PLANT NAMES
IN
AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS
EDITORIAL

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PLANT NAMES
IN
AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

by
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

(For abbreviations of languages and areas see Appendix II.)

cf. confer (in the sense of botanical taxonomy)
cp. compare
dial. dialect
dials. dialects
etc. et cetera, and so on
f., ff. following
FJ Flora of Java
FM Flora Malesiana
n. note
pr. paragraph
sj. sejenis (Ind.), a kind of
sp. species
spp. species (plural)
ssp. subspecies
syn. synonym(ous)
s.v. sub voce, under the word
var. (botanical) variety
viz. namely

* (star) *aRuSu is a hypothetical, reconstructed form, an ety whole
' ' indicate a subsequent translation
" " indicate a quotation, or a specific sense of a word
> becomes
< comes from
?lis the word lis is possibly incorrect
FOREWORD

"Nothing brings back the flavour of a period so well as its vocabulary."
Jean Dutourd. *Au bon Beurre*

This article is the fruit of a missionary's almost lifelong interest in both the language of the Manggarai people and their environment.

This is principally a linguistic study, showing linguistic phenomena to be found in plant names. Starting from the Manggarai area and language it winds up with Austronesian etyma.

Though a monograph like this is new for Indonesia, I am convinced that in almost every Indonesian culture similar observations can be made.

I hope, in conveying examples of linguistic phenomena taken from Indonesian languages, to be of some use to language teachers and to compilers of text-books.

First I want to express my gratitude to my ever helpful confrere Erwin Schmutz for his frequent advice, and for having placed at my disposal his five books on the Flora of Manggarai. Then I should gratefully mention 'Het Greshoff's Rumphius Fonds' which enabled me by means of a grant to undertake botanic-linguistic research in Central Flores and in Sumba. When I was pressed for time, I received welcome assistance from Frs N. Apeldoorn and J. van de Weijgaert who did a lot of typing, while J. de Hosson worked on several maps. I would like to tender special thanks to Mrs Ann Dawson-Wolters who kindly revised the first part of my preliminary English text, and to the editor of NUSA who made me the most generous promise of transcribing my far from perfect manuscript. Others to whom I feel indebted will be named in the appropriate place.
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Manggarai

Though in this article other regions and languages are often named, Manggarai occupies the central and chief place. Manggarai furnished the bulk of the material, it was the starting point in each part of this study, and it constitutes the area which is best known by the author. This "kabupaten" covers the westernmost third part of the island of Flores which is situated in the midst of the Lesser Sunda Islands (Nusa Tenggara) in Indonesia.

From a few historical sources it appears that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century the colonizing Goanese from Macassar and the Bimanese from eastern Sumbawa shared power over Manggarai in a strange coexistence. Gradually the Sultan of Goa lost his power and his territory. Meanwhile many Macassarese had mingled with the Manggarai people. The Bimanese had established themselves near a few harbours and had been strictly forbidden by the Sultan of Bima to live among the Manggarai people. The Macassarese have had the greater cultural influence. In the south of Manggarai clearly traceable individual immigrations from Sumba have taken place and later, in the last century, of Buginese and others in the west.

No earlier than 1907 Manggarai was occupied by the Dutch who put an end to the Bimanese supremacy, and maintained the petty feudal chiefs, called dalu’s, under a Manggarai raja.

With this occupation came the official use of the Malay language, and the direct influence of the colonial government on agriculture and forestry. In the centre of Manggarai, the town of Ruteng was founded. It became more and more the central point of governmental and missionary activity, of trade and education.

1.2 Our knowledge of plants and their names

1.2.1 The wild flora of Manggarai is rather rich in content since many kinds of biotopes are represented. Further more, and this is most important for our purpose, the Manggarai-speaking population is 99% agricultural, and older people especially have a great knowledge of plants and their names. The flora of Flores is probably the best studied among comparable islands in Indonesia. All this made it possible to compile my "Dictionary of Manggarai Plant Names". This work, which is incomplete, of course, contains some uncertainties and errors; nevertheless, it remains an important source of information and is basic for the present work.

Besides extensive collections made by Schmutz and myself in Manggarai, in other areas and islands, plants and their names have also been collected. This was done in Ngadha with I. Dahus, in Rongga, Rembong, Lio, Endé and in Sumba with I. Ros, in Komodo with Aio Sahu and Don. Rabu. Mostly in the field, names were noted down in the Solorese of Withama, in Roti and Ndoo, and in Timor in the languages of Dawan and Tetum, and in the non-AN Bunaq. I recall with gratitude the help of Mr. A. Sabon in Withama and of several confrères in Timor.

1.2.2 As to the names from other languages and regions in Indonesia, there are many more difficulties concerning the correct botanical determinations. Burkhill, who apparently was well versed in Malay, is very critical in regard to the materials from the Peninsula, Backer (1934) felt himself unable to check the Javanese and Sundanese names properly, and for Heyne it was often simply impossible to check both the orthography and the determinations. Further remarks will be made on this subject in Prefatory Remarks of Chapter 6.

1.2.3 We used as far as available the scientific names of the Flora of Java (FJ), which are the most up-to-date. Behind the taxonomic names no author's names are given. In studies like this they are entirely superfluous.

1.2.4 The particulars which are given concerning certain plants do not claim taxonomical value. They are merely connected with the explanation of certain names that will be mentioned. Relevant traits are sometimes taken from descriptions in the Flora of Java.

1.2.5 In general, no Indonesian and English names are given since in neither language do official lists of names exist. Exceptions are made for very common plants, and also, when a foreign name has some linguistic bearing.

1.2.6 I deemed it useful to give some bo-
tactical and linguistic explanations, though they are superfluous for some of my readers.

1.3 The languages

1.3.1 The Bima-Sumba Group

Especially for Chapters 2, 3 and 4, it seemed justifiable to make a tentative division of five groups of languages:
(a) Manggarai Proper (M) with some five subgroups that comprise some 45 dialects. These mostly coincide with the former data-doms that form minor cultural units.
(b) Greater Manggarai (MA), the Manggarai Group, which consists of five or six languages; see map of the Manggarai Group.
(c) Ngadha-Lio (NL) Group,
(d) the Western Flores (WF) Group,
(e) the Bima-Sumba (BS) Group.
More will be said of these groups under 6.0.6.

1.3.2 The AN Group

In Chapters 5 and 6 many languages outside the BS Group are mentioned; see Appendix II. Often only geographical names have been given because botanists sometimes did not refer to the languages concerned.
Blust's (1980) main subgrouping of the AN languages is adopted here. In a few cases it was difficult to change Dempwolff's well-known IN, MN, PN grouping and orthography.
I found it useful to maintain on the map the boundary line between the BS Group and the languages east of it.

1.3.3 Orthography and pronunciation

My orthography is based on Indonesian. However, some additional graphemes/letters are required; thus I use /q/ for the glottal stop, /e/ for the murmured (e), and /é/ for the phoneme whose allophones are comparable with French (é), (è) and (ê). Outside Manggarai proper (M) glottalised (b), (d), (g), (j), (l), (r) are found. These phonemes are written /bh/, /dh/ etc. In Romga, Endé and Sb: Loura we find unusual kinds of (r); I write them /γ/. According to local custom the voiced laryngeal fricative is written /gh/, and a possibly glottalised (g) as /gg/; Sb å is a long, å a short stressed /a/.
For languages outside Manggarai I dare not claim a precise orthographic production of the sounds, and still less so with names taken from other authors. I have tried to adjust Burkhill's and others' orthography to mine.

As to the pronunciation, it may be sufficient to say that in the Flores languages /c/ and /j/ are pronounced something like (ch) in "church" and (j) in "judge" respectively, and that /u/ is similar to the vowels in "fool" and "full".

1.4 The linguistic approach

Time and again the composing of the Kamus Manggarai and later of the Dictiona-ry of Manggarai Plant Names gave rise to semantical afterthoughts and opinions. The collecting of plants and the observing of them in nature together with native connoisseurs evoked commentaries and discussions which were very revealing as to people's ideas concerning plant names. Father Schmutz's field notes in his Flora der Manggarai are full of these "ethno-linguis-tic" explanations. Also my ethnobotanical card-index contains many details that are relevant in this respect.

With these sound materials, which are reasonably complete for Manggarai, I tried to deal with the linguistic phenomena they contained. In the first place full attention was given to Manggarai, but then Greater Manggarai, the western languages of Flores and others of the BS Group in which I did research, were drawn into this study. I made use of data from more remote languages where this seemed appropriate; this was especially the case in the last chapters. I tried to avoid piling up materials and only did so where they could illustrate new aspects.
I want to mention explicitly the great usefulness of Burkhill's encyclopedic work. He provided me with data which was otherwise unavailable on the historical spread of several plants, and he showed me a useful linguistic handling of plant names.

For the linguistic mapping, I learned much by studying Dutch works and articles on areal linguistics and phytonomy. In localising linguistic areas, Salzner's Sprachen-Atlas has been indispensable.
In the following three chapters I deal with the vernacular nomenclature of non-native plants. In the first place attention is paid to adventitious plants that came into Manggarai or Flores during the last sixty years. In the third chapter some useful plants are dealt with that were introduced by man in the same period. In the fourth chapter the names of plants which were introduced during the last centuries will be studied.

In Chapter 5 a survey is made of linguistic phenomena which emerge from the above chapters, and which are completed with new data from elsewhere and from the native flora.
In Chapter 6 I shall deal with originally cognate plant names and try to give their etymology. The essential part of Dr Blust had in this chapter is yet to be acknowledged.
Chapter Two

ADVENTITIOUS PLANTS

2.1 General remarks

In this chapter we review the names of a few plants that have entered Flores during about the last half century; so their linguistic history is rather easily traceable.

2.2 Erechites valerianifolia

2.2.1 The plant

This plant belongs to the composites. It is an aromatic herb, with a fleshy brittle stem and lobed leaves; according to my observation it is not higher than 80 cm. It is common in mountainous areas. Thanks to their pappus hairs the tiny seeds are wind borne and easily spread. Its striking, sudden and abundant appearance was observed by the Manggarai people for the first time during the Japanese occupation (1942 - 1945), when communication was minimal. Besides, it drew special attention because the Japanese used it as a vegetable.7

2.2.2 A historical name

In Manggarai proper (M) we find the names saung ripon(t) and saung jepang 'the Japanese herb', and also bendes jepang, 'Japanese bendes'; see under 2.2.3 (b); in Kepoq (MA) leboq ripon 'the herb of the Nippons'; in Ngadha and Nagé kigo-nipo, in Keo and Endé king-go-nipo. The apparently original kinggong (see 2.2.3 (b)), with conditionally changed sounds, means in these languages Emilia sonchifolia, which is a wild edible herb. The epithet on nipo specifies the new plant. In Lio: Ndana I noted mbaka nipo and in Lio: Moni mbaka nipo 'the Nipponese Erigeron sumatrensis! This Erigeron resembles Erechites valerianifolia. It seems certain that in different areas these names came into existence independently of each other.

2.2.3 Borrowed names

(a) In a few cases names of similar plants are adapted with a specifying epithet. In Manggarai: Pacar we come across mbuél rengkat 'the deeply lobed Emília sonchifo- lia'. In Tedu-Mudé in Nagé I found mbaké mézé 'the big mbaké'.9

(b) In most cases the original plant became less important than the new one, so that the latter no longer needed the specifying epithet. So we find the different names of Emília sonchifolia now used for Erechites valerianifolia, e.g.: in Manggarai dialects rénggong, bolet, buet, mbuél, in the Rembong dialect of Térong-Mawong kinggong; in Endé: Nua-Bosi, kinggo. In Endé: Rowo-Réké the name (wun) mbaka, and in Manggarai réwung took the place of Erigeron sumatrensis.10 It is interesting that now in Nua-Bosi the native plant Erigeron sumatrensis is determined by the addition of an epithet, viz. mbaka keri.11

(c) Other more or less similar plants whose names were borrowed in Manggarai for E. valerianifolia are: mé'as, Spilanthes tabadicensis, cowat, a Bidens sp., and further bojé (2.2.5), bendes and mendes. The latter three names are certainly old ones, and that is probably also the case with tombek and ranggu. The identification of the related plants, however, could not be established.

A very inconsistent name, but well checked in several places, is po'ang, a name which is generally used for several species of grasses.

2.2.4 Aetiological names

In the Far-East Manggarai dialects of Lengo-Sambi and Toring I came upon the name rewut kepal 'weed of the (air-)ship', and, in the adjacent dialect of Nanga Numba, with the same meaning: tevon kepal. I found a similar nomenclature on the island of Sumba; in the dialect of Kido ro kápalo is used, and in that of Louga rogo kápala léra, 'the herb of the air-plane'. The plant is thus regarded as having been disseminated by planes (or modern ships). A similar train of thought can be found under 2.3.2 (e) and possibly in the name randi-awang 2.6; see Note 18.

2.2.5 Descriptive names

In the eastern languages of the Manggarai Group, we find forms that have or suggest the meaning 'thick', 'fat', 'juicy', indicating a property of the stem of this Erechites.

In Central Manggarai the name bojé is rather common. In S.-E. Lamba-Léda this word means "swollen".12 Bojé is also used in Rajong (MA), in Rongga and Nagé. The forms bojél we find in Waé-Rana (MA), and bojot/bosot in Rembong (MA) and in Mulu
Map 1. Mosaic; fusion and overlapping; supersession by *bendés*

- **Erechtites valerianifolia**: 2.2
  1. jepang
  2. réwung
  3. tombek
  4. bonak
  5. bojé
  6. rénggong
  7. méqaas
  8. mendés
  9. ranggù
  10. nipon(g)
  11. benggong
  12. kinggong
  13. tewon-képal
  14. bendés (jepang)
  15. pogang
  16. oawat
  17. rewut-képal
  18. bojot
  19. bendés
  20. bojél

*bojél*

*(shaded) bendés*

*(roughly) nipon(g)*

*bolel*
The name bonggeng in Kepoq (MA) may probably be connected with the identical word, which in Lamba-Lédé means "thick" (concerning vines). In Narang, Todo, the name bebé 'fat', 'thick', is used alongside bonak, which has almost the same meaning.

2.2.6 The superseding bendés

By the sudden and ubiquitous spread of the new plant more than 20 names arose in MA alone. I felt inclined to call the configuration on the map a mosaic, but later development shows a tendency of certain names to diffuse irregularly and to overlap others. And nowadays, some forty years later, the name bendés, which was originally used in the area surrounding Ruteng, is understood almost throughout Manggarai and is becoming everywhere more and more widely used. Map 1 gives a good image of the phenomena of the mosaic, the diffusion and the supersession.

2.2.7 The alphabetical list

bendés
bendés-jepang
beé To: Narang
bojé C, Ra, Le, Rs, Pst, Ndo, NL, SL; Rj, Rgg; Nagé
bojél NNDo, Co, Ms; Wr
bojot/bosot Rmb; FEM: Mulu
bolel Ko
bonak To: Narang
bonggeng Kepoq I, NRw
bulel Ré, Ko
oawat WM
jepang WM
ro kàpalo Sb: Kodi
ro’o kàpala léra Sb: Loura
kípgo nipo Ng, Nagé
kinggo Endé: Nua-Bosi
kinggo-nipo Endé: Nua-Bosi; Kéo
kinggong Térong (=Mawong); FEM (wunu) mbaka Endé: Rowo-Réré
mbaka-nipo Lio: Ndona
tė mbaka-nipo Lio: Moni
mbaké-méné Nagé: Téda-Mudé
mbolet To
mbulel Pá, Nwé
mbyulé-réngkat Pá
mégas Ra
mendés Lu, C
nipo (g) C, SH, MB, Nd; To: Kéndé; SL: Nénu; Kp II
poqang R, S, Le, P, Pa, Ndo: Téntang; To: Kéndé, We: Orong, Le: Paghar
ranggu C, Co, Urung SL
rénggong Ra, NNDo, To
réwung To: Lamba
reut-képal FEM
tuwa-képal Wng
tombek To: Dengé

2.3 Eupatorium inulifolium and E. odoratum

The species Eupatorium inulifolium a composite (cognate with E. cannabinum, our 'hempweed'), is a robust, erect, perennial herb, up to three metres high. Whole clouds of windborne seeds can be seen passing overhead. No wonder that this 'napoleonic' plant occupies every free piece of land. As the stems get woody in a few years, they are used as (inferior) firewood. The cuttings are utilised for living fences. This originally South-American plant became naturalized in Java before 1900. I heard about it in Manggarai for the first time in 1963.

A related species which appeared about the same time, but which prefers regions below 500 m, is Eupatorium odoratum. It is a very similar plant. Older specimens are somewhat overhanging and lean on other plants. Whereas E. inulifolium is eaten by cattle to a limited extent, this species is not eaten at all, and is regarded as poisonous.

Both species are gregarious and push aside other plants; so they are conspicuous enough.

2.3.2 Historical names

The sudden appearance of these plants, one high in the mountains and the other in lower regions, precisely in the eventful time of national reconstruction after Indonesia's fight for freedom, is well reflected in most of their names.

(a) Sénus, locally sénus, is the most common name, and it is rapidly spreading. It refers to the great census of 1953. If the two species are found together they may have distinctive names, in Laci near Ruteng I heard the names sénus gambak 'sénus with' 'broad' (?leaves) and sénus gambak 'sénus with' 'creeping sénus' for E. odoratum. In Mano a distinction was made by using respectively the names oka-dé or merdéka and sénus; see below under (b) and (c). In the areas near Ruteng we find sénus rona 'male sénus' as the name for E. inulifolium, and sénus rona 'female sénus' for the other species; see for the "male/female" distinction under 5.8.7.

(b) The name merdéka(q) is used in two regions which lie rather far apart. The slogan merdéka 'free', 'freedom' became common in Manggarai after 1951. In SCM merdéka is used for the recently immigrated herb Euphorbia prunifolia, in Sémang (Wélak) for a new small prostrate papilionacea, and in Térong-Mawong in Rung for Lantana camara (3.4). In C L and Congkar the name oka-dé came into use. It is also met with in Ndilek, Riwu, but there it indicates the species odoratum. Oka-dé (so spelled on account of the pronunciation) is the abbreviation of O.K.D.: Organisasi Keamanan Desa, a kind of citizen guard which func-
Map 2. a. dispersed homonyms. b. scattered blocks; supersession by sénus.

a. homonymous meréka(q)
  + Eupatorium spp.
  Euphorbiaceae
  papilionacea
  Lantana camara

b. Eupatorium spp.; 2.3
  sénus, sénsh, sínus, sínsh, sénsh, séshu
  oka-de
  meréka(q)
  kembang
  ganéfo, génfo
  bangka-bu, bangka-bus
  rékét
  rowé
  pong-géek
  ngddéng
tioned in each village in 1958 and 1959. This made a great impression as the villagers had to patrol at night.

(d) The name *ganéfo* is widely used in the former Riung district. The name there crosses the boundaries of three languages. *Ganéfo* is the abbreviation for Soekarno's Games of New Emerging Forces. Money was collected for these games in the villages. Maybe that was the most striking feature for the common people. The games were held in 1963. In Ng: Tana-Wolo the form is *gené-fo*.

(e) Another reminder of remarkable events is preserved by the name *rokét*. The jets, with their smoke trails were called *rokét*, and regarded as carriers of the new plants; see Note 18. They were seen after 1950.

(f) The name *pong-géök* is known in Ruis. It seems that *E. odoratum* settled there in the time when young men had to go far from home in order to construct the new road in the direction of the village *Pong-géök*. This was about 1968.

[...]

2.3.3 Borrowed names

(a) In Ruteng I heard a few times the name *rové* for *E. inulifolium*. The real *rové* is *Pluchea indica* which resembles this *Eupatorium* slightly, and the stems of which are also used for firewood.

(b) In Ruw: Ndilek *nggojong*, the name for an Indonesian edelweiss, *Anaphalis longifolia*, is used for *E. odoratum*, in contrast to *oka-dé*; see 2.3.2 (c). In my opinion the similarity of the two species is too slight to allow of an easy explanation.

2.3.4 Names in the Ngadha-Lio Group

(a) The language of Rongga probably borrowed *séseu* from Manggarai.

(b) In Ngadha, Kéo and Nagé names meaning the 'white flower' (*wonga bhará, wonga bha*) are usual.

(c) In Nua-Bosi, Endé and in Lio we find resp. *rinu* and *kerinu*. I suppose that these names were introduced by an official of Java, seeing that in Sundanese I found the names *ki rinyuh* (*ny= Lio n*) and *rinu* (*Backer, 758*).

(d) I also noted in the Endé district *mburi-mbédo* and *mbutu-mité*, but for these names I have no explanation.

2.3.5 The superseding name *séseus*

In 1963 the name *séseus* was used in Lamba-Leda, and from thence it expanded to Ruteng. For many years the thousands of students from the whole of Manggarai who are attending highschools and colleges in Ruteng have adopted the Ruteng name *séseus*. The name is in daily use as most of the boys go once or twice a week three or four kilometres to collect dry *Eupatorium* stems for firewood in their simple boarding-houses. It is chiefly on their account that the name *séseus* is now known throughout Manggarai and is still spreading. Within two decades the other names may disappear.

2.3.6 The alphabetical list

*baka-bu* Ms; *Wr* (*E. odoratum*)
*bangka-bus* Rw
*ganéfo* PEM; *Wué, Wangka; Tédá-Mudé* *gené-fo* Ng: *Tana-Wolo* *kembang* Co, B, Kp
*kerinu* Lio
*merdéka* Ma
*merdékaq* Rmb; *Rj*
*nggojong* Ndilek Rw
*mburi-mbédo* Endé: *Lia-Nggéré* *mbutu-mité* Endé: *Mbomba* *oka-dé I* L, C (*E. inulifolium*)
*oka-dé II* SL, NRW, St, *Téná R, Tuwa Wo*; *Wr: Réné, Lété* *rinu* Endé: *Nua-Bosi* *rokét* NL *rové* R *séseus/séseus* MA; in PEM it is used for *Eup. odoratum* *séseus-gebak* ?Laci R *séseus-lor* Laci R (*E. odoratum*) *séseus-rona* Ma, N, R, Ra, C, NNDó, STó, NNDó, NLe (*E. inulifolium*) *séseus-wina* ND, R, C (*E. odoratum*) *séseus Ng: Jéré-Bu’u* *wonga-bha* Nagé *wonga-bhara* Kéo, Ng

2.3.7 The map

Map 2 is simplified for clarity of arrangement. I hope that it gives a good image of the stages of name-giving to an adventitious plant within a period of thirty years. The oldest stage consists of a mosaic of names, afterwards some of those names started diffusing meanwhile overlapping or superseding others, and finally, the overall supersession by the name *séseus* came off, and is still going on. In this map we did not distinguish between the two species.

Besides we find in four widely separated areas the use of *merdékà* for different adventitious plants. These homonyms form one large block and three word-islands. Since we know well the history of the name *merdékà*, we are able to interpret those islands on the map as having emerged contemporaneously, and independently of each other. This is to my belief an uncommon and new interpretation of word-islands. The other two explanations point to (a) relics which prove a one time greater expansion of the word concerned, like the *reqa-* and *pulut-* islands on map 11, 14 and 14a, and (b) a borrowing from an important center by way of transmigration, like *comeo II*
2.4 Cuphea sp.

This Cuphea is a stiff somewhat creeping low shrublet with small purple flowers. In a very short time it covers open areas. This feature draws much attention from the peasants in rice-fields that have grown dry.

The plant originates from Central and South America, and appeared in Manggarai about 15 years ago. Though many people know no name for this plant, I yet came across several names in a rather small area in Central Manggarai. In Ruteng I heard randi-awang, a name for which I refer to 2.6. In Rahong the name wela-loé 'small flower' is used; this also counts for the native Polygala perstaartaeifolia. The name wela-toé 'flower (of the bamboo) toé' makes no sense to me. Maybe it is an example of poor folk etymology.

Much more interesting are the names camat in Rahong, and lurah in Ruteng. They are historical reminders of the new civil division into kecamatans and kelurahanis which are headed respectively by a camat (Ind) and a lurah (Ind). In Manggarai this replacement of the feudal dalu and kepala kampung took place in 1962 and 1963.

2.5 Galinsoga parviflora

This gregarious small fragile herb, a composite, is found in gardens above 800 m., but, according to Schmutz, it is far from common. It is a native of tropical America, but was found in Java long ago. According to Mr. C. Lawang it appeared in Ruteng in 1928, a month after the rain of ashes, caused by the eruption of the Roka-Tén da on the island of Palu' ét.

The plant is known as kowok, in Ruteng and Rahong also as méqas. The latter name has possibly been borrowed from a rather similar plant, Spilanthe tabaciana; see under 2.2.3 (c). The name kowok, however, is for me very puzzling. No borrowing from a similar plant, a former kowok, could be ascertained. Mr. Lawang saw no explanation for the choice of this name. The strange thing is that one of the Javanese names is tokowok (Backer, 801), the form of which would develop naturally into kowok in Manggarai. Might this not be a similar coincidence to what I thought possible in treating the origin of the names rinu and kerinu (2.3.4 (c)) in Lio?

2.6 Polygala paniculata

This Polygala is a thin herb, growing to half a metre in height. It has a slender stem with a "crown" of fine branches with narrow leaflets. The plant is found almost everywhere in the higher mountains. In Java this native of Brasil was observed in 1845. It drew my attention for the first time when returning from internment in 1946. It is not a trouble-some weed, and is often bundled to be used as a broom.

Several names could be ascertained. In Ruteng we find meka-neru 'the new guest', which it shares with the closely cognate Salomonia cantonensis. The latter plant, however, is a native of Indonesia, but possibly new in Flores. In Mano and Pongkor randi-awang is used, which is also a name of Cuphea in 2.4. I see somewhat meaning in the former part of the compound, but awang means 'firmament', and is probably somehow associated with the notion of "fallen from heaven". It is interesting that one of the Sundanese names of this plant, sirawung langit (Backer, 393), contains a semantically identical term in the second part.

In Poka, Nédhes I heard the name hoí 'to sweep', 'broom'. This besom is otherwise much finer than the broom made from Sarothamnus scoparius, the English broom-shrub. Here again we find a Sundanese counterpart in the name saapuan (Backer, 393) 'broom'. In S.Lamba-Leda and in Poco-Leok the name raom exists. It cannot be ruled out that the name is based on a similar line of thought since raom means "to scratch together". In Komodo the indigo plant, Indigofera tinifolia, is employed for the same purpose, and is called haju safit 'sweeping bush'; see also 5.7.2 sub Vitex trifolia.

2.7 Hyptis suaveolens is a strong smelling - according to FJ 2:634 a "very fetid" - labiat which gives a rattling sound when the dried up gregarious plants are moved. One of its names is kolong-jarang 'horse's basil (kolong = 'Ocimum basilicum')', because it is not eaten like basil. The name nggorang is used on account of the sound it gives (nggorang 'rattling' like maize which is being roasted). A combination of both elements is laci-nggorang 'rattling basil'.

Another group of names is marked by ngao as the latter part of the compound. In regard to many homoeonyms (Note 67) which contain a-o in Manggarai, I surmise that ngao has to do with sound. The first form, chronologically, might have been rumi-ngao 'sound(ing): ngao'. From these forms the following in SW Manggarai can be derived in the way of folk etymology: ri'-ngao (wi't 'Imperata grass'), and further ri-ngao and the exceptional types of trisyllabic forms with full vocalic antepenult ringao and rango; and from these the rather normally formed rango. The existence of the name teringao in Komodo (5.12.2) is very interesting.

The plant's fertility is expressed by the names "horse's dung" (Ri taqi zarang, Tédà-Mudé taqi zara) and "pig's dung" (Rmb taqi kober, Téron taki kober, Wèta taqi wavi).
Chapter Three

RECENTLY INTRODUCED PLANTS

3.1 General

Here we shall occupy ourselves only with plants that for their usefulness have been introduced by man during the last seventy years. Some have propagated themselves further in a natural manner, others have been multiplied by human agency only. The plants concerned serve(d) as ornamentals, fertilizers and as food plants. Many new plants have not yet a commonly used name.

3.2 "Bunga"

For alien flowering plants of striking appearance such as the dahlia, the gladiolus or the rose the Indonesian word bunga 'flower' is commonly used instead of the Manggarai term wéla. Probably this is an influence of schools, where the pupils were often ordered in Indonesian 'to fetch flowers' (menéari bunga) to adorn the school and the chapel. Often special names are not known.

(a) The elder, *Sambucus canadensis*, which attracts attention by its showy white umbel, is called bunga bakok, bunga puti (Ind. bunga putih) 'white flower'. Another name is bunga raja, because it was propagated by the former raja of Manggarai, Keraeng Alexander Baroek.

(b) *Tithonia diversifolia*, our marigold, with its striking golden flowers was introduced for fences and soil covering. A rather common name is bunga pagit 'bitter flower', since the leaves taste bitter. Also in Ngadha and Lio we find the same observation in bunga baqít, which in Ng evolved into baqít alone, the 'bitter one'.

(c) Another name is bunga ngawung. The only resemblance to ngawung, *Abelmoschus moschatus*, consists in the colour of the flowers. In the languages of Kepoek and Rembong and in FEM dialects I noted the pure Indonesian name bunga matahari, 'sunflower'; in the adjacent language/dialect of Wangka (partly translated) bunga mata-lésoq and in Téda-Mudé (Nagé) bunga mata-lésa; while in the dialects of Fafé, Wuc and Muli it is just called bunga.

(d) Besides having several other names which have been derived from native plants, the introduced thorny hedge plant, *Duranta repens*, is called karot bunga, 'the flowering thorn'.

3.3 Names which are borrowed from Indonesian or Malay, often indirectly from Dutch.

3.3.1 Celery, *Apium graveolens*, is cultivated on a very small scale. The Manggarai say sop, from Indonesian *daun sop* 'soup leaf'.

3.3.2 Similarly the name for Chinese cabbage, *Ind kol cina*, was simply adopted in Manggarai. From Chinese, via Indonesian, *M pésat* (Ind *pésat*) has been borrowed.

3.3.3 *Kol puti* comes from *Ind kol* (or kubis) *putih*, Du witte kool, *Brassica oleracea* var., 'white cabbage'.

3.3.4 *Kopi* is Manggarai and Indonesian (Du 'koffie' or E 'coffee'). Some decades ago people in Cibal still used (Bm) kahawa or *kawa* from Malay (Arabic) kahwa, which form an interesting doublet. In Tetum the usual name is kafé, which is certainly borrowed from Portuguese. A striking blend is the form kofé in Noé-Muti, which was a Portuguese enclave up to 1916 in the *kopi* area of Dutch Dawan.

3.3.5 The newly cultivated tomato, *Lycopersicon lycopersicum* var., which is much larger than the "wild" tomato (4.11), has the Ind name *tomat*; probably from Du tomaat.

3.3.6 After Ind *labu jepang* (or l. siam), the cucumberlike *Scolium edule* is mostly called *labu*, which suffices, since in Manggarai no concuring name *labu* exists; cp. 4.8.

3.3.7 *Thevetia peruviana* is regarded as a shrub that chases away snakes. It is planted near the houses in South Pongkor and this recently introduced plant was given there the Indonesian name (hajú) anti-ular 'against snakes (shrub)'.

3.4 *Lantana camara* was introduced about 1930; probably for soil-conservation. The shrub has slightly thorny branches and stem, and reddish and yellowish vari-
coloured flowers. The fruits superficially resemble our raspberries. The seeds spread very fast by means of bird dropings. The leaves are strong smelling.

The most common name is (karot/haju) kawéng after the vine Uncaria lanosa, which has a similar perpendicular implantation of the branches. This latter plant, being the much rarer, and found only between about 300–700 m, is now often distinguished as kawéng wasé, the 'vine kawéng', or is normally called (wasi) kawéng.

A borrowing from Bm is teri'dé, sometimes becoming kawéng teri'dé. This name is found in the SH dialects and in Biting, which have been influenced by the Bm settlements Bari and Pota respectively. On account of its odor names of other odoriferous plants have been adopted, as of the shrub rowé, Pluchea indica, and of the herbs: runu-tačk (runu, Wedelia biflora) 'the runu from abroad', and karot nggorang 'thorn(y) nggorang'; see 2.7.

Since its fruits resemble the raspberry's, the name oonco-twam 'the raspberry from the Dutch' is used, and kawéng-conco 'the kawéng (which bears) berries'; see 5.8.4.

The name karot/haju rawuk, which was noted by Schmutz in Nunang, and by myself in Pacar and Wélak, was reportedly given because the plant appeared at the time of the rain of ashes in 1928; see 2.5. Probably the ashes were considered as carriers of the seeds.

The names barang in WM and lansa in SWTodo originate from native plants. The names teri'dé, rawuk, lansa and barang are used precisely in those areas where Uncaria is frequently found by the side of Lantana. This avoidance of homonymy is well expressed by the sketchy pattern of Map 3.21b.

In Régho the common name is (karot) kawéng, but if the stems are planted for fence-making, the people use teri'dé or/and rawuk: kena teri'dé 'lantana fence'.

3.6 Manihot esculenta (M.utilissima) - Cassava

Not before 1930 did the cassava acquire importance in Manggarai. Maybe Bimanese in Reo planted the cassava earlier; hence the name daeng-sé 'the tuber first planted by) Daeng Sé', a Bimanese nobleman.23 This name is still known in central Manggarai. In north-eastern Manggarai it has been shortened into daeng. Possibly dësé, used in Nggala and Berit, has also to be reduced to daeng-sé.24

The name dao in South Lamba-Leda, Poco-Leok and Sita certainly came from the Waé-Rana language, where it is named dao-kaju, alongside dao for the sweet potato; see 4.9. The name borgor is almost certainly what is left of a former tétó-borgor 'tuber from Bogor'. Tétó-lado 'tuber (with the) lada(-leaves) points to the characteristic leaves, which resemble those of the palmate leaves of the lada-tree, Bombax ceiba. I remember hearing a semantically similar name in Endé and Lio. In Sawu the name is wël kapaka. Kapaka is probably the Sterculia foetida, also a tree with palmate leaves; see 6.131 (c).

For the name manganj I cannot find a plausible explanation. Tétó-haju 'the woody batatas' is the most common name with many similar forms elsewhere; see under 4.9.

For names outside Manggarai proper see under Ipomoea (4.9).

3.7 Mimosa invisa - Sensitive Plant

This creeping plant is well-known for its troublesome thorns and the striking peculiarity of closing its leaflets when touched. It was brought to Manggarai about 1930 for soil covering and as a green manure, and entered under its Ind name putér malu 'shy girl', but in Rmb under the wholly translated name karot kiakn 'shy thorn', while in Térong kia-kodge 'shy ..??' is used.

Being a vine, the plant is also called karot lju' 'the thorny string'; and because it closes its leaflets karot (or wasé) kimo't 'closing thorn' or closing vine', in contrast to remang or saang kimo't 'closing herb' for the native Cassia mimosaides.

Comparable with the name bhbht for the lamo'to is its (Ind) name bixbit in ..??; see 3.5.

A small series of names in western Manggarai is not clear to me; only the element rang 'itching' may make sense. They are dangoro-rang, ndangoro-rang, (karot) ndang, further karot ringer and karot semba.

3.5 About 1938 Leucaena leucocephala (L. glauca) was introduced for terracing communal gardens, for green manure and as fodder. The agricultural officials brought the plant with one of its Indonesian names lamtoro (Jv etam tara). The names here offer a fine example of adaptation to the Manggarai sound-system coupled with folk etymology.

So we noted lama-toro, lamé-n Toro, lantoro, lama-toro, lama-toro, loma-toro, leme-toro, leno-toro, lombong-toro; in Waé-Rana is used lamé-toro, in Keqoq lain-toro, in Rembang and Mbaí lami-toro, in Raong lme-toro, and in Tédé-Mudé (Nage) lamu-toro.22

The seeds are sometimes used to make coffee, therefore we encounter the name kopi-revut 'bush coffee' in Térong, Wangka and Wué. In Ngadha, Endé and Lio the name bhbht (Ind bixbit 'seedling') is used, which connects it with the obligato-ry planting of this plant for soil-improve-ment in the thirties.
In Sumba I noted the names tára marómbe 'the thorn from the master' (cp. concotuang 3.4), and tára káka 'tamarind thorn', because of the similarity of their leaves.

3.8 Nicotiana tabacum - Tobacco

The internationally known names for Nicotiana tabacum are almost all cognates of "tobacco". The Manggarai probably made first acquaintance with the prepared tobacco about two centuries ago, and they adopted the name mbako from Mktambako. The cultivation of the crop did not begin before the twentieth century.

3.9 The cactus, Opuntia elatior, consists of an articulated stem whose blades are heavily armed with sharp needles.

Based on the names, one may suppose that it was spread from Endé, the former main town of the Dutch government in Flores. It is only found near the coast. The common name in Manggarai is karot-éndé 'Endé thorn'; in eastern Manggarai and Riung language and dialects we find: tanggoq-éndé in Rembong and Wué; tanggo-éndé in Kepoq, Békék, Toring and Mbaí; togo-éndè in the adjacent Nagé dialect of Téda-Mudé. In these names the meaning of the former part is not clear to me. A good descriptive name is gulung ti'lú-kåba 'buffalo's ear spines' after the form of its spiny blades. Other names are gulung cìna 'Chinese thorn' and gulung jìjìk '...?... spines'.

3.10 The Pearl-Millet, Pennisetum spicatum which resembles sorghum, and was first planted during the Japanese occupation, is known as "Nipponese sorghum". According to the respective language or dialect we find the names: peri nipon, meaak nipon and lépong nipon; see "sorghum" under 4.17; (syn. Panicum glaucum).

Map 3. Avoidance of homonymy I
Uncaria Lanosa, 3.4; native, 300-700 m
Lantana camara, 3.4; introduced, everywhere
in capitals: names for Uncaria
in small letters: names for Lantana
Chapter Four

PLANTS WHICH HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

We are dealing here with useful plants which have been introduced before the direct influence of the Dutch; that is before 1907. In these names the influence of several languages (and peoples) is well demonstrated by the borrowed forms.

4.1 Ananas comosus - Pineapple

In Manggarai we find the name pandang, which is probably a loan from Macassearese, in contrast to pandang wasé 'fibre pandanus', Agave sisalana. It is also called pandang hang 'edible pandanus', and in NLambaleda its name is réqa java 'Java-nese screw-pine'. Because of Malay influence nenás also is used. The cognates of nenás, manás are widely spread in MP, even so that Dempwolff, who cites also a Malagasy form, thought it justifiable to establish an original Indonesian form. This, however, is a fiction, since the pineapple was introduced from South America together with its Guarani name (a)nãã via Spanish by the Portuguese. Bm fanda ñípí 'matting screw-pine' for the native Pandanus testorius is a fine instance of a secondary and retrograde determination in face of fanda 'pineapple'.

4.2 Arachis hypogaea - Groundnut

Many languages use for this South-American plant names which stem from the Malay name kaacang tanah 'bean (in the ground) or are translations of it. Some omitted "tanah" so it became kaacang and kaas 'the beans'. The Macassar use kaacang goréng 'roasting beans' and the Buginese canggoring. Others again named it kaacang cin, kaacang jąpung, kaacang jáw, kaacang manila and so on. In the languages of Timor, Sumba and Flores I always found the notion "ground bean" rendered in the respective languages. In the Moluccas and Sawu kaacang manila evolved into mentila; to this name Komodo permila is probably related. Non-compounded proper names I noted only in Bm rapa, Bunaq hoqí and Greater Manggarai (MA) koja/kosa. This koja must be connected with the coastal tree Canna rum volgare (kosa in Rembong and Central Flores), whose fruitkernels, also named kosa, are roasted. The name koja in M must originate from a region where the

kenari tree is known under the name koja/kosa, and where at the same time the peanut is also called koja. This happens only in the language of Rembong and PEM. From thence it must have spread westwards into Manggarai.

4.3 Artocarpus altifolia (A. communis, A. inodora) - Breadfruit

In the first place we have the normal form with edible seeds. In WM it has the Bimanese name kolo (Ml kulur); see however 6.15B and Note 95.

Much more sought after is the seedless variety which is propagated vegetatively. In WM, WNg, Ende, Sumba and Sawu its name reflects the colonial influence of the Bimanese by the name kerara, whereas in northern and eastern Manggarai it shows the former presence of the Goanese by the name bakar from Mr bakaraq (whose last syllable is only slightly stressed). Bakaraq 'roasting' was certainly an appellative; cp. Bonerate tehqu ñbakaraq (Heyne 555); see Maps 4 and 6.

4.4 Artocarpus integer (A. integrifolius) - Jack-tree

The jack-tree stems from India, where it is called jaka. It was introduced long before colonial times. Since seeds are no longer plantable after some weeks of travelling, it is probable that its dispersion took place from different centres.

In Sumatra we meet with names cognate to lamasa, but most widespread are cognates of nangká: J, Sd, Ml nangka, Tagalog, Ilokano langka. It spread to the Lesser Sunda Islands: M II nangka, Ng, Lio naka, Bima (conditioned) nangga; from whence this form spread to WM and Sumba; to Sumba: Loura, and Sawu (conditioned) naga.

The striking singular name mok, which is used in the rest of MA, with WNgadha mo, seems to be very old, and is possibly superseded by "nangka" forms in the west and east; see inset on Map 4.

4.5 Capsicum frutescens - Chilli or Cayenne Pepper

This small fruited very hot pepper, native to Central America, is almost ex-
Map 4. Introduced plants in NTT

- nangga; Artocarpus integer; 4.4
- karara; Artocarpus altifolius; 4.3
- (ka)wona; Moringa pterygosperma; 4.13
- motong;
- fôk, fô, pô
clusively found in a wild state, and no-
body in Manggarai regards it as an intro-
duced plant. Its name too, nggurus, is
characteristically Manggarai. Except in
Wae-Rana, where the name mburus is found,
and in the FEM region of Riung, this name
is used throughout Manggarai. Another
common name koro is in use in NgL and Sika
languages, whereas in Timor and Roti lan-
guages cognates of unua are common. I
suppose that these names can be reduced to
one or more native plants with a pungent
taste. In Manggarai I encountered haju
nggurus, 'tree nggurus', as name for Bruea
javantica, which has a bitter bark, and in
Toto Schmutz noted it for Primia Piperita,
which tastes of pepper. On the other hand,
the possibility that the tree was named
after nggurus = Capsicum, cannot be ex-
cluded. Only koro-jawa in FEM points to
its having been introduced a long time ago,
and to the borrowing of an already existing
koro. I cannot find any explana-
tion for Komodo baranu.

Most names of other languages in
Heyne's book show clearly that Capsicum is a
"guest". We meet compounds in which the
basic names are lada or cognates of merica
'pepper', Piper nigrum, or of Piper betle
or Piper aduncum. In Sumba mbaku hau 'to-
bacco from Sawu' is even used, which shows
that tobacco, at least as a substance, was
known in Sumba before chilli came in.
In the Peninsula obai seberang, 'pepper from
overseas', obai selasah 'basil pepper',
lada merah 'red pepper' and aili are in
use. Also in the Moluccas and the Philip-
nines names like aili, sili (Sawu hilil)
are used, which certainly are borrowed from
Spanish-Philippine "chilli"; in Java they say (lada) aili.30

4.6 Carica papaya - Papaya

Probably together with its name "pa-
paya" this well-known, delicious fruit was
introduced into the Philippines by the
Spaniards, and then came to Indonesia.
Its leaves are very bitter.

Western Manggarai uses the name ka'ung.
It is not yet clear, whether this name is
borrowed from the tree kaung, Gomphandra
mappiolodes.

In central and north Manggarai, FEM
and the eastern languages of Rembong, Ke-
pog and Wae-Rana, we find padu (with the
variant pad in Lelak, pahy in Berit
and Pacar), and padi in Nagé, Ngadha, Sika
and Ende. Padu(t) is almost certainly a
loan-word, but I have no idea from which
language it is borrowed.

Interspersed among the above mention-
ed we find names with the determinant
"from Java"; thus in Manus as Mué and Pérong, where
muku-jawa, which is locally contracted to
kejawang and in Wae-Rana and Rajong we find
dawu alone; (muku 'banana').

Kambéra in Sumba knows the term kalu
(banana) java, in Loura kalouvo dawa with
the same meaning, and, again, in Kambéra
the contraction kajawa.

The name uta-baqi is clear in Endé,
making "the bitter vegetable" and baqi
'the bitter one' alone; in Ng they use
haqé, in Nagé 'aqé.

4.7 Coix lacryma-jobi ssp. ma-yuen -
Job's Tears

4.7.1 The first cultivated species of
this cereal was introduced long ago.11
The wild native subspecies agrestis, of
which the stony seeds with a very tiny
pip are still used as beads, greatly
resembles the cultivated subspecies ma-
yuen. It is very probable that the intro-
duced edible species was named after the
wild plant, which then fell into the back-
ground. I am inclined to surmise that in
this way names from substratum languages
were saved. That may explain the enormous
diversity of names in east Indonesia and
the Philippines.

In western Indonesia and Malaya cog-
nates of jelai are common, and Dempwolff
established IN *d'kilej 'eine Grasart'.
I leave it to etymologists to decide whether
the following forms may also be regard-
ed as its cognates 33 or its variants.

In Manggarai proper and in Kepog the
name of the cultivated form is sela, in
the SH dialect group hela. In Rajong peo-
ple say elas, which etymologically corre-
ponds to Wae-Rana elar. The only forms
that I venture to compare according to
sound-shift rules are Bisaya adlay, Tetum
and Roti délé, (Withama Sir dela) Tana-
Aí lélé (?<réié) and Maranao dala. Sika
lélé is "maize".

In FEM we find sela pisi, sela piti,
sela loké and sela-kongjak, which evokes
the observation that in this region sela
means 'maize'. In Rembong its name is
kéqo. In Paté réqo. In Biting kéqo, in Rajong elas-wura 'spirits'
Coix' and in Lio kéqo mui.

4.7.2 As to the wild form, Coix lacryma-
jobi subsp. agrestis, of which the origi-
nal name in this region was probably kéqo,
I noted the following names: in Manggarai
proper sela gélengo and sela-kéqo, in
Biting kéqo, in Rajong elas-wura 'spirits'
Coix' and in Lio kéqo mui.

4.8 Cucurbita moschata - Musk Melon

This important melon, also cultivated
in southern Europe, is originally an Ameri-
can cultigen. The M1 names labu ambon and
kastél suggest that the Moluccas may
Map 5. Polysemantic kégo

- Zea mays; 4.18.2
- Coix lacryma-jobi ssp. ma-yuen; 4.7
- Coix lacryma-jobi ssp. agrestis; 4.7.2
- Sorghum saccharatum; 4.17.2
Map 6. Colonial and commercial influences I

1. *Artocarpus altifolius* 4.3; (seedless): north bakar, west and south kerara
2. *Artocarpus altifolius* (with seeds): west kolo
3. *Moringa pterygosperma*, 4.13; west peronggê, east kélor
4. *Jatropha curcas*, 4.10; kenjoli, jenguët etc.
5. *Nelumbo nucifera*, 4.14; tonjong
6. *Psidium guajana*, 4.15; west "jambu", east "goawa"
have been its port of entry. Many names in Indonesia are compounds with first part labu, such as: labu merah, (labu) kastela, labu parang and labu manis, in contrast with labu, Lagenaria siceraria, 'the water-calabash'.

It is interesting that in Flores we find two rather large blocks each with its own name; so in the M and Waé-Rana languages: ndési, ndist, SH ndith, and in the other FL languages the somewhat similar name mbést/bést. Between these groups we find in Rembong and the region Riung several different names: in Rembong and Warukia timber; in Wangka, Lengko-Sambo and Mulu tonggo; in Riung, Téront, Bekék and Mbai the variant togo; in Kepoq robol; in Namut robo, and in Wué sawong. Dési in PEM: Toring is interesting.

In Sumba dialects karbo and cognates are found, in Ndoro karbo. We ought to notice the intricate situation, viz. that in Ramb, Téront and Wangka sawong means 'water-melon', Citrullus lanatus; whereas in Wué this is called timba. The word robol is used in Manggarai for the "bottle gourd" made from Lagenaria siceraria; Map 15.

4.9 Ipomoea batatas - Sweet Potato

The sweet potato was brought to Europe in the days of Columbus. From there it spread to Africa and East-Asia. Below I give in separate columns the names of the batatas and the cassava (3.6) in the following languages and dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Ipomoea batatas</th>
<th>Manihot esculenta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manggarai</td>
<td>tété, t.-lor,</td>
<td>tété-kaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t.-waé, t.-raja</td>
<td>and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t.-muggari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waé-Rana</td>
<td>daó, daó-kaké</td>
<td>daó-kasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembong</td>
<td>guleq</td>
<td>wé-kasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangka</td>
<td>guleq-komba</td>
<td>guleq-kasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Téront</td>
<td>guleq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toring (PEM)</td>
<td>guleq-romba</td>
<td>wé-gasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulu</td>
<td>lué-komba</td>
<td>lué-gasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kepoq</td>
<td>guleq</td>
<td>wé-kasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wue</td>
<td>guleq</td>
<td>guleq-kasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEM (Bk, LS, NN)</td>
<td>wé-jasa</td>
<td>wé-gasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riung (PEM)</td>
<td>guleq</td>
<td>wé-gasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munde, (Nage)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>wé-jasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teda-Mude</td>
<td>wé-lasa</td>
<td>wé-kasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raja</td>
<td>wé-lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngadja</td>
<td>dhaó, ranga</td>
<td>wé-jasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ende</td>
<td>ndora</td>
<td>wé-kaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lio</td>
<td>kina, ndora</td>
<td>wé-kaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambera (Sumba)</td>
<td>kati té</td>
<td>laka-ňé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kera</td>
<td>kati lí</td>
<td>laka-ňé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loura</td>
<td></td>
<td>laka-gasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kódi</td>
<td>rápy</td>
<td>luga-daňa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anakalang</td>
<td>kati té</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauoli</td>
<td></td>
<td>luka-ňé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komodo</td>
<td>?kandora</td>
<td>bojo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bm</td>
<td></td>
<td>kondora-kayu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the first column, I shall give the following short explanations; lor means 'creeping' and waé 'vine'; raju 'man', Manggarai, 'own', which means that (putatively) it is 'not introduced', (this is also said about Coffee arabica); daó originates from Ng dhao. As to guleq, gulez, in Pongkor, Manggarai a wild tuberous vine exists which is eaten and called gulez,35 Káke means 'root', which as a determinant is not clear to me; komba 'vine'; romba '?vine'; lué must be a tuberous plant (cp. Sb lúwu below); wé is Dioscorea alata 'yam', and jawa/ýawa 'from Java' characterizes it probably as an introduced plant; ranga I found in Arndt's Ngadha dictionary; as to ndora, the form kandora is used in Bm and in the Bajo of Labuanbajo; Sb kátété and kátét are the only (probably) cognates of M tété.

Annotations to the right column: haju, ghasu, kasu, kañu, at, ia, and wasu mean 'wood', 'woody', and point to the woody stem; lo (in Rajá) means 'stem' (Ind pokok); jawa and dawa 'from Java'; lúwu and luqaha are synonyms of wé 'yam' (see above).

It is not clear whether these compounds with the determinant "wood(y)" are spontaneous formations, or are based on the Malay name ubi kayu.

4.10 Jatropha curcas - Purging Nut

Some names for this plant, such as kejóti, kenjóli, jenggoli, kende-juli, which are alterations of Mk kanjoli, would justify the assumption that the plant was introduced by the Goanese from Macassar. The nuts were used to make small torches,36 while the cuttings are useful for living fences. Another name is pandut, which probably has been adopted from the coastal tree pandu, Calophyllum inophyllum, whose fruit kernels are also used for making torches; see Map 6.

The names kadung and pandu37 are shared with the recently introduced Ricinums communis, the castor-oil plant. If it is necessary, determinants are added to distinguish the two species. We find for Jatropha the names: pandu-kenjóli, pandu-jenggoli, and kadung-kena 'fence cadung' or kadung-derek 'pole kadung'. Ricinums may be characterized as pandu-jara (Bm jara < Ind jára, Ricinus), and by way of folk etymology pandu-jaraang 'horse's pandu'.

4.11 Lycopersicon lycopersicum (var.) - Wild Tomato

Apart from the large recently introduced cultivated tomato, we have also a small rather uniform sweet variety which ran wild long ago.38 It is found throughout Flores. In Manggarai proper it has several names:
Map 7. Colonial and commercial influences II

*Lycopersicum lycopersicon*, 4.11

- perenggi
- "tere-wengga"
- berak
- mbarang
- "taga-lai"
berak MT, Re, mbarang EM, Rmb, Kp, Wr, Rj
mberék Ra, perenggi Pa, MB (= Bm parenggi);
tero-wengga Ko, MB;
tero-wengga MB;
tero-wungga K

In EM, Wr, Kepq, Rembong proper, Rajong we find mbarang,39 and in the ad-
Jacent NgL language bara, and in Rongga mbara woni.

In Sumba the element toro emerges in
the names: toro dänggalasa (Lauli), and
toro manggalasa (Kodi); in Ng: Tana Wolo
toro-noa 'spiritus' toro: op. 4.16.
To the east and in several languages
outside Flores we meet with a rather uni-
form series of names, which might possibly
be reduced to Mk togalai (Heyne, 1344).
In MA dialects we encounter: taga-taë
(Riga), taga-lait (Békék, Riuq), taga-lais
(Lenqko-Sambi), taga-lais (Nanga-Numba,
Mulu), taga-lait (Toring), tangga-lait
(Wuq), tangga-lait (Térong, Wangka).

In other Flores languages/dialects
similar forms are found: taga-taë (Ngadha),
taga-lait (Nágé), dege-lait (Lio), daga-lait
(Endé, Sika), sapa-lait (Withama, Adonara),
.... (?). (Lembata). In Sumba we meet
with angga-lait (Rindi) andamba-lait (Kam-
béra); Map 7.

The metathesized form which I heard
from the Bajos in Tanjung Luar (Tanjoh)
in SELombok is interesting viz. tala-gai.

4.12 Momordica charantia - Bitter Gourd

Its gherkinlike bitter fruits are
much liked. This vine is cultivated in
lower parts of the island.

In Indonesia we meet many relatives
of paria, which is used in Mk and Bm,
while Bg has the form paréa; hence we find
in M, Kepq, Rajong and some Riuq dia-
lects réa; in Rmb the contraction pia,
and in Térong, Wuq and Mulu and outside
MA in Rongga and Ngadha péa. Since "full"
antepenults are contrary to the Manggarai
word-formation, we find the "Streckformen"
ampa-réa40) in Békék, and sapa-réa
in Wangka via pa-réa paréa. In Tetum we
find bria, in Bunaq bariqa and in Dawan
pia. Nágé paga corresponds to Lenq-
ko-Sambi's panggat.

4.13 Moringa pterygosperma (M. oleifera) - Mustard Tree

The mustard tree is a native of the
western Himalayas. The small tree is
easily propagated, especially by cuttings.
It thrives from the coast up to 500 m
above sea-level. Its leaves, flowers,
fruits, bark and root-bark are used as
food, spice and medicine. It has several
names in various scattered areas.

(a) Names directly or indirectly connect-
ed with ?Hindi marungaat are found
in Central India and Tamil. From
there they spread throughout the MP
area at a very early date. They form
in my opinion a classic example of
variants as found in a trisyllabic

Wanderwort",41 The Philippine l
reflex of the r elsewhere makes us
think of the same Philippine reflex
in Skr words.

(b) Another group of names in MP is coge-
nate to kélor. In Heyne numerous
variants of it are found.

(c) In the Lesser Sunda Is. we find fur-
ther three names which show some spe-
cial connection among the islands in-
volved at the time of Moringa's in-
roduction. Those are:

in Ng, Endé, Lio and Sawu wona
(Sw also marungga) and in Sumba
kawona;42 Map 4.
in Sika, Solor and Alor motong;
and
in Roti dialects kaifòk, aifò,
kaifòk, in Kupang uta pò and in
WĐawan ("Timor") hau fò; Map 26,
inset.

4.14 The Sacred Lotus, Nelumbo nucifera,
whose nuts are edible is only found in the
neighbourhood of Pota, is the centre of
the Goanese government in the 18th century.43
This explains its local name tonjông,
which is Mk; (Malay is tunjung); Map 6.

4.15 Psidium guajava - Guava

The well-known tasty, pear-like
fruit is now found all over the tropical
world. Probably it came into eastern
Indonesia through the Spaniards via the
Philippines, and from India through
the Portuguese. The Spanish name guayaba(s)
originates from some native language in
tropical America.

It is interesting to see how the
names guayaba, bayabas or some similar
forms were altered in the many Indonesian
languages and dialects. I do not know
the sound-systems of the languages con-
cerned, but the example is interesting.
Therefore I shall here give alphabetically
the names that are collected by Burkhill,
Greshoff, Heyne and Merrill. They are:
the Philippines, Indonesia and the Penin-
sula, namely bayabas, bayabas, bayawas,
biawas, ?dipój菊o, gawaija, gowaja, gowaja,
gawaija, gawaija, kayawas, kayawas, kayawas,
kawaija, kawaija, kawaija, kawaija, kawaija,
kawaija, paiwas, piyajju, wayama, ?wawaija;
in the Kei islands I find the name
rivus and in Tanimbar kribas.

In the Lesser Sunda Islands we see
to some degree a further adaptation. I
give the names which are clearly cognate
with the above mentioned. Most of them
I have noted myself: Tetum, Timor koyabas,
?Timor kejwas, Dawan Timor kui jawa,
Roti kujabas, Si gothawas and jenjawa,
Sawu woko jawa, Bunaq, Timor goyjaq, Sén
in South Tetum kaqaba, ....? Timor akaba.
It was the Endé name guava, so it
seems, which resulted in the following
names: In Lio and Endé nga-awa, nga-awa,
gegø-awa, nga-awa; in Nágé nga-awa; in Nágé nga-awa; in Téda-Mude, Lenqko-Sambi, Mbai goa-a;
in Mulu-Motus goë-awa, in Wangka and
Térong ngawa, in Ngadha boé-awa and bué awa.

As to the last names, a few remarks are called for. The name in Sawu, which is a vocalic language, is a clear example of folk etymology: voko 'fruit' Java 'from Java'. Furthermore, the general tendency to form a bisyllabic initial part of the compound; cp sapa-ráé 4.12 is striking.

West of this area we find in Flores, especially in Manggarai, jambu and cognates. Without any doubt this name came from the politically influential Bimanese or Macassarese which both use jambu; so in Manggarai the plant was evidently an immigrant from the west or the north. Other fruit trees from the genus Syzygium (Eugenia) were hardly known in Manggarai.

I see no evidence as to why the very western and southern dialects (and the Rongga language) should have retained the (a) while Central and more eastern dialects and languages underwent the change (a) > (e). The dropping of the prenasalisation in seihbu in Ngadha is conditional, but in Nanga-Numba jebu it is not. So we have: MB, S, P, T, Ms; Rongga jambu; Mt, Co, Bi, Rembong, Wae-Rana, Kepoq, Rajong, Ri, Béék, Wué jambu, zembu; Nanga-Numba jebu; Ngadha seihbu; Map 6.

4.16 Solanum melongena - Eggplant

Only a few decades ago, the large aubergines were introduced into Manggarai. The smaller variety with yellowish, glossy fruits, measuring 2-3 cm in diameter, must have been known already among the Manggarai a long time ago. The name torö is used in the entire Manggarai group (MA), (in Wae-Rana toröq and in Komodo turu) and in Sika. In Wae-Rama we find in the western dialects toörö, torö, turu and in the eastern ones kanduru; Sawu uses teré.44 Dempwolff reconstructs *te'lung (Malay te-lung, Java te'rung, Tagalog talong) for this plant. Is the Manggarai form a loan? Or perhaps a variant? Or is torö original M, and was it the name for a wild native Solanum sp.?45 According to Burkhill the plant is a native of south-eastern Asia.

4.17 Sorghum saccharatum - Sorghum

4.17.1 Sorghum was most probably introduced into western Flores after maize, since several names for it are compounds of "maize" with a qualifier. So we meet in Manggarai proper latung pesi, latung piki, latung mesak and latung mahaq which means "bristled maize", and in PEM and Rmb: latung-rakot, sela-rakot, pangin-rakot/rakot, kégo-rakot/rakot 'sticky maize'. And in Ng saé-léwa 'long(eared) maize' and in Sb watara hamu. Sometimes only the determinant "bristled" remained, as in the names pesi, mesak, and in Kaong and Kepoq pejak. Latung-rééng means possibly "maize from the village Rééng". In the name kurut the head of the compound "the corn whose grains are easily stripped", "strip (corn)" has probably disappeared. In Lengko-Sambi and Mbai, latung alone is used, while "maize" is called sela there.

It seems that sorghum spread very rapidly, which might explain the mosaic of names (Map 8), like those for Erechtites (2.2) and Eupatorium (2.3).

Lépa in Rgg (NgLI) suggests M political power when sorghum was introduced.

4.17.2 List of names

bọka Kmd
devas M: Ko, Bą
háé-léwa Ng: Jéré-Bugu
java/sawa Ng (cp. 4.18.2)
káé Rj
kágo Nagé: Mundé
kágo-rakot Rmb: Wng
kágo-rakot Rmb: Paté, Wué
kurut M: Co
(lando-léwa M: Rs, C, Lu, Rw)
latu-séra Bm
latung FEM: Mbai
latung-pesi C, L
latung ptkt Ré
latung-rakot FEM: Béké
latung-rééng ?
lémpang M: Lu, Rw, P, P1
lépa Rgg
lépang Wr, Rj
lolo Lio
mahaq SH
mesak M: P, Lę, K
'o-lo-woło Nagé: Raja
oro Endé
pangi Nagé: Tédá-Mudé
pangi-raké Ng: Tana-Wolo
pangin-rakot Rmb: Térong
pangin-rakot Rmb
pejak M: Biting: Kepoq
pesi M: C, L, R, S
pöök M: P
saé-léwa Ng II
sela-rakot FEM: Ri, Mulu
téráé-(hauw) Sw
tera la Ndao
'uta-jawa Ng III
(waqi-léwa C)
watara hamu Sb I
watara ?pi'a Sb II
watara Si: Tana Aı

4.18 Zea mays - Maize or Indian Corn

4.18.1 We may assume that maize was already common in Manggarai in the first half of the 17th century, because in Rumphius' time it was known everywhere in the archipelago. Forty years ago, however, nobody in Manggarai was conscious of its introduction. Maize together with rice figured in the myths of origin as locally created in far-off days. It had also its own place in agricultural rites.
4.18.2 List of maize names in western Flores

latung = CM, SH, MB
latun = EM, Kepoq
mbatung = Komodo
sela = FEM
kadéaq = Waé-Rana, Rajong
ké = M: western Ms
pangin = Rembong proper, Warukia
pangi = Tanawolo
pangi-jawa/zawa = Mengéruda, So'a, Méli
kéo = FEM Ri; Rmb: Terong
kégo = Rmb: Wé, Wangka, Munting, Nagé: Poma; Lio: Paga; Palu'é
kégo-jawa = Mundé
saë = Béna, Manguléwa, Langa, Ruto
ho = Boba, Laja, Mataloko, Jérébuqu, Bajawa
'olo = Nagé: Raja
hoho = Wudu
yolo = Kéo I
ho = Ng: Taka
Java/zawa = Ng: Ngusu-Mana, Nagé: Bo'a-Nio, Danga, Ngor; Kéo II,
Endé: Nua-Bosi; Lio II, Sika
téraé-jawa = Sw
tera-tera- = sina Ndao
'aja, 'aja = Sika proper
lelé = Si II
watår = Tana Ai

4.18.3 In the light of the names, and of Map 9, we may make some inferences. I have pointed out already homonymous names among different dialects for maize and sorghum (4.17.3); the word sela which means in FEM maize, is in M the name for Job's Tears (4.7).

From the uniform name latun(g) in the whole of M we may conclude that at the time of the introduction of maize, Manggarai formed already a cultural and a sort of political unity, whereas the diverse names in the region eastwards point to the existence of small units.

Since the latun remained in EM and changed conditionally into latung in CM and WM, it is probable that either the shift -n > M -ng came into existence before the introduction of the plant, or, that the name is borrowed from another plant called latun / latung. A similar observation can be made concerning the Nagé/Kéo names 'olo, holo, yolo, ho; and the same holds good for the saë / kaë group.

The FEM sela shows that the Manggarai population of coastal Riung, was already separated from Manggarai when maize was introduced; thus more than 300 years ago. On the other hand the breakthrough of FEM sela into the kégo area suggests that the intrusion of the FEM Mulu people took place after the introduction of the maize.

The occurrence of the latun enclave (A) between the kadéaq and ké areas is due to the immigration of Kepoq people more than 100 years ago.

Considering the spread of java we would conclude that once java covered the whole area from Rongga to Maumore, but in view of the term kégo one might infer from its spread that also this term covered a large part of the same area; cp. Map 5.
Chapter Five

SURVEY OF SOME LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA

(The examples are from M unless stated otherwise.)

5.1 General

In this chapter I have tried to assemble and to scrutinize several remarkable philological traits which emerged in the foregoing chapters. They have been completed and elucidated with further examples and comparative data on name-giving.

5.2 Folk classification

Plants have their specific names; usually however, these are preceded by a generic name originating in a system of classification. So 'the Macaranga tana-reactus' name is rébak; but in many cases people say haju rébak 'the tree rébak'; for a Phyllanthus sp., a weed, is used saung waék; but Albínum chinensis, a tree, is called haju waék. It seems that this way of classifying plants is more or less common in the languages of Indonesia. In Manggarai almost the whole world of plants is classified in five or six groups.

Those classifiers are:

baba (dial.) = remang,
gulung (dial.) = karot,

ejuy 'wood', 'tree', which points to trees, woody shrubs and shrublets, and also to woody stemmed herbs,

haung (dial.) = saung,

karot 'thorn', 'spine', which indicates that the plant concerned is more or less thorny,

remang 'grass', which characterizes the smaller species of grasses and rushes,

saung 'leaf', which points to herbaceous plants,

wasé or wahé (dial.) 'rope', 'vine', 'lia-

na', which indicates that the plant concerned is a creeping, winding or climbing plant,

wua 'fruit' I find only in eastern Manggarai (Lt, Co, Ms). There it is used to classify field mushrooms.

In the eyes of the Manggarai, ferns do not form a class apart. According to their characteristic features ferns are grouped under "trees", "climbers" or "herbs".

Of course, clear-cut lines are not found in this classification any more than they are found in nature itself. Thus both haju ('tree') oepang and karot ('thorn) oepang are used, since Caesalpinia sappan is woody and at the same time thorny. We find saung bombo-lak and wasé bombo-lak since Merremia alba is herbaceous and also winding. Because weeds in the garden are mixed with grasses, they may be classified as remang; thus Oxalíum coriout-
lata can be called saung pocó-mela and remang pocó-mela.

Sometimes the classification seems to be "illogical". This happens with a shrub, Champeeíia manillenstia, which is called saung saasang, as its leaves are an important vegetable;48a in the same manner a tree, Wikstroemia androsaemifolia, which shows no sign of climbing, is called wasé wukaa, as its bark is used for the making of ropes (waadé); cp. Schumut, Heft 2, sub Thymeléesaeææææ 1.

In a few cases the classifiers cannot be omitted. This is quite understandable with compounds where the latter part is for example oí'é 'salt'. Out of the six species concerned we have three haju-oí'é, one saung-oí'á and two wasé-oí'á. I spell them with a hyphen.

5.3 Folk etymology

Often folk etymology is mixed with homoeonymous variants, which involve, besides folk etymology, assonance, alliteration, and sound-loss (petepization) in the first non-stressed part of compounds.

The names for the convolvulus Ipomoea alba are: M bombo-lak (bombo 'brushwood'), bembe-lak, Ms lembong-lak, Rmb, Kp lembong-lak, Co, Wr lamba-lak, Wr lemba-lak, the araceae Alocasia macrorrhiza is named in SH: Be, Ré kompo-alu (alu 'pistle', probably after the somewhat club-shaped spadix), Ko kompo-alu (kompo 'truncated'), lompa-alu (lompa 'dibble'), and in Ré kopó-alu (kopé 'chopper').

Podócarpus blumei, a high tree, is named tilu-tuna 'eel's ear' on account of its narrow leaflets; but it is also called tila-tuna 'the eel's tila-(shrub)'.

Homonoia riparia, a rheophyt, is a small shrub that lives only in flowing water. The original name is probably aenga/aenga-waé 'clingling in the river'; then we have the folk-etymological names langa-waé 'the langa-shrub of the river', longa-waé 'the sesame plant of the river' and langu-waé 'drunk by water'.48b

A fungus with a very thin stem like that of the Imperata-grass, riqi, was probably originally called wua-riqi 'fungus like riqi', then wake-riqi 'riqi-root', empo riqi 'grandpa(’s) riqi, mggoro-riqi 'i.,..', and in Rembong isi-riqi 'the bulb of riqi'.
The name *lema-lipang* 'centipede’s tongue', *Dryopteris sp.*, a kind of fern, is common in Manggarai, but in M: Denge *limbi-lipang* 'centipede’s hand/fingers' is used. The latter name makes more sense. Possibly *lema-lipang* is analogically formed after other frequent (amounting to 12) *lema-* forms. In a similar way we find in Rmb *lema-kipan* at the side of *limeng-kipan* in the adjacent Rj dialect.

In the examples above the meaning of the latter part is still understood. In the following example however it was lost, and therefore further deviations from the original meaning and form slipped into the names.

Though the meaning of *laku* 'civet cat'\(^49\) is no longer in common use the names *wuku-laku* (SL) and *huku-laku* (NL) *laku*’s claw' for *Caesalpinia bonduc* with its very sharp, bent thorns, still exist uncorrupted. In other parts of Manggarai, however, folk etymology took hold of the no longer understandable name. So we find *uku-laku* 'laku-clan' and *uaké-laku* 'laku root', which may be compared with *puku-laku* vin.? for another 'hooky' plant, the *Uoaaria lanosa*. For other forms the folk-etymological trait is not clear to me; at least they are variants (see 5.7): *wanggor-laku*, *wangkar-laku*, *wekor-laku*, *wendo-laku* and *wendkar-laku*, while *wengkor-laku* is also used for *Uoaaria lanosa*.

A non-identified plant is called in M: R, C *labi-alas*, Co *lebě-alas* (lebè 'wing'), Re, Ko *lobo-alas* (lobo 'top'), *labé-alas* (labè 'Picus sp.'). See also 5.7.1. The meaning of *alas* is unknown to me.

5.5 Naming plants by their use

It is not always possible to prove that a plant is named according to its use; sometimes it may be just the other way around.

Pandu (4.10) is a striking example. *Culu* 'torch' is used instead of *perpadang*, *Itea macrophylla*, the chips of which directly after being chopped from the living tree, can be easily set on fire; the same thing is true for the name *culu* instead of *raok*.\(^53\) *Melosoma planata* sp., *Ferruginaea*, the high grass, *reor* or *teber*, *Saccharum spontaneum*, whose stems are bundled for a torch, is also named *culu*. The semantic transition is a very easy one: *ài haju culu* 'fetch wood (for a) torch' can also be translated by 'fetch torch-wood' = 'fetch torch-tree wood'. In Tagalog *Calophyllum inophyllum* (4.10) is called *culu-culu*, which has an unexpected /c/. Often strips of helung bambu, *Sclisostachyum blumii*, are bundled into torches; both the torch and the kind of bamboo are named *cawar*/*sawar*, locally.

The leaves of several plants near water-springs or on the road-side are used as stoppers (*culong*) for bottle-gourds or bamboo vessels to avoid spilling the water on the way. The plants used for this purpose are named: *haju culong* 'stopping shrub', *haju culong-wàd*, 'shrub water-stopper' (Boehmeria sp.). We find also *suweng culong-bongko* 'gourd-stopper herb', namely *Elatostema sp.*, *Izora sp.* and *Randia wallholii*. As an instance of folk etymology, I came across *culong-mongko* 'the compact stopper'.

The larvae found in a Sageratio-stem are the most delicious and were regularly brought to the aristocrats of Pongkor. The larvae are called *wađé-anti*, and so was the tree: *(haju) wađé-anti.*

In Manggarai the Imperata-grass’s name *riq* is also used for "thatch", whereas in Bima *att* 'roof' became also the name for this grass after its main use. *Papou* (*Sarcoglilus sp.*) is the name of a plant in Lt which is used for *popo* 'hair-washing'.

The bark of the *kènda* or *sena*, *Punus wallaceana*, is used to make big rice-con-
In the Roman Catholic celebration of Palm Sunday the leaves of a fern, cigit, are carried during a procession. Immigrants in the coastal Borneo, however, did not find this fern in the locality, so they took the leaves of a palm, Caryota mitis, for the above purpose. Promptly the palm was named cigit, though the local people used the name bota for this palm. A similar process took place in Lamba-Leda, where for the same purpose leaves of the akur, Cycas rumphii, were brought from a warmer region of Bintang-Java. There they were also called saung cigit, because the plant was not known to these people.

On the above mentioned palm, Caryota, a kind of tinder is found. In Manus its name bota was superseded by dudut 'tinder'; mostly dudut-kode 'monkey's tinder', since it is of inferior quality. A Sawunese in Sumba gave the cognate name kadudu to this palm.

Drymaria cordata is a slender, trailing, adventitious plant remarkable for its locally prolific spread owing to its fruits sticking to people's feet and clothes, and for the peculiarity of having drops on its leaves in the morning without the influence of dew. It seems that people prone to superstition were impressed by these properties. It is called ngelong in CM, a term that is also used instead of peler and săning, which means the ritual for reconciling an offended spirit (darat). In this connection in Régho one says: 'leaves of tiwu-lêngong (= Drymaria) are used to go ngelong', and in Cibal people say: 'ngelong-leaves are used in going peler'.

In west Manggarai the plant is called saung diqit (= deqit), 'the separating plant'. The quality of stickiness becomes a symbol of the insolubility of a marriage. Therefore bride and bridegroom when entering their house have to step on an egg which is laid upon ngelong leaves. Stick- ing to her new house implies the separa- tion (diqit) of the bride from her family.

Kalanchoe integra and Begonia sp., which are very juicy, are called barak, since their leaves and stems are pounded with other ingredients to constitute the medicine called barak, a loan word from Macassarese.

The nut of the betelpalm, Areca catechu, is an indispensable ingredient of the daily chewed sirih qid. The nut became the outstanding fruit in society, so that in several languages a cognate of Ml buah 'fruit' became the name of the palm: Ml, Bali buah, Si, Sdr, "Minahaha", Buli wua, Ssk bua, Bm wa, Roti, Léti pau, mbaa, Buru lua, Aru buya, puga, Bg bu(w)ah, Enggano uf, Bj bua, Iլo bu, Cagayan bua. In Kmd the plant is called seng 'the chew tree'. In M wua is the specific name of the areca nut.

The fibre (Ml tuk) of the Arenga pinnata, 'the enau palm', is used for thatching and cord-making. In WSumatra the cognates tyuk, juk and iduk, and in Bg the form inru became the names of the palm. Elsewhere as in a Dayak language, in MA, Ng and Nage the palm was named after the toddy 'tuak', 'tua'. In Sawu and Ndiao the lontar palm, du², was named after the juice; just as in Roti and "Timor" tua, tuaj; cp.6.14.

The lerep vine, Ampelocissus arachnoidea, yields a medicine for the illness named M lerep; and rombë cures red inflamed eyes (mata rombë).

Since the leaves of the tree Ficus wassa var. obversifolia are used for polishing, its name is (haju) racang (M racang 'to abrade', 'to whet'), whereas the vine Tetrasera scandens, whose leaves are used for the same purpose, is called wase racang.56

In a few cases different names are used for an identical species on account of the different uses. Thus Gnetum ?gnemon is called in the SH region "suka-tree" in relation to its fibre wahé suka 'suka-rope', whereas one speaks of "ku-lang-tree" in connection with its edible leaves, haung kulang 'kulang leaf'.57 A similar case is to be found in the Komo- do language: the young Borassus undatus, from which the palm-cabbage is taken, is called ana-wana, while the mature trees, which are used for several other purposes, have the name tah. The Corypha utan palm is generally called oovang in WM, but a man from Nggorang told me that in connection with the collecting of the young leaves for cord-making one speaks of bom-bong.58a

In Ngoligo Nio in FEM its common name is borong, which is also usual in EM, but when it still yields young leaves it is called oovang. In Danan the same young palm is specified as tuné taen 'Corypha rope' and in NTetum as tali.

Similarly in Java young trees of the Schoutenia ovata are called lanji (lanji 'dibble'), the old trees, which have dark- er wood, walikuku; see also under 6.123.

5.6 Descriptive names

Here we are in the field of human thought which is apparently much the same in many parts of the world. Though the data are not surprising, I think some of them are worth mentioning.

Often plants, or parts of them, show some similarity with parts of the human or animal body, and are named because of that similarity.

Mumua-lauo 'rat's whiskers', wulu-ela 'pig's hair' and iko-nggaëng 'rat's tail' are used in different places for Pimbri-stylus ovata, a kind of fine rush. Another bulrush has the name wulu-mu 'whiskers'.

For the lichen, Usnea sp., 'beard moss', which hangs in long greyish threads from tree branches, the following names are used: M muwang haju 'grey hairs of the tree', M jagë-haju 'tree's beard' and Rmb sago-kodëgro 'grey) monkey's beard'.

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In Java they use jenggot resi 'hermit's beard' \(58^b\). The coastal Casuarina equisetifolia with its dense thread-like foliation is called haju wuk 'hair tree'.

On account of its multifid leaves the Schefflera tree is called rempa-neré or rempa-paké 'frog's toes'.\(^{59}\)

Asparagus racemosus is called ngisliko\(^{60}\) 'green snake's teeth', because of its pairs of bent thorns. The use of the plant against snake-bites may have reinforced this appellation.

Wàse ungkang 'horn(s) of vine' is used for some Asclepiadaceae, of which the coupled fruits resemble a pair of buffalo horns; in Kambéra kamba kudu 'cotton (with) horns' is used, because the fruits contain fluffy fibre.

The wolf's claw pora, Lycopodium cernuum, is called ranga-osé 'hairy horn' and ranga-ruwa 'deer's antlers', which semantically is easily comparable with Eng. "staghorn moss". The perpendicular implantation of "horns" on both the stem of the plant and on the newly budding horns are strikingly similar.

On account of the form of its fruit, one name of a Ptilosporum sp. is telo-aau 'dog's scrotum'; because of the thickening of their rhizome, Vanda-orchids are called telo-mbéké 'old man's scrotum'. In Sumba Voacanga, Pagianta or Erotopatana (formerly Tabernamontana) species are called kawota kamémbi 'billy-goat's scrotum' for the shape of its fruit. CM boto 'scrotum', which superseded pasa (see 6.98) nas probably a similar origin. The Si uru para (= M pasa) 'sickness of the para (fruit)', a venereal disease, suggests the same way of thinking. After its cordate leaves Bauhinia hirsuta is called kakúl 'butterfly herb' as the leaves resemble folded butterfly's wings.\(^{61^b}\)

Because of their indentation the name pétak is used, a connotative of homoeyonymous words like pás, tégak, rékak which mean "to split, to divide" etc.

In many plants, some similarity is seen with auricles: the fungus Polyporus zanthopus is named tilu-kodé 'monkey's ear', and another big fungus growing at tree trunks has the name tilu-ngiun 'ear of the ngiun', a spirit with enormously wide ears, while tilu-motang 'boar's ear' is an acanthacea; see also tilu-tuna (5.3) and gulung tilu-kaba (3.9).

The fungus Xylaria sp. with a thin black stem is called in M waqí-ka 'crow's leg' and the fungus Hirneola sp. is called in Rmb kinga-rok in Wangka mboko-po, 'owl's ear' (= 'aft'); in PEM tilu-kendong 'spirit's ear'.

As heads of compounds we meet further with "neck", "throat", "hand", "chin", "wing" (see 5.3), "tongue", "foot", "finger", and "eye"; the latter in "shrimp's eye", "frog's eye", "goat's eye" and "hen's eye".\(^{62}\)

Some lichens form greyish spots on treebarks and rocks. They are called pano because they look like the lichenous whitish spots (pano) on the human body; a comparison which is also made in medical science. Or is it just the reverse? A similar case is mentioned in Note 69\(^b\).

Mena-ngis 'fixed like a tooth' is the name of the shrublet Sida aouta, a garden weed that requires some effort to pull out. Bauhinia scandens forms broad lianas which by their shape make people think of a ladder, therefore it is called wàse weda 'step liana'; in Rmb, with the same meaning, kajék kedàngg.

Some plants are described by adding a determinant indicating their foul smell: saung taqí-ela (or -kina) 'herb (stinking like) pig's dung', or saung taqí-jarang 'horse's dung herb', or saung taqí-kaba 'buffalo's dung herb'. Paederia scandens is a stinking vine, and is called saung (or wàse) pelu 'herb (or vine) wind' = "flatus-leaf"\(^{63}\); elsewhere it is named saung wàse 'stench-leaf'; see also 2.7.

Sometimes onomatopoeic names are given because of the rustling of the leaves, for instance: the names sar or nggar or war for Meliosma simplicifolia ssp. fruticosa, or ruteng-nggar, ruteng-war, ruteng-sar or ras for a Ficus sp.\(^{64^a}\) Because of its swishing branches the Casuarina jung-huhniàna, a cemara tree, is called stuk.

The ripe fruits in the inflated pods of Crotalaria spp. make a rattling sound. So we encounter the names nggorong 'bell', nggtiring (java) 'Javanese bell' and rinak 'rattle'; similarly in Java ørok-ørok; see also 2.7,\(^{64^b}\)

Physalis spp. fruit are berries "enclosed by an inflated narrow-mouthed calyx" (FJ, 2:468). Children play with its fruit by slapping them against their foreheads to make them give a clapping or a flapping sound. The sound-imitation is for Manggarai ears well expressed by the names kepek-saqí and repok-saqí 'crack on the forehead', saung repok, kepek, nggapek 'clap-herb'\(^{65}\) or even (saung) repok api 'crackle, crackle-of-fire' herb. An Ampelocissus sp. is called wàse rek 'crack vine', because it crackles when stretched.

In North Lambe-Lédá the foxtail millet, Setaria italica, was formerly named ker, because it was strewed for spirits with the cail ker.

The tiny black seeds of the wood-sorrel (5.2), Ozalis corniculata, spring from the ripe fruit when touched. Therefore the plant is named in M saung melà, in Mundé wumu melà, in Nagé bené-mela, all of these meaning "flea herb", in Ende níru-mepa 'flea sorrel', in Lio melà (jité), whereas in M peù-mela 'flea's wind' and paco-melà\(^{66}\) is also used.

Some ferns and a kind of grass form tufts which look like nests; thus we have oewo-kotok 'spur-cuckoo's nest', oewo-lawar 'swift's nest', oewo-ntangis 'eagle's nest' and oewo-ala 'pig's lair'.\(^{66^b}\)

5.7 Variants in form and meaning

5.7.1 Homoeonymy\(^{67}\)
We find several instances of this phenomenon in plant names; thus according to the dialect, *Toddalia asiatica*: iiri, wiiri, piri, api (natural see also juwanga; wuu, (rewu) and mawu; the fungi *Himetta* sp.: kengkél, kengkér and tangkél; *Te- trastigma papillosum*: ndaweng, ntaweng and ntawang, (while tawan is conditional); and the names of a certain big mushroom are: hum (CM, SH), hung (WM), ung (CO), wung (Bi, Ms, Kepog, Rembong) and mung in FEM. The tree *Wendlandia* sp. has the names wodong and podong in M dialects (Map 12, and 6.144). Another good example is the name for a *Maoutia* sp. the leaves of which are white underneath and draw attention when turned by the wind. Probably the original name is walék 'to turn', an etymological repre- sentative of Ml/Ind balitk. By homoeo- nymy we find in Manggarai besides (auung or haju) walék further walér (also meaning 'to turn') and galék, gélak, gélap. The semi-reductive forms wenger-welak and wenger-wélak have moreover a soundsymbolic effect. Further more I noted the names nela for Croton montis-silam, and walék for Croton cascarilloides. Both plants also have leaves which are whitish underneath. War, sar, nggar have already been mentioned under 5.6.

The idea of covering (something or each other) is expressed by the names for the fern *Drynaria* which has overlapping scole bracts. Those names are lukup (6. 54), SCM tekap, P tikap and WM kaqap; cp. M tangkep, J tangkeb, ML rangkap 'to cov- er' etc.

In eastward dialects the names of this fern give a fine example of homoeo- nymy. In my opinion the original form is still preserved in the name lebé-raé 'eagle's wings' in Waeiana, and in the conditionally prenasalized lembé-raé in Rongga (and Raijung). The originality of this name is more or less proved by the semantically identical name belé-bisa in Mundé (Nágé language), and the fact that Cibal two different writers described the leaves of lukup as: similar to lebé manuk 'hen's wing', and as lebé orong rawak 'grey heron's wings'. In the adjacent dialects we find first the alliterative form rembé-raé in Kp, and then the homooeo- nymous remba-raé in Rmb, remba-raé in Rw and SL, and ramba-raé in EM where the original meaning is no longer recognizable; cp. wuku-laku under 5.3.

Secondarily may be regarded as a variant of homeoonymy. The papilionaceae *Shuteria ventita* has the names M molor and linoor, and Anamirta cocoala is named M mol and Wng lon (6.11). This pheno- menon appears often in very divergent languages; see under *Cassia fistula* (6. 28), *Grewia* (6.65p), *Kaempferia galanga* (6.74), *Pisonia umbellifera* (6.106), *Schleichera oleosa* (6.122) and *Trema orientalis* (6.8).

The phenomenon of variation may happen within a single dialect, but also among different dialects and languages. On Map 10 we see the change of the initial consonant in the names for *Abelmoschus moschatus* (6.1). The map configuration does not suggest whether m- or ng- is the original PL form.

In the case of the names for Pandanus *teetorius* (6.102) in Flores, the evidence of Map 11 seems to point to an original r-. Especially the réqa-islands in the réqa- area are convincing.

5.7.2 Polyonymy

We have already mentioned polyynymous plants, especially such that are adventitious like *Erechtites* (2.2) and *Eupatorium* (2.3), or which have been introduced such as sorghum (4.17) and maize (4.18); Maps 1, 2, 8, 9. The existence of so many names can plausibly be explained by a rather subtle appearance of the plant and a simultaneous lack of communication among the groups involved. The latter reason can be supposed in the eastern languages of MA as in the above instances, and in the case of the musk melon; see 4.8.

Multiplicity of names, however, may also occur with native plants. An example of this are names for *Rubus*, 'bramble' etc., the fruit of which are eaten. Map 13 shows the distribution of WM biris, CM conoo, SCM bombong, EM borong, Rmb proper diong, Rmb: Waru-Kia saru, Wng riting, and Rj, Wr wuaq-karot, 'thorn fruit'. I do not see any reason why just this plant should have so many names in MA. The conoo-island in the biris area is very interesting. This is no relic, but has evidently been introduced from around Ruteng together with the mulberry *Morus austral- is*, the conoo-bela (5.8.4), the determinative of which in the biris area was superfluous.

The bush *Vitex trifolia* Ml negundo with its aromatic leaves has also several names. Looking at Map 14 I assume that *word* is the original Manggarai name, since we find three islands eastward of the chief area. In the word-island of Lamba-Lêda, however, *ward* is *Vitex trifol- ia* var. illitorea, a much lower variety which is found near the coast. Within the word area this variety is named *ward-taok* 'sea (= coastal) word'. The name cuang 'to rub' has something to do with the medicinal use of the leaves, and ghoi, ghu 'to sweep' (cp. hoï in 2.6) indicates that the branches were used for sweeping. I suppose that the names *wai*, (cond.) *wui* and ngai are homooeonyms of *hoi* (and also of *rot* 'to sweep'). The origin of the Rmb name kaju ata is obscure to me.

The inset on Map 17 shows a cluster of names for *Artocarpus elastisus* (5.10. 1) between the lalé and teré areas. Since the tree was sought after, I surmise that folk belief caused dissimulative names; cp. 5.4.
5.7.3 Homonymy

Real homonymy can be tolerated if the meanings of the word concerned belong to different semantic fields. Identical words among plant names must in general be confusing. We saw already numerous instances of avoiding homonymy by forming compounds, chiefly by adding determinants. In 5.8 there is a recapitulation of this phenomenon.

Although in the past it was not a case of real homonymy if the same word in adjacent dialects was used for different grounds, e.g. Dzongkha in Waru-Kia Beninaasa hisipida (6.17), in Wangka
Citrullus lanatus 'water melon' and in Wué Cucurbita moschata (4.8), today, however, when communication is unimpeded, we must consider this as homonymy. The future will show the solution which certainly must be found. Similar cases we often find with cereals; see Map 5, and 4.18.3.

Sometimes homonymy is less inconvenient, if the plant concerned is found in different botanical zones. A good example is the name Kawéng 'Unaria la-
noea' (3.4), a plant which is found between 300 and 700 m above sea-level. This name was borrowed for the newly introduced Lantana camara which is now found from the coast up to 1700 m. Map 3 shows the consequences in the area where the two plants are overlapping, and how confusion is avoided.

Avoidance of homonymy is also clear in the case of heilaq, which means both a kind of sharp-leaved rush and a kind of edible gourd. The reason for the same name for such different plants is probably that the stems of both are sharp or prickly. We have to compare heilaq, with the variants ngeliaq, pelah (pelas) 'to shave' (cp. 6.60), Nagé kala, Bgg qhela for "rush", and the name M kopa-koba 'little chopper'; also with kelaq for "gourd". Map 16 illustrates the avoidance of homonymy by preclusion of overlapping.

Sometimes homonymy may arise on account of a new sound-shift within a language or dialect. In the area of South Cibai and South Lamba-Lédà people know lot 'Alstonia species' (6.10) which is found below 700 m, and lut 'Frazinia
griffithii' (6.9b) which is found between 400 and 1500 m. The first tree gives good wood and its bark is used as a medicine, the other kind is locally well known, because its bark is a substitute for the betelnut. Difficulties arise in the region where o-t > u-t, and lot becomes lut. I hope that the diagram ("Map" 16a) illustrates the linguistic situation and the solution. One should be aware that in the area under 400 m, there may be solitary mountains up to 1000 m, as is the case with Frazinia trees.

5.7.4 Polysemy

Whereas in the case of homonymy we assume that the homonymous words have a totally different origin, this is not the case with polysemes. Many plant names in different but neighbouring dialects, which have a same sounding name, point to different plants. We will see this in Caka (4.7, Map 5) witu (5.10.2, Map 22), kusu (5.10.4, Map 18), and we have already seen such switches as the following:
lutung is in M Zaa maya,
in FEM: Mbai Sorghum saccharatum
kaé is in M: Ms Zaa maya,
in MA: Rg Sorghum saccharatum
Jawa is in Rgg, Ng I, Nagé Zaa maya,
in Ng II Sorghum saccharatum
pangí is in Ngg
lelú is in Nagé Zaa maya,
in Nagé: Sorghum saccharatum
holo etc. is in Koa, Nagé Zaa maya,
in Ende (oro) Sorghum saccharatum
	lelú is in Sika II Zaa maya,
in Tana-Ai Cotx laaruma-jobi
watar is in Tana-Ai Zaa maya,
in Sika Cotx laaruma-jobi.

There is certainly more than one reason for this kind of polysemie.

An important reason is probably the dropping of a part of a compound, of which "kastla" is a very good example.66b Loss of the first part of a compound we find e.g. in peét < lutung-pesi (4.17) and watar < remang watar (5.8.4).

A same occasion may cause the same names for different plants, e.g. merdeka for Eupatorium, for Lantana, for an Euphorbia and for a certain papilionaceae (2.3.2 (b)); see Map 2. What has happened in the last decades and in the last centuries, must have happened also millennia ago. We pointed already to the cereal names kóó, witu and kusu above. Other instances of polysemey are PAN *beCen, *zawa and *baCAd under 6.125.

5.8 Compounds

5.8.1 General

A great number of plant names are compounds and consist of a basic name which is determined. Most determinants are substantives, but adjectives are not rare, and also verbs may be used. Often a part of the compound is dropped as in the name of Floraasma javanica, paqít 'the bitter one'; see 3.2(b).

In many cases determinants are only added if a contrast with other similar plants has to be stressed. If the mother says, "fetch some laqi leaves", the child may ask, "which kind of laqi?", whereupon the mother may answer, "laqi-saung 'basil (leaves)', of course, as we have no laqi-
té 'citronella' in our garden."

Quite frequently the words used as classifiers are also used as determinants. Among the Rubus spp., karot conoa 'conoa-
thorn' we find winders and erect plants, which respectively are named karot conoa-
weé and karot conoa-hau 'the winding and the stemmed bramble-thorn'. One says
Map 16. Avoidance of homonymy II
in capitals: names for *Benincasa hispida*; 6.17
in small letters: names for *Cyperaceae*; 5.7.3
--- demarcation line between KELAS and HELAS
- demarcation line between helas and ngelas
# both ngelas and helas
++ pelah

Chart 1 ("Map" 16²)
Avoidance of homonymy III
in capitals: *Frazinus*
in small letters: *Alstonia*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>o-i = o-i</th>
<th>o-i &gt; u-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1400 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frazinus griffithi</th>
<th>5.7.3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LUI</td>
<td>LUI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alstonia spectabilis</th>
<th>6.10.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LUI</td>
<td>LUI-WINA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBACENG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loi</td>
<td>lui-rona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lui-biring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>400 m</th>
<th>PAC ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loi</td>
<td>lui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
commonly saung sawé 'amaranth herb', but the spiny species of amaranth, *Amaranthus spinosus*, is called saung sawé-karot 'the thorny amaranth herb.'

5.8.2 Determination by the name of another plant

Often plants are further determined by the name of another plant which it resembles. Thus bangko is a fairly general name for several trees of the mangrove formation. This lack of specific names probably happened because the Manggarai were mountain dwellers.

Schmutz noted:

- *bangko-bila*, *Xylocarpus moluccensis*, which resembles *bila*, *Crescentia cujete*,
- *bangko-lui*, *Rhizophora sp.*, which resembles *lui* (lot), *Astonia spectabilis*,
- *bangko-ojang*, *Xylocarpus granatum*, which resembles *ojang*, *Toona ciliata*,
- *bangko-pandut*, *Barringtonia asiatica*, which resembles *pandut*, *Calophyllum inophyllum*,
- *bangko-raru*, *Bruguiera sp.*, which resembles *raru*, *Myristica sp.;*
- *bangko-papi*, *Lumnitiera racemosa* is used besides *papi*,
- *bangko-peropa*, *Rhizophora sp.* is used besides *peropa*.

5.8.3 Determination by the name of an animal or spirit

Many useful plants have their wild counterparts. Those wild, non-edible or mostly less useful plants are distinguished by a determinant indicating animals or spirits. *M kala* is the commonly enjoyed *M. struth* *Piper betel*, 'the chewing betel'. Those not used by humans: *kala-kaba* 'buffalo's betel', *kala-kodé* 'monkey's betel', *kala-nngaro* 'wild cat's betel' and *kala-ular* 'snake's betel'.

Other examples are: *koja-kula* 'the civet-cat's peanut', *koja-tekur* 'turtle-dove's peanut', *muku-rata* 'wild-fowl's banana', *lia-ao* 'dog's ginger', *li-tseem* 'ants' ginger', *timung-ka* 'crow's cucumber', *mberong-tagi* 'deer's buzz-grass', *humantang* 'eagle's mushroom', and *sela-mungga* 'shrew's Job's tears'.

A certain myth tells us how Mori Keraéng, the Lord, divided the animals and plants between man and his counterpart of the 'underworld', the *darat*. This belief is more or less consciously reflected in many plant names; thus, because of its pseudo-bulbs on the rhizome, the orchid *Aerangis jantarica* is called *omu-darat* 'onion of the darat'. For brevity's sake I give only the Manggarai and English names of some plants which have a wild counterpart for the spirit (*darat*): jengok 'calamus', *koja* 'peanut', kowé 'kind of bean', landor 'a Crotalaria' (whose usefulness I do not know), leba 'kind of bean', lékéng 'edible wild fruit', lintep, the bark of which is used for binding, longa 'sesame', lua 'bean-tree', mawo 'rice', mesak 'millet', muku 'banana', muta and ndiiru 'kinds of citrus', nggses 'kind of bean', réga 'pandan (for plaiting)', sampa (no usefulness known), sawé 'spinach', *Ind. bayaam*, se'ré 'citronella grass', suka 'onion', teko 'taro', tesse 'sweet yam', téte 'sweet potato', tew 'sugarcane', and tewa 'fish-poison plant'.

5.8.4 Determination by the name of a country etc.

Often plant names are determined by the indication of its real or putative origin; thus in 2.2.2 and in 3.3.6 "Japan" (Nipon) is cited. Other regions are Jawa, Ndú a = Ngadhá, Wio = Sumba, Dimá = Bima, Manila, Bogor, Hau = Sawu, Belanda, Cina, Menado (probably the agricultural official was a Menadones), Rongga and Endé. A striking example is "belanda" in *conco belanda* "Dutch bramble" which is used (a) for an introduced raspberry, *Rubus lineatus*, (b) for the mulberry, *Morus australis*, (c) for the strawberry, *Fragaria vesca*, and (d) for the already mentioned *conco-tuang*, *Lantana camara*; see 3.4.

The term "Manggarai" points to an (assumed) native plant; almost synonymous with "Manggarai" is raja 'native', *Manggarai*, 'our'; cp. *kopi* (3.3.4), téte (4.9).

The new grass *Paepalanthus sorobiculatum* was brought by the agricultural organisation Ikatan Pertanian Pencasila and named *remang panaasila* or (Ind) *rumput panaasila*.

In the last decade a vegetable (an unidentified kind of lettuce) was introduced by the Carmelite Sisters from the Carmel (nunnery) in Bajawa. In western Flores the plant is spread everywhere, and called (Ind) ayaur karmel.

5.8.5 Determination by the habitat

Plants are also distinguished according to the habitat or area where they are found. Thus there may be added golo or poco '(in the) mountain', waé 'water', 'river', *satar* 'grassy plane', pur 'forest', rami 'brushwood', biring 'coastal, warm area', taatik 'sea', 'coast'. Often such a name is given just for the sake of giving an answer when questioned. Good instances are: *waaso*, *Bibiscus* *tillaeus*, and *waaso-taotik* 'sea-waso', *Thesium populnea*, a plant which resembles *waso*, but is only found near the coast. Several *Syzygium* (Eugenia) spp. are named *lokom*; *lokom-poco* 'mountain-locok', *lokom-waé* 'river-locok' for kinds found at river banks, and *lokom-musa* 'dry (land) locok'. *Menggè-poco* is *Terminalla* of, e.g., land in the mountains, menggè-biring is *T. sollingeri*, which is found in the lower areas (biring) and menggè-taotik, *T. catappa*, is often found near the coast.

We meet with WM haju *satar* 'tree of the plain', and remang *satar* 'grass of the plain' which in WM became *satar* with
the specific meaning of Imperata grass (CM riqti). 76c

5.8.6 Determination by adjectives

Of course, real adjectives are also used to distinguish different kinds. Very often "large" and "small", mésé and koë (or lóë) are used. Others are distinguished by the colour of a part of the plant. So we find bakok 'white', rawuk 'grey', dërég or wara 'red', nenti 'black'. Rembung 'purplish' is often used for varieties in useful plants: tétu-rembung 'sugar-cane with purplish bark', muku-rembung 'banana with violet coloured fruits or stem', lému-rembung for Citrus maxima trees with reddish fruitflesh, latung-rembung for maize with violet-coloured grains.

Also verbs may determine a basic name like náru-roo 'polish citrus', which kind is used for polishing sword-blades; ngguru-dapak 'baking chilli', which is baked not pounded, condor-lor 'creeping bramble'.

5.8.7 "Female" and "male" in plant names

In the Dictionary some sixty kinds of plants have been entered that have a compound name containing the determinant "male", and 'female' or one of them. In general this has nothing to do with female or male specimens of a single species or subspecies, 77 but it is used between allied species and even between allied genera.

What is the real ground for distinguishing different kinds of plants in this way? Father Schmutz together with native connoisseurs of plants paid special attention to this psycholinguistic phenomenon. I have borrowed several opinions from his notes, especially, under Dysopyrum of the Meliacaeae family in his "Heft" 7.

We are inclined to look for some sexual symbolism in the plants, and indeed people sometimes give that as a reason: broad, rounded leaves are a female symbol, narrow and pointed leaves form a male symbol.

On the other hand, it is clear that in most cases the notion of "female" implies the more useful, often also the larger plant, independently of the type of the leaves.

Finally, a less or later known kind may be characterised by rona 'male'. Thus someone said to Schmutz: "Well, this is also a wokok, let us call it "wokok-rona" (without naming the other kind wokok-wina). I had often the same impression, though people never said it positively.

In many cases the above properties may reinforce each other. So násuk (-wina), Melastoma multiflora, is larger and has broad leaves which are used for food, while the allied Osbeckia dotchophylla, násuk-rona, from the same family of the Meliaceaeae, lacks these qualities. In other cases, however, these "normative" properties may be contradictory. Thus sënsus-rona, the male sënsus, is the larger plant and is regarded as useful (see 2.3.1), whereas the sënsus-wina is regarded as worthless and poisonous. Maybe the sënsus-wina appeared earlier. It is noteworthy that the obviously different colour and smell of the flowers were never mentioned as distinctive features. 78

During my rather short research in Ende I noted once the determinant haki 'male' and twice fai 'female'. One pair is quite comparable with one of the Manggarai kind:

Endé puru Trithemetta sp. M lintep-rona
Endé puru fai Urena lobata M lintep-wina
The latter plant yields better fibre than the former.

Wilkinson, 133 defines betina: "Of inanimate things betina means flattened or rounded in contr. to high or pointed." And of jantan he says (447): "Fig. jantan = the long and narrow or big, in contr. to the short and squat (betina); (.....) malur jantan (jasmine bud coming to a point)."

In the Kamu Umm Bahasa Indonesia I twice found "female": sago betina and setawar betina, and twice "male": kermak jantan and sebaeak jantan, from which conclusions can hardly be drawn.

The same is the case with names in Backer, 1934, where I five times encountered "male" in Sundanese: babadotan lalaki (793), jolang lalaki (793), ki kopi lalaki (703), rembung lalaki (768), (aureg) papasan lalaki (739), jorang lalaki (228, 545, 546); in Javanese: bobowan (bubuwan) laki (255), in Malay mamang laki (255); and in Madurese taréta bineq (460) 'female taréta', which is Opuntia elatior. By chance I saw in FM 6:87 manunggal lalaki, Capparie sylanica, bakuwan lalaki, Rhizophora conifugata, tangi lalaki, Ceriops roborghi and a female: bitanhol na babad, Myristica sp.; all in Tag.

Much more important are the data in Burkill's work. In the very roughly estimated 5000 Malay names from the Peninsula and Sumatra, I find 104 times the determinat "male" (jantan 100x, lalaki, laki-laki 4x), "female" 25x, (betina 23x, and perampan twice) without the counterpart, whereas only 11 times both are added to a single basic name. This is a considerable number, and important for our case, the more so, since Burkill apparently reflected on this phenomenon.

The strange thing is that Burkill states an opinion which is contrary to Schmutz's, and which partly diverges from Wilkinson's. Burkill is convinced that "male" points to the larger kind and "female" to the smaller; thus he says expressively under Ardisia criapa (219): "mata pelandok betina ..... ('female' as being small)." As this is very important, I shall quote a few examples: "bayur betina (1835/6) Pterospermum Jaclianum 'female or little bayur" alongside bayur jantan, Pterospermum divericolium, which is indeed the higher tree; "setambun betina, Baccaurea waltichii 'small tambun", and "setambun jantan, Baccaurea parviulora", which is the larger plant; "ulan betina (1456) Melromma umbellata" 'female or lit-
tle ulan'" and "(akar) ulan jantan (944), Brysbe prinet\", which is also a convolvulaceae, but climbs high in trees.

As in Manggarai, we often do not know which counterpart is meant, when only "female" or "male" is mentioned. Burkhill, 4 translates the small vine (akar) saga betina, Abrus precatorius, as "female or little Adenanthera", according to which translation he apparently regards the tree Adenanthera (pavonina) as the original (or male) saga.

The translation using "little" and "big", however, in Burkhill's work is not absolutely consistent either. Under Jasminum bifarium (1265) I encounter as vernacular names both pekan jantan 'big jasmine' and pekan betina 'female, or little jasmine'; (but also a tree, Aphania paucifluga (190), is called pekan jantan); for Glochidion superbun (1078) I find the translations geromong jantan as well as geromong betina; Pavetta indica (1578) has the names jarum-jarum betina and gading-gading jantan, in which case the names may originate from different dialects or, probably, are compared with different plants. Gedang betina, Aporosa aurea, is a tree which grows 40 feet high (195), while gading jantan, Coffea malayana (627) is a shrub, named by Burkhill 'big ivory-wood'. He adds cautiously: "gading belongs to several species of more or less related genera". 79

Already in the 17th century, 80a the great Rumphius paid attention to this distinction. Heyne, 558 writes that Arthocarpus dasypylla var. flava, by R. called Metrostemon spurius mas (Latin mas = 'male'), has according to R. a female counterpart. According to the hypothesis of Rumphius the female forest tree has generally lighter coloured wood and is less useful. So Rumphius distinguishes (Heyne, 1308) a male and a female salimuli. The heart-wood of the former is not bigger than a thigh, whereas the female can be got in bigger measurements. The latter however is lighter and less esteemed.

Alice Peeters, 160 is of a somewhat different opinion: "Rumphius' ideas concerning male and female plants must be related to the Malay conception according to which male plants are those whose flowers either do not produce fruit or produce fruit smaller than those of the other form named "female", and whose leaves and overall size are smaller than in the female form. Examples are: "the opposed forms" Banxudua angustifolia et mas, Banxudua laoki-laoki and Banxudua lasifolia et femina, (the Malay) Banxudua daun besar, which are in the current nomenclature Morinda tomentosa and Morinda citrifolia respectively."

It seems to me that the "Malay" conception of "male" and "female" plants has not yet been explained conclusively. The problem concerning "female" and "male" is possibly less difficult to solve than researchers may think. According to Saint-Lager who is cited by Kastner 80b Theophrastus himself found already that these epitheta in Greek only served to distinguish two related species.

5.9 Some exceptional sound changes and word-forms in Manggarai

We find some etymologically unexpected reflexes of PMP forms. In a few cases it seems possible to give a plausible explanation of the exceptions.

5.9.1 Wa\so\, and not waro

According to Burkhill, 172 Hibiscus tiliacus is "one of the most important fibreplants among the inhabitants of Malaysia, and would seem to have been put to use by them, wherever they went; thus we find the name waru used in Madagascar and baru in Tahiti". Corresponding to the laws of sound-shift, the r represents PAN *R. Consistent examples are for instance: baru in Malayu, (mal) bago in Philippine languages, bau in Roti, bau in Nias, waru in Bima and Raja in Flores, bahu in Sangir, balo in Mayell, Buru (Stresemann, 88); fanu in Nua Ulu, Ceram, and wa\so\ in Botun, (Adonara), in New Britain: Gunantuna varvar, Ugana varua. 81

In Manggarai and in most west Flores languages this *R is always represented by r. However, in Manggarai proper and in FEM we encounter as the name of this tree the exceptional form wa\so\, (whose w is a normal reflex of AN *b). As a plausible explanation, I propose the following: The hypothetical PM word *warofo was almost solely used in connection with wa\so\, the rope (made from its bark). By force of assimilation wa\so\ 'waro became wa\so\ waro 'waro rope', and then haju wa\so\ 'wa\so\ tree' was established. In accordance with sound-shift rules wah\e\ wahu and ghaju wahu are used in the SH dialects of Manggarai. In other MA languages we find: ta\i\ waru in Kmd, was\e\ and fas\e\ waru in Rmb, ka\e\ waru in Mr.

5.9.2 Wang\e\r and not wanger

Paederia scandens (5.6, p. 26; 6.97) is a well-known vine which is commonly used as a medicine. In WF we find the following cognates: Rmb fangor, Wng fangar, Wr kanger and in Teda-Mudé (Nágé), Ng, Lio, Endé fangé. These forms point to a surmised (e) in the base form; see Note 92. Manggarai however has the reflex wanger. How can this (e) be explained? I think that the explanation is similar to that of wa\so\ (5.9.1). Although sa\i\n wanger 'leaf wanger' is used, as the leaves form the medicine, the designation wasé wanger is more usual. By force of assonance the original wasé wanger became wasé wanger.

5.9.3 Tao and not tarong

Dempwolf reconstructed "PMP *ta\Rum" 'Indigo-plant' (6.72), which according to the rules of sound-shift must in M be
represented by tarung or tarong, which occur by way of exception. The common form, however, is a totally divergent tao. Maybe it settled down, (possibly superseding tarung,) together with the introduction of weaving in Manggarai, but from what language the form tao was borrowed I cannot even make a guess. The forms in the neighbouring languages of Bm (dau), Ng and Sb are regular relatives of the above PMP form. Arndt gives also Ng tao, at the side of taru, possibly from a dialect in which $R = \theta$.

5.9.4 Longa and not lena

In 6.124 a list of IN names of Sesamum is given. It is clear that original Indonesian had the form lena, and according to the rules of sound-shift the Manggarai representative should also be lena. However, we read longa, which is also the case in FEM, Rmb, (and probably conditionally, also in Toba, Nias, Baree ?Sanggar and in a Bisaya language). I do not find any plausible explanation; possibly merchants who bought the products are responsible for the "new" pronunciation.

5.9.5 Tengér and ténɡér, and not M tenger

Dempwolff established *tengel for Rhizophoraceae; see 6.30. The M form should be tenger, but we find WM: Lo'ok tenger and SCM (laau)-tenger. I think that not earlier than in the 20th century the mountain-dwelling Manggarai got to know this tree of the mangroves, and locally borrowed the names from different coastal immigrants.

5.9.6 Séwö in CM, not céwö

Due to the existence of céwö in WM and séwö (not hewö) in the SH area (where CM s > $s$), the original CM form must have been céwö. Probably due to superstitious beliefs céwö was superseded by the séwö from the adjacent dialects in east and west; cp. 5.4, Note 50, and 6.45: Dioscorea aquata.

5.9.7 Suka in CM and not suka

The Gnetum's bark was much sought after for making high-quality ropes, and probably sold to merchants from abroad. Because the shrub grows in the spirits' territory, in forest and bush, its name was probably disguised, much in the same way as séwö in 5.9.6. See also 6.64 (b).

5.10 Archaic, concealed and lost plant names

In languages of which historic data are left we often meet with plant names that are no longer in use. In languages which have no written records, as in Manggarai, the fact and the process of such a loss can be demonstrated only in a few cases. I give some instances.

5.10.1 "Terep" Artocarpus elastiosa

(a) This tree is found in Manggarai between 100 - 700 m. The seeds of this "breadfruit" are roasted and eaten, and the latex is used in bird catching, but what is most useful is its bark. In Manggarai large sheets of the bark are made into round rice-containers and in WM also into coffins. It seems that throughout the Indonesian islands cloth was prepared from this bark. In Manggarai old people still remember its being prepared for loin-cloths, and even in 1975 I found head-cloths of this material in Sumba. It is certainly due to the usefulness of this tree that its vernacular name is mentioned so often in literature. Many vernacular names of Artocarpus elastiosa and closely allied species have to be reduced to PMP *te'ep, which is clearly shown by the following interesting collection I was able to make.

(b) A list of names

Flores
Rgg, Ng, Lio, Endé teré
Botun Adonara téqét
Nagé dial téé
Sumba tira
Kambéra tira
Lauli, Loura têrêpa
Lombok, Sasak terep
Bali teep
Sunda (teureup), têrêp
Sumatra
Melauy Riau terap
Melauy ? tetap
West Coast, Sejunjung tarok
Minangkabau tarok
Karo torop
Batak tarap
Indragiri tarok
Bilitung terep
Borneo/Kalimantan
Balikpapan tarap
Kayan Dyak tahab
Mahakam WKutei tap
Sampit, SKalimantan telap
Dayak Ilir, SKalimantan tilap
Sulawesi
Bugis iteroq
Tae' Toraja tarraq
téqét
tugap
togap
togap
Donggala téa
Philippines
Bisaya I tugap
Bisaya II
togap
New Britain, Gunantuna
tat
New Ireland, Lamekot
tatat
New Ireland, ? tagut
(c) In Manggarai and Rmb, the tree has the name laté,83 which in my opinion
Map 17. PMP *teReep

Artocarpus elasticus; 5.10.1

*teReep

inset

1 kel, keloq  lalé
2 kaok  raéq
3 keraok  teé
4 Terep (toponym)
Map 18. PMP *kusu; 5.10.4

- kusu, kusu-kusu
- kusum
- ngusu(m)
- humusu
superseded the original form M terep, the regular representative. Besides the suggestive fact that most neighbouring languages possess a cognate of terep (Ng, Nagé, Lio, Adonara, Sumba, Bugis, Sasak), my argument is based on the existence of the village name "Terep" in Cibal in CM, because, as is shown under 5.11, a very great number of villages have the name of a plant, especially of a tree; compare also 5.10.3. 

(d) In eastern MA, except in Rmb proper, we find a striking polyonymy: Wr, Kp, Ms raq, Ri, Békék koa, Wng koa, Nanga-Numba koa, and Mbago. There are reasons to suppose that these names, as M lai itself, were originally dissimulative; see Map 17 with inset.

(e) The M name for the loin-cloth, tarip or tarik, is very interesting. I suppose that the word was introduced by immigrants from one or other dialect area, or by loin-cloth merchants; cp. Sb terape. 84 Sika hoi-tari 'loin-cloth' may have a similar origin; and I should like to investigate whether Lio ta 'loin-cloth' can be related to the Mk tae, Artoecarpus elasticus.

5.10.2 Witu a lost grass name in Manggarai

For a long time I was puzzled by the word witu in the geographical names Liang Witu in NR, Purang Witu in To, and Wervitu in L, meaning respectively 'the witu cave', the 'witu forest' and possibly via wa-witu 'witu river'. But then in Ng and Endé I found witu meaning "Saecharum spontaneum (grass)", in ESumba witu (witu, wuwu, wuwu) and in Sawu witu meaning (Sw probably) 'alang-alang grass', Imperata cylindrica, whereas in Dawan: Eban in WTimor I came upon witu for the grass Oplis menus sp. . I think that we can regard witu as a lost M plant name, but also as a NTT word; see Map 22.

5.10.3 The wild fruit tree Spondias malagana (6.130 ) is known in western Manggarai and Komodo under the conditionally identical names of W leseng, Kmd lesein, and Mw lese. Besides, we have also the village names "Lesem" in Pa and in western Riung, and "Lecem" in Cibal. Though people in Cibal and Riung whom I asked were not acquainted with the tree, and did not know the meaning of lesem and lesem, it cannot be doubted that once this name was used in these areas at the time when the tree still existed there. 85

5.10.4 PMP *kusu, a polysemic name

In Manggarai an old cultigen, the Italian millet, Setaria italic a (6.125b.), is called hoso with the conditional forms husu, hosu, husu, hosu and gusu, in Ndao wiu, in Sw wiu. According to regular sound-shift, the word reads in Rmb and Wng kusu, in Rj, Wue, Ng kusu, in ESumba wiu, in Membro wiu (kadita), in which areas it means "rice"; see Map 18.

In Malay (Wilkinson 630) we find kuau-kuau for the aromatic grass (forming large tufts FJ 3: 603) Vetiveria odorata (= sisanoide). The name "cuscus"-grass should not confuse us, because Wilkinson gives further from old texts berbau-kuau "(of people) in little knots or groups" Heyne, 180 cites Menado Malay kuau-kuau lalaki for the grass "Andropogon amboinensis" = Sorghum nitidum (FJ 3: 601 "tufted grass") and Heyne, 154 mentions from the NHalm languages Pagu and Ternate kuau, Tidore kuau-kuau (and the possibly related Galela nguau, Lodg nguswum, Tobelo, Modole nguwhum; in Shal: Makian kusu, and in "Timor" (1.C.153) the strangely similar metathesized (?) humuau; of all of them meaning Imperata spp.. The originality of the NHalm names is reinforced by Ternate (Heyne 100) kusau ma jungtutu for ?Aepiuniun nidus (with long relatively narrow leaves) and (1.C.510) kusau ma raka for the terrestrial orchid Spagthoglossa pilaca with (FJ 3: 332) "narrowly lanceolate leaves".

The regular representative gosu in Sika, which is used for the common yam Dioscorea alata is certainly very queer, but I think that the etymological identity can hardly be called into question.

Only by further investigations in MP languages can suggestions about the original meaning of *kuau emerge. Whichever that plant was, the name is clearly MP.

5.11 Plant names and place names

A glance at the map shows that in Indonesian toponymy plants play a considerable role. Often I heard missionaries in Flores making remarks about plant names also being village names. The import of this usage however is not easy to demonstrate. Therefore it may be useful to give a view of this phenomenon in the restricted area of Manggarai proper. The phenomenon is striking enough, as at a rough estimate there are some 50 villages and hamlets which are named Paw, 'Mango' (6.84), some 20 are named Wao (5.9.1, 6.68) and as many again are called kalo, Brythrina orientalis.

In the Dictionary of Manggarai Plant Names, Mr Ros and I myself found some 200 plant names that are names of villages. In April 1983, together with a group of pupils of the primary school in Semang (SH), I checked the phytonyms of the neighbourhood. Within an hour I could add 20 new names to the above list. Judging from this, I surmise that by further research in some other localities in Manggarai we shall easily come to a total of 300 such village and place names. 86 Toponymic indications of (old) gardens, places, hamlets and specific points
Map 19. Proto Flores - Sumba etyma

- PFS *kaga; Tamarindus indica; 6.133 (b)
- PFS *(pa) nétang; Anamirta cocculus; 6.11 (b)
- PFS *u(j)di; Mucuna pr. var. pruriens; 6.93
- PFS *(ka)bota; Amorphophallus campanulatus; 6.10B
are very widespread in Manggarai, and in my opinion, much like the network of toponyms in rural areas, for example, in Holland. Accurate and distinctive indications are required in this very broken ground with its inconspicuous paths hidden under a camouflage of brushwood. Therefore the conspicuousness in some respect of the marking plant is an essential feature. Among the 220 plants that I named above, some 200 are trees or conspicuous plants such as wangkung, the majestic white-flowering Asiatic Lily Crinum asiaticum. A certain tree can be conspicuous because of its local rarity, its height or a certain deformity or peculiarity which is then expressed by a suitable determinant. So a spot in the shrub-covered plain of Dampék near the coast of Lamba-Lédã was indicated as Sambi-Onok, 'Overhanging Sambi-(tree)' (6.122), more accurately: 'The Sambi-(tree) which could only be passed by stoning'. A certain point on the highroad near Gapong was called Lalé-Tompok, 'Truncate Lalé-(tree)'. The precision was necessary since many lâlé trees (5.10.1) were found in the neighbourhood.

When founding a village people often adopted the place name, which may have been a plant name, as the name of the village. If these names remained compounds, as was often the case, a part of the name was dropped when it came in frequent use. Such an evolution I was able to observe for myself many times. Near the above mentioned Sambi-Onok some cottages were built in the early forties. After some ten years the inhabitants moved to a neighbouring hill, taking with them the name of Sambi-Onok. Now the populous village is called just "Sambi". Also in the forties a small village, some 5 km. away from Reo, was founded at a place called Ramé-Kadung, 'Numerous-Jatropha (4.10) shrubs'; by now its name is merely Kadung. In the thirties a Chinese near Pagal had a lease-hold garden called Béa-Leba, the Leba-plain (leba 'Phaseolus lunatus bean'). After the expiration of the contract, people from Kuwu settled in Béa-Leba. The place grew, and now it is only known as Leba.

Dutch colonial officials urged the petty feudal chiefs (dalu's) to descend from their hills to settle down in somewhat extensive valleys or small plains in order to found a governmental centre for the area. So Lengko-Ajjang, 'Ajjang (Joona ciliaria) Valley' was founded; now it is called just Ajjang.87 Similar dropping of geographical marks, like golo 'hill', letong 'dune lake', nanga 'river-mouth' have already taken place, e.g. Golo Damèr > Damèr in the list below.

I happened to meet with a remarkable example of phonymy on the map by Fr. G. Mittermeier of the parish in Dampék on the coast of Lamba-Lédã. Within a semi-circle with a radius of about five km the following place names were given (plant names underlined): Waso, Ruting, Bina'an (name given by foreign seamen), Golo (hill'). Maki, Letong ('dune lake') Lui, Mbjar, Larak, Pyrang ('pond') Kamba, Damèr, Keòr, Wae ('water') Ciu, Sonot, Sambi, Golo Kukung, Nanga ('river mouth') Lirang, Nanga Pede, Dampék, Dopo Liana, Ntagur and Golo Ara, which is the market place. So out of 20 place names 13 are or contain plant names, of which 11 are tree names, and one a high pandanus.

Recollecting, we may say that probably most single-word place names were originally compounds.88

5.12 Plant names in the Komodo language

5.12.1 Komodo is situated between the islands of Sumbawa and Flores and had (in 1978) some 600 original inhabitants. The people's language must be regarded as a member of the MA group (Verheijen 1982, 40 ff.). From historical sources we know that in the last three centuries the economic and political influence of Bima was very great, and that the whole population lived for some time in Bima around 1840 (o.c. 3). During the 18th and 19th century many Manggarai individuals (were) moved to the island, and a number of chance immigrants from different places, e.g. Sumba, Endé, Solor, Ambon, Bugis, and also Bajos, settled there. The people's history is reflected in its language and also in its plant names.

5.12.2 I published a list of Komodo plant names (o.c. 234 ff.) which was augmented by results of a collection made in 1981. Those approximately 200 names can be divided into the following groups that are mutually exclusive:

(a) Some 35 names belong to Original Indonesia,

(b) Komodo has some 55 names in common with Manggarai. It is, as it seems, impossible to distinguish originally common forms from forms that have been borrowed from Manggarai immigrants, except when Kmd r contrasting to M s as a reflex of PAN *d, *d, *j is involved. Among these names almost all refer to edible wild plants, many of which were of eminent importance during times of famine, e.g. the sowang-palm (6.35), the tubers sêwu (6.45) and raqo (5.4), mahth 'beel-fruit', Agele marmalos, sawé 'spinach', Amaranthus sp., lâtãng 'Uvaria sp. (6.140) and angkor (6.40). Tété 'batatas' is also found in Sumba katétè (4.9)

A few Kmd plant names which are certainly cognate to M show a semantic shift, such as

M lembur 'Cassia fistula' - Kmd lembu 'Albista procera','
M wajur 'Ps. roxburghianum diversifolium' - Kmd wajuh 'Melanoleuca multiflansuloga'; whereas M wajur is called wajuh lawé;
(c) Some 26 names are direct loans from Bimanese. Among them are all the cultivated fruit plants such as Amona muricata and A. aquososa, 'the soursop' and 'sweet-sop', the breadfruit (4.3), the jackfruit (4.4) the papaya (4.6), the watermelon (4.8), the small tomato (4.11), and possibly the banana. The banana's name kaló (6.95), may originally have had its counterpart in Sumba. The only exceptions are MP niku 'coconut' and Kmd gerog 'citrus'. Among the remaining names are those of a few species with good wood, others medically useful, others again used for making utensils, torch oil or fish-poison, for dyeing purposes and for condiments. I found only one wild plant, the conspicuous shrub, koré (6.26) among the Bm loans.

(d) Among some 65 names I could not find any cognates. Most of them are apparently specific Kmd words. A few of them, however, are loans, like the names of manifestly introduced plants, such as boka 'sorghum' (4.17), bojo 'cassava' (3.6), kondang 'musk melon' (4.8), mbatung 'maize' (4.18) and baruné 'chilli' (4.5), but I cannot locate their origin or identify their source language(s).

(e) Some 20 names are noted twice (with epitheta) or are questionable in one way or another.
Chapter Six

AN ANNOTATED LIST OF AUSTRONESIAN PLANT ETYMA

6.0 Prefatory notes

6.0.1 General remarks

I have long wanted to compare plant names in Indonesia in order to form an idea of the plants that were known by the Malay-Polynesian forbear. A first impulse toward this objective was given in my Manggarai dictionary. Such a study was all the more attractive since comparative material on phytonymy in AN contrasts sharply with Indo-European, as well by its abundance as by its etymological lucidity.

I almost always start from Manggarai, a few times from MA and very rarely from another BS language. In doing so I have the good luck of Manggarai being such a fine language for word comparison. I called it already (Verheijen, 1967, IX) a very apt "kritieren sprache" because it preserved the AN *e, possesses the rare PM *c (= PAN *s), by which borrowed s’s are easily discerned, and the rare reflex PM *s for PAN *d, *d, and *t. Besides these there are found, together with other MA languages, some ten reflexes of final PAN consonants. Therefore Manggarai can function as an etymological pivot among the other BS languages.

In PBS I do not discern *r and *R using only *r, and in the subgroups from PBS downward I make use of *c (PAN *s), and *g for the PBS glottal stop. I have tried to use Blust’s (1982) phonological orthography and also his system of grouping, together with its codes.

In assuming semantical connection between seemingly cognate plant names, I based my decision on devices of phytonymy which I pointed out in the Chapters 2-5 of this article. However, I have discovered that etymologically identical plant names in nearby languages or dialects happen to be used for wholly different plants. Instances are mentioned under 6.25(b) concerning M *nqur; 6.137 concerning Si *oqj; 5.10.4 concerning Si *qjhu, and for modern times e.g. mrd*k, 2.3.2(b).

If not handled very critically, undetermined plant names may become a source of errors.

6.0.2 Geographical and other influences

We know that most new languages came into existence by reason of the isolation of a population. Barriers such as high mountains, large rivers, marshes and jungles are well-known. In the AN region especially, the sea functioned as a barrier and gave rise to an unique wealth of linguistic differentiation, the more so when peoples for fear of enemies retreated into a mountainous inland. In such a case the language's evolution was undisturbed, and soundshifts remained pure.

On the other hand, the sea also functioned as a means of connection. By seafaring tribes this barrier was much easier to overcome than was a mountain chain by inland-dwelling peoples. This had the effect of linguistic influences caused by immigrants, colonists and superpowers. Such invasions clearly happened in recent times, but long ago too. Depending on the respective situation, such invasions may have resulted in the forming of a superstratum, a mixture of languages or an all but complete suppression of the invader's tongue. Many maps show such influences.

Where in the BS region petty chiefdoms had no overlord there were often feuds that stopped all forms of communication, among others intermarriage. Even on the small island of Palu'ë (about 10 x 10 km, with 10,000 inhabitants in 1960) I found two dialects belonging to two hostile groups. Such influence may have been at work in the area between Manggarai and Ngadha (Maps 13, 17) and Ngadha and Nagé (Maps 9, 17), at least temporarily.

6.0.3 Phytoecologic circumstances

The spread of certain plants puts limitations to possible comparison. So the famous Diptocarpus species are abundant in western Indonesia, but are missing in eastern Nusa Tenggara and in the Moluccas. Therefore we need not look for Diptocarpus names in eastern Indonesia.

Many plant species are tied to certain altitudinal zones, so that names of mountain trees will not be found in the lowlands. In the same way especially native plants are very sensitive to their proper biotope. For that reason marsh plants will not be found in savannas, nor rheophytes on the strand.

These phytoecologic circumstances cause therefore many gaps in the phytonymic spread. On the other hand, many names of plants grown for commercial purposes may be known far beyond the region in which they grow or originally grew, but in this case the names are probably loanwords.

6.0.4 Limitations of research

In the first place the availability
of well-determined phytonyms is very different in various languages. The multiplicity of dots on the areolegalic maps, as in the Philippines, the Minahasa, some Moluccan islands and in Manggarai, prove the existence of an ample supply of lists and informative dictionaries.

Besides, some cultures have little to do with plants. In the vocabulary of the nomadic coast- and island-dwelling Bajos, I found almost only names of some edible sea-weeds and of trees, bamboos, grasses and vines that are used for house- and boat-building. Furthermore these people know naturally the names of vegetable food products, though they often are not acquainted with the shape of the plants concerned.

Finally, I purposely restricted the geographical field of my research. Comparisons of plant names are only made if the cognate is also found in MA or (rarely) in another BS language. Therefore only a very small part on AN phyto-etyma is represented here.

6.0.5 Areolegalic mapping

In the belief that maps are a very apt means of illustrating surveyably certain linguistic phenomena, and that they sometimes easily suggest the reason for such and such a spread, I did my best to produce some. I wanted to do all the more because in Indonesia very little attention has been paid to that aspect of linguistics.

The usefulness of a map chiefly depends on the amount of and the correctness of its data. For its interpretation the knowledge of the pertinent history is very useful. Also the accuracy of the basic map is important. Especially outside the BS group these conditions are insufficiently fulfilled. We must assume that by closer research the gaps will become smaller, the isoglosses more exact and the inferences more stringent.

6.0.6 The protogroups

MA The Manggarai Group which comprises M (proper) with the narrowly allied FEM, Rmb with Wng, Wr with Rj, Kp, and Komodo; cp. the Manggarai map.

NGL The Ngadha-Lio Group which comprises Rgg, Ng, Kéo, Nagé, Endé, Lio and Palu‘e.

WF The West-Flores Group which contains MA and NGL languages.

FL Flores is for the time being regarded as a geographical complex which contains WF, Sika and the Solor languages.

BS The Bima-Sumba group (in the sense of Jonker) which comprises the Sanggar, Bm with Kolo, WF, Sumba and Sw with Ndao languages.

NTT Nusa Tenggara Timur. The geographical complex which covers the province of the eastern Lesser Sunda Is.

6.0.7 Etyma in alphabetical order

(Prenasals and initial AN *q are here ignored alphabetically)

<p>| PWF  | *qajeq  | 6.4 | Acronychia trifoliata |
| PWF  | *qa(g)go | 6.132 (b) | Sterculia oblongata |
| PMP  | *a(g)kur (Verh.) | 6.40 (a) | Cyca (rumphii) |
| PAN  | *ameCl | 6.129 | Solanum &quot;nigrum&quot; |
| PMP  | *qampelas | 6.60 (a) | Picus wassa, F. amelas |
| PMP  | *qanasaw | 6.14 (a) | Arenga pinnata |
| PMP  | *qanilaw | 6.65B | Grewia spp. |
| PMP  | *anunj | 6.106 | Pisonia umbelliflora |
| PAN  | *qanunaq | 6.34 (a) | Cordia dichotoma |
| PMP  | *(g)laRa (Verh.) | 6.59 | Picus variegata etc. |
| PMP  | *arSuSu | 6.109 | Podocarpus imbricatus |
| PMP  | *qatimun | 6.37 | Cucumis sativus |
| PMP  | *qauR | 6.16 | Bambuseae |
| PMA  | *azoj | 6.56 (a) | Entada phaseoloides |
| PAN  | *baCad | 6.125 (d) | Setiaria italicca etc. |
| PFL  | *baik/bail | 6.5 | Albizia chinensis |
| PMP  | *bakaw | 6.116 | Rhizophoraceae etc. |
| PMP  | *bakvoq | 6.36 | Crinum asiaticum |
| PAN  | *banaR | 6.127 | Smilax spp. |
| PMP  | *baRu | 6.68 | Hibiscus tiliaeus |
| PMP  | *bayuR | 6.114 | Pterodermum diversifolium |
| PAN  | *beCeq | 6.125 (a) | Setaria italicca |
| PNTT | *bês(i)l | 6.40 (b) | Cucumis rumphii |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PMP *belaq</td>
<td>6.121</td>
<td>Schizostachyum brachycladum</td>
<td>PMP *kalumpaq</td>
<td>6.131</td>
<td>Sterculia foetida</td>
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<td>PMPG *bera</td>
<td>6.43</td>
<td>Dendrocalamus asper</td>
<td>PMP *kamuniq</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>Murraya paniculata</td>
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<td>6.75</td>
<td>Kleinovia hospita</td>
<td>PMP *kamuniq</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>Murraya paniculata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *bintaq</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>Calophyllum archipelagi</td>
<td>PMS *ke(m)bo</td>
<td>6.91</td>
<td>Morinda asperum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *bintag</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>Calophyllum (inophyllum)</td>
<td>PMS *kegi</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>Canarium asperum</td>
</tr>
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<td>PMP *bitaq</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>Corypha utan</td>
<td>PMP *kenbal</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>Cordia dichotoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *bitalq</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>Sterculia foetida</td>
<td>PMP *kenbal</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>Cordia dichotoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *buluq</td>
<td>6.120</td>
<td>Schizostachyum blumi</td>
<td>PMP *ketaq</td>
<td>6.107</td>
<td>Planchonella obovata</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMP *bunut</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>Colona scabra</td>
<td>PMP *kilaq</td>
<td>6.49</td>
<td>Dioscorea sarasinii</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMP *mbute</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>Datura metel</td>
<td>PMP *kole'</td>
<td>6.26</td>
<td>Calotropis gigantea</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMP *bqaq</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td>Areca catechu</td>
<td>PCMP *koli</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>Borassus sudaicus</td>
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<td>PMP *buqul</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>Gmelina elliptica</td>
<td>PMP *kuar</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>Flagellaria indica</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMP *buney</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>Antidesma bunius</td>
<td>PMP *(k)u(j)d u (?)</td>
<td>6.80</td>
<td>Litsea spp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMP *gawat</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>Bidens sp.</td>
<td>PMP *kuqun</td>
<td>6.123</td>
<td>Schoutenia ovata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *cekur</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>Kaempferia galanga</td>
<td>PMP *kuli see *kolé</td>
<td>6.15B</td>
<td>Artocarpus altilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMA *gi(m)par</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>Misochocarpus sundaeicus</td>
<td>PMP *kuffij</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>Curcuma viridiflora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFL *gumu</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Allium cepa var. ascalonicum</td>
<td>PMP *kusu</td>
<td>6.125</td>
<td>Setaria italicata etc.</td>
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<td>PMA *gowaq</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>Corypha utan</td>
<td>PMP *lanti (?)</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>Homalanthus fastuosus</td>
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<td>PMS *daq</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Albizia procera</td>
<td>PMP *laqia</td>
<td>6.146</td>
<td>Zingiber officinale</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMP *damaq</td>
<td>6.105</td>
<td>Pipturus argenteus</td>
<td>PMP *-lasi</td>
<td>6.96</td>
<td>Ocimum basilicum</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMS *daqar</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>Kleinovia hospita</td>
<td>PMP *le(m)bure</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>Cassia fistula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *daq</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>Dracontomelum edule</td>
<td>PFL *legem</td>
<td>6.130</td>
<td>Spondias malagana</td>
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<td>PMP *deRug</td>
<td>6.138</td>
<td>Trema orientalis</td>
<td>PFL *ledu</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>Homalium tomentosum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *ditaq</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Alstonia scholaris</td>
<td>PNTT *léké</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>Entada phaseoloides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *duduk, nDuduk</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>Melastoma polyanthum</td>
<td>PNTT *léké(m)</td>
<td>6.140</td>
<td>Uvaria sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNT *dupo'</td>
<td>6.104B</td>
<td>Pilostigma malabaricum</td>
<td>PWF *le(l)uq (?)</td>
<td>6.104A</td>
<td>Phragmites karka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *eneq</td>
<td>6.103</td>
<td>Peltobium pterocarpum</td>
<td>PMP *lega</td>
<td>6.124</td>
<td>Sesamum orientale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMP *empak</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>Euodia sp.</td>
<td>PMP *lipay</td>
<td>6.93</td>
<td>Mucuna pruriens var. utilis</td>
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<tr>
<td>PWF *gakag</td>
<td>6.98B</td>
<td>Pagiantha sp</td>
<td>PFL *leoi</td>
<td>6.10A</td>
<td>Alstonia spectabilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWF *garit</td>
<td>6.117</td>
<td>Rhus taintensis</td>
<td>PWF *lo</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>Ensete glaucum</td>
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<td>PWF *gilaq</td>
<td>6.111</td>
<td>Portulaca oleracea</td>
<td>PMP *-lubu (Verh.)</td>
<td>6.115</td>
<td>Pterygota alata</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMS *(q)godo</td>
<td>6.48</td>
<td>Dioscorea pentaphylla, Tacca sp</td>
<td>PFL *(l)u(j)d a(y)</td>
<td>6.22</td>
<td>Cajanus cajan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| PWF *goze(nq) | 6.2 | Abrus precatorius | PAN *lukuc | 6.54  | Drynaria and other epi-
| PWF *guruq | 6.62A | Gigantochloa apus | PWF *mahit, PS *ma(q)git | 6.20 | pongyths |
| PMA *helas | 6.17  | Benincasa hispida  | PMA *makiq | 6.133 | Borassus sundaeicus |
| PMP *gipil | 6.73  | Intsia bijuga  | PMP *mali | 6.78  | Tamarindus indica |
| PMS *(ka)bot | 6.60B | Amorphophallus sp. | PWF *marka | 6.11 | Leea (rubra) |
| PMP *kaq | 6.29A | Ceiba pentandra  | PMP *mezaq | 6.126 | Pometia pinnata |
| PMS *kaga | 6.133 | Tamarindus indica | PMA *meraq | 6.87  | Setaria palmifolia |
| PBS *kala (?) | 6.95B | Musa paradisiaca | PWF *mi(n)duq see *ni(n)t uq | 6.95 | Melia azedarach |
| PBS *kalo (?) | 6.92B | Musa paradisiaca | PCMP *koli | 6.20 | Borassus sundaeicus |

43
Lagerstroemia (flos-reginae) 6.143
Celtis 6.58 (b)
PPL *Runu(s) 6.143
PWF *runen 6.143
Ficus
benjamina
PMP *sambii 6.122
Schleichera
oleosa
PMP *se(jdD)se(jD) 6.41
Cyperaceae and
Gramineae
PMP *sepaq 6.21
Caesalpinia
sappan
PMP *siabu (?) (Verh.) 6.45
Dioscorea
aculeata
PBS *siabu (?) (Verh.) 6.45
Gnetum
(gnemon)
PMP *suak 6.64 (a)
Flagellaria
indica
PMP *Suar 6.61
Dioscorea
esculenta
PMP *suku 6.64 (b)
Gnetum
(gnemon)
PMP *sulim (Verh.) 6.66
Helicia spp.
PMA *sulim (Verh.) 6.66
Dioscorea
esculenta
PBS *ta(n)day (?) 6.47 (b)
PBS *talasis 6.134
Terminalia
catappa
PMP *taniag 6.120 (b)
Schizostachyum
blumii
PMP *taRum 6.72
Indigofera spp.
PAN *tebuS 6.118
Saccharum
officinarum
PMP *tenu 6.88
Melochia
umbellata
PMP *tegeR 6.30
Ceriosp and
other spp.
PMP *terep 6.156
Artocarpus
elasticus
PWF *teToq (?) 6.92 (b)
Mucuna
pruriens var.
pruriens
PMP *tigi (?) (Verh.) 6.141
Vaccinium spp.,
PWF *tigi (?) (Verh.) 6.141
Pephes
acidula
PMP *tuba 6.44
Derris spp.,
PMP *tui 6.51
Croton tiglium
Dolichandrone
spathacea
P"Timor" *turi( ) 6.22 (b)
P"Timor" *turi( ) 6.22 (b)
PBS *turu 6.128
Cajanus cajan
PBS *twak 6.14 (b)
Solanum
melongena
Arenga
pinnata
PMP *quay 6.23
Calamus spp.
PMP *qubi 6.46
Dioscorea
alata
PMS *u(jd)i (?) 6.92 (a)
Mucuna
pruriens var.
pruriens
PBS *u(jd)i (?) 6.92 (a)
Timonius timon
PFL *uper 6.136
Themeda
(villosa)
PMA *wakas 6.135
PENNg *wakos lih wakas
PMP *wakas 6.101
PMP *wakos lih wakas
PBS *wuqi 6.97
Pandanus sp.
PBS *wuqi 6.97
Paederia
scandens
PBS *welu 6.67
Aleurites
moluccana
PCMP *witu (Verh.) 6.119
Saccharum
spontaneum,
grasses
PMP *zalateq 6.77
Laportea and
Dendrocnide
sp.
6.1 Abelmoschus moschatus - PWF *gawunj, *

This small shrub has shaving hairs.
The root is used as medicine. We find the
forms: Pacar in M ngawunj, CM, WM ngawunj,
Rgg, Ng I, Nagé ngawun, EM, FEM, Rmb nawan,
Wng nzung, Ng II, Wr, Endé, Lio, Si nawan.
Map 10.

6.2 Abrus precatorius - PWF *goze(nq)

This vine bears pods with the well-
known coral-red beads which have a shining
black spot, and are used as ornaments
(5.8.7): M nggojeng, Ng goze.

6.3 Acorus calamus - PMP *Zariqaw

According to Burkitt, the sweet flag
was introduced into the Malaysian Archi-
pelago in very early times. In Indonesia
it is known as a medicine, and is much
used. I found it planted near a house in
Sumba, and traded on the market in Endé.
Dempwolff established already a PIN
eyton. I mention only M jëngok, Bm
ndangé and Labuanbajo Bj jaringau which
forms in my opinion show irregularities;
usually Bj drops *-R-, but M not.

6.4 Acronychia trifoliata - PWF *gajen

The bark of this tree is used for
poisoning fish, and its latex for fasten-
ing the blade in the hilt. M aseng, WM
hasenj, Kéo ao, Ng aro-pa (6.57) point
to the tree.

As is the case in many languages, the
word has also the meaning of "charcoal";
Verheijen 1967 s.v. aseng; Bm megé hadi
'coal-black' and Roti kadak, adeq, whose
PMP etymon Dempwolff established.

6.5 Albizia chinensis - PFL *bairk/
*bail (?)

The names of this well-known tree
are rather divergent in view of the limited
area. The initial changes of w, f and k
are also found in 5.9.2 and 6.7.2* It is
difficult to reduce the different names
to a single etymon. The forms are: M,
FEM I wàké, Rmb, Wangka fåkëk, Wr, Kp, Rj
kad; FEM II: Lengko-Sambi, Nanga-Numba
wail, Mulu fail; Mbaí, Rongga, Ng, Ed,
Lio fai; Slr kabaé.

6.6 Albizia procera - PBS *dwag

The stem of this tree is sought after
for houseposts. The common name is not
represented in M proper; in other dialects
we find PEM, Térong dalu, Rmb, Wng dalq,
Rgg ndalu, Ng dalu, Bm ndaru; cp. Endé,
Lio lanu.

6.7 Aleurites moluccana - PBS *welu

The candle-nut tree36 is a native of
the Indonesian Archipelago; probably of
the eastern part. The names are the fol-
lowing: M, PEM welu, Rmb, Wng, Rgg, Ng I
felu, Wr, Kp, Rj kelu, Ng II, Mundé, Ed,
Lio féo, Bm kawul, kawul, Sw pelu, Daran fënu (fënoo); (PWSeran ilu). I know
no other instances of the dropping of -l-
in the NgL languages; as to w, f, k
initials see Note 92.

I would like to mention that Platea
excelsia is also named M (haju) welu, prob-
ably because of the resemblance of the
leaves of both, and that a Batak name of
Platea is balunun; Map 22.

6.8 Allium cepa var. ascalonicum - PFL
*gomu

On account of the /c/ in M gomu this
onion must be a very old cultigen; Rmb,
Wng swmu, PEM, Wué, Mundé, Ng I, Lio and
Si somu. The Si form somu, not: homu,
points to a later introduction into that
language (in contrast to Si klahi = M
laot in 6.96).33

6.9 Alstonia scholaris - PMP *ditaq

This tree is found from Ceylon to
Australia, in the Philippines and the
Solomon Is. Its bitter bark is used as
a tonic against intestinal troubles and
skin diseases.

Certainly not all the following
forms, especially the Celebes ones, are
regular representatives of ditaq, but
their interdependence and the original
form ditaq are certain. In the NTV is-
lands I gathered the following names: M,
PEM sita, SH hita, Ng I, Ed, Lio jita,
sita, Rgg, Ng II, Kéo, Si, Slr, Sb I, Mk,
AMB rita, Rmb, Kp, Wr ritaq, Bb (ka-)
rita (Kodi ritya), Tt ritan, Bm rita, Sw
ghedit; cp. Verheijen 1967 s.v. sita.34

6.10 Alstonia spectabilis - PFL *loi

This tree of the areas below 500
metres yields a fine kind of wood. The
common name is limited to the very west-
ern part of Flores with an occasional
occurrence in east Flores: M, Békék, Ri,
Tana-Al ihot/lot, Mbaí kaloL. M II, Rmb I
(conditioned) lúi, Rj, T.-Wolo, L.-Sambi,
N.-Numba, Wúé, Térong, Wr koL, Rmb II,
Wng kut; Rgg, Mundé, Téda-Mudé hoL. Since
the form hoL in languages contiguous to
the MA area is clearly not a borrowing,
the indication "WF" seems to be justifiable
(cp. the sound-shift laci-lasi-kaai-haai under 6.96). The occurrence of lohi in Tana-Al (Sika) is certainly original, and makes the PPL etymology most probable; cp. however Si lohqi.

6.10B Amorphophallus ?campanulatus - PMS *(ka)bota

After having been prepared, the tubers were eaten. The distribution in a small part of inland M can hardly be ascribed to borrowing. I noted M: Lelek, Wélok, Kolang bota; Sb: Lauli, Kodi, Loura, Tana-Righu kabota; Map 19.

6.11 Anamirta cocculus

In Flores and Sumba this vine, that produces the well-known fish-poison, the Indian Berries, has two types of cognate names:

(a) PMA *nol or *lon

M nol, FEM, Rmb, Wr I, Kp, Rj lor; MbaI lor (conditional -r), Wélo, Wng lon; Tana-Wolo lo; see 5.7.1(b).

(b) PBS *nétaq

Rindi paniatang, Karéra panétang, Kmb panétang, Lauli, Loura, Kodi panétá, alongside of Rgg, Ng, Lio neta, Nagé: Mundé (komba) neta form an example of the special link between Sumba and Flores languages; Map 19.

6.12 Antidesma bunius - PMP *buñey

The tasty berries of this tree are well-known. Demppolff established PN *buni, and Blust PWMP *buñey. I myself had thought of an infix *ñ, I noted the following forms: Amb, M wuñé, Bm wañoré, Bali wuñi, boni, M I buñi, Mk, Bq buñé, Roti puñé, Wng banañ, bonñi, bónñi, Sd hunji; Ml II boroñ, Md boroñ, Bis I boroñ-(gubat), Tmg, Bis I, Zamb bigné, Pmp bigné, Ibañ, Bontok I, Ilokò, Hillig, Cebu bigné, Bontok II, Ifugao bigné, ?bundést.

6.13 Areca catheau (sic!)

Some names of the betel-palm supply us with an interesting pattern of rather divergent but, possibly, cognate forms:

(a) ?PMP (7)

M wuñé, Sb wini, Sw wélon; Nias fino; Simalur dial. boni. "Banyak Is." (north of Simalur) bongi. See also 6.79.

(b) PMP *buqág

It seems that besides a primary PAN *buqág 'fruit', we have to assume a secondary PMP *buqág 'areca palm'; see 5.5, p. 25.

6.14 Arenga pinnata (syn. A. saccharifera)

This toddy and sago yielding palm is known throughout the Archipelago, but it goes by many names.

(a) Most widely spread are the cognates of Ml enau; I mention only Sb, Kmd, Bm nao.

(b) PCMP *tuwak

Cognates of Malay tuwak (for the drink) are: MÁ tuak, Ng I, Nagé tua. By Sawu, Ndao dué, Roti, "Timor" tua, tuaq, the lontarpalm is meant (6.20); cp. Demppolff IN *tuwak 'alcoholic drink'.

6.15A Artocarpus elasticus - PMP *teReP

See 5.10.1; Blust gives PWMP; Map 17.

6.15B Artocarpus altillis (A. comnunis) - ?PMP *kulu(rR)

The correctness of this etymology is doubtful. Phytogeographic research concludes that the breadfruit is a native of eastern Indonesia or thereabouts, and is certainly an imported tree in western Indonesia and in Polynesia. Its names in the latter areas must be regarded as borrowings, with eventually conditionally shifted forms; cp. 4.3.95

6.16 Bambuseae - PMP *gauR

The cognates of aur are used for different kinds of bamboo, sometimes it has a generic function. In the BS area we find Bm oggo, Kmd hauel, hau, M, Si aur, Ng, Lio, Kmb aw; in New Ireland: Gunantuna kaur, Pala kor; cp. for other Bambuseae 6.43, 6.62, 6.120, 6.121.

6.17 Benincasa hispida - PMA *helas

According to Burkill, this kind of gourd is a native of "Malaysia". I find only the cognate names CM helas; EM (conditional) ghelas, WM kelas, SH kelak, Kmd kalaq and Bm hala.96 The Bm form is possibly a borrowing from Manggarai. Map 16 illustrates how homonymy with helas 'Cyperaceae' is locally avoided. The identical or homoeonymous names are probably based on the common connotation of "sharp", "prickly", "abrasive". Benincasa and (these) Cyperaceae have prickly stems, pelas, Ficus ampelas, has abrasive leaves.

6.18 Bidens sp. - PWF *gawat

This herb whose needle-like seeds attach themselves to people's clothes has the following names: M, FEM I ogawat, Rmb, Wng, FEM II sawat, MbaI sawak; Rgg, Ng, Nagé, Kea sava, Ed, Lio mura-sava, mersawa. It is edible.
6.19 Bombax ceiba (syn. Salmalia, Gossampinus) - PBS *reue( )

This large tree is used for several purposes, among others for easily made, but not very durable, canoes. Bm ringi, WSB rongo, ESB ranga, M: C, Ba rengi, Ml Kupang kapok katingi.

6.20 Borassus  australis

By reason of the many names for the palmyra palm in western Indonesia, as J, Bl, Ss tal, Mk, Bq talaq, CM tal, WM, SH, EM, FEM, Rmb taqal, Kmd tah, Bm tafa, which are cognate to sanskriti tāl, scholars once assumed that this palm was introduced by the Hindus into Malesia. However, Beccari's establishing of a native species *sundaeus*, though only slightly different from *flabellifer*, has long been (Bakhuisen V.d. Brink, 25) accepted. The original occurrence of this (sub)species is reinforced by linguistic evidence; Map 21.

6.23 Calamus spp. - PMP *quay

The MP origin of the chief names for rattan was already established by Kern. Some representatives from NTT area are: Slr wua, wua, Lio, Ng, Nagé wa, EM, FEM, Rmb, Kp, Rj wua, Wr war (with "an-organic" -s and -r, probably to avoid homonymy with *wua* 'fruit'), Kmd we, Bj buat; in Sumba Rindi, Kmb iwi, Mangilili, Karrere wi, Membero wai, Lauli, Loula wi, Kori ughé (cp. in 6.46 the short u (i) and i (i) in wi 'Dioscorea hipotica'). The Flores and Sumatra forms suggest the presence of a *w* or *b* in the PBS etymology.

6.24 Calamus sp. - PMP *naqa (?)

Another large form of rattan is called M nanga, of which Bg ananga is probably a cognate; Ml wai nanga is probably not related to these.

6.25 Calophyllum archipelagi

(a) PMP *bintagur

This Calophyllum, an inland species, is found in M up to 900 m above sea-level. The bark is used for making rice-containers. In Dengé To and Matawá it is named *ntorang*, which is certainly a reflex of *bintagur*, but which elsewhere points to the shore species *C. inophyllum* or to the coastal - in wild state up to 100 m - *C. soulatri* (syn. *C. spectabile*) Bm bintango. In M the original name for *C. inophyllum* was superseded by *pandur*; see 4.10, 5.5, 5.8.2. Blust 1980, no. 67 gives FWMP.

Throughout M the name *ntorang* (dial. *torang*) is known, in many cases for *C. soulatri*, the bark of which is also used for containers; but other sources of information speak only of the useful wood. Although I do not care much for assuming *ntorang* as a metathesized form of *ntorang*, the possibility is not excluded. The spread of the two names seems to be exclusive.

(b) Calophyllum sp. - PMP *bintagur

Hildebrandt gives for *C. inophyllum*: Bm mantau, and M *taur*, which is unknown to me, but stems possibly from Rgg (a NgL language of the Manggarai civil district) for *C. soulatri* Si ("Maumere") *taor*. I first intended to connect these forms with *Ntagur*, a place name on the coast of Dampek and in inland Sita. However, the plant sample I collected there

6.21 Caesalpinia sappan - PMP *sepaq

This small prickly tree which has medicinal and tinctorial uses is found from India throughout Malesia. Wood and bark were traded to India, China (records of 1200 and 1324 A.D.) and Europe. According to Burkill, 391 its Sanskrit name is *patangga*, and he adds: "It is obvious that the Malay name *sepaq* belongs to the group of *petangga*." Without certain intermediary forms this statement seems to be too bold.

There are several deviations from the PMP *sepaq* such as Jkt, Sa, *seang*, Bali *cang* and Mng *cang*. I noted further the following names in NTT: MA *sepaq*, *sepaq*, Rongga, Ng *sepa*, Si, Tana Ai *hepang*, Sw *hepē* Bm *supa*.

6.22 Cajanus cajan

Burkhill, 394 tells about Cajanus saying that it was an African development which reached India in prehistoric times and was found in Egypt 2000 B.C.

(a) PPL *(1)u(j)da

In view of the names of this "bean-tree" in Flores the plant must be regarded as an old cultigen. Only the Manggarai form has an initial i-: We have the forms M, FEM, (Kp, Rj a loan?) *luas*, Rmb, Mulu *usa*, Ng *ujé*, *uru*, *usé*, Rongga *uré*, Ed, Lio, Slr (Withama) *ura*; Wr has the different form *solang*.

(b) P'Timor *turi( )

Another small group of cognate names is found in the Timor Archipelago: Sw *tori*, Roti *tulis* (etc.), *tturis*, Dawan *tunies*. Bali has the somewhat similar word *undis*.
6.26 Calotropis gigantea

(a) In the BS area the names of this low-lands plant are: M, Rgg, Ng, Lio kóle, Kmb (wangga) kúli, Ed kóre and Bm kóre.

(b) PMP *(rR)embiga (?) (Verh.)

I guess that the name WM, SH mbere- mbéga, has to be regarded as a borrowing;
cp. M1 rembága, Serawak lembéga, Mg. rembigo, Ssk rembiga, Mk, Bg rambéga, Kangean burígha, Bj in Sumbawa buríga.
See also Note 17.

6.27 Canarium asperum - PBS *kégi

The resin of this tree is used for torches and caulking. Its leaves are eaten.
In the BS group the cognates are regular: M kégi, Ng, Ed, Rmb kégi, Sumba: Memboru kást, Wéwéwa kást, Kmb káhi, ?kégi, Loura kéi, Bm héci.

6.28 Cassia fistula - PMP *le(m)bur (Verh.)

The tree has conspicuous long cylindrical pods, whose pulp formerly was used in Europe as a laxative. The pods were an article of commerce. The wood is hard and durable. The form lembur seems to be a good representative cognate among the following names: M, FEM lembur, Rmb, Wng, LSambí kembur, Rongga kembu, Ng I, Téda-Mudé, Nagé hebu, Ng II kebu, T.-Wolo kembu, (Ed dhombo, Lio ndopo.) Kmd lembuh (= Albizia procera, an allied tree which as the Cassia fistula yields houseposts); Md kalobur, klobor; and the variant J klohor, klohor; see Note 110.

6.29A Ceiba pentandra - PMP *kabu

The kapok tree is an old cultigen, native of tropical Asia. Also in our region we find names that are cognate to kabu, such as Rmb, M kawu, Wangka kawu-kawu.

6.29B Celtis tetrandra - PWF *namut

The timber of this small tree is used for making handles and pestles. Its young leaves are eaten.

The MA name is namut; Ende, Lio namu is used for the allied species Ulmus lanceaefolia. The Ng name for Celtis is the variant nomu.

6.30 Ceriops and other spp. - PMP *tegeR

See 5.9.5.

6.31 Cocos nucifera - PMP *niuR

I give only the following BS forms: Rmb niq, M, Rgg, Ng, Kéo, Endé, Lio niq; WSumba niq, niq, ngio, ngou, Bm niq, Kmd niu.

6.32 Coix lacryma-jobi var. ma-yuen - PMP *zelay (?)

After some rethinking it seems to me that a PMP etymon is justifiable. See 4.7.1. Maybe PMP *delay is a variant.

6.33 Colona scabra (kostermanstana) - PMP *bunut (Verh.)

The bark of this tree supplies good fibrous sheets that are used for floor-covering and rice-containers: M wonot. The closely allied Cretia laevigata's bark is used for binding, Toulour, Tansa- wang and Tont wunut, maswunut. Blust's FPMMP M1 bentangur bunut (also bunut alone) is C. soulattri; see 6.25 (a). About the bark's use, however, nothing is mentioned by Burkhill and Heyne.

6.34 Cordia dichotoma

This tree's fruit are used as glue, probably for bird-catching, and its bark is chewed.

(a) PAN *ganunag

In the NTT region I find: Samau (Timor), MA nunang, Rgg nuna, Roti (kai) nunak.

(b) PMP *kenDal (Verh.)

Another group of cognate names is formed by J, Bali kendal, M1 sekendal, Md kendal, Nagé kedá and Ng kedá. This is a rather unexpected distribution. A borrowing by the mountain dwelling people of Ngadha can hardly be assumed. This is an interesting Java - Flores connection; Map 23.

6.35 Corypha utan

The gebang palm is spread from Bengal to the Philippines and the Moluccas. In the latter area its leaves are used for making strings, mats, hats and baskets; it yields toddy (and sugar). In the BS region the most important use may have been the making of sago from its pith in times of famine. In this respect it is the coastal and much better counterpart of the Arenga pinnata. In the BS area we have two groups of cognate names:

(a) PBS *boraq

CM borong, Wr mborong, Rgg, WSB: Tarimbang, Lau Li, Laua mboro, ESB mburung(u); Ng, Kéo, Ed, Lio, Sw b(h)oro, Nagé boo.
Map 20. Proto FS and BS etyma

- PBS *ke(m)bo; Morinda sp.; 6.91
- PBS *(k)iŋal; Dioscorea sarasinii; 6.49
- PFS *ketaŋ; Planchonella obovata; 6.107
- PFS *(ŋ)godo; Dioscorea sp. or/and Tacca; 6.48
Map 21. Names for *Borassus* *sundaeus* in NTT; 6.20

- maghit, "manggit"
- "koli"
- "tuak"
- "tal"

Map 22. Four cognate names in NTT

- "witu"; 5.10.2
- "welu"; *Aleurites moluccana*; 6.7
- "muku"; *Musa paradisiaca*; 6.95
- "nintap"; *Sterculia oblongata*; 6.132
The other group is formed by WM, FEM; owang, Kmd, SH; Rmb, Kp owang; Ng: Tana-Wolo owang; cp. 5.5 towards the end.

6.36 Crinum asiaticum - PMP *bakuq

The "Asian Lily" is found in SE Asia and Malesia. I found here the following names: M, Rmb wangkung, Wangka, Kg, Wr, Rj, Raong wakung, Mulu wîngko-wangkung, Wuë wîngku-wangkor, Mulu wîngku-wangkong. This suffices to extend PMP to PDM.

6.37 Cucumis sativus - PMP *gatimun, katimun

According to Burkill, 697 the cucumber is certainly no native of any part of Asia further east than India. Possibly it is of African origin. In Egypt it existed already in the XIIth dynasty (1900 B.C.), and in China it is mentioned in the 6th century A.D. Rmb timun at the side of M timung points to a relatively great age of the name in MA.

6.38 Curcuma viridiﬂora - PMP *kuńij

According to Burkill, the turmeric, Curcuma viridiﬂora (syn. C. domestica and C. longa), is of SE Asian origin, but nowhere it is found in a wild i.e. fruiting state. It was sought after for dyeing, magical, cosmetic, medicinal and culinary purposes. In a note I give the rather many names I collected in alphabetical order. 101 It seems that Simulur: Selang kondin, Lakon odil, ondil and Nias undre form a group apart.

6.39 Cyathea spp. and other giant ferns - PMP *( )pun( ) (Verh.)

The young leaves of Cyathea are eaten, and this may have been important when collecting food in the forests. According to the sources, we have to do with different kinds of tree ferns and giant ferns, but the semantic relation cannot be doubted. The distribution of the following names is rather interrupted: M, Tont puni, Nagé, Ng I puni (Cyathea sp.), Sangir punting, NSul: Tumbul apunég, Napu apuni, Tondano lampauni, Baré'ê ampuni, Taq puni, (Aleophysia sp.); Bis: Maranao puni (Marattia sp.).

6.40 Cycas rumphii

The cycas is found in the tropical and subtropical Old World. The species C. circinnatis/rumphii, whose pith and fruit were prepared and eaten in times of famine, is met with in tropical parts from East Africa as far east as the Pacific Islands.

(a) PMP *a(ŋ)kur (Verh.)

The form angkor has an interesting distribution: Ruis M, FEM, Md! akor; EM, Rmb akur, M III, Kmd angkor, WM angkur, Tontemboan angkoran, angkoraq, Tompakewa angkora; Map 27

(b) PNTT *bèit (?) Another group of probable cognates is formed by Wr, Rj wëit, Rgg wët, Tetum (and Bunaq, a loan?) bêit, Dawan pé (pmb is conditional).

6.41 Small Cyperaceae and Gramineae - PMP *se(jD)se(jD) (Verh.)

In "Bis" we find sudeud 'Cyperus kyllingia' (syn. Kyllinga monospehala), "a low, tufted grass-like plant" (Merrill), and in Pamp sururn 'Cyperus rotundus', which is also low and grass-like. They seem to me etymologically identical and semantically almost the same as Rmb sese, M sese for small grasses such as Isachne, Oplazemon, Cynodon and Digitaria spp. PM *sese is possibly a dissimilation from a hypothetical *seses, although ses 'cold' exists.

6.42 Datura metel - PBS *mbungéR (?)

In WF and Sb the thorn-apple has the following names: CM, WM, Rgg, Nagé, Lio mbungé, FEM, Térong mbungéng, EM, Rmb, Wng mbungér, Ng, Kéo, Ed bungé, Kmb in Sumba mbunguru.

6.43 Dendrocalamus asper - PMP *betuq

In Flores I noted M betong, Ng, Ed, Lio bheto, Si petung and petun.

6.44 Derris spp. / Croton tiglium - PMP *tuba

In most languages the fish-poison Derris is meant by one of the cognates of tuba, but in M and Ng the form tuwa is used as the name for the fish-poison Croton tiglium. In Bm the form is duwa, which was borrowed in Kmd. Peekel gives New Britain: Gunantuna tuho, New Ireland: Lamekot tufa and tewa.

6.45 Dioscorea aculeata (syn. D. esculenta var. spinosa) - PMP *siabu (?) (Verh.)

In Manggarai this tuber is regarded as the most tasty wild Dioscorea. Granted that the forms given here are real cognates, the distribution of the names
Map 23. PMP etyma I

- PMP *ke(n)Dal; Cordia dichotoma; 6.34
+ PMP *puni; Cyathea etc. spp.; 6.39
* PMP *sulim; Helicia spp.; 6.66
o PMP *(ka)bubuR; Sterculia foetida; 6.131
= PMP *suDa; Dioscorea spp.; 6.47 (a)
is very interesting. WM séô, CM, EM and conditionally: SH, Rmb, Wng, Kp, Wr, Kmd, Ng I séô (see 5.9.6); FEM, Rgg, Ng séô is possibly another tuber; Sw hîwu, and Ñdao sîku are tuberous plants in general; NSul: Bent, Ponasakan, Tonsawang and other dialects sayawu, Tont sayawu, sayapu, Mongdongu sayawu, Sangir sayawu; Ambon dialects: sîkuw, sîkulo, sahwa, Hila I sahu; Forda sayawu 'generic for kinds of yam', WSeran isahu, īsahu, Seran: Amahai sîhurawa, Nusa Laut sâhul, Saporua sîhurawa, Hila II Buru: Masarate sahî, non-AN NHal-mahera: Gallea sahî, Tobolo, Modole, Pa-gu hîhawu, Loda sâhu; Ternate sâhul; see Map 24. Stresemann, 56 gives AMB *sêâu, *sâhut 'Batate'.

6.46 Dioscorea alata - PMP *qubi

It is not absolutely sure that originally by the term uôh the cultivated Dioscorea alata was meant. In Sumba we find in the dialects twî, âtwî, wît and uîthî and in North Tetum uîh as names for the wild D. hispida. It is not unthink-able that the new cultivated tuber was named uî + epitheton, and that then the epitheton fell away afterwards, as has happened in many such cases. An interesting case is the Maranoo doublet aot (= uîh) for our Dioscorea alata and obî for the relatively much younger Ipomoea batatas 'the sweet potato'; see also 4.9.

6.47 Dioscorea esculenta

The tuber of the D. esculenta is the nicest of the (now) cultivated dioecocreae. (a) PMP *suja (Verh.)

Outside M we find a group of cognates, namely: Mulu, Mulu-Motus in FEM, Lio suja. Mondè in Nagê suwa, Rgg, Ng I suwa, Ng II 'sua, Tana Ai, Si hura, Withama (Adonara) huraq, Sw hura. In Lewuka Sir suwa rotan is the name of a wild D. species; in Ng: Jerebu'wsuwa in Nagê: Raja suja mean D. aculeata. De Clercq gives for D. opposi-tifolia; Bl suwa (and irregular J suda, suwa and East J sunda), while in Ssk for the tuber Amorphophallus (6.10.8) sudaq is used;119 Map 23. (b) PBS *ta(n)daw? day? Maybe M and Mbai (FEM) tesô is relat-ed to Kodi Sb tandawo; (cp. 6.92(a) M oô, Sb onôdô, oôdô). Kmb tandai, Bm tandig 'pole'; and Tetum tadê, M (tedê) 'to make plants climb' are reminiscent of this form.

6.48 Dioscorea ?pentaphylla = Tacca sp. - PMS *( )godo

This edible wild dioscarea is in WM named nggo, in WSB: Laului lagôdo, Wewewa, Kodi, Oura langôdo. Since in my collec-tion (no. 3939) Pega palmata with Sb: Karera name langidwu is found, either we made a mistake in our determination, or a semantic shift is involved. Tacca palmata was prepared and eaten; Map 20.

6.49 Dioscorea sasainii - PBS *(k)igal

The D. sasainii is known from Cele-bes and WFlores (Guhardja c.s., 54 "eng-gal"), but the cognate names suggest the plant's occurrence in Sumba as well.102 M, Téron, Riung, Béök, Kp engâl, Rmb, Mulu ingal, Toiring N.-Numba, L.-Sambi, Wng, Wr, Rj kengâl, Rongga kengâ, Sb: Rindi, Wewêwa, Oura engâl, Kmb engâlu, Kdi engolo, Sw: Melolo in Sumba hîwu inga.

6.50 Diplazium and Athyrium spp. - PMP *paku

Many ferns are used as vegetables throughout Indonesia. The (compound- ed) names of many fern-like plants go back to this form. WP paku, ESB pâ-ù, Wewêwa pawu, Oura paghù, Ng: Tana Wolo ('uta) maku. The variant maku 'important' (vegeta-table) is an example of folk etymology.

6.51 Dolichandrone spathacea - PMP *tuî (tuîi)

The name of this tree is widespread. Manggarai, maybe with Bm, seems to be a kind of "outlier" in the centre of its area. The names for the other bignoniaceae Radermachera, mostly with an epitheton, confirm and extend somewhat the spread (see FM 8,144 and 153-157); Bm, M tuî, ntuî;103 Kuti tuî, Kedayan toî, Bj in Brunei toî-tuî, Malacca tuî, tuî; Tag tuî, tuî, toî, toî, Bis tuî, Bmoanga tuî, Bikol tuî, Ambon kati-kati; Nakanai in New Britain latîvu, Boava language in Gazelle Peninsula toî-twîtuî(i); Ugan in New Ireland toî, vati; Habab language in Oranshbari osenber-ty, Wambe language in Holtekang ??) tîî. For Radermachera sp. I find Mng tuî, Belitung tuî batu, Lam-pung kekapong tuî, Tag tuîng hulî; Map 25.

6.52 Donax canaeformis - PCEMP *ninîq

Strips of the small Donax stems are, at least in M, used for plaiting small articles. The distribution shows striking gaps: Rmb ninîq, M, SSeran, Hitu Ambon, a dialect in the Solomon Islands ninî, other Solomon dialects or languages: (ninî,)... faininî, aininî and aînî;104 Map 25.

6.53 Dracontomelum edûle (D. dao) - PMP *daqu

I found the following names of this "wild mango" in Flores: M saqo, Rongga raqo, Ng saqo and jaqo; further in Flora Malesiana: Simalur dao (paço), Sd, Md dahu, Md dao, J rahu, rau, "Minahasa" raqo, Muna raqo, Philippines: Tag, Bikol and Bis dialects daqo; in New Britain: Gununtuna laup,
Map 24. A. Eastern Indonesia
B. PMP *siabu (?); Dioscorea aculeata; 6.45
C. non-AN languages
Map 25. PMP etyma II

- PMP *tiwu (?); Dolichandra sp.; 6.51
- PMP *niniq; Donax cannaeformis; 6.52
- PMP *niti; Wrightia sp.; 6.145
- PMP *lipay; Mucuna pr. ssp. utilis; 6.93
New Ireland: Lametok ra, Pala loh; Madang (MN?) rou; non-AN: Tobelo rou takau, New Guinea: Kwesten (?) arou sau, Amberbaken daa, Sko (Sepik) tou, Tko toun.

6.54 Dryandra sp. and other epiphytic ferns - PAN *lukuC

The names of this epiphytic edible fern are interesting. We find L, S, C in M lukuC,105 in PEM: Riung, Térong lukuC, Toring, Nanga-Numba, Lenqo-Sambi lukuC; Wangka kuku; Tana-Ai, Si kluku; in WSumba: Wówéwa, Loura lukuC. Blust 1980 established *lukuC 'parasitic plant sp.', of which reflexes are found in Formosan AN languages, and semantically safe reflexes in Brunei, Serawak, and in NSulawesi: Mongondou and Uma.

6.55 Ensete (Musa) glaucum - PWF *lozon

For this wild banana I found the following somewhat variant names in WFlores; in M: L, C lojong, Ra, W, Ndo, Ko, Pa iljong; Wt lozon, Lio loko, Ed rofo; Kr bojong, Rmb bozon, Wng, Riung, Raqa, Térong busun, N,-Numba, Mbai, Mulu in PEM II mbuzung, Békék bujung, Téda-Mudé, Mundé buzu, Ng: Tana-Wolo mbuzu. A map configuration would resemble the image of mág/a jía on Map 11.

6.56 Entada phaseoloides

This gigantic (up to 130 m long) liaha with its enormous (up to 1.30 m long) pods and large round seeds is used for many purposes. In several languages the words for "knee-cap" and "gizzard" are derived from the seed's (and plant's) name. So in M ajo: 1. Entada; 2. gizzard; 3. knee-cap.

(a) PMA *azoq

Throughout MA one name is used, in the forms: M, PEM ajo, Wt, Kr ajoq, Rmb azoq, Mulu a'azoq; Ng: Tana-Wolo 'aso.

(b) PTNT *léké( )

Ng, Lio, Si léké (Ng, Lio léké 'Entada', 'gizzard', Lio knee-cap; Si lékéng 'gizzard'); Tetun kaléké.

6.57 Euodia sp. - PMP *empak

In M we find the names mpak and pak in Ng (aro-)pa, Sbw empang, in Mempawah WKalimantan mmpak, in Bali empak (?empaq). From such a name, Rumphius must have named this plant Am-pacus.

6.58 Ficus benjamina and other Ficus spp. -

(a) PMP *nunuk

This well-known fig-tree, the J waringin, has in eastern IN the following names: EM, Rmb: Bolaang (NE Sulawesi), Bilitung, WKalimantan nunuk, Ng, Roti, Dawan, AMB, Fiji (Blust) nuna, "Philippines" nuna, "Bis" nonuk, Tombulu nuknu.

(b) Ficus benjamina PWF *ruten

M ruteng, ruteng, EM riton, Ng ruto, Nagé yuto.

6.59 Ficus variegata

(and other spp.) PMP *(q)aRa (?) (Verh.)

M, Ml, Sd, Md ara, Ng, Lio 'ara, Sangir, Bent aha (ahoa), Palu aqa, Lampung hara, Bengkalis horo, WSumatera aro.

6.60 Ficus wassa, F. amelas

(a) PMP *gampelas

These trees whose coarse leaves were used for polishing purposes have the M name pelas 'polish' and EM, Wt, Kr, Rmb pelan, Ng: Tana-Wolo pela.

(b) PWF *racan

The same F. amelas is also named in M (haju) raacang. The vine Tetraecera scandens with its coarse leaves is called (wacé) raacang. In Régho in the SH area they say "havg raacang latang te pela sorang kepé" 'raacang leaves are used for polishing (teeth, and the) hilt of the machete' etc.; Ng rasa; Fordata raha (?) ; cp. Rmb: Wng rasan 'to whet'.

6.61 Flagellaria indica PMP *SuAr, PWF *kuar

This long vine, which is used for binding, is often regarded by the people as a kind of rattan. Although showing some variations, its name is widely spread: M, PEM, Wt, Kr kuar, Rgg, Ng, Téda-Mudé, Ed, Lio kua; Md, Sd ovar etc.

6.62A Gigantochloa apus PWF *gurun

This bambu is named: M gurung, PEM nggurung, Ng I ngguru, Ng II guru, Nagé gur, Rmb gurun.

6.62B Gigantochloa verticillata - PMP *periq

This is a much appreciated bamboo. In Flores it is known as M periq, Ng, Ed, Lio periq, Nagé peq, Si paliq. The Bajau use the name bolo perçôh.

6.63 Gmelina elliptica

(syn. Gm. villossae) - PMP *buqul (?) (Verh.)

Especially the roots of this shrub are medicinally used. I just mention the conspicuous similarity: M wul, "Bis" bohol.
Map 26. Erratic distribution

Gnetum spp.; 6.64
PMP *suwa +
PMP *suka •

Moringa pterygosperma; 4.13
— marunggai
— "kélor"
cp. Map 4
The bark of this small tree yields an excellent fibre for making cords. Probably it has been traded since ancient times. The genus *Onetum* occurs under two groups of names which are somewhat similar. The distribution of the groups of names is strikingly criss-crossed.

(a) PMP *suwaq*
   Simalur *suwaq*, Sb I (Karera, Rmb), Bg, Haruku, SSeran *suwa*, Nusa Laut, Sapa-rua *suwa*, Sb II (Kodi) *huga*, Sb III (ai) *howa*, *sowa*; Amakai Seran, Taluti *sowa*, Sahulu *wali*; Amakai II *sowa*; Muna *uwa* (?).

(b) PMP *suka*
   WM *suka*, CM, Tontumboon, Toulour, Bare'ee *suka*, Sb (Lauli, Loura) *ukt*, Watusela (S. of Seran) *huka*, Kau *huk*; *Maalacca sokak*, Ed kasungka; see 5.5 and 5.9.7; Map 26.106.

6.65A Gramineae, see 6.119 and 6.125.

6.65B *Greweia* spp. and other *Tiliaceae* - PMP *qanilaw*

*Greweia* spp. like many other *Tiliaceae* yield a very good fibre. The pattern of its distribution is a very irregular one: SCM, Kmd *nilo*, Roti *lino*, Bm *rino*, ESb *linu*, J *klinu*, Dawan *kantinu*; M, FEM, Rmb, Ng, Teda-Mude, Lio, Srl *nila*, Ed *ripa*, Larantuka *kantinu*, Palembang *endilau* (nilau) nasi, *Triphaspermum* (syn. *Dialeucaapua*) *javancum*, nilau kucing *Diplophractum auriculatum*, Bt andilo, Ml *endilau udang*, nilau, nilau *ruga*, Mng andilau; Sulawesi Tont *lino*, mangilo *Commosesia bartramia* which is to be sure no *Tiliaceae*, but its bark is very useful.

6.66 *Helicia* spp. - PMP *sulim* (Verh.)


6.67 *Heritiera littoralis* - PMP *(rR)umug* (Verh.)

We find WM, Mk, Bg *rumung*. It is improbable that M borrowed the name of the coastal tree from sea-faring Macasarese or Buginese, since the coastal species, *H. littoralis* is called M *wanggo*, wajur-tacik and bungur, whereas the inland species *H. gigantea*, which was collected by Schmutz at a height of 200 m., is called umung (Schmutz I, *Sterculiaceae 1*).

6.68 *Hibiscus tiliaceus* - PMP *baru*

6.69 *Homalanthus fastuosus* - PMP *lanti* (?)(Verh.)

The similarity of the names is too striking to omit mentioning FEM, M *lenté*, Rmb *lenteq*, Wr, Kp *letéq* and T, Bis *balanti*; (T *balanti* II "Homonia riparia").

6.70 *Homalium tomentosum* - PFL *ledu*

I find the name *ledu* in EM, Rmb, Kp, Ng and (unidentified) in Si. The tree does not occur in WM and SH (Schmutz).


The greater part of the vernacular names for the well-known "alang-alang" grass in Malesia are undeniably cognates. It seems that *Riqiq is a regular element of the original MP form.

Outside the Lesser Sunda Islands, most of the names are mentioned by Heyne and by De Clercq. Here are the names I collected in the FL area: MA, Si *riqi*, Toring, Téron, Bekek, Riu *riq*; Rongga *kèr*, Ng I *kèr*, Kmd, Ng II, Munde, Lio I, Ed *kè*, Lio II *kiq*, Lio III *kt*.

6.72 *Indigofera* spp. - PMP *taRum*

Besides M *taq* (see 5.9.3) I noted in Cibal in M *tarung*, Maranao *tagom*, Bm *dau*, Srl Botum *taq*, Ng I *taru*, Ng: Tana-Wolo *taq*.

6.73 *Intsia bijuga* - PMP *qipil*

I mention in confirmation of Dempwolf's *'ipil*, Endé *ipi*, Maranao *ipí*, Bajo *ipí*, Bm *jimbi*.

6.74 *Kempferia galanga* - PMP *ccAur*

The galanga with its spicy rhizome is a native of India (Burkill, 1275). Blust established the initial PMP *c*, certainly because of the initial (c) in so many western Indonesian languages. I mention only M *cengkur* (WM *jengkur*), Ng *siku*, Si *hekur*, and Bm *soku*. From the Philippines I noted: Maranao *kisul*, Bis *kosol*, kosul, kuatu, and the variants in Bis *gisul*, T *gisol*, dusul and Z (?) *dosol*.

6.75 *Kleinhovia hospita*

This small tree is spread from the Mascarene Is. to Polynesia. Strips of the bark are used for binding. There is some similarity between both groups of
cognates.  
(a) In the Flores-Sumba group we find:
M, FEM I, Kp, Rj, Wng, Wuëe, Tnangé, Wng
dangé, FEM II dhangé, Kmd dangé; Rmb
dangar, Rgg ndang, Ranatuka! kadaanga,
Ng, Tédé-Mudé, Mundé danga, Wsb ka(n)dangara,
Kodi kadangaro; ESB (k)anjangi.
(b) PMP *bintaqar
(Verh.)

6.76 Lagerstroemia
flos-reginae - PWF *mu(m)tin

This tree with its hard durable wood
and striking violet flowering all over the
crown is well-known up to 700 m. The var-
nants -nt, -t, -nd- and -d-, (see also
lantang under 6.77 and nintu 6.81) corre-
spond partially to each other.107 I noted:
M, Rmb, Rj muntun, Rqa, Wuëe muntun, Wng
muntun, Kr, Kp munting, Rgg muti. Ng muthi,
Lio muti are reminiscent of ML (kayu) buáá
(Wilkinson).

6.77 Laportea and
Dendrocnide spp. - PMP *zalateq

The nettle-trees generally have a com-
mon AN name. Striking is the form lang-
tang in the non-AN Sakai in Malacca (Bur-
kil!). The Flores forms are: M lantang,
FEM I lanténg, Rmb, FEM II lanton, Kr,
Kp, Rj lanton, Wng latang, Ng, Tédé-Mudé
ladé, Ng II 'ade, Lio laté, landé, Ng III
laté; Sb: Karera julatíngu.

6.78 Leeea (rubra) - PMP *mali

The vernacular names for the genus
Leeea, especially the species rubra, are
widespread and - thanks to the stability of
its sounds - in almost identical forms.
The plant was medicinally used, possibly
on account of the conspicuous purplish
colour of its flowers.
I found the names: WM mali, Kp, Rj
malit, Peninsula, Palembang, ML, MK mari-
mali and memali; Bent, Tonsawang, Toulou
mamali, memali, Tounsea mamali, Tag,
Pampanq mali-mali, Bis mamali, hamamali;
Mangyan mali-mali (Schmutz).

6.79 Leuuosyke
capitellata - PMP *Rasi
(Verh.)

In Manggarai the bitter bark of this
Leuuosyke is generally used as a substi-
tute for the betel-nut, and it also yields
fiber. Therefore both the areca palm and
this tree can be called (ka(j)i) rasi; see
also 6.13. Formerly I regarded Maranano
gasi, (the pungent) Piper sarmentosum,
as a probable cognate. By now this is al-
most certain, since I found as names for
the same L. capitellata in languages: Bis
alaggasi, (a)langgasi, anagaet, Camarines
hanagasi, Igorot la&asi. I only mention
the Kp variant basi; Map 27.

6.80 Litsea spp. - PMP *(k)u(j)dú
(?)

The form kusu, Litsea velutina, is
found in CM; EM; the tree kusu in Ngadha
is still unidentified. The following are
litsea spp.: Ed uru(-watu), Sbw udu(-ge-
dang), J wuru, Sd huru are possibly vari-
ants.

6.81 Lygodium
(Cteninnum) - PMP *ni(ntuq)
(?) (Verh.)

The tiny bark of this climbing fern
is used for binding and plaiting; the
ips are eaten. Though the names are
clearly related, the original form cannot
easily be established. Linguistic phenom-
ena as of homeomorphy (5.7) and blending
are possibly involved here. The spread
which I found in western Flores and in the
Philippines is interesting enough.
I noted: EM; (Co, Bi), Bééké múdu, FEM I
m bidi, Wuëe, Mulu múduq, Kr múduq, Rgg
múduq, Nanga-Numba, Mbaí ndó, ñedhu,
Mundé ndó, Ende ndó, Rmb I múntuq,
Rmb II núntuq; Tag, Bis nito; Marano
nitoq; cp. Note 107; Map 27.

6.82 Macaranga tanarius - PWF *re(m)bák
(?)

This fast growing tree has very broad
leaves. In M it is named rembák and rébak.
In Rgg its name is remba, in Ng reba.

6.83 Mallotus
philippines - PWF *pu(j)dér
(?)

Within MA we find the etymologically
interesting regular forms:M I puser, SH
puher, NL pser, FEM I puser, EM písr,
Nanga-Numba puser, Rmb I písr, Faté,
Rqa puser, Wng puser, Kr písr, Kp, Rj
písr; and in the NgL Group: Rongga puré.

6.84 Mangifera indica - PMP *paSuq

The mango (M. indica) is native of
India from where it reached the Indonesian
archipelago. Possibly we had two waves
of name-givers. The first group may have
known only the wild genera such as M.
longipes which in M is named pao (I) (in
contrast to pao, for M. indica) and in
Lilocano pao, Tag, Bis pado, Tag pajo and
paopan; M pao II is used for the allied
Map 27. PMP etyma III

- PMP *Rasi; Leucosyke capitellata; 6.79
- PMP *ni(n)tuq; Lygodium spp.; 6.81
- PMP *a(ŋ)kur; Cycas spp.; 6.40
- PMP *se(jdD)se(jdD); Cyperaceae; 6.41
Buchanania arborescens. If this is correct, M pao and pau form a very old doublet. For M. indica I record the NTT names: M, PEM, Rongga, Ng, Mundé, Ed, Lio, ESb, Kmd pau, Rmb, Kp, Rj, ?Wr pauq, Sb: Kodi pou, Lauli, Loura upo, Bm foqo, Dawan upun.

6.85 Melanolepis multiflora
(syn. Mallotus moluccanus) - PBS *rewa

The berries of this small tree - Schmutz says "Umkrautraum" - can be eaten. The distribution of the cognates is as follows: MA, Rgg, Ng, Ed rewa, WM merewa, Nagé 'rewa, Lauli, Loura rewa, ?ESb (ai) howa; in Faté (Rmb) I noted rewas.

6.86 Melastoma polyanthum and other spp. - PMP *duduk

The leaves of this shrub are eaten in Manggarai and Bali; probably also elsewhere. I noted the following names: M (variants) ndusuk, SH nduku, Wr, Kg dusuk, Rgg dusuk; Peninsula senduduk, keduduk, sekeduduk, Sarawak engkudu, Ml keduduk, Bali kededug. According to Burkell, Thai kadu-du is a loan from ML. The (s) in Wr and Rgg instead of (i) or (a) is irregular. Maybe these forms are borrowings. Another irregularity is that the initial nd-/-d- > s- does not come off. Or have we to assume an initial *nD?

6.87 Melia azedarach - PMA *meraq, PNGL *bara

The plausible cognates of this tree’s name are limited to western Flores and are rather irregular: M, Wr, Kg, Rj meraq, PEM, Ed mbera, Téda-Mudé, Mundé ba; Lio bera; Kmb mera (not identified).

6.88 Melochia umbellata - PMP *tenu

In Manggarai this fast growing tree is regarded as a carrier and symbol of fertility. I found the following cognate names: MA teno, Rgg ndenu, Ng, Ed, Mundé, Lio, ?Su dehnu; in Sumba: Rindi, Kmb kandinu, Karéa kandunu, Lauli, Loura mandònu, Kodi mndauo; (likely) Bm mtonu; Sd bintenu; Palembang betenu; Philipp.: Bis bältyn, bältyn, Iloko bantlon.

6.89 Miscanthus japonicus and other large grasses - PMP *Riuq

The name for Miscanthus japonicus, an "erect grass, 2.00-3.00 m" (PJ 3,584) is in Maragun giong; the Thysolaena maxima (up to 3.50 m high) is named in Manggarai riung; and in Malacca M exist the names riung for Saccharum arundinaceum (up to 4.00 m) and rumput riung for Themeda villosa which is 2 metres high.

6.90 Misocarpus sundatius - PMA *ci(m)pam

Only in MA do we find the cognates: M, Lengko-Sambi sipar, Mulu sipar, Rmb sipar.

6.91 Morinda sp. - PBS *ke(m)bo

The well-known Ml bengkudu, a dye-yielding tree, has in Flores the names: MA, Ng I, Endé kembo, Ng II, Nagé kebo, Sb: Karéa kambu, Kmb kambu, Rindi kambu, Wéwéwa, Loura kambu, Sw kebo; Map 20.

6.92 Mucuna pruriens var. pruriens

This bush-vine is of ill fame because of the very irritating itchy hairs on its pods. In the Lesser Sunda Is. we have two groups of names: (a) PMS *u(j)dju (?) M osé, Sb: Kodi óndé, Lauli, Loura óndé, Karéa óndi; Map 19.

(b) PWF *tētoq (?) PEM, Wng ndétok, Rmb, Wr, Kg tētoq, Rgg, Ed, Lio ndēto, Ng, Mundé, Téda-Mudé dēto. Since the nd-/d-/ t- variation is not conditioned no etymon can be established.

6.93 Mucuna pruriens var. utilis - PMP *lipay (Verh.)

The cultivated variety utilis of the preceding species Mucuna pruriens is named: Ng, Lio lipé, Sb: Rindi, Kmb ltpé, Wéwéwa, Loura ltpé, Kodi ltpé, Srl: Witithama ltpá, Lewuka lpaq, Niki-niki Dawan lpat (Dawan ltpé, ltpé 'kinds of beans'). Merrill mentions under Mucuna pruriens ("an annual vine, cultivated"): Bis lipay, N ltpá and under other Mucuna spp., among which is also a stinging species: T lipay and Bis nipay; 108 Map 25.

6.94 Murraya paniculata - PMP *kamuniq

The yellow-wood tree's name is very common in MP. As an article of trade the name may often have been borrowed; M kemuning, muning.

6.95 Musa paradisiaca

There are several groups of names for the banana in the Lesser Sunda Is. We find: (a) PNTT *muku MA, Ng, Lio, Ed muku, Kmb muku, 'a pisang variety', Sí, Sw muq, Sír muko.

I learned afterwards that muku is known in many Sb dialects along with "kalu". Map 22.

(b) PBS *kalu (?) Another group is formed by Bm, Kmd kaló, Sb: Rindi, Kmb kalu, Tarimbang
6.98 Pagiantha (syn. Eruvatamia) sphaeroecarp

This tree is conspicuous by its orange-red fruit. The latex from the unripe fruit is commonly used for sticking purposes, especially for fastening the blade of the machete into its hilt.

The first group of cognate names covers Flores throughout
(a) PFL *pa(j)da We find pasa, SH paha, Ng I, Téda-Mudé pasa, Si para, Srk kepaa. In CM and PFM I pasa is superseded by bota; and in Lio and Endé probably by base; cp. 5.6, under Pagiantha, and Map 28.

(b) PWF *gakaq A second group is formed by Ms, Rmb, Wr, Kp, Rj gakaq, Rgg, Ng III ngaka, Ng I shaka, Ng II gaka. I surmise that we have a case of supersession here. The connotation is probably: the tree with the "gaping" fruit.\textsuperscript{111}

6.103 Peltophorum pterocarpum - PMP *eneb (Verh.)

The bark of this tree is regarded as a ferment for palm-wine; M eneb means also "to ferment". The name is only found in M, PFM and Rembong. The handling of the pepet and the final (-p) is interesting: MT, Le, W, Pa enep, Matawé ené, Rmb, Riung enok, Nanga-Numba ené, Lengko-Sambi, Mulu nok; Ng ?ené, T.-Wolo né. Assuming an acceptable shift in meaning, the name can be connected with (DempoWolff's) J eneb, Ml enap 'make particles in a liquid to sink'.

6.104 Phragmites karka

This very high bamboo-like grass, mostly found in swamps, has the following
Map 28. PFL *pa(jd)a; 3 supersessions
Pagiantha sphaerocarpa; 5.6, 6.98
names which show some similarity.
(a) M, Rgg timbu, Sb: Rindi katambuni,
Rmb katambuni; Tagalog tambó.
Are these accidental resemblances?
PWF *lelug (?)
(b) A small group has the names: Rmb
lelug, FEM, Ng lelu.

6.104b Piliostigma
(Bauhinia)
malabaricum - PNT *dupé

The stem of this tree is used for
houseposts, and its bark for cord-making.
I collected a sample (no. 2445) in Ndao,
and noted the name (possibly borrowed)
dupé, which is also used in Roti and Sasan
(for Bauhinia kirsuta). Bm has the reg-
ular reflex rufé. (Somewhat similar are
Rgg and Rmb kqép and ESB karipí.)

6.105 Pipturus argentaeus - PMP *damay

The bark of this small tree yields
thread for nets in M, and in Samoa
(Burkill, 1754). Its slimy inner bark is
regarded as a medicine to make child-birth
easier. The cognates are: CM qama, Rmb,
Endé, Lio, Ng I rama, Ng, Mundé jama; Sb:
Rindi rémi, Karera, Kmb rami, Lauli, Loura,
Kodi ramé; Bisaya dialects: himaramay,
handaramay, kendalamay, hindalamay.
(Cp. for final -it, -at, -é and -ay: Ml mati,
M mata, Kmb maté and Bis matay 'dead',
also Sb mati and méti).
Another urticaceae, Bochmeria nivea,
well-known for its fibre, has apparently
cognate names: Ml rami, Sd haramay, MNg
romin?, T amiray, Il arimay.

6.106 Piconia
umbelliflora - PMP *anuliq

The berries of this tree are used as
glue. I found the following cognate names:
M nulating, Rgg nuli, "Sumatera" (FM 5:461)
luring; Sulawesi:Bg anuring;
CBisaya anulig, tangkuling, anuring;
"Phil" anilin.

6.107 Planchnonella
obovata - PBS *ketaq

This tree yields rather good wood.
Its (cognate) names are: MA ketang, Rgg,
Ng, Ed keta, Sb: Karéra kétang, Kmb
kátang; Map 20.

6.108 Planchnonia valida - PNTT *ga(n)car

We find the following names for this
enormous tree with its excellent timber:
M, FEM I ngacaar, Rmb, Békéké, Rjng
ngacar, Ng I ngaas, Wng, Wr, Kp, Rj
ngacar, Sb: Rindi, Kmb langdha, Karéra
wala ngaah, Kodi mbáha. For Si nahar,
Slr menaha; cp. M ngaasang with Si naran;
(and Slr naran 'name').

6.109 Podocarpus
imbricatus - PMP *aRuSu

The Podocarpaceae are needle-leaved
trees, and it may be for this reason that
this Podocarpus shares its name with
Casuarina elsewhere. I noted: M, Karo
(Batak) ru, J aru 'P. imbricatus'; and
for Casuarina junghuhntana Rgg mberu, Ng
beru; Map 29.

6.110 Pometia pinnata - PWF *maras
A high tree. M, Rmb maras, Ng mara.

6.111 Portulaca
oleracea - PMP *gilag (?)

For the purslane M, Sd, J, Ml, Mk use
géleng; M also belang (and jala); Si
wéleng. Since géleng is noted in Rahong
alone, it is possibly a loan.

6.112 Pouzolzia hirta - PWF *raqat
A herb. M, Rmb rangat; Ng ranga.

6.113 Pterocarpus
indicus - PMP *naRa

The fine durable red wood of this
tree is highly estimated. Whereas in
western Malesia (Malacca, Java, Kangean
and Bali) sana is used, we find eastwards
nara. It is represented as follows: M,
FEM, Kmd, Rmb, Nagé, Lio, Bm, AMB, Taq,
Bis nara, Bant, Tombulu, Bis, Lamekot in
New Ireland naga, Gorontalo tonala, Baré'è,
Buol tonona, Tetum (ai) na, Roti na, nak,
Sangir aha, "Slr" kenaha.

6.114 Pterospermum
diversifolium - PMP *bayuR

The bark of this tree is used in
preparing palm wine. I mention the fol-
lowing names: M I, SH, FEM wajur, Rgg
waro, Sd, J, Ml bayur, bayor, J wayur, Sd
wayur, Md bhayur, ?phenjur, Bent wayu,
Tag bagud, Bis bayur, Pamp bayog-bayog.
These names hold good for the genus
Pterospermum of which the different spe-
cies could not be checked.

6.115 Pterygota (syn.
Sterculia) alata - PMP *(-)lubu
(Verh.)

This high tree of the lowlands has
(in M) inferior wood, but its leaves are
liked as a vegetable. There is a big
geographical gap between the cognates: M
lubu, Wr, Rgg kwu and Sarawak gelubu,
berlubu (Watson).110
Map 29. PMP etyma IV

- PMP *aRuSu; Podocarpus spp.; 6.109
- PMP *(-)lubu; Pterygota alata; 6.115
- PMP *deRun; Trema orientalis; 6.138
+ PMP *(-)tigi; Vaccinium spp.; 6.141;
‡ and Pemphis acidula; Note 118
6.116 Rhizophoraceae
and other
grove trees - PMP *bakaw

Many kinds of mangrove trees are
named M bangko; see under 5.8.2. Wanggo
in WM is probably borrowed from Bm.

6.117 Rhus taitensis - PWF *garit

As names of this small tree, which
has many uses, I mention WM garit, CM
garit, EM, Rmb, Kr, Wr, Rj garét, Ng garí, Ed
nggari.

6.118 Saccharum
officinarum - PAN *tebus

Out of the many known names of the
sugar-cane I mention only: M tébu, Ng, Lio,
Sí tewu, Sír tewu, Dawan téfu.

6.119 Saccharum
spontaneum and
other grasses - PCMP *witu
(Verh.)

Which kind of grass was meant origi-
nally cannot be ascertained; see 5.10.2.

6.120 Schizostachyum plumii

This bamboo with its long internodes
is, among other things, used for making
blow-pipes and flutes. It has several
groups of names.
(a) PMP *buluq
Ng, Lio, Tana-Ai, NSul I wulu, Sír:
Withama wulu, Sír: Lewuka fulor, Ed
wulu, Tetum fafulu, NSul II wulu, wudu.
Throughout Indonesia it is used as a
genetic name for many kinds of bamboo.
(b) PMP *tamiq

Another group of names is formed by
Sb: Rindi tamäng, Karéra, Rmb tamäng,
Nósiewa, Loura tamäng, Bm hamia, Sw tamäng (?) In other languages the same name is
used as a determinant to a generic name:
Bt, Mng bulu tamiang, Dayak, "Moluccas"
bulu temiang, Sd ari tamiang.

It is very well possible that Rgg,
Ng țila 'S. plumii' is etymologically the
same as Bb țilahu, Rindi țilah, which how-
ever mean the high grass Saccharum sponta-
eneum.

6.121 Schizostachyum
brachyoladum - PMP *belalq

This species of big bamboo has long
joints and relatively thin walls. It is
very well suited for light water-vessels.
We find three seemingly correlated groups
of names.112 In MA, Kmd, Sí, Sír I belang,
Tana-Ai belan, Ng, Lio bela.

6.122 Schleicheria oleosa

The fruit and leaves of this tree are
eaten, the wood supplies good charcoal.

It is undeniable that (-)sambi is
common IN, although I did not find it re-
presented in the Philippines. To me it
seems very strange that in M the reflex
sambi and SH hambi is common, and not
sambi, SH sambi. Was the sambi form bor-
rrowed in olden times from other peoples?
This is not so implausible, because the
kweambi tree occurs in the coastal areas,
which were not inhabited by Manggarai peo-
ple for many centuries. The borrowing
must have taken place before the sound-
shift M (s) > SH (h). The case is still
more intricate since in SCM, namely in
Poco-Léok, Pongkor, Todo and Dengé, we
find the doublet formambir (with -r),
and even in the SH area: Pacar (natu-)sam-
bir. The Sika and Solor forms point also
to a great age. We give the names we met
with personally. Among them are interest-
ing examples of metathesis: SCM cambir,
MA, Kmd, Rongga, Kio, ED, M1, J, Md, Bali,
Sb Memboro sambi, SH hambi, (sambir), Ng,
Téda-Mudé, Mundé sabt, Sb II kasémìb,
kahémìb, Tana-Ai, Sika habi, Sír kabahi,
bahi, Timor I kuaapt, Dawan uapat, NTetum
sukabi. Is it allowed to assume a PM
*cambir, and PSíSír *cabt?

6.123 Schoutenia ovata - PMP *kukun

This tree yields very hard and heavy
wood in small straight stems which are
much liked for planting-sticks and spear-
shafts. The name is common in Indonesia,
but I did not find cognates in the Philip-
pines. I mention M, FEM kukung, Rmb, Wr,
Kr, Sír kukun, Rgg, Ng, Nagé, Lio kuku;
Sí ' ( regular) guung (cp. 'agu 'I' and
guit 'Curcuma viridiflora'), Bm bulu, Kmd,
WM mbuhung. The two last names are prob-
ably dissimilations from resp. *kuku and
Kmd *kuhung (PAN *k > Bm, Kmd h), Sb has
the rather deviant lawungu and such-like
names. In WM kukung means "dibble".

6.124 Sesamum orientale - PMP *leña

Burkill, 1995 gives the following in-
formation about this interesting herb.
The sesame plant originated probably from
Africa. It was already found in Egypt a.
1300 B.C. "The extension of the plant to
Malaysia cannot be traced to any precise
period."

I mention only Rgg, Ng, Nagé, Ed
leña, Sb I longa, Bm ringa, M, FEM, Rmb
longa (see 5.9.4); Burkill gives Thai ngá.

6.125 Setaria italicica (syn.
Panico italicum
var. viride)

That the foxtail millet is a very
old cereal in Malesia appears from its PAN
and PMP names. The existence of four etyma for this single cereal is most interesting.
(a) PAN *bCeg
I mention only the names I found in the NTT area; Rmb and Warukia weton, Rgg, Ng, Nagé weté, Endé, Lio (kuru = grass) weté (which were determined as Setaria adhaerens and Eragrostis warburgii, respectively), Ml in Flores wéteng "Pennisetum purpureum", Si wetang-wéteng (the seeds of this cereal?), Sir wetan, Bm witi.
(b) Setaria italica and other Gramineae - PAN *kusu (Verh.)
Cognates of hocu, which in M mean "Setaria italica", have a wide range; see 5.10.4; Map 18.
(c) Setaria italica and other cereals - PAN *zawa
Reflexes of this etymon mean Setaria italica in Palembang Java, "Dayak" jawae, Md haba(?), Nagé zawa, jawa. It is used for sorghum, Sorghum saccharatum, in Ng, Bali jawa113, Bt jaba, "Borneo" jawa; see 4.17.
As a name for maize, it is found in Ng I, Endé and Lio jawa, zawa. (In many other cases jawa is a determinant meaning "from Java"); cp. 4.6, 4.9, 4.15, 4.17.2, 4.18.2).
(d) Setaria italica and other cereals - PAN *baCad
In Warukia (Rmb) watar means S. italica, in Mk bataraq is used for "sorghum", and in Sn watara, Tana-Ai watar, Sir wata, fata and in Tetun batar mean "maize". In Sika watar is Coix lauryn-jobi 'Job's tears'.

6.126 Setaria palmifolia - PWF *mezaq
Cognate names for this high grass are:
FEM, Kp, Rj mejang, Rmb mezag; Ng, Lio, ?Ed meja, meza. Concerning the final syllable, the M forms messe-maë and meze are rather deviant.

6.127 Smilax sp. - PAN *banaR
The names of this spiny vine (S. sylvanica in Flores), which is used for medical purposes, are in MA: M, Wr, Kp, Rj wana.

6.128 Solanum melongena - PMA *turu
See 4.16.

6.129 Solanum nigrum - PAN *aneCi
This small wild shrub, an extremely variable species, is found both in the temperate zones and in the tropics. The tender shoots are boiled as spinach in India, Indo-China and throughout Malesia, but also in Africa. In Manggarai they were often just singed and eaten with young roasted maize.
M kenti is possibly cognate with M anti, Ml, J, WSumatera ranti, Malakka (terong) meranti, EJ ranti, Ifugao ramth, ?antin, Maranao moti, and with Tag onti, konti and kenti,114

6.130 Spondias malayana - PFL *lecem
(syn. S. pinnata) - PFL *lecem
In the Lesser Sunda Islands the sour wild "kedondong", which is found up to a height of 500 m., has a fine regular series of cognates: CM lecem (5.10.3), WM leseñg, Kmd leseng, Wontong M leseng, Pacr M, EM lesem; Tana-Ai lahan, "Flores" (where?) ahang, ehê, ?léheés (FM 6:483).
The following names make the impression of being variants: Ml kalonoeng, J klonoeng, pelendo; Bali kaomoem; Bm inari, Kng nglesem 'a tree', Bg onco; Wondama (Geelvink Bay) Wirian ?karisti, non-AN: Tidore oco, Ternate ocoo, (S. dulcis).
Blust 1980, no. 126, established PMP *qe(n)sem, *ma-qa(n)sem (dbl. *qalesem, *ma-qalesem) 'sour'. The "doublet" is identical with the Manggarai form, and semantically very near to it.

6.131 Sterculia foetida
This big-stemmed tree with useful timber and edible fruit-kernels has four series of cognate names. They are strangely distributed as may be seen on Map 30.
(a) PAN *kalumpaq
It is unnecessary to cite other instances than L, C, P, Rs, Pa in M, Ml, Peninsula kelumpang and ES conditioned kelumpang. I regard M kelumpang, with its preserved antepenult, as a loan.
(b) PMP *bubuR (Verh.)
Rmb, Kp, Mulu, Wué muwur, Ng I, Nagé I, Endé, Lio muwu, Tanimbar: Larat kavu-wur,113 CM muwur; Bis bobog (Merrill, 186); see also Map 23.
(c) SCM, Rgg, Ng II, Nagé II paka, WSB: Wewéwa, Laura, Kdi kapaka; Sw ?kepaka,116
(d) In Manggarai we find the group WM, FEM wol and conditioned FEM: Mba wol and Kmd wok.

6.132 Sterculia oblongata
For this tree whose bean-like seeds are eaten, I found two groups of names:
(a) PNTT *ni(n)tap
(b) PWF *qa(q)go (?)
Wr ?kagok, Rgg hanggo, Ed 'ago, Ng, Lio hago; Map 22.
Map 30. Polyonymous spread of Sterculia foetida; 6.131

Tanimbar, Bisaya

- "mol"
- "kelumpang"
- "wuwr"  
- "(ka)paka"
6.133 Tamarindus indica

The tamarind is probably a native of Africa and Western India, but must have been introduced into SE Asia in very remote times, FJ 1,529, note 1, does not exclude the possibility that it is native in the Kangean Is. and in the Palu (Sulawesi) valley. However, one gets the impression that it is no PMP, but a very old "Wanderwort" with an interesting pattern of distribution and apparently regional protogroups.

(a) In the essential (latter) part of the forms, the consonants seem to interchange arbitrarily. I give the names I met with in vertical rows:

- maki - NM, SH, FEM; mencelaki - Ml (in Ambon)
- makiq - Rmb, Wng; sablaki - Yamdena
- homaki - Fordata
- nangge - Rongga, Wr, tobé laké - Bonfire, Waru Ed I
- nagé - Ng, Nagé
- magi - Ed II; salumagi - Iloko
- magé - Lio, Si; salomage - Iloko
- mangge - Bm
- bagé - Ssk; sambagi - Bisaya
- acamlagi - Gayo; camalagi - Bisaya
- cuamlagi - Wng; samalagi - Bisaya
- cēlagi - Bali; sumalagi - Bisaya
- hélagi - Sw; sambalagi - Bisaya
- tamalagi - Buol; sampalagi - Bisaya
- sambalagi - Bare'é; sambak/g - bisaya

(b) PMS *kaça

In SM, WM and in WSB we find quite other names. They prove the very old age of the original form; SCM, WM kaça, Mu, SH kasa, SB: Lauli kasa, Loura kasa, Koda kaha. The distribution of this name is somewhat comparable with maghi under 6.20; Map 19.

6.134 Terminalia catappa PMP *talisiay

The form has its representatives in the AN territory from the line Bima-Celebes eastwards. (Westwards variants of katapang are used.)
I give the following reflexes (omitting those mentioned by Heyne and Merrill): M: licé, Si, Tana-Ai likhé, Tetum kalézé, Bm sarisé, non-AN Bunaq (a borrowing?) lesé; New Britain; Gunantuna talía; New Ireland; Palu talísé, Lamekot tallé.
Seeing M: licé and Si likhé I think that the *-s- in the etymon is correct.

6.135 Themeda (villoosa) - PMA *wakas, PEMNg *wakos

This high grass is called in M: Bekék, Toring wakas, Kmd wakah, Riung, Paté wakat, Wng, Lengko-Sambí waka, Rmb fakat; EM wakos, Ng wako.

6.136 Timonius timon - PFL *uper

As names for this small tree in the

grassy plains, I found the cognates: EM uper, Wo, Mu umper, Ng, Ed, Lio 'upé, Si nupér (?)

6.137 Toona ciliata
(syn. T. sureni) - PWF *ozaq

The reddish-brown, light, durable and aromatic wood of this tree (Ml surtan, J suren) is highly estimated. In Flores its name has an interesting pattern of distribution: WM, FEM, Têrong, Wûo ojang, Ng I, Nagé 'oja. In two interesting enclaves in M, other trees are meant by the names ojang and ajang; also Si ojang means quite another tree; on Map 31 they are spelled with capitals.

6.138 Trema orientalis - PMP *deRuq

This not very high tree yields good fibre for rope-making. Here we have a fine series of cognate names, which, for the areas outside the Lesser Sunda Islands, I am indebted chiefly to FM 8:51-53. They show many differences in form due to linguistic phenomena as metathesis, presenalization, dissimilation and variations in the antepenult. For an easier survey I give them in vertical rows in accordance with their geographical occurrence; Map 29.

Flores:
- Malay Peninsula
  - redong, redong M, FEM I, mendarong
  - derong Rmb, Wr, Rp, Rj, (me)narong
  - Wng, L-Sambí (ndéo Rongga, Têrong)
  - (dhêo Ed)

- Kalimantan
  - rundagong Brunei
  - lindagong Kedayan
  - landagong Dusun Tam-bato

- Sumatra
  - endrang ?
  - indarong Karo
  - bandorang Payakumbuh
  - randurong Toba
  - landorang Tapanuli
  - endelung Gayo

- Sulawesi
  - demong Bentenan

- Philippines
  - anadong Bis
  - anugdong Tag, Bis
  - hanadong Tag
  - anaginong Mangyan

6.139 Urena lobata (and Triumfetta sp.) - PMP *pulut

This shrub is well-known owing to the good fibre from its bark. The names however are here connected with the sticking of the burs. Dempwolf gives PMP *pulut as 'Klebstoff', but the meaning "to stick" is unknown in WP. I mention as names of the plant: Ml pulut-pulut, pulutan, Tont pulut, Ssk pulutan, tempuluk, Rgg, Ng, Lio pulu, Endé puru; M: Ko,
6.140 *Uvaria* sp. - PNTT *léké* (m)

The coral-red cylindrical fruits of this shrub are eaten. EM, CM, Rmb *lékém*, WM, Kmd *lékén*, Wr *lékén* (for Wr k- < M l- see Note 110), in Slr: Lewolaga, according to Fr N. Apeldoorn, *léké*; Sb: Lauli, Loura *léké*, Kodi *maléké*. Possibly the final -m in M is due to an (unconscious) avoidance of homonymy with *léké* 'coconut-cup'; cp. homoeonymous *lékép*, *lékér*, also *lékém*, 'cup-shaped' (nests).

6.141 *Vaccinium* spp. - PMP *-tigi* (?) (Verh.)

The berries of *V. timorensis* taste nice, those of *V. varingiaefolium* are eatable. They may have been of some importance for the primitive wood-rangers. Here is a very interesting case, not only because we have to do with a big gap in the distribution, but still more so, since an alpine (above 1600 m) plant genus is involved. Therefore borrowing has to be excluded as an explanation of similarity. So we have M: Dengé, Waé-Rebo *rîntigi*, Sd *cantigi*, J *merti gi*, mentigi and temiti. We have to do with mountain species, the Javanese being *Vaccinium* *Varingiaefolium*, the Sundanese *V. varingiaefolium*, *V. laurifolium*, *V. lauridum* and *V. korthalsii*, the Manggarai one *V. timorensis*. The M form with a full-voweled antepenult is exceptional. This is another example of a Java - Flores connection; Map 29.118

6.142 *Vitex pubescens* - PMP *papa*

This tree yields good wood for boat construction. The names at my disposal are: M, Kmd, Bm *pampa*, Wr *mbaqaq*, "Dayak" kalapapa, Bj *kalimpapa*, Nk *gulipapa*.

6.143 *Wedelia* spp. - PFL *Runu(s)*

Cognate names of this yellow-flowered composite, which is used as medicine and fodder, are found throughout Flores: CM, FEM, Rmb, Rongga, Ng, Nágé, Mundé, Ed, Lio, Si *runu*, WM, EM, Wr, *kp runu*, Slr (where?) *kerunu*, Withamha Slr *quunu*.

6.144 *Wendlandia* sp.

Though the following names are clearly variants, (see also 5.7), it seems to be impossible to establish the PMA etymon. I noted: M wodong, WM mbodong, Lé, Pa podong, Wr wodog, FEM: Lengko-Sambi, Ngogol-Nio, Mbaï mondo, Wng mondoq, Rmb, Kp?, Térong mondoq; Map 12.

6.145 *Wrightia* spp. - PMP *-niti* (Verh.)

WM *niti* (*Wrightia* sp.), Be in M the uncommon form *arniti* (W. *calycina*); Phil.: T *lanuti*, Lanét, Iloko *lanuti*, Cag *lanust* *loniti*, Zamba a lanoti, anotong (*W. ovata*); *batète* (*Wrightia*); cp. Sd *jalitri*, J *jalistri* (*W. javanica*) and "Timor" dedité(h).(*W. pubescens*). We have here a strange collection of names, but original cognition can hardly be doubted.

6.146120 *Zingiber officinale* - PMP *làqia*

From the names of the well-known ginger I mention only: MA *lia*, Ng, Lio, Si *léa*, Bm *rèa*, Kmb *layia*, Bj (in NTT) layya.
Chapter 1

1 The problems in the composing of this dictionary are spoken about in its Introduction. We cite this book as "Dictionary". By its publication many determinations of plants in *Kamus Manggarai* I have been corrected.

2 The very accurate and critical Backer is rather pessimistic concerning the correctness of most vernacular names he collected. This is all the more reason we should be grateful that he entered them. He speaks otherwise with a characteristic understatement (Backer 1934, 821, footnote): "Toch heb ik, de les van Genesis XVIII, 23-32 gedachtig, zeer vele volksnamen opgenomen; gewisselijk schuilt er ook een lutte graans tusschen het kaf." Burkhill, IX has a quite different opinion: "Vernacular names are fully worth collecting, as very frequently they point to the plant's uses, or to characters which the Malays, good observers, if bad interpreters, notice."

3 Since Heyne had no choice than just to copy names from all kinds of sources, many errors slipped into his work. From the 40 Manggarai names 16 are not correct in one way or other. Because it is instructive for others, I name them here:
(a) not to be found at all are the names *dakat*, *jangkiri*, *karepa*, *ceu* and *eu-eu*;
(b) Bimanese, no Manggarai words, are loko *jonga naé* and loko *jonga togi*;
(c) *dalu* for *Albizia procera* is a name from Rongga and Ngadha;
(d) *mutu* must be *muku*, and *maké* should be *maki*;
(e) probably owing to Bimanese informants, the last consonants are missing in *mo(k)*, *ndina(r)*, *nguru(s)* and *padu(t)*;
(f) incorrect is the determination of *M. mela*, which is not *Andropogon sorghum*, but *Coix lacryma-jobi*; and of *mo(k)*, which is not *Mangifera indica*, but *Artocarpus integer*.

4 In most dictionaries and agricultural books in Indonesia, and also in Heyne, many scientific names are out of date. Some popular books are even directly confusing by unearthing the names given by Rumphius. (Of course, Heyne's citations from Rumphius have a real function.)

5a For future writers it may be useful to cite a botanist's, namely (Dr) M.J. (akobe)'s remark in *Flora Malesiana Bulletin*, 1976, 29, 2729: "Now that registration (viz. in the Kew Index) is reasonably perfect, how are we to view this citation of authorities? The only answer I can think of is 'a perfect relic of an imperfect past.'"

5b After finishing this article I inserted as yet many rather commonly known Indonesian names in Appendix I.

6 Oemboe H. Kapita kindly allowed me to make use of the plant names in his preliminary dictionary, and in 1977 corrected those which I collected in Sumba. See also Abbreviations.

Chapter 2

7 People in West-Manggarai told Schmutz that the Japanese themselves spread this weed in order to have sufficient vegetables.

8 This *te* is a contraction of *uta* 'vegetable'.

9 *Mbaké* could not be identified.

10 Javanese *sembung gilang* is also used for both *Emilia sonchifolia* and *Brezchites valerianifolia* (Backer 1934, 895, 908).

11 The meaning of *keri* is unknown to me; see also 4.1.

12 The name *bojé* (for another plant) was already put on record in 1939. The meaning "thick one" probably also held good for the native plant. The pre-existence of a certain *bendés* is testified by Mr C. Lawang, to whom I owe several other data.

13 In West-Manggarai *bonak* is a vine with a swollen stem.

14 In fact Fr Adr. Schouten collected the first herbarium sample of *Eupatorium ?inulifolium* near Ruteng on 14.7.1961.

15 It is the irony of the consistent laws of nomenclature that the flowers of *Eupatorium inulifolium* are very fragrant, whereas the species *E. odoratum* 's are not.

16 *Meka wewu* is commonly used for "newborn baby".

17 Compare 2.2.4, 2.4 and 6.26. In this context I refer to the name *M. lalok-ruék* 'droppings of the Giant Cuckoo', *Scyphrops novaehollandiae*, for the shrub *Calotropis gigantea*. This crow-sized bird, loudly screeching when flying, is a migrant from Australia, and appears in the full rainy season, precisely then the *Calotropis* comes up and thrives abundantly in warm regions. In this connection it is not surprising that this bird in NgL languages is named muta-meré 'weed vomiter'. In M: C, L, Go, Ms *lalok-ruék* became *ruék*, in Regoq the plant's name is *tagi-ruék* 'ruék's dirt'.

18 *Molong* is also used for the genera *Coleus* and *Plectranthus* (fam. Labiatae). In the Dictionary most of the following names are erroneously placed under *Plectranthus teysmannii*. 73
Chapter 3

19 In Ngadha and Lio the word wonga 'flower' was replaced by bunga in these cases; so a doublet was created. This is also the case in Manggarai where wonga means the "florescence of rice".

20 Our sunflower, Helianthus annuus, is also called by its Ind name bunga matahari. The M name haju or saung mata-leso 'sun shrublet' is used for some Sida spp. with small yellow flowers.

21a In the language of the colonial Dutch this plant had the funny name of "stoute jongens en zoete meisjes" (= naughty boys and sweet girls).

21b I suppose that (Schmutz 3, Rubiacaeae 12) K kewe-rua, probably from kawong-rua 'the angry Uncaria' for Caesalpinia (op 5.3), was first used for that sharp-thorned vine, whereas M: Paku's kewe-rua for the harmless, though hooked, Uncaria, was inexactely borrowed after the original meaning was no more felt.

22 At present it is not possible to establish the correct spelling: -toro or -ntoro. Toro means "eggplant" (see 4.16), but is also the name of several species of trees (Note 44). The initial parts of the compounds can have the following meanings: lama 'old male monkey', lamé, a tree name, lama 'tongue', lombong 'top of tree or of branch', lain (in Kepq) 'sand', lamé 'to watch', limé 'hand', lamu 'moss', which are examples of folk etymology.

23 Surprisingly a Bimaese informant in Pota gave me not the name daeng-sé, but damésé, apparently its contraction.

24 Bogor is the scientific and practical centre of study and dispersal of crops. Therefore bogor is often added to names of new varieties of plants: nenas bogor or pandang bogor, which is a good variety of pine-apple, daeng bogor, a certain variety of cassava, and woja bogor, a new race of rice.

25 Heyne, 1353 mentions two scores of names which are used in Indonesia for "tobacco". It is interesting to see how people adapted the Haiti-Spanish "tobacco" to their tongue: tabako, tambaku, tambaku, tambaku, tambakau, tambako, timbako, timbaho, cambako, sambako, tamako, tamaku, tawak, temakau, temako, tabaga, tabaku, tapako, tapaku, tabago (?tabao), tabagau (?tabau), tabagau, samako, sebako, semakau, mabako, mabaku, bako, makko, tabakau, and probably from Dutch tabak: tabak, tabah, tabada, tabaka, tabaki, taba, and tabaga.

Chapter 4

26 I cannot detect any mention of this plant in Matthes's Mk and Bg dictionaries. Therefore I surmise that Arachis was not yet found among these seafaring peoples about 1860, though Rumphius knew it already. I suppose that it did not yet exist in Manggarai before the 20th century. In the thirties the groundnut - a creeping variety - was still a rather unimportant crop.

27 It is not clear whether we have to do with a translation or with a spontaneous rendition of the suggestive notions "bean" and "ground".

28 Steinmann, 582, plate 6A, gives a clear photo-graph of a heavy-loaded jackfruit tree, chiselled out on the Borobudur; plate 6C shows the breadfruit tree (4.3).

29 (Haju) nggurus poko 'mountain nggurus', Lycianthes bahanensis, is probably named nggurus due to some resemblance with Capsicum. For an explanation for haju nggurus, Claoxyylon affinis, I am at a loss.

30 "Chilli" is commonly regarded as a Mexican name brought by the Spaniards to the Philippines, where it is still used as sili in Tagalog. I am afraid that Depewhoff 1938, 154 goes astray by drawing Tagalog sili into his reconstruction of FIN *čili. The existence of Malay cili (Klinkert, 423, Poerwadarminta, 205): cili besar, lada cili (s. v. cili) is a counter-proof of his argumentation.

31 Burkhill remarks (625): "It (viz. the cultivated race) seems to have early become a cereal of some importance in the hills of Indo-China and southern China".

32 This happened already in this region in very remote times. Fox, 75 records: "I.G, Glover in east Timor discovered a seed of this cereal pierced for use apparently as an ornament at an excavation level that dates back 5,000 years." The assumption that this Coix was a "cereal" and "may have been one of the earliest food crops on Timor" is rather weak. The very fact of piercing the seed points to a wild form, very probably Coix lacryma-jobi var. agrestis.

33 Juynboil 207 gives Old-Javanese jahli (jaheli), which is probably incorrectly determined as Euleusina coracana "een gierstoort" (a kind of millet). Kp sela is irregular; cp M. sale = Kp. jare.

34 The ë-i > i-i shift is dialectically conditioned. The M s > SH h shift means that the musk melon occurred in M before that sound-shift. The form ndesi in the Haerana language means that it is a loan from M, or that the name (and plant) entered after the sound-parting of M s and Wr j. Nagé: Teda-Mudé hëa-jawa 'Javanese Benincasa' (6.17) is interesting.

35 As yet this plant has not been identified.

36 These torches or candles, M pelaras, pandu, consist of about 15 cm long thick sticks of split bamboo that are partly wrapped with a pounded mixture of kapok and oil-containing nuts. In olden times the nuts of Calophyllum inophyllum (see 4.10) and of Aleurites moluccana, the Candle-nut(!) tree were most
important. Afterwards the introduced Jatropha and Ricinus, being low bushes, and easily attainable, were used more.

37 *Pandu* 'candle', 'lamp' is etymologically identical with *pandut*. The word was probably borrowed from the "non-vocalic" Bima. In many languages we find cognates which mean both "lamp" and a kind of tree (Verheijen 1967, s.v. *pandut*).

38 "Seemingly wild-growing forms have 5-merous flowers, and globose, smooth, red berries 1-2 cm diam" (PF 2,477).

39 By Rongga *mbara*, Ng *bara*, Endé, Lio (uta) *mberi* (cp. *mberék*) the eggplant is meant.

40 Is the existence of Tagalog *ampalaga* a coincidence? Also exist in the Philippine languages (Merrill 168): *ampiláa*, *apalaya*, *apalia*, *pallia*, *palla*, *palli*, *pali*, *ampa*, *sampa* and in Maranao *paraig*.

41 I just give the forms I found in several works: Ml (Peninsula and Sumatra) *ramunggai*, *merunggai*, *rembugai*, *lembugai*, *pemanggai*, *germunggai*, *gemunggai*, Mng *marunggai*, *munggai*, Simalur *barunggai*; Md *marongghi*, Bm *paronggé*, M *peronggé*, Guam *malunggai*, Bis *balunggai*, Bis, Pamp, T *kalunggai*, Bis, T *kamalonggai*, Pamp, T, Bis *kalunggai*, Bis, Pamp *malungg*, *malunggí*, Pamp *kamalunggé*, T *malunggai*, *kalunggai*, Sw, Alor, Ml *Menado marunggga*.

42 Ng: Tana–Wolo's *uta wonga* 'flower vegetable' is probably a folk-etymological formation from *wona*, as the large inflorescences of this tree are eaten.

43 This lotus was discovered by Fr Otto Vollert, and further determined by Schmutz.

44 For NgL names, see Note 39. See also *toro* under 4.11.

45 Besides for *Solanum* sp., *toro* is also used for some kinds of trees, namely a *Canthium* sp., an *Oxyderas* sp., and *Randia spinosa* from the Rubiaceae family, and for *Euonymus* spp. from the Celastraceae. I don't know any specific connection of these plants with *Solanum*.

46 Cp. Ms *kaé*, Ng I *haé*, Ng II *saé* with; Ml *ka*, Ng I *ha*, Ng II *sa* 'crow', and Ng I *kéu*, Ng II *séu*, Ng III *hég* 'areca'.

Chapter 5

47 Waá 'fruit' precedes sometimes a plant name if the plant concerned is specially sought after for its fruit: karot waá-ndékàr the "marshes" producer *Caesalpina major* or *haju* waá-borong and Wr *waag-karot* 'thorn's fruit' (bramble), and also (waá-) *ntémmu* *Flacourtia indica*, of which the fruit is eaten.

48 The generic *saung* 'herb' or *remang* 'weed' before *kenti*, a woody shrub (6.129) can be explained by the fact that it is eaten, and also is regarded as a weed. The chief reason is probably the concurrence with *haju* ('tree') *kenti* for the genuine tree *Leptospermum flavescens*.

48b *Langu tuak* means "drunken by palmwine".

49 In Kamus Manggarai s.v. *laku* I expressed the assumption that it is an archaic name for *Paradoxurus hermaphroditus*, 'civet-cat'. Ten years later I found the name *laku* still in use in the languages of Komodo and Rambong; in the latter the plant name *kuku-laku* (Rmb *kuku* 'nail') is easily understandable. In Malacca a *Caesalpina* sp. is called *kuku-elong* 'eagle's claw', or, contracted: *kulan*.

50 When digging out the *séwo*, *Bioscorea* *aculeata*, a wild tuber of good quality, people in Cibal ought to use prescribed dissimulative variants to some words "because these yams are the *tesé* (garden yams) of the *darat* (the forest spirits)". Therefore the *séwo* is named *sebel* during digging; a stone (*watu*) is named *likang* (trivet-stone), the *kopé* (chopper) is named *lampek* (sharp bamboo *chip*) and the *cuga* (digging stick) is named *béncó* (pointed areca-lath). This device is regarded as a means of disguising the names in order not to be noticed by the *darats*; (the whole tale has been inserted in Manggarai Texts, 47).

51 By hitting the ground it converts into a certain red-brownish snake.

52 However, westerners should be aware that here blue-coloured flowers have nothing to do with "eyes".

53 It is quite possible that this name raok implicitly means 'well combustible', as being a probably homoeonym (Note 67) of *gaok* and *baok* c.s., which mean 'flaming up', 'flaring'. The conditioned sulu in Biting is a *Lincieria* sp.

54 Cognate names are: Bt *andudur*, J *genduru*, Md *gandhuru*, Bali *anduduh* (Heyne, 382). It is not clear which is the primary meaning.

55 In this connection the J name *randa nunut* 'the attached widow' (Backer, 245) is worth-mentioning. Maybe the name of *Chrysopogon* *acculus* (Note 72) in Malay, namely *tarmu*, *kemuncup* (cp. *kucup* 'kiss') 'love grass' (Wilkinson) has the same connotation as the Philippine-Spanish name *amores secos* (cp. Spanish *amor de hortelano* 'bur'). For this very "attachment" the bur was sometimes called "philanthropus" by the ancient Greek (Gamillscheg 3).

56 A very well-known example of this kind of name-giving is *lontar* < *rontal* < J *ron* 'leaf' + tal 'Borassus *sudicus*', because the leaves of this palm have been used as writing materials for many centuries; Bajo *donta* 'lontar leaf'.

57 *Kulan* is possibly a loan from Mk or Bugis, where it is the name for *Cnetum*. Merchants from Mk probably used to buy this product in Manggarai.
Bombong means "still folded young palm-leaves". This example is not absolutely certain. Burkill, 252 mentions a similar case concerning Artocarpus elasticus: "owing to old trees having less pliable bark than young trees, old and young have different names in Borneo due to their different uses."

Other dialects of NA have: Rmb sago-nitu 'spirit nitu's beard', and Rmb sago alone; wuk-nyung 'spirit nyung's hair', Béékum mumus-poso 'spirit poso's whiskers', Wng mumus nitu 'spirit nitu's whiskers', Mulu tembé kodé 'monkey's beard', Nggolo-Nio tembé-ulas ' ? beard'; cp. Dutch baardmos.

In Wélak Schmutz noted rempa-paké as the name of the elder (3,2,a), which is a bit puzzling, because the Sambucus is pinnate-leafed.

In Timor I noted the homosemantic names asao nisif (Dawan) and (ai) smodo nigan (South Tetum); also ko kępı̆q - about the meaning of which I am not absolutely sure - in the Bunaq language of Nua-Lain.

Compare Greek orchis 'testicle'. Mangayan, Bikol and Tagalog have for cognate species the following names: bayag amoq, bayag kambing and bayag usa, 'monkey's, billy-goat's and deer's testicles' respectively. Malako karimbago in Kodi (Sumba) has probably a similar meaning (karimbago 'buffalo').

The Ind (M1) name (pohon) kupu-kupu means also "butterfly tree".

Further data can be found in the Dictionary, Manggarai - Taxonomic, under bakak, cangkem, ngarek, limé, lema, mata, rompa and wa'i.

Homosemantic is the Ind name saung kentut, in the Peninsula kentut-kentut and sekentut, in Tagalog kantutan etc. It is well-known as a medicine against intestinal complaints (Burkill, 1621). Tagalog "kantot" (alongside "kantotan") is an interesting instance of folk etymology, since tai means "excrements".

According to Schmutz (II, Oleaceae B) a man from Meck in Hunting called Apafanthe cuspidata there nggar because of the rustling of its leaves.

Besides these we find gorng-gorng, gorang-gurang, kacang rang-rang, and kacang riang-riang in the Peninsula and Sarawak are onomatopoia for Crotaalaria spp.

The J names cepulkan, ceplekan (Backer, 1339) possibly came into existence in a similar way; cp. the onomatopoetic Sd ceplék 'rattle'.

Manggarai people say: "If the fruit is only touched, the seeds jump away like fleas." It is my guess that Ache lela and "Ternate mala-mala 'Oxalis corniculata' have the same semantic connotation, since mala is an Austronesian reflex.

Also comparisons with the shape of certain things may be made, such as wuag-kopé 'chop- per-fruit' for a (wild) Canavalia, the long beans of which have a quadrangular dorsal suture. Semantically identical names are Rmb wuag-sug, Wr wuag-baro; so, with similar meanings are the names of the cultivated form Canavalia ensiformis (Latin ensiformis 'sword-shaped'): in Malay kacang parang, in Sd kara bedog, in J kara pedang, in Mā kara-wedung 'sword bean'. Rumphius dubbed the plant Lobus macheraoides (Greek machaira 'sword').

I call two or more terms within a same dialect homonyms, when they are very similar in form and meaning. Also an identical object or activity may be indicated by very similar terms between cognate dialects, e.g.: haeng and ngaeng both meaning "to catch", or teong, ndeong, teol, teul, ceul; all of them having a meaning connected with "to hang": see Verheijen 1967, XVII. In my opinion the Manggarai phenomenon represents a systematic trend in the language rather than accidental variations.

A similar name is J walik angin 'turned by the wind', whereas walik tangon 'turned by the hand' is clearly a folk-etymological formation. The J and Sd orang-tring is an example of sound-symbolism. Schmutz gave it the (German) name "Wendeblatt".

I use Pei and Gaynor's definition of homonymy, which includes the notion of different etymological origin, in contrast to polysemy. However, polysemy (5.7.4) may cause a similar ambiguity. Therefore there are also cases of avoidance of this quasi-homonymy under the examples below.

Schmutz (II, Oleaceae) rightly remarks that the tree Fraxinus griffithii is named Jui on account of its peeling bark, in the same way as Tinea imbricata, the "scaled skin" disease, is called jui.

This on account of the ball-round fruits of both (Schmutz).

Papi is probably a contraction of the widespread name M1 api-api for this tree.

Probably so, because this troublesome grass, Heteropogon contortus, is found in the deer's territory, viz. in coastal plains, while the common, very annoying mberong, Chrysopogon aciculatus, is found in the mountains.

Maybe "eagle's" points to the great size of this mushroom.

The complete myth may be found in Verheijen 1951, 148 f. In neighbouring cultures also other spirits are named. Alongside M toto-darat 'wild thorny Solanum', we meet with Rmb toro-wura and in Wr toro-bapug 'aubergine of the demons', and in Ng: Tana-Wolo toro-noa 'aubergine of the (mischievous) demons'.

For further information see under Manggarai - Taxonomic in the Dictionary.
76a The latest (1983) nomenclatural change of Erianthus (arundinaceus) into the genus Saccharum (arundinaceum) shows the sound insight of the Manggarai in botanical affinity. Long before the botanists, they connected it with the sugar-cane: bôu-darat 'the spirits' sugar-cane'; similarly Sb tibu hala 'false sugar-cane'. (I saw too late that some botanists proposed "Saccharum" much earlier.)

76b The different meanings of kastêla (with variants) are still more conspicuous, especially in the Molucca's. This name is a relic of the colonial influence of "Castilla" (Spain) which lasted there roughly from 1550 to 1650. Most names which I shall mention are borrowed from Heyne.

(a) Zea mays 'maize' (Heyne, 142): in Aru dialects kastêla, kastêla, kakatêla, Buru pastêla, Ambau kâcêla, Siau (Sangir), Sulu kâdêla: Makian goçila, Nufor 1 kastêla, Nufor :Biak kastêla, Nhalm 1 kahîtêla, Nhalm II, Tidore têla, Tabukan (Sangir) katêla.

(b) Ipomoea batatas 'sweet potato' (Heyne, 1301): Sseran: Amahai kastêla, Nuualu ?kastêna, Atamano ?zatiela; Wseran: El-paputi kastêra, Waraka ?kaitela; Nusa Laut, Saperaw kastêra; Gorontalo atêêla; but also in western Indonesia we meet with Banghulu, Olon-Manyanatêla, Ngg kâtel, Lamp setilo, Mô têla, Bali kâzêla.

(c) Manihot esculenta 'cassava': Aceh ketila, kentüla, J kâtel, Kangean kastêla.


(e) Carica papaya 'papaya': Bajo in Labuanba- jo kastêla, J kâtel (gantung).

(f) Poinsettas phoenicis 'a flowering herb' (Pam. Sterculiceaeae) Ternate saga (= flower) kastêla.

(g) Gossypium paniculatum 'a kind of cotton' (Vanoverbergh): Kankanay (Igorot) kastil. This is a guess. I wonder why the word "kastil(a)" is so seldom found in the Philippines, as it seems.

76c A similar case must have happened in olden times. I entered in my Kamus Manggarai: "talung it Le, Ko (bdg natalung ?AN (........... = kenti." I saw some connection with Demp- wolff's AN *talun (Toba talun 'Brachland', Java talun 'Abgeerntet', Samoa 'talu-talu 'Jungbusch'), because I had observed this tree, Leptospernum flavescens, as a pioneer tree, forming monospecific forests on land-slides and on burnt bushland in or near the woods; cp. FJ 1,346 "(in) subalpine forest, or near craters and solfataras." Originally the name must have been haju talung 'tree of the talun', 'land-slide tree', though I find no M talung with this meaning.

77 In Manggarai the use of "male" and "female" is botanically only correct in regard to the dioecious papaya. People are in general not conscious of male and female flowers or inflorescences. A teacher, and at the same time a skilled toddy-drawer, had not the slightest idea that the inflorescence he tapped was the male one, and that the fruit-bearing stalk was the female one. Others called a (monoeocious) jackfruit tree which did not bear fruit a male, and nobody thinks it contradictory that the style of a (female) melonflower is named its penis. In Mk, however, talaq gana (gana 'female') is the fruit-bearing lontar. M wina and rona can correctly be translated by "wife" and "husband".

78 An example of this inconsistency gives Schmutz (III, Sapindaceae 2): "1. Dez. '78. Warum sie diese Form wina (= weiblich) nennen (........)? Saga aus Nunang gab mir die Antwort: 'Es ist die ndéér mit dem weissen pucuk = 'flush' und dem kleineren Laub.' Nun ist aber kleineres Laub grundsätzlich als rona männlich zu werten. Aber beim Vergleich mit Microcarpus sieht man dass das Laub kürzer (insofern kleiner) und zugleich "rundlicher" (........) ist, dann lässt es sich doch als wina interpretieren. Das letzte Argument bei solchen Rätseln heisst immer: Tradition: Die alten Leute haben das Gehöhl eben so genannt."

79 In a few cases the term "male" (jantan or la- laki) points to a big fruit; thus pala lalaki (Burkell, 1524) means the big sort of nutmeg of the species Myristica fatua, and cengkôh lalaki (Burkell, 962) means the real fruit, "mother-of-cloves", and not the cloves (= the flower buds) of the Eugenia (Syzygium) aromatica. Mk pala laki, however, is an oval nutmeg, whereas pala gana (gana 'female') is a round one.

80a While studying this subject I realized that in Dutch we also know a similar use of "male" and "female". We have our mannetjesvaren 'male fern', Dryopteris filix-mas and wijfjesvaren 'female fern', Athyrium filix-femina which, before a later systematic splitting, were named Filix mas and Filix femina respectively. The Leiden pteridologist, Mr G. J. de Joncheere, told me without any hesitation that this name-giving was due to the fact that the "female is soft, and pliable" and the "male stiff and hard". Mr Jan Frentrop (31.12.1984 in litt.) kindly made a note for me from Planten en hun Naam by H. Kleijn, namely: mannetjesereprijs (Veronica officinalis) and wijfjerse prijs (V. serpulifolia), and mannetjesplanck (Plantago major) and wijfjesplanten (P. lanceolata). These names were found in the environment of Leiden. In both cases, says Mr Frentrop the "female" is more delicately built.

In my opinion, it is still (8.9.1985) worth mentioning that also in the non-AN language of Tobelo the determinants "female" (bêka) and "male" (nauur) are used in plant names. In the very rich Appendix to Taylor's dissertation I find among some 800 species of plants some 50 cases of this phenomenon. I just cite from column 399: o digo ma bêka 'female digo' (Sida acuta) and o digo ma nauur 'male digo' (S. rhombifolia sup. rhombifolia), both being wild herbs, and from column 432 the recently introduced laimusa ma bêka 'mimosa' (V=3.7) and laimusa ma nauur 'lantana' (V=3.5). The Galela language knows apparently the similar determinants Bedêpa 'female' and nau 'male' (Taylor, column 248).

As to the semantical function of this "classification" Taylor (cp. column 349f.)
gives no enlightenment. Two instances I came upon point slightly to the possibility that "female" is used for the more useful and "male" for the less useful plant. My surmise is based upon the equation of the names 'male migi' = 'bad migi', "so called because this vine cannot be used for tying" (column 438) in contrast to female migi or good migi; and male or bad wilé-wilé in contrast to female or good wilé-wilé (column 463). Remains the question whether An influence has to be taken into consideration.

Further research showed that the great "botanist" Theophrastus, who lived about 300 B.C., used already this distinction in the same meaning. Liddel and Scott's lexicon says s.v. arsen: "masculine (...). of plants: robust, coarse, opp. thélus (tender, delicate)". It even mentions the single-worded thelukraneia 'female kraneia' for the less useful 'dogwood', Cornus sanguinea, and kraneia for the "cornelian cherry", (now) Cornus mas, which yielded the hard cornel-wood or cherry-wood for making spears and arrows.

The Romans used the same distinction femina 'female' and mas(culus) 'male' ('materia dura et nodosa'), of which Rumphius must have had a profound knowledge.

80 Kästner 590, Note 2. "Saint-Lager: Recherches historiques sur les mots: 'Plantes mâles et plantes femelles'," pag. 36 'Le plus savant des botanistes grecs Ludo veritable lui-meme que nous aurions tort de vouloir trouver toujours un sens precis aux mots 'plantes males et femelles', car frequemment ces expressions ont ete employees sans autre intention que celle de distinguer entre elles, par une epithe banale, les especes les plus voisinnes les unes des autres.' Mrs Madeelen Schaap M.A. kindly sent Kästner's article to Flores.

81 This opinion is enforced by the use of dinda 'female' and illa 'male' in the Sama/Bajau language in which they serve to distinguish similar kinds of molluscs (7x in my list) and once of fish (Vachsen 1986:9lf.).

82 However: J waru (with r!) together with several other J words, such as barat, keret, turun, is an exception to the rule that PAN *r* is represented by zero. In Botun (Adonara) Ml barat 'heavy' and baru 'new' have the forms bagat and wagu.

83 From Heyne's text (559) I surmise that by tahab (tahap?) in Kayan Dayak an Artocarpus sp. is meant. Jarret established in her monography the existence of Artocarpus scortechinii in Sumatra, A. odoratissimus in Borneo, A. sericarpus in Borneo and A. treculianus in the Philippines (345, 148, 352, 303 respectively); all of them having names which are cognate with terep. Peekel gives the species A. blumei and A. leeuenwii for New Britain and New Ireland.

84 In Cibal my best informants (in the thirthies) used to say 'Nu(n)ca Lalé 'Island of Lalé (trees)' or 'Plenty of Lalé (trees)' instead of "Manggarai".

85 However, Wielinga gives téra for "linnen", and kambala for "bark-cloth". Endenese traders may have altered the pronunciation of téraépa.

86 Afterwards, however, a man from the village of Lecem in Cibal told me that he was acquainted with the tree. In Cibal the village of Ténj exists, but no one whom I asked knew that ténj is a tuberous plant. It is still known in S'Lamba-Léda.

87 Ignorance of history may lead to errors. In 1937 I broke my ride at a place (near Reo) which was then called "Paang Melada" "Father-of-Lada's Yard". Nowadays the place is known as "Lada". Almost everyone regards the existence of a sometime Lada tree (Bombax celeb) there as the explanation of this place name.

88 This also happens with place names which are not connected with plant names. The governmental centres Lemang-Paji, Lengko-Elar and Bénteng-Jawa which were founded in the twenties became "Paji", "Elar" and "Bénteng" respectively; and the new villages which in my time were called Racang-Kopé and Tumbak-Rabéng have now the names "Racang" and "Tumbak".

89 Elsewhere other interesting features will be found. Fr Apeldoorn related the place names "Rigit" in Sika and "Klahit" in Tana-Ai. They must somehow be linked with the plants rigi (6.71) and klahi (6.96).

90 One has to take into account that my list of Bm plant names is rather short in comparison with the Dictionary.

Chapter 6

91 AN etymologist pity Van Wijk who says (390): "Het etymologiseeran met idg. (= Indo-Germanic) boomnamen is veelal een onzekerere liefhebberij (...)." Sure enough the etymological harvest is extremely poor. Maybe only some 15 Indo-European plant etyma (comprising two or three subgroups such as Celtic, Slavonic, Germanic etc.) can be established, and then meanings from outside the flora must be drawn into the argument. One may just look up names like "beech", "birch", "oak" or "grass" in etymological dictionaries.

92 I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr Robert Blust. When I paid him a brief visit in Leiden, I still stood on the level of Dempwolff's etymologizing. He taught me new methods, and recommended pertinent literature. He kindly read an earlier version of this Chapter 6 and marked my preliminary reconstructions with the proper level of subgrouping. He also took the trouble to make corrections in this text and to raise doubts concerning some of my assumptions. Only because of this did I venture to establish etyma, for the most part on the level of regional groups.

Paradigm

6.5 M waék Rmb faék Wr, Kp, "Slr" Rj ké Rj kabaé
6.7 M welu Rmb felu Wr, Kp, Rj kela

Ng L fai

Rqq, Ng felu

70
M suna 'onion' does not match with Dempwolff's preliminary IN *la(o)u(n)a(h). It is probably a late loan from Mk lasuna, since we find the unshifted form suna (not huna) in the SH area.

I was rather excited, when long ago I read in Heyne, 1278: "Onder de naam van dita is deze bast een van ouds in India bekend tonisch middel." However, not finding any cognates in western Indonesia, I sought the possible Indian source, namely: Dymock's *A History of the principal drugs of vegetable origin in British India*. There, on page 260 (old pagination 386), I found data about the use of *Alstonia scholaris* in India with its Indian names, whereas in the following column it was mentioned that the medicinal use is also very well-known in the Philippines, where the tree is named "dita"!

Jarret, 311 remarks: "The seeded Breadfruit appears to be indigenous in New Guinea and perhaps also in the Moluccas, Melanesia and Micronesia", and she assures (ib. 318): "There can be no doubt that the Breadfruit was introduced in Polynesia by man." Dr M.M.J. van Balgooy who kindly provided me with pertinent literature, means (in litt., dd. 6.8. 1984) that the original distribution area of *Artocarpus altillis* is probably eastern Indonesia. Dempwolff based his IN, FN *kulu(1)* on the ML, J, Futuna and Samoa forms, Blust (1977, 28) gives PMP *kulu(r)*.

To make further research easier I insert here the pertinent names I found in the works of Burkill, Heyne, Jarret, Merrill and Steiner, and in a few dictionaries. Names for the seeded variety are: ML Peninsula kulu, kolor, kelor, Aceh, Sb, Pjili kulu, Bt, ML, 5d kulur, ML kelawi, J keluwih, Sd kelewis, Lamp pulor, Md kolor, Bm, WM kolo, Salayar kulo, Bg ulo, Ta' kulo, Wetar ulu, Forda ulur, WSeran: Elpaputi urulé, Atamano ululé; Tobelo kolulubu, Nhalm urknam (?), Roti sugu boda, sugu madégék (déégék 'seed'), Amb suqon bato, ML Ambon sukon bato, sukun utan, N. Laut, Saparua suguno bato, Kai hukun, Tag, Bis kolo, Kalo, Tag (Artocarpus sp.) oloy, Bikol ugbu; Melanesia: Motu unu, hunu, Polynesia: Hawaii, Futuna, Samoa ulu, Rarotonga, Mangareva kuru. According to Steiner's list most names in Micronesia, but also some in Melanesia and Polynesia, are cognates of "mei". Names for the seedless forms are: ML Peninsula sukon, sukun, Aceh sukon, Nias suku, M, Bl, Jv, Kai, Ambon: Piru; Tont sukon, Md sokon, Sul: Bnt kugu, Bant kukuhe, Mong kulud, Ponas. kuruch, Toulour kurur, Tomini kulub sarangan, Bonerate tehugu bakare(q), Roti sugu aék, (aék 'cultivated'), Wetar ulu ugu, Watabela hukun, Seran: Elpaputi sugunó, Amahai suguno, Buru sokon; Irfugak bakak (?), Ilokano, Ibanag, pakak (?).

Jarret, the specialist on *Artocarpus*, assumes with regard to the seedless varieties (Jarret, 311): "Some, at least, of the few seeded or seedless varieties were developed in New Guinea, but others may have arisen from seeded Breadfruit growing in Micronesia, Melanesia and the Moluccas." Therefore Dempwolff's "IN" *t'ukun is a doubtful etymon. Stresemann, 36 established *Ng* *sukun, but the source language for so many loans is still uncertain.

Roti: Termanu nggelas, dial. helas etc. mean probably Cucurbita moschata, whereas Roti lela is probably *Benincasa*.

The latinisation *Cajanuz* from ML kacang is a good example of the difficulty or rather the impossibility of rendering certain sounds - in this case ML (c) and (ng) - by an adequate Latin transliteration.

Schmutz determined it as *Acanthus ilicifolius*, which explains the place name in the mountains.

I consider M wunut 'aren-palm fibre' as a fine doublet of wunot, deriving from the same etymon. In my Kamus I pointed to Ng, Lio funu, Bm kbenun, Sw kbenun, Roté mbunut, punuk, funuk, Sangir bunun 'aren-fibre' (Ind 'ijuk'), and T bunut 'coconut-fibre'; see, however, Blust 1980 s.v. *bunut*.

After serious hesitation I give alphabetically the numerous forms I found with rather full geographical data. I could not check all the forms, some of which must be inaccurate.

<table>
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unyig
Bg: Lampalagiang
unyé
N̩gL
unyis
M

We find quite other names in Rmb kumug,
FEM I komu, FEM II moro-wio, Endé ako and Sb kala-raga.

108 According to Merrill the same name (lipay) is
used at least in Bisaya for Laportea (6.77)
Gaudechiana ("a perennial herb with stinging
hairs"); in Tag the plant is named lipa, in
Pampanga lipang-doton.

109 I entered into my Kamus Manggarai "punti Pa-
car) (AN) sb písang; buahnya kecil pendek, manis." I connected it with Dempwolff's AN
*punt(i)ih. By now I think that this name
without cognates in the very neighbourhood and
locally so limited must be regarded as a loan.
Possibly a Mendanese official was the intro-
ducer.

110 Paradigm
6.10' M loi 'Wr koi 'Rgg, Ng 'Tana-Ai
6.28' M lembar 'Rmb, Wr 'Rgg hembu'Mk kalobur
6.96' M laci 'Ng I 'Ng II, 'Si kelahi,
6.115' M luwu 'Rgg, Wr 'ML: Serawak

111 The name langa which is scattered throughout
Manggarai originates probably from the same
imaginative thought. It is homoeonymous with
nganga 'yawn', canga 'open-mouthed', 'devour',
ganga 'forked branch', lénga 'stand open' etc.

112 The two others are:
(a) Aceh (trieng) talang, Mng (bulueh) talang,
Bt (buluh) tolang, MK (bulu) tallangi; (FWMP *telaq)
(b) Talauu timballang, Sangir timbèllang,
NSul: Ttb tambelan, Toumapkowa tambelan,
Bent timbarang, Buol lumulango, Gorontalo
tomula, Tomini tambalo.

113 Is it allowed to conclude from Sd jawawut
(?jawa-wut) 'S. italica' to the (one time)
ocurrence of jawa, probably, "sorghum?"
Bali jawa suwi and jawa have a similar rela-
tion.

114 In Malay (Peninsula, Sumatra) meranti is also
the name of an extensive genus of trees
(Shorea), and in M (haju) kenti is the tree
Leptospermum flavescens. I do not see any
semantical connection between the trees con-
cerned and the shrub.

115 In Holland I happened to meet with a Tanim-
baresen gentleman in an elevator. Because of
the description he kindly gave me of the tree
kavuvu, which name I came upon in Drabbe, I
take it for granted that by that name Stercu-
lia foetida is meant.
The fist-large ripe fruit, when still hanging on the tree split up in two halves. So I think that the same connotation is found in the name paka as in gaka (6.98 (b)). That this is a plausible suggestion may become clear by the riddle: "Her children fall to the ground and their mother laughs wide-mouthed." The answer is "woi". It points to the big seeds dropping from the wide-opened fruit on the tree (Manggarai Texts, 797). A similar riddle of which the solution is haju boto, Pagianta (6.98 (b), note 111) reads: "When young it does not laugh, when old it laughs day and night" (ib. 785).

The burs of Urena (and Triumfetta) are called M punut, which possibly is a variant; (cp. CM tete punut 'sticking batatas' and NK (!) asé punut 'sticking rice'). In Wo in M punut is the name for the closely allied plant Triumfetta suffruticosa, which also bears burs.

Afterwards I saw in Heyne, Burkhill and Wilkinson that almost the same names: Ml cantigi, mentigi, J sentigi, Ms menthigi and Mx santigi, are also given to a coastal shrub which resembles Vaccinium, namely Pemphis acidula. We have therefore to assume a vertical semantic spread in Java. The sour leaves of both genera are eaten.

The tubers of Dioscorea esculenta like those of D. aculeata are well protected by spiny roots. I think therefore that the name is etymologically identical with PMP *suja 'thorn', 'mantrap'.

Additional etyma

6.147 Alocasia macrorrhiza PMP *biRaq

The giant arum was formerly eaten in times of famine. It needed a special preparation, as it is poisonous. Burkhill (106) tells us that the plant originated in the continent of south Asia, and is probably a native of Ceylon. He mentions as names in non-AN languages: Semang biah, Tembe (?) brak and bragmo, Sakai brakn. Heyne gives many cognates throughout Indonesia. In the BS group I noted in Wangka Rmb wiraq, in Endé and Lio wira and in Sumba dialects wi, wia, wiqa and wiyo.

6.148 Erythrina spp. PMP *DapDap

The leaves of this tree are eaten. Dem-wolff established the etymon for IN, MN and PN. In Malacca Ml we find the variant dedap. To that form correspond the M cognates sesap, sesat in kalos-sesap (Cibal) and kalos-sesat (Pongkor); in Wd and Wangka zezaat, in Wr, Rj and Kepoq jejat, while in PEM we find the irregular forms zezaat, zezaat and jejat, which are probably loans. The dialects of Newéwa and Membro in Sumba have redapa and of Loura radapa.

6.149 Oryza sativa PAN *pajay

Reflexes of this etymon for "rice" are found in all the islands of the NTF: Rm faré, Kolo (Rm) paré, Sumba dialects paré, pari (along with Dsu, ubuy), Ng paré, 'aré (along with kosu), Nagé pae, Ed 'aré, Lio, Si, Slr paré, Sw aré. Only in NA no reflexes are found: WM mawo, CM, EM, FEM voja, Rmb, Wr kusu, kosu. For Ng and Sb see above, and 5.10.4.
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vernacular (nomenclature)

word islands
APPENDIX I

LIST OF TAXONOMIC PLANT NAMES WITH SOME INDONESIAN EQUIVALENTS

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sj. kampah
sj. nyatuh
"putat gajah"
beluntas
jamuju (Sunda)
sj. lidah ayam
gelang
jambu biji
angsana
bayur
akar kupur-kupur
temberau
tebu
sj. gelagah
buluh temiang
"buluh telang"
kusambi
walikukun
labu siam
bijan
sekoj, jawawut
lintabung
akar banar
terung
daun ranti
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kedondong hutan
kelumpang
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APPENDIX II

LIST OF LANGUAGES AND AREAS

(For names within MA see map with list. The spelling of the names in this article is sometimes inconsistent.)

1. Abbreviated names

   AMB  Original Ambonese in the sense of Stresemann
   Amb  Isl. Ambon, Ambonese
   AN   Austro-Nesian in the sense of Dyen; map p.72
   Bant  Bantik, NESulawesi
   Bent  Bentenan, NESulawesi
   Bg   Bugis, SSulawesi
   Bik  Bikol, SELuzon
   Bis  Bisaya, Philippines
   Bj   Bajo, Bajau: the sea-nomads in EIndonesia and the Philip-
        pines; see Sama
   Bl   Bali
   Bm   Bima, ESumbawa, NTB
   BS   Bima-Sumba Group in the sense of Jonker
   Bt   Batak, WSumatra
   C.   Central
   Cag  Cagayan, NMindanao
   Du   Dutch
   E    English
   E..; e.  East; east
   Ed   Ende, Flores, NTT
   FEM  Far-East Manggarai; see MA map
   FL   Common Flores (WF, Si, SIr)
   Halm Halmahera, Moluccas
   Ilok, Il Iloko (Ilocano), NLuzón
   IN   Original Indonesian in the sense of Dempwolff
   Ind  Indonesian
   J, Jv  Java
   Jkt  Jakarta
   Kmb  Kambera, ESumba, NTT
   Kmd  Komodo, isl. between Bm and Flores
   Kr   Karera, ESumba
   M    Manggarai proper
   MG   Manggarai Group; cp. 1.3.1. and map p.71
   Md   Madura, isl. north-east of Java
   Mk   Makasar (Macassar), SWSulawesi
   Ml   Malay
   MN   Original Melanesian
   Mng  Minangkabau, WSumatra
   Mong Mongondow, Minahasa, NSulawesi
   MP   Malayo-Polynesian in the sense of Dyen
   N..; n.  North; north
   Ng   Ngadha in WFlores
   NT   Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda Is. without Bali)
   NTB  civil province: Nusa Tenggara Barat, Western Lesser Sunda
        Is. (Lombok, Sumbawa)
   NTT  civil province: Nusa Tenggara Timur, Eastern Lesser Sunda
        Is. (Flores, Sumba, Sawu, WTimor, Alor and islands; but
        see 6.0.6, Map 24
   OJ   Old-Javanese
   P..  Proto- (PF = Proto-Flores, PS = Proto-Sumba)
   Pamp Pampanga, NLuzón
   Phil  Philippines
   PN   Polynesian
   Rgg  Rongga, SEManggarai; NgL language
   S..; s.  South; south
   Sb   Sumba, isl. in NTT; see P..
   Sbw  Sumbawa, isl. in NTT
   Sd   Sunda, WJava
   Si   Sika, CFlores
   Skt  Sanskrit
   Slr  Solorese or Lamaholot language(s)
   Ssk  Sasak, language in Lombok, NTT
   Sul  Sulawesi = Celebes
   Sw   Isl. Sawu in NTT
2. Unabbreviated names

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<tr>
<td>Ifugao</td>
<td>NLuzón</td>
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<tr>
<td>Igorot</td>
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<tr>
<td>I îljan</td>
<td>Panay, Phil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>isl. in the SMoluccas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimantan</td>
<td>= Indonesian Borneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangean</td>
<td>isl. north-east of Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karo</td>
<td>NWSulawesi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kayan</td>
<td>CEKalinantan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kayeli</td>
<td>Buru, Moluccas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kedayan</td>
<td>Brunei, Borneo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Keo</td>
<td>SFlores, NTT</td>
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<tr>
<td>?Kwesten</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kolo</td>
<td>Bm dialect and people</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kupu</td>
<td>Sumatra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kupang</td>
<td>WTimor, NTT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kutai</td>
<td>CEKalinantan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamaholot</td>
<td>= Solorese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lamekot  New Ireland
Lampung  SSumatra
Lio  CFlores, NTT
Lo(lol)da  NHalmahera, Moluccas; non-AN
Malaysia  Malay Archipelago (Burkill)
Malesia  botanical technical term; see map p.72
Manado  town in the Minahasa
Mandailing  NWSumatra
Mangarewa  isl. in Polynesia
Mangyan  Mindoro, Philippines
Maranao  NMindanao, Philippines
Masaréte  language in Buru
Minahasa  outermost north-east arm of Sulawesi
Mori  CSulawesi
Muna  isl. south-east of Sulawesi
Mundé  NNágé dialect
Nágé  Flores
Ndao (Dao)  isl. w. of Roti; a Sawu "dialect"
New Britain  isl. e. of CNew Guinea
New Ireland  isl. e. of CNew Guinea
Nias  isl. s. of WSumatra
Nufor  language in the Sarera Bay
Nusa laut  isl. e. of Ambon, Moluccas
Olon Manyaan  Borneo
Paga  NHalmahera; non-AN
Pala  New Ireland
Palembang  SESumatra
Palu  CSulawesi
Palué (Paluqué)  isl. n. of Flores
Pampilona  NLuzón
Panay  isl. n. of Mindanao, Bisaya language
Pangasingan  Luzón
Payakumbuh  CSumatra
Peninsula  = Malay Peninsula  Malacca
Piru  WSeram
Ponosakawan  Minahasa
Rarotonga  isl. in WPolynesia
Roti  isl. w. of Timor
Sakai  people and non-AN language in Malay
Salayar  isl. s. of SWSulawesi
Sama  language of the Bajaus
Samau  isl. w. of Timor
Samoa  isl. in CPolynesia
Sangir (Sangihe)  isl. n. of NESulawesi
Saparéte  Buru
Saparua  isl. e. of Ambon
Sarera (Teluk)  = Geelvink Baaí
Seram, Seran  isl. in the Moluccas
Serawak  NBorneo
Siâu  isl. n. of NESulawesi
Simalur  isl. w. of NSumatra
Simelungun  NSumatra
Sku  Papua language at the River Sepik
Solomon Is.  e. of ENew Guinea
Sto  Papua language in ENew Guinea
Sula  isl. in the Moluccas
Sulu  isl. e. of NBorneo
Taé'  CCelebes, a Toraja language
Talaud  isl. n. of ECelebes
Tana-Ai  Flores, a Si dialect and area
Tana-Wolo  NNágadha
Taniambar Is.  SMoluccas
Tapanuli  WSumatra
Tédo-Mudé  NNágé dialect
Tidore  isl. w. of NHalmahera; non-AN language
Tidung  NEBorneo
Toba  NSumatra
Tobelo  NHalmahera; non-AN
Tomini  CCelebes
To(u)mpakewa  Minahasa, NECelebes
Tonsawang  Minahasa
Tonsea  Minahasa
Toulour  NECelebes
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Place</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wambie in Holtekang</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waraka</td>
<td>Seram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watubela</td>
<td>isl. w. of Seram</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weda</td>
<td>SHalmahera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetar</td>
<td>isl. n. of ETimor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wondama</td>
<td>NIrrian near the Sarera Bay; Papua language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamdena</td>
<td>main isl. of the Tanimbar Is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambales (Sambal)</td>
<td>NWLuzón</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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