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Author(s): Anne Daladier

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## **Kinship and Spirit Terms Renewed as Classifiers of “Animate” Nouns and Their Reduced Combining Forms in Austroasiatic**

ANNE DALADIER  
CNRS, France

I take up the hypothesis proposed by Schmit (1904) and Henderson (1976) and analyse the initial velar in initial clusters of consonants in Austroasiatic (AA) languages as the initial of underlying prefixes. More precisely, War-Khasic (WK) (a conservative western MK group of languages, not Khasi dialects, see Daladier (2002b)) has preserved better than other AA languages not only initial clusters of consonants but the very use of four kinship terms as affixes which appear to have played the role of some kind of “animate” noun classifiers. Many of such “animate” nouns also meet in their word formation one of two proto-AA spirit names *\*zjaŋ* and *\*ruŋ*. This double hypothesis is based on the comparison of about one hundred words in WK with MK and Munda already published data. It appears that vestiges of the use of these kinship terms as “animate” classifiers may be reconstructed in cognate lexicons of MK and Munda languages. The complete kin terms cannot always be reconstructed, but regular similarities in what is left of the disyllabic or monosyllabic words having or not kept an initial voiced or voiceless velar consonant indicate both:

- a peculiar AA “animate” notion related to a conception where animate beings are generated through a clan conception of the world. This conception involves a mother, a cultural and a biological father. Animate nouns express edible plants (fruits, seeds or rhizomes), trees, parts of the body, totemic animals, insects and plants used in medicines, natural phenomena such as stones, rocks stars, earth, rivers, mud, mountains, and vital liquids, such as sap, blood, sperm, water, tears, oil.

- different paths of morphophonemic reductions and different paths of grammaticalization (and shifts). Reduced (*k/?*)*V* and (*ʒ*)(*j*)*V* elements have been further grammaticalized as different kinds of pronouns. AA third person pronouns may be considered as gender/number kind of anaphoric ‘classifiers’. These pronouns are used again as nominal determiners, they take the forms of autonomous clitics indicating three genders and one plural for the non inflecting

WK nouns and four affixes classifying animate/non animate (usual moving being notion) dual and plural nouns in different Munda languages (these values are found in clitics of different MK languages). Associated with distal and yonder deictics, the AA third person pronouns have produced prepositions, conjunctions, relative pronouns and interrogatives pronouns, or indefinites when agglutinated with grammaticalized forms of ‘one’. Some of these elements are used again with predicates and then indicate various possible combinations of subject and also object thematization (either in affixed forms in Munda or independent clitic association in MK see Daladier 2002a and to appear).

The understanding of the AA original system of velar “animate” classifiers may also help us to retrace AA borrowings in Tibeto-Burman and Tai-Kadai cognate names.

### 1. Kin terms: \*ka, \*kur, kñi, \*koŋ and spirits \*ruŋ \*zjaŋ as noun formatives

\*ka > k(h)a/a/ə/ε. War-Khasic ka ‘give birth’, ‘be born’, ‘bear’, ‘engender’, ‘womb’, ‘relatives on the side of the father’.

Santali: *kaka khura* ‘paternal uncle’ and *kaka baba* ‘stepfather’, have *ka* still related to the relatives on the father’s side and *kuma* (all over the Kherwari group) ‘maternal uncle’ with *ku-* < *kur* relatives on the mother’s side + *ma* as in Amwi *mama* maternal uncle, distributional alternant of *kñi*.

*kən* < *ka* + *-n-* deictic is found in all AA languages for animate beings who bear their children and for the names of the earth, the mud, the deep jungle. ‘Woman, female’: Khasi *kenthej*, Amwi *henthe*, Old Khmer, *kəndəw* ‘wife of an official’, *kəndər* ‘wife’, Old Mon *kəntər* ‘origin, coming into existence, source’, Old Mon, *kənteh* ‘dust from which the earth developed’, Shorto. Khasi ‘earth’ *ktē?*. Katuic: Souei has *ktē?* ‘earth’, Ferlus (1974). Bahnaric: Kōho *tiah*, Stieng *teh*, Chrau *nəteh*, Sidwell (2000). Khmer *ti*. Wa languages, Diffloth(1980): Samtao *kate?*, Tailoi *kade*, Kien Ka *kati* involve \*ka and *te* as something close to an AA source. Munda names may be related to the same combining elements: Korku, Mundari, Ho have *oŋe* ‘earth, soil, ground, land’ also Korku *kheŋi* ‘field’, Sora *gade*. ‘jungle, forest’: Sora *kənrəŋ* (see \*ruŋ below), Santali *zongol* ‘forest, jungle, place full of undergrowth’ corresponds to the older form *gazar* according to Bodding. *gazar* might be derived from *ka+* *zaher* ‘sacred grove’, see below. Wa languages often have *-vk* rather than, or in a reduplicated addition to, *kV-* in many of their lexical elements cognate with WK, *teak* ‘deep jungle wilderness, hill’ might contain \*ka and *te* as in the names of the earth related to the notion of origin and fecundation already listed.

*ka* is found in ethnonyms of men and in animal names, probably originally totemic like *ka* ‘fish’ or ‘crab’ (the ancestor of the river) WK \**katam*, Kherwari \**kaTkom*, and in many insects used in WK and Santali medicines like the scorpion,

the centipede, different kind of worms and grasshoppers, see Bodding (1925) for Santali recipes.

*ka* is found in plant names especially for trees in MK and in Munda, also in the name of rice seed (to plant) in many MK and Munda languages: Khasi, *khāo*, Santali *caole* ‘the husked kernel of cereals, especially of rice’, Bodding. Other WK names of the husked rice, the rice to keep for the house, and the paddy usually contains *kur* and its variants (see below).

\***kur** > *k(h)u/o(l)* , *ʔu/o*, *kl-* also *hor-*, *kor-*, Munda *g(u/o)-* War-Khasic *kur* ‘clan, relatives on the side of the mother’.

*Kur* is found in Munda and MK, kinship terms, ethnonyms of the men, in different crucial edible plants, in several totemic animals and medicines, in important parts of the body, in the names of the mountain.

*kur* appears in the names of ‘husked rice, paddy’, War-Khasic *kūba?* < *ku(r)* ‘clan’ + *ba?* ‘grandfather’. For husked rice, several Aslian languages have lost the velar prefix and kept *bā(?)*: Benjamin (1976) *bā?*, South Bahnaric languages have *bā* for paddy or husked rice. Semang has *ba?*, Sidwell. Korku and Mundari have *bābā* and *baba*, Kharia *ba?a*, Juang *bu* for paddy and proto North Munda \**baba*, A. Zide and N. Zide (1976). Mundari *huRu*, Sora *kəɾəʔ*, Korku *koɾo*, Mundari *hoɾe* ‘large millet’ are related to the name of the men with \**kur* > *kor*, *hor* and a plural pronoun in *ku* or *-j*, exactly like Santali, *horo* ‘husked rice’.

Amwi ‘betel nut’ *kuwa* < *kur* + *wa?* ‘grand father’ parallels those formations.

*k(h)(u)(r/l)* are found in different names of animals probably originally totemic, especially the tiger, the horse, the eagle or other prey birds, medicine insects, worms and grasshopper.

‘horse’ War-Khasi: Khasi *kulaj*, Pnar *kulē*, Dawki War *kuru*, Sohka Amwi *kula?*, Thangbuli Amwi *kurwa?* (*kur* ‘clan’ and *wa?* ‘grandfather’, ‘river’). Munda: some of the Santali dialects and Kharia have ‘horse’: *ghoɾa* (< *kur*), Korku has *ghurgi*, Sora *kurtā*, *kudta*, Gadaba *kirkan*, *krutā*, Zide and Zide (1976). Palaung *imjaɲ* horse. Eastern MK people have borrowed and transformed IA *ashvin* while Northern and western AA have *kur/l-* or *ki* or *-jaɲ*.

In Sedang (North Bahnaric), *khu* is used as a classifier (in the usual sense of the term) in various animate names, especially animals like: *khu pah* snake family, *khu kla* tiger family, *khu pa koɲ* family of jungle animals, Smith (1976).

*kur/l-* is also found in the AA names of the part of the body, especially the head and the testicles all over Munda and MK languages (including Nicobarese). *Thakur ziu*, the old name for God in Santali according to Bodding, contains *kur* ‘relatives on the mother’s side’, *ta* ‘founder’ and *ziu* ‘spirit, soul’. This *ta-* is also found in Amwi ‘first founder of a clan’ *Thāolaɲ* literally ‘the founder who gather together’ (*laɲ* may be derived from \**ruɲ* see below Khasi *thaoreɲ*). *Thāo* ‘to create, to build’ or ‘cultivated place’ in Khasi, in Pnar and in Amwi has a short

combining form -t- in WK. *kur* ‘mountain’ appears in Nyah Kur (Monic), Huffman (1990).

**kñī** > *ki, ?i, kin-*. War-Khasi *kñī* ‘eldest maternal uncle,’ cultural father.

*kñīam* sacrifice

‘rat, mouse’ Old Mon *kni?*, modern Mon *kni?*, Bahnar *kni*, Sora *kinræped*

Sora : *kinadan* ‘crab’, *kinan* ‘tiger’, *kintəŋ* ‘brain’, ‘backbone’ *kinzəŋ*

Amwi *kintəŋ* ‘guardian spirit of the sacred grove’. In Lawa, *ki* ‘body’ is used as a classifier for humans, Diffloth (1980).

### AA \**zjiaŋ* ‘bone, spirit’ and its short compounding forms *ʒjV*

*ʒV* as initial in Munda languages, *jV* in MK, is used all over AA languages for female ancestors, grandparents, spirits, soul, bones and inside words expressing the lasting spiritual force of the ancestors (megalith stones in WK, medicines, rituals). Katuic and Bahnaric groups have also kept the *zjaŋ* root for ‘spirit, soul’: E. Muong *jaŋ*, Stieng, Chrau, Köho *jāŋ*, Katuic *əʒēŋ*.

*zjiaŋ* is found all over MK and Munda, as an affix in many compounds, to name tuber, seeds, the kernel of fruits and animals like the scorpion, the eagle (or vulture) which has peculiar divination powers. In MK *ja* has often kept *k-* (or *ʔ-*) prefixes, eventually inside further agglutinations: Amwi *tʃerkjaŋ*, ‘ancestor’, *muʃʔiaŋ* ‘rock’. ‘Ginger’: Khasi *səiŋ*, Pnar *sʔiŋ*, Amwi *ʃʔiaŋ*. The analogy between the terms for bone/spirit and for ginger is transparent all over the War-Khasic languages but more generally this relationship can be reconstructed all over the AA languages. Palaung has *ʃiaŋ* for ginger, Danaw *kātsaŋ* (the word reconstructed by Sidwell for ‘bone’ in Proto-North Bahnaric), Black Riang *kəsiaŋ*, Luce (1965). Sora *siŋēr*, Ramamurti (1933) In Standard Khasi *lənsʔiŋ* is a plant of the ginger family with white and pink flowers growing at the base, which are eaten as vegetable. The morphological relationship between the bones and the turmeric rhizome reflects the medicinal virtues of longevity of these rhizomes, which link them to the lasting properties of the bones. In the same fashion, the bones link the spirit of their departed possessors to the lasting spirit of the clan. ‘Turmeric’ in the Munda group: Sora, Gorum, Kharia *saŋsaŋ*, Remo, Mundari *sasaŋ*. The Munda names of the turmeric contain the names of the bone in Waic. Waic ‘bone’: Samtao *sʔāŋ*, Tailoi *sa-āŋ*, Kawa *saʔāŋ*. A merger of these forms might be *sak + zjaŋ*. Bahnaric has *sak ʒan* ‘human corpse’ that is: *s-* + \**ka* + \**zjaŋ*.

Santali has *ʒan-* in many words associated with witchcraft, trance medicinal plants, and intoxicating beverages like *ʒanhe* ‘a variety of millet for brewing beer’ and bony parts of the body, like *ʒaŋa* leg, foot. The same root is found in WK names of the leg, foot (the original *ʒ* is kept in Khasi *kdʒat*) and seed, kernel, Stampe (1985).

AA names of the eagle or kite often combine short forms of “animate” prefixes *\*kur*, *\*ka*, or *\*koŋ* with *\*zjaŋ*. Khasi *khlieŋ*, Amwi *kliāŋ*, Bahnar *klāŋ*, Khmer *khleŋ*, Chrau *khlēŋ* Sidwell (2000), Katuic: Bru, Kui, Pakoh, Katu have *klāŋ* (Peiros 1996), Pearic *klaŋ*, Headley (1977), Danaw *ləŋtaʔ*, White Riang *laŋ ta*, Black Riang *klaŋ ta* (I do not indicate the tones), Luce (1965): all these may be derived from *\*kur+\*zjaŋ*. Monic: Thai Mon has *(ʔ/k)əniəŋ*, Central Nicobarese *kaləŋ* ‘white bellied sea eagle’, Man (1889), Nancowry *kaləŋ* ‘vulture’ Radhakrisnan (1970) may contain *\*ka* and *\*zjaŋ*. Nyah Kur has *ʔəŋliəŋ*, Huffman (1990). In the Munda group, Sora *əlaŋ*, A. Zide (1976), Santali, *kuritʃ* ‘kite’. The use of *zjaŋ* ‘spirit’ in “animate” beings seems to be related to magic and religious practices like using the feathers of the eagle or an egg in divination in Amwi, Sedang, Santal, or to medicine practices of insects or plants: Amwi *kñiəŋ* (generic term for insects), Sedang *klian* ‘leech’, Burmese and Tai Mon *kajaoʔ* ‘maggot’. Mon expresses the eagle’s visions in its name *\*tmat*, Old Mon *tinmāt*, *tam māt*, Mod. Mon *tamāt* whereas Amwi has *tmat* for ‘egg’ (egg breaking is used to divine the name of a child).

*zjaŋ* is found under different reduced forms and gender/alternant vowels in different Munda and MK languages to name female and male ancestors, fertile earth, sacred places: Santali *zja*, *əzi* ‘grandmother’, *əza* ‘grandfather’, *zəher* ‘sacred grove’ whereas khasi has *zəhar* for a muddy place. Both can be reconstructed as *zjaŋ + ka + -r*, where *-r* has the value of ‘inhabitant, people’ in War and in Munda languages (War, Pnar, Mnar, khara, Kor(ku), Kherwar). Amwi *kintaŋ* ‘guardian spirit of the sacred grove’ < *kñi+ -t- +\*zjaŋ* has a word formation which parallels that of Sora: *kinzəŋ* ‘backbone’; the *-t-* infix has a foundation value all over Munda and War languages (see *Thaolaŋ* supra).

*zja-/ja-* are short forms of *\*zjaŋ*. Santali *zagao* is a kind of blessing involved to make fruitful the cattle or some medicines in the course of ceremonies. Ho *zai gunku* (*kun* child *ku* plur. *zai-i* ancestors) ‘descendants’. MK, ‘grand mother *jā* in Pnar, a War-Khasi language. War *jāobej* is the great grandmother of a clan. Old Khmer has *jā* ‘grand mother’, Jenner (1980). Katuic, *jā* is found in names of the relatives on the mother’s side: Bru *kə jā*, Pacoh *ku jā*. Katu has *jəjə* ‘mother in law’. *jā / jaʔ/ jāo* related to grand mother, ancestor are also found in Kmuic and Bahnaric languages (for example *jaʔ* ‘grand mother’ in Stieng and *jāo* ‘ancestor’, ‘tiger’ in Chrau). Mod. Mon has *jā* ‘mother, parents’ from *jaj* Old Mon, Shorto (1962 and 1971), early Middle Mon has *ju* ‘great grand mother’, Bauer (1984). *jā(?)* ‘grandmother’ is found in Monic: Danaw, Black and White Riang, Palaung and Wa, Luce (1965).

*jā* is also grammaticalized as a relative and interrogative pronoun in Old Mon. Bauer (1993) analyses *ja* as the third singular personal pronoun of the Old Mon pronominal system, attested only in OM frescoes and having the values of

‘he, him’. *ja* ‘he, him’ and *jā* ‘who’ are variants (Bauer p.c.). Old Mon, *jay* is grammaticalized as an emphatic particle preceding focused nouns especially the subject but also an object, Shorto (1971). As a pronoun grammaticalizing the respect distance involved in the use of *jā* ‘grandmother’, *jā* is combined with gender/number personal pronouns in War languages to produce emphatic forms of personal pronouns, especially in Amwi, for example: *jākə* ‘she, her’ *jāo* ‘he, him’, *jāhem* ‘you’, *iha ben jā* ‘you and me’. *za* is grammaticalized as an indefinite pronoun in Santali ‘whatever’, however’ and it can be associated with different elements to produce all kinds of indefinite pronouns like: *zāhāte* ‘to whatever place’, *zāhā tahā* ‘here and there’ *zāhā tin* ‘at any time’. *za* is also used as an emphatic sentential element in Sora .

In War-Khasic *ka-* very often stands for an affixed *za-* in many Munda cognate words, whereas Nicobarese has kept both affixes: WK *ka/* Santali *zanam* ‘birth, give birth, origin’, where *nam* means ‘religion’ and ‘blood’ in several MK languages. Santali *Sirzan* ‘create, creation, a creation’ (*sir* ‘vein’: any kind of tree shaped artery system, like rivers, lung with its system of air circulation, blood circulation, veins in rocks, veins containing sap in trees etc. where ‘veins’ convey life either in the human body, in plants or in the cosmos. *kV* and *jV* are morphologically associated in the corresponding vocabulary of Central or Car-Nicobarese (data of Man): Car Nicobarese, *kai jok* ‘to give birth’, *kai jok nju* ‘to issue from the womb, to be born, birth’, *ki ka nə* ‘female person’, *ki ko nja* ‘male person’, Central Nicobarese, *kaijūa* ‘birth’.

The WK names of the cultural father: ‘eldest maternal uncle’ Khasi *kñi* < *kən- + ji-<\*ka + n+ \*zjiaŋ* , War *nju koŋ* (*nju* < *n+ \*zjiaŋ + ku<sub>masc.</sub>*) and *kñiam* ‘sacrifice’ < *kən + ja + -m-* involve the clan spirit *\*zjiaŋ* rather than a wild spirit *\*ruŋ*. While the biological father produces the flesh of his children, the cultural father, grounds their maternal clan spirit. The sacrifice “feeds” the clan spirit like the *bonga* stones, abode of the ancestors in the Santali *zaher* are fed by the sap of the trees.

*koŋ* elder maternal aunts, elder brother or sister, madam in Amwi for a woman of the same age than the speaker. Found in AA kinship terms, parts of the body, animals, edible plants, wild or large things or beings. Amwi *tkoŋ* ‘tongue’, Sora *koŋsīn* ‘elbow’, Santali *goŋo* ‘elder paternal uncle’. Within the Munda group, Santali climber plants are named *koŋat* and A. Zide and N. Zide (1976) mention *goŋgai* as a name for a number of plants: millet, maize, sorghum, bajra all over: Kharia, Juang, Santali, Ho, Mundari. Munda *goŋgai* might be derived from: *\*koŋ + \*ka +\* -j* (*j* plural) which might enable us to relate a large family of edible plants, both in Munda and in MK languages. *Koŋ* is also found in animal, part of the body, field names. Rengao (Bahnaric) *khoy* ‘wild beast’; Waic: *koŋ* ‘peacock’; *kuŋ* ‘wet rice field’ in Tailoi; ‘nose’: in Amwi *merkəŋ* (nose) in Khasi Standard *kmut* ‘< *ka + mu?* ‘grandmother’+ -t- ).

**\*ruŋ > rXŋ** (X=e/a/u/o) is used all over AA languages as a prefix or suffix in nouns denoting: male founders (as opposed to ʒV/jV for founders and especially female founders), edible plants, horn and wild animals or wild nature (jungle, mountains, rocks, torrent, river, river with deep bed or huge caves, intoxicating preparations, magic, medicines).

Khasi: *kñi raŋba?* ‘the first maternal uncle’, *raŋba?* elder man, *thāoreŋ* the first founder of the clan, *raŋba?* elder man.

\**ruŋkug* rice seed in proto-Munda, A. Zide and N. Zide (1976), Old Khmer *raŋko* Luce (1965), Khmu *reŋko?*, Cong *ruko*, Lawa *rəko*, Riang *ko?*, Palaung *rəkau*, Proto Wa \**ruŋko* Difloth (1980), proto Viet-Muong \**ruŋko?*, proto Katuic \**ruŋkaw*, Old Khmer *raŋko*, Ferlus (1996), Old Mon *suŋo*, modern Mon *suŋu*. One might reconstruct a Proto AA \**ruŋkuk* (it is usually assumed that *k < g* but there are reasons to deny its application in AA where some MK languages violates the dissimilation rule of Greenberg and *k/g* might be a secondary feature of AA languages in contact with IA or TB languages). Interestingly enough, this \**ruŋ* is also used in MK languages to name edible seeds or vegetables which have nothing in common from a botanical taxonomic point of view, like ‘sesame’ *rəŋā* in South Bahnaric languages, Sidwell (2000). Munda: Gorum, *reŋra?* ‘eggplant’ A. Zide and N. Zide (1976).

This element may be combined with a velar prefix, for example *krəaŋ* ‘horn, tusk’ in Tai Mon and Burmese Mon. It is also used in these languages in compounds for trees and for kinds of creeper. The same formation is found for the name of ‘river’, see section 4.

In Viet-Muong the common word for forest in *reŋ*, Thompson (1976). Köho has *krəŋ* ‘thick forest, jungle’. In Munda, Sora has *dereŋ* ‘horn’, *əreŋ* ‘stone, rock’, *kənreŋ* ‘forest’, *reŋge* ‘wind’, *əraŋ* ‘kite’ (to compare with *kliəŋ* which contains \**ʒjaŋ*), *korraŋ* ‘tree bark’ (used in medicines).

## 2. AA Suffixes in *kV* in “animate” AA nouns

### **-ka**

Cent. Nicobarese *ivi ka* ‘good spirit’, see Santali *zivi* ‘spirit’. Amwi *ləŋkha* ‘field, land’. Santali, Bhiror: *buka* ‘navel’

### **-koŋ**

Amwi : *reŋkoŋ* ‘fern’, *tkoŋ* ‘tongue’, *mərkoŋ* ‘nose’, *tarakoŋ* ‘ear’

### **-kur**

Amwi *ladkur* ‘dove’, Lawa *rako?*. Bihor < *bir -hor* < *bəru* + **hor** ‘hill people’ A. Zide (1976) (*hor > kur*). Munda: Santali *lutkur* ‘ear’, *hadkur* ‘relatives on the father’s side’, *mamakur[en]* ‘relatives on the mother’s side’, *marwakor[en]* ‘the first parents of mankind’, *boko* ‘head’ Juang (South Munda)

### **-kñi**

Khasi *pukñi* ‘vulture’

-\**ruŋ*

In Viet-Muong the common word for forest in *reŋ*, Thompson (1976). Köho has *krəŋ* ‘thick forest, jungle’. In the Munda group, *reŋ* suffixed in many relevant Sora names: *dereŋ* ‘horn’, *əreŋ* ‘stone, rock’, *kənreŋ* ‘forest’, *reŋge* ‘wind’. *raŋ* is used in *əraŋ* ‘kite’, *korraŋ* ‘tree bark’. It is also found in TK borrowings (see below).

**Suffixed metathesis in -*ak-ik-(u/o)k* in AA “animate” nouns (eventually duplicating a velar prefix)**

*kjaik*, Old Mon, ‘sacred being or thing’, ‘pagoda’ < *k-ja-ik* (see borrowings in *kja* in TB and TK)

*ikʼ*, Santali, excrement (animal excrements are used in medicines), in Wa languages, Samtao *ʔaʔik* ‘tuber, taro’ (also used in medicines and everyday diet) *kruik* Mod Mon, testicle

*muk*, Old Mon ‘face’, Khmu *muk* ‘nose’ khasi *khmut* ‘nose’, Amwi ‘maternal grandmother, ancestor’ *mūʔ* < *muk*. in Sre, *məʔ* is used (as in Amwi) for nose, for grandmother and as a respect term of address, Manley (1972). *muʔ* is also related to verbs of knowledge all over AA languages, like Amwi *kəmuʔ* ‘to remember’, to be conscious, Santali *mūʔni* < *muk + kñi* ‘knowledge of magic’.

Wa has *ŋok* for neck, to be compared with other Munda and MK ‘neck’ in *reŋko* which merge with the names of the rice all over MK and Munda languages.

*ʔaŋruk* wild dog, Samtao (Wa).

\**kjauk* ‘ear’ in Wa to be compared with *ku-* and *ka-* or *-kur* and *-koŋ* in other MK ‘ear’: Nyah Kur (Monic) *katuol*, Palaung *katua*, Danaw *kātōn* viz. Bahnar: Brao *kutūr*, Munda: Sora *ktur*, Kharia *luʔtur*, Santali *lutkur*

-*ak*

MK and AA ‘peacock’: South Bahnaric \**bərak*, Sidwell (2000), Munda : Birhor *amrak*, Bhumij *cim mərak* A. Zide and N. Zide (1976) *raŋʔak* ‘crow’ in Samtao, Wa. *mak* Mon, male animal (see *mak ruik* testicles in Nicobarese. *mak* < *m-* + *ka* ‘water, sap, juice’ in MK, in Santali sacrifice of a fowl, Bodding (1929).

*teak* jungle in Samtao, Wa. *vak* insect, worm in Samtao. *kjak* or *karak* buffalo in Wa (*ja* related to the sacrifice) *k-ja-k*, *ka-r-ak*

*kurrak* Sora, bark, husk

*sak* < *s + ka* ‘to tear’ and also ‘human corpse’ in *sak zan*, Bahnaric

‘water’ *dak* in many MK and most Munda languages. Munda languages have: Santali, *dak* ‘water’, rain’ (Bodding (1932-7), Kharia, Mundari, Ho, Korwa ‘water’ *dak*, Juang *dā* (Grierson), Korku *daʔ/g*, Gutob, Remo *daʔ*, Zide (1999), Sora, *dā* ‘water, juice, sap (of a tree)’, Ramamurti (1933). Monic languages also have *dak* for water, Huffman (1990): Thai Mon, Burmese Mon *dac*, Nyah Kur *dak*. In Car-Nicobarese *mak*, Central Nic. *dak*, Chowra *rak*, ‘water’, Man (1889).

Khmer has *kak* ‘to water liberally, to wash and *baŋkak* ‘to purify with consecrated water’, Jenner (1980). \**dāk* is found for ‘water’ in West Bahnaric, South Bahnaric, North Bahnaric Languages, Jacq and Sidwell (2000), Sidwell (2000). Then, \**dak* can be reconstructed as a proto-AA word.

Amwi *ʔam* ‘water, river’ < ʔa- + -m- < ka + -m- , -m- related to mothers who milk their children. Likewise, seven Aslian languages have *ʔam* for breast (which contains milk), see Benjamin (1976).

### 3. Shifts in the use of kin prefixes and their combining forms in AA

Some of these shifts may be due to the loss of matrilinearity.

#### *ka viz. kur*

‘tiger’ *kaʔvai* in Palaung Wa: Shinman, Samtao *kawaj* , viz. Santali *kul*, Mundari, Birhor, Ho *kula* War-Khasic *khlāʔ/ khlī*, Old Khmer *khlā / klā*, Mon, Bahnar, Sedang *kla*, Prou *klo*.

#### *ka viz. kñi viz. kur*

‘crab’ Bahnar *katām*, mod. Mon *gatām*, Danaw *kātan*, Shinman *kaʔtam*, Santali *katkam*, Korku *kaʔkom*. Sora *kin-* is used in place of *ka-* or *kur-* in many War-Khasi names and vice versa: *kinadan* ‘crab’, *kinan* ‘tiger’, *kintəŋ* ‘brain’, see also the names of the rat below . ‘Sacrifice’ War-Khasic *kñia*, Sora *kub*.

‘rat, mouse’ Aslian *kaneʔ*, Benjamin (1973), Danaw *kāne*, Luce (1965), viz. Old Mon *kniʔ*, modern Mon *kniʔ*, Shorto, Bahnar *kni*, Sora *kinrəped* viz. Car-Nicobarese *kumit* viz Waic *kjaŋ* (Lawa and Tung Wa)

‘dog’ Sora *kənsod* , Gorum *kusəd*

‘bullock’, ‘cow’, ‘buffalo’, Palaung-Wa : ‘buffalo’ *kaʔmoi* in Shinman, *aməj* in Kontoi, Santali *kaDa* viz. Munda group, *kiʔtaŋ* ‘cow’ and Gutob *gulaʔj* (<*kur* + *j<sub>plur</sub>*) ‘bullock’, *kituŋ* ‘bullock’ in Sora.

#### *koŋ viz. kur*

‘heel’ Khasi *koŋdoŋdʒat*, Car-Nicobarese *kuləj trəŋ*

‘peacock’ *koŋ* in Proto-wa, Difloth viz. Khasi *klēo* (see other names in *ka* in 2)

#### *ka viz. koŋ*

‘neck’ *ka*’ in Modern Mon, *khamej* in Palaung viz. *koŋ* in Danaw

‘jungle’ *gaʒar* < ka + *zəher* in Santali viz. *koŋ* in Sedang (North Bahnaric)

‘mouth, tongue’ *kəntien* in Standard Khasi viz. *tkoŋ* < -t- + *koŋ* in WK: Amwi and *oŋktin* < *koŋ* + *kin* + -t- in Mnar

#### *\*ruŋ viz. jaŋ*

wild animals, wild plants, wild natural phenomena : mountains, rocks, wind

‘stone, rock’ Viet Muong *əreŋ* , Amwi *muʔjaŋ* < *muʔ* + *jaŋ*

‘forest’ Viet Muong *kənreŋ*, Santali *sacred grove zəher* < \**zjaŋ* + \**ka+r*

‘kite’ Viet Muong *araj* Amwi ‘eagle’ *klāj* < \**kur* + \**zjaŋ*  
 ‘tree bark’ used in medicines Viet Muong *korraj* < \**kur* + \**ruŋ*

#### 4. Borrowings of the AA “animate” and spirit affixes in TB and Tai-Kadai in cognate names of animals, insects, parts of the body, stone and river.

Such names have been analyzed by Matisoff (1972 and 1986), Thurgood (1988) and Smith (1975). For example, AA affixes can be found in the proto Loloish names ‘cat, tiger’: *k-* + \**ruŋ* > *kroŋ* or *kur* > *kula* or ‘chicken’ in *k-* + \**ruŋ* + *ka* > *krak* (see the MK and Munda names of the peacock in section 2).

Thurgood (1988) shows that an initial *k-* probably reduced from **several** prefixes, must be reconstructed in proto-Lakkia for animal names like: flea, louse, cow, pig, rat, snake, bear, porcupine, eagle and parts or produces of the body: urine, sheet, arm-pit, ear, face, neck and bone. Thurgood’s reconstructions show AA animate prefixes: *ka*, *kə* and combining forms *k+ jīu k+ roŋ*, *k+ ja*. It seems really interesting that combinations of *k-* and *jV/ roŋ* appear in those very names, for example ‘intestine’ is reconstructed as *kjāi3* in proto-Lakkia. This *kja* is renewed as a classifier for parts of the body and various utensils in other languages (head, eye, nose, hand, neck, testicle, bile, breast, hear, leg, handle, brush).

Haudricourt (1974) has shown that Tai *xau* ‘rice’ is derived from MK *kao* (as Santali has *caole*, *xau* may be derived from an AA *kao*) and that Miao-Yao *klan* for eagle is a borrowing from MK (here analyzed as \**kur* + \**zjaŋ*).

Smith (1975) gives a number of animal names in MK with velar initial which are taken up in Tai, for example in the name of the scorpion, this important medicine element where a MK *ji* element which I consider as a reduction from *jiaŋ* is found in Khasi *kñiaŋ lartham* (*lar* ‘omen in divination’ and *tham* ‘crab’), in North Bahnaric *kjip* or *kāp*, Katuic *kahip* (\**ka* + \**zjaŋ* + *p*), is further transformed into a velar *ki-* in Tai: *Nùŋ kim pú* as in Santali *kidin katkom*, lit. insect-crab.

AA \**zjaŋ* and *ruŋ* are widely found in TB and TK river names. Pulleyblank (1991:149) gives a Chinese etymology for *jiāng* (Tone 1; Pinyin spelling) as found in the name of the “Yangtze Kyang” river with a Late Middle Chinese and an Early Middle Chinese (with reference to the Pekingese form). E. Bruce Brooks (p.c.) reconstructs further this Chinese etymon as *gauŋ* and relates it to the second syllable of Mekong, claiming that the *jiāng* (Tone 1) should be derived from *koŋ/kuŋ* as found in ‘Mekong’. Jerry Norman and Tsu-lin Mei (1976) have independently claimed that this *kjaŋ* (Tone 1) name derives from AA, but relates it to *kruŋ*. He gives MK examples of river names taken up from Shorto (1971): written Mon *kruŋ*, Brou *kruŋ* and Katu *karuŋ* and proposes a Sinitic derivation where *jiāng* is derived from Middle Sinitic *kāŋ* < Old Sinitic \**kruŋ*. These two derivations of AA *kjaŋ* given in terms of the different sources: *koŋ* and *kruŋ* are not justified on any kind of internal AA phonological grounds but instead on a few MK river names. The burden of the phonological proof of a relationship

between *kjaŋ* and *kruŋ* or between *kjaŋ* and *koŋ* relies on more or less explicit hypothesis concerning the historical phonology of Chinese. Could it be that AA languages do not deserve having their own phonological laws? Whatever the meaning of ‘Chinese’ may be in terms of a group of languages, these derivations do not look very palatable in the light of an AA etymology of these different AA words indicating previous loci of AA people.

In the light of the uses of *\*ruŋ* as an AA word formative, *kruŋ* should be analyzed as *k-* + *\*ruŋ*, where *k-* is a reduced prefix from one of the elements *\*ka*, *\*kur*, *\*kñi* or *\*koŋ*. Katuic has *karuŋ* < *ka* + *ruŋ* ‘river’. Shorto (1971) gives a list of the MK words related to *kruŋ* in which various vocalic variants, loss of *k-* or weakenings of *kroŋ* into *kloŋ* or *hoŋ* river names are found, as could be expected, and no phonetic connection with *jaŋ* is proposed. The *k-* of the AA *kruŋ* is probably the *ka* which is still found in Katu *karuŋ*. There are several other AA names for ‘river, especially *dak* in many Munda and MK languages also *?am*, *wa?* in War, which can all be related to *ka-* (or its *-ak* metathesis). As already shown, there are many other meanings than that of river associated with *\*ruŋ* and *zjaŋ*, including names of the earth. In Pnar, *Kloŋ* is a big tree immersed in a natural pool to insure fertility of the earth, while Sora *zandrum* ‘wealth’, ‘harvest’, ‘paddy’ is associated with domesticated forces. Names of the first founders may be associated with *ruŋ* but God’s names are rather associated with *zjaŋ*, Sora *gade zaŋ* (lit. the spirit of the earth, *gade* < *kate*) and in Wa and War-Khasic with predicates of knowledge. Within kinship terms, *\*ruŋ* remains on a masculine side whereas *(z/j)aŋ* is used to denote female founders. *\*ruŋ* has kept something of its wild ‘horn’ meaning in the Amwi and Sre *kraŋ*, to name impressive horizontal caves under rivers and torrents. *zjaŋ* and *ruŋ* are both used as river names but in most cases of their other combinations with velar prefixes they appear in names having completely different meanings, as seen earlier. *\*koŋ* and *\*ruŋ* have different values and are certainly not phonologically equivalent as they are compounded and not merely reduplicated in various “animate” words (with *rXŋ* vocalic variants) such as Amwi *reŋkoŋ* ‘fern’ and Pnar *khoy reŋ* a certain tree in a ritual. This kind of compounding parallels that of *(z/j)aŋ* with prefixed or suffixed *\*ka*, *\*kur*, *\*kñi* or *\*koŋ*.

From an AA point of view, *\*ruŋ* ‘river’, *\*zjaŋ* ‘bone, ancestor, spirit’ and *\*koŋ* ‘eldest maternal aunt’ occur in complementary distributions and appear to have three distinct etymologies with corresponding distinct original values which happened to have been suited for their different uses in river names among other ‘beings’. These three roots have played an important morphologic and semantic role in word formation both in Munda and MK languages to name ancestors, bone(s), spirit(s), magic, sacred groves, medicines, and different tubers like ‘ginger’ and ‘turmeric’ assumed to embed eternal life. We have seen that AA *\*ruŋ* is associated with male ancestors, edible wild plants which reproduce sexually,

some bones like in Khasi cheek-bone and eyebrow (as opposed to the bones of the leg/foot) and magic practices as *rəŋəj* ‘trance’. War-Khasi have complex funeral ceremony where the bones are kept until a yearly festival in spring and then are purified in a river before being placed in the maternal clan cairns. The Santal actually spread the ashes of the bones in rivers, Carrin (1986). The use of MK *jaŋ* in names of so many rivers actually located in China might be related with AA burial ceremonies of the bones in ancestors clan cairns or rivers while *\*rung* might be associated with a former layer of culture and magic practices. Layers of cultures often cohabit, most Christian War believe in good and evil spirits and practice exogamic marriages. Khasi has two words for sacrifice: *saŋ* and *kñiam* which might also belong to different layers of cultures: *saŋ* also means taboo, incest and should be compared with Bahnaric *sak zaŋ* ‘human corpse’ -s- + *ka* + *zaŋ* while *kñiam* < *ka* + -n- + *zaŋ* + -m-. Further comparisons are needed to know whether *\*ruŋ* ‘horn’ belongs to a former layer or to a complementary representation of some of the bony/spirit properties of *\*zaŋ*. An interesting point to be added to the discussion is the fact that MK *ja* and Munda *za* as well as the velar animate “classifiers”, but not *\*ruŋ*, have been renewed as many different grammatical kinds of pronouns.

It would be just as meaningless to relate phonologically all the AA river names in *zaŋ*, *ruŋ*, *koŋ*, *ka*, than to relate phonologically all the AA names for ‘men, people’ as inhabitants of a given country, where these elements plus *kur*, *kñi* recur in the very same compounding way, as in: *Katu*, *Kawa*, *War*, *Khasi*, *Kherwar*, *Korku*, *Nyah Kur*, *Juang*, *Rengao* (*\*ruŋ* + *\*ka*). AA names for men and rivers appear to be related to the cultural ways people conceive their material and spiritual generation or conceive the way a wild or a socialized spirit grounds and link men, edible plants, animals, or rivers in order to provide and insure life. It seems promising to search for the history of the different AA river names in the light of the different cultures of their speakers and within the distributional properties of some regular compounding element associated with the history of their phonemic alternations.

As could be expected, the ontology of AA languages rely on specific cultural representations of ‘generation’ and ‘spiritual rooting’ rather than on our taxonomic and genetic distinctions among plants, animals, humans and natural phenomena.

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Anne Daladier

a.daladier@wanadoo.fr