THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DUNG DIALECT OF MOKEN[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

Moken is a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken by Sea Gypsies living in the western coastal waters of Burma and Thailand. The people refer to themselves as Moken or Mawken. They are called Selung or Salon by the Malays and Burmese. For further discussion of names see Lewis (1960:1) and Hogan (1972:206-207).

The dialects of Moken spoken off the west coast of Thailand have been studied by Sorat (1981) and Sudarat (1984). They have identified two major dialects in Thai waters which they refer to as the Moken and Moklen dialects. They also agree that Urak Lawoi' is not to be considered a dialect of Moken, but is a separate language more distantly related.

Sorat (1981) makes a lexicostatistical comparison of word lists taken from some eleven locations. He concludes that two languages are involved, Moken in the north and Urak Lawoi' in the south, with Moken comprising two dialects: Moken dialect (Victoria Point, Ranong and Rawai) and Moklen dialect (Bangsak, Thai Muang and Tha Chatchai).

Sudarat (1984) makes a comparative study of Moken, Moklen, and Urak Lawoi', all as spoken in Rawai Village, Phuket. She concludes (p.180) that Moklen and Moken reconstruct as Proto Moken-Moklen and that Urak Lawoi' is more distantly related.

The Moken dialect situation in the Burmese islands has not yet been the subject of systematic investigation, though dialect names and locations have been suggested by a number of scholars. Walter Grainge White (1922) recognised four dialects of Moken: the Dung dialect spoken in the Mergui area; the Jaet dialect spoken in the area of Lampi Island[2] and Bokpyin; the L'be dialect spoken around Victoria Point and Saint Matthew Island; and the Lawta dialect spoken around Lanta Island[3] and Phuket in Thailand. (The Lawta dialect he refers to would appear to be not a dialect of Moken but is rather the Urak Lawoi' language.)

Hogan (1983:1-2) refers to five dialects: the L'be dialect which he says is spoken in an area extending from Tavoy Island southward to the islands off Bokpyin; the Dung dialect which is spoken in the islands off the town of Mergui; the Jade dialect which is spoken in the southern islands as far as Victoria Point and on into Thai waters further south; the Moklen dialect which is spoken on the islands at the mouth of the Takuapa River and south along the

[2] Lampi Island, also known as Sullivan Island, is called L'be Island in Moken.
[3] Lawta is the Moken name for Lanta Island south of Phuket, which is the traditional point of origin of the Urak Lawoi' people of that area.

coast as far as the northern end of Phuket Island; and the Phuket dialect, spoken in Rawai Village in Phuket Island and on Peepee Island in Krabi Province.

Older Moken people living on Tavoy Island have told me that their ancestors came from the south, from the Jaet area, looking for a better place to make their livelihood. And the similarities between Tavoy and Jaet vowel glides would seem to confirm their account. Tavoy intonation, however, is different from Jaet intonation. Further clues to points of origin may be obtained from a comparison of dialect names with Moken placenames. It is quite possible that these name relationships antedate White's report by a considerable time span. The Moken names for the dialects spoken in Burmese waters are Dung, Jaet, and L'be. Dung is also the Moken name for two islands, Elphinstone and Ross.[4] These islands still constitute the centre of the Dung dialect area, and in this case it seems fairly clear that the dialect name has a geographic origin. If we assume that Jaet and L'be originally also had geographic reference in Moken, we have not far to look. Sa-ii Island is referred to in Moken as Jaet, and Lampi Island is referred to as L'be.

The earliest Moken primer using Pwo Karen script (A primer of the Selong language, 1846) contains a note by the Reverend D.L. Brayton written at Mergui in October 1844 drawing attention to the variety of pronunciations heard.
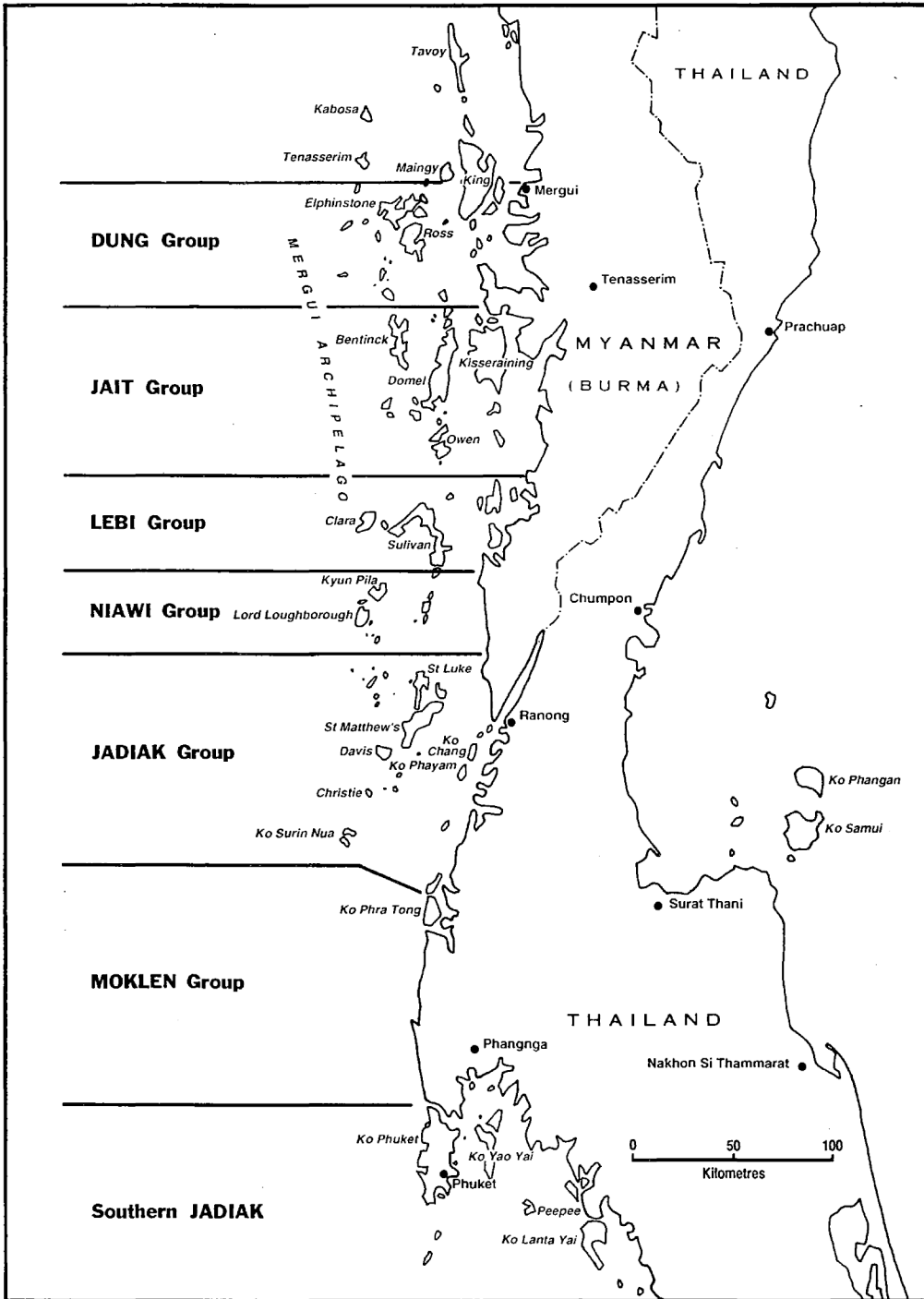
More recently the French anthropologist Ivanoff has spent some time with the Moken people living on Surin and Phra Thong Islands near Takuapa, where he has had contact also with Moken people who have come down from Burma. He has published a map showing five subgroups of the Moken people: Dung, Jait, Lebi, Niawi and Chadiak (Hogan's 'Jade' group). He does not claim that these subgroups represent different dialects, but rather that they show groupings based on the island areas which are their normal habitat (Ivanoff 1985:173-176).

Hogan has now checked these subgroups with Moken informants in Rawai village on Phuket Island. They all say that they come from the Jadiak group which is based on Saint Matthew's Island off Victoria Point. Therefore Hogan no longer calls this the Jade dialect, but the Jadiak (rather than Chadiak). His previous listing of a Phuket dialect seems unnecessary as the older people there all speak Jadiak while the younger people speak a version adulterated by a mixture of Urak Lawoi' and Thai. The informants say that Niawi differs only slightly from Jadiak, and Lebi is slightly different again. They know little about the two northern dialects of Dung and Jait.

On the basis of this information it is considered that we can now give a tentative listing of six dialects of Moken, including Dung, Jait, Lebi, Niawi, Jadiak and Moklen (spoken only in Thailand). The map is based on Ivanoff's map, modified to show more details of the groups in Thailand.

It is hoped that further research can establish more precisely whether Lebi, Niawi and Jadiak need to be differentiated as three separate dialects. Similarly the precise relationship between Dung and Jait needs more careful study. A preliminary check of Dung and Jait via a 300-word list shows more than 90 per cent cognates and the phonological shifts appear to be regular, involving mainly the front and back vowels.

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[4]   In earlier Moken usage, Dung was the name used specifically to refer to Elphinstone Island, and Ross Island was referred to as Moung. In current Burmese administration usage Elphinstone Island is called Done Paleh Awe and Ross Island is called Done Kama Chaung.

Tavoy

Kabosa

Tenasserim

THAILAND

Maingy

King

Mergui

Elphinstone

Ross

DUNG Group

M
E
R
G
U
I

Tenasserim

A
R
C
H
I
P
E
L
A
G
O

Bentinck

MYANMAR

Kisseraining

Prachuap

JAIT Group

Domel

(BURMA)

Owen

LEBI Group

Clara

Sulivan

Kyun Pila

Chumpon

NIAWI Group Lord Loughborough

St Luke

St Matthew's

Ranong

JADIAK Group

Davis

Ko
Chang

Ko Phayam

Christie

Ko Phangan

Ko Samui

Ko Surin Nua

Ko Phra Tong

Surat Thani

MOKLEN Group

THAILAND

Phangnga

Nakhon Si Thammarat

Ko Phuket

Ko Yao Yai

| 0 | 50 | 100 |

Kilometres

Phuket

Southern JADIAK

Peepee

Ko Lanta Yai

MAP: MOKEN DIALECTS

When I first started my research on Moken in 1967, it was with two speakers of the Jait dialect from Mali Island (Tavoy Island). My first visit to the language area was in 1973 and since 1974 I have spent part of every year on Elphinstone Island, where the Dung dialect is spoken (and if the line of reasoning suggested above is valid, where it has been spoken ever since the dialect acquired its present name). A tentative census report[5] in 1972 placed the Moken population in Burmese waters at more than 4,000 people, of which some 500 are speakers of the Dung dialect dealt with in this paper.

Examples in this paper are given in phonetic script. There is a current Burmese-based Orthography. (A paper discussing this orthography is in preparation.) There have been at least two earlier orthographies for the Moken language, both based on the Dung dialect: one Pwo Karen-based and the other Roman-based (Lewis 1960:4ff.); neither one is in current use. According to Lewis (p.4), the Reverend E.A. Stevens was the one who devised the Karen-based script, which W.G. White (1911:19) describes as consisting of Pwo Karen characters with certain additional signs. Lewis reproduces Stevens' remarks on the script.

The remainder of this paper consists of three sections on word and syllable structure, vowels, and consonants respectively, and of a brief sample text.

2. WORD AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A very brief account of the phonology of the Dung dialect of Moken appeared in an unpublished paper (Hogan 1983) in which a Thai orthography is proposed for Thai dialects of Moken. Other than this, little has been written on Dung Moken phonology.

Dung phonological word structure consists minimally of a major syllable, preceded optionally by either a minor syllable or by a pre-syllable, as has been noted also for the Phuket dialect of Moken (Hogan 1983:12 following Veena 1980). This typically Mon-Khmer word structure is presumably the result of old Mon influence.

Major syllables in the Dung dialect can be either open or closed, and they receive primary word stress. They manifest a larger set of contrasting vowels than either of the other two syllable types, since only in major syllables do vowels contrast for length or tenseness. In fact, contrasts of vowel length are to be found only in closed major syllables, since the vowels of open major syllables both lax and tense are all long.

Minor syllables do not have final consonants. Their vowels are phonetically intermediate in length between the short and long vowels of major syllables, and they receive secondary stress. Minor syllables manifest a system of six contrasting vowel qualities. Neither vowel length nor the tense-lax distinctions are contrastive within minor syllables. The vowel in minor syllables is phonetically slightly longer than the short vowels of major syllables, indicated by a single dot in the examples.

Pre-syllables are unstressed, lack final consonants and manifest only a single vowel, a short, phonetically unstable schwa which is essentially just an open transition between the initial consonant and the first consonant of the next syllable. In faster speech this schwa may be completely dropped.

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5   The census report was a personal communication from U Than Tun, who accompanied Major Aye, the officer in charge of census taking in the area from Tavoy Island to Victoria Point in 1972.

Primary word stress thus falls on major syllables, secondary word stress on minor syllables, and pre-syllables are unstressed.

In the written form of closed syllables, stress is predictable by virtue of the fact that only major syllables can be closed, and syllable-final consonants are marked in Burmese writing. With open major syllables, however, it is necessary to mark word boundaries with a space if stress patterns are to be correctly predicted apart from the recognition of lexical items. Minor syllables are distinguished from pre-syllables on the basis of their vowels.

In the following examples secondary stress is indicated by a grave accent (ˋ), and primary stress by an apostrope ('), preceding the syllable. Pitch contours are represented by lines above the phonetic transcription. It will be seen that pitch contours are predictable for words elicited in isolation, so they have been written only on the first few sets of examples. The primary stress has high pitch, which then falls unless the syllable ends in /h/, in which case the high pitch remains level or slightly rising and there is a somewhat breathy voice quality. (It would be possible to interpret [h] as a suprasegmental prosody of breathiness, but this would have only restricted occurrence.) Some fairly clear Thai loans are marked (T). Interestingly, a large portion of the monosyllabic words appear to be loans from Thai.

The following are examples of words in which a major syllable is preceded by a minor syllable.

[ˋkaˑ'tɔe]	/katɔy/	spirit
[ˋdaˑ'taː]	/data/	upon
[ˋdaˑ'tah]	/datah/	long
[ˋkɔˑ'lɛt]	/kɔlɛt/	bark of a tree
[ˋbuˑ'buŋ]	/bubuŋ/	ridge of a roof

The following are examples of words in which a major syllable is preceded by a pre-syllable. Pre-syllables contrast with minor syllables in that pre-syllables are unstressed and they manifest only the indeterminate short vowel, schwa.

[kə'manˉ]	/kəman/	night
[pə'dʑɛᴸː]	/pəjɛ/	tide in
[mə'lanˉ]	/məlan/	to swallow
[bə'dʑeᵀː]	/bəje/	to stand in a group

The following are examples of words consisting of a major syllable not preceded by either a minor syllable or a pre-syllable.

| ['kaːnˉ] | /kaːn/ | work (T) |
| ['baː] | /ba/ | insane (T) |

['bùː]   /bu/   banana shoot

['mè·a·]   /maɣ/   horse (T)

['ne·à·]   /naɣ/   fields (T)

3. CONSONANTS

The set of contrastive consonants differs according to position within the syllable. There are two positions, syllable-initial and syllable-final, and the set of consonants occurring in the former is considerably larger than in the latter. As can be seen in Figure 1, syllable-final position is characterised by a loss of contrast for voicing and aspiration, as well as by a loss of the palatal stop/affricate series and /l/.

Moken consonants

syllable-initial						syllable-final				
k	kh	g	ŋ			k		ŋ		
c	ch	j	ɲ							
t	th	d	n			t		n		
p	ph	b	m			p		m		
y	l	w	h	ʔ		y	w	h	ʔ	
r										
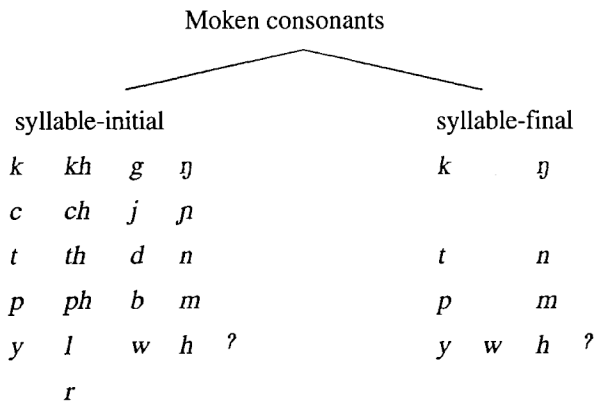
FIGURE 1: THE CONSONANT SYSTEMS OPERATIVE IN SYLLABLE-INITIAL
AND SYLLABLE-FINAL POSITION.
(/r/ and /d/ are interchangeable in many words.)

The Southern Jadiak dialect (Hogan 1983:11, following Veena 1980:43) has a syllable-initial system which differs from that given for Dung in Figure 1 only in that Southern Jadiak has /s/, which Dung lacks, and the /r/ of Dung is not mentioned. It remains to be seen whether any of the Moken dialects spoken in Burmese waters share this /s/ with Southern Jadiak. The syllable-final systems of the two dialects are identical.

In syllable-initial position the following twenty-two different consonants can occur.

/k/	[`ka'ʔae:]	/kaʔɛɣ/	tree
	[`te·'kan˺]	/tekan/	mats
/kh/	[`kha·'dʑiːəŋ˺]	/khajeaŋ/	roof
	[`khə'loːŋ˺]	/khəloːŋ/	sea
/g/	[`gi·'len˺]	/gilen/	to roll up
	[`gi·'laoːŋ˺]	/giloːŋ/	valley
/ŋ/	[`ŋə'poe·]	/ŋəpoy/	to jump into
	[`mə'ŋap˺]	/məŋap/	to catch

/c/	[ˋtɕi·ˈtɕom˨]	/cicom/	bird
	[ˋtɕə'ŋae:m˨]	/cəŋɛˑm/	cold
/ch/	[ˋpɛ·'tɕhaŋ˨]	/pɛchaŋ/	banana
	[ˋmə'tɕu:]	/məchu/	to raise the hands
/j/	[ˋdʑa·'bu:]	/jabɯ/	bumble bee
	[ˋpə'dʑɛ:]	/pəjɛ/	for the tide to come in
/ɲ/	[ˋməɲam˨]	/məɲam/	to eat
	[ˋmə'ɲi:əŋ˨]	/məɲɛ̆aŋ/	to walk
/t/	[ˋkɛ·'tam˨]	/kɛtam/	black
	[ˋtə'lau:ŋ˨]	/təluˑŋ/	eggplant
/th/	['the:n˨]	/the:n/	chair
	[mə'thu:n˨]	/məthu:n/	to carry on the head
/d/	[ˋda·'ta:]	/data/	upon
	[ˋdu·'dun˨]	/dudun/	rice water
/n/	[nə'mãũ:]	/nə'muˑ/	cattle
	[ˋpɛ·naŋ˨]	/pɛnaŋ/	areca nut
/p/	[mə'peŋ˨]	/məpeŋ/	to rest
	[pə'lo:əŋ˨]	/pəloaŋ/	tender (of fruit)
/ph/	[ˋpha·'lo:˨]	/phalo/	to tease
	[ˋphu·'ŋɛ:əˀ˨]	/phuŋeaˀ/	country
/b/	[ˋba·'taŋ˨]	/bataŋ/	at the foot, beginning
	['bɔ:˨]	/bɔ/	boy
/m/	[ˋmə'phe·a:˨]	/məphaˑ/	to elope
	[ˋtɕə'min˨]	/cə'min/	glass
/y/	[ˋka·'yap˨]	/kayap/	a kind of sickness
	[ˋʔə'ya:t˨]	/ʔəya:t/	trust
/l/	[ˋtɔ·'lɔŋ˨]	/tɔlɔŋ/	to help
	[ˋlə'mauŋ˨]	/ləmuˑŋ/	howling of a dog
/w/	['wɯŋ˨]	/wiŋ/	circle
	[ˋtɕə'wat˨]	/cəwat/	clothes
/h/	['hã:]	/hãˑ/	negative particle
/ʔ/	[ˋʔu·'lɛ:t˨]	/ʔulɛ:t/	cicada
	[ˋʔɔ·'tak˨]	/ʔɔtak/	head
/r/	[ˋpə'raŋ˨]	/pəraŋ/	knife
	[ˋʔə'ra˨]	/ʔəra/	duck

In syllable-final position the following ten consonants can occur.

| /k/ | ['dok˨] | /dok/ | plentiful |
| | [ˋma·'nɔk˨] | /manɔk/ | chicken |

/ŋ/	['wʊɲ]	/wiŋ/	circle
	['paːɲ]	/paːŋ/	pancreas
/t/	[`kɔ·let⌐]	/kɔlɛt/	bark
	[`tɕi·'theːt⌐]	/citheːt/	pumpkin
/n/	['kaːn⌐]	/kaːn/	work (T)
	[`du·'dun⌐]	/dudun/	rice water
/p/	[`ka·'yap⌐]	/kayap/	a kind of sickness
	[`mə'nap⌐]	/mənap/	dive
/m/	[`da·'dum⌐]	/dadum/	some
	[`la·'dʑam⌐]	/lajam/	sharp
/w/	[`kə'baːo⌐]	/kəbaːw/	buffalo
	[`me·'lɛo⌐]	/mɛlɛw/	giants
/y/	[`ˋʔə'poe⌐]	/ʔəpoy/	fire
	[`ˋʔɛ·'lɔe⌐]	/ʔɛlɔy/	left
/ʔ/	[`pə'nauʔ⌐]	/pənuːʔ/	full
	[`tɕɔ·'tɕaoʔ⌐]	/cɔcoːʔ/	grandchild
/h/	[`da·'tah⌐]	/datah/	long
	[`bə'kɔh⌐]	/bəkɔh/	to emerge from water

4. VOWELS

As may be seen in Figure 2, there is basically a seven-vowel system, plus length and tenseness contrasts and two centring glides.

ea	*i*		*u*	*oa*
	e		*o*	
	ε		*ɔ*	
		a		

FIGURE 2: MOKEN VOWELS

In pre-syllables only a neutral central vowel can occur (see previous examples).

In minor syllables there are six vowels that can occur.

/i/	[tɕi·'tɕom⌐]	/cicom/	bird
	[`bi·'toak⌐]	/bitoak/	star
/ɛ/	[`kɛ·'tam⌐]	/kɛtam/	black
	[`pɛ·'tɕhaŋ⌐]	/pɛchaŋ/	banana

/u/   [ˉbu·'loi:]   /buloy/   feather, hair

       [ˉbu·'la:n˥]   /bula:n/   moon

       [ˉku·'lui:]   /kuluy/   earthen jar

/ɔ/   [ˉkɔ·'lɔn˥]   /kɔlɔn/   slave

       [ˉtɔ·'lɔɲ˥]   /tɔlɔɲ/   to help

/a/   [ˉkha·'dʑi:əŋ]   /khajeaŋ/   roof

       [ˉba·'taɲ˥]   /bataŋ/   at the foot, beginning

/o/   [ˉlo·'la:ˋlo·'la:]   /lola lola/   passing to and fro

pre-syllable	minor syllable		major syllable			
CV	CV		CVC (closed)		CV (open)	
		long		short	tense	lax
		tense	lax			
iː	iʸ[əi]	iː	i	iʸ	iː
	eʸ[əe]	eː	e	eʸ	eː
ɛ·	ɛʸ[ae]	ɛː	ɛ } *	ɛʸ	ɛː } *
a					
	uʸ[əu]	uː	u	uʸ	uː
o·	oʸ[əo]	oː	o	oʸ	oː
ɔ·	ɔʸ[ɔa]	ɔː	ɔ	ɔʸ	ɔː
a·	aʸ[ɛa~ea]	aː	a	aʸ	aː
	ĕa	ea			
		oa			oa

FIGURE 3: THE VOWEL SYSTEMS OPERATIVE WITHIN EACH SYLLABLE TYPE
(Phonetic length differences, though shown here, are contrastive only within the closed
major syllable. Tense vowels are diphthongs in both CVC and CV major syllables.
* indicates a contrast which is phonetically marginal.)

In closed major syllables the following seven different long tense vowels and one tense centring diphthong can occur.

/iˑ/	['tɕai:n˧]	/ciˑn/	Chinese
	[`tɕa·'ʔai:n˧]	/caʔiˑn/	pungent
	[`mɛ·'tai:n˧]	/metiˑn/	thumb
/eˑ/	[`kɛ·'təe:n˧]	/kɛteˑn/	to deceive
/ɛˑ/	[`ʔɔ·'kaɛn˧]	/ʔɔkɛˑn/	sea water
	[jə'laɛ:n˧]	/jəlɛˑn/	pearl
/uˑ/	[`ka·'ʔau:n˧]	/kaʔuˑn/	bamboo
	[`lɔ·'bəu:ŋ˧]	/lɔbuˑŋ/	spirit poles
/oˑ/	[kə'bao:k˧]	/kəboˑk/	lazy
	[`gi·'lao:ŋ˧]	/giloˑŋ/	valley
/ɔˑ/	[mə'lɔ:at˧]	/məlɔˑt/	to set free
	[`ka·'tɔ:at˧]	/katɔˑt/	a kind of tree
/ĕa/	[`mə'ɲ iˑəŋ˧]	/məɲĕaŋ/	to walk
/aˑ/	['cheam˧]	/chaˑm/	bruise

The phoneme /ea/ may vary phonetically between [i:ə], [e:ə], and [ɛ:ə], and /oa/ may vary phonetically between [u:ə], [o:ə] and [ɔ:ə]. /ea/ also occurs in lax closed syllables, and lax /oa/ can occur in open or closed syllables (see Figure 3). In tense /ea/ the tenseness is focused on the first syllable.

In closed major syllables the following seven long lax vowels and two centring diphthongs can occur.

/i:/	[`khə'li:n]	/khəli:n/	time after time
	[`bi·'bi:n˧]	/bibi:n/	lips
/e:/	[nə'le:ŋ˧]	/nəle:ŋ/	melodious
	[tɕi·'the:t˧]	/cithe:t/	pumpkin
	['the:n˧]	/the:n/	chair
/ɛ:/	[`ʔu'lɛ:t˧]	/ʔulɛ:t/	cicada
/u:/	[mə'thu:n˧]	/məthu:n/	to carry on the head
	[mə'lu:m˧]	/məlu:m/	to comfort (a child)
/o:/	[`khɔ'lo:ŋ]	/khəlo:ŋ/	sea
	[`lu·'tho:ŋ˧]	/lutho:ŋ/	a small basket
/ɔ:/	[`ba·'tɕhɔ:ŋ˧]	/bachɔ:ŋ/	head of a stairway
	[`ʔu·'tɕhɔ:n˧]	/ʔuchɔ:n/	a green snail shell
/a:/	[kə'la:ŋ˧]	/kəla:ŋ/	eagle
	[`ka·'ba:ŋ˧]	/kaba:ŋ/	boat
/ea/	[`me'khɛ:ən˧]	/məkhean/	to write (T)
	[`mə'ɲɛ:əŋ˧]	/məɲean/	to sew
/oa/	[`mə'lo:əŋ˧]	/məloaŋ/	to tempt
	[`phə'lo:əŋ˧]	/phəloaŋ/	tender (of fruit)

In closed major syllables seven short vowels can occur, as listed below. The distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/ is phonetically very narrow and difficult to hear.

/i/	[mə'phɪk˥]	/məphik/	to turn over
	[mə'nɪk˥]	/mənik/	to think
/e/	[`gi·'len˥]	/gilen/	to roll up
	[mə'peŋ˥]	/məpeŋ/	to rest
/ɛ/	[`me·'lɛk˥]	/mɛlɛk/	pepper
	[ʔɛ'bɛk˥]	/ʔəbɛk/	tadpoles
/u/	[`bu·'buŋ˥]	/bubuŋ/	top of the roof
	[mətɕhun˥]	/məchun/	fighting cocks
/o/	[`bu·'lok˥]	/bulok/	putrid foul odour
	[`la·'ton˥]	/laton/	a giant turtle
/ɔ/	[`kɔ·'lɔn˥]	/kɔlɔn/	slave
	[`ma·'nɔk˥]	/manɔk/	chicken
/a/	[`te·'kan˥]	/tekan/	mats
	[`ʔɔ·'tak˥]	/ʔɔtak/	head

There are also a few cases, mainly involving loan words from Thai, which may possibly point to a marginal tense/lax contrast in short /a/: [lak] 'post' (T), [lʸak] 'love' (T), [məlan] 'to swallow', [məlʸan] 'to beat', [mənap] 'to submerge', [mənʸap] 'to count' (T).

In open major syllables seven long tense vowels can occur. These vowels have a tense voice quality and are on-gliding diphthongs, a system reminiscent of Mon-Khmer register complexes which may be the result of Mon-Khmer (Old Mon?) influence. Instrumental study of this 'tenseness' has not been possible. This tenseness and on-gliding has been observed in both open and closed syllables.

These tense diphthongs are either on-glides such as [ᵊĩ] and [ᵃŭ] with the tenseness focused on the second segment, or they have equal tenseness on both segments, as in ['nĕ·ă·] /na/ 'field' (note the tenseness on this Thai loan, found also on some other Thai loans).

/iˀ/	[`la·'tɕhəi:]	/lachiˀ/	beautiful
	[`phɔ·'rəi:]	/phɔriˀ/	rich
/eˀ/	[`la·'tɕhae:]	/lacheˀ/	book
	[kə'ləe:]	/kəleˀ/	friends
/ɛˀ/	['mae:]	/mɛˀ/	girl
	[kə'lae:]	/kəlɛˀ/	just now, only now
/uˀ/	['kau:]	/kuˀ/	a kind of snail
	[nə'mãũ:]	/nəmuˀ/	cattle
/oˀ/	['bao:]	/boˀ/	well (for water) (T)
	[pə'kao:]	/pəkoˀ/	forearm
/ɔˀ/	['lo·a:]	/lɔˀ/	sister
	[tɕhə'mo·a:]	/chəmɔˀ/	early morning
	[mə'khɔ·a:]	/məkhɔˀ/	to roast

| /a:/ | [mə'phe·a:] | /məphaʔ/ | to elope |
| | [ba'be·a:] | /babaʔ/ | half-breed |

In open major syllables the following seven long lax vowels and one centring diphthong can occur.

/i/	[ˋtɕhu·'ni:]	/chuni·/	rainbow
	[ˋba·'dʑi:]	/baji/	jacket
/e/	[bə'dʑe:]	/bəje/	to stand in a group
	[mə'le:]	/məle/	to move one's dwelling
/ɛ/	[pə·'dʑɛ:]	/pəjɛ/	for the tide to come in
	[ˋla·'lɛ:]	/lalɛ/	ribs
/u/	[ˋdʑa·'bu:]	/jabu/	bumble bee
	[mə'ɕhu:]	/məchu/	to raise one's hands
/o/	[ˋpha·'lo:]	/phalo/	to tease
/ɔ/	['bɔ]	/bɔ/	boy
	[ˋkhə'lɔ:]	/khəlɔ/	tears
/a/	['ba:]	/ba/	mad, insane
	[ˋda·ta:]	/data/	upon
/oa/	['tɔə]	/toa/	body (T)

The Southern Jadiak dialect has a less ramified system of vowels according to Veena (1980:53) (and summarised in Hogan 1983:13 and Sudarat 1984:16). The tense–lax contrast is relevant only for high vowels in Southern Jadiak (lax /i, i:, u, u:/ versus tense /ĭ, ĭ:, ŭ, ŭ:/). Where Dung still has tongue-height contrasts, though phonetically slight, in the mid vowels (/e, ɛ, o, ɔ/), tongue height varies freely in Southern Jadiak, reducing the system to /e, o/. However, Hogan (pers.comm. 1985) suggests that a reanalysis of the Southern Jadiak dialect may show it to have all the vowels of the Dung dialect.

4. SAMPLE TEXT[6]

Batang   muchi   thop mɔkaw pɔthaw   cwe
beginning in.the.past there said   old.people I

nea?   than ha. Ngɔhaung chidea nyu   ?ɛ
copula yet   not called   God   NPH. MKR.

bɔ?   mɔco:? cwe lepa:n   yea. Cha? ?ɔhut.
do   take   I   other.side only for.a.while

Nyu   mɔkɛ̆:n yay kədeaw ?ĕ: khɔnyu jɛ.
CAI Moken said just   yes be.there IMP

Mɛkɔn   ?ɛka:n palɔy   pitɔh   nyu   yea.
harpoon fish   ray.fish behind there only

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6   Abbreviations used in this text are: NPH.MKR (nominal phrase marker), CAI (changed actor indicator) and IMP (imperative). A fuller and more precise gloss for *mɛkɔn* 'harpoon' is 'I am going by boat to harpoon'.

Lakɔt nɔng tɔa   ʔɔdaʔ lakɔt nɔng
afraid of   body big   afraid of

kaba:ng kalam.   Nyu   chidea nyu   ngateang
boat   capsized CAI   God   CAI   wait

bunyu   ngateang ngateang chea chea chea
like.that wait   wait   last last last

ngateang chənah ʔəka:ʔ   kɔreaw lachɛ̌: nyəmat
wait   possible no.longer marker book   throw

tong ʔɔkɛ̌:n phet   ʔɛka:n kəlɛ̌:t.
into water   become fish   ray

(This story was told by Cakwe, a Moken man of about fifty.)

This story is from long ago in the past, told by the old people. I was not yet born.

God called (to the Moken) "Please take me across to the other side. It won't take you long". Then the Moken said, "Yes, just wait there, I'm going to harpoon the rayfish behind there first". The Moken was afraid that the big body of God would make the boat capsize. Then God waited like that for a long long time, and when he couldn't wait any longer he threw the book (of Moken writing) into the water and it became a rayfish.

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