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David D. Thomas
SIL-UND

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PRELIMINARY PROTO-KHA MORPHEME LIST

David Thomas

This is a very tentative and preliminary attempt at compiling a list of probable lexical items of proto-Indochina-mountain-tribes (proto-Kha?) (proto-Khmeric?). This is only a vocabulary list, not a set of reconstructions, so the form in which the morphemes are presented should be regarded only as a quick guess at a possible form.

This compilation is drawn from word lists in Sre, Rengaw, Mnong Gar, Bahnar, and Sedang collected by R. S. Pittman, from word lists in Kha La-ven and Kha Alak collected by E. Asai, from J. Dournes' Koho Lexique, and from P. Dourisboure's Bahnar Dictionnaire. The last two are in semi-phonemicized form, the others are raw phonetic data.

The "rule of three" was followed in compiling this list, i.e., when any three languages showed plausible similar forms with the same or similar meaning it was taken to be evidence of a proto-morpheme. However, it very soon became evident that the eight languages represented three distinct subgroups — Sre-Koho-Mnong Gar, Bahnar-Rengao-Sedang, and Laven-Alak (abbreviated S, K, M; B, R, Sd; L, A). So the number of subgroups in which probable cognates of a morpheme appeared was taken as a means of further checking the genuineness of an assumed proto-morpheme.

Cambodian is not on this list because of the unavailability of a Romanized Cambodian list, but it is hoped that this important gap in the information will soon be filled. Vietnamese, though considered by some to be a Mon-Khmer language, was not considered in the weighing of the evidence because of its disputed status. Because of the culturally dominant position of Vietnamese in much of this area it was decided to remove from the list of proto-morphemes any item, no matter how well attested, which

showed possible resemblances to Vietnamese. These suspect items are appended following the list of assumed genuine items.

Attested in 3 subgroups

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Reconstructed Forms</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
ashes	*brux	SMRIA	buh, blo:, bruk', pu:x
bark of tree	*kdox	SBRA	k ^h mho, k ^h doh, kdoh, krox
bite	*kap	SKMBRIA	kap, kăp
blood	*mham	SKMBRIA ^{s'}	mham, mhaam, maham, pham, p ^h ho:m, p ^h heap, pö:m, püngha:m
burn	*cuh	SKMBRIA	chu, tyu, soh, tyoh, čoh
earth, ground	*tanex	MBRSdAL	toh, don, to:n, tane:, patex, tanex
egg	*tap	SKMBRSdA	tap, k ^h tăp, ta?, kntap'
feather	*snok	SMBRA ^k	s ^h andò, tónoo, nok, sők, sok, sesok'
fire	*An	MBRIA	? ^h ñ, unh, ?on, u:n
five	*purdam	SKMBRA	prăm, pram, p ^h dam, p ^h de:m, purdam
fly	*apar	SKMBRIA	par, pār, apār, apar,
good	*liam	SKBRA	niam, liēm, lem, ilem
husband	*b ^h klau	SKBLA	bauklau, b ^h klau, klo, kro:, krau
left (side)	*ngia:u	SKMBSdL ^R	kiau, ki ^h u, ngieo, ?ew, h ^h ?ea?, hijao
lie down	*bic	SKMBA	bic, bity, bit, bich, pit'
liver	*klam	SKMBRSdIA	klam, klööm, tlam, kle:m, klo:m
long	*jrong	SKMBA	jong, joong, k ^h ju:ng, čiro:ng
night	*mang	SKMBRL	măng, maang, mang, k ^h aman, mong
one	*mo:in	MBRIA	mui, monh, moi?, mo:e, mo:i
right side	*ma:	SKMBRL	ma, ma:,

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Reconstructed Forms</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
river	*krong	KMBRSdL	dʌʌng, (k)rong, krong, kro:, k rua?, (k)nom
road	*turong	MBRSdL	trong, tro:ng, tro?, turwong
sand	*praoc	SKBLA	bràs, plao, pha:č
rope	*krse:	SKMRIA	che, rʌsay, ksi:, kaseh, karsai
seven	*poh	KBLA	poh, tʌpoh, pox, tumpox
short	*liah	SKMBL	liah, dieh, kʌdeh, lia?
six	*tʌpraw	KBLA	prau, tʌdrou, trau, tra:u
smoke	*nyuy	SKMBRIA	ñhũ, nyhu, nuei, nhui, ñuy, nuoi, jui
spit	*kacoh	SKMBRIA	choh, rʌsoh, gʌsoh, kʌtyoh, kačok
split	*kablax	SKBRL	blah, pah, kapöx
squeeze	*pet	SMBL	pat, pet, pat'
stand	*dʌk	MBL	dʌk, dik, dug'
stone	*tʌmo:	MBRSdLA	mow, tʌmo:, mu:, hmo?, tamo:, tmo:
tail	*tiang	SKMBRSdA	tiǎng, tiang, tiang, tieng, te:ng, ting, te:ng
ten	*jʌd	KBLA	jʌt, jit, čit'
tongue	*lʌmpyat	SKMBRIA	lʌmpiat, mpiat, pyet, lʌpiet, rʌpet, pijak, mpe:t
trunk (of tree)	*sʌm	KBRSdA	tʌʌm, tʌm, sem, to:m
two	*bar	SKMBRIA	bar, par, bo:r, ba:r
vomit	*hak	SKMBRA	hǎ, ha?, hok, hat, ha:k, eha?
warm	*do?	SKMBRIA	duh, doh, tǒ, to:?, tu?, ito?
water	*dak	SKMBRSdLA	dà, daa, da:k, dak, ta:k, tia:,
wet	*hʌjuh	SKMBRIA	suh, suuh, susuh, hʌjuih, hʌjoh, hjuo?, hajuohut
wing	*pnar	SKMBRSdL	nar, dar, ddar, pʌnar, mʌnar, pʌna?, panar
wipe	*jut	SKMBRSdL	jùt, juut, jut, sut, tsut, ju:t

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Reconstructed Forms</u>	<u>Attested in two subgroups</u>	
		<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
belly	*kla:k	BIA	klak, kla:k'
big	*tomih	BIA(K)	(ndii), tih, tix, tomix
black	*juu	SKB	jù, juu, jũ
blow	*kho:m	KSML	khoun, khôm, hom, klo:m
breathe	*ncuingham	BRSDAL	dui j ^h ngam, tuit ^h he:m, ndoihyem, čahüm, čünghüm
cloud	*mhwal	SKB	mhwäl, mhoal, hamal
cold	*tangiat	KBRA	noat, tangiet, tangat, tkat'
cut	*koh	KBR	koh
dig	*tsir	MBR	sir, tyer, tsir
dry	*prang	SKMB	rañ, prang, rayn, prǎng
ear	*tor	SKMA	tôr, tour, tor, nto:
fall	*kleh	BRSDL	klih, kle, klex
	*ruuh	KSB	duuh, duh, ruh
fat	*rama	KBRSD	lama?, ramà, rama?, rama:
far	*cngai	SKBR	ngài, ngae, sangai, h ^h ?ngay
fight	*tamlah	SKMBR	tomlah, tamlah, tamlah, blah, t ^h blah, t ^h prah
float	*padong	SKMBR	pardong, paddung, dongg, dǒng, lǒng, plong
flower	*bakaw	SKMB	bakao, ngkaw, kaw
grass	*nyat	SKBRSD	ñh ^h t, nyh ^h t, nh ^h t, ñat, nat
give	*?am	BRIA	ǎn, ?am, am
heart	*nuis	SKMB	nus, no:, nuh
hit	*t ^h oh	BRL	to:n, toh, ty ^h o:
I	*any	SKMB	ǎñ, any, ayñ, inh
hold	*harang	KBRSD	ddang, rang, harang, rang
in	*tam	SKMB	tom, tam, tam, t ^h

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Reconstructed Forms</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
lake	*t _Λ naw	KSBRsD	t _Λ nau, d _Λ nau, t _Λ naw, tanaw
mouth	*b _Λ r	SKMBR	b _Λ r, baryue:, p _Λ r
not	*hoh	SKBR	ò, ho, uh, ?oh
old	*kra	SKB	kra, kraa
right, correct	*tro:?	BRL	tr ^o , tro?, tro:
road	*glu:ng	SKB	gung, guung, glung
rotten	*?om	SKMBRSd	ô ^Λ m, oum, ?om, ô ^Λ m, ?om?
salt	*?boh	SKMBRSd	boh, mboh, po:
say	*lah	KMB	lah, ra
scratch	*kiat	SKBR	rkiat, j _Λ kiat, kach, kay?
sea	*t _Λ si	MBRSd	kasi?, d _Λ si, t _Λ si, t _Λ si:
seed	*nggar	KSMB	gar, nggar, ger
sew	*jing	SKMLA	jing, ji:n
sit	*t _Λ ?we	BRA	t _Λ ?we, t _Λ ?wi, ta?o:i
skin	*ngkar	BRA	akar, kar, ngkar
sleep	*cubic	SKMA	bic, b _Λ ity, cubit
sleet, hail	*plel	KMBRSd	piar, plir, prel, ple:?
smell	*?b _Λ u	SKMBR	bo, bbou, bao, bo:, m _Λ o
smooth	*h _Λ ntiel	KBR	ntiar, h _Λ tiel, tyel
snake	*b _Λ s	SKMBRSd	b _Λ s, beh, bih, p _Λ yh, peh
star	*s _Λ long	BRsD _Λ L	s _Λ ngl ^o ng, h _Λ long, hngo?, hdeng, plong
straight	*t _Λ rpaa?	KBR	d _Λ rpaa, t _Λ pat,
thick	*h _Λ ?bol	BRL	h _Λ ?b _Λ l, h _Λ b _Λ l, kabol
tree	*long	BRsD _Λ LA	long, lo:ng, lua?,
wide	*r _Λ h _Λ y	MBR	ray, r _Λ h _Λ y, r _Λ hoy

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Reconstructed Forms</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
wind	*cal	SKMB	cal, caal, tyal, kyal
where	*ntih	SKMLA	nting, tok, tüh, ntex
yellow	*r/mit	SKMLA	rmit, r^mit, ram^t, hme:t, rak

Attested in one subgroup only

The following list has limited value or validity, but it is included because it still falls within the 'rule of three'. The fact of an item's occurrence in only one area is sufficient to make it highly suspect of being a more recent addition to the language. Then the LA group does not appear in this list because only two word lists were available. The BRSD group has fewer entries than should be, because the Sedang list is only half the length of the others. The SKM entries are of dubious validity because Sre and Koho are so close as to be nearly the same language, so their testimony does not carry the same weight as two more differentiated languages would have.

belly	*ntul	SKM	kandul, ndul, ntola^l
big	*dang	SKM	dang, d^ang, ding
count	*kap	SKM	kòp, k^ap, kap
flow	*hor	SKM	hor
	*ro	BRSD	ro:, tiaro?
flower	*rang	BRSD	arang, rang, ria?
head	*bok	SKM	bô, bou, bok
	*kal	BRSD	kal, gal, ko:
heavy	*kanjak	SKM	kãñj^, kanja^, jak
if	*dilah	SKM	dilah,
intestines	*proac	SKM	proac, proc, proit
	*klak	BRSD	kla:k, klak, klich:
know	*git	SKM	git

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Reconstructed Forms</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
many	*?uʌk	SKM	oă, oa?, ?ʌk
meat	*poac	SKM	poac, poʌty
near	*rep	SKM	rip, rep
sand	*cuʔai	BRSd	chuʌh, tyuʔih, tyehwa:
sea	*ling	SKM	ling, liing
star	*somanʔ	SKM	sʌmañ, sʌmany, mayñ
suck	*po:	SKM	pô, pou?, po:
tooth	*sik *sʌning	SKM BRSd	sî, sii, sik saning, hneng, hne?
with	*bal	SKM	bal

Possible Borrowings from Vietnamese

The items in the following list were collected in the same way as those in the morpheme list above, i.e. following the 'rule of 3' and comparing these with regard to the language subgroupings. The proto-form was then guessed at. However, if the proto-form or any of the actual language forms showed similarities to Vietnamese it was decided to remove such from the main list and consider them suspect as possible borrowings from Vietnamese. But let it be remembered that the items herein contained are all drawn from the Swadesh 200 Basic Words list, and as such would have the least likelihood of being borrowed of any segment of the language. And let it also be considered that Vietnamese influence in these mountain areas has been rather small, and in the Laven-Alak area practically nil.

bird	*cim	chim	SKMBRSdLA	sim, siim, sem, tyim, ʔe:m
bone	*nti:ng	xuống	SKMBRSdLA	nting, ntiing, kasieng, kʌti:n, kʌseng, ting, katũng, kteng
cut	*cat	cát	SMBL	siat, siet, chet, ʔiat'

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Recon. Forms</u>	<u>Viet- namese</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
day	*tanhai	ngày	SKRL	ngai, tangai, tanghi:, tngai
dog	*so:	chó	SKMLA	so, sao, tyo, ǎo:
drink	*hu?	húp	SKBRLA	huc, huch, ʔoʔ, ok', jok
die, kill	*takcet	chết	SKMBLA	chʌt, khʌt, tʌchit, kɛ:t, si:t
eat	*sa:	xòì	SKMBLA	sa, sao, sa:, ǎa:
eight	*tʌhaam	tám	KBLA	phaam, tʌhngam, tʌtm, tungha:m
eye	*mat	mắt	SKMBRSdLA	mat, mat'
father	*bap	ba	SKMBRLA	bep, beep, baap, bap, bǎ, pa:ʔ, bo:p, bu:p
fish	*ka	cá	SKMBRSdLA	ka, ka:, kha:
four	*puan	bốn	SKMBRLA	poan, puan, puʌn, puon, pho:n, powan, po:n
hair	*sok	tóc	SKMBRSdLA	sǒ, soʔ, sak, sok, sʌk, sok'
hand	*ti:	tay	SKMBRLA	ti, tʌy, tai, ʔtei
leaf	*hla?	lá	SKMBRSdLA	nha, ha, hla, la, la:ʔ, la:, laʔ
louse	*cai	chì	SKMBRSdLA	sai, si:, si, ti:, tyay, ǎai
mother	*me:ʔ	mẹ	SKMBRLA	me, mee, may, mǎ, miʔ, mü:ʔ, me:ʔ
narrow	*hrat/p	hẹp	KMBRL	hat, harat, ro:p, hrap
neck	*ngko:	cổ	SKMBRA	nko, ngko, kao, ako, tʌkʌy, ngo:
nine	*kʌsin	chín	KBLA	sin, tʌsin, ǎi:n, tonǎi:n
nose	*muh	mũi	SKMBRLA	muh, moh, mux
rain	*mia	mưa	SKMBRSdL	miu, miiu, mih, mi, me:, maiʔ, mùa
root	*hrʌyas	rê ²	SKMBRSdLA	ryas, rias, riah, riʌh, rʌh, rih, are:, hariai, hrex
person	*pano:ʌ	người	KMBRLA	kʌnau, noh, bangai, mʌnui, panu:i, prna:i
rub	*cut	chùi	KMBRSdL	thot, thaw, ot, sut, ǎu:t

<u>Lexical Items</u>	<u>Tentative Recon. Forms</u>	<u>Vietnamese</u>	<u>Source Languages</u>	<u>Sets of Correspondences</u>
straight, thin	*tong	thăng	SKMBRL	sống, song, tong, hắttăng, rắttang, cồng
three	*pei	ba	SKMBRLA	pe, pay, peng, pi:, pa:, pai
throw	*krʌm	liêng	SKBL	cʌm, klʌm, kram
wash	*rao	rũa	SKMBRL	rao, araw, ruh, ruk
what	*ncia	gi, chi	SKMBRL	nchi, nih, kʌne?, kia, hanju:a
white	*bok	bach	SKMBLA	bồ, boo, bok, bak, nbo:k, boak'
dust	*mruih	bui	MBR	nreh, bruih, mruih
few	*sit	ít	SKMB	it, ?et, tʌxiet
foot	*jang	chấn	SKMBRSd	jang, tye:ng, djieh
fruit	*plai	blái (old VN)	SKMBRSd	plai, ploe:, pley, pli:, play
new	*tʌmhai	mới	KMLA	tʌme, mʌhay, mai, tamai
see	*go?	ngó	SKB	gổ, go?, gồ
sharp	*soc	sắt	SKMB	sôt, sout, siek
sky	*ple?n	blỏi (old VN)	BRSDl	plenh, pling, ple?n, krom
swim	*karey	lội	SKMBR	re, are, ray, glʌy, klʌy
tie	*kʌt	cột	SKMBR	kʌt, kat
turn	*weh	quẹo, ngẹo	MBRSd	weh, ueh, ve:
year	*nam	năm	SKMBR	nam, sanʌm, hʌnam
sit	*nggui?	ngồi	SKM	nggui, go?
sky	*trok	trời	SKM	trồ, truu, trok
tree	*ci	cây	SKM	chi, si:?
wife	*?u:r	u ('wet nurse')	SKM	ur, uur, ?u?ur