

# The “Greater Austric” Hypothesis

John D. Bengtson

*Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory*

“Austric” is a hypothetical language family proposed by Wilhelm Schmidt, a Lutheran clergyman from Germany who worked as a missionary in Southeast Asia. He hypothesized (1906) that the Austroasiatic language family and the Austronesian language family (see below) came from a common origin, and should be grouped together into a new phylum named Austric (from Latin *auster* ‘south’).

[Schmidt] presented phonological, morphological, and lexical evidence in support of this hypothesis. The consensus of the linguists who have looked into the matter has been that the phonological and morphological evidence is convincing, but not the lexical, and for that reason, Austric has never been generally accepted as a valid taxonomic unit (La Vaughn Hayes).<sup>1</sup>

In the ensuing century various scholars have sought to “expand” the Austric family, to include other languages that seem to have the same grammatical and lexical features as Schmidt’s Austric. Beginning around 1996 I proposed a “Greater Austric” macro-phylum of macro-family that includes the following languages:

- **Nihali:** a tribal language of central India, thought to be the last remnant of an ancient language family.
- **Austroasiatic (Munda - Mon-Khmer):** about 155 languages spoken in India, Nicobar Islands, and Southeast Asia: includes *Santali, Mundari, Sora* (India), *Nancowry, Mon, Khmer* (Cambodia), *Vietnamese, Pear, Katu*, etc.
- **Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao):** a small number of languages (4-7?) scattered through southern China, Hainan, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand: includes *Hmong, Ke-cheng, Kao-p’o, Kao-t’ung, Yao-lu*.
- **Daic (Tai-Kadai):** about 55 languages spoken in Southeast Asia: includes *Thai, Lao, Kam, Sui, Lakkia*, etc.
- **Austronesian:** a vast family of nearly 1000 languages ranging from Madagascar through Indonesia, Philippines, Taiwan (aboriginals, not Chinese), to the Pacific islands: includes *Malagasy, Malay* (= *Bahasa Indonesia*), *Javanese, Paiwan, Bontok, Tagalog, Fijian, Maori, Tahitian, Samoan, Hawai’ian*, etc.
- **Ainu:** an almost extinct minority language of Japan. Formerly more extensive, Ainu was also spoken on the Kuril Islands, Sakhalin Island, and the Kamchatka peninsula. It is thought to have been the language of the ancient Jomon culture (about 10,000 BC to 300 BC).

## Grammatical evidence for Greater Austric

For many linguists the existence of a common grammatical system is the best evidence of original kinship. One of the most convincing pieces of grammatical evidence for Austric is the basic first-person singular pronoun, widely of the type that can be reconstructed as *\*ku* ‘I, me’:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See <http://home.att.net/~lvhayes/Langling/langpg3.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Asterisk \* is used by historical linguists to denote reconstructed words or morphemes (grammatical elements) that are not directly attested but can be inferred from descendant forms.

- Nihali *jó* ‘I’
- Austroasiatic: Proto-Viet-Muong *\*kwa* ‘we, I’, Central Nicobar *chuu-ö* ‘I’
- Hmong-Mien: Biao *kəu*, Hmong *ko* ‘I’
- Austronesian: *\*aku* ‘I’ > Pazeh *yako*, Javanese *aku*, Tagalog *akó*, Tahitian *au*, *vau*, etc.
- Daic: Proto-Tai *\*ku* ‘I’
- Ainu *\*ku* ‘I’

Other grammatical evidence includes prefixes or infixes of the type *\*pa-* / *\*-ap-* “causative,” both in Austroasiatic [AA] and Austronesian [AN]:

- AA: Katu (Vietnam, Laos) *sooq* ‘to flee’ : *pa-sooq* ‘to cause to flee’; Sora (India) *jUm* ‘to eat’ : *ab-jUm* ‘to cause to eat = to feed’
- AN: Bontok (Philippines) *kán* ‘to eat’ : *pa-kán* ‘to cause to eat = to feed’, *téy* ‘die’ : *pa-téy* ‘to cause to die = to kill’

and an “agentive marker”:<sup>3</sup> *\*ma-* / *\*-am-* in Austroasiatic = *\*mu-* / *\*-um-* in Austronesian:

- AA: Nancowry (Nicobar) *itkéch* ‘to pluck’ : *m-itkéch* ‘one who plucks, plucker’; Pear (Cambodia) *snik* ‘light’ : *am-snik* ‘to lighten’; Khmer (Cambodia) *rut* ‘to run away’ : *r-m-ut* ‘one who runs away, fugitive’
- AN: Bontok *ákew* ‘to steal’ : *-um-a’ákew* ‘one who steals = thief’; *inum* ‘to drink’ : *-um-inum* ‘one who drinks = drinker’

Unfortunately for the comparative linguist, some Austric languages (*e.g.*, Vietnamese, Hmong, Thai) have become monosyllabic and the old prefixes have dropped off. However there are still some clues about their earlier presence. For example, the Hmong-Mien languages have the contrast of initial consonants in *\*day* ‘die’ *vs.* *\*tay* ‘kill’, a contrast that seems to go back to Proto-Austric stative *\*ma-t(r)ay* ‘to die’ *vs.* causative *\*pa-t(r)ay* ‘to make die, to kill’ (see the etymology **die**, below).

### Lexical evidence for Greater Austric

The most convincing word comparisons are those that involve the most basic (non-cultural) meanings, such as parts of the body (blood, head), basic natural phenomena (root, fire, sky), simple social terms (man), and basic verbs (die). Studies have shown that basic words of these types are far more likely to remain in a given language over hundreds and even thousands of years than words with non-basic meanings (such as ‘chair, table, tea, card’, items that are likely to be traded between cultures along with their names).<sup>4</sup> Only a few of the many Austric word comparisons are cited below. Some phonetic transcriptions have been simplified.

**man:** prototype *\*qulo*

- Nihali *Kol-ṭa*, *Kal-to* ‘men, Nihals’ (self-name), *kol* ‘wife, woman’
- Austroasiatic: Korcu *koro* ‘man’; Khmer *kur* ‘Bahnar or Sr.’

<sup>3</sup> Agentive marker: like *-er*, *-or* in English *bak-er*, *sail-or*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> While most basic words in English are still of Anglo-Saxon (Germanic) origin, the four words cited in the parentheses are of non-Anglo-Saxon origin: *chair* < French < Latin < Greek; *table* < French < Latin; *tea* < Dutch < Malay < Chinese, *card* < French < Latin < Greek < Egyptian (originally ‘a sheet of papyrus’).

- Austronesian: Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *\*qulun* ‘outsiders, alien people’ > Bintulu, Katingan *ulun* ‘person’, Merina *ólona*, Punan Kelai *lun*, etc.
- Ainu *\*kur* ‘man, person’

**blood:** prototype *\*(m-)kyemu*

- Austroasiatic: Mundari *mayam*, Khmer *jha:m*, Mon *chim*
- Hmong-Mien: Yao *\*dzhyaam*, Hmong *\*ntšheng*
- Austronesian: Formosan<sup>5</sup> *\*dzamu*(‘) ‘blood’ > Paiwan *djamuq*, etc.
- Ainu *kem*

**head:** prototype *\*Pengu*

- Nihali *peng, pyeng* ‘head’
- Austroasiatic: Khmer *tpu:ng* ‘above’
- Austronesian: *\*bunguh* ‘head’ > Formosan: Kanakanabu *nabúngu*, Siraya *bungu*, Central Amis *fungoh*, Tsou *fngúu* ‘head’, etc.
- Ainu *\*pa* ‘head’ (if from earlier *\*pang*)

**root:** prototype *\*riat(s)*

- Austroasiatic: Santali *rehe’d*, Mundari *re:’d* ‘root’, Khmer *ris*; Mon *ruih*; Sre *rias*, Vietnamese *rẽ* ‘root’
- Austronesian *\*uRat* ‘blood vessel, vein, sinew, tendon’ > Formosan: Kanakanabu *urátsə* ‘blood vessel’, etc.; Iban, Maloh *urat* ‘root’, Dayak Ngaju *uhat*, Tagalog *ugát*, etc.
- Ainu *\*rit* ‘root, blood vessel, tendon’

**fire:** prototype *\*-apoy*

- Nihali *a:po* ‘fire’
- Austroasiatic: Brao *pa:y*, Tampuon *pae*, Katu *mpoih* ‘fire’
- Hmong-Mien: Ke-cheng *fwi* ‘ash’, Yao-lu *fui*, Thailand Yao *whi* ‘ash’
- Austronesian: *\*Sapuy* > Paiwan *sapuy*, Pazeh *hapúy*, Malay *api*, Tonga *afi*, Maori, Hawaiian *ahi*, etc. ‘fire’
- Daic: Thai *fay*, Kam-Sui *\*pwai* ‘fire’
- Ainu *\*apOy* ‘fire, hearth’ > *ape, abe, ambe, aboi* (in various dialects)

**sky:** prototype *\*langit(s)*

- Nihali *lēgē* ‘up’
- Austroasiatic: Sora *leng.leng* ‘very high, inaccessible’, *bəleng* ‘roof’, Juang *aling* ‘top’; Khmer *līng* ‘to climb, ascend’, Bahnaric *\*le:ng* ‘sky’
- Austronesian: *\*langiC*<sup>6</sup> ‘sky’ > Saaroa *langica*, Puyuma *ranget*, Merina *lánitra*, Tagalog *lángit*, Malay *langit*, Maori *rangi*, Hawaiian *lani* ‘day, heaven, sky’, etc.
- Ainu *\*nis* ‘sky, cloud’ > *nish* ‘clouds, heavens, air, sky’ (if from *\*langit[s]*)

**die:** prototype *\*(ma-)t(r)ay / \*(pa-)t(r)ay*

- Nihali *páDa*: ‘to kill’ (if *pa-* corresponds to the Proto-Austrian causative prefix *\*pa-*)
- Hmong-Mien: *\*day* ‘die’ vs. *\*tay* ‘kill’ > Hmong *dua* ‘to die’

<sup>5</sup> “Formosan” denotes aboriginal languages of Taiwan a.k.a. Formosa (Portuguese for ‘beautiful’).

<sup>6</sup> *\*C* denotes “hypothetical consonant of unknown quality.”

- Austronesian: Saisiat *masay* ‘die’, Paiwan *matsay* ‘die’ / *pa-patsay* ‘kill’, Malay *mati* ‘die’, Maori *mate*, Hawaiian *make* id.
- Daic: Proto-Tai *\*traɪ* ‘to die’ > Thai *taay*, Lakkia *plei* id.
- Ainu *\*day* ‘die’ > Yakumo, Saru *ray*, Nairo *tay*, etc.

### Historical Implications of the Greater Austric Hypothesis

If the Greater Austric hypothesis is correct, people speaking a “Proto-Austric” language spread out over a large part of Asia, an area probably stretching from India in the west, continuing through Southeast Asia (the old “Indo-China”) and southern China, and to the northeast possibly as far as Korea and Manchuria. There is much evidence that Austric-speaking peoples were formerly more numerous and widespread in all of these areas, and that the subsequent expansions of other language families (mainly Indo-European, Dravidian, and Sino-Tibetan) have pushed Austric languages to the south. Austric languages have left traces (loanwords)<sup>7</sup> in non-Austric languages ranging from Pakistan in the northwest (Burushaski, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages) through the Himalayan regions (Tibeto-Burman languages), in Tibetan and Chinese, and in the northeast, in languages such as Korean and Japanese.

The Austric proto-language has been identified by some with the Hoabinhian archaeological industry dating from the late Pleistocene to mid-Holocene (roughly 6,000 to 12,000 years ago). Primary Hoabinhian sites have been identified in Sumatra, Thailand, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia, while isolated inventories of stone artefacts displaying Hoabinhian elements have been found in Nepal, South China, Taiwan and Australia.<sup>8</sup> Except for Nepal and Australia<sup>9</sup> all of these areas are home to Austric languages, and, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, there is evidence that Austric may formerly have been spoken in the Himalayan foothills.

The time-depth of the Hoabinhian industry is consistent with the diversification of Proto-Austric into about 1000 languages, and the lexical diversity among them. In this light Austric seems comparable in age to the Afro-Asiatic language family (consisting of the Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic families). There is tremendous lexical diversity among the Afro-Asiatic languages, yet some grammatical features are widely found among them.

Secondary to the original dispersal of Austric, one Austric sub-family, Austronesian, has made a tremendous expansion to the south, southwest, and east. Austronesian speakers are thought to have migrated from southern China about 8,000 years ago, first to Taiwan (where aborigines speaking Austronesian languages still live, though the languages are now endangered or extinct), then (about 6,000 years ago) to other islands ranging from Madagascar through Indonesia, Philippines, and throughout the Pacific islands as far as Hawai’i and Easter Island. During these 8,000 years Austronesian has diversified into a huge number of languages (959 according to Merritt Ruhlen, 1268 according to Ethnologue), making up about one fifth of the world’s languages. Of these a few are official (national) languages, especially Malay (Indonesia and Malaysia), Tagalog (Philippines), Malagasy (Madagascar), and several Pacific languages (Samoan, Tahitian, Maori, etc.).

Of the remaining Austric languages only a few are official or national languages, namely Vietnamese, Khmer (Cambodia), Thai, and Lao. Apart from these four the Mon language (Myanmar, Thailand) has a long literary tradition dating back to the 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. The vast

<sup>7</sup> Historical linguists use the term “loanword” to denote words that are not part of a language’s native lexicon, but were “borrowed” from other languages. See the discussion of English *chair*, *table*, *tea*, *card*, above, and footnote 4.

<sup>8</sup> Thanks to [Wikipedia](#) article on Hoabinhian.

<sup>9</sup> No Austric languages are native to Australia, but Austronesian languages are spoken close to Australia, in parts of New Guinea and Indonesian islands.

majority of Austric languages are minority or “tribal” languages that have only recently acquired a written form (if at all). Nevertheless, the Austric language macro-family is of tremendous importance in understanding the history and prehistory of Asia and Oceania.

## References

- Benedict, Paul K. 1966. “Austro-Thai.” *Behavior Science Notes* 1: 227-261.  
----- 1975. *Austro-Thai: Language and Culture with a Glossary of Roots*. New Haven: HRAF Press.  
----- 1990. *Japanese/Austro-Tai*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Bengtson, John D. 1992. “A Case for the Austric Affiliation of Ainu.” In Shevoroshkin (1992), p. 364. [One-page abstract derived from unpublished notes.]  
----- 1996. “Nihali and Ainu.” *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 51-55.  
----- 1997a. “Some Comments on Ilia Peiros” “Nihali and Austroasiatic.” *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 3: 47-50.  
----- 1998. Review of Patrie (1982). *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 4: 111-113.
- Bengtson, John D., and Václav Blažek. 2000. “Lexical Parallels Between Ainu and Austric and Their Implications.” *Archiv Orientální* 68: 237-258.
- Bhattacharya, Sudhibhushan. 1957. “Field Notes on Nihali.” *Indian Linguistics* 17: 245-258.
- Biggs, Bruce. 1990. *English-Maori Maori-English Dictionary*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Blažek, Václav. 1992. “Australian Elements in Dravidian Lexicon?” In Shevoroshkin (1992): 421-431.  
----- 1996. “Seeking the Relatives of Nihali.” *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 57-60.  
----- 2006. “On the Australian-like Elements in Dravidian.” Paper given at the International Conference on the Substrate and Remnant Languages of South, Southeast, East Asia and Sahul Land: “The Year of the Australoid” (Ninth Harvard Round Table on the Ethnogenesis of South and Central Asia), Harvard University, October 2006. [Cf. Blažek (1992).]
- Blust, Robert A. 1988. *Austronesian Root Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Blust, Robert, et al. *Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database*.  
[<http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/people.php>]
- Cooper, Doug. *Thai Lexicography Resources*.  
[<http://searc.th.net/index.html?main=http%3A//searc.th.net/proto/>]
- Dahl, Otto Christian. 1981. *Early phonetic and phonemic changes in Austronesian*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Diffloth, Gérard. 1990. “What Happened to Austric?” *Mon-Khmer Studies* 16-17: 1-9.  
----- 1994. “The lexical evidence for Austric, so far.” *Oceanic Linguistics* 33.2: 309-321.
- Dolgopolsky, A(h)aron B. 1996. “Nihali and Nostratic.” *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 61-66.
- van Driem, George. 1999. “Four Austric Theories.” *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 5: 23-27.  
----- 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.
- Evolution of Human Languages. (An international project on the linguistic prehistory of humanity coordinated by the Santa Fe Institute.) [<http://ehl.santafe.edu/>]
- Fleming, Harold C. 1987. “Toward a Definitive Classification of the World’s Languages” (Review of Ruhlen 1987). *Diachronica* 4.1/2: 159-223.  
----- 1996a. “Nihali Lexicon: Supplement I. Words Collected by Bhattacharya and Konow.” *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 41-45.  
----- 1996b. “Looking to the West and North: Nihali and Kusunda Find Links.”

- Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 67-74.
- 2001. "Joseph Harold Greenberg: A Tribute and an Appraisal." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 9-27.
- 2006. *Ongota: A Decisive Language in African Prehistory*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gjerdman, Olof. 1926. "Word-parallels between Ainu and other languages." *Le Monde Oriental* 20: 29-84.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1987. *Language in the Americas*. Stanford University Press.
- 2000. *Indo-European and Its Closest Relatives: The Eurasiatic Language Family*. Volume 1. Grammar. Stanford University Press.
- 2002. *Indo-European and Its Closest Relatives: The Eurasiatic Language Family*. Volume 2. Lexicon. Stanford University Press.
- Hayes, La Vaughn H. 1992. "On the Track of Austric, Part I: Introduction." *Mon-Khmer Studies* 21:143-77.
- 1996. *Comments on entries in "Lexical Parallels between Ainu and Austric"*. Ms.
- 1997. "On the Track of Austric, Part II: Consonant Mutation in Early Austroasiatic." *Mon-Khmer Studies* 27:13-41.
- 1999. "On the Track of Austric, Part III: Basic Vocabulary Correspondence." *Mon-Khmer Studies* 29:1-34.
- 2000. The Austric Denti-alveolar Sibilants. *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 5: 3-14.
- 2001. On the Origin of Affricates in Austric. *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 6: 95-117.
- nd. "Austric Glossary." [<http://home.att.net/~lvhayes/Langling/langpg3.htm>]
- Itabashi, Yoshizo. 1998. "Some Morphological Parallels between Ainu and Austronesian." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 4: 40-95.
- Klaproth, J. 1823. *Asia Polyglotta*. Paris: Schubert.
- Kosaka, Ryuichi. 2002. "On the affiliation of Miao-Yao and Kadai: Can we posit the Miao-Dai family." *Mon-Khmer Studies* 32: 71-100.
- Kuiper, F.B.J. 1948. "Munda and Indonesian." In *Orientalia Neerlandica. A Volume of Oriental Studies*, pp. 372-401. Leiden: Sijthoff's.
- 1962. "Nahali: A Comparative Study." In *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, (Nieuwe Reeks)* 25.5: 239-352.
- 1966. "The Sources of the Nahali Vocabulary." In Zide (1966): 57-81.
- Mundlay, Asha. 1996a. "Who are the Nihals? What Do They Speak." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 5-9.
- 1996b. "Cognates in the Nihali Lexicon." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 11-16.
- 1996c. "Nihali Lexicon." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 17-40.
- Norquest, Peter. 1998. "The Contact and Genetic Relationships of Ainu." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 4: 96-110.
- Patrie, James. 1982. *The Genetic Relationship of the Ainu Language*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Peiros, Ilia. 1992. "The Austric Macrofamily: some considerations." In Shevoroshkin (1992), pp. 354-363.
- Pinnow, Heinz-Jürgen. 1966. "A Comparative Study of the Verb in the Munda Languages." In Zide (1966): 96-193.
- 1996. "Nihali and Austroasiatic." *Mother Tongue* (Journal) 2: 75-90.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1994. "Morphological evidence for Austric." *Oceanic Linguistics* 33.2: 323-344.
- Ruhlen, Merritt. 1987. *A Guide to the World's Languages. Volume One: Classification*. Stanford University Press.
- Schmidt, W. 1906. *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Australasiens*. Braunschweig.

- Schuhmacher, W.W. 1994. "Lexical Parallels between Ainu and Austroasiatic." *Archív orientální* 62: 415-16.
- Shafer, Robert. 1940. "Nahāli. A linguistic study in paleoethnography." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5: 346-71.
- Shevoroshkin, Vitaly. (Ed.) 1992. *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Bochum: Brockmayer.
- Shorto, Harry L. 1976. "In Defense of Austric." *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages* 6:95-104.
- Sidwell, Paul. 1998a. "The External Relations of Ainu: Problems and Prospects." *Mother Tongue (Journal)* 4: 33-39.
- Skeat, W.W., and Blagden, Ch.O. 1906. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, II. London: MacMillan.
- Stampe, David. *Comparative Munda*. [<http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/faculty/stampe/aa.html>]
- Starostin, Sergei A. 1991. *Altajskaja problema i proisxozhdenie japonskogo jazyka*. Moscow: Nauka.
- 1995. "Old Chinese vocabulary: A historical perspective." In *The Ancestry of the Chinese Language*, ed. by W. S-Y. Wang, pp. 226-251. Berkeley: Journal of Chinese Linguistics.
- Thomas, David D. 1966. "Mon-Khmer Subgroupings in Vietnam." In Zide (1966): 194-202.
- Thurgood, Graham. 1988. "Notes on the Reconstruction of Proto-Kam-Sui." In *Comparative Kadai: Linguistic Studies beyond Tai*, Ed. by J.A. Edmondson & D.B. Solnit, pp. 179-218. Arlington, TX: SIL & University of Texas.
- 1994. "Tai-Kadai and Austronesian: The Nature of the Historical Relationship." *Oceanic Linguistics* 33.2: 345-368.
- Vovin, Alexander V. 1992. "The Origins of the Ainu Language." In *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2, 673-685.
- 1993. *A Reconstruction of Proto-Ainu*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Whitehouse, Paul. 1997. "The External Relationships of the Nihali and Kusunda Languages." *Mother Tongue (Journal)* 3: 4-44.
- Wurm, S.A., and Wilson, B. 1975. *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages (Post-Brandstetter)*. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Zide, Norman H. (Ed.) 1966. *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1996. "On Nihali." *Mother Tongue (Journal)* 2: 93-100.