

PLANT NAMES
IN
AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

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EDITORIAL

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**PLANT NAMES
IN
AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS**

by
JILIS A.J. VERHEIJEN

1984

**Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA
Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya
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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 etymon
' ' indicate a subsequent translation
" " indicate a quotation, or a specific sense of a word
> becomes
< comes from
?lis the word lis is possibly incorrect

F O R E W O R D

"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.

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 *dalus*, 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.¹

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 Alo Sahu and Don. Rabu. Mostly in the field, names were noted down in the Solorese of Witihama, in Roti and Ndao, 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 Witihama 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. Burkill, 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,² and for Heyne it was often simply impossible to check both the orthography and the determinations.³ 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.⁴ Behind the taxonomic names no author's names are given. In studies like this they are entirely superfluous.^{5a}

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.^{5b}

1.2.6 I deemed it useful to give some bo-

tanical 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 *daludoms* 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 (NgL) 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 Rongga, Endé and Sb: Loura we find unusual kinds of (r); I write them /r̄/. According to local custom the voiced laryngeal fricative is written /gh/, and a possibly glottalised (g) as /gg/; Sb á is a long, à a short stressed /a/.⁶

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 Burkill'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/dg) 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 *Dictionary 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-linguistic" explanations. Also my ethnobotanic 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 Burkill'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 phytonymy. 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 etyma. The essential share Dr Blust had in this chapter is yet to be acknowledged.

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 *Erechtites 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 windborne 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 nipon(g)* and *saung jepang* 'the Japanese herb', and also *bendés jepang*, 'Japanese *bendés*'; see under 2.2.3 (b); in Kepoq (MA) *leboq nipon* 'the herb of the Nippons'; in Ngadha and Nagé *kigo-nipo*, in Kéo and Endé *kinggo-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: Ndonga I noted *mbaka nipo* and in Lio: Moni *te*⁸ *mbaka nipo* 'the Nipponese *Erigeron sumatrensis*! This *Erigeron* resembles *Erechtites 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 *mbulel réngkat* 'the deeply lobed *Emilia sonchifolia*'. In Téda-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 *Emilia sonchifolia* now used for *Erechtites valerianifolia*, e.g.: in Manggarai dialects *rénggong*, *bolel*, *bulel*, *mbulel*, in the Rembong dialect of Térong-Mawong *kinggong*; in Ende: Nua-Bosi, *kinggo*. In Endé: Rowo-Réké the name (*wunu*) *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 keré*.¹¹

(c) Other more or less similar plants whose names were borrowed in Manggarai for *E. valerianifolia* are: *mé'as*, *Spilanthes iabadicensis*, *cawat*, a *Bidens* sp., and further *bojé* (2.2.5), *bendés* and *mendés*. The latter three names are certainly old ones, and that is probably also the case with *tombek* and *runggu*. 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 Lengko-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: *tewon kepal*. I found a similar nomenclature on the island of Sumba; in the dialect of Kodi *ro kápalo* is used, and in that of Loura *roqo kápala léra*, 'the herb of the airplane'. 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

Especially 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 *Erechtites*.

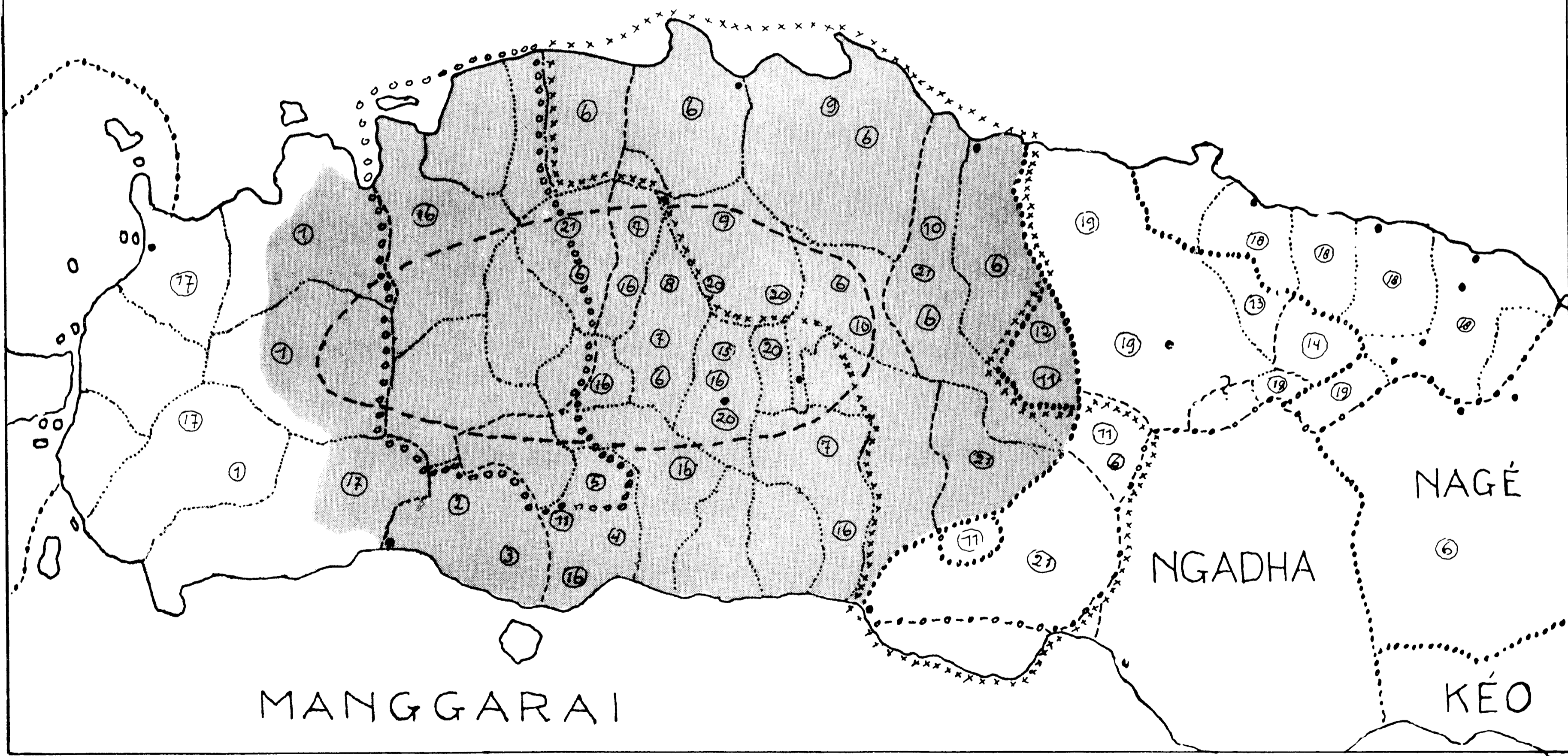
In Central Manggarai the name *bojé* is rather common. In S.-E. Lamba-Léda this word means "swollen".¹² *Bojé* is also used in Rajong (MA), in Rongga and Nagé. The forms *bojél* we find in Waé-Rana (MA), and *bojot/bozot* in Rembong (MA) and in Mulu

Map 1. Mosaic; fusion and overlapping; supersession by *bendés*

- o o o o bolel
- x x x x bojé
- · · · bojél
- - - - (roughly) nipon(g)
- (shaded) bendés

Erechtites valerianifolia; 2.2

- | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1 jepang | 8 méqas | 15 bendés (jepang) |
| 2 réwung | 9 mendés | 16 poqang |
| 3 tombek | 10 ranggu | 17 cawat |
| 4 becé | 11 nipon(g) | 18 rewut-kepal |
| 5 bonak | 12 bénggong | 19 bojot |
| 6 bojé | 13 kinggong | 20 bendés |
| 7 rénggong | 14 tewon-kepal | 21 bojél |



(FEM).

The name *bonggéng* in Kepoq (MA) may probably be connected with the identical word, which in Lamba-Léda means "thick" (concerning vines). In Narang, Todo, the name *becé* 'fat', 'thick', is used alongside *bonak*, which has almost the same meaning.¹³

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
becé To: Narang
bojé C, Ra, Le, Rs, Pst, Ndo, NL, SL; Rj, Rgg; Nagé
bojél NNdo, Co, Ms; Wr
bojot/bozot Rmb; FEM: Mulu
bolel Ko
bonak To: Narang
bonggéng Kepoq I, NRW
bulel Ré, Ko
cawat WM
jepang WM
ro kápalo Sb: Kodi
ro'o kápala léra Sb: Loura
kigo nipo Ng, Nagé
kinggo Endé: Nua-Bosi
kinggo-nipo Endé: Nua-Bosi; Kéo
kinggong Térong(-Mawong); FEM
(*wunu*) *mbaka* Endé: Rowo-Réké
mbaka-nipo Lio: Ndonga
te mbaka-nipo Lio: Moni
mbaké-mézé Nagé: Téda-Mudé
?mbolel To
mbulel Pa, NWé
mbulel-réngkat Pa
mégas Ra
mendés Lu, C
nipon(g) C, SH, MB, Nd, To: Kéndé; SL: Nénu; Kp II
poqang R, S, Le, P, Pa, Ndo: Téntang; To: Kéndé, Wé: Orong, Le: Paghar
rangu C, Co, Urung SL
rénggong Ra, NNdo, To
réwung To: Lamba
rewut-kepal FEM
tewoa-kepal Wng
tombek To: Dengé

2.3 *Eupatorium inulifolium* and *E. odoratum*

2.3.1 The plants

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 1963.¹⁴

A related species which appeared about the same time, but which prefers regions below 500 m, is *Eupatorium odoratum*.¹⁵ 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) *Sénsus*, locally *sínsus*, 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 *sénsus gambak* 'sénsus (with) 'broad' (?leaves), *E. inulifolium*, and *sénsus lor* 'creeping *sénsus*' for *E. odoratum*. In Mano a distinction was made by using respectively the names *oka-dé* or *merdéka* and *sénsus*; see below under (b) and (c). In the areas near Ruteng we find *sénsus rona* 'male *sénsus*' as the name for *E. inulifolium*, and *sénsus wina* 'female *sénsus*' 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 Sémag (Wélak) for a new small prostrate papilionacea, and in Térong-Mawong in Riung for *Lantana camara* (3.4).

(c) 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-

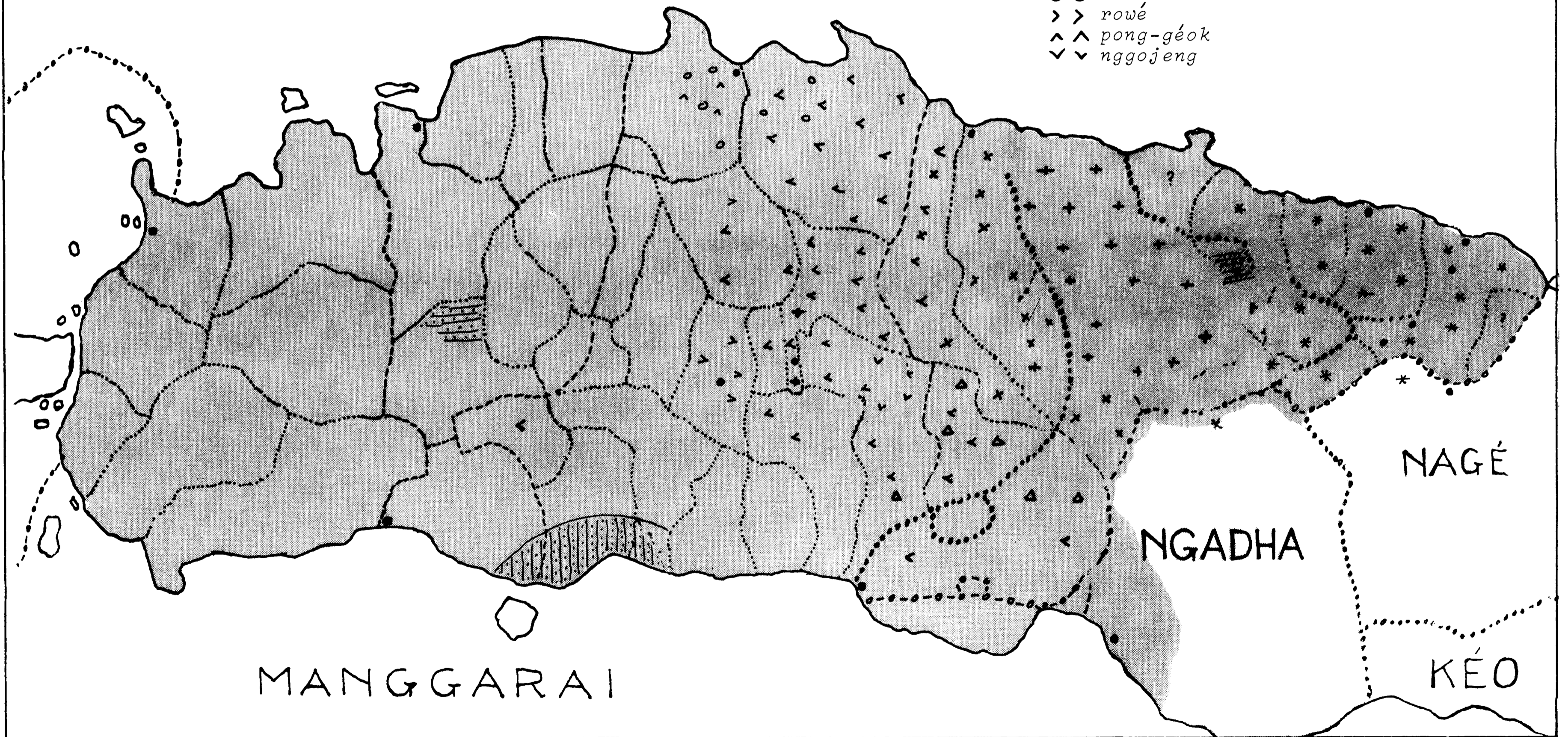
Map 2. a. dispersed homonyms. b. scattered blocks; supersession by *sénsus*.

a. homonymous *merdéka(q)*

- ++ *Eupatorium* spp.
- ||| *Euphorbium* sp.
- ≡≡≡ papilionacea
- //// *Lantana camara*

b. *Eupatorium* spp.; 2.3

- *sénsus, sénsuh, sinsus, sinsuh, sénsu, sésu*
- << *oka-dé*
- ++ *merdéka(q)*
- xx *kembang*
- * * *ganéfo, géné-fo*
- △△ *bangka-bu, bangka-bus*
- oo *rokét*
- >> *rowé*
- ^^ *pong-géok*
- vv *nggojeng*



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 *géné-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-géok* 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-géok. This was about 1968.

2.3.3 Borrowed names

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

(b) In Riwu: Ndilek *nggojang*, 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 *sénsu* from Manggarai.

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

(c) In Nua-Bosi, Ende 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 Ende district *mburi-mbedo* and *mbutu-mité*, but for these names I have no explanation.

2.3.5 The superseding name *sénsus*

In 1963 the name *sénsus* 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 *sénsus*. 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 fire-wood in their simple boarding-houses. It is chiefly on their account that the name *sénsus* 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 FEM; Wué, Wangka; Téda-Mudé
géné-fo Ng: Tana-Wolo
kembang Co, Bi, Kp
kerinu Lio
merdéka Ma
merdékaq Rmb; Rj
nggojang Ndilek Rw
mburi-mbedo Endé: Lia-Nggéré
mbutu-mité Endé: Mbomba
oka-dé I L, C (*E. inulifolium*)
oka-dé II SL, NRw, St, Ténda R, Tuwa Wo;
Wr: Réndé, Lété
rinu Endé: Nua-Bosi
rokét NL
rowé R
sénsu Rgg
sénsus/sinsus MA; in FEM it is used for
Eup. odoratum
sénsus-gembak ?Laci R
sénsus-lor Laci R (*E. odoratum*)
sénsus-rona Ma, Nd, R, Ra, C, NNdo, STo,
NNdo, NLe (*E. inulifolium*)
sénsus-wina Nd, R, C (*E. odoratum*)
sénsu 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 *sensus* 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 *merdéka(q)* for different adventitious plants. These homonyms form one large block and three word-islands. Since we know well the history of the name *merdéka(q)*, 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 *réqa-*, *wora-* and *pulut-*islands on Map 11, 14 and 14a, and (b) a borrowing from an important center by way of transmigration, like *conco II*

on Map 13.

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 *wéla-loé* 'small flower' is used; this also counts for the native *Polygala persicariaefolia*. The name *wela-to'é* 'flower (of the bamboo) to'é' makes no sense to me. Maybe it is an example of poor folk etymology.

Much more interesting are the names *camat* in Rahong, and *lura* in Ruteng. They are historical reminders of the new civil division into *kecamatan*s and *kelurahans* which are headed respectively by a *camat* (Ind) and a *lurah* (Ind). In Manggarai this replacement of the feudal *daluh* and *kepala kampong* 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-Ténda on the island of Palu'é.

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, *Spilanthus iabadicensis*; 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 troublesome weed, and is often bundled to be used as a broom.

Several names could be ascertained. In Ruteng we find *meka-weru* 'the new guest',¹⁶ which it shares with the closely cognate *Salomonina cantonensis*. The latter plant, however, is a native of Indonesia, but possibly new in Flores. In Manado and Pongkor *randi-awang* is used, which is also a name of *Cuphea* in 2.4. I see no plausible meaning in the former part of the compound, but *awang* means 'firmament', and is probably somehow associated with the notion of "fallen from heaven".¹⁷ It is interesting that one of the Sundanese names of this plant, *sirawang langit* (Backer, 393), contains a semantically identical term in the second part.

In Poka, Ndéhes I heard the name *hoi* 'to sweep', 'broom'. This besom is otherwise much finer than the broom made from *Sarothamnus scoparius*, the English broomshrub. Here again we find a Sundanese counterpart in the name *sasapuan* (Backer, 393) 'broom'. In SLamba-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 linifolia*, is employed for the same purpose, and is called *haju safi* '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" - labiate 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.¹⁸ 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 homonyms (Note 67) which contain *a-o* in Manggarai, I surmise that *ngao* has to do with sound. The first form, chronologically, might have been *runi-ngao* 'sound(ing): *ngao*'. From these forms the following in SW Manggarai can be derived in the way of folk etymology: *ri'i-ngao* (*ri'i* 'Imperata grass'), and further *ri-ngao* and the exceptional types of trisyllabic forms with full vocalic antepenult *ringao* and *rangao*; and from those the rather normally formed *rengao*. The existence of the name *teringao* in Komodo (5.12.2) is very interesting.

The plant's fetidity is expressed by the names "horse's dung" (*Ri taqi zarang*, Téda-Mudé *taqi zara*) and "Pig's dung" (*Rmb taqing kobor*, Térong *tai kobor*, Wué *taqi wawi*).

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 ornaments, 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' (*mencari bunga*) to adorn the school and the chapel.¹⁹ 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, Keraéng 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 paqit* 'bitter flower', since the leaves taste bitter. Also in Ngadha and Lio we find the same observation in *bunga baqi*, which in Ng evolved into *baqi* 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 Kepoq 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-lezoq*²⁰ and in Téda-Mudé (Nagé) *bunga mata-leza*; while in the dialects of Faté, Wué and Mulu 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'.^{21a}

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 pecai* (Ind *pécai*) 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 *to-maat*.

3.3.6 After Ind *labu jepang* (or *l. siam*), the cucumberlike *Sechium edule* is mostly called *labu*, which suffices, since in Manggarai no concurring 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 (*haju*) *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 droppings. 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 (*wasé*) *kawéng*.

A borrowing from Bm is *teridé*, sometimes becoming *kawéng teridé*. 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-tacik* (*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 *conco-tuang* '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 *teridé*, *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 *teridé* or/ and *rawuk*: *kena teridé* 'lantana fence'.

3.5 About 1938 *Leucaena leucocephala* (*L. glauca*) was introduced for terracing communal gardens, for green manure and for fodder. The agricultural officials brought the plant with one of its Indonesian names *lamtoro* (Jv *silam 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-ntoro*, *lamtoro*, *lantoro*, *lema-ntoro*, *lema-toro*, *leme-ntoro*, *lentoro*, *lombong-toro*; in Waé-Rana is used *lamé-toro*, in Kepoq *lain-toro*, in Rembong and Mbai *lami-ntoro*, in Rajong *limé-ntoro*, and in Téda-Mudé (Nagé) *lamu-toro*.²²

The seeds are sometimes used to make coffee, therefore we encounter the name *kopi-rewut* 'bush coffee' in Térong, Wangka and Wué. In Ngadha, Endé and Lio the name *bhibhi* (Ind *bibit* 'seedling') is

used, which connects it with the obligatory planting of this plant for soil-improvement in the thirties.

3.6 *Manihot esculenta* (*M. utilissima*) - Cassava

Not before 1930 did the cassava acquire importance in Manggarai. Maybe Bimane in Reo planted the cassava earlier; hence the name *daéng-sé* '(the tuber first planted by) Daéng Sé', a Bimane nobleman.²³ This name is still known in Central Manggarai. In north-eastern Manggarai it has been shortened into *daéng*. Possibly *désé*, used in Nggalak and Berit, has also to be reduced to *daéng-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 *bogor* is almost certainly what is left of a former *tété-bogor* 'tuber from Bogor'. *Tété-lada* '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 *wo wéi kapaka*. *Kapaka* is probably the *Sterculia foetida*, also a tree with palmate leaves; see 6.131 (c).

For the name *manggis* I cannot find a plausible explanation. *Tété-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 *puteri malu* 'shy girl', but in Rmb under the wholly translated name *karot kiaqn* 'shy thorn', while in Térong *kia-kodong* 'shy ..?..' is used.

Being a vine, the plant is also called *karot luju* 'the thorny string'; and because it closes its leaflets *karot* (or *wasé*) *kimot* 'closing thorn' or closing vine', in contrast to *remang* or *saung kimot* 'closing herb' for the native *Cassia mimosoides*.

Comparable with the name *bhibhi* for the *lamtoro* is its (Ind) name *bibit* 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 *dango-rang*, *ndango-rang*, (*karot*) *ndang*, further *karot ringot* and *karot semba*.

In Sumba I noted the names *tára ma-rómba* 'the thorn from the master' (cp. *conco-tuang* 3.4), and *tára káha* '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".²⁵ The Manggarai probably made first acquaintance with the prepared tobacco about two centuries ago, and they adopted the name *mbako* from Mk *tambako*. The cultivation of the crop did not begin before the twentieth century.

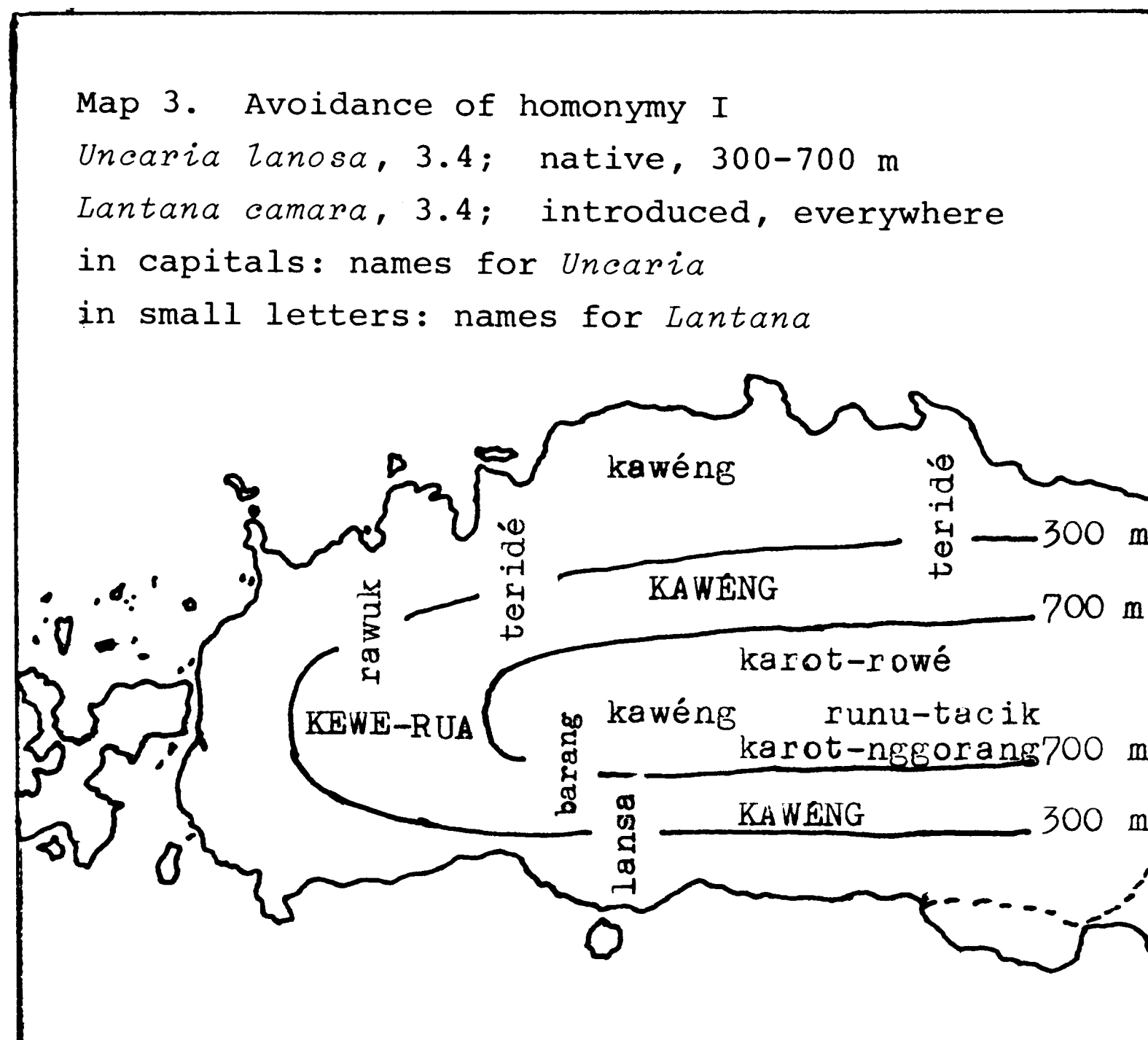
3.9 The cactus, *Opuntia elatior*, consists of an articulated stem whose blades are heavily armed with sharp needles.

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 Mbai; *togo-édhé* in the adjacent Nagé dialect of Teda-Mudé. In these names the meaning of the former part is not clear to me.

A good descriptive name is *gulung tilu-kaba* 'buffalo's ear's spine' after the form of its spiny blades. Other names are *gulung cina* 'Chinese thorn' and *gulung jijik* '...?... spine'.

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: *pesi nipon*, *mesak nipon* and *lépong nipon*; see "sorghum" under 4.17; (syn. *Panicum glaucum*).



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 most probably a loan from Macassarese, in contrast to *pandang wasé* 'fibre pandanus', *Agave sisalama*. It is also called *pandang hang* 'edible pandanus', and in NLambaleda its name is *réqa jawa* 'Javanese screw-pine'. Because of Malay influence *nenas* also is used. The cognates of *nenas*, *nanas* 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*)*nānā* via Spanish by the Portuguese. Bm *fanda dipi* 'matting screw-pine' for the native *Pandanus tectorius* 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 *kacang tanah* 'bean (in the) ground' or are translations of it. Some omitted "tanah" so it became *kacangu* and *kasa* 'the beans'. The Macassarese use *kacang goréng* 'roasting beans' and the Buginese *canggoréng*.²⁶ Others again named it *kacang cina*, *kacang japong*, *kacang jawa*, *kacang manila* and so on. In the languages of Timor, Sumba and Flores I always found the notion "ground bean" rendered in the respective languages.²⁷ In the Moluccas and Sawu *kacang manila* evolved into *menila*; to this name Komodo *permila* is probably related.

Non-compounded proper names I noted only in Bm *rapa*, Bunaq *hoqi* and Greater Manggarai (MA) *koja/koza*. This *koja* must be connected with the coastal tree *Cannarium volgare* (*koza* in Rembong and Central Flores), whose fruitkernels, also named *koza*, are roasted. The name *koja* in M must originate from a region where the

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

4.3 *Artocarpus altilis* (*A. communis*, *A. incisa*) - 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 Mk *bakaraq* (whose last syllable is only slightly stressed). *Bakaraq* 'roasting' was certainly an appellative; cp. Bonerate *tehuqu ?bakareq* (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.²⁸ Since seeds are no longer plantable after some weeks of travelling, it is probable that its dispersion took place from different centres.

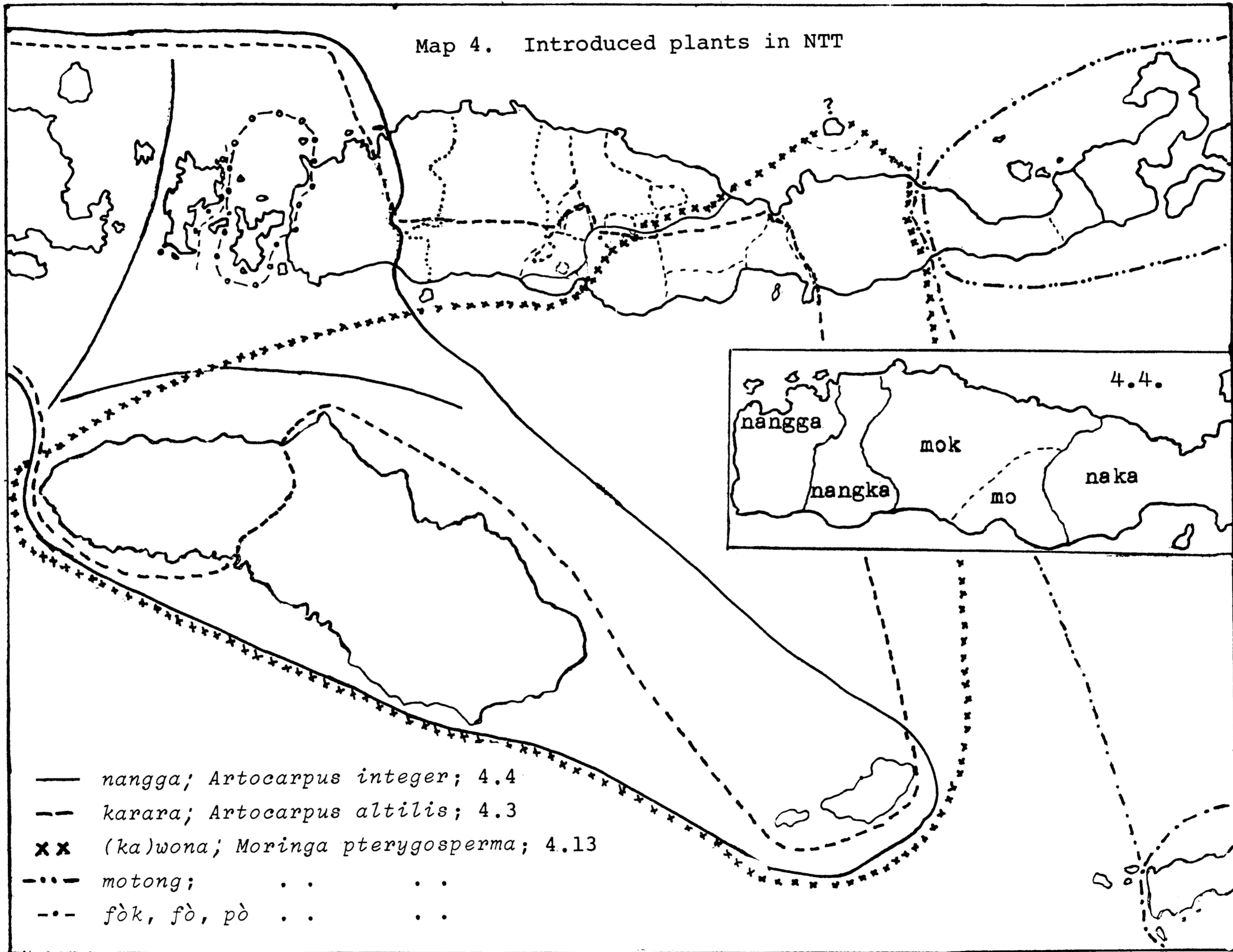
In Sumatra we meet with names cognate to *lamasa*, but most widespread are cognates of *angka*: J, Sd, Ml *angka*, Tagalog, Ilokano *langka*. It spread to the Lesser Sunda Islands: M II *angka*, Ng, Lio *naka*, Bima (conditioned) *angga*; from whence this form spread to WM and Sumba; to Sumba: Loura,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



clusively found in a wild state, and nobody in Manggarai regards it as an introduced plant. Its name too, *nggurus*, is characteristically Manggarai. Except in Waé-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 languages cognates of *unus* 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 *Brucea javanica*, which has a bitter bark, and in Todo Schmutz noted it for *Drimys piperita*, which tastes of pepper. On the other hand, the possibility that the tree was named after *nggurus* = *Capsicum*, cannot be excluded.²⁹ 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 explanation for Komodo *baruné*.

Most names from 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* 'tobacco 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 *cabai seberang*, 'pepper from overseas', *cabai selaséh* 'basil pepper', *lada mérah* 'red pepper' and *cili* are in use. Also in the Moluccas and the Philippines names like *cili*, *sili* (Sawu *hili*) are used, which certainly are borrowed from Spanish-Philippine "chilli"; in Java they say (*lada*) *cili*.³⁰

4.6 *Carica papaya* - Papaya

Probably together with its name "papaya" 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 mappioides*.

In central and north Manggarai, FEM and the eastern languages of Rembong, Kepoq and Waé-Rana, we find *padut* (with the variant *padus* in Lelak, *paduh* in Berit and Pacar), and *padu* in Nagé, Ngadha, Sika and Endé. *Padu(t)* is almost certainly a loan-word, but I have no idea from which language it is borrowed.

Interspersed among the above mentioned we find names with the determinant "from Java"; thus in Manus and Pacar: *muku-jawa*, which is locally contracted to *kejawa* and in Wae-Rana and Rajong we find *jawa* alone; (*muku* 'banana').

Kambèra in Sumba knows the term *kalu* (=banana) *jawa*, in Loura *kalowo dawa* with the same meaning, and, again, in Kambèra

the contraction *kajawa*.

The name *uta-baqi* is clear in Endé, meaning "the bitter vegetable" and *baqi* 'the bitter one' alone; in Ng they use *haqé*, in Nage '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.³¹ The wild native subspecies *agrestis*, of which the stony seeds with a very tiny pip are still used as beads,³² greatly resembles the cultivated subspecies *ma-yuen*. It is very probable that the introduced edible species was named after the wild plant, which then fell into the background. 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 cognates of *jelai* are common, and Dempwolff established IN **d'ěljaj* 'eine Grasart'. I leave it to etymologists to decide whether the following forms may also be regarded as its cognates³³ or its variants.

In Manggarai proper and in Kepoq the name of the cultivated form is *sela*, in the SH dialect group *hela*. In Rajong people say *elas*, which etymologically corresponds to Waé-Rana *elar*. The only forms that I venture to compare according to sound-shift rules are Bisaya *adlay*, Tetum and Roti *délé*, (Witihama Slr *dela*) Tana-Ai *lélé* (?<*relé*) and Maranao *dalan*. Sika *lélé* is "maize".

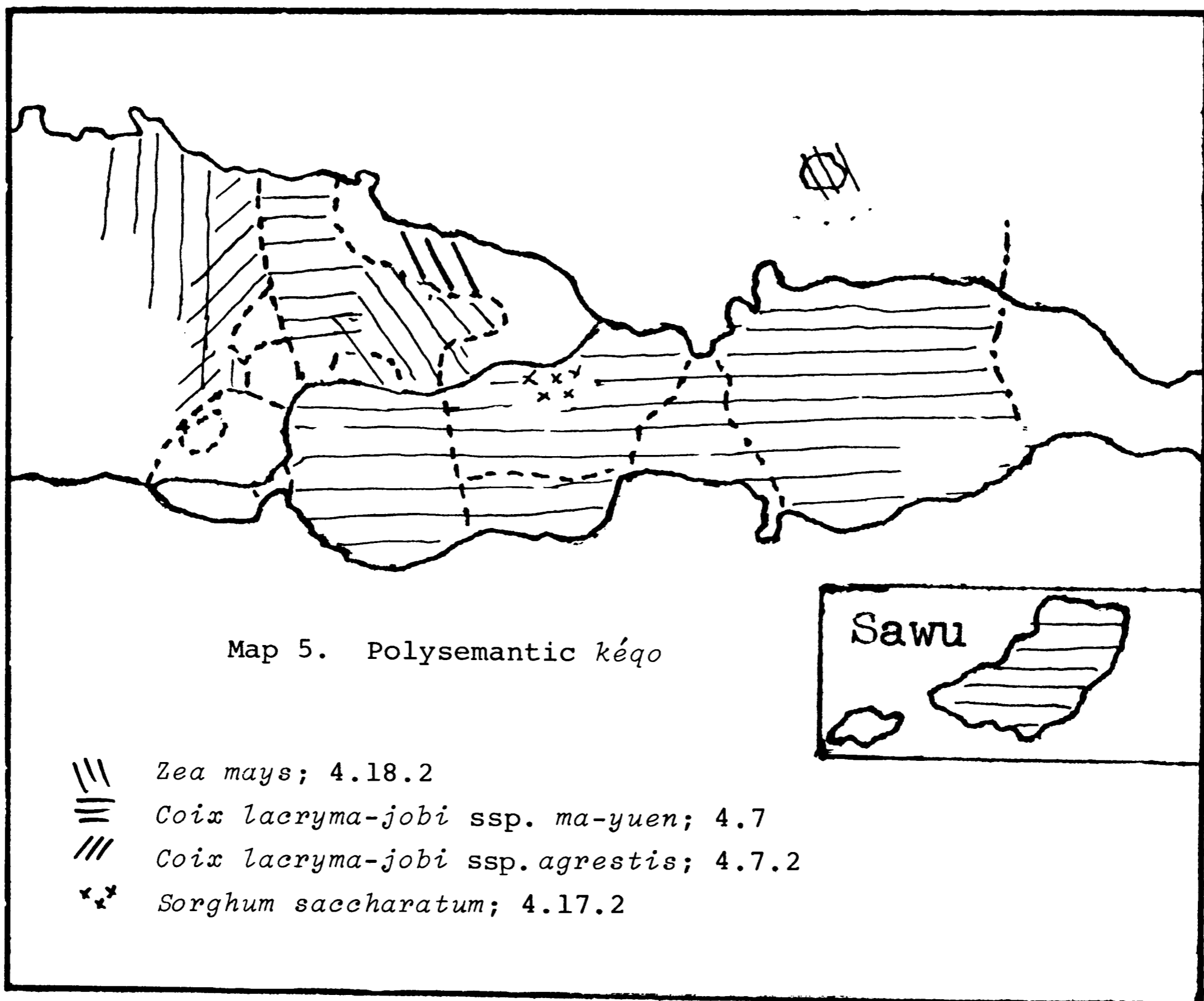
In FEM we find *sela pisi*, *sela pici*, *sela loké* and *sela-kongkak*, which evokes the observation that in this region *sela* means 'maize'. In Rembong its name is *kéqo*. In Faté, Wué and ?Térong, where *kéqo* means 'maize', the *Coix* is called respectively *kéqo pekéq*, *kéqo kokak*, *kéqo kongkak*, which, just as the *sela* forms above, mean "maize with husks", i.e. not with bare grains like maize.

Kéqo (alone) is used for the edible form in all the languages of the NgL group; the same is also the case in Sawu: (*wo*) *kéqo* (*wo* 'fruit'); see Map 5, and 6.32.

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

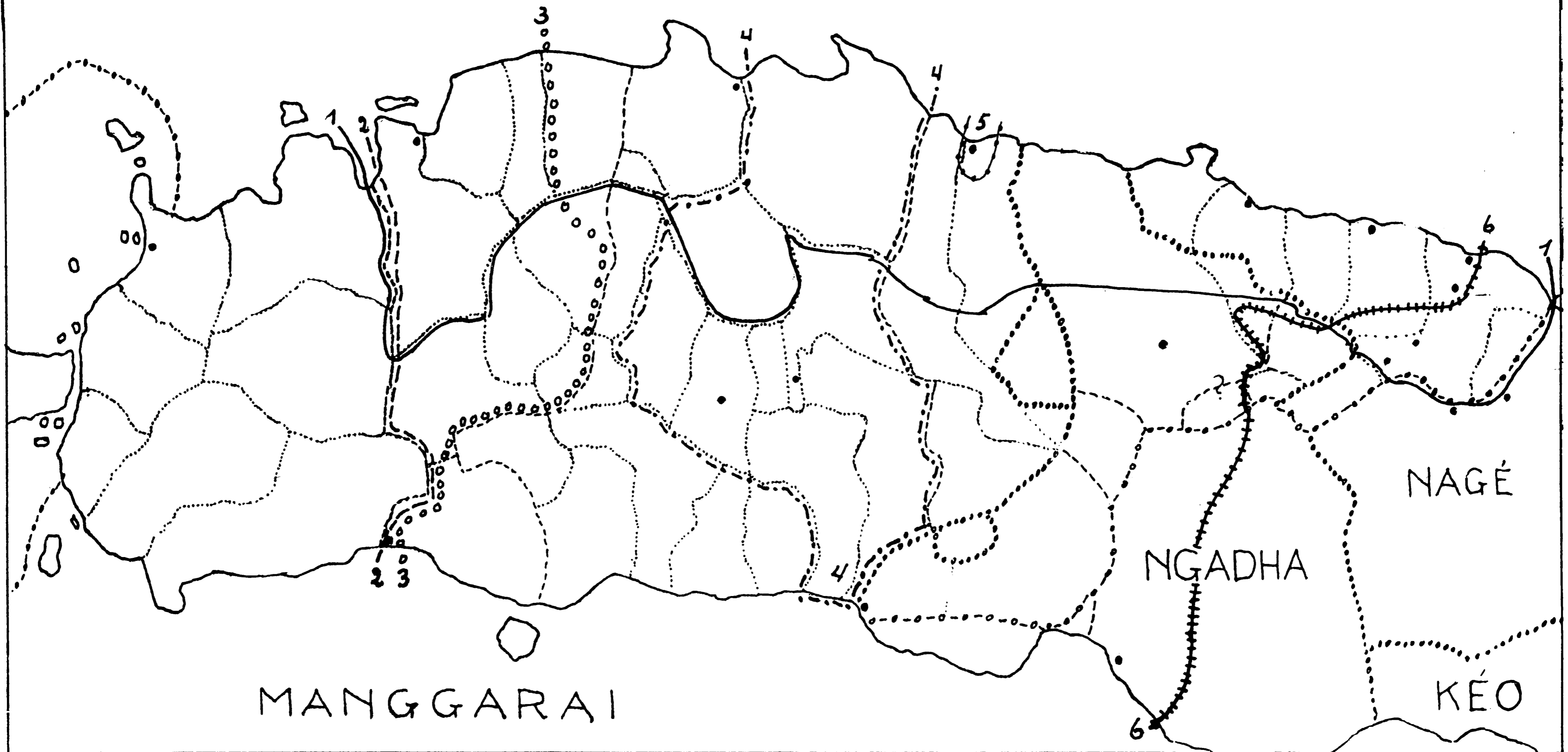
4.8 *Cucurbita moschata* - Musk Melon

This important melon, also cultivated in southern Europe, is originally an American cultigen. The Ml names *labu ambon* and *kastéla* suggest that the Moluccas may



Map 6. Colonial and commercial influences I

- 1 *Artocarpus altilis* 4.3; (seedless): north *bakar*, west and south *kerara*
- - 2 *Artocarpus altilis* (with seeds): west *kolo*
- 3 *Moringa pterygosperma*, 4.13; west *peronggé*, east *kélor*
- · 4 *Jatropha curcas*, 4.10; *kenjoli*, *jengguli* 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 as 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*, *ndisi*, SH *ndihi*,³⁴ and in the other FL languages the somewhat similar name *mbési/bési*. Between these groups we find in Rembong and the region Riung several different names: in Rembong and Warukia *timba*; in Wangka, Lengko-Sambi and Mulu *tonggo*; in Riung, Térong, Békék and Mbai the variant *togo*; in Kepoq *roboq*; in Namut *robo*, and in Wué *zawong*. *Dési* in FEM: Toring is interesting.

In Sumba dialects *karòbo* and cognates are found, in Ndao *karebo*. We ought to notice the intricate situation, viz. that in Rmb, Térong and Wangka *zawong* means 'water-melon', *Citrullus lanatus*; whereas in Wué this is called *timba*. The word *robo* 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:

Language	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>
Manggarai	<i>tété</i> , <i>t.-lor</i> , <i>t.-wasé</i> , <i>t.-raja</i> <i>t.-manggarai</i>	<i>tété-haju</i> and others
Waé-Rana	<i>dao</i> , <i>dao-kaké</i>	<i>dao-kazu</i>
Rembong	<i>guléq</i>	<i>wri-kazu</i>
Wangka	<i>gulé(q)-komba</i>	<i>gulé(q)-kazu</i>
Térong	<i>gulé</i>	?
Toring (FEM)	<i>gulé-romba</i>	<i>wri-ghazu</i>
Mulu "	<i>lué-komba</i>	<i>lué-ghazu</i>
Kepoq	<i>guléq</i>	<i>wri-kazu</i>
Wue	<i>guléq</i>	<i>guléq-kazu</i>
FEM (Bk, LS, NN)	<i>wri-jawa</i>	<i>wri-ghazu</i>
Riung (FEM)	<i>gulé</i>	<i>wri-ghazu</i>
Munde (Nagé)	..?..	<i>wri-jawa</i>
Téda-Mudé "	<i>wri-zawa</i>	<i>wri-kazu</i>
Raja "	?	<i>wri-lo</i>
Ngadha	<i>dhao</i> , <i>ranga</i>	<i>wri-jawa</i>
Ende	? <i>ndora</i>	<i>wri-kaju</i>
Lio	<i>kisa</i> , <i>ndora</i>	<i>wri-kaju</i>
Kambèra (Sumba)	<i>katàbi</i>	<i>luwa-ai</i>
Karèra "	<i>katàbu</i>	<i>luwa-ia</i>
Loura "	?	<i>luwa-ghazu</i>
Kodi "	<i>ràpu</i>	<i>lughà-dawa</i>
Anakalang "	<i>katéti</i>	?
Lauli "	<i>katété</i>	<i>luwa-wásu</i>
Komodo	?	<i>bojo</i>
Bm	? <i>kandora</i>	<i>kandora-kayu</i>

As to the first column, I shall give the following short explanations: *lor* means 'creeping' and *wasé* 'vine'; *raja* 'man', 'Manggarai', 'own', which means that (putatively) it is "not introduced", (this is also said about *Coffea arabica*); *dao* originates from Ng *dhao*. As to *guléq*, *gulé*, in Pongkor, Manggarai a wild tuberous vine exists which is eaten and called *gulé*.³⁵ *Kaké* means "root", which as a determinant is not clear to me; *komba* 'vine'; *romba* '?vine'; *lué* must be a tuberous plant (cp. Sb *luwa* below); *wri* is *Dioscorea alata* 'yam', and *jawa/zawa* '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 *katété* and *katéti* are the only (probably) cognates of M *tété*.

Annotations to the right column: *haju*, *ghazu*, *kazu*, *kaju*, *ai*, *ia*, and *wasu* mean 'wood', 'woody', and point to the woody stem; *lo* (in Raja) means "stem" (Ind *pokok*); *jawa* and *dawa* 'from Java': *luwa* and *lughà* are synonyms of *wri* '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*.

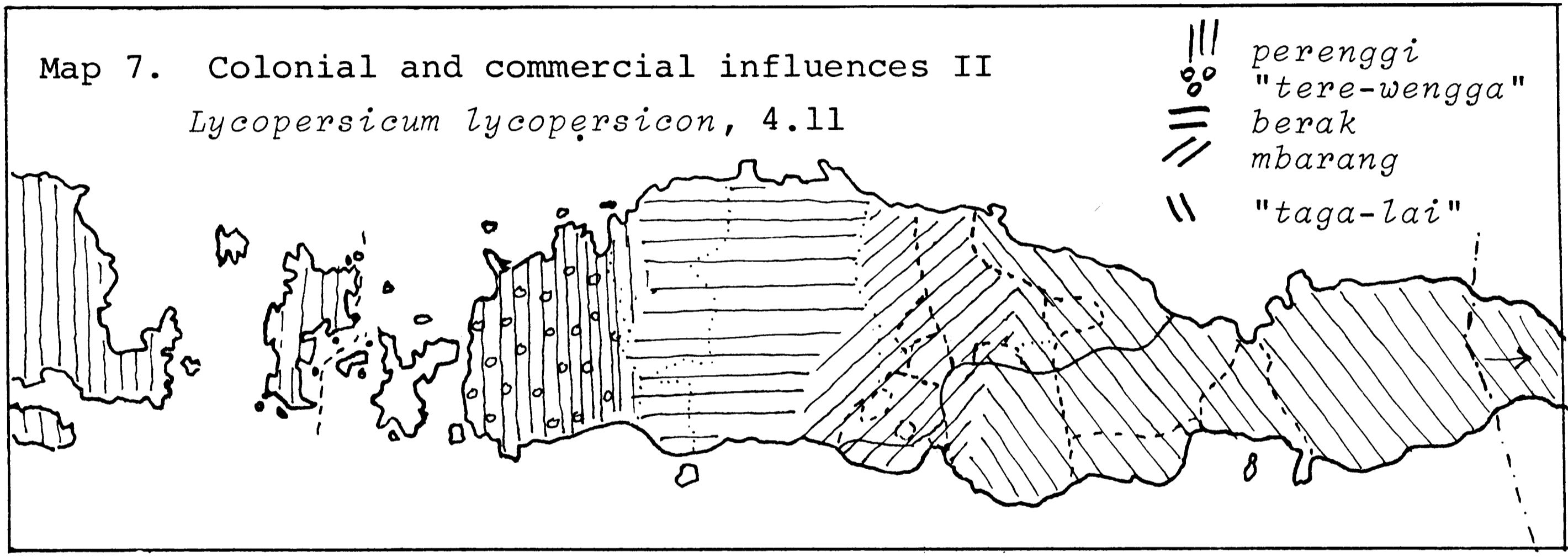
4.10 *Jatropha curcas* - Purging Nut

Some names for this plant, such as *kejoli*, *kenjoli*, *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 *pandut*, *Calophyllum inophyllum*, whose fruit kernels are also used for making torches; see Map 6.

The names *kadung* and *pandu*³⁷ are shared with the recently introduced *Ricinus communis*, the castor-oil plant. If it is necessary, determinants are added to distinguish the two species. We find for *Jatropha* the names: *pandu-kenjoli*, *pandu-jenggoli*, and *kadung-kena* 'fence *kadung*' or *kadung-derek* 'pole *kadung*'. *Ricinus* may be characterized as *pandu-jara* (Bm *jara* < Ind *jarak*, *Ricinus*), and by way of folk etymology *pandu-jarang* '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:



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

In EM, Wr, Kepoq, Rembong proper, Rajong we find *mbarang*,³⁹ and in the adjacent NgL language *bara*, and in Rongga *mbara woni*.

In Sumba the element *toro* emerges in the names: *toro danggalasa* (Lauli), and *tóro manggaláwa* (Kodi); in Ng: Tana Wolo *toro-noa* 'spirits' *toro*; cp. 4.16.

To the east and in several languages outside Flores we meet with a rather uniform series of names, which might possibly be reduced to Mk *togalai* (Heyne, 1344). In MA dialects we encounter: *taga-laé* (Riqa), *taga-lai* (Békék, Riung), *taga-lais* (Lengko-Sambi), *tagha-laé* (Nanga-Numba, Mulu), *tagha-lai* (Toring), *tangga-laé* (Wué), *tangga-lai* (Térong, Wangka).

In other Flores languages/dialects similar forms are found: *taga-laé* (Ngadha), *taga-lai* (Nagé), *dege-lai* (Lio), *daga-lai* (Endé, Sika), *saga-lai* (Witihama, Adonara),?.... (Lembata). In Sumba we meet with *angga-lai* (Rindi) and *amba-lai* (Kambèra); 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, Kepoq, Rajong and some Riung dialects *réa*; in Rmb the contraction *pia*, and in Térong, Wué 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-réa*⁴⁰ in Békék, and *sapa-réa* in Wangka via *pa-réa* < *paréa*. In Tetum we find *bria*, in Bunaq *bariqa* and in Dawan *pnia*. Nagé *paga* corresponds to Lengko-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 connected with ?Hindi *marunggai* 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 cognate to *kélor*. In Heyne numerous variants of it are found.
- (c) In the Lesser Sunda Is. we find further three names which show some special connection among the islands involved at the time of *Moringa's* introduction. 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 *kai fòk*, *aifò*, *kafòk*, in Kupang *uta pò* and in WDawan ("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, the centre of the Goanese government in the 18th century.⁴³ This explains its local name *tonjong*, 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 *guayabas*, *bayabas* or some similar forms were altered in the many Indonesian languages and dialects. I do not know the sound-systems of the languages concerned, but the example is interesting. Therefore I shall here give alphabetically the names that are collected by Burkill, Greshoff, Heyne and Merrill. They cover the Philippines, Indonesia and the Peninsula, namely *bayabas*, *bayabaq*, *bayawas*, *biawas*, ?*dipojoyo*, *gawaya*, *gowaya*, *goyawas*, *guayabas*, *kayawas*, *kayawasé*, *kojawas*, *kawayas*, *koyabasa*, *koyawas*, *koyawasé*, *kujabas*, *piawas*, *piyaweh*, *wayamas*, ?*wuayamas*; in the Kei-islands I find the name *riwas* 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 *kejawas*, Dawan Timor *kui jawas*, Roti *kujabas*, Si *goihawas* and *kenjawa*, Sawu *woko jawa*, Bunaq, Timor *goyaq*, Séon 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 *ngo-awa*, *ngo-awa*, *nggoé-awa*, *nggoé-nggawa*; in Nagé *goa-awa*; in Téda-Mudé, Lengko-Sambi, Mbai *goawa*; in Mulu-Motus *goé-awa*, in Wangka and

Térong *nggawa*, 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: *woko* 'fruit' *jawa* '(from) Java'. Furthermore, the general tendency to form a bisyllabic initial part of the compound; cp *sapa-réa* 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 prenasalation in *zebhu* 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, Waé-Rana, Kepoq, Rajong, Ri, Békék, Wué *jembu*, *zembu*; Nanga-Numba *jebu*; Ngadha *zebhu*; Map 6.

4.16 *Solanum melongena* - Eggplant

Only a few decades ago, the large aubergines were introduced into Manggarai. The smaller variety with yellowish, globose fruits, measuring 2-3 cm in diameter, must have been known already among the Manggarai a long time ago. The name *toro* is used in the entire Manggarai group (MA), (in Waé-Rana *toroq* and in Komodo *toru*) and in Sika. In Sumba we find in the western dialects *tóro*, *toru*, *toru* and in the eastern ones *kanduru*; Sawu uses *teré*.⁴⁴ Dempwolff reconstructs **telung* (Malay *terung*, Java *térong*, Tagalog *talong*) for this plant. Is the Manggarai form a loan? Or perhaps a variant? Or is *toro* original M, and was it the name for a wild native *Solanum* sp.?⁴⁵ According to Burkill 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 pihi*, *latung mesak* and *latung mahaq* which means "bristled maize", and in FEM and Rmb: *latung-rakot*, *sela-rakot*, *pangin-rakot/rakat*, *kéqo-rakot/rakat* '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-réwéng* means possibly "maize from the village Réwéng". 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 (NgL!) suggests M political power when sorghum was introduced.

4.17.2 List of names

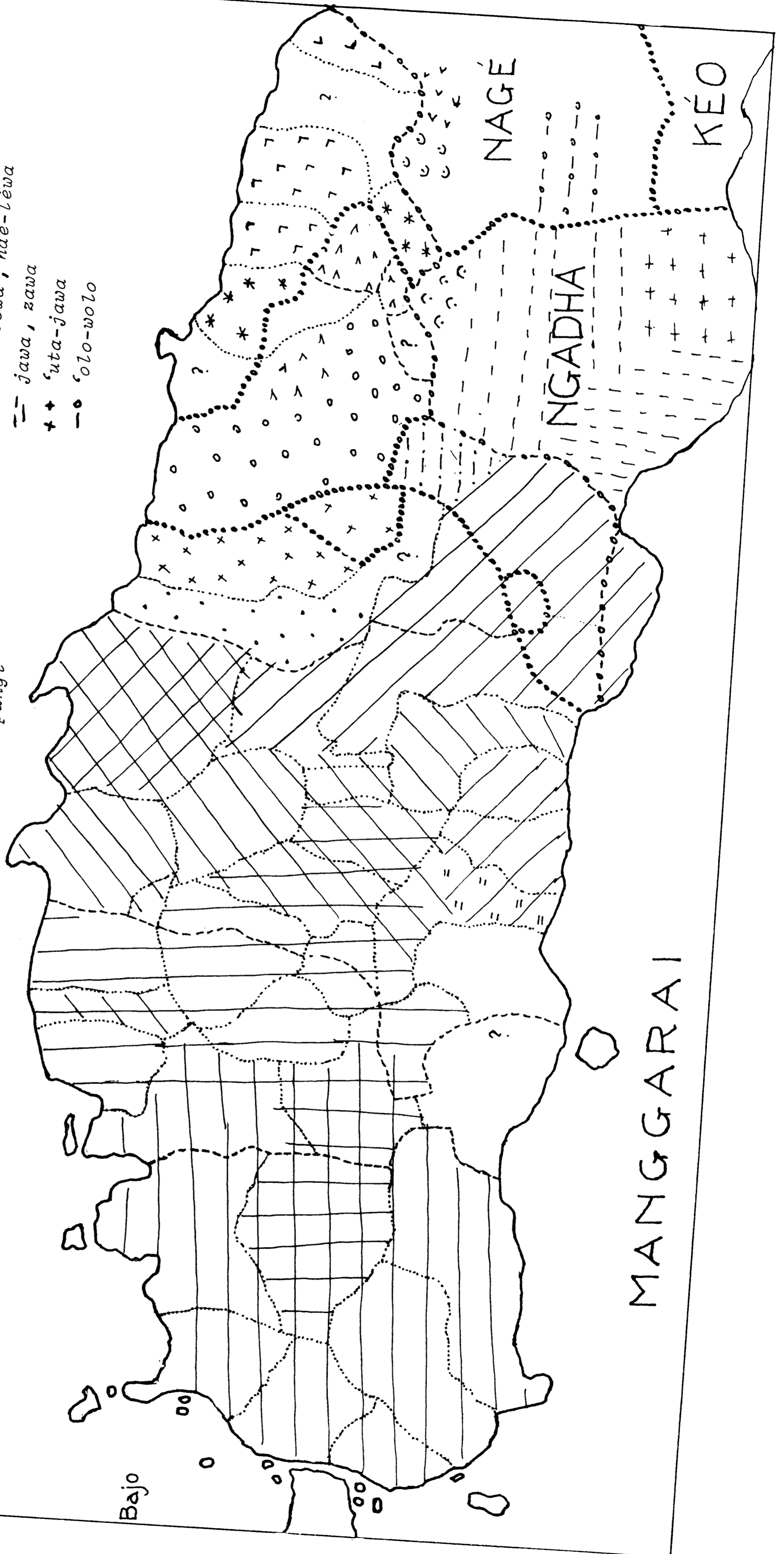
boka Kmd
déwas M: Ko, Ba
haé-léwa Ng: Jéré-Buqu
jawa/zawa Ng (cp. 4.18.2)
kaé Rj
kéqo Nagé: Mundé
kéqo-rakat Rmb: Wng
kéqo-rakot Rmb: Faté, Wué
kurut M: Co
(*lando-léwé* M: Rs, C, Lu, Rw)
latu-séra Bm
latung FEM: Mbai
latung-pesi C, L
latung pihi Ré
latung-rakot FEM: Békék
latung-réwéng ?
lémpang M: Lu, Rw, P, Pl
lépa Rgg
lépang Wr, Rj
lolo Lio
mahaq SH
mesak M: P, Le, K
'*olo-wolo* Nagé: Raja
oro Endé
pangi Nagé: Téda-Mudé
pangi-raké Ng: Tana-Wolo
pangin-rakat Rmb: Térong
pangin-rakot Rmb
pejak M: Biting: Kepoq
pesi M: C, L, R, S
posok M: P
saé-léwa Ng II
sela-rakot FEM: Ri, Mulu
téraé(-hawu) Sw
tera ia Ndao
'*uta-jawa* Ng III
(*waqi-léwé* C)
watar hamu Sb I
watara ?*pi'a* Sb II
watar Si: Tana Ai

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.

Map 8. Scattering and overlapping
Sorghum saccharatum, 4.17

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|------------------------|
| == | déwas, déwah | ⊙ | pangi-raké |
| | mesak, mahaq | ⊙ | pangin-rakot, p.-rakat |
| /// | (latung-)pesi l.-pihi | << | kéqo |
| \\ | lémpang, lépang, lépa | >> | kéqo-rakot k.-rakat |
| •• | kurut | * * | sela-rakot |
| xx | pejak | LL | latung |
| -. | kaé | 77 | latung-rakot |
| = | posok | | saé-léwa, haé-léwa |
| ⊙ | pangi | - | jawa, zawa |
| | | + + | 'uta-jawa |
| | | -o | 'olo-wolo |



4.18.2 List of maize names in western Flores

<i>latung</i>	CM, SH, MB
<i>latun</i>	EM, Kepoq
<i>mbatung</i>	Komodo
<i>sela</i>	FEM
<i>kadéaq</i>	Waé-Rana, Rajong
<i>kaé</i>	M: western Ms
<i>pangin</i>	Rembong proper, Warukia
<i>pangi</i>	Tanawolo
<i>pangi-jawa/zawa</i>	Mengéruda, So'a, Méli
<i>kéo</i>	FEM Ri; Rmb: Térong
<i>kéqo</i>	Rmb: Wué, Wangka, Munting, Nagé: Poma; Lio: Paga; Palu'é
<i>kéqo-jawa</i>	Mundé
<i>saé</i>	Béna, Manguléwa, Langa, Ruto
<i>hae</i> ⁴⁶⁾	Boba, Laja, Mataloko, Jérébuqu, Bajawa
<i>'olo</i>	Nagé: Raja
<i>holo</i>	Wudu
<i>yolo</i>	Kéo I
<i>ho</i>	Ng: Taka
<i>jawa/zawa</i>	Ng: Ngusu-Mana, Nagé: Bo'a-Nio, Danga, Ndor; Kéo II, Endé: Nua-Bosi; Lio II, Sika
<i>téraé-jawa</i>	Sw
<i>tara-(?tera-)</i>	<i>sina</i> Ndao
<i>'ajawa, 'aja</i>	Sika proper
<i>lelé</i>	Si II
<i>watar</i>	Tana Ai

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.

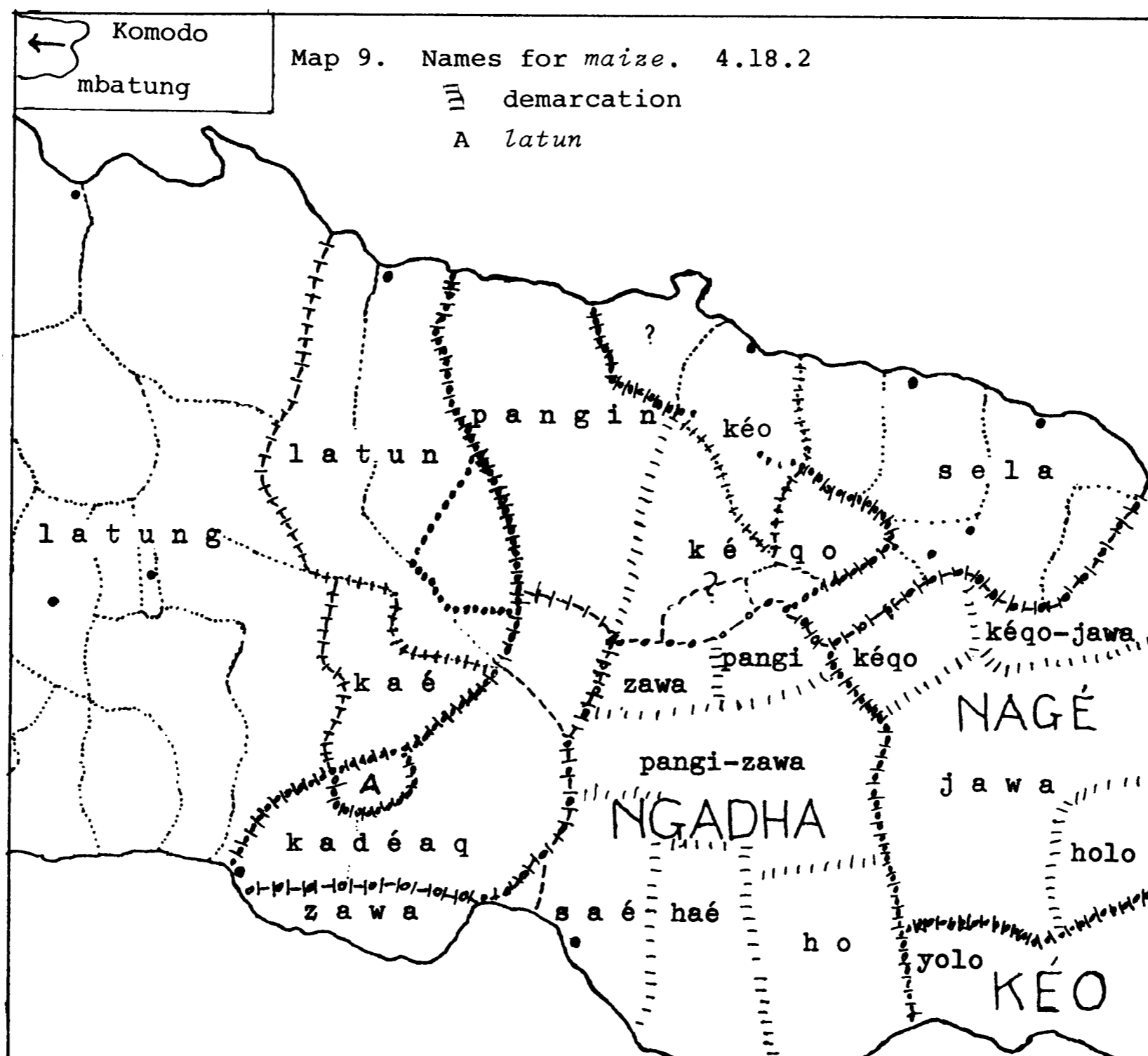
Since PM **latun* remained in EM and changed conditionally into *latung* in CM and WM, it is probable that either the shift $-n > M -ng$ came into existence before the introduction of the plant, or, that the name is borrowed from another plant called *latun / latung*. A similar observation can be made concerning the Nagé/Kéo names *'olo, holo, yolo, ho*; and the same holds good for the *saé / haé* 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 *kéqo* 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 *kaé* areas is due to the immigration of Kepoq people more than 100 years ago.

Considering the spread of *jawa* we would conclude that once *jawa* covered the whole area from Rongga to Maumere, but in view of the term *kéqo* one might infer from its spread that also this term covered a large part of the same area; cp. Map 5.

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



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 tanarius*' 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 *Albizia 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*,

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

*wua*⁴⁷ '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') *cepang* and *karot* ('thorn') *cepang* 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 *Oxalis corniculata* can be called *saung poco-mela* and *remang poco-mela*.

Sometimes the classification seems to be "illogical". This happens with a shrub, *Champereia manillensis*, which is called *saung sasang*, 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 wukas*, as its bark is used for the making of ropes (*wasé*); cp. Schmutz, Heft 2, sub *Thymelaeaceae* 1.

In a few cases the classifiers cannot be omitted. This is quite understandable with compounds where the latter part is for example *ci'é* 'salt'. Out of the six species concerned we have three *haju-ci'é*, one *saung-ci'é* and two *wasé-ci'é*. 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 (pepetization) 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-laé*, Rmb, Kp *lombong-laéq*, Co, Wr *lamba-laé*, Wr *lembe-laé*; the aracea *Alocasia macrorrhiza* is named in SH: Be, Ré *kompā-alu* (*alu* 'pestle', probably after the somewhat club-shaped spadix), Ko *kompō-alu* (*kompō* 'truncated'), *lompā-alu* (*lompā* 'dibble'), and in Ré *kopé-alu* (*kopé* 'chopper').

Podocarpus 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 *cenga/senga-waé* 'clinging 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*, *nggoro-riqi* '...?' 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: Dengé *limé-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 *liméng-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 *waké laku* 'laku root', which may be compared with *puku-laku* vin.? for another "hooky" plant, the *Uncaria 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*, *wendu-laku* and *wengkar-laku*, while *wenger-laku* is also used for *Uncaria lanosa*.

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

5.4 Folk belief

Elsewhere religious and magical beliefs have had their influence on the language. Formerly the wild tuber *raut*, *Dioscorea hispida* (Ind *ubi gadung*), was a most important plant especially in times of famine. Because it was poisonous, and found where the spirits dwelt, i.e. in the forests, it had to be handled and collected with caution.⁵⁰ We find proofs of this in the use of alternative names as *hang mésé* 'the important food' and *hang manga* 'olden times food'; maybe *mados* in Cibai had the same origin. The CM *séwo* (< *céwo*) is due to the same way of thinking; see 5.7.2, 5.9.6, 5.9.7.

The parasitic *Loranthaceae*, which often have bright-yellow and orange flowers, are called *taqi ntala* 'star droppings' = 'shooting star'. It is believed that if one of these hits a branch, it changes into this kind of plant.⁵¹ The idea of fire is expressed in Bl *dedalu api*, Java? *lulor api* and Malay *suluk api*.

Some five different species of herbs were noted by me as *wéla mata* 'flower of death' or 'flower (of) eye'. Maybe originally some were named so because of the flowers, which look like eyes.⁵² Others are

called so because they are used as a remedy against sore eyes. Some are named so, because they are used in the burial (*mata* 'dead') rites. The name *bali-mata* 'to cast a haze before a.p.'s eyes' may have to do with the above rite. *Wéla-mata* was also changed into *repa-mata* 'wink of the eye'.

Medicinal plants and their use are rather often revealed in a dream. According to Mr Fr. Soleman also the unknown name of a tree concerned, namely *wira*, was then disclosed to a medicine-man in Régho. It seems to me very plausible that elsewhere in the past new names came into circulation in this way.

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 *Meliosma pinnata* ssp. *ferruginosa*; the high grass, *reca* or *teber*, *Saccharum spontaneum*, whose stems are bundled for a torch, is also named *culu*. The semantic transition is a very easy one: *ala 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*, *Schizostachyum 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 (*culeng*) for bottle-gourds or bamboo vessels to avoid spilling the water on the way. The plants used for this purpose are named: *haju culeng* 'stopping shrub', *haju culeng-waé*, 'shrub water-stopper' (*Boehmeria* sp.). We find also *saung culeng-bongko* 'gourd-stopper herb', namely *Elatostema* sp., *Ixora* sp. and *Randia wallichii*. As an instance of folk etymology, I came across *culeng-mongko* 'the compact stopper'.

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

In Manggarai the *Imperata*-grass's name *riqi* is also used for "thatch", whereas in Bima *ati* 'roof' became also the name for this grass after its main use.

Popo (*Sarcochilus* sp.) is the name of a plant in Lt which is used for *popo* 'hair-washing'.

The bark of the *kénda* or *sema*, *Prunus wallaceana*, is used to make big rice-con-

tainers, *langkok*; thus locally the tree is called *haju langkok*.

In the Roman Catholic celebration of Palm Sunday the leaves of a fern, *cigir*, are carried during a procession. Immigrants in the coastal Borong, 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 *cigir*, though the local people used the name *bola* 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 to Bénténg-Java. There they were also called *saung cigir*, 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 *bola* was superseded by *dudut* 'tinder'; mostly *dudut-kodé* 'monkey's tinder', since it is of inferior quality. A Sawunese in Sumba gave the cognate name *kadudu*⁵⁴ 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 *séning*, which means the ritual for reconciling an offended spirit (*darat*). In this connection in Régho one says: "leaves of *tiwu-léngong* (= *Drymaria*) are used to go *ngelong*", and in Cibai people say: "*ngelong*-leaves are used in going *peler*".

In west Manggarai the plant is called *saung diqit* (= *déqit*), 'the separating plant'. The quality of stickiness becomes a symbol of the insolubility of a marriage.⁵⁵ Therefore bride and bridegroom when entering their house have to step on an egg which is laid upon *ngelong* leaves. Sticking to her new house implies the separation (*diquit*) 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 cathecu*, is an indispensable ingredient of the daily chewed sirih quid. 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, Slr, "Minahasa", Buli *wua*, Ssk *bua*, Bm *ua*, Roti, Léti *pua*, *mbua*, Buru *fua*, Aru *buya*, *puya*, Bg *bu(w)ah*, Enggano *ufé*, Bj *buwa*, Iloko *boá*, Cagayan *buá*. In Kmd the palm is called *sepa* 'the chew tree'. In M *wua* is the specific name of the areca nut.

The fibre (Ml *ijuk*) of the *Arenga pinnata*, 'the enau palm', is used for thatching and cord-making. In "WSumatra" the cognates *iyuk*, *juk* and *idhuk*, 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 Ndao the lontar palm, *dué*, was named after the juice; just as in Roti and "Timor" *tua*, *tuaq*; cp.6.14.

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

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 *Tetracera scandens*, whose leaves are used for the same purpose, is called *wasé 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 "kulang-tree" in connection with its edible leaves, *haung kulang* 'kulang leaf'.⁵⁷ A similar case is to be found in the Komodo language: the young *Borassus sundaicus*, 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 *cowang* 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 *bombong*.^{58a} In Nggolo Nio in FEM its common name is *borong*, which is also usual in EM, but when it still yields young leaves it is called *cowang*. In Dawan the same young palm is specified as *tuné taén* '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 darker wood, *walikukun*; 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.

Mumus-lawo 'rat's whiskers', *wulu-ela* 'pig's hair' and *iko-nggaéng* 'rat's tail' are used in different places for *Fimbristylis ovata*, a kind of fine rush. Another bulrush has the name *wulu-mu'u* '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 *jagé-haju* 'tree's beard' and Rmb *sago-kodéq* '(grey) monkey's beard'.

In Java they use *jènggot resi* 'hermit's beard'.^{58b} The coastal *Casuarina equisetifolia* with its dense thread-like foliage is called *haju wuk* 'hair tree'.

On account of its multifid leaves the *Schefflera* tree is called *rempa-ngerék* or *rempa-paké* 'frog's toes'.⁵⁹

Asparagus racemosus is called *ngis-liko*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.

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

The wolf's claw *pora*, *Lycopodium cernuum*, is called *rangga-osé* 'hairy horn' and *rangga-rusa* 'deer's antlers', which semantically is easily comparable with Eng. "stag-horn moss". The perpendicular implantation of "hairs" 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 *Pittosporum* sp. is *telo-acu* 'dog's scrotum'; because of the thickening of their rhizome, *Vanda-orchis*^{61a} are called *telo-mekas* 'old man's scrotum', In Sumba *Voacanga*, *Pagiantha* or *Ervatamia* (formerly *Tabernaemontana*) species are called *kawota kamémbi* 'billy-goat's scrotum' for the shape of its fruit. CM *boto* 'scrotum', which superseded *pasa* (see 6.98) has 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 *kakél* 'butterfly herb' as the leaves resemble folded butterfly's wings.^{61b} Because of their indentation the name *pétak* is used, a connotative of homoeonymous words like *péas*, *tégak*, *rékak* which mean "to split, to divide" etc.

In many plants, some similarity is seen with auricles: the fungus *Polyporus xanthopus* is named *tilu-kodé* 'monkey's ear', and another big fungus growing at tree trunks has the name *tilu-ngiung* 'ear of the *ngiung*', 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 *waqi-ka* 'crow's leg' and the fungus *Hirneola* sp. is called in Rmb *kinga-rok* in Wangka *mboko-po*, 'owl's ear (= tuft)'; in FEM *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 69b.

Mena-ngis 'fixed like a tooth' is the name of the shrublet *Sida acuta*, 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 *wasé weda* 'step liana'; in Rmb, with the same meaning, *kajék kedaqng*.

Some plants are described by adding a determinant indicating their foul smell: *saung taqi-ela* (or *-kina*) 'herb (stinking like) pig's dung', or *saung taqi-jarang* 'horse's dung herb', or *saung taqi-kaba* 'buffalo's dung herb'. *Paederia scandens* is a stinking vine, and is called *saung* (or *wasé*) *pecu* 'herb (or vine) wind' = "flatus-leaf"⁶³; elsewhere it is named *saung wau* '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.^{64a} Because of its swishing branches the *Casuarina jung-huhniana*, a cemara tree, is called *siuk*.

The ripe grains in the inflated pods of *Crotalaria* spp. make a rattling sound. So we encounter the names *nggorong* 'bell', *nggiring* (jawa) 'Javanese bell' and *rincik* 'rattle'; similarly in Java *orok-orok*; see also 2.7.^{64b}

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-saqi* and *repok-saqi* 'crack on the forehead', *saung repok*, *kepek*, *nggepék* 'clap-herb'⁶⁵ or even (*saung*) *repek api* 'crackle, crackle-of-fire' herb. An *Ampelocissus* sp. is called *wasé rek* 'crack vine', because it crackles when stretched.

In North Lamba-Léda the foxtail millet, *Setaria italica*, was formerly named *ker*, because it was strewn for spirits with the call *ker*.

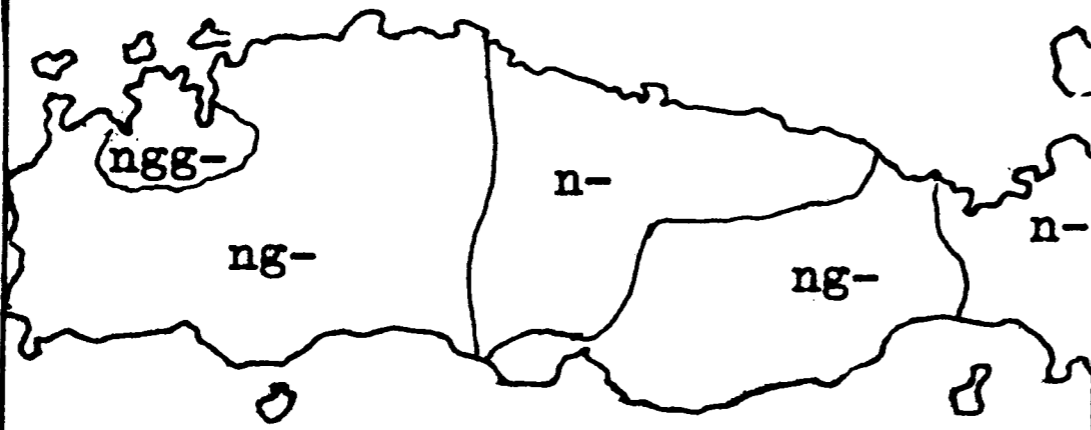
The tiny black seeds of the wood-sorrel (5.2), *Oxalis corniculata*, spring from the ripe fruit when touched. Therefore the plant is named in M *saung mela*, in Mundé *wunu mela*, in Nagé *bené-mela*, all of these meaning "flea herb", in Ende *niyu-meṛa* 'flea sorrel', in Lio *mela* (*ji-qé*), whereas in M *pecu-mela* 'flea's wind' and *poco-mela*^{66a} is also used.

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

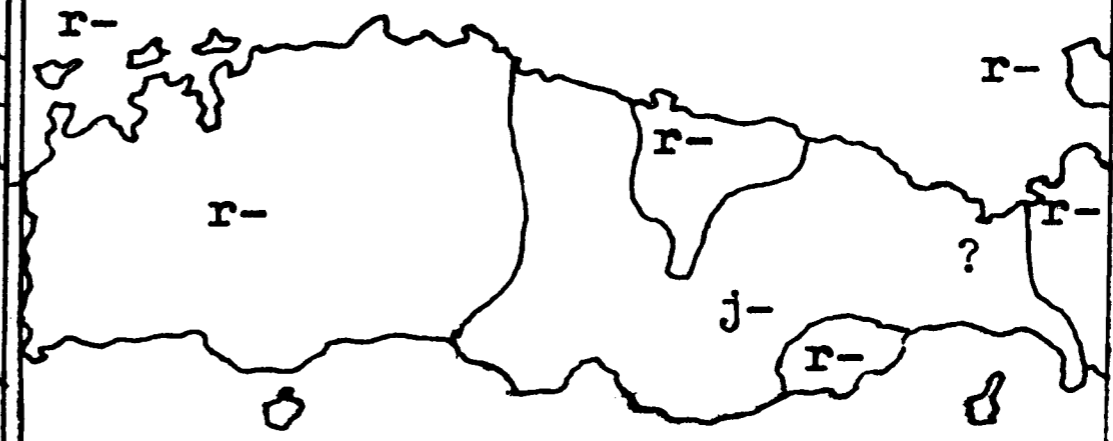
5.7 Variants in form and meaning

5.7.1 Homoeonymy⁶⁷

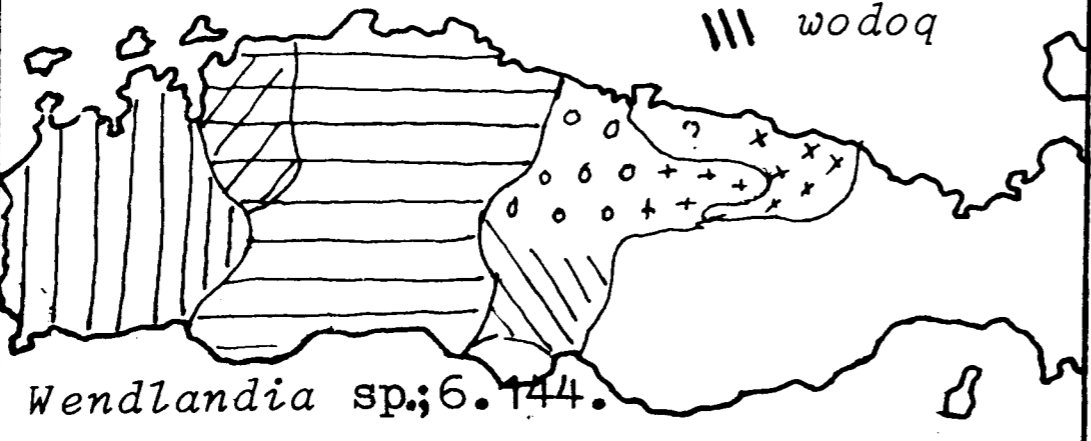
Map 10. Variation: ngawung/nawung
Abelmoschus moschatus; 5.7, 6.1



Map 11. Variation: réqa/jéqa
Pandanus tectorius; 6.102

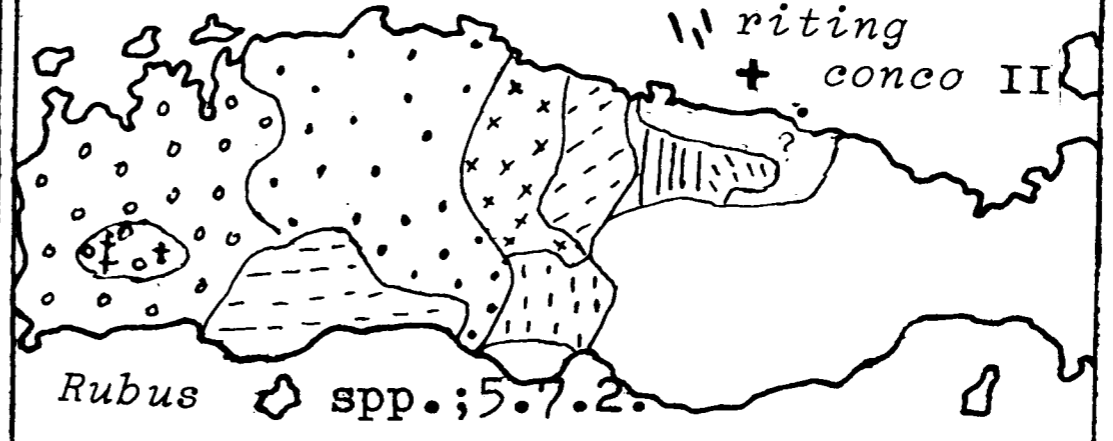


Map 12. Variants
 || mbodong oo mondong
 // podong ++ mondoq
 == wodong xx mondo
 /// wodoq



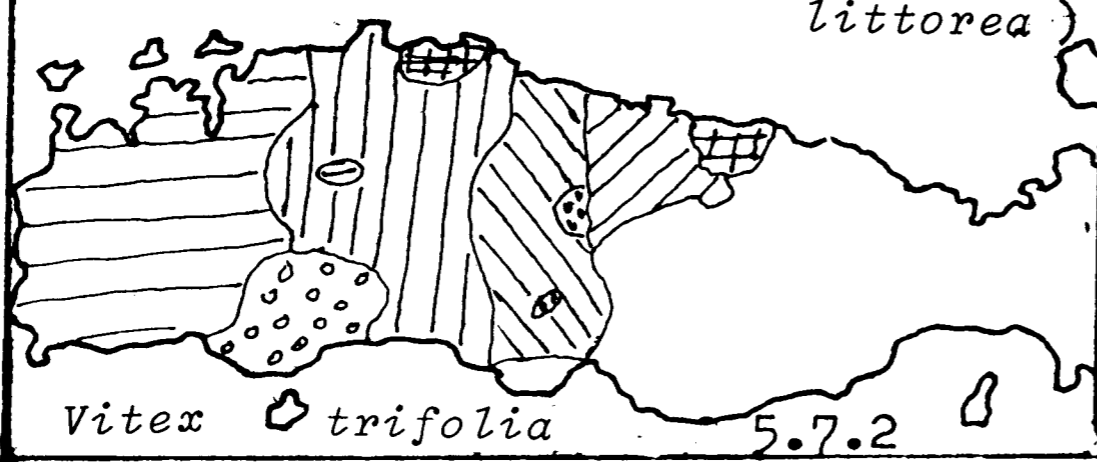
Wendlandia sp.; 6.144.

Map 13. Polyonymy I
 xx borong // diong
 oo biris // wuaq-karot
 oo conco I || saru
 -- bombong || riting
 + conco II



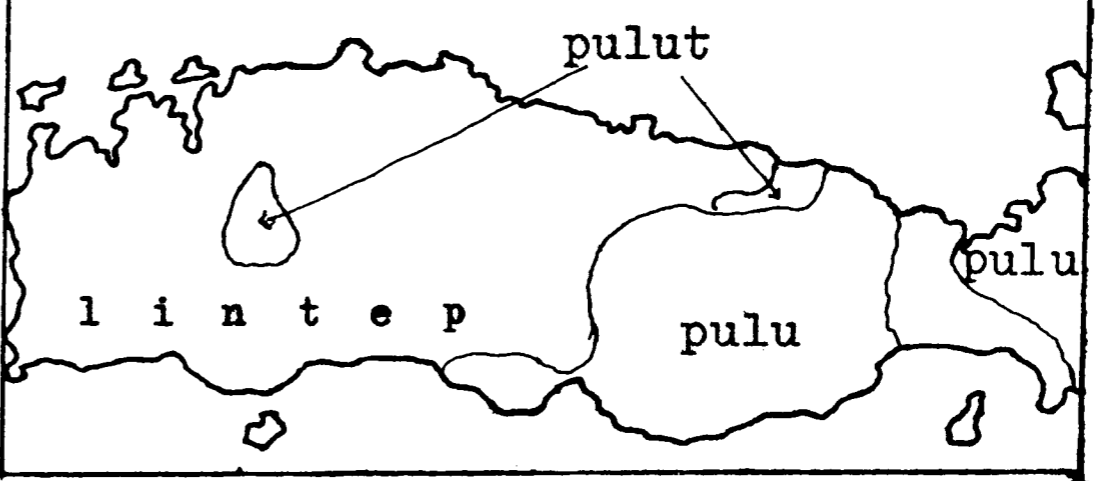
Rubus spp.; 5.7.2.

Map 14. Polyonymy II
 == wora I // wui, woi ⊕ Wora
 oo cucang // ghui (toponym)
 // woing // kazu ata ⊕ wora II (var.
 littorea)



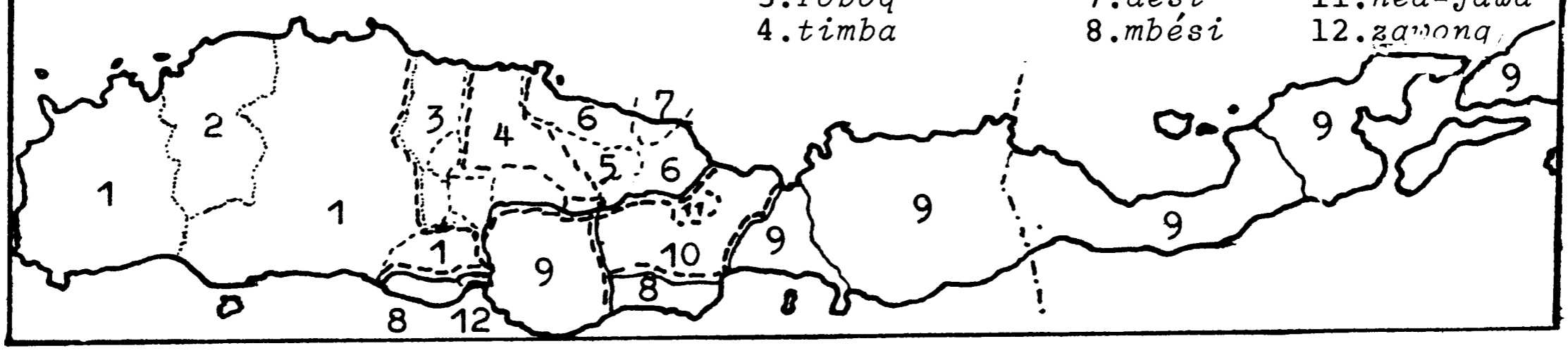
Vitex trifolia 5.7.2

Map 14a. Dialect islands
Urena lobata; 6.139



Map 15. Old loans: ndési and (m)bési; polyonymy in East MA
Cucurbita moschata, 4.8, Note 34.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1. ndési, ndisi | 5. togo | 9. bési |
| 2. ndéhi, ndihi | 6. tonggo | 10. uta |
| 3. roboq | 7. dési | 11. héa-jawa |
| 4. timba | 8. mbési | 12. zawona |



(a) We find several instances of this phenomenon in plant names; thus according to the dialect, *Toddalia asiatica*: *iri*, *wiri*, *piri* and *mpiri*; *Bischofia javanica*: *uwu*, (*rewu*) and *wuwu*; the fungus *Hirneola* sp.: *kéngkél*, *kéngkér* and *téngkél*; *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, Kepoq, Rembong) and *nung* in FEM. The tree *Wendlandia* sp. has the names *wodong*, *mbodong* 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 representative of Ml/Ind *balik*.⁶⁸ By homoeonymy we find in Manggarai besides (*saung* or *haju*) *walék* further *walér* (also meaning 'to turn') and *galék*, *gélak*, *gélap*. The semi-reduplicative forms *wengger-wélak* and *wengker-wélak* have moreover a soundsymbolic effect. Further more I noted the names *néla* for *Croton montis-sitam*, 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 scaly bracts. Those names are *lukup* (6.54), SCM *tekup*, P *tikap* and WM *kaqap*; cp. M *tangkep*, J *tangkeb*, Ml *rangkap* 'to cover' etc.

In eastward dialects the names of this fern give a fine example of homoeonymy. In my opinion the original form is still preserved in the name *lebé-raé* 'eagle's wing' in Waérana, and in the conditionally prenasalized *lembé-raé* in Rongga (and Rajong). The originality of this name is more or less proved by the semantically identical name *belé-biza* in Mundé (Nagé language), and the fact that in Cibali two different writers described the leaves of *lukup* as: similar to *lebé manuk* 'hen's wing', and as *lebé orong rawuk* 'grey heron's wings'. In the adjacent dialects we find first the alliterative form *rembé-raé* in Kp, and then the homoeonymous *rembo-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.

(b) Metathesis may be regarded as a variant of homoeonymy. The papilionacea *Shuteria vestita* has the names M *ncilor* and *lincor*, and *Anamirta cocculus* is named M *nol* and Wng *lon* (6.11). This phenomenon appears often in very divergent languages; see under *Cassia fistula* (6.28), *Grewia* (6.65^b), *Kaempferia galanga* (6.74), *Pisonia umbellifera* (6.106), *Schleichera oleosa* (6.122) and *Trema orientalis* (6.138).

(c) 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 *n-* or *ng-* is the original FL form.

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

5.7.2 Polyonymy

We have already mentioned polyonymous 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 subitaneous 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 *conco*, 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 *conco*-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 australis*, the *conco-belanda* (5.8.4), the determinant 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 *wora* is the original Manggarai name, since we find three islands eastward of the chief area. In the word-island of Lamba-Léda, however, *wora* is *Vitex trifolia* var. *littorea*, a much lower variety which is found near the coast. Within the *wora* area this variety is named *wora-tacik* 'sea (= coastal) *wora*'. The name *cucang* 'to rub' has something to do with the medicinal use of the leaves, and *ghoi*, *ghui* 'to sweep' (cp. *hoi* in 2.6) indicates that the branches were used for sweeping. I suppose that the names *woi*, (cond.) *wui* and *woing* are homoeonyms of *hoi* (and also of *roi* '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 elasticus* (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^{69a}

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 gourds, e.g. *zawong* meaning in Waru-Kia *Benincasa hispida* (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 of this is the name *kawéng* '*Uncaria lanosa*' (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 *helas*, which means both a kind of sharp-leaved rush and a kind of edible gourd. The reason of the same name for such different plants is probably that the stems of both are sharp or prickly. We have to compare *helas*, with the variants *ngelas*, *pelah* (*pelas*) 'to shave' (cp. 6.60), Nagé *kela*, Rgg *ghela* for "rush", and the name M *kopé-koé* 'little chopper'; also with *kelas* 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-Léda people know *loi* '*Alstonia spectabilis*' (6.10) which is found below 700 m, and *lui* '*Fraxinus griffithii*'^{69b} 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-i* > *u-i*, and *loi* becomes *lui*. 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 *Fraxinus* 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 polysemy. Many plant names in different but neighbouring dialects, which have a same sounding name, point to different plants. We will see this in *kégo* (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:

latung is in M *Zea mays*,
in FEM: Mbai *Sorghum saccharatum*
kaé is in M: Ms *Zea mays*,
in MA: Rj *Sorghum saccharatum*
jawa is in Rgg, Ng I, Nagé *Zea mays*,
in Ng II *Sorghum saccharatum*
pangi is in Ng: Tana-Wolo *Zea mays*,
in Nagé: Mundé *Sorghum saccharatum*
holo etc. is in Kéo, Nagé *Zea mays*,
in Ende (*oro*) *Sorghum saccharatum*
lelé is in Sika II *Zea mays*,
in Tana-Ai *Coix lacryma-jobi*
watar is in Tana-Ai *Zea mays*,
in Sika *Coix lacryma-jobi*.

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

An important reason is probably the dropping of a part of a compound, of which "*kastéla*" is a very good example.^{76b} Loss of the first part of a compound we find e.g. in *pesi* < *latung-pesi* (4.17) and *satar* < *remang satar* (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 papilionacea (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 *kégo*, *witu* and *kusu* above. Other instances of polysemy 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 *Picrasma javanica*, *paqit* '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 *laci* leaves", the child may ask, "which kind of *laci*?", whereupon the mother may answer, "*laci-saung* 'basil (leaves)', of course, as we have no *laci-téu* 'citronella' in our garden."

Quite frequently the words used as classifiers are also used as determinants. Among the *Rubus* spp., *karot conco* 'conco-thorn' we find winders and erect plants, which respectively are named *karot conco-wasé* and *karot conco-haju* '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*

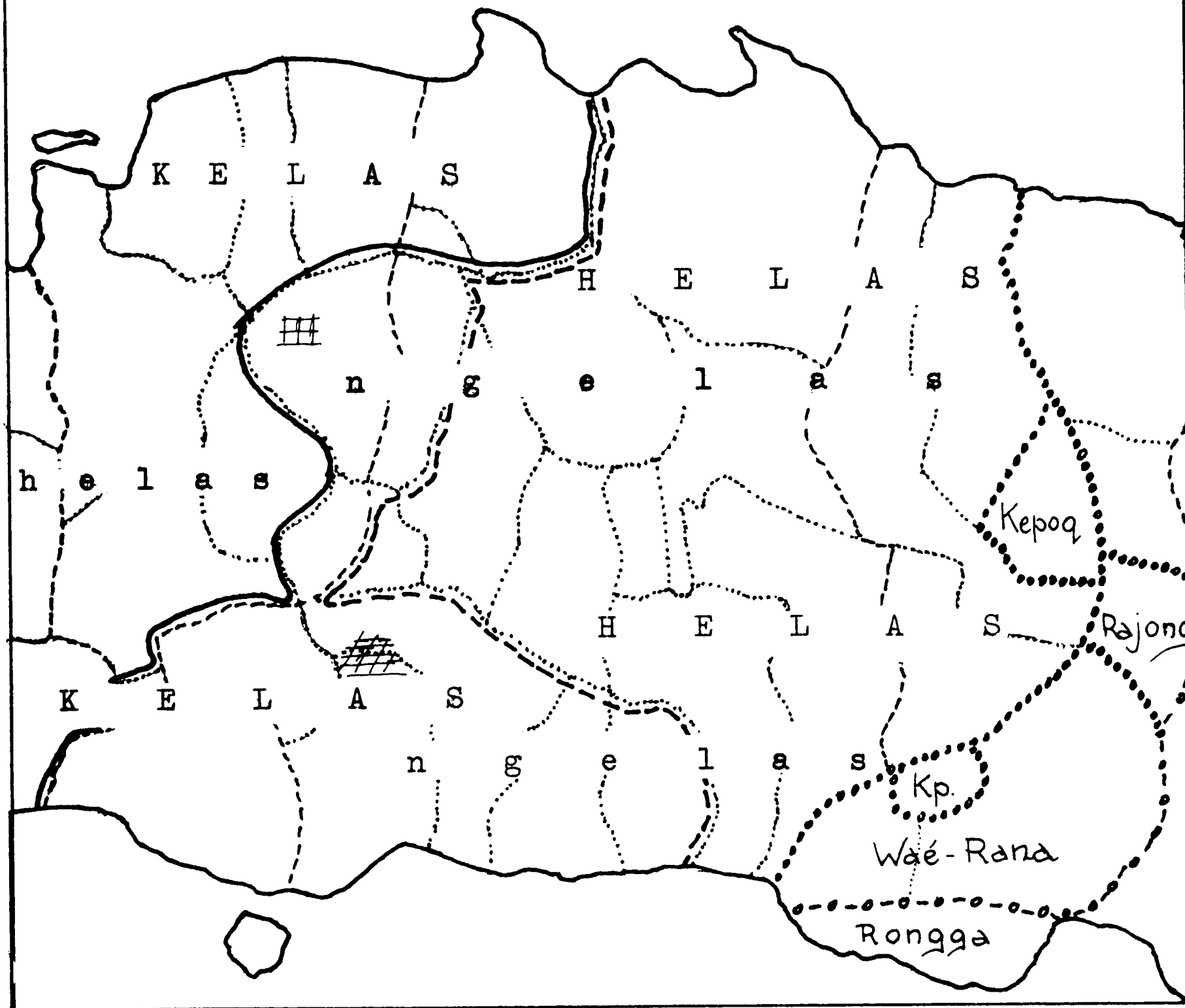


Chart 1 ("Map" 16^a)
Avoidance of homonymy III
in capitals: *Fraxinus*
in small letters: *Alstonia*

		D i a l e c t s	
		o-i = o-i	o-i > u-i
Fraxinus griffithii; 5.7.3.	1400 m	L U I	L U I
	700 m	L U I	LUI-WINA MBACENG lui-rona lui-biring
Alstonia spectabilis; 5.10.	P A C E N G		
	400 m	loi	lui
	10 m		

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*,⁷⁰

bangko-lui, *Rhizophora* sp., which resembles *lui (loi)*, *Alstonia spectabilis*,

Bangko-ojang, *Xylocarpus granatum*, which resembles *ojang*, *Toona ciliaris*,

bangko-pandut, *Barringtonia asiatica*, which resembles *pandut*, *Calophyllum inophyllum*,

bangko-raru, *Bruguiera* sp., which resembles *raru*, *Myristica* sp.;

bangko-papi, *Lumnitzera racemosa* is used besides *papi*,⁷¹

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 *Ml sirih*, *Piper betle*, 'the chewing betel'. Those not used by humans; *kala-kaba* 'buffalo's betel', *kala-kodé* 'monkey's betel', *kala-nggaro* '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-acu* 'dog's ginger', *lia-tesem* 'ants' ginger', *timbang-ka* 'crow's cucumber', *mberong-tagis* 'deer's bur-grass'⁷² *humntangis* 'eagle's mushroom'⁷³ and *sela-munggis* '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*.⁷⁴ This belief is more or less consciously reflected in many plant names; thus, because of its pseudo-bulbs on the rhizome, the orchid *Acriopsis javanica* is called *comu-darat* 'onion of the *darat*'. For brevity's sake I give only the Manggarai⁷⁵ and English names of some plants which have a wild counterpart for the spirit (*darat*): *jéngok* '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', *lusa* 'bean-tree', *mawo* 'rice', *mesak* 'millet', *muku* 'banana', *munta* and *ndiru* 'kinds of citrus', *nggewo* 'kind of bean', *réqa* 'pandanus (for plaiting)', *sampa* (no usefulness known), *sawé* 'spinach' (Ind *bayam*), *seré* 'citronella grass', *sunu* 'onion', *teko* 'taro', *tesé* 'sweet yam', *tété* 'sweet potato', *téu* 'sugarcane',^{76a} *tuwa* '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, Ndu'a = Ngadha, Wio = Sumba, Dima = Bima, Manila, Bogor²⁴, Hawu = Sawu, Belanda, Cina, Menado (probably the agricultural official was a Menadonese), Rongga and Endé. A striking example^{76b} 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 (assumedly) native plant; almost synonymous with "Manggarai" is *raja* 'native', 'Manggarai', 'our'; cp. *kopi* (3.3.4), *tété* (4.9).

The new grass *Paspalum scrobiculatum* was brought by the agricultural organisation Ikatan Pertanian Pancasila and named *remang pancasila* or (Ind) *rumpun pancasila*.

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) *sayur karmél*.

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', *puar* 'forest', *rami* 'brushwood', *biring* 'coastal, warm area', *tacik* 'sea', 'coast'. Often such a name is given just for the sake of giving an answer when questioned. Good instances are e.g.: *waso*, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, and *waso-tacik* 'sea-*waso*', *Thespesia populnea*, a plant which resembles *waso*, but is only found near the coast. Several *Syzygium* (*Eugenia*) spp. are named *lokom*: *lokom-poco* 'mountain-*lokom*', *lokom-waé* 'river-*lokom*' for kinds found at river banks, and *lokom-masa* 'dry (land) *lokom*'. *Menggé-poco* is *Terminalia* cf. *copelandii* in the mountains, *menggé-biring* is *T. zollingeri*, which is found in the lower areas (*biring*) and *menggé-tacik*, *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 *riqi*).^{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 *koé* (or *loé*) are used. Others are distinguished by the colour of a part of the plant. So we find *bakok* 'white', *rawuk* 'gray', *déréng* or *wara* 'red', *neni* 'black'. *Rembung* 'purplish' is often used for varieties in useful plants: *téu-rembung* 'sugarcane with purplish bark', *muku-rembung* 'banana with violet coloured fruits or stem', *lémo-rembung* for *Citrus maxima* trees with reddish fruitflesh, *latung-rembung* for maize with violet-coloured grains.

Also verbs may determine a basic name like *ndéru-roco* 'polish citrus', which kind is used for polishing sword-blades; *nggurus-dapak* 'baking chilli', which is baked not pounded, *conco-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 *Dysoxylum* of the *Meliaceae* family in his "Heft" 1.

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 *worok*, let us call it "*worok-rona*" (without naming the other kind *worok-wina*). I had often the same impression, though people never said it positively.

In many cases the above properties may reinforce each other. So *ndusuk(-wina)*, *Melastoma multiflora*, is larger and has broad leaves which are used for food, while the allied *Osbeckia dolichophylla*, *ndusuk-rona*, from the same family of the *Melastomaceae* lacks these qualities. In other cases, however, these "normative" properties may be contradictory. Thus *sénsus-rona*, the male *sénsus*, is the larger plant and is regarded as useful (see

2.3.1), whereas the *sénsus-wina* is regarded as worthless and poisonous. Maybe the *sénsus-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* *Triumfetta* 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 *b(etina)* means flattened or rounded in contr. to high or pointed." And of *jantan* he says (447): "Fig. *j(antan)* = the long and narrow or big, in contr. to the short and squat (*betina*); (. . . .) *melur j(antan)* (jasmine bud coming to a point)."

In the *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* I twice found "female": *saga betina* and *setawar betina*, and twice "male": *kermak jantan* and *sebasah 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), *jotang lalaki* (793), *ki kopi lalaki* (703), *sembung lalaki* (768), (*areng papasan lalaki* (739), *jarong lalaki* (228, 545, 546); in Javanese: *bobowan (bubuwan) laki* (255), in Malay *mamang laki* (255); and in Madurese *tarèta bineq* (460) 'female *tarèta*', which is *Opuntia elatior*. By chance I saw in FM 6:87 *manunggal lalaki*, *Capparis zeylanica*, *bakauan lalaki*, *Rhizophora conjugata*, *tangal lalaki*, *Ceriops roxburghiana* and a female: *bitanhol na babaé*, *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 determinant "male" (*jantan* 100x, *lelaki*, *laki-laki* 4x), "female" 25x, (*betina* 23x, and *perempuan* 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 expressly under *Ardisia crispa* (219): "*mata pelandok betina* ('female' as being small)". As this is very important, I shall quote a few examples: "*bayur betina* (1835/6) *Pterospermum jackianum* 'female or little bayur'" alongside *bayur jantan*, *Pterospermum diversifolium*, which is indeed the higher tree; "*setambun betina*, *Baccaurea wallichii* 'small tambun', and "*setambun jantan*, *Baccaurea parviflora*" which is the larger plant; "*ulan betina* (1456) *Merremia umbellata*" 'female or lit-

tle *ulan*" and "(akar) *ulan jantan* (944), *Erycibe princei*", which is also a *convolvulacea*, but climbs high in trees.

As in Manggarai, we often do not know which counterpart is meant, when only "female" or "male" is mentioned. Burkill, 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 Burkill'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 paucijuga* (190), is called *pekan jantan*); for *Glochidion superbum* (1078) I find the translations *geremong jantan* as well as *geremong betina*; *Pavetta indica* (1678) 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. *Gading betina*, *Aporosa aurea*, is a tree which grows 40 feet high (195), while *gading jantan*, *Coffea malayana* (627) is a shrub, named by Burkill '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 *Artocarpus dasyphylla* var. *flava*, by R. called *Metrosideros 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: *Bancudus angustifolia et mas*, *Bancudu lacki-lacki* and *Bancudus latifolia et femina*, (the Malay) *Bancudu 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 Kästner^{80b}

Theophrastus himself found already that these epitheta in Greek only served to distinguish two related species.^{80c}

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 *Waso*, and not *waro*

According to Burkill, 172 *Hibiscus tiliaceus* 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 *varu* 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 Melayu, (*mali*) *bago* in Philippine languages, *bau* in Roti, *bou* in Nias, *wau* in Bima and Raja in Flores, *bahu* in Sangir, *balo* in Mayeli, Buru (Stresemann, 88); *fanu* in Nua Ulu, Ceram, and *waqo* in Botun, (Adonara), in New Britain: Gunantuna *varvar*, Uganda *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 *waso*, (whose *w* is a normal reflex of AN *b). As a plausible explanation, I propose the following. The hypothetical PM word **waro/u* was almost solely used in connection with *wasé*, the rope (made from its bark). By force of assimilation *wasé *waro* became *wasé waso* 'waso rope', and then *haju waso* 'waso tree' was established. In accordance with sound-shift rules *wahé waho* and *ghaju waho* are used in the SH dialects of Manggarai. In other MA languages we find: *tali waru* in Kmd, *wazék* and *fazék waru* in Rmb, *kazék waru* in Wr.

5.9.2 *Wangér* 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 *kangor* and in Teda-Mudé (Nagé), Ng, Lio, Endé *fangé*. These forms point to a murmured (e) in the proto-form; see Note 92. Manggarai however has the reflex *wangér*. How can this (é) be explained? I think that the explanation is similar to that of *waso* (5.9.1). Although *saung wangér* 'leaf *wangér*' is used, as the leaves form the medicine, the designation *wasé wangér* is more usual. By force of assonance the original *wasé wanger* became *wasé wangér*.

5.9.3 *Tao* and not *tarong*

Dempwolff reconstructed "PMP **taRum*" '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 reflexes of the above PMP form. Arndt gives also Ng *tao*, at the side of *taru*, possibly from a dialect in which *R = \emptyset .

5.9.4 Longa and not lenga

In 6.124 a list of IN names of *Sesamum* is given. It is clear that original Indonesian had the form *lenga*, and according to the rules of sound-shift the Manggarai representative should also be *lenga*. 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 Tangér and téngér, and not M tenger

Dempwolff established **tengel* for *Rhizophoraceae*; see 6.30. The M form should be *tenger*, but we find WM: Lo'ok *tangér* and SCM (*lasu*)-*téngér*. 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 Séwo in CM, not céwo

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

5.9.7 Suka in CM and not cuka

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 *céwo* 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 elasticus*

(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 elasticus* and closely allied species⁸² have to be reduced to PMP **teRep*, which is clearly shown by the following interesting collection I was able to make.

(b) A list of names

<i>Flores</i>	
Rgg, Ng, Lio, Endé	<i>teré</i>
Botun Adonara	<i>téqét</i>
Nagé dial	<i>teé</i>
<i>Sumba</i>	
Kambéra	<i>téra</i>
?	<i>tira</i>
Lauli, Loura	<i>térépa</i>
Lombok, Sasak	<i>terep</i>
Bali	<i>teep</i>
Sunda	(<i>teureup</i>), <i>tóróp</i>
<i>Sumatra</i>	
Melayu Riau	<i>terap</i>
Melayu ?	<i>tetap</i>
West Coast, Sejunjung	<i>tarok</i>
Minangkabau	<i>taroq</i>
Karo	<i>torop</i>
Batak	? <i>torap</i>
Indragiri	<i>torok</i>
Bilitung	<i>terep</i>
<i>Borneo/Kalimantan</i>	
Balikpapan	<i>tarap</i>
Kayan Dyak	? <i>tahab</i>
Mahakam WKutei	<i>tap</i>
Sampit, SKalimantan	<i>telap</i>
Dayak Iilir, SKalimantan	<i>tilap</i>
<i>Sulawesi</i>	
Bugis	<i>iterroq</i>
Taé' Toraja	<i>tarraq</i>
Tontemboan	<i>téqép</i>
Bentenan	<i>tugap</i>
Gorontalo	<i>tohupo</i>
Donggala	<i>téa</i>
<i>Philippines</i>	
Bisaya I	<i>tugúp</i>
Bisaya II	<i>togop</i>
New Britain, Gunantuna	<i>tat</i>
New Ireland, Lamkot	<i>tatat</i>
New Ireland, ?	<i>tagut</i>

(c) In Manggarai and Rmb, the tree has the name *lalé*,⁸³ which in my opinion

Map 17. PMP *teRep

Artocarpus elasticus; 5.10.1

••• *teRep

□ inset

1 kelo, keloq

2 kaok

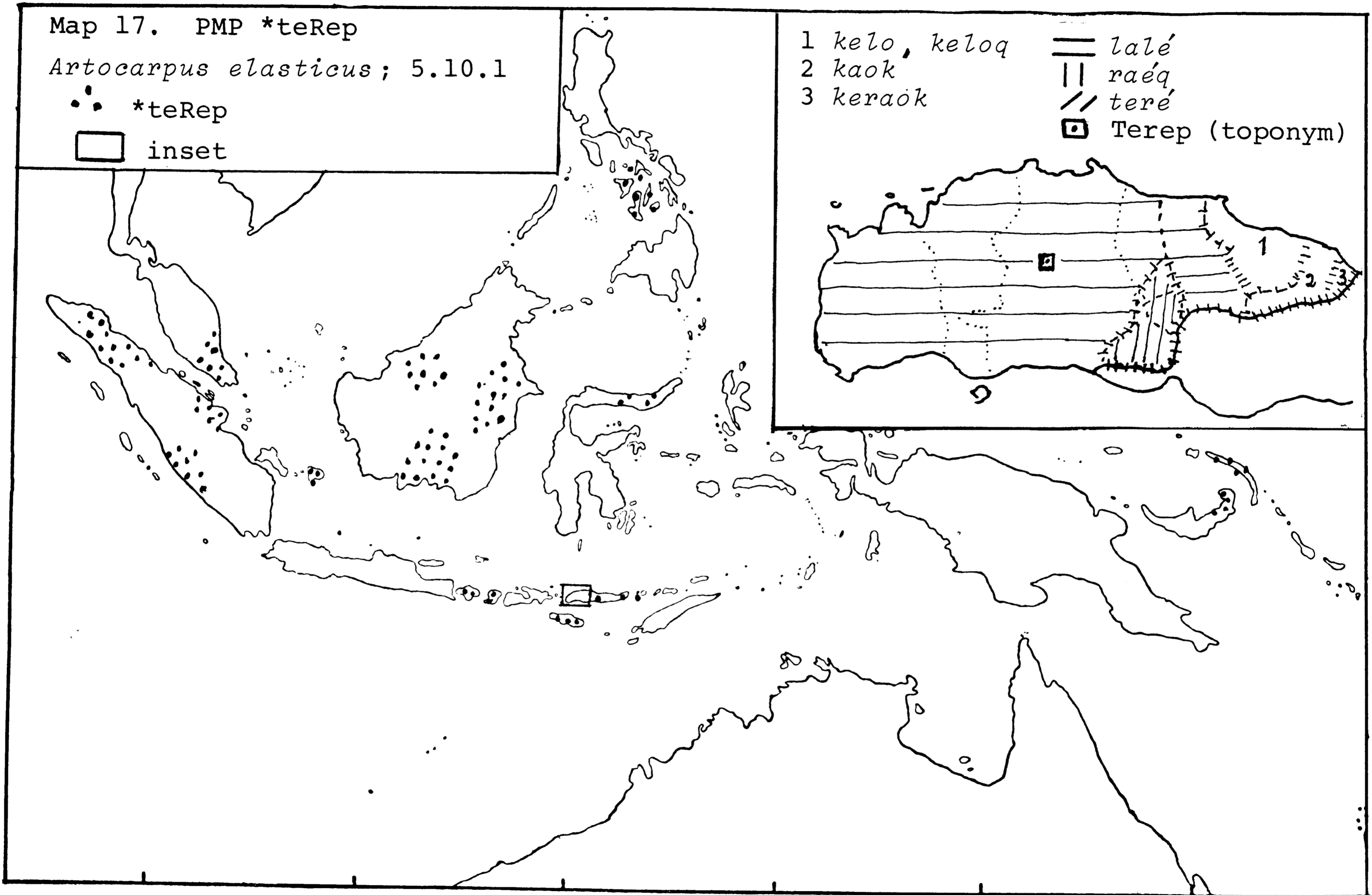
3 keraok

== lalé

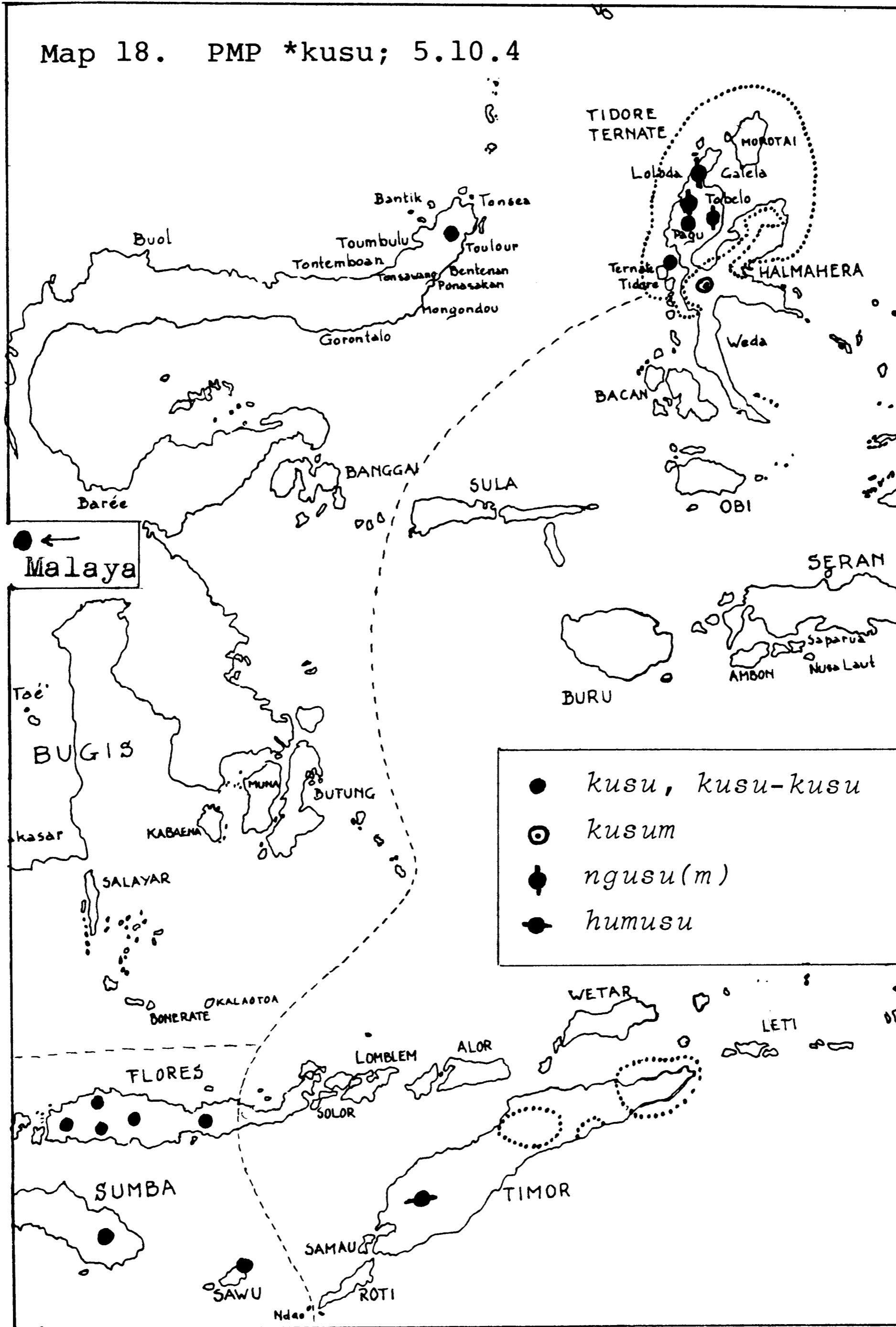
|| raéq

// teré

□ Terep (toponym)



Map 18. PMP *kusu; 5.10.4



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 *raéq*, Ri, Békék *kelo*, Wng *keloq*, Nanga-Numba *kaok* and Mbai *keraok*. There are reasons to suppose that these names, as M *lalé* 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 *térépa*.⁸⁴ Sika *hoi-tari* 'loin-cloth' may have a similar origin; and I should like to investigate whether Lio *taé* 'loin-cloth' can be related to the Mk *taéng*, *Artocarpus 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 NRW, *Purang Witu* in To and *Werwitu* in L, meaning respectively 'the *witu* cave', the '*witu* forest' and possibly via *waé-witu* '*witu* river'. But then in Ng and Endé I found *witu* meaning "*Saccharum spontaneum* (grass)", in ESumba *witu* (*wicu*, *wucu*, *wusu*) and in Sawu *widu* meaning (Sw probably) 'alang-alang grass', *Imperata cylindrica*, whereas in Dawan: Eban in WTimor I came upon *witu* for the grass *Oplismenus* 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 malayana* (6.130) is known in western Manggarai and Komodo under the conditionally identical names of W *leseng*, Kmd *leséng*, and Mw *lecéng*. 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 *lecem* 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 polysemantic name

In Manggarai an old cultigen, the Italian millet, *Setaria italica* (6.125b.), is called *hocu* with the conditional forms *hucu*, *hosu*, *husu*, *ghosu* and *ghusu*, in

Ndao *usu*, in Sw *uhu*. According to regular sound-shift, the word reads in Rmb and Wng *kusu*, in Rj, Wue, Ng *kosu*, in ESumba *uhu*, in Memboro *usu* (*kadita*), in which areas it means "rice"; see Map 18.

In Malay (Wilkinson 630) we find *kusu-kusu* for the aromatic grass (forming large tufts FJ 3: 603) *Vetiveria odorata* (= *zizanoides*). The name "cuscus"-grass should not confuse us, because Wilkinson gives further from old texts *berkusu-kusu* "(of people) in little knots or groups". Heyne, 180 cites Menado Malay *kusu-kusu lalaki* for the grass "*Andropogon amboinicus*" = *Sorghum nitidum* (FJ 3; 601 "tufted grass") and Heyne, 154 mentions from the NHalm languages Pagu and Ternate *kusu*, Tidore *kusu-kusu* (and the possibly related Galela *nguuusu*, Loda *ngusumu*, Tobelo, Modole *nguuuhumu*; in SHalm: Makian *kusum*, and in "Timor" (l.c.153) the strangely similar metathesized(?) *humusu*; all of them meaning *Imperata* spp.. The originality of the NHalm names is reinforced by Ternate (Heyne 100) *kusu ma jungutu* for ?*Asplenium nidus* (with long relatively narrow leaves) and (l.c.510) *kusu ma raka* for the terrestrial orchid *Spathoglossis plicata* with (FJ 3: 332) "narrowly lanceate leaves".

The regular representative *qohu* 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.

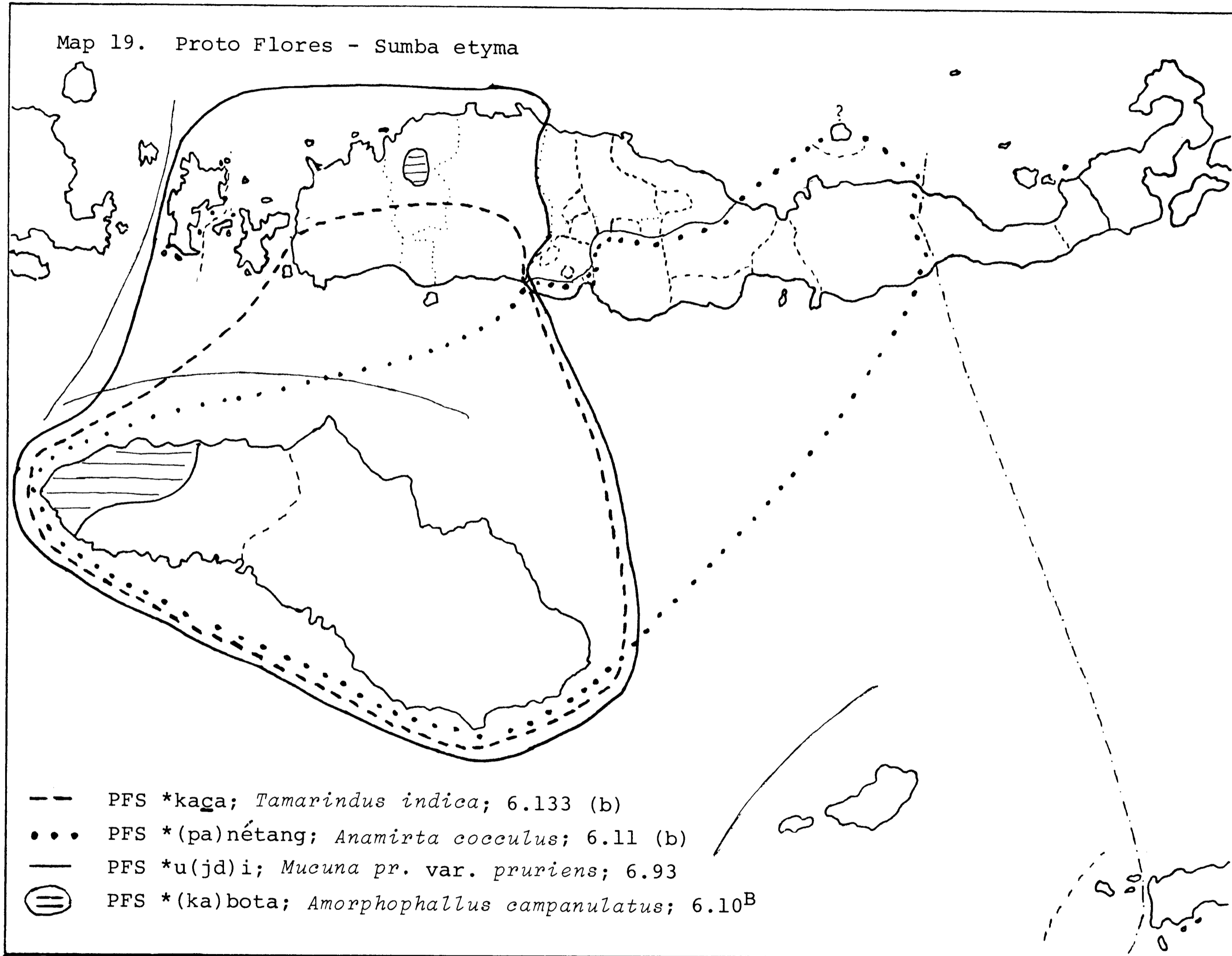
Only by further investigations in MP languages can suggestions about the original meaning of **kusu* emerge. Whichever that plant was, the name is clearly MP.

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 *Pau*, 'Mango' (6.84), some 20 are named *Waso* (5.9.1, 6.68) and as many again are called *kalo*, *Erythrina orientalis*.

In the *Dictionary of Manggarai Plant Names*, Mr Ros and I myself found some 200 plant names that are also 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



are very widespread in Manggarai, and in my opinion, much like the network of toponyms in rural areas, for example, in Holland. Accurate and minute 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-Léda was indicated as *Sambi-Onok*, 'Overhanging *Sambi*(-tree)' (6.122), more accurately: 'The *Sambi*(-tree) which could only be passed by stooping'. A certain point on the highroad near Gaping was called *Lalé-Tompok*, 'Truncate *Lalé*(-tree)'. The precision was necessary since many *lalé* 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 were 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 (*dalú'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-Ajang*, '*Ajang* (*Toona ciliaris*) Valley', was founded; now it is called just *Ajang*.⁸⁷ Similar dropping of geographical marks, like *golo* 'hill', *letong* 'dune lake', *nanga* 'river-mouth' have already taken place, e.g. *Golo Damér* > *Damér* in the list below.

I happened to meet with a remarkable example of phytonymy on the map by Fr G. Mittermeier of the parish in Dampék on the coast of Lamba-Léda. Within a semi-circle with a radius of about five km the following place names were given (plant names underlined): Waso, Runting, Bina'an (name given by foreign seamen), Golo

(hill') Maki, Letong ('dune lake') Lui, Mbijar, Larok, Purang ('pond') Kamba, Damér, Kélor, Waé ('water') Ciu, Sonot, Sambi, Golo Kukung, Nanga ('river mouth') Lirang, Nanga Pedé, Dampék, Dopo Lana, Ntaqur 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.

Recapitulating, 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 *séwo* (6.45) and *raoq* (5.4), *mamih* 'bael-fruit', *Aegle marmelos*, *sawé* 'spinach', *Amaranthus* sp., *lékéng* '*Uvaria* sp. (6.140) and *angkor* (6.40). *Tété* 'batatas' is also found in Sumba *katété* (4.9)

A few *Kmd* plant names which are certainly cognate to *M* show a semantic shift, such as
M lembur '*Cassia fistula*' - *Kmd lembuh* '*Albizia procera*',
M wajur '*Pterospermum diversifolium*' - *Kmd wajah* '*Melanolepis multiglandulosa*'; whereas *M wajur* is called *wajuh lawé*;

WM *ajang* 'Drypetes and Diospyros sp. -
Kmd *Ardisia* sp.

I draw special attention to *teringao* (the introduced) '*Hyptis suaveolens*' (2.7) which should certainly be connected with *ringao* etc. used in western Mangarai.

(c) Some 26 names are direct loans from Bimanese. Among them are all the cultivated fruit plants such as *Annona muricata* and *A. squamosa*, 'the soursop' and 'sweetsop', 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 *kalo* (6.95), may originally have had its counterpart in Sumba. The only exceptions are MP *niu* 'coconut' and Kmd *geroq* '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.⁸⁹

(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.

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 Malayo-Polynesian forbears. 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.⁹⁰

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 "Kriteriensprache" 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 *j. 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 *c̣ (PAN *s), and *q̣ 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 ntaqur*; 6.137 concerning *Si ojang*; 5. 10. 4 concerning *Si qohu*, and for modern times e.g. *merdéka*, 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 intrusions 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'é (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 Phytogeographic circumstances

The spread of certain plants puts limitations to possible comparison. So the famous *Dipterocarpus* species are abundant in western Indonesia, but are missing in eastern Nusa Tenggara and in the Moluccas. Therefore we need not look for *Dipterocarpus* 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 phytogeographic 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 areolinguistic 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 vegetative 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 Areolinguistic 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 so 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'é.
- 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.

and Bima and Sanggar (in this case).
NT The geographical complex which covers NTB and NTT.

The higher-level groups are used in the sense of Blust (1982, 246, Note 2) who includes BS into CMP and assumes AN to consist of MP plus a Formosan group. Compare the AN languages map, and the geolinguistic Map 24.

I owe all the codes from PCMP upward to the kind help of Dr R. Blust.⁹¹ I have added only new data, mostly from the Lesser Sunda Islands. In several cases I could extend the known etymological range. Such etyma are followed by (Verh.). The tentative etyma from PBS downward are mine.

It is needless to say that many forms from less known languages must be checked. This is also the case with the assumed cognation when the phonology of the languages concerned is not yet clear. Therefore I used frequently a preposed (e.g. ?*haro*) or a postposed (?) question-mark.

6.0.7 Etyma in alphabetical order

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

PWF	*qajeŋ	6.4	<i>Acronychia trifoliata</i>
PWF	*qa(ŋ)go	6.132 (b)	<i>Sterculia oblongata</i>
PMP	*a(ŋ)kur (Verh.)	6.40 (a)	<i>Cycas (rumphii)</i>
PAN	*ameCi	6.129	<i>Solanum "nigrum"</i>
PMP	*qampelas	6.60 (a)	<i>Ficus wassa, F. ampelas</i>
PMP	*qanaSaw	6.14 (a)	<i>Arenga pinnata</i>
PMP	*qanilaw	6.65 ^B	<i>Grewia</i> spp. etc.
PMP	*anuliŋ	6.106	<i>Pisonia umbelliflora</i>
PAN	*qanunaŋ	6.34 (a)	<i>Cordia dichotoma</i>
PMP	*(q)aRa (Verh.)	6.59	<i>Ficus variegata</i> etc.
PMP	*aRuSu	6.109	<i>Podocarpus imbricatus</i>
PMP	*qatimun	6.37	<i>Cucumis sativus</i>
PMP	*qauR	6.16	<i>Bambuseae</i>
PMA	*azoq	6.56 (a)	<i>Entada phaseoloides</i>
PAN	*baCad	6.125 (d)	<i>Setiaria italica</i> etc.
PFL	*baik/bail	6.5	<i>Albizia chinensis</i>
PMP	*bakaw	6.116	<i>Rhizophoraceae</i> etc.
PMP	*bakuŋ	6.36	<i>Crinum asiaticum</i>
PAN	*banaR	6.127	<i>Smilax</i> spp.
PMP	*baRu	6.68	<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>
PMP	*bayuR	6.114	<i>Pterospermum diversifolium</i>
PAN	*beCeŋ	6.125 (a)	<i>Setaria italica</i>
PNTT	*bé(i)t (?)	6.40 (b)	<i>Cycas rumphii</i>

PMP *belaq	6.121	<i>Schizostachyum brachycladum</i>	PMP *kalumpaŋ	6.131 (a)	<i>Sterculia foetida</i>
PNgL *bera (?) see *meraq			PMP *kamuniŋ	6.94	<i>Murraya paniculata</i>
PMP *betuŋ	6.43	<i>Dendrocalamus asper</i>	PBS *ke(m)bo	6.91	<i>Morinda sp.</i>
PMP *bintaŋaR (Verh.)	6.75 (b)	<i>Kleinhovia hospita</i>	PBS *keci	6.27	<i>Canarium asperum</i>
PMP *bintaŋuR	6.25 (a)	<i>Calophyllum archipelagi</i>	PMP *kenDal (Verh.)	6.34 (b)	<i>Cordia dichotoma</i>
PMP *bitaŋuR	6.25 (b)	<i>Calophyllum (inophyllum)</i>	PBS *ketaŋ	6.107	<i>Planchonella obovata</i>
PBS *boroŋ	6.35 (a)	<i>Corypha utan</i>	PBS *(k)iqal	6.49	<i>Dioscorea sarasinii</i>
PMP *bubuR (Verh.)	6.131 (b)	<i>Sterculia foetida</i>	PBS *kolé	6.26 (a)	<i>Calotropis gigantea</i>
PMP *buluq	6.120 (a)	<i>Schizostachyum blumii</i>	PCMP *koli()	6.20 (b)	<i>Borassus sundaicus</i>
PMP *bunut (Verh.)	6.33	<i>Colona scabra</i>	PWF *kuar	6.61	<i>Flagellaria indica</i>
PBS *mbuŋe(R)	6.42	<i>Datura metel</i>	PMP *(k)u(jd)u (?)	6.80	<i>Litsea spp.</i>
PMP *buqaq	6.13 (b)	<i>Areca cathecu</i>	PMP *kukun	6.123	<i>Schoutenia ovata</i>
PMP *buqul (?) (Verh.)	6.63	<i>Gmelina elliptica</i>	PMP *kuli see *kolé		
PMP *buRney	6.12	<i>Antidesma bunius</i>	PMP *kulu(rR) (??)	6.15 ^B	<i>Artocarpus altilis</i>
*buzun see *lozon			PMP *kuñij	6.38	<i>Curcuma viridiflora</i>
PWF *cawat	6.18	<i>Bidens sp.</i>	PMP *kusu (Verh.)	6.125 (b)	<i>Setaria italica etc.</i>
PMP *cekur	6.74	<i>Kaempferia galanga</i>	PMP *lanti (?) (Verh.)	6.69	<i>Homalanthus fastuosus</i>
PMA *ci(m)par	6.90	<i>Mischocarpus sundaicus</i>	PMP *laqia	6.146	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>
PFL *comu	6.8	<i>Allium cepa var. ascalonicum</i>	PMP *-lasi	6.96	<i>Ocimum basilicum</i>
PMA *cowaŋ	6.35 (b)	<i>Corypha utan</i>	PMP *le(m)bur (Verh.)	6.28	<i>Cassia fistula</i>
PBS *dalug	6.6	<i>Albizia procera</i>	PFL *lecem	6.130	<i>Spondias malayana</i>
PMP *damay	6.105	<i>Pipturus argenteus</i>	PFL *ledu	6.70	<i>Homalium tomentosum</i>
PBS *daŋaR (?)	6.75 (a)	<i>Kleinhovia hospita</i>	PNTT *léké	6.56 (b)	<i>Entada phaseoloides</i>
PMP *daqu	6.53	<i>Dracontomelum edule</i>	PNTT *léké(m)	6.140	<i>Uvaria sp.</i>
PMP *deRuŋ	6.138	<i>Trema orientalis</i>	PWF *leluq (?)	6.104 ^A (b)	<i>Phragmites karka</i>
PMP *ditaq	6.9	<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	PMP *leŋa	6.124	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
PMP *duduk, nDuduk (Verh.)	6.86	<i>Melastoma polyanthum</i>	PMP *lipay (Verh.)	6.93	<i>Mucuna pruriens var. utilis</i>
PNT *dupé	6.104 ^B	<i>Piliostigma malabaricum</i>	PFL *lei	6.10A	<i>Alstonia spectabilis</i>
PMP *enep (Verh.)	6.103	<i>Peltophorum pterocarpum</i>	*lon see *nol		
PMP *empak	6.57	<i>Euodia sp.</i>	PWF *lozon	6.55	<i>Ensete glaucum</i>
PWF *gakaq	6.98 (b)	<i>Pagiantha spaerocarpa</i>	PMP *-lubu (Verh.)	6.115	<i>Pterygota alata</i>
PWF *garit	6.117	<i>Rhus taitensis</i>	PFL *(l)u(jd)a(y)	6.22 (a)	<i>Cajanus cajan</i>
PMP *gilaŋ ? (Verh.)	6.111	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>	PAN *lukuC	6.54	<i>Drynaria and other epi-phyts</i>
PMS *(ŋ)godo	6.48	<i>Dioscorea pentaphylla, Tacca sp</i>	PWF *mahit, PS	6.20 (a)	<i>Borassus sundaicus</i>
PWF *goze(nŋ)	6.2	<i>Abrus precatorius</i>	*ma(ŋ)git		
PWF *guruŋ	6.62 ^A	<i>Gigantochloa apus</i>	PMA *makiq	6.133 (a)	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>
PMA *helas	6.17	<i>Benincasa hispida</i>	PMP *mali	6.78	<i>Leea (rubra)</i>
PMP *qipil	6.73	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>	PWF *maras	6.110	<i>Pometia pinnata</i>
PMS *(ka)kota	6.10 ^B	<i>Amorphophallus sp.</i>	PWF *mezaŋ	6.126	<i>Setaria palmifolia</i>
PMP *kabu	6.29 ^A	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	PMA *meraq	6.87	<i>Melia azedarach</i>
PMS *kaça	6.133 (b)	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	PWF *mi(n)duq see *ni(n)tuq		
PBS *kalu (?)	6.95 (b)	<i>Musa paradisiaca</i>	PNTT *muku	6.95 (a)	<i>Musa paradisiaca</i>

PWF *mu(n)tin	6.76	<i>Lagerstroemia</i> (<i>flos-reginae</i>)	PFL *Runu(s)	6.143	<i>Wedelia</i> spp.
PWF *namut	6.29 ^B	<i>Celtis</i> <i>tetrandra</i>	PWF *ruten	6.58 (b)	<i>Ficus</i> <i>benjamina</i>
PMP *naqa	6.24	<i>Calamus</i> sp.	PMP *sambi	6.122	<i>Schleichera</i> <i>oleosa</i>
PMP *naRa	6.113	<i>Pterocarpus</i> <i>indicus</i>	PMP *se(jdD)se(jdD) (Verh.)	6.41	Cyperaceae and Gramineae
*nawun see *qawun					
PBS *nétaq	6.11 (b)	<i>Anamirta</i> <i>cocculus</i>	PMP *sepaq	6.21	<i>Caesalpinia</i> <i>sappan</i>
PCEMP *niniq	6.52	<i>Donax</i> <i>cannaeformis</i>	PMP *siabu (?) (Verh.)	6.45	<i>Dioscorea</i> <i>aculeata</i>
PNTT *ni(n)tap	6.132 (a)	<i>Sterculia</i> <i>oblongata</i>	PMP *suaq	6.64 (a)	<i>Gnetum</i> (<i>gnemon</i>)
PMP *-niti (Verh.)	6.145	<i>Wrightia</i> spp.	PMP *SuaR	6.61	<i>Flagellaria</i> <i>indica</i>
PMP *ni(n)tuq (Verh.)	6.81	<i>Lygodium</i> (<i>circinnatum</i>)	PMP *suja (Verh.)	6.47 (a)	<i>Dioscorea</i> <i>esculenta</i>
PMP *niuR	6.31	<i>Cocos</i> <i>nucifera</i>	PMP *suka	6.64 (b)	<i>Gnetum</i> (<i>gnemon</i>)
PMA *nol	6.11 (a)	<i>Anamirta</i> <i>cocculus</i>	PMP *sulim (Verh.)	6.66	<i>Helicia</i> spp.
PMP *nunuk	6.58 (a)	<i>Ficus</i> <i>benjamina</i> etc.	PBS *ta(n)day (?)	6.47 (b)	<i>Dioscorea</i> <i>esculenta</i>
PNTT *qa(n)car	6.108	<i>Planchonia</i> <i>valida</i>	PMP *talisay	6.134	<i>Terminalia</i> <i>catappa</i>
PWF *qawun	6.1	<i>Abelmoschus</i> <i>moschatus</i>	PMP *tamiaq	6.120 (b)	<i>Schizostachyum</i> <i>blumii</i>
PMP *ñatuq	6.99	<i>Palaquium</i> spp. etc.	PMP *taRum	6.72	<i>Indigofera</i> spp.
PFL *ozaq	6.137	<i>Toona</i> <i>ciliaris</i>	PAN *tebuS	6.118	<i>Saccharum</i> <i>officinarum</i>
PMP *panDan	6.100	<i>Pandanus</i> sp.	PMP *tenu	6.88	<i>Melochia</i> <i>umbellata</i>
PFL *pa(jd)a	6.98 (a)	<i>Pagiantha</i> <i>sphaerocarpa</i>	PMP *tejeR	6.30	<i>Ceriops</i> and other spp.
PBS *paka	6.131 (c)	<i>Sterculia</i> <i>foetida</i>	PMP *teRep	6.15 ^A	<i>Artocarpus</i> <i>elasticus</i>
PMP *paku	6.50	<i>Diplazium</i> and <i>Athyrium</i> spp.	PWF *tétoq (?)	6.92 (b)	<i>Mucuna</i> <i>pruriens</i> var. <i>pruriens</i>
PMP *papa	6.142	<i>Vitex</i> <i>pubescens</i>	PMP *-tigi (?) (Verh.)	6.141	<i>Vaccinium</i> spp., <i>Pemphis</i> <i>acidula</i>
PMP *paSuq	6.84	<i>Mangifera</i> <i>indica</i>	PMP *tuba	6.44	<i>Derris</i> spp., <i>Croton tiglium</i>
PMP *periq	6.62 ^B	<i>Gigantochloa</i> (<i>verticillata</i>)	PMP *tui	6.51	<i>Dolichandrone</i> <i>spathacea</i>
PWF *pu(jd)er (?)	6.83	<i>Mallotus</i> <i>philippensis</i>	P"Timor" *turi()	6.22 (b)	<i>Cajanus cajan</i>
PMP *pulut	6.139	<i>Urena lobata</i> , <i>Triumfetta</i> sp.	PBS *turu	6.128	<i>Solanum</i> <i>melongena</i>
PMP *puni (Verh.)	6.39	<i>Cyathea</i> and other giant ferns	PBS *tuwak	6.14 (b)	<i>Arenga</i> <i>pinnata</i>
PWF *raçan	6.60 (b)	<i>Ficus ampelas</i> , <i>Tetracera</i> <i>scandens</i>	PMP *quay	6.23	<i>Calamus</i> spp.
PWF *raqat	6.112	<i>Pouzolzia</i> <i>hirta</i>	PMP *qubi	6.46	<i>Dioscorea</i> <i>alata</i>
PMP *Rasi (Verh.)		<i>Leucosyke</i> <i>capitellata</i>	PMS *u(jd)i (?)	6.92 (a)	<i>Mucuna</i> <i>pruriens</i> var. <i>pruriens</i>
PWF *re(m)bak (?)	6.82	<i>Macaranga</i> <i>tanarius</i>	PFL *uper	6.136	<i>Timonius timon</i>
PMP *(rR)embiga (?)	6.26 (b)	<i>Calotropis</i> <i>gigantea</i>	PMA *wakas	6.135	<i>Themeda</i> (<i>villosa</i>)
PBS *reqe()	6.19	<i>Bombax ceiba</i>	PEMNg *wakos lih wakas		
PWF *réqa	6.102	<i>Pandanus</i> <i>tectorius</i>	PWF *wakuq	6.101	<i>Pandanus</i> sp.
PBS *rewa	6.85	<i>Melanolepis</i> <i>multiglandulosa</i>	PWF *wajer	6.97	<i>Paederia</i> <i>scandens</i>
PMP *Riqiq	6.71	<i>Imperata</i> <i>cylindrica</i>	PBS *welu	6.7	<i>Aleurites</i> <i>moluccana</i>
PMP *Riuq	6.89	<i>Miscanthus</i> and other grasses	PCMP *witu (Verh.)	6.119	<i>Saccharum</i> <i>spontaneum</i> , grasses
PMP *(Rr)umuq (Verh.)	6.67	<i>Heritiera</i> <i>littoralis</i> / <i>gigantea</i>	PMP *zalateq	6.77	<i>Laportea</i> and <i>Dendrocnide</i> spp.

PMP *zaRiqaw	6.3	<i>Acorus calamus</i>
PAN *zawa	6.125 (c)	<i>Setaria italica</i> , cereals
PMP *zelay PMP *delay(?)	6.32	<i>Coix lacryma-</i> <i>jobi</i> var. <i>ma-</i> <i>yuen</i>
PMA *(?)odo(η)	6.144	<i>Wendlandia</i> sp.

6.1 *Abelmoschus moschatus* - PWF *ηawun,
*nawun

This small shrub has stinging hairs. The root is used as medicine. We find the forms: Pacar in M *nggawung*, CM, WM *ngawung*, Rgg, Ng I, Nagé *ngawu*, EM, FEM, Rmb *nawun*, Wng *nawung*, Ng II, Wr, Endé, Lio, Si *nawu*; Map 10.

6.2 *Abrus precatorius* - PWF *goze(η)

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 *gojé*.

6.3 *Acorus calamus* - PMP *ZaRiqaw

According to Burkill, the sweet flag was introduced into the Malaysian Archipelago 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 etymon. I mention only M *jéngok*, Bm *ndango* and Labuanbajo Bj *jaringau* which forms in my opinion show irregularities; usually Bj drops *-R-, but M not.

6.4 *Acronychia trifoliata* - PWF *qajen

The bark of this tree is used for poisoning fish, and its latex for fastening the blade in the hilt. M *aseng*, WM *haseng*, Kéo *aro*, 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 *méqé hadi* 'coal-black' and Roti *kadék*, *adéq*, whose PMP etymon Dempwolff established.

6.5 *Albizia chinensis* - PFL *baik/
*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 6.7.⁹² It is difficult to reduce the different names to a single etymon. The forms are: M, FEM I *waék*, Rmb, Wangka *faék*, Wr, Kp, Rj *kaé*; FEM II: Lengko-Sambi, Nanga-Numba *wail*, Mulu *fail*; Mbai, Rongga, Ng, Ed, Lio *fai*; Slr *kabaé*.

6.6 *Albizia procera* - PBS *dalug

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

6.7 *Aleuritis moluccana* - PBS *welu

The candle-nut tree³⁶ is a native of the Indonesian Archipelago; probably of the eastern part. The names are the following: M, FEM *welu*, Rmb, Wng, Rgg, Ng I *felu*, Wr, Kp, Rj *kelu*, Ng II, Mundé, Ed, Lio *féo*, Sb *kawalu*, *kawilu*, Sw *?welu*, Dawan *fénu* (?féno); (?WSeran *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 excelsa* is also named M (*haju*) *welu*, probably because of the resemblance of the leaves of both, and that a Batak name of *Platea* is *balunan*; Map 22.

6.8 *Allium cepa* var. *ascalonicum* - PFL
*comu

On account of the /c/ in M *comu* this onion must be a very old cultigen; Rmb, Wng *sumu*, FEM, 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 *laci* in 6.96).⁹³

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 NTT islands I gathered the following names: M, FEM *sita*, SH *hita*, Ng I, Ed, Lio *jita*, *zita*, Rgg, Ng II, Kéo, Si, Slr, Sb I, Mk, AMB *rita*, Rmb, Kp, Wr *ritaq*, Sb (*ka-*) *rita* (Kodi *ritya*), Tt *ritan*, Bm *rida*, Sw *ghedi*; cp. Verheijen 1967 s.v. *sita*.⁹⁴

6.10^A *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 western part of Flores with an occasional occurrence in east Flores: M, Békék, Ri, Tana-Ai *lhoi/loi*, Mbai *kaloi*. M II, Rmb I (conditional) *lui*, Rj, T.-Wolo, L.-Sambi, N.-Numba, Wué, Térong, Wr *koi*, Rmb II, Wng *kui*; Rgg, Mundé, Téda-Mudé *hoi*. Since the form *hoi* 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-kasi-hasi* under 6.96). The occurrence of *lhoi* in Tana-Ai (Sika) is certainly original, and makes the PFL etymon most probable; cp. however Si *lhoqi*.

6.10^B *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: Lelak, Wélak, Kolang *bota*, Sb: Lauili, 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 *lol*, Mbai *lor* (conditional -r), Wue, Wng *lon*; Tana-Wolo *lo*; see 5.7.1(b).

(b) PBS *nétaŋ
Rindi *paniatang*, Karéra *panétang*, Kmb *panétangu*, Lauili, Loura, Kodi *panéta*, alongside of Rgg, Ng, Lio *néta*, Nagé: Mundé (*komba*) *méta* form an example of the special link between Sumba and Flores languages; Map 19.

6.12 *Antidesma bunius* - PMP *buRney

The tasty berries of this tree are well-known. Dempwolff established PN *buni, and Blust PWMP *buRney. I myself had thought of an infix *eR. I noted the following forms: Amb, M *wuné*, Bm *sawoné*, Bali *wuni*, *boni*, Ml I *buni*, Mk, Bg *buqné*, Roti *puné*, Mng *banai*, *bonai*, *bonéi*, Sd *huni*; Ml II *berunai*, Md *burné*, Bis I *bornay(-gubat)*, Tag, Bis I, Zamb *bignai*, Pamp *bignay*, Ibanag, Bontok I, Iloko, Hilig, Cebu *bugnai*, Bontok II, Ifugao *bugnéi*, *?bundéi*.

6.13 *Areca cathecu* (sic!)

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

(a) ?PMP (?)
M *wené*, Sb *winu*, Sw *wenyi*; Nias *fino*; Simalur dial. *boni*. "Banyak Is." (north of Simalur) *bongi*. See also 6.79.

(b) PMP *buqaq
It seems that besides a primary PAN *buqaq 'fruit', we have to assume a secondary PMP *buqaq '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) PMP *qanaSaw
Most widely spread are the cognates of Ml *enau*; I mention only Sb, Kmd, Bm *nao*.

(b) PCMP *tuwak
Cognates of Malay *tuak* (for the drink) are: MA *tuak*, Ng I, Nagé *tua*. By Sawu, Ndao *dué*, Roti, "Timor" *tua*, *tuqa*, the lontarpalm is meant (6.20); cp. Dempwolff IN *tuvak 'alcoholic drink'.

6.15^A *Artocarpus*
elasticus - PMP *teRep

See 5.10.1; Blust gives PWMP; Map 17.

6.15^B *Artocarpus altilis*
(*A. communis*) - ?PMP *kulu(rR)

The correctness of this etymon 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 *qauR

The cognates of *aur* are used for different kinds of bamboo, sometimes it has a generic function. In the BS area we find Bm *oqo*, Kmd *haus!*, *hau*, M, Si *aur*, Ng, Lio, Kmb *au*; 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 *kelah*, Kmd *halaq* 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 *cawat

This herb whose needle-like seeds attach themselves to people's clothes has the following names: M, FEM I *cawat*, Rmb, Wng, FEM II *sawat*, Mbai *sawak*; Rgg, Ng, Nage, Keo *sawa*, Ed, Lio *mura-sawa*, *mersawa*. It is edible.

6.19 *Bombax ceiba* (syn. *Salmalia*,
Gossampinus) - PBS *rene()

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 *rengo*, Ml Kupang *kapok kalingi*.

6.20 *Borassus sundaicus*

By reason of the many names for the palmyra palm in western Indonesia, as J, Bl, Ss *tal*, Mk, Bg *talaq*, CM *tal*, WM, SH, EM, FEM, Rmb *taqal*, Kmd *tah*, Bm *taqa*, which are cognate to Sanskrit *tāl*,

scholars once assumed that this palm was introduced by the Hindus into Malesia. However, Beccari's establishing of a native species *sundaicus*, though only slightly different from *flabellifer*, has long been (Bakhuizen v.d. Brink, 25) accepted.⁹⁷ The original occurrence of this (sub)species is reinforced by linguistic evidence; Map 21.

(a) PWF *mahit; PSb
*maŋgit

We find MA: EM, Kp, Rj, Wr *maghit*, Rgg, Ng I *maghi*, in Sb: ESb *manggitu*, *menggitu*, Kmb *menggit(u)*, Memboro *manggita*, Lauli, Laura *mangito*, Kodi *mangico*. Though variants are clearly involved, the common origin can hardly be doubted.

(b) PCMP *koli (Verh.)

To the east of this area a similar case is found: Ng II, Nagé, Kéo, Ed, Lio, Si, Palu'é, Slr *koli*, Kai *koil*, ESeran *kolir watan*. In Ndao I noted *rou keli* 'lontar leaf'. See also 6.14 (b).

6.21 *Caesalpinia sappan* - PMP *sepaŋ

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 *sepaŋ* belongs to the group of *petangga*." Without certain intermediary forms this statement seems to be too bold.

There are several deviations from the PMP *sepaŋ, such as Jkt, Sd, J *secang*, Bali *cang* and Mng *cacang*. I noted further the following names in NTT: MA *cepang*, *sepang*, Rongga, Ng *sepa*, Si, Tana Ai *hepaŋ*, Sw *hapé*, Bm *supa*.

6.22 *Cajanus cajan*⁹⁸

Burkill, 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) PFL *(l)u(jd)a

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 *l-*. We have the forms M, FEM, (Kp, Rj a loan?) *lusa*, Rmb, Mulu *uza*, Ng *ujé*, 'uré', 'uzé', Rongga *uré*, Ed, Lio, Slr (Witihama) *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.), Tt *turis*, Dawan *tunis*. Bali has the somewhat similar word *undis*.

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 *uwa*, *uwaj*, Lio, Ng, Nagé *ua*, M *wua*, EM, Rmb, Kp, Rj *wuas*, Wr *wuar* (with "an-organic" -s and -r, probably to avoid homonymy with *wua* 'fruit'), Kmd *ué*, Bj *buai*; in Sumba Rindi, Kmb *iwi*, Mangili, Karere *ui*, Memboro *uwi*, Lauli, Laura *uwé*, Kodi *ughé* (cp. in 6.46 the short *u* (ù) and *i* (i) in *uwi* '*Dioscorea hispida*'). The Flores and Sumba forms suggest the presence of a *w or *b in the PBS etymon.

6.24 *Calamus* sp. PMP *naŋa (?)

Another large form of rattan is called M *nanga*, of which Bg *anranga* is probably a cognate; Ml *uwi nangga* is probably not related to these.

6.25 *Calophyllum archipelagi*

(a) PMP *bintaŋuR

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 Matawaé it is named *ntangor*, which is certainly a reflex of *bintaŋuR, but which elsewhere points to the shore species *C. inophyllum* or to the coastal - in wild state up to 100 m - *C. soulattri* (syn. *C. spectabile*) Bm *bintango*. In M the original name for *C. inophyllum* was superseded by *pandut*; see 4.10, 5.5, 5.8.2. Blust 1980, no. 67 gives PWMP.

Throughout M the name *ntorang* (dial. *torang*) is known, in many cases for *C. soulattri*, 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 *ntangor*, the possibility is not excluded. The spread of the two names seems to be exclusive.

(b) *Calophyllum* sp. PMP *bitaŋuR

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

appeared to be quite another plant.⁹⁹

6.26 *Calotropis gigantea*

- (a) PBS *kolé or *kuli
In the BS area the names of this low-lands plant are: M, Rgg, Ng, Lio kolé, Kmb (wangga) kúli, Ed koré and Bm koré.
(b) PMP *(rR)embiga (?)
(Verh.)

I guess that the name WM, SH mbere-mbéga, has to be regarded as a borrowing; cp. Ml rembéga, Serawak lembéga, Mng rembiga, Ssk rembiga, Mk, Bg rambéga, Kangean burigha, Bj in Sumbawa buriga. See also Note 17.

6.27 *Canarium asperum* - PBS *keçi

The resin of this tree is used for torches and caulking. Its leaves are eaten.

In the BS group the cognates are regular: M keçi, Ng, Ed, Rmb kesi, Sumba: Memboru kàsi, Wéwéwa kàzi, Kmb kàhi, ?kéhi, 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, LSambi *kembur*, Rongga *hembu*, 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*, *klohur*; see Note 110.

6.29^A *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*.

6.29^B *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 *nioq*, M, Rgg, Ng, Kéo, Endé, Lio *nio*; WSumba *ni*, *nuqu*, *ngio*, *nyou*, Bm *niqu*, 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*
(*kostermansiana*) - 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 *Grewia laevigata*'s bark is used for binding; Toulour, Tonsawang and Tont *wunut*, *mawunut*. Blust's PWMP Ml *bentangur bunut* (also *bunut* alone) is *C. soulattri*; see 6.25 (a). About the bark's use, however, nothing is mentioned by Burkill and Heyne.¹⁰⁰

6.34 *Cordia dichotoma*

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

- (a) PAN *qanunaŋ
In the NTT region I find: Samau (Timor), MA *nunang*, Rgg *nuna*, Roti (*kai*) *nunak*.
(b) PMP *kenDal
(Verh.)

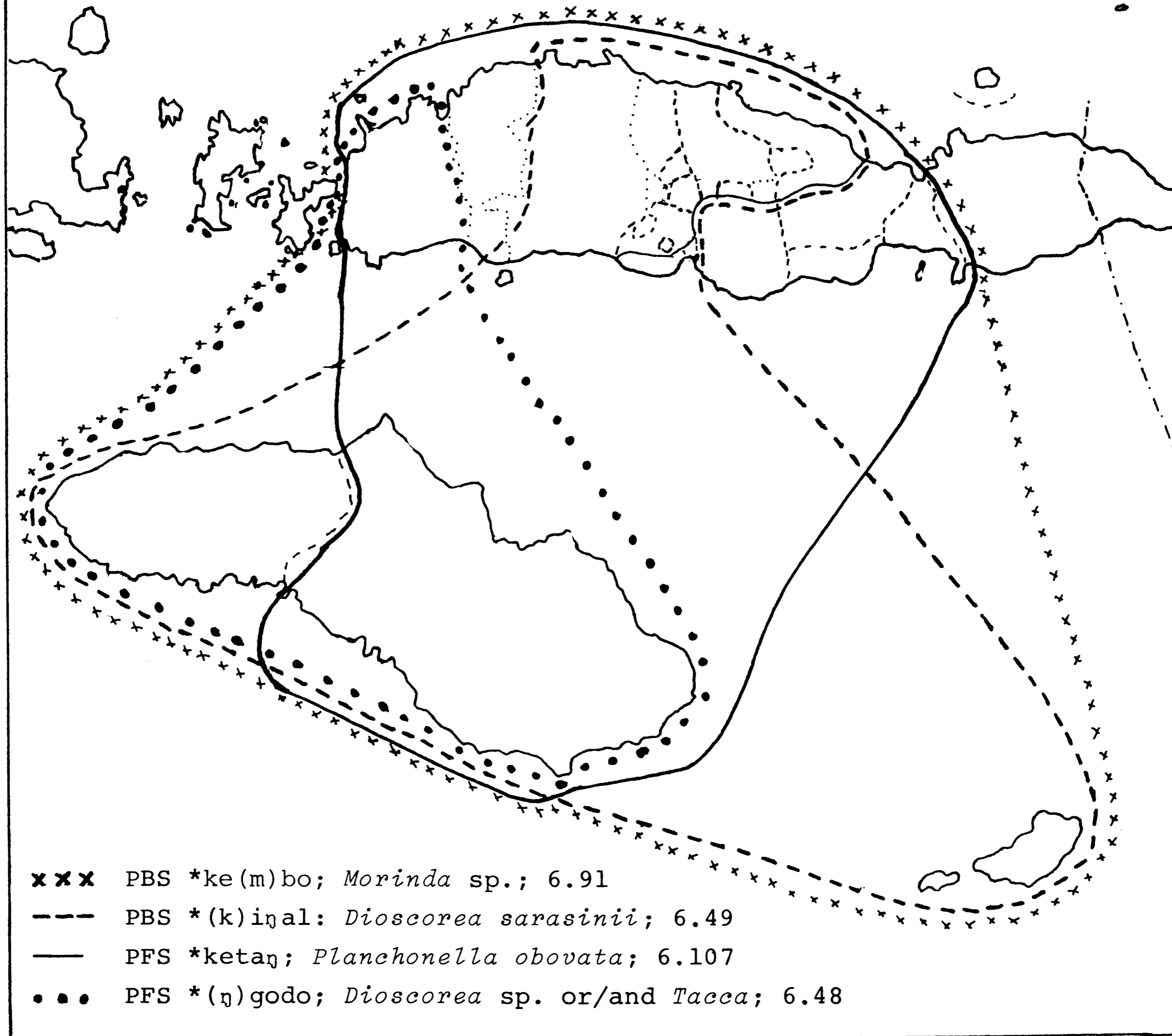
Another group of cognate names is formed by J, Bali *kendal*, Ml *sekendal*, Md *kendhal*, Nagé *keda* and Ng *kedha*. This is a rather unexpected distribution. A borrowing by the mountain dwelling people of Ngadha can hardly be assumed. This is an interesting Java - Flores connection; Map 23.

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:

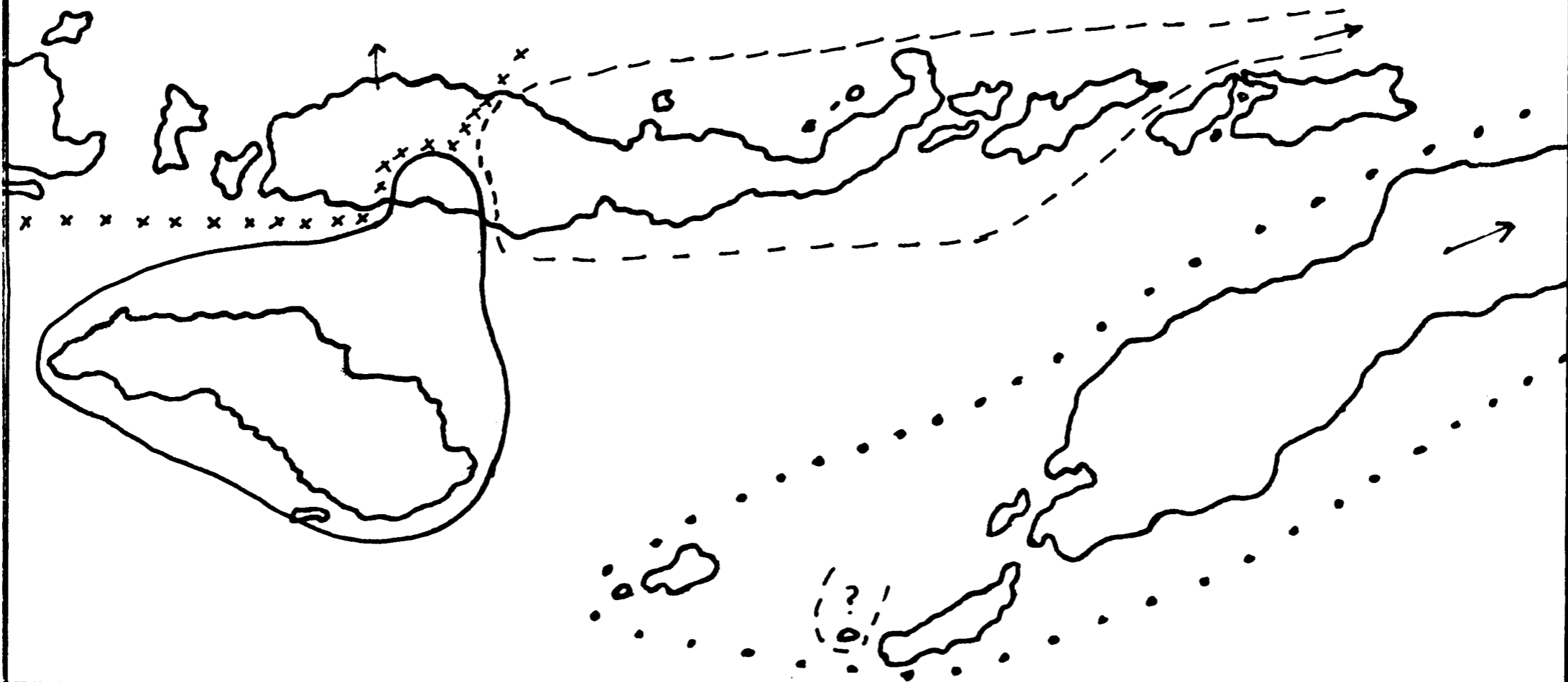
- (a) PBS *boronŋ
CM *borong*, Wr *mborong*, Rgg, WSb: Tarimbang, LauLi, Loura *mboro*, ESb *mburung(u)*; Ng, Kéo, Ed, Lio, Sw *b(h)oro*, Nagé *boo*.

Map 20. Proto FS and BS etyma



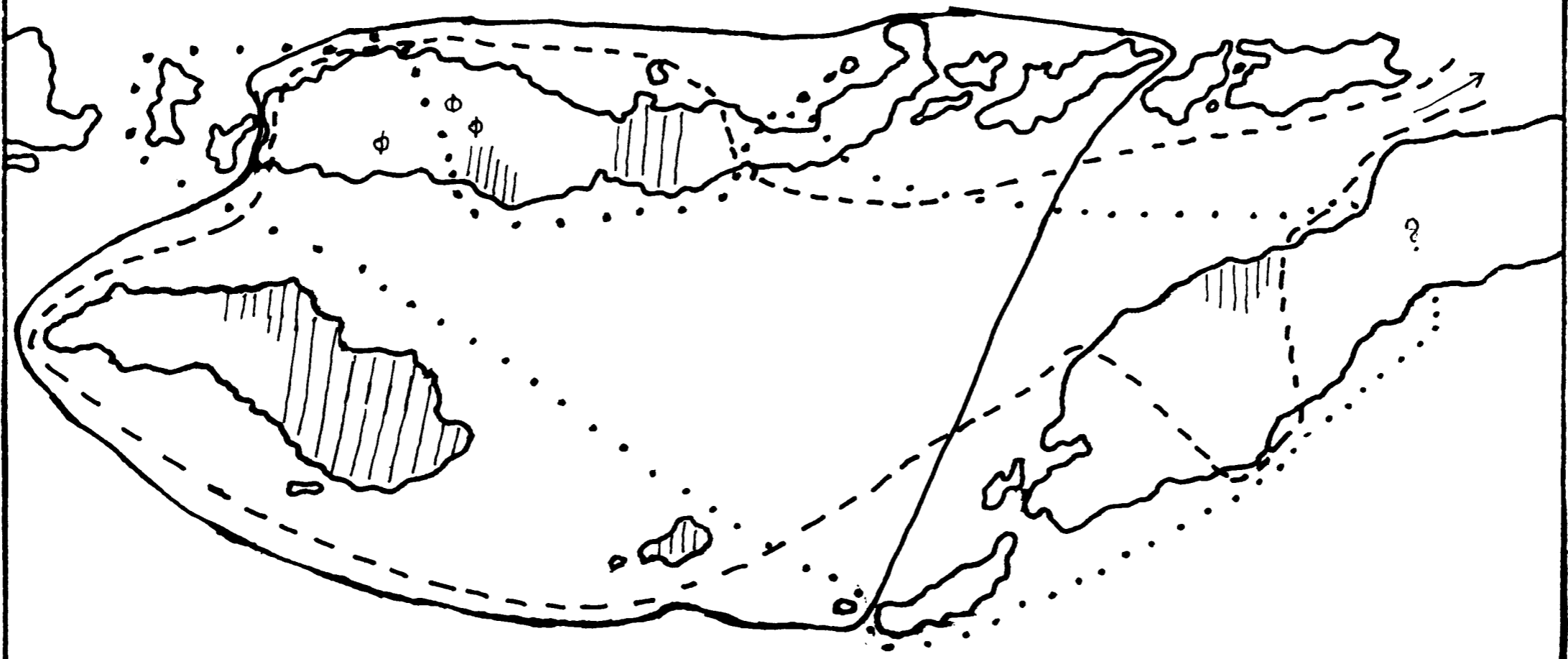
Map 21. Names for *Borassus sundaicus* in NTT; 6.20

- maghit, "manggit"
- "koli"
- ... "tuak"
- xxx "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



(b) PMP *cowaŋ
The other group is formed by WM, FEM
cowang, Kmd, SH, Rmb, Kp *sowang*; Ng: Tana-
Wolo *sowa*; cp. 5.5 towards the end.

6.36 *Crinum asiaticum* - PMP *bakuŋ

The "Asian Lily" is found in SE Asia
and Malasia. I found here the following
names: M, Rmb *wangkung*, Wangka, Kp, Wr,
Rj, Kaong *wakung*, Mulu *wingko-wangkong*,
Wué *wingku-wangkor*, Mulu *wingku-wangkong*.
This suffices to extend PWMP to PMP.

6.37 *Cucumis sativus* - PMP *qatimun,
katimun

According to Burkill, 697 the cucum-
ber 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 *kuŋij

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. fruit-
ing state. It was sought after for dye-
ing, magical, cosmetic, medicinal and
culinary purposes. In a note I give the
rather many names I collected in alpha-
betical order.¹⁰¹

It seems that Simalur: Selang *kondin*,
Lakon *odil*, *ondil* and Nias *undré* form a
group apart.

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

The young leaves of *Cyathea* are eat-
en, and this may have been important when
collecting food in the forests. Accord-
ing 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 fol-
lowing names is rather interrupted: M,
Tont *puni*, Nagé, Ng I *poni* (*Cyathea* sp.),
Sangir *puning*, NSul: Tombulu *apunéq*, Napu
apuni, Tondano *lampuni*, Baré'é *ampuni*,
Taéq *puné*, (*Alsophila* sp.); Bis: Maranao
poni (*Marattia* sp.).

6.40 *Cycas rumphii*

The cycas is found in the tropical
and subtropical Old World. The species
C. circinnalis/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 *béit (?)

Another group of probable cognates
is formed by Wr, Rj *wéit*, Rgg *wéi*, Tetum
(and Bunaq, a loan?) *bét*, Dawan *pét* (p<b
is conditional).

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

In "Bis" we find *sudsud* '*Cyperus*
kyllingia' (syn. *Kyllingia monocephala*),
"a low, tufted grass-like plant" (Merrill),
and in Pamp *sursur* '*Cyperus rotundus*',
which is also low and grass-like. They
seem to me etymologically identical and
semantically almost the same as Rmb *sesor*,
M *cecer* for small grasses such as *Isachne*,
Oplismenus, *Cynodon* and *Digitaria* spp.
PM **cecer* is possibly a dissimilation from
a hypothetical **ceces*, although *ces* 'cold'
exists.

6.42 *Datura metel* - PBS *mbuŋÉR (?)

In WF and Sb the thorn-apple has the
following names: CM, WM, Rgg, Nagé, Lio
mbuŋé, FEM, Térong *mbuŋéng*, EM, Rmb,
Wng *mbuŋér*, Ng, Kéo, Ed *buŋé*, Kmb in
Sumba *mbuŋuru*.

6.43 *Dendrocalamus*
asper - PMP *betuŋ

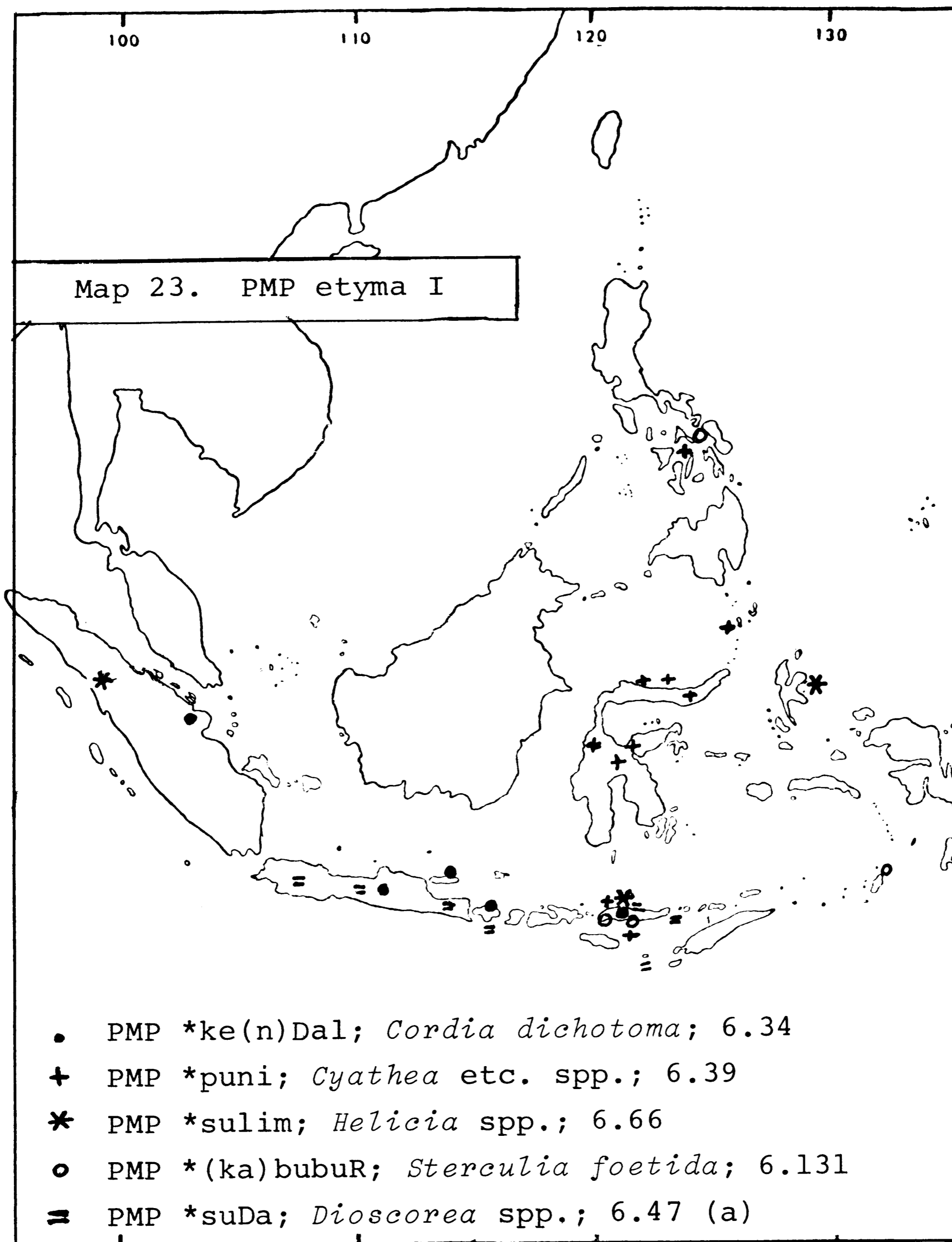
In Flores I noted M *betong*, Ng, Ed,
Lio *bheto*, Si *petung* and *petun*.

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 *tuva*.

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

In Manggarai this tuber is regarded
as the most tasty wild dioscorea. Grant-
ed that the forms given here are real
cognates, the distribution of the names



is very interesting. WM *céwo*, CM, EM and conditionally: SH, Rmb, Wng, Kp, Wr, Kmd, Ng I *séwo* (see 5.9.6); FEM, Rgg, Ng *séwu* is possibly another tuber; Sw *hiwu*, and Ndao *sihu* are tuberous plants in general; NSul: Bent, Ponasakan, Tonsawang and other dialects *sayawu*, Tont *sayawu*, *sayapu*, Mongondou *siabu*, Sangir *siawu*; Ambon dialects: *siahu*, *sialo*, *sahuwa*, Hila I *sahu*; Fordata *syabu* 'generic for kinds of yam', WSeran *isahu*, *isiahu*, Seran: Amahai *siahura*, Nusa Laut *siahul*, Saparua *siahulo*, Hila II Buru: Masarete *safut*; non-AN NHalmahera: Galela *siapu*, Tobelo, Modole, Pagu *hiahu*, Loda *siau*; Ternate *siafu*; see Map 24. Stresemann, 56 gives AMB *siavu' 'Batate'.

6.46 *Dioscorea alata* - PMP *qubi

It is not absolutely sure that originally by the term *ubi* the cultivated *Dioscorea alata* was meant. In Sumba we find in the dialects *iwi*, *àwi*, *ùwi* and *ughi* and in North Tetum *uhi* as names for the wild *D. hispida*. It is not unthinkable that the new cultivated tuber was named *ubi* + epitheton, and that then the epitheton fell away afterwards, as has happened in many such cases. An interesting case is the Maranao doublet *aoi* (= *ubi*) for our *Dioscorea alata* and *obi* 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 *dioscoreae*.
(a) PMP *suja (Verh.)

Outside M we find a group of cognates, namely: Mulu, Mulu-Motus in FEM, Lio *suja*. Mundé in Nagé *suza*, Rgg, Ng I *sura*, Ng II *'uza*, Tana Ai, Si *hura*, Witihama (Adonara) *huraq*, Sw *huré*. In Lewuka Slr *sura rotan* is the name of a wild *D.* species; in Ng: Jerebu'u *suza* in Nagé: Raja *suja* mean *D. aculeata*. De Clercq gives for *D. oppositifolia*; Bl *suda* (and irregular J *suda*, *sudo* and East J *sunda*), while in Ssk for the tuber *Amorphophallus* (6.10^B) *sudaq* is used;¹¹⁹ Map 23.

(b) PBS *ta(n)day ?
Maybe M and Mbai (FEM) *tesé* is related to Kodi Sb *tandayo*; (cp. 6.92(a) M *osé*, Sb *ondé*, *odé*). Kmb *tandai*, Bm *tandiqi* 'pole'; and Tetum *tadé*, M (*tedé*) 'to make plants climb' are reminiscent of this form.

6.48 *Dioscorea ?pentaphylla*
or *Tacca* sp. - PMS *() ngodo

This edible wild *dioscorea* is in WM named *nggodo*, in Wsb: Lauili *lagódo*, Wewewa, Kodi, Loura *langgódo*. Since in my collection (no. 3939) *Tacca palmata* with Sb: Karera name *langgúdu* 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 sarasinii* - PBS *(k)ingal

The *D. sarasinii* is known from Celebes and WFlores (Guhardja c.s., 54 "eng-gal"), but the cognate names suggest the plant's occurrence in Sumba as well.¹⁰² M, Térong, Riung, Békék, Kp *éngal*, Rmb, Mulu *ingal*, Toring N.-Numba, L.-Sambi; Wng, Wr, Rj *kéngal*, Rongga *kénga*, Sb: Rindi, Wéwéwa, Loura *éngala*, Kmb *éngalu*, Kodi *éngolo*; Sw: Melolo in Sumba *hiwu inga*.

6.50 *Diplazium* and
Athyrium spp. - PMP *paku

Many ferns are used as vegetables throughout Indonesia. The (compounded) names of many fern-like plants go back to this form. WF *paku*, ESb *pá-u*, Wéwéwa *pawu*, Loura *paghu*, Ng: Tana Wolo ('*uta*) *maku*. The variant *maku* 'important' (vegetable) is an example of folk etymology.

6.51 *Dolichandrone*
spathacea - PMP *tui (tuwi)

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 bignoniacea *Radermachera*, mostly with an epitheton, confirm and extend somewhat the spread (see FM 8, 144 and 153-157); Bm, M *tui*, *ntui*;¹⁰³ Kutai *tuwi*, Kedayan *towi*, Bj in Brunei *toi-tui*, Malacca *tuy*, *tui*; Tag *tua*, *tué*, *toi*, *tui*, Bis *tiui*, ?Mboanga *teui*, Bikol *tiwi*, Ambon *kati-kati*; Nakanai in New Britain *latiu*, Boava language in Gazelle Peninsula *tawi-tuwi(ti)*; Ugana in New Ireland *ti*, *vati*; Habam language in Oransbari *osember-tiy*, Wambie language in Holtekang ??) *tié*. For *Radermachera* sp. I find Mng *tuwi*, Belitung *tui batu*, Lampung *kekapong tui*, Tag *tuung huló*; Map 25.

6.52 *Donax cannaeformis* - PCEMP *niniq

Strips of the small *Donax* stems are, at least in M, used for plaiting small articles. The distribution shows striking gaps: Rmb *niniq*, M, SSeran, Hitu Ambon, a dialect in the Solomon Islands *nini*, other Solomon dialects or languages: (*nina*,) *fainini*, *ainini* and *aini*;¹⁰⁴ Map 25.

6.53 *Dracontomelum edule*
(*D. dao*) - PMP *daqo

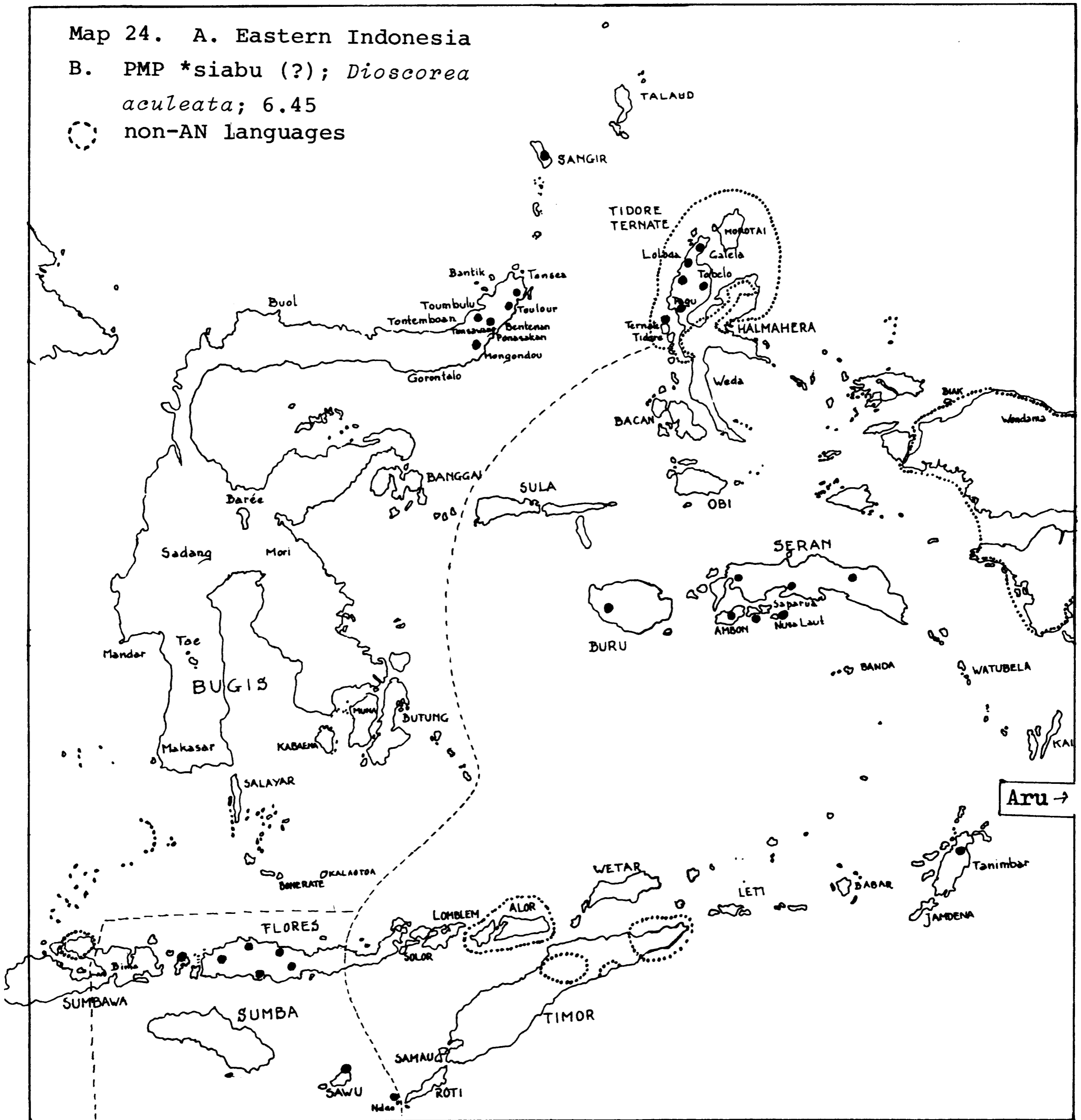
I found the following names of this "wild mango" in Flores: M *saqu*, Rongga *raqu*, Ng *zaqu* and *jaqu*; further in Flora Malesiana: Simalur *dao (pajo)*, Sd, Md *dahu*, Md *dau*, J *rahu*, *rau*, "Minahasa" *rao*, Muna *raqo*; Philippines: Tag, Bikol and Bis dialects *daqo*; in New Britain: Gunantuna *laup*,

Map 24. A. Eastern Indonesia

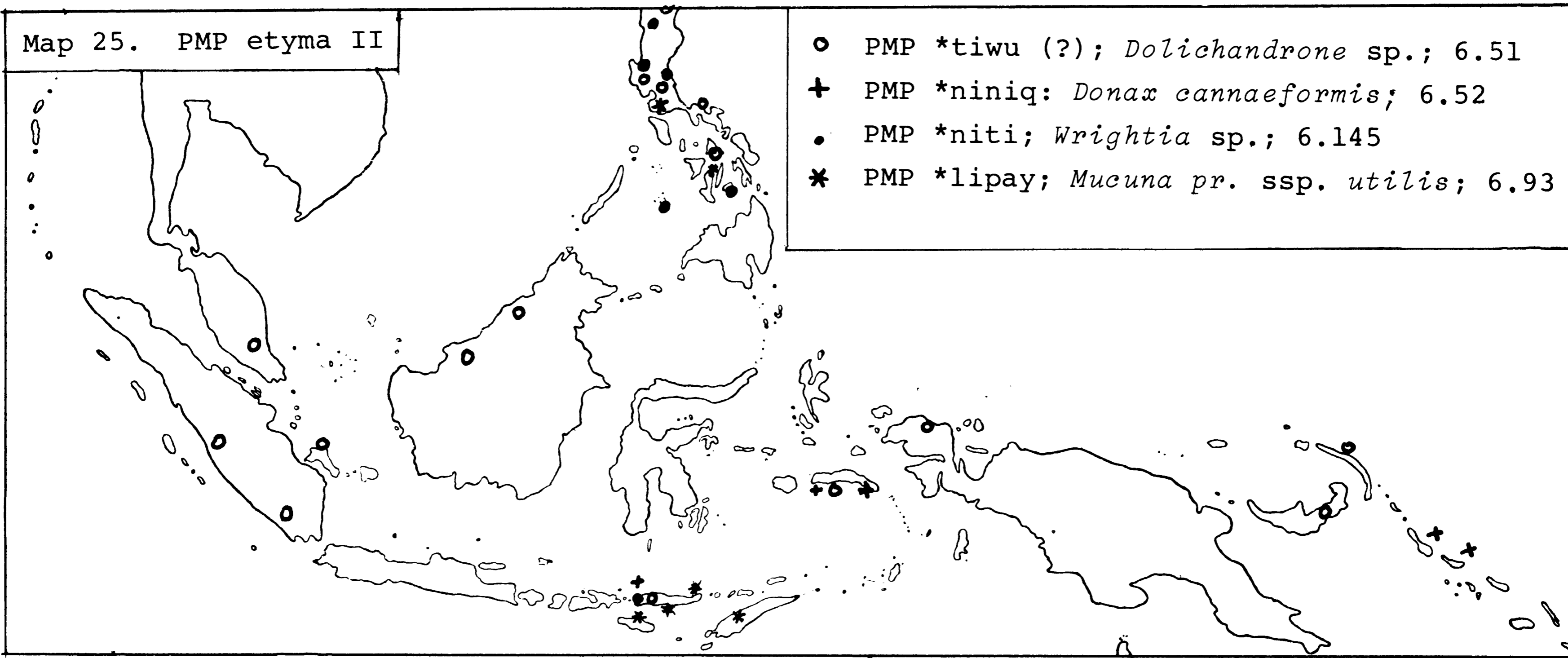
B. PMP *siabu (?); *Dioscorea*

aculeata; 6.45

○ non-AN languages



Map 25. PMP etyma II



New Ireland: Lamekot *ra*, Pala *loh*; Madang (MN?) *rou*; non-AN: Tobelo *rau takau*, New Guinea: Kwesten(?) *arouw sau*, Amberbaken *daa*, Sko (Sepik) *tou*, Tko *touuw*.

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

The names of this epiphytic edible fern are interesting. We find L, S, C in M *lukup*;¹⁰⁵ in FEM: Riung, *Térong lukut*, Toring, Nanga-Numba, Lengko-Sambi *lukuk*; Wangka *kukut*; Tana-Ai, Si *klukut*; in WSumba: *Wéwéwa*, Laura *lúkuta*. 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 *lijong*; Wr *lozon*, Lio *lojo*, Ed *rojo*; Kp, Rj *bojong*, Rmb *bozon*, Wng, Riung, Raqa, *Térong buzun*, N.-Numba, Mbai, Mulu in FEM II *mbuzung*, *Békék bujung*, *Téda-Mudé*, *Mundé buzu*, Ng: Tana-wolo *mbuzu*. A map configuration would resemble the image of *réqa/jéqa* on Map 11.

6.56 *Entada phaseoloides*

This gigantic (up to 130 m long) liana 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 *azog
Throughout MA one name is used, in the forms: M, FEM *ajo*, Wr, Kp *ajoq*, Rmb *azoq*, Mulu 'azoq; Ng: Tana-Wolo 'azo.
(b) PNTT *léké()
Ng, Lio, Si *léké* (Ng, Lio *léké* 'Entada', 'gizzard', Lio knee-cap; Si *lékéng* 'gizzard'); Tetun *kaléqék*.

6.57 *Euodia* sp. - PMP *empak

In M we find the names *mpak* and *pak*, in Ng (*aro-*)*pa*, Sbw *empang*, in Mempawah WKalimantan *mampak*, in Balikpapan *empah*, in Bali *empak* (?*empag*). 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) *nunu*, "Philippines" *nuno*, "Bis" *nonók*, Tombulu *nuknuk*.
(b) *Ficus benjamina* PWF *ruten
M *ruteng*, *ruténg*, 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* (*acha*), Palu *aga*, Lampung *hara*, Bengkalis *horo*, WSumatera *aro*.

6.60 *Ficus wassa*, *F. ampelas*

- (a) PMP *qampelas
These trees whose coarse leaves were used for polishing purposes have the M name *pelas* 'polish' and EM, Wr, Kp, Rmb *pelan*, Ng: Tana-Wolo *pela*.

(b) PWF *racan
The same *F. ampelas* is also named in M (*haju*) *racang*. The vine *Tetracera scandens* with its coarse leaves is called (*wasé*) *racang*. In Régho in the SH area they say "*haung rasang latang te pelah sorang kopé*" 'racang 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, FEM, Wr, Kp *kuar*, Rgg, Ng, *Téda-Mudé*, Ed, Lio *kua*; Md, Sd *owar* etc.

6.62A *Gigantochloa apus* PWF *gurun

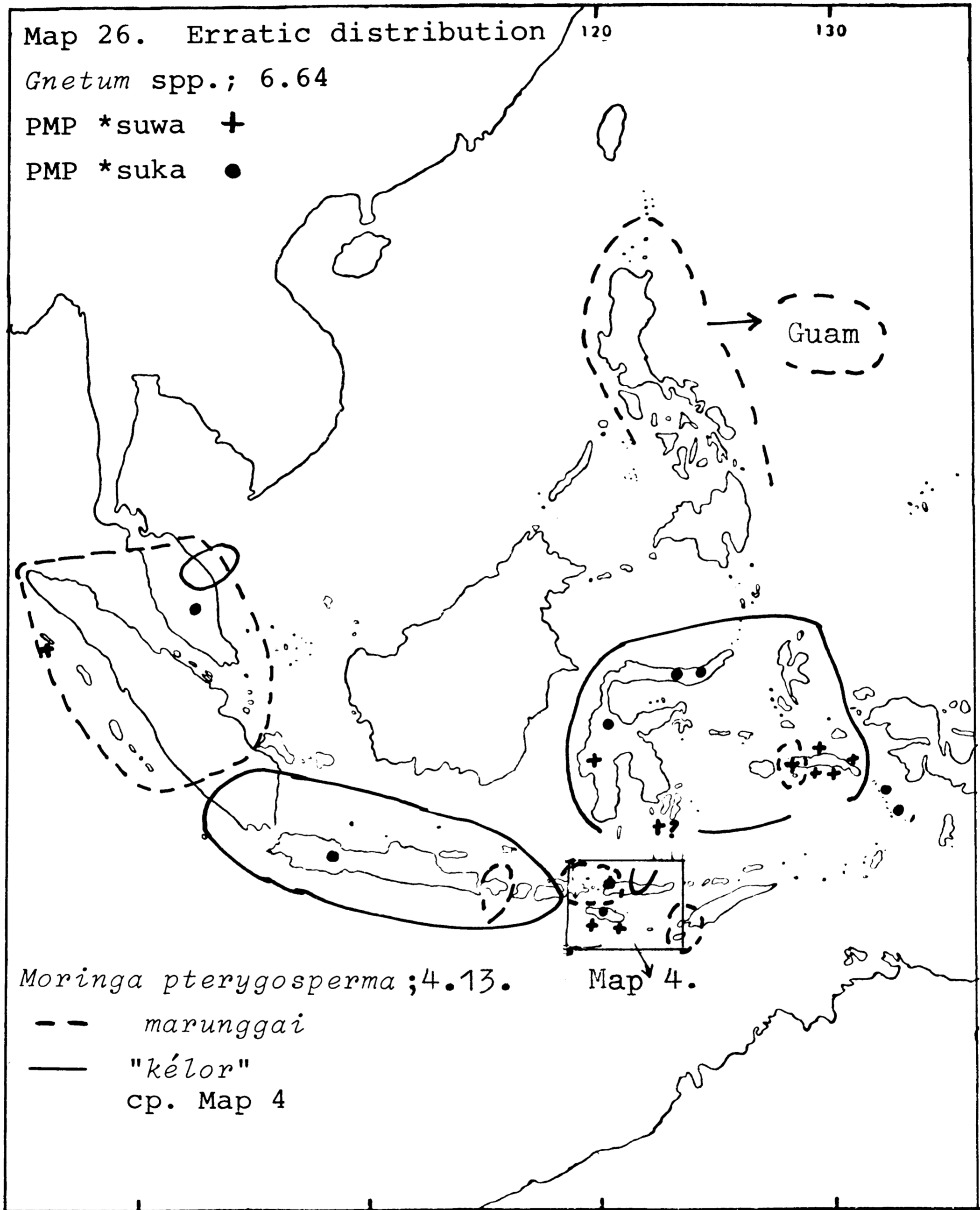
This bambu is named: M *gurung*, FEM *nggurung*, Ng I *ngguru*, Ng II *guru*, Nagé *guu*, Rmb *gurun*.

6.62B *Gigantochloa verticillata* - PMP *perin

This is a much appreciated bamboo. In Flores it is known as M *pering*, Ng, Ed, Lio *peri*, Nagé *peji*, Si *pali*! The Bajau use the name *bolo perréh*.

6.63 *Gmelina elliptica* (syn. *Gm. villosa*) - PMP *buqul (??) (Verh.)

Especially the roots of this shrub are medicinally used. I just mention the conspicuous similarity: M *wul*, "Bis" *bohól*.



6.64 *Gnetum* (gnemon)

The bark of this small tree yields an excellent fibre for making cords. Probably it has been traded since ancient times. The genus *Gnetum* occurs under two groups of names which are somewhat similar. The distribution of the groups of names is strikingly criss-crossed.

(a) PMP *suaq
Simalur *suwah*, Sb I (Karera, Kmb), Bg, Haruku, SSeran *suwa*, Nusa Laut, Sapa-rua *suwal*, Sb II (Kodi) *hugha*, Sb III (*ai*) *howa*, *sowa*; Amakai Seran, Taluti *sowa*, Sahulu *uwali*; Amakai II *sowalo*; Muna *usa*(?).

(b) PMP *suka
WM *cuka*, CM, Tontemboan, Toulour, Bare'e *suka*; Sb (Lauli, Loura) *uki*, Watubela (S. of Seran) *huka*, Kai *huk*; Malacca *sokak*, Sd *kasungka*; see 5.5 and 5.9.7; Map 26.106

6.65A *Gramineae*, see 6.119 and 6.125.6.65B *Grewia* spp. and other *Tiliaceae* - PMP *qanilaw

Grewia 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 *kanino*; M, FEM, Rmb, Ng, Teda-Mude', Lio, Slr *nila*, Ed *nira*, Larantuka *kanila*, Palembang *endilau* (*nilau*) *nasi*, 'Trichospermum (syn. *Diclidocarpus javanicum*), *nilau kucing* 'Diplophractum *auriculatum*; Bt *andilo*, Ml *endilau udang*, *nilau*, *nilau rusa*, Mng *andilau*; Sulawesi Tont *lino*, mangilo 'Commersonia *bartramia* which is to be sure no tiliacea, but its bark is very useful.

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

M: P, T *léncung* (*H. sp.*) represents probably a metathesized form of Ternate *suling*, *H. moluccana*, and Tapanuli *sulim*, *H. attenuata* (FM 5: 181, 187). The leaves of *Helicia* spp. are eaten (Heyne, 588).

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

We find WM, Mk, Bg *rumung*. It is improbable that M borrowed the name of the coastal tree from sea-faring Macas-sarese 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 *rumung* (Schmutz I, *Sterculiaceae* 1).

6.68 *Hibiscus tiliaceus* - PMP *baRu

See 5.9.1.

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

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

6.71 *Imperata cylindrica* - PMP *Riqiq, *keRiq

The greater part of the vernacular names for the well-known "alang-alang" grass in Malesia are undeniably cognates. It seems that *Riq 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 Clerecq. Here are the names I collected in the FL area: MA, Si *riqi*, Toring, Térong, Békék, Riung *ri*; Rongga *keri*, Ng I *kéri*, Kmd, Ng II, Mundé, Lio I, Ed *ki*, Lio II *kiqi*, Lio III *hi*.

6.72 *Indigofera* spp. - PMP *taRum

Besides M *tao* (see 5.9.3) I noted in Cibai in M *tarung*, Maranao *tagom*, Bm *dau*, Slr Botum *taqū*, Ng I *taru*, Ng: Tana-Wolo *tao*.

6.73 *Intsia bijuga* - PMP *qipil

I mention in confirmation of Dempwolff's **ipil*: Endé *ipi*, Maranao *ipil*, Bajo *ipél*, Bm *fimbi*.

6.74 *Kaempferia galanga* - PMP *cekur

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 *seku*, Si *hekur*, and Bm *soku*. From the Philippines I noted: Maranao *kisol*, Bis *kosol*, *kosul*, *kusul*, 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) PBS *daŋaR (?)

In the Flores-Sumba group we find: M, FEM I, Kp, Rj, Wng, ?Wué dangé, Wr dangéq, FEM II dhangé, Kmd dangé; Rmb dangar, Rgg ndanga, Larantuka! kadanga, Ng, Téda-Mudé, Mundé danga, WSb ka(n)dāngara, Kodi kadangaro; ESb (k)anjangi.

(b) PMP *bintaŋaR
(Verh.)

Bm ntanga; Sulawesi: Bent, Toulour bintangar, Bantik bintanga, Mongondou bintanag, Ponasakan bintena, Ttb, Tonsawang wintangar; Bis I ?hamitanago, Bis II, T tan-ag. Blust's comment: "the (b) forms strikingly resemble PMP *bintaŋaR."

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

This tree with its hard durable wood and striking violet flowering all over the crown is well-known up to 700 m. The variants -nt-, -t-, -nd- and -d-, (see also *lanteng* under 6.77 and *nintu* 6.81) correspond partially to each other.¹⁰⁷ I noted: M, Rmb, Rj munting, Riga, Wué muntin, Wng mutin, Wr, Kp muting, Rgg muti. Ng mudhi, Lio mundi are reminiscent of Ml (kayu) budi (Wilkinson).

6.77 *Laportea* and *Dendrocnide* spp. - PMP *zalateŋ

The nettle-trees generally have a common AN name. Striking is the form *langtang* in the non-AN Sakai in Malacca (Burkill). The Flores forms are: M *lanteng*, FEM I *lanténg*, Rmb, FEM II *lantong*, Wr, Kp, Rj *latong*, Wng *latang*, Ng, Téda-Mudé *ladé*, Ng II *'ade*, Lio *laté*, *landé*, Ng III *laté*; Sb: Karera *julatingu*.

6.78 *Leea (rubra)* - PMP *mali

The vernacular names for the genus *Leea*, 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 *malir*, Peninsula, Palembang, Ml, Mk *mali-mali* and *memali*; Bent, Tonsawang, Toulour *mamali*, *memali*, Tounsea' *mamadi*, Tag, Pampanga *mali-mali*, Bis *mamalé*, *hamamalé*; Mangyan *mali-mali* (Schmutz).

6.79 *Leucosyke capitellata* - PMP *Rasi
(Verh.)

In Manggarai the bitter bark of this *Leucosyke* is generally used as a substitute for the betel-nut, and it also yields fiber. Therefore both the areca palm and this tree can be called (*haju*) *rasi*; see also 6.13. Formerly I regarded Maranao

gasi, (the pungent) *Piper sarmentosum*, as a probable cognate. By now this is almost certain, since I found as names for the same *L. capitellata* in languages: Bis *alaggasi*, (a)langgasi, anagasi, Camarines *hanagasi*, Igorot *lalasi*. I only mention the Kp variant *basi*; Map 27.

6.80 *Litsea* spp. - PMP *(k)u(jd)u
(?)

The form *kusu*, *Litsea velutina*, is found in CM, EM; the tree *kuju* in Ngadha is still unidentified. The following are *Litsea* spp.: Ed *uru(-watu)*, Sbw *udu(-gedang)*. J *wuru*, Sd *huru* are possibly variants.

6.81 *Lygodium (circinnatum)* PMP *ni(n)tuŋ
(?) (Verh.)
PWF *mi(n)duŋ

The tiny bark of this climbing fern is used for binding and plaiting; the tips are eaten. Though the names are clearly related, the original form cannot easily be established. Linguistic phenomena as of homoeonymy (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), Békék *midu*, FEM I *midhu*, Wué, Mulu *midhuq*, Wr *minduq*, Rgg *mindu*, Nanga-Numba, Mbai *nido*, ?*nedho*. Mundé *nidho*. Endé *ngidho*, Rmb I *mintuq*, Rmb II *nintuq*; Tag, Bis *nito*; Marano *nitoq*; cp. Note 107; Map 27.

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

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

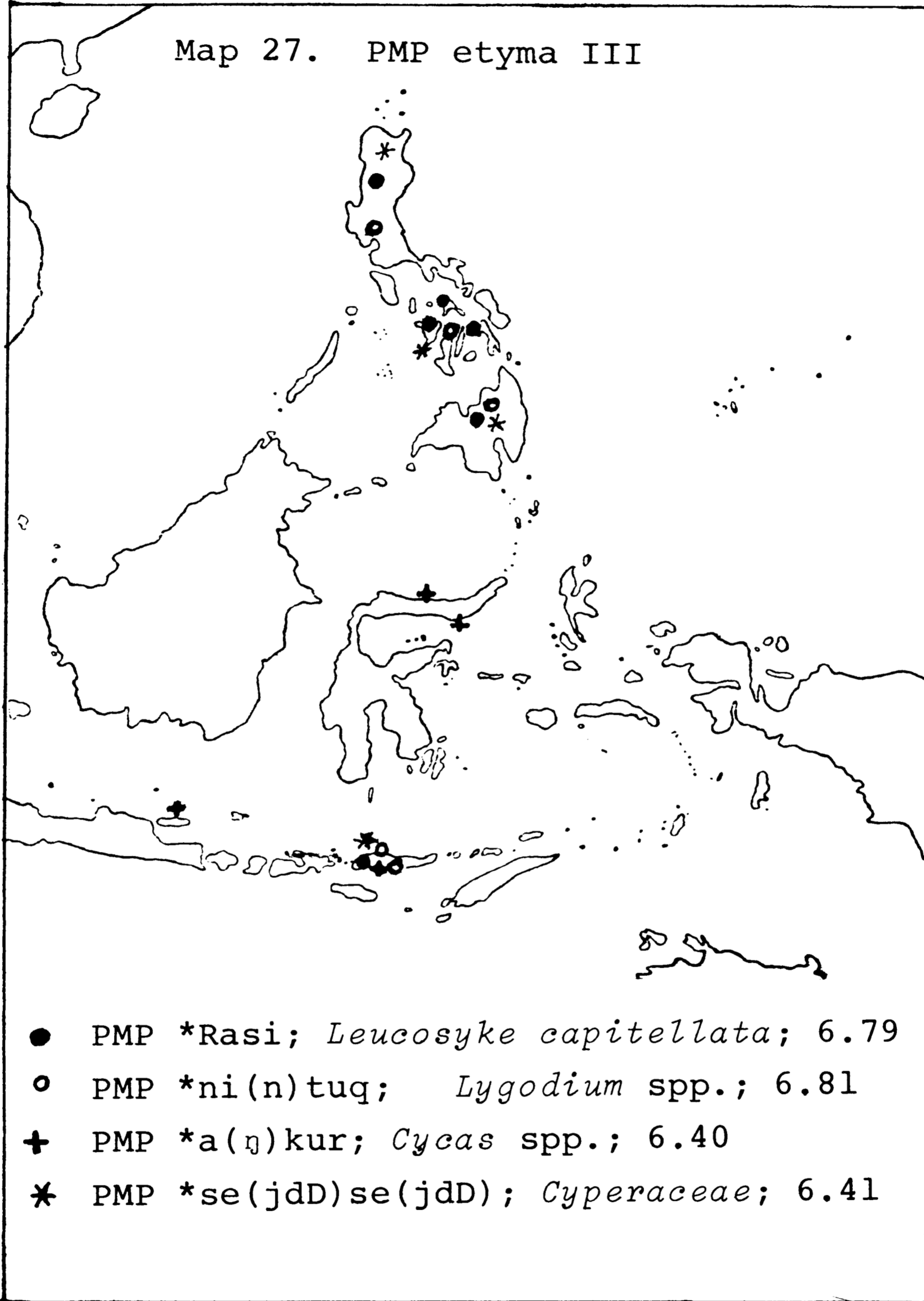
6.83 *Mallotus philippensis* - PWF *pu(jd)er
(?)

Within MA we find the etymologically interesting regular forms: M I *puser*, SH *puher*, NL *poser*, FEM I *pusor*, EM *pisor*, Nanga-Numba *pusér*, Rmb I *pizor*, Faté, Riga *puzor*, Wng *puzar*, Wr *pujor*, Kp, Rj *pijor*; and in the NgL Group: Rongga *puré*.

6.84 *Mangifera indica* - PMP *paSuŋ

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 *pau* for *M. indica*) and in Ilocano *pao*, Tag, Bis *paho*, Tag *pajo* and *paopanan*; M *pao II* is used for the allied

Map 27. PMP etyma III



Buchanania arborescens. If this is correct, *M pao* and *pau* form a very old doublet. For *M. indica* I record the NTT names: M, FEM, 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 multiglandulosa*
(syn. *Mallotus moluccanus*)
- PBS *rewa

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

6.86 *Melastoma polyanthum*
and other spp. - PMP *duduk
nDuduk(?) (Verh.)

The leaves of this shrub are eaten in Manggarai and Bali; probably also elsewhere. I noted the following names: M (variants) *ndusuk*, SH *nduhuk*, Wr, Kp *dusuk*, Rgg *dusu*; Peninsula *sendudok*, *kedudok*, *sekedudok*, Sarawak *engkudu*, Ml *keduduk*, Bali *keduduq*. According to Burkill, Thai *kadu-du* is a loan from Ml. The (s) in Wr and Rgg instead of (j) or (z) 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 *bera

The plausible cognates of this tree's name are limited to western Flores and are rather irregular: M, Wr, Kp, Rj *mera*, Rmb *meraq*, FEM, Ed *mbera*, Teda-Mudé, Mundé *ba*; Lio *bera*; Kmb *màra* (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, ?Si *d(h)enu*; in Sumba: Rindi, Kmb *kandinu*, Karéra *kandànu*, LauLi, Loura *mandònu*, Kodi *mandúyo*; (likely) Bm *ntonu*; Sd *bintenu*, Palembang *betenu*; Philipp.: Bis *balitnon*, *balignon*, Iloko *banitlon*.

6.89 *Miscanthus japonicus*
and other large
grasses PMP *Riuq

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

6.90 *Mischocarpus*
sundaicus - PMA *ci(m)par

Only in MA do we find the cognates: M, Lengko-Sambi *cimpar*, Mulu *cipar*, 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: Karera *kambu*, Kmb *kómbu*, Rindi *kombu*, Wéwéwa, Loura *kómbu*, 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(jd)i (?)
M *osé*, Sb: Kodi *óndé*, LauLi, Loura *óde*, Karéra *úndi*; Map 19.

(b) PWF *tétoq (?)

FEM, Wng *ndétok*, Rmb, Wr, Kp, Rj *tétoq*, Rgg, Ed, Lio *ndéto*, Ng, Mundé, Teda-Mudé *déto*. 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 *lipi*, Wéwéwa, Loura *lipé*, Kodi *lupé*; Slr: Witihama *ipa*, Lewuka *ipaj*, Niki-niki Dawan *ip ati* (Dawan *ipé*, *nipé* 'kinds of beans'). Merrill mentions under *Mucuna pruriens* ("An annual vine, cultivated"); Bis *lipay*, T *nipa* 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 *mùku*, 'a pisang variety', Si, Sw *muqu*, Slr *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 *kalo*, Sb: Rindi, Kmb *kalu*, Tarimbang

kalailu, *Kanatang kali*, *Anakalang*, *Memboro kalowu* *Wéwéwa kalowo*, *Loura*, *Kodi kalogho*.¹⁰⁹

6.96 *Ocimum basilicum* - PMP *-lasi

Burkill writes about the basil: "The Indian conquerors of Java, who established Hinduism in that island, held the species of *Ocimum* sacred; they used for them some name akin to Skr *surasi* or *tulasi*. It must be said that *selaseh* covers all the species in Malaya, just as *tulsi* covers all in India". On account of the forms that are found in Flores, we have probably to think of far-away AN forbears who brought this name with them, and not of "the conquerors of Java". Both M *laci* and Si *klahi* point to Dempwolff's *t'* which assumedly preceded the now almost common (*s*) in the Indonesian forms. Since the Indian source is undeniable, the source of this (*t'*) must be sought after in an old Indian language; cp. Gonda 1952,95: "*tulasi* is more original, it came from Dravidian: Can *tolaçi*."

I give here the forms I met with: M I, FEM I *laci*, M II, SH, FEM II, Minahasa *lasi*, Kmd *kelasi*, Rmb, Wng, Ng I *kasi*, Ng II, Mundé, Téda-Mudé in Nagé *hasi*, Si, Tana-Ai *klahi*.

In Indonesia we meet *sa-*, *se-*, *si-*, *so-*, *su-* as antepenults, and final syllables with *-sé*, *-si*, *-séh*, *-sih*; further I mention Minahasa *kulasi*, Bt *hulasi*, J II *telaséh*, Aceh *teulatéh*. The non-AN Bunaq borrowed probably *silasi* from Tetum. For the replacement of (*l*) by (*k*) or (*h*) in WFlores; see note.¹¹⁰

6.97 *Paederia scandens*
(syn.) *P. foetida* - PWF *wanger

This plant's name is amply discussed under 5.9.2. M *banger* 'tainted (cooked rice)' is a younger doublet. In view of J, Md, Ssk *banger* and Ml *bangar* 'foul (stinking)' we can establish PMP *baŋe(rR) 'foul'.

6.98 *Pagiantha* (syn. *Ervatamia*)
sphaerocarpa

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(jd)a
We find *pasa*, SH *paha*, Ng I, Téda-Mudé *paza*, Si *para*, Slr *kepara*. In CM and FEM I *pasa* is superseded by *boto*; and in Lio and Endé probably by *basé*; cp. 5.6. under *Pagiantha*, and Map 28.

(b) PWF *gakaŋ
A second group is formed by Ms, Rmb, Wr, Kp, Rj *gakaŋ*, Rgg, Ng III *nggaka*, Ng I *ghaka*, Ng II *gaka*. I surmise that we have a case of supersession here. The

connotation is probably: the tree with the "gaping" fruit.¹¹¹

6.99 *Palaquium* spp. - PMP *ñatuŋ

Dempwolff established AN **ñatuh* for different species out of the family of the *Sapotaceae*. In M it is represented by *natu*, while *natu-mésé* the 'big *natu*' is used for a *Planchonia* sp. (Fam. *Lecythidaceae*). I did not meet with cognates in Flores outside Manggarai; in Sb *Wéwéwa natu*.

6.100 *Pandanus* sp. - PMP *panDan

I am not sure whether M *pandang* is original M, because it is only used for pine-apple 4.1, sometimes with the epitheton *hang* 'edible', in contrast to *Agave sisalana* 'the sisal-hemp plant' in the form *pandang wasé* 'the fibre-*pandang*'. Maybe it is a loan from Mk. In Slr Witi-hama *pedan* is used, in Bm the normal reflex *fanda*. M *pedé* means a wild pandanus.

6.101 *Pandanus* sp. - PWF *wakuŋ (?)

This kind of *Pandanus* is planted by the M people. The leaves are prepared and tacked together for a stiff quadrangular umbrella: M, FEM *wako*, Rmb, Wng, Wr, Rj, Kp *wakoŋ*, Ng, Nagé *waku*.

6.102 *Pandanus tectorius* - PWF *réŋa

The common pandan's leaves are used for plaiting mats and such-like things. In WF it has cognate names: M, FEM II, Ng: Tana-Wolo, Méli; Kéo, Lio *réŋa*, Kmd, Bk, Ri, Térong *réa*, Rj, Wr, Rmb, Wué, Nagé, Ng *zéŋa*, *jéŋa*. I do not know other instances of an *r-* / *z-* variation. The shift is not conditioned. The configuration of Map 11 with its *r-* islands suggests an original *r-*. In Ng: Jérébu'u *zéŋa* means "*Corypha utan*".

6.103 *Peltophorum*
pterocarpum - PMP *eneb (Verh.)

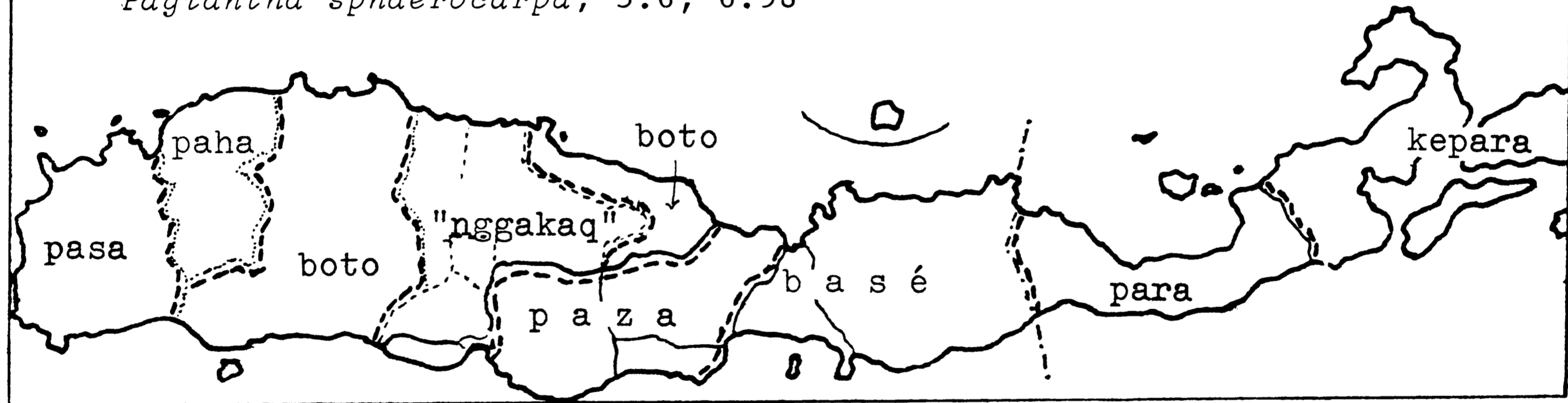
The bark of this tree is regarded as a ferment for palm-wine; M *enep* means also "to ferment". The name is only found in M, FEM and Rembong. The handling of the pepet and the final (*-p*) is interesting: MT, Le, W, Pa *enep*, Matawaé *enét*, Rmb, Riung *enok*, Nanga-Numba *enék*, Lengko-Sambi, Mulu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

6.104A *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*,
Kmb *katambini*; Tagalog *tambó*.
Are these accidental resemblances?
- (b) PWF **leluq* (?)
A small group has the names: Rmb
leluq, 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 Sasak (for *Bauhinia hirsuta*). Bm has the regular reflex *rufé*. (Somewhat similar are Rgg and Rmb *kupé* and ESb *karipi*.)

- 6.105 *Pipturus argenteus* - 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 *sama*, Rmb, Endé, Lio, Ng I *rama*, Ng, Mundé *jama*; Sb: Rindi *rémi*, Karera, Kmb *rami*, Lauili, Loura, Kodi *ramé*; Bisaya dialects: *himaramay*, *handaramay*, *handalamay*, *hindalamay*. (Cp. for final *-i*, *-a*, *-é* and *-ay*: Ml *mati*, M *mata*, Kmd *maté* and Bis *matay* 'dead', also Sb *mati* and *méti*).

Another urticacea, *Boehmeria nivea*, well-known for its fibre, has apparently cognate names: Ml *rami*, Sd *haramay*, Mng *romin?*, T *amiray*, Il *arimay*.

- 6.106 *Pisonia*
umbelliflora - PMP **anuliq*

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

- 6.107 *Planchonella*
obovata - PBS **ketaq*

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

- 6.108 *Planchonia valida* - PNTT **qa(n)car*

We find the following names for this enormous tree with its excellent timber: M, FEM I *ngancar*, Rmb, Békék, Riung *ngansar*, Ng I *ngasa*, Wng, Wr, Kp, Rj *ngasar*, Sb: Rindi, Kmb *langáha*, Karéra *wala ngaha*, Kodi *mbáha*. For Si *nahar*, Slr *menaha*; cp. M *ngasang* with Si *narang*;

(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 junghuhniana* 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 **gilaq* (?)

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

- 6.112 *Pouzolzia hirta* - PWF **raṅat*

A herb. M, Rmb *rangat*; Ng *ranga*.

- 6.113 *Pterocarpus*
indicus - PMP **naRa*

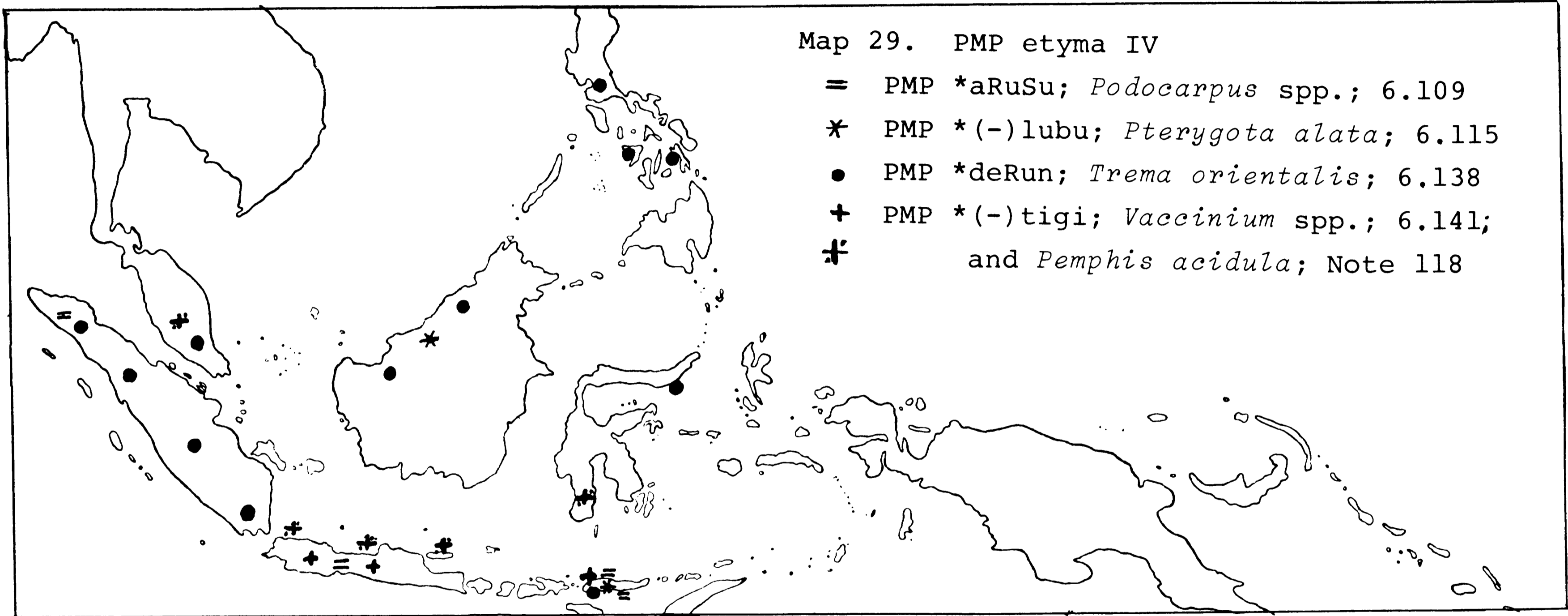
The fine durable red wood of this tree is highly estimated. Whereas in western Malesia (Malacca, Java, Kangean and Bali) *sana* is used, we find eastwards *nara*. It is represented as follows: M, FEM, Kmd, Rmb, Nagé, Lio, Bm, AMB, Tag, Bis *nara*, Bant, Tombulu, Bis, Lamkot in New Ireland *naga*, Gorontalo *tonala*, Baré'é, 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 following names: M I, SH, FEM *wajur*, Rgg *waro*, Sd, J, Ml *bayur*, *bayor*, J *wayur*, Sd *cayur*, Md *bhayur*, ?*phenjur*, Bent *wayu*, Tag *bagud*, Bis *bayug*, Pamp *bayog-bayog*. These names hold good for the genus *Pterospermum* of which the different species 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 *luwu*, Wr, Rgg *kuwu* and Sarawak *gelubu*, *berlubu* (Watson).¹¹⁰



6.116 *Rhizophoraceae*
and other
mangrove 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 *garik*, CM *garit*, EM, Rmb, Kp, Wr, Rj *garét*, Ng *gari*, Ed *nggari*.

6.118 *Saccharum officinarum* - PAN *tebuS

Out of the many known names of the sugar-cane I mention only: M *téu*, Ng, Lio, Si *tewu*, Slr *tewo*, Dawan *téfu*.

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

Which kind of grass was meant originally cannot be ascertained; see 5.10.2.

6.120 *Schizostachyum blumii*

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*, Slr: Witihama *wuloq*, Slr: Lewuka *fulor*, Ed *wuru*, Tetum *fafulu*, NSul II *bulu*, *wudu*. Throughout Indonesia it is used as a generic name for many kinds of bamboo.

(b) PMP *tamiang
Another group of names is formed by Sb: Rindi *tamiang*, Karéra, Kmb *tamiangu*, Wéwéwa, Laura *tamiè*, Bm *hamia*, Sw *temié* (?). In other languages the same name is used as a determinant to a generic name: Bt, Mng *bulu tamiang*, Dayak, "Moluccas" *bulu temiang*, Sd *awi tamiang*.

It is very well possible that Rgg, Ng *ila* '*S. blumii*' is etymologically the same as Kmb *ilahu*, Rindi *ilah*, which however mean the high grass *Saccharum spontaneum*.

6.121 *Schizostachyum brachycladum* - PMP *belan

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, Si, Slr I *belang*, Tana-Ai *belan*, Ng, Lio *bela*.

6.122 *Schleichera 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 represented in the Philippines. To me it seems very strange that in M the reflex *sambi* and SH *hambi* is common, and not *cambi*, SH *sambi*. Was the *sambi* form borrowed in olden times from other peoples? This is not so implausible, because the *kusambi* tree occurs in the coastal areas, which were not inhabited by Manggarai people 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 form *cambir* (with -r), and even in the SH area: Pacar (*natu-*) *sambir*. The Sika and Solor forms point also to a great age. We give the names we met with personally. Among them are interesting examples of metathesis: SCM *cambir*, MA, Kmd, Rongga, Kio, Ed, Ml, J, Md, Bali, Sb Memboro *sambi*, SH *hambi*, (*sambir*), Ng, Téda-Mudé, Mundé *sabi*, Sb II *kasémbi*, *kahémbi*, Tana-Ai, Sika *habi*, Slr *kabahi*, *bahi*, Timor I *kusapi*, Dawan *usapi*, NTetum *sukabi*. Is it allowed to assume a PM **cambir*, and PSiSlr **cabi*?

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 Philippines. I mention M, FEM *kukung*, Rmb, Wr, Kp, Slr *kukun*, Rgg, Ng, Nagé, Lio *kuku*; Si (regular) *guqung* (cp. 'aqu 'I' and *guni* 'Curcuma viridiflora'), Bm *luhu*, Kmd, WM *mbuhung*. The two last names are probably dissimilations from resp. **huhu* and Kmd **huhung* (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 *lenga

Burkill, 1995 gives the following information about this interesting herb. The sesam 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 *lenga*, Sb I *lànga*, Bm *ringa*, M, FEM, Rmb *longa* (see 5.9.4); Burkill gives Thai *ngā*.

6.125 *Setaria italica* (syn. *Panicum 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 *beCeq
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 *wéténg* '*Pennisetum purpureum*', Si *wetang-wéting* (the seeds of this cereal?), Slr *wétan*, Bm *witi*.

(b) *Setaria italica* and other Gramineae PMP *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 *jawa*, "Dayak" *jawaé*, Md *haba*(?), Nagé *zawa*, *jawa*.

It is used for sorghum, *Sorghum saccharatum*, in Ng, Bali *jawa*¹¹³ Bt *jaba*, "Borneo" *jawe*; 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 Sb *watara*, Tana-Ai *watar*, Slr *wata*, *fata* and in Tetun *batar* mean "maize". In Sika *watar* is *Coix lacryma-jobi* 'Job's tears'.

6.126 *Setaria palmifolia* - PWF *mezaŋ

Cognate names for this high grass are: FEM, Kp, Rj *mejang*, Rmb *mezang*, Ng, Lio, ?Ed *meja*, *meza*. Concerning the final syllable, the M forms *mese-maé* and *mesé* are rather deviant.

6.127 *Smilax* sp. - PAN *banar

The names of this spiny vine (*S. zeylanica* in Flores), which is used for medical purposes, are in MA: M, Wr, Kp, Rj *wanar*.

6.128 *Solanum melongena* PMAS *turu

See 4.16.

6.129 *Solanum nigrum* - PAN *ameCi

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 Ml *anti*, Ml, J, WSumatera *ranti*, Malaka (*terong*) *meranti*, EJ *rantih*, Ifugao *ramtih*, ?*amtin*, Maranao *moti*, and with Tag *onti*, *konti* and *kunti*.¹¹⁴

6.130 *Spondias malayana*
(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 *lecéng*, Kmd *leséng*, Wontong M *leseng*, Pacar M, EM *lesem*; Tana-Ai *lahang*, "Flores" (where?) *ahang*, *ehé*, ?*léhééng* (FM 6:483).

The following names make the impression of being variants: Ml *kalonceng*, J *kloncing*, *pelencing*; Bali *kacemcem*; Bm *inci*, Kai *nglisam* 'a tree', Bg *onco*; Wondama (Geelvink Bay) WIrrian ?*karisi*; non-AN: Tidore *oco*, Ternate *coco*, (*S. dulcis*).

Blust 1980, no. 126, established PMP **qe(n)sem*, **ma-qe(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) PMP *kalumpaŋ

It is unnecessary to cite other instances than L, C, P, Rs, Pa in M, Ml, Peninsula *kelumpang* and ESb conditioned *kalumbangu*. I regard M *kelumpang*, with its preserved antepenult, as a loan.

(b) PMP *bubuR
(Verh.)

Rmb, Kp, Mulu, Wué *wuwur*, Ng I, Nagé I, Endé, Lio *wuwu*, Tanimbar: Larat *kavuvur*,¹¹⁵ CM *muwur*; Bis *bobog* (Merrill, 186); see also Map 23.

(c) PBS *paka
SCM, Rgg, Ng II, Nagé II *paka*, WSb: Wéwéwa, Loura, Kodi *kapáka*; Sw ?*kepaka*.¹¹⁶

(d) In Manggarai we find the group WM, FEM *wol* and conditioned FEM: Mbai *wor* and Kmd *woh*.

6.132 *Sterculia oblongata*

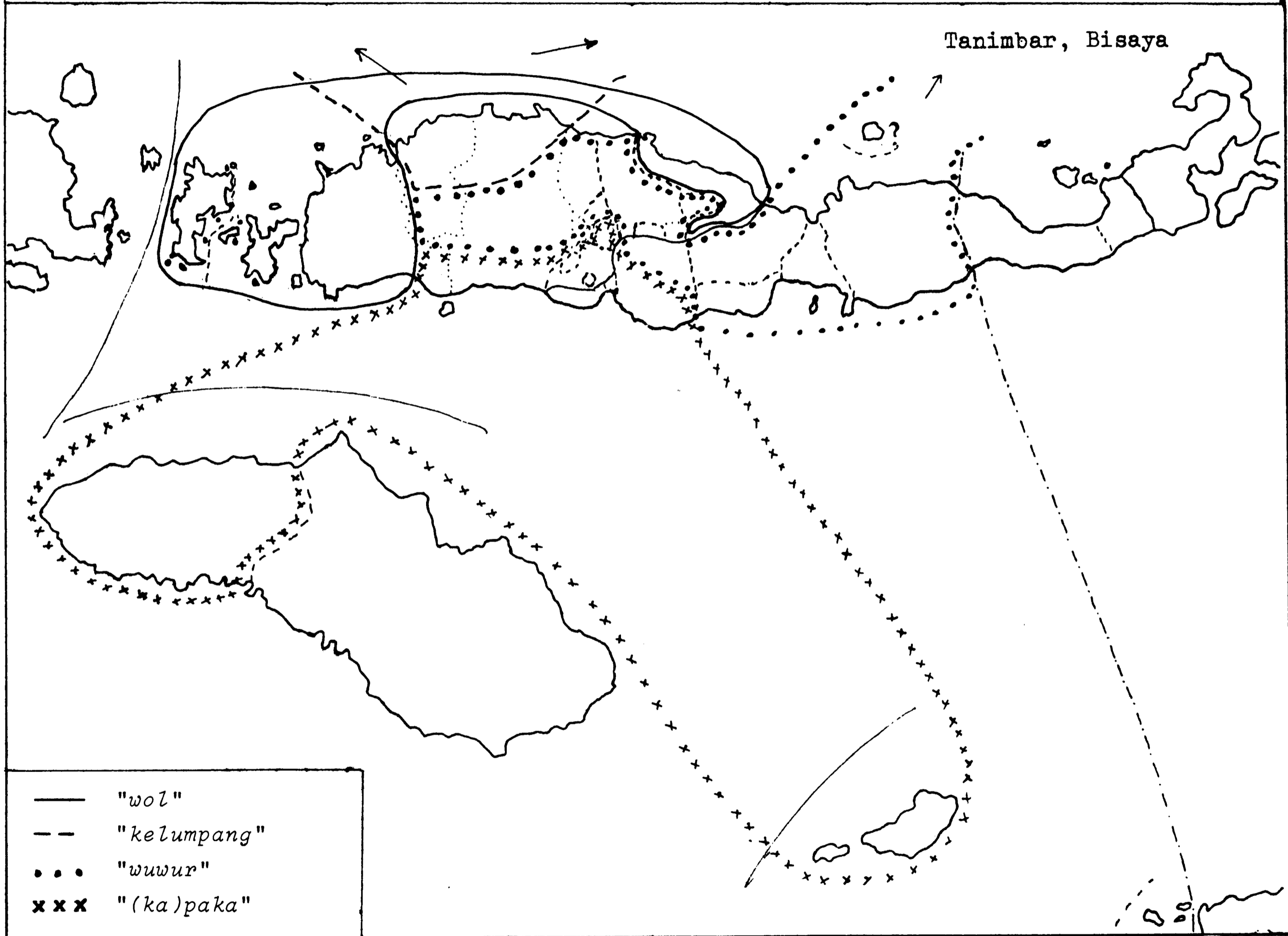
For this tree whose bean-like seeds are eaten, I found two groups of names:

(a) PNTT *ni(n)tap

Co, L I, Le, SH in M *nintap*, WM *nintat*, Kmd, Roti I *nitaq*, Si *nita*, Roti II, Dawan, Tetum *nitas*; EM *litap*, Kp, Rj *litat*, Dawan: Noé-Muti *nisaq* (Timor, Roti = *St. foetida*).

(b) PWF *qa(ŋ)go (?)
Wr ?*kagok*, Rgg *hanggo*, Ed 'ago', Ng, Lio *hago*; Map 22.

Map 30. Polyonymous spread of *Sterculia foetida*; 6.131



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.

<i>maki</i>	NM, SH, FEM	<i>mencelaki</i>	Ml (in Ambon)
<i>makiq</i>	Rmb, Wng	<i>sablaki</i>	Yamdena
<i>bomaki</i>	Fordata		
<i>nanggé</i>	Rongga, Wr, Ed I	<i>tobé laké</i>	Bonfia, Waru in ESeran
<i>nagé</i>	Ng, Nagé		
<i>magi</i>	Ed II	<i>salumagi</i>	Iloko
<i>magé</i>	Lio, Si	<i>salomagé</i>	Iloko
<i>manggé</i>	Bm		
<i>bagé</i>	Ssk	<i>sambági</i>	Bisaya
<i>acamlagi</i>	Gayo	<i>camalagi</i>	Bisaya
<i>cumalagi</i>	Mng	<i>samalagi</i>	Bisaya
<i>celagi</i>	Bali	<i>sumalagi</i>	Bisaya
<i>hélagi</i>	Sw	<i>sambalagi</i>	Bisaya
<i>tamalagi</i>	Buol	<i>sampalagi</i>	Bisaya
<i>sambalagi</i>	Baré''é	<i>sambak/g</i>	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 *kaca*, Mu, SH *kasa*; Sb: Lauili *kása*, Loura *káza*, Kodi *kaha*. The distribution of this name is somewhat comparable with *maghit* under 6.20; Map 19.

6.134 *Terminalia catappa* PMP *talisay

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 *lihé*, Tetum *kalésé*, Bm *sarisé*, non-AN Bunaq (a borrowing?) *lésé*; New Britain: Gunantuna *talia*, New Ireland: Palu *talisé*, Lamekot *talis*. Seeing M *licé* and Si *lihé* I think that the *-s- in the etymon is correct.

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

This high grass is called in M, Békék, Toring *wakas*, Kmd *wakah*, Riung, Faté *wakat*, Wng, Lengko-Sambi *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 *ozaŋ

The reddish-brown, light, durable and aromatic wood of this tree (Ml *surian*, J *surén*) is highly estimated. In Flores its name has an interesting pattern of distribution: WM, FEM, Térong, Wué *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 *deRuŋ

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, prenasalization, 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
<i>redong, redhong</i> M, FEM I, Wué	<i>mendarong</i>
<i>derong</i> Rmb, Wr, Kp, Rj, Wng, L.-Sambi	(<i>me</i>) <i>narong</i>
(<i>ndéo</i> Rongga, Térong)	
(<i>dhéo</i> Ed)	Kalimantan
Sumatra	<i>rundagong</i> Brunei
<i>nderung</i> Karo	<i>lindagong</i> Kedayan
	<i>landagong</i> Dusun Tambato
<i>endrung</i> ?	<i>randagong</i> Tenggara
<i>indarong</i> Karo	<i>rendagong</i> Dusun Labuk
<i>bandorong</i> Payakumbuh	<i>lundagong</i> Dusun
<i>randurung</i> Toba	<i>calundung</i> EKutai
<i>landoyung</i> Tapanuli	
<i>ndelung</i> Gayo	Sulawesi
<i>endelung</i> Simulungan	<i>déhong</i> Bentenan
<i>magelong</i> Palembang I	
<i>nelung</i> Palembang II	Philippines
	<i>anadgong</i> Bis
	<i>anugdong</i> Tag, Bis
	<i>hanagdong</i> Tag
	<i>anaginong</i> 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. Dempwolff gives PMP *pulut as 'Klebstoff', but the meaning "to stick" is unknown in WF. I mention as names of the plant: Ml *pulut-pulut*, *pulutan*, Tont *pulut*, Ssk *pulutan*, *tempulut*, Rgg, Ng, Lio *pulu*, Endé *puru*; M: Ko,

FEM: Ls, Mu pulut. The pulut islands in M, especially the one in Kolang, amidst the commonly used *lintep* are interesting.¹¹⁷ In Sumba we find *kapulutu*, *kapulitu*, *kapilitu* and *kapulota* for a kind of *Ficus* with sticking latex; Map 14^a.

6.140 *Uvaria* sp. - PNTT *léké(m)

The coral-red cylindrical fruits of this shrub are eaten. EM, CM, Rmb *lékém*, WM, Kmd *lékéng*, Wr *kékéng* (for Wr k- < M l- see Note 110), in Slr: Lewolaga, according to Fr N. Apeldoorn, *léké*; Sb: Lauili, Laura *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. timorense* 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 *rintigi*, Sd *cantigi*, J *mertigi*, *mentigi* and *temigi*. We have to do with mountain species, the Javanese being *Vaccinium Varingiaefolium*, the Sundanese *V. varingiaefolium*, *V. laurifolium*, *V. lucidum* and *V. korthalsi*, the Manggarai one *V. timorense*. 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 *mbapaq*, "Dayak" *kalapapa*, Bj *kalimpapa*, Mk *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, Nagé, Mundé, Ed, Lio, Si *runu*; WM, EM, Wr, Kp *runus*, Slr (where?) *kerunu*, Witihama Slr *qunu*.

6.144 *Wendlandia* sp.

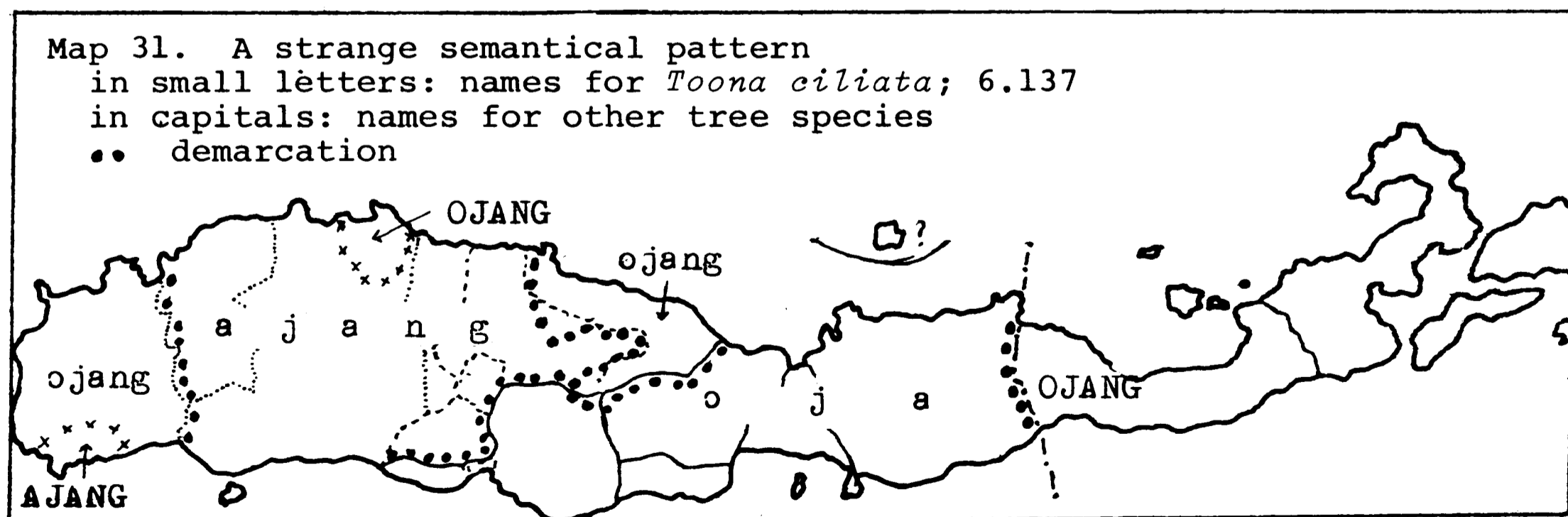
Though the following names are clearly variants, (see also 5.7), it seems to be impossible to establish the PMA etymon. I noted: M *wodong*, WM *mbodong*, Le, Pa *podong*, Wr *wodoq*, FEM: Lengko-Sambi, Nggolo-Nio, Mbai *mondo*, Wng *mondoq*, Rmb, Kp?, Térong *mondong*; Map 12.

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

WM *niti* (*Wrightia* sp.), Be in M the uncommon form *arniti* (*W. ?calycina*); Phil.: T *laniti*, *lanété*, Iloko *lanuti*, Cag *lanusi* ?*loniti*, Zambales *alanoti*, *anotong* (*W. ovata*); ?*batété* (*Wrightia*); cp. Sd *jalitri*, J *jalistri* (*W. javanica*) and "Timor" *deditè(h)* (*W. pubescens*). We have here a strange collection of names, but original cognation can hardly be doubted.

6.146¹²⁰ *Zingiber officinale* - PMP *laqia

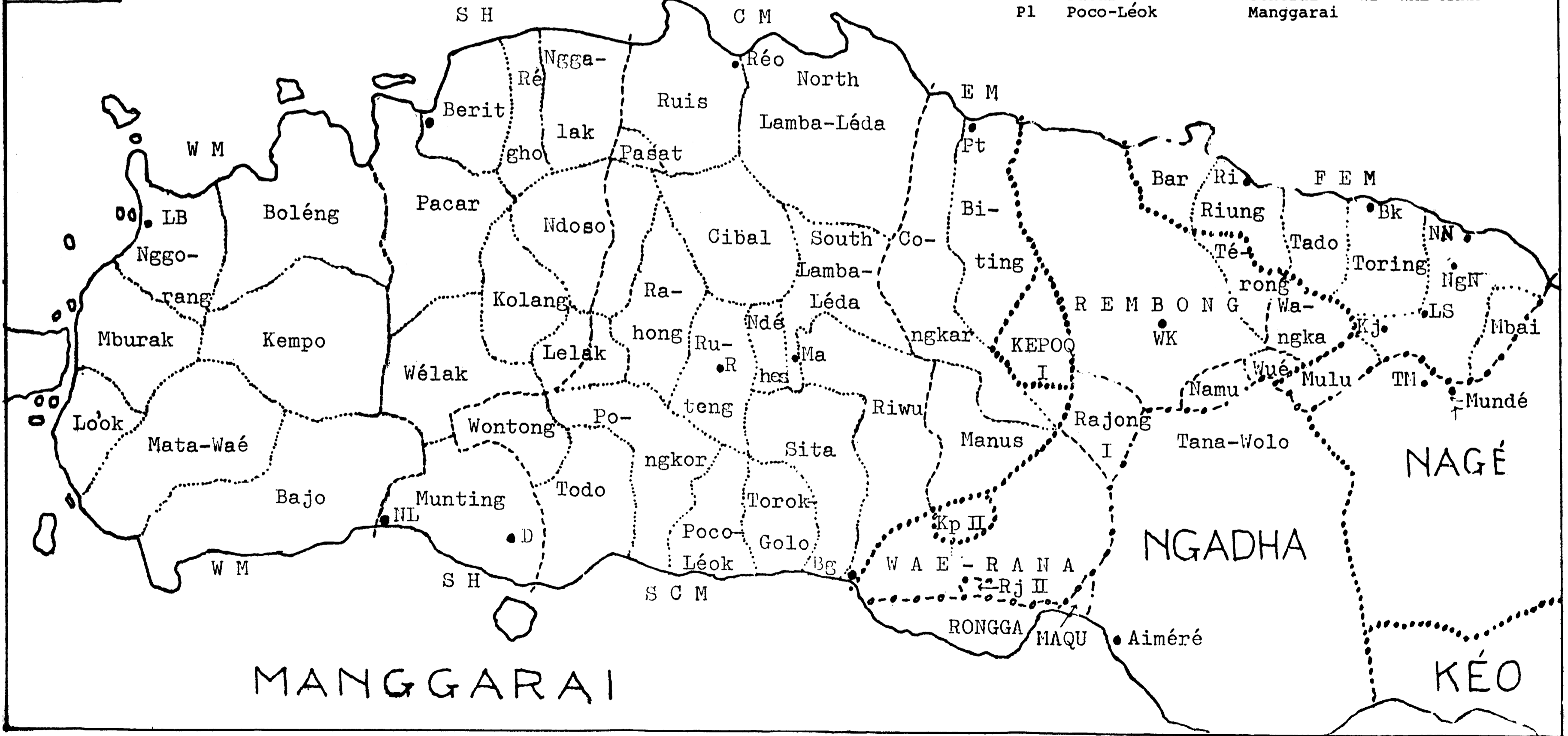
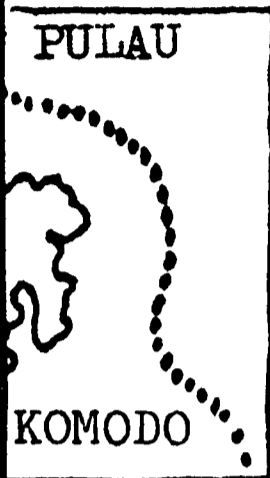
From the names of the well-known ginger I mention only: MA *lia*, Ng, Lio, Si *léa*, Bm *réa*, Kmb *layia*, Bj (in NTT) *layya*.

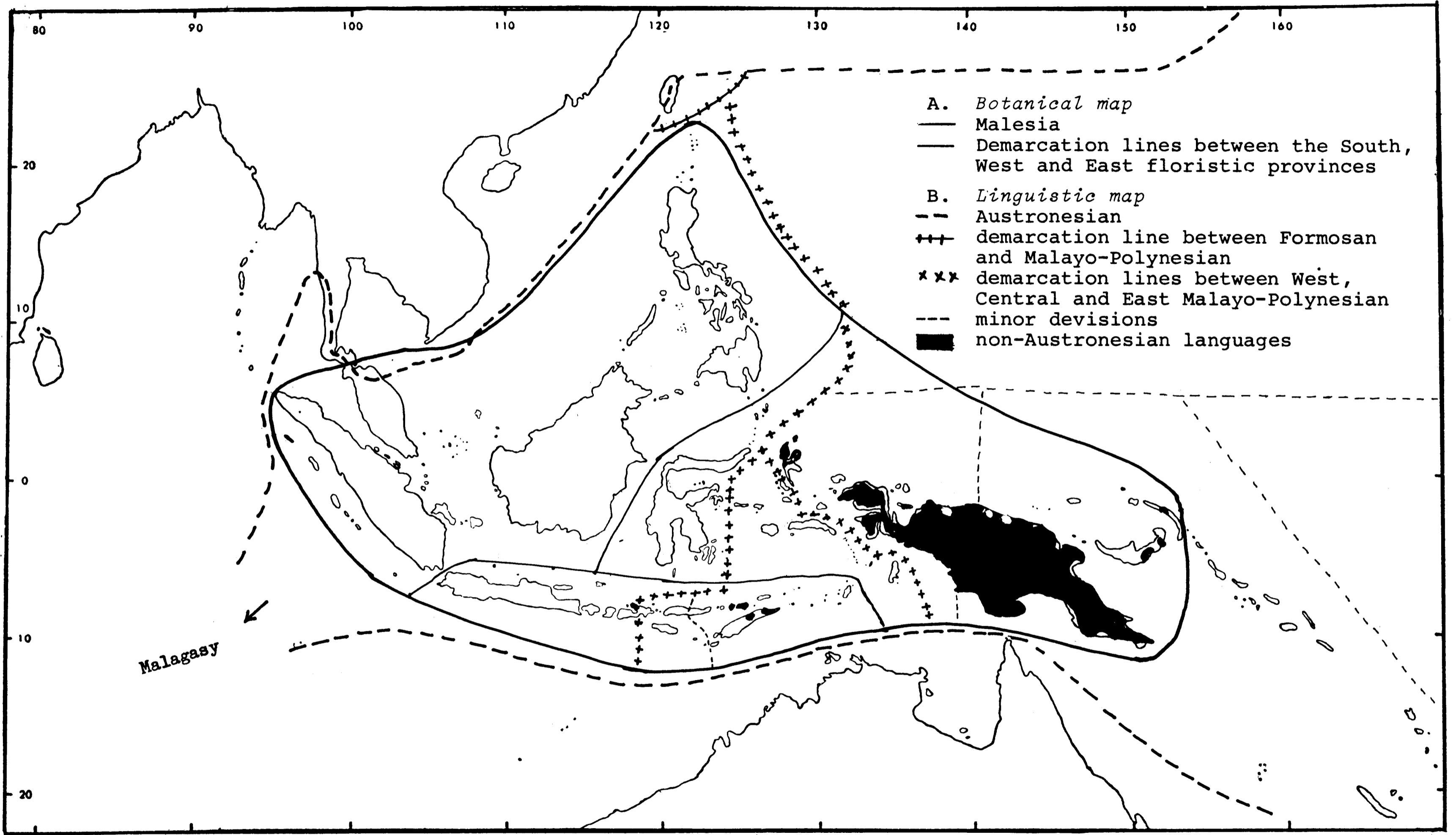


- : dialect boundary
- - - - - : dialect group boundary
- : language boundary
- - • - • - • : language group boundary

L I N G U I S T I C M A P O F T H E M A N G G A R A I G R O U P
(Abbreviations. In capitals: languages; in italics: place names)

Ba	Bajo	<i>D</i>	Dengé	Kp	KEPOQ (I,II)	Ml	Mulu	Pst	Pasat	SH	s>h Region
Be	Berit	<i>E,e</i>	East, east	L	Lamba-Léda	Ms	Manus	Pt	Pota	St	Sita
Bi	Biting	EM	East	LB	Labuanbajo	Mu	Munting	R,B	Ruteng	Tg	Torok-Golo
Bg	Borong		Manggarai	Le	Lelak	Mw	Mata-Waé	Ra	Rahong	TM	Téda-Mudé
Bk	Békék	FEM	Far-East	LS	Lengko-	N,n	North, north	Ré	Régho	To	Todo
Bo	Boléng		Manggarai		Sambi	Nd	Ndéhes	Ri, <i>Ri</i>	Riung	Tr	Térong
Br	Bari	K	Kempo	M	MANGGARAI	Ndo	Ndosó	Rj	Rajong	W-,w-	West, west
C	Cibal	<i>Kj</i>	Keja	MA	Manggarai	Ngg	Nggalak	Rmb	REMBONG	W	Wontong
CM	Central	Kmd	KOMODO		Group	Nggo	Nggorang	Rs	Ruis	Wé	Wélak
	Manggarai	Ko	Kolang	<i>Ma</i>	Mano	<i>NgN</i>	Nggolo-Nio	Rw	Riwu	WK	Waru-Kia
Co	Congkar			<i>Mb</i>	Mburak	NL	Nanga-Lili	S,s	South, south	WM	West Manggarai
						NN	Nanga-Numba				
						P	Pongkor	SCM	South Central	Wng	Wangka
						Pa	Pacar		Central Manggarai	Wr	WAE-RANA
						Pl	Poco-Léok				





NOTES

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 luttel graans tusschen het kaf." Burkill, 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*, *cewu* and *eu-eu*;
 - (b) Bimanese, no Manggarai words, are *loko jonga nae* and *loko jonga toqi*;
 - (c) *dalū* for *Albizia procera* is a name from Rongga and Ngadha;
 - (d) *mutu* must be *muku*, and *make* should be *maki*;
 - (e) probably owing to Bimanese informants, the last consonants are missing in *mo(k)*, *ndinga(r)*, *ngguru(s)* and *padu(t)*;
 - (f) incorrect is the determination of *M sela*, 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.)
- 5^a For future writers it may be useful to cite a botanist's, namely (Dr) M.J(akobs)'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.'"
- 5^b 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 *Erechtites valerianifolia* (Backer 1934, 885, 808).
- 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 weru* 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', *Scythrops 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, Co, Ms *lalok-ruék* became *ruék*; in Kempoq the plant's name is *taqi-ruék* 'ruék's dirt'.
- 18 *Kolong* is also used for the genera *Coleus* and *Plectranthus* (fam. *Labiatae*). In the Dictionary most of the following names are erroneously placed under *Plectranthus teysmanni*.

Chapter 3

- 19 In Ngadha and Lio the word *wunga* 'flower' was replaced by *bunga* in these cases; so a doublet was created. This is also the case in Manggarai where *wunga* 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.
- 21^a In the language of the colonial Dutch this plant had the funny name of "stoute jongens en zoete meisjes" (= naughty boys and sweet girls).
- 21^b I suppose that (Schmutz 3, *Rubiaceae* 12) K *kewe-rua*, probably from *kawéng-rua* 'the angry *Uncaria*' for *Caesalpinia* (cp 5.3), was first used for that sharp-thorned vine, whereas Mw: Paku's *kewe-rua* for the harmless, though hooked, *Uncaria*, was inexactly 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, *lema* 'tongue', *lombong* 'top of tree or of branch', *lain* (in Kempo) 'sand', *lami* 'to watch', *limé* 'hand', *lamu* 'moss', which are examples of folk etymology.
- 23 Surprisingly a Bimanese informant in Pota gave me not the name *daéng-sé*, but *damsé*, 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, *daéng 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*, *tambako*, *tambaku*, *tembakau*, *tembako*, *timbako*, *timbaho*, *cambako*, *sambako*, *tamako*, *tamaku*, *tawaku*, *temakau*, *temako*, *tabaga*, *taboku*, *tapako*, *tapaku*, *tapaqu*, *tabaço* (?*tabao*), *tabaçu* (?*tabau*), *tabakoh*, *samaku*, *sebakoq*, *embaku*, *mbako*, *mbaku*, *bako*, *mako*, *tubaku*, and probably from Dutch *tabak*: *sabak*, *tabab*, *debak*, *tabaka*, *tabaki*, *taba* and *tabaqa*.
- 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 6^a, gives a clear photograph of a heavy-loaded jackfruit tree, chiseled out on the Borobudur; plate 6^c shows the breadfruit tree (4.3).
- 29 (*Haju*) *nggurus poco* 'mountain *nggurus*', *Lycianthes bahanaensis*, is probably named *nggurus* due to some resemblance with *Capsicum*. For an explanation for *haju nggurus*, *Claoxylon 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 Dempwolff 1938, 154 goes astray by drawing Tagalog *sili* into his reconstruction of PIN **tilih*. The existence of Malay *cili* (Klinkert, 423, Poerwadarminta, 205): *cili besar*, *lada cili* (s.v. *cili*) is a counter-proof of his argumentation.
- 31 Burkill 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, probably *Coix lacryma-jobi* var. *agrestis*.
- 33 Juynboll 207 gives Old-Javanese *jahli* (*jaheli*), which is probably incorrectly determined as *Eleusine coracana* "een gierstsoort" (a kind of millet). Kp *sela* is irregular; cp. M. *salé*=Kp. *laré*.
- 34 The *é-i* > *i-i* shift is dialectally conditioned. The M *s* > SH *h* shift means that the musk melon occurred in M before that sound-shift. The form *ndési* in the Waerana 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 *héa-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 thin 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

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

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" (FJ 2,477).
- 39 By Rongga *mbara*, Ng *bara*, Endé, Lio (*uta mberi* (cp. *mberék*) the eggplant is meant.
- 40 Is the existence of Tagalog *ampalaya* a coincidence? Also exist in the Philippine languages (Merrill 168): *ampaléa*, *apalaya*, *apalia*, *palia*, *palla*, *paria*, *sampalia* and in Maranao *pariaq*.
- 41 I just give the forms I found in several works: Ml (Peninsula and Sumatra) *ramunggai*, *merunggai*, *rembugai*, *lembugai*, *pemanggai*, *germunga*, *gemunggai*, Mng *marunggai*, *munggai*, Simalur *barunggai*; Md *marongghi*, Bm *paronggé*, M *peronggé*, Guam *malung(g)ai*, Bis *balunggay*, Bis, Pamp, T *kalungay*, Bis, T *kamalongay*, Pamp, T, Bis *kalungai*, Bis, Pamp *malungit*, *malugit*, Pamp *kamalungé*, T *malungay*, *kalugay*, Sw, Alor, Ml Menado *marungga*.
- 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 *Oxyceros* 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: Ms *ka*, Ng I *ha*, Ng II *sa* 'crow', and Ng I *kéu*, Ng II *séu*, Ng III *héu* 'areca'.

Chapter 5

- 47 *Wua* 'fruit' precedes sometimes a plant name if the plant concerned is specially sought after for its fruit: *karot wua-ndékar* the "marbles" producer *Caesalpinia major*; or *haju wua-borong* and Wr *wuaq-karot* 'thorn's fruit' (bramble), and also (*wua-*)*ntimus*, *Flacourtia indica*, of which the fruit is eaten.
- 48^a 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*.

- 48^b *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 Rembong; in the latter the plant name *kuku-laku* (Rmb *kuku* 'nail') is easily understandable. In Malacca a *Caesalpinia* sp. is called *kuku-elang* 'eagle's claw', or, contracted: *kulang*.
- 50 When digging out the *séwo*, *Dioscorea 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 *lampék* (sharp bamboo chip) and the *cuqa* (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 *haok* c.s., which mean 'flaming up', 'flaring'. The conditioned *sulu* in Biting is a *Lino-ciera* sp.
- 54 Cognate names are: Bt *andudur*, J *genduru*, Md *ghanduru*, Bali *anduduh* (Heyne, 382). It is not clear which is the primary meaning.
- 55 In this connection the J name *raŋda nunut* 'the attached widow' (Backer, 245) is worth-mentioning. Maybe the name of *Chrysopogon aciculatus* (Note 72) in Malay, namely *ter-mucup*, *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 "philanthropos" 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 sondaicus*', because the leaves of this palm have been used as writing materials for many centuries; Bajo *dontala* 'lontar leaf'.
- 57 *Kulang* is possibly a loan from Mk or Bugis, where it is the name for *Gnetum*. Merchants from Mk probably used to buy this product in Manggarai.

- 58^a *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."
- 58^b Other dialects of MA have: Rmb *sago-nitu* 'spirit *nitu*'s beard', and Rmb *sago* alone; *wuk-ngiung* 'spirit *ngiung*'s hair', Békék *mumus-poso* 'spirit *poso*'s whiskers', Wng *mumus nitu* 'spirit *nitu*'s whiskers', Mulu *témbé kodé* 'monkey's beard', Nggolo-Nio *témbé-ulas* ' ? beard'; cp. Dutch *baardmos*.
- 59 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.
- 60 In Timor I noted the homosemantic names *asao nisif* (Dawan) and (*ai*) *smodo niqan* (South Tetum); also *koi képaq* - about the meaning of which I am not absolutely sure - in the Bunaq language of Nua-Lain.
- 61^a 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. *Malaho karimbayo* in Kodi (Sumba) has probably a similar meaning (*karimbayo* 'buffalo').
- 61^b The Ind (Ml) name (*pohon*) *kupu-kupu* means also "butterfly tree".
- 62 Further data can be found in the Dictionary, Manggarai - Taxonomic, under *bokak*, *cangkém*, *ngarek*, *limé*, *lema*, *mata*, *rempa* and *wa'i*.
- 63 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 "*kantotai*" (alongside "*kantotan*") is an interesting instance of folk etymology, since *tai* means "excrements".
- 64^a According to Schmutz (I, *Ulmaceae* 8) a man from Mecik in Munting called *Aphananthe cuspidata* there *nggar* because of the rustling of its leaves.
- 64^b Besides these we find *goring-goring*, *gurang-gurang*, *kacang rang-rang*, and *kacang riang-riang* in the Peninsula and Sarawak are onomatopoeia for *Crotalaria* spp.
- 65 The J names *ceplukan*, *ceplokán* (Backer, 1339) possibly came into existence in a similar way; cp. the onomatopoeic Sd *ceplék* 'rattle'.
- 66^a Manggarai people say: "If the fruit is only touched, the seeds jump away like fleas." It is my guess that Aceh *lela* and "Ternate" *mala-mala* '*Oxalis corniculata*' have the same semantical connotation, since *mela* is an Austronesian reflex.
- 66^b Also comparisons with the shape of certain things may be made, such as *wuaq-kopé* 'chopper-fruit' for a (wild) *Canavalia*, the long beans of which have a quadrangular dorsal suture. Semantically identical names are Rmb *wuaq-suga*, Wr *wuaq-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 Md *kara-wedung* 'sword bean'. Rumphius dubbed the plant *Lobus machaeroides* (Greek *machaira* 'sword').
- 67 I call two or more terms within a same dialect homoeonyms, 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.: *haéng* and *ngaéng* both meaning "to catch", or *téong*, *ndéong*, *téol*, *téul*, *céul*; 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.
- 68 A similar name is J *walik angin* 'turned by the wind', whereas *walik tangan* 'turned by the hand' is clearly a folk-etymological formation. The J and Sd *orang-arang* is an example of sound-symbolism. Schmutz gave it the (German) name "Wendebblatt".
- 69^a 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.
- 69^b Schmutz (II, *Oleaceae* 1) rightly remarks that the tree *Fraxinus griffithii* is named *lui* on account of its peeling bark, in the same way as *Tinea imbricata*, the "scaled skin" disease, is called *lui*.
- 70 This on account of the ball-round fruits of both (Schmutz).
- 71 *Papi* is probably a contraction of the widespread name Ml *api-api* for this tree.
- 72 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.
- 73 Maybe "eagle's" points to the great size of this mushroom.
- 74 The complete myth may be found in Verheijen 1951, 148 f. In neighbouring cultures also other spirits are named. Alongside M *toro-darat* 'wild thorny *Solanum*', we meet with Rmb *toro-wura* and in Wr *toro-bapuq* 'aubergine of the demons', and in Ng: Tana-Wolo *toro-noa* 'aubergine of the (mischievous) demons".
- 75 For further information see under Manggarai - Taxonomic in the Dictionary.

- 76a The latest (?1983) nomenclatorial 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: *téu-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 *kastéla* (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 *kasitèla*, *kastèla*, *kakatèla*, Buru *pastèla*, Amblau *késcèla*, Siau (Sangir), Sulu *katéla*; Makian *gocila*, Nufor I *kastèra*, Nufor II, Biak *kasèra*, NHalm I *kahitèla*, NHalm II, Tidore *tèla*, Tabukan (Sangir) *katélaq*.
- (b) *Ipomoea batatas* 'sweet potato' (Heyne, 1301): SSeran: Amahai *kastèla*, Nuauulu ?*kastena*, Atamano ?*asitela*; WSeran: Elpaputi *kastèra*, Waraka ?*kaitela*; Nusa Laut, Saparua *kastèra*; Gorontalo *atétèla*; but also in western Indonesia we meet with Bangkulu, Olon-Manyaan *katila*, Mng *katélo*, Lamp *setilo*, Md *téla*, Bali *kesèla*.
- (c) *Manihot esculenta* 'cassava': Aceh *ketila*, *kentila*, J *katéla*, Kangean *kastèla*.
- (d) *Capsicum annum* 'chilli': Buru: Kayeli, Hukumina, Masarete ?*kastela*, Lisela ?*kastena*.
- (e) *Carica papaya* 'papaya': Bajo in Labuanbajo *kastèla*, J *katéla (gantung)*.
- (f) *Pentapetes phoenicia* 'a flowering herb' (Fam. *Sterculiaceae*) Ternate *saya* (= flower) *kastèla*.
- (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 *ntalung*; ?AN (.....) = *kenti*." I saw some connection with Dempwolff's AN **talun* (Toba *talun* "Brachland", Java *talun* 'Abgeerntet', Samoa *talun-talun* 'Jungbusch'), because I had observed this tree, *Leptospermum 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 (monoecious) 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 *Mischocarpus* 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 Gehölz eben so genannt."
- 79 In a few cases the term "male" (*jantan* or *lalaki*) points to a big fruit; thus *pala lalaki* (Burkill, 1524) means the big sort of nutmeg of the species *Myristica fatua*, and *cengkéh lalaki* (Burkill, 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 *wijfjesereprijs* (*V. serpullifolia*), and *mannetjesplantein* (*Plantago major*) and *wijfjesplantein* (*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" (*béka*) and "male" (*nauru*) 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 béka* 'female digo' (*Sida acuta*) and *o digo ma nauru* 'male digo' (*S. rhombifolia* ssp. *rhombifolia*), both being wild herbs, and from column 432 the recently introduced *laimusa ma béka* 'mimosa' (V-3.7) and *laimusa ma nauru* 'lantana' (V-3.5). The Galela language knows apparently the similar determinants *bédépa* '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. *arsēn*: "masculine (...) of plants: robust, coarse, opp. *thēlus* (*tender, delicate*)". It even mentions the single-worded *thēlukraneia* '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^b Kästner 590, Note 2. "Saint-Lager: *Recherches historiques sur les mots: 'Plantes mâles et plantes femelles'*, pag. 36 'Le plus savant des botanistes grecs nous avertit lui-même que nous aurions tort de vouloir trouver toujours un sens précis aux mots 'plantes mâles et femelles', car fréquemment ces expressions ont été employées sans autre intention que celle de distinguer entre elles, par une épithète banale, les espèces les plus voisines les unes des autres." Mrs Madeleen Schaap M.A. kindly sent Kästner's article to Flores.

80^c This opinion is enforced by the use of *dinda* 'female' and *lilla* 'male' in the Sama/Bajau language in which they serve to distinguish similar kinds of molluscs (7x in my list) and once of fish (Verbeijen 1986:91ff.).

81 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 *berat* 'heavy' and *baru* 'new' have the forms *baqat* and *wuqu*.

82 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. leeuwenii* for New Britain and New Ireland.

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

84 However, Wielinga gives *téra* for "linen", and *kambala* for "bark-cloth". Endenese traders may have altered the pronunciation of *térépa*.

85 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 Téní exists, but no one whom I asked knew that *téni* is a tuberous plant. It is still known in SLamba-Léda.

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

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

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

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

Chapter 6

90 AN etymologists pity Van Wijk who says (390): "Het etymologiseeren met idg. (= Indo-Germanic) boomnamen is veelal een onzekere 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.

91 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.

92 Paradigm

6.5	,	M	waék	'	Rmb	faék	'	Wr, Kp,	'	"Slr"
								Rj	kaé	'
										'
										'
										'
6.7	,	M	welu	'	Rmb	felu	'	Wr, Kp,	'	
								Rj	kelu	'
										'
										'
										'
										'
										'
										'

	' PS	*ka-	'Ed, Lio	'	
	' welu		' féo	'	
			'Dawan fé-	'	
			' nu	'	
5.92	' M wangér	'Rmb	'Wr ka-	' (PMP	
		' fangor	' ngor	' *baŋer)	
		'Wng	'	'	
		' fangar	'	'	
		'NgL	'	'	
		' fangé	'	'	

Elpaputi *suquné*, Amahai *suquno*, Buru *sokon*; Ifugao *bakák* (?), Ilokano, Ibanag, *pakák* (?). 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 AMB *sukun, but the source language for so many loans is still uncertain.

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

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

94 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*"!!

97 FJ 3, 176: "Often considered conspecific with next species" (viz. *flabellifer*).

98 The latinisation *Cajanus* 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.

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

95 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 altilis* is probably eastern Indonesia.

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

101 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.

Dempwolff based his IN, PN *kulu(l) on the Ml, J, Futuna and Samoa forms, Blust (1977, 28) gives PMP *kulu(rR).

To make further research easier I insert here the pertinent names I found in the works of Burkill, Heyne, Jarret, Merril and Steiner, and in a few dictionaries. Names for the seeded variety are: Ml Peninsula *kulur*, *kulor*, *kelor*, Aceh, Sb, Fiji *kulu*, Bt, Ml, Sd *kulur*, Ml *kelawi*, J *keluwih*, Sd *kelesih*, Lamp *pulor*, Md *kolor*, Bm, WM *kolo*, Salayar *kuloro*, Bg *ulo*, Tae' *kuloq*, Wetar *ulu*, Fordata *ulur*, WSeran: Elpaputi *urulé*, Atamano *ululé*; Tobelo *kolulubu*, NHalm *urknam* (?), Roti *suqu boda*, *suqu madéqék* (*déqék* 'seed'), Amb *suqun batu*, Ml Ambon *sukun batu*, *sukun utan*, N. Laut, Saparua *suquno hatu*, Kai *hukun*, Tag, Bis *kolo*, *kalo*, Tag (*Artocarpus* sp.) *oloy*, Bikol *ugub*; 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 *sukun*, *sukin*, Aceh *sukon*, Nias *suku*, M, Bl, Jv, Kai, Ambon: Piru; Tont *sukun*, Md *sokon*, Sul: Bent *kuqu*, Bant *kuhuku*, Mong *kulud*, Ponos. *kuruch*, Toulour *kurur*, Tomini *kulub sarangan*, Bonerate *tehuqu bakare(q)*, Roti *suqu aék*, (*aék* 'cultivated'), Wetar *ulu uqun*, Watubela *hukun*, Seran:

<i>guni</i>	Si
<i>gunis</i>	Kmd
<i>huki(q)</i>	Dawan
<i>huni</i>	Bm
<i>hunik</i>	Bt
<i>huning</i>	Bt
<i>huniq</i>	Roti dial.
<i>kakunyé</i>	Enggano
<i>kewunyi</i>	Sw
<i>kirun</i>	Bunaq (non-AN)
<i>kon</i>	Sulu Is.: Fagudu
<i>kondin</i>	Simalur: Selang
<i>koné</i>	Buru: Saparete
<i>konéng</i>	Sd
<i>konik</i>	Buru: Amblau
<i>konyék</i>	Md
<i>konyi</i>	"Sumatra"
<i>kuminu</i>	Ambon
<i>kunai</i>	Mng
<i>kuné</i>	Ende
<i>kuni</i>	NSul: Baréé, Padu, Lalaki; Mandar, Bugis, ?Sula
<i>kunig</i>	Iloko
<i>kunik</i>	Mng; Roti dial.
<i>kunin</i>	ESeran
<i>kuniné</i>	Moluccas: Nusa Laut
<i>kuning</i>	Gayo, Alas, Ml
<i>kunino</i>	Ambon: Saparua
<i>kuniq</i>	Minahasa: Ttb, Tonsawang

<i>kunir</i>	Tinggalan, Lampong; Minahasa; J; Bent, Toulour, Timor: Tetun
<i>kunis</i>	FEM, Rmb
<i>kunit</i>	Banjarmasin
<i>kunita</i>	WSb
<i>kunyét</i>	Aceh
<i>kunyi</i>	WSumatra, Mk, Salayar
<i>kunyk</i>	Mng
<i>kunyiq</i>	Ssk
<i>kunyr</i>	Lampong; Sd; Minahasa: Tont, Tounsawang
<i>kunyt</i>	Ml; Bl; EKalimantan, Kambang, Tidung, Banjarmasin, EBorneo: Olon-Manyaan
<i>odil, ondil</i>	Simalur: Lakon
<i>oné</i>	Seran: Piru
<i>onyi</i>	Bg
<i>ulin</i>	Tanimbar
<i>undré</i>	Nias
<i>?uni</i>	Buru
<i>unik</i>	Roti dial.
<i>unin</i>	Goram; SSeran: Hila, Buru, Kayeli
<i>uniné</i>	Seran: Piru
<i>unino</i>	Ambon: Haruku
<i>uninun</i>	Ambon
<i>unyi</i>	Bg
<i>unyiq</i>	Bg: Lampalagiang
<i>wuné</i>	NgL
<i>wunis</i>	M

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

- 102 Besides, my assistant, Mr I. Ros, assured me that the dioscorea *éngalu* we saw in Sb was identical with the M plant called *éngal*.
- 103 This is possibly no pure Bm, because I got most of my plant names by the kind information of the Bm gentlemen Haji Arsad and Mr Duru Mbojo who live in Pota. Maybe they were sometimes influenced by the Manggarai people living around them.
- 104 At my request Prof. Van Steenis kindly checked the labels of the *Donax* samples in the Rijksherbarium. He found the cognate names in the Solomon Is.
- 105 The M form with -p is probably a secondary formation (cp. the WSb form *lukuta* in contrast to Sb: Kmb *miripu* and Kodi *moripo* 'to live'). I suppose that the connotation of "covering" is responsible for blending; see *Drynaria* under 5.7 and Blust 1982, no. 236.
- 106 I do not find a single cognate of *suka* or *suwa* among the many names that Merrill gives from Phillipine languages.
- 107 I give here the correlated forms of respectively 6.81, 6.76 and 6.77. The correspondences are not consistent. Mbai *nido* must be a loan.

6.81	6.76	6.77	
- - -	M <i>munting</i>	M	<i>lanteng</i>
FEM I <i>midu</i>	- - -	FEM I	<i>lantong</i>
Mulu <i>midhuq</i>	- - -	FEM II	<i>lanténg</i>
Rmb I <i>mintuq</i>	Rmb <i>munting</i>	Rmb I	<i>lantong</i>
Rmb II <i>nintuq</i>	Riqa, Wué <i>muntin</i>	Wng (Rmb)	<i>latang</i>

Wué (Rmb)	- - -	- - -	
<i>miduq</i>			
Wr, Kp, Rj	Wr, Kp <i>muting</i>	Wr, Kp, Rj	
<i>minduq</i>		<i>latong</i>	
Rgg <i>mindu</i>	Rgg	<i>muti</i>	Rgg, ?
Nagé <i>nidho</i>	Ng	<i>mudhi</i>	Nagé, Ng
(Mbai <i>nido</i>)			<i>ladé, 'adé</i>
Endé <i>ngidho</i>	Lio	<i>mundi</i>	Lio <i>laté, landé</i>

- 108 According to Merrill the same name (*lipay*) is used at least in Bisaya for *Laportea* (6.77) *gaudichiana* ("a perennial herb with stinging hairs"); in Tag the plant is named *lipá*, in Pampang *lipáng-doton*.
- 109 I entered into my *Kamus Manggarai* "punti Pa- (car) (AN) sb pisang; buahnya kecil pendek, manis." I connected it with Dempwolff's AN *pun(t)i(h). 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 Menadonese official was the introducer.
- 110 Paradigm
- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 6.10 | ' M <i>loi</i> | ' Wr <i>koi</i> | ' Rgg, Ng | ' Tana-Ai |
| | ' | ' | ' <i>hoi</i> | ' <i>keloi</i> |
| 6.28 | ' M <i>lembur</i> | ' Rmb, Wr | ' Rgg <i>hembu</i> | ' Md <i>kalobur</i> |
| | ' | ' <i>kembur</i> | ' Ng, Nage | ' |
| | ' | ' | ' <i>hebu</i> | ' |
| 6.96 | ' M <i>laci</i> | ' Ng I | ' Ng II, | ' Si <i>kelahi</i> , |
| | ' | ' <i>kasi</i> | ' Nage | ' PMP *-la- |
| | ' | ' | ' <i>hasi</i> | ' <i>si</i> |
| 6.115 | ' M <i>luwu</i> | ' Rgg, Wr | ' | ' Ml: Serawak |
| | ' | ' <i>kuwu</i> | ' | ' <i>gelubu</i> |
| | ' | ' | ' | ' |
- 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', *panga* 'forked branch', *lénga* 'stand open' etc.
- 112 The two others are:
- (a) Aceh (*trieng*) *talang*, Mng (*bulueh*) *talang*, Bt (*buloh*) *tolang*, Mk (*bulo*) *tallang*; (PWMP **telaŋ*?)
- (b) Talaud *timbanganga*, Sangir *timbellang*, NSul: Ttb *tambelang*, Toumpakewa *tambelan*, Bent *timbarang*, Buol *tumulango*, Gorontalo *tomula*, Tomini *tambalo*.
- 113 Is it allowed to conclude from Sd *jawawut* (?*jawa-wut*) '*S. italica*' to the (one time) occurrence of *jawa*, probably, "sorghum"? Bali *jawa suwi* and *jawa* have a similar relation.
- 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 concerned and the shrub.
- 115 In Holland I happened to meet with a Tanimbarese gentleman in an elevator. Because of the description he kindly gave me of the tree *kavuvur*, which name I came upon in Drabbe, I take it for granted that by that name *Sterculia foetida* is meant.

116 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 "wol". 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*, *Pagiantha* (6.98 (b), note 111) reads: "When young it does not laugh, when old it laughs day and night" (ib. 785).

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

118 Afterwards I saw in Heyne, Burkill and Wilkinson that almost the same names: Ml *cantigi*, *mentigi*, J *sentigi*, Md *menthigi* and Mk *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.

119 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'.

120 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. Burkill (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 *wí*, *wia*, *wiqa* and *wiyo*.

6.148 *Erythrina* spp. PMP **DapDap*
The leaves of this tree are eaten. Demwolff 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 *kalo-sesap* (Cibal) and *kalo-sesat* (Pongkor); in Wué and Wangka *zezat*, in Wr, Rj and Kepoq *jejat*, while in FEM we find the irregular forms *zezak*, *zezat* and *jejak*, which are probably loans. The dialects of Wewéwa and Memboro in Sumba have *rèdapa* and of Loura *ràdapa*.

6.149 *Oryza sativa* PAN **pajay*
Reflexes of this etymon for "rice" are found in all the islands of the NTT: Bm *faré*, Kolo (Bm) *paré*, Sumba dialects *paré*, *pari* (along with *ûsu*, *ùhu*), Ng *paré*, *'aré* (along with *kosu*), Nagé *paé*, Ed *'aré*, Lio, Si, Slr *paré*, Sw *aré*. Only in MA no reflexes are found: WM *mawo*, CM, EM, FEM *woja*, Rmb, Wr *kusu*, *kosu*. For Ng and Sb see above, and 5.10.4.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF TAXONOMIC PLANT NAMES WITH SOME INDONESIAN EQUIVALENTS
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<i>Abrus precatorius</i>	5.8.7; 6.2	saga biji
Acanthaceae	5.6; n. 51	
<i>Acanthus ilicifolius</i>	n. 99	
<i>Acorus calamus</i>	6.3	jeringau, deringo
<i>Acriopsis javanica</i>	5.8.3	
<i>Acronychia trifoliata</i>	6.4	
<i>Adenantha pavonina</i>	5.8.7	saga pohon
<i>Aegle marmelos</i>	5.12.2	maja batu
<i>Agave sisalana</i>	6.100	pokok sisal
<i>Albizia chinensis</i>	5.2; 6.5	
<i>Albizia procera</i>	6.6; n. 3	bangkal
<i>Aleurites moluccana</i>	6.7; n. 36	kemiri
<i>Allium cepa</i> va. <i>ascalonicum</i>	6.8	bawang merah
<i>Alocasia macrorrhiza</i>	6.147; n. 120	birah
<i>Alsophila</i>	6.39	
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<i>Alstonia spectabilis</i>	5.8.2; 5.8.6; 6.10	
<i>Amaranthus (spinosus)</i>	5.8.1; 5.12.2 (b)	bayam duri
<i>Amorphophallus</i> sp.	6.10 ^B	kembang bangkai
<i>Ampelocissus (arachnoidea)</i>	5.5; 5.6	
<i>Anamirta cocculus</i>	5.7; 6.11	
<i>Ananas comosus</i>	4.1	nenas
<i>Anaphalis longifolia</i>	2.3.3 (b)	
<i>Andropogon sorghum</i>	n. 3	
<i>Annona muricata</i>	5.12.2 (c)	angka belanda
<i>Annona squamosa</i>	5.12.2 (c)	serikaya
<i>Antidesma bunius</i>	6.12	buni
<i>Aphania paucijuga</i>	5.8.7	
<i>Aphananthe cuspidata</i>	n.64 ^a	
<i>Apium graveolens</i>	3.3.1	seladeri
<i>Aporosa aurea</i>	5.8.7	
<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	4.2; n. 26	kacang tanah
<i>Areca cathecu</i>	5.5; 6.13	pinang
<i>Arenga pinnata</i>	5.5; 6.14	enau
<i>Artocarpus altilis</i>	4.3; 6.15 ^B ; n. 95	a) kulur, b) sukun
<i>Artocarpus dasyphylla</i> var. <i>flava</i>	5.8.7	
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<i>Bauhinia hirsuta</i>	5.6; 6.104 ^B	kayu kupu-kupu
<i>Bauhinia malabarica</i>	6.104 ^B	
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<i>Bidens</i>	6.18	
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<i>Bombax ceiba</i>	3.6.; 6.19.; n. 86	randu alas
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<i>Bruguiera</i>	5.8.2	tumu
<i>Buchanania arborescens</i>	6.84	terentang ayam
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<i>Calophyllum soulattri</i>	6.25; 6.33	
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<i>Canarium vulgare</i>	4.2	kenari
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<i>Crescentia cujete</i>	5.8.2	labu kayu
<i>Crinum asiaticum</i>	6.36	bakung
<i>Crotalaria</i>	5.6; 5.8.3; n. 64 ^b	giring-giring
<i>Croton cascarilloides</i>	5.7	
<i>Croton montis-silam</i>	5.7	
<i>Croton tiglium</i>	6.44	cemengkian
<i>Cucumis sativus</i>	6.37	ketimun
<i>Cucurbita moschata</i>	4.8; n. 96	labu merah
<i>Cuphea</i>	2.4	
<i>Curcuma viridiflora</i>	6.38	kunyit
<i>Cyathea</i>	6.39	paku pohon
<i>Cycas rumphii</i>	5.5; 6.40	pakis aji
<i>Cynodon</i>	6.41	
<i>Cyperaceae</i>	6.41	teki-tekian
<i>Datura metel</i>	6.42	kecubung
<i>Dendrocalamus asper</i>	6.43	buluh betung
<i>Dendrocnide</i>	6.77	jelatang
<i>Derris</i>	6.44	tuba
<i>Diclidocarpus</i>	6.65 ^B	
<i>Digitaria</i>	6.41	
<i>Dioscorea aculeata</i>	6.45; n. 50, 119	
<i>Dioscorea alata</i>	4.9; 5.8.8; 6.46, n. 119	ubi kelapa
<i>Dioscorea esculenta</i>	6.47	ubi teropong
<i>Dioscorea hispida</i>	5.3; 6.23	gadung
<i>Dioscorea pentaphylla</i>	6.48	ubi pasir
<i>Dioscorea sarasinii</i>	6.49	
<i>Diplazium (esculentum)</i>	6.50	daun paku
<i>Diplophractum auriculatum</i>	6.65 ^B	
<i>Dipterocarpus</i>	6.0.3	
<i>Dolichandrone spathacea</i>	6.51	
<i>Donax cannaeformis</i>	6.52; n. 104	bemban
<i>Dracontomelum edule</i>	6.53	dahu
<i>Drymaria cordata</i>	5.5	angkleng (Jawa)

Drynaria	6.54; n. 105	sj. simbar
Dryopteris filix-mas	n. 80 ^a	
Duranta repens	3.2.3	
Dysoxylum	5.8.7	
Elatostema	5.5	
Eleusine coracana	n. 33	
Emilia sonchifolia	2.2; 2.3; n. 10	patah kemudi
Ensete glaucum	6.55	
Entada phaseoloides	6.56	akar beluru
Eragrostis warburgii	6.125 (a)	
Erechtites valerianifolia	2.2; n. 10	
Erianthus	n. 76 ^a	
Erigeron sumatrensis	2.2.3 (b)	
Ervatamia	5.6; 6.98	
Erycibe princei	5.8.7	
Erythrina orientalis	5.11; 6.148, n. 120	dadap
Eugenia see Syzygium		
Euodia	6.57	
Euonymus	n. 45	
Eupatorium cannabinum	2.3.1	
Eupatorium inulifolium	2.3; n. 14,15	
Eupatorium odoratum	2.3; n. 15	
Euphorbia prunifolia	2.3.2 (b)	
Ficus	5.6	
Ficus ampelas	5.5; 6.60	empelas I
Ficus benjamina	6.58	beringin
Ficus variegata	6.59	ara
Ficus wassa	6.60	empelas II
Filix mas, F. femina	n. 80 ^a	
Fimbristylis ovata	5.6	
Flacourtia indica	n. 47	sj. lobi-lobi
Flagellaria indica	6.61	rotan tikus
Fragaria vesca	5.8.4.	arbei
Fraxinus griffithii	5.7.3; 69 ^b	"kayu candu"
Gigantochloa apus	6.62A	sj. aur
Gigantochloa (verticillata)	6.62B	bambu tali
Glochidion superbum	5.8.7	
Gmelina elliptica	6.63	bulangan
Gnetum (gnemon)	5.5; 5.9.7; 6.64; n. 57	belinjo
Gomphandra mappioides	4.6	
Gossampinus	6.19	
Gossypium paniculatum	n. 76 ^b	
Gramineae	6.41; 6.65A; 6.119	
Grewia sp.	5.7; 6.65B	
Grewia laevigata	6.33	sj. cenderai
Helianthus annuus	n. 21	bunga matahari
Helicia spp.	6.66	
Heliotropium	n. 51	
Heritiera littoralis/gigantea	6.67	dungun laut
Heteropogon contortus	n. 72	
Hibiscus tiliaceus	5.8.5; 5.9; 6.68	baru
Hirneola	5.5; 5.7	
Homolanthus fastuosus	6.69	
Homalium tomentosum	6.70	
Homonoia riparia	5.3	
Hybanthus enneaspermus	n. 51	
Hyptis suaveolens	2.7	ruku-ruku hutan, sumenget
Imperata cylindrica	2.7; 5.3; 5.5; 5.8.8; 6.71	alang-alang
Indigofera linifolia	2.6; 5.9.3; 6.72	sj. tarum
Intsia bijuga	6.73	merbaru, ipil
Ipomoea batatas	4.9; 6.46; n. 76 ^b	ubi jalar
Isachne	6.41	
Itea macrophylla	5.5	
Ixora	5.5	
Jasminum bifarium	5.8.7	sj. bunga gambir
Jatropha curcas	4.10; n. 36	jarak pagar
Kaempferia galanga	5.7; 6.74	cekur
Kalanchoe integra	5.5	sj. daun sejuk
Kleinhovia hospita	6.75	katimaha
Kyllinga monocephala	6.41	
Lagenaria siceraria	4.8	labu air
Lagerstroemia flos-reginae	6.76	bungur
Lantana camara	2.3.2 (b), 3.4; 5.8.4	kayu singapura
Laportea (gaudichiana)	6.77; n. 108	sj. jelatang

<i>Lecanopteris carnosa</i>	5.7	
<i>Leea rubra</i>	5.8.7; 6.78	mali-mali
<i>Lepidagathis</i>	n. 51	
<i>Leptospermum flavescens</i>	n. 48 ^a , 76 ^c , 114	"gelam bukit"
<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i>	3.5	petai cina, lamtoro
<i>Leucosyke capitellata</i>	6.79	
<i>Linociera</i>	n. 53	
<i>Litsea (velutina)</i>	6.80	
<i>Lobus machaeroides</i>	n. 66 ^b	
Loranthaceae	5.4	pasilan-pasilan
<i>Lumnitzera racemosa</i>	5.8.2	
<i>Lycianthes bahanaensis</i>	n. 29	
<i>Lycopersicon lycopersicum</i>	3.3.5; 4.11	tomat
<i>Lycopodium cernuum</i>	5.6	daun siar
<i>Lygodium circinnatum</i>	6.81	ribu-ribu duduk
<i>Macaranga tanarius</i>	5.2; 6.82	mahang putih
<i>Mallotus moluccanus</i>	6.85	
<i>Mallotus philippensis</i>	6.83	
<i>Mangifera indica</i>	6.84; n. 3	mangga
<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	3.6; 4.9; n. 76 ^b	ubi kayu
<i>Maoutia</i>	5.7	walik angin (Jawa)
<i>Marattia</i>	6.39	
<i>Melanolepis multiglandulosa</i>	6.85	
<i>Melastoma (multiflora)</i>	5.8.7; 6.86	senduduk
<i>Melia azedarach</i>	6.87	mindih
<i>Meliosma pinnata</i> ssp. <i>ferruginosa</i>	5.5	
<i>Meliosma simplicifolia</i> ssp. <i>fruticosa</i>	5.6	
<i>Melochia umbellata</i>	6.88	bintenu, senu
<i>Merremia alba</i>	5.2	
<i>Merremia umbellata</i>	5.8.7	
<i>Metrosideros spurius</i> mas	5.8.7	
<i>Mimosa invisa</i>	3.7	puteri malu
<i>Miscanthus japonicus</i>	6.89	
<i>Mischocarpus sundaicus</i>	6.90; n. 78	
<i>Momordica charantia</i>	4.12	peria
<i>Morinda</i>	5.8.7; 6.91	bengkulu
<i>Moringa pterygosperma</i>	4.13	merunggai, kelor
<i>Morus australis</i>	5.8.4	besaran
<i>Mucuna pruriens</i> var. <i>pruriens</i>	6.92	kacang gatal
<i>Mucuna pruriens</i> var. <i>utilis</i>	6.93	kacang bengkok
<i>Murraya paniculata</i>	6.94	kemuning
<i>Musa paradisiaca</i>	6.95	pisang
<i>Myristica</i>	5.8.2	pala
<i>Myristica fatua</i>	n. 79	pala hutan
<i>Nelumbo nucifera</i>	4.14	seroja merah
<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>	3.8	tembakau
<i>Ocimum basilicum</i>	2.7; 6.96	selasih, kemangi
<i>Oplismenus</i> sp.	5.10.2; 6.41; n. 85	
<i>Opuntia elatior</i>	3.9; 5.8.7	lidah badak
<i>Oryza sativa</i>	6.149; n. 120	
<i>Osbeckia dolichophylla</i>	5.8.7	
<i>Oxalis corniculata</i>	5.2; 5.6; n. 66 ^a	
<i>Oxyceros</i>	n. 45	
<i>Paederia scandens</i>	5.6; 5.9.2; 6.97	daun kentut
<i>Pagiantha (sphaerocarpa)</i>	5.6; 6.98; n. 116	sj. simbar badak
<i>Palaquium</i>	6.99	sj. taban, sj. nyatuh
<i>Pandanus</i>	6.89; 6.100	
<i>Pandanus</i>	6.101	
<i>Pandanus tectorius</i>	4.1; 6.102	pandan
<i>Panicum glaucum</i>	3.10	
<i>Panicum italicum</i> var.	6.125	
<i>Paspalum scrobiculatum</i>	5.8.4	
<i>Pavetta indica</i>	5.8.7	sj. ?angsoka
<i>Peltophorum pterocarpum</i>	6.103	soga
<i>Pemphis acidula</i>	6.141, n. 118	mentigi
<i>Pennisetum purpureum</i>	6.125 (a)	
<i>Pennisetum spicatum</i>	3.10	
<i>Pentapetes phoenicea</i>	n. 76 ^b	
<i>Phragmites karka</i>	6.104 ^A	
<i>Phyllanthus</i>	5.2	
<i>Physalis</i>	5.6; n. 65	ceplukan (Jawa)
<i>Picrasma javanica</i>	5.8.1	
<i>Piliostigma malabarica</i>	6.104 ^B	"kayu pahit"
<i>Piper aduncum</i>	4.5	sj. sirih hutan

Piper betle	4.5; 5.8.3; n.30	sirih
Piper nigrum	4.5	lada, merica
Piper sarmentosum	6.79	
Pipturus argenteus	6.105; 6.79	
Pisonia umbelliflora	5.7; 6.106	sj. kambah
Pittosporum	5.6	
Planchonella obovata	6.107	sj. nyatuh
Planchonia valida	6.108; 6.99	"putat gajah"
Platea excelsa	6.7	
Plectranthus teysmanni	n. 18	
Pluchea indica	2.3.3 (a); 3.4	beluntas
Podocarpus blumei	5.3	
Podocarpus imbricata	6.109	jamuju (Sunda)
Polygala paniculata	2.6	sj. lidah ayam
Polygala persicariaefolia	2.4	
Polyporus xanthopus	5.6	
Pometia pinnata	6.110	
Portulaca oleracea	6.111	gelang
Pouzolzia hirta	6.112	
Prunus wallaceana	5.5; n. 71	
Psidium guajava	4.15	jambu biji
Pterocarpus indicus	6.113	angsana
Pterospermum diversifolium	5.8.7; 6.114	bayur
Pterospermum jackianum	5.8.7	
Pterygota alata	6.115	
Radermachera (gigantea)	6.51; 6.89	
Randia spinosa	n. 45	
Randia wallichii	5.5	
Rhizophora	5.8.2; 6.116	sj. bakau
Rhus taitensis	6.117	"cembawak"
Ricinus communis	4.10; n. 36	jarak benggala
Rubiaceae	n. 45	
Rubus	5.8.1	akar kupur-kupur
Rubus lineatus	5.8.4	
Saccharum arundinaceum	n. 76 ^a ; 6.89	temberau
Saccharum officinarum	6.118	tebu
Saccharum spontaneum	5.5; 5.10.2; 6.119; 6.120 (b)	sj. gelagah
Sageretia	5.5	
Salmalia	6.19	
Salomonina cantonensis	2.6	
Sambucus canadensis	3.2.1; n. 59	
Schefflera	5.6	
Schizostachyum blumii	5.5; 6.120	buluh temiang
Schizostachyum brachycladum	6.121; n. 112	"buluh telang"
Schleichera oleosa	5.7; 6.122	kusambi
Schoutenia ovata	5.5; 6.123	walikukun
Sechium edule	3.3.6	labu siam
Sesamum orientale	5.9.4; 6.124	bijan
Setaria adhaerens	6.125 (a)	
Setaria italica	5.8.8; 6.125; n. 108	sekoi, jawawut
Setaria palmifolia	6.126	lintabung
Shorea	n. 114	
Shuteria vestita	5.7	
Sida (acuta)	5.6; n. 21	sidaguri
Smilax	6.127	akar banar
Solanum	n. 45	
Solanum melongena	4.16; 6.128	terung
Solanum nigrum	6.129	daun ranti
Sorghum saccharatum	4.17; 6.125 (c); n. 3	gandrung
Spilanthes iabadicensis	2.2.3(b); 2.5	getang
Spondias malayana	5.10.3; 6.130	kedondong hutan
Sterculia alata	6.115	
Sterculia foetida	3.6; 6.131; n. 115	kelumpang
Sterculia oblongata	6.132	
Syzygium (Eugenia)	5.8.5	
Syzygium aromaticum	n. 79	cengkih
Syzygium cumini	n. 42	jamblang
Tabernaemontana	5.6	
Tacca (campanulata)	6.48	sj. likir
Tamarindus indica	6.133	asam jawa
Terminalia catappa	5.8.5; 6.134	ketapang
Terminalia cf. copelandii	5.8.5	
Terminalia zollingeri	5.8.5	

<i>Tetracera scandens</i>	5.5; 6.60	akar empelas
<i>Tetrastigma papillosum</i>	5.7	
<i>Themeda (villosa)</i>	6.89, 6.135	sj. riang-riang baru laut
<i>Thespesia populnea</i>	5.8.5	
<i>Thevetia peruviana</i>	3.3.7	
Thymelaeaceae	5.2	
<i>Thysolaena maxima</i>	6.89	
Tiliaceae	6.65 ^B	
<i>Timonius timon</i>	6.136	
<i>Tithonia diversifolia</i>	3.2.2	
<i>Toddalia asiatica</i>	5.7	akar kucing
<i>Toona ciliaris</i>	5.8.2; 6.137	surian
<i>Trema orientalis</i>	5.7; 6.138	mengkirai
<i>Trichospermum</i>	6.65	
<i>Triumfetta (suffruticosa)</i>	5.8.7; 6.139; n. 117	pulut-pulut
<i>Uncaria lanosa</i>	3.4; 5.3; n. 21 ^b	akar kait-kait
<i>Urena lobata</i>	5.8.7; 6.139; n. 117	pulut-pulut
<i>Usnea</i>	5.6	tahi angin
<i>Uvaria</i>	6.140	akar pisang-pisang
<i>Vaccinium</i>	6.141; n. 118	
<i>Vanda</i>	5.6	
<i>Vitex pubescens</i>	6.142	leban bunga
<i>Vitex trifolia (var. littorea)</i>	5.7.2	lagundi
<i>Voacanga</i>	5.6	rango-rango
<i>Wedelia</i>	6.143	seruni
<i>Wendlandia</i>	5.7; 6.144	
<i>Wikstroemia androsaemifolia</i>	5.2	
<i>Wrightia</i>	6.145	sj. mentaus
<i>Xylaria</i>	5.6	
<i>Xylocarpus granatum</i>	5.8.2	
<i>Xylocarpus moluccensis</i>	5.8.2	
<i>Zea mays</i>	4.18; n. 76 ^b	jagung
<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	6.146	halia

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 Austronesian 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, ESumba, 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, Slr)
 - Halm Halmahera, Moluccas
 - Ilok, Il Iloko (Ilocano), NLuzón
 - IN Original Indonesian in the sense of Dempwolff
 - Ind Indonesian
 - J, Jv Java
 - Jkt Jakarta
 - Kmb Kampera, ESumba, NTT
 - Kmd Komodo, isl. between Bm and Flores
 - Kr Karera, ESumba
 - M Manggarai proper
 - MA 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 Mongondou, 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 Pampang, 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 NTB
 - Sd Sunda, WJava
 - Si Sika, CFlores
 - Skt Sanskrit
 - Slr Solorese or Lamaholot language(s)
 - Ssk Sasak, language in Lombok, NTB
 - Sul Sulawesi = Celebes
 - Sw isl. Sawu in NTT

T, Tag	Tagalog, Luzón
Tern	Ternate, isl. w. of Halmahera; non-AN
Tont, Ttb	Tontemboan, Minahasa
Tt	Tetum language of the Bélu in CTimor
W., w.	West, west
WF	Western Flores languages (MA + NgL)
Zamb	Zamboan(g)ga, SWMindanao, Phil.

2. Unabbreviated names

Aceh	NSumatra
Adonara	isl. e. of Flores
Alas	NSumatra
Alor	isl. n. of Timor; mostly non-AN languages
Amahai	WSeram
Amberbaken	ENew Guinea
Amblau	isl. s. of Buru
Aru	isl. in the south-east Moluccas
Atamano	SSeram
Bágio (Baguio)	CWLuzon
Balikpapan	NEKalimantan
Banda	isl. in the Moluccas
Banjarmasin	SEKalimantan
Baré'é	CSulawesi
Belitung	isl. south-east of Sumatra
Bontok (Bontoc)	NLuzón
Borneo	see Kalimantan
Brunei	NBorneo
Bunaq	non-AN language in CTimor
Buol	NSulawesi
Buru	isl. in the Moluccas
Butung (Buton)	isl. south-east of Sulawesi
Ceram	= Seran, Seram
Dairi	WSumatra
Dawan	people and language in WTimor
Dayak (Daya, Dyak)	group of peoples and languages in Kalimantan
Dusun	CWKalimantan
Enggano	isl. south-east of Sumatra
Fiji	isl. in Oceania
Fordata	isl. n. of Yamdena
Formosan	AN languages in ETaiwan
Futuna	language in CPolynesia
Galela	NHalmahera in the Moluccas; non-AN
Gayo	NWSumatra
Geelvink Bay	= Sarera Bay
Goram	isl. south-east of Seram
Gorontalo	NWSulawesi
Guam	isl. in Micronesia
Gunantuna	New Britain
Habam	language in NIrian Barat
Haruku	isl. e. of Ambon
Hawaii	isl. in Polynesia
Hila	NAmbon
?Holtekang	New Guinea
Iban	Serawak, NBorneo
Ibanag	NLuzón
Ifugao	NLuzón
Igorot	NLuzón
Iligan	Panay, Phil.
Kai	isl. in the SMoluccas
Kalimantan	= Indonesian Borneo
Kangean	isl. north-east of Java
Karo	NWSumatra
Kayan	CEKalimantan
Kayeli	Buru, Moluccas
Kedayan	Brunei, Borneo
Keo	SFlores, NTT
?Kwesten	New Guinea
Kolo	Bm dialect and people
Kubu	Sumatra
Kupang	WTimor, NTT
Kutai	CEKalimantan
Lamaholot	= Solorese

Lamekot	New Ireland
Lampung	SSumatra
Lio	CFlores, NTT
Lo(lo)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
Masarete	language in Buru
Minahasa	Outermost north-east arm of Sulawesi
Mori	CSulawesi
Muna	isl. south-east of Sulawesi
Mundé	NNagé dialect
Nagé	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
Pagu	NHalmahera; non-AN
Pala	New Ireland
Palembang	SESumatra
Palu	CWSulawesi
Palué (Paluqé)	isl. n. of Flores
Pamplona	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 Malaya
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
Saparete	Buru
Saparua	isl. e. of Ambon
Sarera (Teluk)	= Geelvink Baai
Seram, Seran	isl. in the Moluccas
Serawak	NBorneo
Siau	isl. n. of NESulawesi
Simalur	isl. w. of NSumatra
Simelungun	NSumatra
Sko	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	NNgadha
Tanimbar Is.	SMoluccas
Tapanuli	WSumatra
Téde-Mudé	NNage dialect
Tidore	isl. w. of CHalmahera; non-AN language
Tidung	NEBorneo
Toba	NSumatra
Tobelo	NHalmahera; non-AN
Tomini	CCelebes
To(u)mpakewa	Minahasa, NECelebes
Tonsawang	Minahasa
Tonsea	Minahasa
Toulour	NECelebes

?Wambie in ?Holtekang
Waraka
Watubela
Weda
Wetar
Wondama
Yamdana
Zambales (Sambal)

New Guinea
Seram
isl. w. of Seram
SHalmahera
isl. n. of ETimor
Nirian near the Sarera Bay; Papua language
main isl. of the Tanimbar Is.
NWLuzón

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