

## RICE AND RELIGION

a study of Old Mon-Khmer evolution and culture.

by

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A year ago, when we had the privilege of showing Their Highnesses, Prince Dhani Nivat and his sister, around Pagán, His Highness suggested that we should come and tell the same story to the members of the Siam Society. I need hardly say that we were delighted at the prospect; and look forward, not only to talking about Burma, its art and history, but also to hearing from you about the art and history of your great land. Already we have some idea of the great debt which Burma owes to Siam; it seems likely that that debt is greater than what either Thai scholars or Burmese are apt to recognize or claim.

One cannot talk intelligently about Pagán, the first Burmese Capital ( 11th-13th Cent. A.D. ), without first mentioning Śrī Kṣetra or Old Prome, the earlier Pyu capital ( 7th-8th Cent. ). One cannot talk intelligently about Śrī Kṣetra without first mentioning Dvāravatī, the contemporary or rather older Mon kingdom of Siam. In 1912 Finot, the great French scholar and founder of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, while editing some of the earliest Pali inscriptions of Śrī Kṣetra, commented as follows ( I translate from the French):<sup>1</sup>

“This coastal region” ( Prome to Pegu ) “professed Theravāda ( Buddhism ) 6 or 7 hundred years before it first appeared on the banks of the Lower Mekhong. It is not impossible that Siam borrowed it from Pegu, and then transmitted it to its eastern neighbours; and thus the inscriptions of Maunggan and Homawza” (i.e. Śrī Kṣetra) “were indirectly the first ancestors of the modern Buddhism of Camboja.”

1. *Journal Asiatique*, t. XX. juillet-août 1912, pp. 122-136: “Un Nouveau Document sur le Bouddhisme Birman”. The passage quoted is on p; 136.

I doubt if he would put it quite like this, had he been alive to-day. Thanks to his own labours, and those of M. George Coedès<sup>2</sup> and other scholars of the French School, thanks to the Siam Society, and thanks finally to the solid work of the late-lamented Dr. Dupont,<sup>3</sup> we know much more now about the date, religion and art of Dvāravatī. My own work (mainly on the languages and inscriptions) leads me, quite definitely, to the view that *your* country, rather than Burma, was the main radiating centre; and that we owe chiefly to Dvāravatī, not only the Burmese type of Indian script, but also the first model of Theravāda Buddhism, which ultimately triumphed in Burma, and on which much of our later civilization has been based. This happy early period, not of war, but of mutual influence, intimacy, and friendship, led each country to its first efflorescence of Buddhist art, and to a brave demonstration of a new society, guided and governed by the *Dhamma*.

What did it all rest on?—Materially speaking, I should say on RICE. And this is the subject of my paper. In trying to convince you of the fact, I hope also to give some glimpses of the vast field involved: not only our two countries, but almost the whole of Further India, and a large part of India besides.

Then let us start with RICE.—

In itself, it still has the nature of a Religion among the Austric-speaking hill-tribes of South-East Asia. In 1954 M. and Mme. Proux devoted a book of 134 pages to “The Soul of Rice”, *L'Âme du Riz*,<sup>4</sup> worshipped by the matriarchal RHADÉ of the Darlac plateau in the Annamite Chain. An Indonesian people, akin to the Cham, the Rhadé still number about 80,000. “The staff of life at Darlac is an excellent mountain-rice . . . . . Rice is the essential food. Rice comes from the Gods. Rice is God.” (p. 144).

2. See especially *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam. 2me Partie : Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Cīrīvijaya et de Lāvo*, (2nd Ed., Siam Society 1961). Edited and translated by G. Coedès.

3. *L'Archéologie Mone de Dvāravatī* par Pierre Dupont, 2 vols. Text and Plates (published by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1956).

4. *L'Âme du Riz* par Albert Maurice et Georges Marie Proux (*B.S.E.I.*, N.S., Nos. 2-3, 9154).

In his book on the *LAMET* of Northern Laos, the Swedish scholar, Mr. K.G. Izikowitz, has also much to say about the Soul of Rice.<sup>5</sup> The Lamet are said to number less than 6,000. They live close to the borders, both of Burma and of Thailand. They talk a Mon-Khmer language of the Northern Group, closest to Khămuk. "Rice" says the author, "posseses a Soul, *klpū*, just as a human being does. . . . If the soul of rice escapes. . . famine will follow. . . . It is a very ethereal thing which can easily vanish into other parts. Therefore it must be led and enticed on to the right path, and when it once is got hold of it must be fastened with stones, exactly as a human being is fastened to the grave. . . . No other plant has *klpū*. It is reserved only for human beings and rice." ( pp., 243-4. )

Now it is easy to smile at such curious superstitions, but they deserve rather our respect. They are the first steps of a primitive people on the road to civilization: the first attempt to take stock of life, and give it a meaning and a purpose. They open the door to philosophy, religion, literature and art. They are a result of the first growing of Rice, or perhaps irrigated Rice—one of the great economic discoveries in the history of humanity. Irrigated Rice is the prime product of South-East Asia. It is our first contribution to civilization.

What do the botanists tell us about the origins of Rice.—I quote the following from the article on *ORYZA* in I.H. Burkill's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* ( Vol. II, p. 1592 follg. ).

"The genus is most strongly developed in a wild state in Africa, but it must have been in Asia that the cultivated rice had its remotest origin." ( p. 1592 ). . . . "Man can have invented the wet rice-field only after he had long grown rice as . . . a dry-land crop. The parts of the world, therefore, where it is so grown, taken together with the physiological requirements of the parents, indicate within what rather wide limits wet-rice cultivation must have arisen. The Asiatic species which have been pointed out as parents *O. fatua*

5. *Lamet, Hill Peasants in French Indochina* by Karl Gustav Izikowitz ( Göteborg, 1951 ). See especially pp. 243-247.

and *O. minuta*—occurs in moist places from the Eastern Himalaya to Ceylon and from the southernmost edge of China through Burma and Indo-China to Java, Borneo, and the Philippine Islands; and where they grew, dry-land cultivation is practised. It would be within these limits that the first wet-rice cultivation was undertaken” (p. 1595).

Compare this with Dr. C. O. Blagden’s memorable words about the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>6</sup> He is disproving, mainly on linguistic grounds, the old view that they owe their planting of rice to Malay influence:—

“The true inference, in my opinion, is that, like many of the ruder Mon-Khmer tribes, some of the wild tribes of the Peninsula have from time immemorial planted rice in their jungle-clearings. But they have never made the great advance to planting in irrigable swamp-land: that, in South-East Asia, is the Rubicon which a barbarous tribe must cross before it can fulfil the conditions precedent to real civilization, first in the material sense, and ultimately in its social, moral, intellectual, and other connotations” (pp. 451-2).

That Rubicon was certainly crossed, at an early date, by the more advanced Mon-Khmer speaking peoples north of the Malay Peninsula. But at what date:—

In treating of such ancient peoples as the speakers of Mon-Khmer, it is important to distinguish Race and Language. The oldest known people who have passed through Burma and (I imagine) Siam (generally from north to south), are thought to have been in race Negrito, their present-day descendants being the inhabitants of the Andaman islands, and, on the mainland, the *SEMANG* of the Thailand/Malayan border, south of the isthmus of Kra. Little or no Mon-Khmer influence has yet been traced in Andaman languages; so we assume that they reached their islands before the coming of the Mons. Nor is there clear evidence of common origin between Andamanese and Semang languages.<sup>7</sup> The Semang Negritoes are the later comers.

6. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* by W.W. Skeat and G.O. Blagden, 2 vols. (1906 London, Macmillan). See Vol. II, pp. 451-2.

7. “Their relationship must be considered as hypothetical. The structures and grammars of the languages at the present day are quite different” (Blagden, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 463).

Though not basically Mon-Khmer, the Semang dialects are so deeply penetrated with Austric vocabulary, that they must have lived for a long time, in Burma and/or Siam, in close contact with Mon-Khmer speakers.

These last were presumably the *SAKAI* tribes, who now live on the higher central parts of the Peninsula, between the Kra Isthmus and Malacca. Sakai speakers are of mixed race: some look more than half Negrito; others might be taken for Mongoloid; but in the main they are classed as Australoid. Apart from a very few pre-Mon-Khmer survivals, such as the older names for the numerals 1, 2 and 3, the purer Sakai dialects are shown by Dr. Blagden to be thoroughly Mon-Khmer, although in race the speakers are clearly different from, and older than, the Mons of Burma and Siam today.

A new and conquering set of numerals, 1 to 10, with a much less primitive vocabulary, was brought in later by new waves of Mon-Khmer speakers, who spread, quite rapidly, over an enormous area—from the China Sea to Central India. These 4 specimen Charts (Chart I-74 words) - show two main lines of diffusion:

I A and B, radiating South-West from Tongking, as far as the Nicobars.

I A and B cont., the same words reaching far to the West through the Northern Group (*WA-RIANG-PALAUNG*), reappearing in *KHASI*, south of the Brahmaputra in Assam, and finally in the *MUNDA* languages of India.<sup>8</sup> These scattered Munda languages, now spoken south of the Ganges valley, reach west as far as *KURKU* in Central India, and south as far as *SAVARA* and *GADABA* north of Madras. Munda languages have subsequently been greatly changed by Indo-Aryan influence in the north, and Dravidian influence in the south; but their primitive Mon-Khmer basis is still in certain evidence. Similarly the Mon-Khmer basis of Tonking Annamite is still plain, though now largely submerged by the Southern *YÜEH (VIËTNAM)* conquest of the Tongking plain, once the home of Austro-asiatic speech.

8. See George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV (pp. 239 ff.), "Munda Languages".

How did this extraordinary diffusion come about? — The only likely, or even possible, explanation seems to be RICE. South-East Asia is the homeland of Wet-Rice cultivation. Dr. Blagden has shown from their vocabularies that while the Semang tribes were mainly hunters and food-gatherers, the Sakai made the first advance to the growing of hill-rice-petty 'taungya' cultivation, as we call it in Burmese. The main, enormous advance came later, with the growing of wet rice in well-watered, monsoon, level, delta areas. This led inevitably to a great explosion of population, and consequent migration to other deltas, where wet-rice could also be grown. It was this, then, which led the Mon-Khmer (or Mon-Annam, to use the older term) pioneers of Tongking, under pressure of numbers, to found new rice-growing centres near the mouths of the Mekhong (Cochin-China), the Menam (now Thailand), and the Irawady (Rāmaññadeśa).

Meantime, we may assume, there was constant pressure on the Tongking plain from east and north-east. Hereabouts was the original home of Malayan peoples, whose Indonesian languages are distantly related to Mon-Khmer.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps under double pressure the *YÜEH* (*VIỆT*) of Kuangtung, and the Mon-Khmers of Tongking took to the sea; and like the Vikings of the North, became pirates, Vikings of the South, infesting the islands and the coast of South-East Asia. Their main coastal range was from Tongking to the mouth of the Irawady, their island range from beyond Fiji to Madagascar.

The Tongking plain was finally overrun by the *Viêt*; and this led to mass migration, or a rapid drift, by the Wet Rice cultivators, in search of new rice-fields. Where were they to go? — The other Deltas were crowded. Many of the weaker tribes clustered, and still cluster, round the few rice-plains of the interior-Kêng-tung, Inlé, etc. (see Chart IV). But the majority went, up the Red River, into Yünnan and beyond.

Davies in 1909 (*Yünnan*, pp. 311, 316) said that "The principal crop of Yünnan is rice," but there is never enough for export. Fan

9. Mr. P.K. Benedict connects them also with Thai: see his article "Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian: a new alignment in Southeastern Asia" (*American Anthropologist*, N.S. 44, 1942, pp. 576-601).

Ch'o in 863 A.D. (*Man-shu*, Ch. VII) mentions rice as only one among several Yünnan crops—hemp, glutinous millet, paniced millet, barley, etc. In 2000 B.C., I doubt if much except hill-rice was grown on the cold, high plateau of Central Yünnan. It was then very likely peopled by the Northern Mon-Khmers, WA-RIANG-PALAUNG, speaking cognate but different languages.

Perhaps the Tongking rice-growers had heard of the plains of N.E. India. In India Rice is never mentioned in the *Rigveda*. It first occurs in the *Atharvaveda*. The word is *Vr̥hi*, from which Greek *óruza* and English 'Rice' are thought to derive. The word *Vr̥ha* occurs in a Khmer inscription of 1003 A.D., perhaps in the general sense of 'grain'; and Coedès cites, as possibly connected, the *Jaray* word for Rice, *br̥h*.<sup>10</sup>

The Tongking emigrants, escaping west, seem to have followed the course of the Red River to its source, S. of Ta-li; descended thence to the Irawady swamps near Myitkyina; crossed the Chindwin and the range N. of Manipur; and so reached their next centre, *KHASI*, in the plains of East Assam. But the main body moved on to the vaster Ganges plain, where they multiplied exceedingly. But in the 1st millenium B.C., the Aryan penetration of the middle and lower Ganges valley must have steadily driven the MUNDAS south of the river, into the hills of Central and Eastern India; while soon after, the Mikir Naga and Tibeto-Burman invasions in the northeast, drove the Khasis south of the Brahmaputra, into the Khasi Hills W. of Manipur, where they still survive. After all their losses, in the 1921 Census, Khasi speakers still numbered over 200,000, and Munda speakers nearly four million. In Burma, the total of Mon-Palaung-Riang-Wa speakers was then barely 350,000.

For centuries before and after the time of Christ, the Malayan Vikings of the South maintained a series of footholds along our coasts. Their main centres and settlements were in Champa and Sumatra. Perhaps owing to the dearth of islands at the head of the Gulf of Siam, they were less of a menace to you than they were to us; and that is why Mon Buddhist culture flourished earlier in *Dvāravatī* than it did

10. See *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. II, p. 113, n. 2.

in Burma. Our coastal people lived in terror of their sudden raids from the sea, and called them *Rakṣasa*, 'Cannibal Demons'. When the first Buddhist theras *Śoṃa* and *Uttara* were sent, in 253 B.C. (?), after the 3rd Buddhist Council, to *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*,<sup>11</sup> they arrived just when a raid of the *Rakṣasa* was in progress. The name *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* has an old application in Burma to the region around Mt. *Kelāsa*,<sup>12</sup> Burma's Gibraltar, some 30 miles N. of Thaton. Along this coast one can still see old fortresses, with treble walls and moats, guarding the entrances to rivers.<sup>13</sup> The first name of Thaton, as given in Burma's oldest Mon inscriptions, was *Rakṣapura*, "City of the Demons".<sup>14</sup> It was perhaps only in the 10th or early 11th Cent. that it was renamed *Sudhamma*, "City of the Good Law". The large island opposite Moulmein is still called 'Bilugyun', Demon Island. The MAWKEN sea-gypsies, the SELUNG (SALŌN) of the Mergui Archipelago, who speak a Malayan language, are relics of the old *Rakṣasas*, still clinging to the southernmost fringe of Burma.

In the Old Mon language of Burma there is no lack of Malayan words (not only Malay), some going back, it seems, to the common origin of both sub-families, others probably due to ancient Malayan

11. First mentions of the mission occur in the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon, the 4th cent. *Depavāṇsa* (VIII 12), and the 6th cent. *Mahavāṇsa* (XII 6, 44-51).
12. The Burmese king Kyauṇṭhā probably regarded Mt. *Kelāsa* as the first home of Buddhism in Burma: for he left two Old Mon inscriptions in the neighbourhood, both dated 1098 A.D. One, the *Ayethōma* stone at the base of the mountain, is now in Rangoon University Library (see *Epig. Birm.* I, II, Inscr. V, 1-48, "the *ceti* of *Kyāḥ Talaṇ*"). The other is still *in situ* at Kyauḥ Tē pagoda, 3 miles N. of Taungzun (see *Inscr. of Burma*, Portfolio V, Pl. 549, 1-45, "the *prasāda* of the great relic of *Satiḥ*"). In the 15th century Queen *Baṇṇi Thāw* (*Shin Sawbu*) and "her own son" *Ramādhīpati* (*Dhammazedi*) repaired the pagoda of the Hair relics at the top of the mountain. The king's Middle Mon inscription, broken but still *in situ* is dated 1485-6 (it has not been edited). In 1947, in his Pegu *Kalyāṇī* inscription, he has left a detailed account of the mission and the site: see *Taw Sein Ko, Indian Antiquary* (1893, Bombay reprint) — the Pali text; C.O. Blagden, *Epig. Birm.* III, II, p. 185 — the Mon text.
13. e.g. Muthin, at the mouth of Bilin River.
14. See *Inscr. of Burma*, Portfolio IV, Plates 358<sup>4</sup>, 359<sup>4</sup> (upper inscr.), 43 (lower inscr.). Date c. 1050 A.D.

settlements along our coast. Doubtless the pirates conscribed the local aborigines, such as the Semang Negritos, and the few coastal Sakai tribes, such as the Besisi of Malacca, who, in turn, contributed not a few words to Old Mon which are hardly found elsewhere in Mon-Khmer. These ancient Malayan pirates, whatever the Mons may have called them, were not savages. In some ways they were more than a match for the Mon-Khmers. They gave many of the peoples of S.E. Asia their words for metals,—gold, silver and iron; also for shipping. Their prowess as early navigators is second to none in the history of the world. Curiously enough, they seem to have ignored the Nicobarese, who lived so near Sumatra. The languages of the Nicobars are not Malayan, but Mon-Khmer—all ancient and peculiar varieties. They are the only Austroasiatic languages spoken on the islands.

My analysis of Old Mon vocabulary (mostly taken from our 11th–12th century inscriptions) shows a large number of borrowings from Indo-Aryan: the older forms taken from Sanskrit rather than Pali. But Old Mon never sinks to the level of a secondary language, as Khmer does in the pre-Angkor inscriptions of Camboja, where the Khmer passages are mostly confined to lists of slaves, lands, and objects dedicated. The true Mon vocabulary in our inscriptions shows several strands of origin. Of the 153 words listed in these Charts, not counting the more dubious cases, I reckon that half (nos. 1 to 74) are widespread or almost universal. Over 60 occur in Khasi; over 40 in Munda. In Vietnamese perhaps 50 survive. In Khmer over 100, including 50 found in pre-Angkor inscriptions (600-800 A.D.). In the Annamite Chain practically all the words in Charts I and II are found (Nos. 1 to 117): but hardly any in Chart III.

The oldest strand in Mon includes words shared only with the South—with Sakai, Besisi, Semang, the Nicobars, and sometimes Khmer; they are not found, so far as I know, in the Annamite Chain. Then there are a lot of common words of varying antiquity (e.g. *smiñ* “king”) which seem to be confined to Mon or Burma Mon. Closest to Old Mon—rather closer than Khmer—are the central dialects of the Annamite Chain—BAHNAR—SRĒ—BIAT, etc. Their

words not common to the South show a marked advance in culture beyond the Semang/Sakai level. Their line of contact with Burma must have crossed the heart of Further India. When one compares the early megalithic stone urns of the Plaine des Jarres, Laos,<sup>15</sup> with the 7th–8th century inscribed stone urns of the Pyu kings at Śrī Ksetra, this confirms the linguistic evidence, namely that ancient cultural influences crossed the S.E. Asian peninsula from East to West, as well as from North to South. This is also shown in Chart IV by the thick cluster of dialects still extant today, around Kêngtung, Inlé, and other irrigated rice-plains in the heart of Further India. Chart III shows a North and South strand, more or less independent of the East. Northwest of Bahnar, we make a short jump to T'ĒNG and KHĀMUK—eastern outliers of the Northern Group. When the first exodus to India had passed, this distinct Northern Group, no doubt under pressure from the north, descended from the Yünnan plateau to the Shan States. This often caused a break in the links between the Annamite Chain and India. Thus the older words for Eye, Water, Tiger, House, etc., hardly occur in the Northern Group; but they reappear in Khasi or Munda. Another notable fact is that the older languages to the South have practically nothing in common with Chinese or Tibeto-Burman, and little, I think, in common with Dai languages, though here there may be exceptions. The only word I know in Old Mon common to Sino-Burman, is the word for Elephant

—*cin*, *chan hsiang*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{O. Mon } \text{𑄓𑄚} \\ \text{O. Burm. } \text{ဆဲး} \\ \text{O. Chinese } \text{象} \end{array} \right. \text{— a word confined to the}$

northernmost Mon-Khmer languages.

This Mon-Khmer element, I suggest, is at the root of much of our civilization. In return for RICE, India gave us BUDDHISM. The mission of Soṇa and Uttara may have had only temporary success. But from the latter half of the 1st Cent. A.D. other missionaries, Brahmanical but also Buddhist, began to arrive from all parts of India.

15. See Madeleine Colani, *Mégalithes du Haut-Laos*, 2 vols. 1925, publ. by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

To conclude the subject of Mon-Khmer, may I give a brief summary of the earliest Mon inscriptions.—

(i) Much the oldest Mon writing comes from Dvāravatī kingdom, which, according Chinese accounts, was at its height in the 7th century A.D. In 1952, at Vat P'o Rang in the P'ra Pathom group, Nagara Paṭhama, a stone fragment with two different inscribed faces was found. In editing it, Coedès describes the script as "identical with that of the oldest inscriptions of Camboja: it points to the beginning of the 7th century, perhaps even the end of the 7th. The language is unquestionably Mon."<sup>16</sup> The subject is Buddhist. The writing, though fragmentary, is clear. 16 or 17 words are about all that are legible. Nearly all are common to 11th Cent. Burma Mon; and the spellings are almost identical.

(ii) The next important Mon inscription (really 4 short Buddhist dedications) has been often edited.<sup>17</sup> It is on the octagonal pillar from Vat Sāl Sūñ at Lopburi, now at the National Library, Bangkok. Apart from proper names, it contains only about 24 different Mon words. The writing is continuous and fairly legible. In 1925 Coedès dated it palaeographically "not earlier than the middle of the 8th Century". — Round about 1000 A.D. this Theravāda Buddhist kingdom of Dvāravatī fell into the hands of the Khmer rulers of Angkor.

(iii) The earliest Mon inscriptions of Burma, not yet edited in print, come from Thatôn, and Kawgun Cave on the Salween, 30 miles N. of Moulmein.<sup>18</sup> They date probably from the middle of the 11th Century, shortly before Aniruddha's capture of Thatôn (c. 1057

16. See *Cinquantenaire de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Séance du 21 mars 1952, pp. 27-31. See also G. Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*. Part II, *Inscriptions de Dvāravatī*, 2nd Ed., Siam Society, 1961, Planche XVIII.

17. See Coedès, *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. XXV, 1925, pp. 106-8. *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Part II, 1st Ed. 1929, pp. 17-19 (French text), and Planches I (left side) and XIII (Inscr. XVIII); 2nd Ed. 1961, XVIII, pp. 7-9 (French text), and Planches III, IV. R. Halliday, "Les Inscriptions Mōn du Siam", *B.E.F.O.E.* t. XXX, 1930, pp. 81-85, and Pl. VIII.

18. See *Inscriptions of Burma*, Portfolio IV, Plates 358-360.

A.D.). They are Buddhist; and one of them is partly written in high-flown poetical style.

(iv) The bulk of the Burma stone inscriptions belong to the reign of Kyanzittha (1084-1113 A.D.), with a few more extending before and after, down to about the middle of the 12th Century. Most of them have been edited by Dr. Blagden in *Epigraphia Birmanica*.<sup>19</sup> But many short glosses, especially below frescoes and on terracottas and votive tablets, remain to be published. With the accession of Cānsū II (Narapatisithu, 1174 A.D.) the period of Old Mon writings in Burma abruptly ends.

(v) For the final stage of Old Mon, we return to Siam—the 7 inscriptions of *Haripuñjaya*, Lamphun, some 20 miles south of Chiang Mai. Six have been edited in the Bulletin of the French School.<sup>20</sup> Their dates appear to fall within the first half of the 13th Century. Haripuñjaya finally fell to Mǎngrai and the Thai, c. 1290 A.D.

The stages of Old Mon orthography, as shown on this Table, cover a period of six hundred years; and even the earliest shows no signs of immaturity. The inscriptions come from four distinct kingdoms: Dvāravatī, Thatôn, Pagan and Haripuñjaya. Evidence is perhaps meagre: but from what there is, one must, I think, conclude that there is remarkable uniformity, pointing to a strong literary tradition and a common source at the beginning. And the linguistic Charts prove the high antiquity and stability of much of this Mon-

19. *Epig. Birm.* Vol. I, Part I, 1919, pp. 53-59, has the Mon faces of the so-called 'Myazedi Inscription'—really the Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi inscriptions of Rājā-kumār, c. 1113 A.D. Blagden's pioneer readings of these faces—the basis of all subsequent work on this old language—are given in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1909, pp. 1017-52, and 1910, pp. 799-812. *Epig. Birm.* Vol. I, Part II (1920) and Vol. III, Part I (1923) are devoted mainly to Kyanzittha's inscriptions. *Epig. Birm.* Vol II (2 parts), 1921, edited by C. Daroiselle, deals with the upper terracotta plaques on the Ananda temple, Pagan (c. 1105 A.D.), with their Mon glosses illustrating the *Mahānipāta Jātaka*. For other plates of Old Mon inscriptions, see *Inscr. of Burma*, Portfolios III Plates 300, 301; IV, 362; V, 548b to 554.

20. *B.E.F.E.O.* t. XXV 1925, pp. 189-195 and Pls. XVIII to XXVII (Coedès); *ibid.* t. XXX 1930, pp. 86-105 (Halliday).

Khmer vocabulary, extending from the China Sea to the Malay Peninsula and Central India. The beautiful script of Sabbādhisiddhi's inscriptions at Hariṭpuñjaya, clearly derives in the main from that of 11th to 12th Century Burma. But that of Burma probably derives from that of 7th Century Dvāravatī. It is very different from the 7th Century Pyu script of Śrī Kṣetra. The 8th-9th Century Pyu (of Halin?), according to the *New T'ang History*,<sup>21</sup> claimed suzerainty over the Lower Burma Mons. Perhaps this was an idle or outdated claim. Anyhow, in the 7th Century, the western boundary of Dvāravatī is said in the *Old T'ang History* to have been the ocean.<sup>22</sup> If so, it reached the Gulf of Martaban. M. Coedès and Dr. Dupont have shown the remarkable extent and uniformity of this Theravāda Buddhist kingdom. If the excavations at Śrī Kṣetra prove, as it seems, that the Pyu, with their use of the radiating arch, were the better architects, the Mons always appear to have been the better sculptors. And since not only the Theravāda, but also the Mahāyāna and Brahmanism were strong at Śrī Kṣetra, while in Dvāravatī the Theravāda dominated, it seems probable that in religious matters, the latter influenced the former rather than *vice versa*. The Old Siam religion, no less than the Old Siam script, ultimately triumphed in Burma.

But the final collapse of this ancient and stable Old Mon literary culture came with extraordinary suddenness in both countries. In Lower Siam, after 1000 A.D., it seems to go out like a lamp. In Burma, after the fall of Pagan, an independent Mon kingdom revived in the south, from the end of the 13th Century. But Mon inscriptions ("Middle Mon")<sup>23</sup> start again only in the middle of the 15th Century;

21. *Hsin-T'ang-shu* ch. 222 C, Section on P'iao.

22. *Chiu-T'ang-shu* ch. 197, Section on To-ho-lo kingdom.

23. For published Middle Mon inscriptions, see *Épig. Birm.* Vol III, Part II and Plates (1928) "The Inscriptions of the Kolyāñī Sīmā, Pegu"; and Vol. IV, Parts I and II (plates), 1934-36, "The Mediaeval Mōn Records" — both by Dr. Blagden. See also the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Burma* for the year 1938-39, pp. 22-24 and Plate VII "An Inscription at the site of the Muñcalinda Pagoda Pegu" by U Lu Pe Win; and *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London*, 1958, xxi/2, pp. 361-7, "The Kyaikmaraw Inscriptions", by H.L. Shorto.

and then, owing to phonetic breakdown and Burmese infiltrations, it looks almost like a different language.

Old Mon has a strength and beauty all its own. Perhaps, as in Indonesian, the normal word was originally dissyllabic. When the first syllable decayed through loss of accent, it was wonderfully revived in Old Mon writing to provide an effective Syntax, based on prefix, infix and reduplication. It was soon adequate for the gigantic task of translating the Tipiṭaka. But what strikes me most, is its grave beauty and imaginative range. It was no primitive language struggling to express thoughts too deep for it. Even in prose, it is always poetry. Even the words of the Buddha, translated into Old Mon, lose little in the process.

A U S T R O - A S I A T I C L A N G U A G E S . C H A R T I ( A ) . S P R E A D T O T H E S . W . ( T O N G K I N G T O N I C O B A R S ) .

	VIỆT-NAM.	ANNAMITE			CHAIN		KHMER		MON		MALAY PENINSULA		MALAYAN		NICOBAR	
		BAHNAR.	MNONG-GAR	SRE (KŌHO).	BIAT.	STIENG.	Old (Pre-Angkor). Modern (Present)	Old (transcribed)	Modern	SARAJESISELSEMANEJAKORE	Malay S. Selang Adak E. Cham	Malay S. Selang Adak E. Cham	Malay S. Selang Adak E. Cham	Malay S. Selang Adak E. Cham	Malay S. Selang Adak E. Cham	
1. FISH	ká	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	x	x	ka'	ka ka'	kā kah.	M. ikan	kā	Sh. kōlō kō.	ka	
2. LEAF	lá	kla	nha	nha	n'ha	la	slík	PA	slík sla	sla, lha sēla, sēlak.	le, k'ali, 'k'li.	C. kala	lau, nau.	lō	lō	
3. EARTH, LAND	dát	tēh	tēh	tāh	nēh	tēh	tī	PA	tī tī'	tī tēh, tē tek, tī te k.		M. tanah	metiā	patu malia.		
4. RAT, MOUSE	x	kāmε	nei	dē	de, ne	konēi	x	x	kni'	kni k'neh, k'ne' k'ne'		x	komel (?)	x		
5. THREE	ba	(?) pεη	pei	pε	pe	pei	pī	PA	pī pī'	pī ēmpet. 'mpe' pat.		x	be-lie	Sh. hup lue.	lū	
6. NEW	mói	x	mhei	tāmε	m'he		tmi	PA	thmī tumi	tami bei, pāi tpi		x				
7. PESTLE	chây	(?) adrey, adrik	rti	nānai	n' nau		ayrai		ayrai	ru nentik.	x	x		x		
8. JUNGLE; WILD	ruñj	(?) brui	brui	bru	brui	bru	vrai, vrayai		brui grup	grup brui. 'mbri tēpi' dēbrui	x	x		x		
9. FAR; DISTANCE	x	jāηa, sāηai	ηai	ηai	ηai	ηai			chjāy jirjey	janai nya'. mēnyu'.				hoi		
10. DAY; SUN	ηây	x	eēηε	(pae) ηai; (day) (sūm) tājai	x		tjai, tjai	PA	thjai' tjej	tjai tēηi, tēnyu.		M. hari	hō	Sh. hōpia oη-ai.	x	
11. LOUSE IN HAIR	chây	si	si	sai	chi	sih			cai	cai chā, chē. chi chū'		x	shā		x	
12. PAIN, DISEASE	x	ji'		ji	dji	ji			jhik añjey, ajey	yai ηi, nyi, ēñji miyi.		S. yā	yē. S. yē		x	
13. FIG TREES	x	jāni	jri	jri	n'wi	jrai	jray, jrai	PA	jrai jrey	jrai wi. sawet.		M. jani, jani, jē			chān (banan)	
14. HAND	tay	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	tai	PA	tai tay	tai tōh, ti. tih tonj.		M. tangan	tai.	tī tī.	tī'	
15. GOAT	x	bāβε	bei	bē	bē	bēh, beih	vave	PA	babaih babe'	babe' kambik'		bēbēk	C. babai, kambai	me.	hā-kānē	
16. DREAM	mōη	hāpō, pō	mōai	mpao	m'boi	mōi	x	x	appō	l'pā ēmpō, bēmpō 'mpā'		M. mimpi	enfüc.	enfoanpauy		
17. STONE	x	tāmo	māu	x	x	tōmau, tōmou	tmo	PA	tma tmo'	tma' tēmuh, tmo		M. batu	x	patu.	x	
18. TREE; WOOD	kây	x	chi, si	chi	chi	chi	jhe	PA	jhōh chu	chus jēhu. johu.		M. kayu	chia	chiō. chō:n		
19. BETEL (LEAF)	trāu	bā-lāu		m'lu	mlu	amlo	PA	m'lu sablu	Mid M. jablu bluk		x			x		
20. HARE	x	npae	nāpae, dānpae	n'poi			(ansay dansay)	batay	batay	batayai	x	x	M. tapai	x	x	
21. HOUSE-FLY	ruōi	noi	nhuei	nāhai	n'huai	ruēi			ruy	ruai ruē, ruōi. noi	x	x	yue.	IN-RŪ		
22. to CHOOSE	x	ānāih, nāih		noah					nōs	ruai	x			tōh, i-tōh.		
23. CHAMELEON; LIZARDS	kāk kē	bakuey	būη kuei		n'k'wāi	pēkēi			pōηkway	dakwai	jōηkōi chajtai dajkui	x		huji. Sh. hōi (d) huji. (igwana)		
24. ONE	mōt	mōñ, miη	muai	x	muoi	mu	moy, moyy	PA	(muy moy)	muai mu, moe. hmoi	x	x		x	x	
25. DOG	chó	kó, cō	sāu	sō	chō	sōu	cke, cake	PA	chkeh clew	kluiw chō. chow, chō āsū'		M. anas, anaseta	x	x		
26. GRANDCHILD	cháu	sāu	sō	sau	.. sāu	cau	PA	cau cōw		cao chēn-ā-kū-āu k'anchō'		M. chuchū				
27. to RUN AWAY	di (=to go)	? kādāu, kādū	du	dō	du	dū	dau	PA	dau dōw (to go away)	dao éadu' dōh, duh dō'		x	lō (to run)	x		
28. to SUCK, SUCKLE, BREAST	bú (to suckle)	pu	pō	tāmpō pu, m'pu			pau	PA	pāmpau pūbōi (to suckle)	{ mōt (to suck) bot bu. } { hōmao (to suckle) tarao tēmpēnū, pēnū, pōu }	x	x	Sh. bōo	po, hāpō		
29. SIX	sáu	tādru	pīo	p'rau	p'rau	prou	x	x	tūrow		x	x	tafual.	tafual, taful		
30. LAZY	x	alah		alah	n'lēh				alas linlas	lruh brut, buul		M. malas, chulas				
31. to SWEEP; BROOM	x	sāpuih	mpēh (broom)	pas; pānās	pēh, m'pēh	puh			pas (pāmpas) pūh	tach; timēh cōu. tāmpōy sapōi.		M. sapu				
32. MUSHROOM; FUNGUS	x	x	chēt	bāsūt	chēt	chēt			phēt ptis.	ptuih betis, pētis, pētū tēhs.		x				
33. THOU	mây	mih (you two)	mε	mē	māi (masc)	mēi, bēi	x	x	bēh	bēh ima'. pā', mēh.		S. i- ein	mē.	emēh mē. mēh, mēh		
34. DEEP	sāu	jāru, jru'	jru	jro	djru	jōrūh	jrau, jānrau		jrow rjūh	sjuh jēru, jēri, jēro'	x	Jay. jēro	x	x		
35. FOAM, FROTH	bot.			mboz (cascade)	m'biuh				babuh	thabuih	che'bug, bā'boz(?)	M. bueh	x			
36. SEVEN	tây	(?) tāpāh	pōh	pōh	pōh	pōh	x	x	dūmpōh	thapōh tempo	x	M. tujuh	x	x		
37. NOSE	mūi	muh	mōh	mūh	mōh	muh, trōmūh	muh, mūh	PA	cromuh mōh, mōh	muh mōh, mūh muk, mōh.	x		mōh Sh. mōh mūh	el mēh		
38. ROOT	rē	riāh, nāh	riāh	riās	rēh				riās, riās	ruih jurus yees, yau.				re h		

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES. CHART I (A) cont. SPREAD TO THE WEST (TONGKING TO CENTRAL INDIA).

	P'U-MAN.	T'ENG. (P'ENG) (Mekong-Mekong)	K'AMU <sup>2</sup> .	WA		PAL AUNG		RIANG-LANG. KHASI.		MUNDA		Ref.	
				TUNG-YA (Kapt. Dwyer)		PAN-KU	NAM-HSAN	W. Wai	MUNDARI.	KURUK.	S. SAVARA GADABA		
1. FISH	k'a	ka. ka' ka'. ka ka' <sup>2</sup>	ka ka' <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>3</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ka	ka' <sup>2</sup>	khi	kai, kaku kaku		F 138		
2. LEAF	hla	hla. hla' la'. la la' <sup>2</sup>	la la' <sup>2</sup>	la	hla <sup>2</sup>	hla	la' <sup>2</sup>	slak, sla	ana <sup>2</sup> (leaf)		L 12		
3. EARTH, LAND	t'ai	t'aleh, t'le' t'le', kale ai' <sup>2</sup>	ai'	ti	kai <sup>2</sup> , kai <sup>2</sup> kai	kite' <sup>2</sup>	pu <sup>2</sup> the	ole	wali		E 11		
4. RAT, MOUSE		kone, k'ne' kane	x	x	knai <sup>2</sup>	x	x	khna	kani		F 13		
5. THREE	x	x te pe	lai <sup>2</sup>	loi, oi	oe <sup>2</sup>	oi, oi, oe	kai <sup>2</sup> , kai <sup>2</sup> lai	api, api	apai		T 11, 21	F 1	
6. NEW	u-hmu	hne. hne hne, ne	x	x	hmu <sup>2</sup> , hmu <sup>2</sup> hmu <sup>2</sup>	tan <sup>2</sup> me <sup>2</sup>	thim-ma						
7. PESTLE		kone, k'ne' kane	η-gru <sup>2</sup>	ngri	ngri, ngri, ngri	gru <sup>2</sup> , gru <sup>2</sup> gru <sup>2</sup>	ne <sup>2</sup>	sun-ne	x				
8. JUNGLE; WILD		brü. brü hprü, hprü, hprü	brü <sup>2</sup>	pre	brü <sup>2</sup> , brü <sup>2</sup> brü	pre <sup>2</sup>	brü	brü	brü				
9. FAR; DISTANCE	gai	ga, ga <sup>2</sup> ja'	x	sinai <sup>2</sup>	s'anoi	s'anoi, s'anoi s'anoi	[s'noi]	jinai, inai	sangin, sangin sangin	S. sangi, G. sangi	F 129	F 116	
10. DAY; SUN	nyi	söngi, s'ngi, si ngai, si ngai	sinai <sup>2</sup>	s'anie, sanie	s'anoi, s'anoi s'anoi	s'ani	s'ani <sup>2</sup>	ngai, jingai	singi, sin	x	G. 171	F 138	F 92
11. LOUSE IN HAIR		se. se <sup>2</sup>	si <sup>2</sup>	s'e <sup>5</sup>	sai <sup>2</sup> , sai <sup>2</sup>	si, si	s'i <sup>2</sup>	kai	siku		F 127		
12. PAIN, DISEASE	shu	cu. cu su, shu, chu	sai <sup>2</sup>	s'ai	séu <sup>2</sup>	s'u	s'u <sup>2</sup>	suh	hasu		S 117		
13. FIG TREES	x	ju	x	x	x	x	tsani <sup>2</sup>	ju-sim	ari, buri		F 92		
14. HAND	ch'i	ti. ti' ti	tai <sup>2</sup>	te	dai <sup>2</sup> , déi <sup>2</sup>	ti	ti <sup>2</sup>	kli	W. tai tih, ti, ti ti	S. si. G. tili	H 15	F 52	
15. GOAT	pie	beh. be, phe be..	be <sup>2</sup>	pè	be <sup>2</sup>	bè	pe <sup>2</sup>	x	x		G 53	F 184	
16. DREAM		kämpö } mpo kamu	tju <sup>2</sup> mau <sup>2</sup>	[s'ma, l'ma]	m-bau <sup>2</sup>	rupö, l'rupö	ramu <sup>2</sup>	p'oh-snieu	kumu		D 158		
17. STONE	muŋ	x x	simo, simao	simau <sup>2</sup>	s'amo	mau <sup>4</sup>	mō	x	maw	[hutama-to throw stones]	S 463		
18. TREE; WOOD	zie	x x	che	k'i <sup>2</sup>	kao <sup>5</sup>	hé <sup>2</sup> , há <sup>2</sup> , hsi <sup>2</sup>	hé	k'e <sup>2</sup>	ba-eh (wooden)	x	T 211		
19. BETEL (LEAF)		blu. blu	pu <sup>2</sup>	tabo, bo	plu <sup>2</sup>	plū	plu <sup>2</sup>	x	x		A 125		
20. HARE	x	x	x	plangtai	pan <sup>2</sup> dai, pan <sup>2</sup> dai	pan <sup>2</sup> tai	pai <sup>2</sup> tai <sup>2</sup>	x	x				
21. HOUSE-FLY		ndé (ndi), nyi noi	noi <sup>2</sup>	noi, noi	noi <sup>2</sup>	nuoi, nuoi	nuoi <sup>2</sup>	x	noko		F 199		
22. TO CHOOSE		neh. neh liok (nelevek)	n-jah <sup>2</sup> , n-ja <sup>2</sup>	lx <sup>2</sup>	nāh, nā <sup>2</sup>	nas <sup>2</sup>	jied				C 120(a)		
23. CHAMELEON; LIZARDS		x	η-guē <sup>2</sup>	kwekai	akwē <sup>2</sup>	ak'oe	koé <sup>4</sup>	x	x		C 73		
24. ONE	x	mōi. moy mui, mōi	x	x	x	x	x	wē. W. mi	miad <sup>2</sup> , moead <sup>2</sup> mia	{ Smi. aboi, G. mui 027-29. (-nō, böyi)	D 27-29	F 2	
25. DOG	shaw	sò (sò'). s' sò, s' sò	so <sup>2</sup>	s'o <sup>5</sup>	sáu <sup>2</sup>	s' s' s'o <sup>2</sup>	s'o <sup>2</sup>	ksew. W. ksuā seta	sita, tsita	{ S. sori, kinsori D 143, 146. (G. kussō, q'isō)	D 143, 146	F 112	
26. GRANDCHILD		je. je <sup>2</sup>	...s'au <sup>2</sup>	...s'au <sup>5</sup>	x	sū	x	ksia	x		G 79		
27. TO RUN AWAY		di <sup>2</sup> . du <sup>2</sup> duk	to <sup>2</sup>	tua	déu <sup>2</sup>	dū	tu <sup>2</sup>	tūd (to run)	dai-re (to run)	x	S. duu. G. dū (to run)	G 44	F 250
28. TO SUCK, SUCKLE; BREAST		bu; bō. bu <sup>2</sup> (breast, to suckle) (breast)	bu p'ai <sup>2</sup> (to suck)	pō (breast)	bu <sup>2</sup>	bū	bu <sup>2</sup>	būn; būn būn je mbed <sup>2</sup> (to suck) (to suckle) (to suck)			B 386		
29. SIX	t'ao	x x tol	x	x	ts <sup>2</sup>	tōr, tō	tual <sup>2</sup>	himru. W. t'rua	turui <sup>2</sup>	{ turui. (toruya)	{ S. duu, turui S 231. (G. tin, turigi)	S 231	F 12
30. LAZY	x	x		loit	x	laie <sup>2</sup>	alhia	arisa			L 30. Cf. Skt. alasa.		
31. TO SWEEP; BROOM		pinō. p'ann <sup>2</sup>	po bih <sup>5</sup> (broom)	pieh, p'iech	bi <sup>2</sup> k'bi <sup>2</sup> p'ir; rapir	pis; s'ampis <sup>2</sup>	x	jo <sup>2</sup> , jono <sup>2</sup> (?)			S 538, W 124		
32. MUSHROOM; FUNGUS		tih	tih <sup>5</sup>	tech	dix <sup>5</sup>	tir, t'ier	tis, k'atis <sup>2</sup>	tit	x		F 292		
33. THOU	mi	mé. me mē	mái <sup>2</sup>	be	mér <sup>2</sup>	mī	mi <sup>2</sup>	mé. W. m	am, me am		S. am. G. nom Y 32, 33.	F 36	
34. DEEP		juu	ra <sup>2</sup>	raū <sup>5</sup>	luk <sup>1</sup>	lōk	tsaru <sup>2</sup>	jilliu, jilliu	x		D 66		
35. FOAM, FROTH			m-bai <sup>2</sup>	buh <sup>3</sup>	būr	būs <sup>1</sup>	x	bota			W 42		
36. SEVEN	p'ua	x x kul	x	x	pu <sup>2</sup>	pūr, pō	pu <sup>2</sup> , t'apū <sup>2</sup>	x	x	Kharia gul	x	S. gulji, G. gulji S 122.	F 14
37. NOSE	mu-ti	mu <sup>2</sup> . muh muk, mo	mxt <sup>5</sup>	kawŋ muich muk <sup>5</sup>	mūh; gōŋ mūr	x	k'mut. W. mūr <sup>2</sup> (kong)	mū	mū		S. mu. G. mū, (muva)	N 98	F 56
38. ROOT		hia. nix (nix) ria..	riah <sup>5</sup>	riach, rich	rieh <sup>5</sup>	riār	ries <sup>2</sup>	thied	red <sup>2</sup> , red <sup>2</sup>		R 173, 177		

	VIỆT NAM.	ANNAMITE					KHMER <i>Old (Pre-Angkor) Modern (Cambodian)</i>	MON <i>Old (Burmese), Modern</i>	MALAY PENINSULA <i>SARAWAK, BORNIO, SEMANGALAN</i>	MALAYAN <i>M. Malay, Siam, Javanese, etc.</i>	NICOBAR <i>Andaman, Nicobar, etc.</i>	CAP
		BAHNAR	NGONG GAR.	SPE (SŌHŌ)	BIAT.	STIENG.						
39. to FLY	bay	pā, p̄h̄, p̄h̄, p̄h̄	p̄h̄	p̄h̄, p̄h̄	p̄h̄	pa	h̄n̄ h̄n̄	pa	h̄p̄h̄, h̄p̄n̄, h̄p̄n̄, h̄p̄n̄			
40. TWO		h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	ver PA	h̄n̄ h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	ī h̄n̄ ī h̄n̄		
41. EAR	tai	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄, h̄n̄	h̄n̄		h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	
42. to YAWN	ngáp	h̄n̄, p̄h̄, ngáp	ngáp	ngáp	ngáp		ngáp	h̄n̄, ngáp	ngáp	ngáp	ngáp	
43. EYE	mát	mát	mát	mát	mát	mat	mat	mat	mat, mat, mat, mat	M. mata	mat	
44. QUAILS	kumkút	ngút	ngút	ngút	ngút		ngút	ngút	ngút			
45. BONE	xuôj	tiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ		tiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ	M. tulang	tiŋ	
46. CROW, RAVEN		ak	nak	konda	nak	kik	ka-ak, ki-ak, ki-ak	ak	ak	M. gagak, kakak		
47. PEAFOWL		hamra, mra	brak	brak	brak		mra, mra	mra	mra	M. merak, merak		
48. PEPPERS		mae, mae	mae	mae	mae		mae	mae	mae		mae	
49. DUNG		ek, ek	ek	ek	ek	ec	ek	ek	ek	Ach. C. ek, ek	ek	
50. HAIR	tók	sók	sók	sók	chok, sok	suk	sok, sok	sok	sok		sh. jua, jua	
51. to OPEN	mò		p̄h̄	p̄h̄, p̄h̄	pok	pe	pok, pok	pok	pok	M. buka, buka		
52. LAND-LEECH		plam	plam	blam	plam				plam	helam		
53. URINE		nom	nom	nom	nom		nom	nom	nom			
54. CRAB	tam (f. nam)	katam	ntam	tam	tam	ktam	ktam	ktam	ktam	M. ketam		
55. YEAR	niam	hanam, sanam	niam	nam, sanam	niam	cnam PA	cnam, cnam	snam	snam			
56. to MOURN, WEEP		niem, niem	niem	niem	niem		niem	niem	niem	chim, chim, chim		
57. BLOOD		pham, maham	mham	mham	mham		cham	cham	cham	maham	mham	
58. SHANS, DAI	xiem			chiam	chiam	syam PA	siem	sem, sem	sem	M. siam		
59. BIRD	chom	sem	siem	siem	chium, chum		chom	chom	chom	chom	chom	
60. to BREATHE; BREATH, ALIVE		h̄n̄, h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄		h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	
61. to BATHE	tóm	h̄n̄, h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄		h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	
62. BELOW (the house)		h̄n̄, h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄ PA	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	h̄n̄	
63. PYTHON	tián	klan	klan	klan	klan	klam PA	thlan	klan	klan	klan	klan	
64. FOUR	gón	puan	puan	puan	puon	pon, pon PA	puan, pan	puan	puan	M. empat	puan	
65. COOKED; RIPE	chám	sun	sun	sun	sun		sun	sun	sun	sun	sun	
66. CHILD	kon	kon	kön	kon	kon	kon, kon PA	kön, kon, kwon	kon	kon	kon	kon	
67. to SHOOT (with bow)	bán	pej	peñ	pāñ	pañ	pañ PA	pañ, pañ	pañ	pañ	M. panah	pañ	
68. to PLANT, WEAVE	det (to weave)	tañ	tañ	tañ	tañ	thañ PA	pañ, tañ	tañ	tañ	M. dandan	tañ	
69. to SEW		sit	jiŋ	jiŋ	diŋ		jiŋ	jiŋ	jiŋ	M. jahit	jiŋ	
70. BITTER	cláj	táj	táj	táj	táj		háj	háj	háj	háj	háj	
71. BAMBOO SHOOTS	máj	tábaj	báj	báj	báj		háj, táj	báj	báj	M. rebung	báj	
72. BIRDS OF PREY		kláj	kláj	kláj	kláj		kláj	kláj	kláj	M. kelan	kláj	
73. FOOT, LEG	chán	jiŋ	jiŋ	jiŋ	jiŋ	jiŋ PA	jiŋ, jiŋ	jiŋ	jiŋ	Sh. chuk	jiŋ	
74. HORNETS, WASPS	oj	oj	oj	oj	oj	soj	soj	soj	soj		soj	

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

CHART I (B) cont. SPREAD TO THE WEST (TONGKING TO CENTRAL INDIA)

	P'U-MAN.	T'ENG. (P'ENG) <i>(Mekong-Mekong)</i>	KAMU? <i>(Mekong-Mekong)</i>	WA		PALAUNG		RIANG-LANG.	KHASI. <i>(W. Wa)</i>	MUNDA		SARAKA GADABA	Siam, Laos <i>(Siam, Laos)</i>	Ref.		
				TUNG-YA	<i>(Capt. Dwyer)</i>	PAN-KU	NAM-KSAN			MUNDARI.	KURKU.					
39. TO FLY	p'wa	liq, luv, fan	fan	fu <sup>2</sup>	fuw	kat'ek <sup>2</sup>	ban	pon <sup>1</sup>	hén	apir, papia			F203.			
40. TWO	*	k'ōn, k'ōn <sup>2</sup>	fan	na <sup>2</sup>	nā	a <sup>2</sup>	ān	ai, t'ar <sup>1</sup>	ā. W. ā	baria, bar	bāu, bāu <sup>2</sup>	S. ā. ā. ā. ā. ā.	T271, 272	p. 4		
41. EAR	ts'au	*	*	yā <sup>2</sup>	la, yakt	hyū <sup>2</sup>	hy <sup>1</sup>	lor <sup>1</sup>	ʃkə	lutur	lutur		E6.	p. 64		
42. TO YAWN		həp, h'əp		nəp <sup>3</sup>	nəp	*	ka-əp	hap <sup>1</sup>	saham	əppot, cəhəhəh			Y22.			
43. EYE	*	māt, māt	māt, māt	*	*	*	*	*		khmāt, māt	mēd <sup>2</sup>	met, mēd	S. mād, ā. mā	E83.	p. 58	
44. QUAILS		t'qu		kut <sup>1</sup>	kut	āqu <sup>2</sup>		əkut <sup>2</sup>	tyut	qagar	(1)					
45. BONE		s'ān, ān	si-ān, si-ān	ʃi-ān, si-ān	s'ā-ān	kā'ān <sup>2</sup>	kā-ān	tsōn <sup>2</sup> ān	ʃi-ān, ʃi-ān	jan			B356.			
46. CROW, RAVEN		k'ak	klak	lak <sup>2</sup>	lak, loak	kā'a <sup>1</sup>	kā'a <sup>1</sup>	luk <sup>2</sup> ak <sup>1</sup>	tun-āb	m. kāia			C277.			
47. PEAFOWL	*	*	*	*	*	brā <sup>1</sup>	*	prak	*	marā <sup>2</sup>			P46.			
48. PEPPERS		blak		brā <sup>1</sup>	[māk] brak	[mā] brā <sup>2</sup>	mābrūt, brūt	māk <sup>2</sup> brāt <sup>2</sup>	soh-mūt	marci			From Skt. marica.			
49. DUNG		lak		ān <sup>2</sup>	ēn, ēn	i-ān, i-ān	i-ān, y-ān, y-ān	yān <sup>1</sup>	cit-mrad	i <sup>2</sup>			D114.			
50. HAIR	su-ch'ei	*	*	hāk <sup>1</sup>	hāk	hū <sup>1</sup>	hū <sup>2</sup>	huk <sup>1</sup>	ʃi-uk, h. sekka	u <sup>1</sup> , ūp, ūb <sup>2</sup>	ku <sup>1</sup>	S. ū	H1.	p. 66		
51. TO OPEN	paŋ	paŋ		paot <sup>1</sup>	paot	pōk	*	pūn-paw	paŋ				O41.			
52. LAND-LEECH		pluom	pluom	mblōm <sup>2</sup>	pluom	plēm <sup>2</sup>	plēm	*	thliem	*			L43.			
53. URINE		num	num	num <sup>2</sup>	nōm	hnōm <sup>2</sup>	hnōm	num <sup>2</sup>	um-juŋ	*			U27.			
54. CRAB		ktam	ktam	tām <sup>2</sup>	tām	*	*	kōtam <sup>1</sup>	thām	katākom, ka- rakom			C258.			
55. YEAR		nēm	num	num <sup>2</sup>	nōm	snām <sup>2</sup>	s'ānām	*	snem	sirma	(1)					
56. TO MOURN, WEEP	yāŋ	yam	yam	yām <sup>2</sup>	yōm	yām <sup>2</sup>	yām	yām <sup>2</sup>	iām	iam	yam		C285.			
57. BLOOD		mām	mām	senām, nām	nām <sup>2</sup>	nām	hnām <sup>2</sup>	hnām	nām <sup>1</sup>	snām	māom, māom	*	B244			
58. SHANS, DAI	sien			ʃiem <sup>2</sup>	siem	sim <sup>2</sup>	ʃiām	s'em <sup>1</sup>	*							
59. BIRD	si	sim	sim	sim, s'im	ʃim <sup>2</sup>	s'im	sim <sup>2</sup>	s'im, ʃim	s'im <sup>1</sup>	sim, h. ksem	sim (fowl)	ʃim (fowl)	S. im, kamsim	B216.	pp. 116, 118	
60. TO BREATHE; BREATH, ALIVE	*	*		im	im	im <sup>2</sup>	im	im <sup>1</sup>	im, ʃim	im			B389.			
61. TO BATHE		num	num	num	hōm <sup>2</sup>	hōm	dā <sup>3</sup> ōm <sup>2</sup>	hūm	hum	im, ʃim	im		B82.			
62. BELOW (the house)		kōndnum		ŋ-gnōm <sup>2</sup>	kōm	kōm <sup>2</sup> , kōm <sup>2</sup>	kōm	*	hānum, ʃānum	*			B165.	p. 212		
63. PYTHON		l'qun	qun	klōn <sup>2</sup>	klun (snake-skins)	*	*		thlen				S321.			
64. FOUR	p'un	*	pon, pōn	puōn	pōn <sup>2</sup> , pōt <sup>2</sup>	buŋ	pūn <sup>2</sup>	p'ōn	pōn <sup>1</sup> , kōpōn <sup>1</sup>	*	upunia, upun	upūn, } uphūn	S. unji, h. unji	F250.	p. 8	
65. COOKED; RIPE	sin	sin	sin	ʃin <sup>2</sup>	s'in	s'in <sup>2</sup>	s'in, ʃin	s'in <sup>1</sup>	shet (to cook)	isin			G237.			
66. CHILD	k'uan	kōn	kōn	k'ōn	kōn <sup>2</sup>	kawn	kōn <sup>2</sup>	kwōn	kuan <sup>1</sup>	khūn, h. kūn	hōn, hōn	hān	kōn, kōn <sup>2</sup>	S. ōn, ā. ōn-ōn	C102.	p. 125
67. TO SHOOT (with bow)	piñ	piñ	piñ	piñ <sup>2</sup>	pōin, pōin	paiñ <sup>2</sup>	pīñ	paiñ <sup>1</sup>	*	tuñ	(?)					
68. TO PLAIT, WEAVE		tañ		tāñ <sup>2</sup>	tañ	*	teñ	taiñ <sup>1</sup>	thain	teñ			P126.			
69. TO SEW	*	*	*	tyēñ <sup>2</sup>	chēñ	jiñ <sup>2</sup>	jiñ	*	*				S124.			
70. BITTER	cāŋ	cāŋ	chāŋ	sōŋ <sup>2</sup>	s'ōŋ	saŋ <sup>2</sup>	s'āŋ	tsaŋ <sup>1</sup>	kt'āŋ	*						
71. BAMBOO SHOOTS (edible)	tāpāŋ	tāpāŋ	tāpāŋ	*	baŋ <sup>2</sup>	bāŋ, bōŋ	*	*	*	*			B33, S162.			
72. BIRDS OF PREY		klāŋ		klāŋ <sup>2</sup>	klāŋ	klāŋ <sup>2</sup>	klāŋ	klāŋ <sup>1</sup>	khliŋ, khliŋ	*			E4.			
73. FOOT, LEG	chun	yūñ	juñ	yūñ, tsuñ	tyaŋ <sup>2</sup>	chōŋ	jan <sup>2</sup> , jēñ <sup>2</sup>	jiñ	tsōŋ <sup>2</sup>	kjat	janga	(foot)	nāŋgā	S. tāŋŋ, h. su- suñ	F220.	p. 54
74. HORNETS, WASP	*	*		ōŋ <sup>2</sup>	ōñ, ka-ōñ	uōñ <sup>1</sup>	ōñ, ka-ōñ	uōñ <sup>1</sup>	man-karian	*			H135.			



VIỆT-NAM	T'ENG. (P'ENG.) (Mekong-Mekong)	K'AMU'	WA		PALAUNG		RIANG-LANG	MON		KHMER		MALAYAN		K'ASI.	Compere	B&S. No. 1.	S&S. No. 1.
			TUNG-VA	(Sape-Drang)	PAN-VO	NAM-NGAN	Old (Annamite)	Modern	Old (Pre-Angkor)	Modern (Annamite)	SARAK-DE-MANG	Malak. S. Cham	Malak. S. Cham				
118. Box/Chest			a <sup>2</sup>	ak	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ak <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup>		Mundari 5.	B30	
119. Tail		hieta	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
120. LEFT (hand) head	hve <sup>2</sup>	ve	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>		Uje vachet	L 24.	
121. HUSKED RICE	gao	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>			R 112.	
122. WIDOWED		hai	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>		(Old name, later mai)		
123. MOLASSES	mia	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
124. BEANS		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
125. SESAMUM			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
126. CHARCOAL		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
127. BARKING DEER		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
128. SPEAR		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
129. to SPREAD			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
130. PRICE			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
131. to OVERTURN			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
132. REST HOUSE		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
133. ANTS	mui	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
134. ALLY FINISHED	heit	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
135. MALE			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
136. TONGUE		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
137. PIG			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
138. LAC			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
139. to LIFT, RAISE			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
140. FULL			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
141. HUSK, BRAN	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
142. OLD (of things)			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
143. NAILS, CLAWS			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
144. SNARE			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
145. TERMITES		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
146. FIVE	nam	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
147. SILVER		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
148. to ASK		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
149. NEEDLE			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
150. HORNS, TUSKS	na <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
151. ELEPHANT	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
152. GREASE, OIL			mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				
153. HIGH		ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	mai <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ka <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>				

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

NORTH-CENTRE CLUSTER (KĒNGTUNG, INLĒ, etc)

CHART IV

MON.	DANAW.	AMOK.	MÖNGLWE	ANGKŪ.	DARANG.	RUMAI.	WA.	LA.	WA.	EN.	SON.	TAI-LOI(WA-KUT).	LEMET.	P'U-MAN.
(Included)	In Lē	KĒNGTUNG	KĒNGTUNG	MONG YONG	KĒNGTUNG	KĒNGTUNG	KĒNGTUNG	of Tannier	of KĒNGTUNG	of KĒNGTUNG	of KĒNGTUNG	of KĒNGTUNG	of KĒNGTUNG	of KĒNGTUNG
Old	Modern (U&G I, 64*)	(U&G I, 712)	(U&G I, 715)	(U&G I, 720)	(U&G I, 707)	(U&G I, 707)	(Barros, 346)	(Barros, 346)	(U&G I, 704)	(U&G I, 709)	(U&G I, 775)	(U&G I, 772)	Bonnamy, Voyage, 501; Ch. 4, p. 34	P' of this month
1. FISH	ka' ka	x	ka	hka	ga	li'jā	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ká	ka	ká
2. LEAF	sla sla, the	la	ān	la	la	hla	klā	nla	la	la	la	la	la	hla
3. EARTH, LAND	ti' ti	x	kati	kate	kato	kadau	katai	te	x	de	té	dé	kade	helle, hle
5. THREE	pi' pi	wi	wé	x	x	uwe'	ō-i	loe	loi	oi	loi	oi	la-oi	lote
8. JUNGLE; WILD	grip quip		langprie	kawng pui	prie	biai		prie		lah (forest)	prie	prie	prie, pui	
9. FAR	janey jantai	ngai	ngé	é	s'ngai	x	x	singai	gai	ngai	ngai	ngai	sa-ngai	sgay ngai
10. DAY, SUN	tjey tjai	si	ngi	nga	ngai	x	si-ngai	s'engai	si-ngai	gōe, gō	nge	ngai, sngai	ngai, nye	s'ngai, sngai
12. PAIN, DISEASE	añjey yai	su	hsu	su	su	sau	s'eaū, sōu	sō	sao	sao	sao	sau	su	sō
14. HAND, ARM	tjey tai	ti	ti	ti	hli, ti	lai, dai	tai	tai	teh	dae, fōng	tai	dé	ti	tī
15. GOAT	bab' babi	pupè	api		pé	pé	pu	blei	pé	lé	pé	pé, we		pé
16. DREAM	appo' lpa'	tung po	kamu	kamu	kamu	m'bao	āmpa-ō		s'mo	maw-a-yao	s'mao	d'mo		
17. STONE, ROCK	tmo' tma'	tamu	kamu	semó	s'mo	mao	ma-āu, māu	shumao	bao	mo	s'mao	mow	samol	preku
18. TREE, WOOD	chu chu	sok, the, the	tām su	kung khsu	kung kisu	[dang] hie	hi	k'ow	k'ao	rawng kao	[num] hao	rawng kao	[num] hao	ho
24. ONE	moi mwa	x	mo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	mus, moe, mo
25. DOG	claw klaw	so	so	hsaw	saw	so	s'a-ō	so	ts'ou	so	so	so	saw	so, shaw, sō
28. BREAST; to SUCKLE	pubow bamoo tu	(to suckle)	x	pu	pu	pu	mbū	(to suck)			pu			
29. SIX	turow taroo	tun	tall	x	x	naw	tō	lia	lie	lu-a, lu-eh	li-ā	lu-a	x	tal
33. THOU	beh beh	mer	mu	mi	mi	mai	mā	tō	me	mi	mē, me	mo	mī	mu
36. SEVEN	dimpoh thapoh	pel	n'pui	x	x	bu	pū	x	x	x	x	x	x	bul
37. NOSE	mohh. muh	x	x	x	x	kong-mu	mū	mu	k'uang-pai	damwe	mō	damu	mus	mus, mūs
40. TWO	fū fū	an	á	x	x	a	ē	ra	ra	á	ra	a	la-al	ar, la-ār
41. EAR	klor. kalow	tun, la-ton	lasok	lasok	chok	heo	s'ō, chō	yow(ke)	tayok	[da yauk, ta yauk]	yōk	yauk	yot	yok, yōk
45. BONE	juc(?) jut	hanang	ka-ang	ka-ang	ka-ang	ka-ang	ke-āu			ōng	sāng	āng	sa-ang	suang
50. HAIR	sok sok	ngywok	suk	suk	huk	huk	hū'	how(ke)	hōk	hāk	hak	hāk	huk	hog
57. BLOOD	chum chum	ngam	nām	senām	si nām	nām			nām	nām	nām	nām	nām	
59. BIRD	hūcem qacem	sum					sum	sum						shim, sim
64. FOUR	pan pan	pun	pun	x	x	pu-on	p'ūn	pon	pon	wun	pun	wun	pun	pun, pon
66. CHILD	kon kon	keun	kawn	kawn	kon	gawn	kōn	x	kuan	kawn	kōn	kun	kōn	kon, kōn
73. FOOT, LEG	fu. juy	tsung, sung	chung	x	x	cheng	jāng, jān	chan	sho	shang; āng	sawng	sawng, sawng	chong	cheng, tuj
78. HOUSE	stji. stji	nya	x	x	x	x	x	nyen	cha(t)	nya	nya	nya	nya	nha, nyā
80. I (WE)	ey. 'ai	o	(e) aw	(yi) aw	(é) aw	(aw) o	(ye) aū	o	ao	(ei) ao	(ao) au	(au) u-ti, ye (u)	ō	(yō) ao
84. NAME	umo' ymu	mō	maw	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	mulhs	
85. BREAST (W)	tohh tah	x	tior	x	x	x				ti		tus		
86. SALT	huw x	x	plu	plu	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	pelu, pluh
100. NINE	dinat dicit	sin	n'tum	x	x	tim	sān	tim	dim	dim	dim	x	tim	t'i
110. EIGHT	dincām dacām	sam, tsām	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
118. BOW, CROSSBOW	tja. tja	ak	āk	āk	āk	a	kān-kā	ak	ak	āk	āk	x	āk	ak, āk
{ 121. RICE in the husk	sro' sro'	ko	sāk	si ngaw	s'ngaw	ngo	hnyau'	ngo	go	ngu	ngo	ngo	ngaw	ngo kang, ŋ' ngo
" " husked	stji' stju		n'ku	un-ko	n'ko	t'gau	lakāu	'n-gaw	kao	kao	gao	kao	en-ko	ngo sin 'n-k'u
127. BARKING DEER	pah x		poē	pwe	pwe	bwa	x		bwe	po	buh	puss	pōs	
128. SPEAR	bnas bnuk	plit	x	x	x	li-ar		plia	yang-piao	plur	bya	plur	x	x
136. TONGUE	latak tak		pāk	tāk	tāk	s'la	s'alā	nda	tak	dāk	tāk	dāk	t'āk	t'a
146. FIVE	mšim psun	thun	hsen	x	x	pān	p'ān	fan	p'wan	pawn	pan	pu-on	pun	pan
149. NEEDLE	tinkii tanij	x	poi ngi	siné	s'né	malak	bānglāt		nyur	ngyé	nyur	kall-nye		
151. ELEPHANT	cīj cīj	sang	sāng	sāng	sāng	sāng			sāng	sāng	sāng	k'sang	kesang, kšāng	
153. HIGH, TALL	stij sluj	kang	(?) lung	lung	ling	x		lōng	long	lōng	laung	lōng	long	leŋ hlōng

## OLD MON ORTHOGRAPHY

	LOWER SIAM.		LOWER BURMA.	CENTRAL BURMA.	UPPER SIAM.
	Nagara Pathama c. 600 A.D.	Lopburi c. 775 A.D.	Thatôn c. 1050 A.D.	Pagán c. 1100 A.D.	Lamphun c. 1220 A.D.
ONE	moy	moy	moy	moy	moy, moyy
TWO	bār		bār	bār	bār
THREE		pi'	pi', pi	pi	pi' pi
FOUR			pañ [1098 A.D.]	pañ	pañ
FIVE			mṣūn	{mṣūn, mṣun, musun}	{mṣūn, mṣūn, musūn, mṣun, mṣunn}
SIX			turow	turow	turow
SEVEN	duṁpoh		duṁpoh duṁpoḥh [1098 A.D.]	duṁpoḥ	{duṁpoḥ, dum- poḥ, duṁmpoh}
EIGHT			diñcām [1098 A.D.]	diñcām	dincām
NINE					dincit
TEN (multiplicand)	cwas		cwas [1098 A.D.]	cwas	{cwas, cwass, cawass}
HUNDRED	klam		klam, klām̄m	{klaṁ̄, klaṁ̄m, klam}	klaṁ̄, klaṁ̄m
THOUSAND			lñīm, lñim	{lñīm, lñim, lñim̄.	lñīm, lñim
OBJECT OF REVERENCE	kyāk	kyāk	kyāk	kyāk, kyek	kyāk
BUDDHIST MONK			guṁm-īr	guṁīr	mīr (=to become a monk)
LORD		..rlla	{turla', trila', trāla'}	{tirla', tarla', tirla, tarla}	tarla, trala
SLAVE		dek		ḍik, ḍik	ḍik

	LOWER SIAM.		LOWER BURMA.	CENTRAL BURMA.	UPPER SIAM.
	Nagara Pathama c. 600 A.D.	Lopburi c. 775 A.D.	Thaton c. 1050 A.D.	Pagan c. 1100 A.D.	Lamphun c. 1220 A.D.
I, MY PERSON NAME		ey	ey	ey	ey, eyy
		ñah	ñahh	ñah, ñahh	ñah
		yamo'	imo'	imo'	{himo' simo', yamo'}
CATTLE		jlow		jlow	jlow
{TRUNK, TREE; BEGINNING	tañ		tañ [1098 A.D.]	tañ	
EARTH	ti		ti'	ti	ti', ti
STONE			tmo'	tmo'	tmo'
SILVER	srañ		srañ [1098 A.D.]	{srañ, sreñ; srañ (?)}	srañ, sreñ
THIS	awo'	wo'	wo'	wo'	wo'
OTHER			c-āñ	c-āñ, c-eñ	c-āñ
RELATIVE PRONOUN		mun	ma'	ma, mun	man, mun, ma
IN	ḍey		ḍey, pḍey	ḍey, pḍey	ḍey, ḍeyy
BY, WITH, TO		na'	na'	na	na', na
WITH, AND			ku'	ku	ko', ku
to MAKE		kandañ	kindañ, kindam [1098 A.D.]	kandañ, kandañ	
to GIVE AWAY, OFFER		jun		jin	jan
to GET		go'	go'	go'	go'
to DWELL			tāw	tāw	tāw
CART		kwel		{kwil, kwil, kwal}	
CLOTHES		glīk		glīk, glīk	
COCONUT	brāw			brāw (?)	brāw