EAST TUSOM: A PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH OF A LARGELY UNDOCUMENTED TANGKHULIC LANGUAGE

David R. Mortensen and Jordan Picone

Carnegie Mellon University and University of Pittsburgh

East Tusom is a Tibeto-Burman language of Manipur, India, belonging to the Tangkhulic group. While it shares some innovations with the other Tangkhulic languages, it differs markedly from "Standard Tangkhul" (which is based on the speech of Ukhrul town). Past documentation is limited to a small set of hastily transcribed forms in a comparative reconstruction of Tangkhulic rhymes (Mortensen & Miller 2013; Mortensen 2012). This paper presents the first substantial sketch of an aspect of the language: its (descriptive) phonetics and phonology. The data are based on recordings of an extensive wordlist (730 items) and one short text, all from one fluent native speaker in her mid-twenties. We present the phonetic inventory of East Tusom and a phonemicization, with exhaustive examples. We also present an overview of the major phonological patterns and generalizations in the language. Of special interest are a "placeless nasal" that is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel unless it is followed by a consonant and numerous plosive-fricative clusters (where the fricative is roughly homorganic with the following vowel) that have developed from historical aspirated plosives. A complete wordlist, organized by gloss and semantic field, is provided as appendices.

phonetics; phonology; clusters; placeless nasal; assimilation; language documentation; Tangkhulic

INTRODUCTION

The East Tusom Language

The topic of this paper is the phonetics and phonology of an endangered Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Tusom village, Ukhrul District, Manipur State, India, perhaps in surrounding villages, and by families who have left the area. The location of Tusom village relative to other locations in north-eastern Manipur is given in Figure 1. This village, and the associated language variety, is called "East Tusom" in this paper to distinguish it from another village called Tusom that is also located in Ukhrul district. The precise number of speakers is not known, although there are believed to be less than 1,000.

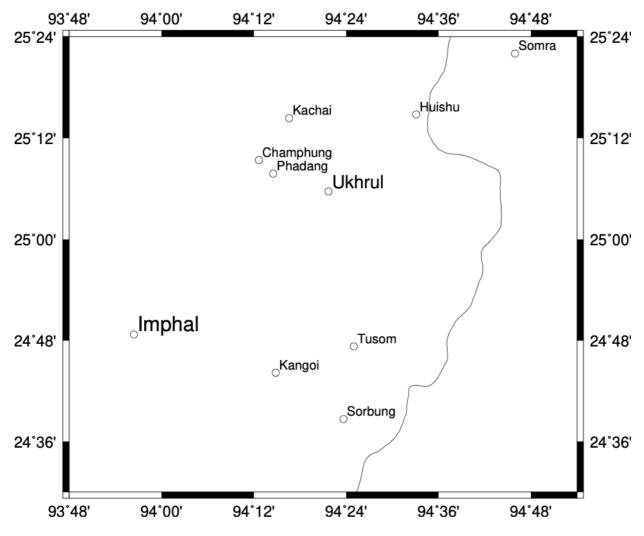


Figure 1: Map of northeastern Manipur showing the location of Tusom village

It is difficult to overstate the linguistic diversity of northeast Manipur, especially Ukhrul district. There is a Tangkhul saying that the region has "one tribe, 90 villages, and 90 dialects," where "dialect" is best understood as "language." While most of the people in Ukhrul district consider themselves to be part of one ethnic group, the Tangkhul Nagas, the languages they speak appear to be drawn from multiple different groups within Tibeto-Burman. The most prominent language in the district, Standard Tangkhul (Pettigrew 1979; Arokianathan 1987; Ahum 1997)—a lingua franca based on the speech of Ukhrul village—is part of a group that has been called "Tangkhulic" (Mortensen & Miller 2013). Many, but not all, of the Tangkhul languages described by early investigators like Brown (1837) and McCollouch (1859), as well as recent investigators like Tokchom (2011) also belong to this group. These languages differ markedly in phonology, morphology, lexicon, and even syntax. The Sorbung language, spoken in the southern part of Ukhrul district, appears not to belong to Tangkhulic at all and to be close to the Kuki-Chin branch of Tibeto-Burman (Mortensen & Keogh 2011) ¹. Recent investigation in northern Ukhrul district, too, has uncovered "Tangkhul" languages

¹ Sorbung may be close to Kabrang Tangkhul, which was described by Takhellambam (2014).

that do not fit neatly into the Tangkhulic group, such as Suansu². Most of these languages have not been documented at all, let alone documented well, and there is evidence that these languages are of considerable typological interest, particularly with reference to phonology and morphology.

The only prior published data from Tusom are a small set of imperfectly transcribed forms used to support comparative historical arguments in Mortensen and Miller (2013) and Mortensen (2012).³ These are provided without any synchronic analysis or any general descriptive statements. The goal of this paper is to provide a comprehensive report on the data set from which these smaller sets were sampled and to describe, to the extent possible given the materials available, the phonetic inventory, phonological units, and phonological generalizations of East Tusom. The data set is admittedly limited. It consists mostly of somewhat noisy recordings of wordlist data transcribed by the current authors after the recordings were made. However, it is the only data on this language that is currently available and should be of interest not just to synchronic phonologists and phonological typologists, but also to comparative linguists trying to understand the linguistic history of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the India-Burma borderlands.

East Tusom and Tangkhulic

Earlier work has identified a number of shared innovations, phonological and morphological, that serve as criteria for membership in the Tangkhulic group as defined by Mortensen (2003). These include the affixation of certain lexical prefixes in particular nouns and verbs, the affixation of the nominalizing prefix $k - k^h - k^$

However, East Tusom is highly innovative, especially phonologically. It has undergone dramatic changes since the Proto-Tangkhulic period. Most of the rhyme contrasts that existed in Proto-Tangkhulic have been neutralized. The only remaining codas (in native vocabulary) are glottal stop (marginal) and a nasal "archiphoneme", which we analyse as underlyingly placeless. The onset inventory has, in contrast, become much richer. Phonetically, at least, it includes a profusion of plosive-fricative clusters, a few of which can be analysed phonologically as affricates and most of which cannot (because they are not homorganic). As we will show below, these largely appear to have developed from earlier aspirated plosives whose aspirated intervals—coloured by the following vowel—have been reinterpreted as fricatives.

² For data from this language, see https://zenodo.org/record/3383006#.YE0eF9wo9PY.

³ A version of these data was also included in the STEDT database (Matisoff 2015).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Speaker

The speaker, who was a native, proficient, female speaker of East Tusom in her twenties, was not raised in Tusom village but grew up speaking Tusom as her home language and during frequent visits to her grandparents (who continued to live in Tusom). She grew up in Imphal, the capital of Manipur, and spoke Meithei (Manipuri) outside of the home, as well as English and Standard Tangkhul. There is some evidence that her lexicon was influenced by these other languages. However, her phonology seems to be very different from her L2s. She was located through a network of Tangkhul theology students studying in the United States. The first author carried out elicitation and recording in summer of 2004.

Materials

Elicitation was based on an extensive wordlist (730 items) intended originally for comparative purposes. It was designed to include a wide range of basic vocabulary as well as cultural items specific to Northeast India and Burma. No systematic effort was made to elicit utterances more complex than a single word, but many of the elicited items appear to be phrases. A short text, not provided here, was also collected, based upon the author's recollection of childhood visits to Tusom village.

Elicitation Techniques

The wordlist was collected using a standard bilingual elicitation protocol. First, the first author gave a word from the wordlist in English. The speaker responded by translating the word in East Tusom. The author then repeated the word until the speaker was satisfied, at which point they typed a transcription of the East Tusom item into the SIL Field Linguist's Toolbox software application. After each tranche of items, the author made a recording. The author said each English word in the tranche, after which the speaker gave her translation into the target language three times.

Recording Equipment

Recordings were made using a laptop computer and the Audacity software package. The speaker wore an inexpensive lavalier microphone with a wired connection to the analog microphone port of the computer. The resulting recordings were somewhat noisy but are acceptable for some basic acoustic analysis.

Transcription Methodology

Transcriptions were manually extracted from the Toolbox files and added to Praat TextGrids, aligned with the corresponding utterances (Boersma & Weenink 2020). One utterance type (with three tokens) was placed in a single interval to make transcriptions easier to maintain. However, intervals were created for each

token and a Praat script was written to populate these intervals with the transcription for the type, except when a particular token was audibly different. In these cases, the transcription of each token was inserted in the TextGrid manually. The transcriptions were then corrected in multiple passes. First, the first author made a complete pass, correcting errors. They then made a partial pass, correcting transcriptions of tone. The second author then made a global pass, ensuring that uniform conventions were applied throughout the corpus. Finally, individual hypotheses about the phonetics and phonology of the language were tested by querying the corpus with a Python script and examining the results instrumentally. This allowed us to determine, for example, that East Tusom does in fact have [b] and [d] in its segment inventory—unlike most other documented Tangkhulic languages— but does not appear to have [g].

PHONETICS

The following section is a concise treatment of the descriptive and articulatory phonetics of East Tusom. Our goal, at this juncture, is to document each of the phones that occurs in our phonetic transcription of the Tusom data. This transcription is narrow enough that it captures a fair amount of subphonemic variation but is broad enough that repetitions of the same word are assigned the same transcription despite minor phonetic differences. It is not our goal, in this part of the paper, to discuss contrastive phonological units. Instead, we seek to catalogue and exemplify phones.

Consonant Phones

We identified 29 consonant phones in Tusom, as shown in Table 1. There are six different places of articulation if labiodental and bilabial places of articulation are grouped together as "labial" and palatal and palato-alveolar are grouped together as "palatal". There are an especially large number of alveolar phones. In particular, there are instances of both alveolar trills ([r] and [r]) and alveolar approximants ([I] and [I]) that are auditorily similar to the "bunched r" of American English.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive (voiced)	b	d				
Plosive (voiceless)	p	t		k		3
Plosive (voiceless aspirated)	$p^{\rm h}$	$t^{\rm h}$		\mathbf{k}^{h}		
Nasal Stop	m	n	n	ŋ		
Fricative (voiced)	V	Z	Z			
Fricative (voiceless)	f	S	e	X	χ	h
Lateral Fricative		1				
Trill (voiced)		r				
Trill (voiceless)		ŗ				
Approximant (voiced)		I				
Approximant (voiceless)		Ŷ	j			
Lateral Approximant		1				

Table 1: Consonant phones of East Tusom

Plosives

Examples of the nine plosive phones are given in Table 2 below.

[b]	bŵə	'bat'	kábíe	'defecate'	bótì	'buttocks'
[d]	kcídû	ʻphlegm'	dúmpvúlè	'snail'	<i>Pəkədà</i>	'palate'
[p]	pátû	'forehead'	<i>Pápî</i>	'father'	?ásámpá	'right hand'
[t]	tìtấ	'chameleon'	táŋkʰèmâ	'dark'	?ítâ	'older sister'
[k]	kố	'river'	kázŵa	ʻrain'	kfıû	'village/state'
[3]	Pìmà	'older brother'	Pánữ 💮	'mother'	<i>?a</i>	'1sg'
$[p^h]$	pʰə́lùŋ	'termite'	$p^{\scriptscriptstyle h}$ lák $lpha$ s $x \hat{ ilde{a}}$	'swallow'	kàp ^h rí	'beautiful'
$[t^h]$	t^h \acute{u} $mp\acute{a}$	'plant'	kàthúi	'sour'	mít ^h ŷn ⁴	'mithun'
$\lceil k^h \rceil$	k^h ámpx \hat{u}	'rash (n.)'	?ùkʰɹ̯ùe	'intestine'	kʰáŋkɕí	'cough (v.)'

Table 2: Examples of East Tusom plosives

Of these, [b] and [d] are quite rare, but have pronounced negative voice onset time, distinguishing them from the more common [p] and [t]. A voiced velar plosive [g] does not seem to exist. This type of gap is common in the world's languages (Ohala 1983; Maddieson 2013) and is also found in many Kuki-Chin languages, as well as Proto-Tangkhulic as reconstructed by Mortensen and Miller (2013).

Nasal Stops

Table 3 shows examples of each of the four Tusom nasal stops.

⁴ This is a loanword, possibly from English.

[m]	mù	'person'	nàmpúət	'smooth'	kʰàmé	'wrong'
[n]	nốsùlè	'dove'	k^h ánn \hat{y}	'laugh'	k^h $ ag{n}$	'hit'
[n]	?и́упѝе		kʰə́nûe	'slippery'		
[ŋ]	ŋàlâ	'soil'	k^h áŋ k $arepsilon i$	'cough'	sá-ŋồ	'bear'

Table 3: Examples of Tusom nasal stop phones

Of these phones, [m], [n]. and [n] are all reasonably common. The palatal nasal stop [n] is very rare and occurs in only two items within our corpus.

Fricatives

East Tusom has a large number of fricative phones, which are listed in Table 4 below.

[v]	Pisúvế	'character'	xúpvù	'sow (n.)'	sákvû	'porcupine'
[z]	zùiə	'cooked rice'	kəzî	'eat'	záŋkữ	'year'
[z]	zìló	'Come!'	mýzè	'come'	k^h ámáz $\hat{\imath}$	'accept'
[f]	лằmfù	'fox'	kfıû	'village'	mápfỳtsùi	'tear (n.)'
[s]	síŋî	'fish'	Pùìnsû	'blood'	kèsxú	'open'
$[\mathfrak{c}]$	εί	'animal'	músî	'eyeball'	t¢úŋkʰớmà	'many'
[x]	хû	'pig'	<i>?ùxúi</i>	'skin'	Pùkxû	'foot'
$[\chi]$?ə́χámpî	'chief'	kèχἇ	'red'	tχâ	'bean'
[h]	hókàpê	'fart (v.)'	ьíhè	'eight'	méhê	'leech'
$[rac{1}{2}]$	kółí	shadow	kàłí	'far'	Ìip⁴lìe	'umbilical cord'

Table 4: Examples of Tusom fricative phones

Of these, the lateral fricative [1] is exceptionally uncommon, occurring in only four items. The others are all more common. Of special note are the palato-alveolar fricatives. It was not possible to perform a palatographic or ultrasound study at the time the data were collected. However, from the acoustic impression, it appears that they are produced by creating a constriction between the front of the tongue and the alveolar ridge.

As should be apparent from the examples, several of the fricative phones have very restricted distributions. Below, we will show that the number of fricative phonemes is somewhat smaller than the number of fricative phones identified here.

Trills and Approximants

The trills and approximants are shown in Table 5. rã kốmbôr 'land or country' kápríjè 'fly (v.)' 'blanket' [r]kàrúi 'heavy' mìrูน์อ 'skin kákrù 'spin (v.)' [r]blemish' bòℷḗ лàтfù 'fox' 'war' 'shirt' [I]лûе 'flea' 'intestine' $[\mathring{\mathbf{I}}]$ *ʔù̀ℷ̣ùъ Pûk^h*, wê [1] lókáte^hŷ 'deceive' k^hàlú 'buy' màliá 'four'

Table 5: Examples of Tusom trill and approximant phones

The auditory impression of [1] is rather like that of American English [1]. As will be noted below, the approximants seem to be in free variation with the trills.

Vowel Phones

The monophthong inventory of East Tusom is shown in Table 6. Notably, there are nasalized phones corresponding to each oral vowel, though some of these are marginal. There are four high vowels, counting only the oral phones and not counting their nasalized counterparts, but only three mid vowels.

	Front		Central	Вас	:k
	unrounded	rounded		unrounded	rounded
High	i ĩ	уỹ		w ũ	u ũ
Mid	e ẽ		əã		o õ
Low	(\tilde{a})		a ã		

Table 6: Monophthongal vowels of East Tusom

With the exception of $[\tilde{\alpha}]$, the vowel inventory is symmetrical. The vowel $[\tilde{\alpha}]$ was only found in one form and seems to be marginal, even as a narrow transcription of the vowel sound in question. It is therefore parenthesized. Examples of the monophthongs are given in Table 7.

1		The Property	5° 5 6	1111 10010 / 1		
[a]	â	'1sg'	rấ _	'land/country'	má	'fire'
[e]	méhê	'leech'	séléntsŷ	'sweat'	Pìmế	'price'
[i]	εί	'animal'	teî_	'necklace'	pɛìŋìjá	'five'
[o]	kồmpé	'duck'	kətsô	'cry (v.)'	$b \grave{o}_{\!$	'toad'
[u]	xû	'pig'	kàbû	'sit on eggs (v.)'	$p^h\!\acute{\sigma}l\grave{u}\eta$	'termite'
$[\mathfrak{m}]$	kfıû	'village/state'	รน์txนั้อ	'bamboo'	màrínù	ʻorphan'
[y]	ỳsádó	'routinely'	mít ^h ŷn	'mithun'	kàcỳ	'decay (v.)'
[ə]	k^h ámáz $\hat{\imath}$	'accept (v.)'	kátá	'slow'	kát ^h ùə	'new'
$[ilde{ ilde{ ext{a}}}]$	mæ̀ŋkʰźli	'catch (v.)'	(marginal)			
[ã]	kʰấ-fưu	'steal (v.)	kèχấ	'red'	k^h ák aba	'choose (v.)'
[ẽ]	7áhế	'curry'	?ìmế́	'price'	kàkế	'cross'
$[\tilde{1}]$	$arepsilon \hat{i}$	'song'	kàcấŋ	'clever/smart'	k^h áŋá $arepsilon$ î	'frost'
[õ]	kốŧî	'shadow'	$k \acute{o} k^h \grave{\mathring{o}}$	'bark'	kèkχồ	'crow (v.)'
[ũ]	lũŋkúə	'stone'	kʰárữ	'add together (v.)'	kádû	'descend (v.)'
$[\tilde{\mathfrak{u}}]$	$t^h \H{u} k^h \H{o}$	'pestle'	(marginal)			
$[\tilde{y}]$	$k^h\!\acute{a}k\!\acute{a}z\!\hat{ ilde{y}}$	'follow'	(marginal)			

Table 7: Examples of Tusom monophthong phones

[uə]	?ùə	'chicken'	k^h áŋ k úə	'strong'	<i>ı</i> ὰ̂?ù∂	'pheasant'
[ie]	kçìe	'knife'	kʰámèlíe	'forget (v.)'	?úp⁴łìe	'navel'
[iə]	?ìтíәрà	'front'	kíəkàçì	'respect'		
[wə]	bŵə	'bat'	лûe	'war'	k^h ə́ŋ \hat{u} ə	'wait'
[ue]	sákûe	'horse'	xúejề	'ginger'	kʰálùe	'finish'
[ui]	kxùi	'bee'	<i>?</i> ѝхи́і	'skin'	kàxúi	'late'
[we]	súientìta	'house lizard'	Pıùk ^h ,ıùe	'intestine'	<i>?ъ̀х</i> и́е	'near'
[uo]	lùo k ^h ớmèlùo	'talk (v.)'	Púlùo	'speech / words'	Púlùo Pàkàsú	'mute / dumb'
[yi]	kʰókʰálŷi	'roll (v.)'				
[au]	jàu	'sheep'				
[oi]	tcákói	'dance				
	kàsəlí	(v.)'				

Table 8: Examples of Tusom phonetic diphthongs/vowel sequences

A total of 13 vowel sequences occur in the data (Table 8). Some of these are clearly diphthongs. Others occur so rarely that they may simply result from the elision of intervocalic consonants. A complete list of the vowel sequences that we believe to be phonemic are given in Table 14 below.

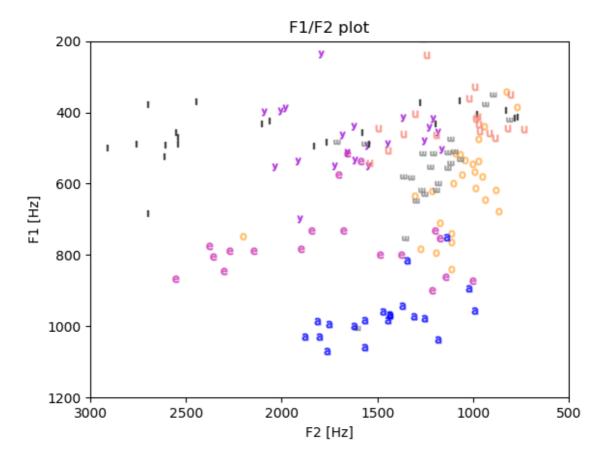


Figure 2: Formant plot of vowels (20 tokens/type) of East Tusom

In order to obtain a clearer picture of the vowel space in East Tusom, we plotted 20 tokens of each vowel phone (excluding [æ] and [ə]) by their first and second formants. This resulted in a plot similar to the IPA vowel chart, with high front vowels at the top left and low back vowels at the bottom right. 20 examples of each vowel segment were manually labeled then extracted using a Praat script (Boersma & Weenink 2020; version 6.1.10). After being isolated, each segment was turned into a formant object using the Burg method (Time Step = 0.01, Max Formants = 5, Max Formant (Hz) = 5500, Window Length = 0.025, Preemphasis = 50). From these objects, F1 and F2 measurements were taken using the "Hertz Linear" method at the midpoint of the segment.

A vowel phone we have transcribed as [ə] occurs quite often in the dataset, but we chose not to include it on this formant chart. We used [ə] to indicate all very short, unstressed vowels that were not clearly [i], [u], or [w]. While we have not yet had time to investigate this topic in detail, it appears that the quality of the vowels in minor (unstressed) syllables is strongly influenced by the vowel in the following stressed syllable. As a result, [ə] vowels occur across a large part of the formant space and their presence in the plot was judged to be unhelpful and uninformative. Furthermore, to the extent that these vowels form a coherent phonetic category, it may be somewhat higher in the vowel space than IPA [ə] (it may be [i]). The exemplar clouds for each vowel in Figure 2 are quite diffuse and show a great deal of overlap. Part of this is due to noise in the recordings, which interfered with the operation of the formant extraction algorithm.

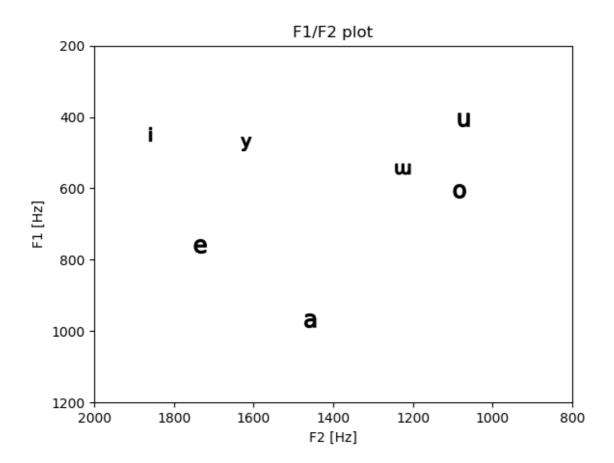


Figure 3: Mean F1 and F2 for East Tusom vowel phones

A plot of mean F1 and F2 values for each vowel is given in Figure 3. These provide a much clearer picture of the Tusom vowel space. To create average F2×F1 values for each vowel, the mean F1 and F2 values of each vowel quality were taken using the mean function of Pandas (McKinney 2010; the pandas development team 2020) on the database of vowels and quality measurements, then plotted in the same way as Figure 2.

Phonetics of Tone

While tone is inherently a phonological construct, it also has to be addressed in its phonetic aspect. Of course, an almost limitless variety of pitch contontours occur in Tusom words, phrases, and sentences, but there are three salient patterns on which we will build our phonological analysis of tone in East Tusom: a high contour, a low contour, and a falling contour.

In reality, all three of these patterns actually involve falling contours most of the time (at least in our data). This is largely due to the interaction between tone and intonation in Tusom. The local tonal contours are superimposed over a broader declining intonational contour. This is very likely to be an artifact of the conditions under which the data was recorded (i.e., without a carrier phrase to control intonation). As a result, it is difficult to tell whether this pattern of declination generalizes to the language generally.

Plots of the three tones in East Tusom are given in Figure 4 below.

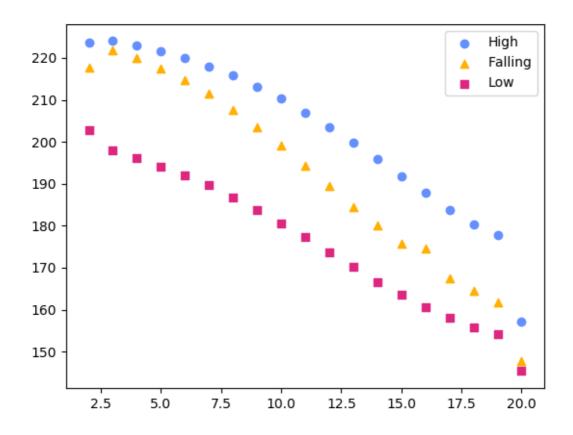


Figure 4: Plots of the three tones in East Tusom (averaged over X tokens per type and sampled at 1 second intervals

100 instances of vowels labeled as [1] "high", [J] "low", or [V] "falling" were converted into Pitch objects using the Parselmouth interface to the Praat API (Jadoul, Thompson & Boer 2018). Pitch objects were stored as a list of frames and measurements taken at a given quantile of each vowel token. For the purposes of finding the average tone curve, F0 measurements were taken at 5% intervals. Because some tokens were too short to be measured accurately in 5% quantiles, only tokens with 20 or more frames were used. When this data is plotted, it reveals how the F0 in a vowel changes over time⁵. To create the average curve for each toneme, the mean value for every frame was taken and plotted. There are artifacts in the final frame of many of these tokens. This is likely due to Praat's autocorrelation method which uses the value of the following datapoint to perform the correlation. Artifacts from Praat's autocorrelation method led to unpredictable results in the last frame of many tokens due to the lack of a following frame.

Based on these data, we propose describing the three tones as [1] "high", [1] "low", and [1] "falling".

⁵ As a reviewer notes, a notable limitation of this sort of analysis is that it does not preserve differences in absolute duration between tones, a subject for further investigation.

PHONOLOGY

The sound system of Tusom consists of a rich inventory of onsets including a large number of clusters, a reasonably rich inventory of vowel nuclei with a modest number of possible rhymes, three tones, and a confounded system of final stress and vowel length. There is a (perhaps unproductive) laryngeal dissimilation in the onsets of prefixes. There is some allophonic variation in the realization of fricatives and there is at least one simple tone rule. The nasal coda segment displays place assimilation and coalescence with the preceding vowel.

Phonological Inventory

The inventory of consonant phonemes that can occur in onsets is given in Table 9:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular Glottal
Plosive (voiced)	b	d			
Plosive (voiceless)	p	t		k	3
Nasal Stop	m	n	n	ŋ	
Fricative (voiced)	v	Z	Z		
Fricative (voiceless)		S	e	X	h
Trill (voiced)		r			
Trill (voiceless)		ŗ			
Approximant (voiced)			j		
Lateral Approximant (voiceless)		100			
Lateral Approximant (voiced)		1			

Table 9: Consonant phonemes

The vowel nuclei are presented in Table 10:

	Front		Central	Вас	ck
	unrounded	rounded		unrounded	rounded
High	i	У		w	u
Mid	e		ə		o
Low			a		

Table 10: Vowel phonemes (monophthongs)

There are eight nuclei. Nasal vowels are analysed as a sequence of a vowel nucleus and the nasal archiphoneme //N//. All diphthongs consist of two vowels drawn from this set in sequence.

A more detailed analysis of the phonological inventories, presented in terms of possible onsets and rhymes, will be provided below.

Phoneme Summary

The six plosive phones all appear to represent distinct phonemes. The same is true of the four nasal phones. There is an accidental gap in the voiced velar plosive, a very common gap cross-linguistically, as mentioned earlier (Ohala 1983; Maddieson 2013). Apart from this gap, there is a three-way laryngeal contrast in plosives (voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated). This is not unusual for the area. As will be seen below, and for language-internal reasons, we analyse the aspirated stops as sequences of a voiceless stop and /h/. The situation with the place of articulation of fricatives is more complicated, as will be shown below. The voiced fricative phones each correspond to a contrastive phoneme. There is reason to believe that the alveolar, and alveopalatal segments represent phonemic contrasts. However, the voiceless velar and uvular fricatives appear to be allophones of one phoneme, as do the voiceless labiodental and glottal fricatives. There appear to be only two rhotic phonemes, one voiced and one voiceless. The alveolar trills are in free variation with the alveolar approximants—different repetitions of a word, in our data, frequently vary only with respect to the manner of a rhotic segment.

Syllable Structure

In native vocabulary, the East Tusom syllable has the following structure: $C_1(C_2)(C_3)V_1(V_2)(N)$

Where: C_1 is any consonant phoneme; C_2 is the phoneme /h/; which can be realized a various fricatives or aspiration; C_3 is /r/ or /l/; V_1 is any vowel nucleus; V_2 is an offglide (one of the vowel phonemes /i/, /u/, /e/, /ə/, or /o/, which are realized in this position as [j], [w], [e], [e], and [o] in this position); and N is a placeless nasal. Syllables may also consist only of a (syllabic) placeless nasal.

An example of a maximal syllable is /prùioN/ in $k\acute{a}prùioN$ 'needle.' There are no onsetless syllables: A glottal stop will be epenthesized to provide an otherwise vowel-initial syllable with an onset. In marginal cases, the N slot may be filled by /?/ (as in $?\dot{u}kx\dot{u}m\acute{o}j\acute{e}?$ 'toeprint'). In loanwords, it may also be filled by /r/ (as in $k\acute{o}mb\^{o}r$ 'blanket').

Stress and Weight

East Tusom, like other Tangkhulic languages, has non-contrastive stress that is predictable from weight and morphological factors (which are confounded). There are no stress or weight alternations in our data (but two short syllables sometimes coalesce to form a long syllable). Except in loanwords, morphemes are all monosyllabic (or occasionally, subsyllabic). Roots are simply long (bimoraic) and stressed while prefixes are short (monomoraic) and unstressed⁶. Because this difference is completely predictable, it is not represented in our transcriptions⁷. Only four vowels (/ə/, /i/, /u/, and /uɪ/) occur in unstressed prefix syllables. Suffixes

⁶ There is at least one exception to this generalization, described below, when the nominalizing prefix occurs before the nasal prefix /N-/.

⁷ However, interpreting the transcriptions does require the reader to recognize roots as roots.

(but not auxiliary verbs, which sometimes have a suffix-like presentation) are short and unstressed as well, as are particles. The general pattern for words in isolation is /L'H/ (iambic) or—for nominalized verbs with lexical prefixes—/LL'H/ (anapestic). Examples are show in (1) and (2), respectively:

```
    (1) a. λì. sí 'flesh'
    b. λú. kûə 'head'
    (2) a. khá.ŋà lố 'to run'
    b. khá.má. zì 'to accept'
```

There is no restriction on having multiple stressed syllables (roots) occur contiguously. This is actually quite common in (compound) nouns and verbs.

Tones

As mentioned above in the section on the phonetics of tone, there are three contrasting tones in East Tusom (3–5):

```
(3) a. \(\varepsilon\)
                               'cow'
      b. cí
                               'animal'
      c. \epsilon \hat{i}
                               'song'
(4) a. k\acute{a}t\acute{e}^h\grave{u}a
                               'to dig'
     b. kátchúa
                              'to be sick'
      c. m \dot{a} k \dot{\partial} t \dot{c}^h \hat{u} \partial 'burning'
                               'to be full'
(5) a. kàtxúa
     b. txùə
                               'oil'
      c. kàtxûə
                               'to be awake'
```

Once one abstracts away from the phonetics of the tones (all are phonetically falling in our data, probably because of the way in which they were elicited), the tone system becomes quite simple: there is a high tone (H), a low tone (L), and a falling tone (HL)⁸. All three tones occur freely in stressed syllables, but only high and low tones occur on affixes and particles.

There is one simple and well-motivated tone rule: $HL \rightarrow H / T$ (a falling tone is "simplified" to a high tone non-finally, as shown in examples (6) and (7):

```
(6) a. 2iu.mu 'eye'
b. mu.bu 'eye sand' (lit. 'eye shit')
c. mu.e 'eyelash' (lit. 'eye hair')
d. mu.khu 'eyebrow'

(7) a. 2\delta.tx\hat{a} 'fruit'
b. 2\delta.tx\hat{a}.'' 'a variety of fruit'
```

The definition of "non-final" is somewhat complicated, however. The process always fails to apply utterance-finally but it sometimes applies within an utterance (presumably when the following syllable is part of the same prosodic word as the one bearing the underlying HL tone). We have not yet worked out the exact criteria

⁸ A reviewer suggests that the [N] tone could better be analyzed as a mid tone, since, for most of its duration, it is higher than L but lower than H. We agree that this is one possible analysis. However, we choose to analyze it as HL because the pitch excursion is much greater than for either of the other two tones and, once the pitch declination is normalized out of the pitch plots, [N] has a clear trajectory from the top of the range to the bottom. Thus, it seems to us to have two targets, rather than one.

for prosodic wordhood in East Tusom, but we have noted that it does not always align neatly with morphological wordhood.

We propose the following analysis based on cross-linguistic facts: Contour tones take longer to realize *ceteris paribus* than level tones (Ohala & Ewan 1973); therefore, they are more likely to be borne by hosts that are long in duration. Tusom affixes and particles are all short in duration, so they are inferior hosts, and, in fact, the HL tone is not found there. However, it is also not found in non-final long syllables. This is because final syllables—across languages—are phonetically lengthened (Lindblom & Karin 1973; Klatt 1973). This tendency is prominent in Tusom. It is only these lengthened final syllables that are long enough to support the Tusom HL tone. This line of reasoning builds on earlier typological work, on many different languages, by Gordon (2001) and Zhang (2002). One way of understanding this pattern is in terms of phonologization: speakers failed to reach their articulatory targets for falling tones on syllables that were not very long more often than on those that are. This difference was phonologized as a tonal alternation.

Onsets

In many Tangkhulic languages, including the Ukhrul-based lingua franca, there is a dissimilatory pattern in prefixes whereby stop-initial prefixes only surface with aspirated onsets preceding roots or prefixes with voiced onsets and surface with unaspirated onsets elsewhere (Arokianathan 1987; Mortensen 2003; Shosted 2007; Gopal 2016). In East Tusom, the residue of this pattern exists, though it has been rendered opaque by various changes and no longer appears to be fully productive. Taking as an example the nominalizing prefix kə-/khə- and the homophonous lexical prefix, here is a summary of the environment in which each alternant occurs¹⁰:

(8) Before voiceless obstruents, [kə] usually occurs:

 a. kápà
 'to be born'

 b. kàtó
 'to weave'

 c. káprulð
 'needle'

 d. kápsulð
 'medicine'

 e. kàsútxà
 'goosebump'

 f. káthuð
 'clean'

 g. kàphtí
 'beautiful'

h. $\partial n \hat{u} k \partial p^h \hat{o}$ 'to be pregnant (with child)'

i. ?àkxá kàsuî 'to breath (breath)'

⁹ A reviewer points out that some languages have very short contour tones, noting the case of Burmese. Hmong also has a very short, abruptly falling tone. Such cases clearly do exist. The argument made here is a statistical one: in aggregate, contour tones are *more likely* to appear on hosts with a long duration than on hosts with a short duration.

¹⁰ Below, aspirated /k/ will be analysed as the cluster /kh/ but for clarity, /kh/ is used here. As a reviewer notes, the patterns illustrated here become rather unusual when it is assumed that there is an alternation between /kh/ and /k/, since the deletion of the /h/ would be conditioned on the properties of a following but non-local consonant. We answer that languages often develop "unnatural" alternations from a combination of historical developments, and this would be an instance of that sort.

j. *kàcĩŋ* 'to be clever/smart' k.khámó kàxúi 'to scratch (an itch)' 1. nín **k**àtchuấ 'to want' (9) Before voiceless sonorants, [ka] also seems to occur a. kàrí 'daughter-in-law' (10) Before voiced fricatives, [ka] usually occurs, but see below 'to menstruate' a. *?ònsú* **k**òzì b. k à zútyà 'mole' (11) [kə] also occurs before voiced stops a. kábíe 'to defecate' b. ?ùkódú 'corner' c. **k**ádű 'to descend' d.*nềŋ kàdí* 'to get lower' (12) In some cases, [ka] even occurs before voiced sonorants, though this is exceptional a. kòluòcí 'cup' b.*ʔúkálwâ* 'spleen' (13) Before nasals, [khə] always occurs a. **k**hánàr 'to snore' b.*k¹ámàlé* 'to spit up' c. màsé khàmuà 'to whistle' d. Pàkyá **k**hàmû 'to blow (breath)' e. khàmé 'to be incorrect' f. khànuá 'to be low' (14) This includes cases where ko-forms a single syllable with the lexical prefix N- (discussed below) a. **k**hántû 'to meet' b. khánkcí 'to cough' (15) Before voiced approximants, [khə] usually occurs a. **k**^hźlữ 'to be warm' b.*kʰálúŋð* 'eagle' c. khálà 'to exist' d.kháluè 'to finish' e. kốŋ **k**^hàlỳ 'to fall' f. khàlí 'to take' g. khárů 'to add together' h. kázuíð **k**hàrû 'to be raining (rain)' (16) [khə] sometimes occurs before voiced fricatives. a. $k^h \dot{\partial} z \dot{v}$ 'to sell' (17) In sequences where the nominalizer occurs before the lexical prefix ka-, the nominalizer is always [khə] a. **k**hàkàtsà 'to be cold' b.khákápsí 'to slap' c. khàkàpsú 'to hit' d. khákátù 'to shiver' e. **k**^hák^hanù 'to shake something'

A consideration of the data makes it impossible to deny that there is a statistical tendency towards aspiration (1) when there is a following voiced sonorant or (2) when there is a following prefix. It may be possible to rationalize many of the exceptions on historical grounds, but it is probably best to simply treat the pattern

'to choose'

f. **k**^hákàbà

as somewhat lexicalized and avoid positing a highly abstract synchronic phonology.

There are some interesting occurrence restrictions between voiceless fricatives and following vowels in East Tusom. A summary of these restrictions is given in Table 11, where X indicates that the fricative-vowel sequence is attested.

	i	\mathcal{Y}	ш	u	e	0	a
f			X	X X X X			
S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
e	X	X	X	X	X		X
X		_	X	X	_	X	sX
χ							X
h	X		tX	X	X	X	X

Table 11: Occurrence of voiceless fricative-vowel sequences in East Tusom. Attestation is indicated by "X". "sX" indicates that the sequence is only attested after [s].

From Table 11, it is evident that [f] is in complementary distribution with [h] and that $[\chi]$ is in complementary distribution with [x]. These four phones must constitute two phonemes, which we will call /h/ and /x/, after the allophones with the least restricted distribution. Examples illustrating the distribution of [h], [f], [x], and $[\chi]$ are given in Table 12.

[h]	-hí	'nom'
	méhê	'leech'
	hó kàpé	'to fart'
	k ^h ớyớhấ rằmfúi	'to look'
[f]	rầmfiú	'fox'
	kfû	'village/state'
	Pùkfû xồ	'forearm'
[x]	xồ	'boil'
	xû	'pig'
	kxû	'grasshopper'
	kèsxú	'to be open'
	kʰákèsxá	'to be shy'
[<u>x</u>]	χấ	'be red'
	?èρχάtχâ	'thigh'
	?èkxá	'breath'
	?ə́χánnû	'queen'

Table 12: Distributions of four fricatives

With a couple of possible exceptions, the phone [f] occurs only before [\mathbf{u}]¹¹; [h], never occurs before [\mathbf{u}] (unless preceded by /t/) but does occur before [\mathbf{i}], [\mathbf{e}], [\mathbf{o}], and [\mathbf{a}]¹². It is also the case that aspirated stops do not occur before [\mathbf{u}], and this will be important to an argument presented below. The relationship between [h] and [f] is a straightforward case—[h] and [f] are allophones of a phoneme /h/. The situation with [\mathbf{x}] and [$\mathbf{\chi}$] is somewhat more complicated. [$\mathbf{\chi}$] only occurs before

¹¹

¹² A reviewer notes a related pattern in Lisu. There, /f/ occurs only before high back vowels.

[a]. [x] never occurs before [a] unless preceded by [s]. [χ] never occurs after [s]. Consequently, the distribution of [x] and [χ] is complementary even if the environments are somewhat unnatural. Neither [x] nor [χ] occur before front vowels, suggesting a historical change in which /x/ palatalized before [i], [e], and possibly [y].

Two reviewers point to a pair of interesting facts. First, in many languages of the region, [s] and [s] or [ʃ] are in free variation. This is true, for example, in Monsang (Konnerth 2018; Monsang & Veikho 2018), a Kuki-Chin language of Manipur. Second, our consultant gave [ʔìsí] for 'flesh' and [sí] for 'animal' despite the fact that 'flesh' and 'animal' are usually represented as the same morpheme in Tangkhulic languages (< proto-Tangkhulic *sa). This suggests that there may either be free variation, or a conditioned alternation, between [s] and [s] and that they may not be in contrast. These are interesting observations. However, in our data, there appear to be no instances of the same item occurring with both [s] and [s] (with the exception of 'flesh'-'animal'), so we do not believe there is sufficient evidence to establish the existence of alternation or variation between these two phones. More data are needed to resolve this question.

Each of the consonant phonemes shown in Table 9 can serve as the onset of a syllable. However, East Tusom also allows a surprising variety of onset clusters (when compared to its Tangkhulic sister languages). The most numerous of these are the stop-fricative clusters. By way of analogy, we group the affricates with these sequences (rather than treating them as unit phonemes) but we recognize that an alternative analysis is possible.

Diachronically, many of these clusters come from aspirated stops (see Table 13).

Proto-Tangkhulic	East Tusom	Other Tangkhulic	Gloss
*phit	kʰakə psw	Ukhrul <i>kəŋəpʰit</i>	'to hit'
*pʰa	кә рсі	Ukhrul <i>kəpʰa</i> , Kachai <i>kəpʰu,</i> Huishu <i>kəpʰe</i>	'to seek'
*p ^h ej	?∂ pxa txa 'thigh'	Ukhrul <i>ʔapʰej,</i> Kachai <i>ʔapʰi<u>,</u></i> Huishu <i>ʔapʰu</i>	'foot/leg'
*khu:1	kfu	Ukhrul <i>kʰu</i> , C. Tangkhul <i>kʰui</i>	'village'
*k ^h a	mó kci	Ukhrul <i>məkha,</i> Kachai <i>məkhu, Huishu <i>ʔaməkh</i>e</i>	'chin'
*khow	kʰáŋ kxùə	Ukhrul <i>kʰəməkʰow,</i> Huishu <i>kəməkʰow</i>	'to be dirty'

Table 13: Examples of East Tusom stop-fricative clusters reflecting Proto-Tangkhulic aspirated stops

The aspiration has been reinterpreted as a voiceless fricative that is homorganic (roughly speaking) with the following vowel. It is tempting to analyse this "aspiration" as a phoneme /H/ that is realized as different fricatives depending on its context. For example, /H/ would become [\$\epsilon\$] before [i] and [x] before [u]. This would yield a simple and phonologically compelling analysis of the stop-voiceless fricative clusters. However, this analysis is up against two obstacles, one illusory and one formidable.

Outside the context of clusters, $[\mathfrak{g}]$ occurs in environments other than before [i] (for example, before [a]). As we have already seen, these instances of $[\mathfrak{g}]$ must be seen as realizations of a phoneme $/\mathfrak{g}/$. Thus, some instances of $/\mathfrak{g}/$ would have to come from $/\mathfrak{g}/$ and some would come from /H/. To solve this problem, we would simply label /H/ as //H//, an archiphoneme, a phonological object used to represent an underspecified segment.

But this does not solve the deeper problem, which is that the place of the fricative is not entirely predictable from the (synchronic) quality of the following vowel. For example, in Table 13, the forms $k^hakapsu$ 'to hit' and kfu 'village' are given, each with an emergent fricative preceding the vowel [uu]. The fricatives, however, differ in place of articulation. Given the comparative data, it is apparent what has happened: in 'to hit', the aspiration preceded a high front vowel whereas in 'village' it preceded a high back vowel. It would be possible, we suppose, to give these data a very abstract synchronic analysis in which there were vowel distinctions that were totally neutralized except with regard to their effect on preceding //H//. Such an analysis would capture the diachronic facts of this pattern. However, it seems to us very unlikely that a learner of this language would be presented with adequate data to reconstruct this analysis. As a result, we have rejected the analysis with archiphonemic //H// and accepted a more synchronically grounded, if less colourful, approach.

We take a compromise position: aspirated stops are analysed, phonemically, as a sequence of stops + /h/. In this way, all of the reflexes of Proto-Tangkhul aspirates are treated as stop-fricative clusters and the symmetry and simplicity of the inventory are maintained. /h/ occurs in clusters with /p/, /t/, and /k/, just like the voiceless fricatives due (modulo some gaps, which are likely accidental). The affricates /ts/ and /te/, too, are just special instances of stop-fricative clusters.

	p	t	k	b	d	g
f	[pf]		[kf]			
S	ps	ts				
e	ps pe	t¢	ke	—		
X	px	tx	kx			
χ	[pχ]	[tχ]	$[k\chi]$			
h	ph	th	kh			
\mathbf{v}	pv		kv	bv		
\mathbf{Z}	pz			bz		
\mathbf{Z}						

Table 14: Stop-fricative clusters. Clusters in square brackets exist only as allophonic variants.

This glosses over one difficulty: unlike the other clusters, there are aspirated equivalents of /ts/ and /te/ (/tsh/ and /teh/). These would have to be analysed as /tsh/ and /teh/, which is awkward (they would be stop-fricative-fricative clusters). This is one argument in favour of treating the affricates as unit phonemes (/ts/, /tsh/, /te/, and /teh/). On the other hand, doing so would erode the symmetry of the inventory of clusters.

There are also /sx/, /ex/, and /łx/ clusters in East Tusom. The remaining onset clusters in the language are stop-liquid clusters. These are /pl/, /pr/, /tr/, /kl/, and /kr/. While less unusual, from an areal perspective, than the stop-fricative clusters, these are unusual within modern Tangkhulic languages, in most of which clusters of this type have been simplified to singleton stops (Mortensen 2003).

Rhymes

The rhyme inventory of East Tusom is not as rich as other Tangkhulic languages like Ukhrul Tangkhul (Mortensen & Miller 2013; Pettigrew 1979; Ahum 1997), due to the fact that most codas distinctions have been eliminated. However, Tusom has a relatively large number of vowel nuclei (eight) and is relatively rich in diphthongs, all of which consist of a nucleus followed by an offglide. The rhymes of East Tusom are presented in Table 15:

Ø	i	и	e	д	0	N	∂N
i			ie	iə		iN	
y	yi		—		—	yN	
ш			шe	шə		шN	шәN
u			ue	uə	(uo)	uN	uəN
e						eN	
Э						əΝ	
o	oi	_	—		_	oN	
a		(au)				aN	

Table 15: East Tusom rhymes. Each column contains rhymes with a particular offglide or coda (shown as a header in italics)

In addition to the rhymes shown there, there is an additional, marginal, rhyme attested in the data: e?. In East Tusom, there are two underlying codas (in native vocabulary). One is /-?/, which occurs in a very small number of items like $-j\acute{e}$? '(finger or toe) print'. The other is a nasal /N/ which we are analyzing here as a placeless archiphoneme. When it occurs before an obstruent, it surfaces with the place of articulation of that obstruent. Otherwise, it surfaces as nasalization, on the preceding vowel:

```
(18) a.
            /râN/
                        'land'
                                              [rẫ]
                                                    'land/country'
      b.
           /râN-uè/
                        'land-phesant' →
                                              [rãʔuà]
                                                        'pheasant'
           /râN-pvùi/
                        'land-spirit'
                                              [rámpvù] 'ghost'
           /râN-húı/
                        'land-canine'
                                              [rằmfúi] 'fox'
```

The argument for this analysis is simple: there is no contrast between vowels that are nasalized and those that are followed by a nasal stop. Among nasal stop

codas, there is no contrast in place of articulation. Therefore, the presence of nasalization and the presence of the nasal codas /m/, /n/, and /n/ can all be represented as one underlying segment. We choose an archiphonemic representation for this segment, since some of its realizations (/m/, /n/, and /n/) are phonemically distinct in other contexts. The decision to invoke archiphonemes may seem retrograde to some, but it is done with calculated purpose: it renders it unnecessary to choose an underlying representation among the surface realizations (and there seems to be limited evidence to distinguish between /m/, /n/, and /n/, the most obvious candidates). Furthermore, the archiphonemic approach is broadly consistent with the theoretically catholic, structuralist assumptions that have been embraced in this paper.

The placeless nasal is involved in an interesting type of coalescence (mentioned above): When the nominalizing prefix $kh\partial$ - occurs before the lexical prefix N-, the two syllables typically coalesce to form a single syllable $/k^h \acute{a} N/$, as shown in Table 16.

Underlying Representation	Surface Representation	Gloss
kʰə-N-pxù	k ^h ámpxù	'rash'
$k^{\rm h}$ ə-N-z $\hat{\bf u}$	$k^{ ext{h}}$ ánz $\hat{ ext{u}}$	'wrinkle'
k ^h ə-N-tû	k^{h} ántû	'to meet'
k ^h ə-N-kçí	kʰáŋkɕí	'to cough'
kʰə-N-kúı	k ^h áŋkúı	'to roast/to dry'
kʰə-N-kxùə	kʰáŋkxùə	'to be dirty'
k ^h à-mé	k ^h àmé	'to be incorrect'
kʰá-kà-pɕí	k ^h ákàpcí	'to slap'
kʰà-kà-psúi	k ^h àkàpsứı	'to hit'

Table 16: The nominalizing prefix before the nasal prefix N- (first partition) and elsewhere (second partition).

The tone of this syllable is always /H/ and the syllable's duration is considerably longer than that of the nominalizing prefix in other environments. The pattern is remarkable because, elsewhere, the phonological patterns of Tusom seem to conspire to keep morpheme boundaries aligned with syllable boundaries. While we will not present a theoretical analysis here, we suggest that this pattern has interesting typological implications and should be examined in future work.

CONCLUSION

Tusom phonetics and phonology are far richer than can be addressed with a single article, particularly given the limited data with which we had to work.

However, we feel that we have been able to demonstrate several interesting properties of the language that will be of interest both to comparativists and to phonological typologists. From a comparative standpoint, the phonology of East Tusom is considerably more complicated than other Tangkhulic languages that have been documented, like Standard/Ukhrul Tangkhul, Kachai, and Huishu. This complexity is reflected in the size of inventories, the complexity of allophonic distributions, and the number of morphophonological alternations. The development of plosive-fricative clusters from aspirated plosives is also interesting and the interaction between diachronic developments and the synchronic distribution of plosives and fricatives is worthy of note. The tone patterns are typologically notable, not because they are unusual, but because they illustrate a common kind of relationship—between tone and duration. The placeless nasal archiphoneme, too, is a segment that has parallels elsewhere in the world. However, its exact behaviour in Tusom, surfacing as nasalization when there is no target for assimilation, seems somewhat uncommon.

We hope that we and future researchers can build upon this work in two ways: First, there is clearly far more work to do on East Tusom that can only be completed through field trips to Tusom village. The collection, transcription, and analysis of a significant corpus of texts would test many of the claims made here, as would paradigmatic elicitation. Beyond that, we hope that this paper helps emphasize the internal diversity of the Tangkhulic languages and stimulates research on other varieties.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Support for initial data collection was provided by a Graduate Division Summer Grant from the University of California, Berkeley. The Language Technologies Institute at Carnegie Mellon University supported the transcription and analysis of the data. We are grateful to our two reviewers for their insightful and constructive comments. We would also like to thank Larry Hyman for discussion of the tonal phonology.

REFERENCES

- Ahum, Victor. 1997. *Tangkhul-Naga Grammar (A Study of Word Formation)*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages. http://www.ciilebooks.net/html/tangkhul/CONTENTS.htm.
- Arokianathan, S. 1987. *Tangkhul Naga Grammar*. Vol. 16. Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Boersma, Paul & David Weenink. 2020. Praat: doing phonetics by computer [Computer program]. http://www.praat.org/ (2 January, 2021).
- Brown, Nathan. 1837. Comparison of Indo-Chinese languages. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 6. 1023–1039.
- Gopal, Deepthi. 2016. Aspiration "dissimilation" in Tangkhul Naga prefixation. In *Proceedings of the 2016 Annual Meeting on Phonology*. Linguistic Society

- of America. https://journals.linguisticsociety.org/proceedings/index.php/amphonology/article/view/3999.
- Gordon, Matthew. 2001. A typology of contour tone restrictions. *Studies in Language* 25(3). 423–462.
- Jadoul, Yannick, Bill Thompson & Bart de Boer. 2018. Introducing Parselmouth: A Python interface to Praat. *Journal of Phonetics* 71. 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2018.07.001.
- Klatt, Dennis H. 1973. Interaction between two factors that influence vowel duration. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*. Acoustical Society of America 54(4). 1102–1104.
- Konnerth, Linda. 2018. The historical phonology of Monsang (Northwestern South-Central/"Kuki-Chin"): A case of reduction in phonological complexity. *Himalayan Linguistics* 17(1).
- Lindblom, Björn EF & RAPP Karin. 1973. Some temporal regularities of spoken Swedish. Stockholm.
- Maddieson, Ian. 2013. Voicing and Gaps in Plosive Systems. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. https://wals.info/chapter/5.
- Matisoff, James A. 2015. Sino-Tibetan etymological dictionary and thesaurus (STEDT). Berkeley: Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project. stedt. berkeley. edu/dissemination/STEDT. pdf (14 September, 2018).
- McCullouch, William. 1859. Account of the valley of Munnipore and of the hill tribes; with a comparative vocabulary of the Munnipore and other languages (Selections from the Records of the Government of India). Vol. xxvii. Calcutta: Bengal Printing Company.
- McKinney, Wes. 2010. Data Structures for Statistical Computing in Python. In Stéfan van der Walt & Jarrod Millman (eds.), *Proceedings of the 9th Python in Science Conference*, 56–61. https://doi.org/10.25080/Majora-92bf1922-00a.
- Monsang, Sh & Sahiinii Lemaina Veikho. 2018. Sound System of Monsang. Himalayan Linguistics 17(2).
- Mortensen, David. 2003. Comparative Tangkhul. Unpublished Qualifying Paper. UC Berkeley, ms.
- Mortensen, David & James Miller. 2013. A reconstruction of Proto-Tangkhulic rhymes. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 36(1). 1–32.
- Mortensen, David R. 2012. The emergence of obstruents after high vowels. *Diachronia* 29(4). 434–470. https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.29.4.02mor.
- Mortensen, David R. & Jennifer Keogh. 2011. Sorbung, an undocumented language of Manipur: its phonology and place in Tibeto-Burman. *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* 4(1). 64–114.

- Mortensen, David R. & James A. Miller. 2013. A reconstruction of prototangkhulic rhymes. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 36(1). 1–32.
- Ohala, John. 1983. The Origin of Sound Patterns in Vocal Tract Constraints. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-8202-7_9.
- Ohala, John & William Ewan. 1973. Speed of pitch change. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 53(1). 345–345.
- Pettigrew, William. 1979. *Tāngkhul Nāga Grammar and Dictionary: With Illustrative Sentences*. Ukhrul, Manipur: Tangkhul Naga Baptist Convention.
- Shosted, Ryan K. 2007. A psychoacoustic basis for dissimilation: Evidence from Tangkhul Naga. In *Proceedings of ICPhS*, vol. 183–199.
- Takhellambam, Bijaya Devi. 2014. *Descriptive grammar of Kabrang Tangkhul*. Manipur University PhD Thesis. http://hdl.handle.net/10603/39912 (2 May, 2021).
- the pandas development team. 2020. *pandas-dev/pandas: Pandas*. Zenodo. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3509134. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3509134.
- Thokchom, Lakhipriya Devi. 2011. *The Tangkhul grammar of Shangshak village*. Manipur University PhD Thesis. http://hdl.handle.net/10603/105283 (2 May, 2021).
- Zhang, Jie. 2002. The effects of duration and sonority on countour tone distribution: A typological survey and formal analysis. 1st Edition. New York: Routledge.

APPENDIX A: WORDLIST BY GLOSS

The following list consists of phonetic and phonemic transcriptions of all of the words in our dataset, sorted by gloss. The phonemic transcriptions follow the phonemicization described in the paper with two exceptions: aspirated stops and affricates are indicated with /h/ rather than /h/ and /ts/ and /tc/ are transcribed as /ts/ and /tc/.

Gloss	Phonetic Trans.	Phonemic Trans.
1 _{DU}	?ə́ná	?ə́ná
1PL	?ə́rû	?ə́rû
1sg	â	â
2du	nina	nina
2du	nínấ	nínáN
2sg	nâ	nâN
3DU	ìná	ìná
3sg	?ə́mɯ́	?ə́mɯ́
3sg	?ə́mɯ́	?ə́mɯ́
able	sùılìkə̀só	sùlìkèsó
accept (v.)	kʰə́mə́zì	kʰə́mə́zì
Adam's apple	?wkhrútxà	?wkʰr̥útxà

khárữ k^h árù N add together adopt (v.) kákà kákà adult sùntúətà sùNtúətà amniotic fluid ?wsòlwtsy ?wsòlwtsy alive, to be (v.) kárwã kárwã ?úmòlùŋ kásúi ?úmòlùN kásúi angry animal kxúmù ankle kxúmù ankle bone ?wkxúmw nè ?wkxúmw nè ?òrùkûə ?èrùkûə lácípî lácípî ant bótìkfùi bótìkfùi anus ?wpwã Newquis? arm sùtúəkûi armpit sùtúəkûi vánkèdí váNkèdí arrive (v.) məléth diə màléthùiaN arrow ascend/climb (v.) kíkí kíkí aunt, older paternal ?ántîı ?ánŵ aunt, wife of father's ?ànùkàtûa younger brother ?ànùkàtûa aunt, wife of older paternal uncle ?ànùthûə ?ànùthûə awake, to be (v.) kètxûə kètxûə axe nàcì nàcì ?èná baby ?èná mákồ mákòN back ?ùìkhànúpà back (of something) ?wkhènúpà backbone mákốrù mákóNrùi Pisúvé Pà kòphrí bad character ?ìsúvéN ?à kòphrí ?ìsúvén sòkòtcî bad character ?ìsúvéN sòkòtçî bamboo sútxឃe **Sútxùia**N banana ?ámétyâ ?ámétxâ kákhồ bark kákhòN bŵə bŵə bat sùkùtchúə sùkùtehúə bathe (v.) beak of bird ?ìkútshúi ?ìkútshúi bean txâ tχâ sánồ bear sánòN mócì ?ùdûnə mócì ?ùdûnə beard $k\grave{\flat}p^h\underline{r}i$ beautiful kèp^hrí bee kxùi kxùi behind ?wkhènúpà ?wkhènúpà belly ?wpû ?wpû bicep ?úkfútyâ ?úkfútyâ khátcù khátcù big ?ùkxúlèmpvû ?ùkxúlèNpvû big toe bile kákhítyá ntsŵ kákhítγá Ntsû bird ?ìntî ?ìNtî

?intítsỳ

khânká

bird egg

bite

?ìNtítsỳ

k^hâNká

bitter kə́kʰí kə́kʰí
black kə́zẃ kə́zẃ
blanket kómbôr kóNbôr
blanket kónkù kóNkù
bleed ʔṁnsứ kə̀sứ ʔṁNsứ kə̀sứ

blemish on skin mìrtűə mìrtűəN blind ?túmtűkhèmù ?túmtűkhèmù blind, be ?ákètxá ?ákètxá

blink (v.) ?ómú khókòsxú ?ómú khókòsxú

blood ùnsû ùnsû ùnsû

blood vessel ?ùìnsúi sámpvùi ?ùìnsúi sáNpvùi blow mùi súe khómòsúe mùi súe khómòsúe blow (v.) ?òkxá khòmûi ?òkxá khòmûi blow snot (v.) ?ònòxỗ kósûi ?ònòxỗ kósûi blow the nose (v.) ?ìnòsí kósúi ?ìnòsí kósúi

?ìsî ?ìsî body body louse kàteî kàteî káxồ káxòN boil (v.) ?èrùkúə ?èrùkúə bone born, be kápà kápà khás ápvů khás ápvů borrow bosom ?ìmíepà ?ìmíepà kốsឃ bracelet kóNswaN ?ùkúədû brain ?ùkúədû tsúkèkíe tsúkèkíe break break (v.) tákèdŵə tákèdŵə sùthík àsú sùthík à sú break out (v.) ?wzû ?ùzû breast breast milk ?ázútsû ?ázútsû

breastbone ?úmálů ?úrúkûa ?úmálùN ?úrúkûa

breath ?èkxá ?èkxá

?èkγá kèsûi ?èkxá kèsûi breathe (v.) k^h śmŵ ə kʰśmŵə brother-in-law brother, father's younger ?àpíkètûə ?àpíkètûə brother, older of female ?ìmà ?ìmà brother, older of male ?wmápî ?ùmápî brother, younger of female ?ìkètúəpî ?ìkètúəpî brother, younger of male ?íkètúəpî ?íkètúəpî brush teeth (v.) ?ícì khàkàsú ?ícì khàkàsú

buttocks bótì bótì buy kʰàlú khàlú calf ?wkxútyâ ?wkxútxâ kə́xû káxû call kàkhữa kàkhúiaN carry kátồ carry on head kátòN

τύπι έλης? ?èNkà rùrù cartilage xú ?úkətúəcìəkətsá castrated pig xú ?úkətúəcìəkətsá 1àmùi 1àmùi cat catfish nákəsâ nákərâ mæ̃nkhálì mæNk^hálì catch ?úkwì caterpillar ?úkùìə cattle εì εì tìtắ chameleon tìtáN kèzìŋá chase (v.) kèzìná ?úmálù ?úmálùN chest ?wmòlw ?ícî ?wmòlwN ?icî chest hair chicken ?ùə ?ùə chief ?
éyámpî ?

έχάΝρῖ child ?èná ?èná child ?íntìr ?íntù ?àxasúmé ?ùnù ?àxàNsúmé ?ùinùi child of chief sútyâ chili pepper sútxâ mókeì chin mókeì khákàbà k^h ók òbàN choose (v.) káthữa clean káthùaN khánthữi ə clear kháNthùiaN clever/smart kàcĩŋ kàciN késxů closed késxùN cloth psŵ psŵ psúntehì psúiNtehì clothing cloud mýzè mýzè cold khàkàtsà k^hàkàtsà ntsú Ntsú comb comb (of a rooster) ?ùəkətô ?ùəkètòN kázî kázî come (v.) ηèlévấló ηèléváNló come back (v.) zìló zìló Come! (imperative) kʰśmà khámà comparative degree ?únú kàphố ?wmw kèphóN conceive káχỗ káxôN cook (v.) cooked rice cúis zúis zúi?ô zúi?ôN cooking pot kókúe copulate kókúe corner ?wkódú ?wkódú khánthồ kháNthòN correct khánkcí cough kháNkcí cowlick ?wkúətwə ?wkúatwaN crab kcíepvŵ keíepvŵ crawl (v.) k^hámpû kháNpû creator khásílì ?ìkápvùi khásílì ?ìkápvùi ?úkxú ?àkhèlá ?úkxú ?àkhèlá crippled/lame crooked khánkùe kháNkùe kàkế kàkéN cross

kàkyồ

crow (v.)

kèkxòN

kúədwã kúədwã crown (of head) crush chilis (v.) sìtyá khàní sìtxá khàní crush paddy (v.) súpúə kəsŷ súpúə kèsŷ cry (v.) kətsô kətsô kàlùací kàlùací cup ?áhế ?áhéN curry ?ómìe? khokodé ?ámìe? khakadé cut meat (v.) cut wood (v.) kèká kèká mộthýn kòká máthýN kàká cut wood (v.) dance (v.) kómé kàsəlí kómé kàsəlí teákói kàsəlí teákói kàsəlí dance (v.) teákúe kásálí teákúe kásálí dance (v.) táŋkʰèmâ táNk^hàmâ dark daughter-in-law kàrí kàrí day násxů násxùN deaf níkəkxú níkəkxú decay kàcỳ kàcỳ deceive ló kátchŷ ló kátchŷ kèthú kèthú deep kábíe defecate kábíe kádů kádûN descend (v.) die (v.) kátshù kátshù khálùa difficult kʰə́lùə kátchùa kátchùa dig ηὸlá kət͡ɕʰùə ŋèlá kətehùə dig a hole dirty khánkxùə kháNkxùə khásálì khásálì do (v.) dog tooth ?ý ?ícì ?ý ?ícì domestic animal sŵəçí súiəNeí dove nốsùlè nóNsùlè dream (n) másxómpà másxóNpà khásámè khásámè dream (v) kʰə́mà̀ k^hómàN drink (v.) kàthùa kèthùə drive (v.) drive animals (v.) kàzúŋã kàzúnâN kètxứiə kètxứeN dry duck kòmpé kòNpé k^h ól ún ồ k^h śl w n è N eagle ?ìkhànî ?ìkhànî ear ?ìkʰàníkfù ?ìkhàníkfùi ear canal early in the morning nthúlúətò Nthúlúətò ?ákʰánìtʰû̈ə earring ?ákhánìthûaN ?ìkhàníbîe earwax ?ìkhàníbîe khálíe khálíe easy eat (v.) kəzî kəzî eel síníph nù síŋípʰr̥ùi ?ùətsỳ ?ùətsỳ egg eight cíhè cíhè çíkədà çíkádà elephant

trílàtehê trílàtchê eleven enemy nàhákàsứı nàhákàsứı kázấ enter (v.) kázáN k^hánsŷ exchange kháNsŷ kʰálà kʰálà exist (v.) kású kású exit (v.) kháteìhế kháteìhéŃ expect (v.) external mouth mólù mólù eye ?ùmû ?ùmû múbíe múbíe eye sand eyeball mútehî mútchî műkxùə műkxùə eyebrow múicí eyelash múcí face ?ìmìe ?ìmìe facial hair mócì mócì kốηkhèlỳ kóNkhàlỳ fall (v.) ?wintehúkfŵ ?wNtehúkfŵ family kàlí kàlí far fart hókèpé hókèpé káthúia kə́thúiə fast fat ?ùtxû ?ùtxû khátcù khátcù fat (v.) father ?ápî ?ápî fathom làm làm kátsù kátsù fear (v.) feather of bird ?íntí jè çî ?íNtí jè cî feces ?ìbìe ?ìbìe feel in the heart túa khámànùa túa khámárúa female pig xúpvù xúpvù few dúəkhèmá dúəkhèmá fifty sómpcìníhé sóNpcìníhé fin síníntsŵ síníNtsŵ fine màsúnŵnúi?è màsúnúnú?è ?wkfwmòrwo ?wkfwm>rw>N finger kfúintsû kfúiNtsûi fingernail fingerprint ?wkfwmeejé? ?wkfwmeejé? finish (v.) khálùe khálùe fire má má fish síŋî síŋî sínítsý fish eggs sínítsý ?wkfwmésxûã ?wkfwmésxûeN fists fit pákází pákází five peìnijá peìnijá flea εώιώς ?wrwə ?ìsí flesh ?ìsí flower εὼφώς γὼρώς fly (v.) kápríjè kápríjè

khákázŷ

çìlù

 k^h ákáz $\hat{y}N$

çìlù

follow

fontanel

foot	?wkxû	?wkxû
foot/leg	Pükxû Pükxû	Pülkxû Pülkxû
footprint	kxútsõ	kxútsòN
forearm	?wkfŵ	Pùikfûi
forehead	pátû	pátû
forget (v.)	k ^h ám ì líe	k ^h ámèlíe
four	mòliá	mòliá
fox	ıầmfúi	ràNfúi
freckle	zálùkèsû	zálùkèsû
freshwater eel		
friend	ŋìeprữ	ŋìeprùN
	ìpʰr̞ílì kʰánt͡sẃ	ìpʰr̪ílì kʰə́Nt͡sɯ́
frighten (v.)		
frog	kgíeftů	kgíefû
front (of something)	?ìmíəpà	?ìmíəpà
frost	kʰə́ŋə́ɕí	kʰáŋáɕíN
fruit	?átxâ	?átχâ
fruit variety	?àtxárîe	?ètxárîe
fry (v.)	kʰáŋûə	kʰə́ŋûə
full	kètxúə	kètxúə
full/complete	mə́púŋ kə̀phá	mə́púN kə̀phá
get higher and higher (v.)	teùə kìkí	teùa kìkí
get lower (v.)	nềŋ kèdí	nàN kàdí
get up	kàthúa	kètʰúə
ghost	ıámpvù	ráNpvù
giant grasshopper	kxúiprõ	kxúprôN
ginger	xúejẽ	xúejèN
give (v.)	kə́pzúi	kə́pzúı
give birth	?ànù kàpá	?ànù kàpá
gizzard	?ùə ndùe	?ùə Ndùe
goat	mák ^h ərì	mák ^h ərì
God	pvùisxấə	pvùsxúəN
good (morally)	?ìsúivéŋ kàphrí	?ìsúivéN kàphrí
goosebump	kèsútχà	kàsúıtxà
grandchild	kátsýnù	kátsýnù
grandmother	?àpzúı	?àpzúı
grasshopper	kxŵ	kxŵ
green	k ^h ántúiə	k ^h áNtúiə
grind (v.)	súpúə kətə	súpúə kətə
grown daughter	?ənúŋəlìnú	?ə̀nɯ́ŋə̀linú
grown son	?ənwŋəlwnpi	?ènùŋèlúiNpì
grown son	?ənwŋəlwnta	?ènùŋèlúiNtà
gaur	báŋgô.ı	báNgôr
guest	?wkfwpî	?wkfwpî
gums	?ícìjò ?wtữ	?íɕìjə̀ ʔɯtúN
hair of the body	?ìsí¢î	?ìsícî
hair of the head	?wkúəcí	?wkúəçí
hand span	kʰáp	kʰáp
hard	k ^h ə́ŋká	k ^h ə́Nká
hat	k ^h ốŋkù	k ^h óNkù

?úkûə ?úkûə head head basket bâ bâN headlouse ?úikhúərwiə ?www.uerweN kətχâ hear (v.) kətxâ ?wmòlù heart ?ùmàlùN kèrúi heavy kèrúi khánàtchón kháŋàtchón help (v.) máténkápá mátéNkápáN help (v.) ?ùəpvùi ?ùəpvù hen hide (oneself) (v.) ?wintey ?wiNtey hide (something) (v.) khántehỳ kháNtchỳ kátchùa kátchùa high hip bone bótìtxà bótityà hit (target) khàná khàná hit (v.) k^h à k à psú k^h à k à psúi hold in mouth (v.) khámõ k^hómòN honey kxùitsỳkûə kxùitsỳkûə ?èNtsú ?èntsúi horn (of an animal) horse sákûe sákûe host ?wkèpvŵ ?wkèpvŵ káci káci hot house sŵə **S**ûəN swentita house lizard súeNtìtáN màcínŷ housefly màcinŷ mákồ kèbù mákòN kèbùN hunchback zú kàtchê zúi kàtchê hungry for rice, to be (v.) cí kàkúa hunt (v.) cí kàkúa hurt tsúikhàná tsúikhàná husband ?witisxã ?witisxáN zúsxiùə husked rice ZúszwieN In front of ?ìmíəpà ?ìmíəpà incorrect/wrong khèmé khèmé intestine ?wkh.jwe ?wkhrwe itch kxùmûə kxùmûə ioint k^hántŷ kháNtŷ just right temp khózá ?à kòcí khózá ?à kòcí khákàthá khákàthá kick (v.) kick the foot (v.) khò kətha khò kətha Nkátxà kidney ηκάτχὰ ták à thé ták à thé kill (v.) k^hámázù khám áz w kiss (v.) knead clay with feet (v.) nálá kàtsố nálá kàtsòN kxútsù kxútsù knee knife keje keje râ land/country râN large intestine ? wkhrwe khátchúpí ?wkhrwe khátchúpí late kàxúi kàxúi laugh khánnỳ k^hánnỳ ?intítsý khàntsŷ ?ìNtítsý khàNtsŷ lay eggs (v.)

?ínècî ?ínècî leaf leather Pámie Puhûi ?ámìe ?tùhûi leech méhê méhê leech tìmphâ tìNphâ left hand ?əpə́pá ?əpə́pá ?wkxúcì ?wkxúcì leg hair lend lísánê lísánê pházèk à teua phárèk à te úa leprous lick (v.) k^h śm śl w s k^h śm śl w s kàkhữa lift kàkhúiaN k^háŋkàkí lift up k^h óNk òk í light káxù káxù light k^h ámpữi ə k^h áNpù aN lightning kázဏa khánáce kázúaN khánácè like nĩ kátchûa níN kátchûa limp ?úkxú kácúe ?úkxú kácúe kàzúNkfû lion kàzúnkfû lip mósxù mósxù liquor tsŷ tsŷ ?èŋá ?énù little baby Pàná Pánù little baby (affectionate) ? ὸη ὁ πὰ ?ènénù little finger ?wkfúlèntì ?wkfúlèNtì little toe ?ùkxúlèntî ?ùkxúlèNtî $\hat{hts}^h\hat{tu}$ Ntshû liver kásửiə káswaN long k^h áŋ áh ấ look (v.) k^h áŋ áh áN khàntchú khàNtchú loose lost khàmiũa khàmúiaN k^h śn śx ŵ s low k^h śn śx ŵ a N khànứa low khànứa nìkáxŵa nìkáxŵaN low lower back mákồ ?wdúuə mákòN ?ùìdúiə Pisí Pidúmpá lower body ?ìsí ?ìdúiNpá lower jaw mókeì ?wdúia mókeì ?wdúia mósxù?ùdúiə lower lip mósxù ?ùdúia ?wtehû ?witehû lung male pig xúpî xúpî nímpî níNpî man teúmmà teúmmà many teúNk^həmà teunk^həmà many ?úkátstűa ?úkátsúaN marrow mattock jorpá jorpá ?ámìe ?ámìe meat kápsŵa medicine kápsŵaN meet k^hántû kháNtû ?ènsúkèzì ?èNsúkèzì menstruate milk citsû citsû ໃໝ່ກໝີ້ຈ mind ?winwoN ?úkxú kátûe ?úkxú kótûe missing legs

mithun míthŷn míthŷn mock ?winýkèsúe ?ùinýkèsúə molar ?ícíkô ?ícíkòN mole kèzútyà kàzútyà kèzútyà mole kèzútyà názồ nózòN monkey kátema kátcúiaN month kátema kátemaN moon teun khámà teúN khámà more than ànthúpà morning àNthúpà súkúə súkúə mortar cítcŵã cítemã mosquito ?ánũ mother ?ánûN mèzŷ mouse mèzŷ mócì ?ùidû moustache mócì ?ùdûN mountain káphùn kə́phùŋ ?wkhəmó ?wkhəmó mouth cídú cídú mucus ?úlùo ?àkàsú ?úlùo ?àkàsú mute/dumb ?úmwìa name Newmw? khámácxiùa khámácx waN narrow naughty, be (v.) khákəkrui k^hákəkru ?úiphlie navel ?úphlìe ?àxúe γὸχώε near necklace teî teî káprůja káprùiaN needle ?ìntítshû ?ìNtítshû nest káthùa káthùa new night rácì rácì *c*ókúhé **c**ókúhé nine ?wzútyâ ?wzútyâ nipple ?ìnècí ?ìnècí nose nose bridge ?ìnàcítyà ?ìnàcítyà nose hair ?ìnòcí jà ?ìcí Pinàcí jà Picí ?ìnàcíkfúi nostril ?ìnàcíkfúi màsúnúnúi ?á not fine mòsúnúnúi ?á tsùi?é tsw2é ?á kèrúi not heavy ?á kèrúi not high ?à kàtehúa ?à kàtehúa ?á khèmèextão ?á khèmècxúiaN not sharp kátshùi kátshùi numb, be ?úzùtsỳ khámá ?úzùtsỳ khámá nurse/suckle oil txùə txùə

nàxũi old ηèxúNi tùəkətsã tùəkətsáN old ?àtehîe ?àtehîe one one hundred màcíhè màcíhè lèsxữia ?átche lèsxùaN ?átche one thousand kèsxú kèsxú open

	2\1-b-//-1-\1-\	0\1-b-44 1-\1-\
open mouth (v.)	?àkʰúɪmú kàkà	?èkʰúmú kèkè
orphan	màrínù	màrínù
palate	?əkədà	?əkədàN
palm	?wkfúmózì	?wkfwmázì
pants	kʰóŋkə́ɹô	k ^h óNkárô
paternal grandfather	?àpvúi	?àpvúi
penis	?èsxà	?èsxàN
person	mù	mù
perspiration	séléntsŷ	séléNtsŷ
pestle	tʰ̣wwwkʰô̂	tʰúNkʰôN
pheasant	εύγα̃ι	ràN?ùə
phlegm	keídû	keídû
pig	xû	xû
pimple	sùt ^h í	sùıt ^h í
plant	t ^h úimpá	t ^h úiNpá
porcupine	sákvŵ	sákvŵ
pot	γô	?ôN
pound (rice) (v.)	sə́pʰúə kə̀sŷ	sə́pʰúə kə̀sŷ
pregnant, be	?ànù kàphố	?ènù kèp⁴óN
price	?ìmế ¹	?ìméN
produce	tehúmàŋkàxá	tehúmàNkòxá
pupil/iris	Pàmúi jè kàzûi	?èmú jè kèzû
pus	?úinùe	?úinùe
put (v.)	kəfiùi	káfùi
queen	?ə́xánnû	?ə́xánnû
rain	kə́zw̃ə	kázúiaN
raining	kəzüə kəzüə k ^h ərû	kəzməN k ^h ərû
rash	k ^h ámpxùi	k ^h áNpxù
red	k ampxu kèχấ	k arvpxtii kòxáN
release (v.)	k ^h ósódú	k ^h ásádú
	kíə kècì	kíə kàcì
respect ribcage	7wrwət ^h w	7úrúət ^h ùiN
rice basket	lû	lû
		záNkú
rice husking basket	záŋkú 	
rice plant	zúpầ	zúpàN
right side	Pàsấpá	?èsáNpá
ripe	kʰə́mẅ́ə	kʰə́mẁəN
river	kố	kóN
roast/dry (v.)	kháŋkúi	kháNkúi
roll	k ^h ók ^h álŷi	k ^h ók ^h ớlŷi
rooster	?ùəpí	?ùəpí
root	?əkə́zŵə	?əkə́zŵəN
rope	?àrŵ	?òrŵ
rot	kècỳ	kècỳ
rough	tàxúxù	tàxúxù
round	?ètấ	?ètáN
routinely	?ỳsádó	?ỳsádó
rub (v.)	khámúa	k ^h ớmứi ə
run (v.)	kʰáŋàlố	kʰə́ŋə̀lóN

mátsýtsŷ mátsýtsŷ saliva salt màtsú màtsú ?wxúikháNtsâ scab ?wxúikhántsâ scales (of fish) síní ?włxŵ síní ?ùlxû ?ùkúə jè ?ùxúi ?ùkúə jè ?ùxúi scalp súkhàlì súkhàlì scoop out khátákù khátákù scratch scratch an itch káxúi káxúi scratch an itch khámó kàxúi khámó kàxúi see (v.) kətyâ kətxâ ?ìtehî ?ìtehî seed seek/search (v.) kápcí kápcí kházỳ kházỳ sell seven sùnáhè sùnáhè sew (v.) psú kátrùa psú kátrùa shadow kőłî kóNlî k^hák^hənù k^hók^hənù shake something ?àkàthú ?àkàthú shallow k^h śm èc x w a khámácx waN sharp kcie khákètí keìe khákètí sharpen knife (v.) sheep jàu iàu bòıế shirt bòréN khákátù khákátù shiver kákŵa shoot kákŵa kàsŵ kàsŵ short shoulder/arm ?ùùbùùə Newdw? shout khátsáyà khátsáxà shrew ?ùtehìbòià ?ùtehìbòrà shy/ashamed khákèsxá khákèsxá kátchúa kətchúə sick, be cí kàcí cí kàcí sing (v.) sister-in-law γώπιὺς γώπιὺς ?ítâ sister, older ?ítâ sister, older (of female) ?ítâ **?**ítâ sister, older (of male) ?ítâ ?ítâ sister, younger (of female) ?wkàdúanù ?wkàdúanù sister, younger (of male) ?ázúapvû ?ázúapvû sit (v.) khánzỳ kháNzỳ kàbû sit on eggs (v.) kèbûN trúhè trúhè six skin ?wxúi ?wxúi kákồ skinny kákòN skull ?ùkúəjè èrùkúə ?ùkúəjè èrùkúə kèzŵə kàzúiaN sky k^h ók èpcí slap (v.) k^h ák ápcí kábzû kábzû sleep (v.) slingshot súkílů súkílûN khánûe slippery khánûe slow kátá kátá

small intestine	kətuəpi ?wkhrwe	kátúapí ?wkhrwe
small	kətuəpi ruik şuic	kətüəpi rük jüle kətüə
smell bad	cúk ^h ònằ	cúk ^h ànàN
smell/sniff (v.)	k ^h ənö	khənòN
` /		
smile (v.)	k ^h ánnỳ	k ^h áNnỳ
smoke	mákfû	mákfû
smooth	nàmpúət	nàNpúət
snail	dúmpvúlè	dúNpvúdlè
snail	záluŋằ	záluŋèN
snake	.rúɪtầ	rútàN
sneeze	hákótsúi	hákétsúi
snore	k ^h áŋàr	kʰə́ŋə̀r
snot	?ènèxỗ	?ènèxôN
soak (v.)	k ^h ántsùi	k ^h áNtsù
socks	?òkxùmòtehá	?òkxùmòtchá
soft	táp ^h èp ^h è	tə́pʰèpʰè
soil	ŋèlâ	ŋèlâ
sole	?úkxúmèzî	?wkxúmèzî
song	çî	çîN
sour	kètʰứı	kètʰúi
sparrow	kốsépvù	kóNsépvù
spear	zà	zà
spin (v.)	kákŗù	kákŗù
spine	mákồ ʔừurùkûə	mákòN ?ùirùkûə
spit (v.)	mùtsytsy kəmiusxú	mùitsỳtsỳ kómùsxú
spit up	k ^h ómòlé	k ^h ómòlé
spleen	?ípíephù	?ípíep ^h ùN
spleen	?wkálŵa	?úikə́lŵəN
squirrel	k ^h lâ	k ^h lâ
stammer (v.)	R μα ?àkχá kàdá	?àkxá kàdá
stand (v.)	kʰə́ŋə̀lû̈ə	k ^h óηὸlûəN
stand (v.)	sípítch tu əli	sípítchúaNlê
	kòxúə	kòxúə
start (v.)	kèbố	kəxuə kəbóN
stay (v.)	k ^h ấfứ	
steal (v.)		kháNfúi
stick (v.)	k ^h ánná	k ^h áNná
sticks for weaving	títxឃ	títxùiəN
stink	nòŋkèsúə	nòNkàsúə
stomach	?ùiphú	?ùiphú
stone	lũŋkúə	lũNkúə
straight	ŋàlúsxữiə	ŋèlúsxŵəN
strong	kʰə́nkûə	kʰə́Nkûə
student	kátánùi	kớtớnừ
stupid	máŋkʰə́múə	máNk¹ómúə
suck	kʰə́mə́zẁə	kʰə́mə́zwəN
sun	zámmù	záNmù
swallow	pʰļákə̀sxâ	pʰļákə̀sxâN
sweet	kásửia	káswaN
swell	kèpû	kèpû

?úkhómâ ?úkhámâ tail tail bone bótìkhámá bótìkhámá take (v.) khàlí khàlí ?èlùa khámàlùa ?èlùa khámàlùa talk (v.) lùo khámàlùo lùo khámàlùo talk (v.) kásxiùa kásxwaN tall ?òtehá ?òtchá teacher mápfùitsù Náphùtsù tear (n.) pácŷ pácŷ tempt tríhé tríhé ten làsxiuatrìhè làsxùaNtrìhè ten thousand termite phálùn phálùn thick kàcí kàcí thigh ?èpyátyâ ?èpxátxâ thighbone Pàpyátyá jè Púrúkûa ?èpxátxá jè ?úurúkûə thin ?á kècí ?á kècí k^háp^hánữa kháphánúiaN think (v.) ?wntsý mắnkinié thirsty, to be (v.) ?wNtsý máNkíníé trílék à thố hé trílék à thó Nhé thirteen sốnkàthấhế sóNkèthúNhéN thirty kõsê thorn kòNsê three kátxố kátxóN throat ?wkhrû ?wkhrû ?wkhrú sámpvw ?wkhrú sáNpvw throat way ?wkfúlèmpvû ?wkfwlèNpvw thumb kázữa kàkhồ thunder kázúaN kákháN tickle khònthárû khòNthárû tie (v.) khánsù kháNsù tight kʰə́ŋə́zẅ́ə khánázwaN bòrô toad bòrôN khákxrì $k^h \acute{e} k^h r i$ toast (v.) ?ùkxúmèrŵə ?ùkxúmèrŵəN toe kxúntsù kxúNtsù toenail toeprint ?úkxúmájé? ?úkxúmájé? thứ əkồ thúi aNkòN tongs ?iməli ?iməli tongue Pici tooth 2ícì tsứ khánnà tsứ khánnà touch (v.) thúmpá thúiNpá tree twelve trílék^hàná trílék^hàná màkùhế twenty màkùhéN khásxàjá twist/squeeze (v.) khásxàrá khánâ two khánâ ugly/bad ?àkèphrí ?àkèphrí umbilical cort ?iphlie ?iphlìe uncle, husband of father's ?àpvû older sister ?àpvû uncle, older paternal ?ápíthûə ?ápíthûə

sùitúiakúicî

sùitúiakúicî

underarm hair

unhusked rice súphûə sứphûə k^háklì kháklì untie (v.) mákồ ?wdű mákòN ?wdúN upper back upper body ?ìsí ?ìdúmpá ?ìsí ?ìdúNpá upper lip mósxù ?wdű mósxù ?wdúN záŋ kèpì urinate záN kèpì urine zám pitsy záN pitsy uterus núbố núbóN ?ìcíe ?ìcíe vagina valley támpá táNpá kásxŵa very cold kásxŵa village/state kfû kfû k^háŋàrà k^háŋàrà vines voice ?wkhrú ?ùìkhrú mòlú ?òkòsà màlú ?àkàsàN vomit kémèlù kémèlù vomit (v.) wait k^háηŵə k^háŋŵa kèzé walk (v.) kàzé khàmì want (v.) khàmì níNkètehúiaN níŋkətchŵə want (v.) zíkhíŋĩe want to eat (v.) zíkhíníNe лŵе rŵe war kʰálù̀ khálùN warm ?ùlùə ?ùlùə wart psú kèsý wash clothes (v.) psú kèsý ?wkfwkátchŷ ?wkhwkátehŷ wash hands (v.) wash legs(v.) òkú kèprû òkú kèprû ntsý Ntsý water ńtsý?õ ńtsý?ôN water pot k^háŋázè k^háŋázè weak kèzûə kèzûə wean kètó kètó weave tíkètó tíkètó weave psú kàtổ psú kètôN weave (v.) kázúi kázúi wet màcékhàmùa whistle màcékhàmùa white k^háηùə k^háŋùə white of the eye Pàmúi jè kxùŋò Pàmúi jè kxùŋò widow pvúmánô pvúmánô wife ?wpùtá ?ùpùtá wind mùicúe mùicúe wing ntchwe NtchwaN iNtí jè NtchùaN intí je ntehma wing of bird wither k^hə́ŋə̀xùi k^hə́ŋə̀xùi without legs, be ?wkxúkətwə ?wkxúkətwə nùmpvù nùNpvù woman ?úlùo ?úlùo words/speech kháNzŵ wrinkle khánzû hõ micie hõ miçie yawn (v.)

záŋkữ záNkùN year táliúmàtehù yellow táliúmàtehù

APPENDIX B: WORDLIST BY SEMANTIC FIELD

This appendix follows the same convensions as Appendix A but is organized according to a semantic ontology.

ENTITIES

Living Entities

Animals

animal ςí ςί lácípî ant lácípî bat bŵə bŵə bear sáŋồ sánòN bee kxùi kxùi ?ìNtî bird ?ìntî kàteî kàteî body louse buffalo sálỳ sálỳ хú хú ?úkətúəcìəkətsá

?www.eiakatsa castrated pig làmù làmù cat catfish nákəsa nákərâ caterpillar ?úkùìə ?úkwì cattle εì εì tìtấ chameleon tìtáN chicken ?ùə ?ùə keíepvŵ crab keíepvŵ sဏခင်္ domestic animal súiəNei nốsùilè dove nóNsùlè kồmpé duck kòNpé k^h śl w n ś k^h śl w n è N eagle síníph xù eel síníph rùi elephant cíkádà cíkádà xúpvù female pig xúpvùi fish síŋî síŋî εώιώς flea ?wrwə ıàmfúi ràNfú fox freshwater eel ηìeprù nìeprùN kcíefŵ frog kcíefŵ kxúprô giant grasshopper kxúprôN mákhərì goat mák^hərì kxŵ kxŵ grasshopper báŋgôı báNgôr gaur

	,	
headlouse	?wwkhúərwiə	7úikhúəràiəN
hen	?ùəpvùi	?ùəpvù
honey	kxùitsỳkûə	kxùitsỳkûə
horse	sákûe	sákûe
house lizard	súentìtấ	súieNtìtáN
housefly	màcínŷ	mècínŷ
leech	méhê	méhê
leech	tìmpʰâ	tìNp ^h â
tiger	kèzúŋkfû	kèzẃNkfŵ
male pig	xúpî	xúpî
mattock	jorpá	jorpá
mithun	mít ^h ŷn	mít ^h ŷn
monkey	názồ	názòN
mosquito	cítcûiã	cítcûiã
mouse	mèzŷ	mèzŷ
pheasant	εύξἆι	ràN?ùə
pig	xû	xû
porcupine	sákvûı	sákvû
rooster	?ùəpí	?ùəpí
sheep	jàu	jàu
shrew	?ùtehìbò.ià	?ùtehìbòrà
snail	dúmpvúlè	dúNpvúdlè
snail	zálwŋḕ	zálwŋèN
snake	.rútầ	rútàN
sparrow	kősépvù	kóNsépvù
squirrel	kʰl̥â	kʰl̥â
termite	pʰə́lùŋ	p ^h ə́lùŋ
toad	bòŗỗ	bòrôN

Plants

 $\begin{array}{cccc} bamboo & sútx\`{u} \Rightarrow & sútx\`{u} \Rightarrow N \\ plant & t^h \'{u} mp \acute{a} & t^h \'{u} Np \acute{a} \\ rice plant & z\'{u} p \grave{a} & z\'{u} p \grave{a} N \end{array}$

Human body parts

Adam's apple ?wkhrútxà ?wkhrútxà amniotic fluid ?wsòlwtsy ?wsòlwtsy ankle kxúmù kxúmù ?wkxúmw nè ?wkxúmw nè ankle bone ?èrùkûə ?èrùkûə bótìkfùi bótìkfùi anus γώρως ?wgw? arm sùtúəkûi sùtúəkûi armpit back mákồ mákòN mákốŋrùi backbone mákóNrù mócì ?ùìdûìə mócì ?ùìdûìə beard belly ?ùipû ?wpû ?úkfútyâ ?úkfútyâ bicep ?ùkxúlèmpvû ?ùkxúlèNpvû big toe bile kákhítyá ntsů kákhítyá Ntsû

bilekékhítχá ntsûkékhítχáblemish on skinmìrtuamìrtuaNbloodùùnsûùùNsû

blood vessel ?ùinsúi sámpvùi ?ùinsúi sáNpvùi

body ?ìsî ?ìsî bone ?èrùkúə ?èrùkúə ?ìmíepà ?ìmíepà bosom brain ?ùkúədû ?ùkúədû breast ?wzû ?wzû breast milk ?ázútsû ?ázútsû ?úmálùN ?úmálů ?úrúkûa

breastbone ?úrúkûə breath ?èkxá ?èkxá buttocks bótì bótì calf ?wkxútyâ ?wkxútyâ γέηκά πάπώς ?èNkà rùrù cartilage ?úmálù ?úmálùN chest ?wmòlữ ?ícî chest hair ?wmòlwN ?ícî chin

mókeì mókeì cowlick ?wkúətwə ?wkúətwəN crown (of head) kúədùiş kúədwə ?ìkhànî ?ìkhànî ear ?ìkʰàníkfù ?ìkhàníkfùì ear canal ?ìkhàníbîe ?ìkhàníbîe earwax external mouth mólù mólù ?ùmû ?wmw eye múbíe múbíe eye sand

mútchî mútchî eyeball eyebrow múkxùə műkxùə face ?ìmìe ?ìmìe facial hair mócì mócì ?ùtxû ?witxw fat fathom 1àm 1àm feces ?ìbìe ?ìbìe

finger?ùkfúmèrtuð?ùkfúmèrtuðNfingernail k^h úntsû k^h úntsûfingerprint?ùkfúmðjé??ùkfúmðjé?fists?ùkfúmósxûð?ùkfúmósxûð

flesh ?ìsí ?ìsí fontanel eìlù eìlù foot ?wkxû ?wkxû foot/leg ?wkxû ?wkxû kxútsồ kxútsòN footprint forearm ?ùkfû ?wkfŵ forehead pátû pátû freckle zálùkèsû zálùkèsû goosebump kèsútyà kèsútyà ?ícìjà ?wtű Picijà PutúN gums

hair of the body ?ìsícî ?ìsícî hair of the head ?wkúəçí ?wkúəçí kháp hand span k^háp head ?úkûə ?úkûə ?wmàlù ?wmòlwN heart hip bone bótìtyà bótityà intestine ?ùìkh,ıùìe ?wkhrwe itch kxùmûə kxùmûə k^háNtŷ ioint khántŷ kidney Nkátyà ηκάτχὰ kxútsù kxútsù knee

large intestine ?\hat{uk}\hat{r}\hat{u}e k\hat{6}\hat{1}\epsilon\hat{u}p\cdot\nu\hat{1} ?\hat{u}k\hat{r}\hat{u}e k\hat{1}\hat{6}\hat{1}\hat{u}\hat{0}\hat{1}

left hand ?əpə́pá ?əpə́pá leg hair ?wkxúcì ?wkxúeì mósxù mósxù lip little finger ?tùkftútlèntì ?wkfwlèNtì little toe ?ùkxúlèntî ?ùkxúlèNtî ntshû Ntshûi liver

lower back mákồ ʔùɪdúɪə mákòN ʔùɪdúɪə lower body ʔìsí ʔìdúɪmpá ʔìsí ʔìdúɪNpá lower jaw mókeì ʔùɪdúɪə mókeì ʔùɪdúɪə mósxùʔùɪdúɪə

?witehû ?ùìtehû lung ?úkátsúi ?úkátsúi marrow ?úkátsmá ?wwkótswoN marrow ?úinti mind ?winwoN ?ícíkò molar ?ícíkòN kèzútyà mole kèzútyà

mole	kèzúıtxà	kèzúıtxà
moustache	mócì ?ùìdữ	mócì ?wdûN
mouth	?wkʰəmó	?wkʰəmó
mucus	keídú	keídú
navel	?úɪpʰłìe	?úɪpʰlìe
nipple	?ιùzútχâ	?ιùzútχâ
nose	?ìnàcí	?ìnècí
nose bridge	?ìnàcítxà	?ìnàcítxà
nose hair	Pinàcí jà Picí	?ìnàcí jà ?ìcí
nostril	?ìnàcíkfúi	?ìnècíkfúi
palate	?əkədằ	?əkədàN
palm	?wkfwmźzi	?wkfwmázi
penis	?èsxầ	?èsxàN
perspiration	séléntsŷ	séléNtsŷ
phlegm	keídû	keídû
pimple	sùt ^h í	sùt ^h í
pupil/iris	?èmújè kèzûi	?èmújè kèzû
pus	?úŋùe	?úínùe
rash	k ^h ámpxù	k ^h áNpxùi
ribcage	?ẃrẃətʰẅ̀	?wírwətʰẁN
right hand	?èsấpá	?èsáNpá
saliva	mátsýtsŷ	mətsytsŷ
scab	?wxúikhántsâ	?wxúikháŊtsâ
scalp	?ùkúə jè ?ùxúi	?ùkúə jè ?ùxúi
shoulder/arm	?wbẅ́ə	Newdws
skin	?wxúi	?wxúi
skull	?ùkúəjè ərùkúə	?ùkúəjè ərùkúə
small intestine	kátúapí ?wkhrwe	kátúapí ?wkhrwe
snot	Pènèxô	PànàxôN
sole	?úkxúmòzî	?úkxúmèzî
spine	mákỗ ?tùrùkûə	mákòN ?ùırùkûə
spleen	ípíep ^h ù	ípíephùN
spleen	?úkálŵa	?wkólŵəN
stomach	?ùiphú	?wphú
tail	?úikʰə́mâ	?úk⁴émâ
tail bone	bótìk ^h ómá	bótìk ^h ómá
tear (n.)	mápfùitsùi	Náphùtsù
thigh	Pàpxátxâ	Papnatsa Papyátyâ
ungn	Papyatya Papyatya je	γορχάτχα γορχάτχά jè
thighbone	?úirúkûə	rəpkatka je ?túrúkûə
throat	?wk ^h rû	?wkhrû
throat way	?wk¹rú sámpvw	?wkʰr̥ú sáNpvw
thumb	?wkfúilèmpvûi	?wkfwlèNpvw
toe	Půkxúmèrŵə	PůkxúmèrŵəN
toenail	kxúntsù	kxúÑtsùi
toeprint	?wkxúmójé?	?wikxuməje?
-	Piməli	?iməli
tongue tooth	7imən 7içi	zimən Ziçi
umbilical cord	iphlie	rigi Pip ^h lìe
umomeat colu	пр пс	rip ne

underarm hair upper back upper body upper lip urine uterus vagina vomit wart wean white of the eye	sùttúəkúiçî mákỗ ʔừidấ ʔìsí ʔìdúmpá mósxù ʔừidấ zámpìtsỳ núbố ʔìcíe mòlú ʔòkòsẫ ʔừilùə kòzûə ʔòmújè kxùŋò	sùttúəkúicî mákòN ?ùdúN ?ìsí ?ìdúNpá mósxù ?ùdúN záNpìtsỳ núbóN ?ìcíe mòlú ?òkòsàN ?ùlùə kòzûə ?òmúiè kxùnò
white of the eye wrinkle	?èmú≀jè kxùŋò kʰáṅzûı	?òmúijè kxùŋò k⁴áNzûi

Animal/Plant body parts

kákhồ bark kákhòN ?ìkútshú beak of bird ?ìkútshú ?intítsỳ bird egg ?ìNtítsỳ comb (of a rooster) ?ùəkètô ?ùəkètòN ?ý ?ícì dog tooth ?ý ?ícì ?ùətsỳ ?ùətsỳ egg feather of bird ?íntí jè çî ?íNtí jè çî fin síníntsŵ síŋíŊtsŵ fish eggs sínítsỳ sínítsỳ flower γὼρώς ?шрш́э fruit ?átxâ ?átxâ ?àtyárîe fruit variety ?ètyárîe gizzard ?ùə ndùe ?ùə Ndùe ?èntsú ?àNtsúi horn (of an animal) husked rice zúsxŵə zúsxwaN leaf ?ínècî ?ínècî ?ìntítshû ?ìNtítshû nest ?əkəzŵə root ?əkəzûaN scales (of fish) síní ?ùiłxûi síní ?wlxŵ ?ìtehî ?ìtehî seed kồsê kòNsê thorn thúmpá thúiNpá tree unhusked rice súphûə súiphûə vines k^háŋàrà khán àrà ntehtie NtehwaN wing

Natural Features

wing of bird

mýzè cloud mýzè day násxùŋ násxùŋ fire má má khánácî khánácíN frost kázúaN khánácè lightning kázữa kháŋàcè kátců month kátewaN kátců kátcúiaN moon ànthúpà àNthúpà morning mountain kə́phùŋ kə́phùn rácì night rácì kázŵa kázúiaN rain kázứa khàrû kázúaN khàrû raining kố river kóN kőlî kóNlî shadow kàzứa sky kàzúiaN mákfû mákfŵ smoke

intí jè ntchiùa

iNtí jè NtchwaN

soil	ŋèlâ	ŋèlâ
star	sípíte műəlê	sípíte úio Nlê
stone	lũŋkúə	lũNkúə
sun	zấmù	záNmù
thunder	kázဏ̃ə kàkʰถั๋	kázúaN kákhòN
valley	támpá	táNpá
water	'nt͡sý	Ňtsý
wind	mùicúe	mùicúe
year	záŋkữ	záNkùN

Human-made objects

Tools/Clothing

màléthữi ə màléthùiaN arrow nàcì nàcì axe kómbôr blanket kóNbôr blanket kónkù kóNkù bracelet kốsឃ KóNswaN cloth psŵ psŵ psúiNtehì clothing psúntehì ntsú Ntsú comb zúi}ô zúi?ôN cooking pot kàlùací kàlùací cup ?ákʰánìtʰû̂ə ?ákhánìthûaN earring khốnkù khóNkù hat head basket bã bã sŵə house sŵəN knife keìe keìe kápsŵa kápsŵaN medicine súkúə súkúə mortar needle káprůia káprùiaN pants khónkásô khóNk árô thứkhô pestle thúiNkhôN γŝ ?ôN pot 1û 1û rice basket zấkú záNkú rice husking basket ?èrû ?èrŵ rope bòıế shirt bòréN súikílů slingshot súkílûN òkxùmòtehá òkxùmòtehá socks spear zà zà títxឃ sticks for weaving títxùiəN tʰŵ́əkồ̀ thứu əNkòN tongs nítsý?ô nítsý?ôN water pot

Food

banana ?ámétxâ ?ámétxâ bean tχâ tχâ chili pepper sútχâ súttχâ cooked rice zwi zwiə ?áhế curry ?áhéN xúejề ginger xúejèN ?ámìe ?tùhûi ?ámìe ?whûi leather tsŷ tsŷ liquor ?ámìe ?ámìe meat çìtsû çìtsû milk necklace teî teî oil txùə txùə

salt mətsú mətsú

Social Entities

Social Constructs

chief	?ə́χámpî	?ə́χáNpî
		?èxàNsúimé
child of chief	?òxầsúmé ?ùinùi	?առա
dream (n)	mə́sxṍmpà	mésxóNpà
land/country	râ	râN
name	?ɯ́mڛ̀̀ə	Newmù?
price	?ìmế́	?ìméN
queen	?ə́χánnû	?ə́χánnû
song	cî	çîN
student	kátánù	kátánù
teacher	?òt͡ɕʰá	?òt͡ɕ⁴á
village/state	kfû	kfû
war	лûe	rŵe

Supernatural

creator	kʰə́sílì ʔìkə́pvùi	k ^h ásílì ?ìkápvù
ghost	ıámpvù	ráNpvùi
God	pvùisxữə	pvùisxúəN

Family

adult	sùintúətà	sùıNtúətà
aunt, older paternal	?ánŵ	?ánŵ
aunt, wife of father's younger		
brother	?ànùkètûə	?ànùkètûə
aunt, wife of older paternal uncle	?ànùtʰûə	?ànùt⁴ûə
baby	?àŋá	?èŋá
brother in law	kʰə́mŵə	kʰə́mŵə
brother, father's younger	?àpíkètûə	?àpíkètûə
brother, older of female	?ìmà	?ìmà
brother, older of male	?wmápî	?wmápî
brother, younger of female	?ìkə̀túəpî	?ìkètúəpî
brother, younger of male	?íkètúəpî	?íkètúəpî
child	?àŋá	?èŋá
child	?ínùi	?ínù
daughter in law	kèŗí	kòŗí
enemy	nèhákèsúi	nàhákàsứı
family	?wintehúkfŵ	?ẁNt͡ɕʰúkfŵ
father	?ápî	?ápî
friend	ìpʰr̪ílì	ìpʰr̪ílì
grandchild	kátsýnù	kátsýnù
grandmother	?àpzúı	?àpzúı
grown daughter	?ə̀nɯ́ŋə̀lìnú	?ènứŋèlìnú
grown son	?ə̀nẁŋə̀lẃnpì	?ènùŋèlúiNpì
grown son	?ə̀nùŋə̀lúntà	?ènùŋèlúiNtà
guest	?wkfwpî	?wkfwpî

host husband	?wkèpvŵ ?wtisxấ	?wkèpvw ?wtisxáN
little baby	?àŋá ?ánù	?èŋá ?énùi
little baby, affectionate	?èŋénù	?èŋśnù
man	nímpî	níNpî
mother	?ánữ	?ánûN
orphan	mòrínù	mərinü
paternal grandfather	?àpvúi	?àpvúi
person	mùi	mù
sister in law	ໃໝ່mນ້ອ	?ແ໌ເmùə
sister, older	?ítâ	?ítâ
sister, older of female	?ítâ	?ítâ
sister, older of male	?ítâ	?ítâ
sister, younger of female	?wkàdúənù	?wkàdúənù
sister, younger of male	?ə́zúəpvŵ	?ázúəpvŵ
uncle, husband of father's older		
sister	?àpvûı	?àpvû
uncle, older paternal	?ápítʰûə	?ápítʰûə
widow	pvúmánô	pvúmánô
wife	?ùipùtá	?wpùtá
woman	nùmpvù	nùiNpvùi

Miscellaneous

Numbers

eight cíhè cíhè trílàtchê eleven trílàtchê fifty sómpcìníhé sóNpcìníhé five peìnijá peìnijá four mèliá mèliá nine cákúhé **c**ákúhé ?àtehîe ?àtchîe one màcíhè màcíhè one hundred làsxi ?átche làsxùaN ?átche one thousand

seven sùn shè sùn shè trúhè tríhé tríhé

ten thousand lèsxidentrihè lèsxidentrihè thirteen trílékèthőhé trílékèthóNhé thirty sốŋkèthúhế sóNkèthúNhéN three kétxố kétxóN

three kétxố kétxóN twelve trílékhèná trílékhèná twenty mèkùhế mèkùhéN twenty mèkùhế mèkùhéN two khánâ khánâ

Location/position terms

back (of something) ?wkhènúpà ?wkhènúpà behind ?wwkhènúpà ?wkhènúpà ?wkódú ?wkódú corner front (of something) ?ìmíəpà ?ìmíəpà in front of ?ìmíəpà ?ìmíəpà right side ?èsấpá ?èsáNpá

Abstract nouns (misc)

voice?ùkhrú?ùkhrúwords/speech?úlùo?úlùo

Predicates

Actions

accept khómózì khóm add together khórů khórů adopt kókà kókà arrive vánkòdí váNl ascend/climb kíkí kíkí	iN xèdí
	t̂ɕʰúə

bite	kʰâŋká	k ^h âNká
blink	?ə́mш́ k⁴ákə̀sxш́	?ə́mɯ́ khákə̀sxɯ́
blow	?èkχá kʰèmŵ	?èkχá kʰèmŵ
blow snot	?ènèxỗ kásŵ	?ènèxổ kásŵ
blow the nose	?ìnə̀cí kə́stu	?ìnàcí kásứı
boil	kə́xõ	káxòN
borrow	k ^h ásə́pvûi	k ^h ásápvŵ
break	tsúkèkíe	tsúkèkíe
break	tákèdûiə	tákèdŵə
breathe	?èkχá kèsûi	?èkχá kèsûi
brush teeth	?íɕì kʰèkèsú	?íɕì kʰàkàsú
burst	?ùmbú?kèkîe	?ùNbú?kèkîe
buy	kʰàlú	kʰàlú
call	kə́xû	kə́xû
carry	kèkʰữ́ə	kèkʰẃəN
carry on head	kớtồ	kátòN
catch	mằŋkʰə́lì	mæ̀Nkʰə́lì
chase	kèzìŋá	kèzìŋá
choose	kʰákàbã	k ^h ákàbàN
come	kázî	kázî
come back	ŋèlévẫló	ŋèléváNló
Come! (imperative)	zìló	zìló
conceive	?ẃnẃkèpʰố́	?ẃnẃkèp⁴óN
cook	kə́χο̈́	k ó χôN
copulate	kókúe	kókúe
cough	kʰáŋkɕí	k ^h áNk¢í
crawl	kʰə́mpû	kʰə́Npû
cross	kèkệ	kèkéN
cross	kèkế	kèkéN
crow	kèkχὂ	kèkχòN
crush chilis	sìtχá kʰèní	sìtχá kʰèní
crush paddy	sú <u>p</u> úə kəsŷ	sú <u>p</u> úə kəsŷ
cry	kətsô	kətsô
cut meat	?ə́mìe?k ^h əkədé	?ə́mìe?k ^h əkədé
cut wood	kèká	kèká
cut wood	mə́tʰýŋkə̀ká	mə́tʰýNkə̀ká
dance	kốmékàsəlí	kóNmékàsəlí
dance	tcákóikàsəlí	teákóikàsəlí
dance	tcókúekòsòlí	tcókúekòsòlí
decay	kàcỳ	kècỳ
deceive	lókátc ^h ŷ	lókə́teʰŷ
defecate	kábíe	kábíe
descend	kádû	kádûN
dig	kətchùə	kətehùə
dig a hole	ŋèlá kétchùə	ŋèlá kət͡ɕʰùə
do	k ^h ớsớlì	k ^h ásálì
dream (v.)	k ^h ớsớmè	k ^h ásámè
drink	kʰə́mà̀	k ^h ớmàN
drive	kèt ^h ùə	kèt ^h ùə

	1 \ / 8	1) / 0)]
drive animals	kèzứŋẫ	kèzứŋâN
eat	kəzî	kəzî
enter	kə́zá	kózáN
exchange	kʰánsŷ	k ^h áNsŷ
exist	kʰə́là	kʰálà
exit	kású	kású
expect	k ^h ớtcì hế	kʰə̂t͡ɕìhéŃ
fall	kốŋkʰèlỳ	kóNkʰàlỳ
fart	hókèpé	hókèpé
fear	kətsùi	kətsù
feel in the heart	túəkʰə́mə̀.rùə	túəkʰə́mə̀rùə
finish	kʰálùe	kʰálùe
fit	pákází	pákází
fly	kápríjè	kápríjè
fly	kớpríjè	kápríjè
follow	k ^h ákázŷ	kʰə́kə́zŷN
forget	k ^h ámèlíe	kʰámə̀líe
frighten	k ^h ớntsứ	kʰə́Nt͡sẃı
fry	kʰə́ŋûə	kʰə́ŋûə
get lower	nềŋkèdí	nèNkèdí
get up	kèt ^h úə	kètʰúə
give	kə́pzẃ	kə́pzẃı
give	kə́pzẃ	kə́pzẃ
give birth	?ènùikèpá	?ènùikèpá
grind	súpúə kətə	súpúə kətə
hear	kətχâ	kətχâ
help	kʰáŋàt͡ɕʰón	k ^h áŋàt͡ɕʰón
help	météŋkèpấ	météNkèpáN
hide (oneself)	?wntey	?wNtey
hide (something)	k ^h ánte ^h ỳ	kháNtehỳ
hit (target)	k ^h àná	k ^h èná
hit	k ^h èkèpsúi	k ^h àkàpsứ
hold in mouth	k ekepsar k ^h ámố	k ^h ớmòN
hunt	çí kèkúə	eí kèkúə
hurt	tsúuk ^h òná	tsúkhèná
kick	k ^h ókèt ^h á	k ^h ókèt ^h á
kick the foot	k əkət a k ^h òkət ^h a	k ^h òkət ^h a
kill	tákèt ^h é	tákèt ^h é
kiss	k ^h ámázù	k ^h ámə́zùı
	nálá kátső	ŋślá kàtsòN
knead clay with feet		•
laugh	khánnỳ	khánný
lay eggs	?ìntítsý k ^h àntsŷ lísánê	?ìNtítsý khàNtsŷ
lend		lísénê
lick	kʰə́mə́lẃə	kʰámálúia
lift	kèkʰẃə	kàkhúiaN 1-h4N1-21-4
lift up	kʰáŋkàkí Śu śū h ś	kʰáNkàkí
like	níkátehûa	níNkátehûa
limp	?úkxúkágúe	?úkxúkácúe
look	kʰáŋáhấ	k ^h ớŋớháN

meet	k ^h ántû	kʰáŊtû
menstruate	?ènsúkèzì	?èNsúkèzì
mock	?wnýkèsúə	?winýkèsúə
nurse/suckle	?úizùtsỳ khámá	?úzùtsỳ khámá
open mouth	?èk⁴úmú kèkè	?èk⁴ẃmú kèkè
pound (rice)	sə́pʰúəkə̀sŷ	sə́p⁴úəkə̀sŷ
produce	teʰúmàŋkə̀χá	tchúmàNkèχá
put	kə́fùi	káfùi
release	k ^h ásìdú	k ^h ásìdú
respect	kíəkəci	kíəkəçi
roast/dry	k ^h áŋkúi	k ^h áNkúi
roll	kʰókʰə́lŷi	kʰókʰə́lŷi
rot	kècỳ	kècỳ
rub	k ^h ámúa	k ^h ə́mẃə
run	kʰə́ŋə̀lṍ	kʰə́ŋə̀lóN
scoop out	súk ^h àlì	súkʰə̀lì
scratch	k ^h ớtớkù	k ^h ótókù
scratch an itch	kə́xúi	kə́xúi
scratch an itch	k ^h ớmó kờxúi	khámó kàxúi
seek/search	kápeí	kápcí
sell	k ^h ázỳ	k ^h ớzỳ
sew	psú kátrùa	psú kátrùia
shake something	kʰə́kʰənù	kʰə́kʰənù
sharpen knife	keìe khákètí	keìe khákètí
shiver	k ^h ákátù	k ^h ákátù
shoot	kákŵa	kákŵa
shout	kʰát͡sə́χà	k ^h átsόχà
sing	cí kòcí	eí kèeí
sit	k ^h ánzỳ	k ^h áNzỳ
sit on eggs	kàbû	kèbûN
slap	k ^h ákàpcí	k ^h ákàpcí
sleep	kábzûi	kábzŵ
smell/sniff	k ^h ənồ	k ^h ənòN
smile	k ^h ánỳ	k ^h ánỳ
sneeze	hákótsú	hákétsúi
snore	kʰə́ŋə̀r	kʰáŋàr
soak	k ^h ántsùi	k ^h ə́Ntsùi
spin ·	kákrùi	kákrůi
spin	kákrů	kákrů
anit	mùıtsỳtsỳ k ó mùsxú	mùtsỳtsỳ
spit	kəmusxu k ^h əməlé	kə́mùsxú kʰə́mə̀lé
spit up		
stammer stand	?àkχá kàdá kʰáŋàlû̂ə	?àkχá kàdá kʰə́ŋə̀lûəN
	kənəndə kəxúə	kənjəluən kəxúə
start	кәхиә kèbố	kəxuə kəbóN
stay steal	หองง kʰấfúi	kəbon k ^h áNfúi
steal	k ⁿ áfúi khấfúi	k"aNtui kháNfúi
stick		k ^h ánná
SHUK	kʰánná	K"aiiila

weave

weave

whistle

yawn

stink nòNkèsúə nònkèsúə suck k^h óm óz w o k^h śm śz w a N swallow p^hļákèsxã phlákèsxâN kèpû kàpû swell khàlí khàlí take lùo khámàlùo lùo khámàlùo talk talk ?òlùa khámàlùa ?òlùə khómòlùə tempt pácŷ pácŷ kháphánữa k^h áp h án $\hat{\mathbf{w}}$ aNthink tickle $k^h \grave{o}nt^h \acute{o}r \hat{u}$ khòNthárû khánsù kháNsù tie kátshù kátshù to die kábzû kábzûi to sleep toast khákxrì k^hákx_rì touch tsúukhánà tsúukhánà twist/squeeze khásxàsá khásxàrá untie khákłì k^háklì urinate zánkèpì záNkèpì kámàlù kámàlù vomit k^h áŋ $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ ə kʰə́ηŵə wait walk kèzé kèzé want $k^h \hat{\partial} m \hat{i}$ $k^h \hat{\partial} m \hat{i}$ níNkàtehúiaN níŋkətehtiə want zíkhíŋi̇́e zíkhíníeN want to eat psú kèsý psú kèsý wash clothes ?ùkfúkátehŷ ?wkhwkátehŷ wash hands wash legs òkú kàprŵ òkú kèprû weave kètó kètó

tíkètó

psú kètỗ

hõ micie

màcékhàmùa

tíkètó

psú kètôN

hõ micie

màcékhàmùa

States

hot

able sùlìkèsó sùlìkèsó ?wwòlùn kósw ?úmòlùN kósú angry Pisúvé Pà kàphrí bad character ?ìsúvéN ?à kàphrí bad character ?ìsúivén səkətçî ?ìsúivéN sàkàteî beautiful kèp^hrí kèp^hrí khátehù khátehù big bitter kákhí kákhí kázúi black kázúi γιμης τι κλεί ?mìNsm kàsm bleed ?úmúkhàmù ?úmúkhèmù blind blind, be ?ákètyá ?ákètyá mù cúe khám à cúe mù cúe khám à cúe blow born, be kápà kápà break out sùthík à sú sùthík à sú burn/on fire, be mákècí mákècí mákátchûa mákátehûa burning clean kə́thwi̇̀ə kə́thùiəN khánthữa kháNthùaN clear clever/smart kàcĩŋ kàciNŋ closed késxů késxùN k^hàkàtsà cold khàkàtsà kʰśmà comparative degree khámà khánthồ kháNthòN correct khánthồ $k^h \acute{a} N t^h \grave{o} N$ correct crippled/lame ?úkxú ?àkhèlá ?úkxú ?àkhèlá crooked khánkùe kháNkùe dark táŋkʰèmâ táNk^hàmâ níkəkxú deaf níkəkxú kèthú kèthú deep difficult khálùa khálùa dirty khánkxùə kháNkxùə kàtyŵa kètxứuəN dry early in the morning nthúlúətò Nthúlúətò khálíe khálíe easy far kèlí kàlí kə́tʰúiə káthúia fast khátchù khátchù fat few dúək^hèmá dúəkhèmá fine mòsúnúnú?è màsúniúnúí?è ful1 kètxúə kètxúə full/complete mə́púŋkə̀phá mə́púNkə̀phá get higher and higher teùakikí teùəkikí Pisúrvén kàphrí good (morally) ?ìsúvéN kàphrí green khántúi ə kháNtúi ə hard kháNká heavy kèrúi kèrúi kátchùa kátehùa high

kácì

kácì

mákồ kèbù hunchbacked mákòN kèbùN zứi kàtchê hungry for rice, to be zú kàtehê incorrect/wrong khèmé khèmé khózá ?à kòcí khózá ?à kècí just right temp late kàxúi kàxúi pházèk à te úa phárèk à tcúa leprous káxù light káxù light k^h ámp wà k^h áNpù aN long kásữa káswaN khàntehú khàNtchú loose khàmữa k^h àmứaNlost khánáx ma khánáx û a N low khànứa low khànứa low nìkə́xŵə nìkəxŵəN teúmmà teúmmà many teunkhəmà teúNk^həmà many missing legs ?úkxú kótûe ?úkxú kátûe teúNkhámà more than teúnk^h ómà ?úlùo ?àkàsú mute/dumb ?úlùo ?àkàsú khámácx wa khámácx waN narrow naughty, be khákəkruı khákəkruı near ?àxúe γὸχώε kə́thùə kə́thùə new mòsúnúnúi ?á mòsúnúnúi ?á tsw?é not fine tsw?é not heavy ?ákèrúi ?ákèrúi ?àkàt͡ɕʰúə ?àkàt͡ɕʰúə not high ?ákhòmòcxtio ?ákhèmècxúiaN not sharp kátshù kátshù numb, be old ηèxἇi ηèxúiΝ tùəkətsã old tùəkətsáN kèsxú kèsxú open pregnant, be ?ànùkàphố ?ènùkèphóN kàyấ red kèγáN k^hámữa ripe k^h śm w a N tàxúxù rough tàxúxù ?àtã round ?ètáN kətχâ see kətχâ shallow ?àkèthú ?àkèthú k^hómàcxwà khámác x ù a N sharp short kàsŵ kèsŵ shy/ashamed khákèsxá khákèsxá kátchúa kətehuə sick, be kátchúa kətehuə sick, be kákồ kákòN skinny khánûe slippery khánûe slow kátá kátá small kátúa kátúa smell bad ¢úkʰànằ cúkhànàN

nàNpúət smooth nàmpúət táphèphè soft táphèphè kètʰẃ sour kètʰẃ straight ηὸlúsxὧə ηèlúsxŵəN kʰə́nkûə strong k^h óNkû ə kʰə́ηkúə k^h óNkú o strong máŋkʰə́múə stupid máNkhámúa sweet kásằə káswaN kásxữia kásxiùaN tall thick kàcí kàcí ?ákècí thin ?ákècí

thirst ?wintsý mắnkinié ?wiNtsý máNkinié

tight k^háŋázŵa k^háŋázwaN alive kárwã kárwã awake kètxûə kètxûə ?àkèp^hrí ugly/bad ?àkèphrí very cold kásxŵə kásxŵə kʰálù̀ khálùN warm k^háŋázè weak kháŋázè kázúi wet kázúi white k^háηùə kʰə́ηùə kʰə́ŋùə kʰə́ŋùə white wither k^h áŋ àx ù i k^háŋàxùi without legs ?wkxúkətwə ?wkxúkətwə táliúmàtehù táliúmàtehù yellow

Pronouns

1du	?ə́ná	?áná
1pl	? ó rû	?ə́rû
1sg	â	â
2du	nínấ	nínáN
2sg	nấ	nâN
3du	ìná	ìná
3sg	?ə́mẃ	?ə́mɯ́
3sg 3sg	?ə́mẃ	?ə́mɯ́

Adverbs

routinely ỳsádó ỳsádó