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Linguistic Contacts in Ancient East Asia
(*early draft version*)

In his first and last English publications, Sergei Starostin discussed the ancient linguistic contacts of the Chinese language. The puzzle of East Asian linguistic prehistory is still far from being solved, but some of the pieces are already known.

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Ancient East Asia can be seen as an area of interaction between three major linguistic powers: the local Austric super-family and the two invaders (the Sino-Tibetan, especially the Chinese, and the Altaic families).

Austric

The Austric super-family is made up of four daughter-families, grouped into two branches: Austronesian + Tai-Kadai and Austroasiatic + Miao-Yao (Peiros 1998[1]).

1. The Austronesian (AN) languages can be roughly subdivided into three branches: Formosan (AN languages of Taiwan), Malayo-Polynesian (Western AN, Central Pacific, etc.) and Oceanic. Phonological correspondences (only for Formosan and some MP languages) are used to reconstruct the Proto-AN system. Blust's AN comparative dictionary (Blust, n.d.) represents the Formosan and Malayo-Polynesian lexicon fairly well, while the set of comprehensive Proto-Oceanic etymologies is quite limited (see Ross et al., 1998, 2003, 2008).

The disintegration of the Proto-AN language began earlier than 5 thousand years ago (5 KYA)[2] not in Taiwan, as it is generally believed (Blust 2008, Adelar), but somewhere in the subtropical areas of mainland China (Peiros).

2. Most of the Tai-Kadai daughter-groups are known relatively well. The only exception is the Gelao group (Ostapirat, 2000; Diller et al. 2008). A representative collection of etymologies for one of its principal branches, Zhuang-Tai, has been published (Li 1977) and is available (with a few modifications by Peiros) on the EHL data-base (1329 entries)[3]. A limited number of common Tai-Kadai forms (excluding Gelao) can also be found digitally.

The age of the Tai-Kadai family is estimated to be around 5 KYA. Its homeland was located somewhere not far from the Jinsha valley (modern Yunnan)[4] (Peiros MS).

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[1] The Russian version of the book was finished by 1985.

[2] The calculations exclude Austronesian languages of New Guinea and some adjacent islands (Peiros AN-1)

[3] See also Pittayawat Pittayaporn, 2009.

[4] Jinsha is the westernmost of the major headwater streams of Yangtze.

3. The Austroasiatic (AA) family is represented by a digital etymological dictionary (currently over 2,500 entries), found in various publications, but mainly identified through direct comparison of ten lower level daughter-branches (Peiros 2004, digital data-base).

The AA family seems to be the oldest among the Austric branches (over 7 KYA). The AA homeland was located not far from the mid-Yangtze valley (Peiros and Shnirelman 1998, Peiros 2011).

4. The Miao-Yao (MY) family is the youngest in the super-family (about 4 KYA), with its languages being heavily influenced by Chinese; in many cases Chinese lexical borrowings substituted many original words, so the known proto-language lexicon is very limited (Peiros 1998; Ratliff 2010). Therefore, no cultural reconstruction can be suggested. All the MY proto-forms used in the Austric comparisons, are taken from (Peiros 1998). Combining the distribution of modern languages with their known migrations, one can suggest that the homeland of the family was located in the mountains of Guizhou, presumably not far from the proposed AA homeland. At the same time, the modern MY distribution is determined by the relatively recent spread of Chinese speakers, and thus Guizhou, in fact, that may be their last stronghold.

In 2004-5 Sergei and I collected some lexical similarities in support of the Austric hypothesis (Peiros and Starostin MS and data-base). I returned to the Austric studies only recently, improving and expanding the original data-base by etymologies mainly from Proto-AA and Proto-AN.

The age of Proto-Austric can be estimated around 10 KYA. It is possible to speculate that the Austric homeland was not far from the Yangtze valley: while the Tai-Kadai homeland may be located in the Jinsha valley (modern Yunnan, north of Kunming), Proto-AA was presumably spoken close to the mid-Yangtze valley (modern Sichuan), and the MY homeland was probably nearby. It is very tempting to accept the hypothesis that the ancestors of Proto-AN speakers could have lived in the Yangtze valley also (Bellwood 1997), and not on the sea coast, as some scholars believe (see discussion in Sirk, 2008).

Altaic

The Altaic is formed by two branches – Western (Turkic and Mongolic languages) and Eastern (Tungusic, Koreanic, and Japonic languages). *Altaic Etymological Dictionary* (Starostin, et al. 2003) contains more than two thousand entries reconstructed with the help of elaborated system of phonological correspondences. The Altaic data-base contains also EA etymologies used in this paper.

The age of the Altaic proto-language is estimated around 8 KYA.

Sino-Tibetan

The history of the Sino-Tibetan family (ST) is not well known. In the 1970s Sergei and I conducted a comparison of five ST languages (Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Lushai and Jingpo = Kachin), as no other dictionaries of hundreds of other ST languages were available to us. Later Sergei added to the data for the Lepcha and Kiranti languages (Peiros and Starostin 1996; digital data-base).

We also made a few attempts of lexicostatistical studies of the family. As the majority of the languages remain poorly known, the results vary, but it seems that the family is formed by more than a dozen main branches. For example, the languages included in the ST data-base belong to five branches: Chinese,

Lepcha, Jingpo, Kiranti and Tibeto-Burman (Tibetan, Burmese, Lushai). Therefore lexicostatistics does not confirm the common view that Chinese represents the most ancient branch of the family. Its unique lexicostatistical position may be caused by some unidentified loans.

Most major branches of the Sino-Tibetan family are found not in China, but much further to the west (India, Nepal and Burma). This consideration supported by cultural reconstructions lead me to the conclusion, that the ST homeland was located not in the Huang He valley (as it is often believed XXX), but somewhere in Sub-Himalayans (Peiros 1998). The disintegration of Proto-ST began, probably in the 4th millennium BCE (6 KYA).

In the 1980s Sergei discovered the Sino-Caucasian super-family which originally linked together North Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan and Yenisseian languages (Starostin). In the early 2000s he put forward the hypothesis of genetic relationship between the four known super-families (Euroasiatic[5], Afroasiatic, Sino-Caucasian and Austric), proposing the existence of a single super-super-family, later called "Borean" (Gell-Mann et al.).

There are lexical similarities between ST and AA proto-languages. As in many other cases, at least three different types of them can be identified: (i) erroneous resemblances, (ii) traces of remote common origin, and (iii) borrowed words. Examples given in Appendix I, represent mainly the third option. A significant number of ST forms in the Appendix have good Sino-Caucasian etymologies[6]. Austric etymologies are known only for a few of AA counterparts[7]. The examples given in Appendix I, indicate that the two proto-languages where in intensive linguistic interaction with borrowings going in both directions (?), with Proto-ST being the major donor:

Proto-ST <==> Proto-AA

It is estimated that the disintegration of Proto-ST started about 6 KYA, so the contacts between the two proto-languages must have taken place before that. If the suggested localizations of the homelands are correct, the area of contacts was be somewhere to the south or south-west of the mid-Yangtze valley.

A possibility of ancient contact between Old Chinese (OCH)[8] and AA languages has been proposed by several linguists. For example, Schuessler's Chinese etymological dictionary (Schuessler 2007) contains multiple entries where OCH words are compared with AA. There are doubts that the OCH speakers met speakers of AA languages, but the contacts must belong to the much later chronological periods.

OCH <=≠=> Proto-AA

Connections between ST and AN languages have various explanations. P. Benedict insists that OCH was a recipient of multiple AT borrowings. L. Sagart suggests that there is a separate Sino-Austronesian family, and that ST and AN families belong to it (Sagart, Blust). In 1978 Sergei and I demonstrated that the

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[5] "Nostratic" in Sergei's terminology.

[6] All Sino-Caucasian etymologies are taken from Segrei's data-base.

[7] Cases where both ST and AA forms have external etymologies, are provisionally attributed to the Borean level, and not listed.

[8] In this paper, OCH is the term to cover a long period of language development: from its separation from Proto-ST (about 6 KYA) to the form obtained by internal reconstruction (about 3.5 KYA).

similarities between OCH and Proto-AN were caused by borrowings which went in both directions (Peiros and Starostin 1978). There is also a very limited set of ST – Proto-AN similarities without OCH reflexes. Now it seems better to explain this type of similarities either as traces of the Borean relation or as etymologies, where OCH reflexes are yet to be found. If it is so, the contacts took place around 5 KYA (after the split of Proto-ST and before the disintegration of Proto-AN).

Proto-ST <=≠=> Proto-AN

OCH <==> Proto-AN

Sergei discovered that OCH have an interesting stratum of Altaic borrowings which share three common features: "1. The Old Chinese words are usually attested at least starting with Early Zhou (only a few of them are attested later than 6th century B.C.). 2. For none of these words have any Sino-Tibetan parallels been proposed. 3. On the Altaic side, the words are well represented, particularly, in the east (Korean, Japanese and Tungus-Manchu)"[9]. Discussing the impact of this discovery, Sergei mentioned to me that the Neolithic Yangshao culture of the Huang He valley can be associated with those Altaic speakers. The contacts (not peaceful) began when the speakers of OCH reached the Huang He valley and met the local Altaic population. My guess is that this could have happened at about 4 KYA.

OCH <== (Proto-)ALT

Proto-ST <=≠=> Proto-ALT (???)

To explain OCH – AN contacts, I assumed that the AN homeland may be located to the south of the Shandong peninsula (Peiros 1998). In this case it was only logical to look for lexical similarities between AN and ALT languages. To my surprise, no convincing set of look-alikes were found, indicating that Proto-AN was spoken somewhere else.

Proto-AN <=≠=> (Proto-)ALT

At the same time a list of lexical look-a-likes between Proto-AA and (Proto-)ALT have been created, Appendix II lists some of them. AA forms given there, are presumably not of AU origin, while some ALT forms have good EA etymologies. When such EA etymology is known, the direction of a borrowing process is easy to determine: from an ALT source to Proto-AA.

(Proto-)ALT ==> Proto-AA

However, one cannot expand this suggestion to all examples in Appendix II, as OCH forms (even sometimes with ST etymologies) can often be added to the AA – ALT pairs. It is not clear, how to explain these triplets. One way is: (Proto-)ALT ==> OCH ==> Proto-AA. But it is not very effective as: (i) OCH is much younger and (ii) there are no other borrowings found from OCH into Proto-AA. In fact, we might be dealing with several different cases.

The above observations lead to the following scenario:

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[9] An additional list of borrowings is given by G. Starostin (2009).

1. The Austric super-family is the only known linguistic entity spoken in East Asia about 10 KYA. One can speculate that the homeland of this super-family was somewhere in the Yangtze valley. There is no information about Proto-Austric contacts with other language (super-)families.

2. After the disintegration of Proto-Austric, the Proto-AA language (spoken in modern Sichuan) came into contact with Proto-ST speakers, presumably before the beginning of the ST migration towards East Asia. The linguistic contacts were rather intensive, with the dominant ST impact. The contacts took place about 6 KYA.

3. At the same time or even slightly earlier, Proto-AA also had contacts not with Proto-ALT, but with one or a few of its daughter languages, which acted as the donors for the loans. Sometimes Proto-AA could even serve as a 'middleman' between ALT sources and Proto-ST.

4. It seems logical to assume that the ALT homeland was located not in the Huang He valley, but much further to the north.

5. Proto-AN had no contacts with ancient ALT languages or Proto-ST, which indicates that it was spoken far away from their locations about 6 KYA.

6. After the disintegration of Proto-ST (6 KYA) the remote ancestors of the Chinese began their migration from the Sub-Himalayas. At first they met Proto-AN speakers who might have dwelled somewhere in the Yangtze valley. The estimated time of these contacts is around 5 KYA.

7. The next direction of the Chinese migration was northwards. Around 4 KYA they reached the Huang He valley to meet ALT speakers.

Appendix I.

AA : *bəlɔ : *ashes*	STIB : *λə̄ : *soot, ashes*
AA : *ta:w : *to stand*	STIB : *dhə̆w(H) : *place upright, post*
AA : *ʔu:lh : *fire*	STIB : *χʷelH : *to burn, fire*
AA : *ŋa:r : *green, red*	STIB : *mə̄r : *red*; *ŋrəw *blue, green*
AA : *rɔ:ŋ / *ro:ŋ : *neck*	STIB : *rĕŋH (~ -iə̆-) : *neck*
?AA : *ta:k : *tongue*	STIB : *λă̆k : *tongue, lick*
AA : *rɔŋ / *rɔ:ŋ : *back*	STIB : *ruaŋ : *back*
AA : *ce:t : *to kill*	STIB : *sāt : *to kill*
AA : *dal : *block, cover*	STIB : *[t]ə̄lH : *to stop*
AA : *loŋ / *luŋ : *valley*	STIB : *luaŋ (k-) : *interior; valley*
AA : *laj : *fruit*	STIB : *li : *fruit, seed*
AA : *kla : *tiger*	STIB : *[χ]lāH : *tiger*
AA : *ma:ń : *ask, tell*	STIB : *m(r)ə̆n : *ask*
AA : *ri:t / *rɛ:t : *cricket, cicada*	STIB : *rǐt / *rŭt : *cricket*
AA : *tVŋ : *trap*	STIB : *thŏŋ : *net*
AA : *dʔɨl : *belly*	STIB : *dhj[ŭ]l (~-ɬ) : *belly*
AA : *raŋ : *wasp, fly*	STIB : *m(r)āŋ / *m(r)āk : *gadfly, fly*
AA : *ra:j : *spirit, demon*	STIB : *ră̆j : *a k. of demon*
AA : *ru /*rɔ : *fishtrap*	STIB : *rɨ̌wH (-k) : *fish trap*
AA : *ro:ŋ : *hall, house*	STIB : *krɨăŋ (~ g) : *village, town*
AA : *lɔ : *snail*	STIB : *lŏ (~ -ə̆w) : *snake, snail*
AA : *lɔ:ŋ / *luŋ : *boat*	STIB : *lŏŋ / *lŏn : *boat*
AA : *ʒu:t : *wipe, rub*	STIB : *chŭt (~ch-, -uat) : *wash, wipe*
AA : *sa:k / *cɔ:k : *look for*	STIB : *sɨāk : *search*
AA : *raŋ / *rɔŋ / m*rɨŋ : *hard*	STIB : *reŋ : *hard*
AA : *ciet / *cit : *to slice*	STIB : *ch[ē]t : *to cut*
AA : *laŋ : *clean, trasparent*	STIB : *λ[a]ŋ : *light, bright*
AA : *ruam : *put together*	STIB : *rɨm(H) (k-) : *combine, together*
AA : *rəm : *edge, rim*	STIB : *rem : *sharp*
AA : *puas : *barking deer*	STIB : *phāwH : *a k. of deer*
AA : *kluaŋ : *middle, inside*	STIB : *luaŋ (k-) : *interior; valley*
AA : *riɛs : *root*	STIB : *rɨ (-t, -s) : *bone*
AA : *rɨaŋ : *beam, rafter*	STIB : *rɨaŋ : *tree, wood*
AA : *Tuŋ : *deaf*	STIB : *Toŋ (~-u-) : *dull, stupid*
AA : *ra:w : *wash*	STIB : *g(h)rua (-t) : *wash*
AA : *caw : *owner, lord*	STIB : *cɨ́H : *govern, rule, lord*
AA : *sənam or *s<ən>am *year*	STIB : *nɨ̆mH : *harvest, rainy season*

AA : *kəla:ŋ : *bird of prey* | STIB : *lə̆k / *lə̆ŋ : *bird of prey* < SC *łHéqwǍ

AA : *Cəɬeŋ : *horn* | STIB : *qʷrāŋ : *horn* < SC *q̇ūrV (~ G-)

AA : *dap / *tap : *layers* | STIB : *thĕp : *fold, place one upon another* SC *dVṗV

AA : *ʒu:r / *ʒɔ:r : *to pour* | STIB : *sór : *flow, pour* < SC *šVrV flow, river

AA : *(Cə)luom : *liver* | STIB : *lŭm / *lŭ̈ŋ (?) (~ λ-) : *heart* < SC *λĔwŋV́

AA : *kɔ:ŋ : *mountain* | STIB : *kāŋ (~g-) : *hill* < SC *ɓéʕŋe

AA : *bɨm / *bəm : *mountain* | STIB : *bɨ̄m : *mountain* < SC *ṗV́mV

AA : *mɨa : *rain* | STIB : *mo (~ -ew, -aw) : *sky* < SC *mŭ̄si

AA : *koh / *gɔ : *island, hill* | STIB : *khʷɨ : *hill, mound* < SC *ʔáwqV mountain, hill

AA : *pla : *blade* | STIB : *lă (m-) : *arrow* < SK *λ̆ă[l](H)V́

AA : *la : *leaf* | STIB : *λā(k) : *leaf* < SC *ɤwɨ̆rʔV leaf

AA : *caw : *grandchild* | STIB : *sū́ : *grandchild* < SC *=ɨ̆šwĔ son, child

AA : *rɨək / *rik : *cut, split* | STIB : *rek : *cut* < SC *ră(x)qV́ to cut, flay

AA : *cVj : *sibling* | STIB *cə̆jH *elder sister or brother* < SC *=ɨ̆cɨ̃ brother, sister

AA : *kɔ(ʔ) : *neck* | STIB : *k(h)əwH : *head* < SC *k̇ÚHV head

AA : *ra:p : *shelter* | STIB *ɣăp (~ -ĕp) *dwelling* < SC *ɓVpV́ (~ -b-) house

AA : *rɔ:k : *squirrel* | STIB *ruak *rat* < SC *ré̆gwǍ a k. of rodent or small predator

AA : *ruaŋ / *rɔ:ŋ : *river* | STIB : *kruaŋ : *river, valley* < SC *xk̇álhV lake, river

AA : *kɔ:ŋ : *stem* | STIB : *kū̆ŋ : *plant, branch* < SC *xk̇wV́ŋV fir-tree branch

AA : *ka:m : *husk, bran* | STIB : *kuam : *shell, cover, husk* < SC *kŏnmo skin

AA : *tuŋ : *hole* | STIB : *thuaŋ (~ dh-) : *empty, hole* < SC *dwŏnk̇V́ hole

AA : *kul / *ku:l : *back* | STIB *qālH *back, small of the back* < SC *GwVłŏ side; back

? AA : *təŋaj : *day, sun* | STIB : *nɨ̆j (*s-nɨ̆j ?) *sun, day* < SC *swənʔV́ day, yesterday

AA : NMK *ʔiɛk / *ʔiɛŋ *excrement* | STIB *qjāk / *qjāŋ *dirt, faeces* < SC *GHə́lGɨ dirt, dung

AA : *duak / *dʔuak : *boat* | STIB *tĕkʷ *vessel, cup, scoop* < SC *[t̻]ā(x)qV́ vessel, scoop

AA : *pədʔur / *pədʔu:r : *blister* | STIB : *dhŭr : *blister, abscess* < SC *[t̻]wə̄rʔi blister

AA : KMU *cər-gu:l : *finger, toe* | STIB : OC 指 *kijʔ : *finger* < SC *kó[ł]V finger, toe

AA : PM *kədʔap : *head* | STIB : *di(ə)p ~ *dep : *top* < SC *dV́mpé

AA : *kɔ:ŋ / *kaŋ : *leg* | STIB : *kă̆ŋ / *kă̆k (r-) < SC *k̆ā[l]kV joint; leg

AA : *r[ua]ŋ : *road* | STIB : *rɨāŋ / *rɨāk (k-) : *road* < SC *Hrēm(x)q̇ɨ́

AA : *ʒəj / *ʒɨəj : *ill, sick* | STIB : *ʒhaj : *illness, disease* < SC *ʔáʒV sick, ill

AA : *la : *testicle* | STIB : *laH (~ λ-) : *testicles, male* < SC *ʔɨ̄rλwV

AA *Cərmɔ:l / *Cərmɔl *male* | STIB OC *m(hr)ūʔ : *male animal* < SC *mōr[Ł]V ? male

AA : *suah : *wet, dip in*   AN : *hisuq : *clean, wash, scrub, scour*
STIB : *sŭH (~ ch-) : *wash*

AA : *wiɛr / *weʔ : *left (side)*   AN : *wiRi : *left (side)*
STIB : *wăjH (~ -ĕ-) : *left; phaj left*

AA : *lɨp : *immerse, sink*   AN : *celeb, *delep, *le(p)lep : *sink, submerge*
STIB : *ƛ[u]p : *dive, submerge*

AA : *dʔu:m : *ripe*   AN : *lum : *ripe*
STIB : *r[u]am : *ripe, full-grown*

AA : *cak / *ʒɔk : *to string, insert*   AN : *tisuk; *ra(ŋ)suk; *Cesek : *stab, insert*
STIB : *cuk : *stick into, plant*

Appendix II

I. Austro-Asiatic / Altaic.

AA *cuah / *co:jh *sand*
ALT *č'ä́jV (~ -ē-) *sand, sandbar* < EA *čajV (~ *č'-)

AA *cuaŋ *knife, axe*
ALT *č'i̯aŋu (~ *č'i̯oŋe) *a sharp bone, sharp instrument* < EA *CVNV 'smth. sharp' < BOR

AA *sɔ:k *straw*
ALT *č'ik'ò *straw, chaff; *si̯aku (~ z-) *chaff, husks; *č'i̯ŏk'e (~ -k-) *grass, weed* < EA *CIķO *chaff*

AA *sar *cat, fox*
ALT *čĕ̆lV *a k. of small animal* < EA *[čw]VlɣV < BOR

AA *cat *bitter*
ALT *či̯ắtu (~ *t-) *sweet, taste* < EA *cwVtu < BOR

AA *ŋɔ *pine tree*
ALT *ŋi̯ằ̄ŋe *fir-tree* < EA *ńajŋV *a prickly tree*

AA *goŋ / *goːŋ *cold*
ALT *k῾i̥ójŋo *cold*   <   EA *ḳVjŋV

AA *kɔŋ *hold in the teeth*
ALT *keŋV *to bite, gnaw* < EA *kVngV 'to gnaw'

AA *gaːk / *kaːk *branch*
ALT *k῾i̥ujk῾e̖ *root, stem;* *ga̖č῾i (~ *ge̖č῾a) *branch, bough*   < EA *ḳUjḳV

AA *kɔːn *child*
ALT *kŭŋi *child*   < EA (Drav) *kuń-

AA *kan / *kɨn *woman*
ALT *kune (~ g-) *one of several wives*   < EA *k/u/nV *woman*

AA *kVp *husk*
ALT *gébó *shell, husk*   < EA (Drav) *gaviseṇ-

AA *kɔːp *turtle*
ALT *ki̥ap῾a *turtle, crayfish* < EA *kVṗV

AA *kaːr *weasel*
ALT *k῾úre (~ -i) *a k. of fur animal*   < EA *ḳ[u]nV *marten*

AA *kuaj *lizard*
ALT *kulV (~ -o-, -ĺ-) *snake, worm* < EA *kułV

AA *kuaj / *kɔːj *deer*
ALT *gúri (~ -o-, -ŕ-, -e) *deer, game* < EA *gujrV

AA *kVj *son-in-law*
ALT *kele (~ -i, -o) *daughter-in-law, bride* < EA *kälU < BOR

AA *gɔːr *mountain, forest*
ALT *k῾ori *hill; embankment, boundary*   < EA *gwVrV

AA *lɔːm / *lum   *bag*
ALT *lámo *a k. of bag*   < EA *lVmV < BOR

AA *loʔ / *ləʔ *good*
ALT *àlu *good, beautiful* < EA (Drav) *al-ar- *to blossom*

AA *leh *weak, tired*
ALT *àle *weak, tired, confused* < EA *HalV < BOR

AA *mVk *cheek, temple*
ALT *màjŋì *temple, forehead, ear* < EA (Drav) *skull, head* < BOR

AA *mə *dream, sleep*
ALT *àmV *to be quiet; sleep* < EA *ʔamV

AA *bVl *bush, shrub*
ALT *bi̯ŏla *a k. of bush, spiraea* < EA *bVlV

AA *pual / *puol *augur*
ALT *pʻi̯ŏlge *to pray, sacrifice* < EA *ṗVlgV

AA *bʔuːl *hill, top*
ALT *pʻőre *top* < EA *ṗVrV

AA *pVt *flea*
ALT *pằtʻe *louse, biting insect* < EA *pVN(T)V ? < *pVN(T)V ?

AA *bə-ʔaːr *two*
ALT *ŏ́re (~ -i) *other, one of two* < EA *jV́rV 'two, pair'

AA *tɨl *sand, soil*
ALT *tʻőre *soil, dust* < EA *ṭV́rV *earth, dust* < BOR

AA *tVr *walk, go*
ALT *dōre *to go, walk, approach* < EA (Drav) *dār-i *way, road*

AA *wVk *knife*
ALT *bằkʻù *a sharp instrument* < EA *bEḴV

AA *ca:k *pandanus*
ALT *čˤ[a]ge *a k. of plant (reed) and its bast*

AA *sVŋ   *hear*
ALT *čĩŋV *to listen, consider*   (with weak EA etymology)

AA *se:l *peel*
ALT *sɨ́la *to rub, clean*

AA *ce:m *bird*
ALT *sìmò *a k. of bird*

AA *cVp   *bag, wrap*
ALT *čǎ̀bà (~ -o) *sack*

AA *sVp *dress*
ALT *čˤi̯opˤa (~ *čˤi̯apˤu)   *a k. of clothing*

AA *cVʔ *worm, maggot*
ALT *čˤǎkˤi   *a k. of insect*

AA *sə(N)=kaw / *gaw, -
ALT *čágo *a k. of small predator*

AA *suar *speak*
ALT *sőra *to ask, inform*

AA *ŋə:jh [=*ŋə:s] *buy*
ALT *ŋ̀ā̀nsa *debt*

AA *ŋa:r *green, red*
ALT *ŋi̯ōle *red, pink; yellow*

AA *gɔ:ŋ *gong*
ALT *kōŋa *bell*

AA *kV(l) *dandruff*
ALT *ki̯onŋu (~ kˤ-) *dandruff, mould*

AA *liːk *pig*
ALT *luko *wild pig*

AA *lam *hundred*
ALT *n̋ằmò *hundred*

AA *moːc *ghost*
ALT *mùsi *steam, spirit*

AA *bʔɛ(ʔ) / *baːk *Job's tears*
ALT *pi̯áge (~ pˤ-) *a k. of weed, panicum*

AA *bʔuəm *tuber*
ALT *pˤeńu *a k. of edible root*

AA *ʔVm *live*
ALT *ȅma (~-o) *to stay, be left, leave*

AA *huːr *skin*
ALT *ȅrù (~ -ŕ-) *skin*

AA *hiɛj *otter*
ALT *uji (~ *o-) *a k. of small animal*

AA *dal *block, cover*
ALT *dǎla (~ -o) *to close, hide*

AA (Khmer) ṭɔp *ten*
ALT *či̯obe (~ *t-) *ten*

AA *tVh *give*
ALT *i̯áta (~ -tˤ-) *to give, gift* (with a weak EA etymology)

AA *tur *rat*
ALT *dorVkV *a k. of badger*

AA * CəN-taːj, *hare*
ALT *tˤȁrba *a k. of small animal*

AA *jVr *flying squirrel*
ALT *d̪i̯ari *a small animal (flying squirrel)*

AA *kVn *cloth*
ALT *kőni (~ -e) *leather, cloth*

II. Austro-Asiatic / Altaic / Old Chinese.

AA *cVl *whet, sharpen*
ALT *č̓ʿalù *sharp,   (to cut)* <   EA *cVlV *split*
OCH :   鐫 cor 'chisel, sharp point' [LZ]

AA *ʒəj / *ʒɨəj *ill, sick*
ALT *č̓ʿi̯olu   *crippled*
OCH 瘥 *ʒā̄j / *caj disease < ST

AA *kVŋ *insect*
ALT *k̓ʿi̯uŋu *worm, grub; *goŋV(ŕV) 'a k. of insect'*   <   EA *k̓wVŋV ??
OCH 蛩 g(h)oŋ 'cricket'

AA *ka:ŋ *house*
ALT *k̓ʿumi (~ -e) *tent, temporary dwelling*   < EA *k̓ojmV < BOR
OCH 宮 *kuŋ palace < ST *qĭm (~ *qʷĭm)

AA *kVl *ten*
ALT *k̓ʿi̯ura (~ -u) *twenty*
ST *kuɬ *twenty; all*

AA *kam *arrow*
ALT *k̓ʿemá *sharp, sharp tool*
OCH 劍 kam-s 'sword' (SAS)

AA *kVm *black*
ALT *k̓ʿume (~ -i̯u-) *black; coal*   < EA *k̓UmV
OCH 紺 kə̄ms 'purple' < ST

AA *kur *pig*
ALT *k̓i̯ŏ́ro (~ -u) *lamb, deer*   < EA *ḳwV́rV ??
OCH 豭 g(h)ʷār 'a k. of pig' [LZ]

AA *kVr *bark, skin*
ALT *k̓ér̀a *bark;* *k̓úĺa *bark, scales; scab*   < EA *ḳerV
OCH 幹 kārs *body, substance, stem*

AA *kVr *bow*
ALT *kare *bow, to shoot from a bow*
OCH 韔 kar *bow and arrow case* [LZ]

AA *kVt *to sharpen, whet*
ALT *ki̯ā́tu *sharp tool; notch*
OCH 刮 kʷrāt *scrape, polish* [L.Zhou]   < ST

AA *kɔw *rice*
ALT *mi̯urgu *wheat*
OCH 麥 mrə̄k *wheat, barley* (SAS)

AA *kuaj *person*
ALT *k̓i̯uĺe *person* < EA *ḳUĺV
OCH 鬼 *kujʔ *spirit, ghost, demon'* < ST *GuajH

AA *kuəj / *kuoj *millet*
ALT *ǯi̯úgi *millet*
OCH 稷 cək *variety of millet*   (SAS)

AA *kə=laːŋ *bird of prey*
ALT *lak̓[a] *a k. of bird*   < EA *HalVḳV
OCH 弋 *lək (~*Ł-) 'a bird of prey'   [since Han] < ST *lək / *ləŋ

AA *lɔːk / *lɔk *weasel*
ALT *l[u]k̓V̀ (~ -k-) *lynx, wild cat* < EA *loḳV
OCH 鼬 lus (~ Ł-) *weasel* (with a weak ST etymology)

AA *liam *good*
ALT *lami *convenient, helpful*
OCH 艶 l(h)ams *beautiful*

AA *bə=lɔ *ashes*
ALT *p˙ol̄ńe *ashes; grey* < EA *ṗVlV
OCH : 炱 *ɫə̄ soot < ST

AA *laj *fruit*
ALT *ojle (~ -i) *small fruit*
OCH 棣 lhə̄ts (~ -js, ~ -ps) *wild plum* (SAS)

AA *mu:l / *mɔ:l *plant, dibble*
ALT *mált˙u *to dig, bury*
OCH 埋 *mrə: *to dig in, bury* [coincidence?]

AA *mVʔ *spirit*
ALT *maji *protecting spirit* < EA ???
OCH 魔 mhā 'ghost, devil' [Wei]

AA *ńV:m *child*
ALT *ńablu(-ʒV) *young, child* < EA *ńVwV (IE)
OCH 妊 n(h)əms *pregnant* [Han]

AA *hVc *to die, finished*
ALT *ēč˙o *be weak, exhausted* < EA (Drav) *asái
OCH 殪 ʔīts *to kill*

AA *ʔVk *fat, big*
ALT *ēgó *big, many*
OCH 益 ʔek *to add, increase*

AA *ʔVk *elder sister's husband*
ALT *ĕk˙à (~ -o) *elder sister*

OCH 娿 ʔrāks *name of a wife's sister in relation to another wife's sister* [Han] (SAS compares with 姑 kā *father's sister, aunt, mother-in-law*)

AA * Kə- ruh / *roh, *basket*
ALT *kʼừre *basket*   < EA
OCH 筥 kraʔ 'round basket' (SAS)

AA *dʔik / *dʔi:k *slave, servant*
ALT *dăgì *enemy, alien*
OCH 敵 *dhe:k enemy (SAS)

AA *TVl *wall, house*
ALT *dala (~ -e-) *a k. of building*
OCH 都 tā *outer city, settlements outside of city wall* ??

AA *tɔ(:)l *tradition*
ALT *dòru *rule, permission*
OCH 典 tə̆rʔ *to direct*

AA *tu:m / *to:m *ball*
ALT *tʼi̯ama *ball, round, curved*
OCH 摶 dhōn *round, make round; collect* [LZ]

AA *tiər *termite, cicada*
ALT *dile (~ t-, -ĺ-) *a k. of insect or worm*   < EA (Drav) *tēḷ- scorpion
OCH 蟬 d(h)ar 'cicada' [LZ]   < ST

AA *tVr, *tVl *wife*
ALT *teĺV *female* < EA (Drav) *taḷ- *mother, female*
OCH 娣 Ł(h)əjʔ *younger secondary wife*

AA *wVt *bird, duck*
ALT *bădo *a k. of bird (quail, dun-bird)*
OCH 鷩 pets *a k. of pheasant* [LZ] < ST

III. Austro-Asiatic / Altaic / (Old Chinese) / Austronesian

AA *sac *meat*   AN *Sesi, *isiʔ (EAD)   *flesh, meat*
ALT *sési   *deer, wild animal*
OCH   ʒ(h)ajs, ʒ(h)ej *bone with meat on* [L.Zhou]

AA *cVk *deer*   AN *sakeC (EAD) *muntjac, barking deer*
ALT *sĭgò, *sūku   *deer, horned animal*

AA *ca:k *cut*   AN *sak=sak   *hack, chop into pieces*
ALT *sakˤa (~ z-) *sharp instrument, to cut, split*

AA *c[iə]k *ear, crest*   AN *pucek, *qapucuk *peak of a mountain*
ALT *čˤ[i̯a]kˤi *temple; ear*

AA *cVr   *to thread*   AN *CuSuR   *string together, as beads*
ALT *či̯úru   *string, to string*

AA *mVh *fat, grease*   AN *SimaR *grease, oil, fat*
ALT *majV *fat*

AA *mɨ:r *to crawl*   AN *kamaŋ   *creep, crawl*
ALT *mi̯olkˤo *to creep, slide*

AA *bʔɔŋ / *poŋ *hole*   AN *baŋ=baŋ *cavity, pit, den, excavate*
ALT *pˤeŋi *to gape, hole*

AA *pVŋ *flower*   AN *buŋa *flower*
ALT *poŋa (~ *pˤ-) *bud*

AA *bʔər / *bʔuar *mouth, lip*   AN *biR=biR *lip*
ALT *píro (~ b-) *beak, nose*

AA *tɨŋ / *dʔəŋ *to know, hear*   AN *diŋa, *liŋa; *diŋeR *hear, listen*
ALT *tˤuŋe *to inform*

AA *pVŋ̣ *tiger, bear*   AN *baRuaŋ *bear*
ALT *bi̯onV *a k. of predator; *pˤi̯un[e] 'a small wild animal'<   EA (Drav *vēŋ-) ???

AA *tojh *breast*   AN *du=duq *chest, breast*
ALT *tʕṓli (~ -e) *breast; *dile 'udder'*

AA *lə́n *fat*   AN   *lañ̃a *oil, vegetable oil*
ALT *lemV *meat, fat (of animals)* < EA *lemV

AA *saːk / *cɔːk *look for*   AN *bajak (EAD) *know, understand; ask, inquire*
ALT *sogú *to search, choose* (with a weak EA etymology)
OCH 擇 Ł(h)āk *to choose, select*

AA *ʒVr *sour*   AN *qasiRa *salt*
ALT *sṻre *sour, acid, stinking*
OCH 酸 *sōr *sour* < ST

AA *pVj *hill*   AN *bay=bay *beach, shore*
ALT *bǎjV *rock*
OCH 陂 paj *slope, bank, dyke*

AA *CəCʔɨaŋ *bone*   AN *suŋu (Demp) *horn*
ALT *siŋ̀ù *bone; shin bone* < EA *cʕiŋu

AA *cVp *pinch*   AN *atip, qatip *pinch together*
ALT *čʕipʕú *to press (with fingers), pinch* < EA *cipV

AA *ʒVp *sew*   AN *rajup *stich*
ALT *si̥ǎbi *to sew, perforate, awl*   <   EA *[s]VjwV