

The Origin of Dak Nue

A MNONG RƠ LƠ M LEGEND¹
OBTAINED FROM MUOM NƠ M

Translated by Henry and Evangeline Blood

Introduction

This legend is well known in the Rơ Lơ M 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 Rơ Lơ M. Near the village is a little Lake called the Lake of the Flying Chickens. Uon Nở ng 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 Nở m, 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 bed time story when he was a child.

Pop Pro-pro ta Bal Dham Yau Lək

Yau lək mau tlo-tlau bal uon Dham²sak wơ-wang jurl pơ m, mau ju nau nĩh ku-đoi sak re bu kan. Bal sak wơ-wang kan, mau bả-bả nĩh ngan, bả-bả nĩh cək. Bal sak wơ-wang han dảng bu yùk uon Dham trũh ta yùk uon Nở ng Krieng². Bal han ay-so doi geh jurl pơ m. Lai jok ta ien bal han njoh, kơ yuadah ar. Blah ien mau nĩh cək lah ta kan nĩh ku-đoi han, « Me jay sue, he cap mi, me jueh pue, hi be a-muh, me ji chue, hi ce map, me juñ ne. »²

Lai djap pơ p kan ku-đoi eh han doh jue, bal nĩh cək han doh cạp jơ ng ti-u-pơ ng. Nai phơ ng uñ mau pueh bu, ndràm bu, brua yae u-pơ ng nai sit ta su-dieng. Blah ien tơ lai sun nai buh u-pơ ng hau, nai bok boh mbrac, nai pac ting-tau, pruc, tơm u-pơ ng lể nai sa. Lai lể sa bal han ta-tả ndang bu-kan. Bu kan lah blah ieo, « Tơ yo kan lùp ta uon tĩ ay rau bu me tê-têh yuh. Tơ de lùp bu me lah blah ieo, hi ay so gut so e, ay so kan sak bak hi, kan sak bak bal nĩh dĩh. » Blah ien, tơ bal han plố ta uon, trũh ta uon yo kan lùp blah iao, « Mả so añ doh ay so di ơ-hơ. ? » Nai lah ta de, « Hi ay so gutsoe, ay kan sak bak hi. ». Blah ien yo kan han lùp hui-hai ok nĩh ; nai lah nai ay so gut. De wĩh lùp sũt nĩh sak ta nể. De lah blah iao, « mả so añ doh ay so di ơ-hơ ? » Kan han lah ta de, « So e lainai sa di-u-pâng doh bỗ ơ-hơ. Nai ay so geh jurl pơ m doh

han, eh hao nuih nai, nai buh u-pâng. Añ ndrom blah e ya, mhay nai buh kan doh eh huor dâk mat añ, kơ-yuadah añ tlâng ta kan. Blah ien de yo kan hau hao nuih ngan, de tong kan han doh tê-têh. Kan so nai sa u-pâng han doh ok ngan, cõng-gu kan ay so sa, kan trieng gu nai sa. Blah ien yo kan han de plõ ta hih de tom, de sok kuon sau, de lang truon su, soh ao, pan kon, lai han de hao mâng tom gơ-gieñ jua ngan. Tơ de trũh mâng nun râm eh, de gũk ta ien, lai han de cah-col kuon sau de han doh. Jok ta ien mau mih mbal ngan, blah ien mau nĩh peh pat teh han doh. Bu de so ka pat eh kah buk-dih, bu de gòm « rik-khik, rik-khik ». Lai han bu de so djap ka eh kah buk-dih han doh, bu de wĩh gòm « rik-khik, rik-khik. » Jok ta ien bu de so ta put uon bu de mau dâk-nung ku-ít, mâng dâk han bu-de so ya eh ray tở-tở, au-au. Blah ien bu de gòm « rik-khik, rik-khik. »⁸ Biã-dah mih eh sak hui-hai, jok ta ien teh ẽh ham lẽ ju nguol uon han doh, mĩh yang, puh sur, lẽ ya coh. Lai han ier eh par tũk dĩh, blah ien nar au nai nan dâk « Par ier ». Dâk eh ham uon làn, nĩh yàng han doh nai nan « Dak Nue ». Tơ lẽ bal han khut, blah ien de yo kan nĩh ku-đoi nai sa han doh, de guk hui-hai mâng chi ien. Nai tũn de han, yàng dru de, lai han chi nai ndâng so de han doh, nar au hum, mõi ta lõ Uon Nđõng krieng Nar au nai nan chi han « Blang Nđâng đoi ». Pp'p' đoi so trũh nar au Dâk Nue lai han Dâk Par Ier mõi ta Uon Dham lai han Tom Blang mõi ta Uon Nđõng 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 Nđâng 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 gaggad him with rags. They roasted him until he was coked 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 Nđang Krieng. People today call the tree Blang Nđang Đoi (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 Nđong Krieng.

¹Mnong RơLơm is a dialect of Mnong, which in turn is a member of the Mon-Khmer language family in Vietnam. It is spoken in Lạc Thiện district, Đarlac Province, within a radius of about ten kilometers from the district center.

²Uon Dham and Uon Nđong Krieng are villages in the Mnong RơLơm area. At Uon Dham is a lake called Dake Nue. Nearby is a little lake called Par Jer.

³The men with the evil spirits spoke with mixed-up Mnong 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 jueh pue.' = Me jue pueh ». (You look for firewood.) «Hi be amuh = Hi buh me.» (We roast you.) «Me ji chue = Me jue chi.» (You look for a tree.) «Hi ce map = Hi cap me.» (We tie you up.) «Me jũñ' ue = Me jue uñ.» (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 Quảngnam province of South Vietnam and in Laos. This study is based on the Low Katu dialect spoken in Andiêm (SW of Đà Nẵng) with references to the Low Katu dialect of Phúhòa (W of Đà Nẵng) and the High katu dialect of Chuah (near Laos border). 1

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

| | bilabial | alveolar | alveopalatal | velar |
|------------------|----------|----------|--------------|-------|
| Stops vl. unasp. | p | t | č | k |
| vl. asp | ph | th | s | kh |
| vd. | b | d | j | g |
| glottal. | 'b | 'd | 'j | q |
| Liquids | v | l,r | y | h |
| Nasals | m | n | ñ | ŋ |

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 /'b/ and /'j/ in word-final 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

/č/ voiceless alveopalatal stop. The alveopalatal consonants /č, ñ, 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 [t^{yh}] varying to a fricative [s]. In clusters it is [s]. Word-final it is [i^{yh}].

/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 [w[?]]

/'d/ preglottalized voiced alveolar stop [ʔd]

/j/ preglottalized voiced alveopalatal affricate [ʔdy]. In word-final position it is postglottalized [y[?]].

/q/ glottal stop

/v/ voiced slightly rounded bilabial fricative [w[•] v]. In word-final position it is [w].

/l/ simple alveolar lateral

/r/ voiced alveolar trill [r^s], alternating freely with a flap [r̥].

/y/ voiced high close front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid [i]

/h/ voiceless vowel of varying qualities

/m/ simple bilabial nasal

/n/ simple alveolar nasal

/ñ/ simple alveopalatal nasal

/ŋ/ simple velar nasal

1.3 Examples of consonant contrasts

In main-syllable-initial position (C₁):

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| tapa _ŋ | 'back of hand' |
| ta _ŋ | 'clas. for candy' |
| ča _ŋ | 'cross a river' |
| ka _ŋ | 'chin' |
| phet | 'choke' |
| tha _ŋ la _ŋ | 'good person' |
| sa _ŋ | 'shovel' |
| kh _u _ŋ | 'rotten' |
| ba _ŋ | 'many boats' |
| ada _ŋ | 'much' |
| ja _ŋ tha | 'persuade' |
| ga _ŋ | 'arrange for marriage' |
| m'ba _ŋ | 'branches' |
| a'da _ŋ | 'spider' |
| 'ja _ŋ | 'house frame' |
| qa _ŋ | 'flame, light' |
| va _ŋ | 'bamboo around bottom of basket' |
| la _ŋ | 'region' |
| ara _ŋ | 'big flying insect' |
| ya _ŋ | 'spirit' |
| ha _ŋ | 'warm by fire' |
| ma _ŋ | 'forehead' |
| na _ŋ | 'many plants' |
| ñin ña _ŋ | 'edible red root' |
| ŋa _ŋ | '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' |
| nana _n | | '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/ [i:] high close front unrounded long

/i/ [ĩ] high open front unrounded short, occurs before /n/.
/din/ [dĩn] 'a fruit'

[ĩ] high close front unrounded, occurs elsewhere. /dil/
[dĩl] 'smooth'

/êê/ [e:] mid close varying to open, front unrounded long

/ê/ [ě] mid close, varying to open, front unrounded short

| | Front | | Central | | Back | |
|--------|-------|-------|---------|-------|------|-------|
| | Long | Short | Long | Short | Long | Short |
| Glided | ia | | ua | | ua | |
| High | ii | i | ur | ʊ | uu | u |
| Mid | êê | ê | o | o | ôô | ô |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----|---|----|----|---|----|----|---|
| Low close | ee | e | | ââ | â | | oo | o |
| Low open | | | aa | a | | óó | ó | |

Chart. 2. Vowel Phonemes

- /ee/ [ɛ] low close varying to open, front unrounded long
 /e/ [ɛ̃] low close varying to open, front unrounded short
 /ur/ [i:] high close central unrounded long
 /u/ [ĩ] high close central unrounded short
 /σσ/ [ə:] mid central unrounded long
 /σ/ [ə̃] mid central unrounded short
 /ââ/ [ʌ:] low close central unrounded long
 /â/ [ʌ̃] low close central unrounded short
 /aa/ [a:] low open front-central unrounded long
 /a/ [ă] low open front-central unrounded short
 /uu/ [u:] high close back rounded long
 /u/ [ũ] high close back rounded short
 /ôô/ [o:] mid open back rounded long
 /ô/ [ö] mid open back rounded short
 /oo/ [õ] low close back rounded long
 /o/ [õ̃] low close back rounded short
 /óó/ [ɔ] low open central-back long
 /ó/ [ɔ̃] low open central-back short
 /ia/ [ia-iʌ] high close front unrounded, gliding to low open central unrounded before /n, r, h, l/ and gliding to low close central unrounded elsewhere. /panian/ [panian] 'child' /kalian/ [kalian] 'cl. for small round objects'
 /ra/ [ɾ̣ ~ ɾ̥ + a ~ iʌ] high close central unrounded, gliding to low open back before /k, ŋ/, gliding to low open central unrounded before //, and gliding to low close central unrounded elsewhere. /gayurak/ [gay + ɔk] 'smoke', /bural/ [b + al] 'friend', /jaruram/ [jar + ʌm] 'a bear'.
 /ua/ [uɔ-ua-uʌ] high close back rounded, gliding to low open back before /k, ŋ/, gliding to low open central unrounded before /r, l, y/, and gliding to low close central unrounded

elsewhere. /aduak/ [aduɔk] 'Vietnamese' /buar/ [buar] 'manioc', /kasuap/ [kasuɔp] 'eggshell'.

2.2 Examples of Vowel Contrasts

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| danii _ŋ | 'wall' | gri _ŋ | 'pour' |
| kalia _ŋ | 'cl. small round objects' | ñên | 'very (tired)' |
| kalêê _ŋ | 'men sing' | le _ŋ | 'kill' |
| galee _ŋ | 'wink' | dalur _ŋ | 'cloth belt' |
| kalurur _ŋ | 'a 'sickness' | | |
| lura _ŋ | 'unwrap' | | |
| bloσ _ŋ | 'light the way' | kalσ _ŋ | 'road' |
| lââ _ŋ | 'region' | čalâ _ŋ | 'love for children' |
| laa _ŋ | 'other' | na _ŋ | 'wing' |
| čaluu _ŋ | 'calf of leg' | bru _ŋ | 'dirty food' |
| rua _ŋ | 'flat low field' | | |
| brôô _ŋ | 'red' | rô _ŋ | 'wide' |
| daloo _ŋ | 'call someone' | halo _ŋ | 'blow obj. from eye' |
| kalòò _ŋ | 'inside (house)' | kaló _ŋ | 'yolk' |

Front vowels do not occur before alveopalatals /y, 'j, s, č, ñ/ except -iñ, -ič, and -iič. Back vowels can occur before /v/ [w] but not before /'b/ [w?]. No length contrast occurs in open syllables.

/ô/ is a little-used phoneme, tending to neutralize with /σ/. /ô/ occurs in contrast with /σ/ and /ôô/ only before /ŋ, k, q, h/.

3. Word Structure and phoneme Distribution

The katu word has a main syllable which can be precede_ŋ 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.²

The vowel position in all presyllables is filled by /a/. In a c₁v syllable, /a/ tends to actualize as [i] after alveopalatals, [ə] after /b, d, n, ŋ/ [ʌ] after /q, g, k, l, m, p, t/, and [a] after /h, r/. In some sub-dialects /a/ actualizes as vocalic [r] in v₁ position. All of these sub-

| <u>C₃</u> | <u>V</u> | <u>C₂</u> | <u>V</u> | <u>C₁</u> | <u>V</u> | <u>C₁</u> | <u>C₂</u> | <u>C₃</u> | <u>V</u> | <u>C₄</u> |
|----------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|
| p,t | a | p,t,č,k m | a | p,t,č,k | a | p,t,č,k ph,th,s,kh | p,t,č,k s | l,r | all | p,t,č,k s |
| | | | | b,d,j,g 'b,'d,'j,q | | b,d,j,g 'b,'d,'j,q | b,d,j,g — | | vowels | 'b,'j,q — |
| | | | | v,l,r,y,h m,n,ñ,ŋ | | v,l,r,y,h m,n,ñ,ŋ | — m | | | v,l,r,y,h m,n,ñ,ŋ |

Chart 3. phoneme Distribution

phonemic actualizations can vary freely to [ə]. v_2 and v_3 usually actualize as an unstressed [ə].

c_1 can be filled by any consonant phoneme when followed by a vowel. *rahâñ* «coals». c_1 can also be filled by a nasal homorganic with the main-syllable-initial consonant with no vowel between. *ngâñ* «lean against». c_2 can be filled by /t,p,k,m/. c_3 can be filled only by /p,t/.

The Main syllable (MS) can occur as $C_1V\pm C_4$ or as $C_2C_3V\pm C_4$. The vowel position V can be filled by any vowel phoneme. Main-syllable-initial position C_1 can be filled by any consonant phoneme. Cluster-initial position C_2 can be filled by voiceless unaspirated stops, voiced stops, /s,m/. Cluster-second position C_3 can be filled by /l,r/. (/t,d,č,j,s/ have not been found before /l/.) No consonant clusters have been found in four-syllable words. Word-final position C_4 can be filled by voiceless unaspirated stops, /s/, glottalized stops except /'d/, nasals, and liquids. Examples of maximum word expansion : *tapasaruum* « cause each other to fall », *tapaglâk* « 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 *Bσč*, so he changes all-σč words to-ooč. 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 — Phú-hòa Comparison

The Andiêm and Phúhòa dialects have approximately 85-90% general vocabulary correspondence and are mutually intelligible. They are both considered Low Katu dialects. Phúhòa has no final /l/, so /-l/ words in Andiêm have /r/ or /n/ in Phú-hòa. Andiêm /-r/ words also appear as /r/ or /n/ in Phúhòa. Andiêm final /-n/ is always /n/ in Phúhòa. The details of these shifts are not yet clear.

| <i>Andiêm</i> | <i>Phùhòa</i> | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------|
| n'jal | n'jar | 'loincloth' |
| kadial | kadian | 'wife' |
| danuar | danuar | 'group of villages' |
| danuar | danuan | 'sickness' |
| 'dan | 'dan | 'near' |

Andiêm presyllable /ha/ before main-syllable-initial /y,r/ drops the /a/ in Phùhòa.

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

Phùhòa consonant clusters /dl,tl/ correspond to Andiêm /gl,kl/ (Phùhòa has no /gl/ or /kl/, and Andiêm 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 Phùhòa often corresponds to simple b/ in Andiêm. 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 Andiêm Low Katu dialect. They are partly mutually intelligible. In all differences between the Phùhòa and Andiêm dialects discussed above, Chuah matches Andiêm.

The Chuah phonemic inventory is the same as the other dialects, but with a few distribution differences. In Chuah there is a tendency for /ê/ to neutralize with /e/, and for /êê/ to neutralize with /ee/, with full contrast only before /l,h/. /e,ee,ê,êê/ 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 alvepalatals. There is no contrast of vowel length before /'b, 'j, s/. And no examples of consonant clusters containing /j/ or /č/ have been found in the Chuah dialect.

FOOTNOTES

1. Eva Burton kindly provided the Phúhòa dialect data, obtained from Triên, 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 Brouiq, 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.

2. See Nancy A. Costello, « Affixes in Katu », in Thomas, Hòa and Blood, eds., *Mon-Khmer Studies II* pp. 63-86 (Saigon, 1965).

Mon-Khmer in North Vietnam

DAVID THOMAS

Vương Hoàng-Tuyên, in his *Các Dân Tộc Nguồn Gốc 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, Vân Kiều, Trì, and Măngkoong are clearly Katuic. With the possible exception of Khùa, they should probably all be considered simply dialects of Brũ.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 Tày Poọng all show clear affinity with Mường and Vietnamese, so this then adds three more members to the Viet-Muong branch of Mon-Khmer.³

Khang Clâu (Xá Cầu), Tềnh, and Tayhay all appear to be dialects of Khmu'. Khao (Kháng Ái) and Puộc (Puhooc) belong clearly in the Khmuic branch of Mon-Khmer. Tàyhạt has some similarities with Palaung but its highest cognate percentages were with Puộc and Mal, both Khmuic languages, so may be tentatively classed as Khmuic

Mang (Mặng Ủ) 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 previously⁴, 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

1. Nhà xuất Bản Giáo Dục (Educational Publishing House), Hà - Nội 1963.

2. The lax glided vowel in [brəõu] previously written *đu* (*Brôu*), may be conveniently written *ũ* (*Brũ*). Cf. J. Miller, « An Acoustical Study of *Brôu* Vowels », *Phonetica* 17:149—177 (1967). and E. Johnston, « Some Psycholinguistic Aspects of *Brôu* Literacy Problem », *Language Learning* 18: 15—27 (1967),

3. For more detailed dicussion 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*.

4. Cf. D. Thomas, « Mon-Khmer Subgroupings in Việt-nam », in N. Zide, ed ., *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*; Mouton The Hague, 1966.