

A COMPARISON OF MU'ONG WITH SOME MON-KHMER LANGUAGES

by

RUTH S. WILSON

Mường is a member of the Vietnamese-Mường language group, which is sometimes classed with the Thai family, and sometimes with the Mon-Khmer family. Scholars have long disagreed regarding the language family to which this smaller language group belongs. Haudricourt refers to this disagreement stating, (1) that Henri Maspero declared that Vietnamese did not belong to the Mon-Khmer language family, but rather to the Thai family and (2) that J. Przyluski maintained that Vietnamese did belong to the Mon-Khmer family.¹ Buttinger, discussing this controversy, states "Both the Vietnamese language and the Mường dialects are based on a Mon-Khmer (Cambodian) vocabulary. The words for numbers, family relationships, and domestic animals are of Mon-Khmer origin."²

David Thomas, in his paper "Some Vietnam Linguistic Data"³ states, "What is especially interesting is the large body of Mon-Khmer words in the basic Mường list."⁴ This could lend support to the solid establishment of Vietnamese and Mường in the Mon-Khmer family as claimed by Haudricourt and others.⁵

Vietnamese has been compared with Mường;⁶ Vietnamese has also

¹ Haudricourt, André G., "L'origine des tons vietnamiens", *Journal Asiatique*, 242 (1954), 69.

² Buttinger, Joseph, *The Smaller Dragon* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), 57.

³ Unpublished.

⁴ The basic "Swadesh 200" word list collected by David D. Thomas in a Mường dialect of Hoa Binh Province.

⁵ Haudricourt, André G., "La place du vietnamien dans les langues Austroasiatiques", *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 49, 122-8, (1953). Blagden, C. O., "The Classification of the Annamese Language", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, 427-32.

⁶ "Le Mường et le vietnamien sont très proches par leurs vocabulaires; on peut restituer la langue mère commune, qui devait avoir 3 tons et deux séries de consonnes initiales: une série sourde qui a donné les tons bãng, hoi, sác, et une série sonore qui a donné les tons huyên, nga, nãng; à l'initiale il y avait deux glottalisées qui ont donné 'b, 'd, en Mường et m, n, en vietnamien. Deux séries de consonnes se sont confondues

been discussed in its relationship to the Mon-Khmer family;⁷ but Mư̄ong seems to show greater similarities to the Mon-Khmer languages than does Vietnamese.

This paper presents some correspondences between Mư̄ong and some of the southeastern Mon-Khmer languages.⁸ These correspondences help strengthen the claims of those earlier scholars who believed Vietnamese to be a member of the Mon-Khmer language group, and they may serve as source material for subsequent study and establishment of the postulated relation.

The Mon-Khmer languages considered were Bahnar (Bah), Sedang (Sed), Bōnam (Bnm), Jeh, Rōngao (Rng), Cua, Hre of the Kontum area; Mnong Gar (Gar), Mnong Biat (Biat), Chrao (Chr), Koho of the southern area of the South Vietnam highlands; Katu, Bru, Pōkoh (Pko) of the northern area of South Vietnam: Boloven (Bol), La?ven (Lv), Alak of southern Laos; Kui of east Thailand; and Khmer (Khm) of Cambodia.

The following list contains only those words which are cognate in three or more languages. The better attested cognates are listed first in the list. This is also true within the sets of the Mon-Khmer cognates, but the sets are not exhaustive.

sous la forme de p, t, k, en Mư̄ong, mais sont restées distinctes en viêtnamien. 'b, 'd, k, d'une part et v, z(d), g, d'autre part. Les finales l et ch sont conservées en Mư̄ong et sont devenues y et t en viêtnamien. Pour toute étude étymologique ou historique du viêtnamien, le témoignage du Mư̄ong est donc indispensable." *Ethnologie de l'Union Française (EUF)* (Paris, 1953), 2, 528-29. See also, Cuisinier, Jeanne, "Les rites, agraires", *Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, (1951).

⁷ "Il n'y a pas lieu de douter de la parenté entre le viêtnamien et les langues mon-khmer, les préglottalisées du Mư̄ong se retrouvent dans les mêmes mots en Bahnar et en vieux mon ('dak eau, 'boh sel). Cette parenté explique maintenant l'origine des 3 tons, le ton hoi-nga provient de l'amusement d'une spirante finale: Viêtnamien rē racine, Mon ruh racine; Viêtnamien mīi nez, Mon muh nez, et le sac-nang provient des mots à occlusives finales, que celles-ci aient persisté: nu'óc eau, ou se soient amuées: cá poisson, chó chien (le Riang de Birmanie est la seule langue Mon-Khmer à avoir conservé une occlusion glottale finale dans ces derniers mots." *EUF*, 530. See also, Haudricourt, André G., "L'origine des tons vietnamiens", *Journal Asiatique*, 242 (1954), 69-82.

⁸ The basic "Swadesh 200" collected in a Mư̄ong dialect of Hoa Binh province by David Thomas and amplified by material from Cuisinier's tableaux; and Mon-Khmer word lists by R. S. Pittman, David D. Thomas, Grady Mangham, Erin Asai, R. E. Johnston, and Richard L. Phillips; and published *Mon-Khmer vocabularies* by Dournes, De la Bernardie, Cheon and Mougeot, Cambefort, Tandart, and Dourisboure. This paper of necessity is based on varying sorts of phonetic and phonemic data. The various transcriptions are here in a single modified Vietnamese orthography for the purpose of easier comparison: o = open o; e = open e; d = Vietnamese d.

<i>Muong</i>	<i>Mon-Khmer Cognates</i>	<i>English/Vietnamese</i>
kon vật	kon se mprem (Bah); kon tye (Sed); kon kohnem (Jeh); kong kyak (Rng)	animal/con vật
chim	chium (Biat); tyim (Sed) t ^y im (Rng); sim (Koho)	bird/chim
sương	kusieng (Sed); k ^u seng (Rng); s ^e ng (Hre); ksiing (Katu); ch'eng (Khm)	bone/xương
✓ đượ kon	k ^o n (Hre, Pko, Bru); kon (Chr, Biat, Koho, Bah); k ^o on (Kui)	child/trẻ con
mợl	ham ^o l (Bah); kam ^o l (Kui); hm ^u l (Bru); hm ^o l (Lv)	cloud/mây
✓ ka ^y ḳ	k ^o tac (Katu); kat (Bah, Bru, Hre, Chr); chiat (Lv); siat (Koho)	cut/cắt
t ^l áy n ^o	plii noyh (Hre); ple nuih (Bah); nuyh (Chr)	heart/tim
✓ lu ^o ni	nih (Khm); ne (Bol); n'he (Chr); n ^e (Kui)	here/đây
pa ^y ng	p ^o n pain (Alak); p ^a nh (Chr); tow b ^a nh (Khm)	hunt/săn bắn
o ^w ng	ong (Bnm); ?ong (Hre); k ^o mong (Sed)	husband/chồng
lá	la (Chr); là (Bol); laa (Rng, Lv); hla (Bah, Hre, Cua, Katu); hlaa (Kui); hala/sala (Bru)	leaf/lá
✓ l ^o m	kl ^o m (Bah, Biat); k'l ^o m (Bol); kloom (Lv, Alak)	liver/lòng, gan
chí	ch'i (Biat); chai (Lv, Alak); si (Chr); nhcee (Kui)	louse/chí
✓ mê	mè (Koho); me (Bah); me? mey (Chr); mee? (Katu, Alak); ?amee? (Kui)	mother/mẹ
✓ m ^u i	mui (Katu); mu (Bol); muh (Koho, Bah, Cua, Chr); m ^u h (Kui, Bru, Hre)	nose/mũi
m ^u a	m ^u a (Lv); mia (Kui, Bru); mih (Gar); mi (Bah, Chr)	rain/mưa
t ^a m	tam (Kui); otom (Pko); at ^o m (Bru); sdam (Khm); t ^u om (Katu)	rightside/phải
re ^y ḳ	hrex (Alak); r ^e h (Kui); re (Sed); ria (Koho)	root/rễ

<i>Muong</i>	<i>Mon-Khmer Cognates</i>	<i>English/Vietnamese</i>
chuih	chuy (Chr); k̄okoy (Bah); toyh (Katu); koyh (Hre)	rub/chà
m̄oi/bói?/boei	?boi (Bru); mboh (Rng); mb̄oh (Cua); boh (Koho, Bah); m̄woy? (Katu); p̄ōh (Kui)	salt/muối
✓ k̄ai?	kai (Bah, Khm); k̄wai? (Cua); kay? (Rng); ka ^{yh} (Katu); kar (Bru)	scratch/gãy
t̄loy	tr̄oy (Katu); tr̄ó? (Chr); trok (Gar); tr̄ô (Koho); tr̄ok (Hre)	sky/trời
hít	hiet (Bol); het (Khm); hip (Cua); hiép (Bah); huut (Lv)	smell/ngửi
✓ ngày	ngay (Chr); nḡy/t̄nḡai (Khm); tangay (Kui); t̄nḡai (Bol); t̄nḡaiy (Katu)	day/ngày
chét	chet (Katu); chit (Chr); tset (Cua); kachet (Bnm); k̄ochit (Hre)	die/chết
chó	cho (Bol); choo (Lv); ch'ó (Biat); tȳo (Katu); tȳo (Rng); s̄o (Chr)	dog/chó
m̄at	mat (Bol); m̄h m̄at (Chr); m̄h m̄at (Biat); mukh mēat (Khm)	face/mặt
m̄at	mat (Koho, Cua, Hre, Katu, Bah, Sed, Chr); māt (Kui); mat? (Lv)	eye/mắt
m̄õ	l̄oma (Koho); r̄oma (Bah, Hre); r̄ur̄ma (Rng, Sed)	fat/mỡ
✓ ka	ka (Koho, Bah, Biat, Chr); kaa (Sed, Rng, Gar)	fish/cá
paĩ	pal (Cua); paal (Kui); par (Koho, Gar, Bru, Katu, Chr); paĩ (Rng)	to fly/bay
ch̄on	̄j̄ong (Bah, Bol, Koho); d̄j̄ong (Biat); j̄ung (Gar)	leg/chân
pan ch̄on	pan tyeng (Rng); pang ̄j̄ong (Bol); p̄yang d̄yeng (Bnm)	foot/bàn chân
✓ p̄on	pon (Bru); p̄oon (Alak); p̄won (Hre, Chr); phoon (Rng); puon (Bah)	four/bốn
t̄lai	plai (Koho, Chr); plai (Bol); pl̄ai (Biat); plei (Bah)	fruit/trái
r̄wa ^y k̄/ruot	r̄wa ^y /rue? (Bru); rūak (Kui); roy? (Pko); proac (Koho); proit (Gar)	intestines/ruột
✓ thák/sák	sak (Bnm); s̄ak (Khm); sok (Alak);	hair/tóc

<i>Muong</i>	<i>Mon-Khmer Cognates</i>	<i>English/Vietnamese</i>
	so? (Kui); chok (Biat)	
thay	tai (Lv, Bol); taii (Katu); dăi/dăy (Khm); atai (Bru); t'i (Chr)	hand/tay
chủ xàk	kochu? (Hre); choh (Koho) kacheh (Kui); kachoh (Katu)	spit/khạc
pú?	pu (Biat, Chr); pou? (Koho); bàu (Khm)	suck/bú
ơi loi?	loi (Bru); looy (Kui); gløy (Hre); glai (Rng); gluy (Bah); zilois (Cua)	swim/ơi, lội
pah	paa (Lv); pai (Alak, Pko, Bru); pay (Gar); pəh (Cua); pae (Katu); ?apay (Kui)	three/ba
kol	kəl (Kui); ol (Cua); kəlaa 'bamboo' (Hre, Sed, Koho)	tree/cây
dák	dak (Bah, Biat); ?dak (Katu); ndak/tak (Cua); da? (Chr); daak (Lv, Alak, Gar); diak (Hre); dia? (Kui)	water/nước
năm	năm (Biat); nam (Koho, Gar); hur-nam (Rng); ch'năm (Khm); xanâm (Bah)	year/năm
seng	səng (Cua); ceng (Bru); seeng (Pko)	green/xanh
pọ	pho (Bol); tai boh (Koho); phro? (Kui)	because/tại vì
xo	xo (Chr); kro (Bah); kroo (Rng)	dry/khô
băk	?ba? (Cua); ba (Khm); mba (Hre); bap (Gar, Chr)	father/cha, ba
tlók	plo (Pko); plɔ (Bru); ploo (Kui); bok (Gar); bôk (Biat); bo? (Chr)	head/đầu
mang	hmang (Sed); mưng/pang (Bah); tɔmưng/kamang (Bru); nang (Katu)	hear/nghe
mòt	mo (Khm); moy (Sed); m ^w oi (Chr); mooe (Lv); mooi (Alak); moy? (Katu)	one/một
dun	tun/tul (Bah); runh (Khm); drung (Koho)	push/đẩy
xong/khôn	krong (Bah, Sed); karung (Katu); klong (Bru); rong (Gar, Koho); dakhom (Lv); n'hong (Biat); khro-ang (Hre)	river/sông

<i>Muong</i>	<i>Mon-Khmer Cognates</i>	<i>English/Vietnamese</i>
tuoy	kan tui (Khm); su ^w ai (Lv); suêi k'nai (Bol); sooy (Kui)	tail/đuôi
buing	buh (Chr, Gar); bũh (Biat); bu (Koho)	ashes/tro
thỏ/thôn	ta? nhom (Koho); tangoh (Kui); tonguh (Bru); tonguh (Pko); tong chap (Chr)	breathe/thở
hèp	hrap (Bah); hat (Koho, Gar, Rng); rhat (Biat)	narrow/hẹp
keĩ	kal koong (Kui); o ^k or (Bah); ka (Khm); kao (Gar)	neck/cổ
tàng xá	trong (Biat, Bah, Gar, Hre); ntoong (Alak); crong (Chr)	road/đường
póp	bop (Chr); rop (Bah); katop (Bnm); kadap (Hre); rup (Katu)	squeeze/bóp
thuo ^r /sũra	rua (Katu); brua (Lv); řuh (Rng); rao (Koho); riaw (Kui)	wash/rửa
rừng	krong (Gar); krông (Katu); kong (Sed)	woods/rừng
nhỏ	yo/yoh (Hre); o ⁿ oh (Cua); yoh (Rng); ?yoh (Bnm)	small/nhỏ
ta ^y ng nhaw	toang (Bnm); ting (Bru); tìon (Cua); ton/to? (Bah)	hit/đánh

The following words are possible cognates which may be more firmly established by further study.

ô	a (Biat); ae (Khm); a 'from' (Chr)	at/ô
ta	ntoh (Chr); kdoh (Rng); kurtoo (Sed); to? (Katu); kado? (Bah); ?doh/ndoh (Bru)	bark/vỏ
to	toh (Cua); to ^r (Bru); t'om (Khm); tomix (Alak); trok (Hre)	big/to
wol	hul (Jeh); thuol (Bah); thor (Bru); thui (Hre)	blow/thổi
chal	choh (Alak, Lv); chõh (Chr)	burn/cháy
tìong	teang hane (Alak); tuoh/o ^t ok (Katu); turo? (Bru); tởrong (Bah)	come/đến
tàw	taa/tò (Koho); tyio ^r (Bnm); tong tuh (Bah)	dig/đào

óng	o? (Bnm); ?o? (Rng); ok? (Lv); ok (Bol)	drink/uông
puĩ	thuli (Khm); gøthul (Koho)	dust/bụi
pô?/po?	bo/bong (Chr)	fall/bỏ
kủ	?uing (Bah); ?uịng (Hre); uinh (Bol, Chr); ?uyih (Bru, Pko)	fire/lửa
pong	pooh/?bo ^w ng (Katu)	flower/bông hoa
nạng	ntong (Kui); leng (Katu)	heavy/nặng
thiớ nộ	neh nộ (Gar)	how/thế nào
lái	traí (Cua); ?daiy (Katu)	left/trái
từ	ti đong (Rng); di?dong (Bnm); di-dong (Sed)	many/nhiều
khơ ^y ng	khang (Khm); kơnh 'about to' (Chr)	near/gần
chaak	ch'ě (Chr); che (Koho); sih (Hre); ksi? (Sed); kachii (Bnm)	rope/giây thừng
ta	tao (Gar); nto (Chr); n'tou (Biat)	skin/da
xoi	juui (Alak); nhoy (Hre); nhoi (Bah)	smoke/khói
chẻ	sre (Koho); treh (Chr);	split/chẻ
t ^w ăng	tay ^u ng (Bru); turk (Cua); yuang (Bnm); yoong (Rng); yong dang (Sed)	stand/đứng
káy lưa?	lae? (Lv)	that/cái kia
k ^w ông	kaun (Khm)	turn/đi vòng
chì	nchi (Koho)	what/gì
và	ba?/páng (Sed); ma (Bah); mơ (Koho)	and/và
yòm	gam (Hre); nggøm (Bah); tam/yong (Katu); jong (Lv)	black/đen
chá	khaw (Katu); tkat (Alak); kat (Gar); kōkaat (Chr); takoo? (Kui)	cold/lạnh
tất	kōtiiak (Katu); sōkie? (Chr)	earth/đất
nam	tam (Hre); pōtam (Sed); podam (Bah); pudēm (Rng); pram (Chr); prām (Khm)	five/năm

Four points can be seen from the cognate lists: First, frequent correspondences. Second, Mưong forms intermediate between Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer forms. Third, a wide geographical distribution of the cognates. Fourth, significant cognate percentages between Mưong and the Mon-Khmer family.

First, the following correspondences frequently occur within the languages of the Kontum (Ktm) area, the southern area of the South Vietnam highlands (SVH), the northern area of South Vietnam (NSV), southern Laos (Laos), east Thailand (Thai), and Cambodia (Cam). Two factors, (1) the limited number of words compared, (2) the large number of languages and dialects considered make it difficult to discover the regular correspondences between Mư̄ong and the Mon-Khmer family group. The correspondences listed below are based on either two occurrences in a single area plus two or more occurrences in at least one other area, or on three occurrences in a single area.

Correspondences in word-initial position

Mư̄ong Mon-Khmer Correspondences

b	mb (Ktm); b (SVH) ⁹
ch	ch, ty, s (Ktm); ch, s (SVH); ch (NSV, Laos, Thai); k, tk ¹⁰
d	d (Ktm, SVH)
h	h (Ktm, NSV, SVH)
k	k (Ktm, SVH ⁹ , NSV, Thai ⁹ , Cam ⁹)
l	hl, gl (Ktm); l (NSV, Laos)
m	m (Ktm, SVH, NSV, Laos, Thai, Cam ⁹); hm, m ^{w10}
n	n (Ktm, SVH, Laos ⁹ , Thai ⁹ , Cam); nh ¹⁰
ng	ng (Ktm, Laos); g ¹⁰
p	p (Ktm, NSV, Thai); p, b (SVH, Laos); b (Cam ⁹); p ^w , ph ¹⁰
r	r (NSV, Thai)
s	s (Ktm, NSV, Thai)
t	t (Ktm, NSV, Laos); nt, t ¹⁰
th	t (SVH, NSV, Laos ⁹)
tl	pl (Ktm ⁹ , NSV ⁹); pl, tr (SVH)

Correspondences in word-final position

k	k, t, ? (Ktm, SVH); k (Laos, NSV)
l	l (Ktm, Thai ⁹); r (SVH ⁹ , NSV ⁹)
m	m ⁹ (Ktm, SVH, NSV, Laos, Cam)
n	n, ng (Ktm, SVH, Laos); n (NSV, Thai)

⁹ Regular with no variations.

¹⁰ Additional correspondences found to occur three or more times within the Mon-Khmer family, but not within the same area.

ng	ng (Ktm, NSV, Laos ⁹); ng, h, # (SVH)
p	p (Ktm); t (SVH)
t	t (Ktm, SVH, NSV, Laos ⁹ , Thai ⁹ , Cam)

Second, Mư̄ong is situated geographically between Vietnamese and the Mon-Khmer languages, which would make loans from both sides very natural. However, the words presented in the two lists of cognates are basic vocabulary, and hence unlikely to be loans.

The Mư̄ong forms often appear to be a transition between Vietnamese and the Mon-Khmer forms with the dialectal differences within the Mư̄ong language helping to bridge the gap.

<i>Vietnamese</i>	<i>Mư̄ong Dialects</i> ¹¹	<i>Mon-Khmer Languages</i>	<i>English</i>
cây	kɔl	kəɭ (Kui); ɔl (Cua)	tree
muối	mɔi/bói?/boei	mboh (Rng); ?boi (Bru); boh (Koho); poh (Hre); po? (Katu)	salt
trái	trái/tlay/plái/ klái/pli	plai (Koho); plaii (Hre); ple (Bah); palai (Bru); kalai/kolai (Pko)	fruit
gan/lòng	gan/ghan/kan/ lon/lom/plom	luon/kluan/kla (Katu); klom (Bah); k'lom (Bol); pɔlong (Pko) tɔl'om (Chr)	liver (or) entrails
bay	paĩ	pal (Cua); paĩ (Rng); ipar (Pko); kapah (Sed)	to fly
tóc	tok/thak/tsák suk	sak (Bnm); sák (Khm); sok (Alak); so? (Kui)	hair
mây	mɔl	hamɔl (Bah); kamɔl (Kui); ramɔl (Pko)	cloud
sông	xong/sonh/son khonh/thôn/ráô	dakhom (Lv); klong (Bru); krong (Bah); karuông (Pko); karu/karung (Katu); ranga (Koho)	river

¹¹ Some of the regular correspondences between Vietnamese and Mư̄ong are: b = p; t = th; d = t; s, x = kh; th, tr = kl, tl, pl; ai = al, an; ay = al, an, ɔl, ɔn; oi = ol, on; ôi = ôl, ôn; ɔi = ɔl, ɔn; ui = ul, un; and frequently: m = b, v; v = w, p, b. Cuisinier, 5-10.

In 1907 Cheon discussed this place of Mư̄ong as a connecting link between Vietnamese and the Mon-Khmer languages presenting a table of 32 words from the Sắ̄c dialect of Mư̄ong in large type with their equivalents in smaller type. In his chart, French, Thai, Chinese, Vietnamese, Mư̄ong and Ngūôn appear to the left, with Brau (Bru), Bahnar, Stieng, Chrau, Khmer, Cham and Malay to the right. Of this table he says, "The following table contains certain words from the Sắ̄c dialect, especially some disyllabic or prefixed forms. It is in this respect that Sắ̄c is related to Cambodian, Malay, or Cham, and to other dialects spoken in the mountains of south and central Vietnam."¹²

The contracting of the first syllable of disyllabic words can often be traced through the Mon-Khmer languages to a monosyllabic Mư̄ong form, as in *hamol* (Bah); *hmol* (Lv), to *mol* 'cloud' in Mư̄ong; *tongaiy* (Katu), *tʔngăi/ngăy* (Khm); to *ngày* 'day' in Mư̄ong; *chilaa/hiela* (Pko), *sala/hala* (Bru), *hla* (Bah, Hre, Cua, Katu), *la* (Chr), to *lá* 'leaf' in Mư̄ong. However, in the material presented by Cuisinier it will be noted that this same feature occasionally occurs within the dialects of Mư̄ong itself, *puʔa kwao*, *poʔkwao*, *kwao*, *kao* 'rake'; *ti sa*, *ʔsa*, *hsa*, *sa* 'go out'; *ti lô*, *tlê*, *lô* 'slow'.¹³

Third, the cognates are distributed widely over the entire area where the southeastern Mon-Khmer languages are spoken, with southern Laos, Cambodia and eastern Thailand showing nearly as many cognates as the areas in Vietnam. Laos, Cambodia and Thailand are all areas where Vietnamese would have little or no opportunity to be an influence in producing this apparent relationship. The following chart gives some of these cognate percentages.

	<i>Words Compared</i>	<i>Cognates</i> ¹⁴	<i>% of Cognates</i>
Kui (Thai)	193	33	17.1
Laʔven (Laos)	191	28	14.6
Boloven (Laos)	158	24	15.2
Alak (Laos)	136	21	15.5
Khmer (Cam)	196	31	15.8
Biat (SVH)	196	37	18.9
Hre (Ktm)	125	30	24.0

¹² Cheon, M. A., "Note sur les dialectes Ngūôn, Sắ̄c et Nư̄ong", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* (Paris), 7 (1907), 97.

¹³ Tableaux (1951).

¹⁴ The Mon-Khmer sets of cognates on the preceding pages are not exhaustive and therefore do not add up to the total figure given here.

Fourth, of the 196 basic Mư̄ong words compared with the Mon-Khmer family, 65 or 33% are apparent cognates with three or more Mon-Khmer languages. Another 30 possible cognates appear on the second list. Together the two lists yield 48%. Either of these percentages seems to establish Mư̄ong as a member of the Mon-Khmer family. This in turn would lend additional strength to the arguments for the inclusion of Vietnamese in the Mon-Khmer family.

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

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