

THE PLACE OF PLANT NAMES IN RECONSTRUCTING PROTO AUSTRONESIAN

JOHN U. WOLFF

1. INTRODUCTION

There are something like 175 plant names which have been proposed at one time or another to have originated in the Proto Austronesian language (PAN). Scholars have been at a loss as to how to handle these forms, for like the rest of the PAN vocabulary, or perhaps even more so, plant terminology is full of mysterious contradictions and what Dempwolff called *Lautunstimmigkeiten und Nebenformen* – that is, phonological irregularities and alternative reconstructions. To further our understanding of PAN what is urgently needed at this point is to bring order into this chaos. The problem has been not the failure to recognise similar forms as descendants of PAN, but rather the failure to distinguish those forms that can reasonably be reconstructed from those forms which by no stretch of the imagination could be attributable to PAN. What I would like to do in this paper is to enunciate some principles or better approaches which seem to me grounded in common sense and our own experience in the everyday world, principles which take as their point of departure the view that the history of words can only be understood in terms of the cultural milieu in which they are embedded or their functioning in the society which uses them. These principles can give us some clue as to how to approach this mass of confusing data. I believe that if we lay these ideas out on the table and then examine the forms individually, asking the questions which these principles lead us to ask, the confusion will clear up and a reasonably neat and clear picture will emerge. In this way we will have shorter lists: (1) of forms which definitely can be attributed to PAN, which are marked with a single asterisk in this paper; (2) of forms which might be attributed to PAN, though definitive proof is lacking (also marked with a single asterisk); (3) of forms which are attributable to a subgroup, but for which there is no evidence that they go back to PAN, which are marked with a double asterisk; and finally, (4) of forms which cannot be attributed to any protolanguage and which clearly spread through their range secondarily, which are placed in square brackets.

1.1 TRANSCRIPTIONS

I reconstruct a simpler phonology for PAN than is normally done (Wolff 1988, 1991, 1993). The following chart shows the symbols for the consonants which I reconstruct compared with those commonly used to represent PAN phonemes:

Wolff's transcription	Traditional transcription	Wolff's transcription	Traditional transcription
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>R</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>C, t¹</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
none	<i>T, c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>N</i>
none	<i>d</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>D</i>	none	<i>r</i>
<i>j</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>s</i>
none	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>S</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>
none	<i>g</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>

1.2 PRINCIPLES

The first consideration is that in the case of things in the real world, only those that attract the attention of the speakers are likely to get names. In the case of plants, only those get names that are cultivated or if they are wild, there must be something special about them (they are widely used for food or for producing things or they have an important ritual role, or the like). Thus, when people come into contact with new plants either through introduction or by moving to a new place, those new attention-getting plants are given names – by borrowing the name from others who know it already, or by calling the plant by a name familiar from other contexts, or by providing a descriptive name. Thus, when my family came to Florida from Germany, we found all sorts of new plants in our yard which had to be named. Most of these plant names we learned from the community which had also learned the name secondarily. Learning of new names gives rise to folk etymology or what I call the 'ponsietta syndrome'. By this process the learner guesses at the phonology of the new name and often changes it to make it similar to something familiar. This gives rise to all sorts of variations in the name. For example, I do not recall ever having heard the correct version of the name, which I have since learned should be *poinsettia*. They called it *ponsetta*, *ponsettia*, and my favourite, *ponsietta* (*ponsietta* was so called on analogy with another tree name people only learned in Florida, the *poinciana*). In short, our first principle is that folk etymology is normal in names which a community has newly learned. The converse of this is that if a plant name is widely spread and shows little sound irregularity, the chances are good that it is an inherited name, not something which has been borrowed.

¹ The PAN pairs of phonemes **C* and **t* and also **N* and **ñ* are in complementary distribution. Further, the phonemes symbolised **T*, **c*, **d*, **r*, **z* and **g* are not reconstructable for PAN. Where I have listed forms with these letters, they refer to forms which I do not believe can be reconstructed for PAN. These phonemes are discussed in the articles listed under my name in the bibliography.

Secondly, in my experience in Florida, we took plants names that were familiar and applied them to plants we had to refer to. I remember that our neighbourhood had a lot of *Leucaena glauca*, trees that are called *ipil-ipil* in the Philippines. We children called them 'puff-ball trees' because their inflorescence looked like little powder puffs, but I remember that one of my more knowledgeable playmates informed us that the real name of this tree was 'locust' on the authority of his mother. Although upon close examination the *ipil-ipil* does not resemble a locust, there is enough by way of pinnate leaves and long beans to remind one of the locust trees of the north-eastern United States, the place of origin of my friend's mother. My grandmother who prided herself on the purity and accuracy of her German, found a German word for everything she came into contact with. The *Melaleuca* tree in our neighbour's yard she called *eine Bircke* 'birch'. To apply this example to our study of the reconstruction of plant names: by this token we frequently find the same name given to trees which are similar. Of course, the decision about which is the original referent and which is the new referent depends on knowledge of the history and distribution of the plant in question.

The new plant does not have to resemble the old plant in the least for an old name to be spread to a new plant. We had a bush in our yard that produced sweet-smelling flowers which my mother called a jasmine, a flower which she had read about but which she had never experienced. It was only many years later that I learned that the jasmine was an entirely different plant from the one in our yard. This explains how we can find the same name for plants which have absolutely nothing to do with each other. For example, in our data we have reflexes in various places in Indonesia and the Philippines for a form which we might reconstruct as ***qanasaw* (although it is not really possible to ascribe this form to PAN). However, in the Philippines and adjoining languages of northern Sulawesi, this plant refers to the fan-tail palm, *Livistona* sp., whereas elsewhere, the name refers to the sugar palm, *Arenga pinnata* (Malay *enau*, etc.).

As my example of the *Leucaena glauca* which we children called 'puff-ball trees' illustrates, a descriptive name which one can etymologise is one given to a plant that has been newly learned about. Thus, the [*kamuniŋ*], *Murraya paniculata*,² is named after the yellow quality of the wood it yields, from Malay *kuning* 'yellow'.³ Words which resemble this name are widespread throughout Indonesia and the Philippines, but it is obviously a Malay term, and originates as a descriptive term. Similarly [*kamaŋi*], the name for sweet basil, *Ocimum sanctum*, surely contains the Javanese root *wangi* 'smelling good' and is descriptive. We do not have as many citations for this name as for [*kamuniŋ*], and the same argument can be made: these names are borrowings from a descriptive Javanese name.

If a plant is introduced from the Americas there is *prima facie* evidence for ruling its name out as a PAN inheritance. Of course, by the principle that old names can be applied to new plants, it is not impossible that an inherited PAN word should be applied to a New World plant, but this only happens when the name also applies to an Old World plant. Thus the various versions of the form *bayem*, the *Amaranthus*, which are found in Indonesia and the Philippines, cannot possibly be inherited forms because the name does not refer to anything but this plant. My argumentation is confirmed by the fact that the names for this plant show

² The Latin names follow Burkill (1966).

³ As K.A. Adelaar pointed out during the conference, the form *kuning* itself is not inherited in Malay. The word for 'yellow' comes from the name for the plant *Curcuma longa*, which is inherited (not from PAN in all likelihood) as *kuñit* in Malay. *Kuning* itself probably comes from one of the Batak languages which reflects final **g* as *-ŋ* (Karo Batak).

all sorts of phonemic irregularities. On the other hand the name ***baŋkuwaŋ* can be ascribed to the protolanguage of a low-order subgroup of western Indonesian and Philippine languages, and it originally referred to a species of pandanus. In Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Makassarese and some of the Minahassan languages the reflex of this form refers to the *Pachyrrhizus erosus*, a kind of tuber similar to a mild white radish, known in the Philippines as *singkamas*. *Pachyrrhizus erosus* is a native of the Americas, and a name for it in Mexico is *sengkuwang*. Obviously, this plant and its name was introduced somewhere in Nusantara and quickly was folk-etymologised to *baŋkuwaŋ*, with which name it was spread. In this case the name *baŋkuwaŋ* can nevertheless be ascribed to the protolanguage of a Philippine-Indonesian subgroup because we have *baŋkuwaŋ* in languages of this subgroup referring to a species of pandanus (including some of those languages that apply the name also to the *Pachyrrhizus erosus*).

2. FORMS WHICH CAN BE ASCRIBED TO PAN WITH CERTAINTY

Although more than half of the plant names which are listed in our sources are of secondary origin (resemble each other by virtue of spread), we are by no means at a loss as to how to distinguish these secondary forms from the primary ones which resemble each other by virtue of inheritance from PAN. We obviously cannot make decisions blindly, but when three conditions are met, we can say that we are dealing with a form which is ascribable to PAN. Firstly, the attestation covers a wide area. This is not always easy to establish. Our information on the languages of Formosa is spotty – too many of the languages have died out, and for the living languages detailed accounts of plant names are not available. Many of the languages of eastern Indonesia offer similar problems. Further, by the nature of the plant distribution in eastern Oceania, eastern Oceanic plant names with a PAN etymology are limited. Also we do not have a great deal of data on plant names in western Oceania. In short, we have names for a large number of plants only in the languages of Indonesia and the Philippines, where the languages clearly underwent strong mutual influence. In other words, this first condition is not easy to meet. A second condition is that the correspondences are regular. Thirdly, the reference is to a plant of a sort of which it makes sense to say that it was a plant that the community named throughout its history.

Obviously these criteria are too strict to apply across the board literally with no exceptions. Almost all of these forms have reflexes somewhere which show phonemic irregularities. Further, for many of the plant names which can be attributed to PAN, there are substantial groups of languages which do not show reflexes. I will argue shortly that the scattered nature of the attestation and the regularity of correspondence is a very strong indication of inheritance from PAN. In any case, the following forms are as certain in their reconstruction as anything in the PAN lexicon. Although there may be irregularities in a few of the attested forms, the general pattern is one of little irregularity and the spread is over the widest reaches of the Austronesian group. The most important of the cultivated plants are in this group of plants. Firstly, there are the food crops. There are three words for rice: one referring to the grain **beyás*, a second referring to the plant **págey*,⁴ and a third being the general word for rice, **semáy* or **seméy*. We consider **seméy* to be PAN, but it is not as well attested as the other two words and we will take it up shortly. Other food plants are: the

⁴ It is questionable whether rice predates PAN. The words for rice were either borrowed in PAN times or they were such early borrowings that they show no irregular phonemic correspondences. The form **beyas* has numerous cognitors outside the Austronesian group (including the English word 'rice' itself).

grain, millet, *betéŋ, *Panicum viride*, and the root crops: the taro, *Colocasia esculenta*, *tales; the yam, *Dioscorea alata*, *qúbi; the *Alocasia* spp., *bíyaq. Also in this group is the grain, Job's-tears, *Coix lachryma-jobi*, *qajelay, which is now not an important food crop in Southeast Asia except in a couple of widely scattered places but is thought in former times to have been an important grain crop.⁵ Job's-tears, *Coix lachryma-jobi*, lost its importance as a foodstuff over the last millennium, and as a minor plant its name got lost, changed, borrowed and so forth in many languages. However, we can reconstruct PAN *qajelay, for its name, reference and phonology remained stable in enough languages from scattered locations that we can be certain that the name is inherited from PAN in them.

Also some of the basic fruit trees have a PAN etymology: the banana, *puti; the coconut, *Cocos nucifera*, *niyuy; the mango, *pásuq. Possibly sugarcane, *tebús, was cultivated. In any case its name is certainly ascribable to PAN. We also have reflexes in many languages of the name for the betel nut, *Areca catechu*, *buwaq. We can reconstruct the form *buwaq in PAN, but its reference to the betel plant is limited to a certain area. In widespread areas from Formosa to Polynesia reflexes of *buwaq are the general term for fruit, and this is the meaning which we must reconstruct for PAN. The reference to betel nut is confined to Nusantara and the Philippines, and the history must be that in one language the general reference 'fruit' was specifically applied to the betel nut, the fruit par excellence, and then this development spread. Interestingly enough, in Cebuano the word for fruit, búŋa, which is from a word which originally had meant flower, has also come to refer to the betel nut.

There are also names for plants that were not grown but which yield important products. We can say these were inheritances from PAN: *túba, *Derris elliptica*, used as a fish poison (incidentally, in the Philippines the name is transferred to a tree which furnishes fish poison); bamboos, *qawuy and *búluq;⁶ rattan, *Calamus* and *Daemonorops* spp., *qúwey or *qúway. Another group consists of plants which were important mainly because they were prominent. Although some of these also yield products which the society used, the prime reason they seem to have survived in such a broad range of languages is that they referred to things that were a prominent part of the landscape everywhere. Almost all of these are trees of the seashore: the Australian pine, *Casuarina equisetifolia*, *qayúsuq or possibly *qayusúq; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, *báyū; the *Calophyllum inophyllum*, *bitáquy or *bitagquy; the *Barringtonia asiatica*, *butún; the *Pandanus*, *pagudañ; the catapang tree, *Terminalia* spp., *talíŋay; and a seashore tree, the *Dolichandrone spathacea*, *tewí. I would also put in this group the mangrove, *Ceriops* spp., *teŋéy, a name which is found from Malaysia and the Philippines to Oceania. However, the plant produces a bark which is of commercial importance, and in southern Sulawesi the word is clearly a borrowing, not inherited.

Three other tree names are clearly inherited from PAN. Although they are not seashore trees, they are found in forests close to the seashore and have attention-getting characteristics. The first is the *Erythrina* sp., *dapdap, with its showy inflorescence. The second is the stinging nettle tree, *Laportea* sp., *jalateŋ. The third of these is the banyan, *Ficus benjamina*, *nunúk. This tree was and still is considered a sacred tree, the habitation of supernatural beings. Although the name for this tree has been replaced by others in most of the Philippines and in western Indonesia, the name survives in scattered languages in the

⁵ James Fox pointed out at the conference that the use of this plant in rituals in many places in Southeast Asia attests to its antiquity, as opposed to sorghum, which has been introduced in comparatively recent times and is now widely grown, but is not part of the ritual.

⁶ *Búluq was probably a generic term for bamboos and thus this word must be considered in a different light from plant names.

Philippines and in Indonesia, and we can almost be certain that the new names for the *Ficus benjamina* are replacements for the earlier **nunúk*. For example, in Aklan the name survives and refers to a tree with supernatural connections. In Sundanese *nunuk* survives but it means 'supernatural spirit'. Tagalog has the word *núnu?* 'supernatural spirit', but the phonology (final *-?* instead of the expected *-k*) indicates that this word is a borrowing in Tagalog. A similar argument can be made for the name for saw grass, the *Imperata cylindrica*, **yiq*. This plant has few uses but is so much a part of the everyday experience that we would expect to find reflexes of a name inherited from PAN. We have reflexes of **yiq* from southern Formosa throughout Nusantara including the Lesser Sunda Islands, with much of Indonesia and the Philippines showing gaps. Because it is a monosyllabic root there are numerous phonological irregularities, but I believe that these can readily be explained as adaptations of the monosyllabic root to the canonical shape of the root.

The words for rice are clearly inherited from PAN, but only the word for husked rice, **beyás*, is nearly universal in languages spoken in areas which produce rice. The word for the rice plant **págey* has been replaced in many areas by **seméy* or **semáy* which seems to have been the general word for 'rice as food'. In some languages a word meaning 'cooked staple' (e.g. PAN **inapey* or some other word consisting of the infix **-in-* and another root) replaced **seméy* 'rice as food', and then **seméy* came to mean 'rice plant'. The situation can be explained as follows: PAN speakers grew rice. When the Austronesian languages were brought to areas where rice was not produced (or spread to non-rice-growing populations), these words were lost, but as the populations learned about rice, these words were borrowed back, but the general word for rice, **semáy*, was taken over for the plant instead of the original **págey*.

Even the names which are inherited in most languages show signs of being secondary in some of the languages by having phonological irregularities. For example, the *Barringtonia asiatica*, **butún* in the languages of the southern Philippines and northern Sulawesi, receives an /i/ in the first syllable – **bitun*. We say this is an innovation because of the distribution of the phenomenon. In Cebu this name then gets folk-etymologised as *bitúqun* 'star', presumably because of its sharply angled fruit which resembles a star. Another example is **náya*, the *Pterocarpus indicus*, which is reconstructable for a fairly high-order subgroup if not for PAN. Yet many of the attestations show phonemic irregularities. Bikol, for example, shows *nára* with an /r/, clearly an introduced form. However, in the placename *Nága*, the regular reflex occurs.

To the above list of PAN reconstructions which are certain we can add others which show phonemic regularity in most of the attestations and in fact are assignable to PAN, even though in fact they are found in only a small number of languages. It is the scattered nature of the attestation and the regularity of the correspondences which argue for the antiquity of the form and the reference. The argument is that if they were spread by borrowing they would be attested in adjacent languages. One example is the word for rice, **semáy*, discussed above, but which in fact is attested in only scattered languages in southern Formosa, the Philippines and in Batak. Another example is the word for *Donax canniiformis*, an important plant for providing cane for wickerwork and the like. This is reconstructed as **niniq*, and we assign it to PAN even though it is found only in the Batanic languages of the northern Philippines and then again in languages of eastern Indonesia and Oceania. In much of the area between we find reflexes of **banban*, again not all in contiguous areas – the name **banban* itself is broken by other names (see section 3). Another example is the name for the banana. The inherited name for the banana is found only in isolated places in western

Indonesia and not at all in the Philippines, but it is surely inherited, for we do find it in isolated places in the west (including Old Javanese). In eastern Indonesia and most points further east **puti* is almost universal. The best example of this principle is **qajelay*, 'Job's-tears', where many different facts independently show antiquity: scattered attestation, use of the plant for ritual, phonemic regularity in some of the scattered attestations.

The following four names are widely scattered, show no irregularities in their phonology and refer to plants which yield important products. We assign them to PAN: **anuliŋ* or **qanuliŋ*, **látuq* and **lukút*. The first, **anuliŋ*, is the *Pisonia alba*, for which we have citations in Hanonoo (the Philippines), Manggarai (Flores) and in Nggela (western South Pacific) only. The leaves of this plant are (or were) widely eaten; it is a widespread plant, sometimes cultivated, and the correspondences are regular in the three attestations. Verheijen (1984) cites names in other languages, the phonology of which is not always regular, but the irregularities can probably be explained. This looks like a plant that was important in former times, but which, like the Job's-tears, is now not often cultivated. **Látuq* is the name of an edible seaweed cited for Cebuano, Malay, and in eastern Indonesia in Roti and Yamdena. Again the correspondence and distribution argues for a retention from PAN. The plant is an important element of the diet in Cebu, but I have not seen it elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The name **lukút* refers not to a single plant but rather to a class of growths, parasitic plants. The name is attested in southern Formosa, in Malay, Sundanese, Central Sulawesi and in Chamorro. Again the regularity of correspondence and similarity of reference together with the widely scattered distribution argue for inheritance, not secondary spread. This is not really a plant name but rather a generic term which may behave differently from names in its historical development.

Another name which is widespread is **qañuñan*, the name of the *Cordia dichotoma*. There are two difficulties with assigning this name to PAN. Firstly, there are phonological irregularities in some of the languages. Secondly, there is no obvious reason why this tree should be prominent. However, the name is distributed from northern Formosa through Malay, Kalimantan, the Philippines and Sulawesi to the Lesser Sunda Islands, as far east as Timor.

There are quite a few plant names which are not as widely distributed as those just mentioned but which are distributed over a wide enough range that it certainly would make sense to reconstruct them for PAN. Again, many of the plant names show gaps in distribution, which argues that they are retentions. The following plant names are found throughout Nusantara, the Philippines, Sulawesi and the Lesser Sunda Islands, as far east as the Molucca Islands: **laqeya*, ginger, *Zingiber officinale*; **nípaq*, *Nipa fruticans*; **dítaq*, *Alstonia scholaris*. These certainly have the characteristics of plants, the names of which are likely to be inherited. They have a wide range of uses and grow in the lowlands near the sea. In fact **nípaq* is a palm of the seacoast swamps. The name for the ti plant, *Cordyline fruticosa*, **liyi*, has reflexes found throughout Oceania as well as Sulawesi and possibly the Philippines and Madagascar. It is an important plant in the system of beliefs of many Austronesian language-speaking groups and is widely used for various purposes.

Finally, there is **katapaŋ*, a name ascribable to PAN, although its reference is unknown. In Sumatra, Java and southern Sulawesi the name refers to the *Terminalia catappa*. This must be an innovation and replaces the well-attested PAN **talílay*. There are various plant names

listed for reflexes of **katapaj* in Polynesia and the Philippines, and in Polynesia this name also refers to the frigatebird.⁷

2.1 NAMES ASSIGNABLE TO PAN WITH LESS CERTAINTY

Other plant names occur for the most part in contiguous areas. They are wide ranging but not as far flung as the names discussed above. They have the semantic character of inherited names (i.e. they refer to prominent plants). We can say they are strong candidates for assignment to PAN, even though there is a window of doubt. It is not impossible that they spread secondarily. The first is **amiti*, *Solanum nigrum*. This name is found from northern Formosa to Sulu. The name appears also in Javanese and Malay, but it is clearly secondary there.⁸ Although now an unimportant plant, it was formerly, like the Job's-tears, an important item of food. This hypothesis is supported by the Ivatan and Rukai dialectal name for the *Solanum nigrum*, **ñateŋ*, which etymologically means 'vegetable'. In Ivatan or some language in the area the *Solanum nigrum* was the vegetable par excellence.

Two other possible candidates for PAN inheritances are **daqú* and **kawáyan*. The name **daqú* is spread from southern Formosa through the Philippines to Java and also reappears in the Lesser Sunda Islands, southern Sulawesi, the Molucca Islands, and as far east as New Britain. The name is also found in Malay and Batak, but there it is clearly a borrowing. It refers to the *Dracontomelum* spp. but in Formosa refers to the soapberry tree which produces the *klerek*, the *Sapindus mukorossi*.⁹ The *Dracontomelum* produces good fruit, and this supports the notion that the plant was important. These reflexes are regular in the sound correspondences, and we can reconstruct **daqú*, but the fact that it is distributed in adjacent languages opens the doubt that this is secondary. Incidentally, the same name with the same reference is found in non-Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. The form **kawáyan* is attested in Formosa and the Philippines and one language of Buru. This must have PAN origins because the appearance in Buru is unexplainable otherwise. Incidentally Blust (1980a) believes that this form contains the root **qúway* which we reconstruct for PAN with great confidence. A root with a similar distribution to **kawáyan* and **daqú* is **pulút* which refers specifically to the *Urena lobata*, a tree which provides bird lime. In many languages it refers to many other mucilaginous plants. This name is descriptive and is derived from the root **pulút* 'sticky, glued' which we may reconstruct for PAN. The reference to the *Urena lobata* stretches from northern Formosa to Manggarai in Flores with gaps. This distribution of attestation may be a happenstance of our information (for the plant is not often listed), but there is a possibility that this plant name goes back at least to the protolanguage of the subgroup which contains both Formosan languages and Manggarai. I do not believe that this was PAN.

A name which is poorly attested but yet may possibly be assigned to PAN is **jabi*, *Ficus* spp. This name is attested only in Toba Batak *jabi-jabi*, Malay *jawi-jawi*, Malagasy (Betsileo dialect) *zavi* and Fijian *savirewa*. These forms all refer to a banyan or *Ficus* variety. If the

⁷ Bruce Biggs and Ross Clark during the proceedings of the conference pointed out the visual similarity between the frigatebird and the *Terminalia*.

⁸ Both Javanese *ranti* and Malay *meranti* have been reshaped by the same analogy and very likely the Javanese is a borrowing from Malay or vice versa.

⁹ The fact that the name has been applied to a new plant in Formosa argues for its antiquity. When the Austronesian languages spread to Formosa (I do not believe that Formosa was the homeland of PAN), the names for tropical plants not found in Formosa were applied to new plants.

Fijian form is not coincidentally similar to the others, this is indeed an inheritance from PAN.¹⁰

The word for *Citrus*, **muntay*, can be assigned to PAN with fairly good probability though by no means certainty, on similar grounds of scattered distribution. Reflexes are found in languages of Mindanao and Sulawesi, as well as the Lesser Sunda and Molucca Islands as far east as Ceram. This is a well-defined area of contiguous languages, but there are also attestations in outliers. What seems to be an inherited reflex occurs in the language of Mentawai, off western Sumatra. We also find versions of **muntay* in Achinese and Balinese, but they are irregular in phonology and it is quite certain that these are loan forms in these languages. However, the reflexes of **muntay* must have been more widespread in earlier versions of languages with which Achinese and Balinese came into contact. The following name is found from northern Formosa through the Philippines and Indonesia, but the reference in Formosa is to a *Miscanthus* grass, whereas elsewhere the name refers to a fern: **qayilam*, a fern, *Gleichenia* sp.¹¹

These words are good candidates as PAN reflexes. To be sure, there is a window of doubt, and as illustrated by the example of sorghum (see [*batag*] below), data may be available to prove that the form in question is not PAN.

2.2 NAMES NOT ASCRIBABLE TO A PROTOLANGUAGE

However, when we have a name which shows irregularities in contiguous areas and is a commercial product, we are certainly not dealing with an inherited form. Thus [*bañay*], the name of the sarsaparilla plant, *Smilax* spp., which has important medicinal uses, has a distribution similar to the name of the *Solanum nigrum*, but surely it is not inherited because it is an important medicinal plant and the name shows widespread phonological irregularities.

Further, other plant names found in Formosa and further south which do not have as widespread a distribution as the languages above cannot be assigned to PAN or even to the protolanguage of a subgroup. An example of this is the name of the mulberry, *Morus acidosa*, which is cited as [*tañiuj/tañiud*]. This plant is an import from China and the name is only attested in Formosa and Itbayatan from the Batanes Straits, north of the Philippines. It would be perfectly silly to assign the reconstruction to PAN.

Another example is [*kamaya*], which refers to the mabolo, *Diospyros discolor*, a name which is found from Formosa to as far south as Hanonoo in Mindoro. In fact, versions of this same name are found even further in the Philippines: *kamaguŋ* (spread throughout the Philippines) and *amága* in Cebuano.¹² Further, there is the name ***/áleŋ*, which refers to a forest product, dammar, rather than a plant. The name ***/áleŋ* is applied to various dammar-

¹⁰ There are things about this form which arouse suspicion. Firstly, the form is reduplicated in Malay and Toba Batak. This is prima facie evidence that the name is descriptive and thus not original. Secondly, the Malagasy form does not show the normal reflex of PAN initial **j*.

¹¹ Burkill (1966:1089) says this is a borrowing from an Arabic word meaning 'delineate', but I doubt it. The spread from Formosa through Indonesia and into the east makes this word very likely to be inherited. Because the name in Formosa refers to a different plant (*Miscanthus* grass) than it refers to elsewhere (*Gleichenia*, a kind of fern), I am uncertain as to what plant the name originally referred to. The connection is that both *Gleichenia* and *Miscanthus* have sturdy stems.

¹² Blust (1980a) connects Cebuano *amága* with a name *mara* found in southern Celebes and in Malay. There is no semantic connection with the form in Malay (Burkill lists it as *marah*). The tree names in Celebes may indeed be connected, but it is clearly a matter of spread and not inheritance.

producing plants from Formosa to the Philippines. Here, the distribution does not allow us to attribute the form to PAN, although the form could be assigned to a protolanguage which includes the Philippines and Formosa, if indeed there is such a protolanguage. However, even though there are few if any phonemic irregularities in the attestations of this form, it is still highly likely, in view of the commercial importance of the product, that this form was spread by borrowing.

Finally, we should talk about the form [*batag*] 'sorghum', which is a plant introduced from the Middle East or somewhere west of Indonesia. Even though the name is spread from Atayal south throughout the Philippines and Nusantara, it has been spread secondarily. There are several facts which point to this: (1) the word is found in contiguous languages which do not form a subgroup (in this case a very large range); (2) the form does not reflect corresponding phonemes in important languages; and (3) the name does not refer to a plant that is ritually important anywhere.¹³ The form **batag* may well be Proto Austronesian. However, we do not know what its reference is.

3. NAMES INHERITED FROM THE PROTOLANGUAGE OF A SUBGROUP IN WESTERN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

There is another group of plant names which are widespread in the Philippines and Indonesia but which are not found east of Sulawesi. For those that show regularities of sound correspondence, there is good reason to reconstruct them for the protolanguage which includes the languages of Nusantara east of Sulawesi and the Philippines. I do not wish to say that all of these languages are in one subgroup, but certainly most of them are in a subgroup which is a lower order than PAN. (Let's call the group the Philippine-Western Indonesia group.) The following forms are in the Philippine-Western Indonesia group: ***bákuq*, *Crinum asiaticum*, a lily; ***báyuy*, *Pterospermum* spp., a timber tree;¹⁴ ***buyeney* or *beyuney*, *Antidesma bunius*, a fruit tree; ***lámun*, *Enhalus acoroides*, a grass of salt swamps (this name is widely scattered); ***pakú*, an edible fern (Dempwolff thought there was a cognate of this word in Sa'a, but the semantics do not make sense). In this group we can also put ***náya* and ***nútuq*. The first, ***náya*, the *Pterocarpus indicus*, is a hardwood and has important reflexes throughout the Philippines and the Lesser Sunda Islands. As we pointed out above, the reflexes of ***náya* are not phonemically regular in all languages (hence borrowed, as one would expect for a plant of commercial importance), but there is a large enough number of regular reflexes that ***náya* is a good candidate for inheritance from a protolanguage of a subgroup. The second, ***nútuq*, *Lygodium* spp., a climbing fern, is attested for the Philippines and Lesser Sunda Islands. The reference in some languages is to other climbing plants. Other forms are the following: ***paŋi*, the *buah keluak* of Malaysia and Indonesia, *Pangium edule*; and finally, ***táyum*, *Indigofera* spp., the indigo plant.

The following names are phonemically regular and are attested for languages ranging from Sumatra-Java-Kalimantan to the Philippines, but excluding Sulawesi: ***banban*, *Donax canniformis* (see section 2); and ***lampuyáy*, an old name applied to various ginger plants in the current languages. Perhaps it is a generic term for gingers. Other forms in this group are

¹³ On sorghum in rituals see footnote 5. The fact that the Malay name *betari* has an extra /i/ at the end of the root, makes this name unique in Malay. It looks like a loan word from an Indic or Middle Eastern language, but I have not been able to find a confirming reference.

¹⁴ In Mongondow this name refers to the introduced tree, the sugar palm.

pútat**, *Barringtonia* spp., trees of sandy seashores, mud flats and banks of slow-moving rivers (usually not applied to the *Barringtonia asiatica*, PAN ***butún**); and ***qaya**, *Ficus* spp. Reflexes of this word are found in Formosa, Batak, Malay, Sangirese, and in Flores. It may be inherited from the protolanguage which is ancestral to these languages. The name also appears in Old Javanese, but with a phonemic irregularity, indication of a borrowing. Finally, there is *baŋkuwaŋ**, which probably referred to a pandanus species, but in the Philippines the name refers to a reed which yields strips for weaving. As discussed in section 1, in Javanese, Malay and adjacent languages the name has been transferred to *Pachyrrhizus erosus*.

3.1 PLANT NAMES SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE PHILIPPINES AND INDONESIA WHICH ARE NOT INHERITED

The Philippines and western Indonesia is an area of mutually influencing languages. Malay especially has been influential as a lingua franca throughout the area for more than a millennium. This means that we have to take into account the cultural background of the plant. For example, there is the *Abrus precatorius* which has the name *sága* throughout Nusantara and the Philippines. This name shows no phonological deviation throughout other than the correspondence Philippines /g/ - Malay /g/ which I do not believe reflects a PAN phoneme. However, in this case it is not the phonemics, but our knowledge of the use of this bead in commercial transactions that makes it totally impossible for us to believe that this word is inherited. Burkill mentions that the word is from Arabic (I have not found it listed), but in any case we do not have a PAN word for the *Abrus precatorius*. Another example is the word for garlic, [*bawaŋ*], which is spread through the Philippines and Java-Sumatra-southern Kalimantan. This surely is not inherited, as there are phonemic irregularities. Further, garlic is a recently introduced plant.

Morphological considerations can also play a role in deciding whether or not to assign a form to a protolanguage. For example, the form [*mali*], the name of a shrub, *Leea* spp., is found throughout the Philippine-Western Indonesian language area with no phonemic irregularities. Yet we would not call it an inheritance, for in most languages the name is doubled or reduplicated: for example, Samar-Leyte *amamali*, Tagalog *mali-mali* and so forth. The reduplication indicates that the name is descriptive and therefore probably not inherited. Of course it is possible that the descriptive name developed in the protolanguage and has been inherited in the current languages.

There are many plants which, like the *Abrus precatorius*, [*ŋaga*], have names that are irregular in their correspondences and which have a role in the economic life of the community. This makes it absolutely certain that their names are not inherited. The following plant names refer to vegetables, fruits and medicines which spread throughout Nusantara and into the Philippines. Almost all of them show irregularities in some or all of the languages: [*temu*], *Curcuma* spp., a root used for medicine or spice; [*teruŋ*], the eggplant; [*kundur*], *Benincasa carifera*, a kind of squash; [*santul*], *Sandoricum indicum/nervosum*, a fruit; [*ŋaraŋaw/ŋariŋaw*], *Acorus calamus*, the sweet flag, a medicinal plant; [*pariya*], *Momordica charantia*, the bitter melon, a vegetable; [*balimbig*], *Averrhoa bilimbi/carambola*, a fruit. In the case of this name it is only in the languages which reflect PAN ***b** with another phoneme that we have any irregularity of correspondence, but these languages and the attestations in other languages which show analogical changes make it clear that this name spread by borrowing. I would put [*baŋkudu*], *Morinda citrifolia*, which was important as a source of

red dye, in this group. Also in this group is [*laŋkuwas*], the greater galangale, *Languas galanga*, a spice which has connected (but phonologically irregular) names throughout Indonesia and the Philippines. The name for the jack fruit, *Artocarpus heterophyllus*, [*naŋka*] should also be in this group. This name with phonological irregularities is spread through the Philippines and Indonesia as far east as Irian Jaya. The tree is of Indic origins. Finally, there is the vegetable [*kaŋkuŋ*], *Ipomea reptans*. This is a widespread name that shows irregularities in a couple of languages of the Philippines. In this case, the shape of the root as well as the irregularities argue that this form spread by borrowing. We do not reconstruct any other root for PAN or for a subgroup which consists of a reduplicated monosyllable where the first syllable has /a/ and the second /u/.¹⁵

There are other introduced plants, which do not have the clear economic importance of the preceding, but nevertheless we take these names to have been spread by borrowing because of their phonological discrepancies. The first of these is [*lepaj*], *Caesalpinia sappan*, the Brazilwood tree. Burkill thinks the name has something to do with the Sanskrit name *pattaya*. This name is found as far east as the Weda language in Halmahera. In this group is also the *Sterculia foetida*, [*kalumpaj*]. The reflexes of this name are fairly regular, but the distribution of the name leaves no doubt that it spread secondarily. It is not attested in Sumatra except in Toba Batak and in Malay. It is attested only for central and southern Sulawesi and the southern Philippines, not Kalimantan. Others in this group are: [*kesambi*], the *Schleichera oleosa*, a name found in the Lesser Sunda Islands, Malay and Javanese with many irregularities; [*tudi*], the *Sesbania grandiflora*, a tree grown to shade coffee plants, which must have spread secondarily as the attestations show great irregularities; and [*qanibug*], the *Oncosperma tigillaria*, a palm of coastal forests with a name showing irregularities. The name for the *Trema orientalis*, [*yedun*], is distributed from Puyuma in Formosa to the Lesser Sunda Islands, Java and northern Sulawesi. It shows irregularities everywhere, and despite its wide distribution is not reconstructable for the protolanguage. The name [*baluyu*], *Entada phaseoloides*, the gogo vine, which was used as a shampoo, is distributed from the Philippines to Timor and is also attested for Sundanese. The great number of phonemic irregularities prove that this name has spread. The form [*báyu*], *Gnetum gnemon*, is found with this reference only in the central and southern Philippines. (With the reference *Hibiscus tiliaceus* it can be reconstructed for PAN – see section 2.) This name also spread to Old Javanese, Makassarese and Malay, but with accreted final consonants. Finally, there is the name [*lagundi*], *Vitex trifolia/negundo*, which is attested with phonemic irregularities in the Philippines, northern Sulawesi, and in various languages from Bali westwards.

Not all of the plant names in this group come from the west. The breadfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, ***kuluŋ*, is of Pacific origin. Its name spread throughout Indonesia and into the Philippines; however it displays numerous phonological discrepancies and cannot be an inheritance for that reason. The following names show various spreads from east to west: the

¹⁵ Many of the languages, however, show normal reflexes for this name, and in fact it is very widespread, found as far east as Eastern New Guinea and the Solomon Islands: for example, Tolai *kago* (M. Ross, pers.comm.). Only in Tolai does the form follow the sound laws, but in other places in the Solomon Islands where this word occurs, it does not have the sound correspondences of inherited forms (M. Ross, pers.comm.). There is another problem with the Tolai form: it shows an /o/ in the final syllable, and it is unknown what the reflex of PAN *u is in the final closed syllable in Proto Oceanic. Therefore, it is most certainly the case that this word could have spread eastwards in recent times (probably through Pidgin English). This name is also found in languages outside the Austronesian group, for example, in Sinhalese *kan kun*.

name [ʃukun] for the breadfruit, *Artocarpus communis*, is attested in languages of the Molucca Islands and in Javanese and Malay. It refers to the seedless varieties as opposed to words connected with ***kuluɣ*, which in these languages refers to the seeded varieties. The name for the lumber tree, [kukun], *Schoutenia ovata*, is found in Java and the Lesser Sunda Islands. The name [ʃuka] for *Gnetum gnemon* is attested for Malay, Sundanese, the languages of Sulawesi and the Lesser Sunda Islands. The sagu palm, ***yumbiya*, *Metroxylon sagu*, also comes from the East, but the name is reconstructable for a subgroup which contains the languages of eastern Indonesia and Oceania, though not for PAN.

4. PLANT NAMES DISTRIBUTED OVER A SMALL AREA AND ASSIGNABLE TO A LOW-ORDER SUBGROUP

When we deal with plant names confined to a small area, it becomes more difficult to determine if the names are borrowed or inherited from a low-order protolanguage, for there tends to be less difference between the phonology of borrowed forms and inherited forms. Most scholars who reconstruct low-order subgroups assign to the protolanguage a form common to several languages if there is no countervailing phonological evidence. We can list a few such forms here. They are far too restricted in distribution to be assignable to PAN, yet they have the phonological shapes that correspond regularly as if they were inherited, and they are attested in languages for which it makes sense to say they are all members of the same subgroup. The following names belong in this group: ***ipil*, *Intsia bijuga/retusa*, a seacoast tree, with names attested for the Philippines, the Lesser Sunda Islands and Sulawesi; ***baksaw*, *Rhizophora* spp., a mangrove, attested for northern Sumatra, Malay, southern Sulawesi and the Philippines; ***tikey*, a name given to *Fimbristylis globulosa* and other reeds which produce fibre for mats. Their name is attested for the Philippines (only in Bisayan), northern Sulawesi, Malay and Malagasy. (In the latter two languages, the reflex refers to the product 'mat', but in a Malay dialect it also refers to a plant.) Also in this group is ***papa*, *Vitex pubescens*, the name of which is similarly distributed. There is also an attestation for the Numfor language in Irian Jaya, but this is probably a borrowing. The *Vitex pubescens* is an important hardwood. In many of the languages which attest this name, there is a prefix with various shapes. Blust suggests that these pseudo-prefixes, which occur in terminology for flora, fauna and other sorts of terminology as well, can be explained as secondary developments within each of the individual languages, and the root is still inherited. This suggestion strikes me as reasonable. It is a common phenomenon in languages of the Philippines and Indonesia to have a certain stock of meaningless prefixes which reshape the first syllable or the first two syllables of trisyllabic or longer words referring to flora, fauna or other terminologies. The form ***qanásaw* is attested for Cebuano, Mongondow and Malay, but the reference is to quite different plants in the Philippines and northern Sulawesi than those in Malay. The name is also found in other languages, where it is clearly a borrowing from Malay. The name ***binuwaɣ* for the *Octomeles sumatrana* is attested in languages of Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. This name also appears in Tagalog and Malay with very different reference. This name may in fact be inherited from the protolanguage of the Western-Indonesia-Philippine subgroup, but there are phonological irregularities in the first syllable. The name ***lambáyuy* is applied to several creepers and is found in the Philippines and Malay. Finally in the western languages, we have ***patuy*, the *Gigantochloa levis* or perhaps some other large bamboos, which is attested for Cebuano and Mongondow and various languages of southern and central Sulawesi. For eastern languages there is the form ***yumbiya*, referring to *Metroxylon sagu*, which is phonologically regular

there. The same name occurs in Nusantara and in a couple of languages of the Philippines, but there are phonological irregularities in some cases, which indicates that the form is a borrowing and not inherited.

5. OTHER SECONDARY PLANT NAMES

Some of the plant names are found in contiguous languages which cannot be considered to belong to a single subgroup. In these cases it is the very fact that the range of spread has nothing to do with subgrouping and further that the spread is over a contiguous area which argues that the form has been secondarily spread. Plant names in this group are: [*baqa*], *Orania palindum*, a palm (Philippines); and *Pandanus tectorius* (Sulawesi), attested from Mindoro south through Sulawesi. The following names have a similar distribution but are also attested in Flores: [*naga*], *Calamus usitatus*, a kind of rattan; and [*puni*], the name given to several genera of tree ferns. The latter also shows some irregularities of correspondence. A narrower distribution is shown by the following form: [*labaqan*], *Cordyline fruticosa*. This name is attested for languages of northern Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Malay. The name [*baluquq*],¹⁶ which refers to a kind of mango, is attested only in coastal Kalimantan and Mindanao. The name [*telan*] a kind of bamboo, is attested only in Kalimantan and southern Sulawesi. The name [*kabu*] *Ceiba pentandra*, the kapok, is that of an introduced plant and is attested in Sumatra and Sulawesi (cf. [*kapuk*], below). The name [*kanaga*], *Cananga odorata*, the ilang-ilang tree, is attested only in Java, southern Kalimantan, the Lesser Sunda Islands and southern Sulawesi.

Some of these areal names refer to plants that are distributed in eastern Indonesia and Oceania and started in the east: [*kanawa*], *Cordia* spp., is attested for Ambon, Gilbertese, Nukuoro and Palau. There is also a citation for Makassarese, the reference of which is unknown, and Iban *kanawa* which is a kind of betel palm, a name which cannot be connected with the others. Similarly, ***laji* a poison-producing tree is attested for various western Oceanic languages. Blust also connects Kambera (Sumba) *lari* with this, but the reference of *lari* (also called *laru*) is to a very different kind of tree, and there probably is no connection. Other names have spread westwards in the same way as ***kuluy* (discussed in section 3.1). One such name is ***wai*, a kind of mango, the name of which is attested in western Oceanic languages and northern Sulawesi.¹⁷

Some of these words are attested only in languages in the group which is strongly influenced by Malay: Toba Batak, Javanese, Sundanese, Ngaju Dayak and Malagasy: [*medan*], a name given to various lauraceous trees. This name is also attested for Tawsug (Sulu, Philippines) where it refers to a local kind of *Artocarpus*, *Artocarpus odoratissima*. Other names: [*garungan*], *Cratoxylon* sp., a forest tree; [*pinan*], *Areca catechu*, the betel tree; [*pisag*], the banana; and [*barigin*], the *Ficus benjamina*.

¹⁶ Blust (1980a) connects Paiwan *valunig*, the fruit of the *Ficus wightiana*, with this name, but the lack of phonological correspondence makes the connection unlikely. Aside from that, the name must be assigned to a protolanguage because of the scattered nature of the attestation.

¹⁷ There are two attestations in Formosa: Tsou *suai* and Bunun *suai*, which could possibly be connected with these forms. However, as Blust (1986:112) points out, the resemblance is probably coincidental, and the forms in Tsou and Bunun could be explained as a borrowing from a Min dialect.

In fact it is also a fairly strong indication of secondary spread when the form is confined to the core languages influenced by Malay (the languages of Sumatra, Java, Borneo), as well as Bugis, Makassarese, Balinese and Sasak. In many of the cases there are some phonological irregularities which make inheritance from a protolanguage impossible. The name [*qambuluj*], the sagu, *Metroxylon sagu*, is a name attested in Balinese as well as in the core languages; [*gelam*], *Melaleuca leucadendron*, [*gaduj*], *Dioscorea hispida*, and [*teleŋ*], *Clitorea ternatea*, are attested for southern Sulawesi as well as the core languages. *Clitorea ternatea* is a plant of South American origin. The name [*galingan*] for the 'Acapulco' of the Philippines, a shrub introduced from the New World, *Cassia alata*, is attested for Sasak as well as the core languages. Some of the plant names do not show phonological irregularities, but the distribution and the history of the plant to which the name refers indicates without a doubt that the name is secondary. First of all, there is the name [*kapuk*], for the *Ceiba pentandra*, the kapok tree, an introduced plant, which is attested in our core languages and in the southern Philippines, and finally, there is the word [*leŋá*] 'sesame' which is attested throughout Nusantara and the Philippines and shows complete regularity. The plant is an introduction from the Middle East.¹⁸

APPENDIX: LIST OF PLANTS¹⁹

[*adámay*] '*Pipturus argenteus*'

CEB *handalámay* '*Pipturus argenteus*'; Maranao *aramai* '*Pipturus arborescens*';
 Ngadha *zama* 'small tree with armorial bark'

¹⁸ Dempwolff (1938:95) thought that the same name was also attested in Oceanic languages and quotes Tongan *enga* and Samoan *lenga* 'turmeric powder'. In fact these forms would reflect PAN **denga* (if such a form exists). They do not correspond phonologically to **lenga* in western languages.

¹⁹ A selected list of citations in the literature is given to provide an idea of the range of the names. The citations come from Heyne (1950) and De Clercq (1927) for Indonesia, and from Brown (1946) and Quisumbing (1951) for the Philippines. For the Formosan languages the citations come from Tsuchida (1976). POC forms are cited from Ross (1988), and Polynesian names from Biggs (n.d. – 1990 POLLEX printout used in this paper). Other language data come from Blust (1980a, 1983-84a, 1986). The language names are listed as cited in these references. De Clercq in some cases simply mentions the region. The transcriptions are given as I found them in the references with the following exceptions: in Indonesian languages *oe* is transcribed as *u*, *dj* as *j* and *tj* as *c*. For the Formosan languages I have made the following changes: Paiwan orthography follows Ferrell (1982), and other consonants cited with diacritics in the literature are transcribed with an *h* following the letter representing the consonant. For many of the languages cited it is not known precisely how they reflect the phonology of Proto Austronesian, and I have not indicated which forms show irregularities and which follow the rules of phonology. A final proof showing the forms which do follow the phonological rules will have to await the reconstruction of the Proto Austronesian vocabulary which I plan to finish in the next two years. The language abbreviations are as follows:

BAL	Balinese	MAK	Makassarese	PUY	Puyuma
BUG	Bugis	MAL	Malay	RUK	Rukai
CEB	Cebuano	MGG	Manggarai	SAA	Sa'a
FIJ	Fijian	MLG	Malagasy	SAM	Samoa
FUT	Futuna	NGD	Ngaju Dayak	SAR	Saaroa
HNO	Hanunoo	OJV	Old Javanese	SUN	Sundanese
ILK	Ilocano	PAI	Pawain	TAG	Tagalog
JAV	Javanese	PAL	Palauan	TBB	Toba Batak
KAN	Kanakanavu	POC	Proto Oceanic	TON	Tongan
KPP	Kapangpangan	PPN	Proto Polynesian	TSO	Tsou

[amaya] '*Diospyrus discolor*'

RUK kamea 'mango'; PAI kamaya 'mango or persimmon'; Amis, Itbayatan kamaya, HNO kamayá, CEB amága '*Diospyros discolor*'; MAL mara keluang '*Melanorrhoea curtisii* (no connection)'; Tae mara, MAK amara 'sp. unidentified but produces black wood'

*amiti '*Solanum nigrum*'

KAN namíci, SAR lamici, TSO mici, PAI samci, Ifugao, Bontok amti, TAG anti, Sulu muti, MAL terong mer-anti, JAV ranti, OJV ranti gunung

[anabu] '*Abroma agusta*'

HNO, CEB anabu, PAL lab

*anuliñ '*Pisonia alba*'

HNO anuling, MGG nuling, Ngadha nuli

[a/untiñ] '*Cassia* sp.'

CEB asunting '*Cassia alata*'; OJV suntung '*Cassia* sp.'

*báyu '*Hibiscus tiliaceus*'

ILK, Bontoc, Tinggian bágo, TAG balibágo, Bima vau, NGD baro, MLG baro/varo, MAL baru, pohon baguk, OJV, Sasak, MAK bagu, FIJ vau, TON, FUT, SAM, fau '*Hibiscus tiliaceus*'; N. Sulawesi, TAG, CEB bágu '*Gnetum gnemon*'

**baksaw '*Rhizophora* sp.'

CEB bakhaw, TAG, MAL, NGD bakaw, JAV bako, FIJ mako, TON pako, SAM pa'ò (FIJ, TON, SAM trees not connected with this)

**bákuñ '*Crinum asiaticum*'

ILK, TAG, CEB bákung, MAK, BUG, JAV, MAL bakung, NGD bakong, MLG vahuna, TBB bahung

**baláw 'k.o. forest product'

ILK balaw '*Agathis philippinensis*'; CEB baláw '*Dipterocarpus grandiflorus/gracilis*'; MAL balau '*Shorea* sp.'

[balimbiñ] '*Averrhoa bilimbi*'

TAG, Minahasa balimbing, Bima limbi, Achenese limeng, Batak balingbing, Nias malimbi, MAL belimbing, SUN calingcing, JAV, BAL blimbing

[baluyu] 'plant producing saponaceous material'

TAG balúgu, HNO balugú, Samar-Leyte barúgo, Central Philippines (TAG, CEB, Tagbanwa etc.) gúgu, Ponosakan cariyu, Timor wiluru, MAL beluru '*Entada phaseoloides* (also *Albizia saponaria* in some languages)'; ILK balógo, CEB bayúgu '*Anacardium occidentale* (cashew)'

[baluñuq] 'k.o. mango found in Mindanao, N. Kalimantan'

Maranao balono?, Sangir balunu?, MAL (Brunei, Sarawak) belunuh

[bañay] '*Smilax* sp.'

Atayal balag, KAN vanárə, TSO fkorə, RUK (Maga) bláa, RUK (Mantauran) vañau, PAI vaña, Bunun, Bontok banal, ILK banag, KPP barag, TAG banág, BUG banar, MAL banau/banar

****banban** '*Donax canniformis*'

ILK, TAG, CEB, Sulu *banban*, JAV, NGD *bamban*, MAL *bemban*, SUN *bangban*

[baga] 'k.o. palm'

HNO *banga*, Aklan *banga*, Maranao *banga*, MAK *banga* 'k.o. palm'; Tae '*Pandanus tectorius*'

[bangkudu] '*Morinda citrifolia*'

TAG, CEB *bangkúro*, NGD *mangkudo*, JAV *kemudu*, MAL *bengkudu/mengkudu*

****bangkuwang** '*Pandanus* sp.'

TAG *bangkuang* '*Scirpus grossus*' (k.o. aquatic plant used in weaving); NGD *bangkuang* 'k.o. palm growth'; SUN *cangkuwang*, JAV *pandan kowang*, MLG *vakuana*, MAL *bengkuang/mengkuang*, Kubu *bengkuwang* '*Pandanus furcatus*'; TBB *bakkuwang*, JAV, SUN *bangkuwang*, MAL *bengkuang*, MAK *bangkawang* '*Pachyrrhizus erosus*'

[bariŋin] '*Ficus benjamina*'

JAV *waringin*, SUN *tjaringen*, MAL *beringin*, NGD *baringen*, TBB *baringin*

[batag] '*Sorghum vulgare*'

HNO, CEB *batád*, Maranao *bantad*, MAK *batara*?, MAL *betari*, Atayal *basag* 'millet'; Tetum *batar* 'maize'

[bawaŋ] 'garlic, onion'

TAG, JAV, MAL, NGD, *bawang*, TBB *baoang*

[bayang] '*Amaranthus* sp.'

TAG *bayang-bayang* '*Amaranthus spinosus*'; MAL *bayam*, JAV *baem*, Molucca Is *bayang* '*Amaranthus* sp.'; TBB *beang-beang* 'k.o. plant'

****báyuy** '*Pterospermum* sp.'

Zambales, Pangasinan, TAG, Bikol, HNO, Sulu, *bayug*, Minahasa *wayu*, MAL, SUN, JAV *wayur/bayur* '*Pterospermum* sp.'; MAK *bañoro*? 'timber tree'; Mongondow *bayug* 'k.o. small sugar palm'

***beyás** 'husked rice'

Atayal *boax*, Sediq *buwax*, KAN *vəəra*, TSO *ərsə*, RUK (Maga) *bəsəe*, Amis *velaa*, TAG *bigás*, JAV *wos*, NGD *behas*, MAL *beras*, TBB *boras* 'husked rice'; PAI *vat* 'seed'

[beŋkal] '*Nauclea* spp.'

Aklan, CEB, MGG, Iban *bangkal*, MAL *bengkal/mengkal*, MAK *bangkala*?

***betéŋ** '*Panicum viride* (millet)'

SAR *əbəcəŋə*, RUK *bəcəŋə*, BUG *beteng*, Roti *bètèk*, Buru *bétén*, Kai *botan*, Tanimbar *botan*

*bíyaq 'Alocasia sp.'

RUK (Mantauran) *viʔa*, ILK, MAK, TBB *bira*, TAG, CEB *bígaq*, Bima *wia*, Kei *wir*, NGD *biha*, MLG *via*, Karo Batak *birah*, FIJ *via* 'Alocasia sp.'; PUY *biraʔ* 'leaf'²⁰

**binuwaŋ 'k.o. tree'

TAG *binuang/banuang* 'Macaranga grandiflora/Endospermum peltatum'; NGD, Karo Batak *banuang*, Minahasan *winuang* 'Octomeles sp.'; MAL *benuang* 'Sterculia sp.'

*bitá(ŋ)quy 'Calophyllum inophyllum'

ILK *bittáug*, CEB *bitáqug*, PAL *btaches*, MLG (provincial) *vintano* 'a tree'; MAL *bintangur*, TBB *bitangur*, Oceanic: Seimat *hita*, Loniu *pitow*, PPN **fetaʔu*

**buyeney/beyuney 'Antidesma bunius'

Bontok *bugnei*, Ibanag *vunnai*, TAG *bignay*, CEB *bugnay*, MAK, BUG *buʔné*, JAV *wuni*, MAL *berunai*, *buni*

*búluq 'generic name for bamboo'

KAN *vulúʔu*, RUK(Maga) *búru*, Amis *vuluq*, PUY *vuruʔ*, TAG *búhoʔ*, CEB *búluʔ*, Mongondow *bulu*, MAK *bulu*, Kenyah, MAL, Karo Batak *buluh* 'bamboo; PAI *vuluq* 'spear'; SAM *polo* 'cut' (not connected)

[bunut] 'Pternandra coerulescens'

NGD *bunot*, JAV *wunut*, MAL *bunut*²¹

*butún 'Barringtonia asiatica'

Ivatan *vutun*, TAG, Bik, JAV, MAL *butun*, NGD *buton*, Gorontalo *hutu*, BUG *butung*, Weda *keptun*, Minahasa *vitung*, MAL (Menadonese) *bitung*, Sangir, Philippines (various languages) *bitun*, CEB *bitún/bitúqun*, FIJ *vutu*, SAA *huu*, PPN **futu*

*buwaq 'Areca cathecu'

ILK *bóa*, Ibanag *búa*, BAL, Lampung *buwah*, Sasak *bua*, Roti *mbuwa*, Timor, Weda *pua*, Buru *fua*, Aru *buya*, N. New Guinea *bueh*, POC **buak* 'Areca'; KAN *vuaʔe* 'orange'; PAI *vuaq* 'k.o. tuber'; PUY *buah*, MAL *buah* 'fruit'

*dapdap 'Erythrina sp.'

TAG *dapdap*, Roti *dela*, NGD *dadap*, JAV *dhadhap*, MAL *dedap*, TBB *dapdap*, Buli *ololaf*, FIJ *rara* 'Erythrina'; PPN **lala* 'tree species'

*daquí 'Dracontomelum edule'

ILK *daó*, CEB *daquí*, MGG *saʔu*, SUN *dahu*, JAV *rau*, MAL *rau*, Simalungun *daʔu* 'Dracontomelum edule'; KAN *caaʔu*, RUK (Tona) *daw*, PUY *dahu* 'Sapindus mukorossi'; OJV *rahu* 'k.o. breadfruit'²²

²⁰ Li (this volume) points out that the change in meaning from 'Alocasia' to 'leaf' came from the common practice of using the *Alocasia* leaf for wrapping.

²¹ Blust (1980a) also quotes *bunut* as the name of a forest tree.

²² Zoetmulder (1982: 1481) says this is from Sanskrit *ḍahu*.

[deyũ] see [yedũ]

****dítáq** ‘*Alstonia scholaris*’

ILK *diríta*, TAG *dítá?*, Maranao *dita?*, MGG *sita*, MAK *rita*, Bima *rida*, Ambon *rite*

[gadũ] ‘*Dioscorea hispida*’

MAK, MAL, Sasak *gadung*, JAV *gadhong*, OJV *gadhung*, TBB *gadong*, Tiruray *gadung belatung* ‘mongo bean’

[galingaŋ] ‘*Cassia alata*’

Baree *galingga*, Sasak, JAV, MAL *gelinggang*, NGD, TBB *galinggang*

[galugaq] ‘*Bixa orellana*’

Maranao *galoga?*, MAL *geluga* ‘*Bixa orellana*’; OJV *galuga* ‘k.o. red dye’

[garungaŋ] ‘*Cratoxylon* spp.’

NGD, TBB *garunggang*, MLG *harunggana*, MAL *geronggang*

[gelam] ‘*Melaleuca leucadendra*’

SUN, JAV, MAL *gelam*, NGD *galam*, Batak *inggolam*, MAK *baru gelang*, BUG *waru gelang*

[yedũ] ‘*Trema orientalis*’

PUY *rihnum*, ILK *aradon/pangaradāngen*, Ibanag *agandung*, TAG *inugdung/inugdun*, CEB *hanagdung*, Sulu *alindagun*, JAV *anggrung*, MAL *mendarung*, Minang *bandorung*, TBB *landoyung*

***yiq** ‘*Imperata cylindrica*’

KAN *rəəʔə*, TSO *vrio*, Bunun *liah*, Maranao *gi?*, Proto Sangir **əre*, Bare'e *le*, Tae *ria*, MAK *rea*, Roti *li*, MGG *riʔi*, Weda *ije*, SUN *eurih*, Karo Batak *rih*, Gayo *jih*

****yumbiya** ‘*Metroxylon sagu*’

CEB *lumbiyá*,²³ Tontemboan *rumbia*, Sausu (Central Sulawesi) *pun labia*, BUG *rumpia*, MAK *rumbia*, Ceram *ripia*, Ambon *laia*, *leia*, *ripia*, Aru *rabian*, NGD *hambiä*, MLG *rufia*, MAL, TBB *rumbia*, Motu *rabia*, POC **Rabia*

[ijuk] ‘*Arenga pinnata*’

TAG *irok*, CEB *ibyük/idyuk* ‘*Arenga pinnata*’; MAL, TBB *ijuk* ‘fibres from the *Arenga* palm’

****ipil** ‘*Intsia bijuga/retusa*’

TAG *ípil*, Bare'e *opili*, Gorontalo *ipilo*, N. Sulawesi *ipil*, BUG, Ende (Flores), Alor *ipi*, MAL *ipil* ‘*Intsia*’; To ifi ‘*Inocarpus edulis*’²⁴

***jabi** ‘*Ficus* sp.’

MLG *zavi* ‘*Ficus trichopoda*’; TBB *jabi-jabi* ‘*Ficus rumphii*’; FIJ *savirewa* ‘*Ficus tinctoria*’

²³ In the Philippines this name is only attested in Cebuano and Bagobo.

²⁴ Grace (1969) states that this name should be reconstructed as **qipil*, but I find no citations to back up this view. It is questionable that there is a connection between the name for *Intsia* sp. in the Philippines and Indonesia and the name for *Inocarpus* in the East. The plants have little in common.

*jalateŋ 'Laportea sp. (and other stinging trees)'

PUY *ringathen*, Ibanag *aldataŋ*, Igorot *adalateng*, TAG *lingátung*, MAK,
BUG *lalatang*, Sasak *jelateng*, JAV *latong*, MAL *jelatang*, TBB *latong*, SAA
nunu-ao, FIJ *salato*, PPN **salato*

[jaraŋaw/jariŋaw] 'Acorus calamus (sweet flag)'

ILK *dálaw/dáraw*, Bontoc *déngaw*, Minahasa *karimenga*, Bare'e *kariyango*,
MAK, BUG *karimanga*, JAV *dringo*, NGD *rangaw*, MAL *jeringau/jerangau*,
MAL (Banjar) *riyangau*, FIJ *cago*²⁵

[kabu] 'Ceiba pentandra'

Mandar, MAL *kabu-kabu*, MGG *kawu*, TBB *habu-habu*

[kalumpaŋ] 'Sterculia foetida'

CEB *kalumpang*, MAL *kelumpang*, Bare'e *kayumpang/kalumpang*, BUG
alumpang/alupang/kalupa, MAK *kalumpang*, TBB *halumpang*

[kamaŋi] 'Ocimum sanctum'

HNO *kamáŋi*, Sasak *kemangi*, MAL *selasih kemangi*

[kamaya] see [amaya]

[kamuniŋ] 'Murraya sp.'

KPP, TAG, Bikol, CEB *kamúning*, Tonsawa *kamuni*, Bare'e *kamoni*, Buru
kamoné, MAK *kamuning*, OJV, MAL, MGG *kemuning*

[kanaŋa] 'Cananga odorata'

MAK, Bima, OJV, NGD *kananga*, MGG *kenanga*

[kanawa] 'Cordia spp.'

PAL *keláw*, Ambon MAL, Gilbertese *kanawa*, Nukuoro *ganava* 'Cordia spp.';
MAK *kanawa* 'k.o. tree'; Iban *kanawa* 'k.o. palm'

[kaŋkuŋ] 'Ipomea reptans'

TAG, JAV, NGD, MAL, Molucca Is *kangkung*, ILK, CEB, *tangkung*

[kapuk] 'Ceiba pentandra'

Sulu, JAV, MAL *kapuk*, NGD *kapok*

*katapaŋ 'Terminalia catappa'

MAK, JAV *katapang*, MLG *hatafana*, MAL *ketapang* 'Terminalia'; Manobo
katapang 'Garcinia vidalii'; FUT *katafa* 'name of plant'; PPN **katafa*
'frigatebird'

[kaŋambi] 'Schleichera oleosa'

Roti *kusambi*, Sasak *kesambi*?, Kambera *kahambi*, JAV, MAL *kesambi*

*kawáyan (cf. qúwey) 'generic name for bamboo'

RUK *kavadhanə*, PAI *kavayan*, PUY *kawayan*, Western Bukidnon Manobo
kewayan, Buru *kawan*

²⁵ This Fijian form is listed by Dempwolff (1938:45), and he defines it as 'turneric', but I did not find it in any of my sources.

[*kendug*] 'shrub or small tree'

ILK *kandóng* '*Memecylon ovatum/umbellatum*'; Iban *kendong* '*Garcina* spp.';
MAL *kendungan* '*Symplocos ferruginea*'

[*kundur*] '*Benincasa cerifera*'

TAG, CEB (and elsewhere in the Philippines) *kundul*, MAL *kundur*, TBB
gundur '*Benincasa*'; MLG *hundru* 'pumpkin'

[*kukun*] '*Schoutenia ovata*'

MGG, Rembong *kukung*, SUN *harikukun*, OJV *halikukun/walikukun*, Madura
kokon

***kuluy* '*Artocarpus communis*'

CEB *kulu*, Minahasa *kulub*, Mongondow *kulud*, MGG *kolo*, MAL
kulur/kalawi/keluwih, JAV *keluwih*, POC **kuluy*, PPN **kulu*

[*lagundi*] '*Vitex trifolia/negundo*'

Ibanag, TAG, CEB *lagundi*, Minahasa *lagunde*, BAL *liligundi*, MAL
lengundi, Minang *silagundi*, Karo Batak *salagundi*

***laji* 'tree with poisonous sap'

PAL *ias* 'poison-producing tree from river banks'; Kambera *lari* 'tree from
estuaries'; Kwaio *kailasi* 'poisonous tree'; Mota *las*, SAA *lasi* 'tree with juices
causing sores'

***lambáyug* '*Ipomea pes caprae*'

ILK, CEB *lambáyug*, Maranao *rambayong* '*Ipomea pes caprae*'; MAL
lembayung/rembayung '*Eichomia crassipes* (water hyacinth)'; Minang
lambayung '*Basella rubra*'

***lampuyáy* 'name given to various ginger plants in different languages'

TAG, CEB *lampuyáng* '*Zingiber serumbet*'; Panay *lampuyang* 'turmeric'; JAV,
MAL *lempuyang* 'k.o. ginger plant'; NGD *lampuyang* 'k.o. ginger plant'

***lamún* '*Enhalus acoroides* (shallow water sea grass)'

TAG, Bikol *lamún*, JAV *jelamun*, MAL *lamun/jari ambon*, PAL *iaml*
'*Limnophila aromatica* (k.o. swamp plant)'; MGG *lamung* 'aquatic moss';
Sasak *lamun* 'duckweed'

[*lan̄kuwas*] '*Languas galanga*'

TAG, Aklan, Bisayan *langkawas*, Minahasa *lingkawas*, Gorontalo *lingkobato*,
MAK *langkuasa*, Roti *langkuas*, Buru *languas*

**laqeya* '*Zingiber officinale*'

CEB *luy[?]a*, Minahasa *liya/léya/ria*, Mongondow *luya*, MAK *laya*, Sikka *lia*,
Bima *réya*, Sumba *aliya*, Wetar *lia*, Aru *laya*, BAL *lahya*, MAL *halia*, Lampung
lahia

**látuq* 'k.o. edible seaweed'

CEB *látu[?]*, Roti, Yamdina *latu*, MAL *latuh*

[*leŋá*] '*Sesamum orientale*'

TAG *lingá*, CEB *lungá/langá*, OJV, MAL *lenga*, NGD *lengo*, TBB *longa*

[limau] 'Citrus'

Portuguese *limão*, MAL, NGD *limau*, North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi
limu/lemo, BUG, Halmahera *lemo*

*lukút 'k.o. parasitic plant'

RUK *ukucu*, PAI *rukuts*, PUY *rukuth* '*Asplenium nidus*'; Chamorro *lúluhot*
 '*Maytenus thomasonii*'; Uma *luku*? 'epiphyte'; Li'o *luku* 'tree with edible fruit'
 (not connected); SUN *lukut* 'duckweed, moss'; MAL *lukut* 'long moss (in
 contrast to lichen)'; MAL (Banjar) *lukut* 'parasite or creeper'; Iban *lukut* 'moss,
 lichen, algae'

[mali] 'Leea spp.'

Tag, MKK, Minahasa *mali-mali*, Samar-Leyte, Panay *amamali*, MGG *mali*,
 MAL *mali-mali*, *memali*

[medag] 'laurel'

NGD *madang*, TBB *modang*, MAL *medang* 'laurel'; Sulu *marang* '*Artocarpus*
odoratissima' (not connected)

*muntay 'Citrus'

Maranao *montai*, Tirurai *muntey*, Subanun *muntay*, Minahasa *munté*,
 Mongondow *muntoi*, Uma *munte*, BUG *amunte*, Roti *munde*, Ceram *amusi*,
 MGG *munta*, BAL *jeruk muntis*, Mentawai *muntei*, Aceh *munteuy*

**náya 'Pterocarpus indicus'

ILK *narrá*, Bikol *nára* (in placename: *Nága*), CEB *nága*, Maranao, Tiruray
nara, PAL *las*, Tonsea *naga*, Roti *na'a*, MGG, Bima *nara*, Solor *kenaha*, Motu
nara, Gitua (New Guinea) *nara*²⁶

[naga] 'k.o. rattan'

Dumagat (Luzon), Maranao, Mongondow, MGG *nanga*, Tiruray *nongo*,
 Sangir *ue nanga*

[nangka] 'Artocarpus heterophyllus'

TAG *langka*?, CEB *nangka*?, Mongondow, JAV, NGD, MAL *nangka*, Bare'e
nanaka, Tetum *naka*, Weda, N.W. New Guinea *naka*

*niniq 'Donax canniformis'

Yami, Itbayatan *nini*, MGG, Rembong *nini*? '*Donax*'; Nggela, Lau *nini* 'k.o.
 bush yielding stems used in thatching'

*nípaq 'Nipa fruticans'

TAG, CEB *nípaq*, MAK, BUG, Bima, Sula *nipa*, NGD *ipah*, Karo Batak,
 Aceh, OJV *nipah*, Nias *nifa*

**nútuq 'climbing vine – usually Lygodium sp.'

TAG *nító*? 'k.o. vine'; Bikol *nító*? 'black fern'; HNO *nítu*? 'climbing fern';
 Rembong *nintu*? '*Lygodium circinnatum*'; Nagdha *nito* 'k.o. tree'; Ute
 (Ambon) *nitu* 'k.o. bamboo'

²⁶ Bikol, Maranao and Tiruray reflect PAN *y with /g/. The New Guinea names come from Geraghty (1990:66).

**ñiyuy 'Cocos nucifera'*

TAG *niyog*, Mandar (dialectal) *nyuh*, Roti *no*, Bima *niu*, NGD *eñoh*, MAL *ñiur*, TBB *niur*, Buru *niwel*, *niwə*, W. New Guinea *nu*, N.W. New Guinea *niweh*, *niu*, *nyunyuwə*, PPN **niu*

**nunúk 'Ficus benjamina' (dwelling of supernatural beings)*

Aklan *nunók*, Maranao *nonok*, Tiruray, Bima, Maloh (Sarawak), Sangir *nunuk*, Uma *nunu?*, Roti, Raluana, Leti, FIJ *nunu*, '*Ficus*'; TAG *nínu?* 'goblin'; SUN *nunuk* 'k.o. ghost'

***payatpat 'Sonneratia sp.'*

TAG, CEB *pagatpat*, MAK *parapa*, BUG *parepa*, MLG *farafala*,²⁷ MAL *perepat* '*Sonneratia*'; Ponosakan *poyopat* '*Rhizophora*'; TBB *parapat* 'k.o. bamboo'

**págey 'rice plant'*

Atayal *pagay*, TSO *pai*, Saisiat, Pazeh *pazay*, RUK *págai*, PAI *paday*, Amis *panay*, TAG *pálay*, Gorontalo *pale*, Bare'e *pae*, Mandar *pare*, JAV *pari*, NGD *parei*, MAL *padi* 'rice'; MLG *tsimparifari* 'wild rice'

***pakú 'fern (esp. Diplazium esculentum)'*

TAG *pakó*, CEB *pakú*, Minahasa, MAK, BUG, SUN, OJV, MAL *paku*, Tonsawa *pau*, 'fern'; MLG *faho* 'palm-like shrub that yields sagu, *Cycas circinales*'; SAA *he?u* 'k.o. tree'

**paŋudañ 'Pandanus spp.'*

TAG, NGD, MAL, TBB *pandan*, CEB *pangdan*, Gorontalo *ponda*, MAK *pandang*, Weda *pondak*, JAV *pandhan*, MLG *fandrana*, FIJ *vadra* 'pandanus'; PPN **lala* 'pandanus mat'; Atayal *pangran*, RUK *pangudaŋ*, PAI *pungudaŋ*, PUY *pangudhal* 'pineapple'

***paŋi 'Pangium edule'*

Samar-Leyte, Panay, Maranao, Minahasa, Bare'e, MAK, BUG, MAL (Molucca Is), OJV, Dayak (S.E. Kalimantan), Dairi Batak *pangi*

***papa/pampa 'Vitex pubescens'*

Bisayan *salingkápa*, Magindanao *kulimpapa*, Subanon, Sulu *kalipapa*, MGG *pampa* 'molave'; MAK *gulimpapa*, NGD *kalapapa* 'tree with hard wood'; Numfor *baf* '*Vitex cofassus*'

[paria/pariaq] 'Momordica charantia'

Isneg, ILK, CEB *pariyá*, TAG *ampaláya*, Maranao, Uma *paria?*, Tiruray *feriya?*, Tae, MAK *paria*, Ceram *papari*, JAV *pare*, MAL *peria/pepare*

**pásuq 'k.o. mango'*

TAG, CEB *páhu?*, MGG *pau*, Roti *mpao*, Kai *faw*, JAV *poh*, MAL *pauh* 'mango'; FIJ *bau* '*Sapotaceae* sp.'

***patuŋ 'k.o. large bamboo'*

CEB, Mongondow, Tae *patung*, Bare'e *patu*, MAK *pattung*, BAL *petung*, MAL *petung* 'bamboo'; MAL *pematung* 'conduit'

²⁷ Quoted by Burkill (1966:2090).

*pulút 'Urena lobata'

KAN *puucu*, PAI *puluts*, PUY *puruth*, Isinai *poot si nuang*, MGG *pulut* 'Urena'; MAL *pulut-pulut* 'mucilaginous plants, esp. *Urena lobata*'; Kayan *pulut/pepulut* 'rubber tree'; Bikol *pulut* 'glued'; Samar-Leyte *pulut* 'sticky'

[puni] 'tree fern'

Maranao *poni*, Tombulu *apuné?*, Bare'e *ampuni*, Tae *puné*

**pútat 'Barringtonia spp.'

TAG *pútat/púdad*, CEB *pútat*, OJV, JAV, NGD, MAL *putat* 'Barringtonia spp.'; MLG *futatra* 'Butonica apiculata'

*puti/punti 'banana'

Tonsea, Tontemboan, Bare'e, Lampung *punti*, MAK *unti*, BUG *uti*, OJV *puti*, Kalimantan *puti/pute/punti*, MLG *untsi*, Simalungun *pusi*, Komiai (S.W. New Guinea) *fun*, FIJ *fudi*, SAA *hutsi*, PPN **futi* 'banana'; MAL *buah punti* 'k.o. banana'; MLG *funtsi* 'traveller's palm'

**qaya 'Ficus spp.'

Atayal *qaa?*, Atayal (Matabalay) ?*aga?*,²⁸ Sangir *aha/ara*, Mongondow *aga*, Buru *ahat*, MGG, Ngdha, Sasak, Pakpak Batak *ara*, BAL *aha*, OJV *hara*, Iban *ara?*

*qayi/am 'plant with strong stalk'

Bikol *agsam* 'Lygodium sp. – a slender climbing fern'; Iban, MAL *resam* 'Gleichenia sp.'; TBB *arsam* 'k.o. upright fern'; FIJ *caca* 'Acrostichum aureum'; TSO *resmə*, Bunun (Ishbukun dialect) *xaslam*, Kavalan *qiisam* 'Miscanthus floridulus'

*qayúsúq/qayusúq 'Casuarina equisetifolia'

CEB *agúhu?*, TBB *aru*, MAL *eru*, Minang *haru*, FIJ *cau*, SAA *selu*

*qajelay 'Coix lachryma-jobi'

CEB *aglay*, Tetum, Roti *dele*, SUN *hanjeli*, JAV *jali*, OJV *jaheli*, NGD *jeläi*, MAL *enjelai*

*qañuñaj 'Cordia dichotoma'

KAN ?*unúnangə*, TSO *həhngə*, RUK (Mantauran) *uľuľangə*, PUY *halulang*, Ibanag, ILK, TAG, Bikol, CEB *anúnang*, Minahasa *anonang*, *nanonang*, *nonang*, *kanonang*, Buol *anuanga*, MAK *kanunang*, MGG *nunang*, Roti *nunak*, Timor *tatasi nunang*, Dayak (S.E. Kalimantan), MAL *nunang*

[qambulŋ] 'Metroxylon sagu'

Bajo *ambulu*, Manobo *ambolong*, JAV, BAL *ambulung/rembulung*, Dayak *hambulung*

[qampela/] 'tree the leaves of which are used to polish: Delima scandens or Tetracera scandens'

NGD *hampelas*, *tampelas*, MLG *ampoli*, JAV *rempelas*, MAL *hempelas/mempelas*, TBB *ampolas*, MGG *pelas* 'polish'

²⁸ These Atayal names were supplied by Paul Li (pers.comm.).

****qanáśaw** 'Arenga pinnata'

Buol *kanaw*, Bare'e *konau*, Bima *nao*, NGD *hanau*, MAL (Banjar Masin) *hanaw*, MAL *enau*, Simalur *anau* 'Arenga pinnata'; CEB *anáhaw*, Mongondow *onow* 'Livistona sp.'

****qanflaw** 'name for various tiliaceous trees'

Isneg, ILK *alinaw*, Kankanay *alin[?]ew*, TAG, Ceb, HNO *anflaw*, Tboli *kenilaw*, Minahasa, Roti *lino*, Tontemboan *mangilo*, MGG *nila*, Bima *rino* 'Grewia and Columbia spp.'; MAL *nilau*, Batak *andilo* 'Commersonia bartramia'

[qanɪbug] 'Oncosperma spp.'

TAG *anɪbug*, Tonsawa *ibung*, SUN *handiwung/liwung*, JAV *gendiwung*, MAL *enibung*, TBB *libung*, Lampung *hanibung* 'Oncosperma spp.'; CEB *anɪbug* 'Caryota spp.'

***qawuy** 'Bambusa spp.'

KAN *ʔáuru*, Saaroa *ʔauru*, TSO *oru*, PAI *qau*, Amis *qaul*, Bunun *haul*, Tontoli *auk*, Mongondow *aug*, BUG *awo*, Ende, Sumba, Solor *au*, Sikka *aur*, SUN *awi*, NGD, MAL *haur*, Batak *aor*, Sa'a *äu*

***qúbi** 'Dioscorea alata (and other yams)'

TAG, CEB *úbi*, Roti *ufi*, SUN *huwi*, JAV, MLG *uwi*, NGD *owi*, MAL, TBB *ubi*, FIJ *uvi*, SAA *uhi*, POC **qupi*, PPN **qufi*

***qúway/qúwey** 'Calamus, Daemonorops' (see also **kawáyan*)

Atayal *qwani[?]*, KAN *ʔuái*, TSO *ʔue*, RUK *uvai*, PAI *quay*, Amis *quai*, TAG *úway*, Mongondow *uwoi*, BUG *uwe*, Roti *ué*, Alor *uwi*, S. Halmahera *woi*, Kai oe, N. New Guinea *wai*, SUN *howe*, NGD *uei*, MAL (Besemah) *uwe*, Aceh *awe*, Simalur *uwai*, SAA *ue* 'rattan'; SAM *uu* 'k.o. reed'

***semáy/seméy** 'Oryza sativa'

Ibanag *ammai*, CEB *humáy*, Simalungun Batak *omé*, TBB *eme* 'Oryza'; Amis *hemái*, Kuvalan *ʔmai*, PUY *sumai* 'cooked rice'

[abaqaŋ] 'Cordyline spp.'

Mongondow *tabaʔang/tobaʔang*, Bima, MAL *sawang*

[aga] 'Abrus precatorius'

HNO *sága*, SUN, JAV, BAL, MAL, Karo Batak *saga*

****/áleg** 'a dammar-resin-producing tree'

Atayal *hayung*, KAN *saləngə*, TSO *srongə*, RUK (Maga) *sɾəngə*, PAI *taleng*, ILK *sáleng* 'pine'; CEB *sálung* 'Agathis philippinensis'; TAG *sáhing*, CEB *sálong* 'dammar resin'

[sentul] 'Sandoricum koetjape'

Isneg, TAG, Tiruray *santol*, MAK *sattulu[?]*, MAL *sentul*, Iban *situl*

[jepaŋ] 'Caesalpinia sappan'

Ilg *sapáŋ*, MGG *cepaŋ*, Sasak, MAL *sepang*

***iyi* 'Cordyline fruticosa' ?**iyi*

MAK, BUG *siri*, MLG *sily*, PAL *sis*, POC **jiRi*²⁹

[*lukun*] 'Artocarpus communis'

Roti *suu*, Ceram *suun*, Nusa Laut *suuno*, JAV, MAL, Lampung *sukun*

[*luka*] 'Gnetum gnemon'

Tontemboan, Bare'e *suka*, MGG *cuka*, Kei *huk*

***suwag* 'Flagellaria indica'

Samar-Leyte, CEB, Manobo *huwag*, Tonsawa *uwe ne angko*, Tombulo *uwe ne wale*, Ambon *ai wara*, MGG *kuar*, Sasak *oar/uar*, SUN *oar/huar*, JAV *wowo*

***táyum* 'Indigofera sp.'

TAG *táyom*, CEB *tágum*, Minahasa *taum*, MAK *tarung*, Roti *tauf*, Timor *taum*, Sula, JAV *tom*, MGG *tao*, BAL, NGD *tahum*, SUN, MAL *tarum*, Lampung *talum/talom*, TBB *tayom*

**talef* 'Colocasia esculenta'

Minhasa *talè*, JAV *tales*, MAL *talas*, Lampong *talos*, Angkola Batak *tale*, Nias *talo*, FIJ *dalo*, SAA *alo*, PPN **talo*

**talílay* 'Terminalia sp.'

KPP, TAG, CEB *talísay*, Minahasa *talisei*, Bare'e *talise*, Buru *lisa*, Sula *tasi*, Weda *klis*, W. New Guinea *kalis*, FIJ *dalici*, PPN **talie/talia*, Sa'a *älite*

[*tañiud/tañiuj*] 'mulberry'

KAN *tañucu*, TSO *thzucu*, RUK *tliudhu*, Itbayatan *tañudh/tanud*

***taṅbuq* ?[*taṅbuq*] 'Phragmites vulgaris'

HNO *tangbu?* 'sucker of bamboo'; TAG *tambo?*, CEB *tangbu?* 'k.o. grass: Phragmites vulgaris'; MAL *tambuh* 'k.o. shrub: Euphorbia leucocarpa'

**tebús* 'sugarcane'

TSO *tfəsəə*, RUK *cubusu*, PAI *tjevus*, TBB *tobu*, *tubó*, CEB *tubú*, JAV, MAL *tebu*, NGD *tewu*, FIJ *dovu*

***teyáf* 'k.o. hardwood tree'³⁰

SAA *eohu*, POC *toRas*,³¹ Proto Central Pacific **toa*³² 'Intsia bijuga', PPN **toa* 'Casuarina sp.'

[*teleḡ*] 'Clitorea ternatea'

MAK, BUG *talang*, JAV *teleng*, MAL *telang*, TBB *tolong*

²⁹ The names *tigre* and *sigre* from various languages in the Philippines (the languages in which these names occur are not clearly stated in our sources) and the name *ūgi* in Ibanag may be connected with this. However, these names refer to the *Cordyline roxburghiana*.

³⁰ The root can be reconstructed for PAN, but not referring to a tree name.

³¹ Quoted by Biggs (n.d.).

³² Cited by Geraghty (1990).

[temu] '*Curcuma zedoaria*'

TAG *tamó*, MAK *tamu*, BUG, JAV, MAL *temu*, Bima *dumu*, MLG *tamu-tamu*, '*Curucuma*'; FIJ *damu-damu* 'red, brown, dun'; To *tamu-tamu* 'be red'³³

*tejeý '*Ceriops* spp.'

TAG *tangal*, CEB *tungúg*, Samar-Leyte *tungúg/tungúd/tangág*, MAK *tangere*, BUG *tengere*, MAL *tengar*, TBB *tongor*, FIJ *dongo*, PPN **tongo* 'mangrove'

[teruŋ] '*Solanum melongena*'

TAG *tálong*, Ceram *tolun*, BAL *tehung*, JAV, Madura, Sasak, SUN, MAL *terung/terong*, TBB *torung*

*tewí '*Dolichandrone spathacea*'

ILK *tui*, TAG, CEB *tiwí*, Manobo *tewi*, MGG *tui*, MAL *daun tuwai* '*Dolichandrone*'; MAL *tui* '*Radermachera gigantea*'³⁴; Gedaged, Yamdena, Roviana, Nggela *tui*, Nakanai *latiu* 'timber tree'

**tikey 'plant used in making fine mats'

Cn *tikug* '*Fimbristylis globulosa*'; Gorontalo *tihu*, Buol *tikagu*, Baree *tiu*, MLG *tsihi*, MAL *tikar* 'mat'; S. Sumatra *tiker* '*Lepironia mucronata* (used for mats)'

*tuba '*Derris elliptica*' (and other species of *Derris* used to poison fish)

At *tatuba*?³⁵ Ivatah *tuva*, MAK, BUG, SUN *tuwa*, Buru *tufa*, N.E. Halmahera *tupo*, JAV, MAL *tuba*, NGD *tuwe*, FIJ *tuva/nduva*, SAA *uhe* '*Derris*'; TAG *túba* '*Barringtonia acutangula*' (used to poison fish); CEB *túba* '*Croton tiglium* (used to poison fish)'; TBB *tuba* 'k.o. plant used to poison fish'

[tudi] '*Sesbania grandiflora*'

ILK *katoday*, TAG *katurai*, Maro *todiq*, Tiruray *tudi*?, Mongondow *suri*, MGG, Tetum, Alor, Weda, JAV, MAL *turi*, Madura *turoy*

**wai 'mango' ?*wai

Minahasa *uwai*, Sangir *uai*, Yotefa *wei*, we, Titan *weway*, Lenkaw *away*, Motu *vaivai*

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<i>Abroma agusta</i>	[anabu]
<i>Abrus precatorius</i>	[laga]
<i>Acorus calamus</i>	[jaranaw/jariŋaw]
<i>Agathis</i> sp.	**baláw
<i>Alocasia</i> sp.	*bíyaq
<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	**dítáq
<i>Amaranthus</i> sp.	[bayan]

³³ The Tongan form is listed by Dempwolff (1938:130), but I have not found it. In any case the *a* in the penult of the Tongan root does not follow the sound laws.

³⁴ Not listed by Burkill. This reference is from Wilkinson (1932, II:608).

³⁵ I have this name from Li (this volume, #6).

<i>Antidesma bunius</i>	**buyeney/beyuney
<i>Areca cathecu</i>	*buwaq
<i>Arenga pinnata</i>	**qanáśaw, [ijuk]
<i>Artocarpus communis</i>	**kuluq, [lukun]
<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i>	[naŋka]
<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i>	[balimbij]
<i>Bambusa</i> spp.	*qawuq
<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i>	*butún
<i>Barringtonia</i> spp.	**pútat
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<i>Caesalpinia sappan</i>	[jepaŋ]
<i>Calamus</i>	*qúway/qúwey
<i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i>	*bitá(ŋ)quy
<i>Cananga odorata</i>	[kanaŋa]
<i>Cassia alata</i>	[aʔuntij], [galingaŋ]
<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>	*qayúsúq/qayusúq
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<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	[kabu]
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<i>Citrus</i>	[limau], *muntay
<i>Clitorea ternatea</i>	[teleŋ]
<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	*ñiyuy
<i>Coix lachryma-jobi</i>	*qajelay
<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>	*taleʔ
<i>Cordia dichotoma</i>	*qañuñañ
<i>Cordia</i> spp.	[kanawa]
<i>Cordyline fruticosa</i>	**jiyi
<i>Cordyline</i> spp.	[abaqaŋ]
<i>Cratogeomys</i> spp.	[garuŋgaŋ]
<i>Crinum asiaticum</i>	**bakuŋ
<i>Curcuma zedoaria</i>	[temu]
<i>Daemonorops</i>	*qúway/qúwey
<i>Derris elliptica</i>	*tuba
<i>Dioscorea alata</i>	*qúbi
<i>Dioscorea hispida</i>	[gadun]
<i>Diospyros discolor</i>	[amaya]
<i>Diplazium esculentum</i>	**pakú
<i>Dolichandrone spathacea</i>	*tewí
<i>Donax caniniformis</i>	**banban, *niniq
<i>Dracontomelum edule</i>	*daquí
<i>Enhalus acoroides</i>	**lamún
<i>Entada phaseoloides</i>	[baluyú]
<i>Erythrina</i> sp.	*dapdap
<i>Ficus benjamina</i>	*nunúk, [bariŋin]
<i>Ficus</i> sp.	*jabi, **qaya
<i>Flagellaria indica</i>	**suwag
<i>Gleichenia</i> sp.	*qayí/am

<i>Gnetum gnemon</i>	[báyu], [luka]
<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>	*báyu
<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	*yiq
<i>Indigofera</i> sp.	**táyum
<i>Intsia bijuga/retusa</i>	**ipil
<i>Ipomea pes caprae</i>	**lambáyun
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<i>Languas galanga</i>	[laŋkuwas]
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<i>Leea</i> spp.	[mali]
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<i>Melaleuca leucadendron</i>	[gelam]
<i>Metroxylon sagu</i>	**yumbiya, [qambulun]
<i>Momordica charantia</i>	[paria/pariaq]
<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	[baŋkudu]
<i>Murraya</i> sp.	[kamuniŋ]
<i>Nauclea</i> spp.	[beŋkal]
<i>Nipa fruticans</i>	*nípaq
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<i>Oncosperma</i> spp.	[qaníbuŋ]
<i>Oryza sativa</i>	*beyas, *págey, *semáy/seméy
<i>Pandanus</i> sp.	*paŋudaŋ, **baŋkuwaŋ
<i>Pangium edule</i>	**paŋi
<i>Panicum viride</i>	*betéŋ
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<i>Pipturus argenteus</i>	[adámay]
<i>Pisonia alba</i>	*anuliŋ
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<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	[leŋá]
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<i>Solanum melongena</i>	[teruŋ]
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<i>Sonneratia</i> sp.	**payatpat
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<i>Urena lobata</i>	*pulút
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<i>Vitex trifolia/negundo</i>	[lagundi]
<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	*laqeya

COMMON NAMES

bamboo (generic name)	*búluq, *kawáyan (cf. qúwey)
bamboo (large kind)	**patuŋ
banana	*puti/punti
dammar-resin tree	**/áleŋ
fern (growing in trees)	[puni]
ginger plants	**lampuyáŋ, *laqeya
hardwood tree	**teyáʔ
laurel	[medaŋ]
mango	[baluŋuq], *pásuq, **wai
mat and plants for mats	**tikey
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tree with poisonous sap	**laji