

THE VOCALISM OF PROTO-MON-KHMER

Harry L. Shorto

School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

It is unnecessary here to labour the point that, while no one seriously doubts the relationship of the Mon-Khmer (MK) languages as propounded by Schmidt and later writers, no one has yet succeeded in systematizing the highly diverse vowel correspondences apparent in the published material or in establishing a convincing reconstruction of the proto-Mon-Khmer (PMK) vowel system.¹ The vocalism, indeed, is the crux of the problem of reconstructing PMK. The new approach I propose here depends on the assumption that a number of types of vowel variation or gradation existed in the proto-language.² Before setting out the data, it is desirable to examine the consequences of this assumption.

The basic vowel system will be reflected in a set of "regular" correspondences from which those due to variants have to be distinguished. Given that the incidence of vowel variation is limited, and that variant forms are distributed more or less randomly in the modern dialects, it follows that the wider the extension of a cognate set the greater the chance of its including one or more vowel-variant forms. A comparison which embraces the largest possible number of languages will elicit a very large number of overlapping, partly similar correspondences. On the other hand, in a comparison restricted to two languages we

ould expect a relatively high number of regularly related cognates and a smaller number of "irregular" es attributable to variation.

These again will be likely to show the following tures. Doublets will occur at least occasionally each language; variations, being randomly distributed, will generate multiple correspondences, say in Language 1 versus ^{*}aa in Language 2, and ^{*}aa Language 1 versus ^{*}a in Language 2. The correspondences so generated will be numerous but individually relatively infrequent. These expectations e borne out in the material presented below.

For my initial restricted comparison I take the o languages Mon and Khmer (Khm.), chosen because e amount of lexical material available guarantees maximum number of cognate pairs, and because their lationship is distant enough to provide a useful seline when the comparison is extended to other alects. I should emphasize, however, that the construction is intended to be of PMK and not of a bgroup "Mon + Khmer," the existence of which I do t posit. At certain points, therefore, I shall ote forms from other languages to which the compar on has been extended (though not presented here) to stify distinctions not apparent from these two nguages alone.

For Mon, Old Mon (OM) is taken as a standard of ference, and inscriptional forms are cited wherever ssible alongside the modern ones.³ For Khm., I am cessarily dependent on the lexica, mainly Tandart's, d cite the modern forms, in Mrs. Jacob's transcrip on, omitting the inscriptional ones sparsely ailable to me. The systematic extension of the heme to Old Khmer is an obvious desideratum.⁴

One or two items quoted in transliteration only I have been unable to verify as still current.

To keep this paper to manageable length the material I have collected is presented illustratively rather than exhaustively, a course which I am aware limits its impact. But in view of the relevance of the statistical aspect I give in brackets following the citation(s) for each rhyme the number of instances collected. I have noted altogether 600 basic and variant correspondences representing 527 roots. Of these 527, 449 (85.2%) exhibit basic or "regular" correspondences, 122 (23.1%) variant or "irregular" ones, so that 8.3% exhibit both kinds of correspondence.

I shall set out the regular correspondences first, leaving to the end of this section those with "laryngeal" final (*?, *h), which pose more complex problems. The variant sets will then be briefly discussed.

The vowel system reconstructed for PMK comprises seven simple vowels, for all of which length is distinctive, and three diphthongs: i ii e ee a aa ø œ œ œ o oo u uu; iø ue ai.

The principal types of variation postulated are (i) between short and long vowel: i ~ ii, etc.; (ii) between simple vowel and diphthong: ii ~ iø, uu ~ ue, occasionally aa ~ ai; (iii) between diphthong and ø: iø ~ ø, ue ~ ø. They may occur in combination, e.g. i ~ ii ~ iø ~ ø. Less frequent are variation between a(a) and ø(ø), between iø and ai, and between front and back vowel.

Mon. Though the graphic representation of the

system is not fully systematic, it may be phonologically interpreted in its maximal extension before velars as /i e a ø o u w ai/.⁵ Of these nine terms, /i/ occurs only before velars and /w/ only before lars and laryngeals; /i e/ do not occur before /y/, /u/ do not occur before /w/.

The main steps in the subsequent evolution were follows.

(i) In Middle Mon (MM) /ø/ > /i/ while /e/ > /u/ following a nasal and following medial / < /n?/. The disappearance through merger of final /c p/ added a further diphthong to the system before velars, which was and is not distinguished in writing from /e/, but survives in spoken Mon (SM) as /i/.

(ii) At a later stage /ɔ/ > /o/ before most finals following /n m/. Then /o/ disappeared before laryngeals as a result of /o?/ > /w?/, /oh/ > /h/. /w/ and /ø/ merged as a central vowel.

(iii) The emergence of a register distinction, probably towards the end of the sixteenth century, set in train the complex series of splits, shifts, and mergers which produced the modern stem.⁶ These last changes were conditioned partly by register, partly by the nature of the preceding consonant, and partly by that of the final one. They are reflected in the orthography only in so far as rhyme mergers have led to historically misleading "phonetic" spellings of particular words.

Khmer. The Khmer system is most conveniently treated out in terms of its orthography, which similarly predates splits which have followed the development of register. In its maximal extension, in closed

10

syllables before most finals, the written system is (not in syllabary order) i ~ w, T iə e ε a ā ɔ ɔ̄ o u ū uε ɤ ȫ wə. In the contexts in question these symbols are pronounced, according to register, /ɤ ~ ȫ, i:ə ~ i:ə, e: ~ ȫ:, ae ~ ȫə:, a ~ ȫə ~ ȫə, a: ~ iə, ɔ ~ ūə ~ ū, ɔ: ~ ȫə:, ao ~ ȫə:, o ~ ū, o: ~ ū:, u:ə ~ ū:ə, ay ~ ȫ:, ȫ: ~ ȫ:, w:ə ~ ȫ:ə/. Before palatals, before h, and in open syllables restricted systems operate.

The sixteen terms of the maximal system include four pairs which are functionally distinguished by length, or appear to have been when the orthography was established: i T (or w ū; but these symbols are of relatively recent introduction), a ā, ɔ ɔ̄, u ū. wə seems to occur only in loans from Thai, while ū has a very restricted distribution in native words and is then probably environmentally conditioned. T does not occur in head-register words; oppositions of e and ε are relatively infrequent and show at least a partial correlation with register.

In the material cited transliterated forms are given in linguistic type without underlining, phonological formulae and transcriptions of modern pronunciation given in the same type between strokes / /. Reconstructions are preceded by the symbol *. The consonantal part of them may require revision; I have not always been scrupulous in indicating by square brackets that a reconstruction is provisional

THE REGULAR VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

(a) before non-laryngeal final

1. *a. OM /a/ before velar, otherwise /ɔ/ (both a except a ~ e before c, ñ; ey = /ɔy/; ow = /ɔw/);

normally /ɛ ða/ before velar, otherwise /ɔ ð/ except /oa ða/ < OM /ɔy/, /ao ða/ < OM /ɔw/. Khmer hm.) usually a = /a/ ~ /ɛə/ before velar, otherwise ə/; but /am ðəm/ = ām; /ay ðey/ = ai, /av ɻu/ = au.

*dak: OM dak 'to bind, harness', SM /t̥eak/ o tie, tether'; Khm. /t̥eək/ 'to trap' -- *d-n-ak: m. /thn̥eək/ 'lure' -- *d-[r]n-ak: SM /hən̥eak/ oose, snare, jess for poultry' -- *[d-]n-dak: Khm. nt̥eək/ 'trap, snare'. (6)

*craŋ: OM crañ, SM /səŋ/ 'bank'; Khm. /craŋ/ steep) bank'. (10)

*sac: OM sac 'fruit', SM /sɔt/ 'areca nut', in mounds 'fruit'; Khm. /sac/ 'flesh, meat'. (For mantics cf. Malaccan forms in Skeat and Blagden, *gan races of the Malay Peninsula*, no. F 170(a).) (1)

*pan: OM pañ, SM /pɔn/ 'to shoot'; Khm. /baŋ/. r *pan[c] in view of Vietnamese bān.) (3)

*bat: MM bat 'to secure, bind on', SM /pòt/ in þn pòt/ 'to be firm, fast'; Khm. /pòt/ 'to tie und, to spin [web, cocoon]'. (5)

*tlan: SM /klɔn/ 'python'; Khm. /thlan/. onfirmed by Vietnamese trān, Khasi thlen in spite evidence for *-lo- also > Khm. /la/.) (3)

*[b]cap: OM cap, SM /cɔp/ 'to adhere'; Khm. þəp/. (10)

*kam: OM kam 'arrow, projectile', SM /kɔm/ ulet'; Khm. /kam/ 'projectile'. (3)

*?bay: * SM /boa/ 'bean, pea, 1/16 tical'; Khm.

* Editor's note: Typographical limitations have quired the substitution of ?b and ?d for the thor's symbols for preglottalized consonants.

/pèy/ 'obsolete small coin'. (2) --For cases where *-ay, *-aw might be reconstructed but are not seen below, *-ii?, *-uu?. For my two instances of *-ay there are variants in *-aay; it is possible that the vowel was normally lengthened before *y, *w in both languages, leading to some fallacious reconstructions of the long vowel.

*gtar: Khm. */t̥ə/, whence by secondary formation /t̥et̥ə/ 'to shiver, tremble' -- *g-n-tar: SM /hət̥ə/ id. (Indonesian loan? Khm. usually has vowel lengthening following loss of -r. Cf. Malay gē(n)ta etc. alongside kētar etc.; Dempwolff reconstructs PIM *kə(n)t̥ə[!].) (1)

*pas: SM /pəh/ 'to be displaced'; Khm. /bah/ pas, pah 'to teeter'. (Or *pah?) (1)

2. *aa. OM /ai/ ā ~ e before velar, otherwise /a/ ā; SM /ai ài/ before velar, otherwise /a à/, before labial /è/, except /a èa/ < OM /ar/, /al/, /ao èà/ < OM /aw/, /ah èh/ < OM /as/. Khm. ā /a: iə/.

*caak: OM cāk 'to be parted'; Khm. /ca:k/ 'to leave'. (5)

*jaaq: SM /càiŋ/ 'to fish with a scoop-net' -- *j-n-aaq: SM /hnàiŋ/ 'scoop-net'; Khm. /chniəŋ/. (6)

*saac: SM /sat/ 'to bale'; Khm. /sa:c/ 'id., to throw from bucket'. (2)

*taap: SM /tan/ 'to plait, twill' -- *t-p-aap (properly nominal formation): Khm. /tba:p/ 'to weave, plait' -- *t-mp-aap: SM /kəman/ 'plaited work'; Khm. /təmba:p/ = /tba:p/. (3)

*kdaat: SM /kətət/ 'kind of yam'; Khm. /kda:t/ 'Arum indicum'. (7)

*[d]baan: OM dwān 'to assault, march against',
'to assault, to climb', SM /kwān/ 'to climb'; Khm.
biən/ 'to climb, to march against'. (8)

*[c]?daap: SM /dap/ 'to dab on, sponge', Khm.
stiəp/ 'to touch, feel, stroke, grope for'. (3)

*ktaam: Khm. /kda:m/ 'crab' -- *k-n-taam: SM
etam/ id. (For nasal of infix cf., e.g., Central
kai kantom.) (5)

*draay: OM drāy, SM /krāi/ '*Axis porcinus* deer';
/triəy/ 'stag'. (15) -- Cf. *-ay above for
ssibility that PMK *-ay underlies some of these,
e. that we should write *dra[a]y etc.

*tmpaar: SM /hēpa/ 'flat surface, back [of hand
c.]'; Khm. /tomba:/ 'flat surface'. (4)

*waal: SM /wēa/ 'open ground, pasture'; Khm.
iəl/ 'plain'. (6)

*raaw: SM /rēa/ 'openwork basket'; Khm. /riəv/
asket for crockery, fish, etc.' (5)

*thaas: MM thaḥ 'large metal dish', SM /thah/
rass tray, salver'; Khm. /tha:h/ thās 'metal tray'.
)

*i. OM /ɸ/ i ~ u ~ a etc.; SM usually /a à/
fore velar, otherwise /ə ɜ ɔ/ except /ɔik ðik/ <
/ɸc/, /ɔiŋ ðiŋ/ < OM /ɸn/, /oi/ < OM /ɸy/; but
llowing MM post-nasal split (p. 3 above) as OM
/ < *ii. Khm. i ~ u /v ù/ except before palatal;
~ ec /ec èc/; un /vŋ/ ~ iñ ~ eñ /èŋ/.

*grwik: SM /həwàk/ 'to wave, wag, shake,
rry'; Khm. /krəvùk/ 'to shake, disturb'. Or *wik:
m. /vùk/ 'to shake up, mix up' -- *gr-wik. (3)

*piŋ: SM /paŋ/ 'reservoir fish-trap of

permanent type'; Khm. /bɤŋ/ 'lake, pool, marsh'; (3)

*mr[i]c: MM mrek, SM /pərɔik/ 'pepper'; Khm. /mrèc/. (Hence Sanskrit marica. Vocalism provisional, since my differentia for *i, *ə before palat are tentative.) (3)

*k?dip: SM /dɔiŋ/ 'bamboo-joint used to hold liquids' -- *k-n-?dip: MM gañdiñ /gəñniŋ/, SM /hənoi 'bell'; Khm. /kəndṛŋ/. (*i likely since this then fits a front/back variation series, cf. *k?duŋ: SM /daŋ/ 'bamboo tube'. Mon shows post-nasal split. Semantics: bamboo-joint cowbell presumably preserve prototypical form.) (2)

*?it: Khm. /xt/ 'brick' -- *l-?it: OM la'at /l?pt/, SM /dpt/ id. (3)

*ncim: OM 'cim, iñcim /n̥cɸm/ 'to feed'; Khm. /ɔŋcɤm/ (alongside secondary /cɔŋcɤm/). (OM vocalis confirmed by secondary formations, e.g. SM /phyvəm/ 'to feed with pregesticated food' < *p-cuim.) (1)

*[m]?bil: MM buiw, SM /b3/ 'salt'; Khm. /ɔmbɤl/ (or *?bil if the Khm. form contains an affix.) (2)

*ris: SM /r̥h/ 'root'; Khm. /r̥w̥h/ ris. (1)

4. *ii. OM /i/ T ~ i; SM /oi ði/ before velar, otherwise /ɛ i ði/ in closed syllables, /œ i ði/ following loss of final /r l w/. Khm. in chest-register words T /i:/, in head-register words as *i (but see note at end of this section).

*jilik: OM jik, SM /còik/ 'to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate'; Khm. /cì:k/ 'to dig, dig over'. (1)

*Kdiŋ:⁷ Khm. /khtì:ŋ/ 'wild ox' -- *K-n-diŋ: SM /keloŋ/ 'gaur'. (3)

*^siic: SM /sət/ 'to be worn, abraded'; Khm.
ec/ 'worn' (alongside /sək/, reborrowed from Thai
šk/). (1)

*ciin?: MM cin, SM /cin/ 'to be cooked'; Khm.
h?vn/. (For final cf. Vietnamese chín. Khm. has
similar metathesis in /da:s/ 'to stretch [skin etc.]'
*l?as < *la?-s, ad /lìə/ 'to unfold, spread' <
a?..) (1)

*rliliw: SM /lì/ in /kənùh lì/ 'to be lazy,
le'; Khm. /rəlì:v/ 'drowsy'. (1)

Note: In four instances Khm. shows opening
/e:/ following a dental (/d/, /r/) in head-register
words. These cannot be assigned to *ee, which
requires Khm. /ae/; but chest-register examples may
have been wrongly so reconstructed. There is a
similar opening of *uu on both registers. Two of the
four instances involve variant sets. Cf., e.g.,
iik: Khm. /de:k/ 'to lie down, sleep' -- *s-tiik:
stik, SM /toik/ id.

*iə. Khm. iə /i:ə i:ə/. OM in most contexts /e/
then SM /ea ða/ before velar, otherwise /e è/;
before *l, *w OM unknown, LM ey, SM /ea ða/; following
consonant cluster before /s/ OM /ɔ/ a, SM /ɔ ð/.

*[C]riək: Khm. /cri:ək/ 'to split (v.t.)' --
]-n-riək: SM /kəreak/ 'to split, slit open'; Khm.
ɔri:ək/ 'to split (into slats etc.)'. (1)

*wiəŋ: OM weŋ 'to avoid, to turn aside', SM
:ŋ/ 'to avoid'; Khm. /vi:əŋ/ 'way round, bend'. (6)

*liət: OM let, SM /lèt/ 'to smear on'; Khm.
:ət/ in /lì:ət bət/ 'to plaster'. (4)

*wiən: SM /wèn/ 'to be crooked, deformed'; Khm.
:ən/ 'rolled up, spiral' -- *k-wiən: Khm.

/khvi:ən/ 'forming a spiral' -- *k-r-wiən: SM /kewe/
'to be curly'; Khm. /krevi:ən/ 'to roll up, curl up
(v.i.)'. (1)

*triəp: SM /krep/ 'to be interposed between two
surfaces, jammed, cramped'; Khm. /tri:əp/ 'packed
close together'. (3)

*kriəl: SM /krea/, Khm. /kri:əl/ 'sarus crane'
(1)

*ksiəw: Khm. /ksi:əv/ in /ksəp ksi:əv/ 'to
whisper' -- *k-[p]-siew: SM /kəsea/ id. (For *-p-
cf. Khasi pasiaw.) (1)

*rngiəs: LM lñah 'to be lost in thought'; Khm.
/rùŋki:əs/ 'offence taken'. (For semantics cf. the
synonyms LM lñāp lñā, Khm. rōngiəl ~ rōngiər, <
*rngaa[!].) (2)

6. *u. OM /u/ u ~ û ~ o before velar, otherwise /ø/
(as < *i) except before /y/, where secondary length-
ening yields /u/ as from *uu (cf. remarks under *-ay
above); SM /œ ui ûi/ < *uy; elsewhere /u/ and /ø/
merge, so as *i; but following post-nasal split as
OM /u/ < *uu. Khm. u /o û/, before *r with compen-
satory lengthening -ûr /o: û:/. --In spoken Khm.
*u merges with *ə, *ɔ in chest-register words before
labial, though usually kept distinct in the orthog-
raphy.

*?duk: OM ðuk, SM /dak/ 'to mount, ride (on,
in)'; Khm. /tùk/ 'to place, put, leave, keep' --
*p-?duk: OM -pðuk 'to embark (v.t.)', SM /dak/ also
'to load'; Khm. /phtùk/ 'to load'. (7)

*duŋ: SM /tàŋ/ 'kinds of bird including stork
and pelican'; Khm. /tùŋ/ 'pelican'. (5)

*phut: LM phuit 'to cease, to sever'; Khm.

hot/ 'end, to cease, end, exceed, come up to'. (1)

*tum: OM tum in sum tum 'all', LM tuim 'to be
merous'; Khm. /dom/ 'group, lump, wad, block',
omdom/ 'in a crowd, in a heap' -- *k-tum: Khm.
dom/ 'gathered together'. (5)

*ruy: SM /rùi/ 'fly'; Khm. /rùy/. (4)

*[t]kur: Khm. /ko:/ 'to stir' -- *[t-n]-kur:
/hèkp/ id. (1)

*Kbu[!]: Khm. /khpùl/ khbur! 'to rinse the
uth' -- *K-n-bu[!]: SM /kəmp/ 'ejected residue of
tel chew'. (Post-nasal split does not operate since
nasal secondary, < MM *kambuiw.) (1)

*uu. OM /u/ ù ~ u; SM /ɔ ɔ/ before velar, other-
se /ɔ u ù/ in closed syllables, /ao u ù/ following
ss of final /r l/. Khm. Ù /o: ù:/ (but see note at
d of this section).

*luuk: SM /lɔk/ 'to touch, come in contact
th'; Khm. /lù:k/ 'to put one's hand into'. (1)

*sluunj: OM s-lùn, SM /hì ɳ/ 'to be high' --
-r-luunj: OM sirluñ 'height', Khm. /srəlo:ɳ/ 'very
ep'. (We should expect Khm. post-dental /ao/, see
low. /o:/ conceivably by affective lengthening of
ɔ/, from a variant *s-r-luɳ.) (1)

*də?duuc: SM /hədut/ 'to tease'; Khm. /tətù:c/
o molest, importune, insist'. (1)

*buut: SM /pùt/ 'to operate rotary machine,
ind'; Khm. /pù:t/ 'to wring out, to roll, shape'.
)

*[rm]ruun: SM /pərùn/ 'intestinal worm'; Khm.
-ù:n/. (1)

*[d]kuuy: Khm. *gùy, whence by secondary

formation *pɔ̄ngūy* (besides *pɔ̄nguey* /pɔ̄ŋkù:əy/) 'Calotes versicolor' -- **[d]-n-kuuy:* SM /həkui/ 'Calotes versicolor'. (2)

**muur:* Khm. /mù:/ 'to roll, roll up' -- **[m-r]-muur:* Khm. /rəmù:/ 'roll' -- **s[r]-muu[r]:* SM /həmao/ 'to roll, roll together, roll up' -- **s[n]-muu[r]:* SM /həmao/ 'roll, roller'. (Mon form less probably assigned to **muul*, for which cf. Khm. /mù:l/ 'round'; /rəmù:l/ 'roll'.) (2)

**krkuul:* OM *kirkūl*, SM /həkao/ 'family, lineage; race'; Khm. /trəko:l/. (Not connected with Sanskrit Pali *kula*, which would give OM **/køl/*. Khm. dissimilation normal.) (1)

Note: In eleven instances Khm. shows opening to /ao ð:/ following a dental (/t d n r l/) and in one also following /m/; there are some cases where the expected opening is not found. Cf., e.g., **ruuy:* Khm. /rò:y/ 'to sprinkle, scatter, to winnow by letting fall from a height' -- **[t]-ruuy:* SM /kroə/ 'to sprinkle, scatter'; **armuul:* SM /həmao/ in /pəŋ həmao/ 'butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly'; Khm. /srəmaol/ 'shadow, image in mirror (in /srəmaol khmaoc/) ghost'.

8. **uə.* Khm. *uə* /u:ə ù:ə/. OM /o/ o; SM in most contexts /o ð:/; /oy/ > SM /oa ða/; /os/ > /oh/ > /u (p. 3 above) > /ao? uh ùh/.

**buək:* MM *b(w)ok* 'sect', SM /pòk/ 'company, group, sect'; Khm. /pù:ək/ 'company, group'. (1)

**p-r-guəŋ:* SM /həkòng/ 'bulb, corm' -- **p-n-gu* Khm. *pɔ̄nguən*, *pɔ̄nkuən* 'bulb of feather'. (2)

**buəc:* SM /pòt/ 'small pot'; Khm. /pù:əc/ 'small jar'. (6)

* duəŋ: SM /tòn/ 'to scold, chide, complain, scold'; Khm. /tù:əŋ/ 'to lament' -- *d-mn-uəŋ: SM enòn/ 'chiding'; Khm. /tùmnù:əŋ/ 'lamentation'. (2)

* [j]-puət: SM /pot/ 'to rub, stroke'; Khm. j:ət/ 'to rub hard, massage'. (Analysed as complex view of vowel-variant forms with other prefixes.)

* duən: LM don 'lance, pike'; Khm. /tù:ən/ 'kind spear'. (1)

* ruəm: LM rom 'company, companion, (in rom cha) accord, pair'; Khm. /rù:əm/ 'union, to join together (v.i.t.)' -- *[kn]-ruəm: SM /kərom/ 'in company with'.

* muəy: OM moy, SM /mòa/ 'one'; Khm. /mù:əy/.

* guər: OM gor 'to be meet, fitting, good', SM o/ in /kòp kò/ 'ought'; Khm. /kù:ə/ 'worthy, fittable'. (3)

* [p]-ruəs: LM proh, SM /pruh/ 'to squirt from mouth or trunk'; Khm. /prùəs/ 'to squirt from mouth'.

* o. OM /ɔ/ o (before velar) ~ a; SM /ɔ ò/. Khm. usually o /ɔ/ ~ /ù/ before labial, otherwise /ùə/; /ɔm ùm/ = ɔm; and see note at end of section.

* kŋok: SM /ŋok/ 'to be bent, crooked'; Khm. nŋok/ 'hook-shaped'. (5)

* goŋ: OM goŋ, SM /kòng/ 'to be brave'; Khm. eŋ/ 'invulnerable'. (2)

* rŋgöt: MM lagñat /læŋgöt/, SM /təŋðöt/ 'to dy'; Khm. /rùŋkùet/ 'to explore, go to and cross-cross'. (2)

* khən: SM /khən/ '[liquid] to be muddy, dirty, viscous, thick'; Khm. /khən/ 'to congeal, become viscous, to crystallize'. (1)

* [c]mrəp: SM /hərəp/ in /chi hərəp/ 'to tremble'; Khm. /comprop/. (SM initial obscure; perhaps -rop with different prefixes.) (1)

* rəm: SM /rəm/ 'to respect'; Khm. /rùm/ 'worth appropriate'. (2)

* dəl: OM dal 'to bar the way', SM /tò/ 'to close, block'; Khm. /tùəl/ 'to hold back, prevent'. (2)

* cl[ɔ]s: SM /klɔh/ 'to throw, throw at, away'
* c-r-l[ɔ]s: Khm. /crelɔh/ crelɔs 'to throw'. (Or
* -es, in the absence of determining cognates.) (2)

Note: In two instances Khm. has /a/ following /l/ in head-register words. Cf., e.g.,
* klok: MM tlåk /klɔk/ 'tinder-box', SM /klɔk/ in /klɔk pɔn/ 'lime-casket'; Khm. /khlak/ 'small cylindrical box'.

10. * ɔ. OM etc. as * ɔ. Khm. ɔ /ɔ: ð:/.

* crook: OM crok, SM /sɔk/ 'to plant upright, stick in'; Khm. /cro:k/ 'to put in, fill, load'. (7)

* tɔŋ: MM tɔn 'to bring away, rescue', SM /tɔ: 'to pull, draw [water *inter alia*], lead'; Khm. /dɔ: 'to draw [water]'. (7)

* ktɔ:t: SM /kətɔ:t/ 'to cluck, cackle'; Khm. /khtɔ:t/ 'clucking'. (3)

* cntɔ:n: LM datan, patan in datan etc. cuit 'tranquillity'; Khm. cəntɔ:n 'inert'. (1)

* [k]rəp: SM /kərəp/ 'to be near' -- *[k]-p-rop SM /kərəp/ 'vicinity, near'; Khm. /prɔ:p/ 'near'. (1)

* plɔɔm: SM /plɔm/ 'to stalk'; Khm. /phlɔ:m/
slip in, sneak in'. (2)

* kɔ[ɔ]r: SM /kɔ/ 'to carry hanging loosely over
's shoulder'; Khm. /kɔ:/ in /bɔŋ kɔ:/ 'to throw
scarf] over shoulder'. --Since compensatory length-
ening is to be expected in Khm., there are no differ-
entia for *-ɔr and *-ɔɔr. (6)

* e. OM /ø/ as < *i. Khm. o etc. as < *ɔ, except
or > Khm. -ɔr /ɔ: ðɔ:/; see also note at end of
ation.

* pək: MM puik 'to blow', SM /pak/ also 'to fan';
. /bək/. (3)

* thəŋ: SM /thəŋ/ 'bag'; Khm. /thɔŋ/. (4)

* pçet: SM /phypt/ 'to be astringent in taste';
. /cöt/ 'sour, tart'. (6)

* c?ən: Khm. /ch?ɔn/ 'surfeited, disgusted' --
-[r]-?ən: SM /hən/ 'to be nauseated through
satiety'. (2)

* ?dəp: Khm. /tùp/ 'to block, stop up' --
]-?dəp: Khm. /khtùp/ 'id., to close' --
-l]-?dəp: SM /hədəp/ 'to fold over, close'.
r *k-l-, and vocalism, cf. Sre köldöp 'to cover,
stop up'.) (5)

* r̥iem: OM r̥im, r̥iam in r̥im etc. r̥iák 'to be
ruins', SM /l̥im/ 'to be damaged, destroyed'; Khm.
l̥um/ 'to fall, fall down, crumble away'. (For
alism cf. Sre r̥ölöm 'to fall in, form gullies'.)

* [dp]gər: SM /həkɔ:/ 'thunder'; Khm. /phkɔ:/.
r initial cf. Riang-Lang təkər, from a variant
*-əər.) (3)

*dəl: MM duiw, SM /t̩/ 'as far as'; Khm. /t̩ə
'to reach as far as' -- *[k]-dəl: Khm. /dɔl/ 'to
arrive, reach; as far as'. (6)

Note: In five instances Khm. has /a ðə/ following /l/ or a nasal or nasal cluster. Cf., e.g.
*klen: MM klen, SM /klɔɪŋ/ 'oil, fat'; Khm. /khlap/
*sŋət: SM /hɛt/ 'to be quiet'; Khm. /sŋat/ 'silent,
quiet, deserted, solitary'.

12. *əə. OM etc. as *ə (but *-əey > OM /uy/ as <
*-u(u)y). Khm. ɣ /ay ɣ:/.

*lweək: Khm. /lv̚:k/ 'undulating movement, to
undulate' -- *l-b-wək: LM lawuik 'to wave (v.t.)'
-- *l-r-wək: Khm. /rəv̚:k/ 'wriggling movement'.
(2)

*təən: OM tin, SM /tən/ 'to go up, come up' --
*[k]-təən: Khm. /tən/ (royal language) 'to wake,
get up'. (1)

*səəm: Khm. /saŋm/ 'damp, moist' -- *[s-]n-sə
SM /kəsəm/ 'rainy season'; Khm. /sənsaŋm/, /ɔnsaŋm/
'dew, damp'. (1)

*jləey: OM jlūy, SM /klùi/ 'prisoner of war';
Khm. /chl̚:y/ id., 'booty'. -- Perhaps *-ə[ə]y,
allowing for compensatory lengthening; no distinct
*-ey has been found and this correspondence is
unexpectedly frequent. (4)

*rngəəl: SM /təŋʒ/ in /təkət təŋʒ/ 'to amaze,
shock'; Khm. rɔŋgyl 'offence taken'. (1)

13. *e. OM /e/ e; SM /ea ēa/ before velar, otherw
/e ē/. Khm. in head-register words ε /ae/, with
doublet in e /e:/ before v; in chest-register words
e /ē:/, before palatals /ē/. -- *e and *ee are

ferentiated by the Mon reflexes; the assignment of
se correspondences to *e assumes that the raising
a long mid vowel in Mon (*ee > /i/) is more likely
n that of a short one.

*leŋ: LM leŋ in leŋ laŋ 'to enjoy'; Khm. /lè:ŋ/
play, sport, divert oneself'. (3)

*b|[e]c: SM /plèt/ 'to miss, miss the mark,
be wrong'; Khm. /phlèc/ 'to forget'. (Conceivably
ariant pair involving *bliɛc, but no other
stances of *iɛ before palatal have been noted.) (2)

*d-n-?d[e]ŋ: Khm. /tuèntèŋ/ 'to recite, repeat'
*p-?d[e]ŋ: MM pðen, SM /den/ 'to memorize'.

. remark on *b|[e]c.) (1)

*trer: LM tre(w) 'to abide'; Khm. drer 'to
t'. (1)

*srlew: SM /hèle/ 'to be oblique, (in /mòt
e/) to squint'; Khm. /srèle:v/, /srælaev/ 'squint-
. (*-iɛw > SM /ea/, so not *srliɛw -- *srliiw.)

*c?e[s]: Khm. /ch?eh/ ch'eh 'stinking, stink' --
[n]-?e[s]: SM /heeh/ 'to stink' -- *c-m-?e[s]:
. /cɔm?aeħ/ cōm'as, /cɔm?eh/ cōm'eh 'smell of wild
mal, of urine'. (2)

*ee. OM /i/ as < *ii. Khm. as *e.

*?een: LM 'iñ 'oneself'; Khm. /aen/. (2)

*peen: SM /pin/ 'to thresh'; Khm. /baen/. (3)

*heel: SM /hi/ 'to drift'; Khm. /hael/ 'to
m'. (2)

*o. OM /u/ ~ /ɸ/ as < *u. Khm. o /ao ò:/.

*t-n-?d[o]k: SM /hənʒk/ 'slit-drum, (in

/hənɛk klɛa/) cowbell' -- *t-r-?d[ɔ]k: Khm.
/trədaok/, /tədaok/, /dədaok/ *id.* (Or *-uuk, with
Khm. post-dental opening?) (2)

*k[ɔ]ŋ: SM /kaŋ/ 'ribs of boat, to be arched,
bent', Khm. /kaŋ/ 'bend, arch, to be bent, arched'
(alongside /kɔŋ/ 'bend, to be bent', < *kun) --
*pn-kɔŋ: LM pakuiñ 'to bend (v.t.)'; Khm. /bɔŋkaŋ/
(Both *kɔŋ and *kun are found elsewhere in MK.) (1)

*tkot: SM /təkɒt/ 'to take fright, be frightened,
dismayed, to startle, dismay'; Khm. /kaot/ 'to honour,
respect; (in /kaot khla:c/) awe'. (?) (1)

*gom: SM /kɔm/ 'hot-air balloon'; Khm. /kò:m/
'lantern, balloon'. (2)

*kmpor: MM gapuiw, SM /həpp/ 'lime'; Khm.
/kombao/. (Perhaps loans from Malay kapur or other
Indonesian form.)

16. *oo. OM /o/ as < *uə. Khm. as *o.

*poŋ: SM /poŋ/ 'to swell up' -- *[k]-poŋ:
Khm. /paŋ/ 'to swell'. (3)

*c?booc: SM /bot/ 'to draw out, unsheathe';
Khm. /baoc/ 'to pull up'. (For initial cf. PAN
*k'abut.) (1)

*koom: OM kom 'to associate', SM /kom/ 'to
assemble, come together' -- *k-r-koom: MM grakwom,
SM /həkom/ 'association, company, assembly'; Khm.
trɔgom! 'in a group, together' -- *cn-koom: Khm.
/cɔŋkaom/ 'bunch'. (1)

*boor: SM /pò/ 'to be plentiful'; Khm. /pò:/
'about to overflow'. (1)

17. *ai. OM /ai/ ~ /a/ as < *aa. Khm. ε /ae è:/.
--Rare, in MK generally, except before velar; there

variants in *aa in a quarter of the cases; but there is some supporting evidence outside Mon and ., including the presumed alternance *ai ~ *ie.

*caik: SM /caik/ 'to be torn, to tear' -- caik: SM /phyaik/ 'to split up, punctuate [text]'; . /caek/ 'to divide up'. (Variant of *caak 'to t, be separated', above.) (8)

*kmbain: OM kumbeñ, SM /kemain/ 'wall, city 1'; Khm. /kompè:ŋ/ (alongside /komphaen/, rebor- ed from Thai /kampheen/). (7)

*pepail: SM /hepa/ in /ka? hepa/ 'skate, ray'; . /pebael/. (1)

(b) before laryngeal final

The problems involved in establishing the alism before final *?, *h derive, firstly, from eneral tendency to shorten a long vowel before se finals, compounded in Khm. by a further triction of the system before /h/ and by compen- ory lengthening of the vowel following the loss final *?; and, second, from what I take to be a hthongization of a long close vowel, with loss of final, before *? in both languages. The overall el system may be considered to be adequately ablished by section (a) above. Pre-laryngeal onstructions entail fitting correspondences to and are in places *ad hoc*; my solution, summarily out, is open to discussion and adjustment. I 1 with final *h first.

*ah (read *ah or *aah; no differentia): OM /ah/ h), SM /ah èh/; Khm. ៥h /ah èh/. *jnah: OM h, SM /hnèh/ 'to be victorious (over)'; Khm. nèh/ -- *j-m-nah: LM jamnah 'victor'; Khm.

/cùmnèəh/ 'victory'. (9)

*ih (doubtful; no differentia for *iih): SM /ʒh/; Khm. iħ. *grih: SM /krʒh/ 'to be resolute, unyielding, harsh, heartless, inhumane' -- *g-n-rih SM /hərʒh/ 'ferocity'; Khm. gəndriħ 'harsh, bad'. (1)

*uh: OM /wh/ oh etc., SM /vh ʒh/, following post-nasal split as *uuh; Khm. uħ /oh ûh/. *c-ruh: MM croh '[rain] to fall on'; Khm. /crùh/ '[leaves, fruit] to fall, [hair] to come out' -- *c-b-ruh: OM -curoħ 'to shed, scatter', SM /kerph/ 'to pour out, let fall'; Khm. /cùmrùh/ 'to cause to fall'. (1)

*uuh: OM /uh/ ûħ etc., SM /aoħ uh ûħ/; Khm. a *uh. *tuuh: SM /taoħ/ 'to rub, scrub, scour'; Khm /doh/ 'to rub, polish'. (2)

*oħ (no differentia for *ooħ): OM /oħ/ oħ etc SM /oħ ðħ/; Khm. oħ /ɔħ ûəħ/. On other evidence these are also the reflexes of *eh, so some reconstructions assigned here are provisional. *tħoh: OM toħħ, SM /tħoh/ 'breast, mamma'; Khm. /dħoh/. (For vocalism cf., e.g., Sre toħ.) (5)

*eh (no differentia for *eeh): OM /eh/ eħ etc SM /eh ēħ/; Khm. eħ /eh ēħ/. *e-seh: Khm. /seħ/ 'horse' -- *k-seh: OM kṣeħ etc., SM /cheħ/ id. (For Khm. reconstruction cf. Old Khm. aseħ.) (2)

*oh: OM etc. as *uh; Khm. as *oħ. *loħ: MM loħ 'to uncoil (v.t.)', SM /lʒħ/ 'to come unwound'; Khm. /lùəħ/ 'to redeem, ransom' -- *p-loħ: OM pluħ etc. 'to attain Buddhahood', SM /plħħ/ 'to come unwound, to unwind' -- *pr-loħ: LM paloh, paluiħ i-bodhi paloh etc. 'attainment of Buddhahood', Khm. /prəlħ/ 'space, interval'. (Not *luh -- *luuh, since post-dental opening does not operate before /ħ/.) (1)

*ooh: OM /oh/ oh etc., SM /ao? uh ùh/; Khm. as
, *oh. *pooh: OM poh, SM /puh/ 'to shoot with
let-bow'; Khm. /boh/ 'to throw, to gin [cotton]'
*p-n-ooh: SM /nuh/ 'pellet-bow'; Khm. /phnsh/
v for beating cotton'. (1)

*a?, *aa?: OM /a?/ a('), SM /a? e? è?/; Khm.
a: iə/. Riang-Lang has -a? < *-a?, -a? < *-aa?;
are no demonstrated examples of *-aa? in this
serial, but cf., e.g., *swaa?: Khm. /sva:/, Riang-
g -wa? 'monkey'. *ta?: OM ta, SM /ta?/ 'father';
. /ta:/ 'grandfather'; Riang-Lang -ta? 'master,
band, grandfather'. (13)

*i?: OM /i?/ i('), SM /œ? i? i?/ (not central-
d as before other finals!); Khm. T /xy i:/.
?: OM ti('), SM /tœ?/ 'earth'; Khm. /dxy/. (3)

*ii?: OM /ɔy/ ey, SM /oa òa/; Khm. ai /ay èy/;
aung /i/, Riang-Lang, Khmu' i?. Not reconstructed
*-ay (above) in view of the northern reflexes and
likelihood that *-ay was normally lengthened to
ay; cf. the parallel case of *uu?. *ti?: OM
, SM /toa/ 'hand, arm'; Khm. /day/; Riang-Lang
. (8)

*u?: OM /w?/ o' ~ u('), SM /v? ð?/; Khm. úv
v ?ù:v/. *sru?: OM sro', SM /sv?/ 'paddy'; Khm.
o:v/. (2)

*uu?: OM /ɔw/ ow, SM /ao èa/; Khm. au /av èu/;
aung /u/, Riang-Lang u?; paralleling *ii?. *cuu?:
cow, SM /cao/ 'grandchild'; Khm. /cav/; Palaung
. (6)

*o?: OM /ɔ?/ o', SM /ɔ? ð?/; Khm. Ó /ɔ: ?ð/.
?: OM ko', SM /kɔ?/ 'neck'; Khm. /kɔ:/-. (3)

*oo?: OM etc. as *o?; Khm. as *u?.

A speculative identification, perhaps to be interchanged with the preceding. *^skoo?: Khm. /sko:v/ 'white [hair]' -- *^{s-n-}koo?: OM siṅko' 'grey hair' -- *^{s-n-}koo? v.: SM /həkɔ?/ 'to be grey-haired, white-haired' (and Old Khm. saṅkū = /sko:v/). (1)

*^{ee?}: OM *^{/ø?/, SM /ø?? ɿ?/; Khm. ε /aʔ? ɻ:/.}

*^{dæ?}: MM dui', SM /tɿ?/ 'to stop, halt'; Khm. /tɿ/ 'to put, put down, to land on'. (1)

*^{e?}: OM /e?/ e', SM /e? ɿe?/; Khm. ε /ae/ ~ e /è:/.

*^{bhe?}: SM /phe?/ 'otter'; Khm. /phè:/.

(Onomatopoeia probably accounts for Khm. vocalism in /pəpɛ:/ 'goat' : OM bəbɛ', SM /həbe?/; otherwise vowel-length variation.) (3)

*^{ee?}: OM etc. as *^{i?}; Khm. ε /ae ɻ:/ (so in chest register differing from reflex of *^{ee} in other contexts).

*^{nree?}: SM /rì?/ 'pestle'; Khm. /ɔŋrè:/. (5)

*^{o?}: OM etc. as *^{u?}; Khm. o /ao ò:/.

*^(ro?)
ro?: SM /kər̥ɿ?/ 'to cry, weep, shriek, make plaintive noise'; Khm. /rò:/ 'hollow sound, to low, bay, rumble'. (2)

*^{oo?}: OM /u?/ u('), SM /ao? u? ɻ?/; Khm. as *^{o?.}

Closing in Mon in this context (note that *^{ee} is closed in all contexts) follows diphthongization of *^{uu?.}

*^{poo?}: SM /pao?/ 'to swell'; Khm. /baŋ/ 'to warp, swell'. (1)

VOWEL VARIATION

I shall give only a few illustrations here.

Length variation. In principle this may affect any vowel, but it cannot be demonstrated from Mon and Khm. forms alone where the long and short terms of a pair are merged in either language. I have

and 5 instances of *i(i) (partly merged in Khm.),
possible ones of *e(e) (merged in Khm. except
only before *?), 17 of *a(a), 22 of *u(u).

Cf., e.g., *craŋ 'bank': OM crañ, SM /səŋ/,
/craŋ/ (above) ~ *craaŋ: MM crāñ '(bund of?)
' etc., SM /saɪŋ/ 'dam, reservoir, moat' (note
lets); *j?bat: SM /bət/ in /cəm bət/ 'to feel,
ate' ~ *j?baat: Khm. bāt 'to rub [ointment] on';
am: Khm. /chnam/ 'year' ~ *cnaam: OM cnām, SM
m/ id. (note double correspondence); *suk: Khm.
k/ 'placenta' ~ *suuk: SM /s3k/ id.

Simple vowel/diphthong. I have noted 12
ances of *i(i) ~ *iə, 30 of *u(u) ~ *uə, 5 of
) ~ *ai. Cf., e.g., *nciin: MM lacin, SM
cin/ 'ring' ~ *nciən: Khm. /ɔŋciən/ (and second-
y cɔŋciən) id.; *kuuk: Khm. /ko:k/ 'to call
to' ~ *kuək: OM kok, SM /kok/ 'to call'; *caak
be parted' (above) ~ *caik 'to be torn, divided'
ve); *laŋ laŋ > *l-n-laŋ: SM /kənɛaŋ/ 'kite
d)' ~ *k-laŋ: Khm. /khlaŋ/ id.

Diphthong/e. I have noted 3 instances of *iə
~ *ə, 18 of *uə etc. ~ *ə. Cf., e.g., *wien
go round, detour' (above; and simple-vowel
ants not quoted) ~ *wəŋ: OM wiñ, SM /wàŋ/
be bent round, circular, to go round', Khm.
ŋ/ 'sphere, circle, disc' -- *k-wəŋ: Khm.
ŋ/ 'bent round'; *suek: OM sok, SM /sok/
r' ~ *sək: Khm. /sok/ id.

Minor variations. I have noted 23 instances of
) ~ *ə(e), or of *a appearing where *ə is
ected (from the previous type of variation); some
point to deficiencies in my reconstruction. I
also noted 2 instances of *iə ~ *ai, 8 of

*i/*ii/*ie ~ *u etc., and 1 of *e ~ *o.

Cf., e.g., *yaam: OM yām, SM /yèm/ 'to weep' -- *y-p-aam: SM /i?wèm/ 'weeping' ~ *yem: Khm. /yùm/ ~ *y-p-əm: Khm. /yòbəm/; *wiəl: Khm. /vi:əl/ 'to dig round, cut round, to enlarge [hole] (and variants, e.g. *tr-wiil: OM tirwTl 'to surround on', SM /kəwi/ in /kewi kewəŋ/ 'to be surrounded by, attended by') ~ (e.g.) *kr-wail: Khm. /krəvael/ 'to go back and forth, to explore, to circle round'; *suc: Khm. /soc/ 'small kind of mosquito' (originally 'to sting', cf., e.g., Sre souc, Riang-Lang -huc, < *suuc) -- *s-rm-uuc: Khm. /srəmaoc/ 'ant, with post-nasal opening ~ *s-[r]m-a SM /həmot/ id. (LM samat; with post-nasal closing) *s-[r]m-iic: SM /həmit/ 'mosquito' (not *srmeč, which would give */həmoik/).

¹'So in general Schmidt's work on initial consonants can be considered sound, the final consonants can be considered valid at most points, and the vowels are as he left them--chaotic.' (David D. Thomas, "A survey of Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies," in John Banker et al., *Mon-Khmer studies I. Publications of the Linguistic Circle of Saigon*, 1. Saigon and Santa Ana, 1964, p. 161.) See principally W. Schmidt, "Die Sprachen der Sakei und Semang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer-Sprachen", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 52, 1901, pp. 399-583; "Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache in ihren Beziehungen zu derjenigen der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen", *Abh. bayr. Akad. Wiss.*, 1 Kl. Bd. 22, Abt. 3, 1904, pp. 677-810; "Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen", *Denkschr. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 51, 1905, pp. 1-233; "Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens", *Arch. Anthropol. (Braunschweig)*, N.F. 5, 1906, pp. 59-109. Also relevant are W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906 (repr. 1966), comparative vocabulary with etymological notes at Vol. II, pp. 507-768; Robert Shaf-

des sur l'austroasién", *BSLP*, 48, 1, 1952,
111-158; *Studies in Austroasian II (Studia
entalia edidit Soc. Or. Fennica, XXX, 5)*,
Helsinki, 1965; H.-J. Pinnow, *Versuch einer
historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*, Wiesbaden,
1966; and now, from a rather different standpoint,
Henry F. Blood, *A reconstruction of proto-Mnong*,
M.S., Univ. of North Dakota, 1968.

² It may be added that the published reconstructions of Munda and Austronesian are by no means identical to such an assumption.

³ See H. L. Shorto, *A dictionary of the Mon inscriptions from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries* (London Or. Ser., 24), London, 1971, (DMI); *A dictionary of modern spoken Mon*, London, 1962. This contains a full listing of relevant cognate sets, generally without reconstructions.

⁴ See S. Tandart, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, Phnom-Penh, 1935; Joseph Guesdon, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, Paris, 1930; *Ananukram khmer*, 5 Phnom Penh, 1967. On Khmer historical phonology see now besides the studies of Saveros Lewitz, Y. Sakamoto, "e de khmer ancien", *Ms. Afr. Stud. (Tokyo)*, 3, 1970, pp. 28-43; "i, ya, yā de khmer ancien", *Tonan Ajia Kenkyū*, VII, 1970; "Sur quelques voyelles de khmer ancien", *Ms. Afr. Stud.*, 4, 1971, pp. 53-73. I am most grateful to my colleague Mrs. J. M. Jacob and to Lewitz for criticism of the Khmer material drawn in this paper, and for the provision of Old Khmer materials which have helped me to clarify the problems, albeit not quoted on this occasion. They are, of course, not responsible for errors which may remain.

⁵ See DMI, pp. xvi-xix; H. L. Shorto, "The interpretation of archaic writing systems", *Lingua*, 1965, pp. 88-97.

⁶ The SM system is described synchronically in *ibid.*, "Mon vowel systems...", in C. E. Bazell et al. (eds.), *In memory of J. R. Firth*, London, 1966, pp. 398-409.

⁷*K (as, *mutatis mutandis*, *C, *T, *P) provisionally codifies a correspondence of which the Mon one appears to imply *k and the Khmer one *g; of which I am hopeful that explanations will in due course be found.

ABBREVIATIONS

Khm.	=	Khmer
LM	=	Late Mon
MK	=	Mon-Khmer
MM	=	Middle Mon
OM	=	Old Mon
PAN	=	proto-Austronesian
PIN	=	proto-Indonesian
PMK	=	proto-Mon-Khmer
SM	=	spoken Mon

