



SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE KHMER KHE IN CAMBODIA

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Abstract

This paper reports the findings of a sociolinguistic survey conducted among the Khmer Khe people in Cambodia in 2009. The data collection was conducted by staff of the International Cooperation of Cambodia and the findings are compiled and presented by researchers at Payap University in Chiang Mai Thailand.

Researchers visited three Khe villages in Stung Treng province. It was reported that the Khe language shows only slight variations from village to village, and that comprehension is possible between all Khe varieties. Khe is found to be very closely related to Cambodia's national language (with lexical similarity above 90%). Khe continues to be spoken in daily life by all generations, so it is not believed that Khe speakers are currently shifting to use of another language. However, bilingualism is high with the national language and also with Lao and there is widespread acceptance of the national language. Therefore, it is not recommended at this time that vernacular language materials be developed in Khmer Khe.

Acknowledgements

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ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះធ្វើឡើងដោយអង្គការសហការអន្តរជាតិកម្ពុជា(អាយស៊ីស៊ី)ដែលជាអង្គការក្នុងស្រុកមួយនៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងទទួលបានការគាំទ្រពីអង្គការអិសអាយអិលអន្តរជាតិ។ កិច្ចប្រមូលព័ត៌មានអង្គការអាយស៊ីស៊ី និង ក្រសួងអប់រំ ស្តីពីគម្រោងអប់រំពីភាសាដើមដើមភាសាដើមបានជំរុញ ឱ្យអង្គការអាយស៊ីស៊ីធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវលើភាសាដើមជាតិដើមភាគតិចនៅភាគឦសានប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។ យោងទៅតាមកិច្ចប្រមូលព័ត៌មាននេះ នៅក្នុងឆ្នាំ ២០០៩ ក្រុមការងារស្រាវជ្រាវភាសារបស់អង្គការអាយស៊ីស៊ីបានធ្វើដំណើរទៅកាន់ ខេត្តស្ទឹងត្រែងជាមួយសមាជិកវិទ្យាស្ថានភាពជាតិ(នៃរាជបណ្ឌិត្យសភាកម្ពុជា) ដើម្បីសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ។ ឯកសារស្រាវជ្រាវនេះពណ៌នាពីលទ្ធផលនៃការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវស្វែងយល់ឱ្យបានច្រើនពីភាសានិងវប្បធម៌របស់ជនជាតិខ្មែរខិ ។

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1. Introduction

The goals of this language survey were to answer the following:

1. How many varieties of Khmer Khe are there and are they intelligible?
2. Are the speakers of Khmer Khe shifting to another language?
3. What other languages is Khmer Khe most closely related to?

The answers to these questions will be used to determine whether speakers of the Khmer Khe language would be able to use a single set of language materials, whether it would be necessary to create a new set of language materials in the Khmer Khe language, and if not, what other language materials would be most easily understood by Khmer Khe speakers.

The data collection for this research was done by International Cooperation Cambodia (ICC) staff (Philip Lambrecht, Seng Krisna, and Khoeun Sothika) December 14-17, 2009 in three villages in Stung Treng Province of Cambodia. The analysis and write-up of the report was carried out by Jennifer Herington and Amy Ryan of the Linguistics Institute at Payap University in Chiang Mai, Thailand. In this report, ICC staff responsible for the data collection will be referred to as “the researchers,” and Payap University staff conducting the analysis will be termed “the writers.”

1.1 Ethnic Names, Language Names, and Linguistic Classification

The subject of this language survey is the ethnic Khmer Khe or Khmer Khes people in Cambodia and the language or languages that they speak. The writers are not aware of any literature that references the Khmer Khe people or their language. Interview subjects reported that their language and ethnic group are also called Khmer Kha-ak or Khmer Khak. The writers have no data on the usage or acceptability of these terms.

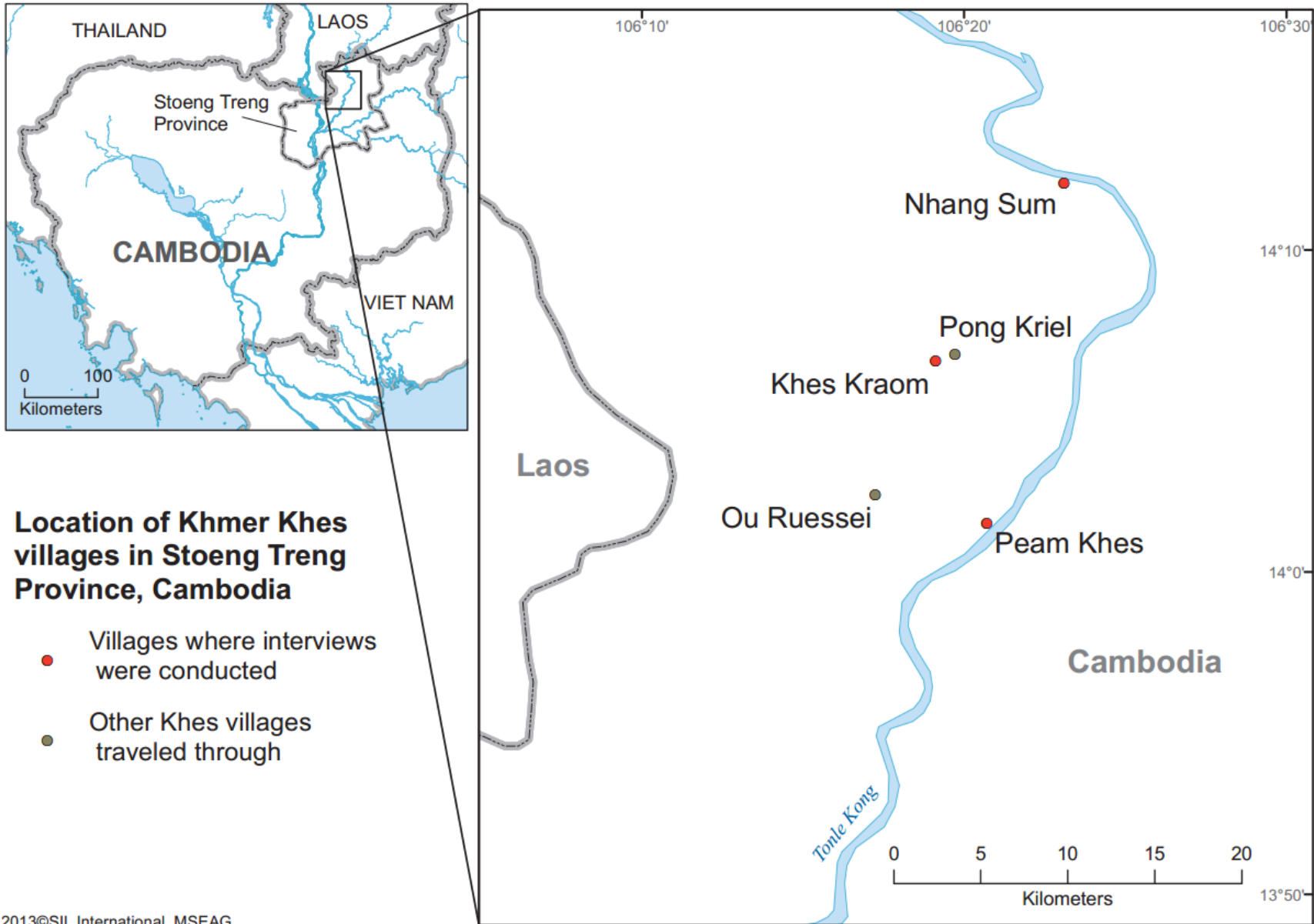
Khmer Khe has not been classified linguistically, though it is lexically similar to Central Khmer (ISO 639-3: KHM) and Northern Khmer (ISO 639-3: KXM).

1.2 Location and Population

1.2.1 Location of Khe Villages

The Khmer Khe people live in Stung Treng province. Research for this report was conducted in Siem Pang district: in Peam Khes village (Srae Sambour commune), in Khes Kraom village (Preaek Meas commune), and in Nhangsum village (Thma Keo commune; also spelled Nheang Sum). These villages are all located within about twenty kilometers of each other. The locations of these villages and others can be seen in Figure 1: Map of Khmer Khe villages in Cambodia Figure 1, below.

Figure 1: Map of Khmer Khe villages in Cambodia



1.2.2 Demographics of Khe Villages

When asked where else their language is spoken, subjects listed a total of 13 other villages in the same district. These villages are interspersed with Khmer and Table 1 lists all of these villages according to their respective communes, and also lists which group interviews mentioned each of them. For a few villages, additional information was provided such as population estimates or the presence of other ethnic groups. These have been included in the table; however, this information was not provided for the majority of villages mentioned.

Table 1: Khe Villages

District	Commune	Village	(Reported by)	(Reported as speaking DIFFERENTLY by) ¹	Total population		Khe population		Other Ethnic Groups	
					Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals		
Siem Pang	Srae Sambour	Peam Khes	(Peam Khes, Khes Kraom)	(Nhang Sum)	100		100			
		Kanhchanh Kouk / Kanhchanhkok	(Peam Khes, Khes Kraom; Nhang Sum)	(Nhang Sum)						
		Srae Ruessei / Srae Ruessey	(Peam Khes, Khes Kraom; Nhang Sum)	(Nhang Sum)						
		Kanhchanghterk / Kanhchanh Tuek / Kanhchanghterk	(Nhang Sum)	(Nhang Sum)						
		Ket Mooeng / Ket Moeung	(Nhang Sum)	(Nhang Sum)						
	Preak Meas	Khes Kraom	(Khes Kraom)					140	877	Few Khmer, no Lao
		Khes Svay	(Peam Khes, Khes Kraom, Nhang Sum)	(Khes Kraom, Nhang Sum)				152	897	Dozen Khmer, no Lao
		Pong Kriel / Pongkriel	(Peam Khes, Khes Kraom, Nhang Sum)	(Khes Kraom)				125	709	Few Khmer, no Lao
		Tuol Kruos (part of Pong Kriel)	(Peam Khes)							
		Kham Pouk			131	654	10			Mostly Lao, also Khmer, also La-ak
	Thma Keo	Nhang Sum	(Khes Kraom)	(Khes Kraom, Peam Khes)	164	809	100			
		Mak Phoeung (part of Nhang Sum)	(Khes Kraom)							
	?	?	Khe Thom	(Peam Khes)						

¹ The Nhang Sum short interview asked two different questions: Which villages speak the SAME as you? Which villages speak DIFFERENTLY from you? This question was not specifically asked in Khes Kraom or Peam Khes, however, interview subjects sometimes volunteered information about which villages spoke differently. This has been noted in the table.

2. Methodology

When planning this survey, ICC staff in Ratanakiri already had some knowledge about the Khmer Khe speakers in Stung Treng. They reported that Khmer Khe speakers live within 20 km from the Siem Pang district town in about four villages, including these three: Khes Svay, Khes Kraom, Peam Khes. However, at the time, the research team did not know very much else about Khmer Khe speakers. Therefore, the goals of the research were to find out where the Khmer Khe live, how many varieties of Khmer Khe there are, whether the Khmer Khe language is still used or not, and what other languages Khmer Khe is most closely related to.

In addition, the researchers also wanted to know which varieties could probably be grouped together to use the same literature or spoken language materials. The criteria for suggesting varieties that could possibly be grouped together are intelligibility and acceptance. Therefore, the research questions are related to:

- identity—what languages do people speak and what are the perceived differences between languages?
- intelligibility—how well can people inherently understand a language variety without learning it?
- acceptance—which varieties would people listen to or read, or which varieties would they reject?

The methods used to answer the research questions were interviews and word list comparisons. The research team interviewed subjects in three Khe villages. The work done in each village is listed in Table 2.

Table 2: Work done in each village

Commune	Village	(Total Families)	(Khe Families)	Word List	Interviews
Srae Sambour	Peam Khes	(100)	(100)	209 items	1 group; 10 family
Preaek Meas	Khes Kraom	(140)	(?)	299 items	1 group; 10 family
Thma Keo	Nhang Sum	(164)	(100)	N/A	Short group interview

2.1 Site Selection

Site selection was somewhat limited by the amount of data available before beginning the fieldwork on Khmer Khe. Before fieldwork, researchers had been told that Khmer Khe speakers live within 20 km from the Siem Pang district town in about four villages: Khes Svay, Khes Kraom, Peam Khes. The research team planned to leave the selection of Khmer Khe sites open-ended, depending on the information gathered during interviews. The researchers did not have a way to obtain lists of Khe villages and demographic information beforehand.

The team chose to conduct interviews in Peam Khes and Khes Kraom because they are in two different communes and were each reportedly the center of distinct varieties of Khmer Khe. According to the information gathered in the interviews, half of the Khmer Khes villages are very close to Khes Kraom, and in Peam Khes, it was reported that Khes Kraom had the best way of speaking, though it was a bit different from Peam Khes. The researchers also visited Nhangsum because it is geographically separate from the other two

areas and people said they spoke differently. The research team believes that this has allowed them to gather data in the most strategic way possible, even though due to time constraints, they were unable to visit more than three sites.

2.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires

Sociolinguistic questionnaires were used by the research team to gauge language use and language attitudes among the Khe people. The researchers designed three different questionnaires for this survey, but did not pilot test them beforehand. These questionnaires appear in Appendix A, Appendix B, and Appendix C. The questionnaires appear there in their entirety, but there were several questions on each questionnaire that were not asked, which are shown with a line drawn through them. These questionnaires were also used in a survey of Mel and Khaonh languages, so those questions may have been more relevant to that research and unnecessary for the Khmer Khe survey.

2.2.1 Group Interviews

The methodology for group interviews was to ask the village leader to bring together groups of Khe people, preferably older people knowledgeable about their history and culture. When the group gathered at the time set by the village leader, the researchers followed a questionnaire asking about how people identified themselves, what languages they use when and how well, how well they understand other varieties, and so on. The researchers tried to encourage participation from all the participants in the group interviews. The group interviewed in Peam Khes consisted of 12 older people. The group interviewed in Khes Kraom consisted of 9 people. The questionnaire is contained in Appendix A.

2.2.2 Individual Interviews

Because some of the things to be studied, such as children's language use or language proficiency, could vary from family to family and from generation to generation, the researchers wanted to get a better representation of the range of responses in the village than could be gotten in the group interview. To do this, information regarding randomly selected families/households was collected by interviewing an individual from each of the selected families. The text of this interview appears in Appendix B.

Families were chosen for individual interviews by getting a list of all families from the village leader and randomly selecting about thirty families from that list. If the researchers came across a non-Khe family in the list, that family would be crossed off and the researchers would move on to the next. The researchers still included one interview subject in Peam Khes who was born to Lao-speaking parents but was raised by her Khe stepfather.

Individuals were chosen to interview from the randomly selected family by convenience—the researchers interviewed any adult from the family who was available and willing to be interviewed. Sometimes several people from one family participated in the interview. Whether the “individual interview” was given to one person or a group, the researchers, following the questionnaire, asked questions about the whole family. For

example, the researchers asked the individual to report what her first language was, as well as the first language of her grandparents, parents, her siblings, her spouse, her children (if any), and her grandchildren (if any).

Questions were intended to show generational differences in responses by asking about grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren. The researchers did not record the age of the individuals interviewed. However, individuals were typically from a “middle” generation—individuals that probably had children of their own but were not the “elderly” people in the family. The researchers estimate that the individuals interviewed were mostly between twenty and forty years old.

Individual interviews were conducted in two villages: 10 interviews in Peam Khes and 10 in Khes Kraom. The researchers believed that twenty interviews would give a good representation of the village. In Peam Khes there was one randomly selected family that was not interviewed because they lived in a field far from town and the road was cut off. When this happened the next randomly selected family from the list was interviewed instead. In Khes Kraom there was no non-response. The writers believe that this one non-response would not seriously affect the results of the survey.

2.2.3 Short Group Interview

An additional short group interview was conducted in Nhangsum village, consisting of only 52 questions instead of the nearly 200 used in the full group interview in the other two villages. Limited data was collected in this village, as the research team did not have much time to dedicate to interviews there.

2.3 Lexical Similarity Comparison

Wordlists were collected in Peam Khes village and in Khes Kraom village. The wordlist used had 499 lexical items, however only the first 209 items were collected in Peam Khes, and the first 299 were collected in Khes Kraom. The researchers reported that Khe has a high lexical similarity to central Khmer, however, the writers were unable to locate a standard wordlist in central Khmer to conduct a complete lexical similarity comparison. Other linguists were consulted and several provided central Khmer wordlists that they had used for wordlist elicitation in other languages. However, none of these lists had been elicited from native speakers, and were therefore used by the writers only for estimating cognate percentages and not for formal sound change analysis. The two Khe wordlists along with the three central Khmer lists used for comparison can be found in Appendix C. The wordlists have been compared using the “inspection method” described in Nahhas and Mann² (2007:30). Words have been marked as being “likely” cognates (most sound segments are the same or similar; highlighted in yellow); “possible” cognates (some sound segments are the same or similar; highlighted in orange); or “unlikely” cognates (few or no same or similar sound segments; highlighted in pink).

² Nahhas, Ramzi W. and Mann, Noel W. 2007. *The Steps of Eliciting and Analyzing Word Lists: A Practical Guide*. Chiang Mai: SIL MSEAG Survey Team.

3. Language Varieties, Intelligibility, and Acceptance

One goal of the research was to find out how many varieties of Khmer Khe exist and whether they are intelligible. Another was to determine what other languages Khmer Khe is most closely related to. The answers to these two questions will be used as a basis for defining groups of people that could potentially use the same language materials. A few questions on the group interviews addressed this point but the primary methodology for determining this was through comparison of the two collected wordlists.

3.1 Group Interview Questions

3.1.1 Varieties of Khmer Khes

In each of the three three villages where group interviews were conducted, subjects were asked to name other villages which speak Khmer Khe. Their responses are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Group interview responses of other villages that speak Khmer Khe

GROUP INTERVIEW	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom
Q#7. How many other villages speak your language?	Kanhchanhkok, Srae Ruessey, Khe Thom, Peam Khes, Khes Svay, Pongkriel, Tuolkruos (All villages in Prek Meas commune speak the same Khe). We can understand Khmer Sorin, but we never meet them. But it is similar. We heard it by song.	Srae Ruessey, Kanchanhkok, Peam Khes, Khes Kraom, Khes Svay, Pongkriel, Nhangsum, Mak Phoeung.
Q#8. If they list any villages we don't know, find out in which commune and distance (near where, how long to get there, which road)	Skip	Kanhchanhkok, Srae Ruessey, Khes Kraom speak the same, but different from Nhangsum, Khes Svay, Pongkriel.
Q#10. Do the different groups have names for their dialect/way of speaking?	Nhangsum speak diferent from us.	Preak Meas commune speak different from Sambor commune.
Q#11. How is your way of speaking different from theirs (places mentioned in Q#10)?	Khmer Khe and Khmer is not the same. Khmer said Plov, but we said Pluu, Dey and Dy, Krabey and Krabeu, Ou and Oure, Oeuv and Uu, Koun and Kora-ne.	skip
Q#12. Examples of vocabulary differences between A and B.	Khmer speak softer, but we speak heavier. Khe use the old word of Khmer to function as pronounce I and you "Anh, Horng, Haeng, etc." But now we follow Khmer.	Preak Meas said Tuol, but Sambor said Tuolra, Duong and Doung, Mates and Pratis. Preak Meas speak slower, but Sambor speak fast.
SHORT INTERVIEW	Nhangsum	
Q#24. What other villages speak Khmer Khe the same as you?	Preak Meas, Khes Svay, Khes Kraom, Pongkriel, Peam Khes, Kanhchanghterk, Keet Mooeng. And srae sambo commune.	
Q#25. What other villages speak Khmer Khe differently from you?	Ket Moeung, Srae ruessey, Kanchchanghterk, Kanchanhkok, Peakm Khe, Khes Svay. They speak short.	
Q#26. How do they speak differently?	Nhangsum said Pracheachun, but Peam Khes said Pracheachoin. Krabey and Krabeu, Sangkram and Sangkream. One is softer and one is heavier.	

From these responses, it appears that there are slight differences between the Khe spoken in the three different communes visited (Srae Sambour, Preak Meas, and Thma Kaeo). However, the reported differences are minor and do not seem to affect comprehension between varieties. For example, the main differences reported between groups are either small vocabulary differences or differences such as one variety is “softer” and the other is “heavier.” None of the groups reported that they were unable to understand any of the other Khmer Khe villages.

Researchers were also interested in knowing what variety of Khmer Khe is thought of as the best by Khe speakers. Question 27 from the short interview and question 22 from the group interview asked where the

Khmer Khe language is spoken most correctly. Subjects in Nhangsum listed Khes Svay and Khes Kraom as the places where they speak Khe best. Peam Khes also listed Khes Kraom, while in Khes Kraom itself, it was reported that all villages speak the same. However, in both group interview villages, when asked what way of speaking written materials should follow, the subjects said that Khes Kraom would be best. From these answers, it seems that Khes Kraom variety is generally seen as the most prestigious or correct variety of Khmer Khe. However, it should be noted that this is based on a very limited set of data.

Table 4: Prestige dialect

Village	GROUP INTERVIEW		SHORT INTERVIEW
	Q#22. Which village is the place where your language is spoken most correctly?	Q#23. If you were to write down the Khmer Khe language in a book, which way of speaking should the writing follow?	Q#27. In which village is Khmer Khe spoken most correctly?
Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Khes Kraom	
Khes Kraom	All villages speak the same. Before we don't speak Khe like this, just because in Pol Pot regime we speak mix with Khmer.	Khes Kraom	
Nhangsum			Khes Svay and Khes Kraom

3.1.2 Acceptance of Central Khmer

In considering the possibility of sharing literature with closely related languages, it is necessary to consider not just whether people understand the other language, but their attitudes towards the other language, as well. Therefore, the research team asked questions to gauge how people feel about Central Khmer to see whether negative language attitudes would be a barrier to Khe people using materials already developed in Khmer.

In the individual interviews, subjects were asked whether they would rather listen to an interesting story in Khe, Khmer or Bunong. It appears that people are divided on which language they would prefer to listen to. People in Khes Kraom seemed to prefer Khe by a slight margin, but were evenly split between Khe and Khmer in Peam Khes. Additionally, in the group interviews, people were asked whether they like to hear stories in Khmer language (Q#66). This question was not asked in Khes Kraom, but in Peam Khes, the consensus was that they preferred to listen to “Khmer first, Khe second, and Lao the third [sic]. Khmer is more beautiful because it is the common language in [Cambodia].” While this does not show negative attitudes towards Khe, it does show positive attitudes towards the language of wider communication, which would indicate acceptance toward the use of language materials in Khmer.

Table 5: In what language would you rather hear an interesting story?

Q#185. Would you rather hear an interesting story in Khmer Khe, Bunong, or Khmer?		
Language Village	Khe	Khmer
Peam Khes	5	5
Khes Kraom	6	4
Total	11	9

Additionally, the group interviewees in Peam Khes and Khes Kraom were asked whether they think the Khmer language sounds nice (Q#65). Both groups said that they do enjoy the sound of Khmer, although they were divided on whether Lao language also sounds nice. This seems to suggest that attitudes towards Khmer are positive and would not be a barrier to using literature or other materials already developed in Khmer.

Table 6: Khmer Language Attitudes

Village	Q#65. Do you think the Khmer language sounds nice?
Peam Khes	Yes, Khmer sounds beautiful. Want to hear, want to watch movie. Lao also sounds good. But we are not interested in Lun language. Lun is very difficult language. When Lun people come here, they speak Khmer. ³
Khes Kraom	Yes, Khmer is soft and gentle, but we speak stiff. Lao sounds not good. We don't want to hear in Lao.

3.2 Lexical Similarity Comparison

3.2.1 Similarity between different varieties of Khmer Khe

All but two items (190 and 204) are lexically similar between the two Khe lists collected. In addition, some minor differences can be observed between the two lists. A sampling of these differences is shown in Table 7.

A. The vowel [ɔ] in Peam Khes sometimes appears as [o] or [i] in Khes Kraom (Lexical items 5, 16, 45, 77, 127, 128, 199)

B. The vowel [o] in Peam Khes sometimes appears as [u] or [ʊ] in Khes Kraom (Lexical items 7, 59, 71, 187)

C. The vowels [æ] and [ɛ] in Peam Khes sometimes appear as [e] in Khes Kraom (Lexical items 20, 26, 38, 58, 66, 67, 68, 81, 155, 158)

D. Some vowels are creaky in Khes Kraom but not in Peam Khes (Lexical items 21, 43, 44, 45, 56, 84, 91, 121, 170, 178, 182, 205, 206, 208)

E. Some vowels are breathy in Khes Kraom but not in Peam Khes (Lexical items 35, 70, 86, 100, 196, 198)

F. The vowel [ə] in Peam Khes sometimes appears as [i] in Khes Kraom (Lexical items 50, 78, 111)

³According to the researchers, Lun is related to the languages of Lave (ISO 639-3: brb) and Kavet (ISO 639-3: krvt), both members of the Brao-Kravet language family (Philip Lambrecht, personal communication, 15 December 2012.).

G. Some vowels which are short in Peam Khes are long in Khes Kraom (Lexical items 50, 64, 68)

Table 7: Sound Changes between Peam Khes and Khes Kraom

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Sound change
5	Cloud	pɔpɔ:k	popo:k	A
7	Night	jɔp	jup	B
16	Bark	sɔmbɔk c ^h i	sim bɔk	A
20	Fruit	p ^h læ:	p ^h le:	C
21	Grass	s ^ə maw	s ^ə maw	D
26	Dog	c ^h ke:	c ^h ke:	C
35	fly (n.)	rui	rui	E
38	Eye	p ^h næ:k	p ^h ne:k	C
43	neck	kɔ:	kɔ:	D
44	hand	bat daj	bət daj	D
45	finger nail	krɔcɔ:k	kricɔ:k	A, D
50	knee	kbal jə:ŋ	kbal jɪŋ kɔŋ	F, G
56	blood	c ^h a:m	c ^h ə:m	D
58	mother	mæ:	me:	C
59	child	ko:n	ku:n	B
64	sew	dir	dir	G
66	burn (v.) (wood)	c ^h ɛh	c ^h ɛh	C
67	ashes	pæh	peh	C
68	smoke	p ^ə sɛ:ŋ	p ^ə seŋ	C, G
70	hear	lu:	lɪ:	E
71	weep / cry	jɔm	jum	B
77	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	p ^h lɔm	p ^h lom	A
78	laugh (v.)	sə:c	si:c	F
81	scratch (v.)(person)	?ɛh	?ɛh	C
84	stand (v.)	c ^h ɔ:r	c ^h ɔ:r	D
86	push (v.)	ruŋ	ruŋ	E
91	tie (v.)	cɔ:ŋ	cɔ:ŋ	D
100	dig (v.) (a hole)	cik	cɪk	E
111	many (people)	crə:n	crɪ:n	F
121	black	k ^h maw	k ^h maw	D
127	cold (water)	trɔcɛak	trɪcɛak	A
128	heavy	t ^h ŋɔn	t ^h ŋɔn	A
155	iron	dɛ:k	de:k	C
158	branch	mɛ:k c ^h i	me:k	C
170	liquor	sra:	sɾa:	D
178	garlic	k ^ə tɪm sɔ:	k ^ə tɪm sɔ:	D
182	cooked rice	ba:j	bə:j	D

187	gibbon	tɔ:c	tɔ:c	B
190	bark (verb)	pruh	kəh	(unlikely cognate)
196	tail	kəntuj	kəntuj	E
198	tusk (elephant)	p ^h luk	p ^h luk	E
199	nest (bird)	səmbok	simbok	A
204	insect	sat ləʔit	sat tuc tuc	(unlikely cognate)
205	spider	piŋ pɛaŋ	piŋ pɛaŋ	D
206	louse (head)	caj	cəj	D
208	cockroach	kənlət	kənlət	D

Being that the differences between Peam Khes and Khes Kraom are so minor, the writers believe that all Khe speakers would easily be able to use a single set of language materials.

3.2.2 Similarity between Khmer Khe and Central Khmer

The two Khmer Khe wordlists were compared with wordlists for Central Khmer and lexical similarity was found to be extremely high. An estimation of lexical similarity percentages is shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Lexical Similarity Comparison between Khmer Khe and Central Khmer

Lexical items	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom
#1-209	Likely cognates with central Khmer: 200 Unlikely or possible cognates: 9 Percentage lexical similarity to central Khmer: at least 96%	Likely cognates with central Khmer: 198 Unlikely or possible cognates: 11 Percentage lexical similarity to central Khmer: at least 95%
#210-299	No data	Likely cognates with central Khmer: 79 Unlikely or possible cognates: 10 Percentage lexical similarity to central Khmer: at least 89%
#300-499	No data	No data

The wordlists demonstrate slight differences in pronunciation between Khmer Khe and central Khmer. The researchers noted, for example, that there are places where Khmer used to have a final /r/, as evident in the writing, but have since deleted it. However, the Khmer Khe still pronounce this final /r/. The writers also note lexical items where a final /k/ in Khmer Khe corresponds to a glottal stop or nothing in central Khmer and items where a word initial aspirated consonant in central Khmer is dropped in Khmer Khe, retaining only the initial aspiration. A sampling of these sound changes follows in Table 9.

Table 9: Sound changes between Khmer Khe and Central Khmer

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)
18	Leaf	^h lək	^h lək	slək chə:	slək	slək
29	Wing	^h la:p (sat)	s ^ə la:p		slap	sla:p
37	Hair	sək	sək	səʔ	səʔ	saʔ
45	Fingernail	krəcək	kricək		krəcəkʔ	kracəkʔ
64	Sew	dirdir	di:r	dei	dei	dei
82	Die (v.)	ʔləp	ŋəp/ ^h ləp	slap	sləp	slap
84	Stand (v.)	c ^h ər	c ^h ər	chə:	c ^h o	c ^h ə:
85	Walk (v.)	dir	dər	daə	daə	daə
88	Fall (v, prs, off cliff)	^h lak	^h lak		t ^h leaʔ	t ^h leaʔ
98	Stab (v.)	cakcak	cak	caʔ	căʔ	caʔ
102	Two (people)	pirpir	pir	pi:	pi	pi:
107	Seven (people)	pram pil	pram pil	pram pi:	prampi, prampəl	pram pi:
149	Sea	sramət	sramət		səmət	samot
154	Silver	prakprak	prak		praʔ	praʔ
155	Iron	dək	dək		daeʔ	daeʔ
165	Kapok	dim kor	dim kor		daəm ko	
168	Lime (for betel chew)	k ^ə mbo:r	k ^ə mbo:r		kəmbo	
189	Rat	kəndor	kəndor	kəndol	kəndɔl	kəndol
203	Frog	ʔaŋke:p	ʔaŋke:p	kəŋkaep	kəŋkaep	kəŋkaep
271	Flow (verb)		hu:r		hɔ	hou
280	Work (verb)		t ^h i kar		tvəka	twə kaa
283	Sell (verb)		lək	luəʔ	luəʔ	lūəʔ
292	Shallow (adj)		rək		reăʔ	

3.2.3 Comprehension Test

In language situations where lexical similarity is greater than 70%, it is usually recommended that the next step be to conduct comprehension testing. No comprehension testing was conducted among the Khmer Khe people. However, due to the responses given in group and individual interviews, the writers believe that proficiency in central Khmer is very high among Khe speakers. It would be difficult to determine whether that is due to inherent intelligibility (as the two languages are closely related) or acquired intelligibility (as central Khmer is the language of wider communication).

3.3 Summary of Varieties, Intelligibility and Acceptance

The differences between varieties of Khmer Khe are minor. The writers believe that all Khe speakers would be able to use the same language materials. The question that remains is whether it would be necessary

to create new materials in the Khmer Khe language, or whether Khmer Khe people would be able to use language materials developed in another language.

When considering whether a language group will need development of additional language materials, it is necessary to consider the following factors:

- Language vitality.
- Comprehension with a related speech variety (in this case, central Khmer)
- Bilingualism with a language of wider communication (in this case, also central Khmer)
- Attitudes toward related speech variety or language of wider communication (central Khmer)

In the following section, the writers will consider vitality of Khmer Khe and proficiency in central Khmer. If it is believed that proficiency in central Khmer is high and that there are no negative attitudes toward central Khmer, particularly if vitality of Khmer Khe is found to be low, the writers will recommend that no new materials be developed in Khmer Khe. If vitality of Khmer Khe is found to be high and proficiency in central Khmer is low or there are negative attitudes toward central Khmer, then there may be a need for new language material development.

4. Language Vitality

Language vitality is the likelihood that a language will continue to be spoken by future generations of a language community. It is a complex phenomenon that requires careful examination. In this section, the writers will discuss the answers to the various sociolinguistic interviews and what they reveal about the vitality of Khmer Khe. Some of the factors considered by the writers in evaluating language vitality are:

- Language proficiency (in both Khmer Khe and in central Khmer).
- Domains of language use. If there are found to be domains where Khe is still used exclusively, this is a positive indicator for Khe vitality.
- Children’s language use. If all children in a Khe community speak Khmer as their first language and continue to use it throughout their lives, this is a positive indicator for Khe vitality.
- Predictions of future vitality. In this section the writers analyse interview subjects’ reported opinions about whether and how their language will continue to be spoken in the future.

4.1 Language Proficiency

In considering language proficiency as a factor of language vitality, it is important to consider proficiency of both the local language and the language of wider communication (LWC). If all individuals are proficient in both languages, this may be an example of a diglossic situation, in which both languages are used by the entire community, each in a particular set of situations or “domains” of language use. However, a situation

cannot be determined to be truly diglossic unless it is believed that the situation has and will remain unchanged across generations. Otherwise, it may be an indication that the language community is beginning to favor use of the language of wider communication. This is a process known as language shift, and may lead to the extinction of the local language.

Table 10: Language proficiency as an indicator of vitality

	Entire community proficient in a language of wider communication	Some members of community not proficient in a language of wider communication
Entire community proficient in local language	May be an indication of stable diglossia if the situation remains unchanged across generations. This is a neutral indicator of language vitality.	Indicates sustainable use of the local language. This is a positive indicator of language vitality.
Some members of community not proficient in local language	Indicates that the community is shifting towards use of the language of wider communication. This is a negative indicator of language vitality.	This would be an unusual situation that may indicate a very rapid language shift (for example, the older members of the community have not yet learned the language of wider communication, but the younger generation is already choosing not to use the local language). This is a very negative indicator of language vitality.

4.1.1 Khe Proficiency

The research team asked individual interviewees question #180, “If you only spoke Khmer is that not a problem, or should you be able to speak Khmer Khe sometimes?” The two villages had strikingly different answers to this question. In Peam Khes, only two out of ten people said that would not be a problem; everyone else said that it is necessary to speak Khe at least some of the time and three people said it was better to speak only Khe. In Khes Kraom, however, only one person said it would be a problem if a person only spoke Khmer. Everyone else (nine of ten people) said that it would not be a problem to not speak Khmer Khe.

However, when asked when it was important to be able to speak Khmer Khe (Q#181), the two villages had similar answers. Everyone (ten of ten people) in Khes Kraom said that it was never important to be able to speak Khe. In Peam Khes, six of ten people said that it was never important to be able to speak Khmer Khe. Two more did not answer the question, and the final two people said that it was important to speak it all the time. The subjects from the group interview in Khes Kraom also gave the same answer, saying that there was no time when it was important to speak Khmer Khe. The question was not asked in Peam Khes or Nhangsum.

Overall, these responses are negative indications of language vitality, though it is obviously important to keep in mind the limited availability of data. The individuals in Peam Khes seemed to see more value in Khe than those in Khes Kraom, which echoes other data suggesting slightly higher language vitality in Peam Khes than in Khes Kraom. However, the fact that a majority of people see no problem with not being able to speak Khe points towards a possibility of low language vitality.

Table 11 shows the answers to several questions from the short group interview conducted in Nhangsum. Limited data was collected in this village, as the research team did not have much time to dedicate to interviews there. However, it appears that most people speak Khe well (Q#30, Q#35), and only a few people are reported to not be able to speak Khe. Question #34 seems somewhat concerning from a language vitality

point of view, though. The group in Nhangsum said that people in their village speak Lao more than Khe. If this is true, it may be that this village is undergoing a shift towards Lao. This could also be hidden by the fact that most of the other interview questions asked specifically about Khmer rather than languages of wider communication in general. Even though a village might report using Khe more than Khmer, if they use Lao more than either one, that's a negative sign for the vitality of Khe.

Table 11: Use of Khe and Khmer

	Q#30. Can all the Khmer Khe people here speak Khmer Khe?	Q#31. Who cannot speak Khmer Khe?	Q#34. Do the Khmer Khe people speak Khmer more or Khmer Khe more in this village?	Q#35. Do the Khmer Khe people here speak Khmer Khe really well or not so much?
Nhangsum	They all know Khe.	A few people do not know Khe. Only one person does not know Khe because he lives in the forest near the Laos border.	Most people here speak Lao more than Khe.	This village can speak good Khe.

4.1.2 Proficiency in Languages of Wider Communication

Although the data is limited and incomplete, it seems that almost all adults in the two villages speak either Lao or Khmer or both. It's difficult to say with certainty that this is the case, since there is not a complete set of answers from either village. Table 12 and

Table 13 show the answers from questions about languages of wider communication. In Khes Kraom, for Q#79 of the group interview, the group said that there is nobody who is unable to speak Khmer. However, in the follow-up question (Q#80), the group reported that people in Khes Kraom normally speak Khe, only using Khmer with Khmer people. In Nhangsum, it was reported that, "Most Khe people here speak Lao because they think Khe does not sound beautiful or good." This would imply that most people in Nhangsum are reasonably proficient in Lao, if they are able to speak it the majority of the time.

Table 12: Other languages spoken in Khe villages

Village	Q#24. What other languages do Khmer Khe people in this village know? (list in chart)	Q#79. Do some people not know Khmer?	Q#80. [if some don't know Khmer Khe] When did it first come about that some Khmer Khe people don't speak Khmer Khe language?
Peam Khes	Lao, Khmer, Kravet, Lun, Tumpuon, Kachak	<i>Not asked</i>	<i>Not asked</i>
Khes Kraom	There is Kravet (ISO 639-3: krv) language here and also Lao and Khmer language.	No	People in Khes Kraom are pure Khe and speak only Khe. Only meet with Khmer, they speak Khmer.

Table 13: Language use in Nhangsum

Village	Q#23. What language do the Khmer Khe people here speak the most?
Nhangsum	Most of Khe people here speak Lao because they think Khe does not sound beautiful or good. Some said, “We don't hate our language. Just because our children go for a walk with Lao children, they started to use Lao more than Khe.”

Additionally, as will be shown in Table 17 in Table 18 section 4.3.1 and Table 19 in section 4.3.2, in Peam Khes, it was reported that everyone over 15 years of age was able to speak Khmer. By the time children are 16 years old, they are able to understand Lao, but the group respondents said that those children were not able to speak it at that point. These are mixed signs for language vitality. The fact that children in Peam Khes are not able to speak a language other than Khe before 15 or 16 is a positive sign for the transmission of the mother tongue and thus for language vitality. However, if indeed everybody in Khes Kraom speaks Khmer well, it is a neutral sign for language vitality, because although it is a dominant language, it does not necessarily follow that people will start to choose Khmer over Khe. The report from Nhangsum, however, is a negative sign for vitality. Not only are people proficient in the more dominant language of wider communication, they also prefer to speak it over their mother tongue.

4.2 Khe Domains of Use

4.2.1 Family Domain

Table 14 shows the answers to several questions from the individual interviews regarding how people use language with their family members. All of the individuals interviewed responded that they only use Khe with their parents, spouses and children. For those with grandparents still living, all individuals reported that they only speak Khe with their grandparents. With siblings, almost everyone reported that they speak Khe exclusively with their siblings. However, one individual in Peam Khes said that she speaks Lao with her siblings, as well. Overall, this is a very positive sign for language vitality, since it shows that Khe is still by far the dominant language in the family domain. It is also a positive sign that people report speaking Khe exclusively with their children, which ensures transmission to the next generation.

Table 14: Language Use within Families

What languages do(es) __ speak with __?									
Subject		Q#155. Your father... you?	Q#156. Your mother...you?	Q#157. Your parents...each other?	Q#160. You... your spouse?	Q#162. You... your children?	Q#164. Your spouse... your children?	172. Your grandparents ...each other?	173. You... your siblings?
Peam Khes	P1	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	Khe	Khe
	P2	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	Khe	Khe
	P3	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe, Lao
	P4	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	P5	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	P6	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	P7	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	P8	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	P9	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	Khe	Khe
	P10	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	Khe	Khe
Khes Kroam	K1	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	Khe	Khe
	K2	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K3	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	Khe	Khe
	K4	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K5	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K6	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K7	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K8	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K9	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe
	K10	Khe	Khe	Khe	Khe only	Khe only	Khe only	died	Khe

4.2.2 Work Domain

The research team asked individual subjects about their use of language while working. All of the individual subjects reported that they were farmers by occupation. Of the twenty subjects, 16 said they use Khe only for their occupation. The remaining four mentioned using Khe and either Lao or Khmer. Three of those said they use Khe mostly, while one said he uses Khmer about 50 percent of the time. The fact that most people use Khe exclusively in their work is a positive sign for language vitality.

4.2.3 Religious Domain

In the individual interviews and the two group interviews in Peam Khes and Khes Kraom, people were also asked about their language practices regarding religion and ceremonies. In all cases, when praying to ancestors and spirits, everyone (except for one non-response) reported using Khe language. However, in the group interview in Peam Khes, the group said that they use Khe but “we officially use Khmer, which is the

origin of our Khe language.” Additionally, when asked what language they use for a funeral, all respondents, both individual and group interviewees, said that they use Khe exclusively. This demonstrates strong use of Khe in the religious domain, which is a positive indicator of language vitality. It also shows a willingness to use Khe rather than Khmer or Lao for religious purposes.

Table 15: Language Use in Religious Domains

Language use in the religious domain			
Subject	Q#176. When you pray to your ancestors, what languages do you use?	Q#177. When you pray to local spirits, what languages do you use?	Q#178. When your family gathers for a funeral, what language do you use in the ceremony?
Khe	19	19	20
Khmer			
No answer	1	1	
	Q#84. When you pray to your ancestors what language do you use?	Q#84. When you pray to local spirits what language do you use? ⁴	Q#85. When Khmer Khe people gather for a funeral, what language do they use in the ceremony?
Peam Khes	Pray all in Khe, but officially we use Khmer, the origin of our Khe language.	Not asked	Not asked
Khes Kraom	Khe	Khe	Khe

4.2.4 Education Domain

The research team asked the individual interviewees where they went to school in order to gauge language use in the domain of education (Q#203: “Where did you go to school?”). Five of the interviewees from Peam Khes and six from Khes Kraom had not been to school. Of the remainder, two went to Khes Kraom school, two went to Thmada school, and three went to Kanhchanhkok School. One other person went to “forest school,” where she reported that occasionally teachers at her school would use Khe to teach. Nobody else reported this at their schools.

Additionally, researchers asked whether the subjects were ever told not to use their own language at school (Q#205). Only one subject reported that they had been told not to use Khe at school. This is a neutral sign for language vitality, since while it looks like Khe is not supported in the educational domain, neither is it regularly suppressed. One note, however, is that it is unknown whether the subjects would have ever tried

⁴ Both these questions were numbered #84 on the original data.

to use Khe in school, or whether that would automatically be seen as an inappropriate domain for Khe, in which case the suppression of Khe in school would not be as explicit as implied by Q#205 (“Were you ever told not to use your own language at school?”)

4.2.5 Other Domains

A more negative view of language vitality is demonstrated by the responses given to question #179 on the individual interviews (shown in Table 16), “If you want to make a new song to sing, what languages do you use?” Only about half (11 of 20) of people said they would use Khe. The remainder (9 of 20) said that they would use Khmer. While this is not a main domain of language use, it does paint a fuller picture of overall language use when paired with the finding in Table 5 in Section 3.1.2 that people would just as soon listen to a Khmer story as a story told in Khe. The lack of preference for Khe over Khmer seems to indicate neutral feelings towards their language, which is at best a neutral indicator for language vitality.

Table 16: Family interview answers regarding new songs

Q#179. If you want to make a new song to sing, what languages do you use?	
Khes	11
Khmer	9
Total	20

4.3 Khe Children’s Language Use

4.3.1 Children’s First Language

In Nhangsum, the group was asked what language children in that village speak first. They reported that children in their village speak Lao language first and do not speak Khe well until later—by age 16. However, they were not asked the follow-up question, “How well do the Khmer Khe children in this village speak Khmer Khe?”, so it is unknown whether the children do not speak Khe at all or whether they speak it poorly. This is a serious concern as far as language vitality is concerned. Although this is only one Khe village, and perhaps not representative of the other villages, if children are not acquiring Khe until much later in life, then it seems like it could be in danger of disappearing, especially if this is a wide-spread occurrence. In the other two villages, however, the picture looks less bleak. In both Peam Khes and Khes Kraom, the groups reported that children in their village learn Khe first and learn Khmer later.

When asked what language is most important for children to know, the same Nhangsum respondents said that Khmer is the most important language to know first. It seems, though, that this question may have been somewhat misconstrued as “What language is most important for your children to *study* first?” The respondents seemed to expect that the children would already speak Lao and perhaps even Khe, based on their answers (see Table 17). In Peam Khes, it was reported that Khe is the most important language, followed

by Khmer and English. Khes Kraom, however, listed Khmer first, English second and Khe third. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this data, since it is such a limited amount of information. However, if parents don't see Khe as an important language for their children to learn, they may well opt to speak something else to them, and the children would end up not learning Khe. The parents seem to see the need for their children to speak several different languages, each for a different purpose.

Table 17: Children's Language Use—Group Interviews

Village	Q#28(short)/74(group). What language do children in this village speak first?	Q#36(short)/99(group). What language is most important for your children to know?
Peam Khes	Khe and later on they can speak Khmer. They speak Khe mix with Lao and Khmer. They mix the words with Khmer more than Lao.	Khe first because we are Khe, Khmer second because we want them to learn the right words and French and English third because they can learn how to be doctor. It is universal language.
Khes Kraom	Khe. People start to speak Khmer in Sihanouk regime by teachers.	Khmer is first for general communication; English is second for international contact, and Khe third for our language.
Nhangsum	Children in Nhangsum know Lao first. They can't speak Khe well before 16.	Khmer is very important to know first. But sometimes it is difficult for teacher. When he speaks Khmer to teach, students might not understand, that's why he sometimes need to explain in or speak Lao in class. English is the second and French is the third, But Khe is still the mother tongue.

When researchers talked with individual interviewees, the responses gave a much more positive indication of language vitality. All subjects in both villages reported that their children did (or will) speak Khe as their first language. Additionally, all subjects reported that their family uses primarily Khe in the home when conversing. These two things are positive indicators of language vitality and paint a different picture from the group interviews. It is important to keep in mind that all of this data is very limited, although because the individual interviewees were randomly selected, their responses should be generalizable to the whole Khe population of that village.

Table 18: Children’s Language Use—Individual Responses

Subject		Q#166. What language did/will your children speak first?	Q#174. What languages does your family use when conversing in your house?
Peam Khes	P1	Khe	Khe
	P2	Khe	Khe
	P3	Khe	Khe
	P4	Khe	Khe
	P5	Khe	Khe
	P6	Khe	Khe
	P7	Khe	Khe
	P8	Khe	Khe
	P9	Khe	Khe
	P10	Khe	Khe
Khes Kroam	K1	Khe	Khe
	K2	Khe	Khe
	K3	Khe	Khe
	K4	Khe	Khe
	K5	Khe	Khe
	K6	Khe	Khe
	K7	Khe	Khe
	K8	Khe	Khe
	K9	Khe	Khe
	K10	Khe	Khe

4.3.2 Children’s Second Language

As shown in Table 19, the individual subjects were asked from whom their children will acquire their second language (Q#170). Even though the question asked specifically about Khmer, many people from Peam Khes had reported that Lao was the language of wider communication spoken in their village, so they responded based on that premise. In Peam Khes, five of the ten respondents said their children would learn Lao from people who live near their village or from visiting Laos or Lao people. Two people did not specify what language their children would learn second, but one said it would be from friends and the other said at school. One more person said their children would learn from Khmer people. One person said their children would only speak Khe, while another did not answer the question. Of those who did answer the follow-up question (Q#171, “How old were they [will they be] when they learn[ed] Khmer?”), most people (seven of ten) said that their children would learn their second language in their teenage years, that is, between 10 and 18 years old.

In Khes Kraom, several people (three of ten) did not answer the question. Of those that did answer, three said their children would or did learn Khmer at school and three said from parents or relatives. One person said their children would or did learn from Khmer people in their village. Most of these respondents said their children would acquire a second language between six and ten years of age.

It seems that this is a positive sign for language vitality in these two villages. The children are reportedly not acquiring a second language until a little bit later in life, so they have a good base in the mother tongue, Khmer Khe.

Table 19: Children’s Second Language

Subject	Q#170. If Khmer is [or will be] the children’s second language, where did/will they learn to speak it?	Q#171. How old were they [will they be] when they learn[ed] Khmer?	
Peam Khes	P1	From friends, from other places.	14
	P2	Visit Laos	7
	P3	Lao people come and we also visit them by using Lao.	18
	P4	Lao people live nearby the village.	10
	P5	No answer	No answer
	P6	Learn from Khmer people	18
	P7	Only speak Khe.	No answer
	P8	Lao people live nearby the village.	10
	P9	At school.	12
	P10	Lao, Khmer live nearby.	16
Khes Kraom	K1	No answer	No answer
	K2	Go to school and listen to them.	10
	K3	Follow the ancestor	6
	K4	From teacher	8
	K5	From father	7
	K6	No answer	No answer
	K7	No answer	When they grow up.
	K8	From Khmer in the village.	No answer
	K9	From parents or relatives.	No answer
	K10	Teacher	7

4.3.3 Children’s Identity

In the individual interviews, the subjects were asked whether it is important that their children know that they are Khe. Most of the respondents (14 out of 20) said it is important, while another four said it was not important and one did not answer. Fewer people in Khes Kraom than in Peam Khes thought it was important for their children to know they were Khe. This could indicate slightly higher vitality in Peam Khes than in

Khes Kraom, especially when paired with the data in Table 19 that shows children acquire their second language later in Peam Khes than in Khes Kraom.

Additionally, the research team asked what people teach their children about being Khe. Several people (six of twenty) said they speak Khe to their children. Another six people said they tell their children that they are Khe. The remaining eight people either did not answer (four people) or said that they do not teach their children anything about being Khe. This is a possibly negative sign for language vitality, since only a slight majority of people indicated that they were actively teaching their children about being Khe, while the remainder seemed to think this was not an important thing to purposely pass onto their children.

The same questions were asked in the group interview in Khes Kraom (they were skipped in Peam Khes). In Khes Kraom, the group thought that it was important for their children to know they are Khe. When asked what they wanted to teach their children about being Khe, they mentioned a ceremony performed by the elderly people that children could learn, but said that it was not necessary to actually teach it. It may be that in many of the individual interviews, the people who said they wouldn't teach their children anything just assume that their children will learn the different aspects of being Khe without actually having to actively teach them those things. However, this is just conjecture, and not really certain one way or the other.

Table 20: Children's Khe Identity

Subject		Q#201. Is it important for your children to know that they are Khmer Khe?	Q#202. What do you teach your children about being Khmer Khe?
Peam Khes	P1	Yes	Tell them we are Khe
	P2	Yes	Tell that we are Khe
	P3	Yes	Nothing
	P4	Yes	No need to tell them.
	P5	Yes	Tell them we are Khe
	P6	No answer	Speak Khe with them every day.
	P7	Not important	No answer
	P8	Yes	Speak Khe
	P9	Yes	Follow the language.
	P10	Yes	Nothing
Khes Kraom	K1	Yes	They are still very young.
	K2	Yes	Speak Khe
	K3	Yes	Speak Khe
	K4	Yes	Speak Khe
	K5	not important	Tell them.
	K6	not important	No answer
	K7	not important	No answer
	K8	not important	No answer
	K9	Yes	Our ancestors are Khe
	K10	Yes	We are Khe

	157. Is it important for your children to know that they are Khmer Khe?	158. What would you like to teach your children about being Khmer Khe?
Peam Khes	<i>Not asked</i>	<i>Not asked</i>
Khes Kroam	Important	Tell them to follow the old people. There are children to attend that ceremony. People just look, then can perform it. No need to learn.

The research team also asked individuals how they would feel if their children stopped speaking Khmer Khe and only spoke Khmer (Q#191). Two of the subjects did not answer the question, and a third seemed somewhat confused by the question. All of the rest (17 of 20, or 85%) were fine with their children giving up Khe in favor of Khmer (although one specified that only Khmer would be acceptable; if it were Lao, they would not be pleased). Additionally, in the group interviews in both Peam Khes and Khes Kraom, the group consensus was that it would be fine with them if their children stopped speaking Khe in favor of Khmer. In Nhangsum, the answer was somewhat unclear, although they seemed to prefer that their children speak Khmer over Lao, despite Lao being the more prevalent language in their village. All of these answers point towards lower language vitality. It is a very negative sign for language vitality, as it shows apathy towards the mother tongue and lack of desire to preserve it.

Table 21: Language Preservation

Subject		191. How would you feel if your children stopped speaking Khmer Khe and only spoke Khmer?
Peam Khes	P1	If they use Khmer, it is okay, but if they use Lao it is not good, not our country's language.
	P2	English third because we want to know it.
	P3	Ok
	P4	Ok
	P5	Ok
	P6	Ok
	P7	Ok
	P8	Ok
	P9	Ok
	P10	No answer
Khes Kraom	K1	No answer
	K2	Ok
	K3	Ok
	K4	Ok
	K5	Ok
	K6	Ok
	K7	Ok
	K8	Ok

	K9	Ok
	K10	Ok
	Q#105(Group)/Q#42(Short Group). How would you feel if your children stopped speaking Khmer Khe and only spoke Khmer?	
Peam Khes Group	Ok	
Khe Khmer Group	Ok	
Nhangsum Short Group	It sounds good, but we feel sympathy to language. But if speak only Lao, it is not good because we live in Khmer, use Khmer.	

In Table 22 are shown the answers to Q#200: “Which ethnic group do you want your children to marry with?” Five out of ten in Peam Khes and three of ten in Khes Kraom answered Khe only. Three people said that either Khe or Khmer would be fine, and two people said they would prefer Khmer only. The remaining six subjects either did not answer or said that it would be up to their children. This is a neutral indicator for language vitality. Just over half (11/20) said that they would prefer Khe or either Khe or Khmer, which does not indicate hugely positive feelings towards preservation of Khe culture.

Table 22: What ethnic group do you want your children to marry with?

Q#200. What ethnic group do you want your children to marry with?					
Village \ Ethnicity	Khe	Khmer	Khe or Khmer	Up to them/ No answer	Total
Peam Khes	5	1	1	3	10
Khes Kraom	3	1	2	4	10
Total	8	2	3	7	20

4.4 Khe Attitudes

In Khes Kraom, the group was asked what language one has to speak to make money (Q#92). Although this question was on the questionnaire for both group interviews, it was not asked in Peam Khes. In Khes Kraom, the group said that you have to speak Khe to make money, but in the follow up question (Q#93), they said one can also make money only speaking Lao or Khmer.

In the individual interviews, people were asked what languages are most useful for making a living (Q#199, shown in Table 23). All of the respondents said they were farmers. The languages were ranked first, second and third, based on what each person considered the most important to least. Khe was ranked first by 12 out of 20 subjects, with Khmer listed first by half as many people, only six of 20. Two people did not answer the question. For the second most useful language, seven people out of twenty chose Khmer, three chose Lao, and two chose English. Khe was not listed second. Only a few people listed a third language: one listed Khmer, one listed French, and two people each listed Lao and English. This is an indication of good

attitudes towards Khe, since people view it as an economically useful language. Having positive attitudes towards the mother tongue is a good sign for language vitality.

Table 23: Most useful languages

Q#199. What languages are most useful for making a living? (1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd)					
Subject	Work	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	
Peam Khes	P1	Farmer	Khmer	Lao	English
	P2	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	Lao
	P3	Farmer	Khe	Lao	<i>No answer</i>
	P4	Farmer	Khe	Lao	Khmer
	P5	Farmer	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	P6	Farmer	Khmer	English	<i>No answer</i>
	P7	Farmer	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	P8	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>
	P9	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>
	P10	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	Lao
Khes Kraom	K1	Farmer	Khe	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	K2	Farmer	Khe	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	K3	Farmer	Khe	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	K4	Farmer	Khmer	English	French
	K5	Farmer	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	K6	Farmer	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>
	K7	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>
	K8	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>
	K9	Farmer	Khe	Khmer	English
	K10	Farmer	Khmer	<i>No answer</i>	<i>No answer</i>

When examining attitudes towards the subjects' own language, the research team asked whether Khmer Khe people were proud to be Khe. In the group interviews (Table 24), the consensus in Peam Khes was that they are proud. However, in Khes Kraom, some in the group said they were proud, while others said they were not. Even though some said that they were not proud to be Khe, when asked whether they would be happy to tell people that they were Khe, both people in Peam Khes and Khes Kraom said they would be happy, because they would not want to hide who they were. It is uncertain whether this indicates higher or lower language vitality because the answers are somewhat ambiguous about the level of pride felt by the speakers of Khe. If people are ashamed to be identified as Khe, then that is a negative indicator of language vitality. However, if everyone is proud of their mother tongue and ethnicity, then that would be a more positive indicator of language vitality. Because the data set is so limited and what is available is ambiguous, it is difficult to say with any certainty which of these is the case.

Table 24: Ethnolinguistic identity

Village	Q#94. Are Khmer Khe people in your village proud to be Khmer Khe?	Q#95. If you go to Phnom Penh and people don't know where you come from and they ask, will you be happy to tell them that you are Khmer Khe?	Q#96. Why?	Q#98. Do other ethnic minorities admire you or make fun of you?
Peam Khes	Proud to be Khe	Yes	No one hides our Khe identity	Skip
Khes Kraom	Some said yes and some no	Khe is pure man, not hide ourselves. We speak openly and faithfully.	Skip	Teachers criticize us. And some admire us. Some mock us.

In Table 25 are shown the responses to the question (Q#187) “What is the most important language for your children to learn?” The majority of people in both Peam Khes and Khes Kraom (shown together here) responded that Khmer was the most important language for their children to learn. Khe was listed by half as many people as the most important language to learn. It was also listed by six people as the second most important language for their children to learn, though all of those six people said that Khmer was the first most important language. For the third most important language, most people did not list any language, and those that did listed international languages, saying that it would help their children find better jobs. Finding better jobs was the most common reason given for thinking Khmer was the most important language to learn, as well. People who listed Khe said that it was important because it is what they use in everyday life. While it is a good sign that people view Khe as the language of everyday domains, it is probably a negative sign for language vitality that people also view Khmer as a more important language, at least economically.

Table 25: What is the most important language for your children to learn?

Language	Q#187: Most Important	Q#188: Second	Q#189: Third
Khe	6	6	1
Khmer	12	7	0
Lao	0	1	2
English	1	2	3
French	0	0	1
French/English	0	1	0
Thai	0	0	1
None	1	3	12
Total	20	20	20

In group interviews, there were also mixed feelings about the relative importance of languages. In Peam Khes, when asked, “What language is most important for your children to know?” (Q#99), the group said that Khe was the most important language for identity reasons. Khmer was listed second because it has “the right words.” However, in Khes Kraom and Nhangsum, Khmer was listed first for purposes of communication. In

Khes Kraom, Khe was listed third, for reasons of identity. The complete answers are shown in Table 17, from Section 4.2.5: Other Domains

A more negative view of language vitality is demonstrated by the responses given to question #179 on the individual interviews (shown in Table 16), “If you want to make a new song to sing, what languages do you use?” Only about half (11 of 20) of people said they would use Khe. The remainder (9 of 20) said that they would use Khmer. While this is not a main domain of language use, it does paint a fuller picture of overall language use when paired with the finding in Table 5 in Section 3.1.2 that people would just as soon listen to a Khmer story as a story told in Khe. The lack of preference for Khe over Khmer seems to indicate neutral feelings towards their language, which is at best a neutral indicator for language vitality.

Table 16: Family interview answers regarding new songs

Q#179. If you want to make a new song to sing, what languages do you use?	
Khes	11
Khmer	9
Total	20

Khe Children’s Language Use **Error! Reference source not found..**

In Table 26 is shown the answer to the short group interview question, “What language do the Khmer Khe people here speak the most?” This was only asked in Nhangsum, and the group consensus seems to be that Khe people in that village prefer to speak Lao over Khe, noting that Khe people prefer the sound of Lao over Khe. This is a negative sign for language vitality, since it shows that people might prefer speaking the more dominant language of wider communication, which could indicate future language shift.

Table 26: Most used language

Village	Q#23. What language do the Khmer Khe people here speak the most?
Nhangsum	Most of Khe people here speak Lao because they think Khe is not sound beautiful or good. Some said We don't hate our language. Just because our children go for walk with Lao children, so they started to use Lao more than Khe.

4.5 Khe Literacy

In the group interview in Khes Kraom, interviewees were asked if they had ever seen anyone writing in Khmer Khe. They said they had never seen it. However, when asked whether they would like to learn to read and write Khe, they said they would be interested.

In the individual interviews, when asked whether they would like to learn to read and write Khmer Khe if they had the opportunity, only three people said they would not be interested. Two of those three were unable to read Khmer, either, so it may be that those people do not have interest in literacy of any sort or

view themselves as incapable of literacy. The fact that 17 of 20 (85%) of respondent said they would be interested in reading and writing Khe shows positive attitudes towards the subjects' own language.

Table 27: Khe Literacy

Subject		Q#89 (GI). Has anyone ever used the Khmer Khe language for writing? Who and for what purpose?	Q#90(GI). Would you like to learn to read and write Khmer Khe?	
Peam Khes		Skip	Skip	
Khes Kraom		Never see.	Yes	
Subject		Q#186(FI). Would you like to read and write Khmer Khe language if there were an alphabet and books?	Q#153(FI). How well can you read Khmer? (test reading sentence)	Q#154(FI). How well can you write Khmer? (test reading sentence)
Peam Khes	P1	Yes	No	No
	P2	Yes	No	No
	P3	Yes	No	No
	P4	Yes	Yes	Yes
	P5	Yes	No	No
	P6	Yes	No	No
	P7	Yes	Yes, some	Yes, some
	P8	Yes	Yes	Yes
	P9	Yes	No	No
	P10	No	No	No
Khes Kraom	K1	No	Yes	Yes
	K2	Khe	Yes	Yes
	K3	Khe	No	No
	K4	Yes	No	No
	K5	Yes	No	No
	K6	Khe	No	No
	K7	Khe	Yes, some	Yes, some
	K8	No	No	No
	K9	Yes	No	No
	K10	Yes	Yes	Yes

4.6 Predictions of Future Vitality

The research team asked individuals whether they thought their language was dying out or was still strong. Overall, 12 out of 20 people (60%) said that they thought their language was still strong. Additionally, when asked the follow-up question (Q#195), only three of those respondents (25%) said they thought it was possible that their language could die in the future. However, in the two group interviews conducted in those villages, the consensus seemed to be that the language is dying out in favor of Khmer.

There was some difference between the two villages: more respondents in Peam Khes felt that their language was still strong, although almost half of those respondents (3 of 7) thought that their language could die in the future. However, in Khes Kraom, although half thought that their language was already dying (5 of 10), none of those who thought it was strong thought that it could possibly die in the future.

Additionally, in both villages, most people who reported that the language was strong said the reason was that they speak it every day (Q#193). Those who were less optimistic for the future of their language reported that the way the language is spoken is changing with the next generation. While none of this is conclusive evidence, especially due to such a limited amount of data, it does seem that this would be a negative sign for language vitality. Nearly half (9 of 20) of respondents felt that their language is dying or could die in the future, which seems to indicate lower vitality.

In the group interviews in all three villages, the subjects were asked whether they thought that their language would still be spoken by children in twenty years. In all three villages, people seemed to think that their language would still be around in twenty years. This is despite the same groups being of the opinion that their language was already in the process of dying currently. The two groups were also asked what could be done to stop Khe language from dying (Q#108). Neither group had any ideas to prevent language death, but the group in Peam Khes reiterated that they would like their children to speak both Khe and Khmer. It is a good sign for language vitality that people think children will still be speaking Khe in twenty years. This answer may indicate that parents plan to continue speaking Khe to their children, although it is difficult to say with certainty based on such a limited set of data.

Table 28: Do you think that your language is dying out or is it still strong?

Q#192. Do you think that your language is dying out or is it still strong?			
	Still Strong	Lose Some	No Answer
Peam Khes	7	1	2
Khes Kraom	5	5	0
Q#106-107 (Group)/Q#43 (Short Group) Do you think the Khmer Khe language is dying out or is it still strong?			
Peam Khes Group	Is losing and shifting to Khmer. Children [are] born as Khmer. Khmer come to live here more and we also force our children to [go to] school.		
Khes Kraom Group	Is losing; Old people died, and teachers teach in Khmer.		
Nhangsum Short Group	People still speak it.		

Table 29: If your language is still strong, do you think it could possibly die in the future?

Q#194. If your language is still strong, do you think it could possibly die in the future?			
	Yes	No	No Answer
Peam Khes	3	4	3
Khes Kraom	0	2	8
Nhangsum Short Group	(Q#46) Not lose		
Q#110 (Group)/Q#47 (Short Group). 20 years from now, will the children still speak Khmer Khe?			
Peam Khes Group	Yes, people still speak Khe.		
Khes Kraom Group	Not lose yet.		
Nhangsum Short Group	Still speak.		

4.7 Summary of Language Vitality

For purposes of this survey, the Khmer Khe language vitality will be evaluated according to the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). This scale is an expansion of Joshua Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale by Gary Simons and M. Paul Lewis, and it is the same method of evaluation used in the Ethnologue. This scale allows a language to be evaluated and categorized into one of thirteen different levels that reflect the level of vitality found in a language among a certain population of speakers.⁵

Error! Reference source not found. is a flowchart for making decisions regarding the EGIDS level of a language, taken from Lewis and Simons (2010). In the case of Khmer Khe, the research team discovered a discrepancy between the vitality levels of the different villages. While Peam Khes and Khes Kraom seemed to have very similar answers for most questions, those from Nhangsum seemed to fall into its own category. Thus, the writers decided to analyse Peam Khes together and Nhangsum separately. The questions for each stage of the flow chart—taken directly from Lewis and Simons (2010)—are detailed below in Table 30.

⁵ Lewis, M. Paul and Simons, Gary F., authors. 2010. "Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS." *Revue roumaine de linguistique (RRL)*, Vol. LV, No. 2: 103-120.

Figure 2: Chart for categorizing a language according to EGIDS criteria (Lewis and Simons 2010:113)

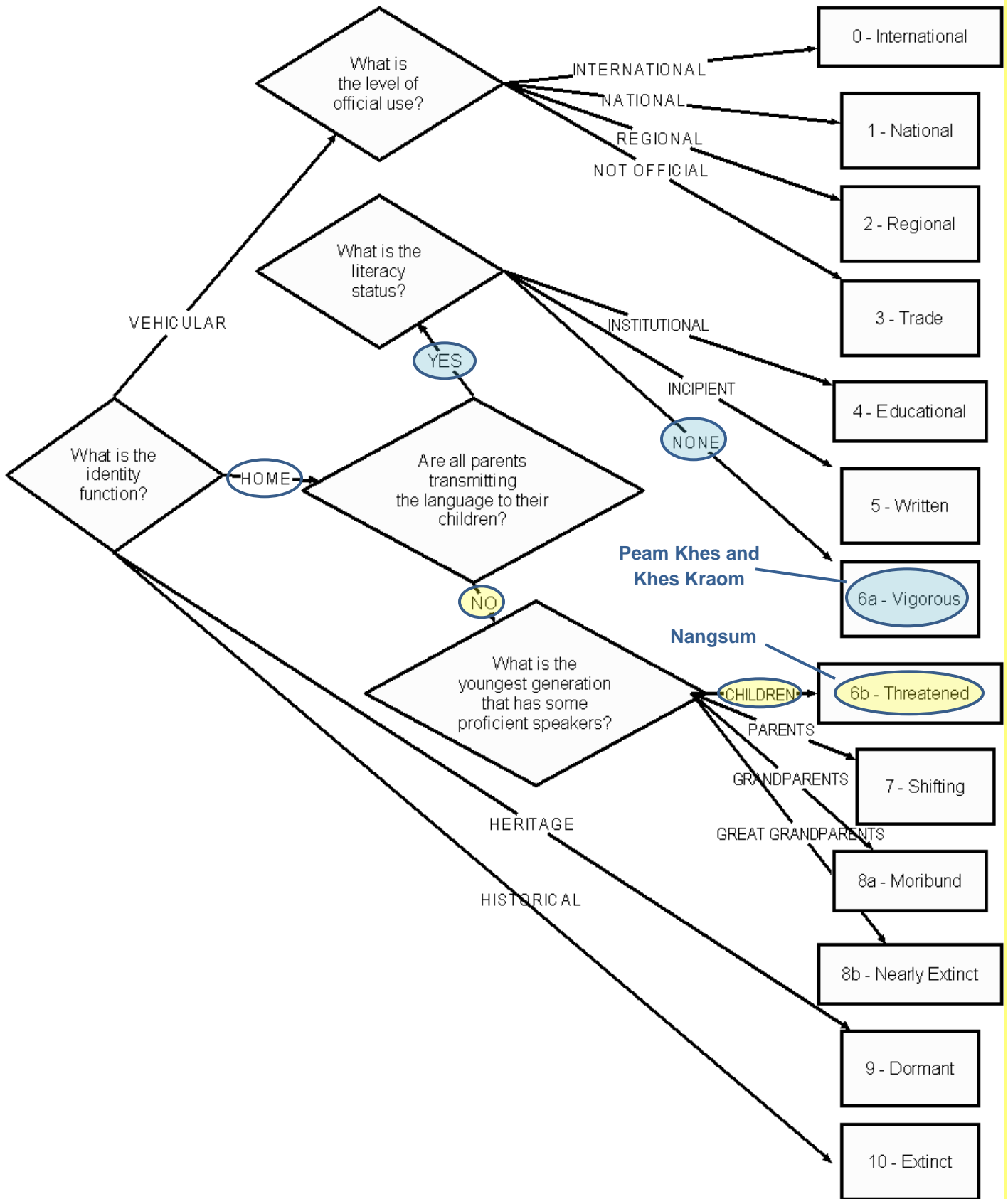


Table 30: Details of EGIDS assessment questions and answers (Lewis and Simons 2010:116-120)

<p>Key Question #1: What is the current identity function of the language? There are four possible answers to this question: Historical, Heritage, Home, and Vehicular.</p>	
<p>Home — The language is used for daily oral communication in the home domain by at least some</p>	
<p>Key Question #3: Are all parents transmitting the language to their children? This question must be asked when the answer to Key Question #1 is Home. There are two possible answers.</p>	
<p>For Peam Khes and Khes Kraom</p>	<p>For Nhangsum</p>
<p>Yes — Intergenerational transmission of the language is intact, widespread and ongoing. If this is the selected answer, one more question (Key Question #4) must be answered in order to determine if the community is at EGIDS Level 4, 5, or 6a</p>	<p>No — Intergenerational transmission of L1 is being disrupted. This response would characterize incipient or more advanced language shift. One additional question must be answered (Key Question #5) in order to determine if the community is at EGIDS Level 6b, 7, 8a, or 8b.</p>
<p>Key Question #4: What is the literacy status? If the response to Key Question #3 is “Yes”, then the status of literacy education in the community needs to be identified. There are three possible answers to this question: Institutional, Incipient, or None.</p>	<p>Key Question #5: What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers? When the response to Key Question #3 (Intergenerational Transmission) is “No”, it is necessary to know how far along language shift has progressed in order to assess the current EGIDS level. The youngest generation of proficient speakers in an unbroken chain of intergenerational transmission provides an index to the progress of language shift. By “proficient speaker” we mean a person who uses the language for full social interaction in a variety of settings. Specifically excluded is the partial and passive ability that typically characterizes the first generation that embraced the second language</p>
<p>None — There is no significant literate population, no organized means of acquiring literacy skills, or those who are literate read and write only in a second language. There are no institutions supporting local-language literacy or if such institutions exist they have not yet had a significant impact on the community. <i>This corresponds to EGIDS Level 6a, Vigorous.</i></p>	<p>Children — The youngest proficient speakers of the language are children. However, language shift may be in its beginning stages since full intergenerational transmission is not in place (Key Question #3). <i>This corresponds to EGIDS Level 6b (Threatened).</i></p>

Overall, language vitality among the Khmer Khe people seems to be strong, but it could become endangered in the near future. Khe people are speaking almost exclusively Khe at home and for work. Parents report that it is still the first language that their children acquire and that children do not begin speaking a second language until later in adolescence. However, the Khe people interviewed do not seem to value the continuation of their language, saying that they would not mind if their children stopped speaking Khe in favour of central Khmer. Additionally, Khe people report that they prefer using Khmer for some domains and that overall they feel it sounds better than Khe. This shows that Khe people generally view Khmer as a more prestigious language, which could lead to language shift in the future.

Vitality seems highest in Peam Khes, and also fairly high in Khes Kraom. However, according to the short group interview in Nhangsum, though there is not a lot of data to analyse, it seems that vitality might be quite low. As such, the writers have decided to categorize Peam Khes and Khes Kraom as 6a – Vigorous and to classify Nhangsum as 6b – Threatened. If one were to look at the group as a whole, however, it seems that the whole group would be classified at level 6a. According to Lewis and Simons, level 6a – Vigorous is a “sustainable level,” that is, this level of language use can be sustained indefinitely and does not necessarily indicate active language shift. However, 6b – Threatened is not a sustainable level. Unless a language community actively works to increase the vitality of their language, language shift is inevitable at that level, and the community will switch to using a different language over time (Lewis and Simons, 2010:113-114).

5. Conclusion

The goals of this language survey were to answer the following:

1. How many varieties of Khmer Khe are there and are they intelligible?
2. Are the speakers of Khmer Khe shifting to another language?
3. What other languages is Khmer Khe most closely related to?

The answers to these questions will be used to determine whether speakers of the Khmer Khe language would be able to use a single set of language materials, whether it would be necessary to create a new set of language materials in the Khmer Khe language, and if not, what other language materials would be most easily understood by Khmer Khe speakers.

Based on the data gathered in the three villages, it appears that there are slight differences between the Khe spoken in the three different communes visited (Srae Sambour, Preak Meas, and Thma Kaeo). However, the writers believe that these differences are minor and do not affect comprehension between varieties. All villages report being able to understand each other, listing small changes in pronunciation as the main differences between the village varieties.

Of the three village varieties, it appears that the variety spoken in Khes Kraom is seen as the best variety. In both of the other two villages visited, people said that they think Khe is spoken most correctly in Khes

Kraom. If there were to be any sort of language development or literacy work done in this language, Khes Kraom would probably be a good option for a standard, acceptable dialect.

In examining the data regarding Goal 2, it seems that the speakers of Khe are not currently shifting to another language. Almost all Khe people are speaking Khe in daily life. Khe is being passed on to the next generation, and children use Khe in the home. However, most people are proficient in Khmer or Lao or both. It may be that in future generations, Khe people will begin to shift towards the more prestigious central Khmer, preferring it over Khmer Khe.

The third goal of this survey was to figure out what other languages Khmer Khe is closely related to. The research team collected wordlists in two of the villages, and these were compared to central Khmer wordlists. Khe is very closely related to central Khmer, with an estimated lexical similarity of between 95-96%. Additionally, most Khe people report being proficient in central Khmer. It seems that any language materials in central Khmer would be extensible to Khmer Khe people. However, the main barrier to Khe people using materials in central Khmer seems to be illiteracy among the general population. With additional education, it would appear, based on the limited data available, that Khe people would be able to use central Khmer materials with little trouble.

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8. If they list any villages we don't know, find out in which commune and distance (near where, how long to get there, which road)

បើសិនជាមានភូមិណាដែលយើងមិនដឹងសូមរកមើលថានៅក្នុងឃុំអ្វីចំងាយ(នៅឯណា ជិតកន្លែងណា ប្រើរយៈពេលប៉ុន្មានទៅដល់)

9. [Question 9 was omitted] Group the villages according to which ones speak in the same way.

ដាក់ចូលគ្នានៅភូមិទាំងឡាយណា ដែលនិយាយដូចគ្នា

10. Do the different groups have names for their dialect/way of speaking?

តើក្រុមផ្សេងៗគ្នាមានភាសានៃការនិយាយផ្សេងៗពីគ្នា?

11. How is your way of speaking (group A) and group B different?

តើក្រុម"ក" និងក្រុម"ខ" និយាយខុសគ្នាដូចម្តេច?

12. Examples of vocabulary differences between A and B

លើកឧទាហរណ៍ពីពាក្យខុសគ្នារវាង ក្រុម"ក" និងក្រុម"ខ"

13. [Questions 13-21 were omitted] Examples of pronunciation differences between A and B

លើកឧទាហរណ៍ពីការបញ្ចេញសំឡេងខុសគ្នារវាង ក្រុម"ក" និងក្រុម"ខ"

14. How well can young children from your group understand group B?

តើក្មេងៗនៅក្នុងក្រុមរបស់អ្នកនិយាយស្តាប់គ្នាយល់ជាមួយក្មេងក្នុងក្រុម"ខ"ទេ?

15. How is your way of speaking (group A) and group C different?

តើក្រុម"ក" និងក្រុម"គ" និយាយខុសគ្នាដូចម្តេច?

16. Examples of vocabulary differences between A and C

លើកឧទាហរណ៍ពីពាក្យខុសគ្នារវាង ក្រុម"ក" និងក្រុម"គ"

17. Examples of pronunciation differences between A and C

លើកឧទាហរណ៍ពីការបញ្ចេញសំឡេងខុសគ្នារវាង ក្រុម"ក" និងក្រុម"គ"

18. How well can young children from your group understand group C?

តើក្មេងៗនៅក្នុងក្រុមរបស់អ្នកនិយាយស្តាប់គ្នាយល់ជាមួយក្មេងក្នុងក្រុម"គ"ទេ?

19. How are group B and group C different?

តើក្រុម"ខ" និងក្រុម"គ" និយាយខុសគ្នាដូចម្តេច?

20. Examples of vocabulary differences between B and C

លើកឧទាហរណ៍ពីពាក្យខុសគ្នារវាង ក្រុម"ខ" និងក្រុម"គ"

21. Examples of pronunciation differences between B and C

លើកឧទាហរណ៍ពីការបញ្ចេញសំឡេងខុសគ្នារវាង ក្រុម"ខ" និងក្រុម"គ"

Dialect Prestige កិត្យានុភាពនៃភាសា

22. Which village is the place where your language is spoken most correctly?

តើភូមិមួយណាដែលគេនិយាយភាសាក្រោលបានត្រឹមត្រូវជាងគេ?

23. If you were to write down the **Khmer Khe** language in a book, which way of speaking should the writing follow?

បើគេឲ្យអ្នកចងក្រងសៀវភៅភាសាក្រោល តើអ្នកនឹងយកភាសាក្រោលពីភូមិណាមកសរសេរតាម?

Language Proficiency

1	Speak well and understand a lot
2	Speak a little and understand more than a little
3	Speak little, understand little
4	No speak, understand all
5	Only understand a little
6	Understand nothing

24. Language	Old-M	Young-M	Old-F	Young-F	Kids <9 yrs
	25	26	27	28	29
	30	31	32	33	34
	35	36	37	38	39
	40	41	42	43	44
	45	46	47	48	49
	50	51	52	53	54
	55	56	57	58	59
	60	61	62	63	64

24. What other languages do **Khmer Khe** people in this village know? (~~list in chart~~) [chart was not used]

តើមានភាសាណាផ្សេងទៀតដែលជនជាតិក្រោលនៅភូមិនេះចេះនិយាយ? ចុះក្នុងតារាង

25. (25-64) how well do [old men/young men/old women/young women/children under 9] know **Khmer Khe**?

(25-64) តើមនុស្សចាស់ប្រុសស្រីមនុស្សក្មេងប្រុសស្រីក្រោមអាយុ៩ឆ្នាំនិយាយបានកម្រិតណាដែរ?

65. Do you think the Khmer language sounds nice?

អ្នកគិតថាភាសាខ្មែរស្តាប់ទៅពិរោះទេ?

66. Do you like to hear stories in Khmer language?

អ្នកចូលចិត្តស្តាប់រឿងជាភាសាខ្មែរដែរឬទេ?

67. [questions 67-73 were omitted] Do you like to read Khmer language?

អ្នកចូលចិត្តអានភាសាខ្មែរដែរឬទេ?

68. Do you think [other language from chart above that they understand] sounds nice?—

តើអ្នកគិតថាភាសានៅក្នុងតារាងខាងលើដែលអ្នកយល់បានស្តាប់ទៅពិរោះដែរឬទេ?

69. Do you like to hear stories in ___?—

តើអ្នកចង់ស្តាប់រឿងជាភាសា___?

70. Do you like to read ___?—

តើអ្នកចង់អានភាសា___?

71. Do you think [other language from chart above that they understand] sounds nice?—

តើអ្នកគិតថាភាសានៅក្នុងតារាងខាងលើដែលអ្នកយល់បាន ស្តាប់ទៅពិរោះដែរឬទេ?

72. Do you like to hear stories in ___?—

តើអ្នកចង់ស្តាប់រឿងជាការសា...?

73. Do you like to read _____?

តើអ្នកចង់អានជាការសា...?

Language use

74. Which language do **Khmer Khe** children in this village learn to speak first?

តើភាសាមួយណាដែលក្មេងៗក្រោលនៅ ក្នុងភូមិនេះនិយាយមុនគេ?

75. [Questions 75-78 were omitted] If Kraol is not the first language of some children, do they learn to speak Kraol when they are older?

បើសិន មិនមែនក្រោលទេ តើគេនិយាយក្រោលបាននៅពេលដែលគេធំ?

76. At what age do they speak Kraol?—

តើអាយុប៉ុន្មានដែលគេអាចនិយាយក្រោលបាន?

77. When did Kraol people in this village start to speak Khmer?

តើជនជាតិក្រោលនៅក្នុងភូមិនេះចាប់ផ្តើមនិយាយខ្មែរតាំងពីពេលណាមក?

78. Why did they start?—

មូលហេតុអ្វីបានចាប់ផ្តើមនិយាយ?

79. Do some people not know Khmer?

ហេតុអ្វីមានអ្នកខ្លះអត់ចេះនិយាយខ្មែរ? *Make sure that it is true! If not we have to skip it.*

80. [if some don't know **Khmer Khe**] When did it first come about that some **Khmer Khe** people don't speak **Khmer Khe** language? *Taking about **Khmer Khe** people don't know **Khmer Khe**? what about the kids?*

ប្រសិនបើមានអ្នកខ្លះអត់ចេះភាសាក្រោល តើវាកើតឡើងពេលណា?

81. [Questions 81-82 were omitted] When children in this village speak Kraol, what about old people? do they sometimes mix other languages with it?

នៅពេលនិយាយក្រោលតើមានការប្រយោលយកមួយភាសាផ្សេងទៀតដែរឬទេ?

82. Which languages?—

បើដូចនោះ ភាសាណាខ្លះ?

Domains

83. What languages do you use when you are having conversation with your family in your house?

តើអ្នកប្រើភាសាមួយណានៅពេលដែលអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយក្រុមគ្រួសាររបស់អ្នកនៅក្នុងផ្ទះ?

When you pray to your ancestors what language do you use?

ពេលនៅផ្ទះ បើសិនជាមនុស្សក្នុងគ្រួសាររបស់អ្នកមានជម្លោះនឹងគ្នា តើពួកគេនឹងប្រើភាសាអ្វី នៅពេលពួកគេស្រែកគំហកដាក់គ្នា?

84. When you pray to local spirits what language do you use?

នៅពេលដែលអ្នកបូជាស្នងទៅកាន់ (ដូនការរបស់អ្នក អ្នកតា ព្រះ) តើភាសាមួយណាដែលអ្នកប្រើ?

85. When **Khmer Khe** people gather for a funeral, what language do they use in the ceremony?

ពេលដែលមនុស្សនៅក្នុងភូមិរបស់អ្នកនាំគ្នាធ្វើពិធីបុណ្យសព តើពួកគេប្រើភាសាមួយណា?

86. When **Khmer Khe** elders in your village meet to make a decision, what languages do they use?

ពេលដែលអ្នកចាស់ៗនៅក្នុងភូមិរបស់អ្នកជួបជុំគ្នាដើម្បីដោះស្រាយជម្លោះណាមួយនោះ តើពួកគេប្រើភាសាអ្វីខ្លះ?

87. In which situations is it important to use **Khmer Khe** language?

តើនៅក្នុងស្ថានភាពបែបណាដែលសំខាន់កំរុងប្រើភាសាក្រោល?

88. In which situations is it important to use Khmer?

តើនៅក្នុងស្ថានភាពបែបណាដែលសំខាន់កំរុងប្រើភាសាខ្មែរ?

89. Has anyone ever used the **Khmer Khe** language for writing? Who and for what purpose?

តើធ្លាប់មានអ្នកណាគេយកភាសាក្រោលមកសរសេរជាអក្សរដែរឬទេ? នរណា? ដើម្បីអ្វី?

90. Would you like to learn to read and write **Khmer Khe**?

តើអ្នកចូលចិត្តអាននិងសរសេរភាសាក្រោលទេ?

91. What kind of things would you like to read?

តើអ្នកចង់អានអ្វីខ្លះដែរ?

92. What language do you have to speak to make money?

តើភាសាអ្វីដែលអ្នកអ្នកនិយាយដើម្បីរកលុយ?

93. Is it possible to make money if you only speak **Khmer Khe**?

តើអាចទៅរួចទេដើម្បីរកលុយបាន បើគ្រាន់តែចេះភាសាក្រោល?

Language prestige and predictions

94. Are **Khmer Khe** people in your village proud to be **Khmer Khe**?

តើជនជាតិក្រោលក្នុងភូមិរបស់អ្នកសប្បាយចិត្តដែលជាជនជាតិក្រោលទេ?

95. If you go to Phnom Penh and people don't know where you come from and they ask, will you be happy to tell them that you are **Khmer Khe**?

បើអ្នកទៅទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ ហើយគេមិនស្គាល់ថាអ្នកមកពីណានោះទេ តើអ្នកចង់អោយគេដឹងថា អ្នកជាជនជាតិក្រោលឬទេ?

96. Why?

ហេតុអ្វី?

97. What do other ethnic minorities think of **Khmer Khe** people?

តើជនជាតិភាគតិចដទៃទៀតគិតយ៉ាងដូចម្តេចចំពោះជនជាតិក្រោល?

98. Do they admire you or make fun of you?

តើគេសរសើរអ្នក ឬគេឡែកលើយដាក់អ្នក?

99. What language is most important for your children to know?

តើភាសាអ្វីដែលសំខាន់បំផុត ដែលអ្នកចង់ឲ្យកូនអ្នកចេះ?

100. [Questions 100-104 were omitted] Why is _____ language most important?

ហេតុអ្វីបានជាចេះនិយាយភាសា___ជាសំខាន់?

101.—What language is second most important for your children to know?

តើភាសាអ្វីដែលសំខាន់ទីពីរ ដែលអ្នកចង់ឲ្យកូនអ្នកចេះ?

102.—Why is it important for your children to know ___language?

ហេតុអ្វីបានជាចេះនិយាយភាសា___ជាសំខាន់?

103.—What language is third most important for your children to know?

តើភាសាអ្វីដែលសំខាន់ទីបី ដែលអ្នកចង់ឲ្យកូនអ្នកចេះ?

104.—Why is it important for your children to know ___language?

ហេតុអ្វីបានជាចេះនិយាយភាសា___ជាសំខាន់?

105. How would you feel if your children stopped speaking **Khmer Khe** and only spoke Khmer?

តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍ដូចម្តេច ប្រសិនបើកូនរបស់អ្នកឈប់និយាយភាសារបស់អ្នក ហើយនិយាយតែភាសាខ្មែរជំនួសវិញ?

106. Do you think the **Khmer Khe** language is dying out or is it still strong?

តើអ្នកគិតថា ភាសារបស់អ្នកកំពុងតែបាត់បង់ ឬក៏នៅតែមានអ្នកនិយាយ?

107. Why do you think that?

ហេតុអ្វីអ្នកគិតដូច្នោះ?

108. If it is dying, what can be done to save it?

ប្រសិនបើកំពុងបាត់បង់ តើហេតុអ្វី? តើមានវិធីយ៉ាងណាដើម្បីថែរក្សាកុំអោយបាត់បង់?

109. If it is strong, do you think it could die in the future? Why?

ប្រសិនបើនៅតែមានអ្នកនិយាយ តើអ្នកគិតថាវាស្ថិតនៅក្នុងគ្រោះថ្នាក់នៃការបាត់បង់នាពេលអនាគតមែនទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?

110. 20 years from now, will the children still speak **Khmer Khe**?

ម្ភៃឆ្នាំទៀត តើអ្នកគិតថា ភាសារបស់អ្នកនៅតែនិយាយទៀតទេ?

People movement

111. How many people from other ethnic groups come to live in your village?

តើជនជាតិដទៃទៀតដែលចូលមករស់នៅក្នុងភូមិរបស់អ្នកមានចំនួនប៉ុន្មាន?

112. Which ethnic groups do they come from?

តើពួកគេមកពីក្រុមជនជាតិមួយណា?

113. Why do they come? (married, buy land?)

ហេតុអ្វីបានជាពួកគេមក? (រៀបការ ទិញដី)

114. [Questions 114-116 were omitted] How well do the immigrants know Kraol?

តើអ្នកចំណូលស្រុកយល់ដឹងភាសាក្រោលបានប៉ុណ្ណា?

115.—If they don't know Kraol, why not?

ប្រសិនបើពួកគេមិនចេះភាសាក្រោលទេ តើមកពីមូលហេតុអ្វី?

116.— How well do the children of immigrants know Kraol?

តើគូនឲ្យរបស់ប្រជាជនដែលចូលមករស់នៅក្នុងភូមិនេះចេះនិយាយភាសាក្រោលបានប៉ុណ្ណា?

117. How many **Khmer Khe** people leave this village to live in other ethnic areas?

តើមានប្រជាជនប៉ុន្មាននាក់ដែលធ្វើចំណាកស្រុកទៅរស់នៅតំបន់ជនជាតិផ្សេងទៀត?

118. [Questions 118-126 were omitted] To which ethnic areas do they go?

តើពួកគេទៅរស់នៅភូមិជនជាតិណាខ្លះ?

119.— Do they go together and live with other Kraol people there?

តើពួកគេទៅជាមួយគ្នា និងរស់នៅជាមួយជនជាតិក្រោលដទៃទៀតមែនទេ?

120.— If they live with other Kraol people, do they speak Kraol together in that place?

ប្រសិនបើពួកគេរស់នៅជាមួយជនជាតិក្រោលដទៃទៀត តើពួកគេប្រើភាសាក្រោលនៅទីកន្លែងនោះទេ?

121.— How frequently do they come back to visit this village?

តើពួកគេត្រឡប់មកលេងភូមិវិញញឹកញាប់ប៉ុណ្ណា?

122.— For what reason do they come back? A special occasion or just to visit?

មកលេងក្នុងឱកាសអ្វី?

123.— When they come back do they still speak Kraol?

ពេលត្រឡប់មកវិញ តើពួកគេនៅតែអាចនិយាយភាសាក្រោលរបស់គេឬទេ?

124.— How well do their children know Kraol?

តើគូនឲ្យរបស់ពួកគេយល់ដឹងភាសាក្រោលបានប៉ុណ្ណាដែរ?

125.— Do you think that the people that leave your village have a better life than the people that stay in the village?

តើអ្នកគិតថាអ្នកដែលចេញពីភូមិរបស់អ្នក មានជីវភាពគ្រាន់បើជាអ្នកដែលនៅក្នុងភូមិឬទេ?

126.— Why or why not?

ហេតុអ្វី?

Land

127. Has this village always been on this ground?

តើពីមុនមក ភូមិនេះមានទីតាំងនៅទីកន្លែងនេះមែនទេ?

128. [Questions 128-134 were omitted] In what other places has this village been?

តើភូមិនេះធ្លាប់មានទីតាំងនៅទីកន្លែងណាខ្លះ?

129.— Have Kraol people always lived in this village?

តើពីមុនមក អ្នករស់នៅតែក្នុងទីកន្លែងនេះមែនទេ?

130.— If not, when did Kraol people come to this village?

ប្រសិនបើទេ តើអ្នកមករស់នៅទីនេះពេលណា?

131.— If not, where did the Kraol people in this village come from?

ប្រសិនបើទេ តើជនជាតិក្រោលគ្រាលភូមិនេះមកពីទីកន្លែងណា?

132.— If not, why did the Kraol people leave the place they were in before?

ប្រសិនបើទេ តើហេតុអ្វីបានជាជនជាតិក្រោលចាកចេញពីទីកន្លែងដែលគេធ្លាប់នៅពីមុន?

133.— What year did the other ethnic groups join this village?

តើជនជាតិដទៃទៀតចូលមករស់នៅទីនេះឆ្នាំណា?

134.— Why did the other ethnic groups come to this village?

ហេតុអ្វីបានជាជនជាតិដទៃទៀតមករស់នៅទីនេះ?

135. Do all the **Khmer Khe** people own their land or does it belong to another ethnic group?

តើជនជាតិក្រោលមានដីផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនរបស់គេទាំងអស់គ្នា ឬក៏ដីនោះគឺជាកម្មសិទ្ធិរបស់ជនជាតិដទៃទៀត?

136. What do **Khmer Khe** people use their land for? (farming to eat, farming to sell, forest, hunting)

តើអ្នកប្រើប្រាស់ដីរបស់អ្នកដើម្បីធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះ? (កសិកម្មចិញ្ចឹមជីវិត ដាំដំណាំ ទុកប្រមូលផល/បរាបាញ់)?

137. Do **Khmer Khe** people have enough land?

តើអ្នកមានដីគ្រប់គ្រាន់ ឬមិនគ្រប់គ្រាន់?

138. [Questions 138-155 were omitted] If not, why is there a shortage of land?

បើសិនអ្នកមានដីមិនគ្រប់គ្រាន់សម្រាប់ធ្វើស្រែចំការ តើមកពីមូលហេតុអ្វី?

Education

139.— Where do Kraol children go to school? —

ក្មេងៗជនជាតិក្រោលទៅរៀននៅណា?

140.— What ethnicity are the teachers? —

តើគ្រូបង្រៀនមានជនជាតិអ្វីខ្លះ?

141.— What percentage of the student population is Kraol and other ethnicities? —

ចំនួនភាគរយនៃជនជាតិក្រោលនិងជនជាតិផ្សេងៗទៀតមានប៉ុន្មានដែរ?

142.— What language do the teachers use to teach? —

គ្រូប្រើភាសាអ្វីសំរាប់បង្រៀន?

143.— If have Kraol teacher, Do the teachers ever use Kraol to teach ? —

បើមានគ្រូជាជនជាតិក្រោល តើគ្រូមានធ្លាប់ប្រើភាសាក្រោលសំរាប់បង្រៀនដែរឬទេ?

144.— Are the students ever taught about Kraol culture or language in school? —

ក្មេងៗមានធ្លាប់បានគេបង្រៀនពីវប្បធម៌ ឬភាសាក្រោលដែរឬទេ?

145.— Are Kraol students told not to use Kraol at school or is it ok? —

តើក្មេងៗត្រូវបានហាមមិនឲ្យនិយាយភាសាក្រោលនៅសាលាទេ? ឬមិនអីទេ?

146.— Do Kraol students speak Kraol with each other at school?

147.— What percentage of the children go to school?

តើក្មេងៗដែលបានចូលរៀននៅសាលាមានប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?

148.— If not all go, why don't they go?

(បើសិនក្មេងៗទាំងអស់មិនទៅសាលាទេ) ហេតុអ្វីបានជាក្មេងៗខ្លះមិនបានទៅរៀន?

149.— At what grade do most children stop going to school?

តើក្មេងៗភាគច្រើនឈប់ទៅរៀននៅថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?

150.— Why don't they study more?

ហេតុអ្វីពួកគេមិនរៀនឲ្យបានច្រើន?

151.— What grade have most adults completed?

តើមនុស្សពេញវ័យដែលរៀននៅសាលា ភាគច្រើនបំផុតរៀនដល់គ្រឹមថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?

152.— How many Kraol people in this village have studied at university?

នៅក្នុងភូមិនេះ តើមានជនជាតិក្រោលប៉ុន្មាននាក់ ដែលបានរៀនមហាវិទ្យាល័យ?

153.— How many have trained to be teachers?

តើមានប្រជាជនប៉ុន្មាននាក់ ដែលបានទទួលការហ្វឹកហ្វឺនជាគ្រូ?

154.— How many studied in high school?

តើមានប្រជាជនប៉ុន្មាននាក់ ដែលបានរៀននៅវិទ្យាល័យ?

155.— How many studied in grade-6?

តើមានប្រជាជនប៉ុន្មាននាក់ ដែលបានរៀនថ្នាក់ទី៦?

Cultural Identity

156. What things do **Khmer Khe** people have or do that make them different from other ethnic groups?

តើទំនៀមទំលាប់អ្វីដែលមានតែជនជាតិក្រោលទេដែលធ្វើ គឺខុសពីជនជាតិដទៃទៀត?

157. Is it important for your children to know that they are **Khmer Khe**?

តើជារឿងសំខាន់ទេក្នុងការដែលឲ្យកូនចៅរបស់អ្នកដឹងថា ពួកគេគឺជាជនជាតិក្រោល?

158. What would you like to teach your children about being **Khmer Khe**?

តើអ្វីដែលអ្នកចង់បង្រៀនកូនអ្នកត្រូវដឹងក្នុងនាមជាជនជាតិក្រោល?

Church

159. [Questions 159-165 were omitted] What religions do the Kraol people follow?

តើជនជាតិក្រោលគោរពសាសនាអ្វីដល់នឿទៅលើអ្វីខ្លះ?

160.— Is the traditional religion of the Kraol people different from other ethnic groups?

តើជំនឿសាសនាបុរាណរបស់ជនជាតិក្រោលខុសគ្នាពីជនជាតិផ្សេងទៀតដែរឬទេ?

161.— Are there any Kraol people that believe in Jesus? ———

មានជនជាតិក្រាលឃើញព្រះយេស៊ូវដែរឬទេ?

162. — If yes, how many? — បើមាន តើប៉ុន្មាននាក់ដែរ?

163. — If yes, where do they live? — តើគេរស់នៅណា?

Organizations

164. — What are government/organizations/companies doing to help the Kraol people?

តើរដ្ឋាភិបាល អង្គការ គ្រុមហ៊ុនធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះដើម្បីជួយដល់ជនជាតិក្រាល?

165. — What kind of outside help do people want in this village?

តើអ្នកចង់បានជំនួយអ្វីខ្លះសម្រាប់ភូមិរបស់អ្នក?

Contact

167. Kraol villages to	171. Purpose	175. Frequency		181. Language
168. Kraol villages from	172.	176.		182.
169. Other villages to	173.	177.	179. Their language	183.
170. Other villages from	174.	178.	180.	184.

185. [Questions 185-192 were omitted] Where do you buy the things you need like oil, cooking pots, clothes, petrol, batteries?

តើអ្នកទៅទិញរបស់ប្រើប្រាស់ប្រេងឆា ឆ្នាំង សំឡីកប់ពាក់ សាំង អាគុយ នៅទីណា?

186. — What language do you use in the place where you buy these things?

តើភាសាអ្វីដែលអ្នកប្រើនៅកន្លែងដែលអ្នកទៅទិញរបស់ប្រើប្រាស់ទាំងនោះ?

187. — Where do you go for medical help?

តើអ្នកទៅទិញថ្នាំពេទ្យនៅទីណា?

188. — How often do people go there for medical help?

តើអ្នកទៅទិញថ្នាំពេទ្យញឹកញាប់ប៉ុណ្ណា?

189. — What language do you use in the place where you go to get medical help?

តើភាសាអ្វីដែលអ្នកប្រើនៅកន្លែងដែលអ្នកទៅទិញថ្នាំពេទ្យទាំងនោះ?

190. — What proportion of the Kraol people in this village have ever been to Kratie town?

តើមនុស្សប៉ុន្មានភាគរយដែលរស់នៅទីនេះធ្លាប់ទៅខេត្តក្រចេះ?

191. — What proportion of the Kraol people in this village have ever been to Phnom Penh?

តើមនុស្សប៉ុន្មានភាគរយដែលរស់នៅទីនេះធ្លាប់ទៅភ្នំពេញដែរ?

192. — Who usually goes to town (men, women, young, old)?

ជាធម្មតា តើអ្នកណាដែលតែងតែទៅទីប្រជុំជន (ប្រុស ស្រី ក្មេង ឬចាស់)?

193. Where did people in this village go during Pol Pot time?

នៅសម័យប៉ុលពត តើប្រជាជនក្នុងភូមិនេះទៅណា?

194. Which other ethnic groups did you mix with during Pol Pot time?

នៅសម័យប៉ុលពត តើអ្នករស់នៅលាយឡំជាមួយក្រុមជនជាតិណាខ្លះ?

195. When did you come back to this place?

តើអ្នកត្រលប់មកទីកន្លែងនេះវិញនៅពេលណា?

196. Which ethnic groups have you heard of in Cambodia?

តើមានឈ្មោះជនជាតិភាគតិចណាខ្លះដែលអ្នកធ្លាប់បានឮនៅក្នុងស្រុកខ្មែរ?

197. Which ones have you met?

តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ជួបជនជាតិណាខ្លះ?

Appendix B Family Interview

A. Date:

B. Location:

C. Interviewer:

D. Subject is: Mother /Father /Son /Daughter

Screening questions

1. Ethnicity of subject ជនជាតិ
2. Ethnicity of subject's mother ជនជាតិ(ម្តាយ)
3. Ethnicity of subject's father ជនជាតិ(ឪពុក)
4. Village history of family [how many years members lived where, moved why] ប្រវត្តិទាក់ទងការរស់នៅរបស់ ក្រុមគ្រួសារ (រស់នៅឯណាប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំនិងមូលហេតុអ្វីផ្លាស់ទីលំនៅ?)

General ទូទៅ

5. Subject's name ឈ្មោះ
6. Subjects gender ភេទ
7. Father's name ឈ្មោះឪពុក
8. Mother's name ឈ្មោះម្តាយ
9. What family members are present at the interview? អ្នកណាខ្លះដែលចូលរួមសំភាសន៍

Family chart (10-152)

តារាងក្រុមគ្រួសារ(១០-១៥២)

	Ethnicity	Education	Best Lang	2nd Best	3rd Best	Like Best	Why?	Use most	Use 2nd	Speak Kraol	Und. Kraol	Speak Khmer	Und. Khmer
Subject	10	21	32	43	54	65	76	87	98	109	120	131	142
Father	11	22	33	44	55	66	77	88	99	110	121	132	143
Mother	12	23	34	45	56	67	78	89	100	111	122	133	144
Father's F	13	24	35	46	57	68	79	90	101	112	123	134	145
Father's M	14	25	36	47	58	69	80	91	102	113	124	135	146
Mother's F	15	26	37	48	59	70	81	92	103	114	125	136	147
Mother's M	16	27	38	49	60	71	82	93	104	115	126	137	148
Spouse	17	28	39	50	61	72	83	94	105	116	127	138	149
Children	18	29*	40	51	62	73	84	95	106	117	128	139	150
Grandchildren	19	30	41	52	63	74	85	96	107	118	129	140	151
Siblings	20	31	42	53	64	75	86	97	108	119	130	141	152

153. How well can you read Khmer? (test reading sentence) តើអ្នកអាចអានភាសាខ្មែរបានកម្រិតណា?
154. How well can you write Khmer? (test reading sentence) តើអ្នកអាចសរសេរភាសាខ្មែរបានកម្រិតណា?

Language Use ការប្រើប្រាស់ភាសា

155. What languages did your father speak with you? ឪពុករបស់អ្នកនិយាយភាសាអ្វីខ្លះជាមួយអ្នក?
156. What languages did your mother speak with you? ម្តាយរបស់អ្នកនិយាយភាសាអ្វីខ្លះជាមួយអ្នក?
157. What languages did your parents speak with each other? ឪពុកនិងម្តាយរបស់អ្នក និយាយភាសាអ្វីខ្លះជាមួយអ្នក?
158. What language did you know second? តើភាសាណាដែលអ្នកចេះទី២?

- 159. How old were you when you started to speak your second language? តើនៅអាយុប៉ុន្មានដែលអ្នកចាប់ ផ្ដើមនិយាយ ភាសាទី២នោះ?
- 160. What languages do you speak with your spouse? តើភាសាណាខ្លះដែលអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយប្រពន្ធរបស់អ្នក?
- 161. If more than one, what percentage of the time do you speak each language? ប្រសិនបើមានលើសពីមួយភាសាតើ ភាសាមួយៗអ្នកនិយាយប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?
- 162. What languages do you speak to your children? តើភាសាណាខ្លះដែលអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយកូនរបស់អ្នក?
- 163. If more than one, what percentage of the time do you speak each? ប្រសិនបើមានលើសពីមួយភាសាតើភាសាមួយៗអ្នក និយាយប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?
- 164. What languages does your spouse speak to your children? តើភាសាណាខ្លះដែលប្រពន្ធអ្នកនិយាយជាមួយកូន របស់ អ្នក?
- 165. If more than one, what percentage of the time do you speak each? ប្រសិនបើមានលើសពីមួយភាសាតើភាសាមួយៗ អ្នកនិយាយប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?
- 166. What language did/will your children speak first? តើកូនរបស់អ្នកចេះនិយាយភាសាមួយណាមុនគេ?
- 167. If not **Khmer Khe**, why not? ប្រសិនបើមិនមែនជាភាសាក្រោលទេមូលហេតុអ្វី?
- 168. If **Khmer Khe** is not the children's first language, did/will they speak **Khmer Khe** later? ប្រសិនបើមិនមែនជា ភាសាដែលក្មេងៗចេះនិយាយមុនគេទេតើពួកគេបាន/នឹងនិយាយពេលក្រោយ?
- 169. If so, at what age did/will they start to speak **Khmer Khe**? បើដូចនោះនៅអាយុប៉ុន្មានគេនិយាយក្រោយ?
- 170. If Khmer is [or will be] the children's second language, where did/will they learn to speak it? ប្រសិនបើ ភាសាខ្មែរជា ភាសាទី២របស់ក្មេងៗតើពួកគេរៀននៅឯណា?
- 171. How old were they [will they be] when they learn[ed] Khmer? នៅអាយុប៉ុន្មាន?
- 172. What language do you and your grandparents speak to each other? តើអ្នកនិងយាយតារបស់អ្នកនិយាយភាសាអ្វី ជាមួយគ្នា?
- 173. What language do you and your siblings speak to each other? តើអ្នកនិងបងប្អូនរបស់អ្នកនិយាយភាសា អ្វីជាមួយគ្នា?
- 174. What languages does your family use when conversing in your house? តើភាសាណាខ្លះដែលក្រុមគ្រួសាររបស់អ្នក និយាយជាមួយគ្នា?

Domains

- 175. What do you believe in? (religion) តើអ្នកមានជំនឿលើអ្វី? សាធារណៈ?
- 176. When you pray to your ancestors, what languages do you use? ពេលដែលអ្នកបូជាស្ដងទៅកាន់ដូនតា របស់អ្នក តើអ្នក ប្រើភាសាអ្វី?
- 177. When you pray to local spirits, what languages do you use? ពេលដែលអ្នកបូជាស្ដងទៅកាន់ អ្នកតាតើអ្នក ប្រើភាសា អ្វី?
- 178. When your family gathers for a funeral, what language do you use in the ceremony? ពេលធ្វើពិធីបុណ្យ សព តើក្រុម គ្រួសាររបស់អ្នក ប្រើភាសាអ្វី?
- 179. If you want to make a new song to sing, what languages do you use? បើអ្នកចង់តែងបទចម្រៀងមួយ តើអ្នកចង់ ប្រើភាសាអ្វី?
- 180. If you only spoke Khmer is that not a problem or should you be able to speak **Khmer Khe** sometimes? ប្រសិនបើ អ្នក និយាយតែភាសាខ្មែរតើអ្នកគិតថាមិនមានបញ្ហាអ្វីទេឬចាំបាច់ត្រូវនិយាយភាសាក្រោលដែល?
- 181. When is it important to be able to speak **Khmer Khe**? តើនៅពេលណាដែលសំខាន់ត្រូវតែនិយាយភាសាក្រោល ដោយ ខានមិនបាន?
- 182. Do you know of anyone who used the **Khmer Khe** language for writing? តើអ្នកមានស្គាល់នរណាម្នាក់ដែលប្រើ ភាសាក្រោលយកមកសរសេរដែលឬទេ?
- 183. Who? នរណា?
- 184. For what purpose? គោលបំណងអ្វី?
- 185. Would you rather hear an interesting story in **Khmer Khe**, Bunong, or Khmer? តើអ្នកចង់ស្ដាប់រឿងជាភាសា ក្រោល ជាភាសាក្នុងជាងឬភាសាខ្មែរជាង?

Preferences/Prestige

- 186. Would you like to read and write **Khmer Khe** language if there were an alphabet and books? ប្រសិនបើមាន អក្សរ ក្រោលតើអ្នកចង់អាននិងសរសេរជាភាសាក្រោលដែលឬទេ?
- 187. What is the most important language for your children to learn? តើភាសាមួយណាដែលសំខាន់ទី១ សំរាប់ កូនរបស់ អ្នកចេះ?

188. What is the second most important language for your children to learn? តើភាសាមួយណាដែលសំខាន់ ទី២ សំរាប់ឲ្យកូនរបស់អ្នកចេះ?
189. What is the third most important language for your children to learn? តើភាសាមួយណាដែលសំខាន់ទី៣ សំរាប់ឲ្យកូនរបស់អ្នកចេះ?
190. Why is it important to speak each of these languages? មូលហេតុអ្វីដែលសំខាន់ត្រូវចេះភាសាទាំងនេះ?
191. How would you feel if your children stopped speaking **Khmer Khe** and only spoke Khmer? តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍ដូចម្តេច បើកូនរបស់អ្នកឈប់និយាយក្រោលហើយបែរជានិយាយភាសាខ្មែរជំនួសវិញ?
192. Do you think that your language is dying out or is it still strong? តើអ្នកគិតថាភាសារបស់អ្នកកំពុងបាត់ បង់ហើយ ឬនៅរឹងមាំនៅឡើយ?
193. Why? មូលហេតុអ្វី?
194. If your language is still strong, do you think it could possibly die in the future? ប្រសិនបើភាសារបស់អ្នក នៅរឹងមាំ តើអ្នកគិតថាវានឹងបាត់បង់នៅក្នុងពេលអនាគត?
195. For what reasons could it die? ដោយសារមូលហេតុអ្វី?
196. What work do you do? តើអ្នកមានរបរអ្វី?
197. When you work, what languages do you use? នៅពេលអ្នកធ្វើការតើអ្នកប្រើភាសាអ្វី?
198. If more than one language, what percentage do you speak each language? ប្រសិនបើមានលើស ពីមួយភាសាតើភាសាមួយៗអ្នកនិយាយប៉ុន្មានភាគរយ?
199. What languages are most useful for making a living? (1st, 2nd, 3rd) តើភាសាមួយណាដែលមានសារៈ សំខាន់សំរាប់ ប្រកបរបរចិញ្ចឹមជីវិត?
200. Which ethnic group do you want your children to marry with? តើអ្នកចង់ឲ្យកូនរបស់អ្នករៀបការជាមួយ ជនជាតិអ្វី?
201. Is it important for your children to know that they are **Khmer Khe**? តើវាសំខាន់ដែលឬទេ ដើម្បីឲ្យកូនរបស់អ្នក ដឹងថាគេជាជនជាតិក្រោល?
202. What do you teach your children about being **Khmer Khe**? តើអ្នកបង្រៀនកូនអ្នកអ្វីខ្លះដើម្បីឲ្យគេដឹងថាគេ ជាជនជាតិក្រោល?
203. Where did you go to school? តើអ្នកទៅរៀននៅសាលាណា?
204. When you went to school, did the teachers ever use the **Khmer Khe** language to teach? ពេលរៀននៅសាលា តើគ្រូមានដែរឬទេប្រើភាសាក្រោលសំរាប់បង្រៀនដែលឬទេ?
205. Were you ever told not to use your own language at school? តើនៅឯណាដែលអ្នកធ្លាប់បើបានហាមមិន ឲ្យនិយាយភាសាក្រោល?

Appendix C Short Group Interview

Date

Village

Participants

Interviewer / notes

Village population

13. What is the total population of the village?
14. Has this village always been on this ground? If not, where was it before?
15. Have Khmer Khes people always lived in this village? If not, when?
16. Why did Khmer Khes people come to this village?
17. When did the other ethnic groups come to this village?
18. Why did the other ethnic groups come to this village?
19. Are the ethnic groups in this village mixed with each other or do most people marry within their ethnic group?
20. How many pure Khmer Khes (both parents Khmer Khes) families are there?
21. How many of the Khmer Khes families are mixed (one Khmer Khes parent with one non-Khmer Khes parent)?
22. Which other ethnicity do the Khmer Khes people mix with the most?
23. What language do the Khmer Khes people here speak the most?
24. What other villages speak Khmer Khes the same as you?
25. What other villages speak Khmer Khes differently from you?
26. How do they speak differently?
27. In which village is Khmer Khes spoken most correctly?
28. What language do children in this village speak first?
29. How well do the Khmer Khes children in this village speak Khmer Khes?
30. Can all the Khmer Khes people here speak Khmer Khes?
31. Who cannot speak Khmer Khes?
32. Why?
33. Do the Khmer Khes people in this village know Khmer language?
34. Do the Khmer Khes people speak Khmer more or Khmer Khes more in this village?
35. Do the Khmer Khes people here speak Khmer Khes really well or not so much?
36. What language is most important for your children to know?
37. Why is ____ language most important?
38. What language is second most important for your children to know?
39. Why is it important for your children to know ____ language?
40. What language is third most important for your children to know?
41. Why is it important for your children to know ____ language?
42. How would you feel if your children stopped speaking Khmer Khes and only spoke Khmer?
43. Do you think the Khmer Khes language is dying out or is it still strong?
44. Why do you think that?
45. If it is dying, what can be done to save it?
46. If it is strong, do you think it could die in the future? Why?
47. 20 years from now, will the children still speak Khmer Khes?
48. Where do children from this village go to school?
49. About what percent of the children go to school?
50. What religion are people in this village?
51. Are there any Christians?
52. Are any organizations doing work to help people in this village? (get name and contact info)

Appendix D Wordlist

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
	Language	Khmer Khe	Khmer Khe				
	Village	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom				
	Commune	Srae Sambour	Preak Meas				
	District	Siem Pang	Siem Pang				
	Province	Stueng Traeng	Stueng Traeng				
	Elicitation Date	15-Dec-09	16-Dec-09				
	Elicited by	P. Lambrecht	P. Lambrecht				
1	sky	me:k	mi:k	mɛ:k	mek	me:k	likely
2	sun	preah atet	tʰŋaj	preah ʔatit	tŋai, preah ʔatit	preah ʔatit	likely (compare KK to item 8)
3	moon	preah ca:n	kʰe:	preah can	lok kʰae, preah căn	preah can	likely
4	star	pka:j	pka:j	pka:j	pka:j	pka:j	likely
5	cloud	pɔpɔ:k	popo:k	pɔpɔ:k	popɔ:ʔ	pɔpɔ:k	likely
6	rain	pʰliəŋ	pʰliəŋ	pliəŋ	pʰliəŋ	pliəŋ	likely
7	night	jop	jup	jup	jüp	yop	likely
8	day	tʰŋaj	tʰŋaj	thŋai	tŋai	tʰŋaj	likely
9	water	tik	tik	tik	tik	tik	likely
10	stream, small river	ʔo:r	ʔo:r		ʔou	ʔou	likely
11	river	tonle:	tən li:		tɔnle	tonle	likely
12	soil	di:	d̥i:	d̥ai	d̥ɛi	d̥əy	likely
13	stone	tʰmɔ:	tʰmɔ:	thmɔ:	tʰmɔ	tma:	likely
14	mountain	pʰnom	pʰnom	phnum	pʰnũm	pʰnom	likely
15	tree	d̥im cʰi:	d̥im cʰi:	daəm chə:	daəm cʰə	daəm cʰə:	likely
16	bark	səmbək cʰi	sim bək		səmbɔʔ cʰə	samba:ʔ	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
17	root (tree)	ruh ji:	ruh c ^h i:	rih	rōx	rih	likely
18	leaf	^h lək	^h lək	slək chə:	slək	slək	likely
19	flower	p ^k a:	p ^k ǎ:	pka:	p ^h ka	pka:	likely
20	fruit	p ^h læ:	p ^h le:	plæ chə:	p ^h læe c ^h ə	p ^h læe	likely
21	grass	s ^ə maw	s ^ə mǎw	smaw	smǎw	smauw	likely
22	banana	ci:k	ci:k	ceik	p ^h læe ceik	ceek	likely
23	salt	mɓil	mɓil	ʔɓmbəl	ʔm ɓəl	ʔambəl	likely
24	animal	sat	sat		săt	sat	likely
25	monkey	sva	sva	swa:	sva	swa:	likely
26	dog	c ^h kɛ:	c ^h ke:	ckæ	c ^h kae	ckæ	likely
27	bite (v.) (dog)	k ^h am	k ^h am		k ^h ǎm	k ^h am	likely
28	pig (domestic)	cru:k	cru:k	cru:k	cǔruk	cru:k	likely
29	wing	^h la:p (sat)	s ^ə la:p		slap	sla:p	likely
30	feather	mom:i:h	mom:i:h		rom săt slaɓ	ro:m sla:p	unlikely
31	chicken	mən	mən	moən	moən		likely
32	egg (chicken)	poŋ mən	poŋ mən		poŋ	pɔ:ŋ (moən)	likely
33	snake	puəh	puh	puəh	puəh	puəh	likely
34	fish	tru	tru	trəi	trəi	trəy	likely
35	fly (n.)	ru	rui	ruj	røj	ruj	likely
36	head	kba:l	kba:l	kba:l	k ^h pal	kba:l	likely
37	hair	sək	sək	sɔʔ	sǔʔ	saʔ	likely
38	eye	p ^h næ:k	p ^h ne:k	phne:k	p ^h næʔ	p ^h ne:k	likely
39	ear	trɔc ^h iək	triciək	trɔciək	trɔciəʔ	traciəʔ	likely
40	mouth	mət	mət	moət	moət	mɔət	likely
41	tongue	ndaət	nda:t	ʔanda:t	ʔɔndat	ʔanda:t	likely
42	tooth	t ^h məŋ	t ^h məŋ	thməŋ	t ^h měŋ	t ^h məŋ	likely
43	neck	kɔ:	kɔ:	kɔ:	kɔ	ka:	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
44	hand	bat daj	bət daj		prɔʔɔp dǎi	daj, praʔap daj	likely
45	finger nail	krɔcɔ:k	kricɔ:k		krɔcɔ:ʔ	kraca:ʔ	likely
46	back	kʰnɔ:ŋ	kʰnɔ:ŋ	khno:ŋ	kʰnɔŋ	kʰna:ŋ	likely
47	abdomen / belly	p̚ɔh	pɔh	puəh	puəh	puəh	likely
48	intestines	pɔh viən	pɔh viən		puəhviən	puəhwiən	likely
49	foot	kənlək ɟŋ	bət ɟŋ		prɔʔɔp cəŋ	praʔap cə:ŋ	likely
50	knee	kbal ɟə:ŋ	kbal ɟiŋ kuŋ	cuəŋ kuəŋ	cŏŋkŏŋ	cŏŋkuŋ	likely
51	calf	pʰlət ɟŋ	pʰlət ɟŋ	kɔmpʰuən cə:ŋ	kɔmpʰuən cəŋ	kamphuən cəəŋ	likely
52	bone	cʰʔə:ŋ	cʰʔə:ŋ	cʔəŋ	cʰəʔəŋ	cʔəŋ	likely
53	flesh	sac	sac	sac	sǎc	sac	likely
54	fat (n.)	kʰlɔŋ	kʰlɔŋ	klɔŋ	kʰlǎŋ	kʰlɔŋ	likely
56	blood	cʰa:m	cʰǎ:m	chiəm	cʰiəm	cʰiəm	likely
57	person	mənɯh	mənɯh	mɔnɯh	mənŏh	mənɯh	likely
58	mother	mæ:	me:	mda:ɟ	mǎdaj	məda:ɟ	possible
59	child	ko:n	ku:n	koun	koun	koon	likely
60	wife	prɔpon	prɔpɔn	prɔpuən	prɔpŏn	prapɔn	likely
61	brother (older)	bəŋ kɔmlɔh	bəŋ kɔmlɔh		bəŋprɔh	bə:ŋ prɔh	likely
62	road (path)	pʰlu:	pʰlu:	plouw	pʰlouy	pʰləu	likely
63	house	pʰt/deah	pʰteah	pteah	pʰteah	pteah	likely
64	sew	dir	di:r	dei	dei	dei	likely
65	fire	pʰli:ŋ	pʰli:ŋ	phlə:ŋ	pʰlɔŋ	pʰlə:ŋ	likely
66	burn (v.) (wood)	cʰɛh	cʰɛh	dot	cʰǎh	cʰɛh	likely
67	ashes	pəh	peh		pʰǎh	pʰɛh	likely
68	smoke	pʰsɛ:ŋ	pʰsɛŋ	phsaɛŋ	pʰsaɛŋ	psaɛŋ	likely
69	arrow	pruəŋ	pruəŋ	pruəŋ	pruəŋ	pruəŋ	likely
70	hear	lu:	lɯ:	li:	li	li:	likely
71	weep / cry	jom	jum		yŏm	jum	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
72	eat (rice)	si:	si:	houp ba:j	ɲām, ɲām ɓaj	nyam [ba:j]	unlikely
73	drink (v.)	pʰək	pʰək	phək	pʰək	pʰək	likely
74	vomit (v.)	kʰʉwət	kʰʉwət		kʰəʉwət	kʉwət	likely
75	spit (v.)	sdəh	sdəh		sədʰh	sdəh	likely
76	breathe (v.)	dək tɨŋhɨm	dək tɨŋhɨm	də:k dəŋhaəm	dək dʰŋhaəm	də:k dəŋhaəm	likely
77	blow (v.) (w/mouth)	pʰlɔm	pʰlɔm	phlom	pʰlɔm	plɔm	likely
78	laugh (v.)	sə:c	si:c	saəc	saəc	saəc	likely
79	know (something)	dɨŋ	dɨŋ	dəŋ	dʰəŋ	dəŋ	likely
80	sleep (v.)	dik	dik		keŋ luə?	dɛək	likely
81	scratch (v.)(person)	ʔeh	ʔeh		ɛh	eh	likely
82	die (v.)	ʔləp	ŋəp/ʰləp	slap	släp	slap	likely
83	sit (v.)	ʔəŋkuj	ʔkuj		ʔəŋkuj	ʔəŋkuj	likely
84	stand (v.)	cʰɔ:r	cʰɔ:r	chɔ:	cʰo	cʰɔ:	likely
85	walk (v.)	dɨr	dər	dəə	dəə	dəə	likely
86	push (v.)	rɨŋ	rɨŋ		röŋ	rɨŋ	likely
87	throw (overhand)	bəh	bəh		köp	kɔp	unlikely
88	fall (v, prs, off cliff)	ʰlak	ʰlak		tʰleə?	tʰleə?	likely
89	swim (v.)	hɨl	hɨl		hael	hael	likely
90	give	ʔo:j	ʔo:j	ʔəoj	əuj	ʔəoj	likely
91	tie (v.)	cə:ŋ	cə:ŋ	cə:ŋ	cəŋ	cə:ŋ	likely
92	wipe (v.)	cut	cut		cut	cut	likely
93	rub (v.)	ʔdəh	dəh		dʰəh	dəh	likely
94	wash (v.) (dishes)	ləəŋ	ləəŋ		liəŋ, liəŋ can	liəŋ [ca:n]	likely
95	hit (v w/ small stick)	vaj (dal = khmer for boxing, tɔp = Khe for boxing)	vaj (dal = khmer for boxing, tɔp = Khe for boxing)		vaj	waj	likely
96	cut (v.) (hair)	kat	kat		kăt	kat	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
97	split (v. wood)	puh	puh		kăp, kăp ɔ̃h	puh	likely
98	stab (v.)	cak	cak	caʔ	căʔ	caʔ	likely
99	squeeze (v.) (lemon)	crabac	crabac		crɔ̃băc	crabac	likely
100	dig (v.) (a hole)	cik	cɨk	ci:k	cik	ci:k	likely
101	one (person)	moaj	moaj	muəj	muəj	muəj	likely
102	two (people)	pir	pir	pi:	pi	pi:	likely
103	three (people)	bi:	bi:	bəi	běi	bəj	likely
104	four (people)	boan	boan	buən	buan	buən	likely
105	five (people)	pram	pram	pram	pram	pram	likely
106	six (people)	pram moaj	pram moaj	pram muəj	pramuəj	pram muəj	likely
107	seven (people)	pram pil	pram pil	pram pi:	prampi, prampəl	pram pi:	likely
108	eight (people)	pram baj	pram bi:	pram bəi	pramběi	pram bəj	likely
109	nine (people)	pram buan	pram boan	pram buən	prambuən	pram buən	likely
110	ten (people)	dəb	dəb	dəp	dəp	dəp	likely
111	many (people)	crə:n	cri:n	craən	cəraən	craən	likely
112	all (people)	taŋ ɔ̃h	taŋ ɔ̃h	teəŋ ʔəh	teəŋʔɔ̃h	teəŋ ʔəh	likely
113	big	t ^h um	t ^h um	thom	t ^h əm	t ^h əm	likely
114	small	k ^ə tuc	tuc	touc	tuc	toc	likely
115	long (string)	vɛ:ŋ	vɛ:ŋ	wɛ:ŋ	vɛŋ	wɛ:ŋ	likely
116	short (height)	təp	təp		tiəp	tiəp	likely
117	right (side)	s ^ə dam	s ^ə dam	kha:ŋ sdam	k ^h aŋ sətăm	[k ^h a:ŋ] sdam	likely
118	left (side)	c ^h phi:ŋ	c ^h phi:ŋ	kha:ŋ cwɛ:ŋ	k ^h aŋ chvɛŋ	[k ^h a:ŋ] cwɛɛŋ	likely
119	far	cŋaj	c ^h ŋaj	chŋa:j	c ^h ŋaj	cŋa:j	likely
120	near	tiəp	tiəp/ cit	cit	cĭt	cit	possible
121	black	k ^h maw	k ^h maw	kmaw	k ^h măw	kmauw	likely
122	white	sə:	sə:	sə:	sə	sə:	likely
123	red	krəhɔ:m	krəhɔ:m	krəhɔ:m	krɔ̃həm	kraha:m	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
124	blue	k ^h iəw	k ^h iəw		k ^h juy		likely
125	new	f ^h mi:	f ^h mi:		t ^h mei	t ^h məj	likely
126	hot (water)	kdaw	kdaw	kdaw	k ^h tāw	kdaw	likely
127	cold (water)	trɔceak	trɛceak	tracɛaʔ	trɔceəʔ	tracɛəʔ	likely
128	heavy	t ^h ŋɔn	t ^h ŋɔn	thŋuən	t ^h ŋöŋ	tŋun	likely
129	full (container)	pɛɲ	pɛɲ	pɛɲ	pɛɲ	pəɲ	likely
130	good	lɔʔɔ:	lɔʔɔ:	lʔɔ:	lɛʔɔ	lʔa:	likely
131	bad (evil)	akrɔk	akrɔk	ʔakrɔ/	ăkrɔʔ	ʔa:krɔʔ	likely
132	I (familiar)	k ^h ɲom	k ^h ɲom/ʔaɲ	khɲom	k ^h ɲɔm	k ^h ɲɔm	likely
133	he, she	kət	kət	koət	koət	kɔət	likely
134	we (inclusive)	ji:ŋ	ji:ŋ	jə:ŋ	jøŋ	jə:ŋ	likely
135	mist	ʔap (coh)	ʔap (coh)		ʔăp	ʔap	likely
136	rainbow	ʔantənu:	ʔəntənu:	ʔəintha/nu:	ʔəntənu	ʔanthanu	likely
137	lightning	m ^ə harik	m ^ə harik	pleik bɔnto:	p ^h leik bɔnto	pleik bantoo	unlikely
138	thunder	pkor (lən is verb)	pkor (lən is verb)	phkɔ: lɔən	pko lɔən	pkoɔ lɔən	likely
139	shade	m ^ə lop	m ^ə lop		məlöp		likely
140	morning	pruk	pruk	pe:l prik	prik pɛlprik	peel prik	likely
141	noon	t ^h ŋaj trɔŋ	t ^h ŋaj trɔŋ		t ^h ŋăi trɔŋ		likely
142	yesterday	m ^ə səl məɲ	ŋkəl məsə:l		mɛsəl məɲ	msəl məɲ	likely
143	tomorrow	ŋaj s ^ə ɛ:k	sə:ɛ:k		sʔaek	sʔaek	likely
144	year	c ^h nam	c ^h nam		c ^h năm	cnam	likely
145	east	k ^h aŋ ki:t	k ^h aŋ ki:t		kaŋ kaət	khaaŋ kaət	likely
146	west	k ^h aŋ lic	k ^h aŋ lic		kaŋ lic	khaaŋ læc	likely
147	north	ji:ŋ	ji:ŋ		kaŋ cəŋ	khŋ cəŋ	likely
148	south	t ^ə bu:ŋ	t ^ə bu:ŋ		kaŋ t ^h əbɔ□uŋ	khŋ tbouŋ	likely
149	sea	sramɔt	sramɔt		səmɔt	samot	likely
150	mud	p ^h ɔk	p ^h ɔk		p ^h uək/p ^h ɔk		likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
151	dust	p ^h ujdi:	p ^h uj		t ^h uli, hoid ^h ei		possible
152	sand	di: ksac	ksac		ksăc	ksac	likely
153	gold	mēāh	mēāh	miəh	miəh	miəh	likely
154	silver	prak	prak		praʔ	praʔ	likely
155	iron	de:k	de:k		daeʔ	daeʔ	likely
156	cave	ru:ŋ (pru:ŋ is for animal)	pru:ŋ p ^h nom		ruŋ p ^h nöm	ruung	likely
157	forest	prəj	prej	prij	prei c ^h ə		likely
158	branch	mɛ:k c ^h i	me:k	mɛ:k	mɛk	mɛɛk	likely
159	thorn	pən la:	pən la:	bənla:	bōnla	bənlaa	likely
160	seed	krəp	krəp	kroəp	kroəp	kroəp	likely
161	bamboo	rusu:	rusu:		risei	rihsəy	likely
162	bamboo shoot	təmpeaŋ	təmpeaŋ		tömpeaŋ	tumpəaŋ	likely
163	mushroom	p ^h sət	p ^h sət	phset	psət	psət	likely
164	cane/rattan (big)	tambə:ŋ	təmbɔ:ŋ		pďău	pďaw	unlikely
165	kapok	dim kor	dim kor		ďam ko		likely
166	sugarcane	^m piw	^m piw		ďmpəu	qampiw	likely
167	betelnut	m ^h lu:	m ^h lu:		məlu	məlu:	likely
168	lime (for betel chew)	k ^h mbo:r	k ^h mbo:r		kōmbao		likely
169	opium	ʔap ^h iən	ʔap ^h iən		ap ^h iən		likely
170	liquor	sra:	sra:	sra:	sra	sraa saa	likely
171	papaya (fruit)	ləhoŋ	ləhoŋ		p ^h lae ləhoŋ	lhoŋ	likely
172	mango (fruit)	svaj	svaj		p ^h lae svaj		likely
173	jackfruit (fruit)	k ^h nor	k ^h nor		p ^h lae k ^h nōl	k ^h na ^o	likely
174	coconut (fruit)	đu:ŋ	đu:ŋ		p ^h lae đouŋ		likely
175	eggplant (fruit)	trəp	trəp	trəp	p ^h lae trəp	trap	likely
176	peanut	səndɛ:k di:	səndɛ:k di:		sōndəeʔ đăi		likely
177	ginger	k ^h ŋaj	k ^h ŋaj		k ^h ŋei	k ^h ŋəy	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
178	garlic	k ^ə tɪm sɔ:	k ^ə tɪm sɔ:		k ^h ətɪm sɔ		likely
179	corn	pu:t	pu:t	po:t	pot	poot	likely
180	chili pepper	prəth	mərth	mteh	mətəh	məteeh	likely
181	paddy rice	s ^ə row	srow	srouw	srəw/srəwɣ	srəw	likely
182	cooked rice	bə:j	bə:j	bə:j	bəj	baay	likely
183	pounded rice	ʔəŋkɔ:	ʔŋkɔ:	ʔəŋkɔ:	əŋkɔ	ʔəŋkəa səmrəup	likely
184	tiger	k ^h la:	k ^h la:	khla:	k ^h la	klaa	likely
185	bear	k ^h la: k ^h mum	k ^h la: k ^h mum	khla: khmum	k ^h la k ^h möm	klaa kmum	likely
186	deer	k ^ə dan	k ^ə dan	kdan	ktán	kdan	likely
187	gibbon	to:c	tu:c	to:c	toc	tooc	likely
188	rabbit	ʔənsaj	ʔsə:j	tuənsə:j	tənsaj	tüənsaay	likely
189	rat	kəndor	kəndor	kəndol	kəndəl	kəndol	likely
190	bark (verb)	pruh	kəh		pröh	pruh	possible
191	cat	miaw	miaw	chma:	ch ^h ma	cmaa	unlikely (Khe likely onomatopoetic)
192	cow	kɯ:	kɯ:	ko:	ko	koo	likely
193	milk	tɪk dɔh	tɪk dɔh		tɪk dɔh ko		likely
194	buffalo	krɔbɯ:	kfi bɯ:	krɔbəi	krɔbəi	krəbəy	likely
195	horn (of buffalo)	sənəŋ	sənəŋ	snaeŋ	snaeŋ	snaeŋ	likely
196	tail	kəntuj	kəntuj	kantuj	kəntuj	kantuy	likely
197	elephant	təmrəj	tɪmrəj	dəmrəi	dəmrəi	dəmrəy	likely
198	tusk (elephant)	p ^h luk	p ^h luk	phluk	p ^h luk	pluk	likely
199	nest (bird)	səmbok	sɪmbok		səmbək	səmbok	likely
200	fly (verb)	hər	hər		haə	həh, haə	likely
201	duck	təa	təah	tiə	tiə	tiə	likely

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
202	turtle	ⁿ də:k	ⁿ də:k	ʔandaək	ändəək	ʔandaək	likely
203	frog	ʔaŋke:p	ʔaŋke:p	kəŋkaep	köŋkaep	kaŋkaep	likely
204	insect	sat ləʔit	sat tuc tu:c		sät ləʔət		possible
205	spider	piŋ pəaŋ	piŋ pəaŋ	pi:ŋpiəŋ	piŋpiəŋ	piiŋpiəŋ	likely
206	louse (head)	caj	caj		cäi	cay	likely
207	termite	kəndiər	kəndiər		köndiə	kəndiə	likely
208	cockroach	kənlə:t	kənlə:t		könlət		likely
209	snail	kʃə:ŋ	kʃə:ŋ		kcəŋ	kyaaŋ	likely
210	mosquito		mū:h	mu:h	müh	muuh	likely
211	face		muk	muk	mök	muk	likely
212	forehead		t ^h ŋa:		t ^h ŋäh	tŋaah	likely
213	nose		cɾəməh	cɾamoh	cɾəmöh	cɾamoh	likely
214	cheek		t ^h pəl		t ^h pöel	tpöel	likely
215	shave (beard) (verb)		kor		kao pük moət	kao	likely
216	navel		p ^h cət		psət	pcet	likely
217	lungs		suwet	suət	suət	suət	likely
218	liver		t ^h lə:m	thlaəm	t ^h lāəm	tlaəm	likely
219	elbow		keŋ dəj		kaeŋdäi	kaeŋ day	likely
220	palm		bət dəj		bət dəi	baat day	likely
221	buttocks		kut ʔac		kömpəh kut	kuut	likely
222	leg		ci:ŋ		cəŋ	cəəŋ	likely
223	thigh		p ^h law	pliw	p ^h ləw	pləw	likely
224	heel		krə:j		kaeŋ cəŋ	kaeŋcəəŋ	unlikely
225	sweat		ŋih		ŋəh		likely
226	excrement		ʔac		ăc	liəmüəʔ	likely
227	woman		sɾəj	strəj	mənöh srei	sətrəy	likely
228	father		ʔəw	ʔəwpuk	ăwpök	ʔəwpuk	likely

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229	widow		məma:j		memaj	meemaay	likely
230	friend		kiti:		puəʔmaʔ		unlikely
231	boat		tɯ:k	tuk	tuk	tuuk	likely
232	door		tʰfar	twiə	twiə	twiə	possible
233	wall of house		nceanj		cŭnceanj		likely
234	mat		kənti:l		kəntel		likely
235	blanket		moam		pʰuj	phuəy	unlikely
236	weave (cloth) (verb)		tʰba:n	tba:n	tʰba:n	tbaan	likely
237	needle		ʔnɕul	mcul	məcŭl	mcul	likely
238	comb (n. for hair)		krah		krah sɔk	kraah	likely
239	mortar		tbal	tbal kən	tɕāl ɕɔʔ	tbalkən	likely
240	pestle		nʔdre:	ʔŋre:	ɔŋrae	ʔaŋreɛ	likely
241	firewood		ɔh	ʔoh	ʔɔh	ʔoh	likely
242	drum		skor	skɔ:	ske, ske vaj	skɔɔ	likely
243	spear		lʰmpɛŋ	lumpɛ:ŋ	lumpɛŋ		likely
244	knife		kəmbit	kambət	kəm ɕət	kambət	likely
245	see (verb)		məl kʰiŋ	khə:ŋ	kəŋ		likely
246	swallow (verb)		li:p		lep	leep	likely
247	hungry (adj)		kʰla:n	khliən	kʰliən	kliən	likely
248	full (stomach) (adj)		cʰʔe:t		cʰəʔaet	cʔaet	likely
249	drunk		srəvəŋ	srɔvəŋ	srɔvŋ	sravəŋ	likely
250	cough (verb)		kʰʔɔ:k		kʰəʔɔ:ʔ	kʔaaʔ	likely
251	sneeze (verb)		kʰnɕah		kɔndɕah	kandah	likely
252	yawn (verb)		sŋap	sŋa:p	sŋap	sŋaap	likely
253	whistle (verb)		huac	huəc	huəc	huəc	likely
254	suck (v. baby)		ɲim	baw	cŭncuəʔ	baw	unlikely
255	lick (verb)		li:t		lit	lit	likely

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256	smile (verb)		nɨnɨ:m		noɲim		likely
257	speak (verb)		mijaj	niʔjiəj	nɨʔjəj	niʔyiəy	likely
258	tell (verb)		prap		prap		likely
259	sing (verb)		c ^a riaŋ	criəŋ	cəriəŋ	criəŋ	likely
260	think (verb)		kit	kit	kɨt	kit	likely
261	forget (verb)		p ^h lɛc	phlɛc	p ^h lɛc	plɛc	likely
262	choose (verb)		ru: jo:		cɨrɔhrɔh	crəəh rəəh	possible
263	love (verb)		rəp	srɔlap	srɔlap	sralap	unlikely
264	dream (verb)		(dik) rusɔp	juəl sɔp	juəlsɔp	yüəl sap	likely
265	medicine		t ^h nam lip	thnam	t ^h nəm p ^h ciəbal	tnam	likely
266	itch (verb)		rim əh		rɔmoəh		likely
267	enter (verb)		cui:l	coul	cɔul	coul	likely
268	return (verb)		ləp	trɔləp mɔ:k	trɔləp	tralap mɔ:k	likely
269	pull (verb)		teap		tiəp		likely
270	sink (verb)		lic		li:c	lic	likely
271	flow (verb)		hur		hɔu	hou	likely
272	bathe (verb)		muc tik	ɲut tik	ɲut tik	ɲuut tik	likely
273	plant (verb)		dam		dām	dam	likely
274	bury (a corpse) (verb)		kɔp	kɔp	kɔp	kap	likely
275	winnow(rice)(v.)		ʔom	ʔom	ʔɔəm	ʔom	likely
276	dry (sth.) (verb)		hā:l	ha:l	hal	haal	likely
277	pound (rice) (v.)		bok	boʔ	ʔɔʔ	bok	likely
278	cook (rice) (verb)		dam ba:j		dām ʔaj	dambaay	likely
279	boil (sth.) (verb)		dam tik		dām slɔ	damtik	likely
280	work (verb)		t ^h i kar		tvəka	twəə kaa	likely
281	shoot (verb)		baɲ	baɲ	ʔəɲ	baɲ	likely
282	buy (verb)		tɨɲ	tɨɲ	tɨɲ	tɨɲ	likely

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283	sell (verb)		lɔk	luəʔ	luəʔ	lūəʔ	likely
284	steal (verb)		luɔc	luəc	luəc	luəc	likely
285	few (adj)		ⁿ tɛc ⁿ tuɔc	bɔntɛc bɔntuəc	piβāi	bantəc bantuaɔc	likely
286	thick (adj)		krah	krah	kräh	krah	likely
287	thin (adj)		sɔəŋ	sdaəŋ	sətaəŋ	sdaəŋ	likely
288	fat (adj)		t ^h ət		t ^h əat		likely
289	skinny (adj)		sko:m	sko:m	skom	skoɔm	likely
290	wide, broad (adj)		t ^h um t ^h leaj		t ^h öm tuliəj		likely
291	deep (adj)		ɣrow		cərəw		likely
292	shallow (adj)		reak		reăʔ		likely
293	round (adj)		mul	mu:l	mul	muul	likely
294	yellow		liəŋ	liəŋ	liəŋ	liəŋ	likely
295	dirty (adj)		akrɔk	krɔkwoɔq	kɔ k ^h vɔʔ, krɔ k ^h vɔʔ	kakwaʔ	possible
296	dark (adj)		ŋəŋit		căh, pœ căh		unlikely
297	bright (adj)		p ^h lu		c ^h aət, pœ c ^h aət		unlikely
298	different (adj)		k ^h oh k ^h nea	khoh kniə	kɔh k ^h nie	khoh kniə	likely
299	sweet (adj)		p ^h ʔi:m	phʔaem	p ^h ʔaem	pʔaem	likely
300	sour			cu:	cu	cuu	
301	bitter (adj)			lwi:ŋ	ləviŋ	lwiŋ	
302	spicy, hot (adj)			həl	həl	həl	
303	rotten				rəluj	pok	
304	swollen (adj)				haəm	haəm	
305	dry (adj)			sɲuət	sɲuət		
306	wet (adj)			tətik	totik	tətik	
307	sharp (adj)			mut	müt	mut	
308	blunt (adj)			rɪl	rəl	rɪl	
309	hard (adj)				rɪŋ	rɪŋ	

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310	smooth (adj)				rəloŋ		
311	fast (adj)				liən		
312	slow (adj)				jit		
313	strong (adj)				k ^h läŋ	klaŋ	
314	weak (adj)				k ^h saoj	tüən	
315	tired (adj)				ʔəh kəmläŋ	qah kamləŋ	
316	blind (adj)				kväʔ	kwaʔ	
317	deaf (adj)				t ^h lǝŋ	tləŋ	
318	bald				tömpæk	tumpæek	
319	naked				k ^h luən totei.srat	ʔaa kraat	
320	correct (adj)			trouw	trəmtroʊŋ	trəw	
321	wrong (adj)			khoh	k ^h ʔh		
322	when (past)				kal na		
323	when (future)				pel na		
324	where				kǝnlaeŋ na		
325	who				neak na	něəʔ naa	
326	what				avəi	əʔvəy	
327	how many (persons)				pǝnman	pon maan	
328	wet rice field			cmka:	srae		
329	ripe (adj)			tum	tüm	tum	
330	rice seedling				sǝmnap		
331	water leech				c ^h lǝŋ	cləəŋ	
332	land leech				tiəʔ		
333	earthworm				cǝnlen	çunleen	
334	you (2s)			neaʔ, /aeŋ			
335	they			puəʔkæe			
336	take (verb)			jək	yok	yɔək	

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337	disappear (verb)						
338	bend (the body,v.)				püt ?aoj kaon		
339	lift (verb)			lək	lək		
340	do/make (verb)			twə:	tvə	twəə	
341	don't (do it)				kəm tvə		
342	disgusting				roʔaəm		
343	warm				kʰətäu ləməm		
344	difficult				pǐʔbak		
345	easy				sruəl	sruəl	
346	loose					rɔluŋ	
347	11						
348	12						
349	13						
350	14						
351	15						
352	16						
353	17						
354	18						
355	19						
356	20				mǎp ^h ei		
357	21						
358	22						
359	23						
360	24						
361	25						

#	English	Peam Khes	Khes Kraom	Central Khmer (submitted by Andrew Carson)	Central Khmer (submitted by Diethelm Kanjahn)	Central Khmer (submitted by Eric Pawley)	Cognate?
362	26						
363	27						
364	28						
365	29						
366	30						
367	40						
368	50						
369	60						
370	70						
371	80						
372	90						
373	100 (persons)			muəj rəj	muəjroj	muəy rəy	
374	200						
375	1000 (persons)			muəj poən	muəjpoən		
376	2000						
377	wind			kjəl	k ^h cəl	kcał	
378	hail				prəl		
379	flood						
380	fog						
381	lake				bəŋ	bəŋ	
382	pong						
383	drought						
384	dry ricefield						
385	darden						
386	grass land						

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387	cliff				cəɾəŋ		
388	fragrant						
389	stinky				səʔɔ̃j		
390	empty					təttee, ʔah	
391	ripe cooked (stn)						
392	carry on shoulder (tuuy)						
393	return home						
394	come here				mok	məək nəh	
395	go there						
396	to open month						
397	to roar (tiger)						
398	to crow (rooster)						
399	to set a trap						
400	to sharpen (a knife)						
401	to skin an animal						
402	to clear land				kăp cômka		
403	to steam rice						
404	to stic						
405	to tear						
406	to marry						
407	to write			sɔ̃sei		səsei	
408	to smoke						
409	to chew					tumpiə	
410	to drown				lɔ̃əŋ tɨk slăp		
411	to explode						

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412	to ascend					laəŋ	
413	to descend					coh	
414	to give birth						
415	can, to be able to						
416	to graze						
417	to hide						
418	to like						
419	to read						
420	1 bowl of rice						
421	I have 3 children						
422	it is raining						
423	it is cold today						
424	my wife						
425	our house						
426	this village						
427	that water buffalo						
428	this man is old						
429	where does he live?						
430	I do not know him						
431	today I work in the field						
432	dam						
433	grain						
434	well						
435	room			bontup		bantup	
436	bridge				spiən		

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437	copper				spoən		
438	above					khj læə	
439	below					khj kraom	
440	inside					khng knong	
441	outside					khng kraw	
442	this year						
443	next year						
444	last year						
445	new year						
446	day after tomorrow						
447	day before yesterday						
448	tree trunk					daəm	
449	onion						
450	melon			trɔsɔʔ		trasaʔ	
451	cucumber						
452	pumpkin						
453	bean						
454	cotton				kăpăh		
455	goat						
456	horse						
457	owl						
458	crow						
459	crab			kda:m		kdaam	
460	shrimp						
461	worm intenstinal						

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462	grasshopper						
463	ant					sra maoc	
464	shoulder			sma:	sma	smaa	
465	waist						
466	body				rup kaj	kluan	
467	evil spirit						
468	soul						
469	younger sister				ប៉ៅស្រី	ប៉ៅស្រី	
470	older sister				ប្អូនស្រី	ប្អូនស្រី	
471	grandfather						
472	grandmother						
473	guest						
474	corpse						
475	rice porridge						
476	oil				preij	preij	
477	tobacco						
478	cloth						
479	threads				ឆ្នំា		
480	needle						
481	ladder					cōəndaə	
482	plow						
483	hoe				cəp kăp		
484	bucket						
485	winnowing basket				kăp ^h a		
486	rope						

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487	sickle						
488	axe					puuthaw	
489	carcoal				kcuj	tyuung	
490	bank, shore				møet tönle		
491	song						
492	story						
493	late						
494	early						
495	clever						
496	alive			ruəh	ruəh		
497	dead						
498	hard surface						
499	soft surface				tún		