The Origin of Dak Nue

A MNONG RÔLÔM LEGEND
OBTAINED FROM MUOM NÔM

Translated by Henry and Evangeline Blood

Introduction

This legend is well known in the Rôlôm area near the district center of Lạc Thiện, Darlac Province. Lake Nue (Dak Nue) is at the village of Uon Dham, about six kilometers from the district center. Uon Dham is a Rade village, but the people know Rôlôm. Near the village is a little lake called the Lake of the Flying Chickens. Uon Ndông Krieng is a village about one kilometer from the district center in the opposite direction from Uon Dham.

The legend was written from memory by Muom Nôm, twenty years of age. His village, Uon Yang Lan, is about two kilometers from the district center. He knew the legend well because it was used as a bedtime story when he was a child.

Pôp Pro-pro ta Bal Dham Yau Lâk

Yau lâk mau tlo-tlau bal uon Dham² sak wô-wang jûl póm, mau ju nau nih ku-dôi sak re bu kan. Bal sak wowang kan, mau bâ-bâ nîh ngan, bâ-bâ nih câk. Bal sak wô-wang han dâng bu yûk uon Dham trûh ta yûk uon Ndông Krieng ². Bal han ay-so doi geh jûl póm. Lai jok ta ien bal han njoh, koyuadah ar. Blah ien mau nih câk lah ta kan nih ku-dôi han, «Me jay sue, he cap mi, me jueh pue, hi be a-muh, me ji chue, hi ce map, me jufü ne. » ²

han, eh hao niuh nai, nai buh u-pång. Añ ndrom blah e ya, mhay nai buh kan doh eh huor dák mat aĩ, ko-yudah aĩ têng ta kan. Blah ien de yo kan hau hao niuh ngan, de tong kan han doh tê-têh. Kan so nai sa u-pång han doh ok ngan, công-gu kan ay so sa, kan trieng gu nai sa. Blah ien yo kan han de plö ta hih de tom, de sok kuo sau, de lang truong su, soh ao, pan kon, lai han de hao mång tom go-gieñ jua ngan. To de trêh mång nun râm eh, de gûk ta ien, lai han de cah-coł kuo sau de han doh. Jok ta ien mau mih mbal ngan, blah ien mau nih peh pat teh han doh. Bu de so ka pat eh kah buk-dih, bu de gom « rik-khik, rik-khik ». Lai han bu de so djap ka eh kah buk-dih han doh, bu de wih gom « rik-khik, rik-khik.» Jok ta ien bu de so ta put uon bu de mau dák-nung ku-it, mång dák han bu-de so ya eh ray tö-tö, au-au. Blah ien bu de gom « rik-khik, rik-khik.» 8 Biañ-dah mih eh sak hui-hai, jok ta ien teh êh ham lê ju nguol uon han doh, mih yang, puh surr, lê yoh coh. Lai han ier eh par tük dih, blah ien nar au nai nan dák «Par ier». Dâk eh ham uon làn, nih yâng han doh nai nan « Dak Nue ». To lê bal han khut, blah ien de yo kan nih ku-doï nai sa han doh, de guk hui-hai mång chi ien. Nai tûn de han, yâng dru de, lai han chi nai ndâng so de han doh, nar au hum, moñ ta lô Uon Ndông krieng Nar au nai nan chi han « Blang Ndâng doï ». Pp’p’ doï so trêh nar au Dâk Nue lai han Dâk Par Ier moñ ta Uon Dham lai han Tom Blang moñ ta Uon Ndông Krieng.

A long time ago the Uon Dham men went hunting deer. An orphan boy went with them. Of those who went hunting there were both ordinary men and men with evil spirits. They went from the mountain at Uon Dham to the mountain at Uon Ndâng Krieng but they were not able to get any deer. After a while they rested because they were tired.

The men with evil spirits said to the orphan boy, « You look for rope. We’ll tie you up. You look for firewood. We’ll roast you. You look for tree. We’ll tie you to it. You look for fire. » After the boy had looked for all the things the men with the evil spirits tied his arms and legs and lit the fire. They had large logs and large dry sticks and they gagged him with rags. They roasted him until he was cooked and put on salt and pepper. They chopped up his bones and skin, and ate his intestines, liver, and all of him. When they finished eating they talked together and said, « When his grandmother asks about him at the village, don’t you tell. When she asks you, you say, “We don’t know about your grandson. He didn’t go with us. He went with some other people.” So when they arrived back at the village the grandmother asked, “And where is my grandson?” They said to her, “We don’t know about your grandson, He didn’t go with us.”»
The grandmother kept asking everybody and they said they didn’t know. She asked a man who came later, saying, "And where is my grandson?" He said to her, "The people ate him already. They didn’t get any deer, so they were angry and butchered him. I feel the same as you. As soon as they butchered him, I cried, because I had pity for him." So the grandmother was very angry when she heard what the man reported. He saw many people eat the boy; he was the only one who didn’t eat; he only watched.

So the lady went to her house, took her dog, put a loin cloth and shirt on it and wrapped it in a cloth. Then she climbed up a very high tree. When she reached a large branch she sat there and bounced her dog up and down. After while it rained hard.

There were women pounding on the ground. They saw fish coming out of the earth. They laughed, "rik, khik, rik, khik," Then they saw many fish coming out of the earth and laughed again, 'rik, khik, rik, khik.' After a while the women saw a little lake around their village and in the water the women saw an alligator swimming to and fro. Because of that the women laughed "rik, khik, rik, khik." But it kept on raining, and after a while the village was flooded. The alligator ate all the people and animals. The chicken flew to another place, and so today people call the lake The Flying Chicken Lake. The water that flooded the village the people call Lake Nue.

When everyone was dead, the grandmother of the orphan boy that the people ate, stayed in the tree. People thought the spirits helped her.

And the tree where the people tied the orphan boy still is today near the rice field at Uon Ndông Krieng. People today call the tree Blang Ndông Đöî (tree-stake-orphan, the tree where they tied the orphan). These things you can see today: Lake Nue, The Lake of the Flying Chickens, near Uon Dham, and the Blang tree near Uon Ndông Krieng.

1 Mpong RoLôm is a dialect of Mpong, which in turn is a member of the Mon-Khmer language family in Vietnam. It is spoken in Lạc Thiên district, Đăk Lắc Province, within a radius of about ten kilometers from the district center.

2 Uon Dham and Uon Ndông Krieng are villages in the Mpong RoLôm area. At Uon Dhamis a lake called Dake Nue. Nearby is a little lake Called Par îer.

3 The men with the evil spirits spoke with mixed-up Mpong when they talked to the orphan boy. "Me jay sue = Me jue say. " (You look for rope) "He cap mi = Hi cap me." (We’ll tie you up) "Me juelh pue." = Me jueh pueh. (You look for firewood.) "Hi be amuh = Hi buh me." (We roast you.) "Me ji chue = Me jue chî. " (You look for a tree.) "Hi ce map = Hi cap me." (We tie you up.) "Me jûn' uê = Me jue uî." (You look for fire.)
Katu Phonemes

JUDITH M. WALLACE

1. Consonants
2. Vowels
3. Word structure
4. Dialects

Katu is a language of the Mon-Khmer family (Katuic branch) spoken by an estimated 20,000 people in Quangnam province of South Vietnam and in Laos. This study is based on the Low Katu dialect spoken in Andiem (SW of Danang) with references to the Low Katu dialect of Phuho (W of Danang) and the High katu dialect of Chuah (near Laos border).

The katu word pattern consists of presyllables \((c_3v c_2v c_1v)\) plus a main syllable \((C_1C_2C_3VC_4)\). Cf. Chart 3 and Sec. 3 for details.

1. Consonant Phonemes
1.1 Problems of Interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops vl. unasp.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>č</td>
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<tr>
<td>vl. asp</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
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<td>vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>'b</td>
<td>'d</td>
<td>'j</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>l,r</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ū</td>
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</table>

Chart 1. Consonant Phonemes

/s/ manifests some characteristics of a *čh phoneme and some characteristics of a *s phoneme. Initially it is usually an aspirated stop, and structurally it completes the system of aspirated stops. But unlike other aspirated stops it can occur in final position and also in consonant clusters. In final position it is phonetically a light voiceless palatal fricative. The current /s/ phoneme may be the result of a falling together of former *s and *čh phonemes.

[w?] and [y?] are analyzed as allophones respectively of /'h/ and /'j/ in word-fnal position because they share the features of
point of articulation, voicing, and glottalization. If these were considered as different phonemes, /w?/ and /y?/ would be the only phonemes, limited to word-final position. Likewise, treating them as clusters would make them the only final clusters in the language.

1.2 Description of Consonants

/p/ simple voiceless bilabial stop
/t/ simple voiceless alveolar stop
/c/ voiceless alveopalatal stop. The alveopalatal consonants /c, ɾ, s, y, j/ all have an [i] on-glide in word-final position.
/k/ simple voiceless velar stop
/ph/ aspirated voiceless bilabial stop
/th/ aspirated voiceless alveolar stop
/s/ usually an aspirated voiceless alveopalatal stop [tʰ] varying to a fricative [s]. In clusters it is [s]. Word-final it is [iʰ].
/kh/ aspirated voiceless velar stop
/b/ simple voiced bilabial stop
/d/ simple voiced alveolar stop
/j/ simple voiced alveopalatal stop
/g/ simple voiced velar stop. /b, d, j, g/ sometimes occur with non-phonemic aspiration.
/b/ preglottalized voiced bilabial stop [ʔb]. In word-final position it is postglottalized [wʔ]
/d/ preglottalized voiced alveolar stop [ʔd]
/j/ preglottalized voiced alveopalatal affricate [ʔdɾ]. In word-final position it is postglottalized [yʔ].
/q/ glottal stop
/v/ voiced slightly rounded bilabial fricative [wɾ]. In word-final position it is [w].
/l/ simple alveolar lateral
/r/ voiced alveolar trill [ɾ], alternating freely with a flap [ɾ].
/y/ voiced high close front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid [i]
/h/ voiceless vowel of varying qualities
/m/ simple bilabial nasal
/n/ simple alveolar nasal
/ň/ simple alveopalatal nasal
/n/ simple velar nasal

1.3 Examples of consonant contrasts

In main-syllable-initial position (C₁):

tapaaŋ ‘back of hand’
taaŋ ‘clas. for candy’
čaaŋ ‘cross a river’
kaaŋ ‘chin’
phet ‘choke’
thaan laaŋ ‘good person’
saaŋ ‘shovel’
khuŋ ‘rotten’
baaŋ ‘many boats’
adaaŋ ‘much’
jaan tha ‘persuade’
gaaŋ ‘arrange for marriage’
m’baaŋ ‘branches’
a’daaŋ ‘spider’
’jaan ‘house frame’
qaaŋ ‘flame, light’
vaan ‘bamboo around bottom of basket’
laaŋ ‘region’
araan ‘big flying insect’
yaaŋ ‘spirit’
haan ‘warm by fire’
maaŋ ‘forehead’
naaŋ ‘many plants’
ñin ñaaŋ ‘edible red root’
ñaŋ ‘loiter’

In word-final position (C₄):
lap ‘stack up’
mat ‘eye’
čarač  ‘part of loincloth’
gamak  ‘large’
mas    ‘hear well’
pana’b [panaw?] ‘explain’
mala’j [malay?] ‘a kind of wood’
kamaq  ‘white coating on tongue’
chô nav ‘give birth’
nal    ‘know’
kanar  ‘fish fins’
may    ‘you sg.’
janah  ‘punish’
mam    ‘suckle baby’
lan    ‘go downhill fast’
panañ  ‘crossbow’
nanñ   ‘wing’

2. Vowel Phonemes

Katu has eleven basic vowel positions with a long-short contrast in each. In addition, the three high vowels are glided, making a total of 25 vowel phonemes.

2.1 Description of Vowels

/ii/ [iː] high close front unrounded long
/i/ [ɨ] high open front unrounded short, occurs before /n/.
    /dɪn/ [dɨn] ‘a fruit’
    [ɨ] high close front unrounded, occurs elsewhere. /dɪl/
        [dɪl] ‘smooth’
/lɛːl/ [eː] mid close varying to open, front unrounded long
/lɛ/ [e] mid close, varying to open, front unrounded short

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
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<th>Back</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glided</td>
<td>ia</td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ěe</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart. 2. Vowel Phonemes

/ee/ [ɛ] low close varying to open, front unrounded long
/e/ [ɛ] low close varying to open, front unrounded short
/iər/ [iː] high close central unrounded long
/iə/ [ɪː] high close central unrounded short
/ər/ [əː] mid central unrounded long
/ə/ [əː] mid central unrounded short
/åː/ [ʌː] low close central unrounded long
/å/ [ʌ] low close central unrounded short
/lər/ [ɑː] low open front-central unrounded long
/lə/ [ɑ] low open front-central unrounded short
/uəl/ [uː] high close back rounded long
/uə/ [ʊ] high close back rounded short
/oʊəl/ [oː] mid open back rounded long
/oəl/ [ʊ] mid open back rounded short
/oɔ/ [ɔ] low close back rounded long
/øəl/ [ɒ] low close back rounded short
/øʊəl/ [ɒ] low open central-back long
/øɭ/ [ʊ] low open central-back short
/lɪəl/ [ɪə-ɨə] high close front unrounded, gliding to low open central unrounded before /n, r, h, l/ and gliding to low close central unrounded elsewhere. /pənɪən/ [panian] 'child' /kaliən/ [kaliən] 'cl. for small round objects'
/lurəl/ [lɐ ʊə ɨə] high close central unrounded, gliding to low open back before /k, ɬ/, gliding to low open central unrounded before /l/, and gliding to low close central unrounded elsewhere. /gərək/ [gay'+ ɨk] 'smoke', /lurəl/ [lɐ ɬ əl] 'friend', /lərəm/ [lərɬ əm] 'a bear'.
/lʊəl/ [uə-ʊə-ʊə] high close back rounded, gliding to low open back before /k, ɬ/, gliding to low open central unrounded before /r, l, ɬ/, and gliding to low close central unrounded
KATU PHONEMS


2.2 Examples of Vowel Contrasts

daniŋ ‘wall’
kaliaŋ ‘cl. small round objects’
kaleɛŋ ‘men sing’
galeeŋ ‘wink’
kalurŋ ‘a ’sickness’
larŋ ‘unwrap’
bloɔŋ ‘light the way’
lâaŋ ‘region’
laaŋ ‘other’
čaluun ‘calf of leg’
ruŋ ‘flat low field’
brõðŋ ‘red’
daloŋ ‘call someone’
kaloŋ ‘inside (house)’

griŋ ‘pour’
ñoŋ ‘very (tired)’
leŋ ‘kill’
daluŋ ‘cloth belt’

dalurŋ ‘cloth belt’

Front vowels do not occur before alveopalatals /ɭ, ʃ, s, ɕ, ɻ/ except -iŋ, -iɕ, and -iɻ. Back vowels can occur before /v/ [w] but not before /bl/ [w?]. No length contrast occurs in open syllables.

/lɔ/ is a little-used phoneme, tending to neutralize with /lo/. /lɔ/ occurs in contrast with /lo/ and /lɔð/ only before /ŋ, k, q, hl/.

3. Word Structure and phoneme Distribution

The katu word has a main syllable which can be preceded by one, two, or three presyllables. The word can be symbolized as c₃v/c₂v/c₁v/ MS. (Lower case is used for presyllable symbols, upper case for main syllable symbols.) The main syllable always receives the major stress. c₃v and c₂v are always affixes, and c₁v sometimes is.

The vowel position in all presyllables is filled by /lal/. In a c₁v syllable, /lal/ tends to actualize as [i] after alveopalatals, [ə] after /b, d, n, ŋ, / [ʌ] after /q, g, k, l, m, p, t, l, and [a] after /h, r/. In some subdialects /lal/ actualizes as vocalic [ɾ] in v₁ position. All of these sub-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m</th>
<th>m, n, g</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>m, n, g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vowels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>v, l, r</td>
<td>y, b</td>
<td>y, l, r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p_l'ch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>b, d, l</td>
<td>y, b</td>
<td>b, l, d</td>
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<tr>
<td>p_l'ch</td>
<td>p_l'ch</td>
<td>p_l'ch</td>
<td>p_l'ch</td>
<td>p_l'ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I_r</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c_4</td>
<td>c_3</td>
<td>c_4</td>
<td>c_3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C_4</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>c_1</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>c_3</td>
<td>c_3</td>
<td>c_3</td>
<td>c_3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
phonemic actuatizaions can vary freely to [ə]. ν₂ and ν₃ usually actualize as an unstressed [ə].

c₁ can be filled by any consonant phoneme when followed by a vowel. rahân «coals». c₁ can also be filled by a nasal homorganic with the main-syllable-initial consonant with no vowel between. ngânh «lean against». c₂ can be filled by /t,p,k,m/. c₃ can be filled only by /l,p,t/. The Main syllable (MS) can occur as C₁V±C₄ or as C₂C₃V±C₄. The vowel position V can be filled by any vowel phoneme. Main-syllable-initial position C₁ can be filled by any consonant phoneme. Cluster-initial position C₂ can be filled by voiceless unaspirated stops, voiced stops, /s,m/. Cluster-second position C₃ can be filled by /l,r/. (/l,t,d,č,j,s/ have not been found before /l/. No consonant clusters have been found in four-syllable words. Word-final position C₄ can be filled by voiceless unaspirated stops, /sl/, glottalized stops except /d/, nasals, and liquids. Examples of maximum word expansion: tapasarum «cause each other to fall», tapaglāk «cause each other to carry».

4. Dialects

There is a Katu taboo against saying the names of one’s older relatives or using words which rhyme with those names. To avoid this the vowel or final consonant or both are changed in such words so that they will no longer rhyme. My informant’s mother’s name is Boč, so he changes all-č words to -oč. These changes appear to be unpredictable. This taboo, added to normal phonetic drift intensified by village isolation, results in rather extensive dialect differences.

4.1 Andiêm — Phû-hòa Comparison

The Andiêm and Phû-hòa dialects have approximately 85-90% general vocabulary correspondence and are mutually intelligible. They are both considered Low Katu dialects. Phû-hòa has no final /l/, so -l/ words in Andiêm have /rl/ or /nl/ in Phû-hòa. Andiêm /-r/ words also appear as /rl/ or /nl/ in Phû-hòa. Andiêm final /-nl/ is always /n/ in Phû-hòa. The details of these shifts are not yet clear.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Andièm</th>
<th>Phûhọa</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'jal</td>
<td>n'jar</td>
<td>'loincloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadial</td>
<td>kadian</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danuar</td>
<td>danuar</td>
<td>'group of villages'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danuar</td>
<td>danuan</td>
<td>'sickness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dan</td>
<td>'dan</td>
<td>'near'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Andièm presyllable /hɑ/ before main-syllable-initial /y,r/ drops the /ɑ/ in Phûhọa.

| hayum      | hyum        | 'tonight' |
| haruai     | hruai       | 'water falling' |

Phûhọa consonant clusters /dl,tl/ correspond to Andièm /gl,kl/ (Phûhọa has no /gl/ or /kl/, and Andièm has no /dl/ or /tl/.) When these words are infixed, both dialects have /kal, gal/.

| klâm       | tlâm        | 'urinate' |
| kalâm      | kalâm       | 'urine'   |
| gluh       | dluh        | 'go out'  |

Preglottalized initial /'b/ in Phûhọa often corresponds to simple b/ in Andièm. Both dialects contrast /'b/ and /b/.

| beq        | 'beq        | 'general classifier' |

### 4.2 Chuah dialect

The Chuah dialect is considered a High Katu dialect and has approximately 75% general vocabulary correspondence with the Andièm Low Katu dialect. They are partly mutually intelligible. In all differences between the Phûhọa and Andièm dialects discussed above, Chuah matches Andièm.

The Chuah phonemic inventory is the same as the other dialects, but with a few distribution differences. In Chuah there is a tendency for /è/ to neutralize with /e/, and for /èè/ to neutralize with /ee/, with full contrast only before /l,hl/. /e,ee,e,èè/ tend to be phonetically much higher than the same phonemes in the other dialects.
Chuah has no exception to the rule that no front vowels occur before alveopalatals. There is no contrast of vowel length before /b, j, s/. And no examples of consonant clusters containing /j/ or /l/ have been found in the Chuah dialect.

FOOTNOTES

1. Eva Burton kindly provided the Phùhòa dialect data, obtained from Triển, a middle-aged Katu pastor. Nancy Costello collaborated with the writer in obtaining the Andiêm data during residence in Andiêm village. The Chuah informant was Bùrôiq, a young uneducated man.

I wish to express appreciation to David Thomas and Richard Watson for their help in the analysis and organization of this paper.

Mon-Khmer in North Vietnam

DAVID THOMAS

Vương Hoàng-Tuyên, in his Các Đàn Tộc Nguồn Cốc Nam Á Miền Bắc Việt Nam (Ethnic Groups of Austroasiatic Origin in North Vietnam)\(^1\), describes several hitherto unknown groups, and gives word lists in a number of them. The majority of the items on the lists are basic vocabulary, so cognate percentages were run on them to find the language groupings.

Khùa, Văn Kiều, Tri, and Măngkoong are clearly Katuic. With the possible exception of Khùa, they should probably all be considered simply dialects of Brû.\(^2\) Not enough information is given to be able to determine their precise dialectal status.

Mày and Ruc are probably a single language. And Mày-Ruc, A-rem, and Tây Poọng all show clear affinity with Mường and Vietnamese, so this then adds three more members to the Viet-Muông branch of Mon-Khmer.\(^3\)

Khang Clâu (Xá Câu), Tềnh, and Tayhay all appear to be dialects of Khmu'. Khao (Khâng Ai) and Puóc (Puhoooc) belong clearly in the Khmuic branch of Mon-Khmer. Tàyhat has some similarities with Palaung but its highest cognate percentages were with Puóc and Mal, both Khmuic languages, so may be tentatively classed as Khmuic.

Mang (Măng Ú) is anomalous. Near the China border and in close proximity to Khmuic languages, it seems to have its highest cognateness with Palaungic so has been classed as such. But it is not impossible that Mang may represent yet another branch of Mon-Khmer.

In passing I might mention also that the terms Brouan, Katuan, Bahnaran, and Stiengan, proposed previously\(^4\), have been found to be confusing, so have now been dropped in favor of North Katuic, South Katuic, North Bahnaric, and South Bahnaric, respectively.
FOOTNOTES


3. For more detailed discussion of the evidence for this and the following point, see David Thomas and Robert Headley, «More on Mon-Khmer Subgroupings», to appear in International Journal of Oriental Linguistics.