THE DEVELOPMENT OF TODRAH REGISTER

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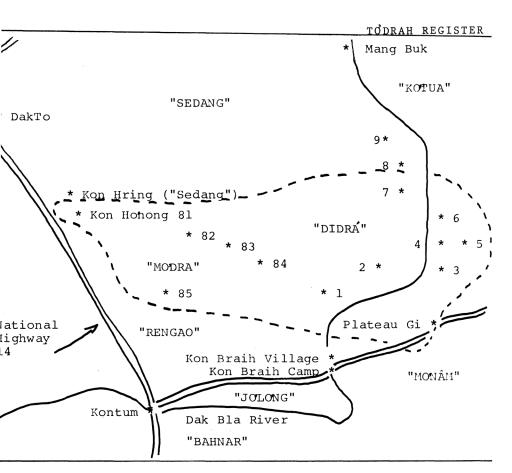
O. Introduction

Although the presence of the Todrah language in Kontum Province has for some time been reported by both official and linguistic sources, little linguistic material has been published concerning it to date (Maspero, 1929:65; Pinnow, 1959:3; Smith, 1967; Thomas, 1969). In this paper the authors present their analysis of the register systems of two Todrah dialects--Didra and Modra--and an explanation of the derivation of these two register systems as well as that of Sedang from Proto-North-Bahnaric. Other phonological aspects of Todrah will be noted in this introduction. Though based only on some brief word lists representing parts of the Todrah language area, the general pattern seems evident and is consistent in most respects with the phonological systems of neighboring languages.²

This language group has been variously identified by its speakers as $k\sigma dra$, $t\sigma draq$, $p\sigma dra$, $p\sigma dra$, $m\sigma dra$, didra, and didrah. In order to retain these terms to identify its various dialects the authors have chosen the term Todrah

to designate the entire language group.

The Todrah language area extends from Kon Honong Village on National Highway 14 northwest of Kontum City to Kon Braih and Plateau Gi to the northeast. These western and eastern extremities of the language area are represented by the Modra (M) and Didra (D) dialects, respectively. See Map 1. This paper is hereafter limited to a discussion of these two dialects, M and D.



Map 1. Modra-Didrá ethnolinguistic area.

Note: (a) Villages in area of Kon Honong (Modra) include:
Kon Mong Khoq, Kon Hogagng, Kon Mong Cho Brang, Kon
Hring (to be distinguished from the Sedang Kon Hring),
Kon Jori ("dra"), Kon Kolok, Kon Tai, and Kon Monhal.

- (b) Villages along the Dak Bla River north of Plateau Gi (Didrá) include: 1 Sak Peq; 2 Kon Sak Vang; 3 Kon Rolung; 4 Kon Hnaq; 5 Kon Biu; 6 Kon Roda; 7 Kon Kodráng 8 Kon Roma ("mixed"); and 9 Vi Hodring ("Sedang").
- (c) Villages included in Smith (1967) are: 81 Kon Honong
 ("kodra"); 82 Kon Kotem ("todraq"); 83 Kon Jori ("Podra")
 84 Kon Sotiu ("podra"); and 85 Kon Kolak ("bar i tang").

The Todrah word pattern resembles that of the neighboring North Bahnaric languages having optionally an unstressed open presyllable with a schwa vowel and a stressed main syllable consisting of an initial consonant or consonant cluster, vowel and an optional final consonant. D has a fuller set of presyllable consonants than M. The former with its voiced stop presyllable consonants resembles Bahnar and Rengao, whereas the latter resembles Sedang. See Chart 1. Before voiceless stops D sometimes has an x without presyllable vowel. x

The Todrah main syllable initial consonants are similar to those of the neighboring languages. See Chart 2. The data does not include the probable M nh. The voiced stops are sometimes prenasalized (cf. Sedang prenasalized stops). M has an affricated ts whereas D has only s. D also includes zy. For comparison note the Rengao consonants of Chart 3.

Both dialects have the usual North Bahnaric consonant cluster sets: -l (pl, bl,...); -r (pr, br, D mr, ...); post aspiration (ph, kh); preaspiration (D hm, hr, hw, ...); and preglottalization (qb, qm,...). Both dialects have instances of consonantal labialization (M dw, M pw, M lw, D kw); cf. Bahnar and Rengao semi-vowels.

The Todrah main syllable vowels have contrastive length. With apparently 5 to 7 long and 3 to 5 short vowels in each of the two registers (plus vowel glides) the Todrah vowel system resembles that of Rengao (see Chart 4). The charting of the vowels of the two Todrah dialects will be given in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 below. Marginal vowel nasalization is found in both dialects.

The final consonants are typical of the area except that neither dialect has final l (cf. Sedang, Kotua, and Hré). Prestopped final nasals are found as variants of the plain nasals (cf. Jeh, Haláng). The complex final clusters yh and yq are considered complex phonological units as in the neighboring languages. Only M has final r. Only D has final nh; an expected final ch, however, was not recorded. See Chart 5.

Synchronic aspects Didrá register

In the D word list of Section 3 it will be noted that D vowels are variously laryngealized (\acute{V}), breathy (\acute{V}) or clear (V). This three-way contrast of vowels is unique among the Vietnam register languages. Rengao, Halang and Jeh, on the one hand, have only clear and breathy vowels (V, V), representing their tense and lax registers, respectively. Sedang, on the other hand, has only laryngealized and clear vowels (V, V), representing its tense and lax registers, respectively.

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abhanoando elda. Sayllahaba consus	p t k q
	below owned to move the second of the second
oring lacquades.	be Toderah ma r n syrikhin to those of the neight data h lose ne t include

Chart 1. Todrah presyllable consonants enpartson not aftine Renga

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	b	d. 1	j	g		
dv.	m	ia n o o M)	D nh	ng		
2.2	W					
		M ts				
dep.	Lig i	o: Š⊹i D√s -				1-10
1	1 000	غمصين			LIGHAIL	THO R V

the vowers of the two Tudgah dislacts Chart 2. Todrah main syllable initial consonants (M and D indicate the occurrence of a consonant in only one dialect)

namb lend	xelget	Labial	Apical	Palatal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stop	v1	p	taan	c h	k	q
noi recorder	vd	yew b	d	Berjegg	g	- 4 g
rd relian	nasal	m	n	nh	ng	
Continuant	vd	W	1,r	У		
	vI		s	张龙色 真母 8 年。	a rgog a	h

Chart 3. Rengao main syllable initial consonants (the symbol x in Rengao represents the aspirated variety of ch, i.e. /chh/. Accordingly it is not listed here among elevor vithe simple consonants. Vs. . basi end end

will bob sends and policing the tense and law

reducidant;

	ii 30, am ui yink	Lax	Register ⁶	ii decung Jistyage	ls have describe	the vowe final co	
	Front		Centr	al-go mi	Back ellawo		
33	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	
High	i (i)		odenska pod 1d. shoods 1d. venska vi 11 identii 11		u [ù]	nasais with ora [Ŭ] Ŭ	
Low	e [e]	erally-oc tve redic d with be	, a [ə]	ă [ə]	[0] 0	with all tongue-r advanced	
	isliya n	Tens	e Register	Appolises. Contrast	va javada 8. two-wa) 9575 Feat	data thi baying f	
High	i [e ⁱ]	w aoldaí (č)	inoc yew-s 178 - Syl odd codda i	neficial fac- trop on the etonal and	u [o ^u]	however, wich fin *[5] ŏ×	
Low	e [ε]	ombinatio		ă [ă]	o [၁]	Thus the laryngen	

Chart 4. Rengao vowels

MILSHIA U				
a viou ye	im dV bas NV	1.600.640.0	- curastadence	vey requestes .
р	an t olarkoad		k	be infermmeter
William Indon				e) sevideides
				their histori
HD. TO S. C.			elpeniyaw-	initial three
				way, though th
Halling no.			no light for	there is an e
				phonetidall
				loops and aclu
diang ma	yq		q	- This won
aved sal				. M bas W og
awayar	Mr			The and VP with
A ten reil	ibna estant		riisap yaa	delicalitys bas

Chart 5. Todrah final consonants

versa while clearness taplies profinces and vice Bern

Further inspection of the data, however, shows that the vowels have differing environments in terms of the final consonant. Laryngealized vowels occur only in open syllables, i.e. $V\emptyset$ (including those with final y); breathy vowels occur in open syllables (including those with final w and y), with final nasals, glottal stop and, though only after long vowels, with oral stops, i.e. $V\emptyset$, VN, Vq, \overline{VP} ; whereas clear vowels occur in open syllables, with final

 $\overline{\nabla} P$; whereas clear vowels occur in open syllables, with final nasals, glottal stop, h and, though only after short vowels, with oral stops, i.e. $V\emptyset$, VN, Vq, Vh, $\breve{V}P$.

The basis for register identification is contrast; i.e.

with all other factors remaining generally constant the tongue-root articulator has contrastive retracted versus advanced positions (herein identified with the tense and lax registers, respectively) (Gregerson, 1970). In the D data this two-way contrast is noted clearly in syllables having final glottal stops or nasals. In open syllables, however, an apparent three-way contrast occurs while those with final h yield no contrast. Syllables with final oral stops exhibit redundancies since the features tense register and short vowel converge as do lax register and long vowel. Thus the ten final vowel-consonant combinations in terms of laryngeal-pharyngeal articulations are as follows (note however that length is contrastive before nasals but is not significant to the present discussion):

Laryngealized: VØ

Clear: $V\emptyset$, VN, Vq, VP, Vh We are thy: $V\emptyset$, VN, Vq, VP

At first sight this array might seem to imply a three-way register contrast; however, VØ and Vh may very plausibly be interpreted as terms in an opposition of laryngeal constrictives (spirants). And, indeed, this precisely reflects their historical relationship (see Section 2.1). The initial three-way register contrast, then, is actually two-way, though the manifesting features are skewed "up", i.e. there is an escalation of tension for the laryngeal spirants --phonetically identifiable with inward tongue-root retraction and accompanying laryngealization.

This would leave VØ and VØ as a register pair parallel to VN and VN, and to Vq and Vq. There remain, however, VP and VP which contrast along two parameters--vowel length and articulatory quality. Breathiness and length are thus redundant; similarly, clearness and shortness are redundant. In implicational terms these features are reciprocal in the environment VP; breathiness entails a long vowel and vice versa while clearness implies shortness and vice versa.

Chart 6 shows the resultant D registers.

	M-KHILDY OTODIDO IA									
Register	(Vowel			Tense Register (laryngealized)		. Lax	Register (clear)			
Spirants				Ø,		Nh I				
	Oral	Long				 	VP			
Stops		Short			1	VP (
	Glottal				1	bΛ	νď			
lants	Oral				1 1	ρΛ	, X			
Continuants	Nasal				1 1	VN	, NN			
Register	(Vowel	articulation)		Tense		Register (clear)	Lax Register (breathy)			

Chart 6. Didra Registers

1.2 Modra register

M, like D, has prima facie three-way register contrast in open-syllables. A general two-way contrast exists with final nasals, r, glottal stops and with final oral stops (but only after short vowels in the latter case). With final oral stops after long vowels and with final h no contrast exists. Thus there are thirteen vowel-consonant combinations involved in Modra register discussions (length is contrastive before nasals and r, but is not significant to the present discussion):

Laryngealized: VØ

Clear: VØ, VN, Vr, Vq, ЎP, Vh Breathy: VØ, VN, Vr, Vq, Ўp, Vp

As with D. VØ and Vh are interpreted as counterparts manifesting contrastive register. Oral stop finals again provide the context for redundancy between the features of register and length. This time, however, the configuration is different and the rules are not reciprocal. That is, length implies breathiness, but not vice versa; while clearness implies shortness, but not vice versa. Chart 7 shows the resultant M registers.

2.0 Diachronic aspects

The modern Todrah register systems are a result of significant historical changes. Similar to developments in Sedang, these processes involve the loss or alternation of final consonants, as well as pharyngeal and laryngeal modifications. The register derivations of each of the two dialects are discussed separately below using a series of numbered rules. Examples of each rule are given in Section 2.5. The reconstructed starred (*) forms of Proto-North-Bahnaric (PNB), of which Todrah is a descendent, are the basis of these derivations (Smith, 1970). There are no important developments noted in the main syllable initial consonants. PNB long vowels are frequently glided in D.

2.1 Didra register derivations

The PNB tense register final *h became a laryngealized open syllable vowel in D. The PNB lax register final *h is retained, though usually with clear articulation (see Rule D1).

The PNB tense register final oral stops became glottal stops in D, but the PNB lax register final stops are retained (see Rule D2) with breathy vowel articulation. Then all short vowels with final stops became associated with clear voice quality (Rule D2a). The shift in Rule 3 necessarily occured after that in Rule 2; otherwise PNB short lax register vowels with stops would have become clear (D2a), thereby merging with the tense register, and then the final stops (including the formerly lax register stops) would have become glottal stops (D2) --but they didn't.

requetor in TR

s Register	(Vowel	tion)		Tense Register (laryngea	Pax d	Register (clear)
Spirants	- 1	dv4		νø	Λh	
\	11	Long	and the second second			1 2
Stops	Oral	Short	and the second second second	IV [V-	A.S.	ΔÅ
be: ed	Glottal	V . E		ec ed on	bΛ	ove Nd
iv i	865 67: 191 1 1	Open		n nerve og ble Springer og si Light og brok	ØΛ	
Continuants	Oral	Flap	and the second		Vr	V.
Conti	Nasal				 	, VN
Register	(Vowel	articulation)		Tense	Register (clear)	Lax Register (breathy)

Chart 7. Modra Registers R

PNB final *l and *r have both been lost in D. No other shifts have occurred in open-syllables, or with final nasals or *q (Rule D3). ¹⁰ In the following rules tense register is TR and lax register is LR:

$$(D1) \qquad * \left\{ -Vh \right\}_{LR}^{TR} \longrightarrow D \left\{ -V\phi \right\}_{-Vh}^{T} - (\cdot)$$

$$(D2) \qquad * \left\{ -VP \right\}_{LR}^{TR} \longrightarrow D \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{-VP}^{T} - (D2)$$

$$(D2) a \qquad * \left\{ -Vp \right\}_{-Vq}^{T} - (D3) \qquad * \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{-Vq}^{T} - (D3)$$

$$(D3) \qquad * \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{-Vq}^{T} - (C4)$$

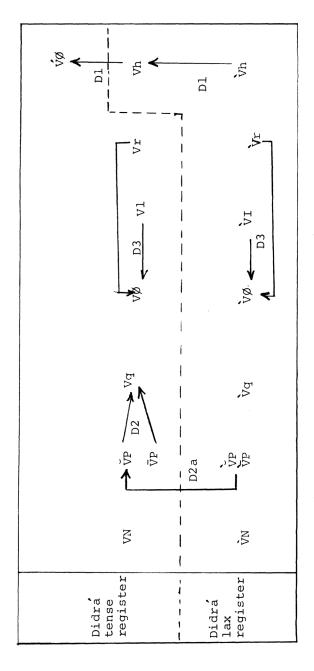
$$(D4) \qquad * \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{-Vq}^{T} - (C4)$$

$$(D5) \qquad * \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{-Vq}^{T} - (C4)$$

$$(D6) \qquad * \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{-Vq}^{T} - (C4)$$

$$(D7) \qquad * \left\{ -V$$

From the above rules it can be seen how there has been a general reduction from PNB to the ten D combinations discussed in Section 1.1 above. The final h shift (D1) did not create or lose any contrasts. Four PNB combinations were lost as D final l and r of both registers merged with VØ and VØ (D3). Though the PNB tense register *VP merged with VQ (D2), its hole in part was filled by PNB *VP (D2a). These successive shifts in D are shown in Chart 8.



Rules given in the text; arrows forms and point to the derived final shifts of Didra (numbers refer to the I begin at PNB Didrá forms) Register and Chart 8.

The D vowel phonemes, as analyzed in preliminary fashion here, are shown in Chart 9. These are displayed in a framework of the dual prosodic register system. It appears that D, like Jeh and Halang, has five short vowels—occasioned in the tense register by the merging of *VP with Vq — in contrast with Rengao which has only three short vowels. Like Sedang and Hrê, there are possibly seven lax register vowel positions, occasioned by the merging of *VI and *Vr with VØ. A note is included in each register frame stating the vowel quality in its various environments.

		ror quarr	-1		VULTOUS	01111	111110111001	
	Sho	Long			Glided			
Tense	(ĭ)	(ŭ)	i		u	ia	ua	
	ĕ	ŏ	е		0	ea	oa	
Regis- ter	ā	l		a				
		N, Ø, q hlaryno			and no []	h]		
Lax Regis-);i (e)	/) U /)(O	i ê (è)	àa	u ô (ò)	ia	ua	
ter	with N, Ø, qbreathy with hclear or breathy							
Redun- dant register length		with P only: V clear and \overline{V} breathy (though non-contrastive)						

Chart 9. Didrá vowel phonemes (parentheses indicate vowels of questionable status; circumflex marks higher vowel than its plain counterpart).

2.2 Mddra register derivations

The M derivations contrast to those of D in several respects and require more complex rules. As in D, the PNB tense register final *h became a laryngealized open syllable vowel in M, and the PNB lax register final *h was retained (see Rule M1). 11

Unlike D, PNB final glottal stops have been lost in M, and the PNB tense register articulation merged with the lax register breathy articulation (Rule M2).

As in D, the PNB tense register final stops became q in M, but the PNB lax register final stops were retained (M3,M4,M5). The derived register articulation with these

PNB stops, however, is a function of the preceding consonant and/or vowel length: (a) with long vowels and a preceding q or h (together symbolized G), there is no change in register articulation (M3); (b) with long vowels and any other preceding consonant (symbolized C_1), the tense register shifts to a breathy articulation (M4); (c) with short vowels the lax register shifts to a clear articulation (M5).

Rules M3, M4, and M5 account for both \tilde{VP} and $\tilde{\tilde{VP}}$, but leave \overline{VP} and \tilde{VP} as holes in the system of final stops; of these two holes the latter is filled by a subsequent M shift, while the former remains unfilled.

These stop shifts necessarily occurred after the glottal stop shift described above (M2); otherwise PNB tense register final stops, after having become final glottals Vq or $\hat{V}q$ (M3, M4, M5), would have undergone a subsequent shift to $\hat{V}Q$ -- but they didn't.

A unique nasal shift then occurred in M. PNB final nasals following long vowels or syllable-initial *q or nasal are retained. All other final nasals (i.e. those following short vowels without a preceding *q or nasal) have become stops. There is no register shift, however, involved with this nasal shift (see Rule M6). This shift necessarily follows the stop shifts with short vowels (M5); otherwise some of the nasals having become stops (M6) would, in turn, have become glottal stops and, in the case of the lax register, switched register (M5) but they didn't. 12

Some of the words affected by the nasal to stop shift (M6) were affected by a subsequent register shift. Lax register short vowels with final stops preceded by a voiced consonant shifted to a clear articulation (see Rule M6a). This register shift necessarily occurred after that of Rule M6 inasmuch as it operates only on the forms resulting from (M6). Prior to (M6) all VP had merged to a clear vowel articulation (M5).

Lastly it is noted that there is no register shift involving open-syllables, final *l or *r. Only final *l is lost in M (see Rule M7). (D lost both *l and *r.)

Rules:

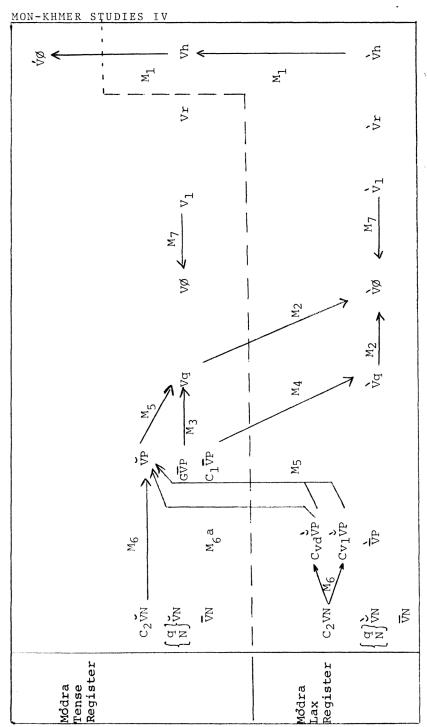
$$(M1) \qquad * \left\{ -Vh \right\}_{LR}^{TR} \longrightarrow M \left\{ -V\phi \right\} \qquad (`)$$

$$(M2) \qquad * \left\{ -Vq \right\}_{LR}^{TR} \longrightarrow M \left\{ -V\phi \right\}^{13} \qquad ($$

$$(M3) \qquad * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} G\overline{V}P \right\}^{TR} \longrightarrow M \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} G\overline{V}Q \right\}^{1\,4} - \\ \\ (M4) \qquad * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_1\overline{V}P \right\}^{TR} \longrightarrow M \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_1\overline{V}Q \right\}^{1\,5} \\ \\ C_1\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\}^{1\,5} \\ \\ (M5) \qquad * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\}^{TR} \longrightarrow M \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\overline{V}Q \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} -\overline{V}Q \end{array} \right\}^{1\,6} - \\ \\ -\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\}^{1\,6} - \\ \\ (M6) \qquad * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\overline{V}N \end{array}, \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Q \\ N \end{array} \right\} \overline{V}N \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} C_2\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\}^{TR} \\ \\ \longrightarrow M \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\overline{V}N \end{array}, \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Q \\ N \end{array} \right\} \overline{V}N \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} C_2\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\}^{-1} \\ \\ (M6a) \qquad * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_{V}d\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow M \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_{V}d\overline{V}P \end{array} \right\}^{-1} \\ \\ (M7) \qquad * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -V\emptyset \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} -V1 \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} -V1 \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} -V1 \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} -V2 \end{array}, \begin{array}{l} -V2$$

Note: G represents q and h. C_1 represents any initial consonant except q or h. C_2 represents any initial consonant except q or N. C_{vd} represents voiced consonants including clusters like pl; the voiceless consonants excluded here include clusters like kr and hw.

The above rules indicate how there has been a reduction from PNB to the 13 M combinations discussed in Section 1.2 above. The final h shift (M1) did not create or lose any contrasts. PNB forms with final *l were lost by merger (M7) and not filled again. Though *Vq merged with VØ (M2), its hole was filled by *GVP (M3) and *VP (M5). The position thus left by the latter was, in turn, filled by *VP (M5) *C2VN (M6) and, later, by *CVVVP (M6A). Further, the vacancy left by *VP (M5) was filled by *C2VN (M6). Also, though *Vq merged with VØ (M2), its hole was filled by *C1VP (M4). The only vacancy still existing, therefore, is $\overline{\rm VP}$. These successive shifts are shown in Chart 10.



Register and final shifts of Modra (arrows indicate M forms resulting from PNB shifts; back of arrows mark PNB forms retained in M.) Chart 10.

The register and final shifts of nasals and stops have created new bases for the contrasts in M. The M length contrast before q, if it is maintained, has derived from the PNB length contrast before final stops (M3, M5). The oral stop versus glottal stop contrast with short vowels (tense register) has derived from PNB final stops with an assist from the PNB nasals (M5, M6, M6a). The register contrast with short vowels and final stops has derived from the PNB register contrast of nasals (M6, M6a). The length contrast with lax register stops has derived from PNB short vowels with nasals (M6) and PNB long vowels with stops (M4). register contrast with long vowels and final glottal stop has derived from the PNB tense register with oral stops, based only on the differing initial consonants (M3, M4). These related contrast shifts are pictured in Chart 11.

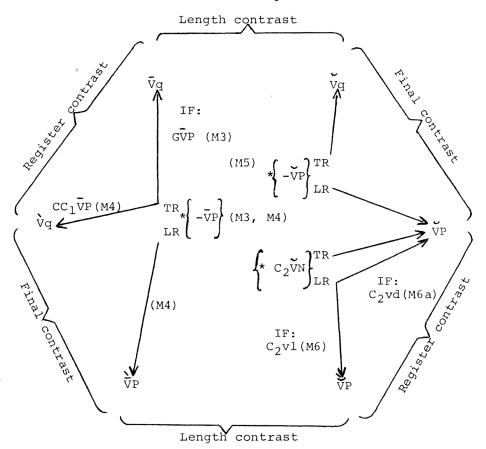


Chart 11. Contrast shifts of Modra (PNB forms are cited in the center; Modra forms are cited on the periphery).

MON-KHMER STUDIES IV
The M vowel phonemes, as tentatively analyzed in this study, are shown in Chart 12. The five short tense register vowels are occasioned by the normally high lax register short vowels with stops becoming tense, supplementing the normally low tense register short short vowels. The seven long lax register vowels are occasioned by the mergers of *Vq, *Vq and *Vl with VØ.

A display of vowels as in Charts 9 and 12 becomes increasingly inadequate as it is noted how each final consonant type has its own unique vowel system. A more complete presentation would detail the constraints on vowel cooccurrence with each final consonant or consonant type. This must, however, await more extensive investigation than has been possible to date.

	Short	Long	Glided					
Tense Register	ĭ ŭ ĕ ŏ	i u e o	ia ua					
	with N, r, Ø, q, p (V only) _ clear with h laryngealized and no [h]							
Lax Register	i v u	u o o o	ia ua					
	with hclear with N, r, Ø, q, p (V only)breathy							
Non-contrast- ive register	with P(V on contrastive	ly)breathy)	(though non-					

Chart 12. Mddra vowel phonemes (gave diacritic marks laxness; circumflex indicates raised tongue height).

2.3 Comparison with Sedang

Of the four D and eight M rules only those dealing with PNB *Vh (D1 and M1) and *V1 (D3d and M7b) could possibly have occurred before these two dialects of Todrah split apart from each other. Although the oral stop shifts (D2-2a and M3-4-5) are almost identical they necessarily occurred after the dialects had separated inasmuch as the glottal stop shifts (D3b and M2), ordered before the oral stop shift in M, differ from each other. Clearly the nasal shifts (D3a and M6) and the r shifts (D3e and M7c) are also independent in the two dialects.

In Sedang (S) there are only six contrastive final vowel-consonant combinations which include two contrastive register sets and two non-contrastive syllables (final P and h). See Chart 13. These are the result of a unique set of register and final shifts.

	Contrastiv	ve register	Neutralize	d register
Tense Register	-ÝN	-vø	-VP	-Vh
Lax Register	-VN	-vø		

Chart 13. Sedang registers

As in D, PNB final *l and r have been lost in S (See Rule S1).

The register manifestation of open-syllables or those with final nasals then shifted to laryngealized vowels for the tense register and clear vowels for the lax register (See Rule S2). The shift of Rule S2 necessarily followed that of Rule Sl, inasmuch as the PNB tense register vowels in syllables with l and r became laryngealized despite the loss of the final consonant; similarly the PNB lax register vowels in syllables with l and r became clear despite the loss of the final consonant. Then PNB stops and h of the tense register were lost while those of the lax register were retained and their vowels became clear (See Rule S3). All final glottal sto;s were lost and the lax register breathy vowels merged with the clear vowels (See Rule S4). The open syllable shift (S2b) necessarily occurred before that of either (S3) or (S4); otherwise the PNB tense register final P, h and σ would have laryngealized vowels--but they don't.

Rules:
FN 18)
$$(S_1)$$

* $\left\{-V1, -Vr\right\}_{LR}^{TR}$

* $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{LR}^{TR}$

S $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

* $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{LR}^{TR}$

S $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

* $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

S $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

* $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

S $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

* $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

S $\left\{-VV, -V\emptyset\right\}_{-}^{TR}$

The above register shifts in S account for the abundance of open syllable words in S. The massive reduction of PNB forms in S is all associated with the loss of finals. Finals *1, *r, and *q of both registers are lost; the PNB tense register *VP and *Vh merge with VØ resulting in a neutralization of register. These successive shifts are shown in Chart 14.

The only point at which Todrah and Sedang shifts could have occurred prior to the splitting apart of these language groups is the shift involving the loss of final *1 (D3d, M7b, and Sla).

Sedang could have shared the *VP and *Vr shifts with D-but not with M; or Sedang could have shared the *Vq and *VP shifts (ordered) with M (necessitating another Vq -- VØ shift later in Sedang) -- but not with D. The shared M and D *Vh shift appear to overrule the possibility of relating Sedang with one of the Todrah dialects to the exclusion of the other. But the indication of apparent genetic relationship of Todrah and Sedang at the point where *1 was lost is contradicted by the consideration of Hrê, a language also closely related to Sedang. Neither Hrê nor Sedang have contrastive vowel length or final 1. But because the Sedang and Hrê reflexes of the latter seem to go in different directions, Proto-Hrê-Sedang has been reconstructed without vowel length but with final *1. Now it seems that Todrah could have shared the simple vowel and centrally-glided vowel reflexes for lost *1 with Sedang but not with Hrê which has a final w (except before back vowels). Two possible relationships may be envisioned. If Hrê broke away and independently lost vowel length and final l, then Todrah and Sedang could have shared their loss of l and Sedang

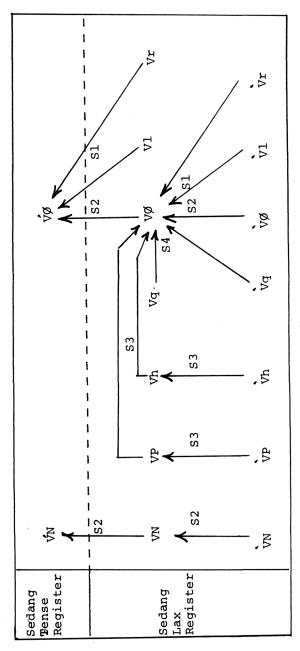


Chart 14. Register and final shifts of Sedang

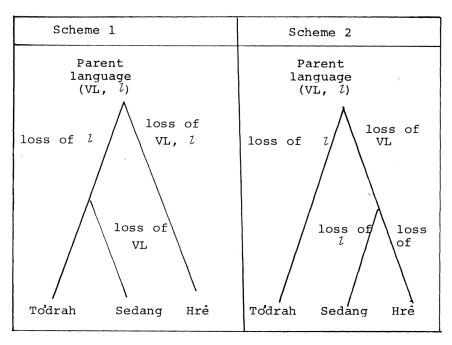


Chart 15. Alternate possible genetic relationships based on shared and independent loss of vowel length contrast (VL) and final l (l).

subsequently could have lost vowel length (Scheme 1 of Chart 15). Or if $T\mathcal{O}$ drah first broke away and independently lost final l, then $Hr\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ and Sedang could have shared their loss of vowel length and each subsequently could have independently lost l (Scheme 2, Chart 15).

Areal phonology suggest that the vowel length contrast is stable (only Hrê and Sedang do not have it) but finals $\mathcal I$ and r are unstable (Jeh, Cua, Sedang, Hrê, Didrá lack r; Kotua, Hrê, Sedang, Modra lack $\mathcal I$). For this reason Scheme 2 seems to be the more likely inasmuch as it calls for only one instance of loss of vowel length contrast.

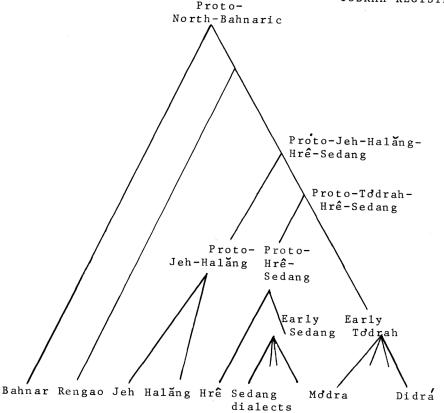


Chart 16. Genetic relationship of some North Bahnaric languages

With respect to the classification of Tddrah among the North Bahnaric languages, therefore, (1) it shares the register feature of the entire group excepting only Bahnar, Cua and Kdtua; it shares the vowel glides of the register languages excepting only Rengao; and (3) it is closely related to Hrê and Sedang apparently sharing not a genetic but a local typological or areal tendency toward the loss of various final consonants. Therefore we posit the inclusion of Tddrah in a Proto-Tddrah-Hrê-Sedang group and the subsequent breaking away first of Early Tddrah leaving Proto-Hrê-Sedang which ultimately also separated into Hrê and Early Sedang. These branching relationships are shown Chart 16.

	No register shifts occur	Register shifts occur
No final consonant loss or change	Ø (D, M, S) N (D,S) r (M only) g (D only)	
Final consonant loss or change	N (M only) r (D and S) l (D, M, S)	<pre>h (S; D and M tensing) q (M and S) P (D, M, S)</pre>

Chart 17. Relation of final consonant types to register and final shift stability

This study points up the importance of viewing register in Mon-Khmer languages as a prosodic factor whose effects are evidenced not only in the initial consonants and the vowels (as if well known), but also in the final consonants as well.

In these three cases--Didra, Modra, and Sedang--the final continuants (N, l, r, \emptyset) are most stable, not entering into any register shifts, but only being dropped or changed (e.g. N to P). Final h is less stable, causing tensing in D and M, and being partly lost in all three cases. The stops, P and q are least stable, changing register and changing or losing the final in all cases (see Chart 17).

166								TÖDR	AH REGISTER		
			Uncl	Unchecked			Checked				
		•				St	top		Spirant		
Α.	Vietnamese	First Series	$v \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ \emptyset \end{Bmatrix}$	(ng	ang)	$V \begin{cases} q \\ P \end{cases}$	(8	ác)	Vh (hōi)		
	Vietn	Second series	v̂{N Ø}	(hu	yền)	∧ { b d	(nặng)		Vh (nga)		
в.	a,	Tense register	VN	VØ		Vq		i I I VP	ÿ Vh		
	Didrá	Lax register	VN	V	Ø	ν̈̀q	₹VP	 			
	ra	Tense register	VN	VØ	Vr	Vq		ŬΡ	ÿ Vh		
	Modra	Lax register	νν	vø vr		ν̈̀q	, VP	ўР			
	b	Tense register	٧'n	Уø		,					
	Sedang	Lax register	VN	vø			VF	·	Vh		

Comparison of Vietnamese tone and Bahnaric register systems Chart 18.

the Todrah and Sedang register systems. The syllable types are grouped in a parallel way, divided first between unchecked and checked, then the latter divided into stops and spirants.

The bifurcation of tones into two classes has long been observed in Chinese, Tai and Vietnamese (see Maspero 1912:88ff), where they are regularly associated with the voicing of the initial consonants. The Mon-Khmer register systems, not unlike the series in "tone" languages, also associate one prosodic set with voiced initials and one with voiceless initials (cf. Haudricourt, 1965). The tense and lax registers of North Bahnaric have been shown to correlate with register in Mon and Khmer (Smith, 1970). Se also "Mnong vowel variations with initial stops"by Phillips (in this volume).

Spirants. The laryngealization of tense register *Vh in Todrah and the tensing of lax register *Vh in Todrah and Sedang, added to the evidence in Jeh (Gradin, 1965) of a rising tone pronunciation for *Vh words parallels further the historical development of Vietnamese laryngeal constructive (or rising tones hoi, and nga (Haudricourt, 1954).

Stops. In Didrá, before final stops, given either length or register the other is predictable. In Modra the conditions are narrower; i.e. if the vowel is long, lax register is predictable (but not vice versa), and if the register is tense, a short vowel is predictable (but again, not vice versa). In Sedang register is redundant for -VP syllable types. That stopped syllables have fewer prosodic contrasts has an interesting parallel in the tone systems of Tai, Vietnamese and Chinese (cf. the "entering tone").

Unchecked syllables. These are the more stable syllables, in that etyma of this historical type less often assume another shape. It may, however, become a melting pot for other reduced types. Similarly in Vietnamese, certain high set -Vq become -V (sac tone), and the loss of final h yields -V (hoi tone) and -V (nga tone). Todrah has had a fair amount of such reduction, in some cases leaving no trace, in others only the telltale laryngealization (V ϕ < *Vh). Sedang, on the other hand, has had massive reduction (see Chart 13) becoming the "Pekinese" of the Bahnaric languages.

2.5. Comparative examples

The above 12 D and M rules are cited below with examples. On the left is given the PNB syllable type and reconstruction. The order of the examples follows

that of the M numbered rules Ml to M7 (PHrS indicates Proto-Hrê-Sedang reconstruction in lieu of PNB because of the lack of Bahnar or Proto-Jeh-Halang data; R indicates Rengao as closely resembling PNB).

PNB	D:	idrá		Modra	Gloss
*-Vh (TR)	*pah Dl *oh	pa O	Ml	pá O	'chop wood' 'younger sibling'
PHrS *-Vh (LR)	*meh *trùh *arln	me trŏh rĕh		me trôh rềh	'there 'arrive' 'live'
R PHrS	nùyh *rùh	nòyh rơh		nuâyh rôh	'heart' 'wash clothes'
*-Vq (TR) R		kraq kaq	M2	kra ka	'old' 'eat'
*-Vq. (LR)	*jiq *qdiq	jiq diq		jì dì	'sick'
*GVP (TR)	*qdak D2 *hak ¹⁹	deaq hiaq	мЗ	daq	'water' 'vomit'
*C1 VP (TR)	*klak *tak	kleaq	M4	haq klaq	'intestines'
*C ₁ VP (LR)	*bip	tëaq bip brok		taq bip brök	'spear' 'duck' 'go'
*ŬP (TR)	*kăp D2	kaq măq	M5	k aq	'bite' 'eye'
*-ŸP (LR)	*ngŏk v	ngŏq kăt		maq ngoq kăt	'mountain' 'tie'
VI (LK)	2 a				
R	*mut, kojip	måt/mŏt gojĕp	V		'enter' 'centipede'
*-VN (TR)	*maham D3a *pun	pudn	Мба	maham pun	'four'
	*rang (q) ben	riang binh		blen	'flower' 'we-incl.'
R	jeng *katsen	jeng k(o)seng	↓ ·	jegng kotseng	
$ {q \atop N} VN (TR) $	R am	am	M6b	ăm	'give'
bud wheels	*hanam *manen	sonam maneng		hanăm maněng	'year' 'crossbow'
$* \{q\} VN (LR)$	*ŭn	ŭdn		ŭt(n?)	'fire'
*C ₂ VN (TR) PHrS	*baqdăm *lam R năm	padabm lăm	Méc	patăp lăp	'five' 'go'
	*peñ	pĕng	1	pĕk	'shoot'

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*C _{V1} VN (LR)	PNB *tan *kacin *kran		Didrá tang tơchid kṛang	n	Modra tawk tachit kráwk	'hear' 'nine' 'knee'
*C _{vd} Vn (LR)	*kan *qbin *plin		kān begng pling	M6c 6a	k ä t bĭk plĭk	'big' 'full' 'sky'
	R gung R hodrun R dang	g 🗸	gông Ç- dằgng	↓ ↓	gŭk hodrŭk mondôk	'forest' 'worm' 'stand'
*-VØ (TR)	*pe	D3c		M7a	pi	'three'
*-VØ (LR)	*pay *tadrăw *čhi *blew		pe todrue chi blu		păy todru chi blu	<pre>'cook' 'six' 'head louse' 'thigh'</pre>
	IrS *wi	₩	blu vi	\downarrow	blu vi	'they-plural'
*-V1 (TR) PHr *-V1 (LR)	S *apal 1 *bul *xgal	D3đ	apo bou go	M7b ↓	apo bõu gõ	'mortar' 'drunk' 'head'
*Vr (TR)		D3e	bia	M7c	bar	'two'
*-Ùr (LR)	*par *qyĕr *akar *čir *hagār		pa iew akia chie hoga		par ier akar chier hokår	'to fly ' 'chicken' 'skin' 'dig' 'drum'

3. Word lists

The M and D word lists used as a basis for this paper are given below with PNB (starred *), Rengao (R) and/or Sedang (S) cognates. These lists were taken during a brief survey of the Todrah area, so may contain minor inaccuracies. M and D forms that are irregular with respect to the corresponding PNB form are noted in the footnotes. These irregularities may be the result of faulty recording of the word lists; in other instances the Todrah form sheds additional light on the etymology of the words, providing a basis for a revision of some PNB forms. The "Vietnam" word list" of the Summer Institute of Linquistics -- Vietnam Branch is the basis of these lists.

		Mddra	Didrá	PNB/R/S
2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.	'sky' 'cloud' 'sun' 'moon' 'star' 'wind' 'rain' 'rainbow'	plik yök honŏng mè	pling yŏk, ilŭq hi khãe holŏng koyia gŭng me hodrung o diaq podring yŏng	*plin *tsük *hey *khēy *haŋlŏŋ R koyal * qme R qmrat

				TODKAH KEGISIEK
		Modra	Didra	PNB/R/S
9.	'mist'		ilŭq	
10.	'night	măng	di mặng	*măņ
11.	'day'		di hị	*hey
12.	'year'	hơnăm	sõŋăm	*hanam
13.	'hail'		priw	*prĕl
14.	'snow'			
15.	'freeze'	_		
16.	'water'	daq	deaq	*qdak
17.	'river'	krogng	deaq kruäng	R krong
18.	'lake' 'sea'		deaq tong	S tong
19.	sea		deaq pusiq	R so'siq; S tosiq
20.	'oarth!	nné	toné	
21.	'earth' 'stone'	me	hmô	*taqneh *tamo
22.	'sand'	bray	bré	R chuyh;
		~- ~1		S prêi
23.	'mud'		trăp	R trắp
24.	'dust'		godak	S kotak
25.	'gold'		mare	S mêa rếi
	'brass'		ma	*mah
26.	'silver'		qbak	
27. 28.	'mountain'	ngoq	ngoq	*nok
29.	'tree' 'forest'	long guk gay	lyong gồng 2D	*qlon *xgon
30.	'leaf'	gun guy	hla	*hla
31.	'bark'		hnó; k <i>o</i> muq	R hmŏk, ko'duh;
				PHrS *kaqmoak
32.	'flower'	rang	riang	*raŋ
33.	'root'	rê	re	*reyh
34.	'fruit'		plì	*pley
35. 36.	'seed'		kluông	S ķlõang *qnet
37.	'grass' 'stick'		nhaq luộng a pôq	quec
38.	'banana'		pret	*prìt
39.	'rattan'		ri	*hare
40.	'areca'			<u>.</u>
41.	'papaya'			*rahuŋ
42.	'coconut'		plì qlù	
43.	'bird'	chip	chibm	*čem
44.	'wing'	monar	mona	*manar
45.	'feather'	222	sāk	R sãk *năr
46. 47.	'to fly' 'egg'	par	pa xtaq	*păr *katăp
48.	'tail'	ting	tigng	*ten
49.	'claw'	3	koné	*čaqneyh; R
				koʻnih ~ koʻqnih

		Modra	Didrá	PNB/R/S
50	'horn'	ki	aki	*ake 、
	'animal'	KI		D khong kujik
51.	animai		Kwan Kiaq	R khong kyăk
		,	, ^	S kuán kia
52.	'dog'	cho	chö	R cho
53.	'pig'	ùq	chù	*č(h) ur;DakSut
				Sedang uq
	'wild pig'	h i ki	xki	*sake
54.	'chicken'	ier	iew	*qyĕr
55.	'duck'	bìp	bìp	S pêap
56.	'fish'	ka	ka	*ka
57.	'duck' 'fish' 'snake' 'rat'	băyh	bĕh	*qbayh
58.	'rat'	kini	koni	kane
59.	'rabbit' 'monkey'	topăy	kobay	R topay
60.	'monkey'	doq	doq	*qdŏk
61.	'deer'	jŏy ,	juey	*juy
01.	acci	joy jan dum	jucy jiew gŏh	ر مع
62	!tigor!	jăp dum	jiew gŏh	*kla
62.	luster buffalo	boq kla	kla	
63.	<pre>'tiger' 'water buffalo 'cow'</pre>	kopô	xpo	kapo
64.	COW		roq, romo	*rŏk; R romo
65.	'elephant' 'tusk'	ruy	ruy	*royh
66.	'tusk'	pala	konum; ko La	a R bola *sadroŋ ²² R ŭk
67.	'worm'	ồq;hơdrŭk	uq	*sadron R uk
				beetle
68.	'scorpion'	kechep	gojep	*gaqjip';
69.	'spider'	tùng pêng	mohua	k tong peng
		_		S pek pêng
70.	'head louse'	chì	chì	*čhi
	'body louse'	sroq	hrŏq .	*srŏk
71.	'mosquito'	i jrö	ji jrồ	R hmĕng;
	-	ì hměng	5	S tritrôu
72.	' a fly'	ì r(u)way	rôey	*roy
73.	'nose'	mŏh	mŏh	*muh
74.	'eve'	maq	măq	*măt
75.	'eye' 'ear'	dwan	doan	*qdon
76.	'head'	gồ	go	*xgăl
77	'mouth'	hù kùk	xkung	R kung
, , •	moden	t(i)lie	Anang	S rokong
7.8	'tooth'		hamana	*canon
79.		henĕng	homeng	*rapit 2 4
13.	'tongue'	tung piq	xpiq	D romet
0.0	13-2-1	- ×1-	_ ¥1_	k Topet
80.		sak	såk	R săk
	'neck'	nŏng	tonong	*ranŏŋ
82.	'shoulder'	kotsăyh	kơsĕh	R kosayh
		. *		S kosah
83.	'breasts'	tố	tố	tuh
84.		rŏk	korŏng	* (ka)rŏŋ
	'heart'	nuâyৣh	nồyh	
86.	'abdomen'	podôk² °	podŏk	*badùk
	'navel'	kloq	klŏq	*klŏk

		Modra	,TO	DDRAH REGISTER PNB/R/S
87.	'intestines'	klaq	kleaq	*klak
88.	'liver'	kliebm ²⁶	klebm	*klam
89.	'hand'	hiti n g	hodigng	R hoding
0).	nana	nicing		'finger'
90.	'palm'	topang	konia	
			hơdĭng	*čapaŋ
91.	'nail'	. •	koné	*čagneyh
92.	'leg'	jegng	jeng	Rjeng
93.	'foot'		xpiang	*čapan*palm, sole
		~	jeng	
94.	'knee'	krawk	krâng	*kran
95.	'thigh'	blù	blu	R blu
96.	'calf'	puý	púy	*poyh
97.	'blood'	moham	mohiam	*maham_
98.	'bone'	kotsêng	k(d)seng	*katsen
99.	'skin'	akar	akia	*akar
100.	'flesh'	tseiq	seq	S se
101.	'fat'	toma ²⁷	nomaq	*ramaq
102.	'live'	rềh	rĕh	*arih
103.	'die'	hlăq ,	hlăq	R hlat
104.	'sick'	tomo; ji	ji̇̀q	*jiq; S ta mo
			J 1	'not well'
105.	'breathe'	dŭy kihiem²	8 kohem	R duy chohem;
		1		cf. PHrS
		ŗ	_	*yihiam 'heart'
106.	'hear'	tâwk	tầng	*tan
107.	'see'	ngăn	hloq	R hloq; S ngán
		3	1	'look at', hlo
				'see'
108.	'speak'	tupuayq	topôyq/	R poyq
	_		spôyq	
109.	'laugh'	do	dô	* (a) do
110.	'weep'	krãw	krô	kro
111.	'suck'	puqu	uq; poqu	q R ùq
112.	'spit'	kochó	xchố	*kačuh
113.	'blow'	hlubm	hlubm	*khlom
114.	'bite'	kap	kăp	*kăp
115.	'eat rice'	ka pua	kaq	-
	'eat meat'	ka jăp	•	R kaq qnham;
		J 1		S ka
				chám
116.	'drink'	uq ²⁹	ôg	*uq
117.	'drunk'	ug ²⁹ bô	bõ	* (q) bù 1
118.	'vomit'	haq	hiaq	*hak³ 0
110	lama 111	+ aux	31	*cur

hiaq su ³¹

qnì

rìn

xchěng

tomet

*sur

čačhěn; S

PHrS * qni R ren; S sêô

tomiat

'smell'

'think'

'know'

122. 'count'

qnì

tsur

tơchĕk

rien³,² yaw

119.

120.

121.

MON-	KHMER STUDIES IV			173
		Modra	Didrá	PNB/R/S
122	'fear'	X711	zyuq	R yūq
123	ruan+	yu	zyuq	k yuq
124	'want	wa	vaq kuy	*wăq
125.	'sleep'	kuy	киу	*kuy
126.	'lie'	konduk		R konŭk 'pile
			V	heap'
127.	'stand'	mondôk	dågng	R dang, S tang
			h <i>o</i> nhồng	_
128.	'sit'	qway qni	qway	R qwăy; S ối,
				aqnai
			haqnĭq	· ·
129.	'walk, go'	brok.	brôk	*brok; lăm
	4.2.17, 90	lăp	lăm	
130.	'come'	trỗh	trŏh	trùh
		mŏt	mât/mŏt	
137.	'enter'		mac/moc	*mut
	'return'	wêh	wěh	*wih
133.	'turn'	jŭk	wĕh; gu	*wĭh
7.0.4		, ~	ging	D 1
134.	'swim'	glay	glè	R glay
	'float'	dông		R dong
136.	'flow'	hwayq	hiew.	
			hoeq ³³	.
137.	'push'	jrõt	štŏt;	*drŭt
			njrot	
138.	'pull'	duy	dui	R duy
139.	'throw'	hwok	hw į ȧ̃ng	S hwang *klih
140.	'fall'	klêh	klěh	*klih
141.	'give'	ăm	am	*ăm
142.	'take'	yoq	zyoq	*soq³4
143.	'take' 'wash'	qnjaw	qnhiĕw	*gnaw
144.	'launder	rŏh	roh	*rŭh
	'split'	pá	pá	*pah
146	'tie'	kăt	kăt	*kat
147	'wine'	tsôt ^{3 5}	Kac	*sut
140	'wipe' 'rub'	2302		R jrot
		+âa ahaa	tuầng	
149.	HILL	töq, choq	(atials)	R,S chok, 'punch'
			(stick)	G
150			tộk(fist)	S tok, toang
150	'cut'	bôd	bộđ	R pot
151.	'stab'	bět	păk	*qbet 36* păk
152.	'dig'	chier	chie	*cir
	'scratch'	kuway	kowaq	R kokayq
154.	'squeeze'	koniq	diq	R dit
			k <i>o</i> qneq	
155.	. 'man	kondrăk	kwan	R kodrang
			kodrăng	-
156.	'woman'	kodri	kodri	*kadri
157.		mangay	kwan	
	-	ngay	mongei	*ne 'people'
158.	'father'	mah	baq	*qbaq
159		moy	meq	R miq
160		kuan	kwan něng	*kon
161		konu	kodrăng	*čano 'male'
101	inaspana	AOH	Rour any	cano mare

, , ,			1	ODKAH KEGISIEK
		M o dra	Didra	PNB/R/S
				• •
				R k od rang
	'male animal'	konu	kďlo	*cano;*klo
				'husband' *kadri
162.	'wife, female'	kondri	kodri	*kadri
162	Ibmothom older	1 3 4 1 2 2 2 2 2	≚ 1₌	
163.	'brother-older	dan kondr	ak daq koʻdrăng	B dag koʻdring
164	'sister-older'	3 2 1 2 2 3 2	day kodrang	R daq kodrăng
164.	sister-order	dan kondri	daq kodri	R daq koʻdri
165	leannaan aibli			
165. 166.	'younger siblin' 'name'	iní	o inia	*oh
167.	'I'		iniq	PHrS *yinaq R ăw; S á
168.	'thou' (to	aw	a	Raw; Ba
100.	inferiors)	no	no	R nu
	1111011010,			11 114
	'thou' (hon-			
	orific)	ĕh	ĕh	Rih; Seh
169.	'he'	găh	g į h	R ge, ga; S ga
170.	'we-incl.pl.'	bien	bịnh	* (q) ben
1 , 0	'we-encl.pl.'	ngien	nhinh	R nhen; S ngian
171.	'ye-pl.'	3 7	chốq	R chŏp
172.	'they-pl.'	chuq vi	vì	*wi
1,2.	'we two-incl.'	ba	ba	*ba
	'we two-excl.'		ma	*ma
	'you two'	chuq	bre	R bri; R chŏp
	1	1		'ye-p1.'
	'they two'	bre	bre	R bri; S préi
173.	'field rice'	qmbaw	qma	PHrS *qmbaw
174.	'pounded rice'	phi	phi	*phe
175.	'cooked rice'	pwa ³⁸	pôa	*por
176.	'corn'	anduy	iluy	S alai
177.	'salt'	bo	wpo'	*qboh
178.	'red pepper'	hăk	imre	*hăn ,
179.	'betel chew'	polâw	- ^ - `	R bolaw
180.	'pestle'	long ndrì	luâng ndrì	*qlon adrey
181.	'mortar'	apo	apo	*apăl
182.	'cook'	pay	pe	*pay R hodral;*ŭn
183.	'firewood'	hondra	luâng udn	'fire'
104	1.63	v , 39	V ,	
184.	'fire'	ut ³⁹	ŭdn	*un
185.	'burn'		chố gố	*čuh
186.	'smoke'	nhuây ⁴¹	nhuấy	*qnuy PHrS *blo
187.	'ashes'	blo	lữq ữdn blo ừdn	'hearth'
188.	'road'	trogng	truông	R trong
189.	'house'	hìe	hnhe	R hnhe; S hngêi
		kuấr	• •	*kor
190.	'roof'	kuar koʻsi	kua ksi	*kase .
191. 192.	'cord' 'sew	kosi jěp	jěp ew	PHrS *jep
193.	'clothing'	aw	ew ew	*aw
	 			•

		Modra	Didrá	PNB/R/S
	'loincloth' 'work'	kopět be jagng ⁴²	xpĕn bèq jiang	*kapen R beq jang S pei cheang
196.	'play'	lăp om	lăm ngồy hewq	R ngoy
197.	'sing'	ronge, hặt chiew	achíw, hơqnhôn	R hat, h <i>o</i> nhong S rongei
199.	'dance' 'drum' 'gong'	gu guagng hokar ⁴³ gogng,chik	asuang hoga guông, chĕng	R xoxwang; S soang *hagar *gon, *chin
204. 205. 206.	'crossbow' 'arrow' 'spear' 'shoot' 'hunt'	rŏq mơněng răk taq pêik lwa, qmŏt cho	rôq mơnĕng răng têaq pĕng lăm lua qmât chô	*rut ⁴⁵ *manen R răng *tak *pen R lwa; S qmot chó
	'kill' 'fight'	hoqnaq ti yay	h <i>o</i> qnaq di yăyq di bo	R bohlāt
210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218.	'four' 'five' 'six' 'seven' 'eight' 'nine' 'ten'	toblá muāy bar pi pudn podăp tondru topĕih toham tochit muāy jăt	tobla mueyq bia pi pudn podabm dodrue topeih nihiam tochidn mueyq jåt	4
219. 220.	'twenty' 'hundred'	bar jăt muây hrigng	bia jät mueyq hring	*qbar jăt *qmoyq hriñ
	'all'	di dŏk*′	diq dägng	R diq dang; S tai tang
	'many'	hìt	hìdn	R hman, han; S hen
224.	'big'	ia kāt kuan yŏt yŏt qniq	iá kán kit yodn kojŏgng qniq jĭw	R yaq; S ia *kan *kon S son S son R qniq
232. 232. 233.	'coarse' 'thick' 'thin'	jie h <i>o</i> hat	dingrăn h <i>o</i> bo xtăng	hơbằl

		Modra	Didrá	TÖDRAH REGISTER PNB/R/S
221	. 'wide'			1110/100
		jar tang bag	ja	
235.		tang baq	kit hrang	D brana
236.	'black' 'red'	brăk	brăng	R brång *qdum
237. 238.	'white'	dum klog	gŏh	R tobok; S bông
		-,	mồng, đợbốq	k tobok, 5 bong
239.	'green'	andreih	inget, d re h	*adrih,'unripe'
240.	'yellow'	drigng	dring	*dreŋ
241.	'dry'	khak, tsrigng	hring	R sring
242.	'wet'	kochoh	hơjỗh	*qjoyh
	'rotten	um	su qme	R Om
	'swell'	atsùk	pogé,	R boqayh
			asõgng	
	'full'	bik (begng	*qbìn
246.	'dirty'	haqja,qme	qmeq	*qmeq
247.	'sharp'	hadn	hian,	
		•	moneaq	*han; S monêa
248.	'dull'	oh i hadn	di i	
0.40			møneaq	R _{biq} han
	'new'	naw	new	*qnaw
250.	'hot'	ηστα	toq	*tuq
251.	'cold'	yu tongeq	tongeq	talit
252.	'heavy'	Oald Tew	hongiw	*haniw *hnām
253.	'straight'	hngām hoṇdrāk	hngam hodrang	*hņām R todrang
254.	'right'	tro, jo	joq	*trog iog
255.	'good'	lĕp	lĕbm	*troq, joq *lem ⁵¹
256.	'bad'	qme	qmeq	R qmeq
257.	'old aged'	kra	kraq,dôn	
			sơnằm	hanăm
258	'far'	hangăy	hoqngey	*saqŋay
259.	'near'	hajeiq ⁵²	ajĕiq	*ajeq
260.	'rightside'	huqwa	qwą	*qma
261.	'leftside'	hiqiew	iw、	*haqew
262.	'same'	muầy tieh	muayq tiah	*qmoyq (PHrS) teh
263.	'different'	pha,teqeq	pha,krè	*pha; R toqet
264.	here'	kö	a kô	*ku; S akố
265.	'there'	me, taw	me, ta	R meh; PHrS *ta R tăw
266.	'this'	same as 26	4 'here'	
267.	'that'	same as 26		_
268.	'when'	la li,	la lì	R la lì,
		gar li	kya li	R kar li
269.	'where'	ù lì	u li	R paq lì; S u lai
270.	'who'	qbay	kaqwĕy	PHrS *kambu
271.	'what'	kļi	kikli	S koklai
272.	'and'	pang, qmang		R păng, ; S
			qmang	qbang

273.	'with'	same as 272	'and'	Ring
274.	'at	nie	u	Su
275.	'because'	kolih ko		R kolih ko
		yuar ko	уôа	R ywa ko; S
276	111		() - 1 - 1 \)	sua R thoy lì, S
2/6.	'how'			
277.		tawk tugng, lăm	d/tâng	ti lai *tang m R tur, lam; S
278.	'in'	tŭgng, lăm	tung tolar	
279.	'not'	oh	dìoh	tung R biq (oh);
				S _o h ta
280.	'not yet'	tabm	tiamoh dihiq	^tam
281.	'already'	boyh, yoh	diniq hiang	R boyh; sang S hiang

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FOOTNOTES

- 1. In Mon-Khmer the term register, first used in this regard by Henderson (1952), refers to a typically binary prosodic opposition involving consonantal, vocalic, voice quality and often pitch effects. Further papers in preparation on the general topic are Gregerson and Smith (1970) latter note especially Appendix 1 "Register correspondences in Mon-Khmer languages."
- 2. The authors' specialties include two of the neighboring languages: Rengao contiguous on the south (Gregerson); and Sedang contiguous on the north (Smith). For phonological statements of some of the neighboring languages see Banker, 1961; Cooper and Cooper, 1965; Gradin, 1965; Smith, 1968.
- 3. Orthography used in this paper is approximately equivalent to the Vietnamese $qu\acute{o}c-ng \acute{u}$ except as follows: is used for breathy vowels and for laryngealized vowels, but clear vowels are unmarked. (hyphen) indicates Todrah clear vowels in contexts contrasting breathiness or laryngealization. is used for short vowels, long vowels normally being left unmarked; V is used for long vowel only in formulas. Nasalization is marked by a lowered dot (.), and glottal stop by q.
- 4. The M data was obtained from Bring of Kon Honong Village. The D data was obtained from Briang of Kon Kodrang Village, more recently known as Dak Dam Village. Both were interviewed in Kontum City in June, 1969.
- 5. The symbol x in these basically unwritten languages is to be read with a phonetic value of [x], while x in Rengao has an established pronunciation as a palatal affricate (or fortis spirant).
- 6. The grave diacritic represents tongue-root advanced articulation producing a pharyngeal resonance ("deepness" or "breathiness"). The unmarked vowels occur in tongue-root retracted words, which are characterized by a pharyngeal constricted articulation impressionistically heard as "bright" or "clear".
- 7. Note, however, that three degrees of register contrast in two intermediate states are posited by Smith (1970) in the vowel register development of Sedang.
- 8. Todrah consonantal laryngealization interpreted as final h parallels the consonantal tone in Jeh, also

MON-KHMER STUDIES IV interpreted as final h (Gradin, 1965).

- 9. An opposite shift has occurred in Proto-Jeh-Halǎng. PNB lax register final *h and *p, and less regularly, other final consonants, have switched to the tense register after long vowels, but after short vowels there has been no register shift. Cf. Thomas and Smith, 1967; Smith, 1970.
- 10. Though PNB has 17 finals, in this paper they are symbolically reduced to seven types. The four stops (*p,*t,* \check{c} ,*k) and four nasals (*m, *n, * \check{n} , *k) are each subsumed under P and N, respectively; *w and *y are subsumed under * \emptyset ; *yq under *q; and *yh under *h. Finals *l and *r are indicated separately.
- 11. Inasmuch as Todrah \acute{a} is derived from *ah, and noting that Sedang a is also derived from *ah, the derivation of the various names for this language group (see Introduction) can, with respect to the final vowel and consonant, be understood. Rengao $d \sigma d r a h$ 'grasslands' is possibly related to the name of these inhabitants of Plateau Gi.
- 12. A speaker from Kon Hogagng Village (3 kilometers east of Kon Honong Village from which the M data was obtained) had the same phonological features as the Kon Honong speaker, except that he retained all final nasals, though he would accept the final voiceless stops as acceptable substitutes.

In both Cua and Kotua, non-register North Bahnaric languages of Quang Ngai Province, final nasals change to final stops after both long and short vowels. Nasals are retained only after syllable initial nasals, h and q.

- 13. A rule of this nature in North Bahnaric may well explain the mismatch of register for forms like *ti 'hand' or *pli 'fruit' where other Mon-Khmer languages have tense register reflexes (see Smith, 1970, Appendix 1).
- 14. There are no lax register instances of the rule in the data.
- 15. This association of long vowels on stopped syllables with the lax register perhaps sheds light on the similar association of length and low tone in Srê (Smalley, 1954).
- 16. PNB vowels before *q appear to lose their length distinction in Todrah. Note that Rengao and Jeh possess a marginal length contrast before glottal stop (Thomas and Smith, 1967:158).
- 17. Speakers interviewed from Kon Braih ("Sedang Didrah") and Kon Rolling Village of the Plateau Gi area had phonological features of both the above M and D dialects. They

retained all final nasals and glottal stops (like D) and retained final *p (like M). Furthermore, the tense register inal *h has a reflex in their dialect alternating between an open syllable laryngealized vowel and a laryngealized rowel distinctly cut off by glottal stop, whereas the lax register final *h has a reflex in their dialect of a breathy not clear) vowel followed by h.

.8. Rule S1, if not ordered with respect to S2b, could be ritten:

*
$$\left\{ -V1, -Vr \right\}_{LR}^{TR} \longrightarrow S \left\{ -V\emptyset \right\}$$

- 9. In Smith (1970) this is reconstructed with a short rowel *hāk on the basis of Bahnar short vowel; other evidence suggests that the vowel was long (cf. Rengao and Proto-Jehlalāng long vowels (R hak; PJH hak) and Sedang glided vowel $h\hat{e}a$), as well as the D glided vowel here).
- 20. PNB long vowel is reconstructed on basis of Bahnar \hat{cong} though M final k supports Rengao \hat{gung} as evidence for short vowel reconstruction (cf. M 6, 6A).
- ense register cim and the low vowel of Bahnar sem for a sense register reconstruction; PNB lax register is based on the chim and Sedang chêm. PNB long vowel is based on sahnar, though M final p supports Rengao chim as evidence for a short vowel reconstruction.
- 22. PNB long vowel reconstructed on basis of Bahnar $adr\hat{o}ng$ and Proto-Jeh-Halăng idrung long vowels, though Mense register final k supports Rengao $hddr\dot{u}ng$ as evidence for a short vowel reconstruction.
- 23. The Diand M tense register (cf. D2a and M5) support Rengao $k\sigma jip$ 'centipede; as evidence for a short vowel reconstruction; PNB long vowel is based on Bahnar kaqep and Protofeh-Halang gajip.
- 24. M tense register (cf. M4, 5,) supports Rengao as evidence for a short vowel reconstruction; PNB is based on Sahnar semi-vowel in $rapi\check{e}t$ and the glided vowels of Protofeh-Halang rapiat and Sedang rapie.
- 25. M lax register is unexplained; cf. M 5.
- 26. M tense register is unexplained; cf. M 6.
- ?7. M tense register is unexplained; cf. M 2.

- 28. M tense register is unexplained; cf. M 6.
- 29. M q is unexplained; cf. M 2.
- 30. See Footnote 20.
- 31. D lax register is unexplained; cf. D 3.
- 32. Smith (1967) also reports tense register in certain fringe Sedang dialects and Todrah as well as the lax register for Rengao.
- 33. Cf. Rengao $h w \check{a} c h$ 'diminish in quantity' and p h o p h a c h 'gushing of water'.
- 34. M q supports Rengao $y \, \check{o} \, k$ as evidence for a final *k (cf. M 2, 5); PNB *q reconstructed here on the basis of Bahnar soq.
- 35. M tense register is unexplained; cf. M 4.
- 36. M tense register confirms the short vowel of M and Rengao bit (cf. M 5); PNB long vowel is reconstructed on basis of Bahnar qbet.
- 37. M lax register and Rengao short vowel are mutually inconsistent; cf. M 4.
- 38. M final Ø is unexplained; cf. M 7.
- 39. M final t is unexplained; cf. M 6.
- 40. M clear vowel is unexplained; cf. M 1.
- 41. M tense register is unexplained; cf. M 7.
- 42. M lax register is unexplained; cf. M 6.
- 43. M tense register is unexplained; cf. M 7.
- 44. The tense register of both M and D is unexplained (cf. D3a and M16c); PNB lax register is reconstructed on the basis of Bahnar high vowel in ching and the lax register of Sedang chang.
- 45. M tense register supports Rengao $r \delta t$ and Bahnar $r \delta t$ for evidence of short vowel (cf. M5); PNB long vowel is reconstructed on the basis of vowel glides in Proto-Jeh-Halang ruat and Sedang $r \delta e$.
- 46. D lax register is unexplained; cf. D2a.

- 47. By Rule M6a Mddra should have the tense register except that in this doublet the register of the first member of the pair governs, apparently, the register of the second member as well.
- 48. Perhaps M is noncognate since both the presyllable and laryngealized vowel are inconsistent.
- 49. M tense register supports Rengao tơngyết as evidence for a short vowel (cf. M5); PNB long vowel is reconstructed on basis of Bahnar semi-vowel in tangiết and a vowel glide in Sedang tongie.
- 50. M lax register is unexplained; cf. M6a.
- 51. M p supports Rengao $l \check{e} m$ as evidence of a short vowel (cf. M6); PNB long vowel reconstructed on basis of Bahnar semi-vowel in $l \check{i} \check{e} m$ and Proto-Jeh-Halang vowel glide in l i a m.
- 52. M tense register and q are unexplained; cf. M 2.

evinasek senunguarakan elipak kulunuk da kan bilan kan bilan kan bilan kan bilan bilan bilan bilan bilan bilan Barak kepanak kalan bilan bilan bilan bilan kepanak da bilan bilan bilan bilan bilan bilan bilan bilan kepanak

Econo register surborse Rengac el and Barnar els evidence of Short vowel is controlled tructed on the basis of vowel into tructed on the basis of vowel into

53. M lax register is unexplained; cf. M 6.

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