# REMNANT OF A LOST NATION & THEIR COGNATE WORDS TO OLD MON EPIGRAPH

Surprisingly, a few extraordinary discoveries on anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics have been brought to light by competent scholars of respective fields of research in recent years both in Burma and Thailand.

In 1979, U Thaw Tint and U Ba Maw of Geology Department of Mandalay University reported the new finds of fossilised primate jaws at Pondaung Hills, near Mogaung village, Pale township, North-West Burma which date back to 40 million years according to Radiocarbon test. Thus claiming to be the oldest specimen fossils of anthropoid so far found in the world. (See Nature Vol. 282, No. 5734, pp. 65-67, 1979 Macmillan Journals Ltd.)

Pisit Charoenwongsa and Chester German had jointly conducted the systematic excavations at Ban Chiang, a small village in North-East Thailand in the field seasons of 1974-75. Reports say that the finds from Ban Chiang Provide the earliest bronze casting technology yet discovered which Radiocarbon (C14) analysis places them 3600-2900 B.C. antedating both the bronze metallurgy of China and the Middle East. (See Tentative Stratigraphic Sequence through the Ban Chiang Mound, Expedition Vol. 18 No.4, p.26, 1976, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia)

In the same issue of Expedition on page 12, the learned editor James D. Muhly wrote: "The first radiocarbon dates from Mainland China suggest that copper metallurgy in China could as old as c.2000 BC. But no earlier, at least on the evidence now available. Yet the radiocarbon dates indicate the presence of bronze in Northern Thailand some 1500 years earlier. Perhaps bronze metallurgy actually came from Thailand to China. That is exactly what has now been claimed, but on philological rather than archaeological grounds "

Paul Benedict, the author of what is known as the 'Benedict Hypothesis' has proposed that the basic agricultural and metallurgical terminology in Chinese actually comes from what he calls the Austro-Thai language family. According to Benedict, the

<sup>\*</sup> Formerly Honorary Editor of the *Journal of Burma Research Society* and Head of Epigraphy Division, Archaeology Department, Rangoon.

word for copper, Chinese t' ung, was borrowed by Chinese from Austro-Thai. For Benedict the graves at Ban Chiang and Non Nok Tha represent the very graves of these ancestral Austro-Thai people or peoples, with evidence of sophisticated bronze casting in the middle of the third millenium B.C. about a thousand years before the appearance of the celebrated bronze of ancient China.

Professor Paul K. Benedict writes: "We come now finally to the one cultural item which is represented, albeit with semantic shift, in Munda, viz. lu (y) an 'copper/ brass', yielding Proto-Munda luan 'iron', the final piece in the puzzle (the missing" y) being supplied by Mon sluy 'copper' (cf. Slak 'brass') from s/luy (an)........Thus it appears that the "culture word" of greatest antiquity in all Southeast Asia should designate the metal (copper/bronze) that was probably first produced in history by the people (Austro-Thai speaking) of this region" (See Austroasiatic Studies, Part I, p.27, 1976, Hawaii University, Honolulu).

Austro-Thai is a new term given by Benedict in a paper presented at the First International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics at the University of Hawaii in 1973. Old linguist W.Schmidt (1906) of Vienna started calling a language super family as "Austric" which has two sub-divisions known as Austronesian (languages spoken on the southern islands) and Austroasiatic (languages spoken on the mainland of South Asia including Mon-Khmer but excluding Thai-Chinese and Tibeto-Burman, both belong to Sino-Tibetan, a different main family).

Among members of the Austroasiatic stock, Mon was one of the major languages which had played a considerable role in bygone days in the soil now known as Thailand.

Regarding the remnant of ancient Mon in Thailand which I prefer to call them a lost Nation, Gerard Diffloth of Chicago University brought me in 1980, a copy of his work entitled "Reconstructing Dvaravati-Old-Mon" revealing the fact that the Nyah-kur language was a sister-language to Modern Mon, which separated itself during the Old Mon period and has had an independent life since then. Strangely enough they do not consider themselves to be Mon and in fact have no knowledge of the name Mon or any older form of it such as Ramañ; Rmeñ; Rman and Man, pronounced 'Mon'. Obviously their spoken words are more closer to written Old Mon than to Modern Spoken Mon.

Despite the fact that they are illiterate they still maintain the sound of final consonants in their speech as we find in Old Mon inscriptions of both Burma and Thailand that had flourished from 6th centuries A.D.

Dr. diffloth writes in his Introdution; "The comparison of Mon and Nyah Kur

gives us not only more information (two Monic languages instead of one), but also information of a totally different kind; it allows us to construct, in part, a third language which has disappeared for ever, and to suggest the course of events which led from this reconstructed language to the ones which are still spoken today: Mon and Nyah Kur. This third language will be called Proto-Monic, following normal linguistic practice; but we will try to show in the conclusion to the present work that this language was actually the one spoken in Central Thailand in the Dvaravati period, i.e. that Proto-Monic is Dvaravati-Old-Mon."

His reconstruction is admirable and I was excited to have such a very striking information about the discovery of the remnant of a lost nation of our ancestors the ancient language of Thailand that had presumed to be lost forever. As a Mon, I was delighted and would like to express my heartiest congratulations to Dr. Diffloth for his pioneer work excerting strenous efforts in bringing to light the long hidden Nyah Kurlanguage to be definately affiliated to an offshoot of the Dvaravati-Old-Mon.

Again in 1984, I was overwhelmed with joy when I received a copy of Nyah Kur (Chao-Bon)-Thai-English Dictionary by Dr. Theraphan Thongkum. It was kindly presented to me by the author herself. This rhyming dictionary consists of about 5000 entries of Nyah Kur words. The author says this dying language is spoken by a minority group scattered in remote areas of three provinces; Chaiyaphum, Khorat and Petchabun. She states that the phonological system of Nyah Kur is more similar to Old Mon of the inscriptions than to Modern Mon. The learned dictionary is arranged by semantic categories into 37 sections. The entries are transcribed in IPA script and translated into Thai and English with sample phrases and sentences. It is extremely helpful for me in comparing with my language. Therefore, I would like to extend my heartiest congratulation to Dr. Theraphan for her pioneer work on Nyah Kur. I admire her for her ability and diligence in mastering the dialect which is a sister-language of my mother tongue.

Simultaneously, Dr. Diffloth sent me a copy of his book on "The Dvaravati Old Mon Language and Nyah Kur". It is a very extensive work proving that the Nyah Kur people are the direct linguistic descendants of Dvaravati society. He suggests that Dvaravati Old Mon was the communication medium of ancient Central Thailand before Thai supplanted it. He says that by comparing the Nyah Kur language with the various stages of Mon, a competent linguist can start reconstructing the Dvaravati Old Mon language itself. Because the Nyah Kur language (Chao Bon) is an offshoot of Old Mon.

This new theory may not be accepted by every one and even certain linguists of today do not have the notion that the Nyah Kur are actually a dialect of Mon. So also over half a century ago, Seidefaden had contributed two learned articles on Nyah Kur lan-

guage in JSS Vol.12 and 13 in 1918-19 and Phra Petchabunburi wrote about the same tribe in the same journal in 1921. Both scholars regarded Nyah Kur as a dialect of Lawa, a Mon-Khmer language. However, Seidenfaden changed his view in 1958 and said they are not Lawa. Credner, regarded them in 1935 as representative of the Kui, a Mon-Khmer dialect also known as Kuoy and Soai who dwell in the hills along both sides of the Thailand-Cambodia border between 103 E, 103 E. (See Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia, by 12 authors, including F.M. Lebar, G.C. Hickey, J.K. Musgrave, Human Relations Area Files Press, New haven, USA 1964).

In those days, the linguists were unable to ascertain that the Nyah Kur language was almost identical to Old Mon and linking closely with Modern Mon than to any other Mon-Khmer language because it seems that they had no authentic reference books on Old Mon epigraphy. Professor H.L. Shorto of School of Oriental and African Studies in London University who compiled "A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Centuries" in 1971 was also silent on this dialect though he did put them as Niakual of Korat and Niakual of Petchabun in giving cross references in his learned book.

In 1970, Professors Thomas and Headley place Nyah Kur together with Mon, calling it Monic branch when a general classification of the whole family was proposed. (See "More on Mon-Khmer Subgrouping" by David D. Thomas and Robert K. Headley, Lingua 25,4:398-418). The notion was well accepted by Professor F.E. Huffman in 1977 and finally confirmed by Dr. Diffloth in 1980. (See Diffloth's interesting article on Nyah Kur which rendered into Thai in a Thai Journal of Bangkok 1980 and his Introduction to Reconstructing Dvaravati-Old-Mon in English appeared in a Thai publication in 1982).

Concerning the Old Mon people in Thailand, a learned and eminent scholar Phya Anuman Rajadhon wrote in JSS Vol.LIII, pt.2, p.135 in 1965.

"It is a historical fact that the central part of Thailand, the Menam Basin, a thousand or more years ago was peopled by the Mon speaking race who later mixed freely, racially and culturally with the Thai, late comers from the North of Thailand and beyond. Historians tell us that Mons at those times were a relatively civilized race as compared to the Thai and other neighbouring races".

No one has ever thought that some of those Mons of the historic past mentioned above would be still surviving in the isolated places far out from Thai speakers. Unexpectedly we can now prove that the Nyah Kur are indeed no other than remant of the Dvaravati-Old-Mon. They represent the oldest tribe of Thailand numbering slightly over two thousand who dwell in about 25 small villages scattered in Korat, Petchabun

and Chaiyaphum provinces.

They have no close contacts with the outside world. That is why they have not yet been incorporated with the Thai language upto now. But at any rate, due to the growth of Thai population, the Nyah Kur speakers would be assimilated by the majority Thai language sooner or later as in the case of Modern Mons who migrated to Thailand from Burma in the 17th-18th centuries who had very freely mingled with the Thais. (Immigration of the Mons into Siam by Robert Halliday, JSS, 10, Part 3, 1913 pp.1-14. Reprinted in 50th Anniversary Volume, The Siam Society, Vol.I, pp. 65-77).

The Nyah Kur are called Chao Bon by the Thai which means "people of the hills". In Modern Mon,  $\bar{n}ah, g\bar{u}/\eta ah$  ku/means "people of the plantations" -  $\bar{n}ah/\eta ah/or/nyah/=$  people and  $g\bar{u}/ku/=$  plantation. Perhaps this meaning had been changed from hill to plantation because old peoples used to do plantation on hillsides or on slopes of the hills. The majority of them are located in Chaiyaphum. About five villages in Korat and two in Petchabun. All the villages are found on the edge of Korat plateau. Except one all villages have mixed populations with Thai. All of them can speak Thai.

In addition there are many people in the area between the Central Plain and the North-East of Thailand where they say that their parents spoke Nyah Kur but they now speak Thai only; some say they used to speak Nyah Kur when they were young but now unable to do so. Some fifty years ago, there were at least fifty villages who spoke Nyah Kur. At present there are less than half of that number. Obviously they have been dwindling. The older people speak Nyah Kur well, but younger ones go to schools and pick up Thai words easily and perhaps they would drop off Nyah Kur language in the years ahead. There is a village on the new main road and easily accessible to buses, trucks and even tourists. So they are more exposed to the outside world than the more remote villages. Apparently no more Nyah Kur speakers could be found in this village in the next fifty years. There are of course small dialect differeces among the Nyah Kur but they all understand each other without difficulty. Only the two villages in Petchabun are rather difficult for others to understand their dialect as they live very far away and do not have contact with the rest.

Most of them are wet rice cultivators and some of them raise rice and maize in the hill clearings. Of course Professor Luce has said: "The pioneers in civilization, both in Old Burma and Old Siam, were the Mons. Strongest in the deltas near the coast, where they grow their irrigated rice, they had contacts with India from very early times....." (Old Burma-Early Pagan, Vol.I, p.3, 1969, Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 25)

Despite the difference in language, the surviving small number of Nyah Kur tribe are not much different from Thai in out-look, dress, ornaments, manners and housing

but there are some characteristics which are peculiar. The women keep special dress what they call / knuun / corresponding to gnun / knun / of Old Mon and gnin / nhin / of Modern Mon, meaning woman's waist cloth or skirt which they wear at special occasions. The men wear dark-red skirt (sarong) at ceremonies. Of course the dark-red skirt is also a most favourite one for us in Burma.

Like us in Burma, they also believe in the unseen spirit which they call / nthook / and our word in / alook / literary kalok but written kindok in Old Mon with the supposed pronunciation / kentook / apparently almost identical. If some one falls from the house, the owner or anybody has to pour some water over the fallen person and say some words of apology to the house spirit according to their custom. Such inherited primitive custom is still existed in my native village too. At Songkran (New Year Festival), they still throw water at each other like us and use to visit each other's houses and hold parties for quite a few days—drinking home made rice wine. Even those who do not speak Nyah Kur any more also follow these old traditions. A popular game which they play between boys and girls is what they call / win  $\eta$ lee<sup>5</sup> / corresponding to our word / woi $\eta$  hene<sup>5</sup> / also woin hanai' / depending on locality with variant pronunciations but in literature written wen gane'.

The Nyah Kur word to play / win / was spelt  $wi\bar{n}$  in Old Mon and its supposed pronunciation would be / win / which is strikingly indentical. We have no voice of final consonant of  $\bar{n}/n$  in conversation but instead we have the sound of  $\bar{n}/n$  / or n/n / according to locality. The large dark round seeds which they call/ $\eta$ lee?/is not occurred in Old Mon epigraphy. It is known in Thai/sabba/a sort of bean called in English entada.

This common game is played in groups at all times and seasons but preferable at night during New Year Festival where the entada seeds are set upright in a long row at which each boy or girl from a distance of about ten or more feet would knock down in turn with the same seed that each of them holds in hand. Young people are very fond of this game. It is a sort of an old form of courtship at which they can easily get acquainted with each other. This is a typical Mon game. It is still played popularly in Mon villages both in Burma and Thailand.

Though we play the same game and follow the same custom we do not utter the same voice. Once Dr. Diffloth took a Nyah Kur to a Mon village in Rachaburi province. There he found that they could not communicate with each other, except in Thai, but everybody was amazed at finding almost identical and similar words in both the dialects. I was astonished to find certain words among the Diffloth's collection and Theraphan's entries which are very important support to the Old Mon glosses in determining the meanings.

We have lost such old words in our spoken language. Regarding this point, my old teacher Professor G.H.Luce often remarked; "Old Mon and Middle Mon are well-nigh two different laguages and Mordern Mon is yet a third!" (See his paper, Mons of the Pagan Dynasty, JBRS Vol.XXXVI pt.I).

I could still reflect my study tours under Luce's guidance at Pagan over three decades ago when I began to learn to read Old Mon inscriptions on stones and ink glosses on the interior walls of various temples. He read to me Old Mon words with the sound of final consonants somewhat like English words such as - das = to be;  $\overline{ar} = to go$ ;  $ky\overline{a}$  I = air; sac = fruit;  $pi\overline{n} = to$  be full etc. Then I smiled and said to myself: "He pronounced in such a way because he is an Englishman!" I imagned then that he was wrong because we do not have such sound in my mother tongue.

Only now I am convinced and realised that he was absolutely correct because I learnt from Diffloth and Theraphan that Nyah Kur people are still maintaining such final consonantal sound in their speech in the same way the Old Mon people of Pagan should have been spoken in the 11th century A.D. as evident by the orthography of Old Mon epigraphy. Professor Luce has also very often said that Thailand was once Monland because the oldest Mon inscription was discovered not in Burma but in Thailand. Of course, Mon inscription are found in Nakhon Pathom, Loburi, Lamphun and various other places in Thailand dating between 6th and 13th centuries A.D.

Authentic Chinese accounts of 7th century A.D. stated the existence of a country known as To-lo-po-ti between Isanapura (Cambodia) and Śrīkṣetra (Burma) which have been restored as Dvāravatī (Skt. word meaning city with gates). This identification was first proposed by Beal and Chavannes in 1884 and 1894 respectively and remained conjectural until two silver medals or coins bearing the writing Śrī Dvāravatīçvarapunya, were dug up in 1963. (See the King of Śrī Dvāravatī and his Regalia by J.J.Boeles, JSS Vol.LII pt.I, pp.99-114).

Thus approving the old theory of restoring the toponym TOLOPOTI to Dva ravatī of the Chinese text written by Hsuangtsang in 648 A.D. during his pilgrimage travel from China to India and back.

The history of Dvaravatī, an old Mon kingdom flourished in Old Siam in the 6th century A.D. after the break up of Funan Empire has been mostly described by George Coedes and many other historians. The archaeological evidences of Dvaravatī period have been established by P.Dupont who conducted systematic excavations in 1950. A book on Dvaravatī by Quaritch Wales came out in 1969. Mon inscriptions of Thailand have been edited by Coedes and Halliday in BEFEO in 1929 and 1930 respectively. While Mon inscriptions of Burma have been deciphered and translated admirably by

C.O.Blagden in Epigraphia Birmanica in four volumes since 1918. Old Mon ink inscriptions of Pagan temples have been read and translated by G.H.Luce in the Bulletin of Burma Historical Commission Vol.II, 1961 and J.B.R.S Vol.LIII,pt II 1975.

There are some odd words in Old Mon inscriptions of Burma which are really difficult to make out their meanings. We have, however, solved such problems by comparing with the later find glosses among ink inscriptions perhaps some are slightly different in spelling. Such ink glosses are found mostly in the Jataka stories and the events from the life of Lord Buddha written below the murals that illustrate the episodes on the inner walls of Pagan monuments.

Among Diffloth's collection and Thraphan's entries shown in their books, I was thrilled to find such important words spoken by the Nyah Kur today which are very valuable evidences in confirming the rendered meanings of the obscure words found in the ancient epigraphical records of Old Burma Early Pagan.

For instance let us look at the Shwezigon Moninscriptions written by a Burmese king known as Kyansittha in the 11th century A.D. on face C, lines 35-37, the text reads:

"'ut mahajan gumlon dus ambo amba lah dus kumci munyow lah dus iman kandar lah dus kanlyanamit sahay rumlos lah dus ran sko kum kum ci deh sculoh tubah kel sak spunluk smic cir-ah deh"

Dr. Blagden's translation: "All the people, be it the faults of mother or father, nephew or brother-in-law, husband or wife, good friend or trusty companion, or the faults of one another, they shall openly declare (them), shall not conceal (them) and shall desire their purgation." (Epigraphia Birmanica Vol.I, Pt.IIp.119).

Among human society, (mother and father) and (husband and wife) are normal doublets but the combination "nephew and brother-in-law" is doubtful. It is certainly a mistake in translation. The word yow and kamin from kamun mean elder brother-in-law and nephew or niece respectively. Therefore, Dr. Glagden was forced to translate tentatively as stated above in 1920.

Over three decades later the word *kumci* was noticed in Hatthipala Jataka (No.509) in Nagayon temple at Pagan. The story reads:

" (Bodhisat das Hatthipal kumci aja imo Assapal moy Gopal moy Ajapal Moy ....."

Translation: The Bodhisattva was Hatthipala (Elephant keeper). His younger

brother (s) (were) named one A sapala (Horse-keeper), one Gopala

(cowherd) and one Ajapala (Goat-herd)....."

Glossary: Bodhisattva = future Buddha or Buddha to be;

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das = to be; kumci = younger brother; aja = his;
imo = named or called; moy = one
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It is certain that the word kumci means younger brother because in this Jataka story Hatthipala has three younger brothers as mentioned above. In a later Old Mon inscription known as Pagan Nganintha (Pagan Museum stone No.68) on west face 11.22-24, the text reads:-

yan pey kamci deh ui' ran ya phaw kamci heh ya dwac ya si ya krac na pan ya sok na glan na khan.....

#### Translation:

Yan poy, his younger sister Ui'Ran. Ya Phaw, her younger sisters and younger brothers Ya Dwac, Ya Si, Ya Krac, Na Pan, Ya sok, Na Glan and Na Khan....

This Mon inscription contains both Mon and Burmese personal names. In such proper names, the prefixes Ya in Mon and Ui' in Burmese indicate female names. Prefixes Yan in Mon and na in Burmese stand for male. Therefore kamci here means younger siblings.

Moreover the word for younger sister-in-law appeared twice in Kusa Jataka (No.531) in ink inscriptions of Nagayon Temple. The story reads:-

Wo kal smin dumpoh tlun bin baranasi mic kumci dnal smin kussaraja kumsir smin kussaraja kña tit cinleh smin kussaraja k-ac'ut smin dumpoh ku cin kṣeh balabah lot op abar taw smin kussaraja rap 'ut smin dumpoh goh ran lop kil ku kumsi sak or pa s-ir or kil kumci dnal mimoy mimoy'ut smin dumpoh goh.....

#### Translation:-

This is when the seven kings come and besiege Banares, demanding the Kumci dnal (younger sister-in-law) of Prince Kusa. The father-in-law of prince Kusa invites him to go out and fight. Prince Kusa roars. All the seven kings, with (their) elephants, horses and hosts, fall down crouch and remain prostrate. Prince Kusa captures all the seven kings, brings (them), enters (the city) and hands over to his father-in-law, with request not to make harm (but) to present with a *kumci dnal* each to those seven kings..... Glossary:-

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Wo, = this; kal = time; when; smin = king, prince; dumpoh = seven; tlun = come; bin = surround,
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besiege; mic = sesire, want, demand; kumci dnal = younger sister-in-law; kumsīr = parent-in-law; kna = invite, ask; tit = to go out; cinleh = fight; k-ac = shout, roar; 'ut = all; ku = with; cin = elephant; kseh = horse; balabah = hosts, troops; lot = fall; op = to hide; to crouch; abar = prostrate; taw = stay; remain; rap = capture, hold; ran = bring; lop = enter; kil = give; or = to cause; sak = not, nil; pa = make; sir = harm; ill treat; mimoy = each, apiece; goh = that, those; baranasi = Banares.

Apparently the story in this Old Mon version is not completely agreeable with the modern texts which say that the seven kings have come to Sagala simultaneously and threaten to destory the city, if Pabhavatī (Kusa's bride) is not given. King Madda of Sagala city decided to cut down his daughter Pabhavatī into seven pieces for the seven kings but she is saved by her despised husband Kusa. Prince Kusa persuades his father-in-law not to kill the seven captured kings but to give each of his seven younger sister-in-law to them.

Therefore, the term *kumci* dnal has a great problem. The word *kumci* certainly means younger sibling as shown in other records. Obviously *kumci dnal* means younger sister-in-law. However it contradicts with the modern version in the first place though it agrees in the second. Following or sticking on the modern texts, Professors Luce and Shorto have rendered the word *kumci dnal* in both places as bride, perhaps to suit the story. But they keep the city Banares as it is without any alteration or any reference to Sagala to be in accordance with the modern Jataka tale.

Consequently, I am inclined to consider that it was the scribe's mistakes in putting Banares instead of Sagala and so also in using the term kumci dnal in the first place instead of Pabhavati. Despite such errors in using words in the wrong places, the original meanings of such words cannot be altered. (See G.H.Luce's rendering of Kusa Jataka ink glosses in JBRS Vol.LVIII pt. II, p.159 and H.L.Shorto's dictionary of Mon Inscriptions and his Note on Mon Epigraphy in BSO'AS XVIII, pp.346-8.

The second word in the pair munyow occurred in Hatthipala Jataka in Nagayon Temple of Pagan thus:-

'ut sminabo' aba' aja kumci munyow.....trus brow j-it jnok m-ir das risi attavi

"All the king, his mother and father, his younger siblings and elder brothers.....male and female, a great procession, renounce the world and become hermits of the forest".

#### Glossary:-

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'ut = all; kumci = younger sibling; munyow = elder brother;
trus = male; brow = female; j-it = procession; retinue;
jnok = great; m-ir = to become monk or hermit, renounce the world;
das = to be; risi = hermit; attavi = forest (Skt./Pali atavi)
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A variant of this word occurred in Sona-Nanda Jataka (No.532) in the same Nagayon monument which is spelt minyow but it means the same. It is a common practice in the change of vowel u to i in old Mon epigraphy. The story reads:-

"We'kal risi nan ket smin manoja ar dwan smin (klam) moy da'ut bnas kamma deh t-eh pañ tingim ta goh aja cir du-il ut ku cammakhan ma row goh kumci 'ut smin jambudwip mleh ma aja pkom ket na s-ar kindo' han minyow aja ma himo' risi son"

"This is when the hermit Nanda brings king Manoja and goes to invade (one hundred and) one kings. All the spears and arrows which they shoot and thrust (at them) he even wards off all with his leather mat like that! In order to go and pay respect to his elder brother named the hermit Sona, he assembles all the kings of the whole Jambudipa"

## Glossary:-

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wo' = this; kal = when; risi = hermit; ket = take; smin = king; a r = go; dwan = fight; klam = 100; moy = one; 'ut = all; bnas = spear; kam = arrow; deh = he; t-eh = plural suffis; pañ = shoot; tingim = thrust; ta = plural form; goh = that; aja = he; cir = to shade, ward; du-il = off; ku = with; cammakhan = leather mat (Pali cammakhanda) row = like; kum = even; mleh = whole; pkom = assemble; ma = prefix; ci = indeed; da = suffix; na = inorder; s-ar = to go; kindo' = to pay respect; han = to; minyow = elder brother; him' = name; son = Sona; nan = Nanda.
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In this jataka story, the hermit Sona is elder brother of Nanda. Evidently minyow means elder brother. Professor Luce has also rendered it likewise but in Hatthipala Jataka he gave elder sibling for munyow a variant of minyow where as Professor Shorto has simply defined munyow / minyow as brother and kamci / kumci as sister but for kamci he put elder sister instead of younger sister perhaps due to over sight. Professor Luce was absolutely right in rendering kumci as younger sibling but munyow or minyow cannot be taken as elder sibling or simply brother. Our word for elder sister is bau / 602 / and eldest sister / 602 klus / corresponding to Nyah Kur / luus / elder sister and Old

Mon glu / klu<sup>s</sup> / eldest of sibling.

Regarding the Nyah Kur term for younger sibling, Diffloth's collection and Theraphan's dictionary show:-

Northern dialect /

cii<sup>s</sup> /

Central dialect /

ciis /

Southern dialect /

kemcii<sup>s</sup> /

Dvaravatī Old Mon

reconstruction

/kmcii<sup>s</sup> /

Thus the Nyah Kur word / kemcii<sup>s</sup> / apparently approves the Old Mon gloss kumsi / kamci as younger sibling which we have lost and invented instead a new one de' / de<sup>s</sup> / in the 15th century.

The Nyah Kur word for elder brother-in-law according to Diffloth's collection and Theraphan's dictionary is / yaw / jàw / which is almost identical to Modern Mon yau / yèa / and Old Mon yow without the prefix mun or min. Strangely enough we have the same sense with Nyah Kur in this usage which is not much different from Old Mon meaning elder brother. In the case of Modern Spoken Mon, we have adopted a Burmese word kui for elder brother and our own word yau / yèa / is used as elder brother-in-law instead of its original meaning elder brother. This slight shift is due to loanword as obvious in other instances. In the list of Nyah Kur dialects there is another particular word for elder brother except / yaw / meaning elder brother of spouse; husband of elder sister. It is / pécn/ (p.27). This word also combines with / mcii / ás / pécn/ for doublet elder and younger male sibling.

It is very interesting to see Theraphan's dictionary on Doublets (pp.229-235). She shows:

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	Nyah Kur	O.Mon	M.Mon
dogs and pigs	Chur-khliic	cluiw-clik	kluiw / kle /
			clik / kloik /
rice and water	póoη-dáak	puṅ-ḍāk	pun-dak / peη-dak/
teeth and tongue	ηiek-ntáak	nek	nek-ltak / nêk-ataik/
monitor and tortoise	tekúat-thíi°,cewiis'	darkot	dakot-gwi/
			hekot-kwis/
head and tail	kedŕp-patáa°	kḍip	kduip-bta/∝ap-hata <sup>\(\gamma\)</sup>
mortar and pestle	ndúl-ŋrìi <sup>s</sup>		.ga'-ri/heis-ris/
knife and matchet	búun-mràa <sup>s</sup>	bun-mra	bun-mra/bun-pares/
shell fish and crab	ηloo <sup>s</sup> -ntáam	kinlo'	kanu-btam/kenaos
			/hetem/

tree and bamboo	chúu?-thùuη	chu-duñ	chu-dun/chu <sup>s</sup> -dun/
cooking pot and	mbáaj-trćη	timb <del>a</del> y-tron	thamay/hemai/
water pot			

Note (Theraphan gives only cooking pot in her book for this doublet. Old Mon gives troin as water pot or jar and timbay as cooking pot but Spoken Mon has lost the word troin. In Ananda basement we read devataw ma rap troin = gods holding jars or water pots (offering to Buddha). In Nagayon glosses we read troin timbay pak = jars and cooking pots were broken (due to earth-quake). In Shwezigon Mon inscriptions we read troin pupiñ = full jar which is an auspicious object.)

sambar deer and barking deer	tebúη-páÿ	tọuntbuin-pah
fire and firewood	kamát - súay	oh pmat-oh/amcts-oh/
elephant and horse	ciin - chéh	cin-kṣeh ciń-khyeh/eiη-cheh/
Buffalo-ox	priaη - cha lrw	preń-jlow preń-glau/preaη-klea/
Sweet potato taro	khwáaj - tráw	kwāy-krau
fish and frog	káa <sup>s</sup> - khàaw	ka'-'aṅgaw ka-ṅau/kas-ηea/
feet (leg) and hand	chùη - téj	juń-tey juiń-tai/cāy-toa/
snake and centipede	chròom-khikiir	jrumjrum-gagī/sum-heki/
husband and wife	màaη-nthàr	imāṅ-kandar imāṅ-kalaw/
		imaiη-kandor/
mother and father	mèe <sup>s</sup> - phàa <sup>s</sup>	mi-ma/mi <sup>s</sup> -me <sup>s</sup> /
younger sibling and	mcii <sup>s</sup> - mnàw abo'-aba	' kumci-munyow nciis-nnàw
elder brother?		

## (Note - Theraphan defines younger siblings both for/mcii<sup>s</sup>/

as well as for the doublet/mcii<sup>s</sup>-mnaw/in her dictionary. I prefer to take the doublet as younger sibling and elder brother basing on the Old Mon glosses. Logically the doublet here should be younger sibling and elder sibling. But munyow or minyow or manyow stands only for elder brother in Old Mon. We have so far not yet seen any usage of it for elder sister.)

I wonder if the Nyah Kur takes a loanword from Thai or Khmer for this word meaning elder brother in the same way the spoken Mon uses Burmese loanword ko / kao/.

It is fascinating to see the Nyah Kur word for son-in-law, younger brother-in-law which Diffloth reconstructs / gmaan / from

Northern / kemaan / Central / khemaan /

## Southern / khemaan /

with the defination - "husband of younger sister, of cousin younger than Ego, of daughter, of niece".

Both Modern Mon and Middle Mon have the same word with the same sense though the word does not appear in Old Mon. The word in Modern Spoken Mon / haman / means son-in-law, it is written in literature gaman or khaman and in Middle Mon inscription gaman / gamaan /. For the terms younger brother-in-law and younger cousin brother-in-law the word gaman is combined with de' a new word invented for Old Mon kumci younger sibling. It is thought that the Old Mon term would be gaman kumci for younger brother-in-law. I wonder whether or not / khemaan / in combined with / kemcii<sup>s</sup> / for this term in Nyah Kur. After all Theraphan shows / ncii<sup>s</sup> phràw/and/ncii<sup>s</sup> màan/ for younger siblings-in-law in her dictionary on page 23.

The Nyah Kur's terminology of society are more akin, if not identical to Old Mon than to Modern Mon. We have lost some but they are still maintained by the Nyah Kur which are no doubt cognate to Old Mon. For example, the word for young child or girl of tender age in Old Mon was written knum /knóom /which we have lost but the Nyah Kur still have it as /khnóom / in one dialect and /hnóom / in another from which the reconstruction is / knóom/. However, we have a new word for it as nak  $\eta$  aik/. Shorto shows /kanem / for young boy in Nicobarese and Palaung dialects and nem / for young child in Praok as cross references to Old Mon  $k\tilde{n}um$  in his dictionary p.56 which he defines as child of tender years.

The terms in Nyah Kur / maa $\eta$  / for husband and / kenthar / for wife are almost the same with Old Mon forms written iman / ima $\eta$  / and kindar or kandar / kinder / or / kender / for husband and wife respectively which are no more spoken in our tongue except in literature which are written iman / ima $\eta$  / and kalaw / kelcw / with a normal phonological change in the second term. Modern Spoken Mon use truh (male,man) and brau / brea / (female, woman) instead. In fact, the Nyah Kur also use / phraw / for wife as well as for woman and they use / truuy / for husband and for man which is trus (male in human) in Old Mon.

Their word for widow / khamaay / or / hmay / which is not occurred in inscriptions but Old Burmese loanword from Old Mon is kamay / kemew / and Thai word หม้าย / maay / is obviously adopted either from Nyah Kur or Mon.

Their word for parent-in-law / kemsiir / is linking closer to Old Mon kumsīr / kemsiir / than to Modern Mon khāmsī / khamsce / or / khmasei / according to localities.

The Nyah Kur word for Spinster or virgin / lehuut / or / luut / is similar to Old Mon lwut which we call / wut / and it is interesting to note that they keep the first initial consonant 1 and we keep the second w from Old Mon lwut.

Their term for nephew or niece / khamuun / is congnate with Old Mon kmun which we write kmin and speak / hmen / or / men / or / hmein / in different localities.

Their word for daughter-in-law / suay / is allied to ours which we write kha'ah and pronounce / he'sch / or / he'soh / but it is not found in Old Mon. Like us they combine the word with / kuan / child as / kuan'suay / which we write kon kha'ah and utter / kon he'soh / or / kon he'sch / in different areas.

Their term for uncle, younger brother of father / maam / is not agreeable to Old Mon  $ka\dot{m}wa$  / kcmwa / and Modern Mon amu / emu / for uncle.

So also their word for grandfather / péen / . Perhaps they are loanwords. We have invented aba'jnok / pa nok / great father for grandfather.

However, their words for grandchild / cáw, great grandchild/cáh/and great<sup>2</sup> grandchild / céec / are almost the same with our words cau / cao /, cah cáh / and cek/ coik / or / cct/.

The Nyah Kur word for bachelor, marriageable boy / phláay / is quite close to Old Mon and Modern Mon blāy / play/, plai/.

Their word for rainbow / themch chyaak / is wonderful which we have knamn dak /khemeah daik / or /hemeah dat/ in Modern but not found in Old. Diffloth reconstructs/ themch kyaak/ "rainbow" where he says / themch / "place of, abode" and / kyaak / has no meaning by itself to present speakers of Nyah Kur. in Mon / khemeah daik/ "beam of water" and we say / khemeah suh daik / meaning khamah / hemeah / suh / drinks / daik / water. I wonder why they put / kyaak / which we mean God, Buddha or object of worship and we have / daik / water instead. It is indeed a difficult problem to solve. Theraphan's dictionary (p.4) shows that the Nyah Kur in NL and HK provinces have lúhchoohh dáak for rainbow. It means júhdrinks water. It is more similar to Mon. Therefore, I consider that the Nyah Kur of TP province has changed the word from / dáak / to / khejáak / as they have no sense on the latter by itself. /chyaak/

## **Indian Loanwords**

Though Indo-Aryan words are not so plenty found in Nyah Kur, they seem rather old borrowings. Tentatively the following words are considered as corrupted loanwords from Sanskrit and Pali. Pages of Theraphan Thongkum's dictionary are shown against them from where they are detected.

	Pag 1.		Nyah Kur nduu	Meaning season	Etymology p.utu s.rtu	Mon 'utu/u <sup>s</sup> tao <sup>s</sup> /
	2.	9,180 231,264 304.	kaaj	sky	p.ākāsa s.ākāśa	'kan/ekah/
	3.	10	kuh	hill,termite nest (cave)	s/p. guha	guit/kéh / o.m. goh
	4.	14	boot	sanctury in a Buddhist monastery	p.bhuta	bhut/pùt/
	5.	19	rot	vehicle, push cart	s/p. ratha	(kwi) rat/rct/ rct/ /
	6.	20/30	naaj naaj	officer,p.nayaka address term	naai/nài/	пау
	7.	21	thit	learned man	p.paṇḍita	paṇḍit pendit/
	8.	22/229 466	chaat	children, family	p.Jataka	jat/chat/
	9.	27/28 181/195 196/203	manih	person,	p.manussa	mnih/nih /
	10.	40	Khrih	liver	Skt. graha	griuh /krèh/
	11.	49/232	táan	palmyra.	s/p tala	ta/taa/
	12.	54/73	chúut	silk	p.Sutta	sut/sct/
					s.sutra	/sut/
	13.		thùup	incense	p.dibba	dip /dip/
	14.	65	báat	alms bowl	p.piṇḍapata pipat (food recived in the almsbowl)	pipat /pca <sup>s</sup> pat/
•	15.	101/186 350	hlii chelii	maize, will rice	p.sali s. śali	sali/salce/
	16.		melis	jasmin	s/p mallikā	om. mlir /pclè/maluiw /mcle/
	17.	107	mpáa campáa	oleander champaka	p.campaka (champaka tree having fragrant	jampa /ccmpa/

				white and yollow flowers	••
18.	109/112	mic	chilli	s/p. marica	mrek/brct/
				,	brek /pròik/
19.	112/297	túel	cotton	s/p.tula	omtol m m tow
		,	:		/to/
20.	129	kawak	white breasted	p.karavika	krawit
			water hen		/krawct/
21.	141	baap	sin	s/p papa	pap/paap/
22.	142	<sup>s</sup> ejù <sup>s</sup>	age	s/p ayu	'ayuk/eyèk/
23.	142	cheláak	letter	s/p lekha	lik/lòik/
24.	143/144	bún	merit	Skt.punya	om;pun/pon/
	456/457			DOM punya	puin/pcn/
25.	149	hát	cubit	p.hattha	hat/hct/
26.	159	choŋkráan	a religious day	s.aaṁ-kranti	saṅkran
	٠		(passing, transference)		/seŋkran/
27.	170/236	kecét	die	p.cuti	khyuit/chct/
	396.				cuti/custces/
28.	210/233	jùm cf. jum	breath heart	p.yama	yuim / <u>y</u> èm/
		(p.236)			OM yumyum
29.	231	phúm	country, city (land)	s/p.bhumi	bhum/phùm/
30.	272	manàs	brave (pride)	S/P.mana	man/maan/
31.	288	buráan	ancient	P.porana	om:poran
		bráan		S.paurana	poranam/
					/paoram/
32.	466	men men	invite	P.nimanteti	niman/mcn/
				S.nimatrayati	man/mcn/

Certainly, the above loanwords indicate that the Kyah-Kur are indeed remnant of the Indianised Mon People of Dvaravati kingdom otherwise such loans cannot be found as in other primitive tribes who had no contacts with Indians in the remote past. Mon epigraphy of Dvaravati period (6th-11th centuries) contains vast numbers of Indo-Aryan words, the same as in Old Mon inscriptions of Burma. In fact the whole line of writings found on the two silver medals of the king of Dvaravati are merely in Sanskrit.

Cultural words adopted from Sanskrit such as vihar or bihar "monastery," upajhay "spiritual preceptor"; punya "meritorious deed"; prajña "wisdom, knowledge"

etc. are found in the 6th-8th centuries Mon inscriptions of Phra Pathom and Loburi.

Even the word for yoke or pair langur (Skt. langula, langula) was used in offering pairs of cattle or buffaloes in Old Siam in those days. This word also appears in Mon inscription discovered in Laos dating back to around 9th century (later part of Loburi period). Though this word langur is not found in Theraphan Thongkum's collections, the animals used in combination with it are shown which are akin to Old Mon glosses such as:-

	Nyah Kur	DOMR	Old Mon	Modern Mon
Cattle, bovine	/ chaloow/	/jloow/	jlow	glau /klea/
bull	/kh lrw/	/jlew/		
	/chlòw/			
	khlew/			
Water buffalo	/priaŋ/	/priaŋ/	preņ	preaη/

It is striking to find the Nyah Kur words for metals and cultural terms and natural phenomena of nouns, verbs and adjectives which are similar and closely related to Old Mon epigraphy. These cultural terms obviously point out that the Nyah Kur are not ordinary illiterate hill tribes like Lawa or Palaung but they are apparently no other than descendants of the civilized Dvaravati Old Mons who had ruled over both Old Siam and Old Burma after the break up of Funan Empire (1st to 6th centuries A.D.) in Indo-China. They are no doubt a daughter - language of Dvaravati Old Mon.

"Lexical correspondences between Nyah-Kur & Mon"

English	h	Nyah Kur	Old Mon	literary Mon	Spoken Mon
N Go	old	/ thaar /	thar	thaw	/ thc
N Iro	on	/ pehéy/	birsey	basey pasai	/pesoa
N Lo	rd,Owner	/taláa³/	trala	tala	/kela <sup>s</sup> /
				tla	/ela <sup>s</sup> /
N Sla	ive	/diik/	ḍik	ḍik	/doik/
			dek		/doit/
N Sac	cred, God,object	/khyaak/	ky <del>a</del> k	kyāk	/caik/
of wor	ship	/chyaak/	kyek		/cyct/
					/cyaic/
N Ea	rth	/tii <sup>s</sup> /	ti'	ti	/tce <sup>s</sup> /
					/tai <sup>s</sup> /

	To reverend,	/lŋùar/	lnor	lnow	/lŋc/
	mage, to make				Ιηο
-	eisance	lamin.			aηo/
V	To build (pagoda)	/crúŋ/	cruṅ sluk	sruin sluik	/saŋ
V	To wear, to adorn	/ghlúk/	_	_	helàk/
V	To sound, to say	/phru <sup>s</sup> /	bru : ~	bru	/pur <sup>s</sup> /
V	To play	/win/	wiñ	wen	woiŋ
V	To shout	/tráak/	trak	-	
V	Dream	/pcć <sup>s</sup> /	'empo'	lapa'	/kepc <sup>s</sup> / /epc <sup>s</sup>
N	Mucus	/súar/	sinmor	smow	/hemo/
V	To breathe	/yùm/	yum	yuiṁ	/yem/
N	Hole	/ghrun/	sru'n	sruin	/saŋ/
V	To give	/kul/	kul kil kel	kuiw	/kc/
Α	Deep	/ghùh/	rjuh	sjuih	/sèh/
V	To feed	/cim/	iñcim	-	-
N	Roof	/kamúr/	kumir	kamî	/kemce/
				kmî	/kmei/
V	Rotten, bad, wicked	d/gh <sup>s</sup> úy/	suṁ'ur	s'uy uai	/ui/
V	To lift	/yuk/	yuk	yuik	/yàk/
N	Mud	/lhuk/	lhuk	lhuik	/hlak/
V	To hold in beak	/khuŋ/	gun	guin	/kàŋ/
V	To laugh	/khruŋ/	gruṅ	gruiń	/kraŋ/
V	To lodge	/thèm/	dum	duim	/tèm/
N	House post,	/ŋghuŋ/	jinjun	dayuin	/heyaŋ/
	House pole				
Α	Soft /l°ún/	lu'in	duin	/dcn/	
$\mathbf{v}$	blow	/pkhùh/	pgoh	bguih	/pekeh/
			pguh		/hekeh/
V	Four	/ghruh/	sruh	suih	/sch/
					/sah/
N	Knife	/buun/	bun	bun	/bun/
V	Drunk	/buul/	balbul	babu	/kebu/
N	Medicine	/kduuy/	kin'uy	ga'uai ga'uy	/he'uy/
N	Moon	/ntuu <sup>s</sup> /	kintu	gatu	/hetaos/
V	Over, above	/ntuul/	'antul	latu	/atao/

V	To burn	/tuur/	tur	tū	tao
N	Silk	/ghuut/	sut	sut	/sut/
					/sct/
N	Forest	/khràp/	grip	gruip	/krèp/
V	To plant	/tel/	til	tuiw	/tc/
					/to/
N	Plenty, much	/khleŋ/	gloṅ	gluiń	/klaŋ/
V	Extinguish	/phlet/	plit	pluit	/palct/
					/plct/
V	Die	/kcet/	kcit	gacuit	/hecct/
				Khyuit	/chct/
N	Corpse, meat	/ghwàa <sup>s</sup> /	jawa	jwa	/khwe <sup>s</sup> /
V	All, out of,	/sét/	'ut	'uit	/ot/
	no more				/ct/
V	Heavy	/knche <sub>η</sub> /	sjin	sjuin	/sàη/
V	Quarrel	/ghèl/	jal	juiw	/cè/
V	Shine	/khàre/	gir	guiw	/kè/
V	Far	/chηey/	jirney	snoy snoai	/hòa/
				shai	/hnòa/
V	Painful, ill, sick	/ghèy/	ʻjey	yay yai	/yoa/
V	Middle, inside,	/pdéy/	pdey	'pḍai	/edòa/
	Private part				/adooa/
N	Rain	/phrey/	brey	bray brai	/pròa/
					/prooa/
V	Return	/cáw/	cow	cau	/cao/
V	Run away	/thàw/	dow	dau	/tèa/
N	Town, Country,	/dóoη/	dun	dun	/den/
	village				/duŋ/
N	Cooked rice	/poon/	pū'n	pun	/puŋ/
-		/puuŋ/	pun	F	/peŋ/
N	River	/kroon/	kru'n	krun	/kruŋ/
•		/kruuŋ/			
V	To get	/khoo³/	go'	gwa'	/ke <sup>s</sup> /
v	To sell	/khyoo <sup>s</sup> /	syo'	swa'	/sc <sup>s</sup>
		<b>,</b>	,		sa <sup>s</sup> /
N	Paddy, rice	/chroos/	sro'	sro'	/sc <sup>s</sup>
	• •				sa <sup>s</sup> /

N	Husked rice	/ŋkccs/	sho'	snu	/kno <sup>s</sup> /
		, ,			/hao <sup>s</sup> /
V	To drink	/choon/	sun	sun	/suŋ
	_		• •		/seŋ/
V	To accept	/thooŋ/	dun	dun	/tuŋ/
	***	, , ,			/teŋ/
N	Water pot, vessel	/nòoŋ/	nun	nuň	/nuŋ/
		<i>n</i> /			/neη/
V	come	/loon/	tlun	kluħ	/kluŋ/
	****	, 1 2 6/	. ,		kueη/
V	What?	/chnòo <sup>s</sup> /	imo'	mu	/mu <sup>s</sup> /
	_				/mð <sup>s</sup> /
V	To cross	/clóo <sup>s</sup> /	clo'	klo' klui'	/klo <sup>s</sup>
V	To draw water	/took/	tuk	tuk	/tuk/
				••	/tek/
V	To hear	/khmmη/	rmin	min	/moiŋ/
V	To carry on	/ηkhu <b>ìn</b> /	ciṅgin	tnin	/tenen/
	the back				/ehŋen/
V	To go out, to leave		tit	tit	/tet/
N	Sand	/ntml/	bintil	batī	/hetce/
	•				/hetei/
V	Forget	/thawmt/	wit	wuit	/wèt/
V	To rise, to appear,	/téer/	ktir	ktuiw	/atc/
	to stand		ktar		
V	To go down,	/cis/	cis	ceh	/cih
	descend	/cih/			
	I	/wèy/	'ey	'ay	/oa/
				'ai	/ooa/
V	To slice, to make	/làak/	malat lat	lak	/laik/
V	to bale out	/gáac/	rinsat	sat	/sat/
Flo	ood	/ghim/	chim	chiṁ	/chim/
Ro	ot	/r̀ih/	(ris)	ruih	/rèh/
То	wipe	/ghit/	jit	juit	/cèt/
То	sew	/ghiiŋ/	jin	jin	/coiŋ/
					/ccŋ/

House	/gηii <sup>s</sup> /	sni' sni	shi	/hce <sup>s</sup> / /hai <sup>s</sup> /
Leftside	/ghwii <sup>s</sup> /	jwi	jwi	/jwi <sup>s</sup> /
Rightside	/ctoom/	stum	stuṁ	/hatum/
To dig	/ciir/	kir	khay	/hatani/
To attend,	/tawiil/	tirmil	tawi	/kawi/
To surround	/tawnu	<b>CII</b> 11111	tawi	/kawi/
To look out	/ghiir/	'agir	s'nī	/καwi/ /ηè/
to find,	, giiii,	agn	'ni	/ηί/
to search			ш	/ I[D
To fear,	/phiic/	phic	phek	/phcik/
to scare	/pinic/	pine	plick	/phct/
,	/khliiŋ/	jliń	glin	/plict/ /kloiŋ/
Long	/khiiw/	giw		/kiorij/ /kwi/
To wrap	/famii <sup>s</sup> /	· ·	gwī to-m:	
New	/[allill 7	tumi	tami	/kmce <sup>s</sup> /
T	/Albaria and			/amai <sup>s</sup> /
To run	/thriap/	drep	grip	/krip/
To take	/ciat/	ket	ket	/kit/
***		•		/ket/
Wing	/ghniaη/	snen	snen	/kneaŋ/
To kindle	/pdian/	tuden	pden	/den/
fire,			den	
to light				
To make	/trŋćc³/	pņo'	lna'	/aŋos
effort,				
energetic				
To cause,	/súar/	'or	'ow	/o/
persuade				
Firewood,	/súas/	'oh	'oh	/o <b>h</b> /
Fuel				
To fall	/luùt/	lot	lot	/lòt/
V. To eat	/háap/	hap	hap	/hap/
V To lose	/khyáa°/	kya	kya	/cas
V Torn,	/ηcáak/	cak	cak	/caik/
to depart, to be				
devoid of, to tear				
V To burn	/cćη/	coń	càn	/ccη

N	Dwelling place	/thmc፞η/	dirmon	dmån	/hemcŋ/
V	To open	/pćk/	pok	pak	/pck/
Α	That	/khċh/	goh	gah	/kch
V	To untie	/ghćh/	soh	sah	/sch/
V	To plant	/crćk/	crok	crak	/sck/
	upright			sräk	
$\mathbf{v}$	To have	/nccm/	nom	nwaṁ	/núm/ .
N	Stone	/thmćc <sup>s</sup> /	tmo'	tma'	/hmc <sup>s</sup> /
V	To cook	/tćcm/	tom	toṁ	/tom/
V	To enter	/lècp/	lop	lup	/lùp/
V	To accompany	/ckćc <sup>s</sup> /	sko'	ska'	/hekc <sup>s</sup> /
V	To be long	/lèc³/	lo'	la'	/lc°/
v	To rub hands	/kthaac/	ktac	katat	/ketat/
•					/etat/
V	To go	/sáar/	<del>a</del> r	ā	/a/
N	Sole,	/ntáal/	kintal	gatā	/heta/
	Surface				
N	Wind, Air	/kyáal/	ky <del>a</del> l	kyā	/ca/
N	Pot	/mbáay/	tamb <del>a</del> y	tamhay	/hemai/
		•	tumbay	tham <u>a</u> y	
			timbay	•	
N	Bow	/tŋaa <sup>s</sup> /	tha'	tṁa	/ηa <sup>s</sup> /
		·	tṁa		•
$\mathbf{V}$	To eat	/cáa⁵/	ca	ca	/ce <sup>s</sup>
					ci <sup>s</sup> /
N	Tail	/ptaa <sup>s</sup> /	birta	bata	/heta <sup>s</sup> /
V	Do	/páa <sup>s</sup> /	pa	pa	/pa <sup>s</sup> /
V	To spread	/laàs/	las	lah	/lèh/
N	Year	/ghnáam/	cn <del>a</del> m	snaṁ	/hnam/
V	To buy	/raàn/	ran	ran	/ràn/
V	Mat	/nháar/	sn <del>a</del> l	sna	/hna/
V	To live, to stand	/ptaaw/	tutaw	datau	/hetao/
N	Infront,	/ntaa <sup>s</sup> /	kinta	gata	/heta <sup>s</sup> /
	before		kanta		
V	To cut, to slash	/tphàak/	tbek	bak .	/paik/
V	Know how,	/liáp/	lep	lep	/lip/
	knowledge				/lep/

N	Fire	/kmát/	pumat	pmat	/kemet/
14	1110	/Killati	pumat	pinat	/emot/
v	To bind	/thàk/	dak	dak	/teàk/
v	To follow	/phàk/	bak	bak	/peak/
N	Door	/mráη/	tinran	taran	/keren/
		•			/eraŋ/
N	Horn,	/thráŋ/	dran	gran	/kreŋ/
	tusk	·			•
V	Adhere to	/cáp/	cap	cap	/ccp/
N	Back	/ηkraw/	krow	krau	/krao/
V	To win, victory	/ghnàh/	jnah	jnaḥ	/hnèh/
V	To instruct,	/pacán/	pcan	phyan	/phycn/
	to order, to send word		,	bakan	/peken/
v	To hold	/ràp/	rap	rap	/rcp/
V	To strike	/kata <b>k</b> /	tak	tak	/tek/
v	Purgation, to clean	/c <sup>s</sup> ah/	c°ah	s <sup>s</sup> ah	/sah/
V	To weep	/yaam/	y <u>a</u> m	yam	/yam/
	•	-		•	/yèm/
N	Water	/dáak/	$d\overline{a}k$	₫ <mark>ā</mark> k	/daat/
			-	•	/daik/
V	To cut, to shatter	/paak/	pak	pak	/paik/
					/paat/
V	To crawl, prostrate	/mrmaar/	ab <del>a</del> r	bam <del>a</del>	/hemea/
					/heme/
V	Low	/ghér/	sar	saw	/sc/
V	Near	/nèn/	ñan	ñan	/ncn/
					non/
N	He, it	/déh/	deh	deh	/deh/
N	Arrow	/kám/	kam	kam	/kcm/
N	Night	/ptám/	birtam	btam	/hetcm/
N	Day	/thāy/	they	tħay	/ηoa/
				thai	/hηooa/
V	To steal	/khlec/	klac	klat	/klct
N	Fruit	/chec/	sac	sat	/sct/
V	Shoot	/pen/	pañ	pan	/pcn/

V	Male (animal)	/khmák/	kmak	kmak	/hmak/ /mak/
N	Stalk, handle	/tár/	tar	taw	/tc/
V	Upside down	/pkáp/	pukap	blap	/hekcp/
٧	To press, to strike, to massage	/pat/	pat	pat	/pct/
V	To be, to become	/thèh/	das	dah	/dch/ /tch/
V	To pluck	/bás/	bas	bah	/6ch/
N	Cup	/khál/	khal	khaw	/khc/
V	To look	/mày/	mey	mway mwai	/mooa/
V	To crumble, to pinch, to learn	/ckát/	ckat	kat	/kct/
	Mother	/meè <sup>s</sup> /	'ambo'	mi	/mi <sup>s</sup> /
	Father	/phaa <sup>s</sup> /	2ba'/	ma 2pā	/aba <sup>s</sup> / /aba <sup>s</sup> / /aba/

There are many Nyah-kur words which did not occur in Old Mon epigraphy. However, they are shown below with their equivalents of Modern Mon showing that they are really sister-languages.

English	Nyah-kur	Literary Mon	Spoken Mon
Oil	/kalin/	kleň	/klcin/ /klcin/
Bell	/liŋdiŋ/	khniṅ	/henoiŋ/
Ash	/ptin/	paten	/petcin/ /petcn/
Excrement, dung	sic/	'ik	/oik/ /ct/
Pumpkin	/mpiir/	khapī	/hepee/ /hepei/
Centipede	/krkiir/	gagī	/heki/
Hail, to rub	/phliir/	plī	/plce/

0	'/biin/	biń	16 0 1
Swim	/OHII/	OIII	/60iŋ/ /60in/
<b>D</b>	1.:: 1		
Peppery	/riiη/	riń . –	/roiη/
Thin	/triiw/	trī	/krce/
			/krei/
Turtle	/thwii <sup>s</sup> /	gwi	/kwi <sup>s</sup> /
Pestle	/nrii°/	ri	/ri <sup>s</sup> /
Poison	/Ka6hii <sup>s</sup> /	gyi	/ci <sup>s</sup> /
Float	/hiiw/	hī	/hi/
Wash (face)	/liiw/	<del>lī</del>	/li/
kick	/ndiic/	khanik	/henoik/
			/henoit/
Betel	/aphluu <sup>s</sup> /	jablu	/heplu <sup>s</sup>
Gaur	/nthiiŋ/	kaliṅ	/keloiŋ/
			/eloin/
Porcupine	/lamniaŋ/	lamlen	/peleaŋ/
Vegetable	/chniar/	sanew	/hanei/
Hawk	/lŋliaŋ/	laneń	/eneaŋ/
So	/ghiaŋ/	sen	/seaŋ/
Stingy	/mbiat/	s'et	/he <sup>s</sup> et/
Scorched	/sŋhiak/	snek	/heak/
	•		/hneak/
Whisper	/kghiaw/	Kasey	/esca/
Real	/kweh/	kweh	/kweh/
Jar	/ceh/	ceh	/ceh/
Cockroach	/ghthee <sup>s</sup> /	khadc'	/hete <sup>s</sup> /
			/hetai <sup>s</sup> /
To clear throat	/k <sup>s</sup> eem/	ga'em	/he <sup>s</sup> em/
Short	/khlee <sup>s</sup> /	gle'	/klè <sup>s</sup> /
			/klai <sup>s</sup>
Otter	/phee <sup>s</sup> /	phe'	/phe <sup>s</sup> /
Leech (land)	/klám/	klam	/klcm/
Python	/khlán/	klan	/klcn/
To sneeze	/tn°as/	kha'ah	/he <sup>c</sup> ch/
Deer	/pas/	pah	/pch/
Bait	/prán/	pran	/pren/
	. L	1	

Cough	/gdak/	khadak	/hedek/
Gall bladder	/pmat/	kamat	/emct/
To set	/taη/	tan	/taŋ/
Smoke	/yak/	yak	/yeak/
Dry	/ckas/	sakah	/kch/
To fly	/phar/	paw	/pc/
To pound	/ndak/	khanak	/henek/
Beak	/mbáw/	kamhau	/hemao/
-		camhau	
To send along	/práη/	pran	/práŋ/
Crab	/ntaam/	gatāṁ	/hetam/
Skin	/ghnáam/	sn <del>a</del> ṁ	/hnam/
Allgator,	/khyáam/	kyāṁ	/cam/
Crocodile			
Weave (basket)	/taan/	tan	/tan/
Tongue	/ntáak/	lat <mark>a</mark> k	/etaik/
			/atat/
Shallow	/kdáal/	kd <u>ā</u>	/da/
Comb, broom	/ηraàs/	kharah	/herek/
To comb, to sweep	/khraas/	grah	/kreh/
Young man	/maam/	māṁ	/mehm/
Mint plant	/lwàn/	wan	/waiŋ/
			/wan/
To be light	/kyáal/	sā	/sa/
Horse fly	/phalar/	$pl\overline{a}$	/pla
Put aside,	/páay/	pay	/pai/
reject		paai	
Carry on	/mphaay/	camay	/kemai/
Shoulder		Kam <del>a</del> ai	/emai/
A species of sweet	/k <b>hwa</b> ay/	kway	/kwai/
potato with dark skin		kwaai	
Spew	/khláat/	klat	/klat/
To forge	/tháac/	dat	/tat
Sweet	/tdaac/	d <u>a</u> t	/dat/
Break	/kál/	kaw	/kc/
Louse	/cáy/	cay	/coa/

Dry in sun	/cóy/	cay	/coa/
To measure	/kbát/	bat	/bct/
Pierce	/céc/	cat	/cct
Hook (fish)	/nden/	khanan	/henon/
Edge, lip	/mben/	thaman	/hemon/
Hang	/kwàk/	kwak	/kwak/
Arm pit	/ηlak/	knak	/kenak/
•	·		/enak/
Bitter	/ktaŋ/	Katan	/ketaŋ/
			/ataŋ/
Grass hopper	/ntáp/	gatap	/hatcp/
Charcoal	/kcáh/	khyah	/chah/
Sour	/pcáh/	phyah	/phyah/
Sourness	/ncáh/	bcah	/ha <sup>s</sup> cah/
Explode	/ktáh/	gatuih	/hatch/
Touch,			
right, correct	/thàh/	daḥ	/teh/
Shoulder	/phnáh/	pnah	/hanh/
Hot	/ktaw/	Ktau	/atao/
Arum tuber	/traw/	krau	/hrao/
Red ant	/Gháw/	kachau	/achao/
		Kahyau	
Pinnacle, end	/thanát/	kanot	/anot/
Sick	/Ghas/	jah	/cch/
wear on neck	/lbák/	labak	/abak/
Alive	/nyuŋ/	gyuin	/càŋ/
Imperial pigeon	/prkhum/	phaguim	/hekèm/
Cover with			
cloth on body	/khlum/	galuim	/helem/
Cool	/lbuh/	lbuih	/bch/
To boil things	/buh/	<b>ḥuih</b>	/bch/
Pour water, drop water	r /cruh/	caruih	/heroh/
Bone	/ghluut/	jut	/cùt/
Termite, white ant	/thruun/	grun	/krùn/
House fly	/rùuy/	ruy	/ruy/
Ripe	/l <sup>s</sup> uus/	ḍuh	/duh/

Swell	/khùus/	guh	/kùh/
Dove	/puur/	рй	/pao/
Wax	/phluuy/	pluy	/plce/
			/plùy/
Stale	/gh <sup>s</sup> uut/	s'ut	/sut/
			/sut/
Piece	/ηkuut/	dakut	/hekut/
Chisel	/pnuuc/	pnut	/nut/
			/hnut/
Do wrong	/luuc/	lut	/lùt/
To sprout	/khluuc/	klut	/klùt/
	,		/klct/
Stump	/tkhal/	daguiw	/hekè/
To be full in eating	/phey/	phay	/phoa /
Lid	/cŋkép/	Sakuip	/hekcp/
Warm	/ηèm/	guim	/kem/
Thick	/ctem/	stuim tuim	/tcm/
Edging in weaving	/ηrcm/	gruim	/krem/
Roof-cover	/ηlem/	Kaluim	/elcm/
Scratch, scrape	/khwaac/	gwāt	/kwat/
Lick	/khlaan/	kl <del>a</del> n	/klan/
Open (eyes)	/mlàak/	laml <del>a</del> k	/pelaik/
Tree (wood-oil)	/khyàaŋ/	gayān	/heyain/
To yawn	/ghŋsaap/	kh'ap	/he <sup>s</sup> ap/
Fork of tree	/Khàap/	gap	/kèp/
Chaff, husk	/ηkáam/	kām	/kam/
Vomit	/taa <sup>s</sup> /	ta	/ta <sup>s</sup> /
Open (mouth)	/hāa <sup>s</sup> /	$h\overline{a}$	/ha/
Cleaver	/mràa <sup>s</sup> /	mra	/perè <sup>s</sup> /
Hand span	/cdáa <sup>s</sup> /	cda	/da <sup>s</sup> /
Arm span	/phmmy/	phih	/phih/
To blossom	/iŋ-ràaŋ/	rāṅ/raiη	
Cloth	/yaat/	yat	/yat/
Clear throat, to hawk	/kháak/	khāk	/khak/
			/khaik/
Thin strip of bamboo	/sáal/	khyā	/cha/

/kcch/	khyah	/chch/
	*	/kesch/
•		/krcŋ/
•		/kch/
		/klck/
	•	/bck/
	•	/hecek/
		/incs/
	•	/enc <sup>s</sup> /
/tr <sup>s</sup> ccn/	•	/hedon/
/khrccp/	grop	/kròp/
/trćc <sup>s</sup> /	Kra'	/krc <sup>s</sup> /
/tamrcc <sup>s</sup> /	tamra'	/perc <sup>s</sup> /
/ŋléc <sup>s</sup> /	tana'	/kenc <sup>c</sup> /
/cćck/	cok	/cok/
/ghncck/	khanok	/henok/
/tl³cc³/	tha'a'	/he°c°/
/ηΙσεη/	glon	/kloŋ/
	glàn	/klcŋ/
/ghmuac/	Khamot	/hemot/
/mpúay/	sapoy	/hepoa/
/cuar/	cow	/co/ ·
/thuar/	thow	/tho/
/huŋ/	huiħ/	/haŋ/
/mrúat/	pharot	/herot/
/ηkúar/	jkow thakow	/heko/
/puŋ/	bun	/pèŋ/
/khluu³/	glu	/klu <sup>s</sup> /
/p <sup>s</sup> úr/	buiw	/be/
/khus/	guih	/kèh/
/η <sup>s</sup> ul/	kha'i	/he <sup>s</sup> i/
/cŋkùy/	dakuy	/hekui/
	dakuai	٠.
/khùy/	huy	/ŋùi/
/pút/	put	/pat/
-	-	-
	/khrccp/ /tréc <sup>s</sup> / /tamrcc <sup>s</sup> / /nléc <sup>s</sup> / /céck/ /ghncck/ /tl <sup>s</sup> cc <sup>s</sup> / /nlccn/ /ghmuac/ /mpúay/ /cuar/ /thuar/ /hun/ /mrúat/ /pun/ /khluu <sup>s</sup> / /p <sup>s</sup> úr/ /khus/ /n <sup>s</sup> ul/ /cnkùy/	/ηcéh/ Kasah /tréη/ trản /kéh/ kah /khlèk/ glāk /bék/ bāk /ck/cék/ bāk /ck/cék/ khacak /ncc°/ iṇa' aṇa' /tr°ccη/ gaḍon /khrccp/ grop /trćc°/ Kra' /tamrcc°/ tamra' /ηléc°/ taṇa' /céck/ cok /ghncck/ khanok /tl°cc°/ tha'a' /ηlcτη/ glon glān /ghmuac/ Khamot /mpúay/ sapoy /cuar/ cow /thuar/ thow /huŋ/ huit/ /mrúat/ pharot /ηκύαr/ jkow thakow /puŋ/ bun /khluu°/ /p°úr/ buiw /khus/ /p°súr/ buiw /n°sul/ kha'ī /cηkùy/ dakuy dakuai /khùy/ inuy

Journey, pathway	/tréw/	trau	/crao/
Hearth, stove	/phéw/	phau	/phao/
Step on	/lèn/	luin	/lèn/
To choke	/ghlèk/	gluik	/klàk/
Scare, frighten	/ηkét/	takuit	/ekct/
Thunder	/kh-kher/	gaguiw	/hekè/
To bury	/tep/	tuip	/top/
To winnow	/khoom/	gum	/kùm/
Eel	/nthoon/	galuṅ	/heleŋ/
Rafter	/c°oo°/	ja'o' tha ui	/he°o°/
Thigh	/thìuh/	dī	/ti/
Bite	/kuit/	kit	/kit/
Navel	/pnih/	pnih	/penih/
Bed bug	/ckhiut/	sgit	/hekit/
Tumeric	/mlut/	mit	/mit/
Slippery	/kalmt/	kalit	/kelet/
			/elet/
Roar, boasting	/khrèem/	grāṁ	/heram/
Because	/phrc <sup>s</sup> /	-	

The above comparisons of vocabulary plainly indicate that the Nyah Kurtongue still keeps phonology of final consonants  $c, \tilde{n}, r, l$  and as found in Old Mon orthography. Significantly Modern Mon has lost all of them but retaining k ort for c; n and n for  $\tilde{n}; w$  for r and l; and h for s and y. (y = sh)

Final consonant c of Nyah Kur in to kick and excrement changed to k and in sweet, chisel, ant, sprout, to forge etc. changed to t in our speech. In the same way in to play, to be full etc. final ñ changed to n or n; final r in to dig, to find, to go, to crawl etc. disappeared whereas in mucus, stream, hornet etc. changed to w; final l in to give, to plant, to quarrel, cotton etc. changed to w but final l in wind, surface, shallow etc. disappeared; final s or y in firewood, index finger, male, to spread, to sweep, etc. changed to h. Other finals and glottal stop in Nyah Kur always remain the same in Modern Mon.

Finally, it is so puzzling and so astonishing to learn from Dr. Theraphan Thong-kum that the Nyah Kur people have no glottal sounds of / b/ and /d / as in our speech. In reply to my letter she says; "Phonetically, /b / and /d / in Nyah Kur are voiced bibabial stops / b ] and [d] not preglottalized; there are no / ?b, and ?d, b, d,/ in Nyah Kur."

However, Dr. Gerard Diffloth shows such glottal / b / and /d / in his reconstructions of Dvaravati Mon language. I wonder why Nyah Kur people have lost such glottal sounds which we are still having them but we have lost almost all the sounds of final consonants which the Nyah Kur dialects still maintain them.

Nai Pan Hla

Former Honarary Editor of the Journal of Burma Research Society & Head of Epigraphy Division, Archaeology Department, Rangoon.

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