

A Multilateral Look at Greater Austric

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From the outset let me admit that I approach this task with great trepidation. I am not a specialist in any Austric language or language family, and my interest in this macro-family grows out of my broader interest in the genetic classification of the world's languages. I do not claim to provide any final answers to the "Austric Problem" in this paper, only to update my earlier work on the topic and suggest some ideas for the position of Nihali and Ainu in this old macro-family.¹

Austric Defined

Wilhelm Schmidt (1906) is usually regarded as the father of Austric (Austroasiatic + Austronesian), though others (*e.g.*, Trombetti) had similar ideas. By the 1940's (Benedict) a "Greater Austric" consisted maximally of Schmidt's two families plus some others: Miao-Yao (Hmong –Mien) and Daic (Tai-Kadai). Benedict later modified his view of Austric to exclude Austroasiatic, and added Japanese to his "Austro-Thai" (1990). See Ruhlen (1987), Fleming (1987), Diffloth (1990, 1994), and van Driem (1999) for details and assessments of the history of Austric classification.

Ilia Peiros (1992) offered a classification of (Greater) Austric as follows:

I. Austro-Thai

- 1) Austronesian
- 2) Daic (= Tai-Kadai)

II. Miao-Austroasiatic

- 1) Miao -Yao (= Hmong-Mien)
- 2) Austroasiatic (= Munda - Mon-Khmer)

Some Greater Austric Proto-Etymologies

Before attempting a discussion of the position of Nihali and Ainu in Austric (if any), I will begin by listing some of the most promising lexical parallels involving Nihali, Ainu, and the Austric languages.

Disclaimer: The following list of lexical parallels between Nihali, Ainu, and the Austric languages should not be considered definitive etymologies. These "proto-etymologies" represent some of the early steps in the inductive phase of the demonstration of genetic relationship. During the deductive phase the formulation of regular phonetic correspondences allows us to determine the greater (or lesser) probability of the language family being proposed (in this case, "Greater Austric").

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Gradually the etymologies are either strengthened, or divided (*i.e.*, the words are re-distributed into two or more new etymologies), or completely rejected if phonetic and morphological testing show them to be invalid as genetic cognates.

Proto-Austrian reconstructions, as well as other reconstructions, are cited for reference only. Their citation does not imply this author's endorsement.

bird: PAustrian **mVnuk* 'bird' (EHL); PAustro-Thai **[ma]mlok*

- MY: PM **nɔŋ*, PY **nɔʔ* 'bird' (Kosaka 2002: 91)
- AN: PMP **manuk* 'bird, fowl' > Javanese *manuk*, Hainan Cham *nuʔ*, Maori, Hawaiian *manu* 'bird', etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai **nl/rok*, PSWTai **nok* 'bird' (TLR), PKam Sui **mluk*, Lakkia *mlok*, etc.
- Ainu **nOk* (V) 'egg, testicle': Kamchatka *nōhk*, Sakhalin *nuku* (Klaproth 1823), Kuril *noki* 'egg', *n'ok* 'bird's egg'

§ AT 233; BB 30. Ainu > Nivkh *ŋóik* 'egg', or Nivkh > Ainu after Vovin. Hayes (Austrian Glossary) compares PAA **puk*, **p(a)luk* 'bird' and PMP **manuk* 'bird'.

bite:

- AA: Munda: Sora *kab*, Mundari *ha'b*, Kurku *kap* 'to bite' (CM); MK: Bahnar, Kui, Chrau *kap*, Brou *káp*, Semai *kap* 'to bite' (S98)
- Daic: PTai **xep* 'to bite' > Thai *kʰòp* (TLR); PKam-Sui **krip* 'bite, chew' (Thurgood)
- Ainu **kupa* 'to bite' (V) > Hokkaido *kupá-*, etc.

§ N98, S98.

blood: PAustrian **xam*, **ntsixam*, **dzaxam(uq)* (Hayes), **hVm* (EHL)

- PAA **Cə-ha:m* 'blood' (EHL): Munda: Kharia *eñam*, Sora *míñam*, Mundari *mayam*, Korku *mayum*; MK: Bahnar *pha:m*, Khmer *ŋha:m*, Mon *chim* (P96, S98);
- MY: PYao **džhyaam*, PMiao **ntšheŋ* 'blood' (Kosaka 2002: 91, 94)
- AN: East Formosan **dzamu(?)* 'blood' > Paiwan *djamuq*, Pazehe *damúʔ*, Saisiat *ramoʔ*, Squiliq Atayal *rammo*, *ramuʔ* (ABVD)

• Ainu **kEm* 'blood' (V) > Hokkaido *kém-i*, Kuril *kiem*, etc.; cf. **kam* 'flesh, meat' (V) § AT 235; S98. Cf. also **flesh:** Ainu has **kEm* 'blood' vs. **kam* 'flesh', and ultimately these might be ablaut (or umlaut) variants of the same word. Cf. the IE word family that includes English *raw*, Russian *кровь* 'blood', Greek *κρέας* 'flesh', etc.

bone: PAustrian **tsuqan* (Hayes)

- AA: Munda: Santali, Kharia *jan*, etc.; Nicobar *ong-eng*; Khasi *śʔeeŋ*, PKatuic **ŋhaan*, Ruc *sàŋ*, SBahnaric **ntiiŋ*, Vietnamese *xuong* etc. 'bone' (Diffloth 1990)
- MY: PMY **tshuŋ* 'bone': PYao **tshuŋ*, PMiao **tshɔŋ* (AT 239; Kosaka 2002: 94)
- AN: PAN **[t]ulan* 'bone' (Dempwolff: Malay *tulang*, etc.) = PAN **CuqelaN* 'bone' > Saaroa *cúlaʔə*, Paiwan *tsuqelaʔ*, Basai *tolal*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 67)
- Daic: PTai **ʔdl/ruok* (TLR); PKam-Sui **ila:k* (Thurgood, N98)
- Ainu **kEqu* (V) 'bone' (only in compounds; otherwise replaced by **pone* < Japanese)

§ AT 238. N98 compared AN + Daic + Ainu. The etymological unity of all these words seems doubtful. Perhaps Ainu **krqu* is better compared with some AN Formosan words: Puyuma *ʔokák*, Central Amis *okak*, *ukak* 'bone' (ABVD).

brain / marrow:

- Daic: PTai **ŋ[ui]* ‘marrow’
- Ainu **nOqi=pE* ‘brain’ > Hokkaido *noype-*, etc.

§ N98.

breast: PAustric **su* (Hayes)

- AA: Munda: Santali, Mundari, Birhor *toa* ‘milk, (female) breast’ (CM); MK: Khmer *to*, Mon *tah*, Bahnar *tãh*, Stieng *toh*; SNicobar *toãh*; Asli: Mah Meri, Semaq Beri, Semelai, Temoq *tuh* ‘breast’
- AN: PAN **θuθu* (Tsuchida) = **susu* (Blust) ‘breasts of woman’ > Tanan *θoθó*, Maga *θúθu*, Paiwan *tutu*, Ami *tsutsu*, Palauan *tut*, Malay *susu*, Tagalog *súsu*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 79, 85)
- Daic: PTai **tu* ‘breast’; Lakkia *nam-tu* ‘stomach’, Ong-Be *dau dɔn* ‘the pit (*dɔn*) of the stomach’
- Ainu **tOO* ‘breast of woman’ (V): Kamchatka *do* (Klaproth 1823) and / or PAinu **tuy* ‘belly, intestines’ (V)

§ BB 19, S98. AN: Banggi, Wolio *dudu*, Palawan Batak *dudu*, *dudúk* ‘breast’ is regarded as a separate etymon by Blust, et al. (ABVD).

chest:

- AA: MK: Khmu (Yuan) *àk* ‘chest’; Pear *yok* ‘breast’; Katuic: Pacoh *oq* ‘stomach’ (AG, Hayes 1996);
- AN: PMP **hauak* ‘body’ > Toba Batak *aoak* ‘body’, *ak* ‘hip, waist’, Malay *awak* ‘body, person’ (Dahl 122)
- Daic: PTai **ʔuuk* ‘chest’ > Tai *òk*, Dìoi *ak* (TLR, AT 249)
- Ainu: Hokkaido *ok* ‘heart; feelings’ (B)

§ AT 249; BB 45; Cf. BB 57: Ainu **Ok* ‘nape, back of the neck’ + MK: Nicobar: Car *uk* ‘back’, *uk alaha* ‘skin’.

child (1):

- Nihali (K) *lānā* ‘child, son’ (apparently not known to Bh and M: Fleming [1996])
- Daic: PTai **hlan* ‘grandchild’, **hlen* ‘great-grandchild’ > Thai *laʼan*, *leʼen* id. (TLR); PKam-Sui **khla:n* ‘grandchild’ (Thurgood)

§ Comparison by Shafer (1940). Cf. AT 303.

child (2):

- AA: Munda: Sora *tɔnan* ‘sister’, Gutob *tonan* id., Parengi (Gorum) *tonan* ‘younger sister’, Bonda *tuna* id. etc. (CM, Hayes 1996)
- MY: PMY **tɔn* ‘son’ (‘offspring, both human and animal’) (AT 251)
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *teinep*, *tennep* ‘a very young child’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 20. Cf. AT 251 + PAN **natu* ‘offspring’.

chin:

- MK: Khmu *thno* ‘mouth’; Asli: Pangan Ulu Aring *těnöyt*, Orang Hutan (Johor) *snut*, (Indau) *nut*, Sakai Ulu Tembeling *kì-nut* etc. ‘mouth’
- MY: PMY **ndzuj* ‘mouth’ (AT 340)

- AN: PAN **ɲu[tʰ]uʔ* ‘lips’ (Dempwolff) = **ɲu(ts)u* (Biggs) > Samoan *ɲutu* ‘mouth’, Marquesan *nutu* ‘snout, head of animal’, Niue *ɲutu* ‘mouth, beak, orifice’, etc. (ABVD); cf. Formosan **ɲudzui* ‘mouth’ > Central Amis *ɲoyos*, Rukai *ɲodui*, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai **hnuat* ‘beard’ > Thai *nùat* (TLR); PKam-Sui **m-lu:t* id. (Thurgood)
- Ainu: **nOt* ‘chin, jaw’ (V) cf. (Hokkaido) *not* ‘mouthful’, *not(u)* ‘jaws, *notakam* ‘cheeks’, *nota* ‘face’, *notkiri* ‘chin’, *notkeu* ‘jaws’, *noči* ‘mouth, jaws’ (Batchelor), and (la Pérouse) *notame kann* ‘les joues’

§ BB 55, N98.

cold:

- AA: Munda: Gutob, Remo, Gutob *ruoñ* ‘cold’, Sora *raña:-n*, Santali, Mundari *rabaj* id. (CM, Hayes 1996)
- AN: Tsouic **uruNa* / **ürüNa* ‘snow’ (Li).
- Ainu *oroa* ‘coldness’ (Dobrotvorskij) = (La Pérouse) *oroa* ‘le froid’ (Naert 1961)

§ BB 21.

come/go:

- Nihali (K) *pīya*, (Bh) *pi-* (*pa-*) ‘to come’; cf. (Bh) *paṭ-*, *piy-* ‘to come’, (M) *páto* ‘to come, approach’, *paṭto* ‘to come’
- AA: Munda: Gutob *pe*, *pi*, *pij* ‘to come’, Parei of Viza-Gapatam *vA:ji* id.; MK: Bolowen *buh*, Alak *bʰh* ‘to come’; Kui *paʔ* ‘to go, come’; Aslian: Semang Plus *peh*, Sakai Tanjong *bai*, *bej* ‘to come’
- Daic: PTai **pəi*, Kam-Sui **pa:i* ‘go, walk’ (Thurgood), Lakkja **pai*, Be *boi* ‘to go’
- Ainu **pay-i* (pl.) ‘to go’; cf. **Epa* ‘to arrive’ (V)

§ NA 24; BB 39; N98, S98. Shafer (1940) compared Nihali + MK.

day:

- AA: MK: Waic **N-koʔ* ‘yesterday’ (Diffloth)
- AN: PAN **ka* ‘day’
- Ainu *ko*, cf. *tut ko* ‘2 days’, *rere ko* ‘3 days’, but *šine to* ‘1 day’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 23.

die: PAustro-Thai *(*ma*)/*play* ‘die’ / *[*pa*]/*play* ‘kill’ (Benedict)

- Nihali (Bh) *paḍa*, (M) *páḍā* ‘to kill’ (if *pa-* corresponds to the Proto-Austrian causative prefix **pa-*)
- PMY **day* ‘die’ vs. **tay* ‘kill’ (AT 269); PYao **tai*, PMiao **dua* ‘to die’ (Kosaka 2002: 81; the correspondence of Yao **ai* = Miao **ua* is regular)
- AN: PAN **m-aCay* ‘die’ / **p-aCay* ‘kill’ (with stative **m-* vs. causative **p-* prefixes) > Saisiat *masay* ‘die’, Tsou *mcói*, Rukai *waʔacái*, *opacai*, Paiwan *matsay* d. / *pa-patsay* k., Palawan Batak *patáy* d. / *qimatáyən* k.; Malay *mati* ‘die’, Maori *mate*, Hawaiian *make* id. (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai **trai*, PSWTai **taai* ‘to die’ (TLR); Sek *pra:i*, Lakkia *plei* id. (AT 269)
- Ainu **day* ‘die’ (EHL, V) > Yakumo, Saru *ray*, Nairo *tay*, etc., Kuril *rai* ‘kill’

§ AT 269; V92; BB 24. The correspondence of Ainu **d* (*r-/t-*) vs. Tai **tr-* / **pr-*, AN **-aC-* also occurs in eye (2). Note that the original prefixes are exchanged in some AN languages (e.g., Palawan Batak), a “confusion” that might have taken place in other parts of Austric.

dog:

- Munda: Santali, Kherwari, Ho, Asur *seta*, Kurku *sita*, *tsita*, *ćita*, etc. (S98, Blažek 1996)
- AN: Formosan: Favorlang *zito* ‘dog’ (ABVD)
- Ainu **sieta* (EHL), **gita* (V): Hokkaido *seta*, *sita*, Sakhalin *šeda*, Kamchatka *stāhpū* (**sita* + **po* ‘child’), Moshiogusa *hida*, *heta*

§ BB 25, S98.

drink:

- AA: Munda: Remo *uʔ-* ‘to drink’, Gutob *uk-*, *ug-* id. (CM); MK: Khmu *uak*, Ksinmul *ʔuk*, Loven *okʔ*, Boloven *ok* ‘to drink’ (S98)
- Ainu **kuu* ‘to drink’ (V) > Hokkaido *kú*, Kuril *ku*, *kun-ku*, etc.

§ S98. Cf. **water (2)**.

dry:

- AA: Munda: Santali, Mundari, Korwa *añjed* ‘dry, to get dry’, Santali *hawɛ’d* ‘to dry, dry up, evaporate, drain, be purified’ (CM); MK: Khmer *sjuət*, Kui *sʔa:t* ‘dry’ (S98)
- AN: ? Old Javanese *sat*, *a-sat* ‘dry’ (ABVD)
- Daic: ? Thai *sa.dèt* ‘to dry rapidly’ (no reconstruction) (TLR)
- Ainu **sat* ‘dry’(V) > Hokkaido *sát*, Kuril *satéke*, *satgua*, etc.

§ S98 MK + Ainu.

ear (1): PAustrie *tVʔlu (EHL)

- PAA **to:r* ‘ear’: Munda: Bonda *luntur*, Sora *lu’uɖ*, *luɖ*, Mundari, Korku *lutur*, Gutob *lintir*, *nintiri*, *ritil* (CM); MK: Chrau *to:r*, Kui *kətɔ:r*, Mon *katow*, (P96, S98)
- AN: **tuliʔ* ‘earache, deaf’ (Dempwolff) > Hanunóo *túli* ‘ear’, Bonerate, Popalia, Sangir *tuli*, Makassar *toli* ‘ear’ (ABVD); cf. Maori *turi* ‘deaf’; cf. PAN **tilu* ‘earwax, ear’ > Manggarai *tilu* ‘ear’, Elat *tilum*, etc. ‘ear’ (ABVD)
- Ainu **tur* ‘filth, dirt’: cf. *kisara-turu* ‘earwax’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 29. Hayes (Austrie Glossary) reconstructs PAustrie **qej*, **qe|ej* ‘ear’, including some of the AA words cited under **ear (3)**. The status of PAN **Caliŋa* ‘ear’ (Paiwan *tsaliŋa*, Pazeh *sangira*, Malay *telinga*, Maori *taringa*, etc.) in relation to the above is uncertain.

ear (2):

- MK: Khasi *shkór*, *kaško:r*, Riang (Palaung-Khmu) *cor*
- Daic: PTai **xrɯu*, PSWTai **xrui* > Thai *hǔu* (TLR); PKam-Sui **khra* (Thurgood, N98)
- Ainu **kisara* (EHL), **kisAr* (V): Sakhalin *kišara*, Kamchatka *gsāhr* (Klaproth)

§ BB 26. S98 Ainu + Khasi, etc.

ear (3):

- Nihali (Bh) *cigam* ‘ear’, (M) *cigām(a)* ‘ear/s’, (K) *cikn-* ‘to hear’, (M) *cākini* ‘to hear’
- AA: Munda: Kurku *cina* ‘to recognize, know’; MK: PKatuic **saj* ‘to hear’; Aslian: Serting, Besis *těgn* ‘ear’, Tembi, Serau, Darat *entakⁿ* ‘ear’

§ Blažek (1996); Bengtson (1997a).

earth (1):

- AA *täih ‘earth, soil’ (V92) or *t[e](q) (Hayes): MK: PMon *tii? (Diffloth) ‘soil, earth, ground’: Old Khmer *ti*, Waic *kte? (Diffloth) ‘earth’; Bahnar *teh*, Sre *tiah*, Bo Luang *te:i*; Nicobar: Central *mattai*, Coastal *pattai* ‘earth’; Khasi *ktioh* ‘Schlamm’; Asli: Semang Perak *teh*, Pangan Ulu Patani *tei*, Sakai Krau *taik* etc. ‘earth’
- AN: PAN *taq > Puyuma *litaH* ‘mud’, Amis *pota?* ‘soil, soft mushy dirt’, *sota?* ‘earth; dirt; mud; land’ (ART 152); Favorlang *ta*, *ta-os ata* ‘earth, soil’ (ABVD)
- Daic: PKam-Sui *di ‘dirt, earth’ (Thurgood)
- Ainu *tOy ‘garden, soil, land, clay, earth’ (V): Sakhalin *toi*, *tui* (Klaproth 1823)

§ BB 27, S98.

earth (2):

- AA: MK: SBahnar *tne:h ‘earth’, NBahnar *ta?neh ‘earth, dirt’; Mon *tanah* ‘surface’ (borrowed from Cham *tanũ’h?*)
- MY *ntaa(n) ‘earth’ (AT 278)
- AN: *tanah ‘land’ (Dempwolff) = *taneq* (Dyen & McFarland) > PMP *tanaq, *taneq > Malay, Old Javanese *tanah* ‘land, earth, soil’, Itbayaten *tanaq*
- Daic: PSWTai *?din ‘soil, ground, earth’ (TLR); Mak *da:i*, Lakkia *nai*
- Ainu *tanina* ‘... autre nom quils donnent cette terre’ (La Pérouse), *ta(a)ni na ‘here’

§ BB 28. Hayes (Austic Glossary) combines **earth (1)** and **earth (2)** as the same entry, PAustic *taq, *teq, and infixes *ta-na-q, *te-ne-q.

egg:

- Nihali (Bh) *kāllen*, (M) *kalen* ‘egg’, *kaleni* ‘eggs’, *kalen-ta* ‘eggs of lice’
- AA: Munda: Juang *susuter*, *susuterɔ* ‘egg’; MK: Brou *tareil*, Katu *karial*, Pakatan *təlu:l*, etc. ‘egg’ (AG)
- MY: PMY *qyaw = *qɭaw ‘egg’
- AN: PAN *qiCeluR ‘egg’ > Paiwan *qetsilu*, Kanakanabu *iciuru*, Thao *qaricuy*, Madurese *tellor*, Tagalog *itlóg*, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai *khrəi > Thai *kʰày* (TLR); PKam-Sui *krai ‘egg’ (Thurgood)

§ AT 279; Bengtson (1997a). Nihali *kāllen* < *qaCleN, or the like?

evening:

- AA: MK: PBahnar *maŋ ‘night’
- MY: PMY *hm[a:]ŋ ‘night’
- AN: Ci’uli Atayal *malahŋan*, Squiliq Atayal *hŋan*, Saisiat *hawan*, Thao *tanlhuan*, ‘night’ (ABVD)
- Daic: PKam-Sui *?ñam ‘evening’ (Thurgood) < *?ŋam?, cf. PTai *ɣam ‘evening’ (TLR)
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *onuman* ‘evening’ = Kamchatka *ōhnūmã*, Sakhalin *unumani* (Klaproth 1823); V reconstructs *nuuman ‘yesterday’ vs. *onuuman ‘evening’

§ BB 31. Cf. AT 264-265.

eye (1):

- Nihali (Bh) *jiki*, (M) *jiki(r)* ‘eye’; *jiki-kāpri* ‘eyelid’ (‘eyebrow’ per Bh)

- Munda: Juang *je ‘eye’: in *je-tej* ‘eye-sand’ (Mundlay [1996b]); cf. Santali *jhiki miki* ‘splendid, glitter’)
- AN: Formosan: Atayal (Squiliq) *loziq* ‘eye’ ~ *raoyǎk*, *rao-i*, *ro-i*, Pazeh *dourik*, *daorek*, *darik*, Sediq *dórik*, *dourük* (N98, ABVD)
- Ainu **siki* (EHL), **sik* (**gik*, **hik* V), Hokkaido *šik* ‘eye’, *šik-kap* ‘eyelid’ (B)

§ BB 32. Nihali *-r(V)* as in *jikir* ‘(my) eye’, *jiki-kāp-ri* ‘(my) eyelid’ is a personalizer (Mundlay 1996a: 7).

The Formosan words are only relevant if the syllable *-ziq* ~ *-yǎk*, *-rik*, *-rek*, *-rik*, *-rük* is etymologically separable. If so, it could mean the retention of an archaic Austric word in some of the most divergent languages of Austronesian. Elsewhere **eye (2)** prevails. Shafer (1940) compared Nihali + Ainu.

eye (2): PAustro-Thai **mapla* (Benedict)

- Munda: Kurku *met*, Ho *me’d*, Kharia *mɔ’d*, Sora *mɔ’ɔd*, etc. (CM); MK: Katu, Bahnar, Sedang *mat*, Kui *māat*, Vietnamese *măt* (AG)
- MY: PMiao **maay*, PYao **muai* / **mu[t]-* (AT 283)
- PAN **maCa* (Dyen) > Saisiat *masaʔ*, Paiwan *matsa*, Puyuma *maʔaʔ*, Thao *má:θa*, Malay, Maori *mata*, Hawaiian *maka*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 19)
- Daic: PTai **tra* > Thai *taa* (TLR), PKam-Sui **thla* (Thurgood), Sek *praa*, Lakkia **pla*, etc. (AT 283)
- Ainu **dara* (Vovin’s **rAr*) ‘eyebrow’: cf. (Batchelor’s Hokkaido) *rara-numa*, *ran-numa* ‘eyebrow,’ where *numa* ‘hair’ indicates the meaning ‘eye’ for the first component; the form *tara* recorded by La Pérouse allows us to reconstruct PAi **d-* (cf. V 16)

§ AT 283; BB 34. The correspondence of Ainu **d* (*r-/t-*) vs. Tai **tr-* / **pr-* // AN **-C-* also occurs in **die**.

feather:

- AA: Khmer *slap* ‘feather’ (S98), Brou *khlap* ‘wing’
- AN: ? Saaroa *alápuŋ*, Kankananabu *apouŋu*, Tsou *eopúŋu* ‘wing’ (ABVD)
- Ainu **trAp* ‘feather’ (V) > Hokkaido *rap(u)*, Kuril *trap* (also ‘wing’ in some dialects)

§ V92, S98.

finger nail:

- AA: MK: Waic **mhem* / **hmem* ‘finger nail’; Mon *saŋem* ‘claw, nail’, Nyakur *ŋhí:əm* id. (S98)
- AN: Formosan: Common Puyuma *hamay* ‘finger nail’ (Ting)
- Ainu *(*H*)*am* (V) ‘finger or toe nails, claws’ > Kamchatka *āhm*, Sakhalin *ami* ‘finger nail’ (Klaproth 1823)

§ S98, BB 36.

fire (1):

- Nihali (K,Bh) *āpo* ‘fire’, (M) *ápó* ‘wood, to be lit, fire’, *ápo-kama* ‘to light a fire’
- MK: Brao *pa:j*, Tampuon *pae* ‘fire’ (S98); Khasi *dpey* ‘hearth, ashes’; Pearic *puy* ‘tinder’; Katu *mpoih* ‘fire’, etc.
- MY: Ke-cheng *fwi* ‘ash’, Kao-p’o *fi*, Kao-t’ung *hə*, Yao-lu *fui*, Thailand Yao *whi*
- AN: PAN **Sapuy* > Bunun *sapud*, *sapos*, Paiwan *sapuy*, Pazeh *hapúy*, Siraya *apoy*, Tsou *puzu*, Palawan Batak *qapóy* (= *ʔapóy*), Malay *api*, Tonga *afi*, Maori, Hawaiian *ahi*, etc. ‘fire’ (ABVD, Dahl 35, 45); cf. Atayal *pə-hapuy-an*, *p-hepuy-an* ‘fireplace, hearth’ (W97)

- Daic: PKam-Sui **pwai* (Thurgood); Phlai **f-* (N98); PTai **vei*, PSWTai **vai/auw* ‘fire’ (TLR)
- Ainu **apOy* ‘fire, hearth’ (V), Hokkaido *ape, abe, ambe*, Kamchatka *āpēh*, Kuril *aboi*

§ AT 290, BB 37, N98, S98. Hayes (Austric Glossary) reconstructs PAustric **suy, *sapuy* ‘fire’. Shafer (1940) compared Nihali + Indonesian; Kuiper (1948: 378, note 2) mentions Nihali *āpo* + Indonesian **apuy* + Ainu *ape (apoi)*, citing also Gjerdman (1926).

fire (2):

- Nihali (M) *ú, uru* ‘to kindle’, (Bh) *uri-*
- PAA **uń ?* (Vovin): Alak, Stieng *uiń*, Bahnar *uń*, Chrau *uń, uiń*, etc. ‘fire’ (V92), Khmer *’uh* ‘firewood’
- Daic: PTai **viin* ‘firewood’
- Ainu: **un-ti* ‘fire’, **uu(y)na* ‘ashes’, **uguy* ‘to burn’ (V): Hokkaido *uínà, ùhúy*

§ NA 26; BB 14; Nihali *uri* probably < Dravidian (Blažek 1996), though *ú* matches well with the MK words.

fish: PAustric **ka* (EHL), **(i)ka* (Hayes)

- Nihali (Bh) *cān*, (M) *cán*
- Munda: Mundari *hai, haikə, haku*, Korku *kaku*, Santali *hako* (CM); MK: Mon *ka* (P96); Khasi *kha*, Vietnamese *cá*, etc.
- AN: PAN **Sikan* > Bunun *?iʃkan*, PMP **hikan* > Hainan Cham *ka:n*, Malay *ikan*, Maori *ika*, Hawaiian *iʔa*, etc.
- Daic: PTai **ka*: ‘a kind of fish’ (EHL)

§ Bengtson (1997a). For palatalization in Nihali, cf. (AN) Wolio (Sulawesi) *isa* ‘fish’ < PMP **hikan*; (AA) Brou *séaq* ‘fish’ < PAA **(i)ka(q)*.

flesh:

- Nihali (Bh) *kāv*, (M) *kāw* ‘flesh’ (? < **kāv* < **kam*)
- AA: Aslian: Serling *kěbó* ‘body’ (Blažek 1996)
- AN: PAN **qayam* > Saisiat *?äyām* ‘meat’, Ami *qayam* ‘bird’, Puyuma *hayam* ‘bird’, etc. (assuming semantic change ‘flesh, meat’ > ‘bird’) (Dahl 66)
- Daic: Li **xaam* ‘flesh’, White Sand Loi *kham*, Shaved Head Loi *ham*, etc. (AT 293)
- Ainu, **kam* ‘flesh, meat’ (V); cf. **kEm* ‘blood’ (see **blood**)

§ NA 12; BB 38; N98. For Nihali *kāv, kāw* (? < **kāv* < **kam*), cf. the areal parallels: Romani *nav* ‘name’ = Hindi (tadbhava) *nāū* < Old Indic *nāma-*; Kannada *kavūṅkuṛ* ‘armpit’ ~ Tamil *kamukaṭṭu*, etc. Cf. also

blood: Ainu has **kEm* ‘blood’ vs. **kam* ‘flesh’, but ultimately these might be ablaut (or umlaut) variants of the same word. Cf. the IE word family that includes English *raw*, Russian *кровь* ‘blood’, Greek *κρέας* ‘flesh’, etc.

fly (insect):

- Nihali (Bh) *eḍūgo* ‘fly’, (M) *édugo* ‘house-fly’
- AA: Munda: Korku *ruku, ru:ku.*, Mundari *rəkə*, Ho *roko*, Gutob *uroy* ‘fly’ (CM); MK: Bahnaric **ruɔy*, Semang *roai* id. (Bh)
- AN: PAN **likeS* ‘mosquito’ > Formosan: Central Amis *likes*, Siraya *rikig*, Thao *rikish*, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: PKamSui **?dlu* ‘bee, wasp’

§ Bengtson (1997a).

foot:

- AA: MK: Palaungic: Danaw *kɔʔ* ‘foot, leg’; Viet-Muong: Ruc *təkɣək* ‘foot of a tree’ (Hayes 1996)
- AN: Formosan: Rukai **kukuq* / **ququq* ‘foot, base, origin’ etc. (AT 296)
- Daic: PTai **kok* ‘foot (of tree, hill)’; Lati *ton kho*, Li *khok*, Ong-Be *kok* ‘knee’ (AT 296)
- Ainu **kOkka* ‘knee’ (V); cf. Kamchatka *kōhkāh*, Sakhalin *koka šaba* (*šaba* ‘head’) (Klaproth 1823)

§AT 296; BB 47. Gjerdmann (1926, p. 53) compared Ainu ‘knee’ with Tagalog *koko* ‘elbow’ and Stieng *kuktang* ‘knee’.

four:

- Nihali **-pono* in (M) *tal-pono* ‘fourth’ (ordinal numeral), perhaps with the same prefix as *tal-āri(re)* ‘third’ (Mundlay 1996, p. 45)
- AA: PAA **pu[ʃ]an* ‘four’: Munda **[u]pɔn* ‘four’ (Pinnow); MK: Khmer **puən*, Mon *pon*, PBahnar **puən* (Sidwell), PWaic **pon*, PKatuic **puɔn* (Peyros), PViet-Muong **pon* > Vietnamese *bón*; Nicobar: Central *fo:ən*, Car *fɛən*, South *fɔ:ət*, etc.; Asli: Serting *hɔmpudn*, Sakai (Tembeling) *əm-pun*, etc.
- AN: ? PAN **Sepat* ‘four’ > Sediq *sūpūt*, *spat*, Bunun *pat*, Paiwan *sepətj*, Javanese *papat*, Malay *ampat*, Tagalog *ápat*, etc.; cf. forms with *-n-*: Micronesian: Trukese *faan*, Puluwatese, Satawalese *fáán*, etc.; Papuan Tip: Mekeo *pani*, Roro *báni*, Gabadi *vani*, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: Laqua *pe*, Kelao *pu*, Lati *pu* ‘four’ (AT 211)
- Ainu: PAinu **pOqOn* > Saru *poʔón émko*, Asahigawa *pón émko* ‘quarter’ (**EmkO* ‘half, part’), lit. ‘four parts’ (V)

§ AT 211BB 13; V92; Vovin (1993: 168: Ainu + Munda + MK). The question is whether the **pVn* forms are related to the **pVt* forms (cf. *n ~ t* in Nicobarese).

full:

- MK: Riang *s’ak* ‘full, satisfied’, Lamet *sāk id*.
- AN: PAN **sek* ‘to cram, crowd’ > Ilokano *pusék* ‘dense, close, crowded together, packed’, Manggarai *cecek* ‘(to) stuff, fill up’, etc. (ART 150-151)
- Ainu **sik* ‘(to be) full’ (V) > *shis*, *ashik*, *eshik* ‘full’ (Batchelor)

§ V92, S98 MK + Ainu.

give:

- Nihali (Bh) *ma-*, (M) *mā* ‘to give’
- AA: Munda: Santali *em* ‘to give’, Mundari *ɔm*, *em*, Ho *em*, Birhor *ɔm*, *em*, etc. (CM); MK: Sedang *ám*, Chrau *àn* ‘to give’ (Thomas 1966)
- Ainu **Am=a* ‘to put (it)’ (singular), **Am=dE* ‘to put (it)’ (plural) > *ama* ‘to put, to place’ (Batchelor), Kuril *amma* ‘to put it’, etc. (V)

§ Mundlay notes Nihali *mā* ‘rarely used’; apparently the more common synonyms are *be-* (< Munda) and *de-* (< Munda or Indo-Aryan; Kuiper 1966:61).

hair (1):

- Nihali (K) *kuguchi*, (Bh) *kuguso*, *kuguchyo*, (M) *kugusu*, *kuguso* ‘hair’

- AA: Santali *goco* ‘beard, mustache’, Mundari, Kharia *gucu* id. (CM)
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *kiški* ‘animal hair, fur’ (Batchelor *kishki*)

§ NA 16.

hair (2): PAustric **sək, *suk* (Hayes)

- Nihali (M) *sikā* ‘pubic hair’
- AA: PAA **sok/*sɔ:k* ‘hair’ (EHL) > Munda: Kharia *sɔʔ-lui* ‘hair’; MK: Khasi *suʔ*, Mon *sok*, Alak *sok*, Bonam *sak*, Khmer *sɔ:k* ‘hair of head’, Vietnamese *tóc*, etc.
- AN: PAN **buhuk* ‘hair’ (Dempwolff) = **buSək* (Dahl) = **bukeS* (Blust) > Basai *bukəs*, Pazeh *bukəs, bakus, vukkus*, Aklanon-Bisayan *buhúk*, Tagalog *buhók*, Kiput *suək*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 29, 55)

§ Bengtson (1997a). Hayes (Austric Glossary) notes “Blust has revised the [AN] proto-form to **bukeS* on the basis of Formosan evidence ... thus implying that **bukeS* > **buSek* > PMP **buhek*. One must ask why metathesis had to occur in Malayo-Polynesian and not in Formosan.”

hair (3):

- AA: MK: PBahnar **ʔəɲu:m* ‘hair bun’; Katuic **ɲum / *ɲəɲum[ə/o]m* ‘to tie hair’ (Peyros) and / or Khmer *lóm* ‘hair of body / of animal’ (Hayes)
- Daic: Li **nom* ‘head hair’; Laqua *đam* id.; PHlai **nrom*
- Ainu **numa* ‘hair’, cf. (de Angelis) *xapa-numa* ‘capelli della testa’

§ BB 40.

hair (4)

- MK: Munda: Gutob *jibbo, ingbo.*; Remo *ugboñ*, Santali, Mundari *uʔb* ‘hair’, Kurku *hup* ‘hair, wool’ (CM); MK: Bahnar *sɔ:p* ‘body hair’, Chrau *chóp māt* ‘eyelash’
- AN **dʷ[ae](m)but* (Dempwolff) = **z[ae](m)but* (Lopez) ‘hair’ > Malay, Javanese *rambut*, etc.
- Ainu **sapa* ‘head’ (EHL; V reconstructs two synonyms **sa* and **pa* ‘head’); cf. Sakhalin *šaba* (Klaproth 1823), (La Pérouse) *chapa* ‘les cheveux’; or Ainu **EtOp* ‘hair’ > *otop* ‘hair of the head’ (Batchelor), Kuril *otop, otap* ‘fur’

§ BB 41; S98 Bahnar + Ainu **EtOp*.

hand (1): PAustric **tVj* (EHL)

- Munda **tiʔ* (Pinnow): Bonda *titi*, Sora *siʔi.*, Mundari *ti*, Korku *tii*; MK **tiiʔ* (Shorto): PViet-Muong **tʰǎy* ‘arm, hand’, Alak, Bahnar, Halang *ti*, Khmer *ʔaj*, Central Nicobar *tai*, etc. (V92, P96)
- AN: Formosan: Favorlang *tea* ‘arm’
- Ainu **te(-)k* (V): Kamchatka *dēk*, Sakhalin *tegi* (Klaproth 1823), (La Pérouse) *tay* ‘l’avant-bras’

§ BB 42, S98.

hand (2): PAustric **ʔlVma* (EHL), **lɛma* (Hayes)

- Munda **monloi* ‘5’ > Kurku *mono(i)*, Parei *monloi*, Muwasi *maneiku* etc.
- AN **lima* ‘five’ / ‘hand’, cf. Formosan: Rukai **lima* ‘5’ : **alima* ‘hand’
- Daic: PTai **mur* ‘hand’ (TLR); PKam-Sui **k-mya-t* id., SKelao *mle* ‘hand’ : *mle* ‘5’ (cf. Munda) (? < **mla(n)* < **lma(n)*); Laqua *mə* ‘5’; Gelao *mau* ‘hand’ : *bu* ‘5’, Gao *mpau* : *mpu* id.

- Ainu **mOn* ‘hand’ (in compounds) (V), e.g. Sakhalin *mon-peh* ‘finger’, Kuril *mon-raj-gi* ‘make’

§ BB 43. EHL compares instead PAA **ram* ‘five’. Hayes (Austric Glossary) includes, e.g., Birhor, Mundari *rama* ‘nail, claw’; Khmer *mrām* ‘finger’, etc.

head:

- Nihali (K) *peŋg*, (Bh) *pěy*, (M) *pyeŋ* ‘head’
- AA: PAA **pV:ŋ* ‘head, above’ (EHL): Khmer *tpu:ŋ*, PBahnaric **piəŋ* ‘above’
- AN: PAN **buŋuh* > Kananababu *nabúŋu*, Siraya *buŋu*, Central Amis *fujoh*, Tsou *fjúu* ‘head’, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **pa* ‘head’ (< **pã* < **paŋ* ?)

§ NA 23. For loss of final velar nasal in Ainu, cf. **nose** and **road**. Alternatively, cf. BB 44, comparing Ainu *pa* / *pake* ‘head’ with Munda **bɔk(bɔk)* ‘head’, PBahnar **bo:k* id., PAN **buʔuk* id. Sidwell (S98) adds Chrau **kəmbo:ʔ* id.

heart:

- AA: Munda: Santali *rāwā* ‘influence, sway, force, control, power of volition, constitution, quality, force of personality’, Mundari *roa*, *rowa*, *rōã*, *rōwã* ‘soul, spirit’, Ku. *rawan* ‘spirit’ (CM); MK: Waic **rmhom* ‘heart, mind’ > Kawa *hrom* etc. (Diffloth), SBahnar **pərá:m* ‘entrails’ (Efimov)
- AN **yuma* ‘breast’ (Capell) = **Ruma* > Timor: Tugun *'ruman* ‘liver’, Aputai *'rumaŋ*, Imroing *ra'melmu*, etc. (ABVD); Formosan: Sediq *rumul*, Puyuma *rami* ‘liver’
- Ainu **rAm* ‘soul, heart, mind, feelings, think’ (V), cf. (La Pérouse) *tchame* ‘le devant et le haut de la poitrine’ (Naert 1961)

§ BB 69; V92; Hayes (1996) Ai + AN.

horn (1):

- AA: MK: Bahnar *ʔake:*, Didra *ki:*, Bru *ki:* ‘horn’ (S98)
- Daic: PTai **khəu:*; PKam-Sui **m-kwaau*, PBuyang **kr-* ‘horn’ (N98)
- Ainu **ki(=)(raqu)* (V) > (Hokkaido) *kirau*, *kirawe* ‘horn’

§ N98, S98.

horn (2):

- AA: Munda: Bonda *deruŋ*, Sora *dére:ŋ*, Mundari *diriŋ*; MK: PWA **rʂŋ*, PMonic **draŋ*, PMon **krɛaŋ* ‘horn’
- AN: PHespero-Formosan **uReŋ* ‘horn’
- Ainu **(ki)(=)raqu* (V) > (Hokkaido) *kirau*, *kirawe* ‘horn’

§ V92, P96, N98.

hot:

- Nihali (Bh) *cacũko* ‘hot’, *cacakkama-* ‘to heat’, (M) *cačuko* ‘hot’, *čačakāmā* ‘to heat’
- AN: PAN **segseg* ‘to burn’; Eastern Oceanic **saka* ‘hot’; (Micronesian) Kusaie *isihk*, Ponapean *isik* ‘to burn’ (ABVD)
- Ainu **sEEsEk* (V) ‘(to be, to grow) hot’ > *sese*, *seisek*, *shese* (Batchelor), Kuril *sesik* ‘warm’, *sesikva* ‘hot’

§ NA 5.

I / me (1): PAustric **kVw* (EHL), **(a)(n)qu* (Hayes)

- ? Nihali (Bh) *jō*, (M) *jó* ‘I’
- AA: MK: PViet-Muong **kwa* ‘we, I’ (S98); Katu *ku* ‘I’, Pacoh *kī*-, Bru *nka*’; ? Nicobar: Central *cū-ə*, *cūu-ö*; Khasi *ŋa* ‘I’
- MY: Biao *kəu*; Hmong *ko*, EMiao **k[ō]*
- AN: PAN **aku* ‘I’; **(’u-)aku* / **’i-aku* (Benedict) > Pazeh *yako*, Javanese *aku*, Tagalog *akó*, Tahitian *au*, *vau*, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai **ku*, PSWTai **ku* ~ **kaw* ‘I’ (TLR); Laqua *khəu*; Gelao *yah*
- Ainu: PAi **ku* (V)

§ BB 1, S98. Hayes (Austric Glossary) subsumes **I / me (1)** and **I / me (2)** under the same etymon: **(a)(n)qu*.

I / me (2):

- Nihali (K) *hiŋgē* ‘mine’; (Bh) *eŋ-* ‘me’, *eŋ-g-e-n* ‘me’ (acc.), *eŋ-g-e*, *eŋ-g-a* ‘my, mine’ (poss.), *eŋ-g-ke* ‘to me’ (dat.), etc. (1st person singular oblique)
- Munda: Kharia *iñ*, *iŋ*, Mundari *iñ*, *iŋ*, *aiŋ*, Korku *iŋ* ‘I’ (CM); MK: Khmer *añ* ‘I’, Mon *ʔay* ‘I’, Bahnar *ʔiñ*, Semai *ʔeñ*, etc., Wa *ʔaʔ* ‘we’ (V92, P96, S98)
- AN: Sundic: Sundanese *aiŋ* ‘I’ (Kuiper 1948: 374); cf. Formosan: Favorlang *ina* ‘I’, Babar: Dai *’ai* id., Meso-Melanesian: Nissan *iŋo*, Tai’of *aiŋa*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **an* ‘me’ (V 79: “Ainu folklore texts use this pronoun instead of **ku*”), *en* id. (Batchelor); *in-* ‘1st person objective prefix’; **en-* ‘I, me’ (1 p. sing. transitive, accusative) (Itabashi 1998: 88)

§ BB 2, S98. Kuiper (1966:74) ascribes Nihali *eŋge* to Dravidian origin. However, Pinnow (1966: 189) thinks Nihali “*eŋ*, the oblique of *joo* ‘I’ is clearly related to Munda *iŋ*” (as a genetic cognate, not borrowing).

leaf (1):

- Nihali (Bh,M) *cokob* ‘leaf (of a tree); clan name’
- AA: Munda: Santali, Mundari, Korwa *sakam* ‘leaf’ (CM); MK: Katu *aso* ‘q’ ‘leaf’

§ Bengtson (1997a).

leaf (2):

- AA: Munda: Sora *ɔla*, Gutob *o:la*-, *volla*-, Kharia *ulaʔ*, etc. ‘leaf’ (CM); Bahnar *hla*-, Mon *sla* ‘leaf’ (S98); Katu *lah lang* ‘leaf’, Vietnamese *lá*, Pacoh *pláh* ‘sheet, leaf’, (AG)
- Ainu **hrA* ‘leaf’ (V) > *ham* ‘leaf’, *hap* ‘leaves’ (Batchelor), Kuril *yam* ‘leaf’, etc.

§ V92, S98.

louse (1): PAustric **ʔcVʔj* (EHL)

- Nihali (M) *cilar-ʔa* ‘head lice, body lice’
- PAA **cai* or **cāi* ? (Vovin): Munda: Sora *iʔi*-, Kharia *sɛʔ*, Santali *se*, Mundari, Ho, Korku *si-ku* (CM); MK: Vietnamese *chí*, Alak *tsei*, Mon *cay*, Khmer *caj*, Bahnar *sí*, Khasi *ksi*, etc.
- Ainu **ki* ‘louse’ (V)

§ V92, P96, S98. Ainu only belongs if velar is original, i.e., **ki* > **ci-*.

louse (2):

- Nihali (Bh) *kepa*, (M) *kepā*, (pl. *kep-ṭa*) ‘louse’
- AN: ? Meso-Melanesian: Madak *larat-kap* ‘louse’, Madak (Lamasong dialect) *gap* id. (ABVD)
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *kapo* ‘nits’ (Batchelor)

§ NA 13.

lungs:

- AA: Munda: Sora *bəɾɔ* ‘lungs’, Gorum *burob* ‘lung, heart’, Remo *buru*, *buruk* ‘lung, heart’ (pl. *burug-le*), Gutob *buroʔ* ‘heart’ (Hayes 1996, CM)
- AN: PAN **baRaq* ‘lungs’ > Formosan: Kananabun *varáʔə*, Ami *valaq*, Pazeh *baraʔ*, Sediq *balaq*, etc.; MP: Madurese *bhárá*, Tagalog *bá:gaʔ*, etc. (Dahl 64, 111)
- Ainu: Kamchatka *bāgāk* ‘lungs’ (Klaproth 1823, p. 309)

§ BB 49.

man (1):

- Nihali (Bh) *ātho*, (M) *átho* ‘husband’
- AA: Aslian: Mantra of Malacca *thou* ‘husband’, Sakai of Tanjong Sambutan *taú* ‘male’, Tembi Boy *ata-ú* ‘husband’; Central Nicobar *otōhě* (*otāha*) ‘husband’, etc. (some < AN?)
- MY: PY **taw* ‘classifier for people, animals (and certain objects: door, ax, key)’ ‘app. by extension from ‘animal beings’ (and certain objects so conceived)’ (AT 336)
- AN: PAN **Cau*, PMP **tau* ‘person, human being’ > Paiwan *tsau-tsau*, Pazeh *sáu*, Puyuma *atou*, Bikol *tawo*, Bolaang Mongondow *intau*, etc. (Maori *tangata*, Hawaiian *kanaka* < **tau-mataq*) (ABVD)
- PTai **taw* ‘child’ (Lao), ‘app. by semantic extension from ‘person’” (AT 335)
- Ainu *enčiu* ‘man’ (in prayer and folklore) < **entiu*

§ NA 2, Blažek (1996).

man (2): PAustriac **quʎo* ‘man’ (Hayes)

- Nihali (M) *Kol-ṭa*, *Kal-ṭo* ‘men, Nihals’ (self-name), *Kal-ṭu-mandī* ‘Nihali language’, *kol* ‘wife, woman’, (Bh) *kōl* ‘woman, wife’, *kal-ṭo* ‘a Nahāl person’
- Munda: Kharia *kaɽ*, *kaɽ*, *kɔɽ* ‘person, human being’, Korku *korku*, *kurku* ‘men, Korkus’, *koro* ‘man’, Mowasi *koro*, pl. *korku*, Mundari *hɔɽɔ*, etc. ‘man’ (CM); MK: Khmer *kur* ‘Bahnar or Srɛɛ’; Bahnar *khul* ‘group, kind, type, race of people’; Asli: Besis Sep. *kur* ‘numerative for men’, *mui kur mah* ‘a single man’
- AN: PAN **hulun* ‘male, man’ (Dempwolff); cf. PMP **qulun* ‘outsiders, alien people’ (AG) > Bintulu, Katingan *ulun* ‘person’, Merina *ólona*, Punan Kelai *lun*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **kur* ‘man, person’ (V), cf. Kamchatka *kūr* ‘Mensch’ = Sakhalin *guru* (Klaproth 1823), Kuril *kor-gur* (redupl.?) ‘husband’

§ BB 50.

mountain:

- Nihali (M) *kurup* ‘stone’
- AA: MK: Alak *gor*, Kaseng *gūr* ‘mountain’; Sakai of Kerbu *gerbó*: ‘hill, mountain’, Tembi *ge:rbu* id.; Nyakur *kūr pədúər* ‘mountain’ (S98)
- AN: Oceanic **kor(a,o)* (Grace) = **gor(a,o)* (Milke) ‘mountain’

- Ai *kuru* ‘hill, mountain’ and / or PAi **gur* id. (V) > (Hokkaido) *huru, furu*, Kuril *gur*, Saru, Yakumo *hur(-u)*
§ Bengtson (1997a); BB 51, S98.

neck:

- AA: Munda: Gutob *lugo* ‘neck’; MK: Nicobar: Car *likun* ‘neck, nape’; Asli: Semang (Begbie), Orang Benua *ŋot*, Pangan Ulu Aring *ŋud* ‘neck’ etc.; Riang (White Striped) *s’ɣkɔt* ‘nape of neck’, Nyakur *k’ɔ:-khút* ‘neck’
- AN **likuɖ* (Dempwolff) = **likúDe* (Dyen & McFarland) ‘back’ > Formosan: Puyuma *rikuán* ‘back’, Thao *rikus*, Saaroa *likoso*, Saisiat *ikor*, Siraya *ricos*; PMP **likud* ‘back’ > Tagalog *likód*, Babuyan *dicod*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **dekut* (EHL), *de[-]kut* (V) ‘neck’: Nairo *tekuh* id. vs. (Hokkaido) *rekutkoni* ‘croup’, *rekutumbe* ‘necklace, yoke’, (La Pérouse) *tchikot-ampé* id., *rekuči* ‘throat’, Kamchatka *rēkūt*, Sakhalin *reguzy* ‘neck’ (Klaproth 1823)
§ BB 58; S98 Ai + Nyakur. Cf. PAustriac **[li]ko(n)(z)* ‘back’ (Hayes).

night:

- Nihali (K) *mindī-dēwtā* ‘moon’ (‘night-deity’, Nihali + Indic), (Bh) *mindī* ‘evening, night’, (M) *méndi* ‘night’
- AA: Munda: Santali *ñinda*, Mundari, Ho *nida* ‘night’, Remo *mindip*, *mīdip*, *miṇḍip* ‘evening, night’, Gutob *mindik* ‘night’ (CM); Aslian: Pangan *mendōi* ‘last night’
- Ainu **mOn(=)rE* ‘to be late at night’ (V)
§ NA 18, Blažek (1996). Kuiper (1962: 75) ascribes Nihali *mindī* to Dravidian origin.

nose: PAustriac **ɜVŋ* (EHL)

- Nihali (Bh) *cōn* ‘nose’, (M) *cojona* ‘nose’, *cón* ‘nose’ (but also ‘mouth’ for some informants, per Mundlay), also *coʔon* ‘nose’ (Mundlay 1996b)
- MY: Miao *tsinyu* ‘nose’, Yao (*pu-*)*tsōN*
- AN: PAN **q₂jjuŋ* (Dyen & McFarland) > Kavalan *unung*, Squiliq Atayal *idung*, Kerinci *idun, idew*, Malay *hidung*, Cebuano *ilóng*, Rotuman *isu*, Maori, Hawaiian *ihu*, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai **ʔdaŋ* (TLR); Ong Be *zoŋ*; PKam-Sui **ʔnaŋ* ‘nose, face’ (Thurgood)
- Ainu **Etu* (V): cf. (La Pérouse) *etou*, Kamchatka *āhdūm*, Sakhalin *idu* (Klaproth 1823)
§ AT 345, V92, BB 59, N98.

oil:

- AA: Munda: Santali, Ho, Birhor, Korwa *sunum*, Mundari *sunum, sunuŋ* ‘oil’ (CM); MK: Asli: Central Senoi *sěñum*, Orang Tanjong *sinum* id.
- AN: PPolynesian **sinu* ‘oil, grease’ > East Futuna *sinu/sinu*, Luangiua *suŋu, sunu*, Tuamotu, Maori *hinu* ‘fat, grease, oil’, etc.
- Ainu **sum* ‘oil (as food)’ (V) > *shum* ‘oil, fat, scum’ (Batchelor), etc.
§ BB 60. Kuiper (1966: 64) notes Tibetan *snun* ‘fat, grease, oil’, apparently borrowed from Austriac.

one (1):

- Nihali (K) *caini* ‘before’ (location), (Bh) *ceyni* ‘previously’, (M) *cayni* (numeral) ‘first’, *céyni* ‘first, previously’

- Munda **seŋ* ‘first, before’ (P 102); MK: Khasi *ši* ‘1’; Palaung *se* ‘one’ in compounds; Asli: Besisi Malacca *ciaŋ* ‘first, in front’, Semang Paya *ka’-seŋ* ‘first, formerly’; MK: Khasi *ši*: ‘one’
- AN: PAN **esa* ‘1’ > Formosan: Central Amis *cecai*, *cecaj*, *ccaj*, Kavalan *ʔissái*, Pazeh *ʔazáŋ*, *ʔizát*, Puyuma *ʔisáʔ*; PMP **isa* > Tagalog *isá*, etc.; cf. Formosan: Kanakanabu *cáni*, Saaroa *ucani*, Tsou *cíni* (ABVD)
- Daic **tsia* > Li **tsi*; Laqua *tiə*, Pupeo *cya*, Gelao *si*, Thü *tsi* ‘1’
- Ainu: PAI **si-ne* ‘1’ (V) with suf. *-ne* as in (B) *i-ne* ‘4’, *tak-ne* ‘short’, *kun-ne* ‘black’, cf. *išine* ‘conjointly, together’, *ašiu* / *ašui* / *arašui* ‘once’; (La Pérouse) *tchiné*, (de Angelis) *xine-ppú*, Kamchatka *syhnäp*, Sakhalin *šnepf*, Hokkaido *senezb*, *zinezf* ‘1’ (Klaproth 1823)

§ AT 188, BB9, S98.

one (2):

- Nihali (Bh) *biđi*, (M) *biđiko*, *biđik*, *biđi*, *beđe*, *bađa* ‘one’
- Ainu **patEk* (V) ‘only’ > *patek* (Batchelor, and all dialects)

§ NA 3.

organ: PAustriac *(*pu*)*su* ‘heart’ (EHL), **pu(t)suq* (Hayes)

- MK: PViet-Muong **pso:s* ‘lungs’; Khmer *p’oit*; Khasi *sohpet* ‘navel’
- AN **put’uʔ* ‘heart, bud’ (Dempwolff) = **pus,uq* ‘lungs, heart’ (Dyen & McFarland)
- Daic: PTai **pɔ/wɔt*, PSWTai **pɔɔt* ‘lung’ (TLR)
- Ainu **pisE* ‘stomach’ (V) > (Hokkaido) *pise* ‘bladder’, *pišoi* ‘belly of a fish’, Kamchatka *psēh* ‘stomach’, Sakhalin *pši* (Klaproth 1823)

§ AT 312, BB 71.

road:

- MK: PMon **trəw* ‘way, road’, Khmer *phlo:v* and / or PBahnaric **təɔ:ŋ* ~ **təru:ŋ* ‘road, path’; PMonic **glɔŋ*; Vietnamese *đường* ‘road’
- Daic: PTai **dl/r[u]ŋ* ‘lane, valley’ (N98)
- Ainu **truu* (V) > Yakumo, Saru *ru*, Raichiska *ruu*, Nairo *tuu*, *tru*, *ru*, Kuril *tojru*, *tru*, etc.

§ BB 65; V92, N98, S98. Sino-Tibetan **rōŋ* ‘road’, may be of substratal, i.e. MK origin ?.

root: PAustriac **ʔrEʒ* (EHL)

- AA: Munda: Santali *rehe’d*, Mundari *re:’d*, Sora *je’ed* ‘root’ (CM); MK: Waic **res* ‘root’; Khmer *ris*; Mon *ruih*; PKatuic **riējh*; Bahnar *rəh*, Sre *rias*, Stieng *riěh*, etc. < PBahnaric **riəh*; PViet-Muong **re:lh* > Vietnamese *rễ*
- AN **ʔuyat* (Dempwolff) = **H₂uyat₂* (Dahl) ‘blood vessel, vein, sinew, tendon’ > Formosan: Kanakanabu *urátsə*, Puyuma *oraʔ* ‘blood vessel’, etc.; PMP **uRat* ‘root’ > Iban, Maloh *urat*, Dayak Ngaju *uhat*, Tagalog *ugát*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 19)
- Ainu **rit* ‘root’ > *shin-rit* ‘roots of plants, ancestors’, *kem-rit* ‘blood vessel’ (Batchelor), Kuril *ryt* ‘tendons’, etc.

§ BB 66, S98; V92 Ainu + MK. Peiros (EHL) compares instead PAN **waRej* ‘vine, creeper, root’.

sand:

- AA: Munda: Kurku *ote, wate*, Mundari *ɔtɛ, ɔte*, Santali *ɔt*, Ho, Kurku *ote*, etc. ‘earth, ground’ (CM); MK: PMon **hət̪i* ‘sand’ (S98)
- Daic: Thai *hàat* ‘sand bank, rapids’ < PTai **hat* (TLR)
- Ainu **Ota* ‘sand’ (V) > Hokkaido *òtá*, Kuril *ota, otà*, etc.

§ V92, S98 compared Ainu + PMon.

skin (1):

- Nihali **-kap-* ‘*skin’ in (Bh) *jiki-kap-ri* ‘eyebrow’, (M) *jiki-kāp-ri* ‘eyelid’ (where *-ri* is a personalizer suffix)
- MK: Stieng *kup, kuo:p* ‘skin, bark’; Asli: Sakai (Sungai Raya) *t̪s̪i-kop* ‘bark’, (C) ‘skin’, Jakun *t̪sun-kop* ‘skin’
- AN: SFormosan **kaba* > Kanakanabu *káva* ‘skin’, Paiwan *kava* ‘(skin-)clothing’
- Daic: PSWTai **kaap* ‘husk, sheath (of plants)’ (TLR)
- Ainu **kAp* ‘skin, fur’ (V), cf. (Hokkaido) *kapu* ‘skin, bark’, *šik-kap* ‘eyelid’, Sakhalin *kapu* ‘Haut’ (Klaproth 1823)

§ BB 67, V92, S98. Ainu > (or < ?) Old Japanese *kaFa* ‘skin, hide / fur’.

skin (2):

- AA: MK: Jeh *kədu:h* ‘bark’, Ruc *kəduh* id., Chrau *ntoh*, Rongao *kdoh*, Bahnar *kado?*, etc. ‘bark’ (S98)
- Ainu **dus* ‘skin, fur’ (V) > *rush* ‘skins of animals’ (Batchelor), Nairo *tus* ‘fur, skin’, etc.

§ S98.

skin (3):

- AA: Munda: Santali *ur* ‘to peel off, flay, to skin’, Mundari *ur* ‘bark of a tree’, *ur* ‘leather, hide, skin’, Ho *ur* ‘skin’ (CM); MK: Riang *hu:r* ‘skin’
- Ainu **ur* ‘fur coat’ (V) > *uru* ‘skin, skin of animals, hair of the body’, Kuril *ur* ‘clothes made from the skin of a young reindeer’, etc.

§ BB 68.

sky:

- Nihali (K) *l̪egē* ‘up’
- AA: Munda: Korku *le:n* ‘above, upon’, Sora *lanka:-n* ‘above’, *raŋge* ‘air’, *leŋ.leŋ* ‘very high, inaccessible’, *baleŋ* ‘roof’, Juang *aliŋ* ‘top’ (CM); MK: Khmer *liŋ* ‘monter, s’élève, gravir’, PBahnaric **le:ŋ* ‘sky’; Palaung *ple:ŋ*, etc. (AG)
- AN: PAN **laŋiC* ‘sky’ > Formosan: Saaroa *laŋica*, Puyuma *ranget*; PMP **laŋit* > Merina *lánitra*, Tagalog *lánit*, Malay *langit*, Hainan Cham *ŋi?*, etc.; PEast Oceanic **laŋi* ‘up’ > Maori *rangi*, Hawaiian *lani* ‘day, heaven, sky’, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 108-113)
- Ainu **nis* ‘sky, cloud’ (V) > *nish* ‘clouds, heavens, air, sky’ (Batchelor)

§ Bengtson (1997a); N98. Shafer (1940) compared Nihali + Munda.

sleep:

- AA: Bahnar *po:* ‘to dream’, Vietnamese *mó* id.
- MY: PMY **pwəi* (**pwə²i²*) > PMiao **pi* ‘to sleep’ (Kosaka 2002: 85)
- AN: PRemote Oceanic **m^woe* ‘to sleep’ > Samoan, Tahitian, Maori, Hawaiian *moe*, Fijian *moce*, etc. (ABVD)

- Ainu **mO* ‘sleep’ (V) > *mo-koro* ‘to sleep’ (Batchelor), Kuril *mo-kooro* ‘to sleep’, *mo-so* ‘to wake up’, etc.

§ V92, S98 Ainu + MK.

snake:

- Nihali (Bh) *kōgo*, (M) *kógo* ‘snake’
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *okokko* ‘snake’ (Batchelor)

§ NA 15. The more usual Ainu words for snake are **Oyaqu* and **tOkkOni* (Vovin 1993: 122, 146).

stone (1):

- PAA **θoma* or **θamu* (Vovin), **tamu(q)* (Hayes): MK: PWa **smo*’, Mapā, Umpai *samo*, PMonic **tmɔɔ*’, Bahnar *təmo:*, Khmer *thma*, *thəmo:*, etc. ‘stone’
- Ainu **suma* (V) ‘stone’ > *shuma* (Batchelor),

§ V92, P96, S98. Hayes (Austic Glossary) subsumes **stone (1)** and **stone (2)** under the same entry: PAA **tamu(q)* = PMP **batu*.

stone (2):

- AN **batuʔ* ‘stone’ (Dempwolff): Siraya *wattu*, Malay *batu*, Hainan Cham *taw*, Cebuano *bató*, Malagasy *váto*, Maori *whatu*, etc. ‘stone’ (ABVD, Dahl 47)
- Daic: PTai **pat* ‘gem, grains of glass, glass pearls, pearl’ > Thai *pàt* ‘glass beads’; Laqua *pə* ‘stone’; Dìoi *lək pat* ‘pupil of the eye’ (*lək* is the classifier for spherical objects) (AT 398)
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *pit* ‘small stone, flint’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 72. For Dìoi ‘pupil of the eye’, cf. Maori *whatu* ‘pupil of the eye, eye’ (among other meanings: Biggs [1990]).

stone (3):

- Nihali (Bh) *cago*, (M) *čágo* ‘stone’
- AA: Munda: Mundari *ciḍgi* ‘stone’ (Bh); Aslian: Besis *ch’ogn*, *chong* ‘hill’, Seriting *ch’hogn* ‘mountain’, etc.

§ Blažek (1996).

sun:

- Munda: Kharia *tum’bɔ* ‘day, 12 hours’, Sora *’tamba:* ‘to be forenoon’, *’tamba:-’togonal* ‘day and night’; MK: Nicobar: Car *tawuui* / *tawe* ‘sun’ (Das).
- Ainu: (Hokkaido) *tombe* ‘sun’ or ‘moon’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 73.

tail (1):

- Nihali (Bh) *pago*, (M) *págo* ‘tail’
- AN: Ci’uli Atayal *bokwiʔ*, Sediq *búkwiʔ*, Paze *bukín*, Tsou *fʔuhu* ‘back’ (ABVD); POceanic **mpuku* > Fijian *mbuku* ‘pointed hind-end, tail’ (AT 230)

§ Bengtson (1997a).

tail (2):

- Munda: Santali *caṅḍlɔm*, Mundari *calɔm*, *ca’dlɔm*, *ca’lɔm*, Ho *calom*, etc. (CM); MK: Kui *sɔ:l* ‘tail’

- Ainu **sAr* ‘tail’ (V) > *sara, saraha* (Batchelor), Nairo *sar*, etc.
§ S98 MK + Ainu.

this / that:

- Munda: Korku *dee* ‘that’; MK: PMonic **tɛɛ* ‘id.’, Pacoh *do* ‘he, she, it’ (V92, P96); Nyakur *té* ‘that’ (S98)
- MY: Miao *to* ‘that’
- AN: PAN **ati* ‘that’, **-tu* ‘this’; PMalayo-Polynesian **i=tu* ‘that (near speaker)’ (N98)
- Daic: Lakkia *tu* ‘they’, Laqua *to* id., Ban-Phung *a-to* ‘this’
- Anui **ta* ‘this’, **tO* ‘that’ (V) > *ta, tan, tam, taka* ‘this’, *toan* ‘that’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 8. Of course, demonstratives in *T- are very extensive in other macrofamilies.

thou:

- AA: MK: Halang, Kaseng *ai*, Sré *ʔai/* (fem.) (V92); Bahnar *ʔɛ:*, Semai *hɛ:ʔ* (S98)
- Ainu **E* ‘thou’ (V) > *e=*, *e=ani* (Batchelor), Kuril *e, ane, a(a)ni*, etc.

§ N98, BB6. N98 compares also: PAN **i=kaSu*, PHespero-Formosan **i-Su*; Daic: PTai **su*.

tie (1):

- Nihali (Bh) *bokki-* ‘to tie something’, (M) *bokki* ‘to construct, to tie something, bind’
- AN: PAN **bekes*, **bunʔkus* ‘bundle’; Formosan: Siraya *vugot* ‘to bind’; Tagalog *bigkis* ‘bundle, waistband, bound, to tie’, etc. (AT 410)

§ Bengtson (1997a).

tie (2):

- AA: Munda: Sora *ji-kud-* ‘tie into a knot’; MK: PSouth Bahnaric **kət* ‘to tie’, Sedang *kat* ‘tie up’, Pearic *khɔ:t* ‘to tie’, Vietnamese *cột* ‘tie up, chain’ (AG)
- AN: PMP **hiket* ‘to tie up, fasten’ > Malay *meng-ikat*, Hanunóo *higút*, Bintulu *miket*, Maranao *iket*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **köt=* ‘to tie (it) to’ (V) > *kote* ‘to tie up with anything, to tie on to’, etc.

§ V92 Ainu + MK.

tongue: PAustric **lVñ* ‘tongue’(EHL)

- Nihali (K) *lang*, (Bh) *lây*, (M) *laiñ* ‘tongue’
- AA: Munda: Bonda *le’ay*, Sora *lá:ɲ, la’ay*, Mundari, Santali *alay*, Korku *lan, lay* (P96); Mon *kla:n* ‘to lick’, Bahnar *liah* ‘taste, lick’, Brou *liaih* ‘tongue’, Vietnamese *lưỡi* id., etc. (AG)
- AN: Formosan: Kavalan *lilám*, Basai *lilam*, etc. ‘tongue’ (ABVD)
- Daic: PTai **lin* ‘tongue’ (TLR)

tooth (1): PAustric **ɲVk* (EHL) ‘tooth’; cf. PAustric **maq* ‘to chew’ (Hayes)

- Nihali (K) *mēɲgē* ‘tooth’, (Bh) *menge* ‘tooth, jaw’, (M) *méngɛ* ‘tooth, teeth’
- MK: Mon *ɲek* ‘tooth’ (P96, not accepting cognacy of Nihali + Mon); Khmu *mah* ‘to eat’, Katu *mamah* ‘to chew’ and / or Khmer *ɲiəɲ* ‘barb’, Niakuol of Petchaben *ɲiek* ‘tooth’
- AN: PMP **mamaq* ‘to chew’ > Javanese *mamah*, Hawaiian *mama*, etc.; cf. POceanic **maka(s)* ‘tooth’ (Saliba *mwaka*), **mana* ‘mouth’ > Ghari *mana-*, Kokota *mana-na*, Maori *maangai* ‘mouth’ (ABVD)

- Daic: PSouthTai **(h)ma(a)k* > Ahom *mak* ‘chew the cud’; PKam-Sui **hma:k* ‘chew’ (Thurgood); PTai **hɲuak* ‘gum (tooth); palate; gills’ (TLR)
- Ainu **ima(-)k* (V) ‘tooth’, cf. (La Pérouse) *yma*, Kamchatka *imak*, Sakhalin *nimaki* (= **nii* ‘tooth’ + **imak-* id.), Hokkaido *mimak* (Klaproth 1823)

§ NA 19; BB 74. Cf. also PAustric **moŋ* ‘mouth’ (Hayes). This proto-etymology should probably eventually be split into two or more new etymologies.

tooth (2): PAustric **gis* (Hayes), with infixes **g[a]nis*

- AA: Munda: Gutob *gi:ne* ‘tooth, molar’, Remo *gine* ‘tooth’, kisa=*gine* ‘canine teeth, tusk’, Kharia *gɔnɛ* ‘tooth’, Gta’ *gi, gini* id. (CM); MK: PMonic **gnis* ‘canine tooth’, Khmer /khnae/ ‘tusk, spur’, etc.
- AN: Malay *genih* ‘tusks of a female elephant’ (Kuiper 1948: 377); cf. PAN *gigih* ‘tooth’ (Dempwolff) > Malay, Makassar *gigi*, Kerinci *gigi, gigoy*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **nii* ‘tooth’ (V) > *ni-maki* ‘tooth’ (see **tooth [1]**), *ni-rush* ‘gums’ (‘tooth-skin’) (Batchelor)

§ V92, S98; cf. N98. Alternatively, Ainu **nii* could be compared with PAN **ɲis* ‘to bare the teeth’ > Old Javanese *ijis* ‘bared, visible (teeth, etc.), bare the teeth, grin, smile’, etc. (ART 132); or, following N98, cf. PMP **ipen, *lipen, *nipen, *jipen* ‘tooth’, PAA **lɔmpəŋi* id., etc. (See Hayes, Austric Glossary: TOOTH 2.)

tree (1):

- Nihali (Bh) *arɖu, aɖɖo*, (M) *aɖɖo* ‘tree’
- AA: Munda: Parengi *ara* ‘tree’ (Bh), Sora *əra* ‘timber tree, wood’ (CM, Kuiper 1966); MK: Bru *aruih* ‘woods’ (Thomas 1966: 199)

§ Bengtson (1997a).

tree (2): PAustric **kax(e)u* (Hayes)

- MK: Palaung-Wa: Umpai, Bo Luang, Mape *khe* ‘wood’ : *kho* ‘tree’; PViet-Muong **kuy* ‘firewood’; Nicobar *chīa* ‘tree, wood’
- AN **kaju?* (Dempwolff) = **káS₂iu?e* (Dyen & McFarland) ‘tree’ > Paiwan *kasiw*, Pazeh *kahuy* ‘tree, wood’, Siraya *caiou*, Tagalog *kahoy*, Malay *kaju*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 35, 46, 120)
- Ainu *kaja* ‘pays montagneux, montagnes’

§ BB 54. Cf. Old Japanese *kē* ‘tree’ < Austric substratum.

two (1): PAustric **zuwas* (Hayes)

- AA: Munda: Sora *rua:-n* ‘together, along, at one and the same time’; MK: Bahnar *adoi, hodoi, hódai* ‘together’, Pacoh *tōi* ‘pair’, Vietnamese *dôi* id.
- AN **đuva?* (Dempwolff) = **DəwS₃a* (Dyen & McFarland) > Formosan: Kavalan *rusá?*, Siraya *rauha, duha*, Kananabau *cúsa*, Tsou *ruso*, etc.; PMP **duha* > Cebuano *duhá*, Malay *dua*, Maori *rua*, Hawaiian *lua*, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 30, 46)
- Daic: Li **draw* = **lau* (Theraphan); Laqua *ðe*; NKelao *so*; Lati *su / fu* ‘2’; cf. PTai **dra:w* ‘20’
- Ainu: PAi **tuu* ‘2’ (V), cf. (Batchelor) *tup* ‘two things’, ? *ru* ‘half, partly’; (de Angelis) *tzu-ppù, tou* [*tu*] (La Pérouse); Kamchatka *dūpk*, Sakhalin *tup*, Hokkaido *zuzb, zuzf* ‘2’ (Klaproth 1823)

§ AT 188, V92, BB 10.

two (2): PAustriac *ʔaʔli (EHL), *qar, *(n)qampar (Hayes)

- PAA *ʔa:r (EHL): Munda *[u]bar ‘2’ (Pinnow); MK: Khasi a:r; Lemet ar, Palaung a(r); Khmer bir, Mon ’ba, Samre paar, PBahnar *’ba, PKatuic *’bə:r, SKhmu, Lawen baar ‘2’; Vietnamese bay ‘pair’, Asli: Serau maar, naar etc., Che’ Wong ber
- MY *(a)war / *(ə)wər ‘2’
- AN *ke(m)bar ‘twins’ (Lopez); cf. PAN *pali ‘side, half’ (EHL)
- Daic: Mak wa, Ong-Be vən ‘twin’
- Ainu *oar > ara one of the pair, side’, a rake / a rage ‘half’, oara ‘one of a pair, one of two’

§ BB11.

water (1): PAustriac *nVm (EHL), *[ʔ]om, *(d)zom, *zalom (Hayes)

- Munda: Sora ñum-ən ‘urine’; MK: Khmer nom, Mon nam, Talaing ñam ‘to water’, Bahnar num, SBahnar *’nno:m id. (Efimov); Asli: Sakai kenám, nəm ‘urine’ etc.
- MY: Yao *ʔnam ‘cold of water’ (Chang)
- AN: PAN *daNum (fresh) water’ > Formosan: Thao θá:ðum, Pazeh dalúm, Kavalan ranúm, za:núm, Central Amis nanum, Paiwan załum, etc.; Western MP: Chamorro hanom, Malagasy ráno, Palauan ralm; Oceanic: Kiribati ran, ræn, Manam dan, etc. (ABVD, Dahl 97, 102)
- Daic: PTai *nl/ram ‘water’ > Thai náam (TLR); PKam-Sui *ñam-ti (Thurgood); Lakkia num; Ong-Be nam; Li *nom etc. ‘water’
- Ainu (Hokkaido) nam ‘fresh or cool (as fresh water), cold as water or one’s feet hands’, nam wakka ‘fresh or cool water’ (Batchelor)

§ BB 78. Norquest (p.c.) suggests that the Daic words are better compared with PAN *tənəm ‘ocean’.

water (2):

- AA: Munda: Kharia oaʔ, uaʔ, uwaʔ ‘to bathe, to wash one’s body, to swim’, Juang uag-, uaŋ- ‘to bathe’ (CM); MK: Asli: Semaq Beri la’wak ‘river’ (Hayes) and / or Sakai of Pulau Guai wök, Sakai of Krau wö, Semang Paya uoh ‘to drink’ etc.; Khmer uak, Ksinmul ’uk id. (Sidwell [1998] compares the last two forms with Ainu *kuu ‘to drink’)
- AN *wayəy (Dempwolff) = *wahiR₁₂₃ (Dyen & McFarland) ‘water’ > Manobo ’wihig, wayig, Koiwai (Irian Jaya) wálar, Malay air, Maori, Hawaiian wai, Samoan vai, etc. (ABVD)
- Daic: Proto-Southwest Tai *wak ‘to scoop out water’ > Thai wak (TLR)
- Ainu *wakka (EHL): (La Pérouse) ouachka = (Hokkaido) wacha, wazka, (Sakhalin) waka (Klaproth 1823) ‘water’ (? wakka / wahka / wazka < *wažka < *wayka)

§ BB 77. Cf. **drink**. Vovin (1993) reconstructs Proto-Ainu *hdak-ka and compares it with Austriac *đak ‘water’ (Munda, Mon-Khmer). Likewise Sidwell (1998).

water (3):

- AA: MK: Bahnar bah ‘Mündung eines Flusses’, Khmer anwā ‘kleiner Bach, Kanal’ (Schmidt 1906, p. 155) or perhaps better PViet-Muong *pe ‘sea’ (Thompson)
- AN *baʔah (Dempwolff) = *baháq (Dyen & McFarland) ‘food, water’ etc.

- Daic: PTai *ʔba ‘overflow, spill’ (AT 349)
- Ainu *pE ‘water, sap’ (V), cf. *pen* ‘source’, *pene* ‘fine rain; aqueous, watery’ etc. (Batchelor), Kamchatka *pìh* ‘water’ (Klaproth 1823)

§ BB 79.

water (4):

- Nihali (Bh) *jappo*, *joppo*, (M) *joppo* ‘water’
- AA: Munda: Santali, Mundari *jɔbɛ* ‘to get wet’, Korwa *jɔbɛ* ‘wet’ (CM); MK: PKatuic *ʔjip ‘wet’ (Peiros)
- Daic: PTai *jup ‘to dip into (water)’ > Thai *cʰúp* (TLR)

§ Bengtson (1997a).

we / us (1):

- Nihali (Bh) *tyē-ko*, *tē-ku*, (M) *té-ko* ‘we (two)’(dual)
- MK: Vietnamese (arrogant) *ta* ‘I’, *chúng ta* ‘we’ Muong *tan’ha* ‘we’
- AN: PAN *(*ki-*)*ta* ‘we’ (inclusive); Western Fijian **ti* ‘we’ (incl., trial, present/future), **tu* ‘we’ (incl., trial, non-time/past); cf. Tahitian, Maori *taaua* ‘we’ (dual inclusive), *taatou* ‘we’ (plural inclusive)
- Daic: PTai **tu* ‘we’ (excl.) (TLR), Mak *di* ‘we’ (excl.) / *da* (incl.), Lakkia *ta* / *tau* id.; PKam-Sui **trau* ‘we’ (incl.)
- Ainu **ti*= ‘we’ (realized as /či/ in all dialects) (V)

§ NA 25; BB 3.

we / us (2):

- Nihali (Bh) *māney*, (M) *manē* ‘we’ (pl.)
- AA: Munda **bi(n)* ‘we’ (incl.); MK: SBahnar **bɔɪ:n* ‘we’ (incl.), NBahnar *(ʔ)*bèn* < PBahnar **bə(:)n* ‘we’ (incl.)
- ? PMY *(*m*)*pua* ‘we’
- AN: PAN *(*ka-*)*mi* ‘we’ (exclusive); PPhilippine **mami* ‘we’(excl.), POceanic **-mami* ‘our’ (excl.), **mēy* ‘we’ (Itabashi 1998:88-89); Maori, Tahitian *maaua* ‘we’ (dual excl.), *maatou* ‘we’ (pl. excl.)
- Ainu **un* ‘we, us’ (transitive, accusative) (Itabashi 1998: 88): e.g., *un kore* ‘give it to us’, *un ahaigekara nisa* ‘he slandered us’ (Batchelor)

§ NA 17; BB 5. All the forms are derivable from **bVn-*, the AN forms < **mani* (cf. Nihali *manē*) < **bani*, or the like.

what: PAustriac *nVw ‘what, who’ (EHL)

- Nihali (K) *nānko*, (Bh) *nān*, *nāy*, (M) *nānā* ‘what’
- MK: Mon *nu* ‘what’, Vietnamese *nào* ‘what?, which?, every, some, what(ever), any, whichever’ (P96, AG)
- AN: PAN **n-anu* ‘what’ > Sqliq Atayal *nanuʔ*, Sediq *mánuʔ*, Punan Kelai *non*, Tagalog *anó*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **nEE*= ‘who, what’: Hokkaido *nen*, *neni* ‘who’, *nep* ‘what’ (Batchelor)

§ This and **who (2)** are probably the same etymon. Kuiper (1966) ascribes Nihali *nān*, *nāy* to Dravidian origin.

where:

- Nihali (Bh) *mingay*, (M) *mingā* ‘where’
- AA: Aslian: Jakun *ming*, *měnung* ‘where’
- AN: Dobuan *mane*, Maisin *man*, *manke*, Molima *maina*, Ubir *menan* ‘where’ (all located on Papua)

§ Blažek (1996).

white:

- AA: Munda: Santali *tartaria* ‘rein, klar’; Sora *ta’ar* ‘to shine, be bright, bloom’, *tar* ‘white’, Gadaba *ta-tār* ‘white’, Kharia *tardí* id.; MK: Bahnar *tār* ‘leuchtendes Weiss’
- AN **tarah* ‘clear’ (Dempwolff).
- PAi **detara* (V) > Sakhalin *tedari*, Hokkaido *tetar* (Klaproth 1823), Yakumo, Asahigawa etc. *retar*, Raichiska, Naira *tetara* id.

§ BB 80; V92 Ainu + Munda + MK.

who (1): (PAustrianic **kU* ‘what, how’)

- MK: Khmer ‘*anakna* ‘who’; cf. Nicobarese *kahā* ‘what’; Munda *o-ko-e* ‘who’, *o-ka* ‘what’
- AN: PAN **kuja* ‘how’ > Formosan: Puyuma *kuḍayáú*; Oceanic: Nggela *gagua*, etc. (ABVD)
- Ainu **gu(n)na* ‘who’

§ S98 compares MK and Ainu.

who (2):

- Nihali (Bh,M) *nāni* ‘who’
- PAA **nVw* ‘who’: MK: Kui *nà*; Katuic **naw*, Khmer *khəṅao* (S98)
- Ainu **nEE=* ‘who, what’: Hokkaido *nen*, *neni* ‘who’, *nep* ‘what’ (Batchelor)

§ Cf. **what**. S98 compares MK and Ainu. Kuiper (1966) ascribes Nihali *nāni* to Dravidian origin.

year:

- Daic: PTai **pi* ‘year’ (Li), PKam-Sui **mpe* (Thurgood), Ong-Be ‘*bei*, Li ‘*be*; Lakkia *pěi*
- Ainu **paa* ‘year, season, age’ (V): Kamchatka *pāh*, Sakhalin *pa* (Klaproth 1823)

§ BB 82.

you (pl.):

- Nihali (Bh) *lā*, (M) *lá* ‘you’ (plural)
- Daic: Lakkia *liu* ‘you’ (pl.), Lao *lau* ‘thou’ (AT 207)

§ Bengtson (1997a).

Notes on Phonology (Nihali, Ainu)

Nihali often exhibits what might be very old Proto-Austrianic stem types, for example the type CVCVCV, where CVCVC or CVCCV is more common in other Austrianic languages, e.g. (see the etymology indicated in **bold** type for full details):

- N. *kuguso* : cf. Ainu *kiški* (< **kVsVkV* ~ **kVkVsV* ?) (**hair**)
- N. *cacuko* : cf. PAN **segseg*, Ainu **sEEsEk* (**hot**)
- N. *cojona* : cf. PAN **qǝjúŋ* (**nose**)
- N. *biḍiko* : cf. Ainu **patEk* (**one**)

In some other cases Nihali has the more common Austric (C)VCVC shape, in some of which Nihali has apparently lost the last consonant of the Proto-Austric stem:

:

- N. *kalen, kallen* : cf. Madurese *tellor* (**egg**)
- N. *cokob* : cf. Santali, Mundari, Korwa *sakam* (**leaf**)
- N. *kurup* : cf. Ainu *kuru* (**mountain**)
- N. *paḍa* : cf. PAN **paCay* (**die**)
- N. *āpo* : cf. PAN **Sapuy* (**fire**)
- N. *lēgē* : cf. PAN **laŋiS* (**sky**)

Ainu also exhibits some of the same Austric stem types, and their modifications. For CVCVC cf:

- A. **kisAr* : cf. Khasi *kaško:r* (**ear [2]**)
- A. **apOy* : cf. PAN **Sapuy* (**fire**)
- A. Kamchatka *bāgāk* : cf. PAN **baRaŋ* (**(lungs)**)
- A. **dekut, rekut* : cf. PAN **likuD* (**neck**)

In several cases Ainu has elided the first syllable and preserved only the second syllable of the Proto-Austric stem, a process duplicated in other mainland Austric languages:

- A. **nOk* : cf. PAN **manuk* : Hainan Cham **nuʔ*, PY **nɔʔ* (**bird**)
- A. *ok* : cf. PAN **hauak* : Tai *òk* (**chest**)
- A. **day* : cf. PAN **maCay, *paCay* : PMY **day* (**die**)
- A. **rit* : cf. PAN **uRaC* : Khmer *ris* (**root**)
- A. **dus* : cf. Jeh *kədu:h* (**skin [2]**)
- A. **nis* : cf. PAN **laŋiC* : Hainan Cham *ŋiʔ* (**sky**)
- A. **nii* : cf. Malay *genih* (**tooth [2]**)
- A. *nam* : cf. PAN **daNum* : Thai *náam* (**water [1]**)

In yet other cases Ainu has apparently preserved only the first syllable, or otherwise ‘telescoped’ the Proto-Austric form:

- A. **nOt* : cf. PAN **ŋu[t]uʔ* (**chin**)
- A. **sum* : cf. Mundari *sunum, sunuŋ* (**oil**)
- A. *pit* : cf. AN **batuʔ* (**stone [2]**)

Proto-Austric *ŋ: As pointed out by Norquest (1998) there is no dorsal nasal [ŋ] in Ainu. Apparently in initial position it changed to the coronal nasal [n], and in final position it was lost, possibly with an intermediate stage of nasalized vowel (**Vŋ > *Ṽ > V*), e.g.:

- A. **nOqi=pE* : cf. PTai **ŋ[ui]* (**brain, marrow**)

- A. **nOt* : cf. PAN **ɲu[tʰ]uʔ* (**chin**)
- A. **nis* : cf. PAN **lanjɪC* : Hainan Cham *ɲiʔ* (**sky**)
- A. **nii* : cf. PAN **ɲis* ‘to bare the teeth’ or PAN **ɲipen* ‘tooth’ ? (**tooth [2]**)
- A. **kEqu* : cf. PKatuic **ɲhaaŋ*, PMY **tshuŋ*, PAN **CuqelaN* (**bone**)
- A. **pa* : cf. Nihali *peŋg*, *pěy*, *pyeŋ* (**head**)
- A. **(ki)(=)raqu* : cf. AN: PHespero-Formosan **uReŋ* (**horn [2]**)
- A. **Etu* : cf. PAN **qɔjjuŋ* (**nose**)
- A. **truu* : cf. PBahnaric **təɾɔ:ŋ ~ *təru:ŋ* (**road**)

Ainu Kamchatka *āhdūm* ‘nose’ (Klaproth 1823) could represent the preservation of final [ŋ] > [m] in this sparsely recorded dialect.

Palatalization of Proto-Austric **k*, **g* ? In a very few cases we find the opposition of Ainu velars to palatals in other Austric languages:

- Ainu **kemi* or **kEm* = PYao **džhyaam*, East Formosan **dzamu(?)* (**blood**)
- Ainu **kEqu* = PMY **tshuŋ*, PAN **CuqelaN* (**bone**)
- Ainu **ki* = Nihali *cilar-ʔa* = PAA **cai / *cäi*: Kharia *sɛʔ*, Khmer *caj*, Bahnar *si*, etc. (**louse**)

If these comparisons are historically valid, they would imply a very common kind of diachronic change, palatalization of velars, often precipitated by a following (or preceding) front vowel. (The opposite change, palatal to velar, is also possible, but less probable.) The Proto-Austric forms could thus be something like:

- PA ***gem[u]* ‘blood’ > **giam[u]* > Formosan **dzamu(?)*, PYao **džhyaam*, etc.
- PA ***kequŋ* ‘bone’ > **tsequŋ* > **tsuqe-(la)(N)*
- PA ***ki* ‘louse’ > **tsi* > PAA **cai / *cäi*

Nihali, in a few cases, seems to palatalize velars where most Austric languages still have velars:

- Nihali *cān*, *cán* ‘fish’ : cf. AA **ka*, AN **Sikan*
- Nihali *jō*, *jó* ‘I’ : cf. AA. **kwa*, AN **aku*, Tai, Ainu **ku*

But so far these suggestions remain very uncertain. There are not enough clear examples yet to formulate “phonetic laws.”

Is Ainu Eurasiatic?

What about the hypothesis of the Eurasiatic (Nostratic) affiliation of Ainu? This idea has been developed by Ramstedt, Patrie, Greenberg, and others. It cannot be denied that there are some lexical parallels between Ainu and the Eurasiatic languages, especially Japanese and Korean. Among these some of the most striking include:

- Ainu **kemi* ‘blood’ : PSamoyed **kem* or **kəm* ‘blood’, PAltaic **kǰāno* ‘blood, blood vessel’, etc.
- Ainu **sine* ‘one’ : PAltaic **sǰóna* ‘one’, PIE **san-/*sen-* ‘apart, without’, etc.
- Ainu **tu* ‘two’ : PAltaic **tǰubu*, PIE **dwōu-* ‘two’, etc.
- Ainu **kap* ‘skin’, bark, fur’ : PAltaic **kǰp’á* ‘bark, skin’, PUralic **kopa* id.

However, as I remarked in my review of Patrie (1982) (Bengtson [1998]), the few clear parallels between Ainu and Eurasianic are either loanwords (e.g., Ainu **pone* ‘bone’, **sippo* ‘salt’ < Japanese), or, like the four parallels listed above, words of a very old pedigree, and common to several macro-families or even Proto-World. The parallels between Ainu and Austric, on the other hand, are both more numerous and more phonologically straightforward and regular. See, besides the proto-etymologies listed above, the morphological evidence and etymologies involving pronouns, numerals, and other basic vocabulary put forth by Gjerdman (1926), Vovin (1992, 1993), Schuhmacher (1994), Itabashi (1998), Norquest (1998), Sidwell (1998), Bengtson & Blažek (2000).

One of the most decisive facts is that Ainu totally lacks the characteristic Eurasianic **me / *te* ‘me / thee’ pronominal pattern,² having instead **ku / *an* ‘I / me’ (discussed further below) and **E* ‘thou’, with clear parallels in Austric. Ainu morphology in general has a more Austric character than Eurasianic (Itabashi 1998).

Discussion

The beginning of my work in Austric grew out of my interest in genetic classification of all the world’s languages, including the “isolated” languages: Basque, Burushaski, Ainu, Nihali, Kusunda, etc., in the 1980’s. Through the preliminary method of mass comparison (multilateral comparison), together with investigating previous proposals, I provisionally found that Basque and Burushaski most probably belonged to the Sino-Caucasian (Dene-Caucasian) macrofamily, while Ainu most probably belonged to Austric (Bengtson 1992).

In the investigation of Nihali I found Kuiper’s notes about some Nihali and Munda words that resembled Ainu words (Kuiper 1962: 43ff.; 1966: 65). Kuiper hesitated to draw any conclusions about these parallels since they seemed to be so few, and impossible to distinguish from chance resemblances.

However, over the years I continued to gather more Nihali-Ainu parallels, and published 26 of them in *Mother Tongue II* (1996). The idea of a greater, more multilateral Austric, including Nihali and Ainu, as well as Austroasiatic, Miao-Yao, Austronesian, and Daic, was supported by Blažek (1996), and later Blažek and I co-authored a paper on Austric parallels to Ainu words (Bengtson & Blažek 2000).

“Nihali and Ainu” has been criticized as “unconvincing” (van Driem 2001: 253), and this criticism is justified as long as the comparisons proposed there are viewed as random resemblances. Therefore here I would like to restate the significance of these parallels (and others added later) and emphasize that there is enough morphological and

² Greenberg admitted this, e.g., (2000, p. 62) “... *m* is the basic indicator of first person, and is found in every subgroup except Ainu ...”; and under “Second-person *t*” (2000, pp. 71-74) there is no mention of any Ainu reflex.

lexical evidence at least to *suggest a hypothesis* that Nihali and Ainu represent the remnants of western and eastern relic areas of the Austric macrofamily (before the dispersal of Austronesian).

Morphological retentions:

The first person singular pronouns in both Nihali and Ainu exhibit a stem suppletion:

- Nihali *jō, jó* ‘I’ (nominative) :: *eŋ-* ‘me/my’ (1st person singular oblique)
- Ainu: **ku* ‘I’ (nominative) :: **an* ‘me’ (oblique), **in-* ‘1st person objective prefix’

In my interpretation these pronouns could point to an original Proto-Austric opposition between nominative **aku* ‘I’ and oblique **eN-* ‘me, my’. As to how Nihali *jō, jó* can match Ainu **ku*, cf. the palatalized forms in Mon-Khmer: Brou *cuŋq*, Pacoh *cu*, Car Nicobar *cu-ō*, Nancowry *cūa*, Teressa *ciaa* ‘I’. See the etymologies **I (1)** and **I (2)** for details.

First person dual-plural pronouns also exhibit an opposition:

- Nihali *tyē-ko, tē-ku, té-ko* ‘we (two)’ (dual/inclusive) :: *māney, manē* ‘we’ (plural/exclusive)
- Ainu **ti=* ‘we’ (realized as /či/ in all dialects) :: **un* ‘us’ (objective)

Possibly these reflect a Proto-Austric opposition between **tV* and **bVn-*. See the inclusive and exclusive forms listed in the etymologies **we / us (1)** and **we / us (2)**. It is of course impossible, at this stage, to know what the precise Proto-Austric pronominal paradigms were, and whether the inclusive/exclusive dimension or nominative/objective opposition is original here.

Lexical archaisms: Words for ‘eye, eyelid, hot, on(e)(ly)’:

- Nihali *jiki, jiki(r)* ‘eye’
- Ainu **sik* (~ **gik, *hik*) (Vovin): Hokkaido *shik, shiki*, Kuril сикъ [sik] ‘eye’

Most Austric languages have instead words of the type **maCa* ‘eye’. Apart from Ainu and Nihali the only cognates seem to be found in some Formosan languages and possibly some remnants in Munda (see **eye [1]**). We can go on to the words for ‘eyelid’ (‘eyebrow’):

- Nihali (Bh) *jiki-kap-ri* ‘eyebrow’, (M) *jiki-kāp-ri* ‘eyelid’
- Ainu (Hokkaido) *shik-kap* ‘eyelid’, (Kuril) сикап, сикапъ [sikap] ‘eyelids’ (‘eye’ + ‘skin’)

In both languages we see a compound of Austric **Ciki* ‘eye’ + **kap-* ‘skin’ (see **skin [1]**). While the agreement of Nihali *jiki* and Ainu **sik* can easily be viewed as a coincidence, the probability that two unrelated languages would also have the same compound, **Ciki-kap*, with the same meaning (if we accept Mundlay’s interpretation as the most accurate) must be much smaller. And when we further bring in some other parallels, coincidence seems even less likely. Here we can consider the word for **hot** (see above for details):

- Nihali *cacũko* ‘hot’, *cacakāmā* ‘to heat’
- Ainu **sEEsEk* ‘(to be, to grow) hot’ > *sesek, seisek, shesek*, Kuril *sesik* ‘warm’, *sesikva* ‘hot’

Here there is both the exact semantic match, and the identical sequence of palatal/sibilant + palatal/sibilant + velar. (Proto-Ainu had no voiceless palatal, only the sibilant **s*, per Vovin [1993]). Consider also the comparison **one (2)**:

- Nihali *biḍiko, biḍik*, (beside *biḍi, beḍe, baḍa*) ‘one’
- Ainu **patEk* (V) ‘only’ > *patek* (in all dialects)

Here again we have a triconsonantal match of labial + coronal + velar. These Nihali-Ainu parallels, striking as they are, are not in themselves conclusive, but taken together with other basic comparisons [see especially **come/go, die, fire (1), fire (2), flesh, four, give, hair (1), head, louse (2), man (1), man (2), mountain, nose, one (1), snake, tooth (1)**], there is certainly enough “suggestive evidence” here to propose a hypothesis that Nihali and Ainu represent the remnants of some of the outer extensions of the Austric family. Of the twenty-nine Nihali-Ainu comparisons listed above, eleven belong to the innermost core of basic vocabulary, the “35-word list”:³ **die, eye (1), fire (1), fire (2), give, I/me (1), I/me (2), nose, one (1), one (2), tooth**. This tells us that there is potentially a deep relationship of some kind that should be thoroughly investigated.

Regarding the relative positions of these “isolates” within Austric, let us look at the distribution of proposed cognates. It is interesting that Nihali retains some words not retained by its closest Austric neighbor, Munda, but that are found in more remote Austric languages (*e.g.*, **child [1], fire [1], flesh, hot, louse [2], nose, snake, tail [1], tie [1], you**). This suggests that Nihali (and the presumed larger family of which it is the sole remnant)⁴ stands independent of Munda and may be no closer to it than to the other Austric branches.

Ainu likewise preserves some words found, *e.g.*, in Austroasiatic or Daic, but not in Austronesian (*cf.* **bite, child [2], come/go, drink, ear [2], fire [2], give, hair [1], horn [1], leaf [2], louse [1], road, sand, skin [2], stone [1], sun, tail [2], thou, year**). My sense from this study is that Ainu enjoys a much firmer position within Austric than Nihali. Remembering that any statistical measure based on the proto-etymologies above

³ For the concept of the 35 most basic words, developed by S.E. Yakhontov, see Starostin (1991, 1995, 1996), Sidwell (1998a).

⁴ Kuiper (1962), Zide (1996), and van Driem (2001) discuss this putative family and its possible hypothetical relation to vanished languages of other Indian tribes: Bhils, Veddas, etc.

should be treated with caution, it is clear that Ainu has more lexical parallels with Austric languages (about 80+ in the list above), in contrast to Nihali and Austric (about 40). Of course, this discrepancy could (at least in part) be an artifact of lack of data (especially as regards Nihali) combined with (in-)competency of the cognate-seekers, but I still get a sense that Nihalic (the putative family Nihali once belonged to) hived off from the Austric family earlier, while Ainu(ic) remained part of the Austric (or Austro-Thai) core a while longer.

Alternatively, Nihalic could have evolved from a creole or poorly learned form of Austric that was partially relexified from the substratum language. (Compare the fate of Austronesian in some areas, and, some have speculated, the Nicobar, Aslian, and “Negrito” languages.) Like other languages with numerous loanwords that have penetrated into their core vocabulary (*e.g.*, Albanian in Europe, Ongota in Africa), Nihali’s cognate count, with whatever its parent family might be, is certainly “depressed” by the huge amount of borrowing. (Almost half of Nihali’s 35-word list consists of loanwords.) Yet if we account for the loanwords, Nihali’s taxonomic position can still be detected, just as Albanian “remains a branch of IndoEuropean, instead of being declared a coordinate sub-phylum as its low cognate retention would suggest” (Fleming 2006: 77).

The Austric hypothesis “has been controversial from the start and is no less so today” (Ruhlen 1987: 151), and there have been several attempts to dismantle it. Benedict (1975: 135), while accepting a genetic relationship among Austronesian, Daic, and Miao-Yao, regarded the “linkage” between these three families and Austroasiatic as “less than a full genetic relationship” that could be attributed to “substratum,” namely that the Austro-Thai proto-language was “grafted onto a substratum stock of Austroasiatic affiliation, with almost complete replacement of the latter” (Benedict 1966: 259 = Benedict 1975: 33). Schmidt, Kuiper, Diffloth, and Reid (see below) would argue that the “remarkable agreement” in morphology between AA and AN cannot be attributed to “substratum.”

And Thurgood (1994), for example, found phonological irregularities in the etymologies put forth for the Austro-Thai hypothesis and concluded that the words were not genetic cognates but massive borrowings from Austronesian to Daic. In my opinion this assessment is based on an unrealistic expectation: that all genetic cognates must be absolutely phonetically regular, and that loan words are irregular.⁵ By this logic Indo-European would have to be dismantled since, *e.g.*, ‘tongue’, ‘name’, ‘heart’, and many other basic words are irregular and cannot be reduced to a single proto-form. Vovin (1997; rebuttal by Starostin 2002), used a similar method in attacking the Dene-Caucasian hypothesis.

It has often been remarked that Austric is difficult to accept as a valid family because the lexical evidence is meager. For example, Kuiper (1948: 376) stated, “It cannot, I think, be denied, that the number of etymological correspondences between Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic is smaller than we should expect on account of their remarkable agreement in morphological matters.”⁶ (He then went on to list a number of

⁵ Cf. also the “lexical diffusion” of Chen & Wang (1975), showing that phonological changes sometimes fail to affect all the words they “should,” or not all at the same time, or not all speakers. Greenberg (1987, p. 19ff) points out that borrowed words sometimes exhibit a regularity equal to or greater than native words.

⁶ On morphological evidence for Austric, see Schmidt (1906), Kuiper (1948), Reid (1994). Van Driem (2001: 298ff.) thinks “the evidence mustered to date for a genetic relationship [of Austroasiatic and Austronesian] is tantalising but too meagre to be conclusive. Yet there seems to be sufficient suggestive

impressive lexical parallels, mainly involving Munda and Malay.) Diffloth (1994: 312), noting the same dearth of lexical evidence, actually proposes that this scarcity, when confronted with morphological agreements, “argues for a genetic, and against a contact relationship between the two [Austroasiatic and Austronesian] families, provided we allow for a great time depth in order to avoid the obvious paradox.”

On a similar note, consider Fleming (2001: 26, and note 22):

Even if the Swadesh [lexicostatistical] retentions get very low, it does not follow that no evidence of relationship is left. ... it has been curious that Paul Benedict was able to hold up the achievement of phylum Austric because “it only had morphological evidence.” So any Semiticist would have said that was fine and dandy! What is obvious about Austric with so little vocabulary evidence (allegedly) is that it must be very old, comparable to the African phyla with their low percentages of lexical retention. ... we will probably find that Austric is closer to 20,000 years old; that just figures from the great age of Homo sapiens in southeast Asia and the very low lexical factor.

But Austric basic vocabulary may not be as scarce as has been thought. Besides Schmidt’s and Kuiper’s lists, La Vaughn Hayes has published several articles with Austric comparisons, and has an Austric Glossary on the Internet (92 “pages” at the moment). The Evolution of Human Language / Tower of Babel Project also has a database of Austric comparisons online (903 records, 46 pages). The present work contains about one hundred Greater Austric (proto-) etymologies, and these are restricted to those that involve Nihali and/or Ainu.

I concur with Fleming (1987: 186) that “the longer one looks at the Austric hypothesis, the better it gets”. It remains the best explanation, so far, for much of the linguistic diversity in southern Asia and the neighboring islands.⁷ I also suggest that the evidence from Nihali and Ainu may significantly add to our understanding of this venerable macro-family, and should be investigated thoroughly.

Abbreviations

AA	Austroasiatic
ABVD	<i>Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database</i> (Blust, et al.)
AG	<i>Austric Glossary</i> (Hayes)
AN	Austronesian
ART	<i>Austronesian Root Theory</i> (Blust 1988)
AT	Austro-Thai (Benedict 1975)
BB	Bengtson & Blažek (2000)
Bh	Bhattacharya (1957)
CM	<i>Comparative Munda</i> (Stampe)
Dahl	Dahl (1981)
EHL	Evolution of Human Languages / Tower of Babel Databases
IE	Indo-European
K	Konow, Sten (Linguistic Survey of India, as cited by Fleming [1996a])
M	Mundlay (1996c)
MK	Mon-Khmer
MY	Miao-Yao (= Hmong-Mien)
N98	Norquest (1998)

evidence, both material and circumstantial, to take the theory seriously ...”

⁷ This assumes the probable existence of hypothetical macrophyla neighboring Austric: Dene-Caucasian (to the northeast), Eurasiatic (to the northwest), and some form(s) of “Indo-Pacific” and/or Australian to the south. (See the expected contributions to this issue by Blažek, Usher, and Whitehouse.)

NA	'Nihali and Ainu' (Bengtson 1996)
P	Proto-
P96	Peiros (1996)
PA	Proto-Austriac
PAA	Proto-Austroasiatic
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
PMY	Proto-Miao-Yao
PY	Proto-Yao
S98	Sidwell (1998)
TLR	<i>Thai Lexicography Resources</i> (Cooper)
V92	Vovin (1992)
V	Vovin (1993)
W97	Whitehouse (1997)

Austronesian reconstructions differentiated by authors' names are taken from Wurm & Wilson (1975). Ainu words recorded in the 18th and 19th centuries by de Angelis and La Pérouse come from Naert (1961, 1962).

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Appendix A: Is Ainu a branch of Austronesian?

It is apparent that the variants of Ainu words, especially as collected by early travelers (de Angelis, la Pérouse, Klaproth), are strikingly similar to diverse developments in Austronesian. For example:

Ainu	Austronesian
Kamchatka <i>bāgāk</i> ‘lungs’ (Klaproth 1823)	Ami <i>valaq</i> ‘lungs’ (Formosan) Pazeh <i>bara?</i> (Formosan) Tagalog <i>bá:ga?</i> (Meso-Philippine)
Hokkaido <i>rekut-</i> ‘neck’ Kamchatka <i>rēkūt</i> (Klaproth 1823) Sakhalin <i>reguzy</i> (Klaproth 1823) Nairo <i>tekuh</i>	Tagalog <i>likód</i> ‘back’ (Meso-Philippine) Thao <i>rikus</i> (Formosan) Puyuma <i>rikuán</i> (Formosan) Tausug <i>taikud</i> (Meso-Philippine)
Proto-Ainu <i>*Etu</i> ‘nose’ Sakhalin <i>idu</i> (Klaproth 1823) Kamchatka <i>āhdūm</i> (Klaproth 1823)	Kerinci <i>idun, idew</i> ‘nose’ (Malayic) Moto <i>udu</i> (Papuan Tip) Timugon <i>aduy</i> (North Sarawakan)
Proto-Ainu <i>*si-ne</i> ‘one’ (La Pérouse) <i>tchiné</i> (de Angelis) <i>xine-</i> Sakhalin <i>šne-pf</i>	Kanakanabu <i>cáni</i> ‘one’ (Formosan) Saaroa <i>ucani</i> (Formosan) Tsou <i>cini</i> (Formosan)
Proto-Ainu <i>*tuu</i> ‘two’ Kamchatka <i>dūpk</i> Hokkaido <i>zuzb, zuzf</i> (Klaproth 1823)	Central Amis <i>tusa</i> (Formosan) Cebuano <i>duhá</i> (Meso-Philippine) Kanakanabu <i>cúsa</i> (Formosan)

The caption is only half-serious. A more conservative assessment would be that these are convergent developments of related languages that go back to a common Austro-Thai branch of Austric. ‘The Formosan languages are so archaic both in phoneme inventory and grammatical forms that they to a certain degree constitute a ‘museum’ preserving old Austronesian material’ (Dahl 1981: 15). Ainu is conservative in some respects (preservation of vowels), though innovative in others (*e.g.*, final **ŋ > 0*).

Appendix B: Austric substratum in Burushaski?

The presence of old Austric words in the Himalayan regions has sometimes been commented on. For example, Kuiper (1966) mentions Tibetan *snum* ‘fat, grease, oil’ (see the etymology **oil** in the main text), and Burushaski **bras* ‘(uncooked) rice’, Purik *bras*, Tibetan *bras* ‘rice’ (cf. Malay *beras*, etc.).

I find the Dene-Caucasian affiliation of Burushaski to be most probable. The lexical and morphological structure of Burushaski is not very far from East Caucasian (*e.g.*, Bengtson 1997b). But while examining the list of Burushaski words that lack solid Dene-Caucasian etymologies I have noticed that some of them seem to be similar to words of Austric origin:

- Burushaski **phu* ‘fire’: cf. Nihali *ápó*; AN **Sapuy*; PKam-Sui **pwai*; Ainu **apOy*, etc. (see **fire** [1])

- Burushaski **sek* ‘full’: cf. AA: MK *s’ak, saak*; AN **sek* ‘to cram, crowd’; Ainu **sik* ‘full’ (see **full**)
- Burushaski **bat* ‘(flat) stone’: cf. AN **batíʔ* ‘stone’, PTai **pat* ‘gem,’ etc.; Ainu *pit* ‘small stone, flint’ (see **stone [2]**)
- Burushaski **šilan* ‘tail’ (Yasin): cf. Munda: Mundari *calom, ca’dlom, ca’lom*; MK: Kui *sa:l*; Ainu **sAr* (see **tail**)
- Burushaski **dur* ‘sleep’: cf. Munda: Birhor *dudurum, durum* ‘to sleep’, MK: Katu *duul* *uron* ‘sleep heavily’, etc.; PAN **tiDuR, *tuDuR* ‘to sleep’ > Malay *tidur*, etc. (AG, AT 383)
- Burushaski **-wal-* ‘to fly’ (*du-wál-*): cf. PAustic **baʔl* ‘to fly, float’: PAN **ubal* ‘to float’ (EHL); Ainu **paar=aC=sE* ‘to fly’ (a global etymology, but **-wal-* has a distinctly Austric shape)
- Burushaski **ltumal* ‘ear’: cf. PAN **tumaNa* ‘to hear’ > Pazehe *taumaláʔ*, Tsou *t-m-alu*, Saaroa *tumimaʔa*, etc. (ABVD)

How would this language contact have come about? A likely scenario would involve a Dene-Caucasian-speaking population, either on the southern edge of a vast Dene-Caucasian territory, or invasive from it, that came in contact with one or more Austric-speaking populations. The latter were eventually absorbed, but contributed some words to the Burushaski language.

The process might have been very similar to the genesis of Japanese. According to Starostin (1991), an invading Altaic group absorbed the Austric people already living in Japan while borrowing many words from their language(s). As a result, nine Austric (or Austronesian) words are found in the Japanese 100-word list. Of the nine only two (*tsunó* ‘horn’ and *dáre* ‘who’) penetrated into the 35-word level of basic vocabulary.

Appendix C: Some Global Ramifications

Some of the Greater Austric Proto-Etymologies have reminded us of words that seem to go far beyond Austric territory. One of these is the Austric word for ‘blood’

PAustroasiatic **Cə-ha:m*, PYao **džhyaam*, East Formosan **dzamu(ʔ)*, Ainu **kEm* (see **blood** in the main text)

Blažek (2006, in this volume) mentions the following Australian-Dravidian comparison that seems to show wider manifestations of this word:

- **Australian:** pPama **kamu* ‘blood’ ... Bungandidj *gammar*; Arabana (= Nulla) *ku(b)mari*, Diyari *kumari*, Wangkumara *guma, gomie*, Badjiri *gumaru*, Ulaolinya-Wangkadjera *gimba* (all Karnic); Darkinyung, Awabakal *kumara* (→ Yuin-Kuric); Bigumbil (→ Wiradhuric) *gima*; Bayeli (→ Wakka-Kabi) *kumi*; Dyirbalic *koma*, etc. (S)
- **Dravidian** **kem-* ‘red’ (DEDR 1931: I, III)

Cf. also **Proto-Altaic** **kǰāno* ‘blood, blood vessel’ (Turk., Tung.); **PSamoyed** **kem* ‘blood’ (compared with Ainu *kem* by Greenberg [2002: 29]).

Another word is one that denotes ‘person, man, human’ in Austric:

PAustric **qu̯o* ‘man’ (Hayes): Nihali *Kol-ṭa*, *Kal-ṭo* ‘men, Nihals’ (self-name), *Kal-ṭu-maṇḍi* ‘Nihali language’, *kōl*, *kol* ‘wife, woman’; Kharia *kaɽ*, *kaɽ*, *kaɽ* ‘person, human being’, Korku *korku*, *kurku* ‘men, Korkus’, *koro* ‘man’, etc.; Khmer *kur* ‘Bahnar or Sr. ’; Bahnar *khul* ‘group, kind, type, race of people’; PAN **hulun* ‘male, man’ (Dempwolff); PMP **qulun* ‘outsiders, alien people’; Ainu **kur* ‘man, person’ (see the proto-etymology **man** [2] in the main text)

Blažek cites the following from Australian and Dravidian:

- **Australian:** Iwaidjan (= ‘Cobourge Pen.’) *koala*, *cloin*; SDjeragan *geraugen*; PN: Pallangahmiddang *gerree*; Gunggari-Birria (→ Maric) *karkura*; NEBungandidj *koloñ*; Kulin *kuli(n)*; Kuri **kuri*; Warluwara (= Walookera → Wagaya-Warluwaric) *kāro*; Mabuiag *garka(i)*, *garakatsi*; Amandyo (→ SW) *karu* ‘(aboriginal) man’ (S)
- **Dravidian** **kur-* ‘man of a primitive tribe of mountaineers’ (DEDR 1844: I, II, III, VI)

This reminds us of some words from all around the world:

- **Niger-Kordofanian:** Sango *koli* ‘man’, Ligbi *kili*, Wolof *gur*, Fula *gor-ko*, etc.
- **Nilo-Saharan:** Songhai *har*, Daza *kalle* ‘young man’, etc.
- **Proto-Eurasiatic** **k’Ul’V* ‘person’ > Russian *čelo-vék* ‘person, human’, Sanskrit *kūla-* ‘family, herd’; Mongolian *qulu-nča* ‘ancestor’
- **Proto-Dene-Caucasian** **χōl?V* ‘male’ > Khwarshi *χol* ‘husband’, Archi *χ:ili* ‘bull-calf’, etc.; cf. Ket *q̄liŋ* ‘adulterous’
- **Amerind:** Chinook *i-kala* ‘man’, Yakonan *qaal-t* ‘man’, etc.

For other wide-ranging cognates see Dolgopolsky (1996), Fleming (1996).

Appendix D: The Current Status of Ainu

We are grateful to have the following information about the current status of the Ainu language from Yoshizo Itabashi of the University of Kyushu, Fukuoka, Japan:

Bengtson: Do you record Ainu from people who are still speaking it?

Itabashi: Yes, we can still record Ainu.

Bengtson: Is Ainu really extinct (as usually regarded by us in the USA)?

Itabashi: We still have over 10 Ainu people who are now in their 70's and 80's. No Ainu people are routinely using their language, but they are still able to speak their language because they grew up routinely hearing the language from their grandparents who lived together with them when they were very young.

Bengtson: Is there any attempt to revive the Ainu language among the younger Ainus, either by the Japanese government or private organizations?

Itabashi: Yes, there are about ten weekly operated private Ainu night schools in Hokkaido (the northernmost island, where two thirds of the Ainu population live) to try to revive the language. (Many of the students are Japanese and they meet once or twice a week in the evenings.) But so far we have not succeeded in reviving the language. We lack Ainu

teachers. The teachers are mostly middle-aged Japanese (many of them are university professors who teach Ainu at their university) who acquired the language at a university. The old Ainu people cannot afford to teach because of their poor physical conditions. There are no public organizations to support the Ainu language.

There is an organization promoting Ainu language and culture called *Utari Kyoukai* (“Our Fellow [*utari*] Association [*kyoukai*]”): see <http://www.ainu-assn.or.jp/about01.html>), which supports not only Ainu people but publishing and research to promote the Ainu language and culture and other related aspects.

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