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# **NOTES FROM INDOCHINA**

**on ethnic  
minority cultures**

*edited by*

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## NOTES ON CHRAU ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

David Thomas

The Chrau (Jro) people live east of Saigon in an area comprising parts of former Long Khánh, Bình Tuy, Phước Tuy, and Biên Hòa provinces.<sup>1</sup> Their language belongs to the South Bahnaric group of Mon-Khmer languages. The Chrau have, by their own accounts, lived in their present location since time immemorial, nor have I uncovered any traditions of migration from anywhere else.

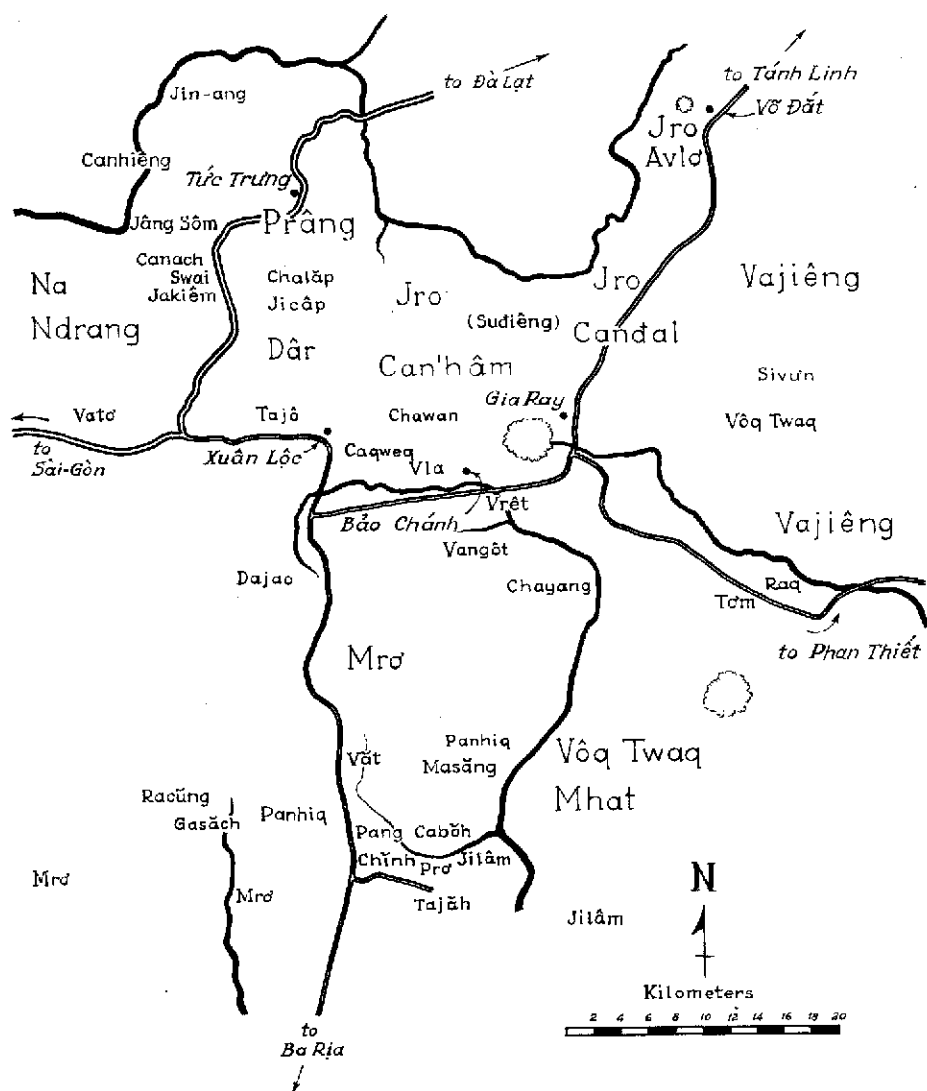
Recently Vietnamese have been settling in this area in larger and larger numbers, so that the Chrau are now only a small minority of the present population, resulting in the Chrau language and the original Chrau place names being almost completely submerged.

With the increasingly strong Vietnamese cultural influence, and with dislocation of old patterns due to wartime resettlement, Chrau clans and settlement patterns are little more than memories, as very few Chrau are still able to live in their old clan homes, and postwar settlement patterns are bound to be drastically different from the prewar patterns.

On maps of the area, particularly the eastern half, it is not uncommon to see several locations given the same name. These generally reflect the clan name and clan area, as members of a clan often did not live in a close cluster, but their houses may have been separated from each other by a mile or two of jungle.

### CLAN AREAS

The Chrau region, before the Second World War, was divided into areas (palây) within which a family that had proper kin ties could farm freely. Some of these areas had clear boundaries, while others appear to have had clear centers but less clear boundaries. Some of these areas, seemingly the older Chrau areas, appear to have been restricted to a single matrilineal clan, while others seem to have several clans represented. The fighting from 1945 to 1975 has completely broken up the Chrau cultural and settlement patterns, but



Map 3. Chrau Clan Areas.



many Chrau still long to go back to their ancestral areas where they used to farm. It has not always been clear to me which names are simply area names and which are also clan names, as the clan picture has been muddled by the resettlements and by the shifting towards a (Vietnamese-like) patrilineal system. Some names are clearly clans, with an area and a lineage having the same name. Other names seem to be solely areas, and others solely lineages. *Tôm* 'trunk' and *chông* 'tip' are often used to distinguish, respectively, primary clan areas from secondary areas of the same clan, or people living in their main clan area from people who have moved to a different area.

Palây Jro is by far the largest of the areas and is divided into three sub-areas. It is said that 50 years ago a chief, or influential person, ruled in each of these three areas. Palây Jro Maq Aylơ (Upper Jro, Jro *Tôm Ca*, Jro *Ramvuh*)<sup>2</sup> is centered around *Võ Đất*, extending S to the upper branch of *Daq Cawêng*. This is considered by many Chrau to be the original Chrau homeland, and is rivaled in prestige only by Palây Prâng as a fount of Chrau culture.

Palây Jro Candal (Central Jro, Jro *Nchar*) is centered around *Trần Tao*, including *Trà Tân* and the areas of *Daq Cawêng* and *Daq Gasết* to about 5 km. S of *Võ Đất*. *Nchar* is possibly derived from *Gũng Char*, the most prominent geographical feature in the Jro area and bordering on the Central Jro area.

Palây Jro Maq Can'hâm (Lower Jro, Jro *Ca-i*) is centered around *Tho Vực*, extending N to *Daq Nlê* and E to *Gia Ray*. Palây Ngao is a subsection of Lower Jro around *Tho Vực* and *Daq Vrêr*. The *Chaluh* subclan has a taboo against eating crocodile meat because of an ancestor's having been helped by a crocodile; this is the only such taboo that I have found among the Chrau. *Chaluh* people are scattered from *Bao Chánh* to *Túc Trưng*. There are also Jro *Caméc* and *N'he* subclans reported.

Palây Vajiêng, *Vôq Yiêng* (*Bà Giêng*) covers a large area E of Palây Jro in western *Bình Tuy* province, including *Tánh Linh*, *Gia Huynh*, *Suối Kiết*, and down to Highway 1. There are many subclans of Vajiêng, including the *Cũh*, *Siêng*, *Dâr*, *Daq*, and they have scattered far and wide throughout the Chrau area, so that Vajiêngs are found from W of *Túc Trưng* to

Xuân Lộc and down to southern Bình Tuy. Vajiêng Siêng are found in Palây Vajiêng and southern Bình Tuy.

In the Túc Trúng area, Vajiêng Cũh are found in Vôq Juộc (Đaq Juộc), Vôq Khlong (Đaq Khlang), Vôq Prăng (Cây Xăng, Đúc Thặng), Vi Gadayh (upper Đaq Gadayh), Vumdăn (Đaq Vumdăn), Unghiên (Đaq Unghiên), and Đaq Hợp. Vajiêng Cũh are also found in Palây Vajiêng. Vajiêngs are also found in Phú Mỹ, Bảo Mỹ, and Giềng Học near Xuân Lộc, as well as in other places.

Palây Sivún is the area around Suối Kiết and Gia Huỳnh, S of Palây Jro and N of Palây Vôq Twaq in Bình Tuy.

Palây Tơm Raq (Simjơ, Vn. Rừng Lá) is the area N of Gũng Jrwông, extending to N of Highway 1. Raq (Vn. lá buông) 'latenier palm leaves': This area abounds in palms. I know of no clan lineage with this name.

Palây Vôq Twaq (Vn. Thanh Tóa) is an area between Đaq Calêu, Đaq Lũq Sí-ăt, and Phong Gle in northern Phước Tuy. (toa [twá].) The Vôq Twaq clan is also found in Gia Ray, Palây Vajiêng, Palây Jilâm, and as far as Tánh Linh. A section S of Suối Kiết and Gia Huỳnh is also known as Palây Vôq Twaq (twaq 'latenier palm tree').

Palây Mhat (Vn. Thừa Tích) is the area S of Palây Vôq Twaq and E of Đaq Calêu, including Bảo Bô and Đất Đỏ. The area (or its inhabitants?) is also known as Mơ Thừa Tích, which may indicate a relationship with (part of) the Mơ clan.

Palây Masăng (Vn. Lâm Xuân) is the area W of Đaq Calêu opposite Palây Mhat, and S of Palây Panhiq. Masăng subclans include Masăng Mơ (mơ 'paddy field') and Masăng Prăng (prăng 'red clay'). There may have originally been a phonological connection between masăng and lâm xuân, though their present forms are rather different.

Palây Panhiq apparently comprises two areas, one lying near the Phước Tuy-Long Khánh border, W of Đaq Calêu and N of Palây Masăng and Ngai Giao. The other area includes Cự Bị and Cự Khánh N of Đaq Simôn and E of Đaq Njrang.

Palây Jilâm (Lâm, Vn. Bảo Lâm) apparently comprises two areas, one around Xuân Mộc and Như Lâm and the other W of

Daq Calêu and S of Daq Cabôh. Như lâm seems to be derived from jilâm, with j → nh and the neutral presyllable i → ư. Palây Jilâm was mainly occupied by people of the Vôq Twaq clan.

Palây Tajăh (Vn. Bình Giả) is in the area of Bình Giả and SE to Gũng Glao. There may also be a Tajăh area in south central Long Khánh. With j → gi, -h → (hỏi tone), and (presyllable) → (huyền tone), a connection between the two names is quite possible, though the t → b is anomalous. The epenthetic nh is not unusual.

Palây Prơ (Prưa, Vn. Bàu Trơ) is the area between Daq Cabôh and Bình Giả. It is N of Palây Tajăh, S of Palây Cabôh, and E of Palây Chĩnh. Lacking a pr-, the shift to Vn. tr- is not surprising. ưa is a local Chrau phonemic variant of ơ.

Palây Chĩnh (Vn. Bảo Chính) lies NW of Bình Giả, W of Palây Prơ and S of Palây Pang.

Palây Cabôh (Vn. Tầm Bó) is between Daq Cabôh and Daq Yarwec, N of Palây Prơ and E of Palây Pang. (See Daq Cabôh for the phonological derivation of Cabôh.)

Palây Pang lies W of Daq Cabôh and Palây Cabôh and N of Palây Chĩnh.

Palây Văt (Văch) is in the upper reaches of Daq Cabôh, SE of Núi Lẻ.

Palây Gasăch (Kisăch, Vn. Hát Dịch) lies between Daq Njrang Swai and Daq Châu Pha, W of Palây Panhiq, N of Palây Mrơ, and E of Palây Racũng, E of the Biên Hòa-Phước Tuy border. There may possibly be a phonological relationship between săch and dịch.

Palây Racũng (Vn. Hát Dịch) lies on the Biên Hòa-Phước Tuy border W of Palây Gasăch.

Palây Mrơ consists of at least three large widely-separated areas. Mrơ Can'hâm (Lower Mrơ) is E of Long Thành, covering a large area, and also has a small section N of the confluence of the Daq Swai and Daq Vluq (S of Palây Gasăch). Mrơ Avlơ (Upper Mrơ) is in southern Long Khánh around Cầm Mỹ and

Câm Tiêm. Palây Mhat is also known as Mư̄ Thư̄a Tịch, probably implying that people of the Mư̄ clan have settled there in large numbers. Mư̄ people are now also found in Ôn Cung. Subclans Mư̄ Kê Thi and Mư̄ Ngăn have been reported, probably from the Upper Mư̄ area.

Palây Tamũm (Dimũm, Camũm; Vn. Cà Mũm) is N of Palây Dijao and Palây Tijah. The t~d~c variation in the presyllable is not uncommon in Chrau; t and d tend to neutralize in that position. The Vn name is a close approximation of the Chrau name.

Palây Chayang (Vn. Thoại Hương) is beside Daq Calêu SE of Palây Vangôt. It is tempting to see a dim resemblance between chay and Vn. thoai, and yang and Vn. hương, though this is not certain.

Palây Vangôt (Vn. La Minh) lies S of Palây Vrêt, S of Daq Swai and W of Daq Calêu. It was apparently populated by a mixture of clans, including Jro.

Palây Vrêt (Vn. Bảo Liệt) lies S of Palây Chawan and Gũng Char, and N of Palây Vangôt. It is bounded on the NW and SE by Daq Calêu, and on the SW by Daq Swai. Vn lacks vr-, so vr- → bao l- and e → ie, plus adding tones. It is not clear whether there is any connection between Palây Vrêt and Daq Vrêt in Palây Jro Can'hâm.

Palây Tajô (Dijô, Vn. Lũng Tài), lies W and NW of Xuân Lộc, in the An Lộc, Suối Tre, Núi Đỏ, Ấp Bình Lộc area. The Tajô clan is said to use peculiar intonation.

Palây Dajao (Tijao, Vn. Thới Giao) is a clan area in south central Long Khánh, around Thới Giao and Ong Quê, and perhaps also an area near Bình Giã and Gũng Glao in N Phước Tuy. j → gi is the normal equivalence, as is low tone for a pre-syllable; and t → th in a presyllable is close.

Palây Vla (Vôq Vla) is around Ôn Cung in central Long Khánh. Subclans include Vla Daq.

Palây Sudiêng, between Gia Ray and Daq Nlê, was the home of a semilegendary clan said to have lived there 150-200

years ago, who fled to Bà Rịa and Bình Dương. A potsherd site 7 km. NW of Gia Ray is said to be their remains. They are said to have fled from a dragon that they disturbed while digging a well (Ntu Dangvêh). This story is probably a reminiscence of the Jro who fled (were forcibly resettled by?) the French 100 years ago and settled in the Bình Dương--Bình Long area, the Stiêng (Sodiêng) area (Bourotte 1955:31-41). The Chrau in the Bình Long-Tây Ninh area still refer to themselves as Jro and are sometimes listed in official records under the name Tamun (Chr. tamun 'person'). The Bình Long Chrau tell of their two ancient chiefs who fought against the French but were defeated. Such tales of the 'Sudiêng' probably have some historical basis.

Palây Caqwêq (Paqwêq) is the area around Xuân Lộc, Tân Phú, and the upper end of Daq Calêu, including Mơ Dâr Sinh, Mơ Tamrach, and Mơ Lamsai.

Palây Chawan is bounded on the W by Daq N'hap, on the N by Palây Jro Ca-i, on the E by Bảo Chanh, and on the S by Palây Vrêt. It includes the sources of Daq Simrong, Daq Ca-it and Daq Vrêt, and the paddy areas Mơ Jri, Mơ Jâng Khia, and Mơ Câu. It is tempting to see a resemblance between chawan and the chanh of Bảo Chanh.

Palây Prâng (Vôq Prâng) is the area around Túc Trúng and Daq Lawa. This is an area of prestige and of fairly heavy population, so that the whole northwestern section of the Chrau area is sometimes referred to loosely as Prâng. This area has a distinctive dialect (Thomas 1971:220-1). If there were a Prâng river, I might have been tempted to see a connection between Daq Prâng and Túc Trúng; but this does not seem to be so. prâng 'red clay'. There does not seem to be a Prâng clan; Palây Prâng seems to be most heavily populated by Vajiêng Cũh, with a Chaluh settlement on Daq Ndu and a Bà Thâu settlement on Daq Mongcăq.

Palây Dâr (Vôq Dâr) is basically the Bình Lộc area, extending loosely to Đồng Xoài. (dâr 'fertile, luxuriant forest'). The population is apparently Vajiêng Dâr, and other Vajiêng Dâr are reported down near Long Thành.

Palây Swai (Đồng Xoài) is the area N and NW of Gia Tân and E of Dộc Mơ hill (Gũng Vam Viôr). The Vn Đồng may have

been added on analogy with the better known Đồng Xoài in Phước Long.

Palây Jakiêm (Vn. Gia Kiêm) is between Gia Tân and Gia Kiêm, W of Highway 20.  $j \rightarrow gi$  is normal.

Palây Canach (Ganach) lies between Palây Swai and Palây Jângsôm, NW of Gia Tân. It is between Gung Vam Viôr and Daq Rơm.

Palây Jâng Sôm (Nsôm, Sũm, Tôm Sũc; Vn. Bến Nôm) is the area E of Bến Nôm and Cây Gạo and S of Daq Rơm. Palây Jâng Sôm, though small, has a reputation for being the home of wise men and a center of Chrau traditional culture and knowledge. (tôm sũc 'source village'.) It is the home of the Sũm clan.

Palây Yayong (Vn. Võ Đông) is apparently a general term including Palâys Canach, Jâng Sôm, Swai, Ấp Jro, and Jakiêm. The relationship between these is not clear.

Palây Canhiêng (Canhêng) is the area W of Palây Prâng and N of Palây Jâng Sôm and Palây Na Ndrang on both sides of Daq Nlê. This is apparently the only exception to the rule that Daq Nlê is the boundary of the Chrau area. Palây Canhiêng is both vague and extensive, but with a very small population (30 people?).

Palây Jin-ang (Vn. Vĩnh An) lies beside Daq Nlê NW of Túc Trưng.  $j \rightarrow \text{SVN } v[y]$ ,  $-ang \rightarrow \text{SVN } an[ah]$ . It is possible that the Chrau name is derived from the Vn. name.

Palây Na Ndrang (Vn. Bầu Hàm) is the westernmost part of the Chrau area. It is said to have originally extended from Bến Nôm to Hồ Nai (and perhaps Biên Hòa), including Dầu Giây, Hưng Lộc, Bầu Hàm, Bầu Cá and Trắng Bôm. (Factual information about Palây Ndrang was not easy to elicit.)

Palây Vato (Patơ, Bò-tơ; Vn. Bầu Cá) is a settlement area N of Highway 1 at the Long Khánh-Biên Hòa border.

Palây Vaglao is unidentified but perhaps N of Bình Lộc. The Vu Glao people have all moved to Túc Trưng.

Palây Jicáp (Vn. Gia Cấp) is just N of Bình Lộc. Its inhabitants, Vajiêng Cũh and Vu Glao, have moved to Túc Trúng.

Palây Chalăp (Vn. Võ Định) is along Daq Tambúng. Its inhabitants have also moved to Túc Trúng.

Clan lineage names have been mentioned under several of the clan areas, including Jro (Tóm, Ngao, Caméc, Ramvuh, Chalun), Vajiêng (Cũh, Dâr, Siêng, Daq), Twaq (Ngăn), Masăng (Mơ, Prâng), Mro (Kê Thi, Ngăn), Tajô, Dajao, Vía (Daq), Sudiêng, Vato.

Other lineage names are reported for which no clan area of that name has been found. The Chalăh live in Palây Chawan. The Valang live near Túc Trúng. The Vavrăch and the Vayai live in the direction of Long Thành. The Bà Thâu (the same as Vato?) live on Daq Mongcăq near Túc Trúng. The Suh Ratiêng (Sudiêng?) live in northwestern Phước Tuy. No location was specified for the Vacũh.

#### CITIES AND TOWNS

The Chrau have no cities, but they do have names for some of the nearby towns and cities.

Masut (Vn. Phan Thiết). Phan Thiết has probably always been the major source of salt for the Chrau, so it is tempting to postulate an ancient Cham word \*masin 'salty' (cf. Tagalog maasin 'salty'), which filtered through the Roglai  $n \rightarrow t$  shift and the Chrau  $i \rightarrow ư$  shift yielding masut.

Dâng Kho or Vi Chăh (Vn. Tánh Linh). Tánh Linh has a fairly large Cham population, so Vi Chăh 'Cham place' is not an unexpected name. The source of Dâng Kho is not clear.

Mơ Vồh or Bàu Rĩa (Vn. Bà Rịa). Mơ Vồh may be translated 'salt paddy field', probably indicating that the site of Bà Rịa was once a rice field that was too salty to be usable. Bàu Rĩa is probably just an alteration of the Vietnamese name to fit the local Vietnamese pattern of using bàu (for mơ or tamăn) in place names.

Vahwa (Vn. Biên Hòa). These two names are clearly related, but it is difficult to say whether Vahwa is a shortening of Biên Hòa to fit Chrau patterns, or whether Biên Hòa is an expansion of Vahwa to fit Vietnamese patterns. Both are normal patterns. The h of Hòa is not pronounced in modern southern Vietnamese, but the borrowing may have taken place before the loss of h.

Sigor (Sài Gòn). The Chrau form clearly underlies the Vietnamese form, as the unidirectional  $r \rightarrow n$  shift shows. The modern Khmer form (Nokor) also attests the final r. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the Chrau area once extended to Saigon, so the Chrau form is probably derived from a Khmer form that had s rather than n in the presyllable.

#### NORTHEAST SECTION

For convenience of description we will call the 'northeast section' that part of the Chrau area bounded roughly by Vố Dắt, Tánh Linh, Đá Mài, Highway 1 to Xuân Lộc, northeast again to the Langa River. This comprises essentially the area of the Jro Tôm Ca, Jro Nchar, Jro Ca-i, and Chawan clans. The Jro area is considered by many people to be the true home of the Chrau and the place where the purest Chrau language is spoken. It is also by far the largest of the clan areas, so that many Chrau use Jro as the name for the whole ethnic group.

#### MOUNTAINS AND HILLS (gũng)

Gũng Char (Vn. Núi Chúa Chan). The highest mountain (837 m.) in the Chrau area. char is also used of a huge lone elephant, and of the huge rice paddies near Bảo Chánh. Note the  $r \rightarrow n$  sound shift. The source of the Chúa is not clear.

Gũng Tambong (Vn. Núi Con). A small hill 1 km. NW of Gia Ray.

Gũng Cang (Vn. Núi Hầm). A hill 1 km. N of Gia Ray.

Gũng Raq (Vn. Núi Lá?). A twin-peaked hill 1 km. NE of Gia Ray, the source of the Daq Sivr River. raq (Vn. lá buông) 'latenier palm'.





Gũng Gle (Vn. Núi Le). gle 'small bamboo'. Vn. lacks a gl- cluster, so gl  $\rightarrow$  l. A hill just N of Highway 1, 3 km. E of the Gia Ray junction.

Gũng Glăq (Vn. Núi Le). The smaller peak of Gung Gle.

Gũng Gate (Vn. Núi Gõ). Unidentified.

Gũng Long (Vn. Núi Chồn). Unidentified.

Gũng Krai (Vn. Núi Chồn). Unidentified.

Gũng Krênh (Vn. Núi Chồn). Unidentified.

Gũng Hôk (Vn. Núi Hôk). A hill halfway between Trần Tao and Highway 1. No change in name.

Gũng Con Sôh (Vn. Núi Võ Đất). No apparent connection between the Chrau and Vn. names. Võ Đất is apparently derived from the town Võ Đất at its foot.

Gũng Grao (Vn. Núi Grao, Núi Rao). Two hills halfway between Gia Huynh and Đá Mài on the Long Khánh-Bình Tuy border. The Chrau distinguish them as Grao Mê and Grao Con (mê 'mother', con 'child'). Grao has no meaning. Vn. lacks a gr- cluster, so gr  $\rightarrow$  r.

Gũng Săq iěr (Vn. Núi Sương Gà). Unidentified, N of Highway 1, E of the Long Khánh-Bình Tuy border. iěr (gà) 'chicken'; the shift from săq 'body, name' to sươg (xươg 'bone'?) is unexplained.

#### RIVERS AND STREAMS (daq)

*The Upper Daq Nlê System.*

Daq Nlê (Vn. Sông Đồng-Nài, Sông La Nga). Flows from E of Tánh Linh to Biên Hòa and Vũng Tàu. It forms the northern and eastern boundary of the Chrau area.

Daq Vrêl, Vrêch (Vn. Suối Rết). Flows from Xuân Lộc, E then N into the Daq Nlê. Vn. lacks a vr- cluster, so vr  $\rightarrow$  r.

Phong Mơ Jikwar. A small stream flowing from Mơ Jikwar (S of Bảo Chánh) NW into D. Vrêl.

Daq Mơ Măq. Presumably a stream flowing through Mơ Măq into D. Vrêť.

Daq Ca-Ýť (Vn. Suối Gia Ích). Flows from Xuân Lộc NE, joining D. Vrêť near Tho Vực. Chr. Ýť → Vn. ich [Ýť].

Daq Glao (Vn. Suối Gia Lao). Flows from Gũng Char NW under Cầu Gia Lao bridge, and into D. Vrêť near Tho Vực. A branch, Glao Con, flows from Gũng Char, past Sờ Ga-âm, then E into Glao Mê. The Vn. Gia apparently reflects Daq, and gl → l. glao 'large bamboo'.

Daq Simrong (Vn. Suối Yon, Suối Tăm Rong). Flows from 5 km. NE of Xuân Lộc, NE into D. Vrêť N of Tho Vực. Chrau presyllables are unstable, so that the second Vn. name might well represent a local Chrau variant Tamrong.

Daq Tong Sung (Vn. Suối Đầu Rìu). A tributary of D. Simrong, flowing SE into it from Mơ Tong Sung, 5 km. E of Tho Vực.

Daq Machic, Machit (Vn. Suối Con). Northernmost tributary of D. Simrong, flowing E into it.

Daq Ramvăch (Vn. Suối Con). Three linked streams (Ramvăch Mê, Ramvăch Ntu, Ramvăch Con) flowing E into D. Vrêť from S of Gũng Sipiċ.

Daq Rây (Vn. Suối Gia Ray). Flows from Gũng Char at Gia Ray, N into D. Nlê. Vn. Gia reflects Daq, and Rây was changed to Ray.

Talũng Klăp Candaq. A deep hole in the Daq Rây river 5 km. NW of Gia Ray. candaq 'crow'. There is said to be a tunnel leading from it to D. Nlê.

Daq Por (Vn. Suối Cơm). Flows N from Gũng Char, approaching the highway in Gia Ray, then N into D. Rây. por is 'soup' in most Chrau dialects, including the Gia Ray area dialect, but is 'rice' (Vn. cơm) in some southern dialects. In central Chrau compounds, however, por is sometimes equivalent to Vn. cơm, as in vran por (Vn. trũng cơm) 'angleworm'.

Daq Plõh Vữr (Vn. Suối Dái Bò). Flows NE from Gũng Char, joining D. Rây just N of Gia Ray. (Vn. dái bò 'bull testicles', Chrau plõh vữr 'gaur testicles').

Daq Ca Rạch (Vn. Suối Con). Flows N from Gũng Tambong (1 km. NW of Gia Ray) into D. Rây.

Daq Talo (Vn. Suối Cát). Talo Mê flows N from Gũng Char into D. Rây. A smaller tributary, Talo Con, flows into Talo Mê on the east side.

Daq Jrang (Vn. Suối Chà Rang). Flows into D. Rây on the W (E?) side, due E of Tho Vực. Vn. lacks j, so j → ch.

Daq Pai Vۆq (Vn. Suối Ba Giố). Flows N into the Nlê between D. Rây and D. Ranga. Vn. lacks p-, so p → b; -i merged with gi-; v, like Vn. v, → [y]; and Vn. lacks final glottal stop, so q → (high tone).

Daq Ranga (Vn. Suối Me). Flows N into the Nlê between D. Pai Vۆq and D. Hợp. ranga (Vn. me) 'sesame'.

Daq Simrông (Vn. Suối Bào Sinh). Unidentified but apparently different from Daq Simrong above. Connected with Tanlô Simrông? (Same as D. Ramväch, flowing into D. Ranga?)

Daq Caweng (Vn. Suối Gia Hùynh, Dar K'Hunh). Two branches, one rising halfway between Gia Hùynh and Suối Kiết, the other rising 10 km. N of Gia Hùynh, flowing W and joining not far from the Nlê, then emptying into the Nlê. The second name is apparently a French adaptation of the Chrau.

Daq Nduq (Vn. Suối Cha). Flows from halfway between Gia Ray and Bả Sen N into D. Cawêng. No evident connection between the names. With D. Cawêng, it forms the boundary between Palây Jro Ca-i and Palây Jro Nchar.

Daq Uq (Vn. Suối Đất). Flows from 3 km. SW of Trần Tao into D. Nduq. Vn. đất 'earth' for uq 'clay'.

Daq Vryểng (Vn. Suối Ktoul). E. of Gia Ray, flowing N into D. Nduq.

Daq Gatul (Vn. Suối Gáo, Suối Ktoul). Flows N intermittently from the highway, 7 km. NE of Gia Ray, into the southern branch of D. Cawêng. gatul (Vn. gáo) 'a species of tree'.

Daq Gasët (Vn. Suối Chết, Dar Sat). Flows W from 5 km. SE of Võ Đất, then SW into D. Cawêng. Its lower section is confluent with the northern branch of D. Cawêng. Chết shows the shifts s → ch and ẽ → ê.

Daq Nji (Vn. Suối Cây Da, S. Di). Flows W from Bình Tuy into D. Gasët. cây da 'banyan tree' is translated from the somewhat similar sounding jri 'banyan', possibly an avoidance of ji 'sick'. di is a phonological adaptation j → d.

Daq Pajal (Vn. Suối Cây Da). Unidentified. Possibly jal → da (j → [y], l → ∅), or possibly some confusion with Daq Nji. Or possibly the Suối Da that joins D. Cawêng 3 km. NE of Gia Huỳnh.

Daq Sivư (Vn. Suối Cao). Flows N from Gũng Raq (2 km. NE of Gia Ray) to a junction with D. Cawêng near D. Hốp. The connection (if any) between the names is not clear.

Daq Camen (Vn. Suối Ca Mên). Flows N from 3 km. N of Gia Ray into D. Sivư. Chrau e is often close to Vn. ê.

Daq Rõh Poq (Vn. Suối Mỏ, Suối Con). Flows N from 4 km. NW of Gia Ray into D. Sivư, joining it just N of the D. Camen junction. Vn. mỏ is possibly from Mỏ GaMức, a nearby swamp area.

Daq Hốp (Vn. Dar Hốp). Flows N from E of Mỏ GaMức (4 km. NW of Gia Ray) to a junction with D. Cawêng near the Langa. The Vn. name is apparently a French adaptation of the Chrau.

Daq Canach (Vn. Suối Con). Unidentified. D. Swai/Calêu?

Daq Gatăng (Vn. Suối Con). Unidentified.

Daq Pôngngõh (Vn. Suối Con). Unidentified.

Daq Panoch (Vn. Suối Con). Unidentified.

Daq Pagar (Vn. Suối Háp). Unidentified.

Daq Pan'ho (Vn. Suối Con). Unidentified.

Daq Pagap (Vn. Suối Gáp). Unidentified. gap → gáp.

Daq Nđôq (Vn. Suối Khỉ?). Unidentified. dôq, khỉ 'monkey'.

Daq Talũng Ma (Vn. Suối Nhím). Unidentified. sima, nhím 'porcupine'. talũng ma 'porcupine waterhole'.

Daq Gaphe (Vn. Suối Gạo). Unidentified. Vn. name from the main syllable of the Chr. name, phe, gạo 'rice'.

#### *The Daq Uây System.*

Daq Uây (Vn. Suối Gia Uì, Song Oi). Flows E from Gũng Char, then SE into the Sông Dinh near Đá Mài. Daq → Gia, Uâ → u, o.

Daq Sikwêch (Vn. Suối Quết, Gia Quếch). Flows E from Gũng Char, joining D. Uây at the foot of Gũng Char. Southern Vn. lacks a sequence êch, so êch → êt.

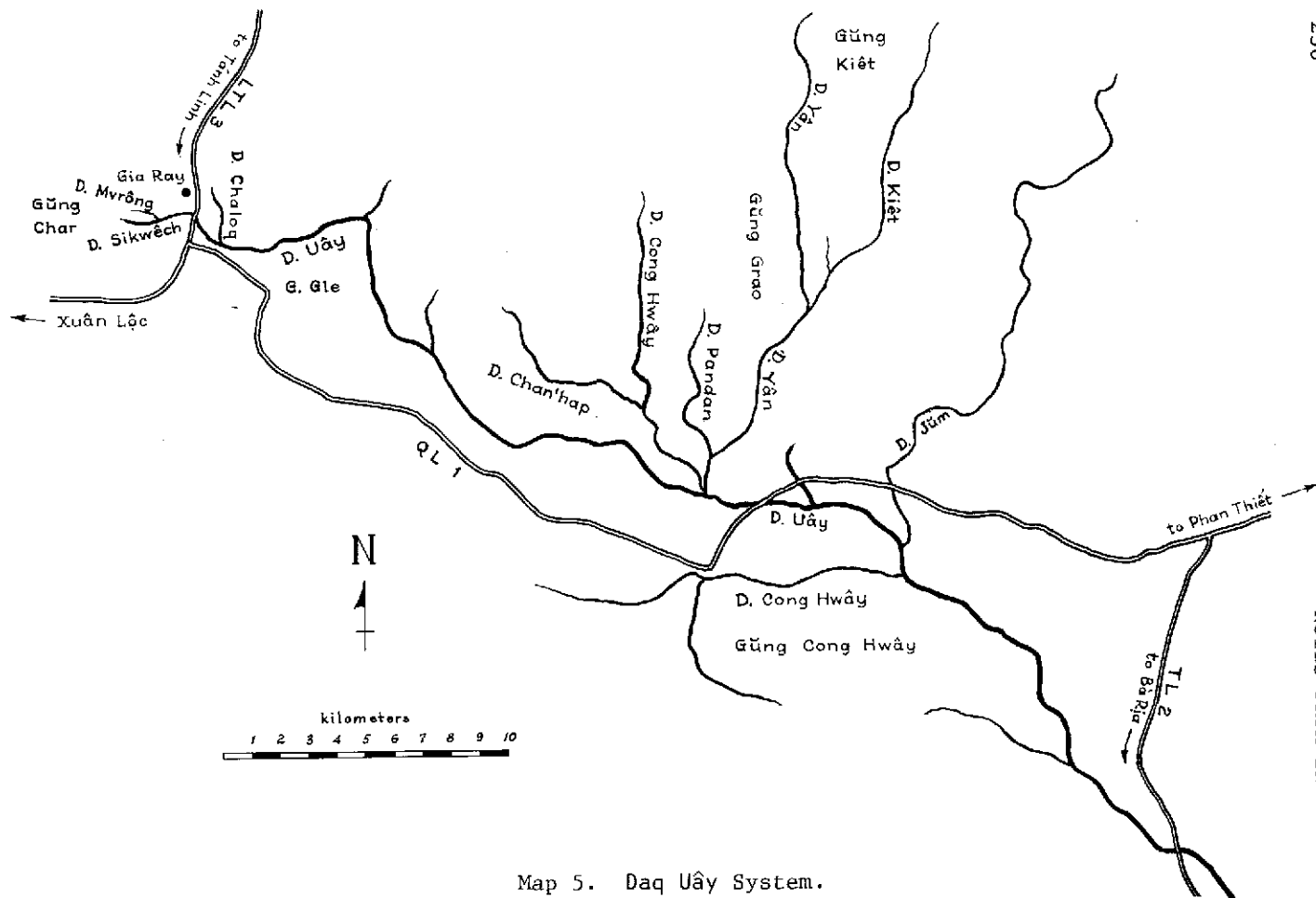
Daq Mvrông (Vn. Suối Con). A rivulet flowing E from Gũng Char, joining D. Uây just E of D. Sikwêch.

Daq Chaloq (Vn. Suối Gia Ló). Flows S from Tanlô Chaloq (2 km. SE of Gia Ray) into D. Uây. Vn. lacks final glottal, so oq → ó.

Daq Nđăch (Vn. Suối Sen). Flows S from Tanlô Nđăch (Bão Sen) into D. Uây.

Daq Vrech, Vřăch. Unidentified, an upstream tributary of Daq Uây.

Daq Yân (Vn. Suối Giêng). Flows S from NW of Suối Kiết into D. Uây. ý → gi is normal Vn. spelling. yâ → giê is not an exact equivalence, but is probably as close as southern Vn. can come. n → ng is probably a southern Vn. confusion of n and ng.



Daq Kiết (Vn. Suối Kiết). Flows S from Núi Kiết, near Suối Kiết, into D. Yên. kiết 'itchy'.

Daq Pandan (Vn. Da Prin Danh, Suối Cát). Flows S from Gũng Grao into D. Yên, joining it just N of the junction with D. Cong Hoi. ri is probably a misreading of written ư, the normal Chrau vowel quality in pan- [p+n]. d → d is unusual for a Vietnamese shift, but would be a normal French transcription. nh is normal southern Vn. spelling for n.

Daq Chan'hap (Vn. Da Chanh Háp). Flows SE from 8 km. S of Trần Tao into D. Cong Hwây.

Daq Cong Hwây (Vn. Suối Công Hôi). Flows S from 4 km. S of Gia Huỳnh into D. Yên near its confluence with D. Uây. wây → ôi.

Daq Cong Hwây (Vn. Suối Gia-ôi). Rises in Gũng Cong-Hwây (Núi Bé) just S of Highway 1, flows E into the confluence of D. Uây and D. Jũm. hwây → ôi.

Daq Jũm (Vn. Sông Dinh). Flows SW from 10 km. N of Sông Dinh, then SE to the sea at Hàm Tân. j → d is a normal correspondence, but the ũm → inh is strange.

Daq Cacat, Tacat (Vn. Suối Cát, Suối Lạnh). Unclear: either the S. Cát flowing S from Núi Xả Dũ into D. Jũm, or the S. Cát flowing from S of Sông Dinh S into D. Jũm. cacat, lạnh 'cold'.

Daq Damvlang, Daq Camvôq Bo (Vn. Suối Đầu Bò). Location in Bình Tuy uncertain. camvôq bo, đầu bò 'cow head'.

Daq Danggư (Vn. Suối Đồi). Bình Tuy, location uncertain. No evident correlation between the names.

Daq Dangyang (Vn. Suối Nhan). Bình Tuy, location uncertain. Vn. has no ngy, but nh is fairly close. Probably one of the two streams flowing S from Núi Giang Lớn across Highway 1 into D. Uây.

Daq Cop. Bình Tuy, location uncertain. Names for the many turtles in it. cop 'turtle'.



## PONDS AND PADDY AREAS

Mở Tamăn Char, Mở Trăm Đồng (Vn. Đồng Bảo Chánh). Large marshy paddy area immediately S of Bảo Chánh. mở 'rice paddy' tamăn 'open area'. Char may be derived from Gũng Char right beside it, or both may mean 'huge' (see under Gũng Char). Vn. lacks -r, so r → nh.

Mở Jikwar. Paddy area S of Mở Tamăn Char. The source of Daq Mở Jikwar.

Mở Sỉe. Paddy area S of Mở Jikwar and N of Daq Calêu. The source of Daq Mở Sỉe.

Mở Mphu (Vn. Ruộng Âm-phủ). Paddy area between Daq Vrết and the railroad track, just W of Bảo Chánh. m → am.

Mở Cầu. Paddy area in Palây Chawan just S of the railroad, NW of Ôn Cung.

Mở Sa Jưỉ. Paddy area S of D. Ca-it. sa jưỉ 'eat barking deer'.

Sở Ga-âm. Plantation 3 km. NE of Bảo Chánh. so probably from Vn. sở 'place of work'. Ga- is a name prefix, so Âm is very likely the name of someone originally connected with the plantation.

Mở Pãnh Cop (Vn. Ruộng Lớn Tho Vực). Paddy area 2 km. NNE of Tho Vực. pãnh cop 'shoot turtle'.

Tanlô Rao Răm (Vn. Bàu Con). A pond 1 km. N of Gia Ray. tanlô 'pond', rao răm 'wash field'.

Tanlô Simrông (Vn. Bàu Sinh). A pond near D. Ranga and D. Sivr.

Mở GaMức (Vn. Ruộng Múc). Paddy area between D. Rõh Poq and Ntu Ramvách, 4 km. N of Gia Ray. Ga- is probably the name prefix, so Múc was probably a person originally connected with the area.

Mơ (Tanlô) Chaloq (Vn. Bàu Gia-ló). A marshy area 2 km. SE of Gia Ray, and the source of D. Chaloq. cha → gia, loq → ló.

Mơ (Tanlô) Nđăch (Vn. Bàu Sen). A marshy area E of Gia Ray, and the source of D. Nđăch.

Ntu Dangvêh. A semilegendary well, said to have been dug long ago by the Sudiêng, near D. Nlê between D. Hốp and D. Ranga.

Ntu Ramvách. A well near the confluence of D. Ramvách Mê and D. Ramvách Ntu.

Tanlô Chăp Maih. Unidentified. chăp maih 'golden egg'.

Tanlô Rêh (Vn. Bào Mây). Unidentified. rêh, mây 'rattan'.

Tanlô Ca-ai (Vn. Bào Ca-ai). Unidentified.

Mơ Măq (Vn. Ruộng Lớn). Paddy area across the river from Mơ Mphu, E of Bão Vĩnh. mắq, lớn 'large'.

Mơ Cala (Vn. Ruộng Tre). Paddy area on both sides of Daq Ca-ít, 4 km. WNW of Bão Chánh. cala, tre 'bamboo'.

Mơ Sa Jưi (Vn. Ruộng Trạng Đồng). Paddy area E of D. Vrêr near Tho Vực. sa jưi 'eat barking deer'.

Mơ Jăng Khla (Vn. Ruộng Lắc Chiếu). Paddy area in Palây Chawan on both sides of Daq Ca-ít, 2 km. NNW of Bão Vĩnh B. jăng 'foot'.

Mơ Tong Sung (Vn. Ruộng Đầu Rìu). Paddy area 6 km. NW of Bão Chánh. tong sung 'axe handle', đầu rìu 'axe head'. Daq Tong Sung flows through it.

Mơ Tung Moq, Dung Moq (Vn. Ruộng Gia Mố). A paddy area near Bão Chánh, N of D. Simrong, just E of Mơ Tong Sung. Apparently the original name tung moq 'carry bark' became weakened to dungmoq; the Vn. then substituted gia for the presyllable as in other names, and a sắc tone was substituted for -q.

Mơ Cảnh, Canh (Vn. Ruộng Trầm). Paddy area S across D. Simrong from Mơ Tong Sung and Mơ Dung Moq, 5 km. NW of Bả Chánh.

Mơ Trao. Paddy area 5 km. NW of Tho Vực. trao 'a tuber'.

Mơ Tamăn Jrũng (Vn. Ruộng Bả Vinh A). Paddy area near Bả Vinh A.

#### SOUTHEAST SECTION

In the Southeast Section we include everything south of Highway 1 in Biên Hòa, Phước Tuy, Long Khánh, and Bình Tuy provinces. This area is divided among many small groups and clans, whose dialects are fairly close to Jro speech.

#### MOUNTAINS AND HILLS

Gũng Jrwống (Vn. Núi Mây Tào). A large mountain (704 m.) near the Long Khánh-Phước Tuy-Bình Tuy border, second in importance only to G. Char. jrwống is the name of a strong rattan found in the area, and Vn. mây tào is a translation of this. The mountain is also occasionally referred to as Gũng Rễh 'rattan'.

Gũng Cong-hwây, Gũng Vacăh (Vn. Núi Bê). A large mountain (874 m.) just E of G. Jrwống, named for the Cong-hwây River (Suối Gia Ổi) that rises in it and circles around the north side of it. It is higher than G. Jrwống, but doesn't seem as important to the Chrau; perhaps it is on the fringe of the Chrau area. There is no apparent connection between the Chrau and Vn. names for it.

Gũng Camhâr. An unidentified hill or mountain in central Bình Tuy.

Gũng Pachăh Nggan (Vn. Núi Bể, Núi Bê Bắc, Núi La Minh). A mountain (324 m.) S of Suối Cát. Bể 'broken' is a partial translation of pachăh nggan 'broken dish'. Bắc is probably a SVn. pronunciation of Vn. bát 'dish', or perhaps a Chrau pronunciation of the Vietnamese, also dropping the tone ~ on bê. The history behind the Chrau name is unknown.

Gũng Grong. A hill (189 m.) in Palây Vrêr (S of Suối Cát) near the junction of D. Calêu and D. Vangmang (Glao Mang?).

Gũng Glang (Vn. Núi Đất). A hill (161 m.) between Mơ Vrêt and Daq Calêu, opposite D. Vongchong and D. Swai.

Gũng Gavô (Vn. Núi Mấu, Núi Trà Vô). A hill (209 m.) S of Suối Cát. Trà Vô is clearly derived from Gavô; the pre-syllable in Chrau words is often unstable, so Vietnamese explorers may have been given a form with something other than ga-, though tra is not a permitted Chrau presyllable. The huyền tone on trà is the normal reflex of a Chrau pre-syllable with its de-emphasized lowered pitch (Thomas 1971: 59). And the Vn. v (y) for Chr. v (lenis b) is interesting.

Gũng Vađang. A hill in Palây Dijô, unidentified.

Gũng Glao (Vn. Núi Nứa). A hill (152 m.) S of Quang Giao in Xã Bình Giã, Phước Tuy. glao, nứa 'large bamboo'.

Gũng Yang (Vn. Núi Nhân). A hill (184 m.) W of Quận Đức Thạnh. The Vn. form could be derived from the meaning of yang 'spirit', if the Vn. form may be assumed to have been originally nhang 'joss stick'. But perhaps it is easier just to take it as a deformation of the Chrau form, with y → ñ and ng → n [ŋ].

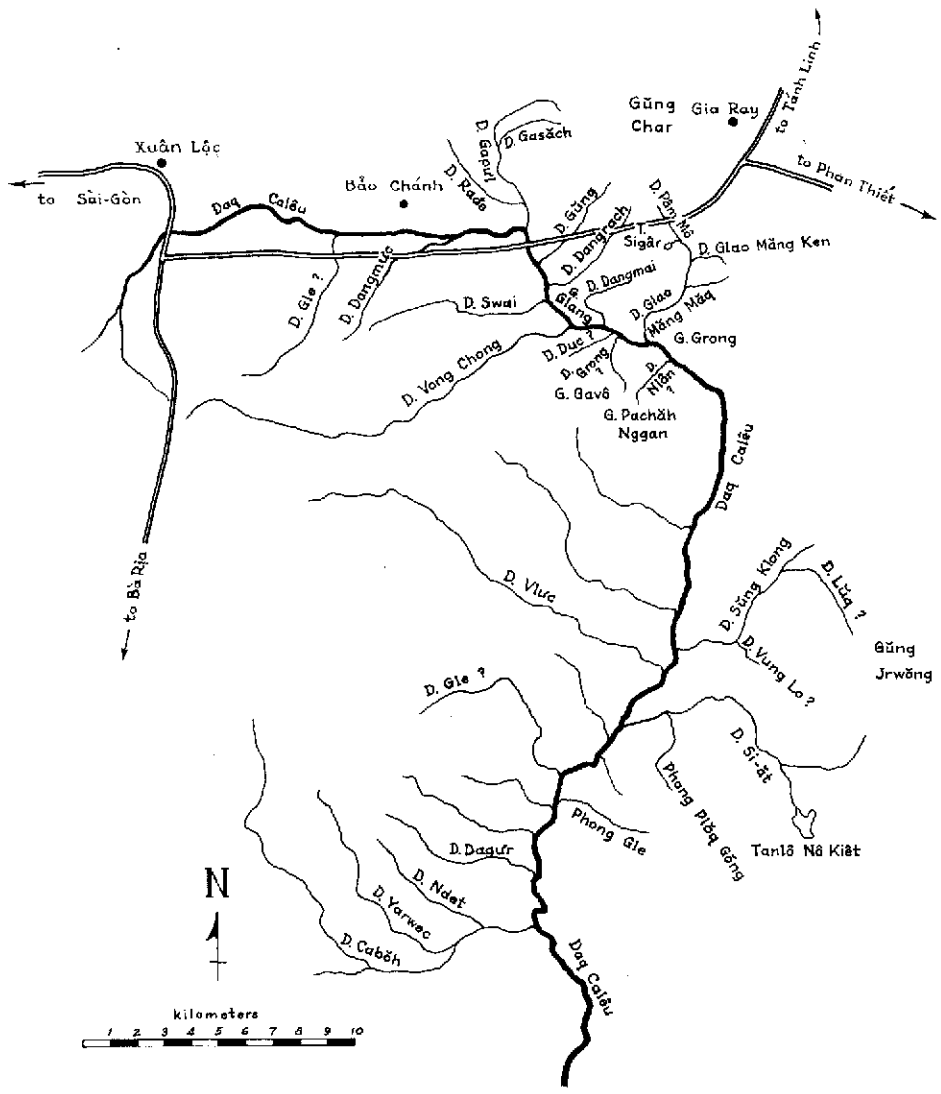
Gũng Prho (Vn. Núi Đỏ). Phước Tuy. The Vn. is a straight translation of prho 'red'.

Gũng Uq (Vn. Núi Nghê). A mountain (203 m.) N of Bà Rịa called uq because the Ji-uq River rises near it and flows by it.

#### RIVERS AND STREAMS

##### *The Daq Calêu System.*

Daq Calêu (Vn. Suối Gia Lâu, Sông Ray). Rising S of Xuân Lộc, flows E through Ôn Cung, near Suối Cát, then S through Phước Tuy to the ocean. The Gia could reflect either the Daq of the Ca-. This is the southern boundary of Palây Chawan, and the main river in the southeastern area. Streams in the eastern end of the area flow into the D. Uây-Sông Dinh, while in the western end, several flow into the lower Đồng Nai River.



Map 6. Daq Calêu System.

Daq Gle (Vn. Suối Lế). Flows N across Highway 1 into D. Calêu between Bả Định and Ôn Cung.

Daq Dangmức (Vn. Suối Đứng Một). Flows N across Highway 1 into D. Calêu E of Ôn Cung. The main stream, Dangmức Mê, is fed by a smaller stream Dangmức Con. It is difficult to decide which language was the source of the name, as -ức is extremely rare in native Chrau words, but neither is Vn. đứng một obviously meaningful.

Daq Gapul (Vn. Suối Môn Côm). Flows S into D. Calêu from E of Bả Chánh, fed by D. Rađe and D. Gasêch. The source of the Vn. (French?) name is uncertain.

Daq Gasêch, Gasăch (Vn. Suối Sách, Suối Muồng). This is the northernmost tributary of D. Gapul, flowing W from Gũng Char. Chr. sách [săč] is phonetically equivalent to NVn. sach [săč].

Daq Rađe, Daq Mớ Siđe. This is a southern tributary of D. Gapul, flowing E from Mớ Siđe (S of Bả Chánh).

Daq Gũng (Vn. Suối Gia Gung). Flows from G. Char SW across Highway 1 into D. Calêu. Vn. lacks ỷ, so ỷ → u.

Daq Năh Tũng (Vn. Suối Na Tung). This is a small stream in Palây Vrêt, flowing from G. Char across Highway 1 into D. Calêu. Vn. lacks final -h.

Daq Simwôt (Vn. Suối Đa). Unidentified. Below D. Dangrach, flows W into D. Calêu. No apparent connection between Chrau and Vn. names.

Daq Dangrach, Singrach (Vn. Suối Cát). Flows S from G. Char across Highway 1 at Suối Cát and then westerly into D. Calêu.

Daq Swai (Vn. Suối Sai, Suối Cát). Flows E into D. Calêu, S of Highway 1, and forms Vangôt-Vrêt boundary. Some southern Vn. dialects lack sw-, so sw → s.

Daq Canach? (Vn. Suối Gia Nach). The westernmost tributary of D. Swai?

Daq Dangmai, D. Damai (Vn. Suối Đồng Mai). Flows W below and through Mơ Vrêt into D. Calêu.

Daq Vongchong (Vn. Sông Vong). Flows E through Mơ Vangôt into D. Calêu S of D. Swai.

Daq Duc. A small stream in Vangôt, flowing E into D. Calêu S of D. Vongchong.

Daq Grong (Vn. Suối Rôn). Flows E into D. Calêu S of D. Duc in Vangôt. Vn. has no gr-, so gr  $\rightarrow$  r, and Vn. -n is [ŋ], so ng  $\rightarrow$  n.

Daq Nlôn. Small stream in Vangôt flowing E into D. Calêu.

Daq Pâm Mô (Vn. Suối Đá). Flows from G. Char SE across Highway 1, then into D. Glao Măng. Mô is possibly from tamô (Vn. đá) stone. May be from pâm tamô 'hit stone'.

Daq Glao Măng Măq (Vn. Suối Gia Măng). Flows S from G. Char, across Highway 1, then somewhat southwesterly into D. Calêu. Gia is apparently a substitute for glao.

Daq ũng Yơ (Vn. Suối Ông Dư). A stream S of D. Glao Măng Ken, flowing W into D. Pâm Mô. The Chrau name is unusual in that it is two words and has no meaning, but the Vn. name is quite ordinary, so I assume the Chrau name was borrowed from the Vietnamese (the shifts would be regular).

Daq Glao Măng Ken. A small stream, rising S of the Gia Ray intersection on Highway 1, flows a short distance W into D. Pâm Mô.

(Vn. Suối Sáp). Flows from G. Gavô S then E into D. Calêu.

(Vn. Suối Sách). Flows from E of Câm Tiêm E into D. Calêu.

Daq Sũng Klong (Vn. Sông Trong). Flows from G. Jrwǒng W into D. Calêu. Vn. lacks ũ and kl, so ũ  $\rightarrow$  ô and kl  $\rightarrow$  tr. sông 'river' is obviously semantically fitting. Phonologically, it could have been borrowed either direction, but since this stream is small, sông is probably not original.

Daq Vung Lo. Small stream flowing into D. Sũng Klong.

Daq Lũq. Small stream flowing from W of Gũng Jrwǝng into D. Sũng Klong.

Daq Vlục (Vn. Suối Lú). Flows E from Cãm Tiêm into D. Calêu. Vn. lacks vl-, so vl → l. The reason for the ư → u shift is not clear, as Vn. has -ức.

Daq Si-ặt (Vn. Suối Bà Lú, Suối Sa Ác). Flows NW from Tanlô Nô Kiêt in NE Phước Tuy into D. Calêu. The first Vn. name seems unconnected. The second is clearly derived from the Chrau, with the neutralized presyllable vowel i [i~ə~a] becoming a fully syllabic ə, since Vn. is monosyllabic. The reason for the ặt → ác shift is not clear.

Phong Plǝ̣q Gong. Small stream in Vôqtwaq, flowing N into D. Si-ặt.

(Vn. Suối La Hoa). Flows E into D. Calêu, junction just S of D. Si-ặt. I was unable to get the Chrau name for it.

(Vn. Suối Chàm). Flows NW into D. Calêu in Vôqtwaq. I was unable to get the Chrau name for it.

Daq Gle? (Vn. Suối Lé). Flows from NE of Cãm Mỹ E into D. Calêu.

Phong Gle (Vn. Suối Lé). Flows W from N of Thừa Tích into D. Calêu. It is not clear whether this is basically a lexical or a phonological equivalence. le 'small bamboo' would be a translation of Chrau gle, but gl → l and e → é would also be natural phonological shifts.

Daq Mpra. Small stream below D. Le. Flows into D. Calêu?

Daq Tanho. A stream N of D. Dagũr. Flows into D. Calêu?

Daq Dagũr (Vn. Suối Sao). Flows E from Núi Sao into D. Calêu. dagũr, sao 'a hardwood tree'.

Daq Cabǝ̣h (Vn. Suối Tầm Bó). Flows S from near Cãm Mỹ to near Bình Giã, then E into D. Calêu. The low tone and short vowel of Tầm match the low tone and short vowel of the pre-syllable Ca, t-ǝ̣ shifting in Chrau pre-syllables is not uncommon; Vn. must separate into two words and must add a



final consonant after the short vowel, of which m would be most natural before b. High tone for h is expected. In short, there is close phonological equivalence between the names.

Daq Yarwec (Vn. Suối Youert). Flows S from Núi Lé into D. Cabôh. The Vn. name is apparently a French transcription of the Chrau name.

Daq Khlim. Small stream; flows into D. Yarwec (?).

Daq Nđê (Vn. Suối Gia Hoét). Flows from Núi Sao SE into D. Cabôh. The et in the two names matches, but the rest doesn't match.

Daq Mvul (Vn. Suối Re). In N Phước Tuy. Flows into D. Calêu (?).

Daq Đar. S of D. Mvul. Flows into D. Calêu (?).

Daq Vit (Vn. Suối Langa). Flows into D. Calêu (?).

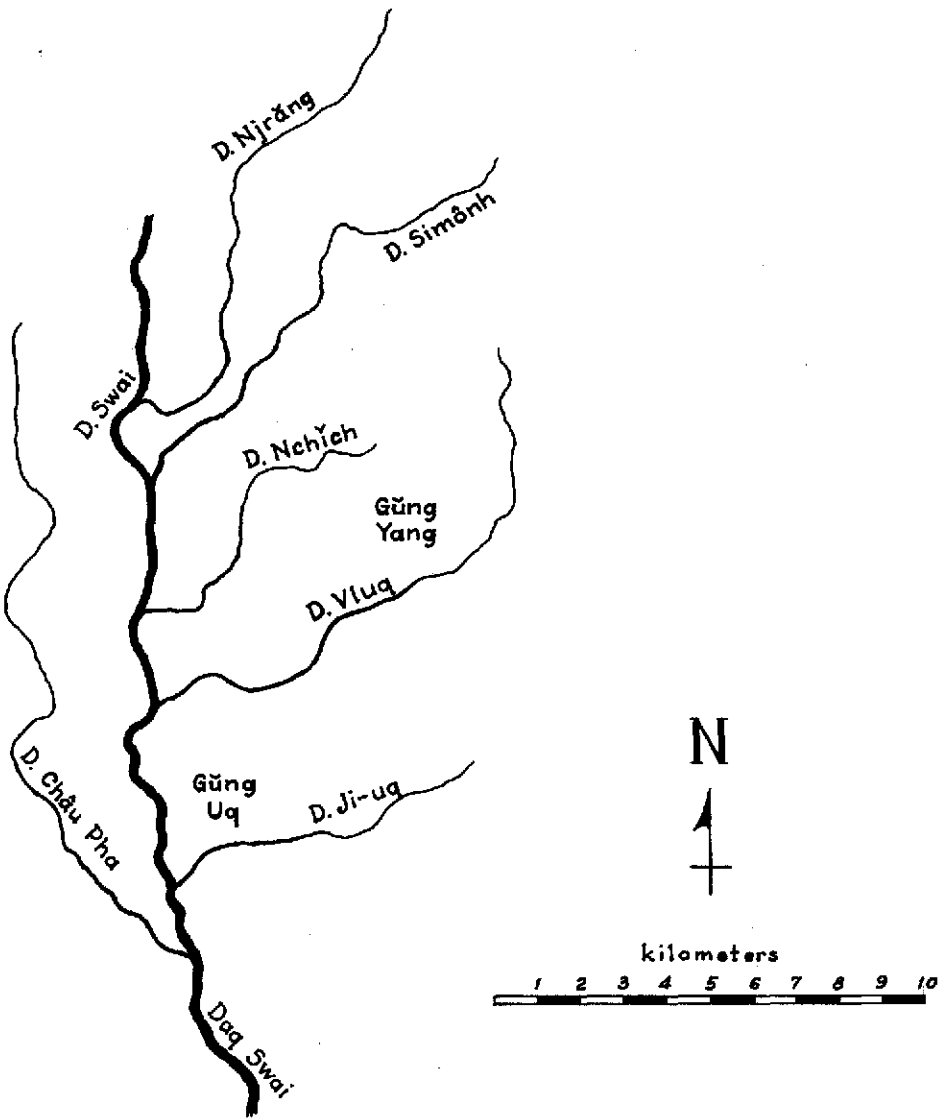
Daq Jri (Vn. Suối Sao). Unidentified. May be the same as D. Dagư.

#### *The Daq Swai System.*

Daq Swai (Vn. Suối Xoài, Sông Ca, Sông Sai, Sông Dinh). The major river in western Phước Tuy, flowing through Bà Rịa. Xoài and Sai are both variants of Swai. Chrau s varies between [s] (Vn. x) and [ʃ] (Vn. s); some dialects of Vn. lack sw.

Daq Njư (Vn. Suối Chá Răng). Flows SW from W of Đồn Điền Courtenay into D. Swai. I expect Chá should properly be Chà, reflecting the low pitch on Chrau presyllables. Vn. lacks j, so j → ch.

Daq Simôn (Vn. Suối Xà Môn). Flows SW from N of Ấp Cự Bị into D. Swai. Chr. s [s] is equivalent to Vn. x. The pre-syllable vowel shows the same shift as in D. Sĩ-ất, discussed above. Vn. lacks ônh, so nh → n.



Map 7. Daq Swai System.

Daq Nchĩch, Daq Nchit (Vn. Suối Tít). Flows from S of Ấp Cự Bì into D. Swai. Vn. lacks prenasals, and ch → t is fairly close, though both languages have both phonemes.

Daq Vluq, Vluc, Vruc? (Vn. Suối Lup, Suối Đá Đen). Flows SW from just E of Quận Đức Thạnh into Daq Swai. Vn. lacks vl so vl → l. One would normally expect Vn. c for Chrau q, but the apparent confusion in the names Lúp and Lút (a small tributary) indicates that the transcriber heard a stop phoneme that he couldn't identify.

Daq Châu Pha (Vn. Suối Chau Pha). Rises on the Phước Tuy-Biên Hòa border and flows SE into D. Swai. The name is identical in both languages, but the form seems more typically Vietnamese than Chrau.

Daq Ji-uc (Vn. Suối Soui). Flows W into D. Swai S of G. Uq. No apparent connection between the names.

Others.

Daq Sốc (Vn. Suối Sốc). Flows SE from E of Cầm Mỹ into Sông Cá. Exact phonological equivalents (plus the necessary high tone before a final stop).

#### PONDS AND PADDY AREAS

Tamăn Gavô. Just S of Highway 1 in Palây Tơmraq, about 7 km. W of the Bình Tuy border.

Dâr Cavlúng (Vn. Trang ?) A fertile forested area between Daq Glao Măng Măq and Tanlô Sigâr (SE of Gũng Char).

Tanlô Tagư (Vn. Bàu Sao). A pond E of D. Ủng Yơ and S of Highway 1. tagư, (dagur), sao 'a hardwood tree'.

Tanlô Sigâr (Vn. Bàu Trống). A pond S of the intersection on Highway 1 near Gia Ray. Its outlet flows NE just a short distance into D. Pâm Mô just above the D. Glao Măng Ken confluence. sigâr, trống 'drum'.

Tanlô Meo (Vn. Bàu Mèo). Unidentified. meo, mèo 'cat'.

Tanlô Ntui (Vn. Hồ Mướp). Unidentified.

Tanlô Jun (Vn. Bau Nai). Unidentified. jun, nai 'deer'.

Mơ Vangôt (Vn. Ruộng La-Minh). Paddy area S of Suối Cát, near D. Calêu. The center of the Vangôt clan area. No apparent connection between the names.

Mơ Vrêl, Mơ Dangmai (Vn. Bảo Liệt). Paddy area just S across D. Calêu from Mơ Vangôt. The center of the Vrêl clan area. Vn. lacks vr- and br-, so the single syllable becomes disyllabic, and r → l.

Tanlô Nô Kiêt (Vn. Bàu Ngứa). Pond in Phước Tuy 5 km. NE of Thừa Tích, the source of D. Si-ăt. kiêt, ngứa 'itchy'. The form nô kiêt would lead one to expect that both words have meaning, but I know no meaning for nô, and Vn. has dropped it.

Tamăn Nô Kiêt (Vn. Bàu Hàm). Marshy area W and S of Tanlô Nô Kiêt.

Mơ Vồh (Vn. Bà Rịa). (vồh 'salt') There is no apparent connection between the names.

#### NORTHWEST SECTION

The northwest section is that part of the Chrau area generally west of Đaq Vrêl (Vn. Suối Rết), south and east of Đaq Nlê (Vn. Sông Là Nga, Sông Đồng Nai), and north of Highway 1. Túc Trững and Bình Lộ̃c are the main Chrau centers of this area, and it is sometimes referred to generally as Palây Prâng, though the term Prâng refers properly only to the area just east of Túc Trững. Dialectally this area is somewhat different from the rest of the Chrau area (Thomas 1971:219-222).

#### MOUNTAINS AND HILLS

Gũng Sipĩq (Vn. Núi Sa Bì). A hill between D. Vrêl, D. Canduỗr, and D. Ramvẵch. (sipĩq 'weasel') Vn. has no initial p or final glottal, so p → b and q is lost.

Gũng Padôc, Cadôc (Vn. Núi Đốt). A mountain (248 m. W of Highway 20 just N of Túc Trung. The phonological equivalence is close, dropping the presyllable, d → đ, and southern Vn. transcription of [k] as t.

Gũng Jun, Gũng Vam Vlôr (Vn. Núi Cui). A hill (97 m.) between Highway 20, D. Giao, and the road to Bến Nom. The first Chrau name (jun 'deer') is unrelated to the second (vlôr, cui 'small bear'). The first word (presyllable?) is dropped in the Vn. name.

Gũng Yayông (Vn. Vĩ Đông). A mountain (236 m.) midway between Gia Tân and Cây Gạo. If the đ is a printing error for d, then there is close correspondence between southern Vn. and the Chrau.

Gũng Paglơ, Payglơ. Apparently the hilly area 3 km. W of G. Klăn, the source of D. Nwa.

Gũng Nwa. Small hill (75 m.) 4 km. NW of G. Klăn.

Gũng Klăn (Vn. Núi Trần). A mountain (225 m.) beside Highway 20, halfway between Túc Trung and D. Nlê. Probably Trần is a printing error for trăn. klăn, trăn 'python'.

Gũng Canach (Vn. Núi Tăm Rong). Unidentified. canach 'puddle'.

Gũng Goq (Vn. Núi Điếu). Unidentified. goq, điếu 'pipe'.

Gũng Catơ (Vn. Núi Trơ Trơ). Unidentified.

Gũng Jong (Vn. Núi Con). Unidentified.

Gũng Sindôc. A mountain (396 m.) between Bình Lộc and Highway 1. The source of D. Sindôc.

Gũng Wiq, Wit (Vn. Núi Dơi). An unidentified hill W of Xuân Lộc. wiq, dơi 'bat'.

#### RIVERS AND STREAMS

All rivers and streams in this section form part of the lower Daq Nlê system.

Daq Canduôr (Vn. Dar Kontour, Suối Con). The main river (Canduôr Mê) flows NE from Mơ Canduôr Mê (SW of Gũng Sipiқ) then NW into D. Nlê. A small tributary (Canduôr Con) flows W into Canduôr Mê near the confluence with D. Nlê. Dar Kontour is apparently a French adaptation of the Chrau form.

Daq Lawa (Vn. Dar Klap, Suối Con). Flows N into D. Nlê just W of D. Canduôr. The Dar Klap (French) name apparently reflects an older or alternate name for the river. It is the western boundary of Palây Jro Ca-ÿt and eastern boundary of Palây Prâng.

Daq N'hap, Daq Cahap (Vn. Suối Háp). Flows N from Xuân Lộc into D. Nlê. It is the western boundary of Palây Chawan. Vn. lacks a n'h cluster, so n'h → h.

Daq Sipiқ (Vn. Suối Chồn). Unidentified. Perhaps a tributary of D. N'hap. sipiқ, chồn 'weasel'.

Daq Pai Vۆq. Flows NE from just N of Ấp Núi Tung (NW of Xuân Lộc) into D. N'hap.

Daq Cala (Vn. Suối Tre). From NW of Ấp Suối Tre, flows NE into D. N'hap. cala, tre 'small bamboo'.

Daq Sindộc, Daq Nhrũng (Vn. Suối Săng Đốc, Dar Yoa). From Gũng Sindộc, flows NE into D. N'hap just above its confluence with D. Tambũng. There was some confusion as to whether this should properly be called Nhrũng, but that there is (or was) a Chrau name something like that is evidenced by the name Dar Yoa. The presyllable sin-saŋ is lengthened to the full syllable săng, d → đ, plus sắc tone.

Daq Tamô Dar (Vn. Suối Đá Ban). Flows NE from Gũng Sindộc into D. Sindộc. tamô dar, đá ban 'bedrock'.

Daq Tambũng (Vn. Suối Tam Bung, Tầm Bung). Flows N from Bình Lộc, then E into D. N'hap. Vn. lacks ữ, so ữ → u. There is normal confusion in rendering the presyllable; tầm is closer than tam to the Chrau sound.

Daq Nhrung (Vn. Suối Gia Rung). The main stream Nhrung Mê rises in Gũng Sindộc, flows N through Bình Lộc and Gia

Kiêm, then turns E into D. Tambúng. A small tributary Nhrung Con also rises in Gũng Sindôc and joins it in Bình Lộc. Vn. lacks nhr, so gia is substituted for nh.

Daq Jruc, Daq Juôc? (Vn. Suối Rúc). Flows S from Túc Trúng into D. Nhrúng. Lacking jr, Vn. drops the j.

Daq Con Chôc. Flows SE from 2 km. NE of Gia Tân into D. Jruc.

Daq Tamô Dar. Small stream from S of Gia Tân flowing E into D. Jruc.

(Vn. Suối Gur). From E of Gia Kiêm, flows N into D. Nhrúng. No Chrau name was obtained, but Gur is very likely the Chrau name, as its form is neither Vn. nor French.

Daq Nlu Ndu, Daq Vôq Ndu (Vn. Suối Lou). From SE of Túc Trúng, flows SE into D. N'hap paralleling the road. Lou is a French spelling of Lu.

Daq Khlong, Daq Vôq Khlong (Vn. Suối Son). Flows E from Gũng Padôc into D. N'hap. ng is written as n in southern Vn.; s is not so readily derivable from khł without assuming that the transcriber wasn't paying very close attention. In terms of historical language shifts khł → s would not be surprising, but in terms of contemporary Chrau and Vietnamese it is surprising.

Daq Jui, Daq Jui Vĩh Chồh (Vn. Suối Dui). Flows E from Gũng Padôc into D. Nlê. vĩ chồh 'snake bite' may commemorate an encounter with a snake. j → d.

Daq Klăn (Vn. Suối Trần). Flows E from Gũng Klăn into D. Nlê. Trần is probably a printing error for Trăn. klăn, trăn 'python'.

Daq Ndi. Unidentified, flows into D. Nlê above D. Njau.

Daq Njau, Njrao (Vn. Suối 30, Suối Búng). From Gũng Klăn, flows N into D. Nlê. No apparent connection between any of the names.

Daq Mlu. Unidentified, a small tributary of D. Njau.

Daq Chanding, Đĩnh, Daq Candeng. From Gũng Paglơ? Tanlô Viseng?, flows NW into D. Nlê.

Daq Chan'ha. Unidentified, above D. Nwa, flows into D. Nlê.

Daq Nwa (Vn. Suối La-wa). From Tanlô Tamcoi near Gũng Paglơ (3 km. W of Núi Trăn), from WNW into D. Nlê. n → l.

Daq Con Krang. Flows SW into D. Nwa.

Daq Gadayh (Vn. Suối Rách, Suối Cha Rung). Flows N from Ấp Đồng Xoài (W of Túc Trưng), then W into D. Nlê. There may possibly be a connection between dayh 'break' and rách 'rip'; otherwise all the names seem unconnected.

Daq Tamô (Vn. Suối Đá). Flows W from Gũng Padôc into D. Gadayh. tamô, đá 'stone'.

Daq Tiêq (Vn. Suối Tịa). Flows NW from the Túc Trưng rubber processing plant into D. Tamô. Northern Vn. has glotalization in its nặng tone, making it a natural equivalent for Chrau q; there are some northern Vietnamese in the area, though Túc Trưng is mainly southern.

Daq Coq (Vn. Suối Cò, Suối Đốt). From 3 km. NW of Gũng Padôc, flows SW into D. Gadayh. coq, cò 'cattle egret'.

Daq Ndrú (Vn. Suối Cha Rung, Suối Đá). From 4 km. NW of Gũng Padoc, flows W into D. Gadayh. There seems to be some confusion in both the Chrau and Vietnamese names, with Ndrú also being applied to D. Tamô, and Cha Rung also being applied to D. Gadayh and D. Padang.

Daq Vumdan. Flows S into D. Ndrú, joining it near the confluence with D. Gadayh.

Daq Hốp (Vn. Suối Con). Flows S into D. Ndrú above D. Vumdan.

Daq Unghiên. Flows S into D. Ndrú above D. Hốp.

Daq Mongcaq. Flows N into D. Ndrú above D. Unghiên.



Daq Padang, Daq Vôi Dang (Vn. Suối Chà Rang). From 3 km. W of Gũng Klăn, flows WNW; then SW into D. Gadayh. Vôi Dang (vôi 'source') is probably the original Chrau name, with vôi shortened to a presyllable va- and then subjected to the p/v presyllable neutralization. If the Vn. name is actually connected to the Chrau, d became r, which is unusual. (Is the name Vumdan also confused with Padang?)

Daq Calê. A tributary of D. Padang, rising 1 km. N of it and flowing W into it.

Daq Ravum (Vn. Suối Con). A small unidentified tributary near the source of D. Gadayh, flowing into it from the S.

Daq Rao Ndu, Daq Gao Ndu. A small unidentified tributary of D. Gadayh, flowing into it from the N below D. Ravum. rao ndu 'wash people'. The g of gao may reflect the velar pronunciation of r around Túc Trưng.

Daq Glao (Vn. Suối Nứa). A small unidentified tributary of D. Gadayh, flowing into it from the S below D. Rao Ndu. glao, nứa 'large bamboo'.

Daq Chaq. Unidentified, probably a tributary of D. Ndu or D. Gadayh. chaq 'demon'.

Daq Sat (Vn. Suối Phèn). Unidentified, near Túc Trưng. sat 'sour'.

Daq Rănm (Vn. Suối Bến Nôm). From W of Già Kiệm, flows NW into D. Nlê. bến 'dock' is substituted for the pre-syllable, probably because its confluence with D. Nlê is a settled area. The ơ → ô shift is unexplained.

Daq Glao, Daq Canach (Vn. Suối Rừng, Suối Tăm Rong). From S of Gũng Vam Vlôr, flows W into D. Rănm in Palây Canach. glao 'large bamboo', canach 'puddle'.

Daq Paldôp. From E of Gũng Vam Vlôr, flows NW, then SW into D. Glao.

Daq Jakim (Vn. Suối Già Kiệm). From 3 km. NW of Gũng Sindôc, flows N into D. Rănm. ja- → gia is a close

phonological equivalence. Some southern Vn. dialects don't distinguish *i* from *iê*.

Daq Camvôq (Vn. Suối Con). Unidentified. camvôq 'head'.

Daq Nggang. Unidentified.

Daq Tanlô Púng. Unidentified. púng 'stomach'.

Daq Tanlô Nggũc. Unidentified. nggũc 'large snail'.

Daq Japhâng. Unidentified.

Daq Gachưr. Unidentified.

Daq Nsôm (Vn. Suối Bào Voi). Unidentified, probably near Bền Nôm, in Palây Nsôm.

Daq Swai (Vn. Suối Đồng Xoài). Unidentified, possibly the stream rising in Palây Swai (Vn. Gia Tân) and flowing NW into D. Rơnm.

Daq Sâng (Vn. Suối Sâng). Unidentified.

Daq Talêi (Vn. Suối Ta Lê). Unidentified.

Daq Jêng Ba (Vn. Suối Giêng Ba). Unidentified. Possibly the Chrau is derived from the Vn., as the Vn. has meaning ('third well') while the Chrau does not.

Daq Uq (Vn. Suối Sét). Unidentified. uq, sét 'clay'.

Daq Nho (Vn. Suối Nho). Unidentified.

Daq Ya (Vn. Suối Tranh). Unidentified. ya, tranh 'thatch'.

Daq Sikiêq (Vn. Suối Đất). Unidentified. sikiêq, đất 'earth'.

Daq Ca Ba (Vn. Suối Ca Ba). Unidentified.

Daq Lawe. Unidentified.

Daq Thăng (Vn. Suối Thăng). Unidentified.

Daq Laweng (Vn. Suối Xăng Quen). Unidentified. la → xăng is unexplained; quen in many southern dialects of Vn. is [weŋ].

Daq Ti Ca-úp. Unidentified. ti 'hand', ca-úp 'centipede'.

Daq Đũh Jun. Unidentified. đũh 'shove', jun 'deer'.

Daq Tanlô Meo (Vn. Suối Bàu Mèo). meo, mèo 'cat'.

#### PONDS AND PADDY AREAS

Mơ Trao. Paddy area S of Gũng Sipi, between the sources of Daq Ramvách Mê and D. Ramvách Ntu.

Mơ Canduôr Mê. Paddy area between D. Canduôr Mê and the source of Daq Ramvách Mê, SW of Gũng Sipi.

Mơ Camvung. Paddy area between Daq Canduôr and D. Lawa, 2 km. S of D. Nlê. camvung 'muzzle'.

Tamăn Sikêch. Cleared area just E of the Canduôr-Nlê confluence.

Mơ Lawa. Large paddy area extending W from the lower part of Daq Lawa.

Mơ Sat. Paddy area near Daq N'hap, 3 km. E of Mơ Canduôr Mê. sat 'sour'.

Mơ Jri. Paddy area just W of Daq N'hap, 1 km. SW of Mơ Sat. jri 'banyan'.

Tamăn Swai (Vn. Ruộng Đồng Xoài). Large paddy area SE of Gia Tân. Named for Palây Swai on the other side of Highway 20.

Tamăn Con Chôc (Vn. Ruộng Chốt). Large paddy area NW of Gia Tân. Southern Vn. t [k] is equivalent to Chrau c.

Tanlô Viseng (Vn. Bàu Trưng). Pond between Gũng Nwa and Daq Nlê, 5 km. NW of Gũng Klăn. Source of Daq Chanding?

Tanlô Tamcoi. Small pond near Gũng Paglơ, source of Daq Nwa.

Tamăn Joi. Large marshy area S of Daq Nwa.

Tamăn (Mơ) Cavêl. Unidentified.

Tamăn Trai (Vn. Ruộng Bàu Voi). Unidentified.

Tamăn Bu Đông (Vn. Ruộng Bù Đồn). Unidentified. The name could have been originally either Vn. or Chrau, but initial b is so rare in native Chrau words that I suspect a Vn. original here.

Tamăn Uây (Vn. Ruộng Lớn). uây, lớn 'large'.

Tanlô Tũng (Vn. Bào Tung). Unidentified.

Tanlô Rach (Vn. Bào Dòi). Unidentified.

Tanlô Vôq Rawěh (Vn. Bào Voi). Associated with Tamăn Trai? rawěh, voi 'elephant'.

Tanlô Gachứr. Unidentified. The source of Daq Gachứr?

Tanlô Pũng. Unidentified. The source of Daq Tanlô Pũng?

Tanlô Nggũc. Unidentified. The source of Daq Nggũc?

Tanlô Japhâng. Unidentified. The source of Daq Japhâng?

Tanlô Jakim (Vn. Bao Gia Kiệm). Unidentified. The source of Daq Jakim (Vn. Gia Kiệm)?

Tanlô Randır (Vn. Bào Bến Nôm). Unidentified. The source of Daq Randır?

Tanlô Rông Gavơ. Unidentified.

Tanlô Ca (Vn. Bàu Cá). Near Bàu Cá. ca, cá 'fish'.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

A few observations may be drawn from the foregoing. A number of streams are called Suối Con 'small stream' or Suối Cát 'sand stream' in Vietnamese. Most of these nonspecific names will probably disappear as more careful naming and map-making progresses (perhaps with the official adoption of some of the Chrau names?).

A Vn. form that appears in many names is gia. In some cases it can be most simply derived from a ja presyllable, as in Jakim → Gia Kiêm, Jacáp → Gia Cấp. Less certain are proposed derivations from a ca or other presyllable, as in Cawêng → Gia Huynh, Calêu → Gia Lêu, Ca-ýt → Gia Ích, Chaloq → Gia Lố, Sikwêch → Gia Quêch, Nhrung → Gia Rung; these have Chrau palatal or velar initials which could conceivably give rise to Vn. gia. In other cases, there is no presyllable at all from which to derive gia, as in Daq Rây → Suối Gia Ray and Daq Gũng → Suối Gia Gung; these possibly reflect a Cham ia 'water, river' (as in the first syllable of Nha Trang), which might have resulted from the early use of Cham guides or interpreters by Vietnamese in the Chrau area. Chrau daq → Vn. da → gia is also possible, but final q usually leaves a Vn. high tone. Other cases are unclear, as in Glao → Gia Lao, Conghway → Gia Ôi, Glao Măng → Gia Măng, and Ndêt → Gia Hoét. It is significant that all names with Gia are of rivers, so that theories based on daq or ia account for all occurrences of gia, while the presyllable theory accounts (neatly) for only half. It is possible that all three factors were at work.

Considerable confusion is evident in the Vn. names transcribed as Bàu, Bâu, or Bao. Most of these names had been filtered through Chrau, French, or English speaking sources in oral or written form. The neutralization of the distinction between huyền and nặng tones is characteristic of all three of these languages, and in some dialects of Vietnamese the distinction between bau and bâu is lost (cf. Hòa's dictionary). Further, the distinction between au and ao is weak in some Vn. dialects, and is totally lost on most French or English speakers. It is, therefore, probable that most of these Vn. names became corrupted in oral or written transmission from original bàu 'pond'.

Presyllables in Chrau tend to be short, open syllables with low pitch. Vn. does not permit short, open syllables, but does tend to retain the openness of such a syllable and low pitch as a *huyền* tone: Tamũm → Cà Mum, Jrang → Chà Rang, Gavô → Trà Vô, Cabõh → Tầm Bó, Simõnh → Xà Môn, Tambung → Tầm Bung, Padang → Chà Rang, and Vajiêng → Bà Giêng. Bà Rịa could fit this pattern too.

Presyllable consonants in Chrau are often variable, as in Tamũm~Dimũm~Camũm, Cacat~Tacat, Dajao~Tijao, Tajô~Dijô, Caqwẽq~Paqwẽq, so it is quite possible that the first syllable of some Vn. names may have been derived from presyllable consonants other than those recorded here.

Final q (glottal stop) tends to be reflected in Vn. as a high, rising (sắc) tone, as in Chaloq → Gia Ló, Dung Moq → Giã Mó, Vôq Twaq → Thanh Tóa; but it is not totally consistent, as in Vluq → Lúp, Lút, and Sipi q → Sa Bì. The rendering of final h varies, giving a mid tone in Nah Tung Na Tung, sắc tone in Cabõh → Tầm Bó, and hỏi tone in Tajăh → Bình Giã.

Other sound shifts include r → n, as in Char → Chan, Sigor → Sài Gòn; and j → d, gi as in Jui → Dui, Dijao → Thối Giao, Vajiêng → Bà Giêng, Nji → Di, Pajăl → Cây Da, Jũm → Đình, Jêng Ba → Giêng Ba, Tajăh → Bình Giã, Jakim → Gia Kiêm. Other sound shifts could be adduced, but these seem to be the most significant ones.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This paper is based upon data gathered by the author while residing in the Chrau area from 1959 to 1973. I am indebted to many Chrau friends who were anxious to help preserve the memory of the Chrau names for these geographical features. Printed maps were also consulted.

<sup>2</sup>Forms in parentheses are usually alternate Chrau forms unless preceded by 'Vn.' to indicate that they represent the corresponding Vietnamese term.

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