Bahnaric Language Cluster Survey of Mondul Kiri and Kratie Provinces, Cambodia

ការសិក្សាទៅលើក្រុមមនុស្សដែលនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិក

ក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងខេត្តក្រចេះ ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា

Julie Barr
Eric Pawley

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Julie Barr
with Eric Pawley

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អង្គការសហការណ៍កម្ពុជាអន្តរជាតិ (ICC)

ខែតុលា ឆ្នាំ ២០០៦

Contents

Abstract

A team of researchers conducted research among the Bahnaric language cluster for six weeks, from February to April 2006, in the provinces of Mondul Kiri and Kratie in the Kingdom of Cambodia. The research presented here is the first of a series of ongoing evaluations of the linguistic and sociolinguistic relationships within and between Bahnaric language varieties in Cambodia. Researchers visited 30 villages, administering sociolinguistic questionnaires to village and commune chiefs and collecting wordlists for comparison of lexical similarity.

The main purpose of this survey was to get a broad overview of the current sociolinguistic situation in Mondul Kiri and Kratie. To this end, we sought to identify the various vernacular languages, ethnic groups and languages of wider communication, and to determine sociolinguistic relationships. A secondary purpose was to gather preliminary information to assist in determining which Bahnaric varieties could be considered for development. The issues of bilingual proficiency and language vitality repeatedly arose in our interviews; they are vital factors to consider before making future decisions about language development needs. This survey was successful in its purposes of providing a broad overview of the linguistic area, obtaining preliminary information, and pinpointing exact issues, ethnic groups, and geographical areas for further research.

Government cooperation

International Cooperation Cambodia (ICC) is currently conducting two mother-tongue literacy projects with five Bahnaric languages in Mondul Kiri and Ratanak Kiri (Rattanakiri) provinces. The agreements with the Ministry of Education governing these projects encourage ICC to conduct research in other languages and other provinces. Based on these agreements, the director of Mondul Kiri's Provincial Department of Education composed a letter of permission for us to survey for the purposes of education. We then presented this letter to the leader of each commune in which we sought information. The commune leader, in turn, verified our documents so that they would be acceptable to the village chiefs from whom we would be collecting data. In January of 2006, we were able to visit Kratie province with a member of the Department of Ethnic Minorities in Phnom Penh in order to test our questionnaire. The governor of Kratie province was gracious enough to meet with us and give his approval to our linguistic research in his province. We were very thankful for the good cooperation of all the people we met.

1 Introduction

The Bahnaric-speaking people inhabit a large area of Mainland Southeast Asia, from the southern region of Laos, through the eastern provinces of Cambodia, and on into Vietnam. They are minorities, according to the political boundaries of their countries, but may, in fact, be the majority of the population in their provinces of residence. Many researchers and workers have already contributed much in the way of collecting wordlists (especially in Vietnam during the 1960s), attempting historical reconstructions and comparisons and, most of all, working with the people themselves, developing written scripts, training literacy teachers, and producing primers, booklets, and literature among many Bahnaric varieties. We hope to contribute to other linguists' knowledge and experience through our research and assist them in further work.[1]

Figure 1. Cambodia and surrounding countries.

1.1 Geography

The Kingdom of Cambodia lies in the southeastern region of the Indochinese Peninsula (see figure 1). Vietnam borders it on the east and south, Laos to the north, and Thailand to the west and north. The Gulf of Thailand runs along the southwest coastline. Cambodia is divided into provinces, which are in turn divided into districts, each district into communes, and each commune into number of villages. Villages are subdivided into "groups" that have their own names or numbers and that may be spread out from one another.

This survey focuses on those Bahnaric-speaking people currently living in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces (see figure 2). Mondul Kiri is located in the east of Cambodia, with Vietnam

bordering its south and east sides. Kratie province lies just west of Mondul Kiri. The researchers visited all districts in Mondul Kiri. Research in Kratie was limited to the three districts in which minorities reside. Those districts are Snuol in the southeast, just to the west of Mondul Kiri, Kratie in the center (on the eastern side the Mekong River), and Sambour in the northeast (see figure 3).

Mondul Kiri is a mountainous, heavily-forested province, consisting of five districts and twenty-one communes. Only part of the main road is paved (National Road 76, called the "road to Phnom Penh") into and leading out of the provincial capital of Saen Monourom. However, the government has recently done some repair on this main road and built metal bridges over the river crossings and other rough areas, so travel is quite smooth during the dry months. Other roads and paths in the province are, in general, very rough dirt roads. The road from Phnom Penh enters Saen Monourom from the southwest of Mondul Kiri and then turns north. It becomes extremely sandy and difficult as it approaches Kaoh Nheaek district and Rattanakiri province. At the time of this portion of the survey (late February 2006), workers were busy making improvements to this portion of the road as well. Other minor roads branch off from the main road, including several roads leading to Vietnam.[2] No other major or minor roads cover the full length or width of Mondul Kiri.

Mondul Kiri has many rivers and waterfalls. Bridges have been built over the river where it crosses the main road from Phnom Penh, but other river crossings can provide a challenge for travel. The best time for research is from late November to April in order to avoid the rains. February, March, and April comprise the hot season in the lowlands (including western Pechr Chenda and Kaev Seima districts and all of Kaoh Nheaek district), but most of Mondul Kiri is higher elevation and, therefore, not as hot as the rest of the country.

Figure 2. The provinces of Cambodia.

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[2]The border crossings are tightly monitored and are only open for Cambodian and Vietnamese nationals.

Snuol is the southeasternmost district of Kratie province. Snuol town lies just north of the road from Phnom Penh to Mondul Kiri. The town is situated along National Road 7, which continues farther north into Kratie's provincial capital and beyond and, in the opposite direction, joins Road 74, which leads to Vietnam. Kratie town, the provincial capital of Kratie province, lies in the center of the province (in Kratie district) on the eastern bank of the Mekong River. Sambour district is the farthest north, on both sides of the Mekong River, bordering both Stung Treng and Mondul Kiri provinces. We conducted all of our research on the eastern side of the Mekong River. We did not travel to the northernmost parts of Sambour or the westernmost parts of Mondul Kiri. Inter-village travel can be rough in Kratie but, in general, the roads and paths are better than in Mondul Kiri, as long as the log or plank bridges are in good repair. Cars or trucks can travel easily on Kratie's main roads but with difficulty to some villages. Hired motorbikes and drivers are much better for reaching villages lying farther off the main road.

Figure 3. Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces and their districts.

1.2 People and languages

By most estimates, the Khmer comprise well over 90 percent of the almost 13 million people living in Cambodia. Larger minority groups spread throughout the country include Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cham. More than 20 smaller ethnic minorities total around 140,000 people, or about 1 percent of the population of Cambodia. About half of these speak a language in the Bahnaric language family and live in northeastern Cambodia, between the Mekong River and the Vietnam border (see table 2 and figure 2).

Table 1. Ethnolinguistic groups of Cambodia

	People	Source		People	Source
Major Languages			**Bahnaric Languages**		
Khmer	12,279,057	2006 MoI [a]	Kreung	14,000	1996 CAS
Vietnamese	600,000	1996 CAS	Brao	5,500	1996 CAS
Chinese	300,000	1996 CAS	Kavet	4,000	1996 CAS
Lao	21,587	2006 MoI	Lun	300	1996 CAS
Thai	1,860	2006 MoI	Kachok	2,200	1996 CAS
Khmer Khe	1,600	1996 CAS	Lamam	280	1996 CAS
Kuy (Katuic)	15,495	2005 Gordon	Tampuan	18,000	1996 CAS
Chamic Languages			Bunong	19,000	1996 CAS
Cham	290,199	2006 MoI	Stieng	3,300	1996 CAS
Jarai	15,000	2006 MoI	Ro'ang	Mentioned	1996 CAS
Rhade	12	1996 CAS	Kraol	1,960	1996 CAS
Pearic Languages			Thmoan	543	1996 CAS
Chong	5,000	2005 Gordon	Mel	2,100	1996 CAS
Pear	1,440	1995 MoI	Khaonh	544	Unpublished
Samre	820 families	2005 Ironside	**Unclassified Languages**		
Saoch	175	1996 CAS	Arach	100	1992 MoR
Somray	2,000	2005 Gordon	Kachrouk	100	1992 MoR
Suoy	1,200	1996 CAS	Kaning	150	1992 MoR
Total	**12,719,387**	2006 MoI	Poang	260	1992 MoR
			Robel	1,640	1995 MoI

[a] Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2006)

The Bahnaric language cluster is a sub-branch of Eastern Mon-Khmer, falling under the Austroasiatic family. As such, its members are distant cousins to Central Khmer, the national language of Cambodia. Central Khmer and the Bahnaric languages are, however, mutually unintelligible. Linguists first divided the Bahnaric language family into three subfamilies (Thomas and Headley 1970). This later increased to five groups (Thomas 1979), then was reduced again to four groups (Gordon 2005). Some linguists still hold to just three subfamilies, although different from the previous three-fold subdivision (Sidwell and Jacq 2003).[3] Following the sub-groupings set forth in the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), Bahnaric languages found in Cambodia come from the South, Central, and West groupings. Following Sidwell and Jacq, they come from the West and Central, as they assign Stieng to a Central, rather than South grouping (Tampuan is not yet grouped); following Thomas from the South (Stieng and Bunong), West (Brao/Krung/Kravet),[4] and Central (Tampuan). Other Bahnaric languages of Cambodia (Mel, Khaonh, Ra'ong, and Thmon) are not mentioned and have yet to be classified. See figure 4 for the geographical location of Bahnaric sub-groupings in Southeast Asia.

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[3]Thomas proposed a five-fold division with "tightly knit southern and western groups, a slightly less tightly knit northern group, a very loose central group, and a small eastern group." Sidwell and Jacq distinguish only Central, North, and West. Gordon lists Central, South, West, and North, as well as further breaking down the North group into east and west.

[4]Found in Thomas (1970), as the 1979 publication does not list Brao, Krung, and Kravet.

BAHNARIC CLUSTER
Subclusters

North Bahnaric: Jeh, Katua, Kayong, Monom, Rengao, Salang, Sedang, Takua, Talieng, Todrah, Trieng

West Bahnaric: Brao, Jeng, Kravet, Krun'g 2, Lave, Laven, Nyaheun, Oy, Sapuan, Sok, Sou

Central Bahnaric: Alak, Bahnar, Kaco, Lamam, Romam, Tampuan

South Bahnaric: Chrau, Koho, Kraol, Maa, Mnong-Central, Mnong-Eastern, Mnong-Southern, Stieng-Budeh, Stieng-Bulo
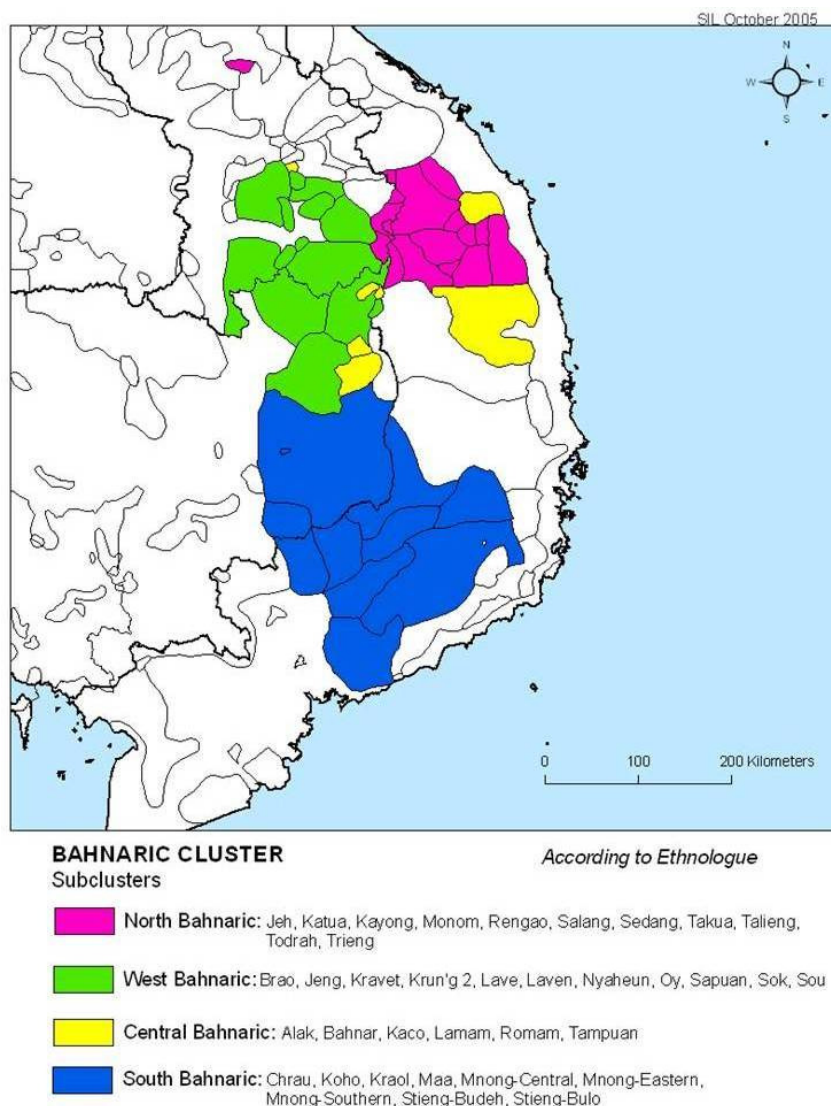
Figure 4. The Bahnaric language cluster according to the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

Bahnaric languages commonly reported to be in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces include Central Mnong (cmo), Stieng (sti or stt), Kraol (rka), Mel, Thmon, Ra'ong, and Khaonh. Some Tampuan (tpu) also live in these areas, although the vast majority live in Ratanak Kiri (Rattanakiri) province. Little is widely known about Mel, Thmon, Ra'ong, and Khaonh; they have yet to be officially classified. Refer to figure 5 for the geographical location of languages in Cambodia.

The Central Mnong have a variety of names, including Pnong, Budong, Budang, Phanong, Bu Nong, and Bunong. This report will use Bunong for both the people and their language, as this is the closest romanization to the term the people use for themselves in Cambodia. Gordon (2005) lists Pre'h (Pre), Biat (Bhiet), Bu Nar, Bu Rung, Dih Bri (Di-Pri), and Bu Dang as dialects of Central Mnong. Gordon states, "Biat is the main dialect of Cambodian Mnong," and may, in fact, "be a separate language related to Eastern Mnong."
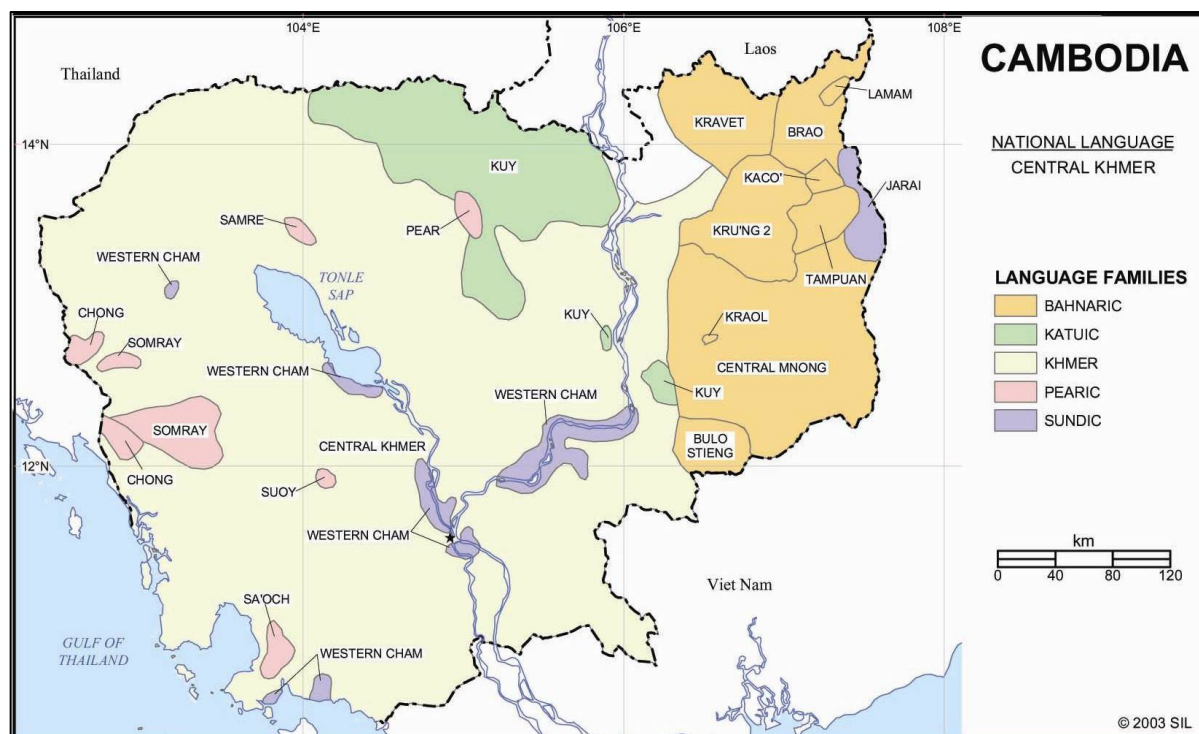
Figure 5. The languages of Cambodia.

In the 1960s, a Roman-based script was developed for the more than 30,000 Central Mnong in Vietnam (Gordon 2005). Although substantially similar to Bunong spoken in Cambodia, the government felt that a Roman-based script did not suit the needs of its people. Moreover, sociolinguistic factors heavily contribute to Cambodian Bunongs' lack of understanding of the Vietnamese Mnong. A literacy effort in Mondul Kiri province by ICC has developed a new Khmer-based script for the Bunong people. This will facilitate the transition from literacy in Bunong to literacy in Khmer.

Mother-tongue Bunong speakers reportedly account for about 80 percent of the population of Mondul Kiri province (Hiett 2003, Gordon 2005). They traditionally practice swidden farming and still burn parts of their fields, forest, and the hillsides each year. Disputes over land rights, land ownership, and the increasing population of Mondul Kiri, in part due to migration of Khmer peoples from lowland areas, present great difficulties to Bunong who wish to maintain their livelihood and traditional way of life.

According to a survey (T. Bequette 2005) done in Kaoh Nheaek district, Mondul Kiri, in January 2005, and subsequent visits to each district in the province, Bunong is a language of wider communication (LWC) for the minority groups of Mondul Kiri. The same report indicated that, in Nang Khi Loek commune of Kaoh Nheaek district, however, many Bunong people speak Lao better than they speak Bunong or Khmer, and the various ethnic groups were using Lao as a LWC.

During the past four years, some of our ICC colleagues have worked alongside the Bunong in Mondul Kiri to develop an acceptable orthography for their language, to produce beginning primers, storybooks, agricultural and health pamphlets, and to train literacy teachers. They are currently working with the Provincial Department of Education to develop bilingual education for the Bunong people. According to a literacy survey conducted in four districts and 20 villages

of Mondul Kiri, 4 percent of Bunong are literate (in Khmer)[5] while 10 percent have attained a lower level of proficiency termed "semi-literate."[6] These results are not surprising, considering, based on self-assessment, almost three-fourths of the women and over half of the men either speak Khmer poorly or have no Khmer language ability at all (Hiett 2003).

Regarding Stieng and Ra'ong, ICC colleagues familiar with Bunong in Mondul Kiri were unsure whether Ra'ong is a dialect of Mnong or Stieng, or whether it stands on its own. Other contacts, including Ra'ong people themselves, have since indicated that the Ra'ong should be grouped with Stieng. Stieng falls into two main varieties of Bulo and Budeh but, for purposes of this report, we will use the generic term Stieng.

1.3 History

Traditionally, in keeping with their practice of swidden farming, the Bunong live a nomadic lifestyle. The village is less a location and more the community of people. We see evidence of this, in part, by an entire community's move to a new location to which they will, perhaps, give the same name as the previous site. This situation can create difficulty for the researcher who would wish to return to the same community after a period of time (Mariam Smith 2006, personal communication). During the Pol Pot regime (1975–1979), approximately 4,000 Bunong fled to Vietnam, the majority of whom were forced to return in the mid 80s; another 1,000 moved to the border of Thailand, returning to their former homes in the late 1990s. Even more people moved north to the Se Pok River valley in Kaoh Nheaek district of Mondul Kiri to do wetland rice farming.[7]

1.4 Previous research

Researchers working in Vietnam among the Bahnaric cluster during the 1960s and Cambodia in the 1970s elicited wordlists for Tampuan (Cambodia), Central Bu Nong (Preh dialect, Vietnam), Stieng (Vietnam), and Tamun (a Chrau dialect in Vietnam).[8] A brief survey, alluded to above, was conducted in Kaoh Nheaek district in Mondul Kiri in 2005. Various other short surveys were conducted before language-development work began in Mondul Kiri and Ratanak Kiri (Rattanakiri). Although much has been published on Bahnaric languages, most has concentrated on historical, rather than descriptive, linguistics. Blood (1968) poses a reconstruction of proto-Mnong, Ken Smith (1972) produced a reconstruction of proto-North Bahnaric, and Sidwell (2000) has completed a reconstruction of proto-South Bahnaric. Sidwell and Jacq (2003) have constructed a comparative West Bahnaric dictionary. The short list of descriptive linguistic

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[5]Researchers conducting the survey defined a literate person as "a person aged 15 years or over who can, with understanding, both read and write a short, simple statement about everyday life."

[6]"A stage of literacy in which some literacy skills have been acquired, but they cannot be fully utilized in everyday life. In this study, a respondent can read simple words and simple sentences, write his own address, write using simple language, and understand the principles of addition and subtraction with 2 integers and multiplication and division with 1 integer. They could not read and comprehend a story with instructions, fill out a simple form, nor demonstrate proficiency in addition or subtraction, nor multiply or divide with 2 integers."

[7]Personal communication with Dr. Dietrich & Mimi Kanjahn, based on their extensive work with Bunong people. Statistics on exact numbers of Bunong refugees are unavailable from UNHCR since minority groups still tend to be grouped together, even if they are distinguished from the general Khmer population,. When conducting our research, we always asked interviewees where they were born, where they grew up, and where else they had lived. Many respondents said they had spent the Pol Pot years in Kaoh Nheaek.

[8]Most of these materials are archived at SIL's David Thomas Library in Bangkok, searchable at http://msea-ling.info/dtlibry/.

resources on Bahnaric languages as currently spoken in Cambodia includes: a short phonology on Bunong by R. Bequette (2006); a phonology of Tampuan by J. D. Crowley; and a description of Brao dialects currently in process by K. Gregerson. Other linguists in Mondul Kiri and Ratanak Kiri (Rattanakiri) have begun or completed various analyses for the varieties where they work, but have not yet published or disseminated them. Linguistic descriptions for the Bulo Stieng of Vietnam include Vera Miller's *An Overview of Stieng Grammar* (1976) and articles on Stieng phonemes and word-final syllabics by Ralph Haupers. The Haupers also compiled a Stieng-English dictionary in 1991. Owen (2002) offers a discourse analysis for Budeh Stieng.

2 Research purpose, goals, and questions

This survey was only one step in the large task of evaluating the Bahnaric cluster as a whole. The main purpose of this survey was to get an overview of the current sociolinguistic situation in Mondul Kiri and Kratie. The research questions corresponding to this purpose are as follows:

- What are the LWCs spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces?
- What are the vernacular language varieties spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces?
- Where and by whom are these varieties spoken?
- What are the sociolinguistic relationships between these language varieties?
- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between and within the ethnolinguistic groups that speak these varieties?

A secondary purpose of this survey was to gather information to assist in determining which Bahnaric varieties could be possible candidates for language development. Another goal of the survey was to determine the linguistic and sociolinguistic relationships between the Bahnaric varieties found in Cambodia. Research questions corresponding to this purpose are as follows:

- What are the groupings of Bahnaric varieties, based on intelligibility?
- How do speakers of the Bahnaric varieties in Cambodia perceive the groupings of Bahnaric varieties?
- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between and within the Bahnaric groups?

The remainder of this report explains the methodology used in the survey, how the survey instruments were used to answer the research questions, the results of the survey, how the results relate to the research questions, and recommendations for further research. Copies of the survey instruments are included in the appendices.

3 Methodology

3.1 Site selection

The purposes of this survey necessitated locating and visiting villages where different ethnolinguistic groups were reported to live. We did not know this information ahead of time, because, at the national level, accurate population figures were not available for Mondul Kiri or Kratie provinces. Therefore, two researchers from our team went to Mondul Kiri one week in advance in order to obtain a better picture of the population distribution there. The ICC Bunong staff members and experienced expatriate coworkers were a wonderful resource to this end. Starting with areas close to the provincial capital and working outward, we relied on their knowledge to pick sites of reported

Bunong dialectal differences or, in other districts, villages which housed significant communities of other minority groups.[9] Relying solely on our colleagues' and Bunong helpers' advice, we visited five Bunong villages relatively close to Saen Monourom, but in different directions, in order to obtain a base of information and wordlists from the "central" variety of Bunong. We named other varieties after far eastern and western areas in Mondul Kiri province, to which we traveled later.[10]

There are relatively few significant communities of minority groups, other than Bunong, in Mondul Kiri, so we were able to visit every non-Bunong site reported to us. In Kaoh Nheaek district we visited one Thmon community,[11] but they were not able to give locations of other Thmon in Mondul Kiri province. At one site, we administered a sociolinguistic questionnaire to a Bunong commune chief while also eliciting wordlists from Jarai[12] and Tampuan men. For further investigation into Jarai and Tampuan, they referred us to "higher up," meaning Rattanakiri province to the north. In Kaev Seima district (southwest Mondul Kiri) and Snuol district, Kratie province, we began with villages recommended to us by expatriate contacts, intending that the village chiefs' responses to the sociolinguistic questionnaire would either direct us to other sites and language pockets or confirm that no further clear diversity existed.

In April 2006, we went to the Department of Planning in Kratie town to obtain a list of villages and population figures for the minority groups in Kratie province. The provincial government official was aware that their information was not complete and most likely inaccurate; he was anxious that we help obtain more accurate population figures and village locations for the groups. However, the department's list was very helpful, listing each district with its communes and names of villages in the commune. For most villages, there was a breakdown of how many families and individuals lived there from each ethnic group, excluding Khmer (see Appendix A).

Most of the minorities in Kratie live in three of the five districts. Because we already had an ample sampling of Bunong villages from Mondul Kiri and Snuol district, we only wanted one Bunong village in each of two districts. We had already decided beforehand, due to our contacts' relationships, that we would visit a certain Kraol village.[13] We began by looking for the largest population listed in a single village for each minority group and picked those villages first. We then looked at the geographical distribution of those selected villages. We wanted to visit at least one village from each ethnic group in each district, if such villages existed, or the farthest apart from each other in the same district. We also looked for villages that had two large pockets of groups. In order to have a better chance of eliciting accurate wordlists and of finding groups still speaking their languages,[14] if possible, we wanted to avoid villages in which half or more of the

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[9]We use the term "significant community" here with the intent to *exclude* small pockets of just a few families or individual speakers.

[10]These variety names are informal distinctions given by our colleagues and others working in Mondul Kiri. On the eastern side is "Bu Sra," the center of population near a large waterfall of the same name. Speakers from this area reportedly tend to sound more "Vietnamese." To the west is the "Kaev Seima dialect," distinguishable by the use of presyllables.

[11]Twenty-four Thmon families and 72 Bunong families.

[12]Although Jarai is not part of the Bahnaric language cluster, we thought we should take advantage of the opportunity to talk to the Jarai man for the purpose of future linguistic research.

[13]Another reason to visit this village, Srae Chis, was that we had tested our questionnaire there in January 2006, so we wanted to return in order to elicit our wordlist.

[14]We knew that language vitality would be more of an issue in Kratie than in Mondul Kiri, so we operated on the assumption that if an almost "pure" minority village was using Khmer more than their own language (such as Chrap or Chukrang villages in Snuol), they likely would not be speaking the minority language in a predominantly Khmer village.

occupants were Khmer. Because the list from the Department of Planning did not include the number of Khmer, we relied on the provincial official and other contacts for this information. Using this list, we obtained a rough plan, allowing information obtained during the survey from village chiefs, villagers, and other informants to guide us further.

See table 2 for a list of the villages visited, date of the visit, and person interviewed. Figure 6 shows the location of the sites on a map. The map key follows figure 6.

Table 2: Bahnaric sites visited

	Village	Commune	District	Date	SLQ interviewee
1	Lao Ka ឡ្វារកា	Sokh Dom សុខដុម	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	15 Feb	Village chief
2	Puretang ពូរ៉ាតាង	Sokh Dom សុខដុម	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	16 Feb	Village chief
3	Puxiem ពូហៀម	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	Ou Reang អូររាំង	17 Feb	Village chief
4	Andong Kralaeng អនឡុងក្រឡែង	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	Ou Reang អូររាំង	20 Feb	Village chief
5	Purang ពូរ៉ាំង	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	Ou Reang អូររាំង	21 Feb	Village chief
6	Puleh ពូលេស	Dak Dam ដាក់ដាំ	Ou Reang អូររាំង	21 Feb	Village chief
7	Pulung ពូលុង	Romonea រ៉ំម៉ានៀ	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	22 Feb	Village chief
8	Rungoal រូងាល់	Me Mang មេម៉ង	Kaev Seima កែវសីមា	23 Feb	Village chief
N/A*	Srae I ស្រែ អ៊ី	Romonea រ៉ំម៉ានៀ	Saen Monourom សែនមនោរម្យ	23 Feb	N/A
9	Putang ពូតាង	Bu Chri ប៊ូជ្រី	Pechr Chenda ពិជ្រចេន្ដា	23 Feb	Village chief
10	Putil (Village #4) ពូទៀល(ភូមិបួន)	Bu Sra ប៊ីស្រា	Pechr Chenda ពិជ្រចេន្ដា	24 Feb	Village chief
11	Village #7 ភូមិប្រាំពីរ	Bu Sra ប៊ីស្រា	Pechr Chenda ពិជ្រចេន្ដា	24 Feb	Former chief
12	Pukraeng ពូក្រែង	Srae Ampum ស្រែអំពុំ	Pechr Chenda ពិជ្រចេន្ដា	24 Feb	Deputy chief
13	Srae Thom ស្រែធំ	Sokh Sant សុខសាន្ត	Kaoh Nheaek កោះញែក	27 Feb	Village chief
14	Roya រយ៉ំ	Roya រយ៉ំ	Kaoh Nheaek កោះញែក	28 Feb	Commune chief

*N/A, instead of a number, means that we talked to people in the village but did not administer a questionnaire or elicit a wordlist. # = Number assigned to the wordlists elicited (the variety code).

Table 2: Bahnaric sites visited (continued):

15	Nang Bua ណាងប៊ូរ	Nang Khi Loek ណាងឃីលឹក	Kaoh Nheaek កោះញែក	28 Feb	Commune chief
16	Memom មេមម	Roya រយ៉	Kaoh Nheaek កោះញែក	1 Mar	Village chief
17	Chhnaeng ឆ្នែង	Srae Khtum ស្រែខ្ទុម	Kaev Seima កែវសីមា	2 Mar	Group leader
18	Ou Rona អូររណា	Srae Khtum ស្រែខ្ទុម	Kaev Seima កែវសីមា	2 Mar	Village chief
19	Ou Am អូរអាំ	Srae Khtum ស្រែខ្ទុម	Kaev Seima កែវសីមា	2 Mar	Group leader
20	Chrap ច្រាប	Pi Thnu ពីរធ្នូ	Snuol ស្នួល	7 Mar	Village chief
21	Mil មិល	Khsuem ឃ្សឹម	Snuol ស្នួល	8 Mar	Village chief
22	Chukrang ជួក្រាង	Khsuem ឃ្សឹម	Snuol ស្នួល	8 Mar	Village chief
23	Chung ចឹង	Khsuem ឃ្សឹម	Snuol ស្នួល	8 Mar	Village chief
24 25	Kosang កសាង	Changkrang ចង្ក្រង	Kratie ក្រចេះ	24 Apr	Commune chief
26	Srae Tahaen ស្រែតាហែន	Sambok សំបុក	Kratie ក្រចេះ	25 Apr	Head of village development
27	Bung Run បឹងរុន	Sambok សំបុក	Kratie ក្រចេះ	25 Apr	Deputy chief
N/A*	Khnach ខ្នាច	Thmei ថ្មី	Kratie ក្រចេះ	25 Apr	N/A
28	Chhok ឈក	Thmei ថ្មី	Kratie ក្រចេះ	25 Apr	Former chief
29	Ou Krieng អូរគ្រៀង	Ou Krieng អូរគ្រៀង	Sambour សំប៊ូរ	26 Apr	Village chief
30	Ampok អំពក	Srae Chis ស្រែជិះ	Sambour សំប៊ូរ	26 Apr/	Village chief
31	Srae Chis ស្រែជិះ	Srae Chis ស្រែជិះ	Sambour សំប៊ូរ	26 Apr	Village chief
NA	Srae Roluos ស្រែល្វស	Roluos Mean Chey ល្វសមានជ័	Sambour សំប៊ូរ	26 Apr	N/A

* N/A, instead of a number, means that we talked to people in the village but did not administer a questionnaire or elicit a wordlist. # = Number assigned to the wordlists elicited (the variety code).

Figure 6. Locations of sites visited.

Map key				
Mondul Kiri	Province name	17	Survey site	
Kaoh Nheaek	District name	▲	Bunong	
Chong Phlah	Commune name	■	Stieng	
Bu Gia	Village/town	●	Khaonh	
13	National road	▬	Mel	
131	Local road	◆	Kraol	
	Province/district boundary	●	Ra'ong	
	Commune boundary	●	Thmon	

3.2 Instruments and subject selection

3.2.1 Sociolinguistic questionnaire

In order to answer our questions concerning vernacular languages, the LWC, ethnic groups, sociolinguistic relationships, dialect perceptions, and interactions in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces, we administered a sociolinguistic questionnaire[15] to the village chief. The questionnaire was first written in English, then translated into Khmer.[16] If the village headman was unavailable, we would usually wait for someone to call for him. In some villages we interviewed the commune head, the deputy village chief, or the second deputy.

3.2.2 Wordlist

We collected a 142-item wordlist[17] from each ethnolinguistic community in each village.[18] We explained our requirements for a wordlist informant[19] to the village head and asked him to recommend a suitable candidate to us for eliciting the wordlists.

3.3 Fieldwork timeline

The first fieldwork portion of this survey took place from mid-February to early March 2006. Two members of the team arrived in the town of Saen Monourom, the provincial capital of Mondul Kiri, on February 11, and spent the first week talking with ICC staff, mapping out a tentative schedule, visiting a few villages, and beginning research. The remaining ICC team members, the SIL Mainland Southeast Asia survey coordinator, and one guest linguist followed on February 17 to begin fieldwork as a large group. The fieldwork lasted almost five weeks in total. We began our research with day trips to those villages closest to the provincial capital, allowing us to gain experience and obtain guidance from our survey coordinator while he was able to be with us. On average, we visited two villages per day. On a few occasions, the research team divided into two groups to visit villages in different directions.

During the third week of fieldwork, three expatriate researchers and three Bunong helpers traveled to Kaoh Nheaek district for three days and then down to Kaev Seima district. Two expatriate researchers then went to Snuol district in Kratie province during the fourth week. In late April, three members of the team again went to Kratie, this time to Ou Krieng and Sambour districts for about one week. See table 2 for the dates visited and persons interviewed.

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[15]See Appendix C.
[16]The questionnaire was also translated into Bunong for regions of Mondul Kiri as a precaution, in case some of the leaders did not understand the Khmer. However, we did not meet any leaders who did not handle Khmer well, and we did not want to bias the leader for or against a certain variety of Bunong, so we later decided not to use the Bunong translation at all. Our Bunong helpers were fluent in Khmer and were able to clarify in Bunong if clarification was needed.
[17]See Appendix H.
[18]We first asked which ethnic groups lived in the village and then if we could meet a person from each group. When thinking about which groups lived there, we did not consider one family or a few spouses to be a "group." Almost without fail, when we asked which minorities lived in the village, if one ethnicity contained only a couple of families or a few speakers, the villagers would tell us so and then ask if we still wanted to talk to them/him/her. We did, on occasion, elicit lists from isolated speakers.
[19]Native speaker from that area, clear speech, full set of teeth, preferably a male over 40, although we did elicit some wordlists from residents younger than 40 years old and from women.

3.4 Analysis

3.4.1 Summary of data

As previously mentioned, we elicited a 142-item wordlist; however, for purposes of comparison, we used a specific list of 85 words (see Appendix G and Appendix H). First, we entered the wordlists into an Excel spreadsheet, then imported that data into a beta version of WordSurv 6.0.[20] for comparison and analysis, and finally transported the table of results back into an Excel document. Next, we compared the Bunong lists with each other and then chose three Bunong lists to compare with the rest of the varieties. These particular Bunong wordlists were chosen based on three following factors:

1. Range of similarity with other Bunong varieties: Putang (V9) had the highest similarity to the most lists, while Bung Run (V27) and Chukrang (V22) had some of the lowest. Tables 3 and 4 (see section 4.1) offer matrices showing lexical-similarity percentages.

2. Location: Putang is in Mondul Kiri province, Bung Run in Kratie district of Kratie province, and Chukrang in Snuol district of Kratie province.

3. Number of words available to compare: Some of the earlier lists taken (varieties 1–3) showed high similarity but, due to some later additions to our wordlist, some items are missing. [21]

We entered answers to the sociolinguistic questionnaires into an Excel spreadsheet for comparison. Because of the open-ended nature of the research questions, the results do not lend themselves to any sort of quantitative grouping or organization into tables or charts. We give a prose overview of the results in section 5. Also see Appendix D.

3.4.2 Criteria for answering the research questions

In order to give some indication of similarity between Bahnaric varieties and as a screening tool for lack of intelligibility, we collected a wordlist from each ethnolinguistic community in each village we visited. Results of the wordlist comparisons give answers to these basic questions. The criteria, as set forth in Blair (1990), guided the comparison process and, following SIL standard practice (Sim 1991), we set a threshold of 70 percent. Varieties are considered unintelligible if fewer than 70 percent of the items are lexically similar. No further intelligibility testing is needed. Speakers of varieties found to be over 70 percent lexically similar to each other cannot necessarily understand each other, but the possibility for understanding exists. Intelligibility testing would need to be done to clarify the situation. Answers to questions regarding travel patterns and reported comprehension can also provide further insight into intelligibility.[22]

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[20]WordSurv is a linguistics computer program designed to aid in the collection and analysis of wordlists. The current version, WordSurv 6, is being developed through a partnership between the Computer and Systems Science Department at Taylor University and SIL International. It can be downloaded at no cost from http://wordsurv.css.taylor.edu/.

[21]V1 has 78 of the 85 items we used for comparison, V2 has 72 of the 85, and V3 has 72 of the 85 items.

[22]See question numbers 33, 40, 44–47, 50, 51, 54–58, and 61h in Appendix C; also, summaries of the SLQ data in section 4.2 and Appendix D.

Beyond the questions regarding intelligibility, research questions for this survey were open-ended; therefore, the results are qualitative in nature, although some areas of commonality are found and a few loose groupings are possible.

Research questions aimed at identifying the various vernacular languages, ethnic groups, and sociolinguistic relationships and the corresponding question numbers from our questionnaire are as follows:

- What are the vernacular language varieties spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces? Questions 21, 25, 26, 37
- Where and by whom are these varieties spoken? Questions 38–42, 44–45, 61h
- What are the sociolinguistic relationships between these language varieties? Questions 29, 30, 42, 46, 47, 50, 54, 55, 58

Answers to questions regarding religious, social, and educational contact within and between groups; travel and migration patterns within the area, among the dialects, and out of the area; language use when traveling; intermarriage patterns; and ethnolinguistic makeup of the village all contribute to answering the following questions:

- What are the LWCs spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces? Questions 41, 43, 54e, 55g, 55h, 58f, 59d, 60f, 61h
- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between and within the ethnolinguistic groups that speak these varieties? Questions 29, 30, 35, 43, 52, 54–61

We also asked numerous questions aimed at dialect perceptions and contact, including perceived sameness/difference, in order to discover the following:

- What are the groupings of Bahnaric varieties, based on intelligibility?
- How do speakers of the Bahnaric varieties in Cambodia perceive the groupings of Bahnaric varieties? Questions 33, 34, 40, 44–47, 50, 51
- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between and within the Bahnaric groups? Questions 29, 30, 35, 43, 52, 54–61

The remaining questions from our questionnaire cover basic background information, such as population, location of the school, current residents' history, and people-group history.

4 Results

The following section presents only the data we collected, which we applied to answer the research questions. See the conclusions in section 5 for a summary and answers to the research questions.

4.1 Wordlists

Tables 3 and 4 provide the wordlist similarity percentages. See Appendix G for an explanation of how the percentages were calculated. Some items of particular interest are as follows:

- As expected, not being part of the Bahnaric family, Khmer is the least similar to all other varieties. The Bahnaric language that is least similar to all other varieties is Tampuan (V15).

- Mel (V26 and V29) seems surprisingly similar to Khaonh (V25 and V28); between 80 to 90 percent. One Mel list (V29) was actually closer to both the Khaonh lists than to the other Mel wordlist.

- Ra'ong (V19) in Kaev Seima shows less similarity with the Stieng wordlists (V17, 20, and 21) than the other Stieng wordlists do with each other. When giving a listing of villages that speak Bunong differently, the chief of Nang Bua village listed the "Bunong Ra'ong" in Kaev Seima. However, Ra'ong is more similar to the Stieng varieties we collected (around 80 percent) than to the Bunong (around 70 percent).

- All Bunong wordlists were over 80 percent (83–100 percent) lexically similar to each other. No true dividing line is clear; all varieties seem to belong to just one group. However, based on lexical similarity alone, we *can* see some slight differences. The varieties with the least overall similarity to the rest are the two in Snuol (V22 and 23). They were from 83 to 93 percent lexically similar to the other Bunong varieties (excepting V18), while the other Bunong varieties were from 91 to 100 percent lexically similar to each other.

  Based on these results, one could posit a division between the Bunong spoken in Snuol and the other Bunong varieties (refer to the map in figure 6). The variety spoken in the southwestern part of Kaev Seima district of Mondul Kiri (V18), which borders Snuol, seems to be in between these groups. One can also see that the varieties that are most similar to each other (V1–5, V7–10) form a narrow North-South strip passing through Saen Monourom district. Geographical exceptions to this are Putil/Village 4 (V10) in Bu Sra, and Rungoal (V8). This latter village, while not being "in the strip," is part of a remote, yet thriving mining community. The road is very difficult and is only accessed via Saen Monourom town.

  These "divisions," based on the Bunong lists, are only pointing out which varieties are *more* or *less* similar, rather than *dis*similar. In fact, they are all lexically quite similar; well above the 70-percent threshold. In addition, this similarity refers to lexical similarity only and does not guarantee intelligibility.

Table 3. Lexical similarity of Bunong varieties
("M" = Mondul Kiri, "K" = Kratie)

Village	District, Province	Variety	V9	V10	V1	V2	V7	V3	V8	V5	V4	V13	V12	V11	V6	V24	V27	V18	V22	V23
Putang	Pechr Chenda, M	V9	100																	
Putil (Village #4)	Pechr Chenda, M	V10	100	100																
Lao Ka	Saen Monourom, M	V1	100	100	100															
Puretang	Saen Monourom, M	V2	99	99	99	100														
Pulung	Saen Monourom, M	V7	97	95	96	97	100													
Puxiem	Saen Monourom, M	V3	96	96	97	96	97	100												
Rungoal	Kaev Seima, M	V8	95	95	96	96	94	96	100											
Purang	Ou Reang, M	V5	94	94	95	96	94	97	97	100										
Andong Kralaeng	Ou Reang, M	V4	93	93	94	94	94	96	98	97	100									
Srae Thom	Kaoh Nheaek, M	V13	94	94	95	93	93	96	97	94	94	100								
Pukraeng	Pechr Chenda, M	V12	94	94	95	92	92	94	94	93	94	95	100							
Village #7	Pechr Chenda, M	V11	94	94	95	93	94	94	92	93	92	93	98	100						
Puleh	Ou Reang, M	V6	95	95	95	93	91	92	94	90	91	92	94	91	100					
Kosang	Kratie, K	V24	93	93	94	93	93	99	94	94	92	96	93	93	91	100				
Bung Run	Kratie, K	V27	93	93	94	93	88	94	94	91	91	96	95	93	93	96	100			
Ou Rona	Kaev Seima, M	V18	92	92	94	92	90	93	93	92	92	91	88	88	88	89	87	100		
Chukrang	Snuol, K	V22	86	86	87	86	84	88	91	87	93	87	87	85	86	86	86	95	100	
Chung	Snuol, K	V23	85	85	86	86	83	88	88	87	88	86	85	85	84	87	85	94	94	100

Table 4. Lexical similarity of Bahnaric varieties
("M" = Mondul Kiri, "K" = Kratie)

Village	District, Province	Variety	V21	V17	V20	V19	V14	V30	V31	V26	V29	V28	V25	V22	V16	V9	V27	V15	Kmr
Mil	Snuol, K	Stieng {V21}	100																
Chhnaeng	Kaev Seima, M	Stieng {V17}	90	100															
Chrap	Snuol, K	Stieng {V20}	88	86	100														
Ou Am	Kaev Seima, M	Ra'ong {V19}	79	83	80	100													
Roya	Kaoh Nheaek, M	Kraol {V14}	70	72	71	67	100												
Ampok	Sambour, K	Kraol {V30}	70	72	71	66	94	100											
Srae Chis	Sambour, K	Kraol {V31}	66	71	70	65	93	95	100										
Srae Tahaen	Kratie, K	Mel {V26}	73	72	72	72	66	69	67	100									
Ou Krieng	Sambour, K	Mel {V29}	69	72	72	70	67	67	69	84	100								
Chhok	Kratie, K	Khaonh {V28}	67	72	72	67	69	69	69	80	90	100							
Kosang	Kratie, K	Khaonh {V25}	69	71	72	66	72	71	70	81	86	95	100						
Chukrang	Snuol, K	Bunong {V22}	65	72	66	71	76	74	72	67	67	72	71	100					
Memom	Kaoh Nheaek, M	Thmon {V16}	66	73	66	72	59	58	57	64	65	64	63	69	100				
Putang	Pechr Chenda, M	Bunong {V9}	63	70	63	71	60	58	57	66	67	67	67	71	86	100			
Bung Run	Kratie, K	Bunong {V27}	60	67	60	70	60	58	57	66	66	65	64	69	85	92	100		
Nang Bua	Kaoh Nheaek, M	Tampuan {V15}	49	52	48	48	47	45	47	45	49	50	49	53	45	44	43	100	
		Khmer	19	19	21	17	30	30	30	26	22	22	24	23	14	16	20	16	100

4.2 Sociolinguistic questionnaires: Within the varieties

This section addresses each Bahnaric ethnolinguistic group individually, first the Kraol, then the Khaonh, Mel, Stieng, Ra'ong, Thmon and, finally, Bunong. The variety codes in parentheses, such as (V14), correspond to the variety codes in the lexical similarity matrices in figures 3 and 4. They have no significant meaning, other than being the number we assigned to each individual wordlist. The reader should keep in mind that the purpose of this survey was merely to obtain a broad overview of sociolinguistic situation of the Bahnaric language-speaking people of Cambodia. We traveled to many locations, but a single individual in each village, often the village chief, reported the most information. However, the following village descriptions help form preliminary hypotheses. Further in-depth research would be needed to confirm the information reported for each ethnolinguistic group.

The research questions (and their corresponding SLQ question numbers) are as follows; they pertain to how members of each language community identify themselves and their language, and who else they perceive as being the same:
- What are the vernacular language varieties spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces? Questions 21, 25, 26, 37
- Where are these varieties spoken and by whom? Questions 38–42, 44, 45, 61h
- What are the groupings of Bahnaric varieties based on intelligibility?
- How do speakers of the Bahnaric varieties in Cambodia perceive the groupings of Bahnaric varieties? Questions 33, 34, 40, 44–47, 50, 51
- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions within the Bahnaric groups? Questions 35, 56, 57

4.2.1 The Kraol

We met two groups of Kraol people. One group lives in Roya village in Kaoh Nheaek, the northernmost district of Mondul Kiri province and the other group lives in eastern Sambour district in northern Kratie province, near the border of Mondul Kiri.

Roya village

We interviewed the head of the commune in Roya village (V14); he reported that the vast majority of people in the commune are Kraol people, speaking the Kraol language. When asked about nearby villages, he listed three: Memom ម៉េម៉ម, 10km away, which is a Bunong and Thmon village (with some Kraol residents) using the Bunong language almost exclusively; Ktaoy ក្តោយ, a Kraol village, 73km away; and Rovak រ៉ូវ៉ក, an almost pure Kraol village, 15km away. According to this commune chief, the Kraol people as a whole originally came from Kaoh Nheaek. Many have moved to Kratie province, but some stayed in Kaoh Nheaek. The Kraol people of Roya speak Kraol more than any other language, both in the home and out in the village. The commune head told us that the villages of Roya, Rovak, and Ktaoy all call their language "Kraol" and speak it the same way. People from Roya travel to Srae Sap, Srae Chis, and Srae Rung in Kratie province; people from those villages also travel to Roya. They reportedly all use Kraol with each other. Srae Sap and Srae Rung are not included on the list of villages and communes obtained from the provincial office of the Ministry of Planning.

Ampok village

Ampok village (V30) is located in Sambour district, Kratie province, very near the Kraol village of Srae Chis, one of the villages visited by Kraol residents of Roya commune. Wordlists from Ampok and Srae Chis were 95 percent similar to each other. Over 100 Kraol families and ten Bunong families live in Ampok. According to the village chief, the Kraol people living there originally came from Srae Chhuk village, Roluos Mean Chey commune, Sambour district. They moved to Ampok looking for land; they still travel back and forth between Srae Chhuk and Ampok. They also visit Ktaoy village in Kaoh Nheaek, a fact that the commune head of Roya also mentioned. The government's population list for Srae Chhuk village does not include any Kraol people. The Kraol language is very strong in Ampok village,[23] although they also speak Khmer. They say that all Kraol people in their village speak Kraol the same; they could not provide names for any villages that speak Kraol differently. People from Ampok village and Ktaoy and Rovak villages in Kaoh Nheaek district of Mondul Kiri (again, the same villages the commune head in Roya mentioned) visit each other back and forth and reportedly speak Kraol the same; Ampok's village chief made no mention of Roya village. The 70-year-old man from whom we elicited the wordlist is originally from Roya, but he has lived in Ampok for the last 40 years.

4.2.2 The Khaonh and the Mel

We collected two wordlists each from the Khaonh and the Mel. The portion of the lexical similarity of Bahnaric varieties table (table 4) pertaining to Khaonh and Mel is shown in table 5:

Table 5. Lexical similarity between Khaonh and Mel

Village	District	Province	Variety	V26			
Srae Tahaen	Kratie	Kratie	Mel{V26}	100	**V29**		
Ou Krieng	Sambour	Kratie	Mel{V29}	84	100	**V28**	
Chhok	Kratie	Kratie	Khaonh{V28}	80	90	100	**V25**
Kosang	Kratie	Kratie	Khaonh{V25}	81	86	95	100

Closer examination of these percentages reveals that not only are the wordlists from the two different groups similar to each other, but in the case of the Mel lists, Ou Krieng village (V29) was closer to both Khaonh varieties (90 and 86 percent) than to the other Mel list elicited from Srae Tahaen (84 percent). This is especially interesting since Srae Tahaen and the two Khaonh villages are close together, while Ou Krieng is further north. See figure 6, the map of sites visited, in section 3.1.

Kosang village—Khaonh

In Kosang village, where there are communities of both Bunong (V24) and Khaonh (V25), we interviewed the Changkrang commune chief, who is a Bunong man. He reported that Chhok village in Thmei commune has Khaonh people and said that, in fact, the Khaonh people from Kosang originally came from Chhok. He did not comment on the level of understanding between the Khaonh in these two places. Khmer people make up the majority of the population in Changkrang commune, almost double the Khaonh and two-and-a-half times the Bunong.

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[23]Other ethnicities living there, including Khmer, learn Kraol. We met a Khmer man who wanted to sit with us when we elicited the Kraol wordlist, eager to give his assistance.

Chhok village—Khaonh

Within Chhok village (V28), the Khaonh comprise a very strong majority. Khaonh is the language used most often in the village; however, the children speak Khaonh poorly. Parents and elders use either Khmer or Khaonh with the children, but those under 15 years of age have a passive understanding of Khaonh and speak Khmer. The commune chief from Kosang reported that the Khaonh in his village originally came from Chhok, but Chhok's former village chief says that the Khaonh from Chhok village originally came from Ou Krieng, although the Khaonh in Ou Krieng speak differently. The list we obtained from the Department of Planning did not list any Khaonh people in Ou Krieng village or in any village located in Ou Krieng commune. When asked about villages that speak Khaonh the same, the government worker listed Kosang, Chrava (Kantuot commune), and Kou Loab (Kou Loab commune), in Kratie district. No minorities were listed for these latter two villages. Villagers from Chhok travel to Kosang village and speak Khaonh; people from Kosang and Ou Krieng in turn visit them, speaking Khaonh.

Ou Krieng village—Mel

We found no Khaonh people in the village of Ou Krieng (V29) and the chief made no mention of Khaonh people. Khmer are the clear majority in Ou Krieng village, with only ten Bunong families and nine Mel families. However, the Khmer also call the Mel people "Paklae" after the name of a village nearby in Roluos Mean Chey commune with over 800 Mel people. The Mel people in Ou Krieng speak Khmer more than Mel, even in their own homes, and they report the same for Paklae village, telling us that all Mel people from Ou Krieng come from Paklae. Both the Khmer village chief and a Mel woman who helped him answer the questionnaire say that all people in the village of Ou Krieng speak Khmer. The Kratie provincial government had observed that the Mel had assimilated into the Khmer language and culture already and, in fact, we did not meet or hear of any communities of Mel people who are using Mel more than they use Khmer.

Srae Tahaen village—Mel

Although Mel account for the majority of the population in Srae Tahaen (V26), residents under the age of 25 speak Khmer exclusively. Mel people in Srae Tahaen originally came from Chongdop village, Kbal Damrei commune. The head of village development we interviewed listed Chongdop as a village that speaks Mel in the same way as the Mel in Srae Tahaen. When people (over 25 years old) from Srae Tahaen visit Chonghop village, they use Mel with Mel people and Khmer with others.

Based on the lexical similarity of Khaonh and Mel, as well as reported migration patterns, perhaps "Khaonh" and "Mel" are actually two names for the same language or ethnic group, or perhaps they at least have one common origin. The Khaonh in Kosang had come from Chhok, the Khaonh in Chhok had come from Ou Krieng, but there are no Khaonh currently living in Ou Krieng, and the residents there make no mention of relatives in either Chhok or Kosang. Perhaps at some point in the past, Mel from Ou Krieng founded Chhok village and somehow became known as "Khaonh" people; then those Khaonh from Chhok left and settled in Kosang village. Under this hypothesis, the Mel of Srae Tahaen and Ou Krieng (or, more accurately, Paklae) were either never part of the same village, or separated from each

other even further back than the founding of Chhok, and did not have much further contact with each other.[24]

4.2.3 The Stieng

Chhnaeng village

Chhnaeng village (V17) is about one-half Stieng people and one-half Bunong people. Both languages seem to be strong as, according to the chief, the Stieng people speak Stieng among themselves and Bunong to Bunong people, but the Bunong also learn Stieng. The Stieng in Ou Rona speak differently[25] but can be understood; the people in Chhnaeng village still consider those in Ou Rona to be Stieng people who speak the Stieng language. Srae Ampil, Khu, and Srae Khtum in Kauv Seima are places that speak the same. The people of Chhnaeng travel to and receive people from Ou Rona, Village #7, and Ou Am. They visit and receive visits from relatives in these places, using Stieng, Khmer, and Ra'ong.[26]

Chrap village

In Chrap village (V20) in Snuol, Kratie, the young people understand Stieng but do not speak it. The very old speak Stieng; others can speak Khmer to them, but they will answer in Stieng. Those between the ages of about 50 to 60 years, such as the village chief, speak Stieng with each other, but will speak Khmer to younger people. Children usually speak Khmer only, although some are able to speak Stieng, if their mothers always use it to speak to them. The Stieng in Chrap want their children to learn Khmer so that they are able to understand it clearly at school. When asked how older people perceive the language situation in their village, the chief said they do not really have any feelings one way or the other, because they still use their language and the younger people still at least understand it. However, in his opinion, the Stieng in Chrap are losing their language.

The village chief did not know of any Stieng villages where all or most of the children are still speaking Stieng. He said they are all speaking Khmer now. No nearby "Stieng" villages are purely Stieng, all are mixed a little with Khmer and Cham, such as Thma Hal Viel ថ្មហាលវិល. However, the Stieng in those places still consider themselves to be Stieng people.

Instead of inquiring who speaks Stieng poorly, we asked the village chief who speaks Khmer poorly in his village. He answered that, although everyone in the village can speak Khmer, the Stieng in general do not speak Khmer "well" or "clearly," because they are Stieng. As an example, he pointed out a young woman, perhaps 25 years old, who was sitting in on the interview. "She does not speak Stieng at all," he told us, "only Khmer, but she does not speak Khmer clearly." In other words, she and other Stieng people, although fluent in Khmer, have an accent or a different way of speaking Khmer that distinguishes them from Khmer people who are speaking Khmer.[27]

Regarding which Stieng people speak the Stieng language differently, the village chief could only single out the Stieng from Vietnam. He went on to say that no village in Cambodia has a

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[24]This is just one hypothesis attempting to account for the strong lexical similarity between Ou Krieng and the Khaonh villages. Thanks to Ramzi Nahhas of SIL's Mainland Southeast Asia survey department for suggesting it.

[25]This could be because there are only two Stieng families in Ou Rona, living with 89 Bunong families and 40 Khmer families.

[26]This Stieng leader listed Ou Am as a nearby village containing people from other ethnic groups; specifically mentioning the Ra'ong as being the other ethnic group.

[27]We noticed this while testing our questionnaire a few months earlier in the nearby village of Thma Hal Viel. When speaking Khmer, the women especially had a noticeable lilt and distinctive intonation to their speech.

large community of these Stieng.[28] According to the village chief, they do speak Stieng, but they do not speak clearly. For an example, they might have a different pronunciation of the same or a similar word; their accents or vowels are different. Villages he specifically mentioned that speak the same are: Thma Hal Viel ថ្មហាលវាល; Kbal Ampoe ក្បាលអំពៅ; Bravaeng Lemut ប្រវែងល្មុត; Trapeang Srae ត្រពាំងស្រែ; Cheng Khle ជើង ឃ្លេ; and Cheng Khla ជើង ឃ្លា. They go to visit siblings and other relatives in these Stieng villages.

According to the Chrap village chief, the Stieng people come from Kratie, but only the Stieng Leu ស្ទៀងលើ—the 'upper' Stieng. Interestingly, he differentiates between these 'upper' Stieng and the Stieng-Bunong ស្ទៀងពួង. In answering other questions, the village chief specifically called the Bunong a separate ethnic group and did not closely associate them with the Stieng. Quite possibly, Stieng-Bunong refers to the Ra'ong.

Mil village
According to the village chief, all the Stieng in Mil village (V21) speak Stieng. It is the language of the home, the language used most often in the village, and everyone speaks it the same way.

Another village that reportedly speaks Stieng in the same way is Chhnaeng village. Villagers from Mil travel to Chhnaeng village and they, in turn, visit Mil village. They have no problems understanding each other's Stieng. According to the chief, people from Phum Kbal, Snuol, Krung Tonle, Provaeng, Peng Sra, and Chengkley[29] speak Stieng a little differently. Mil village seems to have more interaction with Khmer people than it does with any other ethnic group (as more than half the village is Khmer). They consider themselves to be Stieng and do not see any ethnic difference in Stieng people they meet from other places, even those they report as speaking a little differently.

4.2.4 The Ra'ong
There are still many gaps in our understanding of who the Ra'ong people are, their history, how they view themselves, and how they are viewed by other minority groups, particularly the Stieng and the Bunong. When asked the question (#34), "Which nearby villages have people from other ethnic groups?" the Stieng group leader in Chhnaeng village in Kauv Seima mentioned the Ra'ong people in Ou Am village (V19). The Ra'ong have always been there, just as the Stieng have always been in his village. The group leader we interviewed in Ou Am told us that, when Stieng people ask him questions, he answers them in their own language but, when he asks them questions, he uses his own language, Ra'ong.

The Bunong chiefs of Rungoal in Kaev Seima and Nang Bua in Kaoh Nheaek said that the "Bunong Ra'ong" in Kaev Seima speak Bunong differently than the Bunong in their villages. When asked which non-Ra'ong speaking people travel into their village, the Ou Am interviewee listed the Bunong, putting them in the category of people who speak a different language, not those who speak their own language differently. These Bunong visitors could use either Bunong or Khmer with the Ra'ong people.

Perhaps the Ra'ong people's fluency in Bunong is what causes them to be called Bunong, and yet be recognized as speaking Bunong in a different manner than the Bunong people. Perhaps

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[28]We later heard that a large village, Trapeang Srae, located on the road between Snuol town and Vietnam has a community of Stieng who speak a different dialect than others in Cambodia. We have yet to confirm this or visit the village.

[29]The village Praek Kdai was also mentioned, but was included as the answer to both questions, as a village that speaks the same and as a village that speaks differently. In the department's list of villages, quite a few villages have the same name. Perhaps that is the case here, but we are unsure of its real place in the village chief's lists.

even the Bunong themselves do not realize that the Ra'ong are not actually Bunong people—that they do not speak a slightly different variety of Bunong as their mother tongue, but speak Bunong as a second language.

The Ra'ong call their language "Ra'ong." Others (the people in Saen Monourom) also refer to their language as Ra'ong, or as Kegiag or Stieng. They do not mind any of those names. The village chief of Ou Am was a newly-appointed Khmer man. He told us that outsiders know Ou Am as a Stieng village. He recommended that we talk to a minority leader in the village if we wanted to know anything about the people or their language. The group leader to whom we administered the sociolinguistic questionnaire said that he himself is Stieng, and the Stieng of Ou Am are Ra'ong. The 57-year-old farmer, from whom we elicited the wordlist, had lived his whole life in Ou Am; he identified himself as a Stieng-speaker, saying that the first language of both his parents was also Stieng. His second languages are Khmer and Bunong.

According to the group leader whom we interviewed, Ou Am is the only Ra'ong village in Cambodia,[30] but that a Jarai village in Vietnam speaks Ra'ong in the same way. Whether this means that the Jarai people there speak Ra'ong as well or that some Ra'ong are living in a predominantly Jarai village is unclear.

The people of Ou Am speak Khmer with those who cannot speak Ra'ong; Bunong, Khmer, and Stieng are also spoken in the village.[31] A few people occasionally go to Vietnam for business (to buy and sell things, literally 'seek, eat'), and others will occasionally go to visit their relatives in other Ra'ong villages in Vietnam. The names and locations of these villages were not given.[32]

4.2.5 The Thmon

The Thmon people in Memom village (V16) originally came from Kratie province. They relocated to Kaoh Nheaek, Mondul Kiri, in 1973, due to the war. In response to virtually every question about language use in the village, the chief answered that the people use Bunong. There is only one community of Thmon in Mondul Kiri (there in Memom), but they have stopped using Thmon. The chief, a Bunong man himself, was born in Srae Huy, and he has lived in Memom since 1993.[33] Our wordlist subject was a 66-year-old man who was born in Benam village, Kotol commune, in Sambour district of Kratie.[34] He has lived in Memom for 33 years, since 1973.

4.2.6 The Bunong in Mondul Kiri

The Bunong in Mondul Kiri seem to be comprised of three groups, namely: Kaev Seima, Bu Sra, and others. The "others" can be loosely grouped into three main groups, based on which villages they specifically mentioned as speaking the same or differently: those who consider

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[30]He also said that group Opam, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, have people from other ethnic groups (Bunong, Ra'ong, and Khmer) but people in his village call them all Khmer. Perhaps this means that these are predominantly Khmer villages containing only a small number of ethnic minorities. In addition, the name and location of Opam is unclear.

[31]Some villagers can most likely also speak Vietnamese, as travel to and from Vietnam was mentioned quite frequently during the interview.

[32]The interviewee was uncomfortable and nervous to talk about Vietnam or to give many details.

[33]Although this man *is* the chief, he could possibly think everyone speaks Bunong all the time because he himself does not speak Thmon, so people speak only Bunong to him and around him.

[34]This was not on the department of planning's list of either villages or communes; it very likely does not exist anymore.

Bu Sra to speak differently, those who consider Bu Sra to speak the same, and those who consider Kaev Seima to speak differently.

"The people in Bu Sra speak differently."

The village chief in Lao Ka (V1) specifically mentioned the group of villages in Dak Dam (V6) and Bu Sra (V10 and 11) as places that speak differently, especially Village #7 (V11). He said people from those places come from Vietnam and use different words. When pressed further, however, he could only say that they call some vegetables differently, but otherwise speak the same. If he travels into their area, he will change his speech to be more like theirs, but they will not do likewise when traveling into his area. The Lao Ka chief also specifically mentioned Putrom village as a place that has different vegetable names as well. When asked in which places people speak the same as his village, he listed Kauv Seima, Ou Reang, and Me Mang.

Ironically, perhaps, in Pulung (V7) we were told that the Bunong in Dak Dam, Bu Sra, and Lao Ka speak differently, but those in Bu Chri (V9) and Srae Ampum (V12) communes, KrungTae, and Kaoh Nheaek (V13) district speak the same. The chief of Putil (V10), Village #4 in Bu Sra, also commented that Bunong in Dak Dam and Lao Ka, as well as Putang (V9) and Putrum, speak differently from those in Bu Sra. Srae Ampum, Bu Chri,[35] and Krung Tae speak the same. The deputy village chief of Pukraeng village (V12) in Srae Ampum commune did not consider any Bunong to speak differently.

The leaders we interviewed in Putang (V9) and Andong Kralaeng (V4) also said the people in Bu Sra speak a little differently. However, the Putang chief also said that the Bunong people all came from Bu Sra and Me Mang. The chief of Andong Kraleang calls the people in Bu Sra "Bunong Mpiat"[36] or "Bunong Naar." This same chief, when asked for villages that speak the same, listed places in Kaev Seima district.

"The people in Bu Sra speak the same."

The Puleh (V6) village chief reported that people in Butrang village speak Bunong as if they are from Vietnam, but people from Bu Sra and Buchun speak the same as his village. Puleh village is located in Dak Dam commune, which the Lao Ka chief had grouped with Bu Sra as speaking differently.

The former village chief of Village #7 (V11) in Bu Sra began by commenting that there are villages in Kaoh Nheaek where people speak a little differently, but that all Bunong speak the same, even the Bunong in Vietnam. This village has a church, and many Bunong Christians travel, including Bunong from Dak Dam, to attend celebrations in their village.

In Rungoal (V8 in Me Mang commune), the chief told us that the Ra'ong people speak differently. Places where Bunong is spoken only a little differently included Bu Sra, Dak Dam, Kaev Seima, and villages in Kaoh Nheaek, most of Mondul Kiri, in fact. He then reported that Bu Sra people speak the same, but he does not know about the Bunong in Vietnam. He had once heard some Bunong people speaking very differently, but did not know where they were from.

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[35]Putang village is located in Bu Chri. It is possible that we misunderstood this village chief, or that there is another village with the same name, or that he meant to exclude Putang village as part of the Bu Chri commune in this context.

[36]Recall that Gordon (2005) states, "Biat is the main dialect of Cambodian Mnong," and may in fact "be a separate language related to Eastern Mnong." The chief of Andong Kraleang was the first person, and one of the only people, we interviewed to give any other name to a variety of Bunong, other than "Bunong."

"The people in Kauv Seima speak differently."

The village chief of Purang (V5) said Bunong in Kauv Seima speak differently; he can understand when they speak but he has a hard time understanding. When asked to be more specific, he did not give the names of any villages, and then responded that only people with speech impediments speak differently.

The Putang (V9) chief included Kaev Seima, along with Ou Reang and Bu Sra, in his "different" list, saying they use different words. An example he gave was once again a vegetable; in those places, Bunong people speak "hard" when they say the word for pumpkin. Mae Bai, Churi Chan, and Chong Phang speak the same as Putang village.

In Nang Bua, the village in Kaoh Nheaek from which we also elicited Jarai and Tampuan wordlists, the Bunong village chief listed three places in which Bunong is spoken differently:

- Kaev Seima: the Bunong Ra'ong
- Sokh Sant: the Bunong Mpiet
- Bu Sra: the Bunong Preah[37]

The Bunong village chief was from Srae Huy in Sokh Sant (as was the chief of Memom), and said that the Bunong in Srae Huy speak the same as in Nang Bua. He also stated that the Bunong in Nang Bua usually used Lao or Khmer, rather than Bunong.

Other Bunong village reports from Mondul Kiri

In Srae Thom village (V13) in Kaoh Nheaek, the chief considered their variety of Bunong to be the same as Bu Chri commune (where Putang is located) and Ku'un in Kaoh Nheaek. According to this chief, the village of Srae Thaih in Kaoh Nheaek uses different names for some fruits and vegetables.

The village chief of Memom village, where we elicited the Thmon wordlist, is a Bunong man originally from Srae Huy. We did not collect a Bunong wordlist from this site but, according to the chief, the villages that speak Bunong differently from Memom are Yulo, Srae Huy, and Neyo.[38] Villages that speak the same are Srae Chis in Kratie[39] and Obphe.[40]

In Ou Rona (V18), located in southwestern Kaev Seima, the village chief said that no villages speak Bunong even a little differently.[41] Villages he specifically mentioned that speak the same are Srae Ktum, Preah, and Puta. Srae Lvei village Group 4 uses just a few words that are different, but everything is understandable.

4.2.7 The Bunong in Kratie

The village chief of Chukrang (V22) reported that the Bunong in his village use Khmer more than Bunong. The small children do not speak Bunong, but can understand it. The Bunong in Chukrang are originally from Chung commune, but were forced to move because of the war. In Chung commune, he said, they only use Bunong, not Khmer. However, whether the chief was telling us of the past or the present is unclear. Perhaps the village chief meant that back when they lived in Chung they only spoke Bunong, or perhaps he was trying to tell us that the

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[37]Recall that Gordon (2005) lists Pre'h (Pre) as a dialect of Central Mnong. Also refer to section 1.4. One of the wordlists elicited in Vietnam in the 1970s was of the Preh dialect of Central Bu Nong. Many of those we interviewed said that the Bunong of Bu Sra are from Vietnam.
[38]Note that he says that he comes from an area that speaks differently than the village in which he lives now.
[39]A predominantly Kraol village.
[40]Neither one of these latter villages he mentions is nearby.
[41]This chief said that he does not really go to places where people do not speak Bunong, although he has traveled to Phnom Penh once.

Bunong still living in Chung only use Bunong. Those in Chukrang village who still speak Bunong speak it in the same manner as those in Trapeang Chey, although the chief could not think of any villages that speak differently.

According to the chief in Chung village (V23), no villages speak differently, although the villages that specifically speak the same are Srae Preng, Ptoal, and Chukrang. The commune chief in Kosang (V24) also stated that no villages speak Bunong differently, although now the minority children (including the Khaonh also living in his commune) are too lazy to speak their languages. In the village of Bung Run (V27), there are Bunong people who do not speak Khmer, but Khmer is the predominate language of the village. The deputy chief did not list any villages that spoke Bunong either the same or differently.

4.3 Sociolinguistic questionnaires: Between the varieties

Regarding the relationships between the Bahnaric varieties, we sought answers to the following questions:
- What are the LWCs spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces? Questions 41, 43, 54e, 55g–h, 58f, 59d, 60f, 61h
- What is the sociolinguistic relationship between the Bahnaric language varieties in Mondul Kiri and Kratie? Questions 29, 30, 42, 52, 54, 55, 58
- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between these Bahnaric varieties? Questions 29, 30, 43, 52, 54, 55, 58–61

Regarding interaction between the varieties, a brief summary of the answers, given village by village, to the relevant questions from the questionnaire can be found in Appendix D and Appendix C. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 summarize the answers to the research questions regarding relationships between the varieties.

5 Conclusions

This section summarizes the answers to all the research questions and highlights the main points and common themes.

5.1 LWC

- What is the LWC spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces?

The LWC is the common language that speakers from different linguistic communities use in order to communicate with each other.

In Kratie province, Khmer is decidedly the LWC. Overall, ethnic minority groups in Mondul Kiri use Khmer, Bunong, or Lao to speak together. Mother-tongue Bunong speakers reportedly account for about 80 percent of the population of Mondul Kiri province and, so the entire province of Mondul Kiri could be considered a "Bunong speaking area," although Khmer is spoken in the provincial capital. In parts of Kaoh Nheaek district very near to Ratank Kiri (Rattanakiri) province, Lao is an important LWC between language communities. In both Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces, every ethnic group contains members who are able to speak Khmer.

At this point, it should be emphasized that, although Khmer may be the LWC of Kratie and one LWC of Mondul Kiri, it does not necessarily mean that all or even most of the residents are able to speak or understand it. Referring to the Bunong in Mondul Kiri, for instance, previous research has shown that nearly three-fourths of the women and over one-half of the

men either speak Khmer poorly or have no Khmer language ability at all.[42] We asked the village leaders questions about villagers' travel patterns and the language they use with strangers, but not all villagers travel or verbally interact with outsiders. Therefore, to say a certain language is the LWC does not imply that the majority of residents can speak it fluently or even marginally.

5.2 Vernacular languages

- What are the vernacular language varieties spoken in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces?
- Where and by whom are these varieties spoken?

Bahnaric vernacular languages[43] spoken in Mondul Kiri province include Bunong, Stieng, Kraol, Tampuan, Ra'ong, and, possibly, Thmon. Those in Kratie province include Bunong, Stieng, Kraol, Khaonh, Thmon, and, possibly, Mel.[44] For each of these groups, the name is the same for both the people and their language, although Ra'ong appears to be a subgroup or dialect of Stieng. The Thmon of Mondul Kiri appear to have stopped using their language in favor of Bunong as their mother tongue; they may have undergone a complete language shift, but we cannot be certain whether or not Thmon is still used in some situations. We did not speak with the Thmon of Kratie, but secondhand reports say they use the Thmon language. The Mel live in Kratie province and, although some still speak Mel, by all reports they are using Khmer; Mel children have Khmer as their mother tongue. Some Stieng, Bunong, and Khaonh are also using Khmer more and more, with many children understanding, but not speaking the language of their parents and grandparents.

5.3 Groupings of Bahnaric varieties

- What are the groupings of Bahnaric varieties, based on intelligibility?

Lexical similarity is only the very first step in measuring intelligibility, as it merely describes the percentage of words that are the same between two or more wordlists. Actual intelligibility testing would be needed to confirm the groupings. Based on lexical similarity alone, Mel and Khaonh are grouped together, as are Ra'ong and Stieng, although Ra'ong is also around 70 percent similar to some of the Bunong varieties. All Bunong varieties are over 80 percent similar to each other and so belong to one grouping as well. Otherwise, Thmon, Kraol, and Tampuan each stand alone, although Kraol, Thmon, Khaonh, and Mel are about 70 percent similar to Stieng as well. Tampuan is the least similar to all other varieties.

- How do speakers of the Bahnaric varieties in Cambodia perceive the groupings of Bahnaric varieties?

The Bunong, Stieng, Kraol, Khaonh, Tampuan, and Mel all see themselves as separate groups speaking different languages (in the places where they are still using their ethnic vernacular languages). Each group is solid and cohesive within itself; they either consider all people in the ethnic group to speak the same or, while recognizing that some villages may speak a little differently, do not impose any clear divisions among themselves. The Mel are possibly beginning to see themselves as Khmer, rather than Mel. The Thmon of Mondul Kiri are using Bunong as a mother tongue; it is still unclear whether they still view themselves as Thmon or

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[42]See Hiett (2003) for more information regarding self-assessed proficiency in spoken Khmer among the Bunong of Mondul Kiri.

[43]In addition to the Bahnaric groups, there were also pockets or individuals of Jarai, Lao, Kuy, Cham, and Khmer.

[44]"Possibly" refers to the fact that language vitality is an important issue. More research is needed to discover whether or not the Thmon and Mel peoples are, in fact, still using the Thmon and Mel languages.

are beginning to identify more with Bunong people. The Ra'ong identify themselves as Stieng, although perhaps perceive themselves to be a different kind of Stieng people using a different type of Stieng language. Some Bunong and Stieng in Mondul Kiri consider the Ra'ong to be members of their respective groups, albeit speaking their languages a little differently. Other Bunong and Stieng consider the Ra'ong to be a different ethnic group.

5.4 Relationships and interactions

- What are the sociolinguistic relationships between these language varieties?

Although the majority of Bahnaric groups we met view themselves as separate and different from the other groups, they still travel back and forth between each other's villages, live in mixed villages, and even intermarry. We did not conduct a thorough sociolinguistic survey of the groups' attitudes toward one another, but we did not encounter or detect any noticeable animosity or hostility between the groups.

- What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between the Bahnaric groups?

All villages we visited were mixed with Khmer and/or other ethnic groups, and they are becoming increasingly so. The one exception was Andong Kralaeng, which is a pure Bunong village in Mondul Kiri. Some areas, such as Kaoh Nheaek district in Mondul Kiri, have always been mixed. Intermarriage between the Bahnaric groups as well as with Khmer is common, which in turn leads to an increase in village mixture. Some areas, such as Kaoh Nheaek district in Mondul Kiri, have been mixed for as long as anyone can remember. In other areas, village chiefs told us that, in the past, their villages were "pure" but now are mixed, due to intermarriage. In only one village did we hear any rumors of a negative attitude toward intermarriage, as the interviewee believed that the Khmer do not want to marry with the other ethnic groups.

The Bunong comprise the majority of the population of Mondul Kiri and have less interaction with those outside their own group than the other minorities do. Kratie province and Kaoh Nheaek district of Mondul Kiri have much more diversity. Throughout both provinces, however, *proximity* rather than *ethnicity* seems to guide travel for all the ethnic groups. Those who travel generally go to the nearest villages or to the market in town. Some people we talked to could not name any other places to which they traveled that were outside of their ethnic area. However, wherever different ethnic groups were living in close proximity to each other, there were people who traveled between those nearby villages.

- What are the types, natures, and extent of interactions within the Bahnaric groups?

As previously stated, proximity is one important factor in travel decisions, with the other main factor being where one's relatives live. All groups traveled to other nearby villages of their same ethnic groups (if there were any). Travel to villages further away, which is not as common, generally involved visiting relatives and/or going back to an area from which a group had migrated, for example, the Kraol in Kratie traveling back to visit the Kraol in Kaoh Nheaek.

With the possible exception of Ra'ong being classified as a subgroup or dialect of Stieng, we did not encounter any overt divisions, either linguistically or socially, within any groups. The Bunong often stated that other Bunong speak as if they are from Vietnam. However, even with that difference, all interviewees told us that Bunong people all speak the same, and this reported speech difference did not appear to be a hindering factor in their travel choices.

5.5 Overall summary

The main purpose of this survey was to get an overview of the current sociolinguistic situation in Mondul Kiri and Kratie. To this end, we sought to identify the various vernacular languages, ethnic groups, LWCs, and to determine sociolinguistic relationships.

Seven members of the Bahnaric language cluster live in Mondul Kiri and Kratie provinces of Cambodia: Bunong, Kraol, Stieng (including Ra'ong), Thmon, Khaonh, Mel, and Tampuan. All groups we interviewed reported using the same word to refer to both their people and language. The groups reported no negative feelings toward one another, but they do view themselves as separate from each other. Even varieties that display a fair degree of lexical similarity, such as the Khaonh and the Mel, do not consider any other group's language to be similar to their own. When speaking to people outside their own ethnic group, Bahnaric people usually use Khmer, although this does not mean that all members can speak Khmer well, or even at all. Mondul Kiri is a predominantly Bunong-speaking area and, in northern Mondul Kiri, Lao is a very important LWC between groups.

A secondary purpose of this survey was to gather information to assist in determining which Bahnaric varieties could be considered for development. Another goal of this survey was to determine the linguistic and sociolinguistic relationships between the Bahnaric varieties found in Cambodia.

None of the Bahnaric minority ethnic groups in Mondul Kiri or Kratie consider that any other group's language is similar to their own; the lexical comparison results support this view.[45] One possible exception to this is between the Khaonh and the Mel. They have a fair degree of lexical similarity to each other, yet they do not see themselves as similar.

Language vitality is a major factor when considering any sort of language development. Although many Khaonh still use their language, the younger generation seems to be using Khmer more. Similarly, in the opinion of the representatives we met from Kratie's provincial government, the Mel have already assimilated into the Khmer culture and language. Furthermore, the Thmon of Mondul Kiri appear to be replacing their language with Bunong. Research needs to be conducted among the Thmon living in northeast Kratie in order to discover more about their language and how they fit both linguistically and sociolinguistically within the Bahnaric cluster.

Stieng could possibly be a candidate for development. More research would need to be conducted to test language vitality, bilingualism in Khmer, and to discover whether development should be centered in Snuol or Kaev Seima.

Kraol is also a possible candidate for development, as they still seem to be enthusiastically using their language but, again, more research should be conducted.

Language development is already taking place for both the Bunong and the Tampuan, as well as other Bahnaric groups in Ratanak Kiri (Rattanakiri). However, these language varieties are not similar enough to any of the groups studied in this survey to share their literature or orthographies. As previously mentioned, we generally obtained information about each village from only one individual, often the village chief. While this *does* mean that any conclusions must be tentative, this survey was important in providing a broad overview of the linguistic area, obtaining preliminary information and pinpointing issues, ethnolinguistic groups, and geographical areas for further research. The following recommendations section

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[45]For further detail, and/or explanations as to why some groups appear to be lexically similar but are still considered different, refer to sections 5.3 and 5.4.

highlights some possibilities for research that would need to be conducted in order to provide sufficient information for wise language-development decisions.

6 Recommendations

The purpose of this survey was neither to test bilingualism nor to gauge language vitality. However, both of these issues repeatedly arose in our interviews and are vital issues to be considered in making language-development decisions. They are also interesting topics for other linguists and academics, for the Cambodian government, and hopefully for the Bahnaric people themselves. Therefore, most of our recommendations for further research and survey involve either bilingualism or language vitality, as follows:

- Evaluate Stieng language vitality and determine groupings of Stieng varieties in Snuol, Kratie.
- Determine the place of Ra'ong in the Bahnaric cluster. Perhaps the Ra'ong speak a dialect of Stieng more commonly found in Vietnam.
- Assess Bunong bilingualism among the Ra'ong and Stieng in Mondul Kiri province.
- Evaluate Thmon language vitality in Kratie province.
- Determine the place of Thmon in the Bahnaric cluster.
- Elicit wordlists, administer sociolinguistic questionnaires, and conduct intelligibility testing for the Kraol of Ktaoy and Rovak villages in Kaoh Nheaek, Mondul Kiri, and the Kraol in Sambour, Kratie.
- Assess Khmer bilingualism among the Kraol in Sambour, Kratie.
- Evaluate Bunong language vitality in each district of Kratie province.
- Assess Khmer bilingualism among the Bunong in Kratie province.
- Determine if the Bunong spoken in Cambodia is significantly different from the Central or Southern Mnong spoken in Vietnam.
- Evaluate Khaonh language vitality and assess Khmer bilingualism among the Khaonh.
- Evaluate Mel language vitality: Are the Mel fully assimilated into the Khmer language and culture or does the Mel language still have vitality in Paklae village?
- Conduct intelligibility testing between Khaonh and Mel. This would possibly be a purely academic pursuit, as both groups appear to be shifting to Khmer.
- Assess Lao bilingualism in Kaoh Nheaek district.

Appendix A. Department of planning figures

Tables 6 through 8 reflect a summary of the information received from the Department of Planning in Kratie province, showing the number of communes (the shaded rows), and the villages within each commune. Population figures indicate the total number of individuals.[46] NBM=No Bahnaric Minorities. NI=No Information. V= Visited.

Table 6. Site options in Kratie province, Kratie district

	Name of commune (Khum) / village (Phum)		Population (number of individuals)					
			Bunong ពង	Stieng ស្ទៀង	Mel មិល	Kraol ក្រោល	Thmon ថ្មន	Khaonh ខោញ
1	Khum Changkrang	យុំ ចង្ក្រង						
	Phum Changkrang	ភូមិ ចង្ក្រង	238	0	0	0	0	0
V	Phum Kosang	ភូមិ កសាង	547	0	0	0	0	147
2	Khum Kantuot	យុំ កន្ទួត	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
	Phum Aloch	ភូមិ អាលច	879	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Sraenon	ភូមិ ស្រែនន	752	0	0	0	0	0
	three other villages, NBM: Anthongvien ភូមិ អន្លុង់វៀន; Chrava ភូមិ ច្រវ៉ា; Kantot ភូមិ កន្ទួត							
3	Khum Kou Loab	យុំ គោលាប់	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
	Phum Chrava	ភូមិ ច្រវ៉ា	17	0	0	1	0	14
	Phum Komba	ភូមិ កំបោរ	0	0	0	35	0	0
	three other villages, NBM: Banthiew ភូមិ បន្ទាយ; Koloap ភូមិ គោលាប់; Somret ភូមិ សំរិត							
4	Khum Sambok	យុំ សំបុក	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
V	Phum Bung Run	ភូមិ បឹងរុន	625	0	0	0	0	0
V	Phum Srae Tahaen	ភូមិ ស្រែតាហែន	0	0	319	0	0	0
	three other villages, NBM: Kakot ភូមិ កាកុត; Kbalchue ភូមិ ក្បាលជួរ; Sombok ភូមិ សំបុក							
5	Khum Thma Andaeuk	យុំ ថ្មអណ្ដើក	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
	Phum Sompung	ភូមិ សំពុង	325	0	0	0	0	0
	five other villages, NBM: Chuekroch ភូមិ ជួរក្រិច; Domnakso ភូមិ ដំណាក់សរ; Le'ok ភូមិ ល្អក់; Saosokha ភូមិ សៅសុខា; Sraedong ភូមិ ស្រែដុង							

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[46]At what age this list begins to count children is unknown. Not all villages we visited in Kratie appeared on the list.

Table 6. Site options in Kratie province, Kratie district (continued):

6	Khum Thmei	យុំថ្មី		Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
V	Phum Khnach	ភូមិខ្នាច		0	0	0	0	0	784
	Phum B'ia	ភូមិប្អៀ		1034	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Svaychrom	ភូមិស្វាយជ្រុំ		372	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Triep	ភូមិទ្រាប		1479	0	0	0	0	0
	six other villages, NBM: Chronaol ភូមិច្រណោល; Krasang ភូមិក្រសាំង; Mien Chey ភូមិមានជ័យ ; Thmei ភូមិថ្មី; Tnaot ភូមិត្នោត; Viel Sombou ភូមិវិលសំបូរ								
7	Khum Bos Leav	យុំបុសលេវ							
	eight villages, NBM: Bos Leav Kre ភូមិបុសលាវក្រែ; Bos Leav Leu ភូមិបុសលាវលើ; Lviatong ភូមិល្វាទង; Preah Konlong ភូមិព្រះគន្លង; Praek Kow ភូមិព្រែកកូវ; Praek Ta'am ភូមិព្រែកតាអាំ; Praek Tatung ភូមិព្រែកតាបឹង; Taluh ភូមិតាលុះ								
8	Khum Dar	យុំដារ							
	nine villages, NBM: Onhcienh ភូមិអញ្ចាញ; Chuachrae ភូមិជួរជ្រែ; Da ភូមិដារ; Khnong Poh ភូមិខ្នងពស់; Khsa ភូមិខ្សារ; Braum ភូមិប្រើម; Seraiphiep ភូមិសេរីភាព; Stung Svay ភូមិស្ទឹងស្វាយ; Tangun ភូមិតាងុន								
9	Khum Kaoh Chraeng	យុំកោះច្រែង							
	five villages, NBM: Kandal ភូមិកណ្ដាល; Kbal Koh ភូមិក្បាលកោះ; Praek ភូមិព្រែក; Roka Khno ភូមិរការខ្នុរ; Voet ភូមិវត្ត								
10	Khum Kaoh Trong	យុំកោះទ្រង់							
	two villages, NBM: Kbal Koh ភូមិក្បាលកោះ; Chong Koh ភូមិចុងកោះ								
11	Khum Krakor	យុំក្រគរ							
	two villages, NBM: Kroko ភូមិក្រគរ; Tuel Monourom ភូមិទួលមនោរម								
12	Khum Kracheh	យុំក្រចេះ							
	five villages, NBM: Doen Chram ភូមិដួនជ្រាំ; Krocheh ភូមិក្រចេះ; Phsa Vaeng ភូមិផ្សារវែង; Trapeang Pring ភូមិត្រពាំងព្រីង; Voet ភូមិវត្ត								
13	Khum Ou Ruessei	យុំអូរឫស្សី							
	five villages, NBM: Kontring ភូមិកន្ទ្រឹង; Kapo ភូមិកាប៉ូ; Ou Rusei 1 ភូមិអូរឫស្សី ១; Ou Rusei 2 ភូមិអូរឫស្សី២; Srae Stau ភូមិស្រែស្ដៅ								

Table 6. Site options in Kratie province, Kratie district (continued):

14	Khum Roka Kandal	យុំរការកណ្ដល
	two villages, NBM: Roka Kandal ភូមិរការកណ្ដល; Roka Kandal ភូមិរការកណ្ដល[c]	
15	Khum Thma Kreae	យុំថ្មក្រែ
	three villages, NBM: Ruessei Cha ភូមិឫស្សីចារ; Thma Kre Kanda ភូមិថ្មក្រែកណ្ដា; Thma Kre Leu ភូមិថ្មក្រែលើ	

[c]This name does occur twice on the list. Whether it is merely a typo, or they should be labeled 1 and 2, or whether there really are two villages in the same commune with the same name is unknown. Other village names appear more than once, but are listed as being in different communes.

Table 7: Site options in Kratie province, Sambour district

	Name of commune/village		Population (number of individuals)					
	English	Khmer ខ្មែរ	Bunong ពួង	Stieng ស្ទៀង	Mel មីល	Kraol ក្រោល	Thmon ថ្មូន	Khaonh ខាញ
1	Khum Kbal Damrei	យុំក្បាលដំរី						
	Phum Uapo	អូរពោរ	147	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Srae Traeng	ភូមិស្រែត្រែង	736	0	0	0	0	0
	three other villages, NBM: Chongdop ភូមិចង្ដប; Ou Tanung ភូមិអូរតានាំង; Srae Sbaw ភូមិស្រែស្បូរ							
2	Khum Kaoh Khnhaer	យុំកោះខ្ញែរ	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
	Phum Kampong Pnau	យុំកំពង់ព្នៅ	327	0	0	0	0	0
	four other villages, NBM: Bay Somnom ភូមិបាយសំណំ; Cheng Piet ភូមិជើងពៀត; Koh Chba ភូមិកោះច្បារ; Svay Chek ភូមិស្វាយចេក							
3	Khum Ou Krieng	យុំអូរគ្រៀង	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
	Phum Pontchia	ភូមិពនភ្ជា	468	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Ou Preah	ភូមិអូរព្រះ	130	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Ou Krak	ភូមិអូរក្រក់	114	0	0	0	0	0
V	Phum Ou Krieng	ភូមិអូរគ្រៀង	52	0	0	0	0	0
	two other villages, NBM: Koh Khnae ភូមិកោះខ្ញែ; Khsach Liew ភូមិខ្សាច់លាវ							
4	Khum Roluos Mean Chey	យុំល្វសមានជ័	Bunong	Stieng	Mel	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh
	Phum Paklae	ភូមិប៉ាក្លែ	0	0	841	0	0	0
V	Phum Srae Roluos	ភូមិស្រែល្វស	105	0	1048	0	0	0

Table 7: Site options in Kratie province, Sambour district (continued):

	Phum Srae Chhuk	ភូមិស្រែឈូក	278	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Tong	ភូមិទោង	542	0	0	0	327	0
5	Khum Sandan	យុំសណ្ដាន់	**Bunong**	**Stieng**	**Mel**	**Kraol**	**Thmon**	**Khaonh**
	Phum Sangkom	ភូមិសង្គម	905	0	0	0	0	0
	three other villages, NI: Thmei ភូមិថ្មី; Thom ភូមិធំ; Sandan ភូមិសណ្ដាន់							
6	Khum Srae Chis	យុំស្រែជីៈ	**Bunong**	**Stieng**	**Mel**	**Kraol**	**Thmon**	**Khaonh**
V	Phum Ampok	ភូមិអំពក	264	0	0	3358	333	0
	five other villages, NI: Koen Va ភូមិកូនវ៉ា; Phnom Pi ភូមិភ្នំពីរ; Rovieng ភូមិរវៀង; Srae Chis ភូមិស្រែជីៈ; Tnaot ភូមិត្នោត							
7	Khum Boeng Char	យុំបឹងចារ						
	three villages, NBM: Domrae ភូមិជំរ៉ៃ; Kampong Rotoeh ភូមិកំពង់រទេះ; Koh Dombong ភូមិកោះដំបង							
8	Khum Kampong Cham	យុំកំពង់ចាម						
	seven villages, NBM: Yiew ភូមិយាវ; Kampong Krobei ភូមិកំពង់ក្របី; Achen ភូមិអាចេន; Koh Phtau ភូមិកោះផ្ដៅ; Tonsaung Thleak ភូមិទន្សៀងធ្លាក់; Ampil Tuk ភូមិអំពិលទឹក; Somphin ភូមិសំភិន							
9	Khum Sambour	យុំសំបូរ						
	eight villages, NBM: Cha Thaol ភូមិចារថ្ពោល; Doen Mieh ភូមិដូនមាស; Kaeng Brasat ភូមិកែងប្រាសាទ; Koh Riel ភូមិកោះរាល; Koh Sam ភូមិកោះសំ; Sambour ភូមិសំបូរ; Samrong ភូមិសំរោង; Srae Kheuen ភូមិស្រែខៀន							
10	Khum Voadthonak	យុំវឌ្ឍន:						
	four villages, NBM: Anlong Preah Ko ភូមិអន្លង់ព្រះគោ; Praek Krieng ភូមិព្រែកគ្រៀង; Voddone' ភូមិវឌ្ឍន; Tanguen ភូមិតាង្វន							

Table 8. Site options in Kratie province, Snuol district

	Name of commune/village		Population (number of individuals)					
	English	Khmer ខ្មែរ	Bunong ព្នង	Stieng ស្ទៀង	Mel មិល	Kraol ក្រោល	Thmon ថ្មន	Khaonh ខោញ
1	Khum Khsuem	យុំឃ្សឹម						
V	Phum Mil	ភូមិមិល	0	322	0	0	0	0
V	Phum Chung	ភូមិចឹង	420	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8. Site options in Kratie province, Snuol district (continued):

	Phum Khsum Knang	ភូមិឃ្សុំមក្នង	14	14	0	0	0	0
	Phum Khsum Krao	ភូមិឃ្សុំមក្រៅ	50	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Somrang	ភូមិសំរង	106	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Srae Roniem	ភូមិស្រែនាម	33	0	0	0	0	0
	Phum Srae Thmei	ភូមិស្រែថ្មី	202	10	0	0	0	0
	one other village, NBM: Dong ភូមិដូង							
2	**Khum Pir Thnu**	យុំ២ធ្នូ	**Bunong**	**Stieng**	**Mel**	**Kraol**	**Thmon**	**Khaonh**
	Phum Cheng Khle	ភូមិជើងឃ្លេ	0	579	0	0	0	0
	Phum Cheng Khla	ភូមិជើងឃ្លា	0	528	0	0	0	0
	Phum Thmahal Dei Krahom	ភូមិថ្មហាលដីក្រហម	0	487	0	0	0	0
	Phum Bravanh	ភូមិប្រវ៉ាញ	0	695	0	0	0	0
	Phum Thmahal Viel	ភូមិថ្មហាលវាល	0	654	0	0	0	0
	Phum Thrapaeng Srae	ភូមិត្រពាំងស្រែ	0	268	0	0	0	0
V	Phum Chrab	ភូមិច្រាប	0	334	0	0	0	0
3	**Khum Snuol**	យុំស្នួល	**Bunong**	**Stieng**	**Mel**	**Kraol**	**Thmon**	**Khaonh**
	Phum Kbal Snuol	ភូមិក្បាលស្នួល	0	402	0	0	0	0
	Phum Krong	ភូមិក្រុង	0	1440	0	0	0	0
	Phum Praek Kdei	ភូមិព្រែកក្ដី	0	600	0	0	0	0
	Phum Thpong	ភូមិថ្ពង	0	435	0	0	0	0
	three other villages, NBM: Kat Dai ភូមិកាត់ដៃ; Snuol Kaut ភូមិស្នួលកើត; Snuol Lech ភូមិស្នួលលិច							
4	**Khum Srae Char**	យុំស្រែចារ						
	six villages, NBM: Rohia ភូមិរហា; Kbal Trach ភូមិក្បាលត្រាច; Meak Kandal ភូមិមាក់កណ្ដាល; Mean Chey ភូមិមានជ័យ; Triek ភូមិទ្រៀក; Sat ភូមិសាត							
5	**Khum Svay Chreah**	យុំស្វាយជ្រះ						
	eight villages, NBM: Thnal ភូមិថ្នល់; Voet ភូមិវត្ត; Sambua ភូមិសំបួរ; Tasaum ភូមិតាសោម; Srae Cha ភូមិស្រែចារ; Tapom ភូមិតាពុំ; Doenmia ភូមិដូនមា; Rompok ភូមិរំពុក							

Appendix B. Populations for selected villages, by ethnicity

Demographic information is given in table 9 for every village in which we conducted research and received population figures. All numbers represent number of individuals, unless otherwise noted. fam=families, hous=houses, # = the number assigned to the wordlist elicited in the village (the variety code).

Table 9. Mondul Kiri province reported population figures

#	Village	Commune	District	Khmer	Bunong	Stieng	Kraol	Thmon	Tampuan	Jarai	Lao	Cham
1	Lao Ka ឡូវកោ	Sokh Dom ឃុំសុខដុម	Saen Monourom ស្រុកសែនមនោរម្យ	4fam	158fam					5 1fam	6 1fam	
2	Puretang ពូរ៉ាតាង	Sokh Dom ឃុំសុខដុម	Saen Monourom ស្រុកសែនមនោរម្យ	4 4fam	126fam	1 1fam						
3	Puxiem ពូហៀម	Saen Monourom ឃុំសែនមនោរម្យ	Ou Reang ស្រុកអូររាំង		1224							
4	Andong Kralaeng អនុងក្រឡែង	Saen Monourom ឃុំសែនមនោរម្យ	Ou Reang ស្រុកអូររាំង		88 16hous							
5	Purang ពូរ៉ាង	Saen Monourom ឃុំសែនមនោរម្យ	Ou Reang ស្រុកអូររាំង	29 11fam	115 54fam							
6	Puleh ពូលេស	Dak Dam ឃុំដាក់ដាំ	Ou Reang ស្រុកអូររាំង	17 2-3fam	403							
7	Pulung ពូលុង	Romonea ឃុំរ៉ូម៉ានៀ	Saen Monourom ស្រុកសែនមនោរម្យ	10	532 91hous							
8	Rungoal រូងាល់	Me Mang ឃុំមេម៉ង	Kaev Seima ស្រុកកែវសីមា	3	362 57hous		1					
9	Putang ពូតាង	Bu Chri ឃុំប៊ូជ្រី	Pechr Chenda ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ដា	26fam	123fam							4fam

Table 9. Mondul Kiri province reported population figures (continued)

10	Putil ពូទៀល	Bu Sra យុំប៊ុស្រា	Pechr Chenda ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ដា	4fam	225 53fam		1					
11	Village #7 ភូមិប្រាំពីរ	Bu Sra យុំប៊ុស្រា	Pechr Chenda ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ដា	6 4fam	No numbers							
12	Pukraeng ពូក្រែង	Srae Ampum យុំព្រៃស្រអំពុំ	Pechr Chenda ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ដា	28 9fam	211 48fam							101 25fam
13	Srae Thom ស្រែធំ	Sokh Sant យុំសុខសាន្ត	Kaoh Nheaek ស្រុកកោះញែក		860 176fam 157hous							
14	Roya[d] រយ៉	Roya យុំរយ៉	Kaoh Nheaek ស្រុកកោះញែក	10fam	150 fam		312fam	1fam				
15	Nang Bua ណាងប៊ួ	Nang Khi Loek យុំណាងយ៉ីលឹក	Kaoh Nheaek ស្រុកកោះញែក	18fam	23fam		3fam		34fam	2fam	30fam	
16	Memom មេមម	Roya យុំរយ៉	Kaoh Nheaek ស្រុកកោះញែក	3fam	72fam			24fam	1fam			
17	Chhnaeng ឆ្នែង	Srae Khtum យុំព្រៃខ្ទុម	Kaev Seima ស្រុកកែវសីមា		123fam	126fam						
18	Ou Rona អូររណា	Srae Khtum យុំព្រៃខ្ទុម	Kaev Seima ស្រុកកែវសីមា	40fam	89fam	2fam						

[d] These figures represent the population for the commune, rather than the village only.

Table 10. Kratie province reported population figures

For comparison, alternate population numbers from tables 6–8 in Appendix A. Department of planning figures are shaded and given in italics.

#	Village	Commune	District	Khmer	Bunong	Stieng	Kraol	Thmon	Khaonh	Mel	Kuy
20	Chrap[e] ប្រាប	Phi Thnu ឃុំពីរធ្នូ	Snuol ស្រុកស្នួល	6 fam		63fam *334*					
21	Mil មិល	Khsuem ឃុំឃ្សឹម	Snuol ស្រុកស្នួល	424 88fam		315 66fam *322*					
22	Chukrang ជួក្រាង	Khsuem ឃុំឃ្សឹម	Snuol ស្រុកស្នួល	18fam	70 fam						
23	Chung ចឹង	Khsuem ឃុំឃ្សឹម	Snuol ស្រុកស្នួល	74fam	423 *420*						
24 25	Kosang[f] កសាង	Changkrang ឃុំចង្ក្រង	Kratie ស្រុកក្រចេះ	1356 164fam	547 118fam *547*				704 155fam *147*		
26	Srae Tahaen ស្រែតាហែន	Sambok ឃុំសំបុក	Kratie ស្រុកក្រចេះ							80fam *319*	
27	Bung Run បឹងរុន	Sambok ឃុំសំបុក	Kratie ស្រុកក្រចេះ	94fam	54fam *625*						
28	Chhok ឈក	Thmei ឃុំថ្មី	Kratie ស្រុកក្រចេះ	5fam	3fam				130fam		10fam
29	Ou Krieng អូរគ្រៀង	Ou Krieng ឃុំអូរគ្រៀង	Sambour ស្រុកសំប៉ូរ	346fam	10fam *52*					9fam	
30	Ampok អំពក	Srae Chis ឃុំស្រែជិះ	Sambour ស្រុកសំប៉ូរ		10fam *264*		*3358*	2–3[g] *333*	100+ fam		
31	Srae Chis ស្រែជិះ	Srae Chis ឃុំស្រែជិះ	Sambour ស្រុកសំប៉ូរ								

[e]The numbers we received were: sixty-three Stieng families, six Khmer families, and a total of 1,334 people, which averages out to 19.3 people per family. The government's list included 188 Cham families for this village, and sixty-nine Stieng families (334 individuals), which might account for the discrepancy but would also greatly change the sociolinguistic dynamics of the village. The chief made no mention of any Cham residents, and certainly not a large group, so perhaps we misheard him or simply recorded the information wrong.

[f]These figures represent the population for the commune, rather than the village only.

[g]These Thmon individuals were not included on the village chief's list; however, when we were searching for wordlist subjects, the villagers (including the chief) had told us that there were a few Thmon people in the village, but they were all away, working in the fields. We decided not to go looking for them or wait for them to come home.

Appendix C. Sociolinguistic questionnaire

Questions that we asked in earlier villages, but then eventually took out, are still included in the following questionnaires but are indicated with a ~~strikethrough~~.

English version

Instructions
- Record all answers in a bound data notebook.
- Leave a few pages at the beginning for a table of contents.
- Number all pages.
- If possible, read the questions exactly as written. However, you may at times need to offer an explanation to make the question clearer. **If you have to explain the question, make sure you do NOT suggest an answer. Note in your notebook (near the answer) that you had to explain the question.**
- Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
- Items in parentheses ( ) give information about when or how to ask a question. Items in brackets [ ] require a choice, depending on whatever is appropriate.
- Record the answers in the notebook using the same numbering as in the questionnaire. In that way, it will be clear later what answers go with what questions.
- Try to write as neatly as possible.
- Write **exactly** what the subject answers.
- Enjoy!

Oral consent

Hello, my name is _____. I work for ICC, an NGO doing development work among minorities in Ratanak Kiri (Rattanakiri) and Mondul Kiri. We are doing some research into the different minority languages of Cambodia. We are especially interested in finding languages or dialects that are not widely known.

We have a few questions we want to ask about you and your language. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Please just tell us what you think. When we write a report of our research, we will not include your name or other identifying information. The whole thing will take about ___ minutes.

Are you willing to answer our questions?

☐ **"Oral consent given." Note in your notebook if they say "yes" or "no".**

Preliminary information
1. Questionnaire number (start with 1 and number consecutively)
2. Survey
3. Interview location
4. Interviewer name
5. Date (day, month, year)
6. Language of elicitation
7. Language of response
8. Interpreter name (if needed)
9. Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)

Subject demographics

10. What is your name?
11. Gender
12. How old are you?
13. Are you married?
14. (If married) Do you have any children?
    a. Yes or no
    b. (If yes) How many?
15. What is your job?/What are you busy doing during the day?
16. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
17. Where were you born?
18. Where did you grow up?
19. Where do you live now?
20. How long have you lived there/here?
21. What do you call your language?

Village name and population

22. What is the official name of this village?
    a. Name
    b. What "district" is it in? Village, Commune, District, Province

23. What do the people who live here call this village?
    a. Name
    b. What does that name mean?
Is there another/different/old name for this village?

24. What do outsiders call this village?
    a. Name
       (If not the same as their own name for the village)
    b. Who calls it that?
    c. What does that name mean?
    d. Do people in this village like that name?

Languages and ethnic groups
{What are the vernacular languages spoken in this region?
What are the LWC's spoken?
Where and by whom is each spoken?}

25. What do you call the language of this village?
    a. Language name
    b. What does that name mean?

26. What do others call the language of this village? Is there another name for the language?
    a. Language name
    b. Who calls it that?
    c. What does that name mean?
    d. Do people in this village like that name?

27. What do the people who live in this village call themselves? (lit. What ethnicity do they think they are?)
    a. People name
    b. What does that name mean?

28. What do others call the people who live in this village?
    a. People name
       (if not the same as their own name for their people)
    b. Who calls you that?
    c. What does that name mean?
    d. Do people in this village like that name?

29. Is this village all [X] people or are there others living here as well?
    a. All [X] or others, too
       (if others, too)
    b. What groups live here?
    c. About how many houses and people in this village are from each group?
       Number of houses for each group
       Number of people for each group

30. Has it always been this way? (lit. Have you always lived together like this? OR Has it just been the [X] minority group since the beginning?)
    a. Yes or no
       (If no)
    a. Which way is it changing … more [X] people or fewer

31. **Using a map of the language area ask:**
    a. Where have you traveled in this region?
    b. What languages are spoken in those areas?
       For varieties you haven't heard about before ask:
    c. Where do the people who speak that language live?
    d. What do they call themselves?
    e. What do other people call them?
    f. Is their language similar or different from yours?

32. Which nearby villages speak an entirely different language?
    a. Villages
    b. What do you call that language?
    c. What do the people who speak the language call that language?
    d. What language do you use when you speak to those people?

33. Are there [X] people who speak [X] poorly?
    a. Yes or no
       (If yes)
    b. Who? (lit. Which group?)
    c. What language(s) do they speak well?
    d. What language do you use with them?

34. Which nearby villages have people from other ethnic groups?
    a. Villages
    b. What do you call those people?
    c. What do they call themselves? (lit. What ethnicity do they think they are?)

History
{What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between and within ethnolinguistic groups in the region?}

35. Where did the people who are here now come from?
    a. Where
    b. Where did they come from before that?
    c. When did they move here?
       (If they have moved here recently)
    d. When they were [X], what other groups were they around?
    e. What languages/varieties were used [X]?
    f. Why did they move here?
    g. Do people from [X] ever come here? Why?
    h. Do people from here ever go [X]? Why?

36. Where did the [X people] in general, not just this village, come from?
    a. Where
    b. When did they come to this area?
    c. Why did they leave their former home?
    d. Do people from there ever come here? Why? (lit. come to visit)
    e. Do people from here ever go there? Why?
    f. Where did the [X people] come from originally?

Language use and language(s) of wider communication (LWC)
{What are the LWCs spoken in the region?
What are the vernacular languages spoken?
Where, by whom, and how well is each spoken?}

37. Other than [X], what languages are spoken **in this village**?

38. Do [X] people in this village use [X] at home?
    a. Yes or no
       (If no)
    b. What do they speak at home?

39. What language do [X] children in this village usually speak?

40. (for each language from #37)
    a. Who speaks [language X] well? [For example: men, women, old, young, merchants, etc.] Which Bunong speak Khmer well?
    b. Why do those types of people need to speak that language well?
    c. Are there any types of people in this village who speak [language X] poorly?
       i. What types
       ii. Why?
    Does everyone speak language [X] well?

41. Are there people in this village who do not speak [X] language?
    a. Yes or no
       (If yes)
    b. What language(s) do they speak?
    c. Do they learn [X] language?
    d. What language do you speak with them? (lit. What language do the [X] people speak with them?)

42. Of all the languages including [X], which language is used most often?

43. If someone from this village meets someone who cannot speak [X], what language do they use with that person? (literally, with each other.)

Dialect perceptions
{What are the vernacular languages spoken in the region?
Where and by whom is each spoken?
What are the ethnic identities/groupings found in the region?
Where is each group located and how many of them are there?}
If subject is a native speaker of [X] language:

44. Does everyone in your village speak [X] about the same?

45. About how many villages speak [X]?

46. Are there villages that speak [X] ~~very~~ **differently** from here?
    a. Yes or no
        (If yes)
    b. What are the names of those villages?

47. The villages that speak ~~very~~ **differently**…
    a. For the most part do you understand everything, some things, or nothing at all?
        (If not everything)
    b. How are they different?
        (If they don't answer)

        ☐ **"Examples given." Note in your notebook if you have to give the "for example" below.**
        How are the words different?
        How is the rate of speech different?
    c. What do you call that language?
    d. What do you call those people?
    e. When you speak with people from one of those villages what language do you use with each other?
        (i)   Both use your variety
        (ii) Both use their variety
        (iii) Each use your own variety but understand each other
        (iv) Both switch to another language (if so, what language?)

48. ~~Are there villages that speak [X] **a little differently** from here?~~
    a. ~~Yes or no~~
        ~~(If yes)~~
    b. ~~What are the names of those villages?~~

49. ~~The villages that speak **a little differently**…~~
    a. ~~For the most part do you understand everything or some things, or nothing at all?~~
        ~~(if not everything)~~
    b. ~~How are they different?~~
        ~~(If they don't answer)~~

        ~~☐ **"Examples given." Note in your notebook if you have to give the "for example" below.**~~
        ~~How are the words different?~~

How is the rate of speech different?

~~c. What do you call that language?~~
~~d. What do you call those people?~~
~~e. When you speak with people from one of those villages what language do you use with each other?~~
~~(i) Both use your variety~~
~~(ii) Both use their variety~~
~~(iii) Each use your own variety but understand each other~~
~~(iv) Both switch to another language (if so, ask what language)~~

50. Are there villages that speak [X] the **same** as here?
    a. Yes or no
    (If yes)
    b. What are the names of those villages?

51. The villages that speak **the same**…
    a. Do you call their language the same as yours?
    (If no)
    b. What do you call their language?
    c. What do you call those people?

Language Contact
{What are the types, natures, and extents of interactions between and within ethnolinguistic groups in the region?
What are the LWC's spoken in the region?
Where, by whom and how well is each spoken?}

52. Do [X] people from this village marry [non-X] speaking people?
    a. Yes or no
    (If yes)
    a. What [non-X] speaking people do they marry?
    b. How common is this?

~~53. Are there people from here who go away during certain seasons of the year?~~
~~a. Yes or no~~
~~(If yes)~~
~~a. Where do they go?~~
~~b. Why do they go?~~
~~c. What languages do they speak there?~~

54. Do [non-X] people ever travel into the [X]-speaking area?
    a. Yes or no
    If yes, then ask the following:
    b. What types of people come? (example: merchants, farmers, certain ethnic groups)
    c. Why do they come?
    d. How often do they come? (lit. how many times within 1 month/year)
    e. What language do they use when they speak with [X] people?

55. When [X] people travel outside of the [X]-speaking area, where do they usually go? ~~Are there any other places that they go often?~~

   a. List locations
      (Ask the following for each location:)
   b. What types of people go?
   c. Do very many go, or just a few?
   d. Why do they go?
   e. How often do they go?
   f. What people live there?
   g. What language do they speak?
   h. What language do they use there with [non-X] people? (lit. What language do they use with people who do not know how to speak language [X] ?)

56. Do [X] people from this village travel to other [X] villages?
   a. List locations
      (Ask the following for each location:)
   b. What types of people go?
   c. Do very many go, or just a few?
   d. Why do they go?
   e. How often do they go?
   f. Are they able to speak to each other in [X] or do they have to use another language?
      (If they use X)
   g. Do they have any trouble understanding each other?
   h. Do they have to change the way they speak [X] to communicate?

57. ~~Do people from other [X] villages ever come here?~~
   a. ~~Yes or no~~
      ~~(If yes)~~
   b. ~~From what villages?~~
   c. ~~What types of people come? (example: merchants, farmers, certain ethnic groups)~~
   d. ~~Why do they come?~~
   e. ~~How often do they come?~~
   f. ~~Are they able to speak to people here in [X] or do they have to use another language?~~
      ~~(If they use X)~~
   g. ~~Do they have any trouble understanding each other?~~
   h. ~~Do they have to change the way they speak [X] to communicate?~~

58. Are there any religious festivals/gatherings with more than one [ethnic group / village]?
   (lit. Does your ethnic group celebrate any festivals with any other ethnic group?)
   a. Yes or no
      If yes, then ask the following:
   b. What festivals?
   c. Where are they held?
   d. What [groups / villages] attend?

      e.   How often?
      f.   What languages do people use with each other?

59. Are any of your young people now living in [major city]?
      a.   Yes or no
         (If yes)
      b.   Why did they go?
      c.   Do very many go or just a few?
      d.   While they live there, what languages do they use there?
      e.   Do they ever come back to live here (to stay)?

School

60. Is there a school in this village?
      a.   Yes or no
         (If yes)
      b.   What levels are taught in the school?
      c.   What is the language of instruction?
      d.   What percentage of children from this village attends school?
      e.   About what proportion of the school is from each ethnic group?
      f.   What language(s) do the schoolchildren use with each other?

61. Do any students go to any other villages/towns for school?
      a.   Yes or no
         (If yes)
      b.   About what proportion of children go elsewhere for school?
      c.   Where?
      d.   What levels do they go for?
      e.   What is the language of instruction in that place?
      f.   What ethnic groups attend that school?
      g.   About what proportion of that school is from each language group?
      h.   What language(s) do the schoolchildren use there with the other children?

62. About how many years of education do boys from this village usually complete?

63. About how many years of education do girls from this village usually complete?

64. Usually, children in this village stop studying at which grade level?
      ☐ The 1st level
      ☐ Complete level 1
      ☐ Complete level 9
      ☐ Complete level 12

65. Why do they drop out of school?

66. What is the average class size?

Appendix D. Summary of answers concerning interactions between the varieties

This appendix summarizes the answers to questions 29, 30, 43, 52, 54, 55, and 58 through 61 regarding the interactions between the Bahnaric groups. The groups are listed by village in order of their variety code (e.g.,V1), which corresponds to the wordlist number, as well as the order in which we visited the villages.

V1: Lao Ka

Lao Ka is a predominantly Bunong village, with 158 Bunong families, four Khmer families, one Jarai family, and one Lao family. In the past, only Bunong lived in Lao Ka. Intermarriage with Khmer people is common here, especially for the women. If Lao Ka villagers meet someone who cannot speak Bunong, they will speak Khmer. The only "others" traveling to Lao Ka are Khmer people. Only those Lao Ka villagers married to non-Bunong spouses will travel outside the Bunong-speaking area to Stung Treng.[47] When they celebrate festivals, they speak Bunong; the children speak Bunong with each other outside the classroom.

V2: Puretang

Puretang village has 126 Bunong families, four Khmer families, and one Stieng family. In the past, the village did not have much mixture with other ethnicities. Now, however, Bunong women intermarry with other ethnic groups such as Khmer and Stieng, although, relatively speaking, this is not common, as only four people from their village have done so. The only Bunong in the village who speak Bunong poorly are children who have studied in Phnom Penh (they speak Khmer well instead). "Others" who frequently come to the village include merchants and foreigners; Puretang villagers speak Khmer with them. According to the chief, the villagers' travel outside the Bunong-speaking area includes Dak Dam, Me Mang, Kaoh Nheaek, Bu Sra, Ou Reang, and Kaev Seima.[48] Only the few people who are married to non-Bunong go to visit relatives in these places, perhaps every few months. However, the places mentioned by the village chief are actually all predominantly Bunong-speaking areas in which Bunong people comprise the majority of the population. Puretang villagers celebrate planting and harvesting festivals with Bunong people. All the students at the school are Bunong and, as a result, they only speak Bunong to each other.

V3: Puxiem

There are 1,224 Bunong and 65 Khmer individuals living in Puxiem. In the past, there were no Khmer at all, but now some Khmer have moved to the village in order to do construction work in the government's plan to build houses in the area. Only one or two people have intermarried with the Khmer. "Others" who come to the village are spouses who marry into the village, foreigners, and sellers of goods. The villagers speak Khmer with these non-Bunong speakers and, when they themselves travel from Puxiem to Khmer places, such as the market in Saen Monourom town, they will speak Khmer there as well.[49] They go as often as they want or need in order to buy things. They do not celebrate festivals with any other groups. The children speak Khmer in school, but they will use Bunong outside the classroom.

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[47]Presumably where their Khmer in-laws live.

[48]Perhaps the interviewee was thinking of places that have more mixture than his own village, as all of the places that he mentions, except possibly Kaoh Nheaek, are Bunong-speaking areas.

[49]However, many Bunong live in and near Saen Monourom town, frequenting the market there and selling things as well.

V4: Andong Kralaeng

Andong Kralaeng has always been a pure Bunong village. They never have had any instances of intermarriage. "Others" do visit their village, but no details were given. According to the village chief, they use Khmer with non-Bunong speakers. Andong Kralaeng villagers themselves only travel within the Bunong-speaking area and do not celebrate festivals with any other groups.

V5: Purang

Purang has been a mixed village for a long time, although, in the past, there were fewer Khmer people. Fifty-four Bunong families and 11 Khmer families live there now. "Others" who visit their village are interviewers like us. Travel outside the Bunong-speaking area is limited to merchants who go to Kaoh Nheaek, meeting both Bunong and Lao people. In addition, some youth from their village have gone to Phnom Penh to study or to work for the government. The schoolchildren in the village speak Bunong with each other.

V6: Puleh

In 1981, the Bunong who had been sent to Kaoh Nheaek returned and began to intermingle with the Khmer. There are now 84 Bunong families and two or three Khmer families in Puleh. A few people intermarry, usually a Khmer man taking a Bunong wife. "Others" do not go to their village although, according to the chief, the villagers are able to speak Khmer with non-Bunong speakers. When they travel outside their area, they will go to Saen Monourom or Phnom Penh. According to the village chief, all types of people travel, maybe even twice a month, in order to attend a government or NGO-sponsored workshop, all in the Khmer language. They do not celebrate festivals with other groups. Two or three people from their village are now living in the city.[50] There is no school in the village, but the children from Puleh can attend a commune school, speaking Khmer with Khmer children and Bunong with Bunong children.

V7: Pulung

There are 532 Bunong families and ten Khmer spouses living in Pulung. In the past, this was a pure Bunong village; intermarriage with Khmer began after 1980. Pulung villagers use Khmer with non-Bunong speakers. This presumably means only Khmer people or foreigners, as the chief says that they have never met other minorities. "Others" who go to Pulung are Khmer relatives, visiting perhaps two or three times a year. Travel "outside" is very limited, going to nearby waterfalls, where they speak Khmer with the people they meet. They never go far. They also do not celebrate festivals with any other groups. Two young women from their village have gone to Phnom Penh to study. Pulung has a school, where the children speak Khmer in the classroom but Bunong among themselves.

V8: Rungoal

Rungoal has 57 Bunong houses. One Kraol person also lives in the village. The first Khmer married into the village in 1991, the second in 2000, and the third in 2003. Intermarriage in the village includes three Bunong men who have taken Khmer wives, three Bunong women who have taken Khmer husbands, and a Kraol man who is married to a Bunong woman. Everyone in the village speaks Bunong, even the Khmer. The Kraol man speaks Kraol, Bunong, Khmer, and Lao. Rungoal villagers speak Khmer with non-Bunong speakers and, if the outsider cannot speak Khmer, the chief suggested that perhaps the outsider should then meet the Lao speakers in the village. "Others" who go to the village include Khmer people

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[50]If not specified by the interviewee, 'city' here and elsewhere is assumed to mean Phnom Penh. The phrase used in the Khmer question (#59) is literally 'big big city.'

and a few foreigners; they used to have occasional Vietnamese visitors as well. Rungoal villagers of all types travel to Saen Monourom town to go to the market but do not go to other places. If they talk to non-Bunong people in Saen Monourom, such as Khmer or Vietnamese, they use Khmer. The older people hardly speak any Khmer, but the younger (both male and female) are able to speak it well. They celebrate some festivals with Khmer but no other minority groups. Children in their school speak Bunong with each other.

V9: Putang

The chief of Puretang had mentioned that some Stieng people live in Putang. However, the chief of Putang did not list any Stieng people in his count of 123 Bunong families, 26 Khmer families, and four Cham families. Two years previously, no Khmer lived in the village. The Bunong in Putang do intermarry with the Khmer, but this is not common. They speak Khmer with non-Bunong speakers and celebrate festivals with the Khmer and Cham in their village, using Bunong with Bunong and Khmer with others.

V10: Putil (Village 4)

There are 53 Bunong families, one Kraol wife of a Bunong man, and four Khmer families living in Putil, although the village has not always been mixed like this. Two or three people have intermarried with Khmer. During the interview, the chief mentioned that some Ra'ong also live in the village, but then did not give any further information about them or mention them again. The villagers speak Khmer with non-Bunong speakers, such as Khmer people or merchants who visit Putil. Perhaps once a year, a few people go to visit relatives in Kaoh Nheaek, Bu Chri, and Dak Dam, although these are still predominantly Bunong areas. They do not visit any places that are completely outside the Bunong-speaking area. Putil village has a school; the children use Khmer in the classroom but Bunong outside.

V11: Village 7

The majority of people in Village 7 are Bunong, although the figures are uncertain. Four Khmer families also live in the village; there are six intermarriages between Khmer and Bunong people. More Khmer live in the village now than in the past. "Others" going to their village are the occasional foreigner or tourist, also an Indian seller and a Khmer seller, about once a week. No members of other minority groups go to Village 7. Villagers use Khmer with non-Bunong speakers; otherwise, they will do their best to communicate in some sort of sign language. Most of the people have gone to other villages, but some never have, let alone gone to places where Bunong is not spoken. The Christians in the village celebrate Christmas together. Christians from other areas join the celebration as well, although, as previously stated, this does not include other minority groups.[51] The language of the festivities is Bunong, with some Khmer spoken also. At school, the students will occasionally speak Khmer with each other outside of class.

V12: Pukraeng

Pukraeng has 48 Bunong families, 25 Cham families, and nine Khmer families. The village has not always been mixed like this, although the Khmer families began to move there sometime before 1985. The Bunong in Pukraeng do not intermarry with people who do not speak their language; all of the Khmer spouses know how to speak Bunong. A Bunong couple will speak Bunong in the home and a mixed Bunong-Khmer couple will use both languages in the home. The only "others" who go to the village are Khmer relatives visiting

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[51]The group leader we interviewed in Ou Am village told us that Christians from Bu Sra travel to Ou Am to join in their celebrations. Quite possibly, Ra'ong from Ou Am reciprocate the visit, unbeknownst to the chief, especially if the Ra'ong are fluent in Bunong.

over Khmer New Year. They do not hold festivities with any other ethnic groups. The deputy chief did not know to what non-Bunong speaking places the other villagers might go.

V13: Srae Thom

Srae Thom is a pure Bunong village with 176 families. Only two people have intermarried with Khmer. All nearby villages are also Bunong, although the chief says Srae Thom villagers are able to use Khmer with people who do not speak Bunong. Merchants, Cham, Khmer, an Indian seller who has a Khmer interpreter, and foreigners sometimes go to the village, perhaps three times a year. Occasionally, moto drivers will go to Phnom Penh or Kampong Cham in order to buy a motorbike or to take a motorbike for repair. They must use Khmer in those places. Villagers do not travel to other non-Bunong areas, do not hold festivals with other groups, they have no young people living in the city, and the children use Bunong when they are not in the classroom.

V14: Roya

Roya commune contains 312 Kraol families, 150 Bunong families, ten Khmer families, and one Thmon family. Intermarriage of the Kraol with Bunong, Khmer, and Lao is quite common. The commune has always been mixed; the languages of Roya village are Kraol, Bunong, Lao, Khmer, and Thmon. The Kraol use the Kraol language with Kraol people and are able to understand the Bunong language. They do not speak it so clearly, but can use it to communicate with both Bunong and Thmon people, because the Thmon do not speak their own language anymore. Kraol villagers speak Khmer as well. No "others" travel to their village. A few young people go to visit relatives in Saen Monourom, Kratie, Phnom Penh, and Ratanak Kiri. They celebrate festivals in the village, during which they speak Kraol. No Kraol people from their village live in the city; the Kraol schoolchildren speak Kraol outside class.

V15: Nang Bua

Nang Bua has 23 Bunong families, 30 Lao families, 34 Tampuan families, two Jarai families, 18 Khmer families, and three Kraol families. The village has always had many ethnic groups, although the Jarai and the Tampuan are from Rattanakiri. The Bunong in Nang Bua frequently intermarry with Lao, Tampuan, and Khmer. Everyone in the village speaks Lao, as well as the language of their ethnic group, although Bunong children under ten do not speak Bunong well but, instead, speak Lao. Lao and Khmer are the most common languages; the Bunong villagers will speak Lao with non-Bunong speakers in the village, and usually speak Khmer with non-Bunong outsiders. "Others" visiting the village include Khmer and Lao people who occasionally go to buy and sell things there. When they travel outside their area they go to Kaoh Nheaek town; two people are studying in the city. They celebrate festivals with the other ethnic groups in the village, using Lao and Khmer as their common languages. The schoolchildren use Lao and Khmer with each other as well.

V16: Memom

There are 24 Thmon families, 72 Bunong families, three Khmer families, and one Tampuan family living in Memom. The village only began to be mixed this way in 1984, due to intermarriage. The Thmon intermarry with Khmer, Bunong, and Tampuan, although currently only two or three families in the village are intermarried. Bunong, Thmon, and Khmer are spoken in the village. The Thmon people use the Bunong language with non-Thmon speakers in the village (which includes most of the Thmon people themselves). "Others" going to Memom village are merchants and Cham people, with whom Memom villagers speak Khmer. "Travel outside" is usually limited to Kaoh Nheaek town; a few people who have relatives there go to buy and sell things almost everyday. Khmer and Cham people live there in Kaoh

Nheaek town. Memom villagers celebrate memorials and the New Year with all kinds of people; Bunong and Khmer are the languages spoken during the festivals.

V17: Chhnaeng

Chhnaeng is almost evenly split, with 126 Stieng families and 123 Bunong families, although, in the past, there were only Stieng. Intermarriage of Stieng with Khmer and Bunong people is common. When interacting with others, the Stieng speak Khmer with Khmer people and Bunong with Bunong people. Some Chhnaeng villagers speak Lao as well. "Others" going to the village are merchants, Khmer, Cham, and Vietnamese. They go there to visit relatives and to sell and buy animals about twice a week. They use Khmer with the villagers. Chhnaeng villagers who have relatives "outside" will travel to Mondul Kiri,[52] Snuol town, Phnom Penh, and Kampong Cham to visit or to sell things. They speak Khmer in those places. Chhnaeng villagers do not hold festivals with other groups (besides those in the village), and the village has no one currently living in the city. Children go to the commune school, where Bunong, Stieng, Cham, and Khmer children speak Khmer with each other.

V18: Ou Rona

There are 89 Bunong families, 40 Khmer families, and two Stieng families living in Ou Rona. The village has always been mixed, although, currently, only one or two Bunong are married to Khmer. "Others" traveling to the village include a few Indian and Vietnamese who buy and sell various goods. They come fairly often; Ou Rona residents speak Khmer with them. The Bunong villagers do not really go to places that do not speak Bunong, but the village chief has gone to Phnom Penh before. They celebrate Khmer New Year in the village, using Khmer and Bunong languages. At school, the children use Bunong and Khmer with each other.

V19: Ou Am

Ou Am is an almost pure Ra'ong village, with 28 houses. Only three male villagers have intermarried with Khmer women. "Others" who often travel to the village include an Indian seller, and Vietnamese, Bunong, Cham, and Khmer people, either selling things or visiting relatives. Villagers speak Khmer or Bunong with these outsiders. Ra'ong people travel to Vietnam, Phnom Penh, and Mondul Kiri.[53] There is a church in the village;[54] the group leader we interviewed said all the villagers are Christians. They celebrate the "Christian" New Year in the village, using both Bunong and Khmer languages. Christians from other villages in Mondul Kiri, such as Ou Rona, Bu Sra, and Srae Lvei travel to Ou Am to attend the celebrations.

V20: Chrap

There are 63 Stieng families and six Khmer families living in Chrap. In the past, the village was pure Stieng, but some have recently started intermarrying with Khmer. A few Khmer came from far away and took Stieng wives. Khmer is the language used most often in this village, so they will use Khmer with anyone else that comes to the village and in any place where they travel. Their children use Khmer with other children at school.

V21: Mil

In the past, more Stieng than Khmer lived in Mil village, but now 88 Khmer families and 66 Stieng families live there. "Others" include relatives and merchants going to the village to

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[52]Presumably, this refers to Saen Monourom, since Chhnaeng village is located in Mondul Kiri.
[53]Presumably, this refers to Saen Monourom, since Ou Am is located in Mondul Kiri.
[54]Four-Square denomination.

sell things, perhaps twice a month. The people of Mil use Khmer with these outsiders. They themselves do not travel "outside" very often. Only a few go to various villages in order to visit, sell things, or work. The people who live in the places to which they go are Khmer, Bunong, and Stieng, all of whom use Khmer. Stieng and Khmer villagers jointly celebrate festivals at the *wat* in the village, using Khmer and Stieng languages. A few young people are currently studying or working in the city, where they must use Khmer. The Stieng children are able to speak Khmer with Khmer people, but they use Stieng when addressing Stieng people.

V22: Chukrang

Chukrang is a Bunong village, with 70 Bunong families and 18 Khmer families. Some Bunong marry Khmer people, and this seems very common. Khmer is spoken more than any other language, both in the home and with others. We did not ask the chief about "others" going to the village, travel outside the Bunong-speaking area, or celebration of festivals, since he repeatedly told us that the Bunong in his village use the Khmer language in all their interactions with non-Bunong people.

V23: Chung

There are 423 Bunong families and 74 Khmer families who live in Chung, although in the past there were only Bunong. A few Bunong are married to Khmer, although they have only married Khmer who also speak Bunong. "Others" visiting Chung are foreigners or merchants who frequently go to sell things. The villagers use Khmer with them. When the Bunong of Chung travel, they do not wholly travel outside the Bunong-speaking area. The various villages to which they go still contain many Bunong people, although they also meet many non-Bunong with whom they must speak Khmer. The Bunong and Khmer of Chung jointly celebrate festivals at the *wat* in the village; the language used is Khmer. The schoolchildren use Khmer with each other.

V24, V25: Kosang

There are 164 Khmer families, 155 Khaonh families, and 118 Bunong families living in Chang Krang commune. In the past, Kosang village was divided up by ethnic groups, rather than living together in one area as they do now, although Bunong still typically marry other Bunong, and Khaonh marry Khaonh. According to the deputy village chief, the Khmer do not want to marry ethnic groups. The groups use Khmer with each other. All types of "other" people go to the village, either to visit relatives or to sell things. If Kosang villagers travel outside their area, they go into the forest to hunt. Therefore they do not meet any other people. The villagers, including the schoolchildren, use Khmer when speaking with each other.

V26: Srae Tahaen

There are 80 Mel families and 30 Khmer families living in Srae Tahaen. In the past, this was a pure Mel village; Khmer began to move into the village in 1979. Intermarriage between Mel and Khmer is a common occurrence, although they then have a different traditional wedding. The Mel use Khmer with all other groups or outsiders. Outsiders entering the village include Cham, Bunong, and Khmer sellers, maybe two or three times a year. The Mel in Srae Tahaen will travel "outside" anywhere in order to seek employment, although only a few villagers over 20 years old will do this, approximately two or three times a year. They celebrate festivals in the village at the school. Only the Mel perform the ceremony for the dead, but the Khmer will join them for the other festivals, during which they use Mel with Mel people and Khmer with Khmer people. The schoolchildren use Khmer with each other.

V27: Bung Run

There are 94 Khmer families, 54 Bunong families, and one Stieng woman married to a Bunong living in Bung Run. The village has always been mixed; now it is very common for the Bunong to intermarry with Khmer people. The Bunong of Bung Run speak Khmer with non-Bunong people. According to the deputy village chief, all the Bunong, including the schoolchildren, speak Khmer, except maybe a couple of people who are over 60 years old. "Others" who frequently visit their village are business people and gold diggers, coming to do business there two or three times per month. Some Bunong under 40 years of age will occasionally travel to Ou Kwa commune or Me Mang in Mondul Kiri to look for gold. A few Bunong from Bung Run go to Phnom Penh in order to buy and sell goods, work as tailors or servants, or to study.

V28: Chhok

Chhok village houses 130 Khaonh families, ten Kuy families, five Khmer families, and three Bunong families. The village has always been mixed; intermarriage of the Khaonh with Khmer, Kuy, and Bunong is common. The language spoken most often in the village is Khaonh, although the Khaonh speak Khmer with the other groups. Sellers of various goods will occasionally come to the village. When the villagers travel outside their area, they will go to the forest in Sambour. The adults go to farm and visit; they meet Khmer people there and are able to speak Khmer to them. They celebrate blessing ceremonies in the village; all the ethnic groups participate, using Khmer as the common language. One person from the village has gone to Phnom Penh to study. The schoolchildren use Khmer with each other.

V29: Ou Krieng

There are 346 Khmer families, nine Mel families, and ten Bunong families who live in Ou Krieng. The first Mel came about 1953; the Bunong have been there since 1978 or 1979. The Khmer, Mel, and Bunong all intermarry but, currently, only a few have mixed marriages. Khmer is the common language used between the groups. The entire surrounding area is a predominantly Khmer-speaking one; Khmer is so clearly the language of the village that we did not ask questions pertaining to travel outside the "Mel-speaking area" or about "others" who visit the village and what language they use with them. Some Bunong are studying at the *wat*s in the city, but not many. The Mel schoolchildren speak Khmer with each other; the Bunong children do not go to school.

V30: Ampok

There are 100 Kraol families, ten Bunong families, and two or three Thmon people living in the village of Ampok. Intermarriage of the Kraol with Khmer or Bunong is very common. "Others" traveling to the village include Khmer people and an Indian seller, perhaps one to three times a year. The villagers use Khmer with these visitors. Ampok villagers go to Kratie town to buy various items; perhaps two to three times a month they will go to the forest to collect natural resources. According to the village chief, all Bunong, old and young, speak their own language clearly; all the Kraol speak Kraol clearly and speak Khmer as well. Some Bunong children want to play in the village using the Kraol language. The schoolchildren use Kraol with each other.

Appendix E. Key to phonetic symbols

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 1993)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	N		
Trill	ʙ			r					R		
Tap or Flap				ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	L			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks		Voiced implosives		Ejectives	
ʘ	Bilabial	ɓ	Bilabial	’	as in:
ǀ	Dental	ɗ	Dental/alveolar	p’	Bilabial
ǃ	(Post)alveolar	ʄ	Palatal	t’	Dental/alveolar
ǂ	Palatoalveolar	ɠ	Velar	k’	Velar
ǁ	Alveolar lateral	ʛ	Uvular	s’	Alveolar fricative

SUPRASEGMENTALS

ˈ	Primary stress
ˌ	Secondary stress
ː	Long
ˑ	Half-long
˘	Extra-short
.	Syllable break
|	Minor (foot) group
‖	Major (intonation) group
‿	Linking (absence of a break)

ˌfoʊnəˈtɪʃən

ɹiˈækt

TONES & WORD ACCENTS

LEVEL			CONTOUR		
e̋ or ˥	Extra high	ě or ⟨	Rising		
é ˦	High	ê ⟨	Falling		
ē ˧	Mid	e᷄ ˥	High rising		
è ˨	Low	e᷅ ⟨	Low rising		
ȅ ˩	Extra low	e᷈ ⟨	Rising-falling		
↓	Downstep	↗	Global rise		
↑	Upstep	↘	Global fall		
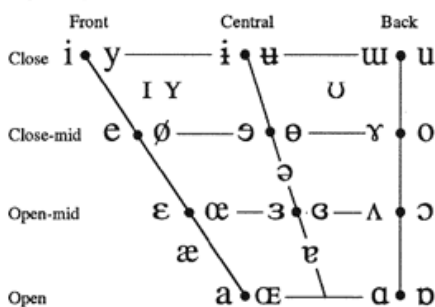
VOWELS

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

OTHER SYMBOLS

ʍ	Voiceless labial-velar fricative
w	Voiced labial-velar approximant
ɥ	Voiced labial-palatal approximant
ʜ	Voiceless epiglottal fricative
ʢ	Voiced epiglottal fricative
ʡ	Epiglottal plosive

ɕ ʑ	Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ɺ	Alveolar lateral flap
ɧ	Simultaneous ʃ and x

Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary.

k͡p t͡s

DIACRITICS

Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ŋ̊

̥	Voiceless	n̥ d̥	̤	Breathy voiced	b̤ a̤	̪	Dental	t̪ d̪
̬	Voiced	s̬ t̬	̰	Creaky voiced	b̰ a̰	̺	Apical	t̺ d̺
ʰ	Aspirated	tʰ dʰ	̼	Linguolabial	t̼ d̼	̻	Laminal	t̻ d̻
̹	More rounded	ɔ̹	ʷ	Labialized	tʷ dʷ	̃	Nasalized	ẽ
̜	Less rounded	ɔ̜	ʲ	Palatalized	tʲ dʲ	ⁿ	Nasal release	dⁿ
̟	Advanced	u̟	ˠ	Velarized	tˠ dˠ	ˡ	Lateral release	dˡ
̠	Retracted	i̠	ˤ	Pharyngealized	tˤ dˤ	̚	No audible release	d̚
̈	Centralized	ë	̴	Velarized or pharyngealized	ɫ		
̽	Mid-centralized	e̽	̝	Raised	e̝ (ɹ̝ = voiced alveolar fricative)		
̩	Syllabic	l̩	̞	Lowered	e̞ (β̞ = voiced bilabial approximant)		
̯	Non-syllabic	e̯	̘	Advanced Tongue Root	e̘		
˞	Rhoticity	ɚ	̙	Retracted Tongue Root	e̙		

A note on transcription

All transcriptions are phonetically symbolized using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Divergences from the IPA include the following:

c represents a voiceless palatal stop which sounds like English /ch/ rather than /k/. This is perhaps an affricate but, if so, is produced further back than the palato-alveolar [tʃ].

ɟ is the voiced counterpart of the above.

ʌ is an open-mid central unrounded vowel ([ɜ] on the IPA chart), rather than the open-mid back unrounded vowel.

ɵ is ɘ, the close-mid central unrounded vowel, just a little lower than ɨ.

a and ɑ refer to the same vowel, the open central unrounded vowel.

Appendix F. Presyllables and intelligibility

Differences between Bunong varieties that cannot be seen from the results of the wordlist comparison include the use of presyllables, also known as minor syllables. Many words in Bunong—as in many Mon-Khmer languages—are sesquisyllabic, meaning they are comprised of a syllable and a half. In the lexical comparison procedure we followed,[55] the halfsyllable, or presyllable, is ignored when deciding whether two items are similar or not. Only the root is taken into account (as far as one can distinguish what the root is). The Bunong in southwestern Kaev Seima (Mondul Kiri)[56] use presyllables more than the rest of the Bunong in Mondul Kiri,[57] although the list elicited in Kosang village (V24) in Kratie actually included more presyllables than any other variety. However, as can be seen in the word for 'eye' in table 11, some non-Kaev Seima Mondul Kiri varieties use a presyllable where the Kaev Seima variety uses none. Typically, the presyllable is [kə] but, as seen again in the word for 'eye,' this seems to vary also. There seems to be no predictable pattern as to which variety would use a presyllable or even what presyllable. What effect these have on comprehension is unclear. Grammar and discourse are also involved in intelligibility. ICC expatriates working among the Bunong had heard reports of Bunong people from these slightly different varieties in Mondul Kiri taking anywhere from an hour to a couple of days to be able to fully understand one another. Beyond the obvious use or non-use of presyllables, they have been unable to determine other exact causes of difficulty in intelligibility.[58] None

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[55]See Appendix G for a short explanation of this method, based on Frank Blair's *Survey on a Shoestring* (1990).

[56]Reference to a "Kaev Seima" variety excludes villages such as those in Me Mang commune, which, although administratively belong to Kaev Seima district, are both geographically and linguistically closer to Saen Monourom.

[57]The Bunong orthography is based on this non-presyllable variety, assuming that, in general, most Bunong do not use presyllables, and all Bunong would be able to recognize and understand the root word that they have in common.

[58]At this point, some may ask exactly why, if we already had this information, we went to so much trouble to take so many Bunong wordlists. One reason is that this was our first field experience and we wanted and needed much practice so that we would be able to have somewhat accurate data to present. Another reason is that, although our ICC colleagues had been working with the Bunong for some years, they had not done a more thorough survey of the different Bunong-speaking areas in Mondul Kiri and Kratie. We wanted to not only have a firm basis of comparison with other Bahnaric varieties for ourselves, but also to be able to present our colleagues with wordlist data across a large region, confirming what they suspected.

of their Bunong contacts have satisfactorily explained how they differ; thus far, they have not encountered any intelligibility problems in their literacy classes.[59]

As previously stated, varieties in southwestern Kaev Seima district and Kratie province had the most occurrences of presyllables. Some Bunong throughout Mondul Kiri reported that Bunong in Kaev Seima speak differently, but Bu Sra was the place most often mentioned as speaking differently. The most common "complaint" seemed to be that some Bunong speak as if they are from Vietnam (possibly meaning a different accent or a tonal influence from Vietnamese) and/or they use a few different words. In fact, no one specifically mentioned these presyllables, so it is quite possible that they actually have almost no impact on intelligibility. Most importantly, however, throughout the Bunong speaking area, the village chiefs—even if they gave names of places where Bunong speak "differently"—still concluded that all Bunong speak the same. Some Bunong people speak a Bunong language with slight differences.

Table 11 gives examples of presyllables in a few Bunong varieties.

Table 11. Examples of presyllables in Bunong[h]

Village	Purang (V5)	Putang (V9)	Ou Rona (V18)	Chung (V23)	Kosang (V24)	Bung Run (V27)
District	Ou Reang	Pechr Chenda	Kaev Seima	Snuol	Kratie	Kratie
Province	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie
Gloss 'star'	mɑɲ	Mɑɲ	kəmɑɲ	kəmɑɲ	kəmɑɲ	mɑɲ
'stream'	ⁿhoːŋ	ⁿhɔːŋ	kənhoːc	ⁿhɔːc	ⁿhõːŋ	ⁿhoːŋ
'wing'	kənɑːr	Nɑːr	kənɑːr	kənɑːr	kənɑːr	ᵐpɑːr
'egg'	tãp	tap	kətap	kətap	kətap	tap
'eye'	tromɑt	trəmɑt	mɑt	mɑt	məmãt	mɑt
'back'	ⁿdru kɑj	cərkoç	kəj	kəj	kəkəj	kəkəːj
'fingernail'	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	kəɲɛh	kəɲjɛh	ɲɛh	ɲɛh
'heavy'	ɟʌk	ɟʌk	ɟʌk	kəɟɔk	kəɟɔk	kəcɒk

[h]For purposes of this report, presyllabic nasals are omitted when highlighting the presyllables. This is to concentrate on the presence or absence of [kə], since all varieties contain the nasal. Moreover, in some instances, the status of the nasal as presyllable is uncertain.

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[59]Meaning problems with the literacy materials.

Appendix G. Lexical similarity counting methodology

As previously stated, many Mon-Khmer languages are sesquisyllabic, meaning they are comprised of a syllable and a half. In the lexical comparison procedure we followed, the half-syllable—or presyllable—we ignored when deciding whether two items are similar or not, and we only took the root into account. Markowski and Mann (2005) give the reason that, "Over time…minor syllables are subject to innovation and sometimes collapse onto the main syllable, while the major syllable is usually retained and can be reliably reconstructed…Thus, for a lexical comparison attempting to approximate cognate percentages between speech varieties, it is often misleading to compare minor syllables." Some items, however, proved especially difficult when striving to discern just what the presyllable might be or whether or not to count a phone as a presyllable. We invite the conscientious reader to make their own comparisons of our wordlists.

The following two tables present the criteria and counting method as set forth in Blair (1990) for deciding whether two words are lexically similar. Table 12 gives the criteria for judging whether individual phones are similar. The degree of similarity for each individual phone is then assigned a category. Table 13 instructs as to the combination of categories that must occur for two full words to be considered lexically similar to each other; otherwise, they must be considered dissimilar.

Table 12. Criteria for phone comparisons

Category	Criteria [1]
Category 1	a. Exact matches.
	b. "Vowels which differ by only one phonological feature and occur in the same place in each word."
	c. Regular sound correspondence.
Category 2	a. Phonetically similar non-vocalic segments which are not attested in three pairs.
	b. Vowels differing by two or more features.
Category 3	a. All corresponding segments which are not phonetically similar.
	b. A segment which corresponds to nothing in the second word of the pair.
Ignore	a. Interconsonantal [ə].
	b. Word initial, word final, or intervocalic [h].
	c. Regularly occurring deletions.
	d. Presyllables.
	e. Length.
	f. Breathiness.[j]

[1] Quoted and heavily borrowed from Markowski and Mann (2005).

[j] For purposes of our comparisons, especially between the Bunong varieties, we took breathiness into account, if ignoring it meant that two words would be have to be considered different based on a word-initial voiced/voiceless contrast. For example [p̪] and [b̪] were considered to be the same sound, falling into Category 1, since, due to the influence of breathiness, many times it was not possible to determine for certain whether the initial stop was voiced or voiceless. A simple difference in opinion as to how to transcribe the sound would then assign the phones to different categories and, in some cases, result in a verdict of lexically dissimilar.

Table 13. Criteria for lexical similarity

# of Phones		Category One	Category Two	Category Three
2	=	2	0	0
3	=	3	0	0
		2	1	0
4	=	4	0	0
		3	1	0
		3	0	1
		2	2	0
		2	1	1
5	=	5	0	0
		4	1	0
		4	0	1
		3	2	0
		3	1	1
6	=	6	0	0
		5	1	0
		5	0	1
		4	2	0
		4	1	1
		3	2	1

Our wordlist contained 142 items. Mann (2004) presents a list of common words ranked in accordance with their likelihood of changing over time. Those words that are given a weight of 3 are considered the most stable and least likely to change. Therefore, we only compared the 85 items from our list that had this weight. This method also guarantees that all resultant percentages are comparable, as all words compared had the exact same weighting. For purposes of our survey, the "extra" words collected serve the function of providing a broader word base in which to discover regular sound correspondences, if they occur. In our wordlists, a correspondence often occurs in Bunong, Khaonh, Mel, Stieng, and Tampuan between [s] and [c] word initially, and in Khaonh and Mel's [ɵ] and [ɨ] word finally compared to [r], [ɾ], or [ʀ] of the other varieties.

Appendix H. Wordlists

The lexical similarity results as presented in the matrices of tables 3, 4, and 5 are based on the 85 items in our list which have a weight of three. Exceptions are 'bird' and 'heart,' which are weight 3 words also on our list, but are compound words meaning 'winged animal' and 'fruit of a person,' respectively. The following pages present the raw wordlist data. Starred items * were included in the comparison.

Language code (Ethnologue)			cmo	cmo	cmo	cmo
Village (Variety code)			Lao Ka (V1)	Puretang (V2)	Puxiem (V3)	Andong Kralaeng (V4)
Commune			Sokh Dom	Sokh Dom	Saen Monourom	Saen Monourom
District			Saen Monourom	Saen Monourom	Ou Reang	Ou Reang
Province			Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri
Collected by			Julie & Che	Che & Julie	Che	Mee-Sun
Date collected			15 Feb 06	16 Feb 06	17 Feb 06	20 Feb 06
Language name			**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**
#	*English gloss*	*Khmer gloss*	*Variety 1*	*Variety 2*	*Variety 3*	*Variety 4*
*1	sky	មេឃ	troːk	troːk	troːk	troːk
*2	sun	ព្រះអាទិ	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr
*3	moon	ព្រះច័ន្ទ	kʰae	kʰai	kʰai	kʰai
*4	star	ផ្កាយ	maɲ	maɲ	maɲ	kᵊmaɲ
*5	cloud	ពពក	tok	tɔk	tɔk	ᵐbu̯troːk
*6	rain	ភ្លៀង	miç	meç	məç	meç
*7	night	យប់	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ
8	day	ថ្ងៃ	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr
*9	water	ទឹក	ta̤ːk	ta̤ːk	ta̤ːk	ta̤ːk
10	stream	អូរ				ⁿhɔːŋ
*11	soil	ដី	neh	neh	neh	kənɛh
*12	stone	ថ្ម		lowʔ	lowʔ	luʔ
*13	mountain	ភ្នំ	joːk	juːk	joːk	joːk
*14	tree	ដើម(ឈើ)	tʌːm cʰiː	taˆm cʰej	taˆm cʰəj	taˆm cʰej
15	bark	សំបក(ឈើ)	ⁿdao cʰiː	ŋkʰɔp cʰej	ŋkʰɔp cʰej	ŋkʰɔːp
*16	root (tree)	ឫស្ស(ដើមឈើ)	rɛh	rijeh	rɛh	rijeh cʰei
*17	leaf	ស្លឹក(ឈើ)	ⁿhaː	ⁿhaː	ⁿhaː	ⁿhaː
*18	flower	ផ្កា	kaʷ	kaʷ	kaʷ	kau

#	English gloss	Khmer gloss	Bunong Variety 1	Bunong Variety 2	Bunong Variety 3	Bunong Variety 4
*19	fruit	ផ្លែ(ឈើ)	plae	plai	plai	plai
*20	grass	ស្មៅ	reːp ɟaː	ɟaː	reːp	reːp
21	betel chew	ម្លូ	məluː	məlow	məlow	məlow
22	banana	(ផ្លែ)ចេក	priːt	prit	prit	prit
*23	salt	អំបិល	pɔ̰h	pɔ̰h	pɔ̰h	pɔ̰h
*24	animal	សត្វ		cʰʌm		cʰʌm
25	monkey	ស្វា	tṳːk	tṳːk	to̰ːk	to̰ːk
*26	dog	ឆ្កែ	cʰɔː	cʰɔː	cʰɔː	cʰɔː
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	ខាំ	kãp			kap
28	pig (domestic)	ជ្រូក	cʃʌːr	cʰʌr	cʰʌr	cʰʌrː
29	bird	សត្វស្លាប	cʃəm	naːr cʰʌm	cʰʌm naːr	cʰjʌm kənaːr
30	wing	ស្លាប	naːr	naːr	naːr	kənaːr
*31	feather	រោម ស្លាប	rəcʰaw			rəcʰaw
*32	egg (chicken)	ពង (មាន់)	tap	tap	tap	kətɒp
33	chicken	មាន់	jːar	jːar	jːar	jːar
*34	snake	ពស់	pɛ̰ç	pɛ̰ç	pɛ̰ç	pɛ̰ç
*35	fish	ត្រី				kaː
36	fly (n.)	រុយ	rəhwaj	rohwaj	rohwaj	rohwaj
*37	head	ក្បាល	pṳːk	pṳːk	po̰ːk	pṳːk
*38	hair	សក់				cʰɔk
*39	eye	ភ្នែក	trə mat	mat	mat	mat,ʔamat
*40	ear	ត្រចៀក	toːr	toːr	toːr	ʔatoːr,toːr
*41	mouth	មាត់	ᵐbuːŋ	ᵐbṳŋ	ᵐbṳŋ	ʔəmbṳŋ
*42	tongue	អណ្ដាត	ᵐbiat	ᵐbiat	ᵐpiat	ᵐpiat
*43	tooth	ធ្មេញ	cʰeːjk	cʰeːjk	cʰeːjk	cʰeːjk
*44	neck	ក	kɒː	tɒŋ kɒː	kɒo	ʔa kɒː
*45	hand	ដៃ ប្រអប់ដៃ	ⁿtṳp tʌe			ⁿtṳp tʌi
*46	fingernail	ក្រចក	ɲɛh			ʔa ɲɛh

	Language name		Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	English gloss	Khmer gloss	Variety 1	Variety 2	Variety 3	Variety 4
47	back	ខ្នង	kə^j	^{n}drə̥kʌj	ka^{ʔ}j	ʔakəj
*48	abdomen/belly	ពោះ	^{n}dʊl	^{n}dəl	^{n}dʊl	ʔandol
49	heart	បេះដូង	plaenuç	plai nuç	plai nuç	plai nuç
*50	intestines	ពោះវៀន	prɔːc	prɔːc	prɔːc	ʔaprɔːc
*51	foot	ប្រអប់ជើង				^{n}tṳp ɟʌŋ
52	knee	ជង្គង់	kəmɒk	kəmɒk	kəmɒk	kəmɒk
53	calf	កំភួនជើង	plaepox	plai pox	plai poːx	pla^j poːx
*54	bone	ឆ្អឹង	s list^{n}dɪŋ	^{n}dɪŋ	^{n}dɪŋ	^{n}tiːn
55	flesh	សាច់	^{m}la^j	poac	^{m}la^j	a^{m}la^j
*56	fat	ខ្លាញ់	ŋəiː	ŋəiː	ŋəiː	ŋ^{c}iː
*57	skin	ស្បែក	^{n}da^w	^{n}da^w	^{n}ta^w	^{n}ta^w
*58	blood	ឈាម	^{m}hãːm	^{m}hãːm	^{m}hãːm	^{m}hãːm
*59	person	មនុស្ស	pṳnʊç	pṳnʊç	pṳnʊç	pṳnʊç
60	mother	ម្តាយ	mɛʔ	mɛʔ	mɛʔ	mɛʔ
*61	child	កូន	kɔːn	kɔːn	kɔːn	kɔːn
62	wife	ប្រពន្ធ	ʔʊrː	ʔʊrː	ʔʊrː	ʔarː,ʔʊrː
63	brother (older)	បងប្រុស	nao puklaw	nao puklaw	nao puklaw	now buklaw
*64	road (path)	ផ្លូវ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ
65	house	ផ្ទះ	coaɲ	coaɲ	coaːɲ	coaːɲ
*66	sew	ដេរ	ɟɵŋ	ɟɵŋ	ɟɵŋ	^{n}c^{h}ʌt
*67	fire	ភ្លើង	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	ឆេះ	hɪːt			hɪ̥ːt
*69	ashes	ផេះ	ʔɔɲ pṳh	ʔɔɲ po̥x	ʔɔɲ pṳh	ʔɔɲpṳh
*70	smoke	ផ្សែង	^{ɲ}h^{j}uk	^{ɲ}h^{j}uk	^{ɲ}h^{j}uk	^{n}huk
71	arrow	ព្រួញ	harː	harː	harː	harː
72	hear (v.)	ឮ	taŋ	taŋ	taŋ	taŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	យំ	^{ɲ}jəm	^{ɲ}jəm	^{ɲ}jəm	^{ɲ}jɔm

	Language name		Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	English gloss	Khmer gloss	Variety 1	Variety 2	Variety 3	Variety 4
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	ហ្ូប (បាយ)	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ
*75	drink (v.)	ផឹក				ɲeːt
*76	vomit (v.)	ក្អួត	hɒːk	hɒːk	hɒːk	hɒːk
*77	spit (v.)	ស្ដោះ	rəcʰɔh	prac̥,rəcʰɔh	prɛ̥t	prac
78	breathe (v.)	ដកដង្ហើម	ⁿhaːʷ ⁿhʌm	ⁿhaːʷ nhʌm	ⁿhaːʷ nhʌm	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	ផ្លុំ	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰoʷm	kʰoːm
*80	laugh (v.)	សើច	gɵːm	kɵ̥ːm	kɵ̥ːm	gəːm
*81	know (something)	ដឹង	kɵt	kɵ̥t	kɵ̥t	gət
*82	sleep (v.)	ដេក	pɛ̥c		rˀpec	pɛ̥c
*83	scratch (v.) (person)	អេះ	kwãːk		kwãːk	kʷaːc
*84	die (v.)	ស្លាប់	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt
*85	sit (v.)	អង្គុយ	ʔguʔ	ʔkuʔ	ʔku̥ʔ	ʔgoʷʔ
*86	stand (v.)	ឈរ	tʌk	tʌk	tʌk	tɒk
87	walk (v.)	ដើរ	braʷʔ	braʷʔ	prɔ̥ʔ	braʷʔ
88	push (v.)	រុញ	ⁿdrol	ⁿdroːl	ⁿdroːl	ⁿdroːl
89	throw (overhand)	គប់	ⁿdʌp	ⁿdɔp	ⁿdʌp	ⁿtʌp
90	fall (v.) (person, off cliff)	ធ្លាក់	tɔp			kədɔx
91	swim (v.)	ហែល (ទឹក)	rɛː	rɛ̥ː	rɛ̥ː	rɛː
*92	give	អោយ	ʔɒn	ʔan	ʔɒn	ʔɒn
*93	tie (v.)	ចង	kɒt	kat	kɒt	kʌt
94	wipe (v.)	ជូត	ɟu̥t	ɟut	ɟu̥t	ɟut
*95	rub (v.)	ដុស	tʰɔː	tʰɔː		tʰɒː
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	លាង (ចាន)	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ
97	hit (v.) (w/ small stick)	វាយ				ᵐbaːŋ
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	កាត់	kɔh	kɔh	kɔh	kɒh
99	split (v.) (wood)	ពុះ	bl̥ah	pl̥ah	rəlah	plah
100	stab (v.)	ចាក់	ⁿdap	ⁿdap	ⁿtap	ⁿtɒp

	Language name		Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	English gloss	Khmer gloss	Variety 1	Variety 2	Variety 3	Variety 4
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	ច្របាច់	piac	ᵐpiac	ᵐpiac	ᵐpiac
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	ជីក	koç	koç	koç	koç
*103	one (person)	មួយនាក់				tṳhʷae
*104	two (people)	ពីរនាក់	pɛar hae	pa̤ːr	pa̤ːr	par hae
*105	three (people)	បីនាក់	pae nix	peː	pae̤	pae nʊç
*106	four (people)	បួននាក់	pʷan nix	pʷan nix	poan	pʷan nʊç
*107	five (people)	ប្រាំនាក់	pram nix	pram nix	pram	pram nʊç
108	six (people)	ប្រាំមួយនាក់	praʷ nix	praʷ nix	praʷ	praʷ nʊç
109	seven (people)	ប្រាំពីរនាក់	paɵh nix	paɵx nix	paɵx	pɒx nʊx
110	eight (people)	ប្រាំបីនាក់	pʰaːm nix	pʰaːm nix	pʰaːmnix	pʰaːm nʊç
111	nine (people)	ប្រាំបួននាក់	cʰən nix	cʰən nix		cʰən nʊç
112	ten (people)	ដប់នាក់	ɟe̤t nix	ɟɛt	ɟɛt	ɟeat nʊç
*113	many (people)	ច្រើន	ʔɒk	ʔɒk	ʔɒk	ʔɒk
114	all (people)	ទាំងអស់	tɵŋlɛʔ	tɵŋlɛʔ	dɵŋlɛʔ	dɵŋlɛʔ
115	big	ធំ	kwɒŋ	kwɒŋ	kwɒŋ	kwɒŋ
116	small	តូច	ɟeʔ	ɟɪʔ	ɟɪʔ	ɟeʔ
*117	long (string)	វែង.(ខ្សែ)	ɟo̤ːŋ	ɟo̤ːŋ	ɟo̤ːŋ	ɟo̤ːŋ
118	short (height)	ទាប	tɛ̤ʲx	taʲç	taʲç	tɛ̤x
*119	right (side)	(ខាង)ស្ដាំ	pəmaː	pəmaː	ɟɪ̤maː	ɟɪmaː
*120	left (side)	(ខាង)ឆ្វេង	pəcʲaʷ	pəcʲaʷ	ɟɪ̤cʲaʷ	ɟɪcʲaʷ
*121	far	ឆ្ងាយ	ŋaːe	ŋaːj	ŋaːj	ŋaːj
*122	near	ជិត	ta̤it	ta̤it	ta̤it	ta̤c
*123	black	ខ្មៅ	krak	krak	krak	krak
124	white	ស	ᵑlaːŋ	ᵑlaːŋ	ᵑlaːŋ	ᵑlaːŋ
*125	red	ក្រហម	caŋ	caŋ	caŋ	caŋ
126	green	បៃតង	mʌt	ʔeːr	nʌr	nʔʌrː
127	dirty	កខ្វក់	rəmaːʷ	rəmaːʷ	rəmaːʷ	rəmaːʷ
*128	new	ថ្មី	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː

	Language name		Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Khmer gloss*	*Variety 1*	*Variety 2*	*Variety 3*	*Variety 4*
129	rotten (fruit)	ពុក (ផ្លែឈើ)	ʔɔom	ᵐbe̤ːəʔ	ʔɔomtṳh	ʔɔom dṳ
130	hot (water)	ក្ដៅ (ទឹក)	tə̤o̤h	kᵊtɔh	kᵊtɔh	kəto̤x
*131	cold (water)	ត្រជាក់ (ទឹក)	ʔnɪk	ʔnik	ʔnik	ʔnɪk
*132	heavy	ធ្ងន់	ɟɔk	kəcɔk	kᵊɟʌk	kəɟɔk
*133	full (container)	ពេញ	pɪːŋ			pe̤ːŋ
134	good	ល្អ	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh ŋan	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh
135	bad (evil)	អាក្រក់	mo ʔwɛh	jʌh	ᵐhʌk	ʔjʌh
*136	I (familiar)	ខ្ញុំ	kʌ̤p	ka̤p	kɒ̤p	kɒ̤p,hɛː
137	he, she	គាត់	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ
138	we (inclusive)	យើង	pʌn	heːn	pʌn	pʌn
139	you (pl. familiar male)	ពួកឯង (ប្រុសៗ)	pʌlmaʲ		pʌ̤lmaʲ	kʰəmaj
140	you (pl. familiar female)	ពួកឯង (ស្រីៗ)	pʌlʔaʲ			kəʔaj
141	but	ប៉ុន្តែ				
142	because	ពីព្រោះ				

Appendix H. Wordlists (continued):

Language code	cmo	cmo	cmo	cmo	cmo
Village (Variety code)	Purang (V5)	Puleh (V6)	Pulung (V7)	Rungoal (V8)	Putang (V9)
Commune	Saen Monourom	Dak Dam	Romonea	Me Mang	Bu Chri
District	Ou Reang	Ou Reang	Saen Monourom	Kaev Seima	Pech Chenda
Province	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri
Collected by	Mee-sun	Julie & Che	Julie & Che	Eric	Che & Julie
Date collected	21 Feb 06	21 Feb 06	22 Feb 06	23 Feb 06	23 Feb 06
Language name	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**
# *English gloss*	*Variety 5*	*Variety 6*	*Variety 7*	*Variety 8*	*Variety 9*
*1 sky	tro̤ːk	troːk	troːk	trok	troːk
*2 sun	naːr	naːr	naːr	nɑːr	naːr
*3 moon	kʰaj	kʰai	kʰae	kʰɑi	kʰai
*4 star	maɲ	maɲ	maɲ	maɲ	maɲ
*5 cloud	tok	tɔk	tɔk	ⁿdok	tok
*6 rain	miç	meç	meç	mi̤h	məç
*7 night	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	mɑŋ	maŋ
8 day	naːr	naːr	naːr	nɑːr	naːr
*9 water	ta̤ːk	ta̤ːk	tɛ̤ak	dɑ̤ːk	ta̤ːk
10 stream	ⁿhoːŋ	ⁿhɔŋ	ⁿhɔŋ	ⁿˀhoŋ	ⁿhoːŋ
*11 soil	nɛh	neh	neh	nɛh	nɛh
*12 stone	nuʔ	lowʔ	lowʔ	luʔ	lowʔ
*13 mountain	joːk	joːk	joːk	joːk	joːk
*14 tree	taɨm cʰɛj	ta͡m cʰɛi	ta͡m cʰəj	daəm cʰəi	ta͡m cʰəj
15 bark	ŋkʰɒːp	ŋkʰɔp cʰej	ŋkʰɔp cʰəj	ŋkʰɔːp cʰəi	ŋkʰɔːp
*16 root (tree)	rijeh cʰei	rɛh	rɛh	rijɛh	rɛh
*17 leaf	ⁿᵃha	ⁿhaː	ⁿhaː	ⁿhã̤ː	ⁿha
*18 flower	kãw	kaʷ	kaʷ	kɑu	kaʷ
*19 fruit	plaj	plai	plae	plɑi	plai
*20 grass	rɛ̤ːp	caː	ɟa̤ː	rep	ciaː
21 betel chew	məlow	məlow	məlow	ᵐloː	məlow
22 banana	prit	prit	prit	prit	prit
*23 salt	bo̤h	po̤h	pə̤h	bo̤h	po̤h

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	English gloss	Variety 5	Variety 6	Variety 7	Variety 8	Variety 9
*24	animal	cʰom	cʰʲɔm	cʰʲəŋ	cʰʲʌm	cʰʲʌm
25	monkey	tṳːk	to̤ːk	tṳːk	to̤k	to̤ːk
*26	dog	cʰɒː	cʰɔː	cʰɔː	cʰɔː	cʰɔː
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	kap	kap	kap	kɑp	kap
28	pig (domestic)	cʰoːr	cʰɔr	cʰʌr	cʰər	cʰɔr
29	bird	cʰom baːr	cʰʲɔm naːr	cʰʲəŋ naːr	cʰəm kᵃnɑr	cʰʲʌm naːr
30	wing	kənaːr	naːr	naːr	kᵃnɑr	naːr
*31	feather	rəcʰaᵒ	rəcʰaw	rəcʰaw	rᵓcɑᵘ kᵓnɑr	rəcʰaw
*32	egg (chicken)	tãp	tap	tap	tap	tap
33	chicken	ʔjːar	jːar	jːar	jɑr	jːar
*34	snake	pɛ̥ç	pɛ̥ç	pɛ̥ç	pɛ̥x	pɛ̥ç
*35	fish	kaː	kaː	kaː	kɑ	kaː
36	fly (n.)	rohwaj	rəhwaj	rəhwaj	rɑhʷɑi	rohwaj
*37	head	po̤ːk	po̤ːk	ʔˆpʰṳːk	bo̤ːk	pṳːk
*38	hair	cʰɒk	cʰɔk	cʰak	cʰɔk	cʰɔk
*39	eye	tromat	trə mat	trə mat	mɑt	trə mat
*40	ear	toːr	toːr	toːr	tor	toːr
*41	mouth	ᵐbṳŋ	ᵐbṳŋ	ᵐbṳŋ	ᵐbuŋ	ᵐbṳŋ
*42	tongue	ᵐpiat	ᵐbiat	ᵐpiat,ᵐbiat	ᵐbiat	ᵐbiat
*43	tooth	cʰɛːjk	cʰeːjk	ʔˆcʰeːjk	cʰeːjk	cʰeːjk
*44	neck	toŋ kɒː	kɒː	kɒː	doŋkɒː	kɒː
*45	hand	tai	ᵐbaːŋ tʌe	tʌe	pɑntɛi	ⁿdop tʌi
*46	fingernail	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	ɲɛh
47	back	ⁿdru kaj	ⁿdrɔŋ kəj	ⁿdrə̥kəj	ⁿdrukəi	cərkoç
*48	abdomen/belly	ⁿdol	ⁿɗol	ⁿdə̥l	ⁿdʊl	ⁿɗəl
49	heart	plai nuç	plai nuç	plae nuç	plɑi nṳç	plai nuç
*50	intestines	aprɔːc	prɔːc	proc	prɔc	prɔːc
*51	foot	paːŋ ɟʌŋ	ᵐɓaːŋ ɟʌŋ	ⁿtṳp ɟʌŋ	pɑŋ ɟʌŋ	ⁿtṳp ɟʌŋ

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 5*	*Variety 6*	*Variety 7*	*Variety 8*	*Variety 9*
52	knee	kəmɒk	kəmɒk	kəmak	kˀmɔk,kamɔk	kəmɒk
53	calf	plaʲ poːx	plaʲ poːx	plae pox	pʰlɑi poːᶜx	plaʲ poːx
*54	bone	ⁿtɪŋ	ⁿɗɪŋ	ⁿteiŋ	ⁿtɪŋ	ⁿɗɪŋ
55	flesh	ᵐlaʲ,pʷac	pʷac	poac	ᵐlaʲ	ᵐlaʲ
*56	fat	ŋᶜiː	ŋᶜiː	ᵑhei	ŋˀiː	ŋəiː
*57	skin	ⁿtaʷ	ⁿɗaʷ	ⁿtaʷ	ⁿdaᵒ	ⁿtaʷ
*58	blood	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhãʌm	ᵐhaːm	ᵐhãːm
*59	person	pu̥nʊç	pu̥nəç	pu̥nix	buniç	pu̥niç
60	mother	mɛʔ	mɛʔ	mɛʔ	meʔ	maiʔ
*61	child	kɔːn	kɔːn	kɔon	kɒːn	kɔːn
62	wife	ʔʊr	ʔʊr	ʔʊr	ʔʊːr	ʔʊr
63	brother (older)	nao buklaw	nao	naːo pʰuklaw	naw bᵘklau	nao
*64	road (path)	trɔːŋ	trɔʷŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔʷŋ
65	house	coaːɲ	cʌe	coaɪɲ	coaɲ	coaɪɲ
*66	sew	ɟə̥ŋ	cɵŋ	ɟɵŋ	cəŋ	ɟɵŋ
*67	fire	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔəɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	hɪ̥ːt	hɪ̥ːt	hɪːt	hit̥	hit̥
*69	ashes	ʔɔɲbu̥h	pu̥h	ʔɔɲ pu̥h	kɨ bu̥h,ʔɔɲ bu̥h	ʔɔɲ pu̥h
*70	smoke	ᶮhu̥k	ᶮhʲʊk	ᶮhʲʊk	ᶮhʲu̥k	ᶮhʲu̥k
71	arrow	har	har	har	hɑr	har
72	hear (v.)	taŋ		taŋ	tɑŋ	taŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	ᶮhjaŋ	ᶮheᵃŋ	ᶮjəm	ᶮjəm	ᶮjɔm
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ
*75	drink (v.)	ɲeːt	ɲeːt	ɲiet	ɲeːt	ɲeːt
*76	vomit (v.)	hɒːk	hɒːok	hɒok	hɒːk	hɒːk
*77	spit (v.)	prac	cʰɔh	prɛ̥t	rˀcʰɔh	rəcʰɔh

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 5*	*Variety 6*	*Variety 7*	*Variety 8*	*Variety 9*
78	breathe (v.)	ⁿhaʷ nhʌm	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm	ⁿhɑu ⁿhʌm	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰom	kʰoːm
*80	laugh (v.)	gə̤ːm	gɵːm	kɵ̤ːm	kə̤ːm	gɵːm
*81	know (something)	gə̤t	gɵt	kɵt	kɵt	gɵt
*82	sleep (v.)	pe̤c	pec	pe̤t	pec	pe̤c
*83	scratch (v.) (person)	kʷaːc	kʷac	kwaːk	kʷɑ̤ːk	kwã̤ːk
*84	die (v.)	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt
*85	sit (v.)	ʔgoʷʔ	ʔgɔʷʔ	ʔkṳʔ	ko̤ʷʔ	ʔgṳʔ
*86	stand (v.)	dʌk	tʌk	tʌk	tʌk	tʌk
87	walk (v.)	bro̤ʔ	pro̤ʔ	prɔ̤ʔ	proʔ	prɔ̤ʔ
88	push (v.)	ⁿdroːl	ⁿdroːl	ⁿtrol	ⁿdrol	ⁿdroːl
89	throw (v.) (overhand)	ⁿtʌp	ᵑglɔp	ⁿtɒp	ⁿtɔp	ᵑglɔp
90	fall (v.) (person off cliff)	kədɓox	dox	dox	kɑdɑp,kᵃdo̤h	tɔp
91	swim	rɛː	rɛː	rɛ̤ː	reː	rɛ̤ː
*92	give	ʔɒn	ʔan	ʔan	ʔɑn	ʔɒn
*93	tie (v.)	kɒt	kat	kat	kɑt	kɒt
94	wipe (v.)	ɟṳt	ɟuːt	ɟṳt	ɟṳt	ɟṳt
*95	rub (v.)	tʰɒː	rˀpoʷt	tʰɔː	tʰɔː,rˀpot	tʰɔː
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ
97	hit (v.) (w/small stick)	ᵐba̤ːŋ	ᵐɓaːŋ	ᵐbɛ̤aŋ	ᵐbɑːŋ	ᵐba̤ːŋ
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	ⁿdrəŋ	kɒh	kɔh	kɒh	kɒh
99	split (v. wood)	bla̤h	rəlah	rəlɛh	blɑh	ɟo̤k
100	stab (v.)	ⁿtɒp	ⁿɗaːp	ⁿtap	ⁿdap	ⁿdap
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	ᵐbiac	piac	piac	ᵐpiac	piac
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	koç	ciːk	koç	koiç	koç
*103	one (person)	tṳ hae	tṳ hʷeː	tṳhʷai	du whɑi	tṳ hʷae
*104	two (people)	pa̤ːr hae	pa̤ːr heː	pɛ̤ːr hae	par hɑi	pa̤ːr hae
*105	three (people)	pae nʊç	pae nix	pae nix	pai nʊç	pae nix

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 5*	*Variety 6*	*Variety 7*	*Variety 8*	*Variety 9*
*106	four (people)	pʷan nʋç	pʷan nix	pʷan nix	pʷan nʋç	pʷan nix
*107	five (people)	pram nʋç	pram nix	pram nix	pram nʋç	pram nix
108	six (people)	praʷ nʋç	praʷ nix	praʷ nix	prau nʋç	praʷ nix
109	seven (people)	pɒx nʋx	pʌh nix	paɵh nix	paʷx nʋç	pɒx nix
110	eight (people)	pʰaːm nʋç	pʰaːm nix	pʰaːm nix	pʰɑːm nʋç	pʰaːm nix
111	nine (people)	cʰən nʋç	cʰən nix	cʰən nix	cʰən nʋç	cʰən nix
112	ten (people)	ɟɛt nʋç	ɟɛt nix	ɟɵt nix	cʰɛt nʋç	ɟɵt nix
*113	many (people)	ʔɒk	ʔɒk	ʔak	ʔɒk	ʔɒk
114	all (people)	dɵŋlɛʔ məpal	dɪŋlɛʔ	tɵ̞ŋlɛʔ	dɛŋlɛʔ	dɵŋlɛʔ
115	big	kwɒŋ	kwɒŋ	kwɔŋ	kwɔŋ	kwɒŋ,taiç
116	small	ɟeʔ	ɟeʔ	ɟɪ̞ʔ	ɟeʔ	ɟeʔ
*117	long (string)	ɟɔ̞ːŋ	ɟoːŋ	ɟɔ̞ːŋ	cɒːŋ	ɟɔ̞ːŋ
118	short (height)	tɛ̞x	tɛx	tɛ̞ʲx	tɛ̞h	tạʲç
*119	right (side)	ɟɪ̞maː	pˀhmaː	ɟɪ̞maː	cɨt maː,cʰmɑː	pə̞maː
*120	left (side)	ɟɪcʲaʷ	pəhcʲaʷ	ɟɪ̞cʲaʷ	cɨt cau,cʲaʷ	pə̞cʲaʷ
*121	far	ŋaːj	ŋaːj	ŋaːe	ŋɑːi	ŋaːj
*122	near	tạit	tạc	tɛ̞t	tạc	tạt
*123	black	krak	krak	krak	krɑk	krak
124	white	ⁿlaːŋ	ⁿlaːŋ	ⁿlaːŋ	ⁿlɑŋ	ⁿlaːŋ
*125	red	caŋ	kʋːɾ	caŋ	cɑŋ	caŋ
126	green	nʔʌrː	ʔʌrː	nʌrː	nər	ʔʌrː
127	dirty	rəmaːʷ	rəmaːʷ,ʔuk	rəmaːʷ	ʔjə̞x	ᵐhʌk
*128	new	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː
129	rotten (fruit)	ʔoːm	ʔɔom	ʔɔom	ʔo̞ːm	ʔoːm
130	hot (water)	do̞x	to̞x	tə̞o̞h	do̞x	tạwh
*131	cold (water)	ʔnɪk	neʲk	nʔɪk	ʔnik	ʔnɪk
*132	heavy	ɟʌk	ɟʌk	ɟʌ̞k	kˀɟok	ɟʌk

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 5*	*Variety 6*	*Variety 7*	*Variety 8*	*Variety 9*
*133	full (container)	pe̤ːŋ	pe̤ːŋ	pɪ̤ːŋ	pe̤ːŋ	pe̤ːŋ
134	good	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh
135	bad (evil)	ʔjʌh	ʔjʌh	lik ʔweh	ᵐhʌk	ʔjʌh,ᵐhʌk
*136	I (familiar)	kʌp	kʌp	kap	kɒp	kʌp
137	he, she	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	pɑŋ	paŋ
138	we (inclusive)	pʌn	pʌn	pʌn	pʌn	pʌn
139	you (pl. familiar male)	kʰənmaj	kʰənmaj	kʰəmaj	kʰɔnmɑj	kʰənmaj
140	you (pl. familiar female)	kʰənʔaj	kʰənʔaj	kʰəʔaj	kʰɔnʔaj	kʰənʔaj
141	but	jolrah				
142	because		jorlah		bə̥prɔh,jorlɑh	joːr

Appendix H. Wordlists (continued):

Language code	cmo	cmo	cmo	cmo	rka
Village (Variety code)	Village 4 / Putil (V10)	Village 7 (V11)	Pukraeng (V12)	Srae Thom (V13)	Roya (V14)
Commune	Bu Sra	Bu Sra	Srae Ampum	Sokh Sant	Roya
District	Pech Chenda	Pech Chenda	Pech Chenda	Koah Nheak	Koah Nheak
Province	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri
Collected by	Julie	Mee-Sun	Mee-sun	Mee-Sun & Julie	Che & Mee-Sun
Date collected	24 Feb 06	24 Feb 06	24 Feb 06	27 Feb-06	28 Feb 06
Language name	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Kraol**
# _Gloss 1_	_Variety 10_	_Variety 11_	_Variety 12_	_Variety 13_	_Variety 14_
*1 sky	troːk	troːk	troːk	troːk	troːk
*2 sun	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr	nɑːr
*3 moon	kʰae	kʰaj	kʰaj	kʰai	kʰɑːj
*4 star	maɲ	maɲ	maɲ	maɲ	ssˀmɑɲ
*5 cloud	tɔk	tok	tɔk	tɔk	bˀɓuʌk
*6 rain	mɛh	miç	miç	mɛh	mɨʌh
*7 night	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	mɑːŋ
8 day	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr	nɑːr
*9 water	tạːk	tɛạːk	tɛak	tạːk	dãːk
10 stream	ⁿhɔːŋ	ⁿhɔːŋ	ⁿhɒŋ	ⁿhɔːŋ	cɑːʷk
*11 soil	nɛh	neh	nɛh	nɛh	ʔuək
*12 stone	lowʔ	luʔ	luʔ	lowʔ	tʰˀmow
*13 mountain	joːk	juːk	jụːk	joːk	bˀnʌːm
*14 tree	taˆm cʰiː	tam cʰᶜiː	tam cʰᶜiː	taˆm cʰej	taˀm cʰɨː
15 bark	ⁿkʰɔːp	ⁿkʰɒːp cʰiː	ⁿkʰɒp cʰiː	ⁿkʰɔːp	ssəmɓuˀk cʰɨː
*16 root (tree)	rẹh	rẹh	rɛh	reh	riɛh
*17 leaf	ⁿha	ⁿhã	ⁿhãː	ⁿha	lɑː
*18 flower	kaʷ	kaᵒ cʰi	kaʷ cʰiː	kaʷ	pkɑːʷ
*19 fruit	plai	plai	plaj	plae	pʰae
*20 grass	ɟaː	reːp	reːp	reːp	kɵnɟiː
21 betel chew	məlu	mələʷ	mˀlọʷ	məlow	mˀluː
22 banana	prɪt	prɪːt	priːt	prit	prɨːˀt

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Kraol
#	Gloss 1	Variety 10	Variety 11	Variety 12	Variety 13	Variety 14
*23	salt	pɔ̰h	pṵᵃh	pɔ̰h	pɔ̰h	bɔ̰h
*24	animal	cʰʲɔm	mpombaː cʰiɨm	ᵐpombaː cʰɨm	cʰʲʌm	ssɑt
25	monkey	tṵːk	tṵːk	tṵːk	tṵːk	to̰ːk
*26	dog	cʰɔː	cʰɔː	cʰɒː	cʰɔː	cɑʷ
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	kap	kap	kap	kap	kɑp
28	pig (domestic)	cʰʌr	cʰor	cʰʌrː	cʰʌr	ʔun
29	bird	cʰʲɔm naːr	cʰim naːr	cʰɵm naːr	cʰʲɔm naːr	cɪm
30	wing	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr	slɑːp
*31	feather	rəcʰaw	rəcʰao	rˤcʰaᵒ	rəcʰaw	tʰˤnɑːᵒk
*32	egg (chicken)	tap	tap	tap	tap	kˤtɑp
33	chicken	jˤar	jarː	jarː	jˤar	ʔiːr
*34	snake	pɛ̰x	peh	pex	pɛ̰x	pɛ̰ç
*35	fish	kaː	ka	kaː	kaː	kɑ
36	fly (n.)	rohwaj	rˤhwaj	rˤwhaj	rohwaj	ruːj
*37	head	pṵːk	pṵːk	pṵːk	pṵːk	bo̰ːk
*38	hair	cʰɔk	cʰɔk	cʰɒk	cʰɔk	ssɔk
*39	eye	trə mat	tro mat	trˤmat	trə mat	mɑt
*40	ear	toːr	toːr	tɔrː	toːr	toːr
*41	mouth	ᵐbṵŋ	ᵐbuŋ	ᵐbuŋ	ᵐbṵŋ	mʊːɲ
*42	tongue	ᵐbiat	ᵐbiat	ᵐbiat	ᵐbiat	ləmpiˤt
*43	tooth	cʰeːjk	cʰɛjk	cʰeːjk	cʰeːjk	ceʲk
*44	neck	te kɒː	teŋ kɔː	tˤkɒː	tɔŋ kɒː	kɑːʷ
*45	hand	ⁿtṵp tʌi	taj	tʌi	tai	ləmpaŋ dɑj
*46	fingernail	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	ɲɛh	krɔcoːʌk
47	back	drəkʌe	ⁿdur kaj	ⁿdur kʌj	ⁿdru kaj	kɑɵj
*48	abdomen/belly	ⁿdəl	ⁿdur	ⁿɗʊl	ⁿɗʊl	kɔnɗul

	Language name	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Kraol**
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 10*	*Variety 11*	*Variety 12*	*Variety 13*	*Variety 14*
49	heart	plai nu̧ç	plaj nuːç	plaj nu̧ç	plai nu̧ç	pu̧h nuᶜh,truəŋ
*50	intestines	prɔːc	prɔːc	prɔːc	prɔːc	puhviən
*51	foot	ⁿtṳp ɟʌŋ	ⁿdup ɟɔŋ	ⁿdup ɟʌŋ	ⁿtṳp ɟʌŋ	ləmpaŋ ɟoŋ
52	knee	kəmɒk	kəmak	kᵊmɒk	kəmɒk	pokᵊtaŋ
53	calf	plaʲpoːx	plaʲpoːç	plaj poːᶜx	plaʲ poːx	pɑːʷç
*54	bone	ⁿdɪŋ	ⁿdaʲŋ	ⁿdɛŋ	ⁿdɪŋ	kᵓⁿtɨːəŋ
55	flesh	pʷac	poac	pʷac	pʷac	ɟam
*56	fat	ŋəi	ⁿiː	ŋiː	ŋᶜiː	ləmbɑː
*57	skin	ⁿdaʷ	ⁿdo	ⁿtaᵒ	ⁿdaʷ	s̠peːʲk
*58	blood	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhaːm	ᵐhãːm	mᵊhɑːm
*59	person	pṳniç	punuç	buniç	pṳniç	mᵊniːh
60	mother	maiʔ	mɛʔ	maʲʔ	maiʔ	mɛʔ
*61	child	kɔːn	kɔːn	kɒːn	kɔːn	kɑːʷn
62	wife	ʔʊrː	ʔʊrː	ʔʊr	ʔʊrː	s̠əʔʊːr
63	brother (older)	nao puklaw	ɨno buklo	noː buklo	nao	miː kʰloːʷ
*64	road (path)	trɔːŋ	trɒŋ	trɒŋ	trɔːŋ	trɑːʷŋ
65	house	coaːɲ	coan	coaɲ	coaːɲ	ɲɨːᵓ
*66	sew	ɟɵŋ	ɟɵm	ɟɨm	ɟɵŋ	ɟəŋ
*67	fire	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔʊɲ	ʔʊɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	hi̧t	ʔhiːt	ʔhiːt	hʌr	cɑː
*69	ashes	ʔɔɲ pṳh	ʔɔɲ puh	ʔɔɲ pṳh	pṳh	pṳᵓh
*70	smoke	ᶨhʲṳk	ᶨhʲʊk	ⁿhʲuk	ⁿhuk	ɲuᶜj
71	arrow	haːr	har	haːr	haːr	kɑm
72	hear (v.)	taŋ	taŋ	taŋ	taŋ	kᵊtaŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	ᶨjɔm	ⁿɲom	ɲʊm	ᶨjɔm	ɲɨːᵓm
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	cʰoːŋ	coːŋ,cɑː
*75	drink (v.)	ɲeːt	ɲieːk	ɲeːt	ɲeːt	ɲeːʲt

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Kraol
#	Gloss 1	Variety 10	Variety 11	Variety 12	Variety 13	Variety 14
*76	vomit (v.)	hɒːk	hɒok	hɒːk	hɒːk	hɑːʷk
*77	spit (v.)	rəcʰʌh	cʰo, sdah, moːkah	cdɒh	rəcʰɔh	kˀcɒːh
78	breathe (v.)	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm	ncʰor ⁿham	ⁿcʰor ⁿhʌm	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm	tɑʷk ləŋhəːm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰloːm
*80	laugh (v.)	gɵːm	gɵːm	gɵːm	gɵːm	gɵːm
*81	know (something)	gɵt	gɵt	gɵt	gɵt	gɵt
*82	sleep (v.)	pe̞c	bi̞t	pɪc	pe̞c	pɪc
*83	scratch (v.) (person)	kʷaːk	kʷaːk	kʷaːk	kʷaːk	kwɑːc
*84	die (v.)	kʰʌt	kʰat	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	ɓat
*85	sit (v.)	ʔgu̞ʔ	ʔgu̞ʔ	ʔguʔ	ʔgu̞ʔ	ɗʊk
*86	stand (v.)	tʌk	dɨək	dʌk	tʌk	tawjɑːʷŋ
87	walk (v.)	proʔ	broʔ	broʔ	braʷʔ	cɑːk
88	push (v.)	ⁿdroːl	ⁿdrol	ⁿdrɔl	ⁿdroːl	ɟˀrɛŋ
89	throw (v.) (overhand)	ⁿglɔp	kˀlop	glʌp	ⁿglɔp	trˀʋɛːŋ
90	fall (v.) (person off cliff)	dox	təp	tʌp	tɔp	cop
91	swim (v.)	rɛː	rɛa	rɛː	rɛː	rɛj
*92	give	ʔɒn	ʔan	ʔan	ʔɒn	ʔan
*93	tie (v.)	kɒt	kat	kat	kɒt	coːʌŋ
94	wipe (v.)	ɟu̞t	ɟuːt	ɟu̞ːt	ɟu̞t	ɟuːˀt
*95	rub (v.)	tʰɔː	proç	bˀroːʲç	tʰɔː	ɗoʲç
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	raʷ	raᵒ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ
97	hit (v.) (w/small stick)	ᵐbaːŋ	ᵐbaːŋ, mhat	ᵐbᵋa̞ːŋ,lɵh	ᵐbaːŋ	tuɑr
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	kɒh	kreh	krɛh	krɛh	kɑt
99	split (v. wood)	rəlah,ɟok	bla̞	bla̞h	pla̞h	pu̞ʌh
100	stab (v.)	ⁿdap	ⁿdap	ⁿdap	ⁿdɒp	ɟˀraʔ
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	rˀpiac	piat	piac	ᵐpiac	crəbɑc

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Kraol
#	Gloss 1	Variety 10	Variety 11	Variety 12	Variety 13	Variety 14
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	koç	koç	koç,cɨk	koç	cuːr
*103	one (person)	tṳhʷae	duhaj	duː haj	tṳ hʷae	n̩ɗɑːŋ
*104	two (people)	pa̰rhae	bɛᵃr haj	bɛr haj	pa̰r hae	pɑːr neh
*105	three (people)	paenix	paɛ nuç	paɛ niç	pae nʊç	pɑe neh
*106	four (people)	pʷan nix	pᵒan nux	pʷan niç	pʷan nʊç	puˀn neh
*107	five (people)	pramnix	pram nuç	pram niç	pram nʊç	prɑm neh
108	six (people)	praʷnix	praʷnuç	praw niç	praʷ nʊç	prɑw neh
109	seven (people)	pʌhnix	pəç nuç	pʌh niç	pʌhn nʊç	pɔ̥h neh
110	eight (people)	pʰaːmnix	pʰaːm nuç	pʰaːm niç	pʰaːm nʊç	pʰɑːm neh
111	nine (people)	cʰənnix	cʰɨnnuç	cʰɛn niç	cʰən nʊç	cɛn neh
112	ten (people)	ɟo̥t nix	ɟo̥t nuç	ɟɪt niç	ɟo̥t nʊç	ɟɪt neh
*113	many (people)	ʔɒk	ʔak	ʔɒk	ʔɒk	ʔɒk bəl
114	all (people)	deŋlɛʔ	lɛʔ rəŋuːc	deŋlɛʔ (rˀŋuːc)	dөŋlɛʔ	teˀŋ lɛʔ tˀbəl
115	big	kwɒŋ	kwaŋ	kwɔŋ	kwɒŋ	kˀteːç
116	small	ɟeʔ	ɟi̤ʔ	ɟi̤ʔ	ɟɪʔ	kˀtiːʔ
*117	long (string)	ɟo̥ːŋ	ɟɨoŋ	ɟoːˀŋ	ɟoːŋ	ʋɛʲŋ
118	short (height)	tɛ̥x	tɛ̥h	tɛ̥h	ta̰ʲç	teh
*119	right (side)	pə̥maː	bɨmã:	pɛ̥h mãː	ɟɪmaː	kʰaŋ mɑː
*120	left (side)	pə̥cʲaʷ	bɨ cao	pɪ cao	ɟɪcʲaʷ	kʰaŋ gioʷ
*121	far	ŋaːj	ŋaj	ŋaj	ŋaːj	ŋɑːj
*122	near	ta̰it	tɛ̥t	tɛ̥c	ta̰c	tʰɑːp
*123	black	krak	krak	krak	krak	ssəʔʊc
124	white	ᵑlaːŋ	ᵑlaːŋ	ᵑlaːŋ	ᵑlaːŋ	bɑːʷk
*125	red	caŋ	caŋ	caŋ	caŋ	kˀcˀrɑːl
126	green	ʔʌː	ʔar, nar	ʔʌr	ʔeːr	bajtɒːŋ
127	dirty	rəmaːʷ	rəmaːᵒ	rˀmaʷ	rəmaːʷ	ɓəʔ
*128	new	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛ̥	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	tʰˀmɛj

	Language name	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong	Kraol
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 10*	*Variety 11*	*Variety 12*	*Variety 13*	*Variety 14*
129	rotten (fruit)	ᵐpu̥h	ɒm	ʔoːm	ʔoːm	ᵐɓʊk
130	hot (water)	tɔ̥x	tu̥h	tu̥h	tɔ̥x	tɑŋ
*131	cold (water)	ʔnɪk	nᵃik	nᵃik	ʔnɪk	lˀʔʌt
*132	heavy	ɟʌk	ɟɨk	ɟək	ɟʌk	kˀcʊk
*133	full (container)	pe̥ːŋ	pɪːŋ	pɪːŋ	pɪːŋ	pe̥ːŋ
134	good	ʔwɛh	wɛh	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh	kʰʌːɲ
135	bad (evil)	mo ʔweh	mbɛah	ᵐbɛah	ᵐhʌk	ɓəʔ
*136	I (familiar)	kʌp	gəp	gəp	kʌp	hɛj
137	he, she	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	ʔɑj
138	we (inclusive)	pʌn	hɛː	haːᵋ	pʌn	bɪn
139	you (pl. familiar male)		kˀmaj	kʰən maj	kʰənmaj	pʰuŋ kʰˀmɑj
140	you (pl. familiar female)		kˀnʔaj,puʔur	kʰən ʔaj	kʰənʔaj	pʰuŋ kʰˀʔaj
141	but		ʔjaʔla	jorlah		ɓɵlɛh
142	because		jor	jorlah		bɪn topɑːn

Appendix H. Wordlists (continued):

Language code	tpu	qaa	sti	cmo	stt
Village (Variety code)	Nang Bua (V15)	Memom (V16)	Chhnaeng (V17)	Ou Rona (V18)	Ou Am (V19)
Commune	Nang Khi Loek	Roya	Srae Khtum	Srae Khtum	Srae Khtum
District	Koah Nheak	Koah Nheak	Kaev Seima	Kaev Seima	Kaev Seima
Province	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri	Mondul Kiri
Collected by	Julie	Julie & Che	Mee-Sun & Julie	Mee-Sun & Che	Julie & Che
Date collected	28 Feb 06	1 Mar 06	2 Mar 06	2 Mar 06	2 Mar 06
Language name	**Tampuan**	**Thmon**	**Stieng**	**Bunong**	**Ra'ong**
# / *English gloss*	*Variety 15*	*Variety 16*	*Variety 17*	*Variety 18*	*Variety 19*
*1 sky	plaᵋŋ	troʷk	trok	troːk	troːk
*2 sun	daːr	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr
*3 moon	kʰaj	kʰaj	kʰaʲ	kʰai	kʰaj
*4 star	ˈsɔmlɔŋ	sᵊmaiɲ	sᵊmaʲɲ	kᵊmaɲ	sᵊmaʲɲ
*5 cloud	kᵊmɔːl	tọk	tˀmiːx,trok	ⁿtɔk	tɔk
*6 rain	ɓəj	mʌˀ	ⁿdaːk miː	miç	ʔm̩ih
*7 night	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ
8 day	kᵃdaːr	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr
*9 water	tị̆ˀk	tạːk	dạːk	tạːk	daːk
10 stream	druːŋ	caʷ	ⁿhɔːt	kənhoːc	ⁿhɔːc
*11 soil	tạɛh	ⁿtah	tɛ̣h	kənnɛh	kənɛh
*12 stone	ᵐhaʷ	ᵐhᵃoʷ	tˀmoːʷ	luʔ	luʔ
*13 mountain	pᵊnom	kᵊnʌm	bᵊnʌːm	kənoːr	kᵊnoːr
*14 tree	tᵊɵm dɔːŋ	taʌm cʰəɵ	dʌːm cʰəɨ	taˆm cʰiː	təm cʰiː
15 bark	ᵐhɔːk dɔːŋ	ᵐpoːr	kuˀp cʰəɨ	ᵑkʰoːp	koːp cʰi
*16 root (tree)	rijah dɔːŋ	riɛh cʰəːɵ	rʲah	reah	reᵋ cʰiː
*17 leaf	ⁿlaːh	laː	laː	ⁿha	laː cʰiː
*18 flower	pᵊkaʷ	tᵊkaʷ	kaʷ	kau	kaʷ
*19 fruit	plaᶜ dɔːŋ	pʰaj	plaᶜ	plai	plaᵋ
*20 grass	cʰ/sᵊmaŋ	rep/ jej	smaʷ	reːp	reːp
21 betel chew	mᵊlɔʷ	la mᵊlɔʷ	məloʷ	məlu	mᵊluː
22 banana	prəit	priːt	prit	prit	priːt

	Language name	Tampuan	Thmon	Stieng	Bunong	Ra'ong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 15*	*Variety 16*	*Variety 17*	*Variety 18*	*Variety 19*
*23	salt	pɔ̰ː	bɔ̰h	ᵐpɔ̰ː	pɔ̰h	bɔːh
*24	animal	ssaᵋm	cem	paʲcʌm	cʃom	com
25	monkey	tɔ̰ːk	tɔʷk	ⁿtɔ̰ːk	tṵːk	dɔ̰ːk
*26	dog	ʂaʷ	caʷ	ssoː	ʃɒː	ssoː
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	kap	kap	kap	kap	kap
28	pig (domestic)	cʰʃkaᶜ	rᵊkaɛ	ssər	ʃɒr	ssʌːr
29	bird	ssaᶜm kᵊhlaːp	hʌːr	pᵊnaːr,pɛc cʌm	cʃom kənaːr	baᶜpᵊnaːr
30	wing	kᵊhlap	ⁿhaːr	pᵊnaːr	kənaːr	pᵊnaːr
*31	feather	ʂɔːk	rᵊcaʷ	pᵘnɔːʔ	rəʃaw	pᵊnoːk
*32	egg (chicken)	kᵊtap jʌːr	kᵊtap	tap	kətap	tap
33	chicken	jʌːr	jʌːr	ʔijaːr	jːar	ʔjjaːr
*34	snake	pih	pɛ̰h	ᵐpɛ̰h	pɛ̰x	bbɛ̰h
*35	fish	kaː	kaː	kaː	kaː	kaː
36	fly (n.)	roːe	rᵘwʌj	pᶜruaːj	rohwaj	roaj
*37	head	kɔːl	powk	ᵐpṵːk	pɔ̰ːk	bɔ̰ːk
*38	hair	ʂɔk	cʰak	ssɔk	ʃɔk	ssɒk
*39	eye	mat	mat	krəpmat	mat	mat
*40	ear	tawr	taur	lətoːr	toːr	toːr
*41	mouth	pʌ̰ːr	ᵐbuŋ	ʋiam	ᵐbṵ̠ŋ	ʋiːam
*42	tongue	ᵐpiat	lᵊpiʌt	lᵊppiat	ᵐpiat	lᵊpiːʌt
*43	tooth	ssᵊnaɲ	caek	ssiɵk	ɟeːik	sseːk
*44	neck	ⁿkaːʷ	kaʷ	koʷ	toŋ kɒː	kɒː
*45	hand	tʌi	təi	kəj tᵊiː	tiː	ttiː
*46	fingernail	ⁿhijah	kᵊrəcaʷk	kᵊniɛh tiː	kəɲɛh	konniˈʌh
47	back	ᵑkɔk	kaɵj	kəːj	kəj	kəːj
*48	abdomen/belly	ʋaʲc	ɗʊl	kəndəl	ⁿɗol	pɒl
49	heart	noʲh	pʰaᶜ nuᶜh	plaᶜ nuç	plai nuç	peh nuç

Language name		Tampuan	Thmon	Stieng	Bunong	Ra'ong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 15*	*Variety 16*	*Variety 17*	*Variety 18*	*Variety 19*
*50	intestines	ʋaʲc	praʷc	proːc	prɔːc	prɔːc
*51	foot	cɵːŋ	ɟɔŋ	ɟʌŋ	paːŋ ɟʌŋ	ɟʌŋ
52	knee	kᵒkʊːl	pokətaŋ	ᵐpuʔ kʊtaːŋ	kəmɒk	kottaŋ
53	calf	pʷɛːh	pʰaʲ pɔç	plae poɛh	plaʲ poːx	pɛ poːç
*54	bone	ⁿtaʲŋ	ᵑciʌŋ	tɪgŋ	ⁿdɪŋ	ttiŋ
55	flesh	jaːm	jaːm	ᵐlaj	pʷac	paːj
*56	fat	poŋ	lᵊmaʔ	ʋiːʌr	ʋiːr	ʋiːr
*57	skin	ᵑkaːr	sᵊpaᶜk	ssəbᶜɛk	ⁿtoːw	peːk
*58	blood	pʰaːm	ᵐhaːm	ᵐhaːm	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhaːm
*59	person	pᵊnoç	kᵊnʊç	ᵐbənɛh	kənʊç	bu̯nʊç
60	mother	maʲʔ	maiʔ	mɛʔ	meʔ	meʔ
*61	child	kɒːn	kaʷn	koːn	kɔːn	kɔːn
62	wife	kᵊmaɲ	cʰəʔuːr	ssəʔuːr	ʔʊrː	sᶜʔur
63	brother (older)	maʲ kᵊmak	maʷŋ kʰlʌʷ	naʔdᵊklᵊo	now buklaw	nõː dʲklaw
*64	road (path)	trɔːŋ	trawŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ
65	house	həj	jʌɵ	ⁿhᶜiː	coaːɲ	ɲih
*66	sew	ɟɪŋ	cɪŋ	ⁿɟɟɪgŋ	ɟəŋ	ɟɪŋ
*67	fire	ʔɔɲ	ʔʊɲ	ʔoɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔɔɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	ssa	caː	ssaː	hɪ̩ːt	saː
*69	ashes	ᵐᵊhɔʷ	pu̯ᵊh	pɔ̩	pu̯h	bu̯h
*70	smoke	ʔjəj	ⁿjoʌk	ɲoaj	ᴶᴺhʲu̯k	ᴶᴺhuːk
71	arrow	kam	haːr	kᵒnnaː	haːr	konaː
72	hear (v.)	kᵊtaŋ	kᵊtaŋ	taŋ	taŋ	taŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	ɲam	ⁿjʌːm	ᴶᴺjʌːm	ɲiːm	ɲiːm
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	sɔŋ	cɔʷŋ	ssoːŋ	ʃoːŋ peaŋ	saː piːaŋ
*75	drink (v.)	ʔaᶜt	ɲᵃet	ɲiːᵋt	ɲeːt	ʔoːn
*76	vomit (v.)	hak	haʷk	hɒːk	hɒːk	hɔːk

	Language name	Tampuan	Thmon	Stieng	Bunong	Ra'ong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 15*	*Variety 16*	*Variety 17*	*Variety 18*	*Variety 19*
*77	spit (v.)	kᵊsaʷ	kᵊcaː	cʰah	rəʃh	cʰɔh
78	breathe (v.)	təŋhəːm	cʰɔːl ⁿhʌːm	ɗoːk ⁿhaːm	ⁿhaʷ ⁿhʌm	ⁿhaʷn ⁿhʌːm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	klaʷm	klɔɔm	kʰuːm	kʰoːm	kʰoːm
*80	laugh (v.)	kakəʲk	gɯm	gəːm	gəːm	gɵːm
*81	know (something)	ɗaʷk	kɪ̠t	ⁿgət	gət	ggɵt
*82	sleep (v.)	taᵋp	pic	ᵐpɪc	pe̥c	bbec
*83	scratch (v.) (person)	kʰəkʰʷac	kʷat	kwaːc	kʷaːik	kʷaːc
*84	die (v.)	ta̠ʷ	bat	cʰʌt	kʰʌt	cʰʌt
*85	sit (v.)	ʔəŋʋaᶜ	guk	ⁿgɔʔ	ʔguʔ	guːʔ
*86	stand (v.)	ⁿtaʷ	taʷ	ⁿtʌk	tʌk	dʌːk
87	walk (v.)	caːk	caːk	haːn	brɔ̥ʔ,han	haːn
88	push (v.)	trʊːt	ⁿdrɔwl	rʊɲ	ⁿdroːl	troːl
89	throw (v.) (overhand)	hɛr	glɔp	grᵊʋeᵃŋ	ⁿtop	ɟaŋ
90	fall (v.) (person off cliff)	laᵋʔ	kᵊcop	tᵊʔtej	kədox	kᵊɗuh
91	swim (v.)	raj	raɛ	rej	rɛː	reː
*92	give	ʔɔn	ʔɔn	ʔaːn	ʔɒn	ʔaːn
*93	tie (v.)	kɔːt	kɔːt	kat	kʌt	kɒt
94	wipe (v.)	jʌɵt	ɟʉːᵊt	ⁿɟut	ɟu̥t	ɟuːt
*95	rub (v.)	ʋaʔ	ɗʊç	ɟɟɛç	tʰɒː	dɔh
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ
97	hit (v.) (w/small stick)	pi̠t	poːm	ʋat	ᵐbaːŋ	pɒm
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	kat,kʰɟet	kat	kat	kɒh	kat
99	split (v. wood)	pah	cɔʷk	ᵐbɔ̥h	blḁh,bu̥	bu̥h
100	stab (v.)	tʰ̠ɛːŋ,ɟraʔ	ⁿtɔʷp	sstəp	ⁿtɒp	srɒp
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	mac	cᵊbac	ciʔbiac	piac	krəɲaːm
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	ṣaᵋr	cek	ssiᵊr	koç	cʰiːr
*103	one (person)	mʌɲ ɗoʷ	ti nʊç	dɔmboʷ	du̥ hɛː	diheːj

	Language name	Tampuan	Thmon	Stieng	Bunong	Ra'ong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 15*	*Variety 16*	*Variety 17*	*Variety 18*	*Variety 19*
*104	two (people)	pə̰r ɗoʷ	par nuç	ᵐbaːr ⁿdoː	pa̰r hɛː	bar heːj
*105	three (people)	paᵋŋ ɗoʷ	paᵋ nuç	peː ⁿdoː	pe nʊç	peː
*106	four (people)	pʷan ɗoʷ	puˀn	bwan doː	pwan nʊç	pˀan
*107	five (people)	pˀtʌm ɗoʷ	pˀram	pram ⁿdoː	pram nʊç	pˀram
108	six (people)	traʷ ɗoː	pˀraʷ	praʷ	praʷ nʊç	praʷ
109	seven (people)	t̩ˀmpaʷh ɗoː	pɒːh	pah	pʌh nʊç	pɔh
110	eight (people)	təŋhaːm ɗoː	pʰaːm	pʰaːm	pʰaːm nʊç	pʰaːm
111	nine (people)	ⁿcʰɛn ɗoː	ɟɪn	ssɵn	ʃən nʊç	ssɵn
112	ten (people)	ᴶɟət ɗoː	ɟɪt	ɟimət ⁿdoː	ɟɵt nʊç	ɟimɔt
*113	many (people)	jɨːʌŋ ɗoː	ʔɔ̰k	ʔʌk	ʔɒk	ʔɒk
114	all (people)	tiʔ noah	teŋ lɛʔ	tɵŋ lɛʔ	lɛʔməpal	dʌŋlɛʔ
115	big	taiç	teh	teh	kwɒŋ	teh
116	small	tʰɛːʔ	cḭˀt	ⁿdɛʔ	ɟeʔ	deʔ
*117	long (string)	ɗiŋ	ʋɛŋ	ⁿɟɔːʷŋ	ɟɔ̰ːŋ	ɟɔːŋ
118	short (height)	kˀtɛh	dḛː	ⁿdiɛh	dḛː	deh
*119	right (side)	keŋ cʰˀmaː	pu maː	ɟi maː	ɟɪmaː	maː
*120	left (side)	keŋ çɪŋʔjaʷ	pᵘ ciaw	ⁿɟi giaʷ	kʲaʷ	ggiaw
*121	far	cʰɪŋhaᶜʔ	ɲaj	ŋaᶜ	ŋaːj	ŋaːj
*122	near	kɛ̰ːm	da̰ᵋk	ⁿtʌh	ta̰it	daːc
*123	black	maʷ	cˀʔʊc	ssəʔɔc	krak	səʔʊc
124	white	ɓaːk	ba̰ːʷk	ᵐpɔ̰ːk	ᵑlaːŋ	ɲlaːŋ,bɔ̰ːk
*125	red	kərəj	cˀraːl	ⁿdʌpm	dɔm	mhaːm
126	green	cʰat	cɛtleːŋ	kʰiaʷ	nʌrː	kənnəːr
127	dirty	ɓəɵk	ɓʊk	ssˀgʌt	rəmaːʷ	kə buʔ, ɟɪndrəːk
*128	new	naʷ	mˀhaj	maj	ᵐhɛː	mheː
129	rotten (fruit)	pṵk	ɓo̰k	ʔoːm	ʔoːm dṵ	ʔoːm
130	hot (water)	t̩aʷʔ	taʲŋ	kəɗaʷ	do̰x	taᶜŋ

Language name		Tampuan	Thmon	Stieng	Bunong	Ra'ong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 15*	*Variety 16*	*Variety 17*	*Variety 18*	*Variety 19*
*131	cold (water)	rəʔɔt	lˀʔʌt	lˀŋʌˈt	ʔnɪk	ləŋɒːt
*132	heavy	klaŋ	kˀcɔk	ⁿɟʌk	ɟʌk	ɟʌk
*133	full (container)	pa̤ʲn	peŋ	ᵐbiˀŋ	pe̤ːŋ	bɪːŋ
134	good	rəjʌːm	kʰaᵋn	klaᵋŋ	ʔwɛh	klaᶜŋ
135	bad (evil)	ɓəɵk	ɓˀʊk	sˀgʌt	leʔweh	ʔapʔɪŋ
*136	I (familiar)	ʔaɲ	kˀɒp	hej	hɛː	heː
137	he, she	ʔʌç	gʌp,ʔaj	ɓoʷ	paŋ	bbu
138	we (inclusive)	pɪːn	bʌn	ᵐbʌn	pʌn	bʌn
139	you (pl. familiar male)	keŋⁿdoç	kʰʌnmaj	kˀmɔj	kʰəmaj	majneː
140	you (pl. familiar female)	keŋⁿdoç	kʰʌnʔaj	kˀʔaj	kʰəʔaj	ʔajneː
141	but		ʔinmɔːŋʔaː	kʰəlʔaw		bajneː
142	because		kˀˆciʔaː	ᵐbiːbrah		

Appendix H. Wordlists (continued):

Language code		sti	sti	cmo	cmo	cmo
Village (Variety code)		Chrap (V20)	Mil (V21)	Chukrang (V22)	Chung (V23)	Kosang (V24)
Commune		Pi Thnu	Khsuem	Khsuem	Khsuem	Changkrang
District		Snuol	Snuol	Snuol	Snuol	Kratie
Province		Kratie	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie
Collected by		Che	Julie	Che	Julie	Julie
Date collected		7 Mar 06	8 Mar 06	8 Mar 06	8 Mar 06	24 Apr 06
Language name		**Stieng**	**Stieng**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 20*	*Variety 21*	*Variety 22*	*Variety 23*	*Variety 24*
*1	sky	trok	tro̝ːk	troːk	troːk	trok
*2	sun	nar	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr
*3	moon	kʰaj	kʰaʲ	kʰaj	kʰaj	kʰaj
*4	star	sᵊmaɲ	samaɲ	kᵊmaɲ	kᵊmaɲ	kᵊmaɲ
*5	cloud	truɓɔk	tro̝ːk ssʔʊc	tru̝ʔ po̝ːk	truːk	trok
*6	rain	miː	mi̝ː	mih	mɪh	mɛç
*7	night	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ
8	day	nar	naːr	naːr	naːr	naːr
*9	water	da̝ːk	da̝ːk	ta̝ːk	ta̝ːk	ta̝ːk
10	stream	ⁿᵊhɔːc	ⁿhɔːc	ⁿhɔːc	ⁿhɔːc	ⁿhõːŋ
*11	soil	tɛh	tɛh	kᵊnɛh	kᵊnɛh	kᵊnɛh
*12	stone	tᵒmɔʷ	tᵊmoː	kᵊluʔ	kᵊluʔ	gᵊloʔ
*13	mountain	bᵊnʌːm	bᵊnʌːm	kᵊnoːr	kᵊnoːr	joːk
*14	tree	dʌm cɯː	tʌːm cʰɯ	tʌːm cʰiː	təːm cʰiː	tʌːm cʰᵊiː
15	bark	kop cɯː	kuᵊp cʰɯ	ᵑkʰoop	ᵑkʰɔːp	ᵑkʰo̝ːp
*16	root (tree)	reh cɯː	rʲaʲh	rijeh	rijeh cʰi	rɛh
*17	leaf	laː cɯː	laː	ⁿhaː cʰiː	ⁿhaː	ⁿhaː
*18	flower	kaw	kaʷ	kau	kau	kaʷ
*19	fruit	paj	plʌj	plai	plai	plaj
*20	grass	smaw	ssamʷ	reːp	riːəp	rip
21	betel chew	ᵐluː	mᵊluː	mᵊluw	mᵊlow	mᵊloː
22	banana	prɪt	prit	prit	prit	prit

	Language name	**Stieng**	**Stieng**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**	**Bunong**
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 20*	*Variety 21*	*Variety 22*	*Variety 23*	*Variety 24*
*23	salt	ɓɔh	ᵐbɔ̤ː	pɔ̤h	pɔ̤h	pɔ̤h
*24	animal	paj	paːj	cʰom	cʰo̤m	cʰʌm
25	monkey	dok	ⁿdṳːk	to̤ːk	to̤ːk	to̤ːk
*26	dog	ssoː	ssoʷ	cʰɔː	cʰɔː	cʰɒː
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	kap	kap	kap	kap	kap
28	pig (domestic)	ssər	ssər	cʰo̤ːr	cʰərː	cʰər
29	bird	paj pᵃnar	paᶜ pˀnaːr	cʰom paːr	cʰo̤m kənaːr	kˀnaːr cʰʌm
30	wing	pᵃnar	pˀnaːr	kənaːr	kənaːr	kˀnaːr
*31	feather	pᵒnok	pᵘnɔːk	rəcʰaw	rəcʰaw	kˀnaːr
*32	egg (chicken)	tap	tap	tap	kətɒp	kˀtap
33	chicken	ʔijaːr	ʔijaːr	ʔjːar	ʔjːar	ʔjar
*34	snake	beːh	pe̤h	pe̤h	pe̤h	paʲç
*35	fish	kaː	kaː	kaː	kaː	kaː
36	fly (n.)	rowaj	roaj	rohwaj	rohwaj	rohwaj
*37	head	ɓʊk	pṳːˀk	pṳːk,əpṳːk	pṳːk,əpṳːk	bubṳːk
*38	hair	ssɒk	ssɒk	cʰɔk	cʰɔk	cʰɒk
*39	eye	mat	mat	mat,ʔamat	mat,ʔamat	mˀmãt
*40	ear	la toːr	tṳːˀr	to̤ːr	ʔatoːr,toːr	tᵒtor
*41	mouth	ʋea,moː	ʋeːam	ᵐbuŋ	mbuŋ	ᵐbuŋ
*42	tongue	lapiat	laːpeat	ᵐpiat	ᵐpiat	ᵐpiat
*43	tooth	ssek	ssiθt	cʰeːk	cʰiːk	cʰik
*44	neck	koːʷ	koʷ	kɒː	kɒː	ⁿduŋ kɒː
*45	hand	tiː	ttᶜiː	tᶜi,ⁿdoːptᶜi	tˀiː	kˀlaʷ təj
*46	fingernail	kᵒniah	kanniaj	kˀɲɛh	kˀɲjɛh	ɲɛh
47	back	klaŋ kɔːj	kəːj	kəj	kəj	kˀkθj
*48	abdomen/belly	kɔndʊl	kᵃⁿdʊːl	ⁿɗəl	ⁿɗəl	ⁿɗʊl
49	heart	paj nui	piˀh dɔŋ	nuç	ᵐbʌŋ nuç	nᵒnuç

	Language name	Stieng	Stieng	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	English gloss	Variety 20	Variety 21	Variety 22	Variety 23	Variety 24
*50	intestines	prɔːc	proːc	pˀ proːc	prɔːc	pˀprɔc
*51	foot	ɟʌŋ	ⁿɟʌŋ	ɟʌŋ,ⁿduːpɟʌŋ	ɟʌŋ	cʌŋ
52	knee	kᵃtaŋ	kʊttaŋ	ᵐbu̜kˀmɒk	kˀmɒk	pu̜kɔmɔk
53	calf	paj poʲeː	poᵃh	plaᶜ poːᶜh	plaᶜ poːᶜh	tɪŋtur
*54	bone	tɪŋ	tɪgŋ	ⁿttɪŋ	ⁿttɪŋ	ⁿdɪŋ
55	flesh	paj	paːj	ᵐlaːj	pʷac	pwoᵃc
*56	fat	ʋiːr	ʋiːər	ʋiːr	ʋiːr	kˀŋˀiː
*57	skin	ssˀbeːk	ssabɛːt	ⁿtoʷ	ⁿtoʷ	ⁿdaʷ
*58	blood	ᵐhaːm	mahaːm	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhãːm	ᵐhaːm
*59	person	siˈdiaŋ	ssadiaŋ	kˀnuç	kˀnuç	pu̜niç
60	mother	mej	mɛʔ	mbai	mbai	ᵐbaj
*61	child	koən	kɒːn	kɔˀn	kɔːn	koən
62	wife	ssˀʔʊr	ssaʔuːr	ʔuːr	ʔurː	ʔur
63	brother (older)	ʔɛm tˀklaw	ʔianʔdˀkloʷ	noʷ kloʷ	naw klaʷ	naʷ
*64	road (path)	trɔŋ	trˀɔŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ	trɔːŋ
65	house	niː	ⁿhᶜiː	twaːɲ	toʷaːɲ	coaʲŋ
*66	sew	ɟɪŋ	ɟɟɪgŋ	ⁿcʰʌt	ⁿcʰʌt	ɟən
*67	fire	ʔɒɲ	ʔʊɲ	ʔɔɲ	ʔuɲ	ʔuɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	ʔɒɲ ssaː	ssaː	hiːt	cʰaː	hɐːr
*69	ashes	bonak	pɔ̹	ʔɔɲ pu̜h	ʔuɲ pu̜h	kˀpu̜ːh
*70	smoke	ɲiam	ɟɟu̜aj	ᶮhuːk	ᶮhuk	ᶮhũk
71	arrow	konaː	kɔːnaː	harː	harː	hɑːr
72	hear (v.)	taŋ	ssˆtaŋ	taŋ	taŋ	taŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	ɲʌm	ɟɟʌm	ɲom	ɲəm	ɲʌm
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	ssoŋ	saː	cʰoːŋ	cʰaː	cʰoːŋ
*75	drink (v.)	ɲet	ʔɟɟɛt	ɲiːt	ɲiːˆt	ɲet
*76	vomit (v.)	hɔk	hɒːk	hɒːk	hɒːk	hoːk
*77	spit (v.)	cɔː	ssˀtɔh	rˀcʰɒh	cʰɒh	tɒːh

	Language name	Stieng	Stieng	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 20*	*Variety 21*	*Variety 22*	*Variety 23*	*Variety 24*
78	breathe (v.)	ⁿhʌːm	ɗɔːkⁿhʌːm	doʔ ⁿhʌːm	doʔⁿhʌːm	ⁿhuʲ ⁿhʌːm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	kʰoːm	kʰuːʌm	kʰuːm	kʰuːˀm	kʰo̞ːm
*80	laugh (v.)	gɵːm	ggəm	gɵːˆm	gɵːˀm	gɵːˀm
*81	know (something)	gət	gɵːt	gɵt	gʌt	gɵt
*82	sleep (v.)	bec	bbeːc	bec	ᵐpec	bec
*83	scratch (v.)(person)	kʷac	kᵒʋaːʲc	kʷaːc	kʷaːc	kwak
*84	die (v.)	cʰʌt	cʰət	kʰʌt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt
*85	sit (v.)	gɔk	gok	guʔ	guʔ	ʔguʔ
*86	stand (v.)	tˀjᵒɔːŋ	dʌ̞ːk	dʌk	tʌ̞k	tʌ̞k
87	walk (v.)	han	haːn	broʔ	broʔ	broʔ
88	push (v.)	rʊɲ	rʊɲ	ⁿdrɔːl	ⁿglɛh,ⁿdoːl	ⁿdrol
89	throw (v.) (overhand)	ɟaŋ	ɟaŋ	ⁿtʌp	ⁿtʌp	rˀvʌt
90	fall (v.) (person off cliff)	ʔatʌp	tatteː	kədɨh	kədɨh	doh,kˀlʌp
91	swim (v.)	rej	reʲ	rɛː	reː	rɛː
*92	give	ʔan	ʔaːn	ʔaːn	ʔaːn	ʔʌn
*93	tie (v.)	kɒt	kat	kɒt	kɒt	kɒt
94	wipe (v.)	ɟu̞t	ɟuːt	ɟuːt	ɟuːt	cuːt
*95	rub (v.)	doj	ʔjjoç	dɒh	rəpoːt	rˀcʰoˀt
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	laːŋ	raːʷ	raʷ	raʷ	raʷ
97	hit (v.) (w/small stick)	paʷk	ʋaːj	ᵐbaːŋ	ᵐbaːŋ	ᵐbaːŋ
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	kɒt	kat	kɔh	kat	krɛh
99	split (v. wood)	boːh	bṳh	bṳh	bṳh	cok
100	stab (v.)	ssˀrʌp	sstəp	ⁿtɒp	ⁿtɒp	ⁿdap
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	cˀbec	cˀrɔbeʲc	ᵐpiac	ᵐpiac	pɛt
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	cɪr	ssiːr	kuç	kuç	kɔx
*103	one (person)	ᵐbuː	tambuː	duː heː	duhe	tᵒhʋaj
*104	two (people)	bar duː	baːrⁿduː	par heː	par he	bar haj
*105	three (people)	peː duː	peː	paᶜ nuç	paj nuç	pae nʋç

	Language name	Stieng	Stieng	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 20*	*Variety 21*	*Variety 22*	*Variety 23*	*Variety 24*
*106	four (people)	poan duː	pʷoan	pʷan nuç	pʷan nuç	poˀn niç
*107	five (people)	pram duː	pˀram	pram nuç	pramnuç	pram nʊç
108	six (people)	prao duː	pˀraʷ	praʷ nuç	praʷnuç	praw nuç
109	seven (people)	pɔː duː	pɔ̥h	pəh	pəh	paʷh nʊç
110	eight (people)	pʰam duː	pʰaːm	pʰaːmnuç	pʰaːmnuç	pʰaːm nuç
111	nine (people)	ssɪn duː	ssɵn	cʰən nuç	cʰənnuç	cʰən nʊç
112	ten (people)	ɟimʌt duː	ɟimʌt	ɟet nuç	ɟet nuç	cʰɛt nʊç
*113	many (people)	ʔʌk	ʔʌk	ʔɒk	ʔɔk	ʔɒk
114	all (people)	dɛŋlɛʔ	daŋlɛʔ	dɵŋlɛʔ	tɛŋlɛʔ	deŋ lɛʔ
115	big	teh	tih	teh	teh	taʲh
116	small	diaʔ	ddeʔ	ɟɪʔ	ɟit	ɟe̤t
*117	long (string)	ɟɔŋ	ɟɔ̥ːŋ	ɟɔːŋ	ɟɔːŋ	ɟoːˀŋ
118	short (height)	ddiː	ddiᵋh	deh	deh	tɛh
*119	right (side)	maː	mãː	ɟima	cimai	ɟimaː
*120	left (side)	ʔggiaw	ggɛaʷ	ɟʲaʷ	ɟaw	ɟicʲaʷ
*121	far	ŋaːj	ŋaːj	ŋaːj	ŋaːj	ŋaj
*122	near	də	ddʌh	daːjc	ndɛt	tɛ̤t
*123	black	ssˀʔʊc	ssˀʔʊc	krak	krak	kˀrak
124	white	bɔ̥ːk	bɔ̥ːk	pɔ̥ːk	pɔ̥k	ᵑlaːŋ
*125	red	dʌːm	ddoːm	dɔ̥m	ntɔːm	ɟaŋ
126	green	kʰiaw	kʰɛaʷ	krɪʔɪr	keiuː	ʔir
127	dirty	ɟˀrək	kakʰwɒk	rəmaʷ	kəbuʔ	
*128	new	meː	ʔmeː	ᵐhɛː	ᵐhɛː	huˀmˀhɛː
129	rotten (fruit)	ʔom	ʔuəm	ʔuːm	ʔuːm dṳh	ʔumduh
130	hot (water)	kˀdɔo	kədaʷ	kˀdoh	doh	kˀtɔ̥h
*131	cold (water)	ləŋʔʌt	laŋʔʌt	nɪːk	nɪk	ⁿʔik
*132	heavy	ɟʌk	ɟɟʌk	kˀɟɔk	kəɟɔk	kˀɟɔk
*133	full (container)	bɪŋ	bbiəŋ	bɪŋ	bi̤əŋ	bɪ̤ːŋ

	Language name	Stieng	Stieng	Bunong	Bunong	Bunong
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 20*	*Variety 21*	*Variety 22*	*Variety 23*	*Variety 24*
134	good	klaɲ	kˢlaᶜŋ	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh	ʔwɛh
135	bad (evil)	ɟˢrək (mut)	ʔaːkrɔk	ʔjəh, biᵃm	lek ʔweh	
*136	I (familiar)	heː	heː	hɛː	hɛː	kn̩p
137	he, she	ʔaj	ʔaj	ʔaj	məʔaj	paŋ
138	we (inclusive)	bʌn	bbʌn	bʌn	bɔn	bʌn
139	you (pl. familiar male)	boh gˢmaj	pʰuŋ ʔaj dˢkloʷ	baːl maj	kʰəmaj	pʰuːŋ maj
140	you (pl. familiar female)	boh gˢʔaj	pʰuːŋ ʔaj dduər,pʰuːŋ doʔuːr	baːl ʔaj	kʰəʔaj	pʰuːŋ kʰənʔaj
141	but		pontaᶜ	pʌnlah	pontea	
142	because	piːbrɒː	piːbrɒh	bəhjəː	pipruˢh	

Appendix H. Wordlists (continued):

Language code	qab	qac	cmo	qab
Village (Variety code)	Kosang (V25)	SraeTahaen (V26)	Bung Run (V27)	Chhok (V28)
Commune	Changkrang	Sambok	Sambok	Thmei
District	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie
Province	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie
Collected by	Mee-Sun	Julie	Mee-Sun & Che	Mee-Sun
Date collected	24 Apr 06	25 Apr 06	25 Apr 06	25 Apr 06
Language name	**Khaonh**	**Mel**	**Bunong**	**Khaonh**
# *English gloss*	*Variety 25*	*Variety 26*	*Variety 27*	*Variety 28*
*1 sky	troːk	tʀok	trṳːk	tʀok
*2 sun	rˀnɑɨ	kʰaɛ	naːr	nɑɨ
*3 moon	kʰɑɛ	kʰɑɛ	kʰɑe	kʰɑɛ
*4 star	sˀmɑɲ	ssˀmɑɲ	mɑɲ	sˀmɑɲ
*5 cloud	bɔbɔːʷk	tʀok	trṳːk,popoːk	bobɑʷk
*6 rain	miːu	miu	mi̤ç	miːu
*7 night	mɑŋ	mɑŋ	mɑŋ	mɑŋ
8 day	rˀnɑɨ	naːʀ	naːr	nɑɨ
*9 water	dḁːk	tḁːk	tɑːk	dḁːk
10 stream	koːʷ	ʔoː	ʔɔo,ⁿhoːˀŋ	koːʷn dḁːk
*11 soil	ⁿtɛh	tɛh	nɛh	ⁿtɑh
*12 stone	tˀmɑw	tʰmɒː	luʔ	tˀmɑʷ
*13 mountain	pˀnʌm	pˀnʌːm	juːˀk	pˀnʌm
*14 tree	dɑːm siː	tɑːm cʰɵː	cʰiː	tɑm siː
15 bark	səmɓaok siː	sɔmɓɔk cʰɵː	ŋkʰo̤ːp	səmɓɑʷk siː
*16 root (tree)	ʀɛh siː	hajɛh cʰɵː	reh	ʀɛh siː
*17 leaf	lɑː siː	lɑː	ⁿhɑː	lɑː siː
*18 flower	pʰkɑw	pʰkɑːʷ	kɑw	pʰkɑw
*19 fruit	plɑɨ	blaj	plɑj	plɑɨ siː
*20 grass	kɑʔɑːŋ	kˀʔɑ̃ːŋ	riəp	kɑʔɑːŋ
21 betel chew	mˀluː	mˀluː	məluː	mˀluː
22 banana	pʀɪt	pʀɪt	pʀɪt	pʀɪːt

Language name		Khaonh	Mel	Bunong	Khaonh
#	English gloss	Variety 25	Variety 26	Variety 27	Variety 28
*23	salt	bə̰ːh	bɔh	pɔ̰h	bə̰ːh
*24	animal	ssɑt	ssɐt	cʰom	ssəm
25	monkey	doːk	do̰k	tṵk	to̰ːk
*26	dog	sɑo	sɒː	cʰɒː	ssɑo
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	kɑp	kɑp	kɑp	kɑp
28	pig (domestic)	suː	ssoːɾ	cʰʌr	ssuː
29	bird	ssɑt pˀnɑw	ssɐt pˀnaːɾ,hɵː	cʰom ᵐpɑːr	pnɑɵ ssəm
30	wing	pˀnɑw	pˀnaːɾ	ᵐpɑːr	pnɑɵ
*31	feather	tˀnɑok	tˀnɒːʷk	roːm	tnɑːok
*32	egg (chicken)	kˀtɑp	kˀtɑp	tɑp	kˀtɑp
33	chicken	ʔeo	ʔiʌɾ	ʔjɑr	ʔeɵː
*34	snake	pɛ̰h	ɓɛh	pɑiç	bɛ̰h
*35	fish	kɑː	kɑː	kɑː	kɑː
36	fly (n.)	rᵒʋɑj	ɾɑʋɑj	rohwʌj	ʀɑʋɑj
*37	head	po̰ːk	ɓo̰ːk	buːk	ɓoːk
*38	hair	sɔk	ssʌk	cʰʌk	ssɔk
*39	eye	mɑt	mãt	mɑt	mɑt
*40	ear	tow	toːɾ	tur	lɑː tow
*41	mouth	bɵː	səndoj,bɵːɾ	ᵐɓuŋ	ɓəɨ
*42	tongue	ᵐpeːət	lˀpiʌt	ᵐpiat,ʔʌnciət	ᵐpeːˀt
*43	tooth	sejk	sseːk	cʰiˀk	sseːʲk
*44	neck	kɑːʷ	kɒː	kɔ̰ː	kɑːʷ
*45	hand	tiː	tiː	tʌi	tᶜiː
*46	fingernail	kᵃɲɛh	kˀcʰɒk	ɲɛh	gˀɲeːəh
47	back	kɑɵi	kʌj	kˀkə̰ːj	kɑɵi
*48	abdomen/belly	kɔnɗʊl	kɔnɗʊl	ⁿɗul	kənɗʊl
49	heart	bɛhɗuːŋ	bɛhɗuŋ	nuç	bɑɛh duːŋ

Language name		Khaonh	Mel	Bunong	Khaonh
#	English gloss	Variety 25	Variety 26	Variety 27	Variety 28
*50	intestines	pʀɑuc	pʀɔc	prɔc	pʀɑuc
*51	foot	ɟəŋ	ɟʌŋ	ɟɔːŋ	ɟʌŋ
52	knee	po̤kkˀtaŋ	bṳkˀtaŋ	pṳʔkɔmɔk	bo̤kkˀtaŋ
53	calf	kampʰuəŋ ɟəŋ	pɔç	rəmoːl ɟəŋ	pawç
*54	bone	ⁿtɪːŋ	tiŋ	ⁿtɪŋ	ⁿtɪːŋ
55	flesh	paj	pae	poac	paːj
*56	fat	kʰlɑŋ	pəndriʌŋ	ŋiː	kʰlɑŋ
*57	skin	speʌk	sspiʌk	ⁿtaw	speːak
*58	blood	ⁿhɑːm	ᵑhã̱ːm	ᵐhɑːm	ⁿhɑːm
*59	person	bunʊç	pˀni̤h	bənuʲç	bunuʲç
60	mother	mɑʔ	mɛʔ	ᵐbaj	mɑʔ
*61	child	kaun	kɒːn	koːᵃn	kawn
62	wife	ʔuːl	ʔur	ʔʊr	ʔuːl
63	brother (older)	miː kˀklaw	miʔ kˀklaʷ	naw	miː kᵃklaw
*64	road (path)	trawŋ	tʀɔːŋ	trɔŋ	tʀaoŋ
65	house	ɓawn	ɓɔːn	coaːn	ɓaːwn
*66	sew	ɟɵŋ	ʔɟɪŋ	ɟɵŋ	ɟɵ̤ŋ
*67	fire	ʔʊɲ	ʔʊɲ	ʔʊɲ	ʔʊɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	ʔasɑː	ʔasɑː	hɑːr	ʔasɑː
*69	ashes	nɑk	boknʌk	puh	nɑk
*70	smoke	ɲuk	ɲũk	ᶨhũːk	ɲuk
71	arrow	haɵ	haːʀ	hɑːr	haɵ
72	hear (v.)	kˀtaŋ	kˀttaŋ	taŋ	kˀtaŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	ɲɵm	ɲɪm	ɲʌm	ɲəm
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	soŋ peaŋ	saː	cʰuːəŋ peaŋ	soŋpeaŋ
*75	drink (v.)	ɲeːt dɑ̤ːk	ɲeːt	ɲiˀt	ɲeːt
*76	vomit (v.)	haok	hɒːk	hˀoːk	haʷk

Language name		Khaonh	Mel	Bunong	Khaonh
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 25*	*Variety 26*	*Variety 27*	*Variety 28*
*77	spit (v.)	sdʌh	sᵊɗɒh	rocʰɒh	sᵊpɛc
78	breathe (v.)	ɗaok ⁿhʌm	ɗɒk ⁿhɵːm	ⁿhʌm	ɗaok ⁿhʌːm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	kʰoːm	kʰoːm	kʰuːᵊm	kʰoːm
*80	laugh (v.)	ʁɑːc	ʁɑːc	gɵːᵊm	ʁɑːt
*81	know (something)	gɵt	ʔggɪt	gɵt	gɵt
*82	sleep (v.)	pɪc	ppɪc	pɪc	bɛc
*83	scratch (v.)(person)	kʷɑːc	kᵊkwac	kwɑːk	kwɑːc
*84	die (v.)	kʰət	kʰɪt	kʰʌt	kʰʌt
*85	sit (v.)	gok	ggʊk	guʔ	ggok
*86	stand (v.)	ᶮᵊɲaoŋ	kənjɔːŋ	tʌːk	ᶮᵊɲaoŋ
87	walk (v.)	hɑn	haːn	prɑʷʔ	hɑn
88	push (v.)	rʊɲ	cʁaːn	ⁿglɑʷt,ⁿdrul	ʁʊɲ
89	throw (v.) (overhand)	kavɑjn	kop	ⁿglʌp	kᵒvɑjn
90	fall (v.) (person off cliff)	kᵊtop	ʔalaʲc	kᵊɗoh	kᵊtop̣
91	swim (v.)	ʁɛː	hel	rɑ̣ːᶜ	ʁɑɛː
*92	give	ʔʌn	ʔan	ʔɒn	ʔʌn
*93	tie (v.)	kʌt	kʌt	kɒt	kʌt
94	wipe (v.)	ɟuːt	ɟʉːt	ɟʉːt	ɟʉːt
*95	rub (v.)	ɗʊç	ʔɗʉʲç	ropuᵊt	ɗʊç
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	ʁɑw	ʁaʷ	rɑw	ʁɑw
97	hit (v.) (w/small stick)	ᵐɓɑːŋ	ʁamɓɑːŋ	ᵐbɑːŋ	ᵐbɑːŋ
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	kɑt	kɒh,kat	kᵊreh	kɑt
99	split (v. wood)	tɔh	ttɒh	rolah,coːk	tɔh
100	stab (v.)	səntʌp	ʔsstʌp	ⁿtɒːp	səntʌp
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	cᵊbac	cᵊpac	toɑːc,puːət	cᵊbac
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	siːɨ	ɟiːt	kuːih	siːɨ
*103	one (person)	ᵐɓuː	ʔiː nɪh	tʰohwaj ʔiəŋ	ᵐɓuː
*104	two (people)	pɑw nʊç	baːʁ nih	pɑːr hɑj	ɓɑw niç

Language name		Khaonh	Mel	Bunong	Khaonh
#	English gloss	Variety 25	Variety 26	Variety 27	Variety 28
*105	three (people)	paɛ nʊç	pɛː nih	paɛ nuç	paɛ nuç
*106	four (people)	poˀn	puən	poan nuç	poan niç
*107	five (people)	pʀɑm	pˀʀam	pram nuç	pʀɑm
108	six (people)	pʀɑw	pʀaw	praw	pʀɑw
109	seven (people)	pʌh	pɵh	paʷx nuç	pəh
110	eight (people)	pʰɑːm	pʰaːm	pʰɑːm	pʰɑːm
111	nine (people)	sɵn	sɪn	cʰɵn nuç	sən
112	ten (people)	ɉɛt	ʔɉɛt	ɉɛt nuç	ɉɛt
*113	many (people)	ʔɒk	ʔək	ʔɒk	ʔɒk
114	all (people)	deŋ lɛʔ	ɗəŋ lɛʔ	deŋ lɛʔ	deŋ lɛʔ
115	big	tɛh	tɪh	taʲh	tɛç
116	small	ɉeʔ	ɗíʔ	ɉit	ɉɛʔ
*117	long (string)	ɉˀoːŋ	ɉɔːŋ	coːˀŋ	ɉɔːʷŋ
118	short (height)	dẹh	dẹːh	teh	dẹːh
*119	right (side)	kʰaŋ mɑː	bˀmaː	bəmɑː	kʰaŋ mɑː
*120	left (side)	kʰaŋ geo	bˀgiu	ciaw	kʰaŋ geo
*121	far	ŋɑːi	ŋaːj	ŋɑːj	ŋɑːj
*122	near	dạt	ⁿtạc	tac	dạt
*123	black	sˀʔoːc	ssˀʔoc	kərak	ssˀʔoːc
124	white	bạok	bɒ̣ːk	ⁿlaːŋ	ɓạːok
*125	red	kəhaːɲ	kˀhaːɲ	caŋ	kˀhaːɲ
126	green	bajtɒːŋ	bajtɒːŋ	ʔir	bajtɒːŋ
127	dirty	palak	gᵃgʀɪt	rəmaw	palak
*128	new	məhaɛ	mˀhɛː	mˀhaɛ	mɑhaɛ
129	rotten (fruit)	ʔom	ʔom	ʔuˀm	ʔoːm
130	hot (water)	tɑːɲ	ttaʲɲ	kətaʷh	taɲ
*131	cold (water)	laʔak	ləʔãːk	ʔⁿdik	laʔɑːk
*132	heavy	kˀɉək	kˀɉʊk	kəcɒk	kˀɉʌk

Language name	Khaonh	Mel	Bunong	Khaonh
#	*English gloss*	*Variety 25*	*Variety 26*	*Variety 27*	*Variety 28*
*133	full (container)	be̤ːŋ	ɓe̤ːŋ	pi̤ːᵒŋ	be̤ːŋ
134	good	lɑŋ	laːŋ	ʔwɛh	lɑŋ
135	bad (evil)	ʔajah	ʔakrɔk	pʊt ʔwɛh	ʔakrɒːk
*136	I (familiar)	ge̤p	gəp	gɔːp	gʌp
137	he, she	mɑj	miʔ	paŋ,mɑj	mɑj
138	we (inclusive)	be̤n	bʌ̤ːn	goap,gɒp	bɑ̤ːᵒn
139	you (pl. familiar male)	bo̤k mɑj kəklaw	bo̤kmaj	kʰʌn mɑj	kᵊklao mɑj
140	you (pl. familiar female)	bo̤k [...] ʔuːl	bo̤kʔaj	kʰʌn ʔaj	ʀɑuːl
141	but	pɔntɑɛ	pəntaj		pɔntɑɛ
142	because	pibʀʌh	pibʀɔh		bibʀɒh

Appendix H. Wordlists (continued):

Language code	qac	rka	rka
Village (Variety code)	Ou Krieng (V29)	Ampok (V30)	Srae Chih (V31)
Commune	Ou Krieng	Srae Chih	Srae Chih
District	Sambou	Sambou	Sambou
Province	Kratie	Kratie	Kratie
Collected by	Mee-Sun	Mee-Sun & Julie	Che
Date collected	26 Apr 06	26 Apr 06	26 Apr 06
Language name	**Mel**	**Kraol**	**Kraol**
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 29*	*Variety 30*	*Variety 31*

#	Gloss 1	Variety 29	Variety 30	Variety 31
*1	sky	tro̠ːk	trok	trok
*2	sun	nɑɨ	naːr	naːr
*3	moon	kʰʌj	kʰaj	kʰaj
*4	star	sᵊmɑɲ	sᵊmaɲ	sᵊmaɲ
*5	cloud	bᵊbɔ̠ːk	bᵊboᵃk	bobɔːk
*6	rain	miu	mɨːh	mɵːᵊh
*7	night	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ
8	day	nɑɨ	naːr	naːr
*9	water	da̠ːk	da̠k	da̠k
10	stream	kɔndaːk	caʷk	chaºk
*11	soil	teh	ʔuᵊk	ʔuːᵊʔ
*12	stone	tᵊmuːʲc	tʰᵊmoː	tʰᵊmoː
*13	mountain	pᵊnʌm	bᵊnʌm	bᵊnʌm
*14	tree	daɵm cʰɨː	daːm cʰɵː	taᵊm cʰɨː
15	bark	ssᵊʔbɔk cʰɨː	səmpoᵊk	səmbɔk cʰɨː
*16	root (tree)	riəh cʰɨː	riᵊh	rih cʰɨː
*17	leaf	lɑː cʰɨː	laː	laː cʰɨː
*18	flower	pʰkɑw	pᵊkaʷ	pkaw
*19	fruit	plɑj	pʰac	pʰaj
*20	grass	kɑʔɑːŋ	kɔnɟiː	kᵊⁿɟiː
21	betel chew	mᵊluː	mᵊluː	mᵊluː
22	banana	prit	prɵᵊt	prʊːᵊt

	Language name	Mel	Kraol	Kraol
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 29*	*Variety 30*	*Variety 31*
*23	salt	bɔ̤:h	bɔ̤h	ᵐbɔh
*24	animal	kɔnsəm	sat	ɟəm,sʌt
25	monkey	tɔ̤:k	dɔ̤k	ɗɔ̤k
*26	dog	ssɒː	caʷ	caw
*27	bite (v.) (dog)	kɑp	kap	kap
28	pig (domestic)	ssuː	ʔun	ʔun
29	bird	kɔnsɨm pˀnaɵ	sat slaːp	sʌt slaːp
30	wing	pˀnaɵ	slaːp	slaːp
*31	feather	tˀnɒːk	tʰˀnɔwk	tʰˀnaʷk
*32	egg (chicken)	kˀtɑp	kˀtap	kˀtap
33	chicken	ʔiɵː	ʔiːɾ	ʔiːr
*34	snake	bəç	pɛ̤h	ɓʌh
*35	fish	kɑː	kaː	kaː
36	fly (n.)	ləvʌj	ruʲː	ruːi
*37	head	bɔ̤:k	bɔ̤k	ɓoːk
*38	hair	ssɔk	cʰ/sɔk	sʌk
*39	eye	ʔmɑt	mat	mat
*40	ear	tow	toɾ	toʷr
*41	mouth	ssˀtoːj	mʊɲ	mɔɲ
*42	tongue	lˀpiət	lˀᵐpiət	lˀᵐpiət
*43	tooth	sseːjk	cek	ceiːk
*44	neck	kɒː	kɔw	kɔw
*45	hand	tiː	daj	ɗaj
*46	fingernail	kˀniːəh	krˀcoˀk	krəcoːək
47	back	kəːj	kʌi	ka°i
*48	abdomen/belly	kˀtʊːl	kˀⁿdul	kɔnɗul
49	heart	bɛh ɗṳ:ŋ	bɔ̤k nux	ɓɔŋnɯh
*50	intestines	prɔːc	ʔac	ʔɑit roɲvien

	Language name	Mel	Kraol	Kraol
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 29*	*Variety 30*	*Variety 31*
*51	foot	ɟʌŋ	jɔŋ	kɔnɗop ɟɔŋ
52	knee	bo̞ːktaŋ	bokˀtaŋ	ɓokˀtaŋ
53	calf	pɔ̞ːç	poᶜç	pɔːç
*54	bone	tɪːŋ	kᵊⁿtɵˀŋ	kɔntɵːˀŋ
55	flesh	pɑːj	cam	jam
*56	fat	pˀtriːˀŋ	lᵊᵐbaʷ	ləmbaw
*57	skin	sspiək	s/cˀbɛik	sˀpaik
*58	blood	ᵑhã̃ːm	mˀhã̃ːm	ᵐˀham
*59	person	bˀnuç	mˀnɪh	mˀnɛh
60	mother	mɛʔ	mɛʔ	mɛʔ
*61	child	kɒːn	kaʷn	kɔwn
62	wife	ʔuː	sˀʔur	səʔur
63	brother (older)	miʔ kˀklɑw	miː kʰlow	miː klow
*64	road (path)	trɔːŋ	traʷŋ	traʷŋ
65	house	ɲɵːʷ	ɲɵːˀ	ɲɨː
*66	sew	ɟɵŋ	ɟəŋ	ɟɪgŋ
*67	fire	ʔɔɲ	ʔʊɲ	ʔɔɲ
*68	burn (v.) (wood)	ʔasɑː	ɟaː	caː
*69	ashes	buh ʔnak	bṳːh	ɓuˀʔ
*70	smoke	ˀɲok	ɲuj	ɲʲoj
71	arrow	hɑɵ	kam	kam
72	hear (v.)	kˀtaŋ	kˀtaŋ	kˀtaŋ
73	weep/cry (v.)	ʔɲəm	ɲɵˀm	ɲɵːm
*74	eat (v.) (rice)	soŋ piəŋ	coːŋ	coŋ
*75	drink (v.)	ʔjɛːt‚ɲieːt	ɲeːt	ɲet
*76	vomit (v.)	hɒːk	haʷk	haʷk
*77	spit (v.)	ɗˀpac	kˀcɒh	kˀcɒh

	Language name	Mel	Kraol	Kraol
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 29*	*Variety 30*	*Variety 31*
78	breathe (v.)	ɗɒk ⁿhɵm	dɒːk lᵊᵑhʌːm	ɗaʷk lɔŋhʌm
79	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	kʰoːm	kʰloːm	kʰlom
*80	laugh (v.)	rɑːc	gɵm	gɵm
*81	know (something)	gɵt	tɔgɵt	gɵt
*82	sleep (v.)	bɪc	pic	bɪc
*83	scratch (v.) (person)	kʷɑːc	kʰwac	kwaʲc
*84	die (v.)	kʰʌt	ɓat	ɓat
*85	sit (v.)	gok	gʊk	gok
*86	stand (v.)	ɲᵊɲɔːŋ	taʷjɒʷŋ	tawjɔŋ
87	walk (v.)	hɑn	caːk	ɟaːk
88	push (v.)	cᵊrɑːn	ɟᵊrʊɲ	ɟᵊrʌn
89	throw (v.) (overhand)	prṳːt	drᵊveːŋ	droʊɛːŋ
90	fall (v.) (person off cliff)	tɔ̥p	cop	cop
91	swim (v.)	rɛː	reːʲ	reː
*92	give (v.)	ʔɑːn	ʔɒn	ʔʌn
*93	tie (v.)	kʌt	coᵃŋ	coːᵊŋ
94	wipe (v.)	ɟṳt	ɟṳːᵊt	ɟuːᵊt
*95	rub (v.)	dduç	doç	ɗoʲx
*96	wash (v.) (dishes)	rɑw	raʷ	raw
97	hit (v.) (w/small stick)	lᵊpɑːŋ	doᵃr	doaɾ
*98	cut (v.) (hair)	kɑt	kat	kat
99	split (v. wood)	tɔh	bṳːh	ɓuəh
100	stab (v.)	sstʌp	ɟᵊraʔ	ɟᵃraʔ
101	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	cᵊbɑc	crɔbac	cᵊrabac
*102	dig (v.) (a hole)	ssiɨ	ɟɵ̥ᵊk	ɟɵːk
*103	one (person)	dᵊbuː	mui ⁿɗaŋ	ⁿɗaŋ
*104	two (people)	paw nʊç	paːr nɛh	baːr nih

	Language name	Mel	Kraol	Kraol
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 29*	*Variety 30*	*Variety 31*
*105	three (people)	pae nʊç	pae nɛh	pae nɪh
*106	four (people)	puən nʊç	buən nɛh	puˀn nɪh
*107	five (people)	prɑm nʊç	pram nɛh	pram nɪh
108	six (people)	prɑw nʊç	praʷ nɛh	praw nɪh
109	seven (people)	pʊh nʊç	pɔh nɛh	pɔh nɪh
110	eight (people)	pʰɑːm nʊç	pʰam nɛh	pʰam nɪh
111	nine (people)	sən nʊç	ɟən nɛh	cɛn nɪh
112	ten (people)	ɟɛt nʊç	ɟo̯t nɛh	ɟɛt nɪh
*113	many (people)	ʔʌk	ʔɒk	ʔɒk
114	all (people)	dənlɛʔ	dʌŋ lɒt	lat tˀbəːl
115	big	teh	kˀteh	kəteh
116	small	deʔ	kˀtiʔ	kᵃɗiʔ
*117	long (string)	ɟɔːŋ	ʋeːŋ	ʋɛːŋ
118	short (height)	dʊːx	te̯h	ⁿɗej
*119	right (side)	tɔːŋ mɑː	mɑː	mɑː
*120	left (side)	tɔːŋ kiu	giuː	giu
*121	far	ŋɑːj	ŋaj	ŋɑːj
*122	near	tɛc	tʰap	tʰap
*123	black	sˀʔɔːc	sˀʔʊc	sˀʔʊc
124	white	bɔ̯ːk	ɓɔʷk	ɓaʷk
*125	red	gᵃhɑːɲ	kˀcɪral	kˀcəral
126	green	kʰiu	kʰiuː	kʰiu
127	dirty	bɑlːɑk	kɒkʰweʔ	bʊʔ
*128	new	mˀheː	tˀmej	dˀmeːʲ
129	rotten (fruit)	ʔom	ʔom	ʔom
130	hot (water)	tɑɲ	ⁿtaɲ	taɲ
*131	cold (water)	lɑʔɑːk	laʔɵt	ləʔʌt
*132	heavy	kˀɟʌk	kˀɟok	kˀɟok

	Language name	Mel	Kraol	Kraol
#	*Gloss 1*	*Variety 29*	*Variety 30*	*Variety 31*
*133	full (container)	be̤ːɲ	pe̤ŋ	ɓe̤ɲ
134	good	lɑŋ	kʰəɲ	kʰʌɲ
135	bad (evil)	ʔakrɒːʔ	ɓʊʔ	ɓʊʔ
*136	I (familiar)	gʌp	hɛj	hej
137	he, she	mʌj	sɵt	ʔaj
138	we (inclusive)	[gɨnɑ] be̤ːn	pe̤n	ɓɪn
139	you (pl. familiar male)	mɑj	hanmɒŋ maj	puk maj
140	you (pl. familiar female)	ʔaj	hanmɒŋ ʔaj	puk ʔaj
141	but		same as Khmer	pɔntaj
142	because		bˀbrɔh	biːbrɔh

Appendix I. Khmer summary

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ឯកសារសង្ខេប

មាតិកាសង្ខេប
</div>

បុគ្គលិកមួយក្រុមបានចុះទៅធ្វើការសិក្សាទៅលើមនុស្សមួយក្រុម ដែលនិយាយភាសា
បាសនារិក[៦០] ដែលស្ថិតក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងខេត្តក្រចេះនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ។
ការសិក្សា នេះធ្វើឡើងចាប់ពីខែកុម្ភៈដល់ខែមេសាឆ្នាំ ២០០៦ ដែលត្រូវចំណាយពេល
៦សប្តាហ៍ ។

ការសិក្សានេះគឺជាហានដំបូងនៃការវាយតំលៃដែលមានរយៈពេលយូរទៅលើទំនាក់ទំនងភាសា
និងការប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នារវាងប្រភេទភាសាបាសនារិកផ្សេងៗក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ។ ក្រុម
ការងារទាំងនេះបានចុះទស្សនកិច្ច ៣០ភូមិ ព្រមទាំងធ្វើការស្ទួរស្ទង់នូវទាក់ទងនឹងសង្គម
ភាសាវិទ្យាដល់មេភូមិ និងមេយុំមួយចំនួនដើម្បីស្រង់ពាក្យដែលមានលក្ខណៈស្រដៀងគ្នា ។

គោលបំណងចំបងនៃការសិក្សានេះគឺដើម្បីស្វែងយល់ឱ្យបានទូលំទូលាយទៅលើស្ថានភាពនៃសង្គម
ភាសាវិទ្យាក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងក្រចេះ ។ ទីបញ្ចប់នៃការសិក្សានេះ យើងបានព្យាយាមស្វែងយល់ពី
ភាសាតាមតំបន់ អំបូរជនជាតិ និងភាសាផ្សារ[៦១] និងដើម្បីកំណត់ពីទំនាក់ទំនងផ្នែកសង្គមភាសាវិទ្យា
ទាំងនេះ ។ គោលបំណងមួយទៀតនៃការសិក្សានេះគឺដើម្បីប្រមូលព័ត៌មានដើម ដើម្បីកំណត់ថាតើភាសា
បាសនារិកណាមួយខ្លះដែលគួរតែធ្វើការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ។ ការស្គាត់ជំនាញនៃទេ្វរភាសា និងអាយុជីវិតនៃភាសា
តែងតែចោទជាបញ្ហានៅក្នុងបទសំភាសន៍របស់យើង ហើយវាគឺជាកត្តាដ៏សំខាន់ដើម្បីធ្វើការសំរេចចិត្ត
ទៅថ្ងៃអនាគតថាតើចាំបាច់ត្រូវអភិវឌ្ឍភាសានេះដែរឬក៏អត់ ។

ការសិក្សានេះបានជួយឱ្យយើងមើលឃើញយ៉ាងទូលំទូលាយទៅលើវិស័យភាសា បានទទួលព័ត៌មាន
សំខាន់ៗ និងគូសបញ្ជាក់នូវបញ្ហានិមួយៗ ស្គាល់ពីអំបូរជនជាតិភាគតិច និងតំបន់ភូមិសាស្ត្រជាច្រើន
ដើម្បីធ្វើការសិក្សាបន្ថែមទៀត ។

ការណែនាំ

៦០
    ភាសាដែលស្រដៀងនឹងភាសាបាសនា

៦១
    ភាសាដែលអំបូរនិមួយៗប្រើ ក្រៅពីភាសារបស់ពួកគេផ្ទាល់ ដើម្បីប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នា

អ៊ូរ៉ងជនជាតិដែលនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិកតាំងទីលំនៅនៅតំបន់មួយភាគធំក្នុងទ្វីបអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ ពីប៉ែកខាងត្បូង នៃប្រទេសឡាវរាប់ខេត្តប៉ែកខាងកើតមួយចំនួននៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ហើយឆ្លៀងចូលប្រទេសវៀតណាមមួយផ្នែក ។ ភាសាបាសនារិករួមក្នុងក្រុមគ្រួសារភាសាអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ ហើយវាស្ថិតក្នុងគ្រួសារភាសាមនខ្មែរ ។ ភាសាបាសនារិកមានចំណងទាក់ទងសាច់ឆ្ងាយនឹងភាសាខ្មែរកណ្ដាល ដែលជាភាសាជាតិរបស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ថ្វីត្បិតតែភាសាទាំងពីរនេះទាក់ទងនឹងគ្នាក៏ដោយ ក៏ប្រជាជននៃអ៊ូរ៉ងទាំងពីរនេះមិនអាចប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងនឹងគ្នាបានទេ ។ ការសិក្សានេះធ្វើឡើងដើម្បីផ្តោតទៅលើអ៊ូរ៉ងជនជាតិ ដែលនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិក ដែលបច្ចុប្បន្នកំពុងរស់នៅ ខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងខេត្តក្រចេះនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ដូចជាអ៊ូរ៉ងពួង ស្ទៀង ក្រោល មិល ថ្មូន រ៉ាអុង និងខាញ់ ។ ជនជាតិទំពួនមួយចំនួនក៏រស់នៅតំបន់នេះដែរ ក៏ប៉ុន្តែពួកគេភាគច្រើនរស់នៅក្នុងខេត្តរតនគីរី ។ អង្គការ ICC កំពុងធ្វើតំរោងអក្ខរកម្មភាសាកំឡើតពីរ ជាមួយអ៊ូរ៉ងជនជាតិដែលនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិកចំនួនប្រាំ ដែលរស់នៅក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងរតនគីរី ។ ក្នុងកំឡុងពេល ៤ឆ្នាំនៃការងារក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី បុគ្គលិករបស់ អង្គការ ICC បានចុះទៅធ្វើការផ្ទាល់ជាមួយជនជាតិពួងដើម្បីអភិវឌ្ឍអក្ខរាវិរុទ្ធដែលមានការទទួលស្គាល់ជា ស្រេចសំរាប់ភាសារបស់ពួកគេ ដើម្បីយើងអាចបង្កើតសៀវភៅរៀនអានការិតដបូង, សៀវភៅរៀន, ខិត្តប័ណ្ណ ទាក់ទងនឹងកសិកម្ម និងសុខភាពជាដើម និងដើម្បីបណ្ដុះបណ្ដាលគ្រូអក្ខរកម្មជង ។ បុគ្គលិករបស់អង្គការ ICC កំពុងតែធ្វើការជាមួយនាយកដ្ឋានអប់រំខេត្តដើម្បីធ្វើការអប់រំទ្វេភាសាសំរាប់ប្រជាជនពួង ។ ដោយយោងតាមឯក សារស្រាវជ្រាវអក្ខរកម្ម ដែលបានធ្វើនៅក្នុងស្រុកចំនួន ៤ និងភូមិចំនួន ២០ក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីបានឱ្យដឹងថា ស្ត្រី ៣/៤ និងបុរសជាងពាក់កណ្ដាល (ដោយផ្អែកលើការវាយតំលៃផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន) នៃចំនួនបុរសទាំងអស់មិនសូវចេះ និយាយខ្មែរ ឬមិនចេះភាសាខ្មែរទាល់តែសោះ (លោក ហៀត ស្ទៀវិន - Hiett Steven) ឆ្នាំ ២០០៣, (ការវាយតំលៃទៅលើជំនាញភាសាខ្មែរ និងករិតអក្ខរកម្មក្នុងចំណោមប្រជាជនពេញ វ័យនៃពួកកុលសម្ព័ន្ធក្នុង ខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា)

ការសមហការណ៍របស់រដ្ឋាភិបាល

កិច្ចព្រមព្រៀងជាមួយក្រសួងអប់រំ ដែលទទួលបន្ទុកត្រួតត្រាលើតំរោងអក្ខរកម្មនៃភាសាកំឡើតដែលបានរៀប រាប់ខាងលើ បានលើកទឹកចិត្តអង្គការ ICC ឱ្យធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវទៅលើភាសា និងខេត្តនានាទៀត ។ ដោយមានកិច្ច ព្រមព្រៀងនេះជាចំហរ នាយកនៃមន្ត្រីអប់រំខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីបានសរសេរលិខិតមួយអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យបុគ្គលិកអង្គការ យើងធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវក្នុងគោលបំណងដើម្បីអប់រំ ។ ការអនុម័តយ៉ាងឆាប់ និងដោយស្ម័គ្រចិត្តរបស់លោក ទីម សង្ហាត គឺអាស្រ័យដោយសន្ដានចិត្ដល្អ និងទឹកចិត្ដចង់ឃើញជនជាតិភាគតិចទាំងនេះមានជីវិតប្រសើរឡើង ។ យើងទាំងអស់គ្នាមានការថ្លែងអំណរគុណយ៉ាងខ្លាំងចំពោះលោក ព្រមទាំងសហការីការងាររបស់អង្គការទាំងអស់ ក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីដែលបានចំណាយកំលាំង និងពេលវេលាកសាងទំនាក់ទំនងដ៏រឹងមាំជាមួយលោកនាយក ទីម សង្ហាត ហើយព្រមទាំងបានបញ្ជាក់ពីភក្ដីភាពរបស់ពួកគេជង ។

នៅខែមករាឆ្នាំ ២០០៦ បុគ្គលិកអង្គការរបស់យើងមានឱកាសធ្វើដំណើរទៅខេត្តក្រចេះជាមួយបុគ្គលិកម្នាក់នៃ នាយកដ្ឋានអភិរក្សជនជាតិភាគតិច ដើម្បីចុះទៅធ្វើការសាកល្បងនូវកំរងសំនួររបស់យើង ។ លោកអភិបាលខេត្ត ក្រចេះបានសំដែងការកិច្ចចំពោះយើងខ្ញុំ និងព្រមទាំងផ្តល់ការអនុញ្ញាតិឱ្យយើងខ្ញុំធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវក្នុងខេត្តរបស់ លោកផងដែរ ។ យើងទាំងអស់គ្នាពិតជាអរគុណចំពោះការសហការណ៍ពីសំណាក់មនុស្សជាច្រើន ព្រមទាំងលោក អភិបាលខេត្តក្រចេះផងដែរ គឺលោក កាំ ភ្លើន លោក ប៊ុយ គីមស្រៀងនៃនាយកដ្ឋានអភិរក្សជនជាតិភាគតិចនៃ ក្រសួងអភិវឌ្ឍជនបទ ព្រមទាំងលោក ធន សារី — នាយករងនៃនាយកដ្ឋានអភិរក្សជនជាតិភាគតិចខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

វិធីសាស្ត្រ

យើងបានរៀបចំសំនួរជាច្រើនសំរាប់មេភូមិ និងមេយ៉ុំ ព្រមទាំងបានទទួលបញ្ជីពាក្យពីសហគមន៍ដែលនិយាយ ភាសាអំបូរជនជាតិដែលរស់នៅក្នុងភូមិនីមួយៗ ដែលយើងចុះទៅធ្វើទស្សនកិច្ច ។ មុនដំបូងយើងបានប្រៀបធៀប បញ្ជីពាក្យភាសាពូងជាមួយគ្នារួចហើយ បន្ទាប់យើងជ្រើសរើសបញ្ជីពាក្យភាសាពូងចំនួនបីដើម្បីប្រៀបធៀបជា មួយពាក្យភាសាអំបូរផ្សេងៗទៀត ។

ភាសាផ្សារ

- តើភាសាអ្វីខ្លះដែលមនុស្សមកពីក្រុមភាសាផ្សេងៗក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងខេត្តក្រចេះនិយមប្រើជាមួយ គ្នា?

ជាទូទៅ ក្រុមអំបូរជនជាតិដែលរស់នៅក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីប្រើភាសាខ្មែរ ពូង ឬភាសាឡាវដើម្បីប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ ទងគ្នា ។ ក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះ ភាសាខ្មែរត្រូវបានសំរេចថាជាភាសាដែលនិយមប្រើច្រើន ។ បើតាមរបាយការណ៍បានឱ្យ ដឹងថា អ្នកដើមកំណើតនិយាយភាសាពូងមានចំនួនប្រហែលជា ៨០% នៃចំនួនប្រជាជនទាំងមូលក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌល គីរី ដូច្នេះខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីទាំងមូលអាចចាត់ទុកថាជាខេត្តដែល "និយាយភាសាពូង" ។ នៅតំបន់ខ្លះក្នុងស្រុកកោះ ញែកដែលស្ថិតនៅក្បែរខេត្តរតនគីរី ឡារគឺជាភាសាផ្សារ ។ រាល់ក្រុមជនជាតិភាគតិច ក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងខេត្ត ក្រចេះ តែងតែមានសមាជិកដែលអាចនិយាយភាសាខ្មែរបាន ។

នៅចំនុចនេះ យើងអាចសង្កត់ធ្ងន់ថា ថ្វីត្បិតតែភាសាមួយជាភាសាដែលនិយមប្រើដើម្បីប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នាក៏ ដោយ ក៏មិនមានន័យថា ប្រជាជនទាំងអស់ ឬមួយចំនួនធំអាចនិយាយបាន ឬស្តាប់គ្នាបាននោះដែរ ។ ភាសាឡារគឺ ជាភាសាដែលប្រជាជនក្នុងសហគមន៍ ដែលប្រើភាសាខុសគ្នា ប្រើដើម្បីប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នា ។ យើងបានសួរដល់មេ ភូមិមួយចំនួននូវសំនួរទាក់ទងនឹងបែបផែននៃការធ្វើដំណើរ និងភាសារបស់អ្នកភូមិដែលគេប្រើជាមួយមនុស្សដែល មិនធ្លាប់ស្គាល់ តែមិនមែនមានន័យថាអ្នកភូមិទាំងអស់សុទ្ធតែជាអ្នកធ្វើដំណើរ ឬប្រើពាក្យសំដីដើម្បីប្រាស្រ័យ

ទាក់ទងជាមួយមនុស្សដែលគេមិនធ្លាប់ស្គាល់ ។ ដូច្នេះ ការចាត់ទុកភាសាមួយថាជាភាសាផ្សារ មិនមែនមានន័យថា ប្រជាជនភាគច្រើនអាចនិយាយបានស្ទាត់ ឬនិយាយបានតិចតួចនោះទេ ។

ភាសាតំបន់

- តើភាសាតំបន់ណាខ្លះដែលគេប្រើក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និងខេត្តក្រចេះ?

- តើភាសាទាំងនេះប្រើនៅកន្លែងណា ហើយដោយនរណា?

ភាសាបាសណារិកតាមតំបន់ដែលនិយាយក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីរួមមាន ភាសាពង ស្ទៀង ក្រោល ទំពួន រ៉ាអុង និង ថ្មូន ។ ភាសាបាសណារិកដែលប្រជាជនប្រើក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះមាន ភាសាពង ស្ទៀង ក្រោល ខាញ់ ថ្មូន និងមិល ។ សំរាប់ក្រុមទាំងពីរនេះ ឈ្មោះមិនមានការកែប្រែទេសំរាប់ប្រជាជន និងភាសា ថ្វីត្បិតតែភាសារ៉ាអុងហាក់បីដូចជា អនុក្រម ឬជាគ្រាមភាសារបស់ភាសាស្ទៀងក៏ដោយ ។ ឈ្មោះភូមិ ឃុំ ស្រុក និងពតិមានប្រជាសាស្ត្រមានបន្ថែម នៅក្នុងឯកសារពិស្តា ។ បើចង់ស្គាល់ផែនទីនៃទីតាំងភូមិនីមួយៗ សូមមើលរូបភាពទី ៦ ។

ចំណាត់ជាក្រុមនៃប្រភេទភាសាបាសនារិក

- តើចំណាត់ក្រុមនៃប្រភេទភាសាបាសនារិកដែលអាចប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នាបានមានអ្វីខ្លះ?

ភាពស្រដៀងគ្នានៃបញ្ជីពាក្យគឺជាជំហានដំបូងតែមួយគត់ ដើម្បីវាស់ស្ទង់ទៅលើការអាចយល់គ្នាបាន ព្រោះវា គ្រាន់តែប្រាប់ពីភាគរយនៃពាក្យដែលដូចគ្នារវាងបញ្ជីពាក្យពីរ ឬច្រើនប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ ពាក្យនៃប្រភេទភាសាបាសណារិក ផ្សេងៗតិចជាង ៧០% ដែលបានរកឃើញថាមានលក្ខណៈប្រហាក់ប្រហែលគ្នានោះ ត្រូវបានចាត់ទុកថាមិនអាចប្រា ស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នាបានទេ ។ យើងមិនបាច់ធ្វើការសាកល្បងទៅលើភាពអាចយល់គ្នាបាន បន្ថែមទៀតទេ ។ ប្រជាជន ដែលនិយាយប្រភេទភាសាដែលស្រដៀងគ្នាយ៉ាងហោចណាស់ ៧០% បានឱ្យដឹងថាមិនអាចប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នា បានទាំងអស់ តែពិតជាមានលទ្ធភាពអាចយល់គ្នាបាន ។ ប្រហែលជាយើងចាំបាច់ធ្វើតេស្តីទៅលើភាពអាចយល់គ្នា បាន ដើម្បីបញ្ជាក់ពីស្ថានភាពនេះឱ្យបានច្បាស់ ។ ដោយផ្អែកលើលក្ខណៈវិនិច្ឆ័យនេះ ភាសាមិល និងភាសាខាញ់ អាចចាត់ជាក្រុមបាន ហើយភាសារ៉ាអុង និងស្ទៀងក៏អាចចាត់ជាក្រុមតែមួយបានដែរ បើទោះជាភាសារ៉ាអុងមាន ភាពស្រដៀងគ្នានឹងភាសាពងប្រហែលជា ៧០%ក៏ដោយ ។ តែផ្ទុយទៅវិញ ភាសាពង ថ្មូន ក្រោល និងទំពួននៅឯក រាជ្យតែឯង ទោះបីជាភាសាស្ទៀង ថ្មូន ខាញ់ និងមិលស្រដៀងនឹងភាសាស្ទៀង ៧០%ក៏ដោយ ។ ភាសាទំពួន មិនស្ទើរមានភាពស្រដៀងនឹងប្រភេទភាសាដទៃទៀតទេ ។ មានតារាងដែលមានភាពស្រដៀងគ្នានៃប្រភេទ ភាសាពង និងភាសាបាសនារិក នៅក្នុងឯកសារពិស្តា ។ សូមមើល តារាងទី ៣ និង តារាងទី ៤ ។

- តើប្រជាជនដែលនិយាយប្រភេទភាសាបាសនារិកផ្សេងៗ អាចយល់ពីការចាត់ជាក្រុមនៃប្រភេទផ្សេងគ្នា នៃភាសាបានារិកដោយរបៀបណា?

អំបូរជនជាតិពួង ស្ទៀង ក្រោល ខញ្ញ ទំពូន និងមិល ចាត់ទុកខ្លួនឯងថាជាក្រុមដាច់ដោយឡែក ហើយនិយាយ ភាសាផ្សេងពីគ្នា (នៅទីកន្លែងដែលពួកគេនៅ តែនិយាយភាសាតំបន់របស់ពួកគេនៅឡើយ) ។ ក្រុមអំបូរនីមួយៗ មានលក្ខណៈជាប់ទាក់ទងគ្នាទាំងអស់ ពួកគេអាចចាត់ទុកថាប្រជាជនទាំងអស់ក្នុងអំបូរនីមួយៗនិយាយភាសា ដូចគ្នា ឬទោះបីជាពួកគេទទួលស្គាល់ថាមានភូមិខ្លះនិយាយខុសគ្នាបន្តិចបន្តួចក៏ដោយ ក៏ពួកគេមិនបានបញ្ជាក់ពី ភាពដាច់ឡែកពីគ្នាឱ្យបានច្បាស់ដែរ ។

ទំនាក់ទំនង និងការប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទង

- តើទំនាក់ទំនងផ្នែកសង្គមភាសាវិទ្យា និងជនជាតិនិយាយភាសាទាំងនេះមានអ្វីខ្លះ?

- តើប្រភេទ លក្ខណៈ និងទំហំនៃការប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងរវាងក្រុមនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិកមានអ្វីខ្លះ?

- តើប្រភេទ លក្ខណៈ និងទំហំនៃការប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងក្នុងចំណោមក្រុមនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិកមាន អ្វីខ្លះ?

ថ្វីត្បិតតែក្រុមនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិកភាគច្រើនដែលយើងបានជួប ចាត់ទុកខ្លួនឯងថាជាក្រុមដោយឡែក និង ផ្សេងពីក្រុមដទៃទៀតក៏ដោយ តែពួកគេនៅតែធ្វើដំណើរឆ្លងកាត់ភូមិរបស់គ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក ហើយរស់នៅក្នុង ភូមិលាយឡំគ្នា ។ មានករណីលើកលែងមួយ គឺភូមិទាំងអស់ដែលយើងធ្វើដំណើរទៅមានលាយឡំដោយជនជាតិ ខ្មែរ និងអំបូរដទៃទៀត ហើយយើញថាមានកើនឡើងបែបនេះច្រើន ។ ការរៀបអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍រវាងអំបូរជន ជាតិបាសនារិក និងអំបូរបាសនារិកផ្សេង ហើយអំបូរបាសនារិក និងជនជាតិខ្មែរក៏មានច្រើន ដែលនាំឱ្យមាន កំណើនប្រជាជនរស់នៅលាយឡំគ្នាច្រើន ។ ចំពោះដំបន់ខ្លះ ដូចជាស្រុកកោះញែកក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរីមានប្រជាជន ពីអំបូរផ្សេងៗរស់នៅលាយឡំគ្នាតាំងពីយូរយារណាស់មកហើយ ។ នៅតំបន់ខ្លះ មេភូមិបានប្រាប់យើងថា កាលពី មុន ភូមិរបស់ពួកគេគឺ ជាភូមិសុទ្ធ មានជនជាតិតែមួយ តែតឥឡូវមានជនជាតិផ្សេងៗរស់នៅលាយឡំគ្នាតាមរយៈ ការរៀបអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ចំរុះជនជាតិ ។ មានតែភូមិមួយប៉ុណ្ណោះ ដែលយើងបានលើពាក្យចោមអារាមថា មាន ព័រិយាបថមិនពេញចិត្តចំពោះការរៀបអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ចំរុះជនជាតិនេះ ពីព្រោះពួកគេជឿថា ខ្មែរមិនចង់រៀបការ ជាមួយក្រុមអំបូរផ្សេងទេ ។

អំបូរឯងមានចំនួនច្រើនជាងគេក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី ហើយមិនសូវមានការប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងជាមួយអំបូរដែលនៅ ក្រៅក្រុមទេ ដោយខុសប្លែកពីជនជាតិភាគតិចផ្សេងទៀត ។ ខេត្តក្រចេះ និងស្រុកកោះញែកក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី មានលក្ខណៈដាច់ឡែកច្រើនទៀត ។ តែយ៉ាងណាមិញ នៅក្នុងខេត្តទាំងពីរ លក្ខណៈមួយដែលនាំឱ្យក្រុមអំបូរជន ជាតិទាំងអស់មានការប្រាស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នានោះ គឺ *ទីតាំងតំបន់នៅជិតគ្នា* ច្រើនជាងទាក់ទងនឹង *អំបូរពុជសាសនា*។

អ្នកដែលធ្វើដំណើរ ភាគច្រើនពួកគេធ្វើដំណើរទៅភូមិដែលនៅជិតជាងគេបំផុត ឬទៅផ្សារក្នុងទីប្រជុំជន ។ ក្រុម អំបូរខ្លះដែលយើងបានជួប មិនអាចនឹងប្រាប់ពីឈ្មោះនៃទីកន្លែងដែលពួកគេធ្វើដំណើរទៅផង ដោយសារវានៅ ក្រៅតំបន់អំបូររបស់ពួកគេរស់នៅ ។ យ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ ទីកន្លែងណាដែលមានក្រុមអំបូរជនជាតិផ្សេងៗរស់នៅក្បែរខាង គ្នា តែងតែមានមនុស្សធ្វើដំណើរកាត់ភូមិដែលនៅក្បែរនោះ ។ ការធ្វើដំណើរទៅភូមិឆ្ងាយៗ - ដែលក៏រមាន — ជាទូទៅ ពួកគេធ្វើដំណើរទៅលេងសាច់ញាតិ និង/ឬធ្វើដំណើរត្រលប់ទៅតំបន់មួយដែលគេរើទីលំនៅចេញមក - ឧទា. អំបូរក្រោលក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះធ្វើដំណើរទៅលេងអំបូរក្រោលក្នុងស្រុកកោះញែក ។

អំបូរមិលទំនងជាចាប់ផ្តើមចាត់ទុកខ្លួនឯង ជាជនជាតិខ្មែរជាជាងជនជាតិមិល ។ អំបូរថ្ងុនក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគិរីកំពុង ប្រើភាសាពួងជាភាសាដើមកំណើត ហើយយើងនៅមិនដឹងច្បាស់ថាតើពួកគេនៅចាត់ទុកខ្លួនឯងជាជនជាតិថ្ងុន ឬ កំពុងទទួលស្គាល់ថាដូចជនជាតិពួង ។ អំបូររ៉ាអុងចាត់ទុកខ្លួនឯងថាជាអំបូរស្ទៀង បើទោះជាទទួលស្គាល់ថាខ្លួនឯង ជាប្រភេទអំបូរស្ទៀងផ្សេងដែលប្រើភាសាស្ទៀងផ្សេងក៏ដោយ ។ ជនជាតិពួង *និង*ជនជាតិស្ទៀងមួយចំនួនក្នុងខេត្ត មណ្ឌលគិរីចាត់ទុកជនជាតិរ៉ាអុងថាជាសមាជិកក្នុងក្រុមរបស់ពួកគេរៀងៗខ្លួន បើទោះជាពួកគេនិយាយភាសាខុស គ្នាបន្តិចបន្តួចក៏ដោយ ។ ជនជាតិពួង និងជនជាតិស្ទៀងផ្សេងទៀតចាត់ទុកជនជាតិរ៉ាអុងថាជាក្រុមអំបូរមួយ ផ្សេង ។

សេចក្តីសន្និដ្ឋាន

អំបូរទាំង ៧នៃក្រុមជនជាតិដែលនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិករស់នៅក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគិរី និងខេត្តក្រចេះនៃព្រះរាជា ណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ដូចជា : ពួង ក្រោល ស្ទៀង (រួមបញ្ចូលជនជាតិ រ៉ាអុង)ថ្ងុន ខាញ មិល និងទំពួន ។ ក្រុមទាំងនេះ ដែលយើងបានសំភាស បានឱ្យដឹងថាពួកគេប្រើពាក្យដែលដើម្បីនិយាយពីមនុស្ស និងភាសារបស់ពួកគេ ។ ក្រុម ទាំងនេះមិនមានអារម្មណ៍អាក្រក់អពីគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកទេ តែចាត់ទុកខ្លួនឯងដាច់ឡែកពីគ្នា ។ សូម្បីតែ ប្រភេទ ភាសាដែលបង្ហាញពីការិតប្រហាក់ប្រហែលគ្នាបន្តិច - ដូចជា ភាសាខាញ និងមិល - មិនបានចាត់ទុកភាសាក្រុម អំបូរដទៃថាដូចជាភាសារបស់ខ្លួននោះទេ ។ នៅពេលត្រូវនិយាយជាមួយមនុស្សក្រៅពីក្រុមរបស់ពួកគេ ជាទូទៅ ជនជាតិបាសនារិកប្រើភាសាខ្មែរ តែនេះមិនមែនបានន័យថាពួកគេទាំងអស់អាចនិយាយភាសាខ្មែរបានល្អនោះទេ ឬមិនចេះភាសាខ្មែរសោះក៏មាន ។ ខេត្តមណ្ឌលគិរីគឺជាតំបន់ដែលមានជនជាតិនិយាយភាសាពួងច្រើនជាងគេ ហើយ ចំណែកឯតំបន់ខាងជើងវិញ ភាសាទំពួរគឺជាភាសាផ្សារក្នុងចំណោមជនជាតិទាំងនោះ ។

អាយុជីវិភាសាគឺជាកត្តាចំបងដែលគួរតែពិចារណានៅពេលគិតពីការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ភាសា ។ ទោះបីជាជនជាតិខាញ នៅតែប្រើភាសារបស់ខ្លួនក៏ដោយ តែមនុស្សជំនាន់ក្រោយបាក់បីដូចជាបែរមកប្រើភាសាខ្មែរកាន់តែច្រើន ។ ស្រដៀងគ្នាដែរ ចំពោះគំនិតរបស់អ្នកតំណាងអភិបាលខេត្តដែលយើងបានជួបក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះបានឱ្យដឹងថា ជនជាតិ មិលបានរស់នៅតាមវប្បធមិខ្មែរ និងភាសាខ្មែរ ។ លើសពីនេះទៀត ជនជាតិថ្ងុនក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគិរីហាក់បីដូចជា

ផ្លាស់ប្ដូរភាសារបស់ខ្លួនទៅប្រើភាសាពួងវិញ តែយើងនឹងធ្វើការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែមទៀតទៅលើអំបូរជនជាតិ ផ្សេងៗដែលរស់នៅប៉ែកនិរតីនៃខេត្តក្រចេះដើម្បីស្វែងយល់ពីភាសារបស់ពួកគេ ហើយថាតើភាសានេះធ្វើការប្រា ស្រ័យទាក់ទងគ្នាដោយរបៀបណាក្នុងក្រុមភាសាបាសនារិក តាមរបៀបភាសាវិទ្យា និងសង្គមភាសាវិទ្យា ។

ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ភាសាកំពុងតែធ្វើឡើងចំពោះភាសាពួង និងទំពួន ក៏ដូចជាក្រុមអំបូរនិយាយភាសាបាសនារិកដែលរស់ នៅក្នុងខេត្តរតនគីរីដែរ ។ តែយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ ប្រភេទផ្សេងៗនៃភាសាទាំងនេះមិនមានភាពប្រហាក់ប្រហែលគ្នា ទៅនឹងក្រុមភាសាដែលយើងសិក្សាពីអក្សរសាស្ត្រ ឬអក្ខរាវិរុទ្ធរបស់ពួកគេទេ ។ ការសិក្សានេះមានសារ:សំខាន់ ក្នុងការផ្ដល់នូវឯកសារពៀបរាប់ខ្លីមួយអំពីតំបន់ភាសា, ទទួលនូវព័ត៌មានដ៏បូង និងចងក្រងបញ្ជាក់ពីបញ្ជាជាក់លាក់, ក្រុមភាសា និងតំបន់ភូមិសាស្ត្រដើម្បីធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែមទៀត ។ សូមមើលផ្នែកណែនាំខាងក្រោម ដើម្បីធ្វើ ការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែមទៀត ដែលជាការចាប់ផ្ដើមដើម្បីផ្ដល់ព័ត៌មានគ្រប់គ្រាន់ដើម្បីធ្វើការសំរេចចិត្តដ៏វៃឆ្លាត ដើម្បី អភិវឌ្ឍភាសា ។

ការណែនាំសំរាប់ការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែម

១. វាយតំលៃអាយុជីវិតភាសាស្ទៀង ហើយកំណត់ការចាត់ជាក្រុមនៃប្រភេទភាសាស្ទៀងផ្សេងៗនៅក្នុង ស្រុកស្នួល ខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

២. កំណត់ពីទំនាក់ទំនងភាសាអំបូរវ៉ាអុងក្នុងក្រុមភាសាបាសនារិក ។ ប្រហែលជាអំបូរវ៉ាអុងនិយាយគ្រាម ភាសាស្ទៀង ដែលយើងឃើញថាមានច្រើនក្នុងប្រទេសវៀតណាម ។

៣. វាយតំលៃទេរភាសាពួងក្នុងចំណោមអំបូរវ៉ាអុង និងស្ទៀងដែលរស់នៅក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី

៤. វាយតំលៃអាយុជីវិតភាសាថ្វនក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

៥. កំណត់ពីទំនាក់ទំនងនៃភាសាថ្វនក្នុងក្រុមភាសាបាសនារិក ។

៦. ស្រង់យកបញ្ជីពាក្យ ធ្វើការស្ទង់នូវទាក់ទងនឹងសង្គមភាសាវិទ្យា ហើយធ្វើការសាកល្បងទៅលើការ ស្ដាប់ បានចំពោះភាសាក្រោលក្នុងភូមិក្ដោយ និងវិរកដែលស្ថិតក្នុងស្រុកកោះញែក ខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី និង ភាសាក្រោលក្នុងស្រុកសំបូរខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

៧. វាយតំលៃទេរភាសាខ្មែរក្នុងចំណោមអំបូរក្រោលដែលរស់នៅក្នុងស្រុកសំបូរ ខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

៨. វាយតំលៃអាយុជីវិតភាសាពួងក្នុងស្រុកនិម្មួយៗក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

៩. វាយតំលៃទេរភាសាខ្មែរក្នុងអំបូរពួងដែលរស់នៅក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះ ។

១០. កំណត់ពីភាពខុសគ្នារវាងភាសាពួងក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងភាសាពួង[៦២] កណ្ដាល ឬខាងត្បូង ក្នុងប្រទេស វៀតណាម ។

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[៦២] ភាសាពួងត្រូវបានគេហៅថា "ម្នង" ក្នុងប្រទេសវៀតណាម ហើយចែកជា ម្នងកណ្ដាល និងម្នងខាងត្បូង

១១. វាយតម្លៃអាយុជីវិតភាសាខាញ ឬវាយតម្លៃទ្រេភាសានៃភាសាខ្មែរក្នុងចំណោមអំបូរខាញ

១២. វាយតម្លៃទៅលើអាយុជីវិតភាសាមិល : តើគួរតែឲ្យជនជាតិមិលរស់នៅតាមវប្បធមិខ្មែរ និងភាសាខ្មែរ ឬតើភាសាមិលនៅមានតម្លៃក្នុងភូមិប៉ាខ្មែងដែល?

១៣. ធ្វើការសាកល្បងទៅលើភាពអាចយល់គ្នាបានរវាងអំបូរខាញ និងមិល ។ ការសាកល្បងនេះប្រហែលជាការតាមដានតែបុំណ្ណោះ ព្រោះអំបូរទាំងពីរនេះហាក់ដូចជាបង្កើមករកភាសាខ្មែរ ។

១៤. វាយតម្លៃទ្រេភាសាឡារក្នុងស្រុកកោះញ្យែក ។

ពត៌មានប្រជាសាស្ត្រ

ពត៌មានប្រជាសាស្ត្រត្រូវបានផ្តល់នៅខាងក្រោមចំពោះភូមិនិមួយៗដែលយើងធ្វើការសិក្សា និងបានទទួលទូរលេខ ចំនួនប្រជាជន ។ ទូរលេខទាំងអស់តំណាងឱ្យបុគ្គលមួយរូបៗ បើមិនមានបញ្ជាក់ចំណាំបែបដូចខាងក្រោមទេ («fam» = គ្រួសារ, «hous» = ផ្ទះ, «#» = ចំនួនកំណត់ទៅនឹងបញ្ជីពាក្យដែលបានកត់ត្រាក្នុងភូមិ)

តារាងទី ១ : ទូរលេខចំនួនប្រជាជនដែលបានកត់ត្រាក្នុងខេត្តមណ្ឌលគីរី

#	ភូមិ	ឃុំ	ស្រុក	ខ្មែរ	ពូង	ស្ទៀង	ក្រោល	ថ្មុន	ទំពូន	ប្រាយ	ឡ្យាវ	ចាម
១	ភូមិឡ្យារកា	ឃុំសុខដុម	ស្រុកសែនមនោរម្យ	4គ្រ	158គ្រ					5	6	
២	ភូមិ ពួក៏តាង	ឃុំសុខដុម	ស្រុកសែនមនោរម្យ	4	126គ្រ	1						
៣	ភូមិពូហៀម	ឃុំសែនមនោរម្យ	ស្រុកអូររាំង		1224							
៤	ភូមិអនុងក្រឡ្យេង	ឃុំសែនមនោរម្យ	ស្រុកអូររាំង		88 16ផ្ទះ							
៥	ភូមិពូរ៉ាង	ឃុំសែនមនោរម្យ	ស្រុកអូររាំង	29 11គ្រ	115 54គ្រ							
៦	ភូមិពូលេស	ឃុំដាក់ដាំ	ស្រុកអូររាំង	17 2-3គ្រ	403							
៧	ភូមិពូលុង	ឃុំរ៉ូម៉ានៀ	ស្រុកសែនមនោរម្យ	10	532 91ផ្ទះ							
៨	ភូមិរូងាល់	ឃុំមេម៉ង	ស្រុកកែវសីមា	3	362 57ផ្ទះ		1					
៩	ភូមិពូតាង	ឃុំប្ឫថ្រី	ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ឋា	26គ្រ	123គ្រ							4គ្រ
១០	ភូមិពូទ្យេល	ឃុំប្ឫស្រា	ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ឋា	4គ្រ	225 53គ្រ		1					

#	ភូមិ	ឃុំ	ស្រុក	ខ្មែរ	ពួង	ស្យែង	ក្រោល	ថ្ងន	ទំពួន	ប្រាយ	ឡាវ	ចាម
១១	ភូមិប្រាំពីរ	ឃុំប៉ូស្រា	ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ទ	6 4 គ្រ	មានតែ អត់ដឹង ប៉ុន្មាន							
១២	ភូមិពួក្រែង	ឃុំស្រែអំពុ	ស្រុកភិជ្រចេន្ទ	28 9គ្រ	211 48គ្រ							101 25គ្រ
១៣	ភូមិស្រែធំ	ឃុំសុខសាន្ត	ស្រុកកោះញ្ជេក		860 176គ្រ 157ផ្ទះ							
១៤	ភូមិរយ៉ៃ[៦៣]	ឃុំរយ៉ៃ	ស្រុកកោះញ្ជេក	10គ្រ	150គ្រ		312គ្រ	1គ្រ				
១៥	ភូមិណងបូរ	ឃុំណងយ៉ៃលឹក	ស្រុកកោះញ្ជេក	18គ្រ	23គ្រ		3គ្រ		34គ្រ	2គ្រ	30គ្រ	
១៦	ភូមិមេមម	ឃុំរយ៉ៃ	ស្រុកកោះញ្ជេក	3គ្រ	2គ្រ			24គ្រ	1គ្រ			
១៧	ភូមិផ្នែង	ឃុំស្រែខុម	ស្រុកកែវសីមា		123គ្រ	126គ្រ						
១៨	ភូមិអូរណោ	ឃុំស្រែខុម	ស្រុកកែវសីមា	40គ្រ	89គ្រ	2គ្រ						
១៩	ភូមិអូរអាំ	ឃុំស្រែខុម	ស្រុកកែវសីមា			28ផ្ទះ រ៉ាំអុង						

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៦៣ ទូរលេខនេះតំណាងឱ្យចំនួនប្រជាជនក្នុងឃុំ មិនមែនតែនៅក្នុងភូមិប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ

តារាងទី ២ : ទូរលេខចំនួនប្រជាជនដែលបានកត់ត្រាក្នុងខេត្តក្រចេះ ។ ទូរលេខពីនាយកដ្ឋានផែនការខុសពីទូរលេខ ដែលបាន រាយការណ៍ក្នុងបទសំភាសន៍របស់យើង ។ ទូរលេខរបស់រដ្ឋាភិបាលមានស្រមោល និងអក្សរទ្រេត

#	ភូមិ	ឃុំ	ស្រុក	ខ្មែរ	ពួង	ស្ទៀង	ក្រោល	ធួន	ខាញ	មិល	កុយ	ចាម
២០	ភូមិច្រាប	ឃុំពីរធ្នូ	ស្រុកស្នួល	6គ្រ		*334* 63គ្រ						*188គ្រ*
២១	ភូមិមិល	ឃុំយ៉ឹម	ស្រុកស្នួល	424 88គ្រ		315, *322* 66គ្រ						
២២	ភូមិជួក្រាង	ឃុំយ៉ឹម	ស្រុកស្នួល	18គ្រ	70គ្រ							
២៣	ភូមិចឹង	ឃុំយ៉ឹម	ស្រុកស្នួល	74គ្រ	423, *420*							
២៤ ២៥	ភូមិកសាង[៦៤]	ឃុំចង្រ្កង	ស្រុកក្រចេះ	1356 164គ្រ	547, *547* 118គ្រ				704, *147* 155គ្រ			
២៦	ភូមិស្រែតាហែន	ឃុំសំបុក	ស្រុកក្រចេះ							*319* 80គ្រ		
២៧	ភូមិបឹងរុន	ឃុំសំបុក	ស្រុកក្រចេះ	94គ្រ	*625* 54គ្រ							
២៨	ឈក	ឃុំថ្មី	ស្រុកក្រចេះ	5គ្រ	3គ្រ				130គ្រ		10គ្រ	
២៩	ភូមិអូរគ្រៀង	ឃុំអូរគ្រៀង	ស្រុកសំបូរ	346គ្រ	*52* 10គ្រ					9គ្រ		
៣០	ភូមិអំពក	ឃុំស្រែជិះ	ស្រុកសំបូរ		*264* 10គ្រ		*3358*	2–3 *333*	100+គ្រ			
៣១	ភូមិស្រែជិះ	ឃុំស្រែជិះ	ស្រុកសំបូរ									

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៦៤ ទូរលេខនេះតំណាងឱ្យចំនួនប្រជាជនក្នុងឃុំ មិនមែនតែនៅក្នុងភូមិប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ

Sociolinguistic questionnaire

Khmer version

កាណែនាំ

- សរសេរគ្រប់ចំលើយនៅក្នុងសៀវភៅសរសេរៗ
- កពីរ រឺ បី ទំព័រខាងមុខសំរាប់មាតិកា ។
- ដាក់លេខគ្រប់ទំព័រ ។
- សូមអានសំនួរអោយច្បាស់ដូចការសរសេរក្នុងអត្ថបទៗ ហើយនៅពេលខ្លះលំការពន្យល់ ដើម្បីអោយសំនួរកាន់តែច្បាស់ ។

ប្រសិនបើអ្នកត្រូវពន្យល់សំនួរ សុំកុំអោយចំលើយគេៗ សរសេរក្នុងសៀវភៅសរសេរ (ជិតចំលើយ) ដែលអ្នកបានពន្យល់សំនួររួចហើយៗ

- ពាក្យដែលគូសពណ៌ខ្មៅ កុំអានអោយលឺៗ
- ពាក្យ ឬ ឃ្លានៅក្នុងឃ្នាប [] ត្រូវតែប្ដូរទៅតាមទីកន្លែងមនុស្ស ឬ ភាសាៗ
- សរសេរចំលើយចូលក្នុងសៀវភៅកត់ត្រារបស់អ្នកដោយដាក់លេខទៅតាមសំនួរៗ

ធ្វើរបៀបនេះ:

វាអាចធ្វើអោយអ្នកច្បាស់ថាចំលើយមួយណាត្រូវនឹងសំនួរមួយណាៗ

- សូមសរសេរអោយបានច្បាស់ៗ
- សរសេរចំលើយដូចដែលគេឆ្លើយៗ
- រីករាយ!

ការយល់ព្រមរបស់អ្នកឆ្លើយសំនួរ

សួស្ដី! ខ្ញុំឈ្មោះ.........ខ្ញុំធ្វើការនៅ ICC ជាអង្គការដែលកំពុងធ្វើការងារដើម្បីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍តំបន់នៅក្នុង ខេត្ត Rattanakiri និង Mondul Kiri ។ យើងកំពុងតែធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវខ្លះៗនៅក្នុងតំបន់ដែល ប្រើភាសាខុសៗគ្នានៃកម្ពុជាៗ ជាពិសេសយើងមានការចាប់អារម្មណ៍នៅក្នុងការស្វែងរកភាសា ឬ ក្រមភាសាដែលមិនទាន់ស្គាល់ច្បាស់លាស់ៗ យើងមានសំនួរ ២ ឬ ៣ ដែលយើងចង់សួរអំពីអ្នក និងភាសារបស់អ្នកៗ វាពុំមានចំលើយត្រូវ ឬ ខុសទេៗ សូមគ្រាន់តែប្រាប់យើងនូវអ្វីដែលអ្នកគិត ពេលដែលយើងសរសេរអំពីការងារ នៃការស្រាវជ្រាវរបស់ពួកយើងយើងនឹងមិនដាក់ឈ្មោះរបស់ អ្នក ឬ ព័ត៌មានបញ្ជាក់ផ្សេងៗ ទេៗ អ្វីទាំងអស់ចំនាយពេលប្រហែល......នាទីៗ

តើអ្នកចង់ឆ្លើយសំនួររបស់យើងឬទេ?

☐ ការអនុញ្ញាតឆ្លើយសំនួរ

កត់នៅក្នុងសៀវភៅកត់ត្រារបស់អ្នកប្រសិនបើពួកគេនិយាយ បាន ឬ មិនបាន (យល់ព្រម ឬ មិនយល់ព្រម)ៗ

ព័ត៌មានដំបូង

1- លេខសំនួរ

2- ស្តង់មតិ

3- កន្លែងសំភាស

4- ឈ្មោះអ្នកសំភាស

5- ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ

6- ភាសាដែលប្រើសំរាប់សួរ

7- ភាសាសំរាប់ឆ្លើយ

8- ឈ្មោះអ្នកបកប្រែ

9- ~~យោបល់~~

ពត៌មានរបស់អ្នកឆ្លើយសំនួរ

10- តើអ្នកឈ្មោះអ្វី?

11- ភេទ

12- អ្នកអាយុប៉ុន្មាន?

13- អ្នករៀបការហើយ ឬ នៅ?

14- (បើសិនរៀបការហើយ) តើអ្នកមានកូនទេ?

    a. មាន ឬ មិនមាន

    b. (បើមាន) ប៉ុន្មាន?

15- តើអ្នកធ្វើការអ្វី?

16- តើអ្នករៀនដល់ថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?

17- តើអ្នកកើតនៅឯណា?

18- តើអ្នកធំឡើងនៅឯណា?

19- តើឪពុកអ្នករស់នៅឯណា?

20- តើអ្នករស់នៅទី [X] រយៈពេលប៉ុន្មានហើយ?

21- តើអ្នកហៅភាសាអ្នកថាម៉េច?

ឈ្មោះភូមិប្រជាជន

22- តើឈ្មោះជាផ្លូវការរបស់ភូមិនេះឈ្មោះអ្វី?

    a. ឈ្មោះ

    b. តើនៅក្នុងស្រុកអ្វី? [សួរអំពីគ្រប់កំរិតទាក់ទង] (ឧទា. ភូមិ ឃុំ ស្រុក ខេត្ត)

23- ~~តើប្រជាជនដែលរស់នៅទីនេះហៅភូមិនេះថាម៉េច?~~ តើភូមិនេះមានឈ្មោះផ្សេងទៀតឬ?

    a. ឈ្មោះ

    b. តើឈ្មោះនោះមានន័យដូចម្តេច?

24- តើអ្នកនៅខាងក្រៅហៅភូមិនេះថាម៉េច?

     a. ឈ្មោះ
       (បើសិនមិនដូចឈ្មោះភូមិរបស់ពួកគេ)

     b. តើអ្នកណាហៅវាថាដូច្នោះ?

     c. តើឈ្មោះនោះមានន័យថាម៉េច?

     d. តើអ្នកភូមិនេះចូលចិត្តឈ្មោះនោះទេ?

ភាសានឹងក្រុមជនជាតិ

25- តើភូមិនេះគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វី?

     a. ឈ្មោះភាសា

     b. តើឈ្មោះភាសានោះមានន័យយ៉ាងម៉េច?

26- ~~តើអ្នកផ្សេងទៀតហៅភាសាភូមិនេះថាម៉េច?~~
    តើមានអ្នកផ្សេងទៀតដែលហៅភាសាភូមិនេះខុសគ្នា?

     a. ឈ្មោះភាសា
       (ប្រសិនបើមិនដូចឈ្មោះភាសារបស់ភូមិនេះ)

     ~~b. តើអ្នកណាហៅវាដូច្នោះ?~~

     ~~c. តើឈ្មោះនោះមានន័យថាម៉េច?~~

     ~~d. តើមនុស្សភូមិនេះចូលចិត្តឈ្មោះនោះទេ?~~

27- ~~តើមនុស្សនៅភូមិនេះគេគិតថាពួកគេជាជនជាតិអ្វី?~~

     ~~a. ឈ្មោះមនុស្ស~~

     ~~b. តើ [X] នោះមានន័យថាម៉េច?~~

28- ~~តើអ្នកផ្សេងទៀតហៅពួកអ្នកថាម៉េច?~~

     ~~a. ឈ្មោះមនុស្ស~~
       ~~(ប្រសិនខុសគ្នា / មិនដូចគ្នា)~~

     ~~b. តើអ្នកណាហៅពួកគេដូច្នោះ?~~

     ~~c. តើឈ្មោះនោះមានន័យថាម៉េច?~~

     ~~d. តើមនុស្សភូមិនេះចូលចិត្តឈ្មោះនោះទេ?~~

29- តើនៅភូមិនេះមនុស្សទាំងអស់ជាជនជាតិ **[X]** ឬ មានជនជាតិផ្សេងទៀត?

    a. ជាជនជាតិ **[X]** ឬ មានជនជាតិផ្សេងទៀត?

    (ប្រសិនមានជនជាតិផ្សេងទៀត)

    b. តើជនជាតិអ្វីខ្លះរស់នៅទីនេះ?

    c. មានជនជាតិ **[X]** ប៉ុន្មាននាក់ និងមានប៉ុន្មានផ្ទះ?

        i. ចំនួនផ្ទះសំរាប់ក្រុមនីមួយៗ។

        ii. ចំនួនមនុស្សសំរាប់ក្រុមនីមួយៗ។

30- ពួកអ្នកតែងតែរស់នៅជាមួយគ្នាបែបនេះ តាំងតែពីដើមរៀងមកឬអត់ទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើផ្លាស់ប្តូរ)
    b. តើផ្លាស់ប្តូរយ៉ាងម៉េច? តើជនជាតិ [X] ច្រើន ឬ តិច?

30- តើមានតែជនជាតិ [X] មួយតាំងពីដើម មក ឬ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើផ្លាស់ប្តូរ)
    b. តើផ្លាស់ប្តូរយ៉ាងម៉េច? តើជនជាតិ [X] ច្រើន ឬ តិច?

31- ~~ប្រើផែនទីនៃភាសាតំបន់នោះសំរាប់សួរ:~~
    a. ~~តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ធ្វើដំណើរទៅកន្លែងណានៅក្នុងតំបន់នេះ?~~
    b. ~~តើនៅតំបន់ទាំងនោះគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វីខ្លះ?~~
    ~~សួរសំនួរខាងក្រោមបើអ្នកលឺភាសាដែលអ្នកមិនស្គាល់?~~
    c. ~~តើមនុស្សដែលនិយាយភាសានោះរស់នៅឯណា?~~
    d. ~~តើពួកគេគិតថាពួកគេជាជនជាតិអ្វី?~~
    e. ~~តើអ្នកដរទេហៅពួកគេថាម៉េច?~~
    f. ~~តើភាសារបស់ពួកគេស្រដៀងគ្នា ឬ ខុសគ្នាពីភាសារបស់អ្នក?~~

32- ~~តើមានភូមិដែលនៅជិតតំបុំន្លែនិយាយភាសាខុសគ្នាទាំងស្រុងទេ?~~
    a. ~~ភូមិ~~
    b. ~~តើអ្នកហៅភាសានោះថាម៉េច?~~
    c. ~~តើមនុស្សដែលនិយាយភាសានោះហៅភាសានោះថាម៉េច?~~
    d. ~~តើអ្នកប្រើភាសាអ្វីនៅពេលអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយមនុស្សទាំងនោះ?~~

33- មានជនជាតិ [X] ដែលនិយាយភាសា[X] មិនស្ទ្ ួ របានល្អ ឬ ទេ?
    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)
    b. ក្រុមមួយណា?
    c. តើភាសាណាដែលពួ ួ កគេនិយាយបានល្អ?
    d. តើភាសាអ្វីដែលអ្នកប្រើជាមួយពួកគេ?

34- តើភូមិមួយណានៅជិតភូមិនេះមានមនុស្សមកពីជនជាតិផ្សេងៗ?
    a. ភូមិ
    b. តើអ្នកហៅមនុស្សទាំងនោះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
    c. តើពួកគេគិតថាពួកគេជាជនជាតិអ្វី?

ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ

35- តើមនុស្សដែលកំពុងរស់នៅទីនេះមកពីណា?

- a. កន្លែងណា
- b. មុនពេលគេនៅ **[X]** គេមកពីណា?
- c. ពេលណាដែលពួកគេផ្លាស់មកនៅទីនេះ? (ប្រសិនបើពួកគេទើបមកទីនេះថ្មីៗ)
- d. ពេលពួកគេនៅ **[X]** តើក្រុមផ្សេងណាខ្លះដែលនៅជិតគេ?
- e. តើភាសាអ្វីដែលពួកគេប្រើនៅទីនោះ?
- f. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាពួកគេមកនៅទីនេះ?
- g. តើពួកគេនៅ **[X]** មកទីនេះឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?
- h. តើមនុស្សនៅទីនេះទៅ **[X]** ឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?

36- ~~តើជនជាតិ **[X]** ទាំងអស់មកពីណា? ទាំងនៅភូមិនេះនិងភូមិផ្សេងទៀត?~~

- ~~a. កន្លែងណា?~~
- ~~b. ពេលណាពួកគេមកកាន់ទីនេះ?~~
- ~~c. ហេតុអ្វី បានជាពួកគេចាកចេញពីភូមិមុន?~~
- ~~d. តើមនុស្សនៅ **[X]** មកលេងទីនេះ ឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?~~
- ~~e. តើមនុស្សនៅទីនេះ ទៅទីនោះឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?~~
- f. តើកំណើតដើមរបស់ ជនជាតិ **[X]** នៅទីណា?

ភាសាប្រើប្រាស់និងភាសាសំរាប់ទំនាក់ទំនង

37- ក្រៅពីភាសា **[X]** តើភាសាអ្វីខ្លះគេនិយាយនៅក្នុងភូមិនេះ?

38- តើជនជាតិ **[X]** ក្នុងភូមិនេះនិយាយភាសា **[X]** នៅផ្ទះឬទេ?

- a. បាទ ឬ ទេ (ប្រសិនបើអត់)
- b. តើពួកគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វីនៅផ្ទះ?

39- តើក្មេងៗក្នុងភូមិនេះតែងតែនិយាយភាសាអ្វី?

40- សំរាប់ភាសានីមួយៗមកពី [#37]

ជនជាតិក្នុងមួយណាខ្លះចេះនិយាយភាសាខ្មែរបានល្អណាស់?

- a. នរណានិយាយ ភាសា [ទាំងនោះ] បានល្អ? (ឧទាហរណ៍ បុរស ស្ត្រី ចាស់ ក្មេង អ្នកលក់ៗលៗ)
- b. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាពួកគេត្រូវចេះនិយាយភាសានោះឲ្យបានល្អ?
- ~~c. តើមានមនុស្សខ្លះក្នុងភូមិនេះនិយាយ ភាសា **[X]** នេះមិនសូវបានល្អឬទេ?~~

~~i. នរណាខ្លះ (បុរស នារី ចាស់...)~~

~~ii. ហេតុអ្វី?~~

41- តើមានមនុស្សក្នុងភូមិនេះដែលអត់និយាយភាសា **[X]** ឬទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
    (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. គេនិយាយភាសាអ្វី?

    c. ពួកគេរៀនភាសា **[X]** ឬ ទេ?

    d. ភាសាអ្វីដែលជនជាតិ **[X]** និយាយជាមួយពួកគេ?

42- ភាសាទាំងអស់ព្រមទាំងភាសា **[X]** ភាសាមួយណាដែលគេនិយាយច្រើនជាងគេ?

43- បើមនុស្សក្នុងភូមិនេះជួបអ្នកអត់ចេះភាសា **[X]** ពួកគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វីជាមួយគ្នា?

ការយល់ឃើញពីក្រាមភាសា

ប្រសិនភាសា [X] ជាភាសាកំនើតរបស់អ្នកឆ្លើយ សូមសួរសំនួរដូចខាងក្រោម

44- តើអ្នកទាំងអស់គ្នានៅក្នុងភូមិអ្នកនិយាយភាសា **[X]** ដូចគ្នា?

45- តើមានប៉ុន្មានភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសា **[X]**?

46- តើមានភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសា **[X]** ខុសពីនេះខ្លាំងដែរ ឬ ទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
    (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. ភូមិនោះឈ្មោះអ្វី?

47- ភូមិដែលនិយាយខុសគ្នាខ្លាំង

    a. ភាគច្រើន តើអ្នកយល់ទាំងអស់ ឬ ក៏ខ្លះៗ ឬ អត់យល់សោះ?
    (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយអត់យល់ទាំងអស់)

    b. តើវាខុសគ្នាយ៉ាងម៉េច?
    ☐ ការអោយឧទាហរណ៍: កត់ត្រាក្នុងសៀវភៅសរសេររបស់អ្នកប្រសិនបើ អ្នកត្រូវឲ្យឧទាហរណ៍ដូចខាងក្រោម ។
        តើពាក្យខុសគ្នាយ៉ាងម៉េច?
        តើពួកគេ និយាយយឺតពេកឬក៏លឿនពេក?

    c. តើអ្នកហៅភាសាទាំងនោះយ៉ាងម៉េច?

    d. តើអ្នកហៅពួកគេទាំងនោះយ៉ាងម៉េច?

    e. ពេលអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយមនុស្សដែលមកពីភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសាខុសពី អ្នកខ្លាំង តើអ្នកនិយាយភាសាអ្វីជាមួយគេ?

i. អ្នកទាំងពីរប្រើភាសារបស់អ្នក
ii. អ្នកទាំងពីរប្រើភាសារបស់ពួកគេ
iii. ម្នាក់ៗប្រើភាសាផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន ប៉ុន្តែអាចយល់បាន
iv. អ្នកទាំងពីរវេ៉រសយកភាសាមួយផ្សេងទៀត (ប្រសិនបើដូរផ្លេ៉្ះប្រើភាសាអ្វី)

48- តើមានភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសា **[X]** �ាសពីទីនេះបន្តិចបន្តួចដែររឬទេ?
   a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
      (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)
   b. ភូមិនោះឈ្មោះអ្វី?

49- ភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសាឡ៉ុសគ្នាពីអ្នកបន្តិចបន្តួច
   a. ភាគច្រើន តើអ្នកយល់ទាំងអស់ ឬក៏ខ្លះៗ ឬ អត់យល់សោះ?
      (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយអត់យល់ទាំងអស់)
   b. តើឯឡ៉ុសគ្នាយ៉ាងម៉េច?
      □ ការអានឧទាហរណ៍: កត់ត្រាក្នុងសៀ៉វភៅសរសេររបស់អ្នកប្រសិនបើ
      អ្នកត្រូឡ្យ៉ានឧទាហរណ៍ដូចខាងក្រាម។
         តើពaក្យឡ៉ុសគ្នាយ៉ាងម៉េច?
         តើពួកគេ និយាយយឺតឡ៉កឬក៏លឿនពេក?
   c. តើអ្នកហៅ៉ភាសាទាំងនោះយ៉ាងម៉េច?
   d. តើអ្នក ហៅ៉ពួកគេទាំងនោះយ៉ាងម៉េច?
   e. ពេលអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយមនុស្សដែលមកពីភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសាឡ៉ុសពីអ្នក
      បន្តិចបន្តួច តើអ្នកនិយាយភាសាអ្វីជាមួយគេ?
         i. អ្នកទាំងពីរប្រើភាសារបស់អ្នក
         ii. អ្នកទាំងពីរប្រើភាសារបស់ពួកគេ
         iii. ម្នាក់ៗប្រើភាសាផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន ប៉ុន្តែអាចយល់បាន
         iv. អ្នកទាំងពីរវេ៉រសយកភាសាមួយផ្សេងទៀត(ប្រសិនបើដូរផ្លេ៉្ះប្រើភាសាអ្វី)

50- តើមានភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសា **[X]** ដូចទីនេះឬទេ?
   a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
      (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)
   b. ភូមិនោះឈ្មោះអ្វី?

51- ភូមិដែលនិយាយភាសាដូចអ្នក
   a. តើអ្នកហៅ៉ភាសារបស់គេដូចភាសារបស់អ្នក ឬ ទេ?
      (បើឆ្លើយថាអត់ទេ)
   b. តើអ្នកហៅ៉ភាសារបស់ពួកគេយ៉ាងម៉េច?

c. តើអ្នកហៅពួកគេទាំងនោះថាម៉េច?

ភាសាទំនាក់ទំនង

52- តើជនជាតិ [X] នៅក្នុងភូមិនេះរៀបការជាមួយមនុស្សដែលអត់ចេះភាសា [X] ឬ ទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. តើពួកគេជាជនជាតិអ្វីដែលពួក [X] នឹងរៀបការជាមួយ?

    c. តើពួកគេរៀបការបែបនេះច្រើន ឬ ទេ?

53- ក្នុងរង្វង់បុណ្យទានមួយ តើមានមនុស្សចាកចេញឆ្ងាយពីភូមិឬទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. ពួកគេទៅណា?

    c. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាពួកគេទៅទីនោះ?

    d. ពួកគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វីនៅទីនោះ?

54- តើមនុស្សមិនមែនជនជាតិ [X] ធ្វើដំណើរមកកាន់កន្លែងដែលនិយាយភាសា [X] ឬ ទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទសួរសំនួរខា (v.)ងក្រោម)

    b. តើអ្នកណាមកទីនេះ?   (ឧទា.អ្នកលក់ កសិករ ជនជាតិអ្វី)

    c. ហេតុអ្វីពួកគេមកទីនេះ?

    d. តើពួកគេមកទីនេះ ប៉ុន្មានដងក្នុងមួយខែ/១ឆ្នាំ?

    e. ភាសាអ្វីដែលពួកគេប្រើពេលគេនិយាយជាមួយជនជាតិ [X]?

55- ពេលជនជាតិ [X] ចេញពីកន្លែងនិយាយភាសា [X] តើពួកគេទៅទីណា? តើមានកន្លែងផ្សេងៗទៀតដែលពួកគេទៅច្រើនដងមួយទេ?

    a. រាយឈ្មោះកន្លែង
       សួរសំនួរខាងក្រោមសំរាប់កន្លែននិមួយៗ

    b. មនុស្សប្រភេទណាដែលទៅទីនោះ?

    c. ទៅច្រើននាក់ ឬក៏បន្តិចបន្តួច?

    d. ហេតុអ្វីពួកគេទៅទីនោះ?

    e. ពួកគេទៅទីនោះប៉ុន្មានដង?

    f. ជនជាតិអ្វីដែលរស់នៅទីនោះ?

    g. ពួកគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វី?

    h. ភាសាអ្វីដែលគេប្រើនៅទីនោះ ជាមួយអ្នកអត់ចេះនិយាយភាសា [X]?

56- តើជនជាតិ **[X]** នៅក្នុងភូមិនេះមានធ្វើដំនើរទៅភូមិ **[X]** ផ្សេងទៀត ឬ ទេ?

    a. រាយឈ្មោះកន្លែង
        សួរសំនួរខាងក្រោមសំរាប់កន្លែននិមួយៗ

    b. មនុស្សប្រភេទណាដែលទៅទីនោះ?

    c. ទៅច្រើននាក់ ឬក៏បន្តិចបន្តួច?

    d. ហេតុអ្វីពួកគេទៅទីនោះ?

    e. ពួកគេទៅទីនោះប៉ុន្មានដង?

    f. តើពួកគេនិយាយភាសា **[X]** ជាមួយគ្នា ឬក៏ពួកគេត្រូវតែនិយាយ
       ភាសាមួយផ្សេងទៀត?
       (ប្រសិនបើគេនិយាយ **[X]**)

    g. តើពួកគេពិបាកយល់គ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក ឬ ទេ?

    h. តើពួកគេគូរតែប្ដូររបៀបដែលគេនិយាយភាសា **[X]** ក្នុងការទំនាក់ទំនងគ្នា ឬ ទេ?

57- ~~តើមនុស្សក្នុងភូមិ~~ **[X]** ~~ផ្សេងទៀត មកទីនេះឬទេ?~~

    ~~a. បាទ ឬ ទេ~~
       ~~(ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)~~

    ~~b. មកពីភូមិណា?~~

    ~~c. តើអ្នកណាមកទីនេះ?(ឧ.ទា.អ្នកលក់ កសិករ ជនជាតិអ្វី)~~

    ~~d. ហេតុអ្វីពួកគេមកទីនេះ?~~

    ~~e. ពួកគេមកទីនេះប៉ុន្មានដង?~~

    ~~f. តើពួកគេនិយាយភាសា~~ **[X]** ~~ជាមួយគ្នាឬក៏ពួកគេត្រូវតែនិយាយភាសាមួយផ្សេងទៀត?~~
       ~~(ប្រសិនបើគេនិយាយ~~**[X]**~~)~~

    ~~g. តើពួកគេពិបាកយល់គ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកឬទេ?~~

    ~~h. តើពួកគេគូរតែប្ដូររបៀបដែលគេនិយាយភាសា~~ **[X]** ~~ក្នុងការទំនាក់ទំនងគ្នាឬទេ?~~

58- តើមានពិធីបុណ្យដែលជនជាតិអ្នកធ្វើជាមួយជនជាតិផ្សេងទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. បុណ្យអ្វី?

    c. កន្លែងណាគេធ្វើពិធីនេះ?

    d. ក្រុម/ ភូមិអ្វីខ្លះដែលចូលរួម?

    e. ប៉ុន្មានដង?

    f. ភាសាអ្វីដែលគេនិយាយជាមួយគ្នា?

59- តើមានក្មេងវ័យជំទង់របស់ជនជាតិអ្នកតឡូរកំពុងរស់នៅទីក្រុងធំៗ ឬទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. ហេតុអ្វីពួកគេទៅ?

    c. ទៅច្រើននាក់ ឬក៏បន្តិចបន្តួច?

    d. ពេលពួកគេនៅទីនោះ ពួកគេនិយាយភាសាអ្វីនៅទីនោះ?

    e. តើពួកគេដែលត្រលប់មករស់នៅទីនេះវិញដែរ ឬទេ?

សាលា

60- តើមានសាលានៅភូមិនេះឬទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. តើថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មានដែលបង្រៀនក្នុងសាលានេះ?

    c. ពេលបង្រៀនលោកគ្រូប្រើភាសាអ្វី?

    d. តើមានក្មេងប៉ុន្មានភាគរយនៅភូមិនេះដែលទៅសាលា?

    e. សិស្សសាលានេះមានជនជាតិអ្វីខ្លះ?
      ជនជាតិនេះ៖_____ប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?
      ជនជាតិនេះ៖_____ប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?

    f. តើសិស្សសាលានិយាយភាសាអ្វីជាមួយគ្នា?

61- តើមានសិស្សខ្លះទៅសាលានៅភូមិផ្សេងទៀតដែរ ឬទេ?

    a. បាទ ឬ ទេ (តើវាអាស្រ័យទៅលើកូនប្រុស ឬ កូនស្រីឬទេ)
       (ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយបាទ)

    b. តើមានក្មេងប៉ុន្មានដែលទៅសាលាឆ្ងាយពីភូមិ?

    c. កន្លែងណា?

    d. តើពួកគេទៅរៀនទីនោះថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?

    e. តើគ្រូប្រើភាសាអ្វីពេលបង្រៀននៅទីនោះ?

    f. តើក្រុមនិយាយភាសាអ្វីខ្លះ ដែលចូលក្នុងសាលានេះ?

    g. ជនជាតិនេះ៖_____ប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?
      ជនជាតិនេះ៖_____ប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?

    h. តើសិស្សសាលានិយាយភាសាអ្វីជាមួយគ្នា?

62- ~~តើរយៈពេលប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំដែលក្មេងប្រុសនៅក្នុងភូមិបញ្ចប់ការរៀនសូត្ររបស់គេ?~~

63- ~~តើរយៈពេលប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំដែលក្មេងស្រីនៅក្នុងភូមិបញ្ចប់ការរៀនសូត្ររបស់គេ?~~

64- ~~តើជាធម្មតាក្មេងនៅក្នុងភូមិលប់រៀននៅថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?~~
    ☐ ថ្នាក់ដំបូង

☐ មញាបំផ្លាក់ទី៦
☐ បំផ្លាក់ទី៩ (អន្តរក្បាល់យ)
☐ បំផ្លាក់ទី១២ (វិក្បាល់យ)

65- មូលហេតុអ្វីដែលគេឈប់បង្រៀន?

66- ជាធម្មតា ប៉ុន្មាននាក់ក្នុងមួយផ្លាក់?

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