

SOME SOURCES OF CHAMIC VOCABULARY

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This paper is a preliminary attempt to identify the sources of certain Chamic¹ and proto-Chamic² words and to discuss some implications of these identifications.

From Lee's (1966) list of approximately 700 proto-Chamic reconstructions and from the author's Jarai dictionary (Headley, 1965) 97 suspicious forms were noted. These were separated into four groups: (1) words of probable Mon-Khmer or Austroasiatic origin, (2) words of probable Indo-European origin, (3) words of probable Austronesian origin which were borrowed extensively by Mon-Khmer languages, and (4) a residue of suspicious words of uncertain origin.³

Generally, the following criteria were used to assign a set of cognates to one of the four groups. If at least one of the cognates was found in a Mon-Khmer language not occupying territory adjacent to an Austronesian language, the set was placed in group 1. If a clear Sanskrit or Pāli cognate was found, the set was placed in group 2. It is very likely that some of these sets actually represent early borrowing from Austroasiatic sources by Sanskrit-Pāli. Generally, if the Mon-Khmer cognates were found only in languages contiguous to Austronesian languages, the set was placed in group 3. The remaining words were placed in group 4.

The 97 cognate sets are listed below.⁴

Words of Probable Mon-Khmer or Austroasiatic Origin.

'around': PC *jũm. II. čum. III. PJH *yum; BAH jũm; PSB *jũm. IV. PAC jõm 'to wrap'. VIII. V chum 'to assemble, to join'. Cf. PC *pajum 'to meet together' and Khmer pračum.

'axe': PC *jõŋ. III. PCNB *čhuŋ; PJH *čuaŋ; PSB *suŋ.

'back': PC *rõŋ. II. knɑ:ŋ. III. PCNB *rõŋ; PJH *rõŋ. IV. PEK *k_ŋ; PAC krõŋ. VII. PAL krõŋ. VIII. PVM *ləŋ (?). A reconstructed form such as *kəroŋ, with the *-r- undergoing normal Mon-Khmer shifts to -n- as in Khmer or -l- as in Vietnamese, is possible. The PVM form may be related to Ancient Thai *hlaŋ 'back'.

'to bark': PC *groh. II. pruh (?). III. SED kóu; PM *groh; ST bluh. IV. PEK *krõh. VII. PAL brõ; Kumkaw brõh. It appears that two roots are involved: *groh and *bruh, both of which refer to barking or spitting (as a cat). Cf. CHR vruh 'to spit', Koho bruh 'to spit', Khmer prueh 'to spit', and PAL Kəp-prūh 'to spit (of a cat)', Mon pruh 'to squirt from mouth or trunk', PMK (Shorto, 1973) *[p]-ruəs, Cham pruh 'to spit'.

'basket': PC *laʔl. II. lʔəy. III. Koho ləʔl. CHR la-i.

'bear': PC *čageu. III. SED rokóu; BAH šogâu; PSB *čigāw. IV. BR sakâu. VIII. PVM *kəw. Misc. Achinese čagèë.

- 1.7 'bind, tie, catch': PC *čap. I. čap. II. čap. III. MN čap; CHR čap; SR čap. IV. BR koup (?). VI. čop 'touch'. VII. PAL čap 'attach'. VIII. V chap 'to join/assemble'. Misc. various Malacca languages: če:p, ča:p, čiap; PMK (Shorto, 1973) *[b]cap 'to adhere'.
- 1.8 'bird': PC *čĭm I. čhi:m, čhem. III. PCNB *čhem; PJH *čĭm; PM *sĭm; ST čum; CHR sum. IV. PEK *č_m; BR čém; KU če:m. V. sim. VI. həčem. VII. PAL šim; LA saim. VIII. V chim M chim. Misc. HAK k'im; CAN k'am; Khasi sim. This form is clearly Mon-Khmer, possibly derived from a proto-form resembling *čim. The two Chinese apparent cognates are puzzling unless they represent borrowings from an earlier form than *čim, perhaps *kĭim.
- 1.9 'bracelet': PC *kōŋ. I. kɔ:ŋ. II. kɑ:ŋ. PCNB *akoŋ; PJH *(a)koŋ; PSB *koŋ. IV. PEK *koŋ. VII. PAL kyaŋ. VIII. V cong 'curved, bent' (?). Misc. PA *gelaN (?).
- 1.10 'bridge': PC *rabāŋ. I. span. II. spien. III. ST səban; MN kban; SR rəbaŋ. IV. PEK *pOOŋ (?). VI. həpàn (<sabān) 'paved road'. VIII. PVM *bá:n 'board' (?). Misc. Lao sa?phaan; PMK (Shorto, 1973) *pəpaan?; PAN *papan.
- 1.11 'castrate': PC *kriau. II. kriev. III. HA kriao; BAH krĕo; ST kriô; SR kr(i)ao. IV. PA kreau 'castrated pig'. VIII. V xeo 'to cut off' (?).
- 1.12 'chin': PC *kaŋ. I. krəmaŋ (?). II. čaŋka (?). III. PCNB *kaŋ; PJH *kaŋ; PSB *kaŋ. VIII. V cām (?). Misc. Common Thai *gaŋ.

- 3 'choose': PC *ruah. II. rə:h. III. HRE raih; SED rah; BAH rǎih; SR roah. IV. PEK *r_s; BR rtoh; PAC ros/reh. VI. Mon /rùl/ < Burm. rwe: < a Mon-Khmer source. VII. PAL rāh, rǎ?
- 4 'citrus fruit': PC *kruai?. I. kru:č. II. kro:č. III. SED krui; BAH krũĩ; PSB *kroč. VI. Literary Mon (chu) krot 'orange (tree)'. Misc. NIC karoait; PMK (Shorto, 1973) *kruəc (~*kruuc).
- 5 'coconut': JAR duŋ, RA duŋ. II. do:ŋ. III. BAH doŋ; MN duŋ; ST duŋ. IV. KU toŋ. Misc. SKT tunga. The SKT form may be a borrowing from Mon-Khmer. If the other languages borrowed it from SKT, I would expect to find it more widespread, especially in Cham, where it apparently does not occur. Also the Khmer spelling is not *duŋa which would be expected from SKT tuŋga, but rather t̄uŋa.
- 16 'coffin': PC *bōŋ. II. po:ŋ 'large stove' (?). III. PCNB *bōŋ; PJH. *boŋ; MN bōŋ~buoŋ. IV. PAC piŋ (?).
- 17 'crossbow': PC *srāp̄. I. thna: . II. sna: . III. BAH hra: ; PSB *səna: . VI. ŋa? (<tŋa). VIII. V ná; M ná. Misc. Lao na: ; NIC dona (-foin).
- 18 'to cut': PC *reh. II. re:h. III. BAH reh ~ rih 'to gnaw'; HAL reh; PM *reh; SR reh. IV. PEK *re:h.
- 19 'to defecate': PC *eh. I. ič. II. ʔač. III. PCNB *ĩč; PJH *ĩk; PSB *ʔe?. VI. oik (< ik). VIII. V ĩa, M ĩ. Misc. PA *taʔih (?);

NIC aič; Khasi eit; Semang i: ; Senoi et;
 Proto-Karen *ʔéq, SKT and PA acama 'scum' (?).
 I believe that the Khmer form /ʔač/, in spite
 of its spelling acam(a), is not derived from the
 SKT-PA form acama. The Mon-Khmer forms all
 appear to be derived from a proto-form resem-
 bling *ʔič.

- 1.20 'different': PC *pha. III. PCNB *pha; PJH
 *pha. IV. BR mpha.
- 1.21 'to drizzle': PC *halim. II. ról+m 'shower'
 VIII. V ram-ram (?). Misc. Indonesian gerim
- 1.22 'drum': PC *sagor. II. skə: (<sgara). III
 PCNB *hagər; PJH *-gār; PSB *səgər. IV. PEK
 *Cak^hor; KU takũāl. VI. Old Mon singir. PMK
 (Shorto, 1973) *sgər.
- 1.23 'to explode': PC *patuh. I. pathuh. II.
 ptuh. III. BAH dōh; HAL pətùh; PSB *bərtōh.
 IV. PEK *padóh. VI. hətəh 'to suppurate,
 burst'. VII. PAL pəḍōh. VIII. V nỏ (?).
 Misc. PMK (Shorto, 1973) *btuh. If *-d- > n a
 *-h > Ẃ or ẃ then the Vietnamese form may be a
 cognate.
- 1.24 'to feed/nourish': PC *čiem. I. čhem. II.
 čəñčəm. III. PCNB *čhem; PJH *čiam; PSB *syā
 IV. BR asiem; PAC čeam; KT čiam. VI. Old Mo
 'cim ~ 'iñcim. VIII. M chiém. Misc. PMK
 (Shorto, 1973) *nciim ~ *nciəm ~ *ncuəm.
- 1.25 'flat': PC *lāt. II. liet. III. PM *lat;
 BAH lat.
- 1.26 'fly': PC *ruai. I. roy. II. ruy. III.
 PCNB *roy; PM *rəhway; ST ruei; CHR raway. IV
 PEK *róóy; KU ʔaruay. V. KM roi. VI. rùi.

VII. PAL ruwāṭ. LA ruæ. VIII. V ruôî. Misc. Temiar rewāi; Car NIC inru:y.

'to fly': PC *por. III. PCNB *pār; PSB *pār. IV. PEK *pâr; KU pa:l. VI. pə (<paw). VII. PAL p̄ar; DA pan; LA pēu, pōi. VIII. PVM *pal. Misc. HAK poui (?); Garo bil; Dimasa bur. Final *-r shows the -r, -l, -n, -ø reflexes; cf. 1.22, 1.43, 1.58, and 4.8. Shafer (1952:155) cites the Chinese piuen 'to spread the wings, to rise suddenly (as a bird)' as a possible cognate. Proto-Lolo-Burmese pyan¹.

'formerly': JAR d̄um, RA d̄um, CH d̄om. I. the:m. II. daem. III. BAH t̄e:m; PSB *t̄e:m. IV. BR naum; PAC t̄ôm. VI. t̄om. All of these forms, probably from a proto-form resembling *t̄e:m, had an original meaning of 'trunk (of a tree)' in the Mon-Khmer languages.

'garlic/onion': JAR k̄d̄im, RA kdum 'kind of yam'. I. kaʔthiam. II. kt̄im. III. PCNB *gaʔd̄_m; PJH *gadiam; MN diem. Misc. Thai kathiam. Misc. PMK (Shorto, 1973) *kt̄em 'egg'.

'goat': PC *bube. I. pheʔ. II. p̄əp̄e:. III. PCNB *bube; PJH *ba(?)be; PSB *be. IV. BR mbeiʔ/kupê; PAC mbéʔ; V. beh. VI. h̄əbeʔ (<baḅê). VII. PAL bē; DA bo⁴bè¹. Misc. NIC me; Thai ph̄éʔ. The Thai form is probably a borrowing from some Mon-Khmer source.

'gourd': PC *biluai; 'squash' PC *pul̄oi. II. lp̄əv. III. SED plui, pl̄oi; BAH plui, pl̄oi; CHR pl̄ô:y. IV. PEK *ʔaluy. VIII. Vn bầu. Misc. NIC (yuaŋ-) labu ~ lapu; MA labu; PA *baluh ~ labuh, SKT alabu; PALI alabu, alapu. There may be a single proto-form involved here

with metathesis as shown for the PA form.

- 1.32 'hat': PC *ʔduan. II. duən. III. PSB *ʔduân. IV. PEK *dôan. VIII. V nón.
- 1.33 'hatch': JAR čěh, RA kčeh, CH čaih. II. ñoah 'hatched' (?). III. BAH čěh; ST čăh. IV. PEK *ceeh. VIII. chě 'split'.
- 1.34 'horn, antler': PC *tukri. III. SED kái; JEH takoi; ST kei; SR nke. IV. PEK *ta_k^h_y.
- 1.35 'hot, peppery': PC *haŋ. II. ha:ŋ 'bitter' (?). III. PCNB *ho:ng; PJH *haŋ; MN hăŋ. IV. PEK *ha:?. VIII. V hang 'strong flavored (of onion)'.
- 1.36 'intestines': PC *prueč (?). III. MN proč; KH proč; ST pro:č. IV. PEK *rooj; BR rual?/ruaj; KU rŭăc. VI. krot. VIII. V ruôt; M rọch. Misc. Proto-Karen *phrwè? (?).
- 1.37 'jar': JAR čěh, RH čeh, CH čaih. III. BAH čeh; HAL čeh; CHR če?. IV. PEK *čee?. VI. čeh.
- 1.38 'kite, eagle': PC *kalāŋ. I. khaŋ. II. klaeŋ. III. PCNB *klaŋ; PJH *klaŋ; PSB klaŋ. IV. PAC kalaŋ. VI. kənəŋ < *laŋ-laŋ. VII. PAL klaŋ. VIII. V lang; M trắng. Misc. PMK (Shorto, 1973) *(k)laŋ ~ *(k)laŋ; MA hělang; Malacca kělak, kělaŋ, kraŋ; Khasi khli:ŋ; NIC kalâng 'sea eagle'; Kukish *k-lāŋ; Kachin kă-laŋ; Old Burmese ləŋ-tă 'vulture'; Proto-Mi *klaŋ?. The proto-Mon-Khmer form was undoubtedly *kla:ŋ. The unexpected vowel in the Khmer form is not yet explained.
- 1.39 'leaf': PC *sula. I. sla: . II. sla: 'areca'; slək 'leaf'. III. PCNB *hla; PJH *

ST la; CHR la; IV. BR sala; KT hla; KU hla:.
 V. KM la, hla. VI. hla?. VII. PAL hla: ,
 LA hla?. VIII. V lá; M la. Misc. Temiar sela
 Jehub; Senoi selak; Proto-Karen *laq. I suspect
 that the proto-Mon-Khmer form was *slak or *sla?
 (Shorto, 1973), the loss of -k ~ -? accounting
 for the tone in V and for the lengthening of the
 vowel. The two forms given for Khmer, sla: and
 slək may both be derived from *slak. I would
 have expected Pearic to preserve the -k ~ -?.

0 'leech (forest)': PC *plūm. I. phli:m/phle:m.
 III. PCNB *plə:m; PJH *pləm; PSB *plə:m. IV.
 PEK *plââm. VI. klom (?). Misc. Malacca:
 pělum, pělom, klom, pělop.

1 'leg/foot': JAR jong; RA j'ong. I. siŋ. II.
 čə:ŋ. III. BAH jə:ŋ; PSB *jəŋ. PEK *ʔa_ùùŋ;
 KT yuŋ. VI. caŋ (< juíñ). VII. PAL jung.
 VIII. V chân. Misc. SKT and PA jangha (?).
 Although it occurs in Cham, it appears to be an
 obvious borrowing from Khmer (see Aymonier and
 Cabaton page 152). The resemblance of the Mon-
 Khmer forms and the Indo-European form is
 puzzling.

2 'lift': PC *iǒŋ. II. yo:ŋ 'to pull'. III.
 PJH *yǒŋ; Koho youŋ; ST yô:ŋ 'hang up'. IV.
 BR yũŋ 'hold in hand'. V. yóŋ 'high'; VII.
 PAL kar-yong; Riang yǒŋ. Misc. HAK ki-yong.

3 'lime': PC *čur. II. ču:(r) 'sour'. III.
 CHR čur. VIII. V chua 'acid, sour'. Misc. NIC
 shun (?). I must regard this set as extremely
 tentative.

4 'nephew': PC *kamuən. II. kmuəy (?). III.
 PCNB *mon; PJH *muán; PSB *kəmon. PEK *_moon.

VI. kmín. Misc. Temiar kuman; PMK (Shorto, 1973) *kmu(u)n ~ *kmuən.

- 1.45 'open mouth': PC *(a)ha. II. ha: . III. BAH ha; PSB *ha; PJH *ha. IV. PEK *kah_?. V ha. VII. DA ha¹. VIII. V há. Misc. NIC hala (?).
- 1.46 'papaya': PC *hũŋ. I. lohuŋ. II. lhaŋ. III. PCNB *rahũŋ; PJH *hũŋ; CHR lahũŋ; ST lhô. IV. PEK *_h_ŋ; BR ahoŋ; PAC pahuŋ. Misc. Lao hu:ŋ.
- 1.47 'peacock': PC *ʔamrāk. I. morak. III. PSB *brak; BAH amra; HAL amra; Lave bra:k. VI. pəràik (< mrāk).
- 1.48 'peck': JAR čõh, RA čõh. III. PCNB *joh; PJ *joh; ST čoh; CHR čoh. I suspect that the Khm form cœh 'to pick out a thorn' and Palaung čo:h 'to chisel' are cognates too.
- 1.49 'pull': PC *ruč. II. ro:č. III. IV. PEK *r_?; KT ro:?. VII. PAL rut 'draw in'. VIII V rut.
- 1.50 'python': PC *tlǎn. II. tlan. III. HAL klǎn; BAH klǎn; CHR klǎn, SR klan; ST klǎn. IV. BR talǎn; PAC tulán. VI. klɔn (< klan). VIII. V trǎn. Misc. NIC tulan; Malacca tēlǎ
- 1.51 'rhinoceros': PC *lumǎh. I. romas. II. rəmieh. III. SED rəme; HAL rəmah; CHR rimìh ST rəmahì. IV. PEK *rama:s.
- 1.52 'river': PC *kroŋ. I. krɔ:ŋ. III. BAH kro SED (tea) kroŋ; HAL kroaŋ; IV. PEK *kru:ŋ. V rôŋ (nam)/hrôŋ. VI. kr ŋ (< kruñ). VII. PA rɔŋ 'torrent, canal'. Riang kroŋ; LA kloŋ. VIII. V sôŋ; M khôŋ. Misc. Thai khɔ:ŋ

- 'canal': Proto-Lolo-Burmese *laŋ¹; Old Burmese k'loŋ; Old Bodish kluŋ.
- 3 'sand': PC *čuah. II. kruəh (<gruas) (?). III. HAL čoah; BAH čoah/čuah; CHR čuəh. IV. PEK *čôah. VI. kreh (?); PMK (Shorto, 1973) *kruəs ~ *kriəs 'gravel'.
- 4 'scissors': PC *katri. II. kantray. III. Koho jətrei. VI. kət kraɪ, krop kre. VII. PAL. gim hray. Misc. Malay < Tamil (?) kēlēkati 'areca-nut scissors'. Prob. from a PMK (Shorto, 1973) root *traay 'to cut/lop'.
- 5 'slap': PC *pah. II. pah 'to touch, to collide'. III. PCNB *pah 'to chop, split'; PJH *pah 'to cut, chop, split', CHR pāh 'to hit, cut'. IV. PEK *-pah; BR tapah; PAC pah. VII. PAL poh.
- 6 'to smoke': PC *jup. I. čup. II. čup 'to suck'. III. HAL jŭp 'to suck'; BAH jup/yôp; ST jup. IV. PAC jup. Misc. Thai su:b; Kachin tśup.
- 7 'to soak': PC *trām. II. tram. III. PCNB *trām; PJH *trām; CHR tram, KH tram. V. čóm 'to drown oneself' (?). VII. PAL ngam; Riang tam-. VIII. PVM *ngám.
- 8 'soup': PC *būr. II. baba:(r). (<pəpɔ:r). III. PCNB *por 'cooked rice'; PJH *por; CHR por. IV. PAC apúr. VII. PAL bur 'scum, bubbles' (?). Misc. Malay bubor 'broth'.
- 9 '(hand) span': PC *čagam. II. caŋ?a:m. III. SR na:m; CHR təŋgam.
- 0 'split, fight': PC *blah. II. pœnleah 'to peel; to separate (The dictionary of Tandart

also gives a form pleah 'to divide'. Both Khm forms appear to be derived from leah 'to strip off--as branches'.) III. PCNB *tablah; PJH *(t)blah; PSB *blah. IV. *_loah; KT blah; BR ploah. VI. prah 'scattered about'. VII. PA plōh. Misc. PA *belaq; Malay bĕlah. I suspect that there is a genetic relationship between t Austroasiatic and Austronesian (PC and PA) forms.

- 1.61 'spoon': PC *?auāk. II. vɛ:k. III. CHR ua ST uêk. Misc. Semang āweg.
- 1.62 'squirrel': PC *prōk. I. phrɔ:k. II. kamprok. III. BAH prok; HAL proak; PSB *pro? PM *prok. IV. BR prok. VII. PAL a-pro(p). VIII. V soc.
- 1.63 'stamp on': PC *juǎ?. III. PJH *jua?; PCNB *jwat; CHR jǎ?. VI. cèak 'to march'. Misc. Malacca jag 'to step'.
- 1.64 'swim': PC *luai. II. loy 'to wade'. III. PCNB *jaləi; PJH *_lòy; CHR re; ST rê. IV. B lōi; KU looy. VI. lùì. VII. PAL lōi; LA lu Riang-Lang -ṅoy. VIII. V lōi. Misc. PA *laNuy; PMK (Shorto, 1973) *lṅuy.
- 1.65 'thread, silk': PC *mrai. I. phra:y. II. pre:. III. PCNB *bray; PJH *bray; MN brai. IV. BR prâi 'bandage'; PAC parai. VII. PAL pra:y 'twist of thread'. Misc. Serting bri.
- 1.66 'thunder': PC *grōm. II. kroam 'noise of thunder'. III. BAH grēm; JEH grám; HAL gərəm. IV. PEK *kʰrəm; KT gr m; BR krúm; KU seṅ kro VIII. V sâm; M kham.

'tusk': PC *bala. I. phlok. II. pluk. III. HAL bēla; SED polá; PSB *ŋəla; MN bla; ST blūk. IV. PEK *pal_k; BR paluak. VII. LA phluk. Misc. Malacca bala/bala?. It is possible that two different forms are involved here: *bēla: and *bluk, but they are so similar that I have grouped them together.

'uproot': PC *buč. I. boč. II. baoč. III. BAH buč; HRE bùč. VI. bot. VIII. V búť. Misc. PMK (Shorto, 1973) *c?booc.

'warm': PC *pa?dau. II. kdav. III. JEH tū; SED tōu; BAH tō; PSB *dūh. IV. *kitāw. VI. kətao (< ktau). There appears to be some innovating in the Bahnaric languages. Evidently the PC and MK forms are based on *-taw with two different prefixes: *kə- for MK and *pə- for PC.

'wasp': PC *hǝŋ. I. aŋ. III. PCNB *oŋ; PJH *oŋ; KH oŋ; CHR oŋ. IV. PEK *hoŋ. VI. haŋ (< huiñ). VII. qŋg. VIII. V and M ong 'bee'. Misc. Malacca ōng, êng, hong.

'wash': PC *rau. II. riev (< rāv) 'to stir up water looking for fish' (?). III. PCNB *?ñraw; PJH *raw; PSB *raw. IV. PEK *?ara:w; KU riaw. VI. krao (< krau). VIII. V rđa (?). Misc. MAL ña:w.

'write': PC *čih. III. JEH čih; HAL čih; SED čêh; BAH čih. VI. keh (?). VIII. V ch} 'lead', M čí (?).

Words of Probable Indo-European Origin.

'cotton': PC *kapas. II. kapba:h. III. BAH kəpaih; CHR pa:yh 'kapok ball'. Misc. PA *kapas; MA pokok kapas; SKT karpāsa; PAL kappāsa.

- 2.2 'horse': *aseh. II. seh. III. PCNB *aseh; PJH *(k)aseh; ST seh; CHR aseh. IV. PEK *?aseh; KU se. VI. čheh (< khyeh, khye'). VII. DA θe⁴. Misc. SKT ashva; PAL assa.
- 2.3 'image': PC *rup. II. ru:p. III. HAL rup 'to take a picture'; ST rup; SR ru:p. IV. BR rup. Misc. SKT/PAL rūpa.
- 2.4 'man': PC *manus (?). II. mōnuh. III. HAL mēnuh; ST bēneh. VI. nih (< mnh). Misc. SK manushya, manusha, manus; PA manussa.
- 2.5 'military; soldier': JAR tōhan, RA kahan, Cham dahan. II. tiehien (< dāhān). IV. BR tahan. Misc. Thai thaha:n; SKT dāhana 'reducing to ashes' (?). I suspect that the second vowel of the Khmer form has been lengthened by analogy.
- 2.6 'net': PC *jāl. II. čiel (< jāla). III. SE čéa; BAH jal; JEH jar; HAL jal; ST ja:l; KH ja:l. VI. cèa. VIII. V chàl. Misc. Malacca jalā', jāla; MA jala; SKT jāla. It is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing in this set. Kuiper (1948:62-64) suggests that it was borrowed from a Proto-Munda root ḍa-ḍa 'matted, entangled'. Its occurrence in Vietnamese would appear to indicate great antiquity within Mon-Khmer.
- 2.7 'pepper': PC *amreč. II. mrič. BAH amre; ST mrač; CHR mre?. VI. pəròik. Misc. Indonesian meritja; SKT marica; Ancient Thai *brik⁴; PMK *mr[i]c (Shorto, 1973) > SKT.
- 2.8 'vehicle': PC *ra?deh. II. rōteh. III. PSE *rəndeh. Ménétrier (1933:125 note 1) suggests that the Khmer form was borrowed from some

Indian language during Pre-Khmer times. The SKT form ratha gives modern Khmer roat. It is interesting to speculate whether the -h is a reflex of an original Indo-European laryngeal. Cf. Hoenigswald, H.M., *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction*, Chicago, 1960; p. 143.

9 'venom': PC *bi^h. II. pi^h (< bisa). IV. PEK *pi:h. V. pi^h. Misc. proto-Indo-European *visa.

10 'Vietnamese': PC *yuān. II. yuən. III. PCNB *ywan; PJH *yuan; ST yuən; MN yuon; SR yoan. IV. PEK *y_n; BR yuan. Misc. Thai yuan; Lao ñuan; SKT yavana 'barbarian, Greek'.

11 'voice': PC *sap. II. sap 'word, noise'. Misc. SKT shabda.

Words of Probable Austronesian Origin.

1 'ashes': PC *habu. I. phau, paʔu: . II. pheh. III. PJH *buh; MN buh; KH buh; CHR vuh. IV. PEK *b_h; BR bó^h; KU phAʔ. V. bò^c. Misc. MAL puah; PA *abu ~ *gabu; MA abu; Temiar habug; Pali bhasma (?).

2 'needle': PC *jurūm. III. PCNB *jarum; PJH *jarūm; CHR jrūm; KH jurum. IV. PEK *jar_m; BR sarūm; KT jarum; PAC tarūm. V. skam. VIII. V chām. Misc. PA *Zarum; MA jarum; NIC čařum.

3 'silver': PC *pirak. II. prak. III. ST pra:k; KH priaʔ. IV. PEK *proak; BR práʔ; KU prak. VIII. V bəc; M pəc. Misc. PA *pírak; MA perak.

4 'spirit; god': PC *iāŋ. III. PSB *yaŋ; PJH *yaŋ; PCNB *yaŋ. IV. BR yiaŋ; PAC yaŋ. Misc. MA yang; Javanese yang. PA *(qS)i(qS)aŋ.

4. *Words of Uncertain Origin.*

- 4.1 'about to': PC *je. Thai and Lao ča 'will'. The resemblance between the Thai-Lao form and the PC form is striking as well as puzzling.
- 4.2 'box': JAR hip; RA hip; Rog hip, hiop; Chru hop; Cham hup. II. hep. III. PCNB *(ga)hip; PJH *(ga)hip; IV. BR help 'closet'. Misc. Lao hi:p; NIC hoptep; Hakka hap-tze; Cant hop.
- 4.3 'buffalo': PC *kubau. I. krəbaw. II. krabəy. III. BAH kəpo; SED kopau; HRE kpo; PS *kəpɸu. VIII. PVM tləw(?); V trau; M tru. Misc. PA *kebaw; MA kerbau; NIC kapo; Sakai krebo.
- 4.4 'eye': PC *mata. I. mat. II. moat 'mouth'. III. PCNB *măt; PJH *măt; PSB *măt. IV. PEK *moat; KU mǎ:t. V. mat. VI. mət. VIII. PVM *mát. Misc. PA *maCa; MA mata; Temiar mad; NIC mat; MAL mat. Note the semantic shift that has taken place in the Khmer form. A new form /pne:k/, is used for 'eye' in Khmer.
- 4.5 'gold': PC *amah. I. mas. II. mieh (< māsa). III. PCNB *mah; PJH *mah; PSB *mah. Misc. PA *emas; SKT hema-/heman (?). Shorto in a personal communication, 1973, connects this set with a PMK root *iʔaas which gave rise to such Old Mon forms as yimās 'shining.'
- 4.6 'gun': PC *phau. II. pha:v. III. CHR phao; SR phao. VIII. V phao. Misc. Hakka p'ao; Cantonese p'au'.
- 4.7 'kiss': PC *čūm. III. SED (to)čum; BAH (tə)čūm; PSB *čūm. VII. PAL čūp. Misc. PMK *cum; PIN *k'ijum. Indonesian tjium, ketjup.

'lip': Cham bibir. II. pɔpɪ: (< babir). IV. PEK *tamb_r; PAC tambír. Misc. Sakai babir; MA and Indonesian bibir, PA *bírBír 'lower lip'.

'sword': PC *dau. II. da:v. III. ST dao; SR dao; Alak tao. IV. PEK *da:w. VIII. V dao, dao. Misc. Hakka to; Cantonese to.

There is not enough material available here to establish sets of regular phonological correspondences; the following list nonetheless presents what correspondences have been found in this corpus. The sals and spirant, especially in final position, appear to be highly stable.

<i>Proto-Chamic</i>	<i>Mon-Khmer</i>	<i>Examples</i>
b-	b-/p-	1.16, 1.30, 1.58, 2.9
p-	p-	1.27, 1.55
-p	-p	1.7, 1.56, 4.2
d-	d-/t-	1.15, 1.28, 1.29, 4.9
-t	-t	1.25, 4.4
k-	k-	1.9, 1.12
-k	-k	1.47, 1.61, 1.62, 3.3
č-	č-/j-/s-	1.2, 1.7, 1.8, 1.24, 1.33, 1.37, 1.43, 1.48, 1.53, 1.69, 4.7
-č/-h	-č	1.14, 1.19, 1.36, 1.49, 1.65
j-	č-/j-	1.1, 1.41, 1.56, 1.63, 2.6
m-	m-	4.4
-m	-m	1.1, 1.8, 1.24, 1.28, 1.29, 1.40, 1.57, 1.59, 3.2, 4.7
-n	-n	1.10, 2.10
-ŋ	-ŋ	1.2, 1.3, 1.9, 1.15, 1.16, 1.35, 1.38, 1.41, 1.42, 1.46, 1.52, 1.67, 3.4
h-	h-/ɸ-	1.35, 1.45, 1.46, 1.67, 4.2

<i>Proto-Chamic</i>	<i>Mon-Khmer</i>	<i>Examples</i>
-h	-s/-h	1.13, 1.23, 1.33, 1.37, 1.48, 1.51, 1.53, 1.5 1.60, 1.69, 2.9
r-	r-	1.3, 1.13, 1.18, 1.26, 1.49, 1.68
-r	-r/-n/-y/-ø/-l	1.22, 1.27, 1.43, 1.58, 4.8
l-	r-	1.51
l-	l-	1.5, 1.25, 1.64
-v	-v	1.11, 1.66, 1.68, 4.3, 4.6, 4.9
y-	y-	1.42, 2.10, 3.4
-y	-y	1.5, 1.26, 1.54, 1.64
pVr-	pr-/r-	1.36, 1.62
pl-	pl-/kl-	1.40
bl-	bl-/pl-/pr-	1.60
kr-	kr-/s-	1.11, 1.14, 1.52
gr-	gr-/s-	1.63
kVl-	kl-	1.38
tr-	tr-/ŋ-	1.57
sVl-	sl-	1.39

It is not my intention to reopen here the question of an Austric superfamily including Austroasiatic and Austronesian as proposed by Schmidt early in this century. There must be a great deal more solid comparative work before this question can be resolved. Studies like the present one do show that there is some considerable agreement between the lexicon of Austronesian (Chamic) and Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer) languages.⁵ This is the "general Southeast-Asian vocabulary" that has been discussed by Haudricourt and others. A striking feature about these cognates between Chamic and Mon-Khmer is that many of them are from the stable, basic vocabulary. Out of the 69 seen in part 1 above, no less than 14 occur in Swadesh's

-word list and represent vocabulary that is apparently highly resistant to loss and therefore to borrowing. These basic words along with their percentages of retention as calculated by Swadesh (1955) and Thomas--for Mon-Khmer (1960) are listed below.

	<i>Swadesh</i>	<i>Thomas</i>
'back' (1.3)	83%	71%
'bird' (1.8)	40%	100%
'catch, tie' (1.7)	74%	50%
'cut' (1.18)	56%	43%
'to fly' (1.27)	82%	71%
'intestines' (1.36)	55%	86%
'leaf' (1.39)	100%	100%
'leg/foot' (1.41)	90%	100%
'pull' (1.49)	43%	71%
'river' (1.52)	51%	57%
'sand' (1.53)	68%	57%
'swim' (1.64)	59%	100%
'warm' (1.66)	79%	79%
'wash' (1.68)	83%	57%

shes' (3.2) (Swadesh: 66%, Thomas: 64%) and 'eye' (4.4) (Swadesh: 74%, Thomas: 100%) also belong to the basic vocabulary. Late borrowing by Chamic languages from Mon-Khmer sources is thus doubtful. It would appear then that, discounting the possibility of incidental independent development of similar forms, we are in most cases dealing with very ancient forms which may represent (1) an early substratum on which both Chamic and Mon-Khmer languages have been imposed, or (2) a genetically related language, ancestral at least to Chamic and Mon-Khmer.⁶ That the relationship might include wider membership than Chamic is suggested by such possible proto-Polynesian⁷ cognates as: 'au 'leaf' (cf. 1.39), *mata 'eye, face' (cf. 4.4),

*taʔe 'excrement' and *tiko 'defecate' (cf. 1.19), *tumu 'origin, base, summit' (cf. 1.28) and such Meo-Yao cognates as 'neck' (Hsing'an Tao tcaŋ, Taipai Yao kiaŋ^a, Haininh Yao claŋ^d, Pap'ai Yao 'koŋ) (cf. 'chin' 1.12) and proto-Meo *klaŋ 'kite, eagle' (Hmong tliã, Hmu tliã, Yao-Mun klaŋ) (cf. 1.38). Haudricourt (1966) contention that the Meo-Yao languages form a link between the Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages seems to merit further study based on these last cognates.

The Indo-European borrowings probably entered Chamic prior to the separation of the various Chamic languages which may have been about 900-1000 years ago. Some of these borrowings may, however, be earlier than this since they are so widespread outside of Chamic. I suspect that the words for 'net' (2.6), 'horse' (2.2), 'venom' (2.9) and 'Vietnamese' (2.10) are earlier borrowings.

¹The Chamic languages are spoken by an estimated 525,000 persons in south Central Vietnam and adjacent portions of Cambodia. The Chamic languages are: Rade, Jarai, Bih, Hroy, Cham, Northern Roglai, Cac Gi Roglai, Southern Roglai, Rai and Chru. Rade, Jarai, Bih and possibly Hroy form a northern subgroup while the rest belong to a southern subgroup. The Chamic languages appear to be related most closely to the same Austronesian stock as Malay and Achinese. The resemblance between Chamic and Achinese is striking. The following list provides some Malay, Achinese, Rade and Jarai cognates.

Malay	Achinese	Rade	Jarai	Gloss
air	ie	ea	ia	'water'
ular	uleue	ala	ala	'snake'
beras	breueh	braih	braih	'rice'
ratus	reutoih	etuh	roʔuh	'hundred'
emas	meuih	mah	mah	'gold'
terus	troih	truh	truh	'to arrive'

²The proto-Chamic (hereafter PC) reconstructions all taken from Lee (1966).

³Including some words which may ultimately be from Chinese sources.

⁴The following format and abbreviations are used in this section:

English gloss: PC (= proto-Chamic).

I. Pearic.

II. Khmer.

III. Bahnaric:

PCNB (= proto-Central North Bahnaric).

PJH (= proto-Jeh-Halang).

BAH (= Bahnar).

SED (= Sedang).

Jeh.

HAL (= Halang).

PSB (= proto-South Bahnaric).

PM (= proto-Muong).

MN (= Muong).

ST (= Stieng).

CHR (= Chrau).

KH (= Koho).

IV. PEK (= Katuic-proto-East Katuic).

BR (= Brou).

PAC (= Pacoh).

KT (= Katu).

KU (= Kuy).

V. KM (= Khmuic-Khmu).

VI. Mon.

VII. PAL (= Palaungic-Palaung).

Wa.

DA (= Danaw).

LA (= Lawa).

VIII. PVM (= Vietnamuong-proto-Vietnamuong).

V (= Vietnamese).

M (= Muong).

Miscellaneous:

PA (= proto-Austronesian).

MA (= Malay).

SKT (= Sanskrit).

TH (= Thai).

Lao.

NIC (= Nicobarese).

HAK (= Hakka Chinese).

CAN (= Cantonese).

This format generally follows the classification of the Mon-Khmer (MK) languages proposed by Thomas and Headley (1970). A question mark (?) following a form indicates that it is here regarded as a tentative or possible cognate or reconstruction. There has been some normalization of the spelling of entries. PCNB is from Smith (1967); PJH from Thomas and Smith (1967); PSB from Blood (1966); PEK from Dorothy Thomas (1967); PVM from Barker (1962, n.d.) and PA from Lee (1966). I also wish to thank Prof. H.L. Shorto and Mr. Robert Blust for many helpful comments on this paper.

⁵Of course, many words go far beyond the limits of Chamic and Mon-Khmer. Forms cognate with PC *čim 'bird' (1.8), *kalaŋ 'kite' (1.38), *sula 'leaf' (1.39), *kroŋ 'river' (1.52), and *mata 'eye' (4.4) are found over an extensive area of Southeast Asia.

⁶Shafer (1952) pp. 133-136 suggests some of these same possibilities. Benedict (1966:258-259) feels that the relationship between Austroasiatic and his Austro-Thai is of the "substratum" type.

⁷Proto-Polynesian forms are from Walsh and Biggs (1966).

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