

PROTO-PEARIC AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF PEARIC

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1. INTRODUCTION

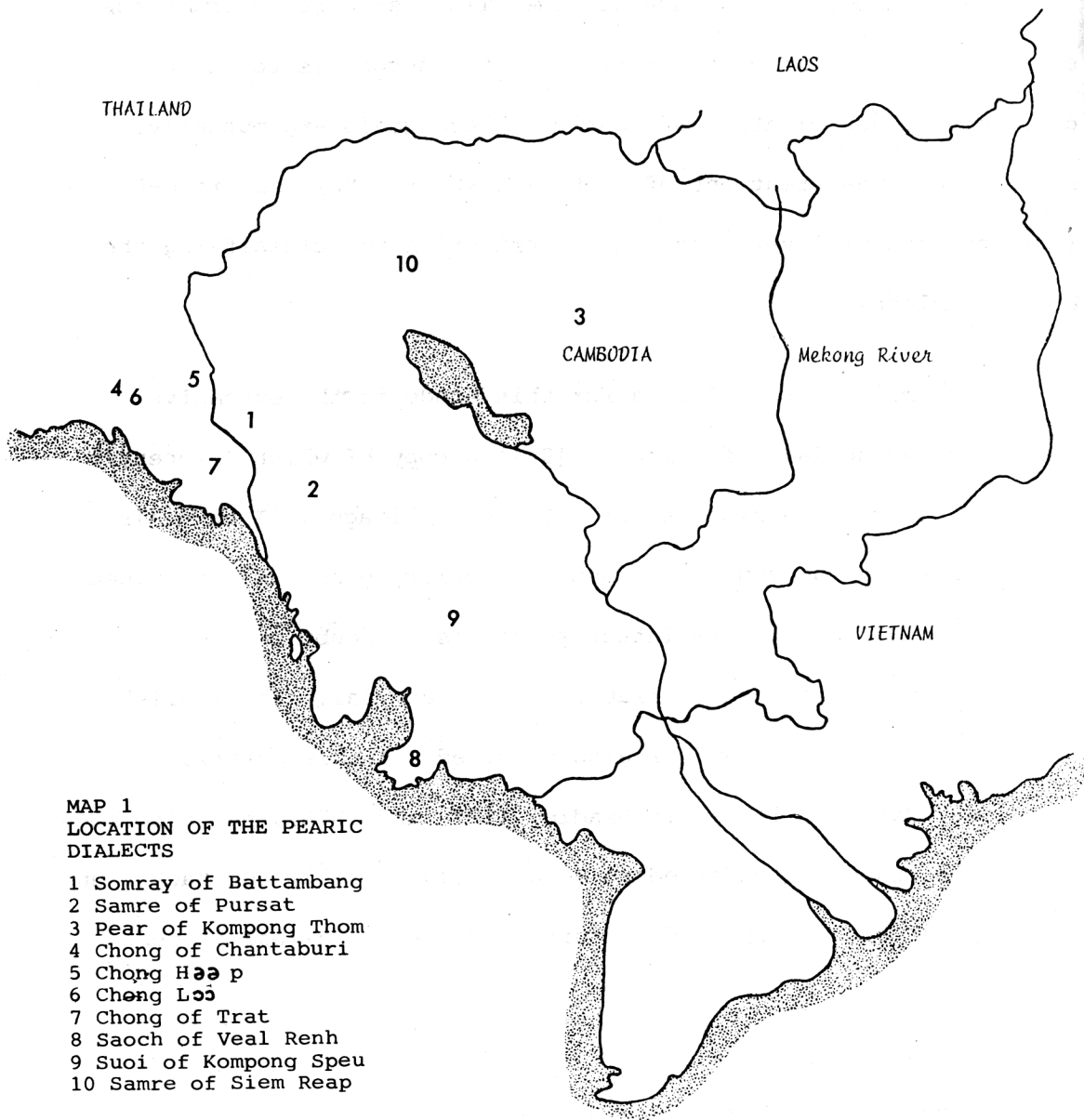
This study has two goals. The first is to reconstruct the earliest possible stage of Pearic, and the second is to suggest a definitive classification of Pearic. These goals are mutually supportive. The treatment of Proto-Mon-Khmer (PMK) and Proto-Pearic (PP) phonemes will serve as a prime criterion for classifying the Pearic dialects.

The main source of data for this study is the extensive manuscript vocabulary of Baradat (1941) a copy of which I recently obtained through the kindness of a French colleague. I have also drawn heavily on a manuscript Chong vocabulary generously provided by Franklin Huffman. This latter source is no doubt our most phonetically detailed and reliable Pearic material. The published works of Martin (1974a and b) also provided valuable material. Additional data, collected in Headley (1977 and 1978), has also been used. The reader is referred to Headley (1977:69-72) for background and a description of the older sources of Pearic lexical items.¹

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 CONTEMPORARY PHONETIC SYSTEM

The Pearic word seems to have the same canonic shape as the word in most other Mon-Khmer languages. It consists of a single



stressed syllable which may be preceded by a weakly stressed pre-syllable. The formulae below show the various components of the main syllable (MS) and the pre-syllable (PS).

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{MS} \longrightarrow C_1 \quad (C_2) \quad V_1 \quad (F_1) \\ \text{PS} \longrightarrow C_3 \quad (C_4) \quad V_2 \quad (F_2) \end{array}$$

There are certain limitations on the membership in each one of these components. C_1 , which represents any consonant that can occur initially at the beginning of a stressed syllable, can be any consonant; C_2 , any consonant which can follow a C_1 , includes /p t k m n ŋ v y s r l/. C_3 is any consonant which can occur as the initial consonant in a presyllable, and is apparently limited to /p t k s l/, and C_4 is limited to /r/ and /l/. V_1 represents any vowel or vowel cluster which can occur as the nucleus of a stressed syllable. Short vowels are not found in open syllables. V_2 , the vowel nucleus of the presyllable, is a neutral vowel /ə/ which varies between [ɔ-a-a-i]. F_1 , any final consonant in a stressed syllable, may be /p t c k ʔ m n ñ ŋ v y h r l/ and F_2 , the final consonant of a presyllable, is limited to /m n ñ ŋ l/. The presyllable is reduced to zero in some of the Chong dialects of Thailand.

Pearic has the following inventory of consonants:

| | <u>labial</u> | <u>dental</u> | <u>palatal</u> | <u>velar</u> | <u>glottal</u> |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| stops-vcl | p | t | c | k | ʔ |
| asp | ph | th | ch | kh | |
| vcd | (b) | (d) | | | |
| fricatives-vcl | | s | | | h |
| vcd | v | | y | | |
| nasals | m | n | ɲ ² | ŋ | |
| trill | | r | | | |
| lateral | | l | | | |

Most of the words with /b/ and /d/ are suspected of being borrowings from Khmer. The following initial consonant clusters occur /ck, chk, chm, cn, chŋ, chn, cr, kd, kl, khl, km, khm, kn, khn, khñ, kr, khr, khs, kv, ky, khy, ml, pl, phl, pñ, phn, pŋ, phŋ, pr, ps, phs, pt, pht, sk, sm, sn, sŋ, sr, tr, tm, thm, tŋ, thŋ, thk, tp, tv, tr/.

It has been difficult to establish the values of many of the vowel symbols which occur in the two largest collections of Pearic material, Baradat (1941) and Morizon (1936).³ To a certain extent, modern, phonetic transcriptions such as those by Huffman (ms.) and Martin (1974) clarify some vowels, nevertheless, some inconsistencies do appear. Pearic must have, at least, the following vowels:

| | front | central | back |
|------|-------|---------|----------------|
| high | i | ɨ | u |
| mid | e | ə | o [^] |
| | ɛ | | o ^v |
| low | a | | ɔ |

All of these may cluster with the phoneme of length /:/ and, in some dialects, with /_ / (underline) a phoneme of register usually called the 'glottal tone'. /o[^]/ has only been found long. The diphthongs /iə ie iə uə oa ao ea/also occur.

Martin (1974b:104) provides a detailed description of what she calls the 'glottal tone' (le ton glottal) which I quote below:

En Somree, il affecte aussi bien les voyelles longues que les voyelles brèves. Pour les premières, il est généralement très net et se réalise...soit comme un rétrécissement vocalique, soit comme une véritable occlusion. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, il marque la voyelle au milieu de sa longueur. Pour les brèves, ce ton est moins nettement audible et se manifeste de plusieurs façons:- faible rétrécissement de la voyelle, juste avant l'émission de la consonne suivante ou -tension plus forte de la syllabe marquée par le ton, ou -registre plus élevé de cette syllabe.

Huffman (1976b:584), in his analysis of Chong, proposed a phoneme of register and noted, "A curious feature in Chong is the occurrence of a prefinal glottal before all finals except /-ʔ -h/, as in /laaʔŋ/ 'bridge' ≠ /laaŋ/ 'banana', and as in the name Chong /coʔŋ/ itself. This prefinal glottal is accompanied by a high-falling tone, but here again no tonal analysis is possible because the prefinal glottal

occurs after both 1st and 2nd register vowels." It seems to me that Martin is describing two different phonemes, register and the final/prefinal glottal stop. It is evident that some kind of register phenomenon exists in Pearic, at least in some dialects; unfortunately, there appears to be little consistency in its occurrence. About the only generalization that I feel secure in making is that this phoneme usually occurs in Huffman's Chong material following an originally voiced initial (see items #23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 99, 113, 132, etc. below.) As Martin observes, there is some glottal activity which seems to interrupt a long vowel, and, in many cases, produce a lower on-glide. The phonemenon which Baradat writes as two vowels sometimes separated with a hyphen may be the same as Huffman's and Martin's register, but there is no consistent correlation between it and originally voiced consonants (see items #12, 17, 22, 24, 25, 100, 106.) Then, there is the prefinal /-ʔ-/ as noted by Huffman and Purtle. How to interpret this? That prefinal /-ʔ-/ is phonemic is shown by these pairs from Huffman's ms. Chong vocabulary:

| | | | |
|---------|----------|--------|-----------------|
| /liʔŋ/ | 'deer' | /liŋ/ | 'elder sibling' |
| /kiʔt/ | 'tame' | /kit/ | 'rise' |
| /ta:ʔk/ | 'tongue' | /ta:k/ | 'beans' |
| /la:ʔŋ/ | 'bridge' | /la:ŋ/ | 'banana' |

None of these words seems to have originally had voiced initials.

Martin records the word for 'elder sibling' as /sliŋ/ in Səmree and

the word for 'tongue' as /kəltə:t/ in Səmrəy, /səltə:k/ in Səmrēe, /kətə:k/ in Chong Həəp and /təl:k/ in Chong Ləə. For 'tongue' Baradat gives kr[^]ātaat in West Pear and slataat in East Pear. In the absence of any obvious conditioning factor and of accurate phonetic data from all the Pearic dialects, I will leave the question of the status of prefinal /-ʔ-/ to future linguists.

2.2 HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Forms from 18 Pearic sources, perhaps representing as many dialects, were compared in 410 cognate sets, to reconstruct the phonetic system of Proto-Pearic.⁴ The following consonant system is suggested based on these reconstructions:

| | <u>labial</u> | <u>dental</u> | <u>palatal</u> | <u>velar</u> | <u>glottal</u> |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| stops-vcl | p | t | c | k | ʔ |
| (?) | P | T | C | K | |
| vcd | b | d | j | g | |
| fricatives-vcl | | s | hy | | h |
| vcd | v | | y | | |
| nasals-vcl | hm | hn | | hŋ | |
| vcd | m | n | (ñ) | ŋ | |
| trill-vcl | | hr | | | |
| vcd | | r | | | |
| lateral-vcl | | hl | | | |
| vcd | | l | | | |

/*b *d *j *g *p *t *c *k *hy *hm *hn *hŋ *hr *hl/ did not occur in the F₁ position, and there is no example of initial /*ñ/ although it probably occurred.

Each set of reconstructions which establish a PP phoneme is described in detail below.

2.2.1 CONSONANTS

2.2.1.1 INITIALS

/*p- *t- *c- *k-/ the voiceless, unaspirated stops remained in the PK dialect but became aspirated in the other dialects.⁵

1. *pe:m 'angry' pe:m (pém) PK; phe:m (phém) WP, EP, TC,
SU; phe:ʔm H
2. *peʔ 'three' pəy (pai) PK; pháy SY; phay (phai) WP;
phe:ʔ SE; phe:ʔ (phék) EP, TC; phe:ʔw H;
phe:ʔy (phéi) SU. [cf. Aslian forms
hmpeʔ, mpeʔ, hmpeʔ; Mon pœʔ; Mal pheʔ;
PNB and PEK *pe; PVM *pa.]⁶
3. *ta:ñ 'to weave' ta:ñ (tanh) PK; tha:ñ (thanh) WP, PM,
EP, TC, SU [cf. Khmer t-b-a:ñ; PSB
and PNB *tañ; PEK *ta:ñ; PVM *tañ; PMK
*ta:ñ (Shorto).]
4. *kam 'arrow' kham (khăm) WP, SE, PM, EP, TC; [cf.
Khmer kam; PMK *kam (Shorto).]

5. *ke:v 'to call' kiəv (kíev) PK; khé:v (khév) EP, TC,
SU; khiəv (khíev) WP; khe:v (khéo) PM;
khe:w H.
6. *ca: 'to eat' ca: (cha) PK; cha (chha) WP, PM, EP, MO,
TC, PS, PC, SU. [cf. PNB and PEK *ca;
Mon cε? (< ca); Aslian ci?, cəi?, cə?,
cā?, cāh, cah. Although the Mon and
Aslian forms suggest final *?, none of
the Pearic dialects that usually retain
this final have it for this word. This
suggests some dialect leveling. See also
#7 below.]
7. *ci? 'louse' cey (chei) PK; chi: (chhi) WP, PM, EP, TC,
SU; chi:?? H. [cf. PNB *čhì; PVM *cəyʔ;
Mon coa (< cay); Pal. s'ī, shī; Riang s'i?;
Aslian ci?, ce?, cə?, cih.]
- /*?-/ remains in all dialects.
8. *?ic 'excrement' ?ic (ich) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; ?ic H; ?ec
(ech) PK. [cf. PJH *i̯k; PCNB *i̯ch
Khmer ?ac.]
9. *?an 'here' ?an (ãn) WP, PM, EP, PK, TC, SU; ?an H.

The exact nature of the reconstructed /*P- *T- *C- *K-/ is not clear.⁷ They were probably voiceless since mainly the vowels characteristic of voiceless initials follow them. They may have been aspirated voiceless stops.

10. *Pa(:)ŋ 'flower' paŋ (pǎng) WP, EP, PK, TC; pa:ŋ H;
pa:ŋ (pang) SU. [cf. PVM *poŋ].
11. *Po:t 'to cut, hack' pu:t (pút) WP; po:t (pót) PM;
PÕ:t (paút) EP, TC, SU; paot[põút] H
12. *Tɔ:ŋ 'to fear' tõ:ŋ (toúng) WP; ta:ŋ (taàng) EP, PK,
TC, SU; taoŋ (taong) PM; ta:ʔŋ H;
taoʔŋ PC; [cf. Aslian ʔəntəŋ, tūŋ, tuŋ
bəthəŋ.]
13. *Te:v 'right(dexter)' te:v (tév) WP, EP, TC, SU; tɛ:v H;
te:w CI; ta:v (tau) PK.
14. *Cak 'to hunt' cak (chǎk) WP, EP, TC, SU, PK; cak H.
15. *Ce:v 'to go' cu: (chú) WP; ce:v (chév) EP, TC, SU;
cɛ:v H.
16. *Ka:ŋ 'month' ka:ŋ (kang) WP, PM, EP, PK, TC, SU;
kã:ŋ H, CI.
17. *Kɔ:y 'long(time) kɔ:y (kóy) EP, TC, SU; koy (koy) PM;
kuəy (kuoy) WP; ka:y (káây) PK; kɔ:ʔy
18. *Kic 'small' kic (kich) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; kic
SE; kec (kech) PK; kec H.

/*b- *d- *j- *g-/ become devoiced in all dialects.

19. *bu:l 'drunk' pu:l (pûl) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; pu:l CI;
pul (pul) PK. [cf. PJH *bùl; PNB *(?)
bùl; PEK *boól.]
20. *be:t (?) 'knife' pi:t (pît) WP, TC; pe:t (pét) PM, EP;
pe:t CI; pɛ:t (pèt) SU. [cf. Aslian
pɛd, pɛn.]
21. *ba:ŋ 'morning' pa:ŋ (pang) WP, EP, TC, SU; pieŋ (peang)
PM; pieŋ (péang) PK.
22. *dɔ:n 'must' tuən (tuon) WP, PK; tɔ:n (tôon) EP, TC,
SU; to:n PC
23. *de:v 'to buy' ti:v (tîv) WP; te:v (tév) EP, TC, SU;
te:w H.
24. *da:k 'water' ta:k (taak) WP, EP, TC, SU; tiek (?)
(téâk) PM; tiek (téak) PK; ta:k H; tiək
PC [cf. Aslian dak; PSB *dak; PNB *?dak;
PEK *?d_k^h; PVM *?dāk; Khmer tîk; Mon
daik (<ḍāk)]

/*j-/ becomes /c-/ in CL, CH, PK, PC, and sporadically in SU and /s-/
in the other dialects.⁸

25. *ju:m 'vine' su:m (su-ôm) WP, SU; su:m (soum) PM; sum
(sum) EP, TC; su:m (súum) SY, SE; cu:m
(cúum) CH, CL.

26. *je:v 'soup' si(:)v (siv) WP, SU; si:v SY, SE; se:v
(sé) EP, TC; ci:v CL, CH; ce:v H.

27. *jɔ:r 'sap' sɔ:r (sôr) WP; sol_sor (sol, solr) PM;
sa:r (sâr) EP; cɔ:r (chôr) PK; cher
(cherr) SU. [cf. Khmer coa (<jāra); Chr.
and Bah. jār; Pal. jār.]

28. *gra:ñ 'alcohol' kra:ñ (kranh) WP, EP, TC, SU; kriēñ
(kréanh) PK; kra:ñ H.

29. *gɨl 'to sit' kɨl (kül) WP, EP, TC; kil (kil) PM;
(kɨl) (kwl) S; kel (kel) PK; kiy (kry)
C; kəy (kvy) H 'to be located'; kil
(CI). [cf. Aslian gui, gūl, gēy, gəl;
Khmer: ?aŋkuy.]

30. *gu:m 'to winnow' ku:m (kŭm) WP, EP, TC, SU; ku:m (koum)
PM; kŭ:m H. [cf. Mon kŭm (< gum);
Teng gum; Muong cúm.]

/*s-/ and /*h-/ remained in all dialects.

31. *suk 'hair' suk (suk) WP, EP, TC; suk H, CI; sok (sok)
PK, PS, SU.

32. *saŋ 'to hear' saŋ (sǎng) WP, PM, EP, PK, TC, SU.

33. *sɔ:ŋ 'to dance' su:ŋ (sŭng) WP; sa:ŋ (sǎng) EP, TC, SU;
sa:ŋ H.

34. *hu:m 'to bathe' hu:m (hûm) WP, EP, TC, SU; hu:m (houm) PM; haom (hôm) PK; hum H. [cf. PCNB *hũm; PEK *hóm; Mon hum (< hum); PPal. *hum.]
35. *hə: 'not' hə: (há) WP, EP, TC, SU; hə:(r) (hâr) PM.
36. *h(ǐ:)r 'to fly' hǐ:r (hürr) WP, EP, TC; hǐ:r (hur) PM; hə:r S; hə:r (hoer) PK; hə:y C; hǐy H; hə:r (heurr) SU. [cf. Khmer həə (< hoera); Khasi her.]

/*hy-, *hm-, *hn-, *hŋ-, *hr-, *hl-/ were apparently voiceless and have become voiced and merged with the reflexes of /*y-, *m-, *n-, *ŋ-, *r-, *l-/. It is possible that /*hv-/ and /*hñ-/ also existed, but no non-suspect sets of cognates have been found for them. Voiceless continuants are postulated for PP to account for the occurrence of two series of voiced continuants in the modern dialects: one series followed by vowels characteristic of originally voiced initial consonants and another series followed by vowels characteristic of originally voiceless initial consonants.

37. *hyok 'breast' yak (yák) WP, EP, TC.
38. *hmə:k 'bat' mu:k (múk) WP; mə:k (mák) PM, EP, TC.
39. *hma:r 'field' ma:r (mar) WP, EP, S, TC, SU; ba:y C, H. [cf. PPal, *mar.]

40. *hno:k 'to stretch oneself' no[˘]:k (naúk) EP, TC; nu:k
(núk) WP.
41. *hɲɔ:n 'thatch' ɲa:n (ngân) EP, TC, SU; ɲɔ:n (ngôn)
PK; ɲuən (nguồn) WP.
42. *hro:k 'to hide' ru:k (rúk) WP; ra:k (râk) EP, TC, SU.
43. *hlo:ɲ 'banana' lu:ɲ (lúng) WP; la:ɲ (lâng) PM, EP, PK,
TC, SU; la:ɲ H; lo:ɲ CI; laoɲ PC. [cf.
Pal. ra-hlōng 'classifier for bunches
of bananas.']
44. *hluk 'salt' luk (luk) WP, EP, CI; luk (louk) PM;
lok (lok) PK; look (?) (lôok) TC; louk
PC; lo[˘]:k (louk) SU; luk- H.

/*v-/ and /*y-/ remain in all dialects.

45. *v(ɛ:)ɲ 'raw, uncooked' viəɲ (vieng) WP, SU; vɛ:ɲ (vêng)
PM; voɛ:ɲ (?) (voèng) EP, TC.
46. *rəva:y 'tiger' rɔva:y (rovai) PM; rəwa:y SE; rɔva:y
(rôvay) EP, TC, SU; rɔviev (rôvéay) PK;
va:y C.
47. *ya:v 'scorpion' ya:v (yao) WP, EP, SU; ?iəy-?iəv
(üoey-iev) PK.
48. *y(i)p 'to come' yip (yip) WP, PM, EP, TC; yɪp SE.

/*m-, *n-, *ɲ-/ remain in all dialects.

49. *m(a)t 'eye' m(ə)t (méat) WP, EP, TC, PC, SU; mət
(m̀t) H; mat CI; mat PC.

50. *ma:y 'do not' ma:y (may) WP, EP, TC, SU; ma[?]y H;
miey (meay) PK.
51. *nɔ:ŋ 'mountain' nu:ŋ (núng) WP; nɔ:ŋ (nông) PM, EP,
TC, SU; nɔ:ŋ PC; nɔ:ŋ H.
52. *nim 'year' nim (nim) WP, PM, EP, PK, SU; nim H;
nim CI, PC.
53. *ŋ(ə:)r 'red' ŋə:r ~ ŋv:r SY; ŋoar (ngoǎrr) WP, EP,
TC; ŋal (?) (ngal) PM; ŋa:r (ngarr) PK;
ŋəy ~ ŋvy C; ŋəy (ŋv̄y) H; ŋir' (ngürr) SU.

/*r-/ and /*l-/ remain in all dialects.

54. *re:s 'root' ri:h SY; ri:[?]h (ri-is) WP; re:h SE; re:h
(réés) EP, TC, SU; rih (ruh) PK; re:t H;
rih CH; re:t CL. [cf. PMK *ris (Shorto);
PPal. *res > *riəs; PCNB *reyh; PEK
*reas; Vn. rē̃.]
55. *rɔ:y 'fly' ruay SY; ruəy (ruoy) WP; roy (roy) PM;
rɔ:y SE; rɔ:y (róy) EP, TC, CI; rɔ[?]a:y (?)
(rôây) PK; rɔ:[?]y H; rɔ:y C; rɔ:[?]y (?)
(rô-ôy) SU.
56. *ra:y 'ten' ra:y (ray) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; ra:y S, CI, C;
ra:y H; riay (ryai) PC.
57. *lo:m 'to ask' lu:m (lúm) WP; lo[^]:m (loum) EP, TC, SU; lu:m
H.

58. *la:c 'lightning' la:c (lach) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU;
la:c H; liec (léach) PK.
59. *_liñ 'elder sibling' kh-liñ (khlin) WP, EP, TC;
s-liñ (slinh) PM, SÜ; s-liŋ SE;
s-ləŋ PC; liŋ H.

2.2.1.2 FINALS

The following final consonants are reconstructed for PP /*-c, *-h, *-k, *-l, *-m, *-ñ, *-ŋ, *-n, *-p, *-r, *-s, *-t, *-v, *-y, *-?/. All of these except /*-l, *-r, *-s, *-?/ are retained in all dialects.

60. *Pac 'to break' pac (pach) WP, EP, TC; pac H.
61. *ho:c 'dead' hu:c (h^huch) WP; ho^v:c (hauch) EP,
TC, SU; ho:c (ha^huch) PM; ho:c [ho^hi^vc̣] H;
haoc (hōch) PK; haoc PC.
62. *[?]ic 'excrement' (see #8)
63. *Kic 'small' (see #18)
64. *pah 'to slap' phah (ph^hās) WP, EP, TC; phah H. [cf. Khmer pah 'to collide'; PJH and PCNB *pah 'to cut'; PEK *_pah.]
65. *c(u)h 'to spit' chu(:)h (chh^hūs) WP, EP, TC; chu(:)h (chhous) PM; k-coh (kchos) PK; chuh H.
ch^hh- PC; choh (chhos) SU.
66. *tak 'broken apart' thak (th^hāk) WP, EP, TC, SU
67. *Cak 'to hunt' (see #14)

68. *hmɔ:k 'bat' (see #38)
69. *lɪk 'bran' lɪk (lük) WP, EP, TC; lɔ-lək (lôlek) PK
70. *-ha:m 'blood' ha:m (ham) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; ha:m S;
ha:m C, CI; məha:m H.
71. *tɪm 'to cook' thɪm (thum) WP, EP, TC, SU; thim (thum)
S, C; thim H, CI.
72. *pe:m 'angry' (see #1)
73. *ju:m 'vine' (see #25)
74. *dɔ:n 'must' (see #22)
75. *k(e:)n 'child' khin (khin) WP; khen (khen) PM; khe:n
(khén) EP, TC, SU; kiən (kien) PK;
khe:n H, CI.
76. *kɪn 'female' khin (khun) WP, EP, TC; khin (khin) PM;
khin H, CI.
77. *Pa(:)ŋ 'flower' (see #10)
78. *Tɔ:ŋ 'to fear' (see #12)
79. *hliŋ 'deep' liŋ (lüng) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; liʔŋ H.
80. *ta:ñ 'weave' (see #3)
81. *-liñ 'elder sibling' (see #59)
82. *jiñ 'foot' siñ (sinh) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; siŋ CI.
83. *ʔɔ:ñ 'to keep; put' ʔuəñ (uonh) WP; ʔa:ñ (ânh) EP, TC, SU;
ʔɔ:ñ H.
84. *Təp 'to bury' təp (teup) WP, EP, TC, SU; təp SE;
tɪp [tv^p] H. [cf. Chr. təp.]

85. *y(i)p 'to come' (see #48)
86. *h(ɔ:)p 'to eat' hɔ̂:p H; hɔ:p CI; haop PC; hɑ:p
(hɑp) SU.
87. *ve:t 'blue' vi(:)t (vit) WP; ve:t (vét) PM, EP,
TC, SU.
88. *Po:t 'to cut, hack' (see #11)
89. *m(a)t 'eye' (see #49)
90. *kla:v 'skink' kla:v (klav) WP, EP, TC, PK; kla:ʔv
(?) (kla-av) SU.
91. *ke:v 'to call' (see #5)
92. *je:v 'soup' (see #26)
93. *kna:y 'elephant' kna:y (knay) WP, EP, PK, TC, SU;
k(h)na:y (khnai) PM; kəna:y CI;
kda:y PC.
94. *Tɔ:y 'before' tɑ:y (tây) PM, EP, PK, TC, SU; tuəy
(tuoy) WP; ta:ʔy H.

The reflexes of /*-l/ and /*-r/ merge with those of /*-y/ following a back or central vowel, and with those of /*-v/ following a front vowel in H, CH, and CL. /*-l/ and /*-r/ are retained in the other dialects, although /*-r/ may, in some cases, be lost in CI, PS, and PC and replaced by compensatory lengthening of the vowel nucleus.

95. *sɪl 'sharp-edged' sɪl (sul) WP, EP, TC, SU; sɪl
(sil) PK; səl PC.
96. *gɪl 'to sit' (see #29)
97. *ta:l 'to stand' tha:l (thal) WP, EP, TC, PM; tha:l
CI; tha:v H.
98. *co:l 'to plant' chu:l (chhúl) WP; cho:l ~ chu:l
(chhol, chhoul) PM; cho:l CI; cho˘:l
(chhaúl); EP, TC, SU; caol (chol) PK;
chaol PC; cho:y H. [cf. Ferlus 1978:
21 who reconstructs the PMK form as
*tsol.]
99. *me:l 'fish' mi:l (mil) WP; mi:l SY; mə:l (mél)
PM; me:l SE; me:l (mél) EP, TC, SU;
miəl (miel) PK; me:˘v H; mi:v CH;
me:v CL.
100. *Pe:r 'water leech' pi:˘r (pi-irr) WP; pe:r (pér) EP, TC;
pi:r SY, SE; pa:ir (?) (páirr) PK;
pe:˘r (pé-érr) SU; pe:˘v H; pi:v CH;
pe:v CL.
101. *Ke:r 'to bark' kiər (kierr) WP; PK; ki:l (kîl) PM;
ke:r SE; ke:r (ker) EP, TC, SU;
kɛ:v H.
102. *h(o:)r 'to blow' huər (huorr) WP, SU; ho˘:r (haurr)
EP, TC; hu:r (hurr) PK; hu(:)y (huy) H.

103. *h(i:)r 'to fly' (see #36)

104. *hma:r 'field' (see #39)

105. *ŋ(ə:)r 'red' (see #53)

/*-s/ becomes /-t/ in PC, H, and CL; it becomes /-h/ elsewhere.

106. *Ce:s 'kind of deer' ci:ʔh (chi-is) WP; ce(:)h (ches) PM; ce:h (chés) EP, TC; caʔəh (?) (chəoes) PK; ce:h (chès) SU; ce:ʔt H

107. *lo:s 'kind of deer' lu:h (lūs) WP; lo(:)h (los) PM; loʔ:h (laūs) EP, TC, SU; k-lu:h (klūs) PK.

[cf. Khmer clu:h (< jhlūs).]

108. *co:s 'hundred' chu:h (chhūs) WP; choʔ:h (chhəūs) EP, TC; chaot PC.

109. *ci:s 'old' chih (chhūs) WP, EP, TC; cəh (choes) PK; chit H; chət PC; chəh (chhoes) SU

110. *re:s 'root' (see #54)

111. *pa(:)s 'tail' pha:h (phah) WP, PM, EP, TC; pa:h (pa) PK; phat H, PC. [cf. Aslian pəs, pas.]

/*-ʔ/ usually remains in EP, TC, PM, SE, CH, CL, H, and PC; it is lost and replaced by compensatory lengthening of the vowel nucleus in SU, WP, PK, SY, and CI (and usually in TC). The reflexes of /*-ʔ/ seem to merge with those of /*-k/ in some dialects (cf. Martin, 1974b:102).

112. *c(ɔ)? 'dog' ch(?) (chhō) WP; cha? (chhâk) PM; chao (chhō) EP, TC, SU; ca: (châ) PK; chɔ: H, CI; chao PC. [cf. Aslian ?asu?, cō?; Mal sua?.]
113. *rəgi? 'thin' rōki: (rōkî) WP, PK, TC, SU; rəki: SY, SE; rōkik -rōki? (rōkik) PM, EP; rəki? SE; səki? CH, CL; ki? H. [cf. PM *rəgây; Hal. rəkī Bah. rgi:.]
114. *pe(:)? 'three' phay SY; phay (phai) WP; phək (phək) PM; phe:ʔ SE; phe:k (phék) TC, EP; pay (pai) PK; phe:ʔv H; phe: CI; pæʔv PC; phe:ʔy (phé-i) SU.
115. *tɲi? 'day' thni: SY, SE; hni: SY; hni: (hni) WP; thɲε(:)k (thngék) PM; thni:k (thnik) EP; thɲey (thngei) PK; thni: (thni) TC; tɲi: CI; təɲeʔ PC; thɲi: (thngî) SU; ɲi? H. [cf. Aslian təɲi?; Mal ɲeʔ]
116. *poʔ 'dream' phav SY; phav (phao) WP; phoʔ (phok) PM, EP, TC; phoʔ SE; phɔ:ʔ CH; phoʔ CL; phoʔ:(v) (phaû-aû) SU. [cf. Temiar poʔ; Mon kəpɔʔ; Riang-Lang _rəmuʔ; Sre mpao; Rengao həpu.]
117. *teʔ 'earth' thay (thai) WP; theʔ (thək) PM, EP, TC; tay (tai) PK; theʔ H; the: CI; thæʔ PC; the:ʔ_ (thé-é) SU. [cf. Mon tœeʔ (< ti); Lawa teʔ; Mal theɛ; Aslian tiʔ, teʔ, tɛʔ, tɛ̄ʔ.]

2.2.1.3 CLUSTERS

The number of sets of cognates containing consonant clusters was so small, amounting to only 69 sets, that very little can be reconstructed of PP clusters with any conviction. The following initial clusters can be reconstructed, although in many of the STOP + CONS₂ clusters, it is not clear whether the stop was voiced or voiceless.

- *(c)k- 118. *(c)ka: 'mouth' cəka: ~ chəka: PC; chka: (chhka) SU
- *(c)m- 119. *(c)m̩: 'civet' chm̩: (chhmu) WP, EP.
- *(c)ŋ- 120, *(c)ŋ(̩)n 'wife' chn̩n (chhnin) EP; chŋən (chhngen) SU; chŋ̩n CI; khn̩n (khnin) WP.
- *(c)r- 121. *(c)rɛ:ŋ 'ring' crɛ:ŋ (chr̩ng) EP, TC; crɛ:ŋ (chreng) PM; criəŋ (chrieng) WP, SU; cəkɛ:ŋ CI.
- *jr- 122. *jrəla? 'thorn' srəla? (sralak) PM; srəla: (srāla) EP, TC, SU; crəlie (chrāléa) PK; la H; trəla: (trāla) WP. [cf. PNB *jal St. krəia: Teng cərla:; Temiar jal Semai jr̩la:; Jah Hut j?la?.]
- *kd- 123. *kdɔ:ŋ 'six' krɔ:ŋ (kr̩ng) PM, EP, TC; kru:ŋ (kr̩ng) WP; kədɔ:ŋ CI; kh(ə)da:ŋ (kh̩d̩ng) SU; tətəŋ PC; ta:ŋ H.
- *kl- 124. *kle? 'ashamed' kle? (klek) EP; khle? (khlek) TC; khlay (khlai) WP; khle:(?) (khlé-é)

125. *kla:v 'skink' (see #90)
126. *klo:ŋ 'bone' kla:ŋ (klâŋ) EP, TC, SU; kla:ŋ H;
klu:ŋ (klûŋ) WP.
- *km- 127. *kma:s 'smoke' kma:h (kmaas) WP, EP, TC, SU; kmah
(kmas) PK.
128. *kmək 'cough' khmak (khmăk) WP, SU; khmok (khmok)
EP, TC; kmak (kmăk) PK; maʔk H.
- *gm- 129. *gmaʔ 'rain' kma: (kmaa) WP, SU; kma: CI; kmaʔ
(kmak) EP, TC; khmie (khméa) PK; maʔ
H. [cf. Aslian gəməh.]
- *kn- 130. *kna:y 'elephant' (see #93)
131. *knɔ:k 'flail' knu:k (knûk) WP; kna:k (knâk) PK, SU;
tnu:k (tnûk) EP, TC.
- *gn- 132. *gnu:l 'seven' khnu:l (khnûl) WP, EP, TC, SU; khnu:l
(khnoul) PM; kənu:l SE, SY, CI; knu:l
PC; nu:y H; kənu:y CH, CL.
- *kr- 133. *kro:ŋ 'river' khra:ŋ (khrâŋ) EP, TC, SU; kro:ŋ
CI; khra:ŋ H; khru:ŋ (khrûŋ) WP.
[cf. Proto-Chamic *kroŋ ; Bah. kroŋ;
PEK *kruuŋ ; Mon krɔŋ ; PVM *kxoŋ.]
- *gr- 134. *gra:ñ 'alcohol' (see #28)
135. *grɨk 'to awaken' krɨk (krûk) WP, EP, TC, SU; mrɨk H.
- *ks- 136. *ks(ɨ)m 'star' khsɨm (khsim) WP, EP, TC, SU;
sɨm CI; sum H; pəsəm PC.

- *kv- 137. *kvak 'to hook' kvāk (kvak) WP, EP, TC; (o[˘]:)vak
(a^huvāk) PK.
- *ky- 138. *kyoŋ 'kind of lizard' khyoŋ (khyong) WP, EP, TC.
- *gy- 139. *gya:ŋ 'turtle' kya:ŋ (kyang) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU;
təya:ŋ CI; k(y)iəŋ (kieng) PK.
- *ml- 140. *ml(ɔ:)ŋ 'eel' mlu:ŋ (ml^hung) WP, EP, TC; mlɔ:ŋ SE;
mlɔ:ŋ (ml^hong) SU; mla:ŋ (molang) PM.
- *pl- 141. *pli: 'fruit' phli: (ph^hli) WP, EP, TC, SU; pley
(plei) PK, PC; phli: H; phri: CI.
[cf. PSB *plāy; PNB *plèy; Mal phlɛ[?];
Teng plé'; Aslian pəlo[?], pələ[?], pələ[?],
pələ^h. In view of the Mal, Teng and
Aslian forms, there was, no doubt, a
final *-[?] at one time in PP. Huffman
in his phonetic transcription of this
word does give [p^hli:'] . We may be
seeing evidence of leveling here.
- *bl- 142. *blu: 'thigh' plu: (pl^hu) WP, EP, TC, SU; plu: CI;
plu: H; pl(ə)v (plau^hv) PK. [cf. PM
*blu; PNB *blèw; Khmu blu[?]; Mal pluu;
Pal. blǔ; Aslian blo', blo:k, bəlo[?].
Here, as in #141, we are probably
dealing with an original *-[?] in PP.]

- *pn- 143. *pna:k 'basket' pna:k (pnak) EP, TC.
- *bn- 144. *bna:m 'ugly' pna:m (pnam) WP, EP, TC; phn(ie)m
(phnéam) PM.
- *(p)ŋ- 145. *(p)ŋa:m 'bee' phna:m (phnam) WP, EP, TC; phŋa:m CI;
phŋa:m (phngam) SU; phga:m (?)
(phgam) PM; pŋa:m (pāngam) PK; pŋiam PC.
- *br- 146. *bro:ŋ 'Khmer' pro:ŋ (prông) PM, EP, TC, SU; pru:ŋ
(prông) WP.
147. *bra:y 'cotton thread' pra:y (pray) WP, EP, TC, SU; prıey
(préay) PK.
- *ps- 148. *psi: 'snake' phsi: (phsí) WP, PM, EP, TC, SU; phsey
(phsei) PK; si: H; psay PC.
- *sk- 149. *skɛ:ŋ 'wing' skɛ:ŋ (skèng) EP, TC; skɛ:ŋ CI;
skɛ:ŋ (skéng) PM; səkr(ie)ŋ (sakréang)
WP, SU.
- *sm- 150. *smañ 'cramp' smañ (smănh) WP, EP, PK.
- *sn- 151. *snɛ:ŋ 'after' snɛ:ŋ (snèng) PM, EP, TC; sriəŋ
(srieng) WP.
- *sŋ- 152. *sŋal 'to know' sŋal (sngal) PM; sŋal (sngǎl) EP, SU;
chnal (chhnǎl) TC; khnal (khnǎl) WP.
- *sr- 153. *sri: 'to ask' sri: (srí) WP, TC; sri: (sri) PM;
sri: SE.

- *tm- 154. *tmoʔ 'stone' thmav SY; thmav (thmau) WP, PK;
 thmoʔ (thmok) PM, EP, TC; thmo: ~ thmo:ʔ
SE; moʔ ~ kəmoʔ H; kəmok CH; kəmoʔ CL;
 tmaoʔ PC; thmoʔ:(?) (thmaû-aû) SU.
- *tɲ- 155. *tɲiʔ 'day' (see #115)
- *tp- 156. *tpoʔ 'winnowing basket' tpo: (tpô) PK; təpa: (tapââ) TC;
 təpoʔʔ : (?) (tapô-aû) SU; tva: (tvââ)
WP; tva:ʔ (tvâk) EP; tuəʔ (tuok) PM.
 [In this connection, the change of tp- >
 tv-, see Ferlus 1977:59 et seq. He notes
 the relationship between forms such as
 Laven tpe and Nhaheun dwε 'rice beer.']
- *tr- 157. *tro:y 'wild cow' tra:y (thay) EP, TC, SU; truəy (truoy) WP.

2.2.2 VOWELS

The following, tentative, vowel system is proposed for PP:⁹

| | <u>front</u> | <u>mid</u> | <u>back</u> |
|----------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| high | i | ɨ | u |
| mid-high | e | (ə) | o |
| mid-low | ɛ | | ɔ |
| low | | a | |

All of the vowels cluster with /:/.

/i/ and /i:/ remained in all dialects except PK where they were lowered to /e/ and /e:/ following voiceless consonants. The combination /*-iʔ/ became /ey/ in PK following a voiceless consonant.

158. *ʔi:n 'to get' ʔi:n (in) WP, EP, TC, SU; ʔe:n (en) PK.
159. *pli: 'fruit' pley (plei) PK (see #140)
160. *ciʔ 'louse' cey (chei) PK (see #7)
161. *bri: 'jungle' pri: (pri) WP, EP, PK, TC, SU; pri: H.
[cf. PSB *bri; Khmer prey (< brī);
PPal. *bri; Khmu briʔ.]
162. *kriñ 'drum' kriñ (krinh) WP, EP, TC, SU; kre:ñ
(kréñh) PK.
163. *ʔic 'excrement' (see #8)
- /ʔi/ and /ʔi:/ remained in all dialects.
164. *(c)mi: 'civet' (see #119)
165. *grik 'awaken' (see #135)
166. *kɨn 'female' (see #76)
167. *gɨl 'to sit' (see #29)

There is little good evidence for PP /*ə/ and /*ə:/; these two phonemes would be expected in view of the generally symmetrical nature of the PP vowel system and the broad occurrence of /ə/ in other Mon-Khmer vowel systems. The only good cognate set in the present corpus is #84, *Təp 'to bury'. Modern /ə/, in many cases, appears to be an allophone of /a/ preceding /-t/ (see #49). Another possible occurrence of /*ə/ or /*ə:/ is in #53 *ŋ(ə:)r 'red', but this might also be reconstructed *ŋa(:)r.

/*u/ and /*u:/ remain except in PK, PC, and SU where they are lowered following an original voiceless consonant. In PK /*u:/ becomes

/ov/ or possibly /ev/¹⁰ when word final.

168. *bu:l 'drunk' (see *19)
169. *gnu:l 'seven' (see #132)
170. *ksu: 'red ant' khsu: (khsû) WP, EP, TC; su: (sû)
SU; khs(o[˘]:)v (khsaûv) PK.
171. *blu: 'thigh' (see *142)
172. *suk 'hair' (see #31)
173. *hluk 'salt' (see #44)

/*e/ and /*e:/ were retained in most of the Pearic dialects. In WP, they are usually raised to /i/ and /i:/ especially when following originally voiced consonants. In PK, /*e:/ seems to become /iə/ and /*e:v/ becomes /o:/ following an originally voiced consonant, and /av/ following an originally voiceless consonant. There is sporadic raising of /*e:/ to /i:/ in CH, CL, TC, PC, and SU; again, this seems to be conditioned by a preceding originally voiced consonant. /*e[?]/ becomes /ay/ in PK, SY, and WP.

174. *ke:v 'to call' (see #5)
175. *ke:n 'child' khe:n (khén) EP, TC, SU; khe:n H, CI;
khi(:)n (khin) WP; kiən (kien) PK.
176. *me:l 'fish' (see #99)
177. *Ke:r 'to bark' (see #101)
178. *pe:r 'water leech' (see #100)
179. *pe:m 'angry' (see #1)
180. *pe[?] 'three' (see #2)

181. *Te:v 'right' (see #13)
182. *de:v 'to buy' (see #23)
183. *te? 'earth' (see #117)
184. *ble:v 'fire' ple:v (plév) EP, TC, SU; ple:v SE,
CL; pli:v SY, CH; phlo^: (phlou) PK;
ple:v H.
185. *ləkhe:t 'to slide' ləkhe:t (lôkhét) EP, TC; ləkhe:t (?)
(lôkhéét) SU; ləkhi:t (lôkhît) WP.

As would be expected with a back vowel, there seems to be considerable, probably allophonic, variation in the reflexes of /*o/ and /*o:/. Again, the uncertainty as to the precise phonetic values of Baradat's symbols prevents a completely accurate account of all the reflexes, but some tentative generalizations can be made. /*o/ and /*o:/ are raised to /u/ and /u:/ in WP where they merge with the reflexes of /*ɔ/, /*u/, /*ɔ:/, /*u:/. In two cases following originally voiced consonants, /o:/ remains in WP. Occasionally, preceding /-y, -r, -n, -ñ/, the /u/ and /u:/ are diphthongized to /uə/ in WP. In PK, preceding /-c, -n, -l/ and possibly /-h/ (< *-s), /*o/ and /*o:/ become a sound which Baradat writes õ. This may represent a diphthong similar to the Khmer /ao/.¹¹ All of the PC forms have /ao/. In the other dialects, /*o/ and /*o:/ remain unchanged.

186. *ho:c 'dead' (see #61)
187. *ʔo:c 'to take' ʔo^:c (aûch) EP, TC, SU; ʔu:c (ûch)
WP, PM; ʔo:c H.
188. *co:l 'to plant' (see #98)

189. *Co:y 'sore, wound' co^ˇ:y (chaŋy) EP, TC, SU; c(a:)y
(chây) PM; ca:(?)y (châ-ây) PK;
cuəy (chuoy) WP.
190. *To:s 'head' to^ˇ:h (taûh) EP, TV; to:h SE, SY, CH;
to:t CL; t(ao)h (tōs) PK; t(ao)h (tōh)
SU; taot [to^ˇ˩.t] H.
191. *ko:y 'tooth' khu:y (khuy) WP, TC; khu:y SY; kho^ˇ:y
(khaüy) EP, SU; kho:y SE, CH, CL, H,
CI; kho:y (khai) PS; k(h)aoy (kaoi) PC
192. *(m)o:t 'younger sibling' mo^ˇ:t (maut) WP, EP, TC, SU;
mo:t CI; bo:t H; baot PC; mu:t (müt) P
193. *b(o:) 'you' pū: (pou) WP, EP, TC, SU; pu: (pū) PK;
pō: H. [cf. Khmu bɔ: ; Khmer pu:
(< bū) 'you, uncle'.]
194. *koy 'kind of lizard' khoy (khoy) PM, EP, TC, SU; khuəy
(khuoy) WP; kh-n-(ao)y (khnōy) PK.

/*ɛ:/ becomes /iə/ in SY, WP, and SU, and /ai/ in PC.¹² Following originally voiceless initials, /*ɛ:/ becomes /æ:/ in H. Following originally voiced initials, it becomes /*ɛ:/. /*ɛ:/ seems to be shortened before /-h/ where it is retained in all dialects.¹³

195. *hɛ:k 'chicken' liək SY; liək (liék) WP, SU; lɛ:k
SE, CH, CL, CI; le:k (lék) PK;
lɛ:k (lèk) EP, TC; læ:k H; laik (laik)
PC.

196. *tɛ:ŋ 'left(side)' tɪŋ (téang) WP, SU; tɛ:ŋ SE, CI;
tɛ:ŋ (tèng) EP, TC; tæ:ŋ H; tɛ:ŋ
(téng) PK; taiŋ PC.
197. *bɛ:k 'laugh' piək (peak) WP; piə(?)k (?) (pi-èk)
SU; pɛ:k (pèk) EP, TC; pɛ:k H; pe:k
PC.
198. *tɛ(h) 'lightning' thɛh (thès) WP, PM, EP, TC; kəthɛh
(kâthes) PS. [cf. Khmer rəŋ-teah
(< ran-dah).]

/ʔ/ and /ɔ:/ are lowered to /a/ and /ɑ:/ following originally voiceless initials in PM, EP, PK, TC, H, and SU. /ʔ/ is raised to /u:/ in WP. Preceding /-y, -n, -ɲ, -n/, /ɔ:/ becomes /uə/ in WP.

199. *kɔ:y 'long(time)' (see #17)
200. *dɔ:n 'must' (see #22)
201. *sɔ:ŋ 'to dance' (see #33)
202. *hɔ: 'not' (see #35)
203. *hlɔ:ŋ 'banana' (see #43)
204. *nɔ:ŋ 'mountain' (see #51)
205. *rɔ:y 'fly' (see #55)
206. *ʔɔ:ñ 'to keep, put' (see #83)
207. *gɔŋ 'long' kɔŋ (kōng) WP, EP, TC, SU; kɔŋ (kong)
PM; ko:ʔŋ PC.

208. *hyɔk 'breast' (see #37)
209. *tɔŋ 'house' tɔŋ (tāŋ) WP, PK, SU; tɔŋ (tong) EP, TC. [But, see: Br. dɔŋ, Katu dɔŋ; Kuy duŋ; Mon dɔŋ 'city' (< dūn); Aslian dɔk, duŋ, dɔ:kⁿ; and Halang tɔŋ 'small house in ricefield'.]

Following originally voiced initials, /*a:/ becomes /ie/ in PK, PS, and Moura's Samre and Pear, and /iə/ in PC. /*a/, in the same environment, becomes some short diphthong possibly /ea/ or /oa/, which Baradat wrote éâ and oă. /*a:/ and /*a/ remained in the other dialects.

210. *ta:ñ 'to weave' (see #3)
211. *ca: 'to eat' (see #6)
212. *Pa(:)ŋ 'flower' (see #10)
213. *ba:ŋ 'morning' (see #21)
214. *da:k 'water' (see #24)
215. *gra:ñ 'alcohol' (see #28)
216. *rəva:y 'tiger' (see #46)
217. *ta:l 'to stand' (see #97)
218. *Cak 'to hunt' (see #14)
219. *saŋ 'to hear' (see #32)
220. *kvak 'to hook' (see #137)
221. *ʔan 'here' (see #9)

3. CLASSIFICATION OF THE PEARIC DIALECTS

It is clear, with Pearic, that we are dealing with a series of closely related dialects. Martin (1974a:33), using a word list of about 155 words, obtained cognate percentages between 55% and 98% for eight of the dialects. Thomas and Headley (1970:401), using 207 words, obtained the following cognate percentages:

| | | |
|------|-------|-------|
| PEAR | | |
| 92 | SAMRE | |
| 87 | 85 | CHONG |

With a 500-word list, Huffman (1976a:554, 555) calculated a cognate percentage of 54% for Pear and Chong. That these dialects are close is supported by a statement in Baradat (1941:9). He tells of an old Samre from Khvao in Siem Reap Province who was taken to visit the Western Pear in Kranhung (Battambang Province). The Samre speaker was apparently able to understand the Western Pear and speak with them with little or no difficulty. It is also clear, from the phonological material discussed in Section 2 that there are significant differences between the dialects. Pearic of Kompong Thom, as Martin (1974a:34) suggested, is clearly quite distinct from the other dialects.¹⁴

It did not take part in the general Pearic aspiration of initial voiceless stops. It has unique reflexes for PP /*e/ and /*o/, and has a large number of unique lexemes.¹⁵ For these reasons, it is suggested that a Northeastern Group of Pearic be set up with the Kompong Thom

dialect as the sole member. In its treatment of PP /*j-/ , /*a/ (following an originally voiced consonant), and /*ɔ/ (following an originally voiceless consonant), Northeastern Pearic is most closely akin to Suoi and the dialects of the Veal Renh area. Lexically, the Northeastern dialect shares a few words with Suoi. Based on somewhat slim evidence, such as lexical innovations and the treatment of PP /*j-/ , a second group, called Southeastern which includes Suoi and the Saoch dialects of Veal Renh, is proposed. The third cluster of dialects proposed here is Western Pearic which includes the Chong dialects of Chantaburi Province in Thailand. Their main distinguishing features are their treatment of /*-r/ , /*-l/ , and /*-s/. The remaining dialects, spoken in the center of the Pearic area, fall into two groupings based largely on their treatment of /*-ʔ/ and /*ɔ/. Samre of Pursat, Baradat's Chong, and the Chong of Trat Province (Thailand) all retain PP /*-ʔ/ and have /ɑ/ as a reflex of PP /*ɔ/ following originally voiceless initials. Samray of Battambang loses final /*-ʔ/ and raises /*ɔ/ to /u/. It also has /iə/ as a reflex of PP /*ɛ:/ and raises /*e/ to /i/ and /*o/ to /u/.

The following classification of the Pearic dialects is suggested:

1. NORTHEASTERN-Pearic of Kompong Thom (PK)¹⁶
2. SOUTHEASTERN
 - 2.1 Suoi of Kompong Speu (SU)
 - 2.2 Saoch of Veal Renh (PC, PS)

3. WESTERN

3.1 Chong of Chantaburi (H)

3.2 Chong Hæp (CH)

3.3 Chong Lɔɔ (CL)

4. SOUTH CENTRAL

4.1 Samre of Pursat (EP, SE, PM)¹⁷

4.2 Chong of Baradat (northeastern Trat Province) (TC)

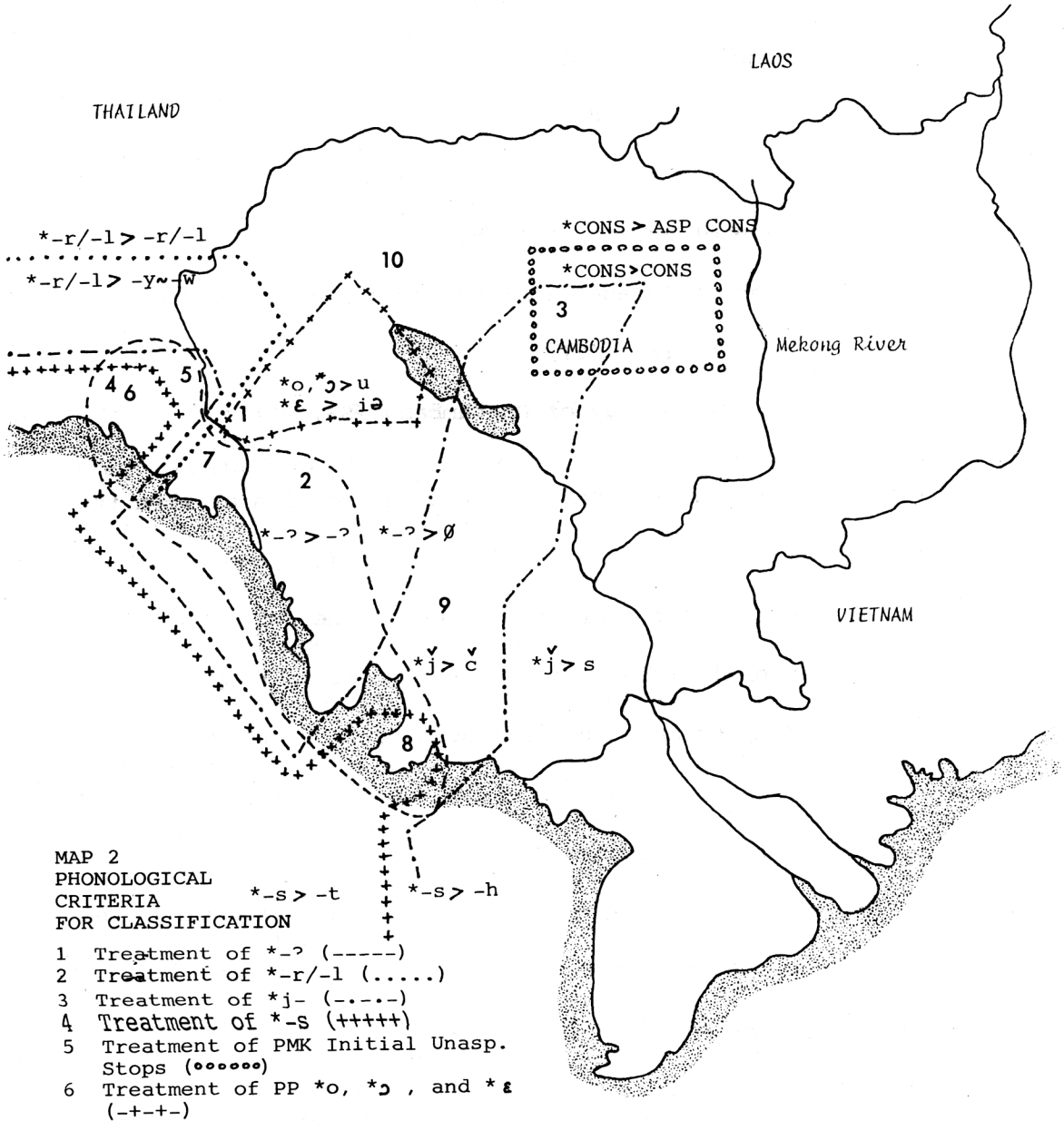
4.3 Chong of Trat (CI)

5. NORTH CENTRAL-Somray of Battambang (SY, WP)

The interrelations of the Pearic dialects are clearer when the various phonological criteria are plotted on a map (see Map 2). The situation here suggests a center of innovation in the Battambang-Pursat border area and peripheral dialects to the northeast in Kompong Thom, to the southeast in Kompong Speu and Veal Renh, and to the west in Chantaburi. The peripheral dialects are more conservative, i.e. they retain PP unaspirated initial stops, PP /*j-/ as a stop, and PP /*-s/ has generally not merged with PP /*-h/. Phonologically speaking, the North Central dialects are the most innovative. This is especially true in their vocalic reflexes.

A few observations can be made concerning the wider relations of Pearic. Pearic seems to be well-established as a language isolate in the Mon-Khmer Family. This is borne out especially by the numerous unique lexical items for basic vocabulary which occur in Pearic.

Among these items are: *hlo:ŋ 'banana', *hyɔk 'breast', *r(o:)ŋ



'centipede', *hlɛ:k 'chicken', *liŋ 'deep', *me:t 'distant', *Ta:l
 'to drink', *prɛla:ŋ 'ear', *mlu:ŋ 'eel', *kna:y 'elephant', *me:l
 'fish', *Pa(:)ŋ 'flower', *To:s 'head', *Tɛ:ŋ 'left (side)', *pɔ:m
 'meat', *Ka:ŋ 'month', *nɔ:ŋ 'mountain', *bla: 'new', *Te:v 'right
 (side)', *psi: 'snake', *ʔo:c 'to take', *ko:y 'tooth'.

There does appear to be at least one conservative phonological trait that Pearic shares with a few other Mon-Khmer languages. This is the retention of final /*-ʔ/, which it shares with the Aslian languages, Mon, Lawa, Riang, Khmu, and Mal.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| 'day' *tɕiʔ | Aslian tɕiʔ; Lawa saŋeʔ; Mal ɲeʔ |
| 'dog' *cɔʔ | Aslian ʔasuʔ, cōʔ, cōh; Mal suaʔ |
| 'dream' *poʔ | Temiar poʔ |
| 'earth' *teʔ | Aslian tiʔ, teʔ, tɛʔ, tēʔ; Mon tɔeʔ; Lawa teʔ; PMK *tiʔ (Shorto). |
| 'leaf' *klaʔ ~ *slaʔ | Aslian haliʔ, həliʔ, səlāʔ, hlaʔ; Khmu hlaʔ; Lawa hlaʔ; Mon hlaʔ |
| 'louse' *ciʔ | Aslian ciʔ, ceʔ, cɛʔ, cih; Riang s'iʔ; Kharia seg. |
| 'rain' *gmaʔ | Aslian gəməh, mīʔ, miʔ |
| 'stone' *tmoʔ | Aslian təmɔʔ, təmōʔ; Mon mɔʔ; Riang s'vmoʔ; Lawa samoʔ |
| 'thorn' *jɾɛla | Aslian jrlāʔ, jʔlaʔ, jalag; Mon həlèʔ |

'three' *pe?

Aslian hmpe?, mpe?, hmpe?; Mon pœ?, Mal phe?

The sporadic occurrence of /-?/ in Mon-Khmer suggests that it was part of the consonantal inventory of Proto-Mon-Khmer. Inter-dialect borrowing and leveling probably account for the loss of /-?/ in contemporary Pearic words for 'arm' (Temiar ti:?, PMK *ti:?, (Shorto)), 'eat' (Aslian ci?, cœi?, cœ?, cā?, cāh, cah; Mon cœ?), and 'fruit' (Aslian pœlo?, pœlē?, pœlə?, pœlēh, pœleh; Mal phlē?).

Pearic also shares with Mal and apparently with Khasi too the aspiration of originally voiceless unaspirated stops.¹⁸

'bite' *kat > khat Mal Khæt

'earth' *te? > the? Mal thæ

'child' *ke:n > khe:n Khasi khún

'crab' *ta:m > tha:m Khasi tha:m

'three' *pe? > phe:?, phe: Mal phe?

Despite these phonological similarities, the relationship between Pearic and Khasi or Pearic and the Khmuic languages does not seem to be very close. Lexicostatistical evidence in Thomas and Headley (1970) suggests that Pearic is an independent member of Mon-Khmer on a level with Khmer, Khasi, Katuic, Bahnaric, Mon, Palaungic, Khmuic, and Viet-Muong. The figures obtained by Huffman (1976a) put these relationships in sharper relief and seem to place Pearic closer to Khmer, Bahnaric, and Katuic. In any case, the relationship between Pearic and the other peripheral Mon-Khmer languages, especially Khasi and the Aslian languages is a fertile area for further study.

NOTES

1. The Baradat manuscript vocabulary in the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Paris, was apparently collected during the thirties. Martin (1974a) dates it as 1941 which is the same date as Baradat's article in the BEFEO on the Pear. The vocabulary itself contains an introduction and 251 pages of comparative vocabulary. The vocabulary is given in seven parallel columns: French, Khmer, Western Pear, Eastern Pear, Chong of Thailand, Pear of Kompong Thom, Suoi of Kompong Speu. Pearic forms are not given for all the French glosses. Although there are some symbols which Baradat uses that I do not quite understand, for the most part, it is fairly easy to convert them into a phonetic form. Below is a list of Baradat's symbols for vowels and my phonetic interpretation of them.

| <u>Baradat</u> | <u>Phonetic</u> | <u>Baradat</u> | <u>Phonetic</u> |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| a | [a:] | ê | [ɛ] ? |
| ã | [a] | è | [ɛ:] |
| â | [a:] | â | [õ:] |
| x a | [a] | ô | [ô:] |
| o | [o] | ai | [ai̲] |
| ô | [o:] | ei | [ei̲] |
| õ | [o] | ay | [a:i̲] |
| ō | [ao]? | ie | [iə] |
| u | [u] | eu | [ê],[ê:] ? |
| û | [u:] | oe | [ẽ],[ẽ:] ? |

3. But, see Note 1 above.

| <u>Baradat</u> | <u>Phonetic</u> | <u>Baradat</u> | <u>Phonetic</u> |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| ü | [ɨ],[ɨ:] | éa | [ie] |
| i | [i] | oã | [oa] ? |
| î | [i:] | éã | [ea] ? |
| e | [e] | uo | [uə] |
| é | [e:] | uoe | [ɨə] |

Baradat writes what is apparently the same as Martin's 'ton glottal' in two ways, but I do not understand his descriptions which I quote below,

"Lors de la répétition de voyelles identiques, la deuxième est plus ouvert, plus accentuée ce qui suffit à marquer séparation Lorsque deux voyelles identiques sont reliées par un trait d'union, il y a une véritable césure entre les deux, le son gardant même valeur. En l'absence de trait d'union, si l'accentuation indique même valeur, il n'y a pas séparation le son étant simplement prolongé à l'extrême."

I take this to mean that his kaanh is [ka:ñ] or [ka:ñ̃], his taak is [ta:k] or [ta:k̃], his kré-ét is probably [kre:ʔt], and his pô-aût is [pɔʔo:t]. The consonants offer no particular problems.

2. While /ñ/ is fairly common as a final consonant in Pearic, it has not been found in any words in initial position.
3. But, see Note 1 above and Headley (1977:73-75).

4. The following dialects of Pearic were used. (Read: abbreviation, name of dialect, location, collector)

SY - Somray of Kranhung, Battambang Prov., Martin.
WP - West Pear of Kranhung, Battambang Prov., Baradat.
PM - East Pear of Phnom Krevanh, probably Pursat Prov., Morizon.
SE - Somree of Peam Prus, Anlong Krauch along the Tamyong River, Pursat Prov., Martin.
EP - East Pear of Peam Prus, Pursat Prov., Baradat.
PK - Pear of Phnom Tbeng, Kompong Thom Prov., Baradat.
H - Chong of Makham District, Chantaburi Prov., Thailand, Huffman.
CH - Chong Hæep, Chantaburi Prov., Thailand, Martin.
CL - Chong Loo, Chantaburi Prov., Thailand, Martin.
TC - Thai Chong, probably northeastern Trat Prov., Thailand, Baradat.
CI - Chong, Ban Dan Champon, Trat Prov., Thailand, Isarangura.
PS - Saoch of Veal Renh, Kampot Prov., Pavie.
PC - Saoch of Veal Renh, Kampot Prov., Purtle.
SU - Suoi, Kompong Speu Prov., Baradat.

5. In the cognate sets, the phonemic form is given first. If it was adopted from some other system of transcription, the original form is given in parentheses. The dialect/source identification is given last. In the reconstructed forms, tenuous reconstructions are given in parentheses.

6. From time to time, additional lexical data from outside of Pearic will be cited. The sources and abbreviations used in these citations are:

ASLIAN - the Mon-Khmer languages of Malaysia; Benjamin (1976),
Diffloth (1975, 1977).

Bah.- Bahnar (various sources)

Chr.- Chrau (Thomas)

Hal.- Halang (various sources)

Khasi - (various sources)

Khmer - Headley et al. (1977)

Khmu - Smalley (1961)

Mal - Thomas and Headley (1970)

Mon - Shorto (1962, 1971)

Muong - Thompson (1976)

Pal.- Palaung (various sources)

PCNB - Proto-Central North Bahnaric; Smith (1972).

PEK - Proto-East-Katuic; Dorothy M. Thomas (1976).

PJH - Proto-Jeh-Halang; Thomas and Smith (1967).

PM - Proto-Mnong; Blood (1966).

PMK - Proto-Mon-Khmer; Shorto (1976).

PNB - Proto-North-Bahnaric; Smith (1972).

PPal.- Proto Palaungic; Diffloth (1977), Mitani (1979).

Proto- Chamic - Lee (1966).

PSB - Proto-South-Bahnaric; Blood (1966).

PVM - Proto-Viet-Muong; Thompson (1976).

Riang (-Lang) - Mitani (1979).

Sre - (various sources)

St. - Stieng; (various sources)

Temiar - Carey (1961)

Teng - Maspero (1955)

Vn. - Vietnamese; various sources, but mainly Thompson (1976).

7. Shorto (1976:1066) uses these symbols to codify correspondences of which the Mon form appeared to imply a voiceless initial and the Khmer form a voiced one. In Pearic the contrast between /*p-, *t-, *c-, *k-/ , /*P-, *T-, *C-, *K-/ , and /*b-, *d-, *j-, *g-/ was clearly phonemic.

*ca:k 'seed'

*Cak 'to hunt'

*pak 'to gather'

*Pa:k 'to climb'

*po:n 'four'

*Po:t 'to cut' *bo: 'you'

*Pa:ŋ 'flower'

*ba:ŋ 'morning'

*tak 'broken'

*Tak 'large' *da:k 'water'

*Te:w 'right' (side) *de:w 'to buy'

8. The /c/ ~ /s/ alternation also occurs in Khmer, cf. /coa/ (< jāra) 'sap, resin', /pcoa/ (< bhjāra) 'to join together', /psa:/ (< phsāra) 'to weld, solder.' In the Kampot dialect of Khmer, initial clusters of /c/+ a second consonant are often pronounced with /s/ replacing the /c/; e.g., /sŋal/ for /cŋal/ (< chnga'l) 'to wonder'

195c *(k)r(e:)k 'chest' kre:k (krek) EP, TC; kri:k
 (krik) WP; krik SE, SY; krik
H, CH, CL.

14. However, Martin suggests that the difference can be explained by "massive borrowing from Cambodian."

15. Among the more important unique PK lexical items are:

| <u>Gloss</u> | <u>PK</u> | <u>Other Pearic</u> |
|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 'ashamed' | ñɑ:ŋ | khlay; kle:k, kle? |
| 'awaken' | təkɪəh | krik, mɾɪk |
| 'black' | ŋam | caŋ |
| 'chew' | kañ | ki:t, ke:t, kɛ:t |
| 'come' | moan | yip; kman in SU. |
| 'cook' | yaŋ | thim |
| 'cut, hack' | kaoc | po:t, pu:t, paot |
| 'to drink' | ña: | ta:l |
| 'to fall' | mek | ŋe:c, ŋic |
| 'foot' | kacaot | siñ |
| 'go' | voar | cu:, ce:v |
| 'hot' | khiəŋ | thu:, thu? |
| 'in' | luh | rey, re:, re:? |
| 'large' | pi:h | tak |
| 'long' | kluəy | kəŋ |
| 'mountain' | kpə:y | nə:ŋ |
| 'mouth' | cumpo ^h :y | rəniəŋ, rənɛ:ŋ, cka: |

| <u>Gloss</u> | <u>PK</u> | <u>Other Pearic</u> |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 'night' | vi: | chɪp |
| 'to nurse' | co [˘] :v | saok, sɔ:k, so:k |
| 'penis' | khlav | le:c, lic, <u>lic</u> |
| 'river' | sɛ:n | khra:ŋ, khru:ŋ |
| 'winnow' | phə:l | ku:m, <u>ku:m</u> |

16. Moura's Por seems to belong to this group.
17. The Samre of Moura and Samreh of Bastien may be members of this group, but the evidence is not conclusive.
18. See Haudricourt 1965:161-162, 164.

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