Brao-Krung phonology

Charles E. KELLER SIL International

1. Introduction

This study is based on the Brao speech variety known as Krung spoken in the province of Ratanakiri in northeastern Cambodia. Members of this speech group sometimes refer to themselves as Krung-Brao or Brao-Krung. Three prominent varieties of Brao within Cambodia are Krung itself, Kavet (sometimes written Kravet), and a type often simply called Brao, which is spoken in most villages of Taveng District in Ratanakiri. The generic form Brao thus designates several very closely related speech varieties.

Classified by Thomas and Headley (1970:399) as a member of the Western Bahnaric group of Mon-Khmer, Brao was first documented under the ethnonym Kha Palau by Phraya Prachakij, a Thai administrator-scholar, during his travels to southern Laos and northeastern Cambodia between 1891 and 1893 (Phraya, 1919; 1995). Further identified with the Brao are the Lave, who live to the south and east of the Se Kong river where Attopeu Province in Southern Laos shares a border with Cambodia (Lebar, Hickey, and Musgrave, 1964; Matras and Ferlus, 1971). Again, more than one hundred years ago Phraya (1995:56) had located the Kha Rawe (i.e. Lave) in precisely the same locale as noted by modern researchers.

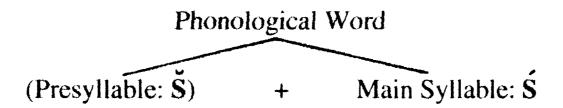
Krung, the dialect described here, is spoken in the region north, west and south of Ban Lung, the adminstrative and commercial center of Ratanakiri. Kavet speakers are found (see map in the Appendix) northwest of Ban Lung in Voeun Sai District of Ratanakiri and also in the northern part of Stung Treng Province which lies to the west of Ratanakiri. Both of these provinces border Laos on the north. The Brao of Taveng District have villages located along the Se San River which lies upstream and to the east of Voeun Sai District. Krung, Kavet and Brao of Taveng are mutually intelligible dialects.

MON-KHMER STUDIES 31:1-13

¹Earlier study of the language with Krung speakers living elsewhere has been followed by two years residence in the Krung speaking area of Ratanakiri Province. Special thanks for suggestions through the paper to David Thomas and Kenneth Gregerson.

2. Words and syllables

The phonological word in Krung exhibits the familiar Mon-Khmer sesquisyllabic (Matisoff, 1989) structure, in which a strongly stressed Main Syllable (§) is optionally preceded by a weakly stressed Presyllable (s++), that is:



2.1 Presyllables

Constructionally, the presyllable in Krung may be represented as:

That is, the presyllable is always initiated by a consonant onset (C), including glottal stop [?] and consonant clusters, followed by a short syllabic nucleus as rhyme, which can include V, VN, or syllabic reductions of V, VN or VR, as detailed below. The formula above generates the following types of Krung presyllables:

Open presyllables generally take the following form:

C v> (C ð		
?ənam	'gift'	?əreek	'carry (things) suspended
	•		from both ends of a pole'
?əpu?	'age'	bərəŋ	'cocoon'.
kətaar	'board'	dənaj	'river'
gəmoh	'length'	həraaw	'to howl, cry out'
j əni?	'sickness'	pədeh	'ground, land'
pə?ɨŋ	'to cause to stop'	təhi?	'bad, evil'
təkieŋ	'lamp'	wəwak	'to exchange'

A consonant onset /ç/ becomes syllabic [¢] except when followed by another identical consonant /c/ which is the initial of the main syllable, e.g. ççər [çəçər] 'to tremble', ççəəj [çəçəəj] in bak ççəəj çjiir 'to wear a long necklace', ççiir [çəçiir] '(chicken) to scratch the ground':

```
C v --> C
                                        'food stuffs'
ç?bieŋ
                                        'to be frayed'
ç?buj
ç?dah
                                        'to pull with a jerk'
ç?doo in ruəç ç?doo
                                        'big tuskless elephant'
çHəən
                                        'very thin (said of a person)'
ç?uəj
                                        'small type of mushroom'
```

çbah	'to be tired out'
çdaa tŋgaan-jroŋ	'to wash dishes'
çgaaw	'to know by acquaintance'
çgir	'drum'
çj ii r in <i>bak ççəəj çjiir</i>	'to wear a long necklace'
çkuup	'to turn (bowl shaped object) upside down'
çlaa	'leaf'
çleew	'to drift'
çlik	'thousand'
çmoon	'dusty faced'
çm ii dii	'to be equal to'
enooj in <i>kuu enooj</i>	'to be angry (said of a small person)'
çnəŋ	'long reed straw (for drinking from beer jar)'
çniw	'leftover things'
çn ii	'thing'
ę jii	'a type of fruit'
çpaak	'uninhabited beehive'
çpaan in nih taa çpaan	'not yet finished'
çpeek	'leather'
çpiŋ	'coil spring'
çpəəm	'to lack night vision'
çpin in ?ja? çpin	'to be proportionate in size'
çtər	'sound of walking on a wooden floor'
çtuk	'lake'
çtin in brii 2ja? çtin	'dense (of forest)'
çwien ?boo	'bamboo shavings'
çwiiw raaŋ	'to turn ones head and look'
çnəən in <i>muh mat çnəən</i>	'a certain facial type'

Nasally closed presyllables (N) with laryngeal and glottal onsets (H, ?) reduce to syllabic nasal syllables, while nasal final presyllables with all other consonant onsets vary between a syllabic nasal and a fuller short shwa-like vowel plus nasal coda, thus:

 $H\check{v}N \longrightarrow HN = NN$ (i.e., voiceless nasal + syllablic voiced nasal)

hmbaan 'cloth'
hmbook 'skin'
hmpiet 'tongue'
hmpuət 'to sell'
hndəəm 'new'

hŋkɔɔŋ 'type of ant (red, medium-sized)'

hŋkip 'sleep while sitting'

hnnaj dii 'as for'

hnnuuh in çlaa hnnuuh 'fallen leaves'

hntaak toon 'peanut'

hpcot 'to dry by dripping through strainer'

?vn	>	?N
-----	---	----

?1	nbraa	'two	peopl	le (used	for .	3rd	person ref	erence)'	
_	al a also		-							

?mbi? 'late afternoon'

?mpeek'to herd'?mpiep'example'?ŋ?aaŋ'infant'?nduu'shortly ago'

?ntoor '(a) top (for spinning)'

Intun'afterwards'Intook'turtle'Inça?'to regret'

?nçaaj 'fishing pole and line' '(waves) to break'

?pjow in dok ?pjow 'to walk about for pleasure'

CVN --> CN /CN

cnduu [çnduu]/[cənduu] 'mountain' cŋhieŋ [çnhieŋ]/[cənhieŋ] 'to listen'

kmbiek [kmbiek]/[kəmbiek] 'to carry on hip'

kn?duul [kn?duul]/[kən?duul] 'stupid'

pŋgap [pŋgap]/[pəŋgap] 'to order, to command'

pnhien [phhien]/[pənhien] 'to teach' pntron [pntron]/[pəntron] 'to straighten'

'to tear (trans.)'

rnçaal [rnçaal]/[rənçaal] 'rice storage basket'

Presyllables with an R coda all reduce to the syllabic [r], that is:

CVR --> CR

trçaak

?rjaac	'to look alike'	?rjaaw	'to run'
?rju?	'to be bent over'	?rliet	'castrated animal'
brbəw	'pumpkin'	crhəəw	'young unmarried man'
çrlaap	'wing'	çrŋuuk	'to snore'
drnok	'journey'	g rj ə əŋ	'shelf'
hrgij maam	'blacksmith'	hrjəəl	'echo'
hrmeet	'yellow'	krlip	'lid'
krp ii	'water buffalo'	j rle? j rluə?	'carelessly'
preon	'to hurry (intrans.)'	prdiiw	'to compare'
pr?dok	'inheritance'	prd i ŋ	'width'
prkeek	'to object'	prlaap	'to destroy'
prneeŋ	'(animals) to fight	p rj uu? puer	'food (cooked)'
	(using their horns)'		
prnak	'to try hard'	trnəəw	'to answer'

In terms of Thomas' 1992 sesquisyllabic structure typology, Krung appears, despite the phonetic predictability of some transitions, as noted above, fundamentally to constitute a type (ii) language, maintaining as it does contrast between vocalic

trtuuq tuuç

'brain'

presyllables (Co-L) in sesquisyllbic words vs. consonant clusters with liquids (CL) in monosyllabic forms, as shown below (see further 2.2.2):

Sesquisy	/llables	Monos	yllables
bəluu	'to play'	bluu	'thigh'
gəliim	'very black'	gliim	'to be cold'
kəlam	'dark'	klam	'to sink, hundred'
kəlaŋ	'large recipient to measure unhusked rice'	klaŋ	'spirit power'
kələŋ	'type of small bird'	kloŋ	'deep pool in river'
pəleep	'to flood'	plah	'to break'

In some cases these contrastive presyllable vs. initial cluster sets are lexically or grammatically motivated, e.g.:

kələə	'male'	kləə	'husband'
kəliih	'to drop'	kliih	'to fall'
gələh	'window opening'	gləh	'dðorway'

Though not as common as C+L contrasts, forms like the following with C+R also distinguish presyllables from clusters, e.g.:

çraaw [çraaw]	'the popping sound	çraaw [çraaw]	'crossbow'
çruk [çruk] in <i>trjaaw çruk hi? brii</i>	of fast burning forest' 'of running swiftly into the woods'	çruk [çruk]	'village')

It is probably worth noting that this limited set results from contrasts created with oppositions involving adverb-like ideophones (in the sesquisyllablic column).

2.2 Main syllables

2.2.1 Syllable patterns

Main syllables in sesquisyllable words as well as monosyllable forms in general take the following shape or some subset thereof:

C(L/N)V(C)

Consonants (C) of an unrestricted set (see Figure 1) occur in the onset of the Main Syllable and a restricted list of C co-occurs in clusters with an optional liquid or nasal (L/N), followed by a rhyme with a strongly stressed vocalic peak of syllabicity (V) and optionally closed by a restricted group (see Figure 2) of final consonants (C).²

²Word final consonant clusters occur rarely. Those that have been found have a glottal stop preceding or following another consonant and often involve ideophone forms:

[/]w?/ kraaw? 'sound of chewing and crunching small bones', kroow? 'sound of chewing and crunching large bones', ?daaw? 'again'

Main Syllables in Krung are thus of the following types:

CV: Initial consonants of Figure 1 co-occur in open syllables with long vocalics, i.e. long vowels or diphthongs (see Figure 3 Vowels): laa 'to request, which, who', hoo third person singular pronoun, too 'to extend', tii 'hand', wii 'a space of time, an amount of space', nio 'bait', luo 'a shovel', dok rie 'to move quickly (said of small thing)', çie 'sloping low roof over doorway and porch', ?oo 'small bowl for drinking & bathing'

CVC: Initial consonants co-occur in closed syllables with vocalics, i.e. short or long vowels or diphthongs, which are followed by a consonant from the set of syllable final consonants: con 'to eat rice', quuh 'to pierce', dok 'to walk', taj 'to see', duuk 'boat', miir 'planting field', puər tit 'cooked sticky rice', ruət 'to buy', çiij 'to sit back in a relaxed manner', wien 'wall (of city, etc.), fence', jip 'exceedingly, excessively'; juəj 'to help', ?un 'fire', wan khiəp 'type of large earthenware jar with small mouth'

CCV: Initial consonant clusters (see 2.2.2 Consonant Clusters) co-occur in open syllables with long vocalics, i.e. long vowels or diphthongs: kree 'sky', klii 'tiger', brii 'forest', droo 'two-string violin', çraa 'thin (said of a person)', kloo 'husband', ji? ?brie 'to have a stinging painful spot', bruu 'pheasant', proo 'very short rice plant sprout'

CCVC: Initial consonant clusters also co-occur in closed syllbles with vocalics, i.e. short or long vowels or diphthongs which are followed by a consonant from the set of final consonants: bluk 'tusk', jrul 'to butt', brəŋ 'box trap with dropping door (for mice and rats)', praj 'to make (someone) do (something)', kloom 'to blow (with ones mouth)', çruk 'village', brəəj 'immediately', brəh 'to sow', jrook 'to take shelter', cruəl 'chain, to have a convulsion', drəək wieŋ 'gate of fence or wall', gləŋ mat 'blind', grieç 'to make very short stroke marks', jraaw 'medicine'

2.2.2 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters consist of a stop or affricate followed by /l/ or /r/. It is to be noted that /lb/, /ld/, and /lj/ are by their patterning unit phonemes. The following clusters have been found initially in monosyllabic words:

/lbl/ ?bleen 'wall-eyed', ?bliow 'very smooth'

/bl/ blah 'between, a certain time', qun bləəŋ 'fire', blooc 'freed, to escape, be past, be gone' bluk 'tusk'

/gl/ gloth 'doorway', gliim 'to be cool', glaaw 'to sharpen'

/kl/ klii 'tiger', kloom 'to blow', klam 'to sink, hundred', kloo 'husband', klok 'to peck', kloom 'liver', kloh 'to crush with mortar and pestle'

[/]j?/ dɔɔj? 'to fall having had ones feet slip out in front of one', trɔɔj? in cɛɛm crip trɔɔj? 'birds to be perched at same height', hrkɔɔj? 'to be spread out evenly', jntiij? 'with chest thrust out (said of a small person), pɔɔ cuuj? hɔɔ 'his uncles

- plah 'break', play piir 'fruit & flowers', plooc 'to hop', plon 'to jump', dik ploot 'to jump up onto (porch, etc.), to come up into someone's house without being invited'
- duun ?brii 'to be extremely frightened', ?briin 'to be slightly illuminated', ?brook 'sound of object breaking from being bent', tarii ?bruən 'to break loose simultaneously from something that binds', ?broh 'breaking through'
- /Hjr/ Zjruu 'completely ripe (all the fruit on a tree or plant)', tih dəhuəw Zjruəŋ 'extremely big'
- /br/ brii 'forest', braaj 'thread', brəh 'to sow', braak 'peacock/ peahen'
- /çr/ çruk 'village', çruu puər 'steam rice', çrah 'pond', çrip rəqɛt 'quiet (not speaking)', çraa 'to be thin (said of a person)', çriŋ 'the sound of a sick person moaning', çraaw 'crossbow'
- /cr/ cruut 'to harvest', cruh 'to dive, jump', criiw 'to predict, suppose', crieŋ 'to sing', creew 'a woman's close woman friend'
- /dr/ dreh 'fast', drook wien 'gate of fence or wall', kuu droom 'to stay and wait'
- /gr/ grun goo 'fever & chills', gree 'bed', grieç 'to make short stroke marks'
- /kr/ kra? 'old', kree 'sky', kraan hnaam 'household', krik 'breast bone', kruək 'immediately', kriit 'too heavy to lift', krooj 'barking deer'
- Jruun 'high', jran 'post, piling', jru? 'deep', neet jriw 'to drink leftover beer on the morrow', jrien 'to be refracted into rainbow colors', lun-jriew cn? on 'flame reaches the rice steaming basket'
- /pr/ priit 'banana', praat 'morning', pral haral 'to be well (from illness/injury)', preen 'to look after (children)', niiç pruun '(many insects) to leave (from hole)'
- trii 'fish', troom 'hole', traaj 'to prune (a vine)', trac 'rear', troo 'true, correct', tree 'floor surface of split bamboo', trow 'six', truuŋ 'path, road', trii 'wife', trut 'to push'

3. Consonants

Krung has twenty-nine consonantal phonemes as charted in Figure 1.

	Labial	Dental- Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless unaspirated obstruents	p	t	С	k	?
Voiceless aspirated obstruents	ph	th	Ç	kh	h
Voiced obstruents	b	d	j	g	
Glottalized obstruents	?b	?d	7	?g	
Plain nasals	m	n	'n	ŋ	•
Preaspirated nasals	hm	hn		hŋ	
Trill		r			
Approximants	w	1	j		

Figure 1. Krung initial consonants

Fifteen of the consonants in Figure 1 also occur in word final position. These are shown in Figure 2.

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	c	k	?
Nasals	m	n	р	ŋ	
Continuants	Ì		ç		h
Approximants	W	l/r	j		

Figure 2. Krung final consonants

3.1 Description of consonants

- Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, with no audible release in syllable final position: puər 'cooked rice', hap 'receive', peen 'to gore', plaj 'fruit', puun çur 'pig fat'
- Voiceless unaspirated dental stop, with no audible release in syllable final position: təŋaa 'to ask', tit 'to stick' (to something), git 'from', pətuer 'star', kɛɛt 'to die'; it has an alveolar point of articulation in the cluster /tr/: trii 'fish'
- Voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate/stop; syllable initial, it is an affricate; in syllable final position, it is a stop with no audible release: caa 'to eat (food other than rice)', ceh 'unhusked rice', ci? trac tii 'to come back', phaac 'sand', juuc 'wrong', cəw 'grandchild', ceem kur 'dove'
- Voiceless unaspirated velar stop, with no audible release in syllable final position: kəət 'to be born, to happen'; dək 'walk', daak 'water', kləəm 'liver', kra? 'old', kuən 'child', kree 'sky', kiit 'frog'
- Voiceless unaspirated glottal stop having no audible release in syllable final position: 2am 'to give', 2uu? 'older brother', ja? 'grandparent', re? 'to go'
- /ph/ Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop, occurring only syllable initial: phee 'rice' (husked, uncooked), phaam 'blood', phoow 'soul', phuun juu 'relatives', phe? 'full (no longer hungry)'
- Voiceless aspirated dental stop, occurring only syllable initial: thun 'season', thaam 'eight', than 'strong', thoot 'fault, guilt', thoop 'to smell by sniffing (e.g. as a dog does)'
- Voiceless aspirated obstruent, varying from fricative to affricate and from palatal to alveolo-palatal in syllable initial position; it is a lenis unaspirated palatal fricative in syllable final position: çəəŋ 'five'; çruk 'village', çuəj 'tail', nɨiç 'to leave, to exit', ruəç 'elephant'
- /kh/ Voiceless aspirated velar stop, occurring only syllable initial: khin 'dare', dii khoon 'because', khaj 'moon', khier 'to burn (intrans., i.e. food)', khoo 'pants, slacks', khuuc 'broken'
- /h/ Voiceless laryngeal fricative: hap to receive', hit 'tobacco', coh 'to burn (trans.)', ceh boh 'to salt', pədeh 'ground, soil'
- Voiced unaspirated bilabial stop, occurring only syllable initial: but heart (non-physical), baar 'two', bənih 'human', bəbɛɛ 'goat', buər 'mouth', baak 'to put out food (for animals)', bat 'grass', bam 'to hold (something) in the open mouth', bəŋ 'to fall down', biŋ 'to be full (e.g. a container)', brəh 'unmarried young woman', buut 'maize'

- Voiced unaspirated dental stop, occurring only syllable initial: dok 'walk', dooç 'pointed', doq 'hot', pədaj 'to show', duər 'type of flute'; it has an alveolar point of articulation in the cluster /dr/: droo 'two-stringed violin', drook wien 'gate of fence or wall'
- Voiced unaspirated palatal affricate, occurring only syllable initial: jiŋ 'foot', jiŋ 'to sew', juut 'to wipe', jəjah 'to wash', jiʔ 'sick', jɛʔ 'what, which', jraaw 'medicine'
- Voiced unaspirated velar stop, occurring only syllable initial: gəgiet 'to itch', gook 'land', grun gəə 'fever & chills', çgaaw 'know by acquaintance', gliim 'to be cool', gaar 'to herd'
- Voiced preglottalized bilabial stop, occurring only syllable initial: tənəəm ?bəə 'bamboo tree', ?bəən 'place', ?bal je? 'how much, how many', ?bii 'to rain', ?baaw 'servant'
- Voiced preglottalized alveolar stop, occurring only syllable initial: ?duər 'before', ?dii 'some', ?dal 'to punch', ?duuŋ 'coconut tree', ?daaw? 'again'
- Voiced preglottalized palatal stop: Ziaa 'we' (exclusive), Zier 'chicken', Zia? 'good', Ziuuj ?un 'smoke'
- Voiced preglottalized velar stop, occurring only syllable initial: ?gaam 'sweet', ?gaam -?gaam ?guut -?guut 'dessert'
- Voiced bilabial nasal: maam 'iron', muəç 'mosquito', mo? 'older sister', muh 'nose', hnaam 'house', peem 'gizzard', trəəm 'hole', hndəəm 'new', reem 'to love'
- Voiced alveolar nasal: $n\varepsilon\varepsilon$ 'this, these, here'; naq 'still, yet, be at', $n\circ h$ 'to know (information), to know how', niw 'monkey', nig 'up at', naag 'Miss (term of address for young woman)', hgan 'sleep', hmbaan 'cloth', $m\circ n$ 'nephew/niece'
- Voiced palatal nasal: neet 'to drink', noon dii 'on account of', niw 'live', nun want', ?un 'fire'
- Voiced velar nasal: ŋɛh 'cooking pot', ŋaç 'to turn one's head', pntroŋ 'make straight', çrŋuuk 'to snore', raaŋ 'to look at'
- /hm/ Bilabial preaspirated nasal: hmeh 'toward', hmo? 'to be sickened by', hmooç 'ant'
- /hn/ Alveolar preaspirated nasal: *hnaam* 'house', *hnɔɔ* '3rd pers. sg. pron. (a variant of *hɔɔ*)'
- /hn/ Velar preaspirated nasal: hŋan 'to sleep' (no other monosyllabic examples found)
- Voiced alveolar trill: rien 'to say', ruəj 'fly', raaŋ 'to look at', baar 'two', çuər 'to write'
- /w/ Voiced labial-velar approximant: wiin 'to forget; wowak 'to exchange'; waaw 'to measure (liquids, rice, etc)', trow 'six'
- Voiced palatal approximant: jii 'we (dual, exclusive)', ja? 'grandparent', kuəj 'to carry on shoulder', taj 'to see'
- Voiced alveolar lateral: *luuk* 'to reach (into something)', *laap* 'spread', *loon* 'wood', *liij liij* 'always', *laak* 'to bloom', *leek* 'all', *pral* 'to be well after an illness or injury', *kn?duul* 'stupid', *jrŋil* 'stump'

4. Vowels

Brao Krung has nineteen vowel phonemes: eight short, eight long, and three long diphthongs. as shown in Figure 3.

		Front	Central	Back
High	Plain	i ii	i ii	u uu
_	Diphthong	iε	ci	นอ
Mid		33 3	9 99	0 00
Low		a	aa	o oo

Figure 3. Krung vowels

4.1 Description of vowels:

Short Vowels:

- High front unrounded vowel, varying between [i] and [i]: jih 'to ride', jit daak 'to draw water', bih 'snake', niw 'monkey', jin 'to sew', tih 'big', bic 'to have', phee tit 'cooked sticky rice', jəmiw 'raw'
- Mid front unrounded vowel: re? 'to go', bren 'fast', me? ja? 'ancestors', peh 'to pick', kəje? 'unripe', geh 'hard', del 'to taste with the tip of the tongue', ?blem ?blem 'watch a moving person from a hiding place', leh 'to untie', jel 'to cut (an object up to about 20 cms. across)', krjet pluuj 'plug of drinking gourd', jen 'to wear on the foot', kren 'to confine'
- Low non-back unrounded vowel: daŋ 'to look for', maŋ 'night', nak 'person', bat 'grass', -jəjar 'swamp', həbak 'rattan', par 'to fly', mat 'eye', caj 'louse', kap 'to bite', cah 'red', mah 'cotton', təpaj crla? 'brightly shining light', lan 'to be stuck (in something)'
- High central unfounded vowel: wir 'to stir, to be transformed', hi? 'at', jin 'foot, leg', kəjik 'heavy', gil daak 'a spring with a stream', katim 'to stub', nim 'delicious', krlip 'lid', ci? 'to return, come back', krik 'breast bone', çəgir 'a drum', jrnil 'stump', git 'from'
- Mid central unrounded vowel: bə? 'carry (a child) in a cloth on back or chest', ?mbi? hnəw 'this coming afternoon', pəh 'seven', brəh 'to sow', kədə? 'to sprain', kələ? 'self', pəcəç 'to complete, finish', trkəw 'knee', cəw 'grandchild', brnəw 'tomorrow', wəj 'INTERJ. (of protest)', prtəh 'to praise', hnəj ?əən 'a large number of...', cəgəw 'bear'
- High back rounded vowel varying between [u] and [v]: mut 'enter', tuc 'to pull out of (e.g. the ground)', tuh 'ash', buk 'rotten (wood)', jrul 'to butt', dum 'ripe', khəpun 'rice noodles with sauce and fresh vegetables', buŋ 'type of large basket', cur 'pig', buç 'to cook in water', mut 'to enter', cu? 'to put', duŋ 'long time'
- Mid back rounded vowel: do? 'hot', joŋ 'to stand', ?o? ?uət 'mist', doŋ 'to hear', mo? 'older sister', goh 'long', troŋ 'straight', kəjoh 'to spit'
- Low back rounded vowel: don 'neck', kədəh 'to break off', nəh 'to know', bəh 'salt', cən 'to eat rice', kəjə? 'corpse', bət 'to slaughter', dən 'soft'

Long Vowels:

- High front unrounded vowel: trii 'wife', wiih 'to leave', miik 'younger aunt', gliim 'cool', criin 'rainbow', çwiiw 'to turn head back and look'
- Mid front unrounded vowel: pee 'three', bəbee 'goat', kəlee 'egg', beel 'mat', heen 'to pour', neet 'to drink', çleew 'to drift', tree 'floor of thin split bamboo'
- Low non-back unrounded vowel: baar 'two', maang 'to speak', daak 'water', gaak 'to be pregnant', phaam 'blood', trpaan-jin 'sole of foot', raaç ?mbaaç 'possessions', krlaat 'slice(s)', kədaaw 'sugar cane', cənaaj 'far', kə?aaj 'watermelon'
- High central unrounded vowel: ?bii 'to rain', kəkriic 'to scratch', piim 'to cry', kadiiŋ 'bone', kuu ŋiip 'to not react', piir 'flower', hrmiiç 'rhinocerous', piiç 'to go out', priit 'banana', trŋiiw 'forehead', çiij 'to sit back in a relaxed way', wiin 'to forget', kəjiiw 'wind'
- Mid central unrounded vowel: bəə? 'father', kələə 'close friend', cəkəəl 'to pry up', bəəm 'to make', ?əən 'much', çəəŋ 'five', ?əh ləəp 'spouse's younger sibling', rəəç 'to choose', bəbəət 'to feel, touch', trnəəw 'to answer', ŋəəj 'to look up'
- High back rounded vowel: pəduu 'termite hill', cruut 'to harvest', yuuc 'wrong', buuh 'beer fermentation starter', duuc tii 'to wash hands', cuun 'long handled axe', huup 'picture', gənit gənuur 'to be valuable', prjuu? puər 'food', tuuç 'head', juuj 'a type of large deer', maam cuup 'magnet'
- Mid back rounded vowel: hook 'to be happy', plooc 'to hop', doom 'to urinate', təboot 'to deceive', booj cnduu 'mountain top', gənoop 'friend, associate', kədoop 'to cover'
- Low back rounded vowel: book 'field house', goo 'cold', kəmoo 'year', poo 'younger uncle', pojoo 'to hand (something to someone)', hrjool 'echo', troom 'hole', moon 'nephew, niece', loon 'wood', kodoo? 'to hide', teem goor 'kapok tree', rorooç 'to do blacksmithing', boow 'rolled up', çooj 'to follow'

Diphthongs:

- High front unrounded vowel, gliding to mid front vowel: təkieŋ 'lamp', hien 'to study', kmbiek 'to carry on hip', cənie 'tree slabs', dien 'candle', rieç 'root', Zier 'chicken', dədiet 'rice plants having little grain', krniew 'scythe'
- High central unrounded vowel, gliding to mid central unrounded vowel: khiəj 'customarily (do), (with negative) 'never (do)', phiə 'for', çiə 'to believe'
- High back rounded vowel, gliding to mid central unrounded vowel: cuər 'to write', cruəl 'chain, to have a convulsion', tuəŋ 'to suppose, predict', ruət 'to buy', tih dəhuəw 'big (viewed from the inside)', cuəj 'to plant fieldbrioedologues archivelse staughlei/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use.

REFERENCES

- Cooper, James and Nancy. 1966. "Halang phonemes." MKS 2:87-98.
- Lebar, Frank M., Hickey, Gerald C. and John K. Musgrave. 1964. Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia. New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press.
- Matisoff, James A. 1989. "The bulging syllable, or the mora the merrier: echo-vowel adverbialization in Lahu." In J.H.C.S. Davidson, ed. Southeast Asian Linguistics: Essays in Honour of Eugenie J.A. Henderson 163-97. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Matras, Jacqueline and Michel Ferlus. 1971. "Les langues austroasiatiques." *ASEMI* 2:55-93.
- Prachakij-korachakara, Phraya. 1919. Wa duay phaasaa taang taang nai sayaam pratheet [On Languages of Siam]. Bangkok: Sophonphiphatanakorn. See Some Languages of Siam by Phraya Prachakij-karacak. Translated and annotated by David Thomas and Sophna Srichampa. 1995. Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development. Mahidol University. Bangkok.
- Thomas, David, and Robert K. Headley Jr. 1970. "More on Mon-Khmer subgroupings." Lingua 25:398-418.
- Thomas, David. 1971. Chrau Grammar. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 7. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Thomas, David. 1992. "On sesquisyllabic Structure." MKS 21:206-210.

Received: 5 April 1999

P.O. Box 75 Chiang Mai 50000 THAILAND

Appendix 1. Map of Krung, Kavet and Brao (Taveng) areas in northeastern Cambodia

