

A STUDY OF MONTAGNARD NAMES IN VIETNAM
KHẢO CỨU VỀ TÊN NGƯỜI THƯỢNG TẠI VIỆT-NAM

by

tác giả

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A STUDY OF MONTAGNARD NAMES
IN VIET NAM

As a Michigan State University advisor to the government of Viet Nam and working with the Public Safety Division of the United States Agency for International Development in Saigon, the writer, since June, 1960, has had the advisory responsibility concerning the establishment of a National Identity Card Program. In essence, this encompasses the fingerprinting and photographing of, and issuance of identification cards to, every person 18 years or over living in Viet Nam. It also includes cataloguing, classifying, and filing this vast bulk of information in a Central Identification Bureau located in Saigon.

Upon completion of this population inventory, the Central Identification Bureau will have on file at least 7,000,000 fingerprint and name index cards, making it one of the largest collections of its kind in the world. Sheer volume of this nature creates a great many filing problems. Unless the filed material can be located it is of relatively little value and obviously, in any society, name duplication becomes a very serious problem when it involves such large numbers as these.

Aggravating this problem is the fact that there are a large number of aboriginal people, called collectively "Montagnards", who live in the mountainous jungles of South Viet Nam. About 650,000 of these people must be processed in this program. It was discovered at the outset of the project that Montagnards customarily have only one "given" name, and that of one syllable!

The purpose of this paper is to report on what was found concerning the Montagnard names, and possible solutions to the problems of

indexing and filing these names.

It was first necessary to learn something of the origins, customs, and languages of the Montagnards. The following is a paraphrasing of a brief statement of the origin of the Montagnards as reflected in a report entitled "The Ede (or Rade) Montagnards in the High Plateau of South Viet Nam," published by David A. Nuttle of the International Voluntary Service at BanMeThuot, Darlac Province, 1961.

"The various authorities seem to indicate that most of the tribal groups migrated from greater China although some may have come from the regions near Tibet and Mongolia. In addition, the IndoChina area acted as a funnel in the early movement of people from China area to Malaya, Indonesia, and the South Seas. There is some evidence that there was a reversal in this movement, particularly a return from the various geographic areas of Malaya and Indonesia, establishing relationships between the South Vietnamese tribal peoples and similar groups. Tribal and family groups seem to have remained relatively distinct and apart and have very limited association and contact."

* * *

Some insight into the communication problem may be gained by the following memorandum submitted to the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Saigon in the fall of 1961.

South Vietnam Minority Languages

The minority languages of South Vietnam fall into two main groups: those belonging to the Mon-Khmer language family and those belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian. This does not include the refugees in the south who belong to minority groups in the north. (Northern minorities include also Tai, Muong, Miao-Yao, and Kadai language groups.) Accurate information on these languages is rather meager, so the summary presented below is more of a statement of the progress to date than of final conclusions.

The Malayo-Polynesian languages seem to be a wedge driven into the middle of the Mon-Khmer bloc, indicating that they are probably more recent arrivals in Indochina than the Mon-Khmer languages, probably not more than 3,000 years ago. Their languages at present are

somewhat as follows:

1. Cham. A large group found mostly in the Phanrang-Phanri-Phanthiet area, with others found also scattered through the western provinces and in Cambodia. The eastern and western dialects seem to be slightly different. Dictionary and grammar by Aymonier and Cabaton.
2. Chru (Churu). A fairly small group in southeastern Tuyen Duc province. They are related very closely to the Cham and sometimes call themselves Cham. A small dictionary by Pham-Xuan-Tin.
3. Raglai (Rai, Seyu). A fairly large group found north and south of the Cham, from north of Nhatrang south to Binhtuy. They are also very closely related to the Cham and the Chru. There seems to be a slight difference between the northern and southern dialects. Some areas, at least, are naturally intelligible with Cham.
4. Hroy (Bahnar Cham). A fairly small group in Bindinh and Phuyen provinces. They have sometimes been called Bahnar, but a recent survey by Phillips shows them to be unquestionably Malayo-Polynesian and not Mon-Khmer. They sometimes call themselves Cham.
5. Rade (Ede) (subdialects Mdhur, Adham, Blo, Kodrao, Krung). A large group covering most of Darlac province and part of Khanh Hoa. This is a completely distinct language from any of the foregoing. Small dictionaries of Rade have been published by Pham-Xuan-Tin and by official sources.
6. Jerai. (subdialects Puan, Hodrung, Hrûe). A large group found mostly in Pleiku province, with some in Kontum and Darlac provinces. This is another completely distinct language, though closely related to all the foregoing. Small dictionary by Pham-Xuan-Tin.

Mon-Khmer languages form the bulk of the Indochina languages, Cambodian being their best known member. In south Vietnam the Mon-Khmer languages seem to fall roughly into three groups (very tentative) -- center, Kontum, and south. Koho, Chrao, Mnong, and adjacent languages form the southern group; Halang, Bahnar, Sedang, Rongao, Bonom, Hray, Jarh, and adjacent languages, the Kontum group; and Katu, Pokoh, Tau-Di, Bru, and adjacent languages, the central group.

1. Koho (subdialects Chil, Lat, Tring, Sre, Maa, Rion, Kop). A large group covering most of Tuyen Duc and Lam Dong provinces and large sections of Binh Tuy and Long Khanh. A small dictionary by Dournes and a phonetic analysis by Smalley.
2. Chrao (Ro, Bagieng). A fairly small group found mostly in Long Khanh and Binh Tuy provinces. A small dictionary by Cheon and Mougeot, and further work currently in progress by Thomas.
3. Stieng (Bulo). A large group mostly in Cambodia, but a large group in Phouc Long province in South Vietnam. Small dictionaries by Azemar and by Morera.

4. Mnong (subdialects Nong, Rolam, Presh, Biet). A large group south of the Rade and into Cambodia. A small dictionary of the Biat dialect by Hoeffel.
5. Gar (Mnong Gar, Pnom Gar). A small group found in Darlac and Tuyen Duc provinces. It seems to be distinct from Mnong proper. A dictionary is in preparation by Condominas.
6. Budip (Mnong Diep). A small group in Phouc Long province. Their language is not mutually intelligible with Mnong proper.
7. Bulach. A very small group north of the Budip, and probably quite closely related.
8. Bahnar (subgroups Tolc, Golar, Alakong, etc.). A large group found in Kontum and Pleiku provinces. Dictionaries of the Kontum dialect by Dourisboure and by Alberty and Cuilleminet, with another by Cuilleminet in press, and a small dictionary of the Golar (Pleiku) dialect in preparation by Tin.
9. Halang. A fairly large group found on the Kontum-Laos border.
10. Sedang. A large group covering the northern half of Kontum province.
11. Rongao. A fairly small group living between the Bahnar and the Sedang. They are sometimes classed as either Bahnar or Sedang, but they seem to be quite distinct from both.
12. Bonom (Monom). A fairly small group in eastern Kontum province between the Bahnar, Sedang, and Hray; they are distinct from the Bahnar, but are sometimes called Bahnar.
13. Koyong. A fairly small group said to be living in the mountains north of the Monom, between the Hray and Sedang.
14. Hray (Hre)(Davak). A large group extending from west of Quang Ngai to west of Bongoan, covering most of western Quang Ngai province and a little into Kontum. A small vocabulary by Trinquet.
15. Jeh (Die). A fairly large group living between the Sedang and the Katu, in southwestern Quang Nam province.
16. Kua (Kor, Traw). A fairly small group found between the Jeh and the Hrey in the Trabong-Bongmieu area.
17. Katu (Teu). A fairly large group found north of the Jeh in Quang Nam and Tua Thien provinces, also a few in Laos.
18. Pokoh. A fairly small group found north of the Katu, west of Hue.
19. Tau-pi. A fairly small group northwest of the Pokoh on the Laos border, with many more in Laos.
20. Bru (Kald, Leu, Van Kiu). A fairly large group found north of the

Pokoh and Tau-oi in Quang Tri province, with many in Laos.

* * *

The approximate location of these tribes is indicated on the map, Figure I.

Of interest also in this project is the population of the various tribal groups--a determinant in the complexity of the filing of the name index cards. Set out below is a table prepared by the Summer Institute of Linguistics as to their estimate of the number of persons by language groups. No effort has been made here to relate this list completely to the map and memorandum submitted by the Summer Institute. Also, it is pointed out that these figures relate to the entire population, whereas this project is concerned only with those persons 18 years or over as they are the ones required to carry identification cards.

At any rate, these figures total in round numbers, 2,600,000 people. Using a 25 per cent average for those 18 years or older (the determination of this figure will be discussed later in this paper), gives a total of some 650,000 Montagnards to be processed in the National Identity Card Program. Statistics from the national election in April, 1961, tend to confirm this estimate.

VIET NAM TRIBAL POPULATION

Northern

White and Black Thai	686,000
Nung	80,000
Tho	134,000
Muong	211,000
Nhang	20,000 - 50,000
Meo	97,000
Man	140,000
Lolo	5,000

Lati	unknown but very large
Laqua	"
Kelao	"

Southern

Bru	30,000
Tau-oi	5,000
Poko	10,000
Katu	25,000 - 30,000
Langya	9,000
Bong Mieu	500
Kua	20,000
Jeh	30,000
Hre	100,000
Halang	30,000
Sedang	40,000
Bonom	4,000
Rongao	unknown
Bahnar	250,000
Jerai	200,000
Rade	115,000
Bih	20,000
Muong	15,000
Budip	10,000
Belach	5,000
Gar	10,000
Roblai	20,000
Chru	25,000
Cham	80,000
Koho	100,000 (Koho is really not a tribe but a language group and the tribes that speak this are: Chil, Lat, Tring, Sre, Maa, Hion, Nop.)
Chrao	15,000
Stieng	15,000

* * *

In an effort to solve the technical problems involved in this program, a pilot project was set up in Tuyen Duc province with headquarters in the city of Dalat and the entire provincial populace, including Montagnards, was processed.

The Montagnards did not have an indigenous written language. Language as is currently written has been developed by missionaries such as

those operating under the auspices of the Summer Institute. But, in spite of this and the existence of a few dictionaries, there are virtually no written records of the names of these people. A few births have been recorded in some of the tribal records, but they are so few as to be of little value in this study.

Another problem that was encountered was that of phonetic interpretation. The written Vietnamese is essentially a French phoneticized version of an offshoot of the Chinese language which was developed in the history of Viet-Nam. Likewise, when the French colonial rule was in power, there was little contact permitted between Vietnamese and Montagnards. Therefore, very few Montagnards, particularly those who reached majority during that period, can even speak Vietnamese, the only other language they know being French.

The question arises, therefore, should the names be spelled with phonetic French or phonetic Vietnamese?

Part of the processing procedure in the National Identity Card Program requires that each applicant shall fill out a simple, biographical form. Since virtually all of the Montagnards are illiterate, it was necessary to set up an additional stage in the processing whereby interviewers speaking Montagnard languages obtained and recorded the biographical data. It was hoped that uniform standards of name spellings could be developed so that interviewers could be trained in the uniform application of these standards.

Another factor bearing on this problem is that the Montagnards live in tribes and, even though they have a tribal name, it is not used in everyday relationships. Likewise, the number of tribal names is so relatively limited as to be of little use in an indexing system. For example, in the Koho language group of some 100,000 persons, there are

only five tribal names. Some tribes were found to have a sex classifier which is merely a one or two letter prefix to the given name showing whether the bearer is male or female. In the Koho these were found to be K', Ka', H', and Ha'--all pronounced "Kah." In some tribes K' and Ka' would represent the male, whereas in other tribes it might be vice versa.

Most Montagnard groups are matrilineal; that is, the lineal origin of names is from the mother, whether applied to a boy or a girl. Names do not change at marriage; hence, there are no conjugal family names. With rare exceptions all of the names are of one syllable. There is little interchange among villages and hamlets; the average Montagnard is born and dies in the same place. (See Figure 2, typical Montagnard village.) Re-settlement efforts in the past have not been totally successful inasmuch as the Montagnard does not wish to live away from his birthplace--any move upsets his balance with man, nature, and the universe. His life is essentially one of hunting, fishing, and primitive agriculture, all of which are related to his physical location.

Reference should be made to the phonetic index used in some languages such as Spanish. For example, "Henry" in Spanish may be spelled "Henrique" or "Enrique"--both correct and both pronounced the same in Spanish. Therefore, Spanish names having a similar pronunciation or sound but different spelling are filed together regardless of the differences in the letter arrangement. This filing system, which has certain drawbacks, will have to be considered if standards of spelling of names cannot be developed.

Though not bearing specifically on this name study, some other problems encountered during the processing of the Montagnards may be of interest.

The headquarters of the Lac Dung district, Tuyen Duc province, ¹ located in a village of the same name, is at the point of a wedge-shaped piece of real estate about 50 kilometers across at its largest dimensions. Montagnard tribes are scattered throughout the wedge. To get to the processing station many tribesmen must make a trip of 50 kilometers over very rough country, travel being further complicated by the rainy season during which the identification operation in this district was held. It sometimes required a three to five-day trip in each direction for the villagers to report.

The government provided several hundred kilos of rice weekly to feed these people. In addition, however, the Montagnards brought their chickens, pigs, and dogs and the whole spectacle bore a remarkable similarity to the Indian pow-wows back in the 19th century United States.

The Montagnards, at least in this area, were peaceful, patient, and easy to control. Even if it should start to rain, they would merely pull a piece of home-loomed cloth over their heads and continue to wait patiently in the downpour. This was in contrast to the metropolitan areas where crowding and pushing in the processing lines sometimes created a problem. (See Figures 3-7, photographs of Montagnards being processed.)

The methodology in preparing some basic statistics on the name problem was relatively simple. After the Lac Dung district was completed, one thousand random samples of Montagnard application blanks, or biographical forms, were selected. Each name was recorded on a 3" x 5" index card together with the sex classifier, the name of the hamlet, the name of the village and district from which the individual came. These cards were constantly maintained in alphabetical order as they occurred. When

¹ In Viet Nam the major political subdivisions are the province and the district, roughly comparable to a state and county in the United States.

a name reappeared a separate index card was prepared. In this way, it was possible not only to determine the frequency of the name itself but the frequency wherein a name would appear in the same hamlet and village.

Tabulation of the results of these samples revealed 485 distinct names, which are listed in alphabetical order in Appendix I, Glossary of Montagnard Names, under the column "Koho." Other tribal names are included in this glossary and the connection, methodology, and analysis will be set out hereinafter.

There were ten names which occurred ten or more times in the Koho sample. The greatest number of identically spelled names was that of "Krang," which occurred 41 times with one sex classifier. However, the most complex problem occurred around a total of 47 names spelled variously as "Jang," "Giang," "Yang," and "Yiang," all pronounced the same in the Montagnard tongue. The four spellings are pronounced approximately the same in Vietnamese--roughly "Yang" in English. In an index card collection of some seven million cards filed in strict alphabetical order such variations in spelling would be separated by large areas of file space.

To further illustrate the complexity of this problem, and to offer a possible solution, we might consider these figures specifically relating to Lac Dung district. In this district there are 91 hamlets, 8 villages, and approximately 12,500 Montagnards. Lumping all of the "Yangs" together we find that there are 47 of these names occurring in one thousand samples. Therefore, out of 12,500 there would be some 590 of these names if only the given name is used. However, if we add the 8 village names, we find, by dividing 590 by eight, we have approximately 74 of each "Yang" plus a village name, making a sizeable reduction. If we

then further reduce the problem by adding one of the 91 hamlet names and making another arithmetical division, we have then succeeded in reducing the problem where it is manageable in an index system. A review of the cards disclosed that there was no significant duplication of hamlet and village names.

Therefore, one solution which appears practical from an archives viewpoint, is that the hamlet and village names should be added to the given name on the index cards. There is ample historical precedent for this development of names. The Encyclopedia Britannica defines "name" as "the distinguishing appellation by which a person, place, thing, or class of persons, or things is known." We know from our investigation that there is little movement among these people and they are born, grow up, marry, and die in the same hamlet and village. Vietnamese government officials who deal with these people constantly state that it would be relatively simple to identify an individual by seeking him out according to his given name and the name of the hamlet and village in which he lives. There might be two with identical names, but usually one would be the older or younger and could be identified from available birth data.

Historically again, in our experience, names are constructed from place names, such as "Johnston," the "ton" being the "place of John." Certainly contemporary students would have no trouble identifying "Harry of Independence," or "Jack of Hyannisport." Other means of name construction are by occupation, such as Smith, Taylor, and Miller. Longfellow is typical of a name derived from a nickname. Nicknames are virtually nonexistent among the Montagnards and most of the men have the same occupation--hunting, fishing, and rudimentary farming. Patronymics, such as "Dickinson" deriving from the "son of Dickens," would be of little help here since there is little span in the number of names available.

The above constitutes the investigation so far as the Koho language group is concerned.

It was believed necessary to take additional random samples of other language groups as well to determine if there were likely to be any unexpected variants, as to examine in general terms the construction of the names.

There was no need for sampling the Thai or refugee groups from North Viet Nam. Investigation at Don Duong district, Tuyen Duc province, showed that the White Thai, Black Thai, Tho, and Nung groups all speak a language similar to Cantonese. Their names always consist of two component words and usually three; they use no sex classifier, and there appears to be no indexing problem.

A sampling was taken of the following language groups:

<u>Name</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Province</u>
Man	BanMeThuot	Darlac
Muong	"	"
Nung	"	"
Rade	"	"
Jerai	Le Trung	Pleiku
Bahnar	"	"
Sedang	Kontum	Kontum
Rongao	"	"
Halang	"	"

Since these people had not yet been processed for the Identity Card Program, there were no records to sample. Accordingly, 100 Montagnards, male and female, in each of the above groups selected at random, were interviewed. These interviews, and those to complete the questionnaires described hereinafter, were conducted by two Sureté agents from BanMeThuot--one a Vietnamese and one a Montagnard, both French speaking. The given names and sex classifiers (if any), the village, hamlet, district, and province names, were recorded on individual 3" x 5" cards.

Based on this data, a Glossary of Names was prepared (Appendix I).
Numbers to the right of each name indicate the number of times the
name occurred in the sample.

In addition to recording name samples, the interviewers completed
questionnaires based on random interviews with five Montagnards in each
language group. The results are totaled below by questions and language
groups.

1. What language do the tribes in the village speak?

- Man
- Muong
- Nung
- Rade (Ede)
- Jerai
- Bahnar
- Sedang
- Rongao
- Halang

2. How do they trace their ancestry?

- Man - Patrilineal
- Muong - Patrilineal
- Nung - Patrilineal
- Rade - Matrilineal
- Jerai - Matrilineal
- Bahnar - Matrilineal
- Sedang - Matrilineal
- Rongao - Matrilineal
- Halang - Matrilineal

3. In marriage where is the husband domiciled over a period of
years?

- Man - the woman seeks the hand of the man, and there-
fore, he lives in her house. Matrilocal.
- Muong - conventional. Patrilocal.
- Nung - conventional. Patrilocal.
- Rade - like the Man, except some state the wife lives
with the husband for two years and thereafter
vice versa. Matrilocal.
- Jerai - like the Man. Matrilocal.
- Bahnar - indefinite (the exact answer on all five ques-
tionnaires).
- Sedang - like the Man. Matrilocal.

Rongao -- like the Man. Matrilocal.
Halang -- like the Man. Matrilocal.

4. May individuals marry anyone who has the same name either as the father or the mother?

Man -- yes
Muong -- yes
Nung -- same given name, yes; but not the same family
(tribal) name. No.
Rade -- no
Jerai -- never
Bahnar -- no
Sedang -- no
Rongao -- no
Halang -- no

5. What are the male and female classifiers?

Man -- female is THI; male can be anything --Vietnamese
Muong -- female is THI; male can be anything
Nung -- none
Rade -- female is H'; male, Y
Jerai -- female is H; male, Y
Bahnar -- none
Sedang -- none
Rangao -- none
Halang -- none

6. How often does anyone from your village move to another one or vice versa?

Man -- never
Muong -- never
Nung -- never
Rade -- very seldom (concensus)
Jerai -- never
Bahnar -- never
Sedang -- very seldom (concensus)
Rongao -- very seldom (concensus)
Halang -- very seldom (concensus)

7. Why do they move?

Since the Man, Nung, Muong, Jerai, and Bahnar all stated "never," this question did not apply.

The concensus of the answers from the Rade, Sedang, Rongao, and Halang gave two reasons; for inter-village marriage and for better living conditions.

Based on the findings in this report, it was decided to take the following action.

It was decided that adding to the Montagnards' names without legislative action would be considered arbitrary and presumptuous on the part of administrative officials. Therefore, identity cards issued to Montagnards will show only the bearer's given name plus any sex classifier.

The name of an individual's village and hamlet of residence will be added to the given name on his index card only, as in the following sample, and will be maintained in a separate file at the Central Identification Bureau in Saigon.

In addition to simplifying the filing and searching process, this has the added advantage of maintaining a permanent inventory for ready reference of all adults in each village and hamlet. This information may be used at various local levels as desired. Interviewers will be trained at the provincial level, utilizing the attached glossary in an effort to maintain standard spellings.

On the following page is a sample of the index card to be filed at the Central Identification Bureau.

Other information is normally incorporated on index cards in a file of this type; however, these are standard practices of well known and common usage and are not of concern in this particular instance.

And finally, as the National Identity Card Program progresses, the Montagnard applications will be closely observed to insure the continued soundness of our decision.

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY OF NAMES

Ha Brang 2
 Ha Brao 1
 Ca Brê 1
 Ha Brê 1
 K'Brê 2
 Ha Bri 2
 K' Bri 2
 K'Brôi 2
 K'Brôi 1
 Ha Brông 2
 K'Brông 10
 K'Brôn 1
 Ha Brông 1
 Ha Bủ 1

Chúp 1

K'Căm 1
 K'Cat 1
 K'Chai 1
 K'Cham 2
 Ha Chang 3
 K'Chăng 2
 K'Chang 5
 Ha Char 3
 Ha Che 2
 Ha Chia 1
 K'Cheng 1
 K'Chợ 1
 K'Chỗ 1
 Ha Chỗ 1
 Ha Choang 1
 Ha Chong 8
 Ha Chông 1
 K'Chong 1
 K'Chợng 1
 K'Chợt 1
 Ha Chụ 3
 K'Chu 3
 K'Chu 1
 Ha Chu 1
 H'Chuất 1
 Ha Chưởng 1
 Ha Chuh 1
 Ha Công 1
 K'Cra 1

Y-Cim

1 H'Chăm
 Y-Chi
 Y-Chiôh

1 Gem 1 Chiên 1
 1 Chiô 1 Choi 1
 1 Chũi 1
 Chynh 1
 Cil 1
 Cin 1
 Chal 1

K'Jiêng 17
 K'Jô 1
 K'Jôm 2
 Ha Jong 1
 K'Jong 2
 K'Jông 1
 K'Jông 10
 Ha Jôrlê 2
 K'Jôt 1
 K'Jrai 6
 Ha Jrang 3
 Ha Jri 1
 Ha Jụ 2
 Ha Jụ 1
 Ha Ju 1
 K'Jung 2

Kê 1	Kah 1	K'Kah 1	Y-Khim 1	Y-Khoa 1	Khêm 1	Kêng 1
Klong 1	Klôi 1	Ha Kai 1	Y-Klat 1	Y-Khoan 1	Khum 1	Khep 1
Knư 1	Kôl 1	K'Kal 1	Y-Klêk 1	Y-Klêch 1	Khuek 1	Khua 1
Krim 1		Ha Kao 1	H-Kruin 1	Y-Kôênh 1	Kim 1	Kin 1
Krock 1		Ha Kar 2	H'Kruinh. 1	Y-Kôn 1	Kiom 1	Kleu 1
Krôn 1		K'Kar 2	H'Kruêk 2	H'Kri 1	Kiôn 1	Klit 1
		H'Kaur 1		Y-Kua 1	Klo 1	Kloi 1
		K'Keo 1			Kôk 1	
		Ha Kham 1			Kyer 1	
		K'Khar 2				
		Ha Khôm 1				
		K'Khong 1				
		K'Kiem 1				
		Ha Kla 1				
		Ha Klas 2				
		Ha Klieng 1				
		K'Koe 1				
		K'Kon 1				
		K'Kông 1				
		Ha Krạ 2				
		Ha Kra 1				
		Ha Krai 7				
		H'Krang 41				
		Ha Krêng 1				
		K'Kreung 1				
		K'Kriang 1				
		H'Krong 14				
		Ha Krông 2				
		H'Krông 3				
		K'Krong 7				
		Y-Krông 1				
		Ha Kuar 2				

H'Sông 5
 K'Song 1
 Ha Sour 1
 Ha Srai 4
 K'Srang 15
 K'Sri 1
 K'Sria 1
 K'Sroi 1
 K'Sron 1
 K'Srong 1
 Y-Sruk 1
 K'Srym 1
 Ha Su 2
 H'Sung 7
 Ha Sup 1

Thờ 1 Thu
 Tol 2 Tuk
 Trek 1
 Tút 1

1 K'Ta 1	Y-Tang	1 Y-Thăng	1 Than	1 Tap	1
1 Ha Tang ^A 1	Y-Thao	1 H'Thanh	1 Thông	1 Têm	1
Ha Tang 20	Y-Thâu	1 Y-Thanh	1 Thôm	1 Têng	1
H'Tăng 1	H'Thit	1 Y-Thel	1 Thờ	1 Thăm	1
K'Tang 4	Y-Tôn	1 Y-Thet	1 Thu	1 Thang	1
Ha Tar 1	Y-Tuh	1 Y-Thoat	2 Tinh	1 Thao	2
Ha Têng 1		Y-Thoan	1 Trai	1 Theng	1
K'Têu 1		Y-Thông	1 Tum	Thu	1
Ha Tham 1		Y-Tlôt	1	Tók	1
Ha Thó 2		Y-Tô	1	Trum	1
K'Thó 1		Y-Tông	1		
Ha Thói 1					
Ha Thông 2					
Ha Thuan 1					
Tiam 1					
Ha Tieng 7					
K'Tieng 2					
Ha Tinh 1					
K'Ting 1					
Tio 1					
Ha Tiu 1					
Ha Tôn 1					
Ha Tôn 1					
K'Tôn 1					
Ha Tông 7					
Ha Tông 1					
K'Tông 4					
K'Touk 1					
Ha Trang 3					
K'Trang 4					
K'Tros 1					
Ha Trùng 1					
Ha Tũ 1					
Ha Tung 1					
Ha Tụng 2					
Ha Tưỡng 1					

Ủ	1 Uýt	1 K'Út	1	H'Ủ	1 Uinh Um	1 Uít 1	1	
Vêch	1 Vên Vôi	1 K'Văn 1 Ha Valy	1 1	H'Văn Y-Van H'Ving H'Vôn	1 Vên 1 Vôi 1 Vong	2 Veng 1 1	1	
Wech Wop	1 1	K'Wah K'Wal K'Wăn K'Wan K'Wang Ha Wanh Ha Wang Ha Wăn Ha Way Pang Wel K'Wil Ha Woăn Ha Wól K'Wól Ha Wór Ha Wót	2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1	Y-We H-Wên	1 1			
		K'Xa Ha Xang Ha Xiêng Ha Xing K'Xong Ha Xu Ha Xung	1 1 1 1 3 1 1					
Yít	2 Ya Yă Yap Yâu Yên Yêng Yêu Yi Yiêu Yin Ying Yip Yiu Yon Yu Yum Yuôm	1 Ha Ya 1 Ha Yah 1 K'Yah 1 Ha Yai 1 H'Yang 1 K'Yang 1 K'Yiang 1 H'Yeung 1 K'Yiêng 1 Ha Yiroť 1 K'Ylong 1 K'Yo 1 K'Yô 1 K'Yôm 2 Ha Yong 1 Ha Yông 1 K'Yong	1 1 2 1 18 9 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 4 1 3	H'Yel Y-Yêng H'Yeo Y-Yih Y-Yim H-Yinh Y-Yôl H-Yôm H-Yu Y-Yui Y-Yum	1 H'Yô 1 H'Yôm 1 Y-Yôn 1 H'Yot 1 H'Yũ 1 H'Yuăn 1 Y'Yuăn	1 Yao 1 Yâu 1 Yip 1 Ym 2 Yo 1 Yôl 1 Yom Yrih Yuih	1 Yam 1 Yao 1 Yim 2 1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1

K'Yông	5
K'Yông	2
K'Yôt	1
K'Yrah	1
K'Yräh	1
K'Yrang	1
K'Yÿ	1
K'Yum	1

1. CHAM
2. CHRU
3. ROGLAI
4. HROY
5. RADE
6. JERAI
7. KOHO
8. CHREO
9. STIENG
10. MUONG
11. GAR
12. BUDIP
13. BULACH
14. BEHNAR
15. HALANG
16. SEDANG
17. RONGAO
18. BONOM
19. KOYONG
20. HREY
21. JEH
22. KUA
23. KATU
24. POKOH
25. TAU-OI
26. BRU
27. WHITE THAI (R)
28. BLACK THAI (R)
29. THO (R)
30. NUNG (R)
31. MUONG (R)
32. MAN (R)

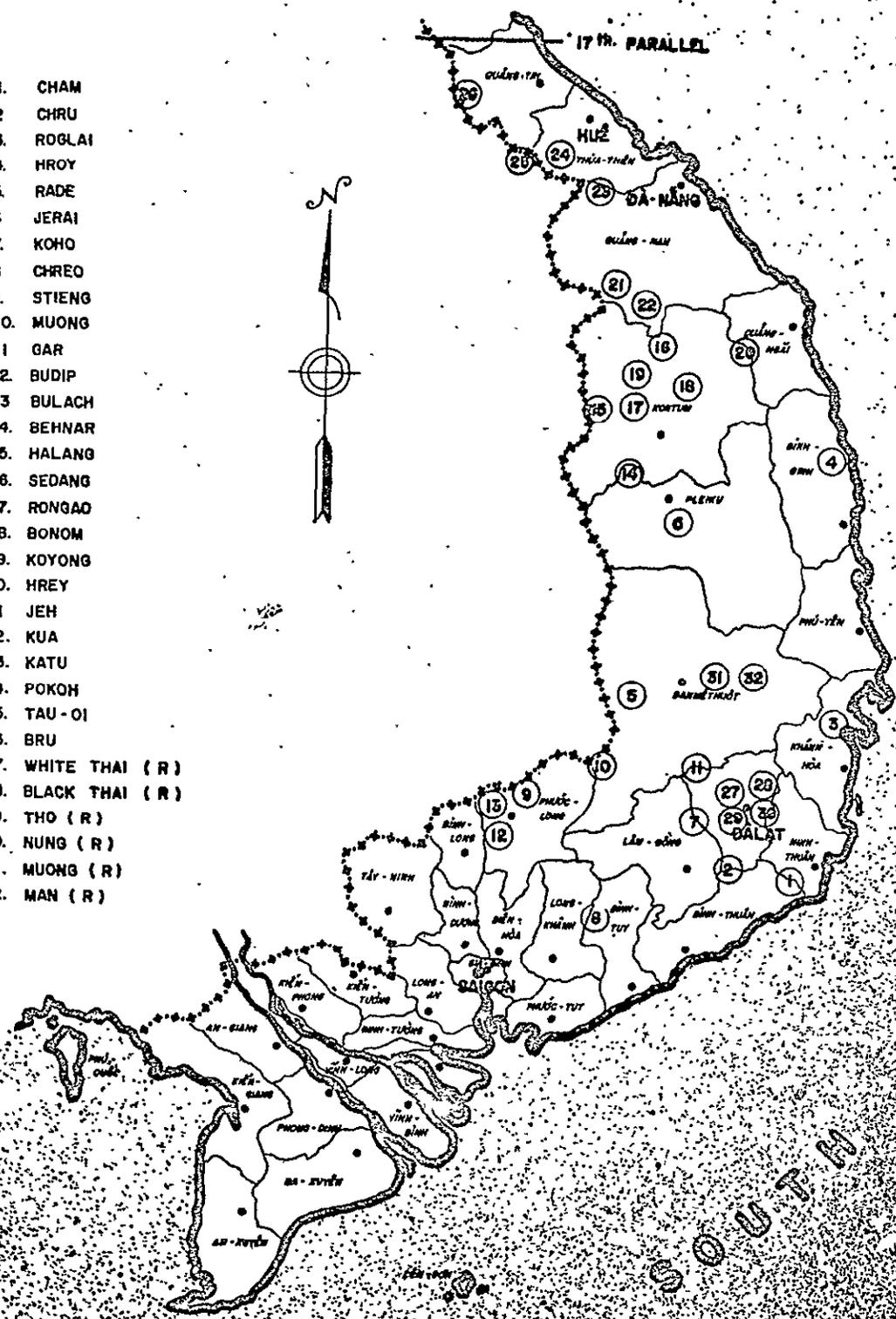


Figure 1. Map showing the approximate locations of the 32 language groups mentioned in the memorandum of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.



USOM/Saigon FOTO

Figure 2. A group of Montagnard "longhouses" composing a hamlet, the smallest political unit in Viet Nam



Figure 3 Montagnards in processing lines for application for Identification Cards.

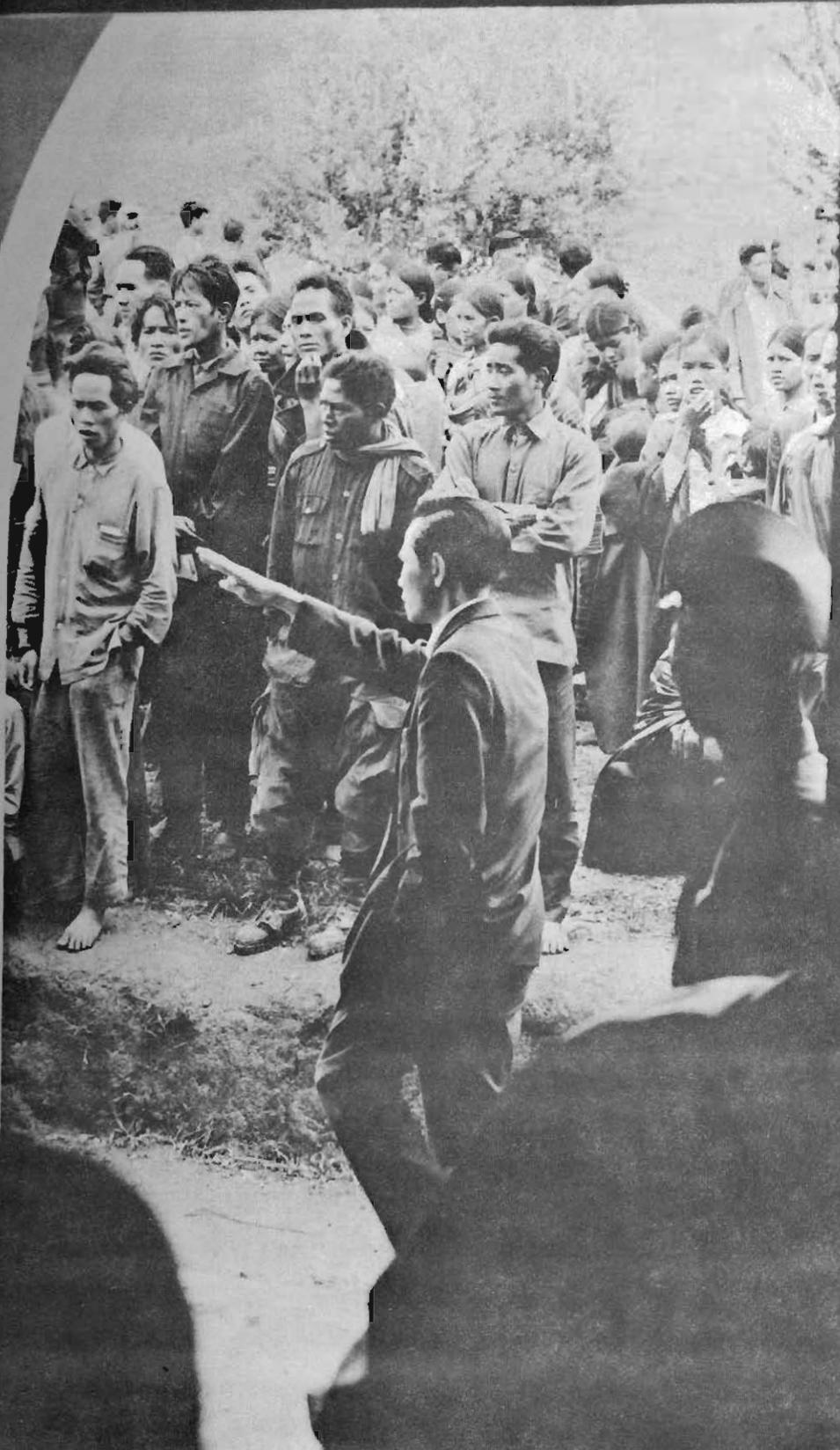


Figure 4

Montagnards waiting to be interviewed.



Figure 5

Entire hamlets, including children and pets, moved to the processing site.



Figure 6

Montagnard families resting before joining processing line.

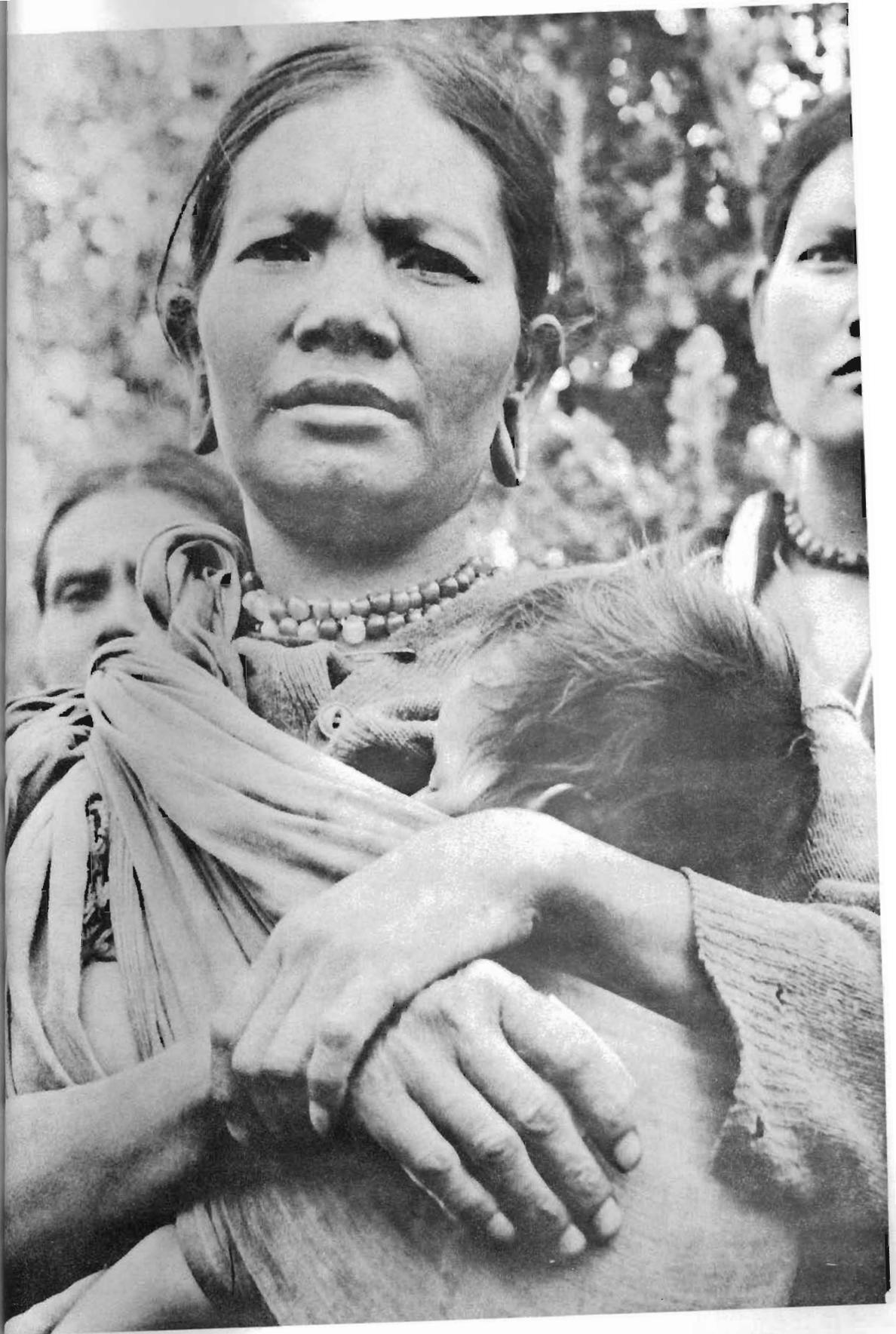


Figure 7 Montagnard mother and child.