INTRODUCTION.

The Tibeto-Burman languages that are often referred to as the "Northern Naga" or "Konyak" languages are spoken along the extreme northeastern border of India on both sides of the boundary that divides the Indian states of Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh. From north to south, this group of languages includes Tangsa, Nocte and Wancho in Arunachal Pradesh, and Konyak, Phom, and Chang just to the southwest in Nagaland. Starting, it seems, with Shafer (1955) a number linguists have noted resemblances that suggest a special relationship between these Northern Naga languages and the Bodo-Koch languages. The later (which have often, though misleadingly, been referred to as the "Bodo-Garo") are scattered to the west and south of the Northern Naga area, primarily in the northeast Indian states of Assam, Meghalaya, and Tripura. In addition, several linguists have suggested that Jingphaw also has a special tie with both the Northern Naga and the Bodo-Koch groups (Benedict 1972, 1976; Burling 1971, 1983). Jingphaw is found primarily in northern Myanmar but the language is spoken all the way from Yunnan in southwest China to northeastern India (where it is known as "Singpho"). The evidence for the historical grouping of Northern Naga, Jingphaw and the Bodo-Koch languages within the larger Tibeto-Burman family has been marshaled most thoroughly and persuasively by Walter

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1 Burling would like to express his thanks to the Fulbright Foundation which gave generous support for a period of teaching and research in northeastern India between November 1996 and May 1998.

2 The Bodo-Koch languages, also sometimes called "Barish" include three main subgroups: 1. Koch (including A'tong, Rabha and Koch itself), 2. Bodo (including Kachari, Kokborok, Lalung and Bodo proper), and 3. Garo. It is clear that the Garo and Bodo branches are more closely related to each other than either is to the Koch branch, and if "Bodo-Garo" is to be used at all, it should refer to the subgroup that does not include Koch (Burling 1959). In northeast India, all of these languages, including Koch, are generally referred to simply as the "Bodo" group.
French (1983), and the evidence now seems to be sufficiently strong that any remaining skeptics must assume the burden of disproof. We believe the Northern Naga languages are substantially closer to Jingphaw and to the Bodo languages than to other Tibeto-Burman languages. The Northern Naga group is less closely related even to the other so-called "Naga" languages than it is to Bodo-Koch and Jingphaw.

The study of the Northern Naga languages, and their comparison with other languages, has been hampered by the lack of good descriptions of their phonology and by the unclear transcriptions used in the available dictionaries and word lists. French had to use transcriptions that, among other things, completely failed to show distinctions of tone. Indeed, his sources did not always even indicate whether or not the languages have contrasting tones. Since French presented his study, Nagaraja (1994) has given us the first description of a Northern Naga language where tones are shown, and the purpose of this paper is to give somewhat more limited data for a second Northern Naga language. The next article (Burling and Wangsu) gives similar data for a third Northern Naga language, Wancho.

One of us, (it will come as no surprise to readers to learn that it is Phom) is a native speaker of the Phom language. He has participated for several years in efforts by his community to standardize Phom orthography, and his special concern is effective bible translation. Burling has long had an interest in the Bodo-Koch languages and he has wanted to extend his investigations to the Northern Naga languages. Together, we have worked out an analysis of the phonological system of Phom, and we have assembled a list of core vocabulary. It is this material that we now present. We hope it will provide a better basis for future comparative work than the materials that have previously been available.

Phom does turn out to be a tone language, and like many such languages of East and Southeast Asia, its sound system is most easily described in terms of its syllables and their parts: 1. Initial consonants, 2. Vowels, 3. Final consonants, 4. Tones. Phom has many one syllable words, and it is easy to find minimal pairs that illustrate most phonological contrasts. Longer words are also found in abundance, but adjacent syllables have only limited phonological influence upon one another and, for the most part, the phonology of polysyllables can easily be described in terms of their constituent syllables. We find no evidence of limitations on the kinds of syllables can stand beside one another.
Thus, for example, word initial and word final consonant clusters are all but nonexistent in Phom (but see below), but a wide range of consonant sequences can be found in the middle of words. All these apparent "medial clusters", however, are simply formed from the final consonant of one syllable followed by the initial consonant of the next. We have found no restriction on which consonants can occur together across a syllable boundary, except for the limitations set by the range of initial and final consonants that can occur in a single syllable. A modest amount of assimilation occurs across syllable boundaries (see below) but a description of the phonology of the syllable goes a long way toward describing the phonology of words as well. In the following paragraphs we consider, in turn, the four constituents of the syllable.

**SYLLABLE INITIAL CONSONANTS**

The distinctive consonants that can occur as syllable initials are shown in Table 1. It is also possible for a syllable to have no initial consonant at all.

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<tbody>
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*Table 1. Syllable Initial Consonants*

Phom has two series of stops, voiceless aspirated and unaspirated. These appear at the bilabial, apical (immediately post-dental), and velar positions. As word initial, the unaspirated stops are somewhat less voiced than the voiced stops of English. More precisely, voice onset time is just a bit later than in English. When following a voiced sound in the previous syllable of the same word, however, these stops may be fully voiced, and to emphasize their contrast with the aspirated series, we symbolize the unaspirated series as /b, d/ and /g/. Symbolizing the unaspirated stops in this way would permit us to omit the explicit indication of aspiration in the other series, but aspiration is strong, and we continue to indicate it both as a way of
emphasizing the contrast and of showing the difference between syllable initial and syllable final stops.

In addition to its stops, Phom has an unaspirated palatal affricate, symbolized here as /«c/. This has the same conditions of voicing as the unaspirated stops. An expectation of symmetry leads one to look for an aspirated affricate as well, but there is none. Four nasal consonants can also occur as initials. They are articulated in the same positions as the stops and the affricate, and we symbolize them as /m, n, ـn/ and /≥/.

/∆/ is a voiceless palatal spirant very similar to the initial of English 'shadow' and 'shoe'.

/Ô/ is the voiced equivalent of /∆/ but the tongue is drawn so far back that it can sound quite rhotic. It has somewhat less friction than /∆/ but decisively more than /y/. We do not have examples of /Ô/ before /o/ or /ø/.

/w/ is a bilabial continuant virtually identical to English /w/. In all of our examples it occurs before either /o/ or /ø/. This means that it is in complimentary distribution with /Ô/ and, strictly speaking, [w] and [Ô] could be considered to be allophones of the same phoneme. We keep them separated here because they are strikingly different phonetically, and because L. Amon Phom finds it difficult to think of them as the "same" sound.

/y, h/ and /l/ are all very similar to the English phones that are usually represented by the same letters.

In addition to these simple consonants, a handful Phom words begin with sequences that could be heard as clusters. These all have /l/ as the second consonant. These apparently adjacent consonants are less tightly fused than the constituents of English clusters, however, and they are quite rare. We interpret them as two consonants separated by a very short /‰/: /b‰lo/ 'jackfruit'; /m‰li/ 'medicine'.

VOWELS

The vowels of Phom are more difficult than either the consonants or tones, but the language can be described as having ten simple vowels and six diphthongs.
/i/. High, front, unrounded. This vowel is higher in open syllables and before /÷/ than in syllables closed with other consonants. /i££/ 'blood'; /Δi££/ 'turn'; /~ni££/ 'day'.

/e/. Higher mid, front, unrounded. /e££/ 'speak'; /«câ≥∞∞nen∞∞/ 'turtle'; /e∞∞/ 'see'.

/%/. Lower mid, unrounded. This vowel is a bit front of central, but not so far front as /e/. It can sound a bit like an English schwa, though it can be more strongly accented than the English vowel, and it is a bit further front. /n%££/ 'not'; /m%££lØy∞∞/ 'where?'; /yo≥∞∞y‰££/ 'stream'.

/á/. Low, front-central, unrounded. This vowel is slightly farther front than the vowel that most English speakers use in 'father', but by no means as far front as the vowel of such English words as 'hat'. We symbolize it here by /á/ in order to differentiate it from another vowel which is a bit further back, and for which we need to reserve /a/. /«câ∞∞/ 'new'; /lâ≥∞∞/ 'dyed cane'; /~ná££/ 'fish'.

/∑/. Very high and far back. The lips are usually somewhat everted but not rounded. This vowel does not give the acoustic impression of being rounded and it contrasts clearly with the high back rounded /u/. /∑/ is very tense. /Δ∑∞∞/ 'pull'; /h∑≥∞∞/ 'ginger'; /m∑k∞∞/ 'eye'.

/Ø/. A vowel that is a bit higher and further back than mid central, but not so high or so far back as /∑/. The lips are often slightly spread. It is less tense than /∑/. Unwary speakers of other languages than Phom can easily confuse /∑/ and /Ø/, but many minimal pairs demonstrate the need to distinguish them: /ΔØ££/ 'forest'; /Δ∑££/ 'nine'; /lØ≥£¡/ 'row'; /l∑≥£¡/ 'crack'.

/a/. This vowel is realized in several differing ways that depend upon the consonant that immediately follows and that ends the syllable. Before /≥/ and /k/ it is a low central or somewhat backed central vowel. It resembles the first vowel of English 'father': /Ôa≥∞∞/ 'rain'; /«cak££/ 'burn'. Before /m/ and /p/ it is a bit higher than before /≥/ and /k/: /«cam∞∞/ 'three'; /≥ap££/ 'buttocks'. In open syllables and before a syllable final /n/ or /v/ it may be still higher and a bit fronted. Here it gets close to the vowel of English 'but' and it can even approach the vowel of English 'bet': /~nat££/ 'seven'; /an££j/ 'ten'. This vowel is unrounded in all positions. Depending upon which of these variants occurs, /a/ is in danger of being confused with /â/, /Ø/, or /‰/. The following minimal pairs show that it must be distinguished from all three:
/ma/ 'corpse', /má/ 'not yet'; /la/ 'straw', /lO/ 'bed'; /ha/ 'basket', /h%o/ 'exhort'.

/u/. High, back, rounded. This vowel is similar to the vowel of English 'moon', but with no diphthongization. /Δu/ 'head hair'; /kæu/ 'bag'; /Δuk££/ 'grasshopper'.

/o/. Mid, back, rounded. /go/ 'empty'; /ø££/ 'folk song'; /ok/ 'pig'.

/ø/. Low, back, rounded. This is similar to the vowel in 'paw' in many dialects of English. /Δø/ 'skin'; /æø££/ 'ear'; /wøk££/ 'six'. The three back rounded vowels are shown to be in contrast by many sets of words such as: /u££/ 'bird'; /o££/ 'folk song'; /ø££/ 'fire'. They are unlikely to be confused with any other vowel.

Diphthongs. In addition to the simple vowels, Phom has six distinctive diphthongs. As will be explained in the next section, syllables with simple vowels can be followed by one of seven final consonants. The only syllable final consonant that can follow a diphthong, however, is the glottal stop and even that is not common (see below).

/ay/. A diphthong that starts low and unrounded and moves toward a high front unrounded position. It is very similar to the vowel of English 'my', 'time', 'fight'. /pæay/ 'meat, flesh'; /lay/ 'book'.

/Oy/. A diphthong that starts in between a mid central and mid front unrounded position and moves toward high front unrounded. To the foreign ear this can sound quite similar to /ay/, but /Oy/ begins with the tongue in a slightly higher position than /ay/ though further back than the starting point of the English vowel of 'pay' or 'game'. /Oy££/ '1'; /lOy££/ 'come back'.

/a∑/. A diphthong that starts low and unrounded and moves toward a high back unrounded position. It is not remotely like anything in English. /la∑££i/ 'correction'; /ha∑££i/ 'hot, spicy'.

/Ø∑/. Another diphthong that is quite unlike anything in English. It starts about where /Øy/ starts, somewhere between mid front unrounded, and mid central unrounded, but then moves toward high back unrounded. /cØ∑££i/ 'fat, grease'; /Ø∑££i/ 'dedicate (a church)'. 
/aw/. A diphthong that starts low, central, and unrounded and that moves in the direction of a higher-mid back unrounded vowel. It is quite similar to the vowel of American English 'cow'. /goɔawau/ 'squirrel'; /dawʃi/ 'grab and pull'.

/øy/. A diphthong that moves from mid back rounded toward a high front unrounded position. It is eerily like the vowel of English 'boy'. /moyʃi/ 'blessing'; /hoyʃi/ 'call'; /goyʃi/ 'thin'.

SYLLABLE FINAL CONSONANTS

Only seven consonants can occur as syllable finals. Many syllables are open, having no final consonants at all.

/p/ /t/ /k/ /ʔ/

/m/ /n/ /ʃ/  

Table 2. Syllable Final Consonants

/p, t/ and /k/ are similar to the unaspirated initial stops, but they are even less voiced. They are generally unreleased, and they bring the syllable to an abrupt conclusion. Vowels in stopped syllables are shorter than in open syllables. /ʔ/ is a glottal stop and it is found only in syllable final position. Vowels that precede /ʔ/ are even shorter than those that come before other stops. /m/, /n/, and /ʃ/ are pronounced much as they are at the beginning of a syllable. They shorten the preceding vowels slightly, but not as much as syllable final stops. The nasals are otherwise unremarkable. Except for /ʔ/, consonants do not occur after diphthongs.

TONES

Three distinct tones can occur with most types of syllables and they are quite transparent. Syllables ending with /ʔ/, however, show no tonal contrast. The shortness of the vowels that occur before /p, t/ and /k/ gives the tones on such syllables less time to be clearly or fully expressed and they have less resonance than unstopped syllables. Nevertheless, there is no serious difficulty about assigning syllables stopped with /p, t/ or /k/ to the same three tones that are found in open and nasal to syllables.
In open and nasal syllables this tone is quite high and level and it has a rather resonant or "sung" quality. It is shorter and less resonant in stopped syllables. It is also rarer than tone /££/ in stopped syllables. /Δi∞∞/ 'millet'; /ma≥∞∞/ 'corpse'; /op∞∞/ 'land leech'; /pæak∞∞/ 'horn shaped hook for hanging things'; /at∞∞/ 'beyond'.

/££/. Like tone /∞∞/, this tone is quite level, but with a mid level pitch it is decisively lower than /∞∞/. The majority of stopped syllables have this tone and, as with tone /∞∞/, stopped syllables are less resonant than open and nasal syllables. Although syllables ending with the glottal stop, show no contrast in tones, Among Phom's firm intuition is that they should be assigned to tone /££/ along with the largest number of other stopped syllables. /Δi££/ 'dog'; /ma≥££/ 'dream'; /h∑k££/ 'one'.

/£¡/. This is a falling tone that drops decisively from a mid pitch to low. It is distinctly less resonant than the other two tones. Tone /£¡/ is somewhat unusual with stopped syllables, but not unknown: /ma≥£¡/ 'evil spirit'; /pæak£¡/ 'sit idly'; /at£¡/ 'drive (animals)'.

A number of intransitive verbs have transitive or causative partners that differ only in tone. Intransitive verbs with tone /∞∞/ or /££/ correspond to transitive or causative verbs with tone /£¡/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive/Causative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lØy££</td>
<td>lØy£¡ 'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u∞∞ 'sit'</td>
<td>u£¡ 'cause to sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØΩ∞∞ 'fall down'</td>
<td>ØΩ£¡ 'let fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y∑≥∞∞ 'drink'</td>
<td>y∑≥£¡ 'feed liquid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∆Ø∞∞ 'enter'</td>
<td>∆Ø£¡ 'insert'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∆e££ 'rot'</td>
<td>∆e£¡ 'cause to rot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ASSIMILATION ACROSS SYLLABLE BOUNDARIES

Some modest assimilation occurs across the syllable boundaries of polysyllabic words. This is most easily recognized in compounds that are constructed from shorter, often one syllable, morphemes that can occur as words by themselves. Comparisons between the pronunciation of these syllables as separate words and as components of compounds is straightforward.
The least problematic type of assimilation is the more complete voicing shown by the unaspirated initial stops when they follow a voiced vowel or consonant in the preceding syllable. Stops that are barely voiced or even unvoiced when they occur at the beginning of words, are generally fully voiced when they directly follow a voiced phone.

An only slightly more complex type of assimilation occurs when a final stop of one syllable immediately precedes an initial /h/ of the next. When, for example /lak££/ 'hand' joins with /hΣ££/ 'wash' to yield a compound meaning 'wash the hands', the result, phonetically, is [lak££kæΣ££]. This assimilation appears to be automatic and regular.

A more complex and less predictable type of assimilation can occur when a final nasal of one syllable is followed by a syllable that, on etymological grounds, can be shown to be derived from a form that lacks any initial consonant at all. In such cases, a nasal consonant that duplicates the final consonant of the first syllable is sometimes, though not always, added to the beginning of the second syllable. The fact that this does not always happen is shown by such words as /go≥∞∞aw∞∞/ 'squirrel', in which the /≥/ is clearly confined to the first syllable. There is, in fact, a very slight glottal onset to the second syllable. This is decisively less strong that the phonologically distinct syllable final glottal stop, but it forms an effective barrier between the /≥/ and the following syllable.

In /«cem∞∞mi∞∞/ 'with', 'together', on the other hand, not only does the second syllable not start with any sort of glottalization, but careful articulation suggests that the second syllable actually begins with an /m/. The syllable transition in /«cem∞∞mi∞∞/ appears to be identical to the syllable transition of /Δem∞∞mØy∞∞/ 'rich, wealthy', where both syllables have underlying /m/'s: /Δem∞∞/ 'house, home'; /mØy∞∞/ 'good'. (Phom is not the only language in this part of the world where the phrase "good home" carries the sense of "wealthy".) The second syllable of /«cem∞∞mi∞∞/ does not have an underlying /m/, however, as shown by /≥y££i∞∞/ 'by me', where the same suffix is found without an initial /m/. Thus, if /«cem∞∞mi££/ has two /m/'s like /Δem∞∞mØy∞∞/, the second /m/ is added by assimilation, but /go≥∞∞aw∞∞/ shows that assimilation is not automatic. Different words appear to act in varied ways but we have not been able thoroughly to explore the conditions under which assimilation takes place. All we can do is note the existence of assimilation and record the pronunciation that is actually used in each word. Further study of this type of assimilation is needed.
Except for this relatively modest amount of assimilation, we have found no other ways in which syllables influence their neighbors. So far as we have discovered, any type of syllable can follow any other type. There appear to be no restrictions on tone sequences, and we have had no difficulty in identifying the tones of polysyllabic words with the tones found on one-syllable words. Nor does the Phom language have the kind of "half" syllables that characterize many of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken further to the east, in which the initial syllables of many words have restricted phonological complexity compared with the "full" syllables that follow. Phom does have a few initial syllables that share some characteristics with the "prefixed" half-syllables of some other Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, /af££/ occurs as the first syllable of many names of bird species. These initial "prefixes" do not seem to be phonologically reduced or restricted in Phom, however, and they are not very common.

Syllable boundaries are important in Phom. Vowels in closed syllables are pronounced somewhat shorter than those in open syllables. This means that two-syllable words that have a medial stop or nasal between the two vowels, are pronounced differently when the consonant is the final of the first syllable than when it is the initial of the second. By placing the tone marks at the end of the syllable, as we have done, the boundary is made unambiguous. If however, tones were indicated earlier in the syllable, as with accents over the vowels or if, as would be convenient in a practical orthography one tone was left unmarked, some ambiguities would arise unless syllable boundaries were explicitly marked in some other way.

**RHYMES**

The Phom language has some rather eccentric limitations on which rhymes (combinations of a vowel and final consonant) can occur. Even among rhymes that do occur, some are far more common than others. Table 3 gives the number of examples of each rhyme that is found in the words we have transcribed. Thus, an /-it/ rhyme (the combination of /i/ with the final consonant /t/) appears in five examples in our data. Diphthongs, as previously noted, never occur with any final consonant except the glottal stop.

We have tried to count each morpheme just once, even if it appears in several words of our sample, but the sample is hardly “random”. Indeed, it is hard to know what would constitute a "random" sample in a case like this. Our intention is only to offer an impression of the far from random association of vowels with final consonants. It is quite likely that some of the gaps in
Table 3 are accidental and that a larger collection of words would provide examples that would fill some of these gaps, but it is unlikely that the markedly uneven distribution of rhymes would be eliminated. Indeed, by searching for rare cases, we may even have biased the sample in favor of the less common rhymes.

Table 3. Rhymes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Final Consonant</th>
<th>-p</th>
<th>-t</th>
<th>-k</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oy</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Marrison (1967) and French (1983) give numerous Phom examples and a small dictionary has now been published (Kumar et al. 1973) with additional examples. French gives a phonemic inventory of the language and inventories can be constructed from the examples given by Marrison and by Kumar et al. French cites Marrison as the sole source of his Phom data (he
used not only Marrison (1967) but also other unpublished work), so it is to be expected that their data and analysis will be similar, although French does alter the transcription in some minor ways. The data in Kumar et al. is, presumably, independent, but it does not appear to be very different. All of these transcriptions differ from that used here in a number of respects.

All three sources recognize three series of initial stops, written as if they are aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, and voiced (i.e. <ph, p, b> etc.) while we find only two series. Phom spelling is not well standardized, but when native speakers write their own language they usually write <ph, th>, and <kh> for the aspirated series because this is the way similar sounds are written for neighboring languages. All three sources follow this practice. Phom writers are inconsistent in their choice between <p, t, k>, and <b, d, g>, and indeed there is some allophonic variation that could lead them to vary their choice. This may have misled Marrison and French into believing that a contrast had to be recognized. Kumar et al. generally use <p, t>, and <k,> but <b, d>, and <g> are used occasionally, often in borrowed words.

Marrison and French transcribe the nasals just as we do. Kumar et al. differs only in using <ny> and <ng> where the rest of us use <n> and <>. All of us agree on <l> and <y> and on <h> when used initially. Our <\Delta> becomes <«s> for French, <sh> for Kumar et al, and remains <\Delta> for Marrison. Our <«c> becomes <j> for French, while Kumar et al. vacillates between <ch> and <j> on no grounds that we are able to discern, and Marrison vacillates between <c> and <j>. Among initial consonants, this leaves only our <w> and <Ô>.

We have pointed out that the phones we write as <w> and <Ô> are in complimentary distribution, and French and Marrison use <v> for both the allophones. The choice of <v> for this phoneme may seem odd, but some Phom speakers use <v> for our <Ô>. This is probably why Marrison and French used <v>. (Phom speakers generally use <w> where we do). <v> does not usually represent a somewhat rhotic palatal fricative, which is the way Phom speakers pronounce their <v>, but it an entirely satisfactory letter for a practical orthography, since it has no other use. Rather mysteriously, Kumar et al. sometimes use <v> and sometimes <vg> where we use either <Ô> or <w>. Occasionally they even use <w>. The choice between <v> and <vg> appears to be quite arbitrary (and even inconsistent for the same morpheme).

French remarks that, like neighboring Konyak and Chang, Phom lacks an /r/ (pg. 99). In fact, our /Ô/ has a rather rhotic quality, and it is cognate to
the /r/ that is found in a number of related languages. Phom /Î²aŋ/, a common first syllable in words for weather and the sky, for example, is clearly cognate to /rang/, with the same meaning, in several Bodo-Koch languages. While our /Î²/ (written by many Phom speakers) is phonetically very different from the flapped /r/ that is more typical of northeast Indian Tibeto-Burman languages, it is no more different than are the various flapped, retroflex, and uvular "/r/"s" that are found in European languages are from each other. French is correct to point out that Phom does not have an /r/ if that means a flap, but /Î²/ is a clear reflex of the /r/ that is found elsewhere.

Transcription of syllable final stops is straightforward in all the sources. French and Marrison transcribe them exactly as we do. Kumar et al. use <ng> finally as well as initially. They also use <h> for the glottal stop. This is a common convention among the "Naga" languages, and it is satisfactory for word final position, since nothing like the initial /h/ occurs at the end of a word. Unfortunately, but both /h/ and /÷/ occur medially, however, and since Kumar et al. use <h> for both phonemes, it is sometimes impossible to tell whether a medial <h> stands for /÷/ or for /h/

Unlike the transcription of consonants, the transcription of the vowels in the earlier sources verges on the chaotic. All three sources recognize only six simple vowels, written with the usual five vowel letters plus <œ>, <œ>, and <ũu> in French, Marrison, and Kumar et al. respectively. <ũu> is a common way to represent high back unrounded vowels in the orthographies used in the Naga hills, and the "sixth" vowel used in all three of these sources is used for both our /Ø/ and our /∑/. As already pointed out, numerous minimal pairs leave no doubt that these represent contrasting phonemes in the dialect of Phom spoken by L. Amon Phom, but none of the other sources recognize this contrast. Our <â> is fairly consistently transcribed as <a> elsewhere, but our <a> (which is allophonically quite variable) shows up sometimes as <a> and at other times as <e>. Both our <e> and our <‰> are most often represented by <œ> in the other sources. There are, however, a great many irregularities that make it difficult to predict what will be found in any particular instance.

Oddly, perhaps, there seems to be a more consistency in the transcription of diphthongs. Clear examples are difficult to find, but where we write <ay, Øy> and <oy> Marrison and Kumar et al. seem most often to write <ai, ei>, and <oi>. Our <aw> shows up as <ou> in Marrison and in Kumar et al. The latter use <aũu> in a few examples where we, recognizing an extra contrast, write either <a∑> or <O∑>.
None of these authors records tones.

The remainder of this paper consists of a list of Phom words that illustrate the phonology that we have described.

WORD LIST

NATURE

Sky and Weather
cloud, peom
earthquake, b%diì; Œuk
fog, mist, -na
lightning, g%lda
moon, len~n (len~ 'month'; 
-~n 'mother')

rain, Ǒa
sky, peom~a
snow, Δ Oliv

star, lit££hát££
sun, Ǒa~he

thunder, Ǒa~muk££
wind (air), Ǒa~k££

Land and Water
dust, pai££ål££; (pai~ 'sand')
ever, soil, ga££dok££
lake, Δam~yo (Δam~ 'house'; 
~yo~ 'water')

mountain, ga££a

mud, -na~hot
puddle, paiziyo
river (large), yo~n~
saline spring, Δ££
sand, pai££
sea, ocean, yo~c~
spring (for water), yo~lo

stone, yo££

stream, small river, yo~y
valley, ga££œ

ANIMALS m

Mammals, Domestic
animal, yam££hi££mák

buffalo, (of the plains) Δôk

camel, ot££
cat, má~Dì

cattle, cow, ox, mo££ho~££
dog, Dì££
goat, yom

horse, go~y~n

mithun, water buffalo, -nå££
pig, ok

sheep, mi

Mammals, Wild

bat (animal), ap££bakk££

bear, Δap££daw

deer, (barking) môy££; Dì££
deer, (big horned) ôk££
elephant, môy££~n

gibbon (black), hu£££
gibbon (brown), Dì££ô
jackal, fox, mã££hú££
mole (animal), Ô££j

monkey (langur, long tailed), hap££

monkey (macaque), môy££ô

mountain goat, môy££ya££
rabbit, yô££peo~££

rat, y££h££j

water, yo~

waterfall, yo~la££
**Birds**  
bird (general term), domestic fowl, *u££*  
cock, *u££*  
crow, *a££∆á∞∞*  
dove, *a££euv∞∞*  
duck, *bat∞∞ak∞∞*  
eagle, *a££á∞∞*  
goose, *han££*  
myna, *a££∆∑÷££lø≥∞∞*  
peacock, *a££dØ∞∞*  
vulture, *lá≥∞∞dᣡ*  
woodpecker, *a££~ná≥∞∞*  

**Reptiles, Fish, and Misc.**  
fish, *~ná÷££*  
frog, *luk££*  
house lizard, *kea≥∞∞há££*  
shrimp, prawn, *ok££Ôá≥∞∞*  
snail, *ap££÷££o≥∞∞*  
snake, *lØ≥∞∞*  
tortoise, *ok∞∞yá≥∞∞*  
turtle, (water) *«cá≥∞∞nen∞∞*  

**Insects and Worms**  
ant, *m‰∞∞a∑∞∞*  
bed bug, *lØ≥∞∞hØ≥∞∞, hØ≥∞∞hØ≥∞∞*  
bee, *ná÷££–n∑££*  
butterfly, *bi££Δø∞∞*  
centipede, *lak££hakk££lák££hakk££*  
cockroach, *y∑p££Δø∞∞*  
dung beetle, *i÷££tæu∞∞*  
firefly, *ø££lá÷££*  

**Animal Parts, Products, Calls**  
bark (dog), *hu≥∞∞*  
dyed goats hair, red, used for decoration, *m∑∞∞*  
egg, *a££di∞∞*  
egg shell, *a££di∞∞∆op∞∞*  
feather, *ya≥∞∞*  
growl, (animal) *≥∑≥∞∞*  
honey, *~ná÷££«c∑∞∞ (∼ná÷££ 'bee'; «c∑∞∞ 'juice')*  
horn (of animal), *wø≥∞∞*  
nest, *«cap££*  
path of an animal, *Δø££*  
shell, of turtle etc., *Δo≥∞∞*  
spider web, *mák∞∞~nim∞∞*  
sting, *~n∑÷££Δøy££*  
tail, *mØy££*  
tusk (elephant), *Δam££*  
wing of bird, feather, *ya≥∞∞*  

**PLANTS, FOODS**  
Trees, Forest, Fruit  
forest, jungle, *paa∑££, ΔØ££*  
tree, *bØ∞∞*  

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squirrel, *go≥∞∞aw∞∞*  
tiger, *Δa÷££–n∑££*  
wolf, *Δø∞∞*  

**Birds**  
bird (general term), domestic fowl, *u££*  
cock, *u££*  
crow, *a££Δá∞∞*  
dove, *a££euv∞∞*  
duck, *bat∞∞ak∞∞*  
eagle, *a££lá≥∞∞*  
goose, *han££*  
myna, *a££∆o≥∞∞*  
owl, *a££Σ÷££tø≥∞∞gø≥££*  
peacock, *a££dØ∞∞*  
vulture, *lá≥∞∞dḥ*  
woodpecker, *a££–ná≥∞∞*  

**Reptiles, Fish, and Misc.**  
fish, *~ná÷££*  
frog, *luk££*  
house lizard, *kea≥∞∞há££*  
shrimp, prawn, *ok££Ôá≥∞∞*  
snail, *ap££÷££o≥∞∞*  
snake, *lØ≥∞∞*  
tortoise, *ok∞∞yá≥∞∞*  
turtle, (water) *«cá≥∞∞nen∞∞*  

**Insects and Worms**  
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bed bug, *lØ≥∞∞hØ≥∞∞, hØ≥∞∞hØ≥∞∞*  
bee, *ná÷££–n∑££*  
butterfly, *bi££Δø∞∞*  
centipede, *lak££hakk££lák££hakk££*  
cockroach, *y∑p££Δø∞∞*  
dung beetle, *i÷££tæu∞∞*  
firefly, *ø££lá÷££*  

**Animal Parts, Products, Calls**  
bark (dog), *hu≥∞∞*  
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egg, *a££di∞∞*  
egg shell, *a££di∞∞∆op∞∞*  
feather, *ya≥∞∞*  
growl, (animal) *≥∑≥∞∞*  
honey, *~ná÷££«c∑∞∞ (∼ná÷££ 'bee'; «c∑∞∞ 'juice')*  
horn (of animal), *wø≥∞∞*  
nest, *«cap££*  
path of an animal, *Δø££*  
shell, of turtle etc., *Δo≥∞∞*  
spider web, *mák∞∞~nim∞∞*  
sting, *~n∑÷££Δøy££*  
tail, *mØy££*  
tusk (elephant), *Δam££*  
wing of bird, feather, *ya≥∞∞*  

**PLANTS, FOODS**  
Trees, Forest, Fruit  
forest, jungle, *paa∑££, ΔØ££*  
tree, *bØ∞∞*
areca nut, go≈≈≈≈cØk≈≈
bamboo, wo≥≈≈
banana, ≥uf
jackfruit, h‰≈≈lø≥≈≈
lime (fruit),
   tei≈≈yok≈≈há≥≈≈baw≈≈
mango, a££øy£¡
orange,
   Ø∑≥≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈nø≥≈≈há≥≈≈baw≈≈
papaya, am≈≈mi≈≈≈≈teá££
pomelo, yá≈≈li≥≈≈há≥≈≈baw≈≈

Grain
maize, o≥≈≈≈cØk≈≈
millet, Δi≈≈
rice (cooked), nØk££
rice (husked), ø≥≈
rice plant, paddy, ha÷£¡
rice (sticky), nØk££≈≈≈≈ca≈≈

Tubers
arum, do≥££
ginger, h∑≥≈≈
manioc, tapioca, bØ≈≈Δe≈≈
potato, Δe≈≈≈≈cØk≈≈
sweet potato, m‰££lø≥££Δe≈≈
yam, Δe≈≈

Vegetables, Miscellaneous Plants
bamboo shoots (dry), mØy££Δø≈≈≈
bamboo shoots (juice, from),
   mØy££≈≈≈≈cio≈≈
bamboo shoots (crushed),
   mØy££Δø≥≈≈
beans (green), li££haw≈≈
betel leaf, pan, h‰≈≈≈≈lu≈≈≈
cane, Øy≈≈
chili peppers, teo≥≈≈há≥≈≈
cotton, pa∑mr≈≈≈≈pea+££
dyed cane, lø≥≈≈

egg plant, bringal, bin≈≈do≈≈
garlic, a££Δ‰÷££
gourd, law££
grass, te∑≥≈≈
mushroom, go≥≈≈å≥≈≈
straw, la≥≈≈
sugar cane, yá≥≈≈

Foods
bread, ân≈≈
cooked food, la≥££
curry, haw££
dried fish, ~nå+££Ôán£¡ (~nå+££ 'fish';
   Ôán£¡ 'dry')
fat, grease, «cØ£££¡
feast, mø≈≈
meat, flesh, pæay≈≈
oil (cooking), may≈≈≈≈å≈≈
salt, h∑m££
wine, liquor, rice beer, y∑££
yeast, ðø££

Plant Parts
bark, Δø≈≈
branch (of tree), gaw££
flower, «c∑££
fruit, b‰ot££≈≈cØk≈≈
joint (of bamboo), wo≥≈≈≈mØk££,
   wo≥≈≈≈Δ∑+££ (wo≥≈≈≈ 'bamboo';
   mØk££ 'eye')
juice, «c∑≈≈
poison, lØ∑££
root, d∑≥≈≈lø≥≈≈
seed, Øå≥££
stick, lØ≥££
thorn, h∑+££
trunk, (of tree) bØ≈≈≈≈n∑££b∑m££;
   (bØ≈≈≈≈ 'tree'; ~n∑££ 'mother')
vine, ~nå≈≈l∑≥≈≈≈≈≈≈≈bay≈≈

Plant Maturation and Stages
bloom, \( bo \)
decay, \( \Delta e \)
new growing shoot, \( in \)
ripe, \( \Delta m \)
ripe, mature, \( \Delta \)
rot (intrans.), \( \Delta \)
rot, cause to (trans.), \( \Delta \)
seedling, \( li \)
shoot of plant, \( \Delta \)
spoil, \( m \)
sprout, germinate, \( in \)
unripe, green, \( \Delta \)

**BODY PARTS**

body, \( ha \)

**Head**

cheek, \( om \) (\( twe \) 'ear')
chin, \( a \)
ear, \( twe \)
eye, \( k \)
face, \(weeted \)
forehead, \( a \)
head, \( \Delta \)
lip, \( c \)
mouth, \( c \)
neck, \( \Sigma \)
nose, \( 0 \)
tongue, \( y \)
tooth, \( p \)

**Torso**

back (of body), \( do \)
belly, \( wo \)
breast, milk, \( am \)
chest, \( c \)
navel, belly button, \( hu \)
nipple, \( am \)
\( am \) 'breast'; \( c \) 'mouth'
waste (of body), \( \Delta \)

**Arms, Hands**

arm/hand, \( la \)
armpit, \( pa \)
elbow, \( la \)
finger, \( la \)
hand, \( la \)
nail (finger) \( la \)
palm (of hand) \( la \)
shoulder, \( pa \)

**Legs, Feet**

foot, top of, \( la \) (\( do \) 'back')
footprint, \( lap \)
heel, \( la \)
knee, \( la \)
leg, foot \( la \)
thigh, lap, \( \Delta \)

**Hair**

bald, \( a \)
beard, mustache, \( cm \)
eyebrow, \( m \)
hair (body), \( m \)
hair (head), \( \Delta \)
derm hair, \( pa \)

**Liquids and Miscellaneous**

blood, \( i \)
dirt, feces, \( n \)
fart, \( d \) (\( i \) 'feces'; \( du \) 'blow')
fart slowly, \( \Sigma \)
feces, stool, dung, \( i \)
milk, breast, \( am \)
nose dirt, snot, \( u \)
placenta, afterbirth, lam££
pus, má££j££Sc££
scars, got££
skin, ∆ø∞∞
spit, saliva, yo££up∞∞
sweat, perspiration, lam∞∞ø££
tears, m∑k££pæi££
urine, ∆en££j
vomit, peay££

Internal Organs, Bones
bladder, ∆om∞∞bu∞∞
brain, ∆∞∞li∞∞
flesh, meat, peay∞∞
gall bladder, y££j
 guts, intestines, lØy££
heart, mo≥∞∞d££
kidney, le££
liver, tæan££
muscle, yu∞∞
stomach, wom££
womb, uterus, na∑∞∞u∞∞∆∑≥££
 (na∑∞∞ 'baby'; u∞∞ 'sit'; ∆∑≥££
 'place'; 'the baby's sitting place')
bone, Œå≥££
backbone, dok££Ôå≥££
jaw bone, Ôå+££Ôå≥££
marrow, Ôå≥££ni∞∞
rib, hám∞∞bá∞∞Ôå≥££
skull, ∆a≥∞∞Ôå≥££

PEOPLE

Pronouns
I, ≥Øy££
you (sg.), n∑≥££
she, bin££−n∑∞∞
he, bØ££bá∞∞
we (exclusive), hám££pæo≥££
we (dual, inclusive), «ci∞∞
you (plu.), ám££pæo≥££

they, «com∞∞pæo≥££
self, −n∑≥££j−n∑≥££i

Age, Gender, Occupational
Categories
adolescent boy, n‰££tee∞∞
adolescent girl, n‰££lá∞∞
baby, na∑∞∞
bastard, ∆o≥££hå££
boy, ba££há∞∞na∑∞∞
child (young person), hå££j+££
girl, −n∑££hå∞∞na∑∞∞
guest, yan££
king, o≥∞∞
lover, may££
man, male person, ba££há∞∞
old man, Ô∑££j;bå££
old woman, Ô∑££j−n∑££
person, ∆antj−nak££
poor man, daw∞∞bå££
settler from outside, ban££j
slave, å∞∞
subjects (of a king, etc.), lo≥££
thief, g∑+££bå££ (g∑+££ 'steal')
widow, Ôam∞∞−n∑££
widower, Ôam∞∞bå££
woman, −n∑££hå∞∞
young people, youth, tæe∞∞hjf££lá∞∞
 (cf. 'adolescent boy, girl')

Kinship Terms
grandfather, ot££b∑££
grandmother, ot££bi££
father, bå££
father's older brother,
 bå££ba+££he££bå∞∞
father's sister, −nØy££
father's younger brother,
 bå££na∑∞∞e∞∞bå££
mother, −n∑££
mother's brother, gu££
older brother, «cØy££
older sister, ~nᣣ
older sibling, na∑∞∞bØ∑££j
child (kin term), hά££bØ∑££j
daughter, y∑k££thά££
nephew, niece, li£¡bØ∑££j
son, ye∞∞Δa≥∞∞
grandchild, h∑££bØ∑££j

Illness
sick, ill, Δa≥££j, d∑≥∞∞
constipation, maw££
deaf, ≥∞∞, hØ££j
injury, má££j/vá±££
itch, ≥∑+££j
shock with depression,
  kaeaw∞∞d‰££g‰££j
swell up, boko∞∞, daw££j

ARTIFACTS

Cooking and Eating Equipment
container for paddy made from a mat, há±££jØ∞∞
curry pot, haw££dØk££j (haw££ 'curry')
mortar (for pounding rice), Δam££Δak££j
pestle (for pounding rice), mØ∞∞
rice plate, nØk££dØ≥∞∞ (nØk££ 'rice';
  ΔØ≥∞∞ 'shell')
rice pot, nØk££dØk££j (nØk££ 'rice')

Basketry, Cloth, Clothing
bag, kæu≥££j
basket (general term), do∞∞
  basket, winnowing, om∞∞∞
bird basket, bird cage, u££dØ∞∞∞ (u££
  'bird')
carrying strap, tump line, bak££j
cloth, peom∞∞∞
clothing, ø££j

jute cloth, teoy£¡lά££j≤∑££j
mat, am∞∞
rope, Ø∑££j
thread, Øi££j
tyling strips of flexible bamboo, lu≥∞∞

Tools and Weapons
arrow, lá±££hán∞∞
axe, á££j
bow (n.), bØ££lå±££j, wo≥∞∞lå±££j
  (bØ££ 'tree, wood'; 'wo≥∞∞
  'bamboo')
knife, lo≥££kæo±££j
knitting, hu££j
ladder, bridge, teay∞∞
large knife, sword, dao, yán∞∞
needle, ~nam∞∞m‰££j (~nam∞∞
  'iron')
shield (n.), i∞∞
snare (n.), day∞∞
spear (n.), ≥o££j
tongs, a££kcap∞∞∞
trap (n.), «cu≥∞∞∞

Buildings, their Parts, Furniture
bed, lØ≥∞∞
bird coop, chicken coop (placed high as
  in a tree, but made by people) «co≥££j
door, Δá££j; dan££j
dormitory for young men or women,
  yo££j
fireplace, ø££dapat££j (ø££ 'fire'; dp££±l
  á££j 'ashes')
granary, bu≥∞∞
horn shaped hook for hanging things,
  pæak∞∞∞
house, Δam∞∞∞
pen for animals (on the ground),
  u££kæo££j
roof, $\Delta am$$\infty a$$\infty døk$$\infty$ ($\Delta am$$\infty$ 'house'; $døk$$\infty$ 'back'),
sitting platform, $døk$$\infty$
thatch, $yu$$\infty$
village meeting house, $bå$$\infty$
wall, $pæâm$$\infty$

Countryside, Fields
bridge, ladder, $teay$$\infty$
fields, $gå$$\infty$
garden, fence, $be$$\infty$
retaining log to hold dirt back, $Ø$$\sum$$\infty$
road, path, $lam$$\infty$
village, $«c$$\sum$$≥$
well (for water), $yo$$\infty$
(row, line, queue (n.), $lØ$$\ge$$\infty$
rust, $d$$\sum$$\infty$
shade, shadow, $ta$$\sum$$m$$\infty$
silver, $≥$$in$$\infty$
sin, $må$$\ge$$\infty$ (cf. 'spoil')
smoke, $ø$$\sum$$ø$$\infty$
(sneeze, (n.) $ha$$\sum$$Ø$$\infty$
(soul, spirit, $lá$$\sum$$á$$\infty$
wisdom, $gon$$\infty$

NOUNS, ABSTRACT AND MISC.
ashes, $ø$$\infty$$ni$$\infty$$l$$\infty$
(bride price, $mØ$$\infty$
chips (from chopping), $pæu$$\infty$
corpse, dead bod, $ma$$\infty$
correction, $yan$$\infty$
(cultivation, $Øa$$\infty$
dirt, $mak$$\infty$
evil spirit, $ma$$\infty$
fragrance, perfume, $wo$$\infty$
fire, $ø$$\infty$
firewood, $bØ$$\infty$
flood, $b$$\sum$$≥$$\infty$, $b$$\sum$$≥$$\infty$$h$$\infty$$y$$\infty$
folk song, $ø$$\infty$
force, power, strength (of a man, $wØ$$\infty$
(elephant etc.), $wØ$$\infty$ (cf. difficult)
gold, $hon$$\infty$
hole, $Δ$$\infty$
iron, $~nam$$\infty$
joint, seam (between cloth, boards, etc.), $bo$$\ge$$\infty$
language, $Δa$$\infty$
(cf. 'chin'
lime (mineral), $teo$$\infty$
medicine, $m‰$$\infty$$li$$\infty$
money, $lop$$\infty$
name (n.), $m‰$$n$$\infty$
pit, trench, $ba$$\ge$$\infty$
place (n.), $Δ$$\sum$$≥$$\infty$
property mark, $pæu$$\infty$
remainder, remnant, $aw$$\infty$$b$$\sum$$Ø$$\infty$
row, line, queue (n.), $lØ$$\ge$$\infty$
rust, $d$$\sum$$\infty$
TIME EXPRESSIONS
after, $pæ$$Ø$$\sum$$g$$\sum$$Ø$$\infty$
after a while, $d$$≥$$\infty$
again, $Δaw$$\infty$
again, right after, $nØ$$≥$$Ø$$y$$\infty$
always, $dØ$$≥$$\infty$
before, $Δe$$∞$$g$$Ø$$\infty$
cold season, $ho$$≥$$\infty$
day (not night), $~ni$$≥$$Øn$$≥$$\infty$ (cf. 'morning')
day (unit of time), $~ni$$≥$$Ø$
evening, $om$$\infty$
every day, $~ni$$≥$$Øc$$Øy$$≥$$Ø$
last, $Δom$$\infty$
late, $gå$$∞$$∞$
month, $len$$\infty$ (cf. moon)
morning, *napɛtʃnɛ* (cf. 'day time')
night, *Őaɔtʃkɛ* (~*nakɛtʃ* 'dark')
not yet, *máɔtʃ*
now, *Δɔtʃkɛ*
suddenly, *≥ɔtʃ≥atʃkɛhɔtʃkɔ*
summer, *Δawɔtʃj*
today, *Δinʃtʃj−niɔtʃ*
tomorrow, *≥inʃtʃj−niɔtʃ*
winter, *Őawɔtʃj−nɔtʃ*
year, *bió*
yesterday, *minɔtʃj−niɔtʃ*

**ADJECTIVES**

**Numbers**
one, *hɔtʃkɛ*
two, *−niɔtʃ*
three, *«ɔ»camɔtʃ*
four, *aɔtʃ*
five, *≥ɔtʃ*
six, *woɔkɛ*
seven, *−natʃkɛ*
eight, *Δɔtʃkɛ*
nine, *Δɔtʃkɔ*
ten, *anɔtʃj*
zero, *goɔtʃ*
twenty, *gukɔtʃɔłaɔtʃ*
one hundred, *keɔtʃtʃhɔtʃkɛ* (*hɔtʃkɛ* 'one')

**Color**
black, *~nakɛtʃłaɔtʃ*
dark, *Őaɔtʃkɔ−nakɛtʃ* (~*nakɛtʃ* 'black')
green, *taɔtʃɔłaɔtʃ*
light (not dark), *Őaɔtʃkɔ−ayɔtʃj*
red, *hakɛłaɔtʃ*
white, *Δuɔtʃłaɔtʃ*
yellow, *woɔtʃłaɔtʃ*

**Taste**
bitter, *Δɔtʃɔyakɔtʃ*
hot (like chilies), *haɔtʃ*
sour, *tawɔtʃ*
sour thing, *tawɔtʃɔyɔkɔtʃ*
sweet, *Őɔtʃɔnaɔtʃ*

**Size**
big, *loɔtʃ*
depth, *«ɔtʃ* ɔtʃ*
far, *dayɔtʃ*
fat (of people), *nitʃkɔ*
high, *Δawɔtʃj*
long, *moɔtʃj*
long (time, roads), *luɔtʃ*
narrow, *Δałɔtʃɔpɔtʃ*
shallow, *pəawɔtʃtʃleɔtʃ*
short (people), *ΔawɔtʃjΔɔtʃkɔ*
short (time, roads), *Δɔtʃɔlɔtʃkɔ*
small, *mánɔtʃ*
tall (people), *Δawɔtʃjluɔtʃ* (luɔtʃ 'long')
tall (things, trees, etc.), *Δawɔtʃj*
thick, *«ɔtʃeɔtʃlɔtʃ*
thin, *baɔtʃj−naɔtʃ*
thin (people), *goyɔtʃ*
wide, *bątʃjloɔtʃ* (loɔtʃ 'big')

**Miscellaneous Adjectives**
afraid, fear, *−namɔtʃj*
alive, *yamɔtʃj*
all, *bɔɔtʃ*
angry, *moɔtʃɔΔiɔtʃkɔ* (moɔtʃ 'heart')
as ashamed, *Őɔtʃʃɔtʃj*
bad, *nɔtʃɔɔtʃmɔtʃyɔtʃ*
bent, crooked, *gɔtʃkɔ*
careful, *liɔtʃj*

clean, *daɔtʃɔtʃlɔtʃ*
cold, *Őɔtʃɔmàkɔtʃ*
different, distinct, *lɔwɔtʃlɔwɔtʃ*
difficult,*wɔtʃj*
dirty, *makɛtʃhatɔtʃ*
dull, blunt, *nàtʃɔtʃɔɔtʃ*
easy, *yɔtʃɔɔtʃbɔtʃ*
empty, *goɔtʃ*
extreme, too much, loy££
fast, quick, Δá∞∞
fed up, tired of, $%$≥∞∞
full, mά£j
good, mØy∞∞
happy, joy, mο$≥∞∞ o££ (mο$≥∞∞ 'heart'; o££ 'climb, go up')
hard (firm), Ōi≥££
hot, warm, Δám$∞∞ ok∞∞
hungry, ay£j
identical, le∞∞
lazy, Ōàk££
left side, lak££–nø≥£j (lak££ 'hand, arm')
less, gom£j
light, (weight) Δá≥££kæâ≥££
male, (animal) bø≥££
many, very, lo$≥∞∞ i££ (lo$≥∞∞ 'big')
near, yø∞∞
near, «câ∞∞
next, net£jɔy££
not cautious of, n%∞∞há∞∞gá∞∞
not eloquent, ∑$≥∞∞
old (people), Ó∑£j
old (things), «câ≥££
other, l%o££h∑££
perceptive, discerning, yaw£j
poor (impoverished), daw∞∞
portion, share han£j
pregnant, na∑∞∞go+££ (na∑∞∞ 'baby')
raw, uncooked, tæ∑$≥∞∞
rich, wealthy, Δam∞∞mØy∞∞ (Δam∞∞ 'house'; mØy∞∞ 'good')
right side, lak££dá+££ (lak££ 'hand, arm')
right, correct, «c∑∞∞
rough, pæá∞∞pæá∞∞láo∞∞
round, doy∞∞la$≥∞∞
royal, u$≥££
same, ay£j; hØk££
separate, apart, in different places, ∫u∞∞∫u∞∞
sexy, la∑∞∞
sharp, ná+££
sincere, ΔΩ££
slow, mα$≥∞∞
slowly, yo$≥£j; mØ££
smart, na££
smooth, slippery, ∼nØ££lΩk∞∞
soft, int££
some, hán∞∞nØy££
steep, tæo$≥£j (cf. 'step down')
sticky, kwam∞∞
straight, la∑£j; lΩk∞∞
strong, wο$≥£j; gø+££ (wο$≥£j; 'power, difficult')
stupid, yoy£j
swept clean (of dirt, water), gØ∞∞
true, correct, h∑$≥££mØy∞∞
unhappy, sad, mο$≥∞∞mά$≥££ (mο$≥∞∞ 'heart'; mά$≥££ 'spoil')
weak, dak££, wο$≥£j n%o££gø+££ (wο$≥£j gø+££ 'strong'; n%o££ 'negative')
whole, entire, gam££
wrong, at fault, bo$≥∞∞

VERBS

able to earn livelihood, lâ≥£j
accompany, go with, mο$≥∞∞
accuse, no$≥£j
agree, ø∞∞
anoint, apply ointment, pæø∞∞ (cf. 'wash face')
arrive, reach, ≥oy∞∞
ask, pae∞∞
attend, haw∞∞
bathe, take a bath, *ha≥∞∞há∞∞lak££*

( *ha≥∞∞* 'body')

be born, *a≥£j*

beckon, wave, *lak££yØp££* ( *lak££* 'hand, arm')

bend, *yø££*

bend by force, *g∑££*

bite, *gat££*

bless, touch, *moy£¡*

blow (with mouth), *du£¡*

boil, *∆ám£¡*

borrow, *lu££*

bow down, *tæø≥∞∞*

break (glass etc.), *paew££j*dØk∞∞

breathe, *≥Ø£¡h‰∞∞*

bring, bring back, *lØy£¡*

burn (intrans.), *ba≥££*

burn (trans.), *«cak££*

burst, *peaw££j*

bury, (the dead) *ÔØ≥∞∞*

bury, in ground *du≥£j*

buy, *∆ak££*

call, cry out, *hØy££*

care for, foster, *u≥£j*

carry from a tump line, *gø∞∞*

carry in the arms (esp. baby), *bam∞∞*

carry in the hand, *yØ≥££*

carry on the shoulder, *bay∞∞*

chew, *∆ay∞∞*

climb, go up, *ø≥££*

close (box etc.), cover, *gap££*

close (mouth), *ka∑m££*

come, *hØy≥££*

come, return *lØy∞∞*

cook, *«cØ∑££j*

cough, *gay∞∞*

crack (intrans.), *l∑≥£j*

crawl, *∆om∞∞*

cry, weep, *taap££*

cut with an axe, *hay∞∞*

cut with knife, *Ô‰ot££*

damage, *den££*

dance, *pae∞∞∞dØy∞∞∞* ( *dØy∞∞∞* 'mutual, reciprocal')

deceive, *lø∞∞∞*

dedicate (church), *lØ∑££*

defile, *∆Øy≥££*

depend on others, *ø≥£j*

descend, go down a little way, *y∑£j*

descend, go down a long way, *∆å££*

die, *di£j*

dig, *Δu££*

disappear, cause to (trans.), *Δu£j*

disappear, melt (intrans.), *Δw∞∞∞*

dive, sink, *a£jyØp£££∆Ø∞∞∞*

do, *dØk££*

dream, *ma≥££*

drink, *y∑∞∞∞*

drive (animals), *át£j*

drown, *la≥££*

dry (intrans.) *Ôán££*

dry (trans.), *Ôån££j*

eat, *ha≥££*

embrace, *kæay∞∞∞, ak££kæay∞∞∞*

emerge, come out gradually, *Ôåm££*

emerge, come out suddenly, *law££j*

encroach, as pushing into the bordering field, *len££*

enter, *∆Ø∞∞∞*

exhort, *h‰≥££*

extinguish, *mat££*

fall, *do∞∞∞*

fall down, *ÔØ∞∞∞*

feed liquid, make drink, *y∑≥£j*

feel very cold, *ton∞∞∞*

fight, *Øp££dØy∞∞∞* ( *dØy∞∞∞* 'mutual, reciprocal')

float, *péo≥££*

flow, *yan∞∞∞*

fly (vb.), *bi∞∞∞*

follow someone, *mØ££*

forget, *be£j*
freeze, *taen∞∞*

frighten (of animals), *baw££*

gather, collect, *taay££*

get up from bed, *bu££*

give, *∆u≠££*

give birth, *b∑££*

give shelter, take into one's home (trans), *loy££*

go, leave, *day££, lØ∞∞day££*

gossip, *loy££*

grab and pull, *daw££*

grind (spices, etc.), *≥∑∞∞*

handle (vb.), *∆uo££*

hear, *dán££*

help, *gáp££, ∆a££*

hide, *«cø££*

hit, *gø££*

hit, beat, *Øp££*

hold in hand, *nø££*

imagine, *le∞∞*

inject, *∆u≥££*

insert, *∆Ø££*

insert a stick, *la££*

insert, put between, *it££*

itch, scratch (hurt, soothe), *≥∞∞*

join together, as bringing in an accomplice, putting meat on a rod, *be≥££*

join, connect, *kaeay∞∞*

jump down, *lo≥££*

keep, *du≠££*

keep orderly, put neatly, *h‰≥∞∞*

kick, *haw££*

kill, *cØ££*

know, learn, imitate, *~n≥££*

laugh, *~ni∞∞*

leave, go, *lØ∞∞day££*

let fall, cause to fall, *ØØ££*

let go, set free, *dØy££, dØk∞∞*

let loose, *lay££, lay££, dØk∞∞*

lick, *lay££*

lie down, *lam££*

life, *ya≥∞∞–nu££*

listen, *hà≥££*

make, *l∑≥££*

make a bamboo wall, *â££*

make a hole through, *lo££*

match, be alike, *gØ££*

melt, dissolve (water, wax, fat, etc.), *~na≥∞∞*

miss the target, « *cay££*

mourn, lament, *yo≥££*

move restlessly, *bo∞∞*

need, want, *nà∞∞*

news, *∆á≠££«cá≥££*

open (door), *∆á££, ap∞∞*

open (door, box), *ap∞∞*

open (earth, mouth), *gá££*

overtake, run ahead, *yØy££*

pass through, *bØy≠££*

pile up in orderly way, *peo≥££*

pile up, heap up, *lo≥££*

piling up, heap up messily, *Δ∑≥££*

play, *≥á∞∞*

play (musical instruments), *∑Ω≥££*

point, *Δ∑≥∞∞*

pound (rice), *Δ∑££*

praise (vb.), *du££*

prevent, *ba≥££*

pull, *Δ∑££*

pull up, *daw££*

push, *ho≥∞∞*

push down slanting, *lo££*

put (inside), *Δi≠££*

put in, *hØ££*

put on, place, *ha££*

quarrel (with words), *de££*

read, count, *et££*

redeem, accept back a person who has done wrong, *a≥££, a≥££*

remove from mouth, *yay££, du≠££*

resist, *dØ≥££*
return, come, łożyć
roam, łożyć dołożyć, łożyć dołożyć
roll down (intrans.), łożyć
roll up, dołożyć
run, flee, mknę
sag (as strung up wires), nay
say, speak, talk, etę
scatter, hayę, yąnę
scream, a
see, e
sell, yu
send a message to someone, pęø
set up, as a post, hø
sew, stitch, tæ
shake (intrans.), kæØ
shake (trans.), tał; e
shine, kæa
shoot (gun, etc.), lá
show, huty
sing, lokę
sit, u
sit, cause to (e.g. baby, chicken), utę
sit idly, paaktę
sleep, Ałtę
smell (notice smell), bół
smell (test by smelling), dśmę
smell bad, Δętę; bół (Δętę; 'rot')
smell good, ≥ałtę; møy (≥ałtę
'throat'; møy 'good')
sneeze (vb.), Δał
snore, Δøy hak
spill, overflow, pour down, lą
split, gak
squeeze, rub on body, nok
stab (with spear) ḥśmę
stab (with large knife, dao), bapę
stand, yao
stand in line, lśÖyvă (lśÖyvă 'line, queue'; yavę 'stand')
start, ba
steal (theft), gśł
step down, iwołę
stir (curry etc.), lśölę
stretch (body, back side of a stick, by bending), gałł ≤øyę, gałł ɵyę
suck, cółę
swim, ọtę
taboo, cøyę
take, yayałę
take shelter (from rain etc.), become a member, łoż
teach, Oanę
tear off, layę
think, remember, døyłę
throw, Đałk
throw away, yakęłł Đałk
throw spear from a distance, Δśłł
throw upward, domęłł

tickle, dś

tie a knot, hintę

tie (with bamboo strips), bind, wrap,
bind (of law), Aáltę

tired, ~no

torture, Oinę

touch (vb.), hołę

try, kął

turn, Ainię
untie, Đęłę
use up, run out, Đał
wake up (intrans.), bawę
wake up (trans.), pęök
walk, gąłę
want, need, na
warm at fire (hands, food, etc.), gałł
wash face, teełpjewę (teeł 'face')
wash hands, lałłłłśłł (lałłłł 'arm/hand')
weave, dakę
welcome warmly, omęłłłło
wipe, rub off dirt, tałtę
wrestle, pęölę
FUNCTION WORDS AND AFFIXES

Classifiers
classifier for animals, \textit{gok̂̂}
classifier for long things, \textit{ya≥}j
classifier for people, \textit{bář}́́ (cf. 'father')
classifier for short things, \textit{Δøj}
classifier for thin things, paper, \textit{pæ̂̂ā̂̂}

Question words
how much?, \textit{m‰ōk̂̂lhΔ∑jō}
how?, \textit{m‰ōk̂̂lh∑jōyj}
what?, \textit{mε̂̂lh∑̂̂hĵ̂}
when?, \textit{m‰ōk̂̂lhcam̂̂ĵ̂}
where?, \textit{m‰ōk̂̂lh∑ĵ̂ŷ̂}
who?, \textit{∑̂̂ĵ̂bář}́́

Noun Suffixes, Postpositions
above, \textit{Δa≥}lĵ̂ŷ̂
between, \textit{̂̂gØ̂̂ĵ̂}
beyond, \textit{át̂̂ĵ̂}
from (suffix), \textit{-lØ̂̂ĵ̂}

Verb Suffixes
imperative suffix, \textit{-du÷l̂̂ĵ̂}
mutually, reciprocally, \textit{-dØ̂̂ĵ̂}
not, negative, \textit{n‰ĵ̂ĵ̂}

Demonstratives, Misc.
also (n. suffix), \textit{-aŵ̂ĵ̂}
and, \textit{haε̂̂dØ̂̂ĵ̂}
because, \textit{meε̂̂lh∑̂̂hĵ̂gØ̂̂ĵ̂}
here, \textit{hamε̂̂jmØ̂̂ĵ̂}
if, \textit{jc‰̂̂ĵ̂mØ̂̂ĵ̂}
that, \textit{an̂̂ĵ̂de‰̂̂bα̂̂ĵ̂}
there, \textit{an̂̂ĵ̂de‰̂̂lØ̂̂ĵ̂}, \textit{an̂̂ĵ̂dÔ̂ĵ̂}
lØ̂̂ĵ̂
this, \textit{há̂̂ĵ̂}, \textit{hapε̂̂lbα̂̂ĵ̂}

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