Lexical evidence for an
Austroasiatic presence in Borneo

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1 Introduction

- Presented here are Austroasiatic/Mon-Khmer comparisons for 88 Bornean etyma cementing the plausibility of an AA substrate in Borneo.

- Several AA loans have long been identified in Malay but there has been little research on their origin or point of entry into the language.

- Two recent breakthroughs in linguistic scholarship allows us to make far more progress in this area.

  - Smith 2017: *The Languages of Borneo: A Comprehensive Classification*, PhD diss. Univ. of Hawai'i, which provides much new data in addition to a thorough assessment of innovations and subgrouping across the entire island.

  - The Mon-Khmer Etymological Dictionary (MKED) designed by Doug Cooper, which has digitized, organized and standardized (into IPA) nearly everything that's known about the lexicons of Mon-Khmer languages from hundreds of sources.

- The first source identifies hundreds of lexemes that have no Austronesian etymologies. The second source allows us to search for potential sources on the other side of the sea.

- In the tables below, the first section present Bornean etyma and the section beneath show AA comparanda. Subgroups are shown in **bold** and language names are given directly following. References to the ultimate source of the AA forms are given using the conventions of the MKED (http://sealang.net/monkhmer/dictionary/).

- Almost all Bornean etyma are taken from Smith (2017), the full references to which are given in each table.

- An important note on methodology: Language comparison for purposes of historical reconstruction is completely reliant on regular sound correspondences. Here, we are not at-

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tempting to show genetic relatedness between Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages. We are in a more complex situation where Austroasiatic words in Borneo could have entered from multiple languages at multiple times. I have thus made no attempt yet to identify regular correspondences in the comparison sets.

- Given that sound correspondences cannot be criterial here, we must resort to surface similarity with all its attendant dangers. With small words and many dozens of diverse languages, the possibility of encountering chance resemblances is very real. However, this source of false positives is constrained by restricting the search to only those Bornean words that have no Austronesian etymologies and by generally not allowing for any semantic drift. The meanings must match perfectly and the forms must be plausibly related, although the latter criterion is admittedly a subjective judgment. I furthermore try to avoid including AA words that are only reflected in one or two languages even if they are good semantic and phonological matches.

- Some clear issues regarding correspondences involve widespread nasal/stop alternations due to nasal preplosion before an oral vowel. This is an areal feature whose range includes AA languages of the mainland as well as AN languages of Borneo. Preplosion is often an intermediate step to total denasalization at the end of a word, e.g. $n > {}^tn > t$ (cf. Blust 1997; Jardine et al. 2015). Thus, some liberties are taken in the comparisons when it comes to comparing nasal codas with their corresponding oral stops.

- Another clear issue in the correspondences is that the AN forms are in the vast majority of cases disyllabic while the AA forms are often monosyllabic. In many of these cases, the first syllable of the AN form has no correspondent in the AA forms. This could be due to disyllabicization to meet a well known and widespread requirement on lexical words in Austronesian languages. A more remote possibility is that such forms preserve a syllable that was lost elsewhere in AA due to shortening processes that are equally well-documented on the mainland.

- A note about Aslian: Because many of the Aslian languages have been in heavy contact with Malay over the last century, they have adopted a very large amount of Malay vocabulary. Because of this, I avoid including Aslian comparisons whenever the word in question exists in Malay. This concern aside, one of the emergent findings here is that, contrary to previous conjecture, it is not Aslian languages which provide the best correspondents for AA vocabulary in Borneo. This may, however, be due to large scale replacement of indigenous Aslian vocabulary by Malay in more recent times.

- Some of the lexical comparisons below may very well be false positives but taken as a whole, I feel they provide irrefutable evidence for an AA presence in Borneo, whether this was due to a substrate or other form of intense contact.

2 Lexical comparanda

- Most etyma investigated here are restricted to Borneo but a small handful "hitched a ride" with Malay and spread further into the Philippines.

- The widespread 'twin' word in Austronesian languages is shown in Table 1 and the MK cognates are shown in Table 2. This is one of the MK etyma that made its way into the Philippines via Malay.

Kapampangan	*kámbal*	twin
Tagalog	*kambál*	twin; twins; double
Bikol	*kambál*	twins
Malagasy	*kámbana*	twins; union of two; fig. resemblance
Malay	*kəmbar*	forming a match or pair, [...] e.g. of twin children, or a worthy foe
Toba Batak	*hombar*	near, close by; similar, comparable
Old Javanese	*kəmbar*	twin, alike in appearance
Javanese	*kembar*	of similar or identical appearance; twin(s)
	ŋembar	to make thing alike
	kembar-an	dressed alike; opposite number, counterpart
Balinese	*kembar*	twins, two things of the same sort
	kembar-an	one's like, match
Makasarese	*kambaraʔ*	a pair or a whole formed of two or more things or persons that resemble one another; twins

Table 1: Entry for the loan word 'twin' in the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (Blust and Trussel ongoing)

Bahnaric	Bahnar	*kəmaar*	(Ban1979:C:3480-2)
	Tarieng	*mbaːr*	(The2001:C:tdf-1518)
	Tarieng [Kasseng]	*baːr*	(The2001:C:kgc-1518)
	Jeh [Yeh]	*maːr*	(The2001:C:jeh-1518)
	Alak	*baːr*	(The2001:C:alk-1518)
Katuic	Ngeq	*kampʌaːr*	(Smi1970:C:1085)

Table 2: Cognate MK words for 'twin'

- The Bornean long house is unique in the Austronesian world but appears to have antecedents in mainland Southeast Asia.

- The Bornean words for longhouse also lack an Austronesian etymology. Smith reconstructs a Pan-Bornean word *bətaŋ based on the evidence in Table 3.

"Pan-Bornean"		*bətaŋ 'longhouse'	(Smith 2017:292)
	Ribun (Land Dayak)	betakŋ	
	Taman (Tamanic)	betaŋ	
	Kadorih (Müller-Schwaner)	behtaŋ	
	Maanyan (Müller-Schwaner)	betaŋ	
	Kereho (Barito)	bətaŋ	
Proto-Pearic		*tɔŋ 'house'	(Hea1985:R:209)
	Kanchanaburi Chong	taŋ 'house'	(Isa2007a:C:71-1)
Bahnaric	Halang	brṳəŋ	(Coo1976:C:320)
	Bahnar	brwaaŋ 'large house'	(Ban1979:C:2771-1)
	Laven [Jru']	braːŋ 'roof beam'	(Jac2002:C:198)
Khmeric	Khmer	ptouŋ 'rafters'	(Hea1997:C:8495)
Aslian	Kensiu [Tea De]	bəŋ	(Pha2006:C:318-3)
Proto Mon-Khmer [A]		*duŋ 'house'	(Sho2006:R:492.A)

Table 3: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'longhouse' (Smith 2017:292) compared to MK forms

- Smith notes a very unusual set of replacements for the Austronesian etymon PMP *hikan 'fish', showing that is replaced in "nearly every subgroup in Borneo" (Smith 2017:293).

- Several distant subgroups reflect the form *atuk and Smith finds it unlikely that the modern distribution of this form came about through borrowing.

Kayanic	Long Gelat *təwk*, Modang *təwk*, Gaai *təwk*, Kelai *tok*
Kenyah	Pawe *atok*, Lepo Gah *atok*, Lepo Laang *atok*,
	Lepo Sawa *atok*, Lepo Tau *atok*
Barito	Tunjung *mətuʔ*
Vietic	Thavung *ʔatɔ́k* 'to fish' (Suw2000:C:1993)
Katuic	Proto Katuic *tɔɔ 'set trap' (Sid2005:R:890)
Nicobarese	Car *ha-tuək/ha-tūōk* 'to fish (w/out rod) with long lines' (Whi1925:C:1431)
Pearic	Kanchanaburi Chong *tʰɔŋ* 'to fish' (Isa2007a:C:959-1)

Table 4: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'fish' (Smith 2017:293) compared to MK forms

"Similar words for 'cold' are found in Kayanic, Kajang, Müller-Schwaner, and Kenyah, but no wide-ranging reconstruction is possible because of irregularities in vowel shapes. The near-cognate is built on the basic shape *sVŋVm, where the vowels can be schwa or i, giving three attested forms *səŋəm, *siŋəm, and *səŋim." (Smith 2017:294)

Kayanic *səŋəm		Ngorek ŋəm, Merap hŋam, Data Dian həŋam, Busang həŋəm, Bahau həŋam, Long Gelat həŋam, Modang həŋam, Kelai sŋam	
Müller-Schwaner *siŋəm		Hovongan siŋom, Kereho siŋom, Seputan siŋom, Aoheng siŋom	
Kenyah *səŋim		Uma Pawe səŋim, Lepo Gah səŋim, Lepo Sawa səŋim, Lepo Tau səŋim, Badeng səŋim	
Kajang *səŋim		Lahanan səŋim	
Bahnaric	Halang	həŋaːm 'cold (water)'	(Coo1976:C:1222)
	Sedang	həŋiəm 'cool'	(Smi2000:C:626)
Monic	Nyah Kur [N]	ŋɤ́ɤm 'cool'	(The1984:C:2174-5)
	Nyah Kur [S]	ləŋɤ̀ɤm 'cool'	(The1984:C:2174-1)
Khmeric	Khmer	saŋʔan 'to be tepid, lukewarm; to cool s.t.'	(Hea1997:C:12961)
Katuic	Bru	saŋɛɛt 'cold, cool'	(The1980:C:Sid2005 842-3)

Table 5: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'cold' (Smith 2017:294) compared to MK forms

Kayanic *aʔiŋ		Ngorek yoŋ aʔeŋ, Modang on eŋ, Gaai puə̯n ayn, Kelai yoə̯n eŋ	
Kajang *aʔiŋ		Kejaman ayəŋ, Lahanan ayəŋ	
Kenyah *iʔiŋ		Sebop iʔiŋ, E Penan eʔeŋ, Lebo' Vo' iʔiŋ	
Kenyah *akiŋ		Uma Pawe akiŋ, Lepo Tau akeŋ, Badeng akiŋ	
Berawan-Lower Baram *iʔiŋ		Miri iʔiŋ, Long Terawan eŋ	
Punan *kaʔiŋ		Beketan akeŋ, Punan Lisum akeŋ, Punan Aput keŋ, Buket akeŋ	
Müller-Schwaner *kaʔiŋ		Hovongan kaʔeŋ, Kereho kaʔeŋ, Aoheng kaʔeŋ	
Proto Bahnaric		*-kiəŋ	(Sid2011:R:391)
Bahnaric	Alak	takeːŋ	(The2001:C:alk-391)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	ŋkiːŋ	(The1980:C:2042)
Pearic	Chong [Kasong]	kwêːn	(Nop2003:C:1956-3)
	Chong [Samre]	kawîːn	(Por2001:C:1956-4)
Vietic	Thavung	kḛ̂ːn/kḛ̂ːn	(Suw2000:C:578)

Table 6: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'waist' (Smith 2017:294-5) compared to MK forms

Kayanic *laʔip	Ngorek laʔip, Merap laʔayc, Data Dian laʔip, Modang ləʔip, Gaai alʔep, Kelai ləʔep
Kenyah *liʔip 'shoulder; arm'	Uma Pawe liʔip, Lepo Gah liʔip, Lepo Laang liʔip, Lepo Tau liʔip, Badeng liʔip
Berawan-Lower Baram *liʔip	Long Jegan liayc 'arm'
Dayic *liʔip	Kelabit liʔip 'scapula'
Proto-MK [B]	*klip (Sho2006:R:445.B)
Proto-Palaungic	*klip (Sid2010:R:528)

Table 7: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'shoulder' (Smith 2017:295) compared to MK forms

> "The rhinoceros hornbill is a symbol of Borneo. Many cultures revere the bird and traditionally have used its tail feathers as ornamentation and as symbols of class. It's surprising that a word for hornbill cannot be reconstructed, as it is a visually striking bird which would have garnered much attention from the first Austronesian speaking peoples to populate the island. Near-cognates, however, appear throughout Borneo. There are several shapes, but nearly all of them seem to be comprised of a root *-əŋaŋ, with others reflecting *-əŋgaŋ, *-iŋaŋ, and *-alaŋ." (Smith 2017)

Malayic	*əŋgaŋ
Kayanic, Kajang, Müller-Schwaner, Barito	*tiŋaŋ
Kayanic, Punan	*takuan
Kenyah, Lower Baram	*bələŋaŋ/*bələŋan
Kenyah	*təbəŋaŋ
Dayic, Basap, Barito	*mənəŋan/*mənəŋaŋ
Melanau, Kajang	*təjalaŋ

Chong [Western Pear]	*takeːŋ* 'grand calao (Dichoceros biconis)' (Bar1941:C:207-10-5-cog-WP)
Proto-Palaungic	*kɲiəŋ 'small hornbill' (Sid2010:R:553)
Proto-Vietic	*-raːŋʔ 'calao, hornbill' (Fer2xx7:R:1145)
Proto-Pong	*raːŋ³ 'calao, hornbill' (Fer2xx7:C:1145-4)

Table 8: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'hornbill' (Smith 2017:295) compared to MK forms

> "PMP *punti 'banana' is widely attested in Borneo, with reflexes in Barito, Basap, Kayanic, Kajang, Müller-Schwaner, Kenyah, Berawan-Lower Baram, Northeast Sabah, and Southwest Sabah. The near-cognate, *balak/*balat, is restricted to Central Sarawak languages plus Land Dayak and Kenyah, and although it is tempting to reconstruct a single word, irregularities in the final consonant frustrate any effort to claim that instances of this word are reflexes of a single proto form." (Smith 2017:304)

Land Dayak Melanau		*balak	
Kenyah		*balak	
Kajang		*balat	
Punan		*balat	
Katuic	Bru [TS]	prʲiat	(The1980:C:2573)
Khmuic	Phong	praːk	(Bui2000:C:1600)
Monic	Proto-Monic	*braat	(Dif1984:R:N95)
	Nyah Kur [Klang]	phràat	(The1984:C:2689-4),
	Nyah Kur [Nam Lao]	phlàat	(The1984:C:2689-5)
	Old Mon	brat/brāt	(Sho1971:C:275.9.1)
	Mon	pràt	(Sho1962:C:8152)

Table 9: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'banana' (Smith 2017:304-5) compared to MK forms

- Note that Thurgood (1999:284) reconstructs the form *batɛj (*batɛy in his transcription) for Proto-Chamic, which derives from PMP *punti. He observes a surface similarity with some of the AA forms cited in Table 9 but correctly notes that these do not represent borrowings in either direction. Similarly, Proto-Chamic *batɛj and the Bornean balak/t are unrelated.

Tamanic	Ambalo	*kasik*
Malayic	Seberuang	*kyəsit*
Land Dayak	Benyadu	*karasik*
	Jangkang	*koɣoseʔ*
	Ribun	*kohoseʔ*
	Golik	*kəʀosik*
	Sanggau	*kəɣosiʔ*
Barito	Maanyan	*karasik*
	Dusun Witu	*karasik*
Basap	Lebo	*kərsik*
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		*ksac* (Sho2006:R:874.A)
Pearic	Chong [Samre]	*ksɛc* (Por2001:C:1540-4)

Table 10: Pan-Bornean near-cognate for 'sand' (Smith 2017:312) compared to MK forms

- One of Blust's (2010) 19 lexical innovations defining Northeast Sabah subgroup is *sikut 'rat'.

Pearic	Chong [Kanchanaburi]	k^hɔːˀt	(Isa2007a:C:1447-1)
	Chong [Kompong Som]	k^hɔːˀn	(Isa2007b:C:1447-2)
	Chong [Kasong]	k^hɔ̂ːn	(Nop2003:C:1447-3)
	Chong [Samre]	khûən	(Por2001:C:1447-4)
	Chong [Chantaburi]	k^hɔːn	(Sir2001:C:1447-5)
	Chong [Ban Thung Saphan]	khaːˀn	(Huf1985:C:1447)
Khmeric	Khmer	cuut	(Huf1971:C:4540-599-2)
Vietic	Mường [Thanh Hoa]	cuot[8]	(Fer2xx7:C:46-15)

Table 11: MK forms for 'rat'

"Although betel chewing was also widespread in South India and South China by the fifteenth century, it appears to have originated in Southeast Asia. In that region it occupied a central place in the ritual as well as the social life of every people of whom we have knowledge. Chinese sources from as early as the T'ang period mention the role of betel in marriage ritual, and the word used for it, pin-lang, appears to be a very early Chinese borrowing from Malay (Wheatley 1961:56,78-79 Chau Ju-Kua c.1250 1911/1970:155). Ma Huan (1433:92-93) said of the Javanese: "Men and women take areca-nut and betel-leaf, and mix them with lime, made from clam-shells; their mouths are never without this mixture...When they receive passing guests, they entertain them, not with tea, but only with areca-nut." (Reid 1988:43)

> "The history of this word is puzzling. A priori it appears to be a straightforward comparison pointing to PAn *pineŋ 'areca nut', but since better candidates are available for this meaning a reconstruction is immediately suspect. The gloss of the Pazeh form explicitly indicates it as a loanword from Minnan Chinese, and since the Malay word appears to be native this raises a question about the direction of borrowing. The use of betel is not common to Chinese culture as a whole, but is widespread in the Austronesian world, and for this reason it is likely that Malay pinaŋ was borrowed by Hokkien speakers, and transported to Taiwan. There, for reasons that remain obscure, it replaced the native word for this referent (possibly a reflex of PAn *Sawiki, which is reflected in several divergent Formosan languages)." (Blust and Trussel ongoing)

Formosan	Pazeh	*pineŋ*	
Malayic	Malay	*pinaŋ*	
Vietic	Thavung	*panâːŋ*	(Suw2000:C:1226)
Katuic	Katu	*panaːŋ*	(Cos1971:R:259)
Bahnaric	Cua	*paniːŋ*	(Mai1981:C:1179)

Table 12: MK forms for 'betel nut'

- Cognates of the Malay form *səmut* 'ant' are found in all Malayic languages (Kendayan, Ketapang, Keninjal, Seberuang, Iban) and have been cited as one of the few Khmer loans in Indonesian (e.g. Tadmor 2009).

- But the Khmer form *sramaoc* is actually a worse fit when compared to other Mon-Khmer reflexes of the same root, shown in Table 13. There is a /ra/ sequence unaccounted for by the Malayic forms as well as the diphthong /ao/.

Malayic	Kendayan *samut*, Ketapang *somot*, Keninjal *somut*, Seberuang *səmot*, Iban *səmuət* (Smith 2017:604)	
Proto-Palaungic	*smuuc*	
Proto-Khmuic	*smuːc*	(Sid2013:R:48)
Proto-Katuic	*smuuc*	(Sid2005:R:1218)
Proto-Bahnaric	*smoːc*	(Sid2011:R:771)
Mon	*həmot*	(Sho1962:C:1554)

Table 13: MK cognates for səmut 'ant'

- Strangely, Mualang, another Malayic languages, displays another form for 'ant' which is also without a known Austronesian etymology

Malayic	Mualang	*kəsáʔ*	(Smith 2017:604)

Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		**ksəwʔ* 'red ant'	*Sho2006:R:1866.A*
Aslian	Temiar	*kasod* 'fire ant'	(Mea1998:C:1290)
	Semang	*kasoʔ*	(Skeat&Blagden 1906 A 101, Sho2006:C:1866-2)
	Kensiu	*les kəsɔʔ* (les = ant)	(Bis1994:C:730)
Katuic	Ngeq	*kasaːw* 'red ants'	(Smi1970:C:1247)
	Katu [Phuong]	*saw, kasaw* 'red ant'	(Cos1971:C:Sid2005 442-13)
Proto-Monic		**(-)ksaw* 'red ant'	(Dif1984:R:N41)
Proto-Palaungic		**sɔʔ* 'red ant'	(Sid2010:R:1012)
Proto-Pearic		**ksuː* 'red ant'	(Hea1985:R:170)

Table 14: MK cognates for 'red ant'

- Another form for 'ant' is found in non-Malayic subgroups of Borneo and these appear to have a correspondent in MK languages referring specifically to a type of flying white ant, as shown in Table 15.

Kayanic	Busang	*kəbiraŋ*	
	Data Dian	*kəbireə̯ŋ*	
	Balui Liko	*kawiraŋ*	
	Modang	*wəliə̯ŋ*	
Melanau/Kajang	Kejaman	*biɟiə̯ŋ*	
Punan	Ukit	*jəviraŋ*	
Proto-Müller-Schwaner		**ñoveraŋ*	
Nicobaric	Nancowry	*kamileŋ*	(Man1889:C:2502)
Proto-Palaungic		**briŋ* 'ant'	(Sid2010:R:73)
Proto-Khasic		**kpər* 'flying white ant'	(Sid2012:R:1646b.A)
	Khasi	*kber* 'winged white ant'	(Sin1906:C:1596)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		**ɓ[a]r* 'flying ant'	(Sho2006:R:1646b.A)
Bahnaric	Brao	*biŋaaŋ* 'ant (large)'	(Huf1971:C:524-66-2)

Table 15: MK cognates for 'ant'

- Smith (2017:98) argues that two innovative replacements for 'black' in Kajang languages, **usaŋ* and **jəɟiə̯k*, help define the subgroup.

- The latter has potential cognates in MK, shown in Table 16, where forms ending in -iəŋ/-iək are found across several subgroups.

- Recall that nasal stop alternations such as ŋ/k are more common than expected due to nasal preplosion.

Monic	Nyah Kur	*chəŋíək/hĩ́ək*	(The1984:C:512-4)
Khmuic	Khmu [Cuang]	*hiəŋ*	(Suw2002:C:3554)
Khasic	Pnar [Jowai]	*psiaŋ*	(Bar2010:C:1917-1)
Khmuic	Khmu [Cuang]	*hiəŋ*	(Suw2002:C:3554)
Katuic	Katu [An Diem]	*hiet hieŋ* 'black necklace'	(Cos1971:C:289-1)

Table 16: MK forms for 'black'

- Another innovative form for 'black' appears in Kenyah languages. This too has potential cognates in MK languages, shown in Table 17. Based on this and other evidence, Shorto reconstructs a Proto-MK form *laŋ* 'with black markings'.

- The Kenyah form is again longer than the MK forms, possibly as a result of disyllabicization to satisfy a common requirement on lexical words in Austronesian languages.

- A longer form also exists in MK which matches the Kenyah initial consonant but here the meaning is antonymous, 'clear', 'pale'. However, such reversals occur across uncontroversially related words in Austronesian, cf. *wada which must be reconstructed as both 'exist' and 'not exist' based on its meanings in attested languages.

Proto-Kenyah		*saləŋ* 'black'	(Smith 2017:656)
Proto-Wa-Lawa		*lɒŋ*	(Dif1980:R:Ŋ71-4)
Proto-Palaungic		*laŋ*	(Sid2010:R:631)
	Lamet [Nkris]	*ləŋ*	(Sid2010:R:631)
Bahnaric	Sre [Koho]	*laːŋ* 'dark and white (dog etc.)'	(Boc1953:C:Sid2000 274)
Proto-Bahnaric		*sla(ː)ŋ* 'clear, transparent'	(Sid2011:R:767)
Khmeric	Khmer	*slaŋ* (ស្លាំង) 'to be (deathly) pale, cadaverous'	(Hea1997:C:15277)

Table 17: Comparisons for 'black'

- Table 18 shows an innovative form for 'brave' reconstructed by Smith to Proto-Kenyah as *makaŋ*. A similar form also appears in Kayan languages and one Punan language.

- The initial *ma-* is very likely the widespread PAn adjectival prefix. Removing the prefix, we find plausible cognates in Mon, Katuic and Pearic.

Proto-Kenyah			*makaŋ	(Smith 2017:446)
Kayan	Ngorek		makaŋ	(Smith 2017:446)
	Long Naah		makaŋ	(Smith 2017:446)
	Data Dian		makeəŋ	(Smith 2017:446)
	Balui Liko		makeəŋ	(Smith 2017:446)
Punan	Punan Bah		makeəŋ	(Smith 2017:446)
Monic	Mon		kòŋ	(Sho2006:C:512-2)
Proto-Katuic			*kwaan	(Sid2005:R:101)
Pearic	Chong [Western Pear]		haːn	(Bar1941:C:86,162-4-4-cog-WP)

Table 18: Comparisons for 'brave'

Compare a possibly related Cham form (Thurgood 1999:357):

> *khi:n* 'dare; brave', Jarai (PL) *khĩn*, Jarai (Lee) *khin*, Chru *khin*, N. Roglai *khin* -f, Haroi *khěn*, W. Cham *khĭn* 'covet; desire', PR Cham *khĭn*, Wr. Cham *khin*, Proto-Hrê-Sedang *khĭn*.

- A large set of words with similar form in have the meaning 'hard, tough' across several MK branches, as seen in Table 19, and may be relevant to the comparisons in Table 18 above .

Pearic	Chong	kàŋ	(Huf1971:C:2776-372-16)
Bahnaric	Tampuan [C]	kạŋ	(Cro2004:C:582-1C)
	Bahnar [Golar]	khaŋ	(Ban1979:C:876-2)
	Sedang	khạŋ	(Smi2000:C:887)
Proto-Katuic		*kəŋ	(Sid2005:R:426)

Table 19: MK forms for 'hard, tough'

Kenyah	Vo	ɟen 'bring'	(Smith 2017:656)
Bahnaric	Bahnar [Alakong]	ɟeːn 'to bring, carry'	(Guilleminet 1959-63,Sho2006:C:1148-12)
Proto-MK [A]		*ɟun 'to hand over, bring'	(Sho2006:R:1148.A)

Table 20: Comparisons for 'bring'

- Smith (2017:289) discusses the Proto-Central Sarawak lexical replacement *siaw* 'chicken' for the inherited form *manuk*.

- If the forms in Table 21 are indeed connected, they could contain good evidence for pinpointing one of the MK subgroups as the donor. It seems that only Katuic, Khasic and Khmuic reflect a form *ʔiar* (reconstructable to Proto-MK) with an initial *s*- formant.

Proto-Central Sarawak		*siaw*	(Smith 2017:289)
Katuic	Katu [An Diem]	*siem*	(Cos1971:C:529-1)
Proto-Khasic		**sʔiar*	(Sid2012:R:1552.A)
Proto-Khmuic		**(s)ʔiər*	(Sid2013:R:2)

Table 21: Comparisons for 'chicken'

- "Punan languages generally reflect PCS *siaw 'chicken' but the three dialects where *dik is found also might form a subgroup within Punan." (Smith 2017:289)

Kenyah	West Penan	*dek*	
Proto-Kajang		**di̯ək*	
Proto-Pearic		**hlɛːk*	(Hea1985:R:195)
	Pear [Kompong Thom]	*lêk*	(Huf1971:C:1299-172-17)
	Chong [Chantaburi]	*lɛːk*	(Sir2001:C:78-5)

Table 22: Further comparisons for 'chicken'

Lun Dayeh	Hliboi Bidayuh	*ŋŋap*	(Smith 2017:537)
Proto-Punan		**-iap*	(Smith 2017:495)
Proto-Müller-Schwaner		**-iʔap*	(Smith 2017:518)
Aslian	Jahai	*jɛp*	(Bur2005:C:556)
Bahnaric	Tampuan	*jaap*	(Cro2004:C:2537-1C)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	*na̯p*	(The1980:C:1759)
Khmuic	Phong	*nap*	(Bui2000:C:879)
Monic	Nyah Kur [Central]	*nàp*	(The1984:C:2569-1)
Bahnaric	Sre [Koho]	*nap*	(Dou1950:C:1647)

Table 23: Comparisons for 'count'

Proto-Kenyah		**dəŋ*	
Monic	Mon	*daŋ*	(Huf1971:C:1717-233-3)
Proto-Katuic		**tuŋ*	(Sid2005:R:1390)
Proto-West-Bahnaric		**tuŋ*	(Sid2003:R:870)

Table 24: Comparisons for 'deaf'

Proto-Kenyah		**pətat*	
Monic	Mon	*tɛt*	(Huf1971:C:1860-251-4)

Table 25: Comparisons for 'divorce'

Kenyah	W. Penan	*pərok*	(Smith 2017:661)
Khmeric	Surin Khmer	*phlɤːŋ*	(Dha1978:C:1225)

Table 26: A maverick form in W. Penan for 'fire'

Proto-Kenyah		*naʔ*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [D]		*ʔan*	(Sho2006:R:1119.D)
Proto-South-Bahnaric		*ʔaːn*	(Sid2000:R:66)
Khmuic	Khmu	ʔan	(Huf1971:C:2615-348-7)

Table 27: Comparisons for 'give'

Proto-Kenyah		*biləŋ*	(Smith 2017:663)
Aslian	Jahai	blʔɛɲ	(Bur2005:C:105)
	Jahai	bɔlʔuɲ	(Pha2006:C:288-2)
	Kensiu	bɔlʔuɲ	(Pha2006:C:288-1)
	Tonga [Tean Ean]	braʔɛm	(Pha2006:C:289-4)
Khmuic	Mlabri	bnliiŋ	(Ris1995:C:78)

Table 28: Comparisons for 'green'

Proto-Kenyah		*mə-bʰuh*	(Smith 2017:664)
Kenyah	Vo	*mə-ɓo*	
	Gah, Laang	*mə-po*	
	Tau, Badeng		
Proto-West-Bahnaric		*phɔːm*	(Sid2003:R:550)
Bahnaric	Alak	poːr	(The2001:C:alk-1345)
	Laven	poor	(Huf1971:C:2886-387-12)
	Tarieng [Kasseng]	poːr	(The2001:C:kgc-1345)
Vietic	Chứt [Rục]	puruː	(Phu1998:C:1011)
Proto-Katuic		*poor	(Sid2005:R:1142)
Palaungic	U	pɔ́	(Sva1988:C:428)
Monic	Mon	phɔ̀ŋ	(Huf1971:C:2884-387-3)

Table 29: Comparisons for 'help, assist'

Proto-Kenyah		*laʔu*	(Smith 2017:664)
Katuic	Katu [An Diem]	haʔul	(Cos1971:C:1552-1/3)

Table 30: Comparisons for 'hungry'

- The Malay word *pərut* 'stomach, intestines' has been previously cited as a Mon-Khmer loan.

- It turns out to be a valuable word for pinpointing a MK source language as it does not appear to have a cognate either in Khmeric or several other branches, as shown in Table 32. It is only South Bahnaric (and possibly Nicobaric) which attests an initial *p-* in the relevant form.

Proto-Malayic		*pərut*	(Adelaar 1992:129)
Bahnaric	Mnong [Rölöm]	*pruec*	(Blo2005:C:4589)
	Sre	*proc*	(Sho2006:C:844-3)
Proto-South-Bahnaric		*prɔːc*	(Sid2000:R:404)
Proto-Katuic		*rɔɔc*	(Sid2005:R:904)
Proto-Monic		*kruuc*	(Dif1984:R:N128)
Proto-Palaungic		*rɔɔc*	(Sid2010:R:925)
Proto-Vietic		*rɔːc*	(Fer2xx7:R:928)
Nicobaric	Car	*puhuː*	(Das1977:C:1346)
Proto-Khasic		*snəər*	(Sid2012:R:602)
Proto-Khmuic		*-riəŋ*	(Sid2013:R:459)
Proto-Palaungic		*riəŋ*	(Sid2010:R:957)

Table 31: Comparisons for 'intestines/stomach'

- Thurgood's (1999:360) Chamic comparisons show a similar p- initial form with a glide in the second syllable.

> *pruac* (?) 'stomach; intestine, large', Acehnese *pruat*, Rade *proč* -v, Jarai (PL) *proaĭʔ*, *pruaĭʔ*, Jarai (Lee) *pruăiʔ*; *prɛʔ* -f, Chru *pruaiʔ*, N. Roglai *parəʔ* -f; *puaiʔ*, Haroi *prŏaiʔ*, W. Cham *proiʔ* -f, PR Cham *proyʔ*, Wr. Cham *prụəc*; MK: PKatuic *ruajʔ* 'intestine'

- The word *jual*, found across several languages of Indonesia had been mistakenly reconstructed to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian but is now understood to be a loan.

- Blust and Trussel (ongoing) present cognates in Ngaju Dayak, Banjarese, Iban, Malay, Gayo, Batak, Sundanese, Old Javanese, Madurese, Balinese and Sasak with the following comment:

> "The antiquity of this form is unclear. Its distribution is entirely within an area that has been subject to Malay-dominated commerce for many centuries, and so the possibility is very real that many of these forms could ultimately be Malay loanwords. The word was present in Old Javanese in a form that differs from Malay *jual*, suggesting that it has been circulating in western Indonesian for over a millennium, but this is still consistent with a Malay source, since Sriwijaya dominated commerce in the Malay archipelago by at least the 7th century AD. The semantics of Sumatran forms such as Gayō *juel-en* also suggest that if this word is a Malay loan it was borrowed early enough to become thoroughly enmeshed in the cultural traditions of the borrowing society."

- Interestingly, while the word invariably means 'sell' in Island Southeast Asia it means 'hire, employ, rent' in MK languages.

- The word for 'sell' is reconstructed to Proto-MK by Shorto (Sho2006:R:813.A) as *tᶦac, and has widespread reflexes in almost all MK subgroups.

- Note that reflexes of *ɟuwal* are also absent in Malagasy and the Philippines.

Malay+		*ɟual*	
Khmeric	Khmer	*cuəl* ឈ្នួល 'to hire (out), employ, to rent (out)'	(Hea1997:C:3640)
	Old Khmer	*ɟuːəl* 'to hire (out), employ, to rent (out)'	(Jenner 2009:172)
Bahnaric	Tampuan	*cwal* 'rent, hire'	(Cro2004:C:209-1C)

Table 32: Comparisons for 'sell'

- The forms in Table 33 show another accepted loan into Malay, *cium* 'kiss'. Forms reflecting *cium* are found in all Malayic languages cited by Smith (2017) in addition to two Barito langauges. Note that there are no forms that appear cognate to *cium* in Khmeric.

Malayic	Malay	*cium*	(cf. Smith 2017:613)
Barito	Kadorih, Ngaju	*ñium*	(Smith 2017:582)
Katuic	Katu [Phuong]	*cɛm*	(Cos1971:C:1654-3)
	Katu [An Diem]	*cɨm*	(Cos1971:C:1654-1)
Aslian	Sedang	*cum*	(Smi2000:C:1500)
Bahnaric	Tampuan	*cum*	(Huf1971:C:3287-440-15)

Table 33: Comparisons for 'kiss'

Kenyah	W. Penan	*kəpəlaʔ*	
	E. Penan	*kəlaʔap*	
Kayanic	Gaai	*klap*	
	Kelai	*klæp*	
Basap	Basap	*kilap*	
Aslian	Sedang	*kəbleə*	(Smi2000:C:1585)
Proto-Katuic		*kmlaaʔ*	(Sid2005:R:32)
Proto-South-Bahnaric		*ləːp*	(Sid2000:R:738)
Monic	Mon	*chep pale*	(Huf1971:C:3543-476-3)
	Lawa [Bo Luang]	[*puk*] *pleak*	(Sho2006:C:444a-2)

Table 34: Comparisons for 'lightning'

Kenyah	Laang	*liŋu* 'lost'	
	Uma' Pawe	*liŋəw* 'lost'	
Monic	Old Mon	*løn liñ*, *liñ* 'destroyed, lost, dispelled'	(Sho1971:C:335.1.1)
	Mon [Literary]	*lṅaw [lṅan]* 'to be dazed, lost in thought'	(Sho2006:C:1589-1)

Table 35: Comparisons for 'lost, confused'

Proto-Kenyah		**adaŋ*	(Smith 2017:668)
Khmuic	Khmu [Cuang]	*daŋ*	(Suw2002:C:4266)
Proto-Pearic		**dɔːn*	(Hea1985:R:22,74,200)
Khmeric	Khmer	*taoŋ*	(Huf1971:C:3841-511-2)

Table 36: Comparisons for 'must'

Proto-Kenyah		**iəŋ*	
Bahnaric	Bahnar [Pleiku]	*ʔjiiŋ-ʔjooŋ*	(Ban1979:C:1038-1)
Katuic	Katu [An Diem]	*rajoŋ*	(Cos1971:C:2010-1)
	Pacoh	*ra.jṵŋ*	(Wat2009:C:4334)

Table 37: Comparisons for 'mosquito'

Kenyah		E. Penan	*tokoŋ*	(Smith 2017:667)
		W. Penan	*tokoŋ*	
Proto-South-Bahnaric			**guŋ*	(Sid2000:R:670)
Bahnaric		Bahnar	*kooŋ*	(Ban1979:C:1205-2)
		Sapuan	*kɔːŋ*	(Fer1969:C:Sid2003 2863,Jac1999:C:222)

Table 38: Comparisons for 'mountain'

Kenyah	Vo	*pikəp*	(Smith 2017:668)
Kayanic	Long Naah	*pəkəp*	(Smith 2017:461)
Pearic	Chong	*kɛːp*	(Bar1941:C:154-3-2-cog-T)
Vietic	Thavung	*khɛ̂p*	(Suw2000:C:687)
Palaungic	Lamet [Lampang]	*khap*	(Nar1980:C:1203)
Monic	Nyah Kur	*khɛ̀ɛp*	(The1984:C:1471-1)
Khmuic	Phong	*kʰɛːp*	(Bui2000:C:839)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	*kḛːp*	(The1980:C:882)
Aslian	Tonga [Tean Ean]	*khɛp*	(Pha2006:C:405-4)

Table 39: Comparisons for 'narrow'

- The comparisons in Table 40 should be understood in light of the Austronesian verbal pre-
  fix *maN-, which typically deletes voiceless stops in stem-initial position. Thus, from an
  underlying combination of *maN-poŋ* we would expect the output *mamoŋ*, as in fact found
  in Vo.

Kenyah	Vo	*mamoŋ*	
Pearic	Chong	*poŋ*	(Isa2007a:C:1399-1)
Bahnaric	Sedang	*kəpɔŋ*	(Smi2000:C:2033)
Katuic	Kui	*phùŋ*	(Sho2006:C:108-10)
	Katu [An Diem]	*paŋ*	(Cos1971:C:2371-1)
Khmeric	Surin Khmer	*phʌːm*	(Dha1978:C:2383)
Khasic	Pnar [Jowai]	*pun*	(Bar2010:C:2311-1)
Khmuic	Khmu [Cuang]	*maːn*	(Suw2002:C:789)
Monic	Nyah Kur	*phùŋ*	(The1984:C:2780-1)

Table 40: Comparisons for 'pregnant'

Kenyah	Lepo' Laang	*bətu(-)an*	(Smith 2017:670)
	Sawa	*bətu(-)an*	
Proto-Monic		*ptɨh* 'fungus, mildew, pus'	(Dif1984:R:N150)
Monic	Nyah Kur [Central]	*pətṳh* 'pus'	(Dif1984:C:N150-1)

Table 41: Comparisons for 'pus'

Kenyah	Vo	*imaʔ*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		*gmaʔ*	(Sho2006:R:141.A)
Pearic	Chong	*maʔ*	(Huf1971:C:4515-595-17)
	Chong [Western Pear]	*kmaːʔ*	(Bar1941:C:119-25-11-cog-WP)
Proto-Katuic		*maa*	(Sid2005:R:13)
Proto-Khmuic		*kmaʔ*	(Sid2013:R:259)
Proto-Pray-Pram		*kmaʔ*	(Sid2013:R:pPP-259)

Table 42: Comparisons for 'rain'

Kenyah	Vo	*laña?*	
	Gah	*laña?*	
	Sawa	*ni?an*	(Smith 2017:660)
Katuic	Pacoh	*ɲa:?*	(Wat2009:C:3294)
Proto-Vietic		**m-laɲ*	(Fer2xx7:R:950)
Nicobaric	Nancowry	*lanoja*	(Man1889:C:3301)
Khmeric	Khmer	*liən*	(Hea1997:C:11790)
Proto-North-Bahnaric		**raɲ*	(Sid2011:R:pNB-1840)

Table 43: Comparisons for 'fast/quick'

> "The PMP word for 'left', *ka-wiRi, is retained in Malay kiri 'left', but is otherwise absent in Borneo except in cases where it was borrowed from Malay. However, there is no clear reconstructable replacement for *ka-wiRi. There are only a series of near-cognates which follow the general shapes *kiba?, *kabi?, *kabiŋ, and *gibaŋ. All words begin with a velar (possibly fused from PMP *ka) and either *abi or *iba. An exhaustive list is given below, organized by lower-level reconstructions." (Smith 2017:292)

- It is not clear how final *wi?* can be connected to *ba?* but the Barito languages display a form that is clearly similar to a widespread MK etymon with the same meaning.

Proto-Kenyah		**kabiŋ*	
Barito	Maanyan, Dusun Witu	*kawi?*	
West Bornean Malayic	Kendayan	*keba?*	
	Keninjal, Seberuang, Kapuas Iban, Mualang	*kiba?*	
Khmeric	Khmer	*cveeŋ*	(Hea1997:C:3407)
	Khmer	*cweiŋ*	(Huf1971:C:3462-466-1)
	Surin Khmer	*tɕhwe:ɲ*	(Dha1978:C:1396)
Vietic	Thavung	*wê:n*	(Suw2000:C:1751)
Aslian	Jahai	*wĩ?*	(Bur2005:C:1676)
Proto-Khmuic		**wi?*	(Sid2013:R:586)
Proto-Pray-Pram		**wi?*	(Sid2013:R:pPP-586)
Proto-Wa-Lawa		**-wɛ?*	(Dif1980:R:?70-4)
Proto-Palaungic		**w(ɛ/e)?*	(Sid2010:R:11)
Nicobaric	Car	*tawe:*	(Das1977:C:1753)
Monic	Old Mon	*jwi^?*	(Sho1971:C:131.1.1)
	Nyah Kur [Central]	*chəwi̤i?*	(Dif1984:C:N274-1)

Table 44: Comparisons for 'left (side)'

Kenyah	E. Penan	*ɲun*	(Smith 2017:674)
	W. Penan	*məɲun*	
	Vo	*məɲon*	
Monic	Mon	*həcùn*	(Sho1962:C:1878)
Proto-Palaungic		*-ɟɔn*	(Sid2010:R:385)

Table 45: Comparisons for 'sit'

- The initial *p-* in the Katuic form may be innovative if Shorto is correct in reconstructing this root as *hiil* to ProtoMon-Khmer [A] (Sho2006:R:1803a.A). This would point unambiguously to a Katuic source.

| Proto-Kenyah | *pilaw* | (Smith 2017:674) |
| Proto-Katuic | *phiil* | (Sid2005:R:726) |

Table 46: Comparisons for 'smooth'

| Kenyah | W. Penan | *ukat* | (Smith 2017:675) |
| Pearic | Chong [Western Pear] | *katroŋ* | (Bar1941:C:15-3-2-cog-WP) |

Table 47: Comparisons for 'stairs/ladder'

- Smith's Kenyah comparisons for 'ten' show a mix of the inherited Austronesian etymon *puluq and variations on the form *ɟap*, which has no Austronesian etymology.

- As seen in Table 48, the form is found in Khmer and Pearic languages, but is claimed to be a Khmer loan in the latter. It is further suggested by Pou and Jenner (1973) that Old Khmer *tapa*, *tap(p)* is ultimately a Chinese loan, cf. Thai *sìp*.

English	ten
PKEN	*puluʔ
E. Penan	poloʔ
W. Penan	jajap
Vo	ʃap
Pawe	puluʔ
Gah	puloʔ
Laang	jap
Sawa	puloʔ
Tau	puloʔ
Badeng	puloʔ

Figure 1: Kenyah forms for 'ten' (Smith 2017:676)

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Kenyah	Vo	*ɟap*	(Smith 2017:676)
	Laang	*ɟap*	
	W. Penan	*ɟaɟap*	
Khmeric	Khmer	*dap*	(Huf1971:C:41-10-1)

Table 48: Comparisons for 'ten'

Proto-Kenyah		**biʔən*	(Smith 2017:676)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		**bənʔ*	(Sho2006:R:1171.A)
Vietic	Thavung	*ʔɛ̰n* 'next time'	(Suw2000:C:2073)
	Vietnamese [Hanoi]	*bận* 'time (quantifier)'	(Sho2006:C:1171-4, Barker & Barker 1976)
Proto-Palaungic		**bən* '(future) time'	(Sid2010:R:34)

Table 49: Comparisons for 'time'

Proto-Kenyah		**nəmbam*	(Smith 2017:???)
Katuic	Katu [Triw]	*ʔambraaŋ*	(The2001:C:Sid2005 114-7)
Khmuic	T'in [Thin]	*ɲaam pjɔŋ*	(Huf1971:C:3751-501-6)

Table 50: Comparisons for 'tomorrow'

Apo Duat	Lun Dayeh [Long Bawan]	*tisuʔ*	(Smith 2017:648)
	Lun Dayeh [Long Pala]	*ticu*	(Hudson 1978)
	Kalabit [Pa 'Omor]	*tidʰtu*	
	Kalabit [Batu Patung]	*tisu*	
	Kalabit [Pa Mada]	*titu*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		**t¹iiʔ* (Sho2006:R:66.A)	
Pearic	Chong [Western Pear]	*tiː teːw* 'right hand'	(Bar1941:C:8-11-5-cog-WP)

Table 51: Comparisons for 'hand'

Proto-Müller-Schwaner		**ənap*	(Smith 2017:527)
Bahnaric	Tampuan [N]	*ʔŋkaap*	(Cro2004:C:1624-1N)
	Tampuan [C]	*ʔŋkɛɛp*	(Cro2004:C:1624-1C)

Table 52: Comparisons for 'fish scale'

Proto-Kenyah		*ait	
Proto-Kayanic		*hait	(Smith 2017:272)
Land Dayak	Lun Dayeh	hmiət	(Smith 2017:554)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		*ksac	(Sho2006:R:874.A)
Palaungic	Wa	mait⁵	(Dra1907:C:Dif1980 186)
	Lawa	hmaic	(Sur1976:C:Dif1980 63)
Proto-Khmuic		*kaːc	(Sid2013:R:210)
Khmuic	O'du	hkaj	(Dan1983:C:210)
Nicobaric	Car	ʔaːj	(Das1977:C:2008)
Monic	Nyah Kur	hàat	(The1984:C:955-7)

Table 53: Comparisons for 'sand'

Kenyah	Vo	sah	
Palaungic	U	sáʕ	(Sva1988:C:258)
Proto-Wa-Lawa		*smal/r	(Dif1980:R:L17-4)

Table 54: Comparisons for 'seed'

- In his compilation of loans in Chamic, Thurgood (1999:346) notes the clear connection between the Chamic forms and Sanskrit *saara*. Table 54 contains better AA matches from Palaungic.

- Especially given the parallel Tsat development cited by Thurgood, an ultimately Indic provenance of Kenyah *sah* seems very likely.

  *ʔasar 'seed', Rade *asăr* -1, Jarai (PL) *ăsar*, Tsat *saʔ⁴²* -f, Haroi *asăl* 'grain', W. Cham *săr*, PR Cham *athăr*, Wr. Cham *asar*; MK: PMnong **ŋgăr* ?, PSB (Efimov) **ŋgar. [? < Indic, cf. Sanskrit *saara*. It is unclear if the MK forms listed are related.]

Proto-Kenyah		*luaŋ	
Proto-Khmuic		*klo/ɔːŋ	(Sid2013:R:255)
Khmuic	T'in [Mal]	khluaŋ	(Fil2009:C:1752)
	Phong	kloːŋ	(Bui2000:C:255)
	O'du	kluŋ	(Dan1983:C:255)
	Khmu [Cuang]	klɔːŋ	(Suw2002:C:4339)
Proto-Khasic		*liaŋ	(Sid2012:R:711.A)
Proto-Katuic		*kalɔɔŋ	(Sid2005:R:968)
Proto-Katuic		*lɛɛŋ	(Sid2005:R:598)
Proto-Bahnaric		*klɔːŋ	(Sid2011:R:407)

Table 55: More comparisons for 'seed'

Kenyah	E. Penan	*beʔ*		(Smith 2017:668)
Malayic	Malay	*belum* 'not yet'		(Coo1976:C:65)
Bahnaric	Halang	*ɓɛː*		(Coo1976:C:65)
	Stieng	*bəʔn*		(Huf1971:C:3946-523-16)
	Mlabri	*bah*		(Ris1995:C:6)
	Tampuan [E]	*bəɨ* 'not yet'		(Cro2004:C:5-2E)
	Tampuan [N]	*bəɨ* 'not yet'		(Cro2004:C:5-1N)
Aslian	Kensiu	*bejaʔ*		(Pha2006:C:413-1)
	Jahai	*braʔ*		(Pha2006:C:413-2)

Table 56: Comparisons for negation

Kayanic		**ŋad*	(Smith 2017:25,90,454)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	*ŋɤːp*	(The1980:C:2023)
Palaungic	Riang [Lang]	*ŋap² kaʔ¹*	(Luc1964:C:RL-1233)
Khasic	Khasi	*sŋab*	(Sho2006:C:1229-17)

Table 57: Comparisons for 'gill'

- Smith (2017:330) observes what appears to be a Central Sarawak innovation: **tilaŋ* 'tiger leech' (a type of land leech, p.325).

- The initial consonant becomes either a labial or velar in many languages. MK languages which show a alveolar reflex of the initial consonant and a final velar are shown in Table 58.

Central Sarawak		**tilaŋ* 'tiger leech'	(Smith 2017:330)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		**t¹ləm*	(Sho2006:R:1410.A)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [B]		**t¹ləəm*	(Sho2006:R:1410.B)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [C]		**t¹lam*	(Sho2006:R:1410.C)
Proto-Katuic		**ɟləəŋ*	(Sid2005:R:379)
Katuic	Kui	*thl̥ɤɤŋ*	(Pra1978:C:Sid2005 379-1)
Khmeric	Khmer	*cləəŋ*	(Huf1971:C:3456-465-1)

Table 58: Comparisons for 'leech'

- Smith (2017:330) observes another Central Sarawak innovation **(ə)liŋ* 'saliva'. This is the only example of a Bornean etymon with cognates almost exclusively in Aslian, shown in Table 59.

Central Sarawak		**(ə)liŋ* 'saliva'	(Smith 2017:330)
Aslian	Jahai	*laheŋ*	(Pha2006:C:479-2)
	Jahai	*lheŋ*	(Bur2005:C:942)
	Semnam	*lhɛːŋ*	(Bur2009:C:615)
	Kensiu	*lahiʔegŋ*	(Bis1994:C:690)
	Kensiu [Tea De]	*laŋhaɲ*	(Pha2006:C:479-3)
	Kensiu	*ləhiaŋ*	(Pha2006:C:479-1)
Bahnaric	Sedang	*hɛŋ hɛ̃*	(Smi2000:C:2268)

Table 59: Reconstructions for 'saliva'

- Smith notes an apparent irregular change *b>s in the word for 'lip' (*bibiR > *sibih) in the Kayanic languages:

> "This is one of the stronger pieces of evidence linking Kayan, Murik-Merap, and Segai-Modang into a single subgroup. It looks like an irregular change, where initial *b is reflected with *s while Proto-Kayanic typically reflected *b- and *s-unchanged in initial position. *bibiR has a well-established etymology, and there doesn't seem to be any potential borrowing source, both because 'lip' is a stable word, unlikely to be borrowed in the first place, and also because Kayanic languages are the only languages in Borneo (or anywhere in the Austronesian world for that matter) where this irregular change is attested. It thus provides strong evidence for a large Kayanic subgroup."   (Smith 2017:87)

- But an almost identical alveolar-initial form is found in the MK word for 'lip' as well, as seen in Table 60. Cognate forms are reconstructed by Shorto to Proto-MK form beginning with t^1, which is attested as *s* in several modern languages.

- (Sidenote: Malay *cibir*, *men-cibir* 'curl one's lips, sneer')

- Note that final *R corresponds regularly to *h* in Kayanic languages and could easily reflect *r* in early loans as well.

Kayanic	Murik	*ebeh*	(Smith 2017:87)
	Long Naah	*siveh*	
	Data Dian; Bahau	*sifeh*	
	Balui Liko; Busang	*hiveh*	
	Long Gelat; Modang	*səwae̦h*	
	Kelai	*suwɛh*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [B]		**t¹ɓər*	(Sho2006:R:1648.B)
	Palaung	*səbər*	(Mil1931:C:2086)

Table 60: A Kayanic lexical replacement for 'lip'

- Smith argues that the Kayanic languages are distinguished by a lexical replacement for the

word 'canoe' *alud > *haruk, while noting its presence in a small number of non-Kayanic languages in the same area.

- While the first syllable is not accounted for, a similar form is widespread in MK languages and reconstructed to Proto-MK by Shorto, as shown in Table 61.

> "This word is found sporadically in a few languages outside of Kayanic, including Keja-man aruək, Punan Tubu aruk, and Punan Lisum haruk. Each of these languages, how-ever, is under heavy Kayan influence (see chapter 3 section 3.2.1.1). Note that Sekapan and Lahanan both have saɣuy Punan Bah, has saluy, Beketan has aluy, and Ukit and Buket both have haluy. It's clear then, that any apparent reflex of *haruk outside of Kayanic is most likely due to borrowing, not inheritance." (Smith 2017:89)

Proto-Kayanic			*haruk	(Smith 2017:89)
Kayanic		Merap	harowə̞ʔ	(Smith 2017:89)
		Long Naah; Balui Liko	harok	(Smith 2017:89)
		Data Dian; Bahau	haruk	(Smith 2017:89)
		Long Gelat	hələk	(Smith 2017:89)
		Modang	hələwk	(Smith 2017:89)
		Kelai	halok	(Smith 2017:89)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [B]			*ɗuk 'boat, canoe'	(Sho2006:R:336.B)
Khmeric		Khmer	tùːk ទូក	(Sho2006:C:336-1)
Palaungic		Palaung	ru 'boat (small)'	(Mil1931:C:2069)
Pearic		Chong	tùk	(Huf1971:C:976-122-14)
Proto-Vietic			*ɗoːk	(Fer2xx7:R:1038)

Table 61: Comparisons for 'canoe'

Proto-Melanau/Kajang		*(u)bəl	(Smith 2017:109)
Proto-Bahnaric		*kmlɔː	(Sid2011:R:422)
	Sedang	kəblɔ̰	(Smi2000:C:1757)
	Mnong [Rölöm]	mblɔː	(Blo2005:C:3176)
	Mnong [Rölöm]	blɔː	(Blo2005:C:503)

Table 62: A Melanau/Kajang lexical replacement for 'mute'

- Smith (2017:115) notes the replacement of the third singular pronoun in Punan but does not comment on it: *si-ia > *hen 'he/she/it'. The evidence for this within Punan is unequiv-ocal. Reflexes of *hen are seen in Punan Tubu, Punan Bah, Beketan, Punan Lisum, Punan Aput, Ukit and Buket. Several MK subgroups show a near identical form with the notable exceptions of Khmeric and Aslian.

Proto-Punan		*hen*	(Smith 2017:115)
Nicobaric	Nancowry	*ʔan, an*	(Man1889:C:57)
Proto-Palaungic		**ʔəən*	(Sid2010:R:1246)
Proto-Vietic		**hanʔ*	(Fer2xx7:R:839)
Khmuic	Khsing-Mul	*ʔin*	(Pog1990:C:2633)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	*ʔan*	(The1980:C:4226)
Bahnaric	Tarieng [Kasseng]	*ʔen*	(The2001:C:kgc-1034)

Table 63: A Punan lexical replacement for the 3sg pronoun

Proto-Punan		*buhak*	(Smith 2017:118)
Bahnaric	Cua	*phwaːk*	(Mai1981:C:2931)
	Mnong [Rölöm]	*buok*	(Blo2005:C:731)
	Bahnar [Pleiku]	*ɓaak* 'white (skin)'	(Ban1979:C:3650-1)
	Stieng	*boːk*	(Sho2006:C:369a-4)
Proto-Bahnaric		**ɓɔːk *bɔːk*	(Sid2011:R:21)
Khmuic	Mlabri	*bəlaak*	(Ris1995:C:37)

Table 64: A Punan lexical replacement for 'white'

Proto-Punan		*obet* 'animal trap (general)'	(Smith 2017:119)
Katuic	Katu [Phuong]	*vaat*	(Cos1971:C:Sid2005 173-11)
	Pacoh	*vi̯at* 'trap that uses bent sapling'	(Wat2009:C:6052)
	Bru [TS]	*wɛ̰ːt*	(The1980:C:4053)
Bahnaric	Cua	*bəːt* 'to spring a trap'	(Mai1981:C:1969)

Table 65: A Punan lexical replacement for 'trap'

Malayic	Malay	*cukup* 'enough'	
Land Dayak	Hliboi Bidayuh	*gop*	(Smith 2017:165)
Proto-Palaungic		**gəp*	(Sid2010:R:246)
Monic	Nyah Kur	*cəkɔ́p* '(spending) enough (time)'	(The1984:C:730-1)
Katuic	Pacoh	*kɯp*	(Wat2009:C:1571)
Proto-Central/North-Bahnaric	Pacoh	**gap*	(Sid2011:R:pCB-188)

Table 66: Comparisons for 'enough'

- Smith (2017:211) provides evidence for Southwest Sabah with the lexical replacement: *qabaRa > *limbawa 'shoulder'.

- This appears to be a bimorphemic MK etymon with both parts evinced in different subgroups. If correct, the source language would be closest to Katuic, which appears to compound the same two elements.

Southwest Sabah	Brunei Dusun	*lambawo*	(Smith 2017:211)
	Dusun Tamb	*liwawa*	
	Tatana	*limbawo*	
	Papar	*imbawo*	
	Timugon	*limbawo*	
	Kolod	*limawo*	
	Tidung Beng	*limbawo*	
	Tidung Sumbo	*imbawo*	
Proto-Katuic		**lmpaak*	(Sid2005:R:79)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	*lạm* 'trunk (of the body)'	(The1980:C:1379)
Proto-West-Bahnaric		**paːl*	(Sid2003:R:79)
Bahnaric	Brao	*paaw*	(Huf1971:C:5131-680-12)
	Laven [Houeikong]	*paw*	(Tho1978d:C:Sid2003 379)
	Oi	*paw*	(Tho1978c:C:Sid2003 384)
	Sapuan	*paw*	(Jac1999:C:362)
	Nyaheun	*paːw*	(Fer1998:C:Sid2003 381)
Palaungic	Proto-Wa-Lawa	**(lm)pal/r*	(Dif1980:R:L12-4)
Khmeric	Khmer	*phal*	(Hea1997:C:8302)

Table 67: A Southwest Sabah lexical replacement for 'shoulder'

- Blust (2010) posits a "Western Indonesian" group that includes languages of Borneo and others to the west of Sulawesi.

- The evidence, shown in Figure 2, is entirely lexical.

- Smith adduces further lexical evidence one piece of which is *gǝtǝm* 'harvest'.

- This appears to have cognates in Vietic and Bahnaric.

- Note the wide distribution of the word in Borneo, reaching the Barito languages.

Proto-Bahnaric		**gǝt*	(Sid2011:R:200)
Vietic	Vietnamese [Hanoi]	*gặt*	(Fer2xx7:C:888-1)

Table 68: A lexical replacement in Western Indonesian for 'harvest'

Western Indonesian lexical evidence (Blust 2010)

*naŋa 'river mouth'	>	*əluŋ 'river mouth; estuary'
*qazay 'chin; jaw'	>	*jaʔa 'chin; jaw'
*wahiR 'water; river'	>	*suŋay 'river' (possibly referring to streams and tributaries)
*buhət 'squirrel'	>	*buhEt 'squirrel'/*tupay 'tree shrew'
*buaq 'fruit; betel nut'	>	*pinaŋ 'betel nut'
-	>	*biRuaŋ 'sun bear'
-	>	*kəlabət 'gibbon'
-	>	*bəduk/*bəRuk 'pig-tailed macaque'
-	>	*dəŋən 'river otter'
-	>	*pəlanuk 'mousedeer'
-	>	*kəjut 'surprised; started'
-	>	*duRian 'durian'

Figure 2: Blust's (2010) evidence for a W. Indonesian subgroup (reproduced in Smith 2017:377)

*gətəm 'harvest'

Land Dayak	Benyadu *ŋutupm*, Bekati *ŋutup*, Sungkung *ŋaʰtipm*
Barito	Kapuas *məŋətəm*, Benuaq *ŋotapm*, Tunjung *ŋətəpm*
Basap	Batu Putih *aŋətəm*
Müller-Schwaner	Kereho *ŋotom*, Seputan *ŋotom*
Kayanic	Kelai *tam*
B-LB	Narum *gutəm*

Figure 3: Smith's (2017) evidence for W. Indonesian 'harvest'

Smith (2017:396) "Earlier, PWIN *tələʔus 'barking deer' was reconstructed, with extensive evidence throughout Borneo. Similar words for barking deer also appear in Pearic and Khmeric, as shown below. The similarity is particularly striking between PWIN and Surin Khmer. However, it is not likely that similarities of this type are more than simple chance, as there is otherwise no apparent connection between the languages of Borneo and these specific Mon-Khmer languages."

Western Indonesian		*təlaʔus* 'barking deer'	
Khmeric	Surin Khmer	*tɕhluːh* 'a barking deer' (Cervulus muntijac)	(Dha1978:C:46)
Pearic	Chong [Kanchanaburi]	*laot*	(Isa2007a:C:145-1)
	Chong [Samre]	*luːh*	(Por2001:C:145-4)

Table 69: Comparisons for 'barking deer'

Malayic		Malay *cucu*, Kendayan, Keninjal *ucuʔ*, Seberuang, Iban *ucoʔ*	(Smith 2017:611)
Proto-Kenyah		*su*	
Proto-Punan		*-sun*	(Smith 2017:499)
Proto-Müller-Schwaner		*usʊn*	(Smith 2017:499)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		*cuuʔ*	(Sho2006:R:43.A)
Aslian	Semelai	*cuʔ*	(Kru2004:C:519)
Proto-Palaungic		*cuʔ*	(Sid2010:R:161)
Palaungic	Palaung	*su*	(Sho2006:C:43-13)
Vietic	Thavung	*cô̰ː*	(Suw2000:C:161)
Pearic	Chong [Samre]	*cʰuː*	(Por2001:C:833-4)

Table 70: Comparisons for 'grandchild'

Malayic	Malay	*tamu*	
Bahnaric	Laven [Jru']	*tmoːj*	(Jac2002:C:1437)
Katuic	Bru [TS]	*tamɒːj*	(The1980:C:3577)
	Pacoh	*təm.mɔːj*	(Wat2009:C:4699)
Monic	Mon	*mɔe*	(Sho1962:C:8730)
Proto-Vietic		*t-mɔːj*	(Fer2xx7:R:333)

Table 71: Comparisons for 'guest'

Malayic	Malay	*məlek* 'open eyes'	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [F]		*lək* 'to unfold, to open eyes'	(Sho2006:R:421.F)
Bahnaric	Halang	*blɛːk*	(Coo1976:C:121)
Nicobarese	Car	*milak ɲa matrɛ* 'open PRT eye'	(Das1977:C:1111)

Table 72: Comparisons for 'open eyes'

Malayic	Malay	*kecil*	
Proto-West-Bahnaric		**kec*	(Sid2003:R:385)
Proto-Pearic		**Kic*	(Hea1985:R:18,63)

Table 73: Comparisons for 'small'

Malayic	Malay	*rəbus*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [C]		**ɓus*	(Sho2006:R:2038.C)
Proto-West-Bahnaric		**bus*	(Sid2003:R:873)
Khmeric	Khmer	*booh* ប៉ុស្	(Hea1997:C:7405)
Monic	Proto-Nyah Kur	**bṳh*	(Dif1984:R:V288.B)
Proto-Palaungic		**ɓi(i)s*	(Sid2010:R:41)
Proto-Vietic		**ɓus*	(Fer2xx7:R:454)

Table 74: Comparisons for 'boil'

Malayic	Malay	*geter*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer		**gtər*	(Sho2006:R:1622.B)

Table 75: Comparisons for 'thunder'

Malayic	Malay	*cukur* 'shave'	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		**koor* 'to scrape, shave'	(Sho2006:R:1564.A)

Table 76: Comparisons for 'shave'

- Thurgood (1999:361) notes that the Chamic word for 'tiger', which has a cognate in Malay *harimau* and Acehnese, appears to be an AA loan based on the following comparisons:

  rimɔːŋ 'tiger', Acehnese *rimuəŋ*, Rade *emoŋ*, Jarai (PL) *rəmoŋ*, Jarai (Lee) *rəmoŋ*, Chru *rəmɔːg*, N. Roglai *lumõŋ* -i, Haroi *ləmuŋ* -vr, W. Cham *ramɔŋ*, PR Cham *rimɔŋ*; *ramɔŋ*, Wr. Cham *rimauŋ*; *ramauŋ*, Malay *rimau*; *harimau*. This history of this word is quite

unclear; Hudson reports the same word in the West Barito branch of his Barito languages (1967:14) of southeast Borneo, but with the meaning 'leopard': Kapuas *harimau*, Ba'mang *harimau*, Ketingan *haramauŋ*, Dohoi *haramauŋ*, Murung (II) *hɔrɔmauŋ*, and Siang *hɔrɔmauŋ*. Note the final velar nasal in several of these.

Kenyah	E. & W. Penan	*gəm*	
Proto-Mon-Khmer [I]		*ɟəŋ*	(Sho2006:R:538(I).C)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [I]		*ɟəəŋ*	(Sho2006:R:538(I).D)
Proto-North-Bahnaric		*ɟeːŋ*	(Sid2011:R:pNB-285)

Table 77: Comparisons for 'foot, leg'

Kenyah	W. Penan	*bəruŋ-an* 'rainbow'	
Proto-Palaungic		*brjɔɔŋ*	(Sid2010:R:74)
Palaungic	Proto-Waic	*prjɔŋ*	(Dif1980:R:Ŋ84-1)
Proto-Pray-Pram		*prju(ə)ŋ*	(Sid2013:R:pPP-423)
Proto-Khmuic		*prjɔːŋ*	(Sid2013:R:423)
Proto-Khasic		*pnlɛɛŋ*	(Sid2012:R:706.A)
Proto-Mon-Khmer [A]		*briəŋ*	(Sho2006:R:706.A)
Proto-Katuic		*prɛɛŋ*, *marɛɛŋ*	(Sid2005:R:601)

Table 78: Comparisons for 'rainbow'

- Interestingly, Thurgood (1999:357) cites an unrelated AA loan for 'rainbow' in Chamic:

  jrɔ 'rainbow', Rade *keɲ ero*; *keɲ kro*, Jarai (PL) *cro* (Sɛ), Jarai (Lee) *cro* ?, N. Roglai *tagalo jro*, Haroi *cərɔ* -vr, W. Cham *crɔ* -i. Restricted to Highlands Chamic plus Haroi and W. Cham.

Kenyah	E. Penan	*ɟam*	
Proto-Katuic		*cɔɔm*	(Sid2005:R:939)
Khmuic	T'in [Thin]	*məc cam*	(Huf1971:C:3342-449-6)

Table 79: Comparisons for 'know'

Kenyah	E. Penan	*ma(-)gooʔ*	
	W. Penan	*ma(-)guʔ*	
Proto-Palaungic		*gjeʔ*	(Sid2010:R:255)

Table 80: Comparisons for 'skinny'

Kenyah	E. Penan	*apo* 'flour'	
Katuic	Pacoh	*ʔapur* 'manioc flour'	(Wat2009:C:399)

Table 81: Comparisons for 'flour'

Lun Dayeh		*dəcur*	
Bahnaric	Stieng	*dəʔuur*	(Huf1971:C:6757-876-15)

Table 82: Comparisons for 'woman'

Kajang	Lahanan	*ɲuʔaŋ*	(Smith 2017:98)
	Kejaman	*ɲuʔeə̯ŋ*	(Smith 2017:98)
	Sekapan	*ɲoʔʷeə̯*	(Smith 2017:98)
Katuic	Kui	*ɲṳʔ*	(Pra1978:C:1707)
	Bru [TS]	*cṳk*	(The1980:C:307)
Khmuic	T'in [Mal]	*ɲuː*	(Fil2009:C:1592)
	Khmu [Cuang]	*ɲuːt jɔʔ* 'push each other'	(Suw2002:C:2207)
	T'in [Thin]	*ɲûn*	(Huf1971:C:4442-587-5)
Khmeric	Khmer	*ɲʋəl* ញល់	(Hea1997:C:3973)
Palaungic	Lamet [Lampang]	*ɲuː*	(Nar1980:C:477)
Proto-Vietic		**ɲuːs*	(Fer2xx7:R:460)
	Thavung	*ɲûː*	(Suw2000:C:1174)

Table 83: Comparisons for 'push'

Kenyah	Laang	**ɲatoŋ*	
Proto-Katuic		**ʔɲcɔŋ*	(Sid2005:R:1055)
Bahnaric	Tarieng [Kasseng]	*ɲɟɔŋ*	(The2001:C:kgc-1386)
Vietic	Vietnamese	*tôm*	(Fer2xx7:C:745-10)

Table 84: Comparisons for 'shrimp'

Proto-Kayan		*laʔuŋ*	(Smith 2017:59)
Palaungic	Wa	*krawŋ*	(Dra1907:C:Dif1980 154)
Nicobaric	Car	*laːuk*	(Das1977:C:898)
Monic	Nyah Kur [Nam Lao]	*lə̀ŋ-lə̀ŋ*	(The1984:C:3275-5)
Proto-Katuic		**klooŋ*	(Sid2005:R:1124)
Proto-North-Bahnaric		**rɔŋ*	(Sid2011:R:pNB-3)
Aslian	Semelai	*clɔn*	(Kru2004:C:63)

Table 85: Comparisons for 'back'

- Thurgood (1999:361) makes a similar observation for the related Chamic *rɔŋ*, which he also identifies as an AA loan based on Proto-North Bahnaric and Proto-Katuic reconstructions:

  rɔŋ 'back (anat.)', Acehnese *ruəŋ*, Rade *rɔ̆ŋ* 'upper back', Jarai (PL) *rŏŋ*, Jarai (Lee) *rɔŋ*, Chru *grɔŋ* < *k- 'upper back', N. Roglai *tulaːk turok* 'back bone', Haroi *rŭŋ* -vr, W. Cham *rɔ̆ŋ*, PR Cham rɔŋ -1, Wr. Cham *rauŋ*;MK: PNB **(ka)rŏŋ*, PKatuic **[k/g]ərhaŋ*; **[k/g]əlhaŋ*; **[k/g]əlhɔːŋ*.

- Smith (2017:232): "The pig-tailed macaque was discovered and named by Austronesian peoples who first arrived on Borneo. Two words are reconstructable, *bəduk and *bəRuk."

"Western Indonesian"		**bəduk/*bəRuk* 'pig-tailed macaque'	
Proto-Bahnaric		**ɗok* 'monkey'	(Sid2011:R:176)
Proto-Katuic		**ɗɔk/*dook* 'k.o. monkey'	(Sid2005:R:1049)
Katuic	Katu [Phuong]	*ʔadɔk* 'red monkey with long tail'	(Cos1971:C:Sid2005 1049-1)
Aslian	Proto-Semai	**dɔᵍŋ* 'pig-tailed macaque'	(Diffloth 1977)

Table 86: Comparisons for 'pig-tailed macaque/monkey'

- The word for 'lung' in Land Dayak is unusual in only showing a potential source in the Aslian languages. Other MK subgroups show a reflex of Proto-MK **soh* for 'lung'.

Proto-Land Dayak		**sop*	(Rensch et al. 2006:363)
Aslian	Jahai	*sop*	(Bur2005:C:1424)
	Kensiu	*sop̬*	(Bis1994:C:1127)
	Semai	*sub*	(Mea1987:C:2104)
	Semnam	*sɔP*	(Bur2009:C:381)

Table 87: Comparisons for 'lung'

Proto-Land Dayak		*bə̆ʔəs/*bĭʔis*	(Smith 2017:371)
Proto-Katuic		*ɓic* 'lie down, sleep'	(Sid2005:R:857)
Katuic	Katu [Phuong]	ɓəc	(Cos1971:C:2874-3)
Proto-Bahnaric		*ɓic* 'sleep, lie down'	(Sid2011:R:41)

Table 88: Comparisons for 'sleep'

- This comparison in Table 89 is especially interesting as two of three closely related languages reflect an Austronesian form while a third clearly reflects an AA form.

- Note that all other AA branches not cited below have a t- initial form which Shorto (Sho2006:R:1252.A) reconstructs to *t¹əp* 'to bury, cover'. This is potentially diagnostic for a closer relation between the donor language and one of the cited branches.

Punan	Punan Busang	*nanom* 'bury'	(Kaboy 1965)
	Punan Bah	*menanom* 'bury'	(Kaboy 1965)
	Punan Silat	*mekop* 'bury'	(Kaboy 1965)
Proto-Bahnaric		*kəp* 'bury, cover over'	(Sid2003:R:984)
Aslian	Temiar	kʌp 'to bury, cover with earth, soak in water'	(Mea1998:C:1440)
Khmeric	Khmer	kap	(Huf1971:C:1153-150-1)
Proto-Vietic		*kəmʔ*	(Fer2xx7:R:689)

Table 89: Comparisons for 'bury'

3   Etyma with a larger scope

- There are certain shared between Malay, MK and other MSEA families whose origins are not entirely clear.

- Tadmor's comparisons of loanwords in Khmer (Mon-Khmer), Thai (Tai-Kadai) and Malay (Austronesian) are shown in Figure 4.

- This raises the possibility of a larger MK spread zone which affected neighboring languages not only in the lexicon but also in phonological structure.

Khmer	Thai	Malay-Indonesian
bɔŋci: 'a register'	*banch:i* 'account, list, register'	*banci* 'census'
cam 'remember'	*cam* 'remember, recall'	*cam* 'recognize, be able to recall'
tiən 'candle'	*thian* 'candle'	*dian* 'candle, oil lamp'[8]
tɔən 'manage to, be in time for'	*than* 'manage to, be in time for'	*dan* 'manage to, be in time for'
pù:ək 'group'	*phûak* 'group'	*puak* 'group'
krɛ: 'bed'	*khrê:* 'litter, light bed/seat'	*gerai* 'platform, stall'
Proto Mon-Khmer **dga:m* 'molar tooth'	*kra:m* 'molar tooth'	*geraham* 'molar tooth'
khtɤ̀:y 'hermaphrodite'	*kàthə:y* 'hermaphrodite'	*kedi* 'hermaphrodite'
Proto Mon-Khmer **[t]ruŋ* 'cage', **kruŋ* 'to confine'	*krong* 'cage'	*kurung* 'cage, to confine'
krəbɤy 'water buffalo'	*krà bɯ:* 'water buffalo'	*kerbau* 'water buffalo'
lŋɔ: 'sesame'	*ngaa* 'sesame'	*lenga* 'sesame'
sbay 'muslin'	*sàbay* 'shawl'	*sebai* 'shawl'
srəmaoc 'ant'	*mót* 'ant'	*semut* 'ant'
srənok 'pleasant'	*sànùk* 'enjoyable'	*seronok* 'pleasant, enjoyable'
tra: 'seal, stamp'	*tra:* 'seal, stamp'	*tera* 'seal, stamp'
thùən 'endure'	*thon* 'endure'	*tahan* 'endure'

Figure 4: Shared etyma in Khmer, Thai and Malay from Tadmor (2009:694)

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