

Yasuyuki Mitani  
The Center for Southeast Asian Studies  
Kyoto University, Japan

\* i \* u  
\* e \* ə \* o  
\* ε (~ i θ) \* ɔ  
\* ā . \* a

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta. <sup>5</sup>
'hand'	tiʔ <sup>-</sup>	tiʔ <sup>-</sup>	*ti	tī
'jungle'	priʔ <sup>-</sup>	priʔ <sup>-</sup>	*bri	brī
'you (sg.)'	miʔ <sup>-</sup>	miʔ <sup>-</sup>	*mi	mī
'head'	kiŋ <sup>-</sup>	ki:ŋ <sup>-</sup>	*kiŋ	kīŋ
'navel'	kəndiŋ <sup>-</sup>	-di:ŋ <sup>-</sup>	*-diŋ	kəŋ-dīŋ
'conceal(?)'	bit	...	(*-bit)	kəŋ-bit <sup>6</sup>
'year'	vwit <sup>-</sup>	vwit <sup>-</sup>	...	...

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'ripe, cooked'	s'in <sup>-</sup>	s'i:n <sup>-</sup>	*sin	s'īn shīn
'bird'	s'im <sup>-</sup>	s'i:m <sup>-</sup>	*sim	s'īm shīm
'nine'	tim <sup>-</sup>	ti:m <sup>-</sup>	*tim	t'īm
'old'	trim <sup>-</sup>	tri:m <sup>-</sup>	*prim	prīm
'sweep'	pis <sup>-</sup>	pi:s <sup>-</sup>	*pis	pīr

A short -i- also occurs in White Striped Riāng in a few examples such as the following:

'return'	vwiŋ <sup>`</sup>	vwiŋ <sup>`</sup>	(*viŋ)	vēŋ vīŋ
'iron'	hir <sup>-</sup>	hir <sup>-</sup>	*hir	hīr
'mushroom'	tis <sup>-</sup>	tis <sup>-</sup>	*tis	tīr, tī-er

It might be the reflex of a possible short proto-vowel P-R. \*i. However, long and short -i:-, -i- occur also in Ra-ang (i.e. Luce's Palaung of Panku)<sup>7</sup>, but there is no clear regularity in the correspondence with WR. -i:-, -i-.

(i)	WR.		Ra.
'nine'	ti:m <sup>-</sup>	:	ti:m
'ripe, cooked'	s'i:n <sup>-</sup>	:	si:n

(ii)			
'bird'	s'i:m <sup>-</sup>	:	sim <sup>-</sup>
'old'	tri:m <sup>-</sup>	:	ā-prim
'sweep'	pi:s <sup>-</sup>	:	ḡIh, ḡIχ

(iii)			
'mushroom'	tis <sup>-</sup>	:	ḡi:h, ḡi:χ

P-R. \*e has become -ε- in Riāng in all attested cases except before velars.

### Examples

(i)	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'fruit'	plε? <sup>-</sup>	plε? <sup>-</sup>	*ple	plē
'firewood'	k'ε? <sup>-</sup>	k'ε? <sup>-</sup>	*he	hē
'witch'	prε? <sup>`</sup>	prε? <sup>`</sup>	*bre	brē
'go out'	lε <sup>`</sup>	lε <sup>`</sup>	*leh	lē
'bear' (n.)	kres <sup>-</sup>	kres <sup>-</sup>	*kres	k'rēr
'lay out'	pel	...	*pel	pēr ('mat')

(ii)	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'pig'	lek`	lek`	*lek	lě
'sky'	plen̄	plen̄	*plen̄	plēng
'road'	rəŋden	...	*(rə) den	(ra-)dēng

P-R. \*e > BR. -ε- is attested also by Tai loanwords, such as 'ghost'  
BR. p'et < Shan p'et̄.

Contrastively, P-R. \*ε before -ʔ<sup>8</sup> has become -e- in Riāng.

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'earth'	kǎteʔ̄	kǎteʔ̄	*kəte	ka-tē
'new'	tənmeʔ̄	tənmeʔ̄	*-mε	kan-mē
'you (pl.)'	peʔ̄	peʔ̄	*pε	pē <sup>9</sup>
'take'	leʔ̄	...	(*lε)	lē

P-R. \*ε before other consonants has become -iə-, transcribed in various ways in the original data, in both Riāng and Palaung, and thus it might be better to reconstruct \*iə for both Proto-Palaung-Riāng and Proto-Palaung. For this problem, see my previous article, p. 202.

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'wing'	piən̄	piən̄	*piən(<*pɛŋ)	pyāng
'ginger'	kǎs'ien̄	kǎs'ian̄	*siən(<*sɛŋ)	s'i-āng, s'i-ōng
'drink'	tiən̄	...	*tiən(<*tɛŋ)	te-āng tyāng
'withér'	vwiet	...	(*hviət(<*hvet))	fi-āt
'month'	kier̄	kier̄	*kiər(<*kɛr)	kyār
'root'	ries`	rias`	*riəs(<*rɛs)	ri-ār

Similarly, I reconstruct P-R. \*ʔiən < \*ʔɛŋ < \*ʔiər < \*ʔɛr for the following examples on the basis of the Proto-Palaung forms and the tone in Riāng.

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'dung'	yaŋ̄	yaŋ̄	*ʔiən(<*ʔɛŋ)	i-āng
'chicken'	yər̄	yər̄	*ʔiər(<*ʔɛr)	i-ār

However, P-R. (\*piəm <) \*pyam should be reconstructed for the following example for the morphological reason:<sup>10</sup>

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'kill'	piəm̄	pyam̄	(*piəm(<*pyam))	pyām

## 2. Back vowels

The correspondences of the back vowels are more or less similar to those of the front vowels.

P-R. \*u in most cases did not change in either Rieng or (Proto-) Palaung, though it has been diphthongized in some cases in Palaung.

### Examples

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'towards'	tsu	...	*ɰu	jū
'sick'	s'uʔ <sup>-</sup>	s'uʔ <sup>-</sup>	*su	s'ū
'curry'	s'ətuʔ <sup>-</sup>	s'ɰtuʔ <sup>-</sup>	*tu	tū
'village'	pruʔ <sup>-</sup>	pruʔ <sup>-</sup>	*ru	rū
'hair'	huk <sup>-</sup>	huk <sup>-</sup>	*huk	hu
'rain'	tsuŋ <sup>-</sup>	tjuŋ <sup>-</sup>	(*ɰuŋ)	jūŋ
'deaf'	lut <sup>-</sup>	ly:t <sup>-</sup>	*hlut	hlu (cf. Ra.lut)
'quail'	rəkut <sup>-</sup>	rəku:t <sup>-</sup>	(*-gut)	Ra. əguʔ
'urine'	num	num <sup>-</sup>	*hnum	hnūm (v.)
'bathe'	hum <sup>-</sup>	hu:m <sup>-</sup>	*hum	hūm
'wind'	kur <sup>-</sup>	kur <sup>-</sup>	*kur	k'ūr
'skin'	hur <sup>-</sup>	hu:r <sup>-</sup>	*hur	hūr
'seven'	(tə) pul <sup>-</sup>	təpul <sup>-</sup>	*pul	pūr
'foam'	bus <sup>-</sup>	bus <sup>-</sup>	*bus	būr
'take off'	puic/puc/	...	*puc	pū-ət

As can be seen in the above examples, White Striped Rieng has a long/short contrast -u:- vs. -u- which might be the reflex of an original contrast \*u: vs. \*u (cf. \*i). Another possibility of an original short \*u could be seen in the following example, however, where Rieng -u- corresponds to a Proto-Palaung short \*ə.<sup>11</sup>

'fishing net'	rup	...	*-rəp	ra-rap -röp
---------------	-----	-----	-------	-------------

However, a more convincing evidence is lacking in either case to reconstruct a short \*u.

P-R. \*-uñ shows a different correspondence as in the following:

'ant'	priñ <sup>-</sup>	pruiñ <sup>-</sup>	*bruñ	brīŋ (cf. Ra.brun)
-------	-------------------	--------------------	-------	--------------------

P-R. \*o seems to have been stable even before -ʔ in Rieng, though it has changed in various ways in the Palaung dialects other than Ta-ang. It is not attested by many examples, however.

### Examples

	BR.	WR.	P.	Ta.
'husked rice'	koʔ <sup>-</sup>	koʔ <sup>-</sup>	*-ko	ra-kō
'stone'	...	s'ɰmoʔ <sup>-</sup>	*mo	mō
'pot'	kloʔ <sup>-</sup>	kloʔ <sup>-</sup>	(*klo)	klō