evidence for a sequence lies in Khmer (as a voicing discrepancy where C₁ is not preserved; cf. section 2.1.2); or, in the last item, in Chrau.


‘To withdraw’: Mon bot ‘to draw out, unsheathe’, Khmer baoç ‘to pull out’ (#831 *ɓɓooc). Here *ɓ- is established from parallel western Austronesian forms: Malay chabut, etc.

‘To cook’: Chrau jañ, Riang-Lang d사회 (#583 *kɗañ).

In addition to *pɗ-, I provisionally reconstruct *p[d]- on the basis of two equations that suggest that the normal reflex in Khmer and Bahnaric is *pr-.


‘Five’: Old Khmer praŋ, Sre, Chrau, Biat pram, Mường dambil, Vietnamese năm (#1363 *p[d]am).

[End of manuscript—Eds.]


**Part 3 Comparative Dictionary**

1 *ʔiʔ; *hiʔ we.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan ʔiʔ, Palaung e, Riang-Lang ʔeʔ, Praok e, Lawa ʔeʔ *we (plural), Temiar ʔeʔ *we (inclusive).
   B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy hai, Stieng heʔi, Biat he: I, Central Rölöm hi: *we (exclusive), Bunör he:, Kensiu heʔ, Semai I hiʔ, Semelai heʔ *we (inclusive), Central Nicobarese heʔ we (dual), heʔ: we (plural).

(SHAFER 1965 286; BLOOD 1966 181; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 52.)

1*ʔiiʔ person.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon 'ey /ʔay/, Modern Mon ʔa, Proto-Nyah Kur *ʔay/*ʔway (DIFFLOTH 1984 N263; favours *ʔay!), Stieng i, Lawa Bo Luang ʔaiʔ I (originally this person, cf. below), Palaung i- (in ime male, ipan woman), Riang-Lang ʔiʔ person, human being, Khasi i he, she, it, Kensiu yeʔ, Temiar yeʔ, Semaq Beri ye:h I.
   Connect as suffixed or sandhi-forms (i: Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) ad *ʔiiʔ-ʔnih this person, Old Khmer aŋ, Modern Khmer, Stieng ʔan (BLOOD 1966), Sre an, Chrau an, in, Bahnar in, Che' Wong, Semai I ʔin, Semelai ʔan I; (ii: North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) ad *ʔiiʔ-ʔ[ua]ʔ this person, Jeh, Halang aw, Kammu-Yuan ʔaʔ, Palaung a, Riang-Lang ʔaʔ, Praok aʔ, Lawa Umphai ʔauʔ, Mae Sariang ʔauʔ I. Cf. further 110 *bu[u]ʔ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; SHAFER 1965 523; BLOOD 1966 378; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1, 3) Kharia in, in I, &c. (PINNOW 1959 402; ad i).

3 *ʔaʔ at.
   A: (Bahnaric) Chrau ar: from, Biat a:; West Bahnar ā, ah at (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

4 *[ ]ʔaʔ we two.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ʔaʔ, Praok a.
   Connect 1439 *jʔaay?
5 *?o? elder sibling.
Cf. 1957 *ʔəh younger sibling.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 412.)

6 *?ua? this.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Stieng ʔu, ʔu, Biat ʔa this, Bunør ʔa, Central Rööm ʔaw, ʔa here, Bahnar ʔw, ʔw here, this, Palaung ʔ this, Khasi ʔ masculine singular pronominal prefix, Jehai ʔo? he; ~ Biat ʔa this, Palaung ʔu this (noun); ~ Biat ʔa (ʔi —) tomorrow, (ʔa: ʔi —) presently, Chrau ʔaw tomorrow.
Cf. further 79 *[d]a? &c. this, here; A1 *bna? yesterday? Cf. further 1435a *ʔay?; Old Mon wa’/wo?/ this (< *wuʔ; with secondary w-?).
(BLOOD 1966 203.)
Kharia u- this (PINNOW 1959 K 520).

(*.ʔa? see 13 *[r]nʔaʔ to stammer.)

6a *klʔiʔ kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer I?ry small round basket with upright sides, Sre ʔaʔi hemispherical basket, Chrau ʔaʔi: large kind of basket, Biat ʔi: (kind of) basket, Khasi khri small basket; ~ Cham ʔi:; Jarai ʔi:; North Röglai ʔaʔi.

7 *ʔaʔ; *cʔah; (*cʔah-s >?) *cʔaʔ clear, clean.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) (*ʔaʔ >) Palaung ʔa (MILNE 1931), Praok ʔa, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saʔaʔ to be clean, pure (& by back-formation Palaung, Praok ʔa to be clear); ~ (*ʔaʔ >) Chrau ʔa; clean and flowing [water]; ~ Bahnar ʔadjaʔ clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.) (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh ʔaʔ clean (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
B: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon cʔah /cʔah/ to be clean, pure, Modern Mon ah to be clean, clean; ~ Cham sah; ~ (*ʔaʔ >) Khmer ʔah clear, free from impediment.
C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Biat aih [sky] to clear; ~ (*ʔaʔ >) West Bahnar ʔagaih, ʔagaih, East Bahnar ʔagaih clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.) (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*ʔaʔ >) Khmer ʔamʔah caʔʔas to wash a corpse (& cf. Khmer &c. forms cited under the entry 1920 *ʔaʔ, which perhaps contaminated). 
Cf. further Nancowry ʔec to clean, Riang-Lang ʔam, probably contaminated by Shan ʔam to be excellent; & 950 *cʔaʔ.
8 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ciʔaʔ > *caʔ, Pre-Khmer ?[c]iʔ to eat.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon ca /caʔ/, Modern Mon caʔ, Old Khmer caʔ, Middle Khmer si: ʂɨ, Kuy caʔ, Sre sa, Biat chaːt, Chrau, Bahnar saː, Jeh, Halang caʔ, Kensiu ciʔ, Temsiar caʔ, Semelai cai to eat, Central Nicobarese ja: to eat [vegetables], Nancowry s̄a edibles other than main food; ~ Old Mon ciriña, Modern Mon kanaʔ food, West Bahnar hanaʔ pig-swill (Guilleminet 1959-63), Semai cana: food (Tauer 1914); ~ Khmer cəmn̂y food; ~ Khasi bsə to feed (v.t.); ~ (*pncaʔ &c. >) Middle Mon baca, Modern Mon baceʔ, Khmer bonsi: to feed (v.t.).
Add perhaps, from a variant in *-ʔə, Praok i to eat; & Danaw sué.
(Schmidt 1905, 12, 22; Shafer 1965 241; Stoerto 1972; Blood 1966 327; Smith 1972 552; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 27.)
Cf. Tibeto-Burman *dza, Archaic Chinese d̀jäk 食 ~ djàg 食., causative (Benedict 1972 28 no. 66; 169 n. 452).

10 *crʔoʔ rafter.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Mon həʔja’o’ &c., Thin sɾʔo, Palaung sarʔo (& by secondary derivation Riang-Lang s̀andoʔ ~ *sdoʔ) rafter, Serau charo’ crossbeams (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 129).
Note also Bru sàpùa rafter, side beams of roof.
11 *cʔ[au]* to retch, vomit.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar ʔ to retching noise
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Danaw ʔ, Central Nicobarese oau-[hal] to vomit, Nancowry ʔow; → Röglai ʔ, (?) Burmese ʔ to vomit; ~ (*crʔ[au]* >) Mon həʔja'a' &c. to vomit, Bahnar rəʔ to want to vomit (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer ɲəʔao cǎ'or (!) to vomit; by secondary derivation ~ Mon ʔp'a' to feed with premasticated food.


(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

12 *t1ʔoo* to crow.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar ʔ; ~ Mon hauʔ tha-u to make a concerted noise (e.g. in crowing), Kammu-Yuan rəʔò to crow.

13 *ʔ[n]ʔə* to stammer.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon həʔ to stammer, Bahnar [rəə] rə to stammer in fright
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Or *rʔə*.

14 *rnʔɔʔ* bag for cooked rice.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre rando reed bag for rice, West Bahnar rəʔ basketwork bag for cooked rice (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

15 *sʔu[ə]*; *sʔuə* mouldy, spoiled.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həʔuʔ stench, to stink.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat ə to go mouldy; ~ (*spʔuə* >) Khmer phʔuə ph'ua(r) musty, stuffy, spoiled, Chrau pəʔə: mouldy, corroded.
Cf. 1563 *sʔuur &c. to emit a smell.

16 *ka* fish.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 1; BLOOD 1966 298; SMITH 1972 540; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 138 (a))
Kharia ka- (PINNOW 1959 64).
Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *ikan: Malay ikan, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68; DYEN 1953 § 133).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

17 *koʔ; (*koʔkoʔ >) *ko(ə)k neck.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon ko’/koʔ/, Modern Mon koʔ, Khmer, Biah ko, Stieng ko, Sakai kua’ (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 26); ~ Sre nko, Chrau nkə; Bahnar akə; Bahnar dialect hako.

B: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang ʔok neck; ~ Praok gok throat, Kensiu, Semnam ʔokŋok neck; probably ~ Malay tēngkok, (~) Maranao tēngkoq neck (BLUST 1970 no. 124), Toba Batak takkuhuk nape of neck; by metathesis (*ŋok >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang ŋək, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ŋok neck.

Hence (i.e. *koʔ ~?) Thai kʰəa, Shan kh₃. Note also Vietnamese cō, < *k[ə]h.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 478; BLOOD 1966 192.) Sora [(ə)san]-ka-n; Kharia ʔoŋko (PINNOW 1959 276).

Connected further (i) Kammu-Yuan təklək, Thin təglok nape of neck; (ii) Acehnese takua, Cham takɔj, Jarai t’kuai, Rōglai takuai, North Rōglai takuai neck (suggesting Proto-Austronesian *takuai; cf. with variant vocalism Cebuano Bisayan tingkuy hollow space in nape of neck); ~ Bahnar dialects takoi (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang takuay neck, Jeh takuy nape of neck; (iii) 505 *tk[ə]ŋ (nape) of neck.

18 *cnk[i]ʔ; *cnk[i]h waist.

A: (Khasi) Khasi syŋkai waist, hips, loins.

B: (Khmer) Khmer conkhe caŋkeh caiŋhe waist.

Cf. Kuy ŋkeŋ, Bru ŋkiŋ.

19 *ck[e]ʔ wild boar.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng cerkei, rəkei, Sre jark, Chrau jakei, Bahnar soke: wild boar; ~ Sakai changgei pig (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a)).

Or *-iʔ? Hardly = 1449 *cgəy dog.

(SMITH 1972 532.)

20 *jkuʔ body, self.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy kau I (familiar), Palaung ku quantifier for persons, Praok kao persons, Lawa Bo Luang kaoʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang koʔ body; ~ Old Mon jirku/jarkuʔ/, Modern Mon hakəʔ body, person, self, Bahnar akəw, Bahnar dialects hakaw body, self, name (?; with contextual diphthongization, or ← Indonesian), Central Sakai sərgō corpse.

(SHAFER 1965 300.) Proto-Austronesian *aku(S) I: Malay aku, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13-14; DYEN 1953 § 133).

Cf. (i) Shan kəw self, &c. (BENEDICT 1975 203, 206); (ii) Tibetan sku body, Burmese kuïy /ko/ self: Tibeto-Burman *(s-)kəw, BENEDICT 1972 184 n. 483; Archaic Chinese k’iū 駢, ib.
21 *tnkeʔ horn.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng ke:i, Sre nke, Biat njke, Bahnar akε; Bru kei; → Jarai, Rõglai taki.
Kuy (t)kai shows contamination but is rather connected with Khmer koy rhinoceros horn.
(BLOOD 1966 176; SMITH 1972 531; cf. SHAFER 1965 475.)

22 *[t]kɔʔ kind of catfish.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Chrau [ka:] kɔ: catfish; ~ Mon [ka?] hakoʔ thaka’ kind of catfish, Clarías magur.
Connection uncertain Khmer thko: thkar sawfish.

23 *tkɔɔʔ; *tkɔɔ h island.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon tko’/tkɔʔ/, Modern Mon kɔʔ, Biat kɔu [daːk]; → Thai kɔ.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic; contaminated by 1970 *ckɔh dry) Khmer kɔh koh, Stieng kɔh (!) [dɔːk], Bru kɔh land (as opposed to sea).
(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 30.)

(*pkaʔ see 1819 *pkaaw flower.)

24 *skɔʔ companion, company.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon sko’/skɔʔ/ company, Stieng kɔu together, with, and, Synteng Khasi shkaw spouse; → Cham sakau, Rõglai səgau together; ~ Old Mon siŋko’ company (quantifier), (merging next?) Modern Mon hakoʔ company, companion; ~ Khmer srakar (!) /srakoʔ/ companion, age-mate.

25 *skɔɔʔ grey-haired.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer sko:v grey-haired, Sre ko: to be white-haired, albino, Bahnar ko: grey[Hair]; ~ Old Mon siŋko’/sɔŋkoʔ grey-haired, Modern Mon hakoʔ to be grey-haireded, Old Khmer saṅkū grey-haired.
Connect perhaps (i) Khasi takhaw, takhew having scanty hair, (ii) Central Sakai bēkō, Central Nicobarese pako to be white-headed; Sora ‘baō-[’u-] grey[Headed]. Cf. 1971 *jku(ə)h white, clean.
†26 *ge(e)? (?) deictic & 3rd person pronoun.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer ké: one, someone, he, they, Röngao ge, ge, Kontum Bahnar gi: he, she (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, poetic), Kammu-Yuan kì: this, Palaung ge, Praok ki they, Lawa Bo Luang ke? he, she, Khasi ki they; weak form Sre go indefinite pronoun, Röngao ga: & gar (!) he, she (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan kò: he, kù́ʔ many [people], Riang-Lang _ka? they, Khasi ka feminine pronominal affix, Nancowry ki all.

Cf. Riang-Lang *ke plural particle (< *[g][e]h); Kuy kvi that; 252 *kh[ii]? this, he, they.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

Kharia ki plural suffix, &c. (PINNOW 1959 74).

27 *goʔ ally, friend.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kòʔ inespousable cross-cousin, Palaung go friend, Riang-Lang _koʔ wife’s younger brother, younger sister’s husband (& _koʔ wife’s elder brother… by arbitrary variation).

28 *b[ng][e]? vegetable poison.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bâŋ Jasmimum longisetum, with poisonous leaf (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar dialects bâŋ, bânci poison especially prepared from Strychnos nux-vomica (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Perhaps *-[ ]ŋ; *-iʔ. If *bngiʔ, cf. 1461 *[ki][ay]? poison…, which could conceivably be reconstructed *gyi(i)?; then with secondary palatalization < *bg(i)?

29 *rguu? (& *rgu??); *rgəʔ; *rguuh; *rguəh; *rgəh to shake.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör rəgu; Biat rgu: v.t.; ~ (*rguu? >) Stieng rənu:, Sre rənu (→ Röglai), Central Rölöm ñhū: v.t., Chrau rəgu: wobbly, shaky; by secondary derivation ~ (*-u? > ?) Bahnar g-agu? to shake (v.t.).
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer riangkī: v.i.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat rguh [rgu:p], Lawa Umphai rakhoh, Mae Sariang yakuh v.i.; ~ Biat nguh, Lawa Umphai ngoh to nod [head].
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat rəgh [rgə:p] shaky.
E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ?änghōih to nod [head].
(BLOOD 1966 236.)

30 *ŋ[əːh]? *ŋ[ə]h to fear.
A: (?Khmer, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer ɲow-ɲow with pleading, whining sound (?; with affective register deformation?), Kammu-Yuan ɲòʔ to fear, Khasi ngiew fearful, fearsome.
B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semai sâŋh to fear.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49.)
**31** *tŋiɪʔ sun, day.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *tɪɛy* /tŋɔy/, Modern Mon *ŋoa*, Old Khmer *tʰai*, Modern Khmer *tʰnɔy* sun, day, Kuy (*t*)*nai* day, Sre *nɔy* day, *tɔnɔ* (!) sun, day, Jeh *nɔy* sun, day, Halang *nɔy* day, Kammu-Yuan *sɔŋiʔ* day, noon, (màt—) sun, Palaung *sɔŋi*, Riang-Lang *sɔŋiʔ*, Lawa Bo Luang *sɔŋaɪʔ*, Lawa Umphai *sɔŋiʔ*, Mae Sariang *saŋeʔ* sun, day, Praok *sɨnɔy* sun, day, *ŋi* day, Khasi *ŋgi, snag* sun, Mutong (Barker 1966 21), Vietnamese *ngãy* (!), Semaq Beri *tɔŋiʔ* day, Central Nicobarese *heŋ* sun, day, Nancowry *hɛŋ* (Nicobaric < *cʔain*?); ~ Old Mon *tɪrŋeɪ* daily, Modern Mon *tɔŋa* middle part of day (with which some disyllabic forms above should perhaps be compared). (Schmidt 1905 66; Shafer 1965 146; Smith 1972 459; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 38.)

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *tʰiŋaː* Fijian *siŋa* sun, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 154).

**32** *tŋa? bow.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *tia* /tŋaʔ/, Modern Mon *ŋa?* (cross)bow.

Sora *ŋanaː*n bow. For *ŋ-* here (< *n-?) cf. 1410 *tlam &c.

32a *bŋ[j][i][ʔ] fever.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *cʊmŋuː* (!) disease, illness

(contaminated by *chʊː* < 55 *ʒiɪʔ?), Sre *baŋe* malaria, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation *pomkaiya* fever, Nancowry *pumk équipé*, refer *kɛ* chill, feeling cold.

Connection uncertain Riang-Lang *ŋəwɔ* pox, disease causing rash &c.

(*bŋ[e]? see 28 *b[n][ŋ][e]? vegetable poison.)

**33** *rŋa?; *rŋa? live coal.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng *rŋaː* [uːŋ], Sre [ous] *rŋa*, Biat *rŋaː* [ʊŋ] 

live coal, Khasi *rŋa* charcoal; ~ Jarai *ŋaʔ*, Röglai *ŋa* live coal; ~ Middle Mon *laŋa [pramat]*, Modern Mon *ŋaʔ? [kəomat], *təŋeʔ* live coal.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Thin *rŋaʔ live coal; ~ (*rŋaʔ > *rŋaʔ by dissimilation >) Palaung *raŋgwu*, Praok *gaw [ŋu]*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaŋgauʔ*, Lawa Umphai *raŋgɔ* live coal, Semang *anggu* charcoal (Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 77 (a)).

Cf. (i) Khmer *raṅγːk* (& Br *raṅhːʔ*), perhaps a loan from the same source as slv k leaf ad 230 *sλaʔ*; (ii) Bahnar *nər* dying, dead coal, ↔ Jarai *ŋaʔ = *ŋaʔ* (< *ʔnər* by metathesis?).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

134 *lŋaʔ; *lŋaw? sessamum.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ *lŋaaʔ > ) Chhau ṛŋa; Biat ṛŋa; Kammu-Yuan ṛŋʔaʔ; (~ (*lŋaaʔ > ) Bahnar ṛŋa: white-seeded sessamum (or last), Palaung ṛŋa (Milne 1931), Danaw ḍŋ ṛŋa sessamum; ~ Riang-Lang ḍŋa sessamum.
B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer ṛio, Modern Khmer ṛi; ~ Middle Mon laŋau, Modern Mon ṛaŋa sessamum, Bahnar ṛŋow black-seeded sessamum.

With final variant cf. 1819 *pkaaw. Note also Kuy rwûŋ sessamum, Bru lawûŋ by metathesis? Culture-word. See also Benedict 1975 375.
Proto-Austronesian *lŋa(S): Malay lęŋa, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 95; Proto-Austronesian if = Polynesian Curcuma, otherwise Proto-Hesperoranesian).

135 *lŋaaʔ itch.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Sre ṛaŋa itch between toes (→ Röglai), Kammu-Yuan ṛaʔ, Riang-Lang ṛaʔ to itch, Muông nga itch (Barker 1966 25); ~ (*lŋaaʔ > ) Vietnamese ṛûa itch.

136 *lŋuʔ; *lŋua? lonely, deserted.
A: (Mon) Literary Mon liu (attributive lamnú) to be solitary; → Cham lańū empty; ~ (*lنغuʔ > ) Old Mon lũo’/lŋuʔ? to make deserted, (to isolate oneself =) to be solitary, Modern Mon tœʔu to be solitary, desolate.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ṛuŋa? solitary, deserted; to think nostalgically of; to isolate; Stieng ḍŋu: stupid, compared at Schmidt 1905 36, is ← Proto-Austronesian *dũŋu
(Blust 1970 no. 157).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *ŋaŋuau > ) Karo Batak ngongo deserted, lonely; (ii) *lŋau: Ngaju Dayak la-lingau to be sad, Cebuano Bisayan míngaw lonely, deserted, &c; (Dempwolff 1938 97-8). Conceivably Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, but no obvious source. See Benedict 1975 369, sad... .

137 *sŋiʔ (& *sŋiiʔ?); *sŋih; *sŋiww house.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon s̄i’/s̄iʔ/, Modern Mon ḍənʔ, Stieng, Chhau ni’, Jeh ɲiə, Halang ɲia, Central Nicobarese ɲi; Nancowry ɲi.
B: (South Bahnaric) Bunör ɲi, Central Rölôm hì, Biat ɲi.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre hìw.

(Schmidt 1905 50; Shafer 1965 153; Blood 1966 222.)
Sora ṛ’aw-an, &c. (Pinnow 1959 355, Southeast Munda only; perhaps by metathesis < *sʔiŋ).
38 *ŋoʔ paddy.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon ʂioʔ /sŋuʔ/, Modern Mon haoʔ husked rice, Kammu-Yuan ȵ3ʔ, Palaung hŋəʔ, Riang-Lang ʔŋoʔ, Praok ɲo, Lawa Bo Luang hŋəʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hŋəʔ paddy.

(Shaffer 1965 307.)

(*[c]iʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ to eat.)

39 *ciʔ (& *ciʔ?) louse.

A: Mon coa, Khmer cay (→ Sre say?), Stieng siːh (!), Biat chiː, Chrau, Bahnar siː, Kammu-Yuan seʔ (!), Palaung si, Riang-Lang șiʔ, Lawa Bo Luang saʔ, Lawa Umphai seʔ, Mae Sariang seiʔ (!), Khasi 'si (~ ƙsi), Vietnamese chí, chày, Kensi ciʔ, Temiar ɛʔ, Semelai cih louse, Central Nicobarese ʃei flea, louse; ~ Kuy ʃcɛ: head louse, Bru ʒcọy.

Lawa, Vietnamese (& Sre?) show secondary diphthongization. Stieng -h also ad 126 *babeʔ goat, 156 *bryaʔ kind of varan, 197 *klaʔ tiger (& 412 *prœk squirrel!).

(Schmidt 1905 32; Shaffer 1965 243; Smith 1972 516; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 169.)

Sora ʔiʔ-iːn, Khasia seʔ, &c. (Pinnow 1959 341).

Cf. Haininh Yao sei head louse. (Benedict 1975 333; Chiengrai Yao ɓhọ body louse, Petchabun Miao ɲchau head louse, ib., reflect Proto-Miao-Yao *(ŋ)ɓhọ(u)).

40 *ceʔ great-grandchild.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre se grandchild, great-grandchild (→ Röglai ce grandchild), Bahnar [saw] se, Praok [kan] se, Lawa Bo Luang [kuan] saiʔ, Lawa Umphai [kuan] seʔ great-grandchild, Kammu-Yuan cęʔ grandchild, Bru ʔace:.

Cf. 43 *cuuʔ grandchild.

(*ceʔ see also 1983 *cèh kind of jar, *caʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ to eat.)

41 *caʔ dog.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Kuy caː, Stieng saʊ, Sre so, Chrau soː, Biat chɔː dog, Bahnar [kɔʔ] soː wild dog, Jeh cou, Halang coː, Kammu-Yuan sɔʔ, Palaung so (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang soʔ, Praok so, Lawa Bo Luang saʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔ, Khasi 'sew (~ ksew), Mường (Barker 1966 15), Vietnamese chó dog (→ Old Khmer ca, Modern Khmer caː dog, as year name), Temiar cawɔʔ, Semelai caːh dog; ~ Kuy ʔaːcaː dog, Riang-Lang yoʔ dog, puppy, (?) Jehai ʔaciʔ dog.

(Shaffer 1965 235; Blood 1966 193; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 143.)

Khoria sɔ-[lɔʔ], &c. (Pinnow 1959 210).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary


42 *c[u]ʔ to place, put.
Connection uncertain Kuy sa: to put in, to fasten (< *kca[ ]?).

(*[c][u]ʔ see 1986 *[c][u]h to wake.)

43 *cuuʔ grandchild.
A: (> *ciuʔ > Bahnaric &c. *caw; Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Old Mon cow /cw/, Modern Mon cao, Old Khmer, Modern Khmer, Kuy cau grandchild, Stieng səuu grandson, nephew, Sre saw grandson, Chrau saw son-in-law, daughter-in-law, Biat [kɔm] chau descendants, Bahnar saw, saw, Jeh, Halang caw, Palaung su, Praok saa, Lawa Bo Luang sauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang soʔ, Khasi ‘siew, Vietnamese châu, Semang -chô’ grandchild (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (b)); → Cham cau(w), Acehnese cɔ; ~ Chrau sənaw, Sakai (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (a)) chêno’ grandchild.

Palaungic requires *-uuʔ, as does Indonesian; Cham, Acehnese reflect diphthongized forms. Cf. 40 *ceʔ great-grandchild.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 535; BLOOD 1966 197; SMITH 1972 431.)

Proto-Austronesian (*k’u(S)k’u(S) >) Acehnese cucɔ (contaminated by ca ← Mon-Khmer; perhaps ← Malay), Malay chuchu, Iban uchu /uchuq/ grandchild; → Semang chuchɔ’ (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (c)). If Acehnese not ← Malay, *k’u(S)k’uS. But conceivably Mon-Khmer > Semang chuchɔ’ → Malay → Acehnese, Iban.

44 *[c]uuʔ to be sick.
A: (Khmuiic, Palaungic) Palaung su, Riang-Lang ~suʔ, Praok saa, Lawa Bo Luang sauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang soʔ sickness, to be sick; ~ Kammu-Yuan cúʔ pain, ~ Danaw kã ~tsu to be in pain.
If Nancowry tů rather *tž-, connected 70 *ktuuʔ hot? But connection dubious 55 *njiʔ.

(SHAFER 1965 238a.)
Sora ʔsu-, a’su- to feel pain, Kharia ’kɔsu sickness, to be sick, &c. (PINNOW 1959 247).
45 *(c)[uə]ʔ to see.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng səu, Bunör saa, Central Rölöm sɔː; Biat chaː to see, West Bahnar səu to see clearly (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar saṣu to see clearly (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). If Nancowry héw to be visible or hɛʔ to look at is connected, *s-
Connect 158 *(s)yəʔ?
(BLOOD 1966 204.)

46 *[ʔ]ciʔ relative/interrogative pronoun.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre chi it, which, Palaung se what (relative/interrogative), anything; ~ Sre nchi what, which?
Connection uncertain Mương chi (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese chi, gi what?; ~ anything.
(*ʔca(a)ʔ see 1891 *(ʔ)cas old.)

47 *kciʔ young, green.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kʰcʰy green, fresh, new, young [plants, animals]; ~ Khmer komcʰy unripe, green, Chrau gase: soft, Biat nche: green, unripe, Bahnar kaseʔ young, tender; by back-formation or popular etymology Chrau [kʰn] seː, Biat [kʰn] che: young.
(BLOOD 1966 174.)

48 *kmciʔ collateral relation.
Sora ‘a:(j)ī(-n) younger sister may be cognate if -j- is glide consonant; then separate from Proto-Munda *aj, PINNOW 1959 38.

49 *(joo)ʔ grandmother.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon cūʔ great-grandmother; ~ Central Sakai ajò grandmother.
Sora jojɔː-n grandfather.

50 *(jù)ʔ sour, acid.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Central Aslian) Khmer cù: j优, jür sour, tart, Jeh, Halang jüaʔ, Khasi jëw sour, (~?) Bahnar ?yuʔ sour; vinegar; ~ Khmer mcui: sour spice &c., (~?) Sakai bucui sour (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349; ?), Central Nicobarese pacu to go sour; ~ Khasi byrjew sourish.
Cf. also Vietnamese chua-chát acid. The same Khasi vocalism in 196a *(j)-luʔ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAFER 1965 452; SMITH 1972 305.)
Sora so'jo- &c., Santali jɔ̃̃ sour, &c. (PINNOW 1959 383; Proto-Munda *jɔ̃̃).

51 *juuʔ wild banana.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng [təm] juː, Sre juː (→ Röglai), Bahnar juː (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*juuʔ see also 19 44 *juuh to stay, linger.)

52 *kjəʔ; (*kjəʔ kjəʔ >?) *kjək heavy.
A: (South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Semaq Beri kəjəh; ~ Sre kənjo.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng jək, Biat jək; ~ Chrau kənjo heavy, (~?)
Riang-Lang *səmcək to nod from weariness.
Connect uncertain Temiar ñuəuh, &c. Cf. 1146 *([l]):-jən.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 68 (a); BLOOD 1966 121.)

53 *knjə[ə]ʔ kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer käncə: 60-litre basket, Biat njə: basket.

54 *tjooʔ worm.
A: (Mon, Aslian) Jehai tajuʔ, Temiar tajuʔ, Semelai tijioh snake; ~ Old Mon tiñju
/tənjuʔ/ worm, maggot, Modern Mon kəyaoʔ maggot.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 311.)
Kharia ti'jaʔ worm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 329).

55 *njiiʔ sickness, to be sick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon 'jey to be sick. = 'añjey sickness /"jəy/,
Modern Mon yəa sickness, to be sick, Nyah Kur *çəy (DIFFLOT 1984 V267;
suggests *-ay!), Khmer chuː (!) jhi, Chrau jí: to be sick, Sre ji sickness, Biat ji:
sickness, to be sick, Bahnar jiʔ, Jeh, Halang jiʔ to be sick, Temiar jiʔ (BENJAMIN
1976b).
Khmer vocalism & initial obscure. ? ~ Nancowry kəcéy to become weak. Connection
dubious 44 *[c]uəʔ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 522a; BLOOD 1966 213; SMITH 1972 294; SKEAT &
BLAGDEN 1906 S 187 (a), (b))

56 *[nj]a[ə]ʔ tar.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon yɛʔ tar, pitch, Vietnamese nhụa, dụa sap, gum, resin, tar,
asphalt, opium (by attraction 1601 *jar sap).
Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 40, : Stieng co: [uuiɲ] charcoal.
57 *pjooʔ old.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon pjû(’)/pjû?, Modern Mon pyù? to be old, aged, dilapidated, Bahnar so: old, antiquated, dilapidated, probably Palaung jo lifetime (→ Shan sò); by secondary derivation ~ Praok ju life, lifetime, age, Lawa Bo Luang ṭănuʔ, Lawa Umphai rańuʔ age.
Palaungic less probably ultimately ← Pali āyu.

58 *bjooʔ; *bjeeʔ (& *bjeʔ?) bad.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Röngao co: (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Palaung jo, Praok caw, Mah Meri bajaw.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer cè: jer (!) to rebuke, insult, Kuy chè: to abuse obscenely; ~ (*bmjeeʔ >) Bahnar ṭmeʔ bad, ugly; by secondary derivation ~ Middle Mon byi, Modern Mon pyiʔ to blame, Khmer phcae to blame, reprove (GUESDON 1930).
Front vocalism secondary. For semantics of B cf. 1082 *luut; Khmer cè: taken as = causative, perhaps back-formation in view of vocalism, which implies *-eʔ. Note further Vietnamese xâu bad.
(SMITH 1972 318; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 9.)

58a *[ ]niːʔ uncle.
A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy (ʔa)nì: parent’s younger brother, Khasi ’nì, (~?) kńii maternal uncle.
Perhaps by contraction *[ ]kuuŋ &c. ʔiiʔ (892, 2).

59 *n[ee]ʔ small.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon ńi, Modern Mon ńiʔ to be small in quantity, West Bahnar neʔ (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan neʔ, Thin ne small; (probably ~) Bahnar yɛʔ small.

60 *naʔ, *nah person.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang neʔ who, anyone; ~ Sre drańa human being.
B: (Mon, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Old Mon ńah /nah/, Modern Mon njęh person, Thin yeʔ him, Jah Hut nah who?
Riang-Lang, Thin fronting contextual.

(*ńaaʔ? see 152 *[y]aa[ ] house.)
61 *ɲɔʔ kind of tree, Morinda species.
Vietnamese tone perhaps post-palatal, cf. besides following 170 *jiriʔ, &c. (Cf. BEFEO 55, 196.)

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Palaung ɲə to be ugly (?), Vietnamese ɲhâu (!) to be wrinkled, crumpled; ~ Khmer kɾaɲəv frowning, displeased (by dissimilation < *srɲuʔ? GUESDON 1930 also sr; VACANANUKRAM KHMER has no instance of sɾən-, Biat [kwət maɾ] ɲu: scowling, morose (beside kwət ɲuə abashed, crestfallen ↔ Khmer); (by back-formation?) ~ Khmer [kʰnəiː]-kʰnəv to be wrinkled, crumpled.
B: (Mon; ~ *srɲuʔ? >) Mon hənə  to be wrinkled.
On Vietnamese tone see preceding. Cf. 896 *snuən &c. wrinkled; to frown … . Sora ajju:- to be wrinkled, ju'ju:-[je'je-] to be wrinkled and puckered.

63 *ɲuːu to suck up, drink.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre ɲu to drink [spirits], Praok ɲəa, Lawa ɲə to drink, Semai ɲəʔ, Temoq ɲu to suck, Nancowry cəʔ, South Nicobarese onyu:[.BooleanField*], Teressa-Bompoka nyu:-[hətə] to drink (& Central Nicobarese ɲə: milk?).
Cf. SMITH 1972 325, *uʔ; contaminated by 268 *ʔuək?
(SHAFER 1965 297; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1960 D 165 (a.).)
Sora ɲuː-, ɲu'ɲuː- to smell, sniff; Santali ɲu to drink, &c. (PINNOW 1959 112).
Sora is referred ib. 315 to cognates of 887 *[j]uũn.

64 *təiʔ; *təih; *təiəh earth, ground.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Aslian, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon tɻ(’) /təiʔ/; Modern Mon təʔ, Old Khmer təi, Modern Khmer də, Kuy təʔ, Bru kuteʔ (← *-[ai]ʔ?), Kensi təʔ, Temiar təʔ earth; ~ Semelai ʔateh; ~ (or =?) Kuy kəʔ, Palaung kət, Riang-Lang ʔət, Praok te, [hə]kət, (so probably, rather than simplex) Lawa Bo Luang təʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang teʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan pətəʔ earth, (~?) Khasi pry̓thei the world (rather than ← Sanskrit pr̓vthi-), Central Nicobarese molāi land.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar təh earth; ~ Jeh ʔənə, Halang təʔnəh earth.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre təih ground, the world, Stieng təh earth; ~ Chrau nətəh earth; ~ Biat nəh earth, ground.
-n-infix forms, as probably -h, contaminated by Indonesian, below.
(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 361; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1960 E 12 (a.).)
Sora purti:-n the world (or ← Sanskrit?); Mundari te, &c. (PINNOW 1959 403).
Connection obscure Proto-Austronesian *tanoq: Malay tanah, Cham tanuh, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, tanah/tanah; assuming Javanese tanah ← Malay).

65 *t₁iʔ, *t₁iiʔ, *t₁iʔ that yonder.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre ti (spoken of, past), Chrau ti? (!) there, yonder, Khasi -tei that up there, the aforementioned, Semang [ha'] teh there (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a)).
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ti; Sedang tay up there.
C: (Mon, ?Khasi) Middle Mon te' there, then, that, those, Modern Mon teʔ that, (?) Khasi -thie that down there.
Chrau has -ʔ < *ʔ in deictics, cf. 92 *naʔ, 1435a *h[øy]ʔ. Cf. 66a *təʔ; 1466 *t₁uuy &c.
(SMITH 1972 515.)

66 *t₁iiʔ hand, arm.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric, South Aslian) Old Mon tey /tay/, Modern Mon toa, Old Khmer tai(y), Modern Khmer day, Kuy te; Bru ʔatay ( < *ʔ ?), Sre ti, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar ti: hand, arm, Jeh, Halang ti: hand, Kammu-Yuan tīʔ, Palaung ti, Riang-Lang ʔtiʔ, Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang teʔ, Khasi 'ti ( ~ kti), Central Nicobarese -tau hand, arm; ~ (from a suffixed *tiiʔ-ŋ) Temiar thik.
Connected further, perhaps from a prefixed form, South Aslian forms: Semelai thiʔ.
Distinguish 244 *siiʔ[ʔ].
(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 14; BLOOD 1966 226; SMITH 1972 513; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 15.)
Kharia tiʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 75).

(*t₁aʔ see 68 *ʔt₁aʔ male elder; 1988 *t₁ah level; *taʔ see 75 *[s]taʔ to vomit.)

66a *təʔ that, there.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer do: relative particle, Stieng təu, Biat to: that, there, Bahnar to: that, there (far away), Khasi [hang] to there (mooted, near at hand), [u]to he, that (near), Vietnamese dó that, there.
Cf. 65 *t₁iʔ &c.; 1466 *t₁uuy &c.

67 *t₁uuʔ in, at.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng tu: in, at, with, Chrau tū: at, to, Bahnar tə: to, towards, Palaung tə (in senses) in (to), Riang-Lang ʔtū (in senses) in (to), Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang toʔ middle, in the middle of; ~ (*[ ]ntuuʔ >) Praok dau in (to).
Add Khmer dau to proceed towards ? But not, as SCHMIDT 1905 34, : Mon tao to be located in... (< 1824 *taaw). Cf. B4 *t₁aʔ &c. place.
(*t₃uu? see also 2004 *t₃uu[h] ...to clean by rubbing.)

\[68 \] (*t₃aʔ-t₃aʔ >?) *t₃aʔ (& *t₃aʔ?) \textit{male elder}.
\textbf{A:} (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Late Old Mon \textit{ta} /t₃aʔ/, Modern Mon \textit{taʔ} father, Old Khmer (\dagger\textit{t₅a} old man, Modern Khmer \textit{ta}: grandfather, Stieng \textit{ta}: onomastic prefix for junior males, Kammu-Yuan \textit{t₈}, Praok \textit{ta} grandfather, Palaung \textit{ta} master, grandfather, Riang-Lang ~\textit{ta} master, husband, grandfather, Lawa \textit{taʔ} grandfather, old man, Temiar \textit{taʔ} old man (Benjamin 1976b 132), \textit{taʔ} sir (Benjamin 1976b 135).
(Shafer 1965 280; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 41.)
Proto-Austronesian \textit{tata}: Proto-Oceanic \textit{*tata} term of address to father, mother's brother (Benedict 1975 286-7, which see), Proto-Philippine \textit{*tata-i}: Cebuano \textit{tatay}, \textit{tátay}, Pangasinan \textit{tátay} term of address to father, Tagalog &c. \textit{tatay} father, Samer-Leyte Bisayan \textit{tatay} father, grandfather.

\[69 \] *[kb]t₁aʔ \textit{to wash [head]}.  
\textbf{A:} (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung \textit{kəta} (Milne 1931), Lawa Bo Luang \textit{taʔ} to wash [head], (or ~?) Khasi \textit{bta} to wash [face].

\[70 \] *ktuuʔ \textit{hot}.  
If Bahnar → Jeh, Halang, perhaps *-t₃-; connected Smith 1972 *kasuʔ (324; then *-ts-) to sweat; &/or 44 *c[\textit{c}]uuʔ to be sick? (Schmidt 1905 52; Smith 1972 322; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 140; Pinnow 1959 52.)

\[71 \] *gtooʔ \textit{snail}.  
\textbf{A:} (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon \textit{taʔ}, Temiar \textit{gatû} (Benjamin 1976b 132).

(*ntaʔ see 75 *[s]taʔ to vomit.)

\[72 \] *nt₁uuʔ \textit{hole, pit}.  
\textbf{A:} (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer \textit{ʔandau} (& \textit{rəndau}) \textit{ditch, hole, cave}, Stieng \textit{tū}: \textit{deep ditch or hole}, Chrau \textit{ntu}: \textit{well}, \textit{water-hole}, Biat \textit{ntu}: \textit{hole}, West Bahnar \textit{haʔtū} \textit{deep hole} (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan \textit{hantūʔ}, Riang-Lang \textit{tuʔ}, Praok \textit{dəʔ} \textit{hole}. (Schmidt 1905 34; Shafer 1965 303.) 
Cf. 556 *kt₁u(u)ŋ, but connection dubious. 
Proto-Austronesian \textit{*pın⁴t₄au}: Malay \textit{pintu}, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 119, *p[\textit{t}]u; Dahl 1973 § 12.4; *-au confirmed by Acehnese \textit{pinto}; see also Benedict 1975 273).
72a *tp₁[i]? to instruct, teach.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer phdae-[phdam] to send verbal message, keep reminding (→ Vietnamese day to teach?) & ~ Khmer prädæ-[prädav] to teach, educate, Stieng ti: (BLOOD 1966), Sre bati to teach (DOURNES 1950); ~ (*pnt₁[i]? >) Praok de [gaa] to teach; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau tanti: to teach, Biat nti: to learn, (~ ntom) teach.
(BLOOD 1966 227.)

73 *bt₁aʔ, *st₁aʔ tail.
A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon birta /bɔrtə/, Modern Mon hataʔ.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Lawa sataʔ, Kensiu hatiʔ, Semaq Beri hateʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan hantáʔ, Palaung sataʔ, Riang-Lang ~santaʔ, Praok sidaʔ, Temiar sentaʔ.
Munda implies B secondary; on *taʔ < *btaʔ? Danaw has `tɔŋ `tu.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 3.)
Kharia pa’ta (PINNOW 1959 K 386).

74 *[b]tuuʔ to burst, pustulate.
A: (Mon) ~ Khasi pyrthiew [ parched grain] to burst; to come out in an eruption;
~ Mon hatao skin eruption endemic in cold weather, Khasi pyrthiew, byrthiew pulsed pulses, (kaba —) eruptions.
Connect 2008 *bt₁uh &c.
Proto-Austronesian *bu(S): Sundanese bituq to explode, erupt, to fire [gun],
Cebuano Bisayan butu to explode, burst; blister (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

75 *[s]taʔ to vomit.
A: (Mon, Katuic, ?Khmer) Mon taʔ (medical) to vomit, Bru rata: vomit, (?) Khmer sda: stãr (!) to unload, empty, drain off.
If Khmer is not connected, Proto-Mon-Khmer *(n)taʔ? See BENEDICT 1975 417.
(*st₁aʔ see 73 *bt₁aʔ tail.)

76 *diʔ, *dih to hit, come in contact with.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon tiʔ to come in contact with, impinge on, collide, to charge, fight with horns, Sre di: to be right, to be in agreement, to have to, Biat di: to hit; right, Khasi (tɔ-)dei (!) to hit, Nancowry téʔ to touch.
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer dadih to collide (GUESDON 1930).
Khasi d-, for *t-, unexplained. B contaminated by 2010 *dah (compare with for semantics)?
77 *da[?] duck.

A: (Khmer, Kautic, Bahnaric) Khmer tia da, Kuy thita, Stieng, Chrau da; (?) → Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang tua, Lawa Umphai thua; ~ Sre ada duck, Golar Bahnar hoda: wild duck; → Cham ata, Röglai, North Röglai ada duck (& Mon atèa?); ~ Bahnar tadə: [da:k] wild duck.

Or *daar (Mon, Khmer, Lawa), Khmer → Kuy, Bahnaric; Khmer orthography favours *-ʔ; Cham &c. inconclusive. Cf. Röglai ara wild duck, ↔ Sre ara wild duck, Kontum Bahnar hara: duck.

(SHAFER 1965 121, 465.)

(*da? see also 2010 *dah to hit, to meet.)

78 *daʔ; *dah; *daas to stop, be brought up short, come to rest.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Middle Mon dui', Modern Mon tə to stop, halt, Khmer tɔː: to put (down, on shelf), to land on, lodge, get caught, Kammu-Yuan tɔ to fall on one's bottom, Semang [bi:a]-dú to stop (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 477; cf. W 8), Central Nicobarese [ka]-ty- to dwell, stay, wait, Nancowry katū, ~ Chrau vada: to catch falling object.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre dah rest, Biat dah at leisure, easy, Bahnar dah rest, cessation (GUILEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar padah to rest.

C: (Khmer) Khmer tīh dös to be in the way, to be too big to go through opening.

Connection dubious B31 *dək to stop, halt. Kontum Bahnar padə: to stop, rest, is ↔ Cham patə: to rest, cognate with Javanese mari to stop, abate; Mon dah [rain] to stop perhaps < 1903a *daas to break.

(SHAFER 1965 130; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 70.)

79 *[d][a]ʔ; *[d][a]h this, here.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng doo, doo here, Sre do this, here.

B: (Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Thin duh this, Kensiu dah here, Temiar doh this, here.

Connect 92 *nəʔ &c.? But perhaps *d- here, by contraction *diiʔ-ʔ[uəʔ] (85, 6).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 86 (d.).)

80 *daːʔ to cover head.

A: (Khmer, Kautic, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer tū: dū cloth cover of casket, (TANDART 1935) to cover, Kuy thu(ː)ʔa? (!) to wear on head (contaminated by A22 *dlo to wear round neck &c., which compare?), Bahnar [hlaː] du: umbrella; ~ Khmer təti: dədiː, dədəɾ to cover the head, Sakai tudə to cover (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 257); ~ Stieng ndou [umbrella] to shelter from, cover, Sre ndau to wear on head, to shelter under [umbrella], Biat ndəu to cover oneself, cover head; ~ (*pdəʔ? >) Bahnar tə to cover, shelter, to take cover (GUILEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Proto-Austronesian *tudun: Malay tudong veil, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).
81 *duuʔ to run away.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon dow /dɔw/, Modern Mon tēa to run away, Old Khmer dâu, Modern Khmer tưu to go (away), Sre douʔ, Chrau, Biat duː, Kammu-Yuan tūʔ, Palaung du to run away, Temiar doʔ to run (Benjamin 1976B 132); ~ Bahnar kəduː, (!) kadəw, Jeh kadəw, Halang gədəːw to run, Tembi daduʻ to run away (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 44).

North Bahnaric diphthongization obscure. Add 84a *p[d]uuʔ to carry, transport? Note Vietnamese dào to escape, flee. But Praok to to run away is < 1612 *tar.

(Schmidt 1905 68; Shafer 1965 124, 479; Smith 1972 424.)

82 *kdɔʔ plantain bud.


Cf. B9 *k.dɔʔ plantain.

83 *tdiʔ kind of bamboo.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (*tndi >) Mon [tun] kəlbeʔ tali &c. giant bamboo; ~ (*tədi >) Stieng [təm] ɾadei kind of smooth-stemmed bamboo, Bahnar ɾədei kind of bamboo (Guilleminet 1959-63 ɾədei); ~ Rōglai ɾarde straight kind of bamboo with short joints.

(Shafer 1965 455.)

84 *pda[a]ʔ to lean on.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon pətəʔ to lean on, Khasi [ia]da to help, protect (compounding form!; ia- reciprocal); ~ (*p.da[a] >) Vietnamese ᵃɗa to lean on (→ Mường ᵃɗa, Barker 1966 23).

Cf. Central Nicobarese iduə-hare; & 1470 *daay.

84a *p[d]uuʔ to carry, transport.

A: (Bahnaric) West Bahnar du: (!) to transport (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Biat ndu: [a: iaː] to bring; ~ Sre pədu to transport, carry away, Bahnar pəduʔ to transport.

Originally to carry off, causative. ~ 81 *duuʔ to run away? So Stieng prədu: to run away (with), snatch up in running away.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

85 *dıiʔ middle, in.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon ɗey /ɗay/ locative particle, Sre ɗa dative particle (locative particle, Dournes 1950), Biat di: [ɗol] (in the) middle, Kammu-Yuan taː, taː at, Thin dā, dā in; ~ Old Mon tirɗey, Modern Mon hadao, Sedang tadėy middle (Smith 1972 p. 79), Kammu-Yuan tortiʔ between; ~ Kuy nthiːt, (?) Bahnar aneʔ in the middle, Palaung kandi middle; ~ Old Mon pɗey inside, Middle Mon pɗay, Modern Mon doa in, Khmer phtėy stomach, (Guesdon 1930) womb, Pangan pediʔ central (i.e. Mendriq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 100).


Proto-Austronesian *di: Malay di- locative prefix, &c. (Dempwolff 1938:40; Proto-Hesperonesian).

86 *dıiʔ? (*diʔ?-[ ] >) *diis; *duuʔ; *duul one.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Kuy thài different, Stieng dii, Praok ti, Lawa Bo Luang teʔ, tiʔ, Lawa Umphai thiʔ, Mae Sariang tiʔ one; ~ (*diʔ? diiʔ >) Khmer titėy, tatėy to be individually separate; other, different, Nancowry riːɾi all, whole; ~ Palaung randi alone, apart.

B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *dis one, (~?) Central Nicobarese oreːh, odeːh first, Nancowry ruːh other, ?urēh first.

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat duː one.

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer tʊːl to be single, just one, Sre duːl one.

With suffix in B cf. Riang-Lang so-, Khasi shi one. C perhaps < *diʔ?-ʔuuʔ, cf. Palaung u one & Central Rölöm juː (~ *dyuː?).

Connect perhaps *-d in Santali miːd, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 338. (Shafer 1965 285; Blood 1966 230.)

87 *ɗeʔ; *ɗe reflexive pronoun.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau deː belonging to, Bahnar deː indefinite pronoun, Kammu-Yuan teː general pronoun, Palaung de, Riang-Lang ɗeʔ, Praok ti reflexive pronoun, Lawa Bo Luang teʔ, Lawa Umphai teʔ, Khasi ilaʃde, Central Nicobarese dεːde, reːɾε self; ~ (*kɗeʔ >) Chrau jeː belonging to.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon ɗeh /ɗeh/, Modern Mon deh 3rd person pronoun, (weak form) Bahnar dah 3rd person possessive pronoun (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Bahnar kadih reflexive pronoun.

Connection uncertain Malay dia he, likely < Proto-Austronesian *dia there (Blust 1970 no. 152) contaminated by ia 3rd person pronoun, for which see 2 *ʔiʔʔ.

88 *k[n]daʔ thin.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy (k)diːa, Bru kadaː; (or ~?) Kammu-Yuan hantəʔ.
89 *cdaʔ span.
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Middle Mon cda span from thumb to middle finger, Modern Mon daʔ also to crawl like a leech, to measure by spans, Kuy (ch) thìʔa, West Bahnar dialect dà span from thumb to middle finger (Guilleminet 1959-63), Khasi tda span; to crawl like a leech; ~ Jeh ida, Halang hada: span, Bahnar sada:, hadda: span from thumb to middle finger; ~ Khmu' sndaʔ to measure length.
(Smith 1972 543.)

(*t₃dʰʔ see 2014 *t₃dih near; *[ ]n[d]aʔ see 2015 *[ ]n[d]ah one of two sides.)

90 *[p]ɗnɔʔ blister.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat dɔu blister, small swelling; to blister; ~ Mon hədəʔ phaʔa' to blister.

91 *niʔ; *nih this.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Kuy niː, Stieng nei, ni: this, here, Sre ne there, Bahnar ʔney, ʔniː that, Kammu-Yuan niʔ this near at hand, Khasi [u &c.]-ne, Muơng ni this (Barker 1966 21), Central Nicobarese one that (pronoun).
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer neh, Middle Khmer neh neh, nih neh, Riанг-Lang ni this.
Bahnar ʔn- in deictic also in following, which compare; as 1475 *naay, 1435a *ʔ[øy]ʔ &c. Jakun & Sakai (Lanoh) forms at Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 89 are ← Malay.
Sora -ne- in e.g. ten-ne- here, Kurku ini this, &c. (Pinnow 1959 337).
Proto-Austronesian *in,i this: Malay ini, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 69; Dyen 1953 § 133; Dahl 1973 § 15.2). See Benedict 1975 408. (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 44.)

92 *nɔʔ; *nɔh this.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, South Aslian, ?Khmuic) Mon -nɔʔ this, Chrau nɔʔ (!) there near at hand, Bahnar ʔnuː, ʔnɔw, ʔnɔw here, this, Mae Sariang [sæŋʔ] nɔʔ to[day], Vietnamese no this, Semelai nɔʔ here; ~ Middle Mon 'ano' /ʔanɔʔ/, Modern Mon anaʔ here, Temoq ʔanaʔ this; ~ Semelai nɔʔnɔʔ this; probably ~ (*ʔ[ʔ]anʔ-nɔʔ > ?) Kammu-Yuan nɔʔ: pronon 3 plural, Praok nɔ pronoun 3 singular Cf. Kuy nɔ he, she, Bru nɔw here, she, who (or 92a?).
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer nɔh, Middle Khmer nɔh nɔh that, there, nûh nɔh that, Bahnar (?n)nɔh here, this, Semnam nɔnɔh this.
For Chrau final see 65 *t_iʔ &c. Bahnar ʔn- in deictic also in preceding, which compare; -aw &c. perhaps contaminated by 6 *ʔ[uaʔ]ʔ. Connect 79 *[d][aʔ]ʔ &c.? (Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 51 (e), (f), 85.) (?)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Proto-Austronesian *[ŋ]n̂aa: Cebuano Bisayan náa there (near addressee), &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 271). Note also Saaroa (Formosa) na:na: there, kanaʔa that, kanau that (near) (BENEDICT 1975 406, this (one), there (I)); and Li *na he, she, they, that, there, ib.

92a *naʔ what, which?
A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy nà: what?, Khasi -no which?, some[one &c.].

93 *kn₁[ŋ]ʔ rat, mouse.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon kni(’) /kniʔ/, Modern Mon nœʔ, Kuy (k)nai rat, mouse, Stieng kanei, Sre dē, Biat nei (& dē, ← Sre?), Chrau, Bahnar kanc, Jeh kanc:y, Halang kane: rat, Kammu-Yuan kañéʔ rat, mouse, Khasi khnai, Central Sakai këni mouse.
Some disyllabic items may reflect an infixed form.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 10; SMITH 1972 527; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 33.)
Kharia ’kane mouse, &c. (PINNOW 1959 398).

94 *[ŋ]n₁naʔ dew.
Sora ’sinna:n.

95 *t₁n₁naʔ large bovid.
Khasi compound, or ~ *mt₁n₁naʔ by deformative metathesis.

96 *[b]naʔ; *[b]nah you, plural of address.
A: (Khmer) Khmer mníə you…, (mnûh —) people (beside mnî:əl).
B: (Mon) Old Mon bnah /bnah/ you….
Khmer mn- by phrasal alliteration?

97 *snaʔ crossbow.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer snaː, Kuy nhaː, snaː, Stieng sñaː (or derived?), Biat naː, Vietnamese nd; ~ Sre sña.
(BLOOD 1966 309.)
98 *piʔ three.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon *piʔ/ /piʔ/, Modern Mon peʔ, Old Khmer piy. Modern Khmer bγy, Kuy pai, Stieng pei, Sre pe, Chrau, Biat pei; Jeh peyi, Halang pei; Kammu-Yuan péʔ; ~ Semelai hmpeʔ; ~ Temiar neʔ.
   Cf. (i) Bahnar peŋ; (ii) 1437a *ʔuy &c., connected if < Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[ ]ui[ ] ~ *[ ]u/p/i[ ] or the like.
   (Schmidt 1905 22; Shafer 1965 567-8; Blood 1966 177; Smith 1972 537; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 99, 100.)
Kharia 'uʔpe, &c. (Pinnow 1959 348).

99 *piʔ you (plural).
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung pe, Riang-Lang peʔ, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang paiʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang peʔ, Khasi phi, Central Nicobarese [i]fe.
   Connection dubious forms in *b-: (i) Old Mon beh /beh/ you (singular), Modern Mon pèh you; with /h/ perhaps by levelling on Old Mon deh 3rd person pronoun (< 87 *deh), t'eh pronominal plural suffix; (ii) Stieng beï you (plural), perhaps levelled on mei you (masculine singular) (< 128 *miʔ); with these cf. Sora am'beŋ &c., compounding form -be'n, Santali aben you two, &c., Pinnow 1959 55; (iii) Kammu-Yuan pɔː you (plural); levelled on nɔː: pronoun 3 plural. (ad 92 *nɔʔ).
   (Shafer 1965 286.)
Kharia -pe, &c. (Pinnow 1959 175a; Proto-Munda *-pe).

100 *paʔ; *pah shoulder.
   B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese bá [vai] [shoulder]-blade; ~ Middle Mon pnah, Modern Mon nah shoulder.
   Connection dubious Kuy mpaʔ (tip of) shoulder, perhaps ~ A12 *ʔaak shoulder-blade; or 218 *blaʔ shoulder.

100a *pəʔ; *puʔ to lift, raise.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat puʔ: to lift, raise (→ Sre pə), Stieng puʔ: to carry in hands, Jeh pòʔ to lift, reach, Halang pòʔ (by attraction 121 *ɓɔʔ) to carry on back.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar puʔ, Praok pu to carry on back.
Back vocalism secondary? Or two roots, with contamination? Cf. Nancowry under the entry 121.
   (Smith 1972 306.)
101 *poo?; *poon to swell, expand.
A: (Mon, Nicobaric, ?Khmer) Mon pao? to swel, to be nearly ripe, Central Nicobarese fua-[hata] to swell, Nancowry fúua, (?) Khmer bao por to warp, swell.
B: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mon poŋ to swell up, [bread] to rise; ~ (*[k]poon; or perhaps *[k]-boon, ad 108 *[b]oo?, >) Khmer paoŋ inflated, puffed up, Bahnar poŋ swollen; ~ Kuy mpoon inflated, puffed up, Bahnar pəpoŋ to bulge out, become bigger; (?) ~ Vietnamese bông inflated, puffed up.
Cf. besides *[b] oo 348 *pu(u)k; Biat poh to swell.
(SCHMIDT 1905 56; cf. SHAFER 1965 333.)

102 *poo? parent-in-law.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh kapiaw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
C: (Bahnaric) Sre ōpu, Chrau opu; Biat rpu; Bahnar opo:.
D: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm puh.

A: (Khmer) Khmer krābry (→ Stieng krāpu?);
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh kapiaw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
C: (Bahnaric) Sre ōpu, Chrau opu; Biat rpu; Bahnar opo:.
D: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm puh.

-B-D, contextually favoured, probably contaminated by Indonesian *k/ar/əbau (DEMWPOLFF 1938 76, *əbav; Cham kapəw, &c.); note here Madurese kərbhuy, perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer. Connection obscure Mường trâu (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese trâu.
(SHAFER 1965 59; BLOOD 1966 239; SMITH 1972 523.)

104 *t, pa? freshwater turtle.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy spa:, Stieng pa; ~ Sre dørpa, Chrau dapa; (or next?) Bahnar tapa; ~ Cham tapa:, Röglai dørpa, North Röglai dupa; ~ Kammu-Yuan tampá?.
Cf. Vietnamese ba-ba turtle.

(*t,puə? see 1916 *t,puus to sweep.)
105 *mp[ɔ]ʔ dream, to dream.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *ampoʔ */*pɔʔ/ dream, Modern Mon kapɔʔ, Kuy mpaː[bic], Bru mpaw, Sre mpaɔ, Bahnar apɔ, Gölar Bahnar hapɔ, Jeh hmɔʔ (!) (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Kammu-Yuan hampɔʔ, Central Sakai pɔ to dream, Central Nicobarese enfuːa, Palaung ronpo to dream; by metathesis (*rpm[ɔ]ʔ ?>) Riang-Lang _ramuʔ to dream, Praok -maw dream, Lawa Bo Luang ?amauʔ, Lawa Umphai ramoʔ dream, to dream.
Or *mpuoʔ (&c.), by metathesis *mpawʔ? Stieng mbaii dream, to dream, Biat mbaii to dream are probably contaminated rather than ← Indonesian, below.
(Schmidt 1905 14; Shafer 1965 296, 548; Smith 1972 562.)
Kharia mui to dream, &c. (Pinnnow 1959 K 351).

(*rpuaʔ see 1918 *rpuus ...fourth finger.)

106 *spuʔ thatching-grass.

107 *[b]aʔ to ingest.
A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan pɔʔ to eat, to drink, Kensiu buʔ to drink.

107a *[ ] boaʔ hump of ox.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon pɔʔ ba’ &c., Kammu-Yuan pɔʔ.
Conceivably *lb-; then ~ 119 *ln[b]oʔ ox?

108 *[b]ooʔ; *[b]ooŋ; *[b]uŋ to swell, bulge.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer pɔː to swell (Guesdon 1930), (or derived > ?) Bahnar bō swollen with decay (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Khmer spōː sbor (!) swelling up, swollen; ~ (*p*[b]ooʔ >) Central Nicobarese faːpoː fat, Nancowry fāpu connection dubious.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer pɔːŋ hump, protuberance, Bahnar bōŋ swollen (Guilleminet 1959-63); (perhaps ~ Khmer paoŋ inflated... &c., see 101 *pooʔ).
C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer puŋ swollen (?; Guesdon 1930, ≠ belly < 624 *buŋ [j], Kuy phūŋ pregnant, Bahnar buŋ swollen, bulging (Guilleminet 1959-63), (or b) Khasi pong[kdung] bellying, bulging out; ~ Khmer kompūŋ fully rounded.
Problematic. If Khasi < B, C perhaps ← Indonesian, below; other Khmer, Bahnar conceivably < *[d]-poo? &c., ad 101. Cf. further (i) Khmer kpuaŋ shoulder of hill (< *[k][b]ŋ?); (ii) Khmer pōŋ bump... to puff up, swell up, become inflated, Kuy phuaŋ blistered, swollen (< *[b]ŋ); (iii) 629 *[d]buŋ foetus. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 333.) Proto-Austronesian *k(N)buŋ: Malay kembong inflated, distended, &c. (DEMPOWOLFF 1938 77; probably Proto-Malayo-Javanese, discarding Tagalog, Toba Batak, & assuming Malay → Ngaju Dayak; so perhaps ← Mon-Khmer!). See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b); BENEDICT 1975 404.

109 *b[oo]ʔ friend.
Cf. 1836 *ɓ[aw]ʔ companion… .

110 *bu[u]ʔ individual.
By contraction *bu[u]ʔ ʔii? (cf. 2; Palaungic: i, *buuy > ) Praok puy, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang pui, Lawa Umphai phui person; (ii, *bii? > ) Palaung bi person.
(Cf. SMITH 1972 559.)

111 *[ ]*[b]uuʔ soul, shadow, butterfly.
The soul is believed to be visible as a butterfly by e.g. the Mons.

112 *ʔbaaʔ father.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon 'ba' /"baʔ/ father,
Modern Mon mēʔ father, bēʔ peremptory term of address to males, Khmer baː father especially of animals; onomastick prefix for junior generation (→ Stieng baː onomastic prefix for elder males?), Bahnar baʔ, (Kontum) baʔ, Jeh baʔ, Halang baʔ, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang puuaʔ, Lawa Umphai phuaʔ, Khasi pa father.
Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, Stieng mōːm; or Biat mbyʔ.
(SHAFER 1965 281; SMITH 1972 319; LEWITZ 1967 121-3.)
Kharia 'aba, &c. (PINNOW 1959 26).
Proto-Austronesian *ʔbaq: Malay ēmbah grandparent, Acehnese (ö)mbah, Iban embah [apai] father, Tagalog ambag uncle (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. BLUST 1971 no. 167); → Temiar bəːh father?
113 *[ʔ]boʔ mother.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon ‘bo’ /ˈbuʔ/ mother, Modern Mon bàʔ female of animals…, Jehai bəʔ, Temiar boʔ mother; probably → Malay ibu, → Javanese ibu; ~ Mường bơ (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese vợ wife, Semnam baboʔ? wife, woman, Jehai baboʔ, Temiar baboʔ woman. Or *mb-. Since Javanese is likely to be a loan word, Dempwolff’s construction of Proto-Austronesian *ibu (DEMPWOLFF 1938 66) is dubious (but note Sediq bûbuʔ).
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 61, M 192.)

114 *ʔbuuʔ to suck at the breast.
(Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon bow /ˈbɔw/, Modern Mon mèa, Khmer bau, Sre pouʔ, Chrau, Biat pu; Jeh buʔ to suck (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan pûʔ, Palaung bu, Riang-Lang ‘buʔ breast, to suck, Vietnamese bù to suck, Che’ Wong buʔ breast, to suck, Jah Hut boʔ breast, Chowra Nicobaric mo-[hatə] to suck, Nancowry móʔ; ~ Vietnamese vú breast; ~ Old Mon pubow /pəˈbɔw/, Modern Mon hamèa, Khmer bɔmbau, Biat mpu; Jeh hmuʔ (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan panpûʔ, Riang-Lang pəkbuʔ to suckle; ~ Sre təmpouʔ to suckle. Cf. Praok pay to suck.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 41a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 386.)
Atayal *bubu breast, milk, (~) Kanakanabu mumu breast, milk. (BENEDICT 1975 242, which see).

115 *krɓa[aʔ] crocodile.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer krapʔ; Stieng kрабу, Biat rbu; Bru rabə.

116 *kɓoʔ white.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon gwu, Modern Mon kwuʔ (& pûʔ) to be white; ~ Middle Mon kambu, Modern Mon kəmaʔ white.
Proto-Austronesian *kulabu(S) grey: Malay kēlabu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82-3, Proto-West-Indonesian; referred as prefixed form to *qabu ash, for which see 2034 *buh &c.). See BENEDICT 1975 221-2, ashes.
117 *mbiiʔ elder sibling.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon mbay, Modern Mon bọa elder sister, Stieng bi:
(BLOOD 1966), Sre bi, Bunör, Central Rölöm mi: elder sibling.
Kammu-Yuan pi: elder sibling is (by back-borrowing?) ← Lao bhii. Cf. 1531a *waay elder sibling; 1494 *mə(ə)y mother’s sister.
(BLOOD 1966 215.)

(*mboʔ see 113 *[ʔ]boʔ mother.)

118 *rbaʔ to hunt down.
Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, : Khmer mɔː elephant-hunter.

119 *ln[b][o]ʔ ox.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ləmpòʔ.
Originally perhaps humped (cattle), ~ (*lboʔ = ) 107a *[ ]boʔ. Connection obscure Mường pó (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese bò; ← or contaminated by Proto-Austronesian *kəbau buffalo (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76)?
Proto-Austronesian (?) *laNbu(S): Cham limɔː, &c. (with obscure vocalism), Malay lèmbu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 247, cattle.

120 *baʔ paddy.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Chrau va:, Stieng, Biat bər, Bahnar bə:, Danaw ‘bə, Che’ Wong, Mah Meri bəʔ, Temiar bəʔ; ~ Khasi kba; ~ Semelai babah paddy (& Semang &c. —i.e. Jehai, Batek Dek— bab boiled rice, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).
Cf. 133 *maʔ seed, (BLOOD 1966 276; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 106 (a), (c.).

121 *bɔʔ to carry on back.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer va, Modern Khmer pɔt to carry on hip (JACOB 1968; on back GUESDON 1930, in arms TANDART 1935, HENDERSON 1952; i.e. to carry child?), Palaung bɔ, Riang-Lang ‘bɔʔ to carry on back, Temiar baʔ to carry on back (BENJAMIN 1976b 132; rather than bəʔ to carry, ib. 135), Nancowry ?upúʔaʔ to carry on back.
Cf. B117 *b[a]ls to carry [heavy object] (& POU & JENNER 1975 no. 21). Bahnar puʔ, Halang pɔʔ, Praok pu are < 100a *pəəʔ &c.
122 *ɓūʔ younger sibling.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer pùː bū (!) parent’s younger brother, Praok pu, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang puʔ, Lawa Umphai phuʔ younger sibling; ~ Riang-Lang ñamboʔ, (~?) Khasi hynbew younger sibling.
If rather *ɓuʔ, Riang-Lang vocalism obscure.

(*ɓuuʔ see 125 *(t)ɓuuʔ sugar-cane.)

122a *[j]ɓū[o]ʔ kind of cereal crop.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer spòː sorghum, Bru sapùa Job’s tears; ~ Biat mbɔː, Bahnar ħɔːː maize.
Obscure. HENDERSON 1952 has Khmer spù; contaminated by 1834 *d[b]aw millet?
(Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

(*jɓuuʔ see 2041a *jɓuah beak.)

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ñabeʔ Job’s tears, Coix lachryma-jobi, Lawa Bo Luang sapiʔ Panicum miliaceum (Japanese kibi).
B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kɔbeːh Job’s tears.
Cf. Ami (Formosa) havay Setaria italica (TSUCHIDA 1977, 89).

124 *tɓɔʔ; *(t)[ɓ]u(u)ʔ to touch, feel.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Biat buː to feel, Bahnar bɔː to touch, feel, handle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?; *t-) Khasi tba to touch, feel; ~ (*tnɓɔʔ >) Sre buu, təbu to touch, feel; ~ (*tnɓɔʔ >) Bahnar ħɔbaʔ to feel for.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre bu-[bi &c.] (*-uuʔ), Praok pu [pi] (*-uʔ) to touch, feel.
Note further Central Rölöm, Bunör biː, Köho Chil tabi: (BLOOD 1966 207); but connection obscure Mon kwɔʔ dwa’ (< *tbaʔ??); perhaps contaminated by *bal > Khmer pɔːl to touch.

‡125 *(t)ɓuuʔ sugar-cane.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon tbow /tʃɔw/, Modern Mon bao; ~ Old Khmer ’ainvau, Modern Khmer ʔomp’yu.
Connect 1834 *d[b]aw millet?
(SCHMIDT 1905 34.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

126 *babe? goat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon babe’ /babe?/, Modern Mon habe?, Old Khmer vave, Modern Khmer papè: (with vocalism by secondary lengthening?), Kuy, Biat be; Stieng beh, beih, Sre be, Chrau vave: (& dave: by dissim), Bahnar babe; Jeh bu?bey, Halang babe;; Kammu-Yuan pè?, Palaung be, Praok pe goat, Lawa Bo Luang pe?, Lawa Umphai phe?, Mae Sariang pí? mountain goat.

For Stieng -h cf. 39 *ciit?. Onomatopoeic. Cf. (i) Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 302, (III); Riang-Lang *pè? is ← Shan pè; (ii) with initial nasal Central Nicobarese me, Nancowry me?; Kharia me’rom, Gutob gime, &c., PINNOW 1959 177; Ong-Be me goat, sheep, &c., BENEDICT 1975.

(SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFER 1965 36; BLOOD 1966 171; SMITH 1972 529.)

Jakun bêbe’ (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 53A), Sundanese embe, Macassar bembe, Proto-Ambonese *bibi (STRESEMAN 1927). (Mainland forms perhaps ← Mon-Khmer: Cham papè;, Jarai babe;, Rögglai bø, North Rögglai mube).

127 *mi? (& *miit?); *mih; *miiw rain, to rain.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer mè: downpour (quantifier) (?; also mi: mîr overcast, threatening rain), Stieng, Chrau mi: (to) rain, Semnam mi?: rain; ~ Bahnar ?mi: (to) rain (< *-iiit?), Jeh ?miah, Halang ?miah rain; ~ Semai mani?: rain.

B: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat mih, Central Nicobarese amih (to) rain, Nancowry ñamúh.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre miw rain.

The same distribution of finals nearly in 37 *niit? &c.; add then perhaps Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese muta rain. Cf. further 141 *gma?.

(BLOOD 1966 216; SMITH 1972 521; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 7; & cf. R 8.)

128 *mi[i]?: *mih you (singular).

A: (Kautic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy mài you (familiar), Sre mi you (singular), Stieng me:i, Chrau mây (BLOOD 1966 also may), Biat mai you (masculine), Kammu-Yuan mè: you (masculine singular), Palaung mi, Riang-Lang _mi?, Praok may, Lawa Bo Luang mài?, Lawa Umphai mi?, Khasi me, Vietnamese mây, Bateg Nong mə?, Central Nicobarese me, mè you (singular).

B: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Bateg Dek məh, Semnam mih you (singular); ~ Bahnar ʔmih you (dual).

Vocalism in part suggest *-əy; perhaps a calling deformation, but in South Bahnaric by attraction 1436 *ʔay[h] feminine; Chrau mây then as ayy ad *ʔay[h].

(SHAFER 1965 158; BLOOD 1966 187; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 33.)
129 *miiʔ to look at.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon mey /mɔy/ to look (at, into), Modern Mon mòa to watch over, (in compounds) to look, Khmer mèy to dwell on mentally (poetic), Kuy mèʔ to look (at); ~ Khmer məmèy to imagine; ~ (*mrmiʔ >) Sre rami to look at.

130 *miiʔ brother-in-law.

(SMITH 1972 514.)

131 *meeʔ, (*meeʔ-meeʔ >?) *ʔmeeʔ mother.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mùng, Central Aslian) Middle Mon mi, Modern Mon miʔ mother, Old Khmer me, *me, ame mother, Modern Khmer mèʔ, mae term of address to old women, mèʔ familiar or impolite term of address to women, Kuy (ʔa)meʔ, Stieng mei mother, Sre me: mother, me female, Chrau me, (term of address) meʔ, Biat me, (term of address) meʔ, Bahnar meʔ, Khasi mei, Mùng mɛ (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese mɛ, Semai I ʔameʔ, Semai II ʔameʔ mother.

Variant forms (in part implying *-eʔ) probably developed contextually. Cf. Old Burmese mi, Modern Burmese ('a)mi. But connection uncertain Cham meʔ, Jarai amiʔ. Cf. also following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 177; BLOOD 1966 175a, b; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194.)

Kharia mi'j aunt (PINNOW 1959 80).

132 *maʔ mother.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy maʔ mother (to children)
(originally term of address? then → Khmer mak mother, mummy?), Jeh, Halang ma: aunt, Kammu-Yuan məʔ, Palaung ma, Riang-Lang _maʔ, Praok me, Lawa maʔ mother.

Semelai, Che’ Wong maʔ (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194) are ← Malay ęmak. Cf. besides preceding. Tibeto-Burman *maʔ, Archaic Chinese *mâ 媪 (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 487; 188 n. 487, 189). (Cf. SMITH 1972 553.)

133 *maʔ seed.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mùng, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon maʔ /maʔ/, Modern Mon məʔ seed, Mùng (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese mạ rice seedling; (?) ~ Sakai sémá paddy
(i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 105).

Cf. 120 *ɓaʔ paddy.
134 *[ ]maʔ insect.
   A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ma, Riang-Lang maʔ; ∼ Mon kəmaʔ (cama &c.;
      but < *kuan maʔ?).

135 *[ ]maʔ right-hand.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre ma, Chrau, Biat ma; (∼?) Bahnar ma: right-hand, Jeh, Halang
      ma: right-handed.
      (Shafer 1965 174; Blood 1966 305; Smith 1972 542.)

   (*maʔ see also 236 *m-waʔ parent’s sibling.)

136 *m[o]ʔ; *m[o]h what.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon mu, mo’/muʔ/, Modern Mon
      mò what?, Chrau moʔ (!) what, why, Kammu-Yuan mɔʔ who, Palaung mə what,
      which, where, when?, Praok mə who, which?.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Biat məh which,
      why?, Kammu-Yuan məh what?, Palaung mə any, Semai məh, Semaq Beri
      hməh what?
      Chrau -ʔ generalized from deictics, cf. 65 *iʔ.
      (Skeat & Blagden 1906 W 78.)

   (*muʔ see 2046 *muh to be; *ʔmeeʔ see 131 *meeʔ mother.)

137 *klməʔ sugar-cane.
   (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Kammu-Yuan kəlməʔ, Palaung rəmə, Lawa Bo
      Luang ʔamaiʔ, Lawa Umphai ramiʔ, Mae Sariang yameʔ, Vietnamese mía.
      Kammu-Yuan perhaps < *-əyʔ by metathesis.

138 *kmuʔ; *kmuəʔ; *km[u(ə)]h mouldy, rotten.
   A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon məʔ kmu to be mildewed, Kammu-Yuan muʔ rotten [wood].
   B, C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer kəmuicə khuicər (!) stinking, musty-smelling, (with
      post-nasal vocalism?) kməh khmoθ stinking; ∼ Bru laməh turning mouldy.

139 *k[n]muʔ person, human being.
   A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy mət person, people (usually as phrase head), Kammu-Yuan
      kəmmuʔ human being. Khmu, Theng.

140 *kmuʔ; *kmuəʔ; *kəʔ dirty.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer kməu black, Kuy kmau black, tarnished; ∼ Old
      Khmer kaṃmau black, dark, Palaung kməu grease, to be greasy, dirty (Milne 1931);
      ∼ Khmer kraməu dark, almost black, in colour (∼ Stieng kəməu dirty, to soil,
      Biat rmau dirty?).
C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong, Sabum kamah dirty; ~ Bahnar dialects kɔmə: dirty (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

141 *gmaʔ rain.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kuy mìa (to) rain, Kammu-Yuan kəməʔ, Mah Meri, Semaq Beri gəmaːh rain.
Connect 127 *miʔ &c.? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 8.)
Kharia gim to rain, &c. (PINNOW 1959 282; Proto-Munda *gimaG).

142 *[c][p]maʔ porcupine.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau samaː, Sre samaː (→ Röglai), Bahnar jamaː; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer pramaː.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 550.)

143 *jmaʔ creeper, cord.
A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Praok maw, Lawa Bo Luang ?mauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ?moʔ cord, Semaq Beri jamaʔ root (or creeper, if = Malay akar?); ~ Kammu-Yuan cəmaʔ rope, cord; ~ Khasi jyrmi creeper.
(SHAFER 1965 299; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d).)

143a *[j]m[o]ʔ to be hidden, concealed, to hide.

144 *t,miʔ new.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer thmyy, Kuy (t)mai, Stieng meːi, Chrau meː; Biat mheː, Thin hme, Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese mới new, (?) Central Nicobarese [äː]-kame-[yəŋ] to repeat; → Thai mây, Lao mai, Kam-Sui *hmay new (BENEDICT 1975 344); ~ (*t,miʔ >) Middle Mon tami, Modern Mon kəməʔ to be new, Sre tame, Kammu-Yuan hònmeʔ, həmmeʔ, Palaung kənme, Riang-Lang ʔənmeʔ, Khasi thynnmai new; ~ (*t,miʔ >) Old Mon tami /təmiʔ/ to renew.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 175; BLOOD 1966 173.)
Sora 'təmme-', Kharia 'tənme', &c. (PINNOW 1959 184).
145 *t_{1}maʔ to fight, make war.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi thma, 'ma war, battle, dispute; ~ Old Mon tinma /tɔmnɔʔ/ [werwey] enmity; ~ (*t_{1}rməʔ >) Praok sima to fight.

146 *t_{2}moʔ stone.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon tmo /tɔmɔʔ/ stone, rock, hill, Modern Mon moʔ stone, rock, Old Khmer t(h)mo, Modern Khmer thmɔ, Kuy tmau, Halang mo; Palaung mo, Khasi maw, Che' Wong tɔmɔʔ, Jah Hut tɔmoʔ stone; from a suffixed form Semaq Beri tɔmɔŋ stone; (probably) ~ Stieng tɔmɔŋu, Chrau tɔmɔ, Bahnar tɔm: (~ Jeh tamou?), Praok simaw, Lawa Bo Luang samuʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang samoʔ stone.
(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 165; SMITH 1972 560; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 463.)

147 [*hymuʔ name.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bru, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon yamo', himo', &c. /hymuʔ/ name, to be named, Modern Mon camuʔ name, Old Khmer jmah, Middle Khmer chm̩uʔ jhmo (to) name, Kuy mûh, Bru ramûh, Lawa Bo Luang mau, Lawa Umphai maus, Mae Sariang moh name, Riang-Lang _mus (to) name, Praok mo to be called (& Palaung mur mouth?), Semai muh name; ~ Sre tamoŋ to name; ~ Thin saŋmə, Jehai kəmə, Semnam kəmə, Semaq Beri jəŋmə name.
*h, *s by effect of initial? Perhaps ~ *hyuʔ > Middle Mon yo /yuʔ/., Modern Mon yəʔ particle of address; cf. for this analysis Kensiu cəʔ name (& Kammu-Yuan cùː, Praok cv kaa, apparently ← Tai (Shan suː); cf. BENEDICT 1975 343, & note Diol, Sek *jo).
(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 443; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 9.)
Sora aŋam-ən, Kharia j̣ịmị, j̣imị, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 510b; Proto-Munda *j̣imu, *nimu).

148 *[s]maʔ rotten.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon [n] hmaʔ to be rotten, Khasi sma to have a bad smell.
Or *cm-; or *t_{m}-, Mon h- by phrasal sandhi?

149 *smə[ ]ʔ; *sməh equal, alike.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer sməʔ equal, Kuy mхаʔ, smаʔ to be smooth, even, level; ~ (*smnə[ ]ʔ >) Chrau сəːmaʔ same, Stieng samu: equal, similar, Bahnar homо equal, similar, level (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin s(ə)məɣ to be like; just like; → Thai samə; Cham sâmū.
B: (Mon) Old Mon smoh /sməh/ to be equal, alike, Modern Mon hmuh [cm] to agree.
(*sm[ʉəʔ] see 264 *m[h][ʉəʔ] evening, night.)
150 *y[ee]? we.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Palaung ye I and they elsewhere, Praok yi we, Mintil yeʔ, Semaq Beri ye:h we (plural inclusive); ~ Bahnar ni: we (dual exclusive).

Cf. 1 *ziʔ &c.; perhaps by contraction *ziʔ-ziʔ we persons.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1.)

Juang [nip]-je we (PINNOW 1959 39; ?).

†151 *ya? (*ya?-ya? >) *yaay grandmother.


B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon yài mother, Khmer yiay term of address to old woman, Stieng iai grandmother, ancestor.

Cf. A171 *yaw grandparent.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 186, 187; SHORTO 1972 234; SMITH 1972 310; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 193.)

Kharia a’ja’ja grandmother, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 297).

(Proto-Austronesian *ia(q)ia(q) >) Atayal yaya’ mother. Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 51; & see BENEDICT 1975 339, mother.

(*yaʔ see also 1873 *iʔaas to shine; 2048 *yah …waste, residue.)


A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok ye; ~ Praok ne, Lawa nuaʔ (& Danaw nə), Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese nha.

Problematic. (i) Praok ye perhaps ← Lahu yeʔ; then *n-? (ii) Mường, Vietnamese tone as in e.g. 61 *nəʔ? but if mua rain is connected 127 *miʔ &c., Viet-Mường perhaps rather ad 37 *njiʔ &c.

(SHAFER 1965 153.)

153 *yuʔ umbrella.

**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

154 *[ ]yu? to fear.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) West Bahnar *yu; Jeh *yu? to fear, be afraid (of) (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung *yu to be afraid, to take alarm, Praok *yaw to be bewildered; ~ Biat *nu:, Chrau *nhyu:, West Bahnar *yuyu: (GUILLAUMINNET 1959-63), Jeh *maju?, Halang *majuyu? to frighten; ~ Bahnar *tayu? to frighten; ~ Sre *rayu to be afraid (DOURNES 1950).
Note also Nancowry *yê.
(SMITH 1972 323.)

(*gyi(i)? see 146 *[kj][ey]? poison, venomous.)

155 *dya? thatching-grass, thatch.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng *dia:, Sre *ja thatching-grass, Chrau *ya:, Biat *ja:, Bahnar *gia: thatch (GUILLAUMINNET 1959-63 *dia: &c.).

156 *brya? kind of varan.
For Stieng -h cf. 39 *ci?.
Perhaps ~ Proto-Austronesian *buqaia(S) crocodile (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, *b/uh/aju; cf. DYEN 1953 § 50; Malay *buaya, Cham *piya; &c.), contaminated by Cham *marawa:, Jarai *m*ra?a, North Röglai *marua varan.

157 *ryuə? loose.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Sre *ryua (→ Röglai); ~ (*ryuə? >) Mon *kanʔ? *laňô’ to be loose, to loosen.
Connect Chrau *raya:, Biat *iya: relaxed.

158 *[s]yəʔ?; by metathesis *[s]ʔəʔ to see.
A: (Palaungic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Palaung *yu, Praok *yaw, Lawa *yo? to see (Mae Sariang also *yu?), ~ Biat *nhat to show, (?) Chrau *nhyəʔa: to boast, show off, (?) Nancowry *hayuňə: to imagine, *hinyuňə: picture, image.
B: (Khmuic, Khasi) Khasi *jiohjī to see (by secondary derivation *pyn-i to show); ~ Kammu-Yuan *są̃yə to look (at).
Note further (*say? >?) Chrau *say, Vietnamese *thây to see. Connect 45 *[c][ua]? Kharia *jo, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 295).

159 *syooʔ paddle, ladle.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon (*saʔ?) by secondary derivation ~ *kasaoʔ paddle; ~ (*sryooʔ >) obsolete Mon *sayo paddle, Sre *sayo spoon.
Connection dubious Praok *khaʔ saw paddle.
(*ra? see 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed.)

160 *roʔ; *roa, (*roa roa >?) *srəs dry.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre ro, Chrau ro: dry, Khasi rawrawn very [dry]; ~ Bunô, Bahnar krə; (or B) Praok kro, Mường xo dry (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 207); ~ Biat ndro: dry, dried up.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer srəh srəs′ drained, dry; ~ Biat krəh dry, dried up, Nancowry hiəh, hiəs dry.
Connected variously Vietnamese rəo; Kammu-Yuan rəs; Bahnar krə [waters] to go down, dry up; but probably not Palaung roh to dry [tea leaves] over fire, Thin prəuh to dry over fire, Bru rəh to dry by fire. Cf. 1970 *cəəh, 2086 *s[ə]h &c.
(Blood 1966 191.)

161 *roʔ(roʔ); *roo to make an inarticulate noise.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mon karəʔ to cry, weep, shriek, make plaintive noise (< *roʔ roʔ), (A/B) Khmer rək to low, bellow, roar, groan, Bru taʔar to cry out, Stieng rəəu to cry, shriek, low, roar, Palaung ro [re] to purr, Riang-Lang rəʔ (!) to hum, grunt, make a noise, Vietnamese rə to be noisy, (B?) Temiar roʔ to say; ~ (A?) Bahnar krə croak (!) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Röngao kro: to cry (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ (A/B) Stieng ndrou to coo, croak, sing, (B) Praok graw to roar, (or A?) Semai neʔ: to say.
Onomatopoeic; so 177 *drooʔ low roar; 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 N 91 (a), (b.).)

161a *roo to shake.
A: (Nicobaric, Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Nancowry yəw to shake; ~ (*rəroʔ >) Mon kəɾuʔ to shake (out; v.t.), Bahnar adroʔ, Gölar Bahnar tədroʔ to squirm, shake (v.i.); ~ Riang-Lang kɾuʔ to shake (v.i.t.).

(*ru(u)?, *rua? see 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed.)

162 *kraʔ road, way.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Praok kraʔ, Lawa Bo Luang khraʔ, Lawa Umphai kraʔ, Mae Sariang khyaʔ, Mường kʰa (Barker 1966 15), Vietnamese sə́; (by metathesis < *knəʔ?) Kuy (k)nə:, Bru rana:.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese kaiyiː; probably ~ kai- to come.
(Shafer 1965 143.)
Mundari hora, &c. (Pinnow 1959 217).

163 *kraʔ kind of jar.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi kʰra earthen water-vessel; ~ Mon [həɾ] əkraʔ large storage-jar.
164 *kra[ ]?, *[k]ra[ ]h old, aged.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre kra: (!), Bahnar, Halang kra? old, Khasi [nong]-ra
(compounding form!) worn-out utensil; ~ Stieng kōmra: old, bald, decrepit, Chrau kāmra: grey hair, Biat mbra: white [hair], (~, or *knra[ ]? by assimilation > ?)
Bahnar kādṛa? old person, master, Jeh dra? old.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi; ~ *[k]nra[ ]h > ?) Riang-Lang ~tra white hair (& by secondary derivation kāmra to be white?), (~?) Khasi kynrad master.
Cf. 1787 *raal.
(SMITH 1972 308.)

164a *kroʔ large.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon -kro’/kroʔ/, Modern Mon kroʔ to be corpulent, robust, Khasi khraw large.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese kāru:, kōdu:, Nancowry karū?, apparently < *kf-

165 *kruuʔ to rinse, wash.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon krow /kroʔ/ to wash, Modern Mon krao to rinse out, wash, to wash oneself, Palaung kru to rinse one’s mouth (MILNE 1931).
Hardly connected 1841 *r[ ]aawh to wash. But cf. Tibeto-Burman *kruw = *kraw, BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 117.

166 *greʔ (& *gree??) litter.

167 *criʔ; *criiʔ abandoned dry cultivation.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Kuy sai dry field, Bru thray (implies probably *sr-), (or : Khasi?) Chrau re: old swidden; (~ *cnriʔ >) Stieng [mir] ndrei field cultivated for three years; (~ *crrīʔ >) Khasi syllai recently abandoned cultivation.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *cnriiʔ > ?) Riang-Lang ~triʔ fallow.
Distinguish 185 *sreʔ field.

168 *criʔ; *criiʔ malevolent, unlucky.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ *cnriʔ > ) Bahnar hādṛeʔ an evil spirit, Khasi thynrei spirit which aggravates disease.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*cnriʔ > ) Mon karoa class of malevolent earth spirits (→ Burmese sarai, → Mon horai class of malevolent earth spirit), Khmer canray ill-omened, unlucky; bad luck (→ Thai canray low, mean, accursed, unlucky, → Kuy can rai malevolent, bad, bringing bad luck; Cham canpray undesirable [child]), Sre səray cannibal (DOURNES 1950); ~ (*cmriʔ > ) Biat [6ak] brai bad luck.
South Bahnaric diphthongization post-palatal?

169 *criiʔ to glide through the air.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon cray, sray to glide, sail, move, Khmer cray whizzing through (GUESDON 1930), (criə-) — flying high into the distance.

170 *jriiʔ Ficus.

Mường, Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal, cf. 61 *ɲɔʔ, 62 *ɲuʔ, 172 *jruuʔ; 196a *krawʔ, 1856 *ləwʔ.

Sora onjar-[neb-an] may be connected if a compounding form (SCHMIDT 1905 68; glossed banana!)

171 *jraʔ to decay.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon sèʔ jra to wither, Riang-Lang _carə? [wood] to rot.

172 *jruuʔ; *jruh; by metathesis *rjuh deep.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng j'ruh, Sre jurou (DOURNES 1950).
C: (Mon) Old Mon rjuh /rjüh/, Modern Mon sìh.

On Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 170 *jriiʔ.
Javanese semantics modelled on the partly displaced term dalêm inside, < Proto-Austronesian *dalam (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, *dalam) inside, deep.
(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 31; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66.)
Sora jaʔruː-, juruː- (cf. PINNOW 1959 396a).

173 *treʔ kind of thorny succulent plant.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon [mɛŋ] kreʔ prickly pear, East Bahnar [hlar]: treʔ kind of thorny succulent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
174 *t₁rɔʔ to hit, come in contact with, meet (requirement).
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer tɾɔv to hit, to coincide with, to be correct, Bahnar tɾɔʔ to hit (mark), to coincide; opportune, Kammu-Yuan tɾɔʔ suitable, appropriate, Riang-Lang tɾɔʔ to be fit, fitting, to agree, Lawa Bo Luang khrɔʔ, Lawa Umphai krɔʔ, Mae Sariang khɔʔ to be sufficient, Sakai tɛrəu to hit (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 105), Central Nicobarese tαιʔ-[tai] to hit (target).
(Smith 1972 327.)

175 *t₁ru[u]ʔ Schima wallichii tree.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan trūʔ kind of large tree with irritant bark, Riang-Lang tɾuʔ Schima wallichii.

176 *draʔ fiddle.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer trː dra, Kuy thrːa, Biat drː; → Mon krè, → Burmese taro, → Palaung tɾo; ~ (*dmraʔ >) Bahnar brɔ̄ stringed instrument (Guilleminet 1959-63).

177 *drooʔ low roar.
(Mon) Mon krùʔ krùʔ adverbial describing rain, (→ krèak krèak) noise of crowd. Onomatopoeic; so 161 *ro(o)ʔ to make an inarticulate noise.
Proto-Austronesian *dayu: Malay dèru [wind] to roar, howl, Iban deru roll of thunder, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 121, *(dD)eRu; Proto-Hesperonesian).

178 *druʔ kind of fish-trap.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer trː: long fish-trap tapering at both ends, Kuy thrː, Chrau, Biat druʔ kind of fish-trap.

179 *praʔ loft, platform, rack.
(Smith 1972 545.)

(*praʔ see also 2059 *prah to make offerings.)
*brii? sky, rain.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, South Aslian) Old Mon *brey /brɔy/, Modern Mon prɔ to drizzle, Kammu-Yuan [màt]-pri? *sun, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai [nàum &c.] mbre?, Mae Sariang [nàm] mbye? thunder, Praok pray, Muông (Barker 1966 22), Vietnamese trɔt (!) sky, weather, Sakai bri day (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 43 (a)).

Viet-Muông initial & vocalism obscure.


*brii? forest.


Cf. following; & semantically 394 *ru(u)k.

(Schmidt 1905 68; Shafer 1965 35; Blood 1966 208; Smith 1972 517; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 234.)

Santali bir, &c. (Pinnow 1959 321).

*bruu? hill.

A: (Katuic) Kuy bru:.

Connect Riang-Lang _pruy; & perhaps B17 *r[u]ʔ village. Cf. also preceding.

Sora ba'ru-n, ba'ru-n, in compounds bur- hill, forest, Kharia 'biru hill, &c. (Pinnow 1959 278).

*mraʔ person.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Mrabri mra (JSS 51/2); ~ (*kan mraʔ by contraction > ) Kammu-Yuan kamrâʔ, Thin kômbra, kômbra wife (& by back-formation Thin bra, pra wife); ~ Jehai manraʔ person.

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 25.)

Sora in compounds *mar-ən man, male, person, ~ 'man(d)ra-n man, male, person.

*mraʔ dah, matchet.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon mra, Modern Mon parèʔ dah, matchet, Chrau vra: kind of bush-knife with short handle; probably → Thai pʰráá, &c (*braa.2, Egerod 81), → Khmer [kamḇt] priə.
185 *sreʔ field.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer srae, Kuy seː, Stieng srei, Sre sre, Biat chreː irrigated rice field, Kammu-Yuan réʔ dry field, Danaw "(h)ré hill cultivation.
Distinguish 167 *cri(i)ʔ abandoned dry cultivation. (SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

186 *[s]mr[e]ʔ straw.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre rahe, Biat rhec, Praok bre [ŋo].
Or *mrhʔ? Conceivably connected by metathesis.

186a *sraʔ to have a lesion.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon saʔ s(ra)ʔ to have a sore, be injured, Biat chraː to sting, smart; ~ Old Mon sindraʔ /sənraʔ/ to incise, score, Modern Mon hāraʔ to break the surface of.

187 *sruʔ paddy.
A: (Mon, Khu, Kuy) Old Mon sroʔ /srəʔ/, Modern Mon səʔ, Khmer srov, Kuy səʔ.
Connection dubious Sakai charoi, chendroi husked rice (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 112), or Mường lọ (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese lúa paddy; Nicobarese aroːʃ rice is (ultimately) ← Portuguese arroz.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Sora 'saroːn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 370).

188 *liʔ to take.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Palaung lɛ, Riang-Lang leʔ, Mường lɛ (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese lày (!), Nancowry lɛʔ to catch something thrown?
Connect perhaps Thin tāndeʔ, if deʔ, teʔ to take (& Kammu-Yuan tɛʔ) arise by back-formation. Cf. also Khmer liː to carry on shoulder.

189 *laʔ liiʔ; *luuʔ liiʔ careless, slovenly.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung la li to be untidy, careless in, Khasi lali slovenly, sluttish, dirty.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar luːli: ineffective, careless (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Connect perhaps Lawa Bo Luang klaiʔ, Lawa Umphai kleʔ at leisure; & cf. further Vietnamese trǒy to be lazy, negligent; Khmer lmûy asleep (TANDART 1935), (khcûl —) lazy; 1861 *rliw lazy; 1941 *las lazy, idle.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *lalai: Gayo lale, Acehnese lali absorbed, abstracted, heedless, Karo Batak lalé to overlook, Malay lali dreamy, inattentive, careless, dawdling (→ Central Sakai lalai negligent), Iban lale /laleq/ absent-minded, forgetful, rapt, fascinated, (or ii) Javanese lali to forget (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Javanese → Malay lali insensitive, → Acehnese lalə absorbed, preoccupied, Karo Batak lali-lali simple-minded, to pretend to be stupid, or constructed (ii, Proto-West-Indonesian) *lali(S). (Cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 91, *lali^c.)

190 *le? to leave, depart.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Bahnar le? to leave, to give way; ~ Middle Mon kle’ to depart from, to deposit, Modern Mon klee also to be lost, Thin kli to be different, Central Nicobarese kole:-[hanja] to kick aside; ~ Sre role [sun] to be declining, (~?) Bahnar tale? to separate (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi khyllie to pry up; ~ Bahnar pole? to separate (v.t), to divorce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai ple? to make way, step back, step aside.

Connect 2062 *leh …to go out. Cf. also 1514 *laey &c. to leave (alone, off).

191 *la?, *la?-s; lah, (*lah-s >) *laas; by metathesis *saal to spread, extend.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Khmer lisa to unfold, spread, open out, Bahnar lā (laņ —) opened out, exposed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (kacan —) flat; ~ (*la?-s by metathesis > *laas >) Khmer dahn thas to spread out all over, to cover [drum]; ~ Palaung pla to spread out (MILNE 1931) (= 214 *pla? to show...)?, Vietnamese trá to gild; ~ (*p|n]la? >) Sre da to unfold, spread, Nancowry hilúa what can be spread, e.g. mat, bedding.

B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi, Palungic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon lah /lah/ to extend, Modern Mon [hloa] lēh to be extensive; (*laas >) Old Mon lās /las/ to lay out, spread, to inlay, Modern Mon lēh to lay out, spread, to floor, Khmer liːah ās [horns &c.] branching wide; ~ (*laas las &c. >?) Middle Mon rahal /alah/ to stretch [hand] out, Literary Mon lalal also to spread, Bahnar lalal to overspread, invade (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*plaas >) Mon plah to extend, spread, Riang-Lang plas to spread out, Vietnamese trai to spread.

C: (Mon, Kuy) Old Mon sāl /sal/, Modern Mon sa, Kuy sail to spread (mat &c. ).

Hence 1944 *la[i]s fathom? Add perhaps Stieng plai to spread out (< *pla? cf. la:i ad *la[i]s); & cf. 421 *la[i]k &c. to unfold...; 1078 *l̂aat to be spread out flat.

192 *la? male ancestor.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon la’ /la?, Modern Mon lê? grandfather, Khmer [ci]:liːa ancestry of fourth generation.

(*la? see also 189 *la? lii? careless, slovenly.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

193 *ləʔ good.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) Khmer ləʔ: good, pretty (with metathesis as in 191 *laʔ-s, 1137 *ciinʔ; → Kuy ʔəa: good, Bru ʔɔː), Kammu-Yuan ləʔ good, fine; ~ (*lpaʔ >)
Note: perhaps *lʔ-, direction of matathesis not clear.

194 *laʔə on top of, on.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ləː, Stieng lʊː, Biat [ə:] ɪː; → Thai ɪəː; ~ (*mlaʔə >) Chrau avləː: above.
Proto-Austronesian *qulu: Malay (h)ulu up-river, up-country, Cham halow head, source, &c. (cf. DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 66, *hulu'; 162, *ulu'). If Mon-Khmer originally weak form, ← Indonesian? See BENEDICT 1975 311-12, head.

195 *ləː; *ləʔ; *ls kind of jar or pot.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kroː: jar.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer ɫuː: lʊ(v) pipe, tub made from tree-trunk, (TANDART 1935) large jar, Danaw ɪo pot; ~ Riang-Lang ɪklo pot, Palaung klo cooking-pot.
Cf. Vietnamese luː water-jar; 2075 *glah cooking-pot.

196 *looʔ unstable.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon ɫuʔ to be unstable, Praok lu (—le) to be unstable, (— la ṛom) to be excited.
Cf. Vietnamese lao-đao to be unstable, unsteady, lão-đào to stagger, totter, reel.

196a *luʔ to howl.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Khmer ɫuː, Kuy (!) ɫuː, Bru ɫuː; ~ (*[c]kuəl luʔ by contraction >?) Bahnar kəlu to bay at the moon (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khasi jlew (& jlaw), Vietnamese tru to howl; ~ Biat mbluː to howl.
Onomatopoeic. With Khasi vocalism cf. 50 *juʔ, with Vietnamese tone 170 *jriiʔ; both probably post-palatal.

(*luʔ see also 2071 *luh to appear (through); *luuʔ see 189 *luuʔ liiʔ careless, slovenly.)
197 *klaʔ tiger.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon kla(a)/klaʔ/, Modern Mon klaʔ, Khmer khlə, Stieng klaθ (!), Bahnar klah; Khasi khla tiger, Central Sakai kla black and white tiger → Gayo kulö.
For Stieng -h cf. 39 *ciiʔ. Sre klaʔw is perhaps by contraction < *klaʔ yaw, cf. Biat yau (originally grandfather, < A171 *yaw?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 62; SMITH 1972 546; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 135.)

198 *kləʔ all.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon klo' /kləʔ/, Riang-Lang ¯kləʔ; ~ Semang nalo' (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 61).

199 *kl[əʔ] shellfish, snail.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy kluː shellfish, snail, Bru kləː shellfish, snail, Stieng kləu kind of shellfish, Biat kləː shellfish, Chrau khluː shellfish, Bahnar kləu [kædəʔ &c.] shellfish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan kləʔ snail, Central Sakai kalə snail-shell; ~ Old Mon kinlo’/kəlnuʔ/ shellfish, Modern Mon konaoʔ also shellfish, Central Nicobarese kendu: clam; ~ Lawa Bo Luang lak'laʔ, Lawa Umphai lak'laʔ kind of shellfish.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 151.)
Sora 'gonloː-n &c. snail by metathesis.

200 *kluuʔ (kind of) tortoise.
A: (Mon) Mon kła large species of tortoise.
Connect Stieng bləxu tortoise shell.
Sora 'ku(u)luː-n, Kharia 'kulu tortoise, &c. (PINNOW 1959 368).
Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kuya(S): Malay kura-kura, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 83, *ku[ə]a; add Sundanese kuyaʔ; Javanese loan word), on account of which Pinnow suggests Proto-Munda *kuro or the like.

201 *gliʔ; *gliiʔ kind of bamboo.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng [təm] glei small kind of bamboo, Sre gle, Chrau gle: bamboo, Biat gle: kind of bamboo; (~?) → Röglai ale bamboo, North Röglai ale small kind of bamboo, → Bahnar dialects (a)lē solid kind of bamboo (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru ?alāy thornless bamboo; ~ Bahnar pale: thornless bamboo.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

**B:** (Khmer) Khmer *khlèy* large smooth kind of bamboo.
Cf. Khasi *sylli*, *tang-tylli* (contaminated by *tylli* solid, ad 209 *dliʔ*) small kind of bamboo. Connection obscure Vietnamese *tre* bamboo.

(BLOOD 1966 172; SMITH 1972 533.)

**202 *Gliʔ; *Gliəʔ; *Gliə short.**

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer *khly*, Jeh, Halang *ʔleʔ.
B: (Mon) Mon *klèʔ.
C: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat *gleh; ~ (*Gliəh >) Bahnar *kafəh* short, low, to shorten
(contaminated by 2012 *[s][d][i][h] low...; → Chrau *deh short?), by back-
formation (?). Sre *liah short.*
Connection dubious Semelai &c. *jaləʔ, Mah Meri *jalət* (South Aslian; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 151).

(SCHMIDT 1905 62; BLOOD 1966 247.)

**203 *claʔ afraid, to fear.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer *chlaː* to run back and forth in fright; ~ (*cmlaʔ >) Mon
[phəik] *pəlaʔ kəmla &c. to fear.

**203a *[c][l][ɔ]ʔ bark.**

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang *hləʔ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *hlɔʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan *sanlɔʔ dry bark.*

**204 *[c]nlu[u]ʔ edible grub.**

A: (Bahnaric) Biat *nuh, Bahnar kənu.:

†**205 *jlaʔ thorn.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy *thlìa; ~ Old Mon *jirə /jərlaʔ/, Modern Mon *hətə?, Bahnar *jəlaː, Kammu-Yuan *cərləʔ, Semai* *jərləʔ* (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ (*jpləʔ > *phlaː ~)
Khmən *bənaː.*
Cf. 207 *tə/tə/ləʔ thorny bamboo... .

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 549; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 94.)
Kharia *ju'raʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 51).

‡**205a *tə,rliʔ rope, cord.**

A: (Khasi) Khasi *tyllai.*
Bahnar *tələy is ← Indonesian, below.
Proto-Austronesian *tə,aliS* Malay *tali*, Cham *tələy, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 129, *tali*;
206 *tliʔ to throw.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kli, Bahnar dialects tre? (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Connect 227 *sli(a)ʔ to throw spear?

207 *təlaʔ kind of bamboo.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Thin t(ə)la female bamboo; (~ *təlaʔ >) Stieng [təm] krala:; Sre karla thorny bamboo, Chrau kala: medium-sized kind of bamboo, Biat rla:, Sedang kalal kind of bamboo, Khasi tya: small kind of bamboo, Bengali nolbas.

Thorny bamboo contaminated by 205 *jlaʔ thorn?

208 *tlaʔ master, owner.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon tirla /tərlaʔ/, Modern Mon kalaʔ lord, master, owner; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar təʔŋla master.

(*tlaʔ see also 2077 *tlah clear; *təlaʔ see also 231 *slaʔ fire... .)

209 *dliʔ firm, immovable.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric, Khasi) Old Mon dli' /dliʔ/ perpetually recurring moment, Modern Mon klìʔ to be firm, immovable, abiding, Khmer (dɤ)y-thlì: land, terra firma; (~ *dliʔ >) Khasi tylli solid.

Connect Nancowry léy (< *dliʔ?) to become solid.

210 *d[n]liʔ large river, sea.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Khmer tünlè: (large) river, Kuy thlè: sea (or *dl-?; → Cham dale), Stieng [də:k] nli:, Chrau [dəʔ] nle: (large) river, (?) Central Nicobarese kamalë: sea, Nancowry kamalé?.

Cf. further Biat rlay river. Connect Burmese pañley sea?

(Shafer 1965 500.)

211 *d₁laʔ to rob, steal.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ràʔ to snatch from someone (~ tənràʔ id. by levelling), Riang-Lang _raʔ to steal (& by secondary derivation _panraʔ thief, robber); ~ Mon haliʔ d(h)amla bandit, dacoit (~ Burmese /damyaʔ/); ~ Mon haliʔ damla to rob, Praok bre to steal, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai mbraʔ, Mae Sariang mbyaʔ to steal, rob.

Connection uncertain Nicobaric kamalə: thief, Nancowry kamalóʔ, ~ kalóʔ to steal; & dubious Santali kombəo theft; to steal, pilfer, &c., Pinnow 1959 242.

212 *prleʔ ear of paddy.
A: (Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Thin prle [ŋɔ], Vietnamese [liː] gié.
Hardly connected 1524 *playʔ fruit, > Vietnamese trái.
213 *ple[e]? to rotate.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) (~ *ple[e]? >?) Palaung ple [kənleŋ] spindle (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang `ple? wheel; (~*ple[e]? >) Kontum Bahnar pənːiː to reel (Guilleminet 1959-63), wind round, bandage, Central Nicobarese pomle- [ŋare] to rotate, Nancowry punlɛʔ to roll, turn over & over; (~*ple[e]? >) Biat rleː to turn [one’s body] round.

214 *plaʔ to show, feign.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon plaʔ to show, display (→ Burmese pra), Sre pla image, simile, Khasi phla to confess, admit, Vietnamese trá to be false, deceitful; (~*plaʔ >) Mon pənːaʔ pretence. Guesdon 1930 has Khmer panlær pretence, which cannot be confirmed. ~ 191 *laʔ to spread, extend?

215 *plaaʔ blade, edge.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy plaː cutting edge, Biat plaː blade [of knife], Bahnar plaː (edge of) blade, spearhead, Jeh plaː arrow, Halang plaː arrow, bullet, Palaung pla blade, Riang-Lang plaʔ hoe; ~ Thin hɔnla &c. spade.
   (Smith 1972 541.)

216 *bnl[iiʔ] kind of ginger.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon hɔnɡa Zinziber barbatum Wallch, Old Khmer vanli, Modern Khmer pʰaŋlɛʔ Zinziber cassumunar (cf. BEFEO 55:210), Bru plày Zinziber cassumunar; → Malay bonglæi.
   Proto-Austronesian *laqia or *laqaiəa ginger: Cham liyaː, &c. (?; cf. Dyen 1975; Dempwolff 1938 96, *lijaː; Malay halia < *qal(o)ia (?) by metathesis). Then Proto-Mon-Khmer *bn-l[iiʔ]; if Proto-Austronesian *-ia, Proto-Mon-Khmer *-iiʔ; if *-oia, *-ay. See Benedict 1975 359, pungent.

217 *bleʔ tasteless, insipid.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin bleh, Riang-Lang _pleʔ.
   (Shaffer 1965 140.)

218 *blaʔ shoulder.
   A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan plàʔ; ~ Khasi tabla shoulder-piece of animal.
   Cf. Kuy mpluaʔ shoulder-blade. Connection dubious 100 *paʔ.
219 *blaʔ scar.
A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung bla to be scarred, Semang bāla' scar (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 37).
Connect Bahnar kāla: scar.

220 *blɔʔ to patch, mend.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Mon plɔʔ, Pangan [ya]-b'lä (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 89); ~ (*bmlɔʔ >) Praok blaw.

221 *bluʔ latex-yielding plant.

222 *brlu[ ] to mix together.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau valu: [valəm] mixed up, Sre bərlu, Bahnar baluʔ, (?) Jeh lūʔ to mix together (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Connect Praok klaw to mix, (~ klāy) be mixed (implying *-uʔ). For Bahnar baluk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see 423 *luk.

223 *bluuʔ thigh.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer phlū, Chrau vlu:, Biat [tu:m] blu:, Stieng, Bahnar blu:, Jeh, Halang blū:, Kammu-Yuan plūʔ, Palaung blu, Temiar baloʔ (BENJAMIN 1976b 138), Central Nicobarese pulɔ:, Nançowry pulɔʔ, Kuy lū: thigh, lap (by back-formation?); → Thai pʰlaw; ~ (*bnluuʔ >) Sre manu, Bru nlu:
(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 37; BLOOD 1966 228; SMITH 1972 429; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 60.)
Sora bulu:-n, Kharia 'bhulu', &c. (PINNOW 1959 145).

224 *mleʔ (& *mle[ ]s?) to hate.

225 *[m]laʔ tusk, ivory.
A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Biat la: ivory from male elephant, Sre bla, Chrau vla:, Bahnar bala: [roiih], Semang bālā’ tusk, ivory (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 126 (a)); probably → Cham pila:, Jarai bla:, Rōglai bla, North Rōglai bala, Rade mla:
*m- in view of Bahnar, Rade. Cf. 450 *blu &c.
(BLOOD 1966 303.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

(*rla? see 1699 *rʔal forehead.)

1'226 *rluu?; *rlu[u]h to rest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Sre rəlou, Chrau lu:, Biat rlu:, Palaung rəlu, Praok laa; ~ Brū nlù to rest, Kammu-Yuan hərlù?, Lawa Bo Luang ʔaʔəu?, Lawa Umphai raʔlo?, Mae Sariang ʔaʔlo? to stop, cease.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng rəluh to rest.

Connect A7 [* r[uuʔ] to be at leisure?

(BLOOD 1966 238.)

Sora lulu-, lullu-, (by metathesis?) Kharia le'ru?, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 491).

1'227 *sliaʔ; *sliaʔ to throw spear.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer sələvəy wooden spear (TANDART 1935).

B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon sale' [həw pən] to throw at; ~ (*snliə? >) Literary Mon [le'] sane' [həw ləw] javelin.

Cf. Kuy liah to throw; 206 *tliʔ ? to throw.
Sora le':le:, l'li- &c. to toss, pitch, fling (?).

228 *smliiʔ dressed cotton.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer səmləvə, Biat mliː; ~ Kuy sam li: by interdialectal borrowing.

~ preceding if this meant originally also to shoot, cf. e.g. Mon [to] kəwən dressed [cotton] ~ pən (< 905 *pənʔ) to shoot.

229 *srlīʔ internal organ.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon həlæʔ spleen; ~ Khasi khyllai kidneys.

Cf. 232 *slaʔ spleen; A204 *leh kidneys.

1'230 *slaʔ leaf.


Leaf > betel-leaf > areca; so fruit > areca. in various Southeast Asian languages; for betel (- leaf) > areca cf. 1860 *ml[əw].

(SCHMIDT 1905; SHAFER 1965 228; SMITH 1972 539; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I. 32.)

Sora 'ələː-n, Kharia u'la, &c. (PINNOW 1959 50).
231 *slaʔ; (*slaʔ slaʔ > ?) *slaas fire, to burn.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (*slaʔ > ) Mon hanaʔ flame, wick; (?, by secondary derivation)
      ~ Sre (→ Röglai) banha hearth; ~ (*slaʔ > ) Stieng pla: [uif], Biat pla: [uŋ],
      Bahnar pla: flame.
   B: (Palaungic, Viet-Myonga) Praok la to burn (v.i.), Vietnamese līa fire; ~ (*slaas > ,
      or *slaas slaas > *hlar hlar > ) Palaung rolar conflagration; to burn (v.i.t), to set
      on fire; ~ (? , *slaas > ) Praok gla hearth.

Kammu-Yuan parlūa, Thin p(h)rua fire are perhaps ← Vietnamese with secondary
prefix. Sre, & Praok gla, may rather be connected Kammu-Yuan tømpraʔ hearth;
then implying a root *t,laʔ.

(SHAFER 1965 499.)

232 *slaʔ spleen.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Myongan) Mon hlaʔ [kræk] (literally mango-leaf, whence by
calque Burmese sarak-rwak; perhaps by popular etymology for *hlaʔ krət, cf.
krət intestine < 844 *k-ruuc), Sre [play] la, Vietnamese lâ-[lâch]; ~ (*slaʔ>
) Bahnar bla: kidneys.

Cf. 229 *srliʔ. Connect Tibeto-Burman *la kidneys, spleen, MATISOFF 223.

233 *w[i]ʔ left-hand.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan wèʔ, Palaung [i]-ve
(MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai weʔ, Mae Sariang wiʔ, Kintaq Bong
wiʔ; ~ Old Mon jwi /jwiʔ/ ; ~ [*jp[i]ʔ > !] Kuy peʔ; ~ [*nw[i]ʔ > ) Praok
gwe.

Kuy final unexplained. Cf. 1795 *wiil. Connection obscure Khmer chveŋ; suffixed
form, or perhaps by metathesis *Jnw[i]ʔ, > Praok; note Proto-Miao *kveŋ ~
*kh[w]iŋ, Proto-Li *viŋ, BENEDICT 1975 327. Cf. further Acehnese (ja-)wa,
Cham iän, Jarai iæʔoʔ, eæʔoʔ, Röglai yaw, North Röglai iæu (Proto-Austronesian
*uśiau?); → Jeh iän, Halang iaw.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (b.).)

234 *wiʔ; *wiiʔ to turn.
   A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer krəvi: to shake [head], to wave, brandish.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Sre wi [wa] swaying e.g.
of buffalo’s head, Chrau wi: [wai], (by affective deformation?) Central Nicobarese
wi:-[cakar] dizzy, Nancowry wi to go round & round, wander (or A?); ~ Kuy
(kh)wi: to shake [head], to wave, brandish; ~ Khasi [sam]tawi to be dizzy; ~
Khmer rvə́aye to crank, to spin, Kuy rvii: to shake, Chrau rvii: [rawii] dizzy; ~
Mon kəwəu to turn round, twist, screw in (or, less probably, ad 1529 *way), (~?)
Sre pərwi to mix together.
235 *wee?; weh crooked, to twist.
   A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar weʔ crooked, hooked (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Röglai we crooked; ~ Sre kue bent, crooked, Biat kweʔ bend, meander, Bahnar kueʔ lame.
   B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer vêh veʔ to slip away, escape (?), Bahnar veh to twist (v.i.), Jeh weh to stop and visit, Halang weh to turn.
   Connect 1529 *wa(a)y(-h) to turn? Note apropos of Sre &c. Tibeto-Burman *koy to bend, Benedict 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210.
   (Smith 1972 360.)

236 *waʔ parent's sibling.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Sre waʔ father's classificatory brother, Biat waʔ parent's elder brother, West Bahnar wā parent's elder brother (Guilleminet 1959-63), waʔ parent's elder sister, Bru ?awàʔ parent's younger sister; ~ (*mwaʔ > *maʔ >) Old Khmer (')māʔ, Modern Khmer miːaʔ parent's younger brother, Steng maʔ mother's brother, Bahnar maʔ parent's younger brother, Khasi ma uncle (term of address); ~ Palaung hva mother's younger brother (if correctly glossed; < *[k]waʔ); ~ Old Mon kaʔwaʔ /kaʔwaʔ/ uncle.
   Connection dubious Palaung vaʔ classificatory younger sibling.
   (Blood 1966 337; cf. Smith 1972 553.)
   Proto-Austronesian *usua: Acehnese waʔ parent's elder sibling, Cham waʔ mother's elder sibling, &c., Javanese (by contraction; beside (u)wak) uwa, waʔ parent's elder sibling, parent's elder sibling's spouse, Proto-New Guinea-Austronesian *wawa term of address to mother's brother. (Milke 1965 pp345-6; ~ *waya term of reference): Motu vava, &c. Connection dubious (i) Proto-Austronesian *ama father (Dyen 1953 § 97; DEMPWOLFF 1938 15); (ii) *mama mother's brother. (Dyen 1953 § 108; DEMPWOLFF 1938 105); (iii) Cham miʔ father's brother, Röglai miaʔ mother's brother, North Röglai miːaʔ parent's brothers. Or can *mama be variant of *usua? (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 25.)

237 *klwaʔ bat.
   A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon klwaʔ /klaʔwaʔ/, Modern Mon kwaʔ bat, Khasi kylla[badur] flying fox, Central Nicobarese aloːaʔ bat.
   Connect perhaps (*kwaʔ kwaʔ > *kwak >?) Khasi khwak (!) vampire bat.

237a *t,waʔaʔ fern, bracken.
   A: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tǎwāʔ fern, cycad, Palaung kǎva (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang təwāʔ bracken.

238 *rwiʔ; (by arbitrary deformation?) *rwuyʔ fig tree.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon lwiʔ /lwiʔ/, Modern Mon wiʔ (contaminated by 241 *lwaʔ?), Biat [tə:m] rwiʔ, Central Sakai wik.
   B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang rəvɔy sour fig (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 92.)
   Sora rjoiʔ-['neb-an] kinds of fig tree.
Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *d'abi(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; add Karo Batak jabijabi Ficus retusa); but Malay jawi-jawi, jëjawi fig tree perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer if not ← Tamil cuvi Ficus species (&c.; BURROW & EMENEAU 1961 2222).

239 *[r]wə[a]? swaying, dizzy.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rəvː-ː[ːrəvːaːy] delirious, Sre [wi] wə swaying e.g. of buffalo’s head, Chrau [wiː] wə: dizzy.
Sre, Chrau w- phrasal? But perhaps *w- ~ *[ ]rw-.

240 *lw[e]ʔ kind of bee.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre lawe kind of bee which swarms, Khasi lwai wild bee, Semang luwē bee (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 137 (a)).

241 *lwaaʔ fig tree.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Katuic) Old Khmer lvā, Modern Khmer lvāː fig tree, Thin Lua banyan, Sakai lūː fig tree (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 91), Bru lawāː; ~ Riang-Lang luŋ _waʔ fig tree.
Cf. 238 *rwiʔ &c.
Sora 'loa-n, Kharia 'luːa, &c. (PINNOW 1959 47).

242 *swaaʔ monkey.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer svaː, Kammu-Yuan waʔ, Palaung hva, Riang-Lang ʷwaʔ, Lawa fuaʔ (→ Kuy wúaʔ?); → Thai sawāa.
Sre hua grey semnopithecus, Chrau huə: ape, Bahnar hua: gibbon (&c., see SMITH 1972 548) are apparently ← Indonesian, cf. Cham hawa: macaque, Jarai kra hua gibbon, Röglai hua grey semnopithecus, North Röglai hawa ape, Javanese uwa- uwa large kind of ape, gibbon (Proto-Austronesian *[ ]uqa(Sy)).
(SCHMIDT 1905 48; SHAFER 1965 199.)

243 *siʔ fine, comminuted.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat cheː fine, comminuted, Jeh [taʔ?] siʔ small, Halang [toʔ?] siʔ a little; → Röglai se fine, comminuted; ~ Khmer sme: (!) fine and close together; ~ Sre nse fine, comminuted; ~ (*[s]rsiʔ >) Lawa Bo Luang ?asaiʔ, Lawa Umphai raseʔ powder.

244 *siiʔ hand, arm.
A: (Viet-Mường) Mường thay (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese tay.
Originally arbitrary variant of 66 *t1iiʔ? For tone cf. 31 *t2ŋiiʔ.
Sora sʔiː-n, (compounding form) sɨ-n, Pareng si: hand (at PINNOW 1959 K 428c treated as cognate with forms cited under the entry *t1iiʔ, but no other example of the alternance is given).
245 *see? Caryota species.


(*sa? see 253 *cha? to flame up.)

246 *ks[i]?: *kshi string, cord, rope, thread.


Connection uncertain Kuy (k)sæ?: string, Bru kasi?: to string together.

B: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese chi thread.

Bahnaric vocalism post-dental? Khmer suggests secondary diphthongization to *-ay?.

See Benedict 1975 257 (Thai, Nung, Dioi, Kam-Sui; so Thin, Khasi perhaps ← Tai).

(Shafer 1965 250; Blood 1966 180; Smith 1972 538.)

246a *ksa? chestnut.


247 *ts?[e]?: *ts[eh] lung.

A: (Mon, Palaungic; ~ *ts[e] > ?) Mon k[a]so?, (by dissimilation, or ~ ?) Lawa Bo Luang hmau?, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hmo?.


Khmer suat is hardly connected.

(Schmidt 1905 14; Shafer 1965 542; Smith 1972 377.)

248 *dr[e]?: to persuade, conspire.

A: (Mon) Old Mon dirse’/darse’ to conspire, Modern Mon kəse? to persuade, conspire. Sora 'pu(s)se- to persuade, incite, instigate (< *pu-dse-; cf. with variant vocalism 'pudsə-; also o(b)sej- to induce).
248a *prsaʔ; by metathesis *prʔas child’s spouse.

249 *rsiʔ bamboo, rattan.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer rəsvy bamboo (& ruhsvy by popular etymology, cf. ruh root < 1927 *ris), Stieng [təm] rosei very small kind of bamboo, Bahnar hrc:, Jeh rey, Halang re: rattan; ~ Old Khmer rəisī bamboo; & connected Kuy rài rattan, Bru karay.
Connect perhaps Proto-Philippine *taRisi rattan (Zorc & Charles); & as suffixed form 782 *rsiŋ &c. (Shafer 1965 454; Smith 1972 528.)

249a [*]rsiʔ nerve, sinew, vein.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy rsai vein, Central Nicobarese ihe: nerve, sinew, vein, Nancowry ṭiḥé; (probably ~) Khmer səsəy sarsai nerve, vein.

(*hiʔ see 1 *ʔiʔ we.)

250 *hiiʔ to cease, be over.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hoa to cease, die down, be over, Palaung hi to be finished, ‘over’.
Add as derivative 259 *bhiiʔ sated…?

251 *haʔ; (*haʔ haʔ >?) *hah to open [mouth].
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer, Kuy, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ha:, Vietnamese há (& with expressive lengthening Mon ha, Sre ha; ~ Chrau haʔ ?); (?) ~ Burmese ha to open [mouth], Lahu há-gəʔ, Akha a-ha to yawn (Benedit 1972 33 n. 107); ~ Sre roha open.
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Vietnamese há to open [mouth]; ~ Bahnar jahah small and gaping (Guilleminet 1959-63), Bahnar dialects dəhah gaping (Guilleminet 1959-63; ~?).
(Schmidt 1905 14, 20; Blood 1966 294; Smith 1972 547.)

252 *kh[ii]ʔ this, he, they.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Sre khay 3rd person pronoun, Chrau khay pronominal plural particle, Thin khi this, here, now, Semai ll keʔ, Semelai kah he (with k- by dissimilation).
Cf. 26 *ge(e)ʔ deictic & 3rd person pronoun. (Cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 53.)
253 *chaʔ to flame up.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer cha: to fry, (— -chol) to burst out angrily, Kuy cha: to flame, Biat [unj] cha: to flame up, burn, by affective deformation (*jhaʔ >; ?) Kammu-Yuan háʔ burn out, hot, Praok ha to scorch, be hot, Lawa haʔ to burn.
   Or separate Khmer, Kuy; Biat &c. < *saʔ?

254 *jhooʔ; *jhəəʔ; *jheeʔ tree, wood.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon chu(’) /chuʔ/ tree, Modern Mon chuʔ tree, wood, Kensiu ḗihʔ, Temiar jahūʔ tree, Teressa-Bompoka Nicobaric chio: wood, (yiː —) tree; with secondary prefix ~ Praok khaw, Lawa Bo Luang khauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang khoʔ tree.
   B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Old Khmer jhe, Modern Khmer chəː, Stieng cuː, Chrau cha: tree, wood, (?) Shom Pe Nicobarese həv wood (=) həː tree.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Sre chi, Biat chi: tree, wood, Kammu-Yuan haʔʔεʔ firewood, Palaung he tree, wood, firewood, Central Nicobarese ciə tree, wood; ~ Riang-Lang ḗkheʔ tree, wood, Praok khi, Lawa Bo Luang khoʔi?, Lawa Umphai cheʔ firewood.
   -B-C secondary (but is Khmer &c. vocalism regular in context?); note doublets in Waic.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 264, 301, 453; BLOOD 1966 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 211 (a).)

255 *thəʔ to rub, massage.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre tho to rub, massage (→ Röglai), Biat thə: to rub, clean, wash, Central Rölom thaw to rub (BLOOD 1976), Palaung the to push against friction (contaminated by Burmese thui: to thrust).
   Connection dubious Vietnamese thoa to rub, anoint; whence perhaps Stieng thə:

256 *[t]h[uəʔ] to throw (away).
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon thoʔ?/thoʔ?, Modern Mon thəʔ thwaʔ &c. to throw away, Khasi theu to throw away, take aim at.

257 *[p]heʔ husked rice.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng phei, Sre phe, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar pheː, Jeh pheːy, Halang phe.
   (SHAFER 1965 98; BLOOD 1966 178; SMITH 1972 526.)
   (?) Kharia peʔ cooked rice (PINNOW 1959 155).
258 *phuu? to accompany, conduct.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon phao in company with, Riang-Lang *phuu? to conduct, lead, send.
Separate Praok hu, Lawa Bo Luang hou, &c. to go, < *har or the like.

259 *bhii? sated, full.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon phoa, Bahnar phi?, Jeh, Halang phi?, Thin bi, Semai bahe: (Tauer 1914), Central Nicobarese pahase.
Cf. Vietnamese phè; Khasi pi-e. ~ 250 *hii? to cease, be over?
(Smith 1972 295; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 75.)
Sora bēe-, Santali bi, &c. (Pinnow 1959 319).

260 *bheʔ otter.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon phe?, Old Khmer bhe, Modern Khmer phè, Stieng bi; Chrau phi; apparently → Cham phày, Jarai pʰhai, Rōglai bahay, North Rōglai buhai, → Bahnar phey otter, Sre [pi] bahay civet cat.
Connect Semang bāho* (Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 64); perhaps Vietnamese rāi; & cf. A50 *[b]hii[ŋ].

261 *bhaʔ to frighten.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon phè? (!) to frighten, scare, Vietnamese phạ to be afraid, fear, Nancowry pahuá?.
Mon register affective, or contaminated by pahòik fear. (ad 880 *bh[i]c) &/or derivatives of Sanskrit √bhī to fear.
Proto-Austronesian *(q)aNba: Iban emba to (seek to) frighten, threaten, &c. (Blust 1971 no. 334, Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively *q-).

262 *bh[uuʔ] cooking-hearth.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon phao cooking-hearth, kitchen (→ Burmese phui), Khmer [coŋ]- phûu cook (→ Kuy coŋ phòu).
Or *-aw. But connection dubious Shan pháu to roast, burn, → Palaung phav to burn [lime, bricks] (Milne 1931), ~ Palaung rɔphav kiln; &c. (< *ph[r]aw, Benedict 1975 244, burn, roast…; Sek phraw).
(*mrh[e]? see 186 *[s]mr[e]? straw.)

263 *[ ] [m]haʔ different.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat mha; (~?) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pha.
(Smith 1972 544.)
264 *m[h][uə]ʔ; *m[h][uə]h evening, night.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng mɔːŋu, Sre mho evening, Chrau maw, Central Rölöm mhoː afternoon, Palaung hmu (∼ rohmʊ) night.
B: (Khasi) Khasi miet night.
Connection uncertain Jeh sɛʔ afternoon, Halang sɛʔ evening (but if connected, *s/m/). (BLOOD 1966 206.)

265 *ʔiək (part of) arm.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ʔiɛk fin, Palaung iaʔ arm.
Distinguish 269 *kʔi(a)k &c. armpit; but cf. A12 *ʔaak shoulder-blade. Connection uncertain Bodo-Garo *dyak arm, hand, < Tibeto-Burman *g-lak (BENEDICT 1972 34 n. 109), or the cognate Archaic Chinese djʊak, Ancient Chinese ɨaŋ wing (ib. 171 n. 458).

1266 *ʔaik bow.
(Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer ʔaek, Kuy ʔeːk sound-producing bow attached to kite, Stieng aik cotton-beating bow, Sre a bow of crossbow, Chrau aʔ crossbow, Palaung aʔ, Riang-Lang ːak, Praok ak [po], Lawa ʔaak, Semang ʔɨg bow (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 353).
(SHAFER 1965 276, 283.) Santali aʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 6).

267 *ʔuk; *ʔuuk; *ʔuək; *huk to pour out.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar uk to fill, to pour out, empty out, Jeh ŭk, Halang uk to pour out, Kammu-Yuan ŭk to flow out; ∼ Kammu-Yuan pənʔuuk to pour out.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre oː to empty [pot], Riang-Lang ʔuuk to pour away, to spill.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung σʔ to pour out.
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat hok to spill.
Connect Thai hʊk to be spilt, probably → Kuy ʔʊʔ, Bru təʔ; & cf. 480a *[t]hʊk. (SMITH 1972 267.)

268 *ʔuək to drink.
A: (Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan uak (& Khmuic ʔuək, Thin ʔuək (!)), Temiar ʔɔːk.
Cf. (i) Mường ʊŋ (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese uʊŋ (then *ʔʊəŋ?); (ii) SMITH 1972 325, *ʔuʔ, perhaps contaminated by 63 *jʊuʔ.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 166.)

(*ʔuək see also 475 *hʊək brain.)
269 *kʔik; *kʔiak; *kʔai aik armpit.
   A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan kolʔèk.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _yak (!), Danaw k’ā yēk; ~ (*kʔiak >) Khmer kliak, Kuy (kh)thiti?.
   C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Bahnar [bok] aik; by contraction → Cham paaʔ?, Jarai pʔaʔ, Rögglai paʔa; ~ (*knʔai aik >) Vietnamese nách.
   Distinguish 265 *ʔiak (port of) arm.
   Proto-Austronesian (*kila(S)ik > ?) *ki(S)alik?: Javanese kelēk, Malagasy helika (so Proto-West-Indonesian; at DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 referred to *kilik …to carry in arms); & note *(q)irak (BLUST 1971 no. 338; Proto-Hesperonesian), *kili(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 80, *kili[*]).
   Connected further Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 410, tickle… (II), (V); Tibeto-Burman *(g-)yak, Archaic Chinese zjak, Ancient Chinese jāk 肘 (BENEDICT 1972 167 n. 448).

270 (*ʔaak ʔaak &c. >) *kʔaak; *kʔai aik crow, to caw.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) (A) Mon [oik] aik kinds of gourd (= Burmese kyti: ‘ã, literally crow-caws), Kuy kʔaʔ crow, (A/B) Bahnar aik: to croak, (se:ṃ —) crow, Palaung aʔ to caw (MILNE 1931), Central Sakai ōk-ak crow; → Cham, North Rögglai aʔ, Jarai [ci:m] aʔ?, Rögglai a?, Acehnese aʔʔ aʔ; crow; ~ (*klʔai aik &c. >; A/B) Old Mon kil’ãk /kəlʔaik/, Modern Mon hadaiik, Sre kanda, Chrau kandaʔ; Biat nʔaiik, Kammu-Yuan kolʔaik, Palaung kaʔa?, Praok lak, Lawa Bo Luang laʔak, Lawa Umphai raʔŋak crow (& Riang-Lang _luk ¬ak by metathesis; Stieng kanat by assimilation), (B) Khmer khʔaek.
   (SHAFER 1965 279; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 277.)

271 *kʔak (& *kʔok?) to cough.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer khʔak (< variant, or with secondary lengthening), (~?) Jeh kaʔok, Halang kaʔok to cough, (?) Riang-Lang kaʔok to crow; ~ Kuy ɲhaʔ, Palaung kənʔəʔ to cough; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ?moak, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ?mauk to cough; ~ Khasi jyrhoŋ cough, to cough.
   Onomatopoetic.
   (SMITH 1972 281; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 22.)
   Sora ko(k)ko-(n) cough, to cough, (compounding form) ko’n cough, Kharia khu(?), &c. (PINNOW 1959 236).

(*cʔa(a)k, *cʔa(a)k see 9 *cʔa(a)ʔ see hiccough, belch.)
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‡272 *cʔuk; *cʔuuk; *[c]ʔuək; *chuək corner.
A-C: (Palaungic; ~ *crʔuuk >) Riang-Lang saduk; by secondary derivation ~ (c) Palaung kandəʔ; (A) Praok daok.
D: (Mon, Khasi) Mon chok; by metathesis ~ (*knhuəc >) Khasi kynhəit.
Cf. further Khasi kyndəh; Khmer chûn corner, inlet; 689 *jruŋ corner, angle. Kammu-Yuan sɔʔk elbow is probably ← Lao sɔok.

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†273 *tʔiik; *tiiik to sob, draw breath noisily.
A: (Mon, ?Khasi) ~ Mon həoi k to sob voicelessly, (?) Khasi kyn-ih to crow; ~ Literary Mon gam'ik sighing noise.
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kənhiʔ to sob (MILNE 1931).
*tʔ- in view of Sora, below; connected perhaps as loan word West Bahnar rəsiik [rəsim &c.] to sob (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Contaminated by 480 *thak &c. to pant, sob?
Sora 'sanə- to be breathless, to sigh deeply.

273a *tʔɔɔk scabies.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Chrau əʔ kind of scaly skin disease, Biat ɔk scabies; ~ Khmer trɔʔɔok kind of skin disease, (?) scabies.

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‡274 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔaak > *daak, Pre-Khmer *[d]ik water.
(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 32; SHORTO 1872; BLOOD 1966 288; SMITH 1972 287; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 30.)
Sora dʔa-n, (compounding form) da-n, Kharia daʔ?, &c. (PINNOW 1959 2).

(∗pʔɔɔk see 481 *phɔɔk fish-paste.)

275 *prʔɔɔk thorn.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng, Biat lɔk thorn, fish-bone, Sre loʔ thorn, thorn-bush, lo: thorn-bush, Chrau loʔ, Palaung parʔɔʔ thorn.
(BLOOD 1966 73.)
276 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *riʔaak > Pre-Khmer &c. *rīik; *rʔaak; *rʔaaŋ > *raaŋ to open, unfold.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer rīk to rise, to unfold, open (→ Stieng rīk to swell, rise), Kuy riiʔ to bloom, to unfold.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ːdæk flower (not connected Thai dɔ̀ɔk, on which see BENEDICT 1975 298-9, fruit… . (III); → Khmer dɔk).

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon rānj [flowers] to open, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang rāŋ, Kammu-Yuan rāŋ flowers; ~ (*rilʔaaŋ >?) Biat daːŋ [flowers] to open.

Connect 606 *pa[ə]ŋ to open? (SCHMIDT 1905 48, 54; SMITH 1972 153.)

Sora rʔaː-, Kharia raʔ to blossom, &c. (PINNOW 1959 9).

277 *lʔɔk rice-bran.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (?aː)lùʔ, Stieng lōk, Sre, Chrau ləʔ, Biat lāk, Bahnar dāk, Rōngao lāk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham halaʔ, Jarai .hl,k, Rōglai laːa, North Rōglai hlaʔ, Acehnese laʔ; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer kontūak rice-bran, Khasi kyndeh ground rice, maize-flour.


277a *lʔɔk; *lʔɔk cloudy, opaque.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer lʔɔk (A), Kuy lʔɔʔ (B) turbid; (probably ~) Khasi lyoh cloud, mist; ~ Khmer lùmʔɔk to muddy, make turbid.

Khmer (& Kuy?) lʔ by levelling.

277b *lʔuuk wet, soaked.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat lük soaked, wet through.

B: (Mon) Mon dsk to be wet, damp, sappy, green.

Cf. 954 *lʔuat &c.

(*kaik see 496 *kâŋ transverse, to branch… ; *koŋ see 17 *kɔʔ neck; *kɔʔ see 498 *koŋ ring-shaped artefact; *kɔk see 17 *kɔʔ.)

278 *k[oo]k kind of diving bird.


Arbitrary variant of 280 *ku(e)k egret? Cf. further Khmer râŋiːəv kɔk kind of kingfisher.
278a *kuk; *kuuk raised platform, shelter.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat ku? hunter’s hide, Alakong Bahnar ku? field shelter (Guilleminet 1959-63; !).
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre ku: field shelter on piles, crop-watcher’s platform.

279 *kuk; *kuuk; *kək to call.
A: (Palaungic; ~ *[p]nkuk >) Praok gaok to invite.
B: (Khmer, Katuc, South Bahnaric) Khmer kok field shelter, (!) Kuy kōk, Biat ku:k [kwal] to call out to; ~ Khmer bəŋkək to call out to.
C: (Mon) Old Mon kok /kok/, Modern Mon kok to call.
D: (Palaungic, ?Khmer) Praok kok to call, Lawa Bo Luang kək, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kək to call, invite; (?) ~ Khmer bɔŋkək to call out to (Tandart 1935; !). Connection dubious Sora gu: to call, to invite, summon.
(Schmidt 1905 24.)

280 *kuak egret.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kok heron, egret, Biat kok egret.
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau kɔːʔ cattle egret, Bahnar [klaːŋ] kɔːk generic term for egrets &c. (Guilleminet 1959-63); probably → Cham kɔːʔ; Vietnamese ćò. Connected further Acehnese blɔkɔʔ, Javanese blêkok kind of heron; & cf. 278 *k[oo]k kind of diving bird.

281 *trkak prong, spike.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon [pah] dakak snare, Palaung kərkə prong (Milne 1931).

281a *geek to tickle.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (cɔː-)gek, Biat [cək] geːk, Riang-Lang _kuk _keːk (→ Palaung ko ke? (Milne 1931)?).

282 *gak to bite (on).
A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung gaʔ, Riang-Lang _kak to bite, (~, or =?) Palaung gaʔ bridle, → Shan kāk, → Riang-Lang ʰkak; ~ (*[g]nɡak >) Mon kəhək to bite; ~ Mah Meri neɡək to bite.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 229.)

283 *[ ]guk to sit, remain, dwell.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng gu:k, Chrau, Biat guʔ; ~ Semang nguk to sit, dwell (Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 221).
If Khmer kok to sit dozing is cognate, *[t]guk.
(Blood 1966 167.)
284 *t gök kind of hornbill.

(*[t]guk see 283 *[ ]guk to sit...)

285 *ŋa[i]lk baby.
   Bahnar ɲè: is hardly connected.

286 *ŋok; (*ŋok ɲok >) *kŋok bent, crooked.
   A: (Palaungic, Katuic) Riang-Lang ɲək to be curly, Bru ɲəʔ crooked, winding; (&/or variant) → Shan ɲək bend, to bent, ɲək to be crooked.
   B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon ɲok to be bent, crooked, Khmer khɔŋk hooked, hook-shaped, Kuy ɲəʔ winding, twisting, misshapen; to turn; ~ Khmer krɔŋk from side to side, (krɔŋrk —) tortuous.
   Cf. 458 *wok bent round.

287 *ŋuk; *nuuk; *ŋək (& *ŋəok?) to bow head, nod.
   A: (Khmer, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer ɲʊk to bow head (TANDART 1935), Kammu-Yuan ɲʊk-[kəŋũk] &c.] nodding up and down, (or B?) Khasi [kɔhŋu]kh to nod, to acknowledge, to obey; ~ Khmer phɔŋk to nod, to shake head in affirmation (TANDART 1935); ~ Kammu-Yuan çəŋũk-çəŋũk nodding one’s head.
   B: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer ɲʊk to bend forward, to nod off, (or A?) Röngao ɲʊk to incline head, bow head (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   C: (Khmer, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer ɲuãk (!; TANDART 1935 also ñeak), Central Nicobarese [ko]-ŋək-[ha]ta (< *ŋəok?), [ko]-ŋək-[koi]re to nod, Nancowry ɲuãk to bend down, kəŋũkri to nod; ~ Riang-Lang kə[lŋək] (< *-ə(o)k) to nod, wag [head].
   TANDART has further Khmer ñək to wag [head] sideways (→ Cham ɲet), probably a secondary formation unless: Thin ñək to lean over, Bru [ləŋũ]ləŋęʔ swaying as one sits. Note also (i) Mon həŋoik dхаiŋ, gаiŋ; həŋõk dхаŋok, гaŋok &c. to bend [head] forward, nod; (ii) Malay ləŋgok to sway head and body from side to side, bow right and left, wobble; Javanese ləŋgɛk-ləŋgɛk to hang head weekly. Cf. 288 *lŋək &c. to bend head back.

(*kŋok see 286 *ŋok bent, crooked.)
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

**133** 1

### 1\textsuperscript{288} *ŋəək; *ŋəak; (?) *ŋiək to bend head back.

**A:** (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Biat ŋəək to raise [head], Bahnar ŋəak to bend head back, look disdainfully over someone’s head; ~ (*=ŋəək >) Literary Mon lanik to look upwards, Khasi lyngneh [to sleep] with the head thrown back; ~ Literary Mon lamnık to look upwards; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan taknəək [bent, looking] up, Bru tajyəʔ to look up, turn face up.

**B:** (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) (?; or A) → Malay lęngk to throw back the head and look up; ~ Mon tənàik to look up, (~?; *ŋpənəak >) Khmer phŋəik to fall over backwards, Vietnamese ngùóc to bend [head] back, look up; ~ Kammu-Yuan [təkŋək] təkŋəæk [bent, looking] upwards.

**C:** (Khasi) Khasi lyngiah with head back to one side; (?) → Acehnese liŋəʔ posing coquettishly, Javanese lęngèk-lęngèk with head thrust forward; ~ Khasi lyngngiah [to sleep] with the head thrown back.

Khasi -iəəh perhaps by hypercorrection for -eəh. Note further Khmer cragonk to stretch upwards, crəŋək rising up, [to sit] with neck stretched; (< A by dissimilation?) nəːt, nəːp to raise head; Vietnamese nghéč to raise [head]; ngǎŋ to raise, lift [head], to look up, ngung to bend [head] back, ngùông to look up, admire.

(BLOOD 1966 412.)

Proto-Austronesian *ŋ[ ]-{s)NGak: Malay lęnggak = lęngak; &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *ləŋgak; if Fijian to draw a bow not cognate, Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; without prefix in Chamic: Cham (a)ŋuəʔ to bend head back, &c.).

### 1\textsuperscript{289} *ciik tooth.

**A:** (South Bahnaric) Stieng ciik, Sre si, Chrau seć, Biat chek.

(BLOOD 1966 38.)

(?; Sora jii-n, (compounding form) jii-n.

### 290 *cak body.

**A:** (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy caʔ, Sre saʔ, Chrau saʔ [nəːm], Biat chak (& Stieng cək, perhaps contaminated by Khmer saːk-sap or Vietnamese xác corpse).

(BLOOD 1966 373.)

### 1\textsuperscript{291} *caak; *caik; *ciak; *ciik; *c[ə]k (or *cik?); *cək to separate (v.i.t), split.

**A, B:** (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?North & Central Aslian) Old Mon cək /caik/ to be parted, Modern Mon caik to tear, be torn, Khmer caik to leave (A), caek to divide up (B), Chrau saʔ to go, (or F?) Central Sakai chāk to chop, Pangan [ya]-chag to tear (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 32); → Thai cāk to be separated from, Shan sāk to split (v.i.t.); ~ (*kc- >) Kuy seʔ to hoe up [weeds] (B), Kammu-Yuan cāk to tear (v.i.t.); ~ Kuy nçeʔ to distribute.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Styeng ciɔk, Bahnar tsɔk to divide up (Guillleminet 1959-63; or < *siək, ad 465 *saik), Riang-Lang *siək to chop, (or B?) Khasi siah to cut, pare, shave off, Nancowry sɨak side?; → Shan sɨk tear, to tear.

D: (South Bahnaric) Sre si: to split into fibres; ~ (*crniik >) səni: parcel of swidden field.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan sək to cut off.

F: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm sak (beside saŋk < A/B) to go, return; → Thai câk to cleave, split...; ~ Biat rmaʔ parcel of ground.

D, E secondary. Cf. 404 *craak; 465 *saik; A53a *[c]əc to diverge; A71 *caat; 1982 *ci(ə)h; & Khmer caəŋ to divide up; Palaung sa to chop.

(Schmidt 1905. 26; Blood 1966 330.)

Sora sa:- to rend, to pare [nails]; Kharia ca'caʔ torn, &c. (Pinnow 1959 296, Proto-Munda *cagcag; ad A, B); Sora 'pansi-n split wood (ad D).

Proto-Austronesian *k'ag'ag: Javanese di-chachag chopped small, Ivatan sagság to chop (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*cok see 525 *c[o]ŋ to make into a bundle.)

292 *cuk, *cuuk; *cuək; *caŋ; *ciik; *c(i)ək to prod, pierce.

A: (Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy coʔ to thrust into, ?Nancowry sək index finger.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon cək to touch, collide, push with horns, Styeng cuək to damage or cut up with mattock, Biat chuək to put in, push in, Central Nicobarese [ok]-jək- (or c?); jəok- to pick [teeth]; ~ (*cpuuk >) Khmer cəθk fish-spear; ~ Mon həcək splinter; ~ Khasi tyrsuh to poke; ~ (*pcuuk >) Mon phyək to touch one object with another, Khasi bsuh to push in, to intrude.

C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung sok to fight with horns, toss (Milne 1931), Semai cək to stab.

D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer cək, Jōlong tsaŋ to pierce (Guillleminet 1959-63), Thin sək to prick, Khasi sah to ram in, drive home, to punch, to elbow, Kensiu cəg to stab, Central Nicobarese jək-[iəta] to spear, Nancowry sək; → Thai sək to puncture, prod, tattoo; ~ Kammu-Yuan cək to touch, poke, pick.


F: (Khasi) → Khasi speh spike, good.

E (& F?) secondary. Cf. 295 *ko(u)ŋ to prick... .

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 296.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'ukt'uk: Tagalog suksók to put into, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 156; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii;?) *tut'uk: Toba Batak susuk pricked, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159; if Batak ← Malay Perhaps = i); (iii) *tut'uk: Malay tusok to pierce, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *t'akt'ak: Javanese sasak to penetrate obliquely, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147; Proto-Hesperonesian); (v) *t'ugt'ug: Tagalog s/al/ugsók thorn, sliver, in hand or foot, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 412; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 358, 397-8. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 46 (a).)

293 *c[u]k (to bear) fruit in clusters.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi soh fruit, to bear fruit, to cling, adhere; ~ Mon hɔcak cluster of fruit.
Or *cok.

293a *.cak correct.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ɔcak; ~ Kammu-Yuan nàk correct, to hit the mark.

294 *ʔciik astringent in taste.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) East Bahnar tsik disagreeable in taste (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan cik, Palaung sik [çik], swi? [s‘iʔ], Riang-Lang ɔcik astringent, Kuy (?a)ceʔ astringent; medicine, Bru nɛcik.
Cf. Sora pi’siŋ-, ‘pišiŋ- (beside pi’saŋ- &c.; contaminated by ə’saŋ- bitter, ad 553 *ktəŋ?); & 989 *pcat bitter, astringent.

295 *k’ok; *kcook to prick, puncture, to provoke.
A, B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Biat co:k to peck, [snake] to bite (B), (A) Sre co:k to prick, to provoke by pricking buttocks, Thin cɔk to insert drinking-tubes in liquor jar, (A/B) Palaung cóʔ to prick (→ Shan sɔk), Vietnamese chcőc (!) to pierce, puncture, Nancowry cók to prick (?); ~ Khmer kɔmcɔk to provoke, to fan [flames]; ~ (?) *kɾco(o)k by metathesis >) Riang-Lang corɔk to prick. Cf. 292 *cu(u)k &c. to prod… .
Proto-Austronesian *k‘ɔuŋk‘auŋ or *k’uŋgk’uŋg: Röglai cók to prick (or ← Sre), Malay chuchok, chochok to pierce, prick (→ Acehnese cucoʔ pin), Javanese chochog to get pricked (& chuchuk beak, to peck..., ← Malay ?), Cebuano Bisayan sugsúg, s/ul/ugs/úl/ug to tease, pester (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 358.

296 *kcuk; *kcuuuk; *kcuaʔ to stop up.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cók to stop up, plug, cork, Sre cúʔ to insert, fill hole (BLOOD 1966).
B: (Mon) Mon chɔk khyuk to confine, imprison, (nɛa —) to be constipated; → Burmese khyup.
C: (Katuic) Kuy saʔ to stop up, plug, cork; ~ (k)saʔ stopper. (Cf. BLOOD 1966 155.)
297 *cəcək; *cəcək house lizard, Hemidactylus.
   A: (Mon) Mon həcək.
   B: (Khmer) (Old Khmer cəcək insect?,) Modern Khmer cəcək house lizard.
Proto-Austronesian *k'əcək'ak: Malay chichak (!), &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86-7; Proto-
West-Indonesian).
(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 49.)

298 *[p]ciək to cough.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng ciək, Biat chiaək to cough, Semang yik slight
   cough (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 249); ~ Sre basia, Chrau nsiəʔ to cough.
   (BLOOD 1966 103.)

299 *pcəək summit, tip.
   A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang cəək point, tip, end, summit, sprout, (by assimilation) Praok
   choc summit.
Or *pcəuək? Cf. 529 *[ʔ]cu(u)ŋ.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *puk'uk: Malay puchok shoot, upper tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
   121; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *pu(N)k'ak: Malay punchak summit, top, &c. (ib.;
   Proto-Hesperonesian).
Cf. further Proto-Austronesian *pu(N)k'u(S) (ib.; Proto-West-Indonesian).

300 *jiiək; *jəək to break ground for cultivation.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon jik /jik/, Modern Mon cəək to harrow,
   break up for planting, to cultivate, Old Khmer jəək, Modern Khmer cəək to dig (over),
   Stieng jəək to hoe, Sre jəi, Chrau jəʔ, Biat jəək to grub up weeds, Jeh, Halang jəək
   ricefield, Rōngao jəək to plough, prepare for cultivation (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
   Lawa Bo Luang cəək, Lawa Umphai chuk, Mae Sariang c(h)əək irrigated field; ~
   (*jiiək >) Chrau nəiʔ weeding-tool, Bahnar ʔniək harrow, mattock, used to break
   ground.
   B: (Palaungic) Praok ciək to dig, break ground by digging.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 214; SMITH 1972 241, 270.)

301 *jək; *[j]u(u)ək; *juək to tread, to step out, set out.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Middle Mon jək, Modern Mon
   cəək to march, set out, Sre jəʔ to tread on, trample, Bahnar jək to go away, Riang-
   Lang cəək to put on, wear [shoes…], Khasi jək to absent oneself, Central Sakai jək
   to tread on; → Acehnese jəʔ to go (away), set out.
   B: (Khasi) Khasi jəuək to tread on, trample.
C: (Nicobareic) Central Nicobarese cəək-[ləre &c.] to negotiate [stair, ladder], cəəkəək to
   step, Nancowry cəək steps; (?) → Cham cəək, Jarai jəəʔ, Rōglai, North Rōglai
   jəʔ to tread on, trample &c., → Bahnar jəʔ, jəəʔ step on.
Back vocalism obscure; contaminated by 462 *swa[a]k to walk...? (SCHMIDT 1905 36; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 202.)

Sora ɲaː - to walk, march, to tread, thresh by treading.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'agd'ag to get a foothold: Javanese jajag, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) *d'agd'ag to get a foothold: Malay jējak to tread, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; if Fijian thīgh not cognate, Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *i(N)Zak to tread, dance (DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, *i(n)d'ak; Proto-Hesperonesian; note Javanese idak to tread & add Karo Batak m-édak-édak to gad about...; Toba ← Malay); & prefixed forms, cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 (*k-, Proto-West-Indonesian), 118 (*p-, Proto-West-Indonesian), 137 (*t-, Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *aN[Z]ak: Malay ēnjak to step on, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 126, *eŋzak; Proto-Hesperonesian).

302 *juk; *juuk creeper, material for tying.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon juk /juk/, Modern Mon cǎk creeper, cord (B), (A) Bahnar juk kind of aquatic plant yielding fibre; vegetable fibre, (A/B) Central Sakai chōk rattan; ~ Serting jēmōk climbing rope (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d)); ~ Central Sakai chēnchōk creeper.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (a-b).)

(*kjək see 52 *kjaʔ heavy.)

303 *tik; *tiək; *tək deaf.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tiːc, Sre (→ Rōglai) tiʔ deaf, Chrau tiʔ blocked up, (— tor) deaf.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese đìé deaf.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat tok [tor].

(BLOOD 1966 147.)

304 *tik; *tiik to pull along, lead.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Old Khmer tik, Modern Khmer dyk to lead [animal], to cart, Kuy tyʔ to lead [animal], to cart, to drag [e.g. net].

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tiik, Sre tıː, Chrau tɛːc (BLOOD 1966), Biat tek to lead by a rope.

(BLOOD 1966 39; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 30.)

1305 *tiik; *tiak to lie down, sleep.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer dek, Kensiu tik, (or B?) Semnam &c. teːg; ~ (probably originally hypothetical) Old Mon stik /stik/, Modern Mon toik; ~ Mah Meri gotik, (~?) Semelai jatek, by metathesis Jah Hut ticek.


(SCHMIDT 1905 20, 22; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 250 (a-b).)
Santali *giti’, &c (PINNOW 1959 295a; Proto-Munda *-tik?).

(*t₁iak see 319 *tr(-)t₁iak ear.)

306 *t₂ak to put in place.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon tek to build, erect [dam, hut], to assume [cross-legged] position, to let down [net], to rule [line], Khmer dak to place, put, site, Palaung taʔ to lay out [mat &c.]; → Cham ḍak, (!) tàʔ dak to arrange; Shan ták; ~ Middle Mon tamnak pavilion, Modern Mon pənæk camp, Khmer dɔːmnak, təmnak halting-place, encampment; → Thai sǎmnàk house, lodging, → Khmer sɔmnak halting-place.
Connect 317 *kti(i)k to put (down)?

307 *t₁iak; *t₂ak to remove.
A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre, Chrau taʔ, Biat tak to remove, Bahnar tak to open, lift lid, to uncover, remove cover, to move [object] (GUilleminet 1959-63), (A/B?) Nancowry ták to leave, ʔuktíak to wean, to pull out.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Old Khmer tok, Modern Khmer dɔːk to pull out, pull off, uproot (? with secondary lengthening), Biat (→ Central Rölöm?) tɔk to remove (beside dɔːk to uproot ← Khmer), Riang-Lang tɔk to uproot, extract.
A contaminated by preceding?
(Blood 1966 271; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 36.)

308 *t₂aik spear.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer daek-[sɔːl] javelin, Chrau taʔ (→ Sre), Stieng, Biat, Bahnar tako, Sedang tea spear.
(SHAFER 1965 326; BLOOD 1966 334; SMITH 1972 289.)

309 *t₂ak to cohere.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔtak (!), to adhere to, Praok tok to be fastened together; ~ Mon hɔtak cluster, bunch; ~ Literary Mon datuik to cluster.
Sora 'ruttan:, (Ramamurti 1938) 'runtan: cluster, bunch.

310 *tɔ[ɔ]k to copulate (with).
A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon ʔtɔk, Nancowry tuak.
Note Kuy ʔteʔ, Bru ʔteʔ.
Sora ʔtɔ-, ʔu-, Kharia tu, &c. (PINNOW 1959 369).

311 *t₂uk cloud, mist.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau tuʔ, Biat tok cloud, Bahnar tuk ground mist, dew; ~ Stieng atuk dew, mist (?); ~ Jeh kasuk, (~?) Halang siksuk cloud.
Separate Palaung tuuk smoke.
(SMITH 1972 268.)
312 *tuk going on foot, by land.
   A: (Mon, Khmuic) Middle Mon tok /tuk/, Modern Mon tak; ~ (*tmuk >) Thin mūk on foot.

313 *t₁uk *t₁uuk to tie.
   A: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Thin tūk lashing, to tie, Palaung toʔ to tie.
   B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang "tuk to bind, tie, tether. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 79.)

‡314 *t₁uk; (*tak >?) *[k]tak drip, drop.
   A: (Mon) Mon tok drop.
   B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer tok sound of dripping (& by secondary formation tₐₜₐk to drip, toṃnok drop, falling drop, bɔntok drop, dot), Nancowry ták to drip.
   Cf. 814 *tuuc &c. drop, to drip.
   Proto-Austronesian *tɪtɪk drop, dot: Malay titek, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 98, *(Ct)i(Ct)iɪk; Proto-Hesperonesian).
   Note also *riNtɪk speckles, DEMPWOLFF 1938 104 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 37.)

315 *[ʔ]tuuk; *[ʔ]t[u]k, by metathesis *[ ]kut; *[ʔ]təak to scoop up, root up.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon tuk /tuk/ to draw [water], Modern Mon tsk to scoop up, to root up, Khmer təak spoonful (TANDART 1935), Stieng tuk to remove [pot from fire, rice from pot], West Bahnar tək to root up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry ṭuktuək to pull up, to draw water.
   B: (Katuic, Khasi, South Bahnaric) Bru tuʔ to dip into, Khasi thoh to take with tip of finger (or < *-uək), by metathesis Chrau kʊt to dip out into.
   C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar Bru tuiʔ, tuːk to root up, lever up.

‡316 *[k]ti[ ]k to tickle.
   A: (Khasi) Khasi ktik (!)
   Proto-Austronesian (i) *kitɪk: Malay kitek, kitik, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 216; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *gitɪk: Malay g/èl/iték, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65; Proto-West-Indonesian).

317 *kt₁ɪk; *kt₁iik to put (down).
   A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau ceʔ, Biat teʔ to put.
   B: (Khmuic, ?Palaungic) Thin tik to put (down), (or 320a *[p]tiik to pull off >?) Praok tik to abandon, get rid of.
   Connect 306 *t₁iak to put in place?

(*[k]tak see 314 *tuak drip, drop.)
318 **[j]tæk** to strike, beat.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **tik**/**tôk**/ to beat, Modern Mon **tak** to discharge [artillery], (→ **tât** to strike, coin [money], Stieng **tôk** to hit, Central Sakai **chê tôk** to beat [drum]; → Burmese **tuik** to come, bring, into violent contact, to fight, → (i) Palaung **taik** to fight; (ii) Shan **tuik** to fight, Palaung **tuik** to fight, Riang-Lang **tuok** to wage [war]; ~ Bahnar **hatak** to clap, applaud (Guilleminet 1959-63). Connect Kammu-Yuan **sântâk** (< *-t,-* to dash against, throw to the ground, to hit the ground; but connection uncertain) Bahnar **tiik** to collide, strike against (Guilleminet 1959-63). Cf. 322 *[I]tak** to hammer...; 558 *jt, uôn &c. to strike, beat... .

Proto-Austronesian **tâktâk**: Malay **têtak** to knock, rap, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 145, *tâktâk*, Proto-West-Indonesian; *t, œkt, œk*, Dahl 1973 § 14.9, rests on an uncertain Formosan comparison).

319 **tr(-)t, iâk** ear.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **trâciâk** ear, Riang-Lang **katëk** outer ear, lobe of ear. Perhaps *t, iâk*, Khmer < derivation, Riang-Lang **k**- part-of-body prefix; add then Khmer **knÊciâk** ear-piece of dancer’s headdress (Tandart 1935). But separate Aslian forms at Skeat & Blagden 1906 E 6 (a), = Temiar **gentâk**, &c., ad 554 *k, tön to hear.

(Shafer 1965 319.)

320 **nt,aak**, *l(n)t,aak** tongue.


*l*- secondary, *In- (certainly attested only in Aslian) by interdialectal contamination?

(Schmidt 1905 18; Shafer 1965 277; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 165.)

320a **[p]tiik** to pull off.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Chrau **ti?** to husk [maize], Biat **tiik** to husk, to pick over, (or 317 *kt, iik** to put (down) > ?) Praok **tiik** to abandon, get rid of.

South Bahnaric vocalism suggests *.-t-.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *patik*: Malay **pêtik** to pick, pluck, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 118, *pâtik*); (ii) *putik*: Toba Batak **putik** to pick, pluck, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 123, *putîk*; Oceanic to pluck [feathers &c.]). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, loan source not obvious.

321 **ptâk** temples.

A: (Khmer, North & Central Aslian) Khmer **taâk** gîls, **taak** **taak**, Semang **pêtôk** temples (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 228).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

322 *[l]tak (& *tlak by metathesis?) to hammer, drive home.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon tak /tak/ to drive in, to fasten especially by driving in, Modern Mon tek to strike, hit, beat, (? , by metathesis) Palaung la? to hammer, hammer; ~ Old Mon tnak, Modern Mon nek stake, peg, Palaung hla? stake for tethering cattle (MILNE 1931).

Cf. 318 *[j]təək to strike, beat (Cf. SHAFER 1965 144.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *laNtak: Malay lantak to drive in, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92); (ii) *[qS]aNta[kg]: Malay (h)ĕntak to jab downwards, thump, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 63, *han[t]ak; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(*lt1aak see 320 *nt1aak tongue.)

323 *[s][n]tuuk kind of jar.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau səʔ water-jar, Bahnar səʔk kind of jar.

324 *dak intertwined.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer tɛək tangled, intertwined; ~ (*pdak >) Literary Mon bdak to bring together, Jōlong dak to make a net, spin a web (GUILLEMINET 1959-63: 1);~ (*prdak >) Late Middle Mon [chuik to be near] padak to be well versed, by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon [chak] pɔtɛək to be skilled, Khmer protɛək intertwined, to intertwine; ~ (*dnak >) Bahnar nak net, to make net, spin web, Jeh, Halang nak net; (?) ~ Khasi ktah to touch.

= following?
(SMITH 1972 275.)

325 *dak to bind.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon dak /dak/ to bind, harness, Modern Mon tɛək to tie, tether, link…, Khasi teh to bind, fasten; ~ (*d.nak >) Mon hɔnɛək danaŋ noose, snare, jess for poultry.

= preceding? Distinguish (but Mon der. x?) 330 *dak (to) trap.

326 *dak viscous.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang [tam] tak gur, Vietnamese dać to be viscous, thick, to coagulate.

327 *daik; *diik outstretched.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Mon təik to branch, be turned outwards, Central Nicobarese tək broad, wide, Nancowry tək flat; ~ Khmer kɔntɛːk bifurcated; ~ Central Nicobarese tɔməːka fathom.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ndi: (great) breadth.
Cf. 577a *jdaŋ &c.
328 *[c]duuk staff, cudgel.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [lèʔ] tĕk (→ Burmese dut) cudgel, Khasi [dieng]-
duh (!) staff, walking-stick; ~ Khasi shanduh, Sakai chenduk walking-stick (i.e.
Lanoh; Skeat & Blagden 1906 § 452).
Connect obscure Khmer thûreak cudgel (Tandart 1935), Vietnamese thutôc.

329 *dík; *diiık; *diák slave.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre dìʔ slavery, Stieng dic, Biat duk (& Chrau dic by interdialectal
borrowing), Bahnar dic slave.
B: (Mon, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon dîk /dîk/, Modern Mon doik, Bahnar diık slave
(Guilleminet 1959-63; or A?).
C: (Mon) Dvaravati Mon dèk ?/dèk/ slave.
Cf. Thin de I (respectful).
(Blood 1966 134; Smith 1972 239.)

(*[d]ík see 274 *diʔaak water.)

330 *dák trap, to trap.
A: (Khmër, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmër têak to trap, Stieng, Biat dák,
Sre, Chrau daʔ trap, Bahnar dák projectile trap, to set traps, Jeh, Halang dák spear
trap, Riang-Lang ḏák (to) trap, Semai dák trap (Taurern 1914); → Cham tâʔ (&
hatâʔ?) trap for birds; ~ Khmer ṭontêak trap, snare; ~ Khmer thnêak decoy, lure,
Bahnar ḏnak projectile trap.
Distinguish 325 *dák to bind.
(Schmidt 1905 38; Shafer 1965 327; Smith 1972 274; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T
200A.)
Sora daː-[ˈtul-ən] trap.

331 *dák; (*dáiık dáiık >?) *[k]d[a]iík to break, snap.
A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon dêk ḏák [prûʔ] to snap, make snapping sound, Central
Nicobarese dák-[ŋa] (& by assimilation ḏaŋa) to split, break (v.i.).
B: (Khasi) Khasi kāia to break, snap (v.t.).

(*dáak see 274 *diʔaak water.)

332 *[d]àak to stand up, to go up.
A: (Bahnaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm dák, Biat dák to stand (up), Jeh dák to go up,
Halang dák to ascend, (~?) West Bahnar nák to go upstream, take up (Guilleminet
1959-63).
(Blood 1966 116.)
Distinguish 334 *dük to mount, ride; & separate also Sora ḏaj-, dai-, Santali deʔ to
mount, ascend, climb, &c. (Pinnow 1959 333), which require *-c.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary


333 *do[ ]k to hammer.
A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon dæk to hammer, Praok tæk to nail (or ← Shan tɔk < Tai *took, cf. BENEDICT 1975 228, beat, drive in... (II), Nancowry karuák knock on door, kumruák to knock on door (& Riang-Lang ʰkrək to knock; so *kd-?)). Proto-Austronesian *d,ək,ak: Toba Batak dædk, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 38, *dækdæk; cf. DAHL 1973 § 14.5).
Onomatopoic. Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *tuk to cut, knock, pound, BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 387: inter alia > Garo dæk ~ dæk to knock, pound, Dimasa do to knock, ...hammer down.

334 *duk to mount, ride.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon ɗuk /ɗuk/, Modern Mon dæk to mount, ride (on, in) (& Old Khmer dæk, Modern Khmer tɔk to put, put away, put on one side, keep by semantic transference from causative?); ~ Old Mon -pɗuk to embark, take up, Modern Mon dæk also to load, Khmer phtɔk to load; (~?) → Thai prathúk to load with; ~ Khmer bantɔk load; → Thai bantʰúk to load with; ?Nancowry rúk to arrive, ranúk vehicle rather: Bru tɔʔ to come?
Distinguish 332 *[d]æk ...to go up. Sre di: to mount, ride is ← Röglai di: < Proto-Austronesian *naSik (ib.), perhaps contaminated by *duk.

335 *duk; *ɗuk; *dæk full, complete.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon ɗuk /ɗuk/ to be perfect, complete, Middle Mon dæk, Modern Mon dæk [pɔŋ full] to be complete; ~ Praok naok, Lawa Umphai nauk to be full.
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung naʔ to be full.
C: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Old Mon dık /dɵk/ to be perfect, complete; ~ Riang-Lang _næk to be full.

335a *ɗuuk; *[ɗ]uuŋ (kind of) monkey.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ɗuuk, Sre dou, Chrau doʔ, Biat dɔk, Bahnar dɔk, Jeh, Halang dɔk monkey.
B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung [a]duŋ large long-tailed kind of monkey, Proto-Semai *doŋ pig-tailed macaque (DIFFLOTH 1977), (?; if so, *ɗ-)
Central Nicobarese duŋ Macacus cynomologus.
North Bahnaric vocalism apparently post-dental, cf. 70 *ktuuʔ, 396 *ruuŋk, 467 *suuk, 667 *ruuŋ[k ], 685 *ruuŋj, 728 *luuŋ, 744 *tuŋ, 892 *duuŋ, 1005 *ruukt, 1062 *ruut, 1738 *bt,uul, 1744 *duul, 1763 *tb[uu]l. Connection dubious Vietnamese dố ape; or Khmer töc gibbon.
(BLOOD 1966 2; SMITH 1972 278; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 129.)
336 *duuk; *duk boat, canoe.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer tüːk, Kuy thūʔ, Bru tüʔ, Stieng dük, Chراع düʔ boat, Biat dük canoe (& Sedang tuk ship, or as Bahnar?); → Bahnar dük boat, ship.
   B: (Viet-Muông) Vietnamese núc canoe.
   (SHAFAER 1965 325; SMITH 1972 271.)

337 *kr[d]a[a]k palm, sole.
   A: (Kamuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kətːk, kəltːk, Thin kədak, Lawa Bo Luang (ʔa)nduak, Lawa Umphai rathuak.
   ([*k]d[ai]k see 331 *dak to break, snap.)

338 *[c]dak to cough, splutter.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (*[c][r]dak >) Mon hədak, Petchabun Nyah Kur cədək to cough, Proto-Nyah Kur *chedak (DIFFLOTH 1984 V34; favours *s-), Central Sakai sladık noise of hawking; ~ (*[c]ndak >) Chراع ndaʔ to choke in swallowing, cough, Bru santuʔ to choke.

338a *[c]dəak; *[c]dəak to fry.
   A, B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Khasi səiəh (B); ~ Kuy nθiaʔ to fry, parch [rice] (A; ~?, A/B) Riang-Lang kəldək to fry, ?Nancowry harát.

339 *tədiak; *[t]dək wet.
   A: (Mon, Kuy) Middle Mon tədək /tədek/, Modern Mon deak; ~ (*tpədiak >) Kuy priʔ?
   B: (Khmer) Khmer tətʊk (perhaps contaminated by tʊk water, < 274 *diʔaak).

340 *tədək dirt.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon tə(u)jək /tədək/ [lɨɛn] impurity, defilement; ~ (*təndək >) Biat ndək filth, dirt (→ Chراع kəndaʔ particles of dirt).
   Add perhaps West Bahnar kədək sediment, mud (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63) (then < variant *t/r/ð[i]k), & to derive Mon hənoik power, dust, Nyah Kur nðyək power, dust.

341 *təd[o]k slit-drum, bamboo rattle.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy tɔʔ tɔʔ cowbell; ~ (*tənd[o]k >) Mon hənək slit-drum, (← klɛʔa) cowbell; ~ (*tərd[o]k >) Khmer trədəoak cowbell of bamboo with seeds inside which rattle (&, probably colloquial rather than < simplex, tədəoak, dadaoak, TANDART 1935; → Biat kədək rattle), Chراع təlɔʔ slit-drum (& by arbitrary variant təlɔʔ small bamboo slit-drum), Riang-Lang kərdək bamboo rattle.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

342 *tnak step of stair.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Muông) Khmer thnak, Vietnamese nác.

343 *[t]rnuk troubles.
Khmer d- by attraction tūk sorrow, ← Pali dukkha-, or Mon k- by phrasal assimilation?

344 *dnɔk; *dn_ək ladle, hood of cobra.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon dnåk hood of cobra, Modern Mon nòk hood, ladle.
Variation obscure.

345 *pək to fan, [wind] to blow.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon puik to blow, Modern Mon pak,
Old Khmer pak, Modern Khmer bɔk, Kuy pəʔ, Bru ?apuʔ, Stieng pɔk to blow, to fan; ~ Middle Mon pnik, Modern Mon noik, Khmer bhnak' fan (GUESDON 1930); ~ (*prnɔk >) Literary Mon paŋik (?), Stieng pranɔk fan, Bru ranû? fan.
Add perhaps Khasi peh to winnow (< *kpək?). Stieng -oʔ post-labial, cf. 1025 *k predators.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 22; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 5 (b.).)

346 *pək; *pək; *pu[u]k to open.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat pɔʔ, па?
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer pek, Modern Khmer baak (→ Kuy bɔʔ?), Sre pəʔ, Biat pɔk to open, Chrau pəʔ to take off, lift; (or аʔ?) → Cham ыk, North Röglai pɔʔ to open.
C: (Khasi) Khasi phuh to flower.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 322; BLOOD 1966 414.)

(*pək see 371 *ɡbək to chop, hoe.)
347 *pɔok to peel.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic) Old Khmer pɔk, Modern Khmer bɔ̂k to peel (→ Kuy buaʔ to peel ?), Stieng bɔ̂k to remove [mollusc] from shell, Mường pɔc (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese bóc to peel, Thin pɔk bark, rind (or by back-formation → hɔmpɔk bark, rind, < 466 *s/mp/ɔɔ); → Thai pɔɔk.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *pua k to remove: Cham pɔʔ to untie, unharness, remove (& to remove bark from, contaminated by or ← Mon-Khmer?), Jarai pɔk, Karo Batak puak to remove, Cebuano Bisayan puwak to tonsure (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; by metathesis?) *(q)u(N)pak: Tagalog upak bark, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 162, *cu(m)pak; Proto-Hesperonesian). (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 9.)

348 *puk; *puuk to swell, be inflated.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng puk, Sre puʔ to swell, Biat pɔk swollen.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Jeh pu:k wind on stomach, Halang pù:k to want to defecate, Central Nicobarese fɔːk blister.

Cf. 101 *pooʔ &c.; & Nicobaric puk-oəl to swell (< *b- or *ɓ-).

(*pu(u)k see also 355 *[l]puk to dash against.)

349 *t,paak to pace, step.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon twek /twɛk/ to walk, pace, Modern Mon kwaik to walk, Mường putocê (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese buṭc (to) step.

*t, in view of Sora.

Sora 'dapa:-n step.

Proto-Austronesian *tapak: Malay tapak palm, sole, footprint, step, Tagalog tapak to tread on, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 131).

350 *tpuuk heap, to heap up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer pũk to heap up, Modern Khmer bɔ̂k to heap up; hump, Palaung poʔ [earth] bank (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang ᵒ̂pu:k hill, hillock, raised ground, (dry) land; to be convex; ~ Khmer dombɔ̂k hillock, mound, anthill, (— kɔː) hump; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bɔmno:k heap, mound.

= following? Cf. also 369 *bu(u)k.

Proto-Austronesian *tuNpuk: Malay tom pok, tumpok small hill, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 101, *(Ct)uŋpuk; Proto-Hesperonesian). (Pou & Jenner 1975 nos. 20 (a), 22.)

351 *tpuuk; *tpuak to add, calculate.

A: (Khmer) Khmer bɔtk.

B: (Mon) Mon tok to calculate (< Old Mon *twok, as tonj castor-oil tree < twoñ); → Burmese twak, → Palaung tuaʔ to count, add.

= preceding? (Cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 27.)
†352 *lpak; *lpaa; *lpai; *lpiə to be broken, split in two.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer ḍak (∼ Cham ḍak), Stieng pak to break (v.i.), Sre pha? to break (v.i.t.), Chrau pa? to snap, break off, Röngao pak [cord &c.] to break (Guilleminet 1959-63), Thin pāk to break (v.t.); ∼ (*lnpak >?) Lawa Bo Luang paup, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbak to break off; ∼ (*t-lpak >?) Röngao tāpak to break (v.i.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan tālpak v.t.; by secondary derivation ∼ Khmer bombak v.t.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon pāk /paik/ to be shattered, Modern Mon paik to split, (c) Khmer baek broken, Kuy beʔ to separate (v.i.), (B) Sre [tam] pa; (B/c) Chrau paʔ (→ Biat pa??) to share out, Jeh pak to split (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Kammu-Yuan pāk to crack, split (v.i.), (∼?) Praok pak half, part; ~ Old Mon lumpek either of two sides, Modern Mon kapaik also half, part; by secondary derivation ~ Mon hapaik to divide, sever, separate, Khmer bombaek to break, to divide, separate; ~ Mon hapaik cleft, Khmer prəbaek fork, confluence, junction; ~ Cham pabek fork, confluence, junction; ~ Middle Mon panāk [sat], (B) Khmer pranaik, Kuy nnaʔ, (B/c) Stieng branak areca shears.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khasi phiah to split (or c?); (by metathesis *pliək, or by secondary derivation ~ *pnjək, >) Riang-Lang əpliek (to) crack.

Connect (probably, by metathesis) 446 *pla([a])k side; perhaps B33 *paak to break...; & cf. further 356 *bljək to tear apart; 364 *tauk to cleave.

(Schmidt 1905 18; Shafer 1965 328; Blood 1966 316.)

Sora pa: to split (v.t.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *yi(N)pak: Iban rimpak notched, chipped..., &c. (Blust 1973 no. 267; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *ra(N)pak: Malay rapak fragile, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 101-2); (iii) *rNpak: Javanese rémpak shattered, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 103; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *piqak: Javanese piyak to give way, to push apart, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 118-119, *pijak; Dyen 1953 § 45; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 2. See Benedict 1975 272, divide.

353 *[l]pək; by metathesis *plək to open.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon pok /pək/, Modern Mon, Röngao pok (Guilleminet 1959-63), Semang [ya`] pəg (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 41 (a)).

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar plək to open (Guilleminet 1959-63), Riang-Lang əplək to burst open, split open (& by back-formation ələk to open (v.i.t), to reveal, to be revealed).

Connect 346 *pək &c.
354 *lpok to pull out, uproot.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon -puk, pok /puuk/ to withdraw from socket, to unearth, Modern Mon pak to pull up, pluck out, Kuy boʔ to pull out, up, Bru boʔ (!) (separate?), Biat pak to be uprooted (beside pak to pull up [weeds]); ~ Old Mon [sjak] lupok to withdraw, Modern Mon kəpak to tear out, to be torn out, uprooted.

355 *[l]puk; *[l]puuk to dash against.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer bok to pound, crush, ram (contaminated by 370 *[k]bok to pound...); ~ Mon kəpak to strike, dash, launder by beating on stone.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre puː to beat.
Perhaps *pu(u)k, *l.-puk in view of Austronesian, below; not *kp- (> Mon kw-).


356 *[b]jəak to tear apart.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung biəʔ to destroy, tear apart (MILNE 1931); ~ (*on[b]jək >) Praok biaŋk to convulse.

Cf. 364 *baik to cleave; 352 *lpak &c. ...split in two.
See BENEDICT 1975 272, divide.

(*b[ee]k see 365 *[m]b[ee]k mud.)

357 *bək, *buuk, *bauk to bind (round).

A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) Middle Mon buik to encircle, Modern Mon pək to put round [e.g. waistcloth], Temiar bəŋ, Semelai bək to bind.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang puk, Lawa Umphai phuk to tie, bind.

C: (Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mường puóc (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese buóc to bind, Central Nicobarese pɔk-[hata], pɔkə to bind, tie, fasten, Nancowry pók (*-uk?).

B, C secondary. Connect 621 *bəŋ ...to bind round.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 213.)
Proto-Austronesian *bəŋbəŋ: Malay bēbat to wrap [girdle, puttees], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; Proto-Hesperonesian).

358 *bo[ ]k belly.

(Katuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Kuy [pla:] phɔʔ lower part of belly, Khasi ’poh (~ kphoh) belly; ~ (*bpo[ ]k >) Central Nicobarese pофаk intestines, Nancowry puфаk.

Cf. besides 624 *buŋ[ ] &c. (i) Nahali po(o)po(o), PINNOW 1959 K 115; (ii) Tibeto-Burman *pu/k ~ *bu’k, BENEDICT 1972 77 no. 358; Archaic Chinese pijōk 腹, ib. 165-6.
‡359 *[ ]buk; *[ ]buuk dust.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Mon həpək thabuk &c. fine powder or dust, Biat [neh] rbuk sand.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar habu:k dusty [road] (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Cf. 2034 *buh &c. ash, powdery dust.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *bu(k)buk: Javanese bubuk powder, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 33, *buk²; omitting words meaning weevil, mildewed, for which see 369 *ɓuk); (ii) *qabuk: Malay (h)abok dust, powder, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 11, *abuk); (iii) *yabuk: Tagalog gabok dust, powder, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 57; Dahl 1973 § 13.12; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *d₃abuk: Javanese dawuk grey [horse], &c. (Dempwolff 1938 41-2, *do; Dahl 1973 § 14.7).
Perhaps Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, but none of these are attested in Mainland Austronesian See Benedict 1975 222-3.

360 *[b]uk; *[b]uuk to be drowned.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre buʔ, Biat [daːk] buk to be drowned, West Bahnar buk to be wrecked, drowned (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar babuk to wreck (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Biat mbuk to immerse.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer bampɔːk to flood with; ~ Chrau təmvuʔ [daʔʔ] to drown; ~ Central Nicobarese henpoːk-[haːfe] to drown.
Connect Central Nicobarese pʋaːk па to be to drowned, Nancowy pûakŋa to drown oneself.
(Blood 1966 166; cf. Shafer 1965 132.)

†361 *[b]uuk head.
A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Stieng buːk, Sre sou, Chrau voʔʔ, Biat boːk, Orang Bênuu buj (Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 50).
(Blood 1966 1.)
Kharia -boʔ, &c. (Pinnow 1959 206; Proto-Munda *ɓək).

362 *buak; *buuk group, company.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon b(w)ok /bok/ sect, Modern Mon pók company, group, sect, Old Khmer vʋak, Modern Khmer pʊːak company, group, Palaung bók group (Milne 1931); → Thai pʰûak.
B: (Mon) Middle Mon buk sect.
Connect Malay kobok.
(Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 20 (b.).)

363 *jɓɔk food-tray.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Khmer svok, Modern Khmer spɔːk wooken tray for serving food; ~ Mon həpɔːk dining-table in form of large round tray with short legs.
364 *tbaik (& *tbiak?) to cleave.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon *tbeik to slash, Modern Mon pāik to slash, cut (down), fell, Siang bēik to break, Chhra vaʔ, Biat bak to notch, Khasi piaih to cut in two (or < variant), Sakai bak to split (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 395); → Toba Batak bak to be easily split (Proto-Austronesian *bak, DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, falls); ~ Kontum Bahnar (h)abak (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63; & Jōlong sāba:k) cleft of hoof.
Cf. 352 *lpak &c. ...split in two; 356 *[b]iak to tear apart. Kuy baʔ, Kammu-Yuan bāk to notch are ↔ Tai (cf. BENEDICT 1975, below).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *t(N)bak: Toba Batak tombak to clear forest, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 132; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *tibak: Malay sibak to part, cleave, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 402; Proto-Hesperonesian). Rather than : *tabak to pierce, as SHORTO 1971 Cf. BENEDICT 1975 263, cut down/off... (III).

365 *[m]b[ee]k mud.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy (?a:)phèʔ, Sre mbe:.
If Kuy phèʔ, Biat beʔ wet are cognate, root rather *b[ee]k.

366 *r[b]aik (& *r[b]aiκ?) brittle, fragile.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rāpèak brittle kind of rattan, Chhra ravaʔ, Biat rbak fragile, (or variant >?) Sre raba (!) brittle.
Cf. Proto-Austronesian *ra(N)pak, raNpak (under the entry 352 *lpak).

367 *ɓak to draw [water].
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre ba (!), Biat bɔk, bɔk, Riang-Lang ɓak.
With Sre final cf. A19 *tntak; -ʔ is expected. Connection obscure Central Nicobarese fuk-[da]:k.
(BLOOD 1966 114.)

368 *ɓuk, (*ɓuk ɓuk >) *kɓuk; *[b]huk rotten, mouldy.
B: (Kauic, North Bahnaric) Kuy ʔhoʔ rotten, Bahnar phɔk mouldy (& intensives phok, phuk) (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63).
Perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *b.?uʔ/*b.huk.
369 *ɓuk; *ɓuuk to heap up.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau ɗu.
B: (Khmer, Kautic, South Bahnaric) Khmer pùk, Kuy phûː? (& phûː?), Stieng buːk; → Cham buːʔ.
Old Khmer has vak; from a variant? *ɓ- in view of Cham Cf. 350 *tpuuk.

369a *ɓóok white, grey.
A: (Kautic, Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kuy buaʔ, Sre boː; Chrau voːʔ white, Stieng boːk white, grey, Biat boːk grey [soil], Bahnar boːk off- white; white [hair], Mintil bøyɛk, Temiar bəyʊg white; ~ (*knɓoːk >) Stieng kənboːk white, clean, Jeh tabɔk, Halang daboAk white.
Add perhaps Palaung blɔʔ, < *kn,ɓoɔk by metathesis (otherwise ad 436 *kl[u]a[k]).
Connection obscure 116 *ɓoɔʔ white.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 98 (b).)

370 *[k]ɓoɔk to pound; mortar.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon bɔk small mortar, Khmer bəɔk to beat against a stone &c. (contaminated by 355 *[l]pu(u)k to dash against), Sre boʔ, Chrau voʔ to pound, bray.

(*ɓʊk see 368 *ɓuk rotten, mouldy.)

371 *ɓɔɔk to chop, hoe.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon bɔk to chop, hoe, to peck, to slit open, Bahnar bɔk to hollow with adze, dig with hoe &c., Jeh bɔk to hoe, Halang bɔk to cut through, carve, Thin bɔk to chop down, Khasi kboɔk to scratch, Sakai bɪgɮɔg-[tɛ] to dig (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 107 (b)); → Shan wɔk to hoe slash (rather than as BENEDICT 1975 263, cut down... (III)), (?) → Riang-Lang _mɔk to cut with swinging motion, hew; ~ Mon habɔk khaḥɔk hoe.
Earlier *ɓɔɔbgɔ, cf. Sakai; perhaps connected 375 *ɗɔɔk to hook. Riang-Lang may reflect a variant of 866 *[ ]wa(ə)c to cut..., which compare. Connection obscure (*ɔʔk >) Sre poʔ, Biat pɔk, Temiar pɔg to dig; as with Khasi puh to dig, peck, bite (< *bu(u)k); Chrau poʔ to split wood, split off bark.
(SMITH 1972 277.)

372 *c[ɬ]fuʔk froth.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi sboh to be thick, scummy (=) syboh adhesive froth, Central Nicobarese pʊk bubble, Nancowry pʊk to boil (v.i.).
Connect 2038 *ɓuh &c. to bubble, boil.
Proto-Austronesian *bʊɡ’aːq foam: Tagalog bulág, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, *bʊɡ’a[h]).
373 *tbufak to snap at, snap up.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*tnbufak >) Mon hamek; ~ Khmer tрабак (with -b- by levelling on unattested *tbufak?).
   Connect Palaung hmaʔ to snatch?

374 *[d]bafak; *[d]bəafak to bestride, to be bestridden, have hanging down e.g. round neck.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer pəak to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride, Kuy with secondary lengthening phəʔ to put on, wear, Sre baʔ to carry in a shawl on one’s back (→ Rōglai), Chrau vaʔ to carry [baby] on back, Biat baʔ to carry [person] on back, Bahnar ɓafak to wear round neck, Thin bək to mount, ride, be astride, (or B) Palaung baʔ to ride, drive, Khasi bah to carry on back or shoulders; → Cham phəʔ to carry on back; ~ ([d]bəafak >) Mon habek to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck, Kuy baʔ to hang up, Bahnar təafak to hang over something (with -b- by levelling), (or B) Khasi təbah to throw, hang, across shoulder; ~ ([d]nbaʔ >) Lawa Bo Luang pok, Lawa Umphai məbək to ride; ~ (*tn-bafak by secondary derivation >?) Bunör məmak to hang up (→ Sre maʔ to carry in a shawl on one’s back), Biat məbək to carry on a yoke.
   B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rōlóm baʔ to carry [baby] on back, Central Nicobarese pək-[həta] to carry on shoulder; ~ Stieng nbək to carry [hoe] dangling, (~?) Vietnamese vəc to carry over shoulder; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Stieng ceməbək to hang over horizontal support; (~?) Proto-Nyah Kur *ləbək (DIFFLOTH 1984 V42; points to *l-).
   Hence Kachin, Rawang (Mutwang dialect) baʔ to carry on back (< *bək, BENEDICT 1972 19 n. 71; so ≠ Tibeto-Burman *ba)?)
   (SCHMIDT 1905 16; BLOOD 1966 277, 358)

375 *ɓəok to hook.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer thpəək to hook towards one, Khasi boh, Vietnamese məc to hook; ~ Khmer təmpəək (& təmpəək!) hook, crook, hooked stick for picking fruit; ~ (*drəək >) Literary Mon thəək ankus; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi bnoh hook, hooked stick; to hook.
   Connect perhaps 371 *gəək to chop, hoe.

376 *maʔ; *ma[a]k to like, love.
   A: (Kuy) Kuy mək to love.
   B: (Palaungic) Praok mek to hanker [after], Lawa Umphai mək to like, love.

377 *maʔ; *maʔ ox, cattle.
   A, B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _maʔ, (B) Palaung muj, (A) Lawa Bo Luang maup, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang maʔ.
   (SHAFTER 1965 159.)
Santali mīhū, Ho mīu calf (PINNOW 1959 K 541).

1378 *mök; *mæk to emerge.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Miou) Old Mon mök /mɔk/ to appear, Modern Mon mōk to appear, emerge, come to the surface, [moon] to wax, Bahnar mōk [paddy] beginning to form grain, (or B?) Mioung (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese mọc [plant, hair, nails] to come up, grow, [sun] to rise
B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Old Khmer mōk, Modern Khmer mōk to come, come near, approach, Nancaowry muāk to appear.
Kharia muʔ to come out, &c. (PINNOW 1959 109; Proto-Munda *μ[k]).

379 *mɔk(mɔk); *mɔɔk(mɔɔk) to sit still.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau mɔʔ mɔʔ quietly, (or B?) Palaung mɔʔ to sit.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre mamo quiet, inactive.
Add perhaps (B) Riang-Lang _mok to place, put.

380 *mɔk to take [rice] in fingers.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre mo to take [rice] in fingers (→ Röglai mop?), Biat mɔk mouthful, Bahnar mōk to take [rice] in fingers, Bru mɔʔ; ~ Mon kəmōk to scoop up; handful [of rice &c.].
Connection dubious Vietnamese bóc.

381 *muuk; *muək hat.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng muk, Biat mōk hat, Jölong mōk European headgear (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok muk hat.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khmuic) Khmer mûək hat, Khasi [tap] moh hat, [woman] to put on headress; → Thai mûak (→ Kuy múək?), Lao mûak, Sek muak hat; ~ (*muk muak > ?*kmuək > ?) Kammu-Yuan múak hat, cap, Palaung hməʔ woman’s cap.
Pou & Jenner 1973 61 derive Khmer via Tai from Archaic Chinese mág™ 帽 headpiece. Connection dubious Middle Mon kamhok wide-brimmed conical helmet, Modern Mon hamok Shan hat (→ Burmese khamok); perhaps infixed form of khok cup, ↔ Burmese khwak; to refer it with Palaung to *kmhuək is semantically improbable. Atayal (?umuk to cover (head), wear on head, ~ aʔumuk cover, lid. (BENEDICT 1975 259, cover…., which compare)

382 *t,muk; *t,muuk cheek, jawbone.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi tmoh chin; ~ Riang-Lang _mok cheek.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [soh] muh (compounding form) bearded; ~ Sre tarmou, Chrau tamoʔ cheek.
Connection uncertain Bahnar dialects tabək bearded (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
382a *smak dirty.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Khmer sрamок covered with dirt (with secondary lengthening), Mnong Gar &c. ramaʔ dirty (→ Jeh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) ramaʔ?), by metathesis Kuy mphrəʔ dirty, stained; ~ (*spmak > ) Sre, Bunır ɓəʔ, Lawa Umphai ɾə mak dirty, by metathesis Riang-Lang _pək [əʔ?] (with phrasal low tone) to be disgusting, dirty.
(BLOOD 1966 385, 386.)
Proto-Austronesian *kəməg' = *kəməq (DEMPWOLFF 1938)

383 *ya[a]k to pound.
A: (Mon, Central Asian) Old Mon ʔек /yaik/, Modern Mon ʔаik to pound [paddy], Sakai ejак to pound to pieces (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 202).

384 ʔək; *yək to take.
A: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi ʔоk to obtain, receive, have (or B); ~ Biat чək (?), Bahnar ʔək to take.
B: (Khmer) Khmer ʔək to take, bring, get, accept, receive.
Cf. Central Nicobarese ʔək, əк.
(SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

385 ʔυək (& *yuək?); *yək; *yəək to lift.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon ʔυək, ʔυək /yəuk/, Modern Mon ʔаik to lift, to carry in arms, Palaung ʔυəʔ to rise, to raise, Praok ʔаək, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ʔəək (!) to lift; ~ Shan ʔυək; ~ Khasi ʔυənjuh to dandle, weigh in arms.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Muông, ?Palaungic) Khmer ʔυək to lift up, Bru ʔаəʔ, (~~?) Muông giác (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nhác, nhác to lift, raise; (or c) ~ Riang-Lang _пəkək to erect, set upright.
C: (South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng јυək, Sre ʔа: to lift, Chrau ʔəʔ to take off, lift, Bru ʔаəʔ to raise, lift; ~ Cham ʔа:?
Vocalism at least in part contextual, cf. 538 ʔун; Lawa suggests *yuək; c perhaps contaminated by 425 ʔəək. Cf. Biat ʔоt to carry. But Central Sakai ʔυəж to carry on head is ~ Malay junjоng (< Proto-Austronesian *d'un'd'un).
(BLOOD 1966 427.)

386 *yuуk vigorous, healthy.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon [θат] ʔυə to be in good health, Bônöm Bahnar ʔоt in good health (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon ʔиryуk /ʔəryуk/ vigour; ~ East Bahnar hиоk, West Bahnar hноk easy, happy, pleasant, to make easy (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

387 *[.y]aak bold.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre cha: to be bold, Palaung ʔа to be bold, Riang-Lang -yək to be bold, to dare; a secondary derivation → Röglai jamaa.
**388 *kyaak ghost, supernatural being.**
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon kyāk /kyaik/, Modern Mon caik sacred being or thing, Stieng ciak bloodsucking male witch, Sre ca: evil spirit, Chrau ca? demon, Biat ciak ghost, Bahnar kiak corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts, Jeh kayak to die, Halang kayak corpse.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 286.)

**389 *tya[a]k sambhur deer, large forest mammal.**
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar ki, Khmu' tya:k tiger (or separate?), Kammu-Yuan tya:ák, Palaung caʔ, Riang-Lang 'tyuk, Lawa cak sambhur.
(SHAFER 1965 343.)

(*riik see 276 *riʔaak to open, unfold.)

**390 *riak to pluck, harvest.**
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Katuic) Central Rölöm riak, Bunör, Biat rek to reap, Lawa Umphai riak, Mae Sariang yia to break (off), Khasi riah to pluck [e.g. herbs], Bru riʔ to harvest.
(BLOOD 1966 95.)

**391 *r[a]k to love; beloved, dear.**
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer rɛ̀ək dear, kind (TANDART 1935), — tɛ̀ak friendly, Thin râk to be beloved, dear, to love, Kammu-Yuan rak, Palaung rak (!) to love; ↔ Thai rák, Shan hâk to love; ~ (*røm[a]k >?) Khmer mrèék girl's friend of same sex, man's friend's wife, Kuy mmràk girl's friend of same sex; ~ Palaung karrak (!), Riang-Lang _tərək to love each other.

**391a *raak white ant, termite.**

**1392 *raik (& *raik?) to call out, shout.**
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Khmer rek to call out (GUESDON 1930), Stieng rak (< *raak; or loan word?), Chrau raʔ to curse, Biat [tøm] rak to call [one another] names, Riang-Lang _rak to call out, Praok rek to cry, moan; ~ (*[c]raik >) Khmer sraek to cry out, Serau cerik to shout (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 10; or Malay, below?); ~ Old Mon trāk /traik/ to shout, cheer.
Sora rui- doublet of ken- to sing, ber- to speak, Santali raʔ to cry, call, sing, weep, &c.
(PINNOW 1959 57).
393 *[ ]r[ɔ]k frog, toad.
   A: (Katuic, Palaungic, North Bahnaric) Bru ?arð large kind of toad, Thin rɔk toad, Riang-Lang rɔk frog, toad; → Shan *ruak frog, Nung *ruak, Dioi ruk tadpole (BENEDICT 1975 298, which compare); ~ (or =?) Palaung ɔrk frog, toad; ~ Bahnar [kʊt] adɔk (Gölær kišt hadɔrɔ) toad, Khaki hynroh frog; → Jarai rɔ toad, Röglai [kieo] adro buffalo toad.
   Or *-uuk (Bahnar), *-uɔk.
   (SHAFER 1965 220.)

394 *ruk; *ruuk forest.
   B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ruk forest.
   Cf. for semantics 181 *briʔ.
   (SHAFER 1965 534; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 231 (b).)

395 *ruk; *ruuk; *ruɔk to force in, cram in.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer rʊk to cram in, to force one's way into, Chrau ruʔ to insert; → Thai ruk to penetrate by force; ~ Mon prak to put in, pack in, cram in, (or C) Khasi phroh [bird] to feed [young]; → Malay pĕrok to stuff into a drawer anyhow; ~ (*jnruk >) Sre jaroŋ glutinous, intemperate; (or C?) ~ Riang-Lang _prak to crowd in on, press, throng, to force ones way in; ~ Khmer rɔnuk bar, bolt, catch, latch.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng ruɔk to force in, force under; ~ Biat ndruɔk glutinous, intemperate, Khasi jynruh things lying in a disordered manner; ~ Stieng rnuɔk [kəpluŋ] ramrod.
   C: (Nicobaric, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Central Nicobarese yuɔk-[haŋa], yuɔka to load [boat], fill [pot], Nancowry ʔukyúak; ~ Kuy trɔʔ to pour into narrow-necked vessel & Bru trɔʔ? (< *crok?); (~?) Bahnar sɔrk to pour grains into small opening = Gölær hroak to push rice into bamboo tube.

396 *ruuk ox.
   A: (Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang rok; ~ (*kuan ruuk by contraction >?) Sre kəŋrou, Biat ndroɔk.
   For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *duuk.
   (BLOOD 1966 8; SMITH 1972 283.)
397 *ruuk; *ruək; *req to shake, tremble.
A: (Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Besisi krük to tremble, shiver (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 228); ~ Khasi kynruh to rinse, churn, rumble, shake.
B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric; *ruək ruək >) Bahnar rəhrək to tremble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Central Nicobarese nyək to shiver.
C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Bahnar rəhrək to tremble; ~ Old Khmer kamrek, Modern Khmer kəmraək to move, shake, tremble; ~ (*s[b]raək >) Mon hərək to shake (v.t.).

398 *krak heartwood, hard wood.
Stieng kraʔ heartwood, Sre kra hard [wood], Vietnamese trəc species of hard wood, all appear to be interdialect loans.

399 *krək adapted, ready, suitable.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon kəruk to suit, be s.able, Khasi khreh to prepare, to be ready.
Connection uncertain Sora 'iraː to be agreeable, favourable.

400 *[k]ruk to fall.
A: (Khmuic, South Aslian) Thin kruk, Semelai garək; ~ (*[k]rruk >) Kammu-Yuan kərək.

401 *grik to sift, sieve.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon kərək; ~ Khasi kynric.

402 *criək to be split lengthwise.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer criək to split (v.t.); ~ Thai kriaək to split (v.t.); ~ (*cbriək >) Mon kareək to split, slit open; ~ (*cnriək >) Mon koreək part split off, slit, sheet, piece, Khmer by dissimilation comriək part split off, West Bahnar jadreək slice cut lengthwise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 404 *craək &c. to tear, divide. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.) (Proto-Austronesian *tərək: ?) Paiwan (Formosa) min-tsərək split (BENEDICT 1975 391, which see).

403 *craək; *criək to incise, engrave.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon sek sak to draw, draw a line, cross out, Biat crak to engrave.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar creək to draw a line, groove, engrave.
B probably by secondary palatalization, cf. 487 *cəŋ &c. Connect Vietnamese rqch to make incision, groove. (< *[ ]raik?); but Sre saraʔ written matter is ← Röglai haraʔ < Proto-Austronesian *t'urat.,
404 *craak; *craik; *criik to tear, divide.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Muong) Mon saik srāk to tear (in two, up), (—thon) to be born, (A) Khmer craak to divide up (TANDART 1935), to share expenses, (B) Khmer crēk (!) to part [e.g. curtains], (—pūh) cut way through, Muong réch (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese rách torn.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre cereː to tear.

Hardly by metathesis *cr-caak &c. (cf. 291) in view of Austronesian, below. Cf. also
402 *criak to be split lengthwise; 465 *saik &c. to split, cleave, tear.

Proto-Austronesian *t'arak: (i) Malay sarak to separate the sexes, Tagalog salak to chop, slice, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Acehnese criʔ to unravel [fibre], to pull to pieces, Malay charak to tear bits off, Iban charik torn, perhaps rather < Proto-Austronesian *k'ari[ ]ak than ← Mon-Khmer in view of vocalism. See BENEDICT 1975 375, separate(d).

(*c[ ]raak see 1581a *cgaar to fence, enclose.)

405 *[c]r[ə]k to take shelter.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon crok ?/crøk/, Khmer crɔːk (!)
Khmer chest register perhaps secondary, but lengthening unexplained; cf. here 694 *tr[ə]ŋ.

406 *[c]rɔk to drip.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic). Khmer srak; ~ (*[c]brɔk >) Literary Mon tarak to lead off [water] by a gutter, Khmer somrak to let drip, Bru rɔʔ to let in water; ~ (*[c]nɔk >) Mon korak gutter.
Cf. 842 *ruc &c.

407 *croɔk to plant upright, stick in.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon crok /crok/ to plant upright, Modern Mon sɔk also to place on finger, Khmer crɔk to put in, fill, load, to place on finger, Stieng corɔk to put in, fill, load, Biat crɔk to load [gun].
Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic contaminated by 395 *rɔk &c. …to cram in.

408 *trak; *tra[i]k; *triak buffalo.
A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi shynreh.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tráːk, Lawa Bo Luang khrak, Lawa Umphai krank, Mae Sariang khyak, (or A?) Palaung kraʔ.
C: (Katuic) Kuy triʔ.
With Palaungic initials cf. 410 *t[i]r[wə]k.
(SHAFER 1965 88; & cf. 458.)
409 *\textit{traak} lead.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{A}: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Stieng) \textit{tra}; Chrau \textit{tra}:\textsuperscript{2}; \sim (*\textit{tnraak} \rightarrow) Biat \textit{ndraak}, Tolo Bahnar \textit{adraak} (Guilleminet 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphaï \textit{mbrak}; \rightarrow Röglai \textit{tامج}, North Röglai \textit{tumra}:\textsuperscript{2}.
\end{itemize}

\S\textsuperscript{410} *\textit{t[ua]k} ribs.


\S\textsuperscript{411} *\textit{prə[k} to injure.

(Mon) Old Mon \textit{prik} /\textit{prɔk}/ to injure, harm; \sim Modern Mon \textit{parak} to molest, attempt to injure.

Sora \textit{parsa}: to be hurt, wounded, \textit{parsa}:\textit{n} wound, injury (& \textit{with} variant vocalism \textit{prorsa}: to overlook, cast evil eye?).

412 *\textit{prɔk} squirrel.

(Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian). Sre \textit{pro} (→ Stieng \textit{pro}:\textsuperscript{2}), Chrau \textit{pro}:\textsuperscript{2}, Biat, Bahnar \textit{prok}, Jeh \textit{prok} (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Kammu-Yuan \textit{prɔk}, Palaung [e]\textit{prɔ?} (Milne 1931), Vietnamese \textit{con} \textit{sóc}, Sakai \textit{prɔk}\textsuperscript{a} (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 136 (c)); \rightarrow Lao, Ahom *\textit{rɔok} (Benedict 1975 226, \textit{bat}...); Cham, Jarai \textit{prɔ?}, Röglai \textit{pro?}, North Röglai \textit{pro?:}.

Cf. Khmer \textit{kamprouch}, apparently < *\textit{kom prɔk}, for which cf. Vietnamese; \rightarrow Thai \textit{krarɔk} (with \textit{kr-} by hypercorrection) at early stage; with vowel metathesis & irregular shortening. For Stieng -\textit{h} < \sim? (here borrowed) in animal names cf. 39 *\textit{cil}?.

(Shafer 1965 334d; Blood 1966 75.)

413 *\textit{brak} \textit{brak} disorderly, untidy.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{A}: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon \textit{hapɾak} [hʌpɾʊi] to have unkempt hair, Praok [sibroy] \textit{sibrʊk} refuse.
\end{itemize}

414 *\textit{br[ɔɔ]k} water-dipper.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{A}: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon \textit{prɔk} \textit{brak} water-dipper, Sre \textit{bro} gourd container or dipper; apparently \rightarrow Röglai \textit{bro} gourd container or dipper, Acehnese \textit{brua}: coconut-shell, dipper &c. made from coconut-shell, Javanese \textit{bɛruk} coconut-shell used as dipper or rice measure.

Acehnese, Javanese cannot be cognate. Connection uncertain Palaung \textit{brua?:} \textit{blu}: to dip up.
\end{itemize}
415 *brok to go.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat broʔ, Bahnar brök.
   (SMITH 1972 272.)

416 *mraik[ ] peacock.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon mrek (& mreŋ) ?/mraik/, Modern Mon
   poráik, Sre bra, Chrai vraʔ, Biat braŋ, Palaung dials. phraʔ, braʔ (Mon; →
   Riang-Lang prak), Bru riaʔ (< *-aak; loanword?); → Cham (a)mraʔ?, Jarai
   amraʔ, Röglai amraː; North Röglai amraʔ? peacock (→ Bahnar amraʔ, Göläl
   Bahnar həmraʔ? peacock, pheasant); Malay mérak (probably → Central Sakai
   [chîm]-méra'), Acehnese móraʔ, Javanese mérak.
   Old Mon has similar orthographic variants; ad 417 *c-liik[ ] pig, 1051 *tmaat[ ]
   vulture; perhaps /mraik/ or the like.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 321, 532; BLOOD 1966 281.)
   Kharia ma'raʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 27.)

417 *lik[ ]; *liik[ ] pig.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung leʔ, Riang-Lang _lek.
   B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central & South Aslian) Kuy (?aː)liːʔ, Praok lik, Lawa Bo
   Luang laic, Lawa Umphai leic, Mae Sariang leic, (or A) Sakai lû (i.e. Semai;
   SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 78); → Old Mon clik (& cliŋ) ?/clik/, Modern Mon kloik,
   (or A) Bera jalo’ (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 83); (?) → Javanese
   chêlèng, Madurese cheleng wild pig.
   On Old Mon variants, cf. preceding; perhaps /clik/ or the like. Connection dubious
   Khmer crûk.
   (SHAFER 1965 332.)

418 *l[a]k to hoe.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung laʔ (!) to hoe, Riang-Lang _lak to dig, to peck;
   ~ Palaung klaʔ to peck; ~ Jeh hlak, Halang talak, Palaung kaləʔ hoe.
   Sora loː- to hoe, Mundari laʔ to adze, to hoe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 304).

419 *lak to inlay.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon lak /lak/ to set with gems, Khmer lêak to groove, incise
   (contaminated by 403 *crak? also lâːk); → Cham lak to groove, incise.

420 *lak weapon.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon lêak [nêak] (→ Burmese laknaːk); ~ (*lnak >) Mon
   [lêak] nêak weapon, (~?) Bahnar rônak, hönak weapons for defence (GUILLÉMINET
   1959-63).
   (*lak see also *[d,l]lak good.)
421 *laik; *lak; *liə; *lik; *liik; *lək to unfold, to open eyes.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre la to unfold, spread (→ Röglai la; so not < 191 *laʔ, which compare, but perhaps merging it); ∼ (*l)mlaik (la)mlāk to open [eyes], Proto-Nyah Kur *lmlaak (DIFFLOTH 1984 V50), Khmer rūmlēk to spread out and divide up, separate; → Röglai bla; North Röglai blaʔ to open [eyes]; ∼ West Bahnar talaik to peel (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ∼ Riang-Lang ɐplək = to open [eyes], Praok plak to reveal.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre laʔ = la, Chrau laʔ, Biat lak to spread out; ∼ Kuy mpləʔ to spread open, unfold.

C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar lek to skin, peel, to show [teeth], Röngao to spread, Bru liaʔ to peel; ∼ Bahnar tleːk to peel (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ∼ pleːk to open [someone else’s eyes, mouth, &c.].

D, E: (South Bahnaric) Sre liː to open [eyes], to spread, open, Chrau liːʔ opened out, by sandhi lin [mat] to open [eyes] (E), (D) Biat liʔ unfolded; to open [hand].

F: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lək to spread, unroll.

(BLOOD 1966 379)


421a *laik fluttering creature.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang ɐlak [ˈloŋ] flying fox; ∼ (*lmlaik > ?) Riang-Lang ɐralək, (∼?) Lawa Bo Luang mblak, mbrak, Lawa Umphai mblak bat; ∼ Khasi slieh flying squirrel; ∼ syllieh (beside syllih) flying squirrel, (probably ∼, but cf. 408 *trak &c.) Palaung karla? butterfly.

Cf. 431 *laik luk &c. flashing…, 444a *pliik &c. to flash, flicker. Chrau has luʔ bat.

422 *laik; *liək; *liik to dissolve, fall into dissolution.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng lek to melt (v.i.); ∼ Old Mon [rlaiʔ] rlāk /rlaik/ to be in ruins, Modern Mon làik to fall into ruin, fall away.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lek to dissolve, melt (v.i.).

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng liik to melt (v.t.), Sre liː to dissolve, melt (v.i.), Chrau leːc to crush, pulverize, Biat lek dissolved.

Old Mon rl- by phrasal attraction, or contaminated by 861a *rlaac to collapse…? Cf. 718 *la(a)ŋ to destroy; 927 *laŋ to be destroyed….

(BLOOD 1966 34.)

(*laik see also 431 *laik luk &c. flashing, lightning.)
423 *loːk; *luk; *luuk; *ləc to overturn, capsize, sink, be immersed.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, ?Mon, Palaungic) Kontum Bahnar laːk [vehicle, boat] to overturn (\(\); Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ (*l[\(\)]nl ak > ) Bahnar glak to be drowned; ~ (*pr l ak > ) Kuy ləʔ immersed in, Chrau paləʔ to turn around, Biat rləʔ back to front, against [the wind], Stieng prələk, Sre pərələʔ (\(\rightarrow\) Röglai), Bahnar holək to turn upside down; ~ (*bl- > ; or B) Mon plək to sink, be submerged, inundated, (or C) Praok pluk [plek] to be transformed; ~ (*tnəlak > ?) Biat ṭkləʔ, ṭkłəʔ to overturn, to knock down.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Kuy lūʔ to mix, Bru luʔ (!), Bahnar luk to overturn, to mix together (contaminated by 222 *bru[ ]?); ~ (*l[\(\)]nluk > ) Praok nok to sink, Khasi [tylep] pluk (!) [water] to cover; ~ Kuy phlūʔ to topple over; ~ Bahnar baluk = luk (Guilleminet 1959-63).

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer phlúk to overturn, capsize (v.i.); ~ bəmphlúk to overturn, capsize (v.t.) (Guesdon 1930), to cause to crash.

D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lát to turn upside down; ~ (*mləc > ?) Biat [mbləc] blɔr [blər] upside down; ~ pləc to turn upside down; ~ Sre pərləc to turn (v.t.).

Add perhaps Riang-Lang ˈləc to sink, be drowned (then < *c]ləc; otherwise < 854 *ləc, which compare). But Palaung lək to be transformed is ← or contaminated by Shan lək to separate, be separated, (— khıp) slough skin. Cf. further 1079 *lət to be extinguished; 721 *ləŋ to be immersed.

(Blood 1966 410; Smith 1972 265.)

Proto-Austronesian *balik: Malay balek behind, to go back, têr-balek inverted, &c.

(Dempwolff 1938 22); → Semang bīlē’ to turn round, over, &c. (Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 255).

424 *lək; *l[ə]c to sleep.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer lūak to be asleep, Stieng laːk to lie down, sleep; ~ Bahnar hlək to sleep heavily, Temiar sələɡ to sleep; ~ (*s]rlək > ) Vietnamese giáíc to sleep.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic) Thin lɪːk, l̬əc to sleep, go to sleep; ~ Kuy slec, hlec to fall asleep.

Cf. B66 *[l]əac &c. to lie abed; originally probably *lək = *laac, with mutual contamination

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 249.)

425 *ləak to lift, raise.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ləːk, Kuy ləʔ, Stieng lʊːk, Biat lək.

Cf. 385 *yuk &c.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

426 *lök; (*lök lök >) *klök container.
A: (Palaungic, Aslian, Katuic) Kensiu, Temiar leak, Semelai luuk quiver, Bru ?alǎ? section of bamboo (container); ~ Palaung saloq cup, Lawa Umphai ralok skull.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Middle Mon ñák /klök/ (tinder-box, Modern Mon klāk [pon] [lime-]casket, Khmer klāk small tubular container with lid, Riang-Lang klök cup, bowl, Praok klāk valley, Mường tròc head (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207), Mah Meri hluk quiver; ~ Thai klāk, Shan kāk cup, bowl, ~ Praok kāk cup, bowl; ~ (*klāk >) Kuy kbla? brains, fontanel, (~?) Bahnar kāla, kāla? container made from split bamboo-joint (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Stieng raklāk brains.

427 *lək tadpole.
Cf. Palaung aglo (MILNE 1931).

428 *lək; *ləok to dye.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Middle Mon lək, Modern Mon lək to paint (on), (B) Kuy là?: to dye; ~ (A/B) Middle Mon lwāk dyed material; ~ Literary Mon calāk, (A) Khmer calūoka to dip into liquid, dye.
Connection obscure Riang-Lang _ruak to dye, paint.

(*lək see also 855 *ləc penis.)

429 *luuk stone.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre lu (!), Biat luʔ; ~ Semang bālog (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 462).

430 *luuk to have a hole in, make a hole in.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon làk to be torn, punctured, Bru luʔ to be torn, have hole in, Nancowry kalōk to pierce.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat look to make a hole in.
Connect 2069 *luh to pierce?

431 *laik luk; *laik luuk; *laik luək flashing, lightning.
A, B, C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khsí) Palaung ləək? sheet lightning (MILNE 1931)
(C), Riang-Lang _lək _lək (flash of) lightning (A), by vocalic assimilation perhaps following metathesis Khsí leileih lightning, by inversion (B) Biat [koŋ] look [koŋ] lək firefly; so ~ Lawa Umphai pluk plak lightning (& Mae Sariang puk plak, Lawa Bau Luang puk pleak).
Connect 444a *pliik &c. to flash, flicker; & cf. 421a *laik fluttering creature.
432 *luuk; *luək to touch, explore manually.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon lāk to touch, come in contact with, collide with, Khmer lūk to reach out one’s hand, Chrau luʔ to groove in holes for [fish] (contaminated by 438 *gl[lə]k?).
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy lɔʔ to groove in holes for [fish]; → Cham lwaʔ to insinuate (oneself); ~ Stieng calɔk to try temperature of water with finger.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

433 *klak blocked, blind.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Mon klɛk to be filled in, closed, blind, Kammu-Yuan lɯk to be blind, Riang-Lang *klak to be hard, stubborn (?), Khasi [mat]lah (compounding form) blind [person].
Connect perhaps Jeh ʔloːk, Halang ʔloak blind (< *k/p/luək?). But connection dubious Praok duk blind; or Bahnar klik deaf. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

434 *klɔk navel.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kloʔ, Chrau, Biat kloʔ, Bahnar klɔk; → Stieng klɔː by interdialectal borrowing.
(SHAFER 1965 334c; SMITH 1972 280.)

(*klɔk see also 426 *lɔk container.)

435 *klɔɔk to spill over.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ Khmer krɔlɔk to spill over, be displaced; ~ (*kplɔɔk > ?) Khasi phaloh to spill, splash over (& by secondary derivation kynphlok (!) to spray [water]?).
Connection dubious Mon kəlak to splash about, be scattered.

436 *kl[uə]k white.
A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan klɔk, Bateg Nong hɔlɔk;
~ Palaung blɔʔ (? , < *kml[uə]k; or ad 369a *kłoɔk); ~ Kuy pluiʔ grey [hair], Bru pluaʔ ( < *-ɔɔk?)
Add perhaps Khasi lieh (then compounding form, < *klɔk with secondary lengthening).

437 *gnlak uneven [ground].

438 *glɔk to insert hand into or remove from hole.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon kloŋ glɔk to take out with hand, insert hand, Proto-Nyah Kur *khlɔk (DIFFLOTH 1984 V51), Riang-Lang klɔk [ˈthen] to pluck out, gouge out (→ Shan khɔk to pry out), Khasi kloŋ to push hand into hole.
Cf. Stieng glu:k (< *gləək) to uproot tree for transplanting.

439 *gluk to tap repeatedly.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang klok to tap, rap; ~ Old Mon girluk
  /gərluk/ to beat [drum], Khmer krəluk to pat in, knead.

440 *cla[a]k piece of roofing material.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Katui) Old Mon clāk /claik/ shingle, Modern Mon klaik
  wedge, Bahnar hlaak quantifier for pieces of thatch, fields, flat things, ? Brə sulə?
  wall of bamboo twill (then *-aik); ~ (?) *cmla[a]k >?) West Bahnar məna:k piece
  of thatch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

441 *jlək (& *jləək?) to be choked, stifled.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Aslian) Mon klək to be stifled, Khmer chləuk to be choked,
  suffocated, (?) then variant >) Semelai jəla:k smoke.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 300.)

(*tlak see 322 *[l]tak to hammer... .

441a *t1la[a]k intestines.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kla:k; ~ Chrau təlaʔ.
(SMITH 1972 288.)

442 *t1luk; *t1luuk; *t1luək; *t1lək dirty.
A: (Khmuc, Khmer, Katui) Kammu-Yuan rük (!) dirt, perhaps Khmer thlək puddle,
  Kuy loʔ wallow.
B: (Katui, North Bahnaric) Bru nləʔ mud, Bahnar trok mud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63);
  ~ (*t1bluuk by levelling >?) tətroku to get mud on, soil (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Riang-Lang ruak dirt, to be dirty, foul, unclean; ~
  (*t1bluak by levelling >) Riang-Lang təkruak to defile, (or ~ *t1mluək >?)
  Vietnamese in compounds təc to be impure, muddy.
D: (Mon, Khmer) Mon klak to be dirty, dusty, Proto-Nyah Kur *kləak (DIFFLOTH 1984
  V53); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer prəak soiled, to soil (~ *plak <
  *t1plək).
Cf. Mon hlak to be dirty, probably contaminated by hlak mud < 482 *lhək.

443 *[d1]lak good.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Jeh lak healthy (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung laʔ,
  Riang-Lang rak to be good.
Or *lək, if Riang-Lang contaminated by 391 *r[a]k to love... . Distinguish 193 *ləʔ.
444 *dlɔ̀k kind of creeper.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [cɔ̀k] klòk Willoughbeia edulis Roxburgh, Khmer thlɔ̀k Parinarium species, with edible nut.

444a *pliik; *pliə̀k to flash, flicker.
A: (Khmer) Khmer phle:ə̀k bright, twinkling.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang [puk] plek lightning, Khasi phliə̀k sparkle of fire.
Connect 431 *laiə̀k luk &c. flashing, lightning; & cf. 421a *laiə̀k fluttering creature.

445 *pliik; *klip (& *kliip?) shoulder.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *pniik >) Stieng pəliik, Sre pəni, Chrau pənii?; Biat mləik.
B: (Palaungic) Praok klip (< *kliip?), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang klep.
Direction of metathesis undetermined.

446 *plak; *pla[a]k side.
A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese in compounds trác.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang plək side, direction, fraction, Praok plak side, direction, half; perhaps by back-formation ~ Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang lak side.
Probably by metathesis 352 *lpak &c. ...split in two; cf. there Praok pak; Old Mon lampek.

447 *pla[a]k sole, palm.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang plək.
Proto-Austronesian *pala'g palm: Toba Batak palak, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112; Proto-Hesperonesian).
See BENEDICT 1975 350.

(*plək see 353 *[l]pək to open.)

448 *pluk pigeon.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng pluk large wild pigeon, Chrau pluʔ kind of small bird (→ Sre [ntap] plu pigeon?), Bru [cem] pluʔ pigeon; ~ (*kuan pluk by contraction >) Khmer komphlok pigeon.
(SHAFER 1965 334.)

449 *[blak] blak nightjar.
450 *bluk; *bluək tusk, ivory.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer phluk, Stieng bluk, Lawa Umphai phlok.
B: (Katuic) Kuy phlûa?.
Cf. 225 *[m]laʔ. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 126 (a.).)

451 *rlaak; *rlaik to split, divide.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon làik to split [bamboo] into fibres,
Khmer rəlɛːk to divide up, share out (B; → Cham ralai{k}), Biat rlaik to divide up,
(~?) Khasi thli{e}h (B) to split; ~ Sre tarla: piece of bamboo from which fibres have
been split (DOURNES 1950; A).

452 *sliək to put round lower part of body.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer sliək to put on [lower garment]; ~ (*sliək >)
Bahnar dialects sanek (to put on) man’s lower garment (GUESDON 1930).
Connection dubious 453 *sl[u]k.

452a *snlak (& *snlaak?) joint.
A: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer sɔnlak joint, Central Nicobarese henlaːkə- [shoulder]
joint (& oklaːkə joint; < variant?).
Connection uncertain 453 *sl[u]k.

453 *sl[u]k to put on, wear.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon sluk, slok /slu{k/}, Central Sakai lok; → Karo Batak
seluk.
Connection dubious 452 *sliək; but cf. 762 *slaŋ. Note also Bahnar hru{k} & Bru
saruə? (perhaps < *srluuk); ← Indonesian?
Proto-Austronesian *t’a[ɣ]/r]uk (Mon-Khmer implies *-ɣ-): Malay sarok putting one’s
foot down into [sarong], &c. (BLUST 1972 no. 70).

454 *wik; *wək to shake, wave.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer vûk to s. up, mix up, stir; (or B) ~ Mon kəwak to wave; ~
Mon hawək to wave, wag, shake, worry, Khmer gravik to shake, disturb (GUESDON
1930).
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok vuk [vet] to shake; ~ Khasi kaweh to wave, wag, fan,
sway.

455 *wii:k (& *wii:k?) nightjar.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat wek kind of parrot, Sre wi; Bahnar dialects [sem] wik (& wek,
< variant?) nightjar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Khmer khvaek night heron, Nycticorax griseus is onomatopoeic & not connected.
(BLOOD 1966 225, owl; correct to fern-owl, i.e. nightjar?)
456 *[ ]waik ladle, spoon.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Khmer vê:k ladle, dipper, Kuy (?a):wê?: ladle, Bru ?a:wê?: spatula, Stieng ue:k spoon, Chrau ua?: wooden spoon, Bahnar wâk to draw, dip up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang ãweg spoon (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 397); (?) → Cham (a)wa?:, Jarai awa?, Röglai awa; Acehnese awâk rice- ladle, perhaps → Vietnamese vâ; ~ Stieng kuak, Sre kua to remove mash from empty wine-jar (DOURNES 1950).

Vocalism against Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, so if Cebuano Bisayan luwag, lûwag ladle &c. are connected, Austric!

457 *waik larva, worm.

A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan wà:k (intestinal) worm, Palaung vaʔ insect, caterpillar, grub, Praok vek worm, Lawa Bo Luang Lawa Umphai wuak kinds of insect, Khasi wieh earthworm.

(*[ ]wâk see 866 *[ ]wa to cut, reap.)

458 *wôk bent round.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [wèn] wôk to be crooked, deformed, Praok [kâk] vâk to be crooked, Riang-Lang wôk to be curved, slightly bent, Khasi wôh to hook, fasten with a hook, Tembi w35kâ bent, crooked (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 175 (c)); ~ Khmer [krâvâk]-krâvâk zigzag, Bahnar gôwâk to be hooked, to hook, Palaung kôwâ iron hook (MILNE 1931), Khasi kyrwôh link, ring.

Cf. 286 *(k)ŋôk bent, crooked; B35 *p[u]k lame, crippled.

(*[ ]w[u]k see 866 *[ ]wa to cut, reap.)

459 *kwâk to hang (up).

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon kwâk v.i.t., Modern Mon kwek, Kammu-Yuan wâk v.t., Palaung hâʔ v.i., Lawa Bo Luang Lawa Umphai wôk, Mae Sariang wuk, Khasi wah (& tawah by secondary derivation), Mường quắc v.t. (BARKER 1966 18); → Cham waʔ to hang [hammock]; ~ (*kmwâk > ) Vietnamese màc v.t.

Connected further Vietnamese ngoâc hook.

460 *kwuuk; *kwuak to claw.

A: (Mon) Mon kâk to stick one's nails into (< Old Mon *kwûk, as toŋ castor-oil tree < twoi; → Burmese khup to strike with paw?).

B: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy wɔʔ to scratch, claw, Bru kuwɔʔ (implies *-ɔk!), Khasi khwoh to pull with hook or claws.

(*t,rwiak see 774 *t,rwiŋ potsherd.)
461 *twa[a]k kind of palm.
   A: (Bahnaric) Chrau twaʔ fan-palm, Bahnar tua:k kind of palm (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63).
   If Khmer thva:k curving outwards is cognate, *-aak.

462 *swa[a]k to walk, travel.
   A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung vaʔ (!) to pass by, through, over,
   Semelai suwak to walk, ?Nancowry ?ukwâk to step on.
   Cf. A83 *cwaat to step.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 43.)

463 *saak form, characteristic.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon sāk /saik/ colour, Modern Mon saik colour, kind, sort,
   Khmer saːk shape, form.

464 *saak; *saik to skin, peel.
   A, B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kuy saʔ to remove [bark &c.] by prying up (A), Bahnar tsai:k to peel (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63),
   Vietnamese tuːc (A) to skin, peel, Praok hak skin, leather, Lawa hak skin; ~ (*spaik >) Khmer sbaek (→ Kuy sbeʔ, Stieng səbɛ:k) skin; ~ (B) Khasi snieh skin, leather.
   Cf. 466 *sɔɔk.
   (SHAFTER 1965 334a.)
   Sora saː- to peel off (v.t.), sʔaː- v.i.

465 *saik; *siak to split, cleave, tear.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese tách to split, divide; ~ Old Mon snāk /snaik/,
   Modern Mon hnaik two-edged sword.
   B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Jeh siak to tear (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); (or A?) ~ Khasi shniah chisel.
   Add perhaps (i) in part Mon saik to tear (in two, up (sāk; otherwise < 404 *craak
   &c.); (ii) Bahnar tsεik to divide up (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), otherwise < 291 *ciak;
   (iii) Riang-Lang hək to break, split, smash (v.i.), otherwise < 472 *haak &c.

466 *sɔɔk to peel.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon sək to peel, skin, Khmer sək to
   peel, remove bark, to slough, Kuy saʔ slough, to slough; ~ Mon hanok peel, rind,
   bark, shell, slough, Khmer səmnək slough, [onion-] skin, [bamboo-]sheath; ~ Khmer səmbo:k, (→?) Kuy mphuʔaʔ skin, bark, shell, husk, Kammu-Yuan həmpə:k bark;
   ~ (*səmɔɔk >) Chrau moʔ bark, Bahnar hɔːk thick bark of certain trees; ~
   (*sərsmɔɔk >) Biat rchɔːk [egg]shell; ~ (?*sɔk >) Bru səʔ to peel.
Cf. 464 *saak &c.; 347 *pɔɔk. Note also (i) Khasi kholh to skin, peel, perhaps ← Tibeto-Burman (*kwɔk, BENEDICT 1972 74 no. 342 & n. 229; cf. e.g. Lushei kholh), but conceivably < *skɔɔk by metathesis < *ksɔɔk < *skɔɔk sɔɔk; (ii) Karo, Toba Batak suak broken off, uak to come away, peel away; suggesting Proto-Austronesian *(t’-)[juak ~ *p-]juak = *puak : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pɔɔk. (SCHMIDT 1905 14; cf. SMITH 1972 293.)

467 *suk; *suuk; *sɔɔk; *sɔɔk hair.
A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Old Khmer suk (or ṭ?), Sre soʔ.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar sɔɔk, Jeh suk (!), Halang sɔɔk, Palaung huʔ, Riang-Lang huk, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang hauk, Lawa Umphai hauk, Kensiu sɔɔg, Semelai suuk; (~ *snuuk >) Danaw ʔnok, Khasi shniiuh /snuʔ/, ʔniiuh.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon sok /sok/, Modern Mon sok, Stieng sɔɔk (or ṭ?; beside cɔɔk, see there), Praok haak, Vietnamese tɔc; (~ Chrau sanɔɔ body hair (contaminated by A24 *tpn[ɔɔ]k?); ~ (? *srsuak by metathesis > *sruak >) Central Nicobarese ɣɔɔk, Teressa-Bompoka, Chowra heak hair.
D: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer sok (→ Chrau?), Kuy soʔ, Biat chɔak (→ Stieng, rare, cɔɔk?), Muông thác (BARKER 1966 18).
Sre vocalism apparently post-dental (as North Bahnaric, cf. 335a *duuk); Praok suggests secondary *suak.
(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 252; BLOOD 1966 269; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 1.)
Sora uʔu-n, (compounding form) u-n, Kharia soʔ(ʔ)- (PINNOW 1959 143; Proto-Munda *sok).

468 *suk; *suuk; *sɔɔk placenta.
A: (Khmer) Khmer sok.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon sɔɔk, Sre so: (→ Rōglai).
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau soʔ womb; (~ *srsuak >) Biat rchɔak [kɔn] placenta.
Cf. Khasi sieh (< *sɔɔk?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

468a *trsik; *trsɔɔk kind of cucurbitaceous plant.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng rɔςik small yellow kind of cucumber, Chrau rɔʔpʊŋ sic musk-melon, Biat [plai] rchɔi water-melon.
B: (Khmer) Khmer trɔɔk cucumber.
469 *[t]sa[a]k to wash.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar tsāk to wash [clothes] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
   Lawa sak to wash; ~ (*[t]psa[a]k >) Palaung pha to scour with sand (MILNE 1931),
   Praok phak to wash [cups], Lawa Bo Luang phak to wash.

470 *hak; *haak to vomit.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre haʔ vomiting, Bahnar hak to vomit.
   B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang hak to vomit.
   Cf. 474 *haɑk; 473 *ho(a)k sated; 476 *khaak &c. to hawk and spit.
   (SMITH 1972 273; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

471 *hak; (*hak hak >) *hak; *hək; *khək to catch, stick, to have something stuck in throat.
   A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon khɛk to snag on, catch, stick, stick in mud,
   Palaung haʔ, hak to lodge [thorn] in, to have [bone] stuck in throat (MILNE 1931); ~
   (*lhak >) Bahnar hlak to be caught, stuck.
   C, D: (Khmere, Katuic) Khmer khək to have sth. stuck in throat, choke, Kuy, Bru with
   secondary lengthening haʔ to have [bone] stuck in throat & 474?

472 *haak; *haik; *hiək; *hiik to tear, split.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Northern Aslian, ?Palaungic)
   (B) Khmer haek to tear, to lacerate (→ Stieng hek to tear, cut), Kuy heʔ to tear, to
   force open, (A) Sre ha: [wood] to split, (A/B) Biat haak to split (v.i.), Bahnar haak to
   split (v.t), pull apart, open wide (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang ha (or <
   465 *saik?) to break, split, smash (v.i.), Semang haek to tear (SKEAT & BLAGDEN
   1906 T 32); → Thai hẹk to break through, force open, Shan hāk to be broken
   across, to break across; North Röglai haʔ? ripped; ~ (*ch- >) Mon chaik (!) to claw,
   scratch (with chest register by expressive deformation), (B) Khmer chaek to cut up;
   forked, split, cut up (→ Thai cʰēk indented, serrated, bifurcated), (A) Vietnamese
   xu dém to be scratched; ~ (B) Kuy rheʔ to be torn, (A/B; ~?) Chrau tahaʔ to split,
   divide; → Cham tahaʔ torn, Röglai traha to split, to get torn; ~ Riang-Lang
   "takhek to break in pieces, smash (or ad *saik).
   C: (Bahnaric) Bahnar hek to tear; ~ Chrau tạhek torn, worn.
   D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau hec (? → Bahnar hec broken in pieces
   (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)), Biat hek torn; ~ (*hiik hiik > *khiik >) Biat kehk
   torn, Praok khik [phuay] pieces, fragments.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 20, 28; SHAFER 1965 329.)

473 *hək; *həak sated.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Biat haʔ [həm].
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung huʔ.
   Connect following & 470 *ha(a)k to vomit? Cf. 1424 *həam.
474 *hɔk to vomit.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat hɔk, Chrau hɔʔ.
Cf. 470 *ha(a)k; & preceding; 271 *kʔɔk to cough.
(BLOOD 1966 72.)


(*huk see 267 *ʔuk to pour out.)

475 *huək; *ʔuək brains.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung hɔʔ; ~ (*huək huək > *kuək >) Riang-Lang khuək.
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mùông, ?South Bahnaric) Vietnamese ơc; ~ Biat rŋɔːk (or A?), Bahnar ʔŋɔːk.
Cf. Khmer khuːə khuːr [kbaːl]; by interdialectal borrowing from unrecorded source?
(SMITH 1972 292.)

(*khaak see 47 1 *hak to catch, stick… .)

476 *khaak; *khaiək to hawk and spit.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon khaik, (B) Khmer khaək, (A) khaək, Kuy (!), (A/B) Bahnar khaːk to hawk, clear the throat; → Thai kʰàak to hawk and spit; ~ Khmer kómhaːk, kómhaæk phlegm, (A/B) Kammu-Yuan kómháːk phlegm, to hawk and spit; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Biat runhəak phlegm (~ *rhəak < krh-); (ii; A) Khasi kyrkəh phlegm, to clear the throat.

Bahnar gahak to spit in disdain (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63) & Vietnamese khãc to spit are ← Cham kàhaːk < *[g]aqa[kg], a Proto-West-Indonesian variant (cf. Karo Batak kahak phlegm)? Contamination by Mon-Khmer of Proto-Austronesian *dəSak (DEMPOWOLF 1938 37, *da'æk). Onomatopoeic. Cf. 470 *ha(a)k to vomit; & see BENEDICT 1975 257, cough, which compares Proto-Austronesian *kukək.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(*khaak see 47 1 *hak …to have something stuck in throat.)

477 *chaik wet.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi jhieh (& jhih); ~ (*cnhaik >) Riang-Lang ɲak.
Connect by metathesis 795 *kʔaac.

478 *chɔak rice straw.

A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon chɔak chåk; ~ Kuy ɲchaʔ.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

479 *[c]huk; *[c]huək to go up.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Vietnamese ʔóc to lift [prone person], set on feet, (~?)
   Praok haoək, Lawa Bo Luang həak, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hauk to go up.
B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung hɔʔ to go up.
Palaungic h- (suggesting *jh-) also ad 253 *chaʔ.

(*chuək see 272 *cʔuk corner, *tʃhiik see 273 *tʃʔiik to sob….)

480 *thak; *thək to pant, sob.
A: (Mon) Literary Mon thak [kluŋ cuip] [to come] in haste; ~ (*tnhak >) Mon kəhek to pant.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat [num] thək to sob, to swallow the wrong way; ~
   (*tnhak >) Literary Mon [yuim] saməuik (!; implying *kəhak) to breathe audibly, pant,
   Khmer dənθək to be out of breath.
Originally probably onomatopoeic. Cf. 273 *tʃʔiik &c. to sob….

480a *[t]hək to pour (out).
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Kuy thɔʔ to pour, tip out, Bru thnʔ?:
   (implies *nɔʔk?), Stieng tɔxʔ! to pour, Biat tɔʔ! to pour out, water (contaminated by
   2002 *tuh &c.), Palaung thɔʔ to pour (or, as Riang-Lang thɔk, ~ Shan thɔk?);
   Khasi theh to pour, spill.
   Cf. Proto-Southwestern Tai *thoook (Benedict 1975 358, pour out; not Thai); & 267
   *ʔuk &c., *huk.

481 *ph̩ək; *pʔək fish-paste.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric; ~ *prəhək >) Mon hərək fish-paste, Khmer
   pɾəhək grey fish-paste (Guesdon 1930; usually prəhək, prəhəʊk!), (by expressive
   deformation *mr̩hək >?) Kuy mphuʔ?, Stieng brəhək fish-paste.
B: (Khmer) Khmer phəʔək milder-smelling red kind of fish-paste; ~ prə‘ak fish-paste
   (Guesdon 1930).
B perhaps contaminated by 275 *prəʔək thorn (Stieng, Biat fish-bone). Khmer
   pɾəhəuk < *prəhək prəhək obscure; cf. perhaps Vietnamese mâm ruóc (<
   *prəhəuk?). (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 23.)

(*b]hək see 368 *ɓuk rotten, mouldy.)

482 *ləhək mud.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon ləhək /ləhək/, Modern Mon hlək, Proto-
   Nyah Kur *lahək (Diffloth 1984 N226; implies *-[u]k?); ~ Stieng lohməək; ~
   (*lphaʔ >; or =?) Khmer phuək (→ Thai phuək; rather than: A26 *[b]ək).
   (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 23; Benedict 1975 277, earth….)

(*ʔiŋ see 492 *diʔuŋ house.)
482a *ʔiaŋ happy, well.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre iaŋ happy, [a]ʔiaŋ [un]happy, homesick, Biat [lbut] iaŋ homesick, Khasi eng-eng sound and healthy.

483 *ʔeen self, oneself.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon *ʔi oneself, Khmer ʔæŋ self, oneself, this very, Kuy ʔeen (one)self, alone, Stieng ʔiŋ oneself, alone, individual (= other, different, < 490 *[c]ʔiŋ), Biat ʔiŋ in person, alone.
   Distinguish I (e.g. Bahnar ʔiŋ), for which see 2 *ʔii?.

484 *ʔaan to open [mouth], to gape open.
   A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan àŋ, Palaung (MILNE 1931), Praok ʔaŋ, Riang-Lang ʔan to open [mouth], Khasi ang to open, to crack, Besisi ang to open (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (a)), Central Nicobarese [tom]-aŋ-[hala] to open mouth, Nancowry ʔán, tumʔáŋ; ~ Sakai rē-ang mouth (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (c)); ~ Khasi kyr-ang to crack; ~ rynghang (& ryngheng) open, ajar.
   Connect 605 *paaŋ mouth, opening?
   Sora a(ŋ)- to open [mouth, eye].

485 *ʔuŋ; *ʔuŋ; *ʔuŋ wasp, hornet.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre ʔuŋ wasp; (probably, rather than c) → Jarai hoŋ, Röglai, North Röglai hoŋ.
   B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Biat ʔuŋ hornet, Chrau, Bahnar ʔuŋ, Jeh ʔuŋ, Halang oanŋ wasp, Kammu-Yuan ʔuŋ kind of wasp, Palaung ʔuŋ, Riang-Lang ʔuanŋ fossor wasp, Vietnamese ong bee, wasp.
   C: (Mon, Aslian) Mon haŋ, Central Sakai hōk hornet.
   D: (Katuic) Kuy haŋ kind of hornet.
   GUESDON 1930 has Bahnar (h)oŋ hornet, wasp; ←/ contaminated by western Malayo Polynesian? Connect 886 *kʔaiŋ &c. (kind of) wasp.
   (SMITH 1972 168; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 135.)

486 *ʔkʔuŋ (& *ʔkʔʊŋ?) knee.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (*kn?-) >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang ʔoŋ, Lawa Umphai ʔoŋ, (variant >?) Central Nicobarese [kɔl]-kənəŋ, Nancowry kūykanuǎŋ (referred kuǎŋ to be supported); ~ (*k[ŋ]ʔuŋ >) Old Mon kʰon /kʰɔŋ/, Modern Mon ʔoŋ.
   Röglai taʔuŋ is probably < Proto-Chamic *t[ai](S)uŋ shin contaminated by Proto-Austronesian *tusud, knee (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144, *[t]uʔud).
   (SFAHER 1965 387.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

489 *cʔaŋ; *cʔaŋ; *chaŋ; *chain; *cʔiŋ; *chien to expose to heat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer ʔaŋ to roast, to warm oneself, Kuy ʔaŋ, Bru ʔaŋ, Stieng ʔaŋ to grill, Chrau ʔaŋ to broil, roast, Khasi s’ang to roast, toast; ~ Mon haŋ to warm, dry, at fire, to toast; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan [ramʔok] ramʔaŋ burnt, scorched.

B: (Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [onj]-aŋ to cook [meat, fish], Nancowry ʔunʔaŋ to boil, ʔunʔaŋ to cook (or 524?); ~ (*cnʔaan >) Muông náng (Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese nütông to roast, toast.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [on]-[halo] to reheat [food].

D: (Katuic, Bahnaric) ~ (*cnhain >) Kuy ʔheŋ to put close to fire, Biat nhaŋ dried [fish]; ~ (*cphain >) Bahnar phaŋ to warm, dry, at fire, to roast; dry season, Jeh phaŋ, Halang pahan to roast; by back-formation (?) ~ Jeh haŋ to feel heat of fire (Gradin & Gradin 1979).

E: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ (?; *crʔiŋ >) Biat creŋ to warm oneself [in sun]; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tačŋ to warm in sun or at fire (Guillauminet 1959-63).

F: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar taheŋ to warm oneself at fire (Guillauminet 1959-63).

E-F by secondary palatalization, cf. 403 *crak &c. Besisi cho’ong to burn, bake (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 468 (a))is probably rather < 524 *canj to set light to.

(Smith 1972 158.)

1488 *cʔaan; *cʔain; *cʔ[i]ŋ bone.


C: (Khmer, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer chʔaŋ, Khasi sh’ing, ’ing, Kensi ʔiʔiŋ, Central Nicobarese [onj]-eŋ, Nancowry ʔunʔiŋ (referred ʔiŋ hard).

C secondary.

(Shafer 1965 277a, 370; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 336.)

Sora aʔaŋ-an, Kharia jaŋ, &c. (Pinnow 1959 7).

489 *cʔain to shine, be light.


Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Kuy jeŋ, Bru jeŋ, Chrau yəŋ gold; & cf. 523 *caŋ to glitter, 535 *scain to shine.

(Shafer 1965 367; Blood 1966 275.)
490 *cʔa[i]ŋ; *[c]ʔiŋ other.
A: (Mon) Old Mon cʔaŋ /cʔaiŋ/; ~ Modern Mon hæaiŋ.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng iŋ, Biat eŋ; ~ Biat rʔeŋ.
B secondary, but not regular, cf. preceding; perhaps contaminated by alone, individual
< 483 *ʔeŋ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

491 *tʔɔɔŋ tree, wood.
A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kammu-Yuan sʔɔŋ wood, (tut —) tree; ~
(*tʔɔɔŋ >) Kuy (?a)lɯaŋ wood, Sre loŋ (; BLOOD 1966 loŋ), Stieng, Chrau,
Biat laŋ firewood, Bahnar ʔloŋ tree, wood, Jeh ʔloŋ, Halang ʔloŋ, Semelai
dalɔŋ tree.
(SHAFER 1965 229; BLOOD 1966 74; SMITH 1972 167; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207.)

492 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔuŋ > *duŋ, Pre-Khasi *ʔiŋ house.
A: (Katuic, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy duŋ, Bru dɔŋ, Khasi iŋ, Central Sakai dök, Semai
duŋ (TAUERN 1914).
Kuy excludes *d2uŋ. Cf. Laqua *nd[ia]ŋ house; proto Thai *thiaŋ hut..., BENEDICT
1975 319.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (a).)

493 *[b]ʔooŋ; *[b]hooŋ dry.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Semang ba’ong (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906
D 177); ~ Biat nʔoŋ to dry [over fire].
B: (Palaungic) Palaung hɔŋ to be dry, dried, to dry, Riang-Lang ʔhɔŋ to dry v.i.; →
Shan hɔŋ to dry v.i.

493a *mʔuŋ; *mʔɔŋ to await, expect.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (~ Röglai) mɔŋ to intend to, be about to, Palaung
muŋ (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _mɔŋ to hope (for), expect, Praok maoŋ to look
up; → Shan mɔŋ to hope (for), expect (& muŋ to look for, watch for?).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ɔŋ to wait, rest, briefly, Kuy mʊŋ to expect,
Biat mɔŋ to intend to, be about to; (tom — nap) facing.

(*riʔaŋ see 276 *riʔaak to open... .)

494 *lʔiŋ(?) (& *lhiŋ(?)?) to slant, be skewed.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Khmer lʔiŋ out of the vertical, sloping (~
Thai iŋ), Khasi r’eng propped up on one side, (variant >?) Vietnamese hiẽng to
squint, Bru ʔiŋ leaning against (< *-iŋ?); ~ (*lʔiŋ >) Mon hæaŋ, Vietnamese
nghiẽng to be out of the vertical.
Cf. Khmer kŋiaŋ bent to one side; & 759 *slıŋ &c. to be tilted, to squint.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

495 *k[ ]uuŋ kíŋ small hornbill.
A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Sre kiouŋ kíŋ small hornbill, Anthracoceros albirostris (→ Röglai ?), Chrau kϋŋkíŋ kind of hornbill, Bru raŋkíŋ Anthracoceros albirostris, by metathesis Riang-Lang káŋíŋ small hornbill.

Sre kiouŋ by chimering? Connect Khmer k✪ŋ kεŋ, keŋ k✪ŋ kind of hornbill; North Röglai balakiak (< *-ŋ) kind of hornbill.
(Proto-Austronesian *k/àŋkíŋ >) Malay [burong] kēlengking.

496 *kaŋ; *kaaŋ; *kaiŋ[ ]; *kìŋ; *kaik (& *kaak?) transverse, to branch, stretch horizontally.
A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Nancowry kãŋ to (form a) cross; ~ Old Mon kãŋ∕*knaŋ [ko'] collar-bone, Modern Mon nêŋ crosspiece; ~ (*erkan >)
Kuy (c)kaŋ purlin, Sre rəkaŋ roof-timber, roof, Biat rkaŋ breadth; transverse, across.
B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Khmer kaŋ to spread [wings], stretch [arms] sideways, Kuy kaŋ to stretch out (v.t.) (B), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai kaŋ side; to spread, (c; ~?) Mường kẽnh (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese cành wing (also canh, BARKER & BARKER 1976; & Mường kẽnh, BARKER 1966 20, Vietnamese cành branch, by arbitrary differentiation?); ~ Middle Mon kãŋ (beside tãŋ, which separate; merged in) Modern Mon naiŋ branch, Khmer khnaeŋ (c) in the shape of a cross; side-shoot, bud, twig (GUESDON 1930), (?) Sakai kẽning [luuk'] branch (i.e. Temiar; SKET & BLAIDEN 1906 T 207), (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese ngang to be horizontal. level, to be wide; across (B), Vietnamese ngánh (& ngánh!); c) branch (of river &c.); ~ Khmer chkaŋ to crucify (B), Sieng c*kaŋ cross; ~ Chrau takaŋ main beam.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi pyŋkíŋ crosswise.
(SHAFER 1965 344.)
Proto-Austronesian *kaŋkãŋ: Malay kangkang straddling..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 74; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note *t*a(N)kãŋ crossbar, BLUST 1971 no. 397; *t'akan bow-legged, straddling, ib. no. 373; *t'ikaŋ [legs] wide apart, ib. no. 404, Proto-Hesperonesian. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 62.)
Cf. with E Tibeto-Burman *ka*k fork, branch, BENEDICT 1972 71 no. 327.

496a [* ]kaŋ (& [* ]ka[a]ŋ?) to demarcate, fence.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sieng kaŋ (& takãŋ, ta- reciprocal; < variant?) to demarcate ricefields, Biat kaŋ (— nhar) to demarcate, (— rdol) to block [path], Bahnar kãŋ field boundary marker (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan káŋ to block [road]; ~ Bahnar cakãŋ to demarcate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Add perhaps (*krnaŋ, originally n., >) Middle Mon kanaŋ square compartment, to divide into square compartments, Modern Mon kaneŋ (line in) check pattern. To block by attraction 785 *ghaŋ, which compare.

497 *kaaŋ? chin, jaw.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mûông) Sre, Chrau kaŋ jaw, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kaŋ chin, jaw, Mûông câŋ chin (Barker 1966 25); → Jarai kaŋ, Röglai kak, North Röglai kaŋ jaw.
Connect Kuy khitəŋ chin (contaminated by 1318 *dgaam, which compare?); South Nicobarese kaanən tooth. Thai has kʰaaŋ chin, with cognates widely distributed in Thai-Kadai (Benedict 1975 321, jaw; *g-); cf. here Röglai bəlw khaŋ beard.
(Blood 1966 299; Smith 1972 154.)

498 *kəŋ; *kəŋ; *kə [ ] k ring-shaped artefact.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer kəŋ, Kuy kəŋ, (→?) Biat kəŋ wheel, Sre kəŋ ring; ~ Kuy nkoŋ bracelet.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer kaŋ (&/or a?), Modern Khmer kəŋ bracelet, anklet, circle, ring; to make a circle, Stieng kəŋ (rim of) wheel, Sre kəŋ bracelet, Biat kəŋ bracelet, ring, Chrau, Bahnar kəŋ bracelet, metal collar, Jeh kəŋ bracelet; → Cham kəŋ, North Röglai koŋ bracelet, Röglai koŋ ring; ~ Halang hokoŋ bracelet.
C: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon koŋ bracelet, anklet, Palaung kɔʔ wainstbelt of silver rings. Connect Lawa Bo Luang kuŋ ring; Biat khəŋ spinning-wheel, winder. Cf. 500 *koŋ bent.
(Blood 1966 80; Smith 1972 170.)

499 *koŋ copper.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre koŋ copper (→ Röglai), Bahnar kəŋ copper, brass, bronze (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Cf. Chrau kaŋ (contaminated by *kaŋ > Sre [glah] kaŋ small copper cooking-pot?).
(Shafer 1965 53.)

500 *koŋ bent.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mûông) Mon kaŋ to be arched, bent; ribs of boat (→ Burmese kuiniz), Khmer koŋ to bend (→ Thai koŋ), Kuy koŋ bent, crooked, Palaung koŋ to droop (Milne 1931), Khasi khong[dong] angle, zigzag, Vietnamese cong to bend.
Cf. further (i) Khmer koŋ bent; (ii) 498 *kəŋ &c. ring-shaped artefact; (iii) Bahnar kɔk bent, humpbacked (Guilleminet 1959-63), intensive kɔk, Kammu-Yuan kɔk curved, (lying) coiled up.
(Schmidt 1905 30.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Proto-Austronesian (i) *bə(N)kuŋ: Malay bêngkung bent out of shape, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26-7); (ii) *la(N)kuŋ: Acehnese lêngkong curved, arched, curled round, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (iii) *li(N)kuŋ: Malay lengkong circular, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 96; Proto-Western-Indonesian). For Proto-Austronesian *dəkuŋ see 892 *kuŋ. See BENEDICT 1975 231-2.

501 *kuŋ; *kuuŋ village, settlement.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan kuŋ village.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung kuŋ town, state.

(*kuŋ see also 890 *k[i]ŋ work.)

502 *kuaŋ; *kwaan male animal.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm kuŋ male animal,
Palaung [a]kɔŋ male [bird], Mường [kà] kông cock (CUISINIER 1951); ~ Biat ŋkɔŋ (→ Chrau kɔŋ) male [animal].
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng kuŋ male [animal], male sexual organs, Khasi ['niang] kwɔŋ boar.
Variation obscure.
(BLOOD 1966 88.)

503 *k[wɑ]ŋ to dig.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan khuŋ! to dig [ground], Palaung kuŋ, Riang-Lang əkɔŋ, Praok kaŋ to dig [hole], Lawa Bo Luang koaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kuŋ to dig.
Palaung has also kuŋ to dig up, mine; suggesting *kuuŋ ~ *kuŋ. Khmuic kh- unexplained; as connected Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese cuóc pickaxe, to dig.

504 *jkii[η]; *jkiə[ŋ]; *jkai[ŋ] side, edge.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kiŋ edge, direction, Biat keŋ [meŋ], Jeh kiŋ edge; ~ (*jnkii[ŋ] > ) Sre saŋ on one’s side, to one side, Chrau ŋkeŋ! on one’s side, Biat ŋkeŋ on one’s side; to lean over; by secondary derivation ~ Halang kəniŋ edge.
B: → Röglai kiaŋ, kiak side, flank; ~ → dəkiŋ [to lie] curled up.
C: (Katuic) Kuy khəŋ on one’s side, to one side; ~ ŋkhəŋ to tilt, lean, Bru sakəŋ v.t. to tilt.
Jeh, Halang imply *-ŋ; Chrau (& Hre keŋ) then by progressive assimilation? Sre shortening regular. Cf. further Khasi kynring by the side, towards the side; but connection dubious.
Sora’s teŋ-an side, direction in view of Kharia siŋiŋ side, direction, PINNOW 1959 286. (SMITH 1972 93.)
505 *tkɔɔŋ (nape of) neck.
   A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (tkɔɔŋ) neck, Bru takɔɔŋ, Bahnar kɔɔŋ
   Connect 17 *kɔʔ &c.

506 *tkuəŋ; *tkəəŋ stalk.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cuống; ~ Biat ṭkɔŋ stalk, Chrau ṭkɔŋ
   quantifier for stalk-like objects.
   B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar akɔŋ (Guilleminet 1959-63 tɔkɔŋ; beside Jölong
   (Smith 1972 110.)

507 *gɪŋ to row.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon giū /gʊŋ/; Modern Mon kàn, Khasi king.

508 *[ ]gʊŋ stiff, bristling.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kɛŋn obstinate, opinionated, bristling, jammed, Sre gʊŋ
   stiff, straight, rigid (Dournes 1950); → Thai kʰâŋ obstructive, congested, jammed;
   Cham kàn motionless, paralysed; ~ Bahnar tɔgʊn sticking up, erected (Guilleminet
   1959-63).
   Or *dɡʊŋ? Connect perhaps Malay régang taut, referred at Dempwolff 1938 103 to
   Proto-Austronesian *[r]ɡʊŋ to grasp (under the entry 510 *ɡʊŋ &c.). (Cf.
   Shafer 1965 107.)

509 *ɡa[ɑŋ] house.
   A: (KhuMic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kànŋ, Palaung gɑŋ, Riang-Lang _kɑŋ.
   (Shafer 1965 26.)

510 *ɡʊŋ; *ɡʊŋ to grasp.
   A, B: (Mon, KhuMic, South Bahnaric). Old Mon guñ, goñ /ɡʊŋ/ (A), /ɡʊŋ/ (B), Late
   Middle Mon -guin (A?) to grasp, take, Modern Mon kàn also to keep; ~ Khmer
   phkwɑŋ (A; & phɡui, Guesdon 1930, B?) to supply, provide, Stieng goŋ (B), gʊŋ
   (A) to hand over [person, animal] as pledge.
   Cf. 516 *[t]ɡuɔŋ &c. stalk, handle.
   Proto-Austronesian (i) *pɡʊŋ: Malay pegang, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 235; Proto-
   Hesperonesian); (ii) *pɡʊŋ: Malay pėgang, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 116; Proto-
   West-Indonesian); (iii) *[r]ɡʊŋ: Toba Batak rogang, &c. (Dempwolff 1938
   103; Proto-West-Indonesian).
511 *gəŋ sacrifice post.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar gəŋ sacrifice post, Jeh gəŋ, Halang gəŋ spirit pole; (probably) → Cham kəŋ, Röglai, North Röglai gək post, Jarai gəŋ sacrifice post; (~ *gngəŋ > ) Biat ngəŋ post, support for betel vine; (~ *g[r]nəŋ > ) Sre gənəŋ post erected in spirit cult.
(SMITH 1972 98.)

512 *gəŋ warrior-like.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon gəŋ /gəŋ/, Modern Mon kəŋ to be brave, Khmer kʊəŋ invulnerable (→ Thai kʰoŋ endure, persist, → Kammu-Yuan khóŋ), Kuy khəŋ having magical powers, Biat gəŋ invulnerable.
(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)

513 *guəŋ, *gəŋ to cook in water.
A: (Khmuc, ?Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan kəŋ to boil down, stew, make soup, ?Nancowry kuəŋlan to ferment (rice).
B: (Palaungic) Palaung gəŋ to stew, Riang-Lang _kaŋ to boil, cook by boiling.
Cf. A112 *[g]əm to cook, boil.
Kharia gəŋ to cook [rice] (PINNOW 1959 194; Proto-Munda *[g]>[g]).

514 *cɡiiŋ to project at right angles.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chkŋ upright, sticking up, [e.g. arrow] sticking by point; ~ Chrau səŋgiŋ, Biat ɡiŋ [chː] branch of tree (contaminated by 496 *kaiŋ[] &c., which compare?).

515 *[c]guuŋ, *[c]ɡəəŋ ladder.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng guuŋ, Chrau guŋ ladder, Biat guŋ, Bahnar kuŋ, ladder, stair, Jeh, Halang guəŋ house-ladder.
B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi jynkieng, jingkieng bridge, ladder.
(BLOOD 1966 232; SMITH 1972 113.)

516 *[t]ɡuəŋ, *tɡəŋ stalk, handle.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre guəŋ handle, tiller, Palaung gəŋ stalk, handle, Riang-Lang _kuəŋ stalk, Bru ɡuəŋ stubble.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre taŋɡəŋ paddy- stalk, rice-straw (with ta- by attraction 543 *t,əŋ joint, joined stem).
= following? Cf. 506 *tkuəŋ &c. stalk; 510 *ɡəŋ &c. to grasp.

517 *tɡ[uəŋ], *tɡ[eəŋ] (bony) ridge.
B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy ɡhəŋ leg, shin, Bru saŋkəŋ leg.
Or *tgɔ(ɔ)ŋ, if ≠ preceding.

(*dɡan see 508 *[ ]gan stiff, bristling.)

518 *ŋɡɔŋ; *ŋɡɔŋ beam.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer (B) bɔŋkɔŋ beam, prop, scaffolding, pole, (A; with head register by levelling on unattested simplex?) bɔŋkɔŋ baulk, flat sheet of wood forming part of structure of house; ~ (*prg- >) Mon hɔkɔŋ beam, baulk; → Cham pagauŋ perch.

§519 *lŋuŋ; *lŋəəŋ mentally abstracted.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon ɲɔŋ liuŋ to be lost in thought, to mope, Khmer ɲɔŋ very confused, close to fainting; ~ (*lŋuŋ >) Mon ɲɔŋ abstraction of mind.
B: (Khmer) Khmer ɲɔŋ to be dazed (& ɲiŋ; GUIEDON 1930); (?) → Thai ɲuŋ slow, sluggish, inactive, slothful, → Khmer ɲuŋ to be dazed.
Khmer has further, by expressive variation, ɲiŋ-[ɲəŋ] dizzy; ɲɛŋ-[ɲəŋ] confused, dizzy. Note also Vietnamese nguông embarrassed (< *-aaŋ; perhaps ← Indonesian, below).
Proto-Austronesian (i; *lŋuŋ >) Malay lęngang plunged in thought; (ii) *lŋəŋ: Malay lęngang silent, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95, *lŋ[a]ŋ; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, assuming Toba Batak ← Malay); & cf. Proto-Malayo-Javanese *biŋuŋ at a loss (NOTHOFER 1975 138; Toba has bingun), → Semai biŋuŋ silly (TANDART 1935); &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 206. Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian? Indonesian is against constructing Proto-Mon-Khmer *-uŋəŋ.

520 *[ ]ciŋ elephant.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Central Aslian) Old Mon ciŋ /ciŋ/, Modern Mon coŋ, Kuy (?a:ciŋ, Bru ʔa:ci rencont, Central Sakai chi’k).
Not explicable from Burmese chaŋ, on which see BENEDICT 1972 133 & n. 362; SHORTO 1971 under the entry ciŋ1.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 49.)

521 *cęŋ point, angle, ridge.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North & South Aslian) Old Mon ciŋ /ciŋ/ gable (?), Modern Mon coŋ ridge pole of roof, Khmer caŋ joint of roof-truss or rafters, Semang saŋ point
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 63).
Connection dubious 529 *[ʔ]cu(u)ŋ upper end.

§522 *s væŋ to shut.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok soŋ to bolt, Palaung səŋ, Lawa Bo Luang soŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang soŋ to shut; ~ (*[c]naŋ >) Biat naŋ to shut.
Sora 'səŋ-an door (compounding form, ~ sa’naŋ-əŋ), Kharia ’səŋ- to shut, &c.
(PINNOW 1959 290, Proto-Munda *səŋ; cf. ib. 268).
523 *caŋ to glitter.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer caŋ shining, bright, to reflect the light; ~ (*c[n]caŋ >) Late Middle Mon dacan [babañ] to be resplendent.
Cf. 489 *caïñ to shine..., 535 *scain to shine...; but connection uncertain A35 *[c][a][ñ] clear, limpid.

1524 *coñ to set light to.
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon coñ /coñ/, Modern Mon coñ, Kuy coñ, Bahnar sonj (!) to set light to, Vietnamese chong to keep [lamp] lit, (probably, rather than ad 487 *cťaŋ &c. to expose to heat) Besisi cho'ong to burn, bake (i.e. Mah Meri; SKET & BLAGDEN 1906 B 468 (a)), ?Nancowry ʔuŋsán to cook (or 487).
Bahnar vocalism obscure. Connect A36b *cõŋ [lightning] to strike? For Biat chuŋ see A11 *jhuu?. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)
Kharia són-, -són fire, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252, 324).

525 *c[ö]ŋ; *cok to make into a bundle.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) obs. Khmer coñ to tie together (TANDART 1935; Modern Khmer coñ!), Khasi song bundle; to pack, tie up.
B: (Mon) Mon cak to make into a bundle.

526 *cuuŋ axe.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy cuñ, Stieng sùñ (!), Sre, Chrau, Bahnar sonj, Jeh cuñ axe, Halang cuoŋ axe-blade, mattock.
Perhaps ← Indonesian, cf. Cham (a)côŋ, Jarai jaʊŋ, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *[ ]i[j]uŋ (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, *bali[j]uŋ, a Proto-West-Indonesian prefixed form); Stieng suggests a byform in *ʔc-!
(BLOOD 1966 241; SMITH 1972 112.)

527 *cuuŋ to eat [rice].
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng suŋ, Bunôr sœŋ, Biat chœŋ, Bahnar sœŋ, Jeh, Halang coŋ.
With North Bahnaric vocalism cf. 986 *cuut; 1559a *cʔuur; 1984 *cuh; probably by secondary diphthongization (*cuuŋ > *cœŋ) as in 43 *cuʔ.
(BLOOD 1966 15; SMITH 1972 145.)

528 *cu[ə]ŋ; *cœŋ; *ciœŋ kind of small mammal.
A: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi bsong mongoose, weasel (with b- perhaps by attraction bshad civet-cat, mongoose).
c: (Khasi) ~ Khasi myrsiang fox, jackal.
Cf. Khmer kôçrôn fox, perhaps by contraction < *kuun erçuun.
Proto-Austronesian *mut'añ cive-cat (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Vietnamese chôn fox.

529 *[ʔ]cuŋ; *[ʔ]cuuŋ upper end.
A: (Khmer) Khmer coŋ end, tip; (or B) → Acehnese cong above.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre coŋ end, top, Chrah coŋ tip, branches, of tree, Biat coŋ end.
Cf. 299 *pc[ə]k; but connection dubious 521 *ceŋ point…
Proto-Austronesian *qu(N)d'ũŋ: Malay (h)ujong end, tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65, *hud'ũŋ; cf. SHORTO 1975 91 n. 25). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 48.)

530 *kcoŋ stroretched, to stretch.
A: (Palaungic, ? North Asian) Palaung coŋ to be stretched, to stretch (MILNE 1931), Praok coŋ to be firm, stiff, Semang chong to stretch out legs (if correctly glossed; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 488); ~ Riang-Lang kasaŋ to be straight.
*C- confirmed by Indonesian, below. Cf. A36 *[c]oŋ straight. 567 *st,iŋ &c. taut, to stretch is hardly connected
Sora noŋ- to stretch [body], Kharia juŋ to stretch out legs, &c. (?; PINNOW 1959 361; Proto-Munda *jang or *joŋ?).
Proto-Austronesian *kàNk'óŋ: Javanese kenchêng taut, straight…, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).
With Munda cf. also Proto-Austronesian *kà(N)d'àŋ stiff, DAHL 1973 § 20.7 (Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 399-400.

531 *tca[a]ŋ to wait, to attend on.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar caŋ to wait, Jeh caŋ to stay with dying person, Halang caŋ to support; probably → Cham caŋ, Röglai [do]caŋ, North Röglai cao k to wait; ~ (*tpca[a]ŋ) → Jarai p'caŋ to wait.
Hardly connected, as SCHMIDT 1905, 1325 *ca(a)m.
(SMITH 1972 166.)

532 *bciŋ; *bciŋ; *bciŋ to incline, be aslant.
A: (Viet-M'ông) Vietnamese chênh to be tilted, slanting.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng ciŋ to lean; ~ Biat nchiŋ to lean against (v.t.), (~?) West Bahnar hâciŋ on a slope (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Middle Mon ceŋ /ceŋ/, Modern Mon ceŋ to decline, Khmer jiaŋ leaning towards (GUILLAUMINET 1930; → Thai e'Taŋ deviating, deflected, → Khmer chiŋ = jiaŋ, → Kuy chiŋ leaning), Bahnar ceŋ (with e-, for *j-, by levelling on derivation) on a slope; ~ West Bahnar hâceŋ leaning (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63), Khasi pasiang inclining, slanting; by secondary derivation ~ Mon haceŋ daceŋ to incline, Khmer jaijan leaning, to go to one side (GUILLAUMINET 1930).
Cf. further Khmer criaŋ leaning over (by back-formation from *cəcriaŋ < *erciaŋ?); Khasi pushing sideways; Kuy seŋ & Bru seŋ to go down, descend.
Sora ob'seŋ- &c. to be turned round, to turn [something] over = ob'seŋ-[le] sideways, leaning; seŋ- to squint.

‡532a *[r]caŋ to prick, pierce, insert.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon cəŋ to prick, pierce, to thread through; ~ (*[r]ncəŋ >) Kammu-Yuan [niat] nəŋ to prick, pierce, stick in, put (into).
Proto-Austronesian *[yr]aNK'əŋ to insert: Malay ranchang sticking up, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, *[l]ŋ; less Javanese, ad following; Proto-West-Indonesian). Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

‡533 *[r]caŋ rack, framework.
(Mon) Mon cəŋ rack, bin, framework, staging; → Burmese caĩ.
Connection uncertain Khasi rynsan platform, gallery. For Mon hneŋ spoke, rib of side of cart see 598 *cənŋ.
Proto-Austronesian *raNk'əŋ: Karo Batak ranchang drying-rack for tobacco, Acehnese rancang fowl-basket, Javanese ranchang set up, framed, (-an) framework (Proto-West-Indonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 101 refers Javanese to base cited ad preceding. Note also *raNd'əŋ twilled work (ib., Proto-West-Indonesian), with which Acehnese shows contamination.

534 *lmcan kind of water-lily.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kəcəŋ lacəŋ kind of water-lily, Khmer lmcan blue lotus.

535 *scaŋ to shine.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon səŋ to shine, Khmer caəŋ shining (& to explain, make clear); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer cancaŋ bright… .
Cf. 489 *cəaiŋ; 523 *caŋ to glitter. But connection uncertain A35 *[c]a[a]ŋ clear, limpid.

535a *jiəŋ friend.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau yiaŋ friend (term of address), Biat, Jeh jiaŋ friend, Halang jiaŋ friend (term of address).
(SMITH 1972 149.)

536 *jaŋ to fish with scoop-net.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon caiŋ; ~ (*jrjaŋ >) Lawa Bo Luang ʔacwuŋ to net [fish]; ~ Mon hnəŋ, Khmer chnìwr scoop-net.
Connection dubious Riang-Lang ʾviŋ, Shan wiŋ scoop-net.
537 *j[ɔ]ŋ; *j[oo]ŋ long, high.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuc, Nicobaric) Bahnar ɣŋ important, great, Khmu' joŋ, Kammu-Yuan çŋ, Central Nicobarese çŋ high, Nancowry çŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat joŋ long, Sre joŋ long, high, tall; ~ Bahnar kaŋ long, big.
Connect 690 *juŋ &c.?

538(I) *juŋ; *juŋ; *jɛŋ; *jɛŋ foot, leg.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon juŋ /jʊŋ/; Modern Mon cсы, Palaung juŋ, Riang-Lang çŋ, Praok caŋ foot, leg, Temiar juk, Semelai joŋ foot; ~ Old Mon jiŋjui, Middle Mon daŋŋ, Modern Mon həəŋ post, Praok [num] jaŋ post.
B: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan cwaŋ, Lawa Bo Luang [hla?] cuŋ, Lawa Umphai [hla?] chuŋ foot.
C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Biat joŋ, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar jaŋ foot, leg; (or D; ?) ~ rare Old Mon jiŋjui ?/janŋop/? post.
D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer jeŋ, Modern Khmer cəŋ foot, leg (~ Thai cəŋ foot, base, → Kuy chəŋ), Kuy juŋ & Bru ?ayʔŋ (!) feet, Stieng (or c?) jəŋ, jəŋ foot, leg, Jeh, Halang jəŋ foot.

538(II) *jɛŋ (& *jɛŋ?); *jiŋ; *jiŋ; *juŋ to stand.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) East Bahnar, Jōlong jəŋ to become (Guilleminet 1959-63; < variant?; beside Röngao jeŋ), Palaung jəŋ, Praok, Mae Sariang cuŋ, Lawa Bo Luang çŋ, Lawa Umphai choŋ, Khasi ieng, Mah Meri jak to stand; ~ (*jəŋjəŋ >) Palaung by dissimilation kəŋjəŋ to be, set, upright, Praok juŋ to be upright, Semai jəŋjak to stand; ~ Central Nicobarese cəŋ quantifier for trees, posts, &c.
B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ceŋ to stand; ~ Kuy (t)yəŋ to stand, (~?) Riang-Lang _təŋɛŋ to be vertical.
C: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat jeŋ, Bahnar jiŋ to become.
D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh yuaŋ to get up, Halang yuaŋ to stand, (~?) Bahnar yuŋ to stand up.

Connected further North Aslian forms (Kensiu həŋjəŋ). A probably originally by arbitrary variation (though old, cf. Austronesian); other variants then secondary. To become contaminated if not ← Indonesian, cf. e.g. Rōglai jəŋ to be, exist, Rade jiŋ to become (Blood 1966), < *dəŋdəŋ, below. Connected with (I) or (II) 691 *juŋ &c. post; upright.

(Schmidt 1905 70; Shaffer 1965 28, 30, 536; Blood 1966 36, 119; Smith 1972 111; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 220.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Proto-Austronesian (i) *dɔŋ: Javanese jëng stand (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; BENEDICT 1975 adds Ami); (ii) *dəŋdəŋ: Toba Batak jongjong to stand, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) Javanese jëng post, njëng to stand. Not ← Mon-Khmer in view of Formosan! See BENEDICT 1975 396. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 53.)

1539 *juuŋ rain, to rain.
A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Palaung jun (to) rain, Riang-Lang _cuŋ rain, (?) Khasi jung to urinate.
Cf. 1606 *jur[ ] &c. to descend, fall.
Sora ajeŋ-[‘gum-] to shower, (-an) shower.

540 *sjaŋ kind of sword.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon sèaŋ-sjaŋ &c. sword, Bahnar saŋ small curved sword or knife, Jeh caŋ small knife, Halang caŋ knife.
(SMITH 1972 126.)

541 *naŋ larva.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang _naŋ caterpillar, Khasi ‘niang /jaŋ/ (~ khniang) worm, insect.
Sep. Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ŋuŋ mosquito, ← Tai.

(*[b]rjuuŋ see 706 *briŋ rainbow.)

542 *t,iəŋ tail.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre tiŋ, Chrau tiŋ, Biat ciaŋ, Bahnar kiaŋ, Jeh teŋ, Halang teŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 81, 543; BLOOD 1966 108; SMITH 1972 92.)

1543 *t,aŋ joint, jointed stem.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon taŋ /taŋ/ joint, Modern Mon ten joint, section between joints, stalk; Bahnar taŋ pipe; ~ Khmer thanŋ joint; ~ Jeh kataŋ section, Halang kotaŋ water-pipe; ~ Khasi jyntang stalk; ~ Nancowry pintāŋ cane.
Connect Riang-Lang ‘kataŋ elbow, cubit; perhaps Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai taŋ shoot (< *t,a[a]ŋ; contaminated by 562 *bt,aŋ plant…?); & note Praok joŋ joint.
Cf. following. (SCHMIDT 1905 12.)
Proto-Austronesian *taŋkai: Malay tangkai stem, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128.)

543a *t,aŋ; *t,a[a]ŋ knee.
Cf. preceding.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 40 (a.).)

544 *t₁aŋ to roast, bake.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung təŋ to roast, steam, heat, Riang-Lang təŋ to bake in open dish, Praok təŋ to broil, Lawa Bo Luang təŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang təŋ to broil, grill, Khasi thang to burn, roast, cremate.
(SHAFER 1965 396.)

544a *təaŋ to extend, stretch
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) ~ Khmer trədaŋ to stretch out [limbs], (or next?) Vietnamese đang to stretch out, spread out, extend; ~ Kuy ntaŋ widely spaced.
Cf. 567 *st₁iŋ &c. …to stretch; 577a *jdaŋ &c. spread wide, outstretched. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 31 (a.).)

545 *t₁a[a]ŋ to take the place of.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng təŋ substitute, to take the place of, Bahnar təŋ to take the place of, Jeh, Halang təŋ in place of.
(SMITH 1972 162.)

546 *təŋ; *tɔŋ to pull, to draw water.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon təŋ to bring away, rescue, Modern Mon təŋ to pull, draw [water inter alia], lead, (B) Khmer dɔŋ to draw water, (A) Bahnar təŋ to draw, scoop up.
Connect obscure Sre galτuŋ to pull towards one (DOURNES 1950); or Vietnamese dươ ng to open [umbrella], draw [bow]. Cf. 570 *dɔŋ.

547 *t₁ɔɔŋ handle.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer dɔŋ (→ Cham dauṅ), Kuy təŋ, Stieng tɔŋ, Chrau təŋ handle, Biat təŋ (→ jraː) crutch, (→ njiŋ) balance, Bahnar təŋ quantifier for guns, swords, axes, &c., Jeh təŋ quantifier for tools, Halang təŋ quantifier for long tools; ~ (*tntɔɔŋ >) Biat ntɔɔŋ handle.
(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SMITH 1972 173.)

548 *t₁uŋ to carry on pole between two.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar təŋ, Jeh tʊaŋ; ~ Halang hatʊaŋ; ~ Sre tərnʊŋ (→ Rōglai), Biat [gre:] mʊŋ litter, Bahnar tənʊŋ carrying-pole, (pole of) litter, Jeh tenʊŋ carrying-pole, load (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Cf. 565 *r₁uŋ &c. ladder, bridge.
(SHAFER 1965 78; BLOOD 1966 242; SMITH 1972 114.)
†549 *t₁uuŋ to light.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung tuŋ to light [lamp &c.].
Connect 1004 *t₁ut c.?
Sora tuŋ- in tuŋ'(g)eb- to burn (v.t.), 'tuŋab- to set fire to cleared timber.
Proto-Austronesian *tutuŋ: Toba Batak tutung to burn, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

550 *[ʔ]t₁eŋ to do.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer taeŋ to create, to have the habit of, [do &c.] habitually, Khmu’ teŋ to make; ~ (*[ʔ]bteŋ >) Stieng teŋ to direct, be in charge.

†551 *[ʔ]nt₁aŋ brain.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həntaŋ; ~ Thin kəntaŋ brain, skull.
Sora ə’taŋ-.
Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *qu( N)tək (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163, *cutak, *cu(n)tək; DYEN 1953 § 118).

†552 *[ʔ]t₁uŋ afraid, to fear.
A: (Kuy, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy (ʔa)tuŋ, Khasi tieng (!; & Mnar, IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM., tynŋ), Temiar tuk; ~ Kensiū řantəŋ; ~ Semelai bəthəŋ.
*t₁ in view of Munda
(SKREAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 48.)
Sora ʰbatoŋ-, Kharia ʰbətn̩, &c. (PINNOW 1959 261).

553 *knt₂iŋ bone.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng tŋ, Sre, Chrau, Biat ntiŋ, Bahnar kətɨŋ, Jeh, Halang kasian.
(SHAFER 1965 371; BLOOD 1966 221; SMITH 1972 83.)

†554 *ktaŋ bitter.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon kateŋ, Katuic, (Chrau ←) Stieng, Biat, Bahnar tan, Röngao sən (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan cán, Palaung səŋ, Riang-Lang ʰəncaŋ, Praok soŋ, Lawa Bo Luang soŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang səŋ (to be) bitter, Khasi kəhəŋ bitter, kəsəŋ bitter; bile, gall, Vietnamese dəŋ, Semang kekəŋ bitter (i.e. Jehai; SKREAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 232 (a)); ~ Literary Mon gamtaŋ bitter, Modern Mon hətəŋ in həm hətəŋ Persian lilac, neem, Sre bətəŋ (← Röglai), (probably =, by assimilation) Jeh, Halang ŋənəŋ bitter; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Khasi byrthəŋ bitter, (lam- —) bitterish; (ii) Central Nicobarese pentəŋ bile, Nancowry pintəŋ gall-bladder.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Hence Proto-Yao *ʔñaŋ (BENEDICT 1975 369, salty... (II))?  
(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAFER 1965 75; SMITH 1972 136.)

555 *kt,əŋ; *kt,əŋ to hear.
A: (Bahnaric, Aslian) Central Rölöhm təŋ, Bahnar taŋ (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63; & Sedang taŋ); ~ (*kt,əŋ >) Bahnar kətaŋ, Sakai gərtək to hear (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 6 (c)); ~ (*kt,əŋ >) Kensiu ʔantaŋ, Temiar gentok, Semaq Beri ntaŋ, Semelai taŋ ear.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau caŋ to hear, listen, Stieng taŋ, Biat taŋ to hear.
B secondary; post-dental?
Connect Central Nicobarese naŋ ear, Nancowry nāŋ ear, hintúaytanāŋ message. Cf.
575 *kndaŋ to listen to.
(BLOOD 1966 272; SMITH 1972 102.)

556 *kt,ɔŋ pot, jar.
A: (Khmuiic, Palaungic) (~?) Thin k(ə)tuŋ; ~ Lawa Bo Luang tuŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndɔŋ.

557 *kt,ʊŋ *kt,ʊŋ, hole, pit.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon ktoŋ /ktuŋ/, Modern Mon kətaŋ hole in ground, mine, Chrau chuŋ hole [in ground], Palaung tuŋ (?) ditch (MILNE 1931).
B: (Khmer; ~?) Old Khmer antvən, Modern Khmer ʔondaŋ well, (~ rae) mine (contaminated by ʔonda ditch, hole, cave < 72 *nt,uun; → Biat [ndrəm] duŋ well.
Palaung perhaps correct to taŋ, implying a variant *[k]təŋ; for which cf. Cham taŋ, Rōglai taŋ, North Rōglai tək deep place in river.
(?) Sora kuntnəŋ-[saam-əŋ] rectum (referred by RAMAMURTI 1938 to kun’tuŋ-əŋ tube).

558 *jt,uuŋ; *jt,uuŋ; *jt,əŋ to strike, beat, make resonate.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tūŋ to beat; kind of drum, Sre touŋ jew’s harp, Bahnar duŋ resonant percussive sound (& duŋ short percussive sound, by expressive var); ~ Chrau gatoŋ jew’s harp, Riang-Lang əsatuŋ drum (< *jrt,uuŋ; by metathesis *t,ruuŋ >) Palaung kruŋ, Lawa Bau Lua khrauŋ, Lawa Umphai krauŋ, Mae Sariang khyauŋ drum.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer tūəŋ = tūŋ, Bahnar doŋ to hit hard and long.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Sre taŋ to strike, Bahnar duŋ short percussive sound (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63) (& dəŋ resonant percussive sound GUILLÉMINET 1959-63, by expressive variation); ~ (*jbt,əŋ >) Old Mon juttuŋ /jatəŋ/ to beat [spear on shield], Literary Mon jatuən to strike [drum, ball] with stick.
Cf. 318 *[j]tɔŋk to strike, beat. (Cf. SMITH 1972 176.)
(?) Sora tuŋ- to cuff, taŋ- to thump, cuff, to pound.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1559 *tntəŋ to shake, to tremble.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ntəŋ to shake (v.t.), Bahnar təŋ to shiver, tremble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jölong also to shake (v.t.).
Proto-Austronesian *tŋtŋ: Malay tinting, Cham tatiŋ, katiŋ to sift by shaking, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 138-9).

560 *tnt₁uŋ; *tnt₁uuŋ to steal.
A: (South Bahnaric) Bunör ntuŋ, Central Rölöm tuŋ, Biat ntoŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng tuːŋ (or A?), Bahnar təŋ, Jeh, Halang tuŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 170; SMITH 1972 117.)

1561 *nt₁[e]ŋ nerve, sinew.
A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon koteaŋ nerve, sinew, muscle, Bru satiŋ (contaminated by 567%).
Sora nejŋ-an nerve, vein, tendon (presumptively < *nejŋ < *neeŋ < *neseŋ).

1562 *bt₁,əŋ; *bt₁əŋ; *bt₁uuŋ plant, trunk, to plant.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Khmer tɔːŋ stem, trunk (with unexplained lengthening), Biat [rɛh] tɔŋ tap-root, Palaung təŋ trunk, plant, beginning, (or B; ~?) Besisi (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 132) mētōŋ to plant.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ˜təŋ trunk, plant.
C: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy thʊŋ to transplant, Khasi thung to plant.
Note also Kuy stʊŋ, Bru satʊŋ ← Khmer smtʊŋ transplanted (rice) seedlings (< *jduʊŋ?).

1563 *[b]t₁uŋ; *[b]t₁uəŋ to soak.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon təŋ to soak, steep; ~ (*[b].t₁uŋ >) Vietnamese dúng to dip in vat.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar təŋ to dip, soak, dye (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also dɔŋ; so of dialect origin?).
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. *t₁, in view of Sora.
Sora 'tuŋ-[da]- to soak [boiled rice in sour water].

564 *rmtiŋ kind of aromatic plant.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon latiŋ kind of flowering plant, Old Khmer rantiyaŋ,
Modern Khmer rūmdeŋ galanga.

(*rt₁iŋ *rt₁əŋ see 693 *traiŋ kind of reed.)
565 *rt,uuŋ; *rt,uəŋ ladder, bridge.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmiec; ~ *rt,uuŋ >) Sre ntuŋ ladder, stair, Chrau rataŋ bridge, Biat ntuŋ footbridge, Thin rəntoŋ ladder.
B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Palaung [τəŋ] təŋ ladder, stair; ~ (*rt,uəŋ by metathesis > *[t,ʃnuŋ] >) Kuy ntrʉːaŋ stair, Bru ntrʉːaŋ.
Connected further forms in *-d-: Kammu-Yuan rəntoŋ, rəntəŋ, Riang-Lang [rəŋduəŋ] ladder, stair; Central Nicobarese henduəŋa bridge, poultry-ladder, Nancowry hinrūaŋa bridge. Originally *rt,ŋ- by metathesis 548 *t,ʃ/ntuŋ carrying-pole, litter, Palaung by back-formation; or *r(n)d-, *-t-, by contamination?
(BLOOD 1966 233.)

566 *[I]təŋ to toss up.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar təŋ to throw up, to weigh in hand (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Literary Mon latuĩn, katuĩn to toss (up).

567 *st,iŋ; *st,iəŋ; *[s]t,aŋ taut, to stretch.
A: (Khmer, Khmiec) Khmer sdvŋ stretched out, to stretch [cloth]; → Thai tuŋ to be stretched, → Khmer təŋ to be stretched; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan ļoŋtēŋ [small object] stretched out.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon steŋ /steŋ/, Modern Mon teəŋ to be stretched, taut, Palaung teəŋ to stretch, tighten; → Burmese tən: to become taut; ~ Old Mon sīrteŋ to measure with a cord.
C: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Muông) Biat thəŋ stretched, taut, Bahnar taŋ to stretch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or < 574 *kdaŋ, which compare), (?) Vietnamese thăng straight; → Röglai khan stretched, taut; ~ Bahnar cataŋ, djataŋ taut, stiff (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham, North Röglai cataŋ stretched; ~ → Röglai tanhəŋ long.
C post-dentally < earlier *[s]t,aŋ, cf. 555 *kt,aŋ &c.; or contaminated by *kdaŋ. Cf. further Khmer sənthuŋ to stretch (v.i.t.); Kammu-Yuan laŋtōŋ [large object] stretched out; & 544a *taŋ ...to stretch; 577a *jdaŋ ...out stretched. Hence by metathesis 781 *[t][s]iaŋ crossbow string?
(SCHMIDT 1905 18.)
Proto-Austronesian *wa[N]təŋ: Malay rəntang to stretch out tight, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 58; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Malay ʔətang taut. See BENEDICT 1975 399. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 31.)

568 *[s]təŋ; *[s]taŋ thin.
A: (Khmer) Khmer sdaŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khasi stang (or variant? cf. here 592 *[n][əəŋ]ŋ); ~ Bahnar hatəŋ.
Or *c-. Connect Biat [chak] ntiŋ thin, puny?
569 *[d]a[i]ŋ; *[d]iiŋ; *[d]əəŋ large.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung daŋ.
B: (Palaungic) Praok tŋ.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre daŋ.
Variation obscure; expressive? A perhaps contaminated by 577a *jdaŋ spread wide… .

570 *doŋ to pull.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer tʊŋ to pull back and forth, Stieng doŋ to pull, push, Stieng dialect dʊŋ to pull down, Khasi tong to draw [water &c.]; ~ Kuy nthʊŋ to drag, pull.
(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

571 *d[ɔ]ŋ to help.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre doŋ (→ Röglai), Bahnar dʊŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 128.)

572 *duŋ pelican.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon təŋ kinds of bird including stork and pelican, Khmer tʊŋ pelican; → Burmese duniː; ~ → Thai kratʰʊŋ; Cham kədʊŋ (!).

573 *d[uŋ]ŋ? to receive.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Old Mon dʊŋ /duŋ/, Modern Mon tʊŋ to receive, accept, Kuy thʊŋ, Bru toŋ!, Biat dʊŋ to collect [rainwater] (or: Riang-Lang, below?), Stieng doŋ to receive, Thin dʊŋ to take, accept, Vietnamese dʊŋ to contain, hold, (chʰiǔ —) to bear, endure; (?) ~ Chrau vədaŋ to collect [rainwater].
Connect obscure Riang-Lang ~dʊŋ; or Khasi ’diŋ, pdiŋ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

574 *kdaŋ stretched, stiff.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng daŋ stretched, stiff, Biat daŋ hard, stiff, strong, Bahnar daŋ to tighten (by levelling on derivation? GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also taŋ to stretch, perhaps rather < 567 *[s]t,əŋ, which compare); ~ Sre kədʊŋ, Bahnar by assimilation tədaŋ hard, stiff.
Cf. further 577a *jdaŋ &c. …outstretched.
(BLOOD 1966 343.)

Proto-Austronesian *go(N)daŋ: Jarai daŋ to stretch[arm] out (→ Chrau daŋ), b*-g’nəŋ to lean [something] against, Röglai gənaŋ to stretch out, to lean against, North Röglai ganəŋ to lean against, Karo Batak gedang length, Malay kədang, gedang to stretch [arm] out, Iban kedang to straighten (so Proto-West-Indonesian).
If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, early.

575 *kndaŋ to listen to.
   (Mon) Mon kaleza.
   Cf. 555 *kt, on &c. to hear.
   Sora am'daŋ-, andaŋ- to hear, listen.

576 *[k]duuŋ to project.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Mon hətəŋ promontory, Khasi kyrtung prominent (ly), bulging; ~ (*[k]duuŋ >) Praok taoŋ to hold out.

577 Kdiiŋ; *Kdu[ŋ] wild ox.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khmuic) Khmer khtinŋ, Thin k(ə)tiŋ; → Thai krathinŋ Bos gaurus; ~ (*Kndiiŋ >) Mon koloiŋ gaur, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəntiŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 N8).
   B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi kyrtong bull, ox.
   Cf. BENEDICT 1975 248, cattle, buffalo; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 38 but connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *baNtiŋ (DEMPWOLFF 1938 25, *baṇṭiŋ; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

577a *jdaŋ; *jdaaŋ; *jdaiŋ spread wide, outstretched.
   A: (Khmer, Kuy) ~ Khmer cmıtəŋ, cmıtəŋ to stand with legs wide apart, Kuy with secondary lengthening nθaŋ to plant [feet] wide apart (contaminated by 687 *jnaaŋ, which compare).
   B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Mon tainŋ to be outstretched; ~ (B) Khmer srətiŋŋ stretched out, (C) Khasi kyrtiŋŋ [to sit] with legs stretched out.
   Cf. further 327 *daik &c.; 574 *kdaŋ stretch, stiff; 544a *taaŋ to extend, stretch; 567 *st, iŋ &c. …to stretch.

578 *t2diŋ; *t2diŋŋ; *t2diŋŋ wall, fence.
   A: (Palaungic; ~ *t2ndi >) Praok diŋŋ, Lawa Bo Luang tainŋ, Lawa Umphai ndeŋ, Mae Sariang ndeŋ wall; → Shan tɛnŋ.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau diŋŋ wall.
   C: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon tam²iŋ/taməŋ/ screen, railing, Modern Mon hətəŋ (merging 580 *bdanŋ, which compare) (wall of) twilled bamboo; ~ Khasi syrdeng fence, plank partition.
   Proto-Austronesian *diŋdiŋ: Malay dinding wall, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40).

(*dndu(u)ŋ see following.)

579 *nduŋ; *dnduŋ; *dnduŋŋ; *[l]nduŋ eel.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer əntuŋ (?; cf. B), Kuy nthuŋ, Stieng ndhuŋ (or c?), Sre, Chrau, Biat nduŋ.
   B: (Khmer) Khmer təntuŋ (TANDART 1935; & təntuŋ, by assimilation?).
C: (Mon) Mon holəŋ daluŋ small variety of eel.
D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ranuŋ kind of eel (Guilleminet 1959-63 also East Bahnar nanaŋ).
B, C secondary unless ← Indonesian (i), below. D ↔ Indonesian (iii); for variant cf. 320 *(l)nt,aak.
Proto-Austronesian (i; *duŋduŋ) Karo Batak dundung, → Gayo děndung; (ii) *(q)[i]Ndun: Acehnese ndong eel, Cebuano Bisayan indung kind of moray eel (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) *liNdun ~ *luNdun: Acehnese linəŋ kind of eel, Cham lanuŋ eel, &c., Malay [ular] lundong kind of sea-snake, Iban lundong eel. Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *maluŋ (Dempwolff 1938 105, Proto-West-Indonesian).

580 *bdan walling material.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon hatčaŋ (wall of) twilled bamboo (in part, phadaṅ; merging Old Mon tadeŋ < 578 *t2diəŋ, which compare), Khmer phțeŋ panel, leaf, partition, Nancowry táŋ fence, to fence, to erect walls; (?) ~ Khasi lyntang plank.
(*[l]nduŋ see 578 *nduŋ eel; *duŋ see 492 *diʔun house; (bag, pocket) 791 *d,huan tub.)

581 *duŋ clan territory.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon dùŋ /duŋ/, Modern Mon dəŋ city, town, state, Kammu-Yuan tôŋ section of village with meeting-house.
(*duŋ bag, pocket. see 791 *d,huan; *[d]uŋ see 335a *duuk (kind of) monkey.)

582 *kdiŋ navel.

†583 *kdan to cook.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau jaŋ, Riang-Lang dəŋ.
Sora diŋ(-diŋ-), Kharia deŋ, &c. (Pinnow 1959 342; Proto-Munda *diŋ?).
Proto-Austronesian *ra(N)dəŋ: Acehnese röndang, Karo Batak rendang, Malay rėndang to fry, Cebuano Bisayan lărang to seethe in coconut milk (so Proto-Hesperonesian); → Sakai rėndang to fry (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 239), &c.
584 *jduuŋ; *jduəŋ winnowing-basket.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng duŋ, Biat doŋ; → Röglai cədok, North Röglai cədok; Shan ləŋ; ~ (*jnduuŋ >) Sre doŋ, Chhrau gədoŋ; ~ (*j[p]duuŋ >) Khasi pdung.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese nong.
(BLOOD 1966 3.)

585 *t,dɔɔŋ stalk, tail.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer by dissimilation stɔŋ stem of bananas, Kuy thùnŋ stalk, Bru doŋ tail of fowl (< *-ɔŋ?), Kammu-Yuan tɔŋ tail of bird, Khasi tdɔŋ tail.
Note stalk, tail may be separate. Cf. semantically French queue.

586 *tduŋ; *tduuŋ; *td[a]ŋ umbrella.
A: (Mon, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon tdɔŋ /tduŋ/, Modern Mon daŋ, Kuy thùnŋ [nʊŋ], (?) Stieng doŋ [iu].
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat dɔŋ [yuː] umbrella, Palaung doŋ quantifier for umbrellas.
C: (Khmer) Khmer tɑŋ-, təŋ-[yuː].
Proto-Austronesian *tduŋ: Javanese tudung sun-hat, Samar-Leyte Bisayan turóng protection from rain, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).

587 *d,rduŋ; *d,rduəŋ egg-plant, bottle-gourd.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ərdɔŋ bottle-gourd, Lawa Bo Luang ʔatoŋ, Lawa Umphai rathɔŋ snake-gourd.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon (in toponym) dədɒŋ /dədoŋ/, Modern Mon hadoŋ egg-plant, Proto-Nyah Kur *torʔəŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 N90), Palaung kərdɔŋ bottle-gourd.

588 *p[d]ŋ dry season.
With consonantism cf. 1363 *p[d]am. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note
Cham phañ, Jarai, Röglai phañ dry [season]; so perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer
*p/Vr/[ ]ʔaŋ.

(SHAFER 1965 456; BLOOD 1966 371; SMITH 1972 133.)

589 *pɗaŋŋ crack, to crack.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng daŋ crack [in wood, earth], Sre daŋ to crack, Khasi
pɗang crack, crevice, to crack; ∼ (*pɗaŋŋ >) Biat daŋ (to) crack; ∼ (*pɗaŋŋ
> ) Sre rɗaŋ [earth] cracked by drought (∆ Röglai), Bahnar hɗaŋŋ [wood, earth,
skin] to be liable to cracking.

590 *rɗiŋ; *rɗiŋŋ road, track.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung deŋ; ∼ Palaung rɗeŋ, Riang-Lang rǎŋdeŋ.
B: (South Bahnaric) → Vietnamese dương road (?); ∼ (*rɗiŋŋ >) Sre pɗyaŋ
(BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm diaŋ, Biat rdeŋ to cart; → Jarai pɗiaŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 101.)

(*rṇduŋ see 565 *rt,uuŋ ladder, bridge.)

591 *naŋŋ kind of hardwood tree.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer nːəŋ- [nːuəŋ &c.] kind of hardwood tree,
Stieng naŋ superior kind of ironwood; ∼ Middle Mon ‘ānān in toponym, Modern
Mon ənaiŋ Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh; → Burmese ‘anan: Fagraea fragrans
Roxburgh.

592 *[ ]n1[əŋŋ] to know.
(Khmuic, Khasi). Kammu-Yuan nːəŋ, Thin nuŋŋ, hnuŋŋ, ?nuŋŋ to know, Khasi nang to
be able, to know.
With Khasi vocalism cf. 568 *[s]təŋŋ.

'593 *[ ]n2uŋ in.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang lɔŋŋ; ∼ Khmer knọŋŋ, Kuy
(k)nọŋŋ, Stieng κανυνŋ in, inside, Biat knọŋŋ in.
(?) Sora loŋŋ- inside.

594 *kəŋ,a[ŋŋ]; *k1,ŋŋ kind of resinous tree.
A: (Mon) Mon naiŋ [sem] pine.
B: (Palaungic; ∼?) Riang-Lang kəniŋ Dipterocarpus resin.

595 *kəŋ,ŋŋ floor timber.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon nŋŋ knňəŋ timber supporting joists, sill, Khasi khnong,
by assimilation Central Nicobarese tənŋ joist.
Cf. 598 *cn,ŋŋ framework.
596 *[g]n1iŋ; *gn1iiŋ to lean, incline.
   A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung karnaŋ to bend, bend over (v.i.t.).
   B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ *g(n1)n1iŋ >) Sre ganiŋ to take refuge with a protector
      (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar ganiŋŋ to lean, prop, against, Kammu-Yuan kalnėŋ to go
down, [sun] to decline, to put down.
   Connect B50 *[j]n1iŋ to lean, recline?

597 *gnaŋ; *gniŋ (& *gniŋ?) tusk, eye-tooth.
   A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) ~ (*gnaŋ > ?) Stieng ganeŋ → Sre
ganeŋ, or < -*iŋ?); ~ (*gniŋ >) Kuy (k)neŋŋ tooth, Vietnamese nanh tusk,
eye-tooth.
   B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ganiŋŋ boar’s tusk, Biat neŋŋ, Jōlong ganiŋŋ tusk, eye-tooth
      (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   Connection dubious 603 *p[e]ŋ to attack with boar’s tusk (but vocalism in part by
   contamination?). Note also A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.

598 *cn1iŋ framework.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer chnɔŋ rim, back [of chair], framework [of side of cart],
   bar [of window], (~?) Palaung sɔŋŋ trellis (MILNE 1931).
   Mon hneŋ spoke, rib of side of cart by attraction cęŋ rack, bin, framework, staging,
   < 533 *[r]caŋ. Cf. 595 *kn1iŋ floor timber.

599 *t1n1iŋ forehead.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon tneŋ /tneŋ/, Modern Mon neŋ; ~ Mnar tάŋŋ (IVAN
   M. SIMON PERS. COM.).
   Sora taniŋ-[kɔŋ-ŋ], ta'nioŋ-[kɔŋ-ŋ].
   Proto-Austronesian *k[a]ŋiŋ eyebrows: Malay kěning, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 78;
   Proto-West-Indonesian); → Serting (i.e. Semelai) kening, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN
   1906 B 431 (d).
   On distributional grounds Proto-Austronesian *t- might equally be reconstructed,
   with dissimilation Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

600 *[t2]n1iŋ fin.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon (h)neŋ [kaʔ?] fin, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saniaŋ
   dorsal fin.
   Mon hn- probably by dialect borrowing, favoured by popular etymology from hneŋ
   wing, < following. Note Khmer tronuŋ backbone, dorsal fin, central vein of leaf.

(*[l]nuuŋ see 747 *n[l]uŋ gourd, egg-plant.)
1601 *snìəŋ wing.
  A: (Mon, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Middle Mon snei̯ /sneŋ/, Modern Mon hneaŋ, Khasi [thap]-niang (compounding form!), Semang sinyeng (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 117), by dissimilation Jehai kəɲɛŋ, Temiar kenyek.
  ~ B51 *[ ]piəŋ?
  Sora [ər]-o'neŋ-an.

602 *piŋ pool, marsh.
  A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon paŋ reservoir fish-trap of permanent type, Old Khmer piŋ, Modern Khmer bɤŋ lake, pool, marsh; → Thai buŋ marsh, marshland, perhaps → Lawa Bo Luang mbiŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbiŋ mud.
  Cf. 628 *[d]baŋ[ ] &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13 (b.).)

603 *peŋ to attack with horn or tusk.
  A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Kuy peŋ to attack with horn, Bru tapəŋ to gore, Sre peŋ to attack with horn, tusk, Chrau peŋ to stub one’s toe against, Biat peŋ to attack with tusk; (?) ~ Mon neaŋ barb [of fishhook].
  Cf. 597 *gnaiŋ &c. tusk, eye-tooth.

604 *paŋ to listen (to).
  A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon paŋ [rmiŋ], Modern Mon peŋ [mòiŋ], West Bahnar paŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham paŋ to hear, Röglai pak to listen.
  (SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

605 *paanŋ mouth, opening.
  A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric, ?Khmuic) Old Mon pəŋ /pəŋ/, Modern Mon paŋ mouth, opening, Khmer baŋ bay, gulf, seaport, Mah Meri pak, Central Nicobarese [oal]-faŋ mouth, Nancowry ʔuálfáŋ; ~ Semai mpark mouth;
  ~ Thin pólnaaŋ cave.
  ~ 484 ?aaŋ to open [mouth]...? Cf. also following.
  (SHAFER 1965 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 202.)

606 *pa[a]ŋ to open.
  A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin paŋ; ~ (*[p]nпа[a]ŋ >) Praok baŋ.
  = preceding? or causative ~ 276 *riʔaanŋ?

607 *paŋ to hammer, nail.
  A: (Bahnaric) Chrau paŋ to hammer on, pound, Sre paŋ, Biat paŋ to drive in, Bahnar paŋ to nail, to peg, Jeh pàŋ to drive nail, Halang paŋ to hammer.
  (SHAFER 1965 101; BLOOD 1966 128; SMITH 1972 99.)
608 *p[ɔ]ŋ tuber.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy pəŋ kinds of tuber, Bru pəŋ, Riang-Lang ñəŋ tuber.
Connection uncertain 614 *t[pu(ų)]ŋ cucumber, melon; perhaps *pųŋ (Riang-Lang),
*þəŋ. Biat has bum rpoŋ yam, by attraction rpoŋ c. < *t,rpoŋ.

608a *pəŋ window.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru pəŋ hole, wall aperture, Kammu-Yuan pəŋ[yem],
Lawa Bo Luang pəŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pəŋ.
Cf. A41 *Inpuuŋ door, window.

(*pəŋ see 101 *poo to swell, expand.)

609 *puuŋ butterfly.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon pəŋ [həmao] butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly, Riang-
Lang ñəŋ [þəŋ] butterfly.
Cf. Palaung (Mon, songs) paŋ pa; & B53 *bəoŋ.

610 [*]puuŋ cooked rice, rice mash.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon pūŋ /pəŋ/, Modern Mon pəŋ cooked rice,
Bahnar pəŋ mash from which rice-wine is made (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~ ?) Khasi
[ja]-sapung.

611 *kpa[ə]ŋ palm, sole.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pəŋ, Sre pəŋ [ti &c.]; ~ Sre kalpaŋ palm, sole, flat surface,
Chrau lapəŋ, Bahnar tapəŋ by assimilation, Kontum Bahnar kapaŋ palm, sole,
Jeh kapaŋ quantifier for hands, feet, Halang kapəŋ foot; ~ (*kŋpa[ə]ŋ >) Biat
mpaŋ palm, sole.
Connect obscure Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ (under the entry 628 *d^baŋ[]).

612 [*c]puuŋ to wallow.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pʰuŋ, Biat pʊŋ [bək], Bahnar pʊŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~
Sre aŋp; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Biat nuŋ lair of rhinoceros; ~ Sre
pənuŋ lair (DOURNES 1950), Stieng pənuŋ, Bahnar pənuŋ wallow.
Connect obscure Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ (under the entry 628 *d^baŋ[]).

613 *t[ɔ]ŋ to bind round.
(Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon kowiŋ (!) twiŋ &c. to bind round something, bind something
round (contaminated by həmoiŋ, below), Khasi spong turban, to put turban on; ~
Thin həmpoŋ turban.
Mon shows contamination with həmoiŋ to wind round, coil round, swathe, ~ həmoiŋ
[dəŋ] turban. < Middle Mon tam'iŋ kind of ceremonial waistcloth, probably <
*təb[i, i(i)]ŋ.
614 *t₁puŋ; *t₁puuŋ cucumber, melon.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer tboŋ head, Kuy [ŋkei] poŋ melon; ~ (*t₁rpuuŋ >) West Bahnar kəpuŋ, tapuŋ water-melon (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh kəpuŋ, Halang tapuŋ cucumber.
Connect Nancowry tamifõʔ melon. Cf. 608 *p[əŋ] tuber.

SHAFTER 1965 474; BLOOD 1966 169.)

615 *pnpuŋ; *pnpuuŋ; *pnpiəŋ kinds of tree with bright red flowers.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese vông flamboyant.
B: (Mon) Old Mon [chu] puŋpuŋ /pəmpuŋ/ flame of the forest.
C: (Mon) Old Mon puŋpeŋ /pəmpęŋ/, Modern Mon həpeŋ coral tree, Erythrina indica Lamarck.

616 *lpuŋ; *lpuuŋ; by metathesis *pluŋ; *pləŋ to blow.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan puŋ to play [wind instrument].
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang pənŋ, Lawa Umphai pənŋ to play [wind instrument]; (~ *lpuuŋ >) Praok bəŋ wind.
C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang pənŋ = pənŋ.
D: (Kuy) Kuy pləŋ to play [wind instrument], to inflate.
Cf. 2028 *puh &c.

617 *[s]piəŋ (kind of) cooked rice.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sənŋ supplies, provisions, food for journey (→ Thai sabiaŋ), Sre, Biat piŋ, Chrau piŋ cooked rice (Schmidt 1905 28; Shafer 1965 552; Blood 1966 106.)
Kharia əmpəŋ flat rice (Pinnow 1959 K 504a).
Proto-Austronesian *sNpi [ ]əŋ young paddy cooked in husk and pounded: Gayo t-emping, Acehnese əmpiəŋ, Malay ēmping (→ Javanese), Iban k-emping (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

618 *spaŋ long waistcloth.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer səŋ monk’s waistcloth; → Thai sabəŋ; ~ Old Mon sirpuŋ /sarpəŋ/ (ceremonial) waistcloth, Modern Mon həpaŋ monk’s waistcloth; ~ (*snpəŋ >) (Mon həpaŋ in part?) → Burmese sənpuŋ: monk’s waistcloth, → Shan sənŋ, → Riang-Lang sənəŋ waistcloth.
(Schmidt 1905 30.)
619 *bəŋ; *ba[a]ŋ terrace, embankment.
   A: (Mon) Mon pəəŋ embankment, earth platform, convex slope; ~ Late Old Mon bənaŋ /bnaŋ/ unit of land measure, Modern Mon nəaŋ paddy-bund, compartment of paddy-field as land measure.
   B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon bəneceding tiers at base of stupa; ~ Sre banaŋ levelled ground; ~ Palaung maŋ embankment (MILNE 1931).
Cf. 626 *kbaŋi rampart.

620 *bəŋ cup.
   Old Mon birbeŋ /birbeŋ/ to surround, besiege, Modern Mon pəŋ to surround, Bahnar bəŋ to put round waist, wrist, &c., to bind cover over mouth of jar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also pəŋ).
Connect Khmer pûŋ to reinforce by binding; Stieng bəŋ to fence in; & 357 *bəŋ &c. to bind (round).

621 *bəŋ to surround, to bind round.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon biŋ /biŋ/ to surround, besiege, Modern Mon pəŋ to surround, Bahnar bəŋ to put round waist, wrist, &c., to bind cover over mouth of jar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also pəŋ).
   Connect Khmer pûŋ to reinforce by binding; Stieng bəŋ to fence in; & 357 *bəŋ &c. to bind (round).

†622 *b[o]ŋ hole, to bore.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Palaung bəŋ (or buŋ?) hole, (MILNE 1931) to bore a hole (→ Shan məŋ n., → Riang-Lang "bəŋ), Khasi pong, Sakai pük v. (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 342); ~ Semang ēmpong n. (i.e. Jehai; ib. H 108); ~ (*ko[o]ŋ >) Mon kwəŋ hollow in tree; ~ Khasi kpong to dig a hole; ~ Bru rampōŋ large hole in tree (? < *kn boon). Kharia bōŋ-[gaʔ] to bore, &c. (PINNOW 1959 380; PINNOW connects Khmer pra hãoŋ hole as well as 790 *dhoøŋ, & suggests Proto-Austroasiatic *piGəŋ). Proto-Austronesian *bʊŋbuŋ: Toba Batak bungbung to be hollow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 36).

   A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre boŋ [sur], Chrau vɔŋ, Biat boŋ feeding-trough, Bahnar boʊŋ! feeding-trough, pig-food bin (by arbitrary differentiation boŋ large container?), Bru tapuŋ.
Connect 627 *gb[o]ŋ paddy-bin?

(*[b]ooŋ see 108 *[b]ooʔ to swell, bulge.)
624 *buŋ[ ]; *buuŋʔ belly.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer pùŋ (→ Thai pʰūŋ), Kuy phùŋ, Bahnar buŋ (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon pəŋ, Kammu-Yuan poŋ, Vietnamese bùng.

There is contamination throughout Austric with to swell (cf. 101 *pooŋ, 108 *[b]ooŋ &c.); note then Chrau gaŋ laŋpəŋ, Biat poŋ weʔ &c. flank, Kammu-Yuan poŋ, Palaung kiŋ poŋ groin (Palaung Milne 1931 lower part of belly), Nancowry kinpəŋ kidney. Cf. also 358 *bo[ ]k. (Shaffer 1965 576.)

Sora kəm(’)puŋ-ən, (compounding form) -’puŋ-ən (contaminated by puŋ- to swell, cf. 101).


624a *buŋ; *buuŋ large cooking-pot.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat [glaŋ] boŋ large vessel for heating water, Bahnar [gɔʔ] buŋ largest size of cooking-pot.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre [glaŋ] bouŋ large cooking-pot.

(*buŋ see also 629 *[d]buŋ foetus; *[b]uŋ see 108 *[b]ooŋ to swell, bulge.)

625 *buuŋ; *buəŋ bunch, collection.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang _tarpəŋ clump, collection (tər- reciprocal).

Sora tum’buŋ- to heap up; (ən) heap ~ tanum’buŋ-ən collection. Not Proto-Mon-Khmer *tb- in view of Vietnamese tone.

626 *kbaiŋ rampart.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kebaŋ-[kebəŋ] hilllock; ~ Old Mon kumbəŋ /kɔmbaiŋ/ city &c. wall, Modern Mon kɔmaŋ brick or stone wall, Old Khmer kənveŋ, Modern Khmer kɔmpəŋ (city) wall; → Thai kampʰeeŋ, → Khmer kɔmpʰæŋ.

~ 619 *ba[a]ŋ (then *baiŋ) terrace, embankment?
627 *gb[o]ŋ paddy-bin.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Mon kwâŋ large wicker basket for storing paddy, Khmer pòŋ paddy-store under house, Sre boŋ [kɔy], Bahnar buŋ paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary, (?) Palaung buŋ receptacle; → Cham pûŋ, Röglai boŋ [padey] paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary; probably ~ → Toba Batak hombung large chest (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 76 to *ka(m)buŋ to swell), Malay këmbong paddy-bin.

Connect 623 [* ]b[oo]ŋ feeding-trough? Cf. further Malay tërubong bark rice-bin; Khmer sampûŋ, sampûŋ container; Bahnar boŋ large chest (&c., see SMITH 1972 172);


(Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

628 *[d]baŋ[ ]; *[d]buuŋ pool, marsh.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon baŋ [bway &c.] marshy pool; ~ Old Khmer trâvaŋ, Modern Khmer trâpîaŋ pool, marsh, Kuy (th)phâŋ pond, Stieng trâbaŋ pool, Sre târbâŋ tank fish-trap dug at edge of rice-field (DOURNES 1950; & pâbâŋ).

B: (Khasi, Viet-Muong) Khasi punŋ pool; (?) → Shan punŋ mud, puddle, → Riang-Lang punŋ; ~ Vietnamese vûng pool.


(SCHMIDT 1905 46; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13.)

629 *[d]buŋ foetus.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar buŋ foetus; to die in childbirth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[d]nbuŋ >) Mon hâmîŋ [hèlæŋ] damâŋ &c. foetus.

Or *buŋ? Connect perhaps 108 *[b]uŋ to swell, bulge.

629a *lm[b]aŋ shoot.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North & South Aslian) Khmer lîmpûaŋ young shoots from pruned tree, Bru lambûŋ young [bamboo], Semang abbong (?) bamboo shoots (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 33), Besisi lembông shoot (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. S 162).

Connect by metathesis 756 *bl[a]ŋ shoot, sapling; but connection dubious 636 ’t,bâŋ bamboo shoots. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

Proto-Austronesian *râbuŋ: Malay rébong bamboo shoots, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 102).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

630 *ɓ̪iŋ; *ɓiŋː, *ɓiŋː; *ɓuŋ; *ɓiŋː, *ɓhıŋː spider.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung [a]ɓën.
E: (Mon) Mon phaŋ [cèa], [yèa] phaŋ spider (& by secondary deformation cèa paŋ).
F: (Mon) Mon [yèa] pheaŋ.
Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ɓV- ~ *ɓVh-; tabu deformation likely. Connect Thai bünü edible spider; & perhaps Kharia ‘bendi, &c., Pinnow 1959 344 (< *bęŋ-di?). (Schmidt 1905 46.)

631 *ɓa[a]ŋŋ butterfly.
Cf. B53 *ɓuŋŋ.

632 *[ ]ɓaŋŋ canal.
A: (Kuy, Viet-Muông) Kuy biːŋ canal, small stream, Vietnamese muông gutter, ditch, canal (~ Muông; Barker 1966 13).
Cf. 637 *ɓo(o)ŋ ditch Kuy b- & Vietnamese vocalism suggests earlier *ɓVʔaŋ.

633 *kɓaŋŋ ship, boat.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon kɓaŋŋ /kɓaŋŋ/, Modern Mon bęŋ ship, Biat baŋ coffin; ~ Moken kabang boat, house-boat, ship, ultimately Malay [balai] gambang house-boat; ~ Sre gabaŋ coffin.
Coffin from shape, or as ship of the dead. Cf. Central Nicobarese kopok ship.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *qabaŋŋ: Kanakanabu (Formosa) abaŋŋu boat, canoe, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 307); (ii; by metathesis?) *ɓaNkaŋ: Tagalog bangkaŋ ship, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 20, *-a[h]); & cf. further Iban bong /buung/ long shallow boat, Tagalog, Bikol kabaŋŋ coffin (< Proto-Philippine *kabaŋŋ, Zorc & Charles 1971), (so by metathesis?) Iban bangkong /baŋkunŋ/ boat; Proto-Austronesian *uaNkaŋ ship, Dempwolff 1938 114.

634 *kɓoŋŋ to scoop up.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer kɓoŋŋ to scoop up with hands, Khasi kɓong to scoop, clutch, claw.
635 *[j]ɓiŋ swollen, fat.
   A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer spìːŋ distended, bloated; ~ Khasi [heh &c.] ibing (l-adverbial) big and fleshy.

636 *t,ɓaŋ) (& *t,ɓaaŋ?) bamboo shoots.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon tʰaŋ /tʰaŋ/, Modern Mon bəŋ, Katuic, Biat bəŋ, (variant >?) Stieng bəŋ, Kammu-Yuan təpáŋ, Palaung bəŋ, Lawa Bo Luang poŋ, Lawa Umphai phoŋ (→ Mae Sariang phoŋ, phuŋ), Vietnamese mánɡ [tre]; ~ Khmer tūmpəŋ (bamboo) shoots, Sre bəŋ bamboo shoots, Chrau davaŋ sprout; ~ Bahnar təbəŋ, Jeh tabaŋ, Halang dabaŋ bamboo shoots.
   Connection dubious 629a *lm[b]ŋ shoots.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 16; SMITH 1972 127.)
   Sora 'təbaŋ-ən bamboo shoots.
   Note Tagalog usbong shoots, Cebuano Bisayan usbung top of plant.

637 *tboŋ; *tboonŋ ditch.
   A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar bɔŋ gully, water-channel, ditch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)
   (B); ~ (A) Old Mon tarboŋ /təɾbʊŋ/, Modern Mon hɔbɔŋ moat, (A/B) Sre rəboŋ ditch, (B) Bahnar həbɔŋ = bɔŋ; → Röglai rəboŋ, North Röglai rubɔk ditch.
   Cf. 632 *[ ]ɓaŋŋ canal.

638 *maŋ; *maaŋ night, evening.
   A: (Bahnaric) Chrau maŋ evening, night, Biat, Jeh, Halang maŋ night, Bahnar maŋ night, dark; ~ (*maŋ >) Sre bɔnaŋ night, Chrau naŋ, (quantifier) vɔnaŋ, Biat naŋ quantifier.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre maŋ night; ~ Stieng naŋ quantifier.
   (SHAFER 1965 164; BLOOD 1966 355; SMITH 1972 125, 135.)

639 *[g]ma[a]ŋ to possess.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang maŋ to be, exist, to have, to be rich, Central Sakai məŋ to be; ~ Thin mnaŋ wealth, possessions; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Palaung pərmaŋ, Praok simeŋ chief; (ii) Palaung barməŋ how much?
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)
   Sora 'gamaŋ-, 'gumaŋ- rich, to become rich.

640 *cmiaŋ to look round.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer chmiəŋ, Chrau miaŋ to look round, Bahnar miŋ to look round furtively (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
641 *jrm[a]ŋ spurs of cock.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre jorman (→ Röglai), Chrau jaman, Biat rman, Bahnar dialects 
   haman, saman (GUILEMINET 1959-63).
   Conceivably ~ 538 *jan foot, leg; otherwise Bahnar vocalism by phrasal rhyme in 
   baman &c. jan.

642 *t1m[uŋʔ] nail, claw.
   (Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Thin hməŋ, Vietnamese mông; ~ Kammu-Yuan təməŋ, 
   Thin təmhəŋ.

643 *dmoŋ to remain, continue, be.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon dmoŋ /dməŋ/ to remain, be (located), 
   reside, stay, Modern Mon məŋ to remain, stay, continue, reside, Sre moŋ to be 
   accustomed to, Central Sakai mong to be; ~ (*dmoŋ > ?) Bahnar pəməŋ to be 
   accustomed [to] (GUILEMINET 1959-63).
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)

644 *[n]məŋ gnat.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mamuəŋ (& məmuəŋ), Chrau raməŋ.
   Or *m(r)məŋ? If *nm-, connected perhaps Proto-Austronesian *nəmuŋ, DEMPWOLFF 
   1938 108 (& *lənuŋ, DEMPWOLFF 1938 91; Proto-Hesperonesian); with nasal 
   final by assimilation
   (*məməŋ see preceding.)

645 *rmaŋ kind of deer.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katui) Mon məŋ Rucervus thamin, Old Khmer ramaŋ, Modern 
   Khmer raməŋ Cervus aristotelis, Kuy lmaŋ Cervus eldi; → Burmese [səmaŋ]{
   Rucervus thamin; Thai laməŋ Rucervus thamin, → Khmer lmaŋ Cervus aristotelis;
   ~ (*rmaŋ > ) Old Mon ramaŋ /rammaŋ/ Rucervus thamin, Old Khmer rmməŋ 
   Cervus aristotelis.

646 *rmaŋ to hear.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon rmeŋ, rmiŋ ?/rməŋ/, Modern 
   Mon moŋ to hear, Khmer thmaŋ to prick up ears, Bahnar maŋ to listen to, Praok 
   moŋ, Lawa Bo Luang hməŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hməŋ to hear.
   Besisi miong, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60 (d), is probably rather ~ 649 
   *ky[a]ŋ. Cf. 833 *ma(a)c.
   (SHAFFER 1965 388; SMITH 1972 104.)
647 *[ ]yəŋ; *[ ]yəŋŋ deer, venison.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yəŋ meat, (~?) Sre (→ Röglai) aŋŋ Panolia eldi deer.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat yəŋ large kind of deer, Palaung yʊŋ meat.

648 *yʊŋ; *yʊŋŋ; *yʊŋŋ to hang.
A: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy yʊŋ to hang on to, hang from; ~ Khmer prayʊŋ to hang on to, hang from.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy yʊŋŋ to hang [rope & c.], Bru tayʊŋŋ, Slieng jʊŋŋ, iʊŋŋ, Sre youŋŋ, Biat yʊŋŋ to hang up; ~ Chrau tanyʊŋŋŋ to hang up (tan-causative); ~ Khmer rayʊŋŋ dangling.
C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese dòng (for **giông) to let [rope] hang, lower by rope. Connect Kuy (t)ŋʊŋŋ to hang up; ← South Bahnaric?

649 *ky[əŋ] to hear.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaran) Kensiu kəŋ, Temiar kəŋk, Mah Meri kəŋk, Central Nicobarese yəŋ, Nancowry yán; ~ (*kny[əŋ] >) Halang nəŋ to hear, Jeh nəŋ, Kammu-Yuan kəŋŋ to hear, listen, Semelai ŋəŋŋ to hear.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60.)

650 *ky[əŋ] elbow.
A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre çoŋ [moŋ], Semang kanyong (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42); ~ Sakai kanyong (i.e. Lanoh; ib.).
Palaung kəŋɛʔ, kəŋ keʔ are prima facie ← Shan kəŋ bend, kɛk to be crooked, but with them cf. Chrau kʊŋ kiaŋ tʃi: elbow, Bahnar kʊŋ(kəŋ) hollow of elbow. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), kəŋ arm, (~ kəŋ) elbow, Central Nicobarese det-oŋkeəŋ elbow, Nancowry rɛt?uŋkián. Connect 891 *kiɛŋ[ ] &c.? Sora kuŋ-[si-n] (or: Chrau &c.? Cf. PINNOW 1959 K 517).

651 *gy[uŋ] to be alive.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon cəŋ gyuin to be alive, to be raw, East Bahnar djiŋŋ, Kontum gian to grow well, flourish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (contaminated by 538(II) *jiŋŋ to stand, to become?); ~ Middle Mon gəmyoŋ /gəmyuŋ/, Modern Mon həyəŋ (to be living).
Connection dubious Mường không (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese sòng to live, be alive, to be raw; as Tibeto-Burman *šriŋ, BENEDICT 1972 85 no. 404 & n. 252. Sora ə′jaŋ, ə′jeŋ raw; (?) məeŋ- to live, be alive.

652 *gyuŋ spouse.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Vietnamese chòng; (~ *gyuŋ >) Middle Mon gayoŋ /gayuŋ/ husband, Modern Mon háyəŋ spouse; ~ Jelai pərjïk in to marry (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 54A).
653 *dyuŋ; *dyuunŋ black, dark.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (*dnyuŋ >) Sre ɲuŋ [animal] having a black coat; (jano —) dark; ~ Old Mon dümynɔ /danyuŋ/ black (?), Modern Mon hɔyɔŋ dark brown.
B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ɲuŋ very dark, Jeh ʔɲuŋ, Halang ɲuŋ black.
Connect obscure 654 *syuaŋ.

(*[b]ryu(o)ŋ see 706 *briŋ rainbow.)

653a *[s]ya[a]ŋ female [animal].

654 *syuaŋ black.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Sre soaŋ, Khu' hiaŋ, Kamma-Yuan yíaŋ, Khasi iəŋ.
Sre -ŋ by assimilation; Khmuic vocalism environmental. Connection obscure 653 *dyu(u)ŋ.

655 *riŋ; *riŋ level, equal.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre riŋ; ~ Sre pənriŋ, Biat ndruŋ to level; ~ Palaung kɔrpreŋ to be equal (Milne 1931); ~ Riang-Lang tarkreŋ equal amount.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar riŋ [ɾaŋ] level (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Jeh priŋ to go along on the level (Gradin & Gradin 1979); ~ Lawa Bo Luang (ʔa)mbrĩŋ, Lawa Umphai mbriŋ to line up, make equal. (contaminated by 659 *riŋ to form a row?).

656 *riŋ; *riŋ; *riŋ edge, border.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre reŋ to skirt (→ Röglai).
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar reŋ to skirt (Guilleminet 1959-63), Bahnar dialects riŋ edge, vicinity; ~ Old Mon briŋ vicinity, Nyah Kur phriŋ edge, rim.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (*juŋ riŋ by contraction >?) Old Mon jinreŋ /janteŋ/ immediate vicinity; ~ Biat meŋ edge, margin, Khasi rmiŋg rim, edge, border.
Cf. Proto-Tai *briŋ near, border..., Benedict 1975 344; & 1383 *rim &c. edge, rim.

657 *riŋ; *riŋ; *riŋ ɾaŋ hard, savage, harsh.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon raŋ (→ Burmese ruŋ:) to be wild, savage, coarse, rude (or đ?), Khmer rUNG hard, hard, firm, severe (& by phrasal deformation [tɔŋ] ɾŋ to compel forcibly, be adamant); ~ Khmer kʊmrʊŋ-[kʊmrɛŋ] rough, rugged.
B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer kʊmriŋ rude, coarse, Nancowry ʔiŋ hard.
C: (Khasi) Khasi [dom] riang angry and severe.
D: (Khmer, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer [kʊmrʊŋ]-kʊmriŋ rough..., (~?; or c) Khasi [mraŋ] mreŋ animals.
658 *riŋ; *riŋ; *riŋ; *raŋ (& *raŋ?) veranda.
   A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) ~ Old Mon trī [jiṅ] gallery? surrounding building (or B, D);
       ~ (*knriŋ >) Bahnar kadriŋ veranda.
   B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ndriŋ [niŋ] veranda, Biat ndriŋ [niŋ] house platform,
       veranda.
   C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer rābian corridor, veranda, porch.
   D: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre rāŋ veranda; ~ (*[r]nr- >; with perhaps secondary
       lengthening) Kuy thrīn veranda (ad 684?).
   Perhaps variously ~ 654 *riŋ &c. edge, border.
   (BLOOD 1966 219.)

659 *riṅ to form a row.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon reṅ /rəɲ/ to arrange, Modern
       Mon rəŋ to form a row, to place in a row (~ Burmese [ci]rəɲ to arrange), Khmer
       riṅ to arrange in series or order; continuously, in successsion (~ Cham rjōṅ), Stieng
       riṅ perpetually, Bahnar rəŋ arrange, Khasi riang in order, in a row; ~ Middle Mon
       prėṅ to have arrangements made, to prepare, arrange, Modern Mon prėṅ to prepare,
       arrange (~ Old Burmese [plu] pryāṅ to repair, Modern Mon pryāṅ to prepare,
       repair), Lawa Umphai priṅ to mend; ~ Middle Mon rweṅ, lwėṅ order, orderly
       succession, Khmer rapiṅ continuance (GUESDON 1930).
   Connect B58 *br[ua]ŋ to arrange...? Cf. also 665 *rooŋ row; 655 *ri(i)ŋ level, equal.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

660 *raaŋ? light, to shine.
   (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muəng, North Asian) Bahnar rəŋ
       light, to shine, Palaung raŋ lamp, Praok reŋ to be light, Khasi rang [weather] to be
       fine, Vietnamese raŋ to dawn, Semang raŋ glitter, (ya' —) to shine (SKEAT &
       BLAGDEN 1906 S 158); ~ (*croaŋ? >) Khmer saaŋ to glimmer, Biat craŋ
       reflection, to reflect, Vietnamese sâng light, Sakai čhêrang daylight (i.e. Bateg Dek;
       SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 154); ~ (*pmraaŋ? >) Khmer bompriŋ (~ Kuy
       briŋ?) dawn, Kuy mphpriŋ [sai] moon, (*pmraaŋ? by assimilation >, or ~)
       Praok [simunŋ] greg morning [star].
   Kharia le'raŋ, Juang leraŋ moon (PINNOW 1959 58).
   Proto-Austronesian *taraŋ: Malay têrang bright, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134; Proto-
   Hesperonesian).
   Cf. BENEDICT 1975 378, shine.

661 *ra[ə]ŋ to be disseminated.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon rāṅ [chāj], Modern Mon rāṅ [chai] to
       become widespread, flourish, prosper; ~ Bahnar praŋ to go, be carried, far and wide
       (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

662 *raŋ to sieve.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer rèŋ, Biat raŋ; ~ Sre saraŋ (to) sieve, (~?) Bahnar graŋ fish-basket.

663 *rə[ ]ŋ; *raŋ to wander.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Rôngao raŋ (Guillauminet 1959-63); ~ Mon kraŋ.
B: (Mon) ~ Mon kreŋ.
Cf. further (i) Vietnamese rông, ròng; (ii) Sora 'endűn'.

664 *raŋ; *rcɔŋ to watch (over).
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon, Khasi) Mon rɔŋ rǎn to look (at) (or B), Khmer rʊŋ to wait for, Sre rɔŋ to watch over, bring up, raise (~ Röglai), Central Nicobarese [ŋ]-yəŋ-[hala] to guard, protect, watch over, Nancowry yəŋ, yǔŋ to wait; (or B) ~ Khasi mrów expectantly, waitfully.
B: (Bahnaric) Bunör raŋ, Central Rólôm rɔŋ to bring up, raise, Bahnar rɔŋ to look after, bring up, raise, keep, preserve; ~ Cham rɔŋ, Jarai rɔŋ, North Röglai rɔk to bring up, raise; ~ Bahnar graŋ to keep watch (over) (Guillauminet 1959-63).
(Blood 1966 78.)

665 *rɔŋ row.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer rɔŋ ridge for planting crops, (Tandart 1935) row of plants, avenue, Vietnamese giòng (for **rɔŋ) line; ~ Stieng ndɔŋ row, Chrau [a:] kændɔŋ in rows; ~ Chrau tanɔŋ line.
Cf. 659 *riəŋ to form a row.

666 *ruŋ; *ruŋ[ ]; *rəŋ[ ] hole, hollow.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Vietnamese rōŋ hole in tree; (or B) Besisi sərɔŋ pit, cavity, bore of blowpipe (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 66); ~ Kuy prɔŋ pit, hole, Bru pruŋ; ~ obsolete. Khmer bruŋ, Sre brɔŋ hollow in tree; ~ Biat ndɾɔŋ [bok] fontanel.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rʊŋ, rʊŋ hollow, cave, den; to hollow out, Stieng rʊŋ cave, burrow.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, Mon) ~ Old Mon srʊŋ /sruŋ/, Modern Mon saŋ hollow, Proto-Nyah Kur *srʊŋ (Diffloth 1984 N230); ~ Khmer prɔŋ hole, Kuy phrɔŋ hole, crack, cavity.
Cf. 724 *luŋ[h] &c. Praok rɔŋ ravine is probably ← Shan hɔŋ, under the entry 668 *ruŋ.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *ruŋ: Javanese rong hole, hollow, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 104); (ii) Proto-Formosan *bərʊŋ hole, cave, den (Benedict 1975). See Benedict 1975 316; 353, pierced.
667 *ruŋ?', *ruuŋ[ ]; *ruŋ[ ] ridge, spine, back.
A: (Viet-Môn) Đông midrib, ridge, spine.
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Môn) Bahnar ruŋ back, behind, Jeh, Halang ruŋ, Mường dung back (Cuisinier 1951); → Cham ruŋ, Jarai ruŋ, Röglaí ruŋ, rok, ruŋ back.
C: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) → Acehnese ruang back; ~ Palaung krōŋ; ~ Brunei krong back; ~ Kammu-Yuan kandrōŋ back; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang ērh-rauŋ (~ ćo) spine... 
For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *ɗuuk. Sakai krōk* back, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 4, is rather < 1844 *kraw?.
(SMITH 1972 143.)
Sora ka'ruŋ-an backyard; ~ kən'duŋ-an, compounding form doŋ-an back (PINNOW 1959 367).

668 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruŋ channel, river.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Môn) Riang-Lang _raŋ_ river; (or c?) → Thai raŋ channel, ditch, Shan hōŋ gully; ~ Sre raŋōŋ channel; ~ (*krōŋ >) Thin hrōŋ, Mường không (Barker 1966 12), Vietnamese sông river.
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Biat roŋ [dark] channel, ditch, Rōngao roŋ drainage channel, side-channel of river (Guillermont 1959-63); ~ Old Mon kruŋ /krəŋ/, Modern Mon krōŋ, Central Rōlôm krōŋ river; (or A?) → Shan không Salween, → Riang-Lang *ôm_ krōŋ.
C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Môn, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Palaung roŋ torrent (Milne 1931), canal, Vietnamese giông (for **rōng) current, flow, stream; ~ Bunör (or ?), Bahnar krōŋ river, Kammu-Yuan krōŋ Mekong (or by back-borrowing ← Lao khɔɔŋ?); (& variants?) → Cham krōŋ, Jarai [ia] krōŋ, Acehnese kruŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 76.)

669 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruŋ to fall, drop off.
A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre ruŋ [object] to fall to the ground, Biat ruŋ [fruit] to fall, [teeth, hair] to fall out, Bahnar ruŋ [object] to fall (down), [leaves] to fall; to abort (Guillermont 1959-63), Nancowry yōŋ to drip, kuyōŋ to thresh (by shaking); ~ (*tnruŋ >) Biat groŋ to shake [fruit] down.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Sidieng ruŋ fallen leaves. or fruit (or A?); ~ (*tnruŋ >) Chrau təruŋ to spill, pour out; ~ (? , *trruŋ >) Bahnar təruŋ, təruŋ to be blown away (Guillermont 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Biat roŋ scantiness [of hair].

(*ruŋ see also 703 *pruŋ to pass through.)
670 *ruuŋ; *r[ə]ŋ unpartitioned building.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuïc, North Bahnaric) (Old Mon ruṅ (open-sided) hall if = raṅ, below,) Middle Mon ruṅ large building, Modern Mon raŋ large building, shed, Khmer rōŋ hall, pavilion, large building, shed, Kuy rōŋ large building, field shelter, Biat rōŋ shed, Bahnar rōŋ assembly house; → Burmese ruṅ shed, ruṅ: court; Cham ruṅ hall, shed; Thai rooŋ hall, shed.

B: (Mon) Old Mon raṅ (& ruṅ?) /roŋ/, Literary Mon ruṅ hall.

Cf. 697 *(t)ruŋ &c. stable, sty, cage; 725 *luŋ &c. stable, sty, cage.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

(*ruuŋ see also 703 *pruŋ to pass through; *ruŋ see ib.; 705 *[p]ruŋ report, news.)

†671 *krii[ŋ] kind of bamboo.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre kriŋ, Biat krenŋ.

Sora 'uruŋ-an (PINNOW 1959 275, cf. 337a), Gorum uruŋ bamboo (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976.)

672 *kriŋ; *kra[i]ŋ great hornbill.
A: (Bahnaric, Kattic) Chrau [kuŋ]kriŋ rhinoceros hornbill, Sre, Bahnar kriŋ great hornbill, Dichoceros [= Buceros?] bicornis; ~ Bru triŋ hornbill.

B: (Palaungic) Lawo Bo Luang khraŋ, Lawa Umphai kraŋ hornbill.

673 *kraŋ (& *kraŋ?) Eugenia.
A: (Mon, Kattic, Bahnaric) Old Mon krenŋ /kreŋ/, Modern Mon kraŋ Eugenia, Kuy kreŋ (< variant?) Eugenia jambolana, Mnong Gar kriŋ Eugenia, Bahnar [ʔləŋ] krenŋ kind of wild cherry.

674 *kr[ə]ŋ hard.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon kroŋ to be h., firm to the touch, Khmer kraŋ to be hard, dried and cracked (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Biat kraŋ [early-]ripening [paddy]; → Rōglai kraŋ early-ripening.

Khmer vocalism post-liquid? GUESDON 1930 has kantraṅ to grow stiff, suggesting *-ɔɔŋ.

‡675 *kruŋ to confine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Mon kraŋ to store, to shut up, imprison, Khmer kraŋ to catch by placing net, pot &c. over, Biat kraŋ to shut up, Jeh truŋ, kruŋ to pen [fowl in basket] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Stieng kandruŋ to pen [pigs], Kontum Bahnar kadruŋ, Gölär Bahnar hadruŋ chicken-coop.

Proto-Austronesian *kuruŋ: Malay kurong cabin, compartment, (bër-) to be confined, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83-4).
Connected further Tibeto-Burman \*\textipa{kruŋ} cage (Garo, Burmese; \(\rightarrow\) Mon \textipa{khraŋ} to enclose), BENEDECT 1972 82 no. 389; Thai \textipa{kroŋ} cage; Indonesian \(\rightarrow\) Mon-Khmer then unlikely. Cf. BENEDECT 1975 223.

676 \*\textipa{graŋ} hill, peak.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon \textipa{krəŋ} peak, Old Khmer \textipa{grāŋ}, Modern Khmer \textipa{kraŋ}! hill on flat plain, Riang-Lang \_\textipa{raŋ} hill, mountain.

677 \*\textipa{graŋ}; \*\textipa{graiŋ} to know, understand.
A: (Mon) Old Mon \textipa{graŋ/graŋ}/ to have knowledge of, know, Modern Mon \textipa{krəŋ} to understand.
B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon \textipa{graŋ/graŋ}/ = \textipa{graŋ}, Vietnamese \textipa{sành} to be expert in.

678 \*\textipa{graŋ} threshing gear.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Mon \textipa{krəŋ} threshing-floor in house compound, Khmer \textipa{krisəŋ}, Kuy \textipa{khrisəŋ} shallow basket for drying seeds &c. in sun, Vietnamese \textipa{sàng} winnowing- basket, to winnow.

679 \*\textipa{grəŋ} to thunder.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer \textipa{krəŋ-krəŋ} Onomatopoeic for reverberating sounds, Besisi \textipa{garōŋ} thunder, to thunder (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 120 (a)); \(\rightarrow\) Burmese \textipa{khrun:} to thunder?; \(\sim\) Bahnar \textipa{tədnəŋ} to thunder to dazzle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 1392 \*\textipa{grəm[?] \&c.}
Proto-Austronesian (i) Paiwan, Ami \*\textipa{garəŋ} thunder (cited at BENEDECT 1975 368, rumble...); (ii) by metathesis Proto-Philippine \*\textipa{luGuŋ} (ZORC & CHARLES); Proto-Manobo \*\textipa{rugung} (ELKINS).
Note Proto-Yao \*\textipa{gluŋ}, BENEDECT 1975.

680 \*\textipa{criŋ}; \*\textipa{criŋ}; \*\textipa{criəŋ}; \*\textipa{cranŋ}; \*\textipa{cranŋ} widely spaced.
A: (Khmuic) \(\sim\) Kammu-Yuan \textipa{səŋranŋ} \textipa{sonrəŋ} thinly [woven], sparsely.
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon \textipa{soiŋ sriŋ, criŋ} to be widely spaced; \(\sim\) (*\textipa{cnriŋ} >)
Bahnar [briŋ] \textipa{dadəŋ, tədəŋ} secondary growth of grass and occasional trees (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khasi; \(\sim\) *\textipa{crən} >) Khasi \textipa{saphriang} to spread, extend (& \textipa{phriang} to spread out, scatter by back-fmn).
D: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer \textipa{creŋ} spreading, separation [of legs] (GUESDON 1930), Biat \textipa{chraŋ} widely spaced; \(\sim\) (*\textipa{cmraŋ} >) Chrau \textipa{vrəŋ} spread apart, Bahnar \textipa{braŋ} widely spaced, Jeh \textipa{braŋ} far apart, Halang \textipa{braŋ} distance, space.
E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan \textipa{cranŋ} becoming sparse.
(SMITH 1972 161.)
680a *[c]riŋ; *[c]riŋ to string, thread.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre riŋ to t. [needle], string [beads] (or B?; probably → Rögla sriŋ to thread); ~ (*[c]riŋ > ) Biat rluŋ string [of beads], (koŋ —) necklace.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng kriŋ to string [beads] (or A?), Bahnar sriŋ, hriŋ to string [fish]; (probably) → Cham thriŋ to thread; ~ Bahnar sôðriŋ, hadriŋ string of fish &c., kebab, Bahnar Kontum dreŋ necklace.
Cf. Nancowry râŋ to thread beads.

681 *craŋ; *[a]raŋ bank, embankment.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon craṅ /craŋ/ bank, shore, side, edge, Khmer craŋ (steep) bank.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon crāṅ (bund of?) tank, Modern Mon səŋ dam, reservoir, moat, Stieng c'raŋ steep.
(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

682 *[c]raŋ beetle.
A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (*[c]raŋ > ) Bahnar həraŋ beetles, pest attacking paddy, Sakai harang-[hárui] beetle (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 144A); ~ Sre sanaŋ kind of water- beetle (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar hədraŋ kind of beetle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Connect perhaps Khasi [ňiəŋ] riang (then compounding form) water- beetle. But connection uncertain 684 *[cru(u)]ŋ caterpillar.

683 *[c]raŋ lof[t, rack.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Mon) Chil, Kuâ[rndra ː srûŋ transverse roof timbers, Bru trûŋ shelf under roof, Nyah Kur *thrəŋ; ~ (*[c]nraŋ > ) Central Rölöm ndraŋ shelf under roof, Biat ndraŋ loft, rack; ~ (*[c]praŋ > ) Bahnar praŋ loft.
*t₁? Connect 658 *riŋ &c. veranda?
(BLOOD 1966 p. 35.)

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau jruŋ; ~ (*[cruu]ŋ > ) Biat ndroŋ caterpillar; ~ *cruŋ > ) Khasi [ňiəŋ] long (compounding form!) caterpillar, larva, chrysalis.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng candruŋ caterpillar, worm in fruit (or A?), Bahnar hədroŋ caterpillar, silkworm, Jeh idruŋ wood-eating insect, Halang hədruŋ caterpillar.
Connection uncertain 682 *[c]raŋ beetle.
(SMITH 1972 118.)
685 *cruŋ; *cruŋ; *cruŋ sharpened stake set in ground, panji.
   A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese chông (!) spikes, stakes (perhaps < *rcuŋ by metathesis).
   B: (Bahnaric) Sre srouŋ, Jeh, Halang sroŋ panji, Bahnar sroŋ, hrọŋ panji; sharpened
to a point; → Bru surọŋ point?; → Cham caŋọ, Röglaı cęrok, Malay chorong
   panji.
   C: (Khmer) Khmer croŋ sticking up, standing up; straight; ~ comroŋ panji, any object
   standing upright in earth.
   For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *duuk. Connection dubious Literary Mon
   karaŋ stake.
   (Smith 1972 141.)

686 *jran; *jra[i]ŋ; *jriaŋ hole.
   A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon jran /jraŋ/ pit (A), Sre jraŋ [nko] gullet
   (Dournes 1950); (probably ~) Khasi jarang cranny where fish lurk; ~ (B: jra[i]ŋ
   >) Bahnar hadraŋ hole of small animal.
   C: (Khuuiic) Kammu-Yuan crıaŋ vertical and deep [hole of animal].

687 *jnraŋ to spread legs.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon haraŋ to open [legs], splay, Khmer cánkrıaŋ to lie
   on back with arms and legs spread out, Riang-Lang _traŋ _[tras] to straddle.
   Cf. 577a *jdaŋ &c. spread wide... .

688 *jɛŋ red.
   A: (Khuuiic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _roŋ; ~ Kammu-Yuan [yiŋ] sąŋrọŋ [sǝŋriŋ]
   (contaminated by sąntuŋ ad 788 *thuŋ).
   Kammu-Yuan ...sǝŋriŋ, Palaung reŋ suggest a variant in *-eŋ.
   Santali jorŋ deep red, scarlet (Pinnow 1959 396).
   Connection uncertain Malay [merah] mɛrәng bright red, Ngaju Dayak mәhiaŋ red
   (cf. Dempswolff 1938 67, *iyan, a dubious construction); Gayo ilang red.

689 *jruŋ corner, angle.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cruŋ, Stieng jaruŋ, Biat jruŋ.
   Conceivably South Bahnaric ← Khmer, < *cruŋ, connected 272 *cʔuk (& Khmer
   chuŋ, ib).

690 *jruŋ, *jruŋ, *jruŋ; *jraŋ (& *jraŋ by expressive lengthening) high, long.
   A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Bahnar jroŋ very high (Guilleminet
   1959-63), Riang-Lang caŋọ to be high, tall, Khasi jrong to be high; ~ (*jruŋ >)
   Khmer cánkrʊŋ big and tall (& cánkrʊŋ, Tandart 1935).
   B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer cánkrʊŋ, cánkrʊŋ tall, huge, gigantic.
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar ʔjruŋ long piece.
   D: (Katuic, Central Aslian) Semai caɾak long; ~ (*jraŋ >) Kuy nθhrʊŋ long.
763 *slu(ʊ)ŋ high contaminated 172 *jruu? deep. Cf. further Khmer sraoŋ lofty, sroŋ straight down (< *sru(ʊ)ŋ); & 537 *j(o(o))ŋ long, high.

(SHAFER 1965 120; cf. PINNOW 1959 340.)

691 *jruŋ; *jrəŋ; *jraŋ (& *jra[a]ŋ?) post.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng jaroŋ, Sre jaroŋ.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau [pʊŋ] jraŋ, Praok rʊŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ṭdəŋ, Lawa Umphai ṭraŋ, Mae Sariang ṭyɛŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang kɔ[np]raŋ house post, Khasi kynɛŋ upright.
C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar jraŋ post; ~ (*jną[a]ŋ >?) Thin cəndраŋ house post.

By metathesis < *jruŋ &c., parallel formation to 538 *j/n/juŋ? Note for this Palaung rəŋ post, ~ jəŋ to stand, ib.

(SMITH 1972 129.)

691a *təraŋ; *t2ra[a]ŋ forehead.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (*tənraŋ >) Biat ndraŋ [kəŋəŋ].
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau traŋ [voʔ] (b); ~ (*tərra(a)ŋ >) Khasi shyllang[mat].

Connection dubious Vietnamese trán, unless ← South Bahnaric.

692 *t2nraaŋ man, male.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) West Bahnar kədrəŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi shynrang.

693 *t¹raŋ; *t1riŋ; by metathesis *rτ,jəŋ; *rτ,iiŋ kind of reed.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Katuic) Khmer traŋ, Bahnar traŋ (kind of) reed, Thin [trɪŋ]-raŋ Reed, Bru treŋ kind of tall grass.
B: (Bahnaric) Biat treŋ Reed, Bahnar treŋ, Jeh, Halang traŋ drinking-tube.
C: (Bahnaric) Chrau raiŋ giant reed, Bahnar dialects raiŋ, rəteŋ, rəceŋ kind of reed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat [tɔːm] tinŋ (!) [knt] Reed.

Connect perhaps Proto-Austronesian *t/ar/iaŋ kind of bamboo: Jarai treŋ, &c.

(SMITH 1972 148.)

694 *tr[a]ŋ to filter.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer trəŋ to filter, to catch [liquid] in jar &c., Kuy traŋ, Stieng krəŋ! to filter, kəŋ! to decant, Biat traŋ to filter.

Khmer lengthening also in 405 *[c]r[a]k. Stieng k- obscure.
695 *trɔŋ to be incompletely ripe.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon krɔŋ to be halfway ripe, Bahnar trɔŋ to be grown to full size but not yet ripe (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

696 *tr[ɔ]ŋ to run straight.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer trɔŋ to be straight, direct, to move directly towards (→ Thai trɔŋ straight…, → Kuy trɔŋ straight, direct), Stieng trɔŋ to aim; by secondary derivation ~ Biat ntrɔŋ to aim.
Or *trɔŋ.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuc, ?North Bahnaric) Mon kruŋ stable, byre, Khmer trûŋ, Kuy trûŋ cage, pen; → Cham druŋ cage; (? Thai kruŋ cage; ~ West Bahnar tadruŋ, East Bahnar adruŋ birdcage, laying-box (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (if ≠ Kontum Bahnar kədrɔːŋ shed for animals (contaminated by *kruŋ?).
B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruuŋ >) Biat ndruŋ (— chor) stable, (~ chor) piggery, sty.
C: (North Bahnaric; ~ *[t]ruəŋ >) Kontum Bahnar kədrɔːŋ shed for animals (contaminated by *kruŋ?).
Cf. 725 *luŋ &c.; 670 *ruuŋ &c. unpartitioned building.

698 *truuŋ, *truəŋ path, road.
A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian) Stieng, Central Rölöm trɔŋ, Jeh, Halang truəŋ, Semelai təruŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat, Bahnar trɔŋ.
Connect 703 *pruŋ &c. to pass through? Cf. also Thin ruŋ road (contaminated by Thai rɔŋ?); & 736 *gloŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 79; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 216.)

(*t,ruuŋ see 558 *jt,uuŋ to strike, beat….)

699 *d,raŋ horn.
Connect Palaung nuŋ?

Sora suggests vowel assimilation following metathesis; note then Malay taring boar’s tusk (↔ Semang tayeng, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 258). Cf. also Tibeto-Burman *rwaŋ, BENEDICT 1972 31-2 no. 85, 32 n. 101; 143.
700 *draŋ (kind of palm with) thorny leaf-stem.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer trèəŋ Pandanus laevis or Rhapis flabelliformis, 
      Chrau draŋ hard edge of palm-leaf stalk.

701 *nriŋ; *snriŋ hammock litter, cradle.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ʔɔŋ rɯ̀ŋ, Biat nruŋ.
   B: (Mon) Mon hareŋ sareŋ; → Thai sàliaŋ, → royal Khmer saliaŋ.

702 *priŋ; *priŋ; *pru[əŋ] oil, fat.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer preːŋ, Stieng, Biat priŋ oil, fat, Chrau [daːʔ] 
      priŋ coconut oil.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung preŋ fat; to be delicious, Riang-Lang _priŋ 
      to be delicious; ~ (*prniŋ > ) Jeh padreŋ animal fat, Halang bodreŋ fat.
   C: (Khasi) Khasi phrong fatty residue of frying-oil.
   Cf. Khasi phniang oil-seed (< *rpniŋ by metathesis?). Connection dubious 928 
      *klŋ.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

703 *pruŋ; *pruuŋ; *pruŋ to pass through.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre nroŋ narrow passage (~ Röglai adroŋ); ~ 
      Riang-Lang _pruŋ pass.
   B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok [hu] pruŋ to go through, pass through, Khasi phrunŋ to 
      enter, pass through, to insert.
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar druŋ to go through, pass.
   Root perhaps *ruŋ &c. Connect 698 *truŋ &c. path, road?

(*pruuŋ see also 921 *priŋ to contend.)

704 *pruŋ to cook in a bamboo tube.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Bahnar pruŋ.
   (SHAFER 1965 483.)

705 *[p]nruŋ; *pnrəŋ report, news.
   A: (Palaungic) Praok groŋ fact, report.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon pinriŋ /panrəŋ/ news, Modern Mon paraŋ news, report.
   Root perhaps *r(u)ŋ; connected Bahnar tədrəŋ matter, affair, Jeh tadroŋ matter, 
   Halang droddağ idea (cf. SMITH 1972 171); Proto-Austronesian *ta[ɡ'ɾ]uŋ (then 
   *-r-): Ngaju Dayak tarong news, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *-[l]i; Proto-West-
   Indonesian).
   Cf. BENEDICT 1975 274, dragon, rainbow.
   (Shafier 1965 386.)

707 *mraŋ horse.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung braŋ, Riang-Lang _maraŋ, Praok bruŋ, Lawa Bo Luang mbraŋ, Lawa Umphai mbrəŋ, Mae Sariang mbyəŋ; ~ (*kuon mraŋ by contraction >) Kammu-Yuan həmrəŋ.
   Of same origin as Burmese mrañ. For Tibeto-Burman *m-rəŋ (≈ *s-raŋ-s) see BENEDICT 1972 43 no. 145 & n. 139; COBLIN 1974:124-5. At BENEDICT 1972 189 n. 487 Benedict argues that *m-rəŋ & Archaic Chinese mà 馬 (< *mwa < *mra) are early loans from a plerisyllabic *m[ ]raŋ[ ] of unknown origin.
   (Shafier 1965 385.)

708 *[s]riəŋ intestines.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' hriəŋ, Kammu-Yuan riaŋ, Palaung (!) reŋ.
   (*snriəŋ see 701 *nriŋ hammock litter... .)

709 *sraŋ; *srə[a]ŋ tooth, sharp projection.
   A: (Khasi, Viet-Muông, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi shreŋ dorsal fin, spine, prickle, Muông thăng (Barker 1966 14), Vietnamese rãng tooth; ~ (*smr- >; or ?) Sre somprəŋ spiny dorsal fin of certain fish (Dournes 1950).
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan rəŋ, Thin, Palaung hraŋ, Riang-Lang ṛəŋ, Praok rəŋ tooth.
   (Shafier 1965 205.)

†710 *liŋ; *liŋŋ waterfall, to gush.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy liŋ to pour slowly, Bru ?alıŋ to pour; ~ Bahnar liŋ to pour out; ~ Biat rleŋ [daik] flood; ~ Semang paling to flow (i.e. Kintaq Bong; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 184).
   B: (South Bahnaric) Sre [daz] liŋ, Biat leŋ waterfall; → Cham liən to wash.
   Cf. 719 *laŋ? to wash...; 716 *laŋh... to condense.
   Sora leŋ-leŋ to be damp, dripping, Kharia leŋ to flow, &c. (Pinnow 1959 343; Proto-Munda *leŋgi).
Proto-Austronesian *|[ ]iliŋ| Proto-Austronesian *|[ ]iliŋ| Javanese iling to pour cautiously from unspouted vessel, &c. (DEMPWOLF 1938 68; Proto-West-Indonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 358, to p.

(*iliŋ see also 758 *[r]iliŋ polished... )

711 *liŋŋ young, tender.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon leŋ /leŋ/ junior [officer], Modern Mon [hamœ] leŋ at age of puberty, Stieng liŋ pliant, flexible, Riang-Lang _leŋ shoot, blade; ~ Palaung raliŋ boy, youth.

Cf. 726 *luŋ &c.

(*liŋŋ see also 758 *[r]iliŋ ...to glisten.)

712 *leŋ to sport, play.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon leŋ [laŋ] to enjoy, Khmer ləŋ to play sport, divert oneself, Chrau leŋ (to do) as a diversion.

713 *leeŋ (& *leŋ?) to borrow, hire.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon ləŋ to hire, rent, (variant >?) Sre leŋ to borrow.

714 *laŋ; *laŋŋ; *laŋŋ large raptor.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*laŋ laŋ > *lnlaŋ >) Mon kənaŋ kite; ~ (*klaŋ >) Sre klaŋ, Chrau khlæŋ hawk, large raptor, (or variant?) Central Sakai klaŋ haw.

B, C: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) (Semai laŋ buzzard (TAUERN 1914) if not ← Malay, below); ~ Khmer klaŋŋ kite (C; → Kuy lheŋŋ, slem̲ŋ kite (toy)?), Kuy k(ə)laŋŋ hawk (B), Biat klaŋŋ hawk, large raptor, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang klaŋŋ hawk &c., Kammu-Yuan klæŋ kite, hawk, eagle, Palaung, Praok klaŋ, Riang-Lang klaŋ kite, hawk, (C) Khasi klieng (~ *liŋg) kite, eagle, (B/C) Central Nicobarese kaļaŋ white-bellied eagle, Nancowry kaļaŋ vulture; → Cham kaļaŋ, Jarai klaŋ, Röglai kulaŋ, North Röglai kulaŋ, large raptor, Acehnese klöoŋŋ hawk.

Cf. A46 *kliŋ kite (toy).


Proto-Austro, Proto-Austroasiatic *qaləŋ or the like? Proto-Mon-Khmer *k- then animal prefix; or < *q-? Hence Tibeto-Burman *laŋ, BENEDICT 1972 72 no. 333 & n. 225; note Kachin gəlaŋŋ eagle, kite, hawk.
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715 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liŋ to wander.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre [liŋ] laŋ here and there, back and forth (→ Röglai),
      Riang-Lang laŋ [le] to wander abroad.
   B: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Palaung (MILNE 1931, songs) [leh] laŋ, (~; or tone by
      phrasal assimilation) Vietnamese lang [bang &c.] to wander.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre liŋ [laŋ] here and there... (→ Röglai), Praok [hu
      lay] liŋ to go from place to place.
   Cf. 1513 *ləyh.
   Proto-Austronesian (i; *laŋlaŋ) Javanese langlang to wander; (ii) *d’alaŋ: Malay
      jalang to wander, &c.
   (DEMPWOLFF 1938 46; Proto-West-Indonesian).

716 *laŋ to melt, to condense.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ḍaŋ to melt, Literary Mon laŋ also [dew] to be precipitated, Khasi
      lang [e.g. water] to condense, collect.
   Cf. 719 *laaŋʔ to wash...; 710 *liiŋ &c. ...to gush.

717 *laŋ with black markings.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre laŋ white with black stripes, piebald (DOURNES
      1950), Riang-Lang laŋ, Praok luŋ, Lawa Bo Luang laŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae
      Sariang laŋ to be black.
   (SHAFAER 1965 390.)

718 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liiŋ to destroy.
   A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon blaŋ /blaŋ/ [pliŋ].
   B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer liiŋ (→ Thai lāaŋ); ~ Bahnar klaŋ to dig up,
      ditch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ *lbliiŋ >) Khmer rūmliŋ to dig out and clear away
      [tree-stumps], to dissipate one’s property, (~?) Biat pliŋ to break [dyke] down.

719 *laaŋʔ to wash, to bring water to.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Literary Mon laň to wash
      (away), Khmer liiŋ (→ Thai lāaŋ) to wash; ~ late Middle Mon lamlaň dew
      (contaminated by 716 *laŋ ...to condense, which compare?); ~ Literary Mon klāŋ
      to clean, Bahnar klaŋ to direct water, channel, Vietnamese tráng to rinse [dish &c.];
      ~ Thin kōmłaŋ to gush out, overflow, to cause to gush out, to spit (contaminated by
      710 *liiŋ &c., which compare).
   (SMITH 1972 160.)

720 *la[a]ŋ (& *laŋ?) to unfold.
   A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre laŋ (< variant?),
      Central Rölöm (BLOOD 1966), Bahnar laŋ, Central Nicobarese [cum]-laŋ-[haiñe],
      Nancowry láŋ, curláŋi.
721 *Ioŋ to be immersed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer ɨعلومات to drown, Stieng ɨ toen to capsize, 
Central Nicobarese ɨ声道-[je] to sink, Nancowry ɨ营业执照, ɨ声道 that which cannot float;
～ Stieng ɨ声道 to immerse; ～ Khmer ɨ声道 to immerse, sink (TANDART 1935).
Add as derivation 733 *kləŋ perennial water? Cf. 423 *laŋ &c.; 1077 *laŋ &c. to be
extinguished.
(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)

722 *loŋ; *loŋ to echo.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*lml- >) Mon ɨলুমলাই &c., Khmer 
ɨলুমলুম to echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A); ~ (*lmp- >; B) Khmer ɨরুম্পোŋ,
(TANDART 1935) ɨরুম্পোŋ (to) echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A), (A?) Sre ɨমোŋ
echo (→ Rōglai).
Cf. Vietnamese ɨ lung to resound; llocano ɨ gumluong to resound, reverberate.

723 *loŋ to try, test.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer ɨlanguages, Kuy ɨlanguages, Biat ɨlanguages [uəŋ], Stieng, Sre (→
Rōglai), Jeh ɨlanguages to try, test, Bahnar ɨlanguages to be tested; apparently → Lawa Bo
Luang ɨlanguages, Lawa Umphai ɨlanguages by interdialectal borrowing; ～ Khmer ɨরাlanguages to
compete, to take a test (contaminated by 921 *prəŋ to contend?), Bahnar ɨlanguages to
try, test; ～ Halang ɨtəlanguages to try, test.
(BLOOD 1966 77; SMITH 1972 175.)

†724 *luŋ[h]; *luuŋ; *laŋ[h] hole, hollow; to bore, excavate.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer ɨlanguages to dig hole, drill, bore, excavate,
Central Nicobarese [oŋ]ɨlanguages to drill hole, Nancowry ɨlanguages, ɨlanguages hole; ～ Sre
[daː] ɨtəlanguages well, Chrau ɨlanguages deep place in river, Jeh ɨlanguages hole (GRADIN &
GRADIN 1979), Khasi ɨtylλong [um] well, spring; ～ Bahnar ɨlanguages pit, ditch, well,
abyss.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) ~ Khmer ɨɾুমলোŋ flood-basin; ～ Vietnamese
ɨLanguages to be concave, low, hollow; ～ (*tluuŋ >) Bahnar ɨtəlanguages hole, hollow,
cutting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer ɨlanguages hole in stream-bed; ～ Mon ɨlanguages to bore (rather
than A, cf. next); ～ Middle Mon ɨkəLanguages, Modern Mon ɨlanguages well.
Add as derivatives 745 *tɨLanguages &c. throat; 747 *dɨLanguages &c. boat? Cf. also 666 *ruŋ &c.
hole, hollow; 733 *kləŋ perennial water.
(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)
Sora ɨLanguages-əŋ, (compounding form) (ɨLanguages)əŋ-əŋ pit.
Proto-Austronesian (i) ɨLanguages: Malay ɨLanguages pond, pool, puddle, &c. (BLUST 1971 no.
25; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ɨLanguages: Malay ɨLanguages trough, &c. (ib. no. 283;
Proto-Hesperonesian).
725 *luŋ; *luuŋ, *luəŋ stable, sty, cage.
   A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese lòng cage.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai) luŋ sty.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese chuông (for *trưởng cage, shed, coop, stable, sty; ~ (*nluŋ >) Biat nəŋ cage.
   Cf. 697 *[t]ruŋ &c.

726 *luŋ; *luuŋ, *luəŋ young, tender.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) ~ Khmer pûan lung young bamboo plant, Sre bănûŋ young [plant], Bahnar bănûŋ young, young bamboo.
   B: (Palaungic) Khasi lung young, tender; ~ (*təam luuŋ by contraction >?) Thin cluŋ shoot; ~ Riang-Lang pluŋ to be tender, to be adolescent.
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar blaŋ adolescent person; [bamboo] beginning to grow (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   Cf. Röglai lʊŋ young [plant]; & 711 *liəŋ. Connect 756 *blaŋŋ shoot, sapling?

727 *luŋ; *luəŋ, *ləŋ above, on.
   A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Riang-Lang ˀləŋ on (to), Praok lʊŋ above, Sakai [gua]-long on top (i.e. Jah Hut; Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 9); ~ (*[ ]nluŋ >) Palaung nuŋ far above.
   B: (Katuic) Kuy ləŋ (to go) high up.
   C: (Khasi; ~ *[ ]nləŋ >) Khasi nəŋ above.
   Cf. (i) Kontum Bahnar kəpəŋ above, on top of, Halang pəŋ above, Jeh pəŋ upper side (< *lpa(ə)ŋ? Kuy həŋ pəŋ on, above, Bru pəŋ above); (ii) Sora ləŋkə-n above, &c., Pinnow 1959 364. But connection dubious Old Mon cloŋ /cləŋ/ highest point, spire; or Khmer laŋŋ to rise up..., ↔ Thai lɔŋ going up too high.

728 *luŋ to sway.
   For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *duuk. Cf. (i) B59 *l[a]ləŋ; (ii) Bahnar ˀləŋ gəŋ swaying, swinging (Guilleminet 1959-63); (iii) Santali lawəŋ lawəŋ dangling, hanging loosely, Pinnow 1959 K 523.

729 *luuŋ; *luəŋ; *liiŋ firefly.
   B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung hluŋ firefly (Milne 1931).
   C: (Mon, Khmuic, Katuic) Mon [lek] loŋ; ~ Kammu dialect rəŋ kləŋ; ~ Bru maliŋ lɔŋ.
729a *kliŋ; *kliiŋ black ant.  
A: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese kamileŋ kind of small black ant.  
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng kalįŋ, Biat kuleŋ. (or A?) Sre kalįŋ black ant.  
Or *-ŋ; so connected B68 *briŋ &c. kind of ant?

730 *kliŋ; *kliiŋ; *kliŋ to rotate, to spin.  
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer kralŋy to rotate, to turn on lathe; ~ Palaung kəŋ wheel, Riang-Lang kəŋ wheel, spinning-wheel.  
B: (Palaungic) Praok kliŋ to spin; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔalɔŋ, Lawa Umphai raleŋ spindle.  
C: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon kleŋ, Modern Mon kəŋ to spin; ~ (*kniŋ >) Middle Mon kneŋ spindle (& Modern Mon neŋ by hypercorrection).

731 *kliŋ forehead.  
A: (Bahnaric) Biat [ndraŋ] klen, Bahnar klen, Jeh klen, Halang kleŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Sre biŋliŋ.  
(BLOOD 1966 97; SMITH 1972 123.)

732 *klaŋ; *kla[aŋ] white.  
B: (Bahnaric; ~ *kml[aŋ]? >) Bahnar balaŋ white[thread], (by assimilation *knl-[ >) Chrau kənaŋ, Biat ŋlaŋ white.
Connection uncertain Khmer sɔnlaŋ clean white, brand-new.

733 *kloŋ perennial water.  
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Stieng kloŋ deep place in stream, pool in marsh, Sre kloŋ water-hole in river bed, Bahnar kloŋ deep part of river, Bru kloŋ water-hole, deep-water channel, Palaung kloŋ quantifier for watercourses (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Bo Luang kloŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kloŋ stream; ~ (*kplŋ >) Palaung plŋ stream; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer prəlaŋ (!) puddle.  
(SHAFER 1965 66.)
734 *kluŋ; *kluuŋ; *kluəŋ kind of resinous tree.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer khloŋ Dipterocarpus cordatus crispatus.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng [təm] kluŋ kind of resinous tree resembling wood-oil tree,
   Sre klon! kind of resinous tree.
   C: (Mon; ?) Old Mon [chu] klon /kloŋ/, Modern Mon kloŋ Terminalia tomentosa.

735 *kluuŋ (& *kluŋ?); *[k]luəŋ middle, belly.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng kluŋ (in the) middle, Sre klu (or < *-uŋ?; → Röglai
   kluk) stomach, Riang-Lang kluŋ belly, womb; (~ *[kn]l- >) Sre kanuŋ heartwood;
   yolk ( < *-uŋ?), East Bahnar gluŋ middle finger (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~
   (*kpluuŋ >) Sre pluŋ paunch (Dournes 1950).
   B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Mường (Barker 1966 20), Vietnamese lòng intestines, heart.
   Note further Kammu-Yu an lìŋ middle (under the entry 582 *kdiŋ); Kenaboi bûlang
   belly, Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 162 (a).
   (Shayer 1965 64.)

736 *glɔɔŋ path, road.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Aslian) Mon klon road, track, way, Kuy khluəŋ tracks,
   mark, trace, crack, Kensiu galɔŋ path, road; ~ Khmer kuanɔŋ way, tracks.
   If 739 *clɔɔŋ ...to pass is a variant-prefix form, Praok lɔŋ to go along may reflect the
   simplex. Bahnar gluŋ wide [road] (Guilleminet 1959-63), cited as road at Skeat
   & Blagden 1906 G 49, is not connected. Cf. further 698 *truuŋ &c.

737 *gluŋ; *gl[i]ŋ much, many.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon gluŋ, gluɔŋ /gluŋ/, (in part, cf. B) Modern Mon
   klàn to be much, many, (~?) Palaung luŋ (!) [animals] to be many; → Shan ʃrŋ to
   be plentiful; ~ Khmer kylɔŋ very big.
   B: (Mon; or *-əŋ) Middle Mon gluŋ = Old Mon gluŋ &c. (so in part Modern Mon
   klàn, Proto-Nyah Kur *khəmləŋ (Diffloth 1984 V90); cf. further for the variant
   Old Mon, rare, gumlin &c. attributive beside gumləŋ &c.).

738 *gluəŋ enclosure.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon gluŋ /gloŋ/ citadel, palace; ~ Chrau
   gɔlɔŋ fence.
   Tandart 1935 has obsolete Khmer ghluəŋ treasury, storehouse; cf. Modern Mon
   khliəŋ, ↔ Thai kʰliŋ, not readily referable to *gləŋ. Connect B61 *[s]l(u)ŋ to
   wall?
739 *clɔɔŋ to cross, pass.
   A: (Khmer, Katuc, South Bahnaric) Khmer chlɔɔŋ, Kuy (c)lɔɔŋ, Stieng cəlɔɔŋ, səlɔɔŋ to cross; ~ Khmer crlɔɔŋ narrow valley &c. between hills, path, pass, Biat rlɔɔŋ passage.
   Perhaps *c-lɔɔŋ, cf. 736 *glɔɔŋ path, road & Khmer rumlɔɔŋ to pass over, pass beyond, kɔɔnɔɔŋ to step over; passing, past.

740 *jlii ( & *jliŋ) long.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon -jlīn /jliŋ/, Modern Mon klɔin, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdaiŋ, Lawa Umphai ʔleŋ, Semelai jəlunŋ (contaminated by 763 *sluŋ high?), Mah Meri jələŋ, (*jliŋ > ?) Central Nicobarese cələŋ, Nancowry caliŋ.
   B: (Palaungic) Praok lŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdaiŋ (& ʔdɯŋ), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔlaŋ.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)
   Mundari ɟiliŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 396a).

741 *trlıi[ŋ] to lose one’s way.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon kələŋ taliŋ to be mistaken, to mistake [route], Nyah Kur taliŋ (suggests *-ŋ?), Stieng trolıŋ to get lost.
   Connect Kammu-Yuan lǒŋ to forget, fail to recognize, Thin hloŋ to lose one’s way? (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

742 *tlaŋ side of figure.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon tlaŋ /tləŋ/, Modern Mon kləŋ, Stieng kləŋ; ~ Pangan nglang (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198).

743 *[t]laŋ; *tlaŋ large vessel.
   A: (Palaungic; ~?) Praok kloŋ bowl, Lawa Umphai kloŋ kind of bowl.
   B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon klaiŋ large wide-mouthed jar, Khmer thlaŋ large earthenware cooking-pot.

744 *tluŋ; *tluuŋ; *tluŋŋ throat.
   A: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang khroaŋ, Lawa Umphai krauŋ [le?] (k(h)- part-of-body prefix).
   B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan troŋ; ~ (*t,ruuŋ > ) Bahnar hələŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Biat rulməŋ [kə], (by assimilation *rnl- > ) Rōngao ranəŋ (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
   C: (Nicobaric; ~ *tnluŋ < > ) Central Nicobarese oŋləŋə neck, Nancowry ?uplōŋə.
   (SMITH 1972 147; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 102 (b).)
745 *Tliŋ; *Tliŋ to bind, hobble.  
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer thliŋ, Sre kliŋ (→ Röglai), Bahnar kleŋ to hobble [animal] (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Cham kleň hobbles; ~ Khmer tianliŋ, Kuy thliŋ, Sieng gliŋ elephant hobbles, Biat ŋleŋ hobbles; ~ Bahnar gleŋ = kleŋ (Guilleminet 1959-63).  
B: (Mon) Mon klean to bind; ~ konean bonds.

746 *d,liŋ to carry hanging down.  
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Late Middle Mon dleŋ? /glen/, Modern Mon klèŋ to carry slung from a yoke, Thin tliŋ to carry in one’s hand.

747 *d₃luŋ; *d₂luŋ; *d₂luŋ; *d₂loŋ boat.  
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔloŋ; ~ (*d₂pluŋ >) Sre, Bahnar pluŋ.  
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon dlun /dluŋ/, Modern Mon kląŋ; ~ Jeh, Halang pluŋ.  
C: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan cəŋ; ~ Riang-Lang cəŋluŋ.  
D: (Khasi) Khasi with secondary lengthening lieng.  
Perhaps ~ 724 *luŋ[h] &c. ...to bore, excavate. Hence Tibeto-Burman *(m-)loŋ, Benedict 1972 120 no. 467? (Shafèr 1965 232, 540, 579; Smith 1972 119.)

748 *n[l]uŋ; *n[l]uuŋ; *l[nuŋ] gourd, egg-plant.  
A: (Khasi; by dissimilation > *dluŋ >?) Khasi klong bottle- gourd.  
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre nhouŋ bottle- gourd, Chrau nhonŋ gourd (Blood 1966); ~ Riang-Lang tarluŋ egg-plant.  
C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon nuŋ ?/nuŋ/, Modern Mon nəŋ water-pot, Old Khmer noŋ, Modern Khmer ranəŋ bitter gourd, naməŋ plant similar to egg-plant, Kuy noŋ nəŋ Luffa cylindrica, Sieng nəŋ [dək] bottle- gourd, Biat noŋ gourd; → Cham lanoŋ kind of egg-plant.  
Obscure. Cf. 587 *d₃rdu(ə)ŋ. C perhaps *n- in view of Old Mon, Old Khmer; Khmer rə-, na- then prefixes; Khasi, Riang-Lang conceivably ~ *(r-)nə-. South Bahnaric B then perhaps rather < *d/n/huŋ, ultimately ~ *d₃r-duŋ & so Austric. (Blood 1966 9.)

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer plāːŋ, Modern Khmer phlæŋ, Kuy plaŋ, Palaung plaŋ, Riang-Lang ~ plaŋ, Lawa Bo Luang plaŋ, Lawa Umphai plaŋ thatching-grass, Khasi phlang (~ 'lang) grass.  
B: (Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Kammu-Yuan plâŋ elephant grass, Vietnamese tranh thatching-grass.
Connection obscure Central Sakai plɔːk roof (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 34; Proto-Semai *plooŋ, DIFFLOTH 1977).
(SHAFER 1965 392.)
Proto-Austronesian *lalaŋ: Acehnese nalöŋ (kinds of) grass, Cham ralaŋ thatching-grass, Malay lalang kind of long grass, Iban lalang Imperata cylindrica (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

750 *plaaŋ to shine.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung plaŋ to shine, be light; ~ (*pmlaaŋ >) Praok blaŋ [sky] to be clear, Khasi phalang to glitter (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese lăng to shine, be shiny; ~ Kammu-Yuan ərlàːŋ planet; ~ (*phl- >) Bru palian to shine light on, Kuy has phriāŋ!
B: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mường trớng (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese trúng; ~ Semai əŋləːk.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 37 (a.).)

(*pləŋ see 616 *lpuŋ to blow.)

751 *pləŋ[ ]; *pləŋ? egg.
A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi pylleng.
B: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mường trúng (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese trúng; ~ Semai əŋləːk.

(*pləŋ see 616 *lpuŋ to blow.)

752 *plɔːŋ tube.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Mon plɔŋ tube, pipe, chimney, funnel, Thin plɔŋ tube, Central Sakai lɔk outer barrel of blowpipe; ~ Mon əŋnɔŋ, Khmer panlaŋ fisherman’s float (GUESDON 1930).
Cf. Khmer klɔŋ tube, ↔ Cham klaui; Bahnar tɔːŋ hɔi [tube] open at both ends (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*pluuŋ see 616 *lpuŋ to blow.)

753 *[b]l iaŋ; *bləŋ to be askew, to swerve.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pləŋ bleîŋ to be awry, (plèt —) to miss the mark; Khmer panliāŋ to go round about (GUESDON 1930).
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _pləŋ to miss a goal, to be in error; → Shan pɤŋ.
Cf. Khmer əŋ slin &c. to be tilted...?
754 *bla[a]ŋ (& *blaŋ) noisy kind of bird.
   A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan plàŋ̕ bluethroat, Erithacus species; ~ Sre barlāŋ (< variant?) plover, Sarcogrammus indicus, Chrau valaŋ̕ swift (contaminated by 760 *[s]liŋ &c.), Bahnar [scim] balaŋ, Bru phaliŋ, Kammu-Yuan ràŋ [cók &c.] laughing thrush, Garrulax species; ~ (*brl- >) Pakoh parlaŋ swift; → Cham pilaŋ̕ starling, North Rōglai balaŋ kind of bird.
   Connect 757 *rliiŋ̕ starling? If rather *k*la([a])ŋ might be constructed, add Mon [hæcem] kaleŋ̕ starling.


756 *bla[ ]ŋ̕ shoot, sapling.
   A: (Mon) Mon plāŋ.
   Connect 629a *lm[b][a]ŋ̕ shoot by metathesis; & perhaps 726 *b(n)-luŋ̕ &c. young (plant).
   Sora ‘budan̕-, bu’dan̕- to sprout; (-ən) sprout.

757 *rliiŋ̕ starling.
   Or *kʷ/rliŋ̕?

758 *[r]liiŋ̕; *[r]liəŋ̕ polished, to glisten.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer raliŋ̕ clean and smooth, polished.
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung lean̕ to glisten.
   Or *l-, Khmer < *la-liiŋ̕?

759 *[slųŋ̕; *sliuŋ̕; *sləŋ̕; *slaŋ̕ to be tilted, to squint.
   A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *srliŋ >) Sre [mat] sərliŋ to squint; → Rōglai sərlīŋ [matai].
   B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Sre creŋ [mat] to squint, Sre sərlīŋ, Bahnar haren̕ to lean over; ~ Khasi sharing slope, declivity; ~ (*spliiŋ >) Bahnar plīŋ to squint.
   C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy slīŋ, lhiiŋ̕ to squint; ~ Khmer sralīŋ̕ cross-eyed; ~ Khasi shyngkhliang cross-eyed (Ivan M. Simon pers. com.).
   D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat plāŋ [mat] cross-eyed.
   Cf. 753 *[b]liəŋ &c. to be askew…; 494 *liəŋ(?) to slant, be skewed; 1862 *slew to squint.
   Proto-Austronesian *d’uliŋ̕: Malay juling squinting, &c. (Blust 1971 no. 441; Proto-Hesperonesian).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

760 *[s]liŋ; *[s]liŋ; *[s]liŋ; *[s]laŋ swallow.
   B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[s]rliŋ >) Chrau saleŋ, Biat reľŋ.
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Gölar Bahnar [sem] pleŋ house-martin (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   D: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy [cɛːm] lhɛːŋ swallow, Central Nicobarese minleŋa swiftlet Connect Toba Batak leang-leang swallow, referred at Dempwolff 1938 90 to Proto-Austronesian *łaiaŋ to glide, soar. Cf. 754 *bla[aŋ].

761 *slaŋ dazed.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hlex, Khmer slæŋ [kaŋ]; ~ Mon [mòt klek] haleŋ to have poor sight, Khmer sralan dumbfounded.

762 *slaŋ to wear [lower garment].
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon sluŋ [ket], Khasi slieng.
   Cf. 453 *sl[u]k.
   Proto-Austronesian *[t']uluŋ: Pangasinan solóng to wear, put on, Hanunóo súlung putting on, wearing; perhaps Proto-Oceanic *sulu (to put on) sarong (Blust 1971 no. 87, *(cs)-; rather than *t'aruŋ sheath, Dempwolff 1938 148).

763 *sluŋ; *sluŋ high.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung hluŋ to be high, long, Praok laoŋ to be high, downwind, Lawa Bo Luang hloaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hlauŋ high; ~ Khmer sraluŋ very deep (Guesdon 1930); ~ (*smluŋ >) Praok blaŋ upper part, Lawa Bo Luang mbloaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mblauŋ hill.
   B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon sluŋ, Modern Mon hlæŋ to be high; ~ Old Mon sunlæŋ /samluŋ/ high, Modern Mon hæŋ [ca] south; ~ Khmer sralæŋ = sraluŋ.
   Note also Khmer proloŋ length; (Inluaŋ >?) Bahnar ranæŋ long: length (Guilleminet 1959-63). *slu(ʊ)ŋ contaminated by 172 *jruu? &c. deep yields 690 *jruŋ &c. high, long; cf. further 740 *jliiŋ &c. length.
   (Shaffer 1965 224.)
   Kharia selæŋ deep, &c. (Pinnow 1959 340; & Kharia jalæŋ high, &c., contaminated by cognate of *jliiŋ: ib).

764 *[s]luŋ to tie up, moor.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer sonloŋ large hitching- or mooring-post; ~ ([s]rluŋ >)
   Middle Mon caloŋ /caluŋ/! [ciŋ] (with c- by phrasal assimilation?), Modern Mon hæŋ [coŋ] post to which elephant is tethered.
Proto-Austronesian *k[a]uŋ: Iban kuìŋ to turn, Ilocano kiìng crooked, bent, curved (so Proto-Hesperonesian).
766 *weŋ (& *ween?) to turn aside, turn away (v.i.t.).
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Old Mon weŋ /weŋ/ to avoid, to turn aside, Modern Mon waŋ to avoid (in part; merging 765 *wiaŋ, which compare), Sre weŋ to push away, chase away (< variant if length not secondary; ← Rōglai waŋ to chase away?), Khasi (ia-)weng to remove; ~ Khmer vuaŋveŋ to go astray, lose [one's way].

767 *waŋ; *waŋŋ enclosure; to go round.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon waŋ, Modern Mon waŋ enclosure esp. round palace &c., Khmer veŋ enclosure, palace, to enclose, Sre waŋ cattle-yard, pound, Kammu-Yuan waŋ to girdle [tree]; → Burmese waŋ: fence, enclosure, → Shan vəŋ, probably → Palaung vaŋ (or < B); Thai waŋ palace.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer viːəŋ to avoid; detouring, winding, Stieng dialect uanŋ village, Sre waŋ = waŋ; → Cham waŋ [raŋ] to surround; ~ Biat juanŋ compartment; ~ Lawa Umphai man*mon circular. Khmer to avoid..., as Kammu-Yuan, by attraction 765 *wiaŋ &c., which connect. Thence ultimately are Thai wiaŋ town (→ obsolete Khmer viəŋ palace, citadel), Shan vęŋ, → Palaung vęŋ, Riang-Lang _viŋ; Shan vęŋ to surround, → Riang-Lang vęŋ enclosure.

768 *waiŋ long.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer vəːŋ long, Kammu-Yuan waŋ long (space, time), Thin waŋ to be wide, long, capacious.

768a *wa[i]ŋ; *wiaŋ to borrow.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat waŋ to borrow, Sre waŋ to borrow rice (DOURNES 1950; correct to waŋ).
B: (Khasi; ~ *glwiaŋ >) Khasi kyliang loan.
= 765 *wiaŋ &c. to go round...? Cf. here 1531 *wa(a)y.

769 *waŋ; *waŋŋ howdah.
A: (Katuc) Kuy wəŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng uanŋ [ru:eh], Biat waŋ, Bahnar waŋ.
Kuy, Bahnar vocalism contextual?

(*kwaaŋ see 502 *kʊəŋ male animal.)

770 *gwaŋ; *gwaŋŋ to throw.
A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi kawang to throw [missile], hurl.
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kravəŋ to throw to a distance.
Cf. 776b *swiŋ. Connection uncertain Besisi kawen, kawin to throw; thrown away (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 107).
771 *[ŋw]əŋ to keep watch (over).
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon maŋ /maŋ/, Modern Mon məŋ, Bahnar guą to keep watch (over) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang maŋ, Lawa Umphai moŋ to wait for, Bru ŋkəŋ; ~ (*ŋ]rwaŋ >) Khmer rəvəŋ to look after, to (keep) watch; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi rəmməŋ [to wait] in hope of arrival.

772 *jw[ə]ŋ kind of rattan.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chvəŋ very strong kind of rattan; ~ Chrau [reh] jrwɔŋ large kind of rattan.

773 *[t]wiŋ; *[t]wiəŋ tired.
B: (Kher) ~ Khmer lvïŋ bitter, listless (TANDART 1935 has lvəŋ tired). Cf. Biat rəŋ chwəŋ exhausted.

774 *t,ɾwiəŋ; *t,ɾwiəŋ potsherd.
A: (Khasi) Khasi ɾwiang.
B: (Mon) Mon kəweak, Nyah Kur khwïk.
B contaminated by kəweak < Old Mon cirwek day of waning moon?

775 *t,ɾwaŋ hearth.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang ɾvəŋ, ɾvəŋ; ~ (*t,nwaŋ >) Khasi tympəŋ; ~ Palaung kahvaŋ (!) ashes, hearth; ~ Bru rawaŋ cooking fire with tripod.

776 *ɾwiəŋ[ŋ] stomach, intestines.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi ɾwiəŋ intestines of bird or fowl (with secondary lengthening?), Central Nicobarese wiəŋ belly, stomach, Nancowry wiəŋ; by secondary derivation ~ (?; then *jɾwiəŋ >) Khasi jylləŋ abdomen.

776a *[ɾ]wa[a]ŋ sky.
Sora rœuŋ-an.

776b *swiəŋ to throw.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuiic) ~ (*srwiəŋ >) Mon həwəŋ to skim, throw discuswise; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar təhəŋ, East Bahnar təwəŋ to hurl (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh təweŋ to throw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bru tawəŋ to throw!
Cf. 770 *gwa[ ]ŋ &c.

777 *sa[i]ŋ; *siŋ to fly through the air.

A: (Mon) Literary Mon sāŋ [sow].
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre basiŋ to throw [spear], Biat cheŋ to cast [throwing-net].

778 *sunŋ hole.

(Mon, South Bahnaric). Mon saŋ (?; suũ, merging sruũ < Old Mon sruũ < 666 *s-ruŋh), Biat choŋ; ~ (*s.sunŋ >) Mon kasaŋ.
Sora [gai]-sunŋ- [rat] [to dig] hole.

779 *sunŋ; *suŋ to steam.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau suŋ, Lawa Bo Luang hoañ.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung hoŋ to boil [rice] (Milne 1931); ~ Palaung rəŋ steamer.
Connection uncertain Tai forms: Shan húŋ, &c. (see Benedict 1975 256, cook (with steam)... (II)); → Kammu-Yuan rũŋ.

780 *suŋ to suck, drink.

A: (Mon, South Aslian) Old Mon suŋ /suŋ/, Modern Mon səŋ to drink, Semaq Beri sək to suck.

781 *[t][s]iŋ crossbow string.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre siŋ (↔ Röglai); ~ West Bahnar təniŋ, tənicŋ (Guilleminet 1959-63).
By metathesis 567 *st,iŋ taut...? But perhaps *(tn-)[c,s]iŋ.

782 *rsiŋ; *rsa[i]ŋ; *rsaŋŋ bamboo, rattan.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Stieng reh siŋ small kind of rattan (by popular etymology, cf. reh rattan < A197 *riŋh), Sre rasiŋ kind of rattan, Thin [həŋ] heŋ rattan, (?) Khasi rshiŋg kind of sun-grass.
B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan rəhán large kind of bamboo.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung hruŋ, Riang-Lang rəŋ bamboo.
Suffixed form ~ 249 *riŋg? Add perhaps (*səŋ by metathesis > *səŋ >) Kuy səŋ bamboo; & (so *riŋg >) Khmer səŋ kind of bamboo.
(Shafer 1965 206, 395; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 23.)

783 *haŋ pungent in taste.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng haŋ piquant, biting, pungent, Sre haŋ over-salt, Biat haŋ spicy, piquant, Bahnar haŋ sharp, pungent, biting (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh haŋ (!) hot, peppery, Vietnamese haŋ [smell] to be acrid, [garlic, onion] to be strong, Nancowry haŋ hot, peppery; → Cham, Jarai haŋ, North Röglai hak peppery, Röglai hak piquant (~ Sre).
(Shafer 1965 269; Blood 1966 350; Smith 1972 101.)
Proto-Austronesian *[aSa]n: Malay s-ahang pepper, &c., Acehnese k-öön peppery, Cham kà-an sharp and strong (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147, *t'aha; Proto-Hesperonesian; Cham → Khmer haːŋ tart, acid, bitter, strong-smelling?)

784 *ha[a]ŋ cliff, precipice.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre haŋ (beside haŋ; → Röglai ha:k), Biat, Bahnar haŋ. (Cf. B295.)

(*hu(o)ŋ see 485 *ʔuŋ wasp, hornet.)

785 *ghañ to obstruct, prevent, forbid.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer khəø to prevent (from doing), Khasi khang to obstruct, prevent; ~ (*gnhaŋ >) Kuy nthaŋ to obstruct; by secondary derivation ~ Biat ḉkhaŋ to forbid.

Cf. 496a *[ ]kaŋ ...to fence.

(*chiaŋ, *cha(i)ŋ see 487 *ʔəŋ to expose to heat.)

786 *thaŋ; *tha[a]ŋ to thirst, crave.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon thæŋ, Khasi thang[rang] to thirst after; ~ (*trhaŋ >?) Literary Mon tahaŋ to be famished, hungry, Khasi thrang to be thirsty (or by contraction thanrang, cf. the synonym thynrang).
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ East Bahnar pathaŋ to have a large appetite, have a craving (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Jeh tahuŋ thirst; perhaps by contamination, cf. Halang huŋ to want.

787 *thaŋ bag.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon thaŋ, Khmer, Biat thaŋ; ↔ Thai tʰũŋ, Lao thọŋ, Shan thọŋ.

Cf. 791 *d,huŋ tub; & BENEDICT 1975 369, sack... .

788 *[t]huuŋ; *thuŋ red.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kintaq Bong tahan; ~ (*[t]phuuŋ >) Sre phouŋ, Mendriq phaŋ.

Or *phuuŋ, (≠) *thuŋ, Kintaq Bong by contamination (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 51.)
789 *dhaan branch, palm-frond.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Mon thain junction, fork, division of stem, Khmer thian (midrib of) palm-frond (→ Thai t'aañ midrib of palm-frond), Kontum Bahnar thañ branch (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Pangan tîpag palm-frond
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 178).
Originally perhaps 1223 *dhaan (compare with for semantics) contaminated by *taañ > Mon tañ midrib of palm-frond.

790 *dhoons; *de(e)ñ[ ] hole; hollow, empty.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Mon thon to be hollow, to have holes in, Khmer dhoñ empty, void (Guesdon 1930), Sre thon to be hollow, to have holes in, Bahnar thañ hollow in ground, valley, river-bed, Vietnamese thùng (!) to be perforated, have a hole in; ~ (*dhoons >) Palaung phañ to be hollow; ~ (*drhoons >?) Khasi lyhong deep [cavity].

B: (Khmer) Khmer thèñ empty, void, hollow, immense, deep.
Cf. further Khmer dhian hollow (Guesdon 1930); & with variant initial (i) Khmer khoñ sunken, hollow ~ kråññ full of holes (→ Cham kahùn), which Pou & Jenner 1973 no. 210 derive from Ancient Chinese k’un 窟, along with Sino-Vietnamese khong vacuum; so Vietnamese hông to be hollow, vacant ← Cantonese hòn?; but with Khmer cf. Sre khan, Biat khoñ to bore a hole; Proto-Austro-Ambonesian *k[au]ruññ: Iban keruang to hollow out, be hollow, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 214, Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Khmer krâññ crack in earth, krâññ- [kråññ] full of holes; (iii) Khmer prâññ hole (→ Thai p'roññ); Cham parahauñ, barahauñ, Malay pêroññ, pêroññ gaping, wide open, Malay pêloññ having a large hole.

791 *d,huñ (& *d,huñ?) tub.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Muông) Mon thañ pail (< variant, or by rhyming deformation in (748 *[l]nuñ >) nañ thañ pail), Khmer thûñ cistern, metal container, Sre thûñ tub, granary, Biat thûñ tub, Thin thûñ basket, (?; < variant, or ← Chinese, below) Vietnamese thùng tub; → Cham dhuñ tub, Röglaï thûñ tub, granary, North Röglaï thûñ barrel; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar kâññ pail.

Cf. 787 *thañ bag. The following, otherwise Indonesian loans, might be referred to a variant *du(u)ñ attesting earlier *d,V2- ~ *d,Vh-: Biat duñ bag; Khmer kantòñ, Kuy nthòñ basket or basket of leaves; Kuy (kh)thûñ pocket, Sre kalûññ basket, purse, case, Bahnar kãdûñ basket, purse, case, pocket, Jeh kãdûñ, Halang gãdûñ pocket. (Cf. Smith 1972 105.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *tuuŋ (?) : Acehnese toŋ (& toŋ, ← Malay, or contaminated by tən ← Dutch ton), Malay tong tub, barrel (→ Javanese), Tagalog tuong.
Pampangan tuung bucket, Cebuano Bisayan tuung coaming over well &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay → Central Nicobarese toŋ wooden bucket; perhaps Khmer taŋ cask, under the entry 903 *kduŋ. Or *tuuŋ or *tauŋ, > Acehnese toŋ, Javanese; Acehnese toŋ ← Malay. The usual derivation of Malay &c. ← Dutch falls); (ii; ad Biat duŋ, &c.) Malay kandong to carry [foetus, goods in sack...]; (-an) bag, womb... (referred at Dempwolff 1938 71 to *ka(N)duŋ womb, which is Proto-Hesperonesian), Cham katũŋ bag, well-bucket, Jarai g*duŋ pocket, Röglai kalduŋ purse, bag, North Röglai kaduk bag; Malay kendong to carry in fold of waistbelt. Pou & Jenner 1973 refer some Mon-Khmer forms to Chinese t‘ung 桶 square wooden vessel used as receptacle; it is doubtful if Tagalic forms can be so derived. In (ii) perhaps Cham &c. ←, Malay contaminated by, Mon-Khmer.

(*phuuŋ see 788 *[t]huuŋ red; *bhi(ɔ)ŋ see 630 *biŋ spider; *[b]hooŋ see 493 *[b]ʔoonŋ dry.)

792 *rhiŋ 494 *rhiŋ 493 *rhiŋ hundred.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ŋhiaŋ, Chrau re yön, Biat rhiŋ, Bahnar reŋ, Jeh reŋ, Halang reŋ.
Cf. proto Tai *[t]hrhiaŋ thousand (Benedict 1975 216; Shan, Ahom, Khamti); → Palaung hŋ (Milne 1931 also hreŋ), Riang-Lang, Praok reŋ.
(Blood 1966 110; Smith 1972 90.)

(*liŋasg see 494 *liŋasg to slant, be skewed.)

793 *luŋ; *luuŋ papaya.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer rhvāŋ papaya, Modern Khmer lhoŋ papaya, castor-oil plant, Kuy lhoŋ (& by hypercorrection sloŋ), Kontum Bahnar rroŋ, Jeh hŋ, Halang [bunŋ] hunŋ papaya; → Thai lāhunŋ castor-oil plant, Lao hunŋ papaya; ~ (*lmhuŋ >) Biat [tım] mhoŋ, (by metathesis, or by contraction *play lhoŋ >) Sre blahonŋ papaya (→ Röglai).
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau luuŋ papaya.
(Smith 1972 106.)

794 *šic; *šia[š]; *š[a]c excrement, faeces.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Mon oık, Bahnar ɕık, Jeh ĕk, Halang ik, Central Sakai ĭ:ŋ; → Kuki-Naga *eːk (& similar Karen forms; Benedict 1972 26 n. 82, 146 n. 399).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre ɕ, Biat ɕ:k, Kammu-Yuan ʔyiːk; → Cham ɕh, Jarai ɕ:h, Röglai, North Röglai ɕh, Acehnese ɕ.?
c: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaran) Khmer ʔac, Chrau, Biat ac, Khasi eit,
 Central Nicobarese aik, aiʔ, Nanowry ʔac.
Connect obscure B40 *ʔiaŋ &c. But Vietnamese cült may be connected, as cui with
1872 *[ ]uus.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20; SHAFER 1965 335; SMITH 1972 238; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D
114; cf. LEWITZ 1967, 123-5.)
Kharia i’j to ease oneself, &c. (PINNOW 1959 81; Proto-Munda *ij).

(*ʔiic, *ʔiəc see 797 *ɓ[i]ʔic to lie down, sleep.)

795 *kʔaac "wet."
A: (Viet-Muong, Aslian, ?Nicobaran) Vietnamese uôt, Temiar kəʔaij; ~ (*kmʔaac >)
 Vietnamese muôt to trickle, Kintaq Bong, Semnam maʔaj, Semaq Beri maʔac wet;
(?) ~ Central Nicobarese [hə]-tai] -[hətə], [hən]-tai to get wet.
Connect by metathesis 477 *cbaik; & cf. 954 *ɓuat &c. wet, cold.

796 *[cʔ]uuc: *[cʔ]uuc "drunk, intoxicated."
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang -cəc, Praok yoc.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ?yuic, Lawa Umphai ?nuic; ~ (*cpʔuuc >?)
 Kammu-Yuan puc liquor.
Cf. Central Nicobarese huyiie, Nancowry (hu)yóy; Khasi buaid. Connect 1106 *huc
&c. to suck, drink? But Khmuic perhaps < 829 *ɓuuc to suck, or contaminated by
1766 *ɓuul drunk; then Palaungic *yu(u)c, *yuc yuc &c. > *cyu(u)c.

797 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ɓ[i]ʔic > *ɓic; *ɓiəc; Pre-Palaungic *ʔiic; *ʔiəc to
lie down, sleep.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy, Sre, Biat bic, Chrau viʔ, Bahnar bic; ~
Kintaq Bong labi.
B: (Central Aslian) Semai bet.
C, D: (Palaungic) Palaung, Praok it, Lawa ?aic (ο), Riang-Lang "yet, yat (ο).
(SHAFER 1965 311, 338; BLOOD 1966 133; SMITH 1972 240; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S
248.)

798 *rʔuuc: *rʔuuc; *rʔuəc: *rʔac; *rʔuy *rʔuəy "finished."
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, ?North Bahnaric) Sre luc end, finished,
 Palaung doit to be finished, dot totality, all, Vietnamese rôt to be the last; ~ or →
 Bahnar luc to be at the end; the worst.
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat loc end, Bahnar tuc end, last, at last, toc finish, to finish,
 Jeh ʔlut, Halang lut finished, Khmu' loc to be used up.
C: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer rūəc (!) to finish, to be able to; ~ (*rʔuəc >) Praok
guac to be last.
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau, Biat leʔ finished; (probably ~) Praok uc to
 expend, use up; completely.
E: (South Bahnaric) Sre luy finished.
F: (North Bahnaric) Jeh loy very, Halang hloay always, completely.
Connect 875 *huc &c., which compare; & cf. 1017 *[k]du(u)it for a possible Riang-Lang *rʔuut to come to an end.
(BLOOD 1966 256; cf. SMITH 1972 481.)

798a *sʔəəc, *sʔaac to love, pity.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khasi ieid to love; ~ (*smʔəəc >) Khmer sŋaac to admire.
B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *snʔaac >) Sre ndaac to love; (~ səŋit) pity, Chrau sədac to love, pity.
Cf. Biat uc affection, to desire, (~ chrɔlaɲ) love. And Hre, Sedang forms at SMITH 1972 259.

799 *kiic; *kəc to shave down.
A: (Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar kiij to grate (BENJAMIN 1976b 133), Nancowry ʔitkic to cut with knife (contaminated by following).
B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon koik blade of plane (→ Burmese kuik, → Mon kəc), Central Nicobarese [hə]-kəʃ to plane, [hen]-kəʃ plane.
Connect 802 *kaac.

800 *kac to pluck, break off, cut.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer kāc to cut off, Modern Khmer kac to cut [rigid object], Kuy kac to cut [grass], harvest [paddy], Stieng kec to strip [leaves, grain], Sre kac to harvest [hill paddy], Biat kac to strip [grass], Bahnar kəc to harvest [paddy], (dialect) strip [leaves, grass], cut with scissors, Kammu-Yuan kəc to cut [hair], Riang-Lang kac to break (v.i), to tear (v.t.), Khasi kheit to pluck, gather, Mường cáč (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese cát to cut up, Bateg Deq kac, Jah Hut kəc to cut, Central Nicobarese [et]-kaic-[ʰaŋə] to pluck [leaves, flowers], Nancowry kəc; ~ (*kək >) Vietnamese ngát to pick, pluck.
Connect 958 *ka(a)t to cut? Cf. Biat kec to break (v.t.); & 804 *gac to pluck, harvest;
A51 *gi(a)c to break off.
(BLOOD 1966 353; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)
Kharia kej to pluck, &c. (PINNOW 1959 154).

801 *[ ]kac; *kaac, (*kaac kaac >) *ckaac strong, harsh.
A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Khasi shakhait to deal severely with,Vietnamese gát to be strong, violent, harsh, biting.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon kəc to be strong, harsh (< *ckaac, cf. the attributive
Literary Mon jamkāt, samkāt), Khmer kəc bad, evil, cruel, Kuy kaac very brave.
802 *kaac to scratch, scrape, shave.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar kaːc to scratch (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung kat to shave, Temiar kej to scrape (Benjamin 1976b 175), Mendriq kaːc, Jah Hut kaːc to scratch, Central Nicobarese kaːc scratch; ~ Bahnar kakac to scratch oneself, to itch (Guilleminet 1959-63), Che’ Wong kikɔc, Mah Meri kakac to scratch, (~?) Central Nicobarese takic scratch. Connect 799 *kiic &c. to shave down; but distinguish 867 *kwaac &c. to scratch (up), which compare; as following.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 50.)

802a *k[oo]c to dig (up).
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng koːɛc to dig (out) with mattock, Biat kɔːc to dig [ditch &c], Bahnar kɔːc (& Jölong kuːəc!, Guilleminet 1959-63) to scratch up, dig with claws &c., lever out.
Or *kuuc, *kuac? Cf. preceding & 867 *kwaac &c. to scratch up.
(Smith 1972 258.)

(*ckaac see 801 *[ ]kac strong, harsh.)

803 *[b]kuc; *[b]kuuc hot.
A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang kʊc to be hot, to be dry, to dry up, Praok [ha] koc to be scorching [hot], Pangan bɛkud hot (i.e. Mendriq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 141 (a)).
B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Bru kuːyʔ scorched, Lawa Bo Luang kaːk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kɔc sun’s rays; hot; ~ Kuy ɲʊc scorch, burnt (contaminated by 805 *guuc?).
Cf. 858a *kluuc on the point of burning.

(*skaac see 874 *ksac sand.)

804 *gac to pluck, harvest.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Chrau gac to cut small wood, Palaung gat to pick [tea]; ~ Vietnamese gtwór to reap.
800 *kac contaminated by A51 *gi(o)c?

805 *guc; *guuc to burn.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau guc to kindle, Biat guc to burn, throw into fire.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng guːic to burn (or A?), Kammu-Yuan kʊc to burn off [field], Palaung gut to light [fire], to burn; ~ Bahnar [ŋəː, ŋuː] ɲʊc fiery red, red-hot (Guilleminet 1959-63), Semang ongyod to burn (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 464; or A).
Add Khmer ʔoc to light, kindle?
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805a *ŋaic oil.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ɲai’, ɲai vegetable oil, Nancowry ɲác; (probably ~) Khasi ḡieģj fatty or oily substance, to be greasy.
Connect perhaps by metathesis Kuy ɲeheɲ, Bru ɲsiɲ oil, grease, fat.

806 *ŋuuc; *[ŋuœc; *[ŋiic; *[ŋiœc to swallow, drink.
A: (Khasi, Mon) Khasi nguid to swallow, Proto-Nyah Kur *ŋuuc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V90) (vocalism may be contextual).
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy (ŋ)ŋuœc to drink, Kammu-Yuan ɲœc to swallow, Semai ɲat to drink.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon ɲit, Modern Mon ɲit to swallow, Biat ɲett to drink, Palaung ɲit to swallow (MILNE 1931).
D: (South Bahnaric) Sieng ɲiat to drink.
Or *rŋ- in view of Sora, below; which favours primacy of back-vowel forms. For South Bahnaric initial cf. 37 *ŋiŋʔ. From D by metathesis B46 *t1iəŋ to drink?
(SHAFER 1965 459; BLOOD 1966 35; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (a).)
Sora ʹŋŋoŋ- to drink rapidly, gulp.

807 *cac to seek out.
(Mon) Literary Mon cat.
Connect perhaps by dissimilation Bahnar caʔ (&c.: SMITH 1972 313)
Sora saɾ- to seek, go in quest of.

808 *c[ə]c to pierce, chisel.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Mon) Stieng ciç to pierce [ears], Biat choc to pick [teeth &c.], Jölong tsac to pierce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan sic to stab, to plant in ground, Riang-Lang sac chisel, Praok sac to carve, hollow out, Nyah Kur cćc to pick [teeth &c.] (TANDART 1935 413).
Sora saj- to cut, chisel, pare, saçi- to pierce.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'uat: Acehnese suat, Cham thwaʔ to take off, remove..., Hiligaynon Bisayan, Bikol suat to pull out, extract, pick at with needle &c., Maranao soat to pry, &c., perhaps Samoan suat to lever up (cf. BLUST 1972 no. 73; Proto-Hesperonesian or general); (ii) *t'uit: Tagalog suit-ín to uproot, dislodge, with lever-like tool, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 418, *-(q)-; Proto-Hesperonesian). Or could both sets be referred to *t'uat?

809 *cœc; *sœc to tickle.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre coco (DOURNES 1950; or B?), Biat choc [am cok iar].
B: (Katuic) Kuy cœc cœc.
Cf. Khasi smieʔ (< *ئœœc?) ticklish.
810 *[c]ncuac to make a noise with the lips.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hacot to make a repeated labial noise, Literary Mon [gace'] gacot to trumpet, Khmer çncuac, čncuac to make a repeated labial noise.
Proto-Austronesian *k’utk’ut: Tagalog sutsot sibilant sound, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 94; Proto-Hesperonesian).

811 *njuac; *njac (& *njac?); *njuay to shake.
A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*[r]njuc >) Mon kayot layat! to oscillate, to cause to oscillate; ~ Khmer saňjuac to shake (v.t) (Guesdon 1930).
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar yuuc to tremble slightly (Guilleminet 1959-63) & yuut, by dissimilation; with secondary lengthening, or < *-ac), Sakai 'ngyük to shake (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 130); ~ Kuy (kh)chāc to rock, sway.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, ?Nicobaric)? Nancowry yūay to tremor, to shake; cēy to shiver; ~ Khmer čuuczuy to tremor, shake, (or ~) Kuy nhūi to sway; ~ Khmer rūučuuy to tremor; ~ sancuuy (Tandart 1935) = saňjuac.

812 *t,ac to break, be severed.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon tōt to sever (?; otherwise < 999 *t,at, which connect), Khmer dac break, to break, Khasi thait to cut asunder, to snap, Vietnamese dút to be broken, snapped, to be cut, Central Nicobarese tij-[na] [rope &c.] to break; ~ (*kt,ac >) Chrau cac to snap, break, (or simplex) Stienec tce [rope &c.] to break, Biat tace [rope] to break; end, Sre tac broken, cut, (? by assimilation; Besisi ketōk to break, Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 374, =) Mah Meri katik to cut; ~ (*kt,ac >) Bahnar katee (& Sedang kate) to break, get broken, Vietnamese dút to cease, terminate (v.i.t), end; ~ Khmer pdac to break, interrupt.
(Schmidt 1905 12, 18; Smith 1972 246; cf. Mohring 236 no. 3.1)
Kharia tejı̂ to break, &c., ~ Mundari patĉı̂ to twist and break... (Pinnow 1959 152).

813 *t,ac to sell.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khuvić, Viet-Muong) Khmer dac saleable, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat tae, Bahnar tēc (→ Stienec tce?)), Jeh, Halang tek, Kammu-Yuan tēc, Vietnamese [bān] dūt to sell.
(Schaffer 1965 337; Smith 1972 244; cf. Blood 1966 374.)

813a *tac (& *tac?) to stretch.
A: (Bahnaric) Stienec tace to stretch (v.t) (< variant?), Biat tāc to increase in size, Bahnar tāc to stretch (v.i.).
Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan ɲōt to stretch out, draw out?

1 [Editorial note: it would appear that the intended reference is Mohring (1972) as listed in the References, although it is not clear how that paper relates to this etymology.]
814 *tuuc; *tuac drop, to drip.
A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng tranuec drop, to drip.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng tuːc [ɗǎːk] drop; ~ Khmer đomnuːac drop; ~
Chraw tataːc dripping sound; to drip.
 Cf. 314 *tuak &c. drip, drop.
(SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

815 *ktac to manipulate with flat of hand.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Old Mon ktac /ktac/ [sumoh] to smooth, level, with the
hands, Modern Mon kətət to rub between palms of hands, Khasi ktaid to rummage
(IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Vietnamese đät to laminate, make thinner, roll.

(*daic see 1010a *dai[t] to strike, beat.)

816 *dac (& *dic?) to be deficient, small in quantity.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon tōik to be less than, short by, Praok
tac to be lacking, deficient; ~ Bru satayʔ to be delicate; ~ (*kd- >) Khmer tec tic a
little; ~ (*krd- >) Literary Mon gadek to want, be deficient in (beside gaduik,
probably a Burmanism); ~ Old Mon pdic /pdoc/ to reduce in quantity, Modern
Mon patōik [phya] to humble; ~ (*dp- >) Kuy bǐʔ few (JACOB 1968), Central
Nicobarese (t)paɪt (in compounds), paɪ small in size or quantity., Nancowry pēc
(& fēc tiny).
Separate Thin đēk to be little, ← Tai; but connected perhaps by metathesis (*pdaac >
*dpəac >) Mong pōch, Vietnamese bót to reduce, to diminish. Cf. following &
1016 *kdit &c. small.
Kharia ka’iʔ some, a little, &c. (PINNOW 1959 94); by metathesis Sora ’ujiʔ-
Proto-Austronesian (i) [*] jitik: Malay k-etek small, little, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 70);
(ii) [*] ja(N)tik: Toba Batak otik to be small in quantity, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
118; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pNd[a]l(S)ik: Toba Batak pendek,
Javanese pêndêk short, &c., North Röglai pihnɛʔ (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118,
*pĩndik; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 384; & cf. POU & JENNER
1975 no. 29.

(*dac see 1015 *dat near.)

817 *duuc; *duac, (*duac duuc >) *cduac small.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer tuc; ~ (*k)duuc >) Khmer toc (!), taoc; ~ (*pdfuuc
> ) Kammu-Yuan plôc to look down, despise.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon docr /doc/ personal name, Modern Mon dot to be
small, (*cduac >) Khmer sduːac slender, slight; ~ (*[k]duac >; contaminated by
816 *k-dac) Khmer [tec]-tuːc a little.
Cf. Sre duit (a) little; & connected 1016 *kdit &c. (SCHMIDT 1905 26.)

818 *[ ]duuc; *[ ]daac to be crushed to bits.
A: (Mon, Palauing) Literary Mon (p)dut to be broken, bruised, Riang-Lang duc to be ground to powder, crushed, to crush, crumble.
B: (Viet-Mường, Katuic) Mường dách (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nát to be broken, crushed, Bru diay? broken into small pieces.

1819 *kdaac to nip with the nails.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon dāik, Khmer kdec ktic to nip off with one’s nails, Nyah Kur ndēc (implies *-ac), Kuy diec to pluck with two fingers, Nancowry karic to press down with thumbs.
(?) Sora daj- to pick, pluck.

819a *tduc solid.
(Mon, Khasi) Mon dōt to be solid, (poin —) packed solid, crowded, Khasi dait-[doh]
dense, compact, solid; (~ *tduc >) Middle Mon tādat to be solid.
Connection uncertain Santali kəṭɛ’ɟ hard, firm, strong, &c., PINNOW 1959 315.

820 *daduuc to pester.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hadut to tease, Khmer tatùc to insist, importune. (SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

1821 *[r]dac to split open.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon dōt kdat to hatch out (v.i.), Vietnamese nūt to crack open, split open, Central Nicobarese [et]-teic-[hata] to hatch out.
Sora ra’daj- to be broken, cracked, to burst apart.

821a *knaac muddy place.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer khnaːc wallow, (~?) Chrau kənaːc swamp.

822 *cnuac to spit, transfix.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Kontum Bahnar hnaːc to sharpen, to stab (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon kanot canat! spit (merging 1005 *t/rn/uut skewer), Khmer cranuːac meat on spit (& tranuːac spit, GUESDON 1930, contaminated by tranaot skewer < *t/rn/uut); ~ Khmer cranuːac (& kraːnuːac) to roast on spit.
823 *pic; *piic; *piəc; *pac; to pick, pluck.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre pic to pick, pluck, Chrau piʔ to pluck, to take.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau peć to pull apart in bits.
C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar peć to pick, pluck (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Biat peʔ, Palaung pat, Vietnamese büt to
pick, pluck; (probably, rather than variant) → Cham, Jarai peʔ, Röglaí North
Röglaí peʔ, Acehnese pet.
Connect 1020 *pit &c. to pinch…?
Sora pij- to pinch, to take a pinch.

824 *pac; *puuc to chisel.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer pāc’ to carve, ornament (GUESDON 1930),
Bru payʔ to chisel, Sre pac to incise patterns in (→ Röglaí).
B: (Mon) Old Mon pūc /puc/, Modern Mon pat to chisel.
With vocalism cf. Mon kut ad 958 *ka(a)t.
Proto-Austronesian *paqat chisel: Malay pahat, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111, *pahat;
DYEN 1953 § 47; Proto-Hesperonesian); with which Sre pənhat chisel is
ultimately connected.

824a *pac to cut through.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy pac to slash, fell, lop, Bahnar peć to cut through [wood,
bamboo].
Connect 1028 *[d]put &c.. to be severed…?

(*pa(a)c see (also) 1021 *pat to press, squeeze; *pəc see also 1022 *pat to abandon.)

825 *puuc to take clothes off.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat pọc to wane, Kammu-Yuan pùc, Palaung puit
(MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang puc, Praok puc, Lawa Bo Luang pauk, Lawa
Umpai, Mae Sariang poic to take [clothes] off, Khasi puid [snieh] to skin.
(SHAFER 1965 315.)

(*[ ]puuc see 1024 *puut to stroke, rub; *dpəc see 1028 *[d]put to be severed,
broken.)

826 *buəc kind of small vessel.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pọt bot small pot or cup (→ Burmese bywat’uic: wide-mouthed
water-jug), Khmer pùːəc (small) jar.

(*bi(a)c see 797 *b[i]ʔic to lie down, sleep.)
827 *ɓe[c] to take by force, misappropriate.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon ḃet [tasuin plan ḃa] to seize by force, Khmer bec to
   purloin, plunder (GUESDON 1930).

828 *ɓə[c] to spit.
   A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung beʔ, Kensiu bej; ~ Jehai, Semnam
   kəbej; ~ (*[m]ɓə[c] >) Praok bac.
   Cf. Khasi biah (< *ɓail[k]), Bru kubuay? to eject [liquid] from mouth.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 389.)

829 *ɓu[c]; *ɓuuc to suck.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung bot.
   B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung buit (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese mùt.
   Connection dubious 1106 *huc &c. But add perhaps Kammu-Yuan pùc liquor, under
   the entry 796 *[c?]uuc.

830 (*ɓic [ɓic &c. >?] *c[ɓic]; *c[ɓ]uuc to take in fingers.
   A: (Khmer) Old Khmer cɨc, Modern Khmer cbec to take with finger tips, take a pinch
   of, apparently → Stieng cəbec to press, squeeze, knead (beside cəbɨt).
   B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat mbioč pinch (quantifier).
   Cf. Mon bot to take in one’s hand, pick up (implying *-t; contaminated by Indonesian,
   below?); & 1020 *pit &c. to pinch, squeeze, press.
   Proto-Austronesian *bitbit: Malay bibit to carry in fingers or hand, &c. (DEMPWOLFF
   1938 31; Proto-Hesperonesian).

831 *cɓoc; *cɓooc to withdraw.
   A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar buc to pull out, pull up.
   B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon bot to draw out, unsheathe, Khmer baoc to pull up, Bru
   pûyʔ.
   Proto-Austronesian *k’abut: Malay chabut to draw ou, pull up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
   85). Hardly Indonesian → Mon-Khmer in view of *ɓ-, *-c. (Cf. POU & JENNER
   1975 no. 4.)

832 *mic (& *miic?) to desire; desirable, good.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon mic /məc/ to desire,
   Modern Mon məık [not] to wish to, (?) Bahnar dialects met to be passionate about
   (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok mek to hanker [after] (?), Lawa maic (< variant?),
   Temiar mej good, Central Sakai oməª to desire, wish.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 66, W 15.)
833 *mac; *məc to hear.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan mèc to perceive, hear.
B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar māc to hear a sound, hear something (Guilleminet 1959-63).

Connect Kammu-Yuan hərməy ear. Cf. 646 *rməŋ.

834 *muc; *muuc; *məc to dive, immerse oneself.
A, B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer muc to sink, immerse oneself (A), Stieng music to plunge into water, (B) Bahnar moc to dive, plunge, to undergo ordeal by water, (A/B) Sakai mod to bathe (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 81).
B: (Katuic) Kuy mic to dive, to sink.

835 *kmuuc dead person.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian) Khmer khmaoc ghost, Kuy (k)moc corpse, Chrau kamhoc (or < derivation?) ghost, corpse, Sre fuc grave, cemetery, Stieng kmuuc, Biat moc, Besisi kəmuyt grave (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 18), Sakai kəmoit ghost (i.e. Jah Hut; ib.); → Cham kamoit devil; ~ (*krmuuc >) Praok simuc, Lawa Bo Luang ʔəmauk, Lawa Umphai rəmoic, Mae Sariang yaməc grave, South Semai krməc ghost (Diffloth 1977).
Stieng diphthongization regular following nasal. Connection dubious Kheria goj to die, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 324f.
(Schmidt 1905 64; Blood 1966 22.)

836 *yuuc; *yuəc immoral.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon yut (→ Burmese yut) to be depraved, Palaung yut to be insolent (Milne 1931).
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar yəc fault, offence.
(Smith 1972 250.)

837 *rac; *raac to sprinkle, scatter.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [et]-yait- to wash [face], Nancowry ʔityáč to wash, pour water (or ʔ?); ~ (*cnrac >) Khasi synreit to sprinkle, scatter; ~ (*pmrac >) Stieng breəc to squirt, Biat brac to eject [water] from mouth, Khasi pharait to spatter, squirt.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer riəc distributed evenly; → Shan hūt to dash [water], to bale; ~ (*raac raac > *craac >) Biat crac to urinate; ~ Old Mon drəc /drac/ to sprinkle, Modern Mon krət to sow broadcast (merging Old Mon grəc to disseminate, with further prefix); → Cham tràʔ, Rōglai dra to sow; ~ Bahnar praəc dripping; ~ (*pmraac >) Mon parat to splash about, (or next) Stieng brac to sprinkle vigorously, Biat brac besprinkled; ~ Khmer prəac to scatter, spread; → Cham brak = tràʔ; ~ (*srəac >; in part, srāt; merging 872 *(r-)saac, which compare.) Mon sat to bale.
Note Khmer sraoc to sprinkle, Kuy sɔːc, with which cf. Bahnar pruc (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) = prac; they may reflect *sruc, but are part of the evidence for a possible *-au-. Cf. further 1066 *graat; 1059 *rut &c.; 1501 *raay to be scattered. Santali arcˈj to bale out, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 283).

838 *rac sparrow.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Stieng rec small bird, sparrow, Sre, Biat rac sparrow, Bahnar rec sparrow, munia, Khasi ‘reit (~ phreit) small migratory bird feeding on grain, Besisi róyt sparrow (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 354).
(SMITH 1972 245.)

(*rac see also 1058 *rut to pull hard on, … reap.)

838a *raac grasshopper.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy riːac, Pakoh ʔaraay2; (~ *t,raac?), by metathesis Riang-Lang ʰcar; ~ Kammu-Yuan tamràːc.
Cf. 840 *ra(ə)c maggot.

†‡839 *rəc to slice, cut through.
A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Mon rɔik rek to slice, cut with sawing motion, to peel [onions], Kuy rəc to saw, cut with sawing m., (?) Praok rac to break (off); ~ Stieng greːc to cut (through); ~ Biat prəc to lop, prune, Bahnar prəc to cut [branch &c.] above one’s head (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 845 *krə(ə)c to grind, gnash; 866 *[ʃəc &c. to cut, reap; 1058 *rut &c. …to reap. But connection dubious Riang-Lang _rac to fray.
Sora rəɟ- to cut [firewood] into small pieces.
Proto-Austronesian *kərət: Malay kərat to sever transversely, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77, *kə yat, less Sa’a to cut ends off; Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. also *arit: Malay ariːt grass-cutting knife, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 8, Proto-Hesperonesian; if Acehnese ariːt to cut up [e.g. sugar-cane] is cognate, rather *ariːat, Malay → Javanese).
Note Tibeto-Burman *riːt to reap, cut, scrape, shave, BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 371.

840 *rac; *raːc maggot.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _rac; ~ Palaung breʔ maggot (MILNE 1931), (~?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ɲgriak insect, maggot.
B: (Khasi; perhaps ~, since compounding form) Khasi [ˈn̥iːɑŋ] rieʃ woodworm.
Cf. 838a *raac grasshopper.

(*ra(ə)c see also 1058 *rut …to pull up, out… .)
841 *rɔc; *rɔɔc floor-beam.
   A, B: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon rɔt floor-beam, summer (or ← Thai?), (A) Sre rɔc cross-timber in house, Hre rɔc, Sedang rɔy floor-beam; → Thai rɔɔt floor-beam, → Khmer rɔt (TANDART 1935); ~ (B) Biat ɣrɔc floor-beam.
   Connect obscure Khmer ran००t; as Palaung rɔn (MILNE 1931).
   (SMITH 1972 253.)

842 *ruːc; *ruːuc; *ruːac to retreat, withdraw.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ruːic to free oneself; escape (or बʔ?), Sre, Biat ruːc to step back, retreat; ~ Sre tanruːc (DOURNES 1950), Biat ndruc to force back, Bahnar tadrut to give way (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63; !).
   B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer rɔːc [moon] to wane, (probably, rather than A) Stieng ruːic day of moon’s waining period, Central Nicobarese yuːit to disappear, vanish, dissolve, melt.
   C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer rʊːac to escape, Nancowry yʊːac to wain.
   Connect 1505 *ru(u)y behind?

843 *ruːc; *ruːuc; *rɔc to fall, drip.
   A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Kammu-Yuan rʊːc-rʊːc [to rain] heavily, Vietnamese rɔt to leak, ooze; → Acehnese rot to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*ruːc ruːc > *cruc?) → Acehnese srot to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*cnruːc >) Sre sanruːc funnel (→ Röglai danruːc); ~ Sre truc, Jeh trut to pour out (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Chrau traʔ to pour, spill, contaminated by 406 *[c]rʊk).
   B: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Kuy rʊːac [faeces] to come out in diarrhoea, Palaung ruːayʔ, ruːat to drip, Praok ruːac to fall, be shed, Central Nicobarese yuːai-[ŋə] to overflow, Nancowry yuːacŋa ad yuːac to flow; ~ Khmer croːc to pour from a spout; Onomatopoeic for liquid so poured, (1) cruoːc to pour out, Vietnamese rɔt to pour; ~ Biat nDUːac funnel.
   C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer /creːc creːc/ cric cric with a squirting sound, Biat [jiː] chrɔːc diarrhoea; (probably) → Acehnese [moː]-creːc-creːc to come out in spurts; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bancreːc to cause to drip.
   Connect 1504 *ruːy &c. to fall, be shed; 2051 *ruːh &c. to fall, be shed; & cf. 1059 *rʊt &c. to sprinkle, scatter. Note also Malay chirit diarrhoea, &c., Cebuano Bisayan silit to flow in a continuous stream (Proto-Austronesian *k’irit, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-Hesperonesian); perhaps cognate if vocalism reflects original palatal final.

843a *r[u]c; *r[uə]c to gut.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre rɔc.
   B: (Bahnaric) Biat, Bahnar rɔɔc.
   Or *rɔ(ə)c, unless connected following.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

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(*ruc see also 1058 *rut to pull hard on... .)

844 *ruuc; *ruəc intestine.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Mon krot krut intestine, Sakai (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 160 (a)) kröt belly; ~ (*kruuc > ) Sre proc intestine; → Malay pėrut belly, womb, probably → Sakai pėro̞ belly (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 164 (b)).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy:rúac, Muông roch (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese ruòt intestine; ~ Stieng, Biat pròc; → Cham prøy?, Jarai praai?, pruai?, Rögglai pro(a)y, North Rögglai pua?, Acehnese pruat.

Connect perhaps preceding; & (i) Kammu-Yuan pəc̱“ṟ:c mesentery; (ii) Semelai lapac belly, &c. (= Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 164 (a)), by metathesis; (iii) Sora on’loida-n, compounding form lo(i):j-, Kharia lai j belly, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 282.

(Shafer 1965 514.)

(*ruuc see also 1058 *rut to pull up, out... .)

§845 *krač; *kraəc to grind, gnash [teeth].

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang krač.

B: (Palaungic; ~ *[ ]nraəc > ) Praok gruc.

Cf. 839 *rac to slice, cut through.

(Apparently) Proto-Austronesian *kayat; Toba Batak harat to gnaw, bite, &c.


846 *kruuc; *kruəc citrus.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy króc, Stieng kruić, Hre kroc, Sedang kruy.


Connected further Ancient Chinese kjȕt 橘 orange. (Pou & Jenner 1973 205).

(Schmidt 1905 60; Blood 1966 59; Smith 1972 260.)

847 *kruuc; *kruəc kind of gamebird.

A: (Bahnaric; ~ *krmruuc > ) Stieng bruəc partridge, Bahnar [sem] brox bird resembling francolin (Guilmimet 1959-63).

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kruxəc quail, partridge; ~ Chrau vrwac (kind of) pheasant.
848 *[c]raac kind of wood-oil tree.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer, Kuy trac *Dipterocarpus intricatus*, Biat [caï]
rhac wood-oil, Chrau rac, Bahnar dialects rac, h(a)rac kind of wood-oil tree
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham tray? *Dipterocarpus intricatus*, North Röglai trai?
kind of resinous tree.
The variant Mon san srān (wood-oil obtained from) Melanorrhoea usitata supports *c-;
so Khmer, Kuy t- by dissimilation?

849 *truc; *truuc lac.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kraik, Palaung krut, Riang-Lang trac; (or B) apparently →
Miri tərəc lac insect (BENEDICT 1972 n.).
B: (Mon) Mon krət krut.
Burmese khyip (XVI C), semantically contaminated by Mon-Khmer, is < Tibeto-
Burman *krep bug, ant: BENEDICT 1972 74 no. 347 & n. 230.

850 *pr[a]c wing.
A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Praok pruc, Lawa Bo Luang [kam]phrauk, Lawa Umphai
proic, Mae Sariang phyoic, Bateg Nong pəwic, Sabum payej, Semelai parəc.

(*brac see 922 *bruun spotted.)

851 *mroc pepper.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon mrek /mrɔiək/,
Modern Mon parəik, Khmer mrouc, Stieng mbrec (beside mrec ← Khmer),
Sre məʔ, Chrau məʔ, Biat m(b)rəc (beside mbrec ← Khmer), Palaung brut
(contaminated by Burmese, below?), Lawa Bo Luang mbruuk, Lawa Umphai
mbroic, Mae Sariang mbyoic, Khasi [soh]-mrit; → Sanskrit marica-; Cham
amrə? (→ Bahnar amrə?, Gölar həmrə?), məʔ, Röglai amrə?; Thai pʰrík (→
Kammu-Yuan prɪʔ, Thin blik); Burmese niət.
Stieng perhaps by early interdialectal borrowing.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 539.)

852 *lic; *l(i)əc to emerge.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer lęc lec to come out (of), appear, to
stick out, to seep, leak, Stieng lec to drip, leak, to stick out, Besisi lek to get up (i.e.
Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 132); → Biat rklec drop, drip.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lec to go out, [sun] to rise.
Connect Sre lik to go out, come out, [paddy] come up, [sun]rise.
853 *lac to enter.
   A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khmer) Old Khmer luc, Middle Khmer lıc to set (probably, merging to sink < following; beside lıc lıc west), Kuy líc [to plunge knife] right in, Prak líc, Lawa liak to enter, Temiar laj to arrive unexpectedly (Benjamin 1976b 138); ~ Bahnar glek, klec, kłeck to penetrate (Guilleminet 1959-63).

854 *lac; *ləɛc; *laaɛ to be flooded, to sink.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer lıc lıc to sink, be partly immersed (merging probably to set < preceding.), Kuy líc to flood, Stieng [dàːk] lıc primordial flood (→ Chrâu lic to flood?); → Cham lıc spring tide; ~ Biat njlıc to drown (v.t.).
   B: (Palaungic) ~ Riáng-Lang lıc to sink, be drowned.
   C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng líc to overflow, flood.
   C perhaps secondary in post-dental context; so < *lät-s ~ 1077 *lát to be extinguished? *líc to turn upside down ad 423 *lak may belong here, with sense by attraction Cf. further 1287 *lap &c. to immerse; Vietnamese lût to be inundated.
(*líc see also 423 *líc to overturn….; (*l[a]c) 424 *lak to sleep; 1081 *lut to slip (off, down).)

1855 *lɔc; *ləɛc; *lək penis.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre loc; ~ Amwi phloc.
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [nɔɛt-kɔmet]-ləɛ set boar.
   C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar lɔ: (Guilleminet 1959-63; contaminated by 1857 *klaaw, which compare), Kammu-Yuan lök, Khasi lɔh (~ thlo), Sakai lɔkn (i.e. Temoq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 53).
   A-B prior in view of Munda, below; C by tabu deformation? Connect 1520 *k(-)-lɔy?.
   Sora lɔʔaj-ən, (compounding form) (a)laj-ən, Santali la:j, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 289); by secondary development Sora lʔo:j-ən, compounding form loj-ən testicle.
   (Proto-Austronesian *ulak >?) Cebuano Bisayan uluk, ulûk, perhaps Tongan ule, Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian *ule.

1856 *luc; *luɛc; *ləc; *ləɛc; *ləc to steal.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Stieng luɛc theft, Vietnamese [bọc] lọt to rob.
   B: (Khmer) Khmer luɛc to steal, Bru lọy to take [fish] without permission (< *uuc?); → Cham ləvj.
   C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre kle? to steal, purloin; → Cham, Jarai klẹ?, Röglai kle?, North Röglai tle? to steal.
   D: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ləc to steal.
   E: (Mon) ~ Mon klət; ~ Old Mon kumləc /kəmləc/, Modern Mon palət thief.
   Originally *lut-s &c. causative ~ 1081 *lut &c. to slip (off…)? Connection dubious
   Central Nicobarese kəlo:- to steal, kəmaləx: theft, Nancowry kalό?, kamaló?.
   (Schmidt 1905 42.)
Kharia *lusi to rob, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 318b); → Sanskrit lūṣati &c., Prakrit lutṭai.

(*luc see also 1081 *lut to slip (off, down); (*[ ]luc) 1083 *[ ]luut to sprout; *luuc, *luac see (also) 1081 *lut.)

857 *klaac frightened, timid.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon klat to be tame, Literary Mon klāt also to be timorous, Khmer khlaac, Biat klac to be frightened; → Cham klat, klet.
   Cf. Bru kañary? to be fearful; kla? cowardly, timid; 1086 *[c]laat.

858 *kluuc (& *kluc?) to rub.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon klóik (!) to rub [one’s eyes] (< variant; or dialect, replacing **klot for homophony, cf. 856 (E)?), Palaung klut to wipe (MILNE 1931), Praok kluc to knead; → Jakun kulut to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 195).
   Cf. Sre klo to rub, scrape, chafe, perhaps < *kluuk by assimilation.
   Proto-Austronesian *lu([d,]lu([d,])J Malay lutul massage with cosmetics, &c. (Proto-Malayo-Javanese *lulu, NOTHOFER 1975 104).

858a *kluuc on the point of burning.
   A: (Khmer, Khasi, Katuic) Khmer khlaoc burnt, scorched, Khasi khluit boiling hot, scorching hot, Bru klóy? burnt completely (< *uac?).
   Cf. 803 *[b]ku(u)c hot.

859 *gluuc loose, lax.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok luc to be lax; ~ Khasi kylluid roomy, loose, lax.

860 *[d,]nuuc; *[d,]nluuc awl.
   A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _tanluuc awl; to bore with a red-hot awl.
   B: (Mon) Mon hånòt banot, banat awl.
   Or *-nn2? then perhaps connected 822 *cnuac to spit, transfix. Note also Khmer cûnlûn (TANDART 1935 also conlûn; → Biat congloñ), Kuy tañ mlhûn goad (< *cnuñ so perhaps Mon kanon sting (organ)).

861 *[b]lec; *[b]lac; *[b]lac to miss the mark, mistake, forget.
   A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmer) Mon plèt to miss (the m), to be wrong, (or less probably variant > ) Khmer phlèc bhlec to forget, Khasi let amiss; transgression (compounding form; or ad unattested derivation; referred to the secondary derivation klet to forget), Vietnamese trêch to miss the mark.
   B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Mon plòt [plèt] miss the mark, to go astray (blot!; or ~ 1082 *luat to err?), Sre blac lie, (probably, cf. the derivation) Bahnar blec [arrow &c.] to go wide, (bla? — to be unreliable; ~ (*[b]rlac > ) Biat rlac to deny; ~ (*[b]plac > ) Bahnar plec to lie; liar (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63 plaç), Khasi phlait to miss, (compounding form?) lait mistake.
C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *trạt* to miss.
Only Khasi impedes reconstruction of *bl-. Vocalism unusual.

861a *[r]laac to collapse, be destroyed.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *lāc* to disappear, be lost, Lawa *laic* to c., be destroyed; ~ Biat *r̥lāc* (!) to devastate, ravage, trample; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Kammu-Yuan *plāc* to take away, to destroy, waste, to melt down, to erase.

Cf. 422 *laik &c. to dissolve…; 92 7 *ləɲ to be destroyed… .

862 *wic; *wiic; *wiac twisted.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat *wic* [weːl] (peppercorn) curl; ~ Khmer *khvec* *khvic* turning (TANDART 1935), Chrau *kwĩʔ* to roll, twist.
B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan *kərwĩc-[kərůwɯal] winding, meandering.
C: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer *vīc* twisted, crooked, winding, dishonest, (or following, which connect, >?) Bahnar *wec* to twist (v.i), to turn aside.
Connected further 1090 *wit &c. to go round… .

863 *wac to eddy, to twist.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Mon *wôt* to wring out, Sre *wac*, Biat [dak] *wac* [weːl] eddy (& Bahnar *wec* to twist…, under the entry preceding?), Central Sakai *wêt, uêt* to twist, wring; ~ (*krwac >) Biat *rwac* to twist [hair] into knot, Khasi *khyrwait* to twist, wring, strangle.
Connect preceding; & cf. further Riang-Lang *vïɛt* to wring; 1021 *pat &c. * to go round….

863a *wac to hop, leap.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *wàc* [fish] to leap, Biat [nchat teː] *wac* to hop on one leg.

864 *wac; *waac knife, sword.
A: (Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Khasi *wait dao*, Temiar *ʔɔwaj*, Semelai *wɔy* knife.

Cf. Mendriq *wɛɲ* knife, &c. Temiar suggests a secondary *ʔuac*. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 124.)

865 *wac stomach.
Aslian, Nicobaric initials obscure.
(shaft 1965 194; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 161.)
866 *[ ]wāc; *[ ]wəwac; *[ ]wək; *[ ]w[ua]k to cut, reap.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang wiak to break (off); ~ (*[ ]mwac >) Palaung meʔ to cut [tree] down, lop, Khasi mait to cut, to clear [jungle].
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _wāc, _wac to reap, cut.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre mə sickle, (~?) Praok muk to cut, slash, Lawa Bo Luang mək, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mək to kill.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung νə, Praok νək to reap; ~ Palaung ṛəvə reaping, Praok sivək sickle.
Note also Lawa Umphai wek grass-cutting knife; Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai mək to reap, mow. D secondarily from C, perhaps *[ ]wəc; then ~ Riang-Lang _mək to cut with swinging motion, hew, otherwise ← Shan wək, ← 371 *gək to chop, hoe. C-D contaminated by this? Then conceivably *rəwə(a)c, connected 1058 *ruat(-s) ... to reap Cf. further 839 *rəc to slice, cut through; 390 *riak ... to harvest.

(*wəc see also 933 *w[ə]n to play.)

867 (*kwaat-s >?) *kwaac; *kwac; *[g]wat; *gwaat; *gwaac to scratch (up).
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer kəvac, Stiang kwac, Biat kwac (& kwək!) to scratch, Sre kəvac to scratch (oneself), Palaung kwat to grate, Kensiu kəwəj to scratch, by back-formation (or ~?) Kuy wiəc to scratch up.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrâu kwac to scoop up.
C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [fa]-kwət-[həpa] to scratch with nail &c.
D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer khvəat to scratch with tip of finger, Kuy (k)wət (!) to scratch, Riang-Lang _vət to shave.
E: (Mon) Mon kwət to shave, Proto-Nyah Kur *khəvac (DIFFLOTH 1984 V103). Connect Vietnamese quät to exhume, dig out, excavate. Cf. 802 *kaac; 802a *k[oo]c to dig (up); 1442 *kaay; A138 *kwaay; 1880 *kais &c.; 1881 *kuus &c. (Cf. SKET & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)
Sora aj- [fowls] to scratch; to rake over [coals] (or : *kaac?).

868 *gwaːc; *gwəaːc to beckon.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Kuy (k)waːc (!), (or B?) Central Sakai gawet, giwot; ~ Riang-Lang _kalvəc [*tiʔ].
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru kuwɔːnʔ to beckon, Kammu-Yuan kwəc, by assimilation Lawa Bo Luang kwək.
Connect Bahnar kwəc; Khasi khəwoit (~ *k.wəc?) to beckon, to paddle. Santali ɡəvi’, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 68).

869 *twii[c]; *twəc dark.
A: (Katuic) Kuy (t)weʔ dark, night.
B: (Palaungic) Praok vəc, Lawa fiək dark.
(*[r]wəc, *rwəəc see 1094 *[r]wat inattentive, to forget.)

870 *sic to fight.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon sic /səc/ [jəl], Modern Mon səik to quarrel, brawl; (?) → Thai sìk (→ Khmer suik), Shan shûk war; ~ Biat nchîc to set dog fighting.

871 *sac edible substance, fruit, meat.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon sac /sɔc/, Modern Mon sɔt fruit, Khmer sac flesh, meat, Kuy sac meat, Bahnar sec lean meat, Kensi, Temiar sej, Semelai sac meat (with cognates meaning fruit, cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 170 (a)).
Cf. Tibeto-Burman *sey fruit, Benedict 1972 27 no. 57.
(Smith 1972 247.)

872 *sac; *saac to bale out.
A: (Khasi, South Bahnaric) Khasi kynshait to syringe; ~ pashait to splash with foot; ~ (*sn- >; perhaps with secondary shortening, cf. Biat ~ b) Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm nhac drizzle.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Kautic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Mon sat to bale (in part, sāt; merging *r-saac, 837 *r-raac), Khmer, Kuy sac to bale, to throw from bucket, Sre sac to empty with bucket, Chrau sac to bale out fish-dam, Riang-Lang thac earth cast of land-crab &c., Vietnamese tài to irrigate, bale out; → Cham thây? to pour away, to bale out [fish-pond], [rain] to come down; ~ Biat nhac drizzle, Khasi snaid strainer; ~ (*[s]nsaac >) Bahnar hjac strainer; ~ Bahnar dialects hamac strainer (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Mon sat to bale (in part, shât; see above), Khmer rasac in a very scattered manner, Biat rchac to sprinkle, Chrau chat (with -t by dissimilation) to sprinkle ritually, Lawa Bo Luang ?asaic, Lawa Umphai rasaic, Mae Sariang yasaic to wash [hands]; ~ Old Mon rinšac /ransac/ to sprinkle.
Khmer has also rasoc to spread out, well out (Guesdon 1930), with which cf. Mintil soc, Bateg Nong soc to wash, bathe; & sraoc to sprinkle, under the entry *raac. They may reflect *rsuuc &c., but are part of the evidence for a possible *-au-.
(Blood 1966 365; Smith 1972 255; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 142.)

1873 *suc; *suuc; *suəc; *sac; *siic to sting.
A: (Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer soc small kind of mosquito, Kuy soc sandfly, Bahnar dialect tsuc to sting (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Temiar samuj wasp (Benjamin 1976b 186).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy *soc to sting, Sre *soc to prick, sting, Biat *hoc, Bahnar *soc, Kammu-Yuan *hue, Riang-Lang *hué, Praok *hue, Proto-Semai *sruc to sting (DIFFLOTH 1977); (~ (*smuc > ) Kuy *moc, mho:c (or < *smuc, below?), Bahnar hmo:c, Jeh mut, Halang mu:t, Kammu-Yuan múc, Lawa Bo Luang ʔmauk, Lawa Umphai ʔmaut, Mae Sariang ʔmaut ant, Proto-Semai *smuc stingling insect (DIFFLOTH 1977); → Thai mót ant (&c., cf. BENEDICT 1975 219; → Kammu-Yuan mòt); Cham hmôc; Malay, Javanese sëmut, Karo Batak semut; ~ Khmer sràmaoc ant, Bahnar sàmac stingling (organ); (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) hornet; ~ Praok *nuce stingling.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) (*smac > ) Mon *hamot samat ant, Proto-Nyah Kur *ehmyac; ~ Alakong Bahnar hmuac ant (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung karhuayt wasp.

D: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang *huc "hac nettle; ~ (*smac > ) Sre *samac, Biat mac, Bahnar sàmac, (original compounding form?) Khasi mait mosquito.

E: (Mon, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng suixc (!) [scorpion’s] sting, → Shan sit to sting; ~ Mon hamit mosquito; ~ Sakai këmit mosquito (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 180 (a)).

Connect perhaps (i) 1099 *su(ut) kind of bee; (ii) 1496 *smuys &c. mosquito, gnat.

But connection dubious Acehnese kamua, Cham mu:, Jarai mu:, &c. white ant; Vietnamese con mót white ant, which probably reflect *r.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50, 64; SHAFER 1965 316, 339; BLOODY 1966 352; SMITH 1972 257; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 25.)

Sora suj- to pierce, ~ (compounding form) muj- ant, Kharia mu:j, &c. (PINNOW 1959 130); Sora 'samaj-an mosquito.

874 *ksac; *ksaac sand.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer khsac; ~ (*kmuc > ) Riang-Lang mac.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) by metathesis > *skaac > Kuy skac, Mường cach (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese cat; (~ (*kmuc > ) Praok mac, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai hmac; (~ (*ksaac by metathesis > *krcaas by metathesis > ) Kammu-Yuan cré:s.

Connect also Cham cuah, Jarai chuah, Röglai coah, North Röglai cuah; Chrau cuh sand, Biat caiih gravel.

(SHAFER 1965 314.)

875 *huc; *huuc; *hac finished.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang hoic, Lawa Umphai hoic to come to an end, Temiar hoic already (BENJAMIN 1976B 160); (probably, rather than C) ~ Khasi khoit completely.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan hoic particle of completed action, Thin hoic to be finished, exhausted; sequential connective; mark of superlative; all, Lawa Bo Luang hauk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hoic to use up.
C: (Palaungic) Praok huac to have finished; perfect auxiliary.

D: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang ḥac all; to exhaust; ~ Khasi khait = khoit.

= following ?Connect certainly 1539 *hay &c. finished & probably 1113 *phut to cease (so < *hut-s &c.); then surely also 798 *rʔuc &c., *rʔuyuy finished.

876 *huc; *huuc; *həac; *hiac to decrease, decay.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Biat huc to decrease, ebb, (or B?) Central Sakai hût starvation.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon hut to deteriorate, decay, dwindle, Khmer haoc (!) only very slight in quantity, (TANDART 1935) decayed; ~ Khmer hoć to go bad, go wrong, Kuy hoć to break down, be marred, disordered, Stieng kuc, khoć(ɨ) to spoil, damage, destroy; spoiled &c. (or A?), Biat khoć to be spoiled, Bahnar khoć diminishing (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C, D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hić used up, wasted, squandered (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (D); ~ Bahnar dialects hɨrać to decrease, to use up, waste (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; C).

= preceding? Connect perhaps 1109 *jhuut to go backwards. Note further Bahnar huac = hɨrać.

(*huc see also also 1106 *hut to suck, drink.)

877 *huuc; *huac to whistle.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hóc (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham huyt; ~ Bahnar hahoc.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Aslian) Khmer huac, Stieng hu:ɨc, Sre hoac, Biat huac, Bahnar hoć (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang ḥuac, Vietnamese huyt, Semang hu ek (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (b)); → Jarai hːac, Röglai haoc, North Röglai huaiʔ, Acehnese huat; ~ (*huac > *chuac >) Mon chot (khycot); but dialects confirm *ch-, Kuy (kh)häuser; ~ Chrau tawac.

Cf. Jeh tahuayh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (<-*-huas). Onomatopoeic (SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

(*huuc see also also 1106 *hut to suck, drink.)

878 *huac to flow.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Central Rölöm hoac, Biat hoć to flow, Bahnar hoć [water] to carry away; to unroll, flow out, Khasi hoić to flow out, seep out; ~ Bahnar tahoc to dispose of by throwing into stream, (GUESDON 1930) to overflow.

Connect Kuy hayu.

(BLOOD 1966 52.)

(*huac see also also 1106 *hut to suck, drink.)
*khuc; *khuuc; *kh[uyh] to wipe, wash.
A: (Palaungic) Praok khoc to wash.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung khut, khuit to wipe, Lawa Bo Luang khauk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang khoic to wash, Khasi khuid clean, pure.
C: (Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Palaung khyo, Riay-Lang `khe to wash, Semang [ya'] kūās to wipe (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 123; ?).
Kharia gu'j to wash (PINNOW 1959 K 61; Proto-Munda *goc?).
Proto-Austronesian *[ ]u g'ut': Toba Batak ugus to rub, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 160, discarding Tagalog; ?).
Perhaps two roots, with contamination: Proto-Mon-Khmer *khu(u)c to wash:
Munda, -*uy[h] to wipe: Austronesian.

(*knuoc see 272 *chuɔk corner.)

*bhic; *bhiic to fear.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon phic /phoc/, Modern Mon phāik, Jah Hut bohec; ~ Old Mon buhic to frighten.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat phit nervous [horse], (— phai) fear, terror.

*[l]nhəəc light in weight.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng laŋəəc, Sre, Biat nŋəəc, Chrau nŋhəəc, Mnong Gar rŋhəəc, Bahnar həʔyəəc.
Or *r-? Bahnar by assimilatory palatalization of nasal.
(BLOOD 1966 411.)

(*ʔaən see 1116 *ʔaa[n] tray of betel-box.)

*ʔa[i][l]; *ʔia[p] (elder) brother.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung an parent’s sibling of same sex, Mường enh (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese anh elder brother.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔean, Lawa Umphai ʔen father’s younger brother.
Or *ʔain &c.; but *-ŋ if Praek [pu]ac brothers, Lawa ʔiak elder brother (< *ʔac?) are connected. Note South Aslian forms: Semelai ʔiʔeʔ, (distinguished by BENJAMIN from) Mah Meri yeʔ elder sibling, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 421.
(SHAFER 1965 341.)

*ʔəɲ to endure, wait out.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon ɕiŋ to suffer, endure, tolerate, Literary Mon ’eŋ also to be patient; ~ Sre lʔiŋ to wait, be patient.
Cf. 1151 *ɲa(ə)nʔ ...to endure.
884 *ʔəɲ to fast, abstain from food.  
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ɲìŋ, Khasi en (!) [ja].  
Khasi spelling may assume palatalization to be junctural. Cf. Central Nicobarese jìt-ŋa hungry.

885 *ʔuŋ (& *ʔuŋ?) fire.  
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng u(i)ŋ, Chrau, Bahnar (Collectors) un, Jeh ùn, Halang un; ~ (*jheeʔuŋ [iŋ by contraction >; with compensatory lengthening?) Biat choʔoŋ charcoal.  
Connect 1872 *[jʔus &c.?  
(SHAFER 1965 447a; BLOOD 1966 151; SMITH 1972 81; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 124.)

886 *kʔaiŋ; *kʔiŋ; *kʔi [iŋ wasp.  
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kəʔáŋ kind of wasp, Palaung kəʔəŋ wasp, Khasi kyìeng wasp, hornet; ~ (*kmʔaiŋ >) Jeh mahanŋ fighter wasp, Halang mahanŋ wasp.  
B: (Khmer; ~ *knʔiŋ >) Khmer nɛ̀əŋ kind of wasp.  
C: (Khasi) Khasi k’ing wasp, hornet.  
Pre-Khmer *iŋ > *-əŋ by palatal absorption. Connect 485 *ʔuŋ &c. wasp, hornet.

887 *jʔuŋ; *jhuuŋ to smell, sniff.  
A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu ʔəŋ, Temiar ʔuŋ to smell, sniff; ~ (*jʔuŋ jʔuŋ > *njʔuŋ > *nuuŋ >) Mon yəŋ to smell, (or ~ *jnʔuŋ >?) Semai noy to smell.  
B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon chəŋ chuŋ, (~?) Kuy huŋ to smell, smell, embrace (JOHNSTON 1969 has hŋuŋ to smell, < *jhuuŋ).  
Mon, perhaps Semai final by dissimilation; but Semai may attest a further variant *jʔuuy; cf. here Central Nicobarese yi smell. Note also Riang-Lang _kung to kiss.  
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 294.)  
Kharia jii to sm., &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 315).  
Cf. Proto-Austronesian *k’i(S)um to sniff, nose-kiss: Malay chium, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, *k’i=jum; Proto-West-Indonesian).

888 *smʔaŋ star.  
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon sam’an (?), Literary Mon saman, Stieng sameŋ, Sre, Chrau saman, Biat manŋ, Palaung samŋ, Riang-Lang _sakmanŋ, Praok simuŋ, Lawa Bo Luang saʔbəuŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔmoiŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan samrnjŋ.  
Cf. Danaw kâ’lan (< *slʔaŋ?).  
(SHAFER 1965 166, 374; BLOOD 1966 348.)
889 *kiŋ (& *kiŋ?) head, termination.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre kiŋ end, Palaung kiŋ, Riang-Lang *kiŋ (<
   variant?), Praok kaŋ, Lawa kaŋ head.
   Mon kɔŋ⁵⁵ tiŋ may reflect a variant *k/.n/u(u)ŋ.
   (SHAFER 1965 5.)

890 *k[i]ŋ; *kunft work.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon keŋ[kə] work, business (→ Burmese 'akuĩi'), Praok
   kaŋ act, deed, work.
   B: (Viet-Mùông) Mùông (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese công work.

891 *kiŋ[ ]; *kiŋ[ ]; *kaŋ? elbow.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stiang [kɔŋ] kicn, Chrau [kuŋ] kiaŋ [tiː],
   C: (Khamer, Kuy, Viet-Mùông) Khmer kaŋ [daj], Kuy [tɔːt] keŋ, Bru [tɔːt] keŋ,
   Vietnamese cánh [chó].
   Connect 650 *ky[o]ŋ? Note Sakai kanang (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42).
   (SMITH 1972 91.)

892 *kuŋ; *kuŋ; *kuŋ; *kuŋ, *kuʊn, *dkuʊn to bend down; bent.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Mon kun dwarf, to be
   humpbacked, Proto-Nyah Kur *kuŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V115), Khmer kuŋ dwarfish,
   stunted, shrivelled (GUESDON 1930), Biat koŋ to bend down (v.i.t.), Semang kion,
   kiun crooked (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 175 (b); or B); ~ Khmer ʔəŋkoŋ to bend
   [limbs].
   B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kuŋ to bend (down), lower (v.t); bent down, arched
   (GIULLEMINET 1959-63).
   C: (South Bahnaric) Sre kun to bend down (→ Röglai).
   D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer kaŋ bending, huddled up…, Kammu-
   Yuan kún, Khasi khun to bend, (*dk- >) Bahnar [kəduʔ] gon hunchback; ~ Sre
   rakoun to bend, be rucked.
   Final variant unusual. Bahnar *dk- contaminated by Indonesian, below? Vocalism
   post-dental, cf. 335a *duuk; GIULLEMINET 1959-63 has gon tagøn, gun taguŋ;
   gon tagom. Add perhaps to D Proto-Khmuic *knuʊn knee, Kammu-Yuan kənún.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 22)
   (?) Proto-Austronesian *dakʊŋ: Javanese děkung bent, bowing down, &c.
   (DEMPWOLFF 1938 39; DAHL 1973 § 14.20; perhaps rather ad 500 *koŋ).
   Connection dubious Santali kɔŋde'j, kɔŋde'd bent, bowed, crooked, PINNOW 1959 186;
   unless via Indo-Aryan, if this root → Sanskrit kuñi-, TURNER 1962-66 3259; cf. Pali
   kuṇḍa- bent, crooked. See BENEDICT 1975 231.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

893 *[ jkuːp; *[ ]kuɐŋ father, mother’s brother.
A: (South Bahnaric, Katuc, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre koun mother’s brother, mother’s uncle, Chrau koŋ mother’s younger brother (BLOOD 1966), Biat koŋ parent’s younger brother, Bru koŋ father, Kuy (ʔa)koŋ term of address to paternal great-uncle, Kammu-Yuan kūːŋ father’s sister’s husband, Palaung kun, Praok kuŋ father, Proto-Semai *krvŋ parent’s elder brother... (DIFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese koin husband, Nancowry kóp; ~ Semnam ʔaŋkoŋ male, husband, Central Nicobarese enkoŋ male.

B: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Central Rōlōm koŋ mother’s younger brother.
Or *ʔk-
(BLOOD 1966 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 38, M 15 (d.).

893a *[tɡaːŋ early, soon.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gaŋ early (beside gon; BLOOD 1966 ɡaŋ-ɡaŋ soon, quickly), Central Rōlōm ɡaŋ soon, quickly, Biat gaŋ soon, quickly, early, to hurry, Bahnar koŋ later on, shortly. (BLOOD 1966 393.)

894 *jiŋ; *jiŋ to sew.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Stieng jin (!), Sre jin, Chrau jin, Biat juŋ, Praok can, (or B?) Central Sakai chēk; ~ Stieng jiriŋ seam.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon jin, [s]-jin /jiŋ/, Modern Mon cōŋ, Palaung jin, Lawa Bo Luang cunj, Lawa Umphai chin, Mae Sariang c(h)jin.
Stieng -n by dissimilation Cf. Khasi jain cloth, clothes. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

895 *tjaŋ quarrelsome.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Sre jañ violent illness (DOURNES 1950); [buffalo] to be unapproachable, Biat jañ malevolent, brutal, (təm —) to quarrel, Muong chenh (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese tranh, chanh to dispute, quarrel, Central Nicobarese [men]-jeŋa quarrelsome, Nancowry minsēŋa cruelty; ~ (*tnjaŋ >) Middle Mon tayān, Modern Mon kayan to dispute, Biat njañ to annoy, Vietnamese giánh = tranh; (?) by secondary derivation ~ Praok [sim] simañ to be contentious.

896 *snuːŋ; *sɲ[ə]ɲ; *sniːŋ wrinkled; to frown, grimace.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer soun disgusted [expression], (?) Biat huan wrinkle, wrinkled; ~ Mon hapon to snarl, to screw up one’s face, frown.
B: (Khmer, Katucic, Viet-Mường) Khmer sœŋ snię showing one’s teeth, Kuy sɲp, nhıɲ to expose teeth, grimace, Vietnamese nhăn (1) to be wrinkled, to make faces.
896a *t1iŋ; *t1iŋ; *t1iəŋ *t1əŋ to pluck, twang.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar t1iŋ-[niŋ] kind of plucked stringed instrument.
B: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khermer, Khasi) Mon toiŋ to pluck [stringed instrument], Palaung tıŋ guitar (Milne 1931), Praok tıŋ harp; ~ Shan tıŋ harp; ~ Old Khmer tmiṅ (or A) player of stringed instrument; ~ Old Mon tımını̯ /tammiņ/ player of stringed instrument; (or A?) ~ Khasi [majirynthing] stringed instrument played with plectrum, ‘Khasi harp’.
C: (Khermer) Khermer dıaŋ to push gently aside.
D: (Khermer, Central Aslian) Khmer /deŋ/ teŋ to pluck strings, Proto-Semai *təjən to pluck (Diffloth 1977).

Onomatopoeic?

896b *t1iŋ; *təj to know.

A: (Khermer, South Bahnaric) Khermer dıŋ; ~ Khermer pdıŋ to inform, to report, to complain, sue; ~ Sre ntiŋ to send word (by), Biat nteŋ to make recommendations.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat nteŋ to send word.

1341 *t1iim contaminated by 904 *pdeŋ to memorize?

897 *t1iŋ hot.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stieng teŋ hot, heat, fever, Chrau [duh] təŋ hot [water], Kammu-Yuan [tās] təŋ dry and sunny [place], Central Nicobarese tain hot, Nancowry tán; ~ Biat ntaŋ to warm up.

(Shaffer 1965 84.)

898 *t1aŋ to weave, plait, twill.

A: (Mon, Khermer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobarese, Central Aslian) Mon tan to plait, twill, Kuy təŋ to weave, twill, Chrau təŋ to twill, Sre, Biat, Bahnar təŋ to plait, weave, Jeh, Halang tan, Kammu-Yuan təŋ to weave, Riang-Lang təŋ, Praok təŋ, Lawa tain, Khasi thain to plait, weave, Mường tanh (Barker 1966 13), Vietnamese dan to weave, Temiar tāc to plait (Benjamin 1976B 133), Central Nicobarese [en]-tainya to plait, weave, Nancowry tán, ʔintáŋ; ~ Old Khmer tmač young, ~ Khmer tbaŋ to weave, plait (properly nominal form).

Palaung teŋ to weave [bamboo matting] may imply a variant *taiŋ; tuən (Mon) to weave [bamboo matting] is probably contaminated by 910 *təuəŋ to twist (together). Cf. also 1467 *[k]rtəŋ to twist (together).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 335; SMITH 1972 94; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 126.)

Sora tāŋ-, Kharia tāŋ to weave, &c. (PINNOW 1959 301)

899 *tāŋ to chase.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ūŋ tên to pursue, chase away, Stieng tīŋ, Sre tīŋ to chase, Biat tōŋ to chase, follow.
(BLOOD 1966 148.)

(*[k]rtəŋ see 1467 *[k]rtəy to twist together.)

899a *kltəuŋ; *k[l]təuŋ fern.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Biat rtoŋ [kro̞], Sedang kasún, Kammu-Yuan karsuŋ, Central Nicobarese latoiŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kətəŋ.
(SMITH 1972 95.)

900 *dian; *dən to be dazed.
A: (Mon) Old Mon deŋ, Literary Mon dən [knop].
B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon deŋ, Modern Mon toığ to be dazed, Vietnamese dən to be dull, simple-minded.

(*dən see 1470 *daay ...to lean on.)

901 *dun; *dūn ( & *dən?) to gather up.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre doŋ; → Jarai dūŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Biat doŋ to glean, Chrau, Bahnar doŋ to gather up; (Jeh/Halang? *dən?) → Cham tôn, Röglai doan, North Röglai duat.

902 *duan to deplore.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tōn to scold, chide, complain, grumble, Khmer tūuŋ to lament; ~ Mon hənɔ̀n chiding, Khmer tūmnuŋ lament, lamentation.

903 *kdţŋ; *kdiţŋ; *kdţŋ ( & *kduuŋ?) bamboo-joint.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Mon dţŋ bamboo-joint used to hold liquids, Stieng dīŋ bamboo tube, Sre dîŋ (→ Chrau dîŋ (BLOOD 1966)), Biat duuŋ tube, Besisi dîṅg bamboo (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 31; or B7?); → Röglai dîŋ tube; ~ Middle Mon gandîŋ /ganiŋ/, Modern Mon hənoiŋ, Khmer kondvŋ bell Lawa Umphai ngleŋ jingle, small bamboo.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar dîŋ, Jeh dîŋ bamboo tube, Halang dîŋ water-pipe, Palaung dîŋ bamboo container for liquids; → Cham dîŋ tube.
904 *pdɛŋ to memorize.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon *pdɛŋ, Modern Mon den to memorize, Kuy *dɔŋ to know, learn (contaminated by Khmer *dvŋ < 896b *tiŋ, which compare); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer tʰətɛŋ dandɛŋ to repeat in order to memorize.

11905 *pəŋ to shoot.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon *paŋ /pəŋ/, Modern Mon pəŋ, Old Khmer paŋ, Modern Khmer baŋ, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat pəŋ, Stieng pəŋ to shoot, Bahnar pəŋ to beat cotton, Jeh, Halang peŋ, Kammu-Yuan piŋ, Palaung piŋ, Riang-Lang pŋ, Mường pən (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese bân to shoot, Central Nicobarese foŋ crossbow, [hɔ]-foŋə to shoot with crossbow, Nancowry foŋ, hafəŋ.

Cf. following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 18; SHAFER 1965 317; BLOOD 1966 367; SMITH 1972 86, 88; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a).)

(Cf. Kharia paŋic bowstring, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 499; reborrowed ←, or contaminated by, Hindi panaic?)


906 *paŋ; *paŋŋ to fight.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Praok pŋŋ, Lawa Bo Luang pŋŋŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pŋjŋ; ~ Bahnar pəpɛŋŋ, pəpɛŋŋ to struggle, thrash about (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B) Semang pin-pen to fight (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 § 496 (c)); ~ (*pŋ-, but perhaps rather secondary *pŋɲŋ, >) Palaung nɛŋ soldiers (MILNE 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon pnaŋ /pnaŋ/ army, Modern Mon nan, Praok nāŋ army, war, Palaung nən soldiers.
Connection obscure Kuy ban to fight.

907 *dpǝŋ; *[d]pu[ə]ŋ; by voicing shift *tbiŋ; *tbiŋ; *tbiŋ; *tbaŋ full.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon piŋ/pǝŋ/, Modern
Mon poŋ to be full, Khmer pǝŋ beŋ full, → Kuy phèŋ full [moon], Sre piŋ to
overflow, Bahnar beŋ (!), Semang iping full (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN
1906 F 290 (a)).
B: (Khasi) Khasi phoiŋ entirely.
C: (Khumic, Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Khamu-Yuan pǝŋ full [moon], Temiar
tǝ bik, (or D) Che' Wong bǝk full.
D: (Bahnaric, Central & South Asian) Stieng biiŋŋ, Sre biiŋ, Chrau veŋ, Biat beŋ,
Jeh biiŋ full, Halang biiŋ full of water, Semai tǝ bek, Semaq Beri tǝ beŋ full.
E: (Khasi) Khasi [dap] sbeng quite [full], tbang as if full.
F: (South Bahnaric) Biat bong full [moon].
Connect other South Asian forms: Semelai sǝbǝŋ, &c.; so by assimilation Jehai
sebim, Mendriq sǝbim; with secondary vocalism Kensiu habunu; & cf. Central
Nicobarese poŋ, puj, buj, Nancowry pûs (< *buć)?.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 39; BLOOD 1966 33; SMITH 1972 80; SKEAT & BLAGDEN
1906 F 290 (b).)
Proto-Austronesian *paluq: Malay pēnoh, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 117, *pǝnuh; DYEN
1953 § 62; DAHL 1973 § 15.8).

908 *baŋ to stick.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon pǝn to stick, adhere, to affix, Khasi paiŋ solder, cement, joint.
(*tbi(i)n, *tbi(ŋ)ŋ see 907 *dpǝŋ full.)

909 *buŋ; *buŋ soft.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar boŋ soft, flexible, easy; ~ (*[b]mboŋ >) ?moŋ soft,
flexible, easy; → Jarai *moŋ soft.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi boŋŋ soft; ~ (*[b]mboŋ >) Sre buŋ easy; →
Röglai buan, (or A?) Cham bon easy.
Cf. 1124 *l2un &c. soft, tender.

910 *tboŋ; *tbaŋ to twist (together).
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng buŋ, buŋŋ to twist into cord, Biat buŋ to twist, Bahnar boŋ to
plait, twill (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63); ~ (*tnboŋ >) Bahnar ʔmoŋ twisted rope.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon boŋ to twist together; ~ Khmer traboŋ to plait,
twist, Biat rboŋ to turn (v.t), screw.
To plait, twill contaminated by 898 *t,aŋ, which compare; as also 1177 *ba(a)n
interlaced.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)
911 *mĩn[ ]; *mĩːɲ; *muuɲ[ ]; *muuŋ[ ] mouth.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng dialect mĩn language, Chrau mĩn mouth.
C: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese mño:in lip, Nancowry manúŋ.
D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Riang-Lang mwɔɲ mouth, word, language, Praok mɔŋ mouth, 
(by labial absorption; or < a variant *mɔŋ[ ]?) Khasi main features; → Shan mɔŋ opening.
Connection dubious Kharia rɔ'mɔŋ nose, PINNOW 1959 387. Khmer thmèŋ tooth, 
compared at SHAFER 1965 461, is < 924 *l/m/əɲ.

(*muuŋ see 1495 *muuy one.)

912 *smaaŋ to ask.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon smān /smaaŋ/, Modern Mon hman to ask, inquire, Kammu-Yuan māŋ to ask, Palaung hman, Praok m̥aŋ to request, Riang-Lang ṁaŋ to inquire, request, Lawa hmaŋ, Temiar samaŋ to inquire (BENJAMIN 1976B 173).
Cf. Central Nicobarese həmaː- [hətə &c.] to request, inquire. Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 46, : Khmer miən interrogative particle.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 165.)

913 *raŋ dry.
Connection uncertain (i) Khmer riŋ dried up, perhaps < *riŋ unless connected 
Bahnar sreŋ, hreŋ dry (< *-iŋ); (ii) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang raŋ dry (&c.: SMITH 1972 128).

914 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruaŋ; *ri[i]ŋ to strain, pull away.
A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer riŋ to push, pull; (— riːa) refractory, obstinate (→, 
or contaminated by, Thai run to push?), Stieng ruŋ to pull [e.g. cart] backwards 
(or B: contaminated by 842 *ru(u)c to retreat...?).
B: (Mon) Mon rùn to strain away, pull at leash &c., to be intractable; ~ Bru brù:n [fish] 
to tug at line; → Burmese run: to be intractable... .
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh drudruan, Halang dadruan to struggle.
D: (Khasi) Khasi ring to pull, tug, drag.
Connection obscure Praok bruun [ti gwɛ] to tear oneself away.

915 *kraŋ climbing perch.
916 *kraɲ frizzy [hair].
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy kraɲ; ~ (*kpraɲ >) Mon kərɔn stubby [hair], Bahnar preɲ [hair] to be curly.
Variant following?

917 *kraaɲ twisted, tangled.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon kran to be gnarled, twisted, tangled, Khmer kraɲ settled, stuck, Chrau kraɲ hard, stiff, Bahnar kraɲ very tight, very. tangled (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer kandrāɲ twisted (GUESDON 1930), Khasi kynraiɲ twisting about [as one sits].
Add preceding as variant?

918 *knraaɲ elder, functionary.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kɔntrìːəɲ big, (mè —) chieftain, Sre kənraɲ elder overseeing cultivation practice, Chrau [kɔ] kandrashn [hair] to be curly, Khmer prɛɲ [hair] to be curly.
Contracted compound of A64 *raaɲ old?

919 *gruuɲ white ant, termite.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon krùn, Proto-Nyah Kur *thrʉŋ (< *druuɲ?) (DIFFLOTH 1984 N37), Khasi kruɲ, Sakai groitn (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 110); ~ (*gnruuɲ >) Kuy nthrùɲ, Kammu-Yuan trùɲ.

919a *jriiɲ; *jriañ wax.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jiriɲ, Chrau jreɲ, Biat jreɲ, Kontum Bahnar jriɲ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar jreɲ, Bru (ma)ntrian.
(SHAFER 1965 473.)

920 *[d]mrəɲ? body louse.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Central Aslian) Kuy nthríɲ, Kammu-Yuan təmríɲ, Palaung konbriɲ body louse, Lawa Bo Luang mbraunj tick, Khasi jynreĩñ, Vietnamese rān body louse; ~ Sakai moñriɲ vermin (rewritten mongring at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 144; i.e. Semai).
Connect Riang-Lang solaɲ bed-bug?

921 *priiɲ; *pruɲ; *pruuɲ to contend.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer prʊɲ to strive, make an effort; ~ (*pnriiɲ >) Sre nəriɲ dispute (DOURNES 1950); ~ Bahnar adriɲ, Gölar Bahnar hadriɲ to strive, persevere.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon [weːŋ] proñ /pruɲ/, Modern Mon prañ (→ Burmese pruɲ) to contend, compete, Khmer proñ to plan for, try to; → Cham pryɲ, prauñ.
922 *bruŋ; *bruŋ; *braŋ; *brac spotted.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar broŋ striped, bruŋ grey-pied, Khasi bruiŋ with large spots, (tohoh—) spotted.
B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau vrwaŋ (∴ Biat rwavŋ?) striped, Khasi [tohoh]-broiŋ spotted; ∼ Bahnar təbəŋ mottled.
C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon [klaʔ] prôn bran leopard, Bahnar bɾəŋ with small black and white spots, Khasi [tohoh]-braiŋ spotted.

923 *mran; *mran pox, ulcer.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Late Middle Mon mran, Modern Mon paron smallpox, Khmer mɾəŋ mɾəŋ cancer, ulcer, scrofula (∴ Biat mran chancre; or B?), Palaung bɾəŋ smallpox
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat [tɔ́ːŋ] broŋ pockmarked.
B by hypercorrection? Cf. further Sre kɾaŋ smallpox, chancre; Praok prəŋ contagious disease.

924 *liŋ; *liŋ; *ləŋ; *luŋ gums.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre luŋ (!; or c?), Biat luŋ [cheč], Hre lin;
∼ Cham liŋ, (or c?) Jarai ləŋ; ∼ Riang-Lang kliŋ (*k- part-of-body prefix); ∼ Stieng jənliŋ (or B?), by metathesis Proto-Semai *lnsiŋ (DIFFLOTH 1977).
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar liŋ.
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) ∼ (*cənlaŋ >?) Bahnar sənəŋ, hənəŋ,
Jeh iʔnəŋ, Halang hənəŋ tooth; ∼ (*ɪməŋ >) Khmer thməŋ dhmeŋ, Synteng Khasi ləmein tooth; (?; ∼ *ɪmpəŋ) Lawa Bo Luang piəŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbəŋ, Danaw ɲaiŋ tooth.
D: (Aslian) ~ Che’ Wong ləmʊŋ, Semai ləmoŋ, Semelai ləməŋ tooth.
D secondary following labial. Connect perhaps Vietnamese lộp gums. (< *laʊy).
(SHAFER 1965 237; SMITH 1972 85; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 128, T 170; cf. SMITH 1972 51.)

925 *laŋ; (*ləŋ >) *laŋ to sharpen.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) ∼ Thin t(ə)ləŋ; ∼ Khmer səmləŋ, Kuy smləŋ, mlɨŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre, Biat laŋ to trim to a point, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm laŋ to sharpen; ∼ Bahnar [ʔnɛt] klaŋ kind of sharp-edged grass.
B shows early secondary lengthening following contextual lowering. Connect perhaps
(i) Kammu-Yuan cəlbəŋ to sharpen (< *-uəŋ?); (ii) 929 *təluŋ &c. pointed.
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926 *laaŋ to spread, be propagated.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar laaŋ [stain, fire, flood, epidemic] to spread (Guilleminet 1959-63), Khasi laiñ-laiñ from place to place; ~ (*snlaaŋ >) Mon hōnan snān [fire] to spread.
Are Vietnamese lan [fire] to spread & Mường (Barker 1966 22), Vietnamese trän to overflow, which imply *-n, loanwords?

927 *laŋ (& *laŋ?) to be destroyed, dissipated.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon liŋ /løŋ/ to be ravaged, destroyed, dissipated, lost, dispelled, Modern Mon lòŋ to be dissolved, dissipated, lost, Khmer liŋ! to destroy, (variant >?) Praok [laa] luŋ to perish; → Thai laan to be destroyed, broken; ~ Old Mon pliŋ to ravage, destroy, dispel, cure, Modern Mon plöŋ to waste, squander, destroy, Khmer phlān to ravage; → Thai p*lāan to destroy, pluŋ to waste, squander; ~ Biat rlc to stave in; ~ Old Mon rilniŋ degeneration, Bahnar rānṇ wanton destruction (Guilleminet 1959-63).
With Khmer, Biat vocalism cf. 925 *laŋ > *laaŋ; 1287 *b/r/laŋ. Cf. further 861a *[r]laac ...to be destroyed; 422 *laik &c. ...to fall into dissolution; 718 *laŋ &c. to destroy.

928 *klāŋ oil, fat, grease.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon kleñ /kloñ/ oil, Modern Mon kloŋ oil, fat, Khmer khlāŋ fat, grease, Palaung klin, Praok klun, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kloŋ to be fat, Khasi khleñ fat; to be fatty, oily.
Add Mường trōn (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese tron to be smooth, slippery (then < *klāŋ)? But connection dubious 702 *priiŋ &c.

929 *tluŋ; *tluŋ; *t[ləŋ]ŋ pointed.
A: (Khasi) shluĩñ.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Halang lōn sharp point, Jeh lōn, Khasi shloĩñ, [nep] tloĩñ pointed.
C: (Mon) ~ Old Mon tliniŋ /tnlōŋ/ needle, Modern Mon kanoiŋ needle, pin.
Cf. Palaung pöl, Riang-Lang ponuc needle, perhaps contaminated by B65 *[tɭ]pəc. Connect 925 *liŋ &c. to sharpen?

1930 *pliŋ; *[p]liiŋ; *[p]liŋŋ sky.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung plɛŋ, Riang-Lang *pleŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, (Central Aslian) Jeh, Halang plŋ, Temiar balik.
C: (Khasi, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer phliŋ, phliŋŋ rain, to rain, Bahnar plɛŋ
sky; ~ (*[p]liŋŋ >) Khasi nbeng, Mnar phnyanŋ sky (Ivan M. Simon Pers. Com.).
(Shafer 1965 235; Smith 1972 79; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 241.)
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(?). Kharia [tɔ]-bluŋ sky, above (PINNOW 1959 364; contaminated by 727 *luŋ above? but perhaps rather: Lawa Bo Luang maluŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang maluŋ sky, Bru ma(n)lôŋ).

931 *wîŋ; *wiiŋ; *wan; *wan? to twist, turn, go round.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer vèɲ viñ back (again), Bahnar wîŋ to twist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang ?einh, Lawa Umphai ?einh, Mae Sariang ?einh to come, return.
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar wîŋ to move in a curved path (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok iŋ to go back, return; ~ Chrau røweŋ to turn round, circle round.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer vèɲ veñ to twist into a rope, Muông vànŋ to turn [pot to get even heat] (THOMPSON 1967), Vietnamese vàn to turn [pot to get even heat], to pivot, to roll along.
D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy wàŋ = Khmer veŋ, Biat wàŋ to twist, Bahnar weŋ (or c?) to wring, to pull out with a twist, Khasi [dɔ] waŋ [to bend] easily, Vietnamese vàn to wring., turn, twist, screw; ~ Bahnar tuŋ to twist (or c?), Khasi tawaiŋ to go round and round.
Cf. Nancowry ʔúŋ twisted, ʔúaŋ to be twisted; 765 *wîŋ &c. to go round, turn; 1208 *wân &c. ...to wind, bend.

932 *wiiŋ; *wan moustache.
A: (Khmuiic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang viŋ; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Thin trømwiŋ (& Kammu-Yuan [khú:l] tørmûŋ; contaminated by 911 *muuŋ[ ] mouth?).
B: (Khasi) Khasi (*maïּŋ;) ~ tmaïñ.

933 *w[ə]ŋ; *wac to play.
A: (Mon) Old Mon wiŋ /weŋ/, Modern Mon wòŋ, Proto-Nyah Kur *wiŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V76).
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kaweɔ.

934 *kwæŋ[ ]; *kwaŋ2 gibbon.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bru kuan, Sre kuæŋ gibbon, black Semnopithecus monkey, Chrau, Biat kwan, Jeh kawen, Halang kawen gibbon, Bahnar [dɔk] kuen small kind of gibbon; ~ Cham kon, Jarai [kraː] kuæŋ, Röglai kuan, North Röglai kuat gibbon.
B: (Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese vûm gibbon.

935 *krwaŋ kind of spice-yielding tree.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kwan cinnamon, Khmer krâvaŋ Amomum cardamomum.
935a *[hw]iijn soul.
A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng uín, Biat huen soul, Sre huiŋ shadow, reflection, Chrau weŋ soul, soul, Central Nicobarese hāi soul, pulse.
Earlier perhaps *huuy-ŋ [], connected 1543 *ghuuy &c.

936 *[ ]saap to radiate heat.
A: (Mon, Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Khasi tyngshaiŋ to shine, glare, reflect; ~ Mon kasan sensation of heat; ~ Mon pasan heat (basān, but perhaps < *t₄msaŋ), (~?) Sakai pāsang hot (Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 146).
Or *t₄saŋ, separating Sakai with Santali, below?
(i) Mundari tsarsañ to bask in the sun, to warm oneself by the fire; (ii) Santali basañ warm, hot, to boil, &c. (Pinnow 1959 252).

(Shafer 1965 375.)

938 *[c]hɔŋ to bend knees.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre chɔŋ squatting (→ Röglai), Palaung [mɔʔ cəv] cun to kneel on one knee (Milne 1931); ~ Khmer crahaŋ to squat.
Cf. 1149 *[t]ju(u)n.

(*jhuuŋ see 887 *[jʔuun to smell, sniff; *thuun see 788 *[t]huuŋ red.)

939 *ʔit; *ʔiit; *ʔiät; *ʔuat small in quantity.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre it a little, Kammu-Yuan ēt few, (a) little.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Central Rölöm [kɔː] ʔiıt small (Blood 1976), Vietnamese ēt a little.
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Lawa Umphai ʔet ʔet few, Muông ēt a little (Barker 1966 17).
D: (Khmuic) Thin ʔu̯ɛt few.
Connect perhaps (i) A68 *tʔi[ ]t &c. little finger; (ii) 1016 *kdiıt &c. small.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *[iSsəd [ ]iSsəd: Acehnese et short length or distance, Toba Batak si-ettet, si-b-ettet little girl, Cebuano Bisayan ihud-ihud [children] to differ in height by small intervals (& ihid runt) (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *[iSsɪt: Acehnese n-it small, a little, Jarai with secondary vocalism a-n-ɛt, Iban m-it small, Cebuano Bisayan m-iht, n-iht scarce (ly) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).
940 *ʔit brick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer ʔyt, Khasi ʔit; ~ Late Old Mon ʔat /ʔat/, Modern Mon ʔat; → Burmese ʔat, → Shan ʔat, → Palaung ʔut.

941 *[ʔ]iit; *[ʔ]iat coucal.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [ iar] iit coucal, Centrococcys rulipennis.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ʔet [ iar:k], djet [ djar:k] lesser coucal (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Or *ʔ?-?

942 *ʔat; *ʔat; *ʔut (& *ʔuat?) to listen to.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Biat iat to listen to, Chrau ʔet to listen, hear.
B: (Katuic, Palaungic; ~ *[ ]nʔat >) Kuy ʔat to listen to, Bru sanat to listen, Praok ʔet to listen (to), obey.
C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔat to hear, listen (< *ʔuat?); ~ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔmat to listen to, obey, to hold [breath], suppress [cough &c.], Chrau ʔat lacking, to hold [breath], Biat ʔat to abstain from, Bahnar ʔat [wind] to stop, to hold [breath].
Vocalism obscure.
(Blood 1966 112.)

943 *ʔat; *ʔat; *[ʔ]it used up, finished, lacking.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Old Mon ʔat /ʔat/ all, Modern Mon ʔat also to be exhausted, have exhausted (or variant), Proto-Nyah Kur *ʔat (Diffloth 1984 V124), Khmer ʔat to be without, Kuy ʔat to lack, to restrain, to hold [breath], Sre ʔat restrain, to hold [breath], suppress [cough &c.], Chrau ʔat lacking, to hold [breath], Biat ʔat to abstain from, Bahnar ʔat [wind] to stop, to hold [breath].
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔat to cease.
C: (Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Khmer ʔyt = ʔat, Muông (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese hêt to end, be finished, cease, to finish; ~ Khasi jing-it, jynit fast, abstinence from food.
Connect Central Nicobarese leet finished, to cease?
(Smith 1972 209)
Sora (i) rəjəd- to be exhausted, used up; (ii) a'ni(ː)d- to be exhausted, over, finished.

944 *ʔ[ coerce ]t to saw.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng oit to make fire by friction, Biat oit [ dʒrəj ] to fiddle, Bunôr ʔait, Sre, Jeh oit to saw (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Bahnar oit to saw, scrape, plane, file, fiddle, make fire by friction, Khasi oit (perhaps merging variant of 972 *gsuut ...to cut) to cut, pare, reap, saw, fiddle; ~ (*rnʔ[ coerce ]t >) Sre randoit, Jeh ranot saw (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
(Blood 1966 65.)
945 *ʔut; *ʔuut cloud.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Biat nʔot cloudy; ~ (*[ ]mʔut >) Lawa Bo Luang ʔbot to cloud over.
B: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic, ?Katuic) Palaung ut cloud, to be cloudy, to cloud; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan pʰut cloud, fog; (?) ~ Bru ʔuut to smoke v.t.

946 *ʔuat to wipe.

947 *kʔaat (kind of) mosquito.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer kʔaat kind of fly with painful bite, mosquito (maringouin); ~ (*kʔaat >) Kammu-Yuan pʰaat mosquito.
Or construct *kʷʔaat?

948 *ʔiit; *cʔiit sticky.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer sʔit, chʔit (probably, rather than B), Kuy sʔat; ~ (*cʔiit >) Sre ʔi it viscous, sticky, Chrau sʔuut sticky.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng [teh] ʔit clay; ~ (*cʔiit >) Bahnar hʔniit-[hʔpaʔiit] to feel sticky; ~ (*cʔiit >) Biat mʔeit glutinous rice.
Connect 1040 *cɓiit &c. But connection obscure Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ʔiit to stick, adhere, to attach.

949 *cʔiit; *cʔiət; *chiit; *chait to confine, restrict.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat ʔit to confine, pack close together, Khasi shiyit to pinch; ~ (*cʔiit >) Kuy ʔiit narrow, confined, Bahnar jąiit packed close together (Guilménet 1959-63), Khasi syn gid, syn gıt tight, choking; col, valley between ridges.
B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (*cʔiət >) Mon haeit to be parsimonious, Khmer conjəiət narrow, confined, cramped, Nancowry niət tight, to bind completely (& ná't to fill in, to cram into); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar pan iet to crowd together (v.i.t.) (Guilménet 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ciet to crowd [someone], Chrau cheit to pinch.
D: (Katuic) ~ Kuy hət parsimonious.

For Kuy h- cf. huj ad 887 *jhuuŋ. Connect Bahnar tan iet &c. to stop up, force in, stuff in (Guilménet 1959-63), contaminated by mi et (Guilménet 1959-63) < 1039 *[c]/n/ɓiit, which compare (the converse in West Bahnar pan iet, East Bahnar pamaet = pan iet); perhaps West Bahnar hnet to press against, jostle, compress, encroach; & A82 *[c]wiit narrow, confined. Cf. also 977 *[c][n]jıət to crush.
950 *cʔaat pleasant to look at.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer sʔat clean, nice-looking, beautiful, Riang-Lang ʔat beautiful, pretty, (~?) Lawa saʔat clean.
Clean by attraction 7 *cʔaʔ &c.?

951 *cʔən sated, cloyed.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer chʔaet! sated; ~ comʔat satiety, (~?) comʔaet to satisfy; ~ (*crʔat > ) Mon ʔaht ca’uit to be nauseated.
B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer chʔən nauseated; ~ Mon ʔaan ja’uin to be nauseated through satiety, Bahnar dialects saʔn, haʔn to be sated (GUILLAUMIN 1959-63).
Khmer comʔaet < *comʔat with secondary palatalization, chʔaet by levelling; comʔat by levelling on original **chʔat? Cf. further Khmer kʔuat, Kuy (k)ʔut to vomit, Biat maʔo disgusted; Khmer ph’it pʰum (to smell) musty (GUESDON 1930); Biat maʔo disgusted; Khmer chʔal to gasp for breath; (GUESDON 1930) nauseated, to overeat (contaminated by 1695 *ʔal[ ]); Khasi kynshin (< *-[n, l]) to dislike eatable things; & 1301a *cʔəm nauseated.

952 *lʔit pulverized.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon dʔt, Khmer lʔt (with initial levelled on causative lʔumʔt); → Thai laʔiat, Lao laʔ iat’ (~ Kammu-Yuan lʔiat); (?) ~ Khasi lwit very finely broken or pounded, lwet broken, powdered.
Cf. Khmer lʔaoc, Kuy lʔəc.
Sora by metathesis lati- to be reduced to powder.

953 *lʔiit; *lhiat smooth, slippery.
A: (Khmer, Katuc) Khmer lʔiit smooth-mannered, Kuy lʔeit smooth.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng lhiat slippery.
Biat lut well-worn, Kammu-Yuan ləmɛt smooth may belong here rather than with 1076 *lɛt &c., which compare.

954 *lʔuət; *lʔat; *lθəat wet, cold.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer lʔuət moist, wet; ~ (*lnʔuət > ) Sre noat to be, feel, cold.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng laʔat (~ Biat lʔat?) damp, wet, Chrau laʔat cool, shady; ~ (*lnʔat > ) Biat nʔat damp, wet.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau laʔat cool, breezy, Praok lut to be wet.
Cf. 277b *lʔu(u)k wet, soaked; 795 *kʔaac wet. Cold perhaps contaminated by Mainland Austronesian *l[aa]ʔən (Cham lian, North Röglai laʔat); Jarai raʔət is perhaps ← South Bahnaric.
Santali laʔɔ́d damp, wet, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 531; Proto-Munda *lowa’d).
955 *sʔuut rotten, inedible.
A: (Mon, Aslian) Mon ut s’ut to be, go, stale, Che’ Wong haʔūt, Jah Hut siʔin, Semelai soʔiit, Mah Meri suʔūt rotten (Cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 292 (b).)

956 *kit; *kiit; *kət; *kəʔt; *ku[ə]t frog.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Kontum Bahnar kit.
B: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar kiit.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kət (BLOOD 1966 kəut), Biat kot.
D: (Bahnaric) Biat kət [ndrækt] toad, Bahnar kəut frog.
E: (Katuic) Kuy (?a:kiut, Bru ʔakəut.
(Shafer 1965 508; Blood 1966 140; Smith 1972 205.)

957 *kiit; *kiat; *kət to bite, to itch.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon kiit to bite, Praek kit (contaminated by following, which compare) to cut, sever, Mnar hitʔ to bite.
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy kiit to nibble, Sre kiət, Chrau kiət to itch, Biat ciat to sting, smart; → Cham, Jarar keʔ, North Rōglai keʔ to bite (or < Proto-
Austronesian, below?); ~ Khasi dkiat itch, scabies.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kat, kət (BLOOD 1966), Bunör kat to bite.
Cf. further 964 *giit &c.; 1125 *kian to gnaw; 972 *guut &c. to (be) cut; 981 *cit &c. to cut up. (BLOOD 1966 104, 356.)
Sora id- to scratch, to write.
o. 149; Proto-Hesperonesian). See Benedict 1975 301-2, gnaw.

958 *kat; *kəat to cut.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer, Kuy kat to cut, Biat kat to saw,
Bahnar kat to to cut, Khasi khet to to cut down.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kəat to to cut, Bru kəkaat to slide finely.
Mon kat to to cut off, ↔ Thai kət, → Kuy kut; if → Thai, contaminated by 972 *guut? Cf. besides preceding. 800 *kap to pluck, break off, to cut (< *kat-s?);
1969 *kʰət to to cut (down).
(Schmidt 1905 22.)

958a *kət to stop.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer kət to stop (v.t.), Palaung kət [un] to hold back, restrain, to refrain (Milne 1931); ~ Middle Mon kanət, Modern Mon kanət end; ~ Literary Mon kanət end, Khmer kanət limit.

(*[ ]kut see 315 *[ʔ]tuuk to scoop up... )
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

\[958^{b}\] *kuut*; *kuət*; *kat to scrape, scratch, comb.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khuµic, Nicobaric) Khmer *kot to scrape, scratch, Bahnar kōt to scrape clean (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese koto-[kɔi] to comb; ~ Kammu-Yuan kəruut scraper.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [et]-koət to comb, (— hətə) to scrape (off), Nancowry ʔitkuət ad kúaat to smooth with hand &c.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat kət to comb.

Kammu-Yuan khúut to smooth, shave is ← Lao khûut.

Proto-Austronesian *kut* kut: Malay kət clawing, to claw, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 221, *ku(Ct)ku(Ct)

\[959^{t}\] *[c]kuut*; *[c]kuət*; *[c]kat; *[c]kat to tie, knot.

A: (Viet-Muông, Central Aslian) Central Sakai chêkət to knot; ~ Vietnamese gút to knot; by secondary derivation Vietnamese nút knot.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer kuæc! to knot, Sre koat, East Bahnar kuat to tie, knot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat ɲkwət knot; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer komnuæc knot, Kuy k(a)lua, əuc to tie [knot].

C: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre kət to tie together, Biat kat to knot, Bahnar kat to tether out to graze, (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, Röngao) to knot, Jah Hut jakat to tie.

D: (Mon) ~ Mon hakat dakat to knot.

Khmer/Kuy -c by metathesis or assimilation. Cf. Palaung (MILNE 1931) thəkit; & connected 967 *[t]gut &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 56, 527; SMITH 1972 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 214.)

Sora (i) ji`kud- to knot; (ii) jəni(`)kəd-an knot (ji- &c. perhaps = ji:- to bind).


\[960^{t}\] *[t]kiit*; *[t]kiət to have dysentery.

A: (Mon) Mon [nə] kət; ~ hakit thəkit &c. dysentery.

B: (Viet-Muông) Vietnamese kɨ́t [ly] dysentery.

Connect following, & so 1007 *kʷtiit posterior…?

\[961^{t}\] *tkiət anus.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon təket, Proto-Semai *kiət (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Originally by metathesis 1007 *kʷtiit? Connect perhaps preceding.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 118.)
962 *tkat; *tki; *tku ( & *tkut?) cold.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat kat cold, Kammu-Yuan kát cold [weather], Palaung kat [weather] to be cold, Proto-Semai *dkat cold (Diffloth 1977); → Shan kāt, → Palaung kat, Riang-Lang ˇkat cold; ~ Mon hakot cold [season], Chrau takat cold, Röngao takatague, fever (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Sakai teket cold (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 205 (c)); ~ (*trki ə t) Praok sikiat cold [water], by metathesis Khasi khriat cold.
C: (Palaungic) Praok kuat, (*tkut >?) Lawa Bo Luang koat, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kot [weather] to be cold.
Cf. Kuy ckɑːʔ cold; Chrau dəg ə t chill, shivering; & 976 *cŋiit &c. (Shaffer 1965 340, 354; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 205 (c-e.).)

(*dkiat see 1010 *gtit ...parakeet.)

963 *d, rkuat varan.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon dirkot /darkot/, Modern Mon hakot varan, Khmer trakuat Varanus nebulosus, Kuy tkut, Stieng rakɔt varan, Chrau rakɔt black varan, Bahnar takɔt (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan tɔrkɔt varan; → Thai cakùat.

(*rkiat see 1064 *krit to creak.)

1964 *giit; *giat to bite, to itch, scratch.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _kit to scratch; ~ Mon hakot bed-bug.
B: (Palaungic) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang kiat, Lawa Umphai chiat to bite.
Connect 957 *kiit &c.
Sora (i) gɗ-, (gɗ-)ged- to scratch; (ii, cf. Indonesian) gud-, god- to scratch.

965 *gat; *gut to kill.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer kùat, Thin gút (also to cut down, < 972 *[s]gat, which perhaps connect).
B: (Khmer) Khmer kût.

966 *gut to go round.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gut around, Bahnar gut to curve, bend.
(Shaffer 1965 113.)
967 *[ ]gut; *[ ]guat; *[ ]gat to tie, knot.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cót to tie.
   B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar guat to knot (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Bahnar
taguat to knot.
   C: (Mon) Mon kót gat to knot; ~ → Cham pagat to tighten.
Khmer kūac to knot perhaps = kuac < 959 *[c]kuat, which connect; West Bahnar
(h)aŋxc to tie up [hair] (Guilleminet 1959-63) also may belong there.
(Shafter 1965 527.)

968 *guut; *gu(o)t to enter.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kūt, Riang-Lang _kut.
   B: (Khasi) Khasi kot to reach.
   Cf. 1046 *mut &c. Add as derivation *pguut = B71 *[ ]guut to force in?

969 *t,i.gut; *t,[g]uuut quail.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon tig &c. /tgøt/; ~ (*t,rgut > ) Mon hakèt, Sre
 røgut (→ Röglai); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau vagut.
   B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan
takūt (!), (?) Khasi t'ut, (!) Vietnamese [chim] cút; ~ Mon hakèt, Riang-Lang
_rakut; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar dialects (*kut kut > ?) [seim] kəkut
kind of quail (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   Cf. Lawa Bo Luang kút; Mon hæcem akhèt; Khmer ?úut lark, quail. Onomatopoeic?

970 *rng[ɔ]t to search, quarter.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon lagñat /laŋgɔt/, Modern Mon təŋɔt to study, Khmer
ríaŋkɔtet, Tandart 1935 also ríaŋkùtet to explore, go to and fro, traverse.

971 *s[g]ɔt to press down on, press out juice.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) (Khmer **skat →?) Stieng səkət to press down
(on); ~ Thai sakøt to restrain, repress; ~ (*s[n]gɔt > ) Mon kəhøt to crush juice
out of, chew to extract nourishment, Khmer səŋkət to press down on, suppress,
oppress.
   Thai is evidence for Khmer **skat; head register in derivation then by levelling.
   Connection dubious Kharia ta'gɔ'j to chew, &c., Pinnow 1959 307. Cf. 977
*c[n]ŋiɔt to crush.

972 *sguut; *[s]gat; *sgat to be cut short, to cut.
   A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon sğut /sgut/ to be interrupted, cut short, Khasi
kut to come to an end (& dkut to snap, break), Vietnamese cât to be too short, to be
crippled; ~ Old Mon sîrgut interruption, Middle Mon sâgut [crawå] ruling, decision.
   B: (Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan kût to cut vertically with knife, Kensiu gat, Temiar
gød to cut; ~ Besesi tegòt to break (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 112).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer skat to interrupt, to take a short cut. (→ Biat kat to decide judicially, to take a short cut), Biat [ntok] gat cut; → Cham saket; Thai sakat to obstruct, interrupt.

Connect 965 *gat &c. to kill? C perhaps contaminated by 958 *kat, which compare; as Khasi ot to cut..., under the entry 944 *ʔ[ο][ο]. Khasi dkut, Besig suggest variants in *dg-.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)
Sora gad-, Santali ge’d to cut, &c. (PINNOW 1959 334).
Proto-Austronesian *pu(N)gut: Javanese pugut, punggut cut off, Cebuano Bisayan punggut to behead (so Proto-Hesperonesian; → Proto-Semai *bgut to snap (v.i.), DIFFLOTH 1977?).

973 *naṭ to be extinguished.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau ṇaṭ to extinguish, Riang-Lang _ṇaṭ to be extinguished, to extinguish; ~ Chrau ṇaṭ, Riang-Lang _takṇaṭ to extinguish.
Cf. 1053 *ya(a); 1077 *laṭ &c. Connect following?

1974 *nọuṭ; *nọuṭ; *ṇaʊt; *ṇiṭ dark.
A: (Khasi) Khasi njọuṭ; → jŋuṭ murky, turbid.
B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semnam ḫɒŋɔ̀ː night; ~ Semai II maŋɔ̀ː night.
C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy) [twɛŋ] ṇŋɔ̀ːt pitch-[black].
D: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer njut dark (TANDART 1935), Khasi ngit black, dark; ~ Khmer ṇaŋṇuṭ dark, dim.

Connect preceding? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (b.))
Santali ṇu’ḍ darkness, dark; Sora ‘lunud-, ‘lunad- dark (PINNOW 1959 390).

975 *nọuṭ; *ṇaʊt to be hungry.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Stieng pəŋọṭ to go hungry, be starving, Vietnamese ngóṭ to crave for.
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat [ji:] ṇọṭ to be hungry; hunger, Riang-Lang _nọuṭ to starve, to be hungry; ~ Chrau pəŋọṭ to be hungry, Bahnar pəŋọṭ to be starving, Jeh paʔnọṭ, Halang maʔŋoat hunger.

Connection uncertain Sakai got (i.e. Jah Hut), pɔŋgɔṭ hungry (Semaq Beri), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 173; with them cf. (*guat >?) Lawa Bo Luang kuat, Lawa Umphai kuat, Mae Sariang nguatu to want, wish; Mon [tāk] kọt to be poor is probably ← Sanskrit gata- deprived of.

(BLOOD 1966 64; SMITH 1972 235.)

976 *cŋiːt; *cŋiːt; *cŋiːt cold.
A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre ṇiṭ cooled, cold, Sakai sŋeɡiṭ cold (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (a)); ~ Biat [nʔiːk] rŋeṭ cool.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar təŋiṭ to feel cold.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (c)ŋə:t cool, cold, Bahnar ŋə:c to cool (v.i.), have a cold fit; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyngngad cool, refreshing.
Cf. 962 *tkat &c.
(SMITH 1972 229.)

977 *c[n]ŋiat to crush.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon təŋet to crush in mill &c. (beside təŋət to squeeze, crush), Sre ʂəŋiat to crush, compress (→ Röglai).
Cf. 949 *cʔiit &c. to confine…; 971 *s[ŋ]lot to press out juice… .

(*tŋut see 1135 *tŋun nape of neck.)

978 *lŋuut; *lŋuut sweet, mild-flavoured.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre lŋout, Chrau lŋɔt, Biat ŋɔt sweet, mild-flavoured, Bahnar [ŋām] ŋūt very sweet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Viet-Mương, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng lŋuut (or A, with post-nasal vocalism?), Vietnamese ŋgot sweet, mild-flavoured.

978a *sŋiit to burn (v.i.).
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau nɨıt to burn (v.i.), Sre hit burning brightly (→ Biat hit light).
Cf. Mon heak ʂnɨek &c. to be burnt, scorched.
Indonesian not obviously → Mon-Khmer.

979 *sŋut (?); *sŋuat; *sŋat deserted, quiet.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre ŋuṭ to be afraid (?).
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer [mùk] sŋuat (!) sad, Sakai singoit afraid (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49; ?); ~ Khmer sraŋɔt wistful, sad, Chrau səŋɔt deserted, Biat nŋɔt silence; secret, lonely [place], (~ nŋat) silent, deserted, Bahnar raŋɔt to miss [person]; ~ Central Sakai [ göi] tɛŋguit to keep motionless.
C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon hɛt sŋıt to be quiet, (~ a) to faint, Khmer sŋat (early → Thai səŋat) solitary, deserted, silent, still, Kuy sŋat, nhat quiet, silent, Sre [ŋıt] nət silent, Vietnamese ngát to faint; ~ Khmer sraŋɔt solitary, silent, (sraŋɔt —) moved to sadness, Biat [ŋɔt] nŋat lonely, deserted, (gu? —) to be silent, Praok [yen] sŋɛt to be absolutely quiet.
Back vocalism perhaps secondary, cf. Sora, below. Separate *sŋu(a)t afraid?
(SCHMIDT 1905 44.)
Sora ɲad-ɲad-[dəm &c.] silently.
980 *sŋuət; *sŋat (& *sŋat?) to dry up.
A: (Khmer, ?Khasi) Khmer sŋuət dried up; ~ Khmer raniuət withered (GUESDON 1930), (by labial absorption, or < *-at?) Khasi rŋat to dry up.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon sniət [jra] to be withered, Riang-Lang ~ŋat to dry up.
Cf. 1101 *suət; 1095 *suıit &c. to wither.

1981 *cit; *ciit (& *ciit ciit > *tiit?); *ciat (& *tiət?) to cut up.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung set to cut, carve (up).
B: (Katuic, ?Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cət to slice (probably, rather than A), Kuy cət to slice, chop pieces off [edibles], (~, or *tc- > ) Chrau cət to cut (up).
C: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stiang siət to cut [meat] into small pieces, Sre siat to cut, sever, Biat chiat to cut up, West Bahnar cət to chop [edibles &c.] obliquely (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < tc-? Jölong also sət), Riang-Lang ~set to cut, gash, Central Nicobarese [et]-fiət-[хаŋə] to carve wood.
Cf. Vietnamese chăt to cut. POU & JENNER 1973 140 derive Khmer ← Hokkien cɨt 切 to slice, mince; rather Hokkien ← Mon-Khmer? Connect perhaps 957 *kiit &c. to bite... . (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)
Sora ud-, ed- to cut (off).

1982 *cat; *cuət; (*cuət cuət > ) *tcuət; *cat to stab, pierce, stick in.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon cat to prick, sting, to stick in, plant upright, Proto-Nyah Kur *cɛc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V97; by assimilation?), Kuy cat to poke, stab, to thread, Bahnar sat to pierce, to dibble, to make nets, Palaung sat to insert, to tattoo, by metathesis Riang-Lang ~tas to pierce, stab, tattoo; ~ (*cat cat > *tcat >?) Mon chat khyat, chat to put in, insert, Biat cat packed tight, Bahnar cat to stick claws in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or P) Nancowry siət; ṭisiət to insert; ~ Khasi kynsat, tynsat = Mon chat.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Halang cat to puncture, Jeh cat to pierce, Praok suət to prick, pierce, Central Nicobarese jət-[хаŋə] to pin, fasten.
C: (Khmuc) Kammu-Yuan cuət to touch, poke, prod.
D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy ncat to stick into; ~ (*cmpat >) Biat mpnt spit.
Back vocalism probably secondary in view of Sora, below; contaminated by 986 *cuət &c. ...to affix, which compare? Note also Palaung sit to stab with, pierce with; Sedang ṭnie to wound, Kammu-Yuan niət to stick, prick, pierce (& Bahnar hiət to cut oneself; &c.: SMITH 1972 230).
Sora sad- to sting.

983 *cat to gather up.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang ~sat, Praok sut to pick (up), collect (up), Lawa Bo Luang sauk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sat to pick up in fingers, Sakai chhound to pick up (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 68).
Cf. Khasi sot to pick up, to catch in fingers; Bel&as chɛchɛt to gather, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 10.
984 *caat to comb.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai sat, Khasi sad.

985 *cət to return.
   A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian) Stieng set, Chrau sɨʔ, Biat chet, Alakong Bahnar suit
   (Guilleminet 1959-63), Besisi yut (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 84).
   Fronting environmental; Chrau implies palatalization of final. Mon chut to go back
   (wards), compared at Schmidt 1905 24, is < 1109 *jhuut.
   (Blood 1966 146.)

986 *cuut; (*cut cut >) *tcut; *cat to put away from one, to pour, to affix.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon cut /cut/ to put away from one, to put in, to
   pour out, Middle Mon also to affix, Modern Mon cut to put in..., Khasi suit (!) to
   pour, to gild (with *c by assimilation?); ~ (*cuut cuut > *tcut >; with
   vocalism as in 527 *cuuŋ) Bahnar cat to fix on, fasten in (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   B: (South Bahnaric) Biat cot to affix, Bunör cut, Central Rölöṁ cut to insert, fill a hole
   (contaminated by 982 *cat ...to stick in).
   C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese chắt to drain off; ~ (*[b]cat >) Khmer cəat to
   drain off; ~ Mường chát (Barker 1966 17), Vietnamese giát to fix.
   c by attraction 982 *cat?
   (Blood 1966 155.)

986a *.cat to emerge, grow.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre cat to come out, sprout, grow, to well up, Biat cat [kaː] to flower,
   Bahnar cat to put out leaves, take root, flower.

987 *ke[ə]t to die.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon kcit /kcət/,
   Modern Mon chit to die, Kuy sat extreme, last, to end, Stieng cat, Sre chat, Chrau
   cut, Jeh kaciät to die (Gradin & Gradin 1979), West Bahnar kacit to die
   miserably (Guilleminet 1959-63), Khmu' sut to be finished, Palaung cut (!)
   [ghost] to leave the world (Milne 1931), Mường chít (Barker 1966 17), Vietnamese
   chét to die; → Lao cēät; ~ (*kbc[a]t >) Old Mon kucit, Modern Mon həcət, Kuy
   (k)젓, Sre (gə)sət, Vietnamese giệt to kill.
   Add perhaps Bunör khit, Central Rölöṁ khut, Biat khat to die, Bru kucet, with k-
   originally by hypercorrection; & note Khasi jot to perish. Front vocalism in North
   Bahnaric &c. probably environmental; but Palaung -uat obscure. Kuy sat, Khmu' by
   attraction 943 *ʔat? Connect perhaps 1053 *ya(a)at to be extinguished.
   (Schmidt 1905 34; Blood 1966 139.)
   Sora ka'jed- to die ~ 'kajjed-, 'kaβjed- to kill, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 324f).
988 *kcuət; *κoτ (& *kəoτ?); by regressive assimilation *ktuət; *kt[ə]t to jump, to run.
A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Bunör ncowət to run, jump, Biat ncuət to run.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Khasi sied to leap (on) (originally compounding form?; with secondary lengthening, or < *kcəət), Pangan [ya]-kəsət to run (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 198), Central Nicobarese cat to jump, leap (?; & cat-həŋə to skip), Nancowry cət; ~ Khmer kənchat (!) to assume fighting posture with a leap, Chrau nchat, Biat nchat to jump.
C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ntoat to run, Central Rölöm tuət to run, jump.
D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng nət to jump, to jump in, cause to splash up.
Cf. Lao (ká) dəot to jump (originally compounding form?; with secondary lengthening, or < *ktuət), Pangan [ya]-kəsət to run (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 198), Central Nicobarese cat to jump, leap (?; & cat-həŋə to skip), Nancowry cət; ~ Khmer kənchat (!) to assume fighting posture with a leap, Chrau nchat, Biat nchat to jump.

(*tcut see 986 *cuut ...to affix; *tcuut see 982 *cat to pierce, stick in; *dciit see 1144 *dciin[?] nine.)

989 *pcaet bitter, astringent.
Khmu' cat sour, Thin ɣət cət alum are apparently ← Tai (← Mon-Khmer?); for Vietnamese chuə-chət sour, acid see 1074 *səaat. Connect by assimilation Khasi btət astringent? Cf. 294 *ʔciiət &c. astringent; 1895 *pəas sour.

1990 *jət to run dry.
A: (Mon) Mon cət jət.
Sora jəd- [rain] to cease; to wipe dry.

991 *jət to follow.
A: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau jət, Besisi (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 211) jət.
Cf. Thin yət.

1992 *jaat cobra.
(Mon) Mon [səm] cət.
Sora jəd-ən, compounding form jəd-ən snake.
PINNOW 1959 K 187 compares Santali jam(b)ə追究 rat- snake, &c.
993 *jat ten.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Chrau jat tens, -ty, Sre jat, Biat jct, Bahnar jit, Jeh jat, Halang jot ten, Bru mancit; ~ Stieng (BLOOD 1966) jmät, Chrau mat ten; ~ Kuy jcat (!). (SHAVER 1965 350; BLOOD 1966 118; SMITH 1972 208.)

994 *[ j]jut; *[ j]juut to wipe.
   A: (Mon) Old Mon -jit /jot/; Modern Mon çut; ~ (*[g]jut > ) hæçt gajuit to wipe esp. on a mat.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?North Aslian) Khmer çút; Kuy chût; Bru çuát, Stieng jut, juæ, Sre, Chrau, Biat jüt, (or A) Kensiu jad to wipe, Nancowry cuac to massage; ~ Khasi kyrjuid to rub, abrade.
   Siang, Khasi, Nancowry final /c/ by assimilation (SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAVER 1965 494; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 105, R 194.) Sora joď- to smear, Kharia ja’d to wipe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 189; Proto-Munda *jo[t]).

995 *jut; *juut kind of bamboo.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Biat jut; ~ Sre njut Arundinaria falcata (→ Röglai).
   B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar jut kind of bamboo (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

996 *ju[t]; *jua[t] to fall, drip.
   A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok cot to fall (in a shower), Central Nicobarese cu[f], cuif drizzle, shower, cuiff-[la] to splash.
   B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Palaung juat to drip, to dangle, Bru ynt (suggests *f-; ~ (*[j]rua[t] > ) Palaung rajuat falling of raindrops or tears (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese giọt drop.
   Connect Sre nhat drop. Nicobaric *-c by assimilation; or Praok (& Sre) *-t by dissimilation?

997 *n[uə]t wrinkled, shrivelled.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric, Central Aslian) Chrau nət shrivelled, paralysed, Nancowry nuat to shrivel; ~ Bru raŋot; ~ Central Sakai pènyo*t wrinkled; ~ (*s,p[uə]t > ) Mon hənɔt to be deeply wrinkled, furrowed, flabby.
   Less probably *nɔt, since Mon post-nasal raising is undemonstrated following n; unless Mon contaminated by hənɔn ad 896 *ŋnuəŋ, hətot < 1155 *[t]ntuəŋ.

998 *t,iit to go out, away, to project.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon tit /tít/, Modern Mon tet to go out, issue, depart, Riang-Lang *tit to be final; ~ Riang-Lang kanttit to go away; ~ Bahnar potitit bump on head, ridged scar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   Cf. 1007 *kt,iit posterior, to break wind.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

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†999 *t,at to be severed, broken, to sever &c.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon tøt to cut across, sever, to cross (in part perhaps < 812 *t,ac, which connect), Palaung tøt, Riang-Lang tøt to be torn, broken, cut off, to break; → Thai tøt to cut, → Khmer tøt; Shan tøt, → Riang-Lang tøt, Praok tøt; ~ Praok dut to be cut off, to cut off, Central Sakai kuntut maimed, truncated; ~ Khasi bthat to broken with the hands, to snap, [dkut] btat [to broken] with a snap.

Connect (*btət >?) Kuy thət to brake, snap, to be torn; perhaps 1003 *[ ]tøt &c. blocked, to block.

Sora tad- to snap, break (v.i.t).
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 262. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *tøt'tøt': Javanese tatas cut right through, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian); *øtat': Iban, Tiruray ketas to cut (BLUST 1973 no. 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); *tøt'tøt': Malay tøtas slit open…, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1000 *t,aat hot, to warm.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung tøt to be hot, Riang-Lang tøt to warm oneself at, Khasi thød to dry in sun, to bask in sun.

†1001 *t,øt mouth.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Aslian) ~ Jehai tanəd, Semnam tanəd; Semaq Beri kənut; ~ (*t,mat >) Khmer møøt (contaminated by 1045 *mat eye?), Palaung dialects muøt, mot (MILNE 1931).

*t, in view of Munda, below.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 203.)

†1002 *t,øt; *t,əøt to pull out.
A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung tut to pull (out), Riang-Lang tøt [ple] to pull [out] (B), (A) Lawa Bo Luang təuk (→ Lawa Umphai tøic?) to pull.

Sora tad- to pull out (RAMAMURTI 1938).

1003 *[ ]tøt; *[ ]tøt blocked, to block.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar tøt to block (GUILLAUMET 1959-63; & dat, East Bahnar, by back-formation?); ~ Sre bøtat to dam, Bahnar padøt, padøt to obstruct, prevent (GUILLAUMET 1959-63); ~ Biat nøt dam.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre tøt blocked up, compact, Chrau tøt solid, dense.
Bahnar variants obscure; perhaps *bt-. Cf. Khmer tan compact, solid, dense, ↔ Thai tan blocked up. Connect 999 *t,at to be severed, to sever…?
1004 *t₁ut; *t₁uut (?) (*t₁ut-s >) *t₁uc; *t₁uuc to light.
A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer dot to set light to, burn, grill, Sakai tot to burn (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 467).
B: (Palaungic; ~ *t₁muut >?) Lawa Bo Luang ?mauuk, Lawa Umphai ?mauut, Mae Sariang ?mauut smoke.
C: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Sre tuc to revive [dying fire], Khasi [pluh] thuit to catch fire, Muong tôch (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese dót to light fire, by metathesis Bahnar cut to revive [dying fire] (Guilleminet 1959-63).
D: (Palaungic, ?Khmuc) Riang-Lang °tuc [ŋal] to light, set fire to, burn; & originally as sandhi-form Thin tui̯ɲ to light, set fire to, burn?

Cf. 549 *t₁uuŋ.

Sora tud- to burn (v.i); (-ən; compounding form) fire.

1005 *tut; *tuut; *tuət to thread, skewer, insert.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer təmbot small skewer; ~ (by back-formation, or by metathesis < *ptut causative) tbot to skewer.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon tut /tut/ (Paithothamy Frescos), Modern Mon to to weave, Khmer daot to thread together, skewer, to plant, stick in (~ Cham dut), Kuy tot to insert, stick in, Sre tuit to stick. in [e.g. drinking-tube in jar], plant upright (in hole), Bahnar tɔt to thread (together), pierce, insert (in hole &c.; tube in jar); ~ Mon kanot (&/or C; merging 822 *c/r/nuəc spit), Khmer tranaot skewer, string.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tuət to thread [needle], skewer [meat].

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *duuk.

1006 *t₁uut to toot.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon tut! to whistle, hoot, Praok tut horn.
Onomatopoeic?

1007 *kt₁iit posterior, to break wind.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer kdvət buttocks, anus, Riang-Lang °tit anus; to break wind, Vietnamese dit anus; perhaps ~ Bahnar katət clitoris (Guilleminet 1959-63).

Note Central Nicobarese det, dit anus (< *d-); (~?) Bahnar kanat base of spine (Guilleminet 1959-63); Khmer comtvt to stick one’s bottom in the air. Hence by metathesis 961 *tkiət anus? Connect perhaps 998 *t₁iit to go out...

Proto-Austronesian (i) *(k[ ]-qa(N)t₁u;: Javanese éntut wind, Malay kęntut to break wind, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 50; 79, *ka(n)tu; cf. Dahl 1973 § 8.4, 14.10; prefixed form Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) *q]u(N)t₁[u];: Toba Batak uttut wind, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 163; Blust 1972 no. 86); (iii) *b[ ]uNtu: Malay bentut posterior, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 36, tail; Proto-Hesperonesian). See Benedict 1975 285, fart.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1008 *ktət; *ktaat; *[g]d[əə]t; *g[ə]aat to cluck, cackle.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kətət, Khmer khtət.
B: (Bahnaric) ~ (*kptaat >) Bahnar ptaat (!), Bahnar kətət to cluck, cackle
   (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Sre galtat clucking (Dournes 1950), Biat rtaat brood [of
   chicks].
C: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung, Riang-Lang kətət to cluck, cackle
D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer khtəːt; ~ Bahnar kədəːt (Guilleminet 1959-63).

Connect Kammu-Yuan əːt. Ono matopoeic; so too Burmese katok, katô; Biat rtok.

1009 *kt, uut; *kt, uat wart.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat uut wart, Palaung tot wart, spot on skin; to be
   warty.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon kətət, Proto-Nyah Kur *kətuac
   (Diffloth 1984 N127; *-c?), Kuy tuːt, Stieng tʊt, Chrau cʊt wart; → Burmese
   katwat; Cham kətwaʔ, Acehnese götuat, Malay kĕtuat, kĕtuit; ~ (*kptuat >)
   Khmer phdoːt wart.
Sre [toh] tɛːt (~ Röglai [kətal] tɛːt) may reflect a chime-word *ktiit.
Sora bo'toːd-an, 'bo'toːd-an wart, wen.

(*ktuut see 988 *cuat to jump, to run.)

1010 *gtit; *gtiat lorikeet, parakeet.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *grtit >) Sre ratet green lorikeet, Loriculus vernalis.
B: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng, Biat tɛːt, Bahnar [sɛːm] dɛt parakeet
   (Guilleminet 1959-63), perhaps by metathesis (*dkaat >) Vietnamese két; ~
   (*griat >) Chrau kətiaat parakeet.

(*[t]ntuat see 1155 *[t]ntuun wrinkled; *btaat, *bəat see 1003 *[ ]tət blocked, to
   block.)

1010a *d, ai[t] to strike, beat.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon tət to strike with flat of hand, slap, beat out, Khasi tied to strike,
   knock, beat; ~ Old Mon dañməc /ðəmməc/, Modern Mon həmət smith.
Distinguish 1014 *dat.

1011 *kdaat kind of yam.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Katuic) Mon kətət kind of yam (~ Burmese kədat), Khmer kdat:
   Arum indicum, (~?) Kuy kədat (!) Caladium species.
1012 *kduut; *kduət kind of tree with astringent fruit.
A: (Katuic) ~ (*knduut >) Kuy nthù:ut star gooseberry.
B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*krduat >) Mon hatôt Ficus hispida; ~ Old Khmer kāṇdvāt,
Modern Khmer kontū:at Phyllanthus emblica and acidus.

1013 *[d]iit; *[d]øat; *[d]uut to wobble, stagger.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Mon, Khasi) Mon dit to spin, rotate (?), Kammu-
Yuan [koltu:t]-tì:t to run around confusedly, (?) Khasi [kylai doh]tìt wagtâl; ~
Chrau ndiıt [ndøat] wobbly; ~ (*dr[d]iıt by metathesis >) Khmer tatrè:t-
[tatrø:t] (& by back-formation trè:t-[trø:t]) shaky, staggering, unsteady.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau [ndiıt] ndøat wobbly; ~ Biat rdøat off balance;
pitching motion, by metathesis Khmer tatrè:t ( & by back-formation trè:t-trø:t)
tremblingly.
C: (Khmer, Khmuic; ~ *dr[d]uut >) Kammu-Yuan kaltu:t-[tì:t] to run around
confusedly, by metathesis Khmer [tatrè:t]-tatrø:t ( & by back-formation [trè:t-
trø:t] shaky… 
Note further Khmer tatrø:t [moving] jerkily, perhaps < *dr[d]øat with secondary
lengthening.

1014 *dat to strike, beat.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer tøat to kick, (TANDART 1935) to strike, Khasi dat to
beat; ~ (*dpdat >?) Mon høat to snap [fingers], Khmer phøøat to tap, fillip; ~ (<
*dat-s?) Bru kalday to snap, flip.
Connect Biat dat to beat [cotton], to flip; by back-formation from unattested nasal-affix
form? But Mon tø (SCHMIDT 1905 44) is < 1010a *d,ai[t].

1015 *dat; (*dat-s >?) *dac near.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung dat; ~ Shan lāt short cut ( ~ Riang-Lang *dat to cross,
pass (through, by)?); ~ Khasi jyndat in passing, [to go] past.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat dac near, nearly; ~ Khasi syndait to put edge to edge.
Connect obscure Riang-Lang *that to be near, to approach.

1016 *kidit; *kiit; *kdøat small.
A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Sre dit; ~ Jarai det, Acehnese dit (or B?); ~ Lawa
Umphai saleet little finger.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Vietnamese nít small; ~ Chrau ndøet a little,
(or A) Khasi khyndit a little, few.
C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan liat to be short (?),
Palaung diat, Mường dêt (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese (*~nìat >) nhát (to be)
small; ~ Riang-Lang _kändiıt (to be) small, Khasi khyndiät = khyndit, (?; or
variant?) Mendriq kànët, Jah Hut kànët, Semaq Beri kë?net small.
Add perhaps Riang-Lang ðat to be short (< *kdøat?; ~ Shan lît). Cf. 939 *?it &c.
small in quantity; 817 *duuc &c. small; 816 *dac …to be small in quantity.
1017 *[k]dút; *[k]dúut tip, tail.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy tut stump (of tail, limb), Biat dút end, tip, Sre dút blocked, going no further (Dournes 1950; or B?).
Hence perhaps, contaminated by 798 *ʔuuc, Riang-Lang ~ dút to be complete, to come to an end. Cf. also Lawa Bo Luang lauık end, extremity.

(*g[d]laat, *(g)d[ɔː]t see 1008 *ktɔːt to cluck, cackle.)

1018 *knaat measure.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Literary Mon [bat] knáat measure, to measure, Khmer kʰnaːt measure, ruler, Kuy kʰnaːt size, capacity.

1019 *tn[u]t sugar-palm.
Or *tn[u](u)t. Vietnamese may be a Loan from Khmuic, cf. with thóêt- Kammu-Yuan tut plant, Thin tût tree.

1020 *pit; *piit; *piat to pinch, squeeze, press.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Stieng pit to seize, appropriate, filch, Sre pet to pick, pluck (by attraction 823 *pic, which compare), (or B) Sakai pit to pinch (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 106); ~ (*jpiit >) Khmer cûmpût to pinch, cómptût to pinch; ~ Bahnar kâpit to crush, press down with hand.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian) Biat pêt to husband, spend with care, Bahnar pit to press with finger (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Kammu-Yuan kâmpit to rub against; ~ (*jpiit >) Khmer chpiit pinch [of powder &c.], Kuy biit to nip, pinch, (probably, rather than A) Jehai capid, Lanoh Jengjeng capêd, by metathesis Semelai pacet to squeeze.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer biat to brush or press against, to annoy, Stieng piat to get one’s fingers pinched, Chrau piat to crowd in on, jostle, Biat pêt to press, squeeze, Bahnar pet to squeeze with fingers, Kammu-Yuan pûat to press, Riang-Lang ~ piat to squeeze, massage; → Thai biat to squeeze between (in crowd); ~ (*jpiat >) Kuy biit to rub against, by assimilation Biat piac to massage; ~ Biat mpet to press with hands, Bahnar capet to massage, Praok biat to extract by pressing.
Connect following & 1024 *puuṭ &c. to stroke, rub; & cf. 1036 *cbiit to rub; 830 *c[ɓ]ic &c. to take in fingers.

(Schmidt 1905 14, 28; Shafer 1965 99.)
Sora pe'd- to pinch.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *pitpit: Javanese pipi pressed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) *[qS]a(N)pit: Malay apit to squeeze between two surfaces, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, *h-; cf. DYEN 1953 § 124); (iii) *d'apit: Acehnese cöpet to pinch, squeeze, Cham tapiʔ to pinch, wedge, Malay jēpit to nip, pinch, Javanese jēpit to nip, to hold under arm..., llocano dippit to press, press near, crowd in... (so Proto-Hesperonesian); & numerous related bases. Mon-Khmer forms in *jp- ← or contaminated by (iii)? Note further Sanskrit √pīḍ- to press!

1021 *pat; (*pat-s >?) *pac; *paac to press, squeeze.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon pat /pɔt/ to press, stroke, Modern Mon pat to rub, press, knead, massage, polish, Kuy, Chrau pat to squeeze, wring, Sre, Biat pat to wring out; ~ Vietnamese vât to wring out.
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer crəbac to squeeze, knead, massage.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar pac to stroke (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect preceding & 1024 *puut &c. to stroke, rub; & cf. 863 *wac ...to twist.

( SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1022 *pɔt; (*pɔt-s >?) *pac to abandon.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi phet to leave, abandon, run away; ~ Vietnamese vât to throw away.
B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmu’ pic to throw away, Thin plk to leave, abandon, to pay out, spend, Semai pec to throw; ~ Vietnamese vût = vât.

Connect Burmese prac /pyiʔ/ to throw (away)?

†1023 *puut; *p[əa]t to blow.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung put to blow, Riang-Lang ~put to blow [wind instrument], Semai pot, Jah Hut put to shoot with blowpipe; ~ Che’ Wong hapud to shoot with blowpipe.
B: (North & Central Aslian) Kensiu pot, Che’ Wong pot, Jah Hut pot to blow.

Or, if Che’ Wong hapud & Jah Hut pot are loanwords, B = A? Khasi put = Riang-Lang, implying *b-, may belong ultimately with A80 *knbuat mouth-organ, which compare; as 2028 *puh &c.

(SHAFER 1965 145a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256.)

Sora ped- to play on a flute, Kharia pe’d to pipe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 157, with variant vocalism; cf. ib. 162).

Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1024 *puut; *puət; *[ ]puəc to stroke, rub.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnar, Khasi) Khmer bot to stroke; ~ cbot to stroke; ~ (*crpuut
> ) Sre rapout to rub oneself, Chhrau lapot to rub, Biat rpot to rub oneself, to
care, Khasi syrpmud to rub gently.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnar, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Mon pot to rub, stroke, Khmer
pūat (!) to rub hard, Stieng pot to rub, Biat pot to besmeared (oneself), Bahnar pot
to brush against (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh pot to compress in hand (Gradin &
Gradin 1979), Riang-Lang puat (& Palaung puan!) to smear, Praok [co] pot to
clean; → Shan pòt to rub; ~ Old Mon sunipot /sampot/ to stroke, Vietnamese
vuót to smooth with hand, to caress.
C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar pox to stroke (Guilleminet 1959-63).
C probably rather by assimilation < *c-puāt than < *puət-s. Connect 1021 *pat &c.
to press, squeeze; North Bahnaric shows contamination with this &/or 1020 *pit
&c. Cf. also 1042 *[j]bat &c. to feel, grasp.
(Schmidt 1905 26; Shafer 1965 467.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *d’aNput: Malay jēmput to take in the fingertips, &c.
(Dempwolff 1938 48); (ii) *d’u(N)put: Javanese ju(m)put to take in the fingertips,
&c. (Dempwolff 1938 49; Proto-West-Indonesian). (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 4.)

1024a *puut to strip off.
A: (Khmer, Khmic) Khmer bot to strip off, Khamm-Yuan pūt to scrape off [hair &c.
from skin], to slough.

1025 *kpāt to struggle.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng (ta-)pot to fight with fists, Sre [tam] pot to
wrestle, try one’s strength against (→ Röglai), (> secondary *kpuat > ) Central
Nicobarese kapot to wrestle, Nancowry kapōt; ~ (*krapāt > ) Mon hapot khapuit
to twitch, to thrash about, flounder, Sre rapat to struggle, throw oneself about; →
Jarai pāpuʔ? (!), Röglai rapāʔ to struggle.
For Stieng vocalism see 345 *pak. Cf. Vietnamese vật to wrestle, to toss in bed.

1026 *cpaat to pull sharp instrument across.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Viet-Muong) Mon hwat to shred with a sharp instrument, Khmer pāt
to trim down, filed, Stieng pāt to cut oneself on a sharp instrument, Bahnar pāt to
whet, (?) Muong (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese phát to cut, trim.
Cf. Khamm-Yuan pāt to sharpen. But Khamm-Yuan pāt, Praok pāt to cut are ← Tai
(Schmidt 1905 18.)
By metathesis Proto-Austronesian *tn(p)at: Malay tampas to lop off, Tagalog tápas
dehusking of coconuts, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 103; Proto-Hesperonesian). Connect
perhaps further Malay pēpat pollarded, [teeth] filed level... (referred at Dempwolff
1938 to *patpat close(d), dense, & at Blust 1972 no. 14 compared with Tagalog
1027 *[d]paat to strike.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon pāt, Khmer piːat.

†1028 *[d]put; *[d]puut; *[d]puat; *[d]pat to be severed, broken.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon pui to be cut off, truncated, Modern Mon pūt to break, part, to cut, Proto-Nyah Kur *(m)-pui (DIFLOTH 1984 V138), Praok pūt to beak, (or c) Khasi phot to cut, nick; ~ (*[d]bp- >; or D) Mon /haput/ thapuit, dapuit to cut off, break off, (~) Khmer kambot! amputated, cut off.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung pūt to be broken, to break off, cut off, Riang-Lang ¯put to be severed, to be maimed; → Shan pūt to be broken off, cut.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar puat! to cut (off, up); ~ tapuat cut in two (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Biat [pah] pɔt to be too short [to reach], Central Sakai pūt to pull [cockle shell] apart, Besisi pōt to cut (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 302).

Rather than *(t)p- in view of Munda, below; so Bahnar puat by levelling? Connect (*dpec >?) Biat pec to crumble, be eroded, become jagged, Khasi pait to break, crack, crumble; perhaps 824a *pach to cut through. For Kammu-Yuan pāːt to cut, &c. see 1026 *cpaat.

Sora rə'pāːt-, Santali rapt' to break, &c. (PINNOW 1959 66).

Proto-Austronesian *pu[
222x222
222x222
222x222
222x222
222x222
222x222
222x222
] to wrap round.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng put to tie, [plant] to climb (< variant? BLOOD 1966 put), Sre pout to roll [cigarette], roll round, bandage, Chrau puːt to wrap (BLOOD 1966), Biat put to roll up, to bandage.

(BLOOD 1966 235.)

Proto-Austronesian *t'aput: Malay saput filmy cover; to cover with hangings, creepers, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, source obscure. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 15.)
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1031 *[b]et out of true.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bet edge of blade which is no longer straight (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar bet to drive in on a slant (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(shafer 1965 135.)

1032 *bat, *buat to tie, bind.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Palaungic) Middle Mon bat to secure, bind on, Modern Mon [pàn] pòt to be firm, secure, Khmer pòat to tie round, to spin [web, cocoon], (or 1042 *[j]bat to feel >?) Palaung bat to twine round (MILNE 1931).
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng buat to bind, Biat [tɔm thɔi tɔm] buat, (by contraction, or ~ *tnbuat causative >) Bahnar tamot to join end to end (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B secondary. Connection uncertain Riang-Lang takbat to knot; or samvat turban.
Sora [to(l)]-baut to tie, bind, 'bad-an cord of twisted straw (unless ultimately ← Sanskrit baddha- bound or related form).
Proto-Austronesian *ta(N)bat: Malay tambat to tie up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 233.

1033 *buut; *buut to wring, roll up, turn.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pùt to operate rotary mechanical device, Khmer pùt to roll into a ball, to wring out clothes; ~ (*bpuut >) Old Mon buwut /bɔwut/, Modern Mon hɔwut rotary machine.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng bat to roll up, to follow curving path; meanderings of path &c. (& to fold (back)), ← Khmer < 1029 *[l]pat? (SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Proto-Austronesian *butbut: Malay mêm-bubut to turn on lathe, &c. (cf. NOTHOFER 1975 198; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, to be separate from *butbut to pull out).

1034 *kbat; *bat grass.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Central Rölöm bat (BLOOD 1976); ~ Old Mon kambat /kɔmbat/, Modern Mon kɔmot grass, Proto-Nyah Kur *kampat (DIFFLOTH 1984 N71), Khasi kynbat herb.
B: (Katuic). Kuy, Bru bat grass.
Note Ong-Be bat &c., BENEDICT 1975 306. Connect following?

1035 *g[b]uut tuft, clump.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar bot, buot tuft, clump, uncleared site (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (→ Cham kaput); ~ Khmer kùmpùt clump [of trees], Palaung kɔnbut shoot of pampas grass (MILNE 1931).
Cf. Kuy puc tuft. Connect preceding?
But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *ruNput grass (Malay rumput, &c.; DEMPWOLFF 1938 104).
†1036 *cbiit to rub.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon jwit to pass one’s hand over, Modern Mon hwit to stroke, Khmer bət to rub on, apply (& by secondary derivation kəbət to rub (on)).
Cf. 1020 *pit &c. ...to squeeze, press.
Sora bid- to rub.

1037 *rbat to whip, thresh with flail.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường)
Riang-Lang _pat to fan, winnow, to wag tail, (?) Vietnamese bət to strike [fire]; → Shan pət to beat; ← (*rbət > ) Literary Mon lamuit, Bahnar rəmyt to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ← Khmer rumpət, Kuy mphət, (→?) Stieng rambat whip; by secondary derivation → Riang-Lang _səmpat flail; to thresh, beat.
Cf. variously West Bahnar habat to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ḫəlpət, Khasi sympət to beat, whip; Biat rpat to whip, to thresh with flail; mhat to whip; Vietnamese ṣut to lash with whip; & 1092 *kwit &c. to beat.

1038 *bət to bend, manipulate.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Literary Mon bət to press with fingers, straighten, Khmer piət to bend (straight), Kuy phət to bend straight, Stieng bət to soften [cane] by bending (beside bət to bend, stretch, ← ?Biat), Chrau ʋat to bend, (→ saʔ) to stretch [oneself], Biat bət to bend, Bahnar bət to press with fingers, straighten; → Cham bət to bend, curl (v.t.), Acehnese bət bent over backwards; to stretch.
Cf. 1029 *[l]pət to fold. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (b).)

(*but see 1178 *bun to heap up.)

†1039 *[c]biit: *[c]biat to cover, close, block up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic) Khmer bət to cover, close, Thin bi to extinguish, to be extinguished (?), Riang-Lang _bi to cover, close, stop up, Vietnamese xi to be hermetically closed; → Thai pi to close; ~ Palaung kənbiit to block; ~ Riang-Lang _səmbiit cover, stopper.
B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *[c]nbiat > ) Bahnar miet to stop up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Earlier *cbiit &c., ~ 949 *ciiit &c. to confine, restrict? But perhaps *təb- if Munda, below, is not cognate. Cf. further 1098 *s/mp/iit stopper.
Kharia ja’pi’d to shut one’s eyes, &c. (PINNOW 1959 93; ?; perhaps contaminated by cognate of 1020 *pit &c. to pinch, squeeze…; so semantically e.g. Acehnese pet to close eyes, Toba Batak pitpit closed [eyes] < Proto-Austronesian *pitpit to clamp, DEMWPOLFF 1938 119, to which Khmer is compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1).

1040 *cbiit; (*cbiət >) *cbiat; *cət; *cəat sticky, to stick on.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer bət to exude, to stick, affix, Palaung biit to be sticky, Lawa Bo Luang pit, Lawa Umphai phit glutinous [rice], Khasi biit to stick.
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B: (Katuic) Kuy pet to stick on, affix, Bru tapet.
C, D: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) (apparently) → Stieng pot, pæt to stick on, affix by interdialectal borrowing; (C) Cham pàʔ to stick to; ∼ (*cr⁶- > ) Literary Mon jahuit to be sticky; ∼ Mon ḫabot, (D) Riang-Lang *sabat gum of tree, by metathesis (C/D) Sre basat latex.

Khmer cəa bət mastic is perhaps < *crəiiɺ by popular etymology, cf. cəa gum, bət to rub on. For Stieng pot < ∗-ət see 345 *pək. Earlier *cbəiiɺ &c. ∼ 948 *cəiiɺ(ît sticky? The following may be connected by metathesis: Vietnamese nēp (< ∗c[ ]dip?), Kuy [doii] dip (< ∗[c]dīp or ∗[c]dīp), Biat [pih] ḫep (< ∗cndīp by hypercorrection?) glutinous [rice]; Khmer domnaap glutinous [rice] (by secondary derivation < *cfəəp?). (Schmidt 1905 22.)

1041 *'[j]biət; *[j]ɓaət to suck in mouth.

A: (Mon, Khasi, ḥNorth Bahnaric) Bahnar biət to purse [lips] in token of disapproval (Guillenmet 1959-63) (?), Khasi biət to eat [pulses] a little at a time; ∼ Mon həbet to suck in mouth.
B: (Katuic) Kuy) (k)biət to chew, Bru kubat.
B contaminated by 1371 *ɓəam to chew (& 1375 *ɓiim &c.., 1376 *ɓəam to have in one’s mouth?).
Sora be’d-, bed’-bed’, sa’be’d-, Santali jembe’d to sip, suck, &c. (Pinnow 1959 251; Santali perhaps compound, cf. Kharia jə’b).

1042 *'[j]ɓət; *[j]ɓuət; *[j]ɓuət to feel, grasp.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon [com] ɓət to feel, palpate, ɓat [toa] fist, Proto-Nyah Kur *kʰəbat (Diefloht 1984 V142), Biat bat [ti:] fist, to clench, Riang-Lang *ɓat to feel, palpate, Khasi bat to hold, catch hold of, grasp; ∼ (*[j]nɓat > ) Sre, Biat mbat, Chrau samvat handful; (?) ∼ Lawa Bo Luang hmʊuk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hmat to hold, catch hold of, grasp.
B: (Khermer) Khmer piət to rub [ointment] on.
C: (South Bahnaric, North Asian) Chrau vuat to grope for [fish], Biat but to feel, grasp, Bateq Deq bat to hold.
D: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar ɓat to put hand &c. in hole, grasp for fish, take fish from trap; ∼ Kuy (k)mat to clench; handful.

Connect by metathesis 1262 *[j]ɗaap to pass hand along. Cf. also Kammu-Yuan sapət (səpət), sapət to snatch, grab; & 1024 *puut &c. to stroke, rub. C, D perhaps secondary, or contaminated by this, but cf. Munda.
Kharia ce’pu’d to hide in fist, to clench, &c. (Pinnow 1959 137; Proto-Munda ∗-ud). Proto-Austronesian ∗d’a(N)bat: Malay jəbat to touch, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 45).

1043 *rmɓ[ɔɔ]t tears.

1044 *[I]ɓat soft, tender.
(Mon, Katuic) Mon ɓat to be soft, tender, delicate, young, Pakoh labɔt soft, pliable (so *-ɔt?)
Cf. Sre mbɔc soft.
Sora 'lamaɗ-, 'labad- soft [clay &c.].
Proto-Austronesian *laNbut: Malay lɛmbut tender [meat], gentle, soft [voice], &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 94).

1045 *mat eye.
(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon mat /mɔt/, Modern Mon mɔt eye, Sre mat face, eye, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Halang mat eye, Jeh mat eye, face, Kammu-Yuan mɔt, Khasi 'mat eye, Mường mɔt eye, face (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese mạt face, Kensi med, Temiar mad, Semelai mat, Central Nicobarese [oːl]-mat, -mat eye, Nancowry ʔuálmát, ʔumát; ~ Khasi khmat, Vietnamese mạt eye.
(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 163; BLOOD 1966 357; SMITH 1972 222; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 83 (a.).)
Sora 'mʔɔːd-an, compounding form 'mad-an, Kharia mɔ'ɖ, mɔ̃'ɖ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 250).

1046 *mut; *muut; *mat to enter.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng mut (BLOOD 1966), Sre, Bahnar, Halang mut, Jeh mɔt.
B: (Katuic, ?Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Kuy mʊt, Sakai mɔɪt (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 77; or A?), ?Nancowry mút to hide.
C: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar mat, mut (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar tamat to cause to enter.
Cf. 968 *guut &c.
(SHAFER 1965 348; BLOOD 1966 162; SMITH 1972 212, 227.)

1047 *mut; *muut hammer.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre mut (→ Rôglai).
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar mut; → Jarai mut (& t'mut!), North Rôglai mūːʔ.
Chamic finals indicate borrowing. Sre excludes *tm- or *dm-; Jarai t'mut ← A variant *muut muut?

(*muut see also 1186 *mun[ ] pimple.)
1048 *k[p]mat; *k.mat gall.


B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Kuy mət, Bahnar kəmət, Vietnamese mət, Pangan kəməd (i.e. Mendriq, Bateq Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 4).

(Shafer 1965 356.)

1049 *kmuat; *kmiat woodworm, weevil.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer khmoːt woodworm, weevil, Kuy kmuat weevil, West Bahnar mət (Guilleminet 1959-63), Vietnamese [con] mət woodworm; ~ Bahnar (kon) kəmət woodworm, Palaung kərmət weevil.

B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 957 *kəat to bite…) Stieng kəmiət weevil; ~ Biat rmiət [coh] (beside riət… ) weevil.


1050 *cimuət to question.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon cmot /cmot/; ~ Palaung sərmət.

1050a *tmit short post.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon tmit, Modern Mon met post supporting veranda, Biat mit marker stake.

1051 *tmaat[ ] vulture.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Old Khmer tmaːt, Modern Khmer thmaːt, Stieng kəmət; ~ Old Mon tinmət (& timən) ?/təmət/, Modern Mon kəmət, Kuy mət, Bru mət.

On Old Mon variants see 416 *mraik[ ]; perhaps /təmət/ or the like.

(Schmidt 1905 46.)

1052 *rmit; *rmiiət; *rmimət Curcuma species; yellow.

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Khasi) Mon mit turmeric, Proto-Nyah Kur *mʊt (Diffloth 1984 N28), Sre rəmim greenish- yellow, Chrau rəmim yellowish, Biat rəmim saffron (→ Stieng rəmim?), (or B) Khasi ləmit-ləmit rather [yellow]; ~ Khasi dialect shyrmim turmeric.

B: (Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _rmim turmeric, yellow, (or A) Central Sakai rəmim saffron.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer rmyət, Modern Khmer rmiət, lmiət saffron, Kuy lmiət yellow, Khasi ləmit-ləmit very [yellow], Proto-Semai *rməet yellow (Diffloth 1977).
(*yiit, *yiat see 941 *[?]liit coucal.)

1053 *yat; *yəat to be extinguished.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yat; ~ piat to extinguish; ~ (*[t]nyat >) Stieng _net to extinguish, extinguished, Biat _phat to extinguish.
   B: (Palaungic) Praok yut to be extinguished; ~ (*pyəat >?) Lawa Bo Luang ?yut, Lawa Umphai ?nuut to extinguish.
   Cf. 973 *ŋat; 1077 *lat &c.; 987 *kc[a]t to die.
   Sora paṇi(:)d- to be extinguished.

1054 *[s]yat grass.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon snt thatching-grass, Imperata arundinacea, Jeh set (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) Kammu-Yuan cɨt, Thin kyɨt, kɨt grass; ~ (*[s]nyat >) Sre _phat, Bahnar ŋnet grass.
   Khmuic, Bahnar suggest (secondary) *cy-!
   (SHAFFER 1965 167; SMITH 1972 221; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 96.)

1055 *rit kind of palm yielding writing-material.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon řt Corypha umbraculifera, (manuscript written on) palm-leaf, Khmer rūt Latania rhapis leaves.

1056 *riit; *riat to rotate, go round, to grind.
   A: (Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Palaung grït, Praok krit to grind [grain]; ~ (*[t]lriit >) Kuy leit to grind, to gin cotton.
   B: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon ret /ret/ to visit, Modern Mon rêt to go round, go about; ~ (*[t][r]riat >) Khasi tyliat to grind; ~ (*rniat — properly nominalisation— > ?) Riang-Lang _niit to grind.
   For cognacy of CVC form cf. Munda. Connect 1064 *kriit &c. to creak; A81a *[s][r][l][e][e]t to pass?
   Sora rïd-, Khabria rïd to grind, &c. (PINNOW 1959 76).
   Cf. Tibeto-Burman *kriit to grind, BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 119; Karen *gr[e]t, ib. 141-2 n. 382.

1057 *rat; *rəat; *rət to be startled, alarmed.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Mon) Old Khmer rat, Modern Khmer riat to run (away), Vietnamese giạt (for *rəat) to jerk, (~ minh) to be startled (~ to pull forcibly, < 1058 *rat); ~ (*rmr- >) Mon karat to cry, whimper (or B), Sre nrat, Biat ndrat to start with fright; ~ (*rəat > *rət >?) Khasi thred, thret very much [startled].
   B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer prɨt startled.
   C: (Bahnaric) ~ Chraw ndrat spasm, to jerk, Bahnar kədrat to start with fright.
   Separate Central Nicobarese dat-ɲarit to be startled, < *d-.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1058 *rut; *ruut; *ruat; *rat; *raat; ruc; *ruuc; *rac (& *raec?); *rae (or *raec?)

Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Sakai *rut to pluck out, uproot
(or < variant?); ~ Palaung Brut to extract [tooth] (Milne 1931); (or c?) ~ Khasi
kynjrot to pull off bit by bit; ~ Nancowry hayüüt to push or pull away, tiyüt to jerk.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Bahnaric *rut to slide (v.t.),
Nancowry yúk to cut something smooth, (or *c-rat > ?) Praok rut to pull apart,
away; (or h) ~ Thai rúut to strip [leaves &c.], milk; ~ Khmer crot, Stieng sarut
to reap, Bahnar h*rut [h*ratt] to pull hard on (Guilleminet 1959-63), (~?) Muông
(Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese rát to pull (back, out), withdraw.

C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon) Mon ròt rat to reap; ~ (*rn- >) nót not sickle (&/or, E,
J); ~ (*cruat >) Bahnar rhuat to withdraw, Bahnar hrát to pull on, out, up, Jeh sort
to reap, Halang soat, Kammu-Yuan ròt to strip grain (& hót; by back-borrowing
< Tai?).

D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Muông giát to pull on (Barker 1966 23), Vietnamese
giát to pull forcibly, snatch (for **rát, = to jerk, be startled, < 1057 *rat); ~
Bahnar harat, Gőlar Bahnar garat to pull with a jerk (Guilleminet 1959-63
h(*)rat).

E: (Bahnaric, Mon, Nicobaric) Khasi rat to uproot; ~ prat to cut [grass], clear [bushes],
Mon ròt rat to reap, Proto-Nyah Kur *rgc (Diffloth 1984 V104; *c-?), Nancowry
yat to cut.

F: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru riat to snatch; ~ Bahnar brat to pull on, out, up
(Guilleminet 1959-63).

G: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung ruuit to pull out; ~ Bahnar hruc to yank out
[branch] after cutting.

H: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Khmer róc to pull out, draw out, Kuy róc to
withdraw [fuel from fire]; ~ Khmer rabaoc pulled away, out, uprooted, Kuy pooc
to uproot, pull out; ~ (*cruuc >) Praok ruc to uproot, Muông rút to withdraw
(Barker & Barker 1976).

I: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Katuic) Proto-Semai *ròc to uproot
(Diffloth 1977); ~ Khmer krèc grec dislocation, to dislocate, (or J?) Kuy khràc
sprained, Bru ri2 to harvest; ~ Bahnar h(*)reck, h(*)reç to reap, sever, tear (off)
(Guilleminet 1959-63) (or J), (~*aoc >? but cf. D) h(*)raç to pull on, out, up.

J: (Khasi, Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese rút to pull, to tear out; ~ Khasi kynjrat to jerk,
pull with a jar.

G &c. in part or wholly by assimilation < *c-rut &c. rather than <*rut-s &c. Cf. 866
*[ ]wac &c. to cut, reap; 839 *rac to slice, cut through; A28b *ruuk to pull up.
(Schmidt 1905 40, 60; Smith 1972 237)
Sora rud-(*rud-) to pluck [flowers], rú-, rui- to pluck, to pull out, to snatch, to wrench
(Pinnow 1959 381).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *Surut to pull between hands: Malay urut to stroke, rub, massage, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, *; BENEDICT 1975 358, which see, adds Ami *mi-
Surut to pull); (ii; *parut) llocano parut to uproot, Pangasinan pálot to pull out.

1059 *rut; *ruut; *ru̞at; *rət to sprinkle, scatter.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung phrut to sprinkle, scatter.
B: (Katuic) Bru rùt [flowers, fruit, leaves] to drop off completely.
C: (Palaungic) Praok ruat to sow broadcast; ~ Praok pruat [ruac] to be scattered.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung rət, Riang-Lang rət to sprinkle; ~ Palaung rət to scatter.
Cf. 837 *ra(a)c; 843 *ruc &c. to fall, drip.
Sora jo'ord to drip, [tears to flow].

1060 *rut; *ruut; *rət (to catch fish in) kind of fish-trap.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rùt to catch fish in fish-trap (ʔəŋrùt) resembling
lobster-pot, Sre rut trap for flying white ants (DOURNES 1950), Chrau rut large open-
mesh fish-trap.
B: (Mon) ~ Mon karət karut basket with open bottom for catching mudfish, basket for
penning fowls.
C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy nthrət basket for penning fowls.
(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

1061 *ruut, *ru̞at; *rət; *rət; *riit; *rɪət to tighten, constrict.
A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer rùat to draw [e.g.
curtains] together (or < 1058 *ruut to pull hard on…?; ~ Thai rùat to pull
[curtains &c.], probably → Kuy rùt to pull, slide), Kuy rət to shrink, to hunch up,
Biat rət to shrink, become tight, Palaung rut to draw in with drawstring (MILNE
1931), Riang-Lang rùt to draw in; ~ Shan hùt to tighten; ~ Mon harət sarut to
pull [string] tight, close [bag] with string.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer rùat to seize round top or neck,
Steng rət to tighten, pull in, Praok rət to gird, Lawa Umphai [hau] ruat rice-
sack; ~ Acehnese rət to secure [trousers] firmly; ~ Palaung krət to strangle with a
cord (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang sakruat to strangle, choke, smother; ~ Mon krət
grot to fit closely.
C: (South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Kuy rət to tie, bind (or E); ~ Shan hùt to tighten [belt
&c.]; ~ Biat kət to shrink, huddle together; ~ (*sr- >; or D) Kuy sat to tie.
D: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang rət to gird; ~ Thai rát, Shan hát.
E: (Khmer) Khmer rìut to draw up tight.
F: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, ?Kuy) Kuy rìt (or G; ~ Thai rìit) to
squeeze out, press on, Sre rìt tight, Biat rət to tighten, Chrau rət, Bateg Nong rɪt,
Semai l rɪd to squeeze; ~ Cham rìʔ to draw net in.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

G: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Stieng riət [kəu] to strangle with a cord, West Bahnar ræt to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan riət to tie together, Temiar rayed to squeeze; ~ (*[s].riət > ) Bahnar hæret to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size, Vietnamese riêt to draw tight.

Connect Nancowry ʔuəc tight, to strangle.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *Sɔayət: Malay (h)ərət constriction, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 425; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; *kə[r]ət) Ivatan kalūt to close with a draw string. Note also Malay chērət [python, belt, noose] to squeeze; ← Mon-Khmer?

1062 *ruut; *ruat to buy.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar rət (& rət!) to barter, buy.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre roat, Biat rwat, Jeh, Halang ruat to buy.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *duuk.

(BLOOD 1966 83; SMITH 1972 232.)

1063 *ruat tier.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer rūət; ~ truət to lie one upon another, piled up; ~ Middle Mon tambrot /təmrot/, Modern Mon parot [caik] small stupa on tiered base of large one.

11064 *krit; *kriiət; *kriət by metathesis *rkiiat to creak.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar krit creakily (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer) Khmer kret creakily (TANDART 1935).

C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon kret to creak, Khmer kriət creakily (TANDART 1935), Khasi khret-khret grating, Nancowry ʔiət to squeak.

D: (South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Sre rəkiət (~ Röglai), Biat rciət to grind, creak, gnash, (or c?) Central Nicobarese kəat-[cəkət] to gnash.

Connect perhaps 1056 *riiət &c. ...to grind, whether or not original. Onomatopoeic (As D) Sora rîkəd- to creak.


Note also Javanese krɛkɛt grinding or grating sound, to grind [e.g. teeth] (< *k/ar/ətkət, cf. Cebuano kagi̇kkit n.?).

1065 *kruət (& *krut?) kind of bee.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre kro live kind of bee of medium size (< variant?), Bru kroːt bee; ~ Stieng kəndraːt wasp, Chrau kəndroːt small kind of bee, Bahnar kədərət kind of bee of medium size nesting in hollow trees, Jeh kədroːt honey-bee, Halang gədroːt kind of apid; ~ (*kpruət > ) Khmer prəət, prəət kind of bee building layered nest in hollow trees &c.
Connect obscure Mon hərot kind of bee nesting in hollow trees.
(SMITH 1972 236.)

1066 *graat to scatter.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi krad; ~ Riang-Lang kantrat seed-harrow.
Connect 837 *ra(a)c.

†1067 *criit; *criat to cram in.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat chriet close together; apparently by back-formation ~ Sre riit close together, Biat rest to pack close together.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer criat, TANDART 1935 also criat to intercalate, press on, pack in, jostle, Kuy sît to crowd against, crowded; ~ Literary Mon taret to press into.
Sora s’a’ried- to be overfilled, crowded, to become tight, rigid, swollen, ‘sare’d- tight.

1068 *criit; *t,riit cricket, to chirr.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Aslian) Central Sakai jarét variety of mole-cricket, Besisi sër-ît to whine (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (a)); ~ Mon karet caîrit, Khmer cûrît cricket; ~ Bru ?abriit cricket; → Thai cîrîit cricket; Malay chêngkêrek mole-cricket.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng triet, Chrau [kɔn] tret cricket, Sre trit to whistle, Palaung [ə]krit cricket.
Onomatopoeic? Note Ilocano kuriat, Pangasinan kôryat cricket. Otherwise B by assimilation
(SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

(*t,riit see preceding.)

1069 *drit; *driit to slope.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat [ŋkɛnɛŋ] drut sloping.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer trêt to slope, lean, incline, Bru trèʔ (by dissimilation?).

1070 *priit; *priat banana.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar pri:t, Jeh, Halang priat.
B: (Katuic) Kuy priit.
(SHAFER 1965 104; BLOOD 1966 224; SMITH 1972 214.)

1071 *mraat rough, untamed, viovlent.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon parât to be viovlent, Khasi mrad animal; cruel, inhuman, Central Nicobarese maiyat rough, unplaned, Nancowry yât, puyât.
1072 *sriit rhinoceros.
    A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon sрит /srit/, Modern Mon sеt, (~?) Lawa Umphai raip; → Thai rēt.
    Also Khmuic, see SHORTO 1971.

1073 *sriit; *sriat cold.
    A: (Khmer) Khmer sрет cold to the touch (TANDART 1935).
    B: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese rēt to be cold, feel cold.

1074 *sraat sour, acid.
    A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Stieng, Sre stət, Chrau saт, by vowel metathesis (*sa(a)rət >) Central Nicobarese haiyvt, háyvt [fluid] to turn sour; ~ (*spraat >) Vietnamese [chua]-chát (for **trát) sour, acid.
    (BLOOD 1966 332.)

1\textsuperscript{1}075 *lit; *liat; *laiat to lick.
    A: (Khmer) Khmer lɯт to lick, lap.
    B: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung leát (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _liet, Praok Iet to lick, Bru liat; ~ Kammu-Yuan klət to lick; ~ (*Impiat >) Sre, Biat mpiat, Chrau ləpiat, Bahnar rapiet, Jeh ləpiat, Halang rapiat, (by metathesis, or ~ *p[ ]liat >?) Semnam pəld tongue.
    C: (Khasi, North Aslian) Semang lat to lick (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 65); ~ Khasi thyllied tongue.
    Cf. Khasi jliah to lick; 1286a *liap to lick; 1409 *[c]lim? &c.
    (SHAFFER 1965 351; BLOOD 1966 105; SMITH 1972 228; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 164.)
    Proto-Austronesian *l,ɪd,aq tongue: Malay lidah, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 16.3; cf.

1\textsuperscript{2}076 *lit (?); *liit; *liat slippery, to smear on.
    A: (South Bahnaric) Biat lут worn, well- worn, well-trodden (or ad 953 *ləiit &c., which compare?).
    B: (Mon, Bahnaric, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Semang lit[lut] smeared (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 291), Central Nicobarese letə to smear face with pigment; → Röglai lit [dou] sticky; ~ Mon kalət to be smooth, to slip; ~ Sre kanit red clay, Biat ;"> This content has been clipped. Please view the full version."

(Continued...)
c: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Old Mon let /let/, Modern Mon lêt to smear on, Khmer liat to caulk, Kuy lít to scoop up, smear on (probably, rather than A), Khasi liat to fall through, slip, miscarry (contaminated by 1081 *lut &c., which compare); → Malay liat (in sense) clayey; ~ Mon klet to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive, Palaung klet to be smooth, slippery; → Acehnese klat clayey; ~ (*[k]pliat >) Mon kalet to smear with, smear on, Vietnamese trét to smear, to caulk; ~ Biat klet sprain, (ntìn glet) dislocation; ~ Kammu-Yuan lêmêt smooth (or ad *lìlit &c.?). Slippery contaminated by *lut &c.? Cf. further Vietnamese trát to coat, smear, trút slippery ~ muàt to be smooth and shining, sét clay; & 1668 *[s]liar smooth, slippery.

Sora ‘tule(;)d’on gum, pus.

Proto-Austronesian by metathesis *li(N)kiat: Acehnese lòkiat viscous, clayey, Malay lekit adhesive..., Javanese lèngkèt to cleave to (→ Malay lengket sticking together), &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 198; Proto-Hesperonesian; also *likat: Javanese likèt to stick, sticky, Pampangan likèt stickiness, &c., Proto-Hesperonesian; *lakat to stick, DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, Proto-West-Indonesian; perhaps contaminated by *Zakat to stick, DAHL 1973 § 14.5 &c. = DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (*d-), 47 (*d’)).

1077 *li[i]t; *lat to be extinguished.

A: (North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese leet-[ŋoŋ &c.] burnt out, quenched, Nancowry liāt completed, finished; ~ Semang [ya’] pèlít to extinguish (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (b)), Semaq Beri palet night.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer liêt to extinguish, Central Sakai lò‘ to be extinguished; ~ Old Mon plit /plit/, Modern Mon plôt to be extinguished, Pangan [ya]-plöd to extinguish (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Connect Praok pruit to extinguish? Cf. 973 *ṇat, 1053 *yə(ə)t; 423 *lak &c. to sink, be immersed, 854 *lac &c. to be flooded, to sink, 1287 *lāp &c. to immerse; 721 *lāŋ to be immersed.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 18.)

†1078 *laqt to be spread out flat.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer liat to spread (v.t), to extend, be spread out; flat, Central Rölöm, Bahnar lait flat; ~ (*ɪmaat >) Biat blast bottom (e.g. of river), East Bahnar blast flat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 324.)

Sora laid- to spread out [cloth], to hold [legs] wide apart, laid-laid- to spread, unfurl, stretch (v.i.t).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *dayat: Malay darat dry land, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37; BLUST 1972 no. 89 adds Oceanic).
1079 *laat (laac?) bare.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Semai laa(d) (TAUERN 1914); ~ Mon halat to be bare, bald, shaven, to bare, Proto-Nyah Kur *talāac (DIFFLOTH 1984 V106), Khmer sralāt to bare (GUESDON 1930);
Connect Proto-Semai *laac bald (DIFFLOTH 1977).

1080 *l[o]t to jump, to run.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer lōt to jump, spring, Kuy lōt to jump, Sre lot to go, Chrau lōt to run (away). (Cf. B61.)

1081 *lut; *luat; *luat; *lat; (*lut-s &c. >) *luc; *luuc; *luac; *l[a]c to slip (off, down).

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer lūt to slip away, to let go of; ~ (*[r]mlut >) Bahnar tablūt to cave in.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) ~ Khmer ralūt, laelūt, Stieng raļut to abort, give birth prematurely, Biat [prah] rloot to fall [head over heels]; ~ (*[r][b]lūt >) Biat rblouot to slip off, Vietnamese trüt to slide down; ~ Palaung plut to take off [clothes &c.], Vietnamese trüt [rain] to pour; to shed [load], to yield up [soul]; ~ Bahnar hlūt to fall into a trap (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon lot /lot/, Modern Mon lōt to fall prone, Lawa Bo Luang [hlai?] luat [rain] to fall, Vietnamese lot to slip into, pass through, fall into; ~ (*[r]mluat >) Jölong tabluat to slip, to slip from hand &c. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok sibluat to shake out, shake off; ~ (*[t]luat >) West Bahnar teduаt [tool] to fly off handle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat lōt to abort (v.t.); ~ rlot to slip off.

E: (Khmer) ~ Khmer phlōat to falter..., (~ sniat) slip up.

F: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Khasi loit to take off, undress, untie, detach (or H?), Vietnamese lōt to strip off, to slough (rather than A); ~ Sre pluc to come loose, fall off (~ Rögglai), (or H?) Khasi phlōit [ring round handle] to come off.

G: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung luīt, Mon also luit to take off [clothes &c.], Central Nicobaric [et]-loːic-[həŋa] to slough, Nancowry zîtlúc, zîtlíc to skin, to peel; ~ Khasi ploč slippery; ~ Khasi [kaba mīh] phyllid prolapsus; ~ Bahnar toplōc to lose hold of [fish].

H: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan lūuc to skin, to take off; ~ Bahnar tablu.ac (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), tabluuc to slip, to slip from hand &c.; ~ Kammu-Yuan klúuc to slip, (or F?) Khasi khloid to dislocate.

I; (Katuic, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau lac to fall out through hole, Central Rölöüm lac to fall (BLOOD 1976); ~ Mendriq, Jah Hut balac smooth; ~ Kuy słe, lhec to slip, Temiar salej smooth.

Cf. 1076 *lit &c. slippery, to smear on, with perhaps mutual contamination Connect as causative 856 *luc &c. to steal?
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Sora pa'luđ-, pa:lɔd- to slip through; ~ Kharia jɑˈlo’ɖ slippery, to slip, &c. (PINNOW 1959 259; Proto-Munda *jalad); Sora jo'loj- (beside ja'lo:-) to slide.

1082 *luut; (?) *luat to err.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon lút to commit a fault, Palaung lut fault, (MILNE 1931) to err, Praok lut to err; ~ Middle Mon [byi] plut to impute blame, Modern Mon plut to slander, traduce, Proto-Nyah Kur *luuc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V107; -*c?); (~?) Riang-Lang _plut to repent.
B: (Mon) ~ Mon plót blot [plêt] to miss the mark, go astray (or < 861 *[b]lac?).

1083 *[ ]luut; *[ ]luc to sprout.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer lút; ~ Middle Mon klut, Modern Mon, Proto-Nyah Kur *khuuc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V108; -*c?); ~ Middle Mon talut to cause to spring up, Modern Mon kalot to plant.
B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi shyllui to bloom.
Perhaps *t,]- or *cl-, Khmer by back-formation; Khasi then by progressive assimilation < -*-ut? Connection uncertain Kharia kyle’d bamboo shoot, &c., PINNOW 1959 256 (Proto-Munda *qalit).
(SCHMIDT 1905 58)

1084 *luat; *luus; *luas to draw out.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon lôt drawplate, Palaung luat, Praok lot to draw out, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai luat to draw out, take out; → Shan lôt to withdraw [bolt]; ~ (?*luat luat > *t,luat >) Riang-Lang truat to draw out.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang luyh to pluck feathers.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer lüah luas to draw (out), cut strips off; wire, cord, &c., Stieng [se:] lu[h] brass wire; → Thai luat wire, → Kuy lút.
A hardly all ← Tai ← C; the same final variant between 1078 *laat and 191 *laas. Cf. Röglai lah to withdraw; ← a variant *laş?
(SMITH 1972 509.)

1085 *kl[ɔɔ]t kind of creeper from which ropes are made.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng [tɔɔm] klɔt, Sre klo (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar klɔt (GUILLIMINET 1959-63).
Connect Semang hadlud Daemonorops species (?) (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 41?
(SHAFER 1965 67.)

1086 *[c]laat frightened.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar hlit to flee in terror (GUILLIMINET 1959-63), Praok lat, Lawa hlat to be afraid; ~ (*[c]blaat >) Khmer cúmlīat, Bahnar palit to frighten (GUILLIMINET 1959-63) (& by levelling pohlit); ~ (*[c]rlaat >) Kuy raut to be afraid of [someone].
Bahnar fronting probably normal in context. Cf. 857 *klaac.

(*clu(u)t see 1083 [*luu]t to sprout.)

1086a *[t]uat; *[t]aat to be folded back.
A: (Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy k(a)lat to roll up, fold back, turn inside out; ~ (→) Sre plot to folded back (DOURNES 1950); by secondary derivation ~ Sre tarplot to folded back.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat rlat to be turned up, folded back; ~ plat to be turned up, folded back.
Or *plɔ(a)t by metathesis < 1029 *[l]pat to fold, Kuy by secondary derivation?

(*t,lu(u)t see 1083 [*luu]t to sprout.)

1087 *[t]uat (whistle) flute.
A: (Mon, Katuuic, Khasi) Kuy lut [tut], Khasi (compounding form!) ['dong] lot-lot; ~ Mon kalot talot &c.
Earlier *[t]uy [t]uy, connected Khmer khloy?

1088 *[t],uat; *[t],ət; *[t],ət to swallow.
A: (Khmuiic, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric; ~ *[t],luat > ) Kammu-Yuan kluaat to swallow [sth. large], Vietnamese nuot, Central Nicobarese cinluat-[həje] to swallow.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *[t],lat > ) Riang-Lang _taklat to swallow.
C: (Khmuiic, Palaungic; ~ *[t],mlaat > ) Kammu-Yuan kamlaat, Prahok bluat to swallow. Originally perhaps all *[t],nl-, > *[t],ml- by dissimilation, denasalized in Riang-Lang.
Cf. 1201 *[lu][u]n &c.

(*plɔ(a)t see 1086a *[t]lat to be folded back.)

1089 *[s]luut (& *[s]luut?) deaf.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung blut, Riang-Lang ~lut, Prahok lut, Lawa Bo Luang hlauk, Lawa Umphai hlaut, Mae Sariang hlaut [suak]; ~ Kammu-Yuan sluit; by secondary derivation (*-ut?) ~ Khasi kyllum.

†1090 *wit; *wiit; *wiət; *wat; *waat; *wut; *wuut; *wuət to go round, curve, bend, turn.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer vuit to stir repeatedly, beat, Bahnar wit curve, eddy (GUILEMINET 1959-63); (— wiŋ) to whirl round, (wit wiŋ) (in) return, to return; (or B) ~ Malay wet, ut to turn by back-paddling, to waggle [finger], wriggle [buttocks], Iban uit to turn by back-paddling; ~ Sre kuit (& kuet) to bend back; ~ Khasi kyrwit round, turn.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *wit dizzy, Riang-Lang *vit to surround; to turn round, stir round and round; ~ Sre kuit bent, to bend (v.t.); ~ Lawa Umphai rawit to surround.

C: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Asian) Chrau wot to turn round, Bahnar wêt to turn [e.g. collar] back (Guilleminet 1959-63), Riang-Lang *vit to wring [clothes], Praok vet [ve] to change direction, Lawa Bo Luang wiat to turn, Khasi wiat to bend [bow], Temiar wéd giddy (Benjamin 1976b 132); ~ Bahnar ruet to wring [clothes] (Guilleminet 1959-63).

D: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng uat, Bahnar wat time, (recurrent) occasion (Guilleminet 1959-63 has Bahnar wat, wyt to turn (v.t.)), Kammu-Yuan wût-[raŋwût] [many] wagging, waggling, Khasi wet-wet [to go] round hurriedly.

E: (Khem, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi wat time; ~ Khmer khvat-[khvaen] intertwined, meandering, Biat kwat hooked, bent back; ~ Kammu-Yuan kätwàt to wag, wave; ~ Mường quát to bend (Barker 1966 24), Vietnamese quá to turn (v.i.); ~ Khmer kyrwat turn of path.

F: (Khem, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer vit to turn boat by paddling, Stieng uat to wag [tail], Bahnar wat circular, to encircle (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Mường (Barker 1966 24), Vietnamese quá to fan, to winnow; ~ Khasi kyrwad turn; ~ West Bahnar twaít to turn (v.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63).

G: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *wot, *vot to be bent, crooked, to arch.

H: (Palaungic) Praok vut to turn away (v.i.).

I: (Bahnaric) Bahnar wot to turn (v.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Chrau [rawi:] rawot dizzy.

G-i secondary. Connect besides Sre kuet (above, A; ~ tarkuet caus.) Sre wet to turn round (v.i.t.); & 862 *wic &c. twisted. Add B73 *wiát to repay?

Sora td-, ed- to circle, wind (or : 1794 *wi(i)l?).

1091 *wat; *waat to throw.

A: (Khem, Khmuic) Khmer wāt, Kammu-Yuan wat.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa wat.

1092 *kwit; *kwiat; *kwat to beat.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau kwuut to lash; ~ Khasi khrwit to beat with stick, kyrwit to beat.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung hviat small stick; (~) Khasi kawiat to beat with s.th. small.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Palaung hvat to hit with small stick (Millne 1931), (!; ?) Vietnamese quá to whip, beat; (~ *krwat >) Halang wot to hit, Praok sivet to beat, flog.

Vietnamese tone obscure. Note Gölar Bahnar huat to whip; Palaung hvian to hit; Khmer rāvəc ravič to swish to and fro. Cf. 1037 *rbat to whip, thresh with flail.

(*[g]wat, *gwaat see 867 *kwaac to scratch.)
1093 *rwiat subject to fits, mad.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ravet (to go) mad, Central Nicobarese aroaít fits, spasm, convulsion, (aroaít -paiyuh) mad.
Assuming (i) **-wi-** inhibits Nicobaric *r > y*, (ii) **-wia- > *-wia- > -oa:-**.
Connection uncertain Bahnar hawem, hawen mad (Guilleminet 1959-63).

1094 *[r]wàt; *rwàat; *[r]wàc; *rwàac inattentive, to forget.
A: (South Bahnaric, Mon) Old Mon wàt /wàt/, Modern Mon wàt to forget, Proto-Nyah Kur *thòwat (Diffloth 1984 V144), Biat rwòt rwòt vague, obscure, Chrau [cùt] lawòt to faint.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat rwùıt imprudent, careless.
C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese wait-[nàyan] to forget, Nancowry wàc to miss a target.
D: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *rawuuc carelessly (Diffloth 1977).
Connect (via a form *s-riw(i)c?) Stieng auic, Sre huiʔ, Chrau huc [ceʔ] to forget; Bahnar has hiàt.

1095 *swiit; *swiat; *swat to wither.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer swàt not as when new or young..., to wither, Kuy swët, feat, Praok vit to wither.
B: (Kumuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan wùiat (& wúat) to shrivel, shrink, Palaung hvìat (Milne 1931) (& Palaung hiàt; contaminated by 1101 *swat, which compare?) to wither, Riang-Lang *vùit wrinkles, to be wrinkled, to wither.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer (Guesdon 1930) swàt' to wither; ~ Vietnamese quàt to shrivel, shrink, dry up, be wizened.
Khmer has further svòat flaccid; (Guesdon 1930) svòt to wither. Cf. also 980 *squat to dry up. (Cf. Pinnow 1959 K 525.)

1096 *swat; *suat thin, small.
A: (Mon, North & South Aslian) Middle Mon swat, Modern Mon hwàt to be small, Sakai wàt thin (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 65); ~ Old Mon suñèwat /samwèt/ small; child, Modern Mon hæmot child, Pangan hamad thin (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906).
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung karhuàt to be thin, slender (Milne 1931).

1097 *siit; *siat to comb.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sùt; ~ Khmer sªyòt, Chrau sanít comb.
B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng, Biat neét, Central Rölöm niat comb; ~ Semang könsiet comb (i.e. Semnam; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 210A).
Cf. Bru niçiʔ to comb. (Blood 1966 93.)
1098 *siit; *siat to stop up.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau set to plug up; ~ Biat nchet to plug up; ~ Stieng, Chrau sapet, Sre (→ Röglai) sampit, Biat mpet stopper, cork.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer siat, Kuy sít to insert in sheath, slot, &c., Stieng siat to stop up.

(*[ ]siit see 1103 *[s]rsiət kind of tree.)

1099 *sut; *suut kind of bee.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre sut small kind of bee, Stieng sut (or B?), Chrau sut, Biat chot bee.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?South Aslian) Bahnar sut large kind of bee, Kammu-Yuan hut kind of bee, Besisi shuht small wild bee (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 140; or A?).

Connect 873 *suc &c. to sting?
   (SFAHER 1965 253: SMITH 1972 218.)

1100 *suet to sharpen; sharp.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre sout, Chrau soôt, Biat chot sharp, Khasi shut to sharpen.
   (BLOOD 1966 17.)

1101 *saut to dry up.
   A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng suat, Sre suat dry, dried up, Chrau suat to dry up, Biat chuat, chwat to (get) dry, Röngao tsot (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai *soot [stream] to dry up (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect Kuy sʔaut to be dry; & cf. Kuy sət to dry up, Bru thêt; & cf. 980 *ŋuaut to dry up; 1095 *swiit &c. to wither.
   (BLOOD 1966 84.)

(*saut see also 1096 *swat thin... .)

1102 *gsuut to rub.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar sut to rub (on), wipe, Palaung sut to rub, Nancowry sút to rub; ~ Biat rchut to rub on, Khasi kyrsut to rub, scour, Pangan gersoyd to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 194); ~ Mintil ᵇgosöt to wipe.

Cf. 879 *khuc &c. to wipe, wash; & Central Nicobarese -ʃɛːc- to (wipe) clean,
   Nancowry séc (rather < *cʔaʔ-s?).
   (SMITH 1972 219.)

Sora go'sod to wash, wipe (& with variant vocalism go':sad- to wipe dry), Kharia go'sɔʔ to anoint, &c. (PINNOW 1959 207).
1103 *[s]rsiat; *[ ]siit kind of tree.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon kaset *Pentace burmanica*, Khmer *trasiat* *Pentace sp.* (SAVeros LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Bru *kasiat*; → Burmese *kasac[khā:] Pentace burmanica*; Thai *sisiat* *Pentace burmanica*, Acacia catechu.

1104 *hiit; *hat to sniff, pant.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Khmer hyyt to sniff (at), inhale, Stieng hiit to sniff; cold in the nose, Bahnar heṭ-heṭ to pant, be out of breath, Mường hít to smell (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 106), Vietnamese hít to inhale, Pangan håd smell (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 292 (a)).
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer hat to be out of breath, Biat hót to be out of breath; cold; tobacco, Bahnar hat (to smoke) tobacco, Bru het to sniff, Central Nicobarese hyyt-[hata] to smell, Nancowry hût to sniff.
Cf. Khmer hyyt asthma (→ Kuy, Biat höt); 1106 *hut* &c. to suck...; 1294 *hiip* &c. to suck in, to inhale.

1105 *hat narrow, crowded.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau hat crowded, Sre hat narrow, restricted in size, Biat hat narrow, Bahnar hat crowded together (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 351.)

1106 *hut; *huut; *huat; *huc; *huuc; *huac to suck, drink.
A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer hot to suck up, to (swallow in one) gulp, (or B) Stieng huit to inhale, to suck up last of drink, Nancowry ?iptó to suck; (~*huc-hu(u)t >?) Kensiu, Sabum jehud to suck (& Kintaq Bong jat, Temiar jod?).
B: (Khuusic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese hût to suck, inhale; ~ Thin hmut to suck up, (~?) Praok nytt (!) to nose-kiss, Lawa Bo Luang hŋauk, Lawa Umphai hŋaut to smell.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer huat to absorb water and dry up quickly (contaminated by 1101 *suat*); (~*huac-huat >?) Biat chuat to absorb; (~*cnhuat >?) Palaung juat to absorb, suck up (MILNE 1931), Teressa-Bompoka Nicobaric nọt-[hata] to suck.
D: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre huc to drink [water], Temiar huj to sip (BENJAMIN 1976b 138); → Jarai huc to drink from a glass.
E: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy hoc to sip [hot liquid], Chrau huc to drink, Bahnar huc to drink from spoon, (so probably, rather than B) Jeh hut to drink, suck, Halang hut to drink.
F: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar hɔːc to drink by sipping (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham huyʔ to drink [soup] from spoon, (or c) Acehnese uat to swallow.
Note semantic consistency of forms with each final; *-c by expressive deformation? Munda supports their unity. Connect perhaps 1104 *hiit &c. to sniff…; 796 *[cʔ]u(u)c drunk; but connection dubious 829 *bu(u)c to suck; or Mon sòt jrot &c. to suck.
(SHAFER 1965 274; SMITH 1972 243; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (b.).) Kharia uʔ to drink, to sip, &c. (PINNOW 1959 142).
Proto-Austronesian *u[d1]u[d1]: Malay udut to smoke, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159; Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay; → Thai dūut to suck, to absorb, Shan lǔt to smoke, → Riang-Lang [_] du.t tobacco). See BENEDICT 1975 401.

1106a *[k]hɔɔt to dry up.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon khɔt [e.g. plaster] to dry, Bahnar khɔt [water] to dry up, Bru khɔt to evaporate.

1107 *[k]huut; *[k]hu(a)t to call.
A: (Mon) Old Mon khot /khut/ to call, summon, Modern Mon khot to name.
B: (Khasi) Khasi khot to call, summon, denominate.

(*chiit, *chait see 949 *cʔiit to confine, restrict.)

1107a *chat insipid, tasteless.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat chat, Palaung cat (MILNE 1931).

1108 *chut: *chuət to escape, to deliver.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang chot to be healed, saved, to heal, save.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon chot to avoid, escape, not to be, Palaung cuat to deliver, disenchant (MILNE 1931).
Connect obscure Vietnamese thoát [khōi] to escape.

1109 *jhuut to go backwards.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Mon chut chut to go back, backwards (→ Burmese chut), Vietnamese tut to slide down, fall behind (contaminated by trut, ~ 1081 *luut to slip); ~ Proto-Semai *krɲɤɤt to go backwards (DIFFLOTH 1977).
Connect 876 *huc &c. to decrease…?

1110 *[t]hat to excess.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Old Mon thatta /thɔt/ [earth to quake] violently, Khasi that [to shake, tremble, stink] very much; → Acehnese that excessive, very.
Cf. following.
1111 *dhat thick, well-built.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon that to be powerful, severe (separate probably Old Mon thatta, see preceding), Modern Mon that to be strong, Khmer thāt to be fat (→ Biat [deh] rdhāt thickset, with secondary prefix?), Palaung hāt to be thick; ~ Riang-Lang ḷhāt to be thick; ~ Old Mon dirhāt/*drhāt/ strength, magnitude, Modern Mon sēhāt strength.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20.)

1112 *phat; *phaat to distribute, disburse.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer phat to spread evenly, sprinkle, dissipate, to repay [debt], Biat phat to hand over.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre phāt to pay, repay, (tam —) to distribute (→ Röglai phat), Vietnamese phát to distribute.

1113 *phut to cease.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon phuit to cease, to sever, Khmer phot end; to cease, to end, exceed, come up to.
Connect probably 875 *huc &c. finished, 1539 *hay &c. finished.

1114 *rhat rotary device.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon hāt spinning-wheel, cotton gin, windlass of well, sugar-cane crusher (→ Burmese rahāt spindle, wheel), Khmer raḥat spindle, winder, rotary machine; ~ (*rnhat >) Kuy ṇhat spinning-wheel.

(*lhiat see 953 *lʔiit …slippery.; *lḥaṭ see 954 *lʔuat wet, cold.)

(*ʔián see 882 *ʔa[i][n] (elder) brother.)

†1115 *ʔan; *ʔən[ ] 3rd person singular pronoun.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bru ʔən, Palaung ḷən, Riang-Lang ḷn? 3rd person singular pronoun, Vietnamese ħơn he, she, Central Nicobarese ḷən 3rd person singular pronoun, Nancowry ḷən.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Stieng ḷən who, what, which?, Riang-Lang _an clause-subordinating particle; → Shan ān which (or ← ə, or ad Praok ān, below; then → Riang-Lang?).
Connect Praok an that, in this (< *ʔa-a, *ʔii-n?); ~ Palaung nan this, Praok nan thus, probably → Shan nān that, nān thus, nān there.
Sora 'an[ən] 3rd person singular pronoun.

1116 *ʔaa[n] tray of betel-box.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon an [hadoʔ], Palaung an.
Or *-n.
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(*ʔain see 882 *ʔa[i][n] (elder) brother.)

1117 *ʔan to be, exist.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng ʔan to exist, to have, Riang-Lang ʔan to be the case, be true.

1118 *ʔən to be small in quantity.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon *ʔən/ to have few, little of, to lack, Modern Mon ʔən to be small in quantity, to lack, Khmer ʔən to diminish; → Cham ʔan diminution.

Mon vowel raising regular, as following nasal?
(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 28.)

1119 *ʔun; *ʔuun; *ʔən; *ʔan; *ʔaan to give.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau ʔun.
B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ʔun.
C: (Katuic) Kuy ʔuun, Bru ʔən.
D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar ʔən, Thin ʔən.
E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau, Biat ʔən.

Vocalism obscure, though E probably secondary.

1120 *ʔuun (& *ʔun?); *ʔən to place, put.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ʔuun (< *ʔun?), Palaung ʔun, Praok ʔun, Praok ʔuun to place, put (down), Lawa Bo Luang ʔuun to make [e.g. promise], put.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre ʔun to place, put, Biat ʔun to keep, Khasi en [rob] to dress, put on.

Kharia ʔun to put, keep. (PINNOW 1959 377).

1121 *[ʔ]uun[ ]; *[ʔ]ən[s] to hide.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar ʔən v.t., Riang-Lang ʔun to be hidden, to hide.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ʔən to hide (v.i.).

Perhaps *[t]?-, ~ following Cf. 1168 *[d]puun &c.

(*cʔən see 951 *cʔət sated, clowed.)

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon həmon thamun, samun to be untruthful, to be untrue (or Mon < *mun cf. 1185), ?Nancowry nən lie (suggests *snʔuun).
B: (Palaungic) Praok muun [ti pe len] to falsify.
C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese man to be false.

~ preceding? Probably not *sm-, since *sbmən > Praok **simən; but perhaps *dmʔ-, if further connected 1168 *[d]puun &c. to hide.
1123 *lʔaan path.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon dan path, Khmer daːn path, trail, scent (& by levelling lʔam) (→ Cham đan); ~ Khmer lûmʔan path, trail, scent.

1124 *lʔun; *lʔuun; *lʔuːn; *lʔən soft, tender.
A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer don soft, weak, Old Mon lu’in /lʔən/ to soften, Proto-Nyah Kur *ləʔən (DIFFLOTH 1984 V149).
B: (Palaungic) Palaung on [meat] to be tender (MILNE 1931).
C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muông, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan ñn soft, mild, pale, (~?) Muông (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese non to be tender, young, weak; ~ (*lmʔuən >) Bahnar ramuan (→ Jarai r’muən) soft, flexible; ~ Pangkan têlêmoyn soft (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 335 (b)).
D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicolbaric) Mon dûn, Khmer tûn! to be soft, Kuy [lʔi:] lʔən limp, unresisting, Sre lane (& dûn) docile, (easy to) tame, 
(probably =) lan young, tender, Praok on to be soft, tender, ?Nancowry pân soft; ~ (*lmʔuən >) Sre laban soft, Biat rban (→ Chrai lôvan?) soft, flexible, Bahnar roman soft, flexible, weak, debilitated; → Cham laman tender, weak, Röglaí lâhman soft, North Röglai lâhmîn soft, tender.
Khmer at D obscure; Middle Khmer pantan to soften is regular. Cf. 909 *buah &c. soft; & Bahnar həbən soft and springy.
(SMITH 1972 74)

1125 *kion to gnaw.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Muông) Stieng kiːn, Sre kian, Biat cian, Kammu-Yuan kîn (!); (?) ~ Vietnamese ghen to be jealous, envious.
Connect 957 *kîit &c. to bite…; & cf. Mon kohèn gaːiən to gnaw (< *gngiən?);
Khmer ʔoŋkiəm to chew at, nibble. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 28.)

1126 *kan; *kaːn woman, female.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy kan female [animal], Bahnar [dra]kan woman, female, Thin kûn woman, girl, Lawa Bo Luang kouŋ, Lawa Umphai kan female [animal]; ~ Bahnar akan wife, Kammu-Yuan cəmkûn woman, Thin cəmkuŋ girl, woman.
B: (Nicolbaric) Central Nicobarese kan wife, Nancowry kàn.
Add Kammu-Yuan kam[rəʔ]i woman, &c., by contraction (Khmuic; under the entry 183 *mra?).
(SHAFER 1965 44; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 64.)

(*kun see 892 *kuju to bend down….)
†1127 *kuun (& *kun?); *kuən child.
   A: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Khmer kon, kvan, Modern Khmer kən, (*kun >?)
      Khasi khuən /khun/, Nancowry kən.
   B: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian)
      Old Mon kon /kən/, Modern Mon kon, Kuy kən, (Stieng kon, Sre kon ←?)
      Chrau, Biat, Bahnar kən, Jeh kən, Halang kən, Kammu-Yuan kən, Palaung kən,
      Riang-Lang †kuan, Praok kon, Lawa kuan, Mường (Barker 1966 11),
      Vietnamese con, Temiar kənət, Central Nicobarese koən, Nancowry kən; ~
      Bahnar kənən number of a woman’s births (Guilluminet 1959-63), Semai koən,
      Semelai koən child.
     ~ 1187 *kmun &c. sibling’s child?
    (Schmidt 1905 24; Shafer 1965 4; Smith 1972 75; Skeat & Blagden
     1906 C 102.)
   Sora oəom-an, compounding form ′oəm-an, Kharia kən-, &c. (Pinnow 1959 205;
   Proto-Munda *kə:(n).)
    (*kuun see also 892 *kuŋ to bend down, bent.)

1128 *ŋkian[ ]; *ŋkən[ ]; *ŋkuən? finger, toe.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon ken, taken (Mon dialect also taŋen) finger, toe,
      Praok gen finger, Lawa Bo Luang [ʔdoih] kean little finger, ?perhaps by
      metathesis Central Nicobarese koən-[tai, lah] finger, toe, Nancowry kən hand.
   B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang [ʔdoih] koən, (!; with secondary lengthening?) Lawa
      Umphai ngun [teʔ] thumb.
   C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ngón finger, toe.

‡1129 *d,kan bamboo rat.
   A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Khasi dkhan hill-rat, mole, (~?) Kammu-Yuan takán bamboo rat;
      ~ Nyah Kur ŋkán.
    (Proto-Austronesian *dəkan) Malay dēkan bamboo rat.
    (*dkuun see 892 *kuŋ …bent.)

1130 *gan to cross.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre gan to cross, go through, Chrau gan across, Bahnar gan to cross
      (Guilluminet 1959-63).
    (Shafer 1965 108; Blood 1966 344.)

1131 *gon stable, enduring.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon kon gan to be original, primal,
      Biat gon stable, fixed, Praok kon still, Mường (Barker 1966 20), Vietnamese con
      to remain; still.
    Add, by assimilation, Old Khmer gaŋ to remain, Modern Khmer kʊəŋ to stay, last out?
1132 *t̚gin to concentrate mentally.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon -t̚gin /tg̚ən/ to apply [mind]; ~ Middle Mon taguin,
      Modern Mon hōkən to observe, keep [ritual practice], Palaung tagən to consider well
      (MILNE 1931).

1133 *pgeen to offer to a superior.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon pəkən; ~ Old Mon pirgin /pərgin/,
      Khmer prəkən, Kuy khən; → Thai prak⁹een.

1134 *pgan to take hold of.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon pəkən to yoke,
      Literary Mon bgan also to take hold of,
      come to grips, Old Khmer kən, Modern Khmer kan to hold
      (→ Stieng kan to take, accept),
      Kuy kan to carry, hold, in hands.
      (SCHMIDT 1905 16; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 48; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 61.)

1135 *t̚ən; *t̚uən; *t̚ət nape of neck.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, North & Central Aslian) Stieng ən [kəu], Mendriq
      ʔuət, Temiar taən neck.
   B: (Katuic) Bru ən nape.
   C: (by assimilation: Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang ʔarət nape of neck.
      Connection dubious Sre ənkəu tən.
      (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 27.)

1136 *In[ua]n; *Inaan dew.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Biat [dək] ən.
   B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung [om] ŋən.
      Vocalism unusual.

1137 *ciin? (> Pre-Bahnaric *cin); *ciən [ ]; *cain [ ] cooked.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khuviic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Middle Mon, Modern Mon
      cin, Khmer chəvn, Stieng sin (BLOOD 1966 sin), Chrau sun, Biat chin, Sre,
      Bahnar sin, Jeh, Halang cen, Kammu-Yuan sin (to be) cooked, Palaung sin,
      Riang-Lang ʰsin to be cooked, ripe, Muông (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese chín
      cooked; ~ Mon hacin, Kammu-Yuan pansin to cook.
   B: (Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar cet (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Proto-Semai *ceən
      (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese iʃian- cooked.
   C: (Katuic) Kuy cet to be ripe, cooked.
      Bahnaric, Palaungic appear to exclude *ʔc-, which Danaw ʔətsən suggests.
      (SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 246; BLOOD 1966 145; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 237.)
      Sora (ə)-sən-, Kharia i'sin to boil, bake, &c. (PINNOW 1959 86).
1138 *ciin, (*ciin ciin >) *nciin to look at.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre sîn, Chrau sên to look at, (*nc- >) Vietnamese nhìn to look (at), stare.

1139 *cən; *cəən leg, foot.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese chân leg.
B: (Viet-Mường, ?North Aslian) Vietnamese chơn, (or A?) Kensiu can foot.
Cf. 538 *juŋ &c.

†1140 *cuun; *ciin to desire.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang tən to desire, wish to.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung sin to desire, wish to, (~?) Mường (Barker 1966 14), Vietnamese xîn to ask for.
(?) Sora om- desiderative/habitual prefix.

1141 *caan to borrow.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunör, Central Rölöm cən to borrow, Sre cən to borrow, hire, buy on credit, Bahnar cən [to buy] on credit (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Praok san debt.
(Shafer 1965 71; Blood 1966 287.)

1142 *[?]cuun to walk bent over.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Mon cun to walk with a stick, Sre cun to walk bent over (Dournes 1950), ?Nancowry sónsiri to stop, bend, bow; ~ Old Mon circun /cərcun/, Modern Mon həcun staff.

(*cncia[n] [ ] see 1145 *nci[i][ ] ring.)

1143 *[c]nean; *[c]ncaan to brace oneself, kick off.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kəcan to brace oneself, be ready to spring.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon hacan dacən &c. to push laterally against a firm surface, to brace, prop, (~ krip klaŋ) to leap away, Biat nchâm to leap away, take off with a bound.

1144 *dcin[?] (> Pre-Bahnaric *dcin); *dciit nine.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng sən (Blood 1966 sîn), Chrau sun, Biat chin, Sre, Bahnar sîn, Vietnamese chîn; ~ Bahnar təsîn, Jeh tacên, Halang cəcîn.
B: (Mon) ~ late Old Mon dîncit /dəncit/, Modern Mon həcît.
Earlier *dciit? But B perhaps by assimilation Cf. 1351 *ctiim; in view of Sora 'tînî-, tînî-, &c., & Kharia təmsîŋ (Pinnow 1959 372) perhaps by metathesis from a common source, *dciit(-t[ ] ) or the like.
(Shafer 1965 242; Blood 1966 145; Smith 1972 50.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1148 *nciin[ ]; *ncion[s]; *ncian[ ] ring.

A: (Mon, North Aslian) Middle Mon lacin, Modern Mon kàcin, Pangan chin (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 133 (a)).
B: (Khmer, Kautic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer ʔɔncian (→ Stiang nciian), Kuy njcian, Lawa Umphai njaim, (by palatal absorption) Vietnamese nhân.
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer cancyan, Modern Khmer cɔncian, cœncian, Bahnar takhien (!; & dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, totian, tacan, &c.). (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

Sora en'si-n (by popular etymology referred to -si-n hand, : 244 *sii[?]). Proto-Austronesian *k'ink'in: Malay chinchin, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-West-Indonesian; Philippine langs. have *k'ink'in); probably → Central Sakai chinchi* (&c., cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 133 (b)).

Proto-Austroasiatic *ciin or the like; c then contaminated by Indonesians.

Note Ancient Chinese jiüen to look at, from which POU & JENNER 1973 no. 144 derive Khmer.

(*nciin see 1138 *ciin to look at.)

1145a *[p]cun; *[p]cuu; *[p]cuən shelter.

A, B, C: (Bahnaric) Stieng cuan temporary hut for travellers (c), (B) Biat cu:n shelter, shed; ~ (A) Bahnar bəsun hut, shelter (& East Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, pəsuən: c).

1146 *jən ( > Waic *jiən); *j[u]n heavy.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung jən, Praok cən, Lawa Bo Luang cian, Lawa Umphai chian, chuan, Mae Sariang chian; ~ Riang-Lang kəcan.
B: (North Aslian) ~ Kensiul hanjut.

Cf. 52 *kja? &c.

1147 *jɔn; *jɔən back of knee.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre jon.
B: (Bahnaric) Biat [chaŋ] jɔn hock (or A?), Chrau jən heel (?), Bahnar jən back of knee.

1148 *jʊn; *jʊn to hand over, bring.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Old Mon jin /jʊn/ to make over, hand over, Sre jʊn to bring, Biat jʊn to convey, Chrau iuən, (or B) Semaq Beri jon to give; ~ (*j鳞un >) Mon hâvən to carry on shoulder, Chrau njʊn to hand over, to lead, Biat njun to convey, to send.
B: (Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer jvən, jən, Modern Khmer cùn to offer, to escort, Kuy chùn to give back, to see off, West Bahnar jen to bring, carry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; with secondary vocalism); ~ Khmer cùncùn (& ʔəncùn) to carry, Kuy nhchùn to carry from one place to another.
Cf. Biat ncuan to carry from one place to another.
(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 32, S 99.)
Sora jʔun- to be within reach, ~ ab-jʔun- to reach, present, place within reach, hand to.

1149 *tjun *tjuun to bend knees.
   A: (Palaungic; ~ *tpjun >) Riang-Lang sâkcan to squat.
   B: (Mon, Viet-Mương) ~ (*tjuun >) Mon hâcûn [animals] to sit, lie, crouch; ~
   (*tâjuun >) Vietnamese nhûn to lower oneself by bending one's legs.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect by interdialectal borrowing Sre cuûn
ekâltaŋ to kneel (→ Röglai). Cf. 938 *choûn.

1150 *[p]jun; *[p]juun large kind of deer.
   A, B: (Stieng, Central Aslian) Stieng jun largest kind of deer (A), (B) Sre jun Cervus
   aristotelis, Chrau, Biat juun deer, (A/B) Sakai pajón roed (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT &
   BLAGDEN 1906 D 81 (b)).

1151 *ɲən?; *ɲən[ ] to receive, to suffer, endure.
   A: (Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon ɲin passive auxiliary (or B), Vietnamese nhûn to
   receive.
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ɲûn to receive, accept, collect, Riang-Lang ɲân to bear,
   endure.
Cf. 883 *ʔəɲ to endure ...; earlier *ʔəɲ ʔəɲ, *-n by dissimilation? Connect perhaps
also Semang jîd to get, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 14.

1152 *[ ]ɲûn near.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Central Aslian) Old Mon ɲan /ɲûn/, Modern Mon ɲôn, Proto-Nyah
   Kur *ɲan (DIFFLOTH 1984 V152; implies *-an), Old Khmer ɲyan, Temiar ʔɲən.    
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198.)

1153 *tin[?] to go up.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon tin /tôn/, Modern Mon tôn to go up, come up, Proto-
   Nyah Kur *tun (DIFFLOTH 1984 V153; implies *-un), Mường tên (BARKER 1966
   17), Vietnamese tên to arrive (at), come (to), reach; ~ (?, *tpin[?] > ?)
Vietnamese bôn landing-place, station.
Vietnamese tone perhaps levelled on derivation, if cognate. Khmer (elevated) taûn to
wake up, get up is ← Tai tûûn.

1153a *təeûn to tread.
   A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy teûn to tread on, run over, Bru kateûn to tread, Kammu-Yuan
teûn to tread, step, stamp.
Cf. 1195 *lin? to trample.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1154 *t₁un; *t₁uən to carry, bring.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung ton to bring, Riang-Lang òn to hold esp. in fingers, carry.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng tɔon to carry on shoulder, Palaung tɔn = ton.

1154a *t₁uun (kind of) bamboo rat.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon ton Rhizomys cinereus, Kammu-Yuan tũn kind of bamboo rat larger than rat sumatrensis.

1155 *[t₁]nt₁uun; *[t₁]nt₁uen; *[t₁]nt₁uət wrinkled.
A: (Palaungic) Praok dɯn.
B, C: (Mon) Mon hətot (həton).
C contaminated by 997 *n[uə]t, which compare?

1156 *btuun; *btuən to recur, to repeat.
A: (Mon, ?Katuc) Old Mon tũn /tun/ to return, do again, Modern Mon tɔn to recur,
  ?Kuy ton & Bru ntũn to follow; (?) → Burmese tũn.
B: (Khmer) Khmer phtũːən to repeat.

(*dun see 1741 *dul hill.)

1157 *duan pole, lance.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Literary Mon dɔn lance, pike, Khmer tũan fish-spear,
  (lũmpẽn —) kind of lance, Mường tõn (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese đũn lever,
  carrying-pole; → Thai tʰuan tasselled lance.

1158 *d[uu]n to perch.
A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon dûn /dun/, Modern Mon dun, Central Nicobarese
duən-[həta], Nancowry ruǎn.
Note, Nancowry fronts following r : so *duan? Cf. 1357 *dɔm &c. …to roost.

1159 *.duan wide hat of straw &c.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer duan, Bahnar duan, Vietnamese nón; ~
  (*n.eduan >) Stieng duan, Sre doan, Chrau duan; → Cham dɔn, Jarai ᵇəɗɔn,
  Jarai dialect duən, Rõgliai duət, North Rõgliai duat.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence, for which cf. Khmer Connection dubious
Khasi shatɔn.

1160 *kdɔn restricted in size.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon dɔn to be narrow, restricted in size; ~ Old Mon kuɗan
  /kɔdɔn/ to cause to contract, Modern Mon hɔdɔn to make narrow; ~ Bahnar
dialects hɔdɔn, rɔdɔn, sɔdɔn below average length (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
1161 *kdɔn to fish with a line.
A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon don (k)dan, Proto-Nyah Kur *càrendej fishhook (Diﬀloth 1984 V117a; implies *-aŋ), Central Nicobarese koron-[hata] to fish with a line.

1162 *peen to thresh by trampling.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon pin to thresh, Khmer baen, Stieng phìn! to thresh by trampling, Riang-Lang *pean to tread on, thresh; ~ Chrau mpeːn to thresh by trampling.
Cf. Biat plean, under the entry 1195 *linʔ.

1163 *pən female.
A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung [i]pən; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔapəwŋ, Lawa Umphai rapən, Mae Sariang yapən; ~ Praok bon female, (~?) Semelai kampən wife.

Perhaps cognate with Lawa is Old Khmer præpvaŋ wife; Modern Khmer has præpûən, apparently contaminated by Sanskrit prabandha- band, tie, connection; Old Khmer may be connected Malay pɛrɛmpuan woman, wife. See Lewitz 1967.
(Shafer 1965 22; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 67.)

1164 *p[ ]ən[ ] to wind, coil.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre pən to roll [turban], Bahnar pən to bandage, wrap, wind on to reel, Palaung pən to screw in, to crank, turn, Riang-Lang [li] pən to rotate (?); ➞ Shan pən to revolve; ~ Biat məpən to roll [turban], (or next?) Vietnamese vən to coil [turban, hair] round; ~ Palaung karpən to turn round (v.t.). Or *pənʔ, causative ~ 1208 *wənʔ coiled…?
(Shafer 1965 102.)

1165 *pən; *pən to sit on eggs.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pən, Sre pən to sit on [eggs], Bahnar pən to take to one’s bed, be conﬁned to bed (Guilleminet 1959-63), West Bahnar ʔəpən to nurse (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat pən to sit on [eggs], Bahnar pən to take to one’s bed, be conﬁned to bed (Guilleminet 1959-63).

Stieng vocalism perhaps related to that before stop, for which see 345 *pək.

†1166 *punʔ; *puən[ ]; *pən[ ] four.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Palaung phon (!), Riang-Lang *pon, Praok pən, Lawa Bo Luang pəun, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pəun, Mường pən (Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese bón; ~ Serting hɛmpudn (i.e. Semelai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 250).
B: (Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Khmer pəun, Khmer buən, Kuy pən, Bru pən, Chrau pəen, Biat pən, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pən, Central Nicobarese foən.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Mon) Old Mon pan /pɔn/, Modern Mon pon.

Palaung ph- by counting deformation on phan five, ~ 1214 *sən.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 24; BLOOD 1966 82; SMITH 1972 72.)

Kharia 'iʔpon, &c. (PINNOW 1959 397; Proto-Munda *-pən).

1167 *kpuun raft.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kboːn; ~ Biat mpuun.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre poun, Chrau, Biat pɔn v.t.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer pəun v.i., Stieng puən v.t.

(BLOOD 1966 13.)

1169 *biən plump.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon [pòk] pən to be fat, plump, Khasi pian short and stout.

1170 *baan pedestal dish.

Connect variously Thai pʰaːn pedestal dish, Shan pān wicker or wooden tray; Burmese bān: wicker tray. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 2 derive all the foregoing, with Malay puan large betel-box, ← Ancient Chinese bʰuān 盤 vessel; tub, tray, dish, plate...; Palaung in sense tin bath is certainly likely to be ← Chinese.

1171 *bən? time.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung bən (future) time, Praok pon time of day, Mường pân, Vietnamese bàn time (quantifier) (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

1172 *bən; bəen we (inclusive).
A: (Bahnaric) Biat bɔn we, Central Rölöm bān, Bunór, Bahnar bən we (incl.).
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng bən, Chrau vən we (incl.).
(BLOOD 1966 115; cf. SMITH 1972 58.)

‡1173 *jban; *jbaan; *jbaən girdle, skirt.
A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi pən- what is tied round (compounding form!), Sakai abən cloth (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 173; !); ~ Khasi jympən girdle; ~ (*jrb- >) Mon həpən skirting-board round outside of house (B; probably → Burmese khąːpən: skirting-board, monk’s girdle), (A) Gölar Bahnar həban (to put on) cloth skirt.
C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon hwăn (in sense) coping [of well] (or D; ?); ~ Sre mban to wrap [skirt &c.] round, Biat mban [woman] to put on [skirt]; ~ Bahnar aben (contaminated by Cham, below), Kontum bbben skirt.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi jympien woman’s undergarment.


Proto-Austronesian *a(N)bən: Cham apən woman’s waistcloth, &c., Minangkabau Malay amban (& by metathesis ōmban) breastband for knapsack, saddle-girth, Javanese ambən (to fasten) skirt-girdle (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

1174 *[j]baan; *[j]buun bridge, causeway.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer svən, Modern Khmer spɨ:n (→ Thai täpəaŋ, sapəaŋ), Kuy (th)phɨ:an bridge; ~ (*[j]raaŋ >) Mon həpən highway, (or Khmer →?) Stieng sabən bridge.

B: (Khasi) Khasi pun to pave, to bridge over. Or *so-; then Kuy th- contaminated by Thai.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1175 *dbaan to climb, scale.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon dwaŋ /dwaŋ/ to assault, march against, Literary Mon dwən to assault, to climb, Modern Mon kwən to climb, Khmer piən to climb, to march against.

1176 *rbin; *rbən; *rban firm, secure.

A: (Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon rbin /rbən/, Modern Mon pən to be firm, secure (or B), Mường pən (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese bến durable; ~ (*rmb- >; or B) Late Middle Mon lamui, Modern Mon kəmən constantly.

B, C: (Khasi) Khasi lpan stoutly; by secondary derivation ~ pən, pən rigid.

Add perhaps Khmer laiəbən’, raibən’ habit (GUÉSENDON 1930) (B/C; cf. Mon kəmən); & by metathesis Biat nəp (& knəp) firm, durable. But Connection uncertain Palaung mən to be secure (MILEN 1931).

1177 *ɓən; *ɓaan interlaced.

A: (Mon, Khmer) (Late Middle Mon thən [tʰəj] to be thronged contaminated by 910 *ɓən to twist (together), which compare;) Mon bən [boːa] to be interlaced, to throng, Khmer pən interlaced; ~ Khmer prəpən interlaced, heaped up.

B: (Khmer) Khmer piən [piə] to be on top of one another; ~ prəpiən to pile on top of one another.

heaped up &c. by attraction following.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1178 *ɓun; *ɓuun; *ɓə[n]; *ɓut to heap up.
   A: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Stieng bun; ~ Literary Mon thabuun, saɓuun to collect, amass (or c?), Biat rɓon to save (up).
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer vvan, Modern Khmer pūn, Kuy phun to heap up, Biat bun to heap up, to amass, Jeh boon to stack (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi bun /buun/ heap of leaves and branches for burning; → Thai pʰuun to heap up to overflowing; Toba Batak bun to be plentiful (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 35, *bun; or A); ~ Biat mbun heap, Mae Sariang moun quantity, (or c) Praok bun sum, total.
   C: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Umphai mbun quantity.
   D: (South Bahnaric) Biat but to have, possess, contain (?); ~ (*nɓut >) Sre but heap, stack, mound.

Cf. preceding; & note Biat mbuc heap (< *n[u]uc); Riang-Lang ũuc heap, band, share, to heap (< *ɓuuc).
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *bunbun: Malay bumbun heaped up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 35; Proto-Hesperonesian; Tagalog doubtful, but other Tagalic cognates available); (ii) *ta(N)bun: Malay tambun heap, embankment, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125-6); (iii) *tiNbun: Malay timbun heap, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian).
See BENEDICT 1975 312; 299, gather… . (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 16.)

1179 [ ]ɓ[uə]n to get, obtain.
   A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy bun to get, obtain, to be able to, Kammu-Yuan pūan to get, to be able to, Palaung bun, Riang-Lang bən, Praok pon to get, obtain.
Kuy suggests *ɓ-.

1180 *[g]ɓan; *[g]ɓaan relation by marriage.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar ban spouse’s sibling’s spouse of same sex as speaker (in double marriage alliance); ~ (*[g]nɓan >) Kuy kman, Sre, Biat ban daughter-in-law.
   B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon gamān /gəmān/, Modern Mon haman son-in-law.
Derived perhaps by contraction *kuan ũa(a)n; then cf. for Middle Mon g- 903 *k/n/dinh.

1181 *min to carry in arms.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon min; ~ Bahnar kaʔmin; ~ Old Mon ['bo'] minmin /mn̥mən/ nurse.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50.)
1182 *m[ ]iən ring round haft of dah &c..
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mian, Stieng mian, Biat mən (→ Sre, → Röglai, mən?).
   Or *mən, ~ 1208 *wən coiled…? Sre may reflect a variant *m[ ]iin.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

1183 *mən; *maan to be competent.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre man to be skilled, able.
   B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon mān [not] to be able, Modern Mon màn to win, to be able, Old Khmer mān, Modern Khmer miən to possess.
   Connect obscure Bahnar guən to be skilled, able (GUILEMINET 1959-63).
   (SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1184 *maan to work clay.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon mān/man/ potter's establishment, Modern Mon màn, Kuy mian, Bahnar man to work clay.
   Connect A92 *m(o)ən to mould?

1185 *mən true, manifest.

1186 *mun[ ]; *muən?; *muən[ ]; *muut pimple.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer mən pimple, acne, Biat mun [ndəŋ], Bahnar mun pimple; → Cham mun, North Röglai [cara]mən.
   B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung mun pimple (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese mən boil, pimple; → Jarai muən acne; ~ Mon kəmon paman!, Hre mən, Sedang mən pimple.
   C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan mɨən, Central Nicobarese mən pimple; → Acehnese muən.
   D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [nəi] mut.
   Literary Mon spelling follows learned derivation from Sanskrit pəman. Connect Kuy mən (< *məŋ?).
   (SMITH 1972 61.)

1187 *kmən; *kməun; *kmuən sibling’s child.
   A: (Mon, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon kmon /kmən/ nephew, Modern Mon mən sibling’s child, (probably, rather than B) Semang təmun nephew (i.e. Lano; (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 41), by vowel metathesis Temiar kəman sibling’s child (BENJAMIN 1976b 133).
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok mun son’s wife; ~ (*knumun >) Sre kəmən sibling’s child; → Jarai amən, Röglai kəmən sibling’s child.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kuy kma:n, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar ma:n
sibling’s child, Jeh mən, Halang mən nephew, Kammu-Yuan kəmən
classificatory nephew, Central Nicobarese kəmoan-[fi-yəːl] cousin, Nancowry
kamuansi family; ~ Chrau kəmoan sibling’s child; → Cham kəmoan, North Röglai
kamuən, Acehnese kəmoan sibling’s child.

~ 1127 *kuu &c. child? Cf. also 1497 *[g]m[uu]y &c. sibling’s child.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 56; SMITH 1972 76.)

Kharia k′min daughter-in-law, &c. (PINNOW 1959 287; Proto-Munda *kɪmin?).

1188 *smin? to feel kindly towards.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muông) Old Mon [chān] smin /smøn/ to have compassion for,
Vietnamese mën to be fond of.

1189 *[s][n]muən hog-plum, Spondias mangifera.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre səmoan (→ Röglai həmoan), Chrau səmuən hog-plum,
Spondias mangifera, West Bahnar həmuən, East Bahnar səmuən kind of tree with
edible leaves and fruit and medicinal bark (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi [soh] mon
(compounding form!) kind of edible fruit resembling guava.

1190 *yən to weaken, ebb.
A: (Khmēr, Palaungic) Khmer yən to droop, go limp, Palaung yən [population] to
dwindle (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang yən to be poor, Praok yən to fall back, retreat; ~
Lawa Bo Luang con, Lawa Umphai con poor.

‡1191 *[t]yun; *[t]yuun (to) swing.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nyun >) Biat ŋhun to start [cradle] swinging.
B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) Mon cûn! [cəa] baby’s swing, (~) Kuy yōm [yɪa] swing,
to swing; ~ Riang-Lang ŋun to swing.
Mon cûn, Kuy yɪa by opposite phrasal deformation?
Proto-Austronesian *[t]-Saiu n /tayun swing, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 115,
*[C(T)ayu(nN)]; Proto-Hesperonesian); ~ *Saiun to swing (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13,
*[ajun; add Bikol hayon hayon to swing arms, &c.; → Sre ayon sling cradle, to
swing, Bahnar ajun hammock).

1192 *rian to learn.
A: (Khmēr, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ria:n, Kuy rím, Stieng rian, Biat rən;
probably → Thai rian, → Lawa Bo Luang hlian, Lawa Umphai hrian, Mae
Sariang hian.

1193 *run; *ruun Maranta dichotoma reed.
A: (Khmēr) Khmer rùn.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau ruən giant reed.
Connect by metathesis Khasi nor reed?
1194 *[b]ruun ( & *[b]run?) intestinal worm.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon pərun! (by spelling pronunciation?
   barun, mrun), Khmer prun, Kuy prùn, Stieng brun (< variant? BLOOD 1966
   has brun), Chrau vrun, Biat brun.
   Connection uncertain Vietnamese trùn worm.
   (BLOOD 1966 340.)

1195 *liin? ( & *liin[ ]?) to trample.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon lın to tread on; ~ Mon plın to
   thresh by driving cattle or buffaloes over, (variant, or contaminated by 1162 *peen)
   Biat plên to thresh by trampling; ~ (*[l]nlin? >) Vietnamese nèn to trample, ram
   down.
   Cf. 1153a *t,een to tread.
   Sora 'ale(:)n- to thresh by trampling.

1196 *[ ]liin fat.
   A: (Bahnaric) → Rögglai liin fat, robust; ~ Sre kənin, kənin fat, robust, Biat əlefn fat;
   ~ Bahnaric plen fat.
   Connect perhaps (*drən >?) Khmer [trəlük]-trələn to be fat, plump.

1197 *lian to apply manual pressure.
   A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lèn to stuff, cram in; ~ (*ləlin >) Palaung
   niən to strangle, throttle, (MILNE 1931) to roll [rice] into a ball.
   Santali lin to press with the hands, &c.
   (PINNOW 1959 335).

1198 *laan to be deceitful.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon lən; ~ Khasi phlan to flatter, cheat, to pretend.
   Praok len to deceive is perhaps ← Shan lën.

1199 *lən; *[a]n time (quantifier).
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese làn.
   B: (Mon) Mon lən lan (or *luan?).

1200 *luan (?); *luən; *lən ( & *lan?) to pass, to exceed.
   A: (Palaungic; probably, rather than B) Lawa Bo Luang loan, Lawa Umphai loey very.
   B: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon l(w)on /lən/ to elapse, be past, to
   surpass, exceed, exceedingly, Modern Mon lən also to go past, Praok luan to go past, to
   pass, escape, Vietnamese lùn to pass, sneak [through], slip underneath; ~ Riang-
   Lang pluan to project; → Shan pûn to exceed.
   C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer luan very, excessive (ly), (*lan >?) Biat
   lan past, ago.
Cf. Sre lin to exceed & Nancowry lián to reach, (-la) to overtake.  
(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)  
Proto-Austronesian *laun to overtake: Singhi rawan, Maranao laoan (BLUST 1970 no. 238; Proto-Hesperonesian).

§1201 *lu[u]n; *luan to swallow.
A: (Khasi, North & South Asian) Sakai lūt (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 526); ~ Khasi klun to gobble, gulp, swallow, Besisi gēloyt, gēloyn to swallow (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).
B: (Bahnaric) Biat rwan (with r- by levelling on derivation), Stieng luən, Sre loan, Bahnar iuan, iun to swallow; ~ Biat ruən to swallow; mouthful.
Kuy & Bru have luan & Pakoh lon, ← or contaminated by Thai kluon. Connect 1088 *t1luət &c.?

§1201a *luuən; *luan round, to roll.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng luən to roll (up), turn back, wrap up, Biat lən to roll (up) (v.t.), Khasi lun [pyllun] perfectly round; ~ (*t,luun >) Biat kloan to roll (up) (v.t.), roll into a ball; ~ Khasi tylun to roll (v.i.); ~ Chrau təklon to roll up by secondary derivation; ~ Khasi pyllun (large and) round.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Mon) ~ Stieng ləpuən ball of thread &c.; ~ (*bluən >?) Vietnamese tròn to be round; ~ Khasi pyllon (small and) round; (?) ~ Mon [to] palon skein; ~ Bru kələn to roll into a ball.
Cf. Mon lə lìn to roll.

1202 *luən; *lan to go, proceed.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon l(w)on /lon/ to go in procession, Modern Mon lən to go from place to place.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _lan to go; ~ (*lnlan >) Praok nen to accede, come on [to]. SCHMIDT 1905 58 compares Khmer lən to canter.

1203 *[k]lun tadpole.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre klun (→ Röglai klut), Chrau [ɔn] klun; ~ (*[k]plun >) Bahnar plun.
Cf. 1793 *luul.
(SMITH 1972 60.)
1204 *jlan; *jlaan restless.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese trần to roll, toss (in sleep).
   B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kılan to be restless, fidget, Khmer chliːan incoherent, garrulous
      (TANDART 1935), (— -piːan) aggressive, threatening.

1'205 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *t,ulən >) *t,lan; *t,laan python.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian)
      Mon klon, Old Khmer tlann, Modern Khmer thlan, Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar klan,
      Lawa Bo Luang [saʔaunŋ], klauŋ, Lawa Umphai [saʔoiŋ] klan, Khasi thlen, 'len,
      Vietnamese trăn python, by vowel metathesis Che' Wong, Jah Hut talun snake; →
      Cham, Röglai klan, Jarai tlʌn, klan, North Röglai tʌt, Acehnese [ulœə] ihan
      python.
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese tulan python, Nancowry tulán.
      (SHAFER 1965 89; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 321.)

By metathesis Sora tunal-['jaːd-] python.

1206 *pliiŋ marvellous, to marvel.
   A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*p[p]liiŋ >) Sre paliːŋ miracle, magic act (→ Röglai); ~ (*p[r]liiŋ
      >) West Bahnar palaːn to be wide-eyed, look startled (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63).

1207 *slin; *sliən to go up.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Mường lênh (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese lênh; ~ (*splin >?)
      Mường trênh (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese trën (to be) above, on.
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan lian (to go) out; ~ Praok klian to lift.

1'208 *win; *wiːn; *wiən; *wən[?]; *wan; *waan coiled, to wind, bend.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar win curve, eddy (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63), Central
      Nicobarese [en]-win (a)round.
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [en]-weenə zigzag.
   C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer viən, Bahnar
      weŋ to curl up; ~ Mon kawen to be curly, Khmer kraviŋ to roll up, curl up,
      Central Sakai kör-yuwen to be curly, (~?) Vietnamese khuyễn circle, ring.
   D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Chrau wan to wear, Biat won [man] to put on
      [waistcloth]; ~ (*kwaŋ? >? *kpwaŋ >?) Vietnamese quán to be rolled round, to
      roll round.
   E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer vəan to
      put round, Bahnar wan to roll up [e.g. thread], Vietnamese vən [vəo] to be winding,
      tortuous (& ذوːn-[oqi] to squirm, writhe), Central Nicobarese [en]-wan-[hala] to
      wind, coil (v.t.), Nancowry havən to roll; ~ Kammu-Yuan kwən to wind [thread
      &c.]; ~ Lawa Umphai [man]mon circular.
   F: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang wuan to roll, wind.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

F secondary. Add perhaps following: A98 *wan to wear round neck...; & as derivatives

*pwǎn? = 1164 *p[ ]an[ ] to wind, coil; *mwǎn = 1182 *m[ ]ian ring round
haft... . For Vietnamese vǎn to coil round see *p[ ]an[ ]; for vǎn to wring..., 931

*wǎn?.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(?) Kharia ūĩ to twist, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 317; or : 931 *wiŋ &c.?).

1208a *wiin; *wiən crippled, deformed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer khvǎn cripple, crippled, Biat khwiṇ disabled,

infirm.

B: (Mon, Khasi; ~ *lwən >?) Mon wèn to be crooked, deformed; ~ (*lmwiən >)

Mon kamən cripple, Khasi lymmen digitless extremity.

= preceding?

1209 *kwan to grip, hold.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kuan to clench, grip with [hand] (DOURNES 1950), Biat kwan to hold,

Bahnar kuan to grasp and hold; ~ (*knwaam >) Sre kaman to grip with [hand].

(SHAFER 1965 47.)

1210 *swaan nerve, sinew, tendon.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat chwaːn, Bahnar huːn; ~ Chrau sanwaːn vein, tendon.

(SMITH 1972 64.)

1211 *san in high degree.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon san very, indeed, certainly,

Bahnar [suk] san perfect [contentment] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok hun, Lawa

Bo Luang haun, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang han (by attraction 1219 *ho(a)n) to

be many; ~ Khmer sban clear, certain, sure, clearly... .

Connect obscure Khmer sən most, very (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1212 *[s]əən to wedge.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre san to wedge, peg, West Bahnar tsən, tsən to raise with wedges

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1213 *suun; *suən to mould, cast in a mould.
A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer soən to shape, mould [clay, wax, &c.], (?) Chrau

soən to bear [child].

B: (Mon) Middle Mon s(w)on /soːn/, Modern Mon son to cast in a mould; → Old

Burmese swən, Modern Burmese swən.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)
1214 *suun; *suən; *sən five.
A: (Mon, South Aslian) late Old Mon sūnə /sun/ in compounds five, Modern Mon [cən] sən five; (by contraction *muə suun one five) ~ Old Mon msūn, Modern Mon pəsən, Sakai məsən five (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 158).
B: (Palaungic; so by contraction ~) Praok phuan, Lawa Bo Luang phoan, Lawa Umphai Ma Sariang phən.
C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang han, (by counting deformation on saw four?) Khasi san; (by contraction) ~ Palaung phən.
Cf. Kuy səŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 365.)
(*rnsən, *rnsuun, *rnsuən see 1421 *rnsuum nest.)

1215 *hian asthma.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Sre hian asthma, tuberculosis (→ Röglai), Biat hian asthma, Bahnar hien to cough, Bru hën, Vietnamese [bînh] hên asthma.

1216 *haan goose.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan hān, Palaung, Lawa Bo Luang han goose, Khasi han duck; ↔ Thai hān goose, swan, Lao haan, Shan hăn goose; ~ Mon əhan goose (:< *ŋəhan by popular etymology:< *ŋhaan < *hnhaan, cf. Late Old Mon ıa- onomatopoeic prefix?); ~ (*kuan haan > *kŋhaan >?) Khmer kŋən (→ Biat kŋən), Kuy ŋən, Kammu-Yuan ŋən goose.
Connected further Sre, Röglai tahan; Cham lijun. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 201 derive Khmer from prefix + Ancient Chinese ŋan雁 wild goose; whence doubtless Vietnamese ngan swan, wild goose.

1217 *ha[a]n place.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon hān /han/, Thin hın (/; contaminated by Thai hın?); usually weak forms: Old Mon han /hən/, Literary Mon huin, han, Sre hə locative particle, Khmu' ha? to, at, Palaung ha place, Riang-Lang ha, in compounds ha- place; where; at, on, to, Praok ha- in hakte earth, territory, Khasi ha locative particle, Besisi ha at, in, to… (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 178 (c)), Central Nicobarese an- at, to.
Add as derivation 1222 *[t]haan time?

1218 *haan to die.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan hám; ~ phān to kill; ~ Biat pham corpse.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1219 *hən; *həən to grow, to increase.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung hən to grow in height, Riang-Lang hən to be long.
B: (Khmuc, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Thin hən more, Mường (Barker 1966 12), Vietnamese hən to surpass, be more than; ~ Khasi byrhien [people] in large numbers (Ivan M. Simon pers. com.).

Cf. Proto-Semai *hii*n to grow taller (Diffloth 1977). But connection dubious following

1220 *h[e]n; *h[əə]n to grow.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng hən, Sre hən [plants] to grow (Blood 1966).
B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy hən to sprout, Sre hən, Chrau, Biat hən, Central Rölöm hən [plants] to grow, Bahnar hən to grow.

Connection dubious preceding.

1221 *khən thick, to congeal.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon khən [liquids] to be muddy, dirty, viscous, thick, Khmer kən to congeal, become viscous, to crystallize.

Note Burmese kən: to be dried up, referred at Benedict 1972 166 n. 444 to Tibeto-Burman *ka(*)n (: Ancient Chinese kan 乾 dry, ib. 191). But separate Kammu-Yuan kən dregs, Thin kən to be dirty, muddy (< *ksən?)

(Schmidt 1905 12.)

1222 *[t]haan time.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre than; ~ (*[t]phaan or *[t]mhaan >) Palaung phan (Milne 1931), Praok [ju] phan.

Riang-Lang pun era is ← Shan pən. ~ 1217 *ha[a]n place?
Remo tam-[me] (Pinnow 1959 184; ?).

1223 *dhaan branch, palm-frond.

Cf. 789 *dəən, with similar semantics.

Proto-Austronesian *daːqən: Malay dahan, Cham than branch, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 41, *dədaqən; Shorto 1975 92 n. 27).

See Benedict 1975 240-1.

1224 *ʔap; *ʔaap to suffer constraint.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[p]nʔap >) Biat dəp to master, subdue.
B: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Literary Mon 'ʔap to be constrained by, Bahnar ap [not] difficult; since, by the effort of (Guilleminet 1959-63; ?); ~ Old Mon pʔəp /pʔap/ to compel, hold in subjection, Vietnamese ḏp-[ʔəp]c &c.] to oppress.

Connect Bahnar pəɛːp to subjugate.
1225 *ʔap; *ʔaap; *ʔap dark, to shade.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer ʔap mist, darkness, to obscure (→ Cham ’ap n.), Palaung ʔap to be dark (probably, rather than ʔ), Riang-Lang *ʔap shadow, to overshad e.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung ʔap to be dark, Central Nicobares e ʔap to close lid, Nancowry ʔap to be shut; ~ West Bahnar ʔaap shady retreat (Guilleminet 1959-63), (~?) Palaung ʔaap darkness.
C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan ʔp cloudy, Central Nicobares e ʔb mist, fog, (~ caka) overcast sky.

Cf. 1268 *yup &c. overcast sky.

(*ʔuup see 1295 *haap to eat.)

1226 *ʔi; *[ʔ]ʔi[ʔ]; *ʔi; *ʔa[ʔ]; *ʔa; *ʔa; *ʔi; *ʔap centiped e.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau ʔap; ~ Sre ʔi.
C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar ʔa[i]p, Proto-Semai *ʔeep (Diffloth 1977), Central Nicobares e ʔa[i]p, Nancowry ʔa[i]p; (or D) ~ Khasi nep [har-har].
D, E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ʔa[i]p, ʔa[i]p, Biat ʔap.
E secondary from D, F-G from C. Lawa s- obscure. Cf. Thin kəʔit (beside kəʔip scorpion), Besisi kiʔt (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 66, which see).
(Shafer 1965 360; Smith 1972 184.)

1227 *ʔaap smelling of fish.

1228 *ʔʔi; *ʔʔip; *ʔʔi; *ʔʔap to close [eyes].
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [ʔhap]-apid to wink; ~ (*ʔʔip > ) Sre by sandhi pim [mat] to close [eyes], Bahnar ʔi[p to blink, wink, Khasi [ʔhap] ngip to close eyes; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi ḵrip to look with eyes half closed, wink.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng ri[p (or A?), Praok yip to close [eyes]; → Shan yɛp to blink; ~ Biat ne[p to close [eyes], Lawa Bo Luang ḵnip, Lawa Um phai rahnip to close, shut; ~ (*ʔʔi > ) Mon ḵarep to wink; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi ḵhrib(-khrib) twinkling.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Proto-Austronesian

B:

A:

C:

(Connect)

SHAFER 1965 9; BLOOD 1966 356; SMITH 1972 191; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227-8.)


1229 *sʔaap to yawn.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric)

Bahnar kaap (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 həaap), Jeh kaʔaap, Halang kəʔaap (or < derivation?), Riang-Lang həp; → Jarai h’aap; ~ (*sʔaap >) Mon haap, Khmer sqa:p, Kuy ɲaʔap, Sre ɲgap, Chrau ɲgap, Biah ɲgap (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 həaap), Thin ḫap, Lawa ɲap to yawn, Khasi ṣṅab gills, Central Nicobarese hiŋ-aap yawn, Nancowry hiŋáp; → Röglai ɲap, North Röglai samaʔaʔ to yawn; probably Thai ṃáp [mouth] opening and closing rapidly.

Cf. Palaung hiap.

(SMITH 1972 197.)

(Connect) Kharia aŋ-go’b-daʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 373a; Sora has a(’η-em-da:-, əeb).)


1230 *[s]ʔəp (to) sweat.

A: (Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi s’ep sweat, to sweat, Sakai sēōp° sweat (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 533); ~ Sakai seng*[ʔ]ōp to sweat (i.e. Semai; ib.).

1231 *kəp; *kaap to bite.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kuy, Chrau, Bunör, Biah, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang, Kensi kəp, Temiar kəb; ~ Central Sakai kikap to bite; ~ (*[k]rkəp >) Khmer trəkap to snap up (TANDART 1935; beside trəkəp!); ~ Khasi jkəp snapping with teeth, jə̄p to bite with teeth.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [əp]-kəp-[hətə], kəpə to bite, Nancowry ṭupkəp, ~ kanəp tooth.

(SHAFER 1965 9; BLOOD 1966 356; SMITH 1972 191; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227-8.)

(Proto-Austronesian *kabkab) Pangasinan kabkáb to gnaw, Pampangan kabkáb to bite.

1232 *kap to fasten.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi khap to fasten, close; ~ Sre bakap to fasten.
Cf. 1240 *p-gap to join.

1233 *kaap chin.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan káp, Riang-Lang `káp, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kap; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ngap.
(SHAFER 1965 11; SMITH 1972 202.)

1234 *kap time.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon kup, kip /køp/, Modern Mon kip time, Bahnar kap moment, Palaung kap time (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _kap[sì] to-morrow, Khasi khèp occasion, time, turn.

1235 *k[root]p (& *kØp?); *k[a]p; *kaap tortoise, turtle.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng kòp swamp turtle, Sre kòp (< *kp?) small species of terrestrial tortoise, Chrau, Biat kòp tortoise, Bahnar kòp tortoise, tortoise shell, Jeh kòp, Halang koap turtle.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung kap kap tortoise (MILNE 1931).
C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kap turtle, Nancowry kap (or B?).
A conceivably by secondary labialization.
(SHAFER 1965 11; SMITH 1972 202.)

†1236 *[c]kiip; *ckiap, *t[k]iap; *ckap, *t,kap; *[c]kuap to pinch, grip.
A: (Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sakaip narrow.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon kep skæp to pinch, grip with claws, Khmer kiap to grip with tongs (or = kiap < 1239 *giap, which connect?), thkiap to grip with claws or tongs, Khmu’ kep to grip with tongs, Thin skèp to carry under arm, Lawa Bo Luang khèap narrow; ~ (*niap >) Kuy nkip to pick up with tongs &c., pick fruit with forked pole, Biat nceap to carry on hip; ~ Khmer dąñkiap, tòñkiap claws, tongs; ~ (*cmkiap >?) Praok [sikòp] sigèp narrow; ~ (*crkip >) Middle Mon sakep (with s- by levelling on simplex), Modern Mon hakep, Khmu’ srkèp, Lawa Bo Luang sakep, Lawa Umphai sakep tongs; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar nèp tongs (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Khmer thkèp to grip with tongs, Vietnamese cáp to carry under arm; ~ Biat nkap to grip with tongs, Khasi tưốngkèp to insert between, place under arm, hide (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Muon cáp (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese gàp to pick up with chopsticks; ~ Khmer dąñkèp, Biat nkip tongs; ~ Sre sàkap tongs (~ Röglai); by secondary derivation ~ Khasi nap tongs.
D: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Praok sikhɔp narrow.
A similar initial alternance is suspected in following. Connected further 1312 *ckiom &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26, 28; cf. SHAFER 1965 49, 318; SMITH 1972 185.)
Sora 'sakab- to grip (v.i.) ~ sab’ka’b-, ‘sakka’b- to grip with tongs ~ 'sakkab-[la:ŋ-an] tongs ~ sanabka’b* tongs.
Proto-Austronesian *t'i(N)kɔp: Malay sikap close-fitting, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153; incorporating *t'i(N)kɔp to grasp, ib., cf. Cebuano Bisayan sikup kind of bird of prey, = Malay burong sikap). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

1237 *ckup, (?) *dkup; *cukoɔp; *ekup; *eɔkup; *[d]kɔeɔp; *[c]kup; *[c]gɔap to cover.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre kup to take, seise, catch, Biat kɔp to put lid on, cover over, Khasi kɔp, skɔp cover; ~ Temiar cerkub to close (BENJAMIN 1976a 158); (~ Burmese dukut monk’s shawl); (or *[c]g-?) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi knuap rainshield.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kɔp-[hαtə] to close hand, Nancowry ?upkʉp to fold arms against cold &c.; ~ Kammu-Yuan s awkup to cover e.g. with net; ~ Chrau nkoap husk.
C: (Katuic) Kuy kɔap to catch, hold, arrest, Bru kɔap.
D: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon kɔp to catch with a fish-basket, Literary Mon skuip to cover (or, with derivatives), Khmer kɔp to bury, hide by burying, Central Sakai kɔp to get, catch; ~ Middle Mon sakuip, Modern Mon hakɔp lid, Central Sakai jɛrkɔp cover; (?) ~ Old Mon dukup /dəkɔp/ chief, Literary Mon dukuiup also lid, cover, Modern Mon hakɔp; ~ Proto-Nyah Kur *[c]eŋkɔp cover, lid (DIFFLOTH 1984 V163a); ~ Temiar cenkab lid (BENJAMIN 1976b 146); ~ Khmer bɔŋkap to bury, hide by secondary derivation, (~?) Vietnamese gãp to fold, to close [book]; (or F/G?) ~ Nicobaric hakõpəca to cover sth. tightly.
E: (Bahnaric) Bahnar gɔap rock shelter, overhead cover (< *[d]k-); ~ Biat nka:p field shelter, Chrau sakəap lean-to, shed.
F: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre kap quantifier for clothes (DOURNES 1950), Khasi skap husk, Central Sakai kap to get, catch.
G: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon kɔp to cover, Riang-Lang kap to put on, wear; ~ Bahnar hagap cave.
A similar init. alternance in preceding; but *dk- perhaps by metathesis < 1261 *k-dup &c.; or ← Austronesian *takub, &c., below. Add A102 *kap to wait, lie in wait for?
(SHAFER 1965 529.)
Sora kub- to be covered up, in'kub- to put on a cover or veil.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *kubkub: Javanese kukub covered, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected further *ta(N)kub to cover; lid (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128); *takub to cover, shut (BLUST 1973 no. 109; Proto-Hesperonesian); *tu(N)kup to cover. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 142); *tikup to shut, close (BLUST 1973 no. 114; Proto-Hesperonesian); &c.; (ii) *kabkab: Javanese kēkēb lid, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76-7; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected *takap to cover; covering (BLUST 1973 no. 108; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 258-9.

(*t1)iəp, *t,kap see 1236 *[c]kiip to pinch, grip; *[d]kəap, *dkup see above.)

1238 *[p]kup; *[p]kuup; *[p]kuəp; *pkap inverted, face down.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng kup to bend down, hide, to turn upside down (or B), Bahnar kup to bow, greet respectfully; face down; ~ ChrauNKup face down, prone, Biat nkop to turn over on one’s face, (~–ŋken) to overturn, (~? by secondary derivation?) Bahnar sakup to be upside down.

B: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Riang-Lang kup to fall prone; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Palaung sakup, Riang-Lang sakup to overturn; ~ Kammu-Yuan snkup to turn upside down, Riang-Lang snapup to overturn, Praok gup to fall prone.

C: (North Bahnaric, Central Asian) Bahnar [kup] kəp to lie (face down) (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai *koop to lie (face down) (DIFFLOTH 1977).

D: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer phkap to turn upside down, to lie face down; ~ (?Old Mon pu’kap /pakəp/) Modern Mon həkap to overt, turn upside down.

Or *kup &c., *kap kap > *pkap?
(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 16.)

Proto-Austronesian *taNkub: Malay tangkup face down, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128; & variants, in *-p also, usually glossed to cover; cf. preceding). Cf. also Malay lukup, lungkup inverted, capsized, Acehnese lungkəb [to lie] face down.

Senses face down, to overturn may be limited to Sumatra & Java languages; then ← or contaminated by Mon-Khmer?

1239 *giəp; *gap; *gaap to grip, squeeze.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer kiap (TANDART 1935; & thkiəp, = or contaminated by thkiəp < 1236 *tkiəp, which connect), Stieng giap.

Bahnar gep (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Palaung giap to grip with tongs, Vietnamese kep to press, squeeze.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Vietnamese cəp to nip, grip, Nancowry kəp to hold; ~ Biat ngap to press, squeeze.

C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer kiəp to press, squeeze, Central Nicobarese [ha]-ka-pi-[yənde] to grasp.

Cf. Thai kʰiip to grip with tongs or claws; ← a variant *giip? Connected further 1242 *[t]ga(a)p fork, clamp, to clamp.
(SCHMIDT 1905 62; SHAFER 1965 49.)

Sora gab-['tər-] to hold between fingers or in fork, to pinch (or : *[t]ga(a)p?).
POU & JENNER 1973 no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese ɣiep 挑 to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry… .

1240 *gap; *gaap; *gup fit, fitting, sufficient.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old
Mon gap /gap/ to be fit for, fit to, pleasing to, Modern Mon kòp to suffice, (— kò) ought, to be fit to, Old Khmer gap, Modern Khmer kɔap fitting, Bahnar gap just enough (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang gap enough, Jeh gap adequately, Praok kup to suffice; → Cham kàp enough, just right, Jarai gap to suffice, North Röglai gap [si] enough; ~ (*pgaap >) Middle Mon pagap [gwor] to make fit, Modern Mon pako to put together, join, to harness, Khmer phkɔap to please, to adapt, adjust, (or *pgaap >, with secondary shortening) Sre gap to make fit, Modern Mon pəkòp to put together, join; growing together.
B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng gap to suffice, Biat gaːp suitable, enough, Central Nicobarese kap-[tual] tight [knot], Nancowry hap to fix, to fit; ~ Kontum Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) bagaːp to harness together; growing together.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung gɯp enough.
C secondary. To join by attraction 1232 *kap to fasten? Cf. following, & Khmer kùːap fold, to join.
(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)
Proto-Austronesian *ganap (sc. *g/ən/əp): Malay gênap complete…, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 54; Proto-Hesperonesian).
But connection dubious Sora a(b)- to fit, to be fit.

1241 *gap; *gap friend, to associate.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kùp gap’ to associate with, meet, Sre gap friend, Biat gap I; (?) → Cham kòwʔ kin, one another, Röglai gaːu friend, North Röglai gaʔ sibling, Acehnese gob person, people; ~ (*gmap >) Biat map to meet.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Central Rölöm gap friend (BLOOD 1976), Khasi [ia] kap to make an alliance, meet friends with; ~ Muông cài (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese gáp to meet.
B by attraction preceding? Or A contaminated by (rather than →) Indonesian?
1242 *[t]gap; *[t]gaap fork, clamp, to clamp.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi kap prong; by secondary derivation (?) ~ khnap cloven hoof; (~*g*[r]nap >) Bahnar gonap reinforced rim of basket, binding.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon kęp ĝap fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride, Khmer káp frame, crucible tongs, cramp-iron (& by levelling on derivation, below, Khmer thgáp to keep [legs] pressed together) (GUESDON 1930), Stieng ĝap to take in tongs, clamp, Sre ĝap (or < A?) to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.], Jeh ĝap to hold with slit stick (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Bahnar ĝap to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fasten with clamp; ~ Jeh, or < *g-?), Palaung ĝap to affix, Vietnamese cap rim, edge, to edge mat; ~ Cham kà?, Jarai ĝap, North Rọglai ga? to bind rim of basket &c.; ~ Khmer prakǐap fork (!; GUESDON 1930 has tragáp); by secondary derivation (?) ~ (*g*[r]n- >) Sre gonap bamboo fastening of thatch or basket (DOURNES 1950; or A?), Jeh kana?p split stick, Halang gonap sticks for roasting fish; (or A?) ~ North Rọglai ganà? frame of rim of basket.
Connect 1239 *giap &c. to grip, squeeze, with which there is contamination; so *ga(a)p, if to be constructed as variants, are secondary. POU & JENNER no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese kap 持 to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry, kap 夹 to press from two sides, squeeze, kap 持 pincers, chopsticks.
Sora gob-[t'ur-] to hold between fingers... is more probably : 1239 *ga(a)p.
(SHAFER 1965 109; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

1242a *η[a]p; *ηaap; *ηuup (early) morning.
A: (Palaungic) Praok [pon] ηap (!)morning, Lawa ηap early morning.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang ηap to get up early, Khasi ngab early in the morning.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _uup morning; ~ Mae Sariang saʔuup dawn.
Praok perhaps < *ηuap; back vocalism secondary.

1243 *cap; *caap; *ciap; *cip; *cup to seize.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer cap to seize, catch, Stieng cap to take, accept, Semai I cap to hold; ~ Thai ñap; ~ Biat map prey.
B: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy cap to catch, hold, between forefinger and thumb, Central Nicobarese [op]-tapa to seize.
C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong cep, Jah Hut cep to hold; ~ (*.ciap by palatal absorption > *.cep >) Bahnar cep to take hold of.
D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer ṭrp to take a pinch of; ~ Kammu-Yuan nıp to catch.
E: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau njup to take, Biat njup to seize; ~ Bahnar cup to seize with claws, take between fingers (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C-E secondary. Bahnar ultimately < *pcap < *cap cap?
(SHAFER 1965 361; BLOOD 1966 163; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 49 (a).)
1243a *[?]caap kind of small bird.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer caap sparrow, Kuy [cem] caap weaver bird, 

1244 *[?]cuup; *[?]cuwp; *[?]ciwp to put on, wear.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung cup, Praok cuwp, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang cuwp to wear.
   B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi sop to cover, wrap, thatch; ~ Central Nicobarese opcuiwp 
   woman's waistcloth, Nancowry (2u)cuwp.
   C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [hai]-ciwp-[hata] to put on [woman's waistcloth]; ~ 
   opciiwp woman's waistcloth.
   C probably secondary. Note also Bru sap, sup to wear [ring] (or rather 1245?).

(*kciip see 1252a *[k]ti[ ]p cockroach... )

1244a *kraap scales of fish.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stien krasaap, Chrau gosaap, Biat rehaap, (Bahnar koaap ←?) Jeh 
   kacaap, Halang koaap.
   (SMITH 1972 195.)

1245 *bciwp; *bciwp; *bcwp; *bcap; *bcaip; *bcuwp; *bciwp to adjoin, 
   adhere.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon cip to be set edge to edge (→ Burmese cip), Bahnar jiip 
   joined edge to edge (GUILLINET 1959-63).
   B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi bsiap to put between two things, to insert, siap to insert, 
   (~?) Palaung siap to pile neatly, to lay [one thing] on another in a pile (MILNE 1931).
   C: (Khmer, Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang *sap to put in, on; → Shan sháp to thrust into; 
   ~ Khmer pracap to cohere (GUESDON 1930).
   D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muông, ?Palaungic) Old Mon cap /cap/, 
   Modern Mon cap, Khmer cəap to adhere, Biat cap to fasten together, Sre cap to 
   fasten together; bundle, sheaf, Palaung cap to affix (or < C, or ← Burmese), Khasi 
   bsiap to mix with, to insert, Vietnamese cháp to join, assemble; → Cham ca? to tie 
   together, Jarai cap to tie up; Burmese cap to join, → Shan sáp to be connected with, 
   whence ultimately Riang-Lang tarcaap (tar- reciprocal) to be connected with, to 
   connect; by secondary derivation ~ Mon phyap, Khmer phćeəap to join.
   E: (Kuy, Khmuic) ~ Kuy cep [shut] tight; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan 
   tarsąp [om] confluence.
   F: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung sup to join, to connected (MILNE 1931); → Shan ściwp joint, 
   to join, whence ultimately Riang-Lang ściwp joint, link.
   G: (Palaungic, ?Viet-Muông) ~ Palaung karcaap to be close together (MILNE 1931), (?) 
   Muông (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese giüp to help.
   H: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese op-fuap-[hata] to attach extra gunwale.
Secondary are E, to B; & F-H, cf. Munda. Add following?
(SCHMIDT 1905 12.) (I) Kharia ji'b to touch, &c. (PINNOW 1959 283); (II) Sora jə:b- to touch, to stick, jəb-jəb- to abut.

(?) Proto-Austronesian *titi'ip: Malay sisi'p to insert, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 155; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1246 *[b]cuəp; *[b]cəp to repair to, repair together, meet.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer cuə:p, cùə:p to meet (together), Sre cop (!) to visit, Biat cəp [uən] to inspect; ~ Kuy cəp to come together, come back to starting-point together, (~?; by secondary derivation, ta- reciprocal) Stieng tacuə:p to meet, join.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Old Mon cup /cəp/ to arrive at, come to, Modern Mon cəp to arrive (at), Kuy səp to meet, encounter; ~ Middle Mon [nə] bacuip to bring to, Modern Mon həcəp to hand to, to conduct.

= preceding? Connection uncertain Kensiu cʉb, Temiar cib to walk (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 42).

1247 *jɔɔp horsefly.


(SMITH 1972 203.)

1248 *gjap solid, stout.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer cəp, khcəp solid, enduring, Kuy chàp tough, stout, Stieng jap solid, Central Rölöm jap solid, strong, Bahnar [kəjap] jap, yap very solid (GUlleMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre kaljap solid, hard, Bahnar kajap solid, Jeh kajap, Halang gajap sturdy; → Röglai kajap (& gəɲap < *gənjap), Malay kəjap.

(SCHMIDT 1905 44; BLOOD 1966 347; SMITH 1972 193.)

1249 *jnjaap to flutter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon həyəp to flap, f.[wings], Khmer [həa] cùançì:əp to flutter about (TANDART 1935).

Cf. (i) 1267 *yəp &c. to move up and down; (ii) Proto-Austronesian *t'aiap: Cham thya'w?, &c., Acehnese sayəb, Malay, Iban sayap wing, Ivatan sayáp to fly (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. SHORTO 1975 88).

1250 *təp; *təp to pierce.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer dap to cut into, Kammu-Yuan táp to prick, pierce.

B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm təp to stab, pierce (probably, rather than A), Stieng təp to pierce, Bahnar təp to stick into the ground, to pierce (GUlleMINET 1959-63), Jeh təp to set in ground, Halang təp to put in ground; ~ Biat nəp to stab, spear, goad, Bahnar hətap to stick into the ground, to pierce (GUlleMINET 1959-63).

B originally by hypercorrection on dialects which have ta- < *tə? (BLOOD 1966 126.)
1251 *t₁aap to slap.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng, Sre, Chrau tap to clap, slap, Biat, Jeh tap to slap, Bahnar, Halang tap to slap, hit, Praok tap to strike, beat, Khasi thab to hit with hand, slap.
   Khmer top to hit with fist is ← Thai tōp.
   (SMITH 1972 198; cf. SHAFA 1965 76.)

1252 *t₁ep; *t₁ep; *t₁ip; *t₁up to bury, cover.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon tip /tōp/, Modern Mon top, Proto-Nyah Kur *tap (DIEFLOTH 1984 V166), Kuy, Biat top, Stieng tap, Chrau, Bunôr tap, Central Rōōm tap to bury, Khasi thep to entomb [bones], (~?) tep to bury; ~ Khmer dongap, donap to wrap oneself in, cover (oneself); ~ Riанг-Lang *santap shelter.
   B: (Bahnaric) Rōngao tap to bury (GUILLIEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*ktəap >) Chrau caap [mat] eyelash.
   C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *tip [hole] to be covered up (DIEFLOTH 1977).
   D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, ?Mon) Sakai tup to cover (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 183), Semang tūb to sow (i.e. Jehai; ib. P 132; contaminated by 1343 *p-tam); → Acehnese tob to close, cover; ~ Mon ūtup cover, lid, flap (or ← variant?); → Cham hatu?, tu? lid of pot; ~ Sre ķoŋp lath covering joint in planking.
   Primacy of forms uncertain. Cf. 1261 *dap &c. to cover; 1273 *rup &c. to cover (BLOOD 1966 130; SMITH 1972 182.)
   Mundari topa to bury, to cover, &c. (PINNOW 1959 309).

1252a *[k]t[ ]p; *[k]t[ ]ap; *[k]t[ ]alp; *ktup; *kciip cockroach, vermin.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre tip cockroach.
   B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang teap, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang tep flea.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng təap, Biat tap [dər] cockroach, Nancowry mustap flea.
   D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau cup cockroach.
   E: (Katuic) Kuy (?a)siip cockroach.
   Note Riанг-Lang _sup *sap cockroach Lawa perhaps by contamination, cf. Palaung sətər flea; so *-t₁- not certain.
1253 *[k]t₁ap egg.
   A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?North Aslian) Sre, Biat tap, Chrau cap, Temiar tab (!), Shom Pe Nicobar k'ate:ab, (? by assimilation) Jehai, Semnam katad; ~ Bahnar, Halang kətap, Jeh katap.
   Cf. 1348a *kt₁am.
   (SHAFER 1965 359, 398; BLOOD 1966 376; SMITH 1972 190; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 36.)

1254 *ktaap to catch up (with), be in time.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Vietnamese đập to catch [train &c.]; ~ Old Mon kintāp /kantap/ to have time to, Modern Mon hətap to have time to, to catch up, to catch [train...].

1255 *[k]t₁əəp cloud, precipitation.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kətɒp dew, mist, Riang-Lang ˉtəp snow, mist, cloud.
   (~?) Kharia t'iri b c., &c. (PINNOW 1959 284; Proto-Munda *tɨrɨb).

1256 *kntəəp dove.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat ntəːp, Chrau gatəːp, Bahnar kətəːp.
   Cf. Stieng təːp; BLOOD 1966 401 pigeon has Stieng təːp, Sre ntəːp. Onomatopoeic? (SHAFER 1965 569.)

1256a *kntuəp; *kntap grasshopper.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer kɔndoːp.

1257 *jt₁ap layer, to superimpose.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Old Mon tap /təp/ times, -fold, Modern Mon təp to place in sequence, to fold, Kuy with secondary lengthening thəːp to lie, lay, on top of, Sre tap layer, to be superimposed, Chrau, Biat tap layer, Muong täp (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese đập to pile up; → Burmese thəp layer, → Middle Mon thəp, Modern Mon ðəp, → Bru təp, thəp to fold one layer over another; ~ Khmer sratəp, Jeh ratap to fold one layer over another (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi syrtap fold, layer.
   Cf. following & Central Nicobarese kətəːpə pile.

1257a *pntuəp; *[p]ntuəp to add.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer bəntop to pile up (contaminated by preceding?).
   B: (South Bahnaric) Biat ntəːp to add (to), add one by one.
1258 *dap stockade, military unit.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon dap stockade, Modern Mon tòp stockade, military unit, Old Khmer dâp to bar, Middle Khmer dâp fence, Modern Mon tôap army, Bru tâp hut in forest; → Burmese tap military unit, fortification, probably → Palaung top army (MILNE 1931); Cham têp earth rampart; Thai têáp army.

1259 *daap low.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer tiàap to be low, small in height, Kuy thiàap low, Bru tiàp, (~ *pdaap >?) Sre daáp to lower, place lower down (DOURNES 1950).

1260 *dàp to block, dam.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer dap, Modern Khmer tûp to block, dam (≠ to cover, < following, which compare), Kuy with secondary lengthening thàp, Chrau dàp (& by metathesis Biat bo) to dam, Riang-Lang tâp to stop, dam, Vietnamese dáp dam; → Shan tâp to dam; ~ Khmer khtûp to block, close; (~ *krdâp >) Bahnar kadâp (in sense) to block.
Sora dab- to obstruct, dam (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 42.)

1261 *dəp; *dəəp, *dâp; *dəap; *dup; *duəp; *[d]ip; *diəp to cover.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer tûp dap', Sre dap to cover, Biat [kàp] dəp to lie in wait for, Bahnar dàp, Palaung dəp,
Praok tâp to cover, Vietnamese nàp to hide; ~ Sre ndàp to cover, Chrau ndâp [mat] invisible, Biat ndəp hidden, covered; ~ Old Mon kdiəp /kdəp/, Modern Mon dəp head (& Nyah Kur kədəp); ~ Mon hadəp to fold over, close (or B, E, H?), Stieng kəldəp to shut [door, window], Sre kəldâp to cover over, Chrau gədəp to cover hole, Bahnar kədâp to hide from sight, to shelter; handful, Khasi khyrdep to shut [door] without fastening, slam [door], (or c?) Central Nicobarese kərəp-[həta] to catch [bird] in trap, shut [door, window]; ~ Central Nicobarese kəndəp bird-trap (or c?); ~ Sre bənəp cover, lid, West Bahnar hənəp, rənəp cover, lid; in shelter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Bahnaric) Sre dəp to catch with hand, take what is held out, Biat dəp to receive; ~ Bahnar kənəp to take shelter; ~ Chrau pandəp to catch, seize.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer kədəp to hold tightly in hand, close [hand]; ~ Vietnamese nàp cover, lid, (probably, rather than A) Central Nicobarese dənəp cloth cover.
D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang tuəp to shut, Central Nicobarese daːpə, [op]-dəp-[hə̱e] to spread cloth; ~ Central Nicobarese dənəp cloth cover.
E: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) ~ Khasi kədəp to cover, embrace, envelop, defend, protect; ~ Khasi kyndəp double handful; overhang, Central Nicobarese kəndəp covering or wrapping of leaves; ~ Sre bənəp, bənəp cover, lid (DOURNES 1950). Connect Nancowry tôp to cover oneself, kutóp fist,
F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng: dûp to hide, to cover [mouth] (or E), Riang-Lang "dûp to cover [pots &c.], Vietnamese nûp to hide, take cover; ~ Khmer kdaop [flower] to close; to stop up, cover with hand; ~ Thin kândop to fish with a fish-basket; ~ Khasi kyndub shelter; ~ (*k[r]duup > ) Bahnar kâdøp fistfull; to cover, shelter.

G: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon hadop to close, fold, Bahnar kâdøp, kâdøp (Guilleminet 1959-63).

H: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kɔntɨp [srɨy] fez, woman’s cap.

I: (Vietnamese) nûp to hide, take cover; ~ Khmer kdaop [flower] to close; to stop up, cover with hand; ~ Thin kândop to fish with a fish-basket; ~ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

In Eastern languages largely merged with (& otherwise contaminated by) preceding.

Cf. also 1252 *t时间节点 &c. to bury, cover; 1273 *rup &c. to cover.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 462; BLOOD 1966 124; SMITH 1972 201.)

(i) Sora dab-, Kharia ḍā' to cover, &c. (PINNOW 1959 3); (ii) Sora dub- to shut, close, ~ kun’dub- to hold in fist, (-ən) handful.

(*cdi(i)p, *cdəap see 1040 *cɓɨit sticky….)

1262 *[j]ɗaap to pass hand along.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon dap to dab on, sponge, Khmer stɨːap to touch, feel, stroke, grop for.

Connect by metathesis 1252 *t时间节点 &c. to bury, cover; 1273 *rup &c. to cover.

(Proto-Austronesian *adap adap?) Ilocano dapadap to touch, feel.

1263 *[j]ɗap to shore up.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon sduip [ska] to shore up, help, support, Khmer stûp sdap’ to hold up, set [prop] against; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer phtûp to place against, prop.

1264 *bɗap, *bɗaap to touch, adjoin.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Khmer phtɓap adjoining; ~ bɔntɓap next by analogy; ~ (*bɓap > ) Literary Mon [sarap] phaɗap to bring near, come near, Kuy nthąp to arrange next to one another, Sre dap to pass, hand to, Biat dap to lay [floor], fasten [saddle].
B: (Mon) Mon dap to touch, adjoin.

Cf. Chrau daap to pass, hand to; contaminated by 1261 *ɗaap in sense to receive; or causative of it?

1265 *[b]ɗaap father.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre bap, Chrau vaap.

Proto-Austronesian *bapa(S): Malay bapa, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 24; less Malagasy, cf. DAHL 1973 § 20.5; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

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1266 *[^g]bip; *[^g]biip species of wildfowl.
A: (Mon) Old Mon ɓup /ɓøp/ ruddy shelduck, Modern Mon ɓøp ruddy shelduck, (— mèa) cotton teal.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ɓip duck, teal, Gölär Bahnar cotton teal (?; sarcelle de Coromandel).

Not obviously onomatopoeic

1266a *yap; *yaap to die, be extinguished.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi iap to die; ~ Central Nicobarese poin-pap corpse (!; with contextually conditioned vocalism?); ~ pompap-[hə] to extinguish by pressure or cover.
B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Bahnar nap deceased person, Central Nicobarese pamaṇap corpse, Nancowry pāṇāp to die, pamaṇāp corpse.
Cf. B93 *yuum &c. to die; 1268 *yup &c. dark.

1267 *yaap; *yəəap; *yəap to move up and down.
A: (Khnkui, Palaungic, Viet-Mường; ~?) Kammu-Yuan ?yúp (!) waggling the ears, Vietnamese nháp-[nhọ] to go up and down especially on water; ~ Palaung rəyəp fan.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung yuup to fan, beckon, shake up and down, yuup yuup to shake up and down, Riang-Lang [sim] yəp yəp wagtail.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang yəp to sift [rice] by tossing.
C contaminated by 1249 *jnaap to flutter, or ~ Tibeto-Burman, below? Connect Praok yip to wave, Lawa Umphai yip fan; & note Mon hay’m dayuiṁ (< ‘jnj-?) to flourish with a wrist movement; Tibeto-Burman *yəp to fan, winnow, paddle, BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 92.

1268 *yup; *y[u]lp; *yəp dark.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar hiup twilight; → Cham sup, Röglai siup twilight.
Cf. 1225 *ʔap &c. dark….; 1328 *[c][uə]m night.
(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (d).)
Santali aju’b evening, nightfall, &c. ~ Santali nuba? (to become) dark, &c. (PINNOW 1959 128, 280.)
1269 *riip (& *rip?) grass.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Biat reip, Praok rip, Lawa Bo Luang raic, Lawa Umphai raip, Mae Sariang yaip; ~ Khmer tryp floating mat of vegetation (ad variant?); ~ Sre samprip tall grass (Dournes 1950); ~ (?) Nancowry ŋep to plant.
(Shafer 1965 313.)

1269a *riap to arrange.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer rìap to prepare, arrange, Kuy rìp to lay [board floor], Stieng riap to prepare, Biat rìp to arrange; ~ Bru pariəp align edge to edge.

†1270 *rap to help.
A: (Khasi) Khasi (ïa-)rap.
Cf. 1390 *rum &c.
Sora rab-.

1271 *rap to count.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) (Old Mon ràp /ræp/ (?) to keep a record of,) Modern Mon ròp to keep [accounts], Khmer riap to count, calculate; → Cham rap ['an] to estimate; ~ (*rnàp >; properly nominal, or by metathesis < *rnrap?) Sre nàp to count, check total of, Kammu-Yuan nàp to count; → Lao nap to count.
Cf. Stieng ruəp, rəp to count, calculate.

‡1272 *rəp adjacent, to surround.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung rəp, Praok rop to surround; → Shan h₇p; ~ Mon kərap to be near, to keep close, to be nearly; ~ (*k[pr]əp >) Mon karap vicinity, near, Khmer prop near; ~ Khasi [jëg]-bynrap accompaniment.
Cf. Sre rip near, rap about to; Khasi bynrap to place together with.
Proto-Austronesian *kərap: Acehnese kərap close together, Malay kërəp close [texture], frequent, Javanese kërëp close together, frequent (so Proto-Malayo Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham).

††1273 *rup; *ruəp; *ruəp; *rap; *rəəp to cover.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer kontrəp kandrup dark gloomy place, made dark by overhanging branches &c., Biat nədrup lid; ~ (*tər-) >; or B?) Khasi tyllup to cover up completely (Ivan M. Simon pers. com.).
B: (Khmer, Kuy, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer kraop to cover, hide; lid; ~ Stieng gruəp to cover, stop up (or A?); ~ Kuy troəp to cover with e.g. fowl-basket.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng ruəp to hide, bury; ~ West Bahnar kraop hidden, hiding (Guileminet 1959-63); ~ Middle Mon groop /grop/, Modern Mon krəp to cover; ~ Old Mon ginrop screen, Modern Mon həəp cloth cover.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1274 *rup (& *ruup?) to fight.
A: (Kamuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan rop, (variant > ?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa
Umphai rup.

= following?

1275 *rup; *rap; *rap; *rip to seize, take hold of, catch.
A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi) Bahnar rop to seize, capture, hunt, fish, confiscate,
grasp, Jeh rup to catch, Halang rup to capture, Bru rop to grasp; → Khamti Shan
hōp to seize [prey]; → Khasi kynrup to pounce on, seize.
B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy rōp to put arms round, Stieng rap to obtain,
attain, overcome, Palaung rap to receive, to catch in net, Riang-Lang rap to hold, to
receive, Praok rep to receive; → Bahnar hādrap fowler’s net, kādrap trap for birds.
C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Kmuic) Old Mon rap /rap/, Modern Mon rōp to
hold, grasp, capture, Kuy with secondary lengthening rōp to receive, accept,
Kammu-Yuan rāp to catch, to receive, welcome; → Thai rāp to receive, accept →
Bahnar krap to put arms round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B?) Thin grūp to catch.
D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer rūp to confiscate (→ Thai rip to seize, →
Khmer ryp (TANDART 1935)); → Bahnar krip to seize; → Khasi shrip fish-trap.

Add perhaps preceding; B85 *ruup fishing-net; & cf. 1273 *rup &c. to cover. (SCHMIDT
1905 40; SMITH 1972 187.)

Proto-Austronesian *[r]aup to scoop up: Malay raup to scoop with both hands, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, *lahup; NOTHOFER 1975 175; add Acehnese rahob to
wash one’s face, perhaps Karo Batak n-dahup to bring food to mouth with fingers).

(*rup see further 1389 *rum to assemble.)
1276 *grap seed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer krɔ̀əp grain, seed, nut, Stieng grap seed (BLOOD 1966); ~ Chrau ṅgrap seed.
Conceivably by metathesis ~ *bgar = 1574 *[ ]gar.
(BLOOD 1966 346.)

1277 *gruup to invert, to lie face down.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng gruːp to turn upside down, Palaung grup, Praok krup to make obeisance, Vietnamese sup to prostrate oneself; → Shan khūp to make obeisance; ~ Kammu-Yuan kəntrúp to turn upside down, to lie upside down.
Khasi khrup on one's knees is perhaps by metathesis < *[ ]rku(u)p, ad 1238 *[p]ku(u)p inverted, face down ~ 1273 *ruup to cover?

1278 *[c]mrɔp to tremble.
Initial correspondence obscure; perhaps variant-prefix forms.

1279 *triːp; *tra[i]p to be clamped, pinned.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon krep to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped, Khmer triap packed close together, (~?) West Bahnar jareːp to wedge between two props (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*tnriap >) Jeh dreːp to stab and pin down (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*tnriap >) Bahnar kəmrəːp to be crushed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon kraːp to press between two surfaces, press together; ~ Bahnar kəmrəːp to be crushed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1280 *trəp wet, waterlogged.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon kraːp to wallow, Biat [daːk] trəp mud, Bahnar trəp moist and shady [lair, wallow]; ~ (*tbrəp >) Middle Mon təruip to provide with sustenance, Modern Mon kərəp to lead to water, (by metathesis, or ~ by secondar derivation) West Bahnar pakrəp to wet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, pakrəp waterlogged; with expressive lengthening?); ~ Mon kərəp heavy rain.
Cf. Bahnar (h)ətəːp large and wet, (h)ətəːp small and wet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). (~) Sora ḍrab-[daː-n] flood, spate.

1281 *tərəp to fall down.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan həntrúp to (stumble and) fall over, Palaung ḏəkrap [branch] to break, [house] to fall down (MILNE 1931).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1282 *srap ready, prepared.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Khmer srap read, Vietnamese sâp to be arranged; to be about to; → Thai sêtsâp finished, completed; ~ (*sbrap >) Old Mon surap /sərap/ to put ready at hand, Stieng sobrap to prepare (BLOOD 1966), Sre prap to arrange, to keep, Chrau prap to put away, Biat prap [on] to put aside, Vietnamese sâp (in senses) to arrange, put in order, ~ Biat ndrap to make ready. (BLOOD 1966 370.)

†‡1283 *srup; *sruup to suck, drink.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung hrup to drink (MILNE 1931).
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer srap to absorb, suck up, swallow up, gulp in, Palaung hrup (MILNE 1931), Praok ruup to drink, (?; by metathesis *rsuup, or Tai →) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai sup to sip, suck.
Sora so'rub- to suck, sip, drink noisily, Kharia su'ru'b to breathe, to gargle, &c. (PINNOW 1959 354).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'urup: Javanese surup to enter; penetrated, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158); (ii) *t'ərap: Malay sərap to absorb, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 151). Rather than *t'[ ]-Siuyup to drink noisily (DEMPWOLFF 1938 152, *tiyup, Proto-West-Indonesian), ~ *siyup (DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 64, *h-), ultimately → Biat rhoːp to suck up, to swallow, to sniff, iроp to absorb. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 381, sip; 400, suck.

(*sruup see also 1400 *sruum to sheathe.)

1284 *b[h]raap pigeon.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon pharāp ?/phārap/, Modern Mon hārap, Khmer prāap, Kuy [cɛːm] phrīap, Stieng brāap, prāap; → Thai [nók ] pʰrāːap; (?) Sanskrit pārāvate-, Pali pārāpata-.
Onomatopoeic; initial irregularities cannot be explained by borrowing Sanskrit. (SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1285 *liip; *l[ə]p to spread (v.t.).
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör lip, Central Rölöm lūp to spread on, spread out.
B: (Palaungic) Praok lop to spread; ~ Palaung hlup to spread out (MILNE 1931). (BLOOD 1966 142.)

1286 *liiap; *liap; *d-lap to know, be used to.
A: (Central Aslian) Semnam liip to know.
B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon lep /lep/, Modern Mon lèp to be versed in, know how to, Central Nicobarese leːap to be able to, know how to, Nancowry liap.
c: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer thləəp, Kuy with secondary lengthening thləap to be accustomed to; ~ (*dnlap >) Palaung nap to know, Khasi nap to be able to, to indulge in.

(Schmidt 1905 48.)

1286a *liəp to lick.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng liap to lick tentatively, Sre liap (beside lep; loanword?) to lick, Khasi liap-liap licking lightly, lapping, flickering.


1287 *lap, (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ləbləb >) *bləp; *lup; *luup (& *luəp?) to immerse.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian; *l-) Bahnar lap to inundate, Semang lab to wash (i.e. Semnam; Skeat & Blagden 1906 W 22A); ~ (*crlap >?) Bahnar halvəp to inundate (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ (*cnlap >) Stieng at'jaap, Sre nəhap to immerse oneself, Biat nəp [stars] to set, (~ dark) to immerse oneself; ~ Mon kəlop taluip to overflow (or B), Khmer trəlop [scent &c.] to be diffused; ~ (*pnləp by metathesis >, or by secondary derivation) Khasi phyrnep to dip, plunge, to duck; (*bl-) Old Mon blip /bləp/, Modern Mon pləp to immerse oneself, bathe, Stieng bləp [kite] to fall to earth; ~ Old Mon birləp ritual bathing, Biat rələp [dark] inundation (with vocalism as in mphlan ad 927 *lan).

B: (Khmēr, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer ləp lup to wash (& to erase, cf. foll); ~ Bahnar nəp to immerse oneself, (or *-uəp?) Khasi [ngam] jyllop to be immersed, drowned (Ivan M. Simon pers. com.); ~ Khasi phyrnep to dip, plunge, to duck.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (*tluup >) Bahnar klup to capsize (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung hlup to inundate (Milne 1931); ~ Central Nicobarese pomloop-[fire] [harpooned turtle] to sink.

Cf. 423 *lək &c. …to be immersed; 721 *log to be immersed; 854 *ləc &c. to be flooded, to sink; 1077 *lə[i]t &c. to be extinguished.

(Schmidt 1905 42; Smith 1972 181.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *ləbləb: Javanese lělēp (!) forced under water, &c.

(Dempwolff 1938 93-4; Dahl 1973 § 15.7, 8); (ii) *kəlub: Malay chēlup to immerse, &c. (Blust 1971 no. 83; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). See Benedict 1975 400, submerge.

1288 *lup; *luup; *luəp; *ləp; *lip; *liip; *liəp to enter.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer ləp lup, ləp’ to delete, efface, erase (?; cf. semantically Khasi, f), Kuy ləp dark, cloudy, dim; to erase, Bru ləp to erase; ~ Bahnar hlup to go into, through [door, hole] (Guilleminet 1959-63).

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon ləp to enter, Chrau lup cloudy.

C: (Mon) Old Mon ləp /ləp/, Literary Mon ləp to enter; ~ Old Mon, Modern Mon plop to bring in.
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng lap to enter, (probably, rather than ə) Palaung lap [sun] to go in, [moon] to have fully waned; ~ Palaung hlap to put in, (Milne 1931) to set.

E: (by hypercorrection from dialects in which *lə- > ə-l-?; Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat lap to enter, Bahnar lap to fit, be equal to; ~ Stieng klap to insert; ~ Sre sanap to force in, mount [dah-blade] in hilt, Biat əlap to force in, to incorporate.

F: (Khmer, ?Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer lüap to withdraw, [sun] to go in, (or ə?) Khasi lip to be extinguished, to extinguish, Besisi lep to enter (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & BLAGDEN 1906 E 76 b).

G: (Palaungic) Palaung lip to enter, Praok lip [lu] to enter [trance]; ~ Praok klip [sun] to set.

H: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh kliap, Halang gliap [sun] to set.

Cf. Stieng lum to go in, to go over [obstruction].

Proto-Austronesian *lüub: Acehnese lob to enter through narrow opening, to set,

Pangasinan lob inside, to enter, by metathesis Proto-Ambonese *lobo to enter (STRESEMANN 1927) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*kli(i)p see 445 *pliiik shoulder.)


A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Jeh klap to cover [pan] (Gradin & Gradin 1979); ~ Old Mon kınlap /kə̃lap/ book, volume, Modern Mon kənap sheath, scabbard, volume with covers, Biat əlap, Bahnar təŋlap (!) box, Jeh kalap lid (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Bru klap small box (Kuy tlap ← Thai); ~ Sakai tərlap (!) to shut (i.e. Semai; Skeat & BLAGDEN 1906 S 182 (a); or B); by secondary derivation ~ Palaung khlap to shut.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) West Bahnar klap to shut, stop up (Guilleminet 1959-63), (or ~ by secondary derivation, cf. Palaung) Praok klap to shut; ~ Thin kənlap (& cənlap) to shut door; ~ Stieng kalap bamboo tube with lid; ~ (*kplap > ?) Vietnamese trtip wooden container, betel-box.

Cf. further Bahnar təŋlap lid (& kəlp, Guilleminet 1959-63, = klap); East Bahnar taləp lid (Guilleminet 1959-63), Bahnar agləp, Kontum Bahnar hnaəp sheath. Bahnar təŋləp by dissimilation, Sakai tərl- by assimilation?

1290 *klaap flying white ant.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Jeh kəlp, Kammu-Yuan kləp; ~ (*knaəp >?) Stieng kəlap kind of flying ant, Sre kənap white ant, Biat əlap, Halang kəlaap flying white ant (→ Bahnar ?).

(SHAFER 1965 503; SMITH 1972 196.)

(*bləp see 1287 *lap to immerse.)
1291 *slaap wing.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer slaːp, Kuy slaːp, lhaːp; ~ Stieng səkləːp [kanːai], (=? Chrau sənlaːp feathers of arrow.

1292 *saap tasteless, without effect.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer saːp insipid, tasteless; fresh [water]; powerless, ineffective, Kuy saːp [spell] to wear off, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang saːp tasteless; ~ Sre bɔsaːp tasteless.
(SMITH 1972 200.)

1292a *səp to suffice.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy sɔːp to be just right, Sre səp enough, Biat [bic] chɔːp [to sleep] one's fill; (Khmer *sɔp, cf. derivation) → Thai sòp every [Editor's note: we were unable to confirm Shorto's gloss, although we did confirm the form as a Northern Thai gloss: to meet, come upon], → Khmer sùp sufficient, complete… by back-borrowing; ~ Khmer səmnp satisfying, pleasing.

1293 *ksip to whisper.
By metathesis Proto-Austronesian *bit'ik: Malay bisek, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-West-Indonesian).

1294 *hiip; *[h]iəp; *həp; *haip to suck in, to inhale.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng hiːp; ~ Chrau pheːp to nose-kiss; ~ Sre rhīp to sniff, inhale, Bahnar hriːp to sniff, inhale, to suck; → Jarai hrīp to suck up.
B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar ʔiːiap to suck (blood of), to pump up, Bru yiip to suck; ~ hrɛp = hriːp to sniff, inhale, to suck → Acehnese sриəb, (h)iəb to suck up, to snuff up.
C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar həp (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [hə]-hʊp to inhale.
D: (Khmer) Khmer haep to come up for air.
Add Lanoh Yir hup to breathe? Cf. 1296 *thəep to sniff; 1104 *hiit &c. to sniff…; 1299 *ihim to breathe… .

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon hāp /hap/, Modern Mon hap to eat [rice], Palaung hap food, to eat; ~ West Bahnar hanaːp mess, eaters at one dish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (?; East Bahnar sanaːp!).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre hup to lift [food -bag] to mouth; ~ Khasi kahup to gulp, gobble.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer hoːp to eat, Vietnamese húp to slurp [rice-gruel].
D: (Palaungic) Lawa ʔaup cooked rice.
Cf. Khasi ka hap to snap at, perhaps contaminated by 1231 *kap to bite or connected 
Tibeto-Burman *hap to snap, bite (Benedict 1972 32 no. 89); but note Kenaboi
li hap to bite, Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 227 (b).
(Shaf er 1965 270.)

(*khaip see 1226 *kiap centipede.)

1296 *thəap to sniff.
A: ( Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer thaap to sniff, to nose-kiss, Chrau, Biat thəap to
smell, sniff.
Connect 1294 *hiap &c. ...to inhale?

1297 *ʔam not.
A: ( Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu dials. ʔam, Thin ʔäm, Khasi em, ym.

1298 *ʔ[ə]m water.
(Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ʔom, Palaung om, Riang-Lang ʔom, Khasi um; ~ Praok
rom, Lawa Bo Luang laʔaum, Lawa Umphai raʔaum, Mae Sariang yaʔaum,
laʔaum.
(Shaf er 1965 397.)

(*ʔum see 1426 *huum to bathe.)

1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ʔiim > *yam by dissimilation, Pre-Palaungic &c.
*ʔiim; *ih[ɨ]m > *yha(ə)m, secondarily > *yu(ə)m to breathe, live.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon ʔəm to breathe, Riang-Lang ʔim, Lawa Bo Luang
ʔaipn, Lawa Umphai ʔaim, Palaung, Praok, Khasi ʔim to live, be alive, Central
Nicobarese eyəm breath, eyəm-[lərə] to breathe, Nancowry ʔiyuʔam to breathe;
life; ~ Cham ʔun in good health; ~ Old Mon ʔunyəm /ʔamyəm/, Modern Mon
ʔayəm life; by secondary derivation ~ (*ʔəm > ) Kammu-Yuan ṭaŋəum
breath, heart.
B: ( Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) ~ (*inh[ɨ]m > ) Sre
nəm, Chrau nəm, Biat nəm, Bahnar ʔəŋəm breath (& Rõngao, Guilleminet
1959-63, jahe:m, perhaps < simplex), Temiar hənum to breathe, by phrasal
contraction (cf. e.g. Sre taʔ nhəm to breathe) Khmer dəŋəhaum breath; ~
(*inh[ɨ]m > ) Kuy phəm breath, heart, mind, Palaung phəm breathe, Riang-Lang
ʔphəm breath, life, to breathe, Praok bəm air, breath, Khasi məsiem soul, breath,
Mendriq nəphəp, Semelai ʔəməhm to breathe; by secondary derivation ~ Lawa
Bo Luang ʔaphəum, Lawa Umphai raphəum, Mae Sariang yaphəum, laphəum
spirit, mind.
Cf. 1428 *kuum to blow.
( Blood 1966 125; Smith 1972 14; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 389 (a).)
Sora [tɔŋ]-je:m- to breathe, to sigh, -jne:m- to blow (PINNOW 1959 K 313).
Mon-Khmer → Proto-Austronesian *k’i(S)um to nose-kiss (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, *k’ijum; Proto-West-Indonesian; Malay → Javanese in view of Acehnese com, &c.)?

1300 *[k]ʔim; *[k]ʔiam onion.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; ~ *[k][I]ʔim > ) Khmer khtùm (→ Biat kdîm), Bahnar kôdîm.
B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre iam (→ Rôglai jam); ~ Kuy (kh)th:i:am onion, garlic (→ Thai kratʰi:am garlic), West Bahnar kâd:ım (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh kadiam, Halang gòdîam onion.
(SMITH 1972 35.)

1301 *c[n]ʔaam span.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer comʔaːm (by assimilation, or ~?), Sre naːm, Chrau sândaːm, Biat nʔaːm.

1301a *cʔaam nauseated.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔaːm; ~ Biat mʔuːm.
951 *cʔaːm sated, cloyed contaminated by 1304 *tʔum[ ] &c. rotten?

1302 *jʔiːm smoke.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Semnam jìʔaːm; ~ (*jʔiːm > ) Khmer chjìːam smelling of burning, Stieng niːam, (?) Sakai nyàm [os] smoke (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 298).
(SHAFER 1965 151.)

1303 *[t]ʔaam (molar) tooth.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Nyah Kur niak kaʔáam molar, Bahnar taːm molar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Shom Pê Nicobaric taːm tooth; ~ Khasi tyng-am jawbone.
Cf. 1318 *dɡam &c. molar tooth, jaw.

1304 *tʔum[ ]; *tʔuːm[ ]; *tʔaːm[ ]; *tʔhɯmːs; *tʔham[ ] rotten.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (*tʔnʔum[ ] > ) Mon baim to stink; ~ (*tʔpʔum[ ] > ) Chrau pʰʔum stale.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre oum, Chrau o姆 rotten, Biat o姆 stinking, to rot, Bahnar o姆 rotten, stinking; ~ (*tʔpʔum[ ] > ) Khmer phʔoːm musty, sour-smelling, Sre poʔoum to stink, Praok siʔum to decay, Lawa Bo Luang saʔum to rot.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung am rotten; ~ Lawa Umphai saʔeːum to rot.
D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese thűm to smell bad.
E: (Palaungic; ~ *tʔpham[ ] > ) Riang-Lang kʰaːm to be rotten.
(BLOOD 1966 11.)
3105 *[m]əəm cloud.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔəəm cloud, to be cloudy, Praok [pay] əm cloud, Lawa Bo Luang mbiaʔəum mist.
Proto-Austronesian *[m]əm (BENEDICT 1975 254, which compare).

1306 *[sʔ]iam younger sibling.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy scəm younger sibling, Bru ʔɛːm younger sibling, Stieng iəm elder sibling, Kammu-Yuan hɛːm! younger sibling of same sex as speaker, Vietnamese em younger sibling.
Kuy, Kammu-Yuan < secondary *sy⁻?

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer sʔəm warm, to warm, heat, Vietnamese ḍəm to be warm, (~?) Kuy sʔəm warm; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyr-em spring season.
B: (Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang ʔəʔəm to be warm.
C: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar əm happy; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi byr-um tepid.
D: (Khasi, ?Palaungic) Palaung əm, Riang-Lang əəm to be pungent in taste (?), Khasi [s'aɪd] om-om slightly [warm]; → Acehnese sʔuəm, təʔuəm warm, hot, to grill, to apply heat medicinally.
E: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese hâm to warm up; ~ Khasi rhem hot.
Tone of Vietnamese ḍəm suggests *cʔ⁻; Bahnar vocalism compatible with either construction (cf. 335a *duuk; 527 *cuuŋ). Back vocalism secondary?
(Proto-Austronesian *[ ]jam [jam] Ilocano anem-em heating up, to heat [water]. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 365, to ripen fruit... (V).

3108 *kam arrow.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon kaʔi/kəm/ arrow, projectile, Modern Mon kəm bullet, cartridge, Khmer kam projectile, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat kam, Kammu-Yuan kám, Mnar həm arrow; ~ Khasi khəm arrow.

(*kaams see 1420 *ksaam (to catch) cold.)

1309 *[ ]kə[ə]m roof-ridge.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar kvəm thatch at ridge of roof (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre (with secondary shortening?) rəkəm roof-ridge.
**1310** *kom; *koom to associate, assemble.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon ᵃ/kum/ also, Mon *kom* also, usually auxiliary verb, to accompany (A), Old Mon *kom/ to associate, Modern Mon *kom* to assemble; assembly (B), Bahnar *kum* (& *kum*) also (A), *kóm* to collect together (v.t.) (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63; B), Riang-Lang ᵃ/kóm/ together with, Semang *kom* much (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 46); ~ (*krk- >; B) Middle Mon *grakwom* /gəkom/, Modern Mon *hakom* company, assembly, (A?) Biat *rkom* bunch, cluster; ~ Bahnar *akom*, *akum*, Gölar Bahnar *həkum* to assemble (v.i), to gather (v.t.) (A), Vietnamese *gom* to gather [money] together; ~ Khmer *cəkakaom* bunch.
Connect Sre *khom* to collect up; & 1320 *bgum* &c. to collect together. (SCHMIDT 1905 30; SHAFER 1965 54.)

**1311** *kuəm; *kəm to grasp, hold.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ᵃ/kium* to grasp, seize, Praok *kom* to embrace, Temiar *kawwp* to hold, Central Nicobarese *kwəm*- handle [of paddle].
B: (North & South Aslian) Mendriq, Semaq Beri *kəm* to hold.

**1312** *ckiam; *ckəm(& *ckam); *ckaim to grasp, hold.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon *ckem* /ckem/ to grasp, pick up; handful, Modern Mon *kem* to grasp, Vietnamese *kém* pincers, tweezers (contaminated by 1236 *ckiap* to pinch…, which compare?); ~ (by back-formation, contaminated by *ckiap?) Central Nicobarese *niːəm* tongs.
B: (Khasi, Katuic, ?North Aslian) Khasi *skhem* firmly, securely, [shi]khem handful (& *shikham*; cf?), Bru *sakam* to grasp, (or Malay, below, →?) Kensiu *cakam* to hold.
C: (Katuic; ~ *cnkaim >) Kuy *ŋkəm* to hold in teeth or beak.
Connect preceding (so front vocalism environmental?); perhaps 1366 *k[ ]n,am? handful. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note also Vietnamese *kim* pincers, pliers, ↔ Thai *kʰim*.
Proto-Austronesian *k’a(N)kam* (?): Malay *chêngkam* (!) to grasp, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 77, Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay by vowel metathesis, or trisyllabic reconstruction required?).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1312a *rnkam Zalacca wallichiana.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon tokam lakam Zalacca wallichiana (→ Burmese yankam:), Nyah Kur rɔkām (→ Thai rakam), Khasi [soh]-ryngkham kind of small fruit.

1313 *skaam? chaff, husks of paddy.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Bru sakaam, Mon, Thin kam, Palaung kham, Riang-Lang "kham, Vietnamese cám; (probably, rather than :) Malay sēkam, Acehnese sōkōm; ~ Khmer ʔoŋkaːm (!), Kammu-Yuan ʔaŋkām.
Add Khasi skam powder? Khasi skap husk is < 1237 *ckap. (Cf. Schmidt 1905 16.) Sora 'kūnaːm-ɑn, kinaːm-ɑn, compounding form 'kum-ɑn &c. (to be separate from forms at Pinnow 1959 366).

1314 *gam (& *gɑm?) more.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon gam /gɑm/ more, further, other, besides, Sre gam still, more, (variant >, or weak form?) Chrau gam [vaː] and.

1315 *gaam to step.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon kɛm gɑm pace, to step, Khasi kam to step (& kab step).

1316 *gom hot-air balloon, paper lantern.

1317 *gum; *guum; *g[əə]m to winnow.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat gum; ~ Sre ŋgum.
B: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon kūm, Kammu-Yuan kùm to winnow, Palaung gum to clean [rice] by tossing.
C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *grrm to winnow vertically (Diffloth 1977).
Add Khmer ʔōm, Kuy ɔm, Bru ʔōm, Bahnar ʊm, Jeh ʊm, Halang ʊm (&c., see Smith 1972 16)? Stieng khuum to blow, to winnow is < 1428 *khuum to blow.
Sora gum-, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 159).

1318 *dɡam; *dɡaam; *dɡam molar tooth, jaw.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Biat gam molar, Vietnamese cǎm chin; ~ Chrau [sec] dɡam molar.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Khmer thkīːm molar, (Tandart 1935) jaw,
Stieng gam jaw bone; ~ Bahnar tɑːqam, (or A) Besisi [lēmɔŋ] tenggam molar (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 170).
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng goːm molar; ~ Sre [siː] tɑɾɡam molar (→ Rōglai [tagei] təɾɡəm).
Cf. Semang (i.e. Kintaq Bong) têgmim lower jaw bone, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 121; & 1303 *[t]ʔaam (molar) tooth; 1233 *kaap chin; 497 *kaŋŋ? chin, jaw. (SHAFER 1965 582.)
Proto-Austronesian *gaq[ə]m: Acehnese ghôm, Cham khûm, &c., Malay g/ér/(a)ham, Javanese g/r/aham, Iban [ngelî] gam /gaam/ molar (Proto-West-Indonesian; *yaham, DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, falls; Javanese bam : Siraya vaam). Cf. Tibeto-Burman *gam, BENEDICT 1972 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese gʻəm 頷, ib. 183 n. 482 (→ Vietnamese hàm).

‡1319 *prgəm imperial pigeon.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon hâkəm, Proto-Nyah Kur *parkum (DIFFLOTH 1984 N29; implies *-um), Bahnar pagəm.
Malay pêrgam, probably → Besisi pêgām (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 92). Mon-Khmer → Indonesian?

‡1320 *bgum (?); *bguum; *bgəm to collect together.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar gum to help (?).
B: (South Bahnaric) → Stieng praguəm, Biat rguəm to collect together.
C: (Khmer) Khmer phkûm phgaəm, (by back-formation?) kûm guəm collect together.
Connect 1310 *ko(o)m to associate, assemble; perhaps A117 *[g]n[ə]m granary. (Cf. SMITH 1972 7.)
(~) Proto-Austronesian *ragum: Javanese ragum to be one with, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 347; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1321 *ŋəm; *[ ]ŋəm to immerse, soak.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, ?Palaungic) Stieng ŋɔm waterlogged [tree], Biat ŋəm to immerse, Palaung ŋəm to immerse, soak, ferment (MILNE 1931; or B), Muông ngám to soak (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese ngâm to steep, soak.
B: (Khasi) Khasi ngam to dive into.

†1322 *ŋəam sweet.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (ŋ)ŋəiam sweet, Sre ราะəm to be very sweet., Palaung ŋəm, Riang-Lang ŋəm sweet substance, to be sweet; ~ Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ʔŋəm sweet.
Connection uncertain Khasi shngiam very tasty, with which cf. Bahnar ŋəm delicious;
Praok ŋəm to taste pleasant.
(SHAFER 1965 150; SMITH 1972 39.)
Sora ːleŋəm- deliciou [taste].
1323 *sŋɔm silent.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon snią, sɲɔm to be silent, thoughtful, anxious, Khmer sɲam-[sɲiám] to keep silent; ~ Mon kʰhom to feel regret, remorse, Khmer sɔmŋɔm to stay still and quiet.
Hence probably by arbitrary variant Khmer sɲiâm silent; cɾaŋum quiet, silent, deserted; sɲɔp unmoving, silent. Cf. 1427 *kʰɔam silent... .

1'324 *cim; *ciím; *ciám; *caim; *cum bird.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Bunór sım, Central Rõlôm sum, Biat cʰium (!), Jeh, Halang, (or B, ?C) Semnam, Semelai cim; → Cham cim, North Rõglai cip.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre sîm, Kammu-Yuan sîm, Riang-Lang sîm, Lawa Bo Luang sài, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sain, Palaung, Praok, Khasi sim, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese chim; → Jarai ci:m, Rõglai sim; ~ → Acehnese cècem.
C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar sèm, Temiar cèp; ~ (*kuan ciám by contraction > ) Old Mon kïncem /kɔncem/, Modern Mon hɔcem.
D: (Kuy) Kuy cèm.
E: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng cûm, Chrau sum; ~ Central Nicobarese cecòn (→ Moken chichom).
Connect Proto-Austronesian *qaiam bird, fowl... (under the entry 1382a *[h]yam)?

1325 *cam; *caam to wait, watch.
A: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer cam to await, keep watch (→ Biat cam [ye:m] to keep watch), Kuy cam to wait.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khuic) Stieng caim to wait; ~ (*[c]ncãam > ) Kammu-Yuan nà:m to guard, watch (→ Lao naam, → Kammu-Yuan yà:m).
(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)

1326 *cum; *cuum; *cuam; *cam matched, complete.
A: (Palaungic, Khuic, ?Mon) Literary Mon [çi] cuîm to be complete (or D), Kammu-Yuan cum (!; contaminated by flock, herd < 1338 *bjum), Palaung sum pair (MILNE 1931).
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon cum pair, set; to be even in number, complete, Palaung sum pair (MILNE 1931).
C: (Mon) Old Mon com /com/ entirely.
D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cəm exact(ly), directly; ~ Stieng tacular to put together again.
1327 *cuum; *cuəm; *cəm; (*cim cim >) *ncim; *ciəm (& *nciəm?); *caim to eat, to feed.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung sum to eat (MILNE 1931, honorific).
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *suam, Praok som, Lawa Bo Luang saum, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang som to eat.
C: (South Bahnaric, Central Asian) Sre sam to treat medically, administer [medicine] to; ~ Central Sakai bösö?p to feed [child].
D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon ’cim /’cəm/, Khmer ncərm (& cəncərm), Stieng cim to feed.
E: (Bahnaric) Sre siam to feed, Chrau siəm to feed [child], Biat chiam, ciam to taste, Bahnar hiem to feed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also Bahnar dialect səm to feed; West Bahnar πεμ to treat), Jeh ciam to feed, Halang ciam to raise; → Cham ciem to feed, North Röglai ciap to feed [pigs].
F: (Kuy) Kuy cəm to to feed [child], Bru ʔacəm.

1328 *[c][uəm]m night.
A: (Khmui, Palaungic) Palaung sum, Riang-Lang ᵁsom, Praok som (!), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saum night, Mae Sariang saum dark; ~ Mae Sariang lasaum, yasaum night; ~ Kammu-Yuan pasúam night.
Or (i) *-um (Palaung, Riang-Lang), *-um (Lawa), *-uam; (ii) *t₂-; connected then 1352 *btəm? Cf. 1268 *yup &c dark.

1329 *dcaam to make a hole.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon cam to dibble, Khasi sam to bore, pierce; ~ Old Mon [kɪr] ducəm /dəcəm/ [kil] to make holes with an earth-auger.

Connect Mon həcom dibber; perhaps Semai l cəp, Mah Meri kacup to dig (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 108 (a)).

(*ncim see 1327 *cuum ...to feed.)

1330 *jiim; *jam; (*jəm jam >) *njəm; *juum; *juəm moist, swampy.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, ?North Bahnaric) Mon cim to be swampy (→ Burmese cim. marsh, to be swampy), Vietnamese chim to sink, be submerged; (?) Čılọng (h)neim to moisten; moist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Khasi, ?North Bahnaric) Khasi jum-jum full of juice; ~ Bahnar hŋo:m
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar also hŋo:m to moisten; moist (?), (~?) Khasi banium bog: wet.

D: → Acehnese juam damp, spongy, soft.

Connect 1393 *jram mud, swamp? Cf. further Thin jūp to soak, wet; & 1419 *səm[ ]
&c. damp.

Sora 'lajim- wet, damp.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 270-1, to dip… .

1331 *jaam dish, bowl.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer cêm dish, tray, Stieng ja:m large copper dish, Sre jam (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar ja:m large bowl (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru jìam washing bowl (beside sa:m ← Thai); → Cham câm dish; Thai čʰaam (→ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang chuam?).

(BLOOD 1966 297.)

1332 *jəm; *jəəm manner.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (*nja:m > ) Praok jəm manner, action, condition; ~ Khasi syrīem to resemble.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar yi:m like, thus, so (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang _cam in order to; ~ (*jməəm > ) Biat məm manner.

Bahnar fronting post-palatal.

(*jəm see also 1338 *bjum bunch… .)

1333 *jum; *juum (to go) round.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cúm jun (a turn) round, Stieng ju:m circuit, (area) around (or B?), Biat jum around.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar juum to go round.

Cf. Khmer caom to encircle, surround, ~ Biat nco:m to encircle, surround.

(BLOOD 1966 158.)

(*ju(u)m, *juəm see 1338 *bjum bunch… .)

1334 *juəm[ ]; *jəm2 slow.

A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar no:m (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese châm to be slow, late.

1335 *[k]jəm; *[k]jəəm; *[k]juum soft.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung jəm to be tender, flexible, soft, Khasi jem soft.

B, C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang cum, Lawa Umphai chum soft (C); ~

( B) Riang-Lang kəəm to be tender, flexible, soft.

Lawa suggests *ʔj-.
1336 *tjum; *tjuum tinder.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *tbjum >) Chrau pøjum to make fire.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre jum, Biat jom tinder; ~ Bahnar dialects tao:m &c. tinder
    (Guilluminet 1959-63).

(*njəm see 1330 *jiim moist...).

1337 *njum; *njuum; *njuəm; *njəm dark in colour.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khasi) Khasi jngum dark blue, violet by metathesis
    (or B); ~ Sre gənom black, dark-coated; ~ Semang lemyom evening (Skreat & Blagden 1906 D 16 (d)).
B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *pnjuum >?; contaminated by 1330 *juum moist....) Bahnar
    njum to soak, dye.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon yəm yom to be dark in colour,
    Mường yəm black (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 209); ~ (*pnjuum >?) Biat jəm
to colour, dye, blacken, Palaung jəm to dye, (Milne 1931) stain, Lawa Bo Luang,
    Lawa Umphai jəm, Vietnamese nhuəm to dye; ~ Mon hayəm to be dark, no
    longer light.
D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer cəəm discoloured, stained,
    bruised, dark in colour, Kuy chəm bruised, Palaung jəm to be black, swarthy,
    Mường yəm black (Cuisinier 1951), by metathesis Khasi jngəm bruised; ~ Thai
    cʰəəm black; Cham jəə; ~ Khmer cuəəcəəm dark [sky &c.].
    Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.

1338 *bjum; *bjuum; *bjuəm; *bjəm bunch, to gather together.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer cəm jəm, (by back-formation
    from?) phcəm phjəm (& phjəm, cf. D) to gather together, Kuy chəm to gather
    together; group, Kammu-Yuan cəm flock, herd; ~ Lao jhum flock, herd; ~ Sre
    pərjum collection, assembly, Jeh pəjom together (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar hiuəm to gather together, gather in arms, to
    embrace, Jeh yuəm to pick up in a bunch, Halang yuəm to gather together,
    Vietnamese chəm (!) bunch, chum to assemble, join, gather.
C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Sêng dialect jəm[jail] to meet (together);
    Kammu-Yuan cəm to follow, accompany, Vietnamese chəm (!) tuft, clump, bunch,
    group.
D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer phcəm to gather together (merging A; phjəm), Thin jəm all.
    In view of Vietnamese tonal variant perhaps orig. *j- n., *b-j- v.
    (Smith 1972 17.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1339 *knum; *knuum; *knuəm young.

A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Old Mon kñum (child?) of tender years, Proto-Nyah Kur *khñoom young child (Differential 1984 N171), Kammu-Yuan (A) núm, núm, Besisi nyum young (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 Y 42; or c?); ~ (B) Central Nicobarese kenyum child, Nancowry kinhum.

C: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy nù:am (!) young; ~ (*knuəm > ) Palaung kañom young boy, Praok nəm young child.

Connect Riang-Lang kañuk to be soft, young, tender?

1340 *təiim; *təiəm; *təam; *təa[i]m; *tə[u]m to hit repeatedly.

A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnaric tem to beat, hammer, forge (Guilleminet 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung team to hammer, Lawa Bo Luang team, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang, Praok tem to hammer, beat out.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer dom to beat, hammer, forge, Kuy tam to hit, beat (probably, rather than D), Pakho tum to thump with bottom of fist, Stieng tom, Biat tom, Bahnar tam to horn, gore, Khasi tem! to beat [drum &c.], Mường təm (Barker 1966 13), Vietnamese đâm to pound; → Thai tam to pound; ~ (*ptəam > ?) Vietnamese đâm to hit with fist.

D: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon təm /təm/ [sìo'], Modern Mon təm [hao?] husked and pounded rice, Kammu-Yuan tam to beat [drum].

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan təm to hammer, forge.

F: (Palaungic) Palaung tum to hit with fist; ~ (*təntə[u]m > ) Praok dum to strike.

Connect obscure Central Nicobarese dom to hammer, Nancowry róm.

Kharia thom to smash, &c. (Pinnow 1959 264; Proto-Munda *təm).

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[qS]əntam: Acehnese antam to hit hard, Malay hantam to pound (→ Besisi —i.e. Mah Meri— 'ntöm, Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 203), Javanese di-antem to be hit (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese); (ii, by metathesis?) *[qS]əntam: Karo Batak ng-entam to lunge and butt, Acehnese əntām, Malay mēng-hēntam-kən to hit hard, Iban ng-entam to attack (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1341 *təiim to know.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon tím /tim/; Modern Mon tem to know, Lawa Bo Luang tain, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang taim to remember, understand.

Cf. 896b *tən &c. Connection dubious Khasi tip.

1342 *təam locative (?) particle

A: (Bahnaric) Sre tam in, at, Jeh tam with, from, Halang tam from.
†1343 *təm; *təom; *təam plant, to grow; to begin.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese đam to grow, sprout; ~ (*ptəm >) Stieng təam to plant, sow, Palaung səm (or c?) to plant; ~ Stieng th(h)ənam, Kammu-Yuan sərnəm medicine.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Khmer dəam, Biat təam, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar təam (foot or trunk of) tree, beginning, Mintil təum tree; ~ Skeat phdəam to begin, Palaung sum, Besisi pətəm to plant (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 132); ~ Bahnar pətəam, Hre basəm, Sedang pasəam to begin, Riang-Lang pəksam to plant, lay out [garden &c.]; ~ Chrau, Biat nəam quantifier for trees; ~ Bahnar tənəam = təam.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon tən /təm/ plant, tree, base, foot, beginning, Modern Mon təm base, foot, beginning; ~ Old Mon pətəin to transplant, Modern Mon pətəam also to begin, Khmer dəam, Sre, Chrau, Biat təam, Praok sum, Lawa Bo Luang səum to plant; ~ Thai dam to transplant; ~ Bahnar pətəam to plant, (or A?) Lawa Umphai ndəum, Mae Sariang nədam to begin; ~ Middle Mon tənam, Modern Mon nəam plant, tree, Khmer thənam medicine, Praok num plant; ~ Chrau tənam wet ricefield, Palaung sənam, Riang-Lang əsənam herb, medicine.

(Schmidt 1905 18; Shaffer 1965 85; Blood 1965 375, 420; Smith 1972 13; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 151, T 203.)


†1344 *təum; *təum; *təum collection, accumulation.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon [suiŋ] /təm/ all, Literary Mon təuin to be numerous, Khmer dəom group, lump, wad, block (→ Cham daum group), Riang-Lang təam bundle, Praok təum [ne] many, much; ~ Khmer domdom in a crowd, in a heap, Sre ntəum work-gang, group; ~ Khmer kdom gathered together, Sre təum to meet, Chrau cum to wrap up, Riang-Lang təum to make a bundle.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar təom all, entirely, Jeh təum enough, all, Halang təum enough, Central Nicobarese təum bunch (quantifier); ~ (*ktəum >) Kuy təum to wrap up, Palaung təum to gather together (Milne 1931), Praok təum to gather; ~ Shan təum to gather; ~ (*[s]təum >) Central Nicobarese hatəm-[həta] to assemble, Nancowry źemtəum all, build; ~ Bahnar (h)atəum collection; together (Guilleminet 1959-63), Central Nicobarese həmto:m mound (& əmto:m every).

C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau vətəm to assemble.

Connect Muông təum bunch, Barker 1966 25; perhaps A114 *təm reciprocal preverb. (Smith 1972 45.)

Sora təm- to accumulate, gather.
1345 *t₁um; *t₁uəm; *t₁am; *t₁aam; *t₁əəm to boil, distil.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan tóm to boil, cook
(→ Lao tom), Semang to⁷m to boil (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 331); ~ Sre tənom rice-beer.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon toṁ /tom/ to cook, Modern Mon tom to cook, distil; ~
(*t₁puam >) Palaung pom cooked rice.
C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer tāṁ, Modern Khmer dam to boil,
cook by boiling; ~ Khasi thnam /thnam/, Semai nam to boil (v.i.) (TAUERN 1914);
~ (*t₁rnam >) Mon kənəm to boil (v.i.).
D, E: (South Bahnaric; ~ *trn- >) Bunör rənaːm (D), Central Rölöm nam (E) rice-
beer.
Connection dubious Khar ia ḏɔbkɔ- to boil, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 396.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 422.)

1346 *[ʔ]t₁aam according to.
A: (Mon &/or Khmer) Literary Mon tām, Khmer təm; → (& in part ←?) Thai taam.
*t₁ in view of Sora. If not *ʔ-, Mon → Thai → Khmer.
Sora tam-, əˈtam.

1347 *k[ ]t₁am heavy.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kətám heavy, Palaung [it] katəm [to sleep]
one’s fill.

1348 *kt₁aam crab.
(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer
kəm, Kuy (k)taːm, Stieng, Sre taːm, Chrau caːm, Lawa tam, (by back-
formation, assuming **k- = small-animal prefix!) Khasi tham; → Acehnese
gətəm, Malay kətəm, Iban ketəm; ~ (*kntaam >) Mon hátam gətən, Bahnar,
Halang kətəm, Jeh kətəm, Kammu-Yuan kətəm, Semang kəntem (SKEAT &
BLAGDEN 1906 C 258 (c)); probably by secondary derivation (k- small-animal
prefix!) ~ Riang-Lang kətəm.
Connection dubious Santali kətəm, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 214. Blust’s construction of
Proto-Austronesian *katəm (BLUST 1970 no. 210, *-T-) falls.
(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 278, 376; SMITH 1972 41.)

1348a *kt₁əm egg.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang təm, Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang təm,
Lawa Bo Luang təm egg, Central Nicobarese katəm-[kaːə] soft roe; ~ Palaung
kətəm egg.
Cf. 1253 *[k]t₁ap.
(SHAFER 1965 145.)
1349 *[k]t₁uum; *[k]t₁uəm to fall down.
A, B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon gatun, datun (A), Mon hətom (B) to fall (down); ~
Literary Mon phatun &c., Mon hətom to knock down.
Sora, which compare, for *t₁, favours construction of *k[r]t₁- ~ *kbt₁- causative. Cf.
A106 *tup to fall; Mon təm doən to fall down.
Sora a'tum-.

1350 *krt₂uum kind of varan.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bartum small kind of varan of aquatic habit (Dournes 1950;
contaminated by baya kind of varan < 156 *bryaʔ), Chrau [kɔːn] kətum, Biat
rtum, Bahnar kətom kind of varan (Guilménet 1959-63), Jeh ← kasəum,
Halong kəsəum lizard.
(Smith 1972 20.)

†1351 *[c]t₁iim nine.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung tim, Riang-Lang ʰtim; (~) Lawa Bo Luang satajn, Lawa
Umphai, Mae Sariang sataim; ~ (*[c]n₃t₁iim >) Praok sidim.
Connect perhaps 1144 *dciinʔ &c., which compare.
(Shafer 1965 312.)
Sora 'tim-[ji-], &c. (Pinnow 1959 372.)

1352 *bətom night.
A: (Mon, Aslian, Nicobaric) Che’ Wong bətom, Central Sakai tōp, Semelai pətom; ~
Old Mon birtəm /bərtəm/, Modern Mon hətom, Proto-Nyah Kur *pətəm
(Diffloth 1984 N234; implies *-əm) ; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Central
Nicobarese hətom.
Connect 1328 *[c][ua]m? But connection dubious Mường təm (Barker 1966 13),
Vietnamese dəm.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 17 (a-b).)

†1353 *st₃am; *st₃uum right-hand.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian, ?Khmuic) Khmer sədam (→ Thai
sədəm), Kuy tam, Palaung [i]tam (Milne 1931), Lawa Bo Luang [kə]tam, Lawa
Umphai təm, Mường təm (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 205), Kensiu tem, Temiar
tap, Semelai sətam; ~ (*snt₃am >) Praok dəm, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang
ndəm; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan tarhám right-handed by metathesis (& by back-
formation hám right-hand).
B: (Mon) Old Mon stəm /stum/.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 128.)
Santali cəm, &c. (Pinnow 1959 220).
1354 *[d]im; *[d]i[ə]m to yoke.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer tüm, Stieng dîm; ~ (*[d]nim >) Khmer núm yoke (& th núm tie-beam, a neologism), Stieng nim to yoke, Biat núm (to) yoke.
B: (or *-im?: Katuic) ~ Kuy thnîm yoke.
For Khmer n- < *dn- cf. 1750 *dñaal. Biat -im is wanting; note núm : Stieng nîm ad 1381 *yaam; chium < 1324 *cim.

1355 *dam young male.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon klêa tôm dam steer, Sre dam male [animal], Bahnar dam two- to three-year-old male [cattle], Jeh dam young (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*[d]ndam >) Stieng ndam young male [bullock], Biat [ben] ndam [man] having attained puberty; ~ (*drdam >) Bahnar tâdam young man, youth.

1355a *dâm[ ] to be soaked.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese dâm, dâm-[dia]; ~ Riang-Lang *tam (!), Khasi pdem to soak, steep, ferment.
Proto-Austronesian *raNdâm: Malay rèndam to soak (v.i), wallow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103, *[I]--; Proto-West-Indonesian).

1356 *dêm; *duum to incubate.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) ~ (*dâm >) Kuy nôm, Bahnar ʔnəm; ~ West Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) ʔam, Kammu-Yuan ʔamnûm; ~ Khasi pdem.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang tûm; ~ Kammu-Yuan [ʔamnûm] ʔamnô:m.
= following?
Sora dum-.
(Proto-Austronesian *damdâm) Tagalog lîmlim, Cebuano Bisayan lûmûm
(compared at DEMPWOLFF 1938 43 with Malay &c. words meaning to long, long for revenge; so Cebuano to store up feelings; DAHL 1973's Malagasy & Formosa comparisons, § 14.6, belong elsewhere).

1357 *dâm (& *dâm?); *[d]uum to lodge for the night, to roost.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon dum /dôm/, Modern Mon tôm to lodge for the night, Khmer tûm dâm to perch, to sit, Jeh där, Halang dom to sleep away from home, Khmu’ dum to stay overnight, Palaung dom to lodge, Praok tum to lodge, alight, Khasi dem (!) to alight, to stoop, to lie down, (*dâm >?) Central Nicobarese dâm, râm (!) night (quantifier), [om]dâm to sleep away from home, Nancowry rám (or rather 1360?); ~ Cham dâm (!) to perch, alight; ~ Khmer trônûm perch, roost, by metathesis Kuy nthôm to perch on, Biat dôm to perch.
B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [om]dûm-[hare] (!) to squat on heels.
= preceding? There is contamination with 1158 *d[uu]n to perch; whence Khasi, Nicobaric, Cham d-.
Sora dum- to crouch down, Santali du’b to sit down, &c., ~ Mundari durum to lie down and sleep (PINNOW 1959 111).

†1358 *dəm, *dəəm to thunder, rumble.
B: (North Bahnaric; by expressive lengthening?) Bahnar dəm to rumble, buzz (GUILEMINET 1959-63); ~ danvəm rumbling of thunder &c.
Cf. 1392 *gram[ʔ] &c. Hence Li *Nəm thunder (BENEDICT 1975 366, to roar)? (SHAFER 1965 155.)
Sora dum’dum-‘[tir-ən], dadum-’[tir-ən] thunder, da’dum-da’dum- to thunder.

1359 *gdəəm hut, room.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Obsolescent Mon hatəm room, Old Khmer kadañ, Modern Khmer khtəm (& khtum khdəñ) hut, shelter; → Cham kadaum hut, shelter; Thai krathəm hut.

†1360 *dəm, *dəim; *dəm; *dəəm; *du[ ]m dark.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon dəm to be blue, violet (or c &c.), Khmer [tΧ] təm cloudy, overcast.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Middle Mon [niiy] tədɨm to be hard to descray, Chrav [søndɔ:] khlim very [black].
D: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar dənəm dark [sky &c.] (GUILEMINET 1959-63).
E: (Khasi) Khasi dum dark.
Kharia nuqəm early before dawn, &c.; Santali hadam hudum dusk, dawn (PINNOW 1959 115).

1361 *[d]əm; *dəm to tend, raise.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer [θæ]-təəm to look after; ~ Sre pandam to feed (v.t.) (DOURNES 1950).
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *dəm [animals] to feed, to feed [animals].
1361a *daam to hit the mark.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon dam to hit the mark, to be true, Bahnar dam: to hit the mark repeatedly; ~ (*pra daam >) Mon hādam, Bahnar pādām to aim.

1362 *dum; *duum ripe, ripe-coloured.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer dum, Modern Khmer tūm, Chrau dum ripe, Sre dum ripe, (— rm:it) yellow, Biat dum ripe, red, (~?) Literary Mon pdūm to be pale red.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Bahnar dum, Jeh dūm, Halang dūm ripe, red, Praok tūm, Lawa Bo Luang tūm, Lawa Umphai thum to be ripe; ~ Kammu-Yuan hantūm to be ripe, Palaung kāndum bud, Proto-Semai *nv:xm (DIFLOTH 1977), Besisi 'ndum ripe (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 137).
Cf. Malay ku(n)tum bud (→ Semang kūtum, ib. B 449); Thai tūm bump, swelling (~ Kuy tum), Shan tūm (to) bud, (to form a) boil.
(SHAFER 1965 126; BLOOD 1966 156; SMITH 1972 15.)

†1362a [*] ndəm under, underpart.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre dəm underneath, Biat nam (— nro:m) space under house, (tu:m — dark) bottom of river; (probably ~) Kontum Bahnar kənəm under, underpart, lower down, Sedang kadəm under.
(SMITH 1972 4.)


1363 *p[d]am five.

With consonantism cf. 588 *p[d]aŋ; but South Bahnaric pr- perhaps counting deformation on six < 1851 *tpraw.
(SHAFER 1965 378; BLOOD 1966 369; SMITH 1972 23.)

†1364 *sdəm to be afflicted by spirits.
A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*sdəm >) Mon hōnem to fall ill through supernatural agency; ~ (*sbdəm > *sdəm by assimilation >) Khmer sondəm to put to sleep by sorcery.
Connect Bahnar ləm sacrilege (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63)?
Sora so'num- to be afflicted by evil spirits.
*\text{n}_1\text{uum}, \text{(*diʔaak n}_1\text{uum by sandhi >)} \text{kn}_1\text{uum urine, to urinate.}

\text{A}: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer \text{n}_\text{öm} urine, to urinate, Stieng \text{num}, Chrau \text{nom} to urinate, Kammu-Yuan \text{nùm}, Riang-Lang \text{num}, Lawa Bo Luang \text{naum}, Lawa Umphai \text{naum}, Proto-Semai \text{*n}οο\text{m} urine, to urinate (DIFFLOTH 1977).

\text{B}: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon \text{nam} urine (vulgar; so erroneously \text{n}am, \text{knam}), Kuy \text{kľam} urine, to urinate, Sre \text{doum} urine, Bahnar \text{ʔnoːm}, Palaung \text{hnum} to urinate (MILNE 1931).

Connect Palaung \text{hɲum} urine (MILNE 1931); note here the Biat sandhi-form \text{[prɔːc]} \text{nom} bladder.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 171; SMITH 1972 34; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 U 27.)

Sora \text{ə'num} to urinate (children’s word); & \text{aɲ}(ɲ)um- to urinate, &c., cf. Palaung \text{hɲum} (PINNOW 1959 K 303).

*\text{k}[ ]\text{n}_1\text{am? handful.}

\text{A}: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang \text{kənəm} fist, handful; to clench, clutch, Vietnamese \text{nám} handful.

Originally quantifier formation? Cf. Khasi \text{kham}, under the entry 1312 \text{*ckəm} to grasp, hold; which, with 1311 \text{*k(u)əm} to grasp, hold, perhaps connected.

*\text{k}[n]_2\text{am (kind of) spirit.}

\text{A}: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi \text{khlam} female spirit causing cholera; \text{~} \text{(*[k]n}_2\text{am >)} Jeh \text{kanəm} (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), by metathesis Palaung \text{kənəm} spirit.

(*\text{kn}_1\text{uum see 1365 \text{*n}_1\text{uum urine, to urinate.})

*\text{g[n]nəəm to rely on.}

\text{A}: (Bahnaric) Biat \text{naəm} hope, to hope, rely on (or < simplex \text{*gəəm}?), Bahnar \text{gəəm} to depend on, trust, Jeh \text{kanəəm}, Halang \text{kənəm} to rely on.

Connection uncertain Khmer \text{ʂɔŋkʰum} to hope, to count on.

*\text{cn}_1\text{am;*cn}_1\text{aam year.}

\text{A}: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer \text{chnām}, Modern Khmer \text{chnam}, Sre, Biat \text{nam}, Jeh \text{hnam}, Kammu-Yuan \text{nùm} (obsolescent), Praok \text{num}, Lawa Bo Luang \text{naum}, Lawa Umphai \text{neum}, Mae Sariang \text{nam}, Khasi \text{snem}, \text{nem}, Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese \text{nàm}; (probably) \text{~} Stieng \text{səəm} (or \text{b} BLOOD 1966 \text{səəm}), Sre, Bahnar \text{səəm}, Halang \text{həəm}, Palaung \text{səəm}.

\text{B}: (Mon) Old Mon \text{cnəm /cnəm/}, Modern Mon \text{hnəm}.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 156; BLOOD 1966 361; SMITH 1972 24.)

Sora \text{'numən} compounding form (~ \text{minnumən}, originally \text{one year}).
1369 *bn₂uum; *bn₂əm (& *bn₂əəm?) hill.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai plaum, Khasi lum.
   B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, South Aslian) Old Khmer vnama,
   Modern Khmer phnûm, Stieng bənəm, Sre bənəm, (*-əəm > ?) Semelai
   bənəm; (~ (*bnn₂əm > ?) Kammu-Yuan pnûm anthill, Palaung pənəm hillock
   (Milne 1931).
   (Shaffer 1965 173; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 91.)
   Sora bo'num-on, Mundari bunum anthill, &c. (Pinnow 1959 122).

1370 *cn₁aam skin.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hnam skin, Proto-Nyah Kur *ɕhna̱m (Diffloth 1984
   N135), Palaung hnam skin, complexion.
   Connect Khasi snep skin, rind, bark?

1371 *paam to set fish-traps.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon pam to catch in net or trap, Kammu-Yuan pá:m to set
   trap, Thin pam to set [fish-traps]; (probably ~ *pʰpaam > ) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Biat,
   Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pəm fish-trap.
   (Shaffer 1965 94; Smith 1972 42; cf. Schmidt 1905, 18.)

1372 *puum to hold in arms, embrace.
   A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *pum, Central Nicobarese fu:m-[həa].

1373 *ɓaam to chew.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung bam to chew, munch (Milne 1931), Khasi bam /baam/
   to eat.
   Connect 1376 *gɓam to have in one’s mouth?

1374 *ɓuum tuber.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat bu:m sweet potato, Chrau vu:m, Bahnar bu:m tuber, Jeh,
   Halang bəu:m quantifier for tubers.
   Connection dubious Khmer mə:m tuber, edible root.
   (Shaffer 1965 381; Smith 1972 19.)

1374a *[ ]ɓuəm; *[ ]ɓə[m cheek.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat [tə:m] bo:m, Kammu-Yuan pəm (~ Thin pəm?).
   B: (Katuic) Kuy bam.
   Connect following?
1375 *kbiim; *kbiəm; *kbəm; *kbum; *kbuum; *kbuəm to have in one’s mouth.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer bvm to suck at breast, Vietnamese mǐm to tighten [lips].

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Khmer biam to hold in mouth, suck, Kuy biam to have mouth full, Pakoh kabéam hold in beak or mouth, Chrau vcm to suck in mouth, Vietnamese [móm]-mém to mumble, chew, Central Nicobarese pem-[hata] to drink.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Kuy bom to hold in mouth; → Malay kēbam [lips] sucked in [in rage]; → (*kmɓam >) Bahnar ?mom to close mouth on (!; & kamburger, Guilleminet 1959-63, to fill mouth with water); (or B?; t- adverbial) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi them as if biting something in the mouth.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau vum mouthful [of rice wine].

E: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Bru kubom to hold in mouth, Kammu-Yuan pûm to chew [betel], Riang-Lang bûm to hold in mouth, (or p?) Khasi kbum to close one’s lips.

F: (Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese mó̃-mêm [mém] to mumble chew; (or *-am? then rather ad following, which connect) by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang ðambam, Lawa Umphai rambom, Mae Sariang yambam, lambam mouth.

Cf. besides preceding. 1378 *mim[2] &c. to suck, with mutual contamination; & note Kammu-Yuan ūm to hold in mouth, suck, ~ rambi-im quid.

1376 *gbaam to have in one’s mouth.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer pɔəm to carry in mouth or beak; ~ (*gnɓam >) Kuy mphâm bridle; ~ Mon həbom to place, have, hold, in one’s mouth, Khasi kyrbam to bite one’s lip, press lips together.

Cf. Khmer pɔm to put, push, food into one’s mouth.

Connect preceding; perhaps 1373 *baam to chew.

1377 *g6um (?) ; *g6uim; *g6uəm; *g6am bud.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer krãpum krahum bud, (to be) in bud (or if misspelt D).

B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan [lāʔ] kalmom leaf- bud.

C: (Palaungic, ?Mon) Palaung bəm (—kiŋ kir, — juŋ) calf, (— kotoh) buttocks (for semantics cf. 82 *kdoʔ plantain bud); ~ (*gnɓ- >) Mon ḫamom bud (probably, rather than B; khəməm &c.).

D: (Viet-Muong, ?Kuy) Kuy phəm (!; or C?) to be in bud, (~?) Vietnamese məm bud.

Connect Central Nicobarese kenməna- (koal) forearm, (-laʔ) calf; perhaps Sre bom bud.

Cf. Tibeto-Burman *mu'm, Benedict 1972 78 no. 364 & n. 239 (Burmese, Lushei, Kachin).

1378 *mim[2]; *miam[ ]; *məm[ ]; *məm?; *mum to suck.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer mvm, Kuy (baby talk) mem to suck at the breast (< *məʔim by metathesis?), Sieng mem, Sre mim to close [mouth].
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B: (Central Aslian) Semai mem breast; → Jarai mem to suck at the breast.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy môm, Bahnar mom, Kontum Bahnar mam to suck at the breast; → Malay, Cham, Moken mam, North Röglai mâm.
D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar mỳm, West Bahnar môm to chew (Guilleminet 1959-63), Mùông môm to feed with premasticated food (Barker & Barker 1976); ~ Vietnamese môm to feed with premasticated food, (bú —) to be breast-fed.
E: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre mum to have in one's mouth, suck, Mương məm, North Röglai mom to suck at the breast.

Cf. 1375 *k⁶iim &c. to have in one's mouth, with mutual contamination; & Tai *⁶(o)m to chew soft foods, &c., Benedict 1975 249.

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 385 (c.).)

1379 *mum; *muum corner, angle.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer müm (→ Thai mum), Sre mum, (probably) Stieng mːum.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar mːum.
(Shafer 1965 176.)

1380 *[k]um bear.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon kmīm /kməm/, Modern Mon mem, Khmer [kхаː] khmùm ghmum.
(Schmidt 1905 40.)

1’381 *yəam to weep.
(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon yəm /yəm/, Modern Mon yəm, Khmer yəm! yañ, Khammu-Yuan ｙａｍ, Palaung yam, Riang-Lang yam, Praok yem, Lawa yuam, Khasi īam, Proto-Semai *jəaːm (Diffloth 1977), Central Nicobarese ciːm-[niːre], Nancowry cim; ~ (*yəamyəam; except Aslian > *myəam, >) Kuy ɲɲlim, Stieng, Chrau ɲim, Sre ɲim, Biat ɲum, Gölar Bahnar ɲam, Kontum ɲam, ɲim, Jeh ɲam (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Semai dinjaːp to weep (Tandart 1935), Temiar yayaːp to cry suddenly (Benjamin 1976b 134).

with Khmer vocalism cf. 1782 *kyaal; South Bahnaric fronting perhaps general following nasal; on Biat cf. 1354 *dʑim.
(Schmidt 1905 40; Shafer 1965 383, 383a; Blood 1966 223; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 285.)

Kharia ijam, &c. (Pinnow 1959 42).

(*yəm see 1299 *iʔim to breathe, live.)
1382 *syam (kind of) ant.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau saṃm, Biat chiəm ant, Semang leś sian kind of ant (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 104), Sakai hiəb ant (i.e. Temiar; ib. A 103).

1382a *[h]yam game, meat.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat iəm meat, Bahnar əse̞m animal, game, Kontum Bahnar meat (contaminated by 1327 *ciəm to eat...?; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has also East Bahnar &c. hiəm meat, game), Röngao jəm wild boar, meat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar ʔne̞m meat.
   Proto-Austronesian *qaiəm: Malay ayam fowl, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13, *ajəm tame; DYEN 1953 § 117; DAHL 1973 § 8.3; Formosa bird; Saisiat also animal, Kanakanabu meat, see BENEDICT 1975 293).
   Cf. White Tai *hiəm, Northern Li *xaəm meat, BENEDICT 1975.

1383 *rim; *riəm; *rəm edge, rim.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer ɾəm; → Thai rim.
   B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer riəm rim, lips (TANDART 1935), Riang-Lang riəm edge, vicinity; → Shan him edge.
   C: (Nicobaric; ~ *[g]riəm >) Central Nicobarese keəm brim, rim, Nancowry kiəm edge.
   D: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng raəm edge (e.g. of forest) (?); ~ (*[g]ram >) Mon krəm to bind edge of [basket]; ~ həɾəm rim, edge (& Nyah Kur nram [paŋ] lip); ~ Khmer prəm braəm limit, frontier, boundary.
   Cf. 656 *riŋ &c. edge, border.

1384 *ram; *raam to be in, under, water.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) ~ Sre kram to sink, submerge, Bahnar kram to be submerged, go to the bottom, Jeh, Halang kram to sink; ~ Khmer, Katuic, Sre, Biat, Chrau tram to soak, wet, Bahnar, Jeh tram to soak, Halang tram to lie in water; ~ Old Mon brəm /brəm/, Modern Mon prəm to founder.
   B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese yəəm-[həta] to overload [canoe]; ~ Stieng tram to soak, wet; ~ Bahnar hram to soak, wet.
   (SHAFTER 1965 60, 570; SMITH 1972 25, 29.)
   Proto-Austronesian *ta[r̥]əm: Cham tram to steep, Röglai trap, Pangasinan taləm to soak (so Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively *-r̥-). Neither all Mon-Khmer nor all Austronesian forms can be explained by borrowing! Sre &c. kram perhaps ← Proto-Austronesian *kaəm (under the entry 1403 *la(a)m).

1385 *ram; *raam new clearing
   A, B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Chrau ram (A), Bahnar [mir] rəm newly cleared swidden (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; B), Khasi ram jungle cleared for cultivation, Nancowry yəəm garden, orchid, Nancowry yəm garden.
1386 *ram; *raam to decay, age, perish.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar ram lost, destroyed by natural disaster, Central Nicobarese yam-[ŋa] to disappear, vanish.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Sre ram old, gone hard, Palaung ra:m to decay (Milne 1931); ~ Praok [si?um] ram to decay; (probably ~; or A) Khasi [iap] tram to wither; ~ (*nraam >) Biat ndra:m large [intestine] (opposed young, green = small intestine).
Add as derivative 1397 *[d]raam abandoned, deserted?

1387 *röm appropriate, worthy.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon röm rañi to respect, Khmer [som]-rùm ramya right and proper, Stieng röm [caśi] worthy, fit to.
Khmer spelling equates with rùm pleasant ← Sanskrit ramya-.
(Schmidt 1905 40.)

1388 *rüm to agree.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre röm to agree to join (Dournes 1950) (by attraction following, which compare), Biat röm to agree; ~ Khmer prò:m, Kuy phrù:am, Riang-Lang pràm to agree (→ Palaung, Mon, pràm?).

1389 *rum; *rum; *ruum; *ruap to assemble.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer rùm runi [pi: mûk] to surround, crowd round, Kuy rûm to crowd round, swarm round, Praok röm to be associated; ~ Praok pròm to assemble (v.t.); ~ Mon harâm da(m)rùm to assemble (v.i.).
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer ðum to cluster round, settle on, (caom- —) surround, Kuy ðöm to gather, assemble (v.i.t.), Palaung rum (to be) together, Praok [raak] rum [grum phruac] to assemble (v.i.); ~ (*tʃrum >?) Khasi shrum many together, Vietnamese sum [hop &c.] to gather, be united; ~ (*tʃirmum >) Thin bром, prom together.
   C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Literary Mon röm company, companion; (~ cha) to accord, pair, Khmer rūsam to join together, unite (v.i.t.), West Bahnar röm [hornis] to coverge (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Thai rûam to gather together, rûm to live together, be joined together, Shan hôm to be together; ~ Mon karöm in company with; ~ Gölar Bahnar hdëram to pile up; ~ Khasi lỳngrom (or A?) in a small group; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung karpräm to gather (v.i.) (Milne 1931); ~ Praok khram to gather, collect (v.i.t.).
   D: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer rûap to assemble, join (v.i.t.) (→ Thai rûap to gather together), Riang-Lang ruap pair, Proto-Semai *roop to accompany; companion (Diffloth 1977).
Cf. with D Sora rab- [persons] to unite. Add following?
1390 *rum; *ruum; *ram to help, to lend.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon rim /röm/ [bān], Modern Mon röm to help (→ Burmese ruin: [pān]), Riang-Lang röm to lend, borrow [money].
   B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese giùm (for **rùm) to help.
   C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung ram to borrow [money], Lawa Bo Luang ram to borrow, Khasi ram debt, loan.
   = preceding? Cf. 1270 *rap to help.

1391 *ruum (& *rum?); *ruəm underneath.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre roum, Bahnar rəm area under house (Guilleminet 1959-63), Khasi rum lower part, south; ~ Old Khmer karom, Modern Khmer kraom under, Stieng krum, Chrah krom area under house, Jeh krum underneath, Halang krum underside, Palaung krum under, Khasi khrum space under floor, Temiar karop place beneath (Benjamin 1976 B 157), Proto-Semai *kroəm under (Diffloth 1977); ~ (*knr- >) Kuy [kdu:ap] nthrəm, Bahnar karom underneath, Kammu-Yuan kərum, Praok grum, (*-um >?) Lawa Bo Luang ŋgraum, Lawa Umphai [ka]ŋgrum, Mae Sariang ŋgum under.
   B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon kınrom /kənrom/ (space) under.
   (Schmidt 1905 64; Shafer 1965 485; Smith 1972 49; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 165 (a.).)

1392 *gəm[?]; *gram[ ] to thunder, rumble.
   B: (Mon, ?Khmer) Khmer krəm sound of thunder &c. (or A?); ~ Literary Mon gamrəm to rumble.
   679 *grəŋ to thunder contaminated by 1358 *da(ə)m?
   (Shafer 1965 142.)

1393 *jəm mud, swamp.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer jəm, Modern Khmer crəm muddy water, muck, Besisi harōp swamp (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 115); ~ Mon hərm damruim marsh, marshy banks.
   Originally by metathesis *r-(n)jəm, ~ 1330 moist, swampy? Connection uncertain Mon hərm mud.

1394 *t,rim; *[t,]ram; *t,raəm level, equal.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer trəm equal to, up to the same point as.
   B: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan trəm level; ~ (*[t,]ram >) Lawa Bo Luang ŋgərm, Lawa Umphai ŋgreum level; ~ Khmer təmərm (!) from now until.
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C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ndram similar, equal.
A contaminated by 655 *ri(i)ŋ, which compare?

1395 *t,riim; *t,riəm old.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *trim, Khasi rim (originally compounding form?); ~ Literary Mon trim to be old (or < simplex, but cf. B), Khasi thynrim slightly old; ~ (*t,prim ...) Kammu-Yuan prim, Palaung, Praok prim, Lawa Bo Luang phraiŋ, Lawa Umphai praim, Mae Sariang phyaim (to be) old.
B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon tinrem /tanrem/, Modern Mon karem t(a)rem.

1396 *t,ruum; *t,ruəm hole.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat trom hole, den, lair, Stieng, Sre tru:m, Bahnar trom hole.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh trom, Halang trom hole.
(SHAFER 1965 571; BLOOD 1966 20; SMITH 1972 33.)

1397 *[d]raam abandoned, deserted.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon [son] krêm drāṁ, grāṁ to be desolate, deserted, Riang-Lang _ram [field] to be abandoned; → Shan hām to be abandoned; ~ (*[d]itraam >)
Praok gram to leave behend.
1386 *raam to decay…?

1398 *(dram) dram; *(dram) to stamp foot &c.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Mon hakrəm [cat] to pounce on (< *dra(a)m dra(a)m); ~ (*dnram >) Khmer tuañtrəm (& tontrom; or as Mon?), Chrau ntrəm to paw the ground, stamp feet, Biat ntrəm to paw the ground, stamp feet, (by back-formation?) trom to stamp, Vietnamese giâm to stamp (for **rəm; beside giâm to crush, tread, trample); by secondary derivation ~ (*mrr- >; or B?) Sre mbəm to trample (DOURNES 1950).
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*dnram >) Bahnar trom to stamp, to trample.
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*dram drəm or *dnraam > *mrəam >) Palaung [khun] brum to trample on, stamp (on) (MILNE 1931).

1399 *smrəam; *smraam; *s[m]ruum sweepings.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar [bruuih] mram, bram dirt, sweepings (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon həram dust, powder, Khmer somra:m rubbish, bits.
C: (Khasi) Khasi synrum rubbish, debris.
C secondary.

1400 *sruum; *sruup to sheathe.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sraom to envelop; envelope, Sre sru:m to sheathe, to put [ring] on finger; ~ (*s[m]ruum >) Sre saprəum sheath, Chrau səndrom boots, Biat ndrom sheathe, (~ jøŋ) sock.
**1401 *liəm good.**

**A:** (Bahnaric) Bahnar liəm, Jeh, Halang liam; ~ (*Inliəm > ?) Sre niəm good, well. (Smith 1972 36.)

**1402 *laam to extend.**

**A:** (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon lêm lāṁ to grow by putting out tendrils, Khmer liəm to lengthen [rope &c.], Bahnar laam [water] to spread in flood (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Thai laam to advance, extend along the surface, spread; ~ (*jlaam > )

Mon klêm to feel, Khmer jhləm to stretch [foot] out (Guesdon 1930), West Bahnar hləm, kləm, East Bahnar haləm to spread widely (v.i.) (Guilleminet 1959-63). (Schmidt 1905 48.)

Sora ləm- to crawl, creep, lam- to creep, extend (to be separate from forms at Pinnow 1959 K 482).

**1403 *ləm; *ləom to sink.**

**A:** (Katuic, Viet-Muông, ?Mon) Kuy ləm to inundate; ~ (*[g]ləm) Vietnamese trəm to sink, trəm [minh] to drown oneself; (or B) ~ Old Mon tulum /tanəm/, Modern Mon kənem to sink; ~ Old Mon tuləm to drown oneself, Modern Mon kələm to immerse oneself, bathe.

**B:** (Palaungic; ~ *təəm? > ) Palaung hlum to dive.

Proto-Austronesian *kəwəm: Cham kəram to sink, &c., Malay kəram to be wrecked at sea, &c. (cf. Dempwolff 1938 73, *kə[λ]əm; separate Javanese kərəm; Blust 1972 C? no. 1; Proto-Hesperonesian; perhaps → Sre &c. kram, under the entry 1384 *ram). See Benedict 1975 381. Perhaps ← Mon-Khmer are Javanese kələm, kələm to sink (kələm referred to *koləm dark at Dempwolff 1938 77); Malay təngələm to sink.

**1404 *luum; *ləm to be mistaken, deceived.**

**A:** (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer lə:m to cajole, persuade (with sense by false analysis of derivation?), Kuy lə:m to console, soothe, appease, Biat lə:m to console, to seduce, entice; ~ Khmer prələom to apply persuasion to, to seduce, Sre parləum to deceive.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Middle Mon luim (in sense) to be invalid (?), Biat lam to deceive [spouse], be adulterous, Vietnamese lâm (& nhâm) to be mistaken, make a mistake; ~ Khmer cralam to be mistaken, confused; ~ (*plalam >) banlâm to mislead; ~ (*prlam >) Middle Mon paluim (in sense) to corrupt, subvert, divert, Modern Mon palam to seduce (& Literary Mon paluim [cuit] to disappoint, let down; merging to destroy, ad 1414 *rlam), Stieng pralom to deceive, to make a mistake, Biat rlam to deceive, to misappropriate, Bahnar pələm to deceive.

Or two roots, with mutual contamination?

1405 *klam hundred.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon klaṁ /kləm/, Modern Mon kləm, Muông (Barker 1966 14), Vietnamese trâm; ~ Bru kalam, Pakoh kulam. (Shafner 1965 230.)

1406 *klam; *kləm to carry on shoulder.
A: (Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Thin kləm, Serting klap (i.e Semelai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 36), Temiar golap (Benjamin 1976b 138; or ← Acehnese, below?).
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin kləm, Riang-Lang kləm, Praok, (or A?) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kləm, Lawa Bo Luang kləm.
Proto-Aceh-Cham has *guləm: Acehnese gulam, Cham kəlam, Jarai glam, North Röglai gulap.

1407 *kləm to wrap.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng kləm to shut up in, Central Röləm tlam to wrap up, to be wrapped up; ~ (*kləm >) Sre kanəm packet (Dournes 1950), Biat ɳkələm packet; to wrap up; ~ Semang maksəlab to wrap up (i.e. Kintaq Bong; Skeat & Blagden 1906 W 144).
(Blood 1966 120.)

1408 *kl[u]m dense, thick.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kləm to be dense, Palaung kləum to be thick (Milne 1931). Or *-əəm.

1409 *[c]lim2; *[c]liam2; *[c]laim[ ] to lick.
A: (Viet-Muong; ~ *[c]lim2 >) Vietnamese nêm to taste (v.t.).
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Bahnar (Guilleminet 1959-63) lem to lick one’s fingers; ~ (*[c]liam2 >) Mon kəlem to taste (v.t.), Vietnamese liém to lick.
C: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ (*[c]ləim[ ] >) Khasi jylliəm [dog] to lick lips; ~ (*[c]pləim[ ] >) Khmer plaem-plaem repeatedly lick ing the lips (& phlɛəm licking).

1410 *t,łəm; *t,łəm; *t,łam land leech.
A: (Aslian; ~ *t,pləm >) Proto-Semai *pləm (DIFFLOTH 1977).
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunör kləm land leech, Khasi thlim small leech; ~ Stieng, Sre pləm small species of leech, Chrau pləm land leech, Biat pləm, Bahnar pləm forest leech, Jeh, Halang pləm leech, Kammu-Yuan plúəm (!), Palaung plum (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai pləm land leech; → Cham pləm, Jarai pləm, pləm, Rōglai pləm, North Rōglai plup.
C: (Mon, ?Nicobaric) Mon kləm land leech, (or A?) Central Nicobarese heləm leech. Cf. 1858 *glaw (kind of) leech; but connection dubious Khmer chli:ŋ, Kuy thli:ŋ water leech. (SCHMIDT 1905 42; SHAFER 1965 231, 380; BLOOD 1966 416; SMITH 1972 11; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 I 43.)
Sora ni:leəm-əŋ, ni:leəb-əŋ, ni:lo:əm-əŋ leech. For n- here (< *n-?) cf. 32 *tjaʔ; 1343 *təam &c.

1411 *t,łəm; *t,luəm liver.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer thləm, Chrau khləm, Sre, Biat, Bahnar kləm, Jeh, Halang kłəm; → Rōglai kłəp.
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) ~ Kuy lʊəm (!), Kammu-Yuan tələm, Muong lom (CUISINIER 1951).
Connect B89 *kt,əuəm, which compare? Note llocano dələm, perhaps < Proto-Austronesian *dələm inside (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, *d-.
(SHAFER 1965 69; BLOOD 1966 395; SMITH 1972 12.)

1411a *[p]lim; *pliiəm; *pləm dim, to glimmer.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer phlùəm (— —) dim, (— -phlēːt) twinkling dimly; (or D) ~ Mon [haket] pələm to be pale [red], pink.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar [mat] pliəm night-blindness.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang pliəm to flicker, twinkle.

1412 *pləm to move stealthily.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pləm to stalk, Khmer phləm to slip in, sneak in; (?) → Thai pləm to imitate, disguise.
Connection dubious Riang-Lang *luəm to pursue, hunt.
1413 *[r]lam; *[r]laim sharp, pointed.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer rələm very sharp, pointed, Palaung ləm (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ləm, Lawa Bo Luang ləm sharp.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer rələ:m acutely pointed; ~ (*srlaim >?) Kuy sle:m, lhə:m pointed

1414 *rləm; *rləm to collapse, subside.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon rləm /rləm/ [rlək] to be in ruins, Modern Mon Ɂəm to be damaged, destroyed (or B), Old Khmer rlaṁ ralaṁ (!; GUESDON 1930 raləm —& raləm) to fall (down), crumble away, Sre rələm to fall in, form gullies, Biat rəm to crumble away; ~ (*krləm >) Khasi khyələm [house, wall] to collapse.
B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar rələm, East Bahnar hələm to crumble away, fall down (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SCHMIDT 1905 72.)

(*sləm see 1422 *lsiim finger-nail.)

1415 *sləm? in quantity.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) West Bahnar hələm much, severely (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese ləm much; ~ (earlier *hələm hələm > *mləm >?) Palaung ləm to be plentiful; ~ (*snələm? >?) Lawa Bo Luang nəum, Lawa Umphai θneum more.
Connection uncertain Mah Meri hənəm many, = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 45.

1416 *sləm? discoloured.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon hələm [colour] to be faded, Mường ləm (BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese ləm to be soiled, smeared; ~ (*snələm? >?) Biat Ɂəm tarnished, dull.
Connection uncertain Khmer ləm ləum faded [flowers &c.], withered, slaom to wither; or Praok khrom hu [flower] to fade.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *ləməm; Toba Batak lomlom dark, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *tələm: Balinese selem dark, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 399, Proto-Hesperonesian); & note *'(q)iSələm dark colour, BLUST 1973 no. 255. See BENEDICT 1975 265, dark… .

1417 *sam?; *sum[ ] to bathe.
A: (Viet-Mường) Mường thəm (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese təm.
B: (Khasi, Palaungic) Khasi sum /sum/ to bathe, wash, Danaw θən [u:n] to bathe.
Connect 1426 *huum &c.?
1418 *səm all, totality.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon suən /səm/ [tumí], Modern Mon səm all; ~ Praok khəm all; ~ Old Khmer psə̃, Modern Khmer phsəm to unite.

1419 *səm[ ](-s); *səəm? damp.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer saəm damp, moist (B; → Cham sənī), Vietnamese tàm to soak, marinate (< *səm[ ]-s), Che’ Wong səm rain; ~ (*s-ns- >) Mon ksəm lasuīn (< *ns-?), dasuīn (< *sns-?), kasuīn rainy season, Khmer sənsəm, ṭənsəm (B) dew, damp, (*ns- >) Bateg Nong lasəm, Proto-Semai *lsə̃m rain (DIFFLLOTH 1977; !) (→ Dusun rasam, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 6?); ~ (*səəm? >) Vietnamese rṑm to ooze, be wet [with blood, tears]; ~ (*sl- ?) Bru lahə́m damp.
Earlier perhaps *ʔams ?ams, cf. Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese âm to be humid; so too Kuy həm damp, moist, wet? Connection thus uncertain Javanese chênhélém to soak (*kəmˈkəm, DEMPWOLL 1938 87, with dubious Tagalog comparison) Cf. also 1330 *jiim &c. moist, swampy.

1419a *sum; *suum shrimp, prawn.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese tōm.
B: (Katuic) Kuy [kaː] sum, Bru ?asam.
Note Semang kloan késub (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 107.

1420 *ksaam; by metathesis *kaams (to catch) cold.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon [yaj jwı] kə̃ám epidemic, Modern Mon cham head cold.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cám to catch cold.

1421 (*rnsuun &c. by assimilation >) *rnsuun; *rnsuun; *rnsə̃u; *rnsə̃n nest.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau məsɔ̃m, Praok mum, Lawa Bo Luang ?ahmaum, Lawa Umphai rahmaum.
B, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre rəsə̃ (B), (C) Central Rölöm seən, (~?) Bunör raswan.
(BLOOD 1966 70.)

1422 *lśniim; (*lśniəm by metathesis >) *sliam finger-nail.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (*lnsiim >) Palaung rohmən, (by assimilation *lnsiim >) Riang-Lang rəhməm, Lawa Bo Luang hmaipən, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hmaim; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi tərmən nail, hoof, claw.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Danaw kə̃_lənən; ~ Old Mon sinlem /sənləm/, Modern Mon hônem.
1423 *[h]əm bed- bug.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin həm, Lawa Bo Luang həum.
Cf. Kammu-Yuan həŋ, Bru nsəŋ.

(*[h]əm see 1307 *[s]əm warm.)

1424 *həŋ sated.
A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer həŋ swollen (?), Sre, Chrau, Biat həm sated.
Cf. 473 *ha(o)k.
(BLOOD 1966 394.)

1425 *hom to speak.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Middle Mon huim, Modern Mon həm, Palaung (Mon, songs) hom to speak, say, speak of, tell; ~ Thin prəom to speak, talk.
Cf. Riang-Lang tərup to converse.

†1426 *huum (& *hum?); *ʔum to bathe.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Palaungic) Mon hum, Bahnar huəm (Kontum huəm; < *hum?), Jeh həum, Halang həum, Palaung huəm, Praok huəm, Lawa haum (or Palaungic < *suəm[ ] ad 1417 *sum[ ]; which connect?), Semelai huəm; ~ Old Mon p-huım /phum/, Modern Mon phum, (~?) Bahnar paʔum (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh paʔum to bathe [someone] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by assimilation, or ~) Bahnar muhuəm to bathe [someone] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan mum to wash oneself.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau um, Biat om to bathe.
(SCHMIDT 1905 24; BLOOD 1966 150; SMITH 1972 6; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 82.)
Kharia qaʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 542; Proto-Munda *uma?).

(Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *iʔ[i]m see 1299 *ʔəim to breathe, live.)

1427 *khaøm (& *kuum?) silent, to sit (quietly).
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Stieng khəm quiet, to be silent, inactive, Biat [guʔ] khaøm to be silent, …kuum to squat, (variant >?) Semelai khoim to sit (Mah Meri/Besisi also quiet, cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 223); ~ (*khaøm >) Praok ɲəm, Lawa Bo Luang ɲəum, Mae Sariang ɲəum to sit.
Cf. 1323 *sqəm silent.

1428 *kuum to blow.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng kuum to blow, to winnow (contaminated by 1317 *gu(u)m?), Sre khoum, Biat khoim to blow; ~ (*kuum >) Chrau khlo:m to blow, Bahnar hlo:m to blow on, into, Jeh klum, Halang huim to blow wind instrument.
Connect ultimately 1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *iʔ[i]m to breathe...?
(BLOOD 1966 6; SMITH 1972 46.)
1429 *ghim to growl.
A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*gnhim >) Mon kahim [e.g. tiger] to give a short open growl; ~ Khmer krəhm [tiger] to growl (& to clear throat, by attraction krəhem, krəhaem).

†1430 *jhaam, *jhiim blood.
A: (Khamer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer chəm, Mnar chim blood, (?) Central Nicobarese cyaə sap; ~ (*jnhaam >) Kuy ɲhəm, Chrau nhəm, Palaung hnam, Riang-Lang nam, Praok nam, Lawa nhəm, Khasi nam, 'nam blood, (~ or by assimilation *jnhaam >) S księam, Sre, Biat mhaəm, Bahnar, Jeh phəm, Halang məhaəm, Kammu-Yuan məəm, Kensiu məhəm, Semai (or b?) bəhip, Semelai məm blood, Central Nicobarese məam menses, Car Nicobarese məm blood.
B: (Mon) Old Mon chim /chim/, Modern Mon chim blood.
With Mnar vocalism cf. e.g. thəm < 1348 *kt,aam. B secondary.
(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 154, 379, 559; BLOOD 1966 307; SMITH 1972 37; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 249.)
Sora 'mja'am-an, Kharia i'jam, Santali məjam, &c. (PINNOW 1959 303).
See BENEDICT 1975 235.

1430a *[t]heem to add to.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer thəem, Biat thəm, Bahnar thəm; → Thai tʰɛem, → Kuy thəm.
Or *dh-, > Kuy; Khmer ← Thai?

(*t₂ham[ ] see 1304 *t₂ʔum[ ] rotten.)

†1431 *t₁haam eight.
A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*t₁nhaam >) Bahnar təhaam (& həam); ~ (*t₁phaam >) Sre, Chrau, Biat phəm, West Bahnar (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Halang təhaam, Jeh tahaam.
Hence perhaps, by counting deformation on dincit nine < 1144 *d/n/ciit, Old Mon diṅcām /dɔncam/, Modern Mon həcam. But connection dubious (i) Mường thām (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese təm (< *saam?); (ii) B5 *t₁aa?; or Waic forms there cited.
(SHAFER 1965 275, 377; BLOOD 1966 317; SMITH 1972 38.)
Kharia thəm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 8).

(*t₁huums see 1304 *t₂ʔum[ ] rotten; *dheem 1430a *[t]heem to add to.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1432 *dhum; *dhum [m] fragrant, to scent.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Literary Mon thui[m] to emit fragrance (→ Burmese thum to perfume), Khmer thum dhum to emit fragrance, to smell [scent], Riang-Lang āhm (→ Shan hóm) to be fragrant; ~ Old Khmer danhum perfume, Chrai nhum incense.
B: (Katuic; ~ *dphuum >) Kuy phom to be fragrant. Connect obscure Mường (BARKER 1966 12) hóm, Vietnamese thom fragrant. Probably not ← Sanskrit dhūma- smoke, vapour, mist, given preferred vocalism; but note Thai dom to smell, inhale.

1433 *phoom to break wind.
(Smith 1972 48.)

(*yha(o)m, *yhu(o)m see 1299 *i2im to breathe, live.)

1'1434 *?aayh to give.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Kuy ʔeː to take, bring (?), Sre ayo to give, Riang-Lang ʔe id., to cause to, allow to; let...; so that, Praok e adhortative particle, Khasi ai to give; ~ (*[ ]?aayh >) Palaung deh to give.
Cf. Old Khmer oy, Modern Khmer ʔaoy (with vocalism as in e.g. sraoc ad 837 *ra(a)c; so conceivably *ʔaayh). But separate Pangan ya-ōi?, &c., Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 30 (Kensiu ʔek).
Kharia ʔe, &c. (Pinnow 1959 394; Proto-Munda *ʔjom?).

1435 *[ʔ]aay other.
A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Bahnar ai (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ (*ʔan? ʔaay by contraction >, cf. 1115 *ʔam? &c. 3rd person singular pron.) Bahnar (a)nay; ~ Bru raʔay each other; ~ Palaung lay each, other, to be different, Praok lay reciprocating particle.
Connect 1511 *ʔ[ ]a(a)y[ʔ] again, < *[ ]las ʔaay another time by contraction? But if Bahnar ai is separate, perhaps *laay ~ *[ ]nlaay.

1435a *ʔ[əy]ʔ; *ʔ[əy]h; *h[əy]ʔ deictic.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Biat i: locative pronominal head (?), Bahnar ey, Vietnamese ʔy that near at hand; ~ Khmer (s)ʔyy, ʔvyy what?
B: (Palaungic, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ʔe that, Lawa Bo Luang ʔəiʔ, Lawa Umphai ʔeh, Mae Sariang ʔe this [year], Kintaq Bong ʔə this, ʔəh here, Central Nicobarese ʔəh near, close, this, Nancowry ʔəh near; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔəʔiʔ, Lawa Umphai ʔuʔeh what?
c: (Bahnaric, North & South Aslian) Chrau heːʔ! here, this, Bahnar hey just now, that just mentioned, Mintil hɔʔ here, this, Mah Meri hɔʔ here; ~ Mah Meri nahɔʔ this.

For Chrau final see 65 *tɨʔ &c. Cf. 6 *ʔ[uaʔ] this. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 85; cf. PINNOW 1959 78.)

1436 *ʔɔʔ[ɦ]; *ʔaəʔ[ ] you (feminine singular).

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng eːi, Sre aʔ ay feminine singular, Chrau ʔaəʔ (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölm ʔeːi, Biat ai feminine, Bahnar eːi, ih, Halang ih singular.

B: (South Bahnaric; originally calling deformation?) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör ʔaəʔ, Chrau aʔ ay feminine.

Cf. Khmu’ yeʔ masculine singular familiar; Semai heʔ, Temiar hāʔ singular, Mah Meri &c. hiʔ singular /plural = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 34. (SHAFFER 1965 564; BLOOD 1966 182; SMITH 1972 332.)

1437 *[ ]ʔuʔ to be rocked, swung.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobarian) Mon uʔ p’uʔ cradle] to swing, Central Nicobarese hvi-[ʔaʔa] (l) to swing (v.i.); ~ Khasi kyn-oi to cradle, dandle, lull.

1437a *ʔuʔ; *ʔuʔ; *ʔuʔ; *ʔ[ə]ʔ three.

A: (Palaungic; ~ *ʔuʔ >) Praok loy.

B: (Nicobarian) ~ Central Nicobarese loe, lue.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung uʔ, Riang-Lang ðway, ðway (& ðwe); ~ Lawa Bo Luang laʔoi, Lawa Umphai laʔua, Mae Sariang laʔuai.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi lai.

Connect 98 *piʔ, as Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[ ]u(/p/)i[ ]?

1438 *ʔuʔ to tend, care for.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon ‘uʔ to tend, see to, Praok uʔy to raise, bring up.

1439 *ʔaʔaay we two.


Connect 4 *[ ]ʔaʔ we two or 1435 *ʔaʔaay other?

(*ʔuʔ see 887 *ʔuʔ to smell, sniff, *ʔuʔ see 1550 *phuuy blanket; *ʔuəʔ see 798 *ʔuəʔ finished.)

1440 *ʔəʔ; *ʔəʔ destitute, orphan.

A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar hrai poor, wretched (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric; ~?) Stieng [kɔn] ləʔy, Chrau laʔəʔy orphan, Sre laʔəʔy poor, wretched (~ Rōglai laʔəʔy poor, wretched, orphan); ~ (*ʔəʔy >) Sre doʔy, Biat [kɔn] dəʔi, Jeh, Halang təʔy orphan.

(Proto-Austronesian *lʊʔay?) Cebuano Bisayan lúʔy pitiful. 
(*[s]*ʔəə see 158 *[s]*yəə? to see.)

1441 *[s]*ʔuy rotten, to stink.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Mon ui s’uy to be rotten, putrid, Old Khmer s-*uy, Modern Khmer s?oy stinking, putrid, to stink, Riang-Lang "vi, *wi to smell (v.i.t.), Praok si?oy [bəa] to be fragrant, Lawa Bo Luang sa?au, Lawa Umphai sa?oi stinking, Vietnamese ội [meat] to be spoiled, rotten; ~ (*slʔuy >) Kuy sloi, lhoi rotten, falling to pieces, to stink.
Connect Kammu-Yuan pəyrýy stinkingly; & cf. Vietnamese thối to stink, to be rotten.
But Central Nicobarese vi smell is rather < 1563 *[s]*ʔər.
(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

1442 *kaay to scratch.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer kəy to scratch, scratch hole, gnaw, pick [teeth], Bru kəy to scratch, scrape, Sre kəy to peck after scratching ground, Khasi khai to pluck with nail (or < 1541 *khaay?), Kintaq Bong kəy to scratch (or < 802 *kaac? so, apparently by back-borrowing, Bahnar kai? (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)).
Note Proto-Miao *k[a]i to scrape, scratch, BENEDICT 1975 372, (IX). Cf. besides *kaac A138 *kwaay; 867 *kwaac &c.; 1880 *kais &c; 1881 *kuus &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1443 *kuy; *kuuy head.
A: (Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kensiu (or B), Temiar, Semai II kuy.
B: (Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semai I kory, Semelai khoi, Central Nicobarese koi, Nancowry kuy head, top.
= following?

1444 *kuuy? (& *kuay??) to bend, nod, drowse.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Mon kui to rock [child], Sre kuy to sleep (with secondary shortening?), Bahnar dialects kui to go to bed, to sleep (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang *kuy to bow down, stoop, Vietnamese củi to bend, nod; ~ Mon hakui to be drowsy, to nod off, Proto-Nyah Kur *caŋkuy feel sleepy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V263; implies *-uy), Bahnar kɵkay ( < variant?), Kammu-Yuan kənkúy to nod off.
Connect Chrau [viʔ] guy half asleep, to nod, Biat [bic] gui to be sleepy; & perhaps add preceding.
(SHAFER 1965 48; SMITH 1972 456.)
(~) Kharia [kabaij] kubuij accidental crookedness of back, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 483.)
1445 *t̲ŋkɔ̀y? tick.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng keiː; ~ Khmer dɔŋkəє, Bahnar taŋ key; ~ Sre dɔrkay, 
      Chrau rakay, Biat rkaï. 
      Sora 'tɔŋkɛː-n. —So *t̲ŋ-. 

1446 *[d]kuuy; *[d]kuay Calotes lizard.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung [a]kəy (with post-dental vocalism!) large kind of 
      lizard with spines on back; ~ (*[d]kuuy >) Mon həkui dakui &c. bloodsucker 
      lizard, Calotes versicolor, → Jakun dəŋkui black and orange lizard (Skeat & 
      Blagden 1906 C 73 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bəŋkəuŋ Calotes 
      (Tandart 1935). 
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Biat kwai [tɔŋ] kind of large lizard or monitor, (or 
      A?) Jeh kuy small lizard, Halang kuay lizard; ~ Chrau ŋkway chameleon, gecko, 
      Biat ŋkwai chameleon; ~ (*[d]pkuu in; 9? Kuy (?a:)kɔːi chameleon; by secondary 
      derivation ~ Khmer bəŋkəuŋ Calotes (Tandart 1935 bəŋkəuŋ), Bahnar makuəy 
      large kind of lizard. 
      Stieng pekeiː grey lizard living in houses perhaps reflects a variant *[d]p/kɔy, but 
      may be an onomatopoeic allied to Mon kap kai Gecko guttatus. 
      (Schmidt 1905 32.) 

1446a *rkaï; *rkaay behind.
   A: (Katuic) Kuy rki before, in the past. 
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng, Central Rölöm kɔy behind, Biat kɔi behind, (ndur 
      —) back; ~ Sre nkoy back, Chrau ŋkɔy behind, Biat [rɛc] ŋkɔi [going] 
      backwards, Khasi ryngkhi back of blade; [to follow] closely; by secondary derivation 
      ~ Chrau dəkɔy back. 
      Connect by metathesis 1505 *k-ru(утu). 
      (Blood 1966 402.) 

†1447 *skuɔy Setaria italica (?) millet.
   A: (Khmer, Khuuc, Palaungic) Khmer skuɔy Job’s tears, Riang-Lang [kɔy] khuay 
      Panicum millet; ~ Kammu-Yuan həŋkɔy millet. 
      Sora [bur]-ɔy, Mundari oe Setaria italica, &c. (Zide & Zide 1976 1303, 1310; Proto- 
      Munda *hɔɔɔxy). 
      (Proto-Austronesian *t’Vku[ ]ai Malay səkɔi Panicum italicum, Cham hakoɔy millet, 
      Jarai dialects həkɔuai &c. Setaria italica; probably → Bahnar dialects akoi kind of 
      millet (Guilléminet 1959-63). 

1447a *guuy shadow of living creature.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng gùi reflection, shadow, Chrau guy shadow, soul, Biat guı shadow 
      of living creature; ~ Bahnar ɲọy shadow of living creature. 
1448 *ŋguy (& *ŋguuy?) to sit down.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer ʔɔŋkùy,
   Sre ŋguy, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese ngòi, Semai ɡəy (< variant?),
   Central Nicobaresse koï.
Connect Palaung guəy to remain, be, dwell?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 222 (a).)

1449 *cgəy dog.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer chkae,
   Vietnamese cầy. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a).)

1450 *bguy; (?) *bguuy to emit smoke.
A, B: (Mon, Central Aslian, ?South Bahnaric) Mon həkùi bguuy &c. to smoulder, smoke,
   Temiar bəguuy [smoke] to waft (BENJAMIN 1976B 178; A); ~ (*bbg- > *bpg- >)
   Mon həkùi to burn [incense], (B, by metathesis; ?) Chrau puıy to fumigate.

1451 *[ ]rgəy thin, lean.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng rəei, Sre, Chrau rəgay, Central Rölöm gcə, Biat rgai, Rōngao rəgi: (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), (~?) Vietnamese ɡəy,
   Nancowry ʔikəy.
Connect perhaps by metathesis Jölōng gre: puny (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), (then *əəy >)
   Mon krui to be emaciated. Cf. also Khasi synkəi to get thin (< *guəy?);
   Jakun riukai dry, shallow, ripe, thin, lean (taboo language), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 182.
(SHAFER 1965 521; BLOOD 1966 186.)

1452 *rgəy; *rgəay skilful.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar həgəy, Bahnar dialects rəgəy.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre rəgəy (→ Rōglai; with secondary shortening!), Jeh lagąy, Halang rəgəy.
Connect Khmer ləkəi elegant, graceful? If *r- prefix then also (A) Riang-Lang _kəy to
be accustomed to, but Kuy khɨy < Lao?
(SMITH 1972 453.)

1453 *[ ]ŋəay eye.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Bahnar [kən] ɲəy [pupil of] eye,
   Palaung, Praok ɲəy, Riang-Lang ɲəay eye, face; (probably ~) Lawa Bo Luang
   ʔəea, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔəai eye; ~ (*kuan [ ]ŋəay by contraction >
   *k(a)ŋəay >?) Vietnamese ngủi pupil of eye.
(SHAFER 1965 145.)
1454 *[c]ṇaay?; *[c]ṇaay[ ] distant.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Mon հատ!, Vietnamese /ngáy/; ~ Old Mon ճիրիե /jəɾŋəy/(!), Modern Mon կահուa distance.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer չնայ, Kuy դնայ, Sre, Chhrau նայ, Bia ենայ, Halang հանայ, Khasi չնգայ!, Semq Beri նայ distant; ~ (*[c]նաաay >) Palaung ʦaŋaay, Praok siŋaay, Lawa Bo Luang ʦaŋia, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʦaŋai, Danaw ʦ'əŋ.nei distant.
Mon, Khasi *ŋ- obscure.
(SCHMIDT 1905 44; SHAFER 1965 147; SMITH 1972 477.)

1455 *[m]ṇaay person, human being.
A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Bahnar ʦaŋaay human being, Jeh մանայ, Halang նայ people, Muong (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese người person, people.
Or *בŋ-?
(SMITH 1972 469.)

1456 *[l]ŋuy to swim.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ŋəy.
Cf. Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) նայ [fish] to come to the surface, float, not obviously ← Indonesian; Khasi jngi to swim; & 1516 *luy? &c. to wade, swim.
Proto-Austronesian *laŋu[ ]i: Toba Batak lange, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8; Acehnese laŋwa, Toba suggest -*uəi). See BENEDICT 1975 404.

1457 *[s]ṇaay to speak.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng ʦaŋaay, Bunɔr, Central Rölöm ԡaay to speak, Bia ʦaii to speak, say, (or separate?) Palaung ʦe speech, to speak, Central Nicobarese ʦe: voice, language; to call, name, say, Nancowry ʦɛ; ~ Gölar Bahnar ʦaŋaay to talk in one’s sleep.
(BLOOD 1966 413.)

1457a *cuuy; *cuəy to sow, plant.
A: (South Bahnaric) Bia ʦuǐ to sow, broadcast.
B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chhrau ʦwav to dibble, Jeh ʦɔy, Halang ʦaʊy to plant rice,
Röŋgao ʦai to sow, broadcast (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (or →?) West Bahnar ʦai to dibble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bru ʦuɔy to plant.
Add Sre [miːw] suy drizzle? Cf. 1460 *kcaay to be scattered.
(SMITH 1972 486.)

1458 *.caay resin.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ʦa[y pine resin (→ Röglai), Bia ʦaii, Bahnar ʦəy resin.
Cf. Malay ʣa[m] kiʃai resin from ʨədɔndɔŋ tree.
(SHAFER 1965 70.)
1459 *[2]caay to spend.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer ca:y, Biat ca:i, Palaung, Praok ca:y, Lawa Bo Luang cea, Lawa Umphai cai.

1460 *kcaay to be scattered.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon chai khyy, chây to be separated, scattered, to spread out, Khmer khcaay to scatter, spend (v.i.t.); ~ (*kbcay >) Mon hcaai, Khmer kmmcaay to disperse, scatter (v.t.).

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1544 *chaay to tip out, which compare; as 1457a *cuuy &c. to sow… . Bahnar sayʔ to scatter (~ kə sayʔ to empty, pour out) is ← Cham ← 872 *saac: but West Bahnar cai to scatter, sow broadcast (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) may belong here.

1461 *kj[ə]yʔ poison, venomous.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon cìʔ gyi poison, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəciʔ (DIFFLOTH 1984 N83), Praok cay to be venomous.

Cf. Riang-Lang _kəcə poison, venom, perhaps < *k.jəwʔ; then *-yʔ by assimilation? But conceivably *gyiʔ (Mon), *gyiiʔ, to be connected 28 *b[ng][e]ʔ vegetable poison.

(*njuay see 811 *njuac to shake.)

1462 *[l]juuy; *[l]jəy late.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon kəcui; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar h(*)noi (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Gölär Bahnar h*moi (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese chây.

1463 *t1uy; *t1uuy; *t1uay to follow, accompany.
   A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ʰtəy to follow, accompany; following, along, after, Nancowry tøy next; → Shan tēc [animals] to flock together; ~ Palaung kartuy to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang ʰtərtəy together, Praok sitoy to be joined together, make a whole.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon) Old Mon tūy /tuy/ adverbial of sequential action, having… , Modern Mon təe also then… (or A), Old Khmer tøy, Modern Khmer daoy to follow, (~ -sai) accompany; by reason of, by means of, -ly; → Cham tūy, Röglai tūy to follow; Thai dooy to follow, pursue, attend; according to… ; ~ Palaung kartuy to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931).
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar həmɔi, East Bahnar səmɔi in the same direction as, parallel to… (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Jeh katóy to accompany (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Distinguish Old Mon tūy adverbial of completed action, Middle Mon tuy to have finished, Modern Mon toe to be finished... Add perhaps as der. 1498 *t₁mu[y] &c. guest, visitor.

1464 *t₁uuy to carry on shoulder.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre tuy (with vocalism levelled on derivation), Biat tuyi, Bahnar tōi (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh tuy (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Sre tānuy bundle [of firewood], truss, Jeh tanuy shoulder-load (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

1465 *t₁uuy fat, plump.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tuy, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai tui. Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Thai tūy protuberant, distended... .

1466 *t₁uuy; *t₁uay; *t₁aay that (yonder).
B: (Palaungic) Palaung tuay that (MILNE 1931), Praok tuayi further side.
C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung tay that, Khasi -tai that yonder; ~ Bahnar hātay then, when.
Cf. 65 *t₁i? &c. that yonder, 66a *tɑ that, there; 1435a *ʔ[aʔ] &c. deictic; so originally compound?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a.).)

1467 *[k]rt₂ay; *[k]rt₂ɑn to twist (together).
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon hətəo to twist fibres into single-strand rope, Khasi kyrthai to drive in [auger], (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) to twist round.
B: (Bahnaric; contaminated by 910 *tbaŋ?) Sre rotǎŋ to twist [rope &c.] before knotting (→ Rōglai), Sedang kaseŋ twisted rope (→ Bahnar kaseŋ), (?) by metathesis Biat trəŋ to twist, be twisted.
Connect Khmer kɔndæŋ curly?
(SMITH 1972 87.)

1468 *bt₁aay; by metathesis *dpaay hare.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ (*bpt₁aay >?) Old Mon batāy /batay/, Modern Mon hatai; ~ Riang-Lang pəlty; by secondary derivation ~ Kuy ktai (k- animal prefix?; → Thai kratɔay); & connection Palaung pɔntɔy, (MILNE 1931) pɔntɔy, Shan pʊŋ tʊy.
B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm pάy; → literary Malay [kuching] tapai rabbit; ~ Sre dɔpəi (→ Rōglai), Chrau sapəy, Biat rpaːi, Bahnar tapary hare.
Taboo deformation likely; note further Stieng sɔrəy.
(BLOOD 1966 326.)
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

1469 *daay calyx, flower.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang tia, Lawa Umphai thia, Mae Sariang tuai flower, Vietnamese dâi calyx.

1470 *daay; *daan prop, to lean on.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Vietnamese dâi prop; ~ Old Mon dindây /dânday/ to recline against, Modern Mon hâlài to recline.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy thîâan to push oneself off with feet; ~ Khmer câtîâan leaning. Cf. 84 *pda[a]? to lean on.

1471 *snduy lips.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng sändii (/&sîntuːi) lower lip of pig, elephant, Sre sänduy, Lawa Bo Luang tau, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndoîi lips.
Cf. 1629 *sdur; & Biat tayɔːi, Proto-Mnong *yɔːy (BLOOD 1966 68).

1472 *dɔay; (weak form?) *dɔy (&c.) to have, to be obliged to, be in a position to, be about to.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Central Rölöm dɔy to be able to, Biat dɔi to be [un]a. to, Riang-Lang dɔy future prefix.
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau diː (!) (in order) to, Bahnar dɛɨy to have, possess; perfect auxiliary, Palaung _di (!) future prefix, Praok ti (in order) to, Khasi dei must.
(BLOOD 1966 391.)

1473 *duuy; *duay to swing, dangle.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon [dɔŋ] dui to hang down and swing: pendulum, West Bahnar dui long and dangling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi dui-dui [swinging] to and fro.
B: (Khasi, Central Asian, Nicobaric) Khasi doi-doi [swinging] to and fro, Nancowry ruây morning, forward & backwards; ~ Semai ndoi to rock in one’s arms (TANDART 1935).
Connect Praok tɔyi to hang, depend; Shan tɔe to hang, depend, → Riang-Lang [*toŋ] toe.
Sora doi-, doː- to h. (v.i.t.).
Proto-Austronesian *duian (< *dui-an): Tagalog duyay sling cradle, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, *-j-).

(*]duay see 1830 *[ ]diiw to point (out).)

1474 *gdɔɔay sexually abnormal male.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Khmer khtɔːy (→ Thai kratʰɔay) hermaphrodite, Kuy kkhɔːi homosexual; ~ (*gdmɔɔay >) Literary Mon kamnuy eunuch.
1475 *n1aay deictic.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer nìːə yon the far side, over there, Kammu-Yuan nàːy that, Vietnamese nàːy (beside nàːy) this.

Cf. 91 *niʔ &c. this; original compound, as perhaps 1466 *t1aay that… of 65 *t1iʔ &c.? But conceivably ← Tai, cf. BENEDICT 1975 408.

`1476 *pn2[u]y dove.


(*rnay* see 1508a *nray? pestle.)

1477 *snaay peg &c. used in cart construction.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hnai linchpin, Khmer snaːy peg locking spoke in rim of wheel.

1478 *p[a]ly to simmer, cook.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre pay to make into soup, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pay to cook.

Or *.paay; so connected 1480 *paay cooked rice…? But connection dubious Cham (ha)pàːry to cook soup, North Rõglai subai to stew, &c.

(SHAFER 1965 92; SMITH 1972 472.)

1479 *paay cloud, mist.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok pay [ɔm] cloud; ~ Lawa Bo Luang mbiaʔaum mist, Central Nicobarese mifaiya cloud, Nancowry mifāya.

1480 *paay cooked rice, food.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer bâːy cooked rice, Stieng pài meat, wild animal, Chrau pary vegetables, soup; ~ Stieng prânai, Sre pərnəːy rice-paddle.

Cf. 1478 *p[a]ly … to cook.

`1481 *[t]puuy kind of small mammal.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung puy mole; → Burmese pwe:, Lushei bui bamboo rat; ~ Riang-Lang kapuy mole, bamboo rat; ~ Nyah Kur mpúy mole, bamboo rat.

(Proto-Austronesian *tupai) Malay tupai (→ Ngaju Dayak), Acehnese tupe squirrel (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

BENEDICT 1972 46 no. 173 constructs Tibeto-Burman *bwiy from Burmese &c., Tibetan byi-ba rat, mouse (cf. byi marmot).

(*dpaay see 1468 *bt1aay hare.)
1482 *bay kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer pèy small shallow basket, Sre bay, Bahnar baiy basket; ↔ Cham pày (& hapày) bag, Jarai bai, Röglai bay basket, North Röglai bai [yok] market basket.
(SHAFFER 1965 131.)

1483 *b[oo]ly direction, towards.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon boy /boy/ direction, location, manner, Modern Mon pəa adverbial phrase head, (?) Bunör bøy, Central Rölöm pəy at the point of, Biat bəi nearly; ~ Old Mon biboy towards, in accordance with, Vietnamese vê towards.
With South Bahnaric vocalism cf. 1484 *[k][b]ooy.
(BLOOD 1966 381.)

1483a *buuy?; *bu[ ]y[ ] dust.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Khasi pui-pui airborne dust, Vietnamese buei (→ Bahnar buuy) dust; ~ Stieng kambui, by metathesis Biat [neh] moi dust; ~ (?) Bru samuy dust, fine particles.
B: (Khasi) Khasi poi-poi dust, fine particles.
C: (Khasi, Central Aslian) ~ Khasi sympei heap of spoil in front of mouse-hole, Sakai səmbei sand, dust (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 26).
Cf. 359 *[ ]bu(u)k; 2034 *buh &c. ash, powdery dust.
(*buuy see 110 *bu[u]? individual.)

1484 *[k][b]ooy to wave hand.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer baoy, Central Rölöm pəy, Mnong Gar baiy.
Cf. Malay buai to rock, swing.
(BLOOD 1966 382.)

1485 *[c]buuy Careya arborea tree.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) → Shan phūi; Burmese [ban.] bwe; ~ (*[c]rbuuy >) Mon həpui; by chiming expansion ~ Riang-Lang [kʰeʔ] səy puy.
Or *tə.-

1486 *jbaay to hang over one’s shoulder.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer spîay, Kuy phîai to carry slung over shoulder; → Thai tāpʰaay, sapʰaay; ~ (*jbaay >) Mon kəmai to carry by a sling from the shoulder; ~ Middle Mon cambāy sling carrier, Khmer səmpîay bag, bundle, carried slung from shoulder (with s- by levelling?); → Thai sābay sash.
Cf. following.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'aNbai: Toba Batak jambe to hang down, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 44; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) by metathesis (*q)a(N)bi[d']ai >)
Cebuano Bisayan abilay, s-ambilay to carry over shoulder, Ilocano abiday to wrap over shoulder; (iii) *t'aNpai: Malay sampai to hang, s/el/ampai to wear over shoulder, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149; der. Proto-Hesperonesian, cf. BLUST 1971 no. 390); & note *y[i(N)]bai to hang down, DEMPWOLFF 1938 58 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNEN 1975 no. 14.)

1487 *mbaay to dangle; negligent.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon *bāy /mbay/ to be negligent, Old Khmer bāy to dangle, hang down, be limp, Modern Khmer piāy-[niəy] to be careless, negligent, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai mbia, Mae Sariang mbuai to forget, leave behind.
Cf. preceding; & for semantics Old Mon rlāy, under the entry 1512 *laay. Connect perhaps Toba Batak ambe to swing arms about (*a(m)baj, DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, compared at POU & JENNEN 1975 no. 14, but a doubtful construction; for Javanese awé see 1529 *wa(a)y(-h)). See BENEDICT 1975 341-2, move back and forth.

1488 *rnbuay spout, proboscis.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer compŭay! spout, tap, Biat mbixi! [toh] nipple (contaminated by 2041a *j/n/6uah bean?), Stieng ramuai trunk, Vietnamese vài trunk, antennae, spout.
Connect obscure Khmer pramaoy trunk; ultimately < *rnbuay by metathesis? Note also Bru rawũuy trunk of elephant < Vietnamese?

1489 *baay; *bāy bean, small weight or coin.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Mon boa bean, pea, 1/16 tical, Khmer pēy obsolete small coin; → Cham ibēi small coin, 1/16 slei; Thai p̄ay 1/32 tical; (or B) Burmese pai bean, pea, 1/16 tical; ~ Sre rābāy pea (or B; → Röglai).
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Late Old Mon bāy /baay/ 1/32? tical, Riang-Lang buy bean; ~ Khmer prapīay large kind of bean, (→ Cham prabai), Bru rāpiay, Palaung rābāy, Riang-Lang r̄abāy bean; ~ Khasi ṭymbai bean; ~ Thin spāi bean.
BENEDICT 1972 59 no. 253 refers Burmese with Lushei, Dimasa forms to Tibeto-Burman *be. Note Amoy/Hokkien pē ~ pōe 貝 cowry, shell money, coin, from which POU & JENNEN 1973 derive Khmer pēy; & cf. 1492 *[s]nba[a]ly seed.

1490 *kbooy dipper, ladle.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer baoy dipper, ladle (& by back-formation kaoy to dip, scoop?), Kuy (k)boi coconut shell, Palaung boy, Riang-Lang boe, Vietnamese môi dipper, ladle; → Thai kraphuay, Shan móe, wóe.
(Proto-Austronesian *[ ]bui[ ]bui) Ilocano buyuy boy coconut shell dipper.
1490a *[j]ɓuy; *[j]ɓuuy fat.
A: (Khmer) Khmer spuy awkwardly big or fat.
   B: (Palaungic; ~ *[j]pɓuuy ?) Riang-Lang ‘kabuy to be fat.

1491 *tɓ[wɔ]y to throng, swarm.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon [tʰan] tboy to be thronged, Modern Mon [bɔn] boa
to mill around, be present in large numbers, Khasi boi to swarm, be plentiful.
†1492 *[s]ɓa[a]y seed.
A: (Khasi) Khasi symbai.
   Connect 1489 *ɓa(a)y bea n…?
Sora a’baj-ən, compounding form ba’j-ən seed (of fruit), bɔaɪ- to form seed.

1493 *sɓəəy; *sɓuəy to recover from illness.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sbaəy [illness inter alia] to abate, Sre bəəy cured,
recovered.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *snɓuəy >) Praok muay to get better, be cured.
B secondary.
†1494 *məy; *məəy mother’s sister.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _məy elder sibling.
B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre məy mother’s sister, stepmother; ~ Temiar
Riang-Lang exchanges senses of *məy, 1531a *waay. Cf. Kammu-Yuan pə́ːy senior
sister-in-law; Bahnar mih parent’s elder brother (&c., cf. SMITH 1972 334; <
*mə(ə)yh?).
†1495 *muuy; *muay; *muuŋ one.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer mʊy, Kuy mʊi,
Jeh mʊay (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979; or B?), Kammu-Yuan mʊy, Semelai mʊy.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon moy /moy/, Modern Mon mʊa, Old Khmer
mʊy, Modern Khmer mʊay, Stieng muəi, Chrau muay, Biat mʊi.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar mʊŋ (& mɪŋ).
C as Bahnar peŋ three ad 98 *piʔ? Cf. (i) Bunər ŋway; (ii) Mường mỏch (BARKER
1966 24), Vietnamese mọt (< *muc, sandhi-form in *mʊ[ ]y dīʔ, cf. 86?; perhaps cognate Santali &c., below).
(SCHMIDT 1905 60; SHAFER 1965 572; BLOOD 1966 90; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 29; cf.
SMITH 1972 490.)
(i) Sora a’boi, a’boŋ, Sora dialect a’moi (or iii?), Kharia moi, &c.; (ii, cf. C) Kharia
1496 *muuys (& *muys?); *mu[a]y[s] mosquito, gnat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Literary Mon gmuh (!) kind of stinging insect, Khmer múh múς, (TANDART 1935) múh mus, Stieng mʔe: mosquito, Sre muy gnat (→ Röglai; with secondary shortening, or < *muys?), by metathesis Central Nicobarese miho:yə mosquito, Nancowry mihúya, refer ʔimihúya to fly up & down; ~ Biat rmoi gnat; ~ Sakai kǎmos mosquito (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Mon 180 (a)); → Malay kēmus kind of gnat.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy mūah, Bru múayh, Chrau mɔːih mosquito, Bahnar mɔih kind of large mosquito, Vietnamese muǒi mosquito.

Cf. 873 *s/m/uc &c. stinging insect.

(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

1497 *[g]m[uuy]; *[g]muay sibling’s child.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _moe daughter-in-law.

B: (Khmer) Khmer kmu:ay nephew, niece (TANDART 1935 also kmu:ay); → Cham kamuac.

Bahnar [mɔʔ] may, Jeh may daughter-in-law are perhaps < *kuon waay by contraction, cf. 1127, 1531a; so conceivably these, with vowel metathesis; Khmer then perhaps < *km-, Riang-Lang < *(n)m-. Cf. 1187 *kmun &c.

1498 *t1mu[y]; *t1muay guest, visitor.

A: (Mon) Mon mæ tmuy &c.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy (k)mai, tmai stranger, visitor; ~ (*t1nmuay > ?) Chrau tamuay, Bahnar tamɔːy guest, visitor, Kammu-Yuan tamɔːy guest; tribal group.

Bahnar may, Thin moi to summon, invite are probably ← Mường (BARKER 1966 21) &/or Vietnamese mọ́i. ~ 1463 *t1uy &c. to follow, accompany? Note also Central Nicobarese (m)ituːa to go on visit.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SMITH 1972 484.)

Proto-Austronesian *t/am/u(S)ai: Toba Batak tamue, Old Javanese tamuy, Modern Mon tami, Madurese tamòy, Iban temuai guest, Ngaju Dayak tamuei stranger (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *tamu*; NOTHOFER 1975 86 & n. 54; simplex > Cham toːy, North Röglai (!) thuːi guest, visitor).

1499 *[d2]muy axe.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon mui muy, Kammu-Yuan muy, Palaung muy, Praok moy, Lawa Bo Luang ʔmau, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔmɔi.

Connection uncertain Khmer múh múς, Stieng meuh wedge for splitting wood.

(*yaay see 151 *yaʔ grandmother.)
**1500 *ray; *raay to cut.**


B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer ri:ay separate(d), (GUESDON 1930) to cut up, Khasi rai to decide judicially; ~ Khasi khrai to sever; ~ Mon [kɔt] krai scissors (→ Burmese katkre; → Mon krap kre), Khmer tray to lop, clear a path, Sre tray to shave, Stieng [ka]trai, Palaung [gim] hray scissors; ~ Middle Mon [mra] tarāy, Modern Mon [parə?] kərai dah.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

Sora rai-[ˈkun-] to cut off (: *r- or *t₂-r-).

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**1501 *raay to be scattered.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Viet-Mùông) Khmer ri:ay scattered, to scatter (→ Thai raay), Sre ray to cure, to console, Praok [pruŋ pran] ray [ruat hu] to be scattered; ~ Palaung kray (MILE 1931; !), Riang-Lang kray to move away, Khasi krai to spread; ~ Khmer pray = ri:ay; → Thai pray to scatter, sow broadcast; Cham pray to scatter, sow broadcast, Malay běr-pěrai-pěrai scattering [of crowd], crumbling, Sundanese piray to disintegrate, corrode; ~ Khmer pri:ay to scatter, to be scattered, to gush out; → Thai pʰraay scattered bubbles rising; Cham prāy untied, dissolved, scattered; ~ Mon sai to be separate, apart (in part, cf. 1538 *r(-)saay; srāy, crāy), Khmer srāy to untie, release, Biat crai scattered, Palaung hray to disappear, be lost, to cure, Khasi rai-[dieng &c.] to abstain, avoid, (?) Vietnamese rūōi to sprinkle [soup on rice]; ~ (*nraay >) Praok gray, Lawa Bo Luang khrea, Lawa Umphai ngrai to be lost.

Hence by metathesis 1660 *syaaar outstretched? Cf. further 837 *ra(a)c to sprinkle, scatter; 1504 *ruy &c. to fall, be shed; & Khmer rayāy to be, become, detached (GUESDON 1930). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

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**1502 *r̥y; *raay to rise, stand up.**

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *prray >) Stieng pr̥leːi, Chrau pr̥e to wake, Sre p̥lay to shake awake, Biat r̥ai to wake, shake awake.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang r̥oy to rise, stand up, rise from sleep.

Santali de' to mount, ascend, climb, &c.

(PINNOW 1959 333).

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**1503 *r[ɔɔ]y to grow, increase.**

A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi roi to increase; ~ Old Mon prey /pray/ more than; ~ Khasi pynroi to increase, augment.
1504 *ruy; *ruuy; *ruay; *raay; *raay to fall, be shed (& to scatter, contaminated by 1501 *raay).
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Khmer proy(proy), Kuy prui prui drizzling, Palaung phruuy [leaves] to fly about, be driven by the wind (MILNE 1931).
B: (Kmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon, Central Aslian) Khmer rɔy [petals] to fall, drop off; to sprinkle, sow, spray, winnow by letting fall from a height, Kuy rɔi to sprinkle [e.g. salt] on, Chrau royy to scatter, spread, Palaung ruy ruy to drizzle, (or A) Sakai rui to strew (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 493); ~ Mon kroe truy to sprinkle, scatter (or A, E); ~ Bahnar proy to sprinkle, scatter.
C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer rɔay to go limp; to sprinkle, Praok ruay to scatter; ~ Bahnar proy to sow broadcast, West Bahnar to scatter, Khasi phroi to powder and sprinkle (probably, rather than A); ~ Cham proxy to sprinkle, scatter, Acehnese prua to bestrew, besprinkle; ~ (*sruay >) Kuy saii [leaves, fruit] to fall; ~ (*sruuy >) Mon hàoa (*-uay confirmed by dialects) to pour out gradually, to sprinkle, Praok gruay to pour.
D: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar rey to sow broadcast; ~ Khasi krei to scatter.
E: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ West Bahnar prai (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan prɔy, [prát] prɔy to scatter, sprinkle; ~ (*sruay >?) Vietnamese rɔi to fall, drop; to shed [tears].
Connect 843 *ruc &c. to fall, drip; & cf. 2051 *ruh &c. But connection dubious Kharia rɔ to be scattered, &c., PINNOW 1959 400. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 64.)

1505 *ruy; *ruuy behind.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese rɔi afterwards; ~ Palaung kruuy (time) before.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer kraoy behind, after, Kuy kroi afterwards, later.
The same temporal semantics in Mon hata? next [morning]; previous [incarnation]….
Connect 1446a *rko(ɔ)y by metathesis; perhaps 842 *ruc &c. to retreat… (note Sre cam ruc to throw over one’s shoulder, behind one). But connection dubious Bahnar kadrei, Jölong kadroy to go ahead of (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), forms at SMITH 1972 487, & Bru triay (< *draay?) rear.

1506 *ruy; *ruay track, mark.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer troy to mark one’s path; → Thai kruy marker stake; Cham truy.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung ray, Praok ruay [khay] imprint.

(*ru(u)y, *ruay see also 1534 *ru[wa]y fly.)

1507 *jraay thin, lean, lacking body.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Old Mon jrąy /jray/, Modern Mon sài to be lean, undernourished, Khmer crıāy thin in consistency, limp, soft, Khasi rai-[koh] lean (compounding form!).
(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)
1508 *draay kind of deer.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon drāy /dray/, Modern Mon krāi Axis porcinus (→ Burmese daray), Old Khmer drāy, Modern Khmer tri:ay stag, Stieng drai kind of deer, Biat drai swamp deer.
   (SHAFER 1965 469.)

1508a *nray?; *nray[ ] by metathesis *rnay pestle.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katsuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon rǐ?, Khmer ṭəŋrə; Kuy nəhrə, Bru nəhrə, Jeh adray, Thin dreʔ, Palaung gre, Riang-Lang rəʔ, Praok gri, Lawa Bo Luang ngrəʔ, Lawa Umphai ngréʔ, Mae Sariang ngréʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan kontreʔ; ~ Halang hadray (or < simplex?), Khasi synrei.
   or *-iʔ subject to post-dental lowering?
   B: (North Bahnaric; ~?) Bahnar hədrə.
   C: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau rənay, Biat rənai.
   (SMITH 1972 458.)
Sora on(d)'rɨ-ən, on(d)'rɨ-ən, on(d)'rɪ-ən, on(d)'rɨ-ən, in compounds rɨ-ən, rɪ-ən.

1508b *pray to make a profit.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katsuic) Mon proa; ~ Mon pəroa, (~?) Khmer kəmray (→ Thai kamray), Kuy (m)mrəi profit.
   Khmer dissimilation probably regular in absence of levelling.

1509 *(bruy?) bruy; *(bruuy) bruuy untidy, long-haired, frayed.
   A: (Khmer, ?Mon, Palaungic) Mon [həprək] həprũ to have unkempt hair (< *bru(u)y bru(u)y), Khmer prũy unusually long-haired, [peacock's] feathers, (*bruuy bruuy >; ?) Praok sibroy [sibrok] refuse.
   B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; *bruuy bruuy >) Khmer babruy [mat] to get ragged at the edges (GUESDON 1930), Bahnar bro:i bro:ì all having big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*c.[m] bruuy by contraction > *cmruuy >?) Bahnar cəbro:i having a big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1510 *(m)raay cotton thread.
   If Indonesian, Jarai -ai would be expected. Vietnamese sọi is probably rather connected Chrau rəwəy quantifier for string, hair.
   (BLOOD 1966 282; SMITH 1972 471.)
1511 *l[ ]ay[?]; *l[ ]aay[?] again.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *lay more, longer, else.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok lay mark of continuous or habitual action, Mường lê (BARKER 1966 25!); Vietnamese lăi; → Shan lāi again; (?) → Lawa Bo Luang pađia, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang paätzlich now.
Perhaps by contraction < *l[ ]as ?aay another time, cf. 1942, 1935, Vietnamese then < *laay? by metathesis.

†1512 *laay to dissolve, melt, become loose; idle.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kauic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar laaī [goai] [hair] floating free (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung lay [words] to be vain (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang lay to melt, Vietnamese lūī to be lazy; → Khmer thliài to break open, burst, split, crack, Kuy thliái to burst under pressure of water; → Chrau plaay to unwind; → Biet rklai to disentangle by secondary derivation; → Old Mon rāy /rlay/ to have loose, have unbound, to be idle, Modern Mon lāi to dissolve, to come loose, Khmer raliyay to dissolve, melt (v.i.); → Thai lalaay to dissolve (v.i.t.); → Khmer laliy = raliy; Malay relai to crumble, Acehnese rölē to collapse, subside; ← (*rnlæay >) Khmer rümliyay to melt by dissimilation, Lawa Umphai nai to melt, dissolve, Praok nay to be wasted.
Old Mon tulāy to hang down, Modern Mon kalai to come loose, hang loose, apparently < *tplaay (formally causative!) may be cognate with Chrau; & may be connected Khmer thliyay, &c. Idle by attraction 1861 *rliw?

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)
Santali lê to dissolve, melt, &c. (PINNOW 1959 150a; Proto-Munda *liG?).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *ruyai: Javanese rowē-rowē hanging loose, Pampangan lugay, luge [hair] hanging loose, Tagalog lugáy loose, unfastened (so Proto-Hesperonesian); probably by metathesis *yruai = **u[[l]aj to hang loose, DEMPWOLFF 1938 162 (Proto-West-Indonesian, adding Toba Batak ure-ure fruit cluster of sugar palm, Karo m-urê-urê to hang down on stalk; Malay, Batak initial by dissimilation, or ← Javanese, Gayo?); perhaps merging (ii) *lailai: Iban lelai to bend, droop, Cebuano Bisayan lählāy to droop..., Ilocano lählāy to wilt (so Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 310, hang.

(*laay see also 1435 *[?]aay other.)

1513 *lāyh to wander.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre lay [way], Palaung leh [lān] (MILNE 1931, songs), Riang-Lang [lāŋ] lē, Praok lay [liŋ]; → Vietnamese trāy to travel, go.
Cf. 715 *lān &c.
1514 *ləəy; *luəy to leave, leave alone, leave off.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng ɬəəy to cease, interrupt, Sre ɬəy (→ Röglai), Biat [jɑŋ &c.] ɬə to leave, Jeh ɬəy to set aside, Halang ɬə to stop; ~ Middle Mon ləəy, Modern Mon kəələy to leave; (~ *[l]mləəy >) Praok [bluay] bəy to stop, leave off.
B: (Palaungic) ~ Praok bluay to overlook, leave alone.
B secondary. Cf. 190 *leʔ to leave, depart; 2062 *leh …to go out.
(BLOOD 1966 405; SMITH 1972 463.)
(~) Kharia me’lae, melai to leave off (PINNOW 1959 K 346).

1515 *l̥ooəy easy, easy-going.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon ləələy to be easy, to be in easy circumstances, well-off (→ Burmese ləay to be easy), Sre ləy easy, easy to get (at) (DOURNES 1950; correct to ləəy?), Khasi loi-loi, lui-lui soft-hearted; ~ Khmer thləy to be careless, negligent, easy-going.

1516 *luʔ; *luuy[ ]; *luəy[ ]; *ləəy[ ] to wade, to swim.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mương) Khmer ləy to wade, paddle, Praok loy [ɾəm], Vietnamese lôi to swim.
B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon lūi to wade (through), Proto-Nyah Kur *luuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V275; implies *-uuy), Bru ləy to swim; ~ Old Mon lwuy /lwuy/ station in water.
C: (Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy li to swim, Palaung ləy, Temiar ləy to wade (BENJAMIN 1976b); → Cham ləy [ʔyaː], North Röglai luai, (or ᵃ?) Jarai ləi?, (or ᵇ?) Röglai ləy to swim; (~ *sluəy[ ] >) Kuy ləxi, sləi & Bru saləy to float (→ Thai ləy); ~ Sakai linoi to swim (i.e. Semai, Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 544).
D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Bahnar glaəy, Jeh taləy, Halang jəələy to swim; → Cham chaluəi; (~ *səlaəy[ ] >) Kammu-Yuan rə́ːy to float.
Cf. Thai luy to wade, Shan lūi to swim, &c., BENEDICT 1975 404; & 1456 *l̥uəy to swim.

1517 *luuy wax.
A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) ~ Mon pləe pluy, Proto-Nyah Kur *phluuy
(DIFFLOTH 1984 N217), Sakai pəlői (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 49); ~ Central Sakai kləwi.
†1518 *klay[?]; *klaay[?] to change.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer krolay.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Mon klai to translate, Khmer klaay to change, dissolve (v.i.) (contaminated by 1512 *laay), Kuy klaai to change shape or state, Kammu-Yuan klëy to exchange ceremonially, Palaung hlay (!) (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang klea, Lawa Umphai klai to turn over, (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese trđi to be contrary to; → Thai klaay to transform, to change, be changed; transformation.

Connect Sre gläy to make amends for (↔ Röglai); Mon hlai to change, exchange.
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 282.

1519 *klay? (daughter’s) husband.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat klai son-in-law; (~ *knlay? >) Kammu-Yuan kléi husband; (~ *pan kläy? by contraction >, cf. 1163?) Palaung pänle wife.

Connection dubious Khmer pdöy husband, allegedly ← Sanskrit/Pali pati-.

1520 *k(-)lay? penis.

Danaw has tlıe; by back-formation, or *k- part-of-body prefix? Connect 855 *lɔc &c.

1521 *slaay fields.

Cf. Late Old Mon dînläy /dänlay/ parcel [of cultivated land], Kammu-Yuan lëy wet field (quantifier). Prefer *s- as Mon obscure.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 94.)

1522 *jləəy prisoner of war.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon jlui /jluy/, Modern Mon klùi, Khmer chılry; → Thai cəaləay; Cham jalvy.

Connect B23 *[j][l]aa slave…?

1523 *t,luuy[ ]; *t,luay? banana.
A: (North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sakai telui (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 42), South Nicobarese talui.
1523a *d₂løy to swell, bulge.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer [lìən] thlè: dhler! to bulge, Sre lay gorged leech or tick (Dournes 1950), Biat lai stout, fat, (~?) Riang-Lang karay to swell up.

1524 *play? fruit.
A: (Khmer, Katuc, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Aslian) Khmer phlae, Kuy plai, Biat plai [chiː], Sre, Chrau, Jeh play (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Bahnar pley fruit, Halang play quantifier for fruit, Kammu-Yuan ple?, Palaung ple, Riang-Lang pleʔ, Praok pli, Lawa Bo Luang plaiʔ, Lawa Umphai ple?, Mae Sariang pleʔ?, Vietnamese trái, Che’ Wong poloʔ, Semai plai, Semelai paleːh fruit.

(Schmidt 1905 62; Shafer 1965 105, 505; Blood 1966 185; Smith 1972 457; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 282.)

1525 *pluuy kind of cucurbitaceous plant.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau ploːy [kind of] pumpkin or water-melon, Bahnar pluy gourd.

(Smith 1972 461.)

1526 *blaay young man.

1527 *bl[ə]ly to trade.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung lay to trade (Milne 1931), Praok lay trade; ~ Thin kōklai trade.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *boli(S): Malay bēli to buy, &c. (Demwpolf 1938 27), Rölglai bley; → Sre bley; Sakai bēli (Semai, Temiar), Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 485; (ii) *bili(S): Cebuano Bisayan bili price, &c. (cf. Demwpolf 1938 30; Tagalog rather < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). See Benedict 1975 282, exchange.

1527a *sl[əyʔ]; *[s]laoy[ʔ] edible moss.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer slae moss; ~ (*spl- >?) Riang-Lang kleʔ edible moss.
B: (Khmuic) ~ (*snl- >?) Kammu-Yuan klēy edible moss; → Lao ghay.
Connection uncertain Mon hloik.

1528 *sluy; *[s]luay to descend, decline.
A: (Khmer) Khmer sloy [clothing] to trail.
B: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung luay to be past noon, Besisi chēlui to descend (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 95).
\[1529 \star \text{way(-h); } \star \text{waay(-h) to turn, to wave.}\]

\textbf{A}: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Kuy \text{wih} to turn (away, towards), Bahnar \text{wih} to return; \rightarrow Thai \text{wày} to shake, quiver..., Shan \text{wài} to stir, wave; \sim Vietnamese \text{quay} to turn (v.i.t.) (\& \text{quày} to stir), Central Nicobarese \text{kewai-[re]} to swing arms, Nancowry kiwâyri; \rightarrow Thai \text{kway} to swing, sway; \sim Sre \text{kraway} dizzy; \sim Mon \text{hawoa saway} to turn round axis, to wave.

\textbf{B}: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Kuy \text{wèh} to avoid, step aside, Stieng [uiŋ] uai dizzyness, Bahnar \text{wai} to roll up, to turn round (Guilleminet 1959-63); curved, Palaung \text{vay} to wave hand, beckon, vëh to avoid, shun, Riang-Lang \text{voy} to turn [face], Vietnamese [oà]-\text{oai} to squirm, writhe (with phrasally conditioned tone?); \rightarrow Rögolai uy to turn (v.i.t.); Shan \text{wêi} to turn; \sim Sre \text{ijoay}, Chrau \text{nyay} [voi?] dizzy, Vietnamese ngoài to turn [head] round (with unexplained tone); \sim (\*\text{kIwaay}) Khasi \text{kyllai}[doedith] wagtail; \sim Khmer \text{chvay} to coil, braid, roll into a ball; \sim (\*\text{r}\text{naaay}) Mon \text{kamài} to stir, (?) Lawa Bo Luang \text{ràmëa}, Lawa Umphai \text{ràmái}, Mae Sariang \text{yaùmái} to mix. Add 1531 \*\text{wa(a)y} to transfer ownership? Cf. also 234 \*\text{wi(i)?} to turn; 235 \*\text{wëy?}, \*\text{weh} crooked, to twist; 1950a \*\text{was} &c. to wave, beckon.

(Schmidt 1905 68; Smith 1972 335.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) \*[-\text{y-}] \text{Jaaui}: Acehnese \text{rawe} to grope for in water &c., Javanese \text{awé} to beckon, Cebuano Bisayan \text{gaway} tentacles of jellyfish (&c.; so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) \*[-\text{k-}] \text{Jaaui}: Cebuano \text{kaway} tentacles of jellyfish, Tagalog \text{kaway} to beckon, Proto-Oceanic \*\text{kawe} tentacles.

Note Tibeto-Burman \*\text{wary} to whirl, brandish, wave, Benedict 1972 32 no. 90; \*\text{koy} to bend, Benedict 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210; & see Benedict 1975 241-2, move back and forth I-II.

\[1530 \star \text{way quick.}\]

\textbf{A}: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer \text{vèy} quick, prompt (\rightarrow Thai \text{way}), Kuy \text{wày} quick, quickly, Stieng \text{uei}, Sre \text{way quickly} (Dournes 1950).

\[1531 \star \text{way; } \star \text{waay to transfer ownership.}\]

\textbf{A}: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) \rightarrow Shan \text{wài [nim]} to sell on credit; \sim Sre \text{taway} to redeem; \rightarrow Rögolai \text{taway}, Malay \text{tawi}; \sim (\*\text{sway} > ?) Vietnamese \text{vay} to borrow.

\textbf{B}: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung \text{vay} to borrow, Riang-Lang \_\text{voy}, \_\text{way} to hire, lend, borrow [goods], Lawa Bo Luang \text{wia}, Mae Sariang \text{wuai} to borrow, lend, Praok \text{vay lease}, to lease, Khasi \text{wai} to lend, let; \sim Old Mon \text{twây}/\text{tway}/, Modern Mon \text{kwai}, Old Khmer \text{thvây}, Modern Khmer \text{thvây} to present; \sim Biat \text{cuai}, (\sim? cf. Vietnamese) Bahnar \text{huay} to redeem.

\[= 1529 \star \text{wa(a)y} to turn...? Cf. here 768a \*\text{wa[i]ŋ} &c. to borrow.\]

(Shafer 1965 198.)
1531a *waay elder sibling.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung vay 
kinship class including elder sibling, Riang-Lang _vay, _way parent’s or wife’s e. sister, elder sibling-in-law, (?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai _sì elder sister; ~ (*mwaay >) Alakong Bahnar _mài elder sister (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar _màmày elder sister.
Riang-Lang exchanges senses of *waay. 1494 *may. Connect perhaps 1497 *[gm][uu]y &c. sibling’s child, which compare; as 117 *mbii?
(SMITH 1972 470.)

†1532 *kwaay yam.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Mon kwai yam, Thin kwai sweet potato, Vietnamese khoai (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, khòaì [tiim]), Sakai kuóì yam (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 4); by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang _amea, Lawa Umphai *ramai kind of taro (via *knwaay?); Proto-Semai *bkoooy Dioscorea alata (DIFFLOTH 1977).
(?) Sora -gai-ăn, -gaɻ-ăn tuber (compounding form ~ go’naɻ-ăn, usually referred to gai- to dig; for which see 1541 *khaay &c.).
Cf. Tibeto-Burman *kywi, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 238.

1533 *kw[əə]y top, on top, above.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu’ kwày above; ~ Palaung karvuy above, beyond, upper part of house, loft, Lawa Bo Luang (hauk) _awui, Lawa Umphai [hauk] rawui (hair above =) eyebrow, (?) Praok sivoy in front, before; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan _parwày upper part, top.
Waic vocalism contextual?

†1534 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ru[wə]y > *ruy; *ruuy; *ruy; Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ruhay fly.
A: (Khmer) Khmer rûy.
B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon rûi, Proto-Nyah Kur *ruuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 N75), Central Nicobarese yuē.
C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy (tái)ruai, Stieng ruai, Chrau ràway, Bahnar rôy, Jeh rôy, Halang roay, Kammu-Yuan rôy, Palaung [a]ruay, Riang-Lang _ruay, Lawa Bo Luang roi, Lawa Umphai rua, Mae Sariang yuai, Vietnamese _ruôï, Semai ro:i (TANDART 1935), Nancowry yúay; ~ Cham rôy, Jarai ruai? (&c.), Röglai ràway, North Röglai ruai.
D: (South Bahnaric) Sre rhaay, Bunör ràhway, Central Rölöm huay, Biat rhuai. (SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 207; BLOOD 1966 91; SMITH 1972 480; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 199.)
Sora aroj-ăn, compounding form roj-ăn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 356; Proto-Munda *rəj).
1535 *rwaay tiger, large felid.
A: (Khmuiic, Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan [rɔːy] ṭawāy tiger [spirit], Thin rwāj, Palaung ṭəvay, Riang-Lang _rawoy, Praok sивy, Lawa Bo Luang ṭawia, Lawa Umphai ṭəvay, Mae Sariang yawia, yawuai tiger..., Bru ṭrawiy spirit.
(Shaffer 1965 221.)

1536 *[l]wəəy to become tired.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kwai! to feel weary, Khmer lvɤːy weak, flagging, indolent; ~ (*[l]rwəəy >) Khmer rvɤːy weak, flagging, indolent.
Mon initial & head register by phrasal deformation? Connection dubious Santali lambaɿ to walk) leisurely, slowly, tɿmbɔɿ slowly, wearily; fatigued (Pinnow 1959 K 528), since *-y is normally lost in Santali: ib. p. 281.

1537 *saay bee.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon sai; ~ Kammu-Yuan tərhɑy.

1538 *saay dispersed.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon sai to be separate, apart (in part, cf. below & 1501 *s-raay; sāy), Khmer sary to spread, stretch out, extend (v.i), to disperse (v.t.), Bru saʔ-sary scattered all over; ~ Mon sai to be separate... (in part; rhɑy), Khmer rəsary untied; sparse.
Or *rsaay < *s-raay by metathesis, *saay by back-formation? The same initial variants in 872 *(r-)saac, 837 *s-raac.

1539 *hɑy; *həoəy; *huay finished.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hey just now, Jeh hɑy enough, Halang hɑy already got.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer haay finished, already, Stięg hɔi perfect particle, Biat hɔi already, Praok hɔry punctuating particle, Sakai hoʔ to finish (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 115); ~ Kuy lhryi already.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung huay to have finished; → Shan hwɑy.
Connect 875 *huc &c.; cf. 250 *hiiʔ to cease... .
(Schmidt 1905 36; cf. Smith 1972 467.)
(?) Kharia hoʔ, hoʔ to be, become, to happen, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 83).

(*h[əy]? see 1435a *?[əy]? deictic.)

1540 *h[oo]y to call.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Sre hoʔy; ~ Khmer ḏɔŋhaoy to summon.
Onomatopoeic Khasi kynhoi to shout is probably independent.
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

1541 *khaay; *khəay to dig.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Middle Mon khāy, Modern Mon khai to dig, Khmer khāy to scratch, scrape, dig out; ~ (*khraay >) Khasi kharai ditch, trench.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese khoi.

Cf. A138 *kwaay to scratch, dig; 1442 *kaay to scratch.

(?) Sora gai-


1542 *khəy? (& *khəay?) moon, month.


Connection dubious Khasi bnaï. Derive perhaps → Tai *hŋaay moon (Tho-Nung), moonlight (BENEDICT 1975 330, light...).

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; SHAFER 1965 520; BLOOD 1966 184; SMITH 1972 464.)

(?) Sora an'gaj-an moon (< Proto-Munda *kangaj-, PINNOW 1959 K 151).

(*kh[yh] see 879 *khuc to wipe, wash.)

1543 *ghuuy; *ghuoy spirit, soul.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) ~ (*gmhuuy >) Mon həmuī ghəmuuy &c. a witch seen in form of will-of-the-wisp; ~ (*grhuuy >) Kammu-Yuan rōy spirit, Thin hroj, hṛę corpse, soul of dead person, spirit.

B: (North Aslian) ~ Semang rōwai soul (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 347).

Connect perhaps (i) Central Nicobarese orwí spirits, ghost; (ii) 935a *[hw]iijn soul, which compare; as 1447a *guuy shadow of living creature; B99 *[ ]polo]y shadow of living creature.

1544 *chaay to tip out.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Mon chāy to empty, pour out, t.o., unload, transfer, Khmer chāy to overturn, kick aside, kick out of the way, (!) Stieng cāi to pour out, Sre cāy to scare [birds] away, ?Bru hāy to pour out.

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1460 *kcaay to be scattered, with which there is contamination.
1545 *[c]hay to multiply.
   A: (Mon, Khaśi) Late Middle Mon [rān] chāy, Modern Mon [rān] chāi to become widespread, flourish, prosper; by secondary derivation ~ Khaśi kyrhai abundant; ~ byrhai many.

1546 *chuy; *chuy to emit smoke or steam.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) ~ (*cphuy >) Khmer phoy-phoy in puffs; ~ (*cphuy >) Khmer camhoy to cook by steaming, Kuy phui to blow [smoke], Biat bhui [smoke] to be emitted.
   B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese heoxe fire, Nancowry hiʔuay; ~ (*cphuy >) Thin ni to light, kindle; ~ Biat nhui [nhom] breath, Bahnar ?phuy, Jeh ?nûy, Halang ?nuay smoke; ~ Chrau camhuyi mist, vapour, steam.
   Connect Khaśi thi [smoke] to come out; & note Khmer camhāy vapour, fumes; Vietnamese hōt steam, vapour. Cf. also A11 *jhuʔ to set light to… .
   (SMITH 1972 460.)

1547 *thês to throw.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Mon thoa thay to throw, skim, Vietnamese thây to throw (away).
   Connect Burmese thwe; ← Mon *thui < *thəʔ [ ]?

1548 *thuy[?] tangled, confused.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Mon thui to be tangled, confused, to behave in a disorderly way (→ Burmese thwe); Vietnamese [lōi] thôi (with tone by phrasal assimilation?) to be complicated, involved, troublesome, untidy; ~ (*thuy[?] >) Mon [thui] harui dharuy to be confused, to behave in an unruly manner, Vietnamese rōi to be tangled, mixed up.

1549 *t håuy; *t håay; *t håay loose, lax, roomy.
   A: (Kuy, Palaungic) Riang-Lang thuy to be loosed, relaxed; ~ Kuy nthoï to slacken, pay out (contaminated by 1690 *dhu[ ]r, which compare?).
   B: (Bahnaric; ~ *t håuy >) Biat lhoxi loose [garment], West Bahnar khołxi sprung [trap] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Mon holoa talhay &c. width, extent (& by back-formation hloa to be broad, wide, extensive), (~?) Khmer lhæ to relax (v.i.).
   D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Kmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer lhåay, råhåay refreshing, refreshed, Kuy lhoxi, sloî cool, refreshing [breeze] (?), Bahnar råhåay loose, lax, relaxed, with tension released, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation kålvi loose [tooth].

1550 *phuuy; *phuəy; *pʔuuy blanket.
   A, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre ouy blanket. (< *pʔ-), Biat phoxi woollen blanket.
   B: (Khmer) Khmer phuəy blanket.
1551 *[ ]rha[a]y maggot, grub.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat rhai larva, grub, Chrau rai; Bahnar hrāy maggot (Guillaumeinet 1959-63 hrai!).

1552 *[ ]?iər fowl.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Khmuic) Sre, Biat iar, Chrau, Bahnar ?yer, Jeh iːl, Halang iːr, Thin ?iːr, Palaung iːr, Riang-Lang iːr, Praok iːa, Lawa ʔe, Khasi ʔar (~ s'iːar); ~ Kammu-Yuan həyər.
   Khasi prefix perhaps weak form of 1324 *ciim bird, Kammu-Yuan of 1127 *kuən child. Connection uncertain Mon [caiŋ] de jungle-fowl; conceivably < *lʔiər.
   (Shafter 1965 400; Blood 1966 111; Smith 1972 411.)

(*)?aar see 1562 *biʔaar two.

1553 *ʔor; *ʔoər joyful.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon 'uiw [tambuih] to be full of joy (& 'uiːt... by sandhi; Modern Mon nh komboh by phrasal rhyme), (A) Khmer ʔo: 'ar joyful (~ Cham auv); ~ (B) Biat nʔoər cheerful.

1554 *ʔur; *ʔuər; *ʔuər to lead, go in front.
   A, B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[ ]rʔ- >) Chrau iuɾ next [month] (A), Biat lor first (B).
   C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' ʔoər, Palaung uər to lead; ~ Chrau lor before (& by secondary derivation Bahnar adroːl before, first, in front of); ~ Stieng nor (in) front, before.
   (Blood 1966 60.)

1555 *ʔur[ ]; *ʔuər[ ] to command.
   A: (Viet-Muong; ~ ?) Vietnamese hói to urge, press (< *pʔur causative? otherwise *ʔur).
   B: (Mon, North & Central Asian) Old Mon or /ʔoɾ/ to cause to, command to, Nyah Kur ʔuər ('causing to' =) resultative verb auxiliary, Proto-Semai *ʔoər to order, to ask (Diffloth 1977); ~ Middle Mon p'or to send to, to cause to, bid, urge to, Pangan [ya]-pē'-or to command, order (i.e. Mendriq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 54).

1556 *ʔu[ ]; *ʔoə[ ] ʔ stream-bed.
   A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer ʔo: 'ūr watercourse, stream, stream-bed, West Bahnar ʔor flood-plain (Guillaumeinet 1959-63); ~ Khmer  coquine: channel, ditch, (or ~ 1597 *cuyər[ ]?) Khasi nūr /nɔːr/ channel.
   B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) West Bahnar ʔor flood-plain (Guillaumeinet 1959-63); ~ Khmer coquine can'ur channel, ditch, area between ditches.
   C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ʔor flood-plain (Guillaumeinet 1959-63).
1557 *[c]ʔiir plentiful, excessive.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon s'í to be numerous, plentiful, Stieng ʔiir (BLOOD 1966), Sre ʔiir, Biat ʔiir too much.
Cf. Bahnar hier to find someone tiresome (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 212.)

1558 *cnʔiir; *cnʔər kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cáŋʔe: caň’er shallow basket, riddle, Sre nir kind of hemispherical basket.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat nɔr [raŋ] riddle.

1559 *cʔər to belch.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Mon) Central Rölöm ʔər, Biat ʔər; ~ Khmer ʔəʔao caň’or (I; contaminated by to vomit ad 11 *cʔ[au]ʔ); ~ Nyah Kur təŋʔvr &c. (L-THONGKUM 1984 p.371).
Cf. 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ &c. to hiccup, belch.
(BLOOD 1966 380.)

1559a *cʔur; *cʔuur; *[c]ʔuar; *cʔər; *cʔər warm.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng ur to heat [leaf, to soften it] (or B), Kammu dialect ěr to cook (contaminated by 1685 *hur to expose to heat, which compare), Nancowry ʔóy warm; ~ Palaung kəʔɯ ur to be warm (or E?), Praok siʔau to be hot.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [toʔ] or or lukewarm (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63), Khasi ur (or A?) with a warm sensation, Central Nicobarese oæ warm, Nancowry ʔúay; ~ Praok siʔu to be healthy, warm.
C: (Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Khasi (probably, rather than A) or-or very [warm], Vietnamese oî to be sultry.
D: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa saʔau warm.
E: (Khmer; contaminated by *hur) Khmer chʔəo ch’or to roast, grill.
For Bahnar vocalism see 527 *cuuŋ. Connect 1671 *waar &c. hot, to heat; & cf. 1561 *p[ə]ər &c. to dry.

1559b *tʔiir; *tʔər blue, green.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat ʔər yellow; ~ (*t[l]ʔiir >) Sre talir blue, green (→ Röglai), Khasi ʔiir blue, indigo (compounding form?).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat ʔr blue, Thin ʔůr blue.
1560 *d₂ʔuur, *d₂hər kind of apid.
kind of large apid; ~ (*d₂nʔuur >) Kuy nʔor small yellow kind of wasp (& (~n)ŋor bee), Bru taʔur hornet, Kammu-Yuan canʔur small kind of wasp, Riang-Lang canʔur striped domesticated kind of bee.
B: (Mon) Mon tho kind of hornet.
Cf. Thai ʔo kind of wasp (< *to hornet, BENEDICT 1975 403-4, sweet...).

1561 *pʔar; *[p]ʔər, *phaar (?) *phaar to dry.
A: (South Bahnaric, ?Kuy) Sieng par, Sre par to dry over fire (DOURNES 1950); ~ Kuy nʔār to smoke over fire (or B); ~ Biat nʔor drying-rack.
B: (Khasi; by secondary derivation) ~ Khasi tyng-iər (& tyng-iir) drying-rack for firewood.
C, D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese phai to dry out of doors (D); ~ Sre pənhar drying-rack (probably C, cf. Biat).
Connect Central Nicobarese hār- to dry, Bru ?ur to dry out of doors. A, B contaminated by 1559a *cʔa(a)r warm, or C, D contaminated by 1685 *hur to expose to heat?

1562 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *biʔaar > *baar, Pre-Khmer *[b]iar, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔaar two.
Old Mon ɓar /ɓar/, Modern Mon ba, Old Khmer ber, vyar, Modern Khmer piː; Kuy biːa (!; contaminated by Khmer ?), Bru biːr, Sre biːr (!), Chrau varr, Biat, Halang ber, Bahnar biːr, Jeh biːl, Kammu-Yuan pær, Riang-Lang ϐur, Palaung, Khasi ar, Mường hal (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese hai, Kintaq Bong biyeh, Che’ Wong ber, Central Nicobarese ēr, Nancowry ʔā; ~ Riang-Lang ʔarʔar pair, (~?) Praok ra, Lawa laʔa two; ~ Temiar naar two; ~ Mah Meri hmaːh, Semaq Beri mar.
(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 38; SHORTO 1972; BLOOD 1966 279; SMITH 1972 415; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 271.)
Sora compounding form baː(ː)r-, Kharia uˈbar, &c.; ~ Sora bənaːr- second, next (PINNOW 1959 49; with derivation cf. Temiar)

1562a *snʔaar kind of stinging insect.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer sənʔaːr, Kuy nʔaar kind of black ant with painful sting, Riang-Lang ʔaʔar wasp.

1563 *sʔuur; *sʔar to emit a smell.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Halang sur to smell, Jeh sul smell (quantifier), Kammu-Yuan [haʔur] haʔdoor to smell pleasant; pleasant scent, Palaung ur smell, to smell, stink; ~ (*snʔuur >) Lawa Bo Luang [saʔau] hŋau fragrant; ~ (*sʔu ur >) Mon həmao samə &c. odour (merging vapour, gas < 1807 *k/m/huul).
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B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan haʔúr to smell pleasant…, Central Nicobarese ʔi
    smell, Nancowry ʔūy; haʔúy to make sth. smell (or ʔ?).

Connect Chrau nθoor fragrant. Cf. 15 *sʔu[ ]ʔ &c. mouldy, spoiled.

(SMITH 1972 419.)

Sora 'ur-an, uʔur-an bad smell, ~ ʔ'nr- to emit a smell.

1564 *koor to scrape, shave.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer kao kor to scrape, shave, Bru
    koor to scrape with spoon, Stieng kour to cut [hair], shave, Biat koor to scrape,
    Bahnar kɔːr to comb, scratch with comb, Jeh koːl, Halang koar to shave, Khasi
    khur to rake (together), scrape, Central Nicobarese koː-[ʔa] to scrape [coconut
    meat] (or is Nicobarese /kuʔi/?).

Connection dubious Vietnamese cǎo to scrape, shave, cǎo to scratch, claw, rake.

(SMITH 1972 422.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kurkur: Javanese kukur to scratch, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
    83); (ii; ?) *kud3kud3: Malay kukur to rasp, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82, *

1565 *k[u]r to dig.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon kir /kɔr/ to dig, Proto-Nyah Kur *kɔːr! (DIFFLOTH
    1984 V215), Stieng kʊr (to dig with) mattock; ~ Old Mon kwir, Modern Mon kwo
digging-stick.

Cf. Biat kɔːr to dig; & 1593 *ciir.

Pampangan kulkúl to dig, perhaps Karo Batak ng-kurkur-i to turn surface soil without
    tool.

1566 *kuur infected.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau kɔr painful, Central Rölöm [jiː] kʊr sickness, Bahnar kuur
    festering (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*knmuur >?) Sre mour, Biat mɔːr
    inflammation.

(BLOOD 1966 7.)

1567 *[ ]kuur wind, storm.

A: (Khmuic, Palauingic) Thin (h)kur, ʔkʊr thunder (storm) (contaminated by 1582
    *[t₁]ga(a)r?), Palauing kur, Riang-Lang ʔkur, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang kau,
    Lawa Umphai kau wind; ~ Kammu-Yuan həŋkûr storm.

1568 *cnkuɔr; *[c]nka[a]r integument.

A: (Mon) Mon hako jakow bark, outer husk of coconut, Proto-Nyah Kur *cəŋkyar
    (DIFFLOTH 1984 N77).

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre nkar shell, husk, Bahnar akrar skin, rind, shell, bark, Bru
    ŋkar skin, sakar scalp.

(SHAFER 1965 401; SMITH 1972 418.)
(i) Sora əkur- to peel off (v.i.), kur-ən (compounding form, ~ 'kur(r)aŋ-ən), Mundari ur bark, &c.; (ii) Mundari harta bark, &c. (PINNOW 1959 366; but some cited forms rather: 1687 *huur skin).

1569 *[t]kur to stir.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ko: kūr to stir, Stieng kur to stir, to beat or turn while cooking; ~ Mon hako thakuw &c. to stir.

1570 *[d]kər tree, plant.
A: (Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Mường cāl (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese cây, Jah Hut, Mah Meri takh tree; by secondary derivation ~ (Pre-Viet-Mường *p-kər >) Mường cāl (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese cây to transplant [rice seedlings].
Cf. 1719 *d,geI &c. trunk, stump.

1571 *[b]kaar to cook over fire.
A: (Khamitic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kār to grill, roast, Riang-Lang ƙər to broil, roast, toast, cook in smoke of fire.
Malay bakar to set on fire, burn, roast, toast (probably → Javanese) (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 20, *baka[I]).

1572 *sk[e]r to look intently, aim.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Literary Mon kew, Sre ker to aim at, Chrau kər to look at, Central Nicobarese hakia-[hatə &c.] to peep, aim, with one eye closed, Nancowry hakia ~ kia (rather *-iər?).

1573 *skɔɔr sugar.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon ko (s)kaw syrup, Khmer skɔ: skar (→ Stieng s*kɔɔr?), Biat [kac] kɔɔr sugar (beside chkɔɔr ← Khmer).
If ← Indo-Aryan, an early loan; for Mon-Khmer origin cf. PRZYLUSKI in MSLP 22 208² (& TURNER 1962-66 12338).
(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1574 *[ ]gar seed.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gar seed, grain, kernel, Bunör gar seed, Bahnar gar seed, pip; ~ Sre gənar = gar; ~ Central Rölüm ŋgar seed, Biat ŋgar grain, kernel.
Or *bgar, ~ 1276 *grap by metathesis?
(BLOOD 1966 345.)

² [Editorial note: we were unable to confirm the Przyluski reference. The journal is apparently Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. Perhaps Volume 22, page 208 are indicated.]
1575 *gəə to catch fire.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Old Mon gir /gər/ to shine, Modern Mon kə to blaze up, shine, glow; ~ (*pəər >) Middle Mon bgir to cause to shine, to set light to; ~ (*pəər > ?) Mon həə baguiw to fan or blow into flame, Vietnamese got to arouse, awaken [memories, desires].
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 1978 *guh &c. to glow, burn.

1576 *gur earth yielding red ochre.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gur earth yielding red ochre (Dournes 1950), Biat [luʔ] gur laterite, Bahnar gur earth yielding red ochre (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Connect perhaps ultimately Sanskrit hingula-, hinguli- vermilion (whence Old Mon hingul).

1577 *gur; *guər ear of grain.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang _samkor.
B: (Khmer) Khmer kəu guə(r) ear, pod.

1578 *gur; *guər; *əər ridge, handle.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre gor central ridge or vein, spine.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar gor id., range of hills (Guilleminet 1959-63).
C: (Bahnaric, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Sre gor central ridge or vein, spine (Dournes 1950), Bahnar gor handle of tool, Bru kir rod; ~ ?Nancowry hinkəʔa spine; (probably) → Cham kàr, Jarai gər, Röglai gər, North Röglai əə, Acehnese əə handle, stem; ~ Chrau ŋər bridge [of nose], Biat ŋər handle of knife.

†1579 *guər to fall, be shed.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Old Mon gur /gur/, Modern Mon kə [rain] to fall, Riang-Lang _kur [leaves] to fall, (?) Kerbat gəl to fall (i.e. Batg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 20).
Add Khmer /ʔol/ 'ur [rain] pouring down, bəʔol to rain, bəʔao paŋər to rain; Khasi ur to fall down?
Sora guə- to rain, Kharia gur to fall, &c. (Pinnow 1959 106).
(Proto-Austronesian *gu[ ]gu[2/3] Malay gugor [fruit] to fall singly, Javanese gugur to fall off, fall away (so Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ~ *gadəʔagadəʔ to fall apart, Dempwolff 1938 51 & Blust 1972 no. 26).

1580 *guər fitting, proper.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon gor /gor/ to be meet, fitting, good, Modern Mon kə ought, Khmer kəə guər proper, suitable; → Cham guər proper, suitable; Thai kəuan.
1581 *ŋgər to seek out.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon ʁir /ŋgər/ to seek out, Modern Mon nɪ to search for among undergrowth or hair, Proto-Nyah Kur *kɪər! (Diffloth 1984 V217); ~ Sre təŋgər to seek to descr.

1581a *[c]gar; *cgaar to fence, enclose.
A: (Khasi) Khasi kər; (by secondary derivation?) ~ kper garden.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer cəmka: cəmкâr garden, plantation, (~?) by metathesis (*c.raak >) Riang-Lang sərək fence, garden.
Connect (i) Kammu-Yuan ʰǎŋkùr wall; to shut [door]; (ii) perhaps Sre pəngər fence, Biat ŋgər fence, hurdling, then contaminated by rather than ← Indonesian (*pə[ɖ obscured]gər): Dempwolf 1938 110, *-[ɨ], Proto-West-Indonesian; Cham pəkə; &c.; but this may itself be connected.

A: (Khmer, Khmuc, ?Mon) Kammu-Yuan (by voicing metathesis?) kūr; → Malay tagər thunder clap; ~ (*[t]pə- >) Mon həkə (or A), Khmer phkə: phgər thunder.
B: (Palaungic; probably ~) Riang-Lang təkər.
Connect by metathesis 1622 gər &c. Cf. (i) Bahasa Indonesia -gər to rumble, gelegər rumbling (of gunfire, thunder) (so connected 1584 *səgar?); (ii) Proto-Austronesian *guruq to rumble (Dempwolf 1938 57, *guluḥ; Malay thunder); (iii) 1567 [ɨ]kuur wind, storm. See Benedict 1975 368, rumble.
(Schmidt 1905 36, 70; Shafer 1965 566.)

1583 *[t]guur; *[t]gar straight, upright.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon də (figurative) to be upright, Modern Mon təkə also to be straight; ~ Old Mon tɪŋgər /təngər/ upright position.
B: (Khmuc; ~?) Kammu-Yuan sakər (!) straight; ~ səmkər to straighten, to aim.
Kharia sənghər straight (Pinnow Kharia Tables 169 no. 20).

(*bər see 1574 *[ ]gar seed; *Inguur, *Inguər see 1720 *Ingal plough.)

1584 *səgar, *səgaar (kind of) drum.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer səgar, Modern Khmer skə, Central Rölöm ɡar, gar, Bunər ɡar, Biat ɡər, (?) Bahnar səgar, həgar, Halang həgar drum, Palaung gar noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]; → Cham (hə)kər, Jarai həgər, Röglai həgar, North Röglai səga drum; ~ Old Mon singər /səŋər/, Sre səŋər, Chrau səgar barrel-shaped drum, Jeh ngəl drum.
Bahnar, Halang perhaps by (back-)borrowing, or < *səgar.
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Bru səŋkər, Kuy [kʰuːən]kʰuːar large temple drum, Stieng səŋər.
Cf. A144 *[ ]guur noise; Stieng ɡər, ɲər drumming of rain &c.; & for a possible Indonesian connection 1582 *[t]gəoər throne.
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

(*ŋiər see following)

1585 *ŋəar (> Pre-Palaung &c. *ŋiər, *ŋə(ə)r); *ŋə[cc]r green.

‡1586 *[t1]ŋə to listen, hear.

1587 *tŋər kind of bamboo.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer tño: thña! kind of bamboo with long internodes, Biat ɲər kind of bamboo, Khasi [ri]nger (compounding form) kind of rattan, Calamus species, (? *tnər by assimilation >) Sre dar very straight kind of bamboo, Oxenanthera species; ~ (*t[n]ŋər >) Chrau tŋər large kind of bamboo.

1588 *t²ŋuu; *t²ŋiər to make a moaning or sighing sound.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer thño: thňər to moan, groan, complain, to hoot, to coo, Palaung hŋur (MILNE 1931), Semang těngoh to groan (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 GUESDON 1930 118).
B: (Palaungic) Praok ɲia to sigh, (rek —) groan.

1589 *[d1]ŋər abstracted.
A: (Mon, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon lňaw [lĭan] to be dazed, lost in thought, (?) Central Nicobarese gə-[čəkar] soienn, o-ŋəhə-[čəkar] melancholy; ~ Khasi dyngngor to be in a stupefied state, spellbound.

1589a *[r]ŋar; *rŋa[ar] cold.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ɲər.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer raŋiə rañəl (bitter) cold, Praok ɲə to be cool.
1590 *[l]ŋaαrh the right way up, supine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mường ngā (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese ngūa to lie on back; ~ (*[l]ŋaαrh > ) Mon tņēa to lie on back, to be the right way up; ~ (*[l]ŋaαrh > ) tņēa to turn the right way up; ~ (*[l]ŋaαrh > ) Khmer phnā: phnār on one’s back, the right way up, looking back.
Or *rŋ-. Cf. (i) Biat ngar to look up; (ii) Palaung sānguh to look up; (iii) Proto-Austronesian *tiŋadaq to look up, DEMPWOLFF 1938 138 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

1591 *[c]ir plant used to treat wounds.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre sīr solanaceous plant used to treat wounds (↔ Röglai), West Bahnar [pāgan] sīr tuber used as plaster for wounds (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1592 *cir; *ciir; *ciar to cover, shelter.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon ciir /cər/ to ward [off], Middle Mon cuiw to screen, Modern Mon cs to cover over, to wall, Bahnar sīr to be completely covered, hidden.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar sīr to be completely covered, hidden.
C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese che to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter.
Add perhaps (*cuar > ) Thin sōr to hide.

1593 *ciir to dig.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ciir, Biat chīr to dig [hole], Bahnar sīr to dig (out, up, hole), Jeh cil, Halang ciar to dig.
Cf. (i) 1565 *kur; (ii) Sora sar-.
(SMITH 1972 405; cf. SHAFER 1965 482.)

1594 *ciir; *ciar to cut up.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ciir to cut up cloth; ~ (*[b]ciir by secondary derivation ~) Bahnar tajer to cut into large flat pieces.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer cia ciar to slice, trim, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese chia to divide; ~ Kammu-Yuan cīr segment, slice, to cut into segments (& cēr to divide, distribute; by arbitrary variant?); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tajer to cut into small slices.

1594a *car; *caar wild cat, small felid.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan sar cīvcat, Palaung sar wild cat; ~ Khasi ksar fox (or B; ?); ~ Chrau samar [barr] flying squirrel.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (*[k]caar > ) Bahnar caar wild cat; ~ Khmer chma: chmā! cat, (— ba:) flying squirrel.
Cf. Cham mucā; &c. cīvcat, Proto-Ambonese *maďer dasyure (STRESEMANN 1927; so Proto-Austronesian *maZə[ry]?).
(SMITH 1972 417.)
1595 *caar resinous.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ca: cār, Kuy ca:r Butea frondosa, yielding red resin, Sre sar resinous.

1596 *cur pig.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng sur, Sre sur, Chrau sur, Biat chor, Jeh còl, Halang cur.
(SHAFER 1965 244; BLOOD 1966 164; SMITH 1972 404.)

†1597 *cuur []; *caur []; *car[s] to flow, to pour.
A: (Palaungic) Praok sù to pour, ~ Lawa Bo Luang cau, Lawa Umphai cau waterfall; ~ Khasi nur /no:r/ channel (or ~ 1556 *ʔu[ ]r?).
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Mon) Palaung [om] suar current, Mon co small creak or stream, Proto-Nyah Kur *cuar (DIFFLOTH 1984 N239); (or A?) → Röglai sor to flow, trickle; ~ Bahnar cəɔːr (drainage) channel, to canalize; ~ Kuy neɔːr eaves (contaminated by 1606 *jɯər [], cf. Mon həyu eaves < *jnjuur []).
C: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon co to pour, Vietnamese chây to flow, melt, leak.
C contaminated by 1600 *jar to exude? Cf. further 1686 *h[u]r? &c. to flow (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Sora ɩr-, er- to pour, ‘er[dəː] sprinkling (n.).
Proto-Austronesian (i; *k'ud2/3k'ud2/3) Gayo chêčɔːr to seep out, Malay chuchur to flow, trickle, Javanese chuchur-an to jet out (& chur in a jet; ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *paN'k'ud2/3: Malay panchur-an conduit, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112, *-[l]; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pa(N)'k'a[d2/3]: Malay panchar to emit rays, sounds, &c., probably Cebuano Bisayan pásad to scatter, to be scattered (then Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 112).
Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *sywar = *swar to flow; to pour, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 241.

1597a *kcəər fin.
A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Nicobaric) Biat cəɔ [kəː] fin, Nyah Kur cʃyɾ fin, Central Nicobarese kaʃ'- (~ kəː) dorsal fin, (~ wiəŋ-kəː) ventral fin.

1598 *[] Incuur lips.
A: (Palaungic) Praok juw.
Kharia lu'cu, &c. (PINNOW 1959 363; Proto-Munda *lukur?).

†1599 *bcuər to plough.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer phcûːa bhjuar (& cûːa furrow, by attraction line, row < 1605 *[j]uərh), Stieng cuər, Biat cuər; ~ Kuy cuər.
Sora or(-'ro).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1600 *jar; *jäә to exude.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmu' jar to leak; ~ (*jnjar > ) Bahnar dialects ḫanajr, ḫañjar to suppurate (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   B: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan cēr to drip, Riang-Lang _car to leak, (so probably, rather than A) Palaung jar to exude (Milne 1931), Khasi [um]-jer dew.
   = following? Cf 1606 *jur[ ] &c. to descend; 1597 *cuur[ ] &c. to flow.
   Santali jorā drip, drop, trickle, leak, &c. (Pinnow 1959 219).

1601 *jar (especially poisonous) sap.
   (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer jär, jār, Modern Khmer cәә gum, (poisonous) sap (→ Thai cәәn dammar), Kuy chār sap, resin, gum, Sre jär vegetable poison (Dournes 1950), Chrau jär sap, arrow poison, Biat jär poisonous sap, Bahnar jär sap, resin, Palaung jar sap (Milne 1931).
   = preceding? (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 52.)

1602 *jär? quick, to run.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Central Aslian) Sre jär quick, urgent, Muông chǎl (Barker 1966 23), Vietnamese chay, Proto-Semai (Diffloth 1977) *jar? to run; ~ Vietnamese nhay to be speedy, to react quickly.
   (Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 200.)

1603 *jär (& *jær?); *jur to warm oneself at [fire].
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok co (< *jär?); ~ (*njær > ) Stieng njør, Sre njar, Biat njør.
   B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar nur.

1604 *jɔ[ ]r flowers, blossom.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon jɔr /jɔw/, Modern Mon cɔ blossom, Khmer cɔ: jɔr floral pattern, lace.

   A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông) ~ Praok nu creeper, Khasi snur crack, seam, cobweb, (~ *jpnur? > ?) Muông nół (Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese nốt to join, connect, to continue, succeed.
   B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Old Khmer jvar, Modern Khmer cùa, (~?) Biat cuar line, row, Vietnamese chuôi string [of beads], file, series, succession; ~ Middle Mon cnor /cnɔw/ row, Modern Mon hno line, rule, Biat nɔr [yɔkk] [mountain] range, Riang-Lang ~nuar cord.
   C: (Mon) Literary Mon jti to arrange in order = Middle Mon ci [reñ], Modern Mon ci [ræŋ], perhaps ~ Burmese ci [raŋ] ~ Mon.
   D: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon cew [reñ] to arrange, Riang-Lang cər row (→ Palaung, Mon, taər to form a row?), Praok [maw] sίya cord.
Initial discrepancies obscure; perhaps separate roots in *c-, *j-, with mutual contamination. Add perhaps Vietnamese gîây, gîay row (then < *-jarh; connection dubious Mường dâl, BARKER 1966 251). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 66.)

Sora jül-(jul-) to string — jo'nu'l-an string of beads; ro'jojol-le in a line.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'i[ ]dia[r]: Javanese jèjèr in a row, in rows, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *d'id[i][i]; NOTHOFER 1975 61; Proto-Malayo-Javanese: ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *d'a[ ]da[r]: Malay jajar line, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay); ~ *baNd'a[r] row. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 18). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 55.)

1606 *jur[ ] *juur[ ]; *jur[ ]; *jir[ ]; *jiar[ ] to descend.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng jur, Chrua juur, Biat jur to descend, Jeh jôl, Halang jur down, Lawa Bo Luang co to leak; ~ Stieng njur to take down, Chrua tanjur to put down, Biat njur to put down, West Bahnar jur to descend (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok jao to shed [tears], Vietnamese gîô to pour.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Bahnar jur, Kammu-Yuan cûr, Riang-Lang _cur to descend, Palaung jur valley, Khasi jur descent, Semai l jàr to fall; ~ Old Mon jmur /jmur/ [elephant] subject to must, Middle Mon jmü also falling [rain], by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon hamû [elephant] subject to must; ~ (*jɛjruur[ ] >) Mon ᵀhacû to drip.

C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy [baʔ] chôr to sweat profusely, Lawa Umphai chua to leak; ~ Mon hmû [elephant] subject to must; ~ (*nɛjjuar[ ] >) Bahnar ᵀhânr trickling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese cê drizzle; ~ Bahnar ᵀhânr-[hânr] very sweaty. Cf. Nancowry cêh to drip; Bru cacûr to drip, ooze.

E: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Praok cita to fall, be shed, Central Nicobarese ciê to drip, (~?) Khasi jiar (& pijar; original compounding form?) to drain off, filter.

*-r if Vietnamese tone is from plosive sequence; but Central Nicobarese ciyau leak (in canoe, roof) suggests a metathetic *juûu2. Front vocalism secondary. There is contamination with 1600 *jar &c. to exude & 1597 *cuurf [ ] &c. to flow, to pour. Cf. also 1657 *yur &c. to hang down…; 539 *juuŋ (to) rain; 1898a *jus to take down… .

(SHAFER 1965 119; BLOOD 1966 157; SMITH 1972 403.)

(i) (?) Santali jur to fell, drop, fall, Mundari nur to flow out (PINNOW 1959 106); (ii) Sora sir- to spurt, er- to pour, 'er-an, 'jer-an flow.

1607 *juur (& *juuʔ?) to siphon.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrua, Bahnar jor; ← Rôglai jur to siphon, North Rôglai ju siphon; ~ Stieng januɔr, Sre jenur siphon (← Rôglai), Bahnar janora liquid siphoned up. Stieng diphthong perhaps regular following nasal.
1608 *[k]jir; *[k]jar dense, close together.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jir, Jölong sir (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar kir
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (by metathesis?).
B: (North Bahnaric) Jölong ser (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai kiar by metathesis?

(*ɲə(r) see 1585 *ɲaar green.)

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon [c̩k] (k)əɳə, Sre bənar (DOURNES 1950).

1610 *tiar to forge.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng thiar (!), Sre tiar, Biat ciar to forge, Bahnar tier,
tier to hammer to an edge (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Vietnamese de anvil; → Cham [pa]tya:, Röglai tia: to forge.
Cf. Bru der to have a knife made.

1611 *t1[e][r] to warn.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok te to warn, remind, Vietnamese de to threaten.

1612 *t1ar to run.
A: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tar, Praok to, Lawa Bo Luang tə, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang tə.
Cf. Thin dər.

1613 *taar counterbalance of axe (*cuuŋ).
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar tər.
Add perhaps (*tar >) Old Mon tar /tər/, Modern Mon tə stalk, handle.

1614 *tə[r] to fight.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tə [kənəh], Khmer tə-(təəl) &c., ta!; ~ Khmer tədo: tətar to struggle; ~ Old Mon tər /tər/ warrior.

1615 *turh to change, exchange.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer do: fūr to barter, to
give change, Kuy tɔr to buy, Stieng tur to change [places], Nancowry tɔh to
change, Mường tɔi (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese dɔi to change (→ Sre duih).

= following?
(SHAFFER 1965 406.)
1616 *t₁[ᵪ] ᵜ to give.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Literary Mon tuiw to give, Praek to to give, hand over,
Lawa Bo Luang [hau] toa, Mae Sariang [heu] tau to send; ~ (*t₁rp[ᵪ][ᵪ] >)
Middle Mon tawuiw gift; Nancowry hatóyha to send.

1617 *t₅ to hit with fist.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat tor to hit with downward movement of fist, Sre, Bahnar tur to hit with fist.
(SHAFER 1965 80.)

†1618 *t₇ur (to get) burnt.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon tur /tur/ to burn (v.i.), Modern Mon tao also to get burnt,
Khmer dao tor blistered (→ Kuy do to blistered, burned).
(Proto-Austronesian *tu[tu₃] Javanese totor wood fire, to make fire, Iban tutur to apply fire to, burn, brand [person] (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1619 *k₉i₄ termite.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kɔndi k₉i₄, Chrau g₉i₄, Biat ne₉i₄ termite, Bahnar kate₉r male termite (GUilleminet 1959-63; East Bahnar also kate₉r).
Connect Khasi k₉i₄ centipede?

1620 *k₉ar board, plank.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuc, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer k₉ar, Khmer kda₉ piece of wood, plank (→ Stieng k₉a₉ table, plank, Chrau k₉a₉ plank, Biat k₉a₉ board), Kuy (k)₉ar board, plank, Bahnar t₉ar board; ~ Old Mon kintir /k₉a₉t/ seat, Modern Mon hato board, seat.
Khmer/Kuy vocalism post-dental. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 32.)

†1621 *k₉u₄, *k₉u₄ ear.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Katuic) Kuy (k)₉or, Bru k₉oʳ, Stieng t₉ur, Sre tour, Biat tour ear (→ Chrau), Riang-Lang  cor (!) outer ear.
B: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon k₉o'r /k₉o'r/, Modern Mon kato, by metathesis (*t₉ku₄ >)
Khari sk₉o'r ear.
Chrau **c(h)₉or is expected.
(SHAFER 1965 404, 460; BLOOD 1966 18.)
Kharia lu₉ur, &c.; ~ Remo lint₉ur, &c. (PINNOW 1959 147; Proto-Munda *luktur;
suggesting *-t₁-).

†1622 *[g]₉i₄; *g₉ar (to) thunder.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar t₉ar thunder clap, [lightning] to strike (GUilleminet 1959-63; !); ~ (*[g]₉i₄ >) Mon hate to lament, Kuy nth₉i₄ resounding, Biat nte₉r to cry out; ~ Middle Mon gater /g₉a₉w/ long-drawn-out intonation, Biat nte₉r clap.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Cf. Proto-Austronesian

Sora dialects

Santali "her stroke of lightning, &c. (PINNOW 1959 165; Proto-Munda *-e-)."

Proto-Austronesian *kitar?" Iban ngitar lightning.

†1623 *gt,ar (& *gt,ɐ?) to shiver.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer khtə khdär to vibrate, sound (contaminated by preceding?), Bahnar tar-[war] (!) to shake with fear, (variant >?) Central Nicobarese katə to tremble, vibrate, Nancowry tua v.i., katūa v.t.; ~ (*gt, - >) Mon hə to shiver, Khasi kynther (~ variant?) to shake off, shed, flutter; ~ (*gt,ar gt,ar >, or by secondary derivation?) Khmer tətə dədər (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, dədə [teeth] to chatter?), Tolo Bahnar tatar to shiver (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Cf. Bahnar tatey, Gölār Bahnar tateyc; tataʔ, (probably) → Cham tataʔ [trəj], kəteʔ, Jarai t′tuʔ, Röglai kəteʔ, North Röglai tatah; Jölong tətəc (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); all by expressive variant? *-t,- in view of Sora Sora by metathesis 'takur-.

Proto-Austronesian *ka(N)tor: Malay gêtar, kêtar, &c., Tagalog katál (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 79; Proto-Hesponesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 33.)

1624 *[c]t,ur; *[c]t,uur; *[c]t,əər crest.

A: (Palaunigic) ~ Riang-Lang santor crest, fin.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ntor crest, fin (probably, rather than A), Biat ntuur [coər] ridge of roof.

C: (Bahnaric) Jeh təl, Halang tər comb of cock; ~ (*[c]lt,əər >) Stieng altər,

Chrau gatər, Biat ntər [iar] comb of cock.

(SMITH 1972 408.)

†1625 *di[r]; *diər; *dar to circle round.


B: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Chrau dir to swerve, go around, Biat deər to make a detour, Bahnar der tadıər [small bird] soaring (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (or C) ~ Khasi jynter spinning-wheel.

C: (Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai), Bahnar dar going round, circumambulation; ~ Sre sadar to go round (→ Röglai adar). Add as derivative 1630 *[ ]na(a)r sun, day? Note further Bahnar tadıuer to revolve rapidly.

(SHAFER 1965 122; SMITH 1972 414.) Sora dialects a-dider round about.
1626 *[d][o]r hill.
   A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre dor (→ Röglaï), Halang doar, (or 1741 *(d)ul, which compare, > ) Mae Sariang tu, Mường tôi (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese dôi.
   If Viet-Mường is cognate, *(d)-.

1627 *duur back.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon tù [cah]; ~ Biat nduur [kæi].
   Cf. Bahnar kəduʔ.

1628 *kdɔɔr, *kdar woman, wife.
   A: (Central & South Aslian) ~ Semai I kərdɔr, Semelai kərdɔr woman.
   B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon kindar /kəndɔr/, Modern Mon kəlɔ wife (→ Burmese katò wife of [official &c.]), Proto-Nyah Kur *kəmtɔr (DIFFLOTH 1984 N176).
   Add Khmer kɔmdɔ: kantɔr to keep company, cohabit.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 63.)

1629 *sdur lips.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _tor; ~ Khasi shintur mouth, Sakai səntɔr lips (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 2).
   1648 *sbur contaminated by 1471 *snduy?

1629a *diir; *diar to spread, extend.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau dir to open out, spread.
   B: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi diar [wings] spread wide; ~ Mon həde to extend, spread (v.i.).

1629b *dur; *duar curve, arch.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Biat dor arch, dur curve, Thin dûr rainbow, (or B) Khasi dur curve, curved.
   B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh dol curved surface.
   ?Add Central Nicobarese don curved, Nancowry rôn to bend. Note Khmer tô: dor (< *(d)uur?) leaning, bending.

1630 *[ ]nar; *[ ]naar sun, day.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng nar sun, day, Chrau nar day, daytime, Bahnar nar day, (~?) ?nar sun, day.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm, Biat narr.
   Or *dna(a)r. ∼ 1625 *dar to circle round?
   (BLOOD 1966 310.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *t'îlay light (DEMPWOLFF 1938 154, *-n-; DAHL 1973 § 15.4, 8; BENEDICT 1975 470 compares the variant *t'îjay, DEMPWOLFF 1938 154).

1631 *[c]n̩n[a]r to snore.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*[c]n̩n[a]r >) Stieng nnar, Sre, Biat ndar; (?) → Malay sëndar; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang ḵkhlar.
Or *-a(ə)r? Then add perhaps Bahnar hŋar, by dissimilation; but with this cf. Vietnamese ngây, & note Proto-Monic *sn?url grind (one’s teeth); snore.
(SHAFER 1965 557.)

1632 *tni[i]r; *tniar floor.
A: (Mon) Mon nze kni floor, floor boards.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm niar top layer of bamboo floor (→ Bunör ḵniar?); ~ (*tnpiar >) Khmer phnia phiar bamboo-twill floor of cart, Chrau taniel bamboo flooring.
For Stieng paniar bamboo partition (= pini:r, compared at B107) see A147 *piir.

1633 *par to fly.
(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, North Aslian) Mon po, Kuy, Stieng par, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar, Halang par, Jeh pal, Palaung par, Riang-Lang ṭpar, Praok po, Lawa Bo Luang po, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang peu, Muông pēl (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese bay; → Cham par, Jarai pər, Röglai par, Acehnese pə; ~ Semang képuih (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 203); (?) → Madurese ngappər; ~ Biat mpar; ~ (*pər —& in part *pmnar— >) Stieng pənar, Sre dar, Chrau pənar wing, Biat nər (!) wing, feather; Bahnar pənar, Jeh manal, Halang manar, Kammu-Yuan pənutər (!) wing, Khasi ’ner (~ snər) fly, Nancowry nuay wing.
Kammu-Yuan vocalism by attraction tuur to fly, ad 1683 *hər.
(SHAFER 1965 25; BLOOD 1966 362, 368; SMITH 1972 412, 413.)
Mundari a-per to fly, &c. (Proto-Munda *per); ~ Kharia pe’ner wing (PINNOW 1959 K 501).
Paiwan *mi-pə[ɣ]pə[ɣ] (!; BENEDICT 1975 394, to spread (out)..., which see); perhaps also Proto-Austronesian *la(N)pad, Tagalog lipād flight, flying, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 247; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1634 *poor (& *pər?) rice-gruel.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng pər soup, Sre pər rice-gruel (< variant?), Chrau pər soup, gruel, Biat pər rice soup, Bahnar pər, Jeh pəl, Halang pər cooked rice; ~ Khmer babo: papar (→ Stieng p’bər) soup, rice-gruel.
Bahnar [dak] bur water in which rice has been cooked is ← Indonesian, cf. Cham (a)pùi, Röglai, North Röglai bu rice-broth, < Proto-Austronesian *bud, *bud (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32). Is this ultimately cognate?
1635 *p[ ]uur?; *p[ ]uar[ ]; *p[ ]ar[ ] to bind round, wrap.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muông) Old Mon pūr /pur/ to surround with, to bind round, Modern Mon pao, Muông pūl, Vietnamese būi to bind round.
B: (Palaungic) Praok pua to wrap.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang par to wrap; (probably, rather than D) ~ Palaung rapar winding round, to wrap (bandage) (Milne 1931).
D: (Mon, Khmuic) Thin pār to wrap; ~ Old Mon kupar /kər/ to put round; ~ kuṁpar, Modern Mon həpə to go round; (?) → Bahasa Indonesia kumpar to wind on a spool.
Or *pw-, causative ~ 1669 *wuur &c. to go round…? Cf. 1754 *p[ ]ul &c. to twine round. Sakai sapur to wrap up (Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 W 145) is probably ← Malay simpul.
Connection uncertain Mundari biur to turn round, to surround, to move round, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 361 (Proto-Munda *[p]ijur).

‡1636 *knpur lime.
A: (Mon, Khmer Katuic, Viet-Muông) Middle Mon gapuiw, Modern Mon həpə, Khmer kəmbao kəmpor (→ Stieng kəmuər?), Kuy mphər (!), Vietnamese vôi.
Khmer/Kuy vowel lengthening precedes lowering; Kuy chest register obscure. (Schmidt 1905 30.)

1637 *cpiir pumpkin.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Thin pīr, Vietnamese bî; ~ Mon həpoe, Proto-Nyah Kur *campjir (Diffloth 1984 N102), Riang-Lang ̄səpər.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect perhaps 1756 *[c]puəls &c.; a similar alternance in 1675 *siir/*suul.

†1638 *cpiər to blow, to winnow.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Mon) Thin pier to blow, Riang-Lang *pier winnowing-tray, Central Nicobarese ifua to blow, ifuï to fan, Nancowry inifú; & ťuy breeze, Nyah Kur hwiiir (& Thin < *-ir?); ~ Chrau sapiər kind of winnowing-basket, Proto-Semai *jmpiər winnowing-sieve (Diffloth 1977); by secondary derivation ~ Vietnamese nia winnowing-basket.
Nicobaric vocalism contextual.
Kharia humper to blow (Pinnow 1959 K 159).
1639 *tnpaar flat surface.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?North Aslian). Mon hapa flat surface, back [of hand &c.], Khmer domba: tămpăr flat surface, Semang tebal plain (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 122; ?).
See BENEDICT 1975 291.

1640 *mpuər leguminaceous plant yielding shampoo.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon kəpər soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Khmer səmbua sampuar Mimosa fera, (—kok) kind of shrub from fruits of which shampoo is made, Riang-Lang "sampuar soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle.

1641 *[b]iir to forget.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat bir neglectful, Palaung bir, Praok pi[m] to forget.

1642 *ber to float.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon pè to ride low in the water, Khasi per to float.

1643 *boor plentiful.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pò baw! to be plentiful (→ Burmese po), Khmer pò: bor to be full to overflowing.

1644 *ʔbaar to kneel.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon 'băr //mbar/, Modern Mon mêa, Khasi par to kneel, Vietnamese bái to bow, pay homage to. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence.

1645 *gbur to eject from mouth.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer khpul khbur to rinse mouth, spew out, make a shower; ~ (*gnbur > Middle Mon *kambuiw > ) Mon kəmə ejected residue of betel chew. Mon head register results from Middle Mon voicing distribution rule.

1646 *cbaar hibiscus.
**1646a** *tbar; *tər sticky, slippery.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ Sre mbar, Chrau mvar glutinous; ~ (*trbar >) Bahnar təbar sticky.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat mər slippery, to slip.

Connect Nancowry kipáy sticky.

(*[ɓ]ir see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

**1646b** *ɓər flying ant.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung [i]bar; ~ Khasi kber flying white ant.

Cf. Riang-Lang buŋ ˉbər flying ant.

(*ɓəar see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

**1647** *[k]ər dark, night.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre bur [tru:] dark, overcast (Dournes 1950), Riang-Lang ˉbor evening, night, to get dark, Lawa Bo Luang [ma]-pu, Lawa Umphai [mua] phu, Mae Sariang [mua] pu evening; (?) ~ Malay kabur dim, faint, Ngaju Dayak kabul (!) obscure, misty; ~ Sre mər shadow, Praok bo night.

Bahnar has maŋ mu very dark; = West Bahnar mu: shadow (Guillaume 1959-63),

ad 111 [*] [b]uu??

**1648** *t,ɓur; *tər lip.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese môi; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bəbo:

papūr (perhaps contaminated by Malay bibir < Proto-Austronesian *bibiy, DEMPWOLFF 1938 129; → Khmer papi: labia pudenda).

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau var [veʔ] lip, Biat binder, opening, Sre bər, Bahnar bər mouth; ~ Palaung səbar lip; ~ Bru tambər beeʔ lip.

Cf. 1629 *sdur.

(Shafer 1965 407.)

**1649** *mar to increase in size.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon mar /mər/, Modern Mon mə to increase, Khasi mer to grow well, to sprout; ~ (*kuən mar by contraction >, cf. 1127) Riang-Lang kənmər to be pregnant.

Separate Biat mər to swell, = inflammation ad 1566 *kuur.

**1650** *mar[?]; *maar[ ] (equivalent) quantity.

A: (Central Aslian, ?Viet-Mường) Vietnamese mây how much, how many; some, a few (?; then → Mường, Barker 1966 16), Temiar mar size (Benjamin 1976b 165), mar- as big as.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon ma quantity (sandhi-form, *tm-, from */bnot ma/), Praok me how many, as much as.
1651 *[ ]maar; *miir (& *mir?) dry hill-field.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre mir (< *mir? BLOOD 1966 mir), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar miir.
With presumed Bahnaric fronting, cf. 1923 *rmaas; 1381 *m-yaam. A perhaps, as Waic suggests, *kn)maar, ~ (*kaar >) Late Old Mon kār /kar/ element in toponyms of cultivation; but B must then be separate.
(SHAFER 1965 179; BLOOD 1966 217.)

1652 *muur to pass, duck, under something.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre mur (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar mor (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1653 *m[ ]uur; *m[ ]ər (& *m[ ]uə?) to roll up.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobanic) Stieng mor to fold up, roll up, roll [cigarette] (< *-uə?), Riang-Lang _mar to roll, Nancowry mūa twisted (< *-uə?); ~ Khmer khmɔːghmar round, curled up.
Or *mw-, ~ 1669 *wuur &c. to go round, turn round? Cf. 1772 *m[ ]il &c. roll, with mutual contamination
(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

(*kmaar see 1651 *[ ]maar dry hill-field.)

1654 *[s]rmɔr chebulic myrobalan, Terminalia chebula Retz.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon həmɔi khamow, Khmer srmɔː sraŋa!
Or *-ɔɔr; or *-uər (Mon), *-ər. Mon chest register by arbitrary differentiation həmo nasal mucus, ad following? If *j-, Khmer head register obscure.

1655 *smuər nose, beak.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, North Aslian) ~ Old Mon sinmor /səm̕mor/, Modern Mon həmo, Semang həmɔh nasai mucus (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98), (~?) Sre səmoar beak.
Cf. Central Nicobarese mɔː mucus. Khmer səmbɔo səipɔr mucus is perhaps < *spmuur by metathesis; for a variant *smuər cf. also Palaung goŋ mur nose (literally handle of the mouth, so for **hmur by attraction mur mucus, under the entry 147 *[hy]muʔ?). (Cf. SHAFER 1965 408.)

1656 *yaar to lift.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon yəa to lift up, raise, Khmer yəːa yər to raise [fist].

1657 *yur; *yuər; *yaar to hang down, to carry hanging down, to lower.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer yʊl yur to droop, Sre yur, Chrau yur to lower, Thin yur to descend (contaminated by 1606 *jur[ ], which compare); ~ Riang-Lang yɔr to hang (v.t.).
B: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer យុទ្ធ yuə yuar to c. dangling in hand; ~ Kuy (k)yər to carry by handle.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric; contaminated by following?) Khmer យុទ្ធ yər hanging down, drooping, Kuy yər sagging, drooping, Biat yər to carry in hand, Nancowry cęy to tangle (< *yər?).

1658 *[k]yaa[ʳ] to come loose, come undone.
Or *t₁; *-l.

1659 *[d’y][a]r sticky (substance).
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung jər bird-lime (MILNE 1931) (= sap, < 1601 *jar); ~ Sre jər, Vietnamese nhày sticky. Or rather compare Palaung to Bru ya:yh and Bahnar iah bird lime (< *fa(a)s?).

1660 *syəər outstretched.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar hiər unfolded, spread out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi iər extended, stretch wide, to extend.
Connect by metathesis 1501 *s-raay to be scattered?

1661 *[d]rer to wait.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Literary Mon tre(w) to abide, Khmer dər (GUESDON 1930), Central Nicobarese [hə]-tər-[yən] to wait.
Connection dubious Vietnamese chôt.

1662 *liə; *liir[ ]; *liər[ ] cricket.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Sre li by assimilation; → Jarai dialect li, Röglai li, lir; ~ → Jarai kli; ~ (*t₁ caar liə by contraction >, cf. Riang-Lang cur ad 838a *raac grasshopper?) Kammu-Yuan calél kind of cicada, Vietnamese dé (for **rê) cricket.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat leir cricket.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar leir kind of cricket.
With Sre assimilation cf. following onomatopoeic? So allegedly Kammu-Yuan.

1663 *liər to project.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Sre liu to stick out (→ Röglai) (< *liəl by assimilation; cf. preceding), Biat leir to jut out, project (& to lick; so Stieng liər), Palaung liər to (cause to) protrude, Khasi [se🙈] ler, Vietnamese lè to stick [tongue] out; ~ Riang-Lang *kliər to protrude.
1663a *lər lie, falsehood.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre lər lie (DOURNES 1950), Khasi [lam]ler (to) lie; ~ Biat nau kər lie, nəi kər to lie.

1664 *loor to glide, creep.
A: (Mon, Central Asian) Mon lə lo! [snake] to wriggle, Central Sakai lər to creep.
Connect Khasi ler(ler), lir-lir creepingly; perhaps 1793 *luul tadpole.

1665 *lur; *luur; *luər to slide in, to push in.
A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi lur to push [wood] further into fire; ~ (*tl-) Bahnar kəur to push into, to penetrate, fall into (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (B) Old Mon tinlər /tənlur/ bolt, bar; by secondary derivation ~ (A) Riang-Lang *khrər to thread [needle].
C: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lùa to slide into, penetrate, drive; ~ Literary Mon kəor to thrust through a hole; ~ Khasi phələr gate of sliding poles.
Cf. Mon hno bolt, bar (for **kəno? Literary Mon has kʰəno), by attraction line, rule < 1605 *[j]/n/uərh.

1666 *[ ]luur; *[ ]luar to slip, come loose.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ləl to slip. by assimilation; ~ (*nluur >) Lawa Bo Luang kələr, Lawa Umphai nələr to slip, fall.
B: (Palaungic) Praok ləa to come unfastened; ~ (*tʃləar >?) Kammu-Yuan taller to slip, Riang-Lang *təkələr to slip, to cause to slip, Khasi phələr [ring] to come loose and fall off.
Connect 1668 *[s]liər …slippery? But connection dubious 2067 *loh &c. to unravel...

1666a *luər worm.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang lər; ~ (*rləar >) Vietnamese giọi (for **ròi) worm, maggot.
Connect obscure Bahnar həar. Palaung riər is < 1926 *rias.

1667 *tlaar ancient.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon tlər /təlar/ to be anterior; first, formerly, before, Modern Mon kla time before, Sre klər to be old, worn (→ Rəglai kla?l!).

(*pliər, *pliər see 1791 *pril hail.)

1668 *[s]liər smooth, slippery.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang liər to be slippery; ~ Biat plər smooth (& by metathesis plər rləp).
Connect 1666 *[ ]luur &c. to slip…? Cf. also 1803a *(l)hiil &c. …smooth…; 1076 *lit &c. slippery….
†1669 *wir; *wiir; *wir; *war; *waar; *wuur; *wuər to go round, to turn round.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Bahnar wir to twist (Guillauminet 1959-63; or B), Kammu-Yuan wer[kαy] to turn (v.i.), Muông wêl (Barker 1966 22), Vietnamese vê to return; → Jarai wir (or B?), Rôglai wir to turn; ~ Biat [ndac] lwuir to turn (v.i.), Bahnar rawir to stir (Guillauminet 1959-63).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng vuiir to avoid (or A), Kammu-Yuan wir confused, Praok vi to visit, (or A?) Khasi wir astray; ~ Vietnamese in compounds vi to surround; circumference; ~ Central Nicobarese hen-wiəya eddy, Nancowry wɪ to go round and round, wander (or 231 *wi?i?).

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer via viər to go aside, avoid, Biat weər to abstain from; avoidance; unlucky, Bunôr weər (~ Sre, → Rôglai, weər?), Central Rôlôm wir taboo, Bahnar weər, Palaung viər (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang _vier, Praok viə to go aside, avoid; ~ Khasi tawiər to go round and round.

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer vɔ: var to go wrong, to cause trouble, Sre war to stir round, Chrau war to stir; edge, Biat war to stir, Bahnar war to turn (v.t.), to enclose, to wag [tail], to paddle, to go and come back, Kammu-Yuan wuir-wuər, [wirt] wər dizzy, Khasi wer-wer [to hear] by rumour; → Iban uər to stir.

E: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic, Nicobaric) Sre war to go or put round spirally, Biat war to roll up (v.i.), Nancowry wəy to go round; ~ Kuy (k)war to stir, Bru kuwar; ~ Riang-Lang weary to wander, ramble; ~ Kammu-Yuan sarwər round and small.

F: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng uər cattle-pound, Chrau wər pen for livestock, Biat warm circumference, Central Rôlôm uər to stir (Bloor 1976), Bahnar wər to fence round, Riang-Lang vər edge, rim, boundary, Praok ve that which surrounds; ~ Kammu-Yuan konər fence, garden; to fence.

G: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon wūr /wur/, by sandhi Modern Mon wūt[tɔh] round, around, Praok vuə to turn round (v.i.t.); ~ Palaung kanʔur edge, boundary; ~ Khasi lyər circular.

H: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Praok vua to wrap round; ~ Kammu-Yuan karwər [bent] in a curve; ~ Vietnamese ngoe [ngɔdi] to wag [tail].

Add perhaps (*p-wuər &c. causative =) 1635 *p[ ]juər? &c. to bind round, wrap; (*m-wuər &c. =) 1653 *m[ ]juər &c. to roll up. Cf. 1794 *wil &c. to turn. (Schmidt 1905 64; Shafer 1965 409; Shorto 1973 378-9; Bloor 1966 94.)

(i) Sora jə- , jə- again, re-, jə- jə- around, on all sides, round and round; (ii) ~ Sora tor- (tor-) to stand round, to form a fence, to surround, Kharia tor to enclose (Pinnow 1959 197); (iii) perhaps (by metathesis?) Sora -ju(r) in 'guju' &c. to whirl, 'piju(r)-, pi{j}ju- to turn round (: Mundari biur, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 361; Proto-Munda *p[j]juur? &c.

(Proto-Austronesian *kouir or *kiuər) Iban kuir to swing, whirl, by metathesis llocano kiwar to stir, turn over, kiwer curly [tail].
1670 *wiir to raise, tend.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon wir /wiir/ husbandry, Modern Mon wi to raise, tend, Bahnar wēr to look after, tend (Guilleminet 1959-63).

1671 *waar; *wər hot, to heat.
   A: (Khmuic) Khmu' war hot, to heat, Kammu-Yuan wàr to be warm.
   B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 1812 *rₜuₜal to grill) Stieng uər to heat in pan. Connect 1559a *cʔur &.c. warm.

1672 *wər; *wəə; *waar; *wuur to crawl.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Röliöm, Biat wər; ~ Palaung mur; ~ (*[@]m- >) Kuy mùr, Pakoh mər.
   C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer viə vər to creep, crawl, Kuy wəər [plants] to creep, climb; ~ Gəlar Bahnar kuər [plants] to creep, climb.
   D: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang _mur to crawl.
C-D secondary.
   (BLOOD 1966 424.)

1673 *twər forearm.
   Cf. (i) Central Nicobarese koəl (upper) arm, Nancowry kuəl; (ii) Pangan huəl arm, forearm (Kensiu), Kənəboi rhūah upper arm, Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 136.

1674 *sw[e]r cicada.

1675 *siir; *suul to incise, write.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng siir to carve, Sre siər to decorate with pigmented incisions; ~ Old Khmer səsir, Modern Khmer səse: to write; ~ Khmer sme: smer secretary, clerk.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon sūl /sul/ to write.
   Middle Mon has ksū write (Modern Mon chu) by back-formation from *dasū writing, for which cf. Old Mon sirsūl, Modern Mon kəsəo. Connection obscure Vietnamese tō to draw, colour. On rhyme-alternance cf. 1637 *[c]piir.
   (Shafter 1965 482.)
1676 *sər, *sar scrub.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Sieng sər abandoned field, fallow, Bahnar tsər brushwood
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63; beside tsər, cf. sar below); ~ (*srsər >) Middle Mon
dasuiw, Modern Mon kənə bush.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre sar, Biat [briː] char brushwood, Bahnar sar unploughed field.
B by interdialectal borrowing, cf. Sieng? With it connected probably Khmer [prèy]
phsay scrubland, by rhyming deformation &/or popular etymology, cf. phsay to
be scattered...
(SHAFER 1965 463.)

1677 *sur[ ]; *suurʔ; *suər[ ] bag.
A: (Palaungic) Praok hə.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung hur bag, Vietnamese tụi pocket, purse, small bag.
C: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese kənə small bag, pocket.

1678 *suur; *suər to poke, pierce.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat chořr to impale, spit, skewer; ~ (*t[suur >] Mon chu
khyū quanting-pole.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung hər to transfix with.

1679 *kmsiir relation by marriage.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon kunsir /kamsir/ parents- (or father-?) in-law (&
Modern Mon khamsəe parents-in-law, originally as learned form), Semai I gənsiir
husband.

1680 *ksiir; *ksiər; *ksur to blow one’s nose.
A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre chir (= Rōglai), Chrau chər, Central Nicobarese
hehe-[hə &c.] (!; by expressive deformation?), Kuy (k)ser, Bru kəsiir; ~
(*ksiir >) Biat nchər [moh].
B: (South Bahnaric) Sieng cər [muh].
C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan kəhr.
C secondary; primacy otherwise uncertain.

1681 *ks[ua]r quill of porcupine.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat chər; ~ Chrau, Bahnar gəsər (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Biat excludes *kc-. Cf. (i) Kammu-Yuan caŋkəhál (contaminated by khəl body hair,
< 1803 *ksuul?); (ii) Palaung pər hər short and bristly [hair] (MILNE 1931).

1682 *hiir thirsty.
(Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi). Khmer həl hir peppery, hot on tongue (by attraction 1684
*h[əə]r), Biat [jiː] hiir thirst, to be thirsty, Bahnar [təʔ] hir deliciously hot
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi hɨr longingly, ardently; ~ Sieng thiir to be thirsty; ~
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(*tnhiri >) Sre tahr thirst, Chrau kanhil to crave [food] (BLOOD 1966 kənhiir),
(— da?) thirsty.
(BLOOD 1966 41a, b.)

1683 *hər; *həər to fly.
A: (Khasi) Khasi her.
B: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer haa hər; ~ (*t,həər >) Kammu-Yuan tūr.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese he:h-həŋə, Nancowry héh.

1684 *hə[r]; *həə[r] burning, smarting.
A: (Katuic) Kuy (ʔa):hər hot taste e.g. of ginger, Bru ʔəna:
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer haə hər hot, peppery, Chrau həər to sting, hurt, Bahnar
hər bitter, fiery, strong (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has hər East Bahnar, hyr West
Bahnar).

1685 *hər to expose to heat.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng hər to warm, soften by heating, Biat hor to expose to flame, Sre
hər (→ Röglai hu), Bahnar hər to harden in flame (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
1812 *[r]huul &c. to grill contaminated by 1559a *cʔur warm?
(SHAFFER 1965 273.)

1686 *h[u]r?; *huə[ ] to flow.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer hoː hər, Sre hor (!); ~ (*ch[u]r? >)
Vietnamese ʔə di to pour; ~ Khmer cânho: small channel.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaria) Stieng, Chrau hor to flow, Biat
hər to dribble [saliva], Palaung huə [blood] to flow (MILNE 1931), Central
Nicobarese wua: current, (-ne) to flow, wayə-[dak] stream, Nancowry riákwuaá
river, stream; ~ (*huə[ ] >) Kammu-Yuan kər to flow.
Connect 1556 *ʔu[ ]r &c. stream-bed? Cf. also 1597 *cuə[ ] &c.
(SHAFFER 1965 272, 405.)

†1687 *huər skin.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung huər, Riang-Lang ʔuər skin, hide, leather;
~ Vietnamese in compounds phu skin; ~ Kammu-Yuan həmpūr, Thin həm pur
skin, hide (& Thin pūr by back-formation).
Mundari, Santali, Ho ur (PINNOW 1959 366; other forms cited rather : 1568 *c[n]kuər
&c.).

1688 *kh[ee]r burnt [food].
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat kəer, Vietnamese khê.
Or *i(-ə)r; then perhaps connected Sre həər dried [meat]; but not Röglai khia burnt, :
Cham khyaʔ, Jarai kхиaʔ.
1689 *chiə to tear.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang ćhier, Vietnamese xé.

‡1690 *dhu[r]; *dhuə loose, lax.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer thuà dhūr slack, loose, soft; by secondary derivation
~ Kuy nhθor loose [rope], nthur (by arbitrary variant?) over-large, fitting loosely,
Khasi kynthur with loose-fitting clothes.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre thoar widely spaced, loosely attached (Dournes 1950).
 Cf. 1549 *t₁huuy &c.
(?) Proto-Austronesian *kə(N)duy: Malay kēndur, &c., Cham catù, tatù:
(DeMPowoLF 1938 77, *kəndə; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(*d,huə see 1560 *d,ʔuur kind of apid.)

1691 *[p]haar intensive.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon phār/phar/ very, Khasi phar entirely.
Or *bh-

(*pha(a)r see 1561 *p[ʔ]ər to dry.)

1692 *phu[r]; *phuə soft in texture.
A: (Khmer) Khmer phūr glossy, velvety, soft (Guesdon 1930); ~ paphoː paphūr soft,
smooth… .
B: (Mon) Literary Mon phow [lāy] to be downy.

1693 *lhu[r]; *lhuə[r] to throw horizontally.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung hrur to throw along the surface of the ground (Milne 1931;
with perhaps regular assimilation).
B: (Mon) Middle Mon thor /lhow/, Modern Mon hlo to hurl [spear &c.].
Connection dubious Vietnamese lao javelin, to throw.

(*ʔił see 1780 *[y]il barking deer.)

1694 *ʔəl anxious, hesitant.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon by alliterative deformation [sba] s’aw to be anxious,
fearful, Khmer ʔəl perplexed, hesitating.
Cf. Khmer phʔaəl to panic, → Biat pʔəl timid.

(*ʔəl see also 1696 *iʔəl to see.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1695 *ʔul[ ]; *ʔuəl?; *ʔəl[ ]; *hul[ ] nausea, to choke, vomit.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer ʔol unwashed after sleep, (GUESDON 1930, dik —) stale saliva in mouth on waking, Bahnar ul indigestion, nausea (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
B: (Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔuəl to gasp for breath, choke, gag, Kuy ʔuəl to have sth. stuck in throat, Stieng uəl indigestion, Chrâu ʔəl to choke, Bahnar əl indigestion, nausea (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese əl to have indigestion, to vomit; surfeit.
C: (Khmer, Kautic) Khmer chəəl flatulence, nausea; to overeat (contaminated by 951 *ʔə[t ...clayed], Kuy ʔəl dirt on teeth.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung hur. Riang-Lang ʔəl, Praok haw to vomit.
Connect 1766 *fu(u)l drunk.
Sora ʔəl-an, compounding form ad ʔələn-saliva, Mundari hul, ula to vomit, &c. (PINNOW 1959 312).
Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[aəl]: Malay m-uəl queasy, to loathe, to vomit, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 341; Proto-Hesperonesian); & connected Cebuano Bisayan sum-ul cloying.

1696 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *iʔəl > *ʔəl, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔəl to see.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer yuəl to see, to understand, Stieng ioəl (& ioəl) to look at from a distance, Riang-Lang ʔəl to see, perceive, to find, Jehai ʔəl to see; → Cham yəl; Thai yon; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese ngồ, (~?) Sakai terniəl to show (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 155); ~ (*y/mp/əl >) Sre mpəl to see in the distance.
(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 190, 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 135, (?) U 15.) (~) Santali nel to see, to look, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 495i); (?) Sora mel-mel- to examine, inspect.

1697 *[c]ʔial[ ]; *[c]hialʔ to wilt, wither.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon ea s’ey to wither, become withered, dry up, Jölong yəl poor [harvest] (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang hiu to wither; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese hęo to wilt, dry up, wither.
Cf. Semang wəl or ul withered, faded, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 131.

1698 *prʔial to be high, rancid.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat rəiəu to become rancid, Kammau-Yuan poʔial (to) smell of fish.

1699 *ʔəl; *ʔəal; *ʔəial; by metathesis *rəʔ forehead.
A: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ləl.
B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ʔəl, Nancowry ləl.
D: (Khmer) Khmer rǎli:r rala̞ forehead, skull.
C obscure.

†1700 *rʔəlh; by metathesis *rlʔə each, every.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon ruih, Modern Mon rɔh, Khmer rɔl.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre dəh.
Cf. for Mon -h 1758 *dpuulh &c.
Sora diː (~ *rəlih, with further vowel metathesis).
Proto-Austroasiatic *rlʔəl or the like?

(*rʔuul, *rʔuəl see 1812 *[r]huəl to grill.)

1701 *[s]ʔɔɔl satiation.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon [baw] 'aw to be plentiful, Khmer sʔɔɔl satiated, stuffed
(SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; GUESDON 1930 'al).

†1702 *kal; *kaal to break off, to be broken.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon kaw, Modern Mon ko to break in two, snap (v.i.), Khmer [kat] kal to break with someone, repudiate one's child, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar kal to cut down, Kammu-Yuan kàl! to lop; ~ (*nkal >) Lawa Bo Luang ŋga to cut down.
B: (Nicobaric) Nancowry kàl to cut, Central Nicobarese kãːl-[həŋə] to trim down, halve, (~?) okãːl-[həŋə] to amputate (or 1707a?).
To cut down &c. by attraction 1707a *k(u)əl, which compare with Kammu-Yuan cf. Vietnamese gãy to break, snap (v.i.).
(SMITH 1972 397.)
Sora al- to bend, crush, pluck, break.

1703 *kaal in front, before.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan káːl before, Praok ka first, before, until, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ka in front, before.
Add Sakai kâl tomorrow (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178?

†1704 *ka[i]l to speak.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon kinkəl /kəŋkəl/ to declare, tell, expound; ~ (*[k]rka[i]l >) Praok sika to speak.
Sora dialect kaj to say, to tell, &c. (PINNOW 1959 65). For Munda loss of *-l cf. 1782 *kyaal.
1705 *kəl[ ]; *kɔəl? to support, help.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer kəl to support from below (→ Sre kol to help?), Kuy kal, Biat kəl to put wedge under; ~ Khmer khaəl rest, cushion.

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Stieng kəl to prop up, Chrau kəl to pile together, lean [something] on, Bunôr, Central Rölöm kəl to help, Biat kəl to help, save, Muông (Barker 1966 15), Vietnamese cûu to save, Bru takul put (support) under head; ~ Sre kərnəl support, kərnəl bou pillow, Chrau gənəl pillow, East Bahnar kənəl base of post (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Khasi syngkhiən to prop.

A variant *kul? may underlie Vietnamese gõi pillow; to rest one’s head (& Sre kol, above?); & *kuul[ ] West Bahnar kənəl base of post (Guilleminet 1959-63). Cf. then B106 *gur to help.

(Blood 1966 396.)

31706 *[ ]kuul knee.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Aslian) Kuy kəl (& by contraction of compound təkəl), Bahnar kəul [taŋ] (Guilleminet 1959-63); by sandhi Stieng kəuk [taŋ]; by contraction Sre kəl[taŋ]; & with vowel metathesis Kensiu, Lanoh Yir kal[toŋ], Semelai kal[toŋ].

For taŋ &c. see 543a *tə([a]ŋ). Perhaps *rk-, see Bru rakəl and by metathesis Temiar karəl (with cognates in most Central Aslian languages) < variant *kəuəl?.

(Schmidt 1905 12; Skeat & Blagden 1906 K 40.)

Proto-Austronesian *daNkul: Javanese déngkul, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 43, *d-; Proto-Malayo-Javanese); → Vietnamese gõi?

1707 *kuulh naked.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre, Chrau kuh, Riang-Lang *kul[*kal]; → Röglai kul, North Röglai kuluh.

Hence by metathesis A31 *sl[uul]k?

1707a *kuəl; *kəl to cut down, fell.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kəl, Kammu-Yuan kəl.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre kal.

Chrau kal, &c., are < 1702 *kal by attraction Cf. 1702.

1708 *krkuul descent group.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon kirkul /karkul/ family, clan, Modern Mon həkəo also race, nation, Khmer trəkəl family, race; → Thai trakuun.

Cf. Bahnar kəul, Gõlar Bahnar khul. Hardly connected Sanskrit/Pali kula-, which would give Old Mon /-kəl/; but perhaps connected 1759 *dpuul &c. 1708a *ekəl turbid (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic). ~ (*[c]rkaəl > ) Sre sakəl polluted, Biat rkəh (¼; contaminated by 1221 *kən thick…?) turbid, Brot takəl muddy; ~ Riang-Lang əsəkəl muddy.
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

Connect Acehnese cökə, Jarai cəkəl, North Röglai cəkən (< *kəkəl]).

1709 *[c]kuul (?); *[c]kuə; *[c]kəl; *[c]kiəl; *[c]kiəl to call, to bark.
A: (North Aslian) Semang ku to call (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 8).
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kuəl (BLOOD 1966 khouəl), Chrau kuəl to call, Biat kwal to call, to bark, Sre khol, Bahnar, Jeh kual (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by affective deformation?) Kammu-Yuan kwəl to bark.
C: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese gâu (!) barking.
D: (Mon) Mon ki to bark.
E: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese kêu (!) to call.

*[c]- in view of Stieng, Sre kh-; front vocalism then secondary; Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal.
(BLOOD 1966 87; SMITH 1972 400.)

1710 *[tə]kəl; *[tə]kəəl to give, make over.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Mon kəl/kəl/, Modern Mon kə to give, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəl (DIFFLOTH 1984 V236; implies *-ul); ~ Old Khmer pragalbha, Modern Khmer prəkəl to hand over.
B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese gi, go to send, despatch, to leave in someone’s care. Literary Mon pakuiw to convey to, procure for, to give is probably a late causative formation rather than : Khmer. Connection dubious A156 *gal to change, exchange.

(*rkuul see 1706 *[kəu]l knee.)

1712 *[b]kəl; *[b]kəəl to give, make over.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Mon kəl/kəl/, Modern Mon ko to give, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəl (DIFFLOTH 1984 V236; implies *-ul); ~ Old Khmer pragalbha, Modern Khmer prəkəl to hand over.
B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese gi, go to send, despatch, to leave in someone’s care. Literary Mon pakuiw to convey to, procure for, to give is probably a late causative formation rather than : Khmer. Connection dubious A156 *gal to change, exchange.

(*rkuul see 1706 *[kəu]l knee.)

1713 *gəal right, proper.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau gal right, correct, Bahnar gəl right, proper, to agree (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1721 *səgəal middle.
1714 *guul clearing.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon kù market garden, cultivated clearing, Biat goìl clearing.

1715 *guul; *guo̱l mortar for pounding rice.
A: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *guo̱l (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Serau tergo̱l (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 179B).
B: (Khmuc) Kammu-Yuan kwùal!, Thin gu̱l.
Connection dubious 1757 *tpal; or Vietnamese cói.
(*ŋgal see 1720 *lngal plough.)

1716 *jgal to recognize.
A: (Khmer, Katuc, Bahnaric) Khmer skɔ̀əl to know, recognize, Kuy khàl to know, be acquainted with; ~ Chrau sɔŋgul to recognize, by metathesis (*ŋgal >) Sre ɗal to look at, observe, recognize, Biat nal to recognize; (probably ~) Bahnar ɡənaɬ, kənaɬ to recognize.
(BLOOD 1966 360.)

1717 *[j]guul finger.
A: (Khmuc, Palaungic ~ Kammu-Yuan cærkuːl finger, toe, Thin kəəgul finger; ~ Kammu-Yuan caŋkuːl, Thin caŋgul to point out; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung rəŋor finger.
Sora i'gu(ˑ)l-, i'gud-, a(g)gul-[ 'siː-], aig'goːl- to beckon; Kharia [tui]gəɬ, Mundari [tui]gəɬ to point out; index finger... (PINNOW 1959 K 348).

1718 *t,ɡ[uu]; *t,ɡal top.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung gor, (~?) Riang-Lang ['thə]_kol above; ~ Riang-Lang _təkol top, above, on.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kəl (~ Jeh kàl, Halang kol), Röngao gəɬ head, top (GUILLENNET 1959-63), Hre gəw head.
(SHAFER 1965 563; SMITH 1972 389; see SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 46.)

1719 *d,ɡəɬ; *d,ɡəaɬ stump, trunk.
A: (Khmer, Katuc, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon taguiw, Modern Mon həkə stump, Khmer kūəl stump, floating log, trunk of tree, Kuy khàl tree-trunk, (in compounds) plant (by attraction 1570 *[d]kar; or B?), Biat gəl log (quantifier); ~ Cham gal stump (& gəl stump, trunk, contaminated by Indonesian); ~ (*dəɡəɬ >) Kuy nəl stump, Chrau təŋal stump, stubble, Biat [yokk] nəɬ, Bahnar dəŋal, Central Sakai dəŋal stump.
B: (Palaungic; or *-al, perhaps with Kuy khàl; ~ *dən*[2]g- >) Riang-Lang _cəŋal stump.

Proto-Austronesian *tuŋɡul: Karo Batak tunggul-tunggul dead tree, Malay tunggul stump, &c., perhaps Tagalog tunggól decapitated (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 99; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian).

†1720 *ɪŋɡal, *ɲgal; by dissimilation *ɪnguur; *ɪnguər plough.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katiuc, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Mon tən̥ə, ən̥ə laɪn̥aw &c. yoke, pair, Khmer nəŋkəʊl, (TANDART 1935) ʔɔŋkəʊl (→ Biat ɲgal?), Kuy ɲkhàl, Sre ɲal plough, Stieng ɲal ploughshare, Muông cǎł (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese cày (& cây) to plough; ~ Cham ləŋal (& liŋan), Rōglai ɲal, Acehnese ləŋay plough; Sanskrit lāŋgala-; & connected Malay tēŋgala (→ Sakai —i.e. Temiar— tēnggāla, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 147A).

B: (Mon) Old Mon łożyəɾ/ɿŋəɾ/, Literary Mon lɪn̥ yoke, pair.

C: (Khasi) Khasi lyŋkəɾ plough; → Sanskrit lāŋgula.

A variant *ɲgal might be constructed from Vietnamese cày, Khmer, Katiuc, Biat ~ Sora gal- to yoke (= to plait). (Cf. KUIPER 1948 127; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1721 *sguul; *sgəl [ J]; *sgaal middle.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre guul middle, half, mid[night]; ~ (*sguul > ) Biat ɲguul id.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ɡəl half, mid[night].

C: (Mon) Old Mon sgəl /sgəl/ [tiŋəl] mid[night], Modern Mon kəa mid[day, night].

C perhaps contaminated by 1713 *gaal right...; cf. semantically Mon thò to be exact, in the centre...

1722 *nɪl; *nɪəl; *nəl; *ŋul; *ŋuul; *ŋuəl to bend, sway.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar nɪl to shake head in denial (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~ ɲəl) to sway in wind; ~ Bahnar ʔnəʔnɪl to shake head.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ᶻnɪl nɪl to nod in assent, (~ ?) Bahnar ʔnɛːl-ɲɛːl shaking head.

C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Bahnar ɲeļ to shake head in denial (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese nghẻo to tilt [head] to one side; ~ Bahnar ʔnəʔɲɛļ to shake head.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar [ŋuəl &c.] ɲəl to sway (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ɲəl-ɲəl shaking one’s head.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [ɲɪl] ɲuɿ to sway in wind (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi nγu (or < E) with head bent down, Central Nicobarese ɲoɿ-[ˈfɾɛː] to bow head; ~ Khmer ɲəŋɥɨ ɿ with head down.

F, G: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ɲuɿ, ɲəl to incline head (in assent, from weariness), (~ ɲəɿl) to sway (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
1723 **j[n]ŋal fire.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung ɲǝɾ, Riang-Lang ɲǝl, Praok ɲu, Lawa Bo Luang ɲa, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ɲa, Danaw ɲon.

Note also Nancowry Ɂá to burn. (SHAFER 1965 144, 421.)

Sora 'aŋal-ə, Kharia soŋ'gǝl firewood, Santali soŋegal fire, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252; Proto-Munda *cǝŋgǝl?).

1723a *[t₁]ɲuul; *[t₁]ŋul; *[t₁]ŋal stupid.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ngu foolish, stupid; ~ (*[t₁]mɲuul by metathesis > Stieng bolon foolish, stupid.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ɲoa, Lawa Umphai ɲau stupid, ~ Palaung kǝnrur to be simple-minded, clumsy (MILNE 1931).

C: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Tolo Bahnar [ŋɤː]ŋɤːl foolish, stupid (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ngây to look stupid; ~ (*[t₁]mɲul by metathesis > Biat mal ignorant; by secondary derivation ~ Sre bǝŋal ignorant, stupid.


1724 rŋal; rɲuul to wake (v.i.).

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [kah] rŋal to wake up in the night, Bunör rŋal, Central Rölöm ɲal to awaken.

B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon [yah] lanũ early [in the morning], Proto-Nyah Kur *ŋuur morning (DIFFLOTH 1984 N238) (rather *lnuur with metathesis).

With Mon vocalism cf. *lnguur ~ 1720 *lngla. (BLOOD 1966 372.)

1725 *cul; *cuəl; *ciil to light up, look for with a light.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre sol to light up, illuminate; ~ sampol torch.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau sɔl to look for with a light, Bahnar sɔl, Rõngao cəl to light up, illuminate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon) Mon ci to look for with a light.

C secondary. Proto-Austronesian *t'uluq; Acehnese lhoh to look for with a light, Malay suloh torch, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 157, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62). Hence with secondary infix Cham (ha)nuh, Rõglai hanuh torch, probably → Khmer conloh canluh, Stieng cǝŋluh.

1726 *cul; *cuəl to hire.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng cul to hire, borrow.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer jval to engage, employ for compensation (!; contaminated by 1729 *j[u]l?), Modern Khmer cuəl, Kuy cuəl to hire.
1727 *jal near.
   A: (Katuic, Khasi) Khasi jan to be near; Ñ Kuy jhàl near.

1728 *jol to charge, fight.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon [sic] jal /jol/ to quarrel, fight, Modern Mon cà to fight, Old Khmer jol, Modern Khmer cùl, Kuy chàl to knock into, fight, Bahnar jil to butt, strike with horns, (~?) Pangan 'yal angry (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 17); Ñ Thai cʰon to bump against, butt, collide, fight with horns; (~ *pjol >) Late Middle Mon byuïw to cause to fight, Modern Mon pyà to stir up enmity, Khmer phcùal to set [animals] fighting; (~ *prjol >) Mon haè, Khmer præcùal to set [animals] fighting; (~ *pnjol >) Literary Mon bayuiw to incite to quarrel or fight, Khmer bcùclal to cause to fight, (~?) Pangan niyial to fight with, oppose (Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906). Literary Mon b- in bayuiw, & Khmer chest register in phcùal, by levelling.

1729 *j[u]; *jial to buy.
   A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung jur (A), Riang-Lang _yel (B).
   B secondary. Cf. 1726 *cu(a)l to hire; 1822 *jaw? &c. to hand over.
   Proto-Austronesian *Zu(S)[a]: Malay jual to sell, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 48, *d'ul, less Toba Batak; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; add perhaps Cebuano Bisayan dûhul to hand to; then *ZuSal, Proto-Hesperonesian). See Benedict 1975 375, sell, buy. (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 54.)
   Cf. Lushei, Mikir, Meithei forms referred at Benedict 1972 51 & n. 170 to *ywar to sell ← 'Austro-Thai'.

1730 *jul[ ] (& *juul[ ]?); *jualh basket, to make baskets.
   B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Palaung juar, Sakai chuèl basket (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 62A); Ñ Vietnamese giò market-basket.

1731 *[s]jaal; *[s]jæal light in weight.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Praok ye, Lawa yua easy; Ñ Kammu-Yuan hommenàl light.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Hre hiw, Sedang hia, Palaung juur light; Ñ Mường nhèl (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese nhè.
   Cf. 1801 *saal.
   (Smith 1972 393.)

1732 *bnuæl pangolin.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat nual; Ñ Sre bárioal kind of saurian (Dournes 1950), Bahnar bnoal, Bru manyæal pangolin, by metathesis Khmer pʊŋrʊːl pangolin; Ñ Cham piñor, Jarai m*nol, North Rōglai binûn pangolin.
   Connect Kuy khyûr.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1733 *t₁iil; *t₁əl (or *t₁iil?) to plant, sow.
A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre səntiil, Chrau sətiil, Biat ntiil seed, sow-grain.
B: (Mon) Old Mon til /təl/, Modern Mon to to plant (a seed of), Nyah Kur təl to plant.
*t₁iil in view of Sora.
Sora til- to bury.

1733a *t₁iil (& *t₁iil?) tracks.
A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau teil footprint, Biat teil tracks, Sre tiil, Röngao tel tracks, mark (Guilleminet 1959-63; < variant?), Pangan til tracks (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skew & Blagden 1906 P 118 (b)).
Cf. 1745a *diil &c. (Blood 1966 40.)

1734 *tal; taal linear measure, (?) cubit.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre tal cubit.
B: (Mon) Old Mon tāl /tal/, Modern Mon ta 7 cubits; → Burmese tā.
Old Mon has hat cubit (Modern Mon hōt), ← Pali hattha-; is tāl the displaced native term?

1734a *t₁ual six.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung tɔr, Riang-Lang tual; ~ (*t₁ual >) Central Nicobarese tafu:əl, Nancowry tafúal.

1734b *[t][uə]l cataract.
A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy ta:1 cataract, Bahnar təl blind.
Or *d-, perhaps connected 1745 *kdiil &c. to cover.

1735 *kt₂aal under-surface, under.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Thin tāl (space) under, underneath; ~ Old Mon kintāl /kantāl/, Modern Mon hata under-surface, bottom, (in compounds) palm, sole, Vietnamese dōt (to be) below, under.
Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.
Sora atal-, Mundari talka palm, sole (probably not ←, but Mundari metathesis contaminated by, late Sanskrit tāla-, tālika- palm).

1736 *ktuəl lump, clod.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy tu:l; ~ Bahnar kətual clod.
Cf. Biat rcual clod, [blood] to clot; (~) ← unrecorded Chrau form?
1737 *bnt,iil sand.
A: (Mon) Old Mon bintil /bəntil/, Modern Mon hətæ.
*ŋ in view of Munda.
(~) Nahali bitil, Kurku bitil; connected Santali, Mundari, Ho gitil (so Proto-Austronesian *g*-?).
(? Proto-Austronesian *pat'iy: Malay pasir, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 115; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1738 *bt,ul: *bt,uu: *bt,uul swelling, mound, hill.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Khmer dul, Modern Khmer tūl to bulge, Stieng [buk] tul anthill (or < B?), Biat tol tumour, Mendriq tol mountain; & from sandhi-form in *b(u)k bt,ul (cf. Stieng; 369) Biat [yok] ktol (termite) mound, Riang-Lang katol wasps nest; ~ (*bt,ul > ) Chrau ntul anthill; ~ Sre bortul termite mound.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar pātul termite mound, anthill (& by metathesis < compound East Bahnar bakol GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer, ?Central Aslian) Old Khmer dval, Modern Khmer tūəl hill, mound, knoll, perhaps by metathesis Semai lət mountain; ~ Cham dval.
For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *ɗuuk. Hill, mountain perhaps contaminated by 1741 *dul, with which Khmer forms are compared at SCHMIDT 1905 66 (so SHORTO 1971).
Note (i; Proto-Austronesian *b[əu]NTudh, > ) Cebuano Bisayan bungtud, ka-bungtūr-an hill, anthill; (ii) Javanese mbèndul bulging, mbèndol knobbed (referred to (Proto-West-Indonesian) *baNdul threshold at DEMPWOLFF 1938 26).
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 100; cf. also H 101, F 230; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41.)

1739 *dal; *dəl to block, obstruct.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Old Mon dal /dəl/ to bar the way, Middle Mon dar, daw, Modern Mon tə to close, block, Old Khmer dal, Modern Khmer təal blocked [road], Stieng dal held up, obstructed; ~ Kuy nthal to dam (or B); ~ Khmer pratəal baffled, (~?) Khasi padan to obstruct, hinder.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer tūal to hold back, (tūp- —) bar the way; ~ North Röglai dan deaf, Acehnese də blocked up; ~ Khasi sden to dam; ~ Biat rdəl to stop up, block, (kaŋ —) bar the way.
Cf. 1745 *kdiil &c. to cover.

1740 *dal; *dal as far as; to reach.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon duiw, Modern Mon tə as far as, Khmer tūəl (to reach) as far as, till, Biat dəl as soon as; ~ (*[k]dəl > ) Khmer dal to arrive, reach; as far as (→ Cham tal).
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer dāl, Modern Khmer tōəl to go right through; as far as, till, Bahnar dal till (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1741 *dul (& *duol?) hill.
A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon dal /dɔl/, Modern Mon tà, (or 1626 *[d][o]r, which compare, >) Mae Sariang tu, Mường tù (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese dài; ~ Khasi kyntön mound, ridge, heap, pile; to accumulate (? see below; or variant?; by attraction 1738 *bt₁u(ə)l, which compare).
Uncertain. Khasi may rather be connected to Praok ton mound, hillock (< *dun?).
SCHMIDT 1905 66 compares Mon with Khmer forms under the entry *bt₁u(ə)l.

1742 *dul?, *duul[ ]; *dual[ ] to carry on head.
A: (Viet-Mường) Mường tô (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese dố to wear or carry on head.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer tûl, Kuy thûl, Central Nicobarese [ə]-tôl to carry on head.
C: (South Bahnaric) Biat dual to carry on head. Note also Kuy & Bru dël carry on shoulder (< *d?-).
Cf. 1781 *[y]uəl &c.

1743 *dul; *duol; *dal middle, belly.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tûl belly flesh [of certain fish], Lawa Bo Luang tu intestines, (or c?) Praok tu belly; ~ Stieng kândul, Sre (k)ndul, Chrau kândul, Biat ndul belly.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon dor /dəw/, Modern Mon tô middle; ~ Stieng kândol middle; ~ Central Sakai pëduäl centre.
C: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Biat [di] döl (in the) middle; ~ Khmer kândal middle (? with secondary lengthening; if so, → Chrau kândal).
( SHAFER 1965 574; BLOOD 1966 159; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41 (a.).

1744 *duul; *duol; *d[ə]l to prop, support.
A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*[c]duul >) Bahnar tål to prop up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre sândul short post supporting floor, prop.
B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese hâol-[həə] to support; ~ (*drnuəl >) Bahnar dəol prop (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Khuic, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer tûal to prop (up), lean, Kuy thâl to support, hold up, prop, Bru tâl support (with stick), Biat dal to prop up, Stieng dal to prop (up), lean; ~ Bahnar tâol to prop up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cantûal prop, pile, Kuy nthâl prop for shaft of cart, Biat ndal pile, to prop; ~ Old Mon dnal /dnɔl/, Modern Mon ni pillow; ~ Stieng dranaːl prop.
Vocalism at c post-dental? For Bahnar -əl see 335a *duuk. Separate Bahnar döl to prop up; Sre, Nicobaric exclude *d-.
( LEWITZ 1967, 129.)
†1745 *kdiil; *kdiəl; *kdəl to cover.
A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau kandeil to put over, cover; by secondary derivation ~
Chrau tadeil to put over, cover, Biat rdeil to stop up, block.
B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *kndiəl >) West Bahnar kaneil stopper, wad for gun
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon katə to cover up, cover over, close,
Vietnamese dāy to cover; ~ (*krəl >) Middle Mon kaduiw coverlet, Kuy thəl lid,
cover, Bahnar kədəl pot-cover of leaves (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy nthəl to
close, cover; ~ Chrau gadəl to stop one’s ears, Bahnar kadəl blocked up, solid; →
Cham kadəl to cover, stop up.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. To stop up, block by attraction 1739 *dal &c.,
which compare.
Sora da(∗)l- to cover, put lid on, ~ da’nal-an lid, cover.

†1745a *diil; *dīəl; *dail tracks.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar dəl.
B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *diəl (DIFFLOTH 1977).
C: (Khasi) Khasi dien.
C secondary. Cf. 1733a *tjil.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (a.)
(?) ~ Sora ‘onid-, ‘onil- (& ‘sannil-) to follow tracks of.

1746 *da[ə]l to press down on.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon ds to press down on, crush, squeeze, Bahnar dəl to crush
by pressure, force stopper in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*duul see 86 *diəl one.)

‡1747 *kdial; *kdail low, shallow, short.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Riang-Lang ~del to be low, shallow, humble, Bru
ntial (!) shallow; ~ Semnam koiədəl short.
B: (Mon) Mon da to be shallow; ~ Röglai dal ford; ~ (*kdail >) Mon ḡda khadā to
make shallow.
Cf. (i) Lawa Bo Luang to shallow (< *kdəl?); (ii) A165 *[d]h[əə]l shallow,
suggesting Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diəl ~ *dihəl. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.) (?)
Proto-Austronesian (*di/[j](N)p/a =) *di(N)pəy (to) ford: Cham tapa, Kelabit
dipar to ford, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 160, *(dD)-; Proto-Hesperonesian; = each of
two sides, DAHL 1973 § 20.7, Proto-West-Indonesian). Note also Malay dampar
stranded, under the entry 1639 *tnpaar.
1748 *kfuul; *kfuul; *kfuul; *kfuul heel.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) → Jarai kfuul; ~ Sre kændol (!), Bahnar kənəol, Riang-Lang kəndol; by secondary derivation ~ Pangan dulul (i.e. Mendriq &c.; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 69).
B: (?South Bahnaric) (or A, C?) Stieng kənəal; → Cham kədol, North Röglai kəduən [takai], Acehnese gənuə.
C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) ~ Stieng kəndal (BLOOD 1966), Sakai kənəl (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 70), Besisi kənthəl (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. H 69) (or p?), Central Nicobarese kəntəla-[ləh].
D: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Mon) ~ Kuy nthuəal, Bru kəndəal, Pakoh kəndool; ~ Chrau gənəal, Biat ndəal [jəŋ], Jeh kanəəl (→ Bahnar kənəl?), Halang kənəəl; ~ Nyah Kur ndəəl.
Connect obscure Thin -pələyiəl.
(SHAFER 1965 417; BLOOD 1966 399; SMITH 1972 392.)

1749 *krnuəl groove.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau gənəal, Biat rəəl (→ Sre nol?), Bahnar kənəal.
Connect by metathesis Khmer kərian groove, Kuy k(o)liən & Bru panəl lymph glands in groove?

(*gnal see 1716 *jgal to recognize.)

1750 *dnaal (& *dnal?) coconut-shell as measure of capacity.
With Khmer initial cf. 1354 *[d]/n/im.

1751 *rniəl roller.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon nə roller for moving boats &c., Khmer rənəəl roller for moving loads.

1752 *paal; *puul pale, indistinct.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon [pəɾiʔ] pa to fail, be ineffective (?), Stieng səmu pur: paəl [to see] imperfectly, to glimpse, Sre paəl pale, faded (→ Röglai), Biat paəl pale, Bahnar paəl pale, livid (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ late Middle Mon sapə to have defective sight, Modern Mon hapa to see imperfectly, to be dimly lit.
B: (Palaungic) Praok pəəl pale.
B secondary.
(SHAFER 1965 95.)
Sora polu-, palu-, Gutob pər white.
1752a *pul bag-like organ.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pul stomach, intestines, Biat pol gizzard, Bahnar pul womb.

1753 *pul; *puul; *pual to divine, take an augury.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre pol to take an augury.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer bod to take an augury, Kuy poil to prophesy in trance; ~ Khmer phnoil omen.
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau pol to divine; ~ Röglai pual.

1754 *p[ ]ul; *p[ ]uəl; *p[ ]al to twine round.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar pul [pal] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre pual to lean on, grow round (→ Röglai pual to lean on), Biat pual to hang from. Note Nancowry fulaŋa to embrace (?)
C: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Bahnar pal to twine round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (?,*[k]pal >) Mon kwo to bind [chick, floor bamboos] together.
Or *pw-, causative ~ 1794 *wil &c. to turn? Cf. 1635 *p[ ]uur? &c. to bind round, wrap.

1755 *pul; *pəl to borrow.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer bol to borrow at 100 percent interest; ~ Khmer bəmnol, Sre by dissimilation kənol debt.
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre pəl to borrow [rice]; ~ (*[k]pəl >) Kuy bəl to borrow [item of food].
Cf. Vietnamese nọ debt, to owe.

1756 *[c]puəls; *[c]pəl[ ]ll[ ] pumpkin.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Stieng phuəl kind of gourd or melon (& pəl kind of greenish cucumber), Bahnar pual, Vietnamese buoi pumpkin; ~ (*[c]pəuels >) Chrau lapuəl long squash, Sre rapuəl, Biat rpuəl, Bahnar hapuəl pumpkin.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar hapəl pumpkin (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 1637 *[c]pəir.
(SHAFER 1965 100.)

1757 *tpal (& *tpaal?) mortar for pounding rice.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tbal, Stieng paæl (< variant?), Palaung por, Riang-Lang “pal, Praok po; ~ (*tpal >) Sre, Biat mpal, Bahnar tapal (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang pa, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbo; ~ (*trpal >) Kuy (t)pal, Chrau lapal.
For variant note also Khmer tbaæl (TANDART 1935). Connection dubious 1715 *guul &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 309; SMITH 1972 398.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1758 *d₁p(u)ulh; *d₁p(u)əlh; *d₁pəlh seven.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Kuy (th)phò, Palaung pur, Riang-Lang *pul; ~ Riang-Lang *tapul, (~?) Ulu Indau tempo (i.e. Temoq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 122; or B?).
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre poh, Stieng, Chrau poh.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bhat poh, Mường pây (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese báy, báy; ~ Old Mon dampoh /dápoh/, Modern Mon həpəh, Bahnar təpəh, Jeh təpəh, Halang təpəh.
Central Nicobarese təfəual six is < 1734a *t/p/əul.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 21; BLOOD 1966 262; SMITH 1972 338.)

1759 *dp(u)ul; *dp(u)əl (descent) group.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar boil group; ~ Sre mopəl family, Bhat mopəl group, tribe, bal mopəl family, Bahnar tapəl herd, troop.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar bual = boil; ~ Röglai puəl; ~ Jölong tapəul (GUILLUMINET 1959-63; & Röngao tabual) = tapəl; ~ Cham tapəl herd, group, Jarai tapəul, North Röglai tapuən group.
Conceivably *k/mp/uəl &c. ~ 1708 *krkuul descent group, contaminated by 1763 *təbal &c. clump, bunch. Connect Khmer ʔəmbo: 'ʔampər family.
(BLOOD 1966 16.)

1760 *p[r]pail skate, ray.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [ka?] ʔapa skate, Khmer ʔəbəel, prəbəel skate, shark.
Or *p(r)p-.
(—) Proto-Austronesian *pəyi(S): Malay pari, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111.)

1761 *b[ə]l (& *beel?) to spread a mat.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang *pel to spread (mats in), strew (with tone by levelling on derivation?); ~ (*bp[ə]l) >) Mon həpel bapew rush matting (with -p- unlevelled in absence of simplex), Palaung per, Semang pil (i.e. Sabum; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 63 (a)), by assimilation or metathesis Sre bəl, Chrau veil mat; ~ (*[b]nb[ə]l) >) Biat mbeəl, Praok bi mat; ~ (*tənb[ə]l) >) Riang-Lang *səmpel mat.
(BLOOD 1966 32.)
Sora be'l-, Santali bel to spread mat, &c. (PINNOW 1959 221; Proto-Munda *bel).
(Proto-Austronesian *b/an/iə >) Proto-Philippine (ZORC & CHARLES) *bəniG:
Tagalog banig mat, &c.

1762 *cbal; *cbaal companion, friend.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Bhat bal companion, Jeh bal group (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~, or ~ *cpbal >) Bahnar bal in a swarm, (dih —) each other; ~ (? *cnbal >) Lawa Bo Luang həməu, Mae Sariang həmeu friend.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hwəa close male friend, Praok [pəw] pe friend.
1763 *t-bal; *t-bal; *t-bul clump, bunch.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Khmer thpal clump (of trees), bunch; ~ (*tnb- > ) Mon kamp tamo(u) &c. clump, bunch (or B), Old Khmer tampal grouping, cluster, settled area; → Thai tambon locality, district, group of houses, → Khmer tambon locality.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar tabul forming a small group or clump; to roll up in a bunch; ~ (*tnbul > ) hamul bundle of notes.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy pool bush, grove, clump, Bru pùl bush; ~ Bahnar hamol sheaf, bundle, armful.
B, C secondary? For Bahnar -ol see 335a *duuk. Connect Nancowry mól to be together, (ta)múl to be in a group (< *mu(u)l?).
POU & JENNER 1975 no. 10 compares Proto-Austronesian *tabal thick, for which see 1768 *[t]bal.

1764 *biaw? askew.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Mon bea to be out of alignment, out of true, out of the square, Nyah Kur biaw bent out of shape, Vietnamese méo to be out of shape, Bru biaw distorted; ~ Bru kıbiaw to pull out of shape, Pakoh tarbèaw, kubèaw, bibèaw. ↔ Thai biaw.

1765 *bul; *buul drink.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer pùl vegetable poison, Jeh bòl, Halang bul drunk; ~ Sre bánul, Chraw vənul, Biat nul drunk, Bahnar bánul poisonous (mushroom).
B: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Literary Mon ḅū, Kuy bul to be drunk, Proto-Semai *byrl drink (DIFFLOTH 1977), Besisi bul sick, vomiting (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 23); ~ Old Mon balbul /bəlbul/, Modern Mon habu to be drunk; ~ Kammu-Yuan kampúl poison, poisonous, to be poisoned by. Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer probably *biʔul in view of infixed n, Kuy b-; connected then 1695 *bul[ ] &c. . . . to vomit.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26; BLOOD 1966 161; SMITH 1972 390.)
Kharia bul drunk, &c. (PINNOW 1959 105).

1766 *buul; *bual green pigeon.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang tənbəl.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer pəpəul green pigeon, Treron nipalensis vernax; ~ Pakoh kambōal green pigeon.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Mon [hacem] pha bo emerald dove, Chalcophaps indica indica (by secondary expansion, cf. Khmer); → Cham babırl green pigeon; ~ (*[t,]nbaul > ) Biat by hypercorrection mʔual, Bahnar [sem] komuul pigeons (generic) (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 273, dove.
1767 *ɓul?; *ɓul[ ] kind of lizard.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng ɓul grey lizard, Biat ɓul lizard, Vietnamese mōi house lizard.
   B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh ɓul lizard, Halang ɓul snake. (SMITH 1972 401.)

1768 *[t]ɓəl; *[t]ɓul thick.
   A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng ɓəl, Chrau ɗal; (~ *[t]mbəl >) Stieng nbəl, Biat mbəl, Kammu-Yuan həmpuəl; (~ *[t]rəl >) Bahnar hərəl, Khasi rən. B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang pu, Lawa Umphai phu. B secondary.

1769 *ɗəl; *[d]əl cheek.
   A: (Khmber, Mon) Khmer thpəl, Nyah Kur tabáül.
   B: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)peəl (!) buttocks, Vietnamese má (?) cheek, South Nicobarese tapəə cheek, Nancowry tapuá (suggest *-ør?). Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. Semang penəl, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 83. But separate Praok siba (=*-paʔ, cf. Lawa sapa?).

1770 *(m)bəl salt.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon ɓuiw, Modern Mon ba, (~?) Old Khmer ampyal, Modern Khmer ɓambyəl.

1771 *(m)bəl tamarind.
   A: (Khmber, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer aṁvəl, Modern Khmer ɓəmpəl tamarind tree, Kuy mphəl, Biat [pləi] muəl tamarind, Sre mil tamarind tree; → Cham amil, Rōglai mil tamarind tree, Acehnese me wood, pods, of tamarind; ~ Lawa Bo Luang same, Lawa Umphai sami tamarind. B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [cəj] me tamarind [tree]; → North Rōglai mē tamarind tree.
   Hardly all ← Pali ambīla- sour!

1772 *(m)[əl; *(m) il; *(m)əl; *(m)[əl; *(m)[əl round.
   A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan mēl-mēl rolling.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy mil to roll (v.t.); ~ Khmer rəmial toround (down) (v.i.t.).
1773 *məːl; *maəːl; *mil; *miil to watch (for).
   A: (Katuic, Khasi, ?Mon) Pakoh mal to wait for, expect; ~ Khasi kyrmen to hope; (or variant) ~ Old Mon cirmil to wait for, Modern Mon kəmæ to await, hope (for), expect.
   B: (Khmer) Old Khmer mel, Modern Khmer məːl to look (at), see, to wait (for).
   C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer rəməːl to steal a glance.
   D: (Palaungic) ~ Praok simi to look.

Connect Khasi pyrman [to observe] from a distance. C, D secondary, contaminated by 129 *miːʔ to look at? For Sora mel-ˈmel- to examine, inspect see 1696 *iʔol.

(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

1774 *kmuul silver.
   A: (Khuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kəmúːl money, Praok məː, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang mau, Lawa Umphai mau silver, money; → Shan máə.

1775 *[j]məːl mountain.
   A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) (~ *jnməːl >?) Lawa Bo Luang mə, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mo, (~, or by assimilation?) Jehai jɛlməl, Temiar jɛlməl.
   (SKEAT & BLADGDEN 1906 H 87 (a.).)

1776 *jəm[oo]l male.
   A: (Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer jmol, Modern Khmer chməːl; (~ *jrm[oo]l >) Semelai rəməːl.
   (SKEAT & BLADGDEN 1906 M 20.)

1777 *jmuul; *jmuul (& *jmul?) to dibble.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung mor (!); ~ Stieng jərməːl, Bunör rəmuul, Bahnar jəmuul.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khuic, Palaungic) Stieng məal to dibble (BLOOD 1966), Kammu-Yuan cərməːl (perhaps < *jnməːl) to sow [rice, cotton], (*jmul >?) Lawa Bo Luang [ŋgəɾəi?] ?mo, Lawa Umphai [ŋgreʔ] ?mo dibbling-[stick]; ~ Chrau ləməːl dibbling-stick, Kammu-Yuan cərməːl dibbling-stick; sowing-season.

Cf. following.
   (BLOOD 1966 237.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Sora ɟam'möl-ən, ɭamme:l-ən seed (= jəb-məl, ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1304-5, 1307; Proto-Munda *ʃʃi(N)-moXl).

1778 *təmaal to sow.
Cf. preceding & Khmer thnəl seed-bed.
(SHAFER 1965 425.)

†1779 *smuul; *smuəl; *smaal (& *sməl?) shadow, soul.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Kuy sməl, mhoəl shadow; ~ Mon [pəŋ] homao saməl &c.
Butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly, Khmer sraməl shadow, image in mirror, (—khmaoc) ghost.
B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *snuəul by metathesis > *mnsuəl >) Bahnar pəŋəl soul.
C: (Khmuic; *sməl >?) Thin həməl shadow; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kəm] hərməːl image, shadow of animate or mobile entity.
Khmuic vocalism obscure.
(SMITH 1972 571.)
Sora um'mul-ən shadow, reflection, image, Santali umul shadow, &c. (PINNOW 1959 121.)

1780 *[y]il barking deer.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ɨl, Chrau jəl, Biat jəl, Jeh jəl barking deer, Halang jəl small kind of deer, Bahnar jəl kind of deer.
Or *ʔil? Literary Mon [drəj] e antelope, if not ← Pali elaka- wild goat, may with
Khmer ʔəel doe, fawn reflect *ʔəel. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kaNkəl mouse deer, DEMPWOLFF 1938 73 (Proto-Malayo-Javanese).
(BLOOD 1966 138; SMITH 1972 388.)

(*ʔəl see 1696 *iʔəl to see.)

‡1780a *yə[o]l to oscillate.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer yəəl to oscillate, ripple, to swing (v.t.), Bahnar jəl [jəl &c.] [large object] swinging (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
Kammu-Yuan yəəl [roŋyəuəl] shaking continuously; ~ Kuy (k)yəəl to swing (v.t.),
Kammu-Yuan kyəəl shaking once.
Proto-Austronesian *iuyiyuy: Acehnese mə-yu-yu to shake back and forth, Tagalog yugyog to shake, Hiligaynon Bisayan yugyug to shake, to rock cradle, &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian).
1781 *[y]uə; *yəl to carry on head, raise high.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat juəl to carry on head, Bahnar jəl to raise higher than oneself, hold out (Guilleminet 1959-63), Bru yəl to lift something up with both hands.
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon yil /yəl/ to place on one’s head, Modern Mon yə to support or carry on head, to lift, Bahnar yəl to wear on head.
Cf. Nancowry ?usúl to carry on head; 1742 *dul? &c. to carry on head.

1782 *kyaal air, wind.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon kyəəl /kyəl/, Modern Mon ca air, wind, Khmer khyəəl (!) wind, air, breath, Kuy (k)yaəl air, wind, Sre caəl, Chrau chaəl, Biat chiaəl, Bahnar kiəl, Jeh kayaəl wind (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
With Khmer vocalism cf. 1381 *yaam. Connect Vietnamese gió?
(Khm 1905 40; Shafer 1965 410; Blood 1966 286.)

(*kyaal, *t,yaal see 1658 *[k]yaə[a,r] to come loose, come undone.)

1783 *syuul; *syuəl to fly through the air.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung hyur to fly (Milne 1931); ~ Khmer səmyəəl floating [hair] (Tandart 1935).
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Literary Mon [sən] səow to fly through the air, to throw [e.g. spear]; ~ (*sryuəl >) [tasow] təow to glide, dart (with t- by phrasal deformation); ~ (*snyuəl >) Sre səɲəal casting-net, Bahnar hənual net.
Add following as derivative?

1784 *[s]ryuul; *[s]ryuəl gibbon.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həyoəl, Nyah Kur yuyəl/yuyəl/yəl; so connected Mon wət sə?
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ayua, Lawa Umphai rayua.
Flier through the trees, ~ preceding?

1785 *ril blunt.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rəəl, Biat rəul.

1786 *rial to cut up, dismember.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon rəə rey to cut up, Khasi ria small, broken; ~ Khasi pharia to split into small pieces.

(*[ ]rial see 1792 *[b]rial pebble.)
1787 *raal old, aged.
   A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Praok re [ju], Vietnamese già (for **rā); ~ Muong khá
   (Barker 1966 20).
   Rather than Praok ~ 164 *kra[ ]?, which compare.

1788 *kriol? crane (bird).
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Mon krea, Khmer kriol Sarus crane,
   Stieng kriel, Biat [klaːŋ] kreu, Vietnamese sêu crane.
   Connect obscure Khasi sarew.
   Sora ar'red-ən parakeet, Mundari kereəd rose-ringed parakeet, Santali kereəd [fowls]
   to scream (Pinnow 1959 K 10).
   So originally onomatopoeic.

1789 *[c]riil gold.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' sriil; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung khriir, Lawa
   Bo Luang khrea, Lawa Umphai khrai, Mae Sariang khyai, Praok khri (& khray
treasure; ← Lawa?).

1790 *t3reel thin.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon krəe trī &c. to be (flat and) thin, to be sparse, Proto-
   Nyah Kur *trīw slim, thin (Diffloth 84 V207; suggests *-iiw!), Palaung hrer
   (Milne 1931), Lawa Umphai hre, by metathesis hlai, Riang-Lang ˈler thin; by
   secondary derivation ~ (i) Mae Sariang khyei; (ii, with metathesis) Khasi jlir
   thin.

1791 *pri; *priol; by metathesis *pliir; *pliar hail.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer pruəl (!; & pruəl; contaminated by 180 *brii? …rain?),
   Praok pre.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Jeh pril, Halang prial ice, hail, Bahnar prel,
   Palaung preor, Lawa Bo Luang phre, Lawa Umphai pre, Mae Sariang phye hail,
   Khasi phria hail-stone.
   C: (Mon) Mon pləe.
   D: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bunör plər, Central Rölöm pliar, Bahnar dialects p(ə)ler
   (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan pliar (& by further metathesis *lpiər > Sre
   [miw] piar); → Jarai plər, Rögla [hajən] palier.
   Connect Kuy trei.
   (Schmidt 1905 54; Blood 1966 100; Smith 1972 394.)
   Sora arel-ən, arel-ən (& by metathesis *aler- > ader-[gum-ən]), Kharia 'arel, &c.
   (Pinnow 1959 225).
1792 *[b]rial pebble.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar brel pebble, Khasi [maw]-ria gravel, [tha]-ria shingly bed of shallow stream (compounding form?; = ria small, broken < 1786 *riəl).
   Or *̂[ ]rial, ~ *mrial > Bahnar?

1793 *luul tadpole.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang _lu_, Khasi _luu_.
   Cf. 1203 *[k]lun. Connect 1664 *loor to glide, creep, (wriggle)?

†1794 *wil; *wiil; *wiəl(?); *wəl; *wəl; *wail to turn.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer viəl to turn (round), Sre wil circle, Bunər wil, Central Rölm wul round, Praok ve coil; → Cham wil round, Rōglai wil, North Rōglai win circle; ~ Khmer krəvul ring, Bahnar kəwil large and bent (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau wel to beat [game], Biat [daak wac] weːl eddy, Bahnar wiil round (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung vir to return; ~ Central Nicobarese kəwilə round, circular, Nancowry kil (?); ~ Old Mon tirwil /tərwil/ to attend on, Modern Mon kəwi [kəwən] to be attended by.
   C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer viəl to dig or cut round, to enlarge [hole], Bahnar wel to spin, Riang-Lang _viel to turn round, Vietnamese veo to be twisted, crooked, distorted, Kensiu welwel to turn, Temiar wel to turn; (Benjamin 1976B 134) again, Central Nicobarese wiəl- to turn; → Thai wian to revolve, gyrate, encircle; ~ Bahnar kuel bend in road, enclosure, Vietnamese quęo to be curved, bent, crooked, queue to be tortuously curved; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kərwiːc]-kwuəal winding, meandering; ~ Khmer chviəl to dig round, to fly in circles, Kuy fiːl to stand around in a circle, Sabum ciwel to turn; ~ (*[ ]mwiəl >) Riang-Lang _miel, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai me again.
   D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) (probably Old Mon wel /wel/ also) Khmer viəl to turn (round), Sre wel to turn; re-, afresh, (probably) Central Nicobarese wəl- (~ to) again, (ha- ~ -hata) to repeat; (or E) → Cham val to turn, North Rōglai [wín] wan circle; ~ Vietnamese quarı to surround, encircle (or ad 1669 *war, which compare?); ~ Old Mon tirwil /tərwəl/ limit, term, Middle Mon təwəur also boundary, Modern Mon kəwo limit, boundary, area or period within limits, Khmer travəl extent; ~ Praok mu boundary.
   E: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Sre wəl [boŋ] (lunar, solar) halo, Rōngao val to return (v.i.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung var (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang _əval to stir round and round, (?) Khasi wan to come; ~ Semai ll rişval to turn.
   F: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Sre kuel to bend, twist (?), Bahnar kuəl to coil [rope], turn [handle]; ~ Khmer krəvæl to go and return, to explore, run back and forth, circle round; ~ Nancowry caəl to turn (or E. ?); ~ Biat rənuəl circle, hoop.
Add perhaps 1796 *wiil confused...; & as derivatives (*p-wul &c. causative =) 1754 *p [jul &c. to twine round; (*m-wil &c. =) 1772 *m [jil &c. round (Schmidt 1905 54; Shaffer 1965 414; Blood 1966 149; Shorto 1973 379-80, with further derivatives; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 251.) (i) perhaps Sora ɩd-, ed- to circle, wind (or: 1090 *wi(i)t); (ii) ~ Santali gerwel ring-shaped marking (Pinnow 1959 K 521).

‡1795 *wiil left-hand.
A: (Central & South Aslian) Semai ll wiil; ~ Semelai sawil.
Connection uncertain Kensiu ʔayil, Temiar yel.
Cf. 233 *wi[l].

1796 *wiil (& *wi[l]) confused, to forget.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau wiil mixed up, confused, Bahnar wiil to confuse, to be puzzled, at a loss (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Kuy swiil, fiil dizzy (ad variant?), Biat cueil to forget; ~ Riang-Lang _tarvil, _tarwil to forget (to), to faint.
= 1794 *wiil to turn? Cf. also 1798 *wəəl to deceive.

1797 *waal grazing, open ground.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon wèa open ground, pasture, Khmer viːal plain, Kuy witaal to herd; ~ Old Khmer gval, Modern Khmer khvitaal to herd, Bru kuwial, Stieng guałą to graze, to herd; ~ Mon haməa, Khmer kùnάvitaal herdsman.
Cf. Sre kuil open ground, clearing.
(Schmidt 1905 48.)

1798 *wəəl to deceive.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Mon wà to deceive, cause false perception or impression, Praok [khum] vr to be guileful, Vietnamese vờ to pretend to.
Cf. 1796 *wiil confused... .

1799 *sil to peel.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy sel to peel, to slice thin, Bru siil to peel with knife (< *-iil?), Stieng seil to peel, Biat chul to peel, chil to clean with knife (→ Sre chil to peel?), Kammu-Yuan [há:il] hil to peel with knife, remove bark; → Rögglai sil to peel.

1800 *siil; *siəl ashamed.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [ɓa]siil to be ashamed, put to shame.
B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *seel shy, ashamed (Diffloth 1977).
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 158A.)
1801 *saal light in weight.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon sa sā; ~ (*snaal >) Kuy ṣhāl; ~ (*srsaal by metathesis >) Khmer sraːl.
Cf. 1731 *[s]jaal &c.

(*saal see also 191 *laʔ to spread, extend; *suul see 1675 *siir to incise, write.)

1802 *ksaal split bamboo fibre.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon kṣā, Modern Mon cha, Riang-Lang khāl [ro? &c.]; ~ (*kmsaal >) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai hma.

1803 *ksul, *ksuul hair, fleece.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon [twor] kṣuiw dressed [cotton], Modern Mon cho to be fleecy.
B: (Khmuiic) Kammu-Yuan khúːl body hair.
Connect Central Nicobarese pu(l)yoːl body hair, Nancowry puyól (< *bu(l)sul?; perhaps contaminated by Malay bulu).

1803a *hiil, (*hiil hiil >) *lhiil; *lh(i)əl bare, smooth, worn.
B: (Khasi) Khasi len smooth, len-len smooth and bare.
With Bahnar initial cf. ʔiːp < 1294 *[h]ləp. Note further Khmer lhaːl, rhaːl flat and open, spacious, Khasi [khuid] lan-lan bare, bald, plan-plan barren, empty space; Vietnamese li very smooth; & cf. 1668 *[s]liar smooth, slippery.

1804 *hul to abuse, threaten.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre hol to threaten (DOURNES 1950), Jeh hōl to abuse (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
For Bahnar dialects huːl to be angry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see 1808 *[t]huul. Cf. A162 *wal annoyingly persistent.

(*hul[ ] see 1695 *ʔul[ ] ...to vomit.)

1805 *khe[ə]l shield.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer khaːl, Stieng [nːim] gheːl, Biat, Bahnar kheːl; → Cham kheːl, Jarai kʰiːəl; Thai kʰēn, (?) ultimately → Vietnamese khiēn.
1806 *khal (\& *khaal?) cup, bowl.
A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon khal /kəl/, Modern Mon kho small cup for food-offerings, Kuy khal bowl used as dipper, (variant >?) Stieng khaal small copper drinking-cup; → Burmese kho small basket for offerings; Thai kʰān bowl.
BENEDICT 1972 63 no. 266 compares Burmese with Lushei khou kind of basket.

1807 *khuul vapour.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Sre kənəulfill; ~ (*kmhuul >) Mon həmao khamū &c. vapour, gas (merging odour < 1563 *s/mʔuuru); ~ Bru tahəul steam, vapour (< *-ual?).
Connect perhaps (i) 1811 *[ ]mhuəl [ ] to wilt, wither.}

1808 *[t]hiil; *[t]hiəl angry.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hiil (& Bahnar dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, hiul; contaminated by 1804 *hul to abuse…?).
B: (Mon; or *dh-) Mon thea to be angry, annoyed.

1809 *thu[s]; *thuul[ ] to blow.
A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese thői.
B: (Central Aslian) Temiar tahəul.

1810 *bhaal (kind of) jack-fruit.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon pha mountain jack, Artocarpus chaplasha Roxburgh, Khasi [soh]-phan, Central Nicobarese pəyaɪl jack-fruit.

1811 *[ ]mhuəl; *[ ]məul cloud.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre mhoal (→ Röglai), Jölong h(a)məual (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Muong məul (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese məyl; (probably ~) Kuy lməl, Bahnar həmao.
Connection uncertain Thin ?aŋʔul mist; Bahnar kaŋwal cloud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Kensiu ?aŋl cloud, which suggest *(k-)nʔ-; Munda, Austronesian support *mh-. Cf. 1807 *khuul vapour.
Sora (i) 'mođə-n, compounding form məo]-ən mist, fog (referred at PINNOW 1959 384 to a root meaning smoke; final discussed ib. p. 361); (ii) mor'm ori-, mom° (to be) foggy, mor- [smoke, mist] to spread; (iii) uməd-ən &c., compounding form 'mo đə-ən fog, mist, smoke, v.
1812 *[r]huul; *[r]hə[ ]l; *rʔuul; *rʔual to grill.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy həːl to hold over flame, Sre houl to heat up [food] (→ Röglai); ~ Biat nhoːl to heat up [food], to grill.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar həːl to grill, dry by heat (GUilleminet 1959-63).
C: (Khmer) Khmer rʊːl to grill [fish], (~?) Chrau uəl to toast, roast, Biat ual to grill.
Connect Khmer ʔəːl to roast, grill, burn, (rəːl —) to irritate, ~ Biat rʔəːl irritation, rash; but connection uncertain Khmer phon to make stock. Cf. 1685 *hurst to expose to heat; 1671 *waar &c. …to heat.

(*lhiil, *lh(i)əl see 1803a *hiil bare, smooth, worn.)

1813 *ʔaaw? upper garment.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔəːw upper garment, Sre aw garment, Chrau aw shirt, clothes, Biat aː jacket, Jeh, Halang aw shirt, Bahnar aw, Mường (Barker 1966 14), Vietnamese do upper garment; → Cham, Röglai aw, Jarai aː, North Röglai au.
Hardly all ← Vietnamese.
(Smith 1972 438.)

‡1814 *kiəw; *giəw left-hand.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre kiəw, Biat ciau.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng giəː, giəu, Chrau gyaw; ~ Bahnar ʔŋiəw.
Jeh iəw, Halang iəw are ← Indonesian (*uSiau?), see 233 *w[i]?
(Blood 1966 96; cf. Smith 1972 436; Skeat & Blagden 1906 L 48 (c.))
Proto-Austronesian *kiua: Malay kiwa left-handed, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 81; Dyen 1953 § 97; Dahl 1973 n. 20.22; Proto-Hesperonesian). See Benedict 1975 327.

1815 *kaw areca nut.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cau; ~ Old Mon kmow /kmɔw/, Literary Mon [tna] kmau areca palm.

1816 *ŋ[kaw?] (kind of) owl.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Nyah Kur kɨw owl, Chrau nkəː screech-owl, Stieng kou, (~?) Biat [klaːŋ] kou, Sakai ˈŋkõ owl (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 72).
Connection dubious Vietnamese cú.
1817 *jkaw (kind of) bear.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Bru sakaw, Stieng [kla] kau, Bhat kau bear; ~ Sre jirkaw Ursus malayanus, Chrau sakaw black bear, Bahnar cagaw (!), Muong cû (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese dáu bear; ~ Cham cakw, Jarai jgaw, Acehnese cagaw bear, Rôglai jagaw Melursus ursinus (& jirgaw Ursus malayanus, contaminated by Sre), North Rôglai cagou bears.
Bahnar →, vocalism contaminated by, Indonesian! Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note Jakun dehô, Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 107.
(SHAFER 1966 531; BLOOD 1966 194.)

1818 *tkaw[?] to sit, stay.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)kau to sit, Bru takû: (suggs. *tgâu?), Kammu-Yuan kâu to (lie in) wait for, Praok kau to endure, ?Nancowry kû? to sit (or ad 283 *[tguk?).
Connection uncertain Vietnamese cù to continue to, cù to dwell.

1'819 *pkaaw; *pka? flower.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon pkāw /pkaw/, Modern Mon kao, Stieng kǎo, Bhat kǎo, Mendriq, Semnam, Semelai bakaw; → Rôglai bakaw (→ Sre); Proto-Karen *p’kau (SHAFER 1965); ~ (*pnkaaw >) Chrau ñkaw, Bahnar pakaaw.
B: (Khmer) Old Khmer p(h)kǎ, Modern Khmer phka.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 42; BLOOD 1966 273; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 187.)
(Ad B) Santali baha, &c. (PINNOW 1959 21; Proto-Munda *baqa).
Note Proto-Austronesian *buja, DEMPWOLFF 1938 35-6; DYEN 1953 § 110; &
*bu(N)ka to open, DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, *buka; DYEN 1953 § 108; NOTHOFER 1975 193.

1'820 *rk[aw]? (& *rkaaw??) husked rice.
(SHAFER 1965 222, 304, 550; HAUDRICOURT 1965, 171.)
Gutob, Juang ruku; ~ Sora r’ųŋku-n, &c. (PINNOW 1959 139).

(*skaw see 1866 *ksaw red ant; *giaw see 1814 *kiaw left-hand.)

1820a *gaaw (& *gaw?) to go up, climb.
A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan kàt; (variant ?>) Khasi kiew.
Separate Praok kaw to stand up, : Lawa Bo Luang kauh, &c.
1821 *caw to come, go, to return.
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon ców /caw/ to return, Modern Mon cao also to proceed to arranged destination, Kuy cau to come, Jeh ciw, Halang ciw to go.
Cf. Khasi shaw to fetch, to go to meet.

1821a *.caaw to bargain.
A: (Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan cáː to bargain, haggle, Khasi siew to pay; ~ Vietnamese giao to hand over (by attraction following, which compare).

1822 *jaw? (?); *jaaw[ ] to hand over.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok co, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang choʔ to sell (& Lawa Bo Luang thuʔ?), (?) Khasi iew market.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer jāhv to barter, Modern Khmer cìːəv to buy, sell (monk's language), Sre jaw to offer, to hand over, Chrau jaw to entrust, hand over, Bahnar jaw (what is) handed over; → Cham cāːw to hand over, give; Thai cʰāw to rent, lease, hire, let.
Cf. besides preceding. 1729 *j[u]l &c. to buy, with which there is contamination connection uncertain Praok [la] cao, Vietnamese chq market-place.
(SHAFER 1965 547.)

1823 *[b]jəw? to bewitch, exercise supernatural powers.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _cəʔ to bewitch the affections of (& ~cəʔ to bewitch so as to cause sickness or death by arbitrary variation; → Kammu-Yuan cəː to kill by sorcery?); ~ Sre bajəw, Bahnar pajəw, pajəw shaman; → Cham pcəw, Jarai pˌjəu, Röglai bajəw, North Röglai bijəu shaman.
(SMITH 1972 425.)

1824 *taaw to stand.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon tāw /taw/ to stand, remain, stay, endure, Modern Mon tao to be stationary, to dwell, be located in, Chrau taːw to get up, stand up; ~ (*[t]ntaaw > ) Sre ntaː(w) to be upright, get up; ~ Old Mon ptāw to halt (v.t.), in compounds to set up, maintain, Modern Mon ptaːo to set up..., (?) Khasi thaw to make, create.
Connection dubious Bahnar pad5 to raise, set upright (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SHAFER 1965 580.)

1825 *kt[aw]ʔ skin.
A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Kensiu kataʔ, Semai gataʔ, Semaq Beri gətuːh; ~ Sre gəltəw leather, hide, Chrau ntuː skin, Biat ntuːu skin, leather.
(BLOOD 1966 199; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 236 (c.).)
1826 *kt₁aaw sugar-cane.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre taːw, Chrau caːw, Biat taː; ~ Bahnar kətaːw, Sedang kətəːw, Bru kataːw.
   (SHAFER 1965 466; BLOOD 1966 336; SMITH 1972 447.)

1827 *ptaw creeper, rattan.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer phdau rattan; ~ (*prtaw > ) Chrau pətaw,
   Biat rtaw creeper, Khasi pathaw gourd, melon, pumpkin (by attraction Tai *taw, cf.
   BENEDICT 1975 271, dip...).

1828 *pt₁[əw]ʔ smoke.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan pətə́ʔ, Riang-Lang ṭɔʔ[ŋal], Prahok taw.
   Connect obscure Sre otarto smoke-cloud, smog.

1829 *daaw noble.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tɛ̀ a nobleman, Khmer tiaːv royal title (TANDART 1935 first
   princess of blood); ~ Thai tʰáaw rank title for court ladies; ~ Khmer cümtiːaw lady,
   noblewoman.

1830 *[ ]diiw; *[ ]d[i]əw; by metathesis *[ ]duay to point (out).
   A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre (→ Röglai) səndiːw to point out.
   B: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi kdew, ‘dew to point (out).
   C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy nthùːai to point with finger, Bru sadɔːy.

1831 *cdiːw lamp, torch.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon [pnāŋ] cdiːw /cdɔw/ lamp; ~ (*craw > ) Mon

1832 *[c]pn₁[ə]w young unmarried man, bachelor.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre pənu, Riang-Lang sənaːu, Praok sino.

(*krpiːw see 103 *krpiʔ buffalo.)

1833 *[t₁]pawʔ to put hand in.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung po to take [fish] by hand, Riang-Lang poʔ to fumble, to put
   hand into.
   Cf. Lawa Umphai pɔk to take [fish] by hand.
   Mundari tɔp, Santali topo to dip (PINNOW 1959 K 531).

(*tbaw see 1835 *[r]baw kind of gourd.)
1834 *d[b]aw millet.

1835 *[r]baw kind of gourd.
With Lawa vocalism cf. ʔnai ad 1856 *law?.
(Schmidt 1905 68; cf. BEFEO 55, 193.)

(*biəw? see 1764 *biə[l] askew.)

1836 *b[aw]° companion, mate.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre baw spouse, Chrau vo: to mate, Riang-Lang òbo?, Praok paw companion, friend, (?) Lawa Bo Luang poʔ, Lawa Umphai phoʔ, Mae Sariang puʔ one another.
Palaungic contaminated by 109 *bo[o] friend.

1837 *k[b]aw to rinse mouth out.
A: (Mon, Kautic, North Bahnaric) Mon bao [paiŋ], Kuy pau [trɔ:i]; ~ (*kn[b]aw >) Bahnar ɡɔːmɲu, kɔmɲu (Guilleminet 1959-63).

(*mii see 127 *miʔ (to rain.)
*miaw cat.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian, Nicobarese) Sre me₆w, Biat me₇u, Chrau, Bahnar me₆w cat, Jeh mi₇w, Halang mi₇aw wild cat, Kammu-Yuan mēw, Riang-Lang _meau, Lawa Bo Luang meau, Lawa Umpbai meu, Mae Sariang mia, Khasi mi₇aw, Vietnamese mèo, Semang méu (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 45), Central Nicobarese meau cat; → Cham mui₇aw, Roğlai mi₇aw, North Rögla mi₇āu, Acehnese mia, Iban mayau; by back-formation Jarai ezo, → Bunör ěw, Biat eu.

Onomatopoeic. Cf. Thai me₆w, Shan mēo, &c. (see Benedict 1975 411, tīger…; → Kuy meu, Bru me₆w).

(Blood 1966 99.)

*by[aw]h storm.


Connection uncertain Kensiu bewa?, Mah Meri buwa? wind (= Skeat & Blagden 1906 W 109 (a), ? (c)).

Proto-Austronesian *bayiuS: Tagalog bagyó storm, tempest, &c. (Blust 1971 no. 32).

*raw; *raaw to make a loud sound.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Sieng ra₇u to cry, howl, roar, bellow; ~ Bahnar jre₇w (to give an) exultant cry, Jeh dri₇w to hoot, Halang dri₇aw to talk loudly (with secondary fronting); ~ (*nraw >) Sieng ndrou, Chrau ndraw to crow, Biat ndrau to croak, crow; ~ Mon krē₇a to crow, coo, hiss, Proto-Nyah Kur *khraw (Diffloth 1984 V208).

B: (Kham, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi ri₇w, riew to make a sound; ~ Khmer kri₇aw breaking of voice, mew; hoarse, West Bahnar gra₇o to crow (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Sre nraw to crow.

Add perhaps as derivatives 1845 *kra(a)w to call out, announce, 1847 *braaw babbling… . Cf. 161 *rö? &c. to make an inarticulate noise.

(Schmidt 1905 70; Blood 1966 202.)

*ri₇aawah >? *r[ ]aawah to wash.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy riau, Bru ʔari₇aw, Sre, Chrau r₇aw, Biat ra₇₇ to wash, Jeh, Halang ra₇w to wash [hands], Kammu-Yuan r₇₇: to wash [dishes, edibles], Vietnamese rī₇₇ to wash; → Cham, Rögla r₇aw, Jarai ra₇₇, North Rögla rau; (probably ~) Bahnar hraw to wash rice; ~ (?, Pre-Proto-Mon-Khamer *rin₇aawah >? ) ?naw to wash.

Cf. 2053 *ruuh to wash [clothes]. But hardly connected 165 *kruu?.

(Schmidt 1905 70; Shafer 1965 517; Blood 1966 323; Smith 1972 441, 444.)
1842 *raaw openwork basket.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon r̂a openwork basket, Khmer riːaw basket for crockery, fish, &c.
Connection dubious Bahnar dialects ro? small coarsely woven kind of basket
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh rou, Halang ro: back-basket (&c., see SMITH 1972 568; < *ro?).

1843 *kri[i]w; *kriəw to castrate.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kriːu.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kriəw, Sre kriəw (& kraw) to castrate, Biat kreu
castrated, Bahnar krew to castrate; → Jarai kreɔʔ, Röglai kriːw, North Röglai kiau.
(Shafers 1965 61.)

1844 *kraw? back, behind.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon krow /kɾɔw/
behind, after (& kraw) to be subsequent, Mon krow to call out, announce
B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon, ?Nicobaric) Jeh, Halang kraw to call, Bahnar kraw
to call, cry out, summon; → Middle Mon kamrau to announce (or A), Sre kamraw
to be passed round by word of mouth (→ Röglai), Vietnamese rao to announce,
advertise, cry out; → Literary Mon kamrau narration, Modern Mon pərao (facts/about.
~ (? Nancowry kaiw to gossip.
~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?
(Smith 1972 443.)

1845 *kraw; *kraaw to call out, announce.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*knraw >) Riang-Lang krau news, report (with
tone contaminated by Shan khúu), Praok gro [gɾɔŋ] facts, about; ~ (*kpraw >)
Chrau praw legend, tale.
B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon, ?Nicobaric) Jeh, Halang kraw to call, Bahnar kraaw
to call, cry out, summon; ~ Middle Mon kamrau to announce (or A), Sre kamraw
to be passed round by word of mouth (→ Röglai), Vietnamese rao to announce,
advertise, cry out; ~ Literary Mon kamrau narration, Modern Mon pərəo (facts/about.
~ (?) Nancowry kaiw to gossip.
~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?
(Smith 1972 443.)

1846 *kraw; *kraaw to poison.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng kroɔu, Chrau kraaw to poison [fish] with bark of creeper,
Biat krau to poison, Bahnar kraaw to poison [fish]; ~ Bru ntrāw.
B: (Bahnaric) Jeh trau, kraau to poison [fish] (Gradin & Gradin 1979); ~ (*kpraaw
>?) Sre [bas] praw viper, poisonous snake, Bahnar praw kind of snake.
Cf. Khariaw Millettia pachycarpa creeper, yielding fish-poison.
(Shafers 1965 103.)
1846a *[c]riəw in quantity.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon sea sea all together, Khasi riaw (compounding form!) in a crowd, in large numbers.
Or *sr-.

1847 *craaw babbling, tinkling.
~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?

1848 *[c]raw itch.
~ (i) Proto-Austronesian *gar[ə]u: Acehnese, Gayo garu, Cham kàrəv (&. to scratch, Malay garu to scratch hard, &c. (cf. NOTHOFER 1975 88, Proto-Malayo-Javanese *garəw; Proto-Malayo-Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham, perhaps Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) East Formosan *kaɣəw, Thao *k/m/uyaw to scratch (BENEDICT 1975 370, which compare).

1849 *triəw oriole.
Distinguish 1788 *kriel? crane.

1850 *t_{2}raw?, *t_{2}raaw[ ] taro.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon) Mon krao (or B), Khmer trau arum (GUESDON 1930), Sre traw, Chrau [vuːm] traw taro, East Bahnar trəu amaranth (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang ~səro? taro; ~ Kuy (?a)raːu taro.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer trəv taro, East Bahnar trəu amaranth (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Khasi shrəw, riew arum.
Sora 'saro-[' gai-an] Caladium esculentum, Mundari saru kind of edible root, Santali saru taro.
Proto-Oceanic *ntalo (which might be cognate if Polynesian → Melanesian!) is referred to Proto-Austronesian *talat' (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128-9; Malay, Javanese kind of tuber).

1851 *t_{4}praw six.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon turow /təɾəw/, Modern Mon kərao, Sre, Chrau praw, Biat prau, Mường khâu (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese sâu, Serting pê ru’ (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 231); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tadraw, tadraw, Jeh tadraw, Halang dradraw, Ulu Tembeling tēmpêru (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).
Mường, Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Khasi *hinriw* (< *-raaw*?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 196; SMITH 1972 432.)
Kharia 'tib(h)ru, &c. (PINNOW 1959 148; Proto-Munda *tiwru*).

1851a *braw*?) mature unmarried person.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer prêu old maid, (boðrh —) old bachelor; ~ Biat ndro:, (by metathesis *bnuə? *) Bahnar adro:, Gōlar Bahnar hadro: widow, widower; → Röglai banraw widow, widower.
Widow(er) perhaps by attraction Cham pilɔw, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *balu(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 22; DYEN 1953 § 93; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1852 *braaw coconut palm.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon brāw /braw/, Modern Mon [nɔm] prèa, Lawa Bo Lung, Lawa Umphai phrua, Mae Sariang phuoa, Central Nicobarese oyau; → Thai mapʰráaw, → Khmu’ blaw, Thin blau; ~ (*bnraaw >?) Vietnamese [cây] diá (for *riəu*).

(*sriəw see 1846a *[c]riəw in quantity.)

1853 *law*?] finger, digit.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng lɔː finger (quantifier), Biat lau [tiː] finger; ~ Sre [ti] naw forefinger, Stieng ɲlɔː, East Bahnar &c. (h)əɲlɔː finger, toe (GUILLEMINET 1959-

1854 *law; *laaw to pass, exceed; past time.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Halang law more than; to pass by; ~ Stieng nó:u formerly, Sre [or]naw (in the) non-immediate past, Praok naw to be early, primitive; once, formerly; ~ Sre rəlaw more, Biat rla to exceed; past, more, exceeding, Jeh llaw more than.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh, Halang naw more, Jeh nəaw recently (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Not *rl- ~ *rnl-, which should yield Stieng rən-, Praok sən-.
(SMITH 1972 448.)

1855 *laaw which?, what?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 77 (a.).)
1856 *lɔwʔ long in duration.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Old Mon lɔʔ/ʔlɔʔ/, Modern Mon lɔʔ, Proto-Semai *liw (Difflloth 1977); ~ Muong lɔ (Barker 1966 12), Vietnamese lâu (!) to take a long time; (~ *jnlawʔ > ) Riang-Lang _cənɔʔ duration; to be long in time; (?) Lawa Umphai, Lawa Bo Luang ?nai late.
With Lawa vocalism cf. Lawa Bo Luang pai, &c., ad 1835 *r̥baw; with Muong, Vietnamese tone cf. 1844 *krawʔ; 170 *jriiʔ.

1857 *klaaw male sexual organs.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Stieng klau male sexual organs, Chrau klaaw, Biat [ŋkɔŋ] klaa penis (vulgar), Hre klaw, Sedang kléo testes, Kammu-Yuan klá: scrotum, penis, Semang klau penis (i.e. Semnam; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 53); ~ Central Nicobarese [nɔt]-kamalau boar.
Hence by deformation Cham, Röglai klár penis? Cf. here Lawa Bo Luang kłaʔ.
Cham pɔ́ː khlu; Jarai bōh t̥lu; Röglai boʔ kluh testes are < Proto-Austronesian *qat,tluɣ egg (Dempwolff 1938 134, *[t]əluɣ). Connect 1859 *t̥,l[ə]wʔ[?] male?
(Smith 1972 449.)

1858 *glaw (kind of) leech.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian) Chrau glu: water leech, Biat glu; Semang alu leech (Skeat & Blagden 1906 L 46); ~ (*gplaw > ) Vietnamese [dia] trâu large kind of leech; (~ *gmlaw > ) Sre blu leech.
Cf. 1410 *t̥,ləm &c. land leech.
(Blood 1966 231.)

1858a *t̥,nlawʔ[? (& *t̥,nlawʔ[?]) lake, pond.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre tanaw pond, Biat nlaːː pond, marsh, (variant >?) Thin tənło lake.
Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *d̥,an,au (Dempwolff 1938 42, *d̥anav; Dahl 1973 § 14.5, 15.2; Cham tənaw, &c., probably → Bahnar dənəw); or Vietnamese ao pond.

1859 *t̥,l[ə]wʔ[?] male.
A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian, Khmuic, Katuic) Sre klaw, Chrau klo; Biat kləːu male (human being), (by metathesis *t̥,luʔ > ) Bahnar klox, Jeh klou husband, Halang kloː man; (~ *t̥,nluʔ > ) Bahnar tənə: male, Jeh tanou, Halang tənəː male animal; → Jarai t̥nɔː; Röglai tanaw, North Röglai tənəː male animal; ~ Besisi maləu, malau husband (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 21 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau səkloː: husband, Kammu-Yuan cəmrɔʔ man, male, Bru nlaw man.
Connect 1857 *klaaw male sexual organs?
(Blood 1966 200; Smith 1972 561, 563.)
1860 *ml[əw] betel.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer mlùː; Kuy mphlùː; Bhat manlīa, Steng, Chrau, Biat mluː; Bahnar [hlaː] bələw, bələw, Qham-Mu-Yaan plùː, Mường trắ (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese trâu; → (i) Thai phluu, Shan pù, → Riang-Lang plu, Lawa Bo Luang plוז, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang phlo? betel, Palaung plu areca nut; (ii) Karo Batak belo betel; & (iii) by obscure borrowing route (*sla blu >) Middle Mon sablu, Modern Mon həpluː? betel leaf; Central Sakai bľək areca nut.
Culture-word; Khmer perhaps → South Bahnaric; but hardly all ← Tai in view of Khmer m-. Hence ultimately Proto-Austronesian *buyuq, BLUST 1973 no. 92 (Proto-Hesperonesian)? Cf. BENEDICT 1975 299, fruit... (IV); Tho-Nung shows anomalous diphthongization, supporting *-əw.
(SHAFER 1965 298; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 125.)

1861 *rliiw (& *rliiw?) lazy.

1862 *slew? to squint.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer slaev squinting, Vietnamese lé to squint; ~ Mon hələ salew to be oblique, (mət —) to squint, Khmer sərələv, (TANDART 1935, Saveros Lewitz Pers.Com.) sərəlev, Khasi share squinting; ~ (*splew? >) Vietnamese tréo to be at an angle, crossed (& trəo to be off natural position, to be dislocated).
Cf. 759 *slĩŋ &c. ...to squint.

1863 (*tawaw >?) *twa[ ]waw koel, Eudynamys scolopaceus malayana Cabanis and Heine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) (*tw-) Old Mon twāw /twaw/, Literary Mon kwau;
(*tə[ ]w-) Mon kəwəw ( & hocem kəwəw; by contraction?), Khmer təawəw, Biat təaw; → Cham təawə̀w.
Onomatopoic.

†1864 *ksiw; *ksiəw to whisper.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer [ksəp]-ksiəw; ~ (*kpsɨaw >) Mon kəsəə, Riang-Lang kəsəə (!), Khasi pasəaw.
Riang-Lang -s- by onomatopoetic retention.
Sora po'se-pə'se- [to speak] in whispers (RAMAMURTI 1938; beside po'se:ge-pə'se:ge-).
1865 *ks[a]w? red.
A: (Kuy, Palaungic, Khasi). Kuy (k)sau, Palaung kho, Khasi saw (compounding form?).
Kuy may imply *-ɔʔ. Connection dubious Chrau prŋə.

1'866 *ksɔw?; *ksɔw[ ] red ant.
A: (Khmucic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan kʰuʔ red ant, Semang kaso’ ant (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 101).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Stieng ceu large kind of biting ant, Central Nicobarese kʰəɨə large red ant, by metathesis (*skəaw[ ] >) Khasi ’khiew (~ dkhiaw) ant; (probably, rather than A) by secondary derivation ~ Mon (k)əchao red ant.
(By metathesis?) Mundari hao-[mui’], Santali hao large red ant (PINNOW 1959 K 534).

1867 *br[s]aw; *br[s]aaw kind of water snail.
A: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar baisuʔu kind of freshwater univalve (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau vəsaaw small kind of water snail.
?Connected to Khmer [kʰvəŋ] khiav kind of snail so *k(m)e-.

1868 *hiiw; *hiəw to drift.
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Jölong hi(ɛː)əo drifting (on water) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Vietnamese phiêu to drift, float.
Rather than Mon : Khmer hael to swim.

1869 *haaw to climb, ascend.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau həw to ascend, Biat haː to go up, climb, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang həw to climb; ~ Chrau tanhaːw to raise, Biat nhaː to lift, raise.
(SHAFER 1965 271; BLOOD 1966 296; SMITH 1972 440.)

1870 *krhiaw small bell, jingle.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Katuic) Mon hərəa small bell, bicycle-bell, Khasi [sha]kuriaw jingle, cymbal, Bru ʔəriiw small bell.

1871 *ʔas; *ʔəs to swell.
A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy ʔah inflamed and swollen, Sre as swelling, Biat ch abscess, Bahnar dialects ch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi at, Semai ʔəs, Semelai ʔəs to swell; ~ (*pnʔas >) Bahnar poʔŋəh to swell.
V: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ès to swell, swelling, Riang-Lang as swollen, to swell, Palaung or to be swollen (so probably, rather than A), Praok úa, Lawa Bo Luang ʔɔih to swell, Nancowry yশh to swell. (Shafere 1965 431; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 540.)

(*ʔas see 1873 *ʔaas to shine.)

1872 *[ ]ʔus; *[ ]ʔuus; *[ ]ʔuas fire, firewood.
A: (Khmer) Khmer ʔoh us firewood; → Cham, Jarai, North Röglai ʔjuh, Röglai iuh firewood.
B: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre ous, Temiar ʔọs, Semelai ʔus fire.
C: (Mon, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Katuic) Middle Mon ʾoh /ʔoh/, Modern Mon uh firewood, Kuy ʔuh, Bru ʔuyh fire, firewood, Kensiu ʔas, Semai ʔas fire, Central Nicobarese 5h firewood.

Cf. 885 *ʔun fire Müng (Barker 1966 19), Vietnamese cūi may be connected, as Vietnamese cựt with 794 *ʔic &c.; so may 2041 *[k]6uh to burn, grill. But Cham &c. suggest *jʔ.-

(Schmidt 1905 22; Shafere 1965 436; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 124.)

1872a *ʔuus to drag.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ʔoh ʾūs, Stieng, Biat ʔiih, Chrau iuh.

†1873 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ʔaas > *yaas, Pre-Palaungic *ʔaas; (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ʔaas > ) *yaʔ to shine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon ʔaas /yas/, Modern Mon ʔah dawn, to shine, Riang-Lang ʾas to glitter, shine, Proto-Semai ʾjiis daylight (Diffloth 1977); ~ Old Mon ʔimās shining [gold], Old Khmer ʔimās, Modern Khmer mīh, Stieng maːh gold, Sre maːh (!)gold, shiny (→ Röglai maːh shine; = muh gold, ← Cham?), Biat maːih, Bahnar mayh gold.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Bahnar) maŋa?, pana? gleaming (Guillaume 1959-63; perhaps ~ (*ʔpʔaa > ) Khasi ba to show a light; by secondary derivation ~ thaba to glitter (Ivan M. Simon Pers. Com.); ~ (*ʔʔaʔ > ) Sre cira brilliant, dazzling (↔ Röglai cirai).

(Schmidt 1905 46; Shafere 1965 178; Shorto 1972 235; Blood 1966 306; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 35; cf. Smith 1972 368.)
Kharia meʔa? morning (ad B; Pinnow 1959 K 173).
(Probably →?) Proto-Austronesian *[ ]jamat:` Acehnese möiih!, Cham muh, &c., Malay emacs gold, &c. (cf. Dempwolff 1938 50; Proto-West-Indonesian). The same Acehnese vocalism in dōih : Cham hatâh clear, bright; is this also connected?
(Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 26.)
1874 *knʔias nail, claw.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre ndias nail, claw, hoof, Chrau kənhyeih nail, Biat ɲeh, Bahnar toŋiəh nail, claw, Jeh kaʔniayh, Halang kəʔniəh nail.
   Cf. (i) Stiang kəniː; (ii) Central Nicobarese kefəuh (< *kəcuəs < *kəyuəs by dissimilation?). Connection dubious. 1880 *kiəs ...to scratch.

(*cʔees see 1960 *cʔeh to stink; *cʔaas see 7 *cʔaʔ clear, clean.)

1875 *cʔu[s]; *chuu[s] to rot.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Mon dh sʔuīh to rot, be decayed; (~ *cpʔu[s] >) Kuy pʔo:h spoiled [food], Bru paʔu:yh rancid, spoiled, Khasi pyut /pʔut/ to decay, rot.
   B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung cur (MILNE 1931), Praok cu [siʔum] to decay, Vietnamese in compounds hú rotten [wood].
   In view of Vietnamese perhaps *-h(-s). Cf. 1960 *cʔeh to stink.
   Sora sʔoː to be rotten, to spoil, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 193a).
   Hence Tibeto-Burman *u (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 489; Kachin, Burmese, Kuki)?

(*tʔaas see 1962 *[t,ʔ]ah forehead; *prʔas see 248a *prsaʔ child’s spouse.)

1876 *pʔus; *pʔuus guava tree.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ðiː; → Bahnar o:j; Cham uyh, North Röglai ui.
   B: (South Bahnaric) → Röglai ous; (probably ~) Sre paʔous.
   Proto-Austronesian *paSuq: Cham paːʔ mango tree, &c., Malay pauh wild mango, &c.
   (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115 16, *pa’uh; DYEN 1953 § 53).

The guava is exotic!

1877 *rʔis to count.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon ruih, Modern Mon rιh, Palaung dir; (~ *rmʔis >) Middle Mon lamih number, Modern Mon kəmih, Praok sime total.
   Sora diː(‘diː)- to count.

(*rʔbi(ə)s see 1927 *ris root.)

1878 *lʔas ripe.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon duh to be ripe, grow ripe, (~?) Vietnamese náy to grow, sprout, (— nɵ) bloom; ~ Middle Mon lam’aḥ, ram’aḥ, Literary Mon l(a)muh ripe.

(*lʔəəs see 1965 *lʔəh to make, do.)
1879 *lʔus fat, grease.
A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Lawa Bo Luang laʔauh, Lawa Umphai raʔaus, Mae Sariang layɔih, Jehai, Lanoh laʔɔs; ~ Temiar lɛnʔɔs.

1880 *kais; *kiɔs; *kis to scrape, scratch.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon kās /kas/ to shave oneself, Modern Mon kah to shave, to scrape off, up, Khmer kaeh (& kes &c.), Stieng keh to scratch; ~ Bahnar cakēh to pick up or scratch with nail (Guilleminet 1959-63), Vietnamese găi to scratch oneself.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon keh to write with a stylus, Khmer kiəh kiəs to scrape, Vietnamese kẻ to draw [line]; ~ Vietnamese ghé itch, scabies.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung kir to draw a line (Milne 1931).

Connect besides following 1890 *ʔciis to draw, write; & Temiar giis, Semai ll gih to scratch, ~ Semelai gahgeh. Cf. also 802 *kaac, 799 *kiic &c.; 1442 *kaay; 867 *kwaaic &c.; A138 *kwaay.

(Shafer 1965 73; cf. Schmidt 1905 30.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *kaSit': Acehnese keh-keh to scratch, Malay kais, &c. [fowl] to scratch up food, Javanese krè-kèh to beg shamelessly, Cebuano Bisayan kāhis to level with strickle (cf. Dempwolff 1938 72, *ka'it'; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *kit'kit': Malay kikis to scrape off, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 81; less Javanese, < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. also *kat'kat' to scratch, Dempwolff 1938 76. See Benedict 1975 371-2. (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 58.)

(*kais see also 1967 *k[i][h] kind of deer or goat.)

†1881 *kuus; *kuɔs; (*kaus = ?) *ko[ ]s to scrape, scratch, shave.
A: (Khasi) Khasi khud to scrape off with sharp instrument.
B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng kuah to scratch (up), Sre kuah, Chrau kɔihi to shave, scrape, Biat kwah to claw, Bahnar koyh to scrape, Kontum Bahnar shave, Central Nicobarese ikɔah-[hɑŋa] to shave; → Cham kwah to shave, scrape, scratch, Jarai kuah, Rōglai, North Rōglai, kuah to shave, to scrape, Acehnese kuah to dig.
C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Khmer koah kos to scrape (or < A, levelled on derivation?), Bunör kɔih to shave off, Mintil kɔus to scratch; (or A) ~ Khmer khaʔah scraper.

Add following? Connect preceding. (which compare, with references). Vietnamese cǎo to shave is perhaps cognate Kammu-Yuan kɔr to scratch.
(Schmidt 1905 30; Blood 1966 58; Smith 1972 512; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 50.) Kharia kɔi to shave, &c. (Pinnow 1959 382.)

1882 *kuus (& *kuas?) to trim, whittle.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng kùɛh, Sre kous to trim down, pare down, whittle, Chrai kòih to whittle; (variant?) ~ Mon həku phakoh, sakoh to whittle.
= preceding?

(*[p]kas see 1914 *kpas side of body.)

1883 *[r]kus; *[r]kuus; *[r]kuas; *[r]k[i]as porcupine.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung i[k]kur (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang-Lang ṭəŋkəs.
B: (Central Aslian) Temiar kus (BENJAMIN 1976b 131), Proto-Semai *kuus (DIFFLOTH 1977).
C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy [cəŋ] əkəh, Bru sukəyəh.
D: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Danaw τοŋ ~kiet, Khasi dyngkhiəd.
Cf. Iban angkis.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 185.)

1884 *gas; *gaas to separate by force.
A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer kɔ̀əh gəs’ to pry up, uproot, gouge out, force open, Kuy khèh to pry up, pry open.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat rgage to separate persons fighting.

(*gaas see also 1975 *gah outside; *guus see 1976 *guh to swell; *rgaas see 1928 *g-raas ...to comb... .)

1885 *ŋəs to wake (v.i.).
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic). Mon njǔh (< */ŋoh/ < */ŋəh/) to wake (v.i.), (probably) Kuy njǔh to surface, Bru njəyəh no longer sleepy; ~ Literary Mon pənəh [ > ] pənoh [ > ] pənəh to rouse; ~ Biat njəh to stay awake.
Or, if Kuy məh, Bru ʔəməyəh to wake (v.t.) are cognate, *ŋəw-? (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 192.)

1886 *ŋus; *ŋus, *ŋuəs price.
A: (Palaungic) Praok [sin] ənəw wealth.
B: (Mon) Old Mon njus /ŋus/, Modern Mon njǔh price.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung ənər, Praok ənə, Lawa Bo Luang ənəh, Lawa Umphai ənəs, Mae Sariang ənoh price.
1887 *(cis; *ciis; *cisəs low, to descend.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon cis /cəs/, Middle Mon cuih to go down, Praok se [sən] to be oppressed = [caoŋ ma] se south (cf. laoŋ to be high; (caoŋ ma —) north), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]saih, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang [ka]seh below; ~ Kammu-Yuan kasés to fall; ~ Semang máchis low, shallow; steep descent (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 150 (a)); ? by dissimilation Nancowry ʔės down.
B, C: (Mon) Late Middle Mon, Modern Mon cih = Old Mon cis; Literary Mon ceh down. Cf. Central Nicobarese -fe downwards (< *ci?).

1888 *(c[i]i)s to oppose.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon ceh [cah] to oppose, be refractory; ~ Khmer cœceh; caces to persist in face of opposition (with vocalism levelled on next); ~ (*erc[i]i)s >) Literary Mon dacih [dacaḥ] to oppose, Khmer cacres to persist in face of opposition (GUESDON 1930).
*ce(e)s should yield Khmer -ɛs. Literary Mon ceh by analogy ceh = Modern Mon cih to go down (see preceding), or < *cis.

*1889 *cuus; *cəs to select.
A: (Central Aslian) Temiar cus (BENJAMIN 1976B 131).
B: (Mon, Central Aslian) Middle Mon [ruy] cah; ~ Serau chenlas to choose (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C? 120A).
Cf. Khasi jied, Nancowry hasát. Connect by metathesis or assimilation A58 *[s]ac?
Sora se-, se'se- (< *cías < *cəs < *cəs?).

1890 *(ʔ)ciis to draw, write.
A: (Bahmaric, Palaungic) Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre (→ Röglai), Chrau, Bahmar cih to draw, write, Hre acih, Lawa Umphai sas, Mae Sariang saih to write, Palaung swir [sʔi] to cross out; ~ Biat nceh to write.
Cf. 1880 *kais, *ki(a)s ...to scratch (, write); & Biat rcuiih to draw a line, cross out. (BLOOD 1966 209; SMITH 1972 336.)

1891 *(ʔ)cas; *(ʔ)ca?; *(ʔ)caa? old.
A: (Khmer, South Bahmaric) Old Khmer (')cas, Modern Khmer cah, Stieng ceh.
B, C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang caʔ to be old, mature, tough, rough; ~ raŋcaʔ old age.
B, C contaminated by 164 *kra[ ]ʔ? Connect perhaps Sakai jaja (i.e. Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 20; but Vietnamese giă is < 1787 *raal.
1892 *kcas; *kaas; (by dissimilation?) *kah charcoal.
A, B: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Praok sua, Lawa Bo Luang sāih, Lawa Umphai sās; ~
Kammu-Yuan kansāh (or c); ~ Riang-Lang karc(h)as (A), (B) Palaung kaser.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon, Sre, Chrau chah charcoal (& Nyah Kur kah
firewood); ~ (*kcah >) Kuy (k)cah, Bru kucah, Jeh kacah, Halang kacah
charcoal.
Connect Stieng kao: uijn.
(SMITH 1972 370.)
Sora o'saj-an, Kharia ga'saj, &c. (PINNOW 1959 289; by metathesis or assimilation <
*kasac or the like).

1893 *kc[s] lightning.
A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Semang kāchā’ (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 91);
~ Palaung kāsor, Praok [tu] sa.

1894 *k[m]cas to sneeze.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (k)ceh, Bru cāy (!), Bahnar kāseh, Jeh
kacayh, Halang kācėh, (~?) Riang-Lang kāchās; by metathesis (*mas >)
Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang ʔmioh, Lawa Umphai ʔmos.
For Khmer kāndah, Chrau kātaih see 1900 *dtas to make a sound. ?Connected by
dissimilation Nancowry ʔas sneeze.
(SMITH 1972 499.)

(*krcaas see 874 *ksac sand.)

1895 *pcaas (& *pca[ ]h?) sour.
A: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon phyah to be sour, sharp-tasting (& Nyah Kur cah; <
variant?), Semang pēcas sour (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349).
Note Khasi sat pungent in taste; perhaps rather connected 989 *pcaet bitter, astringent.

1896 *bcaas contrary.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon -cās /cas/, Modern Mon cah
to go in the opposite direction, Khmer cāh cās contrary, against (TANDART 1935)
(with head register levelled on derivatives?), Praok cha (!) to oppose, Central
Nicobarese [ha]-fahā topsy-turvy, to throw spear but foremost, lie with feet towards
hut door; ~ Old Mon bircās approach, Khmer crāh (?; with regular metathesis) in
the opposite direction, Khasi by dissimilation pyrshāh opposite; by secondary
derivation ~ (*crcaas >) Middle Mon dācah, Modern Mon hacah to go towards,
Khmer carcrās refractory, obstinate (GUESDON 1930).
(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)
(?) ~ Proto-Austronesian *mat'aq: Javanese mēsah enemy, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
1897 *[ jjiis; *[ jjiəs; *[ jjəs to prick, to sew.
A: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy jiis, Bru yi, Central Nicobarese icih-[hata] to sew.
B: (Mon, ?Bahnaric) Literary Mon jeh to prick skin and draw blood, (or C?) Stieng jeh to prick, lance, Bahnar jeh to prick, lance, to gut.
C: (Khmer, 'North Aslian) Khmer jas' to prick to extract [thorn] (GUESDON 1930), Semang cas to sew (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; ?).

1898 *jas to shiver.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon còh to have fever, Palaung jə to shake (v.t.); ~ Riang-Lang tarcæs to tremble; ~ Palaung pənyə slight chill, shivering (& by back-formation yə, Mon, to tremble).
Cf. 1995 *[r]nju &c. to shake.

1898a *jus (& *juus?) to take down, out, to lay down.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jus to take off [carrying-basket], to extract [thorn], Chrau juih to drop, let fall, Biat juih to put down, (variant >?) Bahnar yuyh to take down, dismantle, to take out of storage-place.
Add perhaps Khmer cūh juḥ to evacuate the bowels. Connect 1606 *jur[ ] &c. to descend?
(*t,aas see 1998 *t,ah level.)

1899 *t,uəs; *t,əøs; (by interdialectal borrowing?) *t,[wə]s to proclaim.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon tos /tos/ to utter, proclaim; ~ (*[t,]nt,uəs >) Praok dua to assert.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre təs to announce a death, Biat təih [mbuŋ] to carry a message.
C: (Mon) Middle Mon twah /twɔh/, Modern Mon kwɔh to utter, proclaim.
Connect following?

1900 *kt,as to make a sound.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng teh to make a sound, make a noise (→ or ~ Chrau taih loud), Bahnar dialects teh noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer kondah kantūs' (→ Stieng kandeh), Chrau kataih to sneeze (by attraction 1894 *k[m]cas), Sre ntaš = Stieng teh, (~?) Jeh tatayh to speak, Halang hateh to say; ~ Biat nteh, Bahnar dialects kəteh noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. Central Rölōm teh to report (BLOOD 1976) (< *kt,as?). Connect preceding? (BLOOD 1966 251.)

1901 *[k]nt,a[i]s prawn.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin cānta (!), Riang-Lang kantūs.
With Thin initial cf. cāendrah < 1947 *k/n/lais; but Riang-Lang k- perhaps by attraction animal prefix.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

†1902 *[j]t[s] to dam in order to catch fish.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer tüah das' to dam; ~ Mon hōh datah dry-dam fish-trap; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer thnūah fish-weir or fish-crawl of branches.
Or *-as.
(?) Kharia jä(h)entu date-leaf mat, Santali jhanṭi wattle, wattle fence, japoni watering-pot, fish-trap. (PINNOW 1959 K 370).

†1903 *pt,is; *pt,iis; by metathesis *psi(i)t fungus.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Mon ptis /ptöš/, Modern Mon pət, Kammu-Yuan tís, Khasi tit.
B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung tir, Riang-Lang tis, Praok ti (or A?), Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang taih, Lawa Umphai tas, Proto-Semai *btees (DIFFLOTH 1977).
C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer phsɨt, Stieng cːt, Biat cːt, (~?) Sre basit; ~ (*pns- > ) Chrau nseet, Hre basɛt, basit.
(SHAFER 1965 432; SMITH 1972 217; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 292.) Sora 'bati-n.

(*rt,a(a)s see 2009 *rt,ah to explode; *daas see 78 *daʔ ...to be brought up short...; *diis see 86 *diʔ one.)

1903a *das; *daas to break (v.i.).
A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Biat dəh, Central Nicobarese def-, deh-[ŋə], Nancowry rás.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon dah [rain] to stop (?), Chrau daih to break.
Add perhaps Khmer tɔah dǎs' at odds, to quarrel. Bru deh v.t. suggests *-ais.

†1904 *cdis cotton.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat deh; ~ (*cndis > ) Sre dis.
*e- rests on Munda.
(BLOOD 1966 47.) Sora a'dii-n cotton, Kharia si'diʔ cotton pod (PINNOW 1959 327).

1904a *tdus; *tduas to pull out, off, back.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy toh, Bru təwh to pull out [hair &c.] (so *t- ?), Sre dus to pull out, pull up, uproot.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat ḏəih [ntɔu] to skin; ~ (*trduas > ) Mon ħadəh th(a)ɗah to pull back [bowstring], remove [ear-wax].

(*pdius see 2015a *pduh ...to spark... )
1905 *tnaas (& *tnas?) goal, intention.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon tnas /tn̥s/ (in the) intention of bringing about, Middle Mon tnah in order to (originally weak form, or < variant), Khmer thnah thn̥s until, (GUESDON 1930) in order to.

1906 *bn̥sas spear.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Old Mon bnas /bn̥s/, Modern Mon nuh, Kammu-Yuan plias, Palaung leor, Riang-Lang _bles, Praok plia, Lawa Bo Luang pleh, Lawa Umphai phlias, Mae Sariang pliah, Nancowry sanēh.
Connection uncertain Tagalog bulos harpoon (& Javanese bulus spear, cited at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 368), with which cf. Bateg Deq bulus, Semnam buluːs spear; Moken bulu. South Nicobarese piːloː pronged spear, compared at SHAFER 1965 433, more probably belongs here.

‡1907 *mn̥s to have in mind.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon mirnas /mərnas/ to remember, Modern Mon hən̥h to think of, remember; ~ (*mpn̥s >) Old Mon munas to inform, Sre das to speak.
Connection uncertain Khmer srənənə sranəh to miss, regret the absence of.
~ Proto-Austronesian *manəq: Toba Batak por-mano-mano-an remembrance, Javanese manuh to be known, Cebuano Bisayan ma/ng/nu, ma/ng/nu to remember, to remind (so Proto-Hesperonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 105 compares Toba with Malay manah heirloom.

‡1908 *pis; *piis knife.
A, B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng peh, Chrau pih, Biat peh (A), (B) Sre piis. (SHAFER 1965 481; BLOOD 1966 44.)
Proto-Austronesian *pit′au: Malay pisau, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 120; Proto-Hesperonesian).

‡1909 *pas; *pəs to pound.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon pis /pəs/, Modern Mon poh, Stieng (→ Chrau ?), Bahnar peh, Jeh, Halang peh; ~ Stieng brənīh, Biat rnih flour.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer pas, Modern Khmer bəh (& Middle Khmer poh!) to pulverize (→ Thai bɔt to crush, grind, pound), Biat peh to pound [rice].
Connect Sre piah to pound [rice].
(BLOOD 1966 252; SMITH 1972 357; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 15; SHAFER 1965 558.)

1910 *pias; *pəs to kick.
A: (Mon) Mon peh [animals] to kick.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung par to kick.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1911 *pus; *puas (& *puus?); *pəs barking deer.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung por, Riang-Lang ʰpos, Lawa Bo Luang pauh, Lawa Umphai paus.
B: (Khmuic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan puas, Semai dialects poa (DIFFLOTH 1977) (& poa; < *puas?), Bru pɔːyh.
C: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon ph barking deer (& peh mouse deer by arbitrary variation), Semang pəs kijang (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 76).
Connect Malay napoh, ↔ Central Sakai napōh.
(SHAFER 1965 24a, 426.)

‡1912 *puus; *puas heart.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian; ~ *pnuus >) Biat nuiih heart (figurative), Sre nus, Chrau [play] nuiih, Bahnar nu[y] heart, Khasi 'nud, [doh]nud liver, heart, mind, Proto-Semai *noos heart (DIFFLOTH 1977).
With Central Nicobarese final cf. kəyuːa < 1936 *kruas.
(SHAFER 1965 182; BLOOD 1966 234; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63.)

(*puus see also 2028 *puh to blow.)

1913 *puas calf of leg.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng poch [ɕʰəŋ], Chrau pɔiːh, Biat [plai] pɔiːh, Bahnar poiyh, Jeh, Halang puayh calf of leg, (merging 1673 *t/p/wər, which see) Palaung puər (—— grəŋ) calf, (—— ti) forearm.
(SMITH 1972 510.)

1914 *kpas, *kpa[i]s; by metathesis *[p]kas side of body.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok po; ~ (*kpras >) Sre rapas floor-joist, rib, Chrau [ntiːŋ] rapaih rib; → Bahnar kapah one side.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat [ntiːŋ] pa:iːh rib.
C: (Mon, North Aslian; ~ *[p]nkas >) Nyah Kur [ɕəluːt] nkayh, Pangan bengkəh rib (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 101).
Connect Stieng rapə:i side of body, (tiːŋ —) rib; the same correspondence ad 1944 *la[i]s.
1915 *kpaas cotton.

1916 *t₂puus; *t₂puas; *t₂pas (& *t₂pas?); *t₂piis; *t₂pua? to sweep.
A: (Khmer, Katiuc, North Bahnaric, Central A\sian) Old Khmer pos, Modern Khmer baoh (← Chrau bo\i\h?), Kuy pa\i\h, Stieng pu\i\h, Jeh puyh to sweep (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Proto-Semai *puv̢s to wipe (DIFFLOT 1977); ~ (*t₂nuus >) Kuy mpəxh broom; ~ (Jeh? → Bahnar həpuyh, sapuyh to sweep.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon twah, Modern Mon kwəh to sweep (or, with derivation, c), Biat po\i\h to remove [rust, scales from fish]; ~ (*t₂np- >) Middle Mon tamah, Modern Mon kəməh broom; by secondary derivation ~ (*pnuas >) Stieng branuəh broom.
C: (South Bahnaric, Katiuc, Nicobaric) Sre pas, Biat pəh to sweep, (*t₂pas >?), Bru tapayh to wipe off, Central Nicobarese ifah- to brush, sweep, rub off dirt, Nancowry (?i)fa\h brush, sweep; (?) → Röglai bah; ~ Biat mpeh broom; by secondary derivation ~ Sre pəras broom.
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North A\sian) Palaung pir, Riang-Lang *pis, Praok pi to sweep; ~ Bunö hrəy broom, Riang-Lang *səmpis broom, broom-grass; ~ Bateg Nong təmpes to wipe; ~ (*t₂piis >) Lawa Bo Luang [khəu?] ?əpəh, Lawa Umphai [hə]tərapas broom-grass.
E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan poə to sweep; by secondary derivation ~ Thin prnəo broom.
(SCHMIDT 1905 30; SHAFFER 1965 428; BLOOD 1966 48a, b; SMITH 1972 497; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 124.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *pa\[ ]pat': Malagasy fafə to sweep, clean, Ngaju Dayak papa\s broom, to sweep (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115, *pat'pat'); (ii) *qaput': Cham (ha)pah broom, Malay hapus to efface, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, *h-; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) by metathesis *tə(N)pəq ~ *təpəS: Malay sapu to wipe (off, on), &c.; (*-q) Acehnese saməpəh, (*-q-[a]n >) Röglai hapəu broom; (*-S) Cebuano Bisayan sapu(ha) to wipe, Javanese sapən sweepings ~ sapu bream, to sweep (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149, *təpə'); (iv) perhaps (cf. BENEDICT 1975 403, which see) *tə(N)pəS (& *əpəS?): Malay təmpi to winnow, Fijian təvi\-a to sweep, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 131, *tə(m)pı; DAHL 1973 § 9.5, 14.9). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 7.)
1917 *rp[ɔ]s tool, weapon.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon rawas /rwɔs/ weapon, Khmer ṛbōh rapas thing, belonging (s), gear, tool.
   Or *-ɔs.

1918 *rpuus; *rpuas; *rpuʔ second or fourth finger.
   A: (Mon) Mon puh [toa] index finger; ~ Old Mon ruimpus /rɔmpus/ [tey] finger, Modern Mon kəpuh index finger.
   B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar dialects [kɔn] poih, poih fourth finger (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   C: (South Bahnaric) Sre [ti] poa fourth finger.
   Connection uncertain Stieng boh index finger.

(*bəas see 2032 *bah to flow out.)

1919 *knbis freshwater shrimp.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kəm乎 kaṁbis, Chrau kəmvih.
   Chrau excludes *-ɓ.

1920 *c[b]as light, clear.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer cbah cpās’ clear, evident, shinging, Stieng cəbəh clear, pure, Kammu-Yuan pə to be light, to shine; (day) light, Lawa Bo Luang puah, Lawa Umphai phuas, Mae Sariang puaih light, bright.
   Connect 1873 *iʔaas to shine? Cf. also 7 *cʔaas &c. clear, clean.

1920a *[c]nbaas mouth of fish-trap.
   A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy mphiah, Bahnar səmayh.

1921 *l[ə]baas plain, expanse.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mường pəi (Barker 1966 23), Vietnamese bǎi flat expanse; ~
   Literary Mon labəḥ plain.
   Proto-Austronesian *la(N)bət: Malay lawas clear, vacant..., &c. (Dempwolff 1938 89;
   Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*ɓi[]s see 2038 *ɓuh...to boil.)

1921a *ɓəs snake.
   Bahnar contaminated by bəh poison ← Sanskrit viṣa-/Pali visa-.
   (Shafer 1965 40; Blood 1966 43; Smith 1972 494.)
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(*ɓu(u)s see 2038 *ɓuh to bubble, boil; *[tʃ]ɓee[s] see 123 *[tʃ]ɓe[e]? Job’s tears.)

1922 *mus; *muus to clear for cultivation.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng muih (or ɓ?), Sre mus, Chrau muih, Biat muih to clear [forest].
B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar muyh, Jeh, Halang muyh to clear [forest],
Proto-Semai *muus to break ground in order to extract something (DIFFLOTH 1977).
(SMITH 1972 496.)

(*muus see also 2045 *muh nose; *cmas see 1894 *k[m]cas to sneeze.)

1923 *rmaas; *rmi[i]s rhinoceros.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer rəmaːh ramās, Stieng rəmaːh, Bahnar rəmaːh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang ʔəmaːh; → Cham ramuh (→ Röglai ramuʔ?), Jarai rəmaːh, North Röglai lumāh.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre rəmis, Biat rəmih rhinoceros, (?) Chrau rəmih gaur.
With South Bahnaric fronting cf. 1381 *m-yaam; 1651 *[ ]maar.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 211.)

(*yaas see 1873 *iʔaas to shine.)

†1924 *ris; *riis liver.
A, B: (Mon, Palaungic, Aslian) Praok [rəm] ri heart, mind, Che’ Wong ros (!), (B)
Semai I riːs liver; ~ Old Mon gris /grɔs/ internal organs, Modern Mon krəh liver, heart (A), Semelai goris liver.
Add as derivation 1937 *cris rib-cage? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63, 64 (b.).
Sora a-’gareː-n, Kharia go’re liver, &c. (PINNOW 1959 181; Proto-Munda *gare).

1925 *ris; *riis; *ras; *raas to live; alive, fresh, raw.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng reh green, (still) alive, Sre ris fresh, raw, (&/or C) Chrau riːh to live, Biat reh to live; alive, raw.
B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?South Aslian) Proto-Semai *rees (DIFFLOTH 1977), (or A?) Semelai ris to live; ~ Bahnar arih, Gölar Bahnar harih to live; ~ (*[s]nriis >) Bahnar adrih, Gölar Bahnar hadrih green, fresh, raw, Jeh adrih unripe, Halang drih green.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer rûh ras’, Stieng reh, (or A?) Nancowry ʔə̚h to live (< *yəʔ); ~ Khmer sroh sras’ fresh, green.
D: (Central Aslian) Semai I ras to live.
(BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 333, 349; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 57 (b.).)
1926 *ris; *rias earthworm.
A: (Khmer) Khmer rūh rs [dry].
B: (Palaungic) Palaung riar.
Riang-Lang _luar is < 1666a *luər.

1927 *ris; *rias; *ras; *rrias (& *rris?) root.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, South Asian, ?Central Asian) Mon rəh, Nyah Kur rih (DIFFLOTH 1984 N81), Khmer rūh rs, Kuy rëh, Bru rëh (or B), Vietnamese rē, Semelai res, (or d?) Sabum yēs.
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng riah, Sre rias, Biat rēh (probably, rather than C), Jeh riyh, Halang riah, Kammu-Yuan rias, Palaung riar, Riang-Lang _ries, Praok ria, Lawa Bo Luang rēh, Lawa Umphai res, Mae Sariang yēh, Central Nicobarese yiah.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar rāh.
D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Asian) Jehai jaəis, Semai raəis, Proto-Semai *rrias (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Chrau daye:ih.
(SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 210; SMITH 1972 502.)

(*ris see also 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed.)

1928 *ras; *raas; *rias to rake, comb, scratch.
A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Khmer rəh rās’ to harrow, rake, Kuy rāh, Stieng reh to harrow; (? ) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ?aməi, Lawa Umphai rəməs, Mae Sariang yaməi (fruit in combs =) banana.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic, South Asian) (?) Lawa Bo Luang raih, Lawa Umphai ras to search, Semang rāis to scratch (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 52; but perhaps = Temaq marac); ~ Kuy kraəh to comb, Jeh krayh to rake (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi khrad-khrad scraping (ly); ~ Mon krəh to comb, to harrow, Khamer kriəh grās to search through, Khasi krad [hen] to scratch; (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) to rummage, perhaps by metathesis (*rgaas >) Riang-Lang _kas to comb [hair when wet]; ~ (*craas >) Bahnar craiəh to scratch, to comb (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh srəyh, khəyh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Vietnamese chai to comb; ~ Biat ncrəiəh harrow, rake.
C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan crūás, crias to comb.
C contextually conditioned? Add perhaps Palaung jar to comb (MILNE 1931) (< *rjaas by metathesis < *jraas?); & as derivative 1938 *cra(a)s to scrape (clean).
Cf. also (i) Mon khrəh to scratch in the dust, ↔ Burmese khrəc; (ii) Riang-Lang _craŋ comb, perhaps contaminated by _raŋ tooth < 709 *sra[a]ŋ; (iii) 1935 *kruəs to rake, scrape.
(Proto-Austronesian *ka[r]at’) Cebuano Bisayan kalas (to) rake, harrow.
1929 *ruus; *ruas; *riis to grind down, sharpen.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rûš ruš to whet, sharpen, to plane down; ~ Biat troiḥ to plane (& truiḥ to file; by arbitrary variation?); (?) → Rõglai jaroḥ to plane down with dah, ← Sre jaroh.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ruas to whet, sharpen; ~ Mon hâr̥h darah &c. spurs of cock, Riang-Lang _caruas barb of arrow &c.
C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan sontrîs spurs of cock.
C secondary. Note Kammu-Yuan krêh to plain.

1930 *r[ ]uas elephant.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre rawas, Chrau rawe:iḥ, Biat rweh, Bahnar royh, Jeh, Halang ruȳh.
Chrau suggests *ŗuawas. But perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ruwas or the like, cf.
1534 *ru[w]y; then connected by metathesis (*swuaw >) Vietnamese [con]
voi?
(SHAFFER 1965 209; BLOOD 1966 92; SMITH 1972 511.)
Sora ŗa-a-n, compounding form ra-n, Gutob ŗo: (PINNOW 1959 K 174).

1931 *ruas; *rãs (& *ras?); *râas; *raas to choose.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat rɔiḥ to pick handfuls of; → Cham rwahaha, Jarai ruah, Rõglai roah to choose (→ Sre!); Burmese rwe:, → Middle Mon ruy [cah], Modern Mon rûi.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ras, (or *ras >?) Lawa Bo Luang rɔiḥ, Lawa Umphai rɔs, Mæ Sariang yɔiḥ to choose.
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer rîch rōs, Bahnar rayh.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung rar (MILNE 1931).
Cf. Mường rûy to gather [flowers] (CUISINIER 1951); Vietnamese lụa to choose.
(SCHMIDT 1905 72; SMITH 1972 495.)

1932 *ruas quick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian) Khmer ru:ah ruas quick (ly); ~ Semang kras quickly
(i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Q 12); ~ Old Mon pras /pras/, Modern Mon prûh to be quick.
Connect Bahnar hroh quick, swift (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (< *ruas ruas, with *-h by assimilation?); & cf. (i) Proto-Austronesian *dayat' to make haste, DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (→ Cham trâh quickly, ← Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) [ka]drah very quick); (ii) Khmer phlāh phlas' quickly (TANDART 1935); Thin leʔ, leh quick.

(*ruas see also 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed.)
1933 *[k]r[ə]s bear.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung krer, Riang-Lang *kres, Praok kri, Lawa Bo Luang khraih, Lawa Umphai kres, Mae Sariang khyei; ← Sre grijh Melurus ursinus.
Sre ← undetermined (probably Bahnaric) source. But Palaungic *k- perhaps animal prefix; so cf. Mundari buŋi, Birhor buria black bear, Pinnow 1959 267; with b- conceivably contaminated by etymon of Kharia bonai bear, &c.
(Shafer 1965 429.)

1934 *kraas kind of squirrel.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng kra:¹h kind of tree-rat, Chrau krai:¹h, Bahnar krai:¹h kind of squirrel (Guilleminet 1959-63; !), Bru kra:³h small kind of squirrel; ← Sre karas small grey squirrel (→ Röglaï karhia:).
Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan saŋkâr giant squirrel?
(Shafer 1965 491; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 420.)

1935 *kruus to rake, scrape.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau kru:i:¹h slidingly out, Jeh trù:¹yh, krù:¹yh (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Palaung kru to rake (Milne 1931), Khasi khrud to scrape; ← (*knruus >) Jeh sidrù:¹yh scraping-implent (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
Connect 1928 *ras &c. to rake...? Note also Nancowry kuris to scratch, kunris rake.

1936 *kraus (& *kruus?); *kr[a]s gravel.
(B; contaminated by 1792 *[b]riöl pebbles?; Mon) Mon kreh gravel.
With Central Nicobarese final cf. -pâni:wa < 1912 *p/n/uas.

1937 *cris rib-cage.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon cris /crös/ womb, Modern Mon soh chest (Literary Mon sruih womb, chest, bosom), Nyah Kur *cru:i (Diffloth 1984 N146; implies *-us!), Sakai chêris rib, side (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 102).
Originally heart cavity, ← 1924 *ris (heart,) liver?

1938 *cras; *craas to scrape (clean).
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi shrat (with *s- by assimilation?) to scale [fish] with knife &c.; ← Khmer camrâs’ (Guédon 1930), Sre nara (→ Röglaï caŋara) to scrape.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon sah s(r)ah to clean [rice] by pounding, Khmer cra:¹h crâs to peel, whittle, scrape, scale, brush, sweep, Nancowry (ri)sâh; ← (*cnraas >) Mon karah cleaned [rice], Praok sigra to wash.
1939 *jras; *[j]ruus; *[j]ruəs digit.


B: (South Aslian; ~?) Semelai carus claw, nail.

C: (North & Central Aslian) ~ Jehai cənas, Temiar cənas claw, nail.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *jurəs, B, C by metathesis?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 1.)

1940 *trus; *truus; *truəs male, virile.

A: (Khmer ...) ~ (*tprus > ) Khmer prəh prus male; ~ Danaw p’roh; (probably, rather than B) ~ Old Khmer tamrus male.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Nicobaric) Old Mon trus /trus/, Modern Mon kraoh male, Khmer traoh trəs male, ungelded [animal], (JACOB 1968) stalwart, Kuy troh young and wild [cattle]; ~ Khmer praoh pros male, Central Nicobarrese paiyuəh man, person, Nancowry payūh.

C: (Khuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan prəh ungelded.

Danaw ← Riang-Lang *prəs? Connection dubious Sanskrit purəsa-

(*srəs see 160 *ro? dry.)

1941 *las (& *laas?); *laʔ lazy, idle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) ~ Old Mon linlas /lənlas/ to be idle, Modern Mon kənəθ to be lazy, (~?) Praok ne (or B) idle, (*-aas?) Central Nicobarrese enla-[ŋə]je lazy, Nancowry lānθasi very little; ~ Biat rich idle.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi, see 189 *ləa liʔ careless, slovenly.)

Proto-Austronesian (i, ad A) *(S)a[l][a]t*: Cham (a)lah, Jarai *laḥ, Röglai, North Röglai alah, Acehnese m-alalh, Malay m-alas lazy; ~ Bahnar alah (rather than Malay as DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, *malat’); (ii, ad B) perhaps *ləlaq: Javanese ləlah slow, dragging, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *-h; Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. Sanskrit alasa- lazy, apparently → Sora ‘adasa-. Connection dubious Sora ‘rondu-.

1942 *[ ]las time, occasion.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Old Mon las occasion, Bahnar lah (!) time, once, Jeh [ku] llayh at once, Halang [ma]leh [one] time.

Perhaps *rlas; rl- is not attested in Lamphun inscriptions.
1943 *las; *laas intensive.
A: (South Bahnaric; ?Khmer) Khmer [cbah]-ł̣əh ḷas' very [clear] (?), Stieng leh all.
B: (Mon) Mon ləh ləh [not] at all.

(*las see also 2064 *lah to leave; 2066 *lah finished; *laas see also ib.; 191 *laʔ to spread, extend.)

1944 *la[i]s fathom.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre laːs, Chrau, Biat laːih; ~ Bahnar playh.
Connect Stieng laːi; the same correspondence ad 1914 *kpa[i]s. But perhaps = 191 *laas < *lah-s ...to extend.
(SMITH 1972 508.)

‡1945 *ls; *l[ə]s to weaken.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer lưah las' to reduce, to lose [consciousness], Sre las deterioration [in illness], relapse, West Bahnar [lɔc] lih to die of [illness &c.]
GUILLÉMINET 1959-63.
B: (Katuic; or *li(ə)s?) Kuy lɛ̀h to die.
Connection uncertain BLOOD 1966 121 *n₁[ ]ah to get worse.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *lalat': Javanese lêlês to lose consciousness, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (ii) *malat': Toba Batak malos to wilt, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105; less Malay, ad 1941 *las).

1945a *ləs to beat, to fight.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung lər to beat, Praok la to struggle, compete; ~ Praok kla to strike; ~ (*krləs >) Kammu-Yuan krés to beat horizontally with rod; ~ (*k)pləs >) Riang-Lang plas to struggle.
Connect perhaps Palaung luh to hit, beat; then *ləh-s ~ *luh.

(*las see also 2067 *loh to unravel, unfold; *ləs see 195 *ləʔ kind of jar or pot; *lo[ ]s see 2067 *loh to unravel...; *luus, *luəs see 1084 *luət to draw out.)

1946 *klis to strip [plant].
A: (Bahnaric) Sre klis, Biat kleh to strip [leaves] off; ~ (*krlis >) Halang ləleh to cut off thorns, by metathesis Biat rkleh to remove seeds.
Connect A187 *[ ]khe? Cf. also Chrau reh to strip kernels from maize cob, Proto-Mnong *reḥ to harvest (BLOOD 1966 249).

†1947 *klais lightning.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng klaːh lightning close at hand; ~ (*klais >) Sre kənas, Biat ʒlaːh, Bahnar glayan, Kammu-Yuan coṇtrás lightning.
Vocalism rests on Munda.
Sora 'kilai-[gum-ən], 'kinaːj-[gum-ən].
1948 *cl[ɔ]s to throw.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon klɔh to throw (at, away) (merging 2072 *c-luaḥ to abandon); ~ Khmer crɔlɔh cralas’ to throw, hurl.
Or *-as.

1949 *[d₁l][a]s voice, speech.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _rəs voice, cry, sound, (?) Praok lua, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdoih loud; ~ Thin həlɔ word, speech, language.
Cf. Praok lo voice, utterance, loud But connection dubious Khmu’ sroʔ word; as 1964 *rəah to say, speak.
(*mle[ ]s see 224 *mleʔ to hate; *rlas see 1942 *[ ]las time, occasion; *slaas see 231 *slaʔ fire, to burn.)

1950 *was; *waas; *was to wave, beckon.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat wah [ti:] to beckon, Vietnamese)văy to wave.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer viːəh vās’ to gesticulate; ~ Chrau lawaih to beckon, wave to.
C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese văy = văy; ~ Biat rweh to beckon.
Earlier *wa(a)y-s, ~ 1529 *wa(a)y ...to wave?

1951 *was; *waas; *wəs to measure.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer vɔ̀əh vās’ to measure [linear dimensions], Chrau wayh to weigh, measure (BLOOD 1966).
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon wɛ̀h [toa] to count on [one’s fingers], Sre was to measure [linear dimensions, volume], Bahnar waih to measure, weigh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau wəyh to weigh, measure, Biat wəh to measure.
(BLOOD 1966 255; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 74.)

(*waas see also 2081 *wah to make an) opening, (clear α) path; *kwis see 1864 *ksiw to whisper; *ŋwas see 1885 *ŋ[ ]as to wake (v.i.); *t₁[wə]s see 1899 *t₁uas to proclaim; *[l]waas see 2083 *[l]wah wide; *suas see 2088 *suah empty.)

1952 *tsiəs to dismember.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang ~c(h)ies to tear or pull to pieces with fingertips, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang cch, Lawa Umphai ces to tear (v.i.t.), Mường thia (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese tia to trim, prune, to shell [peas &c.], to beat or kill one by one.
Cf. 1982 *ci(ə)h to split.
1953 *[ts]uas dǝh, knife.
   Connect perhaps (*tnsuus >?) Chrau [pih] kǝnoi[ː]h curved knife.

1954 *chas (chǝs) [foot] to strike ground.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kǝchǝh tǝr (< *chas chǝs); by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang takchas to paw the ground.

(*chuu[s] see 1875 *cʔu[s] to rot.)

1955 *thaas salver, tray.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon thǝh large metal dish, Modern Mon thah brass tray, Old Khmer thǝs, Modern Khmer thah metal tray, Kuy thǝ:h, Stieng thǝ:h, Chrau, Biat thaii[ː]h large tray; → Thai thǝt.
   (SCHMIDT 1905.)

(*ʔeh see 1963 *bVʔeh to abuse.)

1956 *ʔah flesh, meat.
   A: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan âh, Central Nicobarese âhǝ, Nancowry ?ǝha.

1957 *ʔǝh younger sibling.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre oh, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar ǝh, Jeh, Halang ǝh.
   Cf. 5 *ʔ[ø]h elder sibling.
   (SHAFFER 1965 504; BLOOD 1966 258; SMITH 1972 380.)

1958 *ʔuh; *ʔ[ø]h; (*ʔuh ʔuh >?) *huh (& *huuh?); *huǝh; *h[ø]h to blow.
   A: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau uh, Biat oh to blow [wind instrument], Semelai [ʔah]ʔǝh to blow, shoot with blowpipe, Mah Meri ʔǝh to blow; ~ Bahnar soʔuh to breathe out; ~ Proto-Semai *tʔuh to shoot with blowpipe (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Temoq ǝʔuh to blow.
   B: (South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semelai ʔah[ʔøh] to blow, to shoot with blowpipe, Central Nicobarese âh life.
   C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ho:ih-[âhǝ], Nancowry hús air (< *huuh?; beside ho:i-hǝta [wind] to blow; contaminated by 877 *huuc to whistle?); ~ Praok phu, Lawa Umphai phoh [wind] to blow; ~ Khasi pyrhut breezy, windy.
   D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang phuah [wind] to blow, Nancowry huǝ[s] to pant, Bru rahuh to breathe shallowly.
   E: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese hah-[hajne] to sigh (& hâ[i]j wind), Nancowry hǝs wind.
Onomatopoeic Palaung **huuh** to *gulp in [air]*, ~ **kənhuuh** to *sigh*, is rather < 2087

* **suh** to *make sibilant sound*. Note Vietnamese **thót** to *breathe*; Kuy **ŋh** to *breathe*, Bru **tnûuh** to *breathe*.

1959 *?uuuh* to *ululate*.

**A**: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang əu [dogs] to *howl*, Khasi **ud** to *groan*, complain, [insect] to whine; ~ Biat **mʔuh** [bull] to *bellow*, Kammu-Yuan **pəʔuuh** moaning sound.

Connect perhaps (i) **A186a** ərmʔah to *lament*; (ii) Khmer **pruッ bruh**, Stieng **bluh** to *bark* (< ərmʔuh by metathesis < ərmʔuh? then to be separate Kuy **kroh**, Vietnamese **súa**, < əkru(ə)h; Central Rölöm, Bunör **groh**, B260, ← Indonesian *da[ɻ]ut*: Cham **krôh**, &c., Acehnese **droih**).

1960 *cʔeh*; (**cʔeh-s**) *cʔeees to stink*.

**A**: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔeh ch’eh (to) *stink*; ~ Mon həeh ja’eh to *stink*; ~ Khmer **cmʔ2eh**, Stieng **cʔi2ih** feral smell, stink of urine &c.

**B**: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng **eih**, ɨh to *smell* (v.t.); ~ Khmer **cmʔaeh** caɪ’m’es feral smell, stink of urine (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.).

Cf. Khasi [iw-tung iw]-sit smell of urine; & 1875 *cʔu[s] to rot*, with which Kammu-Yuan **úas**, ʔwúas to *stink*, may rather be connected.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; cf. PINNOW 1959 K 193a.)

(*cʔah see 7 *cʔa? clear, clean*)

1961 *[c][m]ʔah nasal mucus*.

**A**: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Riang-Lang sʔa *excreted nasal mucus*, Semang **hēmah** mucus discharge from nose (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98; contaminated by hămoh < 1655 *s/n/muar*).

(*cʔuh see 1875 *cʔu[s] to rot*.)


**A**: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ *[t₁]rʔah >) Kammu-Yuan kətáh, Palaung kədah.

**B**: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ *tn[ʔ]aas >) Khmer **tnaah** thnâs, Stieng **tna:ha**.

Connection dubious Semang əwəs (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 224; as 1699 *rʔal* &c.


1963 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer **bVʔeh** > *ɓeh, Pre-Palaungic *ʔeh to abuse*.

**A**: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon beh [ləak], Biat [təm] bch, Palaung eh.
1964 *rʔah to say, speak.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Stieng lah to speak, say..., Sre, Biat lah, Palaung dah, Riang-Lang *da, (~?) Praok a, Lawa ?ah, Mae Sariang also ?auh to say; ~ Riang-Langrama to speak, talk, to call; by secondary derivation ~ Bateg Deq, Bateg Nong kadh to say.
Cf. Kammu-Yuan sa, sah to say that... But connection dubious Bahnar pama: speech; to say, speak; as 1949 *[d,l]a[s] voice, speech.
(BLOOD 1966 304; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 360 (b).)

(*rlʔah see 1700 *rʔəl each, every.)

1965 *lʔəh; (*lʔah-s >) *lʔəas to make, do.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng, Sre, Biat lah to do, Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) lah to allow to, Kammu-Yuan ah to make, do; ~ (*lmʔəh >) Lawa Bo Luang '?boh, Lawa Umphai woh to build.
B: (Palaungic; *lʔəas lʔəas > *ur-ur >?) Palaung rur to do, make, work, build.
Connection uncertain Praok yu, Lawa yuh to make, do.
(BLOOD 1966 403.)

1966 *sʔuh; *sʔuuh to sweat.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer sʔoh sʔu sar, stifling; ~ (*smʔuh >) Bahnar bauh (to) sweat); ~ North Röglai [ta]baʔuh; ~ (*srʔuh >) Kuy sʔoh overheated, Chrau sʔuh sweaty [hands], West Bahnar həuh sweating violently (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Röglai həuh sweat, Acehnese rōʔoh (to) sweat; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung [om] ramuuh sweat (MILNE 1931).
B: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung [om] ramuuh sweat (MILNE 1931).

1967 *k[i]i[h]: *kia[h] kind of deer or goat.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer kaeh keh kind of deer or mountain goat horns of which are used in medicine, Lawa Bo Luang kaih, Lawa Umphai ces kind of deer (Rangsit mountain goat); ~ North Röglai keh ibex, mouse deer.
B: (Khasi, Katuic) Khasi khiat moss-deer, musk-deer, Bru keh mountain goat, Pacoh keh mountain goat.

1968 * [ ]kah to unfasten.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat [tɔm] kah (!) to take apart, Bahnar kah to separate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin kāh, Palaung, Lawa kah, Praok ka to untie; ~ Biat tkkah to separate, push aside, Praok ga to be loosened, displaced, to displace, Lawa Bo Luang ?angah, Lawa Umphai ngah to be separated.
Cf. Vietnamese cōi, cōi to untie, unfasten.
1969 *koh to cut (down).
A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy koh (!) to lop, Stieng koh to cut, lop, Sre koh to cut (down, up), Biah koh to cut, Jeh koh to chop, Halang koh to chop, cut, Kammu-Yuan koh to cut, Palaung koh to cut (down, off), Semai koh to cut, Nancowry ŋukóh to murder; → Cham, Acehnese koh, Röglai, North Röglai koh; ~ Kuy (ŋ)kah to chop [wood]; ~ Khasi dkhot part, piece, member.

Connect Palaung ŋoh to lop, cut branches off. Cf. 958 *ka(a)t.
(SHAFER 1965 55; SMITH 1972 381; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)

(*cnk[i]h see 18 *cnk[i]ʔ waist.)

1970 *ckah dry.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon koh skah &c. to be dry, Proto-Nyah Kur *cəka’y
(DIFFLOTH 1984 V248; implies *-s), Stieng kah, kahh dry, dried up (& kha;; → Khmer kahh kha’h, → Stieng kha’h dry, dried up?), Biah kah (dry) land, → da:k landing-place, Sre koh sloping; ~ Middle Mon jamkah dry.
Sre by attraction etymon of Biah kōr slope? Connection obscure Bahnar kha:h, kha:h dry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Vietnamese k hô; Cham khauw. Cf. 2086 *s[ə]h &c.; 160 *roʔ &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1971 *jkuh; *jkuəh white, clean.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon koh to be white, Khmer skuh sguh pure white, Sre kuh pale grey.
B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar goh clean, white (→ Jeh goh clean); ~ Bahnar dialects caguah clean, white (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*jbuəh >) Sre səkoh, Chrau səkoh to clean, sift [rice], Bahnar dialects pahu to clean (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(Cf. SMITH 1972 385.)

1972 [*d]kah; *lkas to break.
A: (Mon, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*[d]nkah >) Mon hakah dakah &c. to break (v.i), burst, split, crack, ~ (*[d]bkah >) Mon hakah to break (v.t.), (or Indonesian →) Central Sakai bēkah to crack.
B: (Kuy, Khasi) Kuy ḵkah brittle, Bru luŋkayh fragile; Khasi dkhah to break off, snap.
A cf. 2074 *kla:h. Connection dubious Sre darkaʔ, Röglai jarkaʔ to break in two unless Sre ← Röglai ← Mon-Khmer, (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 375.)
(~) Proto-Austronesian *bo(N)kaq: Javanese bengkah to split, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; DYEN 1953 § 113). Note also Malay chēkah to split open by pressure.
1973 *dk[a]h to remember.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre kah to remember, to miss, feel nostalgic about, Chrau kah, Biat kah [gut] to remember, Central Nicobarese akah to know, understand, Nancowry káh, ṭakáh; ~ Khmer tūṇkūh (!) daṅgh to think sadly about, Sre tānkah to remember, recall.
Khmer vocalism obscure.
(SHAFER 1965 45.)

1974 *gah side, edge, direction.
A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre gah side, border, edge, Bahnar gah direction, towards; (probably) → Cham kâh, Jarai gâh, Rōglai, North Rōglai gah; ~ (*ngah >) Kuy ṇâh rim, edge, Bahnar dialects ṇah edge or mouth of hole &c.
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ngá direction, way.

1975 *gah; (*gah-s >?) *gaas outside.
A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar dialects agah (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ↔ North Rōglai aga; ~ ↔ Rōglai əgâh; Jarai p'gâh, Jarai dialect gah.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng ga:'h; ~ agâ:h; ~ Bahnar ṭḥayh.
Connect obscure Old Mon runnās /r.tagName/, Modern Mon pṇēh.
(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

1976 *guh; *guus to swell.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung guh to open, to swell (MILNE 1931), Praok gо [gluŋ] to swell.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kūh to swell up, Proto-Nyah Kur *kyy̞ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V250), Palaung guh to open, to swell (MILNE 1931).
Cf. further Palaung gu to swell with damp.

1977 *guh; *guuh; (?) *guəh to glow, burn.
A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon pgoh /pguuh/, Modern Mon hākəh to blow (originally ...into flame?).
B: (Palaungic) Palaung guh to blaze; ~ (*pguu̞h >) Riang-Lang _ku to blow (out).
C: (South Bahnaric, ?) Sre goh bright, light (~ Rōglai).
Add following? Cf. also 1575 *goər to catch fire.

1977a *guuh red.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat guh reddish, russet, Bahnar dialects goh, go: red (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
= preceding?
1978 *g[ʊə]h to knock, beat, hit.
A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer kʉːah goh to kick or kick away, beat [gong, mat], knock [e.g. at door], Kuy khʉːh to knock, tap on, Chrau goh to knock, hit, Biat goh to knock at [door], beat [gong]; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ngah, Lawa Umphai ngoh, Mae Sariang nguh to hit, beat, (~?) Vietnamese gò to knock on, tap, rap.

1979 *d,ngah crossroads.
A: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin [ŋɔr] təŋga, Vietnamese ngã [ba &c.].

(*rg(u)əh, *rguuh see 29 *rguu? to shake.)

†‡1980 *sgeh to acquire, possess.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon -sgiŋ /sgeh/ to be rich, Literary Mon sgeh to prosper, to be endowed with, Sre geh to have, possess, Biat geh to have, possess, to acquire, Chrau geh to have, be, to be able.
(BLOOD 1966 246.)
Sora bo'ge- to become rich, probably = bu'ge- to become stout (& Santali boge good, &c., PINNOW 1959 229?).

(*ŋ[ɔ]h see 30 *ŋ[ɔɔ]ʔ to fear.)

A: (Bahnaric) Sre tŋəh brain, West Bahnar tŋəh skull (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*sŋiŋ see 37 *sŋiʔ house.)

1982 *ciŋ; *ciəŋ to split (v.t.).
A: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang saiŋ to cut up, divide up.
B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung seh to split [wood] into splinters (& to tear; ← Riang-Lang _cid < 1952 *tsiəs, which compare?), Mường (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 209), Vietnamese chẹ to split [wood] (& Vietnamese xẹ to split up, cut [up], saw up; contaminated by xẹ to tear < 1689 *chiər?); ~ Kuy ceh to hatch (v.t.), Bahnar ceh to hatch.
Cf. 291 *caak &c.

1983 *ceŋ; *ceʔ kind of jar.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon ceh small jar, Old Khmer ceh jar, Bru ceh jar; → Jarai cehjar, Röglai ceh squat type of jar, North Röglai ceh jug; → Bahnar ceh jar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ché jar.
1984 *cuh; *cuah to kindle, blow into flame.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar soh (with vocalism as in 527 *cuuŋj), Jeh, Halang cuh to light, kindle; ~ Sre sōnuh bellows; ~ Khasi pyrsut to blow; bellows, ?Nancowry jōh chafe, burn.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau soh to light, kindle.
(SMITH 1972 373.)
Proto-Austronesian *k'uuq'up to light, kindle: Acehnese coh, Cham, Jarai, North Röglai cuh, Malay chuchoh, Tagalog suso (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Khasi at least not ← Indonesian!

1985 *cuh to bend down, to go down.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Khmer cuh, Modern Khmer coh to go down, to submit, obey, Stieng cuh tame, broken in, Khasi [ar]sut down, downwards, (~; or with -c by levelling on der.) Kammu-Yuan cuh to bend down, look down; ~ Kammu-Yuan pncuh to bend down.
To go down by attraction 1887 *cis &c.?
(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

1986 *[c][u]h; *[c][u]? to wake.
A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Biat coh to arise, come into being (?; if cognate, *c-), (~?) Praok so to rouse; ~ Palaung rasuh to wake (v.i.).
B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi kyrsiew to wake (v.t.).

1987 *[?]coh to peck, to strike with adze, hoe, &c..
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer coh coh [e.g. woodpecker] to make hole in [tree], Kuy coh to undergo vaccination, to plant, Stieng coh [bird, snake, fish] to bite, peck at, Biat coh to chop up, mince, Bahnar coh to break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe, Kammu-Yuan soh to cut [firewood], chop, hoe, Pangan [ya]-chah to chop at (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296); → Cham coh to dig with hoe, Jarai coh to break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe, Röglai coh to dig with hoe, to split firewood, North Röglai coh to peck, Acehnese coh to peck, [snake] to strike; ~ Sre jaco to chop up, mince, Chrau tocuh to chop up, Bahnar cacuh to chop to, to flatten with dah; → Cham tacoh, Jarai t'coh, Röglai jaco, North Röglai tico to chop up, mince.
= 1989 *[t][c][s]h to kick, which compare? Cf. also following & 1993 *juuh &c.

(*kcah see 1892 *kcas charcoal.)

1988 *[k]cuh to pierce.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Sre (~ Röglai) cuh, Biat coh to pierce holes in, Palaung coh to chisel, Besisi choh to pierce, perenetrate (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296).
Cf. preceding & 1993 *juuh &c. to peck… .

1989 *[t]\text{c}[\text{\textsc{ho}}]h to kick.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Sre coh, Chrau c\text{\textsc{ho}}, Palaung coh, c\text{\textsc{oh}} (Milne 1931), Semang têjâh (i.e. Kintaq Bong; Skeat & Blagden 1906 K 23 (a)); → Cham c\text{\textsc{oh}}, Röglai c\text{\textsc{oh}}.

Cf. A179 *[k]\text{c}\text{\textsc{as}.} = 1987 *[?]\text{coh} to peck… ? If so, the same semantics in Mon bôk.

‡1990 *[p]\text{ca}[\text{h]}h to break.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng c\text{\textsc{ah}} to break in pieces, Biat c\text{\textsc{ah}} (to get) broken, Bahnar c\text{\textsc{ah}} broken (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Sre b\text{\textsc{acah}}, Chrau p\text{\textsc{acah}} (to get) broken, Bahnar p\text{\textsc{acah}} to break (v.i.t.); (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar dialects k\text{\textsc{acah}} splinters, sherds (Guilleminet 1959-63).

(Blood 1966 285.)

Proto-Austronesian *p\text{\textsc{ak'}}\text{\textsc{a}}q: Cham p\text{\textsc{acah}} to break, &c., Malay p\text{\textsc{echah}} broken, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 116, *-\text{h}; Dyen 1953 § 62); ~ *k\text{\textsc{aqk'}}\text{\textsc{a}}q: Javanese chachah chopped fine, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 86, *k'ak'\text{\textsc{ah}}; add Cebuano Bisayan sàsa to crack and flatten bamboo). Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian?

(*pca[ \text{h}] see 1895 *pcaas sour.)

1991 *jah to scatter.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Mon c\text{\textsc{eh}} to be diffused, wafted, (prah —) scattered, Khmer c\text{\textsc{eh}} jah to throw [water] from container, Kuy châh to throw [liquid] with secondary lengthening, Palaung jah to spread [seed] out; → Thai ch\text{\textsc{á}} to rinse, wash, purify.

‡1992 *juh distant.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung juh.

Proto-Austronesian *d'(a)\text{Suq}: Malay jauh, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 47; with *da\text{\textsc{'ah}, Dempwolff 1938 37, = *Za(S)uq, Dyen 1951, Dahl 1973 § 16.4; contra, Shorto 1975 94).

1993 *juuh; *ju\text{\textsc{ah}} to peck, dart and strike.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau juuh to stab.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Bahnar joh, Jeh, Halang joh to peck, [snake] to strike; ~ (?), *jrjuh by metathesis >) Biat jrh to dig with a spade.

Cf. 1987 *[?]\text{coh} (also for semantics); 1988 *[k]\text{cu}\text{h} to pierce.

(Smith 1972 384.)
1994 *juuh; *jəh; *juuʔ to stay, linger.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung juh to stay; ~ Riang-Lang _takcu to perch, rest.
   B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar jah to rest, stay (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat njah to stay, take refuge.
   C: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Kuy with secondary lengthening chàːu to stop, Bru caw (!), Sre jou to visit.
   Cf. Old Mon jıl /jul/ to cease from activity, Modern Mon cù to rest.

†1995 *[r]njuh; *[r]njuuh; *[r]nj(u)əh to shake.
   A, B: (Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer kɔɲcuh kañjuḥ to shake (v.t.) (TANDART 1935),
   Kuy (A) (kh)chùh to shake (out), West Bahnar rayuh to shake (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
   Vietnamese (b) giũ to shake [dust, water] off; → Cham yuh to tremble, to shake (v.t.), Jarai rayuh to shake violently,
   Röglai ayuh to shake.
   C: (Mon) Mon kəyôh layah to shake off.
   Cf. 1898 *jas to shiver. Connect Nancowry kumc éh to shake,
   Brùʔ ë́h to shake (v.i.t.), Kharia jur-,
   (&c., PINNOW 1959 138.)

(* jəh see 60 *naʔ person.)

1996 *tih large.
   A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Chrau tih wide, spacious, Biat teh, Stieng, Bahnar tih, Jeh, Halang tih,
   South Nicobarese [om]tẽ large.
   (SMITH 1972 337; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 205 (a.).)

(*tih, *t,iəh see (also) 64 *t,iʔ earth, ground.)

1997 *t,eh to hit, strike, beat, kick.
   A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon teh to kick backwards, Kuy teh to strike [e.g. flint on steel],
   Sre (→ Röglai) teh to hit with downward movement, Bahnar teh to hit with small stick, to beat flat, beat out,
   Kammu-Yuan tês to strike fire, Lawa Bo Luang təih to kick; ~ Sre tanneh, Bahnar taneh,
   Kammu-Yuan tənès tinder-box.
   Separate Riang-Lang *ti to strike, hit, beat, ← Shan tin to strike lightly ← Burmese tǐ.

1998 *t,ah; (*t,ah-s >) *t,aas; *t,aʔ level.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon [top] tah to be level, West Bahnar tah [tæːŋ] flat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang (*takta by secondary expansion >) *tak _ta scraper for threshing-floor.
   B: (Mon) Middle Mon tah, Modern Mon tah to level.
   C: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer daː tə stone slab, Central Nicobarese təː flat, level,
   Nancowry təː level; ~ Khasi pyntha plain.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 12, 18.)
1999 *t₁ɔh breast, mamma.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon tohḥ /tɔh/, Modern Mon ṭoh, Old Khmer ṭoh, Modern Khmer ṭoh, Kuy, Stieng ṭoh, Sre ṭoh breast, Chrau [da?] ṭoh milk, Biat, Bahnar ṭoh, Jeh, Halang tuḥ, Prak tu, Lawa Umphai taurus, Mae Sariang tauruh (!), Semelai tuh, Central Nicobarese toḥ breast, Nancowry tuḥ; ~ Stieng kathoh, Chrau gathoh breast.
Waic suggests a variant *t₁uus; by expressive deformation? Cf. 2005 *kt₁ah chest.
(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAFER 1965 19; BLOOD 1966 264; SMITH 1972 372; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 387 (a).)
Santali toa, &c. (PINNOW 1959 263).

2000 *t₀h to remove.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer doh ṭoh to take [clothes] off, to free, release (→ Stieng doh to untie, untether, free, redeem), Kuy tuh to take [clothes] off, Sre toh to recover [property], Biat toh to remove [honey from nest], Bahnar tuh to take out, remove.

2000a *t₁uh to regenerate (?), re-cultivated land.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khmer) Khmer doh tuh to grow, sprout, bud (?), Kammu-Yuan tuḥ fallow in year after cultivation; ~ (*t₁npuh >) Sre mpuh field cultivated for two years, Biat [neh] mpoḥ cultivated [land], Bahnar [miṁr] tópuh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (East Bahnar; West Bahnar puh) [field] cultivated for three years.

2001 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh to beat esp. with implement.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Literary Mon toh, tuh to raze, level, smooth, beat down (by attraction 1998 *t₁ah-s), Bahnar toh to hit (violently), beat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin toh to hit with stick.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung toh (or A?), Riang-Lang tu, Lawa Bo Luang tuuh, Lawa Umphai toh to pound.

2002 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh; *t₁uah; *t₁ah bean.
A, B: (South Bahnaric) Biat toh (A), tuh, Stieng tu? (!; BLOOD 1966 toh), Chrau tuh (B).
C, D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang toh (C), Bahnar tuh (D).
Cf. Vietnamese ᶜ₃u, ᶜō.
2003 *tuh; *tuəh; *təh to pour out.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, ?Palaungic) Biat toh to pour [paddy] out, Sre, Bahnar tuh to pour out, Muông tō (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese dō id., to spill; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ndauh, Lawa Umphai ndoh, Mae Sariang ndoh, nduh to fall, let fall, put in.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar tuəh to draw, transfer, sprinkle [liquid].
C: (South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Sre təh to put [cooked rice] into individual bags (DOURNES 1950), Biat təh to decant, (?) Lawa Bارت nduh to fall, let fall, put in.

If Lawa is cognate, *t1-.

2004 *t1uu[h]; *t1uəh; *t1uuʔ to rub, clean by rubbing.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon taoh tuh, toh to rub, scrub, scour, Khmer doh ṭus! to rub, scrub, polish; → Cham ḍauh; Thai ṭū.
B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan hənt to rub.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau tu: to wash [face]; ~ Biat rtu: to wash [face]; ~ (*t2pt,uuʔ > ?) Riang-Lang ṭəktuʔ to launder; ~ (*[t2]nt1uuʔ > ?) Praok sida to launder.

Thai appears to confirm -*h. Perhaps construct *t1uuʔ to wash; *t1uuh &c. to rub, with contamination. Note also A158 *ktuul ...to whet. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 34.)

2005 *kt1əh chest, thorax.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat [taŋ] təh, (merging breast < 1999 *t,əh, which compare.) Praok tu; ~ (*knt1əh > ?) Sre ntəh, Bahnar kətəh, Central Sakai 'ntəh.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 380 (b).)

2006 *[c]t[ə]h to spit.
A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer sdəh stəh, Bateg Deq gatəf, Temiar gatəh, (~) Semelai tahtəh.

Cf. 2090 *ksəh; contamination is likely.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 390.)

2007 *trtuh to shake.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ratuh to shake (v.t.) (& ratas, → Rögai, to shake up and down, by arbitrary deformation?), Chrau ratuh to shake (out), scatter, Biat rtoh to shake down, Bahnar tatuh to shake.

2008 *bt1uh; *bt,əuh; *bt[i]h; *bt,iəh to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer phțuh phduh to crackle, to burst, explode; → Thai patʰúʔ to explode; Jarai tuh to explode; ~ Mon hatəh batəh, batuih to suppurate, fester, to burst, break out.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tɔh spark, to give off sparks; (in compounds) eruptive infection, Sre toh eruption, Chrau toh pimple; ~ Chrau ntɔh to crackle, explode; ~ Sre bɔrtoh, Biat rtɔh to explode.
(C; or *-oh?; Kuy) ~ Kuy nɔrɔh parched rice.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung teh [lightning] to strike, [gun] to go off.
Connect variously Khmer khtuɔh kduh puɔ; 2015a *pduh &c.; 74 *[b]tuuʔ to burst, pustulate; (*btɨʔ >?) Khasi bthei to explode, to burst; & cf. following.
(SCHMIDT 1905 56; BLOOD 1966 261.)
Sora ’patui- to burst.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *[b][y]ɔʈiq: Malay bɛrteh parched rice, &c., perhaps Cebuano Bisayan bagtɪ bone-dry, parched with heat (DEMPWOLF 1938 28, *bo[t]h; Proto-Western-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *[b]atut: Acehnese b/ɔr/ɔtoih, Malay m/ɛl/ɛṭus to burst, explode, Javanese m/l/ɛṭos, m/l/ɛṭus to spring apart, (or Mon-Khmer →?) Cham patuɔh, Röglai bɔtuh to explode, North Röglai pɔtuɔh to crackle, explode (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

2009 *rtah; (*rtah-s >) *rtas; *rtas to explode.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Biat rtah to burst (& tah [tɔr] (to) thunder, by phrasal assonance); ~ (*rtah-s >) Mon hatah to burst, explode, (with secondary lengthening; or c?) Kuy nthɔh [paŋ] [lightning] to strike; ~ Mon hɔkɔ] kɔtah, Khmer rʊntɛ̃h (& ɔntɛ̃h) lightningbolt; ~ Kammu-Yuan pɔltah, (by back-formation?) patah to burst, split open; ~ Khasi pyrthat thunder.
B: (Palaungic) Praok tu to flash, (~?) Lawa Bo Luang [taʔ] tɔuh, Lawa Umphai tɔs [taʔ], Mae Sariang toh [taʔ] lightning.
C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar tayh [lightning] to strike, Bru tæyh thunderbolt.
Cf. preceding. Sakai (i.e. Semelai) kɛrɛntah thunder, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119, is rather connected to 1622 *gɔtar.

(*dih see 76 *dih to hit, come in contact with.)

2010 *dah (& *daʔ?) to hit, to meet.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Late Old Mon dah /dah/ to be contiguous with, Modern Mon tëh to hit (mark), meet with, be correct, to fit, Khmer tɛ̃h dah to slap, Kuy thɔh to slap, to beat [drum] with hands, Bru tɔh (so *-aah? or secondary lengthening?), Stieng dah to hit, attack, (*daʔ >?) Central Nicobarese tɔ-, da-[hɔta] to touch, Nancowry tɔʔ; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ndah, Lawa Umphai nduah to slap, hit, Praok de to strike, beat; ~ Khmer prɔtɛh to encounter, meet by chance.
Cf. 76 *dih &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

(*dah see 78 *dɔʔ to stop... ; *[d][ɔ]h see 79 *[d][ɔ]? this, here.)
2011 *rdeh cart.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer ratèh radeh, Kuy rthêh, Stieng, Kontum Bahnar radeh (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Cham ratèh, ritèh, Jarai r'de:. North Rôglai radeh; Thai ratʰéː; ~ Sre (→ Rôglai) rondeh, Chrau ndeh; → Biat rundohe.
Sre, & Cham &c., exclude *-d-.
(Blood 1966 248.)

2012 *[s][d]j[i][h] low, below.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khuic, Palaungic). Stieng deh, dheh under (neath); low, Biat deh, Kammu-Yuan tis low; ~ Thin (h)nde low, Praok de to be low, (at) the bottom. Connect Chrau ateh below. Note also Nancowry mižfisi low, mižfha shallow, referred ʔiːh near; haʔeʰhhasi to lower, laʔeːsi beneath, and further kalóh beneath. For Bahnar kadeh short, ... see 202 *Gliāh.

2013 *deh to be born, to give birth.
A: (& to move, contaminated by 2062 *leh to go down, out; Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng, Biat deh v.i.t., Sre deh to give birth to, lay [egg], put down, Praok deh to give birth, Sakai dê to lay down (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (b)); apparently → Mường tê to be born (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese dê to be born, dê to put down; ~ (*[l]nde >) Sre deh to move (v.i.), Bahnar rneh to be born; (probably) ~ Biat ndeh [ntok] to move, displace.
Sora deː: to become is not connected, cf. Pinnow 1959 333.
(Blood 1966 245.)

2013a *duh; *duah to stumble.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy thûh to trip over, Bru kutʰː!; ~ Riang-Lang kándō to stumble.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Khuic; ~ *kdudah by secondary derivation ~) Chrau dojah to stub toe, (?) Kammu-Yuan cāklūah slipping up.
Kuy appears to exclude *kd- in root. But separate? or *gd-.

2014 *t2dih; *t2dāh; *t2diʔ near.
B: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng dâh near; ~ (*t2pdfah >) Mendriq pâdâh; ~ Stieng ndâh, (~?) Lanoh pɔlândôh.
C: (Palaungic; ~ *tndiʔ >) Praok de near, to be about, to be about to, to pertain to, Lawa Bo Luang sandaiʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sandiʔ near.
Note also Nancowry ʔiːh, ʔeːh, tinʔeːh.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 19.)
A, B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng dah one of a pair (A), Sre, Biat dah, Jeh nah side (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), one of two sides, (B) Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese 누나 half; ~ (A/B) Bahnar mənah part, some…others….
C: (Katuic) Kuy na: side, direction.
(LOOD 1966 289.)

2015a *pduh; *pduəh; (*pdīah-s >?) *pdīəs to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar doh to explode, duh pus, to suppurate, Vietnamese nô to explode, Nancowry ūrōh to hatch eggs; ~ Jarai duh to explode; ~ Kammu-Yuan paltōh to explode; ~ Palaung padoh parched rice.
B: (Kuy) Kuy duh to burst, explode; ~ bdah parched rice.
C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy deh [sparks] to fly, West Bahnar deh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang teh, Lawa Umphai thias to give off sparks.
Connect 2008 *bt₁uh &c.

2016 *[s]duh to leap, jump.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer stuh sduh to leap up, spring forward (with chest register by levelling on derivation); ~ səmtuh, səntuh bound, leap; ~ Sre səndoh to jump; ~ Biat rdoh to spring, rush upon, to swoop.
Sre establishes *-d-. Note Bru badayh < *-as to leap, jump.

(*nih see 91 *niʔ this.)

2017 *neh finished, over.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre neh to be finished; past auxiliary, Rōngao neh (& ney) formerly, recently (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*nəh see 92 *nəʔ this.)

2018 *jnah victorious.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Old Mon jnahn /jnah/, Modern Mon hnèh, Old Khmer jnah, Modern Khmer chnèh, Kuy nàh to be victorious (over); → Cham cánh; ~ Literary Mon jnnahah victor, Khmer cümnèhah victory.

2019 *t[rn]əh other.
A: (Mon, Katuic) Middle Mon tanah, tanoh /tənəh/, Modern Mon kənəh, Kuy nah, Bru kanab.
Katuic probably confirms *-rn-.

2020 *tənɔh mouth.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy nəh, Kammu-Yuan tanəh.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2021 *piih to wash [clothes].
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng phih (!; BLOOD 1966 peh), Sre, Chhrau pih, Biat, Bahnar pih.
connected 2026 *puh to wash.
(SHAFER 1965 97; BLOOD 1966 49.)

‡2022 *pah; *puh; *puəh to slap, hit.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) (Sre pah to clap, slap, punch perhaps ← Rōglai, below; as Khmer pah to hit ← Cham) Chhrau pah to hit, Praok pa to strike, Lawa Bo Luang pooh, (!) Lawa Umphai phoh, Mae Sariang p(h)oh (by attraction 2026 *puh to wash) to hit, beat, launder; ~ Vietnamese vā to slap.
B: (Khmer, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer boh puh to hit with stick, Lebir, Kerbat puh to strike (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 496 (c)), Nancowry ʔufóh to stir, beat drum.
C: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Khmer boh pooh, Kuy pah to hammer, drive in, Palaung poh to slap.

Back vocalism secondary.
Proto-Austronesian *pa[q]pəq: Malay pēpah to strike, beat, &c. (NOTHOFER 1975 75, Proto-Malayo-Javanese *paqpəh. Tagalic reflects variants *paqpəq, *piqpiq; see PRELIMINARY STUDIES…). Cham, North Rōglai pah to slap, Jarai pah to slap, to beat drum, Rōglai pah to slap, clap, punch are < *paqpəq or ← Mon-Khmer; separate Acehnese ōmpaih to beat, < *-t'.

(*pah see also 100 *paʔ shoulder.)

2023 *poʔh (to) flower.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung pooh (to) flower, Riang-Lang ṁ po bud; to open, flower, Proto-Semai *pr(ə)h to blossom (DIFFLOTH 1977).
= 2029 *puh &c. to open? Then rather *pa(ə)h. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 189.)

2024 *poəh to use a bow.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon pooh /pəh/, Modern Mon puh to shoot with pellet-bow, Khmer boh pooh to gin [cotton], Praok [ak] po bow; ~ Mon nuh pnoh pellet-bow, Khmer phnoh bow for beating cotton, Vietnamese nố crossbow.
= following? Pangan puh to shoot with blowipe is < 2028 *puh.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14.)
2025 *p[oo]h to throw (away).
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Khmer bah poḥ to throw, (→ baol &c.) throw away, abandon (→ Kuy bah throw away, abandon), Lawa Bo Luang pauh, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang peuh to throw away, Vietnamese bó to put, cast, to leave, abandon.
   = preceding?

2026 *puh to wash.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan puh to wash [clothes, hair]; ~ Biat rpoḥ to wash [face].
   Connect 2021 *piih to wash [clothes].
   Proto-Austronesian *puqpuq: Kelabit pupuq to wash clothes, Bikol puqpuq to wash anus, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 310; Proto-Hesperonesian).

2027 *puh; *puuh reed, split bamboo.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*mpuh >) Mon (k)apuh lapuih kinds of reed used for matting; ~ Khmer bəboh, pəboh papos! Aira arundinacea, used for matting; → Cham papò: Saccharum arundinaceum; ~ Khmer prəboh prapos! reed, by metathesis Sre proh rush; → Röglai bəboh rush.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng puh split bamboo used in fields.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 24.)
   Proto-Austronesian *palu[ ]puq: Malay pəlupoh, Javanese pluh split bamboo for flooring, (?) Tagalog palupog rack (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-Hesperonesian). Perhaps Mon-Khmer → Indonesian Cf. BENEDICT 1975 325-6, leaf; but connected Proto-Austronesian with *p/al/aqpaq frond, midrib (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112-13; DYEN 1965) not certain.

2028 *puh; (*puh-s >) *puus to blow.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör puh, Central Rölöm poh to blow, Biat poh to operate [belows], pump, Pangan puh to shoot with blowpipe (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a)); ~ Sre gapuh [leaf in wind] to tremble, [flag &c.] to blow in wind.
   B: (North Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Bahnar puyh north-east monsoon, dry season, Jehai pahas to blow, (?) Semai ll pas wind.
   By dissimilation < *phuh(-s) < *bhuh(-s), cf. Jehai, Austronesian? Cf. 616 *lpuq &c.; 1023 *puut &c.
   (BLOOD 1966 29.)
2029 *puh; *puuh; *pəh; (*pəh-s >) *pəəs to open.
A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung puh (A), (B) Praok paw, Lawa Bo Luang puh, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang poh.
C: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar poh to open, uncover (GUillauminet 1959-63; & Röngao poh), Central Nicobarese ofooh-[həə] &c. to open, Nancowry fuəh open, ?ufuəh to open; → North Röglai puh.
D: (?) → Cham pyh, Röglai pah to open.
E: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar pah to open, uncover.
= 2023 *p[a]h (to) flower? Cf. also 2036 *b[a]h &c.; 346 *pək &c.

(*[kr]pəh see 103 *krpi? buffalo.)

2030 *lpiə to separate, pick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon pəh to be displaced, Khmer beh peh to pick, pluck, Kuy pəh to break off piece [of edible], East Bahnar peh, West Bahnar peh to pick, pluck, to cut and gather, to strip, peel, scale (Guillauminet 1959-63), Palaung pəh, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang pəh, Vietnamese bè to pick, pluck; (Vietnamese or Khmer) → Chrau beh to pick or break off; ~ Middle Mon lapah [ket] to pick up, Modern Mon həpəh to pick up, kəpəh to pick up, (ko —) to be broken off.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Kataic, North Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng pleh to pick [fruit], to change [garment], to take the place of [person], Bahnar pleh to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off; ~ (*pəliə >?) Kuy mpleh to pick, pull stalks off; ~ Mon pələh to pull, pluck, pull apart, cut into bits, Khmer pleh to pick carefully, (Tandart 1935) pull to pieces; by back-formation ~ Mon ləh to pick up, Bahnar leh to pick, pluck; [weapon, trap] to go off (Guillauminet 1959-63), (?)Nancowry leh (to be) separate, to break or cut off.
Note variously Jeh piayh (< *lpiəs) to break off; Biat pəiəh (< *lpiəs) to pick up; Lawa Bo Luang pah to be broken off, Bahnar pleh to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off (Guillauminet 1959-63; Jölong); gəlah (Guillauminet 1959-63) to come out of place, be dislocated.
(Schmidt 1905 62.)

(*lpaŋ see 2063 *p-ləh to cut up, divide, split.)

2030a *l[ə]h waves in water.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar pəh [yaʔ]; ~ Old Mon laməpəh /ləmpəh/ [kaləh], Modern Mon kəpəh.

2031 *s[r]pəh to insult.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre sarpah to impugn the paternity of, insult (→ Röglai), Central Rölöm pəh to put a curse on, Bahnar dialects sapəh &c. to insult grossly (Guillauminet 1959-63), Vietnamese [sɨ] và to insult.

$2032$ *bah; *baas to flow out.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon [haː] bah to overflow (or B); ~ Bahnar babah to flow into.

B: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Mường) Khmer piaɦ bās spreading right through, Kuy phiah ready to overflow; ~ Vietnamese vāi to spill, to be spilled, to strew.


$2033$ *b[ɜ]h mindful, to hold in mind.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon pōh bah to remember, call to mind (& Middle Mon bah sanā to bear in mind by popular etymology ← Sanskrit/Pali vāsanā recollection), Chrau vɔh [vɔnɔh] wise, Khasi [buh]bot to be mindful (with b- by phrasal alliteration).

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau vuh dust, ash, Sre buːh, Biat buh ash.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan pɔh ash.

Connect Semang sibó (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 23), Sakai sâbor dust (i.e. Semai; ib. S.26); but connection dubious Khmer pheh pheh ashes, cited at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 18; as Khasi dpei hearth, ashes. Cf. 359 *[ ]bu(u)k dust; 1483a *buuy &c. dust; 2044 *t1[ɻ]ɓooh flour, dust.

(SHAFER 1965 134.)


$2035$ *buh to split.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer pūh buh to split wood, Stieng buh to split wood; finished part of task, Biat buh part, half, lamina, Vietnamese bî to split [wood], cut [fruit] open (!; contaminated by 2029 *puh to open?), Nancowry tapūh to split; ~ Stieng mbuh split wood; finished part of task.

(*ɓeh see 1963 *bVʔeh to abuse.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2036 *ɓ[ə]h; *ɓah to open.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat bah ajar.
Palaung vocalism contextual? Cf. 2029 *puh &c.

2037 *ɓɔɔh salt.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy phùh, Chrau vəh, Biat bɔh, Sre, Jeh, Halang boh, Bahnar ɓɔh; → Cham bōh.
Cf. 1770 *[m]bîl.
(Blood 1966 259; Smith 1972 379.)

2038 *ɓu̯; *ɓuuh; (*ɓu(u)h-s >) *ɓus; *ɓuus; *ɓi[ ]s to bubble, boil.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, North Bahnaric) Khmer pûh buh to boil, Bahnar buh welling up (Guilleminet 1959-63; or B); (~) → Iban amboh /ambuh/ scum, slime; ~ Khmer pôpûh foam, scum, Central Sakai buboh foam, froth; ~ (*ɓrɓu̯h >) Mon habh boh buh &c. foam, froth (or : last); → Cham parapoh froth; ~ Khmer rûmpûh boiling-point, Stieng namuh to boil (v.i.); ~ Kuy mpoh foam, bubbles, Stieng sambuh, (or B; ~?) Bahnar kamuh froth.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Katuic) ~ Biat mbuh froth, Vietnamese mû pus, Kuy phûh to boil over.
C: (Mon; rather than A) Mon boh to boil (v.t.).
D: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung bur, Riang-Lang ɓus foam, foam, Temiar buh bubbles (Diffloth 1976); (probably) ~ Sakai rebu to boil (i.e. Temiar, Lanoh; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 334); → Malay rebus, Acehnese rôboih.
E: (Palaungic) Palaung bir to boil [rice].
Connected further Central Nicobarese foih bubble (< *p-); Praok bay foam, froth (< *bnbi??); 372 *[c]ɓûk froth.
(Schmidt 1905 56.)
Sora abubun- foam.
~ (Proto-Austronesian *[t']ɓu) Bikol sabó, sobo foam, foam, Pangasinan sabó foam, Ilocano sibo bubble. Note also Malay buh froth (< *bu[ ji]q, or ← Mon-Khmer?; with Nicobaric, & Mon-Khmer vowel variation, suggesting Proto-Austroasiatic *ɓu̯ or the like); Sanskrit budbuda-, budbuda- bubble, budabuda- bubbly (Turner 1962-66 9278). (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 17.)

2039 *ɓuh; *ɓah to pour, sprinkle.
A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon boh to sprinkle; ~ Temiar muh to bathe; ~ Che’ Wong, Semai mamuh to bathe; ~ Middle Mon laɓoh /laɓu̯h/, Modern Mon habu̯h to pour or sprinkle water over.
B: (Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi **bet** to scatter, sow, sprinkle, Pangan
[ya]-bó’ to pour (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 204); ~ Nancowry
kapúáŋhí to pour out (< *fũuh?); ~ Semaq Beri **mahme:h** to bathe.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 81.)
Kharia bi’b to pour out water (Pinnow 1959 319).
Proto-Austronesian **buqbuq**: Acehnese **boh** to place, put, Malay **buh** to put, set, affix, &c., Cebuano Bisayan búbú to pour out into, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 31,
*buqbuq* Hinzufügen + *bubu[h]* Giessen; Shorto 1975 97). The same semantics
in 986 *cuut* &c.

2040 *[k]b[ə]h to love, like.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre gəboh to like; ~ Praok mo to love, like.
Or *-oh. Note Nancowry ?uáh to admire.

2041 *[k]buuh to burn, grill.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy buh to burn, Sre buh to grill, Chrau vuh, Jeh, Halang buh
to roast, Bahnar buh to singe, grill.
Earlier *[k]bùuh, causative formation? Then connected perhaps (i) Nyah Kur lʔuh
cooked [rice], Bahnar h’uh to reheat roast and mix with freshly cooked rice...
(Guilleminet 1959-63); (→) Cham uh to cook in ashes; (ii) A193 *[d]uh hot; (iii)
1872 *[ ]us &c. fire, firewood.
(Smith 1972 341.)

2041a *jbooh (& *jbuu?)?; *jbuuh beak.
A: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Muong) Kuy cbah hooked tip of beak; ~ Khmer cəmpûh
cəmbuh, (Tandart 1935) cəmpûh (< *-uuh?), Vietnamese mō beak.
B: (Mon; ~ *nəbuu? >) Mon homao cəməhau &c. beak, bill, muzzle.
Connect Cham cbuu, Röglai təbuu, North Röglai təbuai?

2042 *[tə]h to turn edge.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon təbah /təh/ to turn, blunt [edge of weapon],
Bahnar beh slightly jagged (Guilleminet 1959-63).

2043 *[tə]h (& *təəh?)?; *təuh to appear, be seen.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon təbəh /təbəh/ (1) to appear (& Modern Mon
həmah s(a)maḥ to resemble, contaminated by 149 *sməh equal, alike); ~
(*təbə[a]h >) Old Mon təbəh, Modern Mon həbah to show, (~, or by analogy, cf.
South Bahnaric *tn- causative) Stieng (tə)məbah to inform, warn, confess, accuse
(< *-əəh?), Biat mbəh to tell, inform.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar boh to see; ~ təboh to show.
Khmer cbah clear, evident... is < 1920 *c[b]as.
(Schmidt 1905 16, 18.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2044 *t̥l̥ooh flour, dust.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon *tḁb̥oh /tḁb̥oh/ cake of rice-flour, Modern Mon
[kwaik] lābuh rice-flour, Palaung karboh airborne dust, to be dusty (Milne 1931);
→ Malay lēbu dust, probably → Javanese lēbu dust, → Sundanese lābuq ashes,
dust (cf. Dempwolff 1938 94, *lābu); Nothofer 1975 43).
Cf. 2034 *buh &c. ash, powdery dust.
Santali lobo? husk, bran, meal, flour, &c. (Pinnow 1959 245; Proto-Munda *lobo[?]
& *lopo[?]).

2044a *mih parent’s elder sibling.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau mih parent’s elder sibling, Bahnar mih parent’s elder brother.
(Smith 1972 334.)
(*mih see also 127 *miʔ (to) rain; *miʔh see 128 *miʔʔ you (singular); *m[o]h see
136 *m[ʔ]ʔ what.)

2045 *muh; *muuh; *muus nose.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon mōh /muh/,
Modern Mon, Kuy mūh, Biat moh, Stien, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar muh, Jeh, Halang,
Kammu-Yuan mūh, Khasi ’mut (~ khmut), Kensiu, Semai mōh, Semelai muh,
Central Nicobarese mōh, mōh, Nancowry muāh (< *muah); ~ Khmer
ćramoh čramuḥ nose, Stien tramuḥ nose, muzzle.
B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung muh (Milde 1931), Temiar mōh, Semnam
mulhu nose.
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang mauh, Lawa Umphai
(Schmidt 1905 56; Shafer 1965 184, 427; Blood 1966 28; Smith 1972 343; Skeat &
Blagden 1906 N 98.)
Sora mʔuː-n, compounding form muː-n, Mundari m(hu), &c. (Pinnow 1959 387).

2046 *muh; *mʊʔ; *muʔ to be.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung muh, Sakai moh (i.e. Temiar; Skeat &
Blagden 1906 B 88).
B: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Archaic Khmer mūʔ mʊʔ that is, Praok mʔ,
Semang moah to be (Skeat & Blagden 1906).
C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _mʊʔ to remain, stay, Temiar mʔ there is
(Benjamin 1976b 178).
Connect Lawa māh to be; < weak form?
(*kmu(a)h see 138 *kmuʔ mouldy, rotten.)
2047 \*crmah generous, kind.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre sarmah, Chrau samah, Bahnar hamah (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai camah, Röglai sarmah, North Röglai caramah.
Note Literary Mon pamaḥ [slaḥ] to give up, yield, → [salaḥ] pawah &c. to renounce, be generous < Middle Mon trawah to renounce; conceivably → \*cwah, Bahnaric by secondary derivation → \*cmah < \*cmwah.

(*sməh see 149 *smə [ ]? equal, alike.)

2048 \*yah; \*yaʔ to damage; waste, residue.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic, Viet-Muong) Sre yah waste product (→ Röglai), Palaung yah, Riang-Lang _ya, Praok ye to destroy, ruin, Bru yiah to pull down, tear down; ~ (*[c]ryah >) Bahnar hiah torn, spoiled, damaged (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[c]nyah >) Biat njah residue, Jehₙah chaff (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) kanjah chips from chopping tree; → Jarai żjah residue; ~ Vietnamese nhā to let fall from mouth, emit from aperture.
B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *cyah >?) Bahnar ?iaʔ residue of sugar-cane.

2049 \*syuu[h] damp, wet.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic, Viet-Muong) Sre səh, Chrau suh, Biat chuh; ~ Bahnar həʔnuyh, (Kontum; ~?) həyuyh (with \*s by assimilation?); ~ Chrau [daʔ] yuh dew.
SMITH 1972 498 suggests North Bahnaric \*j-, probably regular in context.

2050 \*reh to raise up, to exalt.
A: (Mon, Khmuc) Old Mon reh /reh/ to do honour to, Modern Mon rèh [seh] to hold in respect or reverence, Thin reh to lift up.
Connect 2061 \*[s]r[ə]h to rise, ascend.

(*r[ə]h see 2061 \*[s]r[ə]h to rise, ascend.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2051 *ruh; *ruuh; *ruəh; *rah; *raah; *rah; (*-h-s >) *rus; *ruəs; *roə;
*roəs; *roas (& *ras?); *ris; *ruʔ; *ruuʔ; *ruʔ2; *raʔ to fall, be shed.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuoic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer ruh ruh to fall down, fall off, Stieng ruh (& aruh) to come off handle, come loose, (or B?) Bahnar ruh to fall (down), Jeh ruh [rain] to fall, Halang ruh [water] to fall; ~ Middle Mon croh /cruh/ [rain] to fall on, Modern Mon soh to extinguish, Khmer cruh to fall, (~?) Stieng joruh [flowers, fruit] to fall, Bahnar crouch to fall on, flow on, pour on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B?), Vietnamese rõ to drip, ooze; ~ (*cbruh >) Old Mon -curoh to shed scatter, Modern Mon karo to pour out, let fall, Khmer cūmrūh to cause to fall, Kuy sroh, rhoh [clothes] to come down, to remove [clothes] (v.i. perhaps < *cr-); ~ Old Mon suuh to pour water on, (merging *c-ruh) Modern Mon soh to extinguish, (or B) Bahnar suuh to let fall, throw away; ~ Mon proh to burst, leak, Sre pruh to spurt out, to squirt out, Chrau pruh [fruit, leaves] to fall, Bahnar proh to gush out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & West Bahnar pruh to squirt from mouth); → Cham pruh to spurt from mouth; ~ Stieng bru to sprinkle water on, Sre bru to spit, dribble; ~ (*..ruh >) Kuy ntrūh to fall, Biat ndroh shower (quantifier); ~ Biat ṣkroh to shake [contents of sack] down.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ (*sruuh >) Chrau such to sprinkle; ~ (*bruh >) vrūh to squirt, spit.

C: (Khmer, Katuoic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Palaungic) ~ Bahnar croh diarrhoea (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer proh pruh to sprinkle, Bahnar pruh outflow (quantifier) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer pruh to sow, scatter, Kuy prū: to strew, sow, scatter, sprinkle, Chrau vroh to scatter, sprinkle; ~ Kammu-Yuan kroh to flake off, peel off, (~? *.nr- >; or variant final) Praok gra to drop, fall away; ~ Sre sakruh to shake down, (?) Praok khrúa to shake off.

D: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?Mon) Stieng roh to dismantle, demolish; ~ Jah Hut carah to fall; ~ Middle Mon prah, Modern Mon prah to fall, be shed (or C); ~ Stieng bra to scatter, to sow broadcast, Khasi bret to throw away.

E, F: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Kuy rāh to asperge, Sre [mi:ə] rah mango showers, Biat rah to asperge, to strew, scatter, Vietnamese rā to be dispersed; ~ Mon prah to be scattered about, Kuy prah [prəŋ] to be separated and scattered, Sre prah [prəŋ] all over the place (DOURNES 1950), Biat prah to fall (down), Bahnar prah scattered, sparse (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai prâʔ to sprinkle, spray; ~ Bahnar taprahn to splash by secondary derivation; ~ Vietnamese [dː] ruːa to have diarrhoea (F).

G: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai reh to pour; ~ Khmer preh preh prih prih onomatopoeic for fine rain, Sre prih to spurt out, Biat prih [boil] to burst.

H: (Bahnaric) Sre ros to strip grains [of hill paddy] by hand, Bahnar dialect ruːih [cereals] to shatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ East Bahnar pruih to spurt from mouth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *luyuq: Malay luroh to fall, be shed, &c. (DEMPOWOLFF 1938 98-9, *-h); (ii) *d₁,iyuq: Tagalog îgoq bathing, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 166; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) *d₁/iyuq: Malay dirus to irrigate, water, Javanese dus, Hiligaynon Bisayan digus to bathe (Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPOWOLFF 1938 40, *d-); (iv; Mon-Khmer →?) Malay têmpêras scattered (referred at DEMPOWOLFF 1938 116 to *payat’—rather *pêyapot’, see DAHL 1973 § 17.6, 9— to squeeze out). Cf. also BENEDICT 1975 395, sprinkle.

2052 *ruh; *ruuh; *rus young girl, virgin.

A, B: (Bahnaric) (Sre aruh virgin, young girl = ?) Sre [zür] ruh young woman (BLOOD 1966) (A), Chrau ruh sister (B); ~ (*nnr- > ?; A) Stieng druhr nubile girl, animal on heat, [ksɔn du ur] ndruhr nubile girl, Chrau [ur] druhr young woman, Biat [bu:]
droh young girl, (A/B) Bahnar adruh, Gölar Bahnar hädruh girl, young woman still childless, (~?) Jeh drudruh unmarried woman, Halang dadruh young, unmarried woman, fruitful.

C: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang ʰərdruh girl, young woman still childless, (~?) Jeh drudruh unmarried woman, Halang dadruh young, unmarried woman, fruitful.

Connection uncertain Praok [bon] kri, Lawa Bo Luang [pi]-khraih, Lawa Umphai [pa-, kuan] kreh, Mae Sariang [pa]-khyeih (< *krih?).

*BLOOD 1966 25; SMITH 1972 352.*

2053 *ruuh to wash [clothes].

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Röngao rưh, Vietnamese rū.

Cf. 1841 *r[ ]aawh to wash (SMITH 1972 348.)

Sora ro:-[kaːb-].

(*[k]ra[ ]h see 164 *kra[ ]h old, aged.)

2054 *[k]ruh kind of basket.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer krûh gruḥ, Kuy khrûh (!) kind of basket coated with resin (→ Biat gruh bucket?), Sre kruh small kind of carrying-basket, Bahnar kroh special large kind of carrying-basket; → Jarai kroːh, Röglai kruh small kind of carrying-basket.

(SMITH 1972 376.)

2055 *cr[i]h rust.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer creh creh, Kuy (!) thrêh, Stieng careh, Vietnamese ri.

Khmer &c. vocalism post-dental?

(*jruh see 172 *jruu? deep.)

2056 *jruəh; *jr[ə]h; *jriəh clean.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau jroh clean, Bahnar hɾəh clean, pure (GUILLAINEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer) Khmer crəəh clean, pure.

C: (Katuic) Kuy thrîːh smooth, clean, licked clean.

C secondary; Khmer vocalism post-dental?

2057 *tr[e]h (to draw a) line.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre treh to draw a line (↔ Röglai), Bahnar trih line, row (GUILLAINEMINET 1959-63).

2057a *[t]rah kind of citrus.

2058 *truh to seep.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat troh to seep, trickle, drip; ~ Mon karoh [daik] filter.
~ 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed? Note there Vietnamese rō to drip, ooze.

2059 *pra[h]; *pra[w] to make offerings.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar dialects pra[h] to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar pra[w] to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak.

2060 *bra[h] divine being.
A: (Khm, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer vrah, Modern Khmer prəh god, sacred being
or thing, Stieng brah spirit (diable, démon), Sre brah mythic hero (DOURNES 1950),
Biat brah spirit (génie); ~ Thai pʰráw.
Connect ultimately Old Burmese purhā, Modern Burmese bhurā; Old Javanese bhra
lord, Modern Javanese bra prince.

2061 *r[ə]h to rise, ascend.
A: (Khm, Palaungic) Kuy sah to rise, to raise; Kammu-Yuan rōh to rise, wake, to
grow, to go up, Riang-Lang rə to rise, to go up; ~ Kammu-Yuan prəh to raise, to
wake (v.t.), (~?); by secondary derivation) Riang-Lang phrə to rise.
Or *r- ~ *sr-? Separate Kuy, Bru sah to ascend (?). Connect 2050 *reh to rise up...

2062 *leh to go down, go out.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar lih to abort (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung
leh, Praok li to go down, out, Riang-Lang əle to go out, away, Lawa Bo Luang loih
to go down; ~ Sre pleh to make way, step back, aside, Biat pleh to move house,
Palaung pleh to put down, to set free, to discharge [gun] (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang
ple to cuase to go out, drive out, to publish, show, to set free, Lawa Bo Luang pləih,
Lawa Umphai pleh to show; ~ (*.nleh >) Biat əkleh to lower [blind], Kontum
Bahnar hənleh to put down [load], to reduce [price] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
Kammu-Yuan kłe to hatch out; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyŋkli to go
round, avoid.
Add as derivative 2073 *kleh to fall? Cf. 2013 *deh to be born..., with mutual
contamination; & 190 *leʔ to leave, depart; 2068 *loh to go out; 2064 *lah to
leave; 2072 *luah to abandon; 1514 *ləay &c. to leave... .
(SHAFER 1965 127.)

2063 *lah to cut up, divide, split.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer ləah (→ Biat leh) to cut up,
(⋯?) Lawa Umphai lah to cut, slice; → Cham lah to open wide, (←*le) with legs
apart; ~ Stieng plah to gut, cut up, skin, Bunör, Biat plah to split, by metathesis
(*lpah >) Chrau, Halang pah to cut, chop, Bahnar, Jeh pah to split; ~ Kuy kləh
to split [e.g. nut] open; ~ Stieng kənaləh half, (by attraction 2074 *kla[h] to break,
which compare) Kammu-Yuan tanläh to split, to break or burst suddenly; ~ Khmer phlēäh to divide up, cut up, Stieng blah to clear undergrowth, Chrau vlah to split, Sre, Bahnar blah to split, to divide up, Palaung blah to strip [skin] off, (Milne 1931) to slice.

(Blood 1966 320; Smith 1972 363.)


2064 *lah; (*lah-s >) *las; *laas to leave.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer lēäh; ~ Bahnar pläh to separate; ~ Old Mon blah /blah/, Modern Mon plēh to escape, win free, Thin [kham]blah to split, (or B; ~?) Khasi palat to exceed; ~ Mon helah to be free, open, Khmer sralah clear, free, Stieng sarlah clear, distinct.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Sre klas to change status, resign, discharge duty &c., to fail to obtain, (or A?) Kammu-Yuan kläh to exceed, [time] to pass; ~ Kuy (c)leḥ to change, exchange; ~ Khmer phlah phlās' to replace, change (clothes), to be transferred, Biat plēh to change, Bahnar plēh, (so rather than A) Kammu-Yuan pläh to release, Bru lāyh [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off.
C: (Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ *klaas >) Bunör klaːih, Central Rōlōm tleḥ [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off, Biat klinh escaped, Bahnar klyah to escape, Khasi khlaad to separate, part, to depart.
Cf. 2062 *leh ... to go out; 1514 *laey &c. to leave...

(Smith 1972 505; cf. ib. 340.)

(Blood 1966 188, 339.)

Sora saːla-, 'saːlaː- to have leisure.

2065 *lah or.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon laḥ /lah/, Old Khmer loḥ, loh, Stieng, Sre, Biat laḥ, Bahnar dah; ~ Old Khmer kläh some, Modern Khmer kläh... kläh... some... others...; ~ (*[k]mlah >) Praek [ti] bla some, some... others... (Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mblah part; or ~ 2063 *lah ... to divide...?).

2066 *lah; (*lah-s >) *las; *laas finished.
A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon blah /blah/ after [that], then (contaminated by 2080 *bl[ɔ]h?).
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng leh finished; ~ kleh to finish, use up, finish [doing].
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar klyah to have finished [doing]; then.

(*lah see also 191 *laʔ to spread, extend.)
**2067** *loh; *loh; (*-h-s >) *lo[ ]; *las to unravel, unfold.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon *lah to come unwound, Old Khmer *loh to free, Modern Khmer *loôh to redeem, ransom, Jeh *lûh to untie (Gradin & Gradin 1979); ~ Old Mon *pluôh /pluôh/ to attain Buddhahood, Modern Mon *plôh to come unwound, to unwind, Stieng *plôh to peel off, skin, Sre *plôh [bas] [snake’s] slough, Bahnar dialects *plôh, *ploh to open, undo, undress (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *plôh vacant, free, Praok *plo to rise in baking, Vietnamese trò to shoot forth, sprout.

B: (Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) → Cham *lah to undo, untie, take off; ~ Khasi *plied to o., unfold (or d?), Vietnamese gió, trò to untie, unwrap, to change.

C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon *loûh to uncoil (v.t.) (probably, rather than A; then *los), Central Nicobarese *loôh to remove headgear, *olôh-haîja to take off clothes; ~ Kuy *ploôh to swell (or a?), Bahnar dialect *ploîh to open, undo, undress (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Acehnese *plôh to unfasten, unroll, take off; ~ (*rîlo [js >]) Kuy rôch to slip away, get loose, escape.

D: (Khmer, ?Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang *lôuh, Lawa Umphai *lôs, Mae Sariang *loîh to answer (probably; cf. semantically 2085 *sîh); ~ Khmer pralas’ to separate (Guesdon 1930).

Vowel alternance unusual. = following? Connection dubious 1666 *[ ]luur &c. to slip, come loose.

Proto-Austronesian *Salōq: Acehnese *loh bald, leafless, stripped, Karo Batak me-luh falling [hair], easily shed, Cebuano Bisayan hulu to moult, to shed skin or shell (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

**2068** *loh to go out.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy *liûh, Bru *lôh, Chrau *lôh (!; contaminated by 2071 *luh to appear?), Biat, Jeh, Halang *lôh to go out, Palaung *lôh to go, come.

= preceding, perhaps by attraction 2062 *leh? Cf. A200 *[ ]rah to send out, drive out; & note Stieng *lôh to come, go, give, budge; Bahnar hloîh (under the entry 2072 *luôh) (to go) beyond.

(Smith 1972 386.)

**2069** *luh ( & *luôh?) to pierce.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Khasi *loî ( & *lod; < variant?) to go into a hole (in games), Central Sakai *loîh perforated, (~?) Semelai *salôhu sharp; ~ Mon *kloôh to penetrate, to be penetrated, to understand, Khmer *khloîh khloîh, Stieng *kluôh to pierce bullock’s nose; ~ Old Mon *kîloôh /karloûh/ to penetrate; ~ Kuy *thlûh to pierce, penetrate; ~ Sre *blûh hole, perforation, Biat *blôh having a hole in; ~ Bahnar *bâloôh hole, perforation; to make a hole in; ~ (*slôh >) Kuy *loôh to pass rope through nose of bullock, Bahnar *loôh perforated, open, Riang-Lang *lo to pierce, penetrate, Kensiu *hâluh, Temiar *salôhu to shoot with blowpipe; ~ (*srlûh >) East Bahnar *salôùh to bore through [knots of bamboo] (Guilleminet
1959-63; & West Bahnar roluh?), Khasi [pej] syllut clean through; (variant?) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung karhlh to penetrate.

= following &/or 2071 *luh &c. to appear (through)? Add perhaps as derivative 2079 *t1luuh &c. to come, arrive. Cf. also (i; *klu? >?) Sre klo to hear, understand; (ii) Sora ro- to pierce, penetrate..., Kharia ru? to open, &c., PINNOW 1959 359 (Proto-Munda *ro[?]); (iii) 430 *lu(uk) to have, make, a hole in. But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *tarut' to penetrate, DEMPWOLFF 1938 135 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SMITH 1972 356; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (a.).)

2070 *luh 1905 58; Smith 1972 356; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (a.)

2071 *luh; *luuh; *lu? to appear (through).

A, B: (Bahnaric) Stieng loh (BLOOD 1966), Sre luh (BLOOD 1966) (b), Bunör luh, Central Rölöm loh (A); ~ (A/B) Bahnar bluh to appear (through), to burst (in).

C: (Mon, ?Khmer) ~ Khmer chloh chlu ḥ to have, make, a hole in. But connection dubious.

= 2069 *luh to pierce? Connect perhaps (by secondary derivation ~ *lnluh) Riang-Lang sə kno to point to, point at.

(BLOOD 1966 27.)

2072: *luah 1905 58; Smith 1972 356; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (a.)

2072a *loh door, window.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat [mpoŋ] loh window; ~ (or =?) Chrau [ləpɔŋ] mhlɔh window, Jeh ploh, Halang pa粮油 door.

2073: *kloh to fall.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Halang klih to fall down, Bahnar dialects klih (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Bahnar hələh [fruit, sky] to fall; (ii) Chrau talih to fall, collapse, Jeh taklih to fall, Riang-Lang "kle to fall, (by secondary derivation) Bru rapλlih [fruit, leaves] to drop.

Connect Temiar kalu? [fruit, leaves] to drop; but not Sre talə(:) to push over, ↔ Röglai tələ(:) to push over, Cham talə? to expel. ~ 2062 *leh to go down...?
2074 *klah to break.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng klah to break [stock of crossbow], Biat klah [branches &c.] to break; ~ Palaung konlah to break (v.i.).
Perhaps by metathesis (derivative of) 1972 *[d]kah; or ~ 2063 *lah to cut up, divide, split.

2074a *[k]ləh clean, clear.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng kəh clearly, distinctly, Sre kəh, Biat kəh clean, Chrau kəh pale, faded, Bahnar kəh to fade (in washing), to become clean.
Or *tl-.

2075 *glaḥ cooking-pot.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mương) Khmer khləh (TANDART 1935), Sre, Chrau, Biat glah, Vietnamese trā.
Cf. 195 *lbə and c. kind of jar or pot.
(BLOOD 1966 292.)

(*Gliə see 202 *Gliʔ short.)

2076 *trleḥ woodpecker.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre tərleḥ, Chrau tələḥ, Bahnar [se:m] tələḥ; (by back-formation?) → Röglai kleh.
Connect perhaps by taboo deformation Cham paplaɪh; North Röglai daʊeh; Khmer trəseḥ traseḥ.

2077 *tlah; *tlaʔ clear.
A: (Mon, Kuy, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon [jnok] claḥ, tlah /klah/ to be refulgent, Modern Mon klah to be clear, Bahnar klah [klaŋ] sparkling, dazzling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*trlah >) Kuy lləh clear(ly), Bahnar tədəh &c. clear, transparent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer thla: clear, pure, Bahnar klaʔ [klaŋ] sparkling, dazzling.
Middle Mon cl- by scribal hypercorrection. Connection uncertain Khmer chlah chlās' variegated [colours], (TANDART 1935) to iridesce.

(*tnləh see 2019 *t[rn]əh other.)

2078 *t,l[ɔ]h (& *t,ləɔʔ?) testicles.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kəh testicles [of boar]; ~ (*t,lpl- >) Sre ploḥ, (variant?) Chrau [cap] ploḥ testicles; (probably ~) Kammu-Yuan təlōh male [animal].
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2079 *t₁luuh; *t₁loh to come, arrive.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Bahnar truh to arrive at, reach, Jeh truh to come, arrive, Halang truh!, Palaung hluh! to arrive, Riang-Lang ṭru to come, Sakai dēloh to go (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 49).
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường; ~ *t₁plah >) Stieng plah, (or simplex >?) Mường (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese trở to return.
Palaung hl- by regressive assimilation; or contaminated by etymon of Kammu-Yuan səlóh to walk, to go to see, perhaps ~ 2068 *loh to go out. ~ 2069 *luh to pierce? Add perhaps (*t₁luh >) Praok kro to become; & cf. Old Mon tlűñ /tluŋ/, Modern Mon kląŋ to come, North Bahnaric tr- contextual; Jarai truh, Röglai, North Röglai truh to arrive, reach may show attraction of Mon-Khmer, but are < Proto-Austronesian *tarut to penetrate.
(SMITH 1972 344.)

(*pliəh see 2030 *lpiəh to separate, pick.)

2080 *bl[ɔ]h finished.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bloh marker of completed action, Bahnar bləh to succeed
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh bloh already (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); → Cham pləh finished.
Cf. 2066 *b-lah. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 141.)

(*rlu[u]h see 226 *rluuʔ to rest.)

2080a *wiah; *wah to dip up.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ve to scoop out [of pot].
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng uah to dip up, Sre wah to empty [fishpond &c.] with bucket (DOURNES 1950), Biat wah [mbuh] to skim, Vietnamese vã to throw [water] on one’s face; ~ Stieng kua:h dipper.
Add Bahnar wah to fish with rod and line?

(*weh see 235 *weeʔ …to twist.)

‡2081 *wah (originally noun?); (*wah-s >) *waas (to make an) opening, (clear a) path.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer hvaḥ, Modern Khmer vəah to cut open, Kuy with secondary lengthening wəah [diaʔ] to breach paddy-bund and admit [water], Sre wah passage, narrow path, Biat wah [wəaj] space, Bahnar wah breach, river-mouth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung vah clearing; ~ (*waas wah by contraction > *swah >) Bahnar tsəah to clear a path (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
2082 *cweh arrow-poison.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer chveh chveh creeper yielding arrow-poison, Chrau chweh, Besisi cheh arrow-poison (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 164 (a)).

(*cwah see 2047 *crmah generous... )


A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy thwàh (with secondary lengthening), Kammu-Yuan wàh, Palaung vah, Praok ve, Lawa wuah; ~ Khmer travâh large, wide, long [mouth, slit].

B: (Palaungic, ?North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _vâs, _wâs, Sakai lêwas (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 BLOOD 1966 404; or ← Malay, below).

With Khmer, Kuy initials cf. 924 *l/m/əɲ.

Acehnese luaih, Malay luas broad, wide, Cham liwah, Röglai luah space (DEMPWOLFF 1938 100 refers Malay to luvat to issue, emerge, = *luat', DYEN 1953 § 56).

2084 *[s]a[ ]h carrying-basket.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng sah, Sre sah, Chrau sah (BLOOD 1966 sah), Biat chah; ~ East Bahnar [brəŋ] saamah carrying-baskets used for bringing in rice harvest (GUILLAUMIN 1959-63).

(SHAFER 1965 511; BLOOD 1966 328.)

2085 *soh to untie.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon soh /soh/ to answer [question], Middle Mon sah, Modern Mon soh also to untie, Central Sakai sōh to untie; ~ Khmer sosah sosoh to comb, to untangle; ~ rasoh to become loose; ~ Riang-Lang ː kho to be loose, to loosen, untie.

2086 *s[ɔ]h; *sah dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer soh soh having a dry throat, limp, (~ -kakərh) dried up or b?), Stieng soh dry; ~ Lawa Bo Luang saʔah, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔah dry, to dry.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau sah, Biat chah dry.

Lawa obscure (but cf. 937 *[b]səʔ?)? Connect Nancowry híah (to) dry, hías to dry. Cf. 1970 *ckəh; 160 *rɔʔ &c.
2087 *suh to make sibilant sound.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *huuh to gulp in [air] (rather than < 1958 *huuh to blow); ~ (*snsuh >) Mon *kəsoh to make sibilant noise, hush, hiss, blow nose, Central Sakai *h'ngchō's hiss; ~ Palaung *kənhuh to sigh; (?) ~ Iban *kesoh to give a single sharp puff. Cf. Nancowry *hih to blow nose.

2088 *suah; (*suah suah > ?) *suas empty.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer *soh suh (TANDART 1935), Sre *soh empty, East Bahnar *soh empty, stripped (GUILLAUMET 1959-63), Bru sanoh empty; → Cham *thəh, Röglai *soh, Jarai, Achehnese *soh; ~ Jeh *sasoh idle, (?) Halang *sasoh only.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat *cəiəh empty, vacant.
? Connect Nancowry *hiəh empty.
(Shafer 1965 577.)

2089 *ʔseh horse.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon *kəə /kəə/, Modern Mon *ched, Old Khmer *seh, Modern Khmer *seh, Kuy (?a) *seh, Chrau *asəh, Biat *ched, Sre, Jeh *aseh, Bahnar *asəh, Čejar *həh, Halang *kaəəh, Danaw *əh; → Cham *atəeh, Jarai *asəh, Röglai, North Röglai *asəh.
Mon, Halang k- perhaps reflect animal prefix. Connection obscure Central Rölöm *deh.
(Schmidt 1905 28; Shafer 1965 251; Blood 1966 253; Smith 1972 358.)

(*ksih see 246 *ks[i]? string... .)

2090 *ksəh to spit.
A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Old Mon *kəə /kəə/!, Modern Mon *ched, Kuy (k)coh!, Stieng coh, Sre coh, Chrau, Biat coh, Muong chu [xʌk] (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 207); ~ (*krsəh >) Biat rchəh, Bahnar *kəsoh, !Jeh *kəcoh, Halang *kəcoh; → Cham kəcoh, Röglai *kətio, North Röglai *kəcuʔ; ~ Mon [daik] kəsoh (& Nyah Kur *nəsoh) spittle; ~ Stieng [dək] kəsoh spittle.
Connect Kammu-Yuan kəcū, (→) Riang-Lang *təkchu. Onomatopoetic; Old Mon -s, Kuy, Jeh &c. -c- by expressive deformation, or contaminated by 1894 *k[m]cas to sneeze? Cf. also 2006 *[c][t][ə]h (contamination is likely).
(Schmidt 1905 40; Smith 1972 374.)

(*tsəh see 247 *tsəʔ lung; *həh see 251 *haʔ to open [mouth]; *haʔ, *hu(u)h, *huuh see 1958 *ʔuh to blow; *chuuh see 1875 *c[u]s to rot; *m[h][ua]h see 264 *m[h][ua]ʔ... night.)
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A1 *bn[uə]*? yesterday.
   Connect 6 *?[uə]*? this? Cf. also Palaung hu: former time, (— din that yonder)
yesterday.
   (BLOOD 1966 205.)

A1a *k[u(u)]? cobra.
   A: Sre [bəs] ku large kind of snake with eyes like cat (DOURNES 1950), Biat [beh] ku:
cobra.

A2 *g[ɕɔʔ] rhinoceros horn.
   A: Sre gou [rəmis], Biat ɡɔu.

A3 *j[nəɡ] dark.
   A: Stieng jəɡəu, Sre jəɡo, Chrau jəɡə, Central Rölöm ŋaw, ŋə, Bunör, Biat ŋə.
   (BLOOD 1966 189.)

(*tiə? see 182 *tiəs blind.)

   A: Chrau sənə, Biat ndə.

A5 [r]ya[ ]? to be named.
   A: ~ (*[r]nya[ ]? >) Biat rna: name; ~ Sre pria to name, to call (by a name); ~
   Chrau tanhya: to name (tan— causative).
   Note Hre yine?, Sedang inay name, SMITH 1972 303; suggesting *-aa?.

A6 re? to swim.
   A: Stieng rei, Sre [a]re (& DOURNES 1950 re), Central Rölöm ray, Chrau (BLOOD
   1966), Bunör, Biat re.
   (SCHAFER 1965 525; BLOOD 1966 179.)

1 Originally this appendix was titled “Stiengan Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions
are Proto-Mon-Khmer.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A7 *[^ ]r[uu]?: to be at leisure.
A: Sre ru, Biat ru.
Perhaps *lr[uu]?, by metathesis. 226 *r[uu]?: to rest (so Kharia le'ru?).

A7a *pnrɔ?: to arrange.
A: Sre pənro to install with care, Biat [ndrap] ndro: to arrange.
Add Mon pərɔ?: to distribute, dispense; Bahnar pədrɔ:, mədɔ: (to) trade (&c. : SMITH 1972 564)?

A8 *[b]la?: wood chip.
A: ~ (*[b]nla?:) Sre pənha (→ Röglai?); ~ Biat rbla:.
Cf. Jarai tʰla:.

A9 *[b]la?: earring, ear-plug.
A: Stieng blɔː; → Röglai blɔ; (*b[n]lɔ?:) Sre bəno, Biat mblɔː: [to:r].

A9a *[ ]mlɔ?: stubble.
A: Stieng blɔːu, Biat mlɔː [baː] stubble, Chrau mlɔː straw.

A10 *[s]wi[i]?: wide.
A: Chrau hwiː, Biat huiː.
Connection uncertain West Bahnar hoi, huri, East Bahnar hui widely spaced (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

A11 *jhuu?: to set light to, burn.
A: Stieng chu: (BLOOD 1966 jhu):, Sre chu (→ Röglai), Bunör suː; Central Rölöm chuː, jhuː, Biat chuː; (*jnhuu? >; contaminated by 311 *tʃuk?) Stieng (rare) ndhuːk smoke, mist, Sre nhu, Chrau nuː, Biat njhuk smoke.
Cf. (i) Jeh, Halang caw; perhaps, but improbably, with diphthongization as in 43 *cuu?, & compensatory lengthening following irregular loss of *h; (ii) Biat chup [uɲ], by phrasal deformation (cf. 885 *ʔuɲ fire); (iii) 1546 *chu(u)y to emit smoke or steam.
Cham &c. cuh is < Proto-Austronesian *k'uqk'uq (under the entry 1984 *cu(a)h).
(BLOOD 1966 240.)

A12 *ʔaak: shoulder-blade.
Connect Kuy mpaːʔ (tip of) shoulder? Cf. also 265 *ʔiak (part of) arm.
A13 *ʔuuk clay.
   A: Sre ʔuː clay, Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm ʔuːk, Chrau uːʔ, Biat
      [nɛh] uːk clay.
      (BLOOD 1966 243.)

A14 *ʔuək; *ʔək much, many.
   A: Sre ʔəaʔ much;
   B: Stieng ʔək much, many, Bunör ʔək, Central Rölöm ʔək many (& ʔək, ← Biat?), Biat
      ʔək much.
      (BLOOD 1966 127.)

A14a *[c]nʔ[a]k hand of bananas.
   A: Chrau səʔaʔ, Biat nʔəʔ.

A15 *lʔiik cold.
   A: Stieng lʔiik, Central Rölöm ʔiik cold, Chrau ləʔiːʔ cool, (~?) Bunör n’niik cold, Biat
      nʔiik cool, coolness.
      (BLOOD 1966 220.)

A16 *k[ə]k knot in wood.
   A: Chrau koʔ, Biat koʔ.

A17 *j[ə]k long in time.
   A: Stieng jək, Sre joʔ, Chrau joʔ, Bunör, Central Rölöm jək long, a long time, Biat joʔ
      ~ a long time, (to be) late.
      (SHAFER 1965 518; BLOOD 1966 267.)

   (*tək see 21 *[d]ak time (quantifier).)

A18 *[k]tuk place.
   A: Stieng tuk, Central Rölöm tuk; ~ (*[k]ntuk >) Bunör ntuk, Biat ntok, (or
      next?) Stieng katuk; ~ (*[k][r]tuk >) Chrau gətuʔ.
      (BLOOD 1966 168.)

A19 *ntək to cover oneself.
   A: Sre ntə!, Biat ntək (→ Chrau ntə?) to cover oneself with [blanket], Chrau təŋtəʔ (!)
      to cover over.
      Sre -ʔəʔ, Chrau -nt- are expected; with Sre cf. 367 *ɓək. Connect 1252 t,ap &c.

A20 *[s]rtuk lid.
   A: Sre rəu (!), Chrau sətuʔ.
   Sre -uʔ is expected. Connect (via Cham hatuʔ lid?) 1252 *t,up ...to cover.
A21 *[d]ək; *tək time (quantifier).
   A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) duʔ, Sre, Chrau doʔ, Central Rölöm doʔ, doʔ;
   B: Bunör taʔ Biat toʔ.
   (BLOOD 1966 421.)

A22 *[d]ɔək to wear round small part of body.
   A: Stieng ɗok to put on, put round neck, Sre do:, Bunör ɗək, Central Rölöm ɗək to wear on finger or wrist, Biat ɗək to wear [ring], perhaps Chrau ɗəʔ to put in.
   Cf. 80 *dɔʔ to cover head.
   (BLOOD 1966 71.)

A23 *[ ]n[ ]ak hearth.
   A: Stieng, Biat nak, Chrau naʔ.
   Connection uncertain Khmer phnəʊk ready-laid fire, pile of combustible materials. For Sre bonha see 231 *slaʔ.

A24 *tpn[ɔɔ]k body hair, feathers.
   A: Stieng pənk, Sre təno.
   Cf. Chrau sənəʔ, ad 467 *suək.

A25 *[c]piik kinds of small mammal.
   A: Stieng piək group of small mammals of fox family, Sre pi (!) class of mammals including civet cats, flying squirrels, paradoxure, binturong, &c.; ~ (*[c]mpiik >) Chrau səpiʔ weasel, Biat mpiik class of mammals ....
   Cf. Khmer səmpəc civet cat, conceivably *jəp-, Khmer ~ *jpuuk, with -c by assimilation. But note also Khasi kṣiḥ beaver, otter, (kynja —) marten, perhaps < *pciik by metathesis, with animal prefix.
   (SHAFER 1965 331.)

A26 *[b]ək mud.
   A: Stieng bək, Sre boʔ, Chrau voʔ, Bunör, Central Rölöm bək, Biat [daʔ] bək.
   Khmer phʊək is rather ~ 482 *ləhək mud.
   (BLOOD 1966 266.)

A27 *yək to accuse.
   A: Sre, Chrau yaʔ.

A27a *yuk square fishing-net, clap-net.
   A: Sre, Biat yuʔ (→ Stieng iuʔ) id., Chrau yuʔ large conical net; ↔ Cham, Röglai yuʔ.
   Cf. Jarai jruʔ, jriʔ.
A28 *yuuk mountain.  
A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) yoʔ, Central Rölöm yo:k, Bunör, Biat yo:k.  
   Connect uncertain Sakai chök* (i.e. Semai), &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 90; Cham  
   caʔ, &c., are < Proto-Aceh-Chamic *cat (cf. Acehnese cat) & not connected.  
   (BLOOD 1966 21.)

A28a *rɔ̝ɔk to stretch out [legs &c.].  
A: Sre roː, Biat roːk.

A28b *ruuk to pull up.  
A: Sre rou to remove [e.g. stumps from field], Biat ro:k to pull up [plants].  
   Cf. 1058 *ru(u)t &c.

A29 *truuk sky.  
A: Stieng tru:k, Sre tru:, Chrau troːʔ, Central Rölöm trɔːk, Bunör, Biat tro:k.  
   (SHAHER 1965 324; BLOOD 1966 19.)

A30 *kla[a]k the day after tomorrow.  
   (BLOOD 1966 301.)

A31 *s[l]uu[k] naked.  
A: Bunör lhɔːk, Biat lhɔːk; ~ (*s[l]uu[k] >) Chrau səroːʔ, Central Rölöm [sak]  
   roːk.  
   By metathesis 1707 *kuulh?  
   (BLOOD 1966 p. 37.)

A32 *wak to receive, welcome.  
A: Stieng uak to receive [visitor], fetch home, Sre waʔ to receive [visitor] (∆Röglai);  
   ~ Biat cuʔ to receive [visitor], fetch home.  
   (*wa[a]k see following)

A33 *[k]wa[a]k armpit.  
   Perhaps *wa[a]k, *wa[a]k wa[a]k > *kwa[a]k. Connect Sre pənoa?

A34 *kəŋ shell of ear.  
   kəŋ ear-wax.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A34a *kuəŋ chief.
A: Sre kuan chief (general term), Biat kwəŋ [raŋ ɓɔːn] major chief.

A35 *[c]a[a]ŋ clear, limpid.
A: Sre saŋ, Biat chaŋ.
Connection uncertain 523 *caŋ to glitter; 535 *scaiŋ to shine. Stieng has aŋ, contaminated by 489 *cʔaŋ to shine, be light.

A36 *[c]oŋ straight.
A: Stieng soŋ, Bunör saŋ straight (→ Chrau?), Sre soŋ straight, right, true, Biat chaŋ straight, direct, fair.
Cf. 530 *kəŋ stretched....

A36a *.ceen to carry.
A: Stieng cəŋ to carry slung over shoulder (& cəŋ sling of bag &c.), Sre cəŋ to take, bring, Chrau cəŋ to carry under arm, Biat cəŋ to carry slung across body, carry [child] on hip.

A36b *.c[o]ŋ [lightning] to strike.
A: Sre coŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat caŋ.
Perhaps *pcaŋ causative ~ 524 caŋ to set light to.

A36b *juŋ; *juuŋ noose, snare.
A: Sre jəŋ snare;
B: Biat njuŋ to snare using a decoy.

A37 *[n]eŋ; *[n]əŋ beads, necklace.
A: Sre noŋ (necklace of) beads.
B: Stieng noŋ, Biat noŋ beads.

A37a *təŋ kind of lizard.
A: Sre [noŋ] təŋ kind of large lizard, Biat [kwai] təŋ kind of large lizard or monitor.
Add perhaps (*t,uoŋ >) Palaung təŋ [bleat] large kind of lizard.

A37b *[s]teen to elbow.
A: Biat [geh] teŋ; ~ Sre sənteŋ.

A38 *[d]əŋ equivalent quantity.
A: Stieng dəŋ like, equal, Sre dəŋ in accordance with, as much as (DOURNES 1950), Chrau dəŋ to, as much as.
A39 *[ ]ndəŋ pus.
A: Stieng (n)ndɔŋ, dɔŋ, ~ Sre ndəŋ, Biat ndōŋ.
   Connect perhaps (i; *smdʊŋ >?) Kuy mnoŋ, Kammu Yuan plūŋ; (ii; duəŋ >?)
   Central Nicobarese τ웅.

A40 *k[r][d]ii[ŋ] to hide.
A: Sre k[r][d]iiŋ v.i., Biat rdinŋ to hide, obscure.
   Or *-ŋ?

A41 *lnpuuŋ door, window.
A: Stieng ləopoŋ, Sre mpouŋ door, window, Chrau ləopoŋ door, (— mhloŋ) window,
   [voŋ] poŋ door[way], Biat mpoŋ door, (— ləŋ) window.
   Connect by metathesis Kammu Yuan parloŋ entrance, gate? Cf. also 608a *pɔɔŋ
   window.

A41a *kb[ɔ]ŋ beak.
A: Stieng bɔŋ; ~ Sre kəmbouŋ bill of hornbill &c. (DOURNES 1950), Stieng kəmbɔŋ,
   Biat mbɔŋ beak.
   Separate Bahnar təbɔŋ muzzle, snout, (Kontum Bahnar) beak.

A42 *məŋ stick.
A: Bunör, Central Rölöm məŋ, Biat məŋ.
   Connect perhaps Khmer mọŋ, thmaoŋ large stick (< *muuŋ with vocalism levelled
   on derivation?).
   (BLOOD 1966 123.)

A43 *yaŋ kind of jar.
A: Sre yaŋ squat type of jar, Bunör, Central Rölöm yaŋ wine-jar, Biat yaŋ jar.
   (BLOOD 1966 377.)

A44 *[c]nraŋ mad.
A: Sre sænraŋ (→ Röglai), Biat ndraŋ.

A45 *sr[o]ŋ to temper [metal].
A: Stieng sarɔŋ, Sre sroŋ (→ Röglai), Biat chrɔŋ.

A45a *liŋ joint.
A: Stieng liŋ joint of body, Biat luŋ finger- joint, joint of bamboo &c.

A46 *kliŋ kite (toy).
A: Stieng kliŋ, Sre kliŋ.
   Probable variant of 714 *laŋ &c. large raptor; for the toy Khmer has khlæŋ, Bahnar
   klaŋ. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.)
A47 *gl[ee]ŋ [animal] to carry in mouth.
A: Sre gleŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat gleŋ.

A48 *gləŋ (kind of) pheasant.
A: Stieng gləŋ pheasant, Sre gləŋ Polyleptron bicalcaratum germaini, Chrau gləŋ kind of bird with blue plumage.

A48a *[s]uŋ; *[s]əŋ projecting hair.
A: Stieng soŋ [mat] eyelash;
B: Sre [tono] soŋ down; ~ Biat rchəŋ erectile hair, [eyelash, [porcupine] quills.

A49 *khiaŋ] to chew the cud.
A: Sre khiaŋ (→ Röglai); ~ Biat nchiaŋ [kaŋ].
Cf. Khmer ʔiəŋ cud.

A50 *[b]hiŋŋ] (&*[*biŋŋ]? otter.
A: Sre phιŋ ( < variant?), Biat phιŋ.
Connect 260 *bhe?

A51 *gic; *giəc to break off.
A: Chrau giŋ to snap [branch &c.] by bending, Biat gic to break.
B: Chrau giət to break (off).
Add Khmer kéc gec to avoid, evade? Cf. also 804 *gac to pluck, harvest; 800 *kac to pluck, break off, cut.

A52 *ŋac active, well.
A: Sre ŋac to be well, Biat ŋac lively, quick (& mai — ʔi mai bəʔ how are you?).

A53 *[c]əc to diverge.
A: Sre seʔ to branch, to move aside (→ Röglai), Biat cheʔ to avoid.
By assimilation < 291 *c[ə]k to separate, split?

A53a *[s]ndac to go round.
A: Sre sandac to go round, to surround, Biat ndac to avoid, to turn round (v.t.).

A54 *puəc flesh, meat.
A: Sre poac, Biat puəc.
Add *pu(u)əc > Stieng puic lineage?

A55 *rac to pray, invoke.
A: Sre rac to pray to, invoke, Biat rac [thox, gəm] to curse.
A56 *klæc to hook.
   A: Chrau kʰleʔ (to pull with) hook; ~ (*klæc >) Sre kʰaneʔ, Biat ɲleʔ hook.

A57 *w[i]c side.
   A: Sre weʔ, Biat [pʊŋ] weʔ.
      0r *wac; but hardly = 865 *wac stomach.

A58 *[s]ac to choose, select.
   A: Stieng sɛc to choose, pick out, sort out, pick up, Chrau sac to pick out, Sre sac, Biat chac to choose.
      Connect by metathesis (or assimilation if rather *cac) 1889 *cuus &c.?

A59 *ʔaan to carry on back.
   A: Stieng, Sre, Biat ʔaŋ, Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm ʔaŋ.
      (BLOOD 1966 274.)

A60 *kəŋ (& *kəŋ?) to want.
   A: Sre ʔaŋ (< variant?; beside koŋ), Chrau kəŋ.

A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.
   A: Biat giŋ; ~ Sre tərgiŋ.
      Connect 597 *gnaŋ &c. tusk, eye-tooth? Note also Lawa Bo Luang piaŋ, &c., tooth,
      under the entry 924 *ləŋ.

A62 *[b]uŋ; *[b]uŋ courgettes.
   A: Bunör buŋ.
   B: Chrau [pəj] vuŋ, Central Rölöm buŋ.
      (BLOOD 1966 229.)

A63 *[ ]rmaŋ wound.
   A: Stieng rmaŋ, Biat rmaŋ wound, Chrau [rəwʔ?] rmaŋ mange.

A64 *raŋ old.
   A: Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör raŋ, Central Rölöm [uː]raŋ old person, Biat raŋ old.
      Cf. 918 *knraŋ elder, functionary.
      (BLOOD 1966 325.)

A65 *truŋ; *truŋ; *truay waistcloth.
   A: ~ Sre ntrəŋ.
   B: Chrau trəŋ waistcloth, Stieng trəeŋ (BLOOD 1966 trəŋ), Central Rölöm trəŋ
      waistcloth, to wear waistcloth.
   C: Bunör trəyi waistcloth, to wear waistcloth, Biat trəi man’s waistcloth.
      (BLOOD 1966 67.)
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A66 *pr[i]ŋ ashamed.
A: Stieng preŋ, preŋ (BLOOD 1966), Chrau preŋ, Bunör preŋ, Central Rölöm prŋ ashamed, embarrassed, Biat preŋ ashamed.
Connect Khasi rain shame, self-respect?
(BLOOD 1966 37.)

A67 *liŋ sea.
Connect 854 *laŋ &c. to be flooded...

A67a *ʔuut; *ʔuat to embrace, put arms round.
A: Chrau, Biat ut.
B: Stieng ʔuat.

A68 *t̑i[ ] t; *t̑iat little finger.
A: Stieng [koːn] têt, Sre et.
Earlier *ʔi[ ] ʔit &c. ad 939 &c. *ʔit &c. small in quantity?

A69 *[s]ȓiat bed-bug.
A: Stieng səriat, Biat ȓiat.

A70 *kuat to seize in talons.
A: Stieng kuat, Sre kuat (DOURNES 1950), Biat kwat.

A71 *caat; *ciit torn.
A: Stieng caat to get one’s clothes torn, Bunör, Central Rölöm səːt, Biat chaat torn, worn.
B: Sre seːt torn, worn.
Cf. 291 *caak &c. to separate, split, with similar fronting in Sre; & cross-references there.

A72 *[c]uut wound, lesion.
A: Sre sout wound, Chrau soːt to ache, Bunör soːt, Central Rölöm soːt wound, cut, Biat choot wound, sore.
(BLOOD 1966 17.)

A73 *[k]cuut to stumble, fall.
A: Sre cout to stumble, trip over, Biat coːt to fall over, fall down.
A74 *jɔːt to trample.
   A: Chrau, Bunör, Biat jɔːt, Central Rölöm jɔːt; ~ Sre pəɾjɔt to thresh by driving buffaloes over.
   (BLOOD 1966 54.)

A75 *tiɔt agreeably flavoured.
   A: Stieng, Central Rölöm tiɔt, Bunör cyat sweet, Biat ciat [bɔh] salted; Chrau ntiɔt salty.
   Connect perhaps Sora ba'sed-, ba'sud- (to season with) salt (c.f. bud-ən n., so to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 277c); then *tɔt.
   (BLOOD 1966 109.)

A76 *tɔt to arrive (at).
   A: Stieng tɔt to arrive (at), reach, Chrau tɔt to arrive at; to, Biat tɔt to arrive; up to.

A77 *piit to dispute possession of.
   A: Sre piit to covet, (tam —) quarrel over possession of, Chrau [tam]piit to compete, Biat [tɔːm] piit to quarrel over possession of.

A78 *[ ]put youngest of siblings.
   A: Stieng put, Sre, Chrau put.
   Hardly Sanskrit putra- son. Vocalism suggests voiced initial.

A79 *[b]ut lower part of back.
   A: Stieng but, Sre, Bunör but, Chrau vut, Central Rölöm but lower part of back, buttocks, Biat vut waist.
   Cf. Khmer kùt buttocks, Kuy khùt base of spine; constructed *gʷu(u)t? But note also (i) Mon put base of spine, with irregular vocalism; perhaps ← or contaminated by Sanskrit puccha- tail; (ii) Proto-Austronesian *pu[ə]t: Tagalog puwít buttocks, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 309; Proto-Hesperonesian).
   (BLOOD 1966 153.)

A80 *knbuɔt mouth-organ.
   A: Sre kəmboat (→ Röglai), Chrau kəmvuət.
   Connect Khasi put to blow [wind instrument], under the entry 1023 *puut &c.?

A80a *tmiːt: *tmiət to watch, observe.
   A: ~ *tnmiːt >) Sre tamiːt to watch, keep an eye on, Biat mət to spy on.
   B: ~ Biat rmiət to spy on.
   Cf. Khasi khmih to observe.
A80b *rəat [rain] to stop.
A: Chrau rəat end of rain; ~ Biat bruut [rain] to stop.
Connection dubious 943 *ʔəat ...finished...; *[r]?- should yield Chrau 1-.

A81 *groat (kind of) vulture.
A: Biat groat vulture; → Cham krəʔ, Jar. [ci:m] gruʔ, Northern Röglai [cip] groʔ; → Bahnar groʔ; ~ Sre ɡarət bald vulture, Otogyps calvus; → Röglai ɡəraʔ vulture.

A81a *[s]r[l][ee]t to pass.
A: Sre sar1et to go past, exceed (→ Röglai), Biat [tɔ:m] rlekt to pass in opposite directions.
Or *-rr-, perhaps connect 1056 *riit &c. ...to go round....

A81b *[w]əat kind of bat.
A: Stieng uat small kind of bat frequenting houses, Biat wət kind of bat.
Or *ʔəat? Connection uncertain Semang kāwed flying fox (i.e. Kintaq Bong), &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 76; which compare for similar forms in Andamanese.

A82 *[c]wiit narrow, confined.
A: Sre wit, Chrau hweit.
Connect 949 *cʔiit &c. to confine...? But perhaps *sw-.

A83 *cwaat to step.
A: Biat cuaat to step, pace; ~ (*cnwaat >) Stieng cəuat, Biat nuaat step.
Cf. 462 *swa[a]k to walk....

A83a *[s][ɔ]t (& *[s][ɔɔ]t?) to slight.
A: Sre sot to slander, Biat chət disrespectful; ~ Chrau rəsət to scold.

A84 *h[ɔɔ]t to eat away.
A: Chrau hət termite-eaten, Biat hət to gnaw.

A85 *ŋan certain(ly), really, very.
A: Stieng ŋan certain(ly), truly, true, Sre ŋan true, certain, Chrau ŋan really, very, nothing but, Bunör, Central Rölöm ŋan very, Biat ŋan true, certain, very.
(BLOOD 1966 366.)

A86 *[ ]tuun back of knife-blade.
A: Sre, Chrau tun.
A87 *[d]an (&*[d]aan?) to ask, beg.
A: Stieng dan (< variant? BLOOD 1966 dan), Bunör, Central Rölöm <dan to beg, Sre dan to ask for, Biat dan to ask, beg.
(BLOOD 1966 342.)

A88 *[d]un leprosy.
A: Sre, Biat dun.

A89 *rn[ɔɔ]n debt.
A: Bunör rɔɔn, Central Rölöm nɔan, Biat rɔɔn.
Perhaps ~ *rɔɔn > Mon rɔn [təmɔʔ] to assign [money &c.] especially for charitable use.
(BLOOD_1966 66.)

A89a *[b]an; *[b]aan to meet, to overtake.
A: Sre ban to meet.
B: Stieng baːn to follow, pursue, Biat ban equal, (tɔŋ —) to overtake.

A90 *[b]un pregnant.
A: Sre, Bunör, Biat bun, Chrau vun, Central Rölöm bun; Stieng nbun.
Connect 629 *[d]buŋ foetus?
(SHAFER 1965 133; BLOOD 1966 152.)

A: Sre ɓɔɔn, Bunör, Biat ɓɔɔn, Central Rölöm ɓɔɔn.
Ultimately ← Khmer tɔmbɔn locality, under the entry 1763 *təl?
(BLOOD 1966 51.)

A92 *mɔn; *mɔɔn to mould.
A: Sre mon to make, to mould; → Röglai mon to make.
A,B: Stieng mɔn to copy, make a model of.
B: Bunör mɔn, Central Rölöm mɔɔn to mould, to whittle, Biat mɔn to model, knead.
Connect 1184 *maan to work clay?
(BLOOD 1966 63.)

A93 *k[n]muɔŋ rhinoceros beetle.
A: Stieng kʰmuɔŋ large kind of beetle, Sre kəmuɔŋ rhinoceros beetle (DOURNES 1950).

A94 *ran earthworm.
A: Sre ran; ~ Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm bran, Chrau vran.
Cf. Vietnamese run, giun.
(BLOOD 1966 340.)
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

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A95 *raan to approach, go to meet.
   A: Stieng ran to approach, Sre [lot] ran to visit, go to meet, Biat ran to welcome; →
   Röglai [nau] ran to visit, go to meet.

A95a *trœan to move (v.t.).
   A: Sre tron (Dournes 1950; correct to trö(ö)n to move [grazing beast], Biat trœn
      [ntok] to move.

A96 *[k]lœn to impinge on violently.
   A: Sre klœn to collide (with), crash into, Biat klœn to fall on and crush.
   Cf. (i) Sre, Röglai jœn to squash, crush; (ii) Bahnar jœm, cœm to crash into...
      (Guilleminet 1959-63).

A96a *[k]lœn; *[k]lœən to joke, amuse people.
   A: Chrau kœn for fun; diversion.
   B: Biat rœən to amuse oneself; fun, joker, rœn to play about.
   Connect perhaps (i) Jeh lœm, Halang rœm to play; (ii) Khmer kœmœŋ funny, to
   joke (contaminated by 712 *œn to sport, play?).

A97 *blœn; *bli[i]n egg-plant.
   A: Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm blœn, Chrau vlœn, Biat blœn.
   B: Stieng bleœn wild egg-plant.
   (BLOOD 1966 113.)

A98 *wan to wear round neck, over shoulder.
   A: Sre wan to wear round neck, Biat wan to wear slung across shoulder; ~ (*[ ]nwan
      > ) Biat œœœn to wear slung across shoulder.
   = 1208 *wan coiled, to wind... (& *œœœn to put, wear, round waist)?

A99 *han (& *haan?) to go.
   A: Stieng han ( < variant? BLOOD 1966 han), Chrau, Bunör, Biat han.
   (BLOOD 1966 349.)

A100 *[ ]rœihn thin in diameter.
   A: Sre rœihn thin, small, Biat rœihn thin, fine.

A101 *[l]œup; *[l]œuŋ; *[l]œœp to ask, inquire.
   A: Chrau œœp.
   B: Sre œœp, Central Rölöm œœp (BLOOD 1966), Biat œœp.
   C: Stieng œœp.
   Perhaps *œœœ~ + [ ]lœœ~.
A102 *kəp to wait, lie in wait for.
A: Stieng kəp to wait, lie in wait for, Sre kəp to lie in wait for, (— tənə) wait, Chrau kəp to wait, Biat kəp to wait, (— dop) lie in wait for.
Conceivably = 1237 *ckəp to cover (, catch by covering).

A103 *kəarp to count.
A: Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kəarp.
(BLOOD 1966 398.)

A103a *k[ə]p fever, sickness.
A: Sre koarp ill, (in compounds) disease, fever, Biat kəarp fever.

A104 *tɪp; *tɪt; *tiəp facial hair.
A: Sre [tənə:] tip.
B: Biat tep; ~ (*tπiip >) Chrau [sənə?] pep moustache.
C: Stieng tiəp facial hair.

A105 *tɪip; *təəp infectious.
A: Chrau tep.
B: Stieng [a]təəp, Biat tɯːp; ~ Sre gətəːp infectious disease.

A106 *tup to fall.
A: Stieng tup, Biat top to fall from a height, Sre tup to fall, trip over.
Cf. 1349 *[k]tuum &c. to fall down.

A107 *[d]nduup hand’s breadth.
A: Sre ndoup hand’s breadth, Biat ndoːp [tɨː] back of hand.

A107a *k[m]n[oo]p hammer, anvil.
A: Stieng kənəp [kənɔːl] smith’s hammer, Biat noːp (me: —) anvil, (kən —) hammer.
Connection dubious Khmer tranɗəp anvil.

A107b *kraap to hide, take shelter.
A: Stieng kraap to be bowed down, to hide, Chrau kraap to take shelter, Biat kraap to take shelter, to hide.
Connect 1273 *rup &c. to cover?

A108 *drap large kind of jar.
A: Sre, Chrau drap.

A109 *gnləp to pacify.
A: Chrau gələp to pacify, cheer up, Biat [tːm oːp tːm] ɳləp to pacify.
A110 *lʔəm (& *lʔəm?) only.
A: Sre Ɂəm (< variant?), Biat ɗəm.

A111 *k[ʊə]n kiim (& *kim?) butterfly.
A: Sre kuŋ kiim (→ Röglai; < variant?), Chrau kum kiim, Biat kom kiim, by metathesis Stieng kumkiim.

A112 *[ ]gəm to cook, boil.
A: Stieng go:m (BLOOD 1966 gəm), Chrau gəm to cook, boiling, Sre, Bunör gəm, Central Rölöm Gam to cook, Biat gəm to boil.
Perhaps *pgəm, causative ~ (*gəm >) Mon kim to be warm. Cf. also 513 *g(u)əŋ.

A113 *gəom to laugh, smile.
A: Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm gə:m to smile, laugh, Biat gə:m to laugh.
(BLOOD 1966 392.)

A113a *jəm to block [road].
A: Sre jam, Biat jəm; ~ (*[j]rjəm > by metathesis) Chrau jəm to block [road], Stieng [a]jə:rəm blocked road, fence round field.

A114 *tam reciprocal preverb.
A: Sre, Chrau tam; weak form Chrau tam-, Stieng ta:, by secondary lengthening Biat təm.
Connect A 116 *tam to repay...; perhaps 1344 *t,um &c. collection....

A115 *taam efficacious [medicine].
A: Stieng tə,m, Sre, Biat tam.
Stieng suggests *tə-.

A116 *təm to repay, make good.
A: Sre təm, Biat təm.
Connect A 114 *tam reciprocal preverb.

A116a *ktiim to keep.
A: Sre tim to keep, preserve, Biat tem to keep, preserv, to husband; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau ne:əm to set aside.

A117 *[g]n[ə]m granary.
A: Stieng (rare) nm:m, Sre ɗam (!), Chrau nəm.
Sre by arbitrary differentiation ɗam underneath, < 1362a *[ ]ndəm? Conceivably ~ 1320 *bgəm to collect together.
A118 *[s]ŋɔm elephant’s trunk.
   A: Biat ŋɔm; ~ (*[s]pŋɔm >) Sre sənom trunk (→ Röglai), Chrau pəŋɔm trunk, antennae.

A119 *[b] immoral.
   A: Chrau viəm, Biat biam.

A120 *[k][b]am flood.
   A: Sre bəm, Biat [daːk] bəm; ~ Sre gəbəm (DOURNES 1950).

A121 *ram; *raam warm.
   A: Sre ram warm, comfortable, Biat ram [nuih] happy.
   B: Stieng raːm warm; ~ Stieng mraːm, (~?) Chrau kahraːm warm.
   Connect perhaps (i) Khmer rūm ramya pleasant, if contaminated by rather than ← Sanskrit ramsya-; (ii; then *rmram >) Mon pərəm [pərəa] to convalesce.

A122 *ɾəm to tremble, shake.
   A: Sre, Chrau rəm, Biat rəm; ~ Stieng pəndraːm.

A123 *ruum; *ruəm to like, desire.
   A: Central Rölöm roːm to desire; desireable.
   B: Stieng raːm to desire; desireable (BLOOD 1966), Chrau rəm beautiful.
   (BLOOD 1966 69.)

A123a *brəm cord under tension.
   A: Sre brəm (che —) [crossbow] string (DOURNES 1950), (chi —) frame [of clap-net],
   Biat brəm [ndaːr] fishing-line.

A124 *gləm (& *gluəm?) to wolf down.
   A: Stieng gləm [dog] to snap up and swallow (<variant?), Sre gləm to crush with teeth
   and swallow (DOURNES 1950), Biat [chaː] gləm to devour.

   A: Sre bərlim (→ Röglai), Biat rəlm.
   Cf. Chrau nhleːn ankle bones. But perhaps *-rr-.

   A: Stieng proləm (~ variant?), Chrau poləm, Biat rəlam.
   Or *-rr-.
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A127 *[mlam quantifier for things.
A: Stieng, Bunör mlam, Sre nam, Chrau lam, Central Rölöm mblam quantifier for things, Biat mlam block, lump.
(BLOOD 1966 122.)

A128 *huum to remain; still, yet.
A: Stieng hum more, longer, Sre houm, Chrau hom, Central Rölöm hom still, Biat houm still, to be left over.
(BLOOD 1966 5.)

A129 *ʔuuy morning.
A: Stieng uːi, Chrau oːy, Bunör oːy, Central Rölöm oːy, Biat oːi.
(BLOOD 1966 12.)

A130 *t[n]ɡəy maize.
A: Sre, Chrau tŋəːy; → Cham tŋaːy, Röglai tŋaːy.

A131 *j[oo]y to look for, search for.
A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre jɔːy, Bunör jɔːy, Central Rölöm jɔːy, Biat jɔːi.
(BLOOD 1966 55.)

A132 *juuy fringe.
A: Biat jui fringe, lace; ~ Stieng njui fringe.
Cf. (i) Khmer ciaŋ y hem, fringe, edge; (ii) Palaung kasoy fringe (MILNE 1931).

A133 *tuuy to bend.
A: Sre touy bent into a hook, Biat toːi to bend (v.i.).

A134 *[b]uay to warn, forbid.
A: Stieng buay (BLOOD 1966), Bunör bway, Central Rölöm b[ua]y to warn, Biat buai, bui to forbid.
(BLOOD 1966 81.)

A135 *[k].[b]ay gaur.
A: Stieng beːi, Sre gabay, Biat bai; (probably →) Röglai gabay, Northern Röglai gabai.
Ultimately ← Khmer krabɔy buffalo, < 103 *krpi?

A136 *gr[oo]y to watch closely.
A: Sre groːy to watch, be watchful, Chrau grɔːy to discern, judge.

(*truɔy see 65 *truj waistcloth.)
A137 *[m]nruuy brewing-yeast.
A: Sre mənruy, Biat ndruːi.

A138 *kwaay to scratch, dig.
A: Sre koary to scratch (→ Röglai kɔwe), Chrau khwary, Biat kwaː to scratch, dig.
1442 *kaay to scratch contaminated by 867 *kwaac id.? Cf. also 1541 *khaay &c. to dig.

A139 *[s]aay spouse, to marry.
A: Stieng saːi spouse, to marry, Chrau saːy to marry, Bunõr, Central Rölöm saːy, Biat chai husband.
(BLOOD 1966 329.)

A140 *huy to be mistaken.
A: Sre huy to be mistaken about, Biat hui to be mistaken about; mistake.

A141 *ʔuurr woman, female.
A: Sre ʔuːr woman, Chrau ur female, Stieng (BLOOD 1966) [dəː] ʔuːr, Bunõr, Central Rölöm ʔuːr, Biat ur female, wife; ~ Chrau səʔuːr wife.
(BLOOD 1966 244.)

A142 *[c]kaar kind of bamboo.
A: Stieng kaːr common thornless bamboo; ~ (*[c]nkaar >) Sre səkɑr, Central Rölöm ʔuːr, Biat ur female, wife; ~ Chrau səʔuːr wife.
(BLOOD 1966 312.)

A143 *gir to fish with fish-basket.
A: Stieng gaːr, Sre, Bunõr gir, Central Rölöm guːr; ~ (*gnir >) Sre (BLOOD 1966) dir, Bunõr nir, Central Rölöm nur fish-trap.
(BLOOD 1966 136, 143.)

A144 *[ŋ]guur noise.
A: Stieng noːr, nʊːr, Biat ŋoɔr noise, sound, Sre ngur rustling of leaves, sound of running water.
Connect 1584 *sɡɔr (kind of) drum? Cf. also 1588 *t₂ŋuur &c. to make a moaning or sighing sound.

A144a *tar female pudenda.
A: Stieng tarh; ~ Biat ntar vagina.
Appendix A South Baharan Comparisons

A145 *k[d]aar to fish with a line.
A: Stieng darr, Chrau jar; ~ Stieng, Chrau kandaar, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat ndar fish-hook; → Röglai kadar fish-hook; ~ (by metathesis *dnaar >?) Sre dar to fish with a line = Sre (BLOOD 1966), Köho Chil dar fish-hook.
If rather *kd-, Sre dar < *kndaar, ndar by interdialectal borrowing.

A146 [* ]n[uə]r log.
A: Chrau, Biat nəə.

A147 *piir wall, partition.
A: Sre piir (BLOOD 1966), Bunör per, Central Rölöm pur fence, wall; ~ Stieng panir, Sre panir bamboo partition; ~ Bunör mpiir, Central Rölöm (→ Chrau, BLOOD 1966?) piir wall, Biat mpeir fence, stockade (& mpiir wall, partition; ~ Bunör?).
(BLOOD 1966 42, 218.)

A148 *p[o]r umbilical cord.
A: Sre [kon] por foetus, Biat por navel, umbilical cord.

A149 *buur (& *bur?) to stop up, block, channel.
Sre < variant, or bur by levelling on derivation? (Cf. BLOOD 1966 62.)

A150 *kməər palate.
A: Stieng kəər [uiːm], Biat məər.

A151 *bluur; *bluər stink-badger, Mydaus meliceps.
A: Sre blur stink-badger (DOURNES 1950), Biat bloir hedgehog;
B: Stieng bluər stink-badger.

A152 *wiir fat, grease.
A: Stieng (v)uir, Biat wiir.
Connect Mường mʊ (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese móż?

A153 *[s]əər to unpack, unload.
A: Chrau saar to take out, take up, Biat chəər to unload.

A154 *huur (& *hur?) to guess, solve.
A: Sre hur! to guess (→ Röglai), Biat [ŋəi] hoːr [to speak] cryptically; Sre ~ pənhur (→ Röglai), Biat nhör riddle.
Sre < variant, or hur by levelling on derivation.
A155 *[n]har; *[n]haar (field) boundary.
A,B: Sre nhar field boundary.
A: Biat nhar,
B: Biat nhaar boundary, Stieng nàr field division.

A155a *k[ɔ]l to hinder.
A: Sre kol to hamper, obstruct, clock, Biat kɔl to be hindered, prevented, to hinder.

A156 *gɔl to change, exchange.
A: Stieng gɔl to change, exchange, barter, [ta]gɔl, Chrau gəl to exchange, barter, Sre [tam] gəl to change, transform, Biat (to:m) gəl to change, exchange.
Connect dubious 1712 *[b]kəl[ ] to give, make over.

A157 *gəl piece.
A: Sre gəl piece, part, Biat gəl piece [of cloth]; ~ Sre tərgəl, Biat rəgəl to cut into pieces.

A158 *ktuul to sharpen, whet.
A: Stieng tuul to grind down, sharpen, Sre tuul to sharpe on a stone, Chrau cool to whet;
~ (*kntuul >) Biat nto:1 whet stone; to sharpen.
Cf. 2004 *t,u[h] &c. to rub....

A158a *[d]il distaste, boredom.
A: Sre dil not to feel like doing something (DOURNES 1950), Biat dil boredom.

A159 *[b][ɔ][l]; *[b][ɔɔ][l] tired, weary, disheartened.
A: Stieng bəl.
B: Sre bəl (↔ Röglai).

A160 *[b]uul to mend, patch.
A: Sre [tam] boul, Chrau [tə]vəl; ~ (or =, by contraction?) Biat mbəl.

A161 *wil; *wial spider.
A: Chrau, Biat wui.
B: Stieng uial edible spider.

A162 *wal annoyingly persistent.
A: Sre wal importunate (DOURNES 1950), Biat wal to vociferate, threaten.
Cf. 1804 *hul ...to threaten.

A163 *kwaal to bore a hole.
Sre kuəl; ~ (*tnkwaal causative by contraction > *tkwaal >) Chrau cwəl.
A164 *[jh]ul; *[jh]uul to push.
  A: Chrau chul.
  B: Sre choul; ↔ Cham chûl, Rôglai choul; ~ (causative →?) Northern Rôglai tichûn.

A165 *[d]h[əə]l shallow.
  A: Stieng thãl (BLOOD 1966), Chrau, Bunôr, Central Rölöm, Biat thãl.
  Khmer has rôhael very shallow (< *drhail?); so perhaps connect 1747 *kdail &c. low, shallow, short, which compare.
  But in view of *-l connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *tuqu[r]: Acehinese tho dry, withered, Cham thu: dry, dried up, Toba Batak tur dry land, Malay tohor shallow, Iban tor /tuur/ low [water], &c. (PROTO-WEST-INDONESIAN).
(BLOOD 1966 419.)

A166 *brhaal (to) sweat.
  A: Stieng brahãl n.v., Sre bañãl (BLOOD 1966), Chrau vahãl, Bunôr rôhañl, Central Rölöm hañl to sweat, Biat rhãl sweat.
  Cf. Bahnar hal to be panting with thirst (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 321.)

A166a *kaw kind of hoe or adze.
  A: Sre kaw short-handled adze or hoe, Biat kau [ja:] hoe.

  A: Sre ngü, tãngü [chi], Biat ngü.
  Variant of 1719 *d,gał &c. stump, trunk?

A168 *[d]iiw; *[d]iəw saliva.
  A: Chrau [daː?] ju:, Bunôr, Central Rölöm diw, Biat [daːk] diu.
  B: Sre [daː] diau.
(BLOOD 1966 p.36.)

  A: Sre [oh] naw kin (oh younger sibling), Biat nəu elder brother.
  Conceivably *jn-, quantifier formation ~ (*jaw? >) Central Nicobarese cau- elder sibling.

A170 *jnaaw thing, matter.
  A: (~ *jnąaw >) Sre jnaw, Biat nau matter, story.
  B: Bunôr naaw, Central Rölöm no: thing.
(BLOOD 1966 195.)
A171 *yaw grandparent.
   A: Stieng íau uncle, Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör yaw, Central Rölöm yɔː grandparent, probably Biat yäu [mor &c.] tiger, large felid (→ Chrau yaw [vraç] panther?).
   (BLOOD 1966 198.)

A172 *kreew ankus (elephant goad).
   A: Sre krew (DOURNES 1950), Biat kreːu.


A174 *plaw; *plaw callous, blister.
   A: Stieng plːu blister from working with tools.
   B: Sre plaːw callous (DOURNES 1950).

A175 *k.waaw whistle flute.
   A: Sre kəwaːw six-hole flute, Chrau kəwaːw rice-stalk whistle.

A176 *rhaw[?]; *həaw[ ] wild dog.
   A: Chrau ləhoː wild dog, wolf.
   B: Sre [so] rəhaːw wild dog.
   Connection uncertain Vietnamese sói wolf.

A177 *ʔəis to spread out to dry.
   A: Sre ɨs to dry (v.t.), Stieng, Biat iːh, Chrau iːh, Bunör ʔih to spread out to dry (→ Central Rölöm?).
   (BLOOD 1966 45.)

A178 *ʔəes accustomed, usual.
   A: Stieng əəeh accustomed (to), Sre øːs [as] usual, Biat øːih accustomed, usual custom.

A179 *[k]cas to kick.
   A: Stieng ceh to stub one’s toe, Biat ceh to kick; ~ Sre gəcas to kick (DOURNES 1950; → Röglai gəcos).

A180 *ɲuəs [pig] to root.
   A: Sre ɲuəs (DOURNES 1950), Chrau ɲuih, Biat ɲuih.
   Connect Stieng ieh.
A181 *tiis (&*tis?) to make a mistake.
A: Stieng tih to (make a) mistake; wrong, Sre tis (& tis; < variant?) to be mistaken, make a mistake, Chrau tih to miss [target], Bunör teh, Central Rölöm tih mistake, Biat tih mistake, fault; wrong.
(BLOOD 1966 46.)

A182 *tias; *tia? blind.
A: Sre tias [mat], Central Rölöm tiah (BLOOD 1966), Biat ceh [mat].
B: Stieng tia.

A183 *ləə easy.
A: Central Rölöm ləih; ~ (*[l]nləəs >) Bunör naih.
Cf. Stieng sarlh. Sre lay (DOURNES 1950) is < 1515 *l[ooy].
(BLOOD 1966 406.)

A184 *ləs iron.
A: Sre los, los, Chrau, Biat ləih.
Cf. Theng dro, tə́ndro, cə́ntro, Kammu Yuan centroh.

A185 *ʔəh to answer.
A: Chrau, Biat əh.

A186 *rnʔəh to lament.
A: Sre randəh, Biat rdəh, Chrau randih (contaminated by Vietnamese rè̂n-rǐ?) to whimper, groan.
Connect perhaps (i) 1959 *ʔuuh to ululate; (ii) Bahnar uih uih groaning sound ~ tə́ŋuuih to moan, groan (< *-əəs).

A187 *[ ]keh to strip [branch].
A: Stieng keh to strip leaves from branch (merging to scrape, scale < 1880 *kais) Sre keh to trim, strip leaves from; Stieng rə́keh id., Sre rə́keh to strip leaves or bark from branch with dah, trim joints of bamboo.
Or Stieng < *l(r)kis by metathesis < 1946 *klis, *k/r/lis, → Sre?

A188 *[ ]keh pleasant-tasting.
A: Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kah; ~ Sre bə́kah pleasant [taste, smell].
(BLOOD 1966 284.)

A189 *kah to wake up (v.i.).
A: Stieng, Sre kah, Biat kah [bic] to wake up, Chrau kah awake.

A190 *kuuh shingles, herpes.
A: Sre kuh, Biat kuh.
A191 *tah to cut up.
   A: Stieng, Sre tah to cut up [meat], Chrau, Biat tah to slit open, cut up.
If Hre sah, Sedang sa to cut up meat (SMITH 1972 371) are cognate, *t₂ah. Cf. also Central Nicobarese tai̱h-[hæŋə &c.] to cut with knife.

A192 *tɔh to split [wood].
   A: Stieng tɔh to split [firewood], Sre toh to split (DOURNES 1950), Chrau tɔh to chop, cut [wood].

A193 *[d]uh hot.
   A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Biat doh, Sre, Chrau, Bunör duh, Central Rölöm doh.
Connect perhaps 2041 *[k]duh to burn, grill, which compare.
(BLOOD 1966 26.)

A194 *[p]nɔh to leap over, throw leg across.
   A: Chrau mpɔh to leap over, Biat mpɔh [chɛ] to leap into the saddle, mount.

A195 *[b]a[a]h recovered, healed.
   A: Stieng bah healed, recovered, over; to stop, disappear, Chrau vah recovered, Bunör, Central Rölöm bah to heal, be well, Biat bah healed, recovered.
Cf. Malay bebas free from, Cham papà:h purification ritual; so ← Indonesian?
(BLOOD 1966 278.)

A196 *yəh bad.
   A: Sre yəh, Biat iəh.

A197 *riah rattan.
   A: Sre riah, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat reh, Central Rölöm riah.
Perhaps by arbitrary differentiation (or if Sre is loanword =) 1927 *rias root; cf. semantically e.g. Malay akar. Note Khasi thri, Sakai dërê (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 38(a)); but Bahnar hrc: & other forms are < 249 *rəsi?.
(SHAFER 1965 558; BLOOD 1966 257.)

A198 *reh to cut.
   A: Sre reh to cut open; ~ Biat kreh to cut [hair], shave, ~ Stieng səreh, Bunör, Central Rölöm sreh to cut, Sre sreh id., to slash with dah, Chrau chrɛh (!) to split, Biat chrɛh to cut, slash.
(BLOOD 1966 254)

A199 *rah young male.
A200 *[ ]rh to send out, drive out.
A: Stieng rh to drive [cattle], to drive out, eject; ~ Köho Chil prah to send out; ~ Bunör mprah, Biat mprah [ləː] to send out; ~ (*pnrəh >?) Sre bətrah (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm trəh, trəh to send out.
Cr *prəh, Stieng by back-formation? Connection obscure 2068 *loh to go out. (BLOOD 1966 409.)

A201 *rh to lose, mislay.
A: Sre roh, Biat ṭəh.

A202 *[c]rah grasshopper.
A: Sre srah class of insects including grasshoppers and praying mantis, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat krah grasshopper. (BLOOD 1966 302.)

A202a *truh [cocks] to fight.
Add Khasi trud to scratch?

A203 *pr[i][h] tall.
A: Chrau prih tall, Stieng preh, Biat preh tall, high.
Or *-[i,ə]s.

(*prəh see 200 *[ ]rh to send out...)

A204 *leh kidney.
Connect 229 *srliʔ (spleen, kidney)?

A205 *lah to scold.
A: Sre lah to be offended with, scold, Chrau lah to scold, (?) Biat lah to lay claim to.

A206 *[s]oh to put on [clothes].
A: Stieng səh (BLOOD 1966; AZÉMAR 1886 səːk!), Sre soh, Bunör, Central Rölöm səh, Biat chəh.
(BLOOD 1966 263.)

A207 *khih (to) poison.
A208 *[k]huh; *[k]huuh to boil (v.i.).

A: Sre khuh, Biat khoh; ~ (*[k]lhuh >) Chrau kluh boiling.

B: Sre khuh (BLOOD 1966, variant), Bunör khoh, Central Rōlōm khuh.

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang kəuh, Lawa Umphai kas, Lawa Mae Sariang koih to cook [rice].

(BLOOD 1966 31.)
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B1 *[^ ]kə^ʔ? the day after tomorrow.
   A: (~?) Palaung əkɯ; ~ Praok sikaw.
   Connection dubious Sakal kâl tomorrow (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178.

   A: Palaung ge; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ngaiʔ; Umphai njiiʔ, Mae Sariang ngiʔ.
   Or *^ay??

B3 *k.[c]e^ʔ? ashamed.
   A: Palaung kəse to be ashamed, Riang Lang ^kəse^ʔ to be shy, coy, ashamed.

B4 *t₁aʔ; *t₁ah place.
   A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931, songs).
   Cf. 67 *t₁uu^ʔ in, at; & Kammu Yuan tã: bathing- place, resting- place.

B5 *t₁aaʔ eight.
   A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ^ta^ʔ.
   Cf. Lawa Bo Luang sataiʔ, Umphai, Mae Sariang sateʔ, Praok siday (< [c](n)t₁iʔ).

B6 *t₁[ɔ]ʔ to be few.
   A: Palaung to (MILNE 1931), Praok tu.

B7 *[^ ]t₁uuʔ edible leaf.
   A: Palaung tu id., Praok tao herb, Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ [klauʔ], Umphai, Mae Sariang toʔ [kioʔ] white radish; ~ Riang Lang ^satuʔ edible leaf.

1 Originally this appendix was titled “Northern Mon-Khmer Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions are Proto-Mon-Khmer.
B8 *[c].d,uu? silk.
Connection dubious Mường tho (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese to, (Sino-Vietnamese) ti, Cham thav silk thread.

B9 *k.dɔ? plantain.
A: Palaung kndo (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang kndo? (& kduak; by arbitrary deformation?).
Cf. 82 *kdɔ? plantain bud.

B10 *n₁[ee]? thing.
A: Palaung ne thing, Riang Lang ne? what, anything, (?) Praok n- manner (in n-an thus, n-in in this way).

B11 *paa? butterfly.
A: Palaung [paŋ] pa (MILNE 1931, songs), Riang Lang ['puŋ] po?.
Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Dioi bọŋ ba, Mak bọm ba (BENEDICT 1975 245).

B12 *t₁rɓe? upper garment.

B13 *m[o?] noisy, turbulent.
A: Palaung mɔ to be noisy (MILNE 1931), Praok mɔ to be in turmoil.

B14 *[g]m[i]? male.
Connect Khmer mè: penis (TANDART 1935)?

B15 *d,ma? to borrow.

B16 *ya? large kind of snake.

B17 *r[u]? village.
A: Palaung ru village, Praok ru clan; ~ Riang Lang _pru? village.
Connect 182 *bruu? hill?

B18 *[k]r[ii]? to apply liquid &c.
A: Palaung kri to apply [paint], Praok kray to smear on.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B19 *bre? witch, wizard.
   A: Palaung bre (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang _pre?.

B20 *bra? meal.
   A: Palaung bra, Praok pre.

   A: Palaung lu to be ruined, damaged, destroyed, to destroy, Riang Lang lu?, Praok lao to be destroyed; → Shan lû Praok plaa to destroy.

B22 *[c][l]aa? among, between.

   A: Riang Lang _calu?, Praok sile.
   Connect 1522 *jlaay prisoner of war?

B24 *grwaa? door.
   Connection dubious Burmese 'awa opening.

B25 *kiak to appoint.

B26 *[c]a[a]lk sated.
   A: Riang Lang _suk, Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai sak.

B27 *[c]uak salt.
   A: Palaung so?, Riang Lang _suak.
   Separate Kensiu siya?, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 15, ← (Acehnese sira <?)
   Proto-Austronesian *t'ira(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153, *-a[h]).

B28 *t[1][u]k to take by force.
   A: Palaung tok to take (MILNE 1931), Praok tok to take or carry off [person] by force.

B29 *[k][t₂][a]lk seed, kernel.
   Or *-ək.
B30 *d₁a[a]k \textit{uncultivated land}. 
A: Riang Lang \textit{tuk} grass, grassland, Praok \textit{tek} forest. 
Add conceivably Chrau \textit{daʔ} district, region, homophone of \textit{water} \textlangle 274 *daak \textrangle < 
\textit{di’æk}; Vietnamese \textit{nụóc} district, region then by borrowing calque.

B31 *dak to stop, halt. 
A: Palaung \textit{dɔʔ} v.i., Riang Lang \textit{dak} v.i.t. 
Cf. Khmer \textit{tūac}. But connection dubious \textlangle 78 *dǎaʔ \&c. \textrangle .

B32 *[n₁][a][a]k sinew, vein. 
A: Palaung \textit{sanaʔ} sinew, vein, artery, Praok \textit{sinək}, Lawa Bo Luang \textit{sanak} sinew.

B33 *pəək to break, be broken. 
A: Riang Lang \textit{pə}k; ~ Palaung \textit{kəɾpəɾuʔ} [\textit{green branch}] to break (MILNE 1931). 
Connect \textlangle 352 *lpak \&c. \textit{to be broken}...? \rangle .

B34 *[ ]p[ɔ]k quiver. 
A: Palaung \textit{poʔ} (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang \textit{pɔk}. 
Perhaps *lpɔk, \textlangle \sim 426 *lɔk \rangle .

B35 *p[u]k lame, crippled. 
A: Riang Lang \textit{pɔk}; ~ (*[p]np[u]k \rangle ) Praok \textit{bok} to be bent, crippled. 
Cf. \textlangle 458 *wɔk bent round. \rangle .

B36 *[t₁]rpuuk bridge. 
A: Palaung \textit{kəɾpɔk}, Lawa Bo Luang \textit{ʔapauk}, (Umphai \textit{rapauʔ} \leftrightarrow?) Mae Sariang \textit{ʔapauk}, lapauk.

B37 *[s]yu; *[s]yuək ear. 
A: Praok \textit{yaok}. 
B: Palaung \textit{hyoʔ}, (probably) Lawa \textit{suak}. 
(SHAFER 1965 347.)

B38 *jriək fish-scales. 
A: Palaung \textit{gɾəʔ}, gɾiəʔ (MILNE 1931); ~ (*jmriək \rangle ) Praok \textit{sibriək}. 
\textlangle *l[a][a]k see \textlangle 66 *l[a]a to lie abed. \rangle . \textrangle .

B39 *[s][l]iək hoarse. 
A: Palaung \textit{hleəʔ} (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang \textit{rɪək}. 
Cf. Bahnar \textit{hɾək} [to cough] continually.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B40 *ʔiəŋ; *ʔiəŋ faeces.
A: Palaung ʔaŋ, Riang Lang ~yaŋ id., Praok ɛŋ privy, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai *ʔiaŋ waste matter.
B: ~ Palaung, Riang Lang raʔiəŋ privy.
Connection obscure 794 ?ic &c.

B41 *ʔuŋ (& *ʔuŋ?) [rain] to stop.
A: Palaung ɯŋ, (variant >?) Lawa Bo Luang ɯŋ waste matter.
B: ~ Palaung, Riang Lang rəɁiŋ privy.
Connection obscure 794 ?ic &c.

B42 *[ ]rəʔa[a]ŋ rock.
A: Riang Lang raʔaŋ stone, rock, Praok raŋ, Lawa Bo Luang laʔaŋ rock, perhaps Palaung raʔaŋ precipice.
Connection uncertain Ka mmu Yuan klàŋ stone, rock, cliff.

(*rəʔ[a]ŋ see 48 *[d][a]ŋ previous (to).)

B43 *g[uaŋ] larva.
A: Palaung [va?] gəŋ edible grub, Praok kəŋ worm.
Connection uncertain Vietnamese con quàng dragonfly larva.

B44 *[tə]ng[co]ŋ pillow.

B45 *[n]ia[ŋ] quantifier for long things.
A: Palaung ɲiaŋ, Praok ɲaŋ.

B46 *t, iəŋ to drink.
A: Palaung teŋ, Riang Lang ~tien.
By metathesis (*ɲiət <) 806 *[ ]ɲiəc? (SHAFER 1965 83, 318a.)

B47 *diŋ; *diŋ parent’s elder sibling.
A: Riang Lang _deŋ (!) uncle.
B: Lawa Bo Luang tiŋ, Umphai thiŋ parent’s elder sibling same sex.

B48 *[d][a]ŋ previous (to).
A: Palaung (MILNE 1931) ɗəŋ before, while; ~ Riang Lang ~nəŋ before, formerly.
Or *r(n)ʔ-? Palaung perhaps < *-uəŋ.

B49 *[n]na[a]ŋ beads, necklace.
A: Palaung hnaŋ small glass beads (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ~nəŋ necklace, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai hnaŋ necklet.
Cf. A37 *[n]ɔ(ə)ŋ (or *cnɔ(ə)ŋ?).
B50 *[j][n₁əŋ to lean, recline.
A: Praok ɤŋ; (or =? *[j]pn₁-) Riang Lang ɛəŋəŋ.  
Or *d₂-. Connect 596 *[g]n₁ŋ &c. to lean, incline?

B51 *[ŋ]piəŋ wing.
A: Palaung píaŋ wing (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang πίεν (— sim) wing, (— ḷka?) fin.  
Or *sp-. ~ 601 *sn₁iŋ? Note also Khmer ɛmɁeːŋ (< *cmiiŋ?).

B52 *ɓuuŋ to bury.
A: Palaung kərpuŋ, Praok sipaŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ḷapuŋ, Umphai rapuŋ.

B53 *ɓuŋ flying insect.
A: Riang Lang buŋ [bɔŋ] flying ant, Praok puŋ[peŋ], Lawa Bo Luang mbuŋ[mboŋ],  
Umphai mbuŋ[mbuŋ] butterfly.  
Dioi boŋ ba, Mak ɓum ba id. (& Ahom, silkworm; BENEDICT 1975 245).

B54 *[n₁]ɓa[a]ŋ to patch, mend.
A: ~ Palaung ᵇɑŋ patch, to patch (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang ᵇɑŋ to patch.  
Or *d₁-; but connection dubious Vietnamese mɑŋ to darn in view of tone.

B55 *[g]ma[a]ŋ ghost.
A: Praok meŋ; ~ Palaung kərmaŋ (MILNE 1931).

B56 *.riəŋ straw.
A: Palaung hreŋ, Riang Lang rieŋ.  
Distinguish 693 *t₁rəŋ (&c.) kind of reed.

B57 *bra[a]ŋ sour, acid, rancid.
A: Palaung braŋ, Riang Lang prəŋ.

B58 *br[uə]ŋ to arrange, settle.
A: Palaung braŋ to direct, arrange (MILNE 1931), Praok prəŋ to judge.  
Connect 659 *riəŋ to form a row (Old Mon to arrange)?

B59 *[l₁]a[a]ŋ to swing, sway.
A: Palaung [luŋ] laŋ to swing (MILNE 1931), Praok [puk plek luŋ] liɛŋ to sway.  
Cf. 728 *luuŋ.

B60 *[l₁][u]ŋ to throw.
A: Palaung luŋ to throw [spear]; ~ Riang Lang ᵇpañŋ to throw without effort, toss.  
Or *luuŋ? Cf. Vietnamese liɛŋ; Central Rölöm laŋ (BLOOD 1966)
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B61 *[s]luŋ; *[s]lɔŋ to wall.
A: Praok [tap] lɔŋ rampart; ~ (*[s]rluŋ >) Palaung rɔŋ wall, to wall;
B: ~ Riang Lang _sarlan wall.
Add perhaps to B Khmer slɔŋ to block, obstruct. Connect 738 *gluŋ enclosure?

B62 *[tə]huŋ light in weight.
A: Praok chaoŋ, Lawa Bo Luang thoŋ, Umphai, Mae Sariang chaun; ~ Riang Lang ɲɔŋ.

B63 *ʃaac in front, before.
A: Palaung at before (MILNE 1931 also ai?), Riang Lang _ac (to go) in front, (at) first.

B64 *kn2uc; *kn2uuc heel.
A: Praok loc [caoŋ].
B: ~ Palaung kərnuit [jun].
Connect Vietnamese gót?

B65 *[t1]pac pointed.
A: Palaung pe? point (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang _pac sharp-pointed; ~ Danaw _tɔŋ .p'yaŋ, _tɔŋ _p'yaŋ sharp-pointed.
Add Jeh pek to pierce, Halang pek to pierce [nose, ear]?

B66 *[l]aac; *[l]a[a]k to lie abed.
A: Riang Lang _laŋ to be lazy, Praok lac [it] [to sleep] late.
B: Praok lek [it] [to be] fast [asleep].
Cf. 424 *laŋ &c. to sleep; originally probably *laac ≠ *lok, with mutual contamination. Connect 1512 *laay ...idle?

B67 *[c]aiŋ to meet.
A: Riang Lang _saŋ to meet (by chance), encounter; ~ Palaung kɔrseŋ to meet (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang _tɔrseŋ to meet; junction.
Connection dubious Mon can [caŋ] to be contrary, opposed to.

B68 *briŋ; (?)*br[a]ŋ (kind of) ant.
A: Palaung briŋ ant, Riang Lang _priŋ kind of ant of medium size.
B: by arbitrary deformation?) Palaung breŋ termite.
B perhaps rather *gmrəŋ, ad 919 *gruuŋ, ...termite. Connect perhaps 729a *kli(i)[ŋ] black ant; but connection dubious Tai *phriŋ &c. bee, BENEDICT 1975 229; whence probably Theng brũŋ, prũŋ.

B69 *[tə]kat; *[tə]kaat thorn.
A: ~ Riang Lang _sərkɔt.
B: Praok kat (& Lava Umphai [ʔɔʔ] kat kind of bamboo?).
B70 *gat very.
   A: Palaung gat, Praok ket.

B71 *guut to force in.
   A: Palaung gut to ram in (MILNE 1931); ~ (*[ ]nguut >) Praok [khum] gut to choke.
   Or *pguut causative ~ 968 *guut to enter?

B72 *yut; *yuat to see, look at.
   A: Riang Lang יות to look (at), see, watch.
   B: Palaung yuat to see (MILNE 1931, songs).

B73 *viat to repay.
   A: Palaung viat to repay, give back, Praok viat to pay.
   Or to return, = 1090 *viat (&c.) ...to turn?

B74 *vat to shake.

B75 *kan mother’s brother’s wife.
   A: Palaung kan mother’s brother’s wife, wife’s mother (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ~kan
   parent’s or wife’s younger sister, mother-in-law.
   Distinguish 1126 *ka(a)n woman, female.

B76 *ηan to put arms round.
   A: Palaung ηan to hold firmly, Riang Lang ηan [le?] to embrace, Praok [kya] ηen to
   protect.

B77 *[g]n[ç]aan sickle.
   A: Palaung καncan [rɔâ?] sickle, Riang Lang καncan sickle, scythe.

B78 *b[æ]n to pass, cross.
   A: Palaung bon to pass, cross, Riang Lang βan to exceed, pass, cross, to elapse.
   Vocalism obscure. Cf. Shan pûn to exceed.

B79 *riin forbearing.
   A: Palaung rîn to be patient (MILNE 1931, songs), Praok rîn to refrain [from].
   Cf. Vietnamese nhîn to abstain from, refrain from, suppress, fast.

B80 *grîn to wind round.
   A: Palaung grîn to put [turban] on, Riang Lang κrîn to wind.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B81 *[s]uun yam.
A: Palaung hon cultivated yam (with post-dental vocalism!), Lawa Bo Luang haun, Umphai, Mae Sariang haun.

B82 *ʔɔp; *ʔɔm poisonous.
A: Praok ɔp, Lawa Umphai ʔɔp.
B: Riang Lang ~ɔm to be poisonous, to be poisoned.

B83 *təp fathom.
A: Palaung təp (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang əɔp hand, taken from above; ~ kəncəp span ...;
B: with post-dental vocalism!) Palaung səp span ....

B84 *k[t2]up; *k[t2]uup span from thumb to forefinger.
A: Riang Lang əɔp handful, taken from above; ~ kəncəp span ...;
B: with post-dental vocalism!) Palaung səp span ....

B85 *ruup (& *r[ə,a]p?) fishing-net.
A: Riang Lang _rup, (variant >?) Praok rup, Lawa Bo Luang rəup, Umphai reup.

(*ʔɔm see 82 poisonous.)

B86 *təam next in sequence.
A: Palaung tam younger [child] of two (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ~tam to be next (to), to be new.

B87 *təɔm (&*təɔm?) to order, enjoin.
A: Palaung tam to send order to (MILNE 1931, [təm]; or təum, < variant?), Praok təm to command, Lawa Bo Luang təm, Umphai təm to order, command.

B88 *təum to have [done] on occasion.
A: Palaung təum ever, Riang Lang ~tom to be wont to, to have habitually done.

B89 *ktəuəm liver.
A: Lawa Bo Luang taum, Umphai, Mae Sariang tom; ~ Palaung kərəm, Riang Lang kətuam.
Originally perhaps *k- part-of-body prefix + *ltəuəm < 1411 *təluəm by metathesis; Lawa by back-formation. (SHAFFER 1965 501.)

B90 *[k]rəuum enclosed cultivation.
A: Palaung kərum, Praok sipum, Lawa Mae Sariang yaphum garden, Lawa Bo Luang ?apum, Umphai rəphum fence.
*-6- in view of Praok vocalism.
B91 *m[iə]m tea.
   A: Palaung miom, Riang Lang _mem.

B92 *[s]m[əə]m good, well-behaved.
   A: Palaung hmum to be docile, good-tempered, Praok mam to be good.

B93 *yuum; *yəm to die.
   A: Praok, Lawa yum.
   B: Palaung yəm, Riang Lang _yam; ~ (*pyəm >) Palaung piəm, Riang Lang _piem to kill.

   Add Sre yəm to poison (then → Rōglai)? Cf. 1266a *ya(a)p to die ....
   (Shaffer 1965 189.)

B94 *t1huum; *t1huəm to be flooded, to flood.
   A: Palaung thom to overflow, flood (Milne 1931).
   B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai thuam to be flooded.
   *d₁h- should yield NMK h-; *t₁s-, Lawa e-.

   (*[ ]gay? see 2 *[ ]g[ee]? pine tree.)

B95 *nuəy waist.
   A: Palaung nuəy, Praok nuay.
   Cf. (i) Lawa noŋ, Central Nicobarese onyuəŋ; (ii) Halang tanoay, perhaps : Jeh ?noy flank.

B96 *t₁uuy to catch.
   A: Palaung toy, (merging 98 *d₁uy to take, bring, which compare) Praok tuy.

B97 *[c].t₁uyəy pheasant.
   A: Palaung sətuay (Milne 1931), Riang Lang _səy _tuay (by chiming expansion).

B98 *d₁uy; *d₁uyəy to take, bring.
   A: Palaung duy.
   B: Praok tuy to take, take hold of, pick up, fetch (merging 96 *t₁uuy to catch, which compare), Lawa Umphai thui to take out.
   *d₁- in view of Praok vocalism.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

A: Riang Lang rophe shadow of living creature, Praok prv (& vuy!) shadow; Lawa Bo Luang ?apau, Umphai rapoi shadow.
Vocalism uncertain; conceivably *-uy (Lawa), *-uuy (Riang Lang), *-əay (Praok; with secondary lengthening); then *gb-, ~ 1447a *guuy? Cf. also 1543 *ghuuy &c. spirit, soul.

B100 *[y][əə]y a little.
A: Palaung yɔy, Praok cuy; ↔ Shan yɔy to be finely divided.

B101 *[g]raay to speak, tell.
A: Palaung gray to speak, tell, Praok kray (!) to say, tell; ↔ Shan khài to narrate.

B102 *[g][l]aay squirrel.
Lawa *jl- by regressive assimilation? Connect perhaps Santali kuləi hare, &c., PINNOW 1959 L 146.

B103 *[t1]rw[əy?] to be concerned, troubled.
A: Palaung kərve to pity, Praok sivi to be worried.

B104 *[ ]huy to take out.
A: Palaung huy, Lawa Bo Luang hau to take out, perhaps Praok hoy to unfasten, open, reveal.

B105 *kio̱r moon, month.
A: Palaung kio̱r month, Riang Lang ʔkier moon, month.

B106 *gur to help.
A: Riang Lang ʔkor, Praok [tum] ku.
Cf. 1705 *kal[ ] &c. to support, help.

B107 *[bc]uur; *[bc]uər water-bottle.
A: Praok chur.
B: Palaung [om] suər.

B108 *k[t2]aar span from thumb to middle finger.
A: Palaung sar (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang kəncər.
A: Palaung kror paddy-storage basket, Praok kraw granary, storeroom; Lawa Bo Luang ṅgrau, Umphai krau granary.
Or *tɨ; *-l.

B110 *siir; *siər iron.
A: Palaung hir, Riang Lang ṣir.
B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai he ore.
↔ Tibeto-Burman *s(y)i(r) (BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 372; Dhimal, Garo, Dimasa Lushei); suspect on phonological grounds as loanword!

B111 *[s]iər bee.
A: Praok hia, Lawa he; ~ Palaung phiər, Riang Lang ṣiər.

B112 *kul ten.
A: Palaung kur, Riang Lang kəl, Praok kaw, Lawa Bo Luang koa, Umphai, Mae Sariang kəu.
↔ Tibeto-Burman *(m-)kul score, BENEDICT 1972 83 no. 397? Connection dubious Kharia ghol, &c., PINNOW 1959 249 (Proto-Munda *(-)ɡəl); as Mường mutol (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese muoi.

B113 *tɨəl to copulate.
A: Riang Lang ˈtɨl, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai te.
Cf. Sre tir, Biat taːm tar.

B114 *tɨəl; *tɨəl to find.
A: Palaung tuər.
B: Riang Lang ˈtal.

(*[k]ruul see 109 *[k]ruu[r] granary.)


B116 *ŋnaas to laugh.
A: Homau kəŋnar (Palaung dialect; MILNE 1931), White Striped Riang kəŋnas (LUCE 1965), Praok ja, Lawa Bo Luang, nuah, Umphai nuas, Mae Sariang noih, nuah.
B117 *ɓ[a]s to carry [heavy object].
A: Palaung bə to carry on tumpline, Riang Lang ɓəs to carry on head, Praok pui to support, bear, Lawa Bo Luang puh, Umphai phus, Mae Sariang puih to carry on back; (*ɓnɓ[a]s >) Praok buu [glom] burden.

Waic vocalism post-labial? Connect 121 *ɓɔʔ to carry on back. Praok pu to carry on back is < 100a *puʔ.

B118 *ruus tortoise, turtle.
A: Riang Lang _ruus, Lawa Bo Luang rauh, Umphai raus, Mae Sariang yauh.
Cf. Vietnamese rùa. Khmer krāh krās tortoiseshell is probably ← Indonesian.

(SHAFER 1965 434.)

B119 *pras to flower.
A: Palaung prər to flower, expand, swell (by attraction 2067 *ləs?), Lawa Bo Luang phrəuh, Umphai pras, Mae Sariang phyoih to flower.

(*t,ah see 4 *t,aʔ place.)

B120 *t,rt₁uh; *t₁rt₁uuh to meet.
A: Palaung kartoh (MILNE 1931).
B: Palaung kərtuh, Lawa Bo Luang rətəuh, Umphai rətoh.

B121 *n₁[ ]ah to get worse.
A: Riang Lang na, nu, Praok ne.
Connection uncertain 1945 *ləs &c. to weaken.

B122 *[m]ryah hundred.
← Tibeto-Burman *r-gya (BENEDICT 1972 45 no. 164 & n. 148; Old Burmese ryʔ); by contraction *muay ryah one hundred?
Appendix C Semantic Index to Part 3
and Appendices A, B

Note: Bold numerals show that the word indexed is used in the gloss of a reconstruction, ordinary numerals that it glosses one or more of the items compared.

A
Abandon see leave; (abandoned) 1397; able (to) 1179, 1183, 1286, 1472; abort 1081, 2062; about, concerning 1845, (about to) 1472, 2004; above 194, 727, 1207, 1533, 1718; absorb 1106, 1283; abstracted 519, 1589; abuse, insult 1804, 1963, 2031; accompany 1389, 1463; according to 1346; accuse A 27; accustomed, used to 643, 1286, A 178, B 88; ache A 72; acquire 1980; add 1283a, (add to) 1430a; adhere 309, 1245; adjoin 1245, 1264; adze A 166a; affine see in-law; affix 986, 1242, 1245; afraid see fear; after, afterwards 1505, 1844, 2066; afternoon 264; afterwards see after; again 765, 1156, 1511, 1518, 1794; agree 1388; aim 696, 1361a, 1572; air 1782, 1958; alarmed 1057; alcohol, liquor 796; alight see perch; alike 149; all 198, 798, 875, 943, 1338, 1344, 1943, (at all) 1943; alone 86; already 1539, 2080; also, too 1310; amaranth 1850; amass 1178; among B 22; ancestor 151, 192; angry 1728, 1808; ankus A 172; announce 1845; answer A 185; ant 873, 1382, 1562a, B 68, (black ant) 729a, (flying ant) 1646b, B 53, (red ant) 1866, (white ant, termite) 391a, 919, 1619, B 68, (flying white ant) 1290, 1646b; anthill 1738; anus 961, 1007; anvil A 107a; anxious, worried 1694, B 109; any 136; anything B 10; appear 2043, 2071; appoint B 25; approach 1896, A 95; arch 1626a; areca 230, 1815; arm 66, 244, 265, 1673; armpit 269, A 33; army 1258; around 765, 966, 1208, 1333, 1669; arouse 1575; arrange 1269a, 1605, A 7a, B 58; arrive (at), reach 968, 1153, 1246, 1740, 2079, A 76; arrow 215, 1308; arum 1850; ascend, go up 332, 479, 1153, 1207, 1869, 2061; ash 2034; ashamed 1800, A 66, B 3; ask 912, A 101, (ask for) 1140, A 87; askew 494, 753, 1764; assemble, gather 1310, 1338, 1344, 1389; assembly house 670; associate 1241, 1310; asthma 1215; astringent 294, 989; at 3, 67, 85, 1217, 1342; attach 1245; attend on 531, 1794; augury see divine; aunt 48, 132, (maternal aunt) 882, 1494, (aunt older than parent) 236, 1531a, 2044a, B 47; avoid 765, 766, 1501, 1529, 1669, A 53, A 53a; await 493a, 1773; awl 860; axe 526, 1499, (counterbalance of axe) 1613.

B
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D

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Z
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The contributions which language studies can bring to protohistory are of two kinds, which unfortunately do not make a whole. There is, first, the evidence to be drawn from the emergence of inscriptions: not from their content, which is sufficiently accessible and exploited, but from their date, geographical location, and general character. This (in conjunction with the even earlier Chinese references, which are discussed in other pages in this volume) furnishes an incipit for the historical period itself, beyond which ethnographic and cultural outlines can be traced with relative certainty. The second kind of evidence is that derived by inference from the distribution of languages within the historical period and from studies of their structural affinity. It is of a far more indirect and conjectural sort and can at best, perhaps, be used to furnish hypotheses or suggest lines of archaeological inquiry. That is, however, an insufficient reason for failing to examine it.

Inscriptions
Inscriptions, in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, appear around the middle of the first millennium A.D. They are found about this date in a number of areas all readily accessible from the sea and prominent among those in which the beginnings of Indianized urbanism are to be sought. From Champa we have inscriptions of Bhadravarman in Sanskrit and Cham found at Tra-kieu and dating from the early fifth century. To the same century belong Sanskrit inscriptions from the region of Ligor at the southern end of the Kra isthmus, and around its end others from Fu-nan which continue into the succeeding century. They are, as near as can be determined, contemporary with the first Mon inscriptions of Dvāravatī from Nakhon Pathom and (a recent discovery) near Lopburi. The earliest inscriptions in Khmer, from Sambor Prei Kuk, date from the beginning of the seventh century and reflect the spread of this politico-cultural movement inland. All these epigraphs are engraved in a script which appears to be derived from the Brahmi of southern India and is, at this early date, pretty well homogeneous; local differentiation only comes later. It is the ancestor of all modern non-Roman scripts on the mainland.

Burma shares this chronology, but clearly marked as a separate province. Śri Kṣetra at the head of the Irrawaddy delta yields in the seventh and eighth centuries the laconic funeral inscriptions of the Pyu kings in a wholly distinct script of possibly Kadamba affinities. It continued in use for Pyu alone down to the ‘Myazedi’ quadrilingual of 1112 and then became extinct. It can be traced back, however, to the oldest written document known from Burma, a set of gold plates inscribed with Pali texts now in the British Museum. These plates from Maunggan near Śri Kṣetra have been dated c. A.D. 500.

The chorological weight of this evidence is impressive, but care must be taken in drawing more general conclusions. First, writing may be presumed to have preceded the monumental act of setting up stone inscriptions, though not necessarily by long. It would be dangerous to equate the beginning of the epigraphic record with that of Indian settlement, as distinct from political ‘Indianization’. We may note that some of the inscribed seals found at Oc-Eo may antedate the earliest Funan inscriptions by as much as three centuries. Palaeographically, most local traditions show a more or less rapid development from script forms taken over from other writing media to forms better adapted to cutting on stone, suggesting the re-creation and not the transplantation of a technique. Linguistically, the phonological system deducible from vernacular inscriptions may show development from that for which the transcription must have been devised, a point deserving of more widespread investigation. Certainly in later history we can demonstrate continuity of the writing tradition over long periods when no stone inscriptions occur and other documents have not survived. Indeed, over the whole historical period epigraphy can in many places be only described as sporadic, an atypical product of the energy and literary ambition of some few particular rulers. The phenomena of the middle of the first millennium argue to me a competitive contagion and a fair degree of commerce between the states concerned.

To these implicit limitations must be added those of subject-matter, which is overwhelmingly religious. Political and social information has generally to be gleaned from the preambles of dedications and slave-rolls, so that a further constraint—that of economic surplus—has to be added to those controlling the output of texts. Eulogistic praśasti of the kind associated with Kyanzittha in Burma is exceptional. The subsequent stages of epigraphy provide rather a means of intermittently assessing the reliability of other sources such as chronicles than any accurate chart of political developments or ethnic movements. Where other sources are lacking, their effect ranges from indicative to tantalizing; as in the recent discovery of a Dvāravatī inscription of uncertain date (7th-8th century?) 39 miles north of Vientiane. It contains a Mon place-name in a non-Mon form, suggesting a colonial occupation of some duration, and inviting a re-interpretation of the Dvāravatī sites at Muang Fa Daed and elsewhere on the Korat plateau.

Not till after A.D. 1000 have we inscriptions from Pagan, Thaton or Haribhunjaya. Pagan was founded in 850, but had small importance for the next two centuries. Thaton inscriptions come just after the end of our period, Haribhunjayan ones two hundred years later, but by whatever percentage we discount tradition both states must have flourished well within the first millennium, though only Thaton was near the sea, and the other two were frontier principalities. With these exceptions, epigraphy provides a point of contact with all the early political centres of the mainland and with those ethnic groups which dominated them. These are, however, only a minority of the ethnic groups of the region; and estimates of their numerical importance at the time should not be projected from the
dominant groups of much larger modern states, grown by linguistic and cultural absorption of their neighbours. To fill in the gaps in the account with, at any rate, intelligent conjecture we must turn to the evidence of linguistic classification; reflecting that, as discoveries accrue in other fields, intelligent conjecture is likely to need frequent revision.

**Language families**
The languages currently spoken in mainland South East Asia are representative of five families: Indonesian, Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Tai and Miao-Yao. Of these, the Tai languages were brought in by groups whose arrival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is part of the historical record, while the Miao-Yao ones are confined even now to the northern fringe. Neither, therefore, immediately concerns us here, except to observe that the Tai wedge driven down the centre of South East Asia has (like the Slav intrusion into the Balkans) had the effect of sundering areas of cognate speech and interrupting a formerly constant communication between them.

The Indonesian languages of the mainland (‘Chamic’) form a coherent group extending from Phan-rang in the south-eastern corner of the peninsula northwards to Pleiku in the central Highlands, within the area of ancient Champa, plus some Cham-speaking colonies in Cambodia. The Cham remnant alone possesses a literary tradition (and the Muslim religion), the other groups being pagans and largely dry cultivators. Chamic appears as an isolated pocket of the Austronesian family which extends from Madagascar through the East Indies to New Zealand, and includes the aboriginal languages of Formosa. It has received less attention as a mainland curiosity than it would have done had it been located in Indonesia itself.

The Mon-Khmer languages may be regarded as the characteristic speech family of the mainland from the Menam basin eastwards. Their position in Burma was probably at all times marginal, even though once in the eighteenth century the Mons came close to seizing power throughout the country. They have, however, outliers across the northern highlands as far as the Khasi Hills south of the Assam valley, in the Nicobar Islands, and in the aboriginal languages of Malaya (‘Aslian’). Any ethnic protohistory must take account of their relationship with the Munda languages of eastern India, which together with them constitute Austroasiatic. A remoter relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian has been proposed and is accepted by the present writer, though it is not universally accepted. Three Mon-Khmer languages have longstanding literary traditions: Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese.

The Tibeto-Burman languages of South East Asia are at the limit, in that direction, of a family extending from Tibet across Nepal and Assam through the hills of the Indo-Pakistan border region to Burma, where they predominate, and in pockets across northern Thailand to Laos. They are now held to include the Karen languages, spoken characteristically throughout the hills between the Sittang and Menam basins. Within South East Asia only Burmese and the extinct Pyu have literary traditions older than the nineteenth century.

We must assume that languages belonging to none of these families have at times in the past been spoken in the area. They have left no identifiable traces. I. H. N. Evans once asserted that common elements can be found in all the Asian negrito languages, but unfortunately quoted no examples.
The relationships within the Mon-Khmer family are clearly crucial to any reconstruction of ethno-history. Early attempts at classification were based largely on geographical distribution and such structural arguments as could be extracted from generally inadequate material. Within the past decade or so more serious attempts have been made; but we are still some distance from a comprehensive ordering of the whole group. It is clear, first of all, that Khasi and the languages of the Shan Plateau from Palaung to Lawa stand in a close relationship and bear witness to one migratory current, while similarities between Shan Plateau languages and Khmu of northern Laos can be attributed to recent geographical contiguity. There is historical as well as traditional evidence that at the eastern limit of this group the Lawas were known to the Mons of Thaton. Second, descriptions now becoming available suggest that Aslian and Nicobarese stand nearer than other Mon-Khmer languages to Munda in their overall structural pattern; how this should be interpreted is obscure, but a special relationship between the two Mon-Khmer groups is not unlikely. Thirdly, Vietnamese, an undoubted Mon-Khmer language showing the effects of long contact with Chinese both in its vocabulary and in its phonological progress to monosyllabism, appears to have separated fairly early and to be peripheral in the technical linguistic as well as in the modern geographical sense.

A classification of the languages of the southern Annamite chain on lexicostatistic grounds has been made by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and shows a general correlation with geographical distribution. The most interesting question it raises derives from the probability of a close relationship between the languages to the north and south of Chamic, implying that the inland part of that area is an intrusion and not a residuum.

Most intriguing is the position of Mon and of Khmer. Mon shows no obvious immediate relationship with any other language except for those of two tribal groups in the hills on the edge of the plateau north and south of Korat, who appear to be remnants of an original Dvāravatī population. The position of Khmer has been recently examined by Headley, using a variety of phonological and grammatical criteria. His general conclusions differ somewhat from those outlined above, notably in grouping Mon, the Annamite chain languages and Vietnamese together at the centre of the family. But again he puts Khmer in an isolated position, giving no clues to the route by which the Khmers may have reached the lower Mekong.

The present distribution of languages in mainland South East Asia is extremely intricate, and lexical investigation is complicated not merely by the presence in any language of numerous loanwords but by reborrowings and borrowings back into the first donor language, making an encyclopaedic memory and logical rigour equally necessary to the investigator. There is reason to think that this state of affairs goes back to an early date. Austronesian loans are clearly recognizable, once the phonological rules are known, in Vietnamese, and this is not surprising given the finds at Dong-son. More surprising are words known from Austronesian and found, in Mon-Khmer, in one or other northern language; can they be loans? Benedict has proposed an ‘Austro-Thai’ grouping of Austronesian and Thai (relegating Austroasiatic to a ‘substratum’ in some Indonesian populations), which would be disposed of if, after eliminating Austric words which entered Tai from Mon-Khmer, the possibility of early borrowing was accepted. ‘Tiger’ and ‘river’ (kiang) are well-known Austroasiatic loans in Chinese, and there are many in
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Tibeto-Burman. A hypothesis which traced back migration routes to contiguous Urheimats would be attractive on more than one ground.

Certain terms, indeed, have an areal distribution which cuts across language-family boundaries, reviving speculations as to extinct languages. Thus for ‘horse’ Tai has carried the Chinese ma down to the Gulf of Siam, cutting in two a northern zone where Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer alike have mrang and a southern one where Karen, Mon-Khmer and Cham have aseh.

Various theories have been propounded as to the original home of the Austronesians. Dyen, one of the most authoritative Austronesian comparatists, has proposed either New Guinea or Formosa. The former is incompatible with the Austric hypothesis and must be rejected here, leaving Formosa. But Dahl, in a recent study, has shown that Formosan must have separated early from the remainder of the Austronesian languages; making an Urheimat on the opposing mainland equally probable. We can envisage it as an extensive, if thinly populated one, with the future Austroasiatics ranging north to the Yangtse kiang. It is possible to suppose successive migrations, first of Austronesians and then of Austroasiatics. But, given what is known of the chronology of Polynesian migration, it is equally plausible to suppose simultaneous migration of both groups and attribute the greater dispersal of the Austronesians to their taking early to the sea. The Northern Mon-Khmers and Khasis are likely to have followed what became a Chinese trade route to India, as the Mundas may well have done before them. But there seems no overriding reason to trace routes for the Mons and Khmers, and other groups who occupied the river-plains, down the rivers from the hinterland rather than up them from the coast. Why should they then, with a technology adapted to highland regions, have descended into plains where it was useless?

It is tempting to regard the Chams as a residual island of the Dongsonian transients, but the evidence is inconclusive. There are remarkable structural parallels between the mainland Indonesian languages and Achinese on the north-western tip of Sumatra, beyond what could be accounted for by parallel exposure to Mon-Khmer contacts (of which in Achinese there is sufficient evidence). This, again, is difficult to interpret.

Applications of comparative linguistics of the kind employed in this paper have been out of favour for at least thirty years, partly in reaction against earlier excesses. Even more firmly discarded has been what used to be called ‘linguistic palaeontology’, the analysis of reconstructed vocabulary to draw conclusions as to habitat and technology. This is a field in which, with due precautions, something of extralinguistic value might be achieved; and French scholars have been making a beginning, notably in the field of agricultural origins. It is to be hoped that these lines will be pursued, and in awareness of the work of Vavilov and his successors; so that we may recognize that Mon-Khmer and Austronesian have their word for ‘cotton’ from India, even if India has ‘rice’ and ‘plough’ from South East Asia.
Appendix E In Defense of Austric

In “Austro-Thai”, Paul Benedict has laid before us a scrupulously elaborated as well as an audacious thesis. It requires a pantagruelian assurance to declare that where three language stocks reflect, for instance, respectively *mata, *mat, and *pra ‘eye’\(^2\), it is the first and third that are genetically related while the similarity between the first and second has other causes. Such boldness must have expected to provoke counterargument. But if (as I argue) Benedict has consistently undervalued the strength of the Austric hypothesis, it should be said at once that the fault lies with the Austroasianists. Comparative research into Austroasiatic has proceeded slowly after the pioneering reconnaissances of Schmidt (which it is not wholly fair to judge as if they had been campaigns of conquest). A reconstruction of Proto-Mon-Khmer phonology can now be offered, but it is still largely unpublished. Pinnow’s corpus of Munda comparisons is at least available for reference, though the reconstructions are often tentative. But a systematic construction of Austroasiatic is a task for the future. Given the inaccessibility of the Austroasiatic data by comparison with those of Austronesian, Benedict is hardly to be reproached because there is more to be adduced in favor of an Austric cognation than he has taken account of.

In 1942 Benedict still accepted the Austric hypothesis, but claimed that the primary cleavage lay between Mon-Khmer, with Vietnamese, and “Thai-Kadai-Indonesian” (Benedict 1975:461). This is not an easily tenable position. By 1966 he had abandoned it, and instead attributed the coincidences between “Austro-Thai”—a fortiori Austronesian—and Austroasiatic to an Austroasiatic substratum in the ancestral Austro-Thai-speaking population (Benedict 1975:32-3). Now he has turned this view inside out to posit an Austro-Thai substratum underlying Austroasiatic (Benedict 1975:484). Both the 1966 and the 1975 hypotheses differ from the classic instances of substrata in that there is no probative opposition of languages with the substratum to sister languages without it; it already underlays the ancestral language. I remain unconvinced that an inwandering group sufficiently powerful to impose its language on a section of the Austro-Thai population would have left no linguistic trace elsewhere; but the point need not be labored. On Benedict’s view as much as on a genetic one, the Austro-Thai/Austroasiatic

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1 Editorial note: the present paper is an edited version of a draft manuscript which was subsequently augmented with appendices and published as Shorto, Harry L. 1976b. In Defense of Austric. Computational analyses of Asian and African languages 6:95-104. For publication here the manuscript we worked from was only changed in so far as most abbreviations were spelled out fully and some language names were made consistant with present usage.

2 Proto-Austronesian reconstructions in this paper follow the system of Dahl (1973), but for convenience in typing I use the symbols c, e, j, R, s, z for k’, a, g’, y, t’, d’ introduced by Dyen.
coincidences must reflect a considerable time-depth even if Proto-Austroasiatic is held to postdate the splitting of Austro-Thai into its main branches. In fact, as will be seen, the posited substratum would have to be specifically Austronesian ("Lexically it stands closest to Austronesian": Benedict 1975:485); but contact-words between Proto-Austroasiatic and Proto-Tai would have simultaneously to be admitted.

Logically there are three possibilities which we have to consider: (1) Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically unrelated, as Benedict asserts. Or they are related; then either (2), contra Benedict, Austro-Thai is an invalid construction; or (3) it is a valid construction. In the third case what is at question is the ordering of relationships; and then almost certainly we are left with Austroasiatic/Austronesian, Schmidt’s Austric, as the last branching—in other words with the diagram at Benedict 1975:485, minus its substratum.

If from the patchwork mingling of language stocks in mainland Southeast Asia the linguistic facts of the area are inordinately complex, the possibilities of explaining them are not much less so. Some of Benedict’s “Austro-Thai” lexemes more probably parallel borrowings from Mon-Khmer of relatively late date. To identify them is not to weaken his thesis but to refine it by eliminating doubtful material.

ʻAnt’, p. 219, may serve to illustrate the criteria employed. Both the Indonesian and the Tai forms are in my view to be derived from continuants of a Proto-Mon-Khmer *s/m/uuc etc. (Tai: and/or *s/rm/uuc etc.) which incorporates the root *suuc ~ *suc ~ *suc also *sac, *siic ‘to sting’; cf. e.g. Sre souc ‘to prick, sting’, Riang-Lang ʰuc ‘to sting’, Sora suj- ‘to pierce’; Bahnar hmoc, Umpai Lawa maic ‘ant’, Temiar (Aslian) somuj ‘wasp’, Sora in compounds muj-, mui- ‘ant’, Mon hamot, Khmer sramaoc ‘ant’. The direction of borrowing is indicated by the morphological analysability of the Austroasiatic forms and, unless alternative (3) above holds, by the palatal final, which cannot be explained from Austro-Thai as constructed under alternative (1).

Again, unless alternative (3) holds, some contact-words which belong to Proto-Tai have to be admitted as loans from Austroasiatic. They include besides *ya, Proto-Mon-Khmer *yas ‘grandmother’ (Benedict 1975:339, 482; also Proto-Austroasiatic *yaq yaq (or similar) > Proto-Mon-Khmer *yaay > Khmer yiay, etc., whence Thai yaay) the paired term *ta, Proto-Mon-Khmer *taq (Benedict 1975:287; Men ta? ‘father’, Riang Lang ʰa? ‘master, husband, grandfather’, Temiar tāʔ ‘sir’, tatāʔ ‘old man’, etc.). Note also Proto-SW-Tai *kluai.2 ‘banana’ (Egerod 1961:85), Proto-Mon-Khmer *tiuay borrowing from Tai cannot account for Khmuic tl- (Khmu’ tloay, etc.) and is hardly to be suspected in Aslian (Semang telui, etc.: PRMP, B 42) or Nicobarese (talui).

These topics, however, are marginal to the assessment of the Austric and Austro-Thai hypotheses, so far as the two are competitive. Usually when the corpora overlap the Austroasiatic and Tai forms are sufficiently unlike for the question of borrowing between them not to arise. I therefore now turn to the evidence on which a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian might be alleged.

The putative relationship is plainly a remote one. I rely in this paper on an assembly of circa 200 roots or bases about as many as Schmidt, though not the same set drawn for the most part from a comparison of circa 2,000 Proto-Mon-Khmer roots with around the same number of Austronesian ones. The corpus is likely to be enlarged by further research; indeed, I have already cited two items (Proto-Mon-Khmer ʰyaq ~ ʰyaay, ʰtaq) revealed as Austric candidates by Austro-Thai. It is biased, however, in two
respects. First, by the method of investigation; the comparison was with Proto-Mon-Khmer roots and such Munda cognates as are cited (from Pinnow 1959 and from an examination of Sora) had been established in reference to the Proto-Mon-Khmer forms. Without undertaking an equally extensive comparison with Munda per se, we cannot infer from the relatively low frequency of Munda items here that Austronesian is more closely related to Mon-Khmer than to Munda. Secondly, correspondences which might conceivably be due to borrowing during, say, the last two millennia have been excluded. Loans from mainland Austronesian dialects are found in many Eastern Mon-Khmer languages and Indonesian loans are also present in Mon; while Mon-Khmer loans are found in languages of Sumatra, Java, and even some of Borneo (Shorto 1975:82 and n. 3). Only lexemes attested in geographically remoter languages on both sides can be used as evidence except where distinctive phonological treatment makes borrowing improbable³. This means that if Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically related the true cognate corpus will be significantly larger than the evidential one. The exclusions are probably not sufficient to account by themselves for the high proportion of items with cognates in Oceanic.

It would not be practicable to review the whole of this material in a relatively short paper. In order to support my opinions with some refutable argument, I propose to examine in detail three sets of correspondences where a hypothesis of borrowing, or the inverse one of marginal retention from an Austro-Thai substratum, seems to me least credible. These comprise (1) those involving Austronesian bases of structure *2(CVC); (2) the type of *mata : Proto-Mon-Khmer *mat, where unusually the second syllabic of the Austronesian base is lost in Mon-Khmer (and Austroasiatic); (3) pases with Mon-Khmer correspondents only in “northern” languages; here a substratum hypothesis is not necessarily, but recent borrowing is, excluded.

Reduplicates. Schematic relationships between the canonic shapes of Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Austroasiatic are readily established. In principle, almost all roots are reduced to a monosyllabic form in Proto-Mon-Khmer; for Proto-Austronesian, disyllabic bases are commonest, with trisyllables not infrequent; Proto-Mon-Khmer shows both monosyllabic and disyllabic types. The variation correlates with general areal tendencies. Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Munda *CVCV(C) most often correspond to Proto-Mon-Khmer *CCVC. Where Proto-Mon-Khmer has *CVC, Proto-Austronesian has fully or, less often, partially reduplicated forms, *2(CV(C)) and *2(CV(C)); Proto-Munda shows both *CV(C) and *2(CV(C)). One would assume, on an Austric hypothesis, that forms *CVC and *2(CV(C)) existed side by side in PA and were retained in Proto-Austroasiatic; that Proto-Austronesian generalized the second type; and that Proto-Mon-Khmer preferred the first, while retaining some traces of the second. (In fact, *CVC is occasionally attested in languages of Formosa; e.g. Bunun reflects *gud ‘to drink’ ad Proto-Austronesian *( )ud ( )ud.)

The straightforward type of correspondence may be exemplified by Proto-Austronesian *bejbej ‘to wrap round’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer *bak : Mon pàk ‘to put [waistcloth] round’, etc. Less frequent is the type seen in *bitbit ‘to take in fingers’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer *c[6]ic : Khm. cbc, etc. I take *c[6]ic here to continue earlier (Proto-Austroasiatic?) *[6]ic-[6]ic; the divergent treatment of such reduplications (contrast *yaay < *yaq-yaq, above) appears, on the limited evidence now available, to depend on

³ Some of the items cited in Pou and Jenner (1975) are suspect by this criterion.
the classes of phonemes involved. The most interesting of the examples is Proto-Austronesian *lɔbɔblɔ ‘to inundate, to dive’, where Mon-Khmer cognates reflect variously *lɔp and, from the reduplicate, *blɔp. This furnishes presumptive evidence for final *b in Austroasiatic (not contra Benedict 1975:472) lost in Mon-Khmer.

The correspondents of Austronesian partial reduplications are illustrated by Proto-Mon-Khmer *tuuŋ : Proto-Austronesian *tutuŋ. The partial type is overrepresented in Dempwolff, who only reconstructed *2(CVC) where he was obliged to by Tagalog and/or Batak cognates. Some of his formulae should accordingly be rewritten (e.g. *gi(t)giʒ for *gigigig).

In Achinese and Chamic, which show strong mainland affinities in phonology, Proto-Austronesian *2(CVC) is with minor exceptions reflected as CV(C); for the probable course of this development see Shorto (1975:98). The same areal pressures bear on most of Mon-Khmer, though not Munda. But the dual types of reflex in these two branches rule out the assumption of a parallel development there of forms borrowed from Austronesian or retained from a substratum. Nor is it likely that Mon-Khmer CVC roots were borrowed into Indonesian as 2(CVC) (the contrary can be shown; of. *bunbun). The simplest explanation of the facts is the one indicated above, that coexisting types CVC and 2(CVC) were differentially favored in branches of a common stock under different areal pressures.

Type *mata. Where reduplication is not in question, Proto-Austronesian *CVCV(C) usually corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer *CCVC. The correspondence Proto-Austronesian *mata : Proto-Mon-Khmer *mat, to which Benedict devotes some attention, is thus unusual; we would expect Proto-Mon-Khmer **mtaq (so e.g. *bRaRa ‘shoulder’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer *blaŋ). I have collected eleven probable sets where the second syllabic of the Austronesian base corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer 0, all with Proto-Austronesian final vowel or laryngeal (i.e. Austronesian *q, *S). There is also one with Proto-Austronesian *-s, which, however, the Vietnamese cognates suggest may be a suffix (: Proto-Mon-Khmer -s causative). Of particular interest is *pan,ŋ ‘to shoot’. Here the tone of Vietnamese bán allows us to reconstruct Proto-Mon-Khmer *p̪n̪t (151, to explain Thai *p̪oott ~ *poot : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pu(u)s ~ *puus; -s → Thai -t would be normal!).

This material is of recent assembly, and systematic search should reveal more. It is difficult as yet to suggest an explanation of the correspondences unless in terms of variable (distinctive) stress placing. Variable stress is invoked in Austro-Thai (153 and 200-1, n. 4). There Benedict discusses *mata (201), but the evidence implies dialect variants *matá (Philippines, Tsoic) and *mata (Palau); in the case of lungs *pusuŋ he speaks of a “pseudofore-stress” form (151, to explain Thai *poott ~ *poot : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pu(u)s ~ *puus; -s → Thai -t would be normal!).

I have also noted two sets which show “vocalic transfer” (Benedict 1975:183), the type-case being *pun,ay : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pn̪2[uu]y ‘dove’. Both are attested only in Northern Mon-Khmer, and might be attributed simply to vowel metathesis: their evaluation waits on further research.

The twelve primary examples include five items from the 200-word lexicostatistic list and three more fairly basic terms (‘forehead’, ‘to shoot’, ‘full’); substratum retention is
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a more tenable explanation than borrowing. But, again, genetic relationship seems to me most likely.

The northern correspondences. We occasionally find in northern languages (NMK, Khasi, Khmuic) isolated apparent correspondents of Austronesian bases, e.g.: Palaung juh ‘distant’; Riang Lang ᵐց’y ‘to swim’ which warrant entry in the Proto-Mon-Khmer corpus only on the assumption that they continue a common PA form. In both the quoted cases there is a distinctively Mon-Khmer synonym of wide distribution (cf. Pal. səŋay ‘distant’, ᵐց’y ‘to swim’); naturally they startle. I have collected with such cases wider correspondences in which the only known Mon-Khmer cognates are in northern languages, plus in one or two instances Vietnamese or Aslian. The northern correspondences are, of course, striking chiefly because correspondences limited to southern languages have been designedly excluded from this study. A recent 500-word vocabulary of Kammu Yuan, spoken in northern Laos (Lindell 1974), records a word for millet found again in Chamic and Malay; names of cereals travel, but what of Kammu-Yuan takán ‘bamboo-rat’ and Khasi dkhən ‘hill-rat, mole’, where Malay děkan furnishes the only parallel known to the present writer? Borrowing hardly comes in question here. The substratum hypothesis cannot logically be excluded: but it appears unduly farfetched.

More general phonological considerations arise. I have shown that regularly recurring types of vowel variation are to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer (Shorto 1976c; see Benedict 1975:480). There is less scope for one within the four-vowel system postulated for Proto-Austronesian, but there too a similar variation is discernible: notably between close and central vowels, corresponding to Proto-Mon-Khmer: *ia (~ *i(i) ) ~ *ə, *ua ... ~ *ə ; also between front and back vowels, a minor type in Mon-Khmer. Cf. here e.g. Proto-Austronesian *kitkit ~ *ketket ‘to bite’, Proto-Mon-Khmer *kiit ~ *kiat ~ *kat. No such variation has yet been reconstructed for Proto-Munda; but difficulties experienced by Pinnow in establishing Proto-Munda vocalism, and the numerous variant correspondences he recorded, suggest a similar underlying phenomenon. All the indications are that the Mon-Khmer and Austronesian facts reflect variation at an “Austric” level.

The comparison of two protolanguages which have been separately reconstructed is likely to modify our understanding of both reconstructions. Proto-Mon-Khmer final palatal stop or nasal cannot ordinarily be accounted for from Austronesian or Austro-Thai—for neither of which are final palatals posited—either on borrowing or on substratum retention. Neither can borrowing from Mon-Khmer account for cognates of Mon-Khmer palatal-final roots in Oceanic or Formosan (e.g. Proto-Austronesian *cabut ‘to pull up, draw out’ > Fijian zavut-a etc.: Proto-Mon-Khmer *cbooc; *cbooc: Mon bot, Khmer baoe). I assume that PA had final palatals which underwent merger in Austronesian, just as Mon-Khmer merged the antecedents of Proto-Austronesian *-j, *-k (*bebej : Proto-Mon-Khmer *bak). Proto-Mon-Khmer, as probably Proto-Munda, knew a vowel-length distinction such as may be residually represented in some Austronesian languages (Shorto 1975, 84 ff.). But the Proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system, of seven terms in addition to diphthongs, has yet to be reconciled with the four-term system of Proto-Austronesian. (Austro-Thai encounters a similar difficulty; propounding a system of six terms, with merger of mid and close vowels in Austronesian.)

4 Some cases of apparent *-c are attributed to *-t + suffix + *-s.
In denying any genetic relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic Benedict lays stress on the want of agreement in basic or core vocabulary. The nuclearity of items is not the only factor affecting retention (and does it not apply to substratum retention, when that is invoked on as wide a scale as here?); but in any case we should test the accuracy of his assertion. The absence of agreement in the numerals is damaging, but not necessarily fatal (Khmuic dialects have replaced all the Mon-Khmer numerals above ‘two’ or ‘three’). ‘One’, Proto-Austronesian *isa, *esa, is perhaps marginally represented by Riang Lang s-, Khasi shi; ‘twin/two’, admitted in Benedict (1975) is in my view doubtful. —Pronouns also show little agreement, e.g.: cognates of Proto-Austronesian *is(S), 3 sing., originally rather ‘person’. —Of kinship terms unmentioned by Benedict Proto-Mon-Khmer *taq ‘grandfather’ has already been cited; note Proto-Austronesian *wawa ‘uncle’, we might add Proto-Austronesian *eNbaq ‘grandfather’ (Blust 1971, no. 167; also Acehnese òmbah ‘father’): Proto-Mon-Khmer *mbaq: Old Mon ‘ba’, Khmer ba, Khasi pa, Central Sakai apa ‘father’, etc.; Kharia aba id, etc.—We may add several body parts: ‘forehead’, ‘tongue’, ‘heart’, ‘shoulder’, ‘palm’, ‘ribs’, note further Proto-Austronesian *gqa(qa)m ‘molar’: Acehnese ghōam, Cham khûm, Malay g/ér/ham, Javanese g/r/aham, Iban ngeli gam/gaam/5: Proto-Mon-Khmer *dga(a)m: Khmer thkkiam ‘jaw’, Biat gam ‘molar’, Vietnamese càm ‘chin’, etc.—Under natural phenomena an important addition is Proto-Austronesian *ubaRi (?: cf. Shorto 1975, 91 n. 25) ‘sun, day’ (Benedict 1975:266): Proto-Mon-Khmer *briiq ‘sky’: Old Mon prey ‘rain’, Khmu mat bri? ‘sun’, Praok pray, Vietnamese trời ‘sky, weather’, Sakai bri ‘day’, etc.—Under animal life note especially ‘ox’—Numerous basic verbs figure in the appendices. I shall cite one more item: to the Proto-Austronesian locative prefix *di corresponds Proto-Mon-Khmer *diiq: Old Mon dey, with cognates in EMK, NMK, Aslian, and Munda (Sora).

Benedict has 600 Austro-Thai comparisons to offer against my 200 for Austric, though the gap is likely to be narrowed by further research. Our corpora overlap to a noticeable degree, three-fifths of my Austronesian comparata figuring in Benedict (1975). That he seriously understates the extent of agreement in basic vocabulary between Austroasiatic and Austronesian emerges sufficiently, I hope, from the foregoing however summary review.

200 equations would be thought enough to support a genetic relationship if the languages concerned were geographically separated beyond the possibility of borrowing. Dravido-Elamite has been proposed on a good deal less! Much of the difficulty in assessing Southeast Asian linguistic affinities stems from the likelihood that ancestral speakers of the main stocks were already in contact—in South China?—at an early date; hence elements can be found that link any two stocks, Tibeto-Burman and Chinese included. Agreements in vocabulary, the crucial issue according to Benedict (1975:464-5), are only part of the argument. The historical selection of phonological structures implied speaks strongly for Austric, as does the persistence—against areal pressures—of vowel variation. I have not so far discussed morphology in this paper. Here Mon-Khmer and Indonesian, at least, show considerable agreement in formal resources but little in the semantic value assigned to them (so Benedict 1975:464), can speak of “congruency in over-all configuration, which might be ascribed to areal factors”, but the same holds true even within Indonesian). Austro-Thai as Benedict reconstructs it (1975:146-9) is

5 My reconstruction. Cf. Tibeto-Burman *gam, Benedict (1972): 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese g’am 額.
more suggestive in this regard, for Proto-Mon-Khmer has \textit{k-} ‘part of body’ (especially in NMK and Khasi: e.g.: \textit{mata}; and Riang Lang \textit{kənuas} ‘heart’. ad \textit{pusuq}, ib.), \textit{*-p-} causative (but < Proto-Austroasiatic \textit{*-a}: see Shorto 1969:112 f.), and perhaps also \textit{*-m-} stative.

In this paper I have spoken repeatedly of “roots” and “bases”, by intent. Roots are the common coin of historico-comparative reconstruction, at least of the wider-ranging kind; what by contrast are borrowed from one language into another are rather words. It is true that words often consist of root plus zero affix in Mon-Khmer languages and, though partly by lexicographers’ convention, in Indonesian ones. But neither Austroasiatic nor even Austronesian comparison would advance far if restricted to such simple forms alone. We have here, therefore, a promising tool for distinguishing between the effects of inheritance and borrowing (and substratum retention); productive roots will be more convincing than unramified lexemes as evidence of a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian, while correspondence with complex derived forms (as with ‘ant’, p. 2 above) will raise the suspicion of borrowing in Tai and elsewhere.

Benedict treats the position of Austroasiatic as a marginal issue, whence it comes that my critique is concentrated on a small part of Austro-Thai. But if he is wrong on this point, it must affect our assessment of the whole. Of the alternatives set out on p. 2, I need not as an Austroasianist choose between (2) and (3), and so pass judgement on the status of Austro-Thai; but I cannot on the evidence accept (1), and follow him in discarding Austric altogether.
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Preface

Paul Sidwell  
Australian National University

It gives me great personal and professional satisfaction to join my colleagues Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer in presenting the long-awaited Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary (MKCD) by the late Professor Harry Shorto (1919-1995).

The MKCD will occupy an important place in the literature. Certainly, it is indelibly marked by its era: the Austric hypothesis was still in play, and various branch alignments, particularly among the Katuic and Bahnaric languages, had not yet been fully worked out. But the MKCD also represents the state of the art today: such is the void we confront that it stands, sui generis, as the 20th century’s only published attempt at a broad comparative analysis of the full Mon-Khmer language family.

The MKCD was originally meant to see print at the end of the 1970s. However, Shorto decided to further revise his manuscript, taking new sources of data into account, and time and health eventually failed him. Publication as originally intended would and should have been a fitting climax to Shorto’s career, but it has fallen to a new generation to bring his final work to press.

We do so with the conviction that the contribution of Shorto’s MKCD is as relevant now as it would unquestionably have been twenty-five years ago. Then, the MKCD would have crystallised the state of the art in comparative-historical Mon-Khmer linguistics. Today, it will reinvigorate the field of comparative linguistics in Southeast Asia, providing an extensive, integrated framework for building, criticising, and contextualizing our ongoing research efforts.

It is inevitable that a quarter-century of new field research will require extensions to, and adjustments in, Shorto’s technical analysis. Nevertheless, the MKCD will make striking contributions to comparative Mon-Khmer studies, kick-start the etymological analysis of modern Mon-Khmer languages like Vietnamese and Khmer, and have a marked impact on comparative and historical linguistics for the other Southeast Asian language families, including Austronesian (especially the Cham language), Tai-Kadai (particularly Thai and Lao), Sino-Tibetan (especially Burmese), and Hmong-Mien.

In addition to the tremendous assistance I received from Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Bernard Comrie and the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig) for financial support received for this and related projects during 2005 and 2006. I would also like to thank Anna Shorto for her hospitality and generosity in helping to make this publication possible. A number of scholars also offered useful advice: Bob Blust, Anthony Grant, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Justin Watkins.
To help the reader appreciate both the historical position and present-day value of the MKCD, an extended discussion of the work follows. It begins with a description of the editorial choices and challenges encountered in bringing the manuscript to publication. A survey of Mon-Khmer linguistics in the past century comes next, as a preliminary to the critical assessment of the MKCD that forms the main part of this Preface. Finally, Christian Bauer’s Background Notes discuss the long genesis of Shorto’s work, and Doug Cooper’s Future of the MKCD describes our plans for incorporating the MKCD into an ongoing Mon-Khmer Languages Project.

The Road to Publication

The MKCD manuscript was first brought to my attention by Anna Shorto, daughter of the late Professor, in mid-2003. Over the course of several months we established an understanding about the disposition of the MKCD and of related unpublished notes in Anna’s possession. It was her father’s wish that the complete collection should appear in print, a view that I firmly shared and willingly agreed to work toward.

The simplest approach would have been to scan the manuscript pages and distribute the image files electronically. But while this would have been quick and inexpensive, it would have merely preserved Shorto’s manuscript as an historical artifact, obscuring its treasure trove of data, analysis, and commentary, including some 2,246 etyma, and almost 30,000 citations drawn from nearly 250 languages.

Making the data within the manuscript directly available to researchers via an online database was a far more desirable alternative. I had already been discussing plans for a Mon-Khmer etymological database with colleagues, and had begun to cooperate with computer scientist Doug Cooper (Center for Research in Computational Linguistics) in making my own Katuic and Bahnaric resources Web-accessible.

Cooper suggested that we produce an electronic text that closely followed Shorto’s manuscript in order to publish a typeset, printed volume as expeditiously as possible, and then convert this same text into the XML-tagged format needed to build an online database, and allow more extensive data mining in the longer term. We resolved to proceed on that basis, and began to contact Mon-Khmer specialists seeking support for the combined text-and-database project.

To our delight, we discovered that Christian Bauer (Humboldt University), who had been Shorto’s student while the manuscript was being developed, had independently visited Anna Shorto, making copies of the papers, and taking preliminary steps toward having a facsimile edition of MKCD published in Europe. This included typing the drafts of Parts 1 and 2, and exchanging correspondence with a potential publisher.

Bauer, Cooper and I readily agreed to work together (from Berlin, Bangkok, and Canberra, respectively). This has been a truly collaborative effort, with Sidwell taking charge of reconstructing Shorto’s text as Main Editor, Cooper accepting responsibility for digitization, data mining, and ongoing electronic publication, and Bauer (who had worked under Shorto in the critical period 1977—1982, with yearly visits thereafter) providing an essential link in clarifying the author’s intentions and final thoughts.
Editing the Manuscript

The text presented here is derived from a combination of Shorto’s drafts, notes, and unpublished papers, carefully edited and joined to construct a work that is coherent and faithful to the author’s intentions.

Shorto’s original plan called for three main sections. These were Part 1: Vocalism, Part 2: Consonantism, and Part 3: Comparative Dictionary, as well as various indexes and appendices. Parts 1 and 2 posed significant editorial challenges; in particular, although Part 3 had gone though two complete drafts, the extant manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 were written in support of the first draft of the comparative dictionary, and had not been updated by the author to reflect his revisions. Furthermore both manuscripts were received incomplete, with an unknown number of end pages missing.

Part 3, which we received as a 600-page typed text, is the largest, most important, and most completely realised section. As noted, this was actually a second draft (the first had been compiled from file cards, now lost) that was essentially completed when Bauer arrived at SOAS to write his dissertation under Shorto in 1977.

Shorto continued to update this draft, however, including data from newly available language sources, and pencilling numerous notes in the margin. As he did not manage to retype the augmented text, we eventually integrated the greater part of these marginalia in the course of typesetting and proofing of the text for publication.

Part 3 also included two appendices: A—Stiengan (South Bahnaric) and B—Northern Mon-Khmer (Palaungic). These contain several hundred lexical comparisons that are particular to the respective sub-groups. The text of Part 3 includes many references to entries in these appendices, and we can expect that more extensive comparative work will see many of them integrated into a revised Proto-Mon-Khmer reconstruction.

Part 1 concerns Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism. Shorto clearly intended to explicate this aspect of the reconstruction with an extensively detailed text that would run to more than one hundred pages. Unfortunately, this was never finished; Shorto left us an early but complete paper on proto-vocalism, along with a partial draft of Part 1 of the MKCD.

Part 1 as it appears now in print is a hybrid of these two articles, which are discussed in more detail below. First, the detailed justification of Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism found in the early, complete paper, including tables showing the Mon : Khmer vowel correspondences and the evolution of Old Mon vocalism, was integrated into the unfinished draft of Part 1. Then, the merged text was edited to reconcile the forms and numbering of reconstructions with those seen in Part 3 (the comparative dictionary). Part 1 ends where the manuscript breaks off.

Shorto’s paper on proto-vocalism was written in the late 1960s, long before the first draft of the comparative dictionary was finished. Its main section contains some 600 etymologies that illustrate phonological correspondences using Mon and Khmer as criterion languages, plus supporting comparisons from other languages drawn from the missing card files.

This paper is particularly important from the programmatic perspective. In tabulating vowel correspondences between Mon and Khmer, Shorto suggests that there were various vowel alternations (or ‘alternances’ as he calls them) within Proto-Mon-Khmer. This principle let Shorto separate a core of regular correspondences from a large
set of alternances, and appears to be his answer to a problem mentioned by various writers (e.g. Thomas 1964, Blood 1966): the apparent great confusion of correspondences that had resisted systematisation and blocked the reconstruction of proto-vocalism.

The surviving partial draft of MKCD Part 1 is quite different. It begins with a short introduction to the history and state of the art of Mon-Khmer comparative studies. Then, with little preparatory justification, it launches directly into a table of proto-vocalism, giving the list of reconstructed phonemes, and supporting examples grouped according to the class of vowels.

Proto-Mon-Khmer word-final consonants were also meant to be dealt with in Part 1, as is made clear by a mention in the beginning of Part 2. However, the section is absent from the surviving text, which has only a truncated discussion of rhymes with finals *-ʔ and *-h.

Shorto raises several issues concerning these finals. First, a number of etymologies appear to show alternances between finals *-ʔ and *-h, the function and distribution of which are not understood. Second, Shorto reconstructs final clusters of the type *-Cʔ and *-Ch in some etyma on the basis of their reflexes in Vietnamese and Mường. Now, it is known (since Haudricourt 1952) that certain Vietnamese tones correlate with final stops and fricatives in other Mon-Khmer languages. The occurrence of these tones where the rhyme is already closed by a continuant implies the reconstruction of an additional final segment in Shorto’s analysis. Third, in a small number of entries Shorto also presents a final cluster with *-s, which he posited as an instrumental suffix.

Finally, it is apparent that Shorto made a small alteration to his proto-vocalism at the time of the second major draft: an additional vowel *ɯə is posited in a small number of cases, although always bracketed.

**Part 2**

Part 2 comes to us in a more complete form, missing only a final few pages. It includes a table of initial consonant correspondences for twenty Mon-Khmer languages, and a systematic explanation of the reconstruction of initial clusters. Although the etymological illustration of cluster reconstructions is truncated, this does not seriously affect the substance of the discussion.

But although Part 2 is nearly complete, the table of consonant correspondences and reconstructions was prepared for the first draft of the comparative dictionary. The second and final draft incorporates an important change in the reconstruction that is not reflected in that table. Examining the proto-forms in Part 3, one will notice that, in addition to proto-phonemes *t, *d and *n, Shorto reconstructs forms with *t₁, *t₂, *d₁, *d₂, *n₁ and *n₂ in non-final positions.

We puzzled over these for some time until, during a visit in late 2005, I fortuitously stumbled upon an unpublished manuscript still in Anna Shorto’s possession. In this paper, titled “On Mon-Khmer inter-branch relationships,” Shorto discusses the phonological correlates of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, and writes:

“The whole of this group is characterized by a shift of *t in initial position in structures *CCVC (in some cases) to a sibilant, prima facie via an affricate stage. This minor shift is interesting because it apparently extends to Munda. Its incidence may be conditioned by the lost (in Mon-Khmer) V₁ of Proto-Austroasiatic *CVCVC, or it may entail reconstructing an additional proto-phoneme (*t₁, *t₂. Thus we find
‘taro’, Khm. trav, Ste traw; RL ~saro?, Khs. shraw, Sora ‘saro-gai-an, Mundari sārū, Santali saru;
‘sun, day’, Old Mon tīey, Khm. thAY; KY sāŋī?, RL ~sāŋī?, Khs. sngi, Mundari sīngi.

Contrast (a bad example since it uses infixed forms, but with a Munda cognate)
‘new’, Khm. thmry ~ Middle Mon t/a/mi, RL t/an/mei?, Khs. th/ym/mai, Kharia t'/on/me.

A parallel shift of *d to a palatal is attested at least for Khmuic and Palaungic, and one of *n > l at C2 in structures *CCVC certainly for these languages and possibly for Khasi. A reconstruction of two *t’s, two *d’s and two *n’s would of course—for those who favour the Austric hypothesis—bring PAA closer to Proto-Austronesian.”

Shorto was clearly referring to himself as a supporter of the Austric hypothesis, so his motivation for altering the consonant reconstruction between the first and second drafts is made plain. However, only *t₂, *d₂ and *n₂ are reconstructed to account for the sibilant and lateral reflexes in Northern Mon-Khmer. A second set, consisting of *t₁, *d₁ and *n₁, is not dealt with in Part 2. Yet our text of the MKCD distinguishes between the three notational sets *t, *d, *n: *t₁, *d₁, *n₁: *t₂, *d₂, *n₂. At this time, we suggest that the unmarked notation indicates that the reconstruction is intentionally underdetermined in order to avoid a clumsy notation such as *t₁/₂.

Aside from this point, the major editorial issue for Part 2 was synchronizing the form and numbering of examples with Part 3. There were also some issues concerning language (sub)branch names and the treatment of marginal notes.

The first naming issue relates to Shorto’s treatment of Bahnaric, which can now readily be seen as having been based on the limited data available in the 1960s. In editing MKCD, we have globally replaced the terms Stiengan and Bahnaran throughout with the more recognizable South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric. But aside from this change in terminology, Shorto’s outdated classification has not been altered. We discuss the issue further below.

The second naming issue involves the Katuic branch, which was also poorly understood in the 1960s. For reasons discussed below, Kuy (then thought to be closely related to Khmer) was originally Shorto’s primary Katuic representative. His later notes and marginalia make it clear that as data on lesser-known Katuic languages came into his possession in the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto recognized and began to correct his error. In editing Parts 2 and 3, we have replaced ‘Kuy’ with ‘Katuic’ where and whenever it is clear that Shorto intended to designate this branch of Mon-Khmer.

Finally, as new language data became available throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto never ceased adding marginal notes and alterations. We have integrated these marginalia into the text, excepting those cases where Shorto’s pencilled notes were not legible enough to allow accurate readings.

Part 3
The comparative dictionary of Part 3 arrived in our hands as a carefully typed and painstakingly corrected manuscript.

Preparing Part 3 for publication was a massive but relatively straightforward task. All of Shorto’s typographic corrections were applied, and his extensive marginal notes were incorporated into the text. His layout was slightly modified in the interests of
readability. Usually, this entailed breaking the entries into their constituent sections, and adding labels as necessary. In addition, Shorto’s phonetic transcriptions of Thai references were replaced by more commonly used Haas-style equivalents.

One other large-scale modification was made in the interests of making the text more accessible. Shorto made extensive use of abbreviations for language names, text sources and semantic values. This made sense as a space and labour-saving device in the days when hot metal type was being set, but in the computer age it serves little purpose, and can lead to unintentional obscurity in the text: indeed, quite some effort was required to identify many of his sources. Wherever practical we have spelled out abbreviated forms.

**MK Comparative Linguistics in the 20th Century**

Before we can consider the content and contribution of Shorto’s *MKCD*, it is necessary to survey the larger stage of Mon-Khmer research.

The *MKCD* forms a link in a chain that reaches back to the foundational works of the German comparativist and ethnologist Pater Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), who pioneered the application of neo-grammairian principles in investigating language families beyond Indo-European.

With the European colonisation of Southeast Asia, scholars began to have access to increasingly reliable lexical data for many languages of the region: colonial authorities carried out linguistic surveys, missionaries generated lexicons and bible translations, and dictionaries of Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese became available. Schmidt drew upon these sources to establish the field of comparative Mon-Khmer studies with a series of four major publications at the beginning of the twentieth century (1901, 1904, 1905, 1906).

The first (1901) examined the Aslian languages of Malaya (Senoi and Sömang specifically), demonstrating that they are genetically part of the Mon-Khmer family. This contrasted with Skeat and Blagden (1906), who in their contemporaneous study concluded that there was merely a Mon-Khmer stratum among languages of the peninsula.

Schmidt (1904) next discussed Northern Mon-Khmer languages, dealing with Khasi and Palaungic only, as he lacked Khmuic data. A third paper, Schmidt 1905 (usually referred to as the *Grundzüge* [roughly, ‘Foundations’] from the title) was a systematic treatment of Mon, Khmer, Stieng and Bahnar. He treated this group as forming a core Mon-Khmer family, to which other languages could be compared and related within a wider Austroasiatic or Austric framework.

The *Grundzüge* is an extensive attempt to analyse the historical phonology of the Mon-Khmer family. Schmidt’s method relied upon interpreting the Indic-based scripts used to write Mon and Khmer. It assumed that the spellings faithfully recorded phonetic values when and where those scripts were adopted (roughly mid-first Millennium).

For Bahnar and Stieng he utilised lexicons that had been compiled in Vietnam by Dourisbourne (1889) and Azémar (1886). The data from these languages revealed relatively conservative, unrestructured phonologies, largely confirming the interpretations of Written Mon and Khmer.

By choosing to work mainly with written languages Schmidt followed established methods, as the comparative investigation of Indo-European had proceeded principally by using Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Although Schmidt did err to some extent by placing
too much importance on the etymologically Indic phonetic values of the spellings, he established basic patterns for reconstructing proto-consonantism that endure to this day.

Schmidt’s treatment of proto-vocalism was less successful. His failure to understand differences in the inherent vowels of the Mon and Khmer scripts led him to ignore important length and quality distinctions among the low central and back vowels. The apparent confusion of vowel correspondences created such difficulty for Schmidt that he was only able to posit phonetic equations, and not proper vowel reconstructions.

On the other hand Schmidt’s morphological analyses, which related affixes to various phonetic changes, and established the importance of the patterning of segmental collocations within the rhyme, were brilliantly insightful.

Thus the *Grundzüge*, with more than 900 Mon-Khmer lexical comparisons, reconstruction of proto-consonantism, and morphological analyses, laid the foundation for all subsequent comparative work. Astonishingly, given the absence of any comparably extensive synthesis later in the 20th century the *Grundzüge* was not exceeded (in print) until the appearance of the present MKCD 100 years later.

Schmidt’s ultimate work in this series was his (1906) attempt to link Mon-Khmer and Austronesian in a grand Austric macro-family. This bold hypothesis remains controversial. Although it faces serious difficulties in the light of Shutler and Marck’s (1975) now generally accepted formulation of a Formosan homeland for Austronesian, it still competes with other models of deep genetic relationship among the various language families of Asia (see Sagart et al. 2005 for recent papers and discussion). Schmidt’s evidence was both lexical (more than 200 comparisons) and morphological (including parallels in prefixes and infixes), and found a small and enthusiastic following, including Shorto, and nowadays notably Laurence Reid (e.g. 1994, 1996, 2005).

Contemporary with Schmidt was Skeat and Blagden’s (1906) massive comparative Aslian lexicon. It was richly annotated with wider Mon-Khmer comparisons, and serves as a useful complement to Schmidt’s work. However, Skeat and Blagden did not use their lexical materials within the framework of comparative reconstruction, instead, seeing the presence or absence of etyma in various languages as evidence of ancient migrations and population mixing. These ultimately contributed to unhelpful notions about language classification, and comparative Aslian studies languished for another 70 years.

Other resources that became available during this highly productive period include the ongoing publication of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, especially the survey of Mon, Khmer, Siamese, and Chinese families (Grierson 1903). However, despite ever-increasing access to data, and a solid foundation of comparative analysis, comparative Mon-Khmer studies soon fell into a prolonged lull, overwhelmed by what appeared to be a series of intractable problems.

Vietnamese was a striking example. Some scholars (e.g. Maspero 1912) sought to explain its tonal nature by invoking Thai and/or Chinese ancestry; as late as 1942 Sebeok cast doubts on its relation to various Mon-Khmer languages. Still, a solid line of inquiry based on the epigraphic tradition continued at SOAS (London) and the French EFEO.

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2 That paper was written specifically to refute Dyen’s (1965) classification that suggested a Micronesian homeland for Austronesian. By implication it also refuted the idea, expressed by Shorto from time to time, of an Indo-Chinese homeland, which would have reconciled more easily with the Austroic hypothesis.
The key transitional figures were Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), and Gordon Luce (1889-1979). Working at SOAS well into the 20th century, Blagden developed considerable interest in Mon, and had prepared a preliminary etymological dictionary on index cards by 1928. Never completed, Blagden’s notes informed various research publications and four fascicles and a plates volume of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* (between 1919 and 1936), and were eventually passed on to Luce.

An indefatigable field worker, Luce compiled thousands of pages of notes and wordlists for the languages of Burma. Luce clearly meant to carry through Blagden’s dream of a Mon etymological dictionary. He expanded and corrected Blagden’s corpus of transcribed Mon texts, developed a set of lexical comparisons, and also improved the morphological analyses of the language(s). Luce published extensively, including the three-volume *Old Burma-Early Pagan* (1969-70), and the posthumously published two-volume Paris lectures *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma* (1985), but included only comparative lists rather than reconstructions.

The mid-20th Century saw a rebirth of interest in comparative Mon-Khmer studies. Haudricourt (1952, 1953) breathed new life into the field with his proof that Vietnamese tones could be explained by direct reference to Mon-Khmer etymology, rather than to Thai or Chinese. This was a powerful demonstration of the insights into phonology and proto-history that comparative investigation of Mon-Khmer languages could offer, and came as a new wave of field data began to emerge, particularly from Indo-China.

1959 was an especially good year, bringing the publication of the first volume of the huge multi-dialectal Bahnar dictionary of Guilleminet, as well as Heinz-Jürgen Pinnnow’s *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*.

Pinnnow’s understated title suggests a tentative historical phonology of Kharia (a Munda language of India), but his 514 pages of dense text were a first attempt at an Austroasiatic etymological dictionary, with more than 550 etyma and a representative set of languages. Issues of Kharian phonological evolution were handled in the context of a preliminary Proto-Munda and Proto-Austroasiatic reconstruction: more than 400 cognate sets supported the proto-vocalism, and more than 500 supported the consonantism.

Pinnnow made extensive Mon-Khmer comparisons, with the implication that regular Munda : Mon-Khmer correspondences would reliably establish etyma as ancient within the Mon-Khmer family, even if they are now apparently isolated within particular Mon-Khmer branches. For an example close at hand, see #182 in this volume: Kuy (Katuic) bruː ‘hill’ is related to Kharia biru ‘hill’, demonstrating the root at both Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic levels. But Pinnnow’s results were hampered by a lack of data, and by problems of interpreting sources. His book’s ultimate impact on the field was not nearly commensurate with the effort that had gone into it.

As the 1960s progressed Mon-Khmer research positively blossomed. A generation of young and mostly American scholars traveled to Indo-China, collecting data on many previously little-known and undocumented languages, and preparing various sub-group-level reconstructions. These include Proto-Mnong (Blood 1966), Proto-East-Katuic (Thomas 1967), Proto-Viet-Mường (Barker 1963, Barker and Barker 1970), Proto-Jeh-Halang (Thomas and Smith 1967), and Proto-North Bahnaric (Smith 1972).

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3 The Luce Papers are now held in the manuscripts collection of the Australian National Library. The Mon-Khmer and Sino-Tibetan lexical materials are are being scanned by CRCL, and will be published on-line in 2007 at http://archives.sealang.net/luce.
1964 also saw the founding of the journal *Mon-Khmer Studies* in Saigon; it is today based at Mahidol University, Thailand. European interest was rekindled at this time as well. For example Michel Ferlus (CNRS, France) began his decades-long commitment to collecting data on various languages of Laos and Vietnam, and Scandinavian scholars, including the Kammu specialist Kristina Lindell, became increasingly active.

The world-wide interest in Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic linguistics stimulated a major international conference on comparative Austroasiatic at the University of Hawai‘i in 1973; a substantial two-volume set of proceedings was published in 1976 (Jenner et al.). A second Austroasiatic conference was held at Mysore (India) in 1976.

Throughout this period, Harry Shorto was in the thick of things as both author and editor. Taking up the torch from Blagden and Luce after accepting a lectureship at SOAS in 1948, Shorto first published his *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* (1962). He followed this up with *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* (1971), which included extensive etymological commentary, reflecting progress that would lead to the first draft of the *MKCD* (the genesis and history of these books is detailed in Bauer’s article, below).

As his work on the *MKCD* progressed, Shorto actively sought out scholarly discussion and debate. He presented his reconstruction of Mon-Khmer proto-vocalism to the Hawai‘i comparative Austroasiatic conference, and defended the Austric hypothesis at a symposium in Toronto in 1976. In both cases he made extensive reference to his draft *MKCD* (the Toronto paper is reproduced as Appendix E).

But the 1970s also marked a turning point. With the political transformation of Indo-China attentions were refocused elsewhere. As Cold War funding dried up, the field began to dissipate as researchers turned to other languages and interests. Nevertheless, a core of highly motivated scholars continued their efforts.

Gérard Diffloth was the most notable member of this group. Beginning with Aslian, he produced a reconstruction of Proto-Semai in 1977. Diffloth then ambitiously widened his research program, boldly proposing to systematically work through each Mon-Khmer sub-group, and eventually arrive at a comprehensive Mon-Khmer database and reconstruction. He produced some very important early results, which include book-length reconstructions of Proto-Waic (1980) and Proto-Monic (1984), and a substantial paper on Proto-Katuic (1982). Since then, however, Diffloth has concentrated more on data collection and analysis, choosing to delay the release of his results.

Independently of Diffloth, Ferlus (1983) produced his own Proto-Monic reconstruction. He also began working on the history of the Vietic languages, and has produced an extensive body of work on the topic (e.g. 1982, 1991, 1992a, 1997, 2001 etc.). Ferlus has also offered a reconstruction of the history of Khmer (1992b).

From the mid-1980s and into the 1990s, while important descriptive work on Mon-Khmer languages was pursued by various researchers, the output of comparative studies generally declined, e.g. the Proto-Plang of Paulsen (1989), Proto-South Bahnaric of Efimov (1990) and Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996). But since the year 2000—as we approach the centenary of Schmidt’s foundational efforts—a new generation of comparative studies has begun to appear, producing extensive work on Bahnaric (Sidwell 2000, Sidwell and Jacq 2003) and Katuic (Thongkum 2000, Sidwell 2005).

In conclusion, an overall evaluation of the progress of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics in the 20th century reveals periodic ebb and flow. The field advanced in fits and starts through Pinnnow’s attempted consolidation in 1959, then lost focus when no
similar effort was completed in the 1970s or 1980s. Although branch level comparative studies continued to be pursued, these were conducted without reference to any published, overarching analysis of Mon-Khmer. Predictably, results were mixed. For example, Diffloth's comparative analyses of Waic (1980) and Monic (1984) were of the highest analytical standards. The years he had invested in compiling notes for a comparative dictionary and preliminary PMK reconstruction—never published, although substantial fragments of early drafts of these works can be inspected at the Cornell University Library manuscript archives—clearly informed Diffloth's consideration of branch-level hypotheses.

In contrast, the South Bahnaric reconstruction of Efimov (1990) and the Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996) both offered highly defective results. Their analyses were conducted in isolation from the broader Mon-Khmer context: borrowings were not reliably distinguished from inherited forms because there was no reference to the distribution of etyma across the family, and proposed sound laws were formulated without consideration of how they might be reconciled with the deeper historical foundations of Mon-Khmer languages.

In this light, the failure of Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* to have been published was a terrible loss for the field. As we shall discuss below, it is inevitable that some of Shorto's analysis must be extended or discarded; but no amount of re-evaluation is likely to obscure the tremendous amount of scholarship that forms the body of the *MKCD*.

**Assessing Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary***

We can categorize Shorto's results as follows:

- **Phonological reconstruction:** PMK vowels and consonants, and the sound laws that relate these to daughter forms.
- **Lexical reconstruction:** identification of lexical cognates, specification of appropriate levels for reconstruction, and (after relating these to the proposed sound laws) the construction of proto-lexemes.
- **Specification of internal branching and classification.**
- **External comparison:** identification of Munda and Austronesian parallels, and documentation of forms influencing (or influenced by) Thai, Lao, Chinese, Burmese and others.

An exhaustive critique of the *MKCD* would be a major project in itself; it would significantly delay publication, yet probably be less useful than the collection of specialized articles that publication is likely to inspire. I offer instead a brief summary review, touching upon those issues which I consider most important, and which are most likely to require reconsideration.

In doing so, I note that our greatest difficulty with the *MKCD* is the incomplete textual justification for its results, due to the unfortunate demise of the author before he was able to complete, present and defend his work. Nevertheless, while we gladly adopt a generous attitude in assessing the work of a man who is no longer able to defend and explain his magnum opus, we must, still, cast a heartlessly impartial light in raising questions that must be answered.
Phonological reconstruction: vocalism  

We are at an advantage insofar as Shorto (1976c) had already begun to explain his reconstruction of the proto-vocalism, with only a very minor modification admitted sometime after that. The proto-vowel inventory applied in the MKCD is tabulated as follows:

```
* /  i  u  aa  uu  
  e  ø  o  ee  eo  oo  
  a  æ  ae  ee  eo  oo  
  i  ø  [ω]  en  u  
  ai
```

The principal justification for this reconstruction (excepting the bracketed item) is provided in Table 1 of Part 1. The system is strictly Mon-Khmer in the sense that it is derived exclusively by comparison of those two languages. The resulting reconstruction is then generalised to the family as a whole.

This is an interesting approach for Shorto to have taken. It contrasts utterly with his treatment of the proto-consonantism, where correspondences were compiled for criterion languages that were (within the available data) broadly representative of the whole family.

For the vocalism, Shorto restricted the criterion languages to just two, arguing that this produced an entirely expected result consisting of a substantial core of regular correspondences, and a residue of more-or-less chaotic correspondences. The former securely reflect the proto-system with minimal changes, while the latter are interpreted in two ways: some result from numerous isolated factors that are difficult to identify within the limits of the dataset, while others may reflect a system of vowel grades or alternations within the proto-language, evoking something akin to Indo-European ablaut.

This idea is not well developed and may well turn out to be an artifact of Shorto’s particular methodological bent. My view is that narrowly basing the vocalism on Mon and Khmer is not entirely desirable. Ideally one would work through the various branches of the family, reconstructing the proto-vocalism for each, and then using those results as the input for the ultimate reconstruction.

But Shorto was working without branch level reconstructions. In those circumstances, any attempt to assemble a comprehensive tabulation of correspondences between modern languages belonging to different branches would definitely have produced an unmanageable chaos of data.

Instead, he not unreasonably assumed that the Old Mon and Old Khmer vowel systems—which are very similar to each other, and which are both recorded in vernacular script—are archaic. If this assumption is correct, the binary comparison of Mon and Khmer should produce a reconstruction that is reliable at least insofar as these two languages had not undergone parallel independent developments. The latter should become apparent when a sufficient number of other languages are considered.

Does the reconstructed vocalism have any characteristics that are typologically odd, or that otherwise give us cause for question? Certainly. Indeed, Shorto himself remarks briefly in Part 1 on the lack of a distinction between open and half-open front vowels, speculating that his *e and *ee may actually subsume *ɛ and *ɛɛ. Given that such
a distinction is typologically common among Mon-Khmer languages, I am almost certain that it is the case. We can also note the absence of a close central vowel, such as long or short i or u. Shorto is probably correct here, as these frequently develop as conditioned variants of front and/or back vowels, and by (typically) unconditioned raising of the other central vowels.

What will be the consequences of re-evaluating Shorto’s results? Consider the reconstruction of the etymon underlying #1070 *priit; *priat ‘banana.’ Shorto offers this on the basis of forms such as Bahnar priit. However, more recent data reveals reflexes such as Jru’ prɨt, and point to a merger of *iə and *iɪ in Central Bahnaric. Further afield the Old Mon cognate brāt (compared in Shorto 1971 but absent from the MKCD!) clearly indicates that Proto-Bahnaric *iə derives from a raising of PMK *aa. The same correspondence can be found elsewhere, e.g. ‘bone,’ compare: Bahnar ktiŋ, Jru’ ktiŋ, and Palaung kəʔ (at #553 and #488 respectively, and arguably the same correspondence for ‘rain’ at #127 and #141 and ‘dry hill-field’ at #1651).

These examples reflect two different but related problems. In the case of ‘banana,’ admitting new comparisons will indicate a revision of the reconstruction, although not a revision of the proto-system. In the case of ‘bone,’ the Bahnaric and Palaungic reflexes have been assigned to quite separate reconstructions that, arguably, should be collapsed into one. Therefore the recognition of new sound laws, a very likely eventuality, is going to indicate revisions to the proto-lexicon. Here I expect that substantial improvements to the reconstruction will emerge.

Various issues concern the diphthongs *iə, *uə, *ai and [*ɯə]. The first two of these are reconstructed on the principle that they are reflected largely unchanged in Khmer. However, it is very often the case that reflexes in other languages are not diphthonged, appearing rather as *ɛɛ and *ɔɔ, respectively. It is known that low, long monophthongs have a strong tendency to diphthongise in Mon-Khmer languages (e.g. see the discussion and diagram in Huffman 1985), perhaps more often than the reverse change is apt to occur. Thus, it is entirely likely that PMK *ɛɛ and *ɔɔ underlie various examples of Khmer iə, uə that Shorto uses to reconstruct *iə and *uə.

One will note numerous examples of *iə and *uə reconstructed in the MKCD where there is no Khmer reflex, or in fact no diphthonged reflex at all. Consider #467 ‘hair,’ for which the four alternates *suk, *suuk, *sək, *sək are reconstructed. In this case, *sək is posited on the basis of reflexes that in isolation would only suggest *ɔɔ. However, influenced by his theory of vowel alternations, Shorto reconstructs the uu ~ uə alternance to link the ɔɔ forms in Bahnaric with u in Palaungic. I am sure that integrating the results of comprehensive branch level reconstructions will eliminate many of these alternate reconstructions, and reassign many proto-diphthongs to monophthongs.

The diphthong *ai is also problematic, a fact acknowledged by Shorto. It is posited to explain the rather infrequent correspondence of Mon a to Khmer e. I doubt whether it reflects anything other than a fronting in Khmer (and it is likely that similarly fronted reflexes in Kuy are Khmer loans), although a detailed analysis of reflexes in other languages is required to solve this.

In his second draft of the MKCD Shorto introduced a doubtful proto-diphthong [*ɯə] in some eight reconstructions. It is not indicated by the Mon : Khmer correspondences, but rather is based on four examples of a correspondence of Palaung u to Kammu Yuan uə in closed syllables (#410, #503, #1179, #1328). This is then
invoked to explain three cases of open syllable ɔw in Bahnar (and similar reflexes elsewhere in Bahnaric) corresponding to Palaung ɯ (#6, #45, #264).

It is very doubtful that these two groups of correspondences can be linked. The first group has many parallels with etyma for which *iə is indicated, so we need to find cognates beyond Northern Mon-Khmer for those four cases. The other group is perhaps sufficiently explained by contextual changes to PMK *uu. An additional reconstruction of [*ua] at #573 lacks Bahnaric or Palaungic reflexes that follow either pattern, and is instead based upon a correspondence of Mon u to Vietnamese ụ and Stieng o; and requires further investigation.

These considerations would lead us to revise Short’s proto-vocalic inventory to the following:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
* / & i & u & a & a & u & u \\
     e & ə & o & e & ə & ə & o \\
     ε & a & o & ε & a & o & o \\
   / & iə & uə & / \\
\end{array}
\]

The revised inventory is only provisional, and may be subject to further changes in the light of new data and analyses. For example, there are strong indications of Proto-Katuic high central vowels *ɯ, *ɯɯ, *ɯə (see Diffloth 1982, Sidwell 2005). If these are found to have cognates with similar values in other branches, this will indicate reconstruction to PMK. On the other hand, if these are isolated within Katuic, the more likely explanation will be raising from PMK *ə, *əə etc. Such issues can only be addressed by comprehensive branch-level reconstructions.

**Phonological reconstruction: consonantism**

The table of proto-consonants presented by Shorto in his first draft, below, matches exactly that offered by Diffloth in his 1974 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article (and passim). It effectively reflects a consensus view that can be traced back to the foundation laid by Schmidt, and it is not anticipated that further research will be likely to significantly alter this model.

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
* / & p & t & c & k & ? \\
   b & d & j & g \\
   ŋ & d \\
   m & n & ŋ & ŋ \\
   w & r & l & y \\
   s & h & / \\
\end{array}
\]

Additional segments *t₂, *d₂, *n₂ were added by Shorto in the course of his second draft (already discussed to some extent above). They were posited to account for certain correspondences among Northern Mon-Khmer and other Mon-Khmer languages: between dental sibilants and dental stops (e.g. #31 *t₂ŋiʔ ‘sun, day’ on the basis of such forms as Palaung səŋj and Khmer thŋaj), and between laterals and dental nasals (e.g. #1906 *bn₂iəs ‘spear’ on the basis of such forms as Riang-Lang ples and Old Mon bnos).

However, it is important to note that the tabulated proto-consonants are posited as the initial segments in sequences CVC, whereas the *t₂ and *d₂ were specifically
motivated by correspondences of preconsonantal segments. In the rare cases where the second series were reconstructed for prevocalic stops (e.g. \#553 *\textit{knt\textsubscript{2}}ii\textsubscript{2} ‘bone’), the reconstruction is in all but three cases specifically intended to explain the sibilant reflexes within North Bahnaric, and thus is likely to reflect a quite different phenomenon.

The exceptions are readily explained by other processes: \#534 *\textit{kt\textsubscript{2}}an\textsubscript{2} ‘bitter’ and \#1621 *\textit{kt\textsubscript{2}}ur\textsubscript{2} ‘ear’ suggest fusion of *\textit{kt} > c > s in Northern languages; \#543a *\textit{t\textsubscript{2}}an\textsubscript{2} ‘knee’ also has evidence of preconsonantal k. Similarly, \#1343 *\textit{t\textsubscript{2}}om ‘plant’ is infixed in Northern languages, relegating the reflex of *\textit{t\textsubscript{2}} to the preconsonantal position, so that it actually patterns regularly after *\textit{t\textsubscript{2}nii}\textsubscript{2} ‘sun, day.’

Therefore, the table above still holds, leaving us with the separate problem of explaining a correspondence pattern that is restricted to preconsonantal dental stops. Typologically it would be very strange if the set of preconsonantal segments included forms not also occurring as CVC initials, in which case some other explanation must be offered. Shorto himself suggested that it may be explained by the assimilation of a vowel which has since been eliminated by changes to syllabic structure. Given the CVCVC typology of Munda roots, this vocalic explanation is surely more likely than the *\textit{t\textsubscript{2}} and *\textit{d\textsubscript{2}} modeled after the more speculative Austric parallels.

The n\textsubscript{2} reconstructions are more problematic. There are only seven cases: \#344, \#593, \#1367, \#1369, \#1476, \#1631, and \#1906. All involve n\textsubscript{2} as the second member of various clusters, so there is in fact no underlying structural parallel to the *\textit{t\textsubscript{2}}/*\textit{d\textsubscript{2}} issue. In at least two cases (\#1476, \#1631) it is likely that Austronesian loans are confusing the issue, and in three (\#593, \#1367, \#1369) we cannot rule out dissimilation from the final nasal (cf. \#1401 *\textit{liam} ‘good’: Bahnar \textit{liem} and Sre \textit{niam}). This leaves the identification of n\textsubscript{2} unlikely to withstand close investigation.

The reconstruction of initial clusters is based upon the following relation between the registers of Mon and Khmer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMK</th>
<th>Mon</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless + voiceless</td>
<td>head register</td>
<td>head register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless + voiced</td>
<td>chest register</td>
<td>head register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced + voiceless</td>
<td>head register</td>
<td>chest register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced + voiced</td>
<td>chest register</td>
<td>chest register</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The underlying principle is that Mon registers reflect only the voice quality of the prevocalic consonant, but Khmer registers regularly reflect the voice quality of the initial.

The formulation appears (so far as I can tell) to hold up fairly robustly, although the same caveat applies in respect of the proto-vocalism: reconstruction on the basis of this formula will not recover any features that have been lost due to parallel developments in the criterion languages. In this respect I anticipate that the integration of new data from (in particular) Aslian, Khmuic, Vietic and Katuic has the potential to indicate at least a fine-tuning, if not a thorough overhaul, of Shorto’s PMK clusters.

**Lexical reconstruction**

Shorto’s reconstruction of 2,246 groups of proto-lexemes rests on two pillars: 1) the identification of cognates that indicate etyma were present at the PMK level, and 2) the application of sound laws to these cognates in order to generate proto-forms.
The generation of proto-forms is, inevitably, an ongoing process even for the most well-studied language families. As we have just seen, specific aspects of Shorto’s phonological analysis may require revision on the basis of existing data, or even reanalysis as new information becomes available. We can expect that such reanalysis will have the beneficial effect of simplifying Shorto’s reconstructions, reducing the number and complexity of the variant forms.

Shorto’s methodology for identifying etyma at the PMK level must be reviewed more critically. Lacking a coherent model of inter-branch relations between Mon-Khmer languages—a situation that arguably still persists—Shorto was in a sense forced to work without a safety net in order to achieve the heights he wished to attain.

Shorto does not provide any formula to specify the precise mix of languages or sub-groups an etymon would have to be attested for in order to justify a triangulation back to PMK. Despite this, we can readily discern several principles he consistently invoked to justify Mon-Khmer heritage:

- attestation in both Mon and Khmer where borrowing from a non-Mon-Khmer source is considered unlikely,
- attestation in Munda and in at least one Mon-Khmer language,
- attestation in Austronesian and in at least one Mon-Khmer language where borrowing into the Mon-Khmer language is considered unlikely.

The great majority of Shorto’s cognate groups are based on evidence from multiple branches of Mon-Khmer, and will be strengthened as more data becomes available. The 354 items supported by Munda attestation are particularly likely to be legitimate, regardless of how many MK branches they occur in (although Munda forms have radically complex morphologies that present special difficulties to comparativists). This issue is discussed below in Relation to Munda.

In a few cases Shorto relied on a single MK branch without citing external comparisons. In a regular pattern of error whose root cause I will return to below, he appears to have consistently treated South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric as separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purpose of lexical reconstruction. This led to entries such as #1401 *liəm ‘good,’ for which only Bahnaric forms are cited.

Shorto’s Austronesian connections are obviously the least justifiable. Assuming an Indo-Chinese origin, before Shutler and Marck’s results supporting a Formosan homeland for Austronesian, the Austric hypothesis was of crucial importance, spurred on by the increasing availability of extensive and reliable Austronesian reconstructions. But Shorto’s use of Austronesian data as evidence in his phonological and lexical reconstruction of Mon-Khmer will certainly be the most controversial aspect of his work.

Even if one accepts the Austric hypothesis, the discrimination of borrowings from genetic inheritance at great time depths is extremely problematic. Normally one would expect to see strong additional evidence (such as distributional factors) taken into account before borrowing is discarded as the null hypothesis.

Shorto does not explain his reasoning in 30 MKCD entries of etyma that appear to be isolated within single branches of Mon-Khmer, yet have been accepted as archaic on the basis of questionable Austronesian parallels. A good example is #1476 ‘dove,’ for which Proto-Austronesian *pun,ai is invoked to justify projecting Palaung [ə]ploy and Riang-Lang ˉploe to PMK *pn[uu]ly. This can only be accepted on the basis of the
questionable 1 : n correspondence, or the phonetic equation evaporates and the etymon is better relegated to the Palaungic level until wider Mon-Khmer cognates can be found.

Regardless of one’s view of the Austric hypothesis, a great number of Mon-Khmer-Austronesian lexical comparisons compiled by Shorto extensively catalog a long history of poorly understood language contact. They provide a detailed and well-documented overview not generally accessed by specialists working strictly within either the Austroasiatic or Austronesian traditions, and create the opportunity to address some of the larger issues of Southeast Asian linguistic history.

Aside from the readily identified deviations discussed above, Shorto’s approach to lexical reconstruction is fundamentally sound. Some of his comparisons will ultimately be rejected as not justifying lexical reconstructions, but it would be a mistake to rule out, a priori, all cases that raise questions because of the limited data presented at this time.

**Internal branching and classification**

The problem of determining the structure of the Mon-Khmer family has vexed linguists since the time of Schmidt, and it is fair to say that it remains unsolved. A confusing muddle of tree diagrams have been offered over the past century, although none, to my knowledge, have been determined on the basis of explicit formulae of shared innovations.

Since the 1960s two consistent (albeit irreconcilable) schemes have emerged. Each is based on essentially lexical methods, reflecting the longstanding absence of a well-developed phonological reconstruction. One approach is championed by Diffloth, who has consistently grouped Mon-Khmer branches into three large divisions. This implies that the languages must have diverged gradually over thousands of years, with speakers undertaking multiple migrations (see Diffloth 2005 for his most recent view).

An alternative view derives from lexicostatistical studies (e.g. Thomas 1966; Thomas and Headley 1970; Huffman 1976, 1978; Smith 1981) that have generally found that Mon-Khmer languages branch into at least 10 more-or-less equidistant groupings. These results suggest a simple “rake”-shaped tree, and imply that at some point in time Proto-Mon-Khmer expanded rapidly over a vast area.

Shorto’s method effectively assumed the rake model, as he compiled etymologies on the assumption that attestation in any two branches was a reasonable minimum criterion for identifying Mon-Khmer heritage. Given the state of the art in the mid-1970s, we hardly fault Shorto for adopting the rake model, inasmuch as it is founded on empirical studies. However, issues regarding understanding and treatment of Bahnaric and Katuic led Shorto to inconsistencies and mistakes in his analysis.

Shorto cites examples from Bahnaric—a single branch in the rake model—extensively in the *MKCD*. It is second only to Mon and Khmer in importance, echoing the approach of Schmidt (1905). When he began working, the Bahnaric languages were classified into two groups: Stiengan and Bahnaran (reflecting the fact that Stieng and Bahnar were the first Bahnaric languages to be extensively documented). This two-way division was subsequently renamed South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric respectively by Thomas and Headley (1970). Shorto nominally subscribed to an analysis that held Bahnaric to be a single branch, noting comparisons as “Bahnaric” in the *MKCD* when they had both Stiengan and Bahnaran reflexes.

Yet despite the above, it is apparent that Shorto treated Stiengan and Bahnaran as reflecting two separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purposes of lexical reconstruction.
He posits some 146 PMK reconstructions on the basis of Bahnaric forms alone, as if attestation in these two “branches” justifies triangulation of the etymon back to PMK, rather than merely to Proto-Bahnaric. In addition, in Appendix A of Stiengan/South Bahnaric etymologies Shorto constructs putative PMK antecedents without recourse to other Bahnaric comparisons or intermediate Bahnaric level reconstructions.

Shorto’s error is compounded by his choice of representative languages for these putative branches. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly recognised that Bahnar does not belong in the North Bahnaric branch, and is probably more closely related to South Bahnaric (see Sidwell 2002). Moreover, the language Röngao, which was treated as a dialect of Bahnar in the dictionary of Guilleminet (1959-63) that Shorto relied upon, is most certainly a distinct North Bahnaric language.

The consequence of Shorto’s handling of Stiengan and Bahnaran is that 146 etymologies technically do not justify PMK reconstructions; a large proportion of these do not even justify Proto-Bahnaric reconstructions. It can be expected that although wider MK etymologies will be found for many, others—particularly those attested only in Bahnar and South Bahnaric—will turn out to be Austronesian borrowings. While this in no way undermines the rest of Shorto’s achievement, all of the 146 reconstructions in question must be treated as provisional until more data is considered.

Another issue involves the Katuic branch, which was very poorly understood until recently. The Kuy language, which has hundreds of thousands of speakers in the lowland areas of Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos, was the principal representative of Katuic in the MKCD. Unfortunately, Kuy is not a very good exemplar for the Katuic branch. Besides borrowing numerous Cambodian words, Kuy has highly innovative phonology, having undergone a vowel split parallel to that of Middle Khmer.

Shorto initially assumed that Kuy was closely related to Khmer, rather than being an aberrant member of a separate and more conservative Mon-Khmer branch, as has been subsequently shown (see Diffloth 1982). However, after completing the second draft of Part 3, Shorto realized and began to correct his error as data on the various Katuic languages spoken by small and diverse communities in the upper Sekong valley of Laos and the adjacent Vietnamese hills came to his attention.

Katu, the most linguistically archaic of these, was just beginning to be known to outsiders, and a published lexicon only came into Shorto’s possession in the 1980s. In piecing together notes retained by Anna Shorto, it is apparent that he also obtained lexicons for several other Katuic languages, including Bru, Ngeq, and Pakoh.

Using this information, Shorto developed two preliminary reconstructions: one for Proto-Bruan (designating the Bru-Kuy subgroup), and one for Proto-Katuic, based on data from Ngeq, Pakoh, and Katu sources. Consequently he made many marginal annotations of Bru forms in Part 3, the comparative dictionary proper, and had begun to add Pacoh forms when circumstances intervened and the work was abandoned. Shorto’s unpublished notes on Katuic reconstruction are archived at http://archives.sealang.net/shorto.

Relation to Munda

Shorto’s conviction in the Austric hypothesis made it nearly inevitable that consideration of Munda, a large and deeply complex language family of India, would be somewhat marginalized. It has been recognised since Mason (1854) that Munda languages are related to Mon-Khmer, but the structure of that relationship is still unclear. While the
received view is that Mon-Khmer and Munda are sister branches of the Austroasiatic macrophyllum, there is no real consensus.

The recent classification by Diffloth (2005) treats Munda as a branch on a par with Northern Mon-Khmer, such that there is no meaningful distinction between Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic. In contrast, the noted Munda specialist David Stampe (pers. com.) considers it more likely that Mon-Khmer is an offshoot of Munda, and in a sense is the reverse of Diffloth’s formulation.

Although he does not raise the issue explicitly, Shorto’s analysis agrees with Diffloth. Shorto reproduces Austroasiatic etymologies from Pinnow (1959), and in some cases relies upon Munda comparisons to justify reconstructions where Mon-Khmer reflexes are restricted in their distribution (e.g. #182 *bruuʔ ‘hill’).

Elsewhere, in his discussion of the t₂, d₂ problem (quoted above), Shorto notes that the sibilant reflexes of Northern Mon-Khmer are also found in Munda, not the phonological contrast (e.g. #31 *t⁹ni²ʔ ‘sun, day’: Khmer thŋay, Palaung səŋi, Mundari səŋgi). This would suggest that Munda and Northern Mon-Khmer descend from a common branch, reducing Munda to a much less important place in the phylogenetic tree.

This position is consistent with the greater emphasis Shorto places on comparing Mon-Khmer to Austronesian, without attempting to posit intermediate Proto-Austroasiatic forms. After all, if Munda is merely a sister to Northern Mon-Khmer, then the PMK reconstructions will in principle be equivalent to Proto-Austronesian.

A present-day perspective would undoubtedly hold that despite uncertainties concerning the phylogenetic relation of Munda to Mon-Khmer, they share a closer relation to each other than either might share with Austronesian. The comparative reconstruction of Proto-Munda must take priority, fully informing the Proto-Mon-Khmer/Austroasiatic reconstruction before we attempt to analyse the phonological and lexical implications of any putative Austric comparisons.

**Conclusion**

It is fair to say that the transformative role of the MKCD in Mon-Khmer studies will, in time, be comparable to other works of similar scope and quality, such as: Otto Dempwolff’s (1938) Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes or Emeneau and Burrow’s (1961) Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.

No scholar would claim that either of these provided wholly definitive results or reached entirely error-free conclusions. Yet both crystallised decades of scholarship in their respective fields, and each stimulated tremendous improvements in the quality of subsequent research. Their meticulously organised and analysed data were immediately useful for reference; indeed, careers were established on the basis of ideas gleaned while fishing through their pages.

More importantly, they established neutral playing fields for future generations, making it possible to unambiguously cite an etymology or theoretical model in a context whose forms and issues were recognized and accepted by the entire profession. Shorto’s citation of Dempwolf’s forms in his Austric comparisons amply demonstrates the point. Although they are now outdated now by almost 70 years, any comparative Austronesianist will immediately recognise them, and can easily relate them to modern forms.
This is the unique contribution of canonical texts to research: defective and incomplete as they may be, they are essential to the progress of any field. Their value is based not on the absence of error, but on the honesty and scholarship with which they attempt to account for the field’s current state of knowledge. And by this standard, Shorto’s *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* richly deserves its pride of place at the head of 20th Century Mon-Khmer linguistics.

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Canberra, June 2006
Some Background Notes

Christian Bauer
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Any posthumous publication warrants some remarks about the historical context in which it was created; information privy to those who had the privilege of working closely with its author, and which may shed light on aspects of its compilation. This is all the more true in this particular case as the Comparative Dictionary has its origin in Mon lexicography and a lineage going back to as early as 1928.

Harry Shorto graduated in Modern and Medieval Languages from Cambridge University. He spent the war years as a commissioned officer in the Fourteenth Army in Burma. From anecdotes he told me during classes I know that, at some stage, he was involved in reconnaissance missions in the Shan states.

Following an initial posting as an assistant lecturer in linguistics in 1948, Shorto was appointed to a lectureship in Mon at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1952. His ties to SOAS were extensive; officers involved in reconnaissance missions and intelligence work received language training in Japanese and Burmese in the linguistics department, headed by J. R. Firth, and all newly employed language lecturers at SOAS were instructed in general linguistics and phonetics under the supervision of Eugénie Henderson (1914-1989).

The availability of a Mon lectureship is not as incongruous at it may seem today. The British assumed that Burma would join the Commonwealth after gaining independence, and that the major ethnic groups would be accorded a measure of autonomy. The need for intensive regional language study in the wake of decolonization was, therefore, a given.

The Scarbrough Report of 1947 had reviewed the state of Asian language instruction at British universities, and recommended the creation of a number of lectureships in Southeast Asian languages. At the School of Oriental and African Studies, it was even planned to create positions for Shan and Karen at a later stage. Although these never materialized, Mon had already been established at SOAS in all but name for several decades.

Mon was first introduced by J. A. Stewart (1882-1948), Professor of Burmese, who as a colonial administrator in lower Burma had collected Mon texts, and who later initiated a certificate in Mon at the School. He was followed by Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), first Lecturer (1917) and then Reader in Malay, who succeeded in deciphering the Old Mon inscriptions of Pagan, Prome, Thaton and Lampun. It is actually Blagden’s materials from which A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary ultimately derives, as we shall see below.
Shorto began to study modern Mon in 1949 when the Mon monk U Wāyama, originally from Kawbein, was resident in London for about a year. U Wāyama was no mere language assistant. An educator and modernizer, he conceived and co-wrote the seven-part series of Mon Readers for language instruction in the schools of lower Burma, and also authored an introduction to Mon for Burmese speakers. U Wāyama came from a long line of distinguished Mon Sayadaws that include Silawantathera (Shwe Ngwè) and U Kosalla, in whose monastery Shorto was to reside as a layman.

After a year of typical armchair preparatory work in London, Shorto left for Burma and took up residence in U Kosalla’s monastery in Mudun on Bilu Island. To students of my generation this had always appeared to be a period of unrestricted travel and carefree research opportunities. However, his fieldwork was actually severely hampered by travel restrictions, which limited his access to detailed information on Mon dialects in Burma.

Shorto never traveled south of the mainland township Mudon, and his occasional sorties from Bilugyun were limited to Moulmein, Martaban and Kyaikmaraw. Shorto was, however, able to do fieldwork on Mon dialects in Thailand, where he met William Gedney. And it was Gedney who provided him with a Mon contact, Mahā Phuan, who acted as informant for his ‘Lopburi’ dialect.

Shorto remained in Southeast Asia until 1952. The first draft of the Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon was written during the steamer journey back to England. In addition to Shorto’s field work, his lexicographic description of Mon was based on Robert Halliday’s Mon-English Dictionary of 1922, and on material Stewart had bequeathed to the School and now lost: mainly songs, folktales and pieces of traditional literature. This material was complemented by wordlists written by U Wāyama.

However, the dictionary was not published for a full decade. The delay was due, among other factors, to Firth; the “Philological Society” was willing to defray the cost of printing but Firth insisted that the dictionary be revised to include a concordance of written forms as well.

Shorto began his study of Old Mon under Gordon Luce (1889-1979), who had been appointed visiting professor at the School for three years until 1953. Luce was by then Professor of Far Eastern History at the University of Rangoon and had studied Old Mon, Chinese and Sanskrit in Europe since 1918 during his annual leaves of absence. After a decade of study and correspondence with Blagden, Luce had secured funds from University College Rangoon in 1929 to publish Blagden’s Dictionary of Old Mon with cognate forms in Khmer, etc.—as its title was intended to be—to be followed by an Old Mon grammar. The dictionary was meant to include cognates from other Mon-Khmer languages; no surprise, considering that Blagden, after years of colonial service in Malaya, had co-written Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula with W. W. Skeat, and had corresponded, in German, with Pater Wilhelm Schmidt.

Blagden had continued his editorial work on Old and Middle Mon inscriptions through the war years, carefully noting etymologies in a 5,000-card index. After Blagden’s death in 1948, his daughter sent his papers to the School. These papers consisted, among others, of the 5,000-card index, on which the projected epigraphic Mon dictionary was to have been based, and a notebook with transcriptions of unpublished texts and a concordance. The fate of the collection of rubbings was never established.
When Luce returned to Burma it was agreed that Shorto would update and edit Blagden's index and notes, rework them into a dictionary, and arrange for publication. Shorto completed a first draft of the Old Mon dictionary by 1956. Throughout 1956-57, the draft was checked against epigraphic data in Burma wherever possible. Mainly, this was confined to stone inscriptions and ink glosses from Pagan as well as the Middle Mon bell inscriptions.

Further etymological material was incorporated through Shorto's own fieldwork on the Northern Mon-Khmer languages Palaung and Praok (a Wa dialect). Pinnow's Habilitation of 1959 provided new comparative Munda material. No further epigraphic data were added beyond findings of the early 1960s, thus excluding significant early data from Northeastern Thailand.

The dictionary was eventually published in 1971, as A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the 6th to the 16th centuries, incorporating materials collected by the late C. O. Blagden (henceforth DMI). Shorto, since 1964 Reader in Southeast Asian Languages and Literatures, was then promoted to a personal chair in Mon-Khmer Studies.

Although still immensely useful to epigraphic research to this day, DMI is not without its deficiencies. Paradoxically, these have a direct bearing upon—and more importantly, a direct benefit for—the execution of this Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary. To Shorto, the phonological reference form was of key importance. The notation of special glyphs, so dear to the epigrapher, would only distract and could hence be ignored as being of no phonological impact. Thus, the transliterated forms found in DMI are, in fact, transcriptions, with a few exceptions a practice inherited from Blagden. In DMI, features of the writing system, including special ligatures, abbreviated rhyme notations and superscripts, were all normalized; which is to say they were not noted at all.

Shorto’s compilation of the DMI (and later the Comparative Dictionary) was also greatly influenced by Sir Ralph Turner (1888-1983), who published the first and main volume of his Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages in 1966. Sir Ralph, director of the School from 1938 to 1957, had taken an avid interest in the progress of DMI, and it is hardly surprising that Shorto found inspiration, both in form and method, in the magnum opus of his senior colleague.

The main Old Mon entries in DMI served as building blocks against which a series of cognates could be set, in the same manner that Turner used Vedic and Sanskrit citations (rather than reconstructions) to head the entries. It is telling that Middle Mon forms in DMI do not appear as separate main entries whenever an Old Mon form is attested: convenient for the etymologist, but frustrating indeed for the epigrapher in the field.

In a sense, then, DMI was from its inception a prototype or blueprint for an etymological Mon-Khmer dictionary to come, in which Mon was intended as one of three Testsprachen or criterion languages, along with Khmer and Vietnamese. Shorto recognised the importance of including more representative criterion languages in the analysis, hence his interest in adding to the knowledge of Northern Mon-Khmer; his work on Palaung was actually a check on Mrs. Milne’s data of the 1920s.

Acquiring a working knowledge of Khmer, probably in the early 1960s, lead him to reject all previous reconstructions of the early Mon vocalism he had envisaged. Shorto
arrived at his definitive reconstruction of the Old Mon vocalism with his 1965 London paper.¹

For the Comparative Dictionary Shorto carried on the notation and symbols of Turner’s CDIAL, although his layout and method of reconstruction are more reminiscent of Dempwolff’s comparative Austronesian, particularly in basing the reconstructions on a small set of criterion languages chosen to represent a large and under-documented language family.  

In January 1973 Shorto débuted a preliminary version of the proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system to the First Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics in Hawai‘i. In September of the same year he presented his view of Southeast Asian linguistic proto-history, which was meant to be part of the introduction of the Comparative Dictionary, to the London Colloquy on Early Southeast Asia. And, by 1976 he was able to propose a reconstruction of Austric, based on 200 roots, at a Toronto conference dedicated to Benedict’s Austro-Thai hypothesis.  

When I arrived at SOAS in September 1977 to learn Mon and write my doctoral dissertation under Shorto’s supervision, the second draft of the Comparative Dictionary was ready in typewritten draft form, although some issues in Vietic and other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages remained to be solved. This was essentially the same state of affairs when I took the final examination in the autumn of 1982. On one of my subsequent annual visits from Mahidol to London—Shorto had retired in 1984—he confided that he had changed the reconstruction of the vowels again. And that he was still occupied with writing the introduction.

Christian Bauer
Berlin, August 2006

The Future of the MKCD

Doug Cooper
Center for Research in Computational Linguistics

Paul Sidwell and Christian Bauer have described the present and past of Shorto’s MKCD. We now turn to a preview of its future as an electronic resource.

As Sidwell notes in his Preface, we originally began working together to make the few available Mon-Khmer branch reconstructions and their supporting lexical data more accessible for research and reference. These included Diffloth’s analyses of Monic and Waic, Ferlus’s forthcoming presentation of Vietic, and Sidwell’s own comparative dictionaries of Katuic and Bahnaric.

Tying these works into a single, unified resource, with branch reconstructions pointing to Mon-Khmer roots, was an obvious goal, but it was an objective that was by no means trivial. An underlying skeleton of Mon-Khmer etyma that could ease the task of organizing data—far less a systematic attempt at reconstructing the proto-language—simply did not exist.

We became more frustrated as we began to find extensive, unpublished documentation for little-known, highly endangered Mon-Khmer languages, both in manuscript form (as in the Australian National Library’s Gordon Luce collection), and buried in the appendices of theses and lexicons. While we could readily scan and archive these texts, we had no desire to manage a museum of fossils. Again, we needed a way to incorporate the data into the larger body of Mon-Khmer research.

The appearance of Shorto’s manuscript changed everything. Its coverage is broad and deep enough to provide a rational framework for most Mon-Khmer language resources, including both reconstructions and lexical data. As a result, our efforts to prepare the MKCD for publication have also focused on deconstructing Shorto’s text in preparation for a much broader project.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project

This effort, scheduled to commence formally in 2007, will carry on where Shorto leaves off. Initially, the complete content of Part 3’s Comparative Dictionary will be extracted, XML-tagged, and made freely available on line. All of the text’s constituent parts, including etyma, reconstructions, and lexical citations, will be accessible both in accordance with Shorto’s analysis and layout, and as a collection of independent datasets.

Shorto’s data will form the core of a new resource: the Mon-Khmer Etymological Database. A companion Mon-Khmer Languages Database will be dedicated to purely lexicographic data, obtained from as wide a variety of both published and unpublished sources as possible, including original manuscripts from Luce and others. Shorto will
continue to be identified with all of the elements and relations defined in *MKCD*, but new language data, etyma, reconstructions, and citations can be added to both databases.

The MKL Project presents the opportunity to make a clean break with an outdated tradition: to challenge the view of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics as an essentially solitary task, based solely on traditionally published work.

Both Sidwell and Bauer have described the patrimony of file cards handed down from generation to generation. Although some scholars have begun to rely on electronic databases for recordkeeping in recent decades, use of the Internet as a means for active collaboration has barely penetrated the field’s consciousness. Data has been computerized, but its management has not been modernized, and some of the social and academic practices that restrict access to data are unchanged since Blagden’s day.

This would not be a problem for comparative work if branch-level issues were well-resolved, with authoritative, published proto-language reconstructions that had stood the test of time. And, indeed, in the 1960s and 1970s there was every reason to believe that this happy state of affairs lay just around the corner.

But it has not come to be. Nor is the situation improving; as lack of funding reduces the number of practitioners in the field, the gridlock of academic publication has worsened apace. Publishers are famously hesitant to print large, specialized monographs whose sales will not cover typesetting costs, and qualified editors able to make the substantial time commitments that highly technical works require are an endangered species. Worse, every missing publication has a ripple effect: unpublished field notes cannot help to build dictionaries; unpublished dictionaries cannot support branch-level analysis; and the missing branch-level analyses have led to deadlock in the field.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project will enable a new alternative, founded on Shorto’s data and analysis, and open to ongoing development. The Mon-Khmer Etymological Database will focus on etyma, reconstructions, and relations. It will initially consist of data mined from Shorto’s *MKCD*; however, a new numbering system will be applied to make the database easier to extend.

The companion Mon-Khmer Languages Database will also initially contain lexicons derived from the *MKCD*. We anticipate that it will grow rapidly; we have a substantial amount of language-specific data, and have received offers of additional contributions for nearly every branch of the Mon-Khmer family from colleagues around the world.

Both databases will be open for inspection and addition. Any suitably tagged dataset can easily be harvested via the Internet and incorporated into the system. Because every single item is identified by its contributor, the obvious issue of quality control is dealt with in a transparent, elegant manner: source-filtering lets the databases be customized on the fly. Only sources the user trusts, or items that been vetted by scholars the user trusts, will actually figure in responding to any of the user’s queries.

Thus, the project will not screen data. Rather, we provide simple tools necessary to let the scholarly community collaborate in certifying data and relations: not by majority vote, but by the same process of consideration, occasional rejection, and eventual consensus that traditional publishing has always provided. It is likely to be a painful process at first, but absent a new Golden Age of funding for Southeast Asian scholarship, editors, and publication it cannot be avoided.
Technical Notes on this Edition

Shorto’s text incorporates a dizzying array of symbols used in a half-dozen different traditions for linguistic transcription and transliteration. To ensure the most accurate data entry possible we relied on Keyster, a software tool developed at CRCL for digitizing dictionaries as part of the SEAlang Library project. Keyster supports independent double-key text entry, followed by a third pass that reconciles any differences between the two operators.

To catch the small number of misreadings that passed the two independent typists (an inevitability, given the large number of scripts Shorto used, and his many handwritten corrections), Sidwell and I spent weeks painstakingly proofreading the work, again using custom software that let us make a heads-up comparison between the typed output and the source image, one line at a time. The result was a Unicode-encoded plaintext file that (once several dozen Chinese characters supplied by Geoff Wade were added) matched Shorto’s manuscript exactly, and was ready for Sidwell to copy edit.

A small suite of Perl programs then analyzed the plaintext, making thousands of small changes in layout, labeling, and expansion of abbreviations, and inserting some 100,000 tags to individually mark each feature, including citations, reconstructions, transcriptions, transliterations, glosses, references, and notes.

This feature-tagging was simply a means to an end. After transforming the text into MS Word format, macros relied on the tags to create an important visual aid for copy editing: an extensive palette of fonts and colors uniquely distinguished every element type. A final laborious proofing pass by Sidwell ensured that the text would be properly formatted for this print edition, and could be accurately XML-tagged for service as a Web-based resource in the future.

We take full responsibility for any errors made in transcribing the text, and in the interests of accountability for content (per Bird and Simons 2003), scans of Shorto’s original manuscripts are available for inspection at http://archives.sealang.net/shorto. These will be linked to the electronic edition of MKCD, which can of course be immediately corrected if and as errors are reported.

Doug Cooper
Bangkok, August 2006
References

[Editorial note: the following is a consolidated list of references covering both the MKCD and the front matter. The manuscript that Shorto had left was so incomplete that we were unable to construct the bibliography as he had intended.]


A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary


A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary


Notes on the Dictionary Entries

Entries in Part 3 are constructed of up to seven parts:

- Numbered etyma, with a semicolon-separated list of PMK reconstructions, and italicized English glosses
- Supporting etymologies (labels A, B etc. correspond to the semicolon-separated list, and are followed by branch names in parentheses)
- Remarks on the reconstructions/etymologies
- Comparative works used as sources, in parentheses
- Munda comparisons and sources, if any
- Austronesian comparisons and sources, if any
- Other remarks or comparisons (more often Sino-Tibetan)

Each entry comprises at least the first two parts.

Some 156 extended etyma numbers (e.g. #6a, #798a) indicate Shorto's intention to insert new items and renumber the complete system. We have preserved all original numbering for fear of introducing any errors among the numerous cross-references.

References to the sources of lexical citations are often more implicit than explicit, reflecting the author's approach to economy of text. Although Shorto's draft bibliography is sketchy, we have made every possible effort both to identify sources, and to confirm the accuracy of citations.

The dictionary is based initially upon a synthesis of published comparative works. The texts drawn on for each etymology are listed in parentheses accordingly. This leads to some underspecification, as there are overlaps between these works, and items taken directly from the primary sources, e.g. Stieng items drawn directly from Azémar (1886) are not distinguished from Schmidt's citations from the same source.

Where particular forms are not drawn from published comparative works, their source may (although not always) be indicated immediately after their citation within the etymology, e.g.: in #2 *ʔiiʔ person, Stieng ʔan is marked as being from Blood (1966), as it was not taken from Azémar (1886). The author also introduced various new comparisons; some of their sources are marked, but others are not. As Shorto had not finished redrafting the full text before his passing, it is a fact that not all sources have been identified, and we beg the reader's understanding.
Symbols & Abbreviations

*  hypothetical, reconstructed, unattested
†  Munda cognate cited
‡  Austronesian cognate cited
>  becoming, developing into
<  deriving from
→  loanword into
←  loanword from
~  morphologically related to
=  the same (etymon) as
≠  differs from
  except for letters following or preceding symbol the same as form last cited

cf.  compare
ib.  in the same work
intr.  intransitive
n.  noun
tr.  transitive
v.  verb
v.i.  verb intransitive
v.t.  verb transitive
Part 1 Vocalism

Introduction

More than sixty years have passed since Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, in a celebrated series of monographs, laid the foundations for modern comparative study of the Mon-Khmer languages as a group and within the Austric family to which they ultimately belong (Schmidt 1904, 1905, 1906). Few scholars now, in spite of intervening controversies, would seriously dispute his main findings; but there have been marked differences in the rate of progress in the various branches of the field which he opened up. Austronesian studies have proliferated, following on the classic work of Otto Dempwolff (1934-38); more recently H.-J. Pinnow (1959) has provided a comparable, if in some respects more modest, systematization of Munda. In Mon-Khmer itself, the kernel of Schmidt’s inquiries, the equivalent synthesis has yet to be achieved. A good deal of additional cognate material has been assembled, notably by Skeat and Blagden (1906) and Shafer (1952, 1965); but attempts at a systematic reconstruction have run into difficulties most obviously in the face of irregularities in the correspondences of vowels. The pivotal character of this part of the problem is my excuse for anticipating the comprehensive account which must follow later by putting forward the data from which the Mon-Khmer vowel system may be reconstructed.

The solution I propose depends on the recognition, alongside the vocalism reflected in a set of “regular” correspondences, of a number of types of vowel variation or gradation in Proto-Mon-Khmer with the variants distributed more or less randomly in modern dialects. It will readily be seen that, if such an interpretation of the data is correct, then the wider the extension of a cognate set the greater the chance of its including one or more vowel-variant forms. It follows that a comparison which, as most recent ones have, embraces the largest possible number of languages will elicit a very large number of partially similar correspondences. If, on the other hand, comparison is

[Editorial note: for spoken Mon and modern Khmer Shorto uses the symbols b and d for IPA ɓ and ɗ respectively; spoken Mon hw corresponds to IPA ɸ.]

The term “Mon-Khmer” has been used in two senses: of Mon, Khmer, and the languages of the Annamite Chain as in the titles of Schmidt’s three monographs; and of the whole of the eastern branch of Austroasiatic, i.e. AA excluding Munda. Pinnow has proposed “Khmer-Nicobar” for the latter grouping. Until the position of Nicobarese is clarified I adhere to the older term; but my use of “Mon-Khmer” in the wide sense will be unambiguous, since I prefer to divide Mon with Nyahkur as “Western MK” from the remainder of the languages in Schmidt’s narrower group, which designates “Eastern MK”.

Cf. David D. Thomas (1964), “A survey of Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies”, p. 161: “So in general Schmidt’s work on initial consonants can be considered sound, the final consonants can be considered valid at most points, and the vowels are as he left them—chaotic.”
restricted to two languages—and given that the incidence of vowel variation is limited—we should expect a relatively high number of regularly related cognates and a smaller number of “irregular” ones attributable to variation. These again will be likely to show the following features: doublets will occur at least occasionally in each language; variations being randomly distributed will generate multiple correspondences, e.g. *i in Language A versus *ii in Language B, and *ii in A versus *i in B; the correspondences so generated will be relatively infrequent as well as numerous. These expectations are borne out in the material presented below.

The two languages to be thus compared are Mon and Khmer. I choose them in the first place because the amount of lexical material available guarantees a maximum number of cognate pairs. In addition, their relationship is distant enough to provide a useful baseline when the comparison is extended to other dialects; and with Mon at any rate it is possible to trace the evolution of the language and so to go behind more recent perturbations of its phonological system.

For Mon, Old Mon is taken as the standard of reference and forms from the inscriptions are cited wherever possible, their counterparts in modern spoken Mon, if any, being also noted. Old and Middle Mon are cited from my Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions (1971); spoken Mon from my Dictionary of modern spoken Mon (1962); most of the literary forms cited will be found in P. Halliday, A Mon-English dictionary (Bangkok, 1922; repr. Rangoon, 1955), but some are taken from unpublished lexical collections.4

In the case of Khmer my knowledge does not allow me to base the comparison on epigraphic material in the same way. For many of the Old Khmer forms cited I am indebted to the kindness of [ms. blank here].5 Most of the modern Khmer forms are taken from Syndulphe Tandart [1877-1931], Dictionnaire-cambodgien-français (1935); those bearing the rubric “(Guesdon 1930)” are from Joseph Guesdon, Dictionnaire cambodgien-français. In addition, my colleague Mrs J. M. Jacob has kindly supplied a number of references to the 1969 edition of Vacananukram Khmer. All modern forms are transcribed according to the system set out in Eugénie J. A. Henderson, “The main features of Cambodian pronunciation”, BSOAS, XIV, 1952, pp. 149-74. This differs in certain minor respects from that used in Judith M. Jacob, Introduction to Cambodian (1968), to which reference is made at appropriate places below.6 Where it is necessary to refer to the Cambodian orthography, the transliteration used is of the conventional Sanskritic type with the following modifications: the long inherent vowel is represented by ɔ̄, the inherent vowel plus short mark (bɔ̄ntɔ̄k) or in a non-final syllable by ɔ; ā plus short mark, and ā plus anusvāra before ṇ, is represented by a; the vowel signs which are

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4 [Editorial note: Bauer confirms that Shorto is referring to lexicographical material compiled by J. A Stewart, C. O. Blagden and U Wāyama which used to be kept in metal file-card boxes at Shorto’s office and in the form of notebooks. The material is presumed to be lost. He kept a handwritten copy of Stewart’s collection of Mon folktales, of which lexical and syntactical samples were entered into the Mon dictionary of 1962. Bauer possesses a photocopy of it as well as of interleaved notes of Blagden’s annotations to various Mon texts.]

5 [Editorial note: It is likely that Shorto meant to thank Saverous Pou and his colleague J. M. Jacob, but hesitated due to concerns over various sensitivities. Mrs. Jacob had compiled a glossary of pre-Angkorian Khmer and may have supplied a number of samples.]

6 There are marginal advantages in citing Khmer forms in a transcription which represents the modern pronunciation. The relation of the latter to the orthography is indicated in the discussion of each correspondence.
Part 1 Vocalism

respectively the fifth, sixth, ninth to twelfth, and fourteenth in the Cambodian syllabary are represented by \( u, ù, ua, v, uo, ia, e. \)

The proposed reconstruction was developed from a comparison of these two languages in the first instance, and is presented in terms of them here for clarity of demonstration. However, its extension to other Mon-Khmer dialects has necessitated some modifications of the scheme first derived from comparison of Mon and Khmer. Since I do not posit an immediate relationship between the two within the larger group, there would be little point in establishing the first version of the system only to reformulate it later, and I do not so. At those points, therefore, where Mon and Khmer are insufficient to establish distinctions attributed to the Proto-Mon-Khmer system, forms from other dialects are quoted in order to justify the reconstructions made. The vowel system to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer comprises seven simple vowels, in all of which length is distinctive, and three diphthongs: \( i, ii, ee, e, a, aa, œ, ō, o, oo, u, uu, ıə, ua, ai. \)

The principal types of variation postulated are (i) between short and long vowel: \( i/ii, \) etc.; (ii) between simple vowel and diphthong: \( ii/iı, uu/ua, \) occasionally \( aa/ai; \) (iii) between diphthong and \( ə : iı/ıə, uu/ıo. \) They may occur in combination, e.g. \( i/ii/iı/ıo. \) Some other, minor types, may be noted.

Before proceeding further we shall consider the vowel systems of Mon and Khmer. The Old Mon system, in its maximal extension before velars, may be phonologically interpreted as \( /i, e, a, ə, o, ı, u, uu, ai/ \). Its graphic representation, which is not fully systematic, is noted at the appropriate places below and summarized in Table 1. Of the nine terms listed, /ai/ occurs only before velars and /uu/ only before velars and laryngeals; /ı, e/ do not occur before /y; /o, u/ do not occur before /w/.

The subsequent evolution of this system is summarized in Table 2. The main steps were as follows. (i) In Middle Mon /o/ lost its rounding, and /uu/ became rounded (/o/ > /ı; /uu/ > /u/), following a nasal and following medial /ʔ/ < /uʔ/. The disappearance through merger of final /c, n/ added a further diphthong to the system before velars, which was and is not distinguished in writing from /e/, but survives in spoken Mon as ıı. (ii) At a later stage /o/ > /o/ before most finals following /n, m/ (the position is complicated, however, by interdialectal borrowing); then /o/ disappeared before laryngeals as a result of /oʔ/ > /uu/, /oh/ > /uh/; /uu/ and /o/ merged as a central vowel. (iii) The emergence of a register distinction, probably towards the end of the sixteenth century, set in train the complex series of splits, shifts, and mergers which produced the modern system. These changes were conditioned partly by register, partly by the nature of the preceding consonant, and partly by that of the final one. They are reflected in the orthography only to the extent that rhyme mergers have led to historically misleading “phonetic” spellings of particular words.

The Khmer system is most conveniently set out in terms of its orthography, which like the Mon one antedates the splits which have followed the development of register. In its maximal extension, in closed syllables before most finals, the written system is (not in syllabary order) /i/u, ı, ia, e, e, a, ă, ă, ʒ, o, ʊ, ʊ, ua, r, ŭ, ua. In the contexts in question these symbols are pronounced, according to register, ŭ/û, ı; ıə/ıə, e/ɛ, æ/ɛ, æ/ɛa/əa,

7 I am grateful to Mrs Jacob for looking over the Khmer material in this paper. Any errors which remain, however, are mine.

8 In complementary distribution.
Before palatals, before ḥ, and in open syllables restricted systems operate. The sixteen terms of the maximal system include four pairs which are functionally distinguished by length, or appear to have been so at the time when the orthography was established: ɨ, ɨ (or ɯ, ũ; but these symbols are of relatively recent introduction), a, ā, ɔ, ɔ̄, u, ũ. Further simplifications are suggested by a study of distribution after known loanwords have been eliminated, as by inspection of the correspondences set out below. ɯə seems to occur only in loans from Thai, while ɯː has a very restricted distribution in native words and is then probably environmentally conditioned. ɨ does not occur in head-register words; oppositions of e and ɛ are relatively infrequent and show at least a partial correlation with register.

Table 1: Mon : Khmer correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PMK</th>
<th>Old Mon orthography</th>
<th>Old Mon phonology</th>
<th>Khmer orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i, u, a, i, ĭ, e, ui, ei</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>i, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-i?</td>
<td>-l(‘)</td>
<td>-i?</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ii</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i, u(1), ĭ(1), e(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ii?</td>
<td>-ey</td>
<td>ĭy</td>
<td>-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e(3), e(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ee</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e(5), e(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a; e(7)</td>
<td>a(8)</td>
<td>a, a(9), a(10), e(11), ĭ(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*aa</td>
<td>ā; e(13)</td>
<td>a(8), ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ō</td>
<td>i etc.; a(14), o(12)</td>
<td>ṭ(12,14)</td>
<td>ĭ; ñ(9); ĭ(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ōō</td>
<td>ĭ etc.; u, ŭ(10)</td>
<td>ŭ(10)</td>
<td>ŭ; ŭ(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ō</td>
<td>o(8), a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o(8), o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ōō</td>
<td>o(8), a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o(8), o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u, ŭ, o(8); i etc.; ŭ, ŭ(10)</td>
<td>ŭ(8), ŭ(10)</td>
<td>ŭ; ŭ(15), ŭ(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uu</td>
<td>ŭ, u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ŭ, ŭ(12), o(2)</td>
</tr>
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<td>*-uu?</td>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>ow</td>
<td>-au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*iā</td>
<td>e; a(17)</td>
<td>ei; ñ(17)?; ĭa(18)</td>
<td>ĭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uā</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>uo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ai</td>
<td>a; e(13)</td>
<td>a(8), a</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Mon historical developments
(Spoken Mon open syllables, and Literary Mon -ā, -i, -ū, au, reflect Old Mon final /r, l, w/; Literary Mon -a, -i, -u reflect Old Mon final /ʔ/.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Mon phonology</th>
<th>Literary Mon</th>
<th>Spoken Mon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i (\text{i}, \text{i})</td>
<td>(\text{ei} \text{i}^{(19)}, \text{oi} \text{i}^{(20)}, \text{e} \text{i} \text{i})</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>(\text{ea} \text{e}^{(20)}, \text{e} \text{e})</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>(-\text{a}, -\text{a}; -\text{au}^{(21)}; -\text{a}^{(23)}, -\text{ā}-\text{a}^{(24)}, -\text{ai}^{(25)}, -\text{ao} -\text{ea}^{(21)})</td>
<td>(\text{a(a)}^{(19)}, \text{ea(a)}^{(20)}, \text{a} \text{a}^{(22)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{o}) (\text{uī}; \text{e}^{(26)})</td>
<td>(\text{a} \text{ā}^{(20)}; \text{oi} \text{ā}^{(26)}; -\text{oi}^{(25)}; \text{d} (\text{a}) \text{ā}; \text{or as} &lt; \text{Old Mon} /\text{i}/^{(27)})</td>
<td>(\text{d} \text{ā}^{(20)}, -\text{oa} -\text{a}^{(25)}, -\text{ao} -\text{ea})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
<td>(-\text{e})(\text{e}^{(20)}, \text{i}, \text{i})</td>
<td>(-\text{a}-\text{e}^{(19)}, \text{a} \text{a}^{(20)}, \text{e} \text{a}^{(21)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>(\text{oo}; -\text{uī}; \text{uī}; \text{uī}^{(27)})</td>
<td>(\text{ao} \text{uī}^{(19)}, \text{a} \text{ā}^{(20)}, \text{ao} -\text{a}^{(25)}, \text{o} \text{ō})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>(\text{uu}; \text{ū})</td>
<td>(\text{ao} \text{uī}^{(19)}, \text{a} \text{ā}^{(20)}, \text{ao} -\text{a}^{(25)}, \text{o} \text{ū})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu</td>
<td>(\text{uī}; \text{uī}^{(27)})</td>
<td>(\text{d} \text{ū}^{(30)}, \text{a} \text{ā}^{(20)}, \text{or as} &lt; \text{Old Mon} /\text{u}/^{(27)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>(\text{ā})</td>
<td>(\text{a} \text{ā})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. “Post-dental” shift. The incidence varies according to the vowel.
3. Head register.
4. Chest register; head register *\(\text{h}\), (?) *\(\text{w}\).
5. Head register; chest register before *\(\text{ʔ}\).
6. Chest register; (?) head register before s.
7. Before y, optionally before c, ŋ.
8. Before laryngeals and velars.
9. Before *\(\text{ʔ}\), m, r.
10. Before *\(\text{y}\).
11. Chest register before ŋ (?).
12. Before *\(\text{h}\).
13. Optionally before velars.
14. Before s.
15. Before *\(\text{ʔ}\).
16. Before r.
17. Before s following consonant cluster.
18. Before r, l, w.
19. In open syllables and before laryngeals.
21. Old Mon -w.
22. Before dentals.
23. Before velars, h.
24. Before p, m.
25. Old Mon -y.
27. By post-nasal split.
28. Following n, m.
29. Rare except before * /ʔ/.
30. Before laryngeals.
Part 1: Vocalism

Vowels before Stops, Nasals and Liquids⁹

*a*, *aa*, *ai.

*a*. Before final *k*, *ŋ*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m* the reconstruction of *a* presents little difficulty. It follows from correspondences of a in Eastern Mon-Khmer languages other than Khmer (Bahnaric, Khmuic) and in Temiar, ā in Vietnamese and Mường, and orthographic a in Khmer and in Old and Middle Mon.

Mon: Old Mon a is interpreted as phonological /a/ before velars (and laryngeals) and /ʌ/ before other finals. Modern Mon has correspondingly e, chest-register ēə before velars; o (and following nasal o), chest-register õ otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic a is realized as a in head-register words, and in chest-register words as ěə before velars, ùə before other finals.

Palaungic: the Riang-Lang correspondences are a before velars and o before other consonants. Palaung has aʔ < *-ak and o before other consonants, so that PMK *a* can generally be reconstructed from Palaung -aʔ : Riang-Lang -ak; Palaung -oŋ : Riang-Lang -əŋ; Palaung -it : Riang-Lang -øt, etc. Praok, which shows indications of having been a register language at an earlier stage, has o before velars following an originally voiceless initial complex, u following an originally voiced one; before the other consonants in question it has u irrespective of the initial.

Khansi most often has a; but in a significant minority of cases—about a quarter, before all finals—it has e. This is too frequent to account for by assuming PMK variants in *œ*, nor can it readily be explained by environmental conditioning. I make no special reconstruction in these cases.

Most of these reflexes are illustrated in the following examples.

1. Middle Mon jak, Modern Mon cɛ̀ak ‘to march, set out’; Sre ja’ ‘to tread on, trample’, Bahnar jak ‘to go away’; Riang-Lang _cak ‘to put on, wear [shoes]’ (and by extension ‘... [headgear, rings]’); ‘Central Sakai’ jak ‘to tread on’ (301 *jak).


3. Middle Mon kwak ‘to hang (v.i.t.)’, Modern Mon kwek v.t.; Khmu Yuan wak; Palaung hvaʔ v.i.; Khansi wah v.t.; Mường quâc (#459 *kwak). From a nasal-infix form is Vietnamese mąc v.t.


⁹ [Editorial note: The original title for this section was “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, but Shorto changed his mind and in the typescript “Non-Laryngeal Finals” is crossed out and “Stops, Nasals and Liquids” written over it. The significance of this change in title can be inferred from Shorto 1976c, which presents a reconstruction of PMK vocalism specifically restricted to the rhymes with laryngeal finals. Structurally the reconstruction in that paper corresponds to that offered in the present chapter, which we know was prepared for the first draft of his MK comparative dictionary (Bauer confirms that Shorto was reworking his PMK vocalism for the second version, although no relevant manuscript has been found). We can thus deduce that the paper (1976c) is the missing companion to “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, reworked to appear as a stand-alone paper.]


8. Mon bòt (com—) to feel, palpate, (—toa) fist; Biat bat [ti:] ‘fist, to clench’; Riang-Lang ṭóṭ ‘to feel, palpate’; Khasi bat ‘to hold, catch hold of, grasp’; Bateg Deq bòt ‘to hold, (##1042 *[j]bat).


10. Middle Mon that ‘to be powerful, severe’, Modern Mon that ‘to be strong’; Khmer thọt ‘to be fat’; Palaung hat ‘to be thick’ (#111 *dhat). Riang-Lang khät ‘to be thick’ shows a secondary prefix.

11. Mon kłön ‘python’; Khmer thlan, Stieng (Azémăr 1886) kłan, Sre, Biat kłan; Khasi thlen, ‘len; Vietnamese tròn id.; (?) Che’ Wong talun ‘snake’ (#1205 *t,lan).

12. Stieng, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biah, Jeh, Halang, Kuy káp ‘to bite’; Temiar káb (#1231 *kap). From a prefixed form are Khasi jkep ‘to bite’, jkap ‘snapping with teeth’.

13. Old Mon kam ‘arrow, projectile’; Modern Mon kóm ‘bullet, cartridge’; Khmer kám ‘projectile’, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biah, Khmu Yuan kam ‘arrow’ (#1308 *kam). Khasi has khnam id., from an infixed form. See also the forms with variant, nos. 62-3, 66-9, 72-3, 77 below.

Before final *c, *ñ fronted and raised vowels are found in the Stieng dialect described by Azémăr; Biah, Jeh, and Halang; Khmuic; Palaung; and Temiar, corresponding to the reflexes specified for *-k etc. in other languages. This is accompanied by a shift of the final nasal to a velar one in the North Bahnaric languages and Palaung. We find e in Bahnar, so frequently accompanied by lengthening that this should probably not be treated as irregular; ê in Azémăr’s Stieng; e in Jeh, Halang, and Temiar; and i in Khmu’, while Khmu Yuan has -ec (see no. 27 below), -in. Palaung has -in < *-an following a voiceless initial complex, -en following a voiced one, but the reflexes before stop have not been determined.

In one instance also (no. 19) Khmer has ê, and this is taken to be the chest-register reflex before a palatal.
In Old Mon before these finals a or e may be written allographically for /ə/; thus kunilac, kunimlec /kɔlɛc/ ‘thief’; sran, sreñ /sɾaŋ/ ‘silver’.

14. Khmer kac ‘to break [rigid-object]’, Stieng kac ‘to strip [leaves, grain]’, Sre kac ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kac ‘to strip [grain]’, Bahnar (kac beside) dial. kcec ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’; Riang-Lang kac ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’; Khasi kheit ‘to pluck, gather’; Vietnamese cár, Mường cach ‘to cut up’; Bateg Deq kec ‘to cut’ (#800 *kac). Note further Bahnar kanec ‘to break [ear, twig, etc.] with nail’, from an infixed form.

15. Mon wòt ‘to wring out’; Sre wac, Biat [dak] wac [weil] ‘eddy’; ‘Central Sakai’ wêt, uêt ‘to twist, wring’ (#863 *wac). Khasi khyrwait ‘id., to strangle’, from a prefixed form, is to be compared with Biat rwac ‘to twist [hair] into knot’.


17. Old Mon pañ, Modern Mon pən ‘to shoot’; Khmer bən, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat pən id., Bahnar pən ‘to beat cotton with a bow’, Jeh, Halang pən, Khmu Yuan pɨn ‘to shoot’; Palaung pɨɲ, Riang-Lang pɨn id.; Vietnamese bán, Mường pánh (#905 *pən). Riang-Lang u is otherwise attested only in Shan loans; its occurrence here may conceivably reflect the complex final, but the point cannot be proved.

18. Literary Mon. saman ‘star’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau səmən, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat man, Khmu Yuan sərmən; Palaung səmən, Riang-Lang səkmən, Praok sɨmən (#888 *smən).

19 Late Middle Mon mən, Modern Mon pəɾon ‘smallpox’; Khmer mərən ‘ulcer, cancer, chancre, gangrene’, Biat məran ‘chancre’; Palaung bɾəɲ ‘smallpox’ (#923 *məran). 20. Kuy kəsən ‘snake’; Palaung hiɲ, Riang-Lang həɲ; Khs bəɲ, səɲ (#937 *bən). From a form with r-infix are Praok sɨɾən; Vietnamese [con] rän. (Khmer mən ‘year of the snake’ is reportedly a loanword from a Mường dialect.) See also 65-4 below.

Final semivowels and liquids: in most languages the reflexes are those already listed; I note here exceptions.

From *-ar Praok has -o (following originally voiceless initial; the post-voicing reflex has not been determined). Vietnamese has -ay (i.e. with short /a/), -dy, variation between these finals being common in the language. Thus:

21. Mon po ‘to fly’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Bahnar par, Jeh pəl, Halang pər; Palaung pər, Riang-Lang pər, Praok po; Vietnamese bay, Mường pə l (#1633 *pər; note also Kuy pəal). Khasi her ‘feather’—beside sner, with secondary prefix—from an infixed form, is to be compared with Sre ddar, Chrau, Bahnar pəna ‘wing’ inter alia. (Note here Biat naːr ‘wing, feather’, with unexplained long vowel; Khmu Yuan pənir ‘wing’ shows contamination by tɨir ‘to fly’.)

See also 70 below.

From *-al Praok has -o, following originally voiceless initial; Vietnamese has -ay. In the one available example Riang-Lang has a, not ə. Thus:
22. Khmer tbal ‘rice-mortar’ (Tandart gives tbal, with possibly secondary lengthening; so Stieng (Azémard 1886) paal ?; Palaung par, Riang-Lang ṭal, Praok po (#1757 *ṭpal). Sre, Biat mpal, Bahar tαpαl are from an infixed form.

See also 71 below.

Other correspondences. In three items Khmuic exhibits an unexplained high back unrounded vowel.


It is doubtful whether these cases are environmentally conditioned. (Contrast here with (#707) *mraŋ ‘horse’ > Palaung bɾaŋ, Riang-Lang mɾaŋ, Praok bruŋ; (*kuan mraŋ >) *k-ṃraŋ > Khmu hmраŋ, Khmu Yuan hṃpraŋ, kəmpraŋ.)

In four items Vietnamese exhibits a similar vowel; apart from no. 24 above all involve final *


28. Vietnamese nūt ‘to crack open, split open’. Cf. Mon dɔt ‘to hatch out (v.i.)’ (#821 *ɾ[dɔt; Sora ra’daj].

In none of these cases do I make a special construction.

*aa. The normal correspondences from which *aa is reconstructed before the same finals are of orthographic ā in Old and Middle Mon and in Khmer; long /aː/ in other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages (noted as aa in Kuy, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan), Temiar (noted as ā), and Khasi (written a); Vietnamese and Mường a; Palaung a, Riang-Lang a. Praok has a following an originally voiceless initial complex and usually e following an originally voiced one.

Mon: Old Mon ā is interpreted as /ai/ before velars and /a/ before other finals. In the first context e may be written allophonically, e.g. kyiŋ, kye /kəiŋ/ ‘sacred being...’. Modern Mon has correspondingly ai, chest register òi before velars; before other finals a; chest-register ë before labials, -ə from Old Mon -ār, -āl, à otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic ā is realized as a: in head-register words, ɨə in chest-register ones.

Thus:

29. Mon kətaik ‘tongue’; Kuy ntɑʔ, Khmu Yuan həntaak; Riang-Lang tɑk, Praok dak; Temiar lɛntāg (#320 *ntɑ, *l(n)tɑ,ɑ). Palaung has kərtaʔ, with a
secondary prefix seen also in Nicobarese kaletak; note also Khmer əndart, with assimilated final.


31. Sre kaan ‘jaw’, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm kaŋ ‘chin’, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kaŋ ‘chin, jaw’; Mường cäng ‘chin’ (#497 *kaŋ?).

32. East Bahnar ràŋ ‘light’ (n.); Palaung ràŋ ‘lamp’, Praok reŋ ‘to be light’; Khmer rang ‘[weather] to be fine’; Vietnamese ràng ‘to dawn’ (#660 *raŋ?). From a prefixed form are Khmer sranŋ ‘first light, to glimmer’, Biat crap ‘reflection, to reflect’; Vietnamese sáng ‘light’; Sakai chərang ‘daylight’.


34. Mon sat ‘to bale’; Khmer sac ‘id., to throw from bucket’, Sre saac ‘to empty with a bucket’; Riang-Lang ṭuc ‘earth cast of land-crab etc.’; Vietnamese tát ‘to irrigate, bale out’ (#872 *saac). Khmer snaid ‘strainer’, from an infixed form, formally parallels Biat nhac ‘drizzle’ (and Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm nhac, with perhaps contextual shortening).

35. Old Mon smān, Modern Mon hman ‘to ask, inquire’; Khmu, Khmu Yuan maan ‘to ask’; Palaung hman ‘to request’, Riang-Lang man ‘to inquire, request’, Praok man ‘to request’; Temiar samān ‘to inquire’, (#912 *smaŋ).

36. Mon hwat ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’; Khmer pat ‘to trim down, file down’, Stieng (Azémard 1886) pat ‘to cut oneself on something sharp’, Bahnar pāt ‘to whet’; Vietnamese, Mường phát ‘to cut, trim’ (#1026 *cpaat).

37. Mon dan ‘path’; Khmer dan ‘path, trail, scent’ (and I2am, by levelling on the infixed form lūm2an id.; #1123 *lʔaanz).

38. Sre caan ‘to borrow, hire, buy on credit’, Bunör, Central Rölöm caan ‘to borrow’, Bahnar caan ‘[to buy] on credit’ (#1141 *.caan). From an infixed form is Praok san ‘debt’.

39. Bahnar haap, haap, Jeh kaqap, Halang kaqap ‘to yawn’; Riang-Lang ṭup (#1229 *sʔaap). From an infixed *snʔaap are Mon haap id.; Khmer sfaq, Biat ɲgap [bic], Bahnar h(ɲ)gap, Theng ṭgap; Vietnamese ngd.ph ‘gills’ (and Sre ɲgap ‘to yawn’, with contextual shortening?).

40. Stieng (Azémard 1886) taq, Sre taap ‘to clap, slap’, Biat, Jeh tap ‘to slap’, Bahnar, Halang tap ‘to slap, hit’; Praok tap ‘to strike, beat’; Khasi thab ‘to hit with hand, slap’ (#1251 *tʔaap).

41. Khmer kdam, Stieng (Azémard 1886) tām, Sre taaṃ ‘crab’; Riang-Lang katām; Khasi tham (#1348 *kt.aaṃ). From a nasal-infix form are Mon hatam id.; Bahnar, Halang katam, Jeh katām, Khmu Yuan ktaaṃ; ‘Central Sakai’ kantam.

42. Khmer chiːam ‘blood’ (#1430 *jhaam); and with n-infix Kuy hŋaam id.; Palaung hnam, Riang-Lang nam, Praok nam; Khasi ‘nam, snam; with m-infix, Sre mhaam, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat mhaam, Bahnar, Jeh phaam, Halang məam, Khmu Yuan məam; Kensiu məam. (Old Mon chiŋ, Modern Mon chim represent an isolated front-vowel variant.)
43. Mon **hapa** ‘flat surface, back [of hand etc.]’; Khmer **tomba**: ‘flat surface’ (#1639 *tnpaa*).

44. Old Mon **bār**, Modern Mon **mēa** ‘to kneel with bowed head’; Khasi **par** ‘to kneel’; Vietnamese **bā** ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 *ʔbaar*; the Vietnamese tone may be attributable to the initial sequence).

45. Old Mon **kyāl**, Modern Mon **ca** ‘air, wind’; Kuy **kyaal**, Stieng **caal**, Sre **caa**, Chrau **chaal**, Bunôr **syaal**, Central Rölöm **cal**, Bhat **chial**, Bahnar **kiaal** ‘wind’ (#1782 *kyaal*). Khmer **khyal** shows a special contextual development (Pre-Khmer *kyāl ?*) following y, seen also in **yām** ‘to weep’ : Old Mon yām, Modern Mon yèm, &c. (1381 *yaam)

46. Mon **wēa** ‘open ground, pasture’; Khmer **vīal** ‘plain’ (#1797 *waaal*).

47. Middle Mon **kṣā, Modern Mon **cha** ‘split bamboo fibre’; Riang-Lang **khal** [ _ro?] (#1802 *ksaaal*).

See also 62, 64-71, 74-7.

**Other correspondences.** Praok a following an originally voiced initial may be regular before certain finals. For *-aac* we have **lāc** it ‘to sleep late’ : Riang-Lang _lāc_ ‘to be lazy’ (*_laac_), and **vac** ‘sword’ : Riang-Lang _vac, _wac_ (#864 *waac*). nam ‘blood’ < *jhaam* (no. 42) probably reflects Proto-Palaungic *hnom*, with loss of *j-. But there is a discrepancy between e.g. ke 3rd pers. dual pronoun : Palaung **gar**, Riang-Lang _khor_ (*_gaar_ and ma ‘dry hill field’ : Palaung **mar**, Riang-Lang _mar_ (#1651 [*]maar*). The point must remain undetermined for the present.

In four items Vietnamese exhibits -ûţ-, -úa _/ua_/, a development to be compared with ũ < *a* (nos. 24, 26-8 above).

48. Vietnamese **uót** ‘to be wet’; Temiar **kəaj** (#795 *kʔaac*); and from an infixed form Vietnamese **mǔōt** ‘to trickle’; Kintaq Bong **məaj** ‘to be wet’ (contrast tát < #872 *saac*, no. 34).

49. Bhat **maŋ** ‘to borrow’; Vietnamese **muţm**, Mường **mạnh** (*maŋ?*; contrast lan ‘[water, fire, vegetation] to spread’ < *s-laaŋ, ad Bahnar laŋ, and *snaaŋ > Mon hanan, see #926*).

50. Vietnamese **ngūa**, Mường **ngá** ‘to lie on one’s back’ (#1590 *[I]jaarh*); so from infixed forms Mon **təţe** ‘id., to be the right way up’; **təţe** ‘to turn [something] the right way up’; Khmer **phaa**: ‘on one’s back, the right way up, looking back’ (contrast bāi < *ʔbaar*, no. 44).

51. Old Mon **kintəl**, Modern Mon **hata** ‘under-surface, bottom’; Vietnamese **dùţi** ‘(to be) below, under’ (#1735 *kt,aal*, ad Theng **tāl** ‘(space) under, underneath’).

See also 63 below.

I make no special construction in these cases.

In the following example Bahnar fronting following a palatal+liquid cluster probably requires no special explanation.

52. Bahnar **hliit** ‘to flee in terror’; Praok **lat** ‘to be afraid’ (#1086 *[c]laat*); cf. with the causative **palit, pahliit** ‘to frighten’ Khmer **cūmliat**, which is perhaps not formally parallel.

Contrast, however, Bahnar **hlaa/k** ‘numeral classifier for pieces of thatch...’ if : Old Mon clāk ‘shingle’.
Part 1 Vocalism

*ai. The reconstruction of a diphthong *ai is proposed in the first place to account for correspondences of Khmer orthographic e—realized as ae/è—with reflexes in most other languages identical with those assigned to *aa. The majority of items involve final velars, though *-ail and *ais are also reconstructed.

Distinctive reflexes are not limited to Khmer. (i) Stieng usually has e: following voiced initial (and two instances of a: may be attributable to borrowing). (ii) From *-ail Sre has -a, distinct both from -aa < *-aak and -a < *-ak. (iii) Khasi has ie /ei/ or less frequently ia; the latter perhaps < *ia by metathesis. (iv) Vietnamese has -ach, -anh, implying palatalization of the final velar.

It may be assumed that an original *ai was merged with *aa before other finals early in the history of Mon-Khmer. This choice of reconstruction, consonant with the development of a mid front vowel in Khmer and Khasi and the final palatalization in Vietnamese, has the further merit of perhaps explaining the merger of *aa and *ai before velars as /ai/ in Mon. We may also note that variants in *ai and *ia are found in a significant number of cases; not improbably exhibiting metathesis.

Examples:


54. Old Mon tbeik ‘to slash’, Modern Mon páiik ‘to slash, cut, cut down, fell’; Stieng (Azémard 1886) beik ‘to break, split, burst (v.i.)’, Biat baik ‘to notch’, Khasi piah ‘to cut in two’; Sakai bak ‘to split’ (#394 *tbai).

55. Old Mon mreik, Modern Mon parak ‘peacock’; Stieng braik (loanword?), Sre bra, Chrau braï, Bunôr, Central Rôlôm, Biat braik; Palaung dialects phra², bra² (whence Riang-Lang praik (#416 *mraik).


59. Old Mon kuimbaŋ etc. ‘city etc. wall’, Modern Mon kômaiŋ ‘brick or stone wall’; Khmer kômpèŋ ‘(city) wall’ (beside kômpheŋ, by back-borrowing from Thai kamheŋ; #626 *kbaïŋ).

60. Khmer vêŋ ‘long’, Khmu Yuan wàaŋ ‘long (space, time)’ (#768 *waiŋ).


See also 72-7 below

Variation. Here we shall note, first, the occurrence of length variation (i) between *a and *aa, and (ii, which I treat on the same footing for convenience) between *a and *ai; secondly, the few cases of apparent variation between *aa and *ai.
Isolated divergences from a reasonably widely attested form may be due to innovation in one language, or otherwise explicable (e.g. nos. 6, 7, 11 above), and are excluded from this head. But doublets in any language may constitute evidence of variation if neither form is readily attributable to borrowing.

*a ~ *aa

62. (#374) *[d]bak: Khmer pèak ‘to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride’, Stieng, Chrau baʔ ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’, Sre ba‘ ‘to carry in a shawl on one’s back’, Biat baʔ ‘to carry [person] on one’s back’, Bahnar bak ‘to wear round neck’, Khmu’ bak ‘to mount, ride, be astride’; (*[d]rľbak) Mon həbek ‘to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck’; Bahnar dialects habak, tobak ‘to hang over sth.’; (*[d]nľbak) (Sre ma = ba’ ← ?) Bunör mʔmak, Central Rölöm bak ‘to hang up’, Biat mbak ‘to carry on a yoke’.

*{d}ɓaak: Bunör, Central Rölöm baʔ ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’; (*[d]nɓaak) Stieng (Azémar 1886) nbaʔ ‘to carry over one’s shoulder’; Vietnamese vác id. Either variant may underlie Palaung baʔ ‘to ride, drive’; Khasi ba’h ‘to carry on back or shoulders’, tabah ‘to throw, hang, across shoulder’.

63. (#487) *cʔaŋ: Khmer aŋ ‘to roast, to warm oneself’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) aŋ ‘to grill’; Khasi s’ang, syang ‘to roast, toast’; (*c[n]ʔaŋ) Mon haŋ ‘to warm, dry, at fire, to toast’.

*cnʔaŋ: Vietnamese nướng, MƯong náng ‘to roast, toast’ (with tone from the initial sequence?).

64. (#874) *ksac: Khmer khsac ‘sand’; (*kmsac) Riang-Lang ¯mac id. (and by metathesis *krcas > *kcras > Khmu Yuan cres id., with contextually conditioned fronting).

*skaac by metathesis: Kuy sakaac id.; Vietnamese cât, MƯong câch; *kmsaac: Praok mač id.


*pnañ: Old Mon pnūn ‘army’, Modern Mon nan ‘army, war’; Palaung nan = ṇen, Praok nañ ‘war, army’.


*[t]kaat: Praok kat id.

67. (#1119) *ʔan: Bahnar an, Khmu’ ʔan ‘to give’.

*ʔaan: Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat am id.

68. (#1225) *ʔap: Khmer ap ‘dull, dim’; Palaung ap ‘to be dark’, Riang-Lang ¯əp ‘shadow, to overshade’.

*ʔaap: Palaung ap = ap; with probably secondary prefixation West Bahnar aaap ‘shady retreat’; Palaung iʔap ‘darkness’.


*smram: Mon ṇoram ‘dust, powder’; Khmer səmra:m ‘rubbish, straws, sweepings, dirt’.

70. (#1630) *[ ]nar: Stieng nar ‘sun, day’.

*[ ]naar: Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar nar; (by secondary prefixation?) Bahnar kəna:r id.
71. (#1762) *cbal: Biat bal ‘companion’.

cbaal: Mon hwêa ‘close male friend’; Praok [paw] pe friend.

*a ~ ai


*Ipaik: Old Mon pàk ‘to be shattered’, Modern Mon paik ‘to split’; Khmer baek ‘to break (v.i.)’, (Sre *lpak) ‘to break (v.i.)’; Bunör, Central Rölöm paà? ‘to share out’; or from affixed form Praok pak ‘half, part’; (*lmpaik) Old Mon Ċumpek ‘either of two sides’, Modern Mon kapaa ‘id., half, part’.

73. (#714) (*laŋlaŋ > ) *lnlaŋ: Mon kànaŋ ‘kite’; *klaŋ: Stieng (Azémard 1886) klaŋ ‘hawk, owl, (—təːp etc.) kite’, Sre klaŋ ‘hawk, large raptor’, Chrau klæŋ (with unexplained -h-) ‘eagle’.

*laiŋ: Semai (Tauern 1914) laŋ ‘buzzard’ (but perhaps from Malay lang ‘hawk, kite, eagle’, which is ultimately cognate); (*klaŋ) Khmer klaeŋ ‘kite’, Bunör (and Sre, B.) klaːŋ ‘hawk, large raptor’, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang klaŋ ‘hawk etc.’, Khmu Yuan klaaŋ ‘eagle’; Palaung, Praok klaŋ, Riang-Lang klaaŋ ‘eagle’, Khasi klæng ‘kite, eagle’.

*Central Sakai’ klaaŋ ‘hawk’ may reflect the prefixed form of either variant.

*aa ~ *ai

Few instances of this variation have been noted, and it is possible that some of them result from interdialectal borrowing (as was suggested of Sre paa—otherwise < *lpaak—in connexion with *lpa(ik), no. 76 above). All are listed below.

74. (#291) *caak: Khmer caak ‘to leave’ (G. ‘to be separated from’).

*caik: Khmer caek ‘to divide up’; Khasi siah ‘to cut, pare, shave off’ (or from an associated variant *ciək, in Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic).

Other reflexes are not phonologically distinctive, but an assignment might be attempted on semantic grounds. Cf. (*ca[a]k) Old Mon cāk ‘to be parted’; Chrau sàʔ, Bunör, Central Rölöm sak (also Central Rölöm sak, < *cak) ‘to go, return’; (*ca[i]k) Mon caik ‘to tear, be torn’; ‘Central Sakai’ châk ‘to chop’; (*pca[i]k) Mon phyaik ‘to split up, punctuate [text]’. Perhaps two distinct roots should be postulated.

75. (#404) *craak: Khmer craak ‘to divide up’.

*[c]raik: Khmer crèːk ‘to part [e.g. curtains], (—pûh) cut way through’; Vietnamese ràc, Mùông rêc ‘torn’.

Mon saik srâk ‘to tear (in two, up), (—thoŋ) to be torn’ may be assigned to either form, while Sre ceree ‘to tear’ appears to reflect a variant *criik. But Khmer craak may perhaps be a borrowing from the ultimately cognate Malay sarak or another Austronesian form.

76. (#476) *khaaak: Khmer khak ‘to hawk, clear the throat’, (*kmhaaak) komhaæk ‘phlegm’; and with secondary prefixation Khasi kyrkhaa ‘phlegm, to clear the throat’.

*Khaik: Khmer khaak = khak (Tandart; not Vacananukram Khmer), (*kmhaaak) komhaæk = komhaaak.
Assignable to either form are Mon khaik ‘to hawk...’; Biat runhak ‘phlegm’. But since the term is onomatopoeic, *khaik may well be a Khmer innovation.

77. (#496) *kaaŋ: Khmer kañ ‘to spread [wings, arms, clothes] apart’, (*ckaaŋ) chkaŋ ‘to skewer with wings open’; (*knaaŋ) Vietnamese, MƯông ngang ‘to be horizontal, level, to be wide; across’.

*kaiŋ?: Vietnamese canh, cânh, MƯông kenh ‘wing’ (and Vietnamese cành, MƯông kènh ‘branch’ by secondary variation); (*knaŋʔ) Khmer khnaeŋ ‘cross-shaped; side-shoot on branch of tree’; Vietnamese ngành (and ngành) ‘branch of river etc.’ On semantic grounds we might assign to this variant Middle Mon knān ‘branch’, Modern Mon naiŋ (merging Middle Mon tīn id., of separate origin).

A third variant *kaŋ underlies Old Mon knaŋ (ko’) ‘collar-bone’, Modern Mon n mosaic ‘crosspiece’; and Biat rkan ‘transverse, across’. This is perhaps the most telling of the *aa ~ *ai variants, though as in 78 a consistent semantic distinction can be made.

Structurally the relationship of the diphthong *ai to *aa might be thought analogous to that of the diphthongs *ia, *ua to *ii, *uu (for which see the next two sections). The parallel does not hold good for distributional frequency. *ia, *ua are both more frequently attested than either the long or the short simple vowels, whereas *ai is relatively infrequent so far as our material allows us to distinguish it from *aa. Moreover the other two diphthongs alternate rather more often with the corresponding long vowels than with the short, whereas with *ai the opposite is the case.

*i, *ii, *io
Since problems arise in deciding when to reconstruct a high front and when a central vowel before a final palatal, discussion of these occurrences will be deferred until Section (d).10

We shall consider first the long vowel *ii, and proceed then to the reconstruction of its short counterpart *i.

*ii. I reconstruct *ii from correspondences of a high front vowel in languages which do not show a vowel-length distinction (or show only a fragmentary one), in most of them qualitatively different from the reflex of *i; and in part of a long vowel of similar quality in languages which have the length distinction. Many of the latter, however, have undergone contextually conditioned splits—of broadly similar incidence and perhaps of a single origin—which complicate the reconstruction. They will be dealt with in turn below.

We have, then, regularly Old Mon /i/ (written i, i); i in Palaung, Rieng-Lang, Praok, Khasi, and Vietnamese; long ii in Khmuic and, usually, Sre (but short i is noted by Dournes with such frequency that it is unlikely that it represents a short-vowel variant in all cases). In many comparisons we find Khmer head-register y, chest-register i; and i: in other South Bahnaric languages and in Bahnar. A diphthongization to ia appears to be regular before stop final in Jeh and Halang.

Mon: Old Mon /i/, written i for preference in the ‘high literary’ inscriptions but usually i in less formal ones, before stops and nasals yields Middle Mon i; modern oi, òi before velars, before dentals and labials e, i, i (head-register e, i by a split originally

10 [Editorial note: the alluded to Section (d) was not found.]
contextually conditioned, now contrastive but of low functional load). Old Mon /ir, il/ > Middle Mon → modern -ə, -i, -ı. Khmer: in chest-register words i: is the realization of orthographic i. In closed syllables in head-register words this symbol is not found; the distribution suggests merger of earlier short and long i in such contexts. y is the realization of the (now) complementarily distributed symbols i (before k, ñ, m), i (before t, n, p).

Examples of these ‘straightforward’ reflexes follow.

78. East Bahnar tsïk ‘disagreeable in taste’; Palaung sik, swi-, Riang-Lang -cïk ‘to be astringent in taste’ (#294 *cïik).

79. Old Mon jïk, Modern Mon cïk ‘to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate’; Old Khmer jyak, Modern Khmer cïk, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm jïk, Chrau jï? ‘to dig’, Sre jï, Biat jïk ‘to grub up weeds’, Jeh, Halang jïak ‘rice-field’ (#300 *jïik; Rônggao has jek ‘to plough, prepare for cultivation; cultivated field’). From an infixed *jïik is Bahnar nïik ‘hoe, mattock’.


81. Sre ntiïn, Stieng, Central Rölöm tïn, Chrau, Bunör, Biat ntiïn, Bahnar katiïn ‘bone’ (# 553 *knt, iïn).

82. Khmu Yuan kantiïn ‘navel’; Riang-Lang kandïn (# 582 *kdïïn); and with r-infix Palaung kordïn id.


84. Sre priit, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat priit, Jeh, Halang priat ‘banana’ (#1070 *priït). (Bahnar prit is an isolated short-vowel form.)

85. Khmer hrvìt ‘to sniff at’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) hit ‘to sniff; cold in the nose’; Vietnamese hit ‘to inhale’, Mường hit ‘to smell, (#1104 *hiït).

86. (#1288 Palaung lip ‘to enter’, Praok lip [lu] ‘to enter [trance]’; Khasi lip ‘to be extinguished, to extinguish’ (*liïp; Khmer has lïïp ‘to withdraw, [sun] to go in’, from a short-vowel variant). From a prefixed form are Jeh kliap, Halang gliap [sun] to set’; Praok kliïp id.

87. Khmer hyïp, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm hiïp ‘trunk, box’ (*hiïp). Jeh hiïp may be a back-borrowing, cf. Jär., Rade hiïp; so, with secondary prefixation, Halang gahïp ‘cabinet’?


89. Literary Mon sï ‘to be numerous, plentiful’; Sre ir (Blood 1966 ?ïr), Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm ?ïr, Biat ir ‘too much’ (#1557 *[c]ïïr).

90. Theng pir ‘pumpkin’; Vietnamese bî (#1637 *[c]ïïr). An infixed form underlies Mon hapœ id. and probably Riang-Lang ñapir. (Maspero (1955) often notes short vowel before Theng -r, -l where Khmu and/or Khmu Yuan have a long one. The two-plosive sequence attested by Riang-Lang may account for the Vietnamese tone.)

91. Old Mon kumïsir ‘parents-in-law’ (and Modern Mon khamœ, for *kasœ, originally as learned form); Semai gãnsir ‘husband’ (#1679 *kmsïir).
92. Khmu’ sriil [gold] (and Theng sril; #1789 *[c]riil). From a prefixed form are Palaung khrīr, Praok khri id.
   See also 136-40.

Splits. Khmer has orthographic e, head-register e: following t, l, and in some cases d, r. Chest-register è: is attested in one case (and doublets in another: 101 below) following l where the register and antecedent voicing are thought to be secondary (though voicing is already present in Old Khmer in 101).

93. Khmer dek ‘to lie down, sleep’; Kensiu tik (#305 *tiik). Old Mon stik, whence Modern Mon toik, is probably a normalized hypothetical form, ‘intending to sleep’; so English ‘going to sleep’. (Khasi thiaih reflects a variant *tiak.)

94. Literary Mon lati ‘kind of flowering plant’; Old Khmer ranīyañ, Modern Khmer rûmdeñ ‘galanga’ (#564 *rmtiñ).

95. Khmer preŋ, Stieng (Azémar 1886); Biat prign ‘oil, fat’ (#702 *priŋ).

96. Khmer tɛt (and Sre dit, with secondary shortening?) ‘small’; Vietnamese nít (#1016 *kdiit). Khasi khyndit ‘a little, few’, from an infixed form, establishes the initial.—See also 195.

(Chest register) see 100-1.

Contrast with 93-4 *ktiit > Khmer kdvit ‘anus’, 87; *tiik > dvk ‘to lead...’, 98; and with 95 *t-riip > tryp ‘floating mat of vegetation’, 104; **cnriit > cŋyrvt ‘cricket’, 207. It would be possible to account for these exceptions by postulating isolated short-vowel variants (*ktit, etc.; as in 86). But in view of the doublets in 101 dialectal divergence followed by interdialectal borrowing cannot be ruled out in all cases.

The South Bahnaric split is wider in its incidence, and is almost certainly complicated by dialect borrowing. The ‘shifted’ reflexes are Chrau, Bunör , Biat e, Central Rólöm i (Blood reconstructs Proto-Mnong *e: in these cases, opposed to *i: in the set exemplified above). Stieng shows i: in some instances and e: in others; either the incidence of the split is different in Stieng (which is not improbable), or some items—but which?—are loans. The examples below are representative.

97. Stieng chik (!), Azémard 1886 cii, Sre sii, Chrau se, Bunör se, Central Rólöm suk, Biat chek ‘tooth’ (#289 *cii).

98. Old Khmer tik, Modern Khmer dvk ‘to lead [animal], to cart’ Stieng tek (Azémard 1886 ti:k), Sre tii, Chrau tec, Bunör tek, Central Rólöm tu:k ‘to lead by a rope’ (#304 *tiik).

99. Stieng (Azémard 1886) jriŋ, Biat jreñ, Kontum Bahnar jriŋ (and Sre jriŋ; with secondary shortening?) ‘wax’ (#919a *jriñ; Bahnar has jreñ, from a variant *jriñ).

100. Khmer thliñ ‘to hobble [animal]’, Stieng (Azémard 1886) gleñ ‘elephant hobbles’, Bahnar kleñ, gleñ (and Sre kliñ; with secondary shortening?) ‘to hobble’ (#745 *Tliñ); and with nasal infix Khmer tünsliñ = Stieng, Biat gleñ ‘hobbles’. (For the initial cf. further, from a variant *Tliñ, Mon kleñ ‘to bind’, kanañ ‘bonds’.)

101. Mon koloñ ‘myna’; Old Khmer graliñ-[graloñ], Modern Khmer kraliñ-[kralon] (and kraññ, Tandart) ‘black-collared starling’ (#757 *k-liñ); (and Sre bariñ ‘magpie-robin’, with secondary shortening?) Bahnar palñ ‘grey dove’ (*p-liñ). (For the connection cf. Mal. chempërling ‘starling’, a loan from *ciim prliñ.)
102. Biat **et** ‘to confine, pack close together’ (#949 *cʔiit); **cnʔiit** yields Kuy **ŋʔiit** ‘narrow’, Bahnar **jaŋiit** ‘packed together’ (cf. further for the initial, with variant vocalism, Khmer **cnʔiit** ‘narrow, confined, cramped’).

103. Stieng (Azémard 1886) [**peʔ**] **tret** ‘cricket’, (?) Sre **triiit** ‘to whistle’ (#1068 *t,riiit*); Paluang **akrii** ‘cricket’ reflects a prefixed form. If *t*- is to be reconstructed it is secondary here, cf. (with infix) Mon **koret caa*a*rit** ‘cricket’; Khmer **coŋryt** id. (*cnriit*, or by back-borrowing from Thai *ćiŋ riit?*); ‘Central Sakai’ **jiarêt** ‘variety of mole-cricket’.

104. Biat **reep** ‘grass’; Praok **rip** (#1269 *riip*). From prefixed forms are Khmer **tryp** ‘floating mat of vegetation’, perhaps < *t-rip* and Sre **samrip** (Dournes 1950; correct to -iip?) ‘tall grass’.

105. Sre **tiil**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **tei**l, Central Rölöm **tül**, Bahnar **dėl** ‘footprint(s), tracks’; ‘Semang’ **tılıl**, Sak. **dil** (#1733a *tiil*).

106. Stieng **biil**, Sre **biil**, Chrau, Bunör **beil**, Central Rölöm **buil** ‘mat’, ‘Semang’ **piil**; and Biat **mbel** id.; Praok **bi** (Editor’s note: Shorto subsequently altered his analysis and in the light of Munda data reconstructed *[^e]* (& *ee ?) instead of *ii for this etymon, see #1761.)

107. Stieng **uili** ‘to surround animal in order to capture it’, Biat [**dak wac**] **wel** ‘eddy’, Bahnar **wil** ‘round’; Paluang **vir** ‘to return’ (#1794 *wiil*); and with prefix inter alia Old Mon **tiirwil** ‘to attend on’, Modern Mon **kawi** [kawaj] ‘to be attended by’; (**p-wiil?**) Biat [**tɔl pac**] **peil** ‘spiral’. (Cf. 131 below for a short-vowel variant.)

In the following example the reflexes are mixed, and vowel lowering does not extend to the second infixed form except in Biat, which has doublets (by borrowing?):

108. **Bunör** **peir**, Central Rölöm **pür** ‘fence, wall’ (*piir*); Stieng (Azémard 1886) **paniir** ‘bamboo partition’ (and Sre **paniir** id. with secondary shortening?; **p[m]niir**); Bunör **mpiir** ‘wall’, Central Rölöm **piir** id. (whence Chrau **piir** ‘fence, wall?’), Biat **meir** ‘fence, stockade’ (and **mpiir** ‘wall, partition’, from Bunör?; **p mpiir**).

In the following the Biat lowering is perhaps a function of the nasal affix:

109. Sre **sakįν** ‘on one’s side, to one side’, Biat **ŋkeįν** ‘to lean over; on one’s side’ (#504 *jki[ŋ]*); the simplex underlies Sre **kiŋ** ‘edge, direction’, Jeh **kiŋ** ‘edge’.

110. Sre **sampiit**, Biat **mepeit** ‘stopper, cork’ (< #1098 *siit by inflexion*).

111. Biat **nčeir** ‘to blow [nose]’; the simplex (#1680) **ksiir** in Sre **chir** ‘to blow nose’.

Cf. also 112-13.

Leaving aside 109-11, the South Bahnaric lowering has thus been noted following **t, r, and l**, as in Khmer; **p, and b < *bp**; **w, o (< *cʔ?**); and the correspondence from which *[^c]- was constructed in 97. There are some counter-examples.

(1) Following **t**: with 98, 105 contrast 81, 136. But the Mnong and Chrau vocalism in 81 parallels that from **pmpiir**, 108; Biat **ntiįν** may be borrowed from Bunör or Chrau. We do not know the Mnong or Chrau reflexes of 136. At worst, lowering is markedly more frequent in this context than the converse.

(2) Following **r**: with 99, 104 (and **kriįν > Biat kreq** ‘kind of bamboo’; **cəriit > Biat chreit** ‘close together’), contrast 84, 95. Again, there is lowering in a majority of cases.

(3) Following (**): with 106, 108, 110 contrast **pmpiik > Biat mpiik** ‘class of small mammals’. So following **w**: with 107 compare **wiik > Bunör**, Central Rölöm **wiik**

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11 [Editorial note: Shorto assigned this etymology to item 147 of the South Bahnaric Index.]
owl’. (Note that this last case may not be discrepant, since we have not Mnung reflexes of *wiil—we have of the variant *wil—or Biat of *wiik.)

(4) Following *cʔ: with 102 contrast 89. In the latter case we might reconstruct *sʔ-, but a differential development would be a little surprising. If conceivably Biat eːt reflects *cnʔiit rather than *cʔiit, 102 would be brought under the rubric of 109-11.

Bahnar also, as the reader will have noted, shows at least sporadic lowering. It is difficult to systematize and may be of dialectal origin in many cases. I have already cited kleːŋ, gleːŋ, 100 (though this may be borrowed from Khmer via Cham kleːŋ); dēl, 105; Rōnggōo jek, 79. kotet ‘clitoris’ might tentatively be referred to *ktiit ‘anus’, 83. In addition we have the following:


114. West Bahnar tem ‘to beat, hammer, forge’ (#1340 *tʃiim); other languages reflect variant vocalism, e.g. (Palaungic *tʃiim) Palaung tem ‘to hammer’, Praok tem ‘to hammer, beat out’.

115. Old Mon wir ‘husbandry’, Modern Mon wi ‘to raise, tendy; Bahnar weːr ‘to look after, tend’ (#1670 *[wiir]).

See also 157 (*riiŋ > renŋ)

To account for these phenomena Blood (1966) reconstructed distinct vowels *iː and *eː in both Proto-Mnung and Proto-South Bahnaric, reasonably enough on his limited canvas. I prefer to postulate splits of a Proto-Mon-Khmer *iː in spite of the overlapping distribution of the reflexes. First, the multiplication of protophonemes would entail an improbably complex proto-system; the one we shall arrive at is complex enough. Secondly, the overlaps are not so extensive as to defy explanation given an average incidence of dialect borrowing in the languages concerned, which share a relatively high degree of contiguity and differentiation. The lowering is found predominantly in postdental contexts. The case is thus parallel to that of the Palaung reflexes of *iə, discussed below; where eə and iə are distinctive but have a low functional load, eə occurring mostly following dentals and iə mostly in other environments.

*i. In reconstructing *i we may consider, first, the reflexes in ‘vowel-length’ languages. Of these Sre, Bunör, Bahnar and Khmuic neatly enough have short i regularly. (But we have seen that Sre i by itself is not convincing testimony against *ii.) Khmer has orthographic i, i in complementary distribution, realized as y, ü; it thus merges *i and *ii in head-register words. This backing of the vowel reappears in Central Rōlôm, which has regularly u; and Biat, which has u except following ch, when it has i.

The remaining vowel-length languages also have reflexes which differ according to context, so far as the rather limited material goes. (1) Stieng has i before n, c < *k; e before l; uu before t, r. (In Azémar 1887 we find i, e, a(ː); but with slight differences of distribution—cf. e.g. 126, 130, below—which suggest that Azémar’s and Blood’s Stieng differ dialectally as well as historically.) (2) Chrau has i before *k, uu before t, n, l. (3) We find Jeh æ, Halang i in 126, 130, but Jeh, Halang e in 125 and i (following c) in 135;
the differences being apparently conditioned by the initial (voicing?) rather than the final.

In non-vowel-length languages we find, first, Old Mon /ɔ/ (written usually i, u, a), whence usually Literary Mon uī, modern a, ā before velars, o ə before dentals and labials, -oə- ə < /or ɵl/; or as a result of the Middle Mon post-nasal split the same reflexes as for *ii following nasals other than ĕ < Old Mon /ŋ/; m < Old Mon /mb/.


Examples follow.

116. Stieng tic, Sre ti’, Chrau tī? (← Sre? cf. 117), Bunör tik, Central Rölöm tuk ‘deaf’ (# 303 *tik; Vietnamese điéc and Biat tok [toːr] reflect variants *tiak and *tak respectively).

117. Sre di’ ‘slavery’, Stieng dic (whence Chrau dic? cf. 116), Bunör dik, Central Rölöm, Biat duk ‘slave’ (#329 *dik; Mon and Bahnar reflect a long-vowel variant), see 132.

118. Palaung leʔ, Riang-Lang _lek, (?) Praok lik ‘pig’; Sak. lū: (#417 *lik[ ]; Old Mon dlik etc., Modern Mon kloik is to be connected with a long-vowel variant).

119. Mon kàŋ ‘to row’; Khasi king (#507 *gni).

120. Mon paŋ ‘reservoir fish-trap of permanent type’; Old Khmer piŋ, Modern Khmer bŋ ‘lake, pool, marsh’ (#602 *pĩŋ).

121. Sre riiŋ ‘to be level, equal’ (#655 *riŋ). Variously affixed forms underlie Biat ndruŋ ‘to make equal’; Palaung (Milne 1931) karpren ‘to be equal’; Riang-Lang _tərkren ‘equal amount’. (East Bahnar riiŋ rəŋ ‘equal’ is likely to reflect a long-vowel variant.)

122. Mon dət ‘to be powdered, composed of small particles’; Khmer lɔŋ (952 *lɔt; Khmer lɔ-, for **d-, by levelling on caus. lûmɔrt ‘to pulverize’). Khasi lwit ‘very finely broken or pounded’ is probably connected.

123. Khmer kût ‘to think, consider’, Sre, Bunör git, Stieng, Chrau, CP, Biat gut ‘to know, understand’ (*git).12

124. Mon [dɔŋ] bɔt ‘to be tired’; Vietnamese mêt (*lḇit). (Editor’s note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.)

125. Khmer chɔːn, Stieng, Sre, Bunör sin, Chrau, Central Rölöm sun, Biat chin, Bahnar tɔn, Jeh, Halang cen ‘to be cooked’; Temiar cet (#1137 *cin; for final, and the long-vowel variants, see 134).

126. Stieng sin (Azémard 1886 sɛn), Sre, Bunör sin, Chrau, Central Rölöm sun, Biat chin, Bahnar tasin, Jeh tacên, Halang cacin ‘nine’ (#1144 *dcin; cf. Vietnamese chùn, from a long-vowel variant; Old Mon Lph. dincit, Modern Mon hacit suggests a construction *dciit).

127. Old Mon tin, Modern Mon tən ‘to go up, come up’; Vietnamese dẽn, Mường tênh ‘to arrive (at), come (to), reach’ (#1153 *tın[?]).

128. Sre (B.), Bunör lip, Central Rölöm lup ‘to spread on, spread out’ (#1285 *lip).

12 [Editorial note: this etymology is missing from the etymological dictionary, and it is possible that Shorto abandoned it on the basis that it may be a borrowing of Sanskrit gīta.]
129. Sre, Bunör gir, Stieng, Central Rölöm gur ‘to fish with fish-basket’ (*gir).13
130. Stieng jel (A. jìl), Sre il, Chrau, Central Rölöm jül, Bunör, Biat jìl, Jeh jèl ‘barking deer’, Halang jìl ‘small kind of deer’ (#1780 *[j]ìl; Bahnar has jìl ‘kinds of deer’, with isolated long vowel).
See also 133, 135-6.

Length variation. Variation between *i and *ii may conveniently be dealt with at this point. We have already noted *wi ~ *wiil ‘to go round, turn round’ (131/107). Other examples follow.

132. *dik ‘slave’, see 117. (#329)
   *dīk: Old Mon dīk etc., Modern Mon doik id.; Bahnar dīk.
133. *bĩq: from prefixed form Palaung aben ‘spider’. (#630)
   *bǐn: Khmer pīn[pian] id.; and from prefixed form rāpiṅ, 1āpiṅ ‘edible spider’.
134. *cĩn ‘to be cooked’, see 125. (#1137)
   *cīn?: Middle Mon, Modern Mon cin id.; Khmu’ sin ‘to cook’, Theng sin ‘to be cooked’; Palaung sin, Riang-Lang *sin ‘to be cooked, to be ripe’; Vietnamese, Mường chín ‘cooked’.

Khmer ch2RN, cited at 125, might in fact reflect either variant.
135. *cim: Bunör sim, Central Rölöm sum, Jeh, Halang cim ‘bird’; Temiar cep. (#1324)
   *ćiim: Mng Chil sem, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan siim id.; Palaung, Praok sim, Riang-Lang *sim; Vietnamese, Mường chim.
   Khsim may reflect either variant.
136. *til: Old Mon til, Modern Mon to ‘to plant (a seed of)’. (#173314)
   *[s]n-tiil: Sre santil, Biat ntil ‘seed, seed-grain’.

*i. The correspondences from which *i is reconstructed are of diphthongs, with a high (or rarely high mid) front starting-point moving to a relatively low, usually central position in at least some cases in almost all languages other than Mon and Bahnar (the Aslian reflexes await determination). Thus we have regularly Khmer orthographic i, realized as ia, io; Sre ia; Stieng, Central Rölöm ia, Chrau ia, following *? or *h realized as ye. In many comparisons we find Bunör ya (and giai < gia-, a special case); ia in Biat, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan, Khasi; Riang-Lang ie (and ye< *ie); and Vietnamese ie etc. /ia/. Palaung and Praok show secondary split. Palaung has, in a proportion of cases, ia, eo: eo chiefly following dental, ia chiefly in other environments (the overlap presumably resulting from interdialectal borrowing: Shorto 1960). Praok has similarly short and long diphthongs ia, iia, but the origin of the distinction is obscure.

Mon: Old Mon has regularly /e/, written e, whence modern ea, êa before velars, e, ê elsewhere. (It cannot be shown that Old Mon /e/ was not diphthongized at least in

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13 [Editorial note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.]
14 [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction from *i to *ə.]

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some environments, as the modern reflexes before velars suggest; cf. further the reflex of *-ial, below.)

Bahnar: e, less frequently e, can probably be taken as the normal reflex in Bahnar. Most of the cases in which we find ie, iə can be attributed to secondary palatalization resulting from the initial. e, iə are likely to result from secondary shortening, sometimes clearly due to remodelling on variants which reflect *i to fit words into a sound-symbolic system of word-play.

In some languages the reflexes before *-1 differ slightly from those specified above as a result of the vocalization of the final; they are indicated in their place below.

Contextually conditioned splits are to be inferred in Bunör, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Khmuic, Northern Mon-Khmer, Khasi, and Vietnamese. Except for Jeh-Halang the ‘shifted’ reflex is a low mid front vowel similar to the normal Bahnar one; *i, iə are likely to result from secondary shortening, sometimes clearly due to remodelling on variants which reflect *i to fit words into a sound-symbolic system of word-play.

For Jeh-Halang we find variously Jeh e, Halang ea; Jeh, Halang ia; and (*-iar >) Jeh -iə, Halang -iə.

*iə as reconstructed shows a high frequency of occurrence, the instances being roughly equal in amount to those of *i and *ii combined.

I give examples first of the ‘straightforward’ reflexes.


138. Mon koreak to split, slit open; Khmer cnriak ‘to split (into slats etc.)’ (#402 *cnriak).

139. Palaung (Milne 1931) hleəʔ, Riang-Lang rieək ‘to be hoarse’ (B 39 *[s][l]iək).

140. Khmer iəŋ ‘out of the vertical’; (?) Vietnamese hięng ‘to have a squint’ (#494 *[s][l]ıəŋ(?)) From a nasal-infix form are Mon hæəŋ ‘to be out of the vertical’; Vietnamese nghięng id.


142. Old Mon wəŋ ‘to avoid, to turn aside’, Modern Mon wəŋ ‘to avoid’; Khmer vəŋ ‘way round, bend’, Bahnar wəŋ ‘to surround, to hold in crook of arm; curving round, winding round’ (x wɨŋ ‘curve, eddy’, from a variant); Palaung (Milne 1931) vəŋ ‘to move aimlessly’ (#765 *wiaŋ). From a prefixed form are Bahnar kəwəŋ ‘curving, winding’; Palaung karveəŋ ‘coil; to be coiled, to coil’; Khasi khyrviəŋ ‘to go round’.

143. Stieng rəhiaŋ, Sre rəhiaŋ, Chrau rieŋ, Bunör rahyaŋ, Central Rölöm hiaŋ, Biat riaŋ, Bahnar dialects hrəŋ (etc.), Jeh reŋ, Halang reəŋ ‘hundred’ (#792 *rəhiaŋ).

144. Mon təŋət ‘to crush in mill etc.’; Sre səŋiaṭ ‘to crush, compress’ (#977 *c[n]jiət).

145. Mon [pək] pən ‘to be fat, plump’; Khasi piaŋ ‘short and stout’ (#1169 *b iaŋ).
146. Mon krep ‘to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped’; Khmer triap ‘packed close together’, (? ) West Bahnar jarep ‘to wedge between two props’ (#1279 *triap). Bahnar kamreph ‘to be crushed’ reflects an infixed form.


Bahnar iət: etc. in the following items can be ascribed to a preceding palatal or secondarily palatalized consonant (including one subsequently lost):

151. Sre tian, Stieng, Chrau, Central Rölöm tiaŋ, Bunör cyaŋ, Biat ciaŋ, Bahnar kien (most dialects; also tien, ten, etc.), Jeh ten, Halang teaŋ ‘tail’ (#542 *t,ia[n]).

152. Bahnar miət ‘to stop up’ (#1039 *[c]biat; cf. with variant vocalism Palaung kanbit ‘to block’, and from the simplex e.g. Khmer bvt ‘to cover, close’, Riang-Lang bət ‘id., to stop up’).

Note also Bahnar dialects takiən, tatiən etc. ‘ring’, with Old Khmer cancyən, Modern Mon cyncian, cyncian probably a loan from Austronesian (cf. Malay chinchiən); otherwise *cncian [ ] (#1145) and cf. 181.

The effect extends to the context following h, where we may assume the laryngeal to have been accompanied by constriction in the palatal region.

153. Sre hian ‘asthma, tuberculosis’, Biat hian ‘asthma’, Bahnar hien (and dialects sien inter alia) ‘to cough’; Vietnamese [bînh] hen ‘asthma’ (#1215 *hian).—Cf. also, dialects hriəŋ beside haren < *rhiəŋ, 143.

The last two instances are perhaps dialectal in origin:


155. Stieng lapiaŋ (Azémard 1886; Blood 1966 has pelpiat), Sre, Biat mpiat, Chrau lapiaŋ, Bunör mpiaŋ, Central Rölöm piət, Bahnar dialects ripiaŋ, lapiaŋ, hapiat, Jeh lapiaŋ, Halang rapiat ‘tongue’ (#1075 *l-mpiət; the simplex in Palaung (Milne 1931) leat, Riang-Lang _liət, Praok let ‘to tick’).

The monophthongized reflexes in Bunör and Biat appear to be coincident, so far as our evidence goes. They have been noted in a variety of contexts, broadly similar to those associated with the South Bahnaric lowering of *ii: following nasals; liquids and w; nt-; r(a)d- < *rd-; p; kh-. The items are listed below.

156. Stieng, Bunör, Biat net, Central Rölöm niət ‘comb’ (#1097 *s-n-iət; cf. with variant vocalism Khmer sinvət, Chrau saniti; and Khmer svət ‘to comb’). Stieng net may be a loanword, as weir is assumed to be in 162. Azémard (1886) has cèr ‘to blow [nose]’, presumably < *[k][s]jiər ∼ *[k][s]iər, 111; but this may be a special development following e-.
157. Biat meŋ ‘edge, margin’ (#656 *r-m-iaŋ; cf. the simplex in Old Mon reŋ ‘to arrange’, Modern Mon rian ‘to form a row, to place in a row’; Khmer rian ‘continuously, in succession’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) rian ‘perpetually’; Khasi riang ‘in order, in a row’; and for this sense, with variant vocalism, Sre reŋ, Bahnar reŋ ‘to skirt’).

158. Khmer miian ‘ring, circle’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) mien, Biat meñ (whence Sre meen?) ‘ring round haft of dah etc.’ (#1182 *m[ ]ian, perhaps *m-wiŋ, ad *wian 178; Sre then perhaps from a variant *m-wiın).

159. Central Rölöm riak, Bunör, Biat rek ‘to reap’; Khasi riah ‘to pluck [e.g. herbs]’ (#390 *riak).


161. Biat lier ‘to jut out, project’; Palaung liar ‘to protrude (v.i.t.); Vietnamese lè ‘to stick [tongue] out’ (#1663 *liər; Sre has liu ‘to stick out’, from an assimilatory *liəl). Riang-Lang klier ‘to protrude reflects a prefixed form.

Cf. also Bunör, Biat kləŋ < *[k]liəŋ, 154.

162. Khmer viə ‘to go aside, avoid’, Bunör wer, Central Rölöm wiər ‘taboo’, Biat weər ‘unlucky’ (whence, or from Bunör, Stieng weər, Sre wer ‘taboo’), Bahnar wər ‘to go aside, avoid’; Palaung (Milne 1931) viər, Riang-Lang vər, Praok viia id. (#1669 *wiəar). From prefixed forms are Biat kwer ‘bend’; and Khasi tawiar ‘to go round and round’.

163. Mon hate ‘to lament’; Biat nter ‘to cry, (#1622 *[g]ntiər); and from a homophonous nominal formation Middle Mon gater ‘long-drawn-out intonation’; Biat nter ‘cry’. The simplex *[g]tiər perhaps in Bahnar ter ‘[lightning] to strike; thunderclap’.

164. Bunör radeŋ, Central Rölöm diaŋ, Biat rdeŋ ‘to cart’ (#590 *rdiəŋ; Palaungic has a variant *rdiŋ, for which cf. e.g. Palaung den ‘road’).


166. Biat khẽr ‘burnt [food]’ (#1688 *khieər; cf. Vietnamese khê, < *khir). The Bunör-Biat monophthongization is regular following liquids and w, and following nasals if Bunör niər ‘top layer of bamboo floor’ is borrowed from Central Rölöm niər (#1632 *tniər) also following d, 164, on the evidence of that single case. Monophthongization following nt- (163) does not extend to *t in the absence of a nasal affix, which is palatalized in both languages; cf. e.g. 151 *tiəŋ, 181 *tiər. 165 is anomalous in the light of 141 *[s]piəŋ, 155 *Impiət; is Biat pet a loan from Bahnar, and thence by levelling mpet? 166 is equally isolated: contrast 143 *rhiaŋ, and Biat nhiaŋ kaŋ ‘to chew the cud’ ad *khiaŋ.

For Khmuic the evidence is limited; it suggests monophthongization following k (velars?) and h.

167. Mon kep ‘to pinch, grasp with claws’; Khmer kiap ‘to nip, pinch’, Khmu’ keep ‘to grasp with tongs’ (*[c]kiap; distinguish *giap, 185). From an infixed form are Middle Mon sakep, Modern Mon bakep ‘tongs’; Khmu’ srkep; while Bahnar nèp id. shows secondary infixation.

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15 [Editorial note: Shorto revised the reconstruction to derive both Biat and Vietnamese from *kh[ee]r.]
168. Khmu’ **heem** ‘younger sibling of same sex’, Khmu’ Yuan **heem** ‘younger sibling’ (Khmuiic *hiam; ~ *tiom, > Stieng (Azémar 1886) iem ‘elder sibling’; Vietnamese en ‘younger sibling’).

Khmu Yuan **эт** ‘few’ is likely to be borrowed from Mtiông **эт** ‘a little’ (183) in view of **hayiar** ‘fowl’ < *kuan ?iar* (cf. 149).

Monophthongal reflexes in the Northern Mon-Khmer languages are not necessarily coincident. In particular Praok is apt to show a monophthong where the other two do not, though in some of these cases we ought perhaps to assign Praok to a variant in *ə*.

For Palaung we have one, seemingly discrepant, instance.

169. Khmu’ **hriang**, Khmu’ Yuan **riang** ‘intestines’; Palaung **reŋ** (#708 *[s]riə[n]*). Contrast Palaung **hreng**, Riang-Lang **reng** ‘straw’, < *riang* (Editor’s note: *riang* appears to related to #693, although it appears that the analysis had changed).

For Riang-Lang we have two.

170. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **siet** ‘to cut up [meat]’, Sre **siat** ‘to cut, sever’, Biat **chiat** ‘to cut up’, West Bahnar **cét** ‘to chop [edibles etc.] obliquely’; Riang-Lang **set** ‘to cut, gash’ (#981 *ciat*). This might be attributed to absorption of i following the palatal, *ciet* > *c’et* > *set*; there are no counter-examples.

171. Palaung **miam**, Riang-Lang **mem** ‘tea’ (prima facie *miam*; but Riang-Lang may conceivably reflect a variant *maam*).

Praok disagrees with other languages in two instances: **let** ‘to lick’ < *liat* (Palaung **leat**, Riang-Lang **liet**; see 155); and **tem** ‘to hammer...’ < *tiom* (Palaung **team**; see 114). Palaung or Riang-Lang comparisons are not available in two other items.

172. Praok **nget** ‘to listen (to), obey’ (#942 *n̥-liat*; the simplex in Stieng (Azémar 1886) **iet** ‘to listen to, obey’, Sre, Biat **iat** ‘to listen to’, Chrau **yvet**, Bunör **yat**, Central Rölöm **iat** ‘to listen, hear’).

173. Mon **ken**, **taken** ‘finger, toe’; Praok **gen** ‘finger’ (#1128 *ŋkian[ ]*).

Both these involve earlier prenasalized forms. Contrast, therefore, e.g. Praok **biat** < *[p]mpiat*, 165.

Instances in which Khasi e might be assigned to *i- are the following:

174. Old Mon **ckem** ‘to grasp, pick up; handful’, Modern Mon **kem** ‘to grasp’; Khasi **skhem** ‘firmly, securely’, [shi]-khem ‘handful’ (shi ‘one’); Vietnamese kêm ‘pincers, tweezers’ (#1312 *ckiem*).

175. Khasi **syrdeng** ‘fence, plank partition’ (#578 *t-r-dian*; cf. for the simplex Old Mon **tadei** ‘screen, railing’, (in part) Modern Mon **hatian** ‘(wall of) twilled bamboo’).

176. Mon **kret** ‘to creak’; Khmer **kriot** ‘creakily’; Khasi **khret-khret** ‘grating’ (#1064 *kriot*; a metathetic *rkiat* underlies Sre **rkiat**, Biat **rciat** ‘to grind, creak, gnash’).

177. Khmer **phliaŋ** ‘rain, to rain’, Tolo Bahnar **pleŋ** ‘sky’; Khasi **bneng** id.; Mnar **phuyan** (#930 *[p]liang*).

178. Mon **kamən** ‘cripple’; Khasi **lymmen** ‘digitless extremity’ (#1208a *lm-wian*; the simplex in Mon **wən** ‘to be crooked, deformed’; Khmer **vian** ‘to curl up tight’; other affixed forms in Bahnar, Vietnamese, Aslian). A variant *-wən?* is attested by Vietnamese **quăn** ‘to be rolled round, to roll round’, but the closest semantic parallel is with the Mon form.
Khari ie in one instance suggests secondary lengthening of e:

179. Mon kōlem ‘to taste’; Khari jylliem, ‘[dog] to lick lips’, (*c|liəm?; the simplex in Bahar lēm ‘to lick one’s fingertips’; Vietnamese liêm ‘to lick’, if not from AnCh. *liəm).

The conditions are obscure, and suggest shortening following certain complex initials.

Vietnamese has usually -e < *-iər, the only exception being nia ‘winnowing-basket’ < *pniər (150). Cf. besides lè ‘to stick tongue out’ < *liər, 161:

180. Vietnamese che ‘to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter’ (#1592 *ciər; ~ *ciər, > Old Mon cir ‘to ward [off]’, Middle Mon cuĩw ‘to screen’, Modern Mon cs ‘to cover over, to wall’).

181. Stieng (Azémard 1886) thier (!), Sre tiər, Biat ciər ‘to forge’, Bahar tier, ter ‘to hammer to an edge’; Vietnamese de ‘anvil’ (#1610 *tiər).

182. Riang-Lang chier ‘to tear’; Vietnamese xe id. (*chiər?).

Before other finals Vietnamese e has been noted following laryngeals, velars, and l. We have besides em ‘younger sibling’ < *ʔiəm (168), bình hen ‘asthma’ < *ʔiən (153):

183. Mûtông ět ‘a little’ (whence probably Khmu Yuan ét ‘few’; #939 *ʔiət; ~ *-i(i)t, > Sre it ‘a little’; Vietnamese ít).

184. Vietnamese ghen ‘to be jealous, envious’ (#1125 *kīən? Stieng (Azémard 1886) kien, Sre kian, Biat cian ‘to gnaw’).


186. Vietnamese lěn ‘to stuff, cram in’ (#1197 *liən; *[l]nliən underlies Palaung nian ‘to strangle, throttle’, Mon also ‘to roll [rice] into a ball!’).

187. Vietnamese trét ‘to smear, to caulk’ (#1076 *[k]liət; cf. for the simplex Old Mon let, Modern Mon lět ‘to smear on’; Khmer liat [bət] ‘to plaster’; and for *k-liət Mon klet ‘to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive’; Palaung kleat ‘to be smooth, slippery’).

The only obstacles to regarding Vietnamese e as regular in these environments are hięng ‘to have a squint’, a slightly suspect derivation from *liən(ʔ) (140, #494); kięt [lʔ] ‘dysentery’ (#960 *[t]kia, ~ *[t]kiət, > Mon [nɛə] kę ‘to have dysentery’, and with infix hakət ‘dysentery’); and lięm ‘to lick’ ad *[c]liəm? (see 179), perhaps a Chinese loan.

Jeh has e, Halang ea in *tiəŋ, 151; *[k]liən, 154; *rhiəŋ, 143. Both have ia in *Impiət, 155; *[k]liəm, 147; *liəm, 148. Jeh has -iəl, Halang -iəl in *ziər, 149; note further Halang priəl (and Jeh priəl, unless from a variant) ‘ice, hail’ < *priəl, 200. It is thus possible that these alternates are conditioned by the nature of the final.

*-iəl. Sre and Biat reflexes of this rhyme presuppose a vocalization of the final similar to that attested in Vietnamese (in monophthongization contexts) -eо. We have already referred Sre liu ‘to stick out’ to a variant *liəl of *liər (165). Biat has -iəu, (in monophthongization context) -eu.

Mon has -ea, -əa, written -ey. Unfortunately the Old Mon reflex of this rhyme is not recorded; but by analogy with Old Mon /il/ > Middle Mon -i > modern -oe, -i, -i it seems likely that -l has been lost and that the modern reflexes preserve the ancient
diphthong via Old Mon. (Mon shows distinct reflexes of PMK *-iəw and *-ew, the latter corresponding to Old Mon /ew/; it is therefore possible that the Old Mon orthography masks a distinction between /ea/ and /e/ which we have failed to infer.)

Khasi has usually -ia, with loss of *-l, elsewhere reflected as -n. In 191 it may have -ew, with monophthongization corresponding to that suspected in 174-8.

In the same item Vietnamese has -êu, apparently corresponding to -iê- in other contexts.

188. Mon ea s’ey ‘to wither, become withered, dry up’; J long Bahnar yel ‘poor harvest’; Vietnamese, Mương heo ‘to wilt, dry up, wither’ (#1697*[c]žial[ ]).

189. Biat rʔiːu ‘to become rancid; Khmu Yuan pa’ial ‘smell of fish’ (#1698 *prʔial).

190. Mon rɛ̀a rey ‘to cut up’; Khasi ria ‘small, broken’ (#1786 *riəl).


Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. In addition to instances already noted in passing, some illustrative examples follow. The simple vowel may be long or short, or both.

192. *priiŋ ‘oil, fat’, see 95.
*priəŋ: Palaung preəŋ ‘fat, to be delicious’, Riang-Lang ˇpriɛŋ ‘to be delicious’. Khasi has phniang ‘oil-seed’, perhaps by metathesis from a nasal-infix form.

193. *pliɲ: Rơngao pliŋ ‘sky’; Palaung pleŋ, Riang-Lang ˇpleŋ id. (#930)
*[p]liːŋ: Jeh, Halang pliːŋ id.; Temiar balik.
*[p]liəŋ, see 177.

194. kdiːt and kdiːt ‘small’, see 96. (#1016)
*kdiːt: Khmu’ liat, Khmu Yuan liət ‘to be short’; Palaung diat ‘to be small’; Mường đết ‘small’. From an infixed form are Riang-Lang _kandiat ‘to be small’; Khasi khyndiat ‘a little, few’ (= khyndit, ad var.); and by contraction Vietnamese nhát ‘to be small’.

195. *krit: Bahnar krit ‘creakily’; and *kriət: Khmer kret id. (Tandart; not Vacananukram Khmer). (#1064)
*kri-t, see 180.

196. *sliːn: Vietnamese lën, Mường lềnh ‘to go up’. (#1207)
*sliːn: Khmu Yuan lian ‘to go out; out’; and with secondary prefixation Praok kliːn ‘to lift’.

197. *beiiːp: Mon cip ‘to be set edge to edge’; Bahnar jiːp ‘joined edge to edge’. (#1245)
*bciːp: Palaung (Milne 1931) siəp ‘to pile neatly, to lay one thing on another in a pile’; Khasi bsıap ‘to put between two things, to insert’, siap ‘to insert’.

198. *cɨ(i)m ‘bird’, see 135. (#1324)
*cɨːm: Kuy seem, Bahnar sem id.; and by contraction from *kuan ciam Old Mon kiñcem, Modern Mon hæcem id. (Biat has chium, for expected **chiam.)

199. *wir: Khmu Yuan wer[kaay] (!) ‘to turn (v.i.)’; Vietnamese vê, Mường wêl ‘to return’. Bahnar rəwir ‘to stir’ is from a prefixed form. (#1669)
*wiil: Bahnar *wiir ‘to twist’. Vietnamese *vi, in compounds, ‘to surround; circumference’ is from a prefixed form. Praok *vi ‘to visit’ and Khasi *wiir ‘astray’ may reflect either of these two variants.

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Back Vowels before -h and -s

*-uh *-uuh *-uəh. Although *-uh and *-uuh are merged in Khmer and probably North Bahnaric and Aslian, distinct reflexes have been noted for most other languages. A straightforward length distinction is found in Stieng, Chrau and Sre, and the South Bahnaric languages as a whole show characteristic reflex sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>*-uh</th>
<th>*-uuh</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stieng</td>
<td>-oh</td>
<td>-oːh</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Azémar)</td>
<td>-uh</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sre</td>
<td>-u(-oh)</td>
<td>-u</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>-uh</td>
<td>-uːh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cent. Rölöm</td>
<td>-oh</td>
<td>-uh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bunör</td>
<td>-uh(-oh)</td>
<td>-oh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biat</td>
<td>-oh(-uh)</td>
<td>-uh</td>
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*-uh. For South Bahnaric see above. Old Mon has /uːh/ (merging *oh: below), whence modern -oːh -õh (merging Old Mon /oːh/ < *əəh; /øs/), by post-nasal split -uh -uːh. Khmer has -oh -ûh, written -uh; in the spoken language merging with -us < *-us as well as with *-uuh. Kuy has -uːh.

North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -oːh, -uːh, Jeh and Halang -uːh, -ûh; Bahnar vowel height and Jeh/Halang register are not consistently correlated. The origin of the variation (further discussed below) is obscure. It might be attributed to length variation; from *-uuh we find only Bahnar -uːh, Jeh, Halang -ûh. Khmuic has -uh, following dental -oːh.

The Palaungic reflexes are difficult to codify. Riang-Lang in two instances has -oː; but more often -u, as < *-uuh. Riang-Lang -a < *-ah suggests that this may result from normal compensatory lengthening following the loss of *-h. Palaung has variously -uuh, -oh, -oːh, -uːh. If we assume -uh always to reflect (variant) *-uuh, and the two instances of -oh variant *-uəh, the remaining reflexes appear as contextually determined: -oh following dental, -uuh otherwise. Similarly, if Praok -u reflects variant *-uuh and -o variant *-uəh, -o is left as the regular reflex of *-uh.
Khasi has -ut /ut/; Vietnamese -ô with hỏi or ngà tone. Finally, in Aslian we note variously Northern -uh; Southern -ô, -uh; Central -ô, -uh (and in Temiar -ôh, with seemingly automatic lengthening).

Examples:


203. Khmer pûh ‘to boil, bubble’, Bahnar buh ‘welling up’ (#2038 *buh &c.; and from affixed forms (i) Khmer papûh ‘foam’; (ii) ‘Central Sakai’ buboh ‘id., froth’; (ii) Mon bôbôh id. (< *brûh; —> Cham parapôh); (iii) Stieng (Azémard 1886) sambuh, Biant mbuh, East Bahnar kambuh id. Vietnamese mû ‘pus’ reflects a long-vowel variant, as Khmer, Bahnar, and Aslian may do.

204. Old Mon mh &c. /muh/, Modern Mon mûh ‘nose’; Kuy mûh, Stieng (a.), Sre, Chrau mûh, Central Rölóm moh, Bunôr (< ?), Biant moh, Bahnar mûh, Jeh, Halang mûh, Khmu’ muh id.; Khmer mûth; Temiar mû (2045 *muh); and from a prefixed form Khmer cramôh, Stieng tramôh (Azémard 1886 trômuh) id. Palaung (Milne 1931) mûh presumably reflects a long-vowel variant (as Khmer, Kuy, Bunôr, and North Bahnaric also may do), Vietnamese mû (*mûms).

205. ‘Central Sakai’ lôh ‘perforated’ (#2069 *luh; add perhaps Riang-Lang _lu ‘hole, pit’; Vietnamese lô ‘hole’); prefixed formations include (i) Mon kluh ‘to penetrate’ (~ Old Mon kirloh /kôluh/ id.; cf. also (ii); Khmer klôh, Stieng (Azémard 1886) klôh ‘to pierce bullock’s nose’; (ii) Mon kluh ‘to be penetrated’ (if = ‘to penetrate’, i); Khmer thlûh ‘to be pierced through’; (iii) Sre bluh ‘hole, perforation’, Biant blôh ‘having a hole in’, ~ Bahnar bolôh ‘hole, perforation; to make a hole in’; (iv) Bahnar hołh ‘perforated, open’; Temiar saluh ‘to shoot with blowpipe’. Cognate with (i), (ii) or (iv) is Riang-Lang ‘to’ ‘to pierce, penetrate’ (~ Palaung karbôh ‘to penetrate’, with presumed variant vocalism), and with (ii) or (iv) Khasi [pej] syllut ‘clean through’.

Variant reflexes: South Bahnaric. Sre has -ôh following (*)nasal + glottalized consonant, in sanôh ‘to jump’ < *s-[n]-ôh (~ Khmer stûh); and probably sometimes following r. Biant has -uh only in mbuh < *sn-ôh (no. 203 above), i.e. in the same context as Sre sanôh; the Stieng cognate militates against assuming length variation here. Bunôr -ôh is attested only in moh (no. 204), against four instances of -uh, and is probably to be explained either by borrowing from Biant or by length variation.

North Bahnaric. If the divergent reflexes in North Bahnaric are to be attributed to length variation, which is formally possible, an unusually high frequency of variation must be assumed; the hypothesis seems prima facie unlikely. The divergence does not appear to be contextually conditioned. Bahnar tuh < *tuh (no. 202) contrasts with toh ‘to hit, beat’ < *tuh (: Palaung toh, Riang-Lang tu ‘to pound’), while the same root *btuh (#2008) yields the Bahnar doublets doh ‘to explode’, duh ‘pus; to suppurate’. Note also the divergence in reflexes of *ruh (#2051) and its prefixed formations: Bahnar ruh, Jeh, Halang ruh ‘to fall’; Bahnar proh ‘to gush out’, beside West Bahnar ruh ‘to squirt from mouth’; Jeh kadrüh ‘to jump down’, Halang gadrüh ‘to fall’. (The simplex correspondence here should be contrasted with that in no. 204 above.)
*-uuh. Khmer has *-uh; Old Mon has /uh/, whence modern -aoh -uh -uh. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has *-uh, Jeh and Halang -uh. Khmuic: Khmu Yuan has apparently -oh -ɔ. In Palaungic Palaung has -uh, Riang-Lang -u; Praok -u may reflect variant *-uuh (above). Khasi has -ud /utt/; Vietnamese -u with hôi or ngã tone.

Kuy and Aslian reflexes are unknown. Note that North Bahnaric and Riang-Lang are, probably, ambiguous as between *-uh, *-uuh.

Examples:


208. Mon tah ‘to rub, scrub, scour’; Khmer doh ʔus: ‘to rub, polish’ (#2004 *tu.uuh); and from an affixed form Khmu Yuan hantah ‘to rub’. Thai thūu confirms Khmer *-h in spite of the spelling.


Length variation. Isolated or perhaps isolated long-vowel variants were noted in nos. 203, 204 above. Some further illustrations follow.

211. *guh: Palaung (Milne 1931) guh ‘to open, to swell’, Praok go [gluŋ] ‘to swell’; ~ *guuh: Mon kūh ‘to swell up’; Palaung (Milne 1931) guh = guh. (#1976)

212. *buh: Stieng (Azémar 1886) buh ‘ash’; from affixed forms (i) Mon hapɔh ‘dust, powder, spoil’; (ii) Stieng (Azémar 1886) nbuh ‘ash’, Sre kambuh ‘powder, dust, waste from first pounding of paddy’; ~ *buh: Sre buh, Biat buh, Khmu Yuan pɔh ‘ash’. (#2034)

213. *khuh: Sre khuh, Biat khoh ‘to boil (v.i.)’; ~ *kuuh: Sre khuh (Blood 1966, ~ khuuh), Bunör khoh, Central Rölöm khuh id.

*-uah. Constructions of *-uah are relatively infrequent, and are usually variants of other finals. The following are probable reflexes: Old Mon /oh/, whence modern -uh; following consonant cluster usually /ɔh/, whence modern -ɔh; Khmer -oh, written -uəh; perhaps also, or in complementary distribution, (ɔh?) -uah, written -oh; Stieng, Chrau, Bunör , Central Rölöm, Biat -oh, Sre -oh, -uah; Bahnar -uah (and dialectally -uah, -ɔ ah), -ɔh, Jeh (and Halang?) -oh; (Palaung -oh, p. uh 2), Praok (ɔ, ib.; -ua?).

Isolated variants were noted in nos. 205 and perhaps 207 above. I add here:


215. Stieng təh ‘to explode’, Sre toh ‘cutaneous eruption’ (#2008 *bt,uah); and from infixed forms (i) Chrau ntəh ‘to explode’; (ii) Sre bərtoh, Bunör rətoh, Central

16 [Editorial note: this comparison was deleted in the author’s revision of the comparative lexicon.]
Rōlōm ʈɔh, Biat ʈɔh id. Khmer ｐtʊh ｐhduh ‘to crackle, to burst, explode’ may rather reflect the variant *bʈuḥ (also in Mon, Bahnar, Palaungic).

216. Bahnar ｐrɔh ‘outflow’ (*p-ruh); with a different prefix Sre ｓakrʊəh ‘to shake down’ (*[s]p-ruh). Praok ｐhrua ‘to sprinkle’ may be cognate with Sre, or, with khrua ‘to shake off’, ɡrua to drop, fall away’, be assignable to an *s- suffix formation attested by e.g. Khmer ｐrùh ｂruh ‘to squirt from mouth’ (with which Mon pruh ｐrh id. is probably cognate). Variant of *ruh &c. (#2051).

217. Khmer ｓoḥ, Sre ｓoḥ ‘empty’, East Bahnar ｓɔːh ‘empty, stripped’ (#2088 *suəh); and from an affixed form Jeh ｓasoh ‘idle’ (and Halang ｓasoh ‘only’?). Biat ｃhɔːih reflects *suas (< *suəh-suəh?).

*-us &c. Even in languages in which PMK *-s is not preserved as such, reflexes distinct from those of *-h occur following back vowels in most cases. There is thus relatively little difficulty in discriminating between the two finals in reconstruction.

*-us. The following are considered to be reflexes of *-us: Old Mon /ɔs/, whence modern -ɒh -ɔh; Khmer -ōh, written -us; Kuy -uəh; Sre -us, -os, Biat -uih; Palaung -ur, -or, Riang-Lang -ɔs, -os; Praok -aw; Khasi -ut; Vietnamese -ōi with hōi or ngã tone. The low frequency of the rhyme compared with *-uus may reflect the development of the latter from earlier suffixed forms in some cases: *-uus < *-uh-s, &c. All instances of *-us noted are variants (except perhaps no. 223 below); it is therefore possible that some of the Bahnaric and Aslian forms reconstructed with long vowel in fact reflect *-us.

Variant reflexes: Sre has -os following r, -us elsewhere. The conditioning of the Palaungic reflexes is unclear; within the limited material Palaung -ur corresponds to Riang-Lang -ɔs, Palaung -or to Riang-Lang -os.

Examples will be found in the sections on variation below; I note here:

218. Palaung ｋrɔr ‘paddy-storage basket’, Praok ｋraw ‘granary’ (*krus). Bahnaric has an apparent variant in *-h: Sre ｋruh ‘small kind of carrying-basket’, Bahnar ｋroh ‘special large kind of carrying-basket’.17

*-uus. Old Mon has /us/, whence modern -uh -ʊh. Khmer has -ùh, written -ūs; -aoh, written -os; Kuy has -uəh.

South Bahnaric: Sre has -ous; Bunör and Central Rōlōm have -uih; Stieng, Chrau, Biat have -uih, -oïh. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -uih, -oih, Jeh and Halang -uyh.

Palaungic: Palaung has -ur, Riang-Lang -us, Praok -u in one instance reflects *-uus or less probably *-uuh, -ɔ in another may reflect *-uus or *-uəs. Khasi has -ud. Vietnamese -ūi is presumed to reflect *-uus in no. 204 above.

In Aslian I have noted Northern -os; Central (Temiar) -os, -ūs.

The splits in Khmer and Biat are compatible with those found before other non-laryngeal finals. Those in Stieng and Chrau are difficult to interpret for paucity of evidence.

Again, virtually all instances involve variation; examples should be sought in the relevant sections.

17 [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction to *[k]ruh (#2054).]
Length variation. Examples:

219. *pʔus: Vietnamese ēi 'guava tree'; ~ *pʔuus: Sre pa'ous id. (#1876)

220. *[r]kus: PalMon [i]kur 'porcupine'; from an infixed form Riang-Lang ętrkos id.; ~ *[r]kus: Temiar kūs id. Khasi *nykhied reflects a variant in *-ias (as Danaw tʃkiet suggests), or one in *-as with secondary lengthening. (#1883)

221. *bu: Mon boh 'to boil (v.t.)'; ~ *buus: Palaung bur, Riang-Lang *bus 'foam, froth'; Temiar būs 'bubbles'. (Earlier *bu-hs; for *bu see no. 203 above; *-s causative is assumed in Mon) (#2038)

222. *t-p-rus: Khmer proh prus 'male' (Danaw ēr is a loan, probably from an unattested Riang-Lang form); and *t-m-rus: Old Khmer tamrus, Kuy ntruh id.; ~ *truus: Old Mon trūs &c. /trus/, Modern Mon kraoh id.; Khmer traoh ros 'male, ungelded [animal]'; and with p-infix Khmer praoh 'male'. (#1940)

In the following instance it is possible that only a short-vowel form should be reconstructed, since the Stieng and North Bahnaric reflexes of *-us are not known.

223. *mus or *muus: Stieng (Azémard 1886) muish, Sre mus, Biat muih 'to clear [forest]', Bahnar muuđih 'clearing of forest', Jeh, Halang muuyh. (#1922)

*-uas. Old Mon has /os/, whence modern -uh; following consonant cluster usually /as/, whence modern -oh -ôh. Khmer has -uəh, written -uas.

South Bahnaric: The following are considered to be normal reflexes: Stieng (Azémard 1886) -uəh, -oeh, -oeh, Sre -oas, Biat -oih. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -oih, Jeh and Halang -uayh. Khmu has -ueh, Khmu Yuan -uas.

us 4

Palaungic: Palaung has -uar, Riang-Lang -uas. Praok has -ua, -uua; o is a contextually determined reflex of either *-uas or *-uas. Vietnamese has -oi with hoi tone.

Aslian: I have noted Che' Wong (Northern) -awas; Semai (Central) -ás may reflect *-uas or perhaps *-uus.

Examples:

224. *t,uas: Old Mon tos /tos/ 'to utter, proclaim'; with nasal infix (*ntuəs) Praok dua 'to assert'. (#1899)

225. *puas: Stieng (Azémard 1886) poeh [jaŋ], Jeh, Halang puayh 'calf of leg'; Palaung puar [grəŋ]. (The Stieng short vowel is exceptional.) (#1913)

226. *krus: Khmer kruuəh kruas, Stieng (Azémard 1886) kruəh 'gravel'; Vietnamese sōi 'pebble, gravel'. Mon kreh reflects a front-vowel variant. (#1936)


In the following instance Bahnaric shows variants in *-uəs, *-uas; the latter is probably secondary.

228. *r[uas: Stieng (Azémard 1886) ruəh, Jeh, Halang ruayh 'elephant'. *rwas: Stieng ruəh, Sre rawas, Chrau raweəh, Bunör, Biat ruəh, Bahnar dialects ruoih, rəh, roeəh id. Bahnar roəh, dial. ruikh, reflects *ruuəs, which is less readily explained if *rwas is the primary form; while Vietnamese con voi may be evidence for a metathetic *swuar (from earlier *ruw[ə])?'. (#1930)
Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. Examples:

229. *ʔus: Khmer ọh as ‘firewood’; ~ *ʔuu: Kuy ʔuh, Sre ous ‘fire’; Temiar ŋos id.; ~ *-uas: Middle Mon ọh /ʔoh/, Modern Mon ọh ‘firewood’. (#1872)


232. *t̥puus: Old Khmer pos, Modern Khmer boah pos ‘to sweep’ (with vocalism by levelling on mboah ‘broom’), Stieng po̯ih (Azémard 1886 pui̯ih) id.; and from affixed forms (i) Bahnar dialects hapui̯ih &c. id.; (ii; *tn̥puus > *t̥mpuus by metath. > *pnuus > ) Chrau boi̯ih id.; ~ *t̥puas: Middle Mon twa̯h, Modern Mon kwah id. (or *t̥p̥as, for which cf. e.g. Sre pas); and with secondary infixation Stieng (Azémard 1886) branu̯eh ‘broom’. (A front-vowel variant *t̥piis is seen in Palaungic: Palaung pir, &c., and in Bunör mp̥i̯ ‘broom’.) (#1916)

*-c̥h. No differentia have been found for *-c̥h, *-c̥h. I write *-c̥h in all cases, which should be understood as subsuming the strict formula *-c̥(o)h.

Differentia for *-c̥h, *-c̥h have been found so far only in Mon, Biat, and (inferentially and on scanty material) in Kuy. Old Mon has /ɔ/ < *-c̥h, /u̯/ < *-ɔh; Biat respectively -ɔh, -ɔ. Kuy *-c̥h < *-c̥h contrasts with -ɔh, which in no. 240 below reflects either a variant in *-ooh or else *-oos < *-o-s. (Further differentia will be proposed for *-c̥h = *-οh.)

The reflexes of *-c̥h in other languages are Khmer -c̥h -č̥h, written -c̥h; Sre -c̥h, all other South Bahnaric languages -c̥h; Bahnar -c̥h, -č̥h, Jeh and Halang correspondingly -c̥h, -č̥h; Khmuic -c̥h; Palaung -c̥h, Riang-Lang -c̥; Khasi -t̥h; South Aslian -c̥h, Central -c̥h. Praok and Vietnamese reflexes have not been determined.

Examples:


234. Stieng (Azémard 1886) koh to cut, lop’, Sre koh ‘to cut (down, up)’, Biat koh ‘to cut (up, off)’, Bahnar kɔh ‘to cut’, Jeh koh ‘to chop’, Halang koh ‘to chop, cut’, Theng koh ‘to cut (up)’; Palaung koh ‘to cut (down, off)’; Semai koh ‘to cut’ (#1969 *koh); and from affixed forms Khasi dkhɔt ‘part, piece, member’; lyngkhot, lyngkot ‘piece’.


236. Sre boh, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat boh, Bahnar boh, Jeh, Halang boh ‘salt’ (#2037 *bɔc̥h).18

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18 [Editorial note: Shorto later revised his analysis to distinguish a long vowel in this case.]
*-*əs, *-*oos, *-*ɔs is tentatively reconstructed in the two following cases; either might alternatively be reconstructed *-*ɔs. (The Khmer vowel-shift does not operate before a spirant.)

237. Khmer ṭuah das’ (and dɔh) ‘to dam’ (#1902 *[j]t[ɔ]s); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer thnùah ‘fish-weir, fish-crawl, of branches’; (ii) Mon hɔtah ‘dry-dam fish-trap’.

238. Mon klɔh ‘to throw (at, away)’ (#1948 *[cl]ɔs); and from an infixed form Khmer crəlɔh cralas’ ‘to throw, hurl’.

*-*ɔɔs is reconstructed in the following case, on the assumption that the Biat vocalism before *-*s parallels that before *-*h.

239. Sre loos (and los), Biat lɔːih ‘iron’ (*lɔɔs).

*-*oh. The following reflexes of *-*oh have been established (for the distinction from *-*ɔh see above): Old Mon /uuh/ (as < *-uuh); Khmer, Stieng, Sre as < *-*oh, Biat -oh; Bahnar -ɔh (dialectally -ooh), Jeh and Halang -oh; Praok -o; Vietnamese -ơ with hoi tone.

Only two certain cases are known:

240. Middle Mon loh /luuh/ ‘to uncoil (v.t.)’, Modern Mon lɔh ‘to come unwound’; Old Khmer lɔh ‘to free’, Modern Khmer lʊh lɔh ‘to redeem, ransom’ (#2067 *loh); and from prefixed forms inter alia (i) Old Mon plu ᵁ &c. ‘to attain Buddhahood’, Modern Mon plɔh ‘to come unwound, to unwind’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) plɔh ‘to peel off, skin’, Sre plɔh [bos] ‘[snake’s] slough’, Bahnar dialects plɔh, plɔh ‘to open, undo, undress’; Praok plɔ ‘to rise in baking’; Vietnamese trɔ ‘to shoot forth, sprout’; (ii) Bahnar klɔh ‘[scab] to come away’. Bahnar dialects plɔiːh = plɔh reflects a form with *-s suffix (*plɔh-s > *ploos; → Achinese plɔih ‘to unfasten, unroll, take off’); Kuy plɔh ‘to swell’ perhaps more probably a long-vowel variant.

241. Biat, Jeh, Halang loh ‘to go out’; Palaung lɔh ‘to go, come’ (#2068 *loh).

Items for which no reflexes from criterion languages are available are reconstructed with *-*[ə]h.

*-*ooh. The reconstruction of *-*ooh is supported by two items, one of them tentative. The reflexes are Old Mon /oh/ (as < *-uəh); Khmer -əh (as < *-*oh, *-*oh); Palaung -oh (?), Praok -o; Vietnamese -ơ with hoi tone.

242. Old Mon poh /poh/, Modern Mon puh ‘to shoot with pellet-bow’; Khmer boh poh ‘to throw, to gin [cotton]’; Praok [ak] po ‘bow’ (*pooih); and from an infixed form Mon nuh ‘pellet-bow’; Khmer phnɔh ‘bow for beating cotton’; Vietnamese nɔ ‘crossbow’.

243. Middle Mon thəboh /təboh/ ‘cake of rice-flour’, Modern Mon [kwain]habuh ‘rice-flour’; (?) Palaung (Milne 1931) karboh ‘airborne dust, to be dusty’ (*t[ə]booh). Though the Palaung comparison is tentative, there is support in Munda for the reconstruction.

No reconstructions of *-*os, *-*oos are made apart from the suffixed variant (Bahnar dialects -ɔiːh) under no. 240.
We reconstruct the following consonant system for PMK:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
* / & p & t & c & k & ? \\
 b & d & j & g & \\
 \delta & \delta & \\
m & n & \eta & \eta & \\
w & r & l & y & \\
 s & h & /
\end{array}
\]

Final consonants have already been treated in Part 1; neither voiced plosives nor glottalized \( \delta, \delta \) are reconstructed in final position. Here we shall consider first the reflexes at \( C_1 \) in forms with the structure \( *CVC \). All the above consonants may be reconstructed in this position.

1 STRUCTURE \( *CVC \)

1.1 Voiceless plosives: \( *k \) \( *c \) \( *t \) \( *p \)

\( *k, *t, *p \) are preserved in most of the languages compared. The main exceptions are that (i) in Khasi they are reflected by voiceless aspirates \( kh, th, ph \); (ii) in Khmer and Vietnamese (but not in Mường) \( *t, *p \) are glottalized: \( d, b \) in the Khmer transcription, \( d, b \) in the Vietnamese. Vietnamese \( /k/ \) is written \( c \) or \( k \) according to the following vowel. (For divergences in the Biat and Lawa reflexes of \( *k, *t \) see below.)

In Mon, Khmer and Khmuc Yuan (not in some other Khmuic dialects) words with these initials have head register, unmarked in the transcriptions. In Riang-Lang they have high tone, and in Vietnamese and Mường tones of the ‘high’ series: ngang, sáé, hói.

These reflexes are illustrated in the following examples:

‘Fish’: Old Mon \( ka(\)\), Modern Mon \( ka? \), Khmer \( ka:-[mon] \&c. \) (in specific names), Sre \( ka, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ka:, Theng, Palaung ka, Riang-Lang \( \bar{ka}? \), Praok \( ka, Lawa ka? \), Khasi \( kha (~ dohkha) \), Mường, Vietnamese \( ca \), Temiar \( ka? \) (16 \( \bar{ka}? \)).

‘Child’: Old Mon \( kon \), Modern Mon \( kon \), Khmer \( ko:n \), Sre \( kon \) (loanword?), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar \( ko:n \), Jeh \( ko:n \), Halang \( koan \), Khmu Yuan \( ko:n \), Palaung \( kuan \), Riang-Lang \( \bar{kuan} \), Praok \( kon \), Lawa \( kuan \), Khasi \( khun \), Mường, Vietnamese \( con \), Temiar \( kəwət (#1127 \*kun, \*kəvn) \).

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[Editorial note: the typescript of Part 1, as it came to us, lacked a discussion of final consonants, so that we are left with what can be surmised from the reconstructions presented in the comparative lexicon (Part 3).]
‘To pluck, break off, cut’: Khmer kac ‘to break [rigid object]’, Sre kac ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Biah kac ‘to strip [grain from ear]’, Bahnar dial. kac ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’, Riang-Lang kac ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’, Khasi kheit ‘to pluck, gather’, Mường câch, Vietnamese cát ‘to cut up’ (#800 *kac).

Cf. for *k* also #18, #278-#281, #317, #495-#506, #779-#803, #889-#893, #956-#963, #1125-#1129, #1231-#1238, #1308-#1313, #1442-#1447, #1564-#1573, #1702-#1712, #1814-#1820, #1967-#1973.

‘Hand, arm’: Old Mon tey, Modern Mon toa, Khmer day, Sre ti, Chau, Biah, Bahnar ti, Khmu Yuan ti, Palaung ti, Riang-Lang ti, Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang tay, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang te?, Temiar from nasal-suffix form tik (#66 *t,iʔ?). Khasi has *ti* by levelling on the prefixed form kti, where -t- is regular (see below). Mường thay, Vietnamese tay, < #244 *sii[ʔ], are not cognate.

‘To weave, plait, twill’: Modern Mon tan, Sre, Chau, Biah, Bahnar taj, Jeh, Halang tan, Khmu Yuan taj, Riang-Lang *taj, Praok taj, Lawa taij, Khasi thaiñ, Mường tanh, Vietnamese dan, Temiar tac (#898 *taʔn).


‘To bury’: Old Mon tip, Modern Mon taj, Chau tip, Biah taj, Röngao taj ‘to bury’, Jeh tap ‘to set in ground’, Halang top ‘to put in ground’, Khasi thep ‘to entomb [bones]’ (beside tep ‘to bury’, which is unexplained: #1252 *t,ap(a)p).

Cf. for *t- also #64-#75, #303-#323, #542-#568, #812-#815, #896a-#899a, #998-#101, #1153-#1156, #1250-#1257a, #1340-#1353, #1463-#1458, #1610-#1624, #1733-#1738, #1825-#1828, #1899-#1903, #1996-#2009.

‘To shoot’: Old Mon pañ, Modern Mon pon, Khmer bñ, Sre, Chau, Biah pañ ‘to shoot’, Biahnare peñ ‘to beat cotton with bow’, Jeh, Halang peñ, Khmu Yuan pin, Palaung pin, Riang-Lang *pun, Mường pánh, Vietnamese bàn ‘to shoot’ (#905 *pun?).

‘Four’: Old Mon pan, Modern Mon pon, Khmer buañ, Sre puan, Chau puan, Biah puan, Bahnar dialects puan, Jeh, Halang puan, Riang-Lang *pon, Praok pon, Lawa Bo Luang pauñ, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang puan, Mường pön, Vietnamese bôн (#1127 *pun? &c.). Palaung has phon by counting deformation on phan ‘five’, < #1214 *m-san.

‘To fly’: Mon po, Sre, Chau, Bahnar par, Jeh pal, Halang par, Palaung par, Riang-Lang *par, Praok po, Lawa Bo Luang pau, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang peu, Mường päl, Vietnamese bay (#1633 *par).

‘You (pl.)’: Palaung pe, Riang-Lang *peʔ, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang paiʔ, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang peʔ, Khasi phi (#99 *piʔ).

Cf. for *p- also #98-#106, #345-#355, #602-#618, #823-#825, #905-#907, #1020-#1030, #1162-#1168, #1371-#1372, #1478-#1481, #1633-#1640, #1752-#1760, #1833, #1908-#1918, #2021-#2031.

In Biah *k, *t are palatalized to c- before -iaC (< *-iaC). The same development is found in the closely related Bunôr (and also in Preh: see Blood 1966:21) in corresponding contexts. Thus we have Mon kit ‘to bite’, Sre kiat, Chau kiat ‘to itch’, Biah ciat ‘to sting, smart’, Bunôr cyat ‘to itch’ (#957 *kiit &c.); Sre kiaw, Biah ciau, Bunôr ce:w ‘left-hand’ (1814 *kiow, *giaw); Sre tiañ, Chau tiañ, Biah ciañ Bunôr cyañ, Jeh teñ ‘tail’ (#542 *t,iañ); Sre tiañ, Biah ciai ‘to forge’, Bahnar t(i)ce:r ‘to hammer to an edge’ (and
Vietnamese ד‘ ‘anvil’; #1554 *tíaar).

Palatalization does not occur before an undiphthongized high front vowel, or generally before -c:C < *-iaC. It is, however, found in Sre tías mat, Biat ceh mat ‘blind’. (Contrast in *C’JVC structures e.g. Biat tét ‘parakeet’ < #1010 *gtit, *gtiata; nte: ‘noise’ < #1900 *kt,as^2; whereas before -iaC in these contexts there is palatalization as above.) The development is likely to be recent.

A somewhat similar palatalization is found in one item in Lawa Umpai: Khmer keh keh, Lawa Bo Luang kaih, Lawa Umpai ces ‘mountain goat’ (#1967 *k[ìji][h], *kía[h]).

The palatal term of the voiceless plosive series, *c, may be presumed to have been—or to have given rise to—an affricate in all the languages. The affricate is preserved in Mon, Khmer, Röngao, Jeh, Halang, Vietnamese and Mường (orthographic ch-), and Aslian. In most of South Bahnaric, Khmu, Northern Mon-Khmer, and Khasi the plosive element has been lost and the reflex is s. Biat has ch; but it should be noted that this is also the reflex of *s- ( > Sre &c. s, §1.6), so that Biat differs phonetically rather than systemically from the main part of South Bahnaric. The phonetic direction of the merger may reflect the proximity of North Bahnaric. Finally, variant reflexes are found in Stieng (s, c) and Bahnar (s, ts, c); they will be discussed in detail below. Thus we have:


‘Bird’: Stieng cù:m, Sre sì:m, Chrau sum, Biat chium, Bahnar sèm, Jeh, Halang cìm, Khmu Yuan sì:m, Palaung sìm, Riang-Lang ~sim, Praok sim, Lawa Bo Luang saiŋ, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang sain, Khasi sim, Mường, Vietnamese chim, Temiar cep (#1324 *cíc &c.).

Cf. also v. #39-#48, #289-#299, #520-#535, #807-#810, #981-#989, #1137-#1145, #1243-#1246, #1324-#1329, #1591-#1599, #1725-#1726, #1821-#1821a, #1887-#1896, #1982-#1990.

The discrepant Stieng and Bahnar reflexes with c (in three items: #981, #1243a, #1324) may tentatively be attributed to clusters arising from prefixation, and thus eliminated. Stieng s and c, and Bahnar s and ts, occur with nearly equal frequency. It is thus not very likely that the divergences can be attributed to borrowing, nor can they readily be accounted for by reference to the vocalism or other contextual factors. We may note, however, that Stieng s corresponds to Bahnar s, and Stieng c to Bahnar ts, in three-quarters of the cases where both languages show cognates, against a random expectation of one-half: (Stieng, Bahnar s) 39 (‘louse’, above), #40, #43 (‘grandchild’, above), #514, #947 (Jölong s-t beside c-t), #950; (Stieng c, Bahnar ts) #286, #288, #781; (others)

2 [Editorial note: in the first draft the reconstruction was *k/n/tiəas.]
Part 2 Consonantism

#1137, #1324 (‘cooked’; ‘bird’, above), #1539. This degree of agreement, between languages at opposite ends of the Bahnaric area, may be significant. I shall not use it to postulate an additional protophoneme, the nature of which would in any case be obscure. But it may be a relic of an early split the conditions of which are difficult to discern.

1.2 Voiced plosives: *g *j *d *b

All four voiced plosives are preserved in Bahnaric, Khmuic other than Khmu Yuan, Palaung, and Aslian; but in Chrau the dental and labial terms (written d, v) have both plosive and fricative allophones. Khasi preserves j, but for the other three terms has plain voiceless reflexes: k, t, p. The older voiceless-voiced contrast is thus maintained, under one form or another, in the relevant consonant systems of all the above languages; and, partly, in Khmer.

In Mon, Khmer, and seemingly Khmu Yuan the reflexes are k, c, t, p and are accompanied by chest register, marked by grave accent in the transcriptions. (The marking of chest register in Lindell 1971 is not wholly consistent if the above formulation is correct.) The Khmer dental and labial terms remain distinct from the glottalized reflexes of *t, *p.

In the three tone languages the reflexes fall together with those of the voiceless series, except that in Riang-Lang *j yields a dental affricate [ts], here transcribed c. They are accompanied by low tone in the case of Riang-Lang and by tones of the ‘low’ series -huyên, nạng, nga—in that of Viet-Mường (note that Mường nạng tone corresponds to Vietnamese nạng and nga, Mường lacking the second of these).

Finally, in Praok and the Bo Luang and Mae Sariang dialects of Lawa the reflexes of *g, *d, *b fall together with those of the voiceless series without register or tonal distinction, but with differences in vocalism which testify to the register stage through which Waic is presumed to have passed. In Lawa Umpai the reflexes are aspirates or h-clusters: kh, th, ph (for contextual palatalization see below). As with Riang-Lang, *c and *j remain distinct, the latter yielding Praok, Lawa Bo Luang c, Lawa Umpai ch, Lawa Mae Sariang c ~ ch.

Fewer items with these initials have a general MK distribution than was the case with their voiceless counterparts. Hence it will be necessary to illustrate them with more numerous but more limited examples.


‘To winnow’: Mon kùm, Chrau, Biat, Theng gum ‘to winnow’, Palaung gum ‘to clean [rice] by tossing’ (#1317 *gum &c.).


‘To enter’: Khmu Yuan kùt, Riang-Lang kùt ‘to enter’, Khasi kot ‘to reach’ (#968
*guut, *gu[ə]t).

Cf. for *g- also #281a-#284, #507-#518, #804-#805, #964-#972, #1130-
#1134, #1239-#1242, #1314-#1320, #1574-#1584, #1713-#1721, #1820a, #1884,

'To break ground for cultivation': Old Mon jik, Modern Mon či:k ‘to harrow, to
cultivate’, Khmer či:k ‘to dig’, Sre jìi, Chrau jì?: Biat jì:k ‘to grub up weeds’, Röngao jë:k
‘to plough; cultivated field’, Jeh, Halang jìak ‘ricefield’, Praok čiak ‘to dig’, Lawa Bo
Luang cuk, Lawa Umpai chuìk, Lawa Mae Sariang c(h)i:k ‘irrigated field’ (#300 *jiik,
*jiak).

'Foot, leg': Old Mon juñ, Modern Mon càn, Khmer cë:ŋ, Sre, Chrau jàñ, Biat jàñ,
Bahnar jà:ŋ, Jeh, Halang jò:ŋ, Khmu Yuan cà:ŋ (!), Palaung jùŋ, Riang-Lang càn, Praok
càn, Lawa Bo Luang cuàn, Lawa Umpai chuàn, Temiär juk (#538(I) *jùŋ &c.).

'To sew': Old Mon jìn, jìn, Modern Mon còiŋ, Sre jìŋ, Chrau jìŋ, Palaung
dìŋ, Praok càŋ, Lawa Bo Luang cuŋ, Lawa Umpai chìŋ, Lawa Mae Sariang c(h)iŋ (#894
*jìn, *jiîŋ).

'To descend': Chrau jur, Biat jùr, Bahnar jur: ‘to descend’, Jeh jòl, Halang jur
‘down’, Khmu Yuan cur (!) ‘to descend’, Palaung jur ‘valley’, Riang-Lang cur ‘to
descend’, Praok cià ‘to fall, be shed’, Lawa Bo Luang co, Lawa Umpai chuà ‘to leak’,
Khasi jur ‘descent’, Semai jur: ‘to fall’ (#1606 *jur[ ] &c.).

'Moist, swampy': Mon cím ‘to be swampy’, Khasi jum-jum ‘full of juice’,
Vietnamese chìm ‘to sink, be submerged’ (#1330 *jiim &c.).

'Quick, to run': Sre jàr ‘quick, urgent’, Mùơng cḩəl, Vietnamese chây ‘to run’
(#1602 *jăr?).

Cf. for *j- also #300-#302, #535a-#540, #811, #990-#996, #1146-#1150,
#1247-#1249, #1330-#1338, #1461-#1462, #1600-#1608, #1727-#1731, #1822-
#1823, #1897-#1898a, #1991-#1995.

'To run away': Old Mon dow, Modern Mon têa ‘to run away’, Khmer trû ‘to go
(away)’, Sre dòu?, Chrau, Biat dû; Khmu Yuan tûʔ, Palaung dû ‘to run away’, Temiär
doʔ ‘to run’ (#84 *dûʔ).

'To block, dam': Khmer tûp ‘to block, dam’, Chrau dăp ‘to dam’, Riang-Lang _tap
‘to stop, dam’, Vietnamese dăp ‘dam’ (#1219 *dáp).

'To lodge for the night': Old Mon dum, Modern Mon tûm ‘to lodge ...’, Khmer tûm
‘to perch’, Röngao cû:m ‘to camp out’, Jeh dâm, Halang dom ‘to sleep away from home’,
Khusu dum ‘to stay overnight’, Palaung dom ‘to lodge’, Praok tum ‘to lodge, alight’
(#1357 *dâm, *dûum). Khasi has dem ‘to alight, to lie down’, perhaps by the attraction
of pedm ‘to incubate’, #1356 *dôm, *dûum.

'Vicious': Riang-Lang _tâm tak ‘gur (palm syrup)’, Vietnamese dûc ‘to be viscous,
to coagulate’ (#326 *dák).

'Flower': Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang tîa, Lawa Umpai thîa, Lawa Mae Sariang tuai
‘flower’, Vietnamese dâi ‘calyx’ (#1469 *daay).

Lawa Mae Sariang tu, Mùơng tô, Vietnamese dôi ‘hill’ are to be compared either
with Old Mon dal, Modern Mon tô (see #1741 *dul) or with Sre dor, Halang doar (see
#1626 *[d][o]l).}

Cf. for *d- also #322-#328, #569-#580, #816, #900-#902, #1010a-#1012,
#1157, #1258-#1259, #1354-#1359, #1469-#1471, #1625-#1629, #1739-#1745,
#1829, #2010-#2012. Khasi t- is attested in #325 (teh ‘to bind, fasten’): Mon təak ‘to
tie, tether, link...’) and #570 (tong ‘to draw [water &c.]’: Khmer tiuəŋ ‘to pull back and forth’, &c.).

‘To bind’: Mon pàk ‘to put [waistcloth] round’, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang puk, Lawa Umpai phuk ‘to tie, bind’, Mường puotch, Vietnamese буotch, Temiar bɔg ‘to bind’ (#357 *bɔk &c.).

‘Belly’: Mon pəŋ, Khmer pʊŋ, Bahnar buŋ, Khmu Yuan poŋ (!), Vietnamese ቡŋ (#624 *buŋ [ ], *buŋʔ?). Khasi has *poh ~ kpoŋ, with a final variation of a type found in a few other items; perhaps attributable to the final cluster.


‘Ash’: Sre buːh, Chrau vuːh, Biat buh, Khmu Yuan pɔh (#1960 *buuh).

Cf. for *b- also #107-#119, #356-#366, #619-#629a, #826, #908, #1031-#1037, #1169-#1176, #1482a-#1488, #1641-#1646a, #1761-#1763, #1834-#1835, #1920-#1921, #2032-2035.

In Lawa Umpai the reflex of *g is palatalized before a high front vowel, or diphthong with that starting-point (cf. the palatalization of *k noted previously). Thus we have Riang-Lang kit ‘to scratch’, Praok kiæt, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang kiät, Lawa Umpai chiat ‘to bite’ (#964 *giit, *giæt); and the Waic items Praok kac, Lawa Bo Luang kik, Lawa Umpai chiæc, Lawa Mae Sariang kuic ‘ashamed’ (sc. *gaac) and Praok ki, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang kiæ, Lawa Umpai chiæc ‘salt’ (sc. *giis). Evidence is lacking as to a Biat palatalization corresponding to that of *k, *t.

In Chrau, Bahnar (possibly North Bahnaric generally), Riang-Lang and Khasi there are isolated instances of a semivowel corresponding to reflexes assigned to *j- elsewhere. The majority occur before (original or secondary) high vowels. We shall generally treat them as a sporadic development and reconstruct *j-, though some may reflect clusters arising from affixation. Thus we find (i) Chrau iuːn ‘to give’ (~ niuːn ‘to hand over’) but Old Mon jín /jən/, ‘to make over, hand over’, Khmer cùn ‘to offer’, Sre jún ‘to bring’, West Bahnar jën ‘to bring, convey’, Semaq Beri (South Aslian) jøn ‘to give’ (#1148 *jun, *jùn; contrast Chrau jùr < *jur ‘to descend’, #1606);

(ii) Bahnar yʊŋ ‘important, great’ (~ kajʊŋ ‘high, long, big’), Sre jøŋ ‘long, high, tall’, Khmu Yuan çoŋ, Central Nicobarese çoŋ ‘high’ (#537 *jɔŋ, *jʊŋ]; Bahnar yɨm ‘like, thus, so’, Riang-Lang _cam ‘in order to’, and from an affixed form Praok jɔm ‘manner, action, condition’ (#1332 *jam, *jøm; contrast Bahnar jɔŋ < *jʊŋ ‘foot, leg’); Bahnar yʊŋ ‘to stand up’, Jeh yuān ‘to get up’, Halang yuəŋ ‘to stand’ < *jʊŋ (#538II, cf. iv below). But Bahnaric y- in these cases may reflect forms with nasal affix; yɨm would then parallel Praok jɔm.


(iv) Khasi iɲəŋ, Palaung jaŋ, Mah Meri (South Aslian) jʊk ‘to stand’ (#538II *jaŋ; cf. with variant vocalism Bahnar yuŋ, &c.; connected with ‘foot, leg’, p. 2.10). Contrast Khasi um-jər ‘dew’ < #1344 *jar or *jər.

Note that similar, but differently distributed, mixed reflexes are provisionally assigned to *y- (see below).
1.3 Glottalized consonants: *ɗ*, *ɓ*

Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi and Viet-Mường show two distinct sets of correspondences to the reflexes associated with *ɗ* and *ɓ* elsewhere. (So too do Kuy and, for the dental term only, Central Nicobarese.) One set has been described in the last section: Vietnamese *ɗ, b*, Mon etc. *t, p*, with chest register or low tone as appropriate. The other set comprises Mon (glottalized) *ɗ, b,* accompanied by head register; Riang-Lang *ɗ, b*, normally with high tone; Khadi *ɗ, b*; Vietnamese *n, m* and Mường *ɗ, b*, both with tones of the high series. From correspondences involving the second set we reconstruct PMK glottalized *ɗ* and *ɓ*.

*CVC examples which demonstrate the coherence of the criterion languages are few, especially for the labial term; though they are bolstered by those involving more complex structures. We may cite the following.*


‘Crushed to bits’: Literary Mon (*p)ūt* ‘to be broken, bruised’, Riang-Lang *duc* ‘to be ground to powder...’, Mường *däch*, Vietnamese nát ‘to be broken, crushed’ (#818 *[ ]duuc, [* ]đaac).


‘To have ...’: Riang-Lang *dai* future prefix (with phrasal low tone), Khasi *dei* ‘must’; and Chrau *di*- ‘(in order) to’, Biat *đai* ‘to be [un]able to’, Bahnar *đei* ‘to have, possess’, Palaung *đi* future prefix, Praok *đi* ‘(in order) to’ (#1472 *đaay, *đay).


‘Askew, out of shape’: Mon *bêa*, Vietnamese méo (#1764 *bia[l]?).

‘To bubble, boil’: Mon *bôh* ‘to boil (v.t.)’, Riang-Lang *bôs* ‘foam, froth’; and Khmer *pùh* ‘to bubble, boil’, Bahnar *bû:h* ‘welling up’, Palaung *bur* ‘foam, froth’, Temiar *bû:s* ‘bubbles’ (#2038 *bûh* &c.).

But most reconstructions of *ɗ*- and *ɓ*- rest on the evidence of one criterion language only; thus the next two examples depend on that of Mon.


‘Two’: Old Mon *bahr*, Modern Mon *ba*, Khmer *pi*, Sre bar, Chrau *var*, Biat, Bahnar, Halang *bar*, Jeh *ba:l*, Khmu Yuan *par* (#1562 *baar, *[ɓ]ir*).

Cf. also for *ɓ* #367-#375, #630-#637, #827-#831, #909-#910, #1038-#1044,

[Editorial note: here the symbols *ɗ, b* are as used as in Shorto’s 1962 spoken Mon dictionary—the IPA values they indicate are the implosives (‘glottalized’) *ɗ, b*, for which OUP typesetters substituted *ɓ, b*. The same applies to modern Khmer notations. Spoken Mon *hw* corresponds to IPA *ɓ*.]
The citation of ‘two’ raises a point of principle which should be mentioned here. The Pre-PMK reconstruction of this root was made to account for unexpected dialectal variants in PMK: Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường and Nicobarese apparently reflect *ʔaar.

On the evidence so far presented it might therefore be argued that the eastern languages—Khmer and Bahnaric—had not developed glottalized consonants at the PMK stage and that the latter have a merely dialectal status there. However, besides the distinct reflexes in Kuy (closely related to Khmer), most South Bahnaric languages show a distinctive development following a nasal in *(C)CCVC structures (see below). We need not, then, doubt the PMK status of *ɗ and *ɓ although there are certain irregularities in their distribution.

Ambiguous reconstructions. Where no reflex is found in any criterion language, reconstructions remain ambiguous between *d- and *ɗ-, *b- and *ɓ-. In such cases I note *[d], *[b], except where factors other than the direct comparison of cognates (probable relationship with other roots, loan forms in non-MK languages) favour the alternative reconstruction. Cf. for *[d]-, #79, #84a, #569, #1259, #1354, #1357, #1626, #2012; for *[b]-, #107, #109, #111, #356, #360-#361, #366, #629a, #1031, #1034-#1035, #1484, #1641, #1920.

This notation is a matter of convenience, not statistical probability. In *CVC structures, assured reconstructions of *d- indeed outnumber those of *ɗ-, while those of *b- and *ɓ- are of nearly equal frequency; but in *CCVC structures those of the glottalized consonants are markedly more frequent.

1.4 Nasals: *ŋ *ɲ *n *m

Four nasals corresponding in points of articulation to the two plosive series are for the most part preserved in the languages compared, with chest register or low tone where appropriate. They are infrequent initially in *CVC structure except for the labial term, which accounts for some five-eighths of the listings. I shall illustrate it first.

‘You (singular)’: Sre mi sing., Chrau may, Biat mai masc., Khmu Yuan me: (!) masc. sing., Palaung mi, Riang-Lang _miʔ, Praok may, Lawa Bo Luang maiʔ, Lawa Umpai miʔ, Khasi me, Vietnamese mày sing. (#128 *mi[i]?).

‘Mother’: Middle Mon mi, Modern Mon miʔ ‘mother’, Khmer mɛːː ‘term of address to old women, Sre, Chrau mec, Biat mec, Bahnar mecʔ, Khasi mei, Mường mɛ, Vietnamese me’‘mother’ (#131 *meeʔ, *ʔmeeʔ).


‘Nose’: Old Mon moh, Modern Mon mûh, Sre, Chrau muh, Biat moh, Bahnar mûh, Jeh, Halang, Khmu Yuan mûh, Palaung mûh, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang
mau̯h, Lawa Umpai maus, Khasi 'mut, Mù̦ông, Vietnamese mủi, Temiar ma:h (#2045 *mu̯h &c.).  
Cf. for *m- #127-#149, #376-#382a, #638-#646, #832-#835, #911-#912, #1045-#1052, #1181-#1189, #1378-#1380, #1494-#1499, #1649-#1655, #1772-#1779, #1922-#1923, #2044a-#2047.

Examples of the remaining nasals are of limited incidence. We may note for the velar: ‘to bow head, nod’: Khmer ṭò:k ‘to bend over and look, to nod off’, Rōngao ṭuk ‘to incline head, bow head’, Khasi [ko̯h]nguh ‘to nod...’ (#287 *ṭuk &c.).

‘To be extinguished, to extinguish’: Chrau ṇat v.t., Riang-Lang ṇat v.i.t. (#973 *ṇat).

‘Hungry’: Biat [ji:] ɲat ‘hunger, to be hungry’, Riang-Lang ɲuat ‘to starve, to be hungry’ (#975 *ɲut, *ɲuat).


‘To nod head, to sway’: Bahnar ɲel ‘to shake head’, [ɲeː] ɲel ‘to sway’, Riang-Lang ɲil ɲil ‘to nod’, Vietnamese nghèo ‘to tilt [head] to one side’ (#1722 *ɲil &c.).

‘Price’: Old Mon ɲūs, Modern Mon ɲu̯h, Palaung ṇuor, Praok ɲo, Lawa Bo Luang ɲuah, Lawa Umpai ɲuas, Lawa Mae Sariang ɲo̯ih (#1886 *ɲus &c.).

A South Bahnaric platalization before high front vowel is assumed in the following item (see below for the parallel development in *CCVC structure).

‘To swallow, drink’: Middle Mon niːt, Modern Mon niːt ‘to swallow’, Stieng niːat, Biat niːt ‘to drink’, Palaung (Milne 1931) niːt ‘to swallow’; and with back vocalism Khasi nguïd id., Semai ṇat ‘to drink’ (#806 *[ɲuuc &c.).

‘Morinda sp. (kind of tree)’: Khmer ɲɔː, Vietnamese nhâu (!);#61 *ɲɔ?.

‘To suck up, drink’: Sre ɲuu ‘to drink [spirits]’, Praok ɲaa, Lawa ɲoː, ‘to drink’, Semai -ɲoː ‘to suck’ (#63 *ɲuu?).


In the next, Bahnar has y-, dialectally ɲ-, perhaps the regular reflex; the status of Khmu Yuan n̄- is uncertain in the absence of comparanda. ‘Small’: Middle Mon n̄i, Modern Mon n̄i? ‘to be small in quantity’, Bahnar ye?; West Bahnar also ne?, Khmu Yuan n̄e?, Theng ne ‘small’ (#59 *ɲ[ee]?)

For *ɲ- 58a-63, 541, 997, 1151-1152, 1339, 1609, 1732.

The dental term presents no irregularities. We note ‘this’: Mon -nɔʔ ‘this’, Khmer nəh ‘that, there’, Chrau nəʔ (!) ‘there near at hand’, Bahnar dialects nəːu &c. ‘here, this’, Vietnamese no ‘this’ (#92 *nɔʔ, *nəh).

‘This’: Khmer neh, nih ‘this’, Stieng ne:i, ni: ‘this, here’, Sre ne ‘there’, Khmu Yuan niʔ (!) ‘that’, Riang-Lang _ni, Khasi -ne, Mù̦ông n̄i (!) ‘this’ (#91 *n̄iʔ, *nih).

‘To know’: Khmu Yuan nəːŋ ‘to know’, Khasi nang ‘to be able, to know’ (#592 *[nəːŋ].

‘Urine, to urinate’: Khmer nɔːm n.v., Stieng num, Chrau, Bahnar nɔːm v., Khmu

‘Sun, day’: Stieng, Chrau nar, Biat, Bahnar nar (#1630 *[ ]nar, *[ ]naar).

Cf. for *n- #91-#97, #342-#344, #591-#601, #1365-#1370, #1475-#1477, #1749-#1751, #1832, #1905-#1907, #2017-#2020.

1.5 Liquids and semivowels: *y *r *l *w

We shall consider the liquids first. *r and *l are the most frequent of all protophonemes in this position, as in prenuclear position generally; though as the roots in question show a high incidence of prefixation this frequency is not correspondingly reflected in the overall distribution of *CVC forms.

*r- is preserved in the majority of languages. In Lawa Mae Sariang it is reflected as a uvular fricative, noted ɣ. The Vietnamese reflex is /z/; properly written r, but in about one-third of cases we find gi-, which is homophonous in northern Vietnamese. Of the two Mường correspondents noted, one is written with r-, one with gi-. These reflexes, as with all consonants of this group, are accompanied by chest register or low tone where appropriate.

‘To pull out, pull up, reap’: Mon rôt ‘to reap’, Khmer rôc ‘to pull out, draw out’, Palaung ruût ‘to pull out’, Praok rut ‘to pull apart, away’, ruc, Khasi rut ‘to uproot’, Vietnamese giût ‘to pull forcibly, snatch’ (#1058 *ruut &c.).

‘To tighten, constrict’: Khmer ruût ‘to draw [e.g. curtains] together’, ruûat ‘to seize round the top or neck’, Sre ri:t ‘tight’, Chrau, ret ‘to squeeze’, Biat ret ‘to tighten’, ro:t ‘to shrink, become tight’, West Bahnar rest ‘to draw tight, to gird, to strangle’, Khmu Yuan riat (!) ‘to tie together’, Palaung (Milne 1931) rut ‘to draw in with drawstring’, Riang-Lang _rut ‘to draw in’, Praok rôt ‘to gird’, Temiar rayed ‘to squeeze’ (1061 *ruut &c.).

‘To help, to lend’: Old Mon rim [bân], Modern Mon rèm ‘to help’, Riang-Lang _rom ‘to lend, borrow [money]’, Palaung ram ‘to borrow [money]’, Lawa Bo Luang ram ‘to borrow’, Khasi ram ‘debt, loan’, Vietnamese giûm ‘to help’ (1390 *ruum &c.).

‘Fly’: Mon rûi, Khmer rûy, Stieng rûai, Chrau raway, Bahnar râi, Jeh ro:y, Halang roay, Khmu Yuan rûy, Riang-Lang _ruay, Lawa Bo Luang rôi, Lawa Umpai rua, Lawa Mae Sariang yuai, Vietnamese rûi (1534 *ruy &c.).

‘Root’: Mon rôh, Khmer rûh, Stieng rôh, Sre rias, Bahnar râh, West Bahnar râh, Jeh riayh, Halang riah, Khmu Yuan rias (!), Palaung riah, Riang-Lang _rias, Praok ria, Lawa Bo Luang rôh, Lawa Umpai res, Lawa Mae Sariang ych, Vietnamese rê, Semelai (South Asian) res (#1927 *ris &c.).

Cf. for *r- #160-#161a, #390-#397, #655-#670, #837-#844, #1055-#1063, #1269-#1275, #1383-#1391, #1500-#1506, #1785-#1787, #1840-#1842, #1924-#1932, #2050-#2053.

*l- is preserved in all languages. Quotable examples, however, have limited distributions.

‘To take’: Palaung le, Riang-Lang _le2, Mường læ, Vietnamese láy (!) (#188 *liż).

‘To try, test’: Khmer lèŋ, Biat lœøŋ [uæŋ], Stieng, Sre, Jeh lœøŋ id., Bahnar lœøŋ ‘to be tested’, Lawa Bo Luang lãŋ, Lawa Umpai lãŋ ‘to try, test’ (#723 *lœøŋ).

‘Penis’: Sre loc, Bahnar lo: (!), Khmu Yuan løk, Khasi lôh (#855 *loc &c.).
‘To slip’: Old Mon lot, Modern Mon lôt ‘to fall prone’, Khmer lùt ‘to slip away, to let go of’, Chrau lac ‘to fall out through hole’, Biat lat ‘to abort (v.t.)’, Palaung lut, (Mon also) luit ‘to take off [clothes &c.]’, Khasi loit ‘to take off, untie, detach’, Vietnamese lọt ‘to slip or fall into’, lọt ‘to strip off, to slough’ (#1081 *lùt &c.).

‘To pass, to exceed’: Middle Mon l(wo)n ‘to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed; exceedingly’, Modern Mon lûn also ‘to go past’, Khmer lûan ‘excessive(ly)’, Sre lin ‘to exceed’, Biat lan ‘past, ago’, Praok luan ‘to go past, to pass, escape’, Lawa Bo Luang loan, Lawa Umpai lon ‘very’, Vietnamese lùôn ‘to pass, slip through or under’ (#1200 *lûan &c.).

‘Again’: Riang-Lang *løy (i) ‘more, longer, else’, Praok lay marker of continuous or habitual action, Mûthông lê (!), Vietnamese lãi ‘again’ (#1511 *l[ ]ay[i], *l[ ]aay[i]).

Biat has exceptionally r- in rwan ‘to swallow’: Sre loan, &c., < #1201 *lûan, perhaps by levelling on the affixed form rjuan. Bahnar dâ:h ‘or’ < #2065 *lah is likely to represent a special development in weak position.

Cf. for *l- also #188-#196a, #417-#432, #710-#729, #924-#927, #1075-#1084, #1195-#1202, #1401-#1404, #1511-#1517, #1662-#1666a, #1853-#1856, #1941-#1945a, #2062-#2072.

The normal reflexes of *w- in all languages fall within the categories of bilabial or labiodental semivowel or fricative. They are noted as *b or habitual action, M.exceedingly’, Modern Mon lôn also ‘to go past’, Khmer lûan ‘excessive(ly)’, Sre lin ‘to exceed’, Biat lan ‘past, ago’, Praok luan ‘to go past, to pass, escape’, Lawa Bo Luang loan, Lawa Umpai lon ‘very’, Vietnamese lùôn ‘to pass, slip through or under’ (#1200 *lûan &c.).


**Other reflexes of *w-**. In two items, both with final *c, where Palaungic and Khasi appear to call for the reconstruction of *w-, Temiar has ʔ-. In the first of them this consonantism is found in all three branches of Aslian. In the second, where Temiar appears to reflect a secondary back vocalism, Semai has y- and Southern dialects the
normal *w-, while most Northern ones have *w- with an anomalous final nasal; two have *h-, perhaps from a distinct etymology. In both cases we shall reconstruct *w-, assuming a rule of ‘de-dissimilation’.


A similar development involving final *ŋ is seen in Waic if Praok in ‘to go back, return’, Lawa Bo Luang ʔaŋ, Lawa Umpai ʔeŋ, Lawa Mae Sariang ʔeŋ ‘to come, return’ are cognate with Khmer vẹn ‘back (again)’, &c., < #931 *wŋ &c.

Cf. for *w- also #233-#236, #454-#458, #765-#769, #862-#866, #1090-#1091, #1529-#1531a, #1669-#1672, #1794-#1798, #1950-#1951, #2080a-#2081.

*y- is of low frequency and rather more troublesome. The normal reflex appears to be /y/ in the majority of languages; in Khasi written ɾ, in Stieng i- and in two instances before high back vowels (variant) j- (cf. u-, uʔ- < *w-). It appears from the third example below that the Viet-Mutterstock reflexes may be Mường gi-, Vietnamese nh-. The Temiar reflex has not been noted.


‘To take’: Khmer yòːk, Bahnar yək id., Khasi ɨoh ‘to obtain, receive, have’ (#384 *yək, *yɔːk).

‘To lift’: Old Mon yuk, Modern Mon yàk ‘id., to carry in arms’, Khmer yūak ‘to lift up’, Chhau yaʔ ‘to take off, lift’, Stieng juk, Sre əːk, Praok yaok, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai yuak ‘to lift’, Palaung yuuʔ ‘to rise, to raise’, (ʔ) Mường giáèc, Vietnamese nháč, nháč ‘to lift, raise’ (#385 *yuk &c.). But Viet-Mтвержден may well reflect an affixed form in view of the sáć tone.

‘To weep’: Old Mon yâm, Modern Mon yèm, Khmer yûm, Khmu Yuan yàːm, Palaung yam, Riang-Lang yam, Praok yem, Lawa yuam, Khasi ɨam (#1337 *yaam).

With *y- affricate reflexes occur sporadically—or appear to—in other Bahnnaric and Palaungic languages beside Stieng, before original or secondary high back vowels. Similar mixed reflexes are assigned to *j-. In determining which protophoneme should be reconstructed the evidence of languages which show no variation—notably Mon and Khmer—is given most weight. In Bahnar at least, which figures in both variant sets, hypercorrection may play a part.

Thus we find Biat jual ‘to carry on head’, Bahnar jɔːl ‘to raise higher than oneself, hold out’ beside Old Mon yil ‘to place on one’s head’, Modern Mon yà ‘to support or carry on head, to lift’, West Bahnar yûl ‘to hold out’ (#1781 *yjʊəl, *yəl; contrast Bahnar yɔːc ‘fault, offence’ < #836 *yʊəc; dialect borrowing between Biat and Bahnar may be in question); and Bönöm Bahnar jɔːk ‘in good health’ beside Mon [thɔːt] yɔk (#386 *yuuk). Note also 1780 *yjil ‘barking deer’, a speculative reconstruction; perhaps rather *zil.
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

1.6 Spirants and glottal stop: *s *h *

*s- is preserved in Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Biat, Jeh, Halang and Aslian. Biat has ch-, Bahnar variously ts-, s-; the latter in about one item in three (it may reflect borrowing from Jeh-Halang). In Khmuic and Palaungic s- has shifted to h-. In Viet-Mường we find Mường th-, Vietnamese t-; suggesting as an intermediate stage a shift to a voiceless dental fricative [ə] (found also in Danaw and, perhaps more relevantly, as a stage in the history of Cham). Finally, in Khasi we find s- [s] in two instances and sh- [ʃ] in one. sh- (which cannot reflect *c-) has been taken for the regular reflex; the distribution over all positions is complex and has undoubtedly been affected by analogy and back-formation; but remains in many respects obscure.

As do other consonants of this group, *s- gives rise to head register or high tone where these are applicable.

The Khmuic-Palaungic shift results in merger between *s- and *h-. In South Bahnaric and in most dialects of Bahnar, on the other hand, *s- merges with *c-. Fully distinctive reflexes can be made whenever Khmu or a Palaungic language has a cognate in South Bahnaric or Bahnar. (Occasionally Palaung post-dental vocalism may favour the reconstruction of *s- even in the absence of these criteria; I then note *[s]-.)

'Hair': Old Mon sok, Modern Mon sok, Khmer, (→ ?) Chrau sok, Sre soʔ, Biat chok, Bahnar tsok, Jeh suck, Halang sok, Palaung huʔ, Riang-Lang huk, Praok haak, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang hauk, Lawa Umpai hauk, Mường thác, Vietnamese tóc, Temiar soʔ (#467 *suk &c.).


'To sting': Khmer soc ‘small kind of mosquito’, Sre souc ‘to prick, sting’, Biat choc, Bahnar dialects tsuc, tsoc, Khmu Yuan huc, Riang-Lang huc, Praok huc ‘to sting’ (#873 *suc &c.).

'Sharp, to sharpen': Sre sout, Chrau sot, Biat chott ‘sharp’, Khasi shut ‘to sharpen’ (#1100 *suut).

Khasi san ‘five’: Riang-Lang han id., Mon [coh] san ‘fif[teen]’ (#1214 *suun &c.) may have s- by counting deformation on saw ‘four’. But there is no such explanation for sum ‘to bathe, wash’: Mường thâm, Vietnamese tôm (#1417 *samʔ, *sum[ ]).

Cf. for *s- also #243-#245, #463-#468, #777-#780, #870-#873, #1098-#1101, #1211-#1214, #1417-#1419a, #1537-#1538, #1675-#1678, #2084-#2088.

We come now to the two laryngeals *h *ʔ. It must be noted first that in a proportion of cases these alternate giving rise to doublets, as in other positions including final position. It does not appear that the alternances can be explained by any such theory as Dyen proposed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian; at least at the present stage of inquiry. We shall accordingly treat first the invariable correspondences, and note the other
cases at the end of the section.

*h- is preserved in all languages, being consequently merged with *s- in Khmuic and Palaungic.

‘To open [mouth]’: Mon ha (!), Khmer, Stieng, Sre (!) ha:, Chrau ha: (?!, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ha:, Vietnamese hà (#251 *ha?).

‘Finished’: Khmu Yuan hoc particle of completed action, Riang-Lang *hac ‘all, to exhaust’, Praok huac ‘to have finished; perfect auxiliary’, Lawa Bo Luang hauk, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang hic ‘finished’, Temiar haj ‘already’ (#875 *huc &c.).

‘To suck, drink’: Khmer hot ‘to suck up, swallow in a gulp’, Stieng huct ‘to inhale, to suck up last of drink’, Sre huc, Chrau huc, Halang huc ‘to drink from spoon’, Jeh hut ‘to drink, suck’, Vietnamese hút ‘to suck, inhale’, Temiar huj ‘to sip’ (#1106 *hut &c.).


Bahnar has djèp beside hièp ‘to suck, suck the blood of...’ < #1294 *hièp, perhaps an expressive deformation.

Cf. for *h- also #250-251, #470-475, #783-784, #1104-1106, #1215-1220, #1424-1426, #1539-1540, #1682-1687, #1803a-1804, #1803a-1804, #1868-1869; and the forms with alternant cited below.

The reflexes of *ʔ- to be expected in most contexts are in Khmer, Lawa, and Temiar noted ʔ-, and in Old Mon ʔ-. In the remaining languages initial vowel is written. It is likely that in most or all of them a glottal articulation is present, as explicitly in Mon (Shorto 1962:xi) and Palaung (Shorto 1960:547). Khmu Yuan has, unexpectedly, low tone in half the relevant items.

‘Person, I’: Old Mon ʔy, Modern Mon ʔa, Khm ʔaŋ, Stieng ì, Sre ʔp, Chrau ʔp, in, Bahnar iŋ, Röngao a:u, Jeh, Halang aw, Khmu Yuan ʔo, Palaung ə, Riang-Lang ʔo, Praok ʔa, Lawa Bo Luang ʔai, Lawa Umpai ʔau, Lawa Mae Sariang ʔau? ‘I, Khasi i ‘he, she, it’, Semai I ʔiŋ ‘I’ (#2 *ʔii? Some Aslian languages in all three branches have an isolated y- (Temiar ye?): this may be related to the developments before *iə noted below.


‘Upper garment’: Khmer ʔa:v, Biat a:v, Sre, Chrau, Jeh, Halang a:w, Bahnar a:o, Mường, Vietnamese əo (#1813 *ʔaaw?).


When *ʔ precedes *iə the initial element of the diphthong is consonantized in Chrau, Riang-Lang, and at least dialectally in Bahnar; yielding Chrau ʔy-, Riang-Lang high-tone y-, Bahnar y-.

Riang-Lang has usually the corresponding development of high-tone w-/-v- when *ʔ precedes *u (but contrast ʔuŋ ‘fossor wasp’ < *ʔuəŋ, above); thus ʔat, ‘wat ‘to wipe’ < #946 *huət; ‘we &c. ‘three’: Palaung uay, cf. #98 *piə.

Cf. for *ʔ- also #1-#6, #265-#268, #482-#485, #794, #882-#885, #939-#946, #1115-#1121, #1224-#1225, #1297-#1299, #1434-#1438, #1552-#1556, #1694-#1696, #1813, #1871-#1873, #1956-#1959.

Variant constructions are not numerous in relation to those just surveyed; about one in eight of all laryngeal-initial items. In the larger group *ʔ- is to be regarded as the primary initial, and we take it first.

Some items are susceptible of special explanation. *huh &c. ‘to blow’ (Nicobarese, and affixed forms in Waic, Khs.) beside #1958 *ʔuh &c. (South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobarese) may reflect an earlier reduplication *ʔuh ʔuh. Contamination by *hur ‘to expose to heat’ (#1685; Bahnaric) may account for *huul &c. ‘to grill’ (Stieng, affixed forms in Biat, Bahnar) beside #1812 *ʔuul (South Bahnaric, affixed (?) form in Khm.); note also #1501 *ʔu(u)r &c. ‘warm, (Stieng) to heat’. At least three items are grammatical words perhaps subject to special conditions of stress or junction. We find *ʔiʔ ‘we’ in Kuy, South Bahnaric, Aslian and Nicobarese beside *ʔiʔ in Khmu, Palaungic and Temiar (1); *ʔ[i]ʔ deictic in South Bahnaric, North and South Aslian, and dialectally in Bahnar beside *ʔiʔ, *ʔiθ in Bahnar, Palaungic, Vietnamese, North Aslian, Nicobarese, and affixed form in Khmer (2); Riang-Lang ʔnʔ, Vietnamese hân pronoun 3 sing. beside Palaung/Central Nicobarese an id., Stieng an interrogative pronoun, Riang-Lang an clause-subordinating particle (#1115 *ʔan? &c.). Here we might also cite Mường hal, Vietnamese hai ‘two’ beside e.g. Palaung, Khasi ar, Central Nicobarese ā: (#1562 *ʔaar < Pre-PMK *biʔaar). Finally, expressive deformation might account for Palaungic *ʔuul [ ] ‘to vomit’ beside #1695 *ʔul[ ] &c. ‘nausea’ (Kher, North Bahnaric, Vietnamese).

In the remaining items the incidence of the h-form is more or less trivial. We have Biat hok ‘to spill’ but e.g. Sre o: ‘to empty [pot]’, Bahnar uk ‘to pour out, empty out’, Riang-Lang ⾊k ‘to pour away, to spill’ (#267 *ʔukk &c.); Khm Yuan hem: ‘younger sibling’ but Vietnamese em id., Stieng iam ‘elder sibling’ (#1306 *ʔsʔiəm); Palaung haʔ ‘brains’ (and affixed form in Riang-Lang) but Vietnamese ơc (#475 *ʔuak, *ʔukk); and Mường, Vietnamese hét ‘to end, be finished...’ but e.g. Mon ot ‘to be exhausted...’, Khmer ʔat, ʔyt ‘to be without’, Biat ot ‘to abstain from’, Bahnar at, ʔt ‘[wind] to stop...’, Riang-Lang ʔat ‘to cease’ (#943 *ʔat &c.).

In two cases the primary form is to be constructed with *h-. We have South Bahnaric *ʔum > Sre um ‘to bathe’, &c., but e.g. Mon um, Bahnar, Semelai hum: probably (cf. *sum[ ] #1417) Palaung hum (#1426 *ʔuum &c.; Khmu may reflect an affixed form in *ʔ-); and Lawa ʔaup ‘cooked rice, but Mon hap ‘to eat [rice]’, Khmer hop ‘to eat’, Sre hup ‘to lift [food-bag] to mouth’, Palaung hap ‘food, to eat’, Vietnamese hup ‘to slurp [rice-gruel]’ (#1295 *ʔaup &c.).

We may note also the apparent connexion between *huc &c. (#875); *ʔoəy, *ʔuəy ‘finished’ (#1539) and *ʔuc &c. (#798); and that between Palaungic, Khasi *ʔiim
‘to live, be alive’ and affixed forms in *h generally meaning ‘breath’, where variants are reconstructed (#1299).

The reflexes set out in this chapter are summarized in tables 3a, 3b, and 3c.

2 STRUCTURE *CCVC

*CCVC forms comprise both simplexes containing *CCVC roots, and affixed forms of *CVC ones whether prefixed (*C-CVC) or infixed (*C/C/VC). Our discussion will be illustrated preferentially with examples of the first kind, where the possibility of disturbance due to morphological levelling is more remote. In many languages some *CC-sequences are reflected as C-. The reconstruction of certain forms as *CCVC will in consequence depend on the evidence of related affixed forms. At such points of the discussion we shall be thrown back on the evidence of more conservative languages (notably Mon, Khmer, Khasi, and also Aslian and Nicobarese), and sometimes on comparison of their patterns as well as that of strictly cognate forms.

All the consonants listed in the table on p. 2.1 may occur at C in structures *CCVC. Glottalized consonants, semivowels and *h do not occur at C. Of the nasal series we reconstruct a nasal homorganic with the following consonant (schematically *N), and *m; these two terms are distinctive only before liquids.

The *CC- sequences attested in the corpus are collated in Table 4.

2.1.1. Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiceless

Sequences of two voiceless plosives are generally preserved in Mon, Khmer, Khasi and Aslian; the consonant reflexes being the same as initially in forms of *CVC structure except where otherwise stated. In Aslian and modern Mon a vowel ə is found between the two plosives. The first plosive may be voiced, under conditions yet to be determined, in Aslian languages.

In Bahnaric, Khmu, Palaungic and Viet-Mường we shall for the moment assume that *C in this type of sequence is regularly lost. Such forms as Bahnar kəŋtəŋ ‘to hear’, ad #542 *ktəŋ, which apparently preserve it, will then reflect related affixed forms (cf. with Bah. Sakai gərtək). (The possibility that this is an insufficient formulation of the rules is discussed at the end of this section.) Sắc tone in Mường and Vietnamese non-stop-final words may point to, though it cannot assure, the reconstruction of *CC-.

Exceptions, however, are relatively frequent. Many of them can be plausibly explained from borrowing, analogy, or contamination. Where there is evidence for *CC- from any criterion language I usually reconstruct it without reserve.

These general statements will first be exemplified from the reflexes of *kt-, which is particularly well represented in the material. In this case we have an additional criterion: the sequence (like *kd-, see below) is palatalized in Chrau, yielding c- or occasionally ch-. The first three items raise no difficulty.

‘Hot’: Mon kətao, Khmer kədau, West Bahnar təʔ, Eastern tə: (#70 *ktuʔ2).

### Table 3a: C, in *CVC reflexes

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<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>PMK</th>
<th>Old Mon</th>
<th>Modern Mon</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Stieng</th>
<th>Sre</th>
<th>Chrau</th>
<th>Biat</th>
<th>Bahnar</th>
<th>Jeh/Halang</th>
<th>Khmu Yuan</th>
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### Table 3b: $C_i$ in *CVC reflexes

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<td>ɲ</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d'</td>
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<td>(n$^1$)</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>ch</td>
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<td>ɲi</td>
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Table 3c: C, in *CVC reflexes

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<th>*b</th>
<th>*ḅ</th>
<th>*m</th>
<th>*w</th>
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<td>ḅ</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>b</td>
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1 Head register; (Riang-Lang) high tone; (Mường, Viet.) ngang, sắc, hối tones.
2 Chest register; (Riang-Lang) low tone; (Mường, Viet.) huyền, năng, ngã tones.
3 Lawa Mae Sariang c(h). 4 Lawa Mae Sariang ɣ.
Table 4: PMK *CC- sequences attested in the corpus

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‘Wart’: Mon katót, Stieng tok, Chrau cɔt, Biat tʊt, Palaung tot (#1009 *kt,uʊt, *kt,uʊt).

Chrau t- in the next two items almost certainly results from borrowing.

‘Bitter’: Mon katable, Stieng, Chrau (!), Biat, Bahnar tan, Khasi kthang, Vietnamese dâng (#554 *kt,an; Khasi -th- probably by levelling, cf. byrthang id.).

‘Ear’: Old Mon ktor, Modern Mon katro, Sre tour, Chrau (!), Biat tor (#1621 *kt,uur, *kt,uur; note Kuy takol, Khasi shkor, < *tkuar by metathesis).

In the next example the Riang form probably incorporates the small-animal prefix, originally a weak form of *kuan ‘child’; Khasi results from false division, assuming the same prefix!

‘Crab’: Khmer kdaːm, Stieng, Sre taːm, Chrau caːm, Riang-Lang katam, Lawa tam, Khasi tham (!) (#1348 *kt,aam).

In the next, the Khmer form is attributed to contamination. From Khmer and Modern Mon it would be possible to construct *ntu(u)ŋ; it is the Middle Mon initial which, taken with Chrau, is clinching for the reconstruction.

‘Hole, pit’: Middle Mon ktoni, Modern Mon kataŋ ‘hole in ground, mine’, Khmer ʔəndɔŋ (!) ‘well, mine’ (contaminated by ʔəndau ‘ditch, hole, cave’ < #78 *[h]ntu(u)2), Chrau chuŋ ‘hole’, Palaung tuŋ ‘ditch’ (#557 *kt,əŋ).

The final item is less satisfactory, in that Temiar and other Central Aslian languages show an unexplained apparent loss of *C. Although Nicobarese seems to confirm the implication of the Chrau form, I note the reconstruction as provisional.


The examples of other voiceless plosive sequences below are illustrative rather than comprehensive.


‘Cold’: Biat kat ‘cold’, Khmu Yuan kat, Palaung kät, Praok kuát, Lawa Bo Luang koat, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang kât ‘cold [weather]’, Proto-Semai *dkat ‘cold’ (#962 *tkat &c.).

h following C in Khmer in certain sequences is prosodic (Jacob’s transcription reproduces the orthography preferred in Vacananukram Khmer, which is not absolutely consistent); so e.g. phk- transcribes /pk/. *t, *p at C are not glottalized as they are in *CVC forms.

*pk-: ‘flower’: Old Mon pkāw, Modern Mon kao (!) (beside pakao ‘floral decoration’), Khmer phkaː; Stieng kəo, Sre bɔkaːw (!) by back-borrowing ← Röglai, Biat kəː, Semnam (Central Aslian) &c. bɔkaw (#1819 *pkaaw, * pka?).


*p following a plosive loses its occlusion and becomes w in Old Mon; then Old
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Mon tw- > Modern Mon kw- except before high or high mid back vowel, when -w- is lost. *t before plosive > Khasi s, sh (cf. ‘ear’, p. 2.42; and the similar development before nasal—also in Palaungic—below).

*tp:- ‘to step’: Old Mon twek ‘to walk, pace’, Modern Mon kwaik ‘to walk’, Mường pũc, Vietnamese buốc ‘(to) step’ (#349 *t paa.k).

‘To calculate’: (Old Mon * twok >) Mon tok, Khmer bo:k! (#351 *tpuuk, *tpuak).

‘To bind round’: Mon kwoiŋ id. (with vocalism by contam. həmoin ‘to wind round...’), Khasi spong ‘turban, to put turban on’ (#613 *tp [ʊʊŋ]).


‘To sweep’: Middle Mon twah, Modern Mon kwah, Khmer boah (!), Stieng pu:i:h, Sre pas, Biat peh, Jeh pu:yh, Khmu Yuan pəʔ, Palaung pir, Riang-Lang pis, Praok pə id., Proto-Semai *pyrrs: ‘to wipe’ (#1916 *tpuus &c.; *tp- is supported by affixed forms in Riang-Lang and North Aslian).

*c following a plosive retains its affrication in South Bahnaric, Khmu Yuan, and Riang-Lang; at least dialectally in Bahnar, and under conditions yet to be determined in Palaung (whereas in *CVC forms *c- > Stieng s, c, Biat ch, Bahnar s, ts, Sre, Chrau, Khmu Yuan, Palaung, Riang-Lang s). These clusters are the main source of c- in the above languages apart from loans. Sre sometimes has ch- (see ‘to die’, ‘charcoal’); one instance of ch- in Chrau (‘charcoal’) may result from assimilation. Old Mon kc- > Modern Mon ch-, Literary Mon (properly) kʰy-; Old Mon pc- > Modern Mon phy-.

*kc-: ‘to prick...’: Sre cok id., Biat co:k ‘to peck, [snake] to bite’, Bahnar co:k ‘to cut a notch, (?)’, Palaung caʔ ‘to prick’, Vietnamese chóc (!) ‘to pierce, puncture’ (#295 *kcok, *kcook; *k- is established from a Khmer affixed form).

‘die’: Old Mon kci, Modern Mon ci:t, Stieng ci:t, Sre chat, Chrau cuc id., Palaung cuat ‘[ghost] to leave the world’, Mường chút, Vietnamese chét ‘to die’ (#987 *kc[ət]). Biat has khat, perhaps by hypercorrection related to the palatalization of *kiat &c.

‘Scattered’: Mon chai ‘to be separated, scattered...’, Khmer kha:y ‘to scatter, spread (v.i.t.)’, West Bahnar cai ‘to scatter...’ (#1460 *kcaay).

‘Charcoal’: Mon, Sre, Chrau chah, Praok sua, Lawa Bo Luang səi, Lawa Umpai səs (#1824 *kcas &c.; *k- is established from affixed forms in Khmu Yuan and Riang-Lang).


Old Mon c before plosive yields Middle Mon s and falls (with s < *s) in modern Mon; *cp- > Old Mon cw- > Modern Mon hw-.

*ck-: ‘to grasp, hold’: Old Mon c kem, Modern Mon kem ‘to grasp’, Khasi skhem ‘firmly, securely’ (with -kh- by levelling on shikhem ‘(one) handful?’), Vietnamese kém ‘pincers, tweezers’, (?) Kensiu (North Aslian) cokam ‘to hold’ (#1312 *ckiam &c.).

*cp-: ‘to pull sharp instrument across’: Mon hwat ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’, Khmer pət (!) ‘to trim or file down’, Stieng pət ‘to cut oneself on a sharp instrument’, Bahnar pət ‘to whet’ (#1026 *cpaat; note Mường, Vietnamese phạt ‘to cut, trim’). The Khmer reflex is discussed below.
In three items *c- has been speculatively reconstructed to account for unexplained aspiration in Stieng and/or Sre: note Stieng phuŋ ‘to wallow’ < #612 *[c]puuŋ; Sre khual ‘to bark’, Stieng kuːl, (Blood 1966) khual ‘to call’, < #1709 *[c]kuul &c.; Stieng phuɔ́l ‘kind of gourd or melon’ beside pual ‘kind of greenish cucumber’ < #1756 *[c]puaals, *[c]paf [J ]; Stieng ghuuŋ ‘ladder’, Chrau guuŋ id. < #515 *[c]guuŋ &c.

Reconstructions of sequences of like consonants are rare: one each of *cəc-, *pop-, *dad-, *bab-. Only *babeʔ ‘goat’, an onomatope, has a general distribution. The other three, one also an onomatope, are found in Mon and Khmer only and may belong to the post-PMK period of mutual influence between these two languages. In Mon they develop as disyllables, *C, yielding h-. We note in this section:

‘House lizard’: Mon həcɛk, Khmer cacak (#297 *cəcak, *cəcak).


Other reflexes. In four items where plosive sequences are or might be reconstructed we find Khmer unglottalized t-, p-. We have already cited paːt ‘to trim down...’ < *cpaat. From taak ‘gills’, taak taak ‘temples’: ‘Semang’, Sak. pətək ‘temples’ the reconstruction *ptaak (#321) also seems assured. taok ‘spoonful’ (T.), ad #315 *ʔtəuk ‘to scoop up’, seems to require a prefixed form. A similar construction might account for tak ‘sound of dripping’, ad #314 *tək ‘to drip’, with several derivatives; but it may be a back-formation from tatək ‘to drip’, if that is a loan from western Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Malay titək ‘drop...’).

These are obscure. We shall propose *ʔt- as a possible source of Khmer t-. Borrowing from Stieng or another South Bahnaric language could account for them, but no obvious etyma are recorded.

In khtɔt ‘to cackle’: Mon katɔt (974 *ktoot) onomatopoeia sufficiently explains the anomalous reflex.

Cf. also (for *ck-) #19, #801, #1236, #1237, #1970;
(*tk-) #23, #505, #506, #961, #962, #1818;
(*pk-) #1238, #1819;
(*kc-) #47, #295, #296, #530, #987, #988, #1252a, #1460, #1597a, #1892, #1893;
(*tc-) #531, #981, #982, #986;
(*pc-) #299, #989, #1895;
(*kt-) #70, #317, #554, #555-#557, #815, #988, #1007, #1008, #1009, #1252a, #1254, #1348, #1348a, #1620, #1621, #1735, #1736, #1825, #1826, #1900, #2005;
(*ct-) #1351;
(*pt-) #321, #1827, #1828, #1903;
(*kp-) #611, #1025, #1167, #1914, #1915;
(*cp-) #1026, #1638;
(*tp-) #72a, #350, #351, #1757.

We have so far assumed that the loss of *C in this type of sequence is regular in Bahnaric, Khmuic and Palaungic as well as in Viet-Mường (where of course all forms are reduced to monosyllables usually of CV(C) structure). This is without doubt true of South Bahnaric. Even in the case of the other languages such an assumption cannot be easily
disproved, inasmuch as any root may in principle be combined with an affix, and—as we shall see—formally most if not all disyllables in North Bahnaric etc. can be accounted for from affixed protoforms. Such arguments are most convincing when affixed forms are attested elsewhere. Thus in the case of ‘crab’ (#1348) Mon hatam, ‘Semang’ kentem require the construction of an infixed *k/n/taam, and we refer Jeh kata:m, Bahnar, Halang, Khmu Yuan kata:m to it. Similarly with ‘charcoal’ (#1892), where we have Rōngao kacʔ, Jeh kacah, Halang kacah, infixed forms are attested in both Khmu Yuan (kansah) and Riang-Lang (kǎr(h)as).

It is less easy to see why an infixed form should be used for ‘to die’ (ib.) when we find Jeh kaciːat, even beside West Bahnar kacit with the developed sense ‘to die miserably’. Again, Khmu Yuan pətaʔ ‘smoke’ may well reflect an affixed form vis-a-vis Riang-Lang òtoʔ nal, Praok taw (#1828 *pt[əw]ʔ?); but we should prefer independent evidence. And in Riang-Lang at least, where reconstructible infixed elements all appear to have overt reflexes at any rate in some contexts—we cannot say that they are not generalized to others by analogy—there are difficulties in accounting for all simple two-plosive reflexes in Palaungic especially attributable to differences at $V_1$ in Pre-PMK *CVCVC structure. It is not beyond possibility that the same factor might result in the retention of two-plosive sequences in Palaungic and elsewhere. The question awaits further research (and above all more extensive lexica).

2.1.2 Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiced

In Old Mon we find clusters of voiceless + voiced plosive, tg- etc., which are taken to be reflexes of corresponding PMK sequences. Two other distinctive reflexes can then be established: Khmer cognates have head register, and Bahnar also Hre/Sedang (but not Jeh or Halang) have voiceless initial, implying in each case devoicing of the second plosive under the influence of the first. (The corresponding voicing of an originally voiceless plosive following a voiced one is recorded in the next section.)

*C*₁ is lost in Khmer in half the items in a rather short list, this limited evidence suggesting a tendency to preserve back consonants (*k, *c) and drop front ones (*t, *p). Khasi loses *C*₁ in the two items recorded.

The one item recorded for Temiar (ta:j:H ‘snake’ < #54 *tjooʔ) preserves the PMK sequence, as do cognates in both other Aslian branches.

Modern Mon forms have chest register. Some Old Mon forms have a vowel inserted following *C*₁ (note pdar, pudar ‘to shade’); *C*₁ then > Modern Mon h. Old Mon kj- > Modern Mon c-, Literary Mon gy-; Old Mon pj- > Modern Mon py- (cf. Old Mon ke- etc.). The Mon treatment of *b- is irregular, presumably as a result of dialect borrowing; it is sometimes preserved, but usually becomes w with voicing of the preceding plosive. Note *cb- > Old Mon jw- > Modern Mon hw-.

Chrau has j- < *kd- (as c(h)- < *kt-) in jo: pri:t ‘plantain flower’ < #82 *kdɔʔ. Correlations between Mon and Khmer or Bahnar are seen in the following examples.

‘To take hold of’: Mon pakɔn ‘to yoke’, Literary Mon bgan also ‘to take hold of, come to grips’, Khmer kan ‘to hold’ (→ Stieng kan ‘to take, accept’) (#1134 *pgan).

‘Old’: Old Mon pjɔ, Modern Mon pyuʔ ‘to be old, aged, dilapidated’, Bahnar tsɔ ‘old, antiquated, dilapidated’, probably Palaung jo ‘lifetime’ (#57 *pjooʔ).
'Kind of yam': Mon katát id., Khmer kdaat 'Arum indicum' (#1011 *kdaat).
'To rub': Middle Mon jwit 'to pass one's hand over', Modern Mon hwit to stroke', Khmer brt 'to rub on, apply' (#1036 *cbiit).

Clusters of this type are reconstructed wherever there are voicing discrepancies between appropriate languages. The reconstruction of *C₁ may then depend on affixed forms, or in some cases be arbitrary. Thus:

'Cluster': Stieng ghuŋ, Chrau guŋ id., Biat guŋ, Bahnar kuŋ 'ladder, stair', Jeh, Halang gùaŋ 'house-ladder' (#515 *[c]guuŋ). *c-, which probably accounts for the Stieng aspiration, is supported by an affixed form in Khs.


The next item assumes borrowing from Jeh to account for Bahnar g-. Mon shows the same sporadic loss of *C₁ as was seen in *tkɔɔʔ (#23), *pkaaw (#1819).

'Fork, clamp, to clamp': Mon kèp (!) 'fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride', Khmer ka:p 'frame, cramp-iron, tongs, (beside kìp 'to press, squeeze') by levelling on der.), Stieng ga:p 'to take in tongs, clamp', Sre gap 'to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.]', Jeh ga:p 'to hold with slit stick' (→ Bahnar ga:p 'to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fix with clamp'), Palaung gap 'to affix', Vietnamese căp 'to edge mat; rim, edge' (#1242 *[t]gap, *[t]gaap). The Sre short vowel is further evidence for *CC-

Cf. also (for *cg-) #514, #515, #1237, #1449, #1581a;
(*tg-) #248, #516, #517, #893a, #1242;
(*pg-) #518, #1133, #1134;
(*kj-) #52, #1335, #1461, #1608;
(*pj-) #54, #895, #1336;
(*pk-) #57, #1150, #1728;
(*kd-) #82, #574, #576, #577, #1011, #1012, #1628, #1745;
(*td-) #83;
(*pd-) #84;
(*cb-) #1036, #1485, #1646, #1742;
(*tb-) #364, #907, #1646a, #1763.

2.1.3 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiceless

The opposite voicing discrepancy—Khmer chest register and/or Bahnar voiced initial against voiceless-initial reflexes in other languages—leads to the reconstruction of the third type of plosive sequence. *C₁ is preserved in Khmer in about one item in three, the evidence again suggesting a tendency—not a rule—to retain back consonants but not front ones; *j before plosive > Khmer s, Ø. The sequence is preserved in about half the items in Khs.; specifically *dk- > dkh-, *bc- > bs-, but *dc- > s-, *dp- > ph-; the occurrences are too few to be certain that these developments are regular. Note that *d, *b at *C₂, when retained, are not devoiced as in *CVC structure. So far as the evidence goes, these sequences are again preserved in Temiar (but not apparently always in all Aslian languages). A voiced plosive is lost before a voiceless one in Mon; *p at *C₂ is then preserved.
Reconstructions are straightforward where the sequence is directly attested in Khmer, Khasi or Aslian.

- ‘To adjoin, adhere’: Old Mon cap ‘to adhere’, Modern Mon cap id., cip ‘to be set edge to edge’, Khmer cōap ‘to adhere’, Sre, Biat cap ‘to fasten together’, Bahnar ji:p ‘joined edge to edge’, Palaung siəp ‘to pile neatly...’.
- ‘Snail’: Mon taoʔ, Temiar gatũ (*gtooʔ).
- ‘(To) thunder’: Khmer kht: ‘to reverberate’, Stieng tərh, Chrau tar ‘thunder’, Biat [tah] tər ‘(to) thunder’ (*1622 *gtar, Bahnar tc:r ‘thunderclap; [lightning] to strike’ is likely to be a loan from Jeh/Halang, though the etymon is not recorded).

One widely distributed item causes difficulty. From Old Mon piñ, Modern Mon poïŋ, Khmer pèn ‘(to be) full’, Sre piŋ ‘to overflow’, Bahnar bən ‘full’, Khasi phoïn ‘entirely’ it is possible to construct *[d]poŋ &c. (#907). But Stieng bi:ñ, Sre bi:ñ, Chrau ve:ñ, Biat be:ñ, Jeh biñ ‘full’, Halang bi:ñ ‘full of water, can be reconciled with this on the assumption of borrowing of this core item from Bahnar into Jeh/Halang and from Bahnar or Khmer into Proto-South Bahnaric. However, Temiar has tabik, with a consonanism consistent throughout Central Aslian. Rather it is preferable to assume doublets at PMK level in *dp-, *tb- by voicing shift (note Sre doublets: piŋ, bi:ñ); and I do so.

Cf. also (for *jk-) #20, #504, #1817, #1971; (*dk-) #892, #1129, #1711, #1237, #1446, #1570, #1972, #1973; (*bk-) #803, #1571, #1712; (*dc-) #1144, #1329; (*bc-) #532, #1245, #1246, #1599; (*gt-) #71, #1010, #1622, #1623; (*jt-) #318, #558, #1257, #1902; (*bt-) #74, #562, #563, #1156, #1352, #1468, #1738, #2008; (*dp-) #907, #1027, #1028, #1168, #1468, #1759. (*gs-) #1102.

### 2.1.4 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiced

It follows from the last three sections that a sequence of two voiced plosives should be reconstructed when, given evidence of a plosive sequence as such, Khmer and/or Bahnar is in agreement with other languages in having a voiced-initial reflex. The four types of plosive sequence yield e.g. the following correspondences:
*C₁ is preserved in Khmer more often than not; there are doublets, k- ~ phk-, &c., in about a quarter of the instances; *j before voiced plosive > Khmer s-. So far as the evidence goes, *C₁ appears to be preserved in Aslian. The case of Mon requires discussion.

*b following voiced plosive usually > Old Mon w, Modern Mon w, as following voiceless plosive. Correspondents reflecting other C₂ are hard to find unless we assume that the sequences were preserved in Old Mon with inserted vowel (actual Old Mon attestations are wanting). The Old Mon initial plosive whether voiced or voiceless would yield Middle Mon voiceless plosive (also in infixed forms) by a voicing distribution rule, thence Modern Mon h-. It cannot be proved that such Modern Mon forms do not always reflect affixed protoforms, but the development would be solidary with that of *Cb-. We shall adopt the hypothesis.

We may then cite:


‘Stump, log’: Middle Mon taguàw, Modern Mon hakà ‘stump’, Khmer kùal ‘id., floating log’, Biat go:l ‘log (nq.)’ (#1719 *d gàl &c.).

‘To emit smoke’: Mon hakui ‘to smoulder, smoke’, Temiar bəguy ‘[smoke] to waft’ (#1450 *bgyu).


‘Bad’: Kuy cù:, Rôngao co: (!), Palaung jo, Praok caw, Mah Meri (South Aslian) bajaw (#58 *bjoo? &c.; Khmer cè: ‘to rebuke, insult’ is connected with a front-vowel var.).

‘To gather together’: Khmer cìm, phcùm id., Stieng dial. jə:m[ja:l] ‘to meet (together)’, Vietnamese chum ‘to assemble, join, gather’ (#1338 *bjum &c.). Jeh yum ‘to pick up in a bunch’, Halang yu:m ‘to gather together’ may be cognate or may reflect a nasal-infix form.

‘Hut, room’: obsolescent Mon hatòm ‘room’, Khmer khtòm ‘hut, shelter’ (#1359 *gtɔm).

‘Walling material’: Mon hatèaŋ ‘(wall of) twilled bamboo’ Khmer phtèaŋ ‘panel, leaf, partition’ (#580 *bdaŋ).


‘To climb, scale’: Old Mon dwàŋ ‘to assault, march against’, Modern Mon kwàŋ ‘to climb’ (Literary Mon dwàŋ also ‘to assault’), Khmer piːən ‘to climb, to march against’ (#1175 *dbaan).

But Literary Mon baŋ [bway] ‘marshy pool’ reflects *db-, or perhaps *tb-, on the
evidence of affixed forms in Khmer and South Bahnaric with Lawa and Vietnamese cognates (#628 *[d]ban[ ] &c.).

Cf. also (for *bg-) #1320, #1450;
(*bj-) #58, #1338, #1823;
(*gb-) #627, #1645;
(*jb-) #363, #1173, #1174, #1486;
(*db-) #628, #629, #1175.
Ambiguous reconstructions, implying *b or *ɓ, are made in #1035 (*g[b]-), #1834 (*d[b]-).

2.1.5 Other consonant+plosive
In this section we discuss sequences of liquid; *s; nasal; and glottal stop, followed by plosive in each case. The order is one of convenience.

(a) Liquid+plosive. Sequences of this type are not very frequent, to which circumstance their observable liability to metathesis may well contribute. But the opposite metathesis of the high-frequency sequence type plosive+liquid is to be found especially in Bahnaric, where it is favoured by the pattern generated by related sequences + *r- infix.

*l appears to be lost in all languages least before voiceless plosive, except perhaps in Aslian. Such reconstructions then depend on the evidence of affixed and metathetic forms.


'To separate, pick': Mon poh ‘to be displaced’, Khmer beh ‘to pick, pluck’, East Bahnar pēh, West Bahnar pe?: id., to strip, peel, scale’, Palaung pēh, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang pāih, Vietnamese bē ‘to pick, pluck’ (#2030 *pliah; ~ *piah, in Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric; note also from an infixed form Middle Mon lapah [ket] ‘to pick up’).

Kensiu btig ‘tongue’ < #320 *ntaak may reflect secondary *1 < *n, attested also in Palaung and Nicobarese Cf. further (for *lt-) #322; (*lp-) #352, #354, #616, #2030, #2030a.

*l + voiced plosive is attested by simple forms only in #1921 *[l]baas. (Old Mon, which preserves *r in the parallel sequences, has one provisionally read instance of lj- in (lj)a: ‘to halt, rest.’)

Sequences of *r + voiced plosive are demonstrably preserved, as sequences, in Old Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Lawa and Khasi *r then > Jeh, Khais *l; Proto-Waic *r > Lawa Umpai ra-, Lawa Mae Sariang ya- (and BL ʔa-, Praok si-). Old Mon r- is lost in Modern Mon except that Old Mon rj- > Modern Mon s-, with chest register.

'To shake': Chrau rogu:; Biat rgu: v.t., Lawa Umpai rakhoh, Lawa Mae Sariang yakuh v.i. (#30 *rguu &c.).


'Firm, secure': Old Mon rbīn, Modern Mon pān id., Khasi lpan ‘stoutly’, Mường pēn, Vietnamese bèn ‘durable’ (#1176 *rbīn &c.).
Riang-Lang has _pat ‘to fan, winnow...’ < #1037 *rbɔt, but the affixed form _smpat ‘flail, fan; to thresh, beat’ suggests an intermediate secondary *tɓat.

Cf. also (for *rg-) 29, #1452; (*rtj- by metathesis) #172; (*rb-) #118, #1037, #1176, and ambiguously *f[b]- in #366.

For the treatment of *r + voiceless plosive the evidence is both patchier and less conclusive. It suggests that in Bahnaric and Waic, perhaps Palaungic generally, the sequences are normally preserved but *C, lost in compounded forms.

Two metathetic items may be Bahnaric (or in the first case South Bahnaric) innovations. We have Sre rakiat, Biat rciat ‘to grind, creak, gnash’ < #1064 *rkiat, ~ *kriot; and Chrau ratiaŋ ‘giant reed’, Bahnar dialects rate:ŋ &c. ‘kind of reed’ < #693 *rt,ioŋ, ~ *tr,ioŋ.

To #1820 *rk[aw]ʔ ‘husked rice’ we must certainly refer Riang-Lang ʔkoʔ id. and Khasi khaw ‘rice’. Lawa Bo Luang ʔakəuʔ; Lawa Umpai rakoʔ, Lawa Mae Sariang yakoʔ cannot, and Palaung rako probably cannot, be referred to the nasal-infix form attested by e.g. Praok gaw and Khmu Yuan rəŋkoʔ, and with reserve we refer them to the simplex. The relevance of compounding to the foregoing is seen in #2009 *rt,ah ‘to explode’, with its Biat doublets: rtaːh ‘to burst’, tah [tor] ‘(to) thunder’, Bahnar tahi (contrast rate:ŋ, above) ‘[lightning] to strike’, Praok tu ‘to flash’ (or < *btuuh), Lawa Bo Luang [taʔ] taut, Lawa Umpai təs [taʔ], Lawa Mae Sariang toih [taʔ] ‘lightning’. Cf. further for *rk- #1446a, #1820, for *r- #565, #693, #2009.

For *rp- we have two items which are difficult to interpret. In Old Mon rvəs ‘weapon’, Khmer rəbəh ‘thing, gear, tool...’ < #1917 *rp[ə]s, Old Mon may have w by analogy if *rp[ə]s is a nominal formation from an unattested verbal root *r[ə]s. #1918 *ruus &c. apparently yields Mon puh [toa] ‘index finger’: Sre [ti] poa, Bahnar dialects [kɔ:n] pəi:h ‘fourth finger’; but puh may rather be a byform of kapuh ‘index finger’ < Old Mon r/wən/pus [tey].

(b) *s+plosive. *s is preserved before plosive in Old Mon and except before a palatal one in Khmer; in Khasi we have dialectal shk- < *sk- in one item, but before voiced plosive *s is lost. Old Mon s is lost in Modern Mon except that (i) Old Mon sc- > Modern Mon s-; (ii) *sp- > (Old Mon sw- >) Modern Mon hw-/ʃ/. Khmer shows sporadic, not regular, devising of a voiced plosive following *s (cf. the treatment following voiceless plosive), issuing in head register.

In other languages, including Temiar, *s appears to be lost; except that *sk- yields Palaungic kh-, perhaps reflecting a regular metathesis. We do not find the corresponding development in other sequences of the type.


‘Chaff’: Mon, Theng kam, Palaung kham, Riang-Lang ʔkham, Vietnamese cãm (#1313 *skaamʔ). Khmer ʔəŋkə:m suggests a reconstruction *h/n/k-, but is perhaps borrowed by an obscure route from Khmu (Khmu Yuan həŋkə:m); *s- is assured by the loanword sēkəm in Malay.


‘To shine’: Literary Mon sən id., Khmer caen ‘shining’ (#535 *scaɪn; sc- does not occur in Khmer!).
‘Right-hand’: Old Mon stūm, Khmer sdam, Palaung [i]tam, Lawa Bo Luang [katam], Lawa Umpai tam, Mường tăm, Temiar tap (#1309 *st'am &c.).

‘Thatching-grass’: Mon [nam] hwoʔ, Khmer sbo:v (#106 *spuʔ; *s—rather than *c—seems to follow from Central Nicobarese fo ‘thatch’).

‘To be cut short, to cut’: Old Mon sgūt ‘to be interrupted, cut short’, Khmer skat ‘to interrupt, to take a short cut’, Theng gūt ‘to cut down’, Khasi kut ‘to come to an end’, Vietnamese cut ‘to be too short, to be crippled’, Temiar gad ‘to cut’ (972 *sguut &c.). Khmer has head register < *sb- < *s6- in 1493; contrast the register in the next item.

‘Drum’: Khmer skɔ̀ː, Biat gɔːrd., Palaung gə̀ːr ‘noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]’ (1584 *sgar; *s is assured by an Old Mon affixed form).

Cf. also (for *sk-) #24, #1313, #1447, #1572, #1573; (*st-) #73, #75, #567, #1353; (*sp-) #106, #618; (*sg-) #972, #1584, #1721, #1980; (*sd-) #1629;
Praok, Lawa Bo Luang kh- < *sk- are attested in #24.

Ambiguous reconstructions are relatively numerous, mainly owing to difficulty in determining whether *s or *c should be reconstructed at *C1. Cf. (for *[s]t-) #75, #568; (*[s]p-) #602, #996; (*[s]j-) #1731; (*[s][d]-) #2012.

(c) Homorganic nasal+plosive. Reconstructions of nasal-plosive sequences are to be expected on general grounds, as the counterpart of similar sequences involving other classes of *C2. They fit conveniently into Austric comparative theory as correspondents of Austronesian reduplicate bases of the type of *k'ink'in ‘ring’ (Shorto 1976b:97,102). However, there are difficulties, in a not copious inventory, in reconciling all the apparent correspondences. Different sets are to be stated for sequences with voiceless and those with voiced plosive; in the case of the latter there are further irregularities, which may call for the reconstruction of a different type of sequence in some items or perhaps reflect otherwise irrecoverable differences of articulation point of the original nasal.

The starting-point for all these reconstructions is the supposed Old Mon prenasalized plosives, represented variously by spellings of the type of 'b- ~ mb- ~ 'amb-. We begin with the voiceless-plosive set.

Sequences of homorganic nasal + voiceless plosive are preserved as such in Old Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Stieng, Khmuan, Waic, Aslian (on the evidence of Skeat and Blagden), and Nicobarese Old Mon voiceless prenasalized plosive yields Middle Mon la- + plosive, Modern Mon ka-, before k tə-, with occasional byforms without presyllable. Khmer has sequences of the typeʔɔnd- etc., Khmuan correspondingly hant- etc. (and Nicobarese preserves a first-syllable vowel). Proto-Waic prenasalized voiceless plosive loses its nasal element in Lawa Bo Luang, is voiced in the other two dialects, and is voiced with loss of the nasal element in Praok

The nasal is lost in Stieng and Riang-Lang Vietnamese has the corresponding nasal with a high tone in one case and a low in another. Bahnar loses the nasal, Jeh apparently the plosive, but both develop initial h as in Khmuan (so that common protoforms might be set up for North Bahnaric-Khmuan). The Palaung and Khasi reflexes are not known.

‘(Kind of) owl’: Chrau **ŋko**: ‘screech-owl’, Stieng **kau**, Sak. **ŋkō** ‘owl’ (#1816 *ŋk[aw]2*).

‘Ring’: Middle Mon **lacin**, Modern Mon **kàcin**, Khmer **ʔɔŋcían** (→ Stieng **ncían**), Lawa Umpai **njaim**, Vietnamese **nhān** (#1145 *nciin* [...] &c.).

‘Hole, pit’: Khmer **ʔɔndaŭ** ‘ditch, hole, cave’, Stieng **tū**: ‘deep ditch or hole’, Chrau **ntu**: ‘well, water-hole’, Biat **ntu**: ‘hole’, West Bahnar **hàtū** ‘deep hole’, Khmu Yuan **hāntū**?, Riang-Lang **ˈtuʔ**, Praok **dāa** ‘hole’ (#72 *nt,uuʔ?).

‘Tongue’: Mon **kataik** (?), Khmer **ʔɔndat** (by assimilation), Khmu Yuan **hànta:k**, Riang-Lang **ˈtnk**, Praok **dak**, Lawa Bo Luang **tak**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **ndak** (#320 *nt,aak*; Mon perhaps reflects var. *ltn/taak*, cf. Temiar **lenta:g**).

‘(To) dream’: Old Mon ’**ampo**’ n., Modern Mon **kəpɔʔ**, Sre **mpao** v., Bahnar (h)**apū** ‘prophetic dream’, Jeh **hआ’**: ‘to dream’, Khmu Yuan **həmpoʔ**, Central Nicobarese **enfu:ə** n.v. (#105 *mpʔ[j]?)

In #1327 *ncim* &c. ‘to eat, to feed’ Mon and Khmer reflect *nc-, but Bahnaric and Palaungic similarly show reflexes associated with *c-; we reconstruct *cuum* etc., *cim cim > *ncim. But it is conceivable that all the forms might be referred to a sequence *mc-.

Cf. for *nt- also #72, #320, #561.

What are presumed to be sequences of homorganic nasal+voiced plosive give rise to two distinct sets of reflexes in Khmer and South Bahnaric. So far as the evidence goes they are complementarily distributed; but it is hard to see how the difference might arise from the environment. In the attestations the sequences *ŋg-, *nd- are preserved; but the nasal element of *nj-, *mb- is lost.

For other languages the evidence is incomplete; we find the sequence preserved in Old Mon and Lawa; Old Mon /ŋ, j, b/ > Modern Mon η, y-, m- ~ b-, with chest register. The nasal is lost in North Bahnaric and Temiar. Vietnamese has usually the corresponding nasal, but with variant (South Vietnamese) /y/ from the palatal. Palaung has in one item y- < *pj-.

(Type 1) ‘to sit down’: Khmer **ʔɔŋkuy**, Sre **ŋguy**, Mường, Vietnamese **nġöi**, Semai **ɡɔ́y** (#1448 *ŋguy*).

‘Eel’: Khmer **ʔɔnttaŋ**, Stieng **ndhu:-**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **ndu-** (#579 *nduŋ* &c.).

Type 2) ‘sickness, to be sick’: Old Mon **jey** v. = ‘ʔaŋjey n., Modern Mon **yʔa** n.v., Khmer **chū**: (!), Chrau ji: v., Sre ji n., Biat ji: n.v., Bahnar jiʔ, Jeh jǐʔ, Halang jǐʔ v., Temiar jiʔ (#55 *njjiʔi*).

‘Dark in colour’: Mon **yǒm** id., Khmer **cəm** ‘discoloured, stained, bruised…’, Palaung **yam** ‘black, swarthy’, Mường **giöm** ‘black’ (#1337 *njum* &c.).

‘Negligent’: Old Mon ‘bāy, Khmer **pi:ay-[nj:ay]** id., Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **mbia**, Lawa Mae Sariang **mbuai** ‘to forget, leave behind’ (#1487 *mbaay*).

Cf. also for (*mb-) #117, #365;

(*ŋg-) #1448, #1591, #1720;

(*nj-) #55, #56, #811, #1330, #1337;

(*nd-) #579.
Part 2 Consonantism

(d) *ʔ? + plosive. With the exception of *ʔ?b-, for which we have reasonably coherent evidence, reconstructions of this type of sequence rest on evidence which is more or less anecdotal. We shall take *ʔ?b- first.

*ʔ?b- is reconstructed from (i) reflexes associated with *ʔ?p- in Khmer, South Bahnaric, and (with sāc tone) in Vietnamese; (ii) with *ʔ?f- in Riang-Lang but (iii) with *ʔ?b- in Khasi and probably Khmu Yuan, and with either in North Bahnaric, the rest of Palaungic, and Aslian; and (iv) with *ʔ?mb- in Mon (The occurrence of a glottal coarticulation in Old Mon prenasalized plosives is suggested both by the spelling and by the development of b- as a variant—perhaps originally sentence-initial, since it is found only in nouns and especially in those used as terms of address—from *ʔ?mb-.) We have three items.

‘Father’: Old Mon ’ba’, Modern Mon mẽʔ ‘father’, bèʔ peremptory term of address to males, Khmer ba: ‘father esp. of animals; onomastic prefix for junior generation’ (→ Stieng ba: onomastic prefix for elder males?), Bahnar bàʔ, (Rōngao ma?), Jeh baʔ, Halang bàʔ, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang puaʔ, Lawa Umpai phuaʔ, Khasi pa ‘father’ (#112 *ʔbaaʔ).

‘To suck at the breast’: Old Mon ʔat- ‘afraid, to fear’, Kuy ʔat- ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 *ʔbaaʔ).

Two reconstructions involving voiceless plosives are made on the strength of this type of sequence. In #529, #1987 *ʔ?c- is tentatively reconstructed to account for correspondences of Khmer c- to c- in South Bahnaric (as from *ʔ?kc- etc.); cf. also #46. *ʔ?c- is tentatively reconstructed to account for Khmer t- in #550, #1346.

2.2.1 Voiceless plosive + glottalized consonant

Sequences involving glottalized consonants have a plosive as the first member in some eight-ninths of all instances; and in about three-quarters of these cases the plosive is a voiceless one. Generally, the reconstruction of *ʔ?d or *ʔ?f at C2 depends on the same languages—Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi, Viet-Mường—as at C1 in *CVC structures (section 1.3). Sequences *ʔ?kd- etc. are preserved as sequences in Old and Middle Mon (the initial consonant being lost in modern Mon) and normally in Khasi.
Such sequences are also to be reconstructed when evidence of a glottalized consonant in a criterion language coincides with evidence of a sequence in a language which merges glottalized consonants and voiced plosives: generally Khmer, in one instance Chrau (with j- < kf); cf. section 2.1.2. Note that in Bahnar the reflexes of *d* *ɓ*, unlike those of voiced plosives, are not devoiced following voiceless plosive. Distinctive evidence may also be derived from the South Bahnaric reflexes of related nasal-infix forms.

Mon and/or Khasi initial clusters are seen in the following examples.


‘To break, snap’: Mon dek [pɾuʔ] v.i., Khasi kdī́aŋ v.t. (#331 *k[dai]k).

‘Span’: Middle Mon cdu, Modern Mon dǎ̀, Bahnar dialects dǎ, Khasi tda (89 *cda?)

‘Wet’: Middle Mon tđek, Modern Mon deak, Khmer tatūk (#339 *tdiak &c.)

‘Umbrella’: Old Mon tdoŋ, Modern Mon dą́ŋ, Khmer (!) tąż-, tɛ̄oŋ-[yuː], Stieng dọ́ŋ [iuː], Biat dą́ŋ [yː] id., Palaung dą́ŋ quantifier for umbrellas (#586 *tduŋ &c.).

‘Stalk, tail’: Khmu Yuan tɔ́ŋ ‘tail of bird’, Khasi tdoŋ ‘tail’ (#585 *t,dɔ̄ŋ).

‘To have in one’s mouth’: Khmer biam ‘to hold in mouth, suck’, Chrau vɛm ‘to suck in mouth’, vum ‘mouthful [of rice wine]’, Riang-Lang ‘bum ‘to hold in mouth’, Khasi kbum ‘to close one’s lips’, Vietnamese mố́m-mém ‘to mumble, chew’ (#1375 *kbiim &c.)


In the next group of examples the evidence for a sequence lies in Khmer (as a voicing discrepancy where C₁ is not preserved; cf. section 2.1.2); or, in the last item, in Chrau.

‘To nip off with one’s nails’: Mon dɔ́iŋ, Khmer kdēk kτic (#819 *kdf[ə]c).

‘Dipper, ladle’: Khmer bəoy, Palaung boy, Riang-Lang ‘boe, Vietnamese mŏ́i (#1491 *kbuoy). *k- is established here from the loanword Thai krəbuoy.

‘To withdraw’: Mon bot ‘to draw out, unsheathe’, Khmer baoc ‘to pull out’ (#831 *cbooc). Here *c- is established from parallel western Austronesian forms: Malay chabut, etc.

‘To cook’: Chrau jəŋ, Riang-Lang dəŋ (#583 *kdaŋ).

In addition to *p̥d-, I provisionally reconstruct *p[d]- on the basis of two equations that suggest that the normal reflex in Khmer and Bahnaric is pr-.


‘Five’: Old Khmer praŋ, Sre, Chrau, Biat prəm, Mường dəm, Vietnamese năm (#1363 *p[d]am).

[End of manuscript—Eds.]
**Part 3 Comparative Dictionary**

1. *ʔiʔ; *hiʔ we.  
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan ʔiʔ, Palaung e, Riang-Lang ʔeʔ, Praok e, Lawa ʔeʔ we (plural), Temiar ʔeʔ we (inclusive).
   B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy hai, Stieng hei, Biat he: I, Central Rölöm hi: we (exclusive), Bunör he:, Kensiu heʔ, Semai l hiʔ, Semelai heʔ we (inclusive), Central Nicobarese he: we (dual), he: we (plural).
   B perhaps by prefixation, cf. PINNOW 1959 78. Cf. 150 *ʔeeʔ.
   (SHAFER 1965 286; BLOOD 1966 181; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 52.)

2. *ʔiiʔ person.  
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon 'ey /ʔay/, Modern Mon ʔa, Proto-Nyah Kur *ʔay/*ʔaway (DIFFLOTH 1984 N263; favours *ʔay!), Stieng i:, Lawa Bo Luang ʔaiʔ I (originally this person, cf. below), Palaung i- (in ime male, ipan woman), Riang-Lang ʔiʔ person, human being, Khasi i he, she, it, Kensiu yeʔ, Temiar yeʔ, Semaq Beri ye:h I.
   Connect as suffixed or sandhi-forms (i: Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) ad *ʔiiʔ-nih this person, Old Khmer ʔañ, Modern Khmer, Stieng ʔañ (BLOOD 1966), Sre ʔañ, Chrau ʔañ, ʔin, Bahnar ʔin, Che' Wong, Semai l ʔiŋ, Semelai ʔañ I; (ii: North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) ad *ʔiiʔ-ʔ[uau]ʔ this person, Jeh, Halang aw, Kammu-Yuan ʔaʔ, Palaung ʔ, Riang-Lang ʔoʔ, Praok ʔaʔ, Lawa Umphai ʔauʔ, Mae Sariang ʔauʔ I. Cf. further 110 *bu[ʔu]ʔ.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 16; SHAFER 1965 523; BLOOD 1966 378; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1, 3) Kharia ʔiŋ, ʔiŋ I, &c. (PINNOW 1959 402; ad i).

3. *ʔaʔ at.  
   A: (Bahnaric) Chrau aʔ from, Biat aʔ, West Bahnar ʔa, ah at (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

4. [*]ʔaʔ we two.  
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ʔaʔ, Praok aʔ.
   Connect 1439 *ʔaay?
5 *ʔ[o]ʔ elder sibling.
   Cf. 1957 *ʔʔh younger sibling.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 412.)

6 *ʔ[ua]ʔ this.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North Asian) Sieng ʔu, ʔu, Biat aʔ this, Bunör ʔaʔ, 
   Central Rölöm ʔaw, ʔ: here, Bahnar ʔw, ʔw here, this, Palaung ʔu this, Khasi u 
   masculine singular pronominal prefix, Jehai ʔoʔ he; ~ Biat iaʔ this, Palaung iʔu 
   this (noun); ~ Biat təʔ (oiʔ —) tomorrow, (ta: xi —) presently, Chrau taʔaw 
   tomorrow.
   Connect 79 *[d][ə]ʔ &c. this, here; A1 *bəʔ[ua]ʔ yesterday? Cf. further 1435a 
   *ʔ[ay]ʔ; Old Mon wo’/woʔ/ this (< *wuʔ; with secondary w-?).
   (BLOOD 1966 203.)
   Kharia u- this (PINNOW 1959 K 520).

(*.rʔaʔ see 13 *[r][n]ʔaʔ to stammer.)

6a *kləʔiʔ kind of basket.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer lə ry small round basket with upright sides, 
   Sre laʔi hemispherical basket, Chrau laʔi: large kind of basket, Biat rəʔi: (kind of) 
   basket, Khasi khri small basket; → Cham lii:, Jarai rəʔi:, North Rõglai laʔi.

7 *cʔəʔ; *cʔah; (*cʔah-s >?) *cʔaas clear, clean.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) (*cnʔaʔ >) Palaung səŋa (MILNE 1931), Praok siŋa, Lawa 
   Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saʔnaʔ to be clean, pure (& by back-formation Palaung, 
   Praok na to be clear); ~ (*cmʔaʔ >) Chrau sapa: clean and flowing [water]; ~ 
   Bahnar hadjaʔ clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 
   B: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon c’ah /cʔah/ to be clean, pure, Modern Mon ah to be clear, 
   clean; → Cham sah; ~ (*cnʔaʔ >) Khmer lʔah clear, free from impediment.
   C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Biat aih [sky] to clear; ~ (*cnʔaʔ >) West Bahnar həgəiʔ, 
   cogaʔiʔ, East Bahnar səgəiʔ clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.) 
   (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*cbʔaas >) Khmer cmʔah caʔiʔas to wash a corpse 
   (& cf. Khmer &c. forms cited under the entry 1920 *c[b]as, which perhaps 
   contaminated). 
   Cf. further Nancowry sēc to clean, Riang-Lang səŋam, probably contaminated by 
   Shan nūm to be excellent; & 950 *cʔaat.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

8 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ciʔaʔ > *caʔ, Pre-Khmer ?[c]iʔ to eat.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon ca /caʔ/, Modern Mon ceʔ, Old Khmer cyɑ, Middle Khmer sɨ: st, Kuy ca, Sre sa, Biat cha, Chrau, Bahnar saː, Jeh, Halang ca, Kensi ciʔ, Temsi ciʔ, Semelai cah to eat, Central Nicobarese ja: to eat [vegetables], Nancowry sɑː edibles other than main food; ~ Old Mon cɪɾna, Modern Mon kanaʔ food, West Bahnar hana: pig-swill (Guilleminet 1959-63), Semai cana: food (Tauer 1914); ~ Khmer cɑmνy food; ~ Khasi bsa to feed (v.t.); ~ (*pncəʔ & c. >) Middle Mon baca, Modern Mon haceʔ, Khmer bɔnsɨː to feed (v.t.).

Add perhaps, from a variant in *-ʔə, Praok i to eat; & Danaw sɨːè.
(Schmidt 1905 12, 22; Shafer 1965 241; Shorto 1972; Blood 1966 327; Smith 1972 552; Skeat & Blagden 1906 E 27.)

Cf. Tibeto-Burman *dɔ, Archaic Chinese dʴjʌk 食 ~ dɪɑŋ 餐 n., causative (Benedict 1972 28 no. 66; 169 n. 452).

119 *cʔaʔ(ə)?; *cʔə(ə)k; *cʔak (& *cʔaak?) to hiccough, belch.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar ʔaʔ to belch; (probably) ~ Sre saʔa hiccough, Bahnar təʔʔ to hiccough, belch, Jeh təʔʔ, Halang təʔʔ to belch; ~ (*crʔa(ə)ʔ >) Mon hənʔ daˈui′ to belch, East Bahnar dalaʔ to have stomach pains and hiccough (Guilleminet 1959-63), Riang-Language kəɾʔaʔ to belch, hiccough, ?Nancowry hirəʔ to hiccough.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Khmer təʔaʔ (!) to hiccough, Kuy sʔəʔ to belch, Palaung [əŋ] uʔ to hiccough; ~ (*cnʔa(ə)k >) Bahnar hənʔak to choke while eating, Palaung kənʔuʔ to belch, Vietnamese nác to hiccough; ~ Khasi jyr-eh belch, to belch, feel nausea.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stien göʔək (to) hiccough, Biat ak, kʔaʔ hiccough, (~?) Chrau săʔaʔ to hiccough, Khasi saʔaʔ hiccough.

Cf. Bahnar ʔneʔ-ʔənʔak hiccough; Palaung hlaʔ to hiccough (Milne 1931); & 1559 *cʔəər to belch; 11 *ʔauʔ to retch, vomit. Onomatopoeic (Smith 1972 304.)

Kharia ˈjeːko-[ˈdəʔ] to hiccough (Pinnow 1959 179).

Proto-Austronesian (i: *₃d[ɬ]ə(N)qʔak-qaʔ; Proto-Aceh-Cham) Acehnese cōkəʔ,
cōmōkʔəʔ, Cham cəmək məʔ, Röglai səʔaʔ, North Röglai damaʔaʔ to hiccough;
(ii) so *də̌-dəqák by dissimilation > *kədəqık >) Cebuano Bisayan sid-uŋ, sud-uk, by metathesis Ilocano saiddek to hiccough; & connected further Tagalog sinók, Bikol sin-ok, Pangasinan sinék, Magindanao singók.

10 *crʔoʔ rafter.
   A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Mon hənʔ jəʔ-o′ &c., Thin srʔo, Palaung sarʔəʔ (& by secondary derivation Riang-Lang ˈsandoʔ ~ *ˈsdoʔ) rafter, Serau charo′ crossbeams (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 129).

Note also Bru səpəu rafter, side beams of roof.
11 *cʔ[au]? to retch, vomit.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar ʔ to retching noise
      (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Danaw ʔ, Central Nicobarese oau-[hala] to vomit,
      Nancowry ʔuʔōw; → Rõglai ʔ, (?) Burmese 'o to vomit; ~ (*cʔ[au]? >) Mon
      həɔʔ ja’a’ &c. to vomit, Bahnar rəʔ to want to vomit (GUILLEMINET 1959-63);
      ~ Khmer cəʔ ao ca’or (!) to vomit; by secondary derivation ~ Mon ʔa’ to feed
      with premasticated food.

BENEDICT 1972 192 n. 491 compares Burmese with Archaic Chinese ụ 嘔. Add
perhaps Kensiu kəʔ, Temiar koʔ, Semelai khuʔ to vomit. Onomatopoeic; cf. 9
*cʔə(ə)? &c. to hiccough, belch.
(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

12 *tʔoʔ to crow.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar ʔ; ~ Mon hauʔ tha-u to make a concerted
      noise (e.g. in crowing), Kammu-Yuan təʔòʔ to crow.

13 *[r][n]ʔaʔ to stammer.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon haaʔ to stammer, Bahnar [rəə] rəa: to stammer in fright
      (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   Or *.rʔa?:

14 *rnʔɔʔ bag for cooked rice.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre rando reed bag for rice, West Bahnar rəʔ basketwork bag for cooked
      rice (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

15 *sʔu[ ]?; *sʔuaʔ mouldy, spoiled.
   A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həʔuʔ stench, to stink.
   B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat ə to go mouldy; ~ (*sʔuaʔ >) Khmer phʔuə
      ph’ua(r) musty, stuffy, spoiled, Chrau pəʔə: mouldy, corroded.
   Cf. 1563 *sʔuur &c. to emit a smell.

16 *kaʔ fish.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông, Aslian,
      Nicobaric) Old Mon ka(’) /kaʔ/, Modern Mon kaʔ, Khmer ka-[moŋ &c.] (in
      compounds), Kuy ka: (& ?aːkaːt), Sre ka, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kaː,
      Kammu-Yuan káʔ, Palaung, Praok ka, Riang-Lang ʔkaʔ, Lawa kaʔ, Khasi 'kha,
      [doh]kha, Muông ńa (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese ńa, Che’ Wong kayaʔ,
      Temiar kaʔ, Semaq Beri kah, Central Nicobarese kaʔ, Nancowry ká.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 1; BLOOD 1966 298; SMITH 1972 540; SKEAT &
   BLAGDEN 1906 F 138 (a))
   Kharia ka- (PINNOW 1959 64).
   Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *ikan: Malay ikan, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
      68; DYEN 1953 § 133).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

\[17 \ast ko?; (\ast ko?ko? >) \ast ko(\circ)d k\text{ neck.}
\]

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon ko’, /ko?/, Modern Mon ko?, Khmer, Biat kor, Stieng koju, Sakai kua’ (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 N 26); ~ Sre nko, Chrau \(\eta k\)ox, Bahnar akox; Bahnar dialect hako.

B: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang ‘kok\text{ neck}; ~ Praok gok\text{ throat,}

Kensiu, Semnam tao\(k\)og\text{ neck}; probably \(\rightarrow\) Malay t\(\text{eng}\)k\(\text{ok}\), (\(\rightarrow\)) Maranao t\(\text{engo}\)k\(\text{ neck\ (Blust 1970 no. 124), Toba Batak t\(\text{akk}\)uhuk nape of neck; by metathesis (\(\ast k\)\(\text{o}\k\)k >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang \(\eta k\), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang \(\eta k\)\(\text{o}\k\)k neck.}

Hence (i.e. \(\ast k\)\(\text{o}\k\) >) Thai k\(\text{a}\k\)o, Shan kh\(\text{a}\). Note also Vietnamese \(c\)\(\text{o}\), < \(\ast k[\sigma]\)h.

(Schmidt 1905 10; Shafer 1965 478; Blood 1966 192.)

Sora [((\sigma)\(s\)an)\(\text{j}\)-ka-\(n\); Kharia ‘k\(\eta\)ko (Pinnow 1959 276).

Connected further (i) Kammu-Yuan t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{i}\)l\(\text{o}\)k, Thin t\(\text{ag}\)\(\text{l}\)ok nape of neck; (ii) Acehnese t\(\text{a}\)ku, Cham tak\(\text{e}\)\(\text{n}\), Jarai t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{a}\)i, Röglai t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{a}\)i, North Röglai t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{a}\)i\(\text{e}\)\(\text{n}\)k\(\text{o}\) neck (suggesting Proto-Austronesian \(\ast\)t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{a}\)i; cf. with variant vocalism Cebuano Bisayan t\(\text{i}\)ng\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{h}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{y}\)\(\text{ o}\)\(\text{f}\)\)\(\text{ n}\)\(\text{a}\)pe of neck); \(\rightarrow\) Bahnar dialects t\(\text{a}\)ku (Guilleminet 1959-63), Halang t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{a}\)y\(\text{n}\)k\(\text{o}\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{n}\)k, Jeh t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{y}\)\(\text{n}\)\(\text{a}\)pe of neck; (iii) 505 \(\ast t\(\text{k}\)\(\text{o}\)\(\text{o}\)n\)\(\text{a}\) (nape) of neck.

18 \(\ast\)c\(n\)\(k\)\(\text{n}\)[i]?, \(\ast\)c\(n\)\(k\)\(\text{i}\)h\(\text{l}\) waist.

A: (Khaisi) Khaisi s\(\text{y}\)\(\text{n}\)k\(\text{a}\)i\(\text{i}\) waist, hips, loins.

B: (Khmer) Khmer \(c\)\(n\)\(k\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{h}\) c\(n\)\(k\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{h}\) waist.

Cf. Kuy \(\eta k\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{n}\), Bru \(\eta k\)\(\text{i}\)\(\text{n}\).

19 \(\ast\)c\(k\)[e]?\(\text{ wild boar.}

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng cer\(\text{k}\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{i}\), r\(\text{a}\)kei, Sre j\(\text{a}\)r\(\text{k}\)e, Chrau j\(\text{a}\)k\(\text{e}\), Bahnar sok\(\text{e}\):\(\text{ wild boar}; ~ Sakai chang\(\text{g}\)\(\text{e}\)i\(\text{i}\) pig (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 80 (a)).

Or \(\ast\)i??: Hardly = 1449 \(\ast\)c\(g\)\(\text{a}\)\(y\) dog.

(Smith 1972 532.)

\[1\text{\(\ast\)j\(k\)oo? body, self.}
\]

A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy kau I (familiar), Palaung ku quantifier for persons, Praok kao persons, Lawa Bo Luang kau?, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ko? body; ~ Old Mon j\(i\)r\(k\)u? j\(a\)r\(k\)u?/, Modern Mon h\(a\)k\(a\)o? body, person, self, Bahnar akaw, Bahnar dialects h\(a\)k\(a\)w body, self, name (?; with contextual diphthongization, or \(\leftarrow\) Indonesian), Central Sakai s\(e\)rg\(o\) corpse.

(Shafer 1965 300.)

Proto-Austronesian \(\ast\)aku(S) I: Malay aku, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 13-14; Dyen 1953 § 133).

Cf. (i) Shan k\(a\)w self, &c. (Benedict 1975 203, 206); (ii) Tibetan sku body, Burmese ku\(i\)\(y\) /ko/ self: Tibeto-Burman \(\ast\)(s-)kaw, Benedict 1972 184 n. 483; Archaic Chinese k\(i\)\(y\) 車, ib.
21 *tnke? horn.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng ke:i, Sre nke, Biat ñke, Bahnar ake; Bru kei; → Jarai, Röglai taki.
Kuy (t)kai shows contamination but is rather connected with Khmer koy rhinoceros horn.
(BLOOD 1966 176; SMITH 1972 531; cf. SHAFER 1965 475.)

22 *[t]kɔʔ kind of catfish.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Chrau [ka:] kɔ: catfish; ~ Mon [kaʔ] hokɔ thaka’ kind of catfish, Clarias magur.
Connection uncertain Khmer thko: thkar sawfish.

23 *tkɔɔʔ; *tkɔɔ h island.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon tkɔ’/tkɔʔ/, Modern Mon kɔ?, Biat kɔu [da:k]; → Thai kɔ.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic; contaminated by 1970 *ckəh dry) Khmer koh Stieng kəh (!) [də:k], Bru kəh land (as opposed to sea).
(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 30.)

(*pkaʔ see 1819 *pkaaw flower.)

24 *skɔʔ companion, company.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon sko’/skɔʔ/ company, Stieng kɔu together, with, and, Synteng Khasi shkaw spouse; → Cham sakau, Röglai səgau together; ~ Old Mon siṅko’ company (quantifier), (merging next?) Modern Mon hoko? company, companion; ~ Khmer srakar (!) /srako/: companion, age-mate.

25 *skɔɔʔ grey-haired.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer sko:v grey-haired, Sre ko: to be white-haired, albino, Bahnar kɔ: grey[hair]; ~ Old Mon siṅko’/səṅkoʔ grey-haired, Modern Mon hako? to be grey-haireded, Old Khmer sāṅkū grey-haired.
Connect perhaps (i) Khasi takhaw, takhew having scanty hair, (ii) Central Sakai bēkô, Central Nicobarese pako: to be white-headed; Sora bāo-[-u-] grey[headed]. Cf. 1971 *jku(ə)h white, clean.
26 *ge(e)? (?) deictic & 3rd person pronoun.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer kè: one, someone, he, they, Rôngao ge, ge; Kontum Bahnar gi: he, she (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, poetic), Kammu-Yuan kī: this, Palaung ge, Praok kī they, Lawa Bo Luang ke? he, she, Khasi kī they; weak form Sre go indefinite pronoun, Rôngao ga: & gar (!) he, she (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan kō: he, kō? many [people], Riang-Lang kō? they, Khasi ka feminine pronounal affix, Nancowry kī all.

Cf. Riang-Lang *ke plural particle (< *[g][e]h); Kuy kīi that; 252 *kh[ii]? this, he, they.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

Kharia kī plural suffix, &c. (PINNOW 1959 74).

27 *go? ally, friend.

28 *b[ng][e]ʔ vegetable poison.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bānē Jasminum longisetum, with poisonous leaf (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar dialects bānē, bānci poison especially prepared from Strychnos nux-vomica (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Perhaps *-[ ]ŋ; *-iʔ. If *bngiʔ, cf. 1461 *[kj][ay]ʔ poison…, which could conceivably be reconstructed *gyi(i)?; then with secondary palatalization < *bgi(i)??

29 *rguu? (& *rgu(?); *rgō?, *rguuh; *rguoh; *rgōh to shake.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör rōgu; Biat rgu: v.t.; ~ (*rguu? > ) Stieng rōgu; Sre rōgu (→ Rōglai), Central Rōlôm nū: v.t., Chrau rōgu: wobbly, shaky; by secondary derivation ~ (*-u? > ?) Bahnar gōgu to shake (v.t.).
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer rōangkī: v.i.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat rguh [rgu:p], Lawa Umphai rakhoh, Mae Sariang yakuh v.i.; ~ Biat ngūh, Lawa Umphai ngoh to nod [head].
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat rōgh [rgō:p] shaky.
E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ŋangōih to nod [head].
(BLOOD 1966 236.)

30 *ŋ[ɔɔ]?; *ŋ[ɔ]h to fear.
B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semai saŋāh to fear.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49.)
31 *tʂiiʔ sun, day.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, South Asian, Nicobaric) Old Mon tięy /tʂaj/, Modern Mon ɲoa, Old Khmer tıai, Modern Khmer thņay sun, day, Kuy (t)naï day, Sre ɲay day, təņay (!) sun, day, Jeh ɲay sun, day, Halang ɲay day, Kammu-Yuan səŋiʔ day, noon, (mət—) sun, Palaung səŋi, Riang-Lang ʂsəŋiʔ, Lawa Bo Luang səŋaiʔ, Lawa Umphai səŋiʔ, Mae Sariang səŋeʔ sun, day, Praok siŋay sun, day, ɲay day, Khasi ’ŋgi, sŋi sun, Mutong (Barker 1966 21), Vietnamese ɲgay (!), Semaq Beri təŋiʔ day, Central Nicobarese hęŋ sun, day, Nancowry hęn (Nicobaric < *cʔain?); ~ Old Mon tirɛy daily, Modern Mon təŋoa middle part of day (with which some disyllabic forms above should perhaps be compared).

(Schmidt 1905 66; Shafer 1965 146; Smith 1972 459; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 38.) Mundari siŋgi sun, day, &c. (Pinnow 1959 286; with Santali siŋ day & similar forms, perhaps by metathesis < *tʰiŋ; cf. here Nicobaric).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *tʰiŋaʔ: Fijian siŋa sun, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 154).

32 *tʂa? bow.

A: (Mon) Old Mon tiaʔ /tʂaʔ/, Modern Mon ɲaʔ (cross)bow.

Sora ’nəŋa:-n bow. For ɲ- here (< *n-?) cf. 1410 *tlam &c.

32a *bmç[ii]ʔ fever.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer cümçû: (!) disease, illness

(contaminated by chû: < 55 *njiʔ?), Sre bâne malaria, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation pomkaiya fever, Nancowry pumkéya, refer kɛ chill, feeling cold.

Connection uncertain Riang-Lang ɲəʊwɔy pox, disease causing rash &c.

(*bn[e]ʔ see 28 *b[ŋ][e]ʔ vegetable poison.)

33 *rŋa? *rŋaʔ live coal.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng rŋa: [uŋ], Sre [ouʃ] rŋa, Biat rŋa: [uŋ]
live coal, Khasi rŋa charcoal; → Jarai *ŋa?, Röglai aŋa live coal; ~ Middle Mon laŋa [pramət], Modern Mon əŋəʔ? [kamət], əŋɛʔ live coal.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Thin rŋyʔ live coal; ~ (*rŋaʔ > *rŋaʔ by dissimilation >) Palaung ræŋgũ, Praok gaw [ŋu], Lawa Bo Luang ʔuŋɡauʔ, Lawa Umphai ræŋgoʔ live coal, Semang anggu charcoal (Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 77 (a)).

Cf. (i) Khmer rŋyːk (& Bru raŋhǒ), perhaps a loan from the same source as slvk leaf ad 230 *slaʔ; (ii) Bahnar ɲaṙ dying, dead coal, ↔ Jarai *ɲaṙ = *ŋaʔ (< *ʔnar by metathesis?).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

34 *lŋaaʔ; *lŋawʔ sessamum.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ *lŋaaʔ >) Chrau ṛṇa; Biat ṛṇa; Kammu-Yuan 
   lŋaʔ; (~ (*lŋaaʔ >) Bahnar ṛṇa: white-seeded sessamum (or last), Palaung lŋa
   (Milne 1931), Danaw ㏗ �� �� sessamum; ~ Riang-Lang _ŋaʔ sessamum.
B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer ñio, Modern Khmer ñò; ~ Middle Mon
   laŋau, Modern Mon tŋɛʔa sessamum, Bahnar ṛŋow black-seeded sessamum.
With final variant cf. 1819 *pkaaw. Note also Kuy rwùŋ sessamum, Bru lawùŋ by
metathesis? Culture-word. See also Benedict 1975 375.
Proto-Austronesian *lŋa(S): Malay lêng, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 95; Proto-
Austronesian if = Polynesian Curcuma, otherwise Proto-Hesperonesian).

35 *lŋaaʔ itch.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre lŋa itch between toes (→
   Röglai), Kammu-Yuan ncpy, Riang-Lang _ŋaʔ to itch, Mường ngã itch (Barker
   1966 25); ~ (*lŋaaʔ >) Vietnamese ngûa itch.

36 *lŋuʔ; *lŋuoʔ lonely, deserted.
A: (Mon) Literary Mon lũu (attributive lamũu) to be solitary; → Cham lañũ empty; ~
   (*lũu >) Old Mon lu inquire /lŋuʔ/ to make deserted, (to isolate oneself =) to be
   solitary, Modern Mon tąʔu to be solitary, desolate.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ṛŋuʔ solitary, deserted; to think nostalgically of; to isolate;
   Stieng jaŋu: stupid, compared at Schmidt 1905 36, is ← Proto-Austronesian *dũu
   (Blust 1970 no. 157).
Proto-Austronesian (i; *ŋauŋau >) Karo Batak ngongo deserted, lonely; (ii) *lŋau:
   Ngaju Dayak la-lingau to be sad, Cebuano Bisayan míngaw lonely, deserted, &c,
   (Dempwolff 1938 97-8). Conceivably Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, but no obvious
   source. See Benedict 1975 369, sad…. 

37 *sŋiʔ (& *sŋiiʔ?); *sŋih; *sŋiˈw house.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon sãi(’)/sŋiʔ/, Modern Mon hœʔ, Stieng,
   Chrau ni; Jeh niha, Halang ni, Central Nicobarese ni; Nancowry nī.
B: (South Bahnaric) Bunör nih, Central Rölöm hiw, Biat nih.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre hiw.
The same distribution of finals nearly in 127 *mɨʔ &c.; add then perhaps Mường nhã
   (Barker 1966 21), Vietnamese nhã, otherwise ad 152 [y]aa[ʔ]. For Bahnaric
   palatalization cf. 806 *[ŋ̪i][c] &c.
(Schmidt 1905 50; Shafer 1965 153; Blood 1966 222.)
Sora sʔuŋ-an, &c. (Pinnow 1959 355, Southeast Munda only; perhaps by metathesis
< *sʔiŋ).
38 *sŋoʔ paddy.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon snĝ (`sŋuʔ/, Modern Mon haoʔ husked rice, Kammu-Yuan ɲɔʔ, Palaung hŋɔ, Riang-Lang ʔɲɔʔ, Praok ɲo, Lawa Bo Luang hŋɔʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hŋɔʔ paddy.
(SHAFER 1965 307.)

(*[c]iʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ to eat.)

39 *ciʔi ( & *ciʔ?) louse.
A: Mon coa, Khmer cay (→ Sre say?), Stieng sį:h (!), Biat chiː; Chrau, Bahnar sί; Kammu-Yuan seʔ ( < variant?), Palaung si, Riang-Lang ʔsίʔ, Lawa Bo Luang saʔiʔ, Lawa Umphai seʔ, Mae Sariang seʔ (!), Khasi ˈsi ( ~ əsi), Vietnamese chi̞, chʰy, Kensiui ciʔ, Temiar ɛʔ, Semelai cį:h louse, Central Nicobarese ʃeːi flea, louse; ~ Kuy ʃnc: head louse, Bru ʃcọy.
Lawa, Vietnamese (& Sre?) show secondary diphthongization. Stieng -h also ad 126 *baʔeʔ goat, 156 *bryaʔ kind of varan, 197 *klaʔ tiger ( & 412 *prəok squirrel!).
(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 243; SMITH 1972 516; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 169.)
Sora ʔtii-n, Kharia seʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 341).
Cf. Haininh Yao sei head louse. (BENEDICT 1975 333; Chiengrai Yao ʧ̂ό body louse, Petchabun Miao ɲcʰau head louse, ib., reflect Proto-Miao-Yao *(ŋ)ʧ̂o(u)).

40 *ceʔ great-grandchild.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre se grandchild, great-grandchild (→ Röglai ce grandchild), Bahnar [saw] se; Praok [kan] se, Lawa Bo Luang [kuan] saʔiʔ, Lawa Umphai [kuan] seʔ great-grandchild, Kammu-Yuan cεʔ grandchild, Bru ʔacej.
Cf. 43 *cuuʔ grandchild.

(*ceʔ see also 1983 *cčh kind of jar, *caʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ to eat.)

41 *caʔ dog.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Kuy caː; Stieng sau, Sre so, Chrau soː; Biat chɔː dog, Bahnar [kɔʔ] soː wild dog, Jeh cou, Halang coː, Kammu-Yuan sɔʔ, Palaung so (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang ʔsoʔ, Praok so, Lawa Bo Luang saʔi, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔiʔ, Khasi ˈsew ( ~ ksew), Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese chó dog (→ Old Khmer ca, Modern Khmer caː dog, as year name), Temiar cawɔʔ, Semelai cah dog; ~ Kuy ʔacejː dog, Riang-Lang yɔʔ dog, puppy, (?) Jehai ʔaciʔ dog.
(SHAFER 1965 235; BLOOD 1966 193; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 143.)
Kharia sa-[lɔʔ], &c. (PINNOW 1959 210).

42 *c[u]? to place, put.
Connection uncertain Kuy so: to put in, to fasten (< *kca[ ]?).

(*[c][u]? see 1986 *[c][u]h to wake.)

43 *cuu? grandchild.
A: (> *ciu? > Bahnaric &c. *caw; Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Old Mon cow /cow/, Modern Mon cao, Old Khmer, Modern Khmer, Kuy cau grandchild, Stieng suu grandson, nephew, Sre saw grandson, Chrau saw son-in-law, daughter-in-law, Biat [kɔn] chau descendants, Bahnar saw, sow, Jeh, Halang caw, Palaung su, Praok saa, Lawa Bo Luang sau?, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang so?, Khasi ‘siew, Vietnamese cháu, Semang -chó’ grandchild (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (b)); → Cham cau(w), Acehnese cu; ~ Chrau sanaw, Sakai (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (a)) chêno’ grandchild.
Palaungic requires *-uu?, as does Indonesian; Cham, Acehnese reflect diphthongized forms. Cf. 40 *ce? great-grandchild.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 535; BLOOD 1966 197; SMITH 1972 431.)

Proto-Austronesian (*k’u(S)k’u(S) > ) Acehnese cucu (contaminated by ca ← Mon-Khmer; perhaps ← Malay), Malay chuchu, Iban uchu /uchuq/ grandchild; → Semang chuchɔ’ (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (c)). If Acehnese not ← Malay, *k’u(S)k’uS. But conceivably Mon-Khmer > Semang chuchɔ’ → Malay → Acehnese, Iban.

44 *[c]uu? to be sick.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung su, Riang-Lang ~su2, Praok saa, Lawa Bo Luang sau?, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang so? sickness, to be sick; ~ Kammu-Yuan cú? pain, ~ Danaw kā ~tsu to be in pain.
If Nancowry tū rather *t₂-, connected 70 *ktuu? hot? But connection dubious 55 *njii?.
(SHAFER 1965 238a.)
Sora əsu-, a’su- to feel pain, Kharia ‘kosu sickness, to be sick, &c. (PINNOW 1959 247).
45 *[c][usə]ʔ to see.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng səu, Bunör səa, Central Rölöm sə; Biat chaʔ to see, West Bahnar səu to see clearly (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar səsəu to see clearly (Guilleminet 1959-63).
If Nancowry hêw to be visible or hêʔ to look at is connected, *s-.

46 *[ʔ]ciʔ relative/interrogative pronoun.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre chi, what (relative/interrogative), anything; ~ Sre nchi, what?
Connection uncertain Mường chi (Barker 1966 11), Vietnamese chi, what.; ~ anything.

47 *kciʔ young, green.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer khcɨ green, fresh, new, young [plants, animals]; ~ Khmer komcɨr unripe, green, Chrau gəs: soft, Biat nche: green, unripe, Bahnar kaseʔ young, tender; by back-formation or popular etymology Chrau [kɔn] seʔ, Biat [kɔn] che: young.
(Blood 1966 174.)

48 *kmciʔ collateral relation.
Khmer cae elder sister is ← Amoy/Cantonese ce 姐: POU & JENNER 1973 132.
Sora ‘a:j[i]-n younger sister may be cognate if -j- is glide consonant; then separate from Proto-Munda *aj, Pinnow 1959 38.

49 *jooʔ grandmother.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon cûʔ great-grandmother; ~ Central Sakai ajô grandmother.
Sora jo:jó:-n grandfather.

50 *juʔ sour, acid.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Central Aslian) Khmer cû: jûv, jûr sour, tart, Jeh, Halang jûʔaʔ, Khasi jəw sour, (~?) Bahnar ?yuʔ sour; vinegar; ~ Khmer mcû: sour spice &c., (~?) Sakai bucûi sour (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349; ?), Central Nicobarese pacûi to go sour; ~ Khasi byrjew sourish.
Cf. also Vietnamese chua-chát acid. The same Khasi vocalism in 196a *j-luʔ.
(Schmidt 1905 58; Shafer 1965 452; Smith 1972 305.)
Sora so'jo- &c., Santali jəə sour, &c. (PINNOW 1959 383; Proto-Munda *jə).

51 *juuʔ wild banana.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng [təm] ju:, Sre ju (→ Rōglai), Bahnar ju: (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*juuʔ see also 1944 *juuh to stay, linger.)

52 *kjəʔ; (*kjəʔ kjəʔ >?) *kjək heavy.
A: (South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Semaq Beri kajah; ~ Sre kanja.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng jək, Biat jək; ~ Chrau kanja heavy, (~?)
   Riang-Lang samcək to nod from weariness.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 68 (a); BLOOD 1966 121.)

53 *knjə[a]ʔ kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kəɲɤː 60-litre basket, Biat njə: basket.

54 *tjooʔ worm.
A: (Mon, Aslian) Jehai tajuʔ, Temiar tajuʔ, Semelai tijəh snake; ~ Old Mon tiŋju
   /tənjuʔ/ worm, maggot, Modern Mon kəyəʔ maggot.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 311.)
Kharia ʔiʔə worm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 329).

55 *njiiʔ sickness, to be sick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon ʔjey to be sick. = 'añjey sickness /ʔjəy/,
   Modern Mon ʔōa sickness, to be sick, Nyah Kur *čəy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V267;
   suggests *-ay!), Khmer chū: (!) jhi, Chrau ji: to be sick, Sre ji sickness, Biat ji:
   sickness, to be sick, Bahnar jiʔ, Jeh, Halang jiʔ to be sick, Temiar jiʔ (BENJAMIN
   1976b).
Khmer vocalism & initial obscure. ? ~ Nancowry kacəy to become weak. Connection
dubious 44 *[c]uʔ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFFER 1965 522a; BLOOD 1966 213; SMITH 1972 294; SKEAT &
BLAGDEN 1906 S 187 (a), (b))

56 *[njə[a]ʔ tar.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon yɛʔ tar, pitch, Vietnamese nhụa, dụa sap, gum, resin, tar,
   asphalt, opium (by attraction 1601 *jar sap).
Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 40, : Stieng cə: [uiɲ] charcoal.
57 *pjooʔ old.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon pj[u(\)]/pj[u]/, Modern Mon pyùʔ to be old, aged, dilapidated, Bahnar so: old, antiquated, dilapidated, probably Palaung jo lifetime (→ Shan sò); by secondary derivation ~ Praok ju life, lifetime, age, Lawa Bo Luang ðanuʔ, Lawa Umphai ðanuʔ age.
Palaungic less probably ultimately ← Pali āyu.

58 *bjooʔ; *bjeʔ (& *bjeʔ?) bad.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Rōng ao: (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung jo, Praok caw, Mah Meri bajaw.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Khatuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer cè: jer (!) to rebuke, insult, Kuy chè: to abuse obscenely; ~ (*bmjeeʔ >) Bahnar ðmeʔ bad, ugly; by secondary derivation ~ Middle Mon byi, Modern Mon pyiʔ to blame, Khmer phcae to blame, reprove (GUESDON 1930).

Front vocalism secondary. For semantics of B cf. 1082 *luut; Khmer cè: taken as = causative, perhaps back-formation in view of vocalism, which implies *-eʔ. Note further Vietnamese xâu bad.

(SMITH 1972 318; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 9.)

58a *[ ]niiʔ uncle.

A: (Khatiic, Khasi) Kuy (ʔa)nì: parent’s younger brother, Khasi ’nì, (~?) kñì maternal uncle.

Perhaps by contraction *[ ]kuuŋ &c. ðiìʔ (892, 2).

59 *n[ee]ʔ small.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon ñì, Modern Mon ñìʔ to be small in quantity, West Bahnar ñeʔ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ñeʔ, Thin ñe small; (probably ~) Bahnar ðyeʔ small.


60 *naʔ, *nah person.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ñeʔ who, anyone; ~ Sre draña human being.

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Old Mon ñah/ñah/, Modern Mon ñëh person, Thin yeʔ him, Jah Hut ñah who?

Riang-Lang, Thin fronting contextual.

(*ñaaʔ see 152 *[y]aa[ ] house.)
61 *ɲɔʔ kind of tree, Morinda species.
Vietnamese tone perhaps post-palatal, cf. besides following 170 *jriiʔ, &c. (Cf. BEFEO 55, 196.)

62 [*]ɲuu? [*]ɲuə wrinkled, furrowed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Palaung ɲɔ to be ugly (?), Vietnamese nhâu (!) to be wrinkled, cramped; — Khmer krəɲoːv frowning, displeased (by dissimilation < *srɲuʔ? GUESDON 1930 also srʔ; VACANANUKRAM KHMER has no instance of srəŋ-,) Biat [kwat mat] rɲu: scowling, morose (beside kwat rɲuə abashed, crestfallen — Khmer); (by back-formation?) — Khmer [kʰɲiːv]-kʰɲoːv to be wrinkled, cramped.
B: (Mon; — *srɲuʔ? > ) Mon həɲɔʔ to be wrinkled.
On Vietnamese tone see preceding. Cf. 896 *srɲau &c. wrinkled; to frown… .
Sora ɲu'ju:- to be wrinkled, ju'ju:-[je'je-] to be wrinkled and puckered.

63 *ɲuːʔ to suck up, drink.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre ɲu to drink [spirits], Praok ɲaa, Lawa pəʔ to drink, Semai ɲɔʔ, Temoq ɲuʔ to suck, Nancowry cəʔ, South Nicobarese onyu:[je], Teressa-Bompoka nyu-[həʔ] to drink (& Central Nicobarese ɲɔː milk?).
Cf. SMITH 1972 325, *uʔ; contaminated by 268 *ʔuʔak?
(SHAFER 1965 297; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1960 D 165 (a.).) Sora ɲuː-, ɲu'ɲuː- to smell, sniff; Santali ɲu to drink, &c. (PINNOW 1959 112).
Sora is referred ib. 315 to cognates of 887 *[j]ʔuʔn.

64 *t_iʔ; *t_ih; *t_iəh earth, ground.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Aslian, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon ti(') /tɨʔ/, Modern Mon təʔ, Old Khmer ti, Modern Khmer dɨv, Kuy təʔ, Bru kuteʔ: (< *-[ai]ʔ?), Kansui tiʔ, Temiar teʔ earth; — Semelai ʔateh; (~ or =?) Kuy kteʔ, Palaung kət, Riang-Lang ~kətʔ, Praok te, [ha]kte, (so probably, rather than simplex) Lawa Bo Luang təʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang teʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan pətē earth, (~?) Khasi pyrthi the world (rather than ← Sanskrit prthvī-), Central Nicobarese moltaï land.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar təh earth; ~ Jeh ʔneh, Halang təʔneh earth.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre tiah ground, the world, Steeng təh earth; ~ Chrau nteh earth; ~ Biat neh earth, ground.
-n-infix forms, as probably -h, contaminated by Indonesian, below.
(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 361; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1960 E 12 (a.).) Sora 'purthi-n the world (or ← Sanskrit?); Mundari te, &c. (PINNOW 1959 403).
Connection obscure Proto-Austronesian *tanaq: Malay tanah, Cham tanuh, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, tanah/tanah; assuming Javanese tanah ← Malay).

65 *t₁ʔiʔ, *t₁iiʔ, *t₁iaʔ that yonder.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre ti that (spoken of, past), Chrau ti? (!) there, yonder, Khasi -tei that up there, the aforesaid, Semang [ha'] teh there (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a)).
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ti; Sedang tay up there.
C: (Mon, ?Khasi) Middle Mon te' there, then, that, those, Modern Mon te? that, (?) Khasi -thie that down there.
Chrau has -ʔ < *ʔ in deictics, cf. 92 *naʔ, 1435a *h[a'y]ʔ. Cf. 66a *tʔ; 1466 *t₁uuy &c.
(SMITH 1972 515.)

66 *t₁iiʔ hand, arm.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric, South Aslian) Old Mon tey /təy/, Modern Mon toa, Old Khmer tai(y), Modern Khmer day, Kuy te; Bru ʔatay (< *ʔiʔ ?), Sre ti, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar ti: hand, arm, Jeh, Halang ti: hand, Kammu-Yuan tiʔ, Palaung ti, Riang-Lang *tiʔ, Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang taiʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang teʔ, Khasi 'ti (~ kti), Central Nicobarese -tai hand, arm; ~ (from a suffixed *tiiʔ-ŋ) Temiar tii:k.
Connected further, perhaps from a prefixed form, South Aslian forms: Semelai thiʔ.
Distinguish 244 *siiʔ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 14; BLOOD 1966 226; SMITH 1972 513; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 15.)
Kharia tiʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 75).

(*t₁aʔ see 68 *tʔaʔ male elder; 1988 *t₁ah level; *taʔ see 75 *[s]taʔ to vomit.)

66a *tʔ that, there.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer da: relative particle, Stieng toːu, Biat to: that, there, Bahnar to: that, there (far away), Khasi [hang]to there (mooted, near at hand), [u]to he, that (near), Vietnamese dō that, there.
Cf. 65 *t₁iʔ &c.; 1466 *t₁uuy &c.

67 *t₁uuʔ in, at.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng tuː in, at, with, Chrau tuː at, to, Bahnar taː to, towards, Palaung ta (in senses) in (to), Riang-Lang təu (in senses) in (to), Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang toʔ middle, in the middle of; ~ (*[ʔ]ntuuʔ >) Praok daː in (to).
Add Khmer dau to proceed towards? But not, as SCHMIDT 1905 34, : Mon tao to be located in... (< 1824 *taaw). Cf. B4 *t₁aʔ &c. place.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

(°t,uu? see also 2004 °t,uu[h] ...to clean by rubbing.)

68 (°t,aa-t,aa? >?) °t,aa? (& °t,aa?) male elder.


(Shafer 1965 280; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 41.)

Proto-Austronesian °tata: Proto-Oceanic °tata term of address to father, mother’s brother (Benedict 1975 286-7, which see), Proto-Philippine °tata-i: Cebuano Bisayan tatay, tātay, Pangasinan tātay term of address to father, Tagalog &c. tātay father, Samer-Leyte Bisayan tatay father, grandfather.

69 [kb]t,aa? to wash [head].

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung kāta (Milne 1931), Lawa Bo Luang ta? to wash [head], (or ~?) Khasi bta to wash [face].

70 *ktuu? hot.


If Bahnar → Jeh, Halang, perhaps *-ta?- connected Smith 1972 °kasu? (324; then °-ts-) to sweat; &/or 44 °[c]uu? to be sick?

(Schmidt 1905 52; Smith 1972 322; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 140; Pinnow 1959 52.)

71 *gtoo? snail.


(*ta? see 75 °s]ta? to vomit.)

72 *nt,uu? hole, pit.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer ʔaṇḍau (& rûaṇḍau) ditch, hole, cave, Stieng tū: deep ditch or hole, Chrau ntu: well, water- hole, Biat ntu: hole, West Bahnar hātu?: deep hole (GüillenINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan hāntū?, Riang-Lang ḍū?, Praok daa hole.

(Schmidt 1905 34; Shafer 1965 303.)

Cf. 556 °kt,uu(u)ŋ, but connection dubious.

Proto-Austronesian °pintau door: Malay pintu, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 119, °pin[t]u?; Dahl 1973 § 12.4; °-au confirmed by Acehnese pinto; see also Benedict 1975 273).
72a *tp₁[i]? to instruct, teach.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer phdae-[phdam] to send verbal message, keep reminding (→ Vietnamese đay to teach?) & ~ Khmer prdae-[pr dav] to teach, educate, Stieng ti: (BLOOD 1966), Sre bati to teach (DOURNES 1950); ~ (*pnt₁[i]? >) Praok de [gaa] to teach; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau tanti: to teach, Biat nti: to learn, (~ ntom) teach.
   (BLOOD 1966 227.)

73 *bt₁aʔ, *st₁aʔ tail.
   A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon birta /bɔrtaʔ/, Modern Mon hataʔ.
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Lawa sataʔ, Kensiu hatiʔ, Semaq Beri hateʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan hantiʔ, Palaung sata, Riang-Lang ~santaʔ, Praok sida, Temiar sentaʔ.
   Munda implies B secondary; on *taʔ < *btaʔ? Danaw has `toŋ `to.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 3.)
   Kharia pa'ta (PINNOW 1959 K 386).

74 *[b]tuuʔ to burst, pustulate.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) ~ Khasi pyrthiew [parched grain] to burst; to come out in an eruption;
   ~ Mon hatao skin eruption endemic in cold weather, Khasi pyrthiew, byrthiew pustulated pulses, (kaba —) eruptions.
   Connect 2008 *bt₁uh &c.
   Proto-Austronesian *batu(S): Sundanese bituq to explode, erupt, to fire [gun],
   Cebuano Bisayan butu to explode, burst; blister (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

75 *[s]taʔ to vomit.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, ?Khmer) Mon taʔ (medical) to vomit, Bru rata: vomit, (?) Khmer sda: stár (!) to unload, empty, drain off.
   Proto-Austronesian *qu(N)t₁aq to vomit: Malay m-untah, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, *[`]u(n)tah; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 8.2, 14.10).
   If Khmer is not connected, Proto-Mon-Khmer *(n)taʔ? See BENEDICT 1975 417.
   (*st₁aʔ see 73 *bt₁aʔ tail.)

76 *diʔ, *dih to hit, come in contact with.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon tiʔ to come in contact with, impinge on, collide, to charge, fight with horns, Sre di to be right, to be in agreement, to have to, Biat di: to hit; right, Khasi (fa-)dei (!) to hit, Nancowry téʔ to touch.
   B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer dadih to collide (GUESDON 1930).
   Khasi d-, for *t-, unexplained. B contaminated by 2010 *dah (compare with for semantics)?
77 *da[ʔ] duck.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer tua dā̄, Kuy thīːa, Stieng, Chrau daː; (?) → Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang tua, Lawa Umphai thúa; ~ Sre ada duck, Gölar Bahnar hādaː wild duck; → Cham atāː, Rōglai, North Rōglai ada duck (& Mon atēʔ?); ~ Bahnar tadāː [daːk] wild duck.
   Or *daar (Mon, Khmer, Lawa), Khmer → Kuy, Bahnaric; Khmer orthography favours *-ʔ?; Cham &c. inconclusive. Cf. Rōglai ara wild duck, Kontum Bahnar hāraː duck.
   (SHAFTER 1965 121, 465.)

   (*daʔ see also 2010 *dah to hit, to meet.)

78 *daʔēː; *dah; *daas to stop, be brought up short, come to rest.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Middle Mon duː́, Modern Mon tàʔ to stop, halt, Khmer tṽːː to put (down, on shelf), to land on, lodge, get caught, Kammu-Yuan tàʔ to fall on one’s bottom, Semang [bia]-dū to stop (i.e. Lano; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 477; cf. W 8), Central Nicobarese [kaː]-tyːː to dwell, stay, wait, Nancowry katūː; ~ Chrau vādaː to catch falling object.
   B: (Bahnaric) Sre dah rest, Biat dah at leisure, easy, Bahnar dah rest, cessation (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar podah to rest.
   C: (Khmer) Khmer tīːh dōs to be in the way, to be too big to go through opening.
   Connection dubious B31 *dak to stop, halt. Kontum Bahnar paday to stop, rest, is ← Cham patēʔ to rest, cognate with Javanese mari to stop, abate; Mon dah [rain] to stop perhaps < 1903a *daas to break.
   (SHAFTER 1965 130; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 70.)

79 *[d][ə]ʔ; *[d][ə]h this, here.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng dου, dου here, Sre do this, here.
   B: (Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Thin duh this, Kensiu dǝh here, Temiar doh this, here.
   Connect 92 *nəʔ &c.? But perhaps *d- here, by contraction *diiʔ-ʔ[uə]ʔ (85, 6).
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 86 (d).)

80 *dəʔ to cover head.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer tūː dū cloth cover of casket, (TANDART 1935) to cover, Kuy thūː(ʔ)aʔ (!) to wear on head (contaminated by A22 *dəʔok to wear round neck &c., which compare?), Bahnar [hlaː] duː umbrella; ~ Khmer taːtūː dədūː, dədūː to cover the head, Sakai tudō to cover (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 257); ~ Stieng ndou [umbrella] to shelter from, cover, Sre ndau to wear on head, to shelter under [umbrella], Biat ndou to cover oneself, cover head; ~ (*pdaʔ? >) Bahnar tū to cover, shelter, to take cover (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63).
81 *duuʔ to run away.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon dow /dɔʔ/, Modern Mon têa to run away, Old Khmer dau, Modern Khmer tû to go (away), Sre dou?, Chrau, Biat duː, Kammu-Yuan tûʔ, Palaung du to run away, Temiar doʔ to run (Benjamin 1976B 132); ~ Bahnar kâduː, (!) kâdɔw, Jeh kadâw, Halang gàdòw to run, Tembi dadu’ to run away (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 44).

North Bahnaric diphthongization obscure. Add 84a *p[d]uuʔ to carry, transport? Note Vietnamese dào to escape, flee. But Praok to to run away is < 1612 *tar.

(Schmidt 1905 68; Shafer 1965 124, 479; Smith 1972 424.)

82 *kɔʔ plantain bud.

Cf. B9 *k.ɔʔ plantain.

83 *tdiʔ kind of bamboo.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (*tndiʔ >) Mon [tûn] kɔlẽ tali &c. giant bamboo; ~ (*trdiʔ >) Stieng [təm] rɔdeːi kind of smooth-stemmed bamboo, Bahnar hɔdeː: kind of bamboo (Guilleminet 1959-63 rɔdɛ); → Rölai tɔrde straight kind of bamboo with short joints.

(Shafer 1965 455.)

84 *pda[a]ʔ to lean on.

Cf. Central Nicobarese idu-a-hare; & 1470 *daay.

84a *p[d]uuʔ to carry, transport.
A: (Bahnaric) West Bahnar du: (!) to transport (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Biat nduː [aː iːa] to bring; ~ Sre padu to transport, carry away, Bahnar pəduʔ to transport. Originally to carry off, causative. ~ 81 *duuʔ to run away? So Stieng prəduː to run away (with), snatch up in running away.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

85 *dii? middle, in.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon ḍey /ḍey/ locative particle, Sre da dative particle (locative particle, Dournes 1950), Biat di: [ḍol] (in the) middle, Kammu-Yuan ta:, to: at, Thin dā, ḍā in; ~ Old Mon tirdey, Modern Mon hadao, Sedang tadēy middle (Smith 1972 p. 79), Kammu-Yuan torti? between; ~ Kuy nṭīh, (?) Bahnar ane? in the middle, Palaung kandi middle; ~ Old Mon pdey inside, Middle Mon pday, Modern Mon doa in, Khmer phtēy stomach, (Guesdon 1930) womb, Pangan pēdi’ central (i.e. Mendriq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 100).
Sora ta'ɾaŋdi-:, ta'ɾaŋdi-n middle. (cf. Pinnow 1959 22).
Proto-Austronesian *di: Malay di- locative prefix, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 40; Proto-Hesperonesian).

86 *dii?; (*dii?-s[ ] >) *diiis; *duu?, *duul one.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Kuy thāi different, Stieng dī, Prak ti, Lawa Bo Luang te?, ti?, Lawa Umphai thī, Mae Sariang tiː one; ~ (*dii? dii? >) Khmer tītēy, tōtēy to be individually separate; other, different, Nancowry rīr all, whole; ~ Palaung rǎndi alone, apart.
B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *dis one, (~?) Central Nicobarese oreh, oṛeh first, Nancowry rūh other, ?urēh first.
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat du: one.
D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer tōl to be single, just one, Sre du:l one.
With suffix in B cf. Riang-Lang sə-, Khasi shi one. C perhaps < *dii?-ʔuū?, cf. Palaung u one & Central Rölöm jū: (< *dyu:?).
Connect perhaps *-d in Santali mi’d, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 338.
(Shafer 1965 285; Blood 1966 230.)

87 *de?; *deh reflexive pronoun.
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon ḍeh /dēh/, Modern Mon deh 3rd person pronoun, (weak form) Bahnar daḥ 3rd person possessive pronoun (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Bahnar kādī reflexive pronoun.
Connection uncertain Malay dia he, likely < Proto-Austronesian *dia there (Blust 1970 no. 152) contaminated by ia 3rd person pronoun, for which see 2 *ʔii?.

88 *k[n]da? thin.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy (k)dua, Bru kada; (or ~?) Kammu-Yuan hɔnta?.
89 *cdaʔ span.

A: (Mon, Katuc, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Middle Mon cda span from thumb to middle finger, Modern Mon daʔ also to crawl like a leech, to measure by spans, Kuy (ch)thiʔa, West Bahnaric dialect dā span from thumb to middle finger (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi tda span; to crawl like a leech; ~ Jeh idaʔ, Halang hadaʔ span, Bahnar sadaʔ, hadaʔ: span from thumb to middle finger; ~ Khmu' sndaʔ to measure length.

(SMITH 1972 543.)

(*təʔiʔ see 2014 *təʔiʔ near; *[ ]n[daʔ see 2015 *[ ]n[d]ah one of two sides.)

90 *[p]dɔʔ blister.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat dɔʔu blister, small swelling; to blister; ~ Mon hədaʔ phaʔa' to blister.

91 *niʔ; *nih this.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy niʔ, Sêng nei, ni: this, here, Sre ne there, Bahnar ?ney, ?ni: that, Kammu-Yuan niʔ this near at hand, Khasi [u &c.]-ne, Mường ni this (BARKER 1966 21), Central Nicobarse one that (pronoun).

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer neh, Middle Khmer neh ṇeh, nih nehʔ, Riang-Lang ṇi this.

Bahnar ?n- in deictic also in following, which compare; as 1475 *naay, 1435a *ʔ[ʔ]ayʔ &c. Jakun & Sakai (Lanoh) forms at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 89 are ← Malay.

Sora -ne- in e.g. ten-ne- here, Kurku ini this, &c. (PINNOW 1959 337).

Proto-Austronesian *in,i this: Malay ini, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 69; DYEN 1953 § 133; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 408. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 44.)

92 *naʔ; *nǝh this.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, ṇKhmuic) Mon -naʔ this, Chrau naʔ (!) there near at hand, Bahnar ?nuʔ, ?now, ?now here, this, Mae Sariang [sageʔ] naʔ today, Vietnamese no this, Semelai nɔ η̇ this; ~ Middle Mon 'ano'/ənʔ/, Modern Mon anaʔ here, Temoq ?anʔ this; ~ Semelai naʔnaʔ this; probably ~ (*ʔ[ʔ]anʔ-naʔ >?) Kammu-Yuan nɔ: pronon 3 plural, Praok na pronoun 3 singular Cf. Kuy nàu he, she, Bru nàw here, she, who (or 92a?).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer nəh, Middle Khmer nəh nəh that, there, nùh nəh that, Bahnar (?)nəh here, this, Semnam nəh this.

For Chrau final see 65 *t,iʔ &c. Bahnar ʔn- in deictic also in preceding, which compare; -w &c. perhaps contaminated by 6 *ʔ[uwaʔ]. Connect 79 *[d][aʔ] &c.? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 51 (e), (f), 85.) (?)
Proto-Austronesian *[nǐ]aa: Cebuano Bisayan náa there (near addressee), &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 271). Note also Saaroa (Formosa) nána: there, kanáthat, kanau that (near) (BENEDICT 1975 406, this (one), there (I)); and Li *na he, she, they, that, there, ib.

92a *[nə] what, which?
A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy nəː what?, Khasi -no which?, some[one &c.].

93 *kn[1][i]ʔ rat, mouse.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon kni(’)/kniʔ/, Modern Mon nœʔ, Kuy (k)nai rat, mouse, Stieng kanei, Sre de, Biat nɛː (& Sre?), Chrau, Bahnar kanc, Jeh kaneːy, Halang kaneː rat, Kammu-Yuan kənéʔ rat, mouse, Khasi khnai, Central Sakai kə nei mouse.
Some disyllabic items may reflect an infixed form.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 10; SMITH 1972 527; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 33.)
Kharia 'kane mouse, &c. (PINNOW 1959 398).

94 *[j][n,aa]ʔ dew.
Sora 'sinnaː-n.

95 *t,n,aaʔ large bovid.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Khasi mynthna mithan; ~ (*t,nn,aaʔ >?) Riang-Lang ŋnaʔ, Danaw mā naʔ water-buffalo.
Khasi compound, or ~ *mt,n,aaʔ by deformative metathesis.

96 *[b]naʔ; *[b]nah you, plural of address.
A: (Khmer) Khmer mniːə you..., (mɑnːu —) people (beside mniːəl).
B: (Mon) Old Mon bnah /bnah/ you... .
Khmer m- by phrasal alliteration?

97 *snaʔ crossbow.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer snaː, Kuy nhaː, snaː, Stieng sənaː: (or derived?), Biat naː, Vietnamese nàː; ~ Sre səna.
(BLOOD 1966 309.)
98 *piʔ three.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon \( \text{i}(') /\text{pi}/, \) Modern Mon \( \text{p} \text{æʔ}, \) Old Khmer \( \text{piy}. \) Modern Khmer \( \text{bx} \text{y}, \) Kuy \( \text{pai}, \) Stieng \( \text{pei}, \) Sre \( \text{pe}, \) Chrau, Biat \( \text{pe}; \) Jeh \( \text{pey}, \) Halang \( \text{pe}; \) Kammu-Yuan \( \text{p} \text{éʔ}; \sim \) Semelai \( \text{hmpeʔ}; \sim \) Temiar \( \text{neʔ}. \)

Cf. (i) Bahnar \( \text{peŋ}; \) (ii) 1437a *ʔuy &c., connected if < Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[ ]ui[ ] ~ *[ ]u/p/i[ ] or the like.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22; SHAFER 1965 567-8; BLOOD 1966 177; SMITH 1972 537; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 99, 100.)

Kharia 'uʔphe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 348).

99 *piʔ you (plural).

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung \( \text{pe}, \) Riang-Lang \( \text{peʔ}, \) Praok \( \text{pe}, \) Lawa Bo Luang \( \text{paiʔ}, \) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang \( \text{peʔ}, \) Khasi \( \text{phi}, \) Central Nicobarese \( \text{[i]fe}. \)

Connection dubious forms in *b-: (i) Old Mon \( \text{be} \text{ḥ} /\text{beh}/ you (singular), Modern Mon \( \text{pèh you}; \) with /h/ perhaps by levelling on Old Mon \( \text{deh} \) 3rd person pronoun (< 87 *deh), \( \text{t'eh} \) pronominal plural suffix; (ii) Stieng \( \text{bei you (plural), perhaps levelled on mei you (masculine singular)} (< 128 *m\text{ʔi}); \) with these cf. Sora \( \text{am'b\text{een} &c., compounding form -be\text{'n, Santali aben you two, &c., PINNOW 1959 55; (iii) Kammu-Yuan \( \text{pɔː you (plural); levelled on nɔː: pronoun 3 plural. (ad 92 *nɔʔ). (SHAFER 1965 286.) Kharia -pe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 175a; Proto-Munda *-pe).}

100 *paʔ; *pah shoulder.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang \( \text{[cak] ñaʔ}; \sim \) Khasi \( \text{tympha}. \)

B: (Mon, Viet-Mương) Vietnamese \( \text{b\text{à} [vai] [shoulder]-blade}; \sim \) Middle Mon \( \text{p\text{nah}, Modern Mon nah shoulder.}

Connection dubious Kuy \( \text{mpaʔ (tip of) shoulder, perhaps ~ A12 *ʔaak shoulder-blade; or 218 *blaʔ shoulder.}

100a *pəəʔ; *puʔ to lift, raise.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat \( \text{pū: to lift, raise (→ Sre pə), Stieng \( \text{pū: to carry in hands, Jeh pò} \) to lift, reach, Halang \( \text{pòʔ (by attraction 121 *ɓɔʔ) to carry on back.}

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar \( \text{púʔ}, \) Praok \( \text{pú to carry on back.}

Back vocalism secondary? Or two roots, with contamination? Cf. Nancowry under the entry 121.

(SMITH 1972 306.)
101 *poo?; *pooŋ to swell, expand.

A: (Mon, Nicobaric, ?Khmer) Mon pao to swel, to be nearly ripe, Central Nicobarese fua-[hata] to swell, Nancowry fua, (?) Khmer bao por to warp, swell.

B: (Mon, Katuc, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mon poŋ to swell up, [bread] to rise; ~ (*[k]poon; or perhaps *[k]-booŋ, ad 108 *[b]oo?, >) Khmer paoŋ inflated, puffed up, Bahnar poŋ swollen; ~ Kuy mpooŋ inflated, puffed up, Bahnar pążŋ to bulge out, become bigger; (?) ~ Vietnamese bông bladder, ball, balloon.

Cf. besides *[b]oo 348 *pu(u)k; Biat poh to swell.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; cf. SHAFER 1965 333.)

Sora puŋ-(puŋ-) to swell; cf. PINNOW 1959 356.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 404.

102 *poo? parent-in-law.


103 *krpiʔ; *krpiiiw; *krpuʔ; *[kr]puh buffalo.

A: (Khmer) Khmer krprü (→ Stieng krpu?).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh kapiaw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

C: (Bahnaric) Sre rpu, Chrau gðpu; Biat rpu; Bahnar kəpu.

D: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm puh.

-B-D, contextually favoured, probably contaminated by Indonesian *k/ar/ðbau (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76, *kaba; Cham kàpàw, &c.); note here Madurese kêrbhuy, perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer. Connection obscure Mường trâu (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese trâu.

(SHAFER 1965 59; BLOOD 1966 239; SMITH 1972 523.)

104 *t,pəʔ freshwater turtle.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy spa; Stieng pə; ~ Sre dərpə, Chrau dəpə; (or next?) Bahnar tapə; ~ Cham tapə, Röglai dərpa, North Röglai tupa; ~ Kammu-Yuan tampə?

Cf. Vietnamese ba-ba turtle.

(*t,puə see 1916 *t,puus to sweep.)
Todo 5 *mp[ɔ]? dream, to dream.


Or *mpuə? (&c.), by metathesis *mpaw?? Stieng mbəi dream, to dream, Biat mbəi to dream are probably contaminated rather than ← Indonesian, below.

(Schmidt 1905 14; Shafer 1965 296, 548; Smith 1972 562.)

Kharia mui to dream, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 351).


(*rpuə see 1918 *rpuus ...fourth finger.)

106 *spu? thatching-grass.


107 *[b]əʔ? to ingest.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan pəʔ to eat, to drink, Kensiu buʔ to drink.

107a *[b]əʔ hump of ox.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon pəʔ ba’ &c., Kammu-Yuan pəʔ. Conceivably *lb-; then ~ 119 *[nb][o]ʔ ox?


108 *[b]ooʔ; *[b]oon; *[b]un to swell, bulge.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer pọʔ to swell (Guesdon 1930), (or derived > ?) Bahnar bō swollen with decay (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Khmer spō: sbor (!) swelling up, swollen; ~ (*p[b]ooʔ > ) Central Nicobarese fąpo fat, Nancowry fąpu connection dubious.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer pṓŋ hump, protuberance, Bahnar boŋ swollen (Guilleminet 1959-63); (perhaps ~ Khmer paoŋ inflated…, &c., see 101 *poo?).

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer pûŋ swollen (?; Guesdon 1930, ≠ belly < 624 *bųŋ []) Kuy phūŋ pregnant, Bahnar buŋ swollen, bulging (Guilleminet 1959-63), (or B) Khasi pong[kdung] bellying, bulging out; ~ Khmer kōmpūŋ fully rounded.
Problematic. If Khasi < b, c perhaps ← Indonesian, below; other Khmer, Bahnar conceivably < *[d]-poo? &c., ad 101. Cf. further (i) Khmer kpúaŋ shoulder of hill (← *[k][b]uŋ?); (ii) Khmer pön bump… to puff up, swell up, become inflated, Kuy phúaŋ blistered, swollen (← *[b]uŋ?); (iii) 629 *[d]buŋ foetus. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 333.)

Proto-Austronesian *ka(N)buŋ: Malay kębong inflated, distended, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; probably Proto-Malayo-Javanese, discarding Tagalog, Toba Batak, & assuming Malay → Ngaju Dayak; so perhaps ← Mon-Khmer!). See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b); BENEDICT 1975 404.

109 *b[oo]ʔ friend.
Cf. 1836 *ɓ[aw]ʔ companion…

110 *bu[u]ʔ individual.
By contraction *bu[u]ʔ iii? (cf. 2; Palaungic: i, *buuy >) Praok puy, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang pui, Lawa Umphai phui person; (ii, *bii? >) Palaung bi person.
(Cf. SMITH 1972 559.)

111 *[ ][b]uuʔ soul, shadow, butterfly.
The soul is believed to be visible as a butterfly by e.g. the Mons.

112 *ʔbaaʔ father.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon ‘ba’ /“baʔ/ father, Modern Mon měʔ father, bēʔ peremptory term of address to males, Khmer ba: father especially of animals; onomastic prefix for junior generation (→ Stieng ba: onomastic prefix for elder males?), Bahnar baʔ, (Kontum) baʔ, Jeh baʔ, Halang baʔ, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang puuʔ, Lawa Umphai phuaʔ, Khasi pa father.
Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, Stieng mōm; or Biat mbyʔ.
(SHAFER 1965 281; SMITH 1972 319; LEWITZ 1967 121-3.)
Proto-Austronesian *nBaq: Malay ĕmbah grandparent, Acehnese (ö)mbah, Iban ĕmbah [apai] father, Tagalog ambag uncle (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. BLUST 1971 no. 167); → Temiar bəh father?
113 *[ʔ]boʔ mother.


Or *mb-. Since Javanese is likely to be a loan word, Dempwolff's construction of Proto-Austronesian *ibu (DEMPWOLFF 1938 66) is dubious (but note Sediq búbūʔ).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 61, M 192.)

114 *ʔbuuʔ to suck at the breast.

(Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon bow/*bɔw/, Modern Mon mɛ̀a, Khmer bau, Sre pouʔ, Chrau, Biat pu; Jeh buʔ to suck (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan pʉʔ, Palaung bu, Riang-Lang 'buʔ breast, to suck, Vietnamese bủ to suck, Che’ Wong buʔ breast, to suck, Jah Hut boʔ breast, Chowra Nicobaric moː-[hə] to suck, Nancowry mọʔ; ~ Vietnamese vɨ́ breast; ~ Old Mon pubow /pəʊbʌ/, Modern Mon hamɛ̀a, Khmer bɔmbau, Biat mpu; Jeh hmuʔ (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan pənptuʔ, Riang-Lang ːpakuʔ to suckle; ~ Sre təmpouʔ to suckle.

Cf. Praok pay to suck.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 41a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 386.)

Atayal *bubu breast, milk, (~) Kanakanabu mumu breast, milk. (BENEDICT 1975 242, which see).

115 *krɓa[a]ʔ crocodile.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer krapː, Stieng krabuː, Biat rbuː, Bru rabː.


116 *kbooʔ white.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon gwu, Modern Mon kwuʔ (& pùʔ) to be white; ~ Middle Mon kambu, Modern Mon kəmaoʔ white.


Proto-Austronesian *kulabu(S) grey: Malay kēlabu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82-3, Proto-West-Indonesian; referred as prefixed form to *qabu ash, for which see 2034 *buh &c.). See BENEDICT 1975 221-2, ashes.
117 *mbii? elder sibling.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon mbay, Modern Mon bɔa elder sister, Stieng bi: (BLOOD 1966), Sre bi, Bunor, Central Rööm mi: elder sibling.
Kammu-Yuan pi: elder sibling is (by back-borrowing?) ← Lao bhii. Cf. 1531a *waay elder sibling; 1494 *mə(ə)y mother’s sister.
(BLOOD 1966 215.)

(*mbo? see 113 *[ʔ]boʔ mother.)

118 *rbaʔ to hunt down.

Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, : Khmer mɔː elephant-hunter.

‡ 119 *ln[b][oʔ] ox.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ləmpôʔ.
Originally perhaps humped (cattle), ~ (*lbaʔ =) 107a *[ʔ]boʔ. Connection obscure Muong pô (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese bô; ← or contaminated by Proto-Austronesian *kəbau buffalo (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76)? Proto-Austronesian (?) *laNbu(S): Cham limɵ, &c. (with obscure vocalism), Malay lёmbu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 247, cattle.

† 120 *baʔ paddy.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Chrau vaː, Stieng, Biat baː, Bahnar ɓaː, Danaw ɓu, Che’ Wong, Mah Meri beʔ, Temiar baʔ; ~ Khasi kba; ~ Semelai babah paddy (& Semang &c. —i.e. Jehai, Bateg Dek— bab boiled rice, SKEAT & BLADGE 1906).

Cf. 133 *maʔ seed, (BLOOD 1966 276; SKEAT & BLADGE 1906 R 106 (a), (c).)

Kharia baʔ paddy, ~ Sora (children’s language) baːbaːn cooked rice, Mundari baba paddy, &c. (PINNOW 1959 4).

121 *ɓɔʔ to carry on back.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer va, Modern Khmer pɔː to carry on hip (JACOB 1968; on back GUESDON 1930, in arms TANDART 1935, HENDERSON 1952; i.e. to carry child?), Palaung ɓɔ, Riang-Lang ɓoʔ to carry on back, Temiar baʔ to carry on back (BENJAMIN 1976b 132; rather than ɓaʔ to carry, ib. 135), Nancowry ?upúʔaʔ to carry on back.

Cf. B117 *ɓ[a]s to carry [heavy object] (& POU & JENNER 1975 no. 21). Bahnar puʔ, Halang pɔʔ, Praok pu are < 100a *pɔːʔ &c.
122 *ɓɔʔ? younger sibling.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer pù: bū (!) parent’s younge brother, Praok pu,
      Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang puʔ, Lawa Umphai phuʔ younger sibling; ~ Riang-
      Lang ᜪomboʔ, (~?) Khasi hynbew younger sibling.
      If rather *ɓuʔ, Riang-Lang vocalism obscure.

(*ɓuuʔ see 125 *(t)ɓuuʔ sugar-cane.)

122a *(j)b[o]ʔ kind of cereal crop.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer spɔː sorghum, Bru sapɔː Job’s tears; ~ Biat mbɔː,
      Bahnar həɓɔː maize.
      Obscure. HENDERSON 1952 has Khmer spɔː; contaminated by 1834 *(d)baw millet?
      (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

(*jɓuuʔ see 2041a *(j)ɓuah beak.)

123 *[t]bɛʔ; *[t]ɓee[s] Job’s tears, Coix lachryma-jobi.
   A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ᜪabɛʔ Job’s tears, Coix lachryma-jobi, Lawa Bo Luang
      sapiʔ Paniceum miliaceum (Japanese kibi).
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kɔbeːh Job’s tears.
      Cf. Ami (Formosa) havay Setaria italica (TSUCHIDA 1977, 89).

124 *[t]ɓəʔ; *[t]ɓuu(u)? to touch, feel.
   A: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Biat buː to feel, Bahnar bɔː to touch, feel, handle (GUILLEMINET
      1959-63), (?) *(t)ʔ- Khasi tba to touch, feel; ~ (*tnɓəʔ >) Sre buʊ, təbɯ to touch,
      feel; ~ *(tʃbəʔ >) Bahnar həbəʔ to feel for.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre bu-[bi &c.] (*-uuʔ), Praok pu [pi] (*-uʔ) to touch,
      feel.
      Note further Central Rölöm, Bunör biː, Köho Chil tabiː (BLOOD 1966 207); but
      connection obscure Mon kwɔʔ dwa’ (< *təʔ?); perhaps contaminated by *bal
      > Khmer pɔːl to touch.

125 *(t)ɓuuʔ sugar-cane.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon tʰow /tʰɔw/, Modern Mon bao; ~ Old Khmer ‘aṅvau,
      Modern Khmer ʔɔmp’yu.
      Connect 1834 *(d)baw millet?
      (SCHMIDT 1905 34.)

Proto-Austronesian *(ts)abuS: Malay tēbu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 133, *(t)abu; cf. DAHL
      1973 § 9.5, 14.9; BLUST 1961 proposed *(s)uʔ, u); → Semang tēbu’ (SKEAT &
      BLAGDEN 1906 § 515). Khmer, & Old Mon ṣ, obscure if Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian;
      but Old Mon t- contaminated by it? See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19 (a); BENEDICT
      1975 401.
126 *babe? goat.


For Stieng -h cf. 39 *ci?i. Onomatopoeic. Cf. (i) Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 302, (III); Riang-Lang✩ pe? is ← Shan pê; (ii) with initial nasal Central Nicobarese me, Nancowry me?, Kharia me’ram, Gutob gime, &c., PINNOW 1959 177; Ong-Be me goat, sheep, &c., BENEDICT 1975.

(SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFER 1965 36; BLOOD 1966 171; SMITH 1972 529.)

Jakun bêbe’ (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 53A), Sundanese embe, Macassar bembe, Proto-Ambonese *bibi (STRESEMAN 1927). (Mainland forms perhaps ← Mon-Khmer: Cham papë:, Jarai babe:, Röglaí bə, North Röglaí mube).

127 *mi? (& *mi??); *mih; *miiw rain, to rain.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer më: downpour (quantifier) (?; also mi: mïr overcast, threatening rain), Stieng, Chrau mi: (to) rain, Semnam mi?: rain; ~ Bahnar ?mi: (to) rain (< *-ii?),) Jeh ?miah, Halang ?mia rain; ~ Semai mani?: rain.

B: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat mih, Central Nicobarese amih (to) rain, Nancowry ?amüh.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre miw rain.

The same distribution of finals nearly in 37 *sni? &c.; add then perhaps Mungkin (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese mūta rain. Cf. further 141 *gma?.

(BLOOD 1966 216; SMITH 1972 521; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 7; & cf. R 8.)

128 *mi[i]?: *mih you (singular).

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy mài you (familiar), Sre mi you (singular), Stieng me:i, Chrau may (BLOOD 1966 also may), Biat mai you (masculine), Kammu-Yuan më: you (masculine singular), Palaung mi, Riang-Lang *mi, Praok may, Lawa Bo Luang mai?, Lawa Umphai mi?, Khasi me, Vietnamese mây, Bateg Nong mə?, Central Nicobarese me, mē you (singular).

B: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Bateg Dek moh, Semnam mih you (singular); ~ Bahnar ?mih you (dual).

Vocalism in part suggest *-øy; perhaps a calling deformation, but in South Bahnaric by attraction 1436 *øy[h] feminine; Chrau may then as ay ad *øy[h].

(SHAFER 1965 158; BLOOD 1966 187; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 33.)
129 *miiʔ to look at.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon mey /mɔj/ to look (at, into), Modern Mon mọa to watch over, (in compounds) to look, Khmer mɛy to dwell on mentally (poetic), Kuy mɛ: to look (at); ~ Khmer mɔmɛy to imagine; ~ (*mrmiiʔ >) Sre rami to look at.

130 *miiʔ brother-in-law.
(SMITH 1972 514.)

131 *meeʔ, (*meeʔ-meeʔ >?) *?meeʔ mother.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Middle Mon mi, Modern Mon miʔ mother, Old Khmer me, 'me, ame mother, Modern Khmer mɛː, mae term of address to old women, mɛː: familiar or impolite term of address to women, Kuy (ʔa)meʔ, Stieng mei: mother, Sre me: mother, me female, Chrau me, (term of address) meʔ, Biat me, (term of address) meʔ, Bahnar meʔ, Khasi mei, Mường me (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese me, Semai I žameʔiʔ, Semai II žameʔ mother.
Variant forms (in part implying *-eʔ) probably developed contextually. Cf. Old Burmese mi, Modern Burmese ('a)mi. But connection uncertain Cham meʔ?, Jarai amʔiʔ. Cf. also following.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 177; BLOOD 1966 175a, b; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194.)
Kharia mi'j aunt (PINNOW 1959 80).

132 *maʔ mother.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy maʔ mother (to children) (originally term of address? then → Khmer mak mother, mummy?), Jeh, Halang ma: aunt, Kammu-Yuan màʔ, Palaung ma, Riang-Lang _maʔ, Praok me, Lawa maʔ mother.
Semelai, Che’ Wong maʔ (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194) are ← Malay ēmak. Cf. besides preceding. Tibeto-Burman *ma, Archaic Chinese *må 媽 (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 487; 188 n. 487, 189). (Cf. SMITH 1972 553.)

133 *maʔ seed.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon ma /maʔ/, Modern Mon mɛʔ seed, Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese mạ rice seedling; (?) ~ Sakai sémá paddy (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 105).
Cf. 120 *ɓaʔ paddy.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ma, Riang-Lang _ma?; ~ Mon kəma? (cama &c.; but < *kuən ma??).

A: (Bahnaric) Sre ma, Chrau, Biat ma; (~?) Bahnar ?ma: right-hand, Jeh, Halang ?ma: right-handed.
(SHAFER 1965 174; BLOOD 1966 305; SMITH 1972 542.)

(*ma? see also 236 *m-waʔ parent’s sibling.)

136 *m[o]?; *m[o]h what.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon mu, mo'/muʔ/, Modern Mon mò? what?, Chrau mo? (!) what, why, Kammu-Yuan mð? who, Palaung mo what, which, where, when?, Praok mo who, which?.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Biat mə which, why?, Kammu-Yuan mə what?, Palaung mθ any, Semai məh, Semaq Beri hməh what?
Chrau -ʔ generalized from deictics, cf. 65 *t, iʔ.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 78.)

(*mu? see 2046 *muh to be; *ʔmeeʔ see 131 *meeʔ mother.)

137 *klmiəʔ sugar-cane.
Kammu-Yuan perhaps < *ə-yʔ by metathesis.

138 *kmuʔ; *kmuəʔ; *kmu(a)h mouldy, rotten.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon maoʔ kmu to be mildewed, Kammu-Yuan muʔ rotten [wood].
B, C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer khmuica khmuicar (!) stinking, musty-smelling, (with post-nasal vocalism?) kməh khməh stinking; ~ Bru laməh turning mouldy.

139 *k[n]muʔ person, human being.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy mot person, people (usually as phrase head), Kammu-Yuan kəmmuʔ human being. Khmu, Theng.

140 *kmuəʔ; *kmuʔ; *kmaʔ dirty.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer khmau black, Kuy kmau black, tarnished; ~ Old Khmer kəmau black, dark, Palaung kməu grease, to be greasy, dirty (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer kəmau dark, almost black, in colour (~ Stieng kəməu dirty, to soil, Biat rmaːo dirty?).
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh ʔmòʔ bad, broken, Halang ʔmòʔ dirty, bad; ~ Bahnar kəməʔ dirty.
C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong, Sabum kamah dirty; ~ Bahnar dialects kəməʔ: dirty (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SMITH 1972 307; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 116.)
Mundari humu dirt, dirty, &c. (PINNOW 1959 114).

141 *gmaʔ rain.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kuy mìa (to) rain, Kammu-Yuan kəməʔ, Mah Meri, Semaq Beri gəməh rain.
Connect 127 *mìʔ &c.?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 8.)
Kharia gim to rain, &c. (PINNOW 1959 282; Proto-Munda *gimaG).

142 *[c][p]maʔ porcupine.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau sama; Sre sama (→ Röglai), Bahnar jama; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer prəməʔ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 550.)

143 *jmaʔ creeper, cord.
A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Praok maw, Lawa Bo Luang ʔmawʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔmoʔ cord, Semaq Beri jəməʔ root (or creeper, if = Malay akar?); ~ Kammu-Yuan cəməʔ rope, cord; ~ Khasi jyrmi creeper.
(SHAFER 1965 299; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d).)

143a *[j]m[oʔ] to be hidden, concealed, to hide.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat mo: [nu:ih] dissembling. Palaung ma, Praok mo to be hidden, concealed, Lawa Bo Luang ʔmoʔ, Lawa Umphai ʔməʔ to hide, conceal.
Or *əʔ.

144 *tə, miʔ new.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer thmyy, Kuy (t)mai, Stieng mei, Chrau me; Biat me, Thin hme, Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese məi new, (? Central Nicobarese [ə]-kame-[yəŋ] to repeat; → Thai mây, Lao mai, Kam-Sui *hmay new (BENEDICT 1975 344); ~ (*tə,miʔ >) Middle Mon tami, Modern Mon kəməʔ to be new, Sre tame, Kammu-Yuan hənmeʔ, həmmeʔ, Palaung kənmeʔ, Riang-Lang ʔənmeʔ, Khasi thymmai new; ~ (*tə,biʔ >) Old Mon tami /təmiʔ/ to renew.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 175; BLOOD 1966 173.)
Sora 'tamme-', Kharia 'tonme', &c. (PINNOW 1959 184).
145 *t₁maʔ to fight, make war.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi thma, 'ma war, battle, dispute; ~ Old Mon tinma
/təmmaʔ/ [werwey] enmity; ~ (*t₁rmaʔ >) Praok sima to fight.

146 *t₂maʔ stone.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon tmo' /tməʔ/
stone, rock, hill, Modern Mon maʔ stone, rock, Old Khmer t(h)maʔ, Modern Khmer
thmə, Kuy tmau, Halang mo; Palaung mo, Khasi maw, Che' Wong təmaʔ, Jah
Hut təmaʔ stone; from a suffixed form Semaq Beri təmaʔ stone; (probably) ~
Stieng təmaʔu, Chrau təmaʔ, Bahnar təmaʔ (~ Jeh tamou?), Praok simaw,
Lawa Bo Luang saməu?, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang samoʔ stone.
(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 165; SMITH 1972 560; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 463.)

147 *[hy]muʔ name.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bru, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon
yamo', himo', &c. /hyaməʔ/ name, to be named, Modern Mon camuʔ name, Old
Khmer jmaʔ, Middle Khmer chməʔ jhəʔ (to) name, Kuy məʔ, Bru ramuʔ,
Lawa Bo Luang maʔ, Lawa Umphai maʔ, Mae Sariang maʔ name, Riang-Lang
_mus (to) name, Praok ma to be called (& Palaung mur mouth),) Semai məʔ
name; ~ Sre təmah to name; ~ Thin saŋma, Jehai kəmə, Semnam kəmə, Semaq Beri jaŋma name.
*ˌh, *ˌs by effect of initial? Perhaps ~ *huʔ > Middle Mon yo' /yuʔ/?, Modern Mon
yəʔ particle of address; cf. for this analysis Kensiu cəʔ name (& Kammu-Yuan cù,)
Praok cv kaa, apparently ← Tai (Shan sū); cf. BENEDICT 1975 343, & note Dioi,
Sek *jə).
(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 443; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 9.)
Sora ʔəŋmaʔ, Kharia jimi, jimi, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 510b; Proto-Munda *jimu,
*jimə).

148 *[s]maʔ rotten.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon [nh] hmaʔ to be rotten, Khasi sma to have a bad smell.
Or *cm-; or *t₂m-, Mon h- by phrasal sandhi?

149 *smə[ ]ʔ; *sməʔ equal, alike.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer sməʔ equal, Kuy mhəʔ, sma: to be
smooth, even, level; ~ (*smə[ ]ʔ >) Chrau səma: same, Stieng səmu: equal,
similar, Bahnar homə equal, similar, level (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin s(ə)mə to
be like; just like; ~ Thai səmə; Cham səmu.
B: (Mon) Old Mon sməh /sməh/ to be equal, alike, Modern Mon hmuh [cənt] to agree.

(*sməʔ see 264 *m[h][uəʔ] evening, night.)
150 *y[ee]? we.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Palaung ye I and they elsewhere, 
   Praok yi we, Mintil yeʔ, Semaq Beri ye:h we (plural inclusive); ~ Bahnar ni: we 
   (dual exclusive).
Cf. 1 *zioni &c.; perhaps by contraction *ziʔiʔ-ziʔ we persons.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1.)
Juang [niŋ]-je we (PINNOW 1959 39; ?).

††151 *ya? (*yaʔ-yaʔ >) *yaay grandmother.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Bahnar yaʔ 
   grandmother, ancestress, Jeh, Halang yaʔ, Kammu-Yuan yàʔ, Palaung ya 
   grandmother, Riang-Lang _yaʔ wife, grandmother, Praok yeʔ, Lawa yuuaʔ, Semang 
   yàʔ grandmother (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 87); ~ (*yaʔ; perhaps by 
   contraction *njaʔ-yaʔ the grandmother’s man, cf. Old Mon ’ja /pjaʔ/ he) Mon cɛʔ 
   great-grandfather, Old Khmer ji ancestor, Modern Khmer ji: ancestor, respectful 
   term of address (→ Stieng dialect ji: grandmother?), Biat cɛː grandfather, Kammu-
   Yuan cuu [taʔ] cuu [teʔ] ancestors; ~ (*kuən yaʔ > *knyaʔ, sandhi-form *njaʔ > : i) 
   Riang-Lang _kannaʔ woman, female; (ii) Khmer nii: female [animal], (?) 
   Semnam nəʔ mother.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon yai mother, Khmer yîːə term of address to old 
   woman, Stieng ia:i grandmother, ancestor.
Cf. A171 *yaw grandparent.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 186, 187; SHORTO 1972 234; SMITH 1972 310; SKEAT 
   & BLAGDEN 1906 M 193.)
Kharia aʔa’ja grandmother, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 297).
(Proto-Austronesian *ia(q)ia(q) >) Atayal yaya’ mother. Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 
   51; & see BENEDICT 1975 339, mother.

(*yaʔ see also 1873 *iʔaas to shine; 2048 *yah …waste, residue.)

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok yeʔ; ~ Praok neʔ, Lawa nuaʔ (& Danaw ’nɔ), 
   Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese nhà.
   Problematic. (i) Praok yeʔ perhaps ← Lahu yeʔ; then *nʔ- (ii) Mường, Vietnamese tone 
   as in e.g. 61 *nɔʔ? but if nua rain is connected 127 *miʔ &c., Viet-Mường 
   perhaps rather ad 37 *sŋiʔ &c.
   (SHAFER 1965 153.)

153 *yuʔ umbrella.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer [təŋ &c.] -yǔ; Kuy by sandhi [thùŋ] nù,
   Stieng [doŋ] iu; Biat [dɔŋ] yu.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

154 *[ ]yu? to fear.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) West Bahnar yu; Jeh ʔyu? to fear, be afraid (of) (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung ʔ to be afraid, to take alarm, Praok yaw to be bewildered;
~ Biat nhu:, Chrau panyuu:, West Bahnar payu: (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh mənu?, Halang məʔyu? to frighten; ~ Bahnar təʔyu? to frighten; ~ Sre rayu to be afraid (DOURNES 1950).
Note also Nancowry yē?.
(SMITH 1972 323.)

(*gyi(i)? see 1461 *[kj][əʔ] poison, venomous.)

155 *dya? thatching-grass, thatch.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng dia:, Sre ja thatching-grass, Chrau ya:, Biat ja:, Bahnar gia: thatch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 dia: &c.).

156 *brya? kind of varan.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng riah (!) kind of large bird-eating lizard, Sre bəya (→ Röglai), Biat rya: kind of varan, Chrau rəya: spotted varan, East Bahnar b'ya: aquatic kind of varan (?) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Nancowry huyé big lizard.
For Stieng -h cf. 39 *cii?.
Perhaps ~ Proto-Austronesian *buqaia(S) crocodile (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, *b/uh/aja; cf. DYEN 1953 § 50; Malay buaya, Cham piya:, &c.), contaminated by Cham marawa:, Jarai m'rua:, North Röglai marua varan.

157 *ryuə? loose.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Sre rəyu (→ Röglai); ~ (*rnyuə? >) Mon kənəʔ laño’ to be loose, to loosen.
Connect Chrau rəya:, Biat rya: relaxed.

158 *[s]yəəʔ; by metathesis *[s]?əəy to see.
A: (Palaungic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Palaung yu, Praok yaw, Lawa yo? to see (Mae Sariang also yu?); ~ Biat nhat to show, (?) Chrau panyha: to boast, show off, (?) Nancowry hayūnasi to imagine, hinyūnasi picture, image.
B: (Khmuc, Khasi) Khasi johji to see (by secondary derivation pyn-i to show); ~ Kammu-Yuan saŋáy to look (at).
Note further (*səy? >?) Chrau səy, Vietnamese thây to see. Connect 45 *[c][ua]?? Kharia jo(?), &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 295).

159 *syooʔ paddle, ladle.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon (*səoʔ,) by secondary derivation ~ kəsaʔo paddle; ~ (*səyooʔ >) obsolete Mon sayu paddle, Sre sayo spoon.
Connection dubious Praok khaʔ saw paddle.
160 *ro?; *roo, (*roo ras >?) *sras dry.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Sre ro, Chrau ro: dry, Khasi rawraw very [dry]; ~ Bunor, Bahnar krə; (or b) Praok kro, Muong xo dry (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 207); ~ Biat ndro: dry, dried up.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer sra sa:s drained, dry; ~ Biat krə dry, dried up, Nancowry hiəh, hiəs dry.
Connected variously Vietnamese ra:; Kammu-Yuan rəs; Bahnar hra? [waters] to go down, dry up; but probably not Palaung roh to dry [tea leaves] over fire, Thin prəh to dry over fire, Bru rüh to dry by fire. Cf. 1970 *ckəh, 2086 *s[ə]h &c.
(Blood 1966 191.)

161 *ro?(ro?); *roo to make an inarticulate noise.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Mon karə to cry, weep, shriek, make plaintive noise (< *ro? ro?), (A/B) Khmer ro:k to low, bellow, roar, groan, Bru tərh to cry out, Stieng rou to cry, shriek, low, roar, Palaung ro [re] to purr, Riang-Lang rə? (!) to hum, grunt, make a noise, Vietnamese rə to be noisy, (B?) Temiar ro: to say; ~ (A?) Bahnar krə croak (!) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Rongao kro: to cry (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ (A/B) Stieng ndro to coo, croak, sing, (B) Praok graw to roar, (or A?) Semai ɲəə: to say. Onomatopoeic; so 177 *droo? low roar; 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 N 91 (a), (b).)

161a *roo to shake.
A: (Nicobaric, Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Nancowry yow to shake; ~ (*rnroo? >) Mon karə to shake (out; v.t.), Bahnar adro, Gölär Bahnar tədəro to squirm, shake (v.i.); ~ Riang-Lang kru to shake (v.i.t.).

(*ru(u)?, *rua? see 2051 *ru to fall, be shed.)

162 *kra? road, way.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Praok kra, Lawa Bo Luang khra?, Lawa Umphai kra?, Mae Sariang khya?, Muong kha (Barker 1966 15), Vietnamese sá; (by metathesis < *knra??) Kuy (k)ná, Bru rana:.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese kaiyi:, probably ~ kai- to come.
(Shafter 1965 143.)
Mundari hora, &c. (Pinnow 1959 217.)

163 *kra? kind of jar.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi khra earthen water-vessel; ~ Mon [hari] akra? large storage-jar.
164 *kraʔ; *[k]raʔ h old, aged.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre kra: (!), Bahnar, Halang kraʔ old, Khasi [nong]-ra
(compounding form!) worn-out utensil; ~ Stieng kəmra: old, bald, decrepit, Chrau
təmra: grey hair, Biat mbra: white [hair], (~, or *knraʔ ? by assimilation > ?)
Bahnar kədraʔ old person, master, Jeh draʔ old.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi; ~ *[k]nraʔ h > ?) Riang-Lang ˈtra white hair (& by secondary
derivation ˈkənrə to be white?), (~ ?) Khasi kynrad master.

Cf. 1787 *raal.
(SMITH 1972 308.)

164a *kroʔ large.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon -kro’ /kruʔ/, Modern Mon kraʔ to be corpulent, robust,
Khasi khrâu large.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese kəruː, kəduː, Nancowry karúʔ, apparently <
*kəf-.

165 *kruuʔ to rinse, wash.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon krow /kruw/ to wash, Modern Mon krao to rinse out,
wash, to wash oneself, Palaung kru to rinse one’s mouth (MILNE 1931).
Hardly connected 1841 *r[aawh to wash. But cf. Tibeto-Burman *kruw = *kraw,
BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 117.

166 *greʔ (& *greeʔ?) litter.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Khamer) Khmer krɛː bed, (— snaɛɲ) litter (< *-eeʔ if not ← South
Bahnaric), Chrau greː litter, howdah, Biat greː bed, (— rnuːɲ) litter, Bahnar greː
litter.

167 *criʔ: *criiʔ abandoned dry cultivation.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Kuy sai dry field, Bru thray (implies probably
*sər-), (or : Khasi?) Chrau reː old swidden; ~ (*cnriʔ > ) Stieng [mir] ndrei field
cultivated for three years; ~ (*crriʔ > ) Khasi syllai recently abandoned cultivation.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *cnriʔ > ?) Riang-Lang ˈtriʔ fallow.
Distinguish 185 *sreʔ field.

168 *criʔ: *criiʔ malevolent, unlucky.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ *cnriʔ > ) Bahnar hədrei an evil spirit, Khasi thynrei
spirit which aggravates disease.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*cnriʔ > ) Mon karoa class of malevolent earth
spirits (→ Burmese sarai, → Mon horai class of malevolent earth spirit), Khmer
cnray ill-omened, unlucky; bad luck (→ Thai canray low, mean, accursed, unlucky,
→ Kuy caŋ rai malevolent, bad, bringing bad luck; Cham cnpray undeurable
[child]), Sre səray cannibal (Dournes 1950); ~ (*cmriʔ > ) Biat [ɓak] brai bad
luck.
South Bahnaric diphthongization post-palatal?

169 *criiʔ to glide through the air.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon cray, sray to glide, sail, move, Khmer cray whizzing through (GUESDON 1930), (criə- —) flying high into the distance.

170 *jriiʔ Ficus.

Mường, Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal, cf. 61 *ɲɔʔ, 62 *ɲuʔ, 172 *jruuʔ, 196a *j-luʔ; but also ad 184 *krawʔ, 1856 *ləwʔ.

Sora onjə-'neb-an may be connected if a compounding form (SCHMIDT 1905 68; glossed banana!)

171 *jraʔ to decay.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon səʔ jra to wither, Riang-Lang _caraʔ [wood] to rot.

172 *jruuʔ; *jruh by metathesis *rjuh deep.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer crùʔ, Kuy ntrùː; Bru ntrùː; Sre jurou, Chrau, Biat jruː, Bahnar jruʔ, Thin cru, Riang-Lang _cariʔ, Praok raa, Lawa Bo Luang ?dauʔ, Mường khu (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese səu, Central Sakai jèro̊̃ deep (& probably Temiar jəro long, far), Central Nicobarese ciyau deep, Nancowry ciyáw; → Javanese jèro deep, inside; ~ (*jrruuʔ >) Khasi jylliew deep (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

On Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 170 *jriiʔ.

Javanese semantics modelled on the partly displaced term dalèm inside, < Proto-Austronesian *dalam (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, *dalam) inside, deep. (SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 31; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66.)
Sora ja`ruː-, jaruː- (cf. PINNOW 1959 396a).

173 *treʔ kind of thorny succulent plant.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

174 *t₁roʔ to hit, come in contact with, meet (requirement).
   A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer trov to hit, to coincide with, to be correct, Bahnar troʔ to hit (mark), to coincide; opportune, Kammu-Yuan trőʔ suitable, appropriate, Riang-Lang trōʔ to be fit, fitting, to agree, Lawa Bo Luang khrőʔ, Lawa Umphai krőʔ, Mae Sariang khyoʔ to be sufficient, Sakai têrou to hit (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 105), Central Nicobarese tajio- [tai] to hit (target).
   (SMITH 1972 327.)

175 *t₁ru[uʔ] Schima wallichii tree.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan trůʔ kind of large tree with irritant bark, Riang-Lang trũʔ Schima wallichii.

176 *druʔ fiddle.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer dru, Kuy thrūa, Biat dru; → Mon krò, → Burmese tairo, → Palaung táo; ~ (*dmruʔ >) Bahnar bróː stringed instrument (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

177 *drooʔ low roar.

178 *druʔ kind of fish-trap.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer trūː long fish-trap tapering at both ends, Kuy thrūː, Chrau, Biat druː kind of fish-trap.

179 *praʔ loft, platform, rack.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Mon praʔ /praʔ/, Modern Mon praʔ tower, turret (→ Burmese pra), Khmer [praŋ] praː tower, Sre pra [dam] catwalk in roof of granary, Bahnar praː platform at front of house; ~ (*pnaʔ >) Bahnar pądra scaffolding, platform, rack (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh madra trellis; (by back-formation?) Biat draː loft, rack, Chrau ndraː, Bahnar & dialects adraː, hadraː, Halang hadraː drying-rack.
   (SMITH 1972 545.)

(*praʔ see also 2059 *prah to make offerings.)
180 *briiʔ sky, rain.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, South Aslian) Old Mon brey /broy/, Modern Mon prò rain, Bru briʔ to drizzle, Kammu-Yuan [màt]-priʔ sun, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai [naum &c.] mbreʔ, Mae Sariang [nam] mbyeʔ thunder, Praok pray, Muong (Barker 1966 22), Vietnamese tròt (¡) sky, weather, Sakai bri day (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 43 (a)).
Viet-Muong initial & vocalism obscure.
Proto-Austronesian *quaɣi or *uqaɣi sun, day (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 43 (a)). See Benedict 1975 266.

181 *briiʔ forest.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Khmer vraɪ, Modern Khmer prèy, Sre bri forest, scrub, Biat bri: forest, region, Chrau vri:, Stieng, Bahnar bri:, Kammu-Yuan priʔ forest, Palaung bri forest, uncultivated land, Riang-Lang _priʔ forest, country, region, Praok pray country, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai phreʔ, Mae Sariang phyiʔ wild [animal], Khasi bri grove, plantation, forest (& ri country, region), Jah Hut boriʔ, Semelai borih forest; → Thai prray; probably = Bahnar bri: (Guilleminet 1959-63), Praok [plak] pray, Lawa Umphai [ka] phreʔ outside.
Cf. following; & semantically 394 *ru(u)k.
(Schmidt 1905 68; Shaffer 1965 35; Blood 1966 208; Smith 1972 517; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 234.)
Santali bir, &c. (Pinnow 1959 321).

182 *bruuʔ hill.
A: (Katuic) Kuy bru:
Connect Riang-Lang _pruy; & perhaps B17 *r[u]ʔ village. Cf. also preceding.
Sora ba’ru-n, ba’ru-n, in compounds bur- hill, forest, Kharia ‘biru hill, &c. (Pinnow 1959 278).

183 *mraʔ person.
A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Mrabri mra (JSS 51/2); ~ (*kan mraʔ by contraction > ) Kammu-Yuan kamraʔ, Thin kõmbra, kõmbra wife (& by back-formation Thin bra, pra wife); ~ Jehai manraʔ person.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 25.)
Sora in compounds ‘mar-ən man, male, person, ~ ‘man(d)raː-n man, male, person.

184 *mraʔ dah, matchet.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon mra, Modern Mon parèʔ dah, matchet, Chrau vra: kind of bush-knife with short handle; probably → Thai pʰráa, &c (*braa.2, Egerod 81), → Khmer [kambvɛt] priá.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

185 *sreʔ field.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer sraε, Kuy se, Stieng sarei, Sre sre, Biat chre: irrigated rice field, Kammu-Yuan rεʔ dry field, Danaw (h)rε hill cultivation.
Distinguish 167 *cri(i)ʔ abandoned dry cultivation.
(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

186 *[s]mr(e)ʔ straw.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre rahe, Biat rhec, Praok bre [ŋo].
Or *mrh-? Conceivably connected by metathesis.

186a *sraʔ to have a lesion.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon saʔ s(r)a to have a sore, be injured, Biat chraʔ to sting, smart; ~ Old Mon sindraʔ/sanraʔ/ to incise, score, Modern Mon haraʔ to break the surface of.

187 *sruʔ paddy.
A: (Mon, Kuy, Kuy) Old Mon sroʔ/srɛʔ, Modern Mon soʔ, Khmer sroʋ, Kuy sa:. Connection dubious Sakai charoi, chendroi husked rice (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 112), or Mường lọ (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese lúa paddy; Nicobarese aroːʃ rice is (ultimately) ← Portuguese arroz.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Sora 'saroːn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 370).

188 *liʔ to take.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Palaung le, Riang-Lang _leʔ, Mường lế (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese lây (!), Nancowry lếʔ to catch something thrown?
Connect perhaps Thin tändeʔ, if deʔ, teʔ to take (& Kammu-Yuan têʔ) arise by back-formation Cf. also Khmer liʔ to carry on shoulder.

189 *laʔ liiʔ; *luuʔ liiʔ careless, slovenly.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung la li to be untidy, careless in, Khasi lali slovenly, sluttish, dirty.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lūli: ineffective, careless (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Connect perhaps Lawa Bo Luang klaiʔ, Lawa Umphai kleʔ at leisure; & cf. further Vietnamese trđy to be lazy, negligent; Khmer Imūy asleep (TANDART 1935), (khcùl —) lazy; 1861 *rliw lazy; 1941 *las lazy, idle.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *lalai: Gayo lale, Acehnese lali absorbed, abstracted, heedless, Karo Batak lal to overlook, Malay lalai dreamy, inattentive, careless, dawdling (→ Central Sakai lalai negligent), Iban lale /laleq/ absent-minded, forgetful, rapt, fascinated, (or ii) Javanese lali to forget (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Javanese → Malay lali insensitive, → Acehnese lalə absorbed, preoccupied, Karo Batak lali-lali simple-minded, to pretend to be stupid, or constructed (ii, Proto-West-Indonesian) *lali(S). (Cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 91, *lali*)

190 *le? to leave, depart.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Bahnar le? to leave, to give way; ~ Middle Mon kle' to depart from, to deposit, Modern Mon kle? also to be lost, Thin kli to be different, Central Nicobarese kole:-[haŋ] to kick aside; ~ Sre role [sun] to be declining, (~?) Bahnar tale? to separate (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi khylle to pry up; ~ Bahnar pole? to separate (v.t), to divorce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Rōglai ple? to make way, step back, step aside.
Connect 2062 *leh ...to go out? Cf. also 1514 *ləay &c. to leave (alone, off).

191 *la?, *la?-s; lah, (*lah-s >) *laas; by metathesis *saal to spread, extend.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Khmer liə to unfold, spread, open out, Bahnar lā (laŋ —) opened out, exposed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (kacaŋ —) flat; ~ (*la?-s by metathesis > *laas >) Khmer dah ǰās to spread out all over, to cover [drum]; ~ Palaung pla to spread out (MILNE 1931) (= 214 *pla? to show...?), Vietnamese trá to gild; ~ (*p]nlə? >) Sre da to unfold, spread, Nancowry hilūa what can be spread, e.g. mat, bedding.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Old Mon laḥ /lah/ to extend, Modern Mon [hloa] lēh to be extensive; (*laas >) Old Mon lās /las/ to lay out, spread, to inlay, Modern Mon lēh to lay out, spread, to floor, Khmer lǐːh lās [horns &c.] branching wide; ~ (*laas laas &c. >?) Middle Mon ralakh /alah/ to stretch [hand] out, Literary Mon lal̩ah also to spread, Bahnar lalah to overspread, invade (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*plaas >) Mon plah to extend, spread, Riang-Lang "plas to spread out, Vietnamese trāi to spread.
C: (Mon, Kuy) Old Mon sāl /sal/, Modern Mon sa, Kuy sāl to spread (mat &c. ).
Hence 1944 *la[i]s fathom? Add perhaps Stieng plai to spread out (< *plaï? cf. lai ad *la[i]s); & cf. 421 *la(i)k &c. to unfold...; 1078 *laat to be spread out flat.

192 *la? male ancestor.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon lə’ /la’/, Modern Mon lə? grandfather, Khmer [ci:]-liːə ancestor of fourth generation.

(*la? see also 189 *la? lii? careless, slovenly.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

193 *ləʔ good.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) Khmer ləʔ: good, pretty (with metathesis as in 191 *laʔ-s, 1137 *ciinʔ; → Kuy ʔə: good, Bru ʔə), Kammu-Yuan láʔ good, fine; ~ (*ləʔ >) Kuy pa: good (JOHNSTON 1969).
Note: perhaps *lə-, direction of metathesis not clear.

194 *lə[aʔ] on top of, on.

195 *ləʔ; *ləʔ; *ləs kind of jar or pot.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kroː: jar.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer lùː lû(v) pipe, tub made from tree-trunk, (TANDART 1935) large jar, Danaw ʔlo pot; ~ Riang-Lang ʔklo pot, Palaung klo cooking-pot.
C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon, Viet-Mường) Sre [təŋ] los squat bulbous jar with five handles; ~ Old Mon klas /kləːs/ water-vessel in ritual use, Modern Mon [nəŋ] kəːh vase (?; but sense probably by attraction, rather than ←, Sanskrit kalaʃa-/Pali kalasa- water-pot); ~ Kammu-Yuan təɾləh cooking-pot (?) ~ Vietnamese chô earthenware steamer.
Cf. Vietnamese lu water-jar; 2075 *glah cooking-pot.

196 *looʔ unstable.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon ʔu: to be unstable, Praok ʔu: (—le) to be unstable, (— la rəm) to be excited.
Cf. Vietnamese lao-dəo to be unstable, unsteady, ləo-dəo to stagger, totter, reel.

196a *luʔ to howl.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer luː, Kuy (!) luː, Bru luː; ~ (*[c]kuːl lu: by contraction > ?) Bahnar kəːl to bay at the moon (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khasi jle:w (& jla:w), Vietnamese tru to howl; ~ Biat mblu: to howl.
Onomatopoeic. With Khasi vocalism cf. 50 *juʔ, with Vietnamese tone 170 *jriiʔ; both probably post-palatal.

(*luʔ see also 2071 *luh to appear (through); *luuʔ see 189 *luʔ liiʔ careless, slovenly.)
197 *klaʔ tiger.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon kla(’)/klaʔ/, Modern Mon klaʔ, Khmer khlaː, Stieng kləh (!), Bahnar kləː, Khasi khaː tiger, Central Sakai kla black and white tiger → Gayo kulö.
For Stieng -h cf. 39 *ciʔ. Sre kləːw is perhaps by contraction < *klaʔ yaw, cf. Biat yau (originally grandfather, < A171 *yaw?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 62; SMITH 1972 546; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 135.)
Sora 'kinaː-n, Kharia kiʔpəʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 281).

198 *kloʔ all.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon kloʔ/kloʔ/, Riang-Lang 'kloʔ; ~ Semang nalo’ (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 61).

199 *kl[o]ʔ shellfish, snail.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy kləː shellfish, snail, Bru kləː shellfish, snail, Stieng kləu kind of shellfish, Biat kləː shellfish, Chrau khəː shellfish, Bahnar kləː [kadeʔ &c.] shellfish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan kləʔ snail, Central Sakai kalə snail-shell; ~ Old Mon kinloʔ/kənluʔ? shellfish, Modern Mon konaoʔ also shellfish, Central Nicobarese kendu clam; ~ Lawa Bo Luang lak'laʔ, Lawa Umphai lak'laʔ kind of shellfish.
→ Karen *kholo snail (BENEDICT 1972 132 n. 356); perhaps Burmese kharu snail;
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 151.)
Sora 'gonloː-n &c. snail by metathesis.

200 *kluuʔ (kind of) tortoise.
A: (Mon) Mon klao large species of tortoise.
Connect Stieng bləːu tortoise shell.
Sora 'ku(s)luː-n, Kharia 'kuɺu tortoise, &c. (PINNOW 1959 368).
Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kuya(S): Malay kura-kura, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 83, *ku[li]a; add Sundanese kuyaʔ; Javanese loan word), on account of which Pinnow suggests Proto-Munda *kurə or the like.

201 *gliʔ; *gliiʔ kind of bamboo.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng [təm] glei small kind of bamboo, Sre gle, Chrau gle: bamboo, Biat gle: kind of bamboo; (~?) → Rōglai ale bamboo, North Rōglai ale small kind of bamboo, → Bahnar dialects (a)le solid kind of bamboo (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru ?alay thornless bamboo; ~ Bahnar pale: thornless bamboo.
B: (Khmer) Khmer khlèy large smooth kind of bamboo.
Cf. Khasi sylli, 'lang-tylli (contaminated by tylli solid, ad 209 *dliʔ) small kind of bamboo. Connection obscure Vietnamese tre bamboo.
(BLOOD 1966 172; SMITH 1972 533.)

202 *Gliʔ; *Gliaʔ; *Gliah short.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer khlɪy, Jeh, Halang ʔleʔ.
B: (Mon) Mon klèʔ.
C: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat gleh; (~ (*Gliah >) Bahnar kafɛh short, low, to shorten (contaminated by 2012 *[s][d][i][h] low…; → Chrau deh short?), by back-formation (?) Sre liah short.
Connection dubious Semelai &c. jalɛʔ, Mah Meri jalɛt (South Aslian; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 151).
(SCHMIDT 1905 62; BLOOD 1966 247.)

203 *claʔ afraid, to fear.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer chlaː to run back and forth in fright; (~ (*cmlaʔ >) Mon [phɔik] pəlaʔ kamla &c. to fear.

203a *[c][l][ɔ]ʔ bark.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang hlɔʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hlɔʔ; ~ Kammu-Yuan sanlɔʔ dry bark.

204 *[c]nlu[u]ʔ edible grub.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat nhu, Bahnar kanu.

1205 *jlaʔ thorn.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy thliːa;
~ Old Mon jirla /jərlaʔ/, Modern Mon haltʔ, Bahnar jalaː; Kammu-Yuan carləʔ, Semai jorləʔ (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ (*jplaʔ > *phlaː ~) Khmer bonləː.
Cf. 207 *tʃ/ɾ/ləʔ thorny bamboo…
(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 549; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 94.)
Kharia jʊraʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 51).

1205a *tʃ/ɾ/liʔ rope, cord.
A: (Khasi) Khasi tyyliː.
Bahnar taley is ← Indonesian, below.
206 *tli[ ṭ] to throw.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kli, Bahnar dialects tre? (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Connect 227 *sli(ə) to throw spear?

207 *t,la? kind of bamboo.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Thin t(ə)la female bamboo; ~ (*t,rla? >) Stieng [təm] kraːla:, Sre karła thorny bamboo, Chrau kala: medium-sized kind of bamboo, Biat rla;, Sedang kalā kind of bamboo, Khasi tyra small kind of bamboo, Bengali nol-bas.

Thorny bamboo contaminated by 205 *jla? thorn?
(Smith 1972 557.)

208 *tla? master, owner.
(Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon tirla? /tərla?/, Modern Mon kala? lord, master, owner; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar taʔglə: master.

(*tla? see also 2077 *tlah clear; *t,la? see also 231 *sla? fire… .)

209 *dliʔ firm, immovable.

Connect Nancowry léy (< *dliʔ?) to become solid.

210 *d[n]liʔ large river, sea.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Khmer tünlè: (large) river, Kuy thlè: sea (or *dl-?; → Cham dale), Stieng [dà:k] nliː, Chrau [daʔ] nle: (large) river, (?) Central Nicobarese kamalə: sea, Nancowry kamalè?.

Cf. further Biat rlay river. Connect Burmese pañlay sea?
(Shafer 1965 500.)

211 *d,la? to rob, steal.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ràʔ to snatch from someone (~ təŋràʔ id. by levelling), Riang-Lang _raʔ to steal (& by secondary derivation _panrə? thief, robber); ~ Mon haləʔ d(h)amla bandit, dacoit (~ Burmese /damya’/); ~ Mon holēʔ damla to rob, Praok bre to steal, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai mbra?, Mae Sariang mbyaʔ to steal, rob.

Connection uncertain Nicobaric kamalə: thief, Nancowry kamaləʔ, ~ kaləʔ to steal; & dubious Santali kombro theft; to steal, pilfer, &c., Pinnow 1959 242.

212 *prleʔ ear of paddy.
A: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin prle [ŋɛ], Vietnamese [lúa] gié.
Hardly connected 1524 *playʔ fruit, > Vietnamese trài.
213 *ple[e]? to rotate.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) (→ *ple[e]? > ?) Palaung ple [kənleŋ] spindle (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang plē? wheel; (→ *ple[e]? > ) Kontum Bahnar pāni: to reel (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), wind round, bandage, Central Nicobarese pomle-[ŋare] to rotate, Nancowry punlé to roll, turn over & over; (→ *ple[e]? > ) Biat rle: to turn [one’s body] round.

214 *pla? to show, feign.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon pla? to show, display (→ Burmese pra), Sre pla image, simile, Khasi phla to confess, admit, Vietnamese trà to be false, deceitful; (→ *pla? > ) Mon pə naʔ pretence.

215 *plaaʔ blade, edge.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy plaa: cutting edge, Biat plaa: blade [of knife], Bahnar plaa: (edge of) blade, spearhead, Jeh plaa: arrow, Halang plaa: arrow, bullet, Palaung plaa blade, Riang-Lang plaa hoe; ~ Thin hōnla &c. spade.

216 *bnl[iiʔ] kind of ginger.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon hānā Zinziber barbatum Wallich, Old Khmer vanli, Modern Khmer pīanlèy Zinziber cassumunar (cf. BEFEO 55:210), Bru plāy Zinziber cassumunar; (→ Malay bonglai).

Proto-Austronesian *laqiɔ or *laqiə生姜: Cham liya, &c. (?; cf. DYEN 1975; DEMPWOLFF 1938 96, *lija; Malay halia < *qal(ə)lia (?) by metathesis). Then Proto-Mon-Khmer *bn-l[iiʔ]; if Proto-Austronesian *-ia, Proto-Mon-Khmer *-iiʔ; if *-oia, *-ay. See BENEDICT 1975 359, pungent.

217 *bleʔ tasteless, insipid.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin bleh, Riang-Lang pleʔ.

218 *blaʔ shoulder.


219 *blaʔ scar.
A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung bla to be scarred, Semang bāla’ scar (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 37).
Connect Bahnar kala: scar.

220 *bloʔ to patch, mend.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Mon plòʔ, Pangan [ya-]b’lā (i.e. Bateq Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 89); ~ (*bmlɔʔ >) Praok blaw.

221 *bluʔ latex-yielding plant.

222 *brlu[ ] to mix together.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau valu: [valum] mixed up, Sre bərlu, Bahnar balu?, (?) Jeh blùʔ to mix together (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Connect Praok klaw to mix, (~ klāy) be mixed (implying *-uʔ). For Bahnar baluk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see 423 *luk.

223 *bluuʔ thigh.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer phlū, Chrau vlu; Biat [tu:m] blu; Stieng, Bahnar blu; Jeh, Halang blū; Kammu-Yuan plūʔ, Palaung blu, Temiar bul? (BENJAMIN 1976b 138), Central Nicobarese pulč; Nancowry pulōʔ, Kuy lū: thigh, lap (by back-formation?); → Thai pʰlaw; ~ (*bnluuʔ >) Sre manu, Bru nlu.
(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 37; BLOOD 1966 228; SMITH 1972 429; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 60.)

224 *mleʔ (& *mle[ ]s?) to hate.

225 *[m]laʔ tusk, ivory.
A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Biat la: ivory from male elephant, Sre bla, Chrau vlā;
Bahnar bala: [roiih], Semang bālā’ tusk, ivory (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 126 (a)); probably → Cham pila:, Jarai bla:, Röglai bla, North Röglai bala, Rade mla:
*m- in view of Bahnar, Rade. Cf. 450 *bluk &c.
(BLOOD 1966 303.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

226 *rluu?; *rlu[u]h to rest.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Sre rəlou, Chrau luu; Biat rlu; Palaung rəlu,
Praok ləa; ~ Bru nlù to rest, Kammu-Yuan hərləu?, Lawa Bo Luang ʔaʔdəu?,
Lawa Umphai rəlo?, Mae Sariang yaʔlo? to stop, cease.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng rəluh to rest.
Connect A7 *[ r[uu?] to be at leisure?
(BLOOD 1966 238.)
Sora lulu-, lul'lu-, (by metathesis?) Kharia le'ru?, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 491).

227 *slia?; *sliaʔ to throw spear.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer sralvəy wooden spear (TANDART 1935).
B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon sale' [hlow pan] to throw at; ~ (*smliə? > ) Literary Mon
[le'] sane' [həhəw] javelin.
Cf. Kuy liəh to throw; 206 *tlif ]ʔ to throw.
Sora le:le:-, li'li- &c. to toss, pitch, fling (?)

228 *smliə? dressed cotton.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sməlvi, Biat mlii; → Kuy sam li: by interdialectal
borrowing.
~ preceding if this meant originally also to shoot, cf. e.g. Mon [təo kəʊən dressed
[cotton] ~ ən ( < 905 *pən?) to shoot.

229 *srliə? internal organ.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon hələʔ spleen; ~ Khasi khyləi kidneys.
Cf. 232 *slaʔ spleen; A204 *leh kidneys.

230 *slaʔ leaf.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Old
Mon sla /slaʔ/, Modern Mon hlaʔ leaf; Old Khmer stəə areca palm, Modern Khmer
sla: areca (nut, palm) (~ → Stieng sola:, Biat chlat areca palm; beside sləək leaf: by
interdialectal borrowing, cf. ʔəŋyək ad 33 *ŋəʔ?), Kuy lha:, sla: leaf, Sre ləhə
betel-leaf, Stieng, Chrau, Jeh, Halang ləa, Bahnar hla:, Kammu-Yuan ləʔ, Palaung
hla, Riang-Lang ʔaʔ, Praok la, Lawa hlaʔ, Khasi sla, ʔa, Muong (BARKER 1966
16), Vietnamese lə, Kensiu haliʔ, Temiar səlaʔ?, Semaq Beri salah leaf; → Cham
(ha)la:, Jarai hla:, Röglai hala(´), North Röglai hlaʔ leaf; ~ (*slaʔ > ) Sre nha
leaf, betel- leaf, Biat nha: leaf, Bahnar hana: leaf of agave used for making mats
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Riang-Lang ʔələʔ leaf.
Leaf > betel-leaf > areca; so fruit > areca. in various Southeast Asian languages; for
betel (- leaf) > areca cf. 1860 *ml[u]əw.
(SCHMIDT 1905; SHAFER 1965 228; SMITH 1972 539; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 32.)
Sora 'olə:-n, Kharia u'la, &c. (PINNOW 1959 50).
231 *slaʔ; (*slaʔ slaʔ > ?) *slaas fire, to burn.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (*slaʔ >) Mon hanaʔ flame, wick; (?) by secondary derivation
~ Sre (→ Röglai) banha hearth; (~ *slaʔ >) Stieng pla: [uːŋ], Biat pla: [uŋ],
Bahnar pla: flame.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok la to burn (v.i.), Vietnamese lua fire; (~ *slaas >,
or *slaas slaas > *hlar hlar >) Palaung rolar conflagration; to burn (v.i.t), to set
on fire; (~ (? , *slaas >) Praok gla hearth.
Kammu-Yuan parlua, Thin p(h)rua fire are perhaps ← Vietnamese with secondary
prefix. Sre, & Praok gla, may rather be connected Kammu-Yuan tompraʔ hearth;
then implying a root *t,laʔ.
(Shafer 1965 499.)

232 *slaʔ spleen.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon hlaʔ [krək] (literally mango-leaf, whence by
calque Burmese sarak-rwak; perhaps by popular etymology for *hlaʔ krət, cf.
krət intestine < 844 *k-ruuc), Sre [play] la, Vietnamese ld-[lách]; (~ (*slaʔ
>) Bahnar bla: kidneys.
Cf. 229 *srlüʔ. Connect Tibeto-Burman *la kidneys, spleen, MatisoFF 223.

233 *wi[i]ʔ left-hand.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan wèʔ, Palaung [i]-ve
(Milne 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai wèʔ, Mae Sariang wiʔ, Kintaq Bong
wiʔ; ~ Old Mon jwi /jwiʔ/; (~ [*jpw[i]ʔ >; !) Kuy peʔ; ~ [*nw[i]ʔ >) Praok
gwe.
Kuy final unexplained. Cf. 1795 *wiil. Connection obscure Khmer chvenə; suffixed
form, or perhaps by metathesis *Jnw[i]ʔ, ~ Praok; note Proto-Miao *kweŋ ~
*kh[w]iŋ, Proto-Li *viŋ, Benedict 1975 327. Cf. further Acehnese (ja-)wia,
Cham iw, Jarai iaʔəʔ, eəʔəʔ, Rögglai yaw, North Rögglai iau (Proto-Austronesian
*usIau(?)); → Jeh iw, Halang iaw.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 I 48 (b).)

234 *wiʔ; *wiiʔ to turn.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kəvɨ: to shake [head], to wave, brandish.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Sre wi [wa] swaying e.g.
of buffalo’s head, Chrau wi: [wəi], (by affective deformation?) Central Nicobarese
wiː-[cakar] dizzy, Nancowry wi to go round & round, wander (or A?); ~ Kuy
(kh)wiː: to shake [head], to wave, brandish; ~ Khasi [sam]tawi to be dizzy; ~
Khmer ravəy to crank, to spin, Kuy rwɨi: to shake, Chrau rəwiː: [rəwət] dizzy; ~
Mon kəwəoa to turn round, twist, screw in (or, less probably, ad 1529 *wəy), (~?)
Sre pərwi to mix together.
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

235 *wee?; weh crooked, to twist.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar we? crooked, hooked (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Röglai we crooked; ~ Sre kue bent, crooked, Biat kwe: bend, meander, Bahnar kue: lame.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer vèh vèh to slip away, escape (?), Bahnar weh to twist (v.i.), Jeh weh to stop and visit, Halang weh to turn.

Connect 1529 *wa(a)y(-h) to turn? Note apropos of Sre &c. Tibeto-Burman *koy to bend, Benedict 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210.

(Smith 1972 360.)

236 *wa? parent’s sibling.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Sre wa father’s classificatory brother, Biat wa: parent’s elder brother, West Bahnar wā parent’s elder brother (Guilleminet 1959-63), wa: parent’s elder sister, Bru ?awà parent’s younger sister; ~ (*mwa? > *ma? >) Old Khmer (’)mā, Modern Khmer mī:ā parent’s younger brother, Steng mā: mother’s brother, Bahnar ma: parent’s younger brother, Khasi ma uncle (term of address); ~ Palaung hva mother’s younger brother (if correctly glossed; < *[k]wa?); ~ Old Mon kāmwa /kāmwaʔ/ uncle.

Connection dubious Palaung va classificatory younger sibling.

(Blood 1966 337; cf. Smith 1972 553.)

Proto-Austronesian *usua: Acehnese wa parent’s elder sibling, Cham wa: mother’s elder sibling, &c., Javanese (by contraction; beside (u)wak) uwa, wa parent’s elder sibling, parent’s elder sibling’s spouse, Proto-New Guinea-Austronesian *wawa term of address to mother’s brother. (Milke 1965 pp345-6; ~ *waya term of reference): Motu vava, &c. Connection dubious (i) Proto-Austronesian *ama father (Dyen 1953 § 97; DEMPWOLFF 1938 15); (ii) *mama mother’s brother. (Dyen 1953 § 108; DEMPWOLFF 1938 105); (iii) Cham miʔ father’s brother, Röglai miaʔ mother’s brother, North Röglai miāʔ parent’s brothers. Or can *mama be variant of *usua? (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 25.)

237 *klwa? bat.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon kilwa /kalwaʔ/, Modern Mon kawaʔ bat, Khasi kylla[badur] flying fox, Central Nicobarese aloaʔ bat.

Connect perhaps (*kwaʔ kwaʔ > *kwak >?) Khasi khwak (!) vampire bat.

237a *t, waaʔ fern, bracken.

A: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tawáʔ fern, cycad, Palaung kāva (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang _twaʔ bracken.

238 *riʔ; (by arbitrary deformation?) *rwuyʔ fig tree.


B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _rawy sour fig (Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 92.)

Sora rijoi-[neb-an] kinds of fig tree.
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Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *d'abi(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; add Karo Batak jabijabi Ficus retusa); but Malay jawi-jawi, jêjawi fig tree perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer if not ← Tamil cuvi Ficus species (&C.; BURROW & EMENEAU 1961 2222).

239 *[r]wə[a]? swaying, dizzy.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rəv[rəviː] delirious, Sre [wi] wə swaying e.g. of buffalo’s head, Chrau [wi:] wə: dizzy.
Sre, Chrau w- phrasal? But perhaps *w- ~ *[ ]rw-.

240 *lw[e]ʔ kind of bee.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre ləwe kind of bee which swarms, Khasi lwai wild bee, Semang luwē bee (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 137 (a)).

241 *lwaaʔ fig tree.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Katuic) Old Khmer lvā, Modern Khmer lvīː fig tree, Thin lua banyan, Sakai ĭūa fig tree (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 91), Bru lawāh; ~ Riang-Lang ñuŋ _waʔ fig tree.
Cf. 238 *rwiʔ &c.
Sora 'loa-n, Kharia 'lu:a, &c. (PINNOW 1959 47).

242 *swaaʔ monkey.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer svaː, Kammu-Yuan waʔ, Palaung hva, Riang-Lang waʔ, Lawa fuːa? (→ Kuy wuaʔ?); → Thai sawā.
Sre hua grey semnopithecus, Chrau hwa: ape, Bahnar hua: gibbon (&c., see SMITH 1972 548) are apparently ← Indonesian, cf. Cham hawa: macaque, Jarai kra hua gibbon, Röglai hua grey semnopithecus, North Röglai hawa ape, Javanese uwa-uwa large kind of ape, gibbon (Proto-Austronesian *[ ]uqa(Sy)).
(SCHMIDT 1905 48; SHAFER 1965 199.)

243 *siʔ2 fine, comminuted.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat cheː fine, comminuted, Jeh [taʔ] siʔ small, Halang [toʔ] siʔ a little; → Röglai se fine, comminuted; ~ Khmer sme: (!) fine and close together; ~ Sre nse fine, comminuted; ~ (*[s]rsiʔ >) Lawa Bo Luang ?asaiʔ, Lawa Umphai raseʔ powder.

244 *siʔ[ʔ] hand, arm.
A: (Viet-Mường) Mường thay (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese tay.
Originally arbitrary variant of 66 *t,iʔ? For tone cf. 31 *t,jiiʔ.
Sora sʔiː-n, (compounding form) si-n, Pareng si: hand (at PINNOW 1959 K 428c treated as cognate with forms cited under the entry *t,iʔ, but no other example of the alternance is given).
245 *see? Caryota species.

(*sa? see 253 *cha? to flame up.)

246 *ks[i]?; *ksih string, cord, rope, thread.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer khsæ string, cord, Kuy (k)sai, Stieng cei: string, cord, rope, Sre che cord, thread, Chrau che: rope, string, (or Tai →, cf. below?) Thin sâ, saeq, Khasi ksai, 'sai thread, Nancowry hely fibre (*-ii?); ~ Khmer kræsæ lineage, filiation, Biat rche: cord, Jeh kasæy string, Halang kase: rope; ~ (*ks[i]? > ?) Sre jhe quantifier for threads, straws. Connection uncertain Kuy (k)se?: string, Bru kasî?: to string together.
B: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese chi thread.
Bahnaric vocalism post-dental? Khmer suggests secondary diphthongization to *-ay?.
See Benedict 1975 257 (Thai, Nung, Diosi, Kam-Sui; so Thin, Khasi perhaps ← Tai).
(Shafer 1965 250; Blood 1966 180; Smith 1972 538.)

246a *ksa? chestnut.

247 *tsô?: *tsôh lung.
A: (Mon, Palaungic; ~ *tsô? > ?) Mon kaso?, (by dissimilation, or ~ ?) Lawa Bo Luang hmâu?, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hmo?.
B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre [kləm ] soh (Dournes 1950), Biat [kłəm ] choh; ~ (*tsôh > ?) Stieng nsôh, Chrau [khləm ] rəsoh, Bahnar dəsoh, Bru soh.
Khmer suat is hardly connected.
(Schmidt 1905 14; Shafer 1965 542; Smith 1972 377.)

248 *drse[e]? to persuade, conspire.
A: (Mon) Old Mon dirse’ /darse’/ to conspire, Modern Mon kəse? to persuade, conspire.
Sora ‘pu(s)se:- to persuade, incite, instigate (< *pu-dse:-; cf. with variant vocalism ‘pudsu:-; also o(b)’se:- to induce).
248a *prsaʔ; by metathesis *prʔas child’s spouse.

249 *rsiʔ bamboo, rattan.
   (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer rəsvy bamboo (& rəuhsvy by popular etymology, cf. rəuh root < 1927 *ris), Stieng [təm] rəsi:i very small kind of bamboo, Bahnar hre:, Jeh rey, Halang re: rattan; ~ Old Khmer rəsi bamboo; & connected Kuy rài rattan, Bru karay.
   Connect perhaps Proto-Philippine *taRisi rattan (ZORC & CHARLES); & as suffixed form 782 *rsiŋ &c.
   (SHAFER 1965 454; SMITH 1972 528.)

249a [*]rsiiʔ nerve, sinew, vein.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy rsai vein, Central Nicobarese ihe: nerve, sinew, vein, Nancowry ʔihe; (probably ~) Khmer əsay sarsai nerve, vein.
   (*hiʔ see 1 *ʔiʔ we.)

250 *hiiʔ to cease, be over.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hoa to cease, die down, be over, Palaung hi to be finished, ‘over’.
   Add as derivative 259 *bhiiʔ sated…?

251 *haʔ; (*haʔ haʔ >?) *hah to open [mouth].
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer, Kuy, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ha:, Vietnamese há (& with expressive lengthening Mon ha, Sre ha; → Chrau haʔ ?); (?) → Burmese ha to open [mouth], Lahu há-gáʔ, Akha a-há to yawn (BENEDICT 1972 33 n. 107); ~ Sre rəha open.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Vietnamese há to open [mouth]; ~ Bahnar jahah small and gaping (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63), Bahnar dialects dəhah gaping (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63; ~?).
   (SCHMIDT 1905 14, 20; BLOOD 1966 294; SMITH 1972 547.)

252 *kh[ii]? this, he, they.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Sre khay 3rd person pronoun, Chrau khəy pronominal plural particle, Thin khi this, here, now, Semai ll keʔ?, Semelai kəh he (with k- by dissimilation).
   Cf. 26 *ge(e)? deictic & 3rd person pronoun. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 53.)
253 *chaʔ to flame up.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, *South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer cha: to fry, (— -chol)
to burst out angrily, Kuy cha: to flame, Biat [ʔu] cha: to flame up, burn, by affective
deformation (*jhaʔ >; ?) Kammu-Yuan háʔ burn out, hot, Praok ha to scorch, be
hot, Lawa haʔ to burn.
Or separate Khmer, Kuy; Biat &c. < *saʔ?

254 *jhooʔ; *jhoʔ; *jheeʔ tree, wood.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon chu(‘) /chuʔ/ tree,
Modern Mon chuʔ tree, wood, Kensiu jihūʔ, Temiar jahūʔ tree, Teressa-Bompoka
Nicobaric chio: wood, (yiːr —) tree; with secondary prefix ~ Praok khaw, Lawa
Bo Luang khauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang khoʔ tree.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Old Khmer jhe, Modern Khmer chəː,
Stieng cuː; Chrau cha: tree, wood, (?) Shom Pe Nicobarese həːv wood (=) həo tree.
C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Sre chi, Biat chi: tree, wood,
Kammu-Yuan həːʔ firewood, Palaung he tree, wood, firewood, Central Nicobarese
ciː tree, wood; ~ Riang-Lang khɛʔ tree, wood, Praok khi, Lawa Bo Luang khoiʔ,
Lawa Umphai cheʔ firewood.
-B-C secondary (but is Khmer &c. vocalism regular in context?); note doublets in
Waic.
Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kaSiu: Malay kayu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
72, *kaju; cf. DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 9.3).
(SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 264, 301, 453; BLOOD 1966 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN
1906 T 211 (a).)

255 *thɔʔ to rub, massage.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre tho to rub, massage (→ Röglai), Biat thɔ: to rub,
clean, wash, Central Rölöm thaw to rub (BLOOD 1976), Palaung the to push against
friction (contaminated by Burmese thui: to thrust).
Connection dubious Vietnamese thoʔ to rub, anoint; whence perhaps Stieng tha:

256 *[t]h[uə]ʔ to throw (away).
A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon thoʔ / thoʔ/, Modern Mon thoʔ thwaʔ &c. to throw away,
Khasi thew to throw away, take aim at.

257 *[p]heʔ husked rice.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pheːi, Sre phe, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar pheː, Jeh pheːy, Halang
pheː.
(SHAFER 1965 98; BLOOD 1966 178; SMITH 1972 526.)
(?) Kharia peʔ cooked rice (PINNOW 1959 155).
258 *phuu? to accompany, conduct.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon phao in company with, Riang-Lang *phuu? to conduct, lead, send.
Separate Praok hu, Lawa Bo Luang hou, &c. to go, < *har or the like.

259 *bhii? sated, full.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon phoa, Bahnar phi?, Jeh, Halang phi?, Thin bi, Semai bahe: (Tauer 1914), Central Nicobarese pahase.
Cf. Vietnamese phè; Khasi pi-e. ~ 250 *hii? to cease, be over?
(Smith 1972 295; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 75.)
Sora bée-, Santali bi, &c. (Pinnow 1959 319).

260 *bhe? otter.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon phe?, Old Khmer bhe, Modern Khmer phè, Stieng bi; Chrau phi; apparently → Cham phày, Jarai pʰhai, Röglai bahay, North Röglai buhai, → Bahnar phey otter, Sre [pi] bahay civet cat.
Connect Semang bāho’ (Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 64); perhaps Vietnamese rái; & cf. A50 *[b]hii[n].

261 *bha? to frighten.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon phè? (!) to frighten, scare, Vietnamese phạ to be afraid, fear, Nancowry pahuá?
Mon register affective, or contaminated by pahòik fear. (ad 880 *bh[i]c) &/or
derivatives of Sanskrit √bhī to fear.
Proto-Austronesian *(q)aNba: Iban emba to (seek to) frighten, threaten, &c. (Blust 1971 no. 334, Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively *q-).

262 *bh[uu?] cooking-hearth.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon phao cooking-hearth, kitchen (→ Burmese phu), Khmer [coon]-phûu cook (→ Kuy con phou).
Or *-aw. But connection dubious Shan pháu to roast, burn, → Palaung phav to burn [lime, bricks] (Milne 1931), ~ Palaung raphav kiln; &c. (< *ph[r]aw, Benedict 1975 244, burn, roast…; Sek phraw).

(*mrh[e]? see 186 *[s]mr[e]? straw.)

263 *[ ] [m]ha? different.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat mha, (~?) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pha.
(Smith 1972 544.)
264 *m[h][wə]*; *m[h][wə]h evening, night.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng məu, Sre mho evening, Chrau maw, Central Rölöm mɔː afternoo, Palaung hmu (~ rəhmə) night.
B: (Khasi) Khasi miet night.
Connection uncertain Jeh səʔ afternoo, Halang səʔ evening (but if connected, *s/m/).
(BLOOD 1966 206.)

265 *ʔiək (part of) arm.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ʔiək fin, Palaung iaʔ arm.
Distinguish 269 *kʔiək* &c. armpit; but cf. A12 *ʔaak shoulder-blade. Connection uncertain Bodo-Garo *dyak arm, hand, < Tibeto-Burman *g-lak (BENEDICT 1972 34 n. 109), or the cognate Archaic Chinese djāk, Ancient Chinese jak 翼 wing (ib. 171 n. 458).

†266 *ʔaik bow.
(Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer ʔaek, Kuy ʔɛːk sound-producing bow attached to kite, Stieng aik cotton-beating bow, Sre a bow of crossbow, Chrau aʔ crossbow, Palaung aʔ, Riang-Lang ʔək, Praok ak [po], Lawa ʔak, Semang āg bow (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 353).

(SHAFER 1965 276, 283.)
Santali aʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 6).

267 *ʔuk; *ʔuuk; *ʔuak; *huk to pour out.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar uk to fill, to pour out, empty out, Jeh ūk, Halang uk to pour out, Kammu-Yuan ūk to flow out; ~ Kammu-Yuan paŋʔuik to pour out.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre oː to empty [pot], Riang-Lang ʔək to pour away, to spill.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung əʔ to pour out.
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat hok to spill.
Connect Thai hōk to be spilt, probably → Kuy həʔ, Bru tahəʔ; & cf. 480a *[t]hək.
(SMITH 1972 267.)

268 *ʔuak to drink.
A: (Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan uak (& Khmuic ʔuak, Thin ʔuək (!)), Temiar ʔək.
Cf. (i) Mường ōng (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese uông (then *ʔuəŋ?); (ii) SMITH 1972 325, *uʔ, perhaps contaminated by 63 *juuʔ.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 166.)

(*ʔuak see also 475 *huək brain.)
*269 *kʔiːk; *kʔiːk; *kʔaiːk armpit.
   A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan kolʔēk.
   B: (Khmer, Kautiuc, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _yak_ (!), Danaw kʰə ʔeːk; ~ (*klʔiːk > )
   Khmer kliːk, Kuy (kh)thiːʔ.
   C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar [bok] aːk; by contraction → Cham paaːʔ,
   Jarai pʔaʔa, Röglai poʔa, North Röglai pʰaʔa; ~ (*knʔaiːk > ) Vietnamese náːch.
   Distinguish 265 *ʔiːk (part of) arm.

Proto-Austronesian (*kila(S)iːk >?) *ki(S)əlik?: Javanese kèlèk, Malagasy helika
   (so Proto-West-Indonesian; at DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 referred to *kilik ...to carry in
   arms); & note *(q)irak (BLUST 1971 no. 338; Proto-Hesperonesian), *kili(S)
   (DEMPWOLFF 1938 80, *kili[“]).

Connected further Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 410, _tickles_... (II), (V); Tibeto-Burman
   *(g)-yak, Archaic Chinese zjiək, Ancient Chinese jāk 脣 (BENEDICT 1972 167 n. 448).

270 (*ʔaak ʔaak &c. >) *kʔaak; *kʔaiːk crow, to caw.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Kautiuc, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) (A) Mon [ʔiːk] aːk
   kinds of gourd (= Burmese _kyi_ ’ā, literally crow-caws), Kuy kʔaʔaʔ crow, (A/B)
   Bahnar aːk to croak, (seːm →) crow, Palaung aʔ to caw (MILNE 1931), Central
   Sakai ök-ak crow; → Cham, North Röglai aʔa, Jarai [ciːm] aʔa, Röglai aː,
   Acehnese aʔ-ʔaʔa crow; ~ (*klʔaiːk &c. >; A/B) Old Mon _kēl̪ák_ / _kəlʔaiːk/, Modern
   Mon hadaiak, Sre kanda, Chrau kandaʔaʔ, Biat nʔaiːk, Kammu-Yuan kolʔak,
   Palaung koʔaʔ, Praok lak, Lawa Bo Luang laʔak, Lawa Umphai raʔɛk crow (&
   Riang-Lang _luk_ ~ _ak by metathesis; Stieng kanat by assimilation), (B) Khmer
   khʔaiːk.


(SHAFER 1965 279; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 277.)

*271 *kʔək (& *kʔək?) to cough.
   A: (Khmer, Kautiuc, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer khʔək (< variant, or
   with secondary lengthening), (~?) Jeh kaʔok, Halang kaʔok to cough, (?) Riang-
   Lang kaʔok to crow; ~ Kuy nhʔaʔ, Palaung kənʔəʔ to cough; ~ Lawa Bo Luang
   ?moak, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ?məuk to cough; ~ Khasi _jyrhoh_ cough, to
   cough.

Onomatopoeic.

(SMITH 1972 281; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 22.)

Sora ko(k)ko(-n) cough, to cough, (compounding form) kəʔ-n cough, Kharia _kh(u)?,
   &c. (PINNOW 1959 236).

(*cʔa(a)k, *cʔa(a)k see 9 *cʔa(a)ʔ see _hiccough, belch._)
327 *c?uk; *c?uuk; *[c]?uək; *chuək corner.
A-C: (Palaungic; ~ *cr?uuk >) Riang-Lang səduk; by secondary derivation ~ (c)
Palaung kəndɔʔ; (A) Praok daok.
D: (Mon, Khasi) Mon chok; by metathesis ~ (*k nhuəc >) Khasi kynhoit.
Cf. further Khasi kyndah; Khmer chúŋ corner, inlet; 689 *jruŋ corner, angle. Kammu-
Yuan sɔ́k elbow is probably ← Lao sɔɔk.
Proto-Austronesian *t[ə]uk: Cebuano Bisayan suuk corner, Malay s/ér/ok-an inlet,
&c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 151, *təḷuk; Proto-Hesperonesian).

325 *tʔiik; *tʰiik to sob, draw breath noisily.
A: (Mon, ?Khasi) ~ Mon həoik to sob voicelessly, (?) Khasi kyn-ih to crow; ~ Literary
Mon gəm'ik sighing noise.
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kəndiik to sob (MILNE 1931).
*tʔ- in view of Sora, below; connected perhaps as loan word West Bahnar rəsiik
[rəsiim &c.] to sob (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Contaminated by 480 *thak &c. to
pant, sob?
Sora 'səŋe~ to be breathless, to sigh deeply.

323a *tʔɔɔk scabies.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Chrau ᵀʔ kind of scaly skin disease, Biat ᵀʔk scabies; ~
Khmer trəʔɔɔk kind of skin disease, (?) scabies.

324 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔaak > *daak, Pre-Khmer *[d]ik water.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon
dāk /daik/, Modern Mon daik, Old Khmer dîk, Modern Khmer tûk, Kuy dəʔ,
Bru dəʔ, Stieng dāk, Sre də; Chrau daʔ, Biat, Jeh, Halang dāk, Bahnar dāk,
Mường dác (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nuốc, Semelai dāk, Central
Nicobarese dāk, Nancowry riák.
(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 32; SHORTO 1872; BLOOD 1966 288; SMITH 1972 287;
SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 30.)
Sora dʔə-n, (compounding form) da-n, Kharia dəʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 2).

(*pʔɔɔk see 481 *phɔɔk fish-paste.)

327 *prʔɔɔk thorn.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng, Biat lɔːk thorn, fish-bone, Sre loʔ thorn, thorn-
bush, loʔ: thorn-bush, Chrau loʔ, Palaung parʔoʔ thorn.
(BLOOD 1966 73.)
**276** Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *riʔaak* > Pre-Khmer &c. *riik; *rʔaak; *rʔaan* > *raan* to open, unfold.

**A:** (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer *riik* to rise, to unfold, open (*→* Stieng *riik* to swell, rise), Kuy *riʔ* to bloom, to unfold.

**B:** (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *daak* flower (not connected Thai *dɔ̀ak*, on which see BENEDICT 1975 298-9, fruit… . (III); *→* Khmer *dɔk*).

**C:** (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon ràiŋ [flowers] to open, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang raŋ, Kammu-Yuan ràŋ flowers; ~ (*rilʔaak* >?) Biat daːŋ [flowers] to open.

Connect 606 *pa[a]ŋ* to open? (SCHMIDT 1905 48, 54; SMITH 1972 153.)

Sora rʔac-, Kharia raʔ to blossom, &c. (PINNOW 1959 9).

**277** *lʔɔk* rice-bran.

**A:** (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (ʔa:j)lùʔ, Stieng lok, Sre, Chrau laʔ, Biat lək, Bahnar dək, Rongao lək (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63); *→* Cham halaʔ, Jarai hɔk, Røglai ləha, North Røglai ləʔaʔ, Acehnese ləʔ; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer lɔntuŋ rice-bran, Khasi kyndeh ground rice, maize-flour.

Add perhaps Sakai lihok skin (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 235 (b)). POU & JENNER 1975 no. 43 compare Malay dèdak, &c. (Proto-Austronesian *d[1]k* to pound; bran; cf. BLUST 1972 no. 9, *dekdek; DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, *ḍəḍ*; Proto-Hesperonesian).

**277a** *lʔɔk; *lʔɔok* cloudy, opaque.

**A:** (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer lʔɔk (A), Kuy lʔoʔ (B) turbid; (probably ~) Khasi lyoh cloud, mist; ~ Khmer lùmʔɔk to muddy, make turbid.

Khmer (& Kuy?) lʔ- by levelling.

**277b** *lʔuk; *lʔuuk* wet, soaked.

**A:** (South Bahnaric) Biat luk soaked, wet through.

**B:** (Mon) Mon dək to be wet, damp, sappy, green.

Cf. 954 *lʔuat* &c.

(*kaik see 496 *kaŋ* transverse, to branch… ; *kɔk see 17 *kɔʔ* neck; *kɔ[ ]k see 498 *kɔŋ* ring-shaped artefact; *kɔɔk see 17 *kɔʔ.*)

**278** *k[oo]*k kind of diving bird.

**A:** (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre [klæŋ] ko: osprey (DOURNES 1950), Vietnamese cóc cormorant.

Arbitrary variant of 280 *ku(e)k* egret? Cf. further Khmer raŋiəv kɔk kind of kingfisher.
278a *kuk; *kuuk raised platform, shelter.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat kuʔ hunter’s hide, Alakong Bahnar kuʔ field shelter (Guilleminet 1959-63: 1).
   B: (South Bahnaric) Sre ku: field shelter on piles, crop-watcher’s platform.

279 *kuk; *kuuk; *kuək; *kək to call.
   A: (Palaungic; ~ *[p]nkuk >) Praok gaok to invite.
   B: (Khmer, Katuc, South Bahnaric) Khmer kok, (!) Kuy kək, Biat kuːk [kwɑl] to call out to; ~ Khmer bənkək to call out to.
   C: (Mon) Old Mon kok/kok/, Modern Mon kok to call.
   D: (Palaungic, ?Khmer) Praok kok to call, Lawa Bo Luang kək, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kək to call, invite; (?) ~ Khmer bɔŋkək to call out to (Tandart 1935; !). Connection dubious Sora guː to call, to invite, summon.

(Schmidt 1905 24.)

280 *kuək egret.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kok heron, egret, Biat kok egret.
   B: (Bahnaric) Chrau koːʔ cattle egret, Bahnar [klæŋ] kək generic term for egrets &c. (Guilleminet 1959-63); probably → Cham koːʔ; Vietnamese cò.
   Connected further Acehnese bləkəʔ, Javanese bləkək kind of heron; & cf. 278 *k[oo]k kind of diving bird.

281 *tɭrkak prong, spike.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon [paḥ] dakak snare, Palaung kərkaʔ prong (Milne 1931).

281a *geek to tickle.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (cə-)gek, Biat  [cək] ge:k, Riang-Lang _kuk _keæk (~ Palaung kə keʔ) (Milne 1931?).

282 *gak to bite (on).
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung gaʔ, Riang-Lang _kak to bite, (~, or =?) Palaung gaʔ bridle, → Shan kąk, → Riang-Lang ˈkak; ~ (*[g]ngak >) Mon kəhəæk to bite; ~ Mah Meri neəɛk to bite.

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 229.)

283 *[ ]guk to sit, remain, dwell.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng gu:k, Chrau, Biat guʔ; ~ Semang nguk to sit, dwell (Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 221).
   If Khmer kok to sit dozing is cognate, *[t]guk.

(Blood 1966 167.)
284 *tguk kind of hornbill.

(*[t]guk see 283 *[ ]guk to sit….)

285 *ŋa[i]k baby.

   Bahnar ñe: is hardly connected.

286 *ŋɔk; (*ŋɔk ŋɔk >) *ŋɔk bent, crooked.
   A: (Palaungic, Katuic) Riang-Lang ŋɔk to be curly, Bru ŋɔʔ crooked, winding; (&/or variant) → Shan ŋɔk bend, to bent, ŋɔk to be crooked.

   B: (Mon, Khasi, Katuic) Mon ŋɔk to be bent, crooked, Khmer khŋɔk hooked, hook-shaped, Kuy ŋɔʔ winding, twisting, misshapen; to turn; ~ Khmer krŋɔk from side to side, (krŋɔk —) tortuous.

   Cf. 458 *wɔk bent round.

287 *ŋuk; *ŋuuk; *ŋək (& *ŋək?) to bow head, nod.
   A: (Khmer, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer ŋuk to bow head (TANDART 1935), Kammu-Yuan ŋʊk-[kánŋũk &c.] nodding up and down, (or B?) Khasi [kʰoŋŋuŋh to nod, to acknowledge, to obey; ~ Khmer phŋɔk to nod, to shake head in affirmation (TANDART 1935); ~ Kammu-Yuan caŋk-caŋũk nodding one’s head.

   B: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer ŋɔk to bend forward, to nod off, (or A?) Röngao ŋuuk to incline head, bow head (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

   C: (Khmer, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer ŋuak (!; TANDART 1935 also ŋèak), Central Nicobarese [ko]-ŋək-[ŋhə] (< *ŋək?), [ko]-ŋək-[ŋk] to nod, Nancowry ŋuuk to bend down, kuŋũkri to nod; ~ Riang-Lang _kəŋãk (< *-ə(ǝ)k) to nod, wag [head].

   TANDART has further Khmer ŋèak to wag [head] sideways (~ Cham ñet), probably a secondary formation unless: Thin ŋek to lean over, Bru [laŋʊʔ]-laŋɛʔ? swaying as one sits. Note also (i) Mon həŋɔ́ik dhaŋik, gaŋik; həŋɔ́k dhaŋɔ́k, gaŋɔ́k &c. to bend [head] forward, nod; (ii) Malay lengaŋk to sway head and body from side to side, bow right and left, wobble; Javanese lęnggèk-lęnggèk to hang head wearily. Cf. 288 *lŋɔ́k &c. to bend head back.

(*ŋɔk see 286 *ŋɔk bent, crooked.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1288 *ŋəək; *ŋəak; (?) *ŋiək to bend head back.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Biat ŋəək to raise [head], Bahnar ŋəək to bend head back, look disdainfully over someone’s head; ~ (*ŋəək > ) Literary Mon lanik to look upwards, Khasi lyngngeh [to sleep] with the head thrown back; ~ Literary Mon laməik to look upwards; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan təkəak [bent, looking] up, Bru təŋəvə to look up, turn face up.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) (?; or A) → Malay lęŋk to throw back the head and look up; ~ Mon tənəik to look up, (~?; *lpŋəak >) Khmer phŋəak to fall over backwards, Vietnamese nguọc to bend [head] back, look up; ~ Kammu-Yuan [təkəək] təkəaak [bent, looking] upwards.
C: (Khasi) Khasi lyngiah with head back to one side; (?) → Acehnese liŋia? posing coquettishly, Javanese lęŋkə-lęŋkə with head thrust forward; ~ Khasi lyngngiah [to sleep] with the head thrown back.

Khasi -iəh perhaps by hypercorrection for -eəh. Note further Khmer caŋək to stretch upwards, caŋək rising up, [to sit] with neck stretched; (< A by dissimilation?) ɲəːt, ɲəːp to raise head; Vietnamese nghęch to raise [head]; ngăng to raise, lift [head], to look up, ngzung to bend [head] back, nguọc to look up, admire.

(BLOOD 1966 412.)
Proto-Austronesian *i[ ]-(s)əNgak: Malay lęŋgək = lęngak; &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *ləŋgak; if Fijian to draw a bow not cognate, Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; without prefix in Chamic: Cham (a)ŋuə? to bend head back, &c.).

1289 *ciik tooth.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ciik, Sre sii, Chrau secc, Biat chek.

(BLOOD 1966 38.)

(?) Sora jəi-n, (compounding form) jəi-n.

290 *cak body.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy caʔ, Sre saʔ, Chrau saʔ [nəm], Biat chak (& Stieng cək, perhaps contaminated by Khmer sa:k-səp or Vietnamese xác corpse).

(BLOOD 1966 373.)

1291 *caak; *caik; *ciək; *ciik; *cəik (or *cik?); *cak to separate (v.i.t), split.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?North & Central Aslian) Old Mon cək /caik/ to be parted, Modern Mon caik to tear, be torn, Khmer caːk to leave (A), caek to divide up (B), Chrau saʔ to go, (or F?) Central Sakai chək to chop, Pangan [ya]-chag to tear (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 32); → Thai cânk to be separated from, Shan sək to split (v.i.t.); ~ (*kc- >) Kuy seːʔ to hoe up [weeds] (B), Kammu-Yuan cânk to tear (v.i.t.); ~ Kuy nəcːʔ to distribute.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Stieng ciak,
Bahnar tse:k to divide up (Guilleminet 1959-63; or < *sia:k, ad 465 *sai:k),
Riang-Lang ~siek to chop, (or B?) Khasi siah to cut, pare, shave off, Nancowry sīak
side?; → Shan sīk tear, to tear.
D: (South Bahnaric) Sre si: to split into fibres; ~ (*crniik > ) sāni: parcel of swidden
field.
E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan sék to cut off.
F: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm sak (beside sāk < A/B) to go, return; → Thai cāk
to cleave, split...; ~ Biat rna? parcel of ground.
D, E secondary. Cf. 404 *craak; 465 *sai:k; A53a *[c]ac to diverge; A71 *caat; 1982
*ci(h); & Khmer caeŋ to divide up; Palaung sa to chop.
(Schmidt 1905. 26; Blood 1966 330.)
Sora sa- to rend, to pare [nails]; Kharia ca'ca? torn, &c. (Pinnow 1959 296, Proto-
Munda *cagcag; ad A, B); Sora 'pansi-n split wood (ad D).
Proto-Austronesian *k'agk'ag: Javanesen di-chachag chopped small, Ivatan sagság to
chop (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*cok see 525 *c[o]ŋ to make into a bundle.)

292 *cuk; *cuuk; *cuək; *cak; *ciik; *c(i)ək to prod, pierce.
A: (Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy coʔ to thrust into, ?Nancowry sōk index finger.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon cək to touch, collide, push with
horns, Stieng cuuk to damage or cut up with mattock, Biat chu:k to put in, push in,
Central Nicobarese [ok]-jək- (or c?), jəkə- to pick [teeth]; ~ (*cpuuk > ) Khmer
cbo:k fish-spear; ~ Mon hæsk splinter; ~ Khasi tyrsuh to poke; ~ (~pcuuk > )
Mon phəsk to touch one object with another, Khasi bsuh to push in, to intrude.
C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung sok to fight with horns, toss (Milne 1931),
Semai cək to stab.
D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer cək,
Jōlong tsak to pierce (Guilleminet 1959-63), Thīn sāk to prick, Khasi sah to ram
in, drive home, to punch, to elbow, Kensiu ceg to stab, Central Nicobarese jək-
[hata] to spear, Nancowry sək; → Thai sāk to puncture, prod, tattoo; ~ Kammu-
Yuan cāk to touch, poke, pick.
F: (Khasi) ~ Khasi speh spike, goad.
E (& F?) secondary. Cf. 295 *kco(o)k to prick... .
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 296.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'ukt'uk: Tagalog suksók to put into, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 156; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; ?) *tut'uk: Toba Batak susuk pricked, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159; if Batak ← Malay Perhaps = i); (iii) *tut'uk: Malay tusok to pierce, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *t'akt'ak: Javanese sasak to penetrate obliquely, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147; Proto-Hesperonesian); (v) *t'ugt'ug: Tagalog s'ul/ugsóg thorn, sliver, in hand or foot, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 412; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 358, 397-8. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 46 (a).)

293 *c[u]k (to bear) fruit in clusters.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi soh fruit, to bear fruit, to cling, adhere; ~ Mon hæcak cluster of fruit.
Or *cok.

293a *cak correct.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ~cak; ~ Kammu-Yuan nàk correct, to hit the mark.

294 ?ciiik astringent in taste.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) East Bahnar tsik disagreeable in taste (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan čïk, Palaung sik [çïk], swi? [s'ï?], Riang-Lang ~čïk astringent, Kuy (ʔa)ce? astringent; medicine, Bru nčïk.
Cf. Sora p'išiŋ-, p'isîŋ- (beside p'isãŋ- &c.; contaminated by ʔsaŋ- bitter, ad 553 *kt,an?); & 989 *pcat bitter, astringent.

295 *kcook to prick, puncture, to provoke.
A, B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Biat co:k to peck, [snake] to bite (B), (A) Sre cok to prick, to provoke by pricking buttocks, Thin cëk to insert drinking-tubes in liquor jar, (A/B) Palaung cə to prick (→ Shan sõk), Vietnamese chוכ (!) to pierce, puncture, Nancowry cōk to prick (?); ~ Khmer komcaok to provoke, to fan [flames]; ~ (? , *krco(o)k by metathesis > ) Riang-Lang corok to prick. Cf. 292 *cu(u)k &c. to prod... .
Proto-Austronesian *k'ougk'aug or *k'augk'aug: Röglai cok to prick (or ← Sre), Malay chuńok, chońok to pierce, prick (→ Acehnese cuco? pin), Javanese chońok to get pricked (& chuńuk beak, to peck..., ← Malay ?), Cebuano Bisayan sugsúg, s'ul/ugsúl/ug to tease, pester (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 358.

296 *kcuk; *kcuuk; *kcuaŋ to stop up.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cok to stop up, plug, cork, Sre cúʔ to insert, fill hole (BLOOD 1966).
B: (Mon) Mon chak khyuk to confine, imprison, (něa —) to be constipated; → Burmese khyup.
C: (Katuic) Kuy saʔ to stop up, plug, cork; ~ (k)saʔ stopper. (Cf. BLOOD 1966 155.)
297 *cəcək; *cəcək house lizard, Hemidactylus.
A: (Mon) Mon həcək.
B: (Khmer) (Old Khmer cicok insect?,) Modern Khmer cəcək house lizard.
Onomatopoeic; cf. Thai cícək, → Khmer cɨc əc (POU & JENNER 1973).
Proto-Austronesian *k'ək'ak: Malay chichak (!), &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86-7; Proto-West-Indonesian).
(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 49.)

298 *[p]ciək to cough.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng ciək, Biat chiak to cough, Semang yik slight cough (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 249); ~ Sre básia, Chrau nsiəʔ to cough.
(BLOOD 1966 103.)

299 *pc[ə]k summit, tip.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang əcək point, tip, end, summit, sprout, (by assimilation) Praok choc summit.
Or *pəcuək? Cf. 529 *[ʔ]cu(u)ŋ.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *puk'ək: Malay puchok shoot, upper tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 121; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *pu(N)k'ək: Malay punchak summit, top, &c. (ib.; Proto-Hesperonesian).
Cf. further Proto-Austronesian *pu(N)k'u(S) (ib.; Proto-West-Indonesian).

300 *jiik; *jiək to break ground for cultivation.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon jik /jik/, Modern Mon cəik to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate, Old Khmer jyak, Modern Khmer ciək to dig (over), Stieng jiək to hoe, Sre jə, Chrau jirə, Biat jįək to grub up weeds, Jeh, Halang jək ricefield, Rôngao jək to plough, prepare for cultivation (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang cuk, Lawa Umphai chuk, Mae Sariang c(h)ik irrigated field; ~ (*jiiik >) Chrau niʔ? weeding-tool, Bahnar ʔnii:k harrow, mattock, used to break ground.
B: (Palaungic) Praok ciək to dig, break ground by digging.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 214; SMITH 1972 241, 270.)

301 *jak; *[j]u(u)k; *juək to tread, to step out, set out.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Middle Mon jak, Modern Mon cəak to march, set out, Sre jaʔ to tread on, trample, Bahnar jak to go away, Riang-Lang _əcək to put on, wear [shoes...], Khasi jah to absent oneself, Central Sakai jak to tread on; → Acehnese jaʔ to go (away), set out.
B: (Khasi) Khasi əuh to tread on, trample.
C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese cukək-lare &c.] to negotiate [stair, ladder], cukək to step, Nancowry cukək steps; (?) → Cham cwəʔ, Jarai juaʔ, Röglai, North Röglai juaʔ to tread on, trample &c., → Bahnar juaʔ, juaʔ step on.
Back vocalism obscure; contaminated by 462 *swa[a]k to walk...?
(SCHMIDT 1905 36; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 202.)

Sora ɲaː- to walk, march, to tread, thresh by treading.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'agd'ag to get a foothold: Javanese jajag, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) *d'agd'ag to get a foothold: Malay jējak to tread, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; if Fijian thig not cognate, Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *i(N)Zak to tread, dance (DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, *i(n)d'ak; Proto-Hesperonesian; note Javanese idiak to tread & add Karo Batak m-édak-édak to gad about...; Toba ← Malay); & prefixed forms, cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 (*k-, Proto-West-Indonesian), 118 (*p-, Proto-West-Indonesian), 137 (*t-, Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *O[N]Zak: Malay eŋjak to step on, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 126, *eŋzak; Proto-Hesperonesian).

302 *juk; *juuk creeper, material for tying.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon juk /juk/, Modern Mon cɜ̀k creeper, cord (B), (A) Bahnar juk kind of aquatic plant yielding fibre; vegetable fibre, (A/B) Central Sakai chôk rattan; ~ Serting jêmôk climbing rope (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d)); ~ Central Sakai chênhôk creeper.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (a-b).)

(*kjək see 52 *kjaʔ heavy.)

303 *tik; *tiək; *tək deaf.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tîːc, Sre ← Röglai) tiʔ deaf, Chrau tiʔ blocked up, (— tor) deaf.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese dié deaf.
C: (South Bahnaric) Biat tək [tor:]
(BLOOD 1966 147.)

304 *tik; *tiik to pull along, lead.
A: (Khmer, Kuy) Old Khmer tik, Modern Khmer dyk to lead [animal], to cart, Kuy təʔ to lead [animal], to cart, to drag [e.g. net].
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tîːk, Sre tî; Chrau təːc (BLOOD 1966), Biat tek to lead by a rope.
(BLOOD 1966 39; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 30.)

305 *tiik; *tiək to lie down, sleep.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer dek, Kensiu tik, (or B?) Semnam &c. teg; ~ (probably originally hypothetical) Old Mon stîk /stik/, Modern Mon toik; ~ Mah Meri gotik, (~?) Semelai jatek, by metathesis Jah Hut ticək.
B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi thiah, Central Nicobarese iteak, Nancowry ?ițiək.
Cf. Bahnar təːp. Bru has ?atayʔ to put to bed.
(SCHMIDT 1905 20, 22; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 250 (a-b).)
Santali giti’j, &c (PINNOW 1959 295a; Proto-Munda *-tik?).

(*t,ia-k see 319 *tr(-)t,ia-k ear.)

306 *t,ia-k to put in place.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon tek to build, erect [dam, hut], to assume [cross-legged] position, to let down [net], to rule [line], Khmer dák to place, put, site, Palaung ta? to lay out [mat &c.]; → Cham ḍak, (!) tà? dák to arrange; Shan ták; ~ Middle Mon tamnak pavilion, Modern Mon pænec camp, Khmer dǒmnak, təmnak halting-place, encampment; → Thai səmnák house, lodging, → Khmer səmnak halting-place.

Connect 317 *kti(i)k to put (down)?

307 *t,ia-k; *t,ia-k to remove.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre, Chrau taʔ, Biat tak to remove, Bahnar tak to open, lift lid, to uncover, remove cover, to move [object] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (A/B?) Nancowry ták to leave, ʔuktákɲica to wean, to pull out.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Old Khmer tok, Modern Khmer dɔːk to pull out, pull off, uproot (?), with secondary lengthening), Biat (→ Central Rölöm?) tək to remove (beside ɗoːk to uproot ← Khmer), Riang-Lang ātək to uproot, extract.

A contaminated by preceding?

(BLOOD 1966 271; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 36.)

308 *t,aik spear.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer dæk-[soːl] javelin, Chrau taʔ (→ Sre), Stieng, Biat, Bahnar tæk, Sedang tea spear.

(SHAFER 1965 326; BLOOD 1966 334; SMITH 1972 289.)

309 *t,aik to cohere.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ātək (!), to adhere to, Praok tok to be fastened together; ~ Mon hətak cluster, bunch; ~ Literary Mon datuik to cluster.


310 *tə[ɔ]k to copulate (with).

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon tok, Nancowry tuák.

Note Kuy teʔ, Bru teːʔ.

Sora toxː, tuː, Kharia tu, &c. (PINNOW 1959 369).

311 *təuk cloud, mist.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau tuʔ, Biat tok cloud, Bahnar tuk ground mist, dew; ~ Stieng atuk dew, mist (?); ~ Jeh kəsuk, (~?) Halang siksuk cloud.

Separate Palaung tuuk smoke.

(SMITH 1972 268.)
312 *tuk going on foot, by land.  
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Middle Mon tok /tuk/, Modern Mon tak; ~ (*tmuk >) Thin mūk on foot.

313 *t₁uk *t₁uuk to tie.  
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin tūk lashing, to tie, Palaung toʔ to tie.  
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *tuk to bind, tie, tether. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 79.)

‡314 *tu²k; (*tak tak >?) *[k]tak drip, drop.  
A: (Mon) Mon tok drop.  
B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer tok sound of dripping (& by secondary formation tatok to drip, tomnok drop, falling drop, bontok drop, dot), Nancowry ták to drip.  
Cf. 814 *tuuc &c. drop, to drip.  
Proto-Austronesian *titik drop, dot: Malay titek, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 98, *(Ct)i(Ct)ik; Proto-Hesperonesian).  
Note also *riNtik speckles, DEMPWOLFF 1938 104 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 37.)

315 *[ʔ]tuuk; *[ʔ][u]k, by metathesis *[ ]kut; *[ʔ]taak to scoop up, root up.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon tuk /tuk/ to draw [water], Modern Mon tsk to scoop up, to root up, Khmer taok spoonful (TANDART 1935), Stieng tuk to remove [pot from fire, rice from pot], West Bahnar to:k to root up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry ʔuktúak to pull up, to draw water.  
B: (Katuic, Khasi, South Bahnaric) Bru tuʔ to dip into, Khasi thoh to take with tip of finger (or < *-uak), by metathesis Chrau kut to dip out into.  
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar Bru tuʔ, tu:uk to root up, lever up.

‡316 *[k]ti[ ]k to tickle.  
A: (Khasi) Khasi ktiik (!)  
Proto-Austronesian (i) *kitik: Malay kitek, kitik, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 216; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *gitik: Malay g/él/itek, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65; Proto-West-Indonesian).

317 *kt₁ik; *kt₁iik to put (down).  
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau ceʔ, Biat teʔ to put.  
B: (Khmuic, ?Palaungic) Thin tik to put (down), (or 320a *[p]tiik to pull off >?)  
   Praok tik to abandon, get rid of.  
Connect 306 *t₁iak to put in place?  

(*[k]tak see 314 *tuak drip, drop.)
318  *[j]tɔæk to strike, beat.
   A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon tık /tɔk/ to beat, Modern Mon tak to
discharge [artillery], (→ tát) to strike, coin [money], Stieng tɔk to hit, Central Sakai
chêtɔk to beat [drum]; → Burmese tuik to come, bring, into violent contact, to fight,
→ (i) Palaung taik to fight; (ii) Shan tuik to fight, → Palaung tuik to fight, Riang-
Lang tuik to wage [war]; ~ Bahnar hataik to clap, applaud (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Connect Kammu-Yuan sanitak (→ *-t,-) to dash against, throw to the ground, to hit the
ground; but connection uncertain Bahnar tik to collide, strike against (Guilleminet
Proto-Austronesian *ṭaktak: Malay tētak to knock, rap, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 145,
*ṭakṭak, Proto-West-Indonesian; *t,əkt,ək, Dahl 1973 § 14.9, rests on an
uncertain Formosan comparison).

319 *tr(-)t,iak ear.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer tracioak ear, Riang-Lang katiek outer ear, lobe of ear.
Perhaps *t,iak, Khmer < derivation, Riang-Lang ka- part-of-body prefix; add then
Khmer kanciaok ear-piece of dancer’s headdress (Tandart 1935). But separate Aslian
forms at Skeat & Blagden 1906 E 6 (a), = Temiar gentak, &c., ad 554 *k,təŋ to
hear.
(Shafer 1965 319.)

320 *ntaak, *l(n)t,iak tongue.
   (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon
kotaik, (Khmer ʔandat by assimilation), Kuy ntaʔ, Kammu-Yuan hantaik,
Riанг-Lang ʔtak, Praok dak, Lawa Bo Luang tak, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang
ndak, Kensiu latig, Temiar lentag; ~ Palaung kaɾtaʔ, Central Nicobarese
koletaik, Nancowry kaliták (with part-of-body prefix?).
*l- secondary, *in- (cerainly attested only in Aslian) by interdialectal contamination?
(Schmidt 1905 18; Shafer 1965 277; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 165.)

320a *[p]tiik to pull off.
   A: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Chrau tiʔ to husk [maize], Biat tiik to husk, to pick
over, (or 317 *kt,iik to put (down) >?) Praok tik to abandon, get rid of.
South Bahnaric vocalism suggests *.t-.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *patik: Malay pêtık to pick, pluck, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 118,
*pəṭik); (ii) *putik: Toba Batak putik to pick, pluck, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 123,
*pətiŋ; Oceanic to pluck [feathers &c.]). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, loan source
not obvious.

321 *ptəæk temples.
   A: (Khmer, North & Central Aslian) Khmer taək gills, taak taak, Semang pətəık
temples (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 228).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

322 *[l]tak (& *tlak by metathesis?) to hammer, drive home.  
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon tak /tak/ to drive in, to fasten especially by driving in,  
Modern Mon tek to strike, hit, beat, (? by metathesis) Palaung la? to hammer,  
hammer; ~ Old Mon tna?, Modern Mon nek stake, peg, Palaung hla? stake for  
tethering cattle (Milne 1931).  
Cf. 318 *[j]təək to strike, beat (Cf. Shaffer 1965 144.)  
Proto-Austronesian (i) *laNtak: Malay lantak to drive in, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 92);  
(ii) *[qS]aNta[kg]: Malay (h)ëntak to jab downwards, thump, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 63, *hən[t]ak; Proto-West-Indonesian).  
(*lt,aak see 320 *nt,aak tongue.)

323 *[s][n]tuuk kind of jar.  
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau səʔ toːʔ water-jar, Bahnar səʔk kind of jar.

324 *dak intertwined.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer təak tangled, intertwined; ~ (*pďak  
> ) Literary Mon bdak to bring together, Jölong dak to make a net, spin a web  
(Guilleminet 1959-63: !); ~ (*pďak > ) Late Middle Mon [chuik to be near] padak  
to be well versed, by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon [chak] pătəak to be  
skilled, Khmer prıtəak intertwined, to intertwine; ~ (*dнак > ) Bahnar nak net, to  
make net, spin web, Jeh, Halang nak net; (?) ~ Khasi ktah to touch.  
= following?  
(Smith 1972 275.)

325 *dak to bind.  
A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon dak /dak/ to bind, harness, Modern Mon təak to tie, tether,  
link…, Khasi teh to bind, fasten; ~ (*d.nak > ) Mon hənak danak noose, snare,  
jess for poultry.  
= preceding? Distinguish (but Mon der. x?) 330 *dak (to) trap.

326 *dak viscous.  
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang [tam] tak gur, Vietnamese dặc to be viscous,  
thick, to coagulate.

327 *daq; *diιk outstretched.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Mon təiṅk to branch, be turned outwards, Central  
Nicobarese təiṅk broad, wide, Nancowry təiṅk flat; ~ Khmer kontəiṅk bifurcated; ~  
Central Nicobarese tɔmakə fathom.  
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ndiːk (great) breadth.  
Cf. 577a *jdaŋ &c.
328 *[c]duuk staff, cudgel.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [lèʔ] tāk (→ Burmese dut) cudgel, Khasi [dieng]-
duh (!) staff, walking-stick; ~ Khasi shanduh, Sakai chenduk walking-stick (i.e.
Lanoh; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 452).
Connect obscure Khmer thùuk cudgel (Tandart 1935), Vietnamese thutōc.

329 *dik; *diik; *dźiak slave.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre diʔ slavery, Stieng dic, Biat duk (& Chrau dic by interdialectal
borrowing), Bahnar dic slave.
B: (Mon, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon dik /dik/, Modern Mon doik, Bahnar diik slave
(Guilleminet 1959-63; or A?).
C: (Mon) Dvaravati Mon dek ?/dek/ slave.
Cf. Thin de I (respectful).
(Blood 1966 134; Smith 1972 239.)

(*[d]iik see 274 *diʔaak water.)

330 *dak trap, to trap.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer tēak to trap, Stieng, Biat dak,
Sre, Chrau daʔ trap, Bahnar dak projectile trap, to set traps, Jeh, Halang dak spear
trap, Riang-Lang "dak (to) trap, Semai dak trap (Tauer 1914); → Cham tāʔ (&
hatāʔ!) trap for birds; ~ Khmer ñontēak trap, snare; ~ Khmer thnēak decoy, lure,
Bahnar ?nak projectile trap.
Distinguish 325 *dak to bind.
(Schmidt 1905 38; Shafer 1965 327; Smith 1972 274; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T
200A.)
Sora daː-[tul-ən] trap.

331 *dak; (*daik daik >?) *[k]d[ai]k to break, snap.
A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon dek dak [prūʔ] to snap, make snapping sound, Central
Nicobarese dak-[ŋə] (& by assimilation daŋə) to split, break (v.i.).
B: (Khasi) Khasi kdiäh to break, snap (v.t.).

(*dąak see 274 *diʔaak water.)

332 *[d]ək to stand up, to go up.
A: (Bahnaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm dok, Biat dok to stand (up), Jeh dāk to go up,
Halang dok to ascend, (~?) West Bahnar nak to go upstream, take up (Guilleminet
1959-63).
(Blood 1966 116.)
Distinguish 334 *dak to mount, ride; & separate also Sora daː-, dai-, Santali de'j to
mount, ascend, climb, &c. (Pinnow 1959 333), which require *-c.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

Hardly all ← Röglai [do]-dək, North Röglai dək to stand, < Proto-Aceh-Cham *daŋ.
North Bahnaric senses perhaps by attraction Cham diʔ; &c., < Proto-
Austronesian *naSiŋ (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107, *na'ik).

\[333\] *do[ ]k to hammer.
A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon dək to hammer, Praok tōk to nail (or ← Shan tōk < Tai *tōok, cf. BENEDICT 1975 228, beat, drive in... (II)), Nancowry karuák knock on door, kumruák to knock on door (& Riang-Lang *krok to knock; so *kd-?).
Onomatopoeic. Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *tuk to cut, knock, pound, BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 387: inter alia > Garo dək ~ dak to knock, pound, Dimasa do to knock, ...hammer down.

334 *dək to mount, ride.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon dək /dək/, Modern Mon dək to mount, ride (on, in) (& Old Khmer dək, Modern Khmer tōk to put, put away, put on one side, keep by semantic transference from causative?); ~ Old Mon -pədək to embark, take up, Modern Mon dək also to load, Khmer phtūk to load; (~?) → Thai prətʰūk to load with; ~ Khmer bontūk load; → Thai bantʰūk to load with; ?Nancowry rūk to arrive, ranūk vehicle rather: Bru təʔ to come? Distinguish 332 *[d]ək ...to go up. Sre di: to mount, ride is ← Röglai di: < Proto-
Austronesian *naSiŋ (ib.), perhaps contaminated by *dək.

335 *dək; *dəok; *dək full, complete.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon dək /dək/ to be perfect, complete, Middle Mon dək,
Modern Mon dək [pən full] to be complete; ~ Praok naok, Lawa Umphai nauk to be full.
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung nəʔ to be full.
C: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Old Mon dək /dək/ to be perfect, complete; ~ Riang-Lang nək to be full.

335a *duuk; *[d]uuŋ (kind of) monkey.
A: (Bahnaric) Sieng duuk, Sre dou, Chrau doʔ, Biat dok, Bahnar dək, Jeh, Halang
dək monkey.
B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung [a]duŋ large long-tailed kind of
monkey, Proto-Semai *doŋ pig-tailed macaque (DIFFLOTH 1977), (?; if so, *d-)
Central Nicobarse duŋ Macacus cynomologus.
North Bahnaric vocalism apparently post-dental, cf. 70 *ktuuʔ, 396 *ruuk, 467
*suuk, 667 *ruuŋ[ ], 685 *ruuŋ, 728 *luuŋ, 744 *t,luuŋ, 892 *duuŋ, 1005
*tuut, 1062 *ruut, 1738 *bt,uuł, 1744 *duul, 1763 *tb[uu]l. Connection
dubious Vietnamese đoc ape; or Khmer tọc gibbon.
(BLOOD 1966 2; SMITH 1972 278; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 129.)
336 *ɗuuƙ; *ɗuk boat, canoe.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer tūƙ, Kuy thūʔ; Bru tūʔ; Stieng ɗuk, Chrau duʔ boat, Biat ɗuk canoe (& Sedang tuk ship, or as Bahnar?); → Bahnar ɗuk boat, ship.

B: (Viet-Muông) Vietnamese nūc canoe.

(Shafier 1965 325; Smith 1972 271.)

337 *kr[ɗ]a[a]k palm, sole.

A: (Khuic, Palaungic) Kamma-Yuan kāta:k, kǎltà:k, Thin kãdak, Lawa Bo Luang (ʔa)nduak, Lawa Umphai rathuak.

(*[k]ɗ[ai]k see 331 *ɗak to break, snap.)

338 *[c]ɗak to cough, splutter.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (*[c][r]ɗak >) Mon hədek, Petchabun Nyah Kur caɗàk to cough, Proto-Nyah Kur *chadäk (Diffloth 1984 V34; favours *s-), Central Sakai sladık noise of hawking; ~ (*[c]ndaʔ >) Chrau ndaʔ to choke in swallowing, cough, Bru santūʔ to choke.

338a *[c]ɗaak; *[c]ɗaik to fry.

A, B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Khasi sdzih (B); ~ Kuy nthiaʔ to fry, parch [rice] (A; ~?, A/B) Riang-Lang kǎldàk to fry, ?Nancowry harát.

339 *tɗiak; *[t]ɗik wet.

A: (Mon, Kuy) Middle Mon tɗek /tdek/, Modern Mon deak; ~ (*tpɗiak >) Kuy priʔ.

B: (Khmer) Khmer tatūk (perhaps contaminated by tūk water, < 274 *diʔaak).

340 *tɗak dirt.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon td(u)i[k /tɗək/ [lîn] impurity, defilement; ~ (*tnɗak >) Biat ndák filth, dirt (→ Chrau kandaʔ particles of dirt).

Add perhaps West Bahnar kadik sediment, mud (Guilleminet 1959-63) (then < variant *t/r/ɗi[i]k), & to derive Mon hānoik power, dust, Nyah Kur ndyik power, dust.

341 *tɗ[ɗ]/[o]k slit-drum, bamboo rattle.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy tɔːʔ tɔʔ cowbell; ~ (*tṇɗ[ɗ]/[o]k >) Mon hānɔik slit-drum, (— klẹa) cowbell; ~ (*tṇɗ[ɗ]/[o]k >) Khmer trāɗaok cowbell of bamboo with seeds inside which rattle (&, probably colloquial rather than < simplex, tdaok, daɗaok, Tandart 1935; → Biat kɗाʔk rattle), Chrau tɔlɔʔ slit-drum (& by arbitrary variant tɔlɔʔ small bamboo slit-drum), Riang-Lang kɔrdɔk bamboo rattle.
Perhaps *-u(u)k/-uək. Cf. 903 *k’dəŋ, *k’duŋ bamboo-joint.

342 *tnaək step of stair.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer thnak, Vietnamese nác.

343 *[t]rnuk troubles.
Khmer d- by attraction tək sorrow, ← Pali dukka-, or Mon k- by phrasal assimilation?

344 *dnɔk; *dnəak ladle, hood of cobra.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon dnak hood of cobra, Modern Mon nɔk hood, ladle.
Variation obscure.

345 *pək to fan, [wind] to blow.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon puik to blow, Modern Mon pak, Old Khmer pak, Modern Khmer bək, Kuy pəʔ, Bru ʔapuʔ, Stieng poik to blow, to fan; ~ Middle Mon pnık, Modern Mon noik, Khmer bəneck' fan (GUESDON 1930); ~ (*prnək >) Literary Mon paŋik (?), Stieng prənək fan, Bru ranuʔ fan.
Add perhaps Khasi peh to winnow (< *kpək?). Stieng -ək post-labial, cf. 1025 *kət; 1040 *cfət.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 22; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 5 (b).)

346 *pək; *pəək; *pu[u]k to open.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat poʔ, poʔ.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer pek, Modern Khmer baak (→ Kuy bɔʔ?), Sre poə, Biat poək to open, Chrau poʔ to take off, lift; (or aʔ?) → Cham pyk, North Röglai poʔ to open.
C: (Khasi) Khasi phuh to flower.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 322; BLOOD 1966 414.)

(*pək see 371 *gək to chop, hoe.)
347 *pɔɔk to peel.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Muong, ?Khmuic) Old Khmer pak, Modern Khmer bɔɔk to peel (→ Kuy buaʔ to peel ?), Stieng bɔɔk to remove [mollusc] from shell, Mường pɔc (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese b opción to peel, Thin pɔk bark, rind (or by back-formation 〜 hɔmpɔc bark, rind, < 466 *s/mp/ɔɔk); → Thai pɔɔk.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *puak to remove: Cham poʔ to untie, unharness, remove (& to remove bark from, contaminated by or ← Mon-Khmer?), Jarai pɔk, Karo Batak puak to remove, Cebuano Bisayan puwak to tonsure (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; by metathesis?) *(q)u(N)pak: Tagalog upak bark, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 162, *cu(m)pak; Proto-Hesperonesian). (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 9.)

348 *puk; *puuk to swell, be inflated.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng puk, Sre pukʔ to swell, Biat pok swollen.
B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobari) Jeh puːk wind on stomach, Halang pük to want to defecate, Central Nicobarese fɔːk blister.
Cf. 101 *pooʔ &c.; & Nicobari puk-ɔal to swell (< *b- or *ɓ-).

(*pu(u)k see also 355 *[I]puk to dash against.)

349 *t,paak to pace, step.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Old Mon twek /twaik/ to walk, pace, Modern Mon kwaik to walk, Mường puːc (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese buːc (to) step.
*t, in view of Sora.
Sora 'dapaː-n step.
Proto-Austronesian *tapak: Malay tapak palm, sole, footprint, step, Tagalog tapak to tread on, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 131).

350 *tpuuk heap, to heap up.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer pūk to heap up, Modern Khmer bɔɔk to heap up; hump, Palaung poʔ [earth] bank (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang 〜 puk hill, hillock, raised ground, (dry) land; to be convex; 〜 Khmer domboɔk hillock, mound, anthill, (〜 kɔː) hump; by secondary derivation 〜 Khmer bɔmnoɔk heap, mound.
= following? Cf. also 369 *bu(u)k.
Proto-Austronesian *tuNpuk: Malay tumpok, tumpok small hill, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 101, *(Ct)uŋpuk; Proto-Hesperonesian). (Pou & Jenner 1975 nos. 20 (a), 22.)

351 *tpuuk; *tpuak to add, calculate.
A: (Khmer) Khmer bɔɔk.
B: (Mon) Mon tok to calculate (< Old Mon *twok, as tonj castor-oil tree < twoŋ); → Burmese twak, → Palaung tuaʔ to count, add.
= preceding? (Cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 27.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

352 *lpak; *lpaak; *lpaik; *lpiək to be broken, split in two.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer *bak (→ Cham ɓak), Stieng pak to break (v.i.), Sre paʔ to break (v.i.t.), Chrau paʔ to snap, break off. Rôngao pak [cord &c.] to break (Guilleminet 1959-63), Thin pâk to break (v.t.); ~ (*lnpak >?) Lawa Bo Luang pauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbak to break off; ~ (*t-lpak >?) Rôngao ṭapak to break (v.i.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ṭəlpak v.t.; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bombak v.t.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon pāk /paik/ to be shattered, Modern Mon paik to split, (c) Khmer baek broken, Kuy beʔ to separate (v.i.), (B) Sre [tam] paː; (B/C) Chrau paʔ? (→ Biat paʔ?) to share out, Jeh pak to split (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Kammu-Yuan pâk to crack, split (v.i.), (~?) Praak pak half, part; ~ Old Mon lu comunità either of two sides, Modern Mon kapaik also half, part; by secondary derivation ~ Mon hapaik to divide, sever, separate, Khmer bombaek to break, to divide, separate; ~ Mon hapaik cleft, Khmer prəbaek fork, confluence, junction; → Cham pabek fork, confluence, junction; ~ Middle Mon pađak [sat], (B) Khmer pronaik, Kuy mnaʔ?, (B/C) Stieng branaik areca shears.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khasi phiah to split (or c?); (by metathesis *piəik, or by secondary derivation ~ *pəjaik, >) Riang-Lang plieik (to) crack.

Connect (probably, by metathesis) 446 *pla(a)k side; perhaps B33 *paak to break...; & cf. further 356 *bjaik to tear apart; 364 *taik to cleave.

(Schmidt 1905 18; Shafter 1965 328; Blood 1966 316.)

Sora paː to split (v.t.).


353 *[l]pək; by metathesis *plək to open.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon pok /pək/, Modern Mon, Rôngao pok (Guilleminet 1959-63), Semang [ya] pəg (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 41 (a)).

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar plək to open (Guilleminet 1959-63), Riang-Lang ṭələk to burst open, split open (& by back-formation _lək to open (v.i.t), to reveal, to be revealed).

Connect 346 *pək &c.
354 *lpok to pull out, uproot.
A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon -puk, pok /puk/ to withdraw from socket, to unearth, Modern Mon pak to pull up, pluck out, Kuy boʔ to pull out, up, Bru boʔ (!) (separate?), Biat poak to be uprooted (beside pak to pull up [weeds]); ~ Old Mon [sjak] lupok to withdraw, Modern Mon kəpak to tear out, to be torn out, uprooted.

355 *[l]puk; *[l]puuk to dash against.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer bok to pound, crush, ram (contaminated by 370 *[k]ɓok to pound…); ~ Mon kəpak to strike, dash, launder by beating on stone.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre puː to beat.
Perhaps *pu(u)k, *l.-puuk in view of Austronesian, below; not *kp- (> Mon kw-).

356 *[b]jiak to tear apart.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung biaʔ to destroy, tear apart (MILNE 1931); ~ (*on[b]iak >) Praok biak to convulse.
Cf. 364 *tbaik to cleave; 352 *lpak &c. …split in two.

(*b[ee]k see 365 *[m]b[ee]k mud.)

357 *bək; *buuk; *buak to bind (round).
A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) Middle Mon buik to encircle, Modern Mon pàk to put round [e.g. waistcloth], Temiar bəg, Semelai bak to bind.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang puk, Lawa Umphai phuk to tie, bind.
C: (Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mường puóc (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese buóc to bind, Central Nicobarese pɔk-[hatə], pɔkə to bind, tie, fasten, Nancowry pók (*-uk?).
B, C secondary. Connect 621 *bəŋ …to bind round.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 213.)
Proto-Austronesian *bag’bag’: Malay bēbat to wrap [girdle, puttees], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; Proto-Hesperonesian).

358 *bo[ ]k belly.
(Katuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Kuy [plaː] phɔʔ lower part of belly, Khasi ‘poh (~ kpoḥ) belly; ~ (*bpo[ ]k >) Central Nicobarese pofwak intestines, Nancowry pufluák.
‡ 359 *[ ]buk; *[ ]buuk dust.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Mon hɔpək thabuik &c. fine powder or dust, Biat [neh] rbuk sand.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar habu:k dusty [road] (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Cf. 2034 *buh &c. ash, powdery dust.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *bu(k)buk: Javanese bubuk powder, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 33, *buk*; omitting words meaning weevil, mildewed, for which see 369 *ɓuk*); (ii) *qabuk: Malay (h)abok dust, powder, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 11, *abuk*); (iii) *yabuk: Tagalog gabok dust, powder, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 57; Dahl 1973 § 13.12; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *dabuk: Javanese dawuk grey [horse], &c. (Dempwolff 1938 41-2, *d*; Dahl 1973 § 14.7).
Perhaps Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, but none of these are attested in Mainland Austronesian See Benedict 1975 222-3.

360 *[b]uk; *[b]uuk to be drowned.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre buʔ, Biat [da:k] buk to be drowned, West Bahnar buk to be wrecked, drowned (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar babu:k to wreck (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Biat mbuk to immerse.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer bɔmpɔːk to flood with; ~ Chrau təmvuʔ [daʔ] to drown; ~ Central Nicobarese henpoːk-[haːfe] to drown.
Connect Central Nicobarese pɾɔkŋa to be to drowned, Nancowry pɔʔakŋa to drown oneself.
(Blood 1966 166; cf. Shafer 1965 132.)

361 *[b]uuk head.
A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Stieng buːk, Sre bou, Chrau voʔ, Biat boːk, Orang Bɛnuá buj ( Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 50).
(Blood 1966 1.)

362 *bʊak; *buuk group, company.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon b(w)ɔk /bɔk/ sect, Modern Mon pɔk company, group, sect, Old Khmer vɔk, Modern Khmer pʊʔak company, group, Palaung bɔk group (Milne 1931); → Thai pʰûak.
B: (Mon) Middle Mon buk sect.
Connect Malay kobok.
(Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 20 (b).)

363 *jʊɔk food-tray.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Khmer svɔk, Modern Khmer spɔːk woken tray for serving food; ~ Mon hɔpɔk dining-table in form of large round tray with short legs.
364 *tbaik (\*\*tbiak?) to cleave.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon tbehk /tbaik/ to slash, Modern Mon pahi to slash, cut (down), fell, Stieng beik to break, Chhra va?, Biat bahk to notch, Khasi piaih to cut in two (or < variant), Sakai bak to split (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 395); → toba Batak bak to be easily split (Proto-Austronesian *bak, DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, falls); ~ Kontum Bahnar (h)abak (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Jölong saba:k cleft of hoof). 
Cf. 352 *lpak &c. ...split in two; 356 *[b]iak to tear apart. Kuy ba?, Kammu-Yuan bák to notch are ← Tai (cf. BENEDICT 1975, below). 
Proto-Austronesian (i) *to(N)bak: Toba Batak tombak to clear forest, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 132; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *t'ibak: Malay sibak to part, cleave, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 402; Proto-Hesperonesian). Rather than: *tabak to pierce, as SHORTO 1971 Cf. BENEDICT 1975 263, cut down/off... (III).

365 *[m]b[ee]k mud.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy ( fauna)phè?, Sre mbe:. If Kuy phè?, Biat be? wet are cognate, root rather *b[ee]k.

366 *r[b]ak (\*\*r[b]aik?) brittle, fragile.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rapèak brittle kind of rattan, Chhra rava?, Biat rbak fragile, (or variant ?) Sre raba (!) brittle. 
Cf. Proto-Austronesian *ra(N)pak, raNpak (under the entry 352 *lpak).

367 *bak to draw [water].
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre ba (!), Biat bok, bok, Riang-Lang "bok. With Sre final cf. A19 *tntak; -a? is expected. Connection obscure Central Nicobarese fuk-[da:k].
(BLOOD 1966 114.)

368 *bùk, (*bùk bok >) *kbu:; *[b]huk rotten, mouldy.
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy pho? rotten, Bahnar phòk mouldy (\& intensives phok, phuk) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *b.ùk/*b.huk.
369 *ɓuk; *ɓuuk to heap up.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau vuʔ.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer pùk, Kuy phùʔ (& phòʔ), Stieng buk; → Cham buʔ.
Old Khmer has vak; from a variant? *ɓ- in view of Cham Cf. 350 *tpuuk.

369a *ɓook white, grey.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kuy buaʔ, Sre boʔ; Chrau voʔ white,
Stieng bo:k white, grey, Biat bo:k grey [soil], Bahnar bo:k off-white; white [hair],
Mintil bo:cik, Temiar bəyuːɡ white; ~ (*kɓoɔk >) Stieng kənbo:k white, clean,
Jeh tabo:k, Halang daboak white.
Add perhaps Palaung blʔ, < *knɓoɔk by metathesis (otherwise ad 436 *kl[uə]k).
Connection obscure 116 *kbooʔ white.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 98 (b).)

370 *kɓok to pound; mortar.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon bakers small mortar, Khmer baok to beat against a
stone &c. (contaminated by 355 *[l]pu(u)k to dash against), Sre boʔ, Chrau voʔ to
pound, bray.

(*kɓuk see 368 *ɓuk rotten, mouldy.)

371 *ɓoːk to chop, hoe.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon bək to chop, hoe, to peck,
to slit open, Bahnar bək to hollow with adze, dig with hoe &c., Jeh bok to hoe,
Halang bək to cut through, carve, Thin bək to chop down, Khasi kboh to scratch,
Sakai bigbəg-[tɛ] to dig (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 107 (b)); → Shan
wʊk to hoe slash (rather than as BENEDICT 1975 263, cut down... (III)), (?) →
Riang-Lang _mak to cut with swinging motion, hew; ~ Mon həbək khaθãk hoe.
 Earlier *ɓəbəg, cf. Sakai; perhaps connected 375 *ɗək to hook. Riang-Lang may
reflect a variant of 866 *[ŋ]wa(ə)c to cut... which compare. Connection obscure
(*pək >) Sre poʔ, Biat pak, Temiar pag to dig; as with Khasi puh to dig, peck, bite
(< *bu(u)k); Chraul poʔ to split wood, split off bark.
(SMITH 1972 277.)
Proto-Austronesian *tib[aa]g: Malay tebak heavy cutting or chopping blow, to dig out

372 *tɕuːk froth.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi sboh to be thick, scummy (=) syboh adhesive froth, Central
Nicobarese puk bubble, Nancowry púk to boil (v.i.).
Connect 2038 *ɓuŋ &c. to bubble, boil.
Proto-Austronesian *bug’aq foam: Tagalog buláq, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32,
*bug’a[h]).
373 *tɓak to snap at, snap up.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*tnɓak >) Mon hamek; ~ Khmer trɓak (with -ɓ- by levelling on unattested *tɓak?).
   Connect Palaung hmaʔ to snatch?

374 *[d]ɓak; *[d]ɓaak to bestride, to be bestridden, have hanging down e.g. round neck.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer pɓak to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestridge, Kuy with secondary lengthening phəʔ to put on, wear, Sre baʔ to carry in a shawl on one’s back (→ Röglaï), Chrau vaʔ to carry [baby] on back, Biat baʔ to carry [person] on back, Bahnar ɓak to wear round neck, Thin ɓâk to mount, ride, be astride, (or B) Palaung baʔ to ride, drive, Khasi bah to carry on back or shoulders; ~ Cham pəʔ to carry on back; ~ (*[d]ɓɓak >) Mon habek to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck, Kuy baʔ to hang up, Bahnar tɓaak to hang over something (with -ɓ- by levelling), (or B) Khasi tabah to throw, hang, across shoulder; ~ (*[d]ɓɓak >) Lawa Bo Luang pok, Lawa Umphai mbok to ride; ~ (*tnɓak by secondary derivation >?) Bûnôr mɓak to hang up (→ Sre maʔ to carry in a shawl on one’s back), Biat mbk to carry on a yoke.
   B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Bunôr, Central Rölöm baʔ to carry [baby] on back, Central Nicobarese pæk-[həta] to carry on shoulder; ~ Stieng nbæk to carry [hoe] dangling, (~?) Vietnamese vâc to carry over shoulder; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Stieng cembæk to hang over horizontal support; (~?) Proto-Nyah Kur *lɓaak (DIFFLOTH 1984 V42; points to *l-).
   Hence Kachin, Rawang (Mutwang dialect) baʔ to carry on back (< *ɓak, BENEDICT 1972 19 n. 71; so ≠ Tibeto-Burman *ba)?
   (SCHMIDT 1905 16; BLOOD 1966 277, 358)

375 *ɗɓok to hook.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Khmer thpùak to hook towards one, Khasi boh, Vietnamese móc to hook; ~ Khmer tũmpùak (& tũmpùak!) hook, crook, hooked stick for picking fruit; ~ (*ɗɓok >) Literary Mon thabdək ankus; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi bnoh hook, hooked stick; to hook.
   Connect perhaps 371 *gɓok to chop, hoe.

376 *mak; *ma[a]k to like, love.
   A: (Kuy) Kuy mək to love.
   B: (Palaungic) Praok mek to hanker [after], Lawa Umphai mak to like, love.

377 *mək; *məak ox, cattle.
   A, B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _mək, (B) Palaung muk, (A) Lawa Bo Luang məup, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mək.
   (SHAFER 1965 159.)
Santali mīhū, Ho mīu calf (PINNOW 1959 K 541).

1378 *mōk; *mōk to emerge.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Old Mon mōk /mɔk/ to appear, Modern Mon mōk to appear, emerge, come to the surface, [moon] to wax, Bahnar mōk [paddy] beginning to form grain, (or B?) Muong (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese mọc [plant, hair, nails] to come up, grow, [sun] to rise
B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Old Khmer mōk, Modern Khmer mōk to appear, come near, approach, Nancowry mūāk to appear.
Kharia muʔ to come out, &c. (PINNOW 1959 109; Proto-Munda *mu[k]).

379 *mōk(mōk); *mōk(mōk) to sit still.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau mōʔ mōʔ quietly, (or B?) Palaung mōʔ to sit.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre mōmō quiet, inactive.
Add perhaps (B) Riang-Lang mōk to place, put.

380 *mōk to take [rice] in fingers.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre mo to take [rice] in fingers (→ Röglai mop?), Biat mōk mouthful, Bahnar mōk to take [rice] in fingers, Bru mōʔ; ~ Mon kōmōk to scoop up; handful [of rice &c.].
Connection dubious Vietnamese bóc.

381 *muuk; *muək hat.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng muuk, Biat mōk hat, Jōlong mōk European headgear (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok mūk hat.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khmuic) Khmer mūək hat, Khasi [tap] moh hat, [woman] to put on headdress; → Thai mūak (→ Kuy mūək?), Lao mūak, Sek muak hat; ~ (*muuk muak > *kmuuək > ?) Kammu-Yuan mūak hat, cap, Palaung hməʔ woman’s cap.
POU & JENNER 1973 61 derive Khmer via Tai from Archaic Chinese mág" 帽 headpiece. Connection dubious Middle Mon khamhok wide-brimmed conical helmet, Modern Mon hmōk Shan hat (→ Burmese khamok); perhaps infixed form of khok cup, ↔ Burmese khwak; to refer it with Palaung to *kmhuək is semantically improbable. Atayal (?)umuk to cover (head), wear on head, ~ aʔumuk cover, lid. (BENEDICT 1975 259, cover..., which compare)

382 *t,muk; *t,muuk cheek, jawbone.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi tmoh chin; ~ Riang-Lang mōk cheek.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [soh] muh (compounding form) bearded; ~ Sre tarmou, Chrau tamouʔ cheek.
Connection uncertain Bahnar dialects tābōk bearded (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
382a *smak dirty.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Khmer srəmək covered with dirt (with secondary lengthening), Mnon Gar &c. ramaʔ dirty (→ Jeh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) ramaʔ?), by metathesis Kuy mphrɨʔ dirty, stained; ~ (*spəmək) Sre, Bunôr ɓaʔ, Lawa Umphai saʔmək dirty, by metathesis Riang-Lang _pak [caʔ] (with phrasal low tone) to be disgusting, dirty.
(BLOOD 1966 385, 386.)
Proto-Austronesian *k'əməq = *k'əmaq (DEMPWOLFF 1938)

383 *ya[a]k to pound.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon yek /yaik/, Modern Mon yaiʔ to pound [paddy], Sakai ejak to pound to pieces (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 202).

384 *yək; *yəək to take.
A: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi ìə to obtain, receive, have (or B); ~ Biat chək (?), Bahnar yəək to take.
B: (Khmer) Khmer yəːk to take, bring, get, accept, receive.
Cf. Central Nicobarese okai, okə.
(SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

385 *yuk (& *yuək?); *yək; *yəək to lift.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon yuk, yok /yuək/, Modern Mon yaiʔ to lift, to carry in arms, Palaung yuuk? to rise, to raise, Praok yəək, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai yuak (!) to lift; ~ Shan yuk; ~ Khasi kynjuh to dandle, weigh in arms.
B: (Khmer, Katsuic, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Khmer yuək to lift up, Bru ?ayʔʔ, (~?) Mường giác (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nhác, nhác to lift, raise; (or c) ~ Riang-Lang _pəkək to erect, set upright.
C: (South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng juək, Sre ya: to lift, Chrau yəʔ to take off, lift, Bru ?ayʔʔ to raise, lift; ~ Cham yaʔʔ.
Vocalism at least in part contextual, cf. 538 *juŋ; Lawa suggests *yuək; c perhaps contaminated by 425 *laʔk. Cf. Biat iət to carry. But Central Sakai jujūk to carry on head is ~ Malay junjong (< Proto-Austronesian *d'unđ'unŋ).
(BLOOD 1966 427.)

386 *yuθιk vigorous, healthy.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon [that] yək to be in good health, Bônöm Bahnar joθk in good health (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon yirɨk /yərɨyk/ vigour; ~ East Bahnar hioθk, West Bahnar hŋoθk easy, happy, pleasant, to make easy (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

387 *[.y]aak bold.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre cha: to be bold, Palaung yəʔ to be bold, Riang-Lang -yak to be bold, to dare; a secondary derivation → Röglai jama.
388 *kyaak ghost, supernatural being.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon kyāk /kyaik/, Modern Mon caik sacred being or thing.
Stieng ciak bloodsucking male witch, Sre ca: evil spirit, Chrau ca? demon, Biat ciak ghost, Bahnar kiak corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts, Jeh kayak to die, Halang kayak corpse.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 286.)

389 *tya[a]k sambhur deer, large forest mammal.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar kick, Khmu' tya:k tiger (or separate?), Kammu-Yuan tayāk, Palaung caʔ, Riang-Lang 'tyuk, Lawa cak sambhur.
(SHAFER 1965 343.)

390 *riək to pluck, harvest.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Katuic) Central Rölöm riək, Bunör, Biat rek to reap, Lawa Umphai riak, Mae Sariang ɣiak to break (off), Khasi ria to pluck [e.g. herbs], Bru riʔ to harvest.
(BLOOD 1966 95.)

391 *r[a]k to love; beloved, dear.
A: (Khmēr, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer rɛ̀ək dear, kind (TANDART 1935), (— - tɛ̀ak) friendly, Thin râk to be beloved, dear, to love, Kammu-Yuan rak, Palaung rək (!) to love; ↔ Thai râk, Shan hâk to love; ~ (*mr[a]k >?) Khmer mrɛ̀ek girl's friend of same sex, man's friend's wife, Kuy mmarək girl's friend of same sex; ~ Palaung karrək (!), Riang-Lang _rərk to love each other.

391a *raak white ant, termite.

392 *raik (& *raak?) to call out, shout.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Khmer rek to call out (GUESDON 1930), Stieng rak (≺ *raak; or loan word?), Chrau raʔ to curse, Biat [tomː] rak to call [one another] names, Riang-Lang _rək to call out, Praok rek to cry, moan; ~ (*c[raik >] Khmer sraek to cry out, Serau cerikə to shout (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 10; or Malay, below?)); ~ Old Mon trək /traik/ to shout, cheer.
Sora ruːi- doublet of ken- to sing, ber- to speak, Santali raʔ to cry, call, sing, weep, &c. (PINNOW 1959 57).
393 *[ ]r[ɔ]k frog, toad.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, North Bahnaric) Bru ?arb? large kind of toad, Thin rokit toad, Riang-Lang _rak frog, toad; → Shan *ruak frog, Nung *ruak, Diou ruk tadpole (BENEDICT 1975 298, which compare); ~ (or =?) Palaung arak frog, toad; ~ Bahnar [kuit]ادراك (Gölar ket hadрак) toad, Khasi _hynroh frog; → Jarai *rɔ toad, Röglai [kieo] _adro buffalo toad.
Or *-uuk (Bahnar), *-uək.
(SHAFER 1965 220.)

394 *ruk; *ruuk forest.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung ru? outside, (?) Praok [caon] _raok beach, shore, (junction-form; or ~ *jr-) >) Lawa Bo Luang [piʔ]doak, Lawa Umphai [pheʔ] _rauk, Mae Sariang [phiʔ] _rauk forest; ~ Old Khmer _sruk,
Modern Khmer _srok inhabited area, country, Kuy soʔ village, Temiar _sarək forest.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ruk forest.
Cf. for semantics 181 *briʔ.
(SHAFER 1965 534; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 231 (b).)

395 *ruk; *ruuk; *ruək to force in, cram in.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer _rak to cram in, to force one's way into, Chrau ruʔ to insert; → Thai _rak to penetrate by force; ~ Mon _prak to put in, pack in, cram in, (or c) Khasi phroh [bird] to feed [young]; → Malay _pērok to stuff into a drawer anyhow; ~ (*jnruk >) Sre jarak glutinous, intemperate; (or c?) ~ Riang-Lang _prak to crowd in on, press, throng, to force ones way in; ~ Khmer _ranuk bar, bolt, catch, latch.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng _ruk to force in, force under; ~ Biat ndru:k glutinous, intemperate, Khasi jynruh things lying in a disordered manner; ~ Stieng _nrunuk [kəpluŋ] ramrod.
C: (Nicobaric, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Central Nicobarese _yuək-[h̪aŋa], _yuəka to load [boat], fill [pot], Nancowry _ukyúak; ~ Kuy _ruəʔ to pour into narrow-necked vessel & Bru _ruəʔ? (< *croək?); (~?) Bahnar _trak to pour grains into small opening = Gölær _hrək to push rice into bamboo tube.

396 *ruuk ox.
A: (Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang _rok; ~ (*kuan ruuk by contraction >?) Sre kənrou, Biat ndrok.

For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *duuk.
(BLOOD 1966 8; SMITH 1972 283.)
397 *ruuk; *ruək; *rəək to shake, tremble.

A: (Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Besisi krůk to tremble, shiver (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 228); ~ Khasi kynruh to rinse, churn, rumble, shake.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric; *ruək ruək >) Bahnar rəərk to tremble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Central Nicobarese nyək to shiver.

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Bahnar rəərk to tremble; ~ Old Khmer kamrek, Modern Khmer kəmraək to move, shake, tremble; ~ (*s[b]rəək >) Mon hərk to shake (v.t.).

398 *krak heartwood, hard wood.


Stieng kraʔ heartwood, Sre kra hard [wood], Vietnamese tráč species of hard wood, all appear to be interdialect loans.

399 *krək adapted, ready, suitable.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon krak to suit, be s.able, Khasi khreh to prepare, to be ready.

Connection uncertain Sora 'ira:- to be agreeable, favourable.

400 *[k]ruuk to fall.

A: (Khmuic, South Aslian) Thin kruk, Semelai gəərk; ~ (*[k]rruk >) Kammu-Yuan ərúk.

401 *grik to sift, sieve.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon krək to split (v.t.); ~ Khasi kynric.


402 *criək to be split lengthwise.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer criək to split (v.t.); → Thai kriąk to split (v.t.); ~ (*cbriək >) Mon kəreak to split, slit open; ~ (*cnriək >) Mon kəreak part split off, slit, sheet, piece, Khmer by dissimilation camriək part split off, West Bahnar jadərek slice cut lengthwise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 404 *crak &c. to tear, divide. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(Proto-Austronesian *təərak:?) Paiwan (Formosa) min-tsəərak split (BENEDICT 1975 391, which see).

403 *crak; *criək to incise, engrave.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon sek sak to draw, draw a line, cross out, Biat crak to engrave.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar crek to draw a line, groove, engrave.

B probably by secondary palatalization, cf. 487 *cəəŋ &c. Connect Vietnamese ṛəch to make incision, groove. (< *[ ]raik?); but Sre saraʔ written matter is ← Röglai haraʔ < Proto-Austronesian *tʰurat.,
404 *craak; *crai; *criik to tear, divide.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Muong) Mon saik srāk to tear (in two, up), (—thon) to be born, (A) Khmer craak to divide up (TANDART 1935), to share expenses, (B) Khmer crēk (!) to part [e.g. curtains], (—pūh) cut way through, Muong réch (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese rách torn.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre cereː to tear.
Hardly by metathesis *cr-caak &c. (cf. 291) in view of Austronesian, below. Cf. also 402 *criak to be split lengthwise; 465 *saik &c. to split, cleave, tear.
Proto-Austronesian *t'arak: (i) Malay sarak to separate the sexes, Tagalog salak to chop, slice, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Acehnese criaʔ to unravel [fibre], to pull to pieces, Malay charēk to tear bits off, Iban charik torn, perhaps rather ← Proto-Austronesian *k'ari[ ]ak than ← Mon-Khmer in view of vocalism. See BENEDICT 1975 375, separate(d).

(*c[ ]raak see 1581a *cgaar to fence, enclose.)

405 *[c]r[a]k to take shelter.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon crust ?/crøk/, Khmer crɔːk (!) Khmer chest register perhaps secondary, but lengthening unexplained; cf. here 694 *tr[a]ŋ.

406 *[c]rɔk to drip.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic). Khmer srɔk; (~ *[c]brɔk >) Literary Mon tarāk to lead off [water] by a gutter, Khmer somrɔk to let drip, Bru rʊʔ to let in water; (~ *[c]nɔk >) Mon korɔk gutter.
Cf. 842 *ruc &c.

407 *croɔk to plant upright, stick in.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon crok /crok/ to plant upright, Modern Mon sɔk also to place on finger, Khmer croɔk to put in, fill, load, to place on finger, Stieng corɔk to put in, fill, load, Biat croɔk to load [gun].
Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic contaminated by 395 *ruk &c. …to cram in.

408 *trak; *tra[i]k; *triak buffalo.
A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi shynreh.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan trāk, Lawa Bo Luang khrak, Lawa Umphai krak, Mae Sariang khyak, (or A?) Palaung kraʔ.
C: (Katuic) Kuy triʔ.
With Palaungic initials cf. 410 *t[i]k[wɔ].
(SHAFER 1965 88; & cf. 458.)
409 *traak lead.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Stieng) tra;, Chrau traʔ; ~ (*tnraak >) Biat ndraxk, Tōlo Bahnar adraxk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai mbrak; → Rōglai támra, North Rōglai tumraʔ.

410 *t[ua]k ribs.
Khasi sh- by phrasal deformation? But with these Palaungic initials cf. 408 *trak &c. (By metathesis) Proto-Austronesian *yut'uk: Malay rusok, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 59).

411 *pra[ ]k to injure.
(Mon) Old Mon prik /prök/ to injure, harm; ~ Modern Mon parak to molest, attempt to injure.
Sora 'pra-ra- to be hurt, wounded, 'para-n wound, injury (& with variant vocalism 'poru- to overlook, cast evil eye?).

412 *proɔk squirrel.
(Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian). Sre pro (→ Stieng proʔ?), Chrau proʔ?, Biat, Bahnar proɔk, Jeh proɔk (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan proɔk, Palaung [ə]proʔ (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese [con] sóc, Sakai prök (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 136 (c)); → Lao, Ahom *rook (BENEDICT 1975 226, bat...); Cham, Jarai proʔ?, Rōglai proʔ?, North Rōglai proʔ?.
Cf. Khmer komprok, apparently < *kon proɔk, for which cf. Vietnamese; → Thai krawɔk (with kr- by hypercorrection) at early stage; with vowel metathesis & irregular shortening. For Stieng -h < *-ʔ (here borrowed) in animal names cf. 39 *ciiʔ. (SHAFER 1965 334d; BLOOD 1966 75.)

413 *brɔk brɔk disorderly, untidy.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon haprɔk [hapruʔ] to have unkempt hair, Praok [sibroy] sibruk refuse.

414 *br[ɔɔ]k water-dipper.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon prɔk brɔk water-dipper, Sre bro gourd container or dipper; apparently → Rōglai bro gourd container or dipper, Acehnese bruɔ? coconut-shell, dipper &c. made from coconut-shell, Javanese bɛruk coconut-shell used as dipper or rice measure. Acehnese, Javanese cannot be cognate. Connection uncertain Palaung bruʔ?, bluʔ? to dip up.
415 *brok to go.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat broʔ, Bahnar brok.
(SMITH 1972 272.)

416 *mraik[ ] peacock.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon mrek (& mreiʔ) ?/mraik/, Modern Mon paràik, Sre bra, Chrau vraʔ, Biat brak, Palaung dials. phraʔ, braʔ (Mon; → Riang-Lang prak), Bru riaʔ (< *-aak; loanword?); → Cham (a)mraʔ, Jarai amraʔ, Röglai amra:, North Röglai amraʔ peacock (→ Bahnar amraʔ, Gölär Bahnar həmraʔ? peacock, pheasant); Malay mėräk (probably → Central Sakai [chim]-méra'), Acehnese mōraʔ, Javanese mëraκ.
Old Mon has similar orthographic variants; ad 417 *c-liik[ ] pig, 1051 *tmaat[ ] vulture; perhaps /mraik/ or the like.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 321, 532; BLOOD 1966 281.)
Kharia ma'raʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 27.)

417 *lik[ ]; *liik[ ] pig.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung leʔ, Riang-Lang lek.
B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central & South Aslian) Kuy (?a):lìʔ, Praok lik, Lawa Bo Luang laic, Lawa Umphai leic, Mae Sariang leic, (or A) Sakai lū (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 78); ~ Old Mon cilik (& cilin) ?/cilik/, Modern Mon kloik, (or A) Bera jalo' (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 83); (?) → Javanese chèlèng, Madurese cheleng wild pig.
On Old Mon variants, cf. preceding; perhaps /cilik/ or the like. Connection dubious KHMER crūκ.
(SHAFER 1965 332.)

418 *l[a]k to hoe.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung laʔ (!) to hoe, Riang-Lang lak to dig, to peck; ~ Palaung klaʔ to peck; ~ Jeh hlak, Halang talak, Palaung kalaʔ hoe.
Sora lo- to hoe, Mundari laʔ to adze, to hoe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 304).

419 *lak to inlay.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon lak /lak/ to set with gems, Khmer lēak to groove, incise (contaminated by 403 *crak? also lē:k); → Cham lak to groove, incise.

420 *lak weapon.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon lēak [nēak] (→ Burmese laknak); ~ (*lnak >) Mon [lēak] nēak weapon, (~?) Bahnar rōnak, hōnak weapons for defence (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*lak see also *[d,l]lak good.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

421 *laik; *lak; *liək; *lik; *liik; *lɔk to unfold, to open eyes.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre la to unfold, spread (→ Rōglai la; so not < 191 *laʔ, which compare, but perhaps merging it); ~ (*[l]mlaik >) Mon pɔləik (la)mlāk to open [eyes], Proto-Nyah Kur *ləmləak (DIFFLOTH 1984 V50), Khmer rûmlək to spread out and divide up, separate; → Rōglai bla; North Rōglai blaʔ to open [eyes]; ~ West Bahnar talaik to peel (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang plək = to open [eyes], Praok plək to reveal.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre laʔ = la, Chrau laʔ, Biat lak to spread out; ~ Kuy mpləʔ to spread open, unfold.

C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar lek to skin, peel, to show [teeth], Rōngao to spread, Bru liaʔ to peel; ~ Bahnar talek to peel (v.i.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ plek to open [someone else’s eyes, mouth, &c.].

D, E: (South Bahnaric) Sre li: to open [eyes], to spread, open, Chrau liʔ opened out, by sandhi lin [mat] to open [eyes] (E), (D) Biat liʔ unfolded; to open [hand].

F: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lək to spread, unroll.

(BLOOD 1966 379)


421a *laik fluttering creature.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang _lək [⁎loŋ] flying fox; ~ (*lmlaik >?) Riang-Lang _rələk, (~?) Lawa Bo Luang mblak, mbrak, Lawa Umphai mblak bat; ~ Khasi slieh flying squirrel; ~ syllieh (beside syllih) flying squirrel, (probably ~, but cf. 408 *trak &c.) Palaung karəa? butterfly.

Cf. 431 *laik luk &c. flashing…, 444a *pliik &c. to flash, flicker. Chrau has luʔ bat.

422 *laik; *liək; *liik to dissolve, fall into dissolution.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng lek to melt (v.i.); ~ Old Mon [rləiŋ] rlāk /rlaik/ to be in ruins, Modern Mon ləik to fall into ruin, fall away.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lek to dissolve, melt (v.i.).

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng liik to melt (v.t.), Sre li: to dissolve, melt (v.i.), Chrau leːc to crush, pulverize, Biat lek dissolved.

Old Mon rl- by phrasal attraction, or contaminated by 861a *rlaac to collapse…? Cf. 718 *la(a)ŋ to destroy; 927 *lan to be destroyed….

(BLOOD 1966 34.)

(*laik see also 431 *laik luk &c. flashing, lightning.)
423 *lək; *luk; *luuk; *ləc to overturn, capsize, sink, be immersed.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, ?Mon, Palaungic) Kontum Bahnar lək [vehicle, boat] to overturn (1; GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[l]nələk >) Bahnar glək to be drowned; ~ (*prlək >) Kuy loʔ immersed in, Chrau pələʔ to turn around, Biat rələʔ back to front, against [the wind], Stieng prələk, Sre pərələʔ (→ Röglai), Bahnar hələk to turn upside down; ~ (*bl- >; or B) Mon plək to sink, be submerged, inundated, (or c) Praok pluk [plek] to be transformed; ~ (*tnələk >?) Biat ŋkələʔ, ŋkələ to overturn, to knock down.
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Kuy lūʔ to mix, Bru luʔ (!), Bahnar lʊk to overturn, to mix together (contaminated by 222 *brlə [ʔ]; ~ (*[l]nəlʊk >) Praok nək to sink, Khasi [tələp] plək (!) [water] to cover; ~ Kuy phlùʔ to topple over; ~ Bahnar bəlʊk = lʊk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer plhəlʊk to overturn, capsize (v.i.); ~ bəmphəlʊk to overturn, capsize (v.t.) (GUESDON 1930), to cause to crash.
D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lát to turn upside down; ~ (*lələc >?) Biat [mlələc] bələr [blər] upside down; ~ pləc to turn upside down; ~ Sre pərləc to turn (v.t.).
Add perhaps Riang-Lang tələc to sink, be drowned (then < *[c]lələc; otherwise < 854 *lələc, which compare). But Palaung lək to be transformed is ← or contaminated by Shan lək to separate, be separated, (→ khəp) slough skin. Cf. further 1079 *lət to be extinguished; 721 *ləɲ to be immersed.
(BLOOD 1966 410; SMITH 1972 265.)
Proto-Austronesian *balık: Malay balek behind, to go back, tēr-balek inverted, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 22); → Semang bilē’ to turn round, over, &c. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 255).

424 *lək; *ləc to sleep.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer ləak to be asleep, Stieng ləak to lie down, sleep; ~ Bahnar hələk to sleep heavily, Temiar sələg to sleep; ~ (*[s]rləak >) Vietnamese giác to sleep.
B: (Katuic, Khmuic) Thin loj, lojc to sleep, go to sleep; ~ Kuy sələc, hələc to fall asleep.
Cf. B66 *[ləa]ac &c. to lie abed; originally probably *lək = *laəc, with mutual contamination
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 249.)

425 *ləək to lift, raise.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer lə:`k, Kuy l:`ʔ, Stieng lə:`k, Biat lə`k.
Cf. 385 *yuk &c.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

426 *lōk; (*lōk lāk >) *klāk container.
A: (Palaungic, Aslian, Katuic) Kensiu, Temiar laŋ, Semelai luuk quiver, Bru ?alāʔ section of bamboo (container); ~ Palaung salōʔ cup, Lawa Umphai ralok skull.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Middle Mon ḥāk /klāk/ [tinder-box], Modern Mon klāk [pən] [lime-]casket, Khmer khlāk small tubular container with lid, Riang-Lang ḥlāk cup, bowl, Praok klāk valley, Mường tróc head (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207), Mah Meri hlūk quiver; → Thai klāk, Shan kōk cup, bowl, → Praok kōk cup, bowl; ~ (*klōk >) Kuy (k)łāk brains, fontanel, (~?) Bahnar kalāk, kalāʔ container made from split bamboo-joint (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Stieng rakłāk brains.

427 *lo[ ]k tadpole.
Cf. Palaung aglo (MILNE 1931).

428 *lək; *lək to dye.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Middle Mon lāk, Modern Mon lōk to paint (on), (b) Kuy lāʔ to dye; ~ (A/B) Middle Mon lwāk dyed material; ~ Literary Mon cālāk, (A) Khmer cāləuk to dip into liquid, dye.
Connection obscure Riang-Lang ruak to dye, paint.

(*lək see also 855 *loč penis.)

429 *luk stone.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre lu (!), Biat luʔ; ~ Semang bālog (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 462).

430 *luk; *luuk to have a hole in, make a hole in.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon làk to be torn, punctured, Bru luʔ to be torn, have hole in, Nancowry kālk to pierce.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat lōk to make a hole in.
Connect 2069 *luh to pierce?

431 *laik luk; *laik luuk; *laik luōk flashing, lightning.
A, B, C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung laōʔ sheet lightning (MILNE 1931) (c), Riang-Lang lak lōk (flash of) lightning (A), by vocalic assimilation perhaps following metathesis Khasi leileih lightning, by inversion (B) Biat [kən] lok [kən] łak firefly; so ~ Lawa Umphai pluk plak lightning (& Mae Sariang puk plak, Lawa Bau Luang puk pleaf).
Connect 444a *pliik &c. to flash, flicker; & cf. 421a *laik fluttering creature.
432 *luuk; *luək to touch, explore manually.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon *lək to touch, come in contact with, collide with, Khmer *luək to touch one's hand, Chrau *luə to grope in holes for [fish] (contaminated by 438 *gl[ə]k?).
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *luə to grope in holes for [fish]; → Cham *luə to insinuate (oneself); ~ Stieng *ləək to try temperature of water with finger.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

433 *klak blocked, blind.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Mon *klək to be filled in, closed, blind, Kammu-Yuan *lɯək to be blind, Riang-Lang *klak to be hard, stubborn (?), Khasi [mat]lah (compounding form) blind [person].
Connection perhaps Jeh *loək, Halang *loak blind (< *k/p/luək?). But connection dubious Praok duk blind; or Bahnar klik deaf. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

434 *klək navel.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kloʔ, Chrau, Biat kləʔ, Bahnar klok; → Stieng klə: by interdialectal borrowing.
(SHAFER 1965 334c; SMITH 1972 280.)

(*klək see also 426 *lək container.)

435 *klək to spill over.
A: (Mon, Khamic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Mon *klək to spill over, displaced; ~ (*kplək > ?) Khasi phaloh to spill, splash over (& by secondary derivation kynphlok (!) to spray [water]?).
Connection dubious Mon kəlak to splash about, be scattered.

436 *kl[uə]k white.
A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan klək, Bateg Nong halək; ~ Palaung bləʔ (?; < *km[uə]k; or ad 369a *kłoök); ~ Kuy pluiʔ grey [hair], Bru pluaʔ (< *-əək?).
Add perhaps Khasi lieh (then compounding form, < *klək with secondary lengthening).

437 *gnlak uneven [ground].

438 *glək to insert hand into or remove from hole.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon klok glək to take out with hand, insert hand, Proto-Nyah Kur *khələk (DIFFLOTH 1984 V51), Riang-Lang klək [*θenj] to pluck out, gouge out (→ Shan khək to pry out), Khasi kləh to push hand into hole.
Cf. Stieng gluk (< *glək) to uproot tree for transplanting.

439 *gluk to tap repeatedly.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang klok to tap, rap; ~ Old Mon girluk
      ?/gərluk/ to beat [drum], Khmer krâlûk to pat in, knead.

440 *cla[a]k piece of roofing material.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Old Mon clâk /claik/ shingle, Modern Mon klaik
      wedge, Bahnar hlaak quantifier for pieces of thatch, fields, flat things, ? Bru sule?:
      wall of bamboo twill (then *-aik); ~ (?; *cmla[a]k >?) West Bahnar məna:k piece
      of thatch (GUilleminet 1959-63).

441 *jlək (& *jləək?) to be choked, stifled.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Aslian) Mon klâk to be stifled, Khmer chlûak to be choked,
      suffocated (?; then variant >) Semelai jələk smoke.
      (Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 300.)

441a *t,la[a]k intestines.
   A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kla:k; ~ Chrau təla?:
      (Smith 1972 288.)

442 *t,luk; *t,luuk; *t,luək; *t,lok dirty.
   A: (Khmuic, Khmer, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan rûk (!) dirt, perhaps Khmer thlok puddle,
      Kuy loʔ wallow.
   B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru nləʔ mud, Bahnar trok mud (Guilleminet 1959-63);
      ~ (*t,bluuk by levelling >?) to trok to get mud on, soil (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   C: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Riang-Lang ruak dirt, to be dirty, foul, unclean; ~
      (*t,bluək by levelling >?) Riang-Lang təkrua:k to defile, (or ~ *t,mluək >?)
      Vietnamese in compounds troc to be impure, muddy.
   D: (Mon, Khmer) Mon klak to be dirty, dusty, Proto-Nyah Kur *khəlak
      (Diffloth 1984 V53); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer prəlak soiled, to soil (~ *plak <
      *t,plək).
   Cf. Mon hlak to be dirty, probably contaminated by hlak mud < 482 *lhək.

443 *[d,]lak good.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Jeh lak healthy (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Palaung laʔ,
      Riang-Lang _rak to be good.
   Or *lak, if Riang-Lang contaminated by 391 *r[a]k to love… . Distinguish 193 *loʔ.
444 *dlóòk kind of creeper.

444a *pliik; *plòòk to flash, flicker.
A: (Khmer) Khmer phleːk bright, twinkling.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang [puk] pleak lightning, Khasi phliah sparkle of fire.
Connect 431 *laik luk &c. flashing, lightning; & cf. 421a *laik fluttering creature.

445 *pliik; *klip (& *kliip?) shoulder.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *pliik >) Stieng pəliik, Sre pəni, Chrau pəni:?; Biat mliik.
B: (Palaungic) Praok klip (< *kliip?), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang klep.
Direction of metathesis undetermined.

446 *plak; *pla[a]k side.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese in compounds trác.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang plak side, direction, fraction, Praok plak side, direction, half; perhaps by back-formation ~ Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang lak side.
Probably by metathesis 352 *lpak &c. ...split in two; cf. there Praok pak; Old Mon lumpek.

‡ 447 *pla[a]k sole, palm.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang plak.
Proto-Austronesian *palag’ palm: Toba Batak palak, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112; Proto-Hesperonesian).
See BENEDICT 1975 350.

(*plak see 353 *[l]pək to open.)

448 *pluk pigeon.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng pluk large wild pigeon, Chrau plu? kind of small bird (~ Sre [ntap] plu pigeon?), Bru [cem] plûʔ pigeon; ~ (*kuan pluk by contraction >) Khmer komphlokok pigeon.
(SHAFER 1965 334.)

449 *[blak] blak nightjar.
450 *bluk; *bluək tusk, ivory.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer phlûk, Stieng bluk, Lawa Umphai phlok.
B: (Katuic) Kuy phlûaʔ.
Cf. 225 *[m]laʔ. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 126 (a).)

451 *rlaak; *rlaik to split, divide.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon làïk to split [bamboo] into fibres, Khmer ralêik to divide up, share out (B; → Cham ralaiik), Biat rlaik to divide up, (~?) Khasi thlieh (B) to split; ~ Sre tərla: piece of bamboo from which fibres have been split (DOURNES 1950; A).

452 *sliək to put round lower part of body.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer sliək to put on [lower garment]; ~ (sniək >) Bahnar dialects sonek (to put on) man's lower garment (GUESDON 1930).
Connection dubious 453 *sl[u]k.

452a *snlak (& *snlaak?) joint.
A: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer sənlak joint, Central Nicobarese henlaːkə- [shoulder] joint (& oklaːkə joint; < variant?).
Connection uncertain Biat rpak.

453 *sl[u]k to put on, wear.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon sluk, solk /sluŋ/, Central Sakai lok; → Karo Batak seluk.
Connection dubious 452 *sliək; but cf. 762 *sλaŋ. Note also Bahnar hruk & Bru saruʔ (perhaps < *srluuk); ← Indonesian?
Proto-Austronesian *t’a[y/r]uk (Mon-Khmer implies *-ʏ-): Malay sarok putting one’s foot down into [sarong], &c. (BLUST 1972 no. 70).

454 *wik; *wək to shake, wave.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer vûk to s. up, mix up, stir; (or B) ~ Mon kəwak to wave; ~ Mon həwək to wave, wag, shake, worry, Khmer gravık to shake, disturb (GUESDON 1930).
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok vuk [vet] to shake; ~ Khasi kaweh to wave, wag, fan, sway.

455 *wik (& *wək?) nightjar.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat wek kind of parrot, Sre wi, Bahnar dialects [səm] wik (& wek, < variant?) nightjar (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
Khmer khvaek night heron, Nycticorax griseus is onomatopoeic & not connected.
(BLOOD 1966 225, owl; correct to fern-owl, i.e. nightjar?)
456 *[ ]waik ladle, spoon.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Khmer vè:k ladle, dipper, Kuy (?a:)wèː? ladle, Bru ?awèː? spatula, Stieng uek spoon, Chrau uaː? wooden spoon, Bahnar wa:k to draw, dip up (GUILLINMET 1959-63), Semang āweg spoon (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 S 397); (?) → Cham (a)waːʔ, Jarai awaʔ, Rōglai awaː, Acehnese awɔk rice-ladle, perhaps → Vietnamese văː; ~ Stieng kuak, Sre kua k to remove mash from empty wine-jar (DOURNES 1950).

Vocalism against Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, so if Cebuano Bisayan luwag, lúwag ladle &c. are connected, Austric!

457 *waik larva, worm.
A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan wàːk (intestinal) worm, Palaung vaʔ insect, caterpillar, grub, Praok vèk worm, Lawa Bo Luang Lawa Umphai wuak kinds of insect, Khasi wieh earthworm.

(*[ ]wak see 866 *[ ]wac to cut, reap.)

458 *wɔk bent round.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [wèn] wòk to be crooked, deformed, Praok [kɔk] vɔk to be crooked, Riang-Lang wɔk to be curved, slightly bent, Khasi woh to hook, fasten with a hook, Tembi wɔsk bent, crooked (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 B 175 (c)); ~ Khmer [krɔvɔk]-krɔvɔk zigzag, Bahnar gɔwɔk to be hooked, to hook, Palaung kɔvɔ iron hook (MILNE 1931), Khasi kyrwoh link, ring.

Cf. 286 *(k)ŋɔk bent, crooked; B35 *p[u]k lame, crippled.

(*[ ]w[ua]k see 866 *[ ]wac to cut, reap.)

459 *kwak to hang (up).
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Middle Mon kwak v.i.t., Modern Mon kwek, Kammu-Yuan wak v.t., Palaung hvaʔ v.i., Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai wok, Mae Sariang wuk, Khasi wah (& tawah by secondary derivation), Muông quác v.t. (BARKER 1966 18); → Cham waʔ to hang [hammock]; ~ (*kmwak >) Vietnamese mác v.t.

Connected further Vietnamese ngoać hook.

460 *kwuuk; *khuak to claw.
A: (Mon) Mon kɔk to stick one’s nails into (< Old Mon *kwūk, as toŋ castor-oil tree < twoŋ; → Burmese khup to strike with paw?).
B: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy wɔʔ to scratch, claw, Bru kuwɔʔ (implies *-ɔk!), Khasi khwoh to pull with hook or claws.

(*t,rwɔk see 774 *t,rwiaŋ potsherd.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

461 *twa[a]k kind of palm.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau twaʔ fan-palm, Bahnar tuaʔ kind of palm (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
If Khmer thvāk curving outwards is cognate, *-aak.

462 *swa[a]k to walk, travel.
A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung vaʔ (!) to pass by, through, over, Semelai suwak to walk, ?Nancowry ?ukwák to step on.
Cf. A83 *cwaat to step.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 43.)

463 *saak form, characteristic.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon sāk /saik/ colour, Modern Mon saik colour, kind, sort, Khmer saik shape, form.

464 *saak; *saik to skin, peel.
A, B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kuy saʔ to remove [bark &c.] by prying up (A), Bahnar tsāk to peel (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese tuṭc (A) to skin, peel, Praok hak skin, leather, Lawa hak skin; ~ (*spaik >) Khmer sbaek (→ Kuy sbeʔ, Stieng sābɛk) skin; ~ (B) Khasi snieh skin, leather.
Cf. A466 *sɔɔk.
(SHAFER 1965 334a.)
Sora sa:- to peel off (v.t.), sʔa:- v.i.

465 *saik; *siak to split, cleave, tear.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese tách to split, divide; ~ Old Mon snāk /snaik/, Modern Mon hnaik two-edged sword.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Jeh siak to tear (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); (or A?) ~ Khasi shniah chisel.
Add perhaps (i) in part Mon saik to tear (in two, up (sāk; otherwise < 404 *craak &c.); (ii) Bahnar tsek to divide up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), otherwise < 291 *ciak; (iii) Riang-Lang ~hak to break, split, smash (v.i.), otherwise < 472 *haak &c.

466 *sɔɔk to peel.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon sɔk to peel, skin, Khmer sɔk to peel, remove bark, to slough, Kuy saʔ slough, to slough; ~ Mon hąnok peel, rind, bark, shell, slough, Khmer sɔmnoʔ slough, [onion-] skin, [bamboo-]sheath; ~ Khmer sɔmboʔk, (→?) Kuy mphuʔ skin, bark, shell, husk, Kammu-Yuan hāmpɔk bark; ~ (*sɔmɔk >) Chrau mɔʔ bark, Bahnar hɔmɔk thick bark of certain trees; ~ (*sɾsɔɔk >) Biat rchɔk [eggshell; ~ (?)sɔk >) Bru snʔ to peel.
Cf. 464 *saak &c.; 347 *pook. Note also (i) Khasi koh to skin, peel, perhaps ← Tibeto-Burman (*kwâk, Benedict 1972 74 no. 342 & n. 229; cf. e.g. Lushei koh), but conceivably < *skoök by metathesis < *skoök < *soök soök; (ii) Karo, Toba Batak suak broken off, uak to come away, peel away; suggesting Proto-Austronesian *(t’-)tuak ~ *p-[ ]uak = *puak: Proto-Mon-Khmer *pook. (Schmidt 1905 14; cf. Smith 1972 293.)

467 *suk; *suuk; *suok; *soök hair.
A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Old Khmer suk (or d?), Sre soʔ.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar soök, Jeh suk (!), Halang sok, Palaung huʔ, Riang-Lang ᵇʰuk, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang hauk, Lawa Umphai hauk, Kensi u sok, Temiar so:g, Semelai suk; ~ (*snuuŋ > ) Danaw ʔǝok, Khasi shënuih /ʃnuʔ/, ʔniuŋ.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon sok /so/k/, Modern Mon soök, Stieng soök (or d?; beside cuk, see there), Praok haak, Vietnamese tôc; ~ Chrau sanɔː body hair (contaminated by A24 *tp̣n[ɔɔ]k?); ~ (?,*sruaŋ by metathesis > *suauk > ) Central Nicobarese yək, Teressa-Bompoka, Chowra heək hair.
D: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon sok (→ Chrau?), Kuy soʔ, Biat cḥok (→ Stieng, rare, cuk?), Mường thâc (Barker 1966 18).
Sre vocalism apparently post-dental (as North Bahnaric, cf. 335a *duuk); Praok suggests secondary *suuŋ.
(Schmidt 1905 32; Shafer 1965 252; Blood 1966 269; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 1.)
Sora uʔuː-n, (compounding form) uː-n, Kharia soʔ(ʔ) (Pinnow 1959 143; Proto-Munda *soök).

468 *suk; *suuk; *suak placenta.
A: (Khmer) Khmer sok.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon soök, Sre soː (→ Rōglai).
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau soʔ womb; ~ (*sruaŋ > ) Biat rcḥok [kɔn] placenta.
Cf. Khasi sieh (< *soök?).
(Schmidt 1905 24.)

468a *trsik; *trsɔk kind of cucurbitaceous plant.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng rɔsik small yellow kind of cucumber, Chrau rɔpʊŋ sic musk-melon, Biat plai rcḥiʔ water-melon.
B: (Khmer) Khmer trɔsɔk cucumber.
469 *[t]sa[a]k to wash.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar tsāk to wash [clothes] (Guilleminet 1959-63),
Lawa sak to wash; ~ (*[t]psa[a]k >) Palaung phā to scour with sand (Milne
1931), Praok phāk to wash [cups], Lawa Bo Luang phāk to wash.

470 *hāk; *hāak to vomit.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre haʔ vomiting, Bahnar hāk to vomit.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang hāk to vomit.
Cf. 474 *hāk; 473 *ha(a)k sated; 476 *khaak &c. to hawk and spit.
(Smith 1972 273; cf. Schmidt 1905 20.)

471 *hāk; (*hāk hāk >) *khāk; *hāk; *khāk to catch, stick, to have something
stuck in throat.
A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon ḥek to snag on, catch, stick, stick in mud,
Palaung haʔ, hāk to lodge [thorn] in, to have [bone] stuck in throat (Milne 1931); ~
(*.hāk >) Bahnar hāk to be caught, stuck.
C, D: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer ḥāk to have sth. stuck in throat, choke, Kuy, Bru with
secondary lengthening haʔ to have [bone] stuck in throat & 474?

472 *hāak; *haik; *hiak; *hiik to tear, split.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Northern Aslian, ?Palaungic)
(b) Khmer hāak to tear, to lacerate (~ Stien ḥek to tear, cut), Kuy heʔ to tear, to
force open, (A) Sre ha: [wood] to split, (A/B) Biat hāk to split (v.i.), Bahnar hāk to
split (v.i.), pull apart, open wide (Guilleminet 1959-63), Riang-Lang ḥāk (or <
465 *saik?) to break, split, smash (v.i.), Semang hāak to tear (Skeat & Blagden
1906 T 32); → Thai ḥēek to break through, force open, Shan hāk to be broken
across, to break across; North Rögblai haʔ? ripped; ~ (*ch- >) Mon chāik (!) to claw,
scratch (with chest register by expressive deformation), (b) Khmer chaek to cut up;
forked, split, cut up (~ Thai cʰēek indented, serrated, bifurcated), (A) Vietnamese
xūṭc to be scratched; ~ (B) Kuy rēk̂ to be torn, (A/B; ~?) Chrau tāhāʔ to split,
divide; → Cham tāhāʔ torn, Rögblai trāhā to split, to get torn; ~ Riang-Lang
takhāk to break in pieces, smash (or ad *saik).
C: (Bahnaric) Bahnar heik to tear; ~ Chrau tāheik torn, worn.
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau heik (?) → Bahnar hec broken in pieces
(Guilleminet 1959-63), Biat heek torn; ~ (*hiik hiik > *khiik >) Biat kheik
torn, Praok khik [phuay] pieces, fragments.
(Schmidt 1905 20, 28; Shafer 1965 329.)

473 *hāk; *haak sated.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat haʔ [hɔːm].
B: (Palaungic) Palaung huʔ.
Connect following & 470 *ha(a)k to vomit? Cf. 1424 *hɔm.
**474** *hɔɔk to vomit.*  
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat hɔɔk, Chrau hɔʔ.  
Cf. **470** *ha(a)k*; & preceding; **271** *kʔɔɔk to cough.*  
(BLOOD 1966 72.)  
[Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[a]k:] Malay m-uak nauseating, revolting, Röglai oʔ to vomit, &c. (cf. BLUST 1971 no. 340; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*huk see **267** *ʔuk to pour out.*)

475 **hɔɔk; *ʔuɔk brains.*  
A: (Palaungic) Palaung hɔʔ; ~ (*huɔk huak > *khuɔk >) Riang-Lang khuak.  
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Vietnamese ờc; ~ Biat ṭŋɔːk (or A?), Bahnar ṭŋɔːk.  
Cf. Khmer khuaː khuɔr [kba:]; by interdialectal borrowing from unrecorded source? (SMITH 1972 292.)

(*khak see **471** *hak to catch, stick . . . *)

476 **khaak; *khaik to hawk and spit.*  
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon khaik, (B) Khmer khaak, (A) kha:k, Kuy (!), (A/B) Bahnar kha:k to hawk, clear the throat; → Thai kʰàak to hawk and spit; ~ Khmer kʰaak: kʰaak: phlegm, (A/B) Kammu-Yuan kʰaak phlegm, to hawk and spit; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Biat runhaːk phlegm (~ *rhaːk < krh-); (ii; A) Khasi kʰyrkʰaːk phlegm, to clear the throat.  
Bahnar gahak to spit in disdain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) & Vietnamese khâc to spit are ← Cham kâhaːk < *[g]qa[kg], a Proto-West-Indonesian variant (cf. Karo Batak kahak phlegm)? Contamination by Mon-Khmer of Proto-Austronesian *daSak (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, *daːk). Onomatopoeic. Cf. **470** *ha(a)k to vomit; & see BENEDICT 1975 257, cough, which compares Proto-Austronesian *kukak.  
(SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(*khak see **471** *hak . . . to have something stuck in throat.*)

477 **chaik wet.*  
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi jhieh (& jhih); ~ (*cnhaik >) Riang-Lang Ėnak.  
Connect by metathesis **795** *kʔaac.*

478 **chɔɔk rice straw.*  
A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon chɔɔk chåk; ~ Kuy źehaʔ;
479 *[c]huk; *[c]huək to go up.  
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Vietnamese xóc to lift [prone person], set on feet, (∼?)  
Praok haok, Lawa Bo Luang hoak, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hauk to go up.  
B: (Palaungic; ∼?) Palaung hɔʔ to go up.  
Palaungic h- (suggesting *jh-) also ad 253 *chaʔ.  

(*chuək see 272 *cʔuŋ corner, *tʔhiik see 273 *tʔ2iik to sob….)

480 *thak; *thək to pant, sob.  
A: (Mon) Literary Mon thak [kluŋ cuip] [to come] in haste; ∼ (∗tňhak > ) Mon kəhek to pant.  
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat [ŋum] thək to sob, to swallow the wrong way; ∼ (∗tňhak > ) Literary Mon [yuim] samiɯik (!; implying ∗kəhak) to breathe audibly, pant, Khmer dəŋhak to be out of breath.  
Originally probably onomatopoeic. Cf. 273 *tʔ2iik &c. to sob… .

480a *[t]hək to pour (out).  
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Kuy thɔʔ to pour, tip out, Bru thnʔ?:  
(implies ∗.ɔʔk?), Stieng tɔk! to pour, Biat tɔʔ! to pour out, water (contaminated by 2002 *tuŋ &c.), Palaung thɔʔ to pour (or, as Riang-Lang thək, ← Shan thɔk?), Khasi theh to pour, spill.  
Cf. Proto-Southwestern Tai ∗thook (Benedict 1975 358, pour out; not Thai); & 267 ∗ʔuk &c., ∗huk.

481 *phɔk; *pʔɔk fish-paste.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric; ∼ ∗prhɔk > ) Mon hərɔk fish-paste, Khmer prahak grey fish-paste (Guesdon 1930; usually prahok, prahʊək!), (by expressive deformation ∗mrhɔk > ?) Kuy mphrəʔ?, Stieng brɔhək fish-paste.  
B: (Khmer) Khmer phʔɔk milder-smelling red kind of fish-paste; ∼ praʔak fish-paste (Guesdon 1930).  
B perhaps contaminated by 275 *prɔʔɔk thorn (Stieng, Biat fish-bone). Khmer prəhʊək < ∗prhɔk? prahok obscure; cf. perhaps Vietnamese mâm ruợc (< ∗prhuək?). (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 23.)  

(*[b]huk see 368 *ɓuŋ rotten, mouldy.)

482 *lhək mud.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon lhuk /lhək/, Modern Mon hlak, Proto-Nyah Kur *ləhʊk (Diffloth 1984 N226; implies ∗-[u]k?); ∼ Stieng ləmhoːk; ∼ (∗lphək >; or =?) Khmer phuək (← Thai piəak; rather than : A26 ∗[b]ək).  
(Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 23; Benedict 1975 277, earth… .)

(*ʔiŋ see 492 *diʔuŋ house.)
482a *ʔiaŋ happy, well.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre iaŋ happy, [a]ʔiaŋ [un]happy, homesick, Biat [lbut]
   iaŋ homesick, Khasi eng-eng sound and healthy.

483 *ʔeeŋ self, oneself.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon 'in oneself, Khmer ʔaŋ self,
   oneself, this very, Kuy ʔeŋ (one)self, alone, Stieng ʔēŋ oneself, alone, individual (= other, different,
   < 490 *[c]ʔiiŋ), Biat ʔēŋ in person, alone.
Distinguish I (e.g. Bahnar ʔnin), for which see 2 *ʔii?.

484 *ʔaaŋ to open [mouth], to gape open.
A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan à, Palaung (MILNE 1931),
   Praok ʔmj, Riang-Lang ʔmj to open [mouth], Khasi ang to open, to crack, Besisi ang
to gape (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (a)), Central Nicobarese
   [tom]-aŋ-[hala] to open mouth, Nancowry ʔāŋ, tumʔāŋ; ~ Sakai rē-ang mouth
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (c)); ~ Khasi kyr-ang to crack; ~ rynyngang (&
   ryngheng) open, ajar.
Connect 605 *paaŋ mouth, opening?
Sora a(ː)n- to open [mouth, eye].

485 *ʔuŋ; *ʔuan; *hui; *huoŋ wasp, hornet.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre ʔŋ wasp; (probably, rather than c) → Jarai hoŋ, Röglai,
   North Röglai hoŋ.
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Biat ʔŋ hornet, Chrau, Bahnar ʔŋ, Jeh
   ʔŋ, Halang oanŋ wasp, Kammu-Yuan ʔŋ kind of wasp, Palaung ʔŋ, Riang-Lang
   ʔuŋ fossor wasp, Vietnamese ong bee, wasp.
C: (Mon, Aslian) Mon haŋ, Central Sakai hōk hornet.
D: (Katuic) Kuy haŋ kind of hornet.
GUESDON 1930 has Bahnar (h)oŋ hornet, wasp; ←/ contaminated by western Malayo
   Polynesian? Connect 886 *ʔaiŋ &c. (kind of) wasp.
(SMITH 1972 168; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 135.)

486 *ʔaiŋ (& *ʔáoŋ?) knee.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (*kn- >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang ʔŋ, Lawa
   Umphai ʔŋ, (variant >?) Central Nicobarese [koi]-ʔŋ, Nancowry
   kūyaŋuŋūŋ (referred kuāŋ to be supported); ~ (*k[p]ʔaiŋ >) Old Mon ʔhōŋ
   /khoŋ/, Modern Mon ʔoŋ.
Röglai tawŋ is probably < Proto-Chamic *t[ai](S)unŋ shin contaminated by Proto-
   Austronesian *tusud, knee (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144, *[t]uẓud).
(SHAFER 1965 387.)
487 *cʔæŋ; *cʔaaŋ; *chæŋ; *chαιŋ; *cʔiʔŋ *chʔŋ to expose to heat.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kautic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer ʔaŋ to roast, to warm oneself, Kuy ʔaŋ, Bru ʔaŋ, Sieng aŋ to grill, Chrau aŋ to boil, roast, Khasi ʔaŋ to roast, toast; ~ Mon hæŋ to warm, dry, at fire, to toast; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan [ɾamʔ ok] ramʔaŋ burnt, scorched.
B: (Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [oŋ]-aŋ to cook [meat, fish], Nancowry ʔuŋʔaŋ to boil, ʔuŋʔaŋ to cook (or 524?); ~ (*cʔaŋ >) Muông náng (Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese nútòng to roast, toast.
C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [ŋ]-[hala] to reheat [food].
D: (Kautic, Bahnaric) ~ (*cʔhain >) Kuy ɲheŋ to put close to fire, Biat nhaŋ dried [fish]; ~ (*cʔhain >) Bahnar phaŋ to warm, dry, at fire, to roast; dry season, Jeh phaŋ, Halang pahaŋ to roast; by back-formation (?) ~ Jeh haŋ to feel heat of fire (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
E: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ (?) *cʔiŋ to warm oneself [in sun]; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tačŋ to warm in sun or at fire (Guilleminet 1959-63).
F: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar taheŋ to warm oneself at fire (Guilleminet 1959-63).
E-F by secondary palatalization, cf. 403 *crak &c. Besisi cho'ong to burn, bake (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 468 (a)) is probably rather < 524 *cŋ to set light to.
(Smith 1972 158.)

488 *cʔaaŋ; *cʔaŋ; *cʔi[ ]ŋ bone.
C: (Khmer, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer chʔŋ, Khasi sh’ing, ’ing, Kensiu ιʔiŋ, Central Nicobarese [oŋ]-eŋ, Nancowry ʔuŋʔiŋ (referred ιʔiŋ hard).
C secondary.
(Shaffer 1965 277a, 370; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 336.)
Sora a-jaŋ-an, Kharia jaŋ, &c. (Pinnow 1959 7.)

489 *cʔaiŋ to shine, be light.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Kuy jeŋ, Bru jeŋ, Chrau ʔəŋ gold; & cf. 523 *caŋ to glitter, 535 *scaiŋ to shine.
(Shaffer 1965 367; Blood 1966 275.)
490 *cʔa[i]ŋ; *[c]ʔiŋ other.
   A: (Mon) Old Mon cʔən /cʔaŋ/; ~ Modern Mon həaiŋ.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng iŋ, Biat eŋ; ~ Biat rʔeŋ.
   B secondary, but not regular, cf. preceding; perhaps contaminated by alone, individual
   < 483 *ʔeŋ.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

491 *tʔɔɔŋ tree, wood.
   A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kammu-Yuan saʔɔŋ wood, (tuːt —) tree; ~
   (*tʔɔɔŋ >) Kuy (ʔa)lūaŋ wood, Sre loŋ (; BLOOD 1966 loŋ), Stieng, Chrau,
   Biat laŋ firewood, Bahnar ʔloŋ tree, wood, Jeh ʔloŋ, Halang ʔloaŋ, Semelai
   dəːŋ tree.
   (SHAFFER 1965 229; BLOOD 1966 74; SMITH 1972 167; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207.)

492 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔuŋ > *duŋ, Pre-Khasi *ʔiŋ house.
   A: (Katuic, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy duŋ, Bru dɔŋ, Khasi ūŋ, Central Sakai dök, Semai
   duŋ (TAUERN 1914).
   Kuy excludes *dʔuŋ. Cf. Laqua *nḍ[i]aŋ house; proto Thai *thiaŋ hut..., BENEDICT
   1975 319.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (a).)

493 *[b]ʔoŋ; *[b]hoŋ dry.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Semang ba'ɔŋ (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906
   D 177); ~ Biat nʔoŋ to dry [over fire].
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung hoŋ to be dry, dried, to dry, Riang-Lang ʰhəŋ to dry v.i.; →
   Shan həŋ to dry v.i.

493a *mʔuŋ; *mʔaŋ to await, expect.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Röglai) moŋ to intend to, be about to, Palaung
   muŋ (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _məŋ to hope (for), expect, Praok maŋ to look
   up; → Shan məŋ to hope (for), expect (& muŋ to look for, watch for?).
   B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ʧŋ to wait, rest, briefly, Kuy mʊŋ to expect,
   Biat məŋ to intend to, be about to; (tom — nap) facing.
   (*riʔaŋ see 276 *riʔaak to open... .)

494 *lʔiŋ(?) (& *lʔiŋ(?)?) to slant, be skewed.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Muông, Katuic) Khmer lʔiŋ out of the vertical, sloping (→
   Thai iaj), Khasi r'eng propped up on one side, (variant >?) Vietnamese hiếng to
   squint, Bru ʔiŋ leaning against ( < *ʔiŋ?); ~ (*lʔiŋ?) Mon hæanŋ, Vietnamese
   nghiêng to be out of the vertical.
   Cf. Khmer kŋiaŋ bent to one side; & 759 *slŋ &c. to be tilted, to squint.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

495 *k[ ]uuŋ ƙian small hornbill.

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Sre kiouŋ ƙian small hornbill, Anthracoceros albirostris (→ Röglai ?), Chrau kuoŋƙian kind of hornbill, Bru rakeŋAnthracoceros albirostris, by metathesis Riang-Lang ƙian small hornbill.

Sre kiouŋ by chiming deformation? Connect Khmer ƙəŋ, keŋ, keŋ ƙəŋ kind of hornbill; North Röglai balakiaŋ (< *ŋ) kind of hornbill.
(Proto-Austronesian *k/al/ŋːŋin >) Malay burung kēlēngking.

496 *kaŋ; *kaaŋ; *kaiŋ[ ]; *kiaŋ; *kaik (& *kaak?) transverse, to branch, stretch horizontally.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Nancowry ƙan to (form a) cross; ~ Old Mon knāŋ/knaŋ/ [ko]’. collar-bone, Modern Mon neŋ crosspiece; ~ (*crkan >) Kuy (c)kaŋ purlin, Sre rəkaŋ roof-timber, roof, Biat rkaŋ breadth; transverse, across.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, ?Central Aslian) Khmer kaŋ to spread [wings], stretch [arms] sideways, Kuy kaŋ to stretch out (v.t.) (B), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai kaŋ side; to spread, (C; ~?) Muông kenh (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese cánh wing (also canh, BARKER & BARKER 1976; & Muông kēn, BARKER 1966 20, Vietnamese cánh branch, by arbitrary differentiation?); ~ Middle Mon knāŋ (beside tnāŋ, which separate; merged in) Modern Mon naŋ branch, Khmer khnaeŋ (c) in the shape of a cross; side-shoot, bud, twig (GUÉDON 1930), (?)) Sakai kēn[ɡ] [luuk'] branch (i.e. Temiar; SKET & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207), (~?) Muông (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese ngang to be horizontal. level, to be wide; across (B), Vietnamese ngánh (& ngánh!); c) branch (of river &c.); ~ Khmer chkaŋ to crucify (B), Stieng c*kaŋ cross; ~ Chrau takaŋ main beam.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi pyngkiang crosswise.


(SHAFER 1965 344.)

Proto-Austronesian *kanʃəŋ: Malay kāngkāng straddling..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 74; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note *t(a)ŋkāng crossbar, BLUST 1971 no. 397; *t’aŋkāŋ bow-legged, straddling, ib. no. 373; *t’ikāŋ [legs] wide apart, ib. no. 404, Proto-Hesperonesian. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 62.)

Cf. with E Tibeto-Burman *ka’k fork, branch, BENEDICT 1972 71 no. 327.

496a [*]kaŋ (& [*]ka[ŋ]? to demarcate, fence.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kaŋ (& takanŋ, ta- reciprocal; < variant?) to demarcate ricefields, Biat kaŋ (— nhar) to demarcate, (— rdol) to block [path], Bahnar kāŋ field boundary marker (GUÉLLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan kāŋ to block [road]; ~ Bahnar cəkāŋ to demarcate (GUÉLLEMINET 1959-63).
Add perhaps (*krnaŋ, originally n., >) Middle Mon kanaŋ square compartment, to divide into square compartments, Modern Mon kaneŋ (line in) check pattern. To block by attraction 785 *ghaŋ, which compare.

497 *kaaŋ? chin, jaw.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre, Chrau kaŋ jaw, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang kaŋ chin, jaw, Mường câng chin (BARKER 1966 25); → Jarai kaŋ, Rögglai kak, North Rögglai kaŋ jaw.
Connect Kuy khiaŋ chin (contaminated by 1318 *dgaam, which compare?); South Nicobarese aŋən tooth. Thai has kʰaaŋ chin, with cognates widely distributed in Thai-Kadai (BENEDICT 1975 321, jaw; *g-); cf. here Rögglai beaw khaŋ beard.
(BLOOD 1966 299; SMITH 1972 154.)

498 *kaŋ; *kaŋ; *koŋ] k ring-shaped artefact.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer kaŋ, Kuy kaŋ, (→?) Biat koŋ wheel, Sre koŋ ring; ~ Kuy keŋ bracelet.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer kana (&/or a?), Modern Khmer kaŋ bracelet, anklet, circle, ring; to make a circle, Stieng koŋ (rim of) wheel, Sre koŋ bracelet, Biat koŋ bracelet, ring, Chrau, Bahnar koŋ bracelet, metal collar, Jeh koŋ bracelet; → Cham koŋ, North Rögglai koŋ bracelet, Rögglai koŋ ring; ~ Halang hokoŋ bracelet.
C: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon koŋ bracelet, anklet, Palaung koŋ wainstbelt of silver rings. Connect Lawa Bo Luang kuaŋ ring; Biat khoŋ spinning-wheel, winder. Cf. 500 *koŋ bent.
(BLOOD 1966 80; SMITH 1972 170.)

499 *kaŋ copper.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre koŋ copper (→ Rögglai), Bahnar kŋ copper, brass, bronze (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. Chrau kaŋ (contaminated by *kaŋ > Sre [glah] kaŋ small copper cooking-pot?).
(SHAFER 1965 53.)

500 *koŋ bent.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon koŋ to be arched, bent; ribs of boat (→ Burmese kuñː), Khmer koaŋ to bend (→ Thai kooŋ), Kuy koŋ bent, crooked, Palaung koŋ to droop (MILNE 1931), Khasi khong[dong] angle, zigzag, Vietnamese cong to bend.
Cf. further (i) Khmer koŋ bent; (ii) 498 *koŋ &c. ring-shaped artefact; (iii) Bahnar kok bent, humpbacked (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), intensive kok, Kammu-Yuan kóːk curved, (lying) coiled up.
(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *bo(N)kuŋ: Malay běngkung bent out of shape, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26-7); (ii) *la(N)kuŋ: Acehnese lóngkong curved, arched, curled round, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (iii) *lii(N)kuŋ: Malay lengkong circular, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 96; Proto-Western-Indonesian). For Proto-Austronesian *dəkuŋ see 892 *kuŋ. See BENEDICT 1975 231-2.

501 *kuŋ, *kuuŋ village, settlement.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan kuŋ village.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung kuŋ town, state.

(*kuŋ see also 890 *k[i]ŋ work.)

502 *kuŋj; *kwaŋ male animal.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Central Rölöm kuŋ male animal, Palaung [a]koŋ male [bird], Muông [kà] kóng cock (CUISINIER 1951); ~ Biat ɤkwaŋ (→ Chrau koŋ) male [animal].
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng kuŋ male [animal], male sexual organs, Khasi [ˈniang] kwang boar.

Variation obscure.
(BLOOD 1966 88.)

503 *k[waŋ] to dig.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan khúŋ! to dig [ground], Palaung kuŋ, Riang-Lang ˈkoŋ, Praok koŋ to dig [hole], Lawa Bo Luang koŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kuŋ to dig.

Palaung has also kuŋ to dig up, mine; suggesting *kuuŋ ~ *kuŋ. Khmuic kh-unexplained; as connected Muông (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese cuộc pickaxe, to dig.

504 *jkiiŋ; *kioŋ, *jaik[ŋ] side, edge.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre kín edge, direction, Biat keŋ [meŋ], Jeh kiŋ edge; ~ (*jnkiŋ) > Sre səkiŋ on one’s side, to one side, Chrau ɤkeŋ! on one’s side, Biat ɤkeŋ on one’s side; to lean over; by secondary derivation ~ Halang kəniŋ edge.
B: ~ Röglaı kiąŋ, kiaŋ side, flank; ~ → ñkiaŋ [to lie] curled up.
C: (Katuic) Kuy khèn on one’s side, to one side; ~ ɤhèn to tilt, lean, Bru sakèn v.t. to tilt.

Jeh, Halang imply *-ŋ; Chrau (& Hre keŋ) then by progressive assimilation? Sre shortening regular. Cf. further Khasi kynring by the side, towards the side; but connection dubious.

Sora sə’eŋ-an side, direction in view of Kharia si’iniŋ side, direction, PINNOW 1959 286. (SMITH 1972 93.)
505 *tkɔɔŋ (nape of) neck.
   A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (t)kɔŋ neck, Bru takɔŋ, Bahnar kɔŋ [kɔŋ] nape of neck, occiput, Danaw ᵃkɔŋ neck.
   Connect 17 *kɔʔ &c.

506 *tkuaŋ; *tkɔ̃ŋ stalk.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cuông; ~ Biat ᵃkɔŋ stalk, Chrau ᵃkɔŋ quantifier for stalk-like objects.
   B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar akɔŋ (GUilleminet 1959-63 tɔkɔŋ; beside Jölong tɔk indeb).
   Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 516 *[t]guan &c. (SMith 1972 110.)

507 *gın to row.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon giŋ /ɡοŋ/, Modern Mon kàŋ, Khasi king.

508 *[ ]gan stiff, bristling.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kɔŋ obstinate, opinionated, bristling, jammed, Sre gan stiff, straight, rigid (Dournes 1950); ~ Thai kʰâŋ obstructive, congested, jammed; Cham kàŋ motionless, paralysed; ~ Bahnar tɔgan sticking up, erected (GUilleminet 1959-63).
   Or *dgan? Connect perhaps Malay régâŋ taut, referred at Dempwolff 1938 103 to Proto-Austronesian *[r]agan to grasp (under the entry 510 *gəŋ &c.). (Cf. Shaker 1965 107.)

509 *ga[a]ŋ house.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kàŋ, Palaung gan, Riang-Lang kàŋ.
   (Shaker 1965 26.)

510 *gɔŋ; *guŋ to grasp.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, South Bahnaric). Old Mon guŋ, goŋ /ɡoŋ/ (A), /ɡuŋ/ (B), Late Middle Mon -guŋ (A?) to grasp, take, Modern Mon kàŋ also to keep; ~ Khmer phkûŋ (A; & phgûŋ, Guesdon 1930, B?) to supply, provide, Stieng goŋ (B), gəŋ (A) to hand over [person, animal] as pledge.
   Cf. 516 *[t]guan &c. stalk, handle.
   Proto-Austronesian (i) *pigan: Malay pegang, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 235; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *pagan: Malay pègang, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 116; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *[r]agan: Toba Batak rogåŋ, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 103; Proto-West-Indonesian).
511 *gəŋ sacrifice post.
   A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar gəŋ sacrifice post, Jeh gəŋ, Halang gəŋ spirit pole; (probably) → Cham kàŋ, Röglai, North Röglai gak post, Jarai gəŋ sacrifice post; ~ (*gŋaŋ > ) Biat ŋgəŋ post, support for betel vine; ~ (*g[r]nəŋ > ) Sre gəŋ post erected in spirit cult.
   (SMITH 1972 98.)

512 *gəŋ warrior-like.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon goṅ /gəŋ/, Modern Mon kōŋ to be brave, Khmer kūŋ invulnerable (→ Thai khōŋ endure, persist, → Kammu-Yuan khōŋ), Kuy khōŋ having magical powers, Biat gəŋ invulnerable.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 36.)

513 *guŋ, *gəŋ to cook in water.
   A: (Khmuc, ?Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan kōŋ to boil down, stew, make soup, ?Nancowry kuāŋlan to ferment (rice).
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung gəŋ to stew, Riang-Lang kəŋ to boil, cook by boiling.
   Cf. A112 *[g]əm to cook, boil.
   Kharia gəṅ to cook [rice] (PINNOW 1959 194; Proto-Munda *[g]ə[ŋ]).

514 *cgiiŋ to project at right angles.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chkŋ upright, sticking up, [e.g. arrow] sticking by point; ~ Chrau səŋgiiŋ, Biat giiŋ [chi:] branch of tree (contaminated by 496 *kaiŋ[ ] &c., which compare?).

515 *[c]guuŋ; *[c]gəəŋ ladder.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ghuuŋ, Chrau guuŋ ladder, Biat guuŋ, Bahnar kəŋ, ladder, stair, Jeh, Halang guuŋ house-ladder.
   B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi jynkieng, jingkieng bridge, ladder.
   (BLOOD 1966 232; SMITH 1972 113.)

516 *[t]guəŋ; *tgəŋ stalk, handle.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre guəŋ handle, tiller, Palaung gəŋ stalk, handle, Riang-Lang kuaŋ stalk, Bru ŋkuaŋ stubble.
   B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre tangəŋ paddy- stalk, rice-straw (with ta- by attraction 543 *t,əŋ joint, joined stem).
      = following? Cf. 506 *təŋ &c. stalk; 510 *gəŋ &c. to grasp.

   B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy ŋkhəŋ leg, shin, Bru saŋkəŋ leg.
518 *pgɔŋ; *pgɔɔŋ beam.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer (B) bɔŋkɔŋ beam, prop, scaffolding, pole, (A; with head register by levelling on unattested simplex?) bɔŋkɔŋ baulk, flat sheet of wood forming part of structure of house; ~ (*prg- >) Mon həkɔŋ beam, baulk; → Cham pagauñ perch.

519 *lŋuuñ; *lŋəəŋ mentally abstracted.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon nŋ luuñ to be lost in thought, to mope, Khmer nŋōŋ very confused, close to fainting; ~ (*lŋuuñ >) Mon taŋaŋ abstraction of mind.
B: (Khmer) Khmer nŋōŋ to be dazed (& nǐŋ; GUESDON 1930); (?) → Thai nūaŋ slow, sluggish, inactive, slothful, → Khmer nūaŋ to be dazed.

Khmer has further, by expressive variation, nōŋ-[nːōŋ] dizzy; nēŋ-[nːōŋ] confused, dizzy. Note also Vietnamese nguông embarrassed (< *-aŋ; perhaps ← Indonesian, below).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *lŋuuñ >) Malay lêngang plunged in thought; (ii) *lŋəŋ: Malay lêngang silent, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95, *lŋ[aə]ŋ; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, assuming Toba Batak ← Malay); & cf. Proto-Malayo-Javanese *biŋŋ at a loss (NOTHOFER 1975 138; Toba has bingun), → Semai biŋŋ silly (TANDART 1935); &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 206. Mon-Khmer ↔ Indonesian? Indonesian is against constructing Proto-Mon-Khmer *-uŋ.

520 *[ ]ciŋ elephant.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Central Aslian) Old Mon ciŋ /ciŋ/, Modern Mon coiŋ, Kuy (?a:ciŋ, Bru ?aciaŋ, Central Sakai chi’k.

Not explicable from Burmese chaŋ, on which see BENEDICT 1972 133 & n. 362; SHORTO 1971 under the entry ciŋ1.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 49.)

521 *ceen point, angle, ridge.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North & South Aslian) Old Mon ciŋ /ciŋ/ gable (?), Modern Mon coiŋ ridge pole of roof, Khmer caen joint of roof-truss or rafters, Semang saeng point

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 63).

Connection dubious 529 *[ʔ]cu(ʔ)ŋ upper end.

522 *[aŋ] to shut.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok soŋ to bolt, Palaung saŋ, Lawa Bo Luang saŋ, Lawa Umphi, Mae Sariang soŋ to shut; ~ (*[c]naŋ >) Biat naŋ to shut.

Sora 'saŋ-əŋ door (compounding form, ~ sa’naŋ-əŋ), Kharia 'saŋ- to shut, &c.

(PINNOW 1959 290, Proto-Munda *saŋ; cf. ib. 268).
523 *caŋ to glitter.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer caŋ shining, bright, to reflect the light; ~ (*c[n]caŋ >) Late Middle Mon dacaŋ [babaŋ] to be resplendent.
   Cf. 489 *c[a]ŋ to shine..., 535 *scaŋ to shine...; but connection uncertain A35
   *[c[a]a]ŋ clear, limpid.

11524 *caŋ to set light to.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon caŋ /caŋ/, Modern Mon caŋ, Kuy caŋ, Bahnar soŋ (!) to set light to, Vietnamese chong to keep [lamp] lit, (probably, rather than ad 487 *c[a]ŋ &c. to expose to heat) Besisi cho’ong to burn, bake (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 468 (a)),
   ?Nancowry ʔuŋsāŋ to cook (or 487).
   Bahnar vocalism obscure. Connect A36b *c[a]ŋ [lightning] to strike? For Biat chūŋ see A11 *jhuu?. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)
   Kharia soŋ-, -soŋ fire, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252, 324).

525 *c[o]ŋ; *cok to make into a bundle.
   A: (Khmer, Khasi) obs. Khmer caŋ to tie together (TANDART 1935; Modern Khmer caŋ!), Khasi song bundle; to pack, tie up.
   B: (Mon) Mon cak to make into a bundle.

526 *cuuŋ axe.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy cuŋ, Stieng sūŋ (!), Sre, Chrau, Bahnar suŋ, Jeh cuŋ axe, Halang cuuŋ axe-blade, mattock.
   Perhaps ← Indonesian, cf. Cham (a)cəŋ, Jarai jəŋ, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *[/ ]uŋ (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, *bali[j]uŋ, a Proto-West-Indonesian prefixed form); Stieng suggests a byform in *ʔc-!
   (BLOOD 1966 241; SMITH 1972 112.)

527 *cuuŋ to eat [rice].
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng suŋ, Bunör soŋ, Biat choŋ, Bahnar soŋ, Jeh, Halang caŋ.
   With North Bahnaric vocalism cf. 986 *cuu; 1559a *c[ə]uŋ; 1984 *cuh; probably by secondary diphthongization (*cuuŋ > *cuuŋ) as in 43 *cuuŋ?
   (BLOOD 1966 15; SMITH 1972 145.)

528 *cu[ə]ŋ; *caŋ; *ciəŋ kind of small mammal.
   A: (Khasi, ~?) Khasi bsong mongoose, weasel (with b- perhaps by attraction bshad civet-cat, mongoose).
c: (Khasi) ~ Khasi myrsiang fox, jackal.
Cf. Khmer končrōŋ fox, perhaps by contraction < *kuun ercuuŋ.
Proto-Austronesian *mut'āŋ civet-cat (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Vietnamese chòn fox.

529 *ʔ[ʔ]cuŋ; *ʔ[ʔ]cuuŋ upper end.
A: (Khmer) Khmer con end, tip; (or B) ~ Acehnese cong above.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre cong end, top, Chhra cong tip, branches, of tree, Biat cong end.
Cf. 299 *pc[e]k; but connection dubious 521 *ceŋ point…
Proto-Austronesian *qu(N)d'ūŋ: Malay (h)ujong end, tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65, *hud'ūŋ; cf. SHORTO 1975 91 n. 25). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 48.)

530 *kcanŋ stretched, to stretch.
A: (Palaungic, ? North Aslian) Palaung canŋ to be stretched, to stretch (MILNE 1931),
Praok con to be firm, stiff, Semang chong to stretch out legs (if correctly glossed; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 488); ~ Riang-Lang kanŋ to be straight.
*-c- confirmed by Indonesian, below. Cf. A36 *[c]onŋ straight. 567 *st,iŋ &c. taut, to stretch is hardly connected
Sora noŋ- to stretch [body], Kharia juŋ to stretch out legs, &c. (?; PINNOW 1959 361; Proto-Munda *joŋ or *joŋ?).
Proto-Austronesian *kāk'n'ōŋ: Javanese kēchēng taut, straight…, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).
With Munda cf. also Proto-Austronesian *kō(N)d'āŋ stiff, DAHL 1973 § 20.7 (Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 399-400.

531 *tca[a]ŋŋ to wait, to attend on.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar caŋŋ to wait, Jeh caŋŋ to stay with dying person, Halang caŋŋ to support; probably → Cham caŋŋ, Rōglai [do]caŋ, North Rōglai caŋŋ to wait; ~ (*tpca[a]ŋŋ) → Jarai p*caŋŋ to wait.
Hardly connected, as SCHMIDT 1905, 1325 *ca(a)m.
(SMITH 1972 166.)

532 *bcīŋ; *bcīŋ; *bcīŋ to incline, be aslant.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese chênh to be tilted, slanting.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng ciŋŋ to lean; ~ Biat nčiŋŋ to lean against (v.t.), (~?) West Bahnar hácīŋ on a slope (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Middle Mon ceŋ /ceŋ/, Modern Mon ceŋŋ to decline, Khmer jiaŋ leaning towards (GUESDON 1930; ~ Thai eīṬaŋ deviating, deflected, → Khmer chiaŋ = jiaŋ, → Kuy čiŋŋ leaning), Bahnar ceŋ (with c-, for *j-, by levelling on derivation) on a slope; ~ West Bahnar hacīŋ leaning (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi pasiŋŋ inclining, slanting; by secondary derivation ~ Mon haceŋŋ dacęŋ to incline, Khmer jaijaŋ leaning, to go to one side (GUESDON 1930).
Cf. further Khmer criaŋ leaning over (by back-formation from *cəcriaŋ < *cerciəŋ?); Khasi pushing sideways; Kuy seə & Bru seŋ to go down, descend.
Sora ob'seŋ- &c. to be turned round, to turn [something] over = ob'seŋ-[le] sideways, leaning; seŋ- to squint.

532a *[r]caŋ to prick, pierce, insert.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon cęŋ to prick, pierce, to thread through; ~ (*[r]ncəŋ >) Kammu-Yuan [niət] nəŋ to prick, pierce, stick in, put (into).
Proto-Austronesian *[yr]aNK'əŋ to insert: Malay ranchang sticking up, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, *[l]a; less Javanese, ad following; Proto-West-Indonesian). Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

533 *[r]caŋ rack, framework.
(Mon) Mon cęŋ rack, bin, framework, staging; → Burmese cañ.
Connection uncertain Khasi rnysan platform, gallery. For Mon hneŋ spoke, rib of side of cart see 598 *cənəŋ.
Proto-Austronesian *raNK'aŋ: Karo Batak ranchang drying-rack for tobacco, Acehnese rancang fowl-basket, Javanese ranchang set up, framed, (-an) framework (Proto-West-Indonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 101 refers Javanese to base cited ad preceding. Note also *raND'aŋ twilled work (ib., Proto-West-Indonesian), with which Acehnese shows contamination.

534 *lmconŋ kind of water-lily.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kəcəŋ lacəŋ kind of water-lily, Khmer ləmcəŋ blue lotus.

535 *scaŋ to shine.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon səŋ to shine, Khmer caŋ shining (& to explain, make clear); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer cəcənŋ bright….
Cf. 489 *cənəŋ; 523 *caŋ to glitter. But connection uncertain A35 *[c]əa[a]ŋ clear, limpid.

535a *jiaŋ friend.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau yiaŋ friend (term of address), Biat, Jeh jiaŋ friend, Halang jiaŋ friend (term of address).
(SMITH 1972 149.)

536 *jaŋ to fish with scoop-net.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon câŋ; ~ (*jrjaŋ >) Lawa Bo Luang ʔacuaŋ to net [fish]; ~ Mon hnəŋ, Khmer chniəŋ scoop-net.
Connection dubious Riang-Lang ʔviŋ, Shan wiŋ scoop-net.
537 *j[oi]ŋ; *j[oo]ŋ long, high.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Bahnar ɲəŋ important, great, Khmu’ jəŋ,
Kammu-Yuan cəŋ, Central Nicobarese cəŋ high, Nancowry cəŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat jəŋ long, Sre jəŋ long, high, tall; ~ Bahnar kəjuŋ high,
long, big.
Connect 690 *jruŋ &c.?

538(I) *juŋ; *juaŋ; *jəŋ; *jəaŋ foot, leg.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon juŋ /jʊŋ/, Modern Mon cəŋ,
Palaung juŋ, Riang-Lang ɔəŋ, Praok caoŋ foot, leg, Temiar juk, Semelai jəŋ
foot; ~ Old Mon jinjəŋ, Middle Mon dayəŋ, Modern Mon hayəŋ post, Praok
[num] jaŋ foundation.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan cɯaŋ, Lawa Bo Luang [hlə?] cuəŋ, Lawa
Umphai [hlə?] chəŋ foot.
C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Biat jəŋ, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar jaŋ foot, leg; (or D; ?) ~ rare Old
Mon jinjəŋ /jəŋ/ post.
D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer jəŋ, Modern Khmer
cəŋ foot, leg (~ Thai ɛəŋ foot, base, ~ Kuy ɣəŋ), Kuy jəŋ & Bru ?aŋŋa (!)
feet, Stieng (or c?) jəŋ, jəŋ foot, leg, Jeh, Halang jəŋ foot.
C, D secondary, perhaps (in part) regular in context; cf. here 254 *jhooŋ &c., 385
*yuk &c. Sep. Vietnamese chon foot, chān leg, < 1138 *ca(ə)n.

538(II) *jəŋ (& *jəaŋ?); *jiŋ; *jiŋ; *juŋ to stand.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) East Bahnar,
Jōlong jəŋ to become (Guilleminet 1959-63; < variant?; beside Röngao jəŋ),
Palaung jəŋ, Praok, Mae Sariang cuŋ, Lawa Bo Luang coŋ, Lawa Umphai choŋ,
Khasi ɪɛŋ, Mah Meri jəŋ to stand; ~ (*jinaŋ >) Palaung by dissimilation kanjəŋ
to be, set, upright, Praok juŋ to be upright, Semai jinjak to stand; ~ Central
Nicobarese caŋ quantifier for trees, posts, &c.
B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ceŋ to stand; ~ Kuy (t)aŋŋa to stand, (~?) Riang-
Lang _tæŋ to be vertical.
C: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat jəŋ, Bahnar jəŋ to become.
D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh yuaŋ to get up, Halang yuaŋ to stand, (~?) Bahnar ʔyuŋ to
stand up.

Connected further North Aslian forms (Kensiu hāŋjəŋ). A probably originally by
arbitrary variation (though old, cf. Austronesian); other variants then secondary.
To become contaminated if not ← Indonesian, cf. e.g. Rōgla jəŋ to be, exist, Rade
jəŋ to become (Blood 1966), < *dəŋɗɔŋ, below. Connected with (I) or (II) 691
*jruŋ &c. post; upright.
(Schmidt 1905 70; Shafer 1965 28, 30, 536; Blood 1966 36, 119; Smith 1972 111;
Sket & Blagden 1906 F 220.)
Sora jəŋ-ən, (compounding form) jeŋ-ən, Kharia -juŋ foot, leg, &c. (Pinnow 1959
365).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *dəŋ: Javanese jě̃g stand (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; BENEDICT 1975 adds Ami); (ii) *dəndəŋ: Toba Batak jongjong to stand, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) Javanese jě̃ng post, njě̃ng to stand. Not ← Mon-Khmer in view of Formosan! See BENEDICT 1975 396. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 53.)

†539 *juuŋ rain, to rain.
A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Palaung juŋ (to) rain, Riang-Lang _cuŋ rain, (?) Khasi Jung to urinate.
Cf. 1606 *jur[ ] &c. to descend, fall.
Sora ajeŋ-[‘gum-] to shower, (-ən) shower.

540 *sjaŋ kind of sword.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon səŋ-sjaŋ &c. sword, Bahnar saŋ small curved sword or knife, Jeh can small knife, Halang can knife.
(SMITH 1972 126.)

541 *naŋ larva.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang _naŋ caterpillar, Khasi ‘niang /naŋ/ (~ khniang) worm, insect.
Sep. Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai nuŋ mosquito, ← Tai.

(*[b]rıuŋ see 706 *briŋ rainbow.)

542 *t,a[ŋ] tail.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre tiaŋ, Chrau tiaŋ, Biat ciaŋ, Bahnar kieŋ, Jeh teŋ, Halang teŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 81, 543; BLOOD 1966 108; SMITH 1972 92.)

†543 *t,aŋ joint, jointed stem.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon taŋ /taŋ/ joint, Modern Mon teŋ joint, section between joints, stalk; Bahnar tan pipe; ~ Khmer thanŋ joint; ~ Jeh kataŋ section, Halang katan water-pipe; ~ Khasi jyntang stalk; ~ Nancowry pintāŋ cane.
Connect Riang-Lang *kataŋ elbow, cubit; perhaps Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai tan shoot (< *t,a[a]ŋ; contaminated by 562 *b,aŋ plant…?); & note Praok jon joint.
Cf. following. (SCHMIDT 1905 12.)
Proto-Austronesian *taNkai: Malay tangkai stem, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128.)

543a *t,aŋ; *t,a[a]ŋ knee.
Cf. preceding.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 40 (a.).)

544 *t,arıŋ to roast, bake.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung tαŋ to roast, steam, heat, Riang-Lang tαŋ to bake in open dish, Praok tɔŋ to broil, Lawa Bo Luang tαŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang tαŋ to broil, grill, Khasi thang to burn, roast, cremate.
   (SHERF 1965 396.)

544a *taaŋ to extend, stretch
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Muong) ~ Khmer trdaŋ to stretch out [limbs], (or next?) Vietnamese dang to stretch out, spread out, extend; ~ Kuy ntaŋ widely spaced.
   Cf. 567 *st,iŋ &c. to stretch; 577a *jdαŋ &c. spread wide, outstretched. (Cf. GOU & JENNER 1975 no. 31 (a.).)

545 *t,αι[a]ŋ to take the place of.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng tαŋ substitute, to take the place of, Bahnar tαŋ to take the place of, Jeh, Halang tαŋ in place of.
   (SMITH 1972 162.)

546 *t,οŋ; *tɔɔŋ to pull, to draw water.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon tαŋ to bring away, rescue, Modern Mon tαŋ to pull, draw [water inter alia], lead, (B) Khmer dɔŋ to draw water, (A) Bahnar tαŋ to draw, scoop up.
   Connect obscure Sre γaltuŋ to pull towards one (DOURNES 1950); or Vietnamese duong to open [umbrella], draw [bow]. Cf. 570 *dαŋ.

547 *t,ɔɔŋ handle.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer dɔŋ (→ Cham dawiŋ), Kuy tαŋ, Stieng tοŋ, Chrau tαŋ handle, Biat tαŋ (→ jra:* crutch, (→-njiaŋ) balance, Bahnar tαŋ quantifier for guns, swords, axes, &c., Jeh tοŋ quantifier for tools, Halang tοŋ quantifier for long tools; ~ (*tntɔɔŋ >) Biat ntɔɔŋ handle.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 12; SMITH 1972 173.)

548 *t,uuŋ to carry on pole between two.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar tuŋ, Jeh tuaŋ; ~ Halang hatuaŋ; ~ Sre taruŋ (→ Röglai), Biat [gre:] mnuŋ litter, Bahnar tanuŋ carrying-pole, (pole of) litter, Jeh tanuaŋ carrying-pole, load (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
   Cf. 565 *rt,uuŋ &c. ladder, bridge.
   (SHERF 1965 78; BLOOD 1966 242; SMITH 1972 114.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

549 *t₁uuŋ to light.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung tuŋ to light [lamp & c.] .
Connect 1004 *t₁ut c.?
Sora tuŋ- in tuŋ(ge)b- to burn (v.t.), 'tuŋəb- to set fire to cleared timber.
Proto-Austronesian *tutuŋ: Toba Batak tutung to burn, & c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

550 *[ʔ]t₁eeŋ to do.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer taeŋ to create, to have the habit of, [do & c.] habitually, Khmu' teŋ to make; ~ (*[ʔ]bteeŋ >) Stieng tɛːŋ to direct, be in charge.

551 *[ʔ]nt₁aŋ brain.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həntaŋ; ~ Thin kənτaŋ brain, skull.
Sora ə'ntaŋ-an.
Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *qu(N)tək (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163, *u(N)tək; DYEN 1953 § 118).

552 *t₁uuŋ afraid, to fear.
A: (Kuy, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy (ʔa)tuŋ, Khasi tieng (!; & Mnar, IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM., tyoŋ), Temiar tuk; ~ Kensiu ʔəntaŋ; ~ Semelai bəthəŋ.
*t₁, in view of Munda
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 48.)
Sora 'batoŋ-, Kharia 'bətnąŋ, & c. (PINNOW 1959 261).

553 *knt₂iiŋ bone.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng tıŋ, Sre, Chrau, Biat ntiŋ, Bahnar kətiŋ, Jeh, Halang kasiaŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 371; BLOOD 1966 221; SMITH 1972 83.)

554 *ktaŋ bitter.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon kəteŋ, Katuic, (Chrau ←) Stieng, Biat, Bahnar təŋ, Röngao səŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan cánŋ, Palaung səŋ, Riang-Lang ~canŋ, Praok səŋ, Lawa Bo Luang səŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang səŋ (to be) bitter, Khasi kθang bitter, ksang bitter; bile, gall, Vietnamese đắng, Semang kedeg bitter (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 232 (a)); ~ Literary Mon gamtaŋ bitter, Modern Mon hatəŋ in hlem hatəŋ Persian lilac, neem, Sre bətaŋ (← Röglai), (probably =, by assimilation) Jeh, Halang ʔnaŋ bitter; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Khasi byrthang bitter, (lam- —) bitterish; (ii) Central Nicobarese pentəŋ bile, Nancowry pintəŋ gall-bladder.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Hence Proto-Yao *ʔnaŋ (BENEDICT 1975 369, salty... (II))?
(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAFER 1965 75; SMITH 1972 136.)

555 *kt,əŋ; *kt,əŋ to hear.
A: (Bahnaric, Aslian) Central Rölöm əŋ, Bahnar əŋ (GUILLUMINET 1959-63; & Sedang əŋ); (~ (*kt,əŋ >) Bahnar katəŋ, Sakai gərtək to hear (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 E 6 (c)); (~ (*kt,əŋ >) Kensiu əntit, Temiar gentok, Semaq Beri ntaŋ, Semelai əŋ ear.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau əŋ to hear, listen, Stieng əŋ, Biat əŋ to hear.
B secondary; post-dental?
Connect Central Nicobarese naŋ ear, Nancowry náŋ ear, hintúaytanánŋ message. Cf.
557 *kndəŋ to listen to.
(BLOOD 1966 272; SMITH 1972 102.)

556 *kt,ɔŋ pot, jar.
A: (Khmuiic, Palaungic) (~?) Thin k(ə)ŋ; ~ Lawa Bo Luang əŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndəŋ.

557 *kt,un *kt,ʊŋ, hole, pit.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon ktn /ktuŋ/, Modern Mon kətn hole in ground, mine, Chrau chun hole [in ground], Palaung tuŋ (?) ditch (MILNE 1931).
B: (Khmer; ~?) Old Khmer antvən, Modern Khmer əndəŋ well, (~ rae) mine
(contaminated by əndau ditch, hole, cave < 72 *nt,uuŋ; → Biat [ndrom] duŋ well.
Palaung perhaps correct to əŋ, implying a variant *k[t,əŋ; for which cf. Cham əŋ, Röglai əŋ, North Röglai tøk deep place in river.
(?) Sora kunτuŋ-[sa-rəŋ] rectum (referred by RAMAMURTI 1938 to kun′tuŋ-əŋ tube).

558 *jt,uuŋ; *jt,ʊŋ; *jt,əŋ to strike, beat, make resonate.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tuŋ to beat; kind of drum, Sre touŋ jew’s harp, Bahnar duŋ resonant percussive sound (& duŋ short percussive sound, by expressive var); ~ Chrau gatouŋ jew’s harp, Riang-Lang sətuŋ drum (< *jrt,uuŋ; by metathesis *t,ruun >) Palaung kruŋ, Lawa Bau Lua khrauŋ, Lawa Umphai krauŋ, Mae Sariang khyauŋ drum.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer tuːŋ = tuŋ, Bahnar doŋ to hit hard and long.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Sre əŋ to strike, Bahnar daŋ short percussive sound (GUILLUMINET 1959-63) (& daŋ resonant percussive sound GUILLUMINET 1959-63, by expressive variation); (~ (*jbt,əŋ >) Old Mon juˈtuŋ /jatəŋ/ to beat [spear on shield], Literary Mon jatuən to strike [drum, ball] with stick.
Cf. 318 *jɔtəŋ to strike, beat. (Cf. SMITH 1972 176.)
(?) Sora tuŋ- to cuff, əŋ- to thump, cuff, to pound.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1559 *tntəŋ to shake, to tremble.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ntəŋ to shake (v.t.), Bahnar təŋ to shiver, tremble (GUilleminet 1959-63), Jölong also to shake (v.t.).
Proto-Austronesian *tiŋtiŋ: Malay tingting, Cham tatiŋ, katiŋ to sift by shaking, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 138-9).

560 *tnt1uŋ; *tnt1uuŋ to steal.
A: (South Bahnaric) Bunör ntuŋ, Central Rölöm tʊŋ, Biat ntoŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng tuːŋ (or A?), Bahnar tatoŋ, Jeh, Halang tʊŋ.
(Blood 1966 170; Smith 1972 117.)

561 *nt[əŋ] nerve, sinew.
A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon kətəŋ nerve, sinew, muscle, Bru satiŋ (contaminated by 567?).
Sora ne'ŋ-an nerve, vein, tendon (presumptively < *nejeŋ < *neəŋ < *neseŋ).

562 *btəŋ; *btəəŋ; *btuũŋ plant, trunk, to plant.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Khmer tɔ́ːŋ stem, trunk (with unexplained lengthening), Biat [rɛh] tʊŋ tap-root, Palaung tʊŋ trunk, plant, beginning, (or B; ~?) Besisi (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 132) mětʊŋ to plant.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang tʊŋ trunk, plant.
C: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy thʊŋ to transplant, Khasi thung to plant.
Note also Kuy stʊŋ, Bru satʊŋ ← Khmer smtʊŋ transplanted (rice) seedlings (< *jduʊŋ?).

563 *[b]t1uũŋ; *[b]t1uəŋ to soak.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muông) Mon tʊŋ to soak, steep; ~ (*[b]t1uŋ >) Vietnamese dúŋ to dip in vat.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar tʊŋ to dip, soak, dye (Guilleminet 1959-63 also doŋ; so of dialect origin?).
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. *t, in view of Sora.
Sora 'tʊŋ-[dai-] to soak [boiled rice in sour water].

564 *rmtiŋ kind of aromatic plant.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon latiŋ kind of flowering plant, Old Khmer raŋtyaŋ,
Modern Khmer rʊmdeŋ galanga.

(*rt1iŋ *rt1iəŋ see 693 *t,raiŋ kind of reed.)
565 *rt,uuŋ; *rt,uəŋ ladder, bridge.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ *rt,uuŋ >) Sre ntuuŋ ladder, stair, Chrau ratuŋ bridge, Biat ntuuŋ footbridge, Thin rontəŋ ladder.
B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Palaung [taŋ] toŋ ladder, stair; ~ (*rt,uəŋ by metathesis > *[t₁,nruŋ >) Kuy ntrūːəŋ stair, Bru ntrūːŋ.
Connected further forms in *-d-: Kammu-Yuan rəŋtəŋ, rəntəŋ, Riang-Lang rəŋduaŋ ladder, stair; Central Nicobarese henduəŋa bridge, poultry-ladder, Nancowry hinruaŋa bridge. Originally *rt,- by metathesis 548 *t₁/rn/uuŋ carrying-pole, litter, Palaung by back-formation; or *r(n)d-, *-t,- by contamination?
(BLOOD 1966 233.)

566 *[l]taŋ to toss up.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar təŋ to throw up, to weigh in hand (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Literary Mon latuǐn, katuǐn to toss (up).

567 *st,iŋ; *st,iəŋ; *[s]t,aiŋ taut, to stretch.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer səŋŋ stretched out, to stretch [cloth]; → Thai tuŋ to be stretched, → Khmer təŋ to be stretched; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan ləŋtəŋ [small object] stretched out.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon steŋ /steŋ/, Modern Mon teaŋ to be stretched, taut, Palaung teəŋ to stretch, tighten; → Burmese taː in: to become taut; ~ Old Mon sirteŋ to measure with a cord.
C: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Biat thəŋ stretched, taut, Bahnar taŋ to stretch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or < 574 *kdaŋ, which compare), (?) Vietnamese thâŋ straight; → Röglai khaŋ stretched, taut; ~ Bahnar catəŋ, djataŋ taut, stiff (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham, North Röglai catəŋ stretched; ~ → Röglai tanhəŋ long.
C post-dentally < earlier *[s]t,əŋ, cf. 555 *kt,aŋ &c.; or contaminated by *kdaŋ. Cf. further Khmer sənthuŋ to stretch (v.i.t.); Kammu-Yuan ləŋtəŋ [large object] stretched out; & 544a *taːŋ ...to stretch; 577a *jdaŋ ...out stretched. Hence by metathesis 781 *[t₁][s]iaŋ crossbow string?
(SCHMIDT 1905 18.)
Proto-Austronesian *ya(N)taŋ: Malay rəntəŋ to stretch out tight, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 58; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Malay gętəŋ taut. See BENEDICT 1975 399. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 31.)

568 *[s]təŋ; *[s]taŋ thin.
A: (Khmer) Khmer sdaŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khasi stang (or variant? cf. here 592 *[ ]n₁[əə]ŋ); ~ Bahnar haːtaŋ.
Or *-c-. Connect Biat [chak] ntıŋ thin, puny?
569 *[d]a[i]ŋ; *[d]iiŋ; *[d]əəŋ large.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung daŋ.
B: (Palaungic) Praok tŋ.
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre daŋ.
Variation obscure; expressive? A perhaps contaminated by 577a *jdaŋ spread wide… .

570 *dəŋ to pull.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer tʊŋ to pull back and forth, Stieng doŋ to pull, push, Stieng dialect dəŋ to pull down, Khasi tong to draw [water &c.]; ~ Kuy nthʊŋ to drag, pull.
Cf. 546 *to(ɔ)ŋ. But connection dubious Sora diŋ-, Kharia diŋ to draw, pull, &c., PINNOW 1959 322 (with which cf. Biat njəŋ).
(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

571 *d[ɔ]ŋ to help.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre doŋ (→ Röglai), Bahnar dəŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 128.)

572 *duŋ pelican.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tàn kinds of bird including stork and pelican, Khmer tʊŋ pelican; → Burmese duːːŋ; ~ → Thai kratʰuŋ; Cham kadʊːŋ (!).

573 *d[ʊə]ŋʔ to receive.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Old Mon dʊŋ /dʊŋ/, Modern Mon tàn to receive, accept, Kuy thʊŋ, Bru tʊŋ!, Biat dʊŋ to collect [rainwater] (or : Riang-Lang, below?), Stieng doŋ to receive, Thin duʊŋ to take, accept, Vietnamese.destination to contain, hold, (chíu —) to bear, endure; (?) ~ Chrau vədʊŋ to collect [rainwater].
Connect obscure Riang-Lang ‘dʊŋ; or Khasi ’diang, pdiang.
(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

574 *kđaŋ stretched, stiff.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng đaŋ stretched, stiff, Biat đaŋ hard, stiff, strong, Bahnar đaŋ to tighten (by levelling on derivation? GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also tŋ to stretch, perhaps rather < 567 *[s]t,anŋ, which compare); ~ Sre kaldaŋ, Bahnar by assimilation todaŋ hard, stiff.
Cf. further 577a *jdaŋ &c. … outstretched.
(BLOOD 1966 343.)
Proto-Austronesian *go(N)daŋ: Jarai đaŋ to stretch [arm] out (→ Chrau đaŋ), b*-g’nāŋ to lean [something] against, Röglai gonaŋ to stretch out, to lean against, North Röglai gənaŋ to lean against, Karo Batak gedang length, Malay kədang, gedang to stretch [arm] out, Iban kedang to straighten (so Proto-West-Indonesian).
If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, early.

575 *kndaŋ to listen to.
   (Mon) Mon kæŋ.
   Cf. 555 *kt,æŋ &c. to hear.
   Sora am'daŋ-, andaŋ- to hear, listen.

576 *[k]duuŋ to project.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Mon hætæŋ promontory, Khasi kyrtung prominent (ly), bulging; ~ (*[k]duuŋ >) Praok taoŋ to hold out.

577 Kdiïŋ; *Kdu[ ]ŋ wild ox.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khmuic) Khmer khtìŋ, Thin k(ɔ)btiŋ; → Thai kratʰiŋ Bos gaurus; ~ (*Kdiïŋ >) Mon koloiŋ gaur, Proto-Nyah Kur *kæntiŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 N8).
   B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi kyrtong bull, ox.
   Cf. BENEDICT 1975 248, cattle, buffalo; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 38 but connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *baNtiŋ (DEMPWOLFF 1938 25, *baṇṭiŋ; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

577a *jdaŋ; *jdaaŋ; *jdaiŋ spread wide, outstretched.
   A: (Khmer, Kuy) ~ Khmer cɔmtɛəŋ, cùmtɛəŋ to stand with legs wide apart, Kuy with secondary lengthening nthâŋ to plant [feet] wide apart (contaminated by 687 *jnraaŋ, which compare).
   B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Mon tâiŋ to be outstretched; ~ (B) Khmer sraitiŋ stretched out, (C) Khasi jyrtiŋ [to sit] with legs stretched out.
   Cf. further 327 *daik &c.; 574 *kdaŋ stretch, stiff; 544a *taaŋ to extend, stretch; 567 *st,ïŋ &c. …to stretch.

578 *t₂diŋ; *t₂diïŋ; *t₂dïaŋ wall, fence.
   A: (Palaungic; ~ *t₂ndiŋ >) Praok diŋ, Lawa Bo Luang tâiŋ, Lawa Umphai ndeïŋ, Mae Sariang ndeïŋ wall; → Shan têŋ.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau diŋ wall.
   C: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon tadeï /tadøŋ/ screen, railing, Modern Mon hætæŋ (merging 580 *bdaŋ, which compare) (wall of) twilled bamboo; ~ Khasi syrdëŋ fence, plank partition.
   Proto-Austronesian *dinïŋ: Malay dinding wall, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40).

(*dndu(u)ŋ see following.)

579 *nduŋ; *dnduŋ; *dnduŋ; *[l]nduŋ eel.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ʔɔntuŋ (!; cf. B), Kuy nthūŋ, Stieng ndhuŋ (or c?)!, Sre, Chrau, Biat nduŋ.
   B: (Khmer) Khmer tûɔntuŋ (TANDART 1935; & tûɔntuŋ, by assimilation?).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Mon) Mon ḥalŋ daluŋ small variety of eel.

D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ranuŋ kind of eel (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also East Bahnar nanuŋ).

B, C secondary unless ← Indonesian (i), below. D ↔ Indonesian (iii); for variant cf. 320 *(l)nte,aak.

Kharia ɗuṇuŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 124).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *ɗuṇuŋ) Karo Batak dungdung, → Gayo dəndung; (ii) *(q)[l]nduŋ: Acehnese ndong eel, Cebuano Bisayan indung kind of moray eel (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) *liNduŋ ~ *luNdųŋ: Acehnese linəng kind of eel, Cham lanuŋ eel, &c., Malay [ular] londong kind of sea-snake, Iban lundong eel. Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *maluŋ (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, Proto-West-Indonesian).

580 *bdəŋ walling material.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon hatťaŋ (wall of) twilled bamboo (in part, phadaŋ; merging Old Mon tadeŋ < 578 *t,diəŋ, which compare), Khmer phəttaŋ panel, leaf, partition, Nancowry tāŋ fence, to fence, to erect walls; (?) ~ Khasi lyntang plank.

(*[l]nduŋ see 578 *nduŋ eel; *duŋ see 492 *diʔuŋ house; (bag, pocket) 791 *d,huŋ tub.)

581 *duŋ clan territory.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon dūŋ /duŋ/, Modern Mon dŋ city, town, state, Kammu-Yuan tōŋ section of village with meeting-house.

(*duŋ bag, pocket. see 791 *d,huŋ; *[d]uŋ see 335a *duuk (kind of) monkey.)

582 *kdiŋ navel.


1583 *kdaŋ to cook.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chhrau jaŋ, Riang-Lang daŋ.

Sora dîŋ-(dîŋ-), Kharia deŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 342; Proto-Munda *dîŋ?).

Proto-Austronesian *ro(N)d,âŋ: Acehnese rôndang, Karo Batak rendang, Malay rôndang to fry, Cebuano Bisayan lârang to seethe in coconut milk (so Proto-Hesperonesian); → Sakai rôndang to fry (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 239), &c.
(*kduŋ see 903 *kdĭn bamboo-joint.)

584 *jduuŋ; *jduəŋ winnowing-basket.  
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng ɗuŋ, Biat ɗoŋ; → Rōglai cədok, North Rōglai cədok; Shan lòng; ~ (*jnduun >) Sre ɗoŋ, Chhau ɗəoŋ; ~ (*j[p]duuŋ >) Khasi pdung.  
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese nong.  
(BLOOD 1966 3.)

585 *t,ɗən stalk, tail.  
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer by dissimilation stəŋ stem of bananas, Kuy thùəŋ stalk, Bru ɗoŋ tail of fowl (< *-oŋ?), Kammu-Yuan təŋ tail of bird, Khasi tdʊŋ tail.  
Note stalk, tail may be separate. Cf. semantically French queue.

586 *tduŋ; *tduəŋ; *td[ə]ŋ umbrella.  
A: (Mon, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon ɗoŋ /tduŋ/, Modern Mon ɗaŋ, Kuy thūŋ [nūŋ], (?) Stieng ɗoŋ [iːuŋ].  
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat ɗoŋ [yuː] umbrella, Palaung ɗaŋ quantifier for umbrellas.  
C: (Khmer) Khmer təŋ-, təŋ-[yʊː].  
Proto-Austronesian *tduun: Javanese tudung sun-hat, Samar-Leyte Bisayan turóng protection from rain, &c.  
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).

587 *d,ɗruŋ; *d,ɗuəŋ egg-plant, bottle-gourd.  
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang tərdəŋ bottle-gourd, Lawa Bo Luang ʔatoŋ, Lawa Umphai rathəŋ snake-gourd.  
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon (in toponym) ɗadəŋ /dədoŋ/, Modern Mon hədoŋ egg-plant, Proto-Nyah Kur *təroŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 N90), Palaung kardəŋ bottle-gourd.  

588 *p[d]aŋ dry season.  
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Old Khmer praŋ, Modern Khmer praŋ dry season, Kuy, Sre, Chhau praŋ dry [*weather], Biat, Bahnar praŋ dry [*weather], [*rain to stop, Mường dâŋ (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese nānɡ sunshine, to be sunny; ~ Proto-Semai *pnraŋ sunshine (DIFFLOTH 1977).
With consonantism cf. 1363 *p[d]am. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note Cham phạ́ŋ, Jarai, Röglai phạ́ŋ dry [season]; so perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *p/Vr/ʔaŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 456; BLOOD 1966 371; SMITH 1972 133.)

589 *pdáaŋ crack, to crack.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng daŋ crack [in wood, earth], Sre daŋ to crack, Khasi pdang crack, crevice, to crack; ~ (*pdáaŋ >) Biat daŋ (to) crack; ~ (*prdáaŋ >) Sre rđaŋ [earth] cracked by drought (→ Röglai), Bahnar hđaŋ [wood, earth, skin] to be liable to cracking.

590 *rdiŋ; *rdiəŋ road, track.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung deŋ; ~ Palaung rdeŋ, Riang-Lang ṭaŋdeŋ.
B: (South Bahnaric) → Vietnamese Ṯuông road (?); ~ (*prdiŋ >) Sre pđyaŋ
(BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm diŋ, Biat rdeŋ to cart; → Jarai pđiaŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 101.)

(*rνdνaŋ see 565 *rt.uŋ ladder, bridge.)

591 *naaŋ kind of hardwood tree.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer nāəŋ- [nūaŋ &c.] kind of hardwood tree, Stieng naŋ superior kind of ironwood; ~ Middle Mon ṭaanh in toponym, Modern Mon ənāŋ Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh; → Burmese ṭaanh: Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh.

592 *[ ]n1[əəŋ] to know.
(Khmuic, Khasi). Kammu-Yuan nəŋ, Thin nuŋ, hnʊŋ, ?nʊŋ to know, Khasi nang to be able, to know.
With Khasi vocalism cf. 568 *[s]təəŋ.

593 *[ ]n1əŋ in.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ləŋ; ~ Khmer knọŋ, Kuy (k)noŋ, Stieng kənʊŋ in, inside, Biat knọŋ in.
(?) Sora lʊŋ- inside.

594 *kn,a[i]ŋ; *kn,iəŋ kind of resinous tree.
A: (Mon) Mon naiŋ [sem] pine.
B: (Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang kənəŋ Dipterocarpus resin.

595 *kn,əŋ floor timber.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon naŋ knəŋ timber supporting joists, sill, Khasi knhong, by assimilation Central Nicobarese təŋ joist.
Cf. 598 *cn,əŋ framework.
596 *[g]n, iŋ; *gn, iŋ to lean, incline.
   A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kənaŋ to bend, bend over (v.i.t.).
   B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ *g[n]n, iŋ >) Sregan to take refuge with a protector
   (Dournes 1950), Bahnarganiŋ to lean, prop against, Kammu-Yuan kalnèŋ to go
down, [sun] to decline, to put down.

   Connect B50 *[j][ ]nəŋ to lean, recline?

597 *gnaŋ; *gniŋ (& *gniŋ?) tusk, eye-tooth.
   A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) ~ (*gnaŋ > ?) Stieng ganeŋ (→ Sre
   goŋ, or < -*iŋ?); ~ (*gpnaiŋ >) Kuy kənəŋ tooth, Vietnamese nanh tusk,
eye-tooth.
   B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ganiŋ boar’s tusk, Biat neŋ, Jölong ganiŋ tusk, eye-tooth
   (Guilleminet 1959-63).

   Connection dubious 603 *p[e]ŋ to attack with boar’s tusk (but vocalism in part by
   contamination?). Note also A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.

598 *cn, oŋ framework.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer chnəŋ rim, back [of chair], framework [of side of cart],
   bar [of window], (~?) Palaung sənəŋ trellis (Milne 1931).

   Mon hneŋ spoke, rib of side of cart by attraction cəŋ rack, bin, framework, staging, <

599 *t, n, iəŋ forehead.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon tneĩ /tneŋ/, Modern Mon neaŋ; ~ Mnar tanŋaŋ (Ivan
   M. Simon Pers. Com.).

   Sora tanŋ-['kəŋ-], taŋ-['kəŋ-].
   Proto-Austronesian *kənəŋ eyebrows: Malay kěning, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 78;
   Proto-West-Indonesian); → Serting (i.e. Semelai) kening, &c., Skeat & Blagden
   1906 B 431 (d).

   On distributional grounds Proto-Austronesian *t- might equally be reconstructed,
with dissimilation Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

600 *[t]n, iəŋ fin.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon (h)neaŋ [kaʔ] fin, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saniaŋ
dorsal fin.

   Mon hŋ- probably by dialect borrowing, favoured by popular etymology from hneaŋ
   wing, < following. Note Khmer tranuŋ backbone, dorsal fin, central vein of leaf.

   (*[l]nuuŋ see 747 *n[l]uŋ gourd, egg-plant.)
1601 *sn₁iəŋ wing.
A: (Mon, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Middle Mon sneŋ /sneŋ/, Modern Mon hneaŋ, Khasi [θhap]-niang (compounding form!), Semang sinyeng (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 117), by dissimilation Jehai kaŋeŋ, Temiar kenyek.
~ B51 *[ŋ]piəŋ?
Sora [ŋr]-ə-neŋ-an.

602 *piŋ pool, marsh.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon paŋ reservoir fish-trap of permanent type, Old Khmer piṅ, Modern Khmer brŋ lake, pool, marsh; → Thai buŋ marsh, marshland, perhaps → Lawa Bo Luang mboiŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbiŋ mud.
Cf. 628 *[ŋ]baŋ &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13 (b.).)

603 *p[e]ŋ to attack with horn or tusk.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Kuy peŋ to attack with horn, Bru tapẹŋ to gore, Sre peŋ to attack with horn, tusk, Chrau peŋ to stub one’s toe against, Biat peŋ to attack with tusk; (?) ~ Mon neaŋ barb [of fishhook].
Cf. 597 *gnaiŋ &c. tusk, eye-tooth.

604 *paŋ to listen (to).
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon paŋ [rmiŋ], Modern Mon peŋ [mōŋ], West Bahnar paŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham paŋ to hear, Rōglai pak to listen. (SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

605 *paŋŋaŋ mouth, opening.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric, ?Khmuic) Old Mon pān /paiŋ/, Modern Mon paŋ mouth, opening, Khmer baŋ bay, gulf, seaport, Mah Meri pak, Central Nicobarese [oal]-faŋ mouth, Nancowry ?uálfăŋ; ~ Semai mpark mouth;
? ~ Thin pōnnaŋ cave.
~ 484 *aŋŋaŋ to open [mouth]...? Cf. also following. (SHAFER 1965 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 202.)

606 *pa[a]ŋ to open.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin paŋ; ~ (*p[npa[a]ŋ >) Praok baŋ.
= preceding? or causative ~ 276 *riʔaŋŋ?

607 *paŋ to hammer, nail.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau paŋ to hammer on, pound, Sre paŋ, Biat paŋ to drive in, Bahnar paŋ to nail, to peg, Jeh paŋ to drive nail, Halang paŋ to hammer. (SHAFER 1965 101; BLOOD 1966 128; SMITH 1972 99.)
608 *p[ɔ]ŋ tuber.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy pæŋ kinds of tuber, Bru pɔŋ, Riang-Lang ṭpɔŋ tuber.
Connection uncertain 614 *t,p(ɯ)ŋ cucumber, melon; perhaps *pɯŋ (Riang-Lang),
*pæŋ. Biat has buum rpoŋ yam, by attraction rpoŋ c. < *t,rpuŋ.

608a *pɔŋ window.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru pɔŋ hole, wall aperture, Kammu-Yuan pɔŋ[yem],
Lawa Bo Luang pəŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pɔŋ.
Cf. A41 *lnpuuŋ door, window.
(*poun see 101 *pooʔ to swell, expand.)

609 *puuŋ butterfly.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon pŋ [ʰəməo] butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly, Riang-
Lang ṭpəŋ [ˈpəʃ] butterfly.
Cf. Palaung (Mon, songs) pəŋ pa; & B53 *ɓuuŋ.

610 *[ ]puuŋ cooked rice, rice mash.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon pūŋ /puŋ/, Modern Mon pəŋ cooked rice,
Bahnar pūŋ mash from which rice-wine is made (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~ ?) Khasi
[ja]-sapung.

611 *kpa[a]ŋ palm, sole.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pəŋ, Sre pəŋ [ti &c.]; ~ Sre kəpəŋ palm, sole, flat surface,
Chrau ləpəŋ, Bahnar ləpəŋ by assimilation, Kontum Bahnar kəpəŋ palm, sole,
Jeh kəpəŋ quantifier for hands, feet, Halang kəpəŋ foot; ~ (*kna[a]ŋ >) Biat
məpəŋ palm, sole.
Connect obscure Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ (under the entry 628 *dəbəŋ[ ]).

612 *[c]puuŋ to wallow.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng phuŋ, Biat puŋ [bək], Bahnar pəŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~
Sre apuŋ; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Biat nəŋ lair of rhinoceros; ~ Sre
pənuŋ lair (DOURNES 1950), Stieng pənuŋ, Bahnar pənuŋ wallow.
Connect obscure Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ (under the entry 628 *dəbəŋ[ ]).

613 *tɔp[oo]ŋ to bind round.
(Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon kowŋ (!) twiŋ &c. to bind round something, bind something
round (contaminated by həməoiŋ, below), Khasi spong turban, to put turban on; ~
Thin həmpəŋ turban.
Mon shows contamination with həməoiŋ to wind round, coil round, swathe, ~ həməoiŋ
[dp] turban. < Middle Mon tamˈiŋ kind of ceremonial waistcloth, probably <
*tnb[ə, i(i)]ŋ.
614 *t₁puŋ; *t₁puuŋ cucumber, melon.
B: (Khmer, Katuc, North Bahnaric) Khmer ṭʰoŋ head, Kuy [ŋkei] poŋ melon; ~ (*t₁rpuuŋ >) West Bahnar kɐpuŋ, ṭapuŋ water-melon (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh kapuŋ, Hālang ṭapuŋ cucumber.
Connect Nancowry tamifōŋ melon. Cf. 608 *p[əŋ] tuber.

615 *pnpuŋ; *pnpuuŋ; *pnpiŋ kinds of tree with bright red flowers.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese vōng flamboyant.
B: (Mon) Old Mon [chu] puŋpuŋ /pəmpuŋ/ flame of the forest.
C: (Mon) Old Mon puŋpeŋ /pəmpenŋ/, Modern Mon ḱəpoŋ coral tree, Erythrina indica Lamarcck.

616 *lpuŋ; *lpuuŋ; by metathesis *pluŋ; *plŋ to blow.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan puŋ to play [wind instrument].
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang paʊŋ, Lawa Umphai paʊŋ to play [wind instrument]; ~ (*lpuŋ >) Praok baŋ wind.
C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang plaʊŋ = paʊŋ.
D: (Kuy) Kuy plŋ to play [wind instrument], to inflate.
Cf. 2028 *puh &c.

617 *[s]piaŋ (kind of) cooked rice.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sβiaŋ supplies, provisions, food for journey (→ Thai sabiaŋ), Sre, Biat piaŋ, Chrau piaŋ cooked rice (Schmidt 1905 28; Shafer 1965 552; Blood 1966 106.)
Kharia ḱəmpəŋ flat rice (Pinnow 1959 K 504a).
Proto-Austronesian *aNp[ ]aŋ young paddy cooked in husk and pounded: Gayo t-ęmping, Acehnese  ámbiŋ, Malay ċemping (→ Javanese), Iban k-emping (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

618 *spaŋ long waistcloth.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer sβoŋ monk’s waistcloth; → Thai saboŋ; ~ Old Mon sirpuŋ /sarpuŋ/ (ceremonial) waistcloth, Modern Mon ḱəpoŋ monk’s waistcloth; ~ (*spaŋ >) (Mon ḱəpoŋ in part?) → Burmese sɨnpuŋ: monk’s waistcloth, → Shan shāŋyŋ, → Riang-Lang *sun_pəŋ waistcloth.
(Schmidt 1905 30.)
619 *baŋ; *ba[a]ŋ terrace, embankment.
A: (Mon) Mon pèaŋ embankment, earth platform, convex slope; ~ Late Old Mon bnaŋ
/bnaŋ/ unit of land measure, Modern Mon nèaŋ paddy-bund, compartment of paddy-
field as land measure.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon bǎi neceeding tiers at base of stupa; ~
Sre banaŋ levelled ground; ~ Palaung maŋ embankment (MILNE 1931).
Cf. 626 *kbaŋ rampart.

620 *bain cup.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer pèiŋ beaker, Stieng beŋ small
copper cup for rice-spirit; ~ (*[b]bain >) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbaŋ dish,
kind of earthenware bowl; ~ (*brbain >) Mon həpaiŋ babāṅ offering-vessel of
plantain stalk.
Old Mon birbeŋ /bərbeŋ/, Modern Mon həpaŋ almsbowl, compared at SCHMIDT 1905
60, is perhaps < a variant *brbəŋ.

621 *bəŋ to surround, to bind round.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon bìŋ /bøŋ/ to surround, besiege, Modern Mon pəŋ to
surround, Bahnar bəŋ to put round waist, wrist, &c., to bind cover over mouth of jar
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also pəŋ).
Connect Khmer pùŋ to reinforce by binding; Stieng baŋ to fence in; & 357 *bəŋ &c. to
bind (round).

622 *b[oo]ŋ hole, to bore.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Palaung baŋ (or buŋ?) hole,
(MILNE 1931) to bore a hole (→ Shan məŋ n., → Riang-Lang "boŋ), Khasi pong,
Sakal puŋ v. (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 342); ~ Semang ēmpong n.
(i.e. Jehai; ib. H 108); ~ (*ko[oo]ŋ >) Mon kwəŋ hollow in tree; ~ Khasi kpong to
dig a hole; ~ Bru rampoŋ large hole in tree (? < *knboŋ).
Kharia bəŋ-[gəʔ] to bore, &c. (PINNOW 1959 380; Pinnow connects Khmer prəhaŋ
hole as well as 790 *dhuŋ, & suggests Proto-Austroasiatic *piGəŋ).
Proto-Austronesian *buŋbuŋ: Toba Batak bungbung to be hollow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF
1938 36).

A: (Bahnaric, Katuc) Sre boŋ [sur], Chrau vɔŋ, Biat boŋ feeding-trough, Bahnar
boŋ! feeding-trough, pig-food bin (by arbitrary differentiation boŋ large
container?), Bru tapuŋ.
Connect 627 *gb[oo]ŋ paddy-bin?

(*[b]ooŋ see 108 *[b]ooʔ to swell, bulge.)
624 *buŋ[ ], *buuŋʔ belly.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer pùŋ (→ Thai pʰuŋ), Kuy phûŋ, Bahnar buŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Mùông, Nicobaric) Mon pàiŋ, Kammu-Yuan pɔŋ, Vietnamese bùng.
There is contamination throughout Austric with to swell (cf. 101 *pooŋ, 108 *[b]ooŋ &c.); note then Chrau gɔŋ ɬapɔŋ, Biat pɔŋ weʔ &c. flank, Kammu-Yuan pɔŋ, Palaung kîŋ pɔŋ groin (Palaung MILNE 1931 lower part of belly), Nancowry kînŋəŋ kidney. Cf. also 358 *bɔ[ ] (SHAFER 1965 576.).
Proto-Austronesian *kəNpuŋ: Javanese kĕmpung, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 79).
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 230-1. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b.).)

624a *buŋ; *buuŋ large cooking-pot.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat [gə]ləŋ large vessel for heating water, Bahnar [gɔʔ] buŋ largest size of cooking-pot.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre [gə]ləŋ bunga large cooking-pot.
= preceding?

(*buŋ see also 629 *[d]buŋ foetus; *[b]uŋ see 108 *[b]ooŋ to swell, bulge.)

625 *buŋ; *buŋ身材 bunch, collection.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang _tarpuŋ clump, collection (tarp- reciprocal).
B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mùông, Nicobaric) Kuy phûŋŋ nut, cluster, Palaung banaŋ bundle, (MILNE 1931) bunch, Vietnamese bûŋŋ bunch, Nancowry pûŋ group, collection.
Sora tum’buŋ- to heap up; (-ən) heap ~ tənum’buŋ-əŋ collection.

626 *kbaŋ rampart.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kebəŋ-[kebəŋ] hilek; ~ Old Mon kumbeŋ /kɔmbaŋ/ city &c. wall, Modern Mon kɔmaŋ brick or stone wall, Old Khmer kənvəŋ, Modern Khmer kɔmpəŋ (city) wall; → Thai kampaŋ, → Khmer kəmpəŋ.
~ 619 *ba[a]ŋ (then *baŋ) terrace, embankment?
627 *gb[ə]ŋ paddy-bin.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Mon kwàŋ large wicker basket for storing paddy, Khmer pòŋ paddy-store under house, Sre boŋ [kɔy], Bahnar buŋ paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary, (?) Palaung buŋ receptacle; → Cham pùŋ, Röglnai boŋ [pədey] paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary; probably ~ → Toba Batak hombung large chest (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 76 to *ka(m)buŋ to swell), Malay kēmbong paddy-bin.
Connect 623 [*b[oo]ŋ feeding-trough? Cf. further Malay tērubong bark rice-bin; Khmer sɔŋ container; Bahnar boŋ large chest (&c., see SMITH 1972 172);
Proto-Austronesian *lum(N)buŋ granary (BLUST 1973 no. 210, Proto-Hesperonesian). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

628 *[d]baŋ[ ]; *[d]buuŋ pool, marsh.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon baŋ [bway &c.] marshy pool; ~ Old Khmer travaĩ, Modern Khmer trapīŋ pool, marsh, Kuy (th)phāŋ pond, Stieng trapaŋ pool, Sre tarpāŋ tank fish-trap dug at edge of rice-field (DOURNES 1950; & pabaŋ).
B: (Khasi, Viet-Muông) Khasi pung pool; (?) → Shan pūŋ mud, puddle, → Riang-Lang puŋ; ~ Vietnamese vúng pool.
Cf. 602 *piŋ. Connection uncertain (i) Mon hămẽŋ damaŋ funnel-shaped fish-trap moored to stake in tidal waters, → Burmese damaĩ; (ii) Kharia ḍobha pool, &c., PINNOW 1959 379; (iii) Karo Batak, Malay kubang buffalo wallow, &c. (Proto-Austronesian *kuɓaŋ, Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. NOThOFER 1975 139).
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13.)

629 *[d]buŋ foetus.

629a *lum[ə]ŋ shoot.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North & South Aslian) Khmer lûmpuŋ young shoots from pruned tree, Bru lambuŋ young [bamboo], Semang abbong (?) bamboo shoots (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 33), Besisi lembong shoot (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. S 162).
Connect by metathesis 756 *blə[ ]ŋ shoot, sapling; but connection dubious 636 ’t,baŋ bamboo shoots. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.)
Proto-Austronesian *rəbuŋ: Malay rēbong bamboo shoots, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 102.)
630 *ɓiŋ; *biŋ; *ɓiŋ; *ɓuŋ; *ɓiŋ; *ɓiŋ spider.
D: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?South Aslian) Sre buŋ spider, Besisi boŋ [spider’s] web (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 381; ?); ~ (*lbuŋ by metathesis >) Khasi [thaŋ]bulong black widow spider; → Rōglai bluŋ spider; ~ → North Rōglai gabuŋ spider.
E: (Mon) Mon phaŋ [cèa], [yèa] phaŋ spider (& by secondary deformation cèa paŋ).
F: (Mon) Mon [yèa] pheŋ.
Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ɓV~ *ɓVh; tabu deformation likely. Connect Thai bûŋ edible spider; & perhaps Kharia 'bendi, &c., Pinnow 1959 344 (< *ɓeŋ-di?). (Schmidt 1905 46.)

631 *ɓa[a]ŋ butterfly.
Cf. B53 *ɓuŋ.

632 *[ ]ɓaŋ canal.
A: (Kuy, Viet-Muông) Kuy biaŋ canal, small stream, Vietnamese mûong gutter, ditch, canal (→ Muông; Barker 1966 13).
Cf. 637 *ɓo(o)ŋ ditch Kuy b- & Vietnamese vocalism suggests earlier *ɓVŋ.

633 *kɓaŋ ship, boat.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon kɓaŋ /kɓaŋ/, Modern Mon beŋ ship, Biat baŋ coffin; ~ Moken kabang boat, house-boat, ship, ultimately Malay [balai] gambang house-boat; ~ Sre gabuŋ coffin.
Coffin from shape, or as ship of the dead. Cf. Central Nicobarese kɔpɔk ship.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *qabaŋ: Kanakanabu (Formosa) abaŋu boat, canoe, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 307); (ii; by metathesis?) *ɓaNkəq: Tagalog bangkaq ship, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 20, *-a[h]); & cf. further Iban bong /buung/ long shallow boat, Tagalog, Bikol kabangō coffin (< Proto-Philippine *kabaŋ, Zorc & Charles 1971), (so by metathesis?) Iban bangkōng /baŋkəŋ/ boat; Proto-Austronesian *uaNkəŋ ship, Dempwolff 1938 114.

634 *kɓoŋ to scoop up.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer kɓoŋ to scoop up with hands, Khasi kɓoŋ to scoop, clutch, claw.
\[635\] *[j]biŋ swollen, fat.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer spīŋ distended, bloated; ~ Khasi [heh &c.] ibing (l-adverbial) big and fleshy.

\[636\] *t,ɓaŋ (\& *t,ɓaŋ?) bamboo shoots.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon thaŋ /tɓaŋ/, Modern Mon baŋ, Katuic, Biat baŋ, (variant >?) Stieng baŋ, Kammu-Yuan tapāŋ, Palaung baŋ, Lawa Bo Luang poŋ, Lawa Umphai phoŋ (→ Mae Sariang phoŋ, phuŋ), Vietnamese māŋ [tre]; ~ Khmer tūmpɛŋ (bamboo) shoots, Sre baŋ bamboo shoots, Chrau davaŋ sprout; ~ Bahnar tabaŋ, Jeh tabaŋ, Halang dabaŋ bamboo shoots.
Connection dubious \[629\a\] *[lm[b]]ŋ shoots.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16; SMITH 1972 127.)
Sora 'ta:baŋ-ŋ bamboo shoots.
Note Tagalog usbong shoots, Cebuano Bisayan usbung top of plant.

\[637\] *tboŋ; *tboonŋ ditch.
A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar boŋ gully, water-channel, ditch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)
(B); ~ (A) Old Mon tarboŋ /tərboŋ/, Modern Mon həbaŋ moat, (A/B) Sre ŭboŋ ditch, (B) Bahnar həboŋ = boŋ; → Röglai ŭboŋ, North Röglai rbo:k ditch.
Cf. \[632\] *[ ]bœŋ canal.

\[638\] *maŋ; *maanŋ night, evening.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau maŋ evening, night, Biat, Jeh, Halang maŋ night, Bahnar maŋ night, dark; ~ (*maŋ >) Sre bənaŋ night, Chrau naŋ, (quantifier) vənaŋ, Biat naŋ quantifier.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre maŋ night; ~ Stieng naŋ quantifier.
(SHAFER 1965 164; BLOOD 1966 355; SMITH 1972 125, 135.)

\[639\] *[g]ma[a]ŋ to possess.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang maŋ to be, exist, to have, to be rich, Central Sakai manŋ to be; ~ Thin rmaŋ wealth, possessions; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Palaung pərmanŋ, Praok simeŋ chief; (ii) Palaung barmaŋ how much?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)
Sora 'gaməŋ-, 'guməŋ- rich, to become rich.

\[640\] *cmaiŋ to look round.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer chmaŋ, Chrau miaŋ to look round, Bahnar miŋ to look round furtively (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
641 *jrm[ə]ŋ spurs of cock.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jrməŋ (→ Röglai), Chrau jamaŋ, Biat rmaŋ, Bahnar dialects hamaŋ, samaŋ (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Conceivably ~ 538 *jan foot, leg; otherwise Bahnar vocalism by phrasal rhyme in bamaŋ &c. jan.

642 *t[juə]ŋ2 nail, claw.
(Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin hmoŋ, Vietnamese mồng; ~ Kammu-Yuan tɔmːmɔŋ, Thin tɔmːmɔŋ.

643 *dmoŋ to remain, continue, be.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon dmoŋ/dmoŋ/ to remain, be (located), reside, stay, Modern Mon mɔŋ to remain, stay, continue, reside, Sre moŋ to be accustomed to, Central Sakai mong to be; ~ (*dmoŋ >?) Bahnar pamaŋ to be accustomed [to] (Guilleminet 1959-63).
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 88.)

644 *[n]moŋ gnat.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mamùŋ (& məmùŋ), Chrau ramaŋ. Or *m(r)moŋ? If *nm-, connected perhaps Proto-Austronesian *ńamuk, Dempwolff 1938 108 (& *lamuk, Dempwolff 1938 91; Proto-Hesperonesian); with nasal final by assimilation
(*məməŋ see preceding.)

645 *rmaŋ kind of deer.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon mɛ̀aŋ Rucervus thamin, Old Khmer ramaŋ, Modern Khmer raməŋ Cervus aristotelis, Kuy lməŋ Cervus eldi; → Burmese [sa]maĩ Rucervus thamin; Thai lamâŋ Rucervus thamin, → Khmer lməŋ Cervus aristotelis; ~ (*rmaŋ >?) Old Mon ramaĩ /rəmŋ/ Rucervus thamin, Old Khmer rmməŋ Cervus aristotelis.

646 *rmoŋ to hear.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon rmeĩ, rmiŋ ?/rmoŋ/, Modern Mon mœŋ to hear, Khmer thməŋ to prick up ears, Bahnar məŋ to listen to, Praok moŋ, Lawa Bo Luang hməŋ, Lawa Umphaï, Mae Sariang hməŋ to hear.
Besisi miong, &c., Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 60 (d), is probably rather ~ 649 *ky[ə]ŋ. Cf. 833 *ma(ə)c.
(Shafer 1965 388; Smith 1972 104.)
647 *[yen; *yen] deer, venison.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yen meat, (~?) Sre → Rōglai ayen Panolia eldii deer.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat yenlarge kind of deer, Palaung yun meat.

648 *yuu; *yuu; *yen to hang.
A: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy yun to hang on to, hang from; ~ Khmer prayun to hang on to, hang from.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy yon to hang [rope &c.], Bru tayon, Stieng jyun, iun, Sre youn, Biat yon to hang up; ~ Chrau tonyon to hang up (tan-causative); ~ Khmer rayon dangling.
C: (Viet-Muông) Vietnamese dòng (for *giông) to let [rope] hang, lower by rope. Connect Kuy (t)Jun to hang up; ~ South Bahnaric?

649 *ky[ə]n to hear.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kensing kajen, Temiar kayak, Mah Meri kayak, Central Nicobarese yen, Nancowry yán; ~ (*kny[ə]n >) Halang, yen to hear, Jeh nāṅ, Kammu-Yuan kānep to hear, listen, Semelai yen to hear.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60.)

650 *ky[ə]n elbow.
A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre con [mon], Semang koyong (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42); ~ Sakai kanyong (i.e. Lanoh; ib.).
Palaung koke, kəŋ ke are prima facie ← Shan kōŋ bend, kēk to be crooked, but with them cf. Chrau kun kiaŋ ti: elbow, Bahnar kun(keŋ) hollow of elbow. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), kəŋ arm, (~ keŋ) elbow, Central Nicobarese det-onke:ŋ elbow, Nancowry rét[ŋ]kiāŋ. Connect 891 *kiŋ [ ] &c.?
Sora kun- [i-si-n] (or : Chrau &c.? Cf. PINNOW 1959 K 517).

651 *gy[u]n to be alive.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon cang gyuin to be alive, to be raw, East Bahnar djin, Kontum giaŋ to grow well, flourish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (contaminated by 538(II) *jiŋ to stand, to become?); ~ Middle Mon gamyun /gamyun/, Modern Mon haiṅ (to be) living.
Connection dubious Mường khong (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese sōn to live, be alive, to be raw; as Tibeto-Burman *śriṅ, BENEDICT 1972 85 no. 404 & n. 252.
Sora ajan, ajen raw; (?) məeŋ- to live, be alive.

652 *yuu spouse.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muông, Central Aslian) Vietnamese chong; ~ (*γyuu >) Middle Mon gayoŋ /gayun/ husband, Modern Mon haiṅ spouse; ~ Jelai pérgiok to marry (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 54A).
653 *dyuŋ; *dyuŋ, black, dark.  
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (*[d]nyuŋ >) Sre ɲuŋ [animal] having a black coat; (joŋo ~) dark; ~ Old Mon ɗuiŋ /danyuŋ/ black (?), Modern Mon hɔyɔŋ dark brown.  
B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ɲuŋ very dark, Jeh ʔɲuŋ, Halang ɲuŋ black.  
Connect obscure 654 *syuaŋ.  
(*[b]ryu(a)ŋ see 706 *briŋ rainbow.)

653a *[s]ya[a]ŋ female [animal].  

654 *syuaŋ black.  
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Sre soaŋ, Khmu' hiaŋ, Kammu-Yuan yiaŋ, Khasi iông.  
Sre ɲ by assimilation; Khmuic vocalism environmental. Connection obscure 653 *dyu(u)ŋ.

655 *riŋ; *riŋ level, equal.  
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre riŋ; ~ Sre pënriŋ, Biat ndruŋ to level; ~ Palaung kørpręŋ to be equal (Milne 1931); ~ Riang-Lang tarkreŋ equal amount.  
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar riŋ [raŋ] level (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Jeh priŋ to go along on the level (Gradin & Gradin 1979); ~ Lawa Bo Luang (ʔ)mbriŋ, Lawa Umphai mbriŋ to line up, make equal. (contaminated by 659 *riŋ to form a row?).

656 *riŋ; *riŋ; *riŋ edge, border.  
A: (Bahnaric) Sre reŋ to skirt (→ Röglai).  
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar reŋ to skirt (Guilleminet 1959-63), Bahnar dialects riŋ edge, vicinity; ~ Old Mon brĩi vicinity, Nyah Kur phriŋ edge, rim.  
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (*juŋ riŋ by contraction >?) Old Mon jinreŋ /jɛnreŋ/ immediate vicinity; ~ Biat menŋ edge, margin, Khasi rmianŋ rim, edge, border.  
Cf. Proto-Tai *briŋ near, border..., Benedict 1975 344; & 1383 *rim &c. edge, rim.

657 *riŋ; *riŋ; *riŋ *raŋ hard, savage, harsh.  
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon raŋ (→ Burmese ruŋ): to be wild, savage, coarse (or ʔ?), Khmer ruŋ hard, hard, firm, severe (& by phrasal deformation [tʃon] rɔŋ to compel forcibly, be adamant); ~ Khmer kʊmrʊŋ-[kʊmɾəŋ] rough, rugged.  
B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer kʊmrɪŋ rude, coarse, Nancowry ʔiŋ hard.  
C: (Khasi) Khasi [dom] riang angry and severe.  
P: (Khmer, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer [kʊmrʊŋ]-kʊmrəŋ rough..., (~?; or c) Khasi [mrad] mreŋ animals.
658 *riŋ; *riŋŋ; *riŋŋ; *raŋ (& *raŋŋ?) veranda.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) ~ Old Mon triñ [jiñ] gallery? surrounding building (or B, D); ~ (*knriŋ >) Bahnar kadriŋ veranda.


C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer ṛbiŋ corridor, veranda, porch.

D: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre ṛaŋ veranda; ~ (*r[a]ŋ- >; with perhaps secondary lengthening) Kuy thrīŋ veranda (ad 684?).

Perhaps variously ~ 654 *riŋ &c. edge, border.

(BLOOD 1966 219.)

659 *rīŋ to form a row.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon reñ /reŋ/ to arrange, Modern Mon rīŋ to form a row, to place in a row (→ Burmese [ci]rañ to arrange), Khmer rīṅ to arrange in series or order; continuously, in succession (→ Cham rjōñ), Stieng rīŋ perpetually, Bahnar reñ arrange, Khasi rīang in order, in a row; ~ Middle Mon preñ to have arrangements made, to prepare, arrange, Modern Mon preañ to prepare, arrange (→ Old Burmese [plu] pryañ to repair, Modern Mon prañ to prepare, repair), Lawa Umphai prīaŋ to mend; ~ Middle Mon rweñ, lweñ order, orderly succession, Khmer ṛpīaŋ continuance (GUESDON 1930).

Connect B58 *br[u]ŋŋ to arrange...? Cf. also 665 *roŋŋ row; 665 *r[i]ŋ level, equal.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

11660 *raŋŋ light, to shine.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông, North Aslian) Bahnar raŋ light, to shine, Palaung raŋ lamp, Praok reñ to be light, Khasi rang [weather] to be fine, Vietnamese raŋ to dawn, Semang riag glitter, (ya’ —) to shine (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 158); ~ (*raŋŋ >) Khmer sraŋ to glimmer, Biat craŋ reflection, to reflect, Vietnamese sāng light, Sakai chērang daylight (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 154); ~ (*pmraŋŋ >) Khmer bpmpraŋŋ (→ Kuy briaŋŋ?) dawn, Kuy mphriaŋ [sai] moon, (*pmraŋŋ by assimilation ->, or ~) Praok [simuŋŋ] greŋ morning [star].

Kharia le’raŋ, Juang leŋŋ moon (PINNOW 1959 58).

Proto-Austronesian *taraŋ: Malay tērang bright, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 378, shine.

661 *ra[a]ŋ to be disseminated.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon rāñ [chāy], Modern Mon rāñ [chai] to become widespread, flourish, prosper; ~ Bahnar praŋ to go, be carried, far and wide (GUILEMINET 1959-63).
662 *raŋ to sieve.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer rəŋ, Biat rəŋ; ~ Sre sarəŋ (to) sieve, (~?) Bahnar graŋ fish-basket.

663 *ra[ lə], *raŋ to wander.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Rôngao rəŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon kraŋ.
B: (Mon) ~ Mon kreŋ.
Cf. further (i) Vietnamese ròng, rông; (ii) Sora *endun-.

664 *ɾəŋ; *ɾəŋ to watch (over).
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon, Khasi) Mon rôŋ rän to look (at) (or B), Khmer rûŋ to wait for, Sre rəŋ to watch over, bring up, raise (→ Röglaï), Central Nicobarese [ŋ]-yəŋ-[hala] to guard, protect, watch over, Nancowry yəŋ, yǔŋ to wait; (or B) ~ Khasi mrong expectantly, waitfully.
B: (Bahnaric) Bunör rəŋ, Central Rölöm rəŋ to bring up, raise, Bahnar rəŋ to look after, bring up, raise, keep, preserve; ~ Cham rəŋ, Jarai rəŋ, North Röglaï rock to bring up, raise; ~ Bahnar graŋ to keep watch (over) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 78.)

665 *ɾəŋ row.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer rəŋ ridge for planting crops, (TANDART 1935) row of plants, avenue, Vietnamese giòng (for **rông) line; ~ Stieng ndrəŋ row, Chrau [əːt] kəndrəŋ in rows; ~ Chrau tanrəŋ line.
Cf. 659 *ɾəŋ to form a row.

666 *ɾəŋ; *ɾəŋ[ ]; *ɾəŋ[ ] hole, hollow.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Vietnamese rông hole in tree; (or B) Besisi sēroŋg pit, cavity, bore of blowpipe (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66); ~ Kuy prọŋg pit, hole, Bru prùŋ; ~ obsolete. Khmer bruŋ,hollow, Sre bəŋg hollow in tree; ~ Biat ndroŋ [bok] fontanel.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rùŋ hollow, cave, den; to hollow out, Stieng rûŋ cave, burrow.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, Mon) ~ Old Mon srûŋ /srəŋ/, Modern Mon səŋ̂g hollow, Proto-Nyah Kur *crunj (DIFFLOTH 1984 N230); ~ Khmer pruŋ hole, Kuy phruŋ hole, crack, cavity.
Cf. 724 *luŋ[ŋ] &c. Praok rəŋ ravine is probably ← Shan hɔŋ, under the entry 668 *ruŋ.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *ruŋg: Javanese rong hole, hollow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 104); (ii) Proto-Formosan *baruŋ hole, cave, den (BENEDICT 1975). See BENEDICT 1975 316; 353, pierced.
667 *ruŋ?; *ruŋ [ ]; *ruŋ [ ] ridge, spine, back.
A: (Viet-M'ông) ~ Vietnamese sỏng mỉt הכי, ridge, spine.
B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-M'ông) Bahnar ĭn back, behind, Jeh, Halang roŋ, M'ông 
dzung back (CUISINIER 1951); ~ Cham ĭn, Jarai roŋ, Rôglai rok, rok back.
C: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) ~ Achehnese ruang back; ~ Palaung kroŋ; ~ Bru 
kroŋ back; ~ Kammu-Yuan kantròŋ back; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang 
*khruaŋ (— *ça) spine... .
For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *duuk. Sakai krôk* back, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 
1906 B 4, is rather < 1844 *kraw.
(SMITH 1972 143.)
Sora ka'ruŋ-an backyard; ~ kɔnduŋ-an, compounding form doŋ-an back (PINNOW 
1959 367).

668 *ruŋ; *ruŋ; *ruŋ channel, river.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-M'ông) Riang-Lang ĭn river; (or c?) → 
Thai roŋ channel, ditch, Shan họŋ gully; ~ Sre ronŋ channel; ~ (*krŋ >) Thin 
hròng, M'ông không (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese sỏng river.
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Biat roŋ [dark] channel, ditch, Rôngao roŋ drainage channel, side-
channel of river (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon krui /krŋ/, Modern Mon 
krŋ, Central Rôlôm kroŋ river; (or a?) → Shan không Salween, → Riang-Lang 
[om] kroŋ.
C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-M'ông, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Palaung roŋ 
torrent (MILNE 1931), canal, Vietnamese giòng (for **ròng current, flow, stream; ~ 
Bunör (or ?)), Bahnar kroŋ river, Kammu-Yuan krông Mekong (or by back-
borrowing ← Lao không?); (& variants?) → Cham krôn, Jarai [ia] kroŋ, 
Achehnese kruaŋ.
Connect Burmese mroʊ gully, mroʊ: canal (→ Mon parŋ). Cf. further 733 *kloŋ 
129.
(BLOOD 1966 76.)

669 *ruŋ; *ruŋ; *ruŋ to fall, drop off.
A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre ruŋ [object] to fall to the ground, Biat ruŋ [fruit] to fall, 
[teeth, hair] to fall out, Bahnar ruŋ to fall (down), [leaves] to fall; to abort 
(GUILLLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry yōŋ to drip, kuyōŋ to thresh (by shaking); ~ 
(*tnruŋ >) Biat грνŋ to shake [fruit] down.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Stieng ruŋ fallen leaves. or fruit (or ?); ~ 
(*tnruŋ >) Chrai tɔruŋ to spill, pour out; ~ (? , *trruŋ >) Bahnar tɔruŋ, 
tɔrɔŋ to be blown away (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Biat ĭn scantiness [of hair].

(*ruŋ see also 703 *pruŋ to pass through.)
670 *ruuŋ; *r[a]ŋ unpartitioned building.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) (Old Mon ruṅ (open-sided) hall if = raṅ, below,) Middle Mon ruṅ large building, Modern Mon rəŋ large building, shed, Khmer rəŋ hall, pavilion, large building, shed, Kuy rəŋ large building, field shelter, Biat rəŋ shed, Bahnar rəŋ assembly house; → Burmese ruṅ shed, ruṅ: court; Cham ruṅ hall, shed; Thai rооŋ hall, shed.
B: (Mon) Old Mon raṅ (& ruṅ?) /røŋ/, Literary Mon ruṅ hall.
Cf. 697 *(t)ruŋ &c. stable, sty, cage; 725 *luŋ &c. stable, sty, cage.
(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

(*ruuŋ see also 703 *pruŋ to pass through; *ruŋ see ib.; 705 *[p]nuŋ report, news.)

671 *kriiŋ[ŋ] kind of bamboo.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre kriŋ, Biat krem.
Sora 'uruŋ-an (PINNOW 1959 275, cf. 337a), Gorum uruŋ bamboo (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976.)

672 *kriŋ; *kra[i]ŋ great hornbill.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chrau [kuŋ]kriŋ rhinoceros hornbill, Sre, Bahnar kriŋ great hornbill, Dichoceros [= Buceros?] bicornis; ∼ Bru triŋhornbill.
B: (Palaungic) Lawo Bo Luang khraŋ, Lawa Umphai kraŋ hornbill.

673 *kriŋ (& *kraŋ?) Eugenia.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Old Mon kren /krem/, Modern Mon kraŋ Eugenia, Kuy krem (< variant?) Eugenia jambolana, Mnong Gar kraŋ Eugenia, Bahnar [ʔləŋ] krem kind of wild cherry.

674 *kr[a]ŋ hard.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon kraŋ to be h., firm to the touch, Khmer kraŋ to be hard, dried and cracked (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Biat kraŋ [early-]ripening [paddy]; → Röglai kraŋ early-ripening.
Khmer vocalism post-liquid? GUESDON 1930 has kantraŋ to grow stiff, suggesting -ɔɔŋ.

675 *kruŋ to confine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Mon kraŋ to store, to shut up, imprison, Khmer kraŋ to catch by placing net, pot &c. over, Biat kraŋ to shut up, Jeh truŋ, kraŋ to pen [fowl in basket] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Stieng kandruŋ to pen [pigs], Kontum Bahnar kadruŋ, Gölar Bahnar hadrung chicken-coop.
Proto-Austronesian *kurun: Malay kurung cabin, compartment, (bër-) to be confined, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83-4).
Connected further Tibeto-Burman *kruŋ* cage (Garo, Burmese; → Mon khraŋ to enclose), BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 389; Thai kroŋ cage; Indonesian → Mon-Khmer then unlikely. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 223.

676 *graŋ* hill, peak.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon krəŋ peak, Old Khmer grəŋ, Modern Khmer kraŋ! hill on flat plain, Riang-Lang _raŋ_ hill, mountain.

677 *graŋ; *graiŋ_ to know, understand.
A: (Mon) Old Mon graŋ /graŋ/ to have knowledge of, know, Modern Mon krəŋ to understand.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon kraŋ /graŋ/ = graŋ, Vietnamese sành to be expert in.

678 *graŋ_ threshing gear.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Mon kraŋ threshing-floor in house compound, Khmer krəŋ, Kuy khrıäŋ shallow basket for drying seeds &c. in sun, Vietnamese săng winnowing- basket, to winnow.

679 *grəŋ_ to thunder.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer krəŋ-kraŋ Onomatopoeic for reverberating sounds, Besisi garöng thunder, to thunder (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 120 (a)); → Burmese khrun: to thunder?; ~ Bahnar tadnvŋ to thunder to dazzle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1392 *gram[?]* &c.
Proto-Austronesian (i) Paiwan, Ami *garəŋ_ thunder (cited at BENEDICT 1975 368, rumble...); (ii) by metathesis Proto-Philippine *luGəŋ (ZORC & CHARLES); Proto-Manobo *rugung (ELKINS).
Note Proto-Yao *gluŋ, BENEDICT 1975.

680 *criŋ; *criŋ; *criŋ; *craiŋ; *craiŋ_ widely spaced.
A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan [səŋraŋ] səŋriŋ thinly [woven], sparsely.
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon soiŋ sriŋ, criŋ to be widely spaced; ~ (*cnriŋ >)
C: (Khasi; ~ *cpriäng >) Khasi saphriang to spread, extend (& phriang to spread out, scatter by back-fmn).
D: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer creŋ spreading, separation [of legs] (GUESDON 1930), Biat chraŋ widely spaced; ~ (*cmraiŋ >) Chrau vraŋ spread apart, Bahnar braŋ widely spaced, Jeh braŋ far apart, Halang braŋ distance, space.
E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan cräng becoming sparse.
(SMITH 1972 161.)
680a *[c]riŋ; *[c]riŋ to string, thread.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre srīŋ to t. [needle], string [beads] (or B?; probably → Röglaí srīŋ to thread); ~ (*[c]riŋ >) Biat rłuŋ string [of beads], (koŋ —) necklace.
B: (North Bahnaric, ? South Bahnaric) Stieng kriŋ to string [beads] (or A?), Bahnar sriŋ, hriŋ to string [fish]; (probably) → Cham thrīŋ to thread; ~ Bahnar sədrīŋ, hədrīŋ string of fish &c., kebab, Bahnar Kontum dʁəŋ necklace.
 Cf. Nancowry rāŋ to thread beads.

681 *craŋ; *cra[a]ŋ bank, embankment.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon craṅ/craŋ/ bank, shore, side, edge, Khmer craŋ (steep) bank.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon craŋ (bund of?) tank, Modern Mon saŋ dam, reservoir, moat, Stieng c’raŋ steep.
(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

682 *[c]raŋ beetle.
A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (*[c]rrəŋ >) Bahnar hərang beetles, pest attacking paddy, Sakai harang-[hárui] beetle (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 144A); ~ Sre sənɾəŋ kind of water- beetle (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar hədrəŋ kind of beetle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Connect perhaps Khasi [‘ñiang] riang (then compounding form) water- beetle. But connection uncertain 684 *cru(u)ŋ caterpillar.

683 *[c]əəŋ loft, rack.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Mon) Chil, Kuəñ ndraŋ transverse roof timbers, Bru trúŋ shelf under roof, Nyah Kur *thrəŋ; ~ (*[c]nrəŋ >) Central Rölöm ndraŋ shelf under roof, Biat ndraŋ loft, rack; ~ (*[c]prəŋ >) Bahnar prəŋ loft.
*tə? Connect 658 *riŋ &c. veranda?
(BLOOD 1966 p. 35.)

684 *cruŋ; *cruuŋ caterpillar.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau jruŋ; ~ (*cnruŋ >) Biat ndroŋ caterpillar; ~ *crruŋ >) Khasi [‘ñiang] long (compounding form!) caterpillar, larva, chrysalis.
B: (North Bahnaric, ? South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng cəndruŋ caterpillar, worm in fruit (or A?), Bahnar hədroŋ caterpillar, silkworm, Jeh idruŋ wood-eating insect, Halang hədruŋ caterpillar.
Connection uncertain 682 *[c]raŋ beetle.
(SMITH 1972 118.)
685 *crư; *cruun; *cruaŋ sharpened stake set in ground, panji.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese chông (!) spikes, stakes (perhaps < *rcun by metathesis).
B: (Bahnaric) Sre srouŋ, Jeh, Halang sroŋ panji, Bahnar sroŋ, hroŋ panji; sharpened to a point; → Bru surŋ point?; → Cham caraŋ, Rōglai cərok, Malay chorong panji.
C: (Khmer) Khmer crooŋ sticking up, standing up; straight; ~ comroŋ panji, any object standing upright in earth.
For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *duuk. Connection dubious Literary Mon karān stake.
(Smith 1972 141.)

686 *jraŋ; *jra[i]ŋ; *jriəŋ hole.
A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon jraŋ /jraŋ/ pit (A), Sre jiraŋ [nko] gullet (Dournes 1950); (probably ~) Khasi jaraŋ cranny where fish lurk; ~ (B: jnra[i]ŋ >) Bahnar hadraŋ hole of small animal.
C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ciaŋ vertical and deep [hole of animal].

687 *jnraaŋ to spread legs.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon haraŋ to open [legs], splay, Khmer çaŋkriəŋ to lie on back with arms and legs spread out, Riang-Lang _traŋ _[tras] to straddle.
Cf. 577a *jdaŋ &c. spread wide….

688 *[i]rcuŋ red.
Kammu-Yuan …səŋrɨŋ, Palaung reŋ suggest a variant in *-ŋ.
Santali jraŋ deep red, scarlet (Pinnow 1959 396).
Connection uncertain Malay [merah] mëräng bright red, Ngaju Dayak mahiang red (cf. Dempwolff 1938 67, *iyan, a dubious construction); Gayo ilang red.

689 *jruŋ corner, angle.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer crưŋ, Stieng jəruŋ, Biat jruŋ.
Conceivably South Bahnaric ← Khmer, < *crʔuŋ, connected 272 *cʔuk (& Khmer chưŋ, ib).

690 *jruŋ; *jruuŋ; *jruaŋ; *jraŋ (& *jraŋ by expressive lengthening) high, long.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Bahnar jroŋ very high (Guillaume 1959-63), Riang-Lang _carəŋ to be high, tall, Khasi jrong to be high; ~ (*jruŋ >) Khmer çaŋkruŋ big and tall (& çaŋkruŋ, Tandart 1935).
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer çaŋkrǭŋ, çaŋkrǭŋ tall, huge, gigantic.
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar ʔjroŋ long piece.
D: (Katuic, Central Aslian) Semai carak long; ~ (*jnaŋ >) Kuy nthrån long.
763 *slu(u)ŋ high contaminated 172 *jruu? deep. Cf. further Khmer sraŋ lofty, sroŋ straight down (< *sru(u)ŋ); & 537 *j[o(o)]ŋ long, high.

(SHAFER 1965 120; cf. PINNOW 1959 340.)

691 *jruŋ; *jran; *jran (& *jra[a]ŋ?) post.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sthieng ḫaroŋ, Sre ḫaroŋ.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau [p÷ŋ] jran, Praok ronŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ᵘdonŋ, Lawa Umphai ᵙrōŋ, Mae Sariang ᵙyɔŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang kanraŋ house post, Khasi kyŋjreŋ upright.
C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar jraŋ post; ~ (*jra[a]ŋ >?) Thin cândraŋ house post.
By metathesis < *jruŋ &c., parallel formation to 538 *j/n/junŋ? Note for this
Palaung rajaŋ post, ~ jāŋ to stand, ib.

(SMITH 1972 129.)

691a *t₂raŋ; *t₂ra[a]ŋ forehead.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (*t₂raŋ >) Biat ndraŋ [kleŋ].
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau traŋ [voʔ] (b); ~ (*t₂rra(a)ŋ >) Khasi shyllang[mat].
Connection dubious Vietnamese trán, unless ← South Bahnaric.

692 *t₂raŋ man, male.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) West Bahnar kədraŋ (GUildeMInet 1959-63), Khasi shynrang.

693 *t₁raŋ; *t₁riŋ; by metathesis *rt₁iŋ; *rt₁iŋ kind of reed.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Katuic) Khmer traŋ, Bahnar traŋ (kind of) reed,
Thin [try]-traŋ reed, Bru treŋ kind of tall grass.
B: (Bahnaric) Biat treŋ reed, Bahnar treŋ, Jeh, Halang triŋ drinking-tube.
C: (Bahnaric) Chrau raitrum giant reed, Bahnar dialects raiŋ, raeŋ, ræːŋ kind of
reed (GUildeMInet 1959-63).
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat [tœm] tiaŋ (!) [knt] reed.
Connect perhaps Proto-Austronesian *t/ar/iŋ kind of bamboo: Jarai treŋ, &c.
(Proto-Hesperonesian; ch. BLUST 1972 no. 8, *(CtT)erĩŋ; NOTHOFER 1975 52,

(SMITH 1972 148.)

694 *tr[a]ŋ to filter.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer truŋ to filter, to catch [liquid] in jar &c.,
Kuy truŋ, Stieng krãoŋ! to filter, krãoŋ! to decant, Biat truŋ to filter.
Khmer lengthening also in 405 *[c]r[a]k. Stieng k- obscure.
695 *trɔŋ to be incompletely ripe.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon krɔŋ to be halfway ripe, Bahnar trɔŋ to be grown to full size but not yet ripe (Guilleminet 1959-63).

696 *tr[ɔ]ŋ to run straight.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer trɔŋ to be straight, direct, to move directly towards (→ Thai trɔŋ straight..., → Kuy trɔŋ straight, direct), Stieng trɔŋ to aim; by secondary derivation ~ Biat ntrɔŋ to aim.
   Or *trɔŋ.

697 *[t]ruŋ; *[t]ruuŋ; *[t]ruəŋ stable, sty, cage.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?North Bahnaric) Mon krɔŋ stable, byre, Khmer trùŋ, Kuy thùŋ cage, pen; → Cham druŋ cage; (?) Thai kroŋ cage; ~ West Bahnar tdruŋ, East Bahnar adruŋ birdcage, laying-box (Guilleminet 1959-63) (if ≠ Kontum Bahnar kadruŋ, &c., chicken-coop, ad 675 kruŋ to confine; then < *[t]nruŋ).
   B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruŋ >) Biat ndruŋ (— chch) stable, (— chor) piggery, sty.
   C: (North Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruaŋ >) Kontum Bahnar kadruŋ shed for animals (contaminated by *kruŋ?).
   Cf. 725 *luŋ &c.; 670 *ruuŋ &c. unpartitioned building.

698 *truuŋ; *truəŋ path, road.
   A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian) Stieng, Central Rölöm trɔŋ, Jeh, Halang truaŋ, Semelai təruŋ.
   B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat, Bahnar trɔŋ.
   Connect 703 *pruŋ &c. to pass through? Cf. also Thin ruŋ road (contaminated by Thai rɔŋ?); & 736 *glɔŋ.
   (Blood 1966 79; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 216.)

(*t,ruuŋ see 558 *t, uuŋ to strike, beat... )

699 *d,raŋ horn.
   Connect Palaung nʊŋ?
   Sora suggests vowel assimilation following metathesis; note then Malay taring boar’s tusk (← Semang tayeng, Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 258). Cf. also Tibeto-Burman *rwaŋ, Benedict 1972 31-2 no. 85, 32 n. 101; 143.
700 *draŋ (kind of palm with) thorny leaf-stem.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer trøəŋ Pandanus laevis or Rhapis flabelliformis,
      Chrau draŋ hard edge of palm-leaf stalk.

701 *nriŋ; *snriŋ hammock litter, cradle.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer trɛ̀əŋ Pandanus laevis or Rhapis flabelliformis,
      Chrau draŋ hard edge of palm-leaf stalk.
   B: (Mon) Mon həreaŋ sareŋ; → Thai sàliaŋ, → royal Khmer saliaŋ.

702 *priŋ; *priŋ; *pru[ə]ŋ oil, fat.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer preːŋ, Stieng, Biat priːŋ oil, fat, Chrau [daːʔ]
      priːŋ coconut oil.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung preŋ fat; to be delicious, Riang-Lang *priŋ
      to be delicious; ~ (*pnriŋ >) Jeh padreŋ animal fat, Halang bədreaŋ fat.
   C: (Khasi) Khasi phrong fatty residue of frying-oil.
   Cf. Khansi phniang oil-seed (< *rpniŋ by metathesis?). Connection dubious 928
      *klæŋ.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

703 *pruŋ; *pruŋ; *pruŋ to pass through.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre nrøŋ narrow passage (→ Röglai adroŋ); ~
      Riang-Lang _prəŋ pass.
   B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok [hu] pruŋ to go through, pass through, Khasi phrung to
      enter, pass through, to insert.
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar dɾoŋ to go through, pass.
   Root perhaps *ruŋ &c. Connect 698 *truŋ &c. path, road?
   (*pruŋ see also 921 *priŋ to contend.)

704 *pruŋ to cook in a bamboo tube.
   A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Bahnar pruŋ.
   (SHAFER 1965 483.)

705 *[p]nrəŋ; *pənŋ report, news.
   A: (Palaungic) Praok grəŋ fact, report.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon pinriŋ /panŋ/ news, Modern Mon pənŋ news, report.
   Root perhaps *r(u)əŋ; connected Bahnar tədəŋŋ matter, affair, Jeh tədroŋŋ matter,
   Halang dədəroŋŋ idea (cf. SMITH 1972 171); Proto-Austronesian *ta[g'r]uŋ (then
   *-r-): Ngaju Dayak tarong news, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *-[l]l-; Proto-West-
   Indonesian).
706 *briaŋ (~ *bnriŋ, by metathesis > *brniŋ > *brniaŋ, by dissimilation > Palaungic &c. *[b]ryuŋ, *[b]ryuŋ, by analogy also *[b]ryuŋ) rainbow.


(Shafer 1965 386.)

707 *mraŋ horse.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung braŋ, Riang-Lang _mraŋ, Praok bruŋ, Lawa Bo Luang mbraŋ, Lawa Umphai mbrɔŋ, Mae Sariang mbyɔŋ; ~ (*kuon mraŋ by contraction >) Kammu-Yuan hamrɔŋ. Of same origin as Burmese mruñ. For Tibeto-Burman *m-raŋ (~ *s-raŋ-s) see Benedict 1972 43 no. 145 & n. 139; Coblin 1974:124-5. At Benedict 1972 189 n. 487 Benedict argues that *m-raŋ & Archaic Chinese mà (⊂ *mwa < *mra) are early loans from a plerisyllabic *m[ ]raŋ of unknown origin.

(Shafer 1965 385.)

708 *[s]riəŋ intestines.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu’ hriaŋ, Kammu-Yuan riaŋ, Palaung (!) reŋ.

(*snriŋ see 701 *nriŋ hammock litter….)

709 *sraŋ; *sra[a]ŋ tooth, sharp projection.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Muông, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi shreŋ dorsal fin, spine, prickle, Muông thàng (Barker 1966 14), Vietnamese rãŋg tooth; ~ (*smr- >; or B?) Sre sampræŋ spiny dorsal fin of certain fish (Dournes 1950).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan raŋ, Thin, Palaung hraŋ, Riang-Lang –raŋ, Praok raŋ tooth.

(Shafer 1965 205.)

710 *líŋ; *liaŋ waterfall, to gush.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy liŋ to pour slowly, Bru ?alimŋ to pour; ~ Bahnar liŋ to pour out; ~ Biat reŋ [daik] flood; ~ Semang paling to flow (i.e. Kintaq Bong; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 184).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre [daŋ] liaŋ, Biat leŋ waterfall; → Cham liŋ to wash.

Cf. 719 *laŋ to wash…; 716 *laŋ …to condense.

Sora leŋ-leŋ- to be damp, dripping, Kharia leŋ to flow, &c. (Pinnow 1959 343; Proto-Munda *leŋgi).
Proto-Austronesian *[ ]i̯i̯i̯ŋ: Javanese iling to pour cautiously from unspouted vessel, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68; Proto-West-Indonesian).
See BENEDICT 1975 358, to p.
(*i̯i̯i̯ŋ see also 758 *[r]i̯i̯i̯ŋ polished... )

711 *li̯aŋ young, tender.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon le̯n /le̯n/ junior [officer], Modern Mon [hamœ] le̯n at age of puberty, Stieng li̯aŋ pliant, flexible, Riang-Lang _lieŋ_ shoot, blade; ~ Palaung rəliaŋ boy, youth.
Cf. 726 *luŋ &c.
(*li̯aŋ see also 758 *[r]i̯i̯i̯ŋ ...to glisten.)

712 *leŋ to sport, play.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon le̯n [ləŋ] to enjoy, Khmer ləŋ to play sport, divert oneself, Chrau leŋ (to do) as a diversion.

713 *leẹŋ (& *leŋ?) to borrow, hire.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon ləjn to hire, rent, (variant >?) Sre leŋ to borrow.

714 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liaŋ large raptor.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*laŋ laŋ > *lnłaŋ >) Mon kənaŋ kite; ~ (*klaŋ >) Sre klaŋ, Chrau khlaŋ hawk, large raptor, (or variant?) Central Sakai klaŋ hawk.
B, C: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) (Semaï laŋ buzzard (TAUERN 1914) if not ← Malay, below); ~ Khmer khlaŋŋ kite (C; → Kuy lleŋŋ, slemŋ kit (toy)?), Kuy k(ə)laŋŋ hawk (B), Biat klaŋŋ hawk, large raptor, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang klaŋŋ hawk &c., Kammu-Yuan kləŋŋ kite, hawk, eagle, Palaung, Praok klaŋ, Riang-Lang klaŋŋ kite, hawk, (c) Khasi khlieng (~ 'lieng) kite, eagle, (B/C) Central Nicobarese klaŋŋ white-bellied eagle, Nancowry kalāŋ vulture; → Cham kalajŋ, Jarai klaŋŋ, Rōglai kalak, North Rōglai kalaŋk hawk, large raptor, Acehnese klōang hawk.
Cf. A46 *kliŋ kit (toy).

Proto-Austro, Proto-Austroasiatic *qalaŋ or the like? Proto-Mon-Khmer *k- then animal prefix; or < *q-? Hence Tibeto-Burman *laŋ, BENEDICT 1972 72 no. 333 & n. 225; note Kachin gəlaŋ eagle, kite, hawk.
§715 *laŋ; *laanŋ; *liŋ to wander.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre [liŋ] laŋ here and there, back and forth (→ Röglai),
Riang-Lang laŋ [le] to wander abroad.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Palaung (Milne 1931, songs) [ləh] laŋ, (~; or tone by
phrasal assimilation) Vietnamese lang [bang &c.] to wander.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre liŋ [laŋ] here and there... (→ Röglai), Praok [hu lay] liŋ to go from place to place.
Cf. 1513 *lahy.
Proto-Austronesian (i; *laŋlaŋ) Javanese langlang to wander; (ii) *d'alaŋ: Malay
jolang to wander, &c.
(Dempwolff 1938 46; Proto-West-Indonesian).

716 *laŋ to melt, to condense.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon laŋ to melt, Literary Mon laŋ also [dew] to be precipitated, Khasi
lang [e.g. water] to condense, collect.
Cf. 719 *laŋʔ to wash...; 710 *liiŋ &c. ...to gush.

717 *laŋ with black markings.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre laŋ white with black stripes, piebald
(dournes 1950), Riang-Lang laŋ, Praok luŋ, Lawa Bo Luang laŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae
Sariang laŋ to be black.
(Shafer 1965 390.)

718 *laŋ; *laanŋ; *liiŋ to destroy.
A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon blaŋ /blaŋ/ [pliŋ].
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer liiŋ (→ Thai lāaŋ); ~ Bahnar klaŋ to dig up,
ditch (Guilleminet 1959-63).
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ *lbliiŋ >) Khmer rūmlīŋ to dig out and clear away
[tree-stumps], to dissipate one’s property, (~?) Biat plīŋ to break [dyke] down.

719 *laaŋʔ to wash, to bring water to.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Literary Mon laaŋ to wash
(away), Khmer liiŋ (→ Thai lāaŋ) to wash; ~ late Middle Mon lamlāŋ dew
(contaminated by 716 *laŋ ...to condense, which compare?); ~ Literary Mon klāŋ
to clean, Bahnar klaŋ to direct water, channel, Vietnamese tráng to rinse [dish &c.];
~ Thin kōmlaŋ to gush out, overflow, to cause to gush out, to spit (contaminated by
710 *liiŋ &c., which compare).
(Smith 1972 160.)

720 *la[a]ŋ (& *laŋ?) to unfold.
A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre laŋ (< variant?),
Central Rölöm (Blood 1966), Bahnar laŋ, Central Nicobarese [cum]-laŋ-[haijë],
Nancowry láŋ, curlānji.
721 *ləŋ to be immersed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaran) Khmer ləʊŋ to drown, Stieng ləŋ to capsize, Central Nicobarese ləŋ-[fe] to sink, Nancowry ləʊŋsi, ləŋ that which cannot float; ~ Stieng kəʊŋ to immerse; ~ Khmer bomphləʊŋ to immerse, sink (TANDART 1935).
Add as derivation 733 *kləŋ perennial water? Cf. 423 *lək &c.; 1077 *lət &c. to be extinguished.
(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)

722 *ləŋ; *ləʊŋ to echo.
A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*lml- >) Mon paləŋ lamləŋ &c., Khmer lʊənɭəŋ echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A); ~ (*Imp- >; B) Khmer rʊmpəŋ, (TANDART 1935) lʊmpəŋ (to) echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A), (A?) Sre mpoŋ echo (→ Röglai).
Cf. Vietnamese lʊŋ to resound; llocano gumluong to resound, reverberate.

723 *ləʊŋ to try, test.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer ləʊŋ, Kuy lʊəŋ, Biat ləŋ [uəŋ], Stieng, Sre (→ Röglai), Jeh ləʊŋ to try, test, Bahnar ləŋ to be tested; apparently → Lawa Bo Luang ləŋ, Lawa Umphai ləŋ by interdialectal borrowing; ~ Khmer prəʊŋ to compete, to take a test (contaminated by 921 *prəŋ to contend?), Bahnar pəʊŋ to try, test; ~ Halang tələŋ to try, test.
(BLOOD 1966 77; SMITH 1972 175.)

724 *luŋ[ŋ]; *luuŋ; *ləŋ[ŋ] hole, hollow; to bore, excavate.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaran) Khmer lʊŋ to dig hole, drill, bore, excavate, Central Nicobarese [ŋ]ləŋ to drill hole, Nancowry ʔuŋɭəŋ, lōŋa hole; ~ Sre [ɗaː] tərləŋ well, Chrau taləŋ deep place in river, Jeh taləŋ hole (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi tyllong [um] well, spring; ~ Bahnar səlʊŋ pit, ditch, well, abyss.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) ~ Khmer rʊmləŋ flood-basin; ~ Vietnamese trʊŋg to be concave, low, hollow; ~ (*trluuŋ >) Bahnar tədʊŋ hole, hollow, cutting (GUilleminet 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer ʔənləʊŋ hole in stream-bed; ~ Mon kəʊŋ to bore (rather than A, cf. next); ~ Middle Mon kamluin, Modern Mon pəlʊŋ well.
Add as derivatives 745 *tɨluŋ &c. throat; 747 *ɗəluŋ &c. boat? Cf. also 666 *ruŋ &c. hole, hollow; 733 *kləŋ perennial water.
(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)
Sora ʔəuŋ-ən, (compounding form) (ʔ)lu(ʔ)ŋ-ən pit.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *baluŋ: Malay balung pond, pool, puddle, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 25; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *palaŋ: Malay palung trough, &c. (ib. no. 283; Proto-Hesperonesian).
725 *luŋ; *luuŋ, *luəŋ stable, sty, cage.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lòng cage.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Sre (~ Röglai) luŋ sty.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese chuông (for **truông) cage, shed, coop, stable, sty; (~ *.nluaŋ >) Biat nọi cage.
   Cf. 697 *[t]ruŋ &c.

726 *luŋ; *luuŋ, *luəŋ young, tender.
   A: (Khmēr, Bahnaric) ~ Khmer phanlanŋ young bamboo plant, Sre banunŋ young [plant], Bahnar banunŋ young, young bamboo.
   B: (Palaungic) Khasi lung young, tender; (~ *təam luuŋ by contraction >?) Thin cluŋ shoot; ~ Riang-Lang pluŋ to be tender, to be adolescent.
   C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar bləŋ adolescent person; [bamboo] beginning to grow (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   Cf. Röglai lọŋ young [plant]; & 711 *liəŋ. Connect 756 *blaŋŋ shoot, sapling?

727 *luŋ; *luəŋ, *ləŋ above, on.
   A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Riang-Lang ləŋ on (to), Praok lọŋ above, Sakai [gua]-long on top (i.e. Jah Hut; Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 9); ~ (* [ ]luŋ >) Palaung nuŋ far above.
   B: (Katuic) Kuy liŋ (to go) high up.
   C: (Khasi; ~ *ləŋ >) Khasi nəŋ above.
   Cf. (i) Kontum Bahnar kəŋ above, on top of, Halang pəŋ above, Jeh pəŋ upper side (< *IPA(ə)ŋ? Kuy has pəŋ on, above, Bru pəŋ above); (ii) Sora laŋka-ŋ above, &c., Pinnow 1959 364. But connection dubious Old Mon cloŋ /cləŋ/ highest point, spire; or Khmer laŋ to rise up..., ⇔ Thai ləŋ going up too high.

728 *lunŋ to swing.
   A: (Khmēr, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar [lŋ &c.] lŋ swaying, vibrating, teetering (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung lʊŋ [ləŋ] to swing (Milne 1931), Praok [puk plek] luŋ [ləŋ] to swing; ~ Khmer khəŋ unstable, swaying.
   For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *dük. Cf. (i) B59 *[l]a[a]ŋ; (ii) Bahnar ləŋ gəŋ swaying, swinging (Guilleminet 1959-63); (iii) Santali ləawəŋ ləawəŋ dangling, hanging loosely, Pinnow 1959 K 523.

   B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung hloŋ firefly (Milne 1931).
   C: (Mon, Khmuic, Katuic) Mon [lek] loŋ; ~ Kammu dialect [rəŋ] kləŋ; ~ Bru maliŋ ləŋ.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

729a *kli[ŋ]; *klii[ŋ] black ant.
A: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese kamileŋ kind of small black ant.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng kaliŋ, Biat kuleŋ. (or A?) Sre kaliŋ black ant.
Or *-ŋ; so connected B68 *briŋ &c. kind of ant?

730 *kliŋ; *kliiŋ; *kliəŋ to rotate, to spin.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer krəlng to rotate, to turn on lathe; ~ Palaung kənleŋ wheel, Riang-Lang _kənleŋ wheel, spinning-wheel.
B: (Palaungic) Praok kliŋ to spin; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔaləŋ, Lawa Umphai raleŋ spindle.
C: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon klen /klen/, Modern Mon kənleŋ to spin, Thin kliŋ to rotate; ~ (*kniəŋ >) Middle Mon kaneŋ, Literary Mon kənleŋ spindle (& Modern Mon neanh by hypercorrection).

731 *[k]liəŋ forehead.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat [ndrəŋ] klen, Bahnar klen, Jeh klen, Halang klen; by secondary derivation ~ Sre biŋliəŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 97; SMITH 1972 123.)

732 *klaŋ?; *kla[a]ŋ[ ] white.
B: (Bahnaric; ~ *kmla[a]ŋ[ ] >) Bahnar balaŋ white[thread], (by assimilation *knl- >) Chrau kənəŋ, Biat ɳlaŋ white.
Connection uncertain Khmer sənlaŋ clean white, brand-new.

733 *kloŋ perennial water.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Stieng kloŋ deep place in stream, pool in marsh, Sre kloŋ water-hole in river bed, Bahnar kloŋ deep part of river, Bru kloŋ water-hole, deep-water channel, Palaung kloŋ quantifier for watercourses (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Bo Luang kloŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kloŋ stream; ~ (*kpləŋ >) Palaung pləŋ stream; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer prəŋ (!) puddle.
~ 721 *ləŋ to be immersed? Cf. 724 *luŋ[h] &c. hole...; 668 *(k-)ruŋ &c. ... river, & Tibeto-Burman *kluŋ river, BENEDICT 1972 39 no. 127, 39-40 n. 129; further Burmese khyon: stream.
(SHAFER 1965 66.)
734 *kluŋ; *kluuŋ; *kluəŋ kind of resinous tree.
A: (Khmer) Khmer kholng Dipterocarpus cordatus crispatus.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng [təm] kluŋ kind of resinous tree resembling wood-oil tree,
Sre kloan! kind of resinous tree.
C: (Mon; ?) Old Mon [chu] klon /kloŋ/, Modern Mon kloan Terminalia tomentosa.

735 *kluuŋ (& *kluŋ?); *[k]luəŋ middle, belly.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng kluŋ (in the) middle, Sre kluŋ (or < *-uŋ?; → Röglai
kluk) stomach, Riang-Lang *kluŋ belly, womb; ~ (*knl- >) Sre k balloe heartwood;
yolk (< *-uŋ?), East Bahnar gluŋ middle finger (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~
(*kpluuŋ >) Sre pluŋ paunch (Dournes 1950).
B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Mường (Barker 1966 20), Vietnamese lòng intestines, heart.
Note further Kammu-Yuan lìŋ middle (under the entry 582 *kdiŋ); Kenaboi bûlang
belly, Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 162 (a).

(Shafer 1965 64.)

736 *glɔɔŋ path, road.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Aslian) Mon kloon road, track, way, Kuy kliuəŋ tracks,
mark, trace, crack, Kensiu galŋ path, road; ~ Khmer kuanŋ way, tracks.
If 739 *clɔɔŋ ...to pass is a variant-prefix form, Praok ləŋ to go along may reflect the
simplex. Bahnar gluŋ wide [road] (Guilleminet 1959-63), cited as road at Skeat
& Blagden 1906 G 49, is not connected. Cf. further 698 *truuŋ &c.

737 *gluŋ; *gl[i]ŋ much, many.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon gluŋ, gluŋ /gluŋ/, (in part, cf. B) Modern Mon
kləŋ to be much, many, (~?) Palaung luŋ (!) [animals] to be many; → Shan lęŋ to
be plentiful; ~ Khasi kyllong very big.
B: (Mon; or *-əŋ) Middle Mon gluŋ = Old Mon gluŋ &c. (so in part Modern Mon
kləŋ, Proto-Nyah Kur *khəmaləŋ (Diffloth 1984 V90); cf. further for the variant
Old Mon, rare, gumlin &c. attributive beside gumlin &c.).

738 *gluəŋ enclosure.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon gluŋ /gloŋ/ citadel, palace; ~ Chrau
galŋ fence.
Tandart 1935 has obsolete Khmer ghluəŋ treasury, storehouse; cf. Modern Mon
khluəŋ, ↔ Thai kľlaŋ, not readily referable to *gləŋ. Connect B61 *[s]l(u)əŋ to
wall?
739 *cľaŋ to cross, pass.
A: (Khmer, Katuuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer chľaŋ, Kuy (c)laŋ, Sieng cľaŋ, sľaŋ to cross; ~ Khmer cralaŋ narrow valley &c. between hills, path, pass, Biat rľaŋ passage.
Perhaps *c-ľaŋ, cf. 736 *gľaŋ path, road & Khmer rumlľaŋ to pass over, pass beyond, kənľaŋ to step over; passing, past.

1740 *jliŋ (& *jliŋ?); *jla[i]ŋ long.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon -jiŋ /jliŋ/, Modern Mon klington, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdaŋ, Lawa Umphai ʔleŋ, Semelai jaluŋ (contaminated by 763 *sluŋ high?), Mah Meri jəŋ, (~*jliŋ) Central Nicobarese cəliŋ, Nancowry caliŋ.
B: (Palaungic) Praok laŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdaŋ (& ʔduŋ), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔlaŋ.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)
Mundari jiliŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 396a).

741 *tliiŋ to lose one’s way.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon kəliŋ talin to be mistaken, to mistake [route], Nyah Kur talin (suggests *-n?), Sieng trolinŋ to get lost.
Connect Kammu-Yuan ʔlôŋ to forget, fail to recognize, Thin hlonŋ to lose one’s way? (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

742 *tlaŋ side of figure.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon tlaŋ /tlaŋ/, Modern Mon kloŋ, Sieng klaŋ; ~ Pangan nglang (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198).

743 *[t]laŋ; *tlaŋ large vessel.
A: (Palaungic; ~?) Praok kloŋ bowl, Lawa Umphai kloŋ kind of bowl.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kloŋ large wide-mouthed jar, Khmer thlaŋ large earthenware cooking-pot.

744 *t,luŋ; *t,luuŋ; *t,luəŋ throat.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang khroaŋ, Lawa Umphai krauŋ [le?] (k(h)- part-of-body prefix).
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan troŋ; ~ (*t,ruuŋ >) Bahnar həloŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Biat rumloŋ [kə], (by assimilation *rnl- >) Rōngao rənŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Nicobaric; ~ *tluəŋ >) Central Nicobarese oŋlaŋə neck, Nancowry ʔumlŋə. For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *duuk. Connect Proto-Miao-Yao *kləŋ neck, throat, BENEDICT 1975 232, between... (I). Perhaps ~ 724 *luŋ[h] &c. hole, hollow... .
(SMITH 1972 147; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 102 (b.).)
745 *Tliŋ; *Tliŋ to bind, hobble.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer thliŋ, Sre kliŋ (→ Röglai), Bahnar kleŋ to hobble [animal] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham kleŋ hobbles; ~ Khmer tiaŋliŋ, Kuy thliŋ. Stieng gliŋ elephant hobbles, Biat gliŋ hobbles; ~ Bahnar gleŋ = kleŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon) Mon kleŋ to bind; ~ kɔneŋ bonds.

746 *d,lianŋ to carry hanging down.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Late Middle Mon dleiŋ Ɪ /gleŋ/, Modern Mon klæŋ to carry slung from a yoke, Thin tleŋ to carry in one’s hand.

747 *d₂luŋ; *d₂luŋ; *d₂luŋ; *d₂ləŋ boat.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔloŋ; ~ (*d₂luŋ >) Sre, Bahnar pluŋ.
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon dlunŋ Ɦ/dluŋ/, Modern Mon kləŋ; ~ Jeh, Halang pluŋ.
C: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan cälŋ; ~ Riang-Lang _cənluaŋ.
D: (Khasi) Khasi with secondary lengthening lieng.
Perhaps ~ 724 *luŋ[h] Ɡ &c. …to bore, excavate. Hence Tibeto-Burman *(m-)loŋ, BENEDICT 1972 120 no. 467?
(SHAFER 1965 232, 540, 579; SMITH 1972 119.)

748 *n[l]uŋ; *n[l]uŋ; *l]nuuŋ gourd, egg-plant.
A: (Khasi; by dissimilation > *dluŋ >?) Khasi klong bottle- gourd.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre nhouŋ bottle- gourd, Chrau nhouŋ gourd (BLOOD 1966); ~ Riang-Lang _tarluŋ egg-plant.
C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon nuiŋ Ɜ/nuŋ/, Modern Mon nɔŋ water-pot, Old Khmer noŋ Ɜ, Modern Khmer rəŋŋuŋ bitter gourd, nənəŋ Ɜ plant similar to egg-plant, Kuy nɔŋ nɔŋ Ɜ Luffa cylindrica, Stieng nɔŋ Ɜ àŋk bottle- gourd, Biat nɔŋ Ɜ gourd; → Cham lanoŋ kind of egg-plant.
Obscure. Cf. 587 *d,rdu(ə)ŋ. C perhaps *n- in view of Old Mon, Old Khmer; Khmer rə-, nə- then prefixes; Khasi, Riang-Lang conceivably ~ *(r-)nə-. South Bahnaric b then perhaps rather < *d/n/huŋ, ultimately ~ *d,r-duŋ & so Austric.
(BLOOD 1966 9.)

749 *p]laŋ; *p]laŋ thatching-grass.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer pləŋ Ɦ, Modern Khmer phləŋ, Kuy pləŋ, Palaung pləŋ, Riang-Lang Ɦ pləŋ, Lawa Bo Luang pləŋ, Lawa Umphai pləŋ thatching-grass, Khasi phlang Ɦ (~ Ɦ lang) grass.
B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mtùng) Kammu-Yuan pləŋ elephant grass, Vietnamese tranh thatching-grass.
Connection obscure Central Sakai plɔːk roof (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 34; Proto-
Semaï *plɔ̂ŋ, DIFFLOTH 1977).
(SHAFER 1965 392.)
Sora əlaŋə-ə, 'aļəŋə-ə, (compounding form) laŋə-ə jungle grass, thatch, 'aļəŋ- to
thatch, Kharia əļṇ long grass, &c. (PINNOW 1959 270).
Proto-Austronesian *lalarə: Acehnese nalöŋ (kinds of) grass, Cham ralarə
thatching-grass, Malay lalang kind of long grass, Iban lalang Imperata cylindrica (so
Proto-West-Indonesian).

750 *plaaŋ to shine.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung plaŋ to shine, be light; ~ (*pmlaaŋ? >) Praok
blaŋ [sky] to be clear, Khasi phalang to glitter (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường
(BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese lăng to shine, be shiny; ~ Kammu-Yuan pələːŋ
planet; ~ (*phl- >) Bru paliang to shine light on, Kuy has phriang!
Connect obscure Late Middle Mon khlaṅ ḥa long grass, &c. (PINNOW 1959 270).

751 *pləŋ[ ]; *pləŋ? egg.
A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi pylleng.
B: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mường trונג (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese
trúng; ~ Semai pənlək.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 37 (a.).)

(*pləŋ see 616 *lpuŋ to blow.)

752 *plə[ɔ]ŋ tube.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Mon pləŋ tube, pipe, chimney, funnel, Thin
pləŋ tube, Central Sakai lŏk outer barrel of blowpipe; ~ Mon pənəŋ, Khmer
panləŋ fisherman’s float (GUESDON 1930).
Cf. Khmer kləŋ tube, ↔ Cham klau; Bahnar tənə hai [tube] open at both ends
(GUILEMINET 1959-63).

(*pluŋ see 616 *lpuŋ to blow.)

753 *[b]liəŋ; *blaŋ to be askew, to swerve.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pləŋ bleiŋ to be awry, (плет —) to miss the mark; Khmer
panliəŋ to go round about (GUESDON 1930).
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _plaŋ to miss a goal, to be in error; → Shan pəŋ.
Connect 759 *sliŋ &c. to be tilted...?
754 *bla[a]ŋ (& *blan?) noisy kind of bird.
   A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan pIaŋ blue-throat, Erithacus species; ~ Sre barlan (variant?) plover, Sarcogrammus indicus, Chrau valaŋ swift (contaminated by 760 *sliŋ &c.), Bahnar [scim] balaŋ, Bru phaliŋ, Kammu-Yuan rIaŋ [ćok &c.] laughing thrush, Garrulax species; ~ (*brliŋ >) Pakoh parlaŋ swift; → Cham pilaŋ starling, North Röglai balaŋ kind of bird.
   Connect 757 *rliŋ starling? If rather *k*la[(a)]ŋ might be constructed, add Mon [hæcem] kaleŋ starling.

   A: (Bahnaric) Sre bləŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat [tom] bIaŋ [gɔːr] Bombax malabarica, Bahnar bləŋ kinds of silk-cotton tree. (Cf. SMITH 1972 164.)

756 *bla[ ]ŋ shoot, sapling.
   A: (Mon) Mon plac.
   Connect 629a *lm[b][a]ŋ shoot by metathesis; & perhaps 726 *b(n)-luŋ &c. young (plant).
   Sora 'budan-, bu'dan- to sprout; (-ən) sprout.

757 *rliŋ starling.
   Or *kʷrliŋ?

758 *rliŋ; *[r]liŋŋ polished, to glisten.
   A: (Khmer) Khmer râIŋ clean and smooth, polished.
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung lêŋ to glisten.
   Or *l-, Khmer < *lə-liŋŋ?

759 *sliŋ; *sliŋ; *sliaŋ to be tilted, to squint.
   A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *srlIŋ >) Sre [mat] sarIŋ to squint; → Röglai sərlIŋ [mataI].
   B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Sre creIŋ [mat] to squint, Sre sarIŋ, Bahnar hâreIŋ to lean over; ~ Khasi sharing slope, declivity; ~ (*splIŋ >) Bahnar plIŋ to squint.
   C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy sIŋ, lhiŋŋ to squint; ~ Khmer sralIŋ cross-eyed; ~ Khasi shynghkIliŋ cross-eyed (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).
   D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat plaŋ [mat] cross-eyed.
   Cf. 753 *[b]liŋŋ &c. to be askew…; 494 *lIiŋŋ(?) to slant, be skewed; 1862 *slew to squint.
   Proto-Austronesian *d'uliŋ: Malay julIŋ squinting, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 441; Proto-Hesperonesian).
760 *[s]liŋ; *[s]liŋ; *[s]liŋ; *[s]lain swallow.
B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[s]rsliiŋ >) Chrau saľeŋ; Biat rleŋ.
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Gölar Bahnar [sem] pleŋ house-martin (Guilleminet 1959-63).
D: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy [cɛːm] lhɛːɲ swallow, Central Nicobarese minleŋa swiftlet
Connect Toba Batak leang-leang swallow, referred at Dempwolff 1938 90 to Proto-
Austronesian *laian to glide, soar. Cf. 754 *bla[a]ŋ.

761 *slaŋ dazed.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hleŋ, Khmer slaŋ [kaŋ]; ~ Mon [mɔt klek] haleŋ to have poor
sight, Khmer sralaŋ dumbfounded.

‡ 762 *slœŋ to wear [lower garment].
A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon sluŋ [ket], Khasi slieng.
Cf. 453 *sl[u]k.
Proto-Austronesian *[t']uluŋ: Pangasinan solóng to wear, put on, Hanunóo súlung
putting on, wearing; perhaps Proto-Oceanic *sulu (to put on) sarong (Blust 1971 no.
87, *(cs)-; rather than *taruŋ sheath, Dempwolff 1938 148).

763 *sluŋ; *sluŋ high.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung hluŋ to be high, long, Praok laŋ to be high, downwind,
Lawa Bo Lung hloaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hlaŋ high; ~ Khmer sraluŋ
very deep (Guesdon 1930); ~ (*smluŋ >) Praok blaŋupper part, Lawa Bo Lung
mblauŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mblauŋ hill.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon sluŋ, Modern Mon hlæŋ to be high; ~ Old Mon suŋlāŋ
/samluŋ/ high, Modern Mon halaŋ [ca] south; ~ Khmer srəloŋ = sraluŋ.
Note also Khmer proloŋ length; (*Inluan >?) Bahnar ranŋ long; length (Guilleminet
1959-63). *slu(u)ŋ contaminated by 172 *jruu? &c. deep yields 690 *jruŋ &c.
high, long; cf. further 740 *jliiŋ &c. length.
(Shafter 1965 224.)
Kharia selæŋ deep, &c. (Pinnow 1959 340; & Kharia jalaŋ high, &c., contaminated by
cognate of *jliiŋ: ib).

764 *[s]luŋ to tie up, moor.
A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer sənoŋ large hitching- or mooring-post; ~ (*[s]rloŋ >)
Middle Mon caloi /caluŋ/ [ciin] (with c- by phrasal assimilation?), Modern Mon
halaŋ [coiŋ] post to which elephant is tethered.
*wiŋ; *wiŋ; *wiŋ; *waiŋ; *wəŋ; *wuəŋ; *wuŋ; *wuŋ to go round, turn.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Khmer viŋ again, back, Bahnar *wiŋ curve, eddy (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung *vəŋ to go back, return, Pangan *weg to return (i.e. Bateg Dek; Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 83; or B); (~ *[t]rwiŋ >) Bahnar dawəŋ, tawəŋ surrounding (Guilleminet 1959-63), Praok [sive] siveŋ around; (or B) ~ Khmer səräŋŋə drunk.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng uiŋ [wai] giddiness (or A?); Bahnar *wiŋ to move in curves, wind, eddy, to be giddy, Riang-Lang *vəŋ to go back, return; ~ Kammu-Yuan [katwət &c.] kəŋwəŋ to wag, wave; ~ Khasi wiŋ to go and return the same day; ~ Old Mon tu⁴ıŋwəŋ/ tamwiŋ/ enclosure (replaced by tameŋ, C; < *təam wiŋ by contraction?); ~ (*swiŋ >, cf. Khmer səräŋ, A) Mon hwiŋ to wave (arms) about, gesticulate.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon weŋ /weŋ/ to avoid, to turn aside, Modern Mon weŋ to avoid (in part; merging following, which compare), Khmer viŋ way round, bend, Palaung viŋ to move aimlessly (Milne 1931); ~ Khasi khwiəŋ to wind or turn round when walking; ~ Bahnar kə́wəŋ curving, winding (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung kərwəŋ coil; to be coiled, to coil, Khasi khyrwiəŋ to go round; ~ Literary Mon tameŋ compound = Modern Mon kəmeŋ outer part of veranda (cf. Old Mon tu⁴ıŋwəŋ, B); by secondary derivation ~ Biat ncəŋŋə to throng round.

D: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon wəŋ, weŋ /waiŋ/ to pay a visit to, go to meet, welcome, Stieng uəŋ to make a detour, Bahnar wəŋ to go round, Praok [vuŋ] vəŋ around; ~ Mường quəŋh (Barker 1966 13), Vietnamese quanh to be around, to be winding, tortuous, twisting; ~ Khmer travəŋ oval, Biat rwaŋ to roll into a ball.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon wiŋ /wəŋ/, Modern Mon wəŋ to go round, to be bent round, circular (or A), Khmer viŋ sphere, circle, disc, Vietnamese vəŋ disc, orb; ~ Cham wəŋ warped; ~ (*krəŋ >) Khmer krəŋə circular, Khasi kylləŋ abroad, everywhere; (phah — — to) to circulate; ~ Bahnar [duŋŋə] duŋ [tail] to wag (Guilleminet 1959-63).

F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer vuəŋ circle (Guesdon 1930), Mường (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese vong circle, ring, hoop...; to trace a circle, move in a circle; ~ Bahnar kəwəŋ curving (Guilleminet 1959-63).

G: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese vong to be arched, curved.

H: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok vuŋ [veŋ] around; ~ Bahnar kəwəŋ large and curving (Guilleminet 1959-63).

F-H secondary. Connect 931 *wiŋ &c. ... to go round; 767 *wa(a)ŋ enclosure; perhaps 768a *wa[i]ŋ &c. to borrow.

(Shafer 1965 197; Shorto 1973 375-8, with further derivatives) Kharia əŋ to return, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 317).

Proto-Austronesian *kəuiŋ: Iban kuing to turn, Ilocano kiwang crooked, bent, curved (so Proto-Hesperonesian).
766 *weŋ (& *ween?) to turn aside, turn away (v.i.t.).
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Old Mon weŋ /weŋ/ to avoid, to turn aside, Modern Mon wəŋ to avoid (in part; merging 765 *waŋ, which compare), Sre weŋ to push away, chase away (variant if length not secondary; → Röglai waŋ to chase away?), Khasi (ia-)weng to remove; ~ Khmer vəŋvəŋ to go astray, lose [one’s way].

767 *waŋ; *waan enclosure; to go round.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon waŋ, Modern Mon wəŋ enclosure esp. round palace &c., Khmer vəŋ enclosure, palace, to enclose, Sre waŋ cattle-yard, pound, Kammu-Yuan wəŋ to girdle [tree]; → Burmese wa:n fence, enclosure, → Shan vəŋ, probably → Palaung vaŋ; → Shan veŋ, → Palawg vaŋ, → Riang-Lang viŋ; → Thai waŋ palace.
B: (Khasi, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer vəːŋ to avoid; detouring, winding, Stieng dialect uəŋ village, Sre waŋ = waŋ; → Cham waŋ [rataŋ] to surround; ~ Biat juaŋ compartment; ~ Lawa Umphai maŋ[mon] circular.
Khmer to avoid..., as Kammu-Yuan, by attraction 765 *waŋ &c., which connect. Thence ultimately are Thai wian town (→ obsolete Khmer viŋ palace, citadel), Shan vəŋ, → Palaung veŋ, Riang-Lang _viŋ; Shan vəŋ to surround, → Riang-Lang veŋ enclosure.

768 *waiŋ long.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer vəːŋ long, Kammu-Yuan wəŋ long (space, time), Thin waŋ to be wide, long, capacious.

768a *wa[i]ŋ; *waŋ to borrow.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat waŋ to borrow, Sre waŋ to borrow rice (Dournes 1950; correct to waŋ).
B: (Khasi; ~ *glwaŋ >) Khasi kyliang loan.
= 765 *waŋ &c. to go round...? Cf. here 1531 *wa(ay).

769 *waŋ; *weŋ howdah.
A: (Katuic) Kuy wəŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng uəŋ [ru:eh], Biat waŋ, Bahnar waŋ.
Kuy, Bahnar vocalism contextual?

(*kwaŋ see 502 *kuŋ male animal.)

770 *gwaŋ[ ]ŋ; *gwaŋ to throw.
A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi kawang to throw [missile], hurl.
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kравeŋ to throw to a distance.
Cf. 776b *swiŋ. Connection uncertain Besisi kawen, kawin to throw; thrown away (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 107).
771 *ŋwːaŋ to keep watch (over).
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon maŋ /maŋ/, Modern Mon mɛ̀ŋ, Bahnar guaŋ to keep watch (over) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang maŋ, Lawa Umphai moŋ to wait for, Bru ṭkūaŋ; ~ (*ŋ)ṟwaŋ to look after, to (keep) watch; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi rymmang [to wait] in hope of arrival.

772 *jw[a]ŋ kind of rattan.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chvɛ̀ŋ very strong kind of rattan; ~ Chrau [reh] jrwɔŋ large kind of rattan.

773 *[t]wiŋ; *[t]wiŋŋiŋ tired.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon kwɛŋ twuŋi, kwuŋi; ~ (*[t]nwiŋ >) Lawa maŋ to get tired; ~ (*[t]niŋ >) Khmer lvûŋ, ṭavuŋŋiŋ tired (Tandart 1935).
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer lvîŋ bitter, listless (Tandart 1935 has lvèŋŋiŋ tired).
Cf. Biat rgaŋ chwɔŋ exhausted.

774 *t,̩rwiaŋ; *t,̩rwiːŋ potsherd.
A: (Khasi) Khasi tyrwiaŋ.
B: (Mon) Mon kɔweak, Nyah khwîk.
B contaminated by kɔweak < Old Mon cirwek day of waning moon?

775 *t,̩waŋŋiŋ hearth.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang `tvɔŋ, `twɔŋ; ~ (*t,nwaŋŋiŋ >) Khasi tympang; ~ Palaung kahvæŋ (!) ashes, hearth; ~ Bru rawaŋŋiŋ cooking fire with tripod.

776 *rwia[ŋ] stomach, intestines.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi rwiaŋ intestines of bird or fowl (with secondary lengthening?), Central Nicobarese wiŋŋiŋ belly, stomach, Nancowry wîŋŋiŋ; by secondary derivation ~ (?; then *jrwiaŋ >) Khasi jylleng abdomen.

776a *[r]wa[a]ŋŋiŋ sky.
A: (Khuimuic) Kammu-Yuan làwãŋŋiŋ; (?) → Proto-Miao-Yao *[l]u(a)ŋ (Benedict 1975 383).
Sora ṭuŋŋiŋ-an.

776b *swiaŋ to throw.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ (*srwiaŋ >) Mon hawæŋ to skim, throw discuswise; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar tɔhuæŋ, East Bahnar tawæŋ to hurl (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh tawæŋ to throw (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Bru tawîːŋ to throw!
Cf. 770 *gwa[ ]ŋ &c.

777 *sa[i]ŋ; *siŋ to fly through the air.
A: (Mon) Literary Mon sāṅ [saw].
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre basiaŋ to throw [spear], Biat cheŋ to cast [throwing-net].

\textsuperscript{1}778 *sunŋ hole.
(Mon, South Bahnaric). Mon sāṅ (?; suīn, merging sruiṅ < Old Mon sruṅ < \textsuperscript{666} *s-ruṅ), Biat choŋ; ~ (*s.sunŋ >) Mon kasaṅ.
Sora [gai]-sunŋ- [rat] [to dig] hole.

779 *suŋ; *s∠ŋ to steam.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau suṅ, Lawa Bo Luang hoaṅ.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung haŋ to boil [rice] (MILNE 1931); ~ Palaung rohŋ steamer.
Connection uncertain Tai forms: Shan hūŋ, &c. (see BENEDICT 1975 256, cook (with steam)... (II)); \rightarrow Kammu-Yuan rūŋ.

780 *suumŋ to suck, drink.
A: (Mon, South Aslian) Old Mon suṅ /suŋ/, Modern Mon sāṅ to drink, Semaq Beri sāk to suck.

781 *[t][s]iŋ crossbow string.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre siaŋ (↔ Röglai); ~ West Bahnar tahniaŋ, tahnien (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
By metathesis \textsuperscript{567} *st,iŋ taut...? But perhaps *(tn-)[c,s]iaŋ.

782 *rsiŋ; *rsa[i]ŋ; *rsaŋ bamboo, rattan.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Stieng reh siaŋ small kind of rattan (by popular etymology, cf. reh rattan < \textsuperscript{A197} *riŋ), Sre rasiaŋ kind of rattan, Thin [hōŋ] heŋ rattan, (?) Khasi rshiăng kind of sun-grass.
B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan rhāń large kind of bamboo.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung hrung, Riang-Lang raŋ bamboo.
Suffixed form \sim \textsuperscript{249} *rși? Add perhaps (*rsaŋ by metathesis > *srąŋ >) Kuy sāŋ bamboo; & (so *rsiąŋ >) Khmer sṛñaŋ kind of bamboo.
(SHAFAER 1965 206, 395; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 23.)

\textsuperscript{2}783 *hän pungent in taste.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Stieng häŋ piquant, biting, pungent, Sre häŋ oversalt, Biat häŋ spicy, piquant, Bahnar häŋ sharp, pungent, biting (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63), Jeh häṅ (!) hot, peppery, Vietnamese hăng [smell] to be acrid, [garlic, onion] to be strong, Nancowry häṅ hot, peppery; \rightarrow Cham, Jarai häṅ, North Röglai hak peppery, Röglai hak piquant (\rightarrow Sre).
(SHAFAER 1965 269; BLOOD 1966 350; SMITH 1972 101.)
Proto-Austronesian *[ ] aSaŋ: Malay s-a*hang pepper, &c., Acehnese k-ōʔōŋ peppery, Cham kā-a*ŋ sharp and strong (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147, *ṭ*a*haŋ; Proto-Hesperonesian; Cham → Khmer ha*ŋ tart, acid, bitter, strong-smelling?)

784 *ha[a]ŋ cliff, precipice.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre haŋ (beside haŋ; ← Rōglai ha:k), Biat, Bahnar haŋ. (Cf. B295.)
   (*hu(o)ŋ see 485 *ʔuŋ wasp, hornet.)

785 *ɡhaŋ to obstruct, prevent, forbid.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer khɛŋ to prevent (from doing), Khasi khang to obstruct, prevent; ~ (*ɡnaŋ > ) Kuy n*taŋ to obstruct; by secondary derivation ~ Biat ŋkhaŋ to forbid.
   Cf. 496a *[ ]kaŋ …to fence.
   (*chiaŋ, *cha(i)ŋ see 487 *cʔaŋ to expose to heat.)

786 *thəŋ; *tha[a]ŋ to thirst, crave.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon thɛŋ, Khasi thang[rang] to thirst after; ~ (*trhaŋ > ?) Literary Mon t*ha*iŋ to be famished, hungry, Khasi thrang to be thirsty (or by contraction thangrang, cf. the synonym thynrang).
   B: (North Bahnaric) ~ East Bahnar pathaŋ to have a large appetite, have a craving (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   Cf. Jeh tahuŋ thirst; perhaps by contamination, cf. Halang huŋ to want.

787 *thaŋ bag.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon thəŋ, Khmer, Biat thɔŋ; ↔ Thai tʰuŋ, Lao thọŋ, Shan thọŋ.
   Cf. 791 *d,huŋ tub; & BENEDICT 1975 369, sack… .

788 *[t]huuŋ; *thuuŋ red.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kintaq Bong tahaŋ; ~ (*[t]phuŋ > ) Sre phouŋ, Mendriq pʰaŋ.
   B: (Khmuiic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu t*ha*iŋ, Semnam thuŋ; ~ (*trhuŋ > ) Khasi ru*iiŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan [yim] saŋtuŋ.
   Or *phuŋ, (≠) *thuŋ, Kintaq Bong by contamination (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 51.)
789 *dhaan branch, palm-frond.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Mon thain junction, fork, division of stem, Khmer thai (midrib of) palm-frond (→ Thai t'haan midrib of palm-frond), Kontum Bahnar thañ branch (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Pangan tają palm-frond (Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 178).

Originally perhaps 1223 *dhaan (compare with for semantics) contaminated by *tañ > Mon tai midrib of palm-frond.

790 *dhoøs; *dhe(e)ŋ[ ] hole; hollow, empty.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Mon thoŋ to be hollow, to have holes in, Khmer dhuŋ empty, void (Guesdon 1930), Sre thoŋ to be hollow, to have holes in, Bahnar thän hollow in ground, valley, river-bed, Vietnamese thiông (!) to be perforated, have a hole in; ~ (*dhoøs >?) Palaung phañ to be hollow; ~ (*dhoøs >?) Khasi lyhong deep [cavity].

B: (Khmer) Khmer thën empty, void, hollow, immense, deep.

Cf. further Khmer diañ hollow (Guesdon 1930); & with variant initial (i) Khmer khoñ sunken, hollow ~ krañ full of holes (→ Cham kahun), which POU & Jenner 1973 no. 210 derive from Ancient Chinese k'퀸 空, along with Sino-Vietnamese không vacuum; so Vietnamese hống to be hollow, vacant ← Cantonese hôŋ?; but with Khmer cf. Sre khuñ, Biat khoñ to bore a hole; Proto-Austronesian *k[a]ruqa: Iban keruang to hollow out, be hollow, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 214, Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Khmer krañ crack in earth, krañ- [krañ] full of holes; (iii) Khmer prañ hole (→ Thai p'roañ); Cham parañ, bæñ, Malay péroñ, péroñ gaping, wide open, Malay pélóñ having a large hole.

3791 *d,huñ (& *d,huñ?) tub.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Muông) Mon thañ pail (< variant, or by rhyming deformation in (748 *[l]nuñ >) nañ thañ pail), Khmer thñ cistern, metal container, Sre thñ tub, granary, Biat thñ tub, Thin thñ basket, (?; < variant, or ← Chinese, below) Vietnamese thùng tub; → Cham dhuñ tub, Röglai thñ tub, granary, North Röglai thñ barrel; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar kathan pail.

Cf. 787 *thaŋ bag. The following, otherwise Indonesian loans, might be referred to a variant *du(u)ŋ attesting earlier *d,V2- ~ *d,Vh-: Biat duŋ bag; Khmer kantøŋ, Kuy nthøŋ basket or basket of leaves; Kuy (kh)thñ pocket, Sre kaiduŋ basket, purse, case, Bahnar kduŋ basket, purse, case, pocket, Jeh kaduŋ, Halang gæduŋ pocket. (Cf. Smith 1972 105.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *tuuŋ (?) : Acehnese toŋ (& toŋ, ← Malay, or contaminated by tən ← Dutch ton), Malay tong tub, barrel (→ Javanese), Tagalog tuong. Pampangan tuung bucket, Cebuano Bisayan tuung coaming over well &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay → Central Nicobarese toŋ wooden bucket; perhaps Khmer taoŋ cask, under the entry 903 *kduŋ. Or *tuaŋ or *tuaŋ, > Acehnese toŋ, Javanese; Acehnese toŋ ← Malay. The usual derivation of Malay &c. ← Dutch falls); (ii; ad Biat duŋ, &c.) Malay kandong to carry [foetus, goods in sack...]; (-an) bag, womb... (referred at Dempwolff 1938 71 to *ka(N)duŋ womb, which is Proto-Hesperonesian), Cham katūŋ bag, well-bucket, Jarai g*duŋ pocket, Röglai kalduŋ purse, bag, North Röglai kaduk bag; Malay kendong to carry in fold of waistbelt. Pou & Jenner 1973 refer some Mon-Khmer forms to Chinese t'ung 桶 square wooden vessel used as receptacle; it is doubtful if Tagalic forms can be so derived. In (ii) perhaps Cham &c. ←, Malay contaminated by, Mon-Khmer.

(*phuuŋ see 788 *[t]huuŋ red; *bhi被认为是) see 630 *biŋ spider; *[b]hooŋ see 493 *[b]ʔoŋ dry.)

792 *rhiŋg hundred.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre rōhiŋg, Chrau rêŋg, Biat rhiaŋ, Bahnar hreŋ, Jeh reŋ, Halang reŋ.
   Cf. proto Tai *[t]hriaŋ thousand (Benedict 1975 216; Shan, Ahom, Khamti); →
   Palaung hęŋ (Milne 1931 also hreŋ), Riang-Lang, Praok reŋ.
   (Blood 1966 110; Smith 1972 90.)

(*lhiŋg) see 494 *liŋg to slant, be skewed.)

793 *luŋg; *luuŋg papaya.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer rhuāŋ papaya, Modern Khmer lhoŋ papaya, castor-oil plant, Kuy lhoŋ (& by hypercorrection sloŋ), Kontum Bahnar rōhug, Jeh hūng, Halang [buŋ] huŋg papaya; → Thai lāhūŋ castor-oil plant, Lao huŋ papaya; ~ (*lmhuŋ >) Biat [tum] mhoŋ, (by metathesis, or by contraction
   *play lhoŋ >) Sre blaŋg papaya (→ Röglai).
   B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau lahuŋg papaya.
   (Smith 1972 106.)

794 *t̪ic; *t̪i[c]; *t̪a[c] excrement, faeces.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Mon oik, Bahnar ic, Jeh ek, Halang ik, Central
   Sakai ēh; → Kuki-Naga *e:k (& similar Karen forms; Benedict 1972 26 n. 82, 146
   n. 399).
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre ei, Biat eik, Kammu-Yuan ʔyik; → Cham eh, Jarai
   e:h, Röglai, North Röglai eh, Acehnese eʔ.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer ʔac, Chrau, Biat ac, Khasi eip, Central Nicobarese aiik, aiir, Nacowry ʔac. Connect obscure B40 *ʔiaj &c. But Vietnamese cút may be connected, as cui with 1872 *[ʔuus].

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20; SHAFER 1965 335; SMITH 1972 238; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 114; cf. LEWITZ 1967, 123-5.)

Kharia i’j to ease oneself, &c. (PINNOW 1959 81; Proto-Munda *i’é).

(*ʔiic, *ʔiac see 797 *b[i]ʔic to lie down, sleep.)

795 *kʔaac wet.
A: (Viet-Muông, Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Vietnamese ʔŭt, Temiar kaʔaij; ~ (*kmʔaac >)
Vietnamese muôt to trickle, Kintaq Bong, Semnam maʔaj, Semaq Beri maʔac wet;
(?) ~ Central Nicobarese [hə]-tai-[həto], [hən]-tai to get wet.

Connect by metathesis 477 *chaik; & cf. 954 *lʔuat &c. wet, cold.

796 *[cʔ]uuc; *[cʔ]uuc drunk, intoxicated.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang -cuc, Praok yoc.
B: (Khuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔyuic, Lawa Umphai ʔnuic; ~ (*cpʔuuc >?)
Kammu-Yuan pūc liquor.

Cf. Central Nicobarese huyôie, Nacowry (hu)yôy; Khasi buaid. Connect 1106 *huc &c. to suck, drink? But Khuic perhaps < 829 *buuc to suck, or contaminated by 1766 *buul drunk; then Palaungic *yu(u)c, *yuc yuc &c. > *cyu(u)c.

797 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *b[i]ʔic > *bic; *bic; Pre-Palaungic *ʔiic; *ʔiac to lie down, sleep.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy, Sre, Biat bic, Chrau viʔ, Bahnar bic; ~
Kintaq Bong labi.
B: (Central Aslian) Semai bekt.
C, D: (Palaungic) Palaung, Praok it, Lawa ʔaic (c), Riang-Lang ʔyet, ʔyat (p).

(SHAFER 1965 311, 338; BLOOD 1966 133; SMITH 1972 240; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 248.)

798 *rʔuc; *rʔuuc; *rʔuac; *rʔac; *rʔuy *rʔuy finished.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, ?North Bahnaric) Sre luc end, finished,
Palaung doit to be finished, dot totality, all; Vietnamese rõt to be the last; ~ or →
Bahnar luc to be at the end; the worst.
B: (Bahnaric, Khuic) Biat loc end, Bahnar tuc end, last, at last, toc finish, to finish,
Jeh ʔlut, Halang lut finished, Khuic’ loc to be used up.
C: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer rūac (!) to finish, to be able to; ~ (*rnʔuac >) Praok
guac to be last.
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau, Biat leʔ finished; (probably ~) Praok uc to
expend, use up; completely.
E: (South Bahnaric) Sre luy finished.
F: (North Bahnaric) Jeh loy very, Halang hloay always, completely.
Connect 875 *huc &c., which compare; & cf. 1017 *[k]ɗ(u)t for a possible Riang-Lang *rʔuut to come to an end.
(BLOOD 1966 256; cf. SMITH 1972 481.)

798a *sʔaæc, *sʔaæc to love, pity.
A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khasi ieid to love; ~ (*smʔaæc >) Khmer snaæc to admire.
B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *snʔaæc >) Sre ndaæc to love; (~ saŋit) pity, Chrau sndaæc to love, pity.
Cf. Biat uc affection, to desire, (~ chrɔ laɲ) love. And Hre, Sedang forms at SMITH 1972 259.

799 *kiic; *kæc to shave down.
A: (Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar kiį to grate (BENJAMIN 1976b 133), Nancowry ʔitkiic to cut with knife (contaminated by following).
B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon koik blade of plane (→ Burmese kuik, → Mon kak), Central Nicobarese [hæ]-kɛʃ to plane, [hen]-kɛʃ plane.
Connect 802 *kaac.

800 *kac to pluck, break off, cut.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer kæc to cut off, Modern Khmer kac to cut [rigid object], Kuy kac to cut [grass], harvest [paddy], Stieng kec to strip [leaves, grain], Sre kac to harvest [hill paddy], Biat kac to strip [grass], Bahnar kec to harvest [paddy], (dialect) strip [leaves, grass], cut with scissors, Kammu-Yuan kɛc to cut [hair], Riang-Lang kac to break (v.i), to tear (v.t.), Khasi kheit to pluck, gather, Mường cáč (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese cá to cut, Bateg Deq kec, Jah Hut kec to cut, Central Nicobarese [et]-kaic-[haŋa] to pluck [leaves, flowers], Nancowry kɛc; ~ (*knkac >) Vietnamese ngát to pick, pluck.
Connect 958 *ka(a)t to cut? Cf. Biat kec to break (v.t.); & 804 *gac to pluck, harvest; A51 *gi(a)c to break off.
(BLOOD 1966 353; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)
Kharia ke'j to pluck, &c. (PINNOW 1959 154).

801 [* ]kac; *kaac, (*kaac kaac >) *ckaac strong, harsh.
A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Khasi shakhait to deal severely with, Vietnamese gát to be strong, violent, harsh, biting.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon kat to be strong. harsh (< *ckaac, cf. the attributive
Literary Mon jamkāt, samkāt), Khmer kac bad, evil, cruel, Kuy kaæc very brave.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

802 *kaac to scratch, scrape, shave.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar kaːc to scratch (Guillanet 1959-63), Palaung kat to shave, Temiar kej to scrape (Benjamin 1976b 175), Mendriq kak, Jah Hut kak to scratch, Central Nicobarese kakc scratch; ~ Bahnar kakac to scratch oneself, to itch (Guillanet 1959-63), Che’ Wong kikɔc, Mah Meri kakac to scratch, (~?) Central Nicobarese takac scratch.
Connect 799 *kiic &c. to shave down; but distinguish 867 *kwaac &c. to scratch (up), which compare; as following.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 50.)

802a *k[oo]c to dig (up).
A: (Bahnaric) Stien koːc to dig (out) with mattock, Biat kɔːc to dig [ditch &c], Bahnar kɔːc (& Jölong kuːc!, Guillonet 1959-63) to scratch up, dig with claws &c., lever out.
Or *kuuc, *kuac? Cf. preceding & 867 *kwaac &c. to scratch up.
(Smith 1972 258.)

(*ckaac see 801 *[ ]kac strong, harsh.)

803 *[b]kuc; *[b]kuuc hot.
A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang kɔc to be hot, to be dry, to dry up, Praok [ha] koc to be scorching [hot], Pangan bɛkud hot (i.e. Mendriq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 141 (a)).
B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Bru kuːy? scorched, Lwa Bo Luang kauk, Lwa Umphai, Mae Sariang koic sun’s rays; hot; ~ Kuy ŋkoɔc scorched, burnt (contaminated by 805 *guuc?).
Cf. 858a *kluuc on the point of burning.

(*skaac see 874 *ksac sand.)

804 *gac to pluck, harvest.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Chrau gac to cut small wood, Palaung gat to pick [tea]; ~ Vietnamese gût to reap.
800 *kac contaminated by A51 *gi(ŋ)ac?

805 *guc; *guuc to burn.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau guc to kindle, Biat guc to burn, throw into fire.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian)
Stien guic to burn (or A?), Kammu-Yuan kuc to burn off [field], Palaung gut to light [fire], to burn; ~ Bahnar [ŋːa, ŋːu] guc fiery red, red-hot (Guillanet 1959-63), Semang ongoyd to burn (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 464; or A).
Add Khmer ŋec to light, kindle?
805a *[ŋai]c oil.
A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ŋai, ȵai vegetable oil, Nancowry ȵâc; (probably ~) Khasi īngiēj fatty or oily substance, to be greasy.
Connect perhaps by metathesis Kuy ṇchɛɲ, Bru ṇsiŋoil, grease, fat.

806 *[ŋuuc; *[ŋuc; *[ŋiic; *[ŋiac to swallow, drink.
A: (Khasi, Mon) Khasi nguid to swallow, Proto-Nyah Kur *ŋuuc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V90) (vocalism may be contextual).
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy (ŋ)ŋūːːːːngac to drink, Kammu-Yuan ȵòːc to swallow, Semai ȵət to drink.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon nit, Modern Mon ȵit to swallow, Biat ȵett to drink, Palaung nit to swallow (MILNE 1931).
D: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ɲiːt to drink.
Or *rŋ- in view of Sora, below; which favours primacy of back-vowel forms. For South Bahnaric initial cf. 37 *ŋŋiʔ. From D by metathesis B46 *t1iŋ to drink? (SHAFER 1965 459; BLOOD 1966 35; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (a).)
Sora 'rŋŋoːy- to drink rapidly, gulp.

807 *cac to seek out.
(Mon) Literary Mon cat.
Connect perhaps by dissimilation Bahnar caʔ (&c.: SMITH 1972 313)
Sora sajʔ- to seek, go in quest of.

808 *c[ə]c to pierce, chisel.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Mon) Stieng cìc to pierce [ears], Biat chœc to pick [teeth &c.], Jölong tsac to pierce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan sic to stab, to plant in ground, Riang-Łang sac chisel, Praok sac to carve, hollow out, Nyah Kur cēc to pick [teeth &c.] (TANDART 1935 413).
Sora saj- to cut, chisel, pare, sazi- to pierce.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'uat: Acehnese suat, Cham thwaʔ to take off, remove…, Hiligaynon Bisayan, Bikol suat to pull out, extract, pick at with needle &c., Maranao soat to pry, &c., perhaps Samoan suat to lever up (cf. BLUST 1972 no. 73; Proto-Hesperonesian or general); (ii) *t'uit: Tagalog suit-ín to uproot, dislodge, with lever-like tool, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 418, *-(q) ; Proto-Hesperonesian). Or could both sets be referred to *t'uat?

809 *cac; *cœc to tickle.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre coc (DOURNES 1950; or B?), Biat chœc [aːm cœk iæːr].
B: (Katuic) Kuy cane cane.
Cf. Khasi smiej (< *emœc?) ticklish.
3810 *[c]ncuac to make a noise with the lips.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hacot to make a repeated labial noise, Literary Mon [gace'] gacot to trumpet, Khmer cajncuac, cajncuac to make a repeated labial noise.

Proto-Austronesian *k'utk'ut: Tagalog sutsot sibilant sound, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 94; Proto-Hesperonesian).

3811 *njuaq; *njac (& *njac?); *njuay to shake.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*[r]njuaq >) Mon kayot layat to oscillate, to cause to oscillate; ~ Khmer sañjuac to shake (v.t.) (Guesdon 1930).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar yuuc to tremble slightly (Guilleminet 1959-63) (& yuut, by dissimilation; with secondary lengthening, or < *-ac), Sakai 'ngyûk to shake (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 130); ~ Kuy (kh)chac to rock, sway.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) ? Nancowry yuay to tremor, to shake; cêy to shiver; ~ Khmer cuñjncuay to tremor, shake, (or ~) Kuy ncûui to sway; ~ Khmer ruñjncuay to tremor, ~ sacid (Tandart 1935) = sañjuac.

3812 *t,ac to break, be severed.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon tot to sever (?; otherwise < 999 *t,at, which connect), Khmer dac break, to break, Khasi thait to cut asunder, to snap, Vietnamese dût to be broken, snapped, to be cut, Central Nicobarese bdij-[na] [rope &c.] to break; ~ (*kt,ac >) Chrau cac to snap, break, (or simplex) Stieng tec [rope &c.] to break, Biat tac [rope] to break; end, Sre tac broken, cut, (?; by assimilation; Besisi ketôk to break, Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 374, =) Mah Meri katik to cut; ~ (*kt,ac >) Bahnar katee (& Sedang Kate) to break, get broken, Vietnamese dût to cease, terminate (v.i.t), end; ~ Khmer pdac to break, interrupt.

(Schmidt 1905 12, 18; Smith 1972 246; cf. Mohring 236 no. 3.1) Kharia te'j to break, &c., ~ Mundari pate'j to twist and break... (Pinnow 1959 152).

3813 *t,ac to sell.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Khmer dac saleable, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat tac, Bahnar tec (→ Stieng tec?), Jeh, Halang tek, Kammu-Yuan tèc, Vietnamese [bàn] dût to sell.

(Shafer 1965 337; Smith 1972 244; cf. Blood 1966 374.)

3813a *toc ( & *toc?) to stretch.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng toec to stretch (v.t.) (< variant?), Biat toc to increase in size, Bahnar toc to stretch (v.i.).

Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan nòt to stretch out, draw out.

[Editorial note: it would appear that the intended reference is Mohring (1972) as listed in the References, although it is not clear how that paper relates to this etymology.]
814 *tuuc; *tuac drop, to drip.
A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng tranu:ec drop, to drip.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng tu:c [ɗàːk] drop; ~ Khmer dàmnū:ac drop; ~ Chrahu tātəc dripping sound; to drip.
Cf. 314 *tuak &c. drip, drop.
(SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

815 *ktaac to manipulate with flat of hand.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Old Mon ktāc /ktac/ [sumōh] to smooth, level, with the hands, Modern Mon katā to rub between palms of hands, Khasi ktaid to rummage (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Vietnamese đạt to laminate, make thinner, roll.

(*daic see 1010a *dai[t] to strike, beat.)

816 *dāc (& *dic?) to be deficient, small in quantity.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobarese) Mon tōik to be less than, short by, Praok tāc to be lacking, deficient; ~ Bru satay? to be delicate; ~ (*kd- >) Khmer tec tic a little; ~ (*krd- >) Literary Mon gadek to want, be deficient in (beside gaduik, probably a Burmanism); ~ Old Mon pdic /pdoc/ to reduce in quantity, Modern Mon patōik [phya] to humble; ~ (*dp- >) Kuy biʔ few (JACOB 1968), Central Nicobarese (ta)pait (in compounds), pai small in size or quantity, Nan cowry pēc (& féc tiny).

Separate Thin đēk to be little, ← Tai; but connected perhaps by metathesis (*pdaac > *dpwac >) Mường pōch, Vietnamese bōt to reduce, to diminish. Cf. following & 1016 *kdfit &c. small.

Kharia ka[t]j some, a little, &c. (PINNW 1959 94); by metathesis Sora ʔujd-. Proto-Austronesian (i) [*]jitik: Malay k-etek small, little, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 70); (ii) [*]ja(N)tik: Toba Batak otik to be small in quantity, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *piN[aa](S)ik: Toba Batak pendek, Javanese pèndèk short, &c., North Röglai pînhèʔ? (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118, *pinḍik; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 384; & cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 29.

(*dāc see 1015 *dat near.)

817 *dūuc; *dūc, (*dūc dūc >) *cduac small.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon dōc /doc/ personal name, Modern Mon dot to be small, (*cduac >) Khmer sduac slender, slight; ~ (*[k]dūac >; contaminated by 816 *k-dac) Khmer [tec]-tuac a little.
Cf. Sre duit (a) little; & connected 1016 *ktit &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)

818 *[ ]duuc; *[ ]daac to be crushed to bits.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon (p)dut to be broken, bruised, Riang-Lang duc to be
ground to powder, crushed, to crush, crumble.
B: (Viet-Mường, Katuic) Mường dách (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nát to be broken,
crushed, Bru diay? broken into small pieces.

1819 *kd[a]c to nip with the nails.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon dæk, Khmer kde ktic to nip off with one’s
nails, Nyah Kur ndèc (implies -*ac*), Kuy diec to pluck with two fingers, Nancowry
karic to press down with thumbs.
(?) Sora daaj- to pick, pluck.

3819a *tdac solid.
(Mon, Khasi) Mon dot to be solid, (poin —) packed solid, crowded, Khasi dait-[doh]
dense, compact, solid; (~ -*tdac >) Middle Mon tadat to be solid.
Proto-Austronesian *datdat: Javanese n-dèjèt thick, dense [cloud], di-dèjèt-i
tamped-down [earth], &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 122; Proto-Hesperonesian).
Connection uncertain Santali kəʈɛ'ɟ hard, firm, strong, &c., PINNOW 1959 315.

820 *daduuc to pester.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hadut to tease, Khmer tatùc to insist, importune.
(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

1821 *[r]dac to split open.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon dot kdat to hatch out (v.i.), Vietnamese nút to
(crack open, split open, Central Nicobarese [et]-tec-[hàta] to hatch out.
Sora ra'daj- to be broken, cracked, to burst apart.

821a *knaac muddy place.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer khnaac wallow, (~?) Chrau kənac swamp.

822 *cnuac to spit, transfix.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Kontum Bahnar hnuac to sharpen, to stab
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon kanot canat! spit (merging 1005 *t/rn/uut
skewer), Khmer crenoac meat on spit (& tranoac spit, GUESDON 1930,
contaminated by tranoat skewer < *t/rn/uut); ~ Khmer crənuəc (& kənuəc)
to roast on spit.
Central Nicobarese oʃuə-həta to spit, skewer ~ janəə n. suggests original *cua?,
*cua? cua? > *cuac, with generalization of nominal derivation. Cf. further 860
823 *pic; *piic; *piəc; *pac; to pick, pluck.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre pic to pick, pluck, Chrau piʔ to pluck, to take.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau pec to pull apart in bits.
C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar pec to pick, pluck (Guilleminet 1959-63).
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Biat peʔ, Palaung pat, Vietnamese büt to pick, pluck; (probably, rather than variant) → Cham, Jarai peʔ, Röglai, North Röglai peʔ, Acehnese pet.

Connect 1020 *pit &c. to pinch…?
Sora pij- to pinch, to take a pinch.

824 *pac; *puuc to chisel.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer pāc to carve, ornament (Guessedon 1930), Bru payʔ to chisel, Sre pac to incise patterns in (→ Röglai).
B: (Mon) Old Mon pūc/puc/, Modern Mon pat to chisel.
With vocalism cf. Mon kut ad 958 *ka(a)t.
Proto-Austronesian *paq chisel: Malay pahat, &c. (Demppwolff 1938 111, *pahat; Dyen 1953 § 47; Proto-Hesperonesian); with which Sre pānat chisel is ultimately connected.

824a *pac to cut through.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy pac to slash, fell, lop, Bahnar pec to cut through [wood, bamboo].
Connect 1028 *[d]put &c.. to be severed…?

(*pa(a)c see (also) 1021 *pat to press, squeeze; *pac see also 1022 *pat to abandon.)

825 *puuc to take clothes off.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat poec to wane, Kammu-Yuan púc, Palaung puit (Milne 1931), Riang-Lang puc, Praok puc, Lawa Bo Luang pauk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang poic to take [clothes] off, Khasi puid [snieh] to skin.
(Shafer 1965 315.)

(*[ ]puac see 1024 *puut to stroke, rub; *dpac see 1028 *[d]put to be severed, broken.)

826 *buac kind of small vessel.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pōt bot small pot or cup (→ Burmese bywat[ui:] wide-mouthed water-jug), Khmer pā:əc (small) jar.

(*biəc see 797 *b[i]ʔic to lie down, sleep.)
827 *ɓ[ء]c to take by force, misappropriate.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon bet [tasui plân ḃa] to seize by force, Khmer bec to purloin, plunder (GUESDON 1930).

828 *ɓ[ء]c to spit.
Cf. Khasi biah (< *ɓ[a]ik), Bru kubuyʔ to eject [liquid] from mouth.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 389.)

Sora bij-, baj-, Mundari bej, &c. (PINNOW 1959 328; Proto-Munda *ɓec or *ɓ(a)ic?).

829 *ɓuc; *ɓuuc to suck.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung bot.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung buit (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese mút.
Connection dubious 1106 *huc &c. But add perhaps Kammu-Yuan pùːc liquor, under the entry 796 *cʔuuc.

A: (Khmer) Old Khmer çpic, Modern Khmer cbec to take with finger tips, take a pinch of, apparently → Stieng cəbeːc to press, squeeze, knead (beside cəbit).
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat mbioc pinch (quantifier).
Cf. Mon bot to take in one’s hand, pick up (implying *-t; contaminated by Indonesian, below?); & 1020 *pit &c. to pinch, squeeze, press.
Proto-Austronesian *bitbit: Malay bibit to carry in fingers or hand, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-Hesperonesian).

831 *ɓoc; *ɓooc to withdraw.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar buc to pull out, pull up.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon bot to draw out, unsheathe, Khmer baoc to pull up, Bru pùːyʔ.
Proto-Austronesian *k’abut: Malay chabut to draw out, pull up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 85). Hardly Indonesian → Mon-Khmer in view of *ɓ-, *-c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 4.)

832 *mic (& *miic?) to desire; desirable, good.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon mic /mɔc/ to desire,
Modern Mon mòik [not] to wish to, (?) Bahnar dialects met to be passionate about (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok mek to hanker [after] (?), Lawa maic (< variant?),
Temiar mej good, Central Sakai oméʔ to desire, wish.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 66, W 15.)
**833** *məc; *məəc to hear.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan mèc to perceive, hear.

B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar māc to hear a sound, hear something (Guilleminet 1959-63).

Connect Kammu-Yuan hərməy ear. Cf. **646** *rməŋ.

**834** *muc; *muuc; *məc to dive, immerse oneself.

A, B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer mūc to sink, immerse oneself (A), Stieng muc to plunge into water, (B) Bahnar moc to dive, plunge, to undergo ordeal by water, (A/B) Sakai mod to bathe (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 81).

B: (Katuic) Kuy mic to dive, to sink.

**835** *kmuuc dead person.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian) Khmer khmaoc ghost, Kuy (k)moc corpse, Chrau khmocc (or < derivation?) ghost, corpse, Sre fuc grave, cemetery, Stieng kəmuuc, Biat moć, Besisi kəmuyt grave (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 18), Sakai kəmuic i born (i.e. Jah Hut; ib.); → Cham kamoit devil; ~ (*kmuuc > ) Prak simuc, Lawa Bo Luang ?amauk, Lawa Umphai ramoic, Mae Sariang yamioic grave, South Semai krmuc ghost (Diffloth 1977).

Stieng diphthongization regular following nasal. Connection dubious Kharia goj to die, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 324f.

(Schmidt 1905 64; Blood 1966 22.)

**836** *yuuc; *yuəc immoral.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon yut (→ Burmese yut) to be depraved, Palaung yut to be insolent (Milne 1931).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar yəc fault, offence.

(Smith 1972 250.)

**837** *rac; *raac to sprinkle, scatter.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [et]-yait- to wash [face], Nancowry ʔityuć to wash, pour water (or β?); ~ (*cnrac >) Khasi synrei’t to sprinkle, scatter; ~ (*pmrac >) Stieng brac to squirt, Biat bracc to eject [water] from mouth, Khasi pharait to spatter, squirt.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer riać distributed evenly; → Shan hūt to dash [water], to bale; ~ (*raac raac > *craac >) Biat cracc to urinate; ~ Old Mon drāc /drac/ to sprinkle, Modern Mon krāt to sow broadcast (merging Old Mon grāc to disseminate, with further prefix); → Cham trāʔ, Rōglai draː to sow; ~ Bahnar praːc dripping; ~ (*pmraac >) Mon parat to splash about, (or next) Stieng braːc to sprinkle vigorously, Biat braːc besprinkled; ~ Khmer priːac to scatter, spread; → Cham braːk = trāʔ; ~ (*sraac >; in part, srāt; merging 872 *(r-)saac, which compare.) Mon sat to bale.
Note Khmer sraoc to sprinkle, Kuy sɔːc, with which cf. Bahnar pruc (Guilleminet 1959-63) = prac; they may reflect *sruuc, but are part of the evidence for a possible *-au-. Cf. further 1066 *graat; 1059 *rut &c.; 1501 *raay to be scattered. Santali arc'j to bale out, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 283).

838 *rac sparrow.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Stieng rec small bird, sparrow, Sre, Biat rac sparrow, Bahnar rec sparrow, munia, Khasi 'reit (~ phreit) small migratory bird feeding on grain, Besisi ðɔyt sparrow (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 354).
(Smith 1972 245.)

(*rac see also 1058 *rut to pull hard on, ... reap.)

838a *raac grasshopper.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy ri:ac, Pakoh ʔaraay2; (~ *t,raac?), by metathesis Riang-Lang ʔac, ~ Kammu-Yuan ɾəmà:c.
Cf. 840 *ra(ac) maggot.

839 *rac to slice, cut through.
A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Mon ɾòik rek to slice, cut with sawing motion, to peel [onions], Kuy ɾac to saw, cut with sawing m., (?) Praok rac to break (off); ~ Stieng gre:c to cut (through); ~ Biat prac to lop, prune, Bahnar pre:c to cut [branch &c.] above one’s head (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Cf. 845 *krəac to grind, gnash; 866 *[ ]wac &c. to cut, reap; 1058 *rut &c. ...to reap.
But connection dubious Riang-Lang _roc to fray.
Sora ṭu to cut [firewood] into small pieces.
Proto-Austronesian *karat: Malay kérat to sever transversely, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 77, *kayat, less Sa’a to cut ends off; Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. also *arit: Malay arit grass-cutting knife, &c. (Blust 1971 no. 8, Proto-Hesperonesian; if Acehnese arist to cut up [e.g. sugar-cane] is cognate, rather *arist, Malay → Javanese).
Note Tibeto-Burman *ri:t to reap, cut, scrape, shave, Benedict 1972 80 no. 371.

840 *rac; *raac maggot.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _rac; ~ Palaung bre? maggot (Milne 1931), (~?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ɲgriak insect, maggot.
B: (Khasi; perhaps ~, since compounding form) Khasi [ˈniəŋ] riej woodworm.
Cf. 838a *raac grasshopper.

(*ra(ac) see also 1058 *rut ...to pull up, out... )
841 *rōc; *rōc floor-beam.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon rō floor-beam, summer (or ← Thai?), (A) Sre rōc cross-timber in house, Hre rōc, Sedang rōy floor-beam; → Thai rōt floor-beam, → Khmer rōt (TANDART 1935); ~ (B) Biat rōc floor-beam.

Connect obscure Khmer ranūtt; as Palaung rōn (MILNE 1931).

(SMITH 1972 253.)

842 *ruc; *ruuc; *ruac to retreat, withdraw.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ruic to free oneself; escape (or B?), Sre, Biat ruc to step back, retreat; ~ Sre tanruc (DOURNES 1950), Biat ndruc to force back, Bahnar tadrut to give way (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !).

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer rōc [moon] to wane, (probably, rather than A) Stieng ruic day of moon’s waning period, Central Nicobarese yuít to disappear, vanish, dissolve, melt.

C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer rūac to escape, Nancowry yūac to wain.

Connect 1505 *ru(u)y behind?

843 *ruc; *ruoc; *roc to fall, drip.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muông) Kammu-Yuan rūc-rūc [to rain] heavily, Vietnamese rōt to leak, ooze; → Acehnese rōc to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*rōc ruc > *rucc?) → Acehnese srot to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*cnrucc > ) Sre sanroc funnel (→ Rōglai danroc); ~ Sre truc, Jeh trut to pour out (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Chrau tro? to pour, spill, contaminated by 406 *[c]rōc).

B: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Kuy rūac [faeces] to come out in diarrhoea, Palaung ruay?, ruat to drip, Praok ruac to fall, be shed, Central Nicobarese yuait-[ŋa] to overflow, Nancowry yuaçaŋ to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ Khmer croc to pour from a spout; Onomatopoeic for liquid so poured, (1) cruac to pour out, Vietnamese rōt to pour; ~ Biat ndroc funnel.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer /crec crec/ cric cric with a squirting sound, Biat [jiː] chroc diarrhoea; (probably) → Acehnese [mō-]-cret-cret to come out in spurts; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bancroc to cause to drip.

Connect 1504 *ruy &c. to fall, be shed; 2051 *ruh &c. to fall, be shed; & cf. 1059 *rut &c. to sprinkle, scatter. Note also Malay chirit diarrhoea, &c., Cebuano Bisayan silit to flow in a continuous stream (Proto-Austronesian *k’irit, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-Hesperonesian); perhaps cognate if vocalism reflects original palatal final.

843a *r[u]c; *r[uæ]c to gut.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre rōc.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat, Bahnar rōc.

Or *r(o)c, unless connected following.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

844 *ruuc; *ruəc intestine.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Mon krot krut intestine, Sakai (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 160 (a)) kröt belly; ~ (*kpruuc >) Sre proc intestine; → Malay pérut belly, womb, probably → Sakai pérdã belly (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 164 (b)).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy rûac, Mường roch (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese ruôt intestine; ~ Stieng, Biat proc; → Cham proy?, Jarai prɔai?, pruai?, Rögglai pro(a)y, North Rögglai puai?, Acehnese pruat.

Connect perhaps preceding; & (i) Kammu-Yuan pəcˑrɔːc mesentery; (ii) Semelai lapac belly, &c. (= Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 164 (a)), by metathesis; (iii) Sora onlidaːn, compounding form lo(i)ja-, Kharia lai j belly, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 282.

(*ruuc see also 1058 *rut to pull hard on… .)

845 *krəc; *krəəc to grind, gnash [teeth].

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang krəc.

B: (Palaungic; ~ *[ ]nrəəc >) Praok gruc.

Cf. 839 *rəc to slice, cut through.

(Apparently) Proto-Austronesian *kə yatː Toba Batak harat to gnaw, bite, &c.


846 *kruuc; *krʊəc citrus.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy kroɔc, Stieng kruic, Hre kroc, Sedang kruy.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon [chu &c.] krot orange, Old Khmer kroac, Mod Khmer kroc citrus (→ Thai makrūt, → Mon mēak krot lemon), Stieng kruac, Biat kroɔc citrus, Sre kroac orange, citrus, (~?) Central Nicobarese karoait citrus, Nancowry karuac; → Cham kroy agrume (→ Bahnar kroy? citrus), Jarai kroai? citrus, North Rögglai kuai? wild pomelo, Acehnese kruɔt Citrus hystrix.


(Schmidt 1905 60; Blood 1966 59; Smith 1972 260.)

847 *kruuc; *krʊəc kind of gamebird.

A: (Bahnaric; ~ *kmruuc >) Stieng brueɛc partridge, Bahnar [se:m] brʊɛc bird resembling francolin (Guilleminet 1959-63).

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kruəɛc quail, partridge; ~ Chrau vrwac (kind of) pheasant.
848 *[c]raac kind of wood-oil tree.
A: (Khmer, Katuc, Bahnaric) Khmer, Kuy trac Dipterocarpus intricatus, Biat [cəi] rhac wood-oil, Chrau racc, Bahnar dialects rac, h(a)rac kind of wood-oil tree (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Cham tray? Dipterocarpus intricatus, North Röglai trai? kind of resinous tree.
The variant Mon san srān (wood-oil obtained from) Melanorrhoea usitata supports *c-; so Khmer, Kuy t- by dissimilation?

849 *truc; *truuc lac.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon krɔik, Palaung krut, Riang-Lang trɔc; (or B) apparently → Miri truk lac insect (Benedict 1972 n.).
B: (Mon) Mon krɔt krut.
Burmese khɔip (XVI C), semantically contaminated by Mon-Khmer, is < Tibeto-Burman *krep bug, ant: Benedict 1972 74 no. 347 & n. 230.

850 *pr[a]c wing.
A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Praok pruc, Lawa Bo Luang [kam]phrauc, Lawa Umphai proic, Mae Sariang phyoic, Bateg Nong pɔwic, Sabum payej, Semelai parac.

(*brac see 922 *bruuɲ spotted.)

851 *mrɔc pepper.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon mrek /mrɔik/; Modern Mon parɔik, Khmer mrɛc mreć, Stieng mbreć (beside mreć ← Khmer), Sre mre?, Chrau mre?, Biat m(b)rac (beside mbreć ← Khmer), Palaung brut (contaminated by Burmese, below?), Lawa Bo Luang mbrauc, Lawa Umphai mbroic, Mae Sariang mbyoic, Khasi [soh]-mrit; → Sanskrit marica-; Cham amre? (→ Bahnar amre?, Gölar hɔmre?), mre?, Röglai amre?; Thai pʰrík (→ Kammu-Yuan prị, Thin blik); Burmese naɾut.
Stieng perhaps by early interdialectal borrowing.
(Schmidt 1905 46; Shafer 1965 539.)

852 *lic; *l(i)ɔc to emerge.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer lɛc lec to come out (of), appear, to stick out, to seep, leak, Stieng lec to drip, leak, to stick out, Besisi lek to get up (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 132); ~ Biat rklec drop, drip.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar lec to go out, [sun] to rise.
Connect Sre lik to go out, come out, [paddy] come up, [sun]rise.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

853 *ləc to enter.
A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khmer) Old Khmer ləc, Middle Khmer ləc lic to set (probably, merging to sink < following; beside ləc lic west),
Kuy lic [to plunge knife] right in, Praok ləc, Lawa liak to enter, Temiar laj to arrive unexpectedly (BENJAMIN 1976b 138); ~ Bahnar glec, kłeːc, kłeːk to penetrate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

854 *ləc; *ləːc; *ləaːc to be flooded, to sink.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ləc lic to sink, be partly immersed (merging probably to set < preceding.), Kuy lic to flood, Stieng [dàːk] lic primordial flood
(→ Chrau lic to flood?); → Cham ləc spring tide; ~ Biat njəkəc to drown (v.t.).
B: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang ləc to sink, be drowned.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ləc to overflow, flood.
C perhaps secondary in post-dental context; so < *lət-s ~ 1077 *lət to be extinguished? *ləc to turn upside down ad 423 *lək may belong here, with sense by attraction Cf. further 1287 *ləp &c. to immerse; Vietnamese lụt to be inundated.

(*ləc see also 423 *ləc to overturn... ; (*[ə][c] 424 *lək to sleep; 1081 *lụṭ to slip (off, down).)

855 *ləc; *ləːc; *lək penis.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre ləc; ~ Amwi phloc.
B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [nəːt-kəmət]-lɔːiŋ boar.
C: (North Bahnaric, Khuic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar łoż (GUILLEMINET 1959-63;
contaminated by 1857 *klaaf, which compare), Kammu-Yuan lök, Khasi ləh (~ thloh), Sakai ləkn (i.e. Temoq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 53).
A-B prior in view of Munda, below; C by tabu deformation? Connect 1520 *k(-)lay?.
Sora ləʔaj-ən, (compounding form) (ə)ləj-ən, Santali laj, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 289);
by secondary development Sora ləʔoj-ən, compounding form loj-ən testicle.
(Proto-Austronesian *ulək >?) Cebuano Bisayan uluk, uluk, perhaps Tongan ule,
Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian *ule.

856 *lʊc; *luːc; *ləc; *ləːc; *ləc to steal.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng lʊəc theft, Vietnamese [bóːc] lọt to rob.
B: (Khmer) Khmer lʊəc to steal, Bru lọ́y? to take [fish] without permission (< *-uuc?);
→ Cham laŋye.
C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre kleʔ to steal, purloin; → Cham, Jarai kłeʔ?, Rōglai kłeʔ?,
North Rōglai tleʔ to steal.
D: (Khuic) Kammu-Yuan ləc to steal.
E: (Mon) ~ Mon kłət; ~ Old Mon kunləc /kəmələc/, Modern Mon pələt thief.
Originally *lʊt-s &c. causative ~ 1081 *lụt &c. to slip (off...)? Connection dubious.
Central Nicobarese kələːc- to steal, kəmələːc: theft, Nancowry kalōʔ, kamalōʔ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)
Kharia 'lusi to rob, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 318b); → Sanskrit lūṣati &c., Prakrit lutṭai.

(*luc see also 1081 *lut to slip (off, down); (*[ ]luc) 1083 *[ ]luut to sprout; *luuc, *luac see (also) 1081 *lut.)

857 *klaac frightened, timid.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon klat to be tame, Literary Mon klāt also to be timorous, Khmer khlac; Biat klac to be frightened; → Cham klat, klet.
Cf. Bru kañary to be fearful; kla? cowardly, timid; 1086 *[c]laat.

858 *kluuc (& *kluc?) to rub.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kbi (!) to rub [one’s eyes] (< variant; or dialect, replacing **klot for homophony, cf. 856 (E)), Palaung klut to wipe (MILNE 1931), Praok kluc to knead; → Jakun kulut to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 195).
Cf. Sre klo to rub, scrape, chafe, perhaps < *kluuk by assimilation.

858a *kluuc on the point of burning.
A: (Khmer, Khasi, Katuic) Khmer klaac burnt, scorched, Khasi khluit boiling hot, scorching hot, Bru kloy? burnt completely (< *uac?).
Cf. 803 *[b]kuc(u)c hot.

859 *gluuc loose, lax.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok kluc to be lax; ~ Khasi kylluid roomy, loose, lax.

860 *[d,]luuc; *[d,]luac awl.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _tanluuc awl; to bore with a red-hot awl.
B: (Mon) Mon hanot banot, banat awl.
Or *-[n]n2? then perhaps connected 822 *cnuac to spit, transfix. Note also Khmer cuanluac (TANDART 1935 also conluac; → Biat conjlojn), Kuy ta? mlhuŋ goad (< *cnuap? so perhaps Mon kanon sting (organ)).

861 *[b]lec; *[b]lac; *[b]lac to miss the mark, mistake, forget.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Khermer) Mon plët to miss (the m), to be wrong, (or less probably variant >) Khmer phlèc bhlec to forget, Khasi let amiss; transgression (compounding form; or ad unattested derivation; referred to the secondary derivation klet to forget), Vietnamese trêch to miss the mark.
B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Mon plöt [plét] miss the mark, to go astray (blot!; or ~ 1082 *laut to err?), Sre blaq lie, (probably, cf. the derivation) Bahnar blèc [arrow &c.] to go wide, (blà? —) to be unreliable; ~ (*[b]rlac >) Biat rlac to deny; ~ (*[b]plac >) Bahnar plec to lie; liar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 plaç), Khasi phlait to miss, (compounding form?) lait mistake.
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C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese trạt to miss.
Only Khasi impedes reconstruction of *bl-. Vocalism unusual.

861 *[^r]laac to collapse, be destroyed.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan làc to disappear, be lost, Lawa laic to c., be destroyed; ~ Biat riлац (!) to devastate, ravage, trample; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Kammu-Yuan плáц to take away, to destroy, waste, to melt down, to erase.
Cf. 422 *лаik &c. to dissolve…; 927 *лaи to be destroyed….

862 *wic; *wiic; *wiəc twisted.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat wic [weːl] (peppercorn) curl; ~ Khmer khvec khvic turning (TANDART 1935), Chrau kwíʔ to roll, twist.
B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan karvici-[karwúal] winding, meandering.
C: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer виəc twisted, crooked, winding, dishonest, (or following, which connect, >?) Bahnar wəc to twist (v.i), to turn aside.
Connected further 1090 *wit &c. to go round….

863 *wac to eddy, to twist.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Mon wòt to wring out, Sre wac, Biat [dak] wac [weːl] eddy (& Bahnar wəc to twist…, under the entry preceding?), Central Sakai wèt, uɛ to twist, wring; ~ (*krwac >) Biat rwac to twist [hair] into knot, Khasi khyrwait to twist, wring, strangle.
Connect preceding; & cf. further Riang-Lang _viɛt to wring; 1021 *pat &c. … (id.).

863a *wac to hop, leap.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy vàc [fish] to leap, Biat [nchat te:] wac to hop on one leg.

864 *wac; *waac knife, sword.
A: (Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Khasi wait dao, Temiar ʔωwaj, Semelai wɔy knife.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _vac, _wac, Praok vac, Lawa Bo Luang wik, Lawa Umphai wiaic, Mae Sariang wuic sword.
Cf. Mendriq ʔem knife, &c. Temiar suggests a secondary *ʔuəc. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 124.)

865 *wac stomach.
Aslian, Nicobaric initials obscure.
(SHAFER 1965 194; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 161.)

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang wiak to break (off); (~ *[ ]mwɔc >) Palaung meʔ! to cut [tree] down, lop, Khasi mait to cut, to clear [jungle].

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _wɔc, _wɔc to reap, cut.

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre meʔ sickle, (~?) Praok muk to cut, slash, Lawa Bo Luang muk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang muk to kill.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung νɔʔ, Praok νɔk to reap; ~ Palaung ṭəνɔʔ reaping, Praok sivɔk sickle.

Note also Lawa Umphai wek grass-cutting knife; Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai muk to reap, mow. D secondarily from C, perhaps *[ ]wɔk; then ~ Riang-Lang _mɔk to cut with swinging motion, hew, otherwise ← Shan wɔk, ← 371 *gɓɔk to chop, hoe. C-D contaminated by this? Then conceivably *rɔw(a)c, connected 1058 *rɔut(-s) ... to reap Cf. further 839 *rɔc to slice, cut through; 390 *rিয়াক ... to harvest.

(*wɔc see also 933 *w[ə]n to play.)

867 (*kwaat-s >?) *kwaac; *kwac; *[g]wat; *gwaat; *gwaac to scratch (up).

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer khvɔc, Stieng kuɔc, Biat kwɔc (& kwɔkt!) to scratch, Sre kuɔc to scratch (oneself), Palaung kwat to grate, Kensiu kawɔj to scratch, by back-formation (or ~?) Kuy wiaɔc to scratch up.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau kwɔc to scoop up.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [fa]-kwɔ-[hṇa] to scratch with nail &c.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer khviat to scratch with tip of finger, Kuy (k)wat (!) to scratch, Riang-Lang _vut to shave.

E: (Mon) Mon kwɔt to shave, Proto-Nyah Kur *khvwaac (DIFFLOTH 1984 V103).

Connect Vietnamese quát to exhume, dig out, excavate. Cf. 802 *kaac; 802a *k[oo]c to dig (up); 1442 *kaay; A138 *kwaay; 1880 *kais &c.; 1881 *kuous &c. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)

Sora aj- [fowls] to scratch; to rake over [coals] (or : *kaac?).

868 *gwaac; *gwaac to beckon.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Kuy (k)wac (!), (or B?) Central Sakai gawet, giwot; ~ Riang-Lang _kalvac [*tiʔ].

B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru kuwɔnyʔ to beckon, Kammu-Yuan kwɔc, by assimilation Lawa Bo Luang kwak.

Connect Bahnar kuɔc; Khasi khəwɔit (~ *k.wuac?) to beckon, to paddle.

Santali ṭəvi'j, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 68).

869 *twii[c]; *twɔc dark.

A: (Katuic) Kuy (t)wewʔ dark, night.

B: (Palaungic) Praok vac, Lawa fiak dark.
870 *sic to fight.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon sic /sɔc/ [jal], Modern Mon saik to quarrel, brawl; (?) → Thai sìk (⇒ Khmer suik), Shan shūk war; ~ Biat nchic to set dog fighting.

871 *sac edible substance, fruit, meat.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon sac /sɔc/, Modern Mon sat fruit, Khmer sac flesh, meat, Kuy sac meat, Bahnar sec lean meat, Kensi, Temiar sej, Semelai sac meat (with cognates meaning fruit, cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 170 (a)).

872 *sac; *saac to bale out.
A: (Khasi, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi kynshait to syringe; ~ pashait to splash with foot; ~ (*sn- >; perhaps with secondary shortening, cf. Biat ~ b) Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm nhac drizzle.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon sat to bale (in part, sāt; merging *r-saac, 837 *r-raac), Khmer, Kuy sac to bale, to throw from bucket, Sre sac to empty with bucket, Chrau sac to bale out fish-dam, Riang-Lang ṭac earth cast of land-crab &c., Vietnamese tát to irrigate, bale out; → Cham thay? to pour away, to bale out [fish-pond], [rain] to come down; ~ Biat nhac drizzle, Khasi snaid strainer; ~ (*[s]nsaac >) Bahnar ḍonic strainer; ~ Bahnar dialects hamac strainer (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon sat to bale (in part, shât; see above), Khmer rasac in a very scattered manner, Biat rchac to sprinkle, Chrau chat (with -t by dissimilation) to sprinkle ritually, Lawa Bo Luang ʔasaic, Lawa Umphai rasac, Mae Sariang yasaic to wash [hands]; ~ Old Mon rinšāc /rɔnsac/ to sprinkle.

Khmer has also rasoc to spread out, well out (GUESDON 1930), with which cf. Mintil soc, Bateg Nong soc to wash, bathe; & sraoc to sprinkle, under the entry *raac. They may reflect *rsuuc &c., but are part of the evidence for a possible *-au-.
(BLOOD 1966 365; SMITH 1972 255; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 142.)

873 *suc; *suuc; *səc; *siic to sting.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer soc small kind of mosquito, Kuy soc sandfly, Bahnar dialect tsuc to sting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Temiar ʔamuj wasp (BENJAMIN 1976b 186).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy *soc to sting, Sre *souc to prick, sting, Biat *choc, Bahnar *soc, Kammu-Yuan *huc, Riang-Lang *huc, Praok *huc, Proto-Semai *srųc to sting (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (*smuuc >) Kuy *smoc, mhoc (or < *smuuc, below?), Bahnar *hmoec, Jeh *mut, Halang *mut, Kammu-Yuan *mūc, Lawa Bo Luang *mault, Lawa Umphai *mault, Mae Sariang *maut ant, Proto-Semai *smyrc sting ng insect (DIFFLOTH 1977); → Thai *mót ant (&c., cf. BENEDICT 1975 219; → Kammu-Yuan *mót); Cham *hmoc; Malay, Javanese *sēmut, Karo Batak *semut; ~ Khmer *sramaoc ant, Bahnar *samoec sting ing (organ); (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) hornet; ~ Praok *nuuc sting ing.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) (*smac >) Mon *hamot *samat ant, Proto-Nyah Kur *ehmyac; ~ Alakong Bahnar *hmuac ant (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung *karhuat wasp.

D: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang *huc *hac nettle; ~ (*smac >) Sre *samac, Biat *mac, Bahnar *sōmec, (original compounding form?) Khasi *mait mosquito.

E: (Mon, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng *suic (I) [scorpion's] sting; → Shan *sit to sting; ~ Mon *hamit mosquito; ~ Sakai *kēmit mosquito (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 180 (a)).

Connect perhaps (i) 1099 *su(u)t kind of bee; (ii) 1496 *smuys &c. mosquito, gnat.

But connection dubious Acehnese *kumua, Cham *mu, Jarai *mu, &c. white ant; Viennese *con mōt white ant, which probably reflect *-r.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50, 64; SHAFER 1965 316, 339; BLOOD 1966 352; SMITH 1972 257; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 25.)

Sora *su- to pierce, ~ (compounding form) *mu- ant, Kharia *mu'j, &c. (PINNOW 1959 130); Sora *samaj-an mosquito.

874 *ksac; *ksaac sand.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer khsac; ~ (*kmsaac >) Riang-Lang *mac.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) by metathesis > *skaaac > Kuy *skaaec, Muông *cach (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *căt; ~ (*kmsaaac >) Praok *mac, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *hmaic; ~ (*krsaaac by metathesis > *krcaaas by metathesis >) Kammu-Yuan créːs.

Connect also Cham *cwaah, Jarai *chuaah, Rōglai *coah, North Rōglai *cuaah; Chrau *cwaoh sand, Biat *cahi grave? (SHAFER 1965 314.)

875 *huc; *huuc; *hac finished.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang *hoic, Lawa Umphai *hoic to come to an end, Temiar *hoj already (BENJAMIN 1976B 160); (probably, rather than C) ~ Khasi *khoit completely.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *hoic particle of completed action, Thin *hojc to be finished, exhausted; sequential connective; mark of superlative; all, Lawa Bo Luang *hauk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *hoic to use up.
C: (Palaungic) Praok huac to have finished; perfect auxiliary.

D: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang hac all; to exhaust; ~ Khasi khait = khoit.

following ?Connect certainly 1539 *hay &c. finished & probably 1113 *phut to cease (so < *hut-s &c.?); then surely also 798 *r?uc &c., *r?uuy finished.

876 *huc; *huuc; *ha[ə]c; *hiəc to decrease, decay.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Biat huc to decrease, ebb, (or B?) Central Sakai hût starvation.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon hut to deteriorate, decay, dwindle, Khmer haoc (!) only very slight in quantity, (TANDART 1935) decayed; ~ Khmer khoc to go bad, go wrong, Kuy kho to break down, be marred, disordered, Stieng kuc, khoic to spoil, damage, destroy; spoiled &c. (or A?), Biat khoic to be spoiled, Bahnar khoic diminishing (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C, D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hiəc used up, wasted, squandered (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (D); ~ Bahnar dialects hərəc to decrease, to use up, waste (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; c).

= preceding? Connect perhaps 1109 *jhuut to go backwards. Note further Bahnar huac = hərəc.

(*huc see also also 1106 *hut to suck, drink.)

877 *huuc; *huac to whistle.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hoc (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham huyt; ~ Bahnar həhoəc.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Khmer huac, Stieng huəc, Sre hoac, Biat huac, Bahnar hoac (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang huac, Vietnamese huýt, Semang hück (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (b)); → Jarai hoac, Röglai hoac, North Röglai huaiʔ, Acehnese hūt; ~ (*huac > *chuəc >) Mon chot (khyot!; but dialects confirm *ch-), Kuy (kh)hoəc; ~ Chrau təhwac.

Cf. Jeh tahuayh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (< *-huas). Onomatopoeic (SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

(*huuc see also 1106 *hut to suck, drink.)

878 *huəc to flow.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Central Rölöm hoəc, Biat hoəc to flow, Bahnar hoəc [water] to carry away; to unroll, flow out, Khasi hoit to flow out, seep out; ~ Bahnar tahəc to dispose of by throwing into stream, (GUESDON 1930) to overflow.

Connect Kuy hary.

(BLOOD 1966 52.)

(*huəc see also 1106 *hut to suck, drink.)
**A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary**

†‡ 879 *khuc; *khuuc; *kh[uyh] to wipe, wash.

A: (Palaungic) Praok khoc to wash.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung khut, khuit to wipe, Lawa Bo Luang khauk, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang khoc to wash, Khasi khuid clean, pure.
C: (Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Palaung khoy, Riang-Lang *khe to wash, Semang [ya']
   kūas to wipe (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 W 123; ?).
Kharia gu'j to wash (Pinnow 1959 K 61; Proto-Munda *goc?).
Proto-Austronesian *[ ]ug'ut': Toba Batak ugas to rub, &c. (Dempwolf 1938 160, discounting Tagalog; ?).
Perhaps two roots, with contamination: Proto-Mon-Khmer *khu(u)c to wash:
   Munda, *-uy[h] to wipe: Austronesian.

(*khuoc see 272 *chuək corner.)

880 *bhic; *bhiic to fear.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon phic /phöc/, Modern Mon phaik, Jah Hut bəhec; ~ Old Mon buhic to frighten.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat phiːt nervous [horse], (— phai) fear, terror.

881 *[l]nhəəc light in weight.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ləŋəːc, Sre, Biat ñəəc, Chrau ñkhəːc, Mnong Gar rəkhəːc,
   Bahnar həʔyəːc.
Or *r-? Bahnar by assimilatory palatalization of nasal.
   (Blood 1966 411.)

(*ʔən see 1116 *ʔaa[n] tray of betel-box.)

882 *ʔa[i][ŋ]; *ʔiaŋ [ŋ] (elder) brother.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung an parent's sibling of same sex, Mường enh
   (Barker 1966 12), Vietnamese anh elder brother.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔean, Lawa Umphai ʔen father's younger brother.
Or *ʔain &c.; but *-ŋ if Praok [pu]ac brothers, Lawa ʔiak elder brother (< *ʔac?) are connected. Note South Aslian forms: Semelai ʔiʔəʔ, (distinguished by Benjamin from) Mah Meri yeʔ elder sibling, &c., = Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 421.
   (Shaffer 1965 341.)

883 *ʔən to endure, wait out.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon ɕin to suffer, endure, tolerate, Literary Mon ʔen also to be patient; ~ Sre loʔiŋ to wait, be patient.
Cf. 1151 *ɲa(ə)n? ... to endure.
**884** *ʔəɲ* to fast, abstain from food.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ɲiŋ, Khasi en (!) [ja].
Khasi spelling may assume palatalization to be junctural. Cf. Central Nicobarese əit-ɲ hungry.

**885** *ʔuŋ* (& *ʔuŋ?*) fire.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng u(i)ŋ, Chrau, Bhatnur uŋ, Jeh ūn, Halang un; ~ (*jhee? u[ ]n by contraction >; with compensatory lengthening?) Bhatnur choʔoŋ charcoal. Connect 1872 *[ ]ʔus &c.?
(SHAFER 1965 447a; BLOOD 1966 151; SMITH 1972 81; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 124.)

**886** *kʔaiŋ; kʔiəŋ; kʔi [ ]n wasp.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kəʔáŋ kind of wasp, Palaung kəʔeŋ wasp, Khasi kyieng wasp, hornet; ~ (*kmʔaiŋ >) Jeh mahană fighter wasp, Halang mahană wasp.
B: (Khmer; ~ *knʔiəŋ >) Khmer ɲɛ̀əŋ kind of wasp.
C: (Khasi) Khasi k’iŋg wasp, hornet.
Pre-Khmer *-iəŋ > *-eŋ by palatal absorption. Connect 485 *ʔuŋ &c. wasp, hornet.

'887 *jʔuŋ; jhuuŋ to smell, sniff.
A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu ʔəŋ, Temiar ʔuŋ to smell, sniff; ~ (*jʔuŋ jʔuŋ > *njʔuŋ > *njuŋ >) Mon yəŋ to smell, (or ~ *jnʔuŋ >) Semai ɲoŋ to smell.
B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon chəŋ chuŋ, (~?) Kuy huŋ to smell, smell, embrace (JOHNSTON 1969 has hŋuŋ to smell, < *jhuuŋ). Mon, perhaps Semai final by dissimilation; but Semai may attest a further variant *jʔuuy; cf. here Central Nicobarese ɣi smell. Note also Riang-Lang _kuŋ to kiss. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 294.)
Kharia jũi to sm., &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 315).
Cf. Proto-Austronesian *k’i(S)um to sniff, nose-kiss: Malay chium, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, *k’i(j)um; Proto-West-Indonesian).

**888** *smʔañ star.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon sam’an (?), Literary Mon saman, Stieng sameŋ, Sre, Chrau saman, Bhat man, Palaung samñ, Riang-Lang _sakman, Praok simuŋ, Lawa Bo Luang saʔbœuŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔmoiŋ; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan sərmñ.
Cf. Danaw kâ’lan (< *slʔañ?).
(SHAFER 1965 166, 374; BLOOD 1966 348.)
890 *k[i]n; *kuŋ work.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon keň [kā] work, business (→ Burmese ’akuin), Praok kaŋ, Lawa kaŋ head.
B: (Viet-Mường) Mường (Barker 1966 11), Vietnamese công work.

891 *kiŋ[ ]; *kiŋ[ ]; *kaŋ? elbow.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar [kɔŋ] keŋ (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Connect 650 *ky[o]ŋ? Note Sakai kanang (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 E 42). (Smith 1972 91.)

892 *kuŋ; *kuuŋ; *kuŋ; *kuuŋ, *dkuun to bend down; bent.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Mon kʊŋ dwarf, to be humpbacked, Proto-Nyah Kur *kʊŋ (Diffloth 1984 V115), Khmer kʊŋ dwarffish, stunted, shrivelled (Guesdon 1930), Biat kʊŋ to bend down (v.i.t.), Semang kion, kiun crooked (Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 175 (b); or B); ~ Khmer ʔəŋkʊŋ to bend [limbs].
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kʊŋ to bend (down), lower (v.t); bent down, arched (Guilleminet 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre kʊŋ to bend down (→ Röglai).
D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer kaʊŋ bending, huddled up..., Kammu-Yuan kʊûn, Khasi khun to bend, (*dk- >) Bahnar [kədu?] gɔŋ hunchback; ~ Sre rəkəʊn to bend, be rucked.
Final variant unusual. Bahnar *dk- contaminated by Indonesian, below? Vocalism post-dental, cf. 335a *duuk; Guilleminet 1959-63 has gɔŋ təɡuŋ, gun təɡuŋ, gɔŋ təɡənome. Add perhaps to D Proto-Khmuic *knuuŋ knee, Kammu-Yuan kənûn.
(Schmidt 1905 22)
(?) Proto-Austronesian *dəkuŋ: Javanese dəkung bent, bowing down, &c.
(Dempwolff 1938 39; Dahl 1973 § 14.20; perhaps rather ad 500 *kʊŋ).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

893 *[ }kuuŋ; *[ }kuŋ father, mother’s brother.
A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre kouŋ mother’s brother, mother’s uncle, Chrau koŋ mother’s younger brother (BLOOD 1966), Biat koŋ parent’s younger brother, Bru koŋ father, Kuy (ʔa)koŋ term of address to paternal great-uncle, Kammu-Yuan kūŋ father’s sister’s husband, Palaung kun, Praok kuŋ father, Proto-Semai *kroŋ parent’s elder brother... (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese kōn husband, Nancowry kōp; ~ Semnam ʔaŋkoŋ male, husband, Central Nicobarese enkoŋ male.

B: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Central Rōlōm koŋ mother’s younger brother.
Or *ʔ2k-?
(BLOOD 1966 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 38, M 15 (d.).)
Proto-Austronesian *aNkuŋ: Malay ōŋkong grandfather, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 170; Proto-Hesperonesian).

893a *[t]gaŋ early, soon.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gaŋ early (beside gôn; BLOOD 1966 gân-gaŋ soon, quickly), Central Rōlōm gân soon, quickly, Biat gaŋ soon, quickly, early, to hurry, Bahnar kêt later on, shortly.
(BLOOD 1966 393.)

894 *jiŋ; *jiŋŋ to sew.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Stieng jiŋ (!), Sre jiŋ̤, Chrau jiŋ, Biat juŋ, Praok cang, (or B?) Central Sakai chék; ~ Stieng jirniŋ seam.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon jiŋ, [sl]-jiŋ /jiŋ/, Modern Mon cœŋ, Palaung jiŋ, Lawa Bo Luang cuŋ, Lawa Umphai chiŋ, Mae Sariang c(h)ijŋ.
Stieng -n by dissimilation Cf. Khasi jain cloth, clothes.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

895 *tjaŋ quarrelsome.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Sre jaŋ violent [illness] (DOURNES 1950); [buffalo] to be unapproachable, Biat jaŋ malevolent, brutal, (tom —) to quarrel, Mường chenth (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese tranh, chanh to dispute, quarrel, Central Nicobarese [men]-jeŋa quarrelsome, Nancowry minséŋa cruelty; ~ (*tjaŋ >) Middle Mon tayân, Modern Mon kyan to dispute, Biat njâŋ to annoy, Vietnamese giánh = tranh; (?) by secondary derivation ~ Praok [sim] samâŋ to be contentious.

896 *snuŋ; *sn[ə]ŋ; *sniŋ wrinkled; to frown, grimace.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer spon disgusted [expression], (?) Biat huaŋ wrinkle, wrinkled; ~ Mon hapon to snarl, to screw up one’s face, frown.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer spon niēŋ showing one’s teeth, Kuy sîn, nhîŋ to expose teeth, grimace, Vietnamese nhân (!) to be wrinkled, to make faces.
c: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar tānhīṃ to show one’s teeth (Guillauminet 1959-63).

C secondary. Note further Khmer spāṃ grimacing; (Tandart 1935) nūṃ grimacing, 

nūṇ to contract, frown; if then rather *s-ūṇ, < 62 *[ ]nu? [ ]nu? &c.? Cf. also 

Mường nhāl to be wrinkled, to make faces (Barker 1966 13); 997 p[u]aṭ wrinkled, 

shrivelled.

896a *t,īn; *t,īn; *t,īn; *t,ān *t,ām to pluck, twang.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar tīn-[nīn] kind of plucked stringed instrument.

B: (Mon, Palaungic, Khmer, Khasi) Mon tōn to pluck [stringed instrument], Palaung 

tīn guitar (Milne 1931), Praok tīn harp; ~ Shan tīn harp; ~ Old Khmer tmiṅ (or 

A) player of stringed instrument; ~ Old Mon tinmiṅ /tammiṅ/ player of stringed 

instrument; (or A?) ~ Khasi [mā]rynthing stringed instrument played with plectrum, 

‘Khasi harp’.

C: (Khmer) Khmer dīn to push gently aside.

D: (Khmer, Central Aslian) Khmer /dēn/ tēn to pluck strings, Proto-Semai *tēn to 

pluck (Diffloth 1977).

Onomatopoeic?

896b *tīn; *tān to know.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer dīṃ; ~ Khmer pdīṃ to inform, to report, to 

complain, sue; ~ Sre ntiṅ to send word (by), Biat nteṅ to make recommendations.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat nteṅ to send word.

1341 *t,iim contaminated by 904 *pdeṅ to memorize?

897 *t,ān hot.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stieng tēn hot, heat, fever, Chrau [duh] tān 

hot [water], Kammu-Yuan [táś] tēn dry and sunny [place], Central Nicobarese 

taīn hot, Nancowry tāṅ; ~ Biat ntāṅ to warm up. 

(Shafter 1965 84.)

'898 *t,ān to weave, plait, twill.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, 

Nicobarese, Central Aslian) Mon tāṅ to plait, twill, Kuy tāṅ to weave, twill, Chrau 

tāṅ to twill, Sre, Biat, Bahnar tāṅ to plait, weave, Jeh, Halang tāṅ, Kammu-Yuan 

tāṅ to weave, Riang-Lang ṭāṅ, Praok ṭāṅ, Lawa tāṅ, Khasi thaṅ to plait, weave, 

Mường tāṅ (Barker 1966 13), Vietnamese dān to weave, Temiar tāc to plait 

(Benjamin 1976B 133), Central Nicobarese [en]-tāinya to plait, weave, Nancowry 

tāṅ, ˒iintāṅ; ~ Old Khmer tmaṅ weaver; ~ Khmer tbaṅ to weave, plait (properly 

nominal form).

Palaung tēṅ to weave [bamboo matting] may imply a variant *taṅj; tuṅ (Mon) to 

weave [bamboo matting] is probably contaminated by 910 *ṭūaṅ to twist 

(together). Cf. also 1467 *[k]ṛtāṅ to twist (together).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 335; SMITH 1972 94; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 126.)

Sora ṭañ-, Kharia ṭañ to weave, &c. (PINNOW 1959 301)

899 *ṭañ to chase.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ḍen ṭeñ to pursue, chase away, Stieng ṭiñ, Sre ṭiñ to chase, Biat ṭoñ to chase, follow.
(BLOOD 1966 148.)

(*[k]ṛtəñ see 1467 *[k]ṛtəy to twist together.)

899a *kltuŋ; *kltuŋ fern.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Biat rtoŋ [krət], Sedang kasún, Kammu-Yuan karsúŋ, Central Nicobarese lato’in.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar katoŋ.
(SMITH 1972 95.)

900 *diæŋ; *dəŋ to be dazed.
A: (Mon) Old Mon ḍeñ /deŋ/ [knop], Literary Mon ḍen [knap].
B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon ḍeñ /daŋ/, Modern Mon tòiŋ to be dazed, Vietnamese dân to be dull, simple-minded.

(*daŋ see 1470 *daay ...to lean on.)

901 *dʊŋ; *dʊŋ (& *dʊŋ?) to gather up.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre ḍoŋ; → Jarai dʊŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Biat ḍoŋ to glean, Chrau, Bahnar ḍoŋ to gather up; (Jeh/Halang? *dʊŋ?) → Cham tòn, Röglai doan, North Röglai duət.

902 *dʊŋ to deplore.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tòn to scold, chide, complain, grumble, Khmer tūəŋ to lament; ~ Mon ḍanən chiding, Khmer tūmnūəŋ lament, lamentation.

†903 *kdiŋ; *kdiŋ; *kduŋ (& *kduŋ?) bamboo-joint.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Mon duŋ bamboo-joint used to hold liquids, Stieng diŋ bamboo tube, Sre diŋ (→ Chrau diŋ (BLOOD 1966)), Biat duŋ tube, Besisi diŋ’ng bamboo (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 31; or B?); → Röglai diŋ tube; ~ Middle Mon gantĭn /ganiŋ/, Modern Mon ḍaŋoiŋ, Khmer kondvŋ bell Lawa Umphai ngleĩn jingle, small bamboo.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar diŋ, Jeh diŋ bamboo tube, Halang diŋ water-pipe, Palaung diŋ bamboo container for liquids; → Cham diŋ tube.
c: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Middle Mon kduŋ /kdunŋ/ area-nut container, Modern Mon daŋ bamboo tube, Khmer taon cask (?; < *kduŋ, or ← Malay tong, under the entry 791 *d,huŋ), Kammu-Yuan tón bamboo tube, Khasi *dong (≈ tyndong!) short pipe, betel-case; ~ (*knduŋ >) Mon hañŋ slit-drum, small bell, Jehehr génûn bamboo (i.e. Jehai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 25).

Middle Mon g̣- in gañð in obscure, but cf. 1180 *[g]dãaan. Cf. 341 *td[ø]kt slit-drum...

(Shafer 1965 123; Blood 1966 135; Smith 1972 97.)

(i) Sora ko’(d)in-an; Khria’ konqen bamboo, &c. (Pinnow 1959 275; Proto-Munda *-an); (ii) Sora kun’tun-an tube.


904 *påN to memorize.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon påN, Modern Mon den to memorize, Kuy dîŋ to know, learn (contaminated by Khmer dven < 896b *tîŋ, which compare); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer tôantên dandên to repeat in order to memorize.

1105 *påN? to shoot.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon paN /påN/, Modern Mon pån, Old Khmer pañ, Modern Khmer bån, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat pån, Stieng pen to shoot, Bahnar pen to beat cotton, Jeh, Halang pen, Kammu-Yuan pîn, Palaung piŋ, Riang-Lang tûn, Mường pångh (Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese băn to shoot, Central Nicobarese fîn crossbow, [hã]-fiŋ to shoot with crossbow, Nancowry fân, hafân.

Cf. following.

(Schmidt 1905 14, 18; Shafer 1965 317; Blood 1966 367; Smith 1972 86, 88; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 256 (a).)

(Cf. Khria paN’ic bowstring, &c., Pinnow 1959 K 499; reborrowed ←, or contaminated by, Hindi panica?)

Proto-Austronesian *pañ,aq to shoot; bow: Malay panah bow, &c. (DePwolff 1938 113, *pañah; Dyen 1965; Dahl 1973 § 15.2). See Benedict 1975 221, arrow.

906 *pañ; *pañŋ to fight.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Praok p’un, Lawa Bo Luang pawŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pojn; ~ Bahnar papeŋ, papeŋ to struggle, thrash about (Guillaumet 1959-63), (or B) Semang pin-pen to fight (Skeat & Blagden 1906 § 496 (c)); ~ (*pn-, but perhaps rather secondary *pnaŋ, >) Palaung neŋ soldiers (Milne 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon paṆ/pnaṆ/ army, Modern Mon nan, Praok naŋ army, war, Palaung nan soldiers.
Connection obscure Kuy ban to fight.

907 *dpan; *[d]pu[əŋ]; by voicing shift *tbiŋ; *tbiɲ; *tbiŋ; *tbaŋ full.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon piŋ /pəŋ/, Modern Mon pın to be full, Khmer pəŋ been full, → Kuy phəŋ full [moon], Sre piŋ to overflow, Bahnar ɓen (!), Semang iping full (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 290 (a)).
B: (Khasi) Khasi phoiŋ entirely.
C: (Khmuiic, Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan pəŋ full [moon], Temiar təbik, (or D) Che' Wong bọk full.
D: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Stieng bɪŋ, Sre bɨŋ, Chrau veŋ, Biat beŋ, Jeh bɨŋ full, Halang bɨŋ full of water, Semai təbék, Semaq Beri tabəŋ full.
E: (Khasi) Khasi [dap] sbeng quite [full], tbeng as if full.
F: (South Bahnaric) Biat bon full [moon].
Connect other South Aslian forms: Semelai sabaŋ, &c.; so by assimilation Jehai sebim, Mendriq səbim; with secondary vocalism Kensiu habun; & cf. Central Nicobarese poŋ, puj, buj, Nancowry pus (< *buc?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 39; BLOOD 1966 33; SMITH 1972 80; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 290 (b).)

908 *baŋ to stick.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon pən to stick, adhere, to affix, Khasi paiŋ soldier, cement, joint.

(*tbi(i)ŋ, *tbi(ə)ŋ see 907 *dpəŋ full.)

909 *buŋ; *buŋ soft.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar boŋ soft, flexible, easy; ~ (*[b]mbuŋ >) ?moŋ soft, flexible, easy; → Jarai *moŋ soft.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi boiŋ soft; ~ (*[b]mboŋ >) Sre buaŋ easy; → Rōglai buan, (or A?) Cham bon easy.
 Cf. 1124 *ləun &c. soft, tender.

910 *tbuŋ; *tbaŋ to twist (together).
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng buiŋ, buoŋ to twist into cord, Biat buaŋ to twist, Bahnar boŋ to plait, twill (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63); ~ (*tboŋ >) Bahnar ?moŋ twisted rope.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon boŋ to twist together; ~ Khmer trəbaŋ to plait, twist, Biat raŋ to turn (v.t), screw.
To plait, twill contaminated by 898 *t,aŋ, which compare; as also 1177 *ba(a)ŋ interlaced.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)
911 *miɲ[ ]; *miɲ?; *muuɲ[ ]; *muəɲ[ ] mouth.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng dialect miɲ language, Chrau miɲ mouth.
B: (Khmui̍c, Viet-Muông) Thin [ʔaɲ] miɲ, Muông mèn (Barker 1966 24),
Vietnamese miếng mouth.
C: (Nòcobaric) ~ Central Nòcobarase nənoi̍n lip, Nancowry manúŋ.
D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Riang-Lang _mwaɲ mouth, word, language, Praok mʌɲ mouth,
(by labial absorption; or < a variant *mʌɲ[ ]?) Khasi main features; → Shan
mɔŋ opening.
Connection dubious Kharia rəməɲ nose, Pinnow 1959 387. Khmer thmèɲ tooth,
compared at Shafer 1965 461, is < 924 *l/m/əɲ.

(*muuɲ see 1495 *muuy one.)

912 *smaaɲ to ask.
A: (Mon, Khmui̍c, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon smâŋ /smaaɲ/, Modern
Mon hman to ask, inquire, Kammu-Yuan məɲ to ask, Palaung hman, Praok məɲ

to request, Riang-Lang _məŋ to inquire, request, Lawa hmaɲ, Temiar samaɲ to
inquire (Benjamin 1976b 173).
Cf. Central Nòcobarase hama-[hətə &c.] to request, inquire. Mon not, as Schmidt
1905 46, : Khmer mian interrogative particle.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 165.)

913 *raɲ dry.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmui̍c) Stieng reɲ, Sre, Chrau raɲ, Kammu-Yuan [rəs] rèɲ.
Connection uncertain (i) Khmer riɲ dried up, perhaps < *riɲ unless connected
Bahnar sreɲ, hreɲ dry (< *-iəɲ); (ii) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang raɲ dry (&c.: Smith
1972 128).

914 *ruɲ; *ruuɲ; *ruəɲ; *ri[i]əɲ to strain, pull away.
A: (Khmui̍c, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer riɲ to push, pull; (→ riə) refractory, obstinate (→,
or contaminated by, Thai run to push?), Stieng ruɲ to pull [e.g. cart] backwards
(or B: contaminated by 842 *ru(u)c to retreat...?).
B: (Mon) Mon rən to strain away, pull at leash &c., to be intractable; ~ Bru brù:n [fish]
to tug at line; → Burmese run: to be intractable... .
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh drudruan, Halang dadruan to struggle.
D: (Khasi) Khasi ring to pull, tug, drag.
Connect obscure Praok bruun [ti gwe] to tear oneself away.

915 *kraɲ climbing perch.
916 *kran* frizzy [hair].  
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy kran; ~ (*kpran*) Mon Karen stubbly [hair], Bahnar preŋ [hair] to be curly.  
Variant following?

917 *kraŋ* twisted, tangled.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon kran to be gnarled, twisted, tangled, Khmer kraŋ settled, stuck, Chrau kraŋ hard, stiff, Bahnar kraŋ very tight, very. tangled (Guillaumet 1959-63); ~ Khmer kandraŋ twisted (Guesdon 1930), Khasi kynraiŋ twisting about [as one sits].  
Add preceding as variant?

918 *kraŋ* elder, functionary.  
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kontrian big, (mêt —) chieftain, Sre kɔrn preŋ elder overseeing cultivation practice, Chrau [kor] kandraŋ illustrious person, Biat ndraŋ arbitrator, go-between, Bahnar kadoraŋ (elder acting as) go-between, negotiator.  
Contracted compound of A64 *raŋ* old?

919 *gruŋ* white ant, termite.  
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon krûn, Proto-Nyah Kur *thrûn* (< *druŋ?*) (Diffloth 1984 N37), Khasi kruîn, Sakai groit* (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 110); ~ (*gruŋ*) Kuy nthrûŋ, Kammu-Yuan trûŋ.  

919a *jriŋ; jriŋ* wax.  
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jiriŋ, Chrau jreŋ, Biat jreŋ, Kontum Bahnar jriŋ (Guillaumet 1959-63).  
B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar jreŋ, Bru (ma)ntriaŋ.  
(Shafer 1965 473.)

920 *[d]mraŋ?* body louse.  
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Kuy nthriŋ, Kammu-Yuan təmrriŋ, Palaung konbrîŋ body louse, Lawa Bo Luang mbraun tick, Khasi jynreiŋ, Vietnamese rân body louse; ~ Sakai moñriŋ vermin (rewritten mongring at Skeat & Blagden 1906 L 144; i.e. Semai).  
Connect Riang-Lang sōlæn bed-bug?

921 *priŋ; pruŋ; pruŋ* to contend.  
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer praŋ to strive, make an effort; ~ (*pnriŋ*) Sre nariŋ dispute (Dournes 1950); ~ Bahnar adriŋ, Gölar Bahnar hadriŋ to strive, persevere.  
B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon [weĩ] proŋ /pruŋ/, Modern Mon praŋ (→ Burmese pruĩ) to contend, compete, Khmer proŋ to plan for, try to; → Cham pryĩ, pruai.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau vrwaŋ (~ Biat rwaŋ?) striped, Khasi [thoh]-broiŋ spotted; ~ Biat təbəŋ mottled.

B: (Bahnaric, Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon [klaʔ] pron bran leopard, Bahnaric bren with small black and white spots, Khasi [thoh]-braiŋ spotted.


923 *mran; *mraŋ pox, ulcer.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre luŋ (!; or c?), Biat luŋ [chek], Hre lin; → Cham liŋ, (or c?) Jarai laŋ; ~ Riang-Lang ḱlɪŋ (*k- part-of-body prefix); ~ Stieng jaŋliŋ (or ʔ?), by metathesis Proto-Semai *lpsilŋ (Diffloth 1977).
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat [txt] braŋ pockmarked.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Palaungic) ~ (*cndn > ?) Bahnaric səŋ, həŋ, Jeh iʔnəŋ, Halang həŋ tooth; ~ (*nəŋ > ?) Khmer thməŋ dhməñ, Synteng Khasi ləməin tooth; (?; ~ *lməŋ) Lawa Bo Luang piaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbiaŋ, Danaw pəŋ tooth.

D: (Aslian) ~ Che’ Wong lamŋ, Semai ləŋ, Semelai ləŋ tooth.

924 *liŋ; *liŋ; *laŋ; *luŋ guns.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre luŋ (!; or c?), Biat luŋ [chek], Hre lin; → Cham liŋ, (or c?) Jarai laŋ; ~ Riang-Lang ḱlɪŋ (*k- part-of-body prefix); ~ Stieng jaŋliŋ (or ʔ?), by metathesis Proto-Semai *lpsilŋ (Diffloth 1977).
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat liŋ.
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Palaungic) ~ (*cndn > ?) Bahnaric səŋ, həŋ, Jeh iʔnəŋ, Halang həŋ tooth; ~ (*nəŋ > ?) Khmer thməŋ dhməñ, Synteng Khasi ləməin tooth; (?; ~ *lməŋ) Lawa Bo Luang piaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbiaŋ, Danaw pəŋ tooth.

D: (Aslian) ~ Che’ Wong lamŋ, Semai ləŋ, Semelai ləŋ tooth.

925 *liŋ; (*laŋ > ) *laŋ to sharpen.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) ~ Thin t(ə)leŋ; ~ Khmer səmliaŋ, Kuy smliaŋ, mliŋ.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre, Biat laŋ to trim to a point, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm laŋ to sharpen; ~ Bahnaric [nəŋt] klaŋ kind of sharp-edged grass.

B shows early secondary lengthening following contextual lowering. Connect perhaps (i) Kammu-Yuan calbŋ to sharpen (< *uaŋ?); (ii) 929 *təluŋ &c. pointed.
926 *laːɲ to spread, be propagated.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar laːɲ [stain, fire, flood, epidemic] to spread (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi laːɲ-ːlaːɲ from place to place; ~ (*snlaːɲ >) Mon hɔnan snàn [fire] to spread.
Are Vietnamese lan [fire] to spread & MƯông (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese tràn to overflow, which imply *-n, loanwords?

927 *laːɲ (& *laːŋ?) to be destroyed, dissipated.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon liːŋ /ləŋ/ to be ravaged, destroyed, dissipated, lost, dispelled, Modern Mon ləŋ to be dissolved, dissipated, lost, Khmer liːŋ! to destroy, (variant >?) Praok [laːŋ] lʊŋ to perish; → Thai laːŋ to be destroyed, broken; ~ Old Mon pliːŋ to ravage, destroy, dispel, cure, Modern Mon pləŋ to waste, squander, destroy, Khmer phlaːŋ to ravage; → Thai pəlāːŋ to destroy, pluaŋ (< Kuy pluaŋ) to waste, squander; ~ Biat ríc to stave in; ~ Old Mon rinliːŋ degeneration, Bahnar ranaŋ wanton destruction (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
With Khmer, Biat vocalism cf. 925 *laːŋ > *laːŋ; 1287 *b/r/ləŋ. Cf. further 861a *[r]laəc …to be destroyed; 422 *laːŋ &c. …to fall into dissolution; 718 *laːŋ &c. to destroy.

928 *klaːŋ oil, fat, grease.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon kleːŋ /kliːŋ/ oil, Modern Mon kliŋ oil, fat, Khmer kḥaːŋ fat, grease, Palaung kliŋ, Praok kluŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kliŋ to be fat, Khasi kḥleːŋ fat; to be fatty, oily.
Add MƯông tronŋ (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese tron to be smooth, slippery (then < *klaːŋ)? But connection dubious 702 *priŋ &c.

929 *tʃluŋ; *tʃluŋ; *tʃli[ə]ŋ pointed.
A: (Khasi) shluŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Halang loan sharp point, Jeh lɔm, Khasi shloŋŋ, [nep] tloŋ pointed.
C: (Mon) ~ Old Mon tinliːŋ /təŋliːŋ/ needle, Modern Mon kənoŋ needle, pin.
Cf. Palaung panliʔ, Riang-Lang _panləc needle, perhaps contaminated by B65 *[tʃ]pəc. Connect 925 *liaŋ &c. to sharpen?

†930 *pliŋ; *[p]liŋ; *[p]liŋ sky.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung pləŋ, Riang-Lang _pleŋ.
B: (North Bahnaric, (Central Aslian) Jeh, Halang pliŋ, Temiar balīk.
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer phliŋ, phliŋ rain, to rain, Bahnar pləŋ sky; ~ (*[p]liŋ >) Khasi nəŋŋ, M̄nar phnyanŋ sky (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).
(SHAFER 1965 235; SMITH 1972 79; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 241.)
(?) Kharia [tɔ]-bluŋ sky, above (PINNOW 1959 364; contaminated by 727 *luŋ above? but perhaps rather: Lawa Bo Luang maluŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang maluŋ sky, Bru ma(n)lõŋ).

931 *wiŋ; *wiŋ; *waŋ; *waŋ? to twist, turn, go round.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer vèŋ viñ back (again), Bahnar wiŋ to twist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang ?eiŋ, Lawa Umphai ?eiŋ, Mae Sariang ?eiŋ to come, return.
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar wiŋ to move in a curved path (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok iŋ to go back, return; ~ Chrau raweŋ to turn round, circle round.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer vèŋ veñ to twist into a rope, Muông vành to turn [pot to get even heat] (THOMPSON 1967), Vietnamese vàn to turn [pot to get even heat], to pivot, to roll along.
D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy vàŋ = Khmer veñ, Biat waŋ to twist, Bahnar weŋ (or c?) to wring, to pull out with a twist, Khasi [dor] waiŋ [to bend] easily, Vietnamese vàn to wring., turn, twist, screw; ~ Bahnar tuën to twist (or c?), Khasi tawaiŋ to go round and round.
Cf. Nancowry ūŋ twisted, ūŋŋ to be twisted; 765 *wiŋ &c. to go round, turn; 1208 *win &c. …to wind, bend.

932 *wiŋ; *waŋ moustache.
A: (Khmui, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _viŋ; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Thin trömwiŋ (& Kammu-Yuan [khú:l] tormùŋ; contaminated by 911 *muuŋ[ ] mouth?).
B: (Khasi) Khasi (‘maiŋ,) ~ tmaiŋ.

933 *wiŋ; *wac to play.
A: (Mon) Old Mon wiŋ /wəŋ/, Modern Mon wöŋ, Proto-Nyah Kur *wiŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V76).
B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kaveʔ.

934 *kwaŋ[ ]; *kwaŋ? gibbon.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bru kuan, Sre kuan gibbon, black Semnopithecus monkey, Chrau, Biat kwaŋ, Jeh kawen, Halang kawen gibbon, Bahnar [dɔk] kuen small kind of gibbon; → Cham kon, Jarai [kraː] kuan, Röglai kuan, North Röglai kuat gibbon.
B: (Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese vuımı̃ gibbon.

935 *krwaŋ kind of spice-yielding tree.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kwan cinnamon, Khmer krɔwaŋ Amomum cardamomum.
935a *[hw]iijn soul.
A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng uǐn, Biat hueń soul, Sre huiń shadow, reflection, Chrau weįn soul, soul, Central Nicobarese hāi soul, pulse.
Earlier perhaps *huuy-ŋ [ ], connected 1543 *ghuuy &c.

936 *[ ]saap to radiate heat.
A: (Mon, Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Khasi tyngshaiń to shine, glare, reflect; ~ Mon kasan sensation of heat; ~ Mon pasan heat (basān, but perhaps < *tsa quaint), (~?) Sakai pāsang hot (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 146).
Or *t,saap, separating Sakai with Santali, below?
(i) Mundari tarsaŋ to bask in the sun, to warm oneself by the fire; (ii) Santali basaŋ warm, hot, to boil, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252).

937 *[b]sanj snake.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Palaung hiń, Riang-Lang ḥañ, Khasi bseiń, 'seĩń, (by metathesis [*j]saap >) Praok siʔuń, Lawa Bo Luang saʔauŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔoij; → Khmer msan year of the snake, → Thai msēŋ; ~ (*[b]rsanj >) Vietnamese [con] rān snake; (by secondary derivation, or contraction of compound?) ~ Kuy (k)san snake.
(SHAFAER 1965 375.)

938 *[b]sonj to bend knees.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre chon squatting (~ Röglai), Palaung [məʔ cəŋ] cun to kneel on one knee (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer crahaoŋ to squat.
Cf. 1149 *t,ju(u)n.

(*jhuun see 887 *jʔuun to smell, sniff; *thuun see 788 *[t]huuŋ red.)

939 *[ʔ]i; *[ʔi]; *[ʔi]t; *[ʔuat small in quantity.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre it a little, Kammu-Yuan et few, (a) little.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm [koe] ʔiit small (BLOOD 1976), Vietnamese it a little.
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Umphai ʔet ʔet few, Mường ét a little (BARKER 1966 17).
D: (Khmuic) Thin ʔukצ few.
Connect perhaps (i) A68 *ʔi[t ] &c. little finger; (ii) 1016 *kdiit &c. small.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *[ʔ]iSad [ ]iSād: Acehnese et short length or distance, Toba Batak si-etet, si-b-etet little girl, Cebuano Bisayan ihud-ihud [children] to differ in height by small intervals (& ihid runt) (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *[ʔ]isiSād: Acehnese n-it small, a little, Jarai with secondary vocalism a-n-êt, Iban m-it small, Cebuano Bisayan m-ihat, n-ihat scarce (ly) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).
940 *ʔit brick.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer ʔɔt, Khasi it; ~ Late Old Mon la'at /ʔɔt/, Modern Mon ɗat; → Burmese 'ut, → Shan ūt, → Palaung ut.

941 *[ʔ]iit; *[ʔ]iət coucal.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [ iar] ʔiit coucal, Centrococcyx rulipennis.
   B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ʔet [ iərk], djet [ djərk] lesser coucal (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   Or *y-?

   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Biat iat to listen to, Chrau ʔet to listen, hear.
   B: (Katuic, Palaungic; ~ *[ʔ]ət >) Kuy ŋat to listen to, Bru saŋat to listen, Praok ŋet to listen (to), obey.
   C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔat to hear, listen (< *[ʔ]uət?); ~ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔŋat to hear, listen.
   Vocalism obscure.
   (Blood 1966 112.)

943 *[ʔ]ət; *[ʔət; *[ʔ]it used up, finished, lacking.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Old Mon 'ut /ʔət/ all, Modern Mon ət also to be exhausted, have exhausted (or variant), Proto-Nyah Kur *ʔət (Diffloth 1984 V124), Khmer ʔat to be without, Kuy ʔat to lack, to restrain, to hold [breath], Sre ət restrain, to hold [breath], suppress [cough &c.], Chrau ət lacking, to hold [breath], Biat ət to abstain from, Bahnar ət [wind] to stop, to hold [breath].
   B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔat to cease.
   C: (Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔɔt = ʔət, Mường (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese hét to end, be finished, cease, to finish; ~ Khasi jing-it, jynit fast, abstinence from food.
   Connect Central Nicobarese leet finished, to cease?
   (Smith 1972 209)
   Sora (i) ra'jad- to be exhausted, used up; (ii) a'ni(:d)- to be exhausted, over, finished.

944 *ʔ[ɔɔ]t to saw.
   A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng ɔt to make fire by friction, Biat ɔt [ dra:] to fiddle, Bunôr ʔɔt, Sre, Jeh ɔt to saw (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Bahnar ɔt to saw, scrape, plane, file, fiddle, make fire by friction, Khasi ɔt (perhaps merging variant of 972 *gguut ...to cut) to cut, pare, reap, saw, fiddle; ~ (*rn[ɔɔ]t >) Sre randoɔt, Jeh ranɔt saw (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
   (Blood 1966 65.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

945 *?uut; *?uut cloud.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Biat nʔot cloudy; ~ (*[ ]mʔut >) Lawa Bo Luang ?bot to cloud over.
B: (Palaungic, ?Khuic, ?Katuic) Palaung ut cloud, to be cloudy, to cloud; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan πuít cloud, fog; (?) ~ Bru ?uut to smoke v.t.

946 *ʔuut to wipe.

947 *kʔaat (kind of) mosquito.
A: (Kham, Khuic) Khmer kʔaat kind of fly with painful bite, mosquito (maringouin); ~ (*kpʔaat >) Kammu-Yuan paʔaat mosquito.
Or construct *k*ʔaat?

948 *ʔiit; *ʔiit sticky.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Kham) Khmer sʔat, chʔat (probably, rather than B), Kuy sʔat; ~ (*cnʔit >) Sre dît viscous, sticky, Chrau soʔut sticky.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng [teh] et: clay; ~ (*cnʔiit >) Bahnar həʔniit-[haʔnə:t] to feel sticky; ~ (*cmʔiit >) Biat m2eit glutinous rice.
Connect 1040 *cbiit &c. But connection obscure Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai tit to stick, adhere, to attach.

949 *ʔiit; *ʔiət; *chiit; *chait to confine, restrict.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat et: to confine, pack close together, Khasi shiit to pinch; ~ (*cnʔiit >) Kuy nʔiit narrow, confined, Bahnar jaŋiit packed close together (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi syngid, syngit tight, choking; col, valley between ridges.
B: (Mon, Kham, North Bahnaric) ~ (*cnʔiət >) Mon haet to be parsimonious, Khmer conʔiət narrow, confined, cramped, Nancowry niat tight, to bind completely (& náit to fill in, to cram into); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar paniət to crowd together (v.i.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng eiət to crowd [someone], Chrau cheit to pinch.
D: (Katuic) ~ Kuy heit parsimonious.

For Kuy h- cf. hǔn ad 887 *huŋ. Connect Bahnar tanıet &c. to stop up, force in, stuff in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), contaminated by mięt (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) < 1039 *[c]/n/ɓiət, which compare (the converse in West Bahnar panięt, East Bahnar pamaęt = panięt); perhaps West Bahnar hnięt to press against, jostle, compress, encroach; & A82 *[c]wiət narrow, confined. Cf. also 977 *c[n]ŋiət to crush.
950 *cʔaat pleasant to look at.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer sʔat clean, nice-looking, beautiful, Riang-Lang ʔat beautiful, pretty, (~?) Lawa saʔat clean.
   Clean by attraction 7 *cʔaʔ &c.?

951 *cʔ[ə]t; *cʔən sated, cloyed.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer chʔaet! sated; ~ comʔat satiety, (~?) comʔaet to satisfy; ~ (*crʔat >) Mon hənt caʔuit to be nauseated.
   B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer chʔən nauseated; ~ Mon hənn jaʔuin to be nauseated through satiety, Bahnar dialects səən, haʔən to be sated (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   Khmer comʔaet < *comʔat with secondary palatalization, chʔaet by levelling; comʔat by levelling on original *chʔat? Cf. further Khmer kʔuat, Kuy (k)ʔut to vomit, Bru kaʔut to feel nauseated; Khmer phʔot phʔəm (to smell) musty (Guesdon 1930); Biat mʔəʔ disgusted; Khmer chʔəl to gasp for breath; (Guesdon 1930) nausea, to overeat (contaminated by 1695 *ʔəl[ ]); Khasi kynshin (< *-[n, l]) to dislike eatable things; & 1301a *cʔəm nauseated.

952 *lʔit pulverized.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon dət, Khmer lʔət (with initial levelled on causative lümʔət); → Thai laʔiat, Lao laʔ ət* (→ Kammu-Yuan lʔiət); (?) ~ Khasi lhwit very finely broken or pounded, lhwet broken, powdered.
   Cf. Khmer lʔaoc, Kuy lʔəc.
   Sora by metathesis lati- to be reduced to powder.

953 *lʔiit; *líhət smooth, slippery.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer lʔət smooth-mannered, Kuy lʔet smooth.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng láhət slippery.
   Biat lut well-worn, Kammu-Yuan ləmət smooth may belong here rather than with 1076 *lət &c., which compare.

954 *lʔuət; *lʔət; *lʔəət wet, cold.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer lʔuət moist, wet; ~ (*lʔuət >) Sre noat to be, feel, cold.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng laʔət (→ Biat lʔət?) dəmət, wet, Chrau ləʔət cool, shady; ~ (*lʔət >) Biat nəʔət damp, wet.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau ləhət cool, breezy, Praok lut to be wet.
   Cf. 277b *lʔu(u)k wet, soaked; 795 *kʔaac wet. Cold perhaps contaminated by Mainland Austronesian *lʔaʔən (Cham lian, North Röglai laʔət); Jarai raʔət is perhaps ← South Bahnaric.
   Santali ləhəd damp, wet, &c. (Pinnow 1959 K 531; Proto-Munda *ləwəʔd).
955 *sʔuut rotten, inedible.
A: (Mon, Aslian) Mon ut s’ut to be, go, stale, Che’ Wong haʔuut, Jah Hut siʔin, Semelai soʔit, Mah Meri suʔuut rotten (Cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 292 (b)).

956 *kit; *kiit; *kət; *kət; *kuət frog.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Kontum Bahnar kit.
B: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar kit.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kət (Blood 1966 kət), Biat kət.
D: (Bahnaric) Biat kət [nдраt] toad, Bahnar kəút frog.
E: (Katuic) Kuy (ʔaː)kət, Bru ʔakət.
(Shafer 1965 508; Blood 1966 140; Smith 1972 205.)

*957 *kiit; *kiai; *kət to bite, to itch.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon kiit to bite, Prak kit (contaminated by following, which compare) to cut, sever, Mnar hit’ to bite.
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy kiit to nibble, Sre kiai, Chrau kiit to itch, Biat ciət to sting, smart; → Cham, Jarai keʔ, North Röglai keʔ to bite (or < Proto-Austronesian, below?); ~ Khasi dkhiat itch, scabies.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kat, kət (Blood 1966), Bunőr kat to bite.
Cf. further 964 *giit &c.; 1125 *kiən to gnaw; 972 *sguut &c. to (be) cut; 981 *ciət &c. to cut up. (Blood 1966 104, 356.)
Sora id- to scratch, to write.

958 *kat; *kaat to cut.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer, Kuy kat to cut, Biat kat to saw, Bahnar kat to to cut, Khasi khet to to cut down.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kət to to cut, Bru kakət to slide finely.
Mon kat to to cut off, ↔ Thai kʊt, → Kuy kut; if → Thai, contaminated by 972 *sguut? Cf. besides preceding. 800 *kać to pluck, break off, to cut (< *kat-s?); 1969 *kəh to to cut (down).
(Schmidt 1905 22.)

958a *kət to stop.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer kət to stop (v.t.), Palaung kət [un] to hold back, restrain, to refrain (Milne 1931); ~ Middle Mon kanat, Modern Mon kənat end; ~ Literary Mon kamnat end, Khmer komnət limit.

(*[ ]kut see 315 *[ʔ]tuuk to scoop up… )
**958b** *kuut; *kuat; *kat to scrape, scratch, comb.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Khmer *kot* to scrape, scratch, Bahnar *kōt* to scrape clean (Guilleminet 1959-63), Central Nicobarese *kōta-[kōi]* to comb; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kānūt* scraper.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [et]-*kōat* to comb, (~ *hāta* to scrape (off), Nancowry *ʔitkāut* ad *kūat* to smooth with hand &c.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat *kōt* to comb.

Proto-Austronesian *kūt*: Malay *kokot* clawing, to claw, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 221, *ku(Ct)ku(Ct)*; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See Benedict 1975 371-2.

**959** *[c]kuut; *[c]kuat; *[c]kat; *[c]kāt to tie, knot.

A: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Central Sakai chēkot to knot; ~ Vietnamese *gūt* to knot; by secondary derivation Vietnamese *nūt* knot.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer *kuāc! to knot*, Sre *koat*, East Bahnar *kōat* to tie, knot (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Biat *ŋkwat* knot; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *kōmnuāc* knot, Kuy *k(a)luc*, *luc* to tie [knot].

C: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre *kōt* to tie together, Biat *kōt* to knot, Bahnar *kēt* to tether out to graze, (Guilleminet 1959-63, Röngao) to knot, Jah Hut *jāk* to tie.

D: (Mon) ~ Mon *hakot* *dakat* to knot.


(Schmidt 1905 10; Shafer 1965 56, 527; Smith 1972 210; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 214.)

Sora (i) *ji'kud-* to knot; (ii) *jōni(¬)kār'-an* knot (ji- &c. perhaps = *ji- to bind*).

Proto-Austronesian *ikāt*: Malay *ikat* to tie, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 68). See Benedict 1975 323.

**960** *[t]kiit; *[t]kiat to have dysentery.

A: (Mon) Mon *nē[a] kit*; ~ hakit *thākit* &c. dysentery.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *kiēt [ly]* dysentery.

Connect following, & so 1007 *kțiiit* posterior…?

**961** *tkiāt* anus.


Originally by metathesis 1007 *kțiiit*? Connect perhaps preceding.

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 A 118.)
962 *tkat; *tkiat; *tkuat (& *tkut?) cold.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat kat cold, Kammu-Yuan kät cold [weather], Palaung kat [weather] to be cold, Proto-Semai *dkat cold (Difffloth 1977); → Shan kät, → Palaung kat, Riang-Lang "kat cold; ~ Mon hakot cold [season], Chrau takat cold, Röngao takatague, fever (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Sakai teket cold (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 205 (c)); ~ (*trkiət) Praok sikiat cold [water], by metathesis Khasi khriat cold.
C: (Palaungic) Praok kuat, (*tkut?') Lawa Bo Luang koat, Lawa Umphai chiat, Mae Sariang kot [weather] to be cold.
Cf. Kuy cktː cold; Chrau dəgət chill, shivering; & 976 *cŋiit &c. (Shaf er 1965 340, 354; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 205 (c-e).)

(*dkiat see 1010 *gtit ...parakeet.)

963 *d, rkuat varan.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon dirkot /darkot/, Modern Mon hakot varan, Khmer trakuat Varanus nebulosus, Kuy tkuat, Stieng raköt varan, Chrau raköt black varan, Bahnar takôt (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan tarköt varan; → Thai cakùat.

(*rkiat see 1064 *krit to creak.)

1964 *giit; *giat to bite, to itch, scratch.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _kit to scratch; ~ Mon hakot bed-bug.
B: (Palaungic) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang kiat, Lawa Umphai chiat to bite.
Connect 957 *kiit &c.
Sora (i) gɗ-, (gɗ-)ged- to scratch; (ii, cf. Indonesian) guɗ-, god- to scratch.

965 *gat; *gut to kill.
A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer kuat, Thin gút (also to cut down, < 972 *[s]gat, which perhaps connect).
B: (Khmer) Khmer kút.

966 *gut to go round.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gut around, Bahnar gut to curve, bend.
(Shaf er 1965 113.)
967 *[ ]gut; *[ ]guat; *[ ]gat to tie, knot.
A: (Viet-M'ong) Vietnamese cút to tie.
B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar guat to knot (GUilleMINet 1959-63); ~ Bahnar taguat to knot.
C: (Mon) Mon kót gat to knot; ~ → Cham pagat to tighten.
Khmer kūac to knot perhaps = kuac < 959 *[c]kuat, which connect; West Bahnar (h)əŋəc to tie up [hair] (GUilleMINet 1959-63) also may belong there.
(SHAFER 1965 527.)

968 *guat; *gu(o)at to enter.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kút, Riang-Lang _kut.
B: (Khasi) Khasi kot to reach.
Cf. 1046 *mut &c. Add as derivation *pguut = B71 *[ ]guat to force in?

969 *tigut; *tig guut quail.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon tig &c. /tɡot/; ~ (*tigut >) Mon hakát, Sre rəgut (~ Röglai); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau vəgut.
Cf. Lawa Bo Luang kút; Mon həcem əkʰat; Khmer ʔuuṭ lark, quail. Onomatopoeic?

970 *rng(ə)t to search, quarter.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon lagat /ləŋat/, Modern Mon təŋt to study, Khmer rūəŋkət, TANDART 1935 also rūəŋkút to explore, go to and fro, traverse.

971 *s[g]at to press down on, press out juice.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) (Khmer **skaɔt →?) Sieng skaɔt to press down (on); ~ Thai sakɔt to restrain, repress; ~ (*s[g]at >) Mon kəhət to crush juice out of, chew to extract nourishment, Khmer səkɔt to press down on, suppress, oppress.

Thai is evidence for Khmer **skaɔt; head register in derivation then by levelling.


972 *sguut; *[s]gat to be cut short, to cut.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-M'ong) Old Mon sgût /sgut/ to be interrupted, cut short, Khasi kut to come to an end (& dkut to snap, break), Vietnamese cút to be too short, to be crippled; ~ Old Mon sirgut interruption, Middle Mon sagut [crawát] ruling, decision.
B: (Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan kút to cut vertically with knife, Kensiu gat, Temiar gɔd to cut; ~ Besisi tegət to break (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 112).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer skat to interrupt, to take a short cut. → Biat kat to decide judicially, to take a short cut), Biat [ntok] gat cut; → Cham saket; Thai sakat to obstruct, interrupt.

Connect 965 *gat &c. to kill? C perhaps contaminated by 958 *kat, which compare; as Khasi ot to cut..., under the entry 944 *ʔɔɔt. Khasi dkut, Besig suggest variants in *dg-.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)
Sora gad-, Santali ge’d to cut, &c. (PINNOW 1959 334).

Proto-Austronesian *pu(N)gut: Javanese pugut, punggut cut off, Cebuano Bisayan punggut to behead (so Proto-Hesperonesian; → Proto-Semai *bgut to snap (v.i.), DIFFLOTH 1977?).

973 *ŋat to be extinguished.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau ŋat to extinguish, Riang-Lang _ŋat to be extinguished, to extinguish; ~ Chrau ŋat, Riang-Lang _takŋat to extinguish.

Cf. 1053 *yə(o)ːt; 1077 *lat &c. Connect following?

974 *ŋut; *ŋuut; *ŋuət; *ŋit dark.

A: (Khasi) Khasi ngut; ~ jngut murky, turbid.
B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semnam ᵅŋɔːd night; ~ Semai ᵅŋɔːt night.
C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy [twɛŋ] ŋɔːt pitch-[black].
D: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer ŋut dark (TANDART 1935), Khasi ngit black, dark; ~ Khmer ŋəŋut dark, dim.

Connect preceding? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (b.).
Santali ŋu’d darkness, dark; Sora ’lʊŋud-, ’lʊŋad- dark (PINNOW 1959 390).

975 *ŋut; *ŋuət to be hungry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Stieng pəŋot to go hungry, be starving, Vietnamese ngót to crave for.
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat [ji:] ŋot to be hungry; hunger, Riang-Lang _ŋuat to starve, to be hungry; ~ Chrau pəŋot to be hungry, Bahnar pəŋot to be starving, Jeh paʔŋot, Halang maʔŋoat hunger.

Connection uncertain Sakai got (i.e. Jah Hut), pōgōt hungry (Semaq Beri), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 173; with them cf. (*guat >?) Lawa Bo Luang kuat, Lawa Umphai khuat, Mae Sariang ŋuət to want, wish; Mon [tək] kət to be poor is probably ← Sanskrit gąta- deprived of. (BLOOD 1966 64; SMITH 1972 235.)

976 *cŋiit; *cŋiət; *cŋait cold.

A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre ŋit cooled, cold, Sakai səŋit cold (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (a)); ~ Biat [nʔiʃk] rŋet cool.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar təŋiət to feel cold.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy *ŋεt: cool, cold, Bahnar ŋæc to cool (v.i.), have a cold fit; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyngngad cool, refreshing.

Cf. 962 *tkat &c.

(SMITH 1972 229.)

977 *c[n]ŋiat to crush.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon taŋet to crush in mill &c. (beside taŋèt to squeeze, crush), Sre ʂaŋiat to crush, compress (→ Röglai).

Cf. 949 *cʔiit &c. to confine...; 971 *s[g]lOt to press out juice... .

(*tŋut see 1135 *tŋun nape of neck.)

978 *lŋuut; *lŋuuet sweet, mild-flavoured.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre lŋout, Chrau lŋoıt, Biat ŋoit sweet, mild-flavoured, Bahnar [ŋām]
ŋūt very sweet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng lŋuuat (or A, with post-nasal vocalism?), Vietnamese ŋgOt sweet, mild-flavoured.

978a *sŋiit to burn (v.i.)

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau nít to burn (v.i.), Sre hit burning brightly (→ Biat hit alight).

Cf. Mon heak sńek &c. to be burnt, scorched.


Indonesian not obviously → Mon-Khmer.

979 *ŋuat (?) *ŋuuet; *ŋuat deserted, quiet.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre ŋut to be afraid (?) .

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer [mük] sŋuət (!) sad, Sakai singoi t afraid (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49; ?); ~ Khmer srəŋoıt wistful, sad, Chrau sŋoıt desoret, Biat rŋoıt silence; secret, lonely [place], (— rŋat) silent, desoret, Bahnar rŋoıt to miss [person]; ~ Central Sakai [gói] təŋguit to keep motionless.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon het sńit to be quiet, (→ a) to faint, Khmer sŋat (early → Thai sñaìt) solitary, deserted, silent, still, Kuy sŋat, ʂhat quiet, silent, Sre [ŋit] ʂat silent, Vietnamese ʂãt to faint; ~ Khmer srəŋat solitary, silent, (srəŋoıt —) moved to sadness, Biat [rŋoıt] rŋat lonely, deserted, (gu? —) to be silent, Praok [yên] sŋet to be absolutely quiet.

Back vocalism perhaps secondary, cf. Sora, below. Separate *ʂnu(ə)t afraid?

(SCHMIDT 1905 44.)

Sora ʂad-ʂad-[dam &c.] silently.
980 *sŋuat; *ŋat (& *ŋat?) to dry up.
A: (Khmer, ?Khasi) Khmer sŋuat dried up; ~ Khmer raiŋuat withered (GUESDON 1930),
(by labial absorption, or < *-at?) Khasi rŋat to dry up.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon sniit [jra] to be withered, Riang-Lang ~ŋat to dry up.
Cf. 1101 *suat; 1095 *swiit &c. to wither.

981 *cit; *ciit (& *ciit ciit > *tciit?); *ciat (& *tciat?) to cut up.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung set to cut, carve (up).
B: (Katuic, ?Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cyt to slice (probably, rather than A), Kuy
ceit to slice, chop pieces off [edibles], (~, or *tc- >) Chrau ciit to cut (up).
C: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng siët to cut [meat] into small pieces, Sre siat
to cut, sever, Biat chaiat to cut up, West Bahnar cêt to chop [edibles &c.] obliquely
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < tc-? Jölong also sët), Riang-Lang ~set to cut, gash,
Central Nicobarese [et]-jiat-[hæŋa] to carve wood.
Cf. Vietnamese chat to cut. POU & JENNER 1973 140 derive Khmer ← Hokkien ciat 切
to slice, mince; rather Hokkien ← Mon-Khmer? Connect perhaps 957 *kiit &c. to
bite... (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)
Sora ud-, ed- to cut (off).

982 *cat; *cuat; (*cuut cuut >) *tcuut; *cat to stab, pierce, stick in.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon cat to prick, sting, to stick
in, plant upright, Proto-Nyah Kur *cecc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V97; by assimilation?), Kuy
cat to poke, stab, to thread, Bahnar sat to pierce, to dibble, to make nets, Palaung sat
to insert, to tattoo, by metathesis Riang-Lang ~tas to pierce, stab, tattoo; ~ (*cat cat
> *tecat >?) Mon chat khyat, chat to put in, insert, Biat cat packed tight, Bahnar
cat to stick claws in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or d) Nancowry siât; ?isîat to insert;
~ Khasi kynsat, tynsat = Mon chat.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Halang coat to puncture, Jeh coat to pierce,
Praok suat to prick, pierce, Central Nicobarese jøat-[hæŋa] to pin, fasten.
C: (Khmuiic) Kammu-Yuan cuît to touch, poke, prod.
D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy pcat to stick into; ~ (*cmpat >) Biat mpol spit.
Back vocalism probably secondary in view of Sora, below; contaminated by 986
*cuut &c. ...to affix, which compare? Note also Palaung sit to stab with, pierce
with; Sedang ?nie to wound, Kammu-Yuan niat to stick, prick, pierce (& Bahnar
hiet to cut oneself, &c.: SMITH 1972 230).
Sora sad- to sting.

983 *cat to gather up.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang ~sat, Praok sut to pick (up), collect (up),
Lawa Bo Luang sawk, Lawa Umaiphai, Mae Sariang sat to pick up in fingers, Sakai
chöd to pick up (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 68).
Cf. Khasi sot to pick up, to catch in fingers; Bel&as chêchê to gather, SKEAT & BLAGDEN
1906 G 10.
984 *caat to comb.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai sat, Khasi sad.

985 *cat to return.
A: (Bahnaric, South Asian) Stieng set, Chrau sìʔ, Biat chet, Alakong Bahnar suut (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Besisi yut (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 84). Fronting environmental; Chrau implies palatalization of final. Mon chut to go back (wards), compared at SCHMIDT 1905 24, is < 1109 *jhuut.
(BLOOD 1966 146.)

986 *cuut; (*cut cut >) *tcut; *cat to put away from one, to pour, to affix.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon cut /cut/ to put away from one, to put in, to pour out, Middle Mon also to affix, Modern Mon cut to put in..., Khasi suit (!) to pour, to gild (with *-c by assimilation?); ~ (*cuut cuut > *tcuut >; with vocalism as in 527 *cuung) Bahnar cat to fix on, fasten in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat cot to affix, Bunör cut, Central Rölöm cut to insert, fill a hole (contaminated by 982 *cat ...to stick in).
C: (Khmer, Viet-MCHEDULE) Vietnamese chết to drain off; ~ (*[b]cat >) Khmer chɔt to drain off; ~ Mường cháht (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese giát to fix.
C by attraction 982 *cat?
(BLOOD 1966 155.)

986a *.cat to emerge, grow.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre cat to come out, sprout, grow, to well up, Biat cat [kaː] to flower, Bahnar cat to put out leaves, take root, flower.

987 *ke[ə]t to die.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-M salope) Old Mon kcit /kcoʊt/, Modern Mon chut to die, Kuy sat extreme, last, to end, Stieng cat, Sre chat, Chrau cut, Jeh kaciat to die (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), West Bahnar kacit to die miserably (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khmu' sut to be finished, Palaung cut (ghost) to leave the world (MILNE 1931), Muông chút (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese chét to die; → Lao céet; ~ (*kbc[a]t >) Old Mon kucit, Modern Mon hɔcənt, Kuy (k)cet, Sre (ga)sat, Vietnamese giết to kill.
Add perhaps Bunör khit, Central Rölöm khut, Biat khat to die, Bru kucept, with k- originally by hypercorrection; & note Khasi jot to perish. Front vocalism in North Bahnaric &c. probably environmental; but Palaung -usat obscure. Kuy sat, Khmu' by attraction 943 *ʔat? Connect perhaps 1053 *ya(a)t to be extinguished.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 139.)
Sora ka'jed- to die ~ 'ka'jed-, 'ka'bjad- to kill, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 324f).
988 *kcuət; *kcət (& *kcəʔ?); by regressive assimilation *ktuət; *kt[ə]t to jump, to run.
A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Bunör ncuət to run, Biat ncuət to run.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Khasi sied to leap (on) (originally compounding form?; with secondary lengthening, or < *kcəət), Pangan [ya]-kəsət to run (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 198), Central Nicobarese cat to jump, leap (?) & cat-həŋə to skip), Nancowry cáʔ; ~ Khmer kəŋchat (!) to assume fighting posture with a leap, Chrau nchat cáʔ, Biat nchat to jump.
C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ntoat to run, Central Rölöm tuət to run, jump.
D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng ntət to jump, to jump in, cause to splash up.
Cf. Lao (ká) dōot to jump (~ Kammu-Yuan [k]ədōt, Bru dōt to jump on to); Riang-Lang təkət to jump.
(SCHMIDT 1905 12.)
(*tcut see 986 *cuut ...to affix; *tcuut see 982 *cat to pierce, stick in; *dciit see 1144 *dcıin[ʔ] nine.)

989 *pcoət bitter, astringent.
Khmu’ cat sour, Thin glaŋ cat alum are apparently ← Tai (← Mon-Khmer?); for Vietnamese chuə-chát sour, acid see 1074 *sraat. Connect by assimilation Khasi btet astringent? Cf. 294 *[ʔ]ciik &c. astringent; 1895 *pcaas sour.
(SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

1990 *jat to run dry.
A: (Mon) Mon cət jat.
Sora jaj’jad- [rain] to cease; to wipe dry.

991 *jat to follow.
A: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau jat, Besisi (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 211) jet.
Cf. Thin yət.

1992 *jaat cobra.
(Mon) Mon [sùm] cat.
Sora jəad-on, compounding form jəad-ən snake.
PINNOW 1959 K 187 compares Santali jam(b)əro rat- snake, &c.
993 *jat ten.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Chrau jat tens, -ty, Sre jat, Biat jet, Bahnar jit, Jeh jät, Halang jat ten, Bru mančit; ~ Stieng (BLOOD 1966) jmät, Chrau mat ten; ~ Kuy jćat (!).
(SHAFER 1965 350; BLOOD 1966 118; SMITH 1972 208.)

A: (Mon) Old Mon -jit /jot/, Modern Mon cät; ~ (*[g]rjut > ) hćôt gajuit to wipe esp. on a mat.
B: (Kham, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?North Aslian) Khmer cùut, Kuy chǔt, Bru cùat, Stieng jut, juc, Sre, Chrau, Biat jut, (or A) Kensing jad to wipe, Nacowry cùac to massage; ~ Khasi kyrjuid to rub, abrade.
Stieng, Khasi, Nacowry final /c/ by assimilation
(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAFER 1965 494; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 105, R 194.)
Sora jo'd to smear, Kharía jodd to wipe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 189; Proto-Munda *jɔ[t]).

995 *jut; *jüut kind of bamboo.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat jut; ~ Sre njut Arundinaria falcata (→ Röglai)
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar jut kind of bamboo (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

996 *ju[t]; *juə[t] to fall, drip.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok cot to fall (in a shower), Central Nicobarese cu[j], cuif drizzle, shower, cuif-[la] to splash.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Palaung juət to drip, to dangle, Bru ynt (suggests *f; ~ (*[j]rua[t] > ) Palaung rajuət falling of raindrops or tears (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese giọt drop.
Connect Sre nhat drop. Nicobaric *-c by assimilation; or Praok (& Sre) *-t by dissimilation?

997 *p[uə]t wrinkled, shrivelled.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric, Central Aslian) Chrau pəট wrinkled, paralysed, Nacowry nùat to shrivel; ~ Bru rəpət; ~ Central Sakai pənyo*ŋt wrinkled; ~ (*s.p[uə]t > ) Mon həpət to be deeply wrinkled, furrowed, flabby.
Less probably *dọट, since Mon post-nasal raising is undemonstrated following p;
unless Mon contaminated by həpət ad 896 *gəuən, hətət < 1155 *[t]ntuət.

998 *t,iit to go out, away, to project.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon tit /tit/, Modern Mon tet to go out, issue, depart, Riang-Lang 'tit to be final; ~ Riang-Lang 'kantit to go away; ~ Bahnar potiit bump on head, ridged scar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 1007 *kt,iit posterior, to break wind.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

†999 *t,at to be severed, broken, to sever &c.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon tət to cut across, sever, to cross (in part perhaps < 812 *t,ac, which connect), Palaung tət, Riang-Lang tət to be torn, broken, cut off, to break; → Thai tət to cut, → Khmer tət; Shan tət, → Riang-Lang tət, Praok tət; ~ Praok dut to be cut off, to cut off, Central Sakai kuntut maimed, truncated; ~ Khasi bthət to broken with the hands, to snap, [dkut] btat [to broken] with a snap.
   Connect (*btət >?) Kuy thət to brake, snap, to be torn; perhaps 1003 *[ ]tət &c. blocked, to block.
   Sora tad- to snap, break (v.i.t.).
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 262. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *tət'tat': Javanese tatas cut right through, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian); *kətət': Iban, Tiruray ketas to cut (BLUST 1973 no. 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); *tət'tat': Malay tētas slit open..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1000 *t,aat hot, to warm.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung tət to be hot, Riang-Lang tət to warm oneself at, Khasi thəd to dry in sun, to bask in sun.

†1001 *t,at mouth.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Aslian) ~ Jehai tənəd, Semnam tanid, Semaq Beri kənut; ~ (*t,mat >) Khmer mət (contaminated by 1045 *mat eye?), Palaung dialects mušt, mot (MILNE 1931).
   *t, in view of Munda, below.
   (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 203.)
   Sora 'təud-on, 'təud-ən, &c., ~ Kharia to'məd, &c. (PINNOW 1959 393).

†1002 *t,ət; *t,əət to pull out.
A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung tut to pull (out), Riang-Lang tət [pələ] to pull [out] (B), (A) Lawa Bo Luang təuk (→ Lawa Umphai toic?) to pull.
   Sora tad- to pull out (RAMAMURTI 1938).

1003 *[ ]tət; *[ ]tat blocked, to block.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar tət to block (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & dat, East Bahnar, by back-
formation?); ~ Sre bətət to dam, Bahnar pətət, padət to obstruct, prevent
   (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat nətət dam.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre tat blocked up, compact, Chrau tat solid, dense.
Bahnar variants obscure; perhaps *bt-. Cf. Khmer tan compact, solid, dense, ↔ Thai 
tan blocked up. Connect 999 *t,at to be severed, to sever...?
1004 *tₜut; *tₜuut (?) ; (*tₜuut-s >) *tₜuc; *tₜuuc to light.
A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer dot to set light to, burn, grill, Sakai tot to burn (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 467).
B: (Palaungic; ~ *tₜmuut >?) Lawa Bo Luang ?mauk, Lawa Umphai ?maut, Mae Sariang ?maut smoke.
C: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Sre tuc to revive [dying fire], Khasi [pluh] thuit to catch fire, Muong ōch (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese dót to light fire, by metathesis Bahnar cut to revive [dying fire] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
D: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Riang-Lang *tuc-[n]aJ to light, set fire to, burn; & originally as sandhi-form Thin tujn to light, set fire to, burn?
Cf. 549 *tₜuuŋ.
Sora tud- to burn (v.i); (~an; compounding form) fire.

1005 *tut; *tuut; *tuat to thread, skewer, insert.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer tmbot small skewer; ~ (by back-formation, or by metathesis < *tput causative) tbot to skewer.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon tut /tut/ (PAHTOTHAMYA FRESCOS), Modern Mon tøt to weave, Khmer daot to thread together, skewer, to plant, stick in (→ Cham dut), Kuy tøt to insert, stick in, Sre tout to stick. in [e.g. drinking-tube in jar], plant upright (in hole), Bahnar tøt to thread (together), pierce, insert (in hole &c.; tube in jar); ~ Mon kanot (&/or C; merging 822 *c/r/nuac spit), Khmer tranotaot skewer, string.
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng tuat to thread [needle], skewer [meat].
For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *duuk.

1006 *tₜuut to toot.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon tüt! to whistle, hoot, Praok tuut horn.
Onomatopoeic?

1007 *kt,iit posterior, to break wind.
Note Central Nicobarese det, dit anus (< *d-); (~?) Bahnar kanot base of spine (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Khmer comtv at to stick one's bottom in the air. Hence by metathesis 961 *kti at anus? Connect perhaps 998 *t,iit to go out…
Proto-Austronesian (i) *(k-)qa(N)tₜuₜt; Javanese èntut wind, Malay këntut to break wind, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 50; 79, *ka(n)tut; cf. DAHL 1973 § 8.4, 14.10; prefixed form Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) *q}(u(N)t) [t]u[N]; Toba Batak utut wind, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163; BLUST 1972 no. 86); (iii) *b[ ]uNtut: Malay bunto posterior, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 36, tail; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 285, fart.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1008 *ktɔːt; *ktəat; *[g]d[ɔː]t; *[g][d]aːt to cluck, cackle.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon kəʊt, Khmer khtɔːt.
   B: (Bahnaric) ~ (*kptaːt >) Bahnar kətəːt to cluck, cackle
       (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre galtat clucking (DOURNES 1950), Biat rəːt brood [of
       chicks].
   C: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung, Riang-Lang kətəːt to brood.
   D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer khtıːat; ~ Bahnar kədəːt (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   Connect Kammu-Yuan kətəːt. Onomatopoeic; so too Burmese katok, katəː; Biat rəːt.

1009 *ktəːt, uut; *kt, uut wart.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat tʊt wart, Palaung tɔt wart, spot on skin; to be
       warty.
   B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon kəttət, Proto-Nyah Kur *kətuːc
       (DIFFLOTH 1984 N127; *-c?), Kuy tʊt, Stieng tʊt, Chrau cʊt wart; ː Burmese
       katwat; Cham kətvaʔ, Acehnese götuət, Malay kętuət, kətuːt; ː (*kptuət >) Khmer
       phdoːt wart.
       Sre [toh] tɛːt (ʔ Röglai [kətal] tɛːt) may reflect a chime-word *ktiːt.
       Sora boːtoːd-ən, 'boːtoːd-ən wart, wen.

(∗ktuət see 988 *kcuːt to jump, to run.)

1010 *gtiːt; *gtiːt lorikeet, parakeet.
   A: (South Bahnaric; ː *gtiːt >) Sre ratet green lorikeet, Loriculus vernalis.
   B: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Muông) Stieng, Biat tɛːt, Bahnar [seːm] dɛt parakeet
       (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), perhaps by metathesis (*dkiːt >) Vietnamese kèt; ː
       (*griːt >) Chrau kətəːt parakeet.

(∗[t]ntuət see 1155 *[t]ntuːn wrinkled; *btət, *btət see 1003 *[t]tət blocked, to
       block.)

1010a *d, ai[t] to strike, beat.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon tət to strike with flat of hand, slap, beat out, Khasi tied to strike,
       knock, beat; ː Old Mon dəmːāːc /dəmːac/, Modern Mon həməːt smith.
   Distinguishe 1014 *dət.

1011 *kdaːt kind of yam.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Katuic) Mon kətəːt kind of yam (ʔ Burmese kədəːt), Khmer kədəːt
       Arum indicum, (ʔʔ?) Kuy kədaːt (!) Caladium species.
1012 *kduut; *kduat kind of tree with astringent fruit.
   A: (Katuic) ~ ("knduut >?) Kuy nthùt star gooseberry.
   B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*krduat >?) Mon hatôt *Ficus hispida; ~ Old Khmer kaniãvä, Modern Khmer kòntûat Phyllanthus emblica and acidus.

1013 *[d]iit; *[d]øat; *[d]uut to wobble, stagger.
   B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau [ndîit] ndàt wobbly; ~ Biat rðat off balance; pitching motion, by metathesis Khmer tatròít (& by back-formation trèt-trèt) tremulously.
   C: (Khmer, Khmuic; ~ *dr[d]uut >?) Kamment-Yuan kɔltùt-[tìit] to run around confusedly, by metathesis Khmer [tatrèt]-tatròöt (& by back-formation [trèt]-tròt) shaky...
   Note further Khmer tatròöt [moving] jerkily, perhaps < *dr[d]øat with secondary lengthening.

1014 *dat to strike, beat.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer òat to kick, (Tandanart 1935) to strike, Khasi dat to beat; ~ (*dpdat >?) Mon hadat to snap [fingers], Khmer phòat to tap, fillip; ~ (< *dat-s?) Bru kalday to snap, fillp.
   Connect Biat dat to beat [cotton], to fill; by back-formation from unattested nasal-affix form? But Mon tàt (Schmidt 1905 44) is < 1010a *d,ai[t].

1015 *dat; (*dat-s >?) *dac near.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung dat; ~ Shan lát short cut (~ Riang-Lang òat to cross, pass (through, by)?) ~ Khasi jyndat in passing, [to go] past.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat dac near, nearly; ~ Khasi syndait to put edge to edge.
   Connect obscure Riang-Lang òat to be near, to approach.

1016 *kdìt; *kdìit; *kdìat small.
   A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Sre dit; ~ Jarai det, Acehnese dit (or b?); ~ Lawa Umphai səlet little finger.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Vietnamese nìt small; ~ Chrau ndet a little, (or A) Khasi khyndit a little, few.
   C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic, Aslian) Kamment-Yuan liat to be short (?), Palaung diat, Mường dét (Barker 1966 17), Vietnamese (*~nìat >?) nhát (to be) small; ~ Riang-Lang kandiët (to be) small, Khasi khyndiat = khyndit, (?: or variant?) Mendriq kanet, Jah Hut kàæet, Semq Beri keñet small.
   Add perhaps Riang-Lang òat to be short (~ *kdìt?; ~ Shan lìt). Cf. 939 *?it &c. small in quantity; 817 *duuc &c. small; 816 *dac . . . to be small in quantity.
1017 *[k]dut; *[k]duut tip, tail.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy tut stump (of tail, limb), Biat dut end, tip, Sre dut blocked, going no further (DOURNES 1950; or B?).
Connect Nancowry rét tip, end.
Hence perhaps, contaminated by 798 *rʔuuc, Riang-Lang ~dut to be complete, to come to an end. Cf. also Lawa Bo Luang lauk end, extremity.

(*g[dl]aat, *(g)[dɔɔ]t see 1008 *ktɔɔt to cluck, cackle.)

1018 *knaat measure.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Literary Mon [bat] knāt measure, to measure, Khmer khna:t measure, ruler, Kuy khnaːt size, capacity.

1019 *tn[oo]t sugar-palm.
Or *tnu(ut). Vietnamese may be a loan from Khmuic, cf. with thót- Kammu-Yuan tut: plant, Thin tūt tree.

1020 *pit; *piit; *piat to pinch, squeeze, press.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Stieng pit to seize, appropriate, filch, Sre pet to pick, pluck (by attraction 823 *pic, which compare), (or B) Sakai pit to pinch (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 106); ~ (*jπiit >) Khmer cǐmπūt to pinch, c Bermπūt to pinch; ~ Bahnar kapit to crush, press down with hand.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian) Biat pet to husband, spend with care, Bahnar pit to press with finger (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63); ~ Kammu-Yuan kampit to rub against; ~ (*jπiit >) Khmer chpit pinch [of powder &c.], Kuy biit to nip, pinch, (probably, rather than A) Jehai capid, Lanoh Jengjeng capèd, by metathesis Semelai pacet to squeeze.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer biat to brush or press against, to annoy, Stieng piat to get one’s fingers pinched, Chrau piat to crowd in on, jostle, Biat pet to press, squeeze, Bahnar pet to squeeze with fingers, Kammu-Yuan pûat to press, Riang-Lang ~pet to squeeze, massage; ~ Thai biat to squeeze between (in crowd); ~ (*jπiit >) Kuy biit to rub against, by assimilation Biat piac to massage; ~ Biat mpét to press with hands, Bahnar capet to massage, Praok biat to extract by pressing.
Connect following & 1024 *puu&t &c. to stroke, rub; & cf. 1036 *cbiit to rub; 830 *c[6]ic &c. to take in fingers.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 28; SHAFER 1965 99.)
Sora pe'd- to pinch.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *pitpit: Javanese pipit pressed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) *[qS]a(N)pit: Malay apit to squeeze between two surfaces, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, *h-; cf. DYEN 1953 § 124); (iii) *d'apit: Acehnese cópet to pinch, squeeze, Cham tapiʔ to pinch, wedge, Malay jěpit to nip, pinch, Javanese jěpit to nip, to hold under arm..., llocano dippit to press, press near, crowd in... (so Proto-Hesperonesian); & numerous related bases. Mon-Khmer forms in *jp- ← or contaminated by (iii)? Note further Sanskrit √pīḍ- to press!

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1.)

1021 *pat; (*pat-s >?) *pac; *paac to press, squeeze.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon pat /pɔt/ to press, stroke, Modern Mon pat to rub, press, knead, massage, polish, Kuy, Chrau pat to squeeze, wring, Sre, Biat pat to wring out; ~ Vietnamese vât to wring out.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer crəbac to squeeze, knead, massage.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar pac to stroke (GUILEMINET 1959-63).

Connect preceding & 1024 *puut &c. to stroke, rub; & cf. 863 *wac ...to twist.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1022 *pət; (*pət-s >?) *pac to abandon.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi phet to leave, abandon, run away; ~ Vietnamese vât to throw away.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmu’ pic to throw away, Thin pǐk to leave, abandon, to pay out, spend, Semai pec to throw; ~ Vietnamese vût = vât.

Connect Burmese prac /pyʔ/ to throw (away)?

†1023 *puut; *p[əa]t to blow.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung put to blow, Riang-Lang ʔput to blow [wind instrument], Semai pot, Jah Hut put to shoot with blowpipe; ~ Che’ Wong hapud to shoot with blowpipe.

B: (North & Central Aslian) Kensiu pat, Che’ Wong pot, Jah Hut pot to blow.

Or, if Che’ Wong hapud & Jah Hut pat are loanwords, B = A? Khasi put = Riang-Lang, implying *b-, may belong ultimately with A80 *knbuat mouth-organ, which compare; as 2028 *puh &c.

(shafer 1965 145a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256.)

Sora pe’d- to play on a flute, Kharia pe’d to pipe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 157, with variant vocalism; cf. ib. 162).

Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1024 *puut; *puət; *[puəc to stroke, rub.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer bot to stroke; ~ cbot to stroke; ~ (*crpuut >) Sre rapout to rub oneself, Chhrau lapot to rub, Biat rpot to rub oneself, to caress, Khasi syrpu to rub gently.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Mon pot to rub, stroke, Khmer pūat (!) to rub hard, Stieng puat to rub, Biat pot to besmear (oneself), Bahnar pot to brush against (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh pot to compress in hand (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Riang-Lang pūat (& Palaung puan!) to smear, Praok [co] pot to clean; → Shan pōt to rub; ~ Old Mon sunipot /sampōt/ to stroke, Vietnamese vuōt to smooth with hand, to caress.

C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar poc to stroke (Guilleminet 1959-63).

C probably rather by assimilation < *c-puət than < *puət-s. Connect 1021 *pat &c. to press, squeeze; North Bahnaric shows contamination with this &/or 1020 *pit &c. Cf. also 1042 *[j]at &c. to feel, grasp.

(Schmidt 1905 26; Shafer 1965 467.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'aNpūt: Malay jēmpūt to take in the fingertips, &c.

(Dempwolff 1938 48); (ii) *d'u(N)pūt: Javanese ju(m)pūt to take in the fingertips, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 49; Proto-West-Indonesian). (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 4.)

1024a *puut to strip off.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer bot to strip off, Kammu-Yuan pūt to scrape off [hair &c. from skin], to slough.

1025 *kpat to struggle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng (ta-)pot to fight with fists, Sre [tam] pot to wrestle, try one's strength against (→ Rögla), ( > secondary *kpuat >?) Central Nicobarese kapɔt to wrestle, Nancowry kapɔt; ~ (*krpat >?) Mon hapɔt khaupɔt to twitch, to thrash about, flounder, Sre rapat to struggle, throw oneself about; → Jarai papaʔ? (!), Rögla rapaʔ to struggle.

For Stieng vocalism see 345 *pak. Cf. Vietnamese vạt to wrestle, to toss in bed.

1026 *cpaat to pull sharp instrument across.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Viet-Muong) Mon hwat to shred with a sharp instrument, Khmer pats to trim down, filed, Stieng pats to cut oneself on a sharp instrument, Bahnar pats to whet, (?) Muong (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese phát to cut, trim.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan pát to sharpen. But Kammu-Yuan pát, Praok pat to cut are ← Tai (Schmidt 1905 18.)

1027 *[d]paat to strike.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon pāt, Khmer piːat.

†1028 *[d]put; *[d]puut; *[d]puat; *[d]pat to be severed, broken.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon puit to be cut off, truncated, Modern Mon pūt to break, part, to cut, Proto-Nyah Kur *(m)-put (DIFFLOTH 1984 V138), Praok pūt to beak, (or c) Khasi phot to cut, nick; ~ (*[d]bp- >; or D) Mon /haput/ thatuit, dapuit to cut off, break off, (~) Khmer kambot! amputated, cut off.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung pūt to be broken, to break off, cut off, Riang-Lang ¯put to be severed, to be maimed; → Shan pūt to be broken off, cut.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar puat! to cut (off, up); ~ tapuat cut in two (GUILLAUMET 1959-63).
D: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Biat [pah] pɔt to be too short [to reach], Central Sakai pāt to pull [cockle shell] apart, Besisi pōt to cut (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 302).

Rather than *(t)p- in view of Munda, below; so Bahnar puat by levelling? Connect (*dpɔc >?) Biat pɛc to crumble, be eroded, become jagged, Khasi pait to break, crack, crumble; perhaps 824a *pac to cut through. For Kammu-Yuan páːt to cut, &c. see 1026 *cpaat.

Sora ṟ̣paːdt-, Santali ṛpaːd- to break, &c. (PINNOW 1959 66).
Proto-Austronesian *pud2/3 pud2/3: Toba Batak purpúr bare, without vegetation, Javanese pupur [end, tip] broken off, Cebuano Bisayan pudpud, Ilocano pudpód to wear down, decay, at end or tip (PRELIMINARY STUDIES...), &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

‡1029 *[l]pat to fold.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer pat, Modern Khmer bɔt to fold, pleat, bend (→ Stieng bɔt to fold (back)?), Palaung pat [kap] to tuck [trousers] right up (MILNE 1931); by secondary derivation ~ (*prp >) Mon hapnt folding book, → Burmese parapuik.
Cf. 1038 *bot to bend...; 1086a *[t]lɔ(a)t to be folded back.
Proto-Austronesian *lipat: Malay lipat fold, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 98; & by metathesis *lɔ(N)pit, DEMPWOLFF 1938 95). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (a).)

‡1030 *[s]puut (& *[s]puut?) to wrap round.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng pùt to tie, [plant] to climb (< variant? BLOOD 1966 put), Sre puut to roll [cigarette], roll round, bandage, Chrau pùt to wrap (BLOOD 1966), Biat puːt to roll up, to bandage.
(BLOOD 1966 235.)
Proto-Austronesian *t'aput: Malay saput filmy cover; to cover with hangings, creepers, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, source obscure. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 15.)
1031 *[b]et out of true.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bet edge of blade which is no longer straight (Dournes 1950), Bahnar bet to drive in on a slant (Guilleminet 1959-63).
(Shafer 1965 135.)

1032 *bat, *buat to tie, bind.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Palaungic) Middle Mon bat to secure, bind on, Modern Mon [pàn] pòt to be firm, secure, Khmer pòt to tie round, to spin [web, cocoon], (or 1042 *[j]bat to feel >?) Palaung bat to twine round (Milne 1931).
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng buat to bind, Biat [tɔm thɔi tɔm] buat, (by contraction, or ~ *tnbuat causative >) Bahnar tamat to join end to end (Guilleminet 1959-63). B secondary. Connection uncertain Riang-Lang takbat to knot; or samvat turban.
Sora [to(l)] -baa- to tie, bind, 'baa-nd cord of twisted straw (unless ultimately ← Sanskrit baddhā- bound or related form).
Proto-Austronesian *ta(N)bat: Malay tambat to tie up, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 125; Proto-West-Indonesian). See Benedict 1975 233.

1033 *buut; *buat to wring, roll up, turn.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pòt to operate rotary mechanical device, Khmer pòt to roll into a ball, to wring out clothes; (~ *bpuut >) Old Mon buwut /bɔwut/, Modern Mon hɔwut rotary machine.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng bat to roll up, to follow curving path; meanderings of path &c. (& to fold (back), ← Khmer < 1029 *[l]pat?).
(Schmidt 1905 60.)
Proto-Austronesian *butbut: Malay mèm-bubut to turn on lathe, &c. (cf. Notofer 1975 198; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, to be separate from *butbut to pull out).

1034 *kbat, *bat grass.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Central Rölöm bat (Blood 1976); ~ Old Mon kambat /kɔmbot/, Modern Mon kæmot grass, Proto-Nyah Kur *kæmpat (Diffloth 1984 N71), Khasi kynbat herb.
B: (Katuic). Kuy, Bru bat grass.
Note Ong-Be bat &c., Benedict 1975 306. Connect following?

1035 *[b]uut tuft, clump.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar bot, buot tuft, clump, uncleared site (Guilleminet 1959-63) (→ Cham kaput); ~ Khmer kùmpòt clump [of trees], Palaung kənbut shoot of pampas grass (Milne 1931).
Cf. Kuy puc tuft. Connect preceding?
But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *ruNput grass (Malay rumpun, &c.; Dempwolff 1938 104).
1036 *cbiit to rub.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon jwit to pass one’s hand over, Modern Mon hwit to stroke, Khmer bvt to rub on, apply (& by secondary derivation kbyt to rub (on)).

Cf. 1020 *pit &c. ...to squeeze, press.
Sora bid- *bid- to rub.

1037 *rbat to whip, thresh with flail.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông)
Riang-Lang _pat to fan, winnow, to wag tail, (?) Vietnamese bát to strike [fire]; → Shan pát to beat; ~ (*rubat > ) Literary Mon lamuit, Bahnar rambat to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer rúmpatót, Kuy mphát, (→?) Stieng rambat whip; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang _sambat flail; to thresh, beat.

Cf. variously West Bahnar habat to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan holpat, Khasi sympat to beat, whip; Biat rpat to whip, to thresh with flail; mhat to whip; Vietnamese vût to lash with whip; & 1092 *kwit &c. to beat.

1038 *bôt to bend, manipulate.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Literary Mon buít to press with fingers, straighten, Khmer piat to bend (straight), Kuy phât to bend straight, Stieng bát to soften [cane] by bending (beside bôt to bend, stretch, ← ?Biat), Chrau vât to bend, (← sa?) to stretch [oneself], Biat bôt to bend, Bahnar bôt to press with fingers, straighten; → Cham bôʔ to bend, curl (v.t.), Acehnese bot bent over backwards; to stretch.

Cf. 1029 *[l]pat to fold. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (b).)

(*but see 1178 *bun to heap up.)

1039 *[c]biit; *[c]biat to cover, close, block up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, ?Khmuic) Khmer bvt to cover, close, Thin bit to extinguish, to be extinguished (?), Riang-Lang *bit to cover, close, stop up, Vietnamese mít to be hermetically closed; → Thai pit to close; ~ Palaung kəmbit to block; ~ Riang-Lang *sambit cover, stopper.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *[c]biat) Bahnar miet to stop up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Earlier *cbiit &c., ~ 949 *ciiit &c. to confine, restrict? But perhaps *t˘b- if Munda, below, is not cognate. Cf. further 1098 *s/mp/iit stopper.

Kharia jàpi’d, to shut one’s eyes, &c. (PINNOW 1959 93; ?; perhaps contaminated by cognate of 1020 *pit &c. to pinch, squeeze…; so semantically e.g. Acehnese pèt to close eyes, Toba Batak pitpit closed [eyes] < Proto-Austronesian *pitpit to clamp, DEMPWOLFF 1938 119, to which Khmer is compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1).

1040 *cbiit; (*cbiat >) *cbait; *cîat; *cîat sticky, to stick on.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer bvt to exude, to stick, affix, Palaung bit to be sticky, Lawa Bo Luang pit, Lawa Umphai phit glutinous [rice], Khasi bit to stick.
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

B: (Katuic) Kuy *pet:* to stick on, affix, Bru *tapet.*

C, D: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) (apparently) → Stieng *pot,* *pɔt:* to stick on, affix by interdialectal borrowing; (C) Cham *pǎ:* to stick to; ~ (*cf:* - ) Literary Mon *jaba:* to be sticky; ~ Mon *hàbat,* (D) Riang-Lang *sabat:* gum of tree, by metathesis (C/D) Sre *bàsat:* latex.

Khmer *ɓɔ:* *bɔt:* *mastic* is perhaps < *crfii:*t by popular etymology, cf. *ɓɔ:* *gum,* *bɔt:* to rub on. For Stieng *pot:* < *-at:* see 345 *pək.* Earlier *cbɔ:* *l:* &c. ~ 948 *cə:* *it:* sticky? The following may be connected by metathesis: Vietnamese *nęp:* (< *c[ ]dip?*), Kuy *doii:* *dip:* (< *[c]diip* or *[c]diap*), Biat *pih:* *Le:p:* (< *cndiip* by hypercorrection?) *glutinous [rice]*; Khmer *dɔnnaap:* *glutinous [rice]* (by secondary derivation < *cɗɔap?*).

(Schmidt 1905 22.)

1041 *j[ə]biat:* *j[ə]baat:* to suck in mouth.

A: (Mon, Khasi, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar *biat:* to purse [lips] in token of disapproval (Guillaume 1959-63) (?), Khasi *biat:* to eat [pulses] a little at a time; ~ Mon *hàbat:* to suck in mouth.

B: (Katuic) Kuy (k) *biat:* to chew, Bru *kubat.*

B contaminated by 1371 *faam:* to chew (& 1375 *kbiim* &c., 1376 *gəam:* to have in one’s mouth?).

Sora *be’d-,* *bed-’bed-,* sa’be’d-,* Santali jeme’d:* to sip, suck, &c. (Pinnow 1959 251; Santali perhaps compound, cf. Kharia jɔ’b).


A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon [com] *bot:* to feel, palpate, *bat:* [toa] fist, Proto-Nyah Kur *khabat:* (Diffloth 1984 V142), Biat *bat:* [tir:] *fist,* to clench, Riang-Lang *bot:* to feel, palpate, Khasi *bat:* to hold, catch hold of, grasp; ~ (*[ə]nbat:* > ) Sre, Biat *mbat,* Chrau *samvat:* *handful*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang *hməuk,* Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *hmət:* to hold, catch hold of, grasp.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *piat:* to rub [ointment] on.

C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau *vut:* to grope for [fish]; Biat *but:* to feel, grasp, Bateg Deq *bot:* to hold.

D: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar *bɔt:* to put hand &c. in hole, grasp for fish, take fish from trap; ~ Kuy (k) *mɔt:* to clench; *handful*.

Connect by metathesis 1262 *j[ə]dəap:* to pass hand along. Cf. also Kammu-Yuan *səpát* (sapɔt), *səpút:* to snatch, grab; & 1024 *pəut:* &c. to stroke, rub. C, D perhaps secondary, or contaminated by this, but cf. Munda.

Kharia *ce’pu’d:* to hide in fist, to clench, &c. (Pinnow 1959 137; Proto-Munda *-ud*).

Proto-Austronesian *d’a(N)bat:* Malay *jabat:* to touch, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 45).

1043 *rmb[ɔɔ]t:* tears.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *ruñbat:/rɔmbɔt/,* Modern Mon [daik] kəmɔt,* Lawa Bo Luang *ʔamboat,* Lawa Umphai *rəmbuat,* Mae Sariang *yəmbuat,* ləmbuat.
**1044** *[l]b[a]t soft, tender.

(Mon, Katuic) Mon *bat* to be soft, tender, delicate, young, Pakoh *labɔɔt* soft, pliable (so *-ɔɔt?*)

Cf. Sre *mbɔɔc* soft.

Proto-Austronesian *la[Nbut]: Malay *ləmbut* tender [meat], gentle, soft [voice], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94).

**1045** *mat eye.*

(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *mat* /mɔt/, Modern Mon *mɔt* eye, Sre *mat* face, eye, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Halang *mat* eye, Jeh *mat* eye, face, Kammu-Yuan *mɔt*, Khasi *mat* eye, Mường *mɔt* eye, face (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese *mắt* face, Kensi med, Temiar *mad*, Semelai *mat*, Central Nicobarese *oɔl*-mat, *-mat* eye, Nancowry *ʔualmát, ʔumát*; ~ Khasi *khmat*, Vietnamese *mắt* eye.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 163; BLOOD 1966 357; SMITH 1972 222; SKÉAT & BLADGEN 1906 E 83 (a.).)


**1046** *mut; *muut; *mat to enter.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng *mut* (BLOOD 1966), Sre, Bahnar, Halang *mut*, Jeh *mɔt*.

B: (Katuic, ?Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Kuy *mɔt*, Sakai *mɔt* (i.e. Semai; SKÉAT & BLADGEN 1906 E 77; or A?), ?Nancowry *mút* to hide.

C: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar *mat, mut* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar *tamɔt* to cause to enter.

Cf. 968 *guut* &c. (SHAFER 1965 348; BLOOD 1966 162; SMITH 1972 212, 227.)

**1047** *mut; *muut hammer.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *mut* (→ Rôglai).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *mut*; → Jarai *mut* (& t*mu:u!t*), North Rôglai *mû:u?.

Chamic finals indicate borrowing. Sre excludes *tm- or *dm-; Jarai *t*mu:u ← A variant *muut muut?

(*muut see also 1186 *mun[ ] pimple.)
1048 *k[p]mat; *k.mat gall.
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, North Aslian) Kuy mət, Bahnar kǝmat, Vietnamese mạt, Pangan kẽmòd (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 4).
(Shafer 1965 356.)

1049 *kmuat; *kmiat woodworm, weevil.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer khmo:t woodworm, weevil, Kuy kmuat weevil, West Bahnar mɔt (Guillemet 1959-63), Vietnamese [con] mɔt woodworm; ~ Bahnar (kon) kǝmat woodworm, Palaung kǝrmuat weevil.
B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 957 *kiat to bite…) Stieng kǝmiɛt weevil; ~ Biat rmiat [coh] (beside rpiat….) weevil.

1050 *cmuat to question.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon cmot /cmot/; ~ Palaung sɛrmuat.

1050a *tmit short post.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon tmit, Modern Mon met post supporting veranda, Biat mit marker stake.

1051 *tmaat[ ] vulture.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Old Khmer tmä, Modern Khmer thmait, Stieng kamaot; ~ Old Mon tinmä (and timän) ?/tɔmət/, Modern Mon kamaot, Kuy mit, Bru miọt.
On Old Mon variants see 416 *mraiɛt []; perhaps /tɔmət/ or the like.
(Schmidt 1905 46.)

1052 *rmit; *rmiit; *rmiat Curcuma species; yellow.
A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Khasi) Mon mit turmeric, Proto-Nyah Kur *muıt (Diffloth 1984 N28), Sre rmit greenish- yellow, Chrau rmit yellowish, Biat rmut saffron (→ Stieng rmat?), (or B) Khasi lmit-lmit rather [yellow]; ~ Khasi dialect shyrmit turmeric.
B: (Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _rmat turmeric, yellow, (or A) Central Sakai rémit saffron.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer rmyat, Modern Khmer rmiat, lmiat saffron, Kuy lmit yellow, Khasi lmet-lmet very [yellow], Proto-Semai *rmeɛt yellow (Diffloth 1977).
1053 *yat; *yaat to be extinguished.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yat; ~ piat to extinguish; ~ (*t)nyat >
Stieng net to extinguish, extinguished, Biat phat to extinguish.
B: (Palaungic) Praok yut to be extinguished; ~ (*pyaat >?) Lawa Bo Luang ?yut,
Lawa Umphaï ?nut to extinguish.
Cf. 973 *pät; 1077 *lat &c.; 987 *kc[a]t to die.
Sora pa'ni():d- to be extinguished.

1054 *[s]yat grass.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon snt thatching-grass, Imperata arundinacea, Jeh set
(Gradin & Gradin 1979), (~?) Kammu-Yuan cit, Thin kyit, kit grass; ~ (*[s]nyat
>) Sre phat, Bahnar żnet grass.
Khmuic, Bahnar suggest (secondary) *cy!-
(Shafer 1965 167; Smith 1972 221; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 G 96.)

1055 *rit kind of palm yielding writing-material.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon rät Corypha umbraculifera, (manuscript written on) palm-leaf,
Khmer rüt Latania rhapis leaves.

1056 *riit; *riat to rotate, go round, to grind.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Palaung grit, Praok krit to grind [grain]; ~ (*t)lriit >) Kuy
leet to grind, to gin cotton.
B: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon ret /ret/ to visit, Modern Mon rêt to go round, go
about; ~ (*t)[r]riat >) Khasi tyliat to grind; ~ (*rniat —properly
nominalisation— > ?) Riang-Lang nicet to grind.
For cognacy of CVC form cf. Munda. Connect 1064 *krit &c. to creak; A81a
*[s]r[l][ee]t to pass?
Sora ríd-, Kharia ri’d to grind, &c. (Pinnow 1959 76).
Cf. Tibeto-Burman *krit to grind, Benedict 1972 38 no. 119; Karen *gr[e]t, ib. 141-2
n. 382.

1057 *rat; *rət, *rət to be startled, alarmed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Mon) Old Khmer rat, Modern Khmer
riat to run (away), Vietnamese gid (for *ʁat) to jerk, (~ minh) to be startled (=
to pull forcibly, < 1058 *rat); ~ (*mrn- >) Mon karat to cry, whimper (or B), Sre
nrat, Biat ndrat to start with fright; ~ (*rat rat > *tət >) Khasi thred, thret very
much [startled].
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer prət startled.
C: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ndrat spasm, to jerk, Bahnar kədrat to start with fright.
Separate Central Nicobarese dot-ŋərit to be startled, < *d-.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1058 *rut; *ruut; *ruat; *rät; *rat; *raat; ruc; *ruuc; *rəc (& *rəc?); *rac to pull hard on, pull up, out, reap.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Sakai rot to pluck out, uproot (or < variant?); ~ Palaung brut to extract [tooth] (MILNE 1931); (or c?) ~ Khasi kynjrot to pull off bit by bit; ~ Nancowry hayút to push or pull away, tiyút to jerk.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Biat rut to slide (v.t.), Nancowry yúk to cut something smooth, (or *e-rat >?) Praok rut to pull apart, away; (or H) → Thai rúut to strip [leaves &c.], milk; ~ Khmer crot, Stiem sarut to reap, Bahnar h*ruut [h*rət] to pull hard on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese rút to pull (back, out), withdraw.

C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon) Mon röt rat to reap; ~ (*rn- >) nôt not sickle (&/or E, J); ~ (*cruat >?) Biat ruhat to withdraw, Bahnar hrát to pull on, out, up, Jeh sort to reap, Halang soat, Kammu-Yuan rôt to strip grain (& hót; by back-borrowing ← Tai?).

D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mường giát to pull on (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese giát to pull forcibly, snatch (for **rát; = to jerk, be startled, < 1057 *rat); ~ Bahnar harat, Gölär Bahnar gorat to pull with a jerk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 h(*rət).

E: (Khasi, Mon, Nicobaric) Khasi rat to uproot; ~ prat to cut [grass], clear [bushes], Mon röt rat to reap, Proto-Nyah Kur *rèc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V104; *e-?), Nancowry yat to cut.

F: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru riat to snatch; ~ Bahnar brat to pull on, out, up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

G: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung ruuit to pull out; ~ Bahnar hruc to yank out [branch] after cutting.

H: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer rèc to pull out, draw out, Kuy rèc to withdraw [fuel from fire]; ~ Khmer råboaèc pulled away, out, uprooted, Kuy pocè to uproot, pull out; ~ (*cruc >?) Praok rucè to uproot, Mường rúch to withdraw (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

I: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Katuic) Proto-Semai *rəc to uproot (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Khmer krèc grec dislocation, to dislocate, (or J?) Kuy khråc sprained, Bru ri2 to harvest; ~ Bahnar h(*rek, h(*rəc to reap, sever, tear (off) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or J), (*rəc >? but cf. D) h(*rəc to pull on, out, up.

J: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese rút to pull, to tear out; ~ Khasi kynjrait to jerk, pull with a jar.

G &c. in part or wholly by assimilation < *e-rut &c. rather than < *rut-s &c. Cf. 866 *[ ]wac &c. to cut, reap; 839 *rac to slice, cut through; A28b *ruuk to pull up.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40, 60; SMITH 1972 237)

Sora rud-(‘rud-) to pluck [flowers], ruj-, rui- to pluck, to pull out, to snatch, to wrench (PINNOW 1959 381).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *Surut to pull between hands: Malay urut to stroke, rub, massage, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, *-; BENEDICT 1975 358, which see, adds Ami *mi-
Surut to pull); (ii; *parut) llocano parut to uproot, Pangasinan pálôt to pull out.

1059 *rut; *ruut; *ruät; *rät to sprinkle, scatter.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung phruut to sprinkle, scatter.
B: (Katuic) Bru ruut [flowers, fruit, leaves] to drop off completely.
C: (Palaungic) Praok ruat to sow broadcast; ~ Praok pruat [ruac] to be scattered.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung rät, Riang-Lang ruat to sprinkle; ~ Palaung prät to scatter.
Cf. 837 *ra(a)c; 843 *ruc &c. to fall, drip.
Sora jo’ord to drip, [tears to flow].

1060 *rut; *ruut; *r[ə]t (to catch fish in) kind of fish-trap.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rüt to catch fish in fish-trap (ʔɔ̃rʁut) resembling
lobster-pot, Sre rut trap for flying white ants (DOURNES 1950), Chrau rut large open-
mesh fish-trap.
B: (Mon) ~ Mon karät karut basket with open bottom for catching mudfish, basket for
penning fowls.
C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy nthrät basket for penning fowls.
(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

1061 *ruut; *ruät; *rät; *riät to tighten, constrict.
A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer ruät to draw [e.g.
curtains] together (or < 1058 *ruut to pull hard on...?; ~ Thai ruutf to pull
[curtains &c.], probably ~ Kuy rût to pull, slide), Kuy rôt to shrink, to hunch up,
Biat rät to shrink, become tight, Palaung rüt to draw in with drawstring (MILNE
1931), Riang-Lang _rüt to draw in; ~ Shan hût to tighten; ~ Mon harät sarut to
pull [string] tight, close [bag] with string.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer rûat to seize round top or neck,
Stieng ruôt to tighten, pull in, Praok rôt to gird, Lawa Umphai [hau] ruat rice-
sack; ~ Acehnese ruat to secure [trousers] firmly; ~ Palaung kruat to strangle with
a cord (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _sakruat to strangle, choke, smoker; ~ Mon krôt
grot to fit closely.
C: (South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Kuy rät to tie, bind (or E); ~ Shan hût to tighten [belt
&c.]; ~ Biat krat to shrink, huddle together; ~ (*sr- >; or D) Kuy sat to tie.
D: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _rät to gird; ~ Thai rät, Shan hât.
E: (Khmer) Khmer rüt to draw up tight.
F: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Asian, ?Kuy) Kuy rît (or G; ~ Thai rîit) to
squeeze out, press on, Sre rît tight, Biat rest to tighten, Chrau rest, Bateg Nong rît,
Semai l rîd to squeeze; ~ Cham rî?: to draw net in.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

G: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Stieng riët [kəu] to strangle with a cord, West Bahnar ret to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan riat to tie together, Temiar rayed to squeeze; ~ (*[s].riot >) Bahnar haret to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size, Vietnamese riët to draw tight.
Connect Nancowry řec tight, to strangle.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *So>yåt: Malay (h)ërat constriction, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 425; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; *ka[r]rt) Ivatan kalût to close with a draw string. Note also Malay chêrêt [python, belt, noose] to squeeze; ← Mon-Khmer?

1062 *ruut; *ruat to buy.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar rot (& rat!) to barter, buy.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre roat, Biat rwat, Jeh, Halang ruat to buy.
For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *duuk.
(Blood 1966 83; Smith 1972 232.)

1063 *ruat tier.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer rûåt; ~ truåt to lie one upon another, piled up; ~ Middle Mon tambrot /təmrot/, Modern Mon pârot [caik] small stupa on tiered base of large one.

1064 *krit; *kriit; *kriot; by metathesis *rkiaat to creak.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar krit creakily (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Khmer) Khmer kret creakily (Tandart 1935).
C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon kret to creak, Khmer kriat creakily (Tandart 1935), Khasi khret-khret grating, Nancowry řiåt to squeak.
D: (South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Sre råkiat (→ Röglai), Biat rciat to grind, creak, gnash, (or c?) Central Nicobarese këåt-[cakat] to gnash.
Connect perhaps 1056 *riit &c. ...to grind, whether or not original. Onomatopoeic (As d) Sora riêkê- to creak.
Note also Javanese krêkêt grinding or grating sound, to grind [e.g. teeth] (< *k/ʔ/iåt, cf. Cebuano kagîkit n.?).

1065 *kruat (& *kruit) kind of bee.
A: (Khmer, Katiuc, Bahnaric) Sre krøt kind of bee of medium size (< variant?), Bru krøt bee; ~ Stieng kandrōt wasp, Chrai kandrōt small kind of bee, Bahnar kadōt kind of bee of medium size nesting in hollow trees, Jeh kadōt honey-bee, Halang gadōt kind of apid; ~ (*kpruat >) Khmer pruət, pruət kind of bee building layered nest in hollow trees &c.
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Connect obscure Mon hərot kind of bee nesting in hollow trees.
(SMITH 1972 236.)

1066 *graat to scatter.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi krad; ~ Riang-Lang _kanrat seed-harrow.
   Connect 837 *ra(a)c.

†1067 *criit; *criat to cram in.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Biat chret close together; apparently by back-formation ~ Sre riit close together, Biat rew to pack close together.
   B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer criat, TANDART 1935 also criat to intercalate, press on, pack in, jostle, Kuy sìt to crowd against, crowded; ~ Literary Mon tarèt to press into.
   Sora sə'ried- to be overfilled, crowded, to become tight, rigid, swollen, 'sare'd- tight.

1068 *criit; *t,riit cricket, to chirr.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Aslian) Central Sakai jarèt variety of mole-cricket, Besisi sèrè-it to whine (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (a)); ~ Mon karèt cañrit, Khmer cañrvit cricket; ~ Bru ?abriit cricket; → Thai cîñrit cricket; Malay chêngkèrek mole-cricket.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng tret, Chrau [kə:n] tret cricket, Sre triit to whistle, Palaung [ə]krit cricket.
   Onomatopoeic? Note Ilocano kuriat, Pangasinan koryat cricket. Otherwise B by assimilation
   (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

(*t,riit see preceding.)

1069 *drit; *driit to slope.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Biat [ŋkeŋ] drut sloping.
   B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer trèt to slope, lean, incline, Bru trèʔ? (by dissimilation?).

1070 *priit; *priat banana.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar priːt, Jeh, Halang priːt.
   B: (Katuic) Kuy priːt.
   (SHAFFER 1965 104; BLOOD 1966 224; SMITH 1972 214.)

1071 *mraat rough, untamed, viovlent.
   A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon parət to be viovlent, Khasi mrad animal; cruel, inhuman, Central Nicobarese maiyaːt rough, unplaned, Nancowry yāt, puyāt.
1072 *srit rhinoceros.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon srit /srit/, Modern Mon set, (~?) Lawa Umphai raip; → Thai rēt.
Also Khmuic, see SHORTO 1971.

1073 *sriit; *sriat cold.
A: (Khmer) Khmer srećt cold to the touch (TANDART 1935).
B: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese ràng to be cold, feel cold.

1074 *sraat sour, acid.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Stieng, Sre stēt, Chrau sat (BLOOD 1966 sraat), Biat chrāt sour, acid, by vowel metathesis (*sa(a)rat >) Central Nicobarese haiyvt, hāyvt [fluid] to turn sour; (~ *sprraatt >) Vietnamese [chua]-chátt (for **trát) sour, acid.
(BLOOD 1966 332.)

1075 *lit; *liat; *lait to lick.
A: (Khmer) Khmer lɯt to lick, lap.
B: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung leat (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _liat, Praok let to lick, Bru liat; ~ Kammu-Yuan klēt to lick; (~ *Impiat >) Sre, Biat mpiat, Chrau lapiat, Bahnar rapiet, Jeh lapiat, Halang rapiat, (by metathesis, or ~ *p[ l]iat >?) Semnam paled tongue.
C: (Khasi, North Aslian) Semang lat to lick (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 65); ~ Khasi thylliåd tongue. Cf. Khasi jliåa to lick; 1286a *liap to lick; 1409 *[c]lim? &c.
(SHAFER 1965 351; BLOOD 1966 105; SMITH 1972 228; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 164.)
Proto-Austronesian *l̥id,qaq tongue: Malay lidah, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 16.3; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, *dilah). So connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *Zilat to

1076 *lit (?); *liit; *liåt slippery, to smear on.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat lūt worn, well- worn, well-trodden (or ad 953 *liiiit &c., which compare?).
B: (Mon, Bahnaric, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Semang lit[lut] smeared (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 291), Central Nicobarese leeto to smear face with pigment; → Röglai lit [dou] sticky; ~ Mon kalet to be smooth, to slip; ~ Sre kanit red clay, Biat nleit dirt, dirty; ~ West Bahnar bliit to waterproof with wax or oil (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai bliit to stick.
c: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Old Mon let /leːt/, Modern Mon lĕt to smear on, Khmer liat to caulk, Kuy līt to scoop up, smear on (probably, rather than A), Khasi liat to fall through, slip, miscarry (contaminated by 1081 *lūt &c., which compare); → Malay liat (in sense) clayey; ~ Mon klet to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive, Palaung klet to be smooth, slippery; → Achehnese kliat clayey; ~ (*[k]pliat >) Mon kalet to smear with, smear on, Vietnamese trét to smear, to caulk; ~ Biat glekt sprain, (ntin glekt) dislocation; ~ Kammu-Yuan lamèkt smooth (or ad *lìlit &c.).

Slippery contaminated by *lūt &c.? Cf. further Vietnamese trát to coat, smear, trúọt slippery ~ müọt to be smooth and shining; sét clay; & 1668 *[s]liår smooth, slippery. Sora 'tule'(:d-an gum, pus.

Proto-Austronesian by metathesis *li(N)kiat: Achehnese lōkiat viscous, clayey, Malay lekit adhesive…, Javanese lèngkèt to cleave to (→ Malay lengket sticking together), &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 198; Proto-Hesperonesian; also *liköt: Javanese likët to stick, sticky, Pampangan likat stickiness, &c., Proto-Hesperonesian; *lakat to stick, DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, Proto-West-Indonesian; perhaps contaminated by *Zakat to stick, DAHL 1973 § 14.5 &c. = DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (*d-), 47 (*d-)).

1077 *lī[i]t: *lāt to be extinguished.

A: (North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese leet-[ŋoŋ &c.] burnt out, quenched, Nancowry liāt completed, finished; ~ Semang [ya’] pēlit to extinguish (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (b)), Semaq Beri palet night.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer liat to extinguish, Central Sakai lô to be extinguished; ~ Old Mon plūt /plôt/, Modern Mon plōt to be extinguished, Pangan [ya]-plöd to extinguish (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906). Connect Praök prut to extinguish? Cf. 973 *ɲat, 1053 *ya(a)t; 423 *lak &c. to sink, be immersed, 854 *lak &c. to be flooded, to sink, 1287 *lep &c. to immerse; 721 *løŋ to be immersed.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 18.)

11078 *lāat to be spread out flat.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer liāt to spread (v.t.), to extend, be spread out; flat, Central Rölöm, Bahnar last flat; ~ (*līmaat >) Biat blast bottom (e.g. of river), East Bahnar blast flat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 324.)

Sora lād- to spread out [cloth], to hold [legs] wide apart, lād-lād- to spread, unfurl, stretch (v.i.t.).

(? Proto-Austronesian *dayat: Malay darat dry land, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37; BLUST 1972 no. 89 adds Oceanic).
1079 *laat (laac?) bare.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Semai lad (TAUERN 1914); ~ Mon halat to be bare, bald, shaven, to bare, Proto-Nyah Kur *talac (DIFFLOTH 1984 V106), Khmer srallat to bare (GUÉDON 1930);
Connect Proto-Semai *laac bald (DIFFLOTH 1977).

1080 *[o]t to jump, to run.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer lôt to jump, spring, Kuy lòt to jump, Sre lot to go, Chrau lôt to run (away). (Cf. B61.)

1'081 *lut; *luut; *luat; *løt; *(lut-s &c. >) *luc; *luuc; *luèet; *l[a]c to slip (off, down).
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer lût to slip away, to let go of; (~ [*r]mlut >)
Bahnar tablut to cave in.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) ~ Khmer rolût, lalût, Stieng rolut to abort, give birth prematurely, Biat [pra]hlot to fall [head over heels]; ~ (*[r][b]lut >) Biat rlblot to slip off, Vietnamese trut to slide down; ~ Palaung plut to take off [clothes &c.], Vietnamese trüt [rain] to pour; to shed [load], to yield up [soul]; ~ Bahnar hlût to fall into a trap (GUILLUMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Old Mon lot /lot/, Modern Mon lôt to fall prone, Lawa Bo Luang [hlai?] luat [rain] to fall, Vietnamese lot to slip into, pass through, fall into; (~ [*t]mluat >) Jölong tabluat to slip, to slip from hand &c. (GUILLUMINET 1959-63), Praok sbluat to shake out, shake off; (~ [*t]mluat >)
West Bahnaric tabuat [tool] to fly off handle (GUILLUMINET 1959-63).
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat lot to abort (v.t.); ~ rlto to slip off.
E: (Khmer) ~ Khmer phluat to falter..., (~ sniat) slip up.
F: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, ?Khasi) Khasi loit to take off, undress, untie, detach (or H?), Vietnamese lôt to strip off, to slough (rather than A); ~ Sre pluc to come loose, fall off (~ Röglai), (or H?) Khasi phlooit [ring round handle] to come off.
G: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Palaung luut, Mon also luit to take off [clothes &c.], Central Nicobarese [et]-loic-[han] to slough, Nancowry titluc, titlic to skin, to peel; ~ Khasi ploc slippery; ~ Khasi [kaba mih] phyllid prolapsus; ~ Bahnar toploc to lose hold of [fish].
H: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan lûuc to skin, to take off; ~ Bahnar tabluc (GUILLUMINET 1959-63), tabluuc to slip, to slip from hand &c.; ~ Kammu-Yuan klûuc to slip, (or H?) Khasi khloid to dislocate.
I: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau lac to fall out through hole, Central Rölöm lac to fall (BLOOD 1976); ~ Mendriq, Jah Hut balac smooth; ~ Kuy selec, lhec to slip, Temiar salej smooth.
Cf. 1076 *lit &c. slippery, to smear on, with perhaps mutual contamination Connect as causative 856 *luc &c. to steal.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Sora pa'luđ-, pa'lođ- to slip through; ~ Kharia ja'lo'd slippery, to slip, &c. (PINNOW 1959 259; Proto-Munda *ja'lad); Sora ja'loj- (beside ja'lo:-) to slide.

1082 *luut; (?) *luat to err.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon lût to commit a fault, Palaung lut fault, (MILNE 1931) to err, Praok lut to err; ~ Middle Mon [by]lute to impute blame, Modern Mon Plut to slander, traduce, Proto-Nyah Kur *lụuc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V107; *-c?); (~?) Riang-Lang _plut to repent.
B: (Mon) ~ Mon plōt blōt [plēt] to miss the mark, go astray (or < 861 *[b]lac?).

1083 [*]luut; [*]luc to sprout.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer lūt; ~ Middle Mon klut, Modern Mon, Proto-Nyah Kur *khlụuc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V108; *-c?); ~ Middle Mon talut to cause to spring up, Modern Mon kələt to plant.
B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi syllụut to bloom.
Perhaps *tแจ- or *cl-, Khmer by back-formation; Khasi then by progressive assimilation < *-ut? Connection uncertain Kharia kyle'd bamboo shoot, &c., PINNOW 1959 256 (Proto-Munda *qalit).
(SCHMIDT 1905 58)

1084 *luat; *luus; *luas to draw out.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon lōt drawplate, Palaung luat, Praok luat to draw out, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai luat to draw out, take out; → Shan lōt to withdraw [bolt]; ~ (?*luat luat > *t,luat > ) Riang-Lang truat to draw out.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang luyh to pluck feathers.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer lūah luas to draw (out), cut strips off; wire, cord, &c., Stieng [se:] lu'h brass wire; → Thai lụat wire, → Kuy luf.
A hardly all ← Tai ← C; the same final variant between 1078 *laat and 191 *laas. Cf. Rōglai lah to withdraw; ← a variant *ləs?
(SMITH 1972 509.)

1085 *kl[ɔɔ]t kind of creeper from which ropes are made.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng [tɔɔm] klɔt, Sre klot (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar klɔt (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Connect Semang hadlud Daemonorops species (?) (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 41?
(SHAFER 1965 67.)

1086 *[c]laat frightened.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar hliṭ to flee in terror (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok lat, Lawa hlat to be afraid; ~ (*[c]blaat > ) Khmer cúmliat, Bahnar pəlit to frighten (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& by levelling pəhlit); ~ (*[c]rlaat > ) Kuy rət to be afraid of [someone].
Bahnar fronting probably normal in context. Cf. 857 *klaac.

(*clu(u)t see 1083 *[ ]luut to sprout.)

1086a *[t]laːt; *[t]ləɑ t to be folded back.
A: (Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy k(ə)lət to roll up, fold back, turn inside out; ~ (→) Sre plot to folded back (Dournes 1950); by secondary derivation ~ Sre tərplot to folded back.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat rlaːt to be turned up, folded back; ~ pləːt to be turned up, folded back.
Or *plə(ə)t by metathesis < 1029 *[l]pət to fold, Kuy by secondary derivation?

(*təlu(u)t see 1083 *[ ]luut to sprout.)

1087 *[t]luat (whistle) flute.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy luːt [tut], Khasi (compounding form!) [ˈdɔŋ] lot-lot; ~ Mon kəlot talot &c.
Earlier *[t]luy [t]luy, connected Khmer khloy?

1088 *[t]ləːt; *[t]lət; *[t]ləet to swallow.
A: (Khmuić, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric; ~ *t,nluːat >) Kammu-Yuan kluːat to swallow [sth. large], Vietnamese nụ́t, Central Nicobarese cinluːət-[həje] to swallow.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *t,blət >) Riang-Lang təklat to swallow.
C: (Khmuić, Palaungic; ~ *t,mblaːt >) Kammu-Yuan kamləːt, Praok blut to swallow.
Originally perhaps all *t,nl-, > *t,ml- by dissimilation, denasalized in Riang-Lang

(*plə(ə)t see 1086a *[t]laːt to be folded back.)

1089 *[s]luut (& *[s]lut?) deaf.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung blut, Riang-Lang ɬut, Praok luːt, Lawa Bo Luang hlauːk, Lawa Umphai hlauːt, Mae Sariang hlauːt [suak]; ~ Kammu-Yuan salúːt; by secondary derivation (*-ut?) ~ Khasi kyllut.

†1090 *wit; *wiːt; *wiːt; *wət; *waːt; *waːt; *wuːt; *wuːt; *wuət to go round, curve, bend, turn.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer vūt to stir repeatedly, beat, Bahnar wit curve, eddy (Gulleminet 1959-63); (~ wiŋ) to whirl round, (wit wiŋ) (in) return, to return; (or B) → Malay wet, ət to turn by back-paddling, to waggle [finger], wriggle [buttocks], Iban uit to turn by back-paddling; ~ Sre kuit (& kuet) to bend back; ~ Khasi kyrwit round, turn.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *wit dizzy, Riang-Lang *vit to surround; to turn round, stir round and round; ~ Sre kuit bent, to bend (v.t.); ~ Lawa Umphai rawit to surround.

C: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Asian) Chrau wet to turn round, Bahnar wêt to turn [e.g. collar] back (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang *vit to wring [clothes], Praok vet [ve] to change direction, Lawa Bo Luang wiat to turn, Khasi wiaw to bend [bow], Temiar wëd giddy (BENJAMIN 1976b 132); ~ Bahnar ruet to wring [clothes] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng uat, Bahnar wat time, (recurrent) occasion (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has Bahnar wat, wyt to turn (v.t.), Kammu-Yuan wût-[rañwût] [many] wagging, wagging, Khasi wet-wet [to go] round hurriedly.

E: (Khamer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Khasi wat time; ~ Khamer khvat-[khvaen] intertwined, meandering, Biat kwat hooked, bent back; ~ Kammu-Yuan katwât to wag, wave; ~ Muông quät to bend (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese quât to turn (v.i.); ~ Khasi kyrwat turn of path.

F: (Khamer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muông) Khamer viat to turn boat by paddling, Stieng uut to wag [tail], Bahnar wat circular, to encircle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Muông (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese quát to fan, to winnow; ~ Khasi kyrwad turn; ~ West Bahnar twuat to turn (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

G: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang wot, vot to be bent, crooked, to arch.

H: (Palaungic) Praok wut to turn away (v.i.).

I: (Bahnaric) Bahnar wot to turn (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Chrau [rawi:] rawat dizzy.

G-I secondary. Connect besides Sre kuet (above, A; ~ tarkuet caus.) Sre wet to turn round (v.i.t.); & 862 *wic &c. twisted. Add B73 *wiat to repay?

Sora 1d-, ed- to circle, wind (or : 1794 *wi(i))?.

1091 *wat; *waat to throw.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer vɔat, Kammu-Yuan wat.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa wat.

1092 *kwit; *kwat; *kwat to beat.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau kwoot to lash; ~ Khasi khyrwit to beat with stick, kyrwit to beat.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung hviat small stick; (~) Khasi kawiaw to beat with s.th. small.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Muông) Palaung hvat to hit with small stick (MILNE 1931), (!; ?) Vietnamese quât to whip, beat; (~ *kwat >) Halang wot to hit, Praok sivet to beat, flog.

Vietnamese tone obscure. Note Gòlar Bahnar huat to whip; Palaung hvian to hit; Khmer rɔvèc raviq to swish to and fro. Cf. 1037 *rbat to whip, thresh with flail.

(*[g]wat, *gwaat see 867 *kwaac to scratch.)
1093 *rwıat subject to fits, mad.
   A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ravet (to go) mad, Central Nicobarese aroat fits, spasm, convulsion, (aroat -pəiyu) mad.
   Assuming (i) *-wi- inhibits Nicobaric *r > y, (ii) *-wia- > *-wia- > -oa-.
   Connection uncertain Bahnar hawem, hawen mad (Guilleminet 1959-63).

1094 *[r]wøt; *rwøt; *[r]wøc; *rwøc inattentive, to forget.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Mon) Old Mon wit /wøt/, Modern Mon wøt to forget, Proto-Nyah Kur *thawøt (Diffloth 1984 V144), Biat rwøt rwøt vague, obscure, Chrau [cut] lawøt to faint.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Biat rwʉt imprudent, careless.
   C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese wait-[ŋayan] to forget, Nancowry wàc to miss a target.
   D: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *rawuuc carelessly (Diffloth 1977). Connect (via a form *s-rwi(i)c?) Stieng auic, Sre huiʔ, Chrau huc [ce?] to forget; Bahnar has hiaːt.

1095 *swiit; *swiit; *swat to wither.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer svøt not as when new or young..., to wither, Kuy sweet, feṭ, Praok vit to wither.
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan wūiat (& wūat) to shrivel, shrink, Palaung hviat (Milne 1931) (& Palaung hiaːt; contaminated by 1101 *swat, which compare?) to wither, Riang-Lang *viet wrinkles, to be wrinkled, to wither.
   C: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer (Guesdon 1930) svāt' to wither; ~ Vietnamese quát to shrivel, shrink, dry up, be wizened.
   Khmer has further svøt flaccid; (Guesdon 1930) svøt to wither. Cf. also 980 *squāt to dry up. (Cf. Pinnow 1959 K 525.)

1096 *swat; *swat thin, small.
   A: (Mon, North & South Aslian) Middle Mon swat, Modern Mon hwøt to be small, Sakai wat thin (i.e. Semaq Beri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 65); ~ Old Mon suñwat /samwøt/ small; child, Modern Mon həmot child, Pangan həmad thin (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906).
   B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung karhuøt to be thin, slender (Milne 1931).

1097 *siit; *siat to comb.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sɔt; ~ Khmer sɔyt, Chrau səniit comb.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng, Biat nɛːt, Central Rölöm niat comb; ~ Semang kənsiət comb (i.e. Semnam; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 210A).
   Cf. Bru nciʔ to comb.
   (Blood 1966 93.)
1098 *siit; *siat to stop up.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau set to plug up; ~ Biat nchêt to plug up; ~ Stieng, Chrau sapet, Sre (→ Rōglai) sampit, Biat mpet stopper, cork.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer siat, Kuy siit to insert in sheath, slot, &c., Stieng siat to stop up.

(*[ ]siit see 1103 *[s]rsiət kind of tree.)

1099 *sut; *suut kind of bee.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre sut small kind of bee, Stieng sut (or B?), Chrau sut, Biat chot bee.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ? South Aslian) Bahnar sut large kind of bee, Kammu-Yuan hut kind of bee, Besisi shuht small wild bee (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 140; or A?).
Connect 873 *suc &c. to sting?
(SHAFER 1965 253: SMITH 1972 218.)

1100 *suut to sharpen; sharp.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre sout, Chrau soːt, Biat chot sharp, Khasi shut to sharpen.
(BLOOD 1966 17.)

1101 *suat to dry up.
A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng suat, Sre suat dry, dried up, Chrau suat to dry up, Biat chuat, chwat to (get) dry, Rōngao tsot (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai *soot [stream] to dry up (DIFFLOTH 1977).
Connect Kuy sʔaat to be dry; & cf. Kuy set to dry up, Bru thrett; & cf. 980 *sŋuat to dry up; 1095 *swiit &c. to wither.
(BLOOD 1966 84.)

(*suat see also 1096 *swat thin….)

1102 *gsuat to rub.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar suat to rub (on), wipe, Palaung sut to rub, Nancowry sút to rub; ~ Biat rchut: to rub on, Khasi kyrsňut to rub, scour, Pangan gersoyd to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 194); ~ Mintil ngosňt to wipe.
Cf. 879 *khuc &c. to wipe, wash; & Central Nicobarese -fɛːc- to (wipe) clean, Nancowry séc (rather < *cʔaʔ-s-?).
(SMITH 1972 219.)
Sora go'sod- to wash, wipe (& with variant vocalism go:sad- to wipe dry), Kharia go:sɔʔ to anoint, &c. (PINNOW 1959 207).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1103 *[s]rsiat; *[ ]siit kind of tree.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon kaset Pentace burmanica, Khmer trasiat Pentace sp. (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Bru kasiat; → Burmese kasac[kha:] Pentace burmanica; Thai sisiat Pentace burmanica, Acacia catechu.

1104 *hiit; *hat to sniff, pant.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Khmer ʰyɨt to sniff (at), inhale, Stieng hiiit to sniff; cold in the nose, Bahnar he-t-heat to pant, be out of breath, Mường hít to smell (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 106), Vietnamese hit to inhale, Pangan häd smell (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKETE & BLADGEN 1906 S 292 (a)).
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer hat to be out of breath, Biat hōt to be out of breath; cold; tobacco, Bahnar hat (to smoke) tobacco, Bru het to sniff, Central Nicobarese ʰyɨt-[hata] to smell, Nancowry hōt to sniff.
Cf. Khmer ʰyɨt asthama (→ Kuy, Biat huut); 1106 *huut &c. to suck…; 1294 *hiip &c. to suck in, to inhale.

1105 *hat narrow, crowded.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau hat crowded, Sre hat narrow, restricted in size, Biat hat narrow, Bahnar hat crowded together (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 351.)

1106 *huu; *huut; *huat; *huc; *huuc; *huac to suck, drink.
A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer hot to suck up, to (swallow in one) gulp, (or B) Stieng hūut to inhale, to suck up last of drink, Nancowry ʔitpʰʔot to suck; ~ (*huc-hu(u)t >?) Kensiu, Sabum johud to suck (& Kintaq Bong jot, Temiar jod?).
B: (Khuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese hût to suck, inhale; ~ Thin hmut to suck up, (~?) Praok ɲut (!) to nose-kiss, Lawa Bo Luang hŋauk, Lawa Umphai hŋaut to smell.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer huat to absorb water and dry up quickly (contaminated by 1101 *suat); ~ (*huac-huat >?) Biat chuat to absorb; ~ (*enhuat >?) Palaung juat to absorb, suck up (MILNE 1931), Teressa-Bompoka Nicobaric nɔt-[hata] to suck.
D: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre huc to drink [water], Temiar huj to sip (BENJAMIN 1976b 138); → Jarai huc to drink from a glass.
E: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy hoc to sip [hot liquid], Chrau huc to drink, Bahnar huc to drink from spoon, (so probably, rather than B) Jeh hut to drink, suck, Halang hut to drink.

(*psi(i)t see 1903 *ptis fungus.)
F: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar hɔc to drink by sipping (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Cham huy? to drink [soup] from spoon, (or C) Acehnese uat to swallow.
Note semantic consistency of forms with each final; *-c by expressive deformation? Munda supports their unity. Connect perhaps 1104 *hiit &c. to sniff…; 796 *[cʔ]u(u)c drunk; but connection dubious 829 *bu(u)c to suck; or Mon söt jrot &c. to suck.

(SHAFER 1965 274; SMITH 1972 243; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (b.).
Kharia u'ɖ to drink, to sip, &c. (PINNOW 1959 142).
Proto-Austronesian *u[d1]u[d1]: Malay udut to smoke, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159;
Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay; → Thai dũut to suck, to absorb, Shan lũt to smoke, → Riang-Lang [i] ʒũt tobacco). See BENEDICT 1975 401.

1106a *[k]hɔɔt to dry up.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon khot [e.g. plaster] to dry, Bahnar khɔt [water] to dry up, Bru khɔnt to evaporate.

1107 *[k]huut; *[k]hu(ə)t to call.
A: (Mon) Old Mon kḥut /kʰut/ to call, summon, Modern Mon khut to name.
B: (Khasi) Khasi khot to call, summon, denominate.

(*chiit, *chait see 949 *cʔiit to confine, restrict.)

1107a *chat insipid, tasteless.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat ʔat, Palaung ʔat (MILNE 1931).

1108 *chut: *chuət to escape, to deliver.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang chot to be healed, saved, to heal, save.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon chuot to avoid, escape, not to be, Palaung cuat to deliver, disenchant (MILNE 1931).
Connect obscure Vietnamese thoát [khọí] to escape.

1109 *jhuut to go backwards.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mon chut chut to go back, backwards (→ Burmese chut), Vietnamese tút to slide down, fall behind (contaminated by trut, ~ 1081 *luut to slip); ~ Proto-Semai *kɾɾɯw to go backwards (DIFFLOTH 1977).
Connect 876 *huc &c. to decrease…?

1110 *[t,]hat to excess.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Old Mon thatta /θat/ [earth to quake] violently, Khasi that [to shake, tremble, stink] very much; → Acehnese that excessive, very.
Cf. following.
1111 *dhat thick, well-built.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon that to be powerful, severe (separate probably Old Mon thatta, see preceding), Modern Mon that to be strong, Khmer thọt to be fat (→ Biat [deh] rdhọt thickset, with secondary prefix?), Palaung hat to be thick; ~ Riang-Lang Ḿhat to be thick; ~ Old Mon dirhat /darhọt/ strength, magnitude, Modern Mon sëʔhọt strength.
(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20.)

1112 *phat; *phaat to distribute, disburse.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer phat to spread evenly, sprinkle, dissipate, to repay [debt], Biat phat to hand over.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre phat to pay, repay, (tam —) to distribute (→ Röglai phat), Vietnamese phát to distribute.

1113 *phut to cease.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon phuit to cease, to sever, Khmer phot end; to cease, to end, exceed, come up to.
Connect probably 875 *huc &c. finished, 1539 *hay &c. finished.

1114 *rhat rotary device.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon Ḿat spinning-wheel, cotton gin, windlass of well, sugar-cane crusher (→ Burmese raħat spindle, wheel), Khmer raħat spindle, winder, rotary machine; ~ (*rnhat >) Kuy Ḿhat spinning-wheel.

(*lhiat see 953 *lʔiit ...slippery.; *lhaat see 954 *lʔuat wet, cold.)

(*ʔiān see 882 *ʔa[i][n] (elder) brother.)

†1115 *ʔan?; *ʔən[ ] 3rd person singular pronoun.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Stięng ʔən who, what, which?, Riang-Lang _an clause-subordinating particle; → Shan Ḿən which (or ← A, or ad Praok ʔən, below; then → Riang-Lang?).
Connect Praok ʔən that, in this (< *ʔaa-n, *ʔii-n?); ~ Palaung ʔən this, Praok ʔən thus, probably → Shan ʔən that, nān thus, nān there.
Sora ʔən[in] 3rd person singular pronoun.

1116 *ʔaa[n] tray of betel-box.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon ʔən [hədɔʔ], Palaung ʔən.
Or *ʔi-n.
1117 *ʔan to be, exist.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng an to exist, to have, Riang-Lang òan to be the case, be true.

1118 *ʔon to be small in quantity.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon ‘an /ʔon/ to have few, little of, to lack, Modern Mon on to be small in quantity, to lack, Khmer òon to diminish; → Cham ‘an diminution.

Mon vowel raising regular, as following nasal?
(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 28.)

1119 *ʔun; *ʔuun; *ʔən; *ʔan; *ʔaan to give.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau un.
B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ūn.
C: (Katuic) Kuy ʔun, Bru ʔən.
D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar an, Thin ʔän.
E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau, Biat an.
Vocalism obscure, though E probably secondary.

1120 *ʔuun (& *ʔun?); *ʔon to place, put.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin ʔun (< *ʔun?), Palaung un, Praok un to place, put (down), Lawa Bo Luang ʔauun to make [e.g. promise], put.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre ʔən, Biat ʔən to keep, Khasi en [rob] to dress, put on.

Kharia un to put, keep. (PINNOW 1959 377).

1121 *[ʔ]uun[ ]; *[ʔ]ən[s] to hide.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar ūn v.t., Riang-Lang òun to be hidden, to hide.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ân to hide (v.i.).
Perhaps *[t]ʔ-, ~ following Cf. 1168 *[d]puun &c.

(*cʔan see 951 *cʔ[a]t sated, cloyed.)

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon həmon thanun, samun to be untruthful, to be untrue (or Mon < *mun cf. 1185), ?Nancowry n̄un lie (suggests *snʔuun).
B: (Palaungic) Praok muan [ti pe len] to falsify.
C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese man to be false.

~ preceding? Probably not *sm-, since *sbmuan > Praok **simuan; but perhaps *dmʔ-, if further connected 1168 *[d]puun &c. to hide.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1123 *l?aan path.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon dan path, Khmer da:n path, trail, scent (& by levelling l?am) (→ Cham ḏan); ~ Khmer lûm?an path, trail, scent.

1124 *l?un; *l?uun; *l?uen; *l?en soft, tender.
   A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer don soft, weak, Old Mon lu'in /ləʔən/ to soften, Proto-Nyah Kur *ləʔən (DIFFLOTH 1984 V149).
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung on [meat] to be tender (MILNE 1931).
   C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Khmuic ñən soft, mild, pale, (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese non to be tender, young, weak; ~ (*lmʔuan >) Bahnar rəmuan (→ Jarai r'muan) soft, flexible; ~ Pangan têlémøyən soft (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 335 (b)).
   D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon don, Khmer túən! to be soft, Kuy [lʔiː] ləʔən limp, unresisting, Sre lan (& don) docile, (easy to) tame, (probably =) lan young, tender, Praok on to be soft, tender, ?Nancowry pən soft; ~ (*lmʔən >) Sre ləbən soft, Biat rəbən (→ Chrau ləvən?) soft, flexible, Bahnar rəmən soft, flexible, weak, debilitated; → Cham ləmən tender, weak, Röglai ləhən soft, North Röglai ləhmən soft, tender.
Khmer at D obscure; Middle Khmer pantən to soften is regular. Cf. 909 *bʊŋ &c. soft; & Bahnar həbən soft and springy.
(SMITH 1972 74)

1125 *kion to gnaw.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng kïən, Sre kïən, Biat cïən, Kammu-Yuan kïən (!) (?); (~?) ~ Vietnamese ghen to be jealous, envious.
Connect 957 *kïiən &c. to bite...; & cf. Mon kəhən gaiən to gnaw (< *ŋgïiən?); Khmer ʔοŋkïiəm to chew at, nibble. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 28.)

1126 *kan; *kaan woman, female.
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kan woman, Nancowry kān.
Add Kammu-Yuan ka[mɾaʔ] woman, &c., by contraction (Khmuic; under the entry 183 *mra?).
(SHAEFER 1965 44; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 64.)

(*kun see 892 *kʊŋ to bend down... .)
1127 *kuun (& *kun?); *kəan child.
   A: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Khmer kon, kvan, Modern Khmer kən, (*kuun >?
   Khasi khuu /khun/, Nancowry kən.
   B: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian)
   Old Mon kon /kon/, Modern Mon kon, Kuy kən, (Stieng kən, Sre kon ← ?)
   Chrau, Biat, Bahnar kən, Jeh kən, Halang kən, Kammu-Yuan kən, Palaung kən, Riang-Lang "kuun, Praok kən, Lawa kuan, Mường (Barker 1966 11),
   Vietnamese con, Temiar kawot, Central Nicobarese kən, Nancowry kuan; ~
   Bahnar kanɔn number of a woman’s births (Guilleminet 1959-63), Semai kənɔn,
   Sora oɔmə-an, compounding form ‘oɔm-ən, Khasi kən-, &c. (Pinnow 1959 205;
   Proto-Munda *kə(ː)n).

(*kuun see also 892 *kun to bend down, bent.)

1128 *ŋkɪən[ ]; *ŋkən[ ]; *ŋkuan? finger, toe.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon kən, təkan (Mon dialect also tən) finger, toe,
   Praok gen finger, Lawa Bo Luang [ʔdɔih] kən little finger, ?perhaps by
   metathesis Central Nicobarese kən-[tai, lah] finger, toe, Nancowry kən hand.
   B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang [ʔdɔih] kən, (!; with secondary lengthening?) Lawa
   Umphai nəun [teʔ] thumb.
   C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ngón finger, toe.

1129 *d,kan bamboo rat.
   A: (Khmuc, Khasi) Khasi dkan hill-rat, mole, (~?) Kammu-Yuan təkán bamboo rat;
   ~ Nyah Kur ŋkán.
   (Proto-Austronesian *dəkan) Malay dēkan bamboo rat.

(*duun see 892 *kun ...bent.)

1130 *gan to cross.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre gan to cross, go through, Chrau gan across, Bahnar gan to cross
   (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   (Shafer 1965 108; Blood 1966 344.)

1131 *gən stable, enduring.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon kən gan to be original, primal,
   Biat gan stable, fixed, Praok kən still, Mường (Barker 1966 20), Vietnamese còn
   to remain; still.
   Add, by assimilation, Old Khmer gən to remain, Modern Khmer kəʊŋ to stay, last out?
1132 *t\,gin to concentrate mentally.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon -t\,gin /tgøn/ to apply [mind]; ~ Middle Mon taguin, Modern Mon həkən to observe, keep [ritual practice], Palaung təgen to consider well (MILNE 1931).

1133 *pgeen to offer to a superior.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon pəkìn; ~ Old Mon pirgin /pərgin/, Khmer prəkən, Kuy khən; → Thai prak'een.

1134 *pgan to take hold of.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon pəkən to yoke, Literary Mon bgan also to take hold of, come to grips, Old Khmer kān, Modern Khmer kan to hold (→ Stieng kan to carry, hold, in hands).
(SCHMIDT 1905 16; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 48; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 61.)

1135 *t\,ŋun; *t\,ŋuən; *t\,ŋut nape of neck.
A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, North & Central Aslian) Stieng ŋuən [kəu], Mendriq ʔuən, Temiar taŋən neck.
B: (Katuic) Bru ŋən nape.
C: (by assimilation: Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang _tarŋət nape of neck.
Connection dubious Sre ənkout.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 27.)

1136 *Iŋ[uə]n; *Iŋaan dew.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat [dak] ŋən.
B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung [om] rəŋən.
Vocalism unusual.

1137 *ciin? (> Pre-Bahnaric *cin); *ciən [ ]; *cain [ ] cooked.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon cin, Khmer chərn, Stieng sin (BLOOD 1966 sin), Chrau sun, Biat chin, Sre, Bahnar sin, Jeh, Halang cen, Kammu-Yuan sin (to be) cooked, Palaung sin, Riang-Lang "sin to be cooked, ripe, Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese chín cooked; ~ Mon həcin, Kammu-Yuan pansín to cook.
B: (Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar cet (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Proto-Semai *ceən (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese ijiān- cooked.
C: (Katuic) Kuy cen to be ripe, cooked.
Bahnaric, Palaungic appear to exclude *ʔc-, which Danaw ətsən suggests.
(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 246; BLOOD 1966 145; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 237.) Sora (ə)-'sin-, Kharia i'sin to boil, bake, &c. (PINNOW 1959 86).
1138 *ciin, (*ciin ciin >) *nciin to look at.
  A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre sin, Chrau se:n to look at, (*nc- >) Vietnamese nhin to look (at), stare.

1139 *cən; *cəən leg, foot.
  A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese chân leg.
  B: (Viet-Mường, ?North Aslian) Vietnamese chon, (or A?) Kensiu can foot.
  Cf. 538 *jùŋ &c.

†1140 *cuun; *ciin to desire.
  A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ¯sun to desire, wish to.
  B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung sin to desire, wish to, (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese xin to ask for.
  (?) Sora οn- desiderative/habitual prefix.

1141 *cəan to borrow.
  A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunör, Central Rölöm ca:n to borrow, Sre ca:n to borrow, hire, buy on credit, Bahnar ca:n [to buy] on credit (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Praok san debt.
  (SHAFER 1965 71; BLOOD 1966 287.)

1142 *[?]cuun to walk bent over.
  A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Mon cun to walk with a stick, Sre cun to walk bent over (DOURNES 1950), ?Nancowry sónsiri to stop, bend, bow; ~ Old Mon circu:n /cərcun/, Modern Mon hæcun staff.
  (*ncəcan[ ] see 1145 *nciin[ ] ring.)

1143 *[c]ncan; *[c]ncaan to brace oneself, kick off.
  A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kəcan to brace oneself, be ready to spring.
  B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon həcan dacən &c. to push laterally against a firm surface, to brace, prop, (~ krip klaŋ) to leap away, Biat nchən to leap away, take off with a bound.

1144 *dcinin[ ] (> Pre-Bahnaric *dcin); *dciit nine.
  A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng se:n (BLOOD 1966 sin), Chrau sun, Biat chin, Sre, Bahnar sin, Vietnamese chin; ~ Bahnar tasin, Jeh tacən, Halang cəcən.
  B: (Mon) ~ late Old Mon dincit /dəncit/, Modern Mon həcinit.
  Earlier *dciiit? But B perhaps by assimilation Cf. 1351 *ctiim; in view of Sora 'tɪnɪj-, tinj-, &c., & Kharia 'təmsiŋ (PINNOW 1959 372) perhaps by metathesis from a common source, *dciim(-t[ ]) or the like.
  (SHAFER 1965 242; BLOOD 1966 145; SMITH 1972 50.)
1145 *nciin[ ]; *ncian[s]; *ncian[ ] ring.  
A: (Mon, North Aslian) Middle Mon lacin, Modern Mon kacın, Pangan chin (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 133 (a)).  
B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer ṭɨncían (→ Stieng ncian), Kuy ncín, Lawa Umphai njaim, (by palatal absorption) Vietnamese nhân.  
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer cancyan, Modern Khmer concian, cùncian, Bahnar takhien (!; & dialects, Guilleminet 1959-63, totian, tācun, &c.).  
(Schmidt 1905 20.)  
Sora en'si-n (by popular etymology referred to -si-n hand, : 244 *sii[?]). Proto-Austronesian *k'ink'in: Malay chin chin, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 87; Proto-West-Indonesian; Philippine langs. have *kiŋk'ın); probably → Central Sakai chinchi* ( &c., cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 133 (b)).  
Proto-Austrasiatic *ciciin or the like; c then contaminated by Indonesian.  
Note Ancient Chinese jiùcūn 璽 large jade ring, from which Pou & Jenner 1973 no. 144 derive Khmer.  
(*nciin see 1138 *cii to look at.)

A, B, C: (Bahnaric) Stieng cuun temporary hut for travellers (c), (B) Biat cuun shelter, shed; ~ (A) Bahnar bāsun hut, shelter (& East Bahnar, Guilleminet 1959-63, pāsuan: c).

1146 *jān ( > Waic *jiañ; *j[ɔ]n heavy.  
A: (Palaungic) Palaung jān, Praok cēn, Lawa Bo Luang cian, Lawa Umphai chian, chuan, Mae Sariang chian; ~ Riang-Lang kācan.  
B: (North Aslian) ~ Kemsiu Ḥanjut.  
Cf. 52 *kjo &c.

1147 *jōn; *jōn back of knee.  
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre jōn.  
B: (Bahnaric) Biat [chaŋ] jōn hock (or A?), Chrau jōn heel [?], Bahnar jōn back of knee.

1148 *jun; *juun to hand over, bring.  
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Old Mon jın /jōn/ to make over, hand over, Sre jūn to bring, Biat jūn to convey, Chrau iūn, (or B) Semaq Beri jōn to give; ~ (*jnJun >) Mon hāyăn to carry on shoulder, Chrau njūn to hand over, to lead, Biat njūn to convey, to send.  
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer jvān, jōn, Modern Khmer cūn to offer, to escort, Kuy chūn to give back, to see off, West Bahnar jen to bring, carry (Guilleminet 1959-63; with secondary vocalism); ~ Khmer cûncûn (& ṭāncûn) to carry, Kuy nchūn to carry from one place to another.
Cf. Biat ncuan to carry from one place to another.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 32, S 99.)

Sora jʔun- to be within reach, ~ ab-jʔun- to reach, present, place within reach, hand to.

1149 *tjun *tjuun to bend knees.
   A: (Palaungic; ~ *t̪pjum >) Riang-Lang _səkcan to squat.
   B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) ~ (*t̪juun > ) Mon hacun [animals] to sit, lie, crouch; ~ (*t̪juun > ) Vietnamese nhūn to lower oneself by bending one’s legs.
   Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect by interdialectal borrowing Sre cuun kəltən to kneel (→ Röglai). Cf. 938 *choń.

1150 *[p]jun; *[p]juun large kind of deer.
   A, B: (Stieng, Central Aslian) Stieng jun largest kind of deer (A), (B) Sre juun Cervus aristotelis, Chrau, Biat juln deer, (A/B) Sakai pajón roed (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 81 (b)).

1151 *ɲan?, *ɲən[ ] to receive, to suffer, endure.
   A: (Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon ŋin passive auxiliary (or B), Vietnamese nhăn to receive.
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin jvən to receive, accept, collect, Riang-Lang _nən to bear, endure.
   Cf. 883 *ʔəɲ to endure ...; earlier *ʔəɲ ?əɲ, *-n by dissimilation? Connect perhaps also Semang jid to get, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 14.

1152 *[n]ɲoon near.

1153 *tin[?] to go up.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon tin /tən/, Modern Mon ton to go up, come up, Proto-Nyah Kur *tun (DIFFLOTH 1984 V153; implies *-un), Mường tənh (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese tén to arrive (at), come (to), reach; ~ (? , *tpin[?] > ?) Vietnamese bến landing-place, station.
   Vietnamese tone perhaps levelled on derivation, if cognate. Khmer (elevated) taən to wake up, get up is ← Tai tūun.

1153a *t̪e:n to tread.
   A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy te:n to tread on, run over, Bru katən to tread, Kammu-Yuan tən to tread, step, stamp.
   Cf. 1195 *lin? to trample.
1154 *t₁un; *t₁uən to carry, bring.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung ton to bring, Riang-Lang *tən to hold esp. in fingers, carry.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng təxn to carry on shoulder, Palaung ton = ton.

1154a *t₁uun (kind of) bamboo rat.
   A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon ton Rhizomys cinereus, Kammu-Yuan tún kind of bamboo rat larger than rat sumatrensis.

1155 *[t₁]nt₁uun; *[t₁]nt₁uen; *[t₁]nt₁uət wrinkled.
   A: (Palaungic) Praok dun.
   B, C: (Mon) Mon hətot (həton).
   C contaminated by 997 *n[uə]t, which compare?

1156 *btuun; *btuən to recur, to repeat.
   A: (Mon, ?Katuic) Old Mon tūn /tun/ to return, do again, Modern Mon ton to recur, ?Kuy ton & Bru ntūn to follow; (?) → Burmese tuñ.
   B: (Khmer) Khmer phtuːən to repeat.

(*dun see 1741 *dul hill.)

1157 *duan pole, lance.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Literary Mon don lance, pike, Khmer tūn fish-spear, (lumphen —) kind of lance, Mường tông (Barker 1966 22), Vietnamese dơn lever, carrying-pole; → Thai tʰuən tasselled lance.

1158 *d[uu]n to perch.
   A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon dūn /dun/, Modern Mon dun, Central Nicobarese duan-[həta], Nancowry rúan.
   Note, Nancowry fronts following r : so *duan? Cf. 1357 *dəm &c. …to roost.

1159 *duan wide hat of straw &c.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer duan, Bahnar dūan, Vietnamese nón; ~ (*ndūan >) Stieng duan, Sre doan, Chrau dūan; → Cham don, Jarai hədoan, Jarai dialect dūan, Röglai duat, North Röglai duat.
   Vietnamese tone from initial sequence, for which cf. Khmer Connection dubious Khasi shaton.

1160 *kdan restricted in size.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon dən to be narrow, restricted in size; ~ Old Mon kudan /kədən/ to cause to contract, Modern Mon hədon to make narrow; ~ Bahnar dialects hədan, rədan, sədan below average length (Guilleminet 1959-63).
1161 *kdôn to fish with a line.
A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon don (k)dan, Proto-Nyah Kur *cər̥ndeŋ fishhook (Diffloth 1984 V117a; implies *-ən), Central Nicobarese koron-[hətə] to fish with a line.

1162 *peen to thresh by trampling.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon pin to thresh, Khmer baen, Stieng phiən! to thresh by trampling, Riang-Lang *pean to tread on, thresh; ~ Chrau mpeən to thresh by trampling.
Cf. Biat pleən, under the entry 1195 *linə.

1163 *pən female.
A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung [i]pən; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ?apəŋ, Lawa Umphai rapən, Mae Sariang yapən; ~ Praok bon female, (~?) Semelai kampaŋ woman.
Perhaps cognate with Lawa is Old Khmer prapvən wife; Modern Khmer has prapũən, apparently contaminated by Sanskrit prabandha- band, tie, connection; Old Khmer may be connected Malay pěrɛmpuan woman, wife. See Lewitz 1967.
(Shafer 1965 22; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 67.)

1164 *p[ ]ən[ ] to wind, coil.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre pən to roll [turban], Bahnar pən to bandage, wrap, wind on to reel, Palaung pən to screw in, to crank, turn, Riang-Lang [li] pən to rotate (?); ~ Shan pən to revolve; ~ Biat mən to roll [turban], (or next?) Vietnamese vən to coil [turban, hair] round; ~ Palaung karpən to turn round (v.t.).
Or *pənʔ, causative ~ 1208 *wənʔ coiled…?
(Shafer 1965 102.)

1165 *pən; *pən to sit on eggs.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pən, Sre pən to sit on [eggs], Bahnar pən to take to one’s bed, be confined to bed (Guilleminet 1959-63), West Bahnar ʔapan to nurse (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat pən to sit on [eggs], Bahnar pən to take to one’s bed, be confined to bed (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Stieng vocalism perhaps related to that before stop, for which see 345 *pək.

1166 *punʔ; *pənʔ[ ]; *pənʔ[ ] four.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Palaung phon (!), Riang-Lang *pon, Praok pən, Lawa Bo Luang pən, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pən, Mường pən
(Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese bόn; ~ Serting hɛmpudn (i.e. Semelai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 250).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Khmer pən, Khmer buən, Kuy pən, Bru pən, Chrau pən, Biat pən, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pən, Central Nicobarese foən.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

C: (Mon) Old Mon pan /pɔn/, Modern Mon pon.
Palaung ph- by counting deformation on phon five, ~ 1214 *sən.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 24; BLOOD 1966 82; SMITH 1972 72.)

1167 *kpuun raft.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kboːn; ~ Biat mpuːn.

1168 *[d]puun; *[d]puən to hide.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre poun, Chrau, Biat pon v.t.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer pʊən v.i., Stieng puən v.t.
(BLOOD 1966 13.)

1169 *bən plump.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon [pɔk] pən to be fat, plump, Khasi pian short and stout.

1170 *baan pedestal dish.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katiuc, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon pàn, Old Khmer vān, Modern
Khmer pʰon, Kuy phiːan pedestal dish, Palaung ban (pedestal) tray; tin bath,
Mường pàn (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese bàn table.
Connect variously Thai pʰaːn pedestal dish, Shan pān wicker or wooden tray; Burmese
ban: wicker tray. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 2 derive all the foregoing, with Malay
puan large betel-box, ← Ancient Chinese bʰuân 盤 vessel; tub, tray, dish, plate…;
Palaung in sense tin bath is certainly likely to be ← Chinese.

1171 *bən? time.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung bən (future) time, Praok pon time of day, Mường
pān, Vietnamese bàn time (quantifier) (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

1172 *bən; bən we (inclusive).
A: (Bahnaric) Biat bən we, Central Rölöm ban, Bunör, Bahnar bən we (incl.).
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng bən, Chrau vən we (incl.).
(BLOOD 1966 115; cf. SMITH 1972 58.)

1173 *jban; *jbaan; *jən; *jən girdle, skirt.
A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi pan- what is tied round
(compounding form!), Sakai aban cloth (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 173; !);
~ Khasi jympan girdle; ~ (*jrb- >) Mon ḫapən skirting-board round outside of
house (B; probably → Burmese khāːpaːn: skirting-board, monk’s girdle), (A) Gölar
Bahnar ḫaban (to put on) cloth skirt.
C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon **hwân** (in sense) coping [of well] (or **d**; ?); ~ Sre **mбан** to wrap [skirt &c.] round, Biat **mбан** [woman] to put on [skirt]; ~ Bahnar **aben** (contaminated by Cham, below), Kontum **baben** skirt.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **jympien** woman's undergarment.

Bahnar vocalism in C post-palatal, cf. **1054 *[s]yөt.** Note Mon **hapat** belt; perhaps by back-borrowing ← Burmese **khâ:pat** /**khâbaʔ/; ultimately connected **1032 *[b]at** to bind.

Proto-Austronesian ***a(N)bәn**: Cham **apәn** woman's waistcloth, &c., Minangkabau Malay **ambәn** (& by metathesis **әmbәn**) breastband for knapsack, saddle-girth, Javanese **ambәn** (to fasten) skirt-girdle (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

1174 ***[j]baan; *[j]buun bridge, causeway.**
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **svәn**, Modern Khmer **spиәn** (→ Thai **tәpәaәn, sapәaәn**), Kuy (th)phиәn bridge; ~ (** *[j]baan >**) Mon **hәpәn** highway, (or Khmer → ?) Stieng **sәбаәn** bridge.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **pun** to pave, to bridge over.
Or ***so-**; then Kuy **th-** contaminated by Thai.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1175 ***[d]bәan to climb, scale.**
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **dәwә /dәwә/** to assault, march against, Literary Mon **dәwә** to assault, to climb, Modern Mon **kwәn to climb**, Khmer **piәn** to climb, to march against.

1176 ***[r]bәn; *[r]bәn, *[r]bәn firm, secure.**
A: (Viet-Muơng, ?Mon) Old Mon **rәbәn** /**rәbәn/**, Modern Mon **pәn** to be firm, secure (or **B**), Muơng **pәn** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **bәn** durable; ~ (***[r]mb- >**; or **B**) Late Middle Mon **lамәn**, Modern Mon **kәмәn** constantly.

B, C: (Khasi) Khasi **lәpәn stoutly;** by secondary derivation ~ **pәnәn, pәnәn rigid.**
Add perhaps Khmer **lәnәbәn, rәnәbәn' habit** (GUESDON 1930) (B/C; cf. Mon **kәmәn**); & by metathesis Biat **nәp** (& **nәpәl**!) firm, durable. But Connection uncertain Palaung **mәun to be secure** (MILNE 1931).

1177 ***[f]әan; *[f]әaәn interlaced.**
A: (Mon, Khmer) (Late Middle Mon **tәn [tәoy]** to be thronged contaminated by **910 ** *[t]әan** to twist (together), which compare, Mon **bәn [boa]** to be interlaced, to throng, Khmer **pәәn** interlaced; ~ Khmer **pәрәәn** interlaced, heaped up.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **pиәn [piә]** to be on top of one another; ~ **pәрәәn** to pile on top of one another.

heaped up &c. by attraction following.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1178 *ɓun; *ɓuun; *ɓən; *ɓut to heap up.
A: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Stieng bund; ~ Literary Mon thabun, sabun to collect, amass (or c?), Biat rɓon to save (up).
B: (Khmer, Kautoic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer vvan, Modern Khmer pun, Kuy phun to heap up, Biat bun to heap up, to amass, Jeh boun to stack (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Khasi bund/buun/ heap of leaves and branches for burning; → Thai pʰuun to heap up to overflowing; Toba Batak bun to be plentiful (cf. Dempwolff 1938 35, *bun; or A); ~ Biat mbun heap, Mae Sariang moun quantity, (or c) Praok bun sum, total.
C: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Umphai mbun quantity.
D: (South Bahnaric) Biat but to have, possess, contain (?); ~ (*nɓut >) Sre but heap, stack, mound.
Cf. preceding; & note Biat mbuc heap (< *nɓuc); Riang-Lang bɔc heap, band, share, to heap (< *ɓuc).
(Schmidt 1905 60.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *bunbun: Malay bumbun heaped up, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 35; Proto-Hesperonesian; Tagalog doubtful, but other Tagalic cognates available); (ii) *ta(N)bun: Malay tambun heap, embankment, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 125-6); (iii) *tiNbun: Malay timbun heap, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian).
See Benedict 1975 312; 299, gather… . (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 16.)

1179 *[ŋ]ɓ[uaj)a]n to get, obtain.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy buan to get, obtain, to be able to, Kammu-Yuan puan to get, to be able to, Palaung buun, Riang-Lang bən, Praok pon to get, obtain.
Kuy suggests *ɓ-.

1180 *[ŋ]ɓan; *[ŋ]ɓaan relation by marriage.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar ban spouse’s sibling’s spouse of same sex as speaker (in double marriage alliance); ~ (*ŋɓan >) Kuy kman, Sre, Biat ban daughter-in-law.
B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon gamän /gəman/, Modern Mon haman son-in-law.
Derived perhaps by contraction *kuan bə(a)n; then cf. for Middle Mon g-903 *k/n/dın.

1181 *min to carry in arms.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon min; ~ Bahnar kə mínmin; ~ Old Mon [’bo’) minmin
?/mnmən/ nurse.
(Schmidt 1905 50.)
1182 *m[ ]iən ring round haft of dah &c..
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mian, Stieng mian, Biat mən (→ Sre, → Röglai, mən?).
Or *mwian, ~ 1208 *wian coiled…? Sre may reflect a variant *m[ ]iin.
(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

1183 *man; *maan to be competent.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre man to be skilled, able.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon mān [not] to be able, Modern Mon màn to win, to be able,
Old Khmer mān, Modern Khmer mian to possess.
Connect obscure Bahnar guaɲ to be skilled, able (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1184 *maan to work clay.
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon mān /man/ potter’s establishment, Modern Mon màn, Kuy mìən, Bahnar man to work clay.
Connect A92 *mɔ(ɔ)n to mould?

1185 *mun true, manifest.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang mən truly, definitely,
Vietnamese món [môt] to be clear, evident, manifest, Temiar mun true (BENJAMIN 1976B 137).

1186 *mun[ ]; *muun?; *mɯn[ ]; *muut pimple.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer mǔn pimple, acne, Biat mun [ndɤ], Bahnar mun pimple; → Cham mun, North Röglai [cara]mūn.
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung mun pimple (MILNE 1931),
Vietnamese mun boil, pimple; → Jarai mun acne; ~ Mon kəmən paman!?, Hre mɔn, Sedang màn pimple.
C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan mûn, Central Nicobarese mən pimple; → Acehnese muan.
D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [nòi] mût.
Literary Mon spelling follows learned derivation from Sanskrit pāman. Connect Kuy mən (< *mən?).
(SMITH 1972 61.)

1187 *kmun; *kmuun; *kmuən sibling’s child.
A: (Mon, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon kমun /kмən/ nephew, Modern Mon mən sibling’s child, (probably, rather than B) Semang təmun nephew (i.e. Lanoň; (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 41), by vowel metathesis Temiar koman sibling’s child (BENJAMIN 1976B 133).
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok mun son’s wife; ~ (*knuuən >) Sre kəmən sibling’s child; → Jarai amən, Röglai kəmən sibling’s child.
C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kuy ṭɑn, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar ṭɑn
sibling's child, Jeh mɑn, Halang mɑn nephew, Kammu-Yuan mɑn:
classificatory nephew, Central Nicobarese mɑn-[fi-yo:] cousin, Nancowry
mɑn family, ~ Chrau mɑn sibling's child; ~ Cham mɑn, North Rōglai
mɑn, Acehnese mɑn sibling's child.
~ 1127 *kuun &c. child? Cf. also 1497 *[g]m[u]y &c. sibling's child.
(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 56; SMITH 1972 76.)

Kharia k'min daughter-in-law, &c. (PINNOW 1959 287; Proto-Munda *kɨmin?).

1188 *smin? to feel kindly towards.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon [chān] smin ?/smen/ to have compassion for,
Vietnamese mēn to be fond of.

1189 *[s][n]muən hog-plum, Spondias mangifera.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre səmoan (→ Rōglai hamoan), Chrau səmoan hog-plum,
Spondias mangifera, West Bahnar hamoan, East Bahnar səmoan kind of tree with
edible leaves and fruit and medicinal bark (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi soh mon
(compounding form!) kind of edible fruit resembling guava.

1190 *yən to weaken, ebb.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer yūn to droop, go limp, Palaung yən [population] to
dwindle (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang yən to be poor, Praok yən to fall back, retreat; ~
Lawa Bo Luang con, Lawa Umphai con poor.

‡1191 *[t]yun; *[t]yuun (to) swing.
A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nyun >) Biat nhun to start [cradle] swinging.
B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) Mon cūn! [cəa] baby's swing, (~) Kuy yən [yə:a] swing,
to swing; ~ Riang-Lang nhun to swing.
Mon cūn, Kuy yə:a by opposite phrasal deformation?
Proto-Austronesian *t-[ ]-Saiun: Iban tayun swing, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 115,
*C(T)ayuu(N); Proto-Hesperonesian); ~ *Saiun to swing (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13,
*əjuy; add Bikol hayon hayon to swing arms, &c.; → Sre ayun sling cradle, to
swing, Bahnar ajun hammock).

1192 *rian to learn.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer rian, Kuy rîn, Stieng rian, Biat rēn;
probably → Thai rian, → Lawa Bo Luang hlían, Lawa Umphai hrian, Mae
Sariang hian.

1193 *run; *ruun Maranta dichotoma reed.
A: (Khmer) Khmer rûn.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau run giant reed.
Connect by metathesis Khasi nor reed?
1194 *[b]ruun (& *[b]run?) intestinal worm.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon parùn! (by spelling pronunciation? barun, mrun), Khmer prùn, Kuy phrùn, Stieng brun (< variant? BLOOD 1966 has brun), Chrau vrun, Biat brun.
Connection uncertain Vietnamese trùn worm.
(BLOOD 1966 340.)

1195 *lin? (& *liin[ ]?) to trample.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon lìn to tread on; ~ Mon plon to thresh by driving cattle or buffaloes over, (variant, or contaminated by 1162 *peen) Biat plen to thresh by trampling; ~ (*[l]nlin? >) Vietnamese nên to trample, ram down.
Cf. 1153a *t,een to tread.
Sora 'ale():n- to thresh by trampling.

1196 *[ ]liin fat.
A: (Bahnaric) → Röglai liin fat, robust; ~ Sre kənin, kənin fat, robust, Biat ələn fat; ~ Bahnaric plən fat.
Connect perhaps (*drlən >?) Khmer [trəlʊ:k]-trəln to be fat, plump.

1197 *lian to apply manual pressure.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lèn to stuff, cram in; ~ (*[l]nliən >) Palaung nian to strangle, throttle, (MILNE 1931) to roll [rice] into a ball.
Santali lin to press with the hands, &c.
(PINNOW 1959 335).

1198 *laan to be deceitful.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon làn; ~ Khasi phlan to flatter, cheat, to pretend.
Praok len to deceive is perhaps ← Shan lén.

1199 *lən; *[a]n time (quantifier).
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese lân.
B: (Mon) Mon lən lan (or *luən?).

1200 *lun (?); *luən; *lən (& *luən?) to pass, to exceed.
A: (Palaungic; probably, rather than B) Lawa Bo Luang loan, Lawa Umphai lən very.
B: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon l(w)on /lən/ to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed, exceedingly, Modern Mon lən also to go past, Praok luən to go past, to pass, escape, Vietnamese lùn to pass, sneak [through], slip underneath; ~ Riang-Lang pluan to project; → Shan pūn to exceed.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer luan very, excessive (ly), (*lan >?) Biat lan past, ago.
Cf. Sre lin to exceed & Nancowry lián to reach, (-la) to overtake.  
(SCHMIDT 1905 42.) 
Proto-Austronesian *laun to overtake: Singhi rawan, Maranao laoan (BLUST 1970 no. 238; Proto-Hesperonesian).

\[1201 \] *[lu\[u\]n]; *luan to swallow.  
A: (Khasi, North & South Aslian) Sakai lūt (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 526); ~ Khasi klun to gobble, gulp, swallow, Besisi gēloyt, gēloyn to swallow (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).  
B: (Bahnaric) Biat rwan (with r- by levelling on derivation), Stieng luoan, Sre loan, Bahnar iuan, laun to swallow; ~ Biat r\[u\]n to swallow; mouthful.  
Kuy & Bru have luun & Pakoh lōn, ← or contaminated by Thai klun. Connect 1088 *\[t\]\[l\]\[u\]at &c.?  

\[1201a \] *luun; *luan round, to roll.  
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng luun to roll (up), turn back, wrap up, Biat lo:n to roll (up) (v.t.), Khasi lun [pyllun] perfectly round; ~ (*\[t\]luun >) Biat klun to roll (up) (v.t), roll into a ball; ~ Khasi tyllun to roll (v.i.); ~ Chrau taklom to roll up by secondary derivation; ~ Khasi pyllun (large and) round.  
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Mon) ~ Stieng lpuan ball of thread &c.; ~ (*blu\[u\]n >?) Vietnamese trôn to be round; ~ Khasi pyllon (small and) round; (?) ~ Mon [to] palon skein; ~ Bru kal\[o\]n to roll into a ball.  
Cf. Mon \[l\]\[\[l\]\]i\[n\] to roll.  

1202 *luan; *lan to go, proceed.  
A: (Mon) Middle Mon l(w)on /lon/ to go in procession, Modern Mon lon to go from place to place.  
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _lan to go; ~ (*\[l\]inan >) Praok nen to accede, come on [to].  
SCHMIDT 1905 58 compares Khmer lûn to canter.

1203 *[k]lun tadpole.  
A: (Bahnaric) Sre klun (→ Röglati klut), Chrau [k\[\[n\]]lun; ~ (*[k]plun >) Bahnar plun.  
Cf. 1793 *\[l\]uul.  
(SMITH 1972 60.)
1204 *jlan; *jlaan restless.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese trán to roll, toss (in sleep).
   B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon klàn to be restless, fidget, Khmer chlíæ incoherent, garrulous
       (TANDART 1935), — -pían aggressive, threatening.

†1205 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *t,ulán >) *t,lan; *t,laan python.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian)
      Mon klön, Old Khmer tlann, Modern Khmer thlan, Sre, Chrau, Biet, Bahnar klàn,
      Lawa Bo Luang [səʔaun], klauŋ, Lawa Umphai [səʔoiŋ] klän, Khasi thlen, 'len,
      Vietnamese trán python, by vowel metathesis Che’ Wong, Jah Hut talun snake; —
      Cham, Röglai klan, Jarai tlán, klan, North Röglai tlät, Acehnese [ulöä] Ihan
      python.
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese tulän python, Nancowry tulán.
       (SHAFER 1965 89; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 321.)
       By metathesis Sora tunal-[‘jaːd-] python.

1206 *pliin marvellous, to marvel.
   A: (Bahnaric) (~ (*p[p]lii >) Sre pälín miracle, magic act (→ Röglai); ~ (*p[r]liin
      >) West Bahnar pälën to be wide-eyed, look startled (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1207 *sliin; *sliän to go up.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Mường lènh (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese lèn; ~ (*sliin >?)
      Mường trênh (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese trën (to be) above, on.
   B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan liän (to go) out; ~ Praok klían to lift.

†1208 *win; *wiin; *wiən; *wən[?]; *wan; *waan coiled, to wind, bend.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar win curve, eddy (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central
      Nicobarese [en]-win (a)round.
   B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [en]-weenə zigzag.
   C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer viän, Bahnar
      wënn to curl up; ~ Mon kawn to be curly, Khmer kravian to roll up, curl up,
      Central Sakai kör-yuwen to be curly, (~?) Vietnamese khuyën circle, ring.
   D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Chrau won to wear, Biet won [man] to put on
      [waistcloth]; ~ (*kwan? >? *kwən >?) Vietnamese quàn to be rolled round, to
      roll round.
   E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer vəän to
      put round, Bahnar won to roll up [e.g. thread], Vietnamese vân [vèo] to be winding,
      tortuous (& ơăn-[oqi] to squirm, writhe), Central Nicobarese [en]-wan-[hala] to
      wind, coil (v.t.), Nancowry hawən to roll; ~ Kammu-Yuan kwän to wind [thread
      &c.]; ~ Lawa Umphai [man]mon circular.
   F: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang wuan to roll, wind.
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F secondary. Add perhaps following; A98 *wan to wear round neck...; & as derivatives

*pwan? = 1164 *p[ ]an[ ] to wind, coil; *mwan = 1182 *m[ ]ian ring round haft... . For Vietnamese van to coil round see *p[ ]an[ ]; for van to wring..., 931

*wap?.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(?) Kharia uï to twist, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 317; or : 931 *wijn &c.?)

1208a *wiin; *wien crippled, deformed.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer khvyn cripple, crippled, Biat khwiin disabled, infirm.

B: (Mon, Khasi; ~ *lwian >?) Mon wèn to be crooked, deformed; ~ (*lmwian >) Mon kàmèn cripple, Khasi lymmen digitless extremity.

= preceding?

1209 *kwan to grip, hold.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre kuan to clench, grip with [hand] (DOURNES 1950), Biat kwan to hold, Bahnar kuan to grasp and hold; ~ (*knwan >) Sre kaman to grip with [hand].

(SHAPER 1965 47.)

1210 *swaan nerve, sinew, tendon.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat chwaːn, Bahnar huːn; ~ Chrau søwːan vein, tendon.

(SMITH 1972 64.)

1211 *san in high degree.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon san very, indeed, certainly, Bahnar [suk] san perfect [contentment] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok hun, Lawa Bo Luang haʊŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hαn (by attraction 1219 *hα(ə)n) to be many; ~ Khmer sban clear, certain, sure, clearly... . Connect obscure Khmer sùn most, very (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1212 *[s]əən to wedge.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre søn to wedge, peg, West Bahnar tsən, tsən to raise with wedges (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1213 *suun; *suon to mould, cast in a mould.

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer so'n to shape, mould [clay, wax, &c.], (?) Chrau suon to bear [child].

B: (Mon) Middle Mon s(w)on /son/, Modern Mon so'n to cast in a mould; → Old Burmese swan, Modern Burmese swan.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)
1214 *suun; *suən; *sən five.
A: (Mon, South Aslian) late Old Mon sūnə/sun/ in compounds five, Modern Mon [cən] sən fifteen; (by contraction *muə suun one five) ~ Old Mon mən, Modern Mon pəsən, Sakai məsəgn five (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 158).
B: (Palaungic; so by contraction ~) Praok phuan, Lawa Bo Luang phoan, Lawa Umphai phon.
C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang han, (by counting deformation on saw four?) Khasi san; (by contraction) ~ Palaung phon.
Cf. Kuy səŋ.
(Shafter 1965 365.)

(*rnsən, *rnsuun, *rnsuən see 1421 *rmsuum nest.)

1215 *hian asthma.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Sre hian asthma, tuberculosis (→ Rögglai), Biat hian asthma, Bahnar hien to cough, Bru hên, Vietnamese [bịŋ] hên asthma.

1216 *haan goose.
A: (Mon, Khuemer, Katiuc, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan háːn, Palaung, Lawa Bo Luang han goose, Khasi han duck; ↔ Thai hàn goose, swan, Lao haan, Shan hǎn goose; ~ Mon ahən goose (< *ŋəhan by popular etymology < *ŋhaan < *hnhaan, cf. Late Old Mon ńa- onomatopoeic prefix?); ~ (*kuən haan > *kŋhaan > ?) Khmer khŋən (~ Biat kŋən), Kuy ŋən, Kammu-Yuan ŋən goose.
Connected further Sre, Rögglai tahən; Cham liŋən. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 201 derive Khmer from prefix + Ancient Chinese ŋən 雁 wild goose; whence doubtless Vietnamese ngan swan, wild goose.

1217 *ha[a]n place.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon han/han/, Thin hən (/!; contaminated by Thai hŋ?); usually weak forms: Old Mon han/hən/, Literary Mon huin, han, Sre hə locative particle, Khmu' hə to, at, Palaung ha place, Riang-Lang ha, in compounds ha-place; where; at, on, to, Praok ha- in hakte earth, territory, Khasi ha locative particle, Besisi ha at, in, to… (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 178 (c)), Central Nicobarese an- at, to.
Add as derivation 1222 *[t]haan time?

1218 *haan to die.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khuemric) Kammu-Yuan hám; ~ phán to kill; ~ Biat pham corpse.
1219 *hən; *həən to grow, to increase.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung hən to grow in height, Riang-Lang hən to be long.
B: (Khmuc, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Thin hən more, Mường (Barker 1966 12),
Vietnamese hən to surpass, be more than; ~ Khasi byrhien [people] in large numbers
(Ivan M. Simon Pers. Com.).
Cf. Proto-Semai *hii'n to grow taller (Diffloth 1977). But connection dubious
following

1220 *h[ɔ]n; *h[ɔɔ]n to grow.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng hɔn, Sre hon [plants] to grow (BLOOD 1966).
B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy houn to sprout, Sre hɔn, Chrau, Biat hɔn,
hoan [plants] to grow, Bahnar hɔn to grow.
Connection dubious preceding.
(BLOOD 1966 53.)

1221 *khon thick, to congeal.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon khon [liquids] to be muddy, dirty, viscous, thick, Khmer khon to
congeal, become viscous, to crystallize.

Note Burmese khon: to be dried up, referred at Benedict 1972 166 n. 444 to Tibeto-
Burman *ka(*)n (: Ancient Chinese kan 乾 dry, ib. 191). But separate Kammu-
Yuan khun dregs, Thin khŭn to be dirty, muddy (< *ksun?).
(Schmidt 1905 12.)

1222 *[t]haan time.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre than; ~ (*[t]phaan or *[t]mhaan >) Palaung
phan (Milne 1931), Praok [ju] phan.
Riang-Lang pun era is ← Shan pún. ~ 1217 *ha[a]n place?
Remo tam-[me] (Pinnow 1959 184; ?).

1223 *[dhaan branch, palm-frond.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer thi:an [slvkr] palm-frond, Biat than: branch, fork, Kontum
Bahnar than: branch (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Cf. 789 *dhaan, with similar semantics.
Proto-Austronesian *daqan: Malay dahan, Cham than: branch, &c. (Dempwolff 1938
41, *[d]dahan; Shorto 1975 92 n. 27).
See Benedict 1975 240-1.

1224 *ʔap; *ʔaap to suffer constraint.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[p]nʔap >) Biat dap to master, subdue.
B: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Literary Mon ’āp to be constrained by, Bahnar
ʔap [not] difficult; since, by the effort of (Guilleminet 1959-63; ?); ~ Old Mon p’āp
/pʔap/ to compel, hold in subjection, Vietnamese áp-[ouc &c.] to oppress.
Connect Bahnar pae:p to subjugate.
1225 *ʔap; *ʔaap; *ʔap dark, to shade.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer ʔap mist, darkness, to obscure (→ Cham 'ap n.), Palaung ʔap to be dark (probably, rather than c), Riang-Lang ʔap shadow, to overshade.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung ʔap to be dark, Central Nicobarese ʔap to close lid, Nancowry ʔap to be shut; ~ West Bahnar aap: shady retreat (Guilleminet 1959-63), (~?) Palaung iʔap darkness.
C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan ʔap cloudy, Central Nicobarese ʔb mist, fog, (~ cāka) overcast sky.
Cf. 1268 *yup &c. overcast sky.

(*ʔuup see 1295 *haap to eat.)

1226 *kʔip; *[k]ʔiip; *kʔiap; *kʔap[ ]p; *kʔup; *kʔaip; *khaip centipede.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau kʔuup; ~ Sre kərip.
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat eʔp, Jeh kajip, Halang gajiːp, Kammu-Yuan kəʔiip, (!) Lawa Bo Luang saʔaic, Lawa Umphai saʔaip.
C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar kəʔp, Proto-Semai *kʔeep (Diffloth 1977), Central Nicobarese kəʔap, Nancowry kəʔáp; (or D) ~ Khasi nep [har-har].
D, E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kuap, kəp, Biat op.
F, G: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer kʔaep, Kuy (kh)hcp, Bru kahiip.
E secondary from D, F-G from C. Lawa s- obscure. Cf. Thin kəʔit (beside kəʔiip scorpion), Besisi kəʔt (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 66, which see).
(Shafer 1965 360; Smith 1972 184.)

1227 *cʔaap smelling of fish.

1228 *rʔiip; *rʔiip; *rʔiip to close [eyes].
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [kхаp]-rip to wink; ~ (*rnʔiip >) Sre by sandhi pim [mat] to close [eyes], Bahnar ʔiip to blink, wink, Khasi [kхa] ngip to close eyes; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi khrip to look with eyes half closed, wink.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng rip (or a?), Praok yip to close [eyes]; → Shan yēp to blink; ~ Biat nep to close [eyes], Lawa Bo Luang həip, Lawa Umphai rahnip to close, shut; ~ (*rʔiip >) Mon ḫərep to wink; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi khrib(-khrib) twinkling.
c: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar tep-tep to blink, tep, Thin yap, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai yiap to close eyes; ~ (*tnʔiap by palatal absorption >) Chrau nam [mat] to close [eyes] (by sandhi, with secondary lengthening), Vietnamese nháp [nháy] to blink, wink, twinkle (& nhám [mát] to close [eyes], by sandhi & phrasal assonance), Central Nicobarese nap- to wink, blink, Nancowry nóp (~ naj]; ~ (*rpʔiap > ) Khmer ph’iap to move [lips] nervously, to blink (GUESDON 1930); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Literary Mon tha’ep to close, shut (probably), Thin kőnʔyőp to close mouth, Palaung kəŋap to close [eyes], to wink, blink (MILNE 1931); (ii) Palaung kənʔiap [nią] wink. 

11229 *sʔap to yawn.
(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar kaap (!; GUILLENMINET 1959-63 həap), Jeh kaʔap, Halang kəʔap (or < derivation?), Riang-Lang ṭap; → Jarai h’ap; ~ (*sʔap > ) Mon haap, Khmer sŋap, Kuy nəʔap, Sre ngap, Chrau ngap, Biat ngap [bic], Bahnar kəŋap (GUILLENMINET 1959-63 həap), Thin həap, Lawa nəp to yawn, Khasi sngab gills, Central Nicobarese hịŋ-əp yawn, Nancowry hịŋp; → Rōglai nəp, North Rōglai samaʔaʔ to yawn; probably Thai nąp [mouth] opening and closing rapidly.
Cf. Palaung hiap.
(SMITH 1972 197.)

1230 *[s]ʔəp (to) sweat.
A: (Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi s’ep sweat, to sweat, Sakai sëōp* sweat (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 533); ~ Sakai seng[’]əp to sweat (i.e. Semai; ib.).

11231 *kap; *kaap to bite.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kuy, Chrau, Bunör, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang, Kensi kap, Temiar kab; ~ Central Sakai kikap to bite; ~ (*[k]rkap >) Khmer trkap to snap up (TANDART 1935; beside trakùp!); ~ Khasi jkap snapping with teeth, jkəp to bite with teeth.
B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [op]-kap-[həta], kapə to bite, Nancowry ūpkoʔ, ~ kanəp tooth.
(Proto-Austronesian *kabkab) Pangasinan kabkab to gnaw, Pampangan kabkáb to bite.

1232 *kap to fasten.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi khap to fasten, close; ~ Sre bákap to fasten.
Cf. 1240 *p-gap to join.

1233 *kaap chin.
A: (Khuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kāp, Riang-Lang ʔkap, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kap; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ṭgap.
(SHAFER 1965 9.)

1234 *káp time.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon kúp, kíp /ˈkʊp/; Modern Mon kóp time, Bahnar kap moment, Palaung kóp time (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang káp[si] tomorrow, Khasi kep occasion, time, turn.

1235 *k[ɔː]p (& *kəp?); *k[ɐ]p; *kaap tortoise, turtle.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng kóp swamp turtle, Sre kóp (< *kəp?) small species of terrestrial tortoise, Chrau, Biat kóp tortoise, Bahnar kóp tortoise, tortoise shell, Jeh kóp, Halang koap turtle.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Umphai kóp kap tortoise (MILNE 1931).
C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kap turtle, Nancowry kap (or B?)
A conceivably by secondary labialization.
(SHAFER 1965 11; SMITH 1972 202.)

11236 *[c]kiip; *ckiap, *t[ɪ]kiap; *ckap, *t,kap; *[c]kuap to pinch, grip.
A: (Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sakaip narrow.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katiuc, North Bahnaric, Khuic, Palaungic) Mon kep skep to pinch, grip with claws, Khmer kiap to grip with tongs (or = kiap < 1239 *giap, which connect?), thkiap to grip with claws or tongs, Khmu' kep to grip with tongs, Thin skēp to carry under arm, Lawa Bo Luang kheap narrow; ~ (*niap >) Kuy ḳiip to pick up with tongs &c., pick fruit with forked pole, Biat nceap to carry on hip; ~ Khmer dǒŋkiap, ṭŋkiap claws, tongs; ~ (*cmkiap >?) Praok [sikhiap] sigep narrow; ~ (*cr̥kiap >) Middle Mon sakap (with s- by levelling on simplex), Modern Mon hakep, Khmu' srkep, Lawa Bo Luang sakap, Lawa Umphai sakap tongs; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar nēp tongs (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer thkap to grip with tongs, Vietnamese cáp to carry under arm; ~ Biat ṭkap to grip with tongs, Khmer tyngkhap to insert between, place under arm, hide (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường cáp (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese gáp to pick up with chopsticks; ~ Khmer ṭnjkap, Biat ṭkap tongs; ~ Sre sákap tongs (~ Röglai); by secondary derivation ~ Khasi nap tongs.
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D: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Praok sikhɔp narrow.
A similar initial alternance is suspected in following. Connected further 1312 *ckiam
&c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26, 28; cf. SHAFER 1965 49, 318; SMITH 1972 185.)
Sora *sakab- to grip (v.i.) ~ sab'ka'b-, *sakka'b- to grip with tongs ~ *sakkab-[laŋ-
əŋ] tongs ~ sanabkəb* tongs.
Proto-Austronesian *t'i(N)kap: Malay sikap close-fitting, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153;
nicobaric incorporating *t'i(N)kap to grasp, ib., cf. Cebuano Bisayan sikap kind of bird
of prey, = Malay burgon sikap). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

1237 *ckup, (?) *dkup; *ckuup; *ckuap; *ckəap, *[d]kəap; *ckap; *
[c]gəp to cover.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre kup to take, seize, catch, Biat kop to put
lid on, cover over, Khasi kop, skop cover; ~ Temiar cerkup to close (BENJAMIN
1976a 158); (~ Burmese dukut monk's shawl); (or *[c]g-?) by secondary
derivation ~ Khasi knup rainshield.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese kop-[həta] to close hand;
Nancowry ?upkup to fold arms against cold &c.; ~ Kammu-Yuan səŋkup to cover
e.g. with net; ~ Chrau nɔkup husk.
C: (Katuic) Kuy kəap to catch, hold, arrest, Bru kəap.
D: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon kop to catch with a fish-
basket, Literary Mon skuip to cover (or, with derivatives), Khmer kop to bury, hide
by burying, Central Sakai kəp to get, catch; ~ Middle Mon sakuip, Modern Mon
hakəp lid, Central Sakai jərkop cover; (?) ~ Old Mon dukup (dəkəp/ chief,
Literary Mon dakuip also lid, cover, Modern Mon hakop; ~ Proto-Nyah Kur
*[c]əŋkəp cover, lid (DIFFLOTH 1984 V163a); ~ Temiar cenkəp lid (BENJAMIN
1976a 146); ~ Khmer bəŋkəp to bury, hide by secondary derivation, (~~?)
Vietnamese gəp to fold, to close [book]; (or F/G?) ~ Nicobaric hakəŋgəcə to
cover sth. tightly.
E: (Bahnaric) Bahnar gəp rock shelter, overhead cover (< *[d]k-); ~ Biat nəkəp field
shelter, Chrau sakəp lean-to, shed.
F: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre kap quantifier for clothes (DOURNES
1950), Khasi skap husk, Central Sakai kap to get, catch.
G: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon kəp to cover, Riang-Lang _kap to put on,
wear; ~ Bahnar həgap cave.
A similar init. alternance in preceding; but *dk- perhaps by metathesis < 1261 *k-
dup &c.; or ← Austronesian *takub, &c., below. Add A102 *kəp to wait, lie in
wait for?
(SHAFER 1965 529.)
Sora kub- to be covered up, in'kub- to put on a cover or veil.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *kubkub: Javanese kukub covered, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected further *ta(N)kub to cover; lid (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128); *takub to cover, shut (BLUST 1973 no. 109; Proto-Hesperonesian); *tu(N)kup to cover. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 142); *tikup to shut, close (BLUST 1973 no. 114; Proto-Hesperonesian); &c.; (ii) *kabkab: Javanese kēkēb lid, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76-7; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected *takap to cover, covering (BLUST 1973 no. 108; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 258-9.

(*t₁₁)kiəp, *tₚkap see 1236 *[c]kiip to pinch, grip; *[d]kaəp, *dkap see above.)

†1238 *[p]kup; *[p]kuup; *[p]kuəp; *pkap inverted, face down.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng kup to bend down, hide, to turn upside down (or B), Bahnar kup to bow, greet respectfully; face down; ~ Chrau ǹkup face down, prone, Biat ǹkop to turn over on one’s face, (~ ǹkẹŋ) to overturn, (~? by secondary derivation?) Bahnar sakup to be upside down.
B: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *kup to fall prone; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Palaung sakup, Riang-Lang ~ sakup to overturn; ~ Kammu-Yuan sanıkup to turn upside down, Riang-Lang ~ sanıkup to overturn, Praok gup to fall prone.
C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar [kup] kap to lie face down (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai *koop to lie (face down) (DIFFLOTH 1977).
D: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer phkap to turn upside down, to lie face down; ~ (?Old Mon pu'kap /pakəp/) Modern Mon hakap to overt, turn upside down.
Or *kup &c., *kap kap > *pkap?
(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 16.)

Proto-Austronesian *taNkub: Malay tangkop face down, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128; & variants, in *-p also, usually glossed to cover; cf. preceding). Cf. also Malay lukup, lungkup inverted, capsized, Acehnese lungkob to lie face down.
Senses face down, to overturn may be limited to Sumatra & Java languages; then ← or contaminated by Mon-Khmer?

†1239 *giəp; *gap; *gaap to grip, squeeze.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer kiap (TANDART 1935; & thkiəp, = or contaminated by thkiəp < 1236 *tkiəp, which connect), Stieng giap.
Bahnar gep (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung giap to grip with tongs, Vietnamese kep to press, squeeze.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) Vietnamese cãp to nip, grip, Nancowry kãp to hold; ~ Biat ngap to press, squeeze.
C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer kiəp to press, squeeze, Central Nicobarese [ha]-kapi-
[yande] to grasp.
Cf. Thai kʰtîip to grip with tongs or claws; ← a variant *giip? Connected further 1242 *[t]ga(a)p fork, clamp, to clamp.
(SCHMIDT 1905 62; SHAFER 1965 49.)
Sora gab-['tur-] to hold between fingers or in fork, to pinch (or : *[t]ga(a)p?).
POU & JENNER 1973 no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese ɣiep to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry….

1240 *gap; *gaap; *gup fit, fitting, sufficient.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon gap /gɔp/ to be fit for, fit to, pleasing to, Modern Mon kɔ̀p to suffice, (— kɔ) ought, to be fit to, Old Khmer gap, Modern Khmer kɔ̀ap fitting, Bahnar gap just enough (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang gap enough, Jeh gap adequately, Praok kup to suffice; → Cham kàp enough, just right, Jarai gəap to suffice, North Röglai gap [si] enough; ~ (*pgap >) Middle Mon pagap [gwor] to make fit, Modern Mon əgap to put together, join, to harness, Khmer phkəap to please, to adapt, adjust, (or *pgaap >, with secondary shortening) Sre gap to make fit, Modern Mon pə əkòp to put together, join, to harness, Khmer phkəap to please, to adapt, adjust, (or *pgaap >, with secondary shortening) Sre gap to tie together; ~ Khmer caígəp' joint (GUESDON 1930) (cf. usual dəŋkəap &c.), (or ?) Central Sakai janggap hip.
B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng gap to suffice, Biat gaːp suitable, enough, Central Nicobarese kəp-[tual] tight [knot], Nancowry hakəp to fix, to fit; ~ Kontum Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) bəgəp to harness together; growing together.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung gɯp enough.
C secondary. To join by attraction 1232 *kap to fasten? Cf. following, & Khmer kùːap fold, to join.
(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)
But connection dubious Sora a(ɨ)b- to fit, to be fit.

1241 *gap; *gap friend, to associate.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kùp gap' to associate with, meet, Sre gap friend, Biat gap I; (?) → Cham kəw? kin, one another, Röglai gəu friend, North Röglai gəʔ sibling, Acehnese gəb person, people; ~ (*gmap >) Biat map to meet.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm gap friend (BLOOD 1976), Khasi [liː] kap to make an alliance, meet friends with; ~ Mường cəp (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese gəp to meet.
B by attraction preceding? Or A contaminated by (rather than →) Indonesian?
1242 *[t]gap; *[t]gaap fork, clamp, to clamp.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi kap prong; by secondary derivation (?) ~ khnap
cloven hoof; (~ *grnap >) Bahnar gonap reinforced rim of basket, binding.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon kèp gāp fork of tree, to be
forked, to sit astride, Khmer kāp frame, crucible tongs, cramp-iron (& by levelling on
derivation, below, Khmer thgāp to keep [legs] pressed together) (Guesdon 1930),
Stieng gāp to take in tongs, clamp, Sre gāp (or < A?) to fasten [thatch, rim of
basket &c.], Jeh gāp to hold with slit stick (Gradin & Gradin 1979) (& Bahnar gāp
to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fasten with clamp; ~ Jeh, or < *g?-), Palaung
gāp to affix, Vietnamese cāp rim, edge, to edge mat; ~ Cham kā?, Jarai gāp,
North Rōglai ga? to bind rim of basket &c.; ~ Khmer prakāap fork (!; Guesdon
1930 has tragāp); by secondary derivation (?) ~ (*grn- >) Sre ganāp bamboo
fastening of thatch or basket (Dournes 1950; or A?), Jeh kanāp split stick, Halang
gonāp sticks for roasting fish; (or A?) ~ North Rōglai ganā? frame of rim of basket.
Connect 1239 *giap &c. to grip, squeeze, with which there is contamination; so
*ga(a)p, if to be constructed as variants, are secondary. Pou & Jenner no. 168 cite
Ancient Chinese kap 搖 to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry, kap 搖 to press
from two sides, squeeze, kap 搖 pincers, chopsticks.
Sora gob-[‘tur-] to hold between fingers... is more probably : 1239 *ga(a)p.
(Shafer 1965 109; cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 59.)

1242a *ŋ[a]p; *ŋaap; *ŋuup (early) morning.
A: (Palaungic) Praok [pon] nāp (!)morning, Lawa nāp early morning.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ṇuup to get up early, Khasi ngāb early in the
morning.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ṇuup morning; ~ Mae Sariang saṅaup dawn.
Praok perhaps < *ŋuap; back vocalism secondary.

1243 *caap; *caap; *ciap; *cip; *cup to seize.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer caap to seize,
catch, Stieng caap to take, accept, Semai I caap to hold; → Thai câp; ~ Biat map
prey.
B: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy caap to catch, hold, between forefinger and thumb, Central
Nicobarese [op]-jāpa to seize.
C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong cep, Jah Hut cep to hold; ~
(*.ciap by palatal absorption > *.cep >) Bahnar cep to take hold of.
D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer crp to take a pinch of; ~ Kammu-Yuan nip to catch.
E: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ķup to take, Biat ķup to seize; ~ Bahnar cup to seize with claws,
take between fingers (Guilleminet 1959-63).
C-E secondary. Bahnar ultimately < *pcaap < *cap cap?
(Shafer 1965 361; Blood 1966 163; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 49 (a).)
1243a *[?]caap kind of small bird.

1244 *[?]cuup; *[?]cuwp; *[?]ciap to put on, wear.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung cuwp, Praok cuup, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang cuup to wear. B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi sop to cover, wrap, thatch; ~ Central Nicobarese opcup woman’s waistcloth, Nancowry (2u)cuap. C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [hai]-ciap-[ha]ca to put on [woman’s waistcloth]; ~ opcia woman’s waistcloth. C probably secondary. Note also Bru sap, sup to wear [ring] (or rather 1245?).

(*kciip see 1252a *[k]ti[ ]p cockroach… )

1244a *krcaap scales of fish.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng krasaap, Chhrau goapa, Biat rehaap, (Bahnar kacaap ←?) Jeh kacaap, Halang kacaap.
(SMITH 1972 195.)

1245 *bciip; *bciap; *bcaip; *bcaap; *bcaip; *bcup; *bcup; *bcwaap to adjoin, adhere.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon cip to be set edge to edge (→ Burmese cip), Bahnar jiip joined edge to edge (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi bsap to put between two things, to insert, siap to insert, (~?) Palaung siap to pile neatly, to lay [one thing] on another in a pile (MILNE 1931). C: (Khmer, Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang *sap to put in, on; → Shan shāp to thrust into; ~ Khmer pracaap to cohere (GUESDON 1930). D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muông, ?Palaungic) Old Mon cap /cap/, Modern Mon cap, Khmer cəap to adhere, Biat cap to fasten together, Sre cap to fasten together; bundle, sheaf, Palaung cap to affix (or < c, or ← Burmese), Khasi bsap to mix with, to insert, Vietnamese cháp to join, assemble; → Cham caʔ to tie together, Jarai cap to tie up; Burmese cap to join, → Shan səp to be connected with, whence ultimately Riang-Lang tarcaap (tar- reciprocal) to be connected with, to connect; by secondary derivation → Mon phyap, Khmer phcaap to join.
E: (Kuy, Khmuic) ~ Kuy ceʔ [shut] tight; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan tarsəp [om] confluence.
F: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung sup to join, to connected (MILNE 1931); → Shan səup joint, to join, whence ultimately Riang-Lang ~tarsup joint, link.
G: (Palaungic, ?Viet-Muông) ~ Palaung karcaup to be close together (MILNE 1931), (?) Muông (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese giüp to help.
(SCHMIDT 1905 12.) (I) Kharia ji’b to touch, &c. (PINNOW 1959 283); (II) Sora ja:b- to touch, to stick, ja:b-ja:b- to abut.

(?) Proto-Austronesian *titi’ip: Malay sisip to insert, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 155; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1246 *[b]cuap; *[b]cəp to repair to, repair together, meet.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer cuːap, cuːap to meet (together), Sre cop (!) to visit, Biat cəp [uan] to inspect; ~ Kuy cəp to come together, come back to starting-point together, (~?; by secondary derivation, ta- reciprocal) Stieng tacuːɔp to meet, join.
   B: (Mon, Katuic) Old Mon cuːp /cəp/ to arrive at, come to, Modern Mon cəp to arrive (at), Kuy səp to meet, encounter; ~ Middle Mon [n’a] bacuip to bring to, Modern Mon hacnep to hand to, to conduct.
= preceding? Connection uncertain Kensiu cuːb, Temiar cuːb to walk (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 42).

1247 *joɔp horsefly.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy chuːap, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar joːp, Jeh joːp, Halang joap. (SMITH 1972 203.)

1248 *gjap solid, stout.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer cɔːap, khɔːap solid, enduring, Kuy chəp tough, stout, Stieng jap solid, Central Rölöm jəp solid, strong, Bahnar [kajap] jap, yap very solid (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre kəljap solid, hard, Bahnar kajap solid, Jeh kajap, Halang gajap sturdy; → Röglai kajap (& gənap < *gənjap), Malay kəʃap.
(SCHMIDT 1905 44; BLOOD 1966 347; SMITH 1972 193.)

1249 *unjəap to flutter.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon həyəp to flap, f. [wings], Khmer [haa] cuːənciːəp to flutter about (TANDART 1935).
   Cf. (i) 1267 *yəp &c. to move up and down; (ii) Proto-Austronesian *t’aiap: Cham thəyaw?, &c., Acehnese sayōab, Malay, Iban sayəp wing, Ivatan sayəp to fly (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. SHORTO 1975 88).

1250 *təp; *təp to pierce.
   A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer dap to cut into, Kammu-Yuan təp to prick, pierce.
   B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm təp to stab, pierce (probably, rather than A), Stieng təp to pierce, Bahnar təp to stick into the ground, to pierce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh təp to set in ground, Halang təp to put in ground; ~ Biat nəp to stab, spear, goad, Bahnar ənəp to stick into the ground, to pierce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B originally by hypercorrection on dialects which have ta- < *tə-?
(BLOOD 1966 126.)
1251 *t₁aap to slap.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng, Sre, Chrau tap to clap, slap, Biat, Jeh tap to slap, Bahnar, Halang tap to slap, hit, Praok tap to strike, beat, Khasi thab to hit with hand, slap.
   Khmer tap to hit with fist is ← Thai tōp.
   (Smith 1972 198; cf. Shafer 1965 76.)
   Proto-Austronesian *t₁abt₁ab: Javanese tatab to beat, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 125; Dahl 1973 § 14.12.) See Benedict 1975 228-9, beat.

1252 *t₁əp; *t₁əp; *t₁ip; *t₁up to bury, cover.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Mon) Old Mon tip /təp/, Modern Mon tōp, Proto-Nyah Kur *tap (Diffloth 1984 V166), Kuy, Biat tōp, Stieng tap, Chrau, Bunör tap, Central Rööm tap to bury, Khasi thep to entomb [bones], (~?) tep to bury; ~ Khmer dondøp, tōndøp to wrap oneself in, cover (oneself); ~ Riang-Lang *san(tap shelter.
   B: (Bahnaric) Rōngao tap to bury (Guilleminet 1959-63); (~ *ktəap > ) Chrau ca:p [mat] eyelash.
   C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *tip [hole] to be covered up (Diffloth 1977).
   D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, Mon) Sakai tōp to cover (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 § 183), Semang tūb to sow (i.e. Jehai; ib. P 132; contaminated by 1343 *p-tam); ~ Acehnese tob to close, cover; ~ Mon hatop cover, lid, flap (or ← variant?); ~ Cham hatu, tu? lid of pot; ~ Sre tānp lath covering joint in planking.
   Primacy of forms uncertain. Cf. 1261 *dəp &c. to cover; 1273 *rup &c. to cover (Blood 1966 130; Smith 1972 182.)
   Mundari topa to bury, to cover, &c. (Pinnow 1959 309).
   Proto-Austronesian (i) *tutup: Malay tutup to shut, to cover, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 144); (ii) perhaps *qatap: Malay atap roof, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 16, *c; 62, *h; Dyen 1953 § 117). See Benedict 1975 406-7, thatch.

1252a *[k]ti[j]p; *[k]t̥iap; *[k]t[i]ap; *ktup; *kciip cockroach, vermin.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre tip cockroach.
   B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang teap, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang tep flea.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng t̥ap, Biat tap [d̥r] cockroach, Nancowry muptap flea.
   D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau cup cockroach.
   E: (Katuic) Kuy (?a:sip cockroach.
   Note Riang-Lang _sup *sap cockroach Lawa perhaps by contamination, cf. Palaung sati̯ar flea; so *-t₁- not certain.
1253 *[k]t₁,ap egg.
A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?North Aslian) Sre, Biat tap, Chrau cap, Temiar tab (!), Shom Pe Nicobar ka’tə(ab), (?), by assimilation) Jehai, Semnam kaṭad; ~ Bahnar, Halang kaṭap, Jeh kaṭap.
Cf. 1348a *[k]t₃,am.
(Shafer 1965 359, 398; Blood 1966 376; Smith 1972 190; Skeat & Blagden 1906 E 36.)

1254 *ktaap to catch up (with), be in time.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese đáp to catch [train &c.]; ~ Old Mon kintāp /kantāp/ to have time to, Modern Mon hātāp to have time to, to catch up, to catch [train...].

1255 *[k]t₁,əap cloud, precipitation.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kātāp dew, mist, Riang-Lang ātāp snow, mist, cloud.
(~?) Kharia ti’ri’b c., &c. (Pinnow 1959 284; Proto-Munda *tɨrɨb).

1256 *kntəap dove.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat ntaːp, Chrau gatəːp, Bahnar kətəːp.
Cf. Stieng əːp; Blood 1966 401 pigeon has Stieng əːp, Sre əntəːp. Onomatopoeic?
(Shafer 1965 569.)

1256a *kntəp; *kntap grasshopper.
A: (Khmer) Khmer ɔntəp.
B: (Mon) Mon hətəp khaṭaːp, gatəːp, Proto-Nyah Kur *kantap (Diffloth 1984 N40). Khmer vocalism post-dental.

1257 *jt,ap layer, to superimpose.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon tap /təp/ times, -fold, Modern Mon əp to place in sequence, to fold, Kuy with secondary lengthening thəːp to lie, lay, on top of, Sre əp layer, to be superimposed, Chrau, Biat tap layer, Mường āp (Barker 1966 18), Vietnamese đāp to pile up; → Burmese thāp layer, → Middle Mon thəːp, Modern Mon thəːp, → Bru thəːp, thəːp to fold one layer over another; ~ Khmer sratəːp, Jeh ratəːp to fold one layer over another (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Khasi syrtəp fold, layer.
Cf. following & Central Nicobarese kətəːpə pile.

1257a *pntuːp; *[p]ntuːp to add.
A: (Khmer) Khmer bɔntəp to pile up (contaminated by preceding?).
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat nṭəːp to add (to), add one by one.
1258 *dap stockade, military unit.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon *dap stockade, Modern Mon *tôp stockade, military unit, Old Khmer *dáp to bar, Middle Khmer *dáp' fence, Modern Mon *tôp army, Bru *tôp hut in forest; → Burmese *tôp military unit, fortification, probably → Palaung *tôp army (MILNE 1931); Cham *tôp earth rampart; Thai *tôp army.

1259 *daap low.  
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer tiːap to be low, small in height, Kuy thîːap low, Bru tiap, (~ *pdaap >?) Sre *dáp to lower, place lower down (DOURNES 1950).

1260 *dap to block, dam.  
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer *dáp, Modern Khmer tôp to block, dam (= to cover, < following, which compare), Kuy with secondary shortening thâp, Chrau dap (& by metathesis Biat bot) to dam, Riang-Lang *tôp to stop, dam, Vietnamese dáp dam; → Shan tâp to dam; ~ Khmer khtûp to block, close; (~ *krdáp >) Bahnar kádáp (in sense) to block. Sora dab- to obstruct, dam (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 42.)

1261 *døp; *døwp; *dap; *daap; *dup; *duwp; *[di]ip; *diøp to cover.  
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer *tôp dap', Sre *dáp to cover, Biat [køp] dôp to lie in wait for, Bahnar dôp, Palaung dôp, Praok tôp to cover, Vietnamese náp to hide; ~ Sre ndáp to cover, Chrau ndâp [mat] invisible, Biat ndôp hidden, covered; ~ Old Mon kîp /kdøp/, Modern Mon dôp head (& Nyah Kur kádáp); ~ Mon hadôp to fold over, close (or B, E, H?), Stieng káldôp to shut [door, window], Sre káldôp to cover over, Chrau gádáp to cover hole, Bahnar kádáp to hide from sight, to shelter; handful, Khasi khîrde to shut [door] without fastening, slam [door], (or C?) Central Nicobarese karap-[hata] to catch [bird] in trap, shut [door, window]; ~ Central Nicobarese kandap bird-trap (or C?); ~ Sre bânap cover, lid, West Bahnar hánøp, rânóp cover, lid; in shelter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).  
B: (Bahnaric) Sre *dáp to catch with hand, take what is held out, Biat dôp to receive; ~ Bahnar káññôp to take shelter; ~ Chrau pandôp to catch, seize.  
C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer kâdáp to hold tightly in hand, close [hand]; ~ Vietnamese náp cover, lid, (probably, rather than A) Central Nicobarese danap cloth cover.  
D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang tuap to shut, Central Nicobarese daːpə, [op]-dâp-[hæe] to spread cloth; ~ Central Nicobarese danap cloth cover.  
E: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) ~ Khasi kďud to cover, embrace, envelop, defend, protect; ~ Khasi kyndup double handful; overhang, Central Nicobarese kendup covering or wrapping of leaves; ~ Sre bānap, bānap cover, lid (DOURNES 1950). Connect Nancowry tôp to cover oneself, kutôp fist,
F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng dup to hide, to cover [mouth] (or E), Riang-Lang *dup to cover [pots &c.], Vietnamese núp to hide, take cover; ~ Khmer kdaop [flower] to close; to stop up, cover with hand; ~ Thin kàndop to fish with a fish-basket; ~ Khasi kyndub shelter; ~ (*k[r]duup >) Bahnar kàdɔp; fistfull; to cover, shelter.

G: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon hadop to close, fold, Bahnar kàdɔp, kàdɔp (Guillemet 1959-63).

H: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kɔntęp [sry] fez, woman’s cap.

I: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese nép to hide oneself. In Eastern languages largely merged with (& otherwise contaminated by) preceding.

Cf. also 1252 *tʃəp &c. to bury, cover; 1273 *rup &c. to cover.

(Schmidt 1905 38; Shafer 1965 462; Blood 1966 124; Smith 1972 201.)

(i) Sora dab-, Kharia ɖa’b to cover, &c. (Pinnow 1959 3); (ii) Sora dub- to shut, close, ~ kun’du- to hold in fist, (-ən) handful.

(*cd(i)p, *cdəap see 1040 *cɓiit sticky….)

1262 *[j]dɑap to pass hand along.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon dap to dab on, sponge, Khmer stiːap to touch, feel, stroke, grope for.

Connect by metathesis 1042 *[j]ɓat &c. to feel, grasp.

(Proto-Austronesian *adap adap?) Ilocano dapadap to touch, feel.

1263 *[j]dəp to shore up.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon sduip [ska] to shore up, help, support, Khmer stûp sdaap’ to hold up, set [prop] against; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer phtûp to place against, prop.

1264 *bdap, *bdaap to touch, adjoin.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Khmer phtɔap adjoining; ~ bɔntɔap next by analogy; ~ (*bbdɔap >) Literary Mon [sarap] phadap to bring near, come near, Kuy nthàp to arrange next to one another, Sre dap to pass, hand to, Biat dap to lay [floor], fasten [saddle].

B: (Mon) Mon dap to touch, adjoin.

Cf. Chrau dəp to pass, hand to; contaminated by 1261 *daap in sense to receive; or causative of it?

1265 *[b]aap father.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre bap, Chrau vəp.

1266 *[g]ɓip; *[g]ɓiip species of wildfowl.
   A: (Mon) Old Mon ḁup /ɓop/ ruddy shelduck, Modern Mon ɓop ruddy shelduck, (—mèo) cotton teal.
   B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ɓip duck, teal, Gölär Bahnar cotton teal (??; sarcelle de Coromandel).
   Not obviously onomatopoeic

1266a *yap; *yaap to die, be extinguished.
   A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi íap to die; ~ Central Nicobarese poin-nap corpse (!; with contextually conditioned vocalism?); ~ pomnap-[hata] to extinguish by pressure or cover.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Bahnar ɲap deceased person, Central Nicobarese pamanap corpse, Nancowry pənəp to die, pamanáp corpse.
   Cf. B93 *yuum &c. to die; 1268 *yup &c. dark.

1267 *yəp; *yəəp; *yaap to move up and down.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường; ~?) Kammu-Yuan ðyəp (!) waggling the ears, Vietnamese nháp-[nhọ] to go up and down especially on water; ~ Palaung rayəp fan.
   B: (Palaungic) Palaung yəp to fan, beckon, shake up and down, yəp yəp to shake up and down, Riang-Lang [sim] yəp yəp wagtail.
   C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _yəp to sift [rice] by tossing.
   C contaminated by 1249 *jnaap to flutter, or ~ Tibeto-Burman, below? Connect Praok yip to wave, Lawa Umphai yip fan; & note Mon hayəm dayui ( < *jəj-?) to flourish with a wrist movement; Tibeto-Burman *yəp to fan, winnow, paddle, BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 92.

†1268 *yup; *y[u]lp; *yəp dark.
   B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar hiuwp twilight; → Cham sup, Röglai siup twilight.
   Cf. 1225 *ʔap &c. dark….; 1328 *[c][ua]m night.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 56; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (d.).) Santali aju'b evening, nightfall, &c. ~ Santali _nubə? (to become) dark, &c. (PINNOW 1959 128, 280.)
1269 *riip (& *rip?) grass.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobari) Biat reːp, Praok rip, Lawa Bo Luang raic, Lawa Umphai raip, Mae Sariang yaip; ~ Khmer tryp floating mat of vegetation (ad variant?); ~ Sre samprip tall grass (Dournes 1950); ~ (?) Nancowry ñep to plant.

(Shafer 1965 313.)

1269a *riap to arrange.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer riap to prepare, arrange, Kuy riːp to lay [board floor], Stieng riap to prepare, Biat rɛːp to arrange; ~ Bru pariəp align edge to edge.

1270 *rap to help.
A: (Khasi) Khasi (ïa-)rap.
Cf. 1390 *rum &c.
Sora rab-.

1271 *rap to count.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) (Old Mon rap /rəp/ (?) to keep a record of, Modern Mon rɔp to keep [accounts], Khmer riap to count, calculate; ~ Cham rap ['an] to estimate; ~ (*rnap >; properly nominal, or by metathesis < *rnrap?) Sre nap to count, check total of, Kammu-Yuan nàp to count; ~ Lao nap to count.
Cf. Stieng ruap, rəp to count, calculate.

1272 *roap adjacent, to surround.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung rap, Praok rop to surround; ~ Shan hɔp; ~ Mon kroap to be near, to keep close, to be nearly; ~ (*kprɔap >) Mon kərap vicinity, near, Khmer prɔap near; ~ Khasi [jing]-byrap accompaniment.
Cf. Sre rip near, rap about to; Khasi byrap to place together with.
Proto-Austronesian *karap: Acehnese krab close together, Malay kərap close [texture], frequent, Javanese kérèp close together, frequent (so Proto-Malayo Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham).

1273 *rup; *ruup; *ruəp; *roap; *roaŋ to cover.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer kontrup kandrup dark gloomy place, made dark by overhanging branches &c., Biat ndrup lid; ~ (*tər- >; or B?) Khasi tyllup to cover up completely (Ivan M. Simon Pers. Com.).
B: (Khmer, Kuy, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer kraoap to cover, hide; lid; ~ Stieng gruːp to cover, stop up (or ʔ?); ~ Kuy trooːp to cover with e.g. fowl-basket.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng ruɔːp to hide, bury; ~ West Bahnar krɔp hidden, hiding (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Middle Mon groːp /groːp/, Modern Mon krɔp to cover; ~ Old Mon ginroːp screen, Modern Mon həroːp cloth cover.
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

D: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) ~ Khmer **krup grap** (to) cover (TANDART 1935); ~ Khasi **trep** temporary hut; ~ **tyllep** to overwhelm, to cover up (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.);
~ Khmer **srap** [elephants] to stand in shade, Kuy **sap** to cover with blanket &c.

E: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **rup** to be shady, [birds &c.] to cover [sky]; ~ Riang-Lang **rap** to wrap, cover (with), spread over.

Add perhaps as derivation 1277 *grup* to invert…. Connect (originally < D with secondary lengthening?) Old Khmer **karap** cover, Modern Khmer **krɔ:p** to cover; covering (& **kumrɔ:p** n.), Kuy **khrù:ap** (to cover with) lid; perhaps A107b *kraap* to hide, take shelter; & cf. 1252 *t,jap* &c. to bury, cover; 1261 *dɔp* &c. to cover.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; BLOOD 1966 165.)

(i) Sora **rub-** to cover, put lid on; ~ Santali **hər’ub** to cover, &c. (PINNOW 1959 309);
(ii) Khasi **ra’b** to bury (ib).

Proto-Austronesian *ruqub* (ruqub): Sundanese **rub** to cover with sheet, Javanese **lurub** shroud, &c., Samar-Leyte Bisayan **loôb** to cover, Cebuano **lúub** to incubate (cf. NOTHOFER 1975 105, *rubur*; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1274 *rup* (& *ruup*?) to fight.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **rop**, (variant > ?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **rup**.

= following?

1275 *ruup*; *рап*; *rap*; *rip* to seize, take hold of, catch.

A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi) Bahnar **rop** to seize, capture, hunt, fish, confiscate, grasp, Jeh **rup** to catch, Halang **rup** to capture, Bru **rop** to grasp; ~ Khamti Shan **hɔp** to seize [prey]; ~ Khasi **kynrup** to pounce on, seize.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **rɔp** to put arms round, Stieng **rap** to obtain, attain, overcome, Palaung **rap** to receive, to catch in net, Riang-Lang **rap** to hold, to receive, Praok **rep** to receive; ~ Bahnar **hədɔp** fowler’s net, **kədɔp** trap for birds.

C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon **rop** /rɔp/, Modern Mon **rɔp** to hold, grasp, capture, Kuy with secondary lengthening **rəp** to receive, accept, Kammu-Yuan **rɔp** to catch, to receive, welcome; ~ Thai **rəp** to receive, accept ~ Bahnar **krap** to put arms round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B?) Thin **grüp** to catch.

D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **rųp** to confiscate (~ Thai **rip** to seize, ~ Khmer **rup** (TANDART 1935)); ~ Bahnar **krip** to seize; ~ Khasi **shrip** fish-trap.

Add perhaps preceding; B85 *ruup* fishing-net; & cf. 1273 *rup* &c. to cover. (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 187.)

Proto-Austronesian *(r)jaqup* to scoop up: Malay **raup** to scoop with both hands, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, *(l)ahup; NOTHOFER 1975 175; add Acehnese **rahob** to wash one’s face, perhaps Karo Batak **n-dahup** to bring food to mouth with fingers).

(*rub see further 1389 *rum to assemble.*)
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

1276 *grap seed.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer krɔ̀əp grain, seed, nut, Stieng grap seed (BLOOD 1966); ~ Chrau ṣgrap seed.
Conceivably by metathesis ~ *bgar = 1574 *[ ]gar.
(BLOOD 1966 346.)

1277 *gruup to invert, to lie face down.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Stieng gruːp to turn upside down, Palaung grup, Praok krup to make obeisance, Vietnamese sup to prostrate oneself;
→ Shan khûp to make obeisance; ~ Kammu-Yuan kəntrûːp to turn upside down, to lie upside down.
Khasi khrup on one’s knees is perhaps by metathesis < *[ ]rku(u)p, ad 1238 *[p]ku(u)p inverted, face down ~ 1273 *ruup to cover?

1278 *[c]mrɔp to tremble.
Initial correspondence obscure; perhaps variant-prefix forms.

1279 *triəp; *tra[i]p to be clamped, pinned.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon kreːp to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped, Khmer triap packed close together, (~?) West Bahnar jareːp to wedge between two props (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*tnriap >) Jeh drep to stab and pin down (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*tnriap >) Bahnar kɔmreːp to be crushed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon krap to press between two surfaces, press together; ~ Bahnar kamrap to be crushed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

†1280 *trɔp wet, waterlogged.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon krap to wallow, Biat [daːk] trɔp mud, Bahnar trɔp moist and shady [lair, wallow]; ~ (*tbrap >) Middle Mon taruip to provide with sustenance, Modern Mon karp to lead to water, (by metathesis, or ~ by secondar derivation) West Bahnar paːkrɔp to wet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, pakrap waterlogged; with expressive lengthening?); ~ Mon karp heavy rain. Cf. Bahnar (h)atrap large and wet, (h)atrap small and wet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(~) Sora rab-[daː-n] flood, spate.

1281 *tɔrap to fall down.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan həntrûp to (stumble and) fall over, Palaung təkrɔp [branch] to break, [house] to fall down (MILNE 1931).
1282 *srap ready, prepared.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Khmer srap read, Vietnamese sâp to be arranged; to be about to; → Thai sêtsâp finished, completed; ~ (*sbrap >) Old Mon surap /sərap/ to put ready at hand, Stieng səbrap to prepare (BLOOD 1966), Sre prap to arrange, to keep, Chrau prap to put away, Biat prap [on] to put aside, Vietnamese sâp (in senses) to arrange, put in order; ~ Biat ndrap to make ready. (BLOOD 1966 370.)

†1283 *srup; *sruup to suck, drink.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung hrup to drink (MILNE 1931).
   B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer srap to absorb, suck up, swallow up, gulp in, Palaung hrup (MILNE 1931), Praok ruup to drink, (?; by metathesis *rsuup >, or *t’ərəp, Proto-West-Indonesian), ~ *siyup (DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 64, *h-), ultimately → Biat rho: to suck up, to swallow, to sniff, irop to absorb. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 381, sip; 400, suck.

(*srup see also 1400 *sruum to sheath.)

1284 *b[h]raap pigeon.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon pharāp ?/phərap/, Modern Mon hərap, Khmer prıap, Kuy [cɛːm] phriap, Stieng brap, prap; → Thai [nók ] pʰirəap; (?) Sanskrit pārāvate-, Pali pārāpata-. Onomatopoeic; initial irregularities cannot be explained by borrowing Sanskrit. (SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1285 *lip; *l[a]p to spread (v.t.).
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör lip, Central Rölöm lup to spread on, spread out.
   B: (Palaungic) Praok lop to spread; ~ Palaung hlap to spread out (MILNE 1931). (BLOOD 1966 142.)

1286 *liip; *liap; *d-lap to know, be used to.
   A: (Central Aslian) Semnam liip to know.
   B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon lep /lep/, Modern Mon lèp to be versed in, know how to, Central Nicobarese le:ap to be able to, know how to, Nancowry liap.
c: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer thləap, Kuy with secondary lengthening thləp to be accustomed to; ~ (*dnləp >) Palaung nap to know, Khasi nap to be able to, to indulge in.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1286a *liəp to lick.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng liap to lick tentatively, Sre liap (beside lep; loanword?) to lick, Khasi liap-liap licking lightly, lapping, flickering.

1287 *ləp, (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ləbləb >) *bləp; *lup; *ləu(p & *lʊəp?) to immerse.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian; *l-) Bahnar ləp to inundate, Semang lab to wash (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 22A); ~ (*crləp > ?) Bahnar haləp to inundate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*cmləp >) Stieng at’jəəp, Sre nhəap to immerse oneself, Biat nəp [stars] to set, (~ dark) to immerse oneself; ~ Mon kəlop taluip to overflow (or b), Khmer trələp [scent &c.] to be diffused; ~ (*pnləp by metathesis >, or by secondary derivation) Khasi phyrnep to dip, plunge, to duck; (*bl-) Old Mon blip /bləp/, Modern Mon pləp to immerse oneself, bathe, Stieng bləp [kite] to fall to earth; ~ Old Mon birləp ritual bathing, Biat rələp [dark] inundation (with vocalism as in mhlaŋ ad 927 *ləŋ).
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer ləp ləp to wash (& to erase, cf. foll); ~ Bahnar nəp to immerse oneself, (or *-uəp?) Khasi [ngam] jyllop to be immersed, drowned (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Khasi phyrnep to dip, plunge, to duck.
C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (*tluəp >) Bahnar kləp to capsize (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung hləp to inundate (MILNE 1931); ~ Central Nicobarese pomloπ-[fire] [harpooned turtle] to sink.
Cf. 423 *lək &c. …to be immersed; 721 *ləq to be immersed; 854 *ləc &c. to be flooded, to sink; 1077 *li[i]t &c. to be extinguished.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SMITH 1972 181.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *ləbləb: Javanese lèlèp (!) forced under water, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 93-4; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8); (ii) *kələb: Malay chéləp to immerse, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 83; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). See BENEDICT 1975 400, submerge.

1288 *ləp; *luəp; *lʊəp; *[ə]p; *lip; *liəp; *liəp to enter.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer ləp ləp to delete, efface, erase (?; cf. semantically Khasi, f), Kuy ləp dark, cloudy, dim; to erase, Bru ləp to erase; ~ Bahnar hləp to go into, through [door, hole] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon ləp to enter, Chhrau ləp cloudy.
C: (Mon) Old Mon ləp /ləp/, Literary Mon ləp to enter; ~ Old Mon, Modern Mon ploəp to bring in.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng klap to enter, (probably, rather than е) Palaung lap [sun] to go in, [moon] to have fully waned; ~ Palaung hlap to put in, (Milne 1931) to set.

E: (by hypercorrection from dialects in which *lо- > la-; Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat lap to enter, Bahnar lap to fit, be equal to; ~ Stieng klap to insert; ~ Sre sанap to force in, mount [dah-blade] in hilt, Biat ѳlap to force in, to incorporate.

F: (Khmēr, ?Khasi, South Asian) Khmer lуп to withdraw, [sun] to go in, (or ԛ?) Khasi lip to be extinguished, to extinguish, Besisi lep to enter (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 E 76 (b)).

G: (Palaungic) Palaung lip to enter, Praok lip [lu] to enter [trance]; ~ Praok kliп [sun] to set.

H: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh kliп, Halang gliап [sun] to set.

Cf. Stieng lum to go in, to go over [obstruction].

Proto-Austronesian *лууб: Acehnese lob to enter through narrow opening, to set,

Pangasinan лоb inside, to enter, by metathesis Proto-Ambonese *лобо to enter (Stresemann 1927) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*kli(i)p see 445 *pliик shoulder.)


A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Asian) Jeh klап to cover [pan]

(Gradin & Gradin 1979); ~ Old Mon kinlap /кнлап/ book, volume, Modern Mon kεнап sheath, scabbard, volume with covers, Biat ṇlap, Bahnar тαŋlap (!) box, Jeh kalап lid (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Bru klap small box (Kuy тлап ← Thai); ~ Sakai тɛлап (!) to shut (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 182 (a); or B); by secondary derivation ~ Palaung khлап to shut.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) West Bahnar klap to shut, stop up

(Guillemet 1959-63), (or ~ by secondary derivation, cf. Palaung) Praok klap to shut; ~ Thin kεнlap (& cοnlap) to shut door; ~ Stieng kalап bamboo tube with lid; ~ (*кlaап >) Vietnamese trнп wooden container, betel-box.

Cf. further Bahnar тαŋlap lid (& kлап, Guillemet 1959-63, = klap); East Bahnar тαлап lid (Guillemet 1959-63), Bahnar aŋlап, Kontum Bahnar hнαлап sheath.

Bahnar тαлап by dissimilation, Sakai тɛрл- by assimilation?

1290 *klап flying white ant.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Jeh kлап, Kammu-Yuan klап; ~ (*кlап >) Stieng κлαп kind of flying ant, Sre kαнап white ant, Biat ѳлап, Halang κлαп flying white ant (→ Bahnar ?).

(Shafer 1965 503; Smith 1972 196.)

(*blап see 1287 *лап to immerse.)
1291 *slaap wing.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer slaːp, Kuy slaːp, lhāːp; ~ Stieng səklaːp [kənaːj], (~?) Chrau sənlaːp feathers of arrow.

1292 *saap tasteless, without effect.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer saːp insipid, tasteless; fresh [water]; powerless, ineffective, Kuy saːp [spell] to wear off, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang saːp tasteless; ~ Sre bəsəap tasteless.
(SMITH 1972 200.)

1292a *səp to suffice.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy sɔp to be just right, Sre səp enough, Biat [bic] chɔp [to sleep] one's fill; (Khmer *səp, cf. derivation) → Thai sòp every [Editor's note: we were unable to confirm Shorto's gloss, although we did confirm the form as a Northern Thai gloss: to meet, come upon], → Khmer sùp sufficient, complete… by back-borrowing; ~ Khmer səmnɔp satisfying, pleasing.

1293 *ksip to whisper.
By metathesis Proto-Austronesian *bit'ik: Malay bisek, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-West-Indonesian).

1294 *hiip; *[h]iəp; *həp; *haip to suck in, to inhale.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng hip; ~ Chrau pheːp to nose-kiss; ~ Sre rhəip to sniff, inhale, Bahnar hriːp to sniff, inhale, to suck; → Jarai hrip to suck up.
B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar ʔiːp to suck (blood of), to pump up, Bru yiip to suck; ~ hrɛp = hriːp to sniff, inhale, to suck → Acehnese səiəb, r(h)iəb to suck up, to snuff up.
C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar həp (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [hɔ]-həp to inhale.
D: (Khmer) Khmer haep to come up for air.
Add Lanoh Yir hup to breathe? Cf. 1296 *thəəp to sniff; 1104 *hiit &c. to sniff…; 1299 *ihim to breathe… .

1295 *haap; *hup; *huup; *ʔuup to eat.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon hāp /hap/, Modern Mon hap to eat [rice], Palaung həp food, to eat; ~ West Bahnar hənəp mess, eaters at one dish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (?; East Bahnar sənəp!).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre hup to lift [food -bag] to mouth; ~ Khasi kəhup to gulp, gobble.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer həp to eat, Vietnamese húp to slurp [rice-gruel].
D: (Palaungic) Lawa ʔaup cooked rice.
Cf. Khasi **kahap** to snap at, perhaps contaminated by **1231 *kap** to bite or connected to **Tibeto-Burman *hāp** to snap, bite (BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 89); but note Kenaboi

**lihap** to bite, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227 (b).

(SHAFER 1965 270.)

(*khajp see **1226 *k?ip** centipede.)

**1296 *θaωp** to sniff.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **thaap** to sniff, to nose-kiss, Chrau, Biat **tha:p** to smell, sniff.

Connect **1294 *hiip** &c. …to inhale?

**1297 *ʔam** not.

A: (Khmuiic, Khasi) Kammu dials: **ʔam**, Thin **ʔäm**, Khasi **em**, **ym**.

Connect (i) Riang-Lang **_nam** (& Nyah Kur dials. **nam**, **nám** not [yet]); (ii) Praok **aŋ**.

**1298 *ʔ[œ]m** water.

(Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ʔom**, Palaung **om**, Riang-Lang **ʔom**, Khasi **um**; ~ Praok **ɾom**, Lawa Bo Luang **laʔaum**, Lawa Umphai **raʔaum**, Mae Sariang **γaʔaum,**

laʔaum.

(SHAFER 1965 397.)

(*ʔum see **1426 *huum** to bathe.)

†**1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer **ʔiʔim** > **yəm** by dissimilation, Pre-Palaungic &c. **ʔiʔim**; **ih[i]m** > **yəh(a)im**, secondarily > **yhu(a)im** to breathe, live.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon **yəm** to breathe, Riang-Lang **ʔim**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaʔin**, Lawa Umphai **ʔaʔim**, Palaung, Praok, Khasi **ʔim** to live, be alive, Central Nicobarese **eyəm** breath, **eyəm-[lərə]** to breathe, Nancowry **🇷iʔúam** to breathe; life; ~ Cham **yım** in good health; ~ Old Mon **yún** /yam unavailable/, Modern Mon **payəm** life; by secondary derivation ~ (**-yəm**) Kammu-Yuan **həŋʔuam**

breath, heart.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) ~ (**inh[i]m**) Sre **nəhm**, Chrau **nəm**, Biat **nəm**, Bahnar **jəʔəm** breathe (& Rôngao, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **jaʔəm**, perhaps < simplex), Temiar **hənun** to breathe, by phrasal contraction (cf. e.g. Sre **təʔ nəhm** to breathe) Khmer **dəŋhaʔəm** breath; ~ (**inh[i]m**) Kuy **phəʔəm** heart, mind, Palaung **phəm** breathe, Riang-Lang **ʔphəm** breath, life, to breathe, Praok **bəm** air, breath, Khasi **məsiem** soul, breath, Mendriq **nəphəp**, Semelai **ʔəməhəm** to breathe; by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔəphaum**, Lawa Umphai **rəphaum**, Mae Sariang **yəphaum**, **ləphaum** spirit, mind.

Cf. **1428 *kuuom** to blow.

(BLOOD 1966 125; SMITH 1972 14; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 389 (a).)
Sora [tɔŋ]-:em- to breathe, to sigh, -jem- to blow (PINNOW 1959 K 313).

Mon-Khmer → Proto-Austronesian *k’i(S)um to nose-kiss (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, *k’ijum; Proto-West-Indonesian; Malay → Javanese in view of Acehnese com, &c.)?

1300 *[k]ʔim; *[k]ʔiam onion.
   A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; ~ *[k][l]ʔim >) Khmer khtûm (→ Biat kdûm), Bahnar kdîm.
   B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre iam (→ Rôglai jam); ~ Kuy (kh)thîm onion, garlic (→ Thai kratʰiam garlic), West Bahnar kede:m (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh kadiam, Halang gadiam onion.
   (SMITH 1972 35.)

1301 *[c][n]ʔam span.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer comʔam (by assimilation, or ~?), Sre na:m, Chrau sàndam, Biat nʔa:m.

1301a *[cʔəm] nauseated.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔaːm; ~ Biat mʔu:m.
   951 *[cʔən] sated, cloyed contaminated by 1304 *tʔum[ ] &c. rotten?

1302 *[j]ʔiأم smoke.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Semnam jiʔaːm; ~ (*jɛʔiأم >) Khmer chjîam smelling of burning, Stieng niʔam, (?) Sakai nyäm [os] smoke (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 298).
   (SHAVER 1965 151.)

1303 *[t]ʔaam (molar) tooth.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Nyah Kur niak kaʔáam molar, Bahnar taam molar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Shom Pê Nicobaric taam tooth; ~ Khasi tyng-am jawbone.
   Cf. 1318 *dgam &c. molar tooth, jaw.

1304 *[t]ʔum[ ]; *[t]ʔuʔm[ ]; *tʔam[ ]; *tʔhuums; *tʔham[ ] rotten.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (*tŋʔum[ ] >) Mon haim to stink; ~ (*tʔpʔum[ ] >) Chrau poʔum stale.
   B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre oum, Chrau oim rotten, Biat oim stinking, to rot, Bahnar oim rotten, stinking; ~ (*tʔpʔuʔum[ ] >) Khmer phoʔum musty, sour-smelling, Sre poʔuʔm to stink, Prak siʔuʔm to decay, Lawa Bo Luang saʔum to rot.
   C: (Palaungic) Palaung am rotten; ~ Lawa Umphai saʔeum to rot.
   D: (Viet-Muông) Vietnamese thum to smell bad.
   E: (Palaungic; ~ *tʔpham[ ] >) Riang-Lang ḷhâm to be rotten.
   (BLOOD 1966 11.)
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

\[1305\] *[m]əm\text{ cloud.}*

\textbf{A:} (Palaungic) Riang-Lang "\textipa{pəm} \textit{cloud, to be cloudy}, Praok [\textipa{pə}] \textit{əm \textit{cloud}}, Lawa Bo Luang [\textipa{mbia}]əum \textit{mist}.

Proto-Austronesian *[\textipa{m}]əm\textit{] Rukai, Saisiat *əəm (BENEDICT 1975 254, which compare).


\[1306\] *[sʔ]iam younger sibling.

\textbf{A:} (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy \textipa{səm \textit{younger sibling}}, Bru Τɛm \textit{younger sibling}, Stieng \textipa{iam \textit{elder sibling}}, Kammu-Yuan hɛm! \textit{younger sibling of same sex as speaker}, Vietnamese \textipa{em \textit{younger sibling}}.

Kuy, Kammu-Yuan < secondary *sy-?

\[1307\] *[sʔ]əm; *[sʔ]əom; *[sʔ]uəm; *[sʔ]uəm; *[həm \textit{warm}.]

\textbf{A:} (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer səm \textit{warm}, to warm, heat, Vietnamese ām \textit{to be warm}, (\sim~?) Kuy səam \textit{warm}; by secondary derivation \sim Khasi pyr-em \textit{spring season}.

\textbf{B:} (Palaungic; \sim~?) Riang-Lang "saəom to be warm.

\textbf{C:} (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar \textipa{əm \textit{happy}}; by secondary derivation \sim Khasi byr-um \textit{tepid}.

\textbf{D:} (Khasi, \textipa?Palaungic) Palaung \textipa{əm}, Riang-Lang "wəm \textit{to be pungent in taste} (?), Khasi [sʔaid] om-om \textit{slightly \textit{[warm]}}, \rightarrow \textit{Acehnese səuəm, təuəm \textit{warm, hot, to grill, to apply heat medicinally}.}

\textbf{E:} (Khasi, Viet-Mường) \sim Vietnamese hâm \textit{to warm up}; \sim Khasi rhem \textit{hot}.

Tone of Vietnamese ām suggests *cʔ-; Bahnar vocalism compatible with either construction (cf. 335a *duuK; 527 *cuuŋ). Back vocalism secondary?

(Proto-Austronesian *[\textipa{m}]əm [\textipa{m}] Ilocano \textit{anem-em heating up, to heat \textit{[water]}}. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 365, \textit{to ripen fruit...} (V).

\[1308\] *kam arrow.

\textbf{A:} (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon kān/\textipa{kom}/ \textit{arrow}, projectile, Modern Mon \textipa{kom \textit{bullet, cartridge}}, Khmer \textipa{kam \textit{projectile, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat kam, Kammu-Yuan kám, Mnar hám \textit{arrow}}; \sim Khasi \textit{khnam \textit{arrow}}.

(BLOOD 1966 354.)

Sora aʔəm-ən, compounding form \textipa{am-ən}, Kharia kəm, \&c. (PINNOW 1959 265).

(*\textipa{kaams} see 1420 *ksaam \textit{(to catch) cold}.)

\[1309\] *[kəəm \textit{roof-ridge}.

\textbf{A:} (Bahnaric) Bahnar kvəm \textit{thatch at ridge of roof} (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); \sim Sre (with secondary shortening?) rəkəm \textit{roof-ridge}.}
‡1310 *kom; *koom to associate, assemble.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon kuṁ /kɒm/ also, Mon kóm also, usually auxiliary verb, to accompany (A), Old Mon kom /kɒm/ to associate, Modern Mon kom to assemble; assembly (B), Bahnar kum (& kûm) also (A), kóm to collect together (v.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63; B), Riang-Lang ḱom/əkóm/ together with, Semang kom much (i.e. Jehovah; Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 46); ~ (*krk- >; B) Middle Mon grakwom /gəkom/, Modern Mon hakom company, assembly, (A?) Biat rkom bunch, cluster; ~ Bahnar akom, akum, Gőlar Bahnar həkum to assemble (v.i), to gather (v.t.) (A), Vietnamese góm to gather [money] together; ~ Khmer çaŋkaom bunch.

Connect Sre khom to collect up; & 1320 *bgum &c. to collect together.

(Schmidt 1905 30; Shaffer 1965 54.)

Sora kum- to flock, swarm, (*kum-kum- >) kuk'kum- to gather.

Proto-Austronesian *raNkum: Malay rangkum to gather together, &c. (Blust 1973 no. 259; Proto-Western-Indonesian). See Benedict 1975 299-300.

‡1311 *kuəm; *kəm to grasp, hold.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ḱuəm to grasp, seize, Praok kóm to embrace, Temiar kwāp to hold, Central Nicobarese kwəm- handle [of paddle].

B: (North & South Aslian) Mendriq, Semaq Beri kəm to hold.

Connect following.

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 48 (a.).

Proto-Austronesian *kəmkam: Tagalog kin'kim handful, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 78; Proto-Hesperonesian). See Benedict 1975 316, hold... (V).

‡1312 *ckiəm; *ckəm(& *ckam); *ckaim to grasp, hold.

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Old Mon ckem /ckɛm/ to grasp, pick up; handful, Modern Mon kem to grasp, Vietnamese kém pincers, tweezers (contaminated by 1236 *ckiəp to pinch..., which compare?); ~ (by back-formation, contaminated by *ckiəp?) Central Nicobarese niːəm tongs.

B: (Khasi, Katuic, ?North Aslian) Khasi skhem firmly, securely, [shi]khem handful (& (shi) kham ; cf?), Bru sakam to grasp, (or Malay, below, →?) Kensiu cakam to hold.

C: (Katuic; ~ *cnkaim >) Kuy ḱkəm to hold in teeth or beak.

Connect preceding (so front vocalism environmental?); perhaps 1366 *k'[ n,am? handful. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note also Vietnamese kim pincers, pliers, ↔ Thai kʰim.

Proto-Austronesian *k'a(N)kəm (?) : Malay chêng'kam (!) to grasp, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 77, Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay by vowel metathesis, or trisyllabic reconstruction required?).
1312a *rnkam Zalacca wallichiana.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon tokam lakam Zalacca wallichiana (→ Burmese yankam:), Nyah Kur rökám (→ Thai rakam), Khasi [soh]-ryngkham kind of small fruit.

1313 *skaam? chaff, husks of paddy.
Add Khasi skam powder? Khasi skap husk is < 1237 *ckap. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.) Sora 'kùn⁴m-an, kinam-an, compounding form 'kum-an &c. (to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 366).

1314 *gam (& *gam?) more.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon gam /gəm/ more, further, other, besides, Sre gam still, more, (variant >, or weak form?) Chrau gam [və:] and.

1315 *gaam to step.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon kêm gäm pace, to step, Khasi kam to step (& kab step).

1316 *gom hot-air balloon, paper lantern.

1317 *gum; *guum; *g[əə]m to winnow.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat gum; ~ Sre ngum.
B: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon kùm, Kammu-Yuan kùm to winnow, Palaung gum to clean [rice] by tossing.
C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *gyrym to winnow vertically (DIFFLOTH 1977).
Add Khmer ʔom, Kuy ʔom, Bru ʔom, Bahnar ūm, Jeh ūm, Halang ūm (&c., see SMITH 1972 16)? Stieng khüm to blow, to winnow is < 1428 *kuum to blow. Sora gum-, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 159).

1318 *dgam; *dgaam; *dgam molar tooth, jaw.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat gam molar, Vietnamese câm chin; ~ Chrau [sec] dagam molar.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Khmer thkiːm molar, (TANDART 1935) jaw, Stieng gam jaw bone; ~ Bahnar təjam, (or A) Besisi [lêmoŋ] tenggam molar (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 170).
C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng gəm molar; ~ Sre [siː] təgam molar (→ Rôglai [təgei] tərgəm).
Cf. Semang (i.e. Kintaq Bong) têmgim lower jaw bone, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 121; & 1303 *[tʰ]ʔaam (molar) tooth; 1233 *kaap chin; 497 *kaŋʔ chin, jaw. (SHAFER 1965 582.)

Proto-Austronesian *gaq[ə]m: Acehnese ghôm, Cham khûm, &c., Malay g/ᵉʳ/(a)ham, Javanese g/r/aham, iban [ngelî] gam /gaam/ molar (Proto-West-Indonesian; *yaham, DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, falls; Javanese bam: Siraya vaam).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman *gəm, BENEDICT 1972 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese gʻəm 頷, ib. 183 n. 482 (→ Vietnamese hàm).

‡1319 *prgəm imperial pigeon.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon hâkəm, Proto-Nyah Kur *parkum (DIFFLOTH 1984 N29; implies *-um), Bahnar pəgəm.
Malay pêrgam, probably → Besisi pêgām (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 92). Mon-Khmer → Indonesian?

‡1320 *bgum (?); *bguum; *bgəm to collect together.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar gum to help (?).
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng prəgum, Biat rgum to collect together.
C: (Khmer) Khmer phkûm phgaṁ, (by back-formation?) kûm gam collect together.
Connect 1310 *ko(o)m to associate, assemble; perhaps A117 *[g]n[ə]m granary. (Cf. SMITH 1972 7.)
(~) Proto-Austronesian *ragum: Javanese ragum to be one with, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 347; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1321 *ŋəm; *[ ]ŋam to immerse, soak.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, ?Palaungic) Stieng ŋəm waterlogged [tree], Biat ŋəm to immerse, Palaung ŋəm to immerse, soak, ferment (MILNE 1931; or B), Muông ngâm to soak (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese ngâm to steep, soak.
B: (Khasi) Khasi ngam to dive into.

†1322 *ŋəaam sweet.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (ŋ)ŋi:am sweet, Sre 𨑾am to be very sweet., Palaung ɲəm, Riang-Lang ɲəm sweet substance, to be sweet; ~ Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ʔɲəm sweet.
Connection uncertain Khasi shŋiam very tasty, with which cf. Bahnar ɲəm delicious; Praok ɲəm to taste pleasant.
(SHAFER 1965 150; SMITH 1972 39.) Sora loggedIn- deliciou [taste].
**1323 *sŋɔm silent.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon sʰmah, sʰmɔm to be silent, thoughtful, anxious, Khmer sŋɔm-[sŋiom] to keep silent; ~ Mon kʰhom to feel regret, remorse, Khmer sɔmŋɔm to stay still and quiet.

Hence probably by arbitrary variant Khmer sŋiam silent; cɾaŋɯm quiet, silent, deserted; sɯp unmoving, silent. Cf. 1427 *kʰāem silent… .

**1324 *cim; *cioim; *ciom; *caim; *cum bird.**

A: (Bahnaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Bunõr sım, Central Rõlõm sum, Biat chiam (*!), Jeh, Halang, (or B, ?C) Semnam, Semelai cim; → Cham cim, North Rõglai cip.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Sre sım, Kammu-Yuan sım, Riang-Lang ~sım, Lawa Bo Luang sajn, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sainm, Palaung, Praok, Khasi sım, Muông (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese chim; → Jarai cım, Rõglai sim; ~ → Acehnese cecem.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar seım, Temiar cep; ~ (*kuan ciom by contraction >) Old Mon kʰncım /kʰncem/, Modern Mon həcem.

D: (Kuy) Kuy cem.

E: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng cûm, Chrau sum; ~ Central Nicobaresse cecem (→ Moken chichom).


Connect Proto-Austronesian *qaiam bird, fowl… (under the entry 1382a *[h]yam)?

**1325 *cam; *caam to wait, watch.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer cam to await, keep watch (→ Biat cam [ye:m] to keep watch), Kuy cam to wait.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khuic) Stieng caam to wait; ~ (*[c]ncaam >) Kammu-Yuan nà:m to guard, watch (→ Lao naam, → Kammu-Yuan yàm).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)

**1326 *cum; *cuum; *cuam; *cam matched, complete.**

A: (Palaungic, Khuic, ?Mon) Literary Mon [ci] cuım to be complete (or D), Kammu-Yuan cûm (!; contaminated by flock, herd < 1338 *bjuım), Palaung sum pair (MILNE 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon cum pair, set; to be even in number, complete, Palaung sum pair (MILNE 1931).

C: (Mon) Old Mon com /com/ entirely.

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cam exact(ly), directly; ~ Stieng tacəm to put together again.
1327 *cum; *com; *cəm; (*cim cim >) *ncim; *ciəm (& *nciəm?); *caim to eat, to feed.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung sum to eat (MILNE 1931, honorific).
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *sam, Praok səm, Lawa Bo Luang saum, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang som to eat.
C: (South Bahnaric, Central Asian) Sre sam to treat medically, administer [medicine] to; ~ Central Sakai bööp to feed [child].
D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon 'cim /*cəm/, Khmer ncəm (& cəncəm), Stieng cɪm to feed.
E: (Bahnaric) Sre siam to feed, Chrau siəm to feed [child], Biat chiam, ciam to taste, Bahnar hiem to feed (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63 also Bahnar dialect səm to feed; West Bahnar peəm to treat), Jeh ciam to feed, Halang ciam to raise; → Cham cɪəm to feed, North Rōglai ciap to feed [pigs].
F: (Kuy) Kuy cem to feed [child], Br ʃacem.

F secondary; A-B may be if Munda, below, not cognate. Palaung sam food offered to monks is ← Shan shəm ← Burmese chwam; pəm cooked rice is < 1345 *tə/p/əm. Cf. further Beduanda kəchəm, ngɛchəm to eat (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 28).

(SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(?) Sora jəm-, Santali jəm food, to eat, &c. (PINNOW 1959 385).

1328 *[c][uəm]n night.

A: (Khmui, Palaungic) Palaung sum, Riang-Lang səm, Praok səm (!), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saum night, Mae Sariang saum dark; ~ Mae Sariang lasaum, yasaum night; ~ Kammu-Yuan pasuam night.

Or (i) *-um (Palaung, Riang-Lang), *-uam (Lawa), *-uəm; (ii) *tə; connected then 1352 *bəm? Cf. 1268 *yup &c dark.

1329 *dcaam to make a hole.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon cam to dibble, Khasi sam to bore, pierce; ~ Old Mon [kir] ducām /dəcam/ [kil] to make holes with an earth-auger.

Connect Mon həcom dibber; perhaps Semai l əp, Mah Meri kacup to dig (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 108 (a)).

(*ncim see 1327 *cum ...to feed.)

1330 *jiim; *jam; (*jəm jəm >) *njəm; *juum; *juəm moist, swampy.

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, ?North Bahnaric) Mon cim to be swampy (~ Burmese cim. marsh, to be swampy), Vietnamese chǐm to sink, be submerged; (?) ~ Jölong (h)neəm to moisten; moist (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khasi *jum-jum full of juice; ~ Bahnar *ŋom
  (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar also *ŋom to moisten; moist (?), (~?) Khasi
  *banium bog; wet.
D: → Acehnese *jum damp, spongy, soft.
Connect 1393 *jum mud, swamp? Cf. further Thin jūp to soak, wet; & 1419 *səm[ ]
  &c. damp.
Sora *'lajim- wet, damp.
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 270-1, to dip… .

1331 *jaam dish, bowl.
  A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer *təm dish, tray, Stieng jaːm large copper dish,
   Sre *jam (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar jaːm large bowl (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru jaːm
   washing bowl (beside *sam ← Thai); → Cham cəm dish; Thai cʰaam (→ Lawa
   Umphai, Mae Sariang chuam?).
   (BLOOD 1966 297.)

1332 *jəm; *jəəm manner.
  A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (*.*jaam >) Praok jəm manner, action, condition; ~ Khasi
   syriem to resemble.
  B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar yiːm like, thus, so (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-
   Lang ˌcəm in order to; ~ (*jaəm >) Biat məm manner.
   Bahnar fronting post-palatal.
   (*jəm see also 1338 *bjum bunch… .)

1333 *jum; *juum (to go) round.
  A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cum jum (a turn) round, Stieng juːm circuit,
   (area) around (or B?), Biat jum around.
  B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar jum to go round.
  Cf. Khmer caom to encircle, surround, ~ Biat ncoːm to encircle, surround.
   (BLOOD 1966 158.)
   (*ju(u)m, *juəm see 1338 *bjum bunch… .)

1334 *juəm[ ]; *jəm slow.
  A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar *ŋom (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
  B: (Viet-Muông) Muông (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese chǎm to be slow, late.

1335 *[k]jəm; *[k]jaəm; *[k]juum soft.
  A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung jəm to be tender, flexible, soft, Khasi jem soft.
  B, C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang cum, Lawa Umphai chum soft (C); ~
   (B) Riang-Lang əcəm to be tender, flexible, soft.
   Lawa suggests *ʔj-.
1336 *tjum; *tjuum tinder.
   A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *tbjum >) Chrau pəjum to make fire.
   B: (Bahnaric) Sre jum, Biat jom tinder; ~ Bahnar dialects təso:m &c. tinder
      (Guillumet 1956-63).

(*njəm see 1330 *jiim moist... .)

1337 *njum; *njuum; *njəm; *njəm dark in colour.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khasi) Khasi jŋum dark blue, violet by metathesis
      (or B); ~ Sre gənom black, dark-coloured; ~ Semang lemyom evening (Skeat &
      Blagden 1906 D 16 (d)).
   B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *pnjuum >?; contaminated by 1330 *juum moist... ) Bahnar
      ɲɯːm to soak, dye.
   C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon yəm yəm to be dark in colour,
      Mường yəm black (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 209); ~ (*pnjuum >?) Biat nəm to
colour, dye, blacken, Palaung nəm to dye, (Milne 1931) stain, Lawa Bo Luang,
      Lawa Umphai nəm, Vietnamese nhuəm to dye; ~ Mon hayəm to be dark, no
      longer light.
   D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer cəəm discoloured, stained,
bruised, dark in colour, Kuy chəm bruised, Palaung nəm to be black, swarthy,
      Mường nəm black (Cuisinier 1951), by metathesis Khasi jŋem bruised; → Thai
      cʰəm black; Cham jaːm; ~ Khmer cəŋcəəm dark [sky &c.].
      Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.

1338 *bjum; *bjuum; *bjuəm; *bjom bunch, to gather together.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer cūm jum, (by back-formation
      from?) phcūm phjum (& phjəm, cf. D) to gather together, Kuy chūm to gather
      together; group, Kammu-Yuan cūm flock, herd; → Lao jhum flock, herd; ~ Sre
      parɨjum collection, assembly, Jeh pəjəm together (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
   B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar hiuəm to gather together, gather in arms, to
      embrace, Jeh yuəm to pick up in a bunch, Halang yuəm to gather together,
      Vietnamese chūm (!) bunch, chum to assemble, join, gather.
   C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Stieng dialect jəm[jail] to meet (together);
      Kammu-Yuan cəəm to follow, accompany, Vietnamese chəm (!) tuft, clump, bunch,
group.
   D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer phcūm to gather together (merging A; phjəm), Thin jəm all.
      In view of Vietnamese tonal variant perhaps orig. *j- n., *b-j- v.
      (Smith 1972 17.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1339 *kn.bit; *knuum; *knuam young.
A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Old Mon khum (child?) of tender years, Proto-Nyah Kur *khapoom young child (Difflloth 1984 N171), Kammu-Yuan (A) núm, núm, Besisí nyum young (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 Y 42; or c?); ~ (B) Central Nicobarese kenyum child, Nancowry kipóm.
C: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy nu:am (!)young; ~ (*knuam > ) Palaung kɑtum young boy, Praok nok young child.
Connect Riang-Lang k妞uk to be soft, young, tender?

1340 *t₁iim; *t₁iɔm; *t₁am; *t₁a[i]m; *t₁[u]m to hit repeatedly.
A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar team to beat, hammer, forge (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Palaungic) Palaung team to hammer, Lawa Bo Luang team, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang, Praok team to hammer, beat out.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Khmer dom to beat, hammer, forge, Kuy tam to hit, beat (probably, rather than D), Pakoh tum to thump with bottom of fist, Stieng tom, Biat tom, Bahnar tam to horn, gore, Khasi tem! to beat [drum &c.], Muong täm (Barker 1966 13), Vietnamese dam to pound; → Thai tam to pound; ~ (*pt¡am > ?) Vietnamese dám to hit with fist.
D: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon ta:n /tɔm/ [sño'], Modern Mon tɔm [hao?] husked and pounded rice, Kammu-Yuan tam to beat [drum].
E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan tám to hammer, forge.
F: (Palaungic) Palaung tum to hit with fist; ~ (*t₁]nt₁[u]m > ) Praok dum to strike. Connect obscure Central Nicobarese dom to hammer, Nancowry róm.
Kharia thom to smash, &c. (Pinnow 1959 264; Proto-Munda *tam).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *[qŠ]aNtam: Acehnese antam to hit hard, Malay hantam to pound (→ Besisi — i.e. Mah Meri— ‘ntom, Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 203), Javanese di-antem to be hit (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese); (ii, by metathesis?) *[qŠ]aNtam: Karo Batak ng-entam to lunge and butt, Acehnese έntam, Malay mèng-hèntam-kan to hit hard, Iban ng-entam to attack (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1341 *t₁iim to know.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon tım /tim/, Modern Mon tem to know, Lawa Bo Luang tain, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang taim to remember, understand.
Cf. 896b *tın &c. Connection dubious Khasi tıp.

1342 *t₁am locative (?) particle
A: (Bahnaric) Sre tam in, at, Jeh tam with, from, Halang tam from.
1343 *təm; *təəm; *təam plant, to grow; to begin.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmunic, Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese đâm to grow, sprout; ~ (*ptəm >) Sieng təam to plant, sow, Palaung səm (or c?) to plant; ~ Sieng t(h)ənəm, Kammu-Yuan sərnəm medicine.

B: (Kham, Bhanaric, Palaungic, North & South Asonian) Khmer daəm, Biat təm, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar təm (foot or trunk of) tree, beginning, Mintil təm tree; ~ Kham phdaəm to begin, Palaung səum, Besisi pətəm to plant (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 132); ~ Bahnar pətəm, Hre basəm, Sedang pəsəm to begin, Riang-Lang ʔəkəm to plant, lay out [garden &c.]; ~ Chrau, Biat nəm quantifier for trees; ~ Bahnar tənam = təm.

C: (Mon, Kham, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon ʔəm /təm/ plant, tree, base, foot, beginning, Modern Mon təm base, foot, beginning; ~ Old Mon pətəm to transplant, Modern Mon pətəm also to begin, Khmer ʔəm, Sre, Chrau, Biat təm, Praok səum, Lawa Bo Luang səum to plant; ~ Thai ʔəm to transplant; ~ Bahnar pətəm to plant, (or A?) Lawa Umphai ndəm, Mae Sariang ndəm to begin; ~ Middle Mon tənam, Modern Mon nəm plant, tree, Khmer tənam medicine, Praok nəm plant; ~ Chrau tənam wet ricefield, Palaung sənam, Riang-Lang ʔənəm herb, medicine.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 85; BLOOD 1966 375, 420; SMITH 1972 13; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 151, T 203.)

Sora nətə-, nətə- [tree] to grow, nən(ʔ)ənən, compounding form 'nənən transplant, plant.


1344 *təum; *təum; *təəm collection, accumulation.

A: (Mon, Kham, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon sən/ /təm/ all, Literary Mon tən to be numerous, Khmer dom group, lump, wad, block (→ Cham daum group), Riang-Lang təm bundle, Praok təm [ne] many, much; ~ Khmer domdom in a crowd, in a heap, Sre nətəm workgang, group; ~ Khmer kdom gathered together, Sre təm to meet, Chrau cum to wrap up, Riang-Lang təm to make a bundle.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar təm all, entirely, Jeh təm enough, all, Halang təm enough, Central Nicobarese təm bunch (quantifier); ~ (*ktəum >) Kuy təm to wrap up, Palaung təm to gather together (MILNE 1931), Praok təm to gather; ~ Shan təm to gather; ~ (*[s]təum >) Central Nicobarese hətəm-[həta] to assemble, Nancowry żumtəm all, build; ~ Bahnar (h)ətəm collection; together (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese həntəm mound (& həntəm every).

C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau vətəm to assemble.

Connect Mường təm bunch, BARKER 1966 25; perhaps A114 *tam reciprocal preverb. (SMITH 1972 45.)

Sora təm- to accumulate, gather.
1345 *t₁um; *t₁uəm; *t₁am; *t₁aam; *t₁əm to boil, distil.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan tóm to boil, cook
      (→ Lao tom), Semang to₄m to boil (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 331); ~ Sre tərnom
      rice-beer.
   B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon toṁ /tom/ to cook, Modern Mon tom to cook, distil; ~
      (*t₁puam >) Palaung pom cooked rice.
   C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer tāṁ, Modern Khmer dam to boil,
      cook by boiling; ~ Khasi thnam /θnam/, Semai nam to boil (v.i.) (TAUERN 1914);
      ~ (*t₁rnam >) Mon kənam to boil (v.i.).
   D, E: (South Bahnaric; ~ *trn- >) Bunör rənam (D), Central Rölöm nam (E) rice-
      beer.
   Connection dubious Kharia ḏōbkə- to boil, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 396.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 422.)

1346 *ʔt₁aam according to.
   A: (Mon &/or Khmer) Literary Mon tāṁ, Khmer təm; ~ (&q in part ←?) Thai taam.
      *t₁ in view of Sora. If not *ʔ-, Mon → Thai → Khmer.
   Sora tam-, ətam.

1347 *k[ ]t₁am heavy.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kətám heavy, Palaung [it] katam [to sleep]
      one's fill.

1348 *kt₁aam crab.
   (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer
   kədam, Kuy (k)tam, Stieng, Sre tam, Chrau cam, Lawa tam, (by back-
   formation, assuming **k- = small-animal prefix!) Khasi tham; ~ Acehnese
   gotōam, Malay kētam, Iban ketam; ~ (*kntaam >) Mon hətam gatāṁ, Bahnar,
   Halang kɔtəm, Jeh kətam, Kammu-Yuan kətəm, Semang kəntem (SKEAT &
   BLAGDEN 1906 C 258 (c)); probably by secondary derivation (k- small-animal
   prefix!) ~ Riang-Lang kətəm.
   Connection dubious Santali kətkəm, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 214. Blust's construction of
   Proto-Austronesian *kətam (BLUST 1970 no. 210, *-T-) falls.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 278, 376; SMITH 1972 41.)

1348a *kt₁əm egg.
   A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang təm, Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang təm,
      Lawa Bo Luang təm egg, Central Nicobarese kətəm-[kəə] soft roe; ~ Palaung
      kətəm egg.
   Cf. 1253 *k[t₁]ap.
   (SHAFER 1965 145.)
1349 *[k]t₁uum; *[k]t₁uom to fall down.
   A, B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon gaton, daton (A), Mon hatom (B) to fall (down); ~
   Literary Mon phaton &c., Mon hatom to knock down.
   Sora, which compare, for *t₁, favours construction of *[k][r]t₁- ~ *kbt₁- causative. Cf.
   A106 *tup to fall; Mon tôm doim to fall down.
   Sora 'ôtum-.

1350 *krt₂uum kind of varan.
   A: (Bahnaric) Sre bertum small kind of varan of aquatic habit (Dournes 1950;
   contaminated by baya kind of varan < 156 *brya?), Chrai [kɔn] katóom, Biat
   rtum, Bahnar katōm kind of varan (Guilleminet 1959-63), Jeh ← kasūam,
   Halang kasūum lizard.
   (Smith 1972 20.)

1351 *[c]t₁iim nine.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung tim, Riang-Lang tım; (~) Lawa Bo Luang satajn, Lawa
   Umphai, Mae Sariang sataim; ~ (*[c]nt₁iim >) Praok sidim.
   Connect perhaps 1144 *dcīın[ʔ] &c., which compare.
   (Shaffer 1965 312.)
   Sora 'tim-[jı-], &c. (Pinnow 1959 372.)

1352 *bтом night.
   A: (Mon, Aslian, Nicobaric) Che' Wong bōtom, Central Sakai tōp, Semelai pätom; ~
   Old Mon birtam /bartom/, Modern Mon hatom, Proto-Nyah Kur *pətam
   (Diffloth 1984 N234; implies *-am) ; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Central
   Nicobarese hatom.
   Connect 1328 *[c][ua]m? But connection dubious Mường tém (Barker 1966 13),
   Vietnamese děm.
   (Skeat & Blagden 1906 D 17 (a-b).)

1353 *st₃eam; *st₃uum right-hand.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian, ?Khmuic) Khmer sdám (~ Thai
   sàdam), Kuy tam, Palaung [i]təm (Milne 1931), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]tum, Lawa
   Umphai tóm, Mường tám (Wilson 1966; Barker 1966 205), Kensiu tem, Temiar
   tap, Semelai satam; ~ (*snt₃am >) Praok dâm, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang
   ndâm; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan tarhám right-handed by metathesis (& by back-
   formation hám right-hand).
   B: (Mon) Old Mon stūm /stum/.
   (Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 128.)
   Santali etóm, &c. (Pinnow 1959 220).
1354 *[d]im; *[d]i[a]m to yoke.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer tûm, Stieng di[m]; ~ (*[d]nim >) Khmer nûm yoke (& thnûm tie-beam, a neologism), Stieng nim to yoke, Biat num (to) yoke.
B: (or *-iim?: Katuic) ~ Kuy thnîm yoke.
For Khmer n- < *dn- cf. 1750 *dnaal. Biat -im is wanting; note num : Stieng ni:m ad 1381 *yaam; chium < 1324 *cim.

1355 *dam young male.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon [klèa] tôm dam steer, Sre dam male [animal], Bahnar dam two- to three-year-old male [cattle], Jeh dam young (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*[d]nam >) Stieng ndam young male [bullock], Biat [beŋ] ndam [man] having attained puberty; ~ (*drdam >) Bahnar tadam young man, youth.

†1355a *dam[ ] to be soaked.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese dâm, dâm-[dia]; ~ Riang-Lang *tam (I), Khasi pdem to soak, steep, ferment.
Proto-Austronesian *roNdâm: Malay rëndam to soak (v.i), wallow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103, *[I]-; Proto-West-Indonesian).

†1356 *dôm; *duum to incubate.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) ~ (*dnam >) Kuy nôm, Bahnar ?nâm; ~ West Bahnar (GUilleMINET 1959-63) kånym, Kammu-Yuan kåmnûm; ~ Khasi pdem.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang tûm; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kåmnûm] kåmnô:m.
= following?
Sora dûm-.
(Proto-Austronesian *dåNdêm) Tagalog limlim, Cebuano Bisayan lumlum
(compared at DEMPWOLFF 1938 43 with Malay &c. words meaning to long, long for revenge; so Cebuano to store up feelings; DAHL 1973's Malagasy & Formosa comparisons, § 14.6, belong elsewhere).

†1357 *ûm (& *dêm?); *[d]uum to lodge for the night, to roost.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon dum /dôm/, Modern Mon tûm to lodge for the night, Khmer tûm dâm to perch, to sit, Jeh dâm, Halang dom to sleep away from home, Khmu’ dum to stay overnight, Palaung dom to lodge, Praok tum to lodge, alight, Khasi dem (!) to alight, to stoop, to lie down, (*dêm >?) Central Nicobarese dâm, raîm (!) night (quantifier), [om]dâm to sleep away from home, Nancowry râm (or rather 1360?); ~ Cham dam (!) to perch, alight; ~ Khmer tronûm perch, roost, by metathesis Kuy nthrôm to perch on, Biat dràm to perch.
B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [om]du-m[hare] (!) to squat on heels.
= preceding? There is contamination with 1158 *d[uu]n to perch; whence Khasi, Nicobaric, Cham d-.
Sora dum- to crouch down, Santali du’b to sit down, &c., ~ Mundari duṛum to lie down and sleep (PINNOW 1959 111).

1358 *dəm, *dəəm to thunder, rumble.
B: (North Bahnaric; by expressive lengthening?) Bahnar dərm to rumble, buzz (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ dənəm rumbling of thunder &c.
Sora dum’dum-[tir-ən], dadum-[tir-ən] thunder, da’dum-da’dum- to thunder.

1359 *gədəm hut, room.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Obsolescent Mon hatəm room, Old Khmer kədañ, Modern Khmer khtəm (& khtūm khdəñ) hut, shelter; → Cham kadaun hut, shelter; Thai krətəm hut.

1360 *dəm, *dəım; *dəm; *dəəm; *du[ ] m dark.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon dəm to be blue, violet (or c &c.), Khmer [tū:] tūm cloudy, overcast.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Middle Mon [niiy] tdiin to be hard to descry, Chrau [səndə:] kəlim very [black].
D: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar danəm dark [sky &c.] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
E: (Khasi) Khasi dum dark.

1361 *[d]əm; *dəm to tend, raise.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer [thaf]-təm to look after; ~ Sre pandam to feed (v.t.) (DOURNES 1950).
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ɗam [animals] to feed, to feed [animals].
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1361a *đaam to hit the mark.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon đam to hit the mark, to be true, Bahnar đaːm to hit the mark repeatedly; ~ (*prđaam >) Mon hđam, Bahnar pđaːm to aim.

1362 *đum; *đuum ripe, ripe-coloured.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer đum, Modern Khmer đum ripe, Sre đum ripe, (— rəmːit) yellow, Biat đum ripe, red, (~?) Literary Mon pđuın to be pale red.
B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palanungic, Central & South Aslian) Bahnar đum, Jeh đùm, Halang đùːm ripe, red, Praok đum, Lawa Bo Luang đum, Lawa Umphai đum ripe, (— rəmːit) yellow, Biat đum ripe, red, (~?) Literary Mon pḍuiṁ to be pale red.
Cf. Malay ku(n)tum bud (→ Semang kūtum, ib. B 449); Thai tūm bump, swelling (→ Kuy tūm), Shan tūm (to) bud, (to form a) boil.
(SHAFER 1965 126; BLOOD 1966 156; SMITH 1972 15.)

1362a [*] ndəm under, underpart.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre đəm underneath, Biat nam (— nroːm) space under house, (tuːm — dark) bottom of river; (probably ~) Kontum Bahnar kənəm under, underpart, lower down, Sedang kədam under.
(SMITH 1972 4.)

1363 *p[d]am five.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Old Khmer preə, Modern Khmer, Sre, Chrau, Biat prəm, Muông đəm (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese nặm; ~ Bahnar pədəm, Jeh padam, Halang bədəm.
With consonantism cf. 588 *p[dəŋ]; but South Bahnaric pr- perhaps counting deformation on six < 1851 *tpraw.
(SHAFER 1965 378; BLOOD 1966 369; SMITH 1972 23.)

1364 *sđəm to be afflicted by spirits.
A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*sđəm >) Mon hənəm to fall ill through supernatural agency; ~ (*sbđəm > *sđəm by assimilation ~) Khmer səndəm to put to sleep by sorcery.
Connect Bahnar ləm sacrilege (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?
Sora soːnːum- to be afflicted by evil spirits.
1365 *n₁uum, (*diʔaak n₁uum by sandhi >) *kn₁uum urine, to urinate.
   B: (Mon, Kattuaic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon nam urine (vulgar; so erroneously nam, knam), Kuy kloam urine, to urinate, Sre doum urine, Bahnar ?nom, Palaung hnum to urinate (MILNE 1931).
   Connect Palaung hnum urine (MILNE 1931); note here the Biat sandhi-form [pʁɔc] nom bladder.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAER 1965 171; SMITH 1972 34; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 U 27.)
   Sora ə'n̩um- to urinate (children's word); & əɲ(n)um- to urinate, &c., cf. Palaung hnum (PINNOW 1959 K 303).

1366 *k[ ]n₁am? handful.
   A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Riang-Lang kənəm fist, handful; to clench, clutch, Vietnamese nám handful.
   Originally quantifier formation? Cf. Khasi kham, under the entry 1312 *ckəm to grasp, hold; which, with 1311 *k(u)əm to grasp, hold, perhaps connected.

1367 *[k]n₁am (kind of) spirit.
   A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi khlam female spirit causing cholera; ~ (*[k]nn₁am >) Jeh kanəm (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), by metathesis Palaung kərnəm spirit.

(*kn₁uum see 1365 *n₁uum urine, to urinate.)

1367a *g[n]nəəm to rely on.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat nəm hope, to hope, rely on (or < simplex *gənəəm?), Bahnar gənəm to depend on, trust, Jeh kanəːm, Halang kənəm to rely on.
   Connection uncertain Khmer səŋkhüm to hope, to count on.

1368 *cn₁am; *cn₁aam year.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Old Khmer chnām, Modern Khmer chnam, Sre, Biat nam, Jeh hnam, Kammu-Yuan nūm (obsolescent), Praok num, Lawa Bo Luang nəum, Lawa Umphai neum, Mae Sariang nam, Khasi snem, 'nem, Muông (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese nam; (probably) ~ Stieng sənəm (or ?) BLOOD 1966 sənəm, Sre, Bahnar sənəm, Halang hənəm, Palaung sənəm.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon cnâm /cnəm/, Modern Mon hənəm.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAER 1965 156; BLOOD 1966 361; SMITH 1972 24.)
   Sora 'num-an compounding form (~ minnum-an, originally one year).
1369 *bnuum; *bnəm (& *bnəəm?) hill.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai plaum, Khasi lum.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, South Asian) Old Khmer vnam, Modern Khmer phnûm, Stieng bànnâm, Sre bənəm, (*-əəm >?) Semelai bənəm; ~ (*bnnəəm >?) Kammu-Yuan pnûm anthill, Palaung pənnəm hilllock (MILNE 1931).

(SHAFER 1965 173; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 91.)
Sora bo'num-an, Mundari bunum anthill, &c. (PINNOW 1959 122).

1370 *cn,aam skin.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hnam skin, Proto-Nyah Kur *chnaam (DIFFLOTH 1984 N135), Palaung hnam skin, complexion.
Connect Khasi snep skin, rind, bark?

1371 *paam to set fish-traps.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon pam to catch in net or trap, Kammu-Yuan pá:m to set trap, Thin pam to set [fish-traps]; (probably ~ *p'paam >) Sre, Chraud, Biat, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pà:m fish-trap.

(SHAFER 1965 94; SMITH 1972 42; cf. SCHMIDT 1905, 18.)

1372 *puum to hold in arms, embrace.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *pum, Central Nicobarese fu:m-[həta].

1373 *ɓaam to chew.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung bam to chew, munch (MILNE 1931), Khasi bəam /baam/ to eat.
Connect 1376 *gɓaam to have in one’s mouth?

1374 *ɓuum tuber.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat bu:m sweet potato, Chraud vu:m, Bahnar bu:m tuber, Jeh, Halang bu:m quantifier for tubers.
Connection dubious Khmer m:v:m tuber, edible root.

(SHAFER 1965 381; SMITH 1972 19.)

1374a *[ ]ɓəm; *[ ]ɓəəm cheek.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat tə:m bəm, Kammu-Yuan pəm (→ Thin pəm?).
B: (Katuic) Kuy bəm.
Connect following?
1375 *kbiim; *kbiəm; *kbaəm; *kbuim; *kbaəm to have in one’s mouth.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer bəm to suck at breast, Vietnamese mím to tighten [lips].
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Khmer biam to hold in mouth, suck, Kuy biam to have mouth full, Pakoh kabéam hold in beak or mouth, Chrau vəm to suck in mouth, Vietnamese [mó̞m]-mém to mumble, chew, Central Nicobarese pem-[hata] to drink.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Kuy bom to hold in mouth; → Malay kēbam [lips] sucked in [in rage]; ~ (*kmbom >) Bahnar ?məm to close mouth on (!; & kəmməm, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, to fill mouth with water); (or B?; t- adverbial) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi them as if biting something in the mouth.
D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau vum mouthful [of rice wine].
E: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Bru kubom to hold in mouth, Kammu-Yuan püm to chew [betel], Riang-Lang ōm to hold in mouth, (or p?) Khasi kbum to close one’s lips.
F: (Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese mó̞m-[mém] to mumble chew; (or *-am? then rather ad following, which connect) by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang rəmbam, Lawa Umphai rəmbom, Mae Sariang yəmbom, yəmbom mouth.
Cf. besides preceding. 1378 *mim[2] &c. to suck, with mutual contamination; & note Kammu-Yuan ūm to hold in mouth, suck, ~ rəmʔəum quid.

1376 *gbaam to have in one’s mouth.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer pəm to carry in mouth or beak; ~ (*gnaam >) Kuy mpham bridle; ~ Mon həbəm to place, have, hold, in one’s mouth, Khasi kyrəbam to bite one’s lip, press lips together.
Cf. Khmer pəm to put, push, food into one’s mouth.
Connect preceding; perhaps 1373 *baam to chew.

1377 *gbum (?) *guum; *gweəm; *gbaum bud.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer krapu̞m karbaun bud, (to be) in bud (or if misspelt d).
B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan [láʔ] kəlpəm leaf- bud.
C: (Palaungic, ?Mon) Palaung bəm (—kəŋ kir, — jəŋ) calf, (— kətəh) buttocks (for semantics cf. 82 *kədə plantain bud); ~ (*gna- >) Mon həməm bud (probably, rather than B; kəhməm &c.).
D: (Viet-Muong, ?Kuy) Kuy phəm (!; or ə?) to be in bud, (~?) Vietnamese məm bud.
Connect Central Nicobarese kəmənə- (-koəl) forearm, (-ləh) calf; perhaps Sre bom bud.
Cf. Tibeto-Burman *mu̞m, BENEDICT 1972 78 no. 364 & n. 239 (Burmeses, Lushei, Kachin).

1378 *mim[2]; *məm[ ]; *mam[ ]; *məm; *mun to suck.
A: (Kham, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ᵃm, Kuy (baby talk) mem to suck at the breast (< *m2im by metathesis?), Stiang mem, Sre mim to close [mouth].
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B: (Central Aslian) Semai mɛːm breast; → Jarai mɛm to suck at the breast.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy mɔ́m, Bahnar mɔ́m, Kontum Bahnar mɔ́m to suck at the breast; → Malay, Cham, Moken mam, North Röglai mɔ́m.
D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mopération) East Bahnar mɔ́m, West Bahnar mɔ́m to chew (Guilleminet 1959-63), Mutong mɔ́m to feed with premasticated food (Barker & Barker 1976); ~ Vietnamese mɔ́m to feed with premasticated food, (bú —) to be breast-fed.
E: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mopération) Sre mum to have in one’s mouth, suck, Mutong mum to have in one’s mouth, suck, Mutong mum to have in one’s mouth, suck, Mutong, Kuy (bım, Bahnar mɔ́m to suck at the breast.

1379 *mum; *muum corner, angle.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mûm (→ Thai mum), Sre mum, (probably) Stieng muːm.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar muːm.
(Shafer 1965 176.)

1380 *[k]mum bear.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon kmì /kmɔ́m/, Modern Mon mɛ́m, Khmer [khlaː] khmùm ghmúm.
(Schmidt 1905 40.)

1381 *yaam to weep.
(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon yām /yam/, Modern Mon yêm, Khmer yûm! yam, Kammu-Yuan yām, Palaung yam, Riang-Lang yam, Praok yem, Lawa yuam, Khasi iam, Proto-Semai *jaːm (Diffloth 1977), Central Nicobarese ciːm-[nire], Nancowry cim; ~ (*yaamyaam; except Aslian > *myaam, > Kuy yɲìam, Stieng, Chrau nìm, Sre nım, Biat jum, Gölar Bahnar jəm, Kontum jəm, jın, Jeh jəm (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Semai dınjaap to weep (Tandart 1935), Temiar yayaap to cry suddenly (Benjamin 1976b 134).

with Khmer vocalism cf. 1782 *kyaal; South Bahnaric fronting perhaps general following nasal; on Biat cf. 1354 *[d]jm.
(Schmidt 1905 40; Shafer 1965 383, 383a; Blood 1966 223; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 285.)
Kharia i'jam, &c. (Pinnow 1959 42).

(*yaam see 1299 *iʔim to breathe, live.)
1382 *syaam (kind of) ant.
A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau saṃ, Bhat chiam ant, Semang [les] siān kind of ant (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 104), Sakai hieb ant (i.e. Temiar; ib. A 103).

1383a *[h]yam game, meat.
A: (Bahnaric) Bhat iam meat, Bahnar sām animal, game, Kontum Bahnar meat (contaminated by 1327 *ciām to eat…?; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has also East Bahnar &c. hiem meat, game), Rōngao jam wild boar, meat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar ʔnem meat.
Proto-Austronesian *qaiam: Malay ayam fowl, &c. (DEMPWOLF 1938 13, *ajam tame; DYEN 1953 § 117; DAHL 1973 § 8.3; Formosa bird; Saisiat also animal, Kanakanabu meat, see BENEDICT 1975 293).
Cf. White Tai *hīam, Northern Li *xaam meat, BENEDICT 1975.

1383 *rim; *riim; *riam; *ram edge, rim.
A: (Khmer) Khmer rūm; → Thai rim.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer rim rim, lips (TANDART 1935), Riang-Lang _rim edge, vicinity; → Shan him edge.
C: (Nicobaric; ~ *[g]riam >) Central Nicobarese ke:am brim, rim, Nancowry kiām edge.
D: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng rām edge (e.g. of forest) (?); ~ (*[g]ram >) Mon krām to bind edge of [basket]; ~ hārām rim, edge (& Nyah Kur nram [paŋ] lip); ~ Khmer prūm brām limit, frontier, boundary.
Cf. 656 *riŋ &c. edge, border.

1384 *ram; *raam to be in, under, water.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) ~ Sre kram to sink, submerge, Bahnar kram to be submerged, go to the bottom, Jeh, Halang kram to sink; ~ Khmer, Katuic, Sre, Bhat, Chrau tram to soak, wet, Bahnar, Jeh tram to soak, Halang tram to lie in water; ~ Old Mon braṃ /brəm/, Modern Mon prōm to founder.
B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ya:m-[hata] to overload [canoe]; ~ Stieng tram to soak, wet; ~ Bahnar hram to soak, wet.
(SHAFER 1965 60, 570; SMITH 1972 25, 29.)
Proto-Austronesian *qa[r]yam: Cham tram to steep, Rōglai trap, Pangasinan talém to soak (so Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively *-r-). Neither all Mon-Khmer nor all Austronesian forms can be explained by borrowing! Sre &c. kram perhaps ← Proto-Austronesian *kayam (under the entry 1403 *la(a)m).

1385 *ram; *raam new clearing
A, B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Chrau rām (A), Bahnar [mir] rām newly cleared swidden (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; B), Khasi rām jungle cleared for cultivation, Nancowry yōm garden, orchid, Nancowry yom garden.
1386 *ram; *raam to decay, age, perish.
A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar ram lost, destroyed by natural disaster, Central Nicobarese yam-[ṇa] to disappear, vanish.
B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Sre ram old, gone hard, Palaung ra:m to decay (Milne 1931); ~ Praok [si?um] ram to decay; (probably ~; or A) Khasi [iʔap] tram to wither; ~ (*nraam >) Biat ndra:m large [intestine] (opposed young, green = small intestine).
Add as derivative 1397 *[d]raam abandoned, deserted?

1387 *rom appropriate, worthy.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon rôm ra:n to respect, Khmer [sən]-rûm ramya right and proper, Stieng rom [caːj] worthy, fit to.
Khmer spelling equates with rûm pleasant ← Sanskrit ramya-.
(Schmidt 1905 40.)

1388 *room to agree.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre rom to agree to join (Dournes 1950) (by attraction following, which compare), Biat rom to agree; ~ Khmer prɔːm, Kuy phrūam, Riang-Lang _prəm to agree (→ Palaung, Mon, prəm?).

1389 *rum; *ruum; *ruəm; *ruap to assemble.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer rûm ruːn [pʰiː mʊk] to surround, crowd round, Kuy rûm to crowd round, swarm round, Praok rom to be associated; ~ Praok prom to assemble (v.t.); ~ Mon harâm da(m)ruːm to assemble (v.i.).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer rûm to cluster round, settle on, (caom- —) surround, Kuy rôm to gather, assemble (v.i.t.), Palaung rum (to be) together, Praok [raak] rum [grum phruac] to assemble (v.i.); ~ (*tʃruam >?) Khasi shrum many together, Vietnamese sum [hɔp &c.] to gather, be united; ~ (*tʃmrum >?) Thin brom, prom together.
C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Literary Mon romi company, companion; (~ cha) to accord, pair, Khmer rûam to join together, unite (v.i.t.), West Bahnar rom [hornis] to coverage (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Thai ruam to gather together, riːam to live together, be joined together, Shan hôm to be together; ~ Mon karom in company with; ~ Gölar Bahnar hadram to pile up; ~ Khasi lyngrom (or A?) in a small group; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung karprom to gather (v.i.) (Milne 1931); ~ Praok khram to gather, collect (v.i.t.).
D: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer rûap to assemble, join (v.i.t.) (→ Thai ruːap to gather together), Riang-Lang _ruap pair, Proto-Semai *roop to accompany; companion (Diffloth 1977).
Cf. with D Sora rab- [persons] to unite. Add following?
1390 *rum; *ruum; *ram to help, to lend.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon rim /rəm/ [bān], Modern Mon rəm to help (→ Burmese ruin: [pān]), Riang-Lang rəm to lend, borrow [money].
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese giùm (for **rǔm) to help.
C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung ram to borrow [money], Lawa Bo Luang ram to borrow, Khasi ram debt, loan.
= preceding? Cf. 1270 *rap to help.

1391 *ruum (& *rum?); *ruəm underneath.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre roum, Bahnar rəm area under house (Guilleminet 1959-63), Khasi rum lower part, south; ~ Old Khmer karəm, Modern Khmer kraom under, Stieng kromium, Chrah kromium area under house, Jeh kromium underneath, Halang kromium underside, Palaung kromium under, Khasi kromium space under floor, Temiar karoŋ place beneath (Benjamin 1976 157), Proto-Semai *kroːm under (Diffloth 1977); ~ (*knr- >) Kuy [kduːap] nthurəm, Bahnar karəm underneath, Kammu-Yuan kantrüm, Praok grüm, (*-um >?) Lawa Bo Luang ngroɔm, Lawa Umphai [ka]ŋrum, Mae Sariang ngum under.
B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon k炯rom /kəŋrom/ (space) under.
(Schmidt 1905 64; Shafer 1965 485; Smith 1972 49; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 165 (a.).)

1392 *gɾəm[?]; *gɾam[ ] to thunder, rumble.
A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar grəm distant thunder; → Jarai grəm, Röglai, North Röglai grəm thunder; (?) Burmese khrim: to thunder; ~ (*gɾəm[?] >?) Mường kham (Barker & Barker 1976), Vietnamese sâm thunder.
B: (Mon, Kham) Khmer krəm sound of thunder &c. (or A?); ~ Literary Mon gamram to rumble.
679 *grəŋ to thunder contaminated by 1358 *da(a)m?
(Shafer 1965 142.)

1393 *jrm mud, swamp.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer jrm, Modern Khmer crəm muddy water, muck, Besisi harōp swamp (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 115); ~ Mon harəm damruim marsh, marshy banks.
Originally by metathesis *r-(n)jəm, ~ 1330 moist, swampy? Connection uncertain
Mon harəm mud.

1394 *t,rim; *[t],rəm; *t,ɾəm level, equal.
A: (Khmer) Khmer trəm equal to, up to the same point as.
B: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan trüm level; ~ (*[t],ɾəm >) Lawa Bo Luang ngəroım, Lawa Umphai ngərum level; ~ Khmer təmrəm (!) from now until.
C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ndraːm similar, equal.
A contaminated by 655 *ri(i)ŋ, which compare?

1395 *tˌriːim; *tˌriəm old.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ~trim, Khasi rim (originally compounding form?); ~ Literary Mon trim to be old (or < simplex, but cf. B), Khasi thynrim slightly old; ~ (*tˌpriǐm >) Kammu-Yuan prim, Palaung, Praok prim, Lawa Bo Luang phraiŋ, Lawa Umphai priaim, Mae Sariang phyaim (to be) old.
B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon tinˈrem /tanˈrem/, Modern Mon kərem t(a)ˈrem.

1396 *tˌruʊm; *tˌruəm hole.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat trom hole, den, lair, Stieng, Sre truːm, Bahnar troːm hole.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh troːm, Halang troːm hole.
(SHAFER 1965 571; BLOOD 1966 20; SMITH 1972 33.)

1397 *[d]raam abandoned, deserted.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon [son] krɛm drāṁ, grāṁ to be desolate, deserted, Riang-Lang _ram [field] to be abandoned; → Shan hǔm to be abandoned; ~ (*[d]nraam >) Praok gram to leave behend.
1386 *raam to decay…?

1398 *(drəm) dram; *drəɔm to stamp foot &c.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, ?Mon) Mon hákɾəm [cat] to pounce on (< *dra(ə)m dr(ə)m); ~ (*dnraam >) Khmer tūəntrəm (& tɔntrɔm; or as Mon?), Chrau ntrɔm to paw the ground, stamp feet, Biat ntrɔm to paw the ground, stamp feet, (by back-formation?) trom to stamp, Vietnamese giảm to stamp (for *râm; beside giảm to crush, tread, trample); by secondary derivation ~ (*mrr- >; or B?) Sre mbləm to trample (DOURNES 1950).
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*dnraam >) Bahnar trom to stamp, to trample.
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*drəɔm dram or *dnraam > *mrəɔm >) Palaung [khuŋ] bruːm to trample on, stamp (on) (MILNE 1931).

1399 *smraam; *smraam; *s[m]ruʊm sweepings.
B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon həram dust, powder, Khmer sɔmrəːm rubbish, bits.
C: (Khasi) Khasi synruːm rubbish, debris.
C secondary.

1400 *srʊum; *srʊup to sheathe.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sraom to envelop; envelope, Sre sruːm to sheathe, to put [ring] on finger; ~ (*s[m]ruʊm >) Sre səmpɾuːm sheath, Chrau səndrum boots, Biat ndrom sheathe, (— jɔŋ) sock.
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy sop sheathe, sock, bag, Jeh sop, sro:p to sheathe (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
Sre sampnuŋ sheathe is ultimately connected (Cham sarui <) Proto-Austronesian *t'aruŋ, Dempwolff 1938 148.

1401 *liam good.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar liem, Jeh, Halang liam; ~ (*Inliam >?) Sre niam good, well. (Smith 1972 36.)

1402 *laam to extend.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon lèm ːām to grow by putting out tendrils, Khmer liam to lengthen [rope &c.], Bahnar laam [water] to spread in flood (Guilleminet 1959-63); → Thai laam to advance, extend along the surface, spread; ~ (*jlaam >) Mon klèm to feel, Khmer jhlām to stretch [foot] out (Guesdon 1930), West Bahnar hlām, klām, East Bahnar halām to spread widely (v.i.) (Guilleminet 1959-63). (Schmidt 1905 48.)
Sora lʔam- to crawl, creep, lam- to creep, extend (to be separate from forms at Pinnow 1959 K 482).

1403 *lám; *ləom to sink.
A: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Kuy lām to inundate; ~ (*[g]ləom(-s) >) Vietnamese tràm to sink, tràm [minh] to drown oneself; (or B) ~ Old Mon tinlum /tanlom/, Modern Mon kənem to sink; ~ Old Mon tulum to drown oneself, Modern Mon kolom to immerse oneself, bathe.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *təəm? >) Palaung hlum to dive.
Proto-Austronesian *kaŷəm: Cham karam to sink, &c., Malay karam to be wrecked at sea, &c. (cf. Dempwolff 1938 73, *ka[l]əm; separate Javanese kērēm; Blust 1972 C? no. 1; Proto-Hesperonesian; perhaps → Sre &c. kram, under the entry 1384 *ram). See Benedict 1975 381. Perhaps ← Mon-Khmer are Javanese kēlēm, kēlēm to sink (kēlēm referred to *koləm dark at Dempwolff 1938 77); Malay tēnggēlām to sink.

1404 *luum; *ləm to be mistaken, deceived.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer lə:m to cajole, persuade (with sense by false analysis of derivation?), Kuy ləm to console, soothe, appease, Biat ləm to console, to seduce, entice; ~ Khmer prəlaom to apply persuasion to, to seduce, Sre parloum to deceive.
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B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon luim (in sense) to be invalid (?), Biat lâm to deceive [spouse], be adulterous, Vietnamese lâm (& nhâm) to be mistaken, make a mistake; ~ Khmer cralom to be mistaken, confused; ~ (*pnləm >) banlâm to mislead; ~ (*prəm >) Middle Mon paluim (in sense) to corrupt, subvert, divert, Modern Mon palom to seduce (& Literary Mon paluiṁ [cuit] to disappoint, let down; merging to destroy, ad 1414 *rləm), Stieng prələm to deceive, to make a mistake, Biat rləm to deceive, to misappropriate, Bahnar pələm to deceive.

Or two roots, with mutual contamination?

1405 *kləm hundred.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon klaṁ /kləm/, Modern Mon kləm, Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese tràm; ~ Bru kalam, Pakoh kulam. (SHAFER 1965 230.)

1406 *kləm; *kləm to carry on shoulder.
A: (Khuic, South Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Thin kləm, Sertiing klam (i.e Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 36), Temiar golap (BENJAMIN 1976B 138; or ← Acehnese, below?).
B: (Khuic, Palaungic) Thin kləm, Riang-Lang `kəm, Praok, (or A?) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang kəm, Lawa Bo Luang kləm.

Proto-Aceh-Cham has *gul[aa]m: Acehnese gulam, Cham kəlam, Jarai gləm, North Röglai gulap.

1407 *kləm to wrap.
A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng kləm to shut up in, Central Rölöm tlam to wrap up, to be wrapped up; ~ (*kəlm >) Sre kanəm packet (DOURNES 1950), Biat əkəlm packet; to wrap up; ~ Semang makəlab to wrap up (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 144).

(BLOOD 1966 120.)

1408 *kl[u]m dense, thick.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kləm to be dense, Palaung kəlm to be thick (MILNE 1931). Or *-əəm.

1409 *[c]lim²; *[c]liam²; *[c]laim[ ] to lick.
A: (Viet-Mường; ~ *[c]niim >) Vietnamese nêm to taste (v.t.).
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) le:m to lick one’s fingers; ~ (*[c]rləam >) Mon kalem to taste (v.t.), Vietnamese liém to lick.
C: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ (*[c]rləam [ ] >) Khasi jylliem [dog] to lick lips; ~ (*[c]pləam[ ] >) Khmer plaem-plaem repeatedly lick ing the lips ( & pʰləm licking).
1410 *t,ɬam; *t,ɭəm; *t,ɭam land leech.
A: (Aslian; ~ *t,pləm >) Proto-Semai *pləm (DIFFLOTH 1977).
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunör klaɭm land leech, Khasi thliəm small leech; ~ Stieng, Sre pləm small species of leech, Chhrau pləm land leech, Biat pləm, Bahnar pləm forest leech, Jeh, Halang pləm leech, Kammu-Yuan plúam (!), Palaung plum (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai pləm land leech; → Cham pləm, Jarai pləm, pləm, Röglai plum, North Röglai plur.
C: (Mon, ?Nicobari) Mon klaɭm land leech, (or A?) Central Nicobarese heləm leech.
Cf. 1858 *gləw (kind of) leech; but connection dubious Khmer chhrəŋ, Kuy thhrəŋ water leech.
(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SHAFER 1965 231, 380; BLOOD 1966 416; SMITH 1972 11; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 43.)
Sora 'niːlem-ən, 'niːleːb-ən, 'niːloːm-ən leech. For n- here (< *n-?) cf. 32 *tɡa?; 1343 *təam &c.

1411 *t,ɬəm; *t,luəm liver.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer thlaɭm, Chhrau khləm, Sre, Biat, Bahnar klaɭm, Jeh, Halang kləm; → Röglai kləp.
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ Kuy lʊəm (!), Kammu-Yuan təɭəm, Mường lom (CUISINIER 1951).
Connect B89 *kt,luəm, which compare? Note Ilocano dalem, perhaps < Proto-Austronesian *dalam inside (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, *d-).
(SHAFER 1965 69; BLOOD 1966 395; SMITH 1972 12.)

1411a *[p]lim; *pliiɭam; *pləm dim, to glimmer.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer phliɭum (~ →) dim, (~-phləːt) twinkling dimly; (or D) ~ Mon [hakət] pələm to be pale [red], pink.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar [mat] pllim night-blindness.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ´plim ´plim to flicker, twinkle.

1412 *pləm to move stealthily.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pləm to stalk, Khmer phləm to slip in, sneak in; (?) → Thai pləm to imitate, disguise.
Connection dubious Riang-Lang ´luam to pursue, hunt.
1413 *\[r\]lam; *\[r\]laim sharp, pointed.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer RALɔ̀əm very sharp, pointed, Palaung lam (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang lɔm, Lawa Bo Luang lʊm sharp.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer rəlɛ̀ːm acutely pointed; ~ (*srlaim > ?) Kuy sle:m, lhɛ:m pointed

1414 *rɬəm; *rɬəem to collapse, subside.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon rlim /rɬəm/ [rɮək] to be in ruins, Modern Mon ləm to be damaged, destroyed (or B), Old Khmer rlaɪ̯m, Middle Khmer rəlum ralaɪ̯m (!; GUESDON 1930 raləm — ralom) to fall (down), crumble away, Sre rələm to fall in, form gullies, Biat rɬəm to crumble away; ~ (*krləm > ) Khasi khyllem [house, wall] to collapse.
B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar rələm, East Bahnar hələm to crumble away, fall down (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SCHMIDT 1905 72.)

(*sliəm see 1422 *lsiim finger-nail.)

1415 *sɬam? in quantity.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) West Bahnar hələm much, severely (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Muông (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese lám much; ~ (earlier *hɬəm hələm > *mləm >?) Palaung bləm to be plentiful; ~ (*snɬam? >?) Lawa Bo Luang nəum, Lawa Umphai ?neum more.
Connection uncertain Mah Meri hnom many, = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 45.

1416 *sɬəm? discoloured.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Mon hɬəm [colour] to be faded, Muông ləm (BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese lám to be soiled, smeared; ~ (*sɬəm? >?) Biat bləm tarnished, dull.
Connection uncertain Khmer lʊm luəm faded [flowers &c.], withered, slaom to wither; or Praok khrom hu [flower] to fade.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *ləmlam; Toba Batak lomlom dark, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *tələm: Balinese selem dark, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 399, Proto-Hesperonesian); & note *(q)iS[a]ləm dark colour, BLUST 1973 no. 255. See BENEDICT 1975 265, dark... .

1417 *səm?; *sum[ ] to bathe.
A: (Viet-Muông) Muông thəm (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese tám.
B: (Khasi, Palaungic) Khasi sum /sum/ to bathe, wash, Danaw Ωon [u:n] to bathe.
Connect 1426 *huuəm &c.?
1418 *səm all, totality.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon suən /səm/ [tum], Modern Mon səm all; ~ Praok khaəm all; ~ Old Khmer psən, Modern Khmer phsən to unite.

1419 *səm[ ](-s); *səəm? damp.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer saən damp, moist (B; → Cham sən), Vietnamese tám to soak, marinate (< *səm[ ]-s), Che’ Wong sam rain; ~ (*s-ns- >) Mon kəsəm lasəuən (< *ns-?), dasəuən (< *ns-?), kəsəuən rainy season, Khmer sənsəsəm, ?ənsəsəm (B) dew, damp, (*ns- >) Bateg Nong lasəəm, Proto-Semai *ləəm rain (DIFFLOTH 1977; !) (~) Vietnamese rəm to ooze, be wet [with blood, tears]; ~ (*s-?) Bru lahaəm damp.

   Earlier perhaps *ʔəms ?ams, cf. Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese 𝛼m to be humid; so too Kuy həm damp, moist, wet? Connection thus uncertain Javanese chenhəm to soak (<*kəmʔəm, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, with dubious Tagalog comparison) Cf. also 1330 *jiim &c. moist, swampy.

1419a *sum; *suəm shrimp, prawn.
   A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese təm.
   B: (Katuic) Kuy [kə] sum, Bru ?asəəm.
   Note Semang klo’ kəsəb (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 107.

1420 *ksəam; by metathesis *kaams (to catch) cold.
   A: (Mon) Middle Mon [yəu jət] kəsəm epidemic, Modern Mon cham head cold.
   B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cáəm to catch cold.

1421 (*rnsuəm &c. by assimilation >) *rnsuuəm; *rnsuəu; *rnsəən; *rnsəən nest.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau maəsəm, Praok mum, Lawa Bo Luang ᵇəhəsəm, Lawa Umphai ᵇəhəsəm.
   B, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre raəsəm (B), (C) Central Rölöm soən, (~?) Bunör raəswən.
   D: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Biat rəhən, (?) with secondary lengthening Riang-Lang ᵇəhən.
   (BLOOD 1966 70.)

1422 *lsəim; (*lsəim by metathesis >) *lsəəm finger-nail.
   A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (*lsəim >) Palaung rəhən, (by assimilation *lnsəim >) Riang-Lang rəhən, Lawa Bo Luang hən, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hən; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi təsəim nail, hoof, claw.
   B: (Mon, Palaungic) Danaw kə’ lən; ~ Old Mon sinlem /sənlem/, Modern Mon hənəm.
1423 *[ ]h[m] em bed-bug.
A: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Thin hûm, Lawa Bo Luang hûm.
Cf. Kammu-Yuan huŋ, Bru nsaŋ.

(*[ ]ham see 1307 *[s]äm warm.)

1424 *häm sated.
A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer haäm swollen (?), Sre, Chrau, Biat haäm sated.
Cf. 473 *ha(ə)k.
(BLOOD 1966 394.)

1425 *hom to speak.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Middle Mon huim, Modern Mon hûm, Palaung (Mon, songs) hom to speak, say, speak of, tell; ~ Thin pröm to speak, talk.
Cf. Riang-Lang tar?up to converse.

1'426 *huum (& *hum?); *hum to bathe.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Palaungic) Mon hum, Bahnar huam (Kontum hum; < *hum?), Jeh hûm, Halang hûm, Palaung hum, Praok hum, Lawa haum (or Palaungic < *suum[ ] ad 1417 *sum[ ]; which connect?), Semelai hum; ~ Old Mon p-hûµ /phum/, Modern Mon phum, (~?) Bahnar pahum (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh pahûm to bathe [someone] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by assimilation, or ~) Bahnar muhum to bathe [someone] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan mum to wash oneself.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau um, Biat om to bathe.
(SCHMIDT 1905 24; BLOOD 1966 150; SMITH 1972 6; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 82.)
Kharia oə, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 542; Proto-Munda *umə?).

(Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ih[i]m see 1299 *iʔim to breathe, live.)

1427 *khəm (& *khuum?) silent, to sit (quietly).
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Stieng khäm quiet, to be silent, inactive, Biat [guʔ] khäm to be silent, ...khuam to squat, (variant >?) Semelai khoam to sit (Mah Meri/Besisi also quiet, cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 223); ~ (*khaəm >) Praok ɲəm, Lawa Bo Luang naum, Mae Sariang naum to sit.
Cf. 1323 *ŋəm silent.

1428 *khuum to blow.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng khuam to blow, to winnow (contaminated by 1317 *gu(u)m?), Sre khoum, Biat khoam to blow; ~ (*khuum >) Chrau khlo:m to blow, Bahnar hlo:m to blow on, into, Jeh klum, Halang huam to blow wind instrument.
Connect ultimately 1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ih[i]m to breathe...?
(BLOOD 1966 6; SMITH 1972 46.)
1429 *ghim to growl.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*gnhim >) Mon kahim [e.g. tiger] to give a short open growl; ~ Khmer krhûm [tiger] to growl (& to clear throat, by attraction krhêm, krhaem).

†1430 *jhaam; *jhiim blood.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer chiəm, Mnar chim blood, (?) Central Nicobarese cyəm sap; ~ (*jnhaam >) Kuy ñham, Chrau nhám, Palaung hnam, Riang-Lang nam, Praok nam, Lawa nhám, Khasi snam, nam blood, (~ or by assimilation *jmhaam >) Stieng mʰhaːm, Sre, Biat mhaːm, Bahnar, Jeh phaːm, Halang məhaːm, Kammu-Yuan màːm, Kensiu maham, Semai (or b?) baiːp, Semelai maham blood, Central Nicobarese mahaːm menses, Car Nicobarese məm blood.

B: (Mon) Old Mon chim /chim/, Modern Mon chim blood.

With Mnar vocalism cf. e.g. thim < 1348 *ktəam. B secondary.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 154, 379, 559; BLOOD 1966 307; SMITH 1972 37; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 249.)

Sora 'miɲaˑm-, Kharia ëjam, Santali məjäm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 303).

See BENEDICT 1975 235.

1430a *[t]heem to add to.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer theaːm, Biat theːm, Bahnar thim; → Thai tʰem, → Kuy thêːm.

Or *dh-, > Kuy; Khmer ← Thai?

(*tʰəm[ ] see 1304 *tʔum[ ] rotten.)

†1431 *tʰhaam eight.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*tnhaam >) Bahnar tʰŋaːm (& hŋaːm); ~ (*tʰphaam >) Sre, Chrau, Biat phaːm, West Bahnar (GUILLAUNET 1959-63), Halang tʰaːm, Jeh tʰaːm.

Hence perhaps, by counting deformation on dincit nine < 1144 *d/n/ciit, Old Mon diñcām /doncam/, Modern Mon həcam. But connection dubious (i) Mường thám (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese tám (< *saam?); (ii) BS *t₁aaʔ; or Waic forms there cited.

(SHAFER 1965 275, 377; BLOOD 1966 317; SMITH 1972 38.)

Kharia tham, &c. (PINNOW 1959 8).

(*tʰhuums see 1304 *tʔum[ ] rotten; *dheem 1430a *[t]heem to add to.)
1432 *dhum; *dhuum fragrant, to scent.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Literary Mon thūm to emit fragrance (→ Burmese thūm to perfume), Khmer thūm dhum to emit fragrance, to smell [scent], Riang-Lang āhm (→ Shan hām) to be fragrant; ~ Old Khmer danhum perfume, Chrau nhum incense.
B: (Katuic; ~ *dphuum >) Kuy phom to be fragrant.
Connect obscure Mường (BARKER 1966 12) hom, Vietnamese thom fragrant. Probably not ← Sanskrit dhūma- smoke, vapour, mist, given preferred vocalism; but note Thai dom to smell, inhale.

1433 *phoom to break wind.
(SMITH 1972 48.)

(*yha(o)m, *yhu(o)m see 1299 *i2im to breathe, live.)

1'434 *ʔaayh to give.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Kuy ʔe: to take, bring (?), Sre aay to give, Riang-Lang ʔe id., to cause to, allow to; let...!; so that, Praok e adhortative particle, Khasi a[i to give; ~ (*[ ]rʔaayh >) Palaung deh to give.
Cf. Old Khmer oy, Modern Khmer ʔaoy (with vocalism as in e.g. sraoc ad 837 *ra(a)c; so conceivably *ʔauyh). But separate Pangan ya-ői?, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 30 (Kensiu ʔek).
Kharia ʔe, &c. (PINNOW 1959 394; Proto-Munda *ʔjom?).

1435 *ʔaay other.
A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Bahnar a[i (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*ʔan? ʔaay by contraction >, cf. 1115 *ʔ[lan? &c. 3rd person singular pron.) Bahnar (a)nay; ~ Bru raʔaay each other; ~ Palaung lay each, other, to be different, Praok lay reciprocating particle.
Connect 1511 *[ ]a(a)y[ʔ] again, < *[ ]las ʔaay another time by contraction? But if Bahnar a[i is separate, perhaps ʔlaay ~ *[ ]nlaay.

1435a *ʔ[øy]%; *ʔ[øy]h; *h[øy]% deictic.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Biat i: locative pronominal head (?), Bahnar ey, Vietnamese āy that near at hand; ~ Khmer (s)ʔ الحكوم, ʔvrey what?
B: (Palaungic, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ʔe that, Lawa Bo Luang ʔəih, Lawa Umphai ʔəh, Mae Sariang ʔəih this [year], Kintaq Bong ʔəh this, ʔəh here, Central Nicobarese ēh near, close, this, Nancowry ʔəh near, ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔəoih, Lawa Umphai ʔuʔəh what?
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

1436 *ʔə[y][h]; *ʔaay[ ] you (feminine singular).
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng e:i, Sre ay feminine singular, Chrau ay (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm ʔeː, Biat ai feminine, Bahnar eː, ih, Halang ih singular.
B: (South Bahnaric; originally calling deformation?) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör ay, Chrau ay feminine.

Cf. Khmu' yeʔ mascuine singular familiar; Semai heʔ, Temiar hāʔ singular, Mah Meri &c. hiʔ singular /plural = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 85; cf. PINNOW 1959 78.
(SHAFER 1965 564; BLOOD 1966 182; SMITH 1972 332.)

1437 *[ ]ʔuy to be rocked, swung.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon ui p'uy [cradle] to swing, Central Nicobarese hyi-[həta] (!) to swing (v.i.); ~ Khasi kyn-oi to cradle, dandle, lull.

1437a *ʔuy; *ʔuuə; *ʔuəy; *ʔ[ə]y three.
A: (Palaungic; ~ *ʔluy > ) Praok loy.
B: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese loe, lue.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung uy, Riang-Lang ʔway, ʔway (& &we); ~ Lawa Bo Luang laʔoi, Lawa Umphai laʔua, Mae Sariang laʔuai.
D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi lai.
Connect 98 *piʔ, as Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[ ]u(/p/)i[ ]?

1438 *ʔuuy to tend, care for.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon ʔuy to tend, see to, Praok uy to raise, bring up.

1439 *ʔaay we two.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) Palaung ay, Riang-Lang ay, Central Nicobarese caai.

Connect 4 *[ ]ʔaʔ we two or 1435 *[ʔ]aay other?

(*ʔuuy see 887 *ʔuun to smell, sniff, *ʔuuy see 1550 *phuuy blanket; *ʔu(ə)y see 798 *ʔuc finished.)

1440 *ʔəy; *ʔəy destitute, orphan.
A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar hraʔ poor, wretched (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Bahnaric; ~ʔ) Stieng [kən] laʔy, Chrau laʔəy orphan, Sre laʔəy poor, wretched (~ Rölglai laʔəy poor, wretched, orphan); ~ (*ʔnəʔy >) Sre doy, Biat [kən] doʔi, Jeh, Halang təy orphan.

(Proto-Austronesian *ləqəʔ?) Cebuano Bisayan luʔy pitiful.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1441 *sʔuy rotten, to stink.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kautic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Mon ui s’uy to be rotten, putrid, Old Khmer s-uy, Modern Khmer sʔoy stinking, putrid, to stink, Riang-Lang ¯vi, *wi to smell (v.i.t.), Praok siʔoy [baa] to be fragrant, Lawa Bo Luang saʔau, Lawa Umphai saʔoi stinking, Vietnamese ɗi [meat] to be spoiled, rotten; ~ (*slʔuy >) Kuy sloi, lhoi rotten, falling to pieces, to stink.
Connect Kammu-Yuan pəyrùy stinkingly; & cf. Vietnamese thối to stink, to be rotten.
But Central Nicobarese vi smell is rather < 1563 *[s]ʔer.
(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

1442 *kaay to scratch.
A: (Khmer, Kautic, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer kəy to scratch, scratch hole, gnaw, pick [teeth], Bru kəy to scratch, scrape, Sre kəy to peck after scratching ground, Khasi khaï to pluck with nail (or < 1541 *khaay?), Kintaq Bong kay to scratch (or < 802 *kaac? so, apparently by back-borrowing, Bahnar kai? (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)).
Note Proto-Miao *k[ai] to scrape, scratch, BENEDICT 1975 372, (IX). Cf. besides *kaac A138 *kwaay; 867 *kwaac &c.; 1880 *kais &c; 1881 *kuus &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1443 *kuy; *kuuy head.
A: (Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kensiu (or b), Temiar, Semai ll kuy.
B: (Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semai l kəy, Semelai khoʔy, Central Nicobarese kəi, Nancowry kuy head, top.
= following?

1444 *kuuy? (& *kuay??) to bend, nod, drowse.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Mon kui to rock [child], Sre kuy to sleep (with secondary shortening), Bahnar dialects kuii to go to bed, to sleep (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang kuy to bow down, stoop, Vietnamese cūi to bend, nod; ~ Mon hakui to be drowsy, to nod off, Proto-Nyah Kur *caŋkuy feel sleepy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V263; implies *-uy), Bahnar kəkay ( < variant?), Kammu-Yuan kənkùuy to nod off.
Connect Chrau [viʔ] guy half asleep, to nod, Biat [bic] gui to be sleepy; & perhaps add preceding.
(SHAFER 1965 48; SMITH 1972 456.)
(~) Kharia [kabai’j] kubui’j accidental crookedness of back, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 483.)
1445 *tɨ,kɤy? tick.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng kei; ~ Khmer də̈ŋkəe, Bahnar tə̈ŋ key; ~ Sre dərkay, Chrau rakay, Biat rkai.
Sora təŋke:-n. —So *tɨ.-.

1446 *[d]kuuy; *[d]kuay Calotes lizard.
B: (Khmer, Kautic, North Bahnaric) Biat kwai [təŋ] kind of large lizard or monitor, (or A?) Jeh kui̯ small lizard, Halang kuay lizard; ~ Chrau ŋkway chameleon, gecko, Biat ŋkwai chameleon; ~ (*[d]pkuuy >?) Kuy (?a:)kəi̯ chameleon; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bəŋkuəuy Calotes (TANDART 1935 bəŋkəuy), Bahnar makuey large kind of lizard.
Stieng pekei grey lizard living in houses perhaps reflects a variant *[d]/p/kəy, but may be an onomatopoeic allied to Mon kap kai Gecko guttatus.
(SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

1446a *rka'y; *rka'y behind.
A: (Kautic) Kuy rkvi before, in the past.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng, Central Rölöm kəy behind, Biat kəi behind, (ndur →) back; ~ Sre nkoy back, Chrau ŋkay behind, Biat [ruc] ŋkəi [going] backwards, Khasi rynqkhi back of blade; [to follow] closely; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau dəkəy back.
Connect by metathesis 1505 *k-ru(u)y.
(BLOOD 1966 402.)

1447 *skuəy Setaria italica (?) millet.
Sora [bur]-yo, Mundari oe Setaria italica, &c. (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1303, 1310; Proto-Munda *h(o)xy).

1447a *guuy shadow of living creature.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng guii reflection, shadow, Chrau guuy shadow, soul, Biat guii shadow of living creature; ~ Bahnar ɲo'y shadow of living creature.
1448 *ŋguy (& *ŋguuy?) to sit down.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer ʔɔŋkùy, Sre ŋguy, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese ngời, Semai gãy (< variant?), Central Nicobarese koi.
Connect Palaung guay to remain, be, dwell?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 222 (a.).)

1449 *cgəy dog.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer chkae, Vietnamese cầcy. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a.).)

1450 *bguy; (?)*bguuy to emit smoke.
A, B: (Mon, Central Aslian, South Bahnaric) Mon həkùi bguy &c. to smoulder, smoke, Temiar baguy [smoke] to waft (BENJAMIN 1976B 178; A); ~ (*bbg- > *bpg- >) Mon həkùi to burn [incense], (B, by metathesis; ?) Chrau puy to fumigate.

1451 [*]rgəy thin, lean.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng rəgei, Sre, Chrau rəgəy, Central Rölöm grɛ, Biat rgai, Röngao rəgəi: (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Vietnamese ɡây, Nancowry ʔikɛy.
Connect perhaps by metathesis Jölong gre: puny (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (then *əay >) Mon krui to be emaciated. Cf. also Khasi syngkoi to get thin (< *guay?); Jakun riukai dry, shallow, ripe, thin, lean (taboo language), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 182.
(SHAFER 1965 521; BLOOD 1966 186.)

1452 *rgəy; *rəgəy skilful.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hagəy, Bahnar dialects rəgəy.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre rəgəy (→ Röglai, with secondary shortening!), Jeh lagəy, Halang rəgəy.
Connect Khmer lkìːəy elegant, graceful? If *r- prefix then also (A) Riang-Lang _kay to be accustomed to, but Kuy khɤːy < Lao?
(SMITH 1972 453.)

1453 [*]ŋaay eye.
(SHAFER 1965 145.)
1454 *[c]ɲaay?; *[c]ɲaay[ ] distant.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muông) Mon ɲoа!, Vietnamese ngáy; ~ Old Mon jirney /jəɲɔy/(!), Modern Mon kəhəa distance.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer chɲaay, Kuy ṇhəi, Sre, Chrau ɲəi, Biat ɲəi, Jeh iʔɲaay, Halang həɲaay, Khasi jnғai!, Semaq Beri ɲaay distant; ~ (*[c]ɲaay >) Palaung səɲay, Praok siɲay, Lawa Bo Luang səɲia, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang səɲai, Danaw _s'əɲ.ɲai distant.
Mon, Khasi *j- obscure.
(SCHMIDT 1905 44; SHAFER 1965 147; SMITH 1972 477.)
Sora 'səɲa-, 'səɲai-, Suntali səŋi-, &c. (PINNOW 1959 40).

1455 *[m]ɲəay person, human being.
A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Bahnar bəɲaay human being, Jeh maɲaay, Halang ɲəay people, Muông (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese nguői person, people.
Or *bŋ-?
(SMITH 1972 469.)

1456 *[l]ɲuy to swim.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ɲəy.
Cf. Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) ɲəi [fish] to come to the surface, float, not obviously ← Indonesian; Khasi jnɡi to swim; & 1516 *luy? &c. to wade, swim.
Proto-Austronesian *laŋu[ ]: Toba Batak lange, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8; Acehnese laŋuŋ, Toba suggest -*uəi). See BENEDICT 1975 404.

1457 *[s]ɲaay to speak.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng səɲaay, Bunör, Central Rölöm ɲəay to speak, Biat ɲai to speak, say, (or separate?) Palaung ɲe speech, to speak, Central Nicobarese ɲe: voice, language; to call, name, say, Nancowry ɲː; ~ Gölar Bahnar həɲaay to talk in one’s sleep.
(BLOOD 1966 413.)

1457a *cuuy; *cuəy to sow, plant.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat chuii to sow, broadcast.
B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chrau səwy to dibble, Jeh coỹ, Halang coay to plant rice,
   Röṅgao coi to sow, broadcast (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (or —?) West Bahnar caĩ to dibble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bru cuɔi to plant.
Add Sre [miw] suy drizzle? Cf. 1460 *kaay to be scattered.
(SMITH 1972 486.)

1458 *.caay resin.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre cəy pine resin (→ Rؤولai), Biat caĩ, Bahnar caỹ resin.
Cf. Malay damar kijai resin from kेडοndong tree.
(SHAFER 1965 70.)
1459 *[2]caay to spend.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer cay, Biat caï, Palaung, Praok caï, Lawa Bo Luang cea, Lawa Umphai cai.

1460 *kcaay to be scattered.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon chai khyā, chāy to be separated, scattered, to spread out, Khmer kheay to scatter, spead (v.i.t.); ~ (*kbcaya >) Mon hœcai, Khmer kœmcay to disperse, scatter (v.t.).

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1544 *chaay to tip out, which compare; as 1457a *cuuy &c. to sow… .

Bahnar sayʔ to scatter (~ kəsayʔ to empty, pour out) is ← Cham ← 872 *saac: but West Bahnar caï to scatter, sow broadcast (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) may belong here.

1461 *kjəyʔ poison, venomous.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon cì gyi poison, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəcii̯ʔ (DIFFLOTH 1984 N83), Praok cay to be venomous.

Cf. Riang-Lang _kəcʔ poison, venom, perhaps < *k.jəʔ; then *-yʔ by assimilation? But conceivably *gyiʔ (Mon), *gyiiʔ, to be connected 28 *b[ng][e]ʔ vegetable poison.

(*njuay see 811 *njuac to shake.)

1462 *[l]juuy; *[l]jəy late.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon kəcui; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar h(*nnoi (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Gölar Bahnar h*moi (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese chdy.

1463 *t,uy; *t,uuuy; *t,uay to follow, accompany.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang təy to follow, accompany; following, along, after, Nancowry tọy next; → Shan tće [animals] to flock together; ~ Palaung kartuy to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *tartoy together, Praok sitoy to be joined together, make a whole.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon) Old Mon tőy /tuy/ adverbial of sequential action, having… , Modern Mon toe also then… (or A), Old Khmer toy, Modern Khmer daoıy to follow, (~ -sai) accompany; by reason of, by means of, -ly; → Cham tuy, Röglai tuy to follow; Thai dooy to follow, pursue, attend; according to…; ~ Palaung kartuy to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931).

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar həməi, East Bahnar səməi in the same direction as, parallel to… (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Jeh katory to accompany (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Distinguish Old Mon *tūy* adverbial of completed action, Middle Mon *tuy* to have finished, Modern Mon *təe* to be finished... . Add perhaps as der. 1498 *tum[ ]* &c. guest, visitor.

1464 *t,uy* to carry on shoulder.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre tuy (with vocalism levelled on derivation), Biat tuyi, Bahnar toii (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh tuy (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Sre tarnuy bundle [of firewood], truss, Jeh tanuy shoulder-load (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

1465 *t,uy* fat, plump.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tuy, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai tui. Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Thai tuy protuberant, distended... .

1466 *t,uy*; *t,ay*; *t,aay* that (yonder).


B: (Palaungic) Palaung tay that (MILNE 1931), Praok tuiy further side.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung tay that, Khasi -tai that yonder; ~ Bahnar hatay then, when.

Cf. 65 *t,iʔ* &c. that yonder, 66a *təʔ* that, there; 1435a *ʔ[əy]*&c. deictic; so originally compound? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a.).)

1467 *[k]rt,ay*; *[k]rt,ən* to twist (together).

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon hatoa to twist fibres into single-strand rope, Khasi kyrthai to drive in [auger], (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) to twist round.

B: (Bahnaric; contaminated by 910 *təŋ?) Sre rotan to twist [rope &c.] before knotting (→ Röglai), Sedang kašęŋ twisted rope (→ Bahnar kašęŋ), (?) by metathesis Biat rəpaːŋ to twist, be twisted.

Connect Khmer kondaŋ curly? (SMITH 1972 87.)

1468 *bt,əay*; by metathesis *dpaay* hare.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ (*bpt,aay* >?) Old Mon batāy /batay/, Modern Mon hatai; ~ Riang-Lang *paltay*; by secondary derivation ~ Kuy ktaï (k- animal prefix?; → Thai kratāy); & connection Palaung paŋtay, (MILNE 1931) paŋtay, Shan pān tūy.

B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm pāy; → literary Malay [kuching] tapai rabbit; ~ Sre darpay (→ Röglai), Chrau sapay, Biat rpaii, Bahnar tapaiy hare.

Taboo deformation likely; note further Stieng səraŋ. (BLOOD 1966 326.)
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

**1469** *daay calyx, flower.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok tay, Lawa Bo Luang tia, Lawa Umphai thia, Mae Sariang tuai flower, Vietnamese dâi calyx.

**1470** *daay; *daan prop, to lean on.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese dâi prop; ~ Old Mon dindây /danday/ to recline against, Modern Mon hâlài to recline.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy thîâan to push oneself off with feet; ~ Khmer cîmtîâan leaning. Cf. 84 *pda[a]? to lean on.

**1471** *snduy lips.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng sənduːi (& səntuːi) lower lip of pig, elephant, Sre sənduy, Lawa Bo Luang tau, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndɔi lips.

Cf. 1629 *sdur & Biat tayɔːi, Proto-Mnong *yɔːi (BLOOD 1966 68).

**1472** *ɗəəy; (weak form?) *ɗəy (&c.) to have, to be obliged to, be in a position to, be about to.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Central Rölöm dəːy to be able to, Biat dɔi to be [un]a. to, Riang-Lang dəːy future prefix.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau diː- (!) (in order) to, Bahnar dəːy to have, possess; perfect auxiliary, Palaung di (!) future prefix, Praok ti (in order) to, Khasi deɪ must.

(BLOOD 1966 391.)

**1473** *duuy; *duay to swing, dangle.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon [dəŋ] dui to hang down and swing; pendulum, West Bahnar dui long and dangling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi dui-dui [swinging] to and fro.

B: (Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi doi doi [swinging] to and fro, Nancowry ruây morning, forward & backwards; ~ Semai ndoi to rock in one’s arms (TANDART 1935).

Connect Praok tvy to hang, depend; Shan tɔe to hang, depend, → Riang-Lang [*tɔŋ] toe.

Sora doi-, doŋ- to h. (v.i.t.).

Proto-Austronesian *duian (> *dui-an): Tagalog duyan sling cradle, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, *-j-).

(*[ ]duay see 1830 *[ ]diw to point (out).*

**1474** *gďəəy sexually abnormal male.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Khmer khtːːəy (→ Thai khratʰəəy) hermaphrodite, Kuy khthːːi homosexual; ~ (*gmdəəy >) Literary Mon kənməy eunuch.
1475 *n\textsubscript{1}aay deictic.
A: (Khmer, KhuMic, Viet-Muong) Khmer ni\textsubscript{ay} on the far side, over there, Kammu-Yuan n\textsubscript{ay} that, Vietnamese n\textsubscript{ay} (beside n\textsubscript{ay}) this.
Cf. 91 *ni? &c. this; original compound, as perhaps 1466 *t\textsubscript{1}aay that... of 65 *t\textsubscript{1}i? &c.? But conceivably ← Tai, cf. BENEDICT 1975 408.

^1476 *\textsubscript{2}pn\textsubscript{2}[uu]y dove.
Proto-Austronesian *pun\textsubscript{1}ai: Malay punai pigeon, dove, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 122; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 273.

(*rnay* see 1508a *nray? pestle.)

1477 *snaay peg &c. used in cart construction.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hnai linchpin, Khmer sna\textsubscript{y} peg locking spoke in rim of wheel.

1478 *p[a]ly to simmer, cook.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre pay to make into soup, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang pay to cook.
Or *.paay; so connected 1480 *paay cooked rice...? But connection dubious Cham (ha)p\textsubscript{a}ry to cook soup, North Rôglai subai to stew, &c.
(SHAFER 1965 92; SMITH 1972 472.)

1479 *paay cloud, mist.
A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok pay [əm] cloud; ~ Lawa Bo Luang mbia[ʔaum] mist, Central Nicobarese mif\textsubscript{a}ya cloud, Nancowry mif\textsubscript{a}ya.

1480 *paay cooked rice, food.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ba\textsubscript{y} cooked rice, Stieng pai\textsubscript{i} meat, wild animal, Chrau p\textsubscript{a}ty vegetables, soup; ~ Stieng pr\textsubscript{a}r\textsubscript{a}i, Sre pr\textsubscript{a}n\textsubscript{a}i rice-paddle.
Cf. 1478 *p[a]ly ... to cook.

^1481 *[t]puuy kind of small mammal.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung puy mole; → Burmese pwe; Lushei bui bamboo rat; ~ Riang-Lang kap\textsubscript{u}y mole, bamboo rat; ~ Nyah Kur mpúy mole, bamboo rat.
(Proto-Austronesian *tupai) Malay tupai (→ Ngaju Dayak), Acehnese tupe squirrel (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).
BENEDICT 1972 46 no. 173 constructs Tibeto-Burman *bwiy from Burmese &c., Tibetan byi-\textsubscript{ba} rat, mouse (cf. byi marmot).

(*dpaay see 1468 *bt\textsubscript{1}aay hare.)
**1482** *bay* kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *pèy* small shallow basket, Sre *bay*, Bahnar *bay* basket; ‒⇒ Cham *pəy* (& *hapəy*) bag, Jarai *bai*, Röglai *bay* basket, North Röglai *bai* [yok] market basket.
(SHAFFER 1965 131.)

**1483** *b[oo]y* direction, towards.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon *boy* /*boy*/ direction, location, manner, Modern Mon *pòa* adverbial phrase head, (?) Bunör *bay*, Central Röglom *pəy at the point of*, Biat *bəːi* nearly; ‒⇒ Old Mon *biboy* towards, in accordance with, Vietnamese *về* towards.
With South Bahnaric vocalism cf. **1484** *[k][b]ooy*.
(BLOOD 1966 381.)

**1483a** *buuy*; *buəy*; *bəy* dust.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Katuic) Khasi *pui-pui* airborne dust, Vietnamese *bui* (→ Bahnar *bui*) dust; ‒⇒ Stieng *kambui*, by metathesis Biat [neh] *moi* dust; ‒⇒ (?) Bru *samuy* dust, fine particles.
B: (Khasi) Khasi *poi-poi* dust, fine particles.
C: (Khasi, Central Aslian) ~ Khasi *sympei* heap of spoil in front of mouse-hole, Sakai *səmbəi* sand, dust (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 26).
Cf. 359 *[ ]bu(u)k*; 2034 *buh* &c. *ash*, powdery dust.

(*buuy see 110 *bu[u]? individual.*)

**1484** *[k][b]ooy* to wave hand.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *baoy*, Central Röglom *pəy*, Mnong Gar *bəy*.
Cf. Malay *bau* to rock, swing.
(BLOOD 1966 382.)

**1485** *[c]buuy* Careya arborea tree.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) → Shan *phūi*; Burmese *[ban.]* *bwe*; ‒⇒ (*[c]rbuuy >) Mon *həpūi*; by chiming expansion ~ Riang-Lang *kheʔ* *səy puy*.
Or *təʔ*.

**1486** *jbaay* to hang over one’s shoulder.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer *spìːay*, Kuy *phíai* to carry slung over shoulder; ‒⇒ Thai *tàpʰaay*, *sapʰaay*; ‒⇒ (*jnbaay >) Mon *kəmai* to carry by a sling from the shoulder; ~ Middle Mon *cambaay* sling carrier, Khmer *sɔmpiaay* bag, bundle, carried slung from shoulder (with *s-* by levelling?); → Thai *sàbay* sash.
Cf. following.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *d’aNbai: Toba Batak jambe to hang down, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 44; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) by metathesis (*q)a(N)bi[d’]ai >)

Cebuano Bisayan abilay, s-ambilay to carry over shoulder, Ilocano abiday to wrap over shoulder; (iii) *t’aNpai: Malay sampai to hang, s/él/ampai to wear over shoulder, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149; der. Proto-Hesperonesian, cf. BLUST 1971 no. 390); & note *vi(N)bai to hang down, DEMPWOLFF 1938 58 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 14.)

1487 *mbaay to dangle; negligent.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon *bāy /"mbay/ to be negligent, Old Khmer bāy to dangle, hang down, be limp, Modern Khmer piay-[niay] to be careless, negligent, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai mbia, Mae Sariang mbuai to forget, leave behind. Cf. preceding; & for semantics Old Mon rlāy, under the entry 1512 *laay. Connect perhaps Toba Batak ambe to swing arms about (*a(m)baj, DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 14, but a doubtful construction; for Javanese awé see 1529 *wa(a)y(-h)). See BENEDICT 1975 341-2, move back and forth.

1488 *rnbuay spout, proboscis.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Khmer kompūay! spout, tap, Biat mbixil! [toh] nipple (contaminated by 2041a *j/n/6uah beak?), Stieng ramuai trunk, Vietnamese vôi trunk, antennae, spout.

Connect obscure Khmer pramaoy trunk; ultimately < *rnbuay by metathesis? Note also Bru rawūry trunk of elephant < Vietnamese?

1489 *bāy; *baay bean, small weight or coin.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Mon boa bean, pea, 1/16 tical, Khmer pèy obsolete small coin; → Cham ibēi small coin, 1/16 slei; Thai pʰay 1/32 tical; (or B) Burmese pai bean, pea, 1/16 tical; ~ Sre rəbay pea (or B; → Röglai).

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Late Old Mon bāy /"mbay/ 1/32? tical, Riang-Lang buy bean; ~ Khmer prapiay large kind of bean, (→ Cham prabai), Bru rapiay, Palaung rəbay, Riang-Lang rəbay bean; ~ Khasi rymbai bean; ~ Thin spai bean. BENEDICT 1972 59 no. 253 refers Burmese with Lushei, Dimasa forms to Tibeto-Burman *be. Note Amoy/Hokkien pē ~ pōe 貝 cowry, shell money, coin, from which POU & JENNER 1973 derive Khmer pèy; & cf. 1492 *[s]nba[al]y seed.

1490 *kəˈbuʊ́y dipper, ladle.

1490a *[j]ɓuy; *[j]ɓuuy fat.
A: (Khmer) Khmer spūy awkwardly big or fat.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *[j]pɓuuy >?) Riang-Lang kəɓuy to be fat.

1491 *tɓ[uə]y to throng, swarm.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon tʰan tboy to be thronged, Modern Mon [ɓon] boa
to mill around, be present in large numbers, Khasi boa to swarm, be plentiful.

†1492 *[s]nɓa[a]y seed.
A: (Khasi) Khasi symbai.
Connect 1489 *ɓa(a)y bean…?
Sora ə'baj-ən, compounding form ba'j-ən seed (of fruit), bəai- to form seed.

1493 *sɓəəy; *sɓuəy to recover from illness.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer sɓaəy [illness inter alia] to abate, Sre bɔy cured,
recovered.
B: (Palaungic; ~ *sɓuəy >?) Praok muay to get better, be cured.
B secondary.

1494 *məy; *məəy mother’s sister.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _məy elder sibling.
B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre məy mother’s sister, stepmother; ~ Temiar
Riang-Lang exchanges senses of *məy, 1531a *waay. Cf. Kammu-Yuan pə́ːy senior
sister-in-law; Bahnar mih parent’s elder brother (&c., cf. SMITH 1972 334; <
*mə(ə)yh?).

†1495 *muuy; *muay; *muuɲ one.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer müy, Kuy müi,
Jeh müay (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979; or ?), Kammu-Yuan moy, Semelai muy.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon moy /moy/, Modern Mon mòa, Old Khmer
moy, Modern Khmer müay, Stieng muai, Chrau muay, Biat müi.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar mọɲ (& müi).
C as Bahnar pen three ad 98 *pi? Cf. (i) Bunôr ɲway; (ii) Mường mốch (BARKER
1966 24), Vietnamese mọt (< *muc, sandhi-form in *mu[ ]y diʔ, cf. 86?; perhaps cognate Santali &c., below).
(SCHMIDT 1905 60; SHAFER 1965 572; BLOOD 1966 90; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 29; cf.
SMITH 1972 490.)
(i) Sora ə'boi, ə'boŋ, Sora dialect ə'mɔi (or iii?), Kharia mɔi, &c.; (ii, cf. C) Kharia
1496 *muuys (& *muys?); *muə[y]s mosquito, gnat.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Literary Mon gmuh (!) kind of stinging insect, Khmer mùh mūs, (TANDART 1935) múh mus, Stieng mxe: mosquito, Sre muy gnat (→ Rōglai; with secondary shortening, or < *muys?), by metathesis Central Nicobarese miho:yə mosquito, Nancowry mihúya, refer ?imihúya to fly up & down; ~ Biat rmoi gnat; ~ Sakai kāmos mosquito (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Mon 180 (a)); → Malay kēmus kind of gnat.
B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy múa, Bru múa, Chrau mōih mosquito, Bahnar mōih kind of large mosquito, Vietnamese mūđi mosquito.
Cf. 873 *s/m/uc &c. stinging insect.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

1497 *[g]m[uuy]; *[g]muay sibling’s child.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang moe daughter-in-law.
B: (Khmer) Khmer kmuəy nephew, niece (TANDART 1935 also kmùəy); → Cham kamuəc.
Bahnar [mɔʔ] may, Jeh may daughter-in-law are perhaps < *kun waay by contraction, cf. 1127, 1531a; so conceivably these, with vowel metathesis; Khmer then perhaps < *km-, Riang-Lang < *(n)m-. Cf. 1187 *kmun &c.

1498 *t,mu[ ]y; *t,muay guest, visitor.
A: (Mon) Mon moe tmuy &c.
B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy (k)məi, tmaí stranger, visitor; ~ (*t,tmuay > ?) Chrau tamuay, Bahnar tamɔːy guest, visitor, Kammu-Yuan tamɔːy guest; tribal group.
Bahnar may, Thin moi to summon, invite are probably ← Mường (BARKER 1966 21) &/or Vietnamese mōi. ~ 1463 *t,uy &c. to follow, accompany? Note also Central Nicobarese (m)ituə to go on visit.
(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SMITH 1972 484.)
Proto-Austronesian *t/əm/u(S)ai: Toba Batak tamue, Old Javanese tamuy, Modern Mon tami, Madurese tamɔ́y, Iban temuai guest, Ngaju Dayak tamuei stranger (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *tamu*; NOTHOFER 1975 86 & n. 54; simplex > Cham toy, North Rōglai (!) thuoái guest, visitor).

1499 *[d₂]muy axe.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon mui muy, Kammu-Yuan muy, Palaung muy, Praok moy, Lawa Bo Luang ?mau, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ?moi.
Connection uncertain Khmer mūh mūs, Stieng meuh wedge for splitting wood.

(*yaay see 151 *yaʔ grandmother.)
1500 *ray; *raay to cut.


B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer ri:ay separate(d), (GUESDON 1930) to cut up, Khasi rai to decide judicially; ~ Khasi khray to sever; ~ Mon [kɔt] krai scissors (→ Burmese katkre.; → Mon krəp kre), Khmer tray to lop, clear a path, Sre tray to shave, Stieng [ka]trai, Palaung [gim] hray scissors; ~ Middle Mon [mra] tarāy, Modern Mon [pərə?] kərəi dah.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)
Sora rai-['kuŋ-] to cut off (: *r- or *t₁-r-).

1501 *raay to be scattered.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Viet-Muông) Khmer ri:ay scattered, to scatter (→ Thai raya), Sre ray to cure, to console, Praok [pruŋ praŋ] ray [ruat hu] to be scattered; ~ Palaung kray (MILNE 1931; !), Riang-Lang _kray to move away, Khasi krai to spread; ~ Khmer pray = ri:ay; ~ Thai praay to scatter, sow broadcast; Cham pray to scatter, sow broadcast, Malay bér-pêrai-pêrai scattering [of crowd], crumbling, Sundanese piray to disintegrate, corrode; ~ Khmer pri:ay to scatter, to be scattered, to gush out; ~ Thai pʰraay scattered bubbles rising; Cham prəy untied, dissolved, shattered; ~ Mon sai to be separate, apart (in part, cf. 1538 *r(-)saay; srəy, crəy), Khmer sray to untie, release, Biat crai scattered, Palaung hray to disappear, be lost, to cure, Khasi rai-[dieng] &c. to abstain, avoid, (?) Vietnamese ruối to sprinkle [soup on rice]; ~ (*nraay >) Praok gray, Lawa Bo Luang khrea, Lawa Umphai ngrai to be lost.

Hence by metathesis 1660 *syaaar outstretched? Cf. further 837 *ra(a)c to sprinkle, scatter; 1504 *ruy &c. to fall, be shed; & Khmer rayəy to be, become, detached (GUESDON 1930). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

1502 *ray; *raay to rise, stand up.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *prray >) Stieng prəlei, Chrau pre: to wake, Sre pərlay to shake awake, Biat rəi to wake, shake awake.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ray to rise, stand up, rise from sleep.
Santali dɛ́ to mount, ascend, climb, &c.

(PINNOW 1959 333).

1503 *r[ɔɔ]y to grow, increase.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi roi to increase; ~ Old Mon prey/pray/ more than; ~ Khasi pynroï to increase, augment.
1504 *ruy; *ruuy; *ruay; *raay; *raay to fall, be shed (& to scatter, contaminated by 1501 *raay).
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Khmer praoy(pray), Kuy prui prui drizzling, Palaung phruuy [leaves] to fly about, be driven by the wind (MILNE 1931).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon, Central Aslian) Khmer rôy [petals] to fall, drop off; to sprinkle, sow, spray, winnow by letting fall from a height, Kuy rôi to sprinkle [e.g. salt] on, Chraw roy to scatter, spread, Palaung ruy ruy to drizzle, (or A) Sakai rui to strew (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 493); ~ Mon krae truy to sprinkle, scatter (or A, E); ~ Bahnar praoy to sprinkle, scatter.
C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer rûay to go limp; to sprinkle, Praok ruay to scatter; ~ Bahnar praoy to sow broadcast, West Bahnar to scatter, Khasi phroi to powder and sprinkle (probably, rather than A); ~ Cham proxy to sprinkle, scatter, Acehnese prua to bestrew, besprinkle; ~ (*sruiy >) Kuy sai [leaves, fruit] to fall; ~ (*sruiy >) Mon hârao (*-uy confirmed by dialects) to pour out gradually, to sprinkle, Praok gruay to pour.
D: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar réy to sow broadcast; ~ Khasi krei to scatter.
E: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ West Bahnar praî (GUILEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan práy, [prát] práy to scatter, sprinkle; ~ (*sruiy >?) Vietnamese rô to fall, drop; to shed [tears].
Connect 843 *ruc &c. to fall, drip; & cf. 2051 *ruh &c. But connection dubious Kharia ric to be scattered, &c., PINNOW 1959 400. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 64.)

1505 *ruy; *ruuy behind.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese rô afterwards; ~ Palaung kruy (time) before.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer kraoy behind, after, Kuy korî afterwards, later.
The same temporal semantics in Mon hata? next [morning]; previous [incarnation]… .
Connect 1446a *rka(o)y by metathesis; perhaps 842 *ruc &c. to retreat… (note Sre cam ruc to throw over one’s shoulder, behind one). But connection dubious Bahnar kadrei, Jölong kadrei to go ahead of (GUILEMINET 1959-63), forms at SMITH 1972 487, & Bru triay (< *draay?) rear.

1506 *ruy; *ruay track, mark.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer troy to mark one’s path; → Thai krui marker stake; Cham truy.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung ray, Praok ruay [khay] imprint.

(*ru(u)y, *ruay see also 1534 *ru[wa]y fly.)

1507 *jraay thin, lean, lacking body.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Old Mon jräy /jray/, Modern Mon sài to be lean, undernourished, Khmer cīray thin in consistency, limp, soft, Khasi rai-[koh] lean (compounding form!).

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)
1508 *draay kind of deer.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon drāy /dray/, Modern Mon krāi Axis porcinus (→ Burmese daray), Old Khmer drāy, Modern Khmer tri:ay stag, Stieng drai kind of deer, Biat drai swamp deer.

(SHAFER 1965 469.)

1508a *nrəy?; *nrəy[ ]; by metathesis *rnəy pestle.


or *-iə subject to post-dental lowering?

B: (North Bahnaric; ~?) Bahnar hadra:y.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau rənay, Biat rənai.

(SMITH 1972 458.)

Sora on(d)'ri-ən, on(d)'rij-ən, on(d)'rɪn-ən, on(d)'riɲ-ən, in compounds rɨn-ən, rɨn-ən.

1508b *pray to make a profit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon proa; ~ Mon pəroa, (~?) Khmer kəmray (→ Thai kamray), Kuy (m)mrai profit.

Khmer dissimilation probably regular in absence of levelling.

1509 *(bruuy) bruy untidy, long-haired, frayed.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon, Palaungic) Mon [həprək] həpru:i to have unkempt hair (< *bru(u)y bru(u)y), Khmer pru:y unusually long-haired, [peacock's] feathers, (*bru uy bruuy >; ?) Praok sibroy [sibrok] refuse.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; bruy bruy >) Khmer babruy [mat] to get ragged at the edges (GUÉDON 1930), Bahnar broi broi all having big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*c.[m] bruuy by contraction > *cmruuy >?) Bahnar cəbro:i having a big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1510 *[m]raay cotton thread.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy phrəizai spool &c. of thread, Sre [che] bray, Chrau vray, Biat brai, Bahnar brai sewing-thread, Jeh braiy cotton, Halang braiy thread; → Cham mraiy, Jarai mraiʔ, Rōglai [təley] mraiy, North Rōglai mrai thread.

If Indonesian, Jarai -ai would be expected. Vietnamese sọi is probably rather connected Chrau rəwəy quantifier for string, hair.

(BLOOD 1966 282; SMITH 1972 471.)
1511 *l[a]y[ʔ]; *l[a]aay[ʔ] again.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *lay more, longer, else.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok lay mark of continuous or habitual action, Mường lê
(BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese l appropriated to Shan lāi again; → Lawa Bo Luang pādia, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang pālia now.
Perhaps by contraction < *l[ʔ]as *aay another time, cf. 1942, 1935, Vietnamese then < *laay by metathesis.

††1512 *laay to dissolve, melt, become loose; idle.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar lai: [goai] [hair] floating free (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung lay [words] to be vain (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _lay to melt, Vietnamese lū to be lazy; ~ Khmer thlāy to break open, burst, split, crack, Kuy thlāi to burst under pressure of water; ~ Chrau play to unwind; ~ Palaungic rklāi to disentangle by secondary derivation; ~ Old Mon lāy /ləy/ to have loose, have unbound, to be idle, Modern Mon lāi to dissolve, to come loose, Khmer ralāy to dissolve, melt (v.i.); → Thai lalaay to dissolve (v.i.t.), → Khmer lalāy = ralāy; Malay rēlai to crumble, Acehnese rōlē to collapse, subside; (~ *rnlaay >) Khmer rūmlāy to melt by dissimilation, Lawa Umphai nāi to melt, dissolve, Praok nāy to be wasted.
Old Mon tulāy to hang down, Modern Mon kelāi to come loose, hang loose, apparently < *tplaay (formally causative!) may be cognate with Chrau; & may be connected Khmer thlāy, &c. Idle by attraction 1861 *rliw?
(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)
Santali le to dissolve, melt, &c. (PINNOW 1959 150a; Proto-Munda *liG?).
Proto-Austronesian (i) *ruyai: Javanese rowé-rowé hanging loose, Pampangan lugay, luge [hair] hanging loose, Tagalog lugáy loose, unfastened (so Proto-Hesperonesian); probably by metathesis *yurai = **u[[l]aj to hang loose,
DEMPWOLFF 1938 162 (Proto-West-Indonesian, adding Toba Batak ure-ure fruit cluster of sugar palm, Karo m-uré-uré to hang down on stalk; Malay, Batak initial by dissimilation, or ← Javanese, Gayo?); perhaps merging (ii) *ailai: Iban lelai to bend, droop, Cebuano Bisayan laylay to droop..., Ilocano laylay to wilt (so Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 310, hang.

(*laay see also 1435 *(ʔ)laay other.)

1513 *ləyh to wander.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre lay [way], Palaung leh [lān] (MILNE 1931, songs), Riang-Lang [ləŋ] le, Praok lay [līŋ]; ~ Vietnamese trày to travel, go.
Cf. 715 *ləŋ &c.
1514 *ləəy; *luəy to leave, leave alone, leave off.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng ləəy to cease, interrupt, Sre ləəy (→ Röglai), Biat [jəŋ &c.] ləə to leave, Jeh ləəy to set aside, Halang ləəy to stop; ~ Middle Mon ləəuy, Modern Mon kəəuy to leave; (~ *[l]məəy >) Praok [bləəy] bəəy to stop, leave off.
B: (Palaungic) ~ Praok bləəy to overlook, leave alone.
B secondary. Cf. 190 *leʔ to leave, depart; 2062 *leh …to go out.
(BLOOD 1966 405; SMITH 1972 463.)
(~) Kharia me’lae, melai to leave off (PINNOW 1959 K 346).

1515 *l[oo]y easy, easy-going.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon ləə oy to be easy, to be in easy circumstances, well-off (→ Burmese lway to be easy), Sre ləəy easy, easy to get (at) (DOURNES 1950; correct to ləəy?), Khasi loi-loi, lui-lui soft-hearted; ~ Khmer thləəy to be careless, negligent, easy-going.

1516 *luʔ; *luu[ ]; *ləəy[ ]; *ləəy[ ] to wade, to swim.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer ləəy to wade, paddle, Praok ləəy [ɾəm], Vietnamese ləi to swim.
B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon ləi to wade (through), Proto-Nyah Kur *luy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V275; implies *-uu), Bru ləi to swim; ~ Old Mon lwuy /lwuy/ station in water.
C: (Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy ləi to swim, Palaung ləi, Temiar ləi to wade (BENJAMIN 1976b); ~ Cham ləi [ʔya:], North Röglai ləai, (or ʔ?) Jarai ləʔ, (or a?) Röglai ləi to swim; ~ (*luu[ ] >) Kuy ləxi, sləi & Bru saləi to float (~ Thai ləai); ~ Sakai linoi to swim (i.e. Semai, Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 544).
D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Bahnar gləai, Jeh taləai, Halang jaləai to swim; ~ Cham chaluəi; (~ *sləəy[ ] >) Kammu-Yuan rə́ːy to float.
Cf. Thai luy to wade, Shan lūi to swim, &c., BENEDICT 1975 404; & 1456 *ləəy to swim.

1517 *luuəy wax.
A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) ~ Mon pləe pluy, Proto-Nyah Kur *phluu (DIFFLOTH 1984 N217), Sakai pəloī (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 49); ~ Central Sakai klòwi.
1518 *klay[?]; *klaay[?] to change.
A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer kralay.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Mon klai to translate, Khmer klaay to change, dissolve (v.i.) (contaminated by 1512 *laay), Kuy klai to change shape or state, Kammu-Yuan kléy to exchange ceremonially, Palaung hlay (!) (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang klee, Lawa Umphai klai to turn over, (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese trái to be contrary to; → Thai klaay to transform, to change, be changed; transformation. 
Connect Sre glaay to make amends for (↔ Röglai); Mon hlai to change, exchange.

Sora ‘olahj- to make amends for.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 282.

1519 *klay? (daughter’s) husband.
Connection dubious Khmer pdvy husband, allegedly ← Sanskrit/Pali pati-.

1520 *k(-)ləay? penis.
A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy klai, Kammu-Yuan tlé; (!), Riang-Lang klé, Lawa Bo Luang klai; apparently → Cham klaay, Jarai klae penis, North Röglai [boh] pi-tlai testicles.
Danaw has ‘lé; by back-formation, or *k- part-of-body prefix? Connect 855 *loc &c.

1521 *slaay fields.
Cf. Late Old Mon dinləy /danlay/ parcel [of cultivated land], Kammu-Yuan lẹy wet field (quantifier). Prefer *s- as Mon obscure.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 94.)

1522 *jəəy prisoner of war.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon jəəy /jlıy/, Modern Mon klui, Khmer chləy; → Thai cəaləay; Cham jalvy.
Connect B23 *[j][ ][l]aa slave...?

1523 *tluuu[ ]; *tluay? banana.
A: (North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sakai telui (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 42), South Nicobarese telui.
1523a *dɔlɔ̀y to swell, bulge.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer [liːn] thîː dhler! to bulge, Sre lay gorged leech or tick (DOURNES 1950), Biat lai stout, fat, (~?) Riang-Lang _caray to swell up.

1524 *play? fruit.

1525 *pluuy kind of cucurbitaceous plant.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau plôy [kind of] pumpkin or water-melon, Bahnar pluy gourd. (SMITH 1972 461.)

1526 *blaay young man.

1527 *[b]l[e]y to trade.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung lay to trade (MILNE 1931), Praok lay trade; ~ Thin kôklai trade.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *boli(S): Malay bêli to buy, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27), Röglai bley; → Sre bley; Sakai bêli (Semi, Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 485; (ii) *bili(S): Cebuano Bisayan bili price, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 30; Tagalog rather < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 282, exchange.

1527a *s[l]əy[ʔ] edible moss.

1528 *sluy; *[s]luay[ʔ] to descend, decline.
A: (Khmer) Khmer sloy [clothing] to trail.
B: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung luay to be past noon, Besisi chêlui to descend (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 95).
1529 *way(-h); *waay(-h) to turn, to wave.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy wih to turn (away, towards), Bahnar wih to return; → Thai wây to shake, quiver…, Shan wáî to stir, wave; ~ Vietnamese quay to turn (v.i.t.) (& quây to stir), Central Nicobarese kewai-[re] to swing arms, Nancowry kiwâyri; → Thai kway to swing, sway; ~ Sre kraway dizzy; ~ Mon hawoa saway to turn round axis, to wave.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Kuy wèh to avoid, step aside, Stieng [uiŋ] uai giddiness, Bahnar wai to roll up, to turn round (Guilleminet 1959-63); curved, Palaung vay to wave hand, beckon, veh to avoid, shun, Riang-Lang voy to turn [face], Vietnamese [oân]-oai to squirm, writh (with phrasally conditioned tone?); → Rôglai uy to turn (v.i.t.); Shan wùi to turn; ~ Sre ñoay, Chrau nyay [voi?] dizzy, Vietnamese ngoái to turn [head] round (with unexplained tone); ~ (*[k]waay >) Khasi kyllai[dohdit] wagtail; ~ Khmer chvay to coil, braid, roll into a ball; ~ (*[r]nwaay >) Mon kamâi to stir, (?) Lawa Bo Luang ʔàmea, Lawa Uma phai raâmai, Mae Sariang yaâmai to mix.

Add 1531 *wa(ay) to transfer ownership? Cf. also 234 *wi(i)? to turn; 235 *wee?, *weh crooked, to twist; 1950a *was &c. to wave, beckon.

(Schmidt 1905 68; Smith 1972 335.)


Note Tibeto-Burman *wây to whirl, brandish, wave, Benedict 1972 32 no. 90; *koy to bend, Benedict 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210; & see Benedict 1975 241-2, move back and forth I-II.

1530 *way quick.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ñêy quick, prompt (→ Thai way), Kuy wây quick, quickly, Stieng uei, Sre way quickly (Dournes 1950).

1531 *way; *waay to transfer ownership.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) → Shan wâî [nim] to sell on credit; ~ Sre taway to redeem; → Rôglai taway, Malay tawi; ~ (*way >?) Vietnamese vay to borrow.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung vay to borrow, Riang-Lang voy, way to hire, lend, borrow [goods], Lawa Bo Luang wia, Mae Sariang wuay to borrow, lend, Praok vay lease, to lease, Khasi wai to lend, let; ~ Old Mon twây /twây/, Modern Mon kwai, Old Khmer ñhây, Modern Khmer ñhây to present; ~ Biat cuai, (~? cf. Vietnamese) Bahnar huay to redeem.

= 1529 *wa(ay) to turn…? Cf. here 768a *wa[i] &c. to borrow.

(Shafer 1965 198.)
1531a *waay elder sibling.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung vay kinship class including elder sibling, Riang-Lang vay, way parent’s or wife’s e. sister, elder sibling-in-law, (?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai zi elder sister; ~ (*/mwaay >_) Alakong Bahnar maa elder sister (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar maaay elder sister.

Riang-Lang exchanges senses of *waay. 1494 *may. Connect perhaps 1497 *[g]m[u]y &c. sibling’s child, which compare; as 117 *mbii?.
(SMITH 1972 470.)

†1532 *kwaay yam.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Mon kwai yam, Thin kwai sweet potato, Vietnamese khoai (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, khoai [t:i:m]), Sakai kuó yam (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 4); by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang ?amea, Lawa Umphai ramai kind of taro (via */knwaay?); Proto-Semai *bkooy Dioscorea alata (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(?) Sora -gai-an, -ga`j-an tuber (compounding form ~ ga`naj-an, usually referred to gai-to dig; for which see 1541 *khaay &c.).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman *kywiy, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 238.

1533 *kw[əə]y top, on top, above.
A: (Khmuiic, Palaungic) Khmu’ kwedj above; ~ Palaung kervuy above, beyond, upper part of house, loft, Lawa Bo Luang (hauk) ?awui, Lawa Umphai [hauk] rawui (hair above =) eyebrow, (?) Praok sivoy in front, before; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan parwɔy upper part, top.

Waic vocalism contextual?

†1534 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ru[waj] > *ruy; *ruuy; *ruaj; Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ruhay fly.
A: (Khmer) Khmer ruy.
B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon rui, Proto-Nyah Kur *ruuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 N75), Central Nicobarese yuse.

D: (South Bahnaric) Sre rahas, Bunır rahas, Central Rölöm huay, Biat ruai. (SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 207; BLOOD 1966 91; SMITH 1972 480; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 199.)

Sora aroj-an, compounding form roj-an, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 356; Proto-Munda *raj).
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1535 *rwaay tiger, large felid.

(SHAFER 1965 221.)

1536 *[l]wəəy to become tired.

Mon initial & head register by phrasal deformation? Connection dubious Santali lambaj lambaj (to walk) leisurely, slowly, [imbo] [imbɔ] slowly, wearily; fatigued (PINNOW 1959 K 528), since *-y is normally lost in Santali: ib. p. 281.

1537 *saay bee.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon sai; ~ Kammu-Yuan tərhəy.

1538 *saay dispersed.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon sai to be separate, apart (in part, cf. below & 1501 *s-raay; səy), Khmer səy to spread, stretch out, extend (v.i), to disperse (v.t.), Bru saʔ-səy scattered all over; ~ Mon sai to be separate... (in part; rəhəy), Khmer rəsəy untied; sparse.

Or *rsəay < *s-raay by metathesis, *saay by back-formation? The same initial variants in 872 *(r-)saac, 837 *s-raac.

1539 *həəy; *həəy; *həu̯ finished.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar həəy just now, Jeh həəy enough, Halang həəy already got.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palauungic, Central Aslian) Khmer həəy finished, already, Stieng həi perfect particle, Biat həi already, Praok hə̯y punctuating particle, Sakai hoi to finish (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 115); ~ Kuy hə̯i already.
C: (Palauungic) Palauung huay to have finished; → Shan hwə́y.

Connect 875 *huc &c.; cf. 250 *hiiʔ to cease... .
(SCHMIDT 1905 36; cf. SMITH 1972 467.)

(?) Kharia hoi, hoi to be, become, to happen, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 83).

(*hə[iʔ] see 1435a *ʔ[iʔ] deictic.)

1540 *həo̯y to call.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Sre həo̯y; ~ Khmer ḏɔnao̯y to summon.

Onomatopoeic Khasi kyunhəi to shout is probably independent.
1541 *khaay; *khaayy to dig.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Middle Mon khây, Modern Mon khai to dig, Khmer khây to scratch, scrape, dig out; ~ (*krhaay >) Khasi kharai ditch, trench.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese khoi.
Cf. A138 *kwaay to scratch, dig; 1442 *kaay to scratch.
(?) Sora gai-

1542 *khəy? (& *khaayy ??) moon, month.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer khæe month, Biat khae moon, month, season, Stieng kheí, Central Rölöm kheî, Chrau, Halang khay, Bahnar khïy moon, month, Jeh khêy month (< variant?), Praok khi, Lawa Bo Luang khoi?, Lawa Umphai che?, Mae Sariang khi? moon, month, Central Nicobarese kahe: moon, Nancowry kahe; ~ Khmer kôghae season (TANDART 1935), Sre kanhay moon, month, nhay month. Connect Kuy sai, Bru kasay or *ks- > Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric → Khmer, Bahnaric?
Connection dubious Khasi bnaí. Derive perhaps → Tai *hńaay moon (Tho-Nung), moonlight (BENEDICT 1975 330, light...).
(SCHMIDT 1905 26; SHAFER 1965 520; BLOOD 1966 184; SMITH 1972 464.)
(?) Sora an'gaj-an moon (< Proto-Munda *kangaj-, PINNOW 1959 K 151).

(*kh[uyh] see 879 *khuc to wipe, wash.)

1543 *ghuuy; *ghuay spirit, soul.
A: (Mon, Khmuic) ~ (*gmhuuy >) Mon hamûi ghamuy &c. a witch seen in form of will-of-the-wisp; ~ (*grhuuy >) Kammu-Yuan rôy spirit, Thin hroj, hre corpse, soul of dead person, spirit.
B: (North Aslian) ~ Semang rōwai soul (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 347).
Connect perhaps (i) Central Nicobarese orwi: spirits, ghost; (ii) 935a *[hw]iijn soul, which compare; as 1447a *guuy shadow of living creature; B99 *[ ]p[oo]ly shadow of living creature.

1544 *chaay to tip out.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Mon chai chây to empty, pour out, t.o., unload, transfer, Khmer chây to overturn, kick aside, kick out of the way, (!) Stieng cai to pour out, Sre cavy to scare [birds] away, ?Bru háy to pour out.
SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1460 *kcaay to be scattered, with which there is contamination.
1545 *[c]haay to multiply.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon *rân chây, Modern Mon *râi] chai to become widespread, flourish, prosper; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi kyrhâi abundant; ~ byrhâi many.

1546 *chuy; *chuyy to emit smoke or steam.
   A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) ~ (*cphuy >) Khmer phoy-phoy in puffs; ~ (*cbhuy >) Khmer camhoy to cook by steaming, Kuy phui to blow [smoke], Biat bhui [smoke] to be emitted.
   B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese heoxe fire, Nancowry hiʔuây; ~ (*cnuhuuy >) Thin ni to light, kindle; ~ Biat nhui [nhám] breath, Bahnar ?nu, Jeh ?nûy, Halang ?nuay smoke; ~ Chrau camhuuy mist, vapour, steam.
   Connect Khasi thui [smoke] to come out; & note Khmer camhây vapour, fumes; Vietnamese hôt steam, vapour. Cf. also A11 *jhuu? to set light to…. .
   (Smith 1972 460.)

1547 *thays to throw.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon thoâ thay to throw, skim, Vietnamese thây to throw (away).
   Connect Burmese thwe; ← Mon *thui < *thəy[ ]?

1548 *thuy[?] tangled, confused.
   A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon thui to be tangled, confused, to behave in a disorderly way (→ Burmese thwe); Vietnamese [lôn] thôí (with tone by phrasal assimilation?) to be complicated, involved, troublesome, untidy; ~ (*thuy[?] >) Mon [thuij] harui dharuy to be confused, to behave in an unruly manner, Vietnamese rôi to be tangled, mixed up.

1549 *t,huuy; *t,huay; *t,haey; *t,haay loose, lax, roomy.
   A: (Kuy, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *thuy to be loosed, relaxed; ~ Kuy nthoni to slacken, pay out (contaminated by 1690 *du[ ]r, which compare?).
   B: (Bahnaric; ~ *t,huay >) Biat lhoi loose [garment], West Bahnar kələi sprung [trap] (Guilleminet 1959-63).
   C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Mon haloa thâay &c. width, extent (& by back-formation hlaa to be broad, wide, extensive), (~?) Khmer lhœi to relax (v.i.).
   D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer lhaay, rabaay refreshing, refreshed, Kuy lhaei, srai cool, refreshing [breeze] (?), Bahnar raây loose, lax, relaxed, with tension released, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation kəlvi loose [tooth].

1550 *phuuy; *phuây; *pʔuuy blanket.
   A, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre ouy blanket. (< *pʔ-), Biat phoːi woollen blanket.
   B: (Khmer) Khmer phuːay blanket.
1551 *[ ]rha[a]y maggot, grub.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat rhai larva, grub, Chrau ra:y, Bahnar hray maggot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 hrai!).

1552 *[ ]ʔiər fowl.
   A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Khmuic) Sre, Biat iar, Chrau, Bahnar ʔyer, Jeh ʔl, Halang iar, Thin ʔiər, Palaung iar, Riang-Lang ʔyer, Praok ia, Lawa te, Khasi ʔar (~ s’ar); ~ Kammu-Yuan hayiar.

Khasi prefix perhaps weak form of 1324 *ciim bird, Kammu-Yuan of 1127 *kuän child. Connection uncertain Mon [caín] de jungle-fowl; conceivably < *l-ʔiər.
(Shafter 1965 400; Blood 1966 111; Smith 1972 411.)

(*ʔaar see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

1553 *ʔaə; *ʔaər joyful.
   A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon ‘uiw [tambuih] to be full of joy (& ‘ui... by sandhi; Modern Mon nh kómbh by phrasal rhyme), (A) Khmer ʔo: ‘ar joyful (~ Cham auv); ~ (B) Biat nʔaər cheerful.

1554 *ʔur; *ʔuur; *ʔuər to lead, go in front.
   A, B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[ ]ʔr- > ) Chrau liur next [month] (A), Biat lər first (B).
   C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu’ ʔər, Palaung uər to lead; ~ Chrau lər first,
   by metathesis Jeh rəl, Halang roal before (& by secondary derivation Bahnar adroal before, first, in front of); ~ Sieng nər (in) front, before.

(Blood 1966 60.)

1555 *ʔur[ ]; *ʔuər[ ] to command.
   A: (Viet-Muong; ~?) Vietnamese hôi to urge, press (< *pʔur causative? otherwise *ʔur).
   B: (Mon, North & Central Asian) Old Mon or /ʔor/ to cause to, command to, Nyah Kur ʔuər (‘causing to =) resultative verb auxiliary, Proto-Semai *ʔoər to order, to ask (Diffloth 1977); ~ Middle Mon p’or to send to, to cause to, bid, urge to, Pangan [ya]-pê’-or to command, order (i.e. Mendriq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 O 54).

1556 *ʔu[ ]r; *ʔuə; *ʔo[ ]r stream-bed.
   A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer ʔo: ‘ur watercourse, stream, stream-bed, West Bahnar or flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer conʔo: channel, ditch, (or ~ 1597 *cuur[ ?]) Khasi nur /nor/ channel.
   B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) West Bahnar or flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer conʔuə can’ur channel, ditch, area between ditches.
   C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar or flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
1557 *[c]ʔiir plentiful, excessive.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon *s’i to be numerous, plentiful, Stieng *ʔiir (BLOOD 1966), Sre *iir, Biat *iir too much.
Cf. Bahnar hier to find someone tiresome (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 212.)

1558 *cnʔiir; *cnʔər kind of basket.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *cʔər shallow basket, riddle, Sre nər kind of hemispherical basket.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat nər [raŋ] riddle.

1559 *cʔər to belch.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Mon) Central Rölöm *ər, Biat *ər; ~ Khmer *cʔəao caŋʔər (I; contaminated by to vomit ad 11 *ʔ[au]ər); ~ Nyah Kur təŋʔɤ̇ɤ əc.
(L-THONGKUM 1984 p.371).
Cf. 9 *cʔə(ə)? &c. to hiccup, belch.
(BLOOD 1966 380.)

1559a *cʔur; *cʔuur; *[c]ʔuər; *cʔər; *cʔər warm.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng ur to heat [leaf, to soften it] (or B), Kammu dialect ūr to cook (contaminated by 1685 *hur to expose to heat, which compare), Nancowry ʔo ayr warm; ~ Palaung kaʔu ur to be warm (or E?), Praok siʔu aw to be hot.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [toʔ] or or lukewarm (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi ur (or A?) with a warm sensation, Central Nicobarese oer warm, Nancowry ʔuy ay; ~ Praok siʔu to be healthy, warm.
C: (Viet-Muông, ?Khasi) Khasi (probably, rather than A) or-or very [warm], Vietnamese oi to be sultry.
D: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa saʔu aw warm.
E: (Khmer; contaminated by *hur) Khmer chʔaə ch’ōr to roast, grill.
For Bahnar vocalism see 527 *cuuŋ. Connect 1671 *waər &c. hot, to heat; & cf. 1561 *p[ʔ]ər &c. to dry.

1559b *tʔiir; *tʔər blue, green.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat er yellow; ~ (*t[ʔ]iir >) Sre talir blue, green (→ Röglai), Khasi lir blue, indigo (compounding form?).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat dr green, Thin ʔuər blue.
**1560** *d₂ʔuurr, *d₂huər kind of apid.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) ?Central Nicobarese taʔo yellow wasp, ? Nancowry tuʔa bee, (by metathesis, or ~) Khmer taʔo, traʔao traʔo &c. kind of large apid; ~ (*d₂nʔuurr >) Kuy ɲʔɔːr small yellow kind of wasp (& (ɲ)ɲòr bee), Bru taʔur hornet, Kammu-Yuan canʔuurr small kind of wasp, Riang-Lang _canŋur striped domesticated kind of bee.

B: (Mon) Mon tho kind of hornet.

Cf. Thai ต้อ kind of wasp (< *to hornet, BENEDICT 1975 403-4, sweet...).

**1561** *p[ʔ]ər; *[pʔ]əər; *phar (?) ; *phaər to dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Kuy) Stieng poar, Sre par to dry over fire (DURNES 1950); ~ Kuy ɲʔɔːr to smoke over fire (or B); ~ Biat nʔər drying-rack.

B: (Khasi; by secondary derivation) ~ Khasi tyng-iər (& tyng-iər) drying-rack for firewood.

C, D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese phạ́i to dry out of doors (D); ~ Sre pəŋhər drying-rack (probably c, cf. Biat).

Connect Central Nicobarese hāːr- to dry, Bru ʔuurr to dry out of doors. A, B contaminated by 1559a *cʔa(a)r warm, or C, D contaminated by 1685 *hur to expose to heat.

1562 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *biʔaar > *ɓaar, Pre-Khmer *[ɓ]iər, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔaər two.

Old Mon ɓər /ɓər/, Modern Mon ba, Old Khmer ber, vyar, Modern Khmer piː; Kuy biːa (!; contaminated by Khmer ?), Bru ɓər, Sre ɓar (!), Chrau ɗər, Biat, Halang ɓər, Bahnar ɓər, Jeh ɓəl, Kammu-Yuan ɗər, Riang-Lang ʔər, Palaung, Khasi ar, Mường ɨɭ (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese hai, Kintaq Bong biyeh, Che’ Wong ɓer, Central Nicobarese əɭ, Nancowry ʔə; ~ Riang-Lang ɗar ɗar pair, (~?) Praok ra, Lawa laʔə two; ~ Temiar ɗər ɗo two; ~ Mah Meri hmaːh, Semaq Beri mar.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 38; SHORTO 1972; BLOOD 1966 279; SMITH 1972 415; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 271.)

Sora compounding form baː(ː)ɾ-, Kharia uˈbar, &c.; ~ Sora ɓəˈnəːr- second, next (PINNOW 1959 49; with derivation cf. Temiar)

1562a *sʔnʔaar kind of stinging insect.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer sɔːʔaː ʂaŋ ʔər, Kuy ɲʔaər kind of black ant with painful sting, Riang-Lang ʔəʔər wasp.

1563 *sʔuurr; *sʔər to emit a smell.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Halang sur to smell, Jeh sul smell (quantifier), Kammu-Yuan [həʔuːr] hoʔdoor to smell pleasant; pleasant scent, Palaung ur smell, to smell, stink; ~ (*sʔnʔuurr >) Lawa Bo Luang [saʔau] hŋau fragrant; ~ (*sʔʔuurr >) Mon həmao səməu &c. odour (merging vapour, gas < 1807 *k/m/huul).
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B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan haʔúr to smell pleasant..., Central Nicobarese yi smell, Nancowry ?uuy; haʔúy to make sth. smell (or A?).

Connect Chrau nthor fragrant. Cf. 15 *sʔu[ ]? &c. mouldy, spoiled.

(SMITH 1972 419.)

Sora 'ur-ən, uʔur-ən bad smell, ~ ə'nur- to emit a smell.

1564 *koor to scrape, shave.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer kao kor to scrape, shave, Bru koor to scrape with spoon, Stieng koor to cut [hair], shave, Biat koor to scrape, Bahnar koɔ́r to comb, scratch with comb, Jeh koi, Halang koar to shave, Khasi khur to rake (together), scrape, Central Nicobarese koɔ́r- [ho] to scrape [coconut meat] (or is Nicobarese /kuʔi/?).

Connection dubious Vietnamese cão to scrape, shave, cão to scratch, claw, rake.

(SMITH 1972 422.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kurkur: Javanese kukur to scratch, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83); (ii; ?) *kudkud: Malay kukur to rasp, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82, *kuḍkuḍ; DAHL 1973 § 14.7). See BENEDICT 1975 371. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 65.)

1565 *k[u]r to dig.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon kir /kɔ́r/ to dig, Proto-Nyah Kur *kjir! (DIFFLOTH 1984 V215), Stieng kuɔ́r (to dig with) mattock; ~ Old Mon kwir, Modern Mon kwo digging-stick.

Cf. Biat kaɔ́r to dig; & 1593 *ciir.

Pampangan kulkúl to dig, perhaps Karo Batak ng-kurkur-i to turn surface soil without tool.

1566 *kuur infected.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau koor painful, Central Rölöm [ji] kɔ́r sickness, Bahnar kuɔ́r festering (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*knmuur >?) Sre mour, Biat mor inflammation.

(BLOOD 1966 7.)

1567 *[ ]kuur wind, storm.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin (h)kūr, ??kūr thunder (storm) (contaminated by 1582 *[t₁]ga(a)r?), Palaung kur, Riang-Lang ??kur, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang kau, Lawa Umphai kau wind; ~ Kammu-Yuan həŋkûr storm.

1568 *cnkuɔ́r; *[c]nka[a]r integument.

A: (Mon) Mon hako jakow bark, outer husk of coconut, Proto-Nyah Kur *cəŋkɔ́r (DIFFLOTH 1984 N77).

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre nkar shell, husk, Bahnar akar skin, rind, shell, bark, Bru ŋkar skin, sakar scalp.

(SHAFER 1965 401; SMITH 1972 418.)
(i) Sora ə'kur- to peel off (v.i.), kur-ən (compounding form, ~'kur(r)aŋ-ən), Mundari ur bark, &c.; (ii) Mundari harta bark, &c. (PINNOW 1959 366; but some cited forms rather : 1687 *huur skin).

1569 *[t]kur to stir.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer kūr to stir, Stieng kūr to stir, to beat or turn while cooking; ~ Mon hako thakuiw &c. to stir.

1570 *[d]kər tree, plant.
A: (Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Mường căl (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese cǎy, Jah Hut, Mah Meri takoh tree; by secondary derivation ~ (Pre-Viet-Mường *p-kər >) Mường cǎl (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese cǎy to transplant [rice seedlings].
Cf. 1719 *dˌgəl &c. trunk, stump.

1571 *[b]kaar to cook over fire.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kǎ: reconcilia, Riang-Lang kər to broil, roast, toast, cook in smoke of fire.
Malay bakar to set on fire, burn, roast, toast (probably → Javanese) (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 20, *baka[I]).

1572 *sk[e]r to look intently, aim.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Literary Mon kew, Sre ker to aim at, Chrau ker to look at, Central Nicobarese hakiə-[hato &c.] to peep, aim, with one eye closed, Nancowry hakīa ~ kīa (rather *-iər?).

1573 *skɔɔr sugar.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon kɔ (s)kaw syrup, Khmer skɔ: skar (~ Stieng s^kɔɔr?), Biat [kac] kər sugar (beside chkɔɔr ~ Khmer).
If ← Indo-Aryan, an early loan; for Mon-Khmer origin cf. PRZYLUSKI in MSLP 22 2082 (& TURNER 1962-66 12338).
(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1574 *[ ]gar seed.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gar seed, grain, kernel, Bunör gar seed, Bahnar gar seed, pip; ~ Sre gənar = gar; ~ Central Rölöm ñgar seed, Biat ñgar grain, kernel.
Or *bgar, ~ 1276 *grap by metathesis?
(BLOOD 1966 345.)

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2 [Editorial note: we were unable to confirm the Przyluski reference. The journal is apparently Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. Perhaps Volume 22, page 208 are indicated.]
1575 *gəər to catch fire.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Old Mon gir /gər/ to shine, Modern Mon kə to blaze up, shine, glow; ~ (*pəər >) Middle Mon bgur to cause to shine, to set light to; ~ (*prəər > ?) Mon ḡakə baguiw to fan or blow into flame, Vietnamese goi to arouse, awaken [memories, desires].
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 1978 *guh &c. to glow, burn.

1576 *gur earth yielding red ochre.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre gur earth yielding red ochre (Dournes 1950), Biat [luʔ] gur laterite, Bahnar gur earth yielding red ochre (Guilleminet 1959-63).
Connect perhaps ultimately Sanskrit hingula-, hinguli- vermilion (whence Old Mon hingul).

1577 *gur; *guər ear of grain.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang səmkər.
B: (Khmer) Khmer kʊə gua(r) ear, pod.

1578 *gur; *guər; *ɡər ridge, handle.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre gor central ridge or vein, spine.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar gor id., range of hills (Guilleminet 1959-63).
C: (Bahnaric, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Sre gor central ridge or vein, spine (Dournes 1950), Bahnar gor handle of tool, Bru kir rod; ~ ?Nancowry hinkəʔa spine; (probably) → Cham kər, Jarai gor, Röglai gər, North Röglai ɡə, Acehnese ɡə handle, stem; ~ Chrau ngər bridge [of nose], Biat ngər handle of knife.

†1579 *guur to fall, be shed.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Old Mon gur /gur/, Modern Mon kʊ [rain] to fall, Riang-Lang _kur [leaves] to fall, (?) Kerbat ɡə́l to fall (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 20).
Add Khmer /ˈol/ ‘ur [rain] pouring down, ɓəʔol to rain, ɓəʔao paɨr to rain; Khasi ur to fall down?
Sora gur- to rain, Kharia gur to fall, &c. (Pinnow 1959 106).
(Proto-Austronesian *gu[ˌ]gudə̌] Malay gugur [fruit] to fall singly, Javanese gugur to fall off, fall away (so Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ~ *gad2̌gad2̌ to fall apart, Dempwolff 1938 51 & Blust 1972 no. 26).

1580 *ɡuar fitting, proper.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon gor /ɡor/ to be meet, fitting, good, Modern Mon [kɔp] kə ought, Khmer kʊə guər proper, suitable; → Cham guər proper, suitable; Thai kʰuən.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1581 *ŋgər to seek out.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon *gir /ŋgər/ to seek out, Modern Mon ɲį to search for among undergrowth or hair, Proto-Nyah Kur *kįir! (DIFFLOTH 1984 V217); ~ Sre tangər to seek to descrv.

1581a *[c]gar; *cagar to fence, enclose.
A: (Khasi) Khasi ker; (by secondary derivation?) ~ kper garden.
B: (Khmmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer conka: cəmkər garden, plantation, (~?) by metathesis (*c.raak >) Riang-Lang *sarək fence, garden.
Connect (i) Kammu-Yuan hənkər wall; to shut [door]; (ii) perhaps Sre pəngər fence, Biat əngər fence, hurdling, then contaminated by rather than ← Indonesian (*pəgə[r]dɔː反映出]: DEMPWOLFF 1938 110, *[I], Proto-West-Indonesian; Cham pakə:, &c.); but this may itself be connected.

1582 *[t₁]gar; *[t₁]gər thunder.
A: (Khmmer, Khmuc, ?Mon) Kammu-Yuan (by voicing metathesis?) kuər; → Malay tagər thunder clap; ~ (*[t₁]ər- >) Mon hako (or ə), Khmer phkə: phər thunder.
B: (Palaungic; probably ~) Riang-Lang tækə.
Connect by metathesis 1622 *tor &c. Cf. (i) Bahasa Indonesia -ger to rumble, gelegar rumbling (of gunfire, thunder) (so connected 1584 *sgər?); (ii) Proto-Austronesian *guur to rumble (DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, *guluh; Malay thunder); (iii) 1567 [*]kuur wind, storm. See BENEDICT 1975 368, rumble.
(SCHMIDT 1905 36, 70; SHAFER 1965 566.)

1583 *təguur; *təgar straight, upright.
A: (Mon) Middle Mon dgu (figurative) to be upright, Modern Mon takə also to be straight; ~ Old Mon tīngər /təngər/ upright position.
B: (Khmuic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan sakər (!)straight; ~ səmkər to straighten, to aim.
Kharia senghor straight (PINNOW KHARIA TABLES 169 no. 20).

(*bəgar see 1574 *[ ]gar seed; *Inguur, *Inguər see 1720 *Ingal plough.)

1584 *sgər, *sgər (kind of) drum.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer sgar, Modern Khmer skə:, Central Rölöm gər, gər, Bunör gər, Biat gər, (?) Bahnar səgar, həgar, Halang həgər drum, Palaung gər noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]; → Cham (ha)kər, Jarai h'gər, Röglai həgar, North Röglai səgər drum; ~ Old Mon singər /sənər/, Sre səŋər, Chrau səgar barrel-shaped drum, Jeh ngəl drum.
Bahnar, Halang perhaps by (back-)borrowing, or < *sərəgər.
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Bru sənkər, Kuy [khuən]kuər large temple drum, Stieng səŋər.
Cf. A144 *[ ]guur noise; Stieng goər, goər drumming of rain &c.; & for a possible Indonesian connection 1582 *[t₁]gə(ə)r thunder.
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(BLOOD 1966 129; SMITH 1972 402.)

(*ŋiar see following)

1585 *ŋìaar ( > Pre-Palaung &c. *ŋìar, *ŋə(o)r); *ŋ[ɔɔ]ar green.
A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan caŋáir, Palaung ŋìar, ŋar, Riang-Lang ŋer, Lawa saŋa green, Khasi [im] ngar-ngar very [green, unripe].
B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese cuŋɔː blue, green, Nancowry cuŋua; ~ Kammu-Yuan [caŋáir] caŋòr green.

1586 *[t,]ŋər to listen, hear.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Riang-Lang ŋər to hear, Vietnamese nghe to hear, listen; ~ Riang-Lang ŋəkar to listen (to), to obey.

1587 *tŋər kind of bamboo.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer thŋo: than! kind of bamboo with long internodes, Biat ŋər kind of bamboo, Khasi ['ri]-nger (compounding form) kind of rattan, Calamus species, (? *tŋər by assimilation >) Sre dər very straight kind of bamboo, Oxenanthera species; ~ (*t[n]ŋər >) Chrau tŋər large kind of bamboo.

1588 *tŋuurr; *tŋiər to make a moaning or sighing sound.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer thŋo: thñur to moan, groan, complain, to hoot, to coo, Palaung hŋur (MILNE 1931), Semang têngoh to groan (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 GUESDON 1930 118).
B: (Palaungic) Praok ŋia to sigh, (rek —) groan.

1589 *[d,]ŋ[ɔɔ]r abstracted.
A: (Mon, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon lìaw [lìan] to be dazed, lost in thought, (?) Central Nicobarese ŋɔ[-cakai] soienn, o-ŋɔhə[-cakai] melancholy; ~ Khasi dyngngor to be in a stupefied state, spellbound.

1589a *[r]ŋar; *rŋa[ar] cold.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan ŋar.
B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer rəŋa raiðl (bitter) cold, Praok ŋe to be cool.
1590 *[l]ŋaarh the right way up, supine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mường ᵉŋā (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese ᵉŋūa to lie on back; ~ (*[l]ŋaarh >) Mon ᵉŋège to lie on back, to be the right way up; ~ (*[l]bŋaarh >) ᵉŋège to turn the right way up; ~ (*[l]pŋaarh >) Khmer phŋa: phńar on one's back, the right way up, looking back.
Or *rŋ-. Cf. (i) Biat ᵉŋgar to look up; (ii) Palaung sänghu to look up; (iii) Proto-Austronesian *tińadaq to look up, DEMPWOLFF 1938 138 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

1591 *[c]ir plant used to treat wounds.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre sir solanaceous plant used to treat wounds (↔ Röglai), West Bahnar [pagaŋ] sir tuber used as plaster for wounds (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1592 *cir, *ciir, *ciar to cover, shelter.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon cir /cør/ to ward [off], Modern Mon cuiw to screen, Jeh cil, Halang ciar to dig.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar sir to be completely covered, hidden.
C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese che to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter.
Add perhaps (*cuar >) Thin sôr to hide.

1593 *ciir to dig.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ciir, Biat chir to dig [hole], Bahnar sîr to dig (out, up, hole), Jeh cil, Halang ciar to dig.
Cf. (i) 1565 *kur; (ii) Sora sar-.
(SMITH 1972 405; cf. SHAFER 1965 482.)

1594 *ciir; *ciar to cut up.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng ciir to cut up cloth; ~ (*[b]ciir by secondary derivation ~) Bahnar tajer to cut into large flat pieces.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer cîar to slice, trim, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese chià to divide; ~ Kammu-Yuan cîr segment, slice, to cut into segments (& cèr to divide, distribute; by arbitrary variant?); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tajer to cut into small slices.

1594a *car; *caar wild cat, small felid.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan sār civet cat, Palaung sar wild cat; ~ Khasi ksăr fox (or B; ?); ~ Chrau somar [bər] flying squirrel.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (*[k]caar >) Bahnar caar wild cat; ~ Khmer chma: chmā! cat, (~ ba:) flying squirrel.
Cf. Cham mucà; &c. civet cat, Proto-Ambonese *maðer dasyure (STRESEMANN 1927; so Proto-Austronesian *maZə[ry]?).
(SMITH 1972 417.)
1595 *caar resinous.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer ca: cər, Kuy ca: Butea frondosa, yielding red resin, Sre sər resinous.

1596 *cur pig.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng sur, Sre sur, Chrau sur, Biat chor, Jeh côt, Halang cur.
(SHAFER 1965 244; BLOOD 1966 164; SMITH 1972 404.)

††1597 *cuur [ ]; *cuər [ ]; *car[s] to flow, to pour.
A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Praok su to pour, ~ Lawa Bo Luang cuau, Lawa Umphai cau waterfall; ~ Khasi nur /noər/ channel (or ~ 1556 *ʔu[ ]r?).
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Mon) Palaung [om] suər current, Mon co small creak or stream, Proto-Nyah Kur cuər (DIFFLOTH 1984 N239); (or A?) → Röglai sor to flow, trickle; ~ Bahnar cor (drainage) channel, to canalize; ~ Kuy neər eaves (contaminated by 1606 *juər [ ], cf. Mon hayu eaves < *jnjuur [ ].
C: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Mon co to pour, Vietnamese chay to flow, melt, leak.
C contaminated by 1600 *jar to exude? Cf. further 1686 *h[u]r? &c. to flow (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)
Sora u-, er- to pour, ‘er[du-] sprinkling (n.).
Proto-Austronesian (i; *k’u[d_{23}]k’u[d_{23}]) Gayo chēchər to seep out, Malay chuchur to flow, trickle, Javanese chuchur-an to jet out (& chur in a jet; ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *paNk’u[d_{23}]: Malay panchur-an conduit, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112, *-[l]; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pa(N)k’a[d_{23}]: Malay panchar to emit rays, sounds, &c., probably Cebuano Bisayan pásad to scatter, to be scattered (then Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 112).
Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *sywar = *śwar to flow; to pour, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 241.

1597a *kcəər fin.
A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Nicobaric) Biat ca: [kəː] fin, Nyah Kur c’rr fin, Central Nicobarese ka’t’: (— ka’t) dorsal fin, (— wi’n-ka’t) ventral fin.

1598 [*] incuur lips.
A: (Palaungic) Praok juu.
Kharia lu’cər, &c. (PINNOW 1959 363; Proto-Munda *lukur?).

1599 *bcuur to plough.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer phćuə bhjuər (& c’uə furrow, by attraction line, row < 1605 *[j]uər), Stieng cuar, Biat cuar; ~ Kuy cur.
Sora or(-’ro).
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1600 *jar; *jər to exude.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmu’ jar to leak; ~ (*jnjar >) Bahnar dialects ḫañar, kañar to suppurate (Guilleminet 1959-63).
B: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan cèr to drip, Riang-Lang _car to leak, (so probably, rather than A) Palaung jar to exude (Milne 1931), Khasi [um]-jer dew.
= following? Cf 1606 *jur[ ] &c. to descend; 1597 *cuur[ ] &c. to flow....
Santali jəro drip, drop, trickle, leak, &c. (Pinnow 1959 219).

1601 *jar (especially poisonous) sap.
(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer jar, jār, Modern Khmer cəa gum, (poisonous) sap (→ Thai cʰan dammar), Kuy chá:r sap, resin, gum, Sre jar vegetable poison (Dournes 1950), Chrau jar sap, arrow poison, Biat jar poisonous sap, Bahnar jar sap, resin, Palaung jar sap (Milne 1931).
= preceding? (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 52.)

1602 *jər? quick, to run.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông, Central Aslian) Sre jar quick, urgent, Muông chǎl (Barker 1966 23), Vietnamese chhay, Proto-Semai (Diffloth 1977) *jar? to run; ~ Vietnamese nháy to be speedy, to react quickly.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 200.)

1603 *jər (& *jər?); *jur to warm oneself at [fire].
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok co (< *jar?); ~ (*jnjar >) Stieng njər, Sre njər, Biat njər.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar _pur.

1604 *jə[ ]r flowers, blossom.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon jar /jəw/, Modern Mon cə blossom, Khmer cə: jar floral pattern, lace.

11605 *[j]ur[?]; *(j)ərh; *(j)iir[ ]; *(j)iər[ ] string, line, row.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muông) ~ Praok nu creeper, Khasi snur crack, seam, cobweb, (~ *jmnur? >?) Muông nōl (Barker 1966 16), Vietnamese nới to join, connect, to continue, succeed.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Old Khmer jvar, Modern Khmer cùa, (→?) Biat cuar line, row, Vietnamese chuôi string [of beads], file, series, succession; ~ Middle Mon cnor /cnɔw/ row, Modern Mon hno line, rule, Biat nɔr [yoka] [mountain] range, Riang-Lang _nuar cord.
C: (Mon) Literary Mon jì to arrange in order = Middle Mon ci [ɾəŋ], Modern Mon ci [ɾəŋ], perhaps ~ Burmese ci [ɾəŋ] ~ Mon.
D: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon cew [ɾəŋ] to arrange, Riang-Lang _cər row (→ Palaung, Mon, taər to form a row?), Praok [maw] sìa cord.
Initial discrepancies obscure; perhaps separate roots in *c-, *j-, with mutual contamination. Add perhaps Vietnamese giáy, giáy row (then < *jarh; connection dubious Mường dãl, BARKER 1966 251). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 66.)

Sora jul-(jul-) to string ~ jo'nul-ən string of beads; ro'jol-le in a line.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *di[ ]dia[r]: Javanese jèjèr in a row, in rows, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *di'[ ]dii[i][ ]; NOTHOFER 1975 61; Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ↔ Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *da[ ]da[r]: Malay jajar line, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ↔ Malay); ~ *baNd[a][r] row. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 18). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 55.)

1606 *jur[ ]; *juur[ ]; *juər[ ]; *jir[ ]; *jər[ ] to descend.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng jur, Chrau jur, Biat jur to descend, Jeh jol, Halang jur down, Lawa Bo Luang co to leak; ~ Stieng njur to take down, Chrau tanjur to put down, West Bahnar jur to descend (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok jao to shed [tears], Vietnamese gió gì to pour.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Bahnar jur, Kammu-Yuan cùr, Riang-Lang _cur to descend, Palaung jur valley, Khasi jur descent, Semai l jər to fall; ~ Old Mon jmūr /jmur/ [elephant] subject to must, Middle Mon jmū also falling [rain], by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon hamù [elephant] subject to must; ~ (*jərjur[ ] >) Mon hacù to drip.

C: (Mon, Kautic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy [ba?] chɔr to sweat profusely, Lawa Umphai chua to leak; ~ Mon hmə [elephant] subject to must; ~ (*njəur[ ] >) Bahnar hənɔr trickling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese cẽ drizzle; ~ Bahnar hənɔr-hənɔr very sweaty. Cf. Nancowry cẽh to drip; Bru cacûr to drip, ooze.

E: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Praok cita to fall, be shed, Central Nicobarese cẽ to drip, (=??) Khasi jiar (& pjiaɾ; original compounding form?) to drain off, filter.

*-r if Vietnamese tone is from plosive sequence; but Central Nicobarese ciyau leak (in canoe, roof) suggests a metathetic *jruuʔ. Front vocalism secondary. There is contamination with 1600 *jar &c. to exude & 1597 *cuur[ ] &c. to flow, to pour. Cf. also 1657 *yur &c. to hang down...; 539 *juuŋ (to) rain; 1898a *jus to take down... .

(SHAFTER 1965 119; BLOOD 1966 157; SMITH 1972 403.)

(i; ?) Santali nur to fall, drop, fall, Mundari nur to flow out (PINNOW 1959 106); (ii) Sora sir- to spurt, er- to pour, 'er-an, 'jer-ən flow.

1607 *juur (& *juər?) to siphon.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar jur; ↔ Röglai jur to siphon, North Röglai ju siphon; ~ Stieng janɔər, Sre janur siphon (↔ Röglai), Bahnar janɔər liquid siphoned up.

Stieng diphthong perhaps regular following nasal.
1608 *[k]jir; *[k]jìr dense, close together.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jìr, Jölong sìr (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar kir
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (by metathesis?).
B: (North Bahnaric) Jölong sèr (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai kìar by metathesis?

(*ño(a)r see 1585 *jìnaar green.)

1609 *[l][p]naar soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon [càk] (k)àñèa, Sre bànar (DOURNES 1950).

1610 *tìaə to forge.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stìeng thìər (!), Sre tìar, Bìat ciər to forge, Bahnar tìəər,
tìər to hammer to an edge (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Vietnamese de anvil; →
Cham [pə]tìyaː, Röglai tìaː to forge.
Cf. Bru deər to have a knife made.

1611 *t₁[ə][r] to warn.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok te to warn, remind, Vietnamese de to threaten.

1612 *t₁ar to run.
A: (Khmulic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan tər, Praok to, Lawa Bo Luang tə, Lawa
Umphai, Mae Sariang tə.
Cf. Thin dər.

1613 *taar counterbalance of axe (*cuuŋ).
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar təar.
Add perhaps (*təar >) Old Mon təar /tɔr/, Modern Mon tə stalk, handle.

1614 *tə[ə]r to fight.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tə [kənəh], Khmer tə(ʔə)l &c., tə!; ~ Khmer trədə: traʔar to struggle; ~ Old Mon təar /tər/ warrior.

1615 *tər to change, exchange.
A: (Khmer, Kautic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer do: tər to barter, to
give change, Kuy tər to buy, Stìeng tər to change [places], Nancowry təh to
cchange, Mường təi (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese dəi to change (→ Sre duiəh).
= following?
(SHAFER 1965 406.)
1616 *t₁[u]r to give.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Literary Mon tuiw to give, Praok tə to give, hand over,
       Lawa Bo Luang [hau] toa, Mae Sariang [heu] tə to send; ~ (*t₁rp[u][r] >)
       Middle Mon tawuiw gift; Nancowry hatóyha to send.
= preceding?

1617 *tur to hit with fist.
   A: (Bahnaric) Biat tor to hit with downward movement of fist, Sre, Bahnar tur to hit with fist.
   (SHAFER 1965 80.)

1618 *tuur (to get) burnt.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon tur /tur/ to burn (v.i.), Modern Mon tao also to get burnt,
       Khmer dao tər blistered (→ Kuy dor blistered, burned).
       (Proto-Austronesian *tu[d₁/₂r]) Javanese totor wood fire, to make fire, Iban tutur to apply fire to, burn, brand [person] (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1619 *kntiər termite.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kɔndia kantıər, Chrau gatıər, Biat neciər termite, Bahnar kətɛr male termite (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; East Bahnar also kantıər).
   Connect Khasi ktiər centipede?

1620 *ktər board, plank.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer ktər, Khmer kdər piece of wood, plank (→ Stieng kadər table, plank, Chrau kadər plank, Biat kdaər board), Kuy (k)tər board, plank, Bahnar tər board; ~ Old Mon kintıər /kəntər/ seat, Modern Mon hato board, seat.
   Khmer/Kuy vocalism post-dental. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 32.)

1621 *ktuur, *ktuər ear.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Katuic) Kuy (k)tɔr, Bru kutor, Stieng tur, Sre tour,
       Biat tor ear (→ Chrau), Riang-Lang *cor (!) outer ear.
   B: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon ktor /ktoər/, Modern Mon kato, by metathesis (*t₂kuər >)
       Khasi shkor ear.
   Chrau **c(h)ɔr is expected.
   (SHAFER 1965 404, 460; BLOOD 1966 18.)
   Kharia lu'tur, &c.; ~ Remo lintūr, &c. (PINNOW 1959 147; Proto-Munda *luktur;
       suggesting *-t₁-1).

1622 *[g]tiər; *gər (to) thunder.
   A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar tər thunder clap, [lightning] to strike (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !); ~ (*[g]ntiər >) Mon hate to lament, Kuy nthir resounding, Biat nteər to cry out; ~ Middle Mon gater /gatəw/ long-drawn-out intonation, Biat nteər clap.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer khtə: khđar to reverberate, Stieng tərŋ, Chrau tar thunder, Biat [təh] to (to) thunder; ~ Sre ntar thunder, Besisi gentah thunder bolt (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119).

Cf. Malay guntur thunder connected by metathesis 1582 *[tə]gar(ə)r.

(SHAFTER 1965 502; BLOOD 1966 131.)

Santali [tə]rong of lightning, &c. (PINNOW 1959 165; Proto-Munda *-e-).

(Proto-Austronesian *kitə?) Iban ngitar lightning.

†1623 *gtər (& *gtəʔ?) to shiver.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer khtə khđăr to vibrate, sound (contaminated by preceding?), Bahnar tar-[war] (!) to shake with fear, (variant >?) Central Nicobarese katvə to tremble, vibrate, Nancowry tūa v.t., katvā v.l.; (~ *gtər >) Mon hə to shake, Khasi kynther (~ variant?) to shake off, shed, flutter; (~ *gtər, ar gtər >, or by secondary derivation?) Khmer totəa dadər (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, dədə [teeth] to chatter?), Tolo Bahnar tatar to shiver (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Bahnar tatey, Gölar Bahnar tutucy; tataʔ, (probably) → Cham tataʔ [trə], katoʔ, Jarai tətuʔ, Röglai katoʔ, North Röglai tatah; Jölong tatac (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); all by expressive variant? *-tə- in view of Sora

Sora by metathesis 'takur-

Proto-Austronesian *ka(N)tər: Malay gētar, kētar, &c., Tagalog katál (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 79; Proto-Hesponesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 33.)


A: (Palaungic) → Riang-Lang sanstor crest, fin.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre ntor crest, fin (probably, rather than A), Biat ntwor [cər] ridge of roof.

C: (Bahnaric) Jeh tərl, Halang tər comb of cock; ~ (*[c]tər >) Stieng alər,

Chrau gater, Biat ntor iar comb of cock.

(SMITH 1972 408.)

†1625 *di[r]; *diər; *dar to circle round.


B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau diar to swerve, go around, Biat deər to make a detour,

Bahnar der ṭadər [small bird] soaring (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (or C) ~ Khasi jyntər spinning-wheel.

C: (Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai), Bahnar dar going round, circumambulation; ~ Sre sadər to go round (→ Röglai adar).

Add as derivative 1630 *[nə(a)r sun, day? Note further Bahnar ṭadər to revolve rapidly.

(SHAFTER 1965 122; SMITH 1972 414.)

Sora dialects -dider round about.
1626 *[d][o]r hill.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mương) Sre dor (→ Rögglai), Halang doar, (or 1741 *dul, which compare, >) Mae Sariang tu, Mường tôi (Barker 1966 22), Vietnamese dòi.
If Viet-Mương is cognate, *d-.

1627 *duur back.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon tù [cah]; ~ Biat ndur [kәi].
Cf. Bahnar kәduʔ.

1628 *kdɔɔ, *kdar woman, wife.
A: (Central & South Aslian) ~ Semai I kɔrdɔr, Semelai kәrdɔr woman.
B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon kindar /kәndәr/, Modern Mon kәrәb wife (→ Burmese katọ wife of [official &c.]), Proto-Nyah Kur *kәmtәr (Diffloth 1984 N176).
Add Khmer kɔmdә: kәntәr to keep company, cohabit.
(Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 63.)

1629 *sdur lips.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _tor; ~ Khasi shintur mouth, Sakai sәntәr lips (i.e. Temiar; Skeat & Blagden 1906 H 2).
1648 *sbur contaminated by 1471 *snduy?

1629a *diir; *diar to spread, extend.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau dir to open out, spread.
B: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi diar [wings] spread wide; ~ Mon hәde to extend, spread (v.i.).

1629b *dur; *duar curve, arch.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Biat dor arch, dur curve, Thin dәr rainbow, (or B) Khasi dor curve, curved.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh doːl curved surface.

1630 *[ ]nar; *[ ]naar sun, day.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng nar sun, day, Chrau nar day, daytime, Bahnar nar day, (~?) ?nar sun, day.
B: (South Bahnaric) Central Röläm, Biat narr.
Or *dna(a)r, ~ 1625 *dar to circle round?
(Blood 1966 310.)
1631 *[c]nə[a]  \textit{r} \textit{to sneeze}.  
\textit{A}: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic)  \textit{\sim}  (*[c]nə[a]  \textit{r} \textit{>}  \textit{Stieng nnər, Sre, Biat ndər}; (?)  \rightarrow \textit{Malay }\textit{sendar}; \textit{by secondary derivation }\sim \textit{Riang-Lang }\textit{khlar}.  
\textit{Or }*-ə(a)r? \textit{Then add perhaps Bahnar ḥnər}, \textit{by dissimilation}; but with this cf. Vietnamese \textit{ngày}, \& note Proto-Monic *\textit{snəur }\textit{grind (one’s teeth); sneeze}.  
\textit{(Shaffer} 1965 557.)

1632 *tni[i]  \textit{r}; *tniər \textit{floor}.  
\textit{A}: (Mon) \textit{Mon nøe kni floor, floor boards}.  
\textit{B}: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm niər \textit{top layer of bamboo floor (}→\textit{Bunör niər)?};  \sim (*tniər  \textit{>} \textit{Khmer phnia phiar bamboo-twill floor of cart, Chrau taniər bamboo flooring}.  
\textit{For Stieng paniər bamboo partition (} = \textit{piniər}, compared at B107) see A147 *piir.

1633 *par \textit{to fly}.  
\textit{(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mông, North Aslian) Mon pə, Kuy, Stieng par, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar, Halang par, Jeh pal, Palaung par, Riang-Lang pər, Praek pəo, Lawa Bo Luang pəu, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang peu, Mông pêl (Barker 1966 13), Vietnamese \textit{bay};  \rightarrow \textit{Cham par, Jarai pər, Rölglai par, Acehnese pəo;  \sim \textit{Semang kəpuih (i.e. Kintaq Bong; Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 203); (?)  \rightarrow \textit{Madurese ngappər;  \sim \textit{Biat mpar;  \sim (*pənər —& in part *pənər —> \textit{Stieng pənər, Sre dər, Chrau pənər wing, Biat nər (!) wing, feather, Bahnar pənər, Jeh manal, Halang manar, Kammu-Yuan pənūr (!) wing, Khasi 'ner (} \sim \textit{sner) fly, Nancowry nuây wing}.  
\textit{Kammu-Yuan vocalism by attraction tûr to fly, ad 1683 }\textit{haər}.  
\textit{(Shaffer} 1965 25; BLOOD 1966 362, 368; SMITH 1972 412, 413.)\textit{Mundari a-pir to fly, &c. (Proto-Munda *per); }\sim \textit{Kharia pe'ner wing (Pinnow 1959 K 501).}  
\textit{Paiwan *mi-pə[ɣ]pə[ɣ] (!; Benedict 1975 394, to spread (out)..., which see); perhaps also Proto-Austronesian *la(N)pəd_{2/3} Tagalog lipād flight, flying, &c. (Blust 1970 no. 247; Proto-Hesperonesian).}

1634 *pəor (\& *pər?) \textit{rice-gruel}.  
\textit{A}: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng pər  \textit{soup, Sre por rice-gruel (} < \textit{variant?), Chrau pər soup, gruel, Biat pər rice soup, Bahnar pər, Jeh pol, Halang pər cooked rice;  \sim \textit{Khmer bəo: papər (} \rightarrow \textit{Stieng p'boər) soup, rice-gruel}.  
\textit{Bahnar [dək] buər water in which rice has been cooked} is ← \textit{Indonesian, cf. Cham (a)pə; Rōglai, North Rōglai bu rice-broth, < Proto-Austronesian *bud_{2/3}bud_{2/3} (Dempwolff 1938 32). Is this ultimately cognate?}
1635 *p[ ]uur?; *p[ ]uər[ ]; *p[ ]ər[ ] to bind round, wrap.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon pūr /pur/ to surround with, to bind round, Modern Mon pao, Mường pūl, Vietnamese būi to bind round.
B: (Palaungic) Praok pua to wrap.
C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang pūar to wrap; (probably, rather than D) ~ Palaung rəəpər winding round, to wrap (bandage) (MILNE 1931).
D: (Mon, Khmuic) Thin pūər to wrap; ~ Old Mon kūpar /kəpar/ to put round; ~ kuəpər, Modern Mon həpəo to go round; (?) → Bahasa Indonesia kumpar to wind on a spool.
Or *pw-, causative ~ 1669 *wuur &c. to go round…? Cf. 1754 *p[ ]ul &c. to twine round. Sakai sapur to wrap up (Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 145) is probably ← Malay simpul.
Connection uncertain Mundari biur to turn round, to surround, to move round, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 361 (Proto-Munda *[p]ijur).

1636 *knpur lime.
A: (Mon, Khmer Katuic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon gapuiw, Modern Mon həpo, Khmer khməapər (→ Stieng kəməxr?), Kuy mphər (!), Vietnamese vít.
Khmer/Kuy vowel lengthening precedes lowering; Kuy chest register obscure. (SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

1637 *cpiir pumpkin.

1638 *cpiər to blow, to winnow.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Mon) Thin pier to blow, Riang-Lang *pier winnowing-tray, Central Nicobarese ifua to blow, ifui to fan, Nancowry ?ifú; & fūy breeze, Nyah Kur hwiir (& Thin < *-iir?); ~ Chrau sapiər kind of winnowing-basket, Proto-Semai *jmpiər winnowing-sieve (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ Vietnamese nia winnowing-basket.
Nicobaric vocalism contextual.
Kharia humper to blow (PINNOW 1959 K 159).
1639 *tnpaar flat surface.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?North Aslian). Mon hapa flat surface, back [of hand &c.], Khmer dömə: 团委 surfaces, Semang tebal plain (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 122; ?).

1640 *mpuar leguminous plant yielding shampoo.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon kəpo lapow &c. soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Khmer Ṡmbuə sampur Mimosa fera, (—kək) kind of shrub from fruits of which shampoo is made, Riang-Lang "sampur soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle.

1641 *[b]iir to forget.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat bir neglectful, Palaung bir, Praok pi[əm] to forget.

1642 *ber to float.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon pè to ride low in the water, Khasi per to float.

1643 *boor plentiful.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon pɔ baw! to be plentiful (→ Burmese po), Khmer pɔ: bor to be full to overflowing.

1644 *ʔbaar to kneel.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon ’bār /”bar/, Modern Mon mêa, Khasi par to kneel, Vietnamese bái to bow, pay homage to. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence.

1645 *gbur to eject from mouth.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer khpuə kbur to rinse mouth, spew out, make a shower; ~ (*gnbur > Middle Mon *kambuiw >) Mon kəmə ejected residue of betel chew. Mon head register results from Middle Mon voicing distribution rule.

1646 *cbaar hibiscus.
1646a *tbar; *tər sticky, slippery.
A: (Bahnaric) ~ Sre mbar, Chrau mvar glutinous; ~ (*tər >) Bahnar təbar sticky.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat mbər slippery, to slip.
Connect Nancowry kipáy sticky.

(*[b]ir see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

1646b *[a]r flying ant.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung [i]bar; ~ Khasi kber flying white ant.
Cf. Riang-Lang buŋˉbər flying ant.

(*baar see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

1647 *[k]bur dark, night.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre bur [tru:] dark, overcast (Dournes 1950), Riang-
Lang †bo evening, night, to get dark, Lawa Bo Luang [ma]-pu, Lawa Umphai [mua] phu, Mae Sariang [mua] pu evening; (?) → Malay kabur dim, faint, Ngaju Dayak kabul (!) obscure, misty; ~ Sre mər shadow, Praok bo night.
Bahnar has maŋ mu: very dark; = West Bahnar mu: shadow (Guilleminet 1959-63),
ad 111 [*][b]uu?

1648 *tər; *tər lip.
A: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Vietnamese môi; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer bəbo:
papūr (perhaps contaminated by Malay bibir < Proto-Austronesian *bibiɣ,
DEMPWOLFF 1938 129; → Khmer papiː labia pudenda).
B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau var [ve?] lip, Biat bər mouth, opening, Sre bər, Bahnar
bər mouth; ~ Palaung səbar lip; ~ Bru tambər beeʔ lip.
Cf. 1629 *sdur.
(Shafer 1965 407.)

1649 *mar to increase in size.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon mar /mər/, Modern Mon mò to increase, Khasi
mer to grow well, to sprout; ~ (*kuən mar by contraction >, cf. 1127) Riang-Lang
kənmər to be pregnant.
Separate Biat mər to swell, = inflammation ad 1566 *kuur.

1650 *mar[?]; *maar[ ] (equivalent) quantity.
A: (Central Aslian, ?Viet-Muong) Vietnamese mây how much, how many; some, a few
(?; then → Muong, Barker 1966 16), Temiar mar size (Benjamin 1976b 165),
mar- as big as.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon ma quantity (sandhi-form, *tm-, from */bnot ma/), Praok
me how many, as much as.
1651 * [ ]maar; *miir (& *mir?) dry hill-field.
B: (Bahnaric) Sre mir (< *mir? BLOOD 1966 mir), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar miir.
With presumed Bahnaric fronting, cf. 1923 *rmaas; 1381 *m-yaam. A perhaps, as
Waic suggests, *k(n)maar, ~ (*kaar >) Late Old Mon kār /kar/ element in
toponyms of cultivation; but B must then be separate.
(SHAFER 1965 179; BLOOD 1966 217.)

1652 *muur to pass, duck, under something.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre mur (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar mōr (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1653 *m[ ]uur; *m[ ]ər (& *m[ ]uər?) to roll up.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer mü: mūr, Kuy mūr; ~ Mon kəmao tmū &c.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng mɔːr to fold up, roll up, roll
[cigarette] (< *-uər?), Riang-Lang_mar to roll, Nancowry mūa twisted (< *-uər?); ~ Khmer khmɔːghmar round, curled up.
Or *mw-, ~ 1669 *wuur &c. to go round, turn round? Cf. 1772 *m[ ]il &c. roll, with
mutual contamination
(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

(*kmaar see 1651 * [ ]maar dry hill-field.)

1654 *[s]rmɔ[r chebulic myrobalan, Terminalia chebula Retz.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon həmɔ! khamow, Khmer srəmɔ: saŋa!
Or *-ɔɔr; or *-uər (Mon), *-ər. Mon chest register by arbitrary differentiation həmo
nasal mucus, ad following? If *j-, Khmer head register obscure.

1655 *smuər nose, beak.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, North Aslian) ~ Old Mon sinmor /səmmor/, Modern Mon
həmo, Semang həmoh nasal mucus (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N
98), (~?) Sre səmaor beak.
Cf. Central Nicobarese mɔ: mucus. Khmer səmbao saŋpor mucus is perhaps <
*smuur by metathesis; for a variant *smuər cf. also Palaung goŋ mur nose
(literally handle of the mouth, so for **hmuur by attraction mur mucus, under the
entry 147 *[hy]muʔ?). (Cf. SHAFER 1965 408.)

1656 *yaar to lift.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon yəa to lift up, raise, Khmer yəa yər to raise [fist].

1657 *yur; *yuər; *yaar to hang down, to carry hanging down, to lower.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer yûl yur to droop, Sre yur,
Chrau yur to lower, Thin yûr to descend (contaminated by 1606 *jur[ ], which
compare); ~ Riang-Lang yɔr to hang (v.t.).
B: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer យុទ្ធអូត to c. dangling in hand; ~ Kuy (k)yor to carry by handle.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric; contaminated by following?) Khmer យុត្តាត hanging down, drooping, Kuy yiar sagging, drooping, Biat yar to carry in hand, Nancowry cêy to tangle (< *yar?).

1658 *[k]yaa[r] to come loose, come undone.
Or *t1; *-l.

1659 *[dy][a]r sticky (substance).
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung jar bird-lime (MILNE 1931) (= sap, < 1601 *jar); ~ Sre jar, Vietnamese nhây sticky. Or rather compare Palaung to Bru yahh and Bahnar iah bird lime (< *fa(a)s?).

1660 *syaar outstretched.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar hiar unfolded, spread out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi iar extended, stretch wide, to extend.
Connect by metathesis 1501 *s-raay to be scattered?

1661 *[d]rer to wait.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Literary Mon tre(w) to abide, Khmer drr (GUESDON 1930), Central Nicobarese [ha]-tare-[yan] to wait.
Connection dubious Vietnamese chô.

1662 *li?; *li[ ]; *liə[ ] cricket.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khuamic, Viet-Mường) Sre lil by assimilation; → Jarai dialect li, Röglai lil, liir, ~ → Jarai kliir; ~ (*t,caar li? by contraction >, cf. Riang-Lang "cur ad 838a *raac grasshopper") Kammu-Yuan calél kind of cicada, Vietnamese dé (for *rê) cricket.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat leir cricket.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar leir kind of cricket.
With Sre assimilation cf. following onomatopoeic? So allegedly Kammu-Yuan.

1663 *liər to project.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Sre liu to stick out (→ Röglai) (< *lia by assimilation; cf. preceding), Biat leir to jut out, project (& to lick; so Stieng liər), Palaung liər to (cause to) protrude, Khasi [sei] ler, Vietnamese le to stick [tongue] out; ~ Riang-Lang *kliər to protrude.
1663a *lɔr lie, falsehood.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre lɔr lie (DOUNES 1950), Khasi [lam]ler (to) lie; ~ Biat nau kɔr lie, ṅai kɔr to lie.

1664 *loor to glide, creep.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon lɔ lɔ! [snake] to wriggle, Central Sakai lɔr to creep.
Connect Khasi ler(ler), lir-lir creepingly; perhaps 1793 *luul tadpole.

1665 *lur; *luur; *luər to slide in, to push in.
A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi lur to push [wood] further into fire; ~ (*tl- > ?) Bahnar klur to push into, to penetrate, fall into (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (B) Old Mon tinlɪr /tɔnluɾ/ bolt, bar; by secondary derivation ~ (A) Riang-Lang kɦlɔr to thread [needle].
C: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mương) Vietnamese lūa to slide into, penetrate, drive; ~ Literary Mon klow to thrust through a hole; ~ Khasi phalɔr [ring] to come loose and fall off.
Connect 1668 *[s]liər …slippery? But connection dubious 2067 *loh &c. to unravel…

1666 *[ ]luur; *[ ]luar to slip, come loose.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin lɔl to slip. by assimilation; ~ (*nluur > ) Lawa Bo Luang klau, Lawa Umphai nglau to slip, fall.
B: (Palaungic) Praok lua to come unfastened; ~ (*t,pluər > ?) Kammu-Yuan tɔlʊar to slip, Riang-Lang tɔklʊar to slip, to cause to slip, Khasi phlɔr [ring] to come loose and fall off.
Connect 1668 *[s]liər …slippery? But connection dubious 2067 *loh &c. to unravel…

1666a *luər worm.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mương) Riang-Lang _luar; ~ (*.rluar > ) Vietnamese giɔi (for *rɔi) worm, maggot.
Connect obscure Bahnar huar. Palaung riər is < 1926 *rias.

1667 *tlaar ancient.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon tlɔr /tɔlɔr/ to be anterior; first, formerly, before, Modern Mon kla time before, Sre klar to be old, worn (→ Röglaï kla?!).

(*pliir, *pliər see 1791 *pril hail.)

1668 *[s]liər smooth, slippery.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *liər to be slippery; ~ Biat pleər smooth (& by metathesis pleə rɛːp).
Connect 1666 *[ ]luur &c. to slip…? Cf. also 1803a *(l)hiil &c. …smooth…; 1076 *lit &c. slippery…. 
†1669 *wij; *wiir; *wiär; *war; *waar; *wuur; *wuär to go round, to turn round.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-M'ông) Bahnar *wij to twist (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63; or B), Kammu-Yuan *wer[kay] to turn (v.i.), M'ông *wèl (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese *vè to return; → Jarai *wij (or B?), Rõglai *wij to turn; ~ Biat [ndac] lwuur to turn (v.i.), Bahnar rawir to stir (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-M'ông, Nicobaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng *vuir to avoid (or A), Kammu-Yuan *wij confused, Praok vi to visit, (or A?) Khasi *wij astray; ~ Vietnamese in compounds vi to surround; circumference; ~ Central Nicobarese hen-wi yía eddy, Nancowry *wî to go round and round, wander (or 231 *wii?).

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer via *viar to go aside, avoid, Biat *weär to abstain from; avoidance; unlucky, Bunõr *weär (→ Sre, → Rõglai, *wer?), Central Rõlõm *wiar taboo, Bahnar *weär, Palaung *viar (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _vier, Praok *via to go aside, avoid; ~ Khasi taviar to go round and round.

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer *vàr to go wrong, to cause trouble, Sre *war to stir round, Chrau *war to stir; edge, Biat *war to stir, Bahnar *war to turn (v.t), to enclose, to wag [tail], to paddle, to go and come back, Kammu-Yuan *wûr-wûr, [wîst] wàr dizzy, Khasi *wer-wer [to hear] by rumour; → Iban *uar to stir.

E: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic, Nicobaric) Sre *war to go or put round spirally, Biat *war to roll up (v.i.), Nancowry wây to go around; ~ Kuy (k)war to stir, Bru kuwar; ~ Riang-Lang *war to wander, ramble; ~ Kammu-Yuan sarwâr round and small.

F: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng uar cattle-pound, Chrau war pen for livestock, Biat war circumference, Central Rõlõm uar to stir (BLOOD 1976), Bahnar war to fence round, Riang-Lang _var edge, rim, boundary, Praok ve that which surrounds; ~ Kammu-Yuan konwâr fence, garden; to fence.

G: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon wûr /wur/, by sandhi Modern Mon wût [tôh] round, around, Praok vu to turn round (v.i.t.); ~ Palaung kanûr edge, boundary; ~ Khasi lyur circular.

H: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-M'ông) Praok *vua to wrap round; ~ Kammu-Yuan karwûr [bent] in a curve; ~ Vietnamese ngoe [ngdòi] to wag [tail].

Add perhaps (*p-wuur &c. causative =) 1635 *p[ ]uur? &c. to bind round, wrap;

(*m-wuur &c. =) 1653 *m[ ]uur &c. to roll up. Cf. 1794 *wil &c. to turn.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; SHAFER 1965 409; SHORTO 1973 378-9; BLOOD 1966 94.)

(i) Sora jar-, jer- again, re-, jar-jar- around, on all sides, round and round; (ii) ~ Sora tor-(tor- to stand round, to form a fence, to surround, Kharia tar to enclose (PINNOW 1959 197); (iii) perhaps (by metathesis?) Sora -ju(r) in 'gjur- &c. to whirl, *pijju(r)-, pij'ju(r)- to turn round (: Mundari biur, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 361; Proto-Munda *pi'jur; otherwise: *p[ ]uur? &c. (Proto-Austronesian *kouir or *kiuor) Iban kuir to swing, whirl, by metathesis locanno kiwar to stir, turn over, kiwer curly [tail].
1670 *wiir to raise, tend.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon wir /wiir/ husbandry, Modern Mon wi to raise, tend,
      Bahnar wèr to look after, tend (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1671 *waar; *wər hot, to heat.
   A: (Khmuic) Khmu' wa:r hot, to heat, Kammu-Yuan wà:r to be warm.
   B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 1812 *rʔuəl to grill) Sieng ur to heat in pan.
      Connect 1559a *cʔur &c. warm.

1672 *wər; *wəər; *waar; *wuur to crawl.
   B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat wə:r;
   C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer vī:və:r to creep, crawl, Kuy wī:ar [plants]
      to creep, climb; ~ Gölar Bahnar kuər [plants] to creep, climb.
   D: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang _mur to crawl.
      C-D secondary.
      (BLOOD 1966 424.)

1673 *twər forearm.
   A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau tu:r [ti:] (?); ~ (*tpwər >) Mon kəwər
      [toa] arm, forearm, Sre təwər [ti] arm, (merging 1913 *puəs, which see)
      Palaung puər (— ti) forearm, (— groŋ) calf.
   Cf. (i) Central Nicobarese koa:l (upper) arm, Nancowry kuál; (ii) Pangan huəl arm,
      forearm (Kensiu), Kēnaboi rhůah upper arm, SKET & BLAGDEN 1906 A 136.

1674 *sw[e]r cicada.
   A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Riang-Lang ~wer, ~ver large kind of cicada, Vietnamese
      [con] ve-ve cicada.

1675 *siir; *suul to incise, write.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Sieng sə:r to carve, Sre sə:ir to decorate with pigmented
      incisions; ~ Old Khmer sarsir, Modern Khmer sə:se: to write; ~ Khmer sme: smer
      secretary, clerk.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon sūl /sul/ to write.
      Middle Mon has kəsū write (Modern Mon chu) by back-formation from *dasū writing,
      for which cf. Old Mon sirsūl, Modern Mon kəsəo. Connection obscure Vietnamese
      tə to draw, colour. On rhyme-alternance cf. 1637 *[c]piir.
      (SHAFER 1965 482.)
1676 *sər, *sər scrub.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng sər abandoned field, fallow, Bahnar tsər brushwood (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; beside tsər, cf. sər below); ~ (*srə >) Middle Mon dasuiw, Modern Mon kəsə bush.
B: (Bahnaric) Sə sar, Biat [briː] char brushwood, Bahnar sar unploughed field.
B by interdialectal borrowing, cf. Stieng? With it connected probably Khmer [prèy] phsay scrubland, by rhyming deformation &/or popular etymology, cf. phsay to be scattered...
(SHAFER 1965 463.)

1677 *sur[ ]; *suurʔ; *suər[ ] bag.
A: (Palaungic) Praok həə.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung hur bag, Vietnamese túi pocket, purse, small bag.
C: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese kənhoə small bag, pocket.

1678 *suur; *suər to poke, pierce.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat choər to impale, spit, skewer; ~ (*tsuə >) Mon chu khyū quanting-pole.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung həər to transfix with.

1679 *kmsiir relation by marriage.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon kuəsir /kamsir/ parents- (or father-?) in-law (& Modern Mon kəmsəe parents-in-law, originally as learned form), Semai I gənsiir husband.
BENJAMIN 1976 compares Semai with North Aslian forms: Kensiu gəsuy.

1680 *ksiir; *ksiər; *ksur to blow one’s nose.
A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre chir (→ Röglai), Chrau chəər, Central Nicobarese hehe-[həə &c.] (!; by expressive deformation?), Kuy (k)əsər, Bru ksiir; ~ (*ksiir >) Biat nchəər [moh].
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng cəər [muh].
C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan khǔr.
C secondary; primacy otherwise uncertain.

1681 *ks[əə]r quill of porcupine.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat chəər; ~ Chrau, Bahnar gəsər (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Biat excludes *kc-. Cf. (i) Kammu-Yuan caŋkəːl (contaminated by kəːl body hair, < 1803 *ksuul?); (ii) Palaung pəər hur short and bristly [hair] (MILNE 1931).

1682 *hiir thirsty.
(Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi). Khmer hvl hir peppery, hot on tongue (by attraction 1684 *h[əə]r), Biat [jìː] hiir thirst, to be thirsty, Bahnar [toʔ] hiir deliciously hot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi hir longingly, ardently; ~ Stieng thir to be thirsty; ~
1683 *hər; *həər to fly.
A: (Khasi) Khasi her.
B: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer hə hər; ~ (*t,həər >) Kammu-Yuan túrr.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese he:h-həŋə, Nancowry héh.

1684 *h[ə]r; *h[əə]r burning, smarting.
A: (Katuic) Kuy (ʔa)hər hot taste e.g. of ginger, Bru ʔəhər.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer hə hər hot, peppery, Chrau hər to sting, hurt, Bahnar hər bitter, fiery, strong (!; Guilleminet 1959-63 has hər East Bahnar, h yr West Bahnar).

1685 *hur to expose to heat.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng hur to warm, soften by heating, Biat hor to expose to flame, Sre hur (→ Röglai hu), Bahnar hur to harden in flame (Guilleminet 1959-63).

1812 *[r]huul &c. to grill contaminated by 1559a *c?ur warm?
(Shafer 1965 273.)

1686 *h[u]r?; *huər[ ] to flow.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobarese) Stieng, Chrau hoər to flow, Biat hoər to dribble [saliva], Palaung huər [blood] to flow (Milne 1931), Central Nicobarese wua: current, (-ne) to flow, wəya-[dak] stream, Nancowry riáktwuá river, stream; ~ (*kuər[ ] >) Kammu-Yuan kər to flow.
Connect 1556 *ʔu[ ]r &c. stream-bed? Cf. also 1597 *cuur[ ] &c.
(Shafer 1965 272, 405.)

1687 *huur skin.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Palaung hur, Riang-Lang ʔuur skin, hide, leather; ~ Vietnamese in compounds phu skin; ~ Kammu-Yuan hampúr, Thin həmpur skin, hide (& Thin pür by back-formation).
Mundari, Santali, Ho ur (Pinnow 1959 366; other forms cited rather: 1568 *c[n]kuər &c.).

1688 *kh[ee]r burnt [food].
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Biat kheər, Vietnamese khê.
Or *-i(ə)r; then perhaps connected Sre həər dried [meat]; but not Röglai khia burnt, : Cham khəʔ, Jarai kʰiaʔ.
1689 *chəʔ to tear.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang chier, Vietnamese xé.

‡1690 *dhu[ ]r; *dhuər loose, lax.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer thù: dhūr slack, loose, soft; by secondary derivation
~ Kuy nthor loose [rope], nthur (by arbitrary variant?) over-large, fitting loosely,
Khasi kynthur with loose-fitting clothes.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre thoar widely spaced, loosely attached (Dournes 1950).
Cf. 1549 *t₁huuy &c.
(?) Proto-Austronesian *kə(N)duy: Malay kēndur, &c., Cham catû, tatû:
(Dempwolff 1938 77, *kənduy; Proto-West-Indonesian).
(*dhuər see 1560 *d₂ʔuur kind of apid.)

1691 *[p]haar intensive.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon phār /phar/ very, Khasi phar entirely.
Or *bh-.
(*pha(o)r see 1561 *pʔər to dry.)

1692 *phu[ ]r; *phuər soft in texture.
A: (Khmer) Khmer phūr glossy, velvety, soft (Guesdon 1930); ~ papho: paphūr soft,
smooth… .
B: (Mon) Literary Mon phow [lāy] to be downy.

1693 *lhu[r]; *lhuə[r] to throw horizontally.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung hrur to throw along the surface of the ground (Milne 1931;
with perhaps regular assimilation).
B: (Mon) Middle Mon thor /lhow/, Modern Mon hlo to hurl [spear &c.].
Connection dubious Vietnamese lao javelin, to throw.
(*ʔil see 1780 *yil barking deer.)

1694 *ʔəl anxious, hesitant.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon by alliterative deformation [sba] s’aw to be anxious,
fearful, Khmer ʔəl perplexed, hesitating.
Cf. Khmer phʔaəl to panic, → Biat pʔəl timid.
(*ʔəl see also 1696 *iʔəl to see.)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1695 *ʔul[ ]; *ʔuəl2; *ʔəl[ ]; *hul[ ] nausea, to choke, vomit.
A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer ʔəl unwashed after sleep, (GUÉDON 1930, dik —) stale saliva in mouth on waking, Bahnar ul indigestion, nausea (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔual to gasp for breath, choke, gag, Kuy ʔul to have sth. stuck in throat, Stieng əul indigestion, Chrâu əl to choke, Bahnar əl indigestion, nausea (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese əl to have indigestion, to vomit; surfeit.
C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer chəl! flatulence, nausea; to overeat (contaminated by 951 *cʔ[ə]t clover), Kuy ʔəl dirt on teeth.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung hur. Riang-Lang ʔəl, Praok haw to vomit.
Connect 1766 *bu(u)l drunk.
Sora ʔul-an, compounding form ad ʔole-an saliva, Mundari hul, ula to vomit, &c. (PINNOW 1959 312).
Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[əə]l: Malay m-ul easy, to loathe, to vomit, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 341; Proto-Hesperonesian); & connected Cebuano Bisayan sum-ul cloying.

1696 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ʔəl > *ʔəl, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔəl to see.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer yəəl to see, to understand, Stieng iəəl (& iəl) to look at from a distance, Riang-Lang ʔəl to see, perceive, to find, Jehai ʔəl to see; → Cham əul; Thai yon; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese ngố, (~?) Sakai terniəl to show (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 155); ~ (*y/mp/əl >) Sre mpol to see in the distance.
(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 190, 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 135, (?) U 15.) (~) Santali pel to see, to look, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 495i); (?) Sora mel-‘mel- to examine, inspect.

1697 *[c]ʔiəl[ ]; *[c]hiəl2 to wilt, wither.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon ea s’ey to wither, become withered, dry up, Jölong ʔəl poor [harvest] (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang hiu to wither; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese hëo to wilt, dry up, wither.
Cf. Semang wål or ul withered, faded, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 131.

1698 *prʔiəl to be high, rancid.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat rʔiəu to become rancid, Kammu-Yuan poʔiəl (to) smell of fish.

1699 *rʔal; *rʔaəl; *rʔiəl; by metathesis *rlaʔ forehead.
A: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ila.
B: (Palaungic, Nicolobaric) Riang-Lang ʔala, Nancowry ila.
D: (Khmer) Khmer ralːa raľā forehead, skull.
C obscure.

1700 *rʔəlh; by metathesis *rlʔəh each, every.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon ruĩh, Modern Mon rūh, Khmer rǎəl.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre dəh.
Cf. for Mon -h 1758 *dpuulh &c.
Sora diː (< *rəlʔih, with further vowel metathesis).
Proto-Austroasiatic *rlʔəh or the like?

(*rʔuul, *rʔuəl see 1812 *[r]huəl to grill.)

1701 *[s]ʔɔɔl satiation.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon [baw] ’aw to be plentiful, Khmer sʔɔːl satiated, stuffed
(SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; GUESDON 1930 ’al).

1702 *kal; *kaal to break off, to be broken.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon kaw, Modern Mon ko to break in two, snap (v.i.), Khmer [kat] kal to break with someone, repudiate one’s child, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar kal to cut down, Kammu-Yuan kàl! to lop; ~ (*.nkəl >)
Lawa Bo Luang ηɡa to cut down.
B: (Nicobaric) Nancowry kàl to cut, Central Nicobarese kãːl-[həŋə] to trim down, halve, (~?) okãːl-[həŋə] to amputate (or 1707a?).
To cut down &c. by attraction 1707a *k(u)əl, which compare with Kammu-Yuan cf.
Vietnamese gãy to break, snap (v.i.).
(SMITH 1972 397.)
Sora al- to bend, crush, pluck, break.

1703 *kaal in front, before.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan káːl before, Praok ka first, before, until, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai ka in front, before.
Add Sakai kâl tomorrow (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178?

1704 *ka[i]l to speak.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon kinkāl /konkal/ to declare, tell, expound; ~ (*[k]rka[i]l >) Praok sika to speak.
Sora dialect kaj to say, to tell, &c. (PINNOW 1959 65). For Munda loss of *-l cf. 1782 *kyaal.
Proto-Austronesian *kəyi language, to speak: Atayal kai language, &c. (BLUST 1971 no.
1705 *kəl[ ]; *kəəl? to support, help.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer kəl to support from below (→ Sre kəl to help?), Kuy kəl, Biat kəl to put wedge under; ~ Khmer khəl rest, cushion.
B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Stieng kəl to prop up, Chrau kəl to pile together, lean [something] on, Bunór, Central Rölöm kəl to help, Biat kəl to help, save, Mường (Barker 1966 15), Vietnamese cû to save, Bru takəl put (support) under head; ~ Sre kərnəl support, kərnəl bou pillow, Chrau gənəl pillow, East Bahnar kənəl base of post (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Khasi syŋkhien to prop.
A variant *kuul? may underlie Vietnamese gəi pillow; to rest one’s head (& Sre kəl, above?); & *kuul[ ] West Bahnar kənəl base of post (Guilleminet 1959-63). Cf. then B106 *gur to help.
(Blood 1966 396.)

1706 *[ ]kuul knee.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Aslian) Kuy kəl (& by contraction of compound təkəl), Bahnar kuul [təŋ] (Guilleminet 1959-63); by sandhi Stieng kʊk [təŋ]; by contraction Sre kəl[təŋ]; & with vowel metathesis Kensiu, Lanoh Yir kəl[toŋ], Semelai kəl[tʊŋ].
For təŋ & c. see 543a *tə(a)ŋ. Perhaps *rk-, see Bru rakəl and by metathesis Temiar kərəl (with cognates in most Central Aslian languages) < variant *rkuəl?.
(Schmidt 1905 12; Skeat & Blagden 1906 K 40.)
Proto-Austronesian *daNkul: Javanese déŋkul, &c. (Dempswoff 1938 43, *d-; Proto-Malayo-Javanese); → Vietnamese gəi?

1707 *kuul nakəd.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre, Chrau kuh, Riang-Lang kəl[ˈkəl]; → Röglaig kəl, North Röglaig kuh.
Hence by metathesis A31 *sl[uu]ək?

1707a *kuəl; *kəl to cut down, fell.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kəəl, Kammu-Yuan kəl.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre kəl.
Chrau kəl, &c., are < 1702 *kəl by attraction Cf. 1702.

1708 *krkuəl descent group.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon kirkūl /kərkul/ family, clan, Modern Mon həkəo also race, nation, Khmer trakoəl family, race; → Thai trakəun.
Cf. Bahnar khuəl, Gölär Bahnar khul. Hardly connected Sanskrit/Pali kula-, which would give Old Mon /-kəl/; but perhaps connected 1759 *dpuəl &c. 1708a *ekəl turbid (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic). ~ (*[c]rkal > ) Sre səkəl polluted, Biat rkhəl ( !); contaminated by 1221 *khoəl thick…?) turbid, Bru takəl muddy; ~ Riang-Lang səkəkəl muddy.
Connect Acehnese cökə, Jarai cəkəl, North Röglai cakən (< *kəkəl).

1709 *[c]kuul (?); *[c]kəl; *[c]kiil; *[c]kiəl to call, to bark.
A: (North Aslian) Semang kul to call (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 8).
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kuəl (BLOOD 1966 khuəl), Chrau kual to call, Biat kwəl to call, to bark, Sre khual, Bahnar, Jeh kual (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by affective deformation?) Kammu-Yuan kwəl to bark.
C: (Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese gâu (!) barking.
D: (Mon) Mon kiəl to bark.
E: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese kêu (!) to call.
*[c]- in view of Stieng, Sre kh-; front vocalism then secondary; Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal.
(BLOOD 1966 87; SMITH 1972 400.)

1710 *[t]kiəl; *[t]kiəl cucumber.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang ke, Lawa Umphai ce cucurbitaceous plant, Palaung takɨər, Khasi soh-khia cucumber, Central Nicobarese kesal brinjal, Nancowry kial.
B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy (ŋ)kəl cucurbitaceous plant.
Mundari taher cucumber, &c. (!; ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1322-3).

1711 *dkial to weigh.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon ke; ~ Late Old Mon dinkel /dənkel/, Modern Mon hake tical, unit of weight; ~ (*dkial >) Lawa Bo Luang ke, Lawa Umphai jje to weigh, measure.
Connection uncertain Semang takəl təkol heavy, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 67; or Kharia ke'nel heavy, &c., PINNOW 1959 332.

1712 *[b]kəl[ ]; *[b]kəals to give, make over.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Mon kil /kəl/, Modern Mon ko to give, Proto-Nyah Kur *kul (DIFFLOTH 1984 V236; implies *-ul); ~ Old Khmer pragalba, Modern Khmer prəkəal to hand over.
B: (Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese gəi, gəi to send, despatch, to leave in someone's care. Literary Mon pakuiw to convey to, procure for, to give is probably a late causative formation rather than : Khmer. Connection dubious A156 *gəl to change, exchange.
(*rkuul see 1706 [*]kuul knee.)

1713 *gaal right, proper.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau gaəl right, correct, Bahnar gaəl right, proper, to agree (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 1721 *sgaal middle.
1714 *guul clearing.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon kù market garden, cultivated clearing, Biat goːl clearing.

1715 *guul; *gual mortar for pounding rice.
A: (Central Asian) Proto-Semai *guul (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Serau tergu (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 179B).
B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan kwùal!, Thin guːl.
Connection dubious 1715 *tpal; or Vietnamese cői.

(*ŋgal see 1720 *lngal plough.)

1716 *jgal to recognize.
A: (Khmer, Khuic, Bahnaric) Khmer skɔ̀əl to know, recognize, Kuy khàl to know, be acquainted with; ~ Chrau sngal to recognize, by metathesis (*ŋnal >) Sre δal to look at, observe, recognize, Biat nal to recognize; (probably ~) Bahnar gənal, kənal to recognize.
(BLOOD 1966 360.)

†1717 *[j]guul finger.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan cərkul finger, toe, Thin krgul finger; ~ Kammu-Yuan cəŋkul, Thin cəŋgu to point out; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung rəŋgor finger.
Sora i'gul(-), i'gud-, a(g)guːl[-siː-], aig'goːl- to beckon; Kharia [tui]'gɔl, Mundari [tui]gəl to point out; index finger… (PINNOW 1959 K 348).

1718 *t,guul; *t,gal top.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung gor, (→?) Riang-Lang [ˈtʰəl] _kol above; ~ Riang-Lang _təkol top, above, on.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar kəl (→ Jeh kəl, Halang kəl), Röngao gəl head, top (GUILLHENINET 1959-63), Hre gəw head.
(SHAFER 1965 563; SMITH 1972 389; see SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 46.)

‡1719 *d,gal; *d,gal[əə]l stump, trunk.
A: (Khmer, Khuic, North Bahnaric, Central Asian) Middle Mon taguiw, Modern Mon həkə stump, Khmer kəual stump, floating log, trunk of tree, Kuy khəl tree-trunk, (in compounds) plant (by attraction 1570 *[d]kar; or B?), Biat gəl log (quantifier); ~ Cham gal stump (& gəl stump, trunk, contaminated by Indonesian); ~ (*dəngal >) Kuy nəl stump, Chrau təŋal stump, stubble, Biat [yək] nəl, Bahnar dəŋal, Central Sakai dəŋal stump.
B: (Palaungic; or *-al, perhaps with Kuy khəl; ~ *dən[ə]l >) Riang-Lang _calŋal stump.
Proto-Austronesian *tun̄gul: Karo Batak tunggul-tunggul dead tree, Malay tunggul stump, &c., perhaps Tagalog tunggól decapitated (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 99; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian).

†1720 *ɪŋɡal, *ŋgal; by dissimilation *ɪnguur; *ɪŋɡu[ə]r plough.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon ṭaŋə, əŋə laiɔw &c. yoke, pair, Khmer ṇəŋkəא, (TANDART 1935) ṭəŋkəא (→ Biat ɲgal?), Kuy ɲkhà, Sre ɲal plough, Stieng ɲal ploughshare, Mường câl (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese cày (& câй) to plough; ~ Cham laŋal (& liŋan), Rōglai ɲal, Acehnese laŋay plough; Sanskrit lāṅgala-; & connected Malay tęnggala (→ Sakai —i.e. Temiar— tęggāla, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 147A).
B: (Mon) Old Mon ɲaŋur /ɬaŋgur/, Literary Mon ɲiŋu yoke, pair.
C: (Khasi) Khasi lyngkor, → Sanskrit lāṅgula.
A variant ɲgal might be constructed from Vietnamese cày, Khmer, Katuic, Biat ~ Sora gal- to yoke (≈ to plait). (Cf. KUIPER 1948 127; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1721 *sguul; *sgə[ ]l; *sgaal middle.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre gūl middle, half, mid[night]; ~ (*sguul > ) Biat ɲgʊl id.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ɡəl half, mid[night].
C: (Mon) Old Mon sgəl /ɡəl/ [ʈɨɛŋ] mid[night], Modern Mon ƙəa mid[day, night].
Perhaps contaminated by 1713 *gaal right…; cf. semantically Mon thə to be exact, in the centre… .

1722 *ɲil; *ɲil; *ɲəl; *ɲəl; *ɲuu; *ɲuəl to bend, sway.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ɲil to shake head in denial (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (→ ɲul) to sway in wind; ~ Bahnar ʔɲə.nil to shake head.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ɲil _ɲil to nod in assent, (→ ?) Bahnar ʔɲə-ɲəil shaking head.
C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar ɲel to shake head in denial (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese nghẹo to tilt [head] to one side; ~ Bahnar ʔɲəʔɲel to shake head.
D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar ɲul &c.] ɲəl to sway (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ɲəl-ɲəl shaking one’s head.
E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [ɲil] ɲul to sway in wind (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi ngun (or < E) with head bent down, Central Nicobarese ɲol-[ʃir] to bow head; ~ Khmer ɲǝŋul with head down.
F, G: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ɲul, ɲəl to incline head (in assent, from weariness), (→ ɲəl) to sway (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
†1723 *j[n]ŋal fire.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung ŋə, Riang-Lang ŋal, Praok ŋu, Lawa Bo Luang ŋa, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ŋa, Danaw ŋon.
Note also Nancowry câl to burn.
(SHAFTER 1965 144, 421.)
Sora 'aŋal-ən, Kharia səŋəl firewood, Santali səŋəl fire, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252; Proto-Munda *cəŋəl?).

1723a *[t₁]ŋuul; *[t₁]ŋul; *[t₁]ŋal stupid.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ngu foolish, stupid; ~ (*[t₁]ŋuul by metathesis >) Stieng bolōŋ foolish, stupid.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ŋoa, Lawa Umphai ŋau stupid, ~ Palaung kəŋur to be simple-minded, clumsy (MILNE 1931).
C: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Tolo Bahnar ŋəŋəl stupid (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ngây to look stupid; ~ (*[t₁]ŋul by metathesis >) Biat məŋal ignorant; by secondary derivation ~ Sre bəŋəl ignorant, stupid.
Cf. Bahnar ŋiːl immature, ignorant [child] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Cebuano Bisayan tunggul stupid.

1724 *rŋal; *rŋuul to wake (v.i.).
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [kah] rŋal to wake up in the night, Bunör rŋal, Central Rölöm ŋal to awaken.
B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon [yah] ləŋū early [in the morning], Proto-Nyah Kur *ŋur morning (DIFFLOTH 1984 N238) (rather *ŋuur with metathesis).
With Mon vocalism cf. *lnguur ~ 1720 *lngla.
(BLOOD 1966 372.)

‡1725 *cul; *cuəl; *ciil to light up, look for with a light.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre sol to light up, illuminate; ~ səmpol torch.
B: (Bahnaric) Chrau səl to look for with a light, Bahnar səl, Röngao cəl to light up, illuminate (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon) Mon ci to look for with a light.
C secondary.
Proto-Austronesian *t'uluq: Acehnese lhoh to look for with a light, Malay suloh torch, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 157, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62). Hence with secondary infix Cham (ha)nuh, Röglai hanuh torch, probably → Khmer conloh canluh, Stieng cəŋluh.

1726 *cul; *cuəl to hire.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng cul to hire, borrow.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer jval to engage, employ for compensation (!; contaminated by 1729 *j[u]l?), Modern Khmer cuəl, Kuy cuəl to hire.
1727 *jal near.
A: (Katuic, Khasi) Khasi *jan to be near; ~ Kuy *ɲchəl near.

1728 *jəl to charge, fight.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon [sic] *jəl to quarrel, fight, Modern Mon cə to fight, Old Khmer jəl, Modern Khmer cūəl, Kuy chəl to knock into, fight, Bahnar jil to butt, strike with horns, (~?) Pangan ‘yal angry (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 17); ~ Thai çon to bump against, butt, collide, fight with horns; ~ (*pjəl >) Late Middle Mon byuiw to cause to fight, Modern Mon pyə to stir up enmity, Khmer phcūəl to set [animals] fighting; ~ (*pjəl >) Mon həcə, Khmer pracuəl to set [animals] fighting; ~ (*pnjəl >) Literary Mon bayuiw to incite to quarrel or fight, Khmer bəncuəl to cause to fight, (~?) Pangan nyiyal to fight with, oppose (Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906). Literary Mon b- in bayuiw, & Khmer chest register in phcūəl, by levelling.

1729 *j[u]l!; *jial to buy.
A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung jur (A), Riang-Lang _yel (B).
B secondary. Cf. 1726 *cu(o)l to hire; 1822 *jaw? &c. to hand over.
Proto-Austronesian *Zu(S)[a]: Malay jual to sell, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *d’uəl, less Toba Batak; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; add perhaps Cebuano Bisayan dūhul to hand to; then *ZuSəl, Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 375, sell, buy. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 54.)
Cf. Lushei, Mikir, Meithei forms referred at BENEDICT 1972 51 & n. 170 to *ywar to sell ← ‘Austro-Thai’.

1730 *jul [ ] (& *jul[l] ?); *jualh basket, to make baskets.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer cūl to weave, braid…, (*jul[ ] >?) Riang-Lang _yol [cotton]-basket.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Palaung jur, Sakai chuēl basket (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 62A); ~ Vietnamese giỏ market-basket.

1731 *[s]jaal; *[s]jəl light in weight.
A: (Khmuc, Palaungic; ~?) Praok ye, Lawa yua easy; ~ Kammu-Yuan həmcəl light.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Hre hiw, Sedang hia, Palaung jur light; ~ Mường nhel (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese nhẹ.
Cf. 1801 *saal.
(SMITH 1972 393.)

1732 *bjualan pangolin.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat nual; ~ Sre bərnəal kind of saurian (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar bənual, Bru manyəl pangolin, by metathesis Khmer puəŋrːul pangolin; → Cham pɨnɔr, Jarai mɨnol, North Rōglai biñɨn pangolin.
Connect Kuy khyuər.
1733 *t₁iil; *t₁iə (or *t₁i?) to plant, sow.
   A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre santil, Chrau satil, Biat ntil seed, sow-grain.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon til /təl/, Modern Mon to to plant (a seed of), Nyah Kur təl to plant.
   *t₁- in view of Sora.
   Sora til- to bury.

1733a *t₁iil (& *t₁i?) tracks.
   A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau teil footprint, Biat teil tracks, Sre tiil, Röngao tel
      tracks, mark (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63; < variant?), Pangan til tracks (i.e. Bateg Deq;
      SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (b)).
   Cf. 1745a *diil &c.
   (BLOOD 1966 40.)

1734 *tal; taal linear measure, (?) cubit.
   A: (South Bahnaric) Sre tal cubit.
   B: (Mon) Old Mon tāl /təl/, Modern Mon ta 7 cubits; → Burmese tā.
   Old Mon has hat cubit (Modern Mon hɔt), ← Pali hattha-; is tāl the displaced native
   term?

1734a *t₁uəl six.
   A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung tɔr, Riang-Lang ɔtopl ~ (t₁uəl >) Central
      Nicobarese təfuəl, Nancowry təfuəl.

1734b *[t][uə]l cataract.
   A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy təl cataract, Bahnar təl blind.
   Or *.d-, perhaps connected 1745 *kdiil &c. to cover.

1735 *kt₃aal under-surface, under.
   A: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Thin tāl (space) under, underneath; ~ Old Mon kintāl
      /kəntal/, Modern Mon hata under-surface, bottom, (in compounds) palm, sole,
      Vietnamese duōt (to be) below, under.
   Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.
   Sora ətal-, Mundari talka palm, sole (probably not ←, but Mundari metathesis
   contaminated by, late Sanskrit tāla-, tālika-palm).

1736 *ktuəl lump, clod.
   A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy tuəl; ~ Bahnar kətuəl clod.
   Cf. Biat rcual clod, [blood] to clot; (~) ← unrecorded Chrau form?
1737 *bnt,iil sand.
   A: (Mon) Old Mon bintil /bantil/, Modern Mon hätæ.
   *t, in view of Munda.
   (~) Nahali bitil, Kurku bitil; connected Santali, Mundari, Ho gitil (so Proto-
   Austroasiatic *g~?).
   (?) Proto-Austronesian *paṭi:y: Malay pasir, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 115; Proto-
   Hesperonesian).

1738 *bt,ul; *bt,uul; *bt,ual swelling, mound, hill.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Khmer dul, Modern Khmer
tul to bulge, Stieng [buck] tul: antihill (or < B?), Biat tol tumour, Mendriq tol
mountain; & from sandhi-form in *bu(u)k bt,ul (cf. Stieng; 369) Biat [yɔːk] ktol
(termite) mound, Riang-Lang katol wasps nest; ~ (*bt,ul >) Chrau ntul antihill;
~ Sre bortul termite mound.
   B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar patol termite mound, antihill (& by metathesis <
compound East Bahnar bakol GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
   C: (Khmer, ?Central Aslian) Old Khmer dval, Modern Khmer tɔːl hill, mound, knoll,
perhaps by metathesis Semai lɔ tɔ mountan; ~ Cham dval.
   For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *duuk. Hill, mountain perhaps contaminated by 1741
*du, with which Khmer forms are compared at SCHMIDT 1905 66 (so SHORTO
1971).
   Note (i; Proto-Austronesian *b[əu]NTud1, >) Cebuano Bisayan bungtud, ka-
bungtûr-an hill, antihill; (ii) Javanese mběndul bulging, mběndol knobbed
(referred to (Proto-West-Indonesian) *bNdul threshold at DEMPWOLFF 1938 26).
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 100; cf. also H 101, F 230; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41.)

1739 *dal; *dəl to block, obstruct.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Old Mon dal /dɔl/ to bar the way,
   Middle Mon dar, daw, Modern Mon tɔ to close, block, Old Khmer dal, Modern
Khmer tɔal blocked [road], Stieng dal held up, obstructed; ~ Kuy nthɔ to dam (or
B); ~ Khmer pratɔal baffled, (~?) Khasi padan to obstruct, hinder.
   B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer tɔal to hold back, (tɔːp- —) bar the way; ~
North Röglai dan deaf, Acehnese dɔ to block; ~ Khasi sden to dam; ~ Biat
rdɔl to stop up, block, (kaŋ —) bar the way.
   Cf. 1745 *kdiil &c. to cover.

1740 *dal; *dal as far as; to reach.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon duiw, Modern Mon tɔ as far as, Khmer
 tɔal (to reach) as far as, till, Biat dɔl as soon as; ~ (*[k]dɔl >) Khmer dɔl to
arrive, reach; as far as (~ Cham tal).
   B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer dɔl, Modern Khmer tɔal to go right through; as
far as, till, Bahnar dal till (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)
1741 *dul (& *duol?) \textit{hill}.
A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon \textit{dal} /døl/, Modern Mon \textit{tà}, (or 1626 *[d][o]r, which compare, >) Mae Sariang \textit{tu}, Mường \textit{tòi} (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese \textit{dài}; \textasciitilde{} Khasi \textit{kynton} mound, ridge, heap, pile; to accumulate (?), see below; or variant?; by attraction 1738 *bt\text{u(a)}l, which compare).
Uncertain. Khasi may rather be connected to Praok \textit{ton} mound, hillock (< *dun?).
SCHMIDT 1905 66 compares Mon with Khmer forms under the entry *bt\text{u(a)}l.

1742 *dul?; *duul[ ]; *dual[ ] to carry on head.
A: (Viet-Mường) Mường \textit{tòi} (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese \textit{doi} to wear or carry on head.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer \textit{tûl}, Kuy \textit{thûl}, Central Nicobarese [ɔl]-\textit{tal} to carry on head.
C: (South Bahnaric) Biat \textit{dual} to carry on head. Note also Kuy & Bru \textit{døl carry on shoulder} (< *d\text{-}?).
Cf. 1781 *\text{y}\text{u}al &c.

1743 *dul; *dul; *døl middle, belly.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer \textit{tûl} belly flesh \textit{[of certain fish]}, Lawa Bo Luang \textit{tu} intestines, (or c?) Praok \textit{tu} belly; \textasciitilde{} Stieng \textit{kandul}, Sre (k\text{a})ndul, Chrau \textit{kandul}, Biat \textit{ndul} belly.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon \textit{dor} /dow/, Modern Mon tò middle; \textasciitilde{} Stieng \textit{kandul} middle; \textasciitilde{} Central Sakai \textit{pêdâl} centre.
C: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Biat \textit{di\text{[i]}} \textit{døl} (in the) middle; \textasciitilde{} Khmer \textit{kandul} middle (?), with secondary lengthening; if so, \textasciitilde{} Chrau \textit{kandul}.
(SHAFFER 1965 574; BLOOD 1966 159; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41 (a.).)

1744 *duul; *duel; *d[ə]l to prop, support.
A: (Bahnaric) \textasciitilde{} (*c[du]l >) Bahnar \textit{tøl} to prop up (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63); \textasciitilde{} Sre \textit{søndul} short post supporting floor, prop.
B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) \textasciitilde{} Central Nicobarese \textit{hødøl-[hølo]} to support; \textasciitilde{} (*\text{d}rnuul >) Bahnar \textit{danøl} prop (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Mon, Khu, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer \textit{tøl} to prop (up), lean, Kuy \textit{thål} to support, hold up, prop, Bru \textit{tål} support (with stick), Biat \textit{døl} to prop up, Stieng \textit{døl} to prop (up), lean; \textasciitilde{} Bahnar \textit{tøl} to prop up (GUILLLEMINET 1959-63); \textasciitilde{} Khmer \textit{cantøl} prop, pile, Kuy \textit{nthål} prop for shaft of cart, Biat \textit{ndøl} pile, to prop; \textasciitilde{} Old Mon \textit{døl} /dnøl/, Modern Mon \textit{ni} pillow; \textasciitilde{} Stieng \textit{dramøl} prop.
Vocalism at \textit{c} post-dental? For Bahnar -\textit{cl} see 335a *duuk. Separate Bahnar \textit{døl} to prop up; Sre, Nicobaric exclude *d\text{-}.
(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)
†1745 *kdiil; *kdiəl; *kdiəl to cover.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau kandeil to put over, cover; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau tadeil to put over, cover, Biat rdeil to stop up, block.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *kndiəl >) West Bahnar kaneil stopper, wad for gun (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon kətə to cover up, cover over, close, Vietnamese dəy to cover, ~ (*kdəl >) Middle Mon kaduiw coverlet, Kuy thəl lid, cover, Bahnar kədal pot-cover of leaves (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy nthəl to close, cover; ~ Chrau gadəl to stop one’s ears, Bahnar kədəl blocked up, solid; → Cham kadəl to cover, stop up.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. To stop up, block by attraction 1739 *dal &c., which compare.

Sora da(-)l- to cover, put lid on, ~ da’nəla(l) cover.

†1745a *diil; *diəl; *dail tracks.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar deil.

B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *diəl (DIFFLOTH 1977).

C: (Khasi) Khasi diən.

C secondary. Cf. 1733a *t,iil.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (a.).) (?) ~ Sora ‘onid-’, ‘onil-’ (& ‘sannil-’) to follow tracks of.

1746 *da[ə]l to press down on.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon da to press down on, crush, squeeze, Bahnar daəl to crush by pressure, force stopper in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*duul see 86 *diʔ one.)

‡1747 *kdiəl; *kdailel low, shallow, short.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Riang-Lang ~del to be low, shallow, humble, Bru ntial (!) shallow; ~ Semnam koldəel short.

B: (Mon) Mon da to be shallow; → Röglai dal ford; ~ (*kbdailel >) Mon ḡada khḍā to make shallow.

1748 *kduul; *kduəl; *kduəl; *kduəl heel.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) → Jarai k'duul; ~ Sre kəndol (!),
Bahnar kənəul, Riang-Lang kəndol; by secondary derivation ~ Pangan dullul
(i.e. Mendriq &c.; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 69).
B: (?South Bahnaric) (or A, ?) Stieng kənəul; → Cham kədol, North Rōglai kədvən
[takai], Acehnese gənuə.
C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) ~ Stieng kəndul (BLOOD
1966), Sakai kənəl (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 70), Besisi kəntəl
(i.e. Mah Meri; ib. H 69) (or p?), Central Nicobarese kəntəl-[laə].
D: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Mon) ~ Kuy nthuəl, Bru kəndəl, Pakoh kəndool; ~ Chrau
ɡənəl, Biat nədəl [jəŋ], Jeh kənəl (~ Bahnar kənəl?), Halang kənəl; ~ Nyah
Kur ndəyl.
Connect obscure Thin -pəltyəl.
(SHAFER 1965 417; BLOOD 1966 399; SMITH 1972 392.)

1749 *krnuəl[|] groin.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau ɡənəl, Biat ɳəl (→ Sre nəl?), Bahnar kənəl.
Connect by metathesis Khmer kroliaŋ groin, Kuy k(o)liŋ & Bru panəl lymph glands in
groin?
(*gnal see 1716 *jgal to recognize.)

1750 *dnaal (& *dnal?) coconut-shell as measure of capacity.
A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon dnal /dnal/ measure of rice, Modern Mon
nəl (coconut-)shell, Khmer niəl coconut-shell measure, weight of rice (600 grams) so
measured, (→?) Stieng ɳəl pound weight, (? variant >) Biat nal [jək] weight.
With Khmer initial cf. 1354 *[d]/n/im.

1751 *rni[i]| roller.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon nə roller for moving boats &c., Khmer rənəl roller for moving
loads.

1752 *paal; *puul pale, indistinct.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon [pərʔ] pa to fail, be ineffective (?), Stieng [smu pu:r] pa:l [to
see] imperfectly, to glimpse, Sre pa:l pale, faded (→ Rōglai), Biat pa:l pale, Bahnar
pa:l pale, livid (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ late Middle Mon sapə to have defective
sight, Modern Mon hapa to see imperfectly, to be dimly lit.
B: (Palaungic) Praok pa:l pale.
B secondary.
(SHAFER 1965 95.)
Sora polu-, palu-, Gutob pər white.
1752a *pul bag-like organ.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng pul stomach, intestines, Biat pol gizzard, Bahnar pul womb.

1753 *pul; *puul; *puəl to divine, take an augury.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre pol to take an augury.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer boil to take an augury, Kuy poil to prophesy in trance; ~ Khmer phnoil omen.
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau pol to divine; → Röglai pulual.

1754 *p[ ]ul; *p[ ]uəl; *p[ ]al to twine round.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar pul [pal] (GUIMLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre pulal to lean on, grow round (→ Röglai pulual to lean on), Biat pul to hang from. Note Nancowry fualŋa to embrace (?)
C: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Bahnar pal to twine round (GUIMLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (?, *[k]pal >) Mon kwo to bind [chick, floor bamboo] together.
Or *pw-, causative ~ 1794 *wil &c. to turn? Cf. 1635 *p[ ]uur? &c. to bind round, wrap.

1755 *pul; *pal to borrow.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer bol to borrow at 100 percent interest; ~ Khmer bɔmnol, Sre by dissimilation kənol debt.
B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre pol to borrow [rice]; ~ (*[k]pal >) Kuy bəl to borrow [item of food].
Cf. Vietnamese nə debt, to owe.

1756 *[c]puəls; *[c]pə[ ][ ] pumpkin.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Stieng phuəl kind of gourd or melon (& puəl kind of greenish cucumber), Bahnar puəl, Vietnamese bʊi pumpkin; ~ (*[c]puəls >) Chrau lapuəl long squash, Sre rəpuəl, Biat rpuəl, Bahnar həpuəl pumpkin.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar həpuəl pumpkin (GUIMLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. 1637 *[c]piir.
(SHAFER 1965 100.)

1757 *tpal (& *tpaal?) mortar for pounding rice.
A: (Khmer, Kautic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tbal, Stieng paəl (< variant?),
Palaung por, Riang-Lang ~pal, Praok po; ~ (*tpal >) Sre, Biat məpəl, Bahnar tapal (GUIMLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang po, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mbo; ~ (*trpal >) Kuy (t)pal, Chrau ləpəl.
For variant note also Khmer tbaəl (TANDART 1935). Connection dubious 1715 *guul &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 309; SMITH 1972 398.)
1758 *d₃puulh; *d₃puəlh; *d₃pəlh seven.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?South Asian) Kuy (th)phò:i, Palaung pur, Riang-Lang ṭuul; ~ Riang-Lang *tapul, (~?) Ulu Indau tempo (i.e. Temoq; SKIE & BLAGDEN 1906 S 122; or B?).
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre poḥ, Stieng, Chrau poḥ.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat poḥ, Mường LECTION (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese buy, bày; ~ Old Mon dumpoḥ /dampoḥ/, Modern Mon həpəh, Bahnar təpəh, Jeh təpəh, Halang təpəḥ.
Central Micobarese tafuəl six is < 1734a *t/p/əul.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 21; BLOOD 1966 262; SMITH 1972 338.)

1759 *dpuul; *dpuəl (descent) group.
A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar boal group; ~ Sre mpoḥ family, Biat mopəl group, tribe, bal mopəl family, Bahnar tapoł herd, troop.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar buəl = boal; ~ Röglai puəl; ~ Jölong tapuəl
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Röngeo tabuəl) = tapoł; ~ Cham tapor herd, group, Jarai tapuəl, North Röglai tapuən group.
Conceivably *k/mp/uəl &c. ~ 1708 *kruəl descent group, contaminated by 1763 *thəl &c. clump, bunch. Connect Khmer ʔombo: ˈampuə family.
(BLOOD 1966 16.)

1760 *p[r]pail skate, ray.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [ka?] həpa skate, Khmer bəbael, prəbael skate, shark.
Or *p(r)p-.
(~) Proto-Austronesian *payi(S): Malay pari, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111).

1761 *b[e]l (& *beel?) to spread a mat.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Asian) Riang-Lang ṭeł to spread (mats in), strew (with tone by levelling on derivation?); ~ (*bp[e]l >) Mon hape bapew rush matting (with -p- unlevelled in absence of simplex), Palaung per, Semang pil (i.e. Sabum; SKJE & BLAGDEN 1906 M 63 (a)), by assimilation or metathesis Sre biəl, Chrau veəl mat; ~ (*[b]nb[e]l >) Biat mbeəl, Praok bi mat; ~ (*tənb[e]l >?) Riang-Lang ŋəmpəl mat.
(BLOOD 1966 32.)
Sora beəl-, Santali be to spread mat, &c. (PINNOW 1959 221; Proto-Munda *bel).
(Proto-Austronesian *b/an/əi >) Proto-Philippine (ZORC & CHARLES) *baniG:
Tagalog banig mat, &c.

1762 *cbaal; *cbaal companion, friend.
A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Biat bal companion, Jeh bal group (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~, or ~ *cpbaal >?) Bahnar bal in a swarm, (diə) each other; ~ (?,*cnbaal >) Lawa Bo Luang həμəu, Mae Sariang həmeu friend.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hwəa close male friend, Praok [paw] pe friend.
1763 *ɓal; *ɓul; *ɓuul clump, bunch.
A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Khmer thpal clump (of trees), bunch; ~ (*tnb- >) Mon kamp tamuíw &c. clump, bunch (or B), Old Khmer tampal grouping, cluster, settled area; → Thai tambon locality, district, group of houses, → Khmer tambon locality.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar tabul forming a small group or clump; to roll up in a bunch; ~ (*tnbul >) hamul bundle of notes.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy pojl bush, grove, clump, Bru pûl bush; ~ Bahnar hənəl sheaf, bundle, armful.
B, C secondary? For Bahnar -əl see 335a *duuk. Connect Nancowry mól to be together, (tam)ul to be in a group (~ *mu(u)l?).
POU & JENNER 1975 no. 10 compares Proto-Austronesian *tabal thick, for which see 1768 *[t]ɓəl.

1764 *ɓiaw? askew.
A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Mon bea to be out of alignment, out of true, out of the square, Nyah Kur ɓiaw bent out of shape, Vietnamese mó to be out of shape, Bru ɓiaw distorted; ~ Bru kubiaw to pull out of shape, Pakoh tarbèaw, kubèaw, bibèaw. ↔ Thai ɓiaw.

'1765 *ɓul; *ɓuul drunk.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer pûl vegetable poison, Jeh bôl, Halang bul drunk; ~ Sre bàŋul, Chrau vənul, Biaŋ nul drunk, Bahnar bənul poisonous (mushroom).
B: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Literary Mon bû, Kuy bul to be drunk, Proto-Semai *byrl drunk (DIFFLOTH 1977), Besisi bul sick, vomiting (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 23); ~ Old Mon balbul /bəlbul/, Modern Mon habu to be drunk; ~ Kammu-Yuan kampûl poison, poisonous, to be poisoned by. Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer probably *biʔul in view of infixed n, Kuy b-; connected then 1695 *ʔul[ ] &c. ...to vomit.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26; BLOOD 1966 161; SMITH 1972 390.)
Kharia bul drunk, &c. (PINNOW 1959 105).

1766 *ɓul; *ɓuul; *ɓual green pigeon.
A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang tənbəl.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer pəpûl green pigeon, Treron nipalensis vernax; ~ Pakoh kambəl green pigeon.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Mon [hacem] pha bo emerald dove, Chalcophaps indica indica (by secondary expansion, cf. Khmer); → Cham bəyrl green pigeon; ~ (*[t,]nɓuul >) Biat by hypercorrection mʔual, Bahnar [sem] komuul pigeons (generic) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. BENEDICT 1975 273, dove.
1767 *bul?; *bual[ ] kind of lizard.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng bul grey lizard, Biat bul lizard, Vietnamese mōi house lizard.
B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh bul lizard, Halang bul snake.
(SMITH 1972 401.)

1768 *[t]bəl; *[t]bul thick.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng bəl, Chrau vəl; ∼ (*[t]mbəl >) Stieng nəbəl, Biat mbəl, Kammu-Yuan hampuəl; ∼ (*[t]rəbəl >) Bahnar haəbəl, Khasi rben.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang pu, Lawa Umphai phu.
B secondary.

1769 *dəbəl; *[d]bail cheek.
A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer thpəbəl, Nyah Kur tabál.
B: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)peəl (!) buttocks, Vietnamese má (?) cheek, South Nicobarese tapəsə cheek, Nancowry tapuá (suggest *-or?).

1770 *m[ə]l salt.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon buiw, Modern Mon bə, (∼?) Old Khmer aṁpyal, Modern Khmer ṭəmbərəl.
(SCHMIDT 1905 36; SHAFER 1965 41, 440.)
Kharia biˈluŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 277c).

1771 *m[ə]l tamarind.
A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer aṁvil, Modern Khmer ṭəmpuəl tamarind tree, Kuy mphəl, Biat [plai] məl tamarind, Sre məl tamarind tree; → Cham amil, Rōglai məl tamarind tree, Acehnese me wood, pods, of tamarind; ∼ Lawa Bo Luang same, Lawa Umphai sami tamarind.
B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [cəy] me tamarind [tree]; → North Rōglai mē tamarind tree.
Hardly all ← Pali ambila- sour!

1772 *m[ ]il; *m[ ]iəl; *m[ ]iul; *m[ ]uəl; *m[ ]əl round.
A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan mēl-mēl rolling.
B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy məl to roll (v.t.); ∼ Khmer rəmial toround (down) (v.i.t.).
c: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mûl, Stieng mu̱l round; ~ Khmer râmûl roll ( & lmûl (to) roll by assimilation).

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer mûal to twist, Stieng mu̱al to twist; spiral, ellipse; ~ Stieng krâmûal to twist, form into spiral &c., (~?) Chrau tamhûal to roll up.

E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ?ḅau, Lawa Umphai ?m̄au round.

Or *mw-, ~ 1794 *wil &c. to turn? Cf. 1653 *m[ ]uur &c. to roll up, with mutual contamination

(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

1773 *məl; *maal; *mil; *miil to watch (for).

A: (Katuic, Khasi, ?Mon) Pakoh mal to wait for, expect; ~ Khasi kyrmen to hope; (or variant) ~ Old Mon cirmil to wait for, Modern Mon kəmə to await, hope (for), expect.

B: (Khmer) Old Khmer mel, Modern Khmer mə́l to look (at), see, to wait (for).

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer rámul to steal a glance.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Praok simi to look.

Connect Khasi pyrmən [to observe] from a distance. C, D secondary, contaminated by 129 *mii? to look at? For Sora mel’-mel- to examine, inspect see 1696 *iʔə.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

1774 *kmuul silver.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kâmûl money, Prao ma̱, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang mau, Lawa Umphai mau silver, money; → Shan máa.

1775 *[j]m[o]l mountain.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) (~ *jm[ə]l >?) Lawa Bo Luang ma̱, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mo, (~, or by assimilation?) Jehai jəlməl, Temiar jəlməl.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 87 (a.).)

1776 *jm[oo]l male.


(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 20.)

1777 *jmul; *jmuːl (& *jmul?) to dibble.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung mor (!); ~ Stieng jarmu:; Bunôr rəmu:; Bahnar jamul.


Cf. following.

(BLOOD 1966 237.)
Sora jam’mol-ən, jammɔol-ən seed (= jəb-əl, ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1304-5, 1307; Proto-Munda *[cs]i(N)-moXl).

1778 *tɔmaal to sow.
Cf. preceding & Khmer thnaːl seed-bed.
(SHAFER 1965 425.)

†1779 *smuul; *smuəl; *smaal (& *smal?) shadow, soul.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Kuy sməl, mhoəl shadow; ~ Mon [pəŋ] hamao samʊ &c. butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly, Khmer sramaol shadow, image in mirror, (— khmaoc) ghost.
B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *snuuəl by metathesis > *mnsuəl >) Bahnar pəŋɔːl soul.
C: (Khmuic; *smal >?) Thin hməl shadow; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kəm] hərməːl image, shadow of animate or mobile entity.
Khmuiic vocalism obscure.
(SMITH 1972 571.)
Sora um’mul-ən shadow, reflection, image, Santali umul shadow, &c. (PINNOW 1959 121).

1780 *[y]il barking deer.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre il, Chrau jул, Biat jil, Jeh jèl barking deer, Halang jil small kind of deer, Bahnar jil kind of deer.
Or *ʔil? Literary Mon [drəŋ] e antelope, if not ← Pali elaka- wild goat, may with Khmer zæl doe, fawn reflect *ʔel. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kaNk’il mouse deer, DEMPWOLFF 1938 73 (Proto-Malayo-Javanese).
(BLOOD 1966 138; SMITH 1972 388.)

(*ʔəl see 1696 *ʔəl to see.)

‡1780a *yo[o]l to oscillate.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer yɔːl to oscillate, ripple, to swing (v.t.), Bahnar juːl [jaːl &c.] [large object] swinging (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan yʊːl [raŋyʊːl] shaking continuously; ~ Kuy (k)yəːl to swing (v.t.), Kammu-Yuan kyʊːl shaking once.
1781 *[y]uəl; *yəl to carry on head, raise high.
   A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat juəl to carry on head, Bahnar jəəl to raise higher than oneself, hold out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru yəəl to lift something up with both hands.
   B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon yəəl /yəəl/ to place on one's head, Modern Mon yəəl to support or carry on head, to lift, Bahnar yəəl to wear on head.
   Cf. Nancowry ?usúl to carry on head; 1742 *dul &c. to carry on head.

†1782 *kyəal air, wind.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon kyəəl /kyəəl/, Modern Mon ca air, wind, Khmer khyəəl (!) wind, air, breath, Kuy (k)yaəl air, wind, Sre caəl, Chrau chaəl, Biat chaəl, Bahnar kiaəl, Jeh kayaəl wind (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
   With Khmer vocalism cf. 1381 *yaam. Connect Vietnamese gió?
   (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 410; BLOOD 1966 286.)
   Kharia kəəjo wind, &c. (PINNOW 1959 202).

   (*kyəaəl, *t, yəaəl see 1658 *[k]yəa[r] to come loose, come undone.)

1783 *syuəl; *syuəl to fly through the air.
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung hyur to fly (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer səmyəəl floating [hair] (TANDART 1935).
   B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Literary Mon [səən] sow to fly through the air, to throw [e.g. spear]; ~ (*sryuəl >) [tasow] tayow to glide, dart (with t- by phrasal deformation); ~ (*snyuəl >) Sre səənal casting-net, Bahnar hanual net.
   Add following as derivative?

1784 *[s]ryuəl; *[s]ryuəl gibbon.
   A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həəyoəl, Nyah Kur yuyəəl/?uyəəl/yəəl; so connected Mon wət sə?
   B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ?ayua, Lawa Umphai rayua.
   Flier through the trees, ~ preceding?

1785 *riəl blunt.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rəəl, Biat ruəl.

1786 *riəl to cut up, dismember.
   A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon rəə rey to cut up, Khasi ria small, broken; ~ Khasi pharia to split into small pieces.

   (*r]riəl see 1792 *[b]riəl pebble.)
1787 *raal old, aged.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok re [ju], Vietnamese già (for **rà); ~ Mường khà (Barker 1966 20).
Rather than Praok ~ 164 *kra[ ]?, which compare.

†1788 *kriəl? crane (bird).
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon krea, Khmer kriəl Sarus crane, 
Stieng kriəl, Biat [klaŋ] kreu, Vietnamese sêu crane.
Connect obscure Khasi sarew.
Sora ar’red-ən parakeet, Mundari kereəd rose-ringed parakeet, Santali kereəd [fowls] to scream (Pinnow 1959 K 10).
So originally onomatopoeic.

1789 *[c]riil gold.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu’ sriil; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung khrir, Lawa Bo Luang kherea, Lawa Umphai khrai, Mae Sariang khyai, Praok krhi (& khray treasure; ← Lawa?).

1790 *təreel thin.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon kroe trī &c. to be (flat and) thin, to be sparse, Proto-Nyah Kur *trīw slim, thin (Diffloth 84 V207; suggests *-iiw!), Palaung hrer (Milne 1931), Lawa Umphai hre, by metathesis hlai, Riang-Lang lər thin; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Mae Sariang khyei; (ii, with metathesis) Khasi jlir thin.

†1791 *pril; *priəl; by metathesis *pliir; *pliər hail.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer pruəl (!; & pruəl; contaminated by 180 *brii? ...rain?), Praok pre.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Jeh pril, Halang priəl ice, hail, Bahnar prel, 
Palaung preor, Lawa Bo Luang phre, Lawa Umphai pre, Mae Sariang phye hail, 
Khasi phria hail-stone.
C: (Mon) Mon pləe.
D: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bunör plər, Central Rölöm pləar, Bahnar dialects p(o)ler 
(Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan pliar (& by further metathesis *lpiər > Sre [miw] piar); → Jarai plər, Röglai [hajam] paliar.
Connect Kuy treil.
(Schmidt 1905 54; Blood 1966 100; Smith 1972 394.)
Sora a’rel-an, a’rel-an (& by metathesis *aler- > ader-[gum-an]), Kharia ’arel, &c. 
(Pinnow 1959 225).
1792 *brial pebble.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar brel pebble, Khasi [maw]-ria gravel, [tha]-ria shingly bed of shallow stream (compounding form?; ≈ ria small, broken < 1786 *riəl).
Or *[ ]riəl, ~ *mrial > Bahnar?

1793 *luul tadpole.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang lul, Khasi lun.
Cf. 1203 *[k]lun. Connect 1664 *lœor to glide, creep, (wriggle)?

†1794 *wil; *wiil; *wiəl(?); *wəl; *wal; *wail to turn.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer vül to turn (round), Sre wil circle, Bunör wil, Central Rölöm wul round, Praok ve coil; → Cham wil round, Röglai wil, North Röglai win circle; ~ Khmer krawel ring, Bahnar kawil large and bent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau wel to beat [game], Biat [dæk wæc] wel eddy, Bahnar wiil round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung vir to return; ~ Central Nicobarese kawila round, circular, Nancowry kil (?); ~ Old Mon tirwil /tarwil/ to attend on, Modern Mon kawi [kawŋ] to be attended by.
C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muông, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer viəl to dig or cut round, to enlarge [hole], Bahnar wel to spin, Riang-Lang _viəl to turn round, Vietnamese ə to be twisted, crooked, distorted, Kensiu welwel to turn, Temiar wel to turn; (BENJAMIN 1976b 134) again, Central Nicobarese wiəl- to turn; → Thai wian to revolve, gyrate, encircle; ~ Bahnar kuel bend in road, enclosure, Vietnamese quéo to be curved, bent, crooked, queo to be tortuously curved; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kɑrwiːc]-kwuəal winding, meandering; ~ Khmer chvial to dig round, to fly in circles, Kuy ə to stand around in a circle, Sabum ciwel to turn; ~ (*[ ]mwiəl > ) Riang-Lang _miel, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai me again.
D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Muông, Nicobaric) (probably Old Mon wel /wel/ also) Khmer vüal to turn (round), Sre wal to turn; re-, afresh, (probably) Central Nicobarese wəl- (~-to) again, (ha- ~ -hata) to repeat; (or E) → Cham val to turn, North Röglai [vin] wan circle; ~ Vietnamese quədy to surround, encircle (or ad 1669 *war, which compare?); ~ Old Mon tirwil /tarwel/ limit, term, Middle Mon trawuir also boundary, Modern Mon kəwə limit, boundary, area or period within limits, Khmer travəl extent; ~ Praok mu boundary.
E: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Sre wal [boŋ] (lunar, solar) halo, Röngao val to return (v.i.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung vər (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang _val to stir round and round, (?) Khasi wan to come; ~ Semai il riyawəl to turn.
F: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Sre kuel to bend, twist (?), Bahnar kuaəl to coil [rope], turn [handle]; ~ Khmer krəvaəl to go and return, to explore, run back and forth, circle round; ~ Nancowry caəl to turn (or E. ?); ~ Biat rəuaəl circle, hoop.
Add perhaps 1796 *wiil confused...; & as derivatives (*p-wul &c. causative =) 1754 *p[ ]ul &c. to twine round; (*m-wil &c. =) 1772 *m[ ]il &c. round (SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 414; BLOOD 1966 149; SHORTO 1973 379-80; with further derivatives; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 251.) (i) perhaps Sora td-, ed- to circle, wind (or: 1090 *wi(i)t); (ii) ~ Santali gerwel ring-shaped marking (PINNOW 1959 K 521).

1795 *wiil left-hand.
A: (Central & South Aslian) Semai ll wiil; ~ Semelai sawil.
Connection uncertain Kensiu ʔayil, Temiar yel.
Cf. 233 *wi[il].
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (b.).)

1796 *wiil (& *wil?) confused, to forget.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau wiil mixed up, confused, Bahnar wiil to confuse, to be puzzled, at a loss (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy swiil, fiil dizzy (ad variant?), Biat cueil to forget; ~ Riang-Lang _tarvil, _tarwil to forget (to), to faint.
= 1794 *wiil to turn? Cf. also 1798 *wæl to deceive.

1797 *waal grazing, open ground.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon wèa open ground, pasture, Khmer viːal plain, Kuy wiːal to herd; ~ Old Khmer gval, Modern Khmer khviːal to herd, Bru kuwiːal, Stieng guai to graze, to herd; ~ Mon hamèa, Khmer kùŋvitai herdsman.
Cf. Sre kuil open ground, clearing.
(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1798 *wæl to deceive.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon wà to deceive, cause false perception or impression, Praok [khun] və to be guileful, Vietnamese vò to pretend to.
Cf. 1796 *wiil confused... .

1799 *sil to peel.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy sel to peel, to slice thin, Bru siːl to peel with knife (< *-iil?), Stieng seil to peel, Biat chul to peel, chil to clean with knife (→ Sre chil to peel?), Kammu-Yuan [háːil] hil to peel with knife, remove bark; → Röglai sil to peel.

1800 *siil; *sial ashamed.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [fə]siːl to be ashamed, put to shame.
B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *seel shy, ashamed (DIFFLOTH 1977).
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 158A.)
1801 *saal light in weight.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon saā; ~ (*snaal >) Khmer sral; ~ (*srsaal by metathesis >) Kuy haːl; ~ (*srsaal by metathesis >) Khmer sraːl.

Cf. 1731 *[s]jaal &c.

(*saal see also 191 *laʔ to spread, extend; *suul see 1675 *siir to incise, write.)

1802 *ksaal split bamboo fibre.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon kṣā, Modern Mon cha, Riang-Lang khal [ro? &c.]; ~ (*ksaaal >) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai hma.

1803 *ksul; *ksuul hair, fleece.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon [twor] kṣuiw dressed [cotton], Modern Mon cho to be fleecy.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan khúːl body hair.

Connect Central Nicobarese pu(l)yoːl body hair, Nancowry puyól (< *bu(l)sul?; perhaps contaminated by Malay bulu).

1803a *hiil, (*hiil hiil >) *lhiil; *lh(i)əl bare, smooth, worn.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer hël blunt, Chrau hiel cleared, bare, empty, Biat hiil cut short, — book bald, Bahnar ʔieːl (!) smooth; (*lh-) Khmer rahəl even, smooth [road], Khasi lin-lin very [smooth]; ~ Khasi plin smoothly.

B: (Khasi) Khasi len smooth, len-len smooth and bare.

With Bahnar initial cf. ʔieːp < 1294 *[h]iːp. Note further Khmer lhaːl, rahəl flat and open, spacious, Khasi [khuid] lan-lan bare, bald, plan-plan barren, empty space; Vietnamese -lite very smooth; & cf. 1668 *[s]liar smooth, slippery.

1804 *hul to abuse, threaten.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre hol to threaten (Dournes 1950), Jeh hɔl to abuse (Gradin & Gradin 1979).

For Bahnar dialects huːl to be angry (Guilleminet 1959-63) see 1808 *[t]huul. Cf. A162 *wal annoyingly persistent.

(*hul[ ] see 1695 *ʔul[ ] ...to vomit.)

1805 *kheːl] shield.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer khael, Stieng [niːm] gheːl, Biat, Bahnar kheːl; → Cham kheːl, Jarai khıːl; Thai kʰēn, (?) ultimately → Vietnamese kʰiêṃ.
1806 *khal (& *khaal?) cup, bowl.
A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon khal /khɔl/, Modern Mon kho small cup for food-offerings, Kuy khal bowl used as dipper, (variant >?) Stieng khal small copper drinking-cup; → Burmese kho small basket for offerings; Thai kʰǎn bowl.
BENEDICT 1972 63 no. 266 compares Burmese with Lushei khou kind of basket.

1807 *khuul vapour.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Sre kənhul; ~ (*kmhuul >) Mon ḡamao khamū &c. vapour, gas (merging odour < 1563 *s/mʔuur); ~ Bru tahɔl steam, vapour (< *-ual?).
Connect perhaps (i) 1811 *[ ]mh(ul) cloud; (ii) Vietnamese hɔi steam, breath, vapour, gas, air.

(*[c]hiəl? see 1697 *[c]iəl[ ] to wilt, wither.)

1808 *[t]hiil; *[t]hiəl angry.
A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar hiːl (& Bahnar dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, huːl; contaminated by 1804 *hul to abuse…?).
B: (Mon; or *dh-) Mon thea to be angry, annoyed.

1809 *thu[s]; *thuul[ ] to blow.
A: (Viet-Mɔûŋ) Vietnamese thɔi.
B: (Central Aslian) Temiar təhoːl.

1810 *bhaal (kind of) jack-fruit.
A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon pha mountain jack, Artocarpus chaplasha Roxburgh, Khasi [soh]-phan, Central Nicobarese pəyaːl jack-fruit.

1811 *[ ]mhuəl; *[ ]mhoəl cloud.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre mhoal (→ Röglai), Jölong h(ə)muːal (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mɔûŋ) Mɔûŋ məj (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese məy; (probably ~) Kuy lməl, Bahnar hməl.
Connection uncertain Thin ʔəŋʔul mist; Bahnar kəŋəl cloud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63);
Kensiu ʔal cloud, which suggest *(k-)nʔ-; Munda, Austronesian support *mh-. Cf. 1807 *kuul vapour.
Sora (i) 'moːdaː-n, compounding form moːl-an mist, fog (referred at PINNOW 1959 384 to a root meaning smoke; final discussed ib. p. 361); (ii) mor'morri-, mom° (to be) foggy, mor- [smoke, mist] to spread; (iii) umod-ən &c., compounding form 'moːd-ən fog, mist, smoke, v.
1812 *[r]huul; *[r]həl; *rʔuul; *rʔual to grill.
A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy həl to hold over flame, Sre houl to heat up [food] (→ Rōglai); ~ Biat nhoi to heat up [food], to grill.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar həhəl to grill, dry by heat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer) Khmer rəl to expose to heat of fire, roast (probably → Kuy rəl to singe).
D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rəl to grill [fish], (~?) Chrau uəl to toast, roast, Biat uəl to grill.
Connect Khmer ʔəːl to roast, grill, burn, (rəl —) to irritate, ~ Biat rʔəl irritation, rash; but connection uncertain Khmer phon to make stock. Cf. 1685 *hur to expose to heat; 1671 *waar &c. …to heat.

(*lhiil, *lh(i)əl see 1803a *hiil bare, smooth, worn.)

1813 *ʔaaw? upper garment.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔaw upper garment, Sre aəw garment, Chrau aəw shirt, clothes, Biat aə jacket, Jeh, Halang aəw shirt, Bahnar aəw, Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese đə upper garment; → Cham, Rōglai aəw, Jarai aə, North Rōglai au.
Hardly all ← Vietnamese.
(SMITH 1972 438.)

‡1814 *kiəw; *giəw left-hand.
A: (South Bahnaric) Sre kiəw, Biat ciau.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng gəw; giəu, Chrau gyaw; ~ Bahnar ʔŋəw.
Jeh iəw, Halang iəw are ← Indonesian (*uSiau?), see 233 *w[i]?

1815 *kaw areca nut.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese cau; ~ Old Mon kəw /kməw/, Literary Mon [tnaə] kmau areca palm.

1816 *ŋk[əw?] (kind of) owl.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Nyah Kur ɬəw owl, Chrau nko: screech- owl, Stieng kəu, (~?) Biat [klaŋ] kəu, Sakai ɬŋkō owl (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 72).
Connection dubious Vietnamese cū.
1817 *\textit{jkaw} (kind of) bear.

\textbf{A:} (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Bru sakaw, Stieng [klah] kəu, Biat kau bear; ~
Sre jirkaw \textit{Ursus malayanus}, Chrau sakaw black bear, Bahnar cagəw (!), Mường cū (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnameses gđu bear, ~ Cham cakòw, Jarai jəŋəço, Acehnese cagəcə bear, Röglai jagəw \textit{Melursus ursinus} (& jirgəw \textit{Ursus malayanus}, contaminated by Sre), North Röglai cagəu bears.


(SHAFER 1965 531; BLOOD 1966 194.)

1818 *\textit{tkaw}[?] to sit, stay.

\textbf{A:} (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)kau to sit, Bru takū: (suggs.
*\textit{tguu}?), Kammu-Yuan kɔ to (lie in) wait for, Praok kə to endure, ?Nancowry kū to sit (or ad 283 [*\textit{guk}?]).

Connection uncertain Vietnamese cū to continue to, cū to dwell.

1819 *\textit{pkaaw}; *\textit{pka?} flower.

\textbf{A:} (Mon, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon \textit{pkāw} /\textit{pkaw}/, Modern Mon kāo, Stieng kəo, Biat kəo, Mendriq, Semnam, Semelai bəkaw; ~ Röglai bəkaw (→ Sre); Proto-Karen *p'kau (SHAFER 1965); ~ (*\textit{pkaaw}> ) Chrau ŋkəw, Bahnar pəkaw.

\textbf{B:} (Khmer) Old Khmer \textit{p(h)kə}, Modern Khmer \textit{phka}.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 42; BLOOD 1966 273; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 187.)

(Ad B) Santali \textit{baha}, &c. (PINNOW 1959 21; Proto-Munda *\textit{baqa}).

Note Proto-Austronesian *\textit{buja}, DEMPWOLFF 1938 35-6; DYEN 1953 § 110; &

1820 *\textit{rk[aw]}? (& *\textit{rkəaw}??) husked rice.


(SHAFER 1965 222, 304, 550; HAUDRICOURT 1965, 171.)

Gutob, Juan gəku, ~ Sora ʔrəŋku-n, &c. (PINNOW 1959 139).

(*\textit{skəw} see 1866 *\textit{ksəaw} red ant; *\textit{giəw} see 1814 *\textit{kiəw} left-hand.)

1820a *\textit{gaaw} (& *\textit{gaw}??) to go up, climb.

\textbf{A:} (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan kət, (variant >?) Khasi kəw.

Separate Praok kə to stand up, : Lawa Bo Luang kəu, &c.
(\*lŋaw see 34 \*ljaa? sessamum; \*sŋiːw see 37 \*sŋi? house.)

1821 \*caw to come, go, to return.
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon caw /cəw/ to return, Modern Mon cao also to proceed to arranged destination, Kuy cau to come, Jeh ciw, Halang ciw to go.
Cf. Khasi shaw to fetch, to go to meet.

1821a \*caaw to bargain.
A: (Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan cáː to bargain, haggle, Khasi siew to pay; ~ Vietnamese giao to hand over (by attraction following, which compare).

1822 \*jaw? (?); \*jaaw[ ] to hand over.
A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok co, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang cho? to sell (& Lawa Bo Luang thau?), (?) Khasi ëw market.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer jāhv to barter, Modern Khmer ciwv to buy, sell (monk’s language), Sre jəw to offer, to hand over, Chrau jəw to entrust, hand over, Bahnar jəw (what is) handed over; → Cham cəːw to hand over, give; Thai cʰəw to rent, lease, hire, let.
Cf. besides preceding. 1729 \*j[ə]uː &c. to buy, with which there is contamination connection uncertain Praok [la] cao, Vietnamese chɨɋ market-place.
(SHAFER 1965 547.)

1823 \*bəjəw? to bewitch, exercise supernatural powers.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _coʔ to bewitch the affections of (& ~coʔ to bewitch so as to cause sickness or death by arbitrary variation; → Kammu-Yuan cəː to kill by sorcery?); ~ Sre bəjəw, Bahnar pəjəw, pəjəw shaman; → Cham pəːw, Jarai p’jəu, Röglai bəjəw, North Röglai bijəu shaman.
(SMITH 1972 425.)

1824 \*taaw to stand.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Old Mon tāw /taw/ to stand, remain, stay, endure, Modern Mon tao to be stationary, to dwell, be located in, Chrau təːw to get up, stand up; ~ (*[t]ntəaaw >) Sre ntaːw to be upright, get up; ~ Old Mon ptāw to halt (v.t.), in compounds to set up, maintain, Modern Mon patao to set up…, (?) Khasi thəw to make, create.
Connection dubious Bahnar pəd5 to raise, set upright (GUILLAUMINET 1959-63).
(SHAFER 1965 580.)

1825 \*kt[əw]? skin.
A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Kensiu kətəʔ, Semai gətəʔ, Semaq Beri gətuːh; ~ Sre gəltəw leather, hide, Chrau nːəː skin, Biat nːəːu skin, leather.
(BLOOD 1966 199; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 236 (c).)
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1826 *kt₁aaw sugar-cane.
   A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre taːw, Chrau caːw, Biat taːː; ~ Bahnar kɔtaːw, Sedang kateō, Bru kataːw.
   (SHAFER 1965 466; BLOOD 1966 336; SMITH 1972 447.)

1827 *ptaw creeper, rattan.
   A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer phdau rattan; ~ (*ptaw >) Chrau pɔtaw, Biat rtaw creeper, Khasi pathaw gourd, melon, pumpkin (by attraction Tai *taw, cf. BENEDICT 1975 271, dip...).

1828 *pt₁ʔ smoke.
   A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan pətəʔ, Riang-Lang ¯tɔʔ [ŋal], Praok taw.
   Connect obscure Sre otarto smoke-cloud, smog.

1829 *daaw noble.
   A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon tɛ̀a nobleman, Khmer thiaw royal title (TANDART 1935 first princess of blood); → Thai tháaw rank title for court ladies; ~ Khmer cuṯtiaw lady, noblewoman.

1830 *[d]iiw; *[d][i]əw; by metathesis *[d]uəy to point (out).
   A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre (→ Röglai) səndiːw to point out.
   B: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi kədəw, 'dəw to point (out).
   C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy nthūːai to point with finger, Bru sadəy.

1831 *cdɔw lamp, torch.

1832 *[c]pən₁[ə]w young unmarried man, bachelor.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre pənu, Riang-Lang sənau, Praok sino.

(*krpiiw see 103 *krpiʔ buffalo.)

1'833 *[t]pawʔ to put hand in.
   A: (Palaungic) Palaung po to take [fish] by hand, Riang-Lang poʔ to fumble, to put hand into.
   Cf. Lawa Umphai pɔk to take [fish] by hand.
   Mundari tupu, Santali topo to dip (PINNOW 1959 K 531).

(*tbaw see 1835 *[r]baw kind of gourd.)
1834 *d[b]aw millet.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer tvau, Modern Khmer thp'yu, Stieng bòu; ~ East Bahnar t'bryu (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Connect 125 *(t)b[uu? sugar-cane? Cf. also 122a *[j][b][o]? kind of cereal crop. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

1835 *[r]baw kind of gourd.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Khmer lp'yu, røp'yu Cucurbita pepo (TANDART 1935), Kuy phàu pumpkin, Stieng røbu (krøbu) edible wild gourd, War [ca]-tepu (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Vietnamese bâu gourd; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang pai, Lawa Umphai mbai Cucurbita pepo.
With Lawa vocalism cf. ?nai ad 1856 *[l]aw?.
Cf. Sanskrit alàbu- bottle-gourd, lābu-, labū- gourd, ← Austroasiatic according to MAYRHOFER 1953-80 i 55; supposedly → Malay labu, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 89, *labu; Proto-Malayo-Javanese; → Central Nicobarese labu, lāpu). But perhaps *tbaw ~ *trbaw (then Stieng røbū ← Khmer; Khmer contaminated by Sanskrit?),: Toba Batak tabutabu, Malagasy tavu bottle-gourd. (referred to *tabu dipper at DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; HENDON 1964, 372 ff. proposed *tabew; cf. BENEDICT 1975 271, dip...).
(SCHMIDT 1905 68; cf. BEFEO 55, 193.)

(*biaw? see 1764 *bi[al]2 askew.)

1836 *[b][aw?] companion, mate.
Palaungic contaminated by 109 *b[oo]? friend.

1837 *k[b]aw to rinse mouth out.
A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Mon bao [paiŋ], Kuy pau [trœi]; ~ (*k[n]baw >) Bahnar gəmvu, kəmvu (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*miiw see 127 *mi? (to) rain.)
1838 */mɪəw* cat.


(BLOOD 1966 99.)

1839 */by[əw]h* storm.


Connection uncertain Kensiu *bewa?*, Mah Meri *buwa?* wind (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 109 (a), (? (c)).


1840 */raw*; */raaw* to make a loud sound.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng *rau* to cry, howl, roar, bellow; ~ Bahnar *jrew* (to give an)

exultant cry, Jeh *dri:w* to hoot, Halang *driaw* to talk loudly (with secondary fronting); ~ (*.*nraw >) Stieng *ndrou*, Chrau *ndraw* to crow, Biat *ndrau* to croak, crow; ~ Mon *krə* to crow, coo, hiss, Proto-Nyah Kur */khraw* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V208).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi *riw*, *riew* to make a sound; ~ Khmer *krĩaw* breaking

of voice, mew; hoarse, West Bahnar *gra:o* to crow (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre *nraw* to crow.

Add perhaps as derivatives 1845 */kra(a)w* to call out, announce, 1847 */craaw* babbling... . Cf. 161 */ro?* &c. to make an inarticulate noise.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 202.)

1841 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer */riʔaawh* >?) /*r[ ]aawh* to wash.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy *ri:au*, Bru *zariaw*, Sre, Chrau *ra:w*, Biat *raa*: to wash, Jeh, Halang *ra:w* to wash [hands], Kammu-Yuan *rà*: to wash [dishes, edibles], Vietnamese *riːa* to wash; → Cham, Rōglai *ra:w*, Jarai *raː*, North Rōglai *raː*; (probably ~) Bahnar *hraaw* to wash rice; ~ (?; Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer */rinʔaawh* >?) *žnaaw* to wash.

Cf. 2053 */ruuh* to wash [clothes]. But hardly connected 165 */kruʔ?*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 517; BLOOD 1966 323; SMITH 1972 441, 444.)
1842 *raaw openwork basket.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon r̂a openwork basket, Khmer r̂iəw basket for crockery, fish, &c. Connection dubious Bahnar dialects ro? small coarsely woven kind of basket (GUILEMINET 1959-63), Jeh rou, Halang ro: back-basket (&c., see SMITH 1972 568; < *ro?).

1843 *kri[i]w; *kriəw to castrate.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kriəu.
B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kriəw, Sre kriəw (& kraw) to castrate, Biat kreu castrated, Bahnar krew to castrate; → Jarai kreo?, Röglai kriəw, North Röglai kiau.
(SHAFER 1965 61.)

1844 *kraw? back, behind.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon krow /krɔw/ behind, after (& kraw; with secondary lengthening?), Modern Mon kraw to be subsequent, Mường khau (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese sau (!)behind, Kensiu kiyɔʔ, Temiar karu? back; → Burmese kro back; (probably) ~ Lawa Umphai [kaŋgroʔ, Mae Sariang [yaŋgyoʔ back (or [kaŋgroʔ &c.; then < simplex). With Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 1856 *ləw?; 170 *jrii?.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 4 (a.).)

1845 *kraw; *kraaw to call out, announce.
B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon, ?Nicobaric) Jeh, Halang kraw to call, Bahnar kraw to call, cry out, summon; ~ Middle Mon kamrau to announce (or A), Sre kamraw to be passed round by word of mouth (→ Röglai), Vietnamese rao to announce, advertise, cry out; ~ Literary Mon kamrau narration, Modern Mon pərao (facts) about. ~ (?) Nancowry kayów to gossip.
~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?
(SMITH 1972 443.)

1846 *kraw; *kraaw to poison.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng krɔu, Chrau kraw to poison [fish] with bark of creeper, Biat kru to poison, Bahnar kraw to poison [fish]; ~ Bru ntraw.
B: (Bahnaric) Jeh trau, krau to poison [fish] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*kpraaw >) Sre [bɔs] praw viper, poisonous snake, Bahnar praw kind of snake.
Cf. Khasi khariaw Millettia pachycarpa creeper, yielding fish-poison.
(SHAFER 1965 103.)
1846a *[c]riəw in quantity.
A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon sea sea all together, Khasi riaw (compounding form!) in a crowd, in large numbers.
Or *sr-.

1847 *craaw babbling, tinkling.
~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?

‡1848 *[c]raw itch.
~ (i) Proto-Austronesian *gar[a]u: Acehnese, Gayo garu, Cham kàraw, &c. to scratch, Malay garu to scratch hard, &c. (cf. NOTHOFER 1975 88, Proto-Malayo-Javanese *garaw; Proto-Malayo-Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham, perhaps Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) East Formosan *kaɣaw, Thao *k/m/uyaw to scratch (BENEDICT 1975 370, which compare).

1849 *triəw oriole.
Distinguish 1788 *kriːl? crane.

1850 *təraw?; *təraaw[ ] taro.
A: (Khmer, Katuc, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon) Mon krao (or B), Khmer traːv arum (GUESDON 1930), Sre traw, Chrau [vuːm] traw taro, East Bahnar trəụ amaranth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang ~saro? taro; ~ Kuy (?ai)rəu taro.
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer traːv taro, East Bahnar trəu amaranth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi shriew, rieə arum.
Sora ’saro:’[gai-an] Caladium esculentum, Mundari saru kind of edible root, Santali saru taro.
Proto-Oceanic *ntalo (which might be cognate if Polynesian → Melanesian!) is referred to Proto-Austronesian *talat' (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128-9; Malay, Javanese kind of tuber).

1851 *təraw six.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon turow /təɾəw/, Modern Mon kərao, Sre, Chrau praw, Biat prau, Mường khàu (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese dâu, Serting pêrû’ (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 231); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tadrow, tədrəw, Jeh tadraw, Halang drədraw, Ulu Tembeling təmpəru (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).
Muŏng, Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Khasi hinriw ( < *-raaw?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 196; SMITH 1972 432.)
Kharia 'tib(h)ru, &c. (PINNOW 1959 148; Proto-Munda *tiwru).

1851a *braw[?] mature unmarried person.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer prvê old maid, (boʔroh —) old bachelor; ~ Biat ndrɔu, (by metathesis *bnrua?) Bahnar aḍrɔ, Gölar Bahnar hadrɔ: widow, widower; → Röglai bənraw widow, widower.
Widow(er) perhaps by attraction Cham pilw, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *balu(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 22; DYEN 1953 § 93; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1852 *braaw coconut palm.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Old Mon bräw/braw/, Modern Mon [nɔm] prêa, Lawa Bo Lang, Lawa Umphai phrua, Mae Sariang phuwa, Central Nicobarese oyau; → Thai mapʰráaw, → Khmu' blaw, Thin blau; ~ (*bnraaw >?) Vietnamese [cây] đũa (for **rüa).

(*sriaw see 1846a *[c]riaw in quantity.)

1853 *law[?] finger, digit.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng lɔː finger (quantifier), Biat lau [tː] finger; ~ Sre [tː] naw forefinger, Stieng ɳlɔː, East Bahnar &c. (h)əntlu finger, toe (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63).

1854 *law; *laaw to pass, exceed; past time.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Halang law more than; to pass by; ~ Stieng nɔːu formerly, Sre [ɔrn]aw (in the) non-immediate past, Praok nɔː to be early, primitive; once, formerly; ~ Sre ralaaw more, Biat rlau to exceed; past, more, exceeding, Jeh llaw more than.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh, Halang naw more, Jeh ʔnaw recently (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Not *rɛː ~ *rnl-, which should yield Stieng rən-, Praok sin-.
(SMITH 1972 448.)

1855 *laaw which?, what?
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 77 (a).)
1856 *ləw? long in duration.
A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Old Mon lo’/ləʔ/, Modern Mon ləʔ, Proto-SEMai *liw (Diffloth 1977); ~ Muong lə (Barker 1966 12), Vietnamese lâu (!) to take a long time; ~ (*jlnlow? >) Riang-Lang cəncə duration; to be long in time, (?) Lawa Umphai, Lawa Bo Luang tənai late.
With Lawa vocalism cf. Lawa Bo Luang pai, &c., ad 1835 *[ɾ]baw; with Muong, Vietnamese tone cf. 1844 *kraw?; 170 *jrii?.

1857 *klaaw male sexual organs.
A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Stieng klau male sexual organs, Chrau klaaw, Biat [ŋkɔŋ] klaː peni (vulgar), Hre klew, Sedang kléo testes, Kammu-Yuan klaː scrotum, peni, Semang klau peni (i.e. Semnam; Skeat & Blagden 1906 P 53); ~ Central Nicobarese [nott]-kamaləu boar.
Hence by deformation Cham, Rõglai klary peni? Cf. here Lawa Bo Luang klaʔ?.
Cham pək klau; Jarai bən t’luu; Rõglai boʔ kləh testes are < Proto-Austronesian *qətɬuɣ egg (Dempwolff 1938 134, *[tɬuɣ]). Connect 1859 *tɬ[ə]wʔ? male? (Smith 1972 449.)

1858 *glaw (kind of) leech.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian) Chrau glu: water leech, Biat glu; Semang alu leech (Skeat & Blagden 1906 L 46); ~ (*gplaw >) Vietnamese [dia] trâu large kind of leech; ~ (*gmələw >) Sre blu leech.
Cf. 1410 *tɬam &c. land leech.
(Blood 1966 231.)

1858a *tɬ[nlaaw] (?) lake, pond.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre tanaw pond, Biat ḥlaː pond, marsh, (variant >?) Thin tənlo lake.
Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *dənəu (Dempwolff 1938 42, *dənəu; Dahl 1973 § 14.5, 15.2; Cham tənaw, &c., probably → Bahnar dənəw); or Vietnamese ao pond.

A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian, Khmuic, Katuc) Sre klaw, Chrau kloː; Biat kləu male (human being), (by metathesis *tɬuʔ? >?) Bahnar kləː, Jeh kloː husband, Halang kloː man; ~ (*tɬuʔ? >?) Bahnar tanoː male, Jeh tanou, Halang tanəː male animal; → Jarai t’noː; Rõglai tanaw, North Rõglai tanəː male animal; ~ Besisi maləu, maŋəu husband (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 M 21 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau səkloː: husband, Kammu-Yuan caməʔ man, male, Bru nləw man.
Connect 1857 *klaaw male sexual organs? (Blood 1966 200; Smith 1972 561, 563.)
1860 *ml[əw] betel.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer mlùː; Kuy mphlùː; Bru manlǐa, Steng, Chrau, Biat mlùː; Bahnar [hlaː] bəlw, bəlw, Kamma-Yuan plùː, Mường trùː (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese trùː; → (i) Thai pʰluu, Shan pù, → Riang-Lang _plu, Lawa Bo Luang plɔʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang phloʔ betel, Palaung plu areca nut; (ii) Karo Batak belo betel; & (iii) by obscure borrowing route (*sla blu >) Middle Mon sablu, Modern Mon həplùʔ betel leaf; Central Sakai blòk areca nut.

Culture-word; Khmer perhaps → South Bahnaric; but hardly all ← Tai in view of Khmer m-. Hence ultimately Proto-Austronesian *buyuq, BLUST 1973 no. 92 (Proto-Hesperonesian)? Cf. BENEDICT 1975 299, fruit... (IV); Tho-Nung shows anomalous diphthongization, supporting *-əw.

(SHAFER 1965 298; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 125.)

1861 *rliw (& *rliw?) lazy.


Mon, Khmer vowel lengthening perhaps regular in context. Cf. 189 *laʔ liiʔ &c. careless, slovenly.

1862 *slew? to squint.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer slaev squinting, Vietnamese lé to squint; ~ Mon hale salew to be oblique, (mòt —) to squint, Khmer sraļəev, (TANDART 1935, SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM) sraļəv, Khasi share squinting; ~ (*slew? >) Vietnamese tréo to be at an angle, crossed (& trəo to be off natural position, to be displaced).

Cf. 759 *slɨŋ &c. ...to squint.

1863 (*tawaw >?) *twaaw, *ta[ ]waw koel, Eudynamys scolopaceus malayana Cabanis and Heine.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) (*tw-) Old Mon twāʔ /twaw/, Literary Mon kwau;
(*ta[ ]w-) Mon kaowao (& hocem kəwəo; by contraction?), Khmer tarnvau, Biat tawau; → Cham tawāw.

Onomatopoetic.

1864 *ksiw; *ksiəw to whisper.


B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer [kʰsɪɾp]-ksiəv; ~ (*kpsɨaw >) Mon kəsəa, Riang-Lang kasio (!), Khasi pasiəw.

Riang-Lang -s- by onomatopoetic retention.

Sora po'se-pa'se- [to speak] in whispers (RAMAMURTI 1938; beside po'se:ɡə-pə'se:ɡe-).
1865 *ks[aw]? red.
   A: (Kuy, Palaungic, Khasi). Kuy (k)sau, Palaung kho, Khasi saw (compounding form?).
   Kuy may imply *-ɔʔ. Connection dubious Chrau prɔɔ:

1'866 *ksəw?; *ksəw[ ] red ant.
   A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan kʰuʔ red ant, Semang kaso’ ant (SKEAT &
   BLAGDEN 1906 A 101).
   B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Stieng cɛu large kind of biting ant,
   Central Nicobarese kʰaːhya large red ant, by metathesis (*skəw[ ] >) Khasi
   'khiew (~ dkhiew) ant; (probably, rather than A) by secondary derivation ~ Mon
   (k)əchao red ant.
   (By metathesis?) Mundari hao-[mui’], Santali hao large red ant (PINNOW 1959 K
   534).

1867 *br[s]aw; *br[s]aaw kind of water snail.
   A: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar bαsʁu kind of freshwater univalve (GUILLEMINET 1959-
   63).
   B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau vαsaw small kind of water snail.
   ?Connected to Khmer [kʰyəŋ] kʰiav kind of snail so *k(m)e-.

1868 *hiiw; *hiəw to drift.
   A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon hi to drift, Kontum Bahnar hiyu: drifting
   (on water), floating (in air) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese hiu-hiu [wind] to
   blow very lightly.
   B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Jölong h(i)ɛːo drifting (on water) (GUILLEMINET 1959-
   63); ~ Vietnamese phiêu to drift, float.
   Rather than Mon : Khmer haeł to swim.

1869 *haaw to climb, ascend.
   A: (Bahnaric) Chrau haw to ascend, Biat həːo to go up, climb, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh,
   Halang hɔw to climb; ~ Chrau tanhəːw to raise, Biat nhaː to lift, raise.
   (SHAFER 1965 271; BLOOD 1966 296; SMITH 1972 440.)

1870 *krhiaw small bell, jingle.
   A: (Mon, Khasi, Katuic) Mon horea small bell, bicycle-bell, Khasi [sha]kuriaw jingle,
   cymbal, Bru ʔarii small bell.

1871 *ʔas; *ʔəs to swell.
   A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy ʔah inflamed and
   swollen, Sre as swelling, Biat ch abscess, Bahnar dialects ch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
   Khasi at, Semai ʔas, Semelai ʔəs to swell; ~ (*pnʔas >) Bahnar poʔəeh to swell.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan ế to swell, swelling, Riang-Lang as swollen, to swell, Palaung ar to be swollen (so probably, rather than A), Praok ulla, Lawa Bo Luang ʔəih to swell, Nancowry ьsh to swell.

(SHAFER 1965 431; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 540.)

(*ʔaas see 1873 *ʔaas to shine.)

A: (Khmer) Khmer ʔoh us firewood; → Cham, Jarai, North Röglai ʔjuh, Röglai iuh firewood.
B: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre ous, Temiar ʔos, Semelai ʔus fire.
C: (Mon, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Katuic) Middle Mon ʔoh /ʔoh/, Modern Mon uh firewood, Kuy ʔuh, Bru ʔuyh fire, firewood, Kensiu ʔos, Semai ʔus fire, Central Nicobarese ʔə firewood.

Cf. 885 *ʔuŋ fire Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese cuốn may be connected, as Vietnamese cút with 794 *ʔic &c.; so may 2041 *[k]ɓuh to burn, grill. But Cham &c. suggest *jɛ-.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22; SHAFER 1965 436; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 124.)

1872a *ʔuos to drag.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ʔoh ‘ūs, Stieng, Biat u:ih, Chrau uih.

†1873 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ʔaas > *yaas, Pre-Palaungic *ʔaas; (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ʔaa? >) *ya? to shine.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon ʔaas /yas/, Modern Mon ʔəh dawn, to shine, Riang-Lang ʔas to glitter, shine, Proto-Semai *ʔiis daylight (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Old Mon yimãs shining [gold], Old Khmer mãs, Modern Khmer miːəh, Stieng maːh gold, Sre maː (l)gold, shiny (→ Röglai maːh shine; = muːh gold, = Cham?), Biat maiːh, Bahnar mayːh gold.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Bahnar) mana?, pana? gleaming (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; perhaps ~ (*ʔəaa? >) Khasi ba to show a light; by secondary derivation ~ thaba to glitter (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ (*ʔəaa? >) Sre cira brilliant, dazzling (↔ Röglai cira:).


(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 178; SHORTO 1972 235; BLOOD 1966 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 35; cf. SMITH 1972 368.)

Kharia meːja? morning (ad B; PINNOW 1959 K 173).
(Probably ←?!) Proto-Austronesian *[ ]jomat: Acehnese möh!, Cham muːh, &c., Malay ëmãs gold, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 50; Proto-West-Indonesian). The same Acehnese vocalism in döih: Cham hatːəh clear, bright; is this also connected? (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 26.)
1874 *knʔias nail, claw.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ndias nail, claw, hoof, Chrau kənhyeiḥ nail, Biat ḵeh, Bahnar toʔniḥ nail, claw, Jeh kaʔniayh, Halang kəʔniah nail.
Cf. (i) Stieng kəniː; (ii) Central Nicobarese keʃuːh (< *kəcuəs < *kəyuəs by dissimilation?). Connection dubious 1880 *kiəs ...to scratch.

(*cʔees see 1960 *cʔeh to stink; *cʔaas see 7 *cʔaʔ clear, clean.)

†1875 *cʔu[s]; *chuus[s] to rot.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Mon ɗh sʔuih to rot, be decayed; ~ (*cpʔu[s] >) Kuy pʔəh spoiled [food], Bru pəʔuih rancid, spoiled, Khasi pyut /pʔut/ to decay, rot.
B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung cu (MILNE 1931), Praok cu [siʔum] to decay, Vietnamese in compounds hù rotten [wood].
In view of Vietnamese perhaps *-h(-s). Cf. 1960 *cʔeh to stink.
Sora sʔəː to be rotten, to spoil, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 193a).
Hence Tibeto-Burman *u (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 489; Kachin, Burmese, Kuki)?

(*tʔaas see 1962 *tʔah forehead; *prʔas see 248a *prsaʔ child’s spouse.)

‡1876 *pʔus; *pʔuus guava tree.
A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ɓiː; → Bahnar oːy; Cham uyh, North Röglai ui.
B: (South Bahnaric) → Röglai oːs; (probably ~) Sre pəʔuːs.
Proto-Austronesian *paSuq: Cham pəːʔ mango tree, &c., Malay pauh wild mango, &c.
(cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115 16, *paʔuː; DYEN 1953 § 53).
The guava is exotic!

†1877 *rʔis to count.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon ruih, Modern Mon ržh, Palaung dir; ~ (*rmʔis >)
Middle Mon lamih number, Modern Mon kəmih, Praok sime total.
Sora diː(‘diː)ː- to count.

(*rʔbi(ə)s see 1927 *ris root.)

1878 *lʔas ripe.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon duh to be ripe, grow ripe, (~?) Vietnamese náy to grow, sprout, (~ nə) bloom; ~ Middle Mon lam’ah, ram’ah, Literary Mon l(a)muh ripe.

(*lʔəs see 1965 *lʔeh to make, do.)
1879 *lʔus fat, grease.
A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Lawa Bo Luang laʔauh, Lawa Umphai raʔaus, Mae Sariang layʔih, Jehai, Lanoh laʔɔς; ~ Temiar lenʔɔs.

2 1880 *kais; *kiɔs; *kis to scrape, scratch.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon kās /kas/ to shave oneself, Modern Mon kah to shave, to scrape off, up, Khmer kaeh (& keh; kɛs &c.), Stieng keh to scratch; ~ Bahnar cakeh to pick up or scratch with nail (Guilleminet 1959-63), Vietnamese gāi to scratch oneself.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon keh to write with a stylus, Khmer kiəh to shave, to scrape off, up, Vietnamese kẻ to draw [line]; ~ Vietnamese ghē itch, scabies.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung kir to draw a line (Milne 1931).

Connect besides following 1890 *ʔciis to draw, write; & Temiar giis, Semai ll gih to scratch, ~ Semelai gahgeh. Cf. also 802 *kaac, 799 *kiiɛ &c.; 1442 *kaay; 867 *kwaac &c.; A138 *kwāa.

(Shafer 1965 73; cf. Schmid 1905 30.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *kaSiṭ': Acehnese keh-keh to scratch, Malay kais, &c. [fowl] to scratch up food, Javanese krè-kès to beg shamelessly, Cebuano Bisayan kāhis to level with strickle (cf. Dempwolff 1938 72, *ka'it'; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *kit'kit': Malay kikis to scrape off, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 81; less Javanese, < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. also *kat'kat' to scratch, Dempwolff 1938 76. See Benedict 1975 371-2. (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 58.)

(*kais see also 1967 *k[i]i[h] kind of deer or goat.)

11 1881 *kuus; *kuəs; (*kaus = ?) *ko[ ]s to scrape, scratch, shave.
A: (Khasi) Khasi khud to scrape off with sharp instrument.
B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng kua'h to scratch (up), Sre kuaḥ, Chrau koəih to shave, scrape, Biat kwah to claw, Bahnar koyh to scrape, Kontum Bahnar shave, Central Nicobarese ikɔəh-[həŋə] to shave; → Cham kwah to shave, scrape, scratch, Jarai kuəh, Röglai, North Röglai, kuah to shave, to scrape, Acehnese kuəh to dig.
C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Khmer kaoh kos to scrape (or < A, levelled on derivation?), Bunör kəi to shave off, Mintil kəus to scratch; (or A) ~ Khmer khaoh scraper.
Add following? Connect preceding. (which compare, with references). Vietnamese cəo to shave is perhaps cognate Kammu-Yuan kər to scratch.
(Schmidt 1905 30; Blood 1966 58; Smith 1972 512; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 50.) Kharia kɔ to shave, &c. (Pinnow 1959 382.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *kut'kut': Karo Batak kuskus crust of rice in pot, Iban kuskus to
scrape out, &c. (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 226, BLUST 1973 no. 175; Proto-
Hesperonesian); (ii) *ka[ j]ut': Acehnese koh to level [grain in measure], Iban
kaus to scrape out (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. Toba Batak hao to itch, scratch

1882 *kuus (& *kuas?) to trim, whittle.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng kʉ:h, Sre kous to trim down, pare down, whittle,
Chrau kɔih to whittle; (variant?) ~ Mon hɛku phakoh, sakoh to whittle.

(*[p]kas see 1914 *kpas side of body.)

1883 *[r]kus; *[r]kuus; *[r]kuas; *[r]k[ə]s porcupine.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung [i]kur (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang-Lang ɾəŋkəs.
B: (Central Aslian) Temiar kus (BENJAMIN 1976b 131), Proto-Semai *kuus (DIFFLOTH
1977).
C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy [cəŋ] ɳkah, Bru sukəyəh.
D: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Danaw ɾəŋ ɾkiət, Khasi dynghiedo.
Cf. Iban angkis.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 185.)

1884 *gas; *gaas to separate by force.
A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer kɔ̀əh gəs' to pry up, uproot, gouge out, force open, Kuy khèh to
pry up, pry open.
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat rga:ih to separate persons fighting.

(*gaas see also 1975 *gah outside; *guus see 1976 *guh to swell; *rgaas see 1928
*g-raas ...to comb... .)

1885 *ŋ[ ]əs to wake (v.i.).
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic). Mon ɲuh (< */ŋoh/ < */ŋəh/) to wake (v.i.),
(probably) Kuy ɲuəh to surface, Bru ṣəyəh no longer sleepy; ~ Literary Mon ɲəh
[ > ] pɨnh [ > ] pɨnuh to rouse; ~ Biat ɾəh to stay awake.
Or, if Kuy mêh, Bru ʔaməyəh to wake (v.t.) are cognate, *ŋw-? (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN
1906 A 192.)

1886 *ŋus; *ŋuus; *ŋuas price.
B: (Mon) Old Mon ɲuəs /ŋuəs/, Modern Mon ɲuh price.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung ɲuər, Praok ɲə, Lawa Bo Luang ɲuəh, Lawa Umphai ɲuas,
Mae Sariang ɲoih price.
1887 *cis; *ciis; *ciəs low, to descend.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon cis /cəs/, Middle Mon cuih to go down, Praok se [san] to be oppressed = [caon ma] se south (cf. laon to be high; (caon ma —) north), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]saih, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang [ka]seh below; ~ Kammu-Yuan kəsés to fall; ~ Semang mächtis low, shallow; steep descent (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 150 (a)); ? by dissimilation Nancowry τɛ̀s down.

B, C: (Mon) Late Middle Mon, Modern Mon cih = Old Mon cis; Literary Mon ceh down. Cf. Central Nicobarese -fe downwards (< *ci?).

1888 *c[iii]s to oppose.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon ceh [cah] to oppose, be refractory; ~ Khmer cəceh caces to persist in face of opposition (with vocalism levelled on next); ~ (*erc[iii]s > ) Literary Mon dacih [dacaḥ] to oppose, Khmer cacres to persist in face of opposition (GUESDON 1930).

*ce(e)s should yield Khmer -ɛs. Literary Mon ceh by analogy ceh = Modern Mon cih to go down (see preceding), or < *ciəs.

1889 *cuus; *cəs to select.

A: (Central Aslian) Temiar cuus (BENJAMIN 1976B 131).

B: (Mon, Central Aslian) Middle Mon [ruy] cah; ~ Serau chenlas to choose (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C? 120A).

Cf. Khasi jied, Nancowry hasát. Connect by metathesis or assimilation A58 *[s]ac? Sora se-, se'se- (< *cias < *cəs < *cas?).

1890 *ʔciis to draw, write.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre (→ Röglai), Chrau, Bahnar cih to draw, write, Hre acih, Lawa Umphai sas, Mae Sariang saiḥ to write, Palaung swir [s’iə] to cross out; ~ Biat nceḥ to write.

Cf. 1880 *kais, *ki(a)s …to scratch (, write); & Biat rcuiḥ to draw a line, cross out. (BLOOD 1966 209; SMITH 1972 336.)

1891 *cəs; *?aʔ; *ʔcaʔ̱ old.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer (’)cas, Modern Khmer cah, Stieng cəh.

B, C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔcaʔ to be old, mature, tough, rough; ~ ʔraŋcaʔ old age.

B, C contaminated by 164 *kra[ ]? Connect perhaps Sakai jaja (i.e. Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 20; but Vietnamese giǎ is < 1787 *raal.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

1892 *kcas; *kaas; (by dissimilation?) *kcah charcoal.
A, B: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Praok *su*, Lawa Bo Luang *saih*, Lawa Umphai *sas*; ~
Kammu-Yuan *kansah* (or c); ~ Riang-Lang *kar(h)as* (A), (B) Palaung *kasar*.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon, Sre, Chrau charocal (& Nyah Kur *kas* firewood); ~
(*kcah >) Kuy (k)cah, Bru kucah, Jeh kacah, Halang kćah charcoal.
Connect Stieng *u*: uįn.
(SMITH 1972 370.)
Sora o'saj-an, Kharia ga'sa', &c. (PINNOW 1959 289; by metathesis or assimilation <
*kasac or the like).

1893 *kc[a]s lightning.
A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Semang kāchā' (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 91);
~ Palaung kəsar, Praok [tu] sa.

1894 *k[m]cas to sneeze.
A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (k)cēh, Bru cāyh (!), Bahnar kəsəh, Jeh
kacayh, Halang kćeh, (~?) Riang-Lang kćchas; by metathesis (*cams >)
Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang ʔmɔih, Lawa Umphai ʔmas.
For Khmer kɔndah, Chrau kətaih see 1900 *dtˌas to make a sound. ?Connected by
dissimilation Nancowry ʔas sneeze.
(SMITH 1972 499.)

(*krcaas see 874 *ksac sand.)

1895 *pcaas (& *pca[ ]h?) sour.
A: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon phyah to be sour, sharp-tasting (& Nyah Kur caah; <
variant?), Semang pēcas sour (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349).
Note Khasi sat pungent in taste; perhaps rather connected 989 *pcat bitter, astringent.

1896 *bcaas contrary.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon -cās /cas/, Modern Mon caah
to go in the opposite direction, Khmer caah cās contrary, against (TANDART 1935)
(with head register levelled on derivatives?), Praok cha (!) to oppose, Central
Nicobarese *[h]a*-fāha topsy-turvy, to throw spear butt foremost, lie with feet towards
hut door; ~ Old Mon bircās approach, Khmer crāh (?) with regular metathesis in
the opposite direction, Khasi by dissimilation pyrshah opposite; by secondary
derivation ~ (*crcaas >) Middle Mon dacah, Modern Mon hacah to go towards,
Khmer cārcās refractory, obstinate (GUESDON 1930).
(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)
(?) ~ Proto-Austronesian *mat'q; Javanese mēsah enemy, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938
1897 *[ jiis; *[ jiə; *[ jəs to prick, to sew.
A: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy jiis, Bru yih, Central Nicobarese icih-[hata] to sew.
B: (Mon, ?Bahnaric) Literary Mon jeh to prick skin and draw blood, (or c?) Stieng jeh to
prick, lance, Bahnar jeh to prick, lance, to gut.
C: (Khmer, ?North Aslian) Khmer jas' to prick to extract [thorn] (GUESDON 1930),
Semang cas to sew (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; ?).

1898 *jas to shiver.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon coh to have fever, Palaung jə to shake (v.t.); ~ Riang-Lang
tərcas to tremble; ~ Palaung pənyə slight chill, shivering (& by back-formation yə, Mon, to tremble).

1898a *jus (& *juus?) to take down, out, to lay down.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre jus to take off [carrying-basket], to extract [thorn], Chrau juih to
drop, let fall, Biat juih to put down, (variant >?) Bahnar yuyh to take down,
dismantle, to take out of storage-place.
Add perhaps Khmer cūh juih to evacuate the bowels. Connect 1606 *jur[ ] &c. to
descend?

(*t,aas see 1998 *t,ah level.)

1899 *təəs; *təəs; (by interdialectal borrowing?) *t,[wə]s to proclaim.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon tos /tos/ to utter, proclaim; ~ (*[t,]nt,əəs >) Praok
dua to assert.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre təs to announce a death, Biat təih [mbuŋ] to carry a
message.
C: (Mon) Middle Mon twah /twə/, Modern Mon kwə to utter, proclaim.
Connect following?

1900 *kt,as to make a sound.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng teh to make a sound, make a noise (∠ or ~ Chrau taih
loud), Bahnar dialects teh noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer kondah kəntəs'
(→ Stieng kandeh), Chrau kaih to sneeze (by attraction 1894 *k[m]cas), Sre
ntas = Stieng teh, (~?) Jeh tatayh to speak, Halang hateh to say; ~ Biat nteh,
Bahnar dialects kəteh noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Cf. Central Rölöm teh to report (BLOOD 1976) (< *kt,əs?). Connect preceding?
(BLOOD 1966 251.)

1901 *[k]nt,a[i]s prawn.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin cənta (!), Riang-Lang kəntəs.
With Thin initial cf. cəendrah < 1947 *k/n/lais; but Riang-Lang k- perhaps by
attraction animal prefix.
1902 *[j]t[apphire]s to dam in order to catch fish.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer ṭah dās' to dam; ~ Mon ṭat乎 datah dry-dam fish-trap; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer thiṇuḥ fish-weir or fish-crawl of branches.
Or *-as.
(?) Kharia j(h)entu date-leaf mat, Santali jhantī wattle, wattle fence, jinri watering-pot, fish-trap. (PINNOW 1959 K 370).

1903 *pt, is; *pt, iis; by metathesis *psi(i)t fungus.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Mon ptis /ptōs/, Modern Mon pət, Kammu-Yuan tis, Khasi tit.
B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung tir, Riang-Lang tis, Praok ti (or A?), Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang taih, Lawa Umphai tas, Proto-Semai *btees (DIFFLOTH 1977).
C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer phsɤt, Stieng cêt, Biat cet, (~?) Sre basít; ~ (*pns- > ) Chrau nset, Hre basēt, basit.
(SHAFER 1965 432; SMITH 1972 217; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 292.)
Sora ‘bati-n.

(*rt,a(a)s see 2009 *rt,ah to explode; *daas see 78 *dəʔ...to be brought up short...; *diis see 86 *diʔ one.)

1903a *dəs; *daas to break (v.i.).
A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Biat deh, Central Nicobarese deʃ-, deh-[ŋə], Nancowry rás.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon dah [rain] to stop (?), Chrau daːih to break.
Add perhaps Khmer ṭah dās' at odds, to quarrel. Bru deh v.t. suggests *-ais.

1904 *cdışı cotton.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat deh; ~ (*cndiis > ) Sre dis.
*ce- rests on Munda.
(BLOOD 1966 47.)
Sora a’di-i-n cotton, Kharia si’diʔ cotton pod (PINNOW 1959 327).

1904a *tdūs; *tduas to pull out, off, back.
A: (Katuiic, South Bahnaric) Kuy toh, Bru tawh to pull out [hair &c.] (so *-?), Sre dus to pull out, pull up, uproot.
B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat daːih [ntɔu] to skin; ~ (*trduas > ) Mon hədəh th(a)dah to pull back [bowstring], remove [ear-wax].

(*pdiəs see 2015a *pduh ...to spark....)
1905 *tnaas (& *tnas?) goal, intention.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon tnas /tnɔs/ (in the) intention of bringing about, Middle Mon tnah in order to (originally weak form, or < variant), Khmer thnah thnās until, (GUESDON 1930) in order to.

1906 *bnɔjas spear.
A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Old Mon bnas /bnɔs/, Modern Mon nūh, Kammu-Yuan plias, Palaung leɔr, Riang-Lang _bles, Praok plia, Lawa Bo Luang pleh, Lawa Umphai phlias, Mae Sariang pliah, Nancowry sanéh.
Connection uncertain Tagalog bulos harpoon (& Javanese bulus spear, cited at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 368), with which cf. Bateg Deq bulus, Semnam buluːh, Moken bulo. South Nicobarese piːloːiː pronged spear, compared at SHAFER 1965 433, more probably belongs here.

1907 *mnɔs to have in mind.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon mirnas /mɔrnɔs/ to remember, Modern Mon hɔnùh to think of, remember; ~ (*mpnɔs >) Old Mon munas to inform, Sre dɔs to speak.
Connection uncertain Khmer sranɔh sranɔh to miss, regret the absence of.
~ Proto-Austronesian *manɑq: Toba Batak por-mano-mano-an remembrance, Javanese manuh to be known, Cebuano Bisayan ma/ng/nu, ma/ng/nù to remember, to remind (so Proto-Hesperonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 105 compares Toba with Malay manah heirloom.

1908 *pis; *piis knife.
A, B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng peh, Chrau pih, Biat peh (A), (B) Sre pis. (SHAFER 1965 481; BLOOD 1966 44.)
Proto-Austronesian *pit'au: Malay pisau, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 120; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1909 *phas to pound.
A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon pis /pɔs/, Modern Mon poh, Stieng (→ Chrau ?), Bahnar peh, Jeh, Halang peh; ~ Stieng brɔniːh, Biat rniːh flour.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer pas, Modern Khmer bɔh (& Middle Khmer poʊh!) to pulverize (→ Thai bɔt to crush, grind, pound), Biat peh to pound [rice].
Connection Sre piah to pound [rice].
(BLOOD 1966 252; SMITH 1972 357; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 15; SHAFER 1965 558.)

1910 *pias; *phas to kick.
A: (Mon) Mon peh [animals] to kick.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung par to kick.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

(*pəəs see 2029 *puh to open.)

1911 *pus; *puəs (*puus?) *pəəs barking deer.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung por, Riang-Lang poros, Lawa Bo Luang pauh, Lawa Umphai paus.
B: (Khmuic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Kamma-Yuan pūas, Semai dialects pəəs (DIFFLOTH 1977) (*puos); Bru pəəh.
C: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon poh barking deer (& peh mouse deer by arbitrary variation), Semang pəəs kijang (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 76).
Connect Malay napoh, ↔ Central Sakai napōh.
(SHAFER 1965 24a, 426.)

‡1912 *puus; *puəs heart.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian; ~ *pnuus >) Biat nuīh heart (figurative), Sre nus, Chrau [play] nuīh, Bahnar nuəh heart, Khasi 'nud, [doh]nud liver, heart, mind, Proto-Semai *noos heart (DIFFLOTH 1977).
B: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar poəh heart, Central Nicobarese koːi-pəniːwə, Nancowry kúypən̪əuva heart (connection dubious); ~ Old Mon pumas /pəms/, Modern Mon kon kəmə!, (learned form) paoməh heart.
With Central Nicobarese final cf. kəyuə < 1936 *kruəs.
(SHAFER 1965 182; BLOOD 1966 234; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63.)

(*puus see also 2028 *puh to blow.)

1913 *puəs calf of leg.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng poch [ɕəŋ], Chrau pəːih, Biat [plai] poːiːh, Bahnar poəyah, Jeh, Halang puayh calf of leg, (merging 1673 *t/p/wər, which see) Palaung puər (~ grəŋ) calf, (~ ti) forearm.
(SMITH 1972 510.)

1914 *kpəs, *kpa[i]s; by metathesis *[p]kas side of body.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok po; ~ (*krpas >) Sre rapas floor-joist, rib, Chrau [ntiːŋ] rapaih rib; → Bahnar kəpah one side.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat [ntiːŋ] paːiːh rib.
C: (Mon, North Aslian; ~ *[p]nkas >) Nyah Kur [cəluːt] nəkayh, Pangan bengkah rib (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 101).
Connect Stieng rapəəi side of body, (tiːŋ) —) rib; the same correspondence ad 1944 *la[i]s.
1915 *kpaas cotton.
A: (Khm er, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-M'orgetown) (Khm er bəh pās cotton threads tied round corpse ← ?) Stieng pa:i'h, Chrau pa:i'h cotton; ~ Khmer krapa'h krapās, Kuy (k)pāh, Bahnar kāpāh, Lawo Bo Luang ?aphaih, Lawa Umphai rapas, Mường pāi ( Barker 1966 19), Vietnamese vāi cotton; ~ Khasi kymphad, kymphad ( Ivan M. Simon pers. com.).
Proto-Austronesian *kapat': Malay kapas, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 75).
Austroasiatic → Sanskrit karpāsa-, see Mayrhofer 1953-80 i 174.

1916 *t₁puus; *t₂puas; *t₂pas (& *t₂pas?); *t₂piis; *t₂puaʔ to sweep.
A: (Khm er, Katúc, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer pos, Modern Khmer baoh (← Chrau boiʔ?), Kuy pɔːh, Stieng puːïh, Jeh puuyh to sweep (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Proto-Semai *pvrws to wipe (Diffloth 1977); ~ (*t₁nuus >) Kuy mpɔːh broom; ~ (Jeh) → Bahnar həpuyh, sapuyh to sweep.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon twah, Modern Mon kwɔːh to sweep (or, with derivation, c), Biat poːih to remove [rust, scales from fish]; ~ (*t₁np- >) Middle Mon tamah, Modern Mon kamoʔh broom; by secondary derivation ~ (*prnuas >) Stieng branuʔh broom.
C: (South Bahnaric, Katúc, Nicobaric) Sre pas, Biat peh to sweep, (*t₂pas >?), Bru tapayh to wipe off, Central Nicobarese ifah- to brush, sweep, rub off dirt, Nan cowry (ʔi)fah brush, sweep; (?) → Röglai bah; ~ Biat mpeh broom; by secondary derivation ~ Sre pənəs broom.
D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung pir, Riang-Lang ʔpis, Praok pi to sweep; ~ Bunır mph broom, Riang-Lang ʔsmpis broom, broom-grass; ~ Bateg Nong təmpes to wipe; ~ (*t₁piis >) Lawo Bo Luang [khauʔ?] ?aphaih, Lawa Umphai [hlaʔ?] rapas broom-grass.
E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan pɔʔ to sweep; by secondary derivation ~ Thin pɾnəo broom.
(Schmidt 1905 30; Shaefer 1965 428; Blood 1966 48a, b; Smith 1972 497; Skeit & Blagden 1966 W 124.)
Proto-Austronesian (i) *pa[ ]pat': Malagasy fafa to sweep, clean, Ngaju Dayak papas broom, to sweep (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. Dempwolff 1938 115, *pat'pat'); (ii) *qaput': Cham (ha)puh broom, Malay hapus to efface, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 62, *h-: Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) by metathesis *t'a(N)pʊq ~ *t'apuS: Malay tapu to wipe (off, on), &c.; (*-q) Acehnese sampoh, (*-q-[a]n >) Röglai hapua broom; (*-S) Ce buano Bisayan sapu(ha) to wipe, Javanese sapon sweepings ~ sapu broom, to sweep (Dempwolff 1938 149, *t'apu'); (iv) perhaps (cf. Benedict 1975 403, which see) *t,a(N)pſ (& *pɨʔS?): Malay tampi to winnow, Fijian tavi-a to sweep, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 131, *ta(m)pì; Dahl 1973 § 9.5, 14.9). (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 7.)
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

**1917** *rp[ɔ]s tool, weapon.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon *rawas /rwɔs/ weapon, Khmer *rabɔh *rapas thing, belonging (s), gear, tool.
Or *-ɔs.

**1918** *rpuus; *rpuɔs; *rpuʔ second or fourth finger.
A: (Mon) Mon *puh [toa] index finger; ~ Old Mon *ruu̯pus /rɔmpus/ [tey] finger, Modern Mon *kapu̯h index finger.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar dialects [kɔn] poiih, poiih fourth finger (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Sre [ti] poa fourth finger.
Connection uncertain Stieng *boh index finger.

(*baas see 2032 *bah to flow out.)

**1919** *knbis freshwater shrimp.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *kɔmpuɔh kaṁbis, Chrau kɔmvih.
Chrau excludes *-ɓ.

**1920** *c[b]as light, clear.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer *cbah cpɔs’ clear, evident, shining, Stieng *caba clear, pure, Kammu-Yuan *pah to be light, to shine; (day) light, Lawa Bo Luang puah, Lawa Umphai phuas, Mae Sariang puaih light, bright.
Connect 1873 *iʔas to shine? Cf. also 7 *cʔaas &c. clear, clean.

**1920a** *[c]nbaas mouth of fish-trap.
A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy mphiah, Bahnar səmayh.

**1921** *[l]baas plain, expanse.
A: (Mon, Viet-Mươ) Muong *pαi (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese bαi flat expanse; ~ Literary Mon *labɒh plain.
Proto-Austronesian *la(N)bat’: Malay lawas clear, vacant…, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 89; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*ɓi[ ]s see 2038 *ɓuh …to boil.)

**1921a** *ɓas snake.
Bahnar contaminated by bih poison ← Sanskrit viṣa-/Pali visa-.
(SHAFER 1965 40; BLOOD 1966 43; SMITH 1972 494.)
1922 *mus; *muus to clear for cultivation.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng muuih (or $?), Sre mus, Chrau muuih, Biat muuih to clear [forest].
B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar muyh, Jeh, Halang muyh to clear [forest],
Proto-Semai *muus to break ground in order to extract something (DIFFLOTH 1977).
(SMITH 1972 496.)

(*muus see also 2045 *muh nose; *mas see 1894 *k[m]cas to sneeze.)

1923 *rmaas; *rmi[is] rhinoceros.
A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer rɔmah rɔmās, Stieng rɔma'h, Bahnar rɔma'h (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang ʔamaih; → Cham ramuuh (→ Röglai ramu?), Jarai rama'h, North Röglai lumāh.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre rəmis, Biat rmih rhinoceros, (?) Chrau rəmih gaur.
With South Bahnaric fronting cf. 1381 *m-yaam; 1651 *[ ]maar.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 211.)

(*yaas see 1873 *iʔaas to shine.)

†1924 *ris; *riis liver.
A, B: (Mon, Palaungic, Aslian) Praok [rɔm] ri heart, mind, Che' Wong ros (!), (B)
Semai I riis liver; ~ Old Mon grīs /grōs/ internal organs, Modern Mon krīh liver, heart (A), Semelai goris liver.
Add as derivation 1937 *cris rib-cage? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63, 64 (b.).)
Sora a'-gare-n, Kharia go're liver, &c. (PINNOW 1959 181; Proto-Munda *gare).

1925 *ris; *riis; *roas to live; alive, fresh, raw.
A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng reh green, (still) alive, Sre ris fresh, raw, (&/or C) Chrau rih to live, Biat reh to live; alive, raw.
B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?South Aslian) Proto-Semai *rees (DIFFLOTH 1977), (or A?) Semelai ris to live; ~ Bahnar arih, Gölar Bahnar harih to live; ~ (*[s]nriis >) Bahnar adrih, Gölar Bahnar hadrih green, fresh, raw, Jeh adrih unripe, Halang drih green.
C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer rūh ras', Stieng reh, (or A?) Nancowry ṭéh to live (< *yēh); ~ Khmer sroh sras' fresh, green.
D: (Central Aslian) Semai I ras to live.
(BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 333, 349; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 57 (b.).)
1926 *ris; *rias earthworm.
A: (Khmer) Khmer ṛuh ṛs [dvy].
B: (Palaungic) Palaung riār.
Riang-Lang _luar is < 1666a *luār.

1927 *ris; *rias; *ras; *rīias (& *rīis?) root.
B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng rīah, Sre rias, Biat rēh (probably, rather than C), Jeh riayh, Halang rīah, Kammu-Yuan rīas, Palaung riār, Riang-Lang _riēs, Praok rīa, Lawa Bo Luang rēh, Lawa Umphai res, Mae Sariang ɣēh, Central Nicobarese yīah.
C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar rāh.
D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Jehai jaʔis, Semai rāʔis, Proto-Semai *rīias (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Chrau dayεi̯h.
(SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 210; SMITH 1972 502.)

(*ris see also 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed.)

1928 *ras; *raas; *rias to rake, comb, scratch.
A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Khmer ṛōh rāas’ to harrow, rake, Kuy ṛāh, Stieng rēh to harrow; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔamoi̯h, Lawa Umphai ramos, Mae Sariang ɣamoi̯h (fruit in combs =) banana.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic, South Aslian) (?) Lawa Bo Luang rai̯h, Lawa Umphai ras to search, Semang rāis to scratch (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 52; but perhaps = Temq marac); ~ Kuy krah to comb, Jeh krayh to rake (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi khrad-khrad scraping (ly); ~ Mon krēh to comb, to harrow, Kham kriah grās to search through, Khasi krad [hen] to scratch; (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) to rummage, perhaps by metathesis (*rgaas >) Riang-Lang _kas to comb [hair when wet]; ~ (*craas >) Bahnar craiḥ to scratch, to comb (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh srayh, khayh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Vietnamese chai to comb; ~ Biat ncaīih harrow, rake.
C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan crūas, crīas to comb.
C contextually conditioned? Add perhaps Palaung jar to comb (MILNE 1931) ( < *rjaas by metathesis < *jraas?); & as derivative 1938 *cra(a)s to scrape (clean).
Cf. also (i) Mon khrāh to scratch in the dust, ↔ Burmese khrac; (ii) Riang-Lang _canaŋ comb, perhaps contaminated by ʔana tooth < 709 *sra[n]ŋ; (iii) 1935 *kruus to rake, scrape.
(Proto-Austronesian *ka[r]at’ Cebuano Bisayan kalas (to) rake, harrow.)
(*ra(a)s, *ra(a)s see also 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed; *ras see 160 *rɔ? dry; *rus see 2051 *ruh to fall..., 2052 *ruh ...virgin.)

1929 *ruus; *ruas, *riis to grind down, sharpen.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer rūš ṛus to whet, sharpen, to plane down; ~ Biat troːiːh to plane (& truih to file; by arbitrary variation?); (?) → Rōglai jaroh to plane down with dah, → Sre jāroh.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ruas to whet, sharpen; ~ Mon haroh dārah &c. spurs of cock, Riang-Lang _ruas sus barb of arrow &c.
C: (Khmuic) ~ Khamm-Yuan santris spurs of cock.
C secondary. Note Khamm-Yuan krē h to plain.

1930 *r[ ]uas elephant.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre rawas, Chrau raweːih, Biat rweh, Bahnar royh, Jeh, Halang ruayh.
Chrau suggests *ʔrəuas. But perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ruwas or the like, cf. 1534 *ru[w]aːy; then connected by metathesis (*swuar > ) Vietnamese [con] voi?
(SHAFER 1965 209; BLOOD 1966 92; SMITH 1972 511.)
Sora rʔaːn, compounding form raːn, Gutob rʔoː (PINNOW 1959 K 174).

1931 *ruas; *ras (& *ras?); *raas, *raas to choose.
A: (South Bahnaric) Biat roːih to pick handfuls of; → Cham rwah, Jarai ruah, Rōglai roah to choose (→ Sre!); Burmese rweː, → Middle Mon ruy [cai̞], Modern Mon rū.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ras, (or *ras > ?) Lawa Bo Luang rɔih, Lawa Umphai rɔs, Mae Sariang yoih to choose.
C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer rǐːh rōs, Bahnar rayh.
D: (Palaungic) Palaung rar (MILNE 1931).
Cf. Mường rɔy to gather [flowers] (CUI SINIER 1951); Vietnamese lọta to choose.
(SCHMIDT 1905 72; SMITH 1972 495.)

1932 *ruas quick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian) Khmer rūːah ruas quick (ly); ~ Semang kras quickly (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Q 12); ~ Old Mon pras /pras/, Modern Mon prɒh to be quick.
Connect Bahnar hroh quick, swift (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (< *ruas ruas, with *h by assimilation?); & cf. (i) Proto-Austronesian *daʊat' to make haste, DEMP WOLFF 1938 39 (> Cham trâːh quickly, → Bahnar (GUILL EMINET 1959-63) [ka]drah very quick); (ii) Khmer phlɔːh phlas' quickly (TANDART 1935); Thin leʔ, leh quick.

(*ruas see also 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed.)
1933 *[k]r[e]s bear.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung krer, Riang-Lang *kres, Praok kri, Lawa Bo Luang khraih, Lawa Umphai kres, Mae Sariang khyeih; → Sre grijh Melursus ursinus.
Sre ← undetermined (probably Bahnaric) source. But Palaungic *k- perhaps animal prefix; so cf. Mundari buŋi, Birhor buria black bear, Pinnow 1959 267; with b- conceivably contaminated by etymon of Kharia bonai bear, &c.
(Shafer 1965 429.)

1934 *kraas kind of squirrel.
A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng kraːh kind of tree-rat, Chrau kraːih, Bahnar kraiḥ kind of squirrel (Guilleminet 1959-63;!), Bru krayh small kind of squirrel; ~ Sre kəras small grey squirrel (→ Röglai karhiai).
Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan səŋkāːr giant squirrel?
(Shafer 1965 491; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 420.)

1935 *kruus to rake, scrape.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau kruːih slidingly out, Jeh trùːyh, krùːyh (Gradin & Gradin 1979), Palaung kru to rake (Milne 1931), Khasi khrud to scrape; ~ (*knruus >) Jeh sidruyh scraping-implement (Gradin & Gradin 1979).
Connect 1928 *ras &c. to rake...? Note also Nancowry kurīs to scratch, kunrís rake.

1936 *[kr]jaːs gravel.
(B; contaminated by 1792 *[b]rial pebbles?; Mon) Mon kreh gravel.
With Central Nicobarese final cf. -pəniːwə < 1912 *p/n/uas.

1937 *cris rib-cage.
A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon cris /crōs/ womb, Modern Mon soh chest (Literary Mon sruːih womb, chest, bosom), Nyah Kur *cruː́y (Diffloth 1984 N146; implies *-us!), Sakai chèːris rib, side (i.e. Semai; Skeat & Blagden 1906 R 102).
Originally heart cavity, ~ 1924 *ris (heart,) liver?

1938 *cras; *braas to scrape (clean).
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi shrat (with *s- by assimilation?) to scale [fish] with knife &c.; ~ Khmer camrās (Guesdon 1930), Sre naraṣ (→ Röglai caṇaras) to scrape.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon sah s(r)ah to clean [rice] by pounding, Khmer kraːh crās to peel, whittle, scrape, scale, brush, sweep, Nancowry (?i)sāh; ~ (*enraas >) Mon karah cleaned [rice], Praok sigra to wash.
1942 *ra(a)s to rake, comb, scratch? Khmer crèoh clean, pure, clear (~ cûmrèoh to clean) suggests *[c]rah(-s); perhaps construct *c-ra(a)s to scrape, *jraas < *jrahs- to clean, with contamination.

1939 *jras; *[j]ruus; *[j]ruus digit.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Lawa Bo Luang ?döih, Lawa Umphai ?rās, Mae Sariang ?yōih, Sakai jāras finger, toe (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 109 (a)); (~ *jnaras >) Kuy nṯrēh nail, Bru nṯrēh, (~?) Chraud kōndraih middle finger or toe; (~ *jrras >) Sre ras [ti, jan] finger, toe.

B: (South Aslian; ~?) Semelai carus claw, nail.

C: (North & Central Aslian) ~ Jehai cansos, Temiar cansos claw, nail.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *juras, B, C by metathesis?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 1.)

1940 *trus; *truus; *truos male, virile.

A: (Khmer ... ) (~ *tprus >) Khmer prōh prus male; ~ Danaw p’rōh; (probably, rather than B) ~ Old Khmer tamrus male.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Nicobaric) Old Mon trus /trus/, Modern Mon kraoh male, Khmer traoh trōs male, ungelded [animal], (JACOB 1968) stalwart, Kuy troh young and wild [cattle]; ~ Khmer praoh pros male, Central Nicobarese paiyuḥ man, person, Nancowry payūḥ.

C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan prōh ungelded.

Danaw ← Riang-Lang *prōs? Connection dubious Sanskrit puruṣa-.

(*srōs see 160 *ró dry.)

1941 *las (& *laas?); *la? lazy, idle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) ~ Old Mon linlas /linlōs/ to be idle, Modern Mon kānuh to be lazy, (~?) Praok ne (or B) idle, (*-aas?) Central Nicobarese enlah-[najeh] lazy, Nancowry láṃhāsi very little; ~ Biat rich idle.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi, see 189 *li₂ liā careless, slovenly.)

Proto-Austronesian (i, ad A) *(S)al[aal]t: Cham (a)lah, Jarai *lah, Röglai, North Röglai alah, Acehnese m-alah, Malay m-alas lazy; ~ Bahnar alah (rather than Malay as DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, *malat‘); (ii, ad B) perhaps *lālaq: Javanese lēlah slow, dragging, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *-h; Proto-West-Indonesian).

Cf. Sanskrit alasa- lazy, apparently → Sora ʿadasa-. Connection dubious Sora ʿrondu-.

1942[*]las time, occasion.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Old Mon las occasion, Bahnar lah (!) time, once, Jeh [ku] llayh at once, Halang [ma]leh [one] time.

Perhaps *rlas; rl- is not attested in Lamphun inscriptions.
1943 *las; *laas intensive.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer [cbah]-lāh lās' very [clear] (?), Stieng lēh all.

B: (Mon) Mon lēh lēh [not] at all.

(*las see also 2064 *lah to leave; 2066 *lah finished; *laas see also ib.; 191 *laʔ to spread, extend.)

1944 *la[i]s fathom.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre lās, Chrau, Biat lāih; ~ Bahnar playh.

Connect Stieng lāi; the same correspondence ad 1914 *kpa[i]s. But perhaps = 191 *laas < *lah-s ...to extend.

(SMITH 1972 508.)

1945 *ləš; *l[a]s to weaken.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer lūah lās' to reduce, to lose [consciousness], Sre lās deterioration [in illness], relapse, West Bahnar [loč] līh to die of [illness &c.] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Katuic; or *li(a)š?) Kuy lēh to die.

Connection uncertain BLOOD 1966 121 *n, [ ]ah to get worse.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *lalat': Javanese lēlēs to lose consciousness, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (ii) *malat': Toba Batak malos to wilt, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105; less Malay, ad 1941 *las).

1945a *ləš to beat, to fight.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung lər to beat, Praok lə to struggle, compete; ~ Praok kla to strike; ~ (*krəš >) Kammu-Yuan krēs to beat horizontally with rod; ~ (*kpləš >) Riang-Lang plas to struggle.

Connect perhaps Palaung luuh to hit, beat; then *lah-s ~ *luh.

(*ləš see also 2067 *loh to unravel, unfold; *ləš see 195 *ləʔ kind of jar or pot; *lo[ ]s see 2067 *loh to unravel..., *luus, *luəs see 1084 *luət to draw out.)

1946 *klis to strip [plant].

A: (Bahnaric) Sre klis, Biat kłeh to strip [leaves] off; ~ (*krlis >) Halang ləleh to cut off thorns, by metathesis Biat rklēh to remove seeds.

Connect A187 *[ ]keh? Cf. also Chrau reh to strip kernels from maize cob, Proto-Mnong *reh to harvest (BLOOD 1966 249).

1947 *klais lightning.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng klaʔh lightning close at hand; ~ (*knlais >) Sre kənas, Biat klaʔih, Bahnar glayh, Kammu-Yuan confràs lightning.

Vocalism rests on Munda.

Sora 'kilai-[gum-ən], 'kinaj-[gum-ən].
1948 *cl[ɔ]s to throw.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon klɔ to throw (at, away) (merging 2072 *c-luɑh to abandon); ~ Khmer crɔlɔ crɑlas' to throw, hurl.
Or *-as.

1949 *[d,₁][a]s voice, speech.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang _rɔs voice, cry, sound, (?) Praok lua, Lawa Bo Luang ɔɗiɔh loud; ~ Thin ʰrlɔ word, speech, language.
Cf. Praok lo voice, utterance, loud But connection dubious Khmu' sroʔ word; as 1964 *rɔah to say, speak.

(*mle[ ]s see 224 *mleʔ to hate; *rlas see 1942 *[ ]las time, occasion; *slaas see 231 *slaʔ fire, to burn.)

1950 *was; *waas; *was to wave, beckon.
A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat wah [ti] to beckon, Vietnamese vãy to wave.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer viːəh vãs to gesticulate; ~ Chrau lawaih to beckon, wave to.
C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese vã = vãy; ~ Biat rweh to beckon.
Earlier *wa(a)y-s, ~ 1529 *wa(a)y ... to wave?

1951 *was; *waas; *was to measure.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer vɔ̀əh vãs' to measure [linear dimensions], Chrau wayh to weigh, measure (BLOOD 1966).
B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon wɛ̀h [toa] to count on [one’s fingers], Sre was to measure [linear dimensions, volume], Bahnar waaih to measure, weigh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau wayh to weigh, measure, Biat wɛh to measure.
(BLOOD 1966 255; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 74.)

(*waas see also 2081 *wah (to make an) opening, (clear a) path; *kwis see 1864 *ksiw to whisper; *ŋwɔs see 1885 *ŋ[ ]as to wake (v.i.); *t[u]s see 1899 *t,us to proclaim; *[l]wah see 2083 *[l]wah wide; *suas see 2088 *suah empty.)

1952 *tsiɔs to dismember.
A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang c(h)ies to tear or pull to pieces with fingertips, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang cch, Lawa Umphai ces to tear (v.i.t.), Mường thia (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese tia to trim, prune, to shell [peas &c.], to beat or kill one by one.
Cf. 1982 *ci(ə)h to split.
1953 *tsuas dah, knife.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre yoas dah, Chrau ye:ih bush-knife with long curved handle, Palaung [bot] suar, Riang-Lang c(h)uas knife, dagger.
Connect perhaps (*tnsuus >?) Chrau [pih] kənoih curved knife.

1954 *chas (chəs) [foot] to strike ground.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kəchəh trot (< *chas chəs); by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang takchas to paw the ground.

1955 *thaas salver, tray.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon thə large metal dish, Modern Mon thə brass tray, Old Khmer thäs, Modern Khmer thə metal tray, Kuy thə:h, Stieng thə:h, Chrau, Biat thəi large tray; → Thai thəat.

(SCHMIDT 1905.)

(*təh see 1963 *bVʔeh to abuse.)

1956 *ʔah flesh, meat.
A: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan əh, Central Nicobarese ə:hə, Nancowry ʔəha.

1957 *ʔəh younger sibling.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre oh, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar əh, Jeh, Halang oh.
Cf. 5 *ʔ[ə]h elder sibling.
(SHAFER 1965 504; BLOOD 1966 258; SMITH 1972 380.)

1958 *ʔuh; *ʔa[ ]h; (*ʔuh ʔuh >?) *huh (& *huuh?); *huəh; *ha[ ]h to blow.
A: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau uh, Biat oh to blow [wind instrument], Semelai ʔəh to blow, shoot with blowpipe, Mah Meri ʔəh to blow; ~ Bahnar əʔuh to breathe out; ~ Proto-Semai *tʔuh to shoot with blowpipe (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Temoq barʔəh to blow.
B: (South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semelai ʔəh[ʔəh] to blow, to shoot with blowpipe, Central Nicobarese əh life.
C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ho:ih-ə:hə, Nancowry hús air (< *huuh?; beside hoľ-həta [wind] to blow; contaminated by 877 *huuc to whistle?); ~ Praok phu, Lawa Umphai phoh [wind] to blow; ~ Khasi pyrhut breezy, windy.
D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang phuah [wind] to blow, Nancowry huəs to pant, Bru rahuah to breathe shallowly.
E: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese hə:h-[hajne] to sigh (& hə:j wind), Nancowry həs wind.
Onomatopoeic Palaung huuh to gulp in [air], ~ konhuuh to sigh, is rather < 2087
*suuh to make sibilant sound. Note Vietnamese thót to breathe; Kuy nh to breathe, 
Bru tanuh to breathe.

1959 *?uuuh to ululate.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ~u [dogs] to howl, Khasi ud to groan, 
complain, [insect] to whine; ~ Biat m?uh [bull] to bellow, Kammu-Yuan po?uh 
moaning sound.
Connect perhaps (i) A186a *rn?ah to lament; (ii) Khmer pruuh bruuh, Stieng bluh to 
bark (< *mr?uh by metathesis < *rm?uh? then to be separate Kuy kroh, 
Vietnamese súta, < *kru(ə)h; Central Rölöm, Bunör grôh, B260, ← Indonesian 

1960 *c?eh; (*c?eh-s >) *c?ees to stink.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ch?eh ch′eh (to) stink; ~ Mon hæh ja′eh to 
stink; ~ Khmer com2eh, Stieng ci2ih feral smell, stink of urine &c.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng eh, iih to smell (v.t.); ~ Khmer com?æeh ciˈnes 
feral smell, stink of urine (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.).
Cf. Khasi [iw-tung iw]-sit smell of urine; & 1875 *c?u[s] to rot, with which Kammu- 
Yuan úas, twúas to stink, may rather be connected.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26; cf. PINNOW 1959 K 193a.)

(*c?ah see 7 *c?a? clear, clean.)

1961 *[c][m]ah nasal mucus.
A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Riang-Lang s?a excreted nasal mucus, Semang hëmah 
mucous discharge from nose (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98; 
contaminated by hëmah < 1655 *s/n/muər?).

(*c?uh see 1875 *c?u[s] to rot.)

1962 *[t,]ah; (*t[?]ah-s >) *t[?]aas forehead.
A: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ *[t,]r?ah >) Kammu-Yuan kätāh, Palaung kødah.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ *tn[?]aas >) Khmer thñah thñäs, Stieng taña:h.
Connection dubious Semang òwàs (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 224; 
as 1699 *r?al &c.
Proto-Austronesian *d,aqīs: Malay dahi, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41, *[d]ahaj; DYEN 
1965; DAHL 1973 § 14.5). See BENEDICT 1975 284, face... .

1963 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *bV?eh > *feh, Pre-Palaungic *ʔeh to abuse.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon beh [lēak], Biat [tu:m] bch, Palaung eh.
1964 *r?ah to say, speak.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Sieng lah to speak, say..., Sre, Biat lah, Palaung dah, Riang-Lang ñ*da, (~?) Praok a, Lawa ?ah, Mae Sariang also ?auh to say; ~ Riang-Lang _rama to speak, talk, to call; by secondary derivation ~ Bateg Deq, Bateg Nong kadəh to say.
Cf. Kammu-Yuan sa, sah to say that... But connection dubious Bahnar pama: speech; to say, speak; as 1949 *[d,I][a]s voice, speech.
(BLOOD 1966 304; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 360 (b.).)

(*r?ah see 1700 *r?əh each, every.)

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Sieng, Sre, Biat lah to do, Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) lah to allow to, Kammu-Yuan ah to make, do; ~ (*lm?əh >) Lawa Bo Luang ləoh, Lawa Umphai woh to build.
B: (Palaungic; *l?əas ləəs > *ur-lur >?) Palaung lur to do, make, work, build.
Connection uncertain Praok yu, Lawa yuh to make, do.
(BLOOD 1966 403.)

1966 *s?uh; *s?uuuh to sweat.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer sʔoh s’uh sultry, stifling; ~ (*svʔuh >) Bahnar bauh (to) sweat); ~ North Röglai [ta]baʔuh; ~ (*srʔuh >) Kuy sʔoh overheated, Chrau sʔuh sweaty [hands], West Bahnar hauh sweating violently (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Röglai hauh sweat, Acehnese rʔoh (to) sweat; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung [om] ramuh sweat (MILNE 1931).
B: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung [om] ramuh sweat (MILNE 1931).

1967 *k[i]i[h]: *kia[h] kind of deer or goat.
A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer kaeh keh kind of deer or mountain goat horns of which are used in medicine, Lawa Bo Luang kaih, Lawa Umphai ces kind of deer (Rangsit mountain goat); ~ North Röglai keh ibex, mouse deer.
B: (Khasi, Katuic) Khasi khiat moss-deer, musk-deer, Bru keh mountain goat, Pacoh keh mountain goat.

1968 *[ ]kah to unfasten.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat [t:om] kah (!) to take apart, Bahnar kah to separate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin kāh, Palaung, Lawa kah, Praok ka to untie; ~ Biat kakh to separate, push aside, Praok ga to be loosened, displaced, to displace, Lawa Bo Luang ?angah, Lawa Umphai ngah to be separated.
Cf. Vietnamese còi, côi to untie, unfasten.
1969 *koh to cut (down).
A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobari) Kuy koh (!) to lop, Stieng koh to cut, lop, Sre koh to cut (down, up), Biat koh to cut (up, off), Bahnar koh to cut, Jeh koh to chop, Halang koh to chop, cut, Kammu-Yuan koh to cut, Palaung koh to cut (down, off), Semai koh to cut, Nancowry ?ukóh to murder; → Cham, Acehnese koh, Röglai, North Röglai koh; ~ Kuy (ŋ)kah to chop [wood]; ~ Khasi dkhōt part, piece, member.

Connect Palaung ŋoh to lop, cut branches off. Cf. 958 *ka(a)t.
(SHAFER 1965 55; SMITH 1972 381; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)

(*cnk[i]h see 18 *cnk[i]? waist.)

1970 *ckah dry.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon koh skah &c. to be dry, Proto-Nyah Kur *cəka'y
(DIFFLOTH 1984 V248; implies -*s), Stieng kha'h, kah dry, dried up (& kha'; → Khmer kha'h kha'h, → Stieng kha'h dry, dried up?), Biat kah (dry) land, (→ dā:k) landing-place, Sre kah sloping; ~ Middle Mon jankah dry.

Sre by attraction etymon of Biat kor slope? Connection obscure Bahnar khō: khōh dry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Vietnamese khô; Cham khauw. Cf. 2086 *s[ə]h &c.; 160 *ro? &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1971 *jkuh; *jkuəh white, clean.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon koh to be white, Khmer skūh sguh pure white, Sre kuh pale grey.
B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar gōh clean, white (→ Jeh gōh clean); ~ Bahnar dialects caguah clean, white (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*jbuguəh >) Sre sākoh, Chrau sākoh to clean, sift [rice], Bahnar dialects paguah to clean (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(Cf. SMITH 1972 385.)

1972 *[d]kah; *lkas to break.
A: (Mon, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*[d]nkah >) Mon hakah dakah &c. to break (v.i), burst, split, crack, ~ (*[d]bkah >) Mon hakah to break (v.t.), (or Indonesian →) Central Sakai bēkah to crack.
B: (Kuy, Khasi) Kuy ṇkah brittle, Bru luŋkah fragile; Khasi ḏkah to break off, snap.
A cf. 2074 *kla h. Connection dubious Sre dārka?, Röglai jarka? to break in two unless Sre ← Röglai ← Mon-Khmer, (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 375.)
(~) Proto-Austronesian *ba(N)kaq: Javanese bĕngkah to split, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; DYEN 1953 § 113). Note also Malay chēkah to split open by pressure.
1973 *dk[a]h to remember.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre kah to remember, to miss, feel nostalgic about, Chrau kah, Biat kah [gut] to remember, Central Nicobarese akah to know, understand, Nancowry kah, ṭakāh; ~ Khmer tuaŋkūh (!) daŋih to think sadly about, Sre taŋkah to remember, recall.
Khmer vocalism obscure.
(SHAFER 1965 45.)

1974 *gah side, edge, direction.
A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre gah side, border, edge, Bahnar gah direction, towards; (probably) → Cham kāh, Jarai gah, Rōglai, North Rōglai gah; ~ (*ngah >) Kuy nāh rim, edge, Bahnar dialects nāh edge or mouth of hole &c.
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ngā direction, way.

1975 *gah; (*gah-s >?) *gaas outside.
A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar dialects agah (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ↔ North Rōglai aga; ~ ↔ Rōglai tagah; Jarai p'gah, Jarai dialect gah.
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng ga'h; ~ aga'h; ~ Bahnar ṭŋayh.
Connect obscure Old Mon ruṁnās /rəmŋas/, Modern Mon pəŋəh.
(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

1976 *guh; *guus to swell.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung guh to open, to swell (MILNE 1931), Praok go [glun] to swell.
B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon kūh to swell up, Proto-Nyah Kur *kuu'y (DIFFLOTH 1984 V250), Palaung guh to open, to swell (MILNE 1931).
Cf. further Palaung gui to swell with damp.

1977 *guh; *guuh; (?) *guəh to glow, burn.
A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon pgoh /pguh/, Modern Mon hakəh to blow (originally ... into flame?).
B: (Palaungic) Palaung guh to blaze; ~ (*pguuh >) Riang-Lang ku to blow (out).
C: (South Bahnaric; ?) Sre goh bright, light (~ Rōglai).
Add following? Cf. also 1575 *gəər to catch fire.

1977a *guuh red.
A: (Bahnaric) Biat guh reddish, russet, Bahnar dialects goh, go: red (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

= preceding?
1978 *g[uə]h to knock, beat, hit.
A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Khmer kùah goh to kick or kick away, beat [gong, mat], knock [e.g. at door], Kuy khù:h to knock, tap on, Chrau goh to knock, hit, Biat goh to knock at [door], beat [gong]; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ngah, Lawa Umphai ngoh, Mae Sariang nguh to hit, beat, (~?) Vietnamese gō to knock on, tap, rap.

1979 *d,ngah crossroads.
A: (Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Thin [ŋɔ̀ː] tə̆ŋ ga, Vietnamese ngã [ba &c.].

(*rg(u)əh, *rguuh see 29 *rguu? to shake.)

†‡ 1980 *sgeh to acquire, possess.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon -sgih /sgeh/ to be rich, Literary Mon sgeh to prosper, to be endowed with, Sre geh to have, possess, Biat geh to have, possess, to acquire, Chrau geh to have, be, to be able.
(BLOOD 1966 246.)
Sora bo'ge- to become rich, probably = bu'ge- to become stout (& Santali boge good, &c., PINNOW 1959 229?).

(*ŋ[ɔ]h see 30 *ŋ[ɔɔ]ʔ to fear.)

A: (Bahnaric) Sre təŋoh brain, West Bahnar təŋoh skull (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*sŋih see 37 *sŋiʔ house.)

1982 *cih; *ciəh to split (v.t.).
A: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang saih to cut up, divide up.
B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Palaung seh to split [wood] into splinters (& to tear; ← Riang-Lang ćĩes < 1952 ćsiâs, which compare?), Muông (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 209), Vietnamese chê to split [wood] (& Vietnamese xê to split up, cut [up], saw up; contaminated by xê to tear < 1689 ćhiâr??); ~ Kuy ceh to hatch (v.t.), Bahnar ceh to hatch.
Cf. 291 *caak &c.

1983 *ceh; *ceʔ kind of jar.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon ceh small jar, Old Khmer ceh jar, Bru ceh jar; → Jarai chê:j jar, Röglai ceh squat type of jar, North Röglai ceh jug; → Bahnar ceh jar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?
B: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese chê jar.
1984 *cuh; *cuₕₜ to kindle, blow into flame.
A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar soh (with vocalism as in 527 *cuuŋ), Jeh, Halang cuₕₜ to light, kindle; ~ Sre sonuh bellows; ~ Khasi pyrsut to blow; bellows, ?Nancowry jōₕ chafe, burn.
B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau soh to light, kindle.

(Smith 1972 373.)
Proto-Austronesian *k'uqk'up to light, kindle: Acehnese coh, Cham, Jarai, North Röglai cuₕₜ, Malay chuchoh, Tagalog suso (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Khasi at least not ← Indonesian!

1985 *cuh to bend down, to go down.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Khmer coh, Modern Khmer coh to go down, to submit, obey, Stieng cuₕₜ tame, broken in, Khasi [ar]sut down, downwards, (~; or with c- by levelling on der.) Kammu-Yuan cuₚₜ to bend down, look down; ~ Kammu-Yuan pəncuₕₜ to bend down.

To go down by attraction 1887 *cis &c.?
(Schmidt 1905 24.)

1986 *[c][u]h; *[c][u]? to wake.
A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Biat choh to arise, come into being (?; if cognate, *c-), (~?) Praok so to rouse; ~ Palaung risuh to wake (v.i.).
B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi kyrsiew to wake (v.t.).

1987 *[ʔ]coh to peck, to strike with adze, hoe, &c..
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer coh coh [e.g. woodpecker] to make hole in [tree], Kuy coh to undergo vaccination, to plant, Stieng coh [bird, snake, fish] to bite, peck at, Biat coh to chop up, mince, Bahnar coh to break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe, Kammu-Yuan soh to cut [firewood], chop, hoe, Pangan [ya]-chah to chop at (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 296); ~ Cham coh to dig with hoe, Jarai coh to break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe, Röglai coh to dig with hoe, to split firewood, North Röglai coh to peck, Acehnese coh to peck, [snake] to strike; ~ Sre jəcoh to chop up, mince, Chrau tacoh to chop up, Bahnar cacoh to chop, to flatten with dah; ~ Cham tacoh, Jarai t'coh, Röglai jəcoh, North Röglai ticoh to chop up, mince.

= 1989 *[t]c[ɔ]h to kick, which compare? Cf. also following & 1993 *juuh &c.

(*kcah see 1892 *kcas charcoal.)

1988 *[k]cuh to pierce.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Sre (→ Röglai) cuₕₜ, Biat coh to pierce holes in, Palaung coh to chisel, Besisi coh to pierce, perenetrate (i.e. Mah Meri; Skeat & Blagden 1906 C 296).
Cf. preceding & 1993 *juuh &c. to peck…

1989 *[t]c[ə]h to kick.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Sre coh, Chrau cəh, Palaung coh, cəh (MILNE 1931), Semang tējāh (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 23 (a)); → Cham cəh, Rōglai coh.
Cf. A179 *[k]cəs. = 1987 *[ʔ]cəh to peck…? If so, the same semantics in Mon bək.

‡1990 *[p]cəh to break.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng cah to break in pieces, Biat cah (to get) broken, Bahnar cah broken (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre bacak, Chrau pəcəh (to get) broken, Bahnar pəcəh to break (v.i.t.); (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar dialects kəcəh splinters, sherds (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 285.)
Proto-Austronesian *pək’aq: Cham pəcəh to break, &c., Malay pęcəh broken, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 116, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62); ~ *k’aq’əq: Javanese chachah chopped fine, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86, *k’ək’əh; add Cebuano Bisayan səsə to crack and flatten bamboo). Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian?

(*pca[ ]h see 1895 *pcaas sour.)

1991 *jah to scatter.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Mon cəh to be diffused, wafted, (prah —) scattered, Khmer cəəh jəh to throw [water] from container, Kuy chəːh to throw [liquid] with secondary lengthening, Palaung jah to spread [seed] out; → Thai cʰáh to rinse, wash, purify.

‡1992 *juh distant.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung juh.
Proto-Austronesian *da(S)uq: Malay jauh, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; with *da’ah, DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, = *Za(S)uq, DYEN 1951, DAHL 1973 § 16.4; contra, SHORTO 1975 94).

1993 *juuh; *juəh to peck, dart and strike.
A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau juh to stab.
B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Bahnar joh, Jeh, Halang joh to peck, [snake] to strike; ~ (?; *jrjuəh by metathesis >) Biat jroh to dig with a spade.
Cf. 1987 *[ʔ]cəh (also for semantics); 1988 *[k]cuh to pierce.
(SMITH 1972 384.)
1994 *juuh; *jəh; *juuʔ to stay, linger.
A: (Palaungic) Palaung juh to stay; ~ Riang-Lang _takcu to perch, rest.
B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar jah to rest, stay (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Biat njah to stay, take refuge.
C: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Kuy with secondary lengthening chàu to stop, Bru càw (!), Sre jou to visit.
Cf. Old Mon jǔl /jul/ to cease from activity, Modern Mon cù to rest.

†1995 *[r]njuh; *[r]nuuh; *[r]nj(u)h to shake.
A, B: (Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer kāncuh kañjuh to shake (v.t.) (Tandart 1935), Kuy (A) (kh)chuh to shake (out), West Bahnar rayuh to shake (v.t.) (Guilleminet 1959-63), Vietnamese (b) giũ to shake [dust, water] off; → Cham yuh to tremble, to shake (v.t.), Jarai rayuh to shake violently, Röglai ayuh to shake.
C: (Mon) Mon kàyôh layah to shake off.

(*jəh see 60 *naʔ person.)

1996 *t,ih large.
A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Chrau tih wide, spacious, Biat teh, Stieng, Bahnar tih, Jeh, Halang tih, South Nicobarese [om]tě large.
(Smith 1972 337; cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 205 (a.).)

(*t,ih, *t,iəh see (also) 64 *t,iʔ earth, ground.)

1997 *t,eih to hit, strike, beat, kick.
A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon teh to kick backwards, Kuy teh to strike [e.g. flint on steel], Sre (~ Röglai) teh to hit with downward movement, Bahnar teh to hit with small stick, to beat flat, beat out, Kammu-Yuan tēs to strike fire, Lawa Bo Luang təih to kick; ~ Sre tənh, Bahnar tən̥h, Kammu-Yuan tarnès tinder-box.
Separate Riang-Lang *ti to strike, hit, beat, ← Shan tī to strike lightly ← Burmese tī:

1998 *t,ah; (*t,ah-s >) *t,aas; *t,aʔ level.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon [top] tah to be level, West Bahnar tah [təŋ] flat, level (Guilleminet 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang (*takta by secondary expansion >) *tak to scraper for threshing-floor.
B: (Mon) Middle Mon tah, Modern Mon tah to level.
C: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobari) Khmer da: tā stone slab, Central Nicobarese tə: flat, level, Nancowry tə level; ~ Khasi pyntha plain.
(Schmidt 1905 12, 18.)
1999 *tɔh breast, mamma.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon 
\(tɔh\) /tɔh/, Modern Mon \tɔh\, Old Khmer \tɔh\, Modern Khmer \dɔh\, Kuy, Stieng 
\tɔh\, Sre \tɔh\ breast, Chrau [da?] \tɔh\ milk, Biat, Bahnar \tɔh\, Jeh, Halang \tuh\,
Praok \tu\, Lawa Umphai \taus\, Mae Sariang \tauh\ (!), Semelai \tu\, Central 
Nicobarese \tɔh\ breast, Nancowry \tuah\; ~ Stieng \katɔh\, Chrau \gatɔh\ breast.
Waic suggests a variant *t₁uus; by expressive deformation? Cf. 2005 *kt₁ah chest.
(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAFER 1965 19; BLOOD 1966 264; SMITH 1972 372; SKEAT & 
BLAGDEN 1906 B 387 (a).)
Santali \toa\, &c. (PINNOW 1959 263).
(?) Proto-Austronesian *t\u(S)t\uS: Cham \tath\, &c., Malay \susu\, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 
1938 158-9, *t'ut'u\; SHORTO 1975 97, contra DAHL 1973 § 16.1). (Cf. POU & 
JENNER 1975 no. 35.)

2000 *toh to remove.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer \dɔh\ \tɔh\ to take [clothes] off, to free, release (→ 
Stieng \dɔh\ to untie, untether, free, redeem), Kuy \tah\ to take [clothes] off, Sre \tɔh\ to 
recover [property], Biat \tuh\ to remove [honey from nest], Bahnar \tah\ to take out, 
remove.

2000a *t₁uh to regenerate (?), re-cultivated land.
A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khmer) Khmer \doh\ \tuh\ to grow, sprout, bud (?), Kammu-Yuan 
tuh fallow in year after cultivation; ~ (*t₁npuh >) Sre \mpuh\ field cultivated for 
two years, Biat [nɛh] \mpoh\ cultivated [land], Bahnar [miːr] \təpuh\ (GUILLEMINET 
1959-63) (East Bahnar; West Bahnar \puh\) [field] cultivated for three years.

2001 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh to beat esp. with implement.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Literary Mon \tuh\, \tuuh\ to raze, level, smooth, beat 
down (by attraction 1998 *t₁ah-s), Bahnar \toh\ to hit (violently), beat (GUILLEMINET 
1959-63), Thin \tɔh\ to hit with stick.
B: (Palaungic) Palaung \tuh\ (or A?), Riang-Lang \tu\, Lawa Bo Luang \tauh\, Lawa 
Umphai \tuh\ to pound.

2002 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh; *t₁uah; *t₁ah bean.
A, B: (South Bahnaric) Biat \tuh\ (A), \tuuh\, Stieng \tu\? (!; BLOOD 1966 \tuh\), Chrau \tuh\ 
(B).
C, D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang \tuh\ (C), Bahnar \tah\ (D).
Cf. Vietnamese \dâu\, \dō\.
(BLOOD 1966 30; SMITH 1972 355.)
2003 *tuh; *tuəh; *təh to pour out.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Biat toh to pour [paddy] out, Sre, Bahnar tuh to pour out, Muong tɔ (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese dō id., to spill; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang ndauh, Lawa Umphai ndoh, Mae Sariang ndoh, nduh to fall, let fall, put in.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar tuah to draw, transfer, sprinkle [liquid].
C: (South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Sre toh to put [cooked rice] into individual bags (DOURNES 1950), Biat tah to decant, (?) Lanoh Jengjeng toh, Temiar tah rain. If Lawa is cognate, *t-i.

2004 *t₁uu[h]; *t₁uəh; *t₁uuʔ to rub, clean by rubbing.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon taoh tuh, toh to rub, scrub, scour, Khmer doh tüş! to rub, scrub, polish; → Cham dauh; Thai tūu.
B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan hantḥ to rub.
C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau tu: to wash [face]; ~ Biat rtu: to wash [face]; ~ (*t₂pttu,uuʔ >?) Riang-Lang saktuʔ to launder; ~ (*t₂nttu,uuʔ >) Praok sidœ to launder.

Thai appears to confirm *-h. Perhaps construct *t₁uuʔ to wash; *t₁uuh &c. to rub, with contamination. Note also A158 *ktuul ...to whet. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 34.)

2005 *kt₁əh chest, thorax.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat [taŋ] tah, (merging breast < 1999 *t₁əh, which compare.) Praok tu:; ~ (*kntəh >) Sre ntəh, Bahnar kətəh, Central Sakai ’ntōh.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 380 (b).)

2006 *[c]tɔ[ə]h to spit.
A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer sdɔh stɔh, Bateg Deq gatəf, Temiar gatəh, (~) Semelai tahtəh.

Cf. 2090 *ksəh; contamination is likely.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 390.)

2007 *trtuh to shake.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre ratuh to shake (v.t.) (& ratas, → Rögai, to shake up and down, by arbitrary deformation?), Chrau ratuh to shake (out), scatter, Biat rtoh to shake down, Bahnar tətuh to shake.

2008 *bt₁uh; *bt₁uəh; *bt₁[i]h; *bt₁iəh to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.
A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer phtuh phduh to crackle, to burst, explode; → Thai patʰuʔ to explode; Jarai tuh to explode; ~ Mon hətəh batəh, batuìh to suppurate, fester, to burst, break out.
Proto-Austronesian

**Sora**

*C*: *B*: 

**A:** (Proto-Malayo-Javanese) Proto-Aceh-Cham /tpè/ to strike, [gun] to go off.

*C*; or *-tj*?; Kuy) *-tah* to hit, come in contact with.

**D:** (Palaungic) Palaung *tah* [lightning] to strike, [gun] to go off.

Connect variously Khmer *khtuh kduh* puh; 2015a *tpuh* &c.; 74 *[b]tuu?* to burst, 

**Cf.** preceding.

*Soro* *patui* to burst.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[b]t[ya]t[ja]*q: Malay *bërteh* parched rice, &c., perhaps Cebuano Biayan *bagi* bone-dry, parched with heat (DEMPWOLFF 1938 28, *[b][t]ih; Proto-Western-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *[b]atut*: Acehnese *b/ör/toih*, Malay *m/ě/ětus* to burst, explode, Javanese *m/l/ětus* to spring apart, (or Mon-Khmer →?) Cham *patuh*, Röglai *batuh* to explode, North Röglai *patuh* to crackle, explode (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

2009 *tah,ah; (*/tah-ah-s >)*/tah,as; *tah,aas to explode.

**A:** (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Biat *tah to burst* (& *tah *tór* (to) thunder, by phrasal assonance); ~ (*tah,ah >) Mon *hatah* to burst, explode, (with secondary lengthening; or C?) Kuy *nthàt* [pàn] [lightning] to strike; ~ Mon [hakà] *katah*, Khmer *rūntèah* & *ontèah* lightningbolt; ~ Kammu-Yuan *pátâh*, (by back-formation?) *páth* to burst, split open; ~ Khasi *pyrthâ* thunder.

**B:** (Palaungic) Praok *tu* to flash, (~?) Lawo Bo Luang [ta?] *tüh*, Lawa Umphai *tōs [ta?]*, Mae Sariang *toih [ta?]* lightning.

**C:** (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar *tayh* [lightning] to strike, Bru *tāy* thunderbolt.

Cf. preceding. Sakai (i.e. Semelai) *kë rèntah* thunder, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119, is rather connected to 1622 *g tar*.

(*dih see 76 *dǐ?* to hit, come in contact with.)

2010 *dah* (& *dà?*?) to hit, to meet.

**A:** (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Late Old Mon *dah* /dah/ to be contiguous with, Modern Mon *tèh* to hit (mark), meet with, be correct, to fit, Khmer *tèāh dah* to slap, Kuy *tààh* to slap, to beat [drum] with hands, Bru *tàà* (so *-ah?* or secondary lengthening?), Stieng *dah* to hit, attack, (*dà? >?)

Central Nicobarese *tā*, *dā-[hətə]* to touch, Nancowry *tā?*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *ndah*, Lawa Umphai *nduā* to slap, *hit*, Praok *de* to strike, *beat*; ~ Khmer *pratèah* to encounter, meet by chance.

Cf. 76 *dī?* &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

(*dah see 78 *dəʔ* to stop... ; *[d][ɔ]h see 79 *[d][ɔ]?* this, here.)
2011 *rdeh cart.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer rǝtēh radeh, Kuy rthēh, Stieng, Kontum Bahnar radeh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham rǝtēh, rıtēh, Jarai r*deh, North Rōglai radeh; Thai rǝtʰè; ~ Sre (→ Rōglai) rondeh, Chrau ndeh; → Biat rundeh.
Sre, & Cham &c., exclude *-d-.
(BLOOD 1966 248.)

2012 *[s][d]i[h] low, below.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic). Stieng deh, dheh under (neath); low, Biat deh, Kammu-Yuan tis low; ~ Thin (h)nde low, Praok de to be low, (at) the bottom.
Connect Chrau aṭeh below. Note also Nancowry mižši low, mižhla shallow, referred ?ih near; haʔeʔhhasi to lower, laʔešši beneath, and further kalǎh beneath. For Bahnar kǝdèh short, ... see 202 *Glīšt.

2013 *deh to be born, to give birth.
A: (& to move, contaminated by 2062 *leḥ to go down, out; Bahnaric, Central Aslian)
Stieng, Biat deh v.i.t., Sre deh to give birth to, lay [egg], put down, Chrau deh to give birth, Sakai dè to lay down (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (b)); apparently → Muông tè to be born (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese dè to be born, dê to put down; ~ (*[l]ndeh >) Sre deh to move (v.i.), Bahnar raneh to be born; (probably) ~ Biat ndeh [ntok] to move, displace.
Sora deː to become is not connected, cf. PINNOW 1959 333.
(BLOOD 1966 245.)

2013a *duh; *duah to stumble.
A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy thŬh to trip over, Bru kutŐh!; ~ Riang-Lang "kando to stumble.
B: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmuic; ~ *kduah by secondary derivation ~) Chrau dojah to stub toe, (?) Kammu-Yuan cǎkluah slipping up.
Kuy appears to exclude *kd- in root. But separate? or *gd-.

2014 *tǝdīh; *tǝdǝh; *tǝdíʔ near.
A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?South Bahnaric) Sre (DOURNES 1950), Biat dih outside (?), Kammu-Yuan leš, Khmu leh, Kensiu tadeh near.
B: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng daḥ near; ~ (*tǝpdǝh >) Mendriq pǝdah; ~ Stieng ndǝh, (~?) Lanoh pǝləndǝh.
C: (Palaungic; ~ *tǝndiʔ >) Praok de near, to be about, to be about to, to pertain to, Lawa Bo Luang sandaiʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang sandiʔ near.
Note also Nancowry ʔiḥ, ʔēh, tinʔēh.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 19.)
2015 *[n[d]ah; *[n[d]aah; *[n[d]aʔ one of two sides.

A, B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Stieng dah one of a pair (A), Sre, Biat dah, Jeh nah side (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), one of two sides, (B) Muông (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese nũa half; ~ (A/B) Bahnar maʔnah part, some...others...

C: (Katuic) Kuy na: side, direction.

(LOOD 1966 289.)

2015a *pduh; *pduəh; (*pdiə-s >?) *pdiə to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Bahnar doh to explode, duh pus, to suppurate, Vietnamese nô to explode, Nancowry ūrhô to hatch eggs; ~ Jarai duh to explode; ~ Kammu-Yuan paltôh to explode; ~ Palaung padoh parched rice.

B: (Kuy) Kuy duh to burst, explode; ~ bdah parched rice.

C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy deh [sparks] to fly, West Bahnar deh

(LOODMENET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang teh, Lawa Umphai thias to give off sparks.

Connect 2008 *bt1uh &c.

2016 *[s]duh to leap, jump.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer stūh sduh to leap up, spring forward (with chest register by levelling on derivation); ~ somtûh, soutûh bound, leap; ~ Sre sando h to jump; ~ Biat rdoh to spring, rush upon, to swoop.

Sre establishes *-d-. Note Bru badayh < *-as to leap, jump.

(*nih see 91 *niʔ this.)

2017 *neh finished, over.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre neh to be finished; past auxiliary, Röngao neh (& ney) formerly, recently (LOODMENET 1959-63).

(*nah see 92 *nəʔ this.)

2018 *jnah victorious.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Old Mon jnah /jnah/, Modern Mon hnèh, Old Khmer jnah, Modern Khmer chnhēh, Kuy nàh to be victorious (over); ~ Cham canχh; ~ Literary Mon jannah victor, Khmer cùmnèh victory.

2019 *t[rn]əh other.

A: (Mon, Katuic) Middle Mon tanah, tanoh /tənəh/, Modern Mon kənəh, Kuy nah, Bru kanah.

Katuic probably confirms *-rn-.

2020 *t,nəh mouth.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy nəh, Kammu-Yuan tanəh.
(*[b]nah see 96 *[b]na? you.)

2021 *piih to wash [clothes].
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng phih (!; BLOOD 1966 pe:h), Sre, Chrau pih, Biat, Bahnar pih. connected 2026 *puh to wash.
(Shafer 1965 97; Blood 1966 49.)

‡2022 *pah; *puh; *puəh to slap, hit.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) (Sre pah to clap, slap, punch perhaps ← Röglai, below; as Khmer pah to hit ← Cham) Chrau pah to hit, Praok pa to strike, Lawa Bo Luang poh, (!) Lawa Umphai phoh, Mae Sariang p(h)oh (by attraction 2026 *puh to wash) to hit, beat, launder; ~ Vietnamese vā to slap.
B: (Khmer, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer boh puh to hit with stick, Lebir, Kerbat puh to strike (i.e. Bateg Deq; Skeat & Blagden 1906 S 496 (c)), Nancowry ʔufôh to stir, beat drum.
C: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Khmer bəh pōh, Kuy pah to hammer, drive in, Palaung poh to slap.

Back vocalism secondary.
Proto-Austronesian *pa[q]pəq: Malay pèpah to strike, beat, &c. (Nothofer 1975 75, Proto-Malayo-Javanese *pəpəh. Tagalic reflects variants *paqpaq, *piqpiq; see Preliminary Studies…). Cham, North Röglai pah to slap, Jarai pah to slap, to beat drum, Röglai pah to slap, clap, punch are < *pəqpaq or ← Mon-Khmer; separate Acehnese òmpaih to beat, < *-t'.

(*pah see also 100 *pa? shoulder.)

2023 *pɔ[ə]h (to) flower.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung poh (to) flower, Riang-Lang ≈ pɔ bud; to open, flower, Proto-Semai *pv(ə)yəh to blossom (Diffloth 1977).
= 2029 *puh &c. to open? Then rather *pə(ə)h. (Cf. Skeat & Blagden 1906 F 189.)

2024 *pooh to use a bow.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon poh /poh/, Modern Mon puh to shoot with pellet-bow, Khmer bəh poh to gin [cotton], Praok [ak] po bow; ~ Mon nuh pnoh pellet-bow, Khmer phnh bow for beating cotton, Vietnamese nó crossbow.
= following? Pangan puh to shoot with blowipe is < 2028 *puh.
(Schmidt 1905 14.)
2025 *p[oo]h to throw (away).
   A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Khmer bah poḥ to throw, (— baol &c.) throw away, abandon (→ Kuy bah throw away, abandon), Lawa Bo Luang pauh, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang peuh to throw away, Vietnamese báo to put, cast, to leave, abandon.
   = preceding?

2026 *puh to wash.
   A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan puh to wash [clothes, hair]; ~ Biat rpoh to wash [face].
   Connect 2021 *piih to wash [clothes].
   Proto-Austronesian *puqpuq: Kelabit pupuq to wash clothes, Bikol puqpuq to wash anus, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 310; Proto-Hesperonesian).

2027 *puh; *puuh reed, split bamboo.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*mpuh >) Mon (k)apuh lapuih kinds of reed used for matting; ~ Khmer bəboh, pəboh papos! Aira arundinacea, used for matting; → Cham papo: Saccharum arundinaceum; ~ Khmer prəboh prapos! reed, by metathesis Sre proh rush; → Röglai bəboh rush.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng puh split bamboo used in fields.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 24.)
   Proto-Austronesian *palu[ ]puq: Malay pəlupoh, Javanese plupuh split bamboo for flooring, (?) Tagalog palupog rack (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-Hesperonesian). Perhaps Mon-Khmer → Indonesian Cf. BENEDICT 1975 325-6, leaf; but connected Proto-Austronesian with *p/al/aqpaq frond, midrib (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112-13; DYEN 1965) not certain.

2028 *puh; (*puh-s >) *puus to blow.
   A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör puh, Central Rölöm poh to blow, Biat poh to operate [bellows], pump, Pangan puh to shoot with blowpipe (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a)); ~ Sre gapuḥ [leaf in wind] to tremble, [flag &c.] to blow in wind.
   B: (North Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Bahnar puyh north-east monsoon, dry season, Jehai pahas to blow, (?) Semai ll pas wind.
   By dissimilation < *phuh(-s) < *bhuh(-s), cf. Jehai, Austronesian? Cf. 616 *lpuŋ &c.; 1023 *puut &c.
   (BLOOD 1966 29.)
   (?) Proto-Austronesian *[qS]a(N)but‘: Cham pūḥ to blow up [fire], Malay (h)əmbus to blow furnace..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 63, *həmbut’). See BENEDICT 1975 236-7.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2029 *puh; *puuh; *puəh; *pəh; (*pəh-s >) *pəas to open.
A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung puh (A), (B) Praok paw, Lawa Bo Luang puh, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang poh.
C: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar poh to open, uncover (Guilleminet 1959-63; & Röngao poh), Central Nicobarese ofooh-[hala &c.] to open, Nancowry fuah open, ğufuah to open; → North Röglai puh.
D: (?) → Cham pyh, Röglai pah to open.
E: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar payh to open, uncover.

(*[kr]puh see 103 *krpi? buffalo.)

2030 *lpiəh; by metathesis *pliah to separate, pick.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon poh to be displaced, Khmer bhə pəh to pick, pluck, Kuy pəh to break off piece [of edible], East Bahnar pəh, West Bahnar peʔ to pick, pluck, to cut and gather, to strip, peel, scale (Guilleminet 1959-63), Palaung pəh, Praok pe, Lawa Bo Luang pəih, Vietnamese bẹ to pick, pluck; (Vietnamese or Khmer) → Chrau bhə to pick or break off; ~ Middle Mon lapah [ket] to pick up, Modern Mon kəpəh to pick up, kəpəh to pick up, (kə —) to be broken off.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng pəh to pick [fruit], to change [garment], to take the place of [person], Bahnar pəh to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off; ~ (*pnliəh >?) Kuy mpleh to pick, pull stalks off; ~ Mon pəlah to pull, pluck, pull apart, cut into bits, Khmer prəleh to pick carefully, (Tandart 1935) pull to pieces; by back-formation ~ Mon ləh to pick up, Bahnar leh to pick, pluck; [weapon, trap] to go off (Guilleminet 1959-63), (?Nancowry leh (to be) separate, to break or cut off.
Note variously Jeh piəh (< *lpiəas) to break off; Biat pəih (< *lpiəas) to pick up; Lawa Bo Luang pəah to be broken off; Bahnar pləh to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off (Guilleminet 1959-63; Jölông); gləh (Guilleminet 1959-63) to come out of place, be dislocated.
(Schmidt 1905 62.)

(*lpəh see 2063 *pləh to cut up, divide, split.)

2030a *lp[ə]h waves in water.
A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar pəh [yaʔ]; ~ Old Mon lampoḥ /ləmpoḥ/ [caloḥ], Modern Mon kəpəh.

*2031 *səpəh to insult.
A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre səpəh to impugn the paternity of, insult (→ Röglai), Central Röləm pəh to put a curse on, Bahnar dialects sapəh &c. to insult grossly (Guilleminet 1959-63), Vietnamese [si] və to insult.

2032 *bah; *baas to flow out.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon [hɑ̃] bɑ́h to overflow (or B); ~ Bahnar bəbah to flow into.

B: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Mường) Khmer piæh bās spreading right through, Kuy phiah ready to overflow; ~ Vietnamese vài to spill, to be spilled, to strew.


2033 *b[ɔ]h mindful, to hold in mind.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon pòh bɑ́h to remember, call to mind (& Middle Mon bɑ̃h sanā to bear in mind by popular etymology ← Sanskrit/Pali vāsanā recollection), Chrau vɔ́h [vənɔ́h] wise, Khasi [buh]bot to be mindful (with b- by phrasal alliteration).

B: (North Bahnaric) Chrau vuh dust, ash, Sre buh, Biat buh ash.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan pɔ́h ash.

Connect Semang sibó (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 23), Sakai sâbor dust (i.e. Semai; ib. S 26); but connection dubious Khmer pheh pheh ashes, cited at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 18; as Khasi dpei hearth, ashes. Cf. 359 *[ ]bu(u)k dust; 1483a *buuy Ω &c. dust; 2044 *t[ ]booh flour, dust.

(SHAFER 1965 134.)


2035 *buuh to split.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer pūh buh to split wood, Stieng buh to split wood; finished part of task, Biat buh part, half, lamina, Vietnamese bọ to split [wood], cut [fruit] open (?; contaminated by 2029 *puh to open?), Nancowry tapūh to split; ~ Stieng mbooh split wood; finished part of task.

(*bəh see 1963 *bVehr to abuse.)
2036 *ɓ[ə]h; *ɓah to open.
B: (South Bahnaric) Biat bah ajar.
Palaung vocalism contextual? Cf. 2029 *puh &c.

2037 *ɓʊh salt.
A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy phùh, Chrau vəh, Biat bəh, Sre, Jeh, Halang boh, Bahnar ɓəh; → Cham bōh.
Cf. 1770 *[m]il.
(Blood 1966 259; Smith 1972 379.)

\[1\] 2038 *ɓuh; *ɓuuh; (*ɓu(u)h-s >) *ɓus; *ɓuus; *ɓi[ ]s to bubble, boil.
A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer puh buh to boil, Bahnar buh welling up (Guilleminet 1959-63; or B); (~) → Iban amboh /amboh/ scum, slime; ~ Khmer popuh foam, scum, Central Sakai buboh foam, froth; ~ (*brbuh >) Mon habh bahuih &c. foam, froth (or : last); → Cham parāpoh froth; ~ Khmer rūmpuh boiling-point, Stieng ramuh to boil (v.i.); ~ Kuy mpoh foam, bubbles, Stieng sambuh, (or B; ~?) Bahnar kamuh froth.
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Katuic) ~ Biat mbuh froth, Vietnamese mù pus, Kuy phùh to boil over.
C: (Mon; rather than A) Mon boh to boil (v.t.).
D: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung bur, Riang-Lang ðous foam, foam, Temiar buses bubbles (Diffloth 1976); (probably) ~ Sakai rēbus to boil (i.e. Temiar, Lanoh; Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 334); → Malay rēbus, Acehnese rōboih.
E: (Palaungic) Palaung bir to boil [rice].
Connected further Central Nicobarese foih bubble (< *p-); Praok bay foam, froth (< *bnīi??); 372 *[c]buk froth.
(Schmidt 1905 56.)
Sora abu-bu-n foam.
~ (Proto-Austronesian *[t]'abu) Bikol sabó, sobo foam, foam, Pangasinan sabó foam, Ilocano sibo bubble. Note also Malay bueh froth (< *bu [ ji], or ← Mon-Khmer?; with Nicobaric, & Mon-Khmer vowel variation, suggesting Proto-Austrasiatic *buh or the like); Sanskrit budbuda-, budbuda- bubble, budabuda- bubblingly (Turner 1962-66 9278). (Cf. Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 17.)

\[1\] 2039 *ɓuh; *ɓah to pour, sprinkle.
A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon boh to sprinkle; ~ Temiar muh to bathe; ~ Che’ Wong, Semai mamuh to bathe; ~ Middle Mon laboh /ịaɓuh/, Modern Mon habh to pour or sprinkle water over.
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B: (Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi bet to scatter, sow, sprinkle, Pangan [ya]-bō to pour (i.e. Bateg Deq; Seaet & Blagden 1906 P 204); ~ Nancowry kapūahni to pour out (< *fuuh?); ~ Semaq Beri mahme: to bathe.

(Skeat & Blagden 1906 B 81.)
Kharia bi’b to pour out water (Pinnow 1959 319).
Proto-Austronesian *buqbuq: Acehnese boh to place, put, Malay bubuh to put, set, affix, &c., Cebuano Bisayan būbū to pour out into, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 31, *bubuh Hinzufügen + *būubh Giessen; Shorto 1975 97). The same semantics in 986 *cuut &c.

Or *-oh. Note Nancowry ʔuah to admire.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy buh to burn, Sre buh to grill, Chrau vuh, Jeh, Halang buh to roast, Bahnar buh to singe, grill.

Earlier *kubah, causative formation? Then connected perhaps (i) Nyah Kur lʔuh cooked [rice], Bahnar h*uh to reheat roast and mix with freshly cooked rice... (Guilleminet 1959-63); (→) Cham uh to cook in ashes; (ii) A193 *[d]uh hot; (iii) 1872 *[ʔ]us &c. fire, firewood.

(Smith 1972 341.)

2041 *[k]buuh to burn, grill.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy buh to burn, Sre buh to grill, Chrau vuh, Jeh, Halang buh to roast, Bahnar buh to singe, grill.

Earlier *[k]buuh, causative formation? Then connected perhaps (i) Nyah Kur lʔuh cooked [rice], Bahnar h*uh to reheat roast and mix with freshly cooked rice...

(Smith 1972 341.)

2041a *jbut (& *jbuuh?); *jbuu? beak.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Muong) Kuy cbah hooked tip of beak; ~ Khmer cumpūh cambu, (Tandart 1935) cumpūh (< *-uuh?), Vietnamese mō beak.

B: (Mon; ~ *jbutu >) Mon homao camhau &c. beak, bill, muzzle.

Connect Cham cabuac, Rōglai tabuy, North Rōglai tubuai?

2042 *t[e]h to turn edge.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon tbehh /tbeh/ to turn, blunt [edge of weapon], Bahnar beh slightly jagged (Guilleminet 1959-63).

2043 *te[ə]h (& *teəoh?); *tuh to appear, be seen.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon tumbah /tambah/ (I) to appear (& Modern Mon hamah s(a)mah to resemble, contaminated by 149 *smah equal, alike); ~ (*tēb[ə]h >) Old Mon tubah, Modern Mon hobah to show, (~, or by analogy, cf. South Bahnaric *tn- causative) Stieng (ta)mboh to inform, warn, confess, accuse (~ < *-əaoh?), Biat mbah to tell, inform.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar boh to see; ~ tōoh to show.
Khmer cbah clear, evident... is < 1920 *c[ba]s.

(Schmidt 1905 16, 18.)
19044 *t̥l̥ōoh flour, dust.
A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon *t̥āboh/ *t̥ooh/ cake of rice-flour, Modern Mon
[kwaɪŋ] *l̥ōoh rice-flour, Palaung *l̥arboh airborne dust, to be dusty (Milne 1931);
→ Malay *lēbu dust, probably → Javanese *lēbu dust, → Sundanese *l̥o̥buq ashes,
Cf. 2034 *buh &c. ash, powdery dust.
Santali lobo? husk, bran, meal, flour, &c. (Pinnow 1959 245; Proto-Munda *l̥o̥bo[ʔ]—
& *l̥opo[ʔ]).

2044a *mih parent’s elder sibling.
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *mih parent’s elder sibling, Bahnar *mih parent’s elder brother.
(Smith 1972 334.)
(*mih see also 127 *mi? (to) rain; *miih see 128 *mi[i]? you (singular); *m[o]h see
136 *m[i][ʔ] what.)

19045 *muh; *muuḥ; *muu̯s nose.
A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *moh/*muh/,
Modern Mon, Kuy *muh, Biat *moh, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar *muh, Jeh, Halang,
Kammu-Yuan *muh, Khasi ’mut (~ kμmut), Kensiu, Semai *moh, Semelai *muh,
Central Nicobarese *moh, *mu̯h, Nancowry *mu̯h (< *muh); ~ Khmer cr̥amoh cr̥amuh nose, Stieng cr̥amuh nose, muzzle.
B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *muh (Milne 1931), Temiar *m̥ah, Semnam
*muh nose.
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *muh, Lawa Umphai
(Schmidt 1905 56; Shafer 1965 184, 427; Blood 1966 28; Smith 1972 343; Skeat &
Blagden 1906 N 98.)
Sora *m̥u̯ː-n, compounding form mu̯ː-n, Mundari *mu(hu), &c. (Pinnow 1959 387).

2046 *muh; *mu̯h; *muʔ to be.
A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *muh, Sakai *moh (i.e. Temiar; Skeat &
Blagden 1906 B 88).
B: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Archaic Khmer *m̥u̯h *moh that is, Praok *m̥a,
Semang *moah to be (Skeat & Blagden 1906).
C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang *moʔ to remain, stay, Temiar *moʔ there is
(Benjamin 1976b 178).
Connect Lawa mah to be; < weak form?

(*kmu(ə)h see 138 *kmuʔ mouldy, rotten.)
2047 **crmah** generous, kind.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *sarmah*, Chrau *samah*, Bahnar *hamah* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai *camaː*, Röglai *sarmah*, North Röglai *caramah*.

Note Literary Mon *pamah* [slaː] to give up, yield, ~ [slalɔ] *pawah* &c. to renounce, be generous < Middle Mon *trawah* to renounce; conceivably ~ *cwah*, Bahnaric by secondary derivation ~ *cmah* < *cmwah*.

(*smaː* see 149 *sm[ ]ʔ equal, alike.)

2048 **yah**; *yaʔ to damage; waste, residue.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic, Viet-Muông) Sre *yah* waste product (→ Röglai), Palaung *yah*, Riang-Lang _ya*, Praok _ye to destroy, ruin_, Bru *yah to pull down, tear down; ~ (*[c]r[y]ah >) Bahnar *hiah* torn, spoiled, damaged (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[c]nyah >) Biat *njah* residue, Jeh _nah chaff_ (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) kənapah chips from chopping tree; → Jarai źjah residue; ~ Vietnamese *nха* to let fall from mouth, emit from aperture.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *cyah >?) Bahnar źiaʔ residue of sugar-cane.

2049 **syuu[h]** damp, wet.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic, Viet-Muông) Sre Chrau *suh*, Biat *chuh*; ~ Bahnar *haʔnyuh*, (Kontum; ~?) *həyuh* (with *-s by assimilation?); ~ Chrau [daʔ] *yuːh dew*. SMITH 1972 498 suggests North Bahnaric *-j-, probably regular in context.

2050 **reh** to raise up, to exalt.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon *reh* /reh/ to do honour to, Modern Mon *rèh [seh]* to hold in respect or reverence, Thin *reh* to lift up.

Connect 2061 *[^s]r[^a]h* to rise, ascend.

(*r[^a]h* see 2061 *[^s]r[^a]h* to rise, ascend.)
**Part 3: Comparative Dictionary**

2051 *ruh; *ruuh; *ruh; *rah; *raah; *rih; (*-h-s >) *rus; *ruas; *rae; *raos; *raas (& *ras?); *ris; *ru?; *ruu?; *rua?; *ra? to fall, be shed.

**A:** (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Myong) Khmer *ruh ruh* to fall down, fall off, Stieng *ruh* (& *aruh*) to come off handle, come loose, (or B?) Bahnar *ruh* to fall (down), Jeh *ruh* [rain] to fall, Halang *ruh* [water] to fall; ~ Middle Mon *croh* /cruh/ [rain] to fall on, Modern Mon *suh* to extinguish, Khmer *cruh* to fall, (~?) Stieng *jaruh* [flowers, fruit] to fall, Bahnar *cruh* to fall on, flow on, pour on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B?), Vietnamese *ro* to drip, ooze; ~ (*cbruhr >) Old Mon -*cruh* to shed scatter, Modern Mon *karoh* to pour out, let fall, Khmer *cimruh* to cause to fall, Kuy *sroh, rhoh* [clothes] to come down, to remove [clothes] (v.i. perhaps < *cr-); ~ Old Mon *sruh* to pour water on, (merging *c-ruh*) Modern Mon *suh* to extinguish, (or B) Bahnar *sruh* to let fall, throw away; ~ Mon *pruh* to burst, leak, Sre *pruh* to spurt out, to squirt out, Chrau *pruh* [fruit, leaves] to fall, Bahnar *proh* to gush out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & West Bahnar *pruh* to squirt from mouth); → Cham *pruh* to squirt from mouth; ~ Stieng *bruh* to sprinkle water on, Sre *bruh* to spit, dribble; ~ (*.*nuh >) Kuy *ntruh* to fall, Biat *ndroh* shower (quantifier); ~ Biat *ŋkroh* to shake [contents of sack] down.

**B:** (South Bahnaric) (~ (*sruuh >) Chrau *suh* to sprinkle; ~ (*bruh >) *vruh* to squirt, spit.

**C:** (Khermer, Katui, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Palaungic) ~ Bahnar *croh* diarrhoea (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer *proh* *proh* to sprinkle, Bahnar *proh* outflow (quantifier) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer *pruh* to sow, scatter, Kuy *pruh* to strew, sow, scatter, sprinkle, Chrau *vruh* to scatter, sprinkle; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kruh* to flake off, peel off, (~? *nuh >; or variant final) Praok *grua* to drop, fall away; ~ Sre *sakruh* to shake down, (?) Praok *khrua* to shake off.

**D:** (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?Mon) Stieng *raoh* to dismantle, demolish; ~ Jah Hut *carah* to fall; ~ Middle Mon *prah*, Modern Mon *prah* to fall, be shed (or C); ~ Stieng *brah* to scatter, to sow broadcast, Khasi *bret* to throw away.

**E, F:** (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Myong) Kuy *rāh* to asperge, Sre [miw] *rah* mango showers, Biat *rah* to aspire, to strew, scatter, Vietnamese *rā* to be dispersed; ~ Mon *pраh* to be scattered about, Kuy *pраh* [pраh] to be separated and scattered, Sre *prah* [pраh] all over the place (DOURNES 1950), Biat *prah* to fall (down), Bahnar *prah* scattered, sparse (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai *pra?* to sprinkle, spray; ~ Bahnar *taprah* to splash by secondary derivation; ~ Vietnamese [di] *rua* to have diarrhoea (F).

**G:** (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai *reh* to pour; ~ Khmer *preh preh prih prih* onomatopoeic for fine rain, Sre *prih* to spurt out, Biat *prih* [boil] to burst.

**H:** (Bahnaric) Sre *ros* to strip grains [of hill paddy] by hand, Bahnar dialect *ruːih* [cereals] to shatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ East Bahnar *pruih* to squirt from mouth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
i: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Che’ Wong rawas to fall; ~ Mon pruh prov to squirt from mouth or trunk, Proto-Nyah Kur *pruuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V258), Palaung pruar fine ash; → Shan phse, phse to scatter in fine particles; ~ Khmer pruah bruas to squirt from mouth, Biat braih [raː:] to exorcize (by squirting water).

J, K: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai) ras to trim leaves and bark from [branch], Biat raíih to demolish (K); ~ Khmer prah pras! to sprinkle gently (TANDART 1935; pras’ GUESDON 1930; J, lengthening secondary), (K) Kuy prah dishevelled, [bees] disturbed, Biat praiih unravelled; ~ (J; or M or G?) Biat mbreh to sow [paddy].

L: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Sre ras to spread out fanwise, rake apart (→ Röglai) (by attraction 1928 *raas to retreat), Palaung rar [leaves] to fall; ~ Chrau jraih to asperge; ~ Khmer prah pras to throw away, leave, separate, Riang-Lang *pras to leave, to be apart, (probably) Praok pra to leave; ~ Muông (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese rai to scatter (& Vietnamese ráy to sprinkle with water; < *-as?).

M: (Khmer, North Aslian) Mendiq res to fall; ~ Khmer pruh pris fine [rain], to sprinkle lightly.

N: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Biat [crai] pru: to scatter, disperse (v.i.) (or o), Bahnar pro? to gush out (GUilleminet 1959-63).

O: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar ru: [cereals] to shatter (GUilleminet 1959-63); ~ Bahnar [mii]: pru: to shower; ~ Khasi khru sound of falling or tumbling.

P: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat rwa: to scatter, Kammu-Yuan rúa?-rúa? [water] running out continuously; ~ Bahnar pro? to spurt out (GUilleminet 1959-63).

Q: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ West Bahnar pra? to scatter (GUilleminet 1959-63), Khasi pra to fall to pieces, scatter, separate.

Add as derivative 2058 *ruh to seep? Connected further 843 *ruc &c. to fall, drip; 837 *ra(a)c to sprinkle, scatter; & Vietnamese [xê] ra to separate, scatter.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56, 66; SMITH 1972 354; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 19.)

Sora (i) ru-[idaː-] to pour [water]; (ii) ‘sira:- to extinguish; (iii) Kharia ro to be scattered (PINNOW 1959 400; Proto-Munda *ro?).

Proto-Austronesian (i) *luyuq: Malay luroh to fall, be shed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 98-9, *-h); (ii) *d₁/iyuq: Tagalog ligoq bathing, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 166; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) *d₁,iyut: Malay dirus to irrigate, water, Javanese dus, Hiligaynon Bisayan digus to bathe (Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, *d-); (iv; Mon-Khmer →?) Malay tempēras scattered (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 116 to *payat’—rather *payaqat’, see DAHL 1973 § 17.6, 9— to squeeze out). Cf. also BENEDICT 1975 395, sprinkle.

2052 *ruh; *ruuh; *rus young girl, virgin.

A, B: (Bahnaric) (Sre aruh virgin, young girl = ?) Sre [zuːr] ruh young woman (BLOOD 1966) (A), Chrau ruh, sister (B); ~ (*rnr- > ?; A) Stieng druh nubile girl, animal on heat, [koɔŋ du: ur] ndruh nubile girl, Chrau [ur:] druh young woman, Biat [bu:]
droh young girl, (A/B) Bahnar adruh, Gölar Bahnar hədruh girl, young woman still childless, (~?) Jeh drudruh unmarried woman, Halang dadruh young, unmarried woman, fruitful.

C: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang ~cəəs virgin, unmarried girl.  
Connection uncertain Praok [bon] kri, Lawa Bo Luang [pi]-khrah, Lawa Umphai [pa-, kuan] kreh, Mae Sariang [pa]-khyeih (< *krih?).  
(BLOOD 1966 25; SMITH 1972 352.)

2053 *ruuh to wash [clothes].  
A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Röngao rùh, Vietnamese rũ.  
Cf. 1841 *r[ ]aawh to wash (SMITH 1972 348.)  
Sora roː-[kaːb-].  

(*[k]ra[ ]h see 164 *kra[ ]? old, aged.)

2054 *[k]ruh kind of basket.  
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer krùh gruːh, Kuy khrùh (!) kind of basket coated with resin (→ Biat gruːh bucket?), Sre kruh small kind of carrying-basket, Bahnar kroh special large kind of carrying-basket; → Jarai krɔːh, Röglai kruh small kind of carrying-basket.  
(SMITH 1972 376.)

2055 *cr[iii]h rust.  
A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muông) Khmer creh creh, Kuy (!) thrèh, Stieng careh, Vietnamese ri.  
Khmer &c. vocalism post-dental?  

(*jruh see 172 *jruu? deep.)

2056 *jruəh; *jr[ə]h; *jriəh clean.  
A: (Bahnaric) Chrau jɾəh clean, Bahnar hɾəh clean, pure (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).  
B: (Khmer) Khmer crəəh clean, pure.  
C: (Katuic) Kuy thrəh smooth, clean, licked clean.  
C secondary; Khmer vocalism post-dental?

2057 *tr[e]h (to draw a) line.  
A: (Bahnaric) Sre treh to draw a line (↔ Röglai), Bahnar trih line, row (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

2057a *[t]rərah kind of citrus.  
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon [pərak] kərah tarəh kind of citrus, Biat [kɾəc] rlah lemon, mandarin orange.
2058 *truh to seep.
A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat troh to seep, trickle, drip; ~ Mon karo[h] (dai[k]) filter.
~ 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed? Note there Vietnamese rò to drip, ooze.

2059 *prah; *praʔ to make offerings.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar dialects prah to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (~ *p[n]rah >) Chrau mvrah offering-table.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar praʔ to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak.

2060 *brah divine being.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer vrah, Modern Khmer prèah god, sacred being
or thing, Stieng brah spirit (diable, démon), Sre brah mythic hero (DOURNES 1950),
Biat brah spirit (génie); → Thai pará?
Connect ultimately Old Burmese purhā, Modern Burmese bhurā; Old Javanese bhra
lord, Modern Javanese bra prince.

2061 *r[ə]h to rise, ascend.
A: (Khmuc, Palaungic) Kuy sah to rise, to raise; Kammu-Yuan rōh to rise, wake, to
grow, to go up, Riang-Lang ṛa to rise, to go up; ~ Kammu-Yuan prāh to raise, to
wake (v.t.), (~?; by secondary derivation) Riang-Lang phrc to rise.
Or *r- ~ *sr-? Separate Kuy, Bru sah to ascend (?). Connect 2050 *reh to rise up… .

2062 *leh to go down, go out.
A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar lih to abort (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung
le[h], Praok li to go down, out, Riang-Lang le to go out, away, Lawa Bo Luang loih
to go down; ~ Sre pleh to make way, step back, aside, Biat pleh to move house,
Palaung pleh to put down, to set free, to discharge [gun] (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang
ple to cause to go out, drive out, to publish, show, to set free, Lawa Bo Luang plaih,
Lawa Umphai pleh to show; ~ (*.nleh >) Biat nkleh to lower [blind], Kontum
Bahnar haŋlih to put down [load], to reduce [price] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63),
Kammu-Yuan klès to hatch out; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyngklit to go
round, avoid.
Add as derivative 2073 *kleh to fall? Cf. 2013 *deh to be born… , with mutual
contamination; & 190 *leʔ to leave, depart; 2068 *loh to go out; 2064 *lah to
leave; 2072 *luah to abandon; 1514 *ləay &c. to leave… .
(SHAFER 1965 127.)

2063 *lah to cut up, divide, split.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer ləh (→ Biat le[h]) to cut up,
(~? Lawa Umphai lah to cut, slice; → Cham lah to open wide, (~ -le) with legs
apart; ~ Stieng plah to gut, cut up, skin, Bunôr, Biat plah to split, by metathesis
(*lpah >) Chrau, Halang pah to cut, chop, Bahnar, Jeh pah to split; ~ Kuy klah
to split [e.g. nut] open; ~ Stieng kənlah half, by attraction 2074 *kla[h] to break,
which compare) Kammu-Yuan tanlāh to split, to break or burst suddenly; ~ Khmer phlēōh to divide up, cut up, Stieng blah to clear undergrowth, Chrau vlāh to split, Sre, Bahnar blah to split, to divide up, Palaung blah to strip [skin] off, (MILNE 1931) to slice.

(BLOOD 1966 320; SMITH 1972 363.)


2064 *lah; (*lah-s >) *las; *laas to leave.
A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer lēh; → Thai láʔ; ~ Bahnar plāh to separate; ~ Old Mon blah /blah/, Modern Mon plēh to escape, win free, Thin [kham]blah to pass, (or B; ~?) Khasi palat to exceed; ~ Mon hēlah to be free, open, Khmer sralah clear, free, Stieng sralah clear, distinct.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Sre klas to change status, resign, discharge duty &c., to fail to obtain, (or A?) Kammu-Yuan klāh to exceed, [time] to pass; ~ Kuy (c)leḥ to change, exchange; ~ Khmer phlah phlās’ to replace, change (clothes), to be transferred, Biat plēh to change, Bahnar plēh, (so rather than A) Kammu-Yuan plāh to release, Bru lāyh [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off.
C: (Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ *klaas >) Bunör klahih, Central Rōlōm tleh [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off, Biat klahih escaped, Bahnar klahy to escape, Khasi khład to separate, part, to depart.

Cf. 2062 *leḥ ...to go out; 1514 *laoy &c. to leave...

(SMITH 1972 505; cf. ib. 340.)

2065 *lah or.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon lah /lah/, Old Khmer lah, loh, Stieng, Sre, Biat lah, Bahnar dah; ~ Old Khmer klāh some, Modern Khmer klah... klah... some... others...; ~ (*[k]mlah >) Praok [ti] bla some, some... others... (Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mblah part; or ~ 2063 *lah ...to divide...?).

2066 *lah; (*lah-s >) *las; *laas finished.
A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon blah /blah/ after [that], then (contaminated by 2080 *bl[ɔ]h?).
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng leh finished; ~ kleh to finish, use up, finish [doing].
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar klahy to have finished [doing]; then.

(*lah see also 191 *laʔ to spread, extend.)
2067 \textit{*loh; *loh;} \textit{(-h-s >) *lo[ ]; *las} to unravel, unfold.

\textbf{A:} (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Mon \textit{lāh} to come unwound, Old Khmer \textit{loh} to free, Modern Khmer \textit{lūah} to redeem, ransom, Jeh \textit{lūh} to untie (Gradin & Gradin 1979); \sim{} Old Mon \textit{pluḥ /pluḥ/} to attain Buddhahood, Modern Mon \textit{ploḥ} to come unwound, to unwind, Siang \textit{plōh} to peel off, skin, Sre \textit{ploḥ [bəs]} [snake's] slough, Bahnar dialects \textit{ploḥ, plōh} to open, undo, undress (Guilleminet 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan \textit{plōh} vacant, free, Praok \textit{plo} to rise in baking, Vietnamese \textit{trợ} to shoot forth, sprout.

\textbf{B:} (Viet-Muong, ?Khasi) \rightarrow Cham \textit{lōh} to undo, untie, take off; \sim{} Khasi \textit{plied} to o., unfold (or \textit{d(?)}), Vietnamese \textit{giót, trộ} to untie, unwrap, to change.

\textbf{C:} (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon \textit{loh /ləh/} to uncoil (v.t.) (probably, rather than \textit{A}; then \textit{*los}), Central Nicobarese \textit{loḥ} to remove headgear, \textit{olōh-[hənə]} to take off clothes; \sim{} Kuy \textit{plōh} to swell (or \textit{a(?)}), Bahnar dialect \textit{plo̱iḥ} to open, undo, undress (Guilleminet 1959-63); \rightarrow Acehnese \textit{plōh} to unfasten, unroll, take off; \sim{} \textit{(*rlo[ ]s)} Kuy \textit{róch} to slip away, get loose, escape.

\textbf{D:} (Khmer, ?Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang \textit{laʊ}, Lawa Umphai \textit{lās}, Mae Sariang \textit{loīh} to answer (probably; cf. semantically 2085 \textit{*səh}); \sim{} Khmer \textit{pralas'} to separat (Guesdon 1930).

Vowel alternance unusual. \= following? Connection dubious 1666 \textit{*[luur} \&c. to \textit{slip}, come loose.

Proto-Austronesian \textit{Saluq}: Acehnese \textit{loḥ} bald, leafless, stripped, Karo Batak \textit{me-luḥ} falling [hair], easily shed, Cebuano Bisayan \textit{hulu} to moult, to shed skin or shell (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

2068 \textit{*loḥ} to go out.

\textbf{A:} (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy \textit{lûh}, Bru \textit{lûh}, Chrau \textit{luh} (!; contaminated by 2071 \textit{luḥ} to appear\?), Biat, Jeh, Halang \textit{loḥ} to go out, Palaung \textit{loḥ} to go, come.

\= preceding, perhaps by attraction 2062 \textit{*leḥ?} Cf. A200 \textit{*[lr]ah} to send out, drive out; \& note Sieng \textit{luh} to come, go, give, budge; Bahnar \textit{hlōh} (under the entry 2072 \textit{*luəh}) (to go) beyond.

(Smith 1972 386.)

2069 \textit{*luḥ} (\& \textit{*luəh?}) to pierce.

\textbf{A:} (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Khasi \textit{loṭ} (\& \textit{lod}; < variant?) to go into a hole (in games), Central Sakai \textit{loḥ} perforated, (~?) Semelai \textit{?əluḥ} sharp; \sim{} Mon \textit{kloḥ} to penetrate, to be penetrated, to understand, Khmer \textit{kloḥ} \textit{kluh}, Siang \textit{kluh} to pierce bullock's nose; \sim{} Old Mon \textit{kiroḥ /karluḥ/} to penetrate; \sim{} Kuy \textit{thluh} to pierce, penetrate; \sim{} Sre \textit{bluḥ} hole, perforation, Biat \textit{blōh} having a hole in; \sim{} Bahnar \textit{bəluḥ} hole, perforation; to make a hole in; \sim{} \textit{(səluḥ >)} Kuy \textit{lloḥ} to pass rope through nose of bullock, Bahnar \textit{hloḥ} perforated, open, Riang-Lang \textit{tə to pierce, penetrate}, Kensiu \textit{həluḥ}, Temsi \textit{səluḥ} to shoot with blowpipe; \sim{} \textit{(səluḥ >)} East Bahnar \textit{saluḥ} to bore through [knots of bamboo] (Guilleminet
1959-63; & West Bahnar roluh?), Khasi [peij syllut clean through; (variant?) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung karhloh to penetrate.

= following &/or 2071 *luh &c. to appear (through)? Add perhaps as derivative 2079 *t,luuh &c. to come, arrive. Cf. also (i; *klu? >?) Sre klo to hear, understand; (ii) Sora ro- to pierce, penetrate..., Kharia ru? to open, &c., PINNOW 1959 359 (Proto-Munda *ro[]); (iii) 430 *lu(u)k to have, make, a hole in. But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *tarut' to penetrate, DEMPWOLFF 1938 135 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SMITH 1972 356; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (a.).)

2070 *luh 0 hole.
  A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muông) Riang-Lang _lu hole, pit, Vietnamese lỗ hole.

= preceding?

2071 *luh; *luuh; *luu? to appear (through).
  A, B: (Bahnaric) Stien loh (BLOOD 1966), Sre luh (BLOOD 1966) (B), Bunör luh, Central Rölm lōh (A); ~ (A/B) Bahnar bluh to appear (through), to burst (in).
  C: (Mon, ?Khmer) ~ Khmer chloh chluh shining, polished, to shine (or A, B); ~ Old Mon -cinoh /cianh/ to appear.
  D: (Viet-Muông) Vietnamese lỗ to appear; ~ Muông trò to appear (BARKER 1966 24).

= 2069 *luh to pierce? Connect perhaps (by secondary derivation ~ *lnluh?) Riang-Lang _sakno to point to, point at.

(BLOOD 1966 27.)

2072 *luah to abandoning.
  A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer lūah loh to omit, Semang lueh to throw away (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 106); ~ (*clusa?) Mon kloh to abandon (merging 1948 *cla[]s to throw), Khmer jhloh to leave behind, to go beyond (GUESDON 1930), (or ad 2068 *loh to go out?) Bahnar hlah (to go) beyond. Cf. 2062 *leh ...to go out; 2064 *lah &c. to leave.

2072a *loh door, window.
  A: (Bahnaric) Biat [mpoŋ] loh window; ~ (or = ?) Chrau [ləpoŋ] mhloh window, Jeh ploh, Halang po pagoř door.

2073 *kleh to fall.
  A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Halang klih to fall down, Bahnar dialects klih (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Bahnar haleh [fruit, sky] to fall; (ii) Chrau talih to fall, collapse, Jeh taklih to fall, Riang-Lang “kle to fall, (by secondary derivation) Bru raplih [fruit, leaves] to drop.

Connect Temiar kaluh? [fruit, leaves] to drop; but not Sre talah? to push over, ↔ Röglae tala(?) to push over, Cham talah? to expel. ~ 2062 *leh to go down...?

(SMITH 1972 350.)
2074 *k löh to break.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng kl öh to break [stock of crossbow], Biat kl öh [branches &c.] to break; ~ Palaung k n l öh to break (v.i.).
Perhaps by metathesis (derivative of) 1972 *[d]k ah; or ~ 2063 *l ah to cut up, divide, split.

2074a *[k]l öh clean, clear.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng k l ö h clearly, distinctly, Sre k l ö h, Biat k l ö h clean, Chrau k l l ö h pale, faded, Bahnar k l ö h to fade (in washing), to become clean.
Or *t l -.

2075 *g l ö h cooking-pot.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Khmer k h l ö h (TANDART 1935), Sre, Chrau, Biat g l ö h, Vietnamese tr â.
Cf. 195 *l o? &c. kind of jar or pot.
(BLOOD 1966 292.)
(*G l ö h see 202 *G l i? short.)

2076 *t r l ö h woodpecker.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre t r l ö h, Chrau t a l ö h, Bahnar [s e:m] t a l ö h; (by back-formation?) → Röglai k l e h.
Connect perhaps by taboo deformation Cham p a p l a i h; North Röglai d a d e h; Khmer t r a s e h t r a s e h.

2077 *t l ah; *t l a? clear.
A: (Mon, Kuy, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon [jn o k] c l ah, t l ah /k l ah/ to be refulgent, Modern Mon k l ah to be clear, Bahnar k l ah [k l a:n] sparkling, dazzling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*t l ah >) Kuy l l ah clear(ly), Bahnar t a d â h &c. clear, transparent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer t h l a: clear, pure, Bahnar k l a? [k l a:n] sparkling, dazzling.
Middle Mon cl- by scribal hypercorrection. Connection uncertain Khmer ch l ah ch l â s' variegated [colours], (TANDART 1935) to iridesce.
(*t n l ö h see 2019 *t[rn] o h other.)

2078 *t l [l o] h (& *t l o o h?) testicles.
A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng k l ö h testicles [of boar]; ~ (*t l pl- >) Sre p l ö h, (variant?) Chrau [c a p] p l ö h testicles; (probably ~) Kammu-Yuan t a l ö h male [animal].
Cf. Riang-Lang ˉtam ˉkl. Rōglai boʔ kluh is < Proto-Austronesian *buaq qat,əluŋ, probably contaminated by Sre.

2079 *tˌluuh; *tˌloh to come, arrive.
A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Bahnar truh to arrive at, reach, Jeh trūh to come, arrive, Halang trūh, Palaung hluh! to arrive, Riang-Lang ˉtru to come, Sakai déloh to go (i.e. Semelai; SKET & BLAGDEN 1906 G 49).
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường; ~ *tˌplah >) Stieng plah (or simplex >?) Mường (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese trở to return.

Palaung hl- by regressive assimilation; or contaminated by etymon of Kammu-Yuan səlóh to walk, to go to see, perhaps ~ 2068 *loh to go out. ~ 2069 *luh to pierce?
Add perhaps (*tˌluh >) Praok kro to become; & cf. Old Mon tlūŋ /tluŋ/, Modern Mon kləŋ to come, North Bahnaric tr- contextual; Jarai truh, Rōglai, North Rōglai truh to arrive, reach may show attraction of Mon-Khmer, but are < Proto-Austronesian *tərut' to penetrate.

(SMITH 1972 344.)

(*pliəh see 2030 *lpiah to separate, pick.)

2080 *bl[ɔ]h finished.
A: (Bahnaric) Sre bloh marker of completed action, Bahnar bləh to succeed
(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh bloh already (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); → Cham pləh finished.
Cf. 2066 *b-laŋh. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 141.)

(*rlu[u]h see 226 *rluʔ to rest.)

2080a *wiaŋ; *wah to dip up.
A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang _ve to scoop out [of pot].
B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng uah to dip up, Sre wah to empty [fishpond &c.] with bucket (DOURNES 1950), Biat wah [mbuh] to skim, Vietnamese vã to throw [water] on one’s face; ~ Stieng kuah dipper.
Add Bahnar wah to fish with rod and line?

(*weh see 235 *weʔ …to twist.)

2081 *wah (originally noun?); (*wah-s >) *waas (to make an) opening, (clear a) path.
A: (Khmer, Katiuc, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer hwaʔ, Modern Khmer veʔh to cut open, Kuy with secondary lengthening wəʔh [diaʔ] to breach paddy-bund and admit [water], Sre wah passage, narrow path, Biat wah [waŋ] space, Bahnar wah breach, river-mouth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung wah clearing; ~ (*waas wah by contraction > *swah >) Bahnar tsəah to clear a path (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre was to clear a path, Lawa Umphai wuas to open; ~ Stieng kua:h to clear a path, remove [obstacles].


2082 *cweh arrow-poison.
A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer chveh chveh creeper yielding arrow-poison, Chrau chweh, Besisi cheh arrow-poison (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 164 (a)).

(*cwaḥ see 2047 *crmah generous... .)

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy thwāḥ (with secondary lengthening), Kammu-Yuan wâḥ, Palaung vah, Praok ve, Lawa wuah; ~ Khmer travĕh large, wide, long [mouth, slit].
B: (Palaungic, ?North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang _vɑs, _wɑs, Sakai lěwas (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 BLOOD 1966 404; or ← Malay, below). With Khmer, Kuy initials cf. 924 *l/m/əɲ.

Acehnese luaih, Malay luas broad, wide, Cham liwah, Röglai luah space (DEMPWOLFF 1938 100 refers Malay to luvat to issue, emerge, = *luat', DYEN 1953 § 56).

2084 *[s]ahh carrying-basket.
A: (Bahnaric) Stieng saḥ, Sre sah, Chrau sah (BLOOD 1966 sah), Biat chah; ~ East Bahnar [brōŋ] səmah carrying-baskets used for bringing in rice harvest (GUILLÉMINET 1959-63).
(Shafer 1965 511; BLOOD 1966 328.)

2085 *sah to untie.
A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon soḥ /səh/ to answer [question], Middle Mon sah, Modern Mon səh also to untie, Central Sakai sōh to untie; ~ Khmer sosəh səsoḥ to comb, to untangle; ~ rəsoḥ to become loose; ~ Riang-Lang ʰkʰo to be loose, to loosen, untie.

2086 *s[ɔ]h; *səh dry.
A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer soh soh having a dry throat, limp, (— - kəkrəh) dried up or b?), Stieng soh dry; ~ Lawa Bo Luang saʔəh, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang saʔəh dry, to dry.
B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau sah, Biat chah dry.
Lawa obscure (but cf. 937 *b]səʔ?
Cf. 1970 *ckəh; 160 *rɔʔ &c.
Part 3: Comparative Dictionary

2087 *suh to make sibilant sound.
   A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung huuh to gulp in [air] (rather than < 1958
      *huuh to blow); ~ (*snuuh >) Mon kashoh to make sibilant noise, hush, hiss, blow
      nose, Central Sakai h'ngchô's hiss; ~ Palaung kahnuh to sigh; (?) ~ -> Iban
      kesoh to give a single sharp puff. Cf. Nancowry hiuh to blow nose.

2088 *suah; (*suah suah >?) *suas empty.
   A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer soh suh (TANDART 1935), Sre soh empty, East
      Bahnar soh empty, stripped (GUILLUMINET 1959-63), Bru sansah empty; -> Cham
      thôh, Röglai soh, Jarai, Acehnese soh; ~ Jeh sasoh idle, (?) Halang sasoh only.
   B: (South Bahnaric) Biat chôih empty, vacant.
   ~ Connect Nancowry hiuh empty.
   (SHAOFER 1965 577.)

2089 *?seh horse.
   A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon kseh /kseh/, Modern
      Mon cheh, Old Khmer *seh, Modern Khmer seh, Kuy (?a) seh, Chrau aseh, Biat
      cheh, Sre, Jeh aseh, Bahnar aseh, Gölar Bahnar haseh, Halang kaseh, Danaw
      _Ôe; -> Cham athêh, Jarai aseh, Röglai, North Röglai aseh.
   Mon, Halang k- perhaps reflect animal prefix. Connection obscure Central Rölm deh.
   (SCHMIDT 1905 28; Shafer 1965 251; Blood 1966 253; Smith 1972 358.)

   (*ksih see 246 *ks[i]? string... )

2090 *ksah to spit.
   A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Old Mon ksa /ksa/, Modern Mon chah, Kuy
      (k)cah!, Stieng cah, Sre choh, Chrau, Biat chôh, Muông chu [xâk] (WILSON
      1966; BARKER 1966 207); ~ (*krshoh >) Biat rchah, Bahnar kashoh, !Jeh kacuh,
      Halang kacuh; ~ Cham kacuh, Röglai ktiuh?, North Röglai kacue?; ~ Mon
   Connect Kammu-Yuan kacâh, (~) Riang-Lang takchu. Onomatopoetic; Old Mon -s,
   Kuy, Jeh &c. -c- by expressive deformation, or contaminated by 1894 *k[m]cas
   to sneeze? Cf. also 2006 *[c]t[ç]h (contamination is likely).
   (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 374.)

   (*tsah see 247 *tsxö? lung; *hah see 251 *ha? to open [mouth]; *ha[ ]h, *hu(u)h,
   *huah see 1958 *stu to blow, *chuuh see 1875 *c[us] to rot; *m[h][ua]h see
   264 *m[h][ua]? ...night.)
Appendix A  South Bahnaric Comparisons

A1 *bnʔ[uə]? yesterday.
   A: Stieng [mA]bnɔu, Chrau [nar] ndaw, Bunör n’niaː, Central Rölöm dh:
   Connect 6 *ʔ[uə]? this? Cf. also Palaung hui former time, (← din that yonder)
   yesterday.
   (BLOOD 1966 205.)

A1a *k[u(u)ʔ] cobra.
   A: Sre [bas] ku large kind of snake with eyes like cat (DOURNES 1950), Biat [beh] ku:
   cobra.

A2 *g[ɔɔʔ] rhinoceros horn.
   A: Sre gou [rəmis], Biat ɡəu.

A3 *j[n]ŋɔʔ dark.
   A: Stieng jəŋɔ, Sre jəŋo, Chrau jəŋɔ, Central Rölöm ŋaw, ŋɔ, Bunör, Biat ŋɔ.
   (BLOOD 1966 189.)

(*tiə? see 182 *tiəs blind.)

A4 *[c]n[d]əʔ thing.
   A: Chrau sənlə, Biat ndə.

A5 [r]ya[ ]? to be named.
   A: ~ (*[r]nya[ ]? > ) Biat rŋa: name; ~ Sre pria to name, to call (by a name); ~
   Chrau tanhya: to name (tan— causative).
   Note Hre yineʔ, Sedang inay name, SMITH 1972 303; suggesting *-aaʔ.

A6 reʔ to swim.
   A: Stieng rei, Sre [a]re ( & DOURNES 1950 re), Central Rölöm ray, Chrau (BLOOD
   1966), Bunör, Biat reː.
   (SHAFER 1965 525; BLOOD 1966 179.)

1 Originally this appendix was titled “Stiengan Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions
are Proto-Mon-Khmer.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons 533

A7 *[ ]ru[u] to be at leisure.
   A: Sre ru, Biat ru.
   Perhaps *lrud, by metathesis. 226 *rluu to rest (so Kharia le’ru?).

A7a *pnrɔʔ to arrange.
   A: Sre pənro to install with care, Biat [ndrap] ndra: to arrange.
   Add Mon pɔrɔʔ to distribute, dispense; Bahnar pədɔ, mədɔ: (to) trade (&c. : SMITH 1972 564)?

A8 *[b]laʔ wood chip.
   A: ~ (*[b]nlala ?>) Sre pənha (→ Röglai?); ~ Biat rbla:.
   Cf. Jarai tʰla:.

A9 *blaʔ earring, ear-plug.
   A: Stieng bluː; → Röglai blɔ; (*bnlɔ ?>) Sre bənə, Biat mblə: [toː].

A9a *[ ]mlɔʔ stubble.

A10 *[s]wi[i]? wide.
   A: Chrau hwiː, Biat huiː.
   Connection uncertain West Bahnar hoiː, huriː, East Bahnar huiː widely spaced
   (GUILLAUMET 1959-63).

A11 *jhuuʔ to set light to, burn.
   A: Stieng chuː (BLOOD 1966 jhuː), Sre chu (→ Röglai), Bunör suː; Central Rölöm chuː, jhuː, Biat chuː; (*jnhuuʔ ?>; contaminated by 311 *tukʔ?) Stieng (rare) ndhuk smoke, mist, Sre jhuː, Chrau nuː, Biat jhuːk smoke.
   Cf. (i) Jeh, Halang caːw; perhaps, but improbably, with diphthongization as in 43 *cuuʔ, & compensatory lengthening following irregular loss of *h; (ii) Biat chup [uŋ], by phrasal deformation (cf. 885 *ʔuŋ fire); (iii) 1546 *chu(u)y to emit smoke or steam.
   Cham &c. cuː is < Proto-Austronesian *k'uqk'uq (under the entry 1984 *cu(ə)h). (BLOOD 1966 240.)

A12 *ʔaak shoulder-blade.
   Connect Kuy mpaːʔ (tip of) shoulder? Cf. also 265 *iak (part of) arm.
A13 $^*$ʔuuk clay.
   A: Sre uː earth, Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm ʔu:k, Chrau uʔ, Biat [nəh] uːk clay.
   (BLOOD 1966 243.)

A14 $^*$ʔuək; $^*$ək much, many.
   A: Sre oaʔ much;
   B: Stieng ək much, many, Bunör ək, Central Rölöm ək many (& ʔək, ← Biat?), Biat ək much.
   (BLOOD 1966 127.)

A14a $^[c]nʔəʔək$ hand of bananas.
   A: Chrau səʔaʔ, Biat nʔəʔ.

A15 $^*$lʔiik cold.
   A: Stieng liik, Central Rölöm liik cold, Chrau jaʔiʔ cool, (~?) Bunör n’iik cold, Biat nʔiik cool, coolness.
   (BLOOD 1966 220.)

A16 $^*$koˀk knot in wood.
   A: Chrau koʔ, Biat koʔ.

A17 $^*$j[ə]k long in time.
   A: Stieng jək, Sre joʔ, Chrau joʔ, Bunör, Central Rölöm jək long, a long time, Biat joʔ 
   ~ a long time, (to be) late.
   (SHAFER 1965 518; BLOOD 1966 267.)

(*tək see 21 *[d]ək time (quantifier).)

A18 $^[k]tuk place.
   A: Stieng tuk, Central Rölöm tuk; ~ (*[k]ntuk >) Bunör ntuk, Biat ntok, (or 
   next?) Stieng kətuk; ~ (*[k][r]tuk >) Chrau gətuʔ.
   (BLOOD 1966 168.)

A19 $^[t]ntək to cover oneself.
   A: Sre nʔa!, Biat ntək (→ Chrau nʔəʔ) to cover oneself with [blanket], Chrau təŋtəʔ (!) 
   to cover over.
   Sre -əʔ, Chrau -nt- are expected; with Sre cf. 367 *ɓək. Connect 1252 təp &c.

A20 $^[s]rtuk lid.
   A: Sre rətu (!), Chrau sətuʔ.
   Sre -uʔ is expected. Connect (via Cham hatuʔ lid?) 1252 *təp ...to cover.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A21 *[d]ək; *tək time (quantifier).
A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) duʔ, Sre, Chrau doʔ, Central Rölöm doʔ, doʔ;
B: Bunör taʔ Biat toʔ.
(BLOOD 1966 421.)

A22 *[d]ək to wear round small part of body.
A: Stieng doːk to put on, put round neck, Sre doː, Bunör doːk, Central Rölöm doːk to wear on finger or wrist, Biat doːk to wear [ring], perhaps Chrau doʔ to put in.
Cf. 80 *doʔ to cover head.
(BLOOD 1966 71.)

A23 *[ ]nak hearth.
A: Stieng, Biat nak, Chrau naʔ.
Connection uncertain Khmer phnùak ready-laid fire, pile of combustible materials. For Sre bonha see 231 *slaʔ.

A24 *tpn[ɔɔ]k body hair, feathers.
A: Stieng pənɔːk, Sre tənoː.
Cf. Chrau sənoʔ, ad 467 *səək.

A25 *[c]piik kinds of small mammal.
A: Stieng piːk group of small mammals of fox family, Sre pi (!) class of mammals including civet cats, flying squirrels, paradoxure, binturong, &c.; ~ (*[c]mpiik >) Chrau səpiʔ weasel, Biat mpiik class of mammals ..... 
Cf. Khmer sopəːc civet cat, conceivably *jp-, Khmer ~ *jpuuk, with -c by assimilation. But note also Khasi ksih beaver, otter, (kynja —) marten, perhaps < *pciik by metathesis, with animal prefix.
(SHAFER 1965 331.)

A26 *[b]ək mud.
A: Stieng bɔk, Sre boʔ, Chrau voʔ, Bunör, Central Rölöm bɔk, Biat [daʔk] bɔk.
Khmer phùak is rather ~ 482 *lhək mud.
(BLOOD 1966 266.)

A27 *yak to accuse.
A: Sre, Chrau yaʔ.

A27a *yuk square fishing-net, clap-net.
A: Sre, Biat yuʔ (→ Stieng iuʔ) id., Chrau yuʔ large conical net; ↔ Cham, Röglai yuʔ.
Cf. Jarai 'jruʔ, 'jriʔ.
A28 *yuuk mountain.
A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) yoʔ, Central Rölöm yoːk, Bunör, Biat yoːk.
   Connect uncertain Sakai chōk* (i.e. Semai), &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 90; Cham
caoʔ, &c., are < Proto-Aceh-Chamic *cat (cf. Acehnese cat) & not connected.
   (BLOOD 1966 21.)

A28a *r[ɔɔ]k to stretch out [legs &c.].
A: Sre roː, Biat roːk.

A28b *ruuk to pull up.
A: Sre rou to remove [e.g. stumps from field], Biat roːk to pull up [plants].
   Cf. 1058 *ru(ut) &c.

A29 *truuk sky.
A: Stieng truːk, Sre truː, Chrau troʔ, Central Rölöm trọːk, Bunör, Biat troːk.
   (SHAFER 1965 324; BLOOD 1966 19.)

A30 *kla[a]k the day after tomorrow.
   (BLOOD 1966 301.)

A31 *sl[uu]k naked.
A: Bunör ləhok, Biat lhoːk; ~ (*srl[uu]k >) Chrau səroːʔ, Central Rölöm [sak]
   rok.
   By metathesis 1707 *kuulh?
   (BLOOD 1966 p. 37.)

A32 *wak to receive, welcome.
A: Stieng uak to receive [visitor], fetch home, Sre waʔ to receive [visitor] (→Röglai);
   ~ Biat cuạʔ to receive [visitor], fetch home.
   (*wa[a]k see following)

A33 *[k]wa[a]k armpit.
   Perhaps *wa[a]k, *wa[a]k wa[a]k > *kwa[a]k. Connect Sre pənoa?

A34 *kαŋ shell of ear.
kəŋ ear-wax.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A34a *kuəŋ chief.
A: Sre kuəŋ chief (general term), Biat kwəŋ [raŋ ɓɔː] major chief.

A35 *[c]a[a]ŋ clear, limpid.
A: Sre saŋ, Biat chaŋ.
Connection uncertain 523 *caŋ to glitter; 535 *scaŋ to shine. Stieng has aŋ, contaminated by 489 *cʔaiŋ to shine, be light.

A36 *[c]oŋ straight.
A: Stieng soŋ, Bunör sɔŋ straight (→ Chrau?), Sre soŋ straight, right, true, Biat chaŋ straight, direct, fair.
Cf. 530 *kcaŋ stretched…

A36a *ceen to carry.
A: Stieng cəŋ to carry slung over shoulder (& cəŋ sling of bag &c.), Sre cəŋ to take, bring, Chrau cəŋ to carry under arm, Biat cəŋ to carry slung across body, carry [child] on hip.

A36b *cwəŋ [lightning] to strike.
A: Sre coŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat caŋ.
Perhaps *pcaŋ causative ~ 524 caŋ to set light to.

A36b *juŋ; *juuŋ noose, snare.
A: Sre juŋ snare;
B: Biat njuŋ to snare using a decoy.

A37 *[ɲ]oŋ; *[ɲ]ɔŋ beads, necklace.
A: Sre ɲoŋ (necklace of) beads.
B: Stieng ɲoŋ, Biat ɲoŋ beads.

A37a *tun kind of lizard.
A: Sre [ɲoŋ] tun kind of large lizard, Biat [kwai] ton kind of large lizard or monitor.
Add perhaps (*t, uəŋ >) Palaung ton [bleat] large kind of lizard.

A37b *[s]teen to elbow.
A: Biat [geh] teŋ; ~ Sre sənteŋ.

A38 *[d]əŋ equivalent quantity.
A: Stieng dəŋ like, equal, Sre dəŋ in accordance with, as much as (DOURNES 1950), Chrau dəŋ to, as much as.
A39 *[ ]ndəŋ pus.
A: Stieng (n)dɔnŋ, ɗɔŋ, ~ Sre ndəŋ, Biat ndəŋ.
   Connect perhaps (i; *smdʊŋ >?) Kuy mʊŋ, Kammu Yuan plʊŋ; (ii; duəŋ >?)
   Central Nicobarese ɗəŋ.

A40 *k[r][d]ii[ŋ] to hide.
A: Sre k[r][d]iŋ v.i., Biat rdiŋ to hide, obscure.
Or *-ŋ?

A41 *lnpuuŋ door, window.
A: Sre ləpoːŋ, door, window, Chrau ləpoŋ door, (— mhʊŋ) window,
   [voː?] poŋ door[way], Biat mpoŋ door, (— ɬʊŋ) window.
Connect by metathesis Kammu Yuan parlʊŋ entrance, gate? Cf. also 608a *pʊŋ
   window.

A41a *kb[ɔ]ŋ beak.
A: Stieng bɔŋ; ~ Sre kəmboŋ bill of hornbill &c. (Dournes 1950), Stieng kənbɔŋ,
   Biat mboŋ beak.
Separate Bahnar təbɔŋ muzzle, snout, (Kontum Bahnar) beak.

A42 *məŋ stick.
A: Bunör, Central Röləm məŋ, Biat məŋ.
Connect perhaps Khmer mʊŋ, thməŋ large stick (< *muuŋ with vocalism levelled
   on derivation?).
(Blood 1966 123.)

A43 *yaŋ kind of jar.
A: Sre yaŋ squat type of jar, Bunör, Central Röləm yaŋ wine-jar, Biat yaŋ jar.
(Blood 1966 377.)

A44 *[c]nraŋ mad.
A: Sre sənraŋ (→ Röglai), Biat ndraŋ.

A45 *sr[o]ŋ to temper [metal].
A: Stieng sərɔŋ, Sre sroŋ (→ Röglai), Biat chrɔŋ.

A45a *liŋ joint.
A: Stieng liŋ joint of body, Biat lʊŋ finger- joint, joint of bamboo &c.

A46 *kliŋ kite (toy).
A: Stieng kliŋ, Sre kliŋ.
Probable variant of 714 *laŋ &c. large raptor; for the toy Khmer has khlæŋ, Bahnar
klæŋ. (Cf. Schmidt 1905 62.)
A47 *gl[ee]ŋ [animal] to carry in mouth.
   A: Sre gleŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat gleŋ.

A48 *glæŋ (kind of) pheasant.
   A: Stieng glæŋ pheasant, Sre glæŋ Polyplectron bicalcaratum germaini, Chrau glæŋ kind of bird with blue plumage.

A48a *[s]uŋ: *[s]ɐŋ projecting hair.
   A: Stieng soŋ [mat] eyelash;
   B: Sre [təno:] səŋ down; ~ Biat rchəŋ erectile hair, [eye]lash, [porcupine] quills.

A49 *khiəŋ] to chew the cud.
   A: Sre khiaŋ (→ Röglai); ~ Biat nchiaŋ [kaŋ].
   Cf. Khmer ʔiəŋ cud.

   A: Sre phĩŋ (< variant?), Biat phĩŋ.
   Connect 260 *bhe??

A51 *gic; *giəc to break off.
   A: Chrau giʔ to snap [branch &c.] by bending, Biat gic to break.
   B: Chrau giat to break (off).
   Add Khmer kɛc gec to avoid, evade? Cf. also 804 *gac to pluck, harvest; 800 *kac to pluck, break off, cut.

A52 *ŋac active, well.
   A: Sre ŋac to be well, Biat ŋac lively, quick (& mai — xi mai bə?: how are you?).

A53 *[c]əc to diverge.
   A: Sre seʔ to branch, to move aside (→ Röglai), Biat cheʔ to avoid.
   By assimilation < 291 *[cək] to separate, split?

A53a *[s]ndac to go round.
   A: Sre sondac to go round, to surround, Biat ndac to avoid, to turn round (v.t.).

A54 *puəc flesh, meat.
   A: Sre poac, Biat puəc.
   Add *pu(u)c > Stieng puic lineage?

A55 *rac to pray, invoke.
   A: Sre rac to pray to, invoke, Biat rac [θɔːu, gɔm] to curse.
A56 *klæc to hook.
A: Chrau khleʔ (to pull with) hook; ~ (*knıəc >) Sre kæneʔ, Biat ñleʔ hook.

A57 *w[i]c side.
A: Sre weʔ, Biat [pøn] wɛʔ.
Or *wæc; but hardly = 865 *wac stomach.

A58 *[s]ac to choose, select.
A: Stieng seəc to choose, pick out, sort out, pick up, Chrau sac to pick out, Sre sac, Biat chac to choose.
Connect by metathesis (or assimilation if rather *cac) 1889 *cuus &c.?

A59 *ʔaan to carry on back.
A: Stieng, Sre, Biat aŋ, Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm ʔaŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 274.)

A60 *kœ̄n (& *kæn?) to want.
A: Sre kæŋ (< variant?; beside koŋ), Chrau kæŋ.

A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.
A: Biat giŋ; ~ Sre tärgiŋ.
Connect 597 *gnaŋ &c. tusk, eye-tooth? Note also Lawa Bo Luang piaŋ, &c., tooth, under the entry 924 *læŋ.

A62 *[b]uŋ; *[b]uusn courgettes.
A: Bunör buŋ.
B: Chrau [pøŋ] vuŋ, Central Rölöm buŋ.
(BLOOD 1966 229.)

A63 *[ ]rmæŋ wound.
A: Stieng rmaŋ, Biat rmaŋ wound, Chrau [røoʔ?] rmaŋ mange.

A64 *raŋ old.
A: Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör raŋ, Central Rölöm [u:]raŋ old person, Biat raŋ old.
Cf. 918 *knraŋ elder, functionary.
(BLOOD 1966 325.)

A65 *truŋ; *truŋ; *truay waistcloth.
A: ~ Sre nтроŋ.
B: Chrau troŋ waistcloth, Stieng trəeŋ (BLOOD 1966 troŋ), Central Rölöm troŋ waistcloth, to wear waistcloth.
C: Bunör trɔxy waistcloth, to wear waistcloth, Biat trɔi man’s waistcloth.
(BLOOD 1966 67.)
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A66 *pr[i]ɲ ashamed.
A: Stieng preɲ, preɲ (BLOOD 1966), Chrau preɲ, Bunор preɲ, Central Rölöm prɲ ashamed, embarrassed, Biat preɲ ashamed.
  Connect Khasi raiɲ shame, self-respect?
  (BLOOD 1966 37.)

A67 *liiɲ sea.
  Connect 854 *ləc &c. to be flooded...

A67a *ʔuut; *ʔuat to embrace, put arms round.
A: Chrau, Biat ʔut.
B: Stieng ʔuat.

A68 *tʔi[ ]t; *tʔiat little finger.
A: Stieng [kon] tɛt; Sre et.
  Earlier *ʔi[ ] ʔi[ ]t &c. ad 939 &c. *ʔit &c. small in quantity?

A69 *[s]rʔiat bed-bug.
A: Stieng səriat, Biat rʔiat.

A70 *kuət to seize in talons.
A: Stieng kuət, Sre kuat (DOURNES 1950), Biat kwat.

A71 *caat; *ciit torn.
A: Stieng caat to get one’s clothes torn, Bunор saːt, Central Rölöm soːt, Biat chaat torn, worn.
B: Sre seːt torn, worn.
  Cf. 291 *caak &c. to separate, split, with similar fronting in Sre; & cross-references there.

A72 *[c]uut wound, lesion.
A: Sre sout wound, Chrau soːt to ache, Bunор soːt, Central Rölöm soːt wound, cut, Biat chət wound, sore.
  (BLOOD 1966 17.)

A73 *[k]cuut to stumble, fall.
A: Sre cout to stumble, trip over, Biat coːt to fall over, fall down.
A74 *joat to trample.
A: Chrau, Bunör, Biat joat, Central Rölöm joat; ~ Sre parjot to thresh by driving buffaloes over.
(BLOOD 1966 54.)

A75 *tjat agreeably flavoured.
A: Stieng, Central Rölöm tjat, Bunör cyat sweet, Biat ciat [bəh] salted; Chrau ntjat salty.
Connect perhaps Sora ba'sed-, ba'sud- (to season with) salt (c.f. bud-an n., so to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 277c); then *tj-at.
(BLOOD 1966 109.)

A76 *tjat to arrive (at).
A: Stieng tjat to arrive (at), reach, Chrau tjat to arrive at; to, Biat tjat to arrive; up to.

A77 *piit to dispute possession of.
A: Sre piit to covet, (tam —) quarrel over possession of, Chrau [tam]piit to compete, Biat [tɔm] piit to quarrel over possession of.

A78 *[ ]put youngest of siblings.
A: Stieng put, Sre, Chrau put.
Hardly Sanskrit putra- son. Vocalism suggests voiced initial.

A79 *[b]ut lower part of back.
A: Stieng but, Sre, Bunör but, Chrau vut, Central Rölöm but lower part of back, buttocks, Biat but waist.
Cf. Khmer kùt buttocks, Kuy khùt base of spine; constructed *g,u(u)t? But note also (i) Mon put base of spine, with irregular vocalism; perhaps ← or contaminated by Sanskrit puccha- tail; (ii) Proto-Austronesian *pu[a]t: Tagalog pwít buttocks, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 309; Proto-Hesperonesian).
(BLOOD 1966 153.)

A80 *knbuat mouth-organ.
A: Sre kəmbaat (← Röglai), Chrau kəmvuat.
Connect Khasi put to blow [wind instrument], under the entry 1023 *puut &c.?

A80a *tmiit; *tmiat to watch, observe.
A: ~ *tmmiit >) Sre tamit to watch, keep an eye on, Biat mɛ:t to spy on.
B: ~ Biat rmiat to spy on.
Cf. Khasi kmih to observe.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A80b *raət [rain] to stop.
A: Chrau raət end of rain; ~ Biat bruUt [rain] to stop.
   Connection dubious 943 *ʔəət ...finished...; *[rʔ]- should yield Chrau 1-.

A81 *grat (kind of) vulture.
A: Biat grat vulture; → Cham krəʔ, Jar. [ci:m] gruʔ, Northern Röglai [cip] graʔ, →
   Bahnar graʔ; ~ Sre gorat bald vulture, Otogyps calvus; → Röglai gorəʔ vulture.

A81a *[s]r[l][ee]t to pass.
A: Sre sar1et to go past, exceed (→ Röglai), Biat [tə:m] rleət to pass in opposite
directions.
Or *-rr-, perhaps connect 1056 *riit &c. ...to go round....

A81b *[w]əat kind of bat.
A: Stieng uəat small kind of bat frequenting houses, Biat wəat kind of bat.
Or *ʔəat? Connection uncertain Semang kawed flying fox (i.e. Kintaq Bong), &c.,
   SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 76; which compare for similar forms in Andamanese.

A82 *[c]wiit narrow, confined.
A: Sre wit, Chrau hweit.
   Connect 949 *ʔiit &c. to confine...? But perhaps *sw-.

A83 *cwaat to step.
A: Biat cuat to step, pace; ~ (*cnwaat >) Stieng cəuat, Biat nuat step.
   Cf. 462 *swa[a]k to walk....

A83a *[s][ə]t (& *[s]ɔət?) to slight.
A: Sre sot to slander, Biat chəat disrespectful; ~ Chrau rəsət to scold.

A84 *h[əə]t to eat away.
A: Chrau hoət termite-eaten, Biat hoət to gnaw.

A85 *ŋan certain(ly), really, very.
A: Stieng ŋan certain(ly), truly, true, Sre ŋan true, certain, Chrau ŋan really, very,
   nothing but, Bunör, Central Rölöm ŋan very, Biat ŋan true, certain, very.
   (BLOOD 1966 366.)

A86 *[ ]tuun back of knife-blade.
A: Sre, Chrau tum.
A87 *[d]an (&*[d]aan?) to ask, beg.
   A: Stieng dan (< variant? BLOOD 1966 dan), Bunör, Central Rölöm dan to beg, Sre dan to ask for, Biat dan to ask, beg.
   (BLOOD 1966 342.)

A88 *[d]un leprosy.
   A: Sre, Biat dun.

A89 *rn[ɔɔ]n debt.
   A: Bunör rɔɔn, Central Rölöm rɔɔn, Biat rɔɔn.
   Perhaps ~ *rɔɔn > Mon rɔn (tamɔ?) to assign [money &c.] especially for charitable use.
   (BLOOD_1966 66.)

A89a *[b]an; *[b]aan to meet, to overtake.
   A: Sre ban to meet.
   B: Stieng bɔːn to follow, pursue, Biat bɔːn equal, (tɔŋ —) to overtake.

A90 *[b]un pregnant.
   A: Sre, Bunör, Biat bun, Chrau vun, Central Rölöm bun; Stieng nbun.
   Connect 629 *[d]buŋ foetus?
   (SHAHER 1965 133; BLOOD 1966 152.)

A91 *.n[b]ɔɔn village.
   A: Sre ɓon, Bunör, Biat bɔɔn, Central Rölöm bɔɔn.
   Ultimately ← Khmer tɔmbɔn locality, under the entry 1763 *tboŋ locality?
   (BLOOD 1966 51.)

A92 *mɔn; *mɔɔn to mould.
   A: Sre mon to make, to mould; → Röglai mon to make.
   A,B: Stieng mɔn to copy, make a model of.
   B: Bunör mɔn, Central Rölöm mɔɔn to mould, to whittle, Biat mɔn to model, knead.
   Connect 1184 *maan to work clay?
   (BLOOD 1966 63.)

A93 *k[n]muɔn rhinoceros beetle.
   A: Stieng kɔmbɔn large kind of beetle, Sre kɔmbɔn rhinoceros beetle (DOURNES 1950).

A94 *ran earthworm.
   A: Sre ran; ~ Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm bran, Chrau vran.
   Cf. Vietnamese run, giun.
   (BLOOD 1966 340.)
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A95 *raan to approach, go to meet.
   A: Stieng raan to approach, Sre [lot] ran to visit, go to meet, Biat ran to welcome; →
      Röglai [nau] ran to visit, go to meet.

A95a *trəan to move (v.t.).
   A: Sre tron (Dournes 1950; correct to trö(ö)n) to move [grazing beast], Biat trən
      [ntok] to move.

A96 *[k]lən to impinge on violently.
   A: Sre klan to collide (with), crash into, Biat klen to fall on and crush.
   Cf. (i) Sre, Röglai jələn to squash, crush; (ii) Bahnar jələm, cələm to crash into...
      (Guilleminet 1959-63).

A96a *[k]lən; *[k]ləən to joke, amuse people.
   A: Chrau kln for fun; diversion.
   B: Biat rlən to amuse oneself; fun, joker, rlən to play about.
   Connect perhaps (i) Jeh llən, Halang rələn to play; (ii) Khmer kəmpləŋ funny, to
      joke (contaminated by 712 *len to sport, play?).

A97 *bən; *bli[i]n egg-plant.
   A: Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm bən, Chrau vlən, Biat bən.
   B: Stieng bən wild egg-plant.
   (Blood 1966 113.)

A98 *wan to wear round neck, over shoulder.
   A: Sre wan to wear round neck, Biat wan to wear slung across shoulder; ~ (*[ ]nwan
      >) Biat əwan to wear slung across shoulder.
   = 1208 *wan coiled, to wind... (& *wan? to put, wear, round waist)?

A99 *han (& *haan?) to go.
   (Blood 1966 349.)

A100 *[ ]rhiin thin in diameter.
   A: Sre rəhin thin, small, Biat rhiin thin, fine.

A101 *[l]uup; *[l]uup; *[l]uəp to ask, inquire.
   A: Chrau ləp.
   B: Sre ləp, Central Rölöm ləp (Blood 1966), Biat oəp.
   C: Stieng uəp.
   Perhaps *?- ~ +[ ]?-. 
A102 *kəp to wait, lie in wait for.
A: Stieng kəp to wait, lie in wait for, Sre kəp to lie in wait for, (— tənə) wait, Chrau kəp to wait, Biat kəp to wait, (— dop) lie in wait for.
Conceivably = 1237 *ckəp to cover (, catch by covering).

A103 *kəap to count.
A: Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kəp.
(BLOOD 1966 398.)

A103a *k[ɔo]p fever, sickness.
A: Sre kɔp ill, (in compounds) disease, fever, Biat kəp fever.

A104 *tip; *tiip; *tiəp facial hair.
A: Sre [tənə:] tip.
B: Biat tep; ~ (*tpiip >) Chrau [səno:] pep moustache.
C: Stieng tiəp facial hair.

A105 *tiip; *təəp infectious.
A: Chrau tep.
B: Stieng [a]təip, Biat tuip; ~ Sre gətəip infectious disease.

A106 *tup to fall.
A: Stieng tup, Biat top to fall from a height, Sre tup to fall, trip over.
Cf. 1349 *[k]tˌuum &c. to fall down.

A107 *[d]nduup hand’s breadth.
A: Sre ndoup hand’s breadth, Biat ndo:p [ti:] back of hand.

A107a *k[m]n[oo]p hammer, anvil.
A: Stieng kənəp [kənəl] smith’s hammer, Biat no:p (me: —) anvil, (kən —) hammer.
Connection dubious Khmer trənəp anvil.

A107b *kraap to hide, take shelter.
A: Stieng kraap to be bowed down, to hide, Chrau kra:p to take shelter, Biat kra:p to take shelter, to hide.
Connect 1273 *rup &c. to cover?

A108 *drap large kind of jar.
A: Sre, Chrau drap.

A109 *gnləp to pacify.
A: Chrau gələp to pacify, cheer up, Biat [tə:m o:p tə:m] nəlap to pacify.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A110 *lʔəm (& *lʔəm?) only.
A: Sre Ɂəm (< variant?), Biat dəm.

A111 *k[uə]n kiim (& *kim?) butterfly.
A: Sre kuŋ kiim (→ Röglai; < variant?), Chrau kum ki: m, Biat kom ki: m, by metathesis Stieng kumki: m.

A112 *[ ]gəm to cook, boil.
A: Stieng go: m (BLOOD 1966 gəm), Chrau gəm to cook, boiling, Sre, Bunör gəm, Central Rölöm gam to cook, Biat gəm to boil.
Perhaps *pgəm, causative ~ (*gəm >) Mon kəm to be warm. Cf. also 513 *g(u)əŋ. (BLOOD 1966 117.)

A113 *gəm to laugh, smile.
A: Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm gəm to smile, laugh, Biat gəm to laugh.
(BLOOD 1966 392.)

A113a *jəm to block [road].
A: Sre jam, Biat jəm; ~ (*[j]rjəm > by metathesis) Chrau jəm to block [road], Stieng [a]jəm blocked road, fence round field.

A114 *tam reciprocal preverb.
A: Sre, Chrau tam; weak form Chrau tam-, Stieng ta:, by secondary lengthening Biat təm.
Connect A 116 *tam to repay...; perhaps 1344 *t,um &c. collection....

A115 *taam efficacious [medicine].
A: Stieng təm, Sre, Biat təm.
Stieng suggests *tə-.

A116 *təm to repay, make good.
A: Sre təm, Biat təm.
Connect A 114 *tam reciprocal preverb.

A116a *ktiim to keep.
A: Sre tim to keep, preserve, Biat tem to keep, preserv, to husband; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau nce:m to set aside.

A117 *[g]n[ə]m granary.
A: Stieng (rare) nəm, Sre dəm (!), Chrau nəm.
Sre by arbitrary differentiation dəm underneath, < 1362a *[ ]ndəm? Conceivably ~ 1320 *bgəm to collect together.
A118 *[s]nɔm *elephant’s trunk.
   A: Biat nɔːm; ~ (*[s]pnɔm >) Sre sənɔm trunk (→ Rōglai), Chrau pənɔːm trunk, antennae.

A119 *[b]iəm bad.
   A: Chrau viəm, Biat biəm.

A120 *[k][b]am *flood.
   A: Sre bam, Biat [daːk] bam; ~ Sre gəbam (DOURNES 1950).

A121 *ram; *raam warm.
   B: Stieng raːm warm; ~ Stieng mraːm, (~?) Chrau kahraːm warm.
   Connect perhaps (i) Khmer rūm ramya pleasant, if contaminated by rather than ← Sanskrit ramya-; (ii; then *rmram >) Mon pəròm [pərèa] to convalesce.

A122 *rəm to tremble, shake.
   A: Sre, Chrau rəm, Biat rəm; ~ Stieng pəndrəm.

A123 *ruum; *ruəm to like, desire.
   A: Central Rölōm roːm to desire; desireable.
   B: Stieng rəm to desire; desireable (BLOOD 1966), Chrau rəm beautiful.
   (BLOOD 1966 69.)

A123a *brəm cord under tension.
   A: Sre brəm (che →) [crossbow] string (DOURNES 1950), (chi →) frame [of clap-net],
   Biat brəm [ndaːr] fishing-line.

A124 *gləm (& *gluəm?) to wolf down.
   A: Stieng gloːm [dog] to snap up and swallow (~ variant?), Sre gləm to crush with teeth and swallow (DOURNES 1950), Biat [chaːl] gləm to devour.

A125 *[p]r[l]iim small bell, jingle.
   A: Sre bərliim (→ Rōglai), Biat rələm.
   Cf. Chrau nhleːn ankle bones. But perhaps *-rr-.

   A: Stieng pələm (~ variant?), Chrau pələm, Biat rələm.
   Or *-rr-.
A127 *mləm quantifier for things.
A: Stieng, Bunör mləm, Sre nam, Chrau ləm, Central Rölöm mbləm quantifier for things, Biat mləm block, lump.
(BLOOD 1966 122.)

A128 *huum to remain; still, yet.
A: Stieng huum more, longer, Sre houm, Chrau, Bunör həm, Central Rölöm hə:m still, Biat həm still, to be left over.
(BLOOD 1966 5.)

A129 *ʔuuy morning.
A: Stieng ʔi, Chrau ʔi, Bunör ʔi, Central Rölöm ʔi, Biat ʔi.
(BLOOD 1966 12.)

A130 *t[n]ɡəy make.
A: Sre, Chrau ɡəy; → Cham ɡəy, Röglai ɡəy.

A131 *[o]o[y] to look for, search for.
A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre ʔi, Bunör ʔi, Central Rölöm ʔi, Biat ʔi.
(BLOOD 1966 55.)

A132 *juuy fringe.
A: Biat jui fringe, lace; ~ Stieng njui fringe.

A133 *tuuy to bend.
A: Sre touy bent into a hook, Biat to:i to bend (v.i.).

A134 *[b]uəy to warn, forbid.
A: Stieng buəy (BLOOD 1966), Bunör bəy, Central Rölöm buəy to warn, Biat buai, buəi to forbid.
(BLOOD 1966 81.)

A135 *[k].[b]ay gaur.
A: Stieng bəi, Sre gəbay, Biat bai; (probably →) Röglai gəbay, Northern Röglai gəbai.
Ultimately ← Khmer krəby buffalo, < 103 *krpi?

A136 *gr[oo]y to watch closely.
A: Sre gro:yi to watch, be watchful, Chrau gro:yi to discern, judge.

(*truay see 65 *trun waistcloth.)
A137 *[m]nruuy brewing-yeast.
A: Sre mənu, Biat ndruːi.

A138 *kwaay to scratch, dig.
A: Sre koary to scratch (→ Röglai kəwe), Chrau khwary, Biat kwaiː to scratch, dig.
1442 *kaay to scratch contaminated by 867 *kwaac id.? Cf. also 1541 *khaay &c. to dig.

A139 *[s]aay spouse, to marry.
A: Stieng saːi spouse, to marry, Chrau sə to marry, Bunör, Central Rölöm sə, Biat chaː husband.
(BLOOD 1966 329.)

A140 *huy to be mistaken.
A: Sre huy to be mistaken about, Biat hui to be mistaken about; mistake.

A141 *ʔuuru woman, female.
A: Sre ur woman, Chrau ur female, Stieng (BLOOD 1966) [dəː] ur, Bunör, Central Rölöm ur, Biat ur female, wife; ~ Chrau səʔuru wife.
(BLOOD 1966 244.)

A142 *[c]kaar kind of bamboo.
A: Stieng kər common thornless bamboo; ~ (*[c]nkaar >) Sre səkar, Central Rölöm kər, Bunör, Biat nkaar kind of bamboo.
(BLOOD 1966 312.)

A143 *gir to fish with fish-basket.
A: Stieng gəːr, Sre, Bunör gir, Central Rölöm guːr; ~ (*gnir >) Sre (BLOOD 1966) dir, Bunör nir, Central Rölöm nur fish-trap.
(BLOOD 1966 136, 143.)

A144 *[ŋ]guur noise.
A: Stiengŋur, nir, Biat ngor noise, sound, Sre ngur rustling of leaves, sound of running water.
Connect 1584 *sgər (kind of) drum? Cf. also 1588 *təŋuur &c. to make a moaning or sighing sound.

A144a *tar female pudenda.
A: Stieng tər; ~ Biat ntar vagina.
A145 *k[d]aar to fish with a line.
A: Stieng daar, Chrau jarr; ~ Stieng, Chrau kəndar, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat ndar fish-hook; → Röglai kədar fish-hook; ~ (by metathesis *dnaar >?) Sre daar to fish with a line = Sre (BLOOD 1966), Köho Chil daar fish-hook.
If rather *kd-, Sre daar < *kndaar, ndar by interdialectal borrowing.

A146 [* ]n[uə]r log.
A: Chrau, Biat nər.
Connect perhaps Khmer dol ṭul, if for **ṭur < *tur; then *tnuə.

A147 *piir wall, partition.
A: Sre piir (BLOOD 1966), Bunör peir, Central Rölöm pur fence, wall; ~ Stieng pənir, Sre pənir bamboo partition; ~ Bunör mpiir, Central Rölöm (→ Chrau, BLOOD 1966?) piir wall, Biat mpeir fence, stockade (& mpiir wall, partition; ~ Bunör?).
(BLOOD 1966 42, 218.)

A148 *p[o]r umbilical cord.
A: Sre [kon] por foetus, Biat por navel, umbilical cord.

A149 *buur (& *bur?) to stop up, block, channel.
A: Sre bur (!), Biat bor to stop up, block; ~ Sre [daː] mbor lade, weir, Biat [bo]ŋ mbor [daːk] gutter.
Sre < variant, or bur by levelling on derivation? (Cf. BLOOD 1966 62.)

A150 *kməər palate.
A: Stieng kəmər [uiəm], Biat mər.

A151 bluur; *bluar stink-badger, Mydaus meliceps.
A: Sre bluar stink-badger (DOURNES 1950), Biat bloər hedgehog;
B: Stieng bluar stink-badger.

A152 *wiir fat, grease.
A: Stieng (v)uir, Biat wiir.
Connect Mường mə (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese mō?

A153 *[s]əər to unpack, unload.
A: Chrau saə to take out, take up, Biat chəər to unload.

A154 *huur (& *hur?) to guess, solve.
A: Sre hur! to guess (→ Röglai), Biat [ŋəi] hoər [to speak] cryptically; Sre ~ pənɔhur (→ Röglai), Biat nhɔər riddle.
Sre < variant, or hur by levelling on derivation.
A155 *[ ]nhar; *[ ]nhaar (field) boundary.
   A, B: Sre nhar field boundary.
   A: Biat nhar,
   B: Biat nhaar boundary, Stieng nār field division.

A155a *kɔl to hinder.
   A: Sre kol to hamper, obstruct, clock, Biat kɔl to be hindered, prevented, to hinder.

A156 *gɔl to change, exchange.
   A: Stieng gɔl to change, exchange, barter, [ta]gɔl, Chrau gɔl to exchange, barter, Sre [tam] gɔl to change, transform, Biat (tɔm) gɔl to change, exchange.
   Connect dubious 1712 *[b]kɔl[ ] to give, make over.

A157 *[ ]gɔl piece.
   A: Sre gɔl piece, part, Biat gɔl piece [of cloth]; ~ Sre tɔrgɔl, Biat rɔgal to cut into pieces.

A158 *ktuul to sharpen, whet.
   A: Stieng tuul to grind down, sharpen, Sre tuul to sharpe on a stone, Chrau coǔl to whet; ~ (*kntuul >) Biat ntuul whet stone; to sharpen.
   Cf. 2004 *t1uu[h] &c. to rub…

A158a *[d]il distaste, boredom.
   A: Sre dil not to feel like doing something (Dournes 1950), Biat dil boredom.

A159 *[b][ɔ]l; *[b][ɔɔ]l tired, weary, disheartened.
   A: Stieng bɔl.
   B: Sre bodl (↔ Rōglai).

A160 *[b]uul to mend, patch.
   A: Sre [tam] boul, Chrau [tə]vɔl; ~ (or =, by contraction?) Biat mboǔl.

A161 *wil; *wiəl spider.
   A: Chrau, Biat wuǔl.
   B: Stieng uiəl edible spider.

A162 *wal annoyingly persistent.
   A: Sre wal importunate (Dournes 1950), Biat wal to vociferate, threaten.
   Cf. 1804 *hul …to threaten.

A163 *kwaal to bore a hole.
   Sre kuə;l; ~ (*tnkwaal causative by contraction > *tkwaal >) Chrau cwal.
A164 *[jh]ul; *[jh]uul to push.
A: Chrau chul.
B: Sre choul; ⇔ Cham chûl, Rôglai choul; ~ (causative →?) Northern Rôglai tichûn.

A165 *[d]h[ɑə]l shallow.
A: Stieng thãl (BLOOD 1966), Chrau, Bunôr, Central Rôlôm, Biat thãl.
Khmer has rãhæl very shallow (< *drhail?); so perhaps connect 1747 *kdhail &c. low, shallow, short, which compare.
But in view of *-l connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *tuqu[r]: Acehnese tho dry, withered, Cham thu: dry, dried up, Toba Batak tur dry land, Malay tohor shallow, Iban tor /tuur/ low [water], &c. (PROTO-WEST-INDONESIAN).
(BLOOD 1966 419.)

A166 *brhaal (to) sweat.
A: Stieng brahaːl n.v., Sre bâhaːl (BLOOD 1966), Chrau vâhaːl, Bunôr râhaːl, Central Rôlôm haːl to sweat, Biat rhail sweat.
Cf. Bahnar hal to be panting with thirst (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 321.)

A166a *kaw kind of hoe or adze.
A: Sre kaw short-handled adze or hoe, Biat kau [jaː] hoe.

A: Sre ñgu, tɔŋgu [chi], Biat ñgu:
Variant of 1719 *dɡəl &c. stump, trunk?

A168 *[d]iiw; *[d]iəw saliva.
A: Chrau [daː?] juː; Bunôr, Central Rôlôm diːw, Biat [daːk] diːu.
B: Sre [daː] diau.
(BLOOD 1966 p.36.)

A: Sre [oh] naw kin (oh younger sibling), Biat nɔxu elder brother.
Conceivably *jn-, quantifier formation ~ (*jaw? >) Central Nicobarese cau- elder sibling.

A170 *jnaw; *jnaaw thing, matter.
A: (~ *jnnaaw >) Sre jnaw, Biat nau matter, story.
B: Bunôr naːw, Central Rôlôm noː thing.
(BLOOD 1966 195.)
A171 *yəw grandparent.
A: Stieng iau uncle, Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör yəw, Central Rölöm yə: grandparent, probably Biat yau [mor &c.] tiger, large felid (→ Chrau yəw [vrac] panther?).
(BLOOD 1966 198.)

A172 *kreew ankus (elephant goad).
A: Sre kreew (DOURNES 1950), Biat kreeu.


A174 *plaw; *plaaw callous, blister.
A: Stieng plə:u blister from working with tools.
B: Sre plaaw callous (DOURNES 1950).

A175 *k.waaw whistle flute.
A: Sre kəwa:w six-hole flute, Chrau kəwa:w rice-stalk whistle.

A176 *rhaw[?]; *rhoaw[ ] wild dog.
A: Chrau Ɂəho: wild dog, wolf.
B: Sre [so] rəha:w wild dog.
Connection uncertain Vietnamese sə́i wolf.

A177 *ʔiis to spread out to dry.
A: Sre is to dry (v.t.), Stieng, Biat ih, Chrau ʔih, Bunör ʔi: to spread out to dry (→ Central Rölöm?).
(BLOOD 1966 45.)

A178 *ʔəəs accustomed, usual.
A: Stieng əəeh accustomed (to), Sre əəs [as] usual, Biat əəih accustomed, usual custom.

A179 *[k]cəs to kick.
A: Stieng ceh to stub one’s toe, Biat ceh to kick; ~ Sre gəcas to kick (DOURNES 1950; → Röglai gəcos).
Cf. 1989 *[t]cə[h].

A180 *nus [pig] to root.
A: Sre nus (DOURNES 1950), Chrau nuih, Biat nuih.
Connect Stieng Ɂeh.
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons

A181 *tis (*)&tis?) to make a mistake.
A: Stieng tih to (make a) mistake; wrong, Sre tis (*)&tis; < variant?) to be mistaken, make a mistake, Chrau tih to miss [target], Bunör teh, Central Rölöm tih mistake, Biat tih mistake, fault; wrong.
(BLOOD 1966 46.)

A182 *tia; *tia? blind.
A: Sre tias [mat], Central Rölöm tiah (BLOOD 1966), Biat ceh [mat].
B: Stieng tia.

A183 *ləəs easy.
A: Central Rölöm ləəh; ~ (*l)nəəs >) Bunör nəəh.
Cf. Stieng sarlh. Sre lay (DOURNES 1950) is < 1515 *l[oo]y.
(BLOOD 1966 406.)

A184 *ləəs iron.
A: Sre los; los, Chrau, Biat łaəəh.
Cf. Theng dro, tə̆ndro, cə̆ntro, Kammu Yuan centroh.

A185 *əə to answer.
A: Chrau, Biat əə.

A186 *rnəə to lament.
A: Sre randəəh, Biat rdəəh, Chrau randiːh (contaminated by Vietnamese rèn-ri?) to whimper, groan.
Connect perhaps (i) 1959 *ʔuuh to ululate; (ii) Bahnar uih uih groaning sound ~ tə̆ŋuuh to moan, groan ( < *-əəs).

A187 *[ ]keh to strip [branch].
A: Stieng kəh to strip leaves from branch (merging to scrape, scale < 1880 *kais) Sre kəh to trim, strip leaves from; Stieng rəkəh id., Sre rəkəh to strip leaves or bark from branch with dah, trim joints of bamboo.
Or Stieng < *l(r)kis by metathesis < 1946 *klis, *k/r/lis, → Sre?

A188 *[ ]keh pleasant-tasting.
A: Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kah; ~ Sre bəkah pleasant [taste, smell].
(BLOOD 1966 284.)

A189 *kah to wake up (v.i.).
A: Stieng, Sre kah, Biat kah [bic] to wake up, Chrau kah awake.

A190 *kuuh shingles, herpes.
A: Sre kuhh, Biat kuh.
A191 *tah to cut up.
\[A\] Stieng, Sre \textit{tah} to cut up \{meat\}, Chrau, Biat \textit{tah} to slit open, cut up.

If Hre \textit{sah}, Sedang \textit{sa} to cut up meat (SMITH 1972 371) are cognate, \*\textit{t2ah}. Cf. also Central Nicobarese \textit{taih-[h]aŋə &c.} to cut with knife.

A192 *tɔh to split \{wood\}.
\[A\] Stieng \textit{tɔh} to split \{firewood\}, Sre \textit{toh} to split (DOURNES 1950), Chrau \textit{tɔh} to chop, cut \{wood\}.

A193 *[d]uh hot.
\[A\] Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Biat \textit{duh}, Sre, Chrau, Bunör \textit{duh}, Central Rölóm \textit{doh}.

Connect perhaps 2041 *[k]duh to burn, grill, which compare.
(BLOOD 1966 26.)

A194 *[p]npɔh to leap over, throw leg across.
\[A\] Chrau mpɔh to leap over, Biat mpɔh [chɛ] to leap into the saddle, mount.

A195 *[b]a[a]h recovered, healed.
\[A\] Stieng \textit{bah} healed, recovered, over; to stop, disappear, Chrau \textit{vah} recovered, Bunör, Central Rölóm \textit{bah} to heal, be well, Biat \textit{bah} healed, recovered.

Cf. Malay \textit{bebas} free from, Cham \textit{papːə} purification ritual; so ← Indonesian?
(BLOOD 1966 278.)

A196 *yəh bad.
\[A\] Sre \textit{yəh}, Biat iəh.

A197 *riah rattan.
\[A\] Sre \textit{riah}, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat \textit{reh}, Central Rölóm \textit{riah}.

Perhaps semantically e.g. Malay \textit{akar}. Note Khasi \textit{thri}, Sakai \textit{dérē} (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 38(a)); but Bahnar \textit{hrɛ}: & other forms are ↵ 249 *r̥si?.
(SHAFER 1965 558; BLOOD 1966 257.)

A198 *reh to cut.
\[A\] Sre \textit{reh} to cut open; ~ Biat \textit{kreh} to cut \{hair\}, shave, ~ Stieng \textit{sareh}, Bunör, Central Rölóm \textit{sre} to cut, Sre \textit{sreh} id., to slash with \textit{dah}, Chrau \textit{chrɛː} (!) to split, Biat \textit{chrɛː} to cut, slash.

(BLOOD 1966 254)

A199 *rah young male.
\[A\] Sre \textit{rah} yearling \{buffalo\} (→ Rōglai?), Biat [ndam] \textit{rah} young male.
A200 *[ ]|ra|h to send out, drive out.
A: Stieng |ra|h to drive [cattle], to drive out, eject; ~ Köho Chil prah to send out; ~ Bunör mprah, Biat mprah [lo|i] to send out; ~ (*prah >?) Sre b|ra|h (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm trah, trah to send out.
Cr *prah, Stieng by back-formation? Connection obscure 2068 *loh to go out.
(BLOOD 1966 409.)

A201 *ra|h to lose, mislay.
A: Sre roh, Biat roh.

A202 *[c]ra|h grasshopper.
A: Sre sra|h class of insects including grasshoppers and praying mantis, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat kra|h grasshopper.
(BLOOD 1966 302.)

A202a *truh [cocks] to fight.
Add Khasi trud to scratch?

A203 *pr[i][h] tall.
A: Chrau prih tall, Stieng preh, Biat preh tall, high.
Or *-[i,ə]s.

(*prah see 200 *[ ]|ra|h to send out...)

A204 *leh kidney.
Connect 229 *srli? (spleen, kidney)?

A205 *lah to scold.
A: Sre lah to be offended with, scold, Chrau lah to scold, (?) Biat lah to lay claim to.

A206 *[s]ɔh to put on [clothes].
A: Stieng sɔh (BLOOD 1966; AZÉMAR 1886 sɔːk!), Sre soh, Bunör, Central Rölöm sɔh, Biat chɔh.
(BLOOD 1966 263.)

A207 *khih (to) poison.
A208 *[k]huh; *[k]huuh to boil (v.i.).

A: Sre khuh, Biat khoh; ~ (*[k]lhuh > ) Chrau kluh boiling.

B: Sre ku:h (Blood 1966, variant), Bunör khoh, Central Rölöm khuh.

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang kəüh, Lawa Umphai kas, Lawa Mae Sariang koih to cook [rice].

(Blood 1966 31.)
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B1 *kəʔ] ? the day after tomorrow.
   A: (~?) Palaung əku; ~ Praok sikaw.
   Connection dubious Sakai kål tomorrow (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178.

B2 *g[eeʔ] pine tree.
   A: Palaung ge; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ngaiʔ; Umphai njiiʔ, Mae Sariang ngiʔ.
   Or *-əyʔ?

B3 *k.[c]eʔ ashamed.
   A: Palaung kəse to be ashamed, Riang Lang kəseʔ to be shy, coy, ashamed.

B4 *t,aʔ; *t,ah place.
   A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931, songs).
   Cf. 67 *t,uuʔ in, at; & Kammu Yuan tà: bathing-place, resting-place.

B5 *t,aaʔ eight.
   A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang tàʔ.
   Cf. Lawa Bo Luang sataiʔ, Umphai, Mae Sariang sateʔ, Praok siday (< [c](n)t,iiʔ?).

B6 *t, [əʔ] to be few.
   A: Palaung tə (MILNE 1931), Praok tu.

B7 *[ ]t,uuʔ edible leaf.
   A: Palaung tu id., Praok təa herb, Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ [klauʔ], Umphai, Mae Sariang toʔ [kioʔ] white radish; ~ Riang Lang sətuʔ edible leaf.

1 Originally this appendix was titled “Northern Mon-Khmer Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions are Proto-Mon-Khmer.
B8 *[c].d₁uu? silk.
   Connection dubious Mường tho (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese to, (Sino-Vietnamese)
   ti, Cham thav silk thread.

B9 *k.ɗɔɁ plantain.
   A: Palaung kɗɔ (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang kɗo? (& kɗuak; by arbitrary
   deformation?).
   Cf. 82 *kɗo? plantain bud.

B10 *n₁[ee]? thing.
   A: Palaung nɛ thing, Riang Lang nɛɁ what, anything, (?) Praok n- manner (in n-an
   thus, n-in in this way).

B11 *paa? butterfly.
   Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Dioi bɔŋ ba, Mak bum ba (BENEDICT 1975 245).

B12 *t₁rɓe upper garment.
   A: Riang Lang tərbəe? woman’s upper garment, Praok sibe, Lawa Bo Luang ?ape?,
   Umphai raphi?, Mae Sariang ɣapi?, lapi? upper garment.

B13 *m[o?] noisy, turbulent.
   A: Palaung mɔ to be noisy (MILNE 1931), Praok mɔ to be in turmoil.

B14 *[g]m[i]? male.
   A: Palaung [i]me male, Praok me husband; ~ Riang Lang _karmə?, Praok sime,
   Connect Khmer mè: penis (TANDART 1935)?

B15 *d,ma? to borrow.
   A: ~ (*d,rmə? >) Lawa Bo Luang ?ama?, Umphai rama?, Mae Sariang ɣama? to

B16 *ya? large kind of snake.

B17 *r[u]? village.
   A: Palaung ru village, Praok ru clan; ~ Riang Lang _pru? village.
   Connect 182 *bruu? hill?

B18 *[k]r[iʔ] to apply liquid &c.
   A: Palaung kri to apply [paint], Praok kray to smear on.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B19 *bre? witch, wizard.
A: Palaung bre (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang _pre?.

B20 *bra? meal.
A: Palaung bra, Praok pre.

A: Palaung lu to be ruined, damaged, destroyed, to destroy, Riang Lang lu?, Praok laə to be destroyed; → Shan lû Praok plaa to destroy.

B22 *[c][l]aa? among, between.

A: Riang Lang _cələ?, Praok sile.
Connect 1522 *jenis prisoner of war?

B24 *grwaə? door.
Connection dubious Burmese 'awa opening.

B25 *kiək to appoint.

B26 *[c]a[a]k sated.
A: Riang Lang ~sək, Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai sak.

B27 *[c]uək salt.
A: Palaung soə?, Riang Lang ~suək.
Separate Kensiu siyaə?, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 15, ← (Acehnese sira <?)
Proto-Austronesian *t'ira(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153, *-a[h]).

B28 *t1[u]k to take by force.
A: Palaung tok (MILNE 1931), Praok tok to take or carry off [person] by force.

B29 *[k][t2][a]k seed, kernel.
Or *-ək.
B30 *d₁a[a]k uncultivated land.
A: Riang Lang _tak grass, grassland, Praok tek forest.
Add conceivably Chrau daʔ district, region, homophone of water < 274 *daak < *di’aat; Vietnamese nuơc district, region then by borrowing calque.

B31 *dək to stop, halt.
A: Palaung doʔ v.i., Riang Lang ~dak v.i.t.

B32 *[j]n₁a[a]k sinew, vein.
A: Palaung sanaʔ sinew, vein, artery, Praok sinək, Lawa Bo Luang sanak sinew.

B33 *pəək to break, be broken.
A: Riang Lang ~pək; ~ Palaung kərpüʔ [green branch] to break (MILNE 1931).
Connect 352 *lʊək &c. to be broken...

B34 [*]p(o)k quiver.
A: Palaung poʔ (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ~pək.
Perhaps *lʊək, ~ 426 *lok.

B35 *p[u]k lame, crippled.
A: Riang Lang ~pək; ~ (*[p]np[u]k >) Praok bok to be bent, crippled.
Cf. 458 *wək bent round.

B36 *[t₁]rpuuk bridge.
A: Palaung kəpok, Lawa Bo Luang ᵇapauk, (Umphai rapauʔ ←?) Mae Sariang ᵇapauk, lapauk.

B37 *[s]yuʔ; *[s]yuək ear.
A: Praok yaok.
B: Palaung hyoʔ, (probably) Lawa suak.
(SHAFER 1965 347.)

B38 *jriək fish-scales.
A: Palaung greaʔ, griaʔ (MILNE 1931); ~ (*jmriək >) Praok sibriək.

(*[l]a[a]k see 66 *[l]aac to lie abed.)

B39 *[s][l]iək hoarse.
A: Palaung heaʔ (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ~rick.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B40 *ʔiŋː; *ʔiŋ faeces.
A: Palaung Ɂəŋ, Riang Lang Ɂəŋ id., Praok Ɂəŋ privy, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai *ʔiaŋ waste matter.
B: ~ Palaung, Riang Lang roʔiŋ privy.
Connection obscure 794 ?ic &c.

B41 *ʔun ( & *ʔuŋ?) [rain] to stop.
A: Palaung Ɂuŋ, (variant >?) Lawa Bo Luang Ɂuŋ waste matter.
B: ~ Palaung, Riang Lang rəɁiŋ privy.
Connection obscure 794 ?ic &c.

B42 *[ ]rʔa[a]ŋ rock.
A: Riang Lang raʔaŋ stone, rock, Praok raŋ, Lawa Bo Luang laʔaŋ rock, perhaps Palaung raʔaŋ precipice.
Connection uncertain Kammu Yuan klàŋ stone, rock, cliff.
(*rʔ[a]ŋ see 48 *[d][əŋ] previous (to.).

B43 *g[uə]ŋ larva.
A: Palaung [va?] gəŋ edible grub, Praok kəŋ worm.
Connection uncertain Vietnamese con quàng dragonfly larva.

B44 *[t̚]ng[ɔɔ]ŋ pillow.

A: Palaung ɲiŋ, Praok ɲəŋ.

B46 *tɁiŋ to drink.
A: Palaung teŋ, Riang Lang Ɂiŋ.
By metathesis (*ŋiə <) 806 *[ ]ŋiəc? (SHAFER 1965 83, 318a.)

B47 *diŋ; *diŋ parent’s elder sibling.
A: Riang Lang _deŋ (!) uncle.
B: Lawa Bo Luang Ɂiŋ, Umphai thəŋ parent’s elder sibling same sex.

B48 *[d][əŋ] previous (to).
A: Palaung (MILNE 1931) ɗəŋ before, while; ~ Riang Lang Ɂəŋ before, formerly.
Or *r(n)ʔ-? Palaung perhaps < *-uŋ.

B49 *[c]na[a]ŋ beads, necklace.
A: Palaung ɗnaŋ small glass beads (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang Ɂəŋ necklace, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai Ɂnaŋ necklet.
Cf. A37 *[ŋɔ(ɔ)ŋ (or *cŋɔ(ɔ)ŋ?).
B50 *[j][n,əŋ] to lean, recline.
   A: Praok ɲɲŋ; (or =? *[j]pn,-) Riang Lang _cakneŋ.
   Or *d,*. Connect 596 *[g]n,iŋ &c. to lean, incline?

B51 *[ ]piəŋ wing.
   A: Palaung piəŋ wing (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ~pieŋ (— ~sim) wing, (— ~ka?) fin.
   Or *sp, ~ 601 *sn,iŋ? Note also Khmer cəm>əŋ (< *cmiiŋ?).

B52 *[kteŋ] to bury.
   A: Palaung kərptyŋ, Praok sipəŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ?apauŋ, Umphai rapauŋ.

B53 *[buŋ] flying insect.
   A: Riang Lang buŋ [*bøy] flying ant, Praok puŋ[peŋ], Lawa Bo Luang m buŋ[mbəŋ],
   Umphai mboŋ[mbuəŋ] butterfly.
   Dioi boŋ ba, Mak ɓum ba id. (& Ahom, silkworm; BENEDICT 1975 245).

B54 *[n,b[a,aŋ] to patch, mend.
   A: ~ Palaung kənbəŋ patch, to patch (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang ~təboŋ to patch.
   Or *d,; but connection dubious Vietnamese məŋ to darn in view of tone.

B55 *[g]ma[a,aŋ] ghost.
   A: Praok meŋ; ~ Palaung kərmaŋ (MILNE 1931).

B56 *[riəŋ] straw.
   A: Palaung hreŋ, Riang Lang rieŋ.
   Distinguish 693 *t,riəŋ (&c.) kind of reed.

B57 *[bra[a,aŋ] sour, acid, rancid.
   A: Palaung braŋ, Riang Lang _prəŋ.

B58 *[br[u,a]ŋ] to arrange, settle.
   A: Palaung braŋ to direct, arrange (MILNE 1931), Praok prəŋ to judge.
   Connect 659 *riəŋ to form a row (Old Mon to arrange)?

B59 *[l,a,a,aŋ] to swing, sway.
   A: Palaung [ləŋ] laŋ to swing (MILNE 1931), Praok [puk plek luŋ] lieŋ to sway.
   Cf. 728 *luuŋ.

B60 *[l,u,a]ŋ to throw.
   A: Palaung luŋ to throw [spear]; ~ Riang Lang ~pləŋ to throw without effort, toss.
   Or *luəŋ? Cf. Vietnamese liễng; Central Rölöm ləŋ (BLOOD 1966)
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B61 *[s]luəŋ; *[s]loŋ to wall.
   A: Praok [tap] loŋ rampart; ~ (*[s]ruəŋ >) Palaung rəŋ wall, to wall;
   B: ~ Riang Lang _sarnaŋ wall.
   Add perhaps to B Khmer słaŋ to block, obstruct. Connect 738 *sλuəŋ enclosure?

B62 *[tj]huŋ light in weight.
   A: Praok chaoŋ, Lawa Bo Luang thoŋ, Umphai, Mae Sariang chaun; ~ Riang Lang ʔŋəŋ.
   B: ~ Riang Lang _səŋ wall.

B63 *ʔaac in front, before.
   A: Palaung at _before (MILNE 1931 also aʔi?); Riang Lang ʔac (to go) in front, (at) first.

B64 *kn2uc; *kn2uuc heel.
   A: Praok loc [caŋ].
   B: ~ Palaung kərnuŋ [jʊŋ].
   Connect Vietnamese ʔót?

B65 *[t]pəc pointed.
   A: Palaung peʔ point (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔpəc sharp-pointed; ~ Danaw _təŋ .p'yak, _təŋ ʔp'yak sharp-pointed.
   Add Jeh pek to pierce, Halang pek to pierce [nose, ear]?

   A: Riang Lang _ləc to be lazy, Praok _lak [it] [to sleep] late.
   B: Praok _lak [it] [to be] fast [asleep].
   Cf. 424 *lək &c. to sleep; originally probably *laəc = *lək, with mutual contamination. Connect 1512 *laay ...idle?

B67 *[c]aiŋ to meet.
   A: Riang Lang ʔaiŋ to meet (by chance), encounter; ~ Palaung kərnesŋ to meet (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔtərnsŋ to meet; junction.
   Connection dubious Mon can [caŋ] to be contrary, opposed to.

B68 *briŋ; (?)*br[a]n (kind of) ant.
   A: Palaung briŋ ant, Riang Lang _prin kind of ant of medium size.
   B: by arbitrary deformation?) Palaung breŋ termite.
   B perhaps rather *gmaŋ, ad 919 *gruŋ, ...termite. Connect perhaps 729a *kli(i)[ŋ] black ant; but connection dubious Tai *phriŋ &c. bee, BENEDICT 1975 229; whence probably Theng brūŋ, prūŋ.

B69 *[t]kat; *[t]kaat thorn.
   A: ~ Riang Lang ʔsərkət.
   B: Praok kat (& Lava Umphai [ʔoʔ] kat kind of bamboo?).
B70 *gat very.
   A: Palaung gat, Praok ket.

B71 *guut to force in.
   A: Palaung gut to ram in (MILNE 1931); ~ (*[ ]nguut >) Praok [khum] gut to choke.
   Or *pguut causative ~ 968 *guut to enter?

B72 *yut; *yuat to see, look at.
   A: Riang Lang _yɔt to look (at), see, watch.
   B: Palaung yuat to see (MILNE 1931, songs).

B73 *wiat to repay.
   A: Palaung viat to repay, give back, Praok viat to pay.
   Or to return, = 1090 *wiat (&c.) ...to turn?

B74 *wat to shake.

B75 *kan mother’s brother’s wife.
   A: Palaung kan mother’s brother’s wife, wife’s mother (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang _kan
   parent’s or wife’s younger sister, mother-in-law.
   Distinguish 1126 *ka(a)n woman, female.

B76 *ŋan to put arms round.
   A: Palaung ŋan to hold firmly, Riang Lang _ŋan [le?] to embrace, Praok [kya] ŋen to protect.

B77 *[g]n[c]aan sickle.
   A: Palaung kəncan [rəvɔ?] sickle, Riang Lang _kəncan sickle, scythe.

B78 *b[əə]n to pass, cross.
   A: Palaung bon to pass, cross, Riang Lang _pən to exceed, pass, cross, to elapse.
   Vocalism obscure. Cf. Shan pûn to exceed.

B79 *riin forbearing.
   A: Palaung riin to be patient (MILNE 1931, songs), Praok riin to refrain [from].
   Cf. Vietnamese nhôn to abstain from, refrain from, suppress, fast.

B80 *griin to wind round.
   A: Palaung griin to put [turban] on, Riang Lang _kriin to wind.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

B81 *[s]uun yam.
A: Palaung hon cultivated yam (with post-dental vocalism!), Lawa Bo Luang haun, Umphai, Mae Sariang haun.

B82 *ʔɔp; *ʔɔm poisonous.
A: Praok ɔp, Lawa Umphai ʔɔp.
B: Riang Lang ʔɔm to be poisonous, to be poisoned.

B83 *t,ap fathom.
A: Palaung ɔp (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔɔp, Praok ɔp.
Cf. Proto-Austronesian *dapa(S), DEMPWOLFF 1938 39.

B84 *k[t]up; *k[t]uup span from thumb to forefinger.
A: Riang Lang ʔɔp handful, taken from above; ~ kɔncɔp span ...;
B: with post-dental vocalism!) Palaung sop span ....

B85 *ruup (& *r[ə,a]p?) fishing-net.

(*ʔɔm see 82 poisonous.)

B86 *t,aam next in sequence.
A: Palaung tam younger [child] of two (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔam to be next (to), to be new.

B87 *t,əm (&*t,əm?) to order, enjoin.
A: Palaung ʔam to send order to (MILNE 1931, [təm]; or tum, < variant?), Praok tom to command, Lawa Bo Luang tum, Umphai ʔam to order, command.

B88 *t,um to have [done] on occasion.
A: Palaung tum ever, Riang Lang ʔam to be wont to, to have habitually done.

B89 *k,t,uəm liver.
A: Lawa Bo Luang taum, Umphai, Mae Sariang toum; ~ Palaung kətəm, Riang Lang kətəum.
Originally perhaps *k- part-of-body prefix + *lt,əum < 1411 *t,luəm by metathesis; Lawa by back-formation. (SHAFER 1965 501.)

B90 *[k]rəuum enclosed cultivation.
A: Palaung kərum, Praok sipum, Lawa Mae Sariang yaphum garden, Lawa Bo Luang ʔapum, Umphai raphum fence.
*-b- in view of Praok vocalism.
B91 *m[iə]m tea.
   A: Palaung miəm, Riang Lang _mem.

B92 *[s]m[əə]m good, well-behaved.
   A: Palaung hmum to be docile, good-tempered, Praok mam to be good.

B93 *yuum; *yəm to die.
   A: Praok, Lawa yum.
   B: Palaung yəm, Riang Lang _yam; ~ (*pyəm >) Palaung piəm, Riang Lang *piem to kill.
   Add Sre yəm to poison (then → Rōglai)? Cf. 1266a *ya(a)p to die ....
   (SHAFFER 1965 189.)

B94 *t₁huum; *t₁huəm to be flooded, to flood.
   A: Palaung thom to overflow, flood (MILNE 1931).
   B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai thuam to be flooded.
   *d₁h- should yield NMK h-; *t₁s-, Lawa e-.

   (*[ ]gəy? see 2 *[ ]g[ee]? pine tree.)

B95 *nuay waist.
   A: Palaung nuay, Praok nuay.
   Cf. (i) Lawa noŋ, Central Nicobarese onyuŋə; (ii) Halang tanoay, perhaps: Jeh ʔnoy flank.

B96 *t₁uuy to catch.
   A: Palaung toy, (merging 98 *duy to take, bring, which compare) Praok tuy.

B97 *[c].t₁uəy pheasant.
   A: Palaung satuay (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang _səy *tuay (by chiming expansion).

B98 *duy; *duuy to take, bring.
   A: Palaung duy.
   B: Praok tuy to take, take hold of, pick up, fetch (merging 96 *t₁uuy to catch, which compare), Lawa Umphai thui to take out.
   *d₁- in view of Praok vocalism.
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons

A: Riang Lang †poe shadow of living creature, Praok pvy (& vuy!) shadow; Lawa Bo Luang ?apau, Umphai rapoi shadow.
Vocalism uncertain; conceivably *-uy (Lawa), *-uuy (Riang Lang), *-əəy (Praok; with secondary lengthening); then *gp-, ~ 1447a *guuy? Cf. also 1543 *ghuuy &c. spirit, soul.

B100 *[y][əə]y a little.
A: Palaung yɔy, Praok cuuy; ↔ Shan y5y to be finely divided.

B101 *[g]raay to speak, tell.
A: Palaung gray to speak, tell, Praok kray (!) to say, tell; ↔ Shan khài to narrate.

B102 *[g][l]aay squirrel.
Lawa *jl- by regressive assimilation? Connect perhaps Santali kulai hare, &c., PINNOW 1959 L 146.

B103 *[t1]rw[əy?] to be concerned, troubled.
A: Palaung kərve to pity, Praok sivi to be worried.

B104 *[ ]huy to take out.
A: Palaung huy, Lawa Bo Luang hau to take out, perhaps Praok hoy to unfasten, open, reveal.

B105 *kiər moon, month.
A: Palaung kər month, Riang Lang kər moon, month.

B106 *gur to help.
A: Riang Lang _kər, Praok [tum] ku.
Cf. 1705 *kəl[ ] &c. to support, help.

B107 *[bc]uur; *[bc]uər water-bottle.
A: Praok chu.
B: Palaung [om] suər.

B108 *k[t2]aar span from thumb to middle finger.
A: Palaung sar (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang kəncər.
   A: Palaung kror paddy-storage basket, Praok kraw granary, storeroom; Lawa Bo Luang ṇgrauu, Umphai krau granary.
   Or *t;- *-l.

B110 *siir; *siər iron.
   A: Palaung hir, Riang Lang *hir.
   B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai he ore.
   ↔ Tibeto-Burman *s(y)i̯r (BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 372; Dhimal, Garo, Dimasa Lushei); suspect on phonological grounds as loanword!

B111 *[s]iər bee.
   A: Praok hiaa, Lawa he; ~ Palaung phiar, Riang Lang *phier.

B112 *kul ten.
   A: Palaung kʊr, Riang Lang kɔl, Praok kaw, Lawa Bo Luang koa, Umphai, Mae Sariang kau.
   ↔ Tibeto-Burman *(m-)kul score, BENEDICT 1972 83 no. 397? Connection dubious Kharia ghɔl, &c., PINNOW 1959 249 (Proto-Munda *(-)ɡɔl); as Mường mutɔl (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese mutoi.

B113 *t,iəl to copulate.
   A: Riang Lang *tiel, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai te.
   Cf. Sre tir, Biat taum tar.

B114 *t,uəl; *t,əl to find.
   A: Palaung tuər.
   B: Riang Lang *tal.

(*[k]ruul see 109 *[k]ruu[r] granary.)


B116 *knaas to laugh.
   A: Homau kañar (Palaung dialect; MILNE 1931), White Striped Riang _kɔ́ɨnaas (LUCE 1965), Praok ja, Lawa Bo Luang, nuah, Umphai naas, Mae Sariang noih, nuah.
B117 *ɓ[a]s to carry [heavy object].

A: Palaung bər to carry on tumpline, Riang Lang ɓas to carry on head, Praok pu to support, bear, Lawa Bo Luang puh, Umphai phus, Mae Sariang puih to carry on back; (*ɓ[n]ɓ[a]s >) Praok bu [glom] burden.

Waic vocalism post-labial? Connect 121 *ɓə to carry on back. Praok pu to carry on back is < 100a *pu?.

B118 *ruus tortoise, turtle.

A: Riang Lang _rus, Lawa Bo Luang rauh, Umphai raus, Mae Sariang yauh.

Cf. Vietnamese rùa. Khmer krāh krās tortoiseshell is probably ← Indonesian.

(SHAFER 1965 434.)

B119 *pras to flower.

A: Palaung prər to flower, expand, swell (by attraction 2067 *ləs?), Lawa Bo Luang phrəuh, Umphai prəs, Mae Sariang phyoih to flower.

(*t,ah see 4 *t,a? place.)

B120 *t,rt,iuh; *t,rt,uuh to meet.

A: Palaung kərtōh (MILNE 1931).

B: Palaung kərtuh, Lawa Bo Luang ʔatəuh, Umphai ratoh.

B121 *n₁[ ]ah to get worse.

A: Riang Lang na, nu, Praok ne.

Connection uncertain 1945 *ləs &c. to weaken.

B122 *[m]ryah hundred.

A: Palaung pəyah, Riang Lang _pəyə, Praok siye, Lawa Bo Luang ʔayuah.

← Tibeto-Burman *r-gya (BENEDICT 1972 45 no. 164 & n. 148; Old Burmese ryə); by contraction *muay ryah one hundred?
Appendix C Semantic Index to Part 3
and Appendices A, B

Note: Bold numerals show that the word indexed is used in the gloss of a reconstruction, ordinary numerals that it glosses one or more of the items compared.

A
Abandon see leave; (abandoned) 1397; able (to) 1179, 1183, 1286, 1472; abort 1081, 2062; about, concerning 1845, (about to) 1472, 2014; absorb 1106, 1283; abstracted 519, 1589; abuse, insult 1804, 1963, 2031; accompany 1399, 1463; according to 1346; accuse A 27; accustomed, used to 643, 1286, A 178, B 88; ache A 72; acquire 1980; add 351, 1257a, (add to) 1430a; adhere 309, 1245; adjoin 1245, 1264; adze A 166a; affine see in-law; affix 938, 1242, 1245; afraid see fear; after, afterwards 1505, 1844, 2066; afternoon 264; afterwards see after; again 765, 1156, 1511, 1794; agree 1388; aim 696, 1361a, 1572; air 1782, 1958; alarmed 1057; alcohol, liquor 796; alight see perch; alike 149; all 198, 798, 875, 943, 1338, 1344, 1418, 1943, (at all) 1943; alone 86; already 1539, 2080; also, too 1310; amaranth 1850; amass 1178; among B 22; ancestor 151, 192; angry 1728, 1808; ankus A 172; announce 1845; answer A 185; ant 873, 1382, 1562a, B 68, (black ant) 729a, (flying ant) 1646b, B 53, (red ant) 1866, (white ant, termite) 391a, 919, 1619, B 68, (flying white ant) 1290, 1646b; anthill 1738; anus 961, 1007; anvil A 107a; anxious, worried 1694; B 109; any 136; anything B 10; appear 2043, 2071; appoint B 25; approach 1896, A 95; arch 1626a; areca 230, 1815; arm 66, 244, 265, 1673; armpit 269, A 33; army 1258; around 765, 966, 1208, 1333, 1669; arouse 1575; arrange 1269a, 1605, A 7a, B 58; arrive (at), reach 968, 1153, 1246, 1740, 2079, A 76; arrow 215, 1308; arum 1850; ascend, go up 332, 479, 1153, 1207, 1869, 2061; ash 2034; ashamed B 100; axe 526, 1499; (counterbalance of axe) 1613.

B
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Appendix C Semantic Index

573

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Z
Zalacca 1312a.
Appendix D The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia

The contributions which language studies can bring to protohistory are of two kinds, which unfortunately do not make a whole. There is, first, the evidence to be drawn from the emergence of inscriptions: not from their content, which is sufficiently accessible and exploited, but from their date, geographical location, and general character. This (in conjunction with the even earlier Chinese references, which are discussed in other pages in this volume) furnishes an incipit for the historical period itself, beyond which ethnographic and cultural outlines can be traced with relative certainty. The second kind of evidence is that derived by inference from the distribution of languages within the historical period and from studies of their structural affinity. It is of a far more indirect and conjectural sort and can at best, perhaps, be used to furnish hypotheses or suggest lines of archaeological inquiry. That is, however, an insufficient reason for failing to examine it.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions, in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, appear around the middle of the first millennium A.D. They are found about this date in a number of areas all readily accessible from the sea and prominent among those in which the beginnings of Indianized urbanism are to be sought. From Champa we have inscriptions of Bhadravarman in Sanskrit and Cham found at Tra-kieiu and dating from the early fifth century. To the same century belong Sanskrit inscriptions from the region of Ligata at the southern end of the Kra isthmus, and around its end others from Fu-nan which continue into the succeeding century. They are, as near as can be determined, contemporary with the first Mon inscriptions of Dvāravati from Nakhon Pathom and (a recent discovery) near Lopburi. The earliest inscriptions in Khmer, from Sambor Prei Kuk, date from the beginning of the seventh century and reflect the spread of this politico-cultural movement inland. All these epigraphs are engraved in a script which appears to be derived from the Brahmi of southern India and is, at this early date, pretty well homogeneous; local differentiation only comes later. It is the ancestor of all modern non-Roman scripts on the mainland.

Burma shares this chronology, but clearly marked as a separate province. Śri Kṣetra at the head of the Irrawaddy delta yields in the seventh and eighth centuries the laconic funeral inscriptions of the Pyu kings in a wholly distinct script of possibly Kadamba affinities. It continued in use for Pyu alone down to the ‘Myazedi’ quadrilingual of 1112 and then became extinct. It can be traced back, however, to the oldest written document known from Burma, a set of gold plates inscribed with Pali texts now in the British Museum. These plates from Maunggan near Śri Kṣetra have been dated c. A.D. 500.

The chorological weight of this evidence is impressive, but care must be taken in drawing more general conclusions. First, writing may be presumed to have preceded the monumental act of setting up stone inscriptions, though not necessarily by long. It would be dangerous to equate the beginning of the epigraphic record with that of Indian settlement, as distinct from political ‘Indianization’. We may note that some of the inscribed seals found at Oc-Eo may antedate the earliest Funan inscriptions by as much as three centuries. Palaeographically, most local traditions show a more or less rapid development from script forms taken over from other writing media to forms better adapted to cutting on stone, suggesting the re-creation and not the transplantation of a technique. Linguistically, the phonological system deducible from vernacular inscriptions may show development from that for which the transcription must have been devised, a point deserving of more widespread investigation. Certainly in later history we can demonstrate continuity of the writing tradition over long periods when no stone inscriptions occur and other documents have not survived. Indeed, over the whole historical period epigraphy can in many places be only described as sporadic, an atypical product of the energy and literary ambition of some few particular rulers. The phenomena of the middle of the first millennium argue to me a competitive contagion and a fair degree of commerce between the states concerned.

To these implicit limitations must be added those of subject-matter, which is overwhelmingly religious. Political and social information has generally to be gleaned from the preambles of dedications and slave-rolls, so that a further constraint—that of economic surplus—has to be added to those controlling the output of texts. Eulogistic praṇasti of the kind associated with Kyanzittha in Burma is exceptional. The subsequent stages of epigraphy provide rather a means of intermittently assessing the reliability of other sources such as chronicles than any accurate chart of political developments or ethnic movements. Where other sources are lacking, their effect ranges from indicative to tantalizing; as in the recent discovery of a Dvāravatī inscription of uncertain date (7th-8th century?) 39 miles north of Vientiane. It contains a Mon place-name in a non-Mon form, suggesting a colonial occupation of some duration, and inviting a re-interpretation of the Dvāravatī sites at Muang Fa Daed and elsewhere on the Korat plateau.

Not till after A.D. 1000 have we inscriptions from Pagan, Thaton or Haribhunjaya. Pagan was founded in 850, but had small importance for the next two centuries. Thaton inscriptions come just after the end of our period, Haribhuñjayan ones two hundred years later, but by whatever percentage we discount tradition both states must have flourished well within the first millennium, though only Thaton was near the sea, and the other two were frontier principalities. With these exceptions, epigraphy provides a point of contact with all the early political centres of the mainland and with those ethnic groups which dominated them. These are, however, only a minority of the ethnic groups of the region; and estimates of their numerical importance at the time should not be projected from the
dominant groups of much larger modern states, grown by linguistic and cultural absorption of their neighbours. To fill in the gaps in the account with, at any rate, intelligent conjecture we must turn to the evidence of linguistic classification; reflecting that, as discoveries accrue in other fields, intelligent conjecture is likely to need frequent revision.

**Language families**
The languages currently spoken in mainland South East Asia are representative of five families: Indonesian, Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Tai and Miao-Yao. Of these, the Tai languages were brought in by groups whose arrival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is part of the historical record, while the Miao-Yao ones are confined even now to the northern fringe. Neither, therefore, immediately concerns us here, except to observe that the Tai wedge driven down the centre of South East Asia has (like the Slav intrusion into the Balkans) had the effect of sundering areas of cognate speech and interrupting a formerly constant communication between them.

The Indonesian languages of the mainland (‘Chamic’) form a coherent group extending from Phan-rang in the south-eastern corner of the peninsula northwards to Pleiku in the central Highlands, within the area of ancient Champa, plus some Cham-speaking colonies in Cambodia. The Cham remnant alone possesses a literary tradition (and the Muslim religion), the other groups being pagans and largely dry cultivators. Chamic appears as an isolated pocket of the Austronesian family which extends from Madagascar through the East Indies to New Zealand, and includes the aboriginal languages of Formosa. It has received less attention as a mainland curiosity than it would have done had it been located in Indonesia itself.

The Mon-Khmer languages may be regarded as the characteristic speech family of the mainland from the Menam basin eastwards. Their position in Burma was probably at all times marginal, even though once in the eighteenth century the Mons came close to seizing power throughout the country. They have, however, outliers across the northern highlands as far as the Khasi Hills south of the Assam valley, in the Nicobar Islands, and in the aboriginal languages of Malaya (‘Aslian’). Any ethnic protohistory must take account of their relationship with the Munda languages of eastern India, which together with them constitute Austroasiatic. A remoter relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian has been proposed and is accepted by the present writer, though it is not universally accepted. Three Mon-Khmer languages have longstanding literary traditions: Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese.

The Tibeto-Burman languages of South East Asia are at the limit, in that direction, of a family extending from Tibet across Nepal and Assam through the hills of the Indo-Pakistan border region to Burma, where they predominate, and in pockets across northern Thailand to Laos. They are now held to include the Karen languages, spoken characteristically throughout the hills between the Sittang and Menam basins. Within South East Asia only Burmese and the extinct Pyu have literary traditions older than the nineteenth century.

We must assume that languages belonging to none of these families have at times in the past been spoken in the area. They have left no identifiable traces. I. H. N. Evans once asserted that common elements can be found in all the Asian negrito languages, but unfortunately quoted no examples.
The relationships within the Mon-Khmer family are clearly crucial to any reconstruction of ethno-history. Early attempts at classification were based largely on geographical distribution and such structural arguments as could be extracted from generally inadequate material. Within the past decade or so more serious attempts have been made; but we are still some distance from a comprehensive ordering of the whole group. It is clear, first of all, that Khasi and the languages of the Shan Plateau from Palaung to Lawa stand in a close relationship and bear witness to one migratory current, while similarities between Shan Plateau languages and Khu of northern Laos can be attributed to recent geographical contiguity. There is historical as well as traditional evidence that at the eastern limit of this group the Lawas were known to the Mons of Thaton. Second, descriptions now becoming available suggest that Aslian and Nicobarese stand nearer than other Mon-Khmer languages to Munda in their overall structural pattern; how this should be interpreted is obscure, but a special relationship between the two Mon-Khmer groups is not unlikely. Thirdly, Vietnamese, an undoubted Mon-Khmer language showing the effects of long contact with Chinese both in its vocabulary and in its phonological progress to monosyllabism, appears to have separated fairly early and to be peripheral in the technical linguistic as well as in the modern geographical sense.

A classification of the languages of the southern Annamite chain on lexicostatistic grounds has been made by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and shows a general correlation with geographical distribution. The most interesting question it raises derives from the probability of a close relationship between the languages to the north and south of Chamic, implying that the inland part of that area is an intrusion and not a residuum.

Most intriguing is the position of Mon and of Khmer. Mon shows no obvious immediate relationship with any other language except for those of two tribal groups in the hills on the edge of the plateau north and south of Korat, who appear to be remnants of an original Dvārarāvati population. The position of Khmer has been recently examined by Headley, using a variety of phonological and grammatical criteria. His general conclusions differ somewhat from those outlined above, notably in grouping Mon, the Annamite chain languages and Vietnamese together at the centre of the family. But again he puts Khmer in an isolated position, giving no clues to the route by which the Khmers may have reached the lower Mekong.

The present distribution of languages in mainland South East Asia is extremely intricate, and lexical investigation is complicated not merely by the presence in any language of numerous loanwords but by reborrowings and borrowings back into the first donor language, making an encyclopaedic memory and logical rigour equally necessary to the investigator. There is reason to think that this state of affairs goes back to an early date. Austronesian loans are clearly recognizable, once the phonological rules are known, in Vietnamese, and this is not surprising given the finds at Dong-son. More surprising are words known from Austronesian and found, in Mon-Khmer, in one or other northern language; can they be loans? Benedict has proposed an ‘Austro-Thai’ grouping of Austronesian and Thai (relegating Austroasiatic to a ‘substratum’ in some Indonesian populations), which would be disposed of if, after eliminating Austric words which entered Tai from Mon-Khmer, the possibility of early borrowing was accepted. ‘Tiger’ and ‘river’ (kiang) are well-known Austroasiatic loans in Chinese, and there are many in
Tibeto-Burman. A hypothesis which traced back migration routes to contiguous Urheimats would be attractive on more than one ground.

Certain terms, indeed, have an areal distribution which cuts across language-family boundaries, reviving speculations as to extinct languages. Thus for ‘horse’ Tai has carried the Chinese ma down to the Gulf of Siam, cutting in two a northern zone where Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer alike have mrang and a southern one where Karen, Mon-Khmer and Cham have aseh.

Various theories have been propounded as to the original home of the Austronesians. Dyen, one of the most authoritative Austronesian comparatists, has proposed either New Guinea or Formosa. The former is incompatible with the Austric hypothesis and must be rejected here, leaving Formosa. But Dahl, in a recent study, has shown that Formosan must have separated early from the remainder of the Austronesian languages; making an Urheimat on the opposing mainland equally probable. We can envisage it as an extensive, if thinly populated one, with the future Austroasiatics ranging north to the Yangtse kiang. It is possible to suppose successive migrations, first of Austronesians and then of Austroasiatics. But, given what is known of the chronology of Polynesian migration, it is equally plausible to suppose simultaneous migration of both groups and attribute the greater dispersal of the Austronesians to their taking early to the sea. The Northern Mon-Khmers and Khasis are likely to have followed what became a Chinese trade route to India, as the Mundas may well have done before them. But there seems no overriding reason to trace routes for the Mons and Khmers, and other groups who occupied the river-plains, down the rivers from the hinterland rather than up them from the coast. Why should they then, with a technology adapted to highland regions, have descended into plains where it was useless?

It is tempting to regard the Chams as a residual island of the Dongsonian transients, but the evidence is inconclusive. There are remarkable structural parallels between the mainland Indonesian languages and Achinese on the north-western tip of Sumatra, beyond what could be accounted for by parallel exposure to Mon-Khmer contacts (of which in Achinese there is sufficient evidence). This, again, is difficult to interpret.

Applications of comparative linguistics of the kind employed in this paper have been out of favour for at least thirty years, partly in reaction against earlier excesses. Even more firmly discarded has been what used to be called ‘linguistic palaeontology’, the analysis of reconstructed vocabulary to draw conclusions as to habitat and technology. This is a field in which, with due precautions, something of extralinguistic value might be achieved; and French scholars have been making a beginning, notably in the field of agricultural origins. It is to be hoped that these lines will be pursued, and in awareness of the work of Vavilov and his successors; so that we may recognize that Mon-Khmer and Austronesian have their word for ‘cotton’ from India, even if India has ‘rice’ and ‘plough’ from South East Asia.
In “Austro-Thai”, Paul Benedict has laid before us a scrupulously elaborated as well as an audacious thesis. It requires a pantagruel list assurance to declare that where three language stocks reflect, for instance, respectively *mata, *mat, and *pra ‘eye’\footnote{Proto-Austronesian reconstructions in this paper follow the system of Dahl (1973), but for convenience in typing I use the symbols c, e, j, R, s, z for k’, ā, g’, y, t’, d’ introduced by Dyen.}, it is the first and third that are genetically related while the similarity between the first and second has other causes. Such boldness must have expected to provoke counterargument. But if (as I argue) Benedict has consistently undervalued the strength of the Austric hypothesis, it should be said at once that the fault lies with the Austroasianists. Comparative research into Austroasiatic has proceeded slowly after the pioneering reconnaissances of Schmidt (which it is not wholly fair to judge as if they had been campaigns of conquest). A reconstruction of Proto-Mon-Khmer phonology can now be offered, but it is still largely unpublished. Pinnow’s corpus of Munda comparisons is at least available for reference, though the reconstructions are often tentative. But a systematic construction of Austroasiatic is a task for the future. Given the inaccessibility of the Austroasiatic data by comparison with those of Austronesian, Benedict is hardly to be reproached because there is more to be adduced in favor of an Austric cognition than he has taken account of.

In 1942 Benedict still accepted the Austric hypothesis, but claimed that the primary cleavage lay between Mon-Khmer, with Vietnamese, and “Thai-Kadai-Indonesian” (Benedict 1975:461). This is not an easily tenable position. By 1966 he had abandoned it, and instead attributed the coincidences between “Austro-Thai”—a fortiori Austronesian—and Austroasiatic to an Austroasiatic substratum in the ancestral Austro-Thai-speaking population (Benedict 1975:32-3). Now he has turned this view inside out to posit an Austro-Thai substratum underlying Austroasiatic (Benedict 1975:484). Both the 1966 and the 1975 hypotheses differ from the classic instances of substrata in that there is no probative opposition of languages with the substratum to sister languages without it; it already underlays the ancestral language. I remain unconvinced that an inwandering group sufficiently powerful to impose its language on a section of the Austro-Thai population would have left no linguistic trace elsewhere; but the point need not be labored. On Benedict’s view as much as on a genetic one, the Austro-Thai/Austroasiatic
coincidences must reflect a considerable time-depth even if Proto-Austroasiatic is held to postdate the splitting of Austro-Thai into its main branches. In fact, as will be seen, the posited substratum would have to be specifically Austronesian ("Lexically it stands closest to Austronesian": Benedict 1975:485); but contact-words between Proto-Austroasiatic and Proto-Tai would have simultaneously to be admitted.

Logically there are three possibilities which we have to consider: (1) Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically unrelated, as Benedict asserts. Or they are related; then either (2), contra Benedict, Austro-Thai is an invalid construction; or (3) it is a valid construction. In the third case what is at question is the ordering of relationships; and then almost certainly we are left with Austroasiatic/Austronesian, Schmidt’s Austric, as the last branching—in other words with the diagram at Benedict 1975:485, minus its substratum.

If from the patchwork mingling of language stocks in mainland Southeast Asia the linguistic facts of the area are inordinately complex, the possibilities of explaining them are not much less so. Some of Benedict’s “Austro-Thai” lexemes more probably parallel borrowings from Mon-Khmer of relatively late date. To identify them is not to weaken his thesis but to refine it by eliminating doubtful material.

ʻAnt’, p. 219, may serve to illustrate the criteria employed. Both the Indonesian and the Tai forms are in my view to be derived from continuants of a Proto-Mon-Khmer *s/m/uuc etc. (Tai: and/or *s/rm/uuc etc.) which incorporates the root *suuc ~ *suc ~ *suc also *sac, *siic ‘to sting’; cf. e.g. Sre souc ‘to prick, sting’, Riang-Lang ʰuuc ‘to sting’, Sora suj- ‘to pierce’; Bahnar hmoc, Umpai Lawa maic ‘ant’, Temiar (Aslian) somuj ‘wasp’, Sora in compounds muj-, mui- ‘ant’, Mon hamot, Khmer sramao ‘ant’. The direction of borrowing is indicated by the morphological analysability of the Austroasiatic forms and, unless alternative (3) above holds, by the palatal final, which cannot be explained from Austro-Thai as constructed under alternative (1).

Again, unless alternative (3) holds, some contact-words which belong to Proto-Tai have to be admitted as loans from Austroasiatic. They include besides *ya, Proto-Mon-Khmer *yas ‘grandmother’ (Benedict 1975:339, 482; also Proto-Austroasiatic *yaq yaq (or similar) > Proto-Mon-Khmer *yaay > Khmer yìy, etc., whence Thai yaay) the paired term *ta, Proto-Mon-Khmer *taq (Benedict 1975:287; Men taʔ ‘father’, Riang Lang taʔ ‘master, husband, grandfather’, Temiar tāʔ ‘sir’, tatāʔ ‘old man’, etc.). Note also Proto-SW-Tai *kluai.2 ‘banana’ (Egerod 1961:85), Proto-Mon-Khmer *tluay borrowing from Tai cannot account for Khmuic tl- (Khmu’ tloay, etc.) and is hardly to be suspected in Aslian (Semang telui, etc.: PRMP, B 42) or Nicobarese (talui).

These topics, however, are marginal to the assessment of the Austric and Austro-Thai hypotheses, so far as the two are competitive. Usually when the corpora overlap the Austroasiatic and Tai forms are sufficiently unlike for the question of borrowing between them not to arise. I therefore now turn to the evidence on which a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian might be alleged.

The putative relationship is plainly a remote one. I rely in this paper on an assembly of circa 200 roots or bases about as many as Schmidt, though not the same set drawn for the most part from a comparison of circa 2,000 Proto-Mon-Khmer roots with around the same number of Austronesian ones. The corpus is likely to be enlarged by further research; indeed, I have already cited two items (Proto-Mon-Khmer *yaq ~ *yaay, *taq) revealed as Austric candidates by Austro-Thai. It is biased, however, in two
respects. First, by the method of investigation; the comparison was with Proto-Mon-
Khmer roots and such Munda cognates as are cited (from Pinnow 1959 and from an
examination of Sora) had been established in reference to the Proto-Mon-Khmer forms.
Without undertaking an equally extensive comparison with Munda *per se*, we cannot infer
from the relatively low frequency of Munda items here that Austronesian is more closely
related to Mon-Khmer than to Munda. Secondly, correspondences which might conceivably be due to borrowing during, say, the last two millennia have been excluded.
Loans from mainland Austronesian dialects are found in many Eastern Mon-Khmer
languages and Indonesian loans are also present in Mon; while Mon-Khmer loans are
found in languages of Sumatra, Java, and even some of Borneo (Shorto 1975:82 and n.
3). Only lexemes attested in geographically remoter languages on both sides can be used as
evidence except where distinctive phonological treatment makes borrowing
improbable. This means that if Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically related the
true cognate corpus will be significantly larger than the evidential one. The exclusions
are probably not sufficient to account for themselves for the high proportion of items with
cognates in Oceanic.

It would not be practicable to review the whole of this material in a relatively
short paper. In order to support my opinions with some refutable argument, I propose to
examine in detail three sets of correspondences where a hypothesis of borrowing, or the
inverse one of marginal retention from an Austro-Thai substratum, seems to me least
credible. These comprise (1) those involving Austronesian bases of structure *2(CVC); (2)
the type of *mata* : Proto-Mon-Khmer *mat*, where unusually the second syllable of the
Austronesian base is lost in Mon-Khmer (and Austroasiatic); (3) pases with Mon-Khmer
correspondents only in “northern” languages; here a substratum hypothesis is not
necessarily, but recent borrowing is, excluded.

Reduplicates. Schematic relationships between the canonic shapes of Proto-
Austronesian and Proto-Austroasiatic are readily established. In principle, almost all roots
are reduced to a monosyllabic form in Proto-Mon-Khmer; for Proto-Austronesian,
disyllabic bases are commonest, with trisyllables not infrequent; Proto-Mon-Khmer shows
both monosyllabic and disyllabic types. The variation correlates with general areal
tendencies. Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Munda *CVCV(C) most often correspond to
Proto-Mon-Khmer *CCVC. Where Proto-Mon-Khmer has *CVC, Proto-Austronesian has
fully or, less often, partially reduplicated forms, *2(CV(V)) and *2(CV); Proto-Munda
shows both *CV(C) and *2(CV(V)). One would assume, on an Austric hypothesis, that
forms *CVC and *2(CVC) existed side by side in PA and were retained in Proto-
Austroasiatic; that Proto-Austronesian generalized the second type; and that Proto-Mon-
Khmer preferred the first, while retaining some traces of the second. (In fact, *CVC is
occasionally attested in languages of Formosa; e.g. Bunun reflects *gud ‘to drink’ ad
Proto-Austronesian *( )ud ( )ud.)

The straightforward type of correspondence may be exemplified by Proto-
Austronesian *bejbej ‘to wrap round’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer *bək : Mon pək ‘to put
[waiscloth] round’, etc. Less frequent is the type seen in *bitbit ‘to take in fingers’:
Proto-Mon-Khmer *c[ɓ]ic : Khm. cbɤc, etc. I take *c[ɓ]ic here to continue earlier (Proto-
Austroasiatic?) *ɓic-[ɓ]ic; the divergent treatment of such reduplications (contrast
*yaay < *yaq-yaq, above) appears, on the limited evidence now available, to depend on

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3 Some of the items cited in Pou and Jenner (1975) are suspect by this criterion.
the classes of phonemes involved. The most interesting of the examples is Proto-Austronesian *lslbllb ‘to inundate, to dive’, where Mon-Khmer cognates reflect variously *lbp and, from the reduplicate, *blap. This furnishes presumptive evidence for final *b in Austroasiatic (not contra Benedict 1975:472) lost in Mon-Khmer.

The correspondents of Austronesian partial reduplications are illustrated by Proto-Mon-Khmer *tuun : Proto-Austronesian *tutun. The partial type is overrepresented in Dempwolff, who only reconstructed *2(CVC) where he was obliged to by Tagalog and/or Batak cognates. Some of his formulae should accordingly be rewritten (e.g. *gi(t)git for *gigit).

In Achinese and Chamic, which show strong mainland affinities in phonology, Proto-Austronesian *2(CVC) is with minor exceptions reflected as CV(C); for the probable course of this development see Shorto (1975:98). The same areal pressures bear on most of Mon-Khmer, though not Munda. But the dual types of reflex in these two branches rule out the assumption of a parallel development there of forms borrowed from Austronesian or retained from a substratum. Nor is it likely that Mon-Khmer CVC roots were borrowed into Indonesian as 2(CVC) (the contrary can be shown; of. *bunbun). The simplest explanation of the facts is the one indicated above, that coexisting types CVC and 2(CVC) were differentially favored in branches of a common stock under different areal pressures.

Type *mata. Where reduplication is not in question, Proto-Austronesian *CVCV(C) usually corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer *CCVC. The correspondence Proto-Austronesian *mata : Proto-Mon-Khmer *mat, to which Benedict devotes some attention, is thus unusual; we would expect Proto-Mon-Khmer **mtaq (so e.g. *baRa ‘shoulder’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer *blaq). I have collected eleven probable sets where the second syllabic of the Austronesian base corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer Θ, all with Proto-Austronesian final vowel or laryngeal (i.e. Austronesian *q, *S). There is also one with Proto-Austronesian *-s, which, however, the Vietnamese cognates suggest may be a suffix (: Proto-Mon-Khmer -s causative). Of particular interest is *pan,qaq ‘to shoot’. Here the tone of Vietnamese bán allows us to reconstruct Proto-Mon-Khmer *pañ? (Benedict 1975:471, rightly rejects Schmidt’s comparison with Proto-Mon-Khmer *pooh ‘to use a bow’), with apparent secondary palatalization of the nasal as in *(b/p)/na( ) : Proto-Austronesian *paļq ‘full’.

This material is of recent assembly, and systematic search should reveal more. It is difficult as yet to suggest an explanation of the correspondences unless in terms of variable (distinctive) stress placing. Variable stress is invoked in Austro-Thai (153 and 200-1, n. 4). There Benedict discusses *mata (201), but the evidence implies dialect variants *matá (Philippines, Tsouic) and *máta (Palau); in the case of lungs *pusuq he speaks of a “pseudofore-stress” form (151, to explain Thai *poót ~ *pot : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pu(u)s ~ *puə; -s → Thai -t would be normal!).

I have also noted two sets which show “vocalic transfer” (Benedict 1975:183), the type-case being *pun,ay : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pun,uu ‘dove’. Both are attested only in Northern Mon-Khmer, and might be attributed simply to vowel metathesis: their evaluation waits on further research.

The twelve primary examples include five items from the 200-word lexicostatistic list and three more fairly basic terms (‘forehead’, ‘to shoot’, ‘full’); substratum retention is
a more tenable explanation than borrowing. But, again, genetic relationship seems to me most likely.

**The northern correspondences.** We occasionally find in northern languages (NMK, Khasi, Khmuic) isolated apparent correspondents of Austronesian bases, e.g.: Palaung juh ‘distant’; Riang Lang jñay ‘to swim’ which warrant entry in the Proto-Mon-Khmer corpus only on the assumption that they continue a common PA form. In both the quoted cases there is a distinctively Mon-Khmer synonym of wide distribution (cf. Pal. sōñay ‘distant’, loy ‘to swim’); naturally they startle. I have collected with such cases wider correspondences in which the only known Mon-Khmer cognates are in northern languages, plus in one or two instances Vietnamese or Aslian. The northern correspondences are, of course, striking chiefly because correspondences limited to southern languages have been designately excluded from this study. A recent 500-word vocabulary of Kammu Yuan, spoken in northern Laos (Lindell 1974), records a word for millet found again in Chamic and Malay; names of cereals travel, but what of Kammu-Yuan takán ‘bamboo-rat’ and Khasi dkhān ‘hill-rat, mole’, where Malay dèkan furnishes the only parallel known to the present writer? Borrowing hardly comes in question here. The substratum hypothesis cannot logically be excluded: but it appears unduly farfetched.

More general phonological considerations arise. I have shown that regularly recurring types of vowel variation are to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer (Shorto 1976c; see Benedict 1975:480). There is less scope for one within the four-vowel system postulated for Proto-Austronesian, but there too a similar variation is discernible: notably between close and central vowels, corresponding to Proto-Mon-Khmer: *iə (~ *i(i) ) ~ *ə, *uə ... ~ *ə ; also between front and back vowels, a minor type in Mon-Khmer. Cf. here e.g. Proto-Austronesian *kitkit ~ *ketket ‘to bite’, Proto-Mon-Khmer *kiit ~ *kiat ~ *kat. No such variation has yet been reconstructed for Proto-Munda; but difficulties experienced by Pinnow in establishing Proto-Munda vocalism, and the numerous variant correspondences he recorded, suggest a similar underlying phenomenon. All the indications are that the Mon-Khmer and Austronesian facts reflect variation at an “Austric” level.

The comparison of two protolanguages which have been separately reconstructed is likely to modify our understanding of both reconstructions. Proto-Mon-Khmer final palatal stop or nasal cannot ordinarily be accounted for from Austronesian or Austro-Thai—for neither of which are final palatais posited—either on borrowing or on substratum retention. Neither can borrowing from Mon-Khmer account for cognates of Mon-Khmer palatal-final roots in Oceanic or Formosan (e.g. Proto-Austronesian *cabut ‘to pull up, draw out’ > Fijian zavut-a etc.: Proto-Mon-Khmer *cɓoc; *cɓooc: Mon bot, Khmer baoe). I assume that PA had final palatais which underwent merger in Austronesian, just as Mon-Khmer merged the antecedents of Proto-Austronesian *-j, -k (*bejbej: Proto-Mon-Khmer *ɓak). Proto-Mon-Khmer, as probably Proto-Munda, knew a vowel-length distinction such as may be residually represented in some Austronesian languages (Shorto 1975, 84 ff.). But the Proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system, of seven terms in addition to diphthongs, has yet to be reconciled with the four-term system of Proto-Austronesian. (Austro-Thai encounters a similar difficulty; propounding a system of six terms, with merger of mid and close vowels in Austronesian.)

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4 Some cases of apparent *-c are attributed to *-t + suffix + *-s.
In denying any genetic relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic, Benedict lays stress on the want of agreement in basic or core vocabulary. The nuclearity of items is not the only factor affecting retention (and does it not apply to substratum retention, when that is invoked on as wide a scale as here?); but in any case we should test the accuracy of his assertion. The absence of agreement in the numerals is damaging, but not necessarily fatal (Khmuic dialects have replaced all the Mon-Khmer numerals above ‘two’ or ‘three’). ‘One’, Proto-Austronesian *isa, *esa, is perhaps marginally represented by Riang Lang s-, Khasi shi; ‘two/two’, admitted in Benedict (1975) is in my view doubtful. —Pronouns also show little agreement, e.g.: cognates of Proto-Austronesian *is(S), 3 sing., originally rather ‘person’.—Of kinship terms unmentioned by Benedict Proto-Mon-Khmer *taq ‘grandfather’ has already been cited; note Proto-Austronesian *wawa ‘uncle’, we might add Proto-Austronesian *eNbaq ‘grandfather’ (Blust 1971, no. 167; also Acehnese ōmbah ‘father’): Proto-Mon-Khmer *mbaq: Old Mon ‘ba’, Khmer ba, Khasi pa, Central Sakai apa ‘father’, etc.; Kharia ‘aba’ id, etc.—We may add several body parts: ‘forehead’, ‘tongue’, ‘heart’, ‘shoulder’, ‘palm’, ‘ribs’, note further Proto-Austronesian *gaq(ae)m ‘molar’: Acehnese ghōam, Cham khūm, Malay g/ër/ham, Javanese g/r/aham, Iban ngeli gam/gaam/5: Proto-Mon-Khmer *dga(a)m: Khmer thkhām ‘jaw’, Biat gam ‘molar’, Vietnamese câm ‘chin’, etc.—Under natural phenomena an important addition is Proto-Austronesian *ubaRi (?: cf. Shorto 1975, 91 n. 25) ‘sun, day’ (Benedict 1975:266): Proto-Mon-Khmer *briiq ‘sky’: Old Mon prey ‘rain’, Khmu’ mat bri’ ‘sun’, Praok pray, Vietnamese trời ‘sky, weather’, Sakai bri ‘day’, etc.—Under animal life note especially ‘ox’.—Numerous basic verbs figure in the appendices. I shall cite one more item: to the Proto-Austronesian locative prefix *di corresponds Proto-Mon-Khmer *diiq: Old Mon dey, with cognates in EMK, NMK, Aslian, and Munda (Sora).

Benedict has 600 Austro-Thai comparisons to offer against my 200 for Austrian, though the gap is likely to be narrowed by further research. Our corpora overlap to a noticeable degree, three-fifths of my Austronesian comparata figuring in Benedict (1975). That he seriously understates the extent of agreement in basic vocabulary between Austroasiatic and Austronesian emerges sufficiently, I hope, from the foregoing however summary review.

200 equations would be thought enough to support a genetic relationship if the languages concerned were geographically separated beyond the possibility of borrowing. Dravido-Elamite has been proposed on a good deal less! Much of the difficulty in assessing Southeast Asian linguistic affinities stems from the likelihood that ancestral speakers of the main stocks were already in contact—in South China?—at an early date; hence elements can be found that link any two stocks, Tibeto-Burman and Chinese included. Agreements in vocabulary, the crucial issue according to Benedict (1975:464-5), are only part of the argument. The historical selection of phonological structures implied speaks strongly for Austrian, as does the persistence—against areal pressures—of vowel variation. I have not so far discussed morphology in this paper. Here Mon-Khmer and Indonesian, at least, show considerable agreement in formal resources but little in the semantic value assigned to them (so Benedict (1975:464), can speak of “congruency in over-all configuration, which might be ascribed to areal factors”, but the same holds true even within Indonesian). Austro-Thai as Benedict reconstructs it (1975:146-9) is

5 My reconstruction. Cf. Tibeto-Burman *gəm, Benedict (1972): 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese ㄍㄢ m礽.
Appendix E In Defense of Austric

more suggestive in this regard, for Proto-Mon-Khmer has k- ‘part of body’ (especially in NMK and Khasi: e.g.: *mata; and Riang Lang kənuas ‘heart’. ad *pusuq, ib.), *p- ~ *-p-causative (but <Proto-Austroasiatic *(—)ab-: see Shorto 1969:112 f.), and perhaps also *m- stative.

In this paper I have spoken repeatedly of “roots” and “bases”, by intent. Roots are the common coin of historico-comparative reconstruction, at least of the wider-ranging kind; what by contrast are borrowed from one language into another are rather words. It is true that words often consist of root plus zero affix in Mon-Khmer languages and, though partly by lexicographers’ convention, in Indonesian ones. But neither Austroasiatic nor even Austronesian comparison would advance far if restricted to such simple forms alone. We have here, therefore, a promising tool for distinguishing between the effects of inheritance and borrowing (and substratum retention); productive roots will be more convincing than unramified lexemes as evidence of a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian, while correspondence with complex derived forms (as with ‘ant’, p. 2 above) will raise the suspicion of borrowing in Tai and elsewhere.

Benedict treats the position of Austroasiatic as a marginal issue, whence it comes that my critique is concentrated on a small part of Austro-Thai. But if he is wrong on this point, it must affect our assessment of the whole. Of the alternatives set out on p. 2, I need not as an Austroasianist choose between (2) and (3), and so pass judgement on the status of Austro-Thai; but I cannot on the evidence accept (1), and follow him in discarding Austric altogether.