

Proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer

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IN 1906 the German anthropologist Pater Wilhelm Schmidt promulgated a double-headed hypothesis on the relationships between a large number of the languages of southern Asia (Schmidt 1906). On the one hand Schmidt combined into an Austroasiatic stock the language groups known as Munda and Mon-Khmer. On the other hand he linked this Austroasiatic with the better-known Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) stock under an Austric phylum.

It may be mentioned as a reminder to nonspecialists that the Austronesian languages, studied intensively since the time of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), fall into three main divisions commonly referred to as Indonesian, Melanesian, and Polynesian. Languages of the Indonesian division are distributed for the most part through Island Southeast Asia and are exemplified by Tagalog, Javanese, Balinese, Malay, Batak, Dayak, Malagasy, and Cham on the coastal plain of central Vietnam. The less well-known languages of the Austroasiatic stock, by contrast, are distributed for the most part through the mainland of southern Asia. Those of the Munda division are found chiefly on the Chota Nagpur plateau in central India, while those of the Mon-Khmer division include Khasi in northern Assam, Aslian (Semang, Semai, Sakai, etc.) in the interior of the Malay Peninsula, Nicobarese, Mon in lower Burma and Thailand, Khmer in Cambodia, Vietnamese, and a host of “minor” languages (e.g., Stieng, Bahnar, Wa, Palaung) spoken in the upland zone stretching from Burma across Thailand and Laos into Vietnam and Cambodia.

Schmidt’s hypothesis, in proposing genetic relationships extending all the way from India to the eastern Pacific, was greeted with mixed reactions. The majority of linguists, it seems fair to say, felt it was premature and that its author had failed to substantiate it with a convincing body of evidence; above all, he had not demonstrated any regularity of sound correspondences between Munda and Mon-Khmer

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on the one hand and between Austroasiatic and Austronesian on the other. The Austroasiatic hypothesis was nevertheless accepted by many, albeit with reservations and in the absence of a more plausible alternative. But, while there was no question regarding the unity of Austronesian, the thesis of an historical relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic was shelved as a more or less remote possibility (Sebeok 1942; Thomas 1964). Since Schmidt's day almost no work has been done toward demonstrating it.

Our purpose here, therefore, is to reopen the Austric hypothesis by focusing attention on the possibility of a cognate relationship between Indonesian and Mon-Khmer. As far as origins are concerned, the work reported here should be thought of as a by-product of one of three parallel projects undertaken some years ago for the purpose of investigating the non-Indic segment of the Khmer lexicon. This project was addressed at first only to the identification of Indonesian (principally Cham, Malay, and Javanese) loans in Khmer. As work progressed, however, we had increasing reason to believe that we were collecting, in addition to Indonesian loans in Khmer, respectable numbers of Mon-Khmer loans in Indonesian and, more importantly, what appear to be cognates linking the two groups. The original project was hence enlarged to include broader linguistic relationships, and for the past year or more we have focused our attention on the question of a genetic relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic. The data and views offered hereafter represent a small sampling of our results so far. For reasons to be explained, we prefer to think of the present statement as a purely exploratory comparison between proto-Indonesian and proto-Khmer. Since our whole argument rests upon the methodology used, it behooves us to describe the latter in fair detail.

We have thought it prudent as well as convenient to confine our preliminary examination to Dempwolff's reconstructions as published in the third volume of his *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes* of 1938. We have assumed as a working procedure that any reconstruction found in the *Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis* (Dempwolff 1938) is, as far as our immediate objective is concerned, established as such and requires little or no demonstration by us. In other words, we have taken Dempwolff's forms as constituting the axiomatic portion of our comparison and as needing no qualification except that which is stipulated below. To facilitate comparison we have modified Dempwolff's original orthography in the direction of that used by Dyen.

It is necessary to emphasize at this point that Mon-Khmer studies lag far behind Austronesian. While excellent progress has been made since the 1950s in the discovery of certain alignments within the group, we are still a long way from having reconstructed a protolanguage for Mon-Khmer as a whole. The main thrust of our present effort has consequently been in the direction of establishing cognates of Dempwolff's forms in Mon-Khmer, rather than in the reverse direction or rather than treating the two areas of comparison as existing on the same echelon. In the absence of any systematic reconstruction of Mon-Khmer such an attempt may be premature and fraught with unforeseen risks. To minimize the latter we have compared Dempwolff's forms with a proto-Khmer based upon all of the internal evidence at our disposal but subject to minor adjustments as Mon-Khmer historical studies take on greater depth. Since this proto-Khmer cannot carry the same weight

of authority as Dempwolff's reconstructions, we have sought to substantiate it in all cases by adducing evidence from other languages of the Mon-Khmer group. In the interest of brevity, we have elected to include only a small part of these collateral data in the wordlist to follow. It is nevertheless worth noting that this extra-Khmer evidence is also intended to underscore the distribution of given items in Mon-Khmer generally and thereby reduce the possibility of our mistaking old loans for cognates, a liability of which we are acutely conscious.

Our first step in approaching the question of a genetic relationship between proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer was to examine Dempwolff's work from what might be called a Mon-Khmer perspective. This examination resulted in a number of observations that appear to have a bearing on the problem. There are of course numerous extralinguistic cultural features linking speakers of Mon-Khmer and speakers of Indonesian languages. Among these is the system of collective quantifiers progressing by 4×10 , described briefly in Jenner (1974).

Among other things, we have noted that Dempwolff's reconstructions appear, from the "Mon-Khmer point of view," to be divisible into six groups on the basis of their form:

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. CV(F) monosyllables (e.g., pa', bun, təs) | 1.4% |
| 2. CV'V(F) syllables (e.g., ba'u', da'up, na'ik), which we are not sure how to interpret at the moment but favor grouping with the preceding | 1.9% |
| 3. CV(F) ² reduplicated monosyllables (e.g., diŋdiŋ, namnam, da'da'), which are also to be grouped with monosyllables | 6.5% |
| 4. Dissyllables (e.g., bənər, laŋkaq, saŋdaŋ) which, as in Mon-Khmer, can be analyzed into presyllables of the shape CV(N) plus main syllables of the same shape as CV(F) monosyllables | 85.7% |
| 5. Trisyllables (e.g., pañəjət, b'al'aŋa', 'aliməs), most of which appear to contain affixes and to be reducible to dissyllables | 4.3% |
| 6. Three quadrisyllables, apparently consisting of dissyllables compounded | 0.14% |

If our assumptions regarding groups 2, 3, 5 and 6 are not incorrect, one might advance the proposition that the great mass of Dempwolff's reconstructions can be reinterpreted as consisting of monosyllables (9.8%) and dissyllables (90.14%). For the *mon-khmérisant*, moreover, the temptation is irresistible to see the great majority of the latter as consisting of a monosyllabic base plus a prefix or infix.

At any rate, this situation seems to be paralleled closely by Mon-Khmer. Proto-Khmer shows the canonical forms CV(F) for monosyllables and, for dissyllables, the same monosyllabic main syllable following presyllables of three shapes: Cə-, CəN- (where N = an assimilating nasal), and CəR- (where R = a liquid), the last being comparable with proto-Indonesian *paŋ- (*cf.* Malay *per-*, Tagalog *pag-*) and the like. Of a corpus of 6428 random items from modern Khmer, CV(F) monosyllables accounted for 38% of the total; CCV(F) subdissyllables, monosyllabic on the phonemic level but monosyllabic or dissyllabic on the phonetic level, accounted for 30%; and CəN- and CəR- dissyllables together accounted for

32%. (Of this third group 11%, coming under a late, secondary system of affixation, showed one or the other presyllable plus a CCV(F) main syllable.) The correspondences with proto-Indonesian may be expressed as follows:

	PROTO-INDONESIAN	PROTO-KHMER	MODERN KHMER
monosyllables	CV(F)	CV(F)	CV(F)
	CV- + CV(F)	Cə- + CV(F)	C- + CV(F)
dissyllables	CVN- + CV(F)	CəN- + CV(F)	CəN- + CV(F)
	Caɣ- + CV(F)	CəR- + CV(F)	Crə- + CV(F)

The nature of the CV(N) presyllable is of particular interest. The four-vowel alternation (a, ə, i, u) of Dempwolff's forms, which frequently suggests vowel harmony with the main syllable, has no counterpart in proto-Khmer, where the vowel is nondistinctive. In other respects, Dempwolff's presyllables show initial p, b, m, t, d, ɖ, c, z, k, q, r, ɣ, s, and ' before all four vowels, both with and without syllable-final N. Initial j never occurs, while the remaining initials are limited to the following environments: n only before -a(N), -i, -u; [dɖ] only before -a, -ə, -u; ɖ only before -a(N), -ə, -uN; ñ only before -a, -i; g only before -a(N), -ə(N); ŋ only before -i, -u; w only before -a(N), -i; and j only before -a, -u. In proto-Khmer (where there is no counterpart of ɖ, dɖ, ñ, j, ') the initial of Cə- presyllables has the same range of variability except for w, j, h (which do not occur), if we assume that proto-Austronesian z = proto-Khmer j and proto-Austronesian r, ɣ = proto-Khmer r. The initial of CəN- and CəR- has the same range except for the four nasals. The relationship becomes all the more striking if the principal presyllables of modern Khmer are compared with Malay:

KHMER	MALAY
p-	pə-
pum- / bəm-	pəm-
prə- / pra-	pər-
t-	tə-
tum- / dam-	təm-
trə- / tra-	tər-
c-	cə-
cum- / cam-	cəm-
crə- / cra-	cər-
k-	kə-
kum- / kam-	kəm-
krə- / kra-	kər-
qam-	əm-
r- / l-	rə- / lə-
rum-	rəm-
s-	sə-
sam-	səm-
sra-	sər-

This formal similarity of the presyllable in proto-Indonesian and proto-Khmer, especially when taken in conjunction with the formal similarity of the word in general in the two groups, has two main implications favoring our comparison.

In the first place, similarity of form suggests similarity of function. Since the Mon-Khmer presyllable either incorporates or itself constitutes an affix, we hypothesize that Dempwolff's dissyllabic and polysyllabic reconstructions contain a variety of old prefixes and infixes. Similarity of function, moreover, suggests similarity of the meanings assignable to affixes in the two groups. But this is an area into which we have no intention of trespassing for the present: affixation in Khmer has so far been only roughly sketched out, and it is our understanding that the situation is similar in proto-Indonesian.

In the second place, the presence of presyllables in the two groups and their morphological role in Khmer encourages the isolation of main syllables as bases of a formerly more productive system of derivation than is the case with present-day Indonesian languages. It is this second implication that, in our view, provides the basis for a comparison of proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer. In the analysis of Khmer morphology this approach has been not only necessary but successful, and has led to recognition of several hundred wordbases no longer occurring independently and which, as far as Khmer is concerned, may never have occurred independently.

From a Mon-Khmer perspective, therefore, we have found it not enough to recognize in proto-Indonesian the presence of vaguely associated recurrent partials; on the contrary, for comparative work we have thought it essential to proceed along the lines clearly indicated by Dempwolff himself and to postulate that the proto-Austronesian main syllable is *in many cases* equatable on the morphological level with the wordbase.

In pursuing this idea we have manipulated Dempwolff's data in such a way as to build up a corpus of about 317 presumed sets of derivatives from common bases, to each of which we have assigned a tentative gloss. Exemplifying these sets are *-paj 'to be limp, dangle' > kapaj ~ kipaj 'hin und her bewegen', gapaj 'schwach sein', lampaj 'schwach sein', lampaj 'schlank sein', and sampaj 'hängen', and *-gal 'to loose, leave' > ta(ŋ)gal 'löslösen', tiŋgal 'übrigbleiben', and tuŋgal 'einzig sein'.

What is more, this operation has inevitably led us into acceptance of a good many allomorphs or doublets of such hypothetical wordbases. In some cases this appears to be suggested by Dempwolff himself, e.g., 'əlat, səlat, səlaŋ, all glossed 'Zwischenraum', imply a base *-lat ~ -laŋ 'space, gap'. In the same way, his 'iɣaŋ 'hochrot sein', biɣaŋ 'erröten', 'iɣaq 'rot, sein', [d̥d̥]aɣaq 'Blut', and 'iɣəŋ 'dunkel-farbig sein' imply a base *-ɣaŋ ~ -ɣaq ~ -ɣəŋ 'to be dark, red'.

We have not gone so far as to admit a connection between this latter and *-ləm 'to be dark', but we have grouped with this the allomorphs *-lam ~ -[r]əm ~ -dəm and recognized another derivational set consisting of such reconstructions as [ʃ]aləm ~ malem 'Nacht', ɖaləm 'Inneres, Tiefe', d̥d̥əm ~ kələm 'dunkel sein', ləmləm 'düster sein', lamlam 'kraftlos sein', ka[r]əm 'versinken', pə[r]əm 'Früchte künstlich zur Reife bringen', and tiɖəm 'finster sein'.

In many cases we have been less sure of our ground and have kept sets such as *-ŋis 'to steam, fume' (> bəŋis 'zornig sein', taŋis 'weinen', ŋisŋis 'zwischen') separate from sets such as *-ŋus 'to snort' (> 'iŋus 'schneuzen', qaŋus 'schnaufen') with which it may well be connected.

For the most part we have restricted our comparison to Austronesian main syllables which show two or more putative derivatives of the type just described. The few cases in which a comparison is made with a main syllable apparently yielding no such sets (e.g., -nuŋ < gunuŋ 'Berg' in item 46) are of more than ordinary interest to Mon-Khmer.

Thus the basis of our comparison on the Austronesian side has had to be one of our own devising. This is an important qualification of what was said above regarding our having taken Dempwolff's reconstructions as "axiomatic." We feel reasonably certain that this is the best approach to the question of a cognate relationship between proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer, and the only approach likely to reduce the danger of bringing old loans into the comparison.

WORDLIST

Abbreviations

D	Otto Dempwolff (1938)
IMA	Inscription inventory number of the <i>Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor</i>
K.	Inscription inventory number as listed in the <i>Liste générale des inscriptions du Cambodge</i> (Coedès 1966: 73-225)
MK	Middle Khmer
MM	Middle Mon
mod.K	modern Khmer
mod.M	modern Mon
OK	Old Khmer
OM	Old Mon
PIN	proto-Indonesian
PK	proto-Khmer

1. PK -pit and -piət 'to pinch, press':

(a) OK **pit* /pit/ and **pic* /pic/, > mod.K *pid* /bət/ 'to shut, cover', *bit* /pit ~ pýt/ 'to press (up) against', and by metathesis *cip* /cýp/ 'to pinch between thumb and forefinger'; whence OK *cpic* /cəpic/ and mod.K *cpic* /cbəc/ 'to seize with the fingertips' as well as OK *capec* /cəpec/ and mod.K *crapāc* /crabac/ 'to squeeze, knead, massage'; cognates in Aslian, Bahnar, Biat, Boloven, Chrau, Katu, OM, mod.M, Srê.
(b) OK **pyat* /piət/ and **byat* /βiet/, > mod.K *piət* /biət/ 'to press, be close to' and *sbiət* /spiət/ 'to be pressed flat' as well as *tpiət* /tbiət/ 'to hold by gripping (as under the arm or in a split-bamboo clamp)', > *tampiət* /tambiət/ 'split-bamboo holder (for cooking fish, bananas, and the like); clip, hairpin', cognates in Stieng.

PIN -pit 'to pinch, be narrow':

pitpit 'to pinch, squeeze, press' [D 119b];
kə(m)pit 'to hold together, pinch, grip' [D 78b];
ka(m)pit, ga(m)pit, ha(m)pit, 'to hold together, grip' [D 75a, 53a, 62a];
sə(m)pit 'to be tight, close, constricted' [D 151b].

N.B.: Khmer *bniət* /pniət/ 'pen or corral for not more than eight elephants; numeral classifier for eight elephants' (/pniət/ 'to shut in, pen' + infix /-n-/ 'instrumental') appears to have been loaned to Malay as *pendiat* 'elephant corral', with epenthetic -d-. Malay *diat* 'earthwork serving as a trap for elephants' is presumably a back-formation from the latter.

2. PK -pak and -peək 'to break, split':

(a) OK *pak* /pak/, > mod.K *pā'k* /bak/ 'to be broken'; whence *pranak* /pranaak/ 'cutter for areca nuts' and numerous other derivatives. Cognates in Bahnar, Halang, Khmu?, Mnong Gar, OM, mod.M, Srê, Stieng. (b) OK *pek* /peək/, > mod.K *pək* /baək/ 'to split, divide' and *pək* /paək/ 'part, side', with numerous derivatives and cognates in Bahnar, mod.M, and Stieng.

PIN -pak, -bak, and -puk 'to beat, break':

papak 'to be flat, level' [D 114b]; pakpak 'to hit, beat (wings)' [D 112a]; pukpuk 'to pound (with tool)' [D 121a]; təpak 'to slap, clout' [D 135b]; đupak 'to stamp, trounce; ka(m)pak

'to crack by striking' [D 74b]; ra(m)pak ~ rəmpak ~ ləpuk 'to break up, fall to pieces' [D 101b, 103b]; and various others.

3. PK -paŋ 'to close, bar':

OK *pān* /pāŋ/ > mod.K *pān* /baŋ/ 'to close off, screen, hide'; whence OK *pnan* /pnaŋ/ 'screen' and various other derivatives. Cognates in Stieng.

PIN -paŋ and -baŋ 'to bar, close (in), fork': 'empaŋ 'closure, stoppage, barrage' [D 50a]; paŋpaŋ 'to fork, divide' [D 114b]; cabaŋ 'fork, branch' [D 85b], and various others.

4. PK -puut 'to pluck':

OK **pūt* /puut/, > mod.K *pūt* /bòot/ 'to pull or slip off (up, out, loose)' and *poc* /baaoc/ 'to pull'; whence mod.K *cpūt* /cbòot/ 'to grip and pull (as a length of hair, wet garments, animal tail) with a wringing motion' and *rapūt* /rbòot/ 'to come loose, slip off'. Cognates in Aslian, Bahnar, Biat, Khasi, Khmu?, MM, mod.M, Palaung, Srê, Theng.

PIN -put and -but 'hair, fiber; to pluck':

putput ~ butbut 'to pluck (out)' [D 36a]; cabut 'to pluck, plume, pick' [D 85b]; zəmput ~ zu(m)put 'to pick up with the fingers' [D 48a, 49b]; [r]əbut 'to snatch (wrest) away' [D 102b]; yabut ~ ya(m)pas 'to tear off (out, away)' [D 57b, 58a]; and various others.

5. PK -puk and -pək 'to beat, pound':

(a) OK **puk* /puk/, > mod.K *puk* /bok/ 'to pound (with a pestle)'; whence several derivatives and cognates. (b) OK *pak* /pək/, > mod.K *pa'k* /bak/ 'to beat, flutter, fan; to blow (of wind)'; whence OK *pamak* /pəmək/ 'punkah-puller (slave)' and several other derivatives. Cognates in Biat, OM, mod.M, and Stieng.

PIN -puk and -pak 'to beat, break'.

6. PK -puŋ and -buŋ 'to swell, be swollen':

(a) OK **kaŋpuŋ* /kəmpuŋ/, > mod.K *kampa'n* /kampaŋ/ ~ *kampuŋ* /kampoŋ/ 'tin can dipper for water'. (b) OK **vuŋ* /βuŋ/ (attested in Thai *buŋ* /phuŋ/), > mod.K *buŋ* /puŋ/ 'belly'; whence OK *khvuŋ* /kəβuŋ/ 'swelling, protuberance' (> Thai *ka(ra)hbuŋ* /k(r)aphuŋ/ 'protuberant part'), > mod.K *khba'n* /kpuŋ/ 'id.' and *kambuŋ* /kampuŋ/ 'to swell, be full to the point of overflowing'.

N.B.: With PK variants -poŋ, -paŋ, -baŋ and -bəŋ, this is a particularly productive base in Khmer and is well represented in MK.

PIN -puŋ and -buŋ 'to swell, be round, gather':

puŋpuŋ 'to gather together' [D 122b]; baŋbaŋ 'to spread, be enlarged' [D 24a]; buŋbuŋ 'to be concave, hollow' [D 36a]; ka(m)baŋ ~ kəmbaŋ 'to swell or puff up, to unfold, blossom' [D 71b, 76b]; kəmpuŋ 'belly' [D 79a]; rəbuŋ 'sprout, shoot' [D 102b]; and various others.

7. PK -poos 'to wipe, sweep':

OK *pos* /poos/, MK *pos* /pooh ~ booh/, mod.K *pos* /baaoh/ 'to sweep; to wipe out'. Cognates and derivatives in Aslian, Bahnar, Biat, Chrau, Katu, Mnong Gar, OM, MM, mod.M, Palaung, Praok, Riang-Lang, Sedang, Srê, and Stieng.

PIN -pus and -pu' 'to rub, wipe, sweep':

qapus 'to wipe, rub' [D 62a]; sapu' 'to wipe, scour, sweep' [D 149b].

8. PK -pət and -bət 'to bend, turn':

(a) OK *pat* /pət/, > mod.K *pa't* /bat/ 'to fold, turn', with cognates in Chrau, Stieng, and Vietnamese. (b) OK *bat* /βət/, > mod.K *ba't* /put/ 'to bend', with cognates in Bahnar, Biat, and Stieng.

PIN -pət and -pit 'to be narrow, flat':

ka(m)pit ~ kə(m)pit ~ ga(m)pit ~ ha(m)pit 'to hold together, pinch, squeeze, clamp' [D 75a, 78b, 53a, 62a]; rapət 'to join together, combine' [D 102a]; lə(m)pit ~ lipət 'to fold, bend, crease' [D 95b, 98a]; and various others.

9. PK -pək 'skin; to skin':

OK *pak* /pək/, > mod.K *pak* /baək/ 'to skin, peel, strip'; whence *trapak* /trabaək/ 'membrane, petal, eyelid' and *səmpak* (sambaək/ 'skin, bark'. Cognates and derivatives in Boloven, Khmu?, Kuy, Mnong Gar, Stieng, and Vietnamese.

PIN -pak and -bak 'skin; to skin':

'u(m)pak 'bark, crust, rind' [D 162b]; bak, 'to peel or split off' [D 20a]; bakbak 'to peel, pare, strip' [D 20b]; bəbak 'to skin' [D 25b].

10. PK -pəol and -paal 'to stick, cluster':

(a) OK **pal* /pəol/ 'to stick together', > *t(h)pal* /tpəol/ 'clump, cluster, copse', > *təmpal* /təmpəol/ 'grouping, cluster, settled area' (Thai *təmpal* /təmpəol/ 'tampon, subdivision of an amphoe', > mod.K *təmpa'n* /təmpəol ~ damban/ 'district, region, country'.) Cognates and derivatives in Bahnar, Biat, Mnong Gar, Srê, and Vietnamese. (b) Pre-Angkorian *'əmpal* /qəmpaal/ (K.49, line 12) and Angkorian *'əmpāl* /qəmpaal/ 'group', > MK *'əmpāl* ~ *'əmpal* /qəmpaal/ > qəmbaal/ 'id.'

N.B.: Probably cognate is Khmer *səmpor* /sambaaor/ 'nasal mucus', to be compared with

OM *sinmor* /səmmor/ > mod.M *samow* /həmo/ 'id.', Aslian /lumpor/ 'dirt, mud', and Malay *lumpor* 'slime'. The relationship of Khmer *kramā'l* /kramal/ 'heap, lump (classifier)' (cf. Malay *gemal* 'clump, cluster') is less sure.

PIN -pal, -pəl, -bəl and -pul 'to be greasy, sticky, clotted':

təbəl 'to be dense, thick' [D 132b]; dampul ~ dəmpul 'glue, gum' [D 39a, 40a]; kapal 'to be thick, fat, bulky' [D 75a]; kimpal 'to clot; lump' [D 81a]; kumpul 'to form a lump or mound, amass' [D 84b]; sumpəl 'stopper, bung' [D 158b].

11. PK -pəəs 'to pound':

OK *pas* /pəəs/ 'to pound, grind' (> Thai *pat* /bət/ 'to grind, pulverize'), > MK *poḥ* /pooh > booh/ 'to pound, crush, grind (drugs), gin (cotton)', > mod.K *poḥ* /baoh/ 'to pound, drive in (nail), strike (coin), stamp, affix (seal)'. Cognates in Bahnar, Biat, Chrau, Cua, Halang, Jeh, OM, mod.M, Sedang, Srê, Stieng, and Wa.

N.B.: The above is to be distinguished from OK *pas* /pəs/ 'to throw, plant', > MK *poḥ* /poh > boh/ ~ *puḥ* /puh > buh/ 'to set up, build', > mod.K *poḥ* /baoh/ 'to throw, (broad) cast; to abandon, drop (anchor); to implant, locate, build', which has a cognate in Vietnamese.

PIN -pas and -pis 'to beat, pound':

paspas 'to shake, agitate' [D 115b]; təpas 'to press flat, flatten' [D 135b]; kipas 'fan' [D 81a]; and various others.

12. PK -baa 'to crush':

OK **bā* /baa/ 'to grind, tread, pounce', > mod.K *dambā* /tumpiə/ 'to chew' and *rambā* /rumpiə/ 'prey, quarry'; cognates and derivatives in OM and Stieng.

PIN -bu', -buk, and -paq 'to grind':

'abu' 'ashes' [D 11a]; 'abuk' 'dust, powder' [D 11a]; ḍabuk 'ashes, dust; to be gray' [D 41b]; kulabu 'to be ashen, gray' [D 82b]; rabu 'to be dirty' [D 100b]; ḡabuk 'dust, powder' [D 57b]; sə(m)paq 'to chew up' [D 151b]; and various others. See item 23.

13. PK -baŋ and -biŋ 'pit':

(a) OK **bān* /baŋ/ 'pond, pool', > *travaŋ* /trəβaŋ/ and mod.K *trabān̄n̄* /trapeaŋ/ 'pond, marsh'. (b) OK *piñ* /piŋ/ 'pond, pool', > mod.K *piñ* /bỳŋ/ 'id.' Cognates and derivatives in mod.M, Srê, Stieng, and Vietnamese.

PIN -baŋ and -bəŋ 'pit':

lə(m)bəŋ 'pit, hole; grave' [D 93b]; lubaŋ 'pit, hole' [D 98b].

14. PK -baaj 'to hang loose':

OK *bāy* /βaa/ 'to dangle, hang down, be limp', > mod.K *bāy* (*nāy*) /piəj-ŋiəj/ 'to be careless, negligent'; whence mod.K *sbāy* /spiəj/ 'to hang or carry over the shoulder' and *spai* /sbaj/ 'women's long shawl worn over the shoulder'; cf. also *rambhāy* /rumph̄iəj/ 'to dangle; tassel, fringe, flounce', with unexplained aspiration of the wordbase initial. Cognates and derivatives in OM and mod.M.

PIN -baj 'to dangle, sway':

'a(m)baj 'to move to and fro' [D 11a]; 'ibaj 'queasiness, nausea' [D 66b]; za(m)baj 'to hang down, dangle, flap' [D 44b]; yi(m)baj 'to hang, be suspended' [D 58b].

15. PK -buut and -bət 'to wrap, cover':

OK **būt* /βuut/ 'to cover oneself', > MK *sambūt* /səmbuut > səmpuut/ ~ *sabvat* /səbuət > səpuuat/ (IMA 4B, line 23; IMA 4C, line 21), > mod.K *samba't* /səmpuət ~ səmpuət/ 'lower garment; length of cloth'; with other derivatives and cognate in Chrau.

PIN -but, -bət, and -put 'to roll (up), envelop':

kəbət 'to roll up (into a ball)' [D 76b]; kəbət 'to furl, fold up' [D 77a]; saput 'to wrap up; shroud' [D 149b]; siput 'snail' [D 154b].

16. PK -buun 'to heap up':

OK *vvan* /βuən/, > mod.K *būn* /puun/ 'to heap up, amass'. Cognates in Biat, mod.M, Srê, Stieng, and Vietnamese.

PIN -bun and -pun 'to gather, abound':

'i(m)pun ~ [t]i(m)pun ~ ri(m)pun 'to gather, amass' [D 70a, 139a, 103b]; bun 'to be plentiful' [D 35a]; bunbun 'to gather, amass' [D 35a]; ta(m)bun ~ timbun 'heap, hoard' [D 125b, 136b]; ḡa(m)bun 'cloudiness' [D 57b].

17. PK -bus 'to foam, boil':

OK **bus* /βus/, > mod.K *buh* /puh/ 'to boil', whence *babuh* /ppuh/ 'froth, foam'. Cognates in Aslian, Biat, mod.M, Palaang, Riang-Lang, Stieng, Vietnamese, and Munda.

PIN -bus and -bis 'to break off, detach':

'ubus 'to be ended, finished, done' [D 159b]; bisbis 'to fall in drops, trickle, drip' [D 31a]; and others.

18. PK -buh 'ashes':

OK **buh* /βuh/, > mod.K *pheḥ* /phèh/ 'ashes'. With the initial cf. Kuy /phə'/, with the vowel Atjehnese *abèè* and Khasi /dpei/. Eastern MK **buh*, > Biat *būh*, Stieng *būh* ~ *mbūh*, Mnong Gar *bubuh*, Chrau *vuh* 'ashes', Cua *vuh* 'to

burn off', Srê buuh 'ashes', Brou bäh, Katu blah.

PIN -buk, -bu' and -paq 'to grind':

As in item 12.

19. PK -bew and -boo 'cane':

(a) OK **amvau* /qəmβəw/, > mod.K *'ambau* /qəmpəw/ 'sugar cane', with cognates in Chong, Chrau, OM, and mod.M; and OK *tvau* /təβəw/, > mod.K *dhbau* /tpəw/ 'millet', with cognate in Bahnar. (b) OK **sabo* /səβoo/, > mod.K *sbo* /spóo/ 'sorghum', with cognates in Bahnar and Mnong Gar.

PIN -bu' 'cane':

təbu' 'sugar cane' [D 133a].

20. PK -book and -buək 'to heap up, amass':

(a) OK **bok* /βook/, > mod.K *pūk* /bòok/ 'to heap up; heap, hump'. (b) OK *vvak* /βuək/ (> *vnvak* /βnuək/ 'group'), > mod.K *bwk* /púuək/ 'group, company, party'. Cognates in Alak, Boloven, Katu, Khmu?, Lavé, MM, mod.M, Palaung, and Stieng. See item 22.

PIN -buq ~ -baq 'to add':

bubuq 'to add to, append' [D 31b]; tambaq 'to add on, bring to' [D 124b]; tu(m)buq 'to grow, increase' [D 139b].

21. PK -bōō 'to carry':

OK *va* /βoo/, > mod.K *ba* /poo/ 'to carry (a baby) upright in one arm'; Bahnar /pu?~po?/, Khmu? /bō?/, Stieng /ba/ 'to carry on the back'.

PIN -ba' 'to carry':

baba' 'to carry with one, take (bring) along' [D 18a].

22. PK -bōək 'mound; to heap up':

OK *vak* /βoək/ and *pūk* /puuk/, > mod.K *pūk* /bòok/ 'to heap up', whence *tampūk* /dambòok/ 'pile of earth; anthill' and several other derivatives; various MK cognates. See item 20.

PIN -bak 'mound, hump':

tambak 'heap of earth, mound' [D 124b]; humbak 'curved or undulating surface, arch, wave' [D 65a].

23. PK -bak 'mud, paste':

OK **vuik* /βuk/, > mod.K *bha'k* /phuk/ 'mud, swamp' (cf. mod.K *prahuk* /prahok/ ~ *braha'k* /prəhuk/ 'fish, paste'), with unexplained post-initial /h/. Biat bök, Chrau /vo?/ 'swamp', Katu jabəq ~ abiq 'mud', Mnong Gar /bok/ 'swamp', mod.M *pharāk* ~ *phrāk* /hərək/ 'fish paste', Srê bō, Stieng bok 'swamp'.

PIN -buk ~ -bud ~ -bək 'powder; to grind':

'abuk 'dust, powder' [D 11a]; qabuk 'ashes, dust; to be gray' [D 41b]; yabuk 'dust, powder' [D 57b]. Cf. -bu' 'dust, dirt': 'abu' 'ash' [D 11a]; rabu' 'to be dirty, soiled' [D 100b]; ləbu' 'dust, powder' [D 94a]. See item 12.

24. PK -bōŋ 'bank, shore':

OK *kamvañ* /kəmβoŋ/, > mod.K *kamba'n* /kəmpuŋ/ 'beach, landing place; settlement along a riverbank'.

PIN -waŋ 'to flow':

sawaŋ 'shore, beach; landing' [D 150a].

25. PK -maa 'uncle':

OK *mā* ~ **mā* /maa/, > mod.K *mā* /míiə/ 'younger brother of either parent'. Cognates in Bahnar, Halang, Jeh, mod.M, Stieng. With OM *kamwa* /kəmwa?/ 'uncle (younger than parent?)', Palaung va 'younger sibling', and Srê-wa 'uncle paternal', cf. Malay wa ~ wak 'uncle or aunt older than father; old man'.

PIN -ma' 'father, uncle':

'ama' 'father' [D 15a]; mama' 'mother's brother' [D 105b].

26. PK -maas 'gold':

OK *mās* /maas > maah/, > mod.K *mās* /míiəh/ 'gold'. Cognates in Bahnar, Halang, Jeh, Köho, Srê, Stieng.

PIN -mas 'gold':

'əmas 'gold' [D 50a].

N.B.: This item assumes no connection with Sanskrit *māṣa* 'bean; weight of gold; gold coin'.

27. PK -muət 'to be soft', = MK -boot:

OK *lamvat* /lmuat/ > mod.K *lmwt* /lmúuət/ 'to be soft yet firm (of flesh, dough)', Various MK cognates.

PIN -but 'to pound':

kəbut 'to beat, pound' [D 77a]; ləmbut 'to be soft, tender' [D 94a].

28. PK -muu 'bovine', = MK -boo:

OK *tmur* /tmuu(r)/ 'cow, bull'; Bahnar /rəmo ~ ləmo/ > Jarai rəmə), Chrau and Katu /bo/, Vietnamese bō 'cow, bull', Lamet /mpo/. A connection with OK *chlū* /cluu/ 'second of the duodenary cycle: the Ox' and OM *jlou* /jlow/ 'ox, bull, cow, cattle' is doubtful.

PIN -bu' 'bovine':

ləmbu' 'ox' [D 94a].

29. PK -tic 'to be little':

mod.K *tic* /təc/ 'to be little, few' (akin to *tūc* /tòoc/ 'to be small'). Cognates in Chrau, Khasi, mod.M, OM, Srê, Vietnamese.

- PIN -tik 'to be little':
 [ʔ]ə(n)tik ~ [ʔ]itik 'to be little' [D 50b, 70b], probably akin to -tik 'point, speck' in pa(n)tik 'to be pointed, sharp' [D 115a]; tiktik 'to track down, trace' [D 138a]; rintik 'spot, speck, dot' [D 104a].
30. PK 'tək 'to drag':
 OK *tik* /tyk/, > mod.K *tik* /dýk/ 'to haul, draw, lead'. Biat tək, M̄nong Gar /tii?/, OM *tuk* /tuk/, Srê /tii/, Stieng dāk ~ dək ~ tik, Muong tách, Vietnamese dāt.
 PIN -tək 'to draw, tow':
 batək 'to draw, drag, haul' [D 24b].
31. PK -taŋ ~ -daŋ and -təŋ ~ -dəŋ 'to stretch out':
 (a) mod.K *traŋān* /tradaŋ/ 'to stretch (e.g., a length of cloth)' and *phdām̄n* /pteəŋ/ 'flat surface, panel' and (b) mod.K *tii* /týŋ/ 'to be tight, tense, stiff' and possibly *dii* /týŋ/ 'to balance, poise'; with numerous derivatives. Cognates in Khasi, mod.M, OM, Vietnamese.
 PIN -təŋ 'to stretch' and -zaŋ ~ -daŋ 'to be long, broad':
 ɣə(n)[t]eŋ 'to tighten, stretch' [D 58b] and 'añzaŋ ~ pañzaŋ 'to be tall, long' [D 12a, 110a], pa(n)daŋ 'flatland, plain' [D 109b], bi(n)daŋ 'to be wide, broad' [D 29b], [t]uñzaŋ 'aerial root' [D 140b].
32. PK -taar 'to be flat, level':
 OK *ktār* /kətaar/, > mod.K *ktār* /kdaar/ 'board, plank'. Bahnar /təər/, Biat /kdaar/, Chong /kəta/, Chrau /kadar/, Jeh /tər/, 'board', Jeh /kətaar/ 'floor', OM *kinti(r)* ~ *kintar* /kəntər/, > mod.M *gatuiv* ~ *khatuiv* /hətə/ 'seat; board, plank', Khorat Niakuol kadal 'floor', Sedang /dəər/, Stieng kədar 'board'.
 PIN -tay 'to be even':
 tataɣ 'to regulate, regularize' [D 131b], ɬataɣ 'to be even, level, flat' [D 43a].
33. PK -tar ~ -dar 'to move':
 mod.K *dadār* /təər/ 'to tremble, quake'. Various cognates.
 PIN -tə[r] 'to move':
 kə(n)te[r] 'to quake, quiver' [D 79b].
34. PK -tus 'to rub':
 mod.K *tus* /doh/ 'to rub, scrub', > *traŋus* /trədoh/ 'to rub vigorously (on or against)'. Various cognates.
 PIN -ɬus 'to rub':
 kaɬus 'to scrape, scratch' [D 71b].
35. PK -təh 'breast':
 OK *təh* /toh/, > mod.K *təh* /daoh/ '(female) breast, udder'. Numerous cognates.
 PIN -ɬa 'breast':
 ɬaɬa 'breast, chest' [D 42a].
36. PK -tək 'to break up, remove':
 OK *tək* /took/, > mod.K *tək* /daak/ 'to pull out or off, uproot'. Numerous cognates.
 PIN -tak 'to beat, break':
 hən[t]ak 'to beat, pound, knock' [D 63b]; lantak 'to beat, strike, pound' [D 92b]; sintak 'to jerk, twitch' [D 155a].
37. PK -tək 'drop; to drip':
 mod.K *ta'k* /tak/ 'onomatopoeia for the falling of drops', > *tam̄na'k* /tamnak/ 'drop (of liquid)', *tata'k* /ttak/ 'to drip', and *panta'k* /bantak/ 'drop; dot'; presumably related to item 36. mod.M *tək* /tok/.
 PIN -tuk ~ -ɬəg 'to beat':
 tuktuk 'to beat, pound, knock' [D 145b]; ɬəg 'thud, thump' [D 43a].
38. PK -diin 'wild ox':
 mod.K *khdiin* /ktiin/ 'the black gaur, *Bos gaurus*'; mod.M *kaliin* ~ *taliin* /kəloinj/.
 PIN -tiŋ 'wild ox':
 baŋtiŋ 'wild ox' [D 25a].
39. PK -tes 'to be hot (peppery)'
 mod.K *m̄des* /m̄téh/ 'chili, *Capsicum frutescens*'; Pear moteh, Kuoy prates.
 PIN -ɬəs 'to be hot':
 pəɬəs 'to be pungent, peppery' [D 116a]; cf. pə[d̄d̄]iq 'to smart' [D 116a].
40. PK -dum 'to be ripe, dark':
 OK *dum* /dum/, > mod.K *dum* /tum/ 'to be ripe, old, dark'. Numerous cognates.
 PIN -ɬəm 'to be dark':
 tiɬəm 'to be dim, dull, gloomy' [D 137a]; ɬəɬəm 'to be dark' [D 43a]. Probably related to -ləm ~ -lam ~ -[r]əm 'to be dark': [ʔ]aləm ~ maləm 'night' [D 14b, 105a]; pə[r]əm 'to ripen artificially' [D 117a]; ləmləm 'to be dismal, gloomy' [D 95a].
41. PK -dul ~ -duəl 'to swell, protrude':
 (a) OK *dul* /dul/, > mod.K *dul* /tul/ 'to bulge; belly flesh (of certain fish)'. Cf. Srê kəndul 'belly'. (b) OK *dual* /duəl/, > mod.K *dwl* /túuəl/ 'mound, knoll, hillock', whence *kandwl* /kantúuəl/ 'bump, swelling (as of a mosquito bite)'. Numerous cognates.
 PIN -ɬul 'to swell':

bəŋdʊl 'thick part; threshold' [D 25b]. Cf. kun[ɖ]jur 'bottle-gourd, calabash' [D 82a].

42. PK -dəp 'to close, cover':

OK *dap* /dəp/, > mod.K *da'p* /tup/ 'to bar the way, obstruct, restrain', whence *khda'p* /ktup/ 'to close, bar, cut off.' Numerous cognates.

PIN -tup ~ -təp 'to close, cover':

tutup 'to cover, close, shut' [D 144a]; atəp ~ qatəp 'roofing, thatch' [D 16b, 62b]; tətəp 'to be firm, fixed' [D 136a].

43. PK -dək 'bran':

mod.K *kanda'k* /kantuk/ 'bran'. Cognates in Bahnar and Stieng.

PIN -ɖak 'bran':

ɖəɖak 'bran, chaff' [D 43a].

N.B.: This item assumes no connection with Pāli *kuṇḍaka* 'red powder of rice husks'.

44. PK -neh 'this':

OK *neh* /neh/, > mod.K *neh* /néh/ 'demonstrative pronoun; this'. Alak, Boloven, Lavé, Niahéun, Sué /ne/, Aslian /nəh, nəʔ, dəh, dəh/, Chrau /nʔhe/, Katu dō, adō 'here, this', Kōho /do/ 'this', Srē /do/ 'here', Kuoy /nee/, mod.M *na* /nəʔ/, Stieng nēi, Vietnamese *này*, *nì*, *dây* 'this, here'.

PIN -ni' 'this':

'ini' 'demonstrative pronoun: this' [D 69a]. Cf. Cham *ni* (nī) and *nik*, Rōglai *ni*, Jarai *anai*.

45. PK -nəm 'hill, mountain', = MK -nəm ~ nəŋ:

OK *nam* /βnəm/, > mod.K *bnam* /pnum/ 'hill, mountain'. Aslian /bənəm/ ~ bənəm/, Chong /nəŋ/, Chrau /nuŋ, guŋ/, Maa /bənəm/, Palaung *panaŋ*, Pear and Samré /nəŋ/, Srē and Stieng /bənəm/.

PIN -nuŋ 'hill, mountain':

gunuŋ 'hill, mountain' [D 57a].

46. PK -cak 'to pick, prick' and -cək 'to peck':

(a) mod.K *cā'k* /cak/ 'to pierce, stab' and (b) mod.K *cik* /cɨk/ 'to peck'. Numerous cognates.

PIN -cak ~ -cuk 'point':

pu(n)cak ~ pu(n)cuk 'peak, top, summit' [D 121ab]. Cf. Malay *chochok* 'to pierce', Javanese /cucoq/ 'to peck', Iban /tucok/ 'to peck', Rōglai /cok/ 'to stab', Jarai /coh/ 'to peck'.

47. PK -caa(r) 'to break, split':

mod.K *chār* /chaar/ 'to crack, split', with unexplained aspiration of initial. Aslian /cal ~ cel/ 'to be broken', Bahnar /taca ~ tasa/ 'to be

worn down' and /car/ 'to crack, split', Katu /car/ 'to crack in pot'.

PIN -ca[r] ~ -cu[r] ~ -caq 'to break, split':

paŋca[r] ~ paŋcu[r] 'jet (spurt) of water' [D 112b]; bucu[r] 'leak in water craft' [D 33b]; pəcaq ~ cacaq 'to be in pieces' [D 116b, 86a].

48. PK -cuŋ 'end, tip':

OK *cui* /cuŋ/, > mod.K *cui* /coŋ/ '(far) end, tip, extremity'. Numerous cognates. See item 53.

PIN -zuŋ 'point':

taŋzuŋ 'peninsula, cape' [D 126b]; quzuŋ 'tip, point' [D 65b]. Cf. -juŋ in 'iŋuŋ ~ uŋuŋ 'nose' [D 67a].

49. PK cəcok '(onomatopoetic) house lizard':

OK *cicok* /cəcok/ 'insect (= Sanskrit *kṛmī*)', > mod.K *jiñ ca'k* /ciŋ/ cak/ 'house lizard'. Several cognates.

PIN cəcak '(onomatopoetic) gecko':

cəcak 'name of a lizard: the gecko' [D 86b].

50. PK -cəɔ 'dog', = MK -cəɔ ~ -səɔ.

OK *ca* /cəɔ/, > mod.K *ca* /caɔ/ 'eleventh of the duodenary cycle: (year of) the Dog', whence Thai *ca'a* /cəɔ/. Palaung *so*, Srē (and Kōho) /so/; Katu *acho*, Muong and Vietnamese *chó*; Khasi *ksew*. Uncertain is the relationship of MM *kluiw* ~ *kluiw* /kləw/, > mod.M *kluiw* /kɫə/, Kharia *səɔ*? ~ *šəɔ*?, Juang *solok*, and Semang *chəlong* 'wild dog'.

PIN -su' 'dog':

'asu' 'dog' [D 17a]. Cf. Atjehnese *asèè*, Cham *aθau*, Chru *asew*, Jarai *asao*, Rhadé /*asaw*/, Rōglai *asau* ~ *asou*.

51. PK -jii 'elder kinsman':

OK *ji* /jii/ 'ancestor', > MK *ji* /jii > cii/ 'term of address for males', > mod.K *ji* /cii/ 'respectful term of address for young males', as in *nān ji* /nāiŋ cii/ and *yāy ji* /jiiŋ cii/ '(Buddhist or Catholic) nun'.* Cf. Thai *ji* /chii/ 'ascetic (of either sex)'. A connection with Vietnamese *chị* 'elder sister' seems doubtful, but note Cham *ji* 'nun'.

PIN -ji' 'elder kinsman':

'a(ŋ)ji' 'kin (mostly younger)' [D 12b], qa(ŋ)ji' 'kin (mostly of the opposite sex)' [D 60a]. Cf. Atjehnese *chi* 'old'.

52. PK -jar ~ -saar 'gum, resin, sap':

OK *jar* ~ *jār* /jar/, > mod.K *jār* /coər/ 'gum, (poisonous) sap' (whence Thai *jān* /chan/

* In these terms *nān* and *yāy* function as female-markers.

'dammar') and *phsār* /psaar/ 'to solder, weld' (whence Thai *paraḥsān* /prasāan/ 'to join, bind, solder together, weld by means of heat and a flux'). Numerous cognates.

PIN -zər 'gum, resin':

pizər 'to plaster, solder' [D 118b].

53. PK -jəŋ 'leg/foot, stand':

OK *jen* /jəŋ/ 'leg/foot, pace', > mod.K *jaen* /cəŋ/ 'leg/foot; base, stand, pedestal'. Numerous cognates. See item 48.

PIN -zəŋ 'to stand':

zəŋ 'stand, standing, footing' [D 48a], zəŋzəŋ 'to stand, be situated' [D 48a].

54. PK -juəl 'to buy':

OK *jua* /juəl/ 'to engage, employ for compensation', > mod.K *jua* /cúuəl/ 'to hire (people or things)'. Cf. Stieng /cuəl/ 'to let, rent' and Wa cue 'to sell'.

PIN -zu'al 'to sell':

zu'al 'to sell' [D 48b].

55. PK -juər 'line, row':

OK *juar* /juər/, > mod.K *juar* /cúuər/ 'line, row; furrow', whence *bhjuar* /pcúuər/ 'to plow'. Biat *cüar* 'line'; Stieng *cuor* 'to plow'.

PIN -za[r] 'line, row':

bañza[r] 'row, rank, line, file' [D 18b], zaza[r] ~ zizi[r] 'in line (file, series)'. [D 45b, 48b].

56. PK -kit 'to adjoin, adhere':

mod.K *kit* /kət/ 'to be (stuck) close to'. Cf. mod.M *daget* ~ *dget* /həkət/ 'to comply with' and Vietnamese *khít* 'to be well-joined, flush, connected; to be near, close'.

PIN -kət ~ -kit 'to hold, cling':

'ikət 'to twist, knit, knot, join' [D 68a], dəkət ~ zəkət ~ ləkət 'to stick, cling' [D 39b, 47b, 94b], kəkət 'to hold fast' [D 77b], ya(ŋ)kit 'to tie together; raft' [D 58a].

57. PK -keer 'to gnaw':

(a) mod.K *kaker* /kkèer/ 'to gnaw, nibble' and (b) mod.K *sañkiər* /sañkiər/ 'to have one's teeth set on edge'. Cf. OM *kir* ~ *kir* /kər/ 'to dig'.

PIN -kir ~ -kar ~ -kur 'to root, scratch':

'uki[r] 'to chisel, carve' [D 161a], kikir 'file, grater' [D 80a], 'aka[r] 'root' [D 13b], bu(ŋ)kar 'to root, grub up' [D 33a], karkar 'to scrape, scratch' [D 74a], kurkur 'to scrape, scratch' [D 83b]. Probably a doublet of -kal 'root, stump, source': paŋkal 'stem, trunk; origin' [D 111b], suŋkal 'to root, grub up' [D 156a], etc.

N.B.: A relationship with the next item seems likely.

58. PK -kes 'to scratch':

OK **kes* /kes ~ keh/, > mod.K *keh* /kèh/ 'to scratch' (whence *kakeh* /kkèh/ 'to scratch vigorously or continuously') and *chkəh* /ckaəh/ 'to scrape', with variants and other derivatives. Numerous cognates.

PIN -kas ~ -kis 'to scrape':

kaskas 'to scratch' [D 76a], kiskis 'to scrape' [D 81a].

N.B.: A relationship with the preceding item seems likely.

59. PK -kap ~ -gap 'to grip, squeeze':

(a) OK **kāp* /kap/ 'to hold, clamp', > mod.K *tankāp* /daŋkap/ 'tongs, pliers, pincers', with numerous cognates; and (b) OK **gāp* /gaap/, > mod.K *kiəp* (for *gāp*) /kliəp/ 'to squeeze, carry under the arm', > *thkiəp* /thiəp/ 'to squeeze, pinch' and *tankiəp* /taŋkiəp/ 'claw, pincers (of crab); tweezers', with various cognates.

PIN -kap ~ -gap ~ -kup ~ -kəp 'to grip, join, embrace':

taŋkap ~ taŋgap 'to take hold, grip' [D 128a, 126b], duŋkap 'to mend, repair' [D 40b], raŋkap 'to join, unite' [D 101b], si(ŋ)kap 'to grasp, seize' [D 153a], kupkup ~ kəpkəp 'to grip, clutch' [D 81b, 76b], sikəp 'to be tight, narrow' [D 153a].

60. PK -kat:

mod.K *thkāt* /tkat/ 'to be sick'. Cf. Jeh /sakit/ 'medicine' and Katu /sjaat/ 'to be very sick'.

PIN -kit:

sakit 'to be sick; sickness, pain' [D 147b]. Possibly akin to -kət 'to grip' (see item 56).

61. PK -kan 'to hold, grasp':

OK *kān* /kan/, > MK *kā'n* /kan/ 'to hold, clutch; to hold to, head for', > mod.K *kā'n* /kan/ 'to hold, take, carry, entail; to, toward'. With MK *thkān* /tkan/ 'to, toward' compare OM *taguin* /təgøn/ 'to observe, keep' and *tgin* /tgøn/ 'to apply'. Note also mod.M *kān* /kan/ 'to keep close together'.

PIN -kan ~ -kən 'to hold':

pakan 'weft' [D 111b], 'a(ŋ)kən 'to adopt, assume; one's own' [D 13b]. Note also Malay *langkan* 'ship's railing' and *akan* 'to, about, about to; future aspect marker'.

62. PK -kaaŋ 'to open, spread':

OK **kān* /kaaŋ/, > mod.K *kān* /kaaŋ/ 'to spread apart (wings, arms, clothes), whence *chkān* /ckaaŋ/ 'to crucify'.

PIN -kaŋ 'to hold up or out':

[t]jukaj 'prop, stay' [D 141b], kaŋkaŋ 'to spread open, stretch' [D 74a].

63. PK -kaaj 'to scratch':

mod.K *kāy* /kaaj/ (with variant *khāy* /khaaj/) 'to scratch, scrape, dig out', whence intensive frequentative *kakāy* /kkaj/. Aslian /kay ~ kəwəj/ 'to scratch'; OM *khāy* /khay/ 'to dig' > mod.M *khāy* /khai/ 'to dig'; Pacoh /kay/ 'to plow'; Srê kae 'to peck after scratching the ground'; Vietnamese *gāi* 'to scratch' and *cây* 'to plow'.

PIN -kaj 'to scratch':

qukaj 'to dig up (out)' [D 65b]. Cf. [s]akaj '(? to scratch upward) to climb, scale' [D 147a].

64. PK -koot 'to fear':

OK **kot* /koot/, > mod.K *kot* /kaoot/ 'to hold in awe, reverence'. Cf. mod.M *takuit* /təkɔt/ 'to take fright, be frightened. . . .'

PIN -kut 'to bend, yield':

'ikut 'to follow, obey' [D 68a], [t]akut 'to be afraid' [D 128b], kutkut 'to shrink, shrivel' [D 84b], kukut 'joint, articulation' [D 82b].

65. PK -koor 'to scrape':

OK **kor* /koor/, > mod.K *kor* /kaoor/ 'to shave' (whence Thai *kaun* /koon/ 'to shave'). Cf. Vietnamese *cao* 'to scrape, shave' and *cào* 'to scratch, claw, rake'. The connection with OM *kās* /kas/ 'to shave oneself' as well as with items 57, 58 and 63 is unclear.

PIN -kur ~ -kul 'to scratch, rake':

paŋku[r] ~ caŋkul 'hoe, mattock' [D 112b, 86a], ʔa(ŋ)kur 'to scrape or rake with the hands' [D 144b]; cf. Malay *chukur* 'to shave (with razor)'. Probably akin to -kuy ~ -kud 'to rub, scrub': kuḍkuḍ 'rasp, grater' [D 82a], kuykuy 'to rub, chafe, scour' [D 82a].

At this stage of our work it would be manifestly premature to voice any conclusions. Like Schmidt, we do not at this point have control of a sufficient number of data to permit the setting up of reliable sound correspondences. We nevertheless feel that the material collected thus far justifies a reexamination of the Austric hypothesis by modern linguists. Without wanting to indulge in idle speculation, we believe it reasonable to suggest that demonstration of a genetic relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic would be as significant to linguists, anthropologists, and archaeologists as demonstration of such a relationship between Indo-European and Semitic.

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