

A PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF MEUNG YUM AND PHONOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF MEUNG YUM WITH THREE WA VARIETIES IN CHINA

PHUNG WEI PING

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

Payap University

April 2013



| | A Phonological Descrip | tion of Meung Yum and Phonologic | | | | |
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| | Comparison of Meung Yum with Three Wa Varieties in Chin | | | | | |
| Researcher: | Phung Wei Ping | Phung Wei Ping | | | | |
| Degree: | Master of Arts in Lingu | istics | | | | |
| Advisor: | Phinnarat Akharawattha | nnakun, Ph.D. | | | | |
| Approval Dat | e: 1 April 2013 | | | | | |
| Institution: | Payap University, Chian | ng Mai, Thailand | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| The members | of the thesis examination | aammittaa: | | | | |
| The members | of the thesis examination | committee: | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | Committee Chair | | | | |
| (Professor So | msonge Burusphat, Ph.D.) | _ Committee Chair | | | | |
| (Professor So | msonge Burusphat, Ph.D.) | | | | | |
| (Professor So | msonge Burusphat, Ph.D.) | | | | | |
| (Professor So | msonge Burusphat, Ph.D.) | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | msonge Burusphat, Ph.D.) | | | | | |
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to thank God for giving me this opportunity and the strength, wisdom, grace and mercy to accomplish this thesis in His timing, despite challenging situations in the beginning. The Bible says "And we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him, who have been called according to his purpose" (Romans 8:28).

Secondly, I would like to express my gratitude to the Myanmar survey team and surveyors who arranged the data collection trip to Mae Sai, Chiang Rai, Thailand. I would also like to express my appreciation to SIL members Jeff German and Mark Wannemacher who provided ideas for my thesis topic and to Noel Mann for giving suggestions on a word list to use for Fieldworks and data collection. The SIL computer team, especially Tim Armstrong, has provided invaluable assistance in solving Fieldworks and other computing problems. Many others from SIL, including Larin Adams, Mary Peterson, Terry Gibbs, Ellie Hall, Kristen Herr, and Erick Fickle have provided help in other ways.

I would particularly like to thank my mentor, Ajarn William J. Hanna, for taking time to read and comment on this paper with patience and care, my advisor, Ajarn Dr. Phinnarat Akharawatthanakun, for making herself available and giving wise guidance and profound suggestions throughout the process of my thesis and my committee chair Professor Dr. Somsonge Burusphat to make herself available for suggestions of this thesis.

I am so thankful to have all of you involved in this thesis. Although the result is important I value even more highly the process of writing this thesis.

Phung Wei Ping

Title: A Phonological Description of Meung Yum and Phonological

Comparison of Meung Yum with Three Wa Varieties in

China

Researcher: Phung Wei Ping

Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics

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Approval Date: 1 April 2013

Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Number of Pages: 132

Keywords: Meung Yum, Waic, Mon-Khmer, Phonological description,

Phonological comparison.

ABSTRACT

Meung Yum is a language that has not yet been studied in detail and limited resources are available regarding the classification of this language. It is one of the Wa varieties under the Waic subgroup of Eastern Palaungic in the Mon-Khmer family. The main objective of this thesis is to present a phonological description of Meung Yum by analyzing four sets of 1,628 lexical items from four different villages in Shan State, Myanmar: Namt Yoke, Loi Yang, Pang Wan and Pan Tang. It also presents a phonological comparison of Meung Yum with three Wa varieties in China, in order to give an overview of the phonological similarities and differences between Meung Yum at Kunlong Township, Shan State, Myanmar and the three Wa subgroups in China.

diphthongs /ai, oi, vi, oi, ue, ia, ua, au, io/ and seven breathy diphthongs /wi, io, ia, xi, ai, au, ue/ are found in Meung Yum. Three triphthongs of Mueng Yum /iai, iau, uai/ occur only in clear vowels. Meung Yum has two registers, clear and breathy. The clear and breathy registers contrast primarily with voiced consonants. There are two interesting findings in Meung Yum, the first finding is two varieties of Meung Yum has retained the voiced stops /b/ and /d/, two varieties have lost them. The second finding is the asymmetrical vowel system resulting from the unequal distribution of breathy vowels. Based on these two findings, it can be hypothesized that Meung Yum may be undergoing the language change.

The phonological comparison of Meung Yum and three Wa varieties in China demonstrates that although all of these languages share some common phonological features each also has unique phonological features, thus it is difficult to determine which Wa varieties in China are the most similar to Meung Yum.

ชื่อเรื่อง: ระบบเสียงในภาษาเมืองยุมและการเปรียบเทียบระบบ

เสียงในภาษาเมืองยุมกับภาษาว้า 3 วิธภาษาที่พูด

ในประเทศจีน

ผู้จัดทำ: พึ่ง ไว พิ่ง

ปริญญา: ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาภาษาศาสตร์

อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ดร. พิณรัตน์ อัครวัฒนากุล

วันที่อนุมัติผลงาน: 1 เมษายน 2556

สถาบันการศึกษา: มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย

จำนวนหน้า: 132

คำสำคัญ: เมืองยุม, ว้าอิก, มอญ-เขมร, คำอธิบายทางสัทวิทยา,

การเปรียบเทียบทางสัทวิทยา

บทคัดย่อ

ภาษาเมืองยุมเป็นภาษาที่ยังไม่มีการศึกษาวิจัยมากนักและงานที่ศึกษาเกี่ยวกับการจัดกลุ่มภาษา นี้มีค่อนข้างจำกัด ภาษาเมืองยุมเป็นวิธภาษาหนึ่งของภาษาว้า โดยอยู่ในสาขาย่อยว้าอิกของ ภาษาสาขาปะหล่องตะวันออกในตระกูลมอญ-เขมร งานวิจัยนี้แสดงระบบเสียงของภาษา เมืองยุม โดยวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลจากรายการคำ 1,628 หน่วยอรรถ และเก็บข้อมูลจากหมู่บ้าน 4 แห่ง คือ หมู่บ้านน้ำยก หมู่บ้านลอยยัง หมู่บ้านปังวัน และหมู่บ้านปันตัง ซึ่งอยู่ในรัฐฉาน ประเทศ เมียนมาร์ งานวิจัยนี้ยังได้แสดงการเปรียบเทียบระบบเสียงภาษาเมืองยุมกับวิธภาษาว้าอื่น ๆ ในประเทศจีนอีก 3 ภาษาด้วย เพื่อเสนอแนวคิดให้เห็นความคล้ายคลึง และความแตกต่าง ทางด้านระบบเสียงระหว่างภาษาเมืองยุมที่พูดในเมืองกุนลง รัฐฉาน ประเทศเมียนมาร์ และ วิธภาษาว้าทั้ง 3 กลุ่มย่อยในประเทศจีน

ผลการวิเคราะห์แสดงให้เห็นว่าโครงสร้างพยางค์หลักของภาษาเมืองยุมที่เป็นพยางค์เปิดมี โครงสร้างเป็น C(C)V(V)(V) ส่วนพยางค์ปิดมีโครงสร้างเป็น C(C)V(V)(V)C อย่างไรก็ตาม โครงสร้างพยางค์แบบสมบูรณ์ทั้งสองโครงสร้างคือ CCVVV และ CCVVVC ไม่ปรากฏใน ภาษาเมืองยุมแต่อย่างใด ภาษาเมืองยุมมีรูปแบบการลงเสียงหนักเบาแบบลงเสียงหนักใน พยางค์หลักซึ่งเป็นพยางค์หลัง โครงสร้างพยางค์ในคำที่พบมาก คือ โครงสร้างคำพยางค์เดียว และโครงสร้างคำพยางค์ครึ่ง ส่วนโครงสร้างคำ 2 พยางค์มีค่อนข้างน้อย พยัญชนะในภาษา

เมืองยุมที่พูดในหมู่บ้านน้ำยกและหมู่บ้านลอยยังมี 21 หน่วยเสียง ส่วนในหมู่บ้านปังวันและ หมู่บ้านปันตั้งมี 19 หน่วยเสียง เนื่องจากไม่มีเสียงกักก้อง /b/ และ /d/ พยัญชนะในภาษา เมืองยุมมีเสียงกักไม่ก้อง 9 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /pʰ, tʰ, cʰ, kʰ, p, t, c, k, ʔ/ ภาษาถิ่นทั้ง 4 ภาษาถิ่นมีเสียงเสียดแทรก 3 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /v, s, h/ เสียงนาสิก 4 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /m, n, p, η เสียงข้างลิ้น /l/ เสียงรัว /r/ และเสียงเปิด /j/ สระในภาษาเมืองยุมมีรายละเอียด ดังนี้ สระเดี่ยวลักษณะน้ำเสียงก้องธรรมดา 9 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /i, e, ϵ , a, u, o, ɔ, ω , γ / และสระเดี่ยวลักษณะน้ำเสียงก้องต่ำทุ้ม 6 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /i̯, ɛ̯, a̯, w̯, o̯, ɤ̞/ สระประสม 2 คุณสมบัติลักษณะน้ำเสียงก้องธรรมดา 9 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /ai, oi, vi, oi, ue, ia, ua, au, io/ สระประสม 2 คุณสมบัติลักษณะน้ำเสียงก้องต่ำทุ้ม 7 หน่วยเสียง ได้แก่ /wi, io, ia, xi, pi, au, ue/ ส่วนสระประสม 3 คุณสมบัติมี 3 หน่วยเสียงโดยมีเฉพาะลักษณะน้ำเสียงก้องธรรมดา เท่านั้น ภาษาเมืองยุมมีคุณสมบัติน้ำเสียง 2 แบบ คือ คุณสมบัติน้ำเสียงก้องธรรมดาและ คุณสมบัติน้ำเสียงก้องต่ำทุ้ม ความแตกต่างระหว่างคุณสมบัติน้ำเสียง 2 แบบนี้ โดยมากปรากฏ ในเสียงพยัญชนะก้อง ผลการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับภาษาเมืองยุมที่น่าสนใจมี 2 ประการ ประการแรกคือ มีภาษาเมืองยุม 2 ถิ่นที่ยังคงมีพยัญชนะเสียงกักก้อง /b/ และ /d/ ในขณะที่ในภาษาเมืองยุมอีก 2 ถิ่น พยัญชนะทั้งสองหน่วยเสียงดังกล่าวได้สูญหายไปแล้ว ประการที่สองคือ ระบบสระในภาษา เมืองยุมที่ไม่มีความสมมาตร เนื่องจากการปรากภูของสระที่มีลักษณะน้ำเสียงก้องต่ำทุ้มไม่เท่ากัน ผลการวิจัยดังกล่าวนี้ทำให้สันนิษฐานได้ว่า ภาษาเมืองยุมอาจอยู่ระหว่างการเปลี่ยนแปลง

ผลการเปรียบเทียบระบบเสียงระหว่างภาษาเมืองยุมและภาษาว้า 3 วิธภาษาในประเทศจีน แสดง ให้เห็นว่า ถึงแม้ภาษาว้าทั้ง 3 วิธภาษาและภาษาเมืองยุมจะมีลักษณะทางเสียงบางประการ ร่วมกัน แต่ภาษาเหล่านี้ก็มีลักษณะทางเสียงบางประการที่เป็นลักษณะเด่นแตกต่างกัน ด้วยเหตุนี้ จึงตัดสินได้ยากว่า ภาษาว้าวิธภาษาใดในประเทศจีนที่มีคล้ายคลึงกับภาษาเมืองยุมมากที่สุด

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Meung Yum people are an unresearched ethnic group, among whom no linguistic research has previously been conducted. A sociolinguistic survey was conducted in 2009, when a survey team traveled into a mountainous area to meet the Meung Yum people and research their villages and language. The background information regarding this people group is mainly drawn from a unpublished sociolinguistic report by Myint Myint Phyu, a student in the linguistics department of Payap University (Myint Myint Phyu 2011). According to this report, Meung Yum is classified in the Waic subgroup of the Eastern Palaungic languages, part of the Mon-Khmer family.

The main objective of this research is to present a phonological description of Meung Yum as spoken in Namt Yoke, Loi Yang, Pang Wan and Pan Tang villages of Kunlong Township, Shan State, Myanmar. Meung Yum, a variety of Wa, is spoken outside of the main Wa community in the Wa Autonomous Region. Thus, this thesis begins by exploring the sociolinguistic background in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on linguistic features of Mon-Khmer languages, and Waic languages in particular. Chapter 3 presents the syllable structures and word structures of Meung Yum and Chapter 4 presents the segmental structures. Suprasegmentals in Meung Yum are discussed in Chapter 5.

The phonological study in Chapters 3 to 5 makes significant contributions to two areas of study. First, it documents the phonology of a previously undescribed variety of Wa, which will be of interest to those who are interested in Wa languages. Second, the description of the phonological system of Meung Yum contributes to the development of a Meung Yum writing system and development of literacy materials in Meung Yum.

A secondary objective of this research is found in Chapter 6 in which research on the phonology of three Wa varieties in China, Parauk, A-Vax and Wa/Vax, are described and then compared to Meung Yum in Myanmar. Therefore, this research contributes to the understanding of the phonological similarities and differences between Meung

Yum at Kunlong Township, Shan State, Myanmar and the three Wa sub-groups in China. A summary of the result of this thesis is presented in Chapter 7. A word list taken from the four Meung Yum villages on which this study is based is included as Appendix A.

1.1 Origins of the Meung Yum people

Little is known of the origins, background and linguistic affiliation of the Meung Yum people, as nothing has been published on them. Three older Meung Yum people, when asked where the Meung Yum people came from, thought that around a hundred years ago they may have moved from Wa lands. The Burmese government has officially designated Wa lands as the second special region of Myanmar, Wa lands are divided into Northern Wa and Southern Wa situated at the East of Shan state (see the map in Figure 1). They left that area because of infertility of the land, poor health conditions and religious conflicts (Myint Myint Phyu 2009: 1).



Figure 1: The map of Myanmar second special regions (Wa autonomous)¹

1.2 Language name

The Meung Yum refer to themselves as "Rok Mong Yum" [rok main jum], and call their language "Laka Meung Yum" or "Laka Rok". The word "Rok" is one of the language varieties that are related to Wa. Meung is probably a loan word from Tai meaning 'city' but the meaning of Yum is unknown. According to the opinion of the surveyor, the name of Meung Yum is used because the people moved from Meung Yum village which is located in the Wa special region. When they settled down outside the Wa region for the purpose of recognizing their origin, they used the village name they came from to identify themselves. The word "Meung Yum" itself

 $^{^1}$ The map of Myanmar second special regions is from $\underline{\text{http://www.hudong.com/wiki/\%E6\%8E\%B8\%E9\%82\%A6}}, August 10, 2012. This map has been modified by the author of this thesis by adding English translation.}$

has no specific meaning. When the Meung Yum introduced themselves to Shan people they call themselves "Loi Muang Yum", meaning 'mountain people'. The Chinese call them "Khala" [khala] or "Laca" [la-dʒa]; the exact meaning of these two terms is unknown. According to the Meung Yum "Khala" [khala] or "Laca" [la-dʒa] are uncomplimentary terms. The Burmese know them as "Loi Lah" [loi lah], meaning 'people who are left behind', while the Lhaovo² call them "Leh Nu" [le? nú], and the Kachin call them "Meung Yum" [muin jum]. (Myint Myint Phyu 2011: 7-8)

1.3 Geographical location

Meung Yum live in Kunlong Township, Northern Shan State, Myanmar and in the Myanmar second special Region (Wa) (see Figure 1). Their villages are located in a mountainous area beginning on the east side of the Salween River and extending westward across the river into Kunlong township, as shown in Figure 2; the Salween River forms the geographical division between Kunlong Township and the second special Region (Wa). The exact location of the original Meung Yum village is not known.

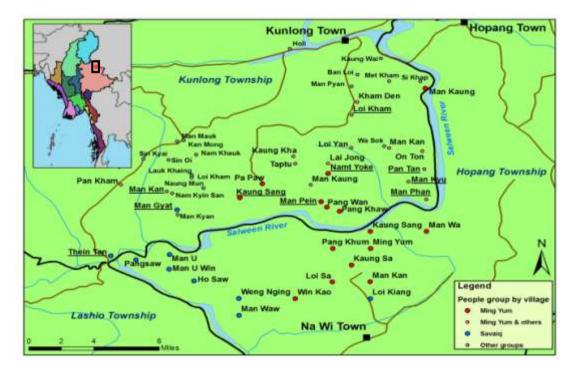


Figure 2: Meung Yum villages in Kunlong Township and Wa special region (Myint Myint Phyu 2011)

² Lhaovo is one of the Kachin varieties. There are a subgroup of the Burmis, part of the Lolo-Burmese languages in the Tibeto-Burman family.

The bigger dots in Figure 2 denote pure Meung Yum villages, the smaller dots signify villages of Meung Yum mixed with other people groups. The heavy black lines designate the boundaries between townships, and the villages which are underlined show the places that the survey team visited for data collection (Myint Myint Phyu 2011: 2-3). The Meung Yum has close contact with other people groups, only nine of the villages are pure Meung Yum villages. Seven of the pure Meung Yum villages are located in Kunlong Township: Namt Yoke, Pang Khaw, Pang Wan, Man Pein, Pa Paw, Kaung Sang and Man Kan villages. The other two Meung Yum and Noat Awng are located in the Wa Region (the specific location of Meung Yum and Noat Awng are unknown). (Myint Myint Phyu 2011: 5-6). The language resource persons in this thesis are from Namt Yoke, Loi Yan, Pang Wan and Pan Tan villages, but on the map in Figure 2 the village names Loi Yan and Pan Tan should be spelled Loi Yang and Pang Tan.

1.4 Population

According to Meung Yum interviewees, thirty of the Meung Yum villages are located in the Wa Autonomous Region and twenty in Kunlong Township. The total number of Meung Yum households in Kunlong Township is approximately 790 and the total population is about 4,000. The number of Meung Yum people in the Wa region is unknown. The estimated total population of Meung Yum is about 8,000. (Myint Myint Phyu 2011: 5). Further research in this area is needed.

1.5 Education and religion

Primary school is only available to Meung Yum children in some villages; if they do not have primary schools in their village they must attend school outside the village. The language of instruction is mainly Burmese but in some villages schools may also include the local language such as Lhaovo . The highest village education available is the primary level; no high school is available in the village. If children want to acquire higher education they must travel to a large town such as Lashio, Kutkai, Kunlong or Hopang, to study alongside with other ethnic groups, including Kachin, Wa and Chinese.

The majority of the Meung Yum people are Buddhist. None of the Meung Yum can read or write their own language although some of them can read the Buddhist scripture in the old Shan script. There is also a Christian minority among the Meung Yum, who have neither an orthography nor the Bible in their language. In 2011 the

Meung Yum Christians started to use their mother tongue in their worship services, but for preaching, they use one of the Kachin varieties and for Bible reading, either Burmese or Jingphaw. (Myint Myint Phyu 2011: 12-13)

1.6 Language classification

The Meung Yum language has not yet been studied in detail and limited resources are available regarding the classification of this language. According to Myint Myint Phyu (2011), Meung Yum is one of the Wa varieties under the Waic subgroup of Eastern Palaungic in the Mon-Khmer family (2011: vii). Based on the SIL Ethnologue (Lewis 2009), Wa is a member of the Northern Mon-Khmer sub-family of Mon-Khmer. Within the Northern Mon-Khmer sub-family, it belongs to the Eastern Palaungic sub-branch of the Palaungic branch as shown in the following Figure 3.

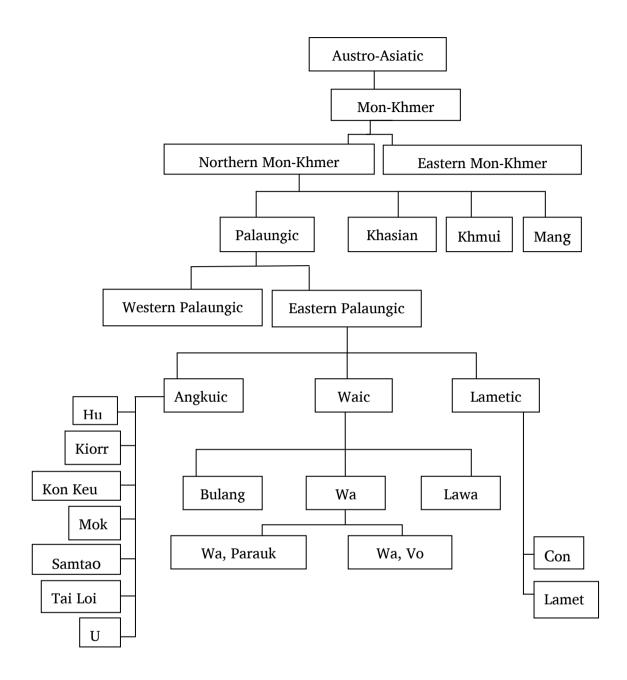


Figure 3: Position of Wa in Mon-Khmer language family (adapted from Lewis 2009)

Lewis (2009) classified Waic as the sub-group under Eastern Palaungic. Within Waic there are Bulang, Wa and Lawa. Wa, Parauk and Wa, Vo are the sub-groups of Wa. The SIL Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) and Diffloth (1982) subdivide the Eastern Palaungic sub-group into three groups, of which Waic is one member. Wa, in turn, is one of three sub-groups of Waic. Diffloth's classification of Wa in the Palaungic language family is given in the following Figure 4.

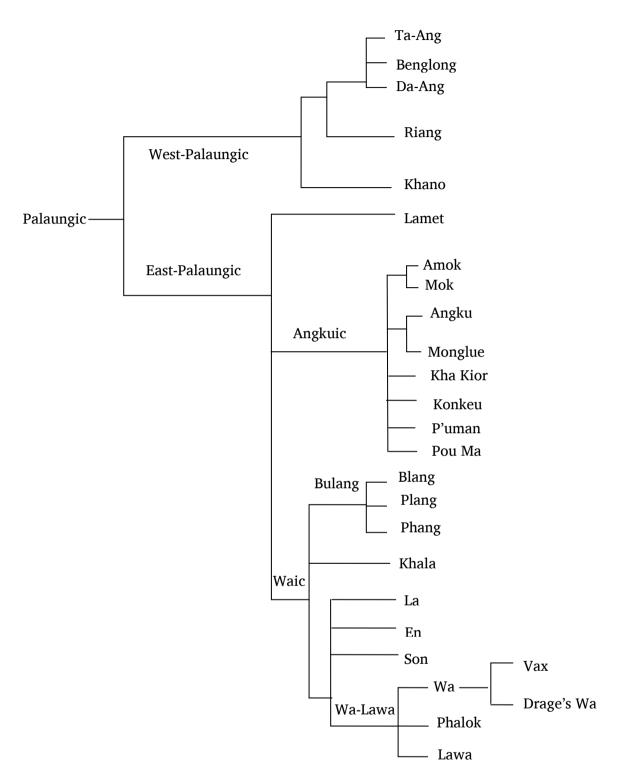


Figure 4: Position of Wa in the Palaungic language family (Diffloth 1982)

Wa is in the sub-group of Wa-Lawa and under Wa there are two varieties which are Vax and Drage's Wa. There are three varying classifications of the varieties within Wa. The Chinese linguists, Zhou and Yan (1995, 2004) classify the Wa subgroup into three varieties: Parauk, A-Vax and Wa/Vax. The sub-varieties of Parauk are Ai Shuai

and Ban Hong. The sub-varieties of A-Vax are Ma San, A-Vax Loi, Mang Nuo and Xi Yun. The Wa/Vax has one sub-variety which is Meng Gong (Zhou and Yan 2004: 22). The Chinese linguists Zhou and Yan's (1995, 2004) classification of Wa is shown in Figure 5.



Figure 5: Position of Wa varieties in Wa sub-group (adapted from Zhou and Yan 1995, 2004)

Comparing the above Figure 5 with the SIL Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) to the classification of Wa varieties in Figure 3, they are very similar. They both divide Wa into 'Wa, Parauk' and 'Wa, Vo' (See Figure 3). However, Diffloth (1982: 1) groups Wa and Lawa together as one subgroup and has placed Vax and Drage's Wa as varieties of Wa can be seen in Figure 4.

1.7 Methodology

This research was conducted with Meung Yum speakers outside Myanmar because, the Meung Yum villages are located in mountainous areas of Shan State, Myanmar, where access by outsiders is prohibited. As a result, the research was carried out in Thailand. It required local people contacting and connecting the Meung Yum native speakers from different villages to travel to Mae Sai District, Chiang Rai, Northern Thailand for the purpose of data collection. The total word list³ of 1,628 items was elicited from each of four speakers. This word list was compiled by integrating two

³ The word list consists of 1,628 words. Some words are repeated twice and some words have either no such word in Meung Yum or the speakers do not know the words. All of these are indicated as "no data". This word list also contains a lot of loan words from Shan, a Tai language which were borrowed into Meung Yum and these loan words are marked with asterisk -* see Appendix A.

word lists—one from the Tibeto-Burman Survey 449-item word list and the other from the SIL Comparative African Word list (Roberts and Snider 2006). The word list included vocabulary for body parts, animals, plants, natural environment, emotions, quality, quantity and grammatical items, and was translated into Burmese. There were two main areas of screening criteria for choosing language resource persons. First, he or she must be a native speaker of Meung Yum. Second, he or she must be between 20 and 60 years old, with complete articulators and a clear voice. The data was collected from four language resource persons aged between 40 to 60 years old, from four different villages. Four male language resource persons volunteered themselves for this research. They are from Pan Tang, Namt Yoke, Loi Yang and Pang Wan villages. The native speaker from Pan Tang is YK, his age is around 40 years old. He speaks Meung Yum as his first language and Shan is second followed by Burmese. The second native speaker from Namt Yoke is ST, his age is 53. Meung Yum is his mother tongue and he speaks Shan as his second language followed by Kachin, and Kogan. The third speaker from Loi Yang village is NY, 44 years old, Meung Yum is his first language and he speaks Lhaovo (one of the Kachin varieties) as second language followed by Burmese, Shan and Chinese. The last speaker NL is from Pang Wan village, 56 years old. He is a bilingual and his Shan is equally good as Meung Yum which is his mother tongue. All of them work as a farmer. The speaker who has highest education level is the speaker from Pan Wan who had six years of education in the monastery and the speaker from Loi Yang completed primary level. The other two are illiterate. The details of each language resource person are summarized in the following table.

Table 1: Information of language resource persons

| | Pan Tang | Namt | Loi Yang | Pang Wan |
|-----------|------------|------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| | | Yoke | | |
| Name | YK | ST | NY | NL |
| Age | 40 | 53 | 44 | 56 |
| Sex | Male | Male | Male | Male |
| First | Meung Yum | Meung | Meung Yum | Meung Yum |
| language | | Yum | | |
| Other | Shan, | Shan, | Lhaovo, | Shan |
| languages | Burmese | Kachin, | Burmese, Shan, | |
| | | Kogan | Chinese | |
| Education | illiterate | illiterate | primary level | 6 years education in the |
| | | | | monastery |

The research was conducted through interpreters, primarily interpreters 1 and 2. Interpreter 1 elicited the word list at Pan Tang village and was the interpreter for the Pang Wan word list. She speaks Shan as her mother tongue and also speaks Burmese, English and Thai fluently. She used Shan and Burmese to communicate with Meung Yum speakers. Interpreter 2 was the interpreter for the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang word lists. He speaks Lhaovo as his mother tongue but also speaks Jingphaw, Meung Yum, Burmese and English. He used Lhaovo and Meung Yum while interpreting.

A Sony IC digital recorder ICD-UX200f was used for data collection. The software⁴, SheetSwiper 0.3, Phonology Assistant 3.3.2, Audacity 1.3 (beta), Praat 5.0.35 and Fieldworks Language Explorer (Flex) 7.05 were used in the analysis. The word lists were recorded and transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The initial word list data was input into Microsoft Excel 2007 and SheetSwiper 0.3 was used to convert the format from '.xls' to '.db' for use in SIL Phonology Assistant 3.3.2. However Audacity 1.3 (beta) was used to cut the sound files into single-item audio files for use in the Praat 5.0.35 software which was used to deal with sound analysis and pitch analysis. The phonological analysis showing the distribution of contrasts in consonants and vowels, syllables helped by finding word patterns for analysis, it is also helped to handle some ambiguous segments.

The final process requires the use of SIL Fieldworks Language Explorer 7.05. This language software tool is used for collecting and documenting word and sound files. The data from the four Meung Yum villages was keyed into Fieldworks for analysis. This program will also serve as a basis for beginning a Meung Yum dictionary, a resource for language development, and as a means of preserving spelling decisions.

There are some limitations in the elicitation process, some words were translated through two or three languages, such as English to Burmese, Burmese to Lhaovo or Shan to Meung Yum, which may have caused the loss of the meaning of the original word by the time it reached the Meung Yum language resource person. Therefore the accuracy of the meaning may be affected but not the phonectic transcription. This research is also limited by the small sampling size of the language community;

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⁴ SheetSwiper 0.3 developed by John Hatton, SIL International & SIL Papua New Guinea. Written in c#. Phonology Assistant 3.3.2 and Fieldworks Language Explorer (Flex) 7.05 by SIL. Audacity 1.3 (beta) by Dominic Mazzoni and Praat 5.0.35 by Paul Boersma and David Weenink SIL Encore FontTM.

it is based on only four speakers from four villages and may or may not be representative of the whole language community.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter presents a review of the general linguistic features of Mon-Khmer languages and linguistic features of Proto-Waic and other sub-groups of the Palaungic branch in the Mon-Khmer family. In addition the reviews narrow to the phonology of Proto-Waic and modern Waic languages. In order to put these topics in the broader context, this chapter is divided into four Sections. Section 2.1 presents the overview of generic linguistic features in Mon-Khmer languages and Section 2.2 demonstrates the overview linguistic features of Proto-Waic and other sub-groups of Palaungic branch in Mon-Khmer family. Section 2.3 presents one phonology of Proto-Waic and seven phonologies of modern Waic from eight different linguists. Section 2.4 contains a comparison of Proto-Waic and modern Waic languages from the eight linguists in Section 2.3. These chapters provide an overview of linguistic features and review the phonologies of the most famous linguists in Waic languages.

2.1 Overview of generic linguistic features in Mon-Khmer languages

Mon-Khmer languages are mostly spoken in border areas between tonal languages such as Chinese, Tibeto-Burman and Tai-Kadai languages and non-tonal languages such as Austronesian and different Indian languages (Svantesson 1989: 1). The linguistic features of Mon-Khmer languages are complex and some features are poorly known by linguists. Donegan and Stampe (1983: 2) listed the generic linguistic features of Mon-Khmer languages which are displayed in Table 2. This modified Table only presented the relevant features that give an overview of the generic linguistic features of Mon-Khmer languages in Southeast Asia.

Table 2: The generic linguistic features of Mon-Khmer

| Word structures: | Iambic ⁵ , Monosyllabic | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|
| Syllable structures: | Unaccented (C)a, accented (C)(C)(V)(G) ⁶ (C) | | |
| Consonantism and Vocalism: | Shifting, Tonogenetic; Shifting, diphthongal | | |
| Tone/Register: | Contour tones or registers | | |

⁵ Iambic means syllables with a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable (Matthews 1997: 168).

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⁶ G refers to glides.

Donegan and Stampe (1983: 2) described ten generic linguistic features in Mon-Khmer languages. The most relevant features related to this paper include the following: The first feature is that in Mon-Khmer word structures the general word canon are iambic and monosyllabic. Second, the syllable structures of Mon-Khmer are unaccented (C)a and accented (C)(C)(V)(G)(C). Third, the consonants and vowel systems of Mon-Khmer are the most challenging features. Both are possibly in a shifting process or tonogenesis. These processes have not been explored much by linguists. Last, the languages in this area are possible still in the process of developing tones or registers. Diffloth commented that complicated features may be due to the inflow of Tai borrowings⁷. (Diffloth 1991: 16)

Another common feature of syllable structures in Mon-Khmer languages is sesquisyllable. The term sesquisyllable describes the type of syllable between monosyllabic and disyllabic structure. This structure is a common phenomenon in Southeast Asia languages (Huffman 1972: 54, Matisoff 1989: 165). The sesquisyllable in Mon-Khmer languages is sometimes recognized as a syllable preceded by a half syllable, a half syllable is also known as pre-syllable (unstressed syllable) or minor syllable. These types of syllable structures can be found in Cambodian languages (Matisoff 1973, Thomas 1964). This structure was referred to by Donegan and Stampe (1983) as unaccented syllable structure.

2.2 Overview of linguistic features of Proto-Waic and Palaungic sub-groups

Consonants, vowels, tones and register features of Proto-Waic and the palaungic subgroup have been described in the literature.

2.2.1 Consonants

Consonants include the two sections, Section 2.2.1.1 on Palatal consonants and Section 2.2.1.2 described Proto-Waic *-s and *-h in modern Waic languages.

⁷ Tai borrowings refer to words with tones: Lawa has borrowed from Northern Thai and more recently from Standard Thai; Paraok has borrowed from Shan (refered to in China as Dehong Dai); Bulang has borrowed from Lü (referred to in China as 'Xishuangbanna Dai, or Xi Dai for short). (Diffloth 1991: 16)

2.2.1.1 Palatal Consonants

Waic has two properties, one is the palatal on-glide and the other is affricate⁸ with other places of articulation (Watkins 2002: 46). Palatal as initial and final consonants are common features that can be found in Waic languages. There are differing views regarding the palatal on-glide which affects the transcription of words in this thesis.

The palatal on-glide is one of the features distinguishing the palatal /c/ as a final consonant. Waic is largely consistent with the pattern that palatal finals have a distinct palatal on-glide (Diffloth 1980: 45). Watkins (2002: 42) comments that the final /-p/ and /-c/ with the diphthong /ai/ phonemically is the final /-ap/ and /-ac/, phonetically is recognized as $[-a^ip]$ and $[-a^ic]$ respectively. But Diffloth (1980) gave a more careful interpretation because he maintains the difference between the /ai/ + velar and /a/ + palatal in certain items. The Chinese scholars Zhou and Yan (1984) and, Wang and Chen (1981) take a third analysis, they handle all palatal finals and all fronted velars as final /-ik/. The following examples presented four kinds of Wa transcription which represent Diffloth's transcription, phonemic transcription, Chinese scholars' transcription and narrow transcription.

The merge of palatals and velars after close front vowels of Standard Wa (adapted from Watkins 2002: 43) is given as below.

Table 3: Merge of palatals and velars after close front vowels

| Proto- | Contrasts in | Phonemic | Chinese | Narrow | Gloss |
|--------|-------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Waic | Diffloth's | transcription | Scholars' | transcript- | |
| | (1980) | | transcript- | tion | |
| | transcription | | tion | | |
| *hɔc | həc | /hɔc/ | hoik | [hɔic] | 'finish' |
| *khoc | k ^h oc | /khoc/ | khoik | [kho ⁱ c [¬]] | 'wash self' |
| *pruc | pruc | /pruc/ | pruik | [pru ⁱ cʾ] | 'wing' |
| *pac | ршс | /pac/ | paik | [pwic] | 'take off clothes' |
| *mɔɲ | mວູກ | /mɔ̯n/ | maiŋ | [mɔ̯iɲ] | 'mouth' |
| *rmun | moʻn | /moʻn/ | mọiŋ | [mo̞iɲ] | 'wife' |
| *s?uɲ | s.?uɲ | /s.?un/ | s.?uiŋ | [s.ʔu ⁱ ɲ] | 'snake' |
| *kan | kwn | /kwn/ | kwiŋ | [kɯˈɲ] | 'father' |

⁸ Affricated appear in the phonological system of Wang and Chen 1981, Zhou and Yan 1984 and Li, Nie and Qiu 1986.

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2.2.1.2 Reflexes of Proto-Waic *-s and *-h consonants in modern Waic languages

Diffloth (1980: 16) remarked that a contrastive final /s/ and /h/ are rarely found today in Waic languages. Watkins found that the Proto-Waic *-s has a reflex in Wa as a back vowels -ih. Some examples of the Proto-Waic *-s reflexed in Wa as -ih (adapted by Watkins 2002: 43) are shown below.

Table 4: The Proto-Waic *s reflexed in Wa as -ih

| Proto- | Contrasts in | Phonemic | Chinese | Gloss | |
|--------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| Waic | Diffloth's (1980) | transcription | Scholars' | 01055 | |
| | transcription | | transcription | | |
| *1?os | los | /loih/ | loih | 'grease' | |
| *?mus | mus | /muih/ | muih | 'love' | |
| *bus | pws | /pwih/ | pwih | 'carry on back' | |

2.2.2 Vowels

Complex vowel systems are well known in the Mon-Khmer family. The complex vowel systems include vowel length, phonation types (registers) causing diphthongization, etc. Vowel length is lost in some of the Waic vowel systems. For instance Angkuic is one of the sub-groups of Palaungic branch. Its vowel system displays vowel length (in Hu and U), whereas the vowel length contrast was lost in Ta-ang one of the Western Palaungic languages. (Svantesson 1988, 1991, Diffloth 1991)

Proto-Waic has nine vowels which are *i, *e, * ϵ , *i, * γ , *o, * σ , *a, * ϵ , eight proto-vowels (excluding * ϵ) are found with final*-? and seven are found with final*-h (eliminate * γ , and * ϵ) (Diffloth 1991: 14-16).

Regarding the reconstruction of diphthong system in Waic languages, Diffloth (1980) made a generalisation as phonation types (registers) affect vowel systems by causing diphthogization, but tones have little effect on vowel quality and do not create diphthongs. This study gives a general guideline to the research of vowel systems in this thesis.

2.2.3 Tones and registers

The definition of tone and register by different authors and tonogenesis or registrogenesis are discussed in the following section.

2.2.3.1 Definition of tone and register

Theraphan (1988: 319) defines a tone language as a language in which the pitch by itself may distinguish the lexical meanings of words. A register language may be defined as a language that has a lexically contrastive register complex (a combination of phonation type, pitch, vowel length, vowel quality, and so on). She states that most of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages have two lexically contrastive phonation types: clear (normal, modal) voice versus breathy voice. Phalok and Wa of the Palaungic branch of Northern Mon-Khmer family are languages with this feature. Other Mon-Khmer register languages include Chong, Mon, Bru, Kui, So, Nyah Kur, Thung Kabin Khmer, etc.

In defining register, Watkins (1999: 1) states that the principal phonetic correlates of Mon-Khmer register are pitch-based tone as seen in Khmmu and Bulang, phonation type found in Wa, Mon and Chong or vowel quality as displayed in Khmer and Ximeng Wa, or some amalgam of these and other features.

The term 'register' has been defined differently by linguists. Henderson (1952: 151) was the first to apply the term 'register' as a vowel system to Mon-Khmer languages. She describes the register as first register and second register in Khmer. First register vowels are described as having a 'normal' or 'head' voice quality normally associate with high pitch and the second register vowels as having a 'deep rather breathy' or 'sepulchral' voice quality occur with low pitch and second register vowels are generated with lowering of the larynx. The 'register' suggested by Henderson (1952) was adopted by some Southeast Asia linguists (e.g. Gregerson 1976, Theraphan 1991). Another definitions was given by Preecha (1992: 245). He characterized his two way register complex in Kuay as register 1 (tense register) and register 2 (lax register). Register 1 refers to clear voice quality, fewer short vowel phonemes, some allophonic vowel height, strong aspiration, voiceless unaspirated initials, a larger consonant inventory, and higher pitch, whereas Register 2 refers to breathy voice, more short vowel phonemes, no allophonic vowel height, weak aspiration, voiced initial stops, a smaller consonant inventory, and lower pitch. The register complexes are generally similar to those described by Henderson (1952), Gregerson (1976) and Theraphan (1989).

2.2.3.2 Tonogenesis or registrogenesis

The development of register system in Mon-Khmer languages is historically caused by the devoicing of initial consonants. Svantesson (1989: 5-8) provided the evidence that tone (or register) development is connected with a merger of voiced and voiceless initial consonants. These examples can be seen in Kammu, Blang and Lamet whereas tone development in Hu and U is not by devoicing but it is related to its vowel length. Diffloth (1991: 14) gave evidence that the register system is caused by devoicing of initial consonants in Kuy, Bruu and Phlok. He commented that the development of Pacoh register system is not by devoicing but it was due to the changes in vowel quality. Thus tonogenesis or registrogenesis are either affected by devoicing the initial consonants or the effect of the vowel quality.

Svantesson (1989: 1) commented that tone is absent in most of the Mon-Khmer languages, but he pointed out that in Angkuic, there are tonal languages include Hu (Svantesson 1991: 67) which has a two tone system, and U which employs a four tone system (Svantesson 1988: 74). The most widely known tonal Mon-Khmer language is Vietnamese which has six contrastive tones. Other tonal languages in the Palaungic branch of the Mon-Khmer family include Plang which has a high and a low tone (Paulsen 1996: 136) and the Waic subgroup of Bulang has four tones (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986: 13).

Mon-Khmer languages have a complex register system. Watkins (1999: 1) refers to Mon-Khmer register as pitch-based, phonation type or vowel quality, or some combination of these and other features. Kuay has two-way register complex, tense and lax register (Preecha 1992: 245), Chong has a two register system, static registers and dynamic registers (Theraphan 1991: 144). Lamet is the sub-group of Palaungic branch in Mon-Khmer family, Svantesson (1989: 8) comments that Lamet has developed two registers which he denotes as tense and lax. This register is based on phonation types, the tense register being relatively creaky and the lax register relatively breathy. In contrast, Narumol (1982: 40-44) refers to Lametic pitch contrast as high and low and also called it a "quasi-tonal register".

The studies of tones and registers of Kammu, Blang, Lamet, Hu, U, Plang, Kuy, Bruu, Phlok, etc., provide a good backdrop regarding the complexity of register and tonal systems in Mon-Khmer languages that cannot be ignored. These processes of tonogenesis or registrogenesis can be applied to other languages that under Palaungic branch in Mon-Khmer family. Hence, these reviews lay down a foundation

for analysis of the data in this thesis as this paper adopts the concepts of register suggested by Henderson (1952), Gregerson (1976) and Theraphan (1989).

2.3 Proto and Modern Waic phonology

This section surveys various phonological descriptions of Waic languages. It includes a reconstruction of Proto-Waic by Diffloth (1980), and phonologies of Yaongsoi Wa by Wang and Chen (1981), Ai Shuai Wa by Zhou and Yan (1984) and Standard Wa by Watkins (2002). In addition, phonologies of Bulang by Chinese linguists Li, Nie and Qiu (1986); Wa in Thailand by Wattana (1998); Lawa in Thailand by Suriya and Lakhana (1985) and Kontoy Plang by Paulsen (1996) will be presented.

2.3.1 Phonology of Proto-Waic

Diffloth (1980) reconstructed proto-Waic based on data from Lawa, Samtau, Bible Wa, Kawa, Drage's Wa and other resources. His reconstruction of Proto-Waic consonant phonemes was 20 simple initial consonants and 18 complex initial consonants. The complex initial consonants can be categorised into three types which pre-aspirated sonorant, pre-glottalised sonorants and complex initials starting with a liquid. Proto-Waic has 15 final consonants and eight consonant clusters. For vowels he has nine monophthongs and there are no diphthongs in the Proto-Waic vowel system. The following tables display the phonological system of Proto-Waic in Diffloth (1980: 22, 70, 80).

Table 5: Simple and complex initial consonants of Proto-Waic (Diffloth, 1980)

| a) Simple initilal | Bilabial | Labio- dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|--------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| consonants | | | | | | |
| Stop | *p | | *t | *c | *k | *? |
| | *b | | *d | | *g | |
| Fricative | | *f | *s | | | *h |
| | | *v | | | | |
| Nasal | *m | | *n | *ɲ | *ŋ | |
| Lateral | | | *1 | | | |
| Trill | | | *r | | | |
| Approximant | *W | | | *y | | |

| b) Complex initial consonants | Bilabial | Labio- dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Pre-aspirated | *hm | | *hn | *hɲ | *hŋ | |
| sonorants | *hw | | | *hy | | |
| | | | *hl | | | |
| | | | *hr | | | |
| Pre- | *?m | | *?n | *?ɲ | *?ŋ | |
| glottalised | *?w | | | *?y | | |
| sonorants | | | *?1 | | | |
| | | | *?r | | | |
| c) Complex initial | | | *1? | | | |
| starting with liquid | | | *r? | | | |

Table 6: Final consonants of Proto-Waic

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------|----------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stop | *-p | *-t | *-c | *-k | *-? |
| Fricative | | *-s | | | *-h |
| Nasal | *-m | *-n | *-ŋ | *-ŋ | |
| Approximant | *-W | | *-y | | |
| Lateral | | *-1 | | | |
| Trill | | *-r | | | |

Table 7: Consonant clusters of Proto-Waic

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----|--|
| | 1 | r | |
| *p | *pl | *pr | |
| *b | *bl | *br | |
| *k | *kl | *kr | |
| *g | *gl | *gr | |

Table 8: Monophthongs of Proto-Waic

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | *i | *i | | |
| Close-mid | *e | | *% | *o |
| Open-mid | 3 * | | | *3 |
| Open | *a | | | *p |

There are no diphthongs in the Proto-Waic vowel system as reconstructed by Diffloth. After he compared the vowels of four Waic languages (Samtau, Drage's Wa, Wa proper and Lawa) and their varieties, Diffloth generalised his finding statement as 'phonation types (registers) affect vowel systems by causing diphthongisation...' (1980: 36). But this generalisation cannot draw a universal that Waic has no diphthong system. It only can be said that the diphthongisation of Proto-Waic was affected by register.

2.3.2 Phonology of Yaongsoi Wa

Yaongsoi Wa (岩帅) is also known as Ai Shuai (艾帅) in Zhou and Yan (1984, 2004). They described the consonants, vowels and register features of Yaongsoi Wa as follows:

2.3.2.1 Consonants

Yaongsoi Wa has 36 initial consonants, of which 16 are aspirated (/p^h, b^h, t^h, d^h, dz^h, k^h, g^h, v^h, m^h, n^h, n^h, n^h, tc^h, j^h, l^h, r^h/). These initial consonants are found at each point of articulation as seen in the table below.

Table 9: Initial consonants of Yaongsoi Wa

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|---------------------------|----------------|----------|---------|----------------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | | |
| Stop | p^h | | t ^h | | | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | | | k | ? |
| | b^{h} | | d^{h} | | | g ^h | |
| | b | | d | | | g | |
| Fricative | | f | S | | | | h |
| | | \mathbf{v}^{h} | | | | | |
| | | v | | | | | |

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | | |
| Nasal | m ^h | | n^h | n_h^h | | $\mathfrak{y}^{^{\mathrm{h}}}$ | |
| | m | | n | n, | | ŋ | |
| Affricate | | | | t¢ ^h | | | |
| | | | | tç | | | |
| | | | | $\mathrm{d}\mathbf{z}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | | | |
| | | | | dz | | | |
| Lateral | | | 1 ^h | | | | |
| | | | 1 | | | | |
| Trill | | | r ^h | | | | |
| | | | r | | | | |
| Approxi- | | | | | \mathbf{j}^{h} | | |
| mant | | | | | j | | |

The final consonants are limited only to voiceless unaspirated stops, the voiceless glottal fricative and nasals these are found in four points of articulation.

Table 10: Final consonants of Yaongsoi Wa

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | -ŋ | |

There are 16 consonant clusters in Yaongsoi Wa. The first consonants in the cluster are bilabial and velar stops, both aspirated and unaspirated. The second consonants are the alveolar lateral and the trill. The clusters are given below.

Table 11: Consonant clusters of Yaongsoi Wa

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|--|
| | 1 | r | |
| p | pl | pr | |
| p ^h | p ^h l | p ^h r | |
| b^h | b ^h l | b ^h r | |
| b | bl | br | |

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|--|
| | 1 | r | |
| k | kl | kr | |
| k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r | |
| g ^h | g ^h l | g ^h r | |
| g | gl | gr | |

2.3.2.2 Vowels

Wang and Chen (1981) found nine monophthongs, 15 diphthongs and two tiphthongs in Yaongsoi Wa. These vowels are displayed in the tables below.

Table 12: Monophthongs of Yaongsoi Wa

| | Front | Back | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|--|
| | | unrounded | rounded | |
| Close | i | ш | u | |
| Close-mid | e | 8 | О | |
| Open-mid | ε | | Э | |
| Open | a | | | |

Table 13: Diphthongs and Triphthongs of Yaongsoi Wa

| D | Triphthongs | | | |
|---------|-------------|--------|-----|-----|
| iu | wi | ui, ue | iau | uai |
| iε (ie) | | ua | | |
| io | | | | |
| ia | | | | |
| εu | γi | oi | | |
| | | эi | | |
| ai | aw | au | | |

2.3.2.3 Registers

According to Yaongsoi, there are two contrasting registers which Wang and Chen call tense (紧) and lax (松). Here the tense and lax refers to tenseness of the larynx. When you pronounce a vowel with tenseness in the larynx it is tense and when articulate a vowel with laxness in the larynx it is lax.

2.3.3 Phonology of Ai Shuai Wa

Zhou and Yan (1984) and Wang and Chen (1981) worked on Ai Shuai Wa (艾坤) and Yoangsoi Wa (岩坤) respectively, Ai Shuai Wa or Yangsoi Wa are considered the same Wa variety in China. The interesting part is Zhou and Yan described 38 initial consonants in Ai Shuai whereas Wang and Chen (1981) only have 36 consonants in Yoangsoi Wa. The comparison between Zhou and Yan's (1984) and Wang and Chen's (1981) consonant systems, the Zhou and Yan's palato-alveolar fricatives [ʑ], [ʑʰ] and alveolar affricates [ts], [tsʰ] do not exist in Wang and Chen's consonant system, on the other hand, Zhou and Yan has no palatal approximants [j] and [jʰ]. Zhou and Yan (1984) and Wang and Chen (1981) both have eight final consonants. Aside the differences mentioned above, most of the their consonant system are identical. The following tables summarize of Zhou and Yan's Ai Shuai Wa.

2.3.3.1 Consonants

Table 14: Initial consonants of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|--------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | |
| Stop | p ^h | | t ^h | | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | | k | ? |
| | b^{h} | | d^{h} | | g^{h} | |
| | Ъ | | d | | g | |
| Fricative | | f | S | | | h |
| | | v^h | | $\boldsymbol{z}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | | |
| | | v | | Z | | |
| Nasal | m ^h | | n^{h} | n, ^h | $\mathfrak{y}^{\scriptscriptstyle \mathrm{h}}$ | |
| | m | | n | n, | ŋ | |
| Affricate | | | ts ^h | t¢ ^h | | |
| | | | ts | tç | | |
| | | | | $\mathrm{d}\mathbf{z}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | | |
| | | | | dz | | |
| Lateral | | | 1 ^h | | | |
| | | | 1 | | | |
| Trill | | | \mathbf{r}^{h} | | | |
| | | | r | | | |

Table 15: Final consonants of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | -ŋ | |

Table 16: Consonant clusters of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|--|
| | 1 | r | |
| p | pl | pr | |
| p^{h} | p ^h l | p ^h r | |
| b ^h | b ^h l | b ^h r | |
| b | bl | br | |
| k | kl | kr | |
| k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r | |
| g ^h | g ^h l | g ^h r | |
| g | gl | gr | |

2.3.3.2 Vowels

Zhou and Yan (1984) identified nine tense and nine lax monophthongs, 14 tense and 14 lax diphthongs and two tense and two lax triphthongs in their vowel system. They transcribed tense vowel with a marker "V". However, Wang and Chen (1981) did not have a way to transcribe register specifically in their vowel system. The Zhou and Yan's vowel system is shown in the tables below:-

Table 17: Monophthongs of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| | Front | Back | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | i, <u>i</u> | ш, <u>ш</u> | u, <u>u</u> |
| Close-mid | e, <u>e</u> | ٧, <u>٢</u> | 0, <u>0</u> |
| Open-mid | ε, <u>ε</u> | | ე, <u>ე</u> |
| Open | a, <u>a</u> | | |

Table 18: Diphthongs and triphthongs of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| Diţ | Triphthongs | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| iu, <u>iu</u> | wi, <u>wi</u> | ui, <u>ui</u> | iau, <u>iau</u> | uai, <u>uai</u> |
| iε, <u>iε</u> | | | | |
| | γi, <u>γi</u> | | | |
| io, <u>io</u> | | | | |
| ia, <u>ia</u> | | ua, <u>ua</u> | | |
| εa (-k,-ŋ) ⁹ , <u>εa</u> | | oi, <u>oi</u> | | |
| | | oi, <u>oi</u> | | |
| ai, <u>ai</u> | aw, <u>aw</u> | au, <u>au</u> | | |

2.3.3.3 Registers

Ai Shuai has no tones but has two registers which are tense (紧) and lax (松). Zhou and Yan (1984) noted that the tense vowels normally are pronounced with a high pitch and falling contour, and the lax vowel's pitch with a lower and falling contour. There are environments in which some tense vowels are pronounced with high pitch and mid contour and lax vowels with lower pitch with mid contour. In spite of the inconsistency of pitches and contours of tense and lax vowel mentioned above, the tense and lax registers were factors that affected the actual pronunciation. (Zhou and Yan 1984: 12, 2004: 95)

2.3.4 Phonology of Standard Wa

The Wa in Watkins (2002) are Standard Wa¹⁰ varieties. He proposed that the phonological system of Standard Wa has 35 consonants of which 16 are aspirated consonants $/p^h$, t^h , c^h , k^h , mb^h , nd^h , nj^h , ng^h , mb^h , nd^h , nj^h , ng^h , v^h , l^h , r^h , y^h /, four prenasalized aspirated consonants /mb, nd, nj, ng/ and four pre-nasalized unaspirated consonants /mb, nd, nj, ng/. There are ten final consonants. These consonants are shown in the following tables.

⁹ The diphthong / ϵa / only occurs with the finals /-k/ and /- η /

¹⁰ Standard Wa refers to Ai Shuai or also known as Yoangsoi of Parauk variety.

2.3.4.1 Consonants

Table 19: Initial consonants of Standard Wa of Watkins (2002)

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|--|---------|
| | | dental | alveolar | | | | |
| Stop | p^h | | t ^h | | \mathbf{c}^{h} | \mathbf{k}^{h} | |
| | p | | t | | c | k | ? |
| | ^m b ^h | | ⁿ d ^h | | ^ɲ j ʰ | ${}^{\eta}g^{\mathrm{h}}$ | |
| | ^m b | | ⁿ d | | лj | ŋg | |
| Fricative | | \mathbf{v}^{h} | | s | | | h |
| | | v | | | | | |
| Nasal | m ^h | | n^{h} | | $\mathfrak{p}^{	ext{h}}$ | $\mathfrak{y}^{\scriptscriptstyle \mathrm{h}}$ | |
| | m | | n | | n | ŋ | |
| Lateral | | | | 1 ^h | | | |
| | | | | 1 | | | |
| Trill | | | | r ^h | | | |
| | | | | r | | | |
| Approxi- | | | | | y^h | | |
| mant | | | | | y | | |

Table 20: Final consonants of Standard Wa of Watkins (2002)

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|----------|------------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | -c | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | - <u>n</u> | -ŋ | |

2.3.4.2 Vowels

The vowel system of Standard Wa in Watkins (2002) has nine monophthongs, 13 diphthongs and two triphthongs. The details are exhibited in the following tables.

Table 21: Monophthongs of Standard Wa of Watkins (2002)

| | Front | Back | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|--|
| | | unrounded | rounded | |
| Close | i | w | u | |
| Close-mid | e | Y | o | |
| Open-mid | ε | | Э | |
| Open | a | | | |

Table 22: Diphthongs and Triphthongs of Standard Wa of Watkins (2002)

| Diphthongs | | | Triphthongs | |
|------------|----|--------|-------------|-----|
| iu | wi | ui, ua | iau | uai |
| ei | γi | ou, oi | | |
| ia | | ic | | |
| ai | aw | au | | |

2.3.4.3 Registers

Standard Wa as studied by Watkins (2002) has two phonemic registers, clear and breathy. The register contrast is a feature of the syllable, not the vocalic segments; it can be detected in adjacent sonorants. Thus both registers are unmarked in his phonemic transcription. In this thesis registers are treated as vocalic segments see Chapter 5 Section 5.4.

2.3.5 Phonology of Bulang

The data of Li, Nie and Qiu come from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Ethnic Study. The Bulang are one of the ethnic groups living in Yunnan province of China. Although they are officially recognized as Bulang, those who live in Sipsongpanna Dai autonomous region and Jing Hong are called [plaŋ] or [paŋ] and some call themselves [pɹaŋ]. Those who live in Simau identify themselves as [a-lva?-l], [allva?-l], [va?-l] or [ilva?]. Bulang who live in other areas like to be called [phu]man]](Han Chinese is 蒲满), or [va?-l].

Bulang has a complex phonological system. There are 35 initial consonants, ten final consonants and eight consonant clusters. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Ethnic Groups has collected this data over more than 50 years from the National Ethnic Institute. The consonants of Bulang are given in Tables 23-25.

2.3.5.1 Consonants

Table 23: Initial consonants of Bulang in China of Li, Nie and Qiu (1986)

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|-----------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | | |
| Stop | p ^h | | t ^h | | k ^h | q^h | |
| | p | | t | | k | | ? |
| | np ^h | | nt ^h | | nk ^h | nq ^h | |
| | np | | nt | | nk | | |
| Fricative | | f | s | | X | | h |
| | | v | | | | | |
| | | | | Z | | | |
| Nasal | ŵ | | ņ | ņ. | ŋ̊ | | |
| | m | | n | n, | ŋ | | |
| Affricate | | | | t¢ ^h | | | |
| | | | | tç | | | |
| | | | | nt¢ ^h | | | |
| | | | | nt¢ | | | |
| Lateral | | | ļ | | | | |
| | | | 1 | | | | |

Table 24: Final consonants of Bulang in China of Li, Nie and Qiu (1986)

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | -ŋ | |
| Lateral | | -1 | | |
| | | -1 | | |

Table 25: Consonant clusters of Bulang in China of Li, Nie and Qiu (1986)

| 1 st consonants | | 2 nd consonant |
|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | | 1 |
| Labial | p | pl |
| | p^{h} | $p^h l$ |
| | np ^h | np ^h l |
| | np | npl |
| Velar | k | kl |
| | k ^h | k ^h l |
| | nk ^h | nk ^h l |
| | nk | nkl |

2.3.5.2 Vowels

Li, Nie and Qiu describe the vowel system of Bulang as having nine monophthongs, 14 diphthongs and two triphthongs. The inventory of vowels is given below.

Table 26: Monophthongs of Bulang in China of Li, Nie and Qiu (1986)

| | Front | Back | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|--|
| | | unrounded | rounded | |
| Close | i | ш | u | |
| Close-mid | e | 8 | 0 | |
| Open-mid | 3 | | Э | |
| Open | a | | | |

Table 27: Diphthongs and triphthongs of Bulang in China of Li, Nie and Qiu (1986)

| | Diphthongs | Triphthongs | | |
|----|------------|------------------------|-----|-----|
| iu | wi | ui | iau | uai |
| ie | | ua, (ɔa) ¹¹ | | |
| | γi, γu | | | |
| ia | | | | |
| ei | | oi | | |
| εί | | ic | | |
| ai | | au | | |

 $^{^{11}}$ The diphthongs [5a] is the variant of /ua/.

2.3.5.3 Tones

There are four tones in Bulang. Tone 1 is mid rising /4/ or /35/; Tone 2 is mid level /4/ or /33/; Tone 3 is mid level falling /4/ or /331/; and Tone 4 is low falling /4/ or /21/. When Tone 1, mid rising /4/ or /35/ occurs in a compound word, the Tone 1 will change to Tone 4, Low falling /4/ or /21/.

2.3.6 Phonology of Wa of Ban Santisuk in Chiang Rai

Wattana (1998) collected data from Ban Santisuk Moo 19, Chiang Rai province of Thailand. In his analysis of Wa in Thailand, Wattana finds 27 consonants, of which two are pre-nasalized, three voiceless nasals, a voiceless lateral and a voiceless trill. Wa at Ban Santisuk Moo 19 has eleven final consonants and ten consonant clusters, as shown in Tables 28-30 below.

2.3.6.1 Consonants

Table 28: Initial consonants of Wa in Chiang Rai province of Thailand

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| | | dental | | | | |
| Stop | p^{h} | | t ^h | c^h | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | c | k | ? |
| | ^m b | | ⁿ d | | | |
| Fricative | | f | s | | | h |
| | | v | | | | |
| Nasal | ŵ | | ņ | | ŋ̊ | |
| | m | | n | л | ŋ | |
| Lateral | | | ļ | | | |
| | | | 1 | | | |
| Trill | | | ŗ | | | |
| | | | r | | | |
| Approxi- | | | | j | | |
| mant | | | | | | |

Table 29: Final consonants of Wa in Chiang Rai province of Thailand

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | -c | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | -S | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | -n | -ŋ | |

Table 30: Consonant clusters of Wa in Chiang Rai province of Thailand

| 1st consonants | 2nd consonants | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| | 1 | r | |
| p | pl | pr | |
| p ^h | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | |
| ^m b | ^m bl | ^m br | |
| k | kl | kr | |
| k ^h | $\mathbf{k}^{\mathrm{h}}\mathbf{l}$ | k ^h r | |

2.3.6.2 Vowels

Wa as spoken in Ban Santisuk Moo 19 has the same nine common monophthongs which appear in most of the Waic languages, as well as eleven diphthongs and two triphthongs, as shown in Tables 31 and 32 below.

Table 31: Monophthongs of Wa in Chiang Rai province of Thailand

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|-----------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | i | | ш | u |
| Close-mid | e | | | 0 |
| (mid) | | a | | |
| Open-mid | 3 | | | Э |
| Open | a | | | |

Table 32: Diphthongs and Triphthongs of Wa in Chiang Rai province of Thailand

| I | Triphthongs | | | |
|----|-------------|----|-----|-----|
| iu | wi, wa | ui | iau | uai |
| ia | | ua | | |
| | ai | oi | | |
| | | эi | | |
| ai | | ao | | |

2.3.6.3 Registers

Wattana (1998) concluded that there were no tones or registers in Wa at Ban Santisuk Moo 19. Two non-phonemic intonation patterns were observed which are rising contour, which marks as [_____] (questions and commands) and mid level contour, which marks as [_____] (affirmative and negative statement). Examples of these two non-phonemic intonation patterns in Wa are shown below.

Examples of rising contour in question and command: Question:

Wa ?ot non nia? na:nu: Gloss to stay in house Nanu

Free translation Is Nanu in the house?

Command:

Wa p^hu:i hao? Gloss don't go Free translation don't go

Examples of mid level contour in affirmative and negative statement: Affirmative statement:

Wa ?ot me? tiat tiat
Gloss to stay you there there

Free translation 'he is over there'

Negative statement:

Wa ?aŋ tai? ɲum
Gloss not food delicious
Free translation 'food is not delicious'

2.3.7 Phonology of Lawa in villages between Chiang Mai and Maehongson

Suriya and Lakhana (1985) collected their data at Lawa villages in northern Thailand between Baw Luang, Hot district, Chiang Mai province in the east and Maesariang district, Maehongson province in the west. There are 37 consonants in Lawa, four of the Lawa consonants are pre-nasalised /mb, nd, nc, ng/, seven are pre-glottalised /2m, 2n, 2ñ, 2ŋ, 2l, 2j, 2 γ / and five are pre-aspirated /hm, hn, hñ, hŋ, hl/ consonants. The phonological features of the pre-nasalisation and pre-aspiration are commonly found in Waic languages but pre-glottalised, pre-aspirated and pre-nasalised consonants rarely occur in Waic languages according to the earlier reviewed research in this chapter. The consonant inventory for Lawa is shown in the tables below.

2.3.7.1 Consonants

Table 33: Initial consonants of Lawa in Thailand

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------------|----------|----------------|-------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | | |
| Stop | p^{h} | | t ^h | | c^{h} | k^h | |
| | p | | t | | c | k | ? |
| | b | | | | | | |
| | ^m b | | ⁿ d | | ^ñ C | ŋg | |
| Fricative | | f | s | | | | h |
| | | v | | | | γ | |
| | | | | | | ?γ | |
| Nasal | m | | n | ñ | | ŋ | |
| | hm | | hn | hñ | | hŋ | |
| | ?m | | ?n | ?ñ | | ?ŋ | |

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|----------|----------|--------|----------|----------|------------|-------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | | |
| Lateral | | | 1 | | | | |
| | | | hl | | | | |
| | | | ?1 | | | | |
| Approxi- | | | | | j | | |
| mant | | | | | ? j | | |

Table 34: Final consonants of Lawa in Thailand

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palato- alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|----------|---------------------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | | -c | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | -ñ | | -ŋ | |

Table 35: Consonant clusters of Lawa in Thailand

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| | 1 | j | | | |
| p | pl | pj | | | |
| p ^h | p ^h l | p ^h j | | | |
| ^m b | ^m bl | ^m bj | | | |
| k | kl | kj | | | |
| k ^h | k ^h l | $\mathbf{k}^{\mathrm{h}}\mathbf{j}$ | | | |
| ¹⁾ g | ŋgl | ŋgj | | | |

2.3.7.2 Vowels

Ten monophthongs are found in Lawa vowel system. Suriya and Lakhana (1985) classified [w] as higher-mid spread central vowel in their vowel system. There are 14 diphthongs and one triphthong /aiɛ/. This triphthong is uncommon compared to the previous studies of Waic languages.

Table 36: Monophthongs of Lawa in Thailand

| | Front | Central | Back |
|-----------|-------|---------|---------|
| | | | rounded |
| Close | i | i | u |
| Close-mid | e | w | 0 |
| (mid) | | a | |
| Open-mid | 3 | | Э |
| Open | a | | |

Table 37: Diphthongs and Triphthong of Lawa in Thailand

| D | iphthongs | Triphthong | |
|------------|-------------------------|------------|-----|
| ia | ia | ui, ua | |
| сз | ai, a i , ao | oi | |
| | | зі, эє | |
| ai, ai, ao | | | aiε |

2.3.7.3 Registers

Two types of phonemic intonation were observed by Suriya and Lakhana (1985). The statement contour is mid level, marked as [____]; the question contour is rising, marked as [____]. Examples of both types of phonemic intonation in Lawa are given below:-

Statement contour:

Lawa kuan som ?aop Gloss child eat rice Free translation 'A child eats rice'

Question contour:

Lawa kuan som ?aop
Gloss child eat rice
Free translation 'Does a child eat rice?'

2.3.8 Phonology of Kontoy Plang

Plang is known as Bulang in Sipsongpanna, Yunnan province of China. Kontoy is the most representative variety of Plang and is spoken in Sipsongpanna, Yunnan province, China, Huay Nam Khun, Chiang Rai province of Thailand and is also found in Myanmar. Paulsen (1996) proposed that Kontoy Plang has 25 consonants, 13 final consonants and nine consonant clusters. The consonant cluster /kw/ does not appear in previous studies of Waic languages. The consonants of Kontoy Plang are summarized in the tables below.

2.3.8.1 Consonants

Table 38: Initial consonants of Kontoy Plang

| | Bilabial | Labio- dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------|
| Stop | p ^h | | t ^h | c ^h | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | с | k | ? |
| Fricative | | f | S | | | h |
| Nasal | ŵ | | ņ | ĵ | ŋ̊ | |
| | m | | n | л | ŋ | |
| Lateral | | | 1 | | | |
| | | | 1 | | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | |
| Approxi- | | | | ĵ | | |
| mant | | | | j | | |

Table 39: Final consonants of Kontoy Plang

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------|----------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | -t | -c | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | -n | -n | -ŋ | |
| Approximant | -w | | -j | | |
| Lateral | | -1 | | | |

Table 40: Consonant clusters of Kontoy Plang

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|----|--|--|
| | 1 | r | w | | |
| p | pl | pr | | | |
| p^h | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | | | |
| k | kl | kr | kw | | |
| k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r | | | |

2.3.8.2 Vowels

There are seven clear and four breathy monophthongs in Kontoy Plang's vowel system and the non- phonemic schwa [a] only occurs in pre-syllables. In Kontoy Plang all vowels (except clear and breathy /i/ and /i/) have a high front off-glide before palatal stops this is a common feature in Waic languages. There are no diphthongs because Paulsen transcribed the ambiguous segments of final diphthong ending in an [i] or [u] to be final consonants of /j/ or /w/ respectively. The following table shows that vowel inventory of Kontoy Plang.

Table 41: Monophthongs of Kontoy Plang

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|-----------|-------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | i, <u>i</u> | | ш | u, u |
| Close-mid | e, e | | | 0 |
| (mid) | | (a) | | |
| Open-mid | | | | Э |
| Open | a, a | | | |

2.3.8.3 Tones and registers

Paulsen (1996) observed two tones and two registers in Kontoy Plang. The two contrastive tones are high and low. Two registers in Kontoy Plang are characterized by a normal, clear voice quality and breathy phonation type. Kontoy's two contrastive tones variants affected by the type of syllable final consonant. For example, a high tone with an obstruent final consonant will be high level pitch; if it is a sonorant the pitch is high rising.

Examples:

High level pitch High rising pitch

[fa?] 'monkey' obstruent final; [fam] 'sticky' sonorant final

For the low tone, however, if the final consonant is an obstruent it has low level pitch, and if a sonorant, it has low falling pitch.

For examples:

Low level pitch Low falling pitch

[puk] 'to paint' obstruent final; [pun] 'to speak' sonorant final

Besides Kontoy Plang has co-occurrence of tones and registers in the language, Lawa is also one of the Waic languages that has tones and registers.

2.4 A comparison of Proto-Waic and phonologies of modern Waic languages

2.4.1 Consonants

The section compares the consonants of Proto-Waic from Diffloth (1980) to the seven modern Waic phonologies reviewed in the previous sections: Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981), Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984), Standard Wa (Watkins 2002), Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986), Wa Ban Santisuk (Wattana 1998), Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985) and Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996).

There are 38 consonants in Proto-Waic and in the modern Waic languages the count ranges from a full inventory of 38 to a low of 25: Ai Shuai Wa (38), Lawa (37), Yaongsoi Wa (36), Standard Wa and Bulang (35), Wa Ban Santisuk (27) and Kontoy Plang (25).

In comparing the phonological features of the consonants in Proto-Waic and modern Waic, similarities and differences were found. All the modern Waic languages, like the Proto-Waic, have voiceless stops /p, t, k, ?/, voiced nasals /m, n, $\eta/$, voiceless alveolar sibilant /s/, voiceless glottal fricative /h/ and the voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/. Voiced aspirated stops are only found in Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981), Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984) and Standard Wa (Watkins 2002).

Proto-Waic has pre-aspiration, pre-glottalisation and initial consonants start with liquid, it has no pre-nasalisation occur in its consonant system. Among the modern Waic languages, the two features pre-aspiration and pre-glottalisation in addition to pre-nasalisation can be found only in Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985). Pre-nasalisation did occur in some of the Waic languages such as Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986), Standard Wa (Watkins 2002) and Wa (Wattana 1998).

A compilation of consonants in Proto-Waic and the modern Waic languages are shown in the following table.

Table 42: A comparison of proto and modern Waic consonants

| | Proto- | Yaongsoi | Ai | Standard | Bulang | Wa | Lawa | Kontoy |
|----------|-----------|----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Waic | Wa | Shuai | Wa | (Li, Nie | (Wattana | (Suriya | Plang |
| | (Diffloth | (Wang | Wa | (Watkins | and Qiu | 1998) | and | (Paulsen |
| | 1980) | and | (Zhou | 2002) | 1986) | | Lakhana | 1996) |
| | | Chen | and | | | | 1985) | |
| | | 1981) | Yan | | | | | |
| | | | 1984) | | | | | |
| Labial | | p^h | p^h | p^h | p ^h | p^{h} | p^h | p^h |
| | *p | p | p | p | p | p | p | p |
| | | | | | np | | | |
| | | | | | np ^h | | | |
| | | | | ^m b ^h | | | | |
| | | | | ^m b | | ^m b | ^m b | |
| | | b ^h | b ^h | | | | | |
| | *b | b | Ъ | | | | b | |
| | *f | f | f | | f | f | f | f |
| | | v^h | \mathbf{v}^{h} | v^h | | | | |
| | *v | v | v | v | v | v | v | |
| | *m | m | m | m | m | m | m | m |
| | | m^h | m^h | m^h | m̈́ | mţ | | ŵ |
| | *w | | | | | | | |
| Alveolar | *t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t |
| | | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h |
| | | | | | nt ^h | | | |
| | | | | | nt | | | |
| | | | | ⁿ d ^h | | | | |

| | Proto- | Yaongsoi | Δi | Standard | Bulang | Wa | Lawa | Kontoy |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Waic | Wa | Shuai | Wa | (Li, Nie | (Wattana | | Plang |
| | (Diffloth | (Wang | Wa | (Watkins | and Qiu | | and | (Paulsen |
| | 1980) | and | (Zhou | 2002) | 1986) | 1990) | Lakhana | 1996) |
| | 1900) | Chen | and | 2002) | 1900) | | 1985) | 1990) |
| | | 1981) | Yan | | | | 1900) | |
| | | 1901) | 1984) | | | | | |
| | | | 1904) | ⁿ d | | ⁿ d | ⁿ d | |
| | | $d^{\rm h}$ | d ^h | u | | u | u | |
| | *d | d | d | | | | | |
| | *s | s | s | s | S | C | c | s |
| | 5 | n ^h | n ^h | n ^h | | S | S | |
| | ٠ | | | | ů | ņ | | ů |
| | *n | n | n | n | n | n | n | n |
| | | | tsh | | | | | |
| | | | ts | | | | | |
| | | 1 ^h | 1 ^h | l ^h | 1, | ļ | | ļ |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | *1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | | r^h | \mathbf{r}^{h} | \mathbf{r}^{h} | | ŗ | | |
| | *r | r | r | r | | r | | r |
| Palato- | | dz^h | dz^h | | | | | |
| Alveolar | | dz | dz | | | | | |
| | | | \mathbf{z}^{h} | | | | | |
| | | | Z | | Z | | | |
| | | n, h | n, h | | ņ. | | | |
| | | n, | n, | | n, | | ñ | |
| | | t¢ ^h | t¢ ^h | | t¢ ^h | | | |
| | | tç | tç | | tç | | | |
| | | | | | nt¢ ^h | | | |
| | | | | | ntç | | | |
| Palatal | *c | | | С | | С | С | С |
| | | | | c ^h | | c ^h | c ^h | c ^h |
| | | | | лjh | | | ñС | |
| | | | | ⁿ j | | | | |
| | | | | n ^h | | | | јî |
| | *n | | | л | | л | | n |
| | L J- | | L | J - | | J - | <u> </u> | J- |

| | Proto- | Yaongsoi | Ai | Standard | Bulang | Wa | Lawa | Kontoy |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Waic | Wa | Shuai | Wa | (Li, Nie | (Wattana | (Suriya | Plang |
| | (Diffloth | (Wang | Wa | (Watkins | and Qiu | 1998) | and | (Paulsen |
| | 1980) | and | (Zhou | 2002) | 1986) | | Lakhana | 1996) |
| | | Chen | and | | | | 1985) | |
| | | 1981) | Yan | | | | | |
| | | | 1984) | | | | | |
| | | \mathbf{j}^{h} | | | | | | |
| | | | | y^h | | | | ĵ |
| | *y | j | | у | | j | j | j |
| Velar | *k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k |
| | | k ^h | k ^h | k ^h | k ^h | k ^h | k ^h | k ^h |
| | | | | | nk ^h | | | |
| | | | | | nk | | | |
| | | | | | X | | | |
| | | | | ^ŋ g ^h | | | | |
| | | | | ŋg | | | ŋg | |
| | | g ^h | g ^h | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | γ | |
| | *g | g | g | | | | | |
| | | $\mathfrak{y}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | $\mathfrak{y}^{\scriptscriptstyle \mathrm{h}}$ | ŋʰ | ŋ̊ | ŋ̊ | | ŋ̈́ |
| | *ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ |
| Uvular | | | | | q^h | | | |
| | | | | | nq ^h | | | |
| Glottal | *? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| | *h | h | h | h | h | h | h | h |
| Pre- | *hm | | | | | | hm | |
| aspira- | *hn | | | | | | hn | |
| tion | *hɲ | | | | | | hñ | |
| | *hŋ | | | | | | hŋ | |
| | *hw | | | | | | | |
| | *hy | | | | | | | |
| | *hl | | | | | | hl | |
| | *hr | | | | | | | |
| pre- | *?m | | | | | | ?m | |
| glottali- | *?n | | | | | | ?n | |
| sation | *?n | | | | | | ?ñ | |

| | Proto- | Yaongsoi | Ai | Standard | Bulang | Wa | Lawa | Kontoy |
|---------|-----------|----------|-------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Waic | Wa | Shuai | Wa | (Li, Nie | (Wattana | (Suriya | Plang |
| | (Diffloth | (Wang | Wa | (Watkins | and Qiu | 1998) | and | (Paulsen |
| | 1980) | and | (Zhou | 2002) | 1986) | | Lakhana | 1996) |
| | | Chen | and | | | | 1985) | |
| | | 1981) | Yan | | | | | |
| | | | 1984) | | | | | |
| | *?ŋ | | | | | | ?ŋ | |
| | *?r | | | | | | | |
| | *?w | | | | | | | |
| | *?y | | | | | | | |
| | *?1 | | | | | | ?1 | |
| | | | | | | | ?j | |
| | | | | | | | Зλ | |
| Initial | *r? | | | | | | | |
| conson- | *1? | | | | | | | |
| ants | | | | | | | | |
| start | | | | | | | | |
| with | | | | | | | | |
| liquid | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 38 | 36 | 38 | 35 | 35 | 27 | 37 | 25 |

Final consonants

Proto-Waic has 15 final consonants which are /*p,*m,*w,*t,*s,*n,*l,*r,*c,*p,
*y,*k,*n,*?,*h/. The modern Waic languages have eight final consonants in common
with each other and the Proto-Waic: /-p, -t, -k, -m, -n, -n, -?, -h/. Chinese scholars
Wang and Chen (1981), Zhou and Yan (1984) and Li, Nie and Qiu (1986) have no
palatal stop in their final consonant charts for Yaong Soi Wa and Ai Shuai Wa
because according to their analysis the palatal stop -c was transcripted as -ik unlike
the rest (Watkins 2002: 43). Bulang has voiced and voiceless alveolar lateral /l/ and
/l/ as its final consonants (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) while Kontoy Plang only has
voiced alveolar lateral /l/ as final consonant (Paulsen 1996). When compare to
other modern Waic languages, only Wa (Watkins 2002), Wa (Wattana 1998), Lawa
(Suriya and Lakhana 1985) and Plang (Paulsen 1996) have voiceless unaspirated
palatal stop /c/ as final consonants when compare to other modern Waic languages.

Besides, Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) is the only modern Waic language that shares the final consonants /w/ and $/j/^{12}$ with Proto-Waic.

All of the final consonants of Proto-Waic and modern Waic languages are listed as below.

Table 43: A comparison of proto and modern Waic final consonants

| | Proto- | Yaongsoi | Ai | Standard | Bulang | Wa | Lawa | Kontoy |
|----------|-----------|----------|-------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Waic | Wa | Shuai | Wa | (Li, Nie | (Wattana | (Suriya | Plang |
| | (Diffloth | (Wang | Wa | (Watkins | and Qiu | 1998) | and | (Paulsen |
| | 1980) | and | (Zhou | 2002) | 1986) | | Lakhana | 1996) |
| | | Chen | and | | | | 1985) | |
| | | 1981) | Yan | | | | | |
| | | | 1984) | | | | | |
| Labial | *-p | -p | -p | -p | -p | -р | -p | -p |
| | *-m | -m | -m | -m | -m | -m | -m | -m |
| | *-W | | | | | | | -w |
| Alveolar | *-t | -t | -t | -t | -t | -t | -t | -t |
| | *-s | | | | | S | | |
| | *-n | -n | -n | -n | -n | -n | -n | -n |
| | *-1 | | | | -1 | | | -1 |
| | | | | | -1 | | | |
| | *-r | | | | | | | |
| Palatal | *-c | | | -c | | -с | -c | -c |
| | *-ɲ | | | -n | | -n | -ñ | -ñ |
| | *-y | | | | | | | -j |
| Velar | *-k | -k | -k | -k | -k | -k | -k | -k |
| | *-ŋ | -ŋ | -ŋ | -ŋ | -ŋ | -ŋ | -ŋ | -ŋ |
| Glottal | *-? | -? | -? | -? | -? | -? | -? | -? |
| | *-h | -h | -h | -h | -h | -h | -h | -h |

Consonant clusters

The most common first consonant in a consonant cluster in Proto-Waic and modern Waic languages are the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and voiceless velar stop /k/. The most common second consonant of a cluster is voiced lateral /l/. The trill /r/ in the second consonant position of cluster is common in the other Waic languages but does not exist in Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) and Lawa (Suriya 1985). The

 $^{^{12}}$ Final consonant *-y in Proto-Waic is used while in Kontoy Plang it is /j/.

occurrence of the second consonant as the voiced palatal approximant /j/ or voiced labial-velar approximant /w/ are rare. These only occur in Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985) and Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) respectively. The pre-nasalized consonant clusters /mbl/ occurs in both Wa Ban Santisuk and Lawa. The cluster /mbr/ only occur in Wa Ban Santisuk (Wattana 1998) and /mbj/ cluster is found only in Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985). The consonant clusters /npl, nphl, nkl, nkhl/ only appear in Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) and the /ngj/ cluster occurs only in Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985). The consonant cluster /kw/ appear only in Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996). A compilation of the proto and modern Waic consonant clusters are given in the table below.

Table 44: A comparison of proto and modern Waic consonant clusters

| | Proto-Waic (Diffloth 1980) | | Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981) | | Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984) | | Standard Wa (Watkins2002) ¹³ | Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) | Wa (Wattana 1998) | | Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985) | | Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|----|
| 1st | | | | | | | 2^{nd} | conso | nant | | | | | | |
| conso- | 1 | r | 1 | r | 1 | r | | 1 | 1 | r | 1 | j | 1 | r | w |
| nants | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p | *pl | *pr | pl | pr | pl | pr | | pl | pl | pr | pl | pj | pl | pr | |
| p^h | | | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | | $p^h l$ | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | $p^h l$ | p ^h j | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | |
| b ^h | | | b ^h l | b ^h r | b ^h l | b ^h r | | | | | | | | | |
| b | *bl | *br | bl | br | bl | br | | | | | | | | | |
| k | *kl | *kr | kl | kr | kl | kr | | kl | kl | kr | kl | kj | kl | kr | kw |
| k ^h | | | k ^h l | k ^h r | k ^h l | k ^h r | | k ^h l | k ^h l | k ^h r | k ^h l | k ^h j | | k ^h r | |
| g ^h | | | g ^h l | g ^h r | g ^h l | g ^h r | | | | | | | | | |
| g | *gl | *gr | gl | gr | gl | gr | | | | | | | | | |
| mb | | | | | | | | | ^m bl | ^m br | mbl | ^m bj | | | |
| np | | | | | | | | npl | | | | | | | |
| np ^h | | | | | | | | np ^h l | | | | | | | |
| nk | | | | | | | | nkl | | | | | | | |
| nk ^h | | | | | | | | nk ^h l | | | | | | | |
| ŋg | | | | | | | | | | | ŋgl | ^ŋ gj | | | |

¹³ No consonant clusters mentioned in Watkins (2002), therefore, the column is empty.

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2.4.2 Vowels

It is very common to have nine vowels /i, e, ϵ , t, a, a, u, o, t in a Waic vowel system. Zhou and Yan (1984) posited nine tense vowels and nine lax vowels in Yaongsoi Wa vowel system. Suriya and Lakhana (1985) interpreted the nonsyllabic vowel [w] as a vowel in their Lawa inventory. The Proto-Waic *t had been lost in the modern Waic languages. The vowel systems of Proto and modern Waic are shown below.

Table 45: A comparison of proto and modern Waic of vowels

| | Proto-Waic (Diffloth 1980) | Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981) | Ai ShuaiWa (Zhou and Yan 1984) 14 | | Standard Wa (Watkins 2002) | Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) | Wa (Wattana 1998) | Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985) | Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | *i | i | i | <u>i</u> | i | i | i | i | i |
| t un- ded | *e | e | e | <u>e</u> | e | e | e | e | e |
| Front un- rounded | 3* | ε | 3 | <u>3</u> | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | |
| _ | *i | ш | ш | <u> </u> | w | w | w | i | w |
| or | *% | 8 | У | <u>x</u> | r | r | a | a | (a) |
| Central unrounded or back unrounded | *a | a | а | <u>a</u> | a | a | a | a | a |
| pə | | u | u | <u>u</u> | u | u | u | u | u |
| Back rounded | *0 | 0 | О | <u>o</u> | О | О | О | О | 0 |
| ck rc | *ɔ | Э | Э | <u>ə</u> | Э | Э | Э | Э | Э |
| Ba | *p | | | | | | | | |
| Non-syllabic vowel | | | | | | | | w | |

 $^{^{14}}$ Tense vowels are marked as \underline{V} in Zhou and Yan (1984).

Diphthongs and triphthongs

All Waic languages have diphthongs and triphthongs except Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996). The two most common triphthongs are [iau] and [uai] . They are found in all the Waic languages except for Lawa which has only one triphthong [aiɛ] (Suriya and Lakhana 1985). All the modern Waic diphthongs and triphthongs are shown in below table.

Table 46: Diphthongs and triphthongs

| | Yaong- soi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981) | Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984) | Standard Wa (Watkins 2002) | Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) | Wa (Wattana 1998) | Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985) | Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) |
|------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Diphthongs | | | | ie | | ia | |
| | | _ | | | | ia | |
| | iε (ie) | iε | | | | | |
| | iu | iu | iu | iu | iu | | |
| | io | io | | | | | |
| | ia | ia | ia | ia | ia | | |
| | | | ei | ei | | | |
| | ευ | εа | | εi | | сэ | Suc |
| | wi | wi | wi | wi | wi | | htthc |
| | | | | | ша | | tripi |
| | ue | | | | | ua | 0 t |
| | ua | ua | ua | ua (ɔa) | ua | | sguc |
| | ui | ui | ui | ui | ui | ui | hthc |
| | γi | γi | γi | γi | ai | ai | No diphthongs or triphthongs |
| | | | | | | ai | No |
| | | | | | | ao | |
| | | | | γu | | | |
| | | | ou | | | | |
| | oi | oi | oi | oi | oi | oi | |
| | эi | ic | эi | эi | оi | эi | |
| | | | | | | 36 | |
| | ai | ai | ai | ai | ai | ai | |

| | Yaong- | Ai | Standard | Bulang | Wa | Lawa | Kontoy |
|-------------|----------|-------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | soi Wa | Shuai | Wa | (Li, Nie | (Wattana | (Suriya | Plang |
| | (Wang | Wa | (Watkins | and Qiu | 1998) | and | (Paulsen |
| | and Chen | (Zhou | 2002) | 1986) | | Lakhana | 1996) |
| | 1981) | and | | | | 1985) | |
| | | Yan | | | | | |
| | | 1984) | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | au | au | au | au | ao | ao | |
| | aw | аш | aw | | | ai | |
| Triphthongs | iau | iau | iau | iau | iau | | |
| | uai | uai | uai | uai | uai | | |
| | | | | | | аіε | |

2.4.3 Registers, tones and intonations

Register, tone and intonation contrasts were reported in the modern Waic languages reviewed. Four of the seven modern Waic languages had register. Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981) and Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984) have tense and lax registers. Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) has two registers, the first register is a normal clear voice quality and second register is breathy phonation type. In Watkins (2002) the registers of Standard Wa are called clear and breathy and the contrast is a feature of the syllable not phonetically distinct. However, Wa Ban Santisuk (Wattana 1998) did not have any phonemic registers. Two of the modern Waic languages had tone. Kontoy Plang had two contrastive tones: high and low. Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) is the only Waic language that had four tones: Tone 1 is mid rising /¹/ or /35/; Tone 2 is mid level /¬/ or /33/, Tone 3 is mid level falling /¬/ or /331/ and Tone 4 is low falling /¬/ or /21/.

Only one of the studies had information on contrasting intonation contours. Suriya and Lakhana (1985) found two contrastive intonations in Lawa: a statement contour that is normally a mid contour and a question contour that is rising.

After reviewing on Waic's registers, tones and intonations, one can be concluded that the suprasegmental systems of Waic languages are complex because it includes not only registers but tones and also combinations of registers and tones. The following table will give a summary of registers, tones and intonations in Waic languages.

Table 47: A comparison of modern Waic registers, tones and intonations

| Intonations | Tones | Registers ¹⁵ | |
|---|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| No information | None | Tense and lax | Yaong-soi Wa (Wang and Chen (1981) |
| No information | None | Tense and lax | Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984) |
| No information | None | Clear and breathy | Standard Wa (Watkins 2002) |
| No information | Tone 1: Mid rising /1/ or /35/ Tone 2: Mid level / - / or /33/ Tone 3: Mid level falling / - / or /331/ Tone 4: Low falling / - / or /21/ | None | Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) |
| None | None | None | Wa (Wattana 1998) |
| The statement contour: mid level; The question contour: rising | None | None | Lawa (Suriya and Lakhana 1985) |
| No information | high and low | Clear and breathy | Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) |

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Different linguists use different terms for registers. The term tense and lax is used in Wang and Chen (1981) in Section 2.3.2.3 and Zhou and Yan (1984) in Section 2.3.3.3. Clear and breathy is used by Watkins (2002) in Section 2.3.4.3 and Paulsen (1996) in Section 2.3.8.3.

Chapter 3

Syllable and Word Structures in Meung Yum

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a definition of the syllable. The descriptions of open and closed syllable structures will be presented as the first part of this chapter. The second part of this chapter will briefly explain the pre-syllable, stress, and word structures in Meung Yum.

Sesquisyllable consists of a syllable preceded by a half syllable (Matisoff 1973, Thomas 1964). A half syllable may also be known as a pre-syllable (unstressed syllable) or minor syllable. In this chapter this phenomenon of unstressed syllables will be referred to as a pre-syllable, and will be demonstrated in word structures. Meung Yum word structures include monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words. Loan words from Shan, a Tai language, will be included, marked by * after a lexical item; for example, /vai/* 'paddle (v)' #1077. These loan words may have been borrowed into Meung Yum long time ago because the language resource persons used the words naturally and they cannot tell whether they are loan words or not.

3.2 Syllables

A syllable (σ) is constructed of an onset and a rhyme; the rhyme consists of a nucleus and a coda. Syllable structure commonly has relevance to consonant and vowel patterns. Often abbreviated as (C) for consonant and (V) for vowel, the CV syllable type is considered the most basic syllable in all languages. It is more common than the CVC because the onset is the stronger position in the syllable, and the coda is in a subordinated syllable position (Burquest 2001: 149-150). The basic syllable structure in this paper is CV. A V syllable structure or a syllable structure which only has a vowel does not exist in Meung Yum. The notion of a syllable may be illustrated as follows:

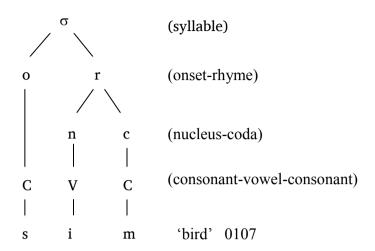


Figure 6: Syllable structure of the word /sim/ 'bird' (0107)

In Meung Yum an onset may consist of a consonant (C) or a consonant cluster (CC); the nucleus consists of a vowel which may be a monophthong (V), a diphthong (VV) or a triphthong (VVV). The coda is a consonant (C) in final position.

The possible monosyllabic structures in Meung Yum include open syllables (CV, CCV, CVV, CVVV, CCVV) and closed syllables (CVC, CCVC, CVVC, CVVVC, CCVVC). These two types of syllable structure will be presented in the following two sections.

3.2.1 Open syllable structures

An open syllable is a syllable without a coda. The syllable structure for open syllables in Meung Yum is C(C)V(V)(V) however, the full occurrence of CCVVV does not exist. Five types of open syllable occur: CV, CCV, CVV, CVVV and CCVV are found in Meung Yum. Examples are given below. Examples:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| CV | | | |
| | /m _Y / | silver | 0038 |
| | /kw/ | wind | 0012 |
| | /ŋo/ | fire | 0242 |
| | /tg/ or $(/dg/)^{16}$ | begin | 1501 |
| | /r <u>i</u> / | to be thin (thing) | 0382 |
| | | | |

 $^{^{16}}$ The parentheses () refer to a lexical item that only appears in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties of Meung Yum.

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| CCV | | | |
| | /plu/ | to fly | 0112 |
| | /k ^h lo/ | phlegm | 0496 |
| | /mlo/ | to be loose | 0459 |
| | /kro/ | to be dry (rice) | 0415 |
| | /p ^h ra/* ¹⁷ | God (supreme being) | 1118 |
| | | | |
| CVV | | | |
| | /kau/ | annoy | 0819 |
| | /lai/ | to exchange | 0353 |
| | /vai/* | paddle (v) | 1077 |
| | /pi̯o/ or (/bi̯o/) | (be) happy, (be) joyful | 0599 |
| | /mɔ̯i/ | to sneeze | 0271 |
| | | | |
| CVVV | 18 | | |
| | /pʰiai/ | spear | 0252 |
| | /tʰiai/ | to hit/beat (with force) | 0336 |
| | | | |
| CCVV | | | |
| | /kʰrau/ | season | 1377 |
| | /pʰrɔi/ | necklace | 0853 |
| | /plai/ | liquor | 0061 |
| | /klau/ | stir | 0882 |
| | | | |

In the above examples it may be seen that breathy register was not found in syllables with a CC onset or VVV nucleus.

3.2.2 Closed syllable structures

Closed syllables are syllables which have a coda. The syllable structure of closed syllable is C(C)V(V)(V)C however, the full occurrence of CCVVVC does not exist. This study found five types of closed syllable, CVC, CCVC, CVVC, CVVVC and CCVVC in all Meung Yum varieties. Examples are given below.

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¹⁷ The * marker after a lexical item refers to a loan word from Shan, a Tai language that has influenced Meung Yum. 18 The CVVV structure is rarely found in the data.

| • | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| CVC | | | |
| | /mim/ | fingernail | 0173 |
| | /ran/ | tooth | 0155 |
| | /jam/ | to weep | 0260 |
| | /lxt/ | to be deaf | 0432 |
| | /jwm/ | vine | 1297 |
| CCVC | | | |
| | /klec/ | armpit | 0170 |
| | /kʰlap/ | to count | 0293 |
| | /krak/ | buffalo | 0102 |
| | /p ^h lan/ | to be poor | 1044 |
| | /phrom/ | agree | 0787 |
| CVVC | | | |
| | /t ^h iam/ | to be short (height) | 0380 |
| | /kuaŋ/ | startle, surprise | 0607 |
| | /liat/ | to lick | 0277 |
| | /lue?/ | heel | 0179 |
| CVVV | \mathbb{C}^{19} | | |
| | /?uaih/ | swelling | 0557 |
| | /suaih/ | charcoal | 1366 |
| CCVV | S^{20} | | |
| | /krau?/ | cocoyam, taro | 1318 |
| | /plau?/ | to kill | 0349 |

The syllable structures CVVVC and CCVVC occurred only with one final consonant in each case, /-h/ and /?/ respectively. Similarly to what is seen with the open

19 The CVVVC structure occurs only two times in the data. The front vowel /i/ in CVVVC for example is not a transitional vowel when the final consonant is /h/(see Section 2.2.1.2); the transitional front vowel /i/ occurs only when the final consonant is palatal /c/ (see Section 4.3.2 note on ambiguous

segments). $20 The CCVVC structure occurs only three times in the data.

syllable, in closed syllable structures of Meung Yum breathy register never occurs in a syllable with a CC onset or VVV nucleus.

3.3 Pre-syllable

The pre-syllable, or unaccented syllable, is a common feature in Mon-Khmer languages. The pre-syllable is an unstressed syllable, with a consonant followed by /a/ vowel, here transcribed as /Ca-/. The predominant type of pre-syllable in Meung Yum consists of one of the initial consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /s/ or /l/, with the vowel /a/, which may be phonetically realized as [a] or [ə]. Some pre-syllables are semantic, for examples the pre-syllable /ka-/ carries a meaning of direction and /ta/ carries a meaning of body part, but no consistent semantic pattern has been found so far for /pa-/, /ma-/, /sa-/ or /la-/. Pre-syllables will also be discussed in Section 3.5.2, Sesquisyllabic word structure.

3.4 Stress

Mon-Khmer languages are monosyllable and iambic, meaning that if the word is not monosyllable, then a light syllable is followed by a stressed heavy syllable. Meung Yum shares this structure; thus stress is identified. In Meung Yum the stress is identified by hearing and it was identified from loudness, pitch and syllable weight. Heavy syllable weight refers to having a complex nucleus (VV) or diphthong.

3.5 Word structures

In this section only single morpheme words with single meanings are described, whether monosyllable, sesquisyllable or disyllables. Three types of word structures are found in Meung Yum: monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, and disyllabic. There are also compound words which combine these word structures in various ways. These are presented in Sections 3.5.1 through 3.5.3.

3.5.1 Monosyllabic word structures

Monosyllabic words have only one syllable. Possible monosyllabic word structures may be summarized as C(C)V(V)(V)(C); the bracket () refers to non-obligatory consonants or vowels. However, the full occurrence of a CCVVVC structure does not exist in Meung Yum. There are only ten monosyllabic word structures found in the data; examples are given below.

Examples:

| Monosyllabic | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Word Structures | | | reference |
| 1. CV | /m _Y / | money | 1045 |
| 2. CVV | /hɔi/* | snail | 0131 |
| 3. CCV | /k ^h lo/ | phlegm | 0496 |
| 4. CVC | /kʰɔŋ/ | caterpillar | 1267 |
| 5. CVVC | /kuaŋ/ | startle, surprise | 0607 |
| 6. CCVV | /kʰrau/ | season | 1377 |
| 7. CVVV | /pʰiai/ | spear | 0252 |
| 8. CCVC | /krak/ | buffalo | 0102 |
| 9. CCVVC | /plau?/ | to kill | 0349 |
| 10. CVVVC | /suaih/ | charcoal | 1366 |

3.5.2 Sesquisyllabic word structures

The sesquisyllable in Mon-Khmer languages (Matisoff 1973, Thomas 1964) is also found in Meung Yum. When a syllable preceded by a half syllable, the half syllable in Meung Yum is recognized as a pre-syllable (unstressed syllable). There are ten sesquisyllabic words are found in Meung Yum. The sesquisyllabic word structure in Meung Yum may be summarized as Ca.C(C)V(V)(C) however, the full occerence of the word structure does not exist. Examples are given below.

Examples:

| Sesquisyllables | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| 1. Ca.CV | /ma.p ^h u/ | what | 0442 |
| 2. Ca.CV | /ma.p ^h i/ | who | 0441 |
| 3. Ca.CVC | /ta.ja?/ | ear | 0151 |
| 4. Ca.CVC | /ka.laŋ/ | top | 1413 |
| 5. Ca.CVV | /la.pai/ or (/la.bai/) ² | ²¹ medicine | 0301 |
| 6. Ca.CVV | /pa.hio/ | cemetery | 1157 |
| 7. Ca.CVVC | /sa.viat/ | jump (v) | 0525 |
| 8. Ca.CVVC | /la.niap/ | fold (v) | 1454 |
| 9. Ca.CCVC | /ta.kraŋ/ | throat | 0468 |
| 10. Ca.CCVC | /sa.plap/ | edge (n) | 1419 |

²¹ The parentheses () indicate that this lexical item is only found in the Namt Yoke variety.

3.5.3 Disyllabic word structures

Disyllables are rare in Mon-Khmer languages. In Meung Yum also single-morpheme disyllable words are uncommon; only has five single-morpheme disyllables are found in the data. Disyllable word structure in Meung Yum may be summarized as C(C)V(V)(C).C(C)V(V)(C) and the full occurrence of CCVVC.CCVVC does not exist. The single-morpheme disyllable words found in the data are given below.

Examples:

| Disyllabic | | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Word | Structures | | | reference |
| 1. CV | V.CV | /pai.pu/* | cockroach | 0130 |
| 2. CV | C.CV | /myt.mo/* | mist/fog | 0006 |
| 3. CV | C.CCVC | /saŋ.krɔŋ/ | back | 0162 |
| 4. CC | CVC.CVC | /kʰrɯŋ.rak/ | game | 1114 |
| 5. CC | CVC.CVVC | /kra?.sau?/ | fever (not malaria) | 0570 |

3.6 Summary

The main syllable structure of Meung Yum for the open syllable is C(C)V(V)(V) and for the closed syllable is C(C)V(V)(V)(V)C but full occurrence of CCVVV and CCVVVC do not exist. Register is not found in open or closed syllables with a CC onset or VVV nucleus. The pre-syllables found in Meung Yum are /pa-/, /ta-/, /ka-/, /ma-/, /sa-/ and /la-/; of which only /ka-/ and /ta-/ were found to carry a recognizable sematic value, of direction and body part respectively. Meung Yum has no contrastive stress; stress is predictable. The stress pattern is iambic. Monosyllabic word structure in Meung Yum may be summarized as C(C)V(V)(C), sesquisyllabic word structure as C(C)V(V)(C), and disyllabic word structure as C(C)V(V)(C). C(C)V(V)(C) however, the full occurrence of all of these word structures do not exist. Monosyllabic and sesquisyllabic word structures are common in Meung Yum, but disyllabic word structure is rare.

Chapter 4

Segmental Phonology of Meung Yum

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the consonant and vowel phonemes in Meung Yum. In addition, phoneme charts are produced in each section and consonants and vowels are categorised according to their types: initial consonants, final consonants and consonant clusters. There are also three vowel types which are monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs. In the last section each phoneme will be illustrated with examples and evidence of contrast demonstrated with minimal pairs and analogous pairs. Some examples given are loan words from Shan, a Tai language which were borrowed into Meung Yum and these loanwords will be marked with -*, e.g. /phin/* 'opium', recording reference 0060.

4.2 Consonants

There are 21 contrastive consonants in the varieties of Meung Yum spoken in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang villages. The Pan Tang and Pang Wan varieties have 19 contrastive consonants. The Meung Yum consonants include nine voiceless stops $/p^h$, t^h , c^h , k^h , p, t, c, k, k^h , k^h ,

Table 48: Consonant phoneme chart of Meung Yum

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------|----------|--------|----------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| | | dental | | | | |
| Stop | p^h | | t ^h | c^{h} | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | c | k | ? |
| | (b) | | (d) | | | |
| Fricative | | v | S | | | h |
| Nasal | m | | n | л | ŋ | |
| Lateral | | | 1 | | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | |
| Approximant | | | | j | | |

Meung Yum has ten final consonants. The final consonants are given in Table 49 and the details can be found in Section 4.2.2.

Table 49: Final consonants of Meung Yum

| | Bilabial | Labio- dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------|------------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stop | -p | | -t | -c | -k | -? |
| Fricative | | | | | | -h |
| Nasal | -m | | -n | -ɲ | -ŋ | |

Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties have 13 consonant clusters whereas Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties only have 12. Consonant cluster /br/ only occurs in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties. However, the first consonant / \mathfrak{p} , \mathfrak{n} / only occur with the trill /r/ as second consonant but /m/ has both trill and lateral as its second consonants. The chart of consonant clusters is given in Table 50 below.

Table 50: Consonant clusters of Meung Yum

| | | 2 nd consonants | |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| | | 1 | r |
| 1st consonants | p | pl | pr |
| | p^h | $p^h l$ | p ^h r |
| | (b) ²² | | (br) |
| | k | kl | kr |
| | k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r |
| | m | ml | mr |
| | л | | лr |
| | ŋ | | ŋr |

Meung Yum consonants can be grouped into three types according to their occurrence. The first type is initial consonants. The second is final consonant which consists of the voiceless stops /-p, -t, -c, -k/, the nasals /-m, -n, -ŋ, -ŋ/, the glottal stop /-?/ and the voiceless glottal fricative /-h/. The third type of consonants is consonant cluster. The second members of these consonants are voiced alveolar lateral /l/ or voiced alveolar trill /r/. The consonants which precede /l/ are /p, p^h , k, k^h , m/ and the consonants which precede /r/ are /p, p^h , k, k^h , m, p, p and /b/ occurs only in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties. The details of these three types of consonant are discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1 Initial consonants

The initial consonants in Meung Yum include stops, fricatives, nasals, lateral, trill, and approximant.

4.2.1.1 Voiceless aspirated stops: /ph, th, ch, kh/

There are voiceless aspirated stops at the bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar points of articulation. In Pang Wan variety $/t^h/$ is realized phonetically as a voiceless aspirated dental stop [th]. The phoneme $/c^h/$ is realized phonetically as an alveolopalatal affricate [tch]. The examples are given below.

²² The parentheses () refer to the voiced bilabial stop and the consonant cluster /br/ which only occurs in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties.

Examples:

| • | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| $/p^h/$ | | | |
| | /p ^h a/ | to be blunt | 0418 |
| | /pʰaɲ/ | white | 0399 |
| | $/p^{h}u/^{*23}$ | to float | 0326 |
| | /phin/* | opium | 0060 |
| | /p ^h a?/* | monk | 0725 |
| /th/ | | | |
| | /tha/ | turn round (intr) | 0520 |
| | /thu/ | gizzard | 1219 |
| | /tho/ | crevice | 1343 |
| | /thap/ | forbid | 0618 |
| | /t ^h u/* | chopsticks | 0896 |
| /c ^h / | | | |
| | /cha/ | (be) scarce | 1046 |
| | /c ^h i? / | moon | 0003 |
| | /c ^h w/* | name | 0213 |
| | /chim/* | taste | 0516 |
| | /mc ^h o/ | follow | 0816 |
| /k ^h / | | | |
| | /k ^h a/ | trap (n) | 1023 |
| | /k ^h a/ | to give | 0329 |
| | $/k^{h}$ * | hoe (n) | 0998 |
| | /k ^h up/ | enough | 1586 |
| | /khap/* | (be) tight | 0928 |
| | | | |

4.2.1.2 Voiceless unaspirated stops: /p, t, c, k, ?/

Voiceless unaspirated stops occur at the bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal points of articulation. Voiceless unaspirated bilabial /p/ and voiceless alveolar stops /t/ have variants among the four Meung Yum varieties, the variants present in Table

²³ The examples with marker * at the back of the lexical items are possible loan words from Shan, a Tai language spoken in the same area as four Meung Yum varieties.

51. Two types of examples are presented below. The first set of examples consists of lexical items with initial consonants of /p, t, c, k, ?/ in all four varieties of Meung Yum. The second set consists of lexical items with initial consonants of /p, t/ in Pan Tang and Pang Wan varieties, but voiced bilabial or alveolar stops /b, d/ in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties.

Examples: i) First set: voiceless stop initials /p, t, c, k, ?/ in all four varieties of Meung Yum

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-----|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /p/ | | | |
| | /pai/ | heal (tr), cure (v) | 0553 |
| | /puŋ/ | bucket, pail | 0900 |
| | /pɔŋ/ | ladder | 0952 |
| | /pwi/ | carry on head | 1084 |
| | /pai/ | heal (tr), cure (v) | 0553 |
| | | | |
| /t/ | | | |
| | /tak/ | tongue | 0153 |
| | /ton/ | carry (in arms) | 1082 |
| | /taŋ/* | table | 0954 |
| | /ta/* | apply (ointment), besmear | 0860 |
| | /twt/* | to pull | 0321 |
| | | | |
| /c/ | | | |
| | /cip/ | to cut (hair) | 0339 |
| | /cep/ | shoe, sandal | 0849 |
| | /com/ | to submerge something | 0327 |
| | /cot/* | to push | 0320 |
| | /cɔ?/ | mortar (for peppers) | 0237 |
| | | | |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-----|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| /k/ | | | |
| | /ka/ | dance (n) | 1104 |
| | /kw/ | wind | 0012 |
| | /kap/ | chin | 0157 |
| | /kap/ | sacrifice | 1140 |
| | /kam/* | rice husk (powder) | 0083 |
| /?/ | | | |
| | /?a/* | sister (younger of father) | 0210 |
| | /?ɔ/ | pot (cooking) | 0236 |
| | /?o/ | daughter-in-law | 0689 |
| | /? Y h/ | say | 0753 |
| | /?im/ | (be) alive | 0576 |

ii) Second set: voiceless stops /p/and /t/ vary with /b/ and /d/

The voiced stops at the bilabial and alveolar points of articulation /b, d/ only occur in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties, i.e., they do not appear in Pang Wan and Pan Tang consonant systems. The inter-village variation between /p/ and /t/ vary with /b/ and /d/ are illustrated in Table 51.

Table 51: Inter-village variation between p/, t/ and b/, d/

| /p/ | /p/ | | | | |
|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Pang Wan | Pan | Namt | Loi Yang | Gloss | Recording |
| | Tang | Yoke | | | reference |
| /pε?/ | /pε?/ | /be?/ | /be?/ | you (2p) | 0448 |
| /pε?/ | /pε?/ | /be?/ | /be?/ | goat* ²⁴ | 1164 |
| /pi/ | /pi/ | /bi/ | /bi/ | flute* | 1106 |
| /pua/ | /pua/ | /bua/ | /bua/ | bundle (n) | 0916 |
| /puc/ | /puc/ | /buc/ | /buc/ | spill (liquid) (tr) | 0905 |
| /t/ | | | | | |
| Pang Wan | Pan | Namt | Loi Yang | Gloss | Recording |
| | Tang | Yoke | | | reference |
| /te?/ | /te?/ | /dε?/ | /de?/ | arm | 0168 |
| /tih/ | /tih/ | /dih/ | /dih/ | mushroom | 0055 |
| /tiŋ/ | /tiŋ/ | /diŋ/ | /diŋ/ | bottle | 0901 |
| /txi/ | /txi/ | /dxi/ | /dxi/ | milk (cow) | 0101 |
| The exception | nal phenon | nenon of vo | iced and vo | oiceless in Namt Yoke a | nd Loi Yang |
| Pang Wan | Pan | Namt | Loi Yang | Gloss | Recording |
| | Tang | Yoke | | | reference |
| /px/ | /px/ | /p _Y / | /b _Y / | earring | 0855 |
| /tu/ | /tu/ | /tu/ | /du/ | body* | 0463 |
| /twin/ | /twin/ | /tw̯n/ | /dwn/ | run | 0524 |
| /tau/ | /tau/ | /dau/ | /tau/ | send | 0813 |
| | | | | (someone to do | |
| | | | | something) | |

From the above table we observed an exceptional phenomenon on the lexical items of $/p\gamma$ / 'earring' (0855); /tu/ 'body' (0463) and /tun/ 'run' (0524) the initials are voiceless stops in Namt Yoke but voiced stops in Loi Yang. On the other hand, the initial of the lexical item 0813 'send (someone to do something)' /tau/ is voiceless in Loi Yang but voiced in Namt Yoke. But the inconsistency of voiced and voiceless stops between these two Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties are rare. The following section provide some evidences to distinct the voiced and voiceless stops of /p/, /b/ and /t/, /d/ in Pang Wan and Namt Yoke respectively.

²⁴ The marker * at the back of the gloss refers to the lexical items which are loan words from Shan, a Tai language.

The evidences of the voiceless and voiced stops distinction in spectrogram

The distinction between voiceless and voiced stops /p/, /b/ and /t/, /d/ is determined by whether or not there is the vibration of the vocal cords is present in the utterance. There are two ways to determine voicing using Praat 5.0.35²⁵. The first involves looking at the spectrogram itself and noticing the regular alternation of light bands and dark bands forming waves. If it is a voiced stop, the vibration of the vocal cords is seen in the wave form as a typical wave; If it is a voiceless stop, the wave form is vertical dark bands forming waves. The second way involves looking at the pitch line appearing at the bottom of the spectrogram in the lower frequencies. The pitch line shows voicing that occurs in the utterance. If there is no vibration of the vocal cords, the pitch line at the bottom of the spectrogram is not present in the dark band. If there is vibration of the vocal cords, the pitch line is present in the light bands at the bottom of the spectrogram. Examples of the spectrograms of voiced and voiceless stops in Pang Wan and Namt Yoke are presented below.

a) The spectrograms of lexical items with voiceless and voiced stops /p/ and /b/ The pronunciation of voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in the word /pɛ?/ 'goat' does not have any vibration of the vocal cords because the spectrogram shows no dark band with the pitch line at the bottom of the spectrogram. The spectrogram in Figure 7 suggests that the pre-nasalized voiceless bilabial stop /mp/ may occur in Meung Yum. Further study in this area is needed.

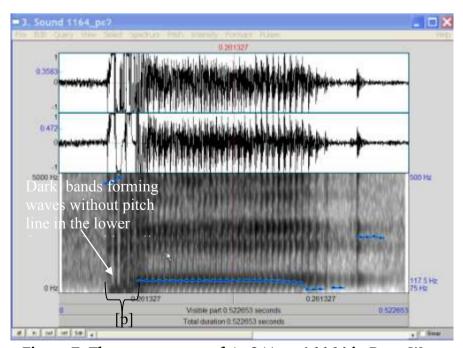


Figure 7: The spectrogram of /pe?/ 'goat' 1164 in Pang Wan

²⁵ Praat 5.0.35 is a freeware program for the analysis and reconstruction of acoustic speech signals.

The pronunciation of voiced stop /b/ does involve vibrating of the vocal cords. This vibration can be seen in the dark bands with the pitch line at the bottom of this spectrogram in Figure 8.

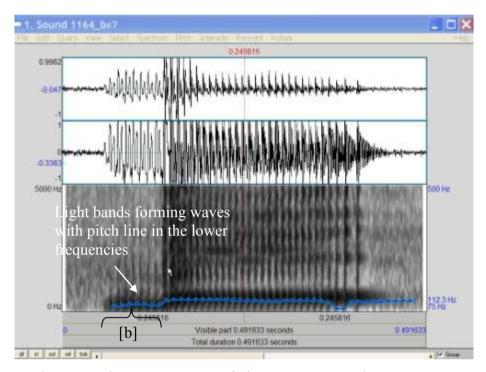


Figure 8: The spectrogram of /bε?/ 'goat' 1164 in Namt Yoke

b) The spectrograms of lexical items with voiceless and voiced stops /t/ and /d/ The pronunciation of voiceless stop /t/ does not involve vibrating of the vocal cords as the dark bands are missing the pitch line at the bottom of this spectrogram.

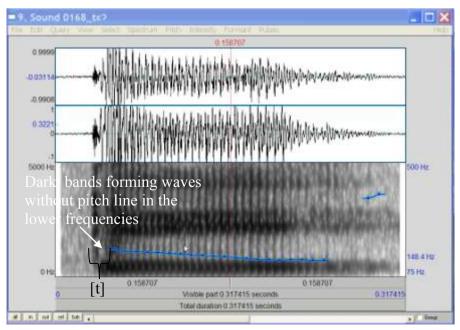


Figure 9: The spectrogram of /tε?/ 'arm' 0168 in Pang Wan

The spectrogram in Figure 9 suggests that the pre-nasalized voiceless alveolar stop /nt/ may occur in Meung Yum. Further study in this area is needed. The pronunciation of voiced stop /d/ in Figure 10 does involve vibrating of the vocal cords because the dark bands with the pitch line are found at the bottom of this spectrogram.

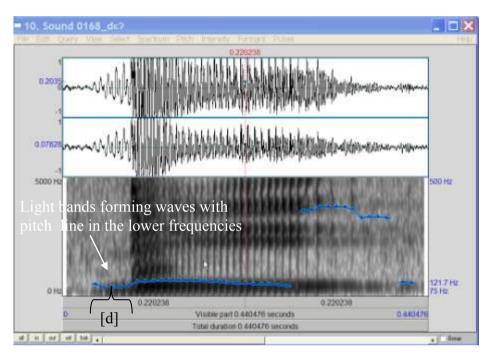


Figure 10: The spectrogram of /de?/ 'arm' 0168 in Namt Yoke

The spectrograms in a) and b) confirm the presence of voiceless and voiced bilabial and alveolar stops in Pang Wan and Namt Yoke.

iii) Hypothesis on language change in Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties

There is variation in voicing when comparing the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties (this mentioned in Table 51 under the exceptional phenomenon). This variation may be caused by the variety changing as the isoglosses for different words move across the map. Moreover, the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang initial voiced /b/, /d/ but in Pang Wan and Pan Tang as voiceless /p/, /t/, here we suggests various possibilities regarding the direction of language change. Pang Wan and Pan Tang may have changed their previously voiced stops/b/ and /d/ (details are discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.5). However, a synchronic description of Namt Yoke or Loi Yang are not inconsistent to its own system but vary with other villages, these phenomenon indicate that all villages may be going through a change from voiced toward voiceless stops. Further research is needed in this area.

4.2.1.3 Fricatives: /v, s, h/

There are three fricatives in Meung Yum, voiced labiodental, voiceless alveolar and voiceless glottal fricatives /v, s, h/ respectively. Of these, the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ and the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occur only in initial position, whereas the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ can occur in both initial and final position (For Final consonants see Section 4.2.2). The examples of occurrences of fricatives /v, s, h/ are presented as follows.

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-----|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /v/ | | | |
| | /vet/ | belly | 0163 |
| | /va/ | get well, recover | 0554 |
| | /vit/ | wrinkle (on skin) | 0540 |
| | /ve?/ | darkness | 1385 |
| | /vai/ | cane/rattan | 0056 |
| | | | |
| /s/ | | | |
| | /soh/ | wake up (intr) | 0513 |
| | /sim/ | bird | 0107 |
| | /si?/ | louse (head) | 0127 |
| | /saŋ/* | elephant | 0105 |
| | /seŋ/* | noise, sound (n) | 1372 |
| | | | |
| /h/ | | | |
| | /hu/ | to go | 0312 |
| | /hiŋ/ | bell | 0957 |
| | /hak/ | to be hot (water) | 0023 |
| | /hon/ | yam | 1319 |
| | /ha?/ | to ascend | 0316 |
| | | | |

4.2.1.4 Nasals /m, n, n, n/

There are four voiced nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar points of articulation /m, n, n, n, in all four varieties of Meung Yum . The examples are shown below.

| /m/ | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|--------|-----------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| , 111, | /me?/ | you (2s) | 0445 |
| | /ma?/ | sister (younger of m) | 0211 |
| | /mɔ/ | tobacco pipe | 1115 |
| | /mim/ | claw | 1220 |
| | /mit/* | fishhook | 1034 |
| | /mo̯/ | to crawl on belly (like a snake) | 0311 |
| /n/ | | | |
| | /nec/ | meat/flesh (edible) | 0184 |
| | /na/* | cheek | 0150 |
| | /no̯/ | to be slow | 0426 |
| | /nam/ | blood | 0187 |
| | /neŋ/* | goiter | 0561 |
| | /nau/ | lung | 0490 |
| /n/ | | | |
| | /na/ | groan (with pain) | 0507 |
| | /nih/ | gums | 0156 |
| | /ne/ | (be) silent | 0760 |
| | /nap/* | to be difficult | 0457 |
| | /na?/ | birdlime (adhesive to catch birds) | 1022 |
| /ŋ/ | | | |
| | /ŋɔm/ | (be) seated | 0535 |
| | /ŋɔ?/ | deaf (mute) person | 0545 |
| | /ŋɔk/ | neck | 0160 |
| | /ŋau/ | to be the same | 0408 |
| | /ŋар/ | to yawn | 0272 |
| | /ŋo̞ʔ/ | paddy rice | 0072 |

4.2.1.5 Lateral /l/

The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ only occurs as an initial consonant in the four varieties of Meung Yum. The examples are shown as follows. Examples:

| /1/ | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 7 -7 | /lɔ/ | mix (v) | 0881 |
| | /l <u>x</u> / | to be many (people) | 0370 |
| | /lih/ | to descend | 0317 |
| | /lum/ | pus | 0189 |
| | /lo̯/ | need (v) | 1037 |
| | /li̯a/ | six | 0362 |

4.2.1.6 Trill /r/

The voiced alveolar trill /r/ occurs only as an initial consonant in Meung Yum as shown below. See the voiced alveolar trill /r/ served as the second member of a consonant cluster in Section 4.2.3.

| /r/ | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-----|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | /rip/ | grass (field/jungle) | 0052 |
| | /riam/ | iron | 0039 |
| | /r _Y /* | boat | 0216 |
| | /ren/* | learn | 0595 |
| | /rat/* | tighten (tr) | 0927 |
| | /ri̯/ | to be thin (thing) | 0382 |

4.2.1.7 Approximant /j/

The voiced palatal approximant /j/ only occurs as an initial consonant in the four varieties of Meung Yum. The examples are displayed below.

Examples:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-----|-----------|------------------|---------------------|
| /j/ | | | |
| | /ja/ | (be) inexpensive | 1048 |
| | /jam/ | to weep | 0260 |
| | /juh/ | act, do | 0959 |
| | /jaŋ/ | village | 0214 |
| | /jພູm/ | vine | 1297 |

4.2.2 Final consonants

Final consonants are consonants which occur in final position. In Meung Yum there are the voiceless unaspirated stops /-p, -t, -c, -k/, the glottal stop /-?/, the nasals /-m, -n, -n, -n, -n, -n/ and the voiceless glottal fricative /-h/ which can occur in final position of a syllable. Palatal finals /-c, -n/ in Meung Yum has palatal on-glide features as is common in Waic languages. Wa is largely consistent with this pattern (Diffloth 1980: 45). When the voiceless palatal stop /-c/ occurs as a final consonant, phonetically it is pronounced as unreleased with a front vowel glide [-ic] for examples, (0035) 'sand' /mac/ it is phonetically realized as [maic] and (0333) 'to wash (hands)' /khoc/ is phonetically realized as [khoic], and so on . When the palatal nasal /-n/ occurs as a final consonant it is phonetically pronounced as [-in] for examples, (0195) /kyn/ is phonetically realized as [kyin] and (0399) 'white' /phan/ is phonetically realized as [phain], and so on. All examples of final consonants in Meung Yum are presented below.

a) Stops /-p, -t, -c, -k, -?/

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|------|-----------|----------------------|---------------------|
| /-p/ | | | |
| | /thip/ | move away | 0838 |
| | /rip/ | grass (field/jungle) | 0052 |
| | /cep/ | shoe, sandal | 0849 |
| | /nap/* | to be difficult | 0457 |
| | /ŋap/ | to yawn | 0272 |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /-t/ | | | |
| | /vit/ | wrinkle (on skin) | 0540 |
| | /vet/ | belly | 0163 |
| | /net/ | to listen | 0255 |
| | /lat/ | fear (n) | 0605 |
| | /sat/* | animal (tame/wild) | 0085 |
| | | | |
| /-c/ | | | |
| | /mac/ | sand | 0035 |
| | /k ^h oc/ | to wash (hands) | 0333 |
| | /mwc/* | ant | 0129 |
| | /kluc/ | to be wrong | 0437 |
| | /puc/ or (/buc/) 26 | spill (liquid) (tr) | 0905 |
| | | | |
| /-k/ | | | |
| | /nyk/ | fill | 0907 |
| | /lik/ | pig | 0099 |
| | /?ak/ | bow | 0249 |
| | /txk/ or (/dxk/) | box | 0898 |
| | /mok/* | hat | 0846 |
| | | | |
| /-?/ | | | |
| | /kra?/ | road/path | 0215 |
| | /ka?/ | fish | 0116 |
| | /ma?/ | mother | 0196 |
| | /ɲa?/ | house | 0217 |
| | /jo?/ | to see | 0258 |
| | /ŋo?/ | paddy rice | 0072 |

The parentheses () refer to lexical items occur in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang, i.e., when Namt Yoke and Loi Yang is /buc/, Pan Tang and Pang Wan is /puc/. If /b/ occurs as an initial consonant in closed syllable in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties, it is predictable that it is /p/ in Pan Tang and Pang Wan (Examples can be found in Section 4.2.1.2 (ii) and (iii). The details of breathiness are discussed in Chapter 5 Section 5.4.2 Breathy register).

b) Nasals /-m, -n, -n, -n/ **Meung Yum English gloss** Recording reference /-m/ fingernail 0173 /mim/ 0022 /rom/ water /khom/ thorn 0046 /?om/ cloud (rain) 0005 /chem/* (be) salty 1533 /-n/ /lon/ 0182 marrow /mon/* 0122 otter /phin/* opium 0060 /kan/* work (n) 0960 0794 /twin/ or (/bwin/) story (tale) /-n/ /thin/ to be big 0375 /phan/ white 0399 /kyn/ father 0195 /nan/* war 1088 /pun/* to shoot (gun) 0347 /**-**ŋ/ /khaŋ/ 0094 rat village 0214 /jaŋ/ /neŋ/* goiter 0561 /seŋ/* voice 0755 /saŋ/* elephant 0105

c) Voiceless glottal fricative /-h/

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| /-h/ | | | |
| | /?ih/ | to eat | 0261 |
| | /seh/ | castrate | 1015 |
| | /soh/ | (be) awake, alert | 0539 |
| | /c ^h ih/ | salt | 0084 |
| | /tih/ or (/dih/) ²⁷ | mushroom | 0055 |

4.2.3 Consonant clusters

The common second members of the consonants clusters in Waic languages are voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and voiced alveolar trill /r/ (Diffloth 1980, Wang and Chen 1981, Zhou and Yan 1984, Wattana 1998 and Paulsen 1996). This has no exception for Meung Yum varieties. Meung Yum has five consonants precede the voiced alveolar lateral consonants /l/ as /p, ph, k, kh, m/, and eight consonants precede an alveolar trill consonant /r / as /p, ph, (b), k, kh, m, p, η /. The consonant clusters of /pr/ and / η r/are rare in Waic languages. Meung Yum consonant clusters are displayed in Table 50 and again in Table 52 below.

Table 52: Consonant clusters of Meung Yum

| | | | 2 nd consonant | |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------|--|
| | | 1 | r | |
| 1 st consonant | p | pl | pr | |
| | p^{h} | $p^h l$ | $p^h r$ | |
| | (b) | | (br) | |
| | k | kl | kr | |
| | k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r | |
| | m | ml | mr | |
| | л | | лr | |
| | ŋ | | ŋr | |

 $^{^{27}\,}$ The parentheses () refer to lexical items in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang, i.e., Namt Yoke and Loi Yang: /dih/; Pan Tang and Pang Wan: /tih/.

The examples of consonant clusters with the voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as the second member are shown in the following a) and b) sections respectively.

a) Consonant clusters with voiced alveolar lateral /l/ as the second member: /pl, phl, kl, khl, ml/ 28

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------------|--|----------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /pl-/ | | | |
| | /plu/ | to fly | 0112 |
| | /plom/ | land leech | 0138 |
| | /ploŋ/ | bud | 1295 |
| | /plai/ | liquor | 0061 |
| | /plɔi/* | drop (tr) | 1446 |
| $/p^{h}l$ -/ | , | | |
| | /pʰlan/ | to be poor | 1044 |
| | $/\mathrm{p^h}\mathrm{l}\Upsilon\eta/$ | sprout (v) | 1329 |
| | | | |
| /kl-/ | | | |
| | /kle/ | stutter | 0758 |
| | /kla/ | (be) flat | 1513 |
| | /klɔ/ | kapok | 0057 |
| | /klec/ | armpit | 0170 |
| | /kleŋ/ | sharpen (knife) | 1520 |
| | | | |
| /k ^h l-/ | | | |
| | /k ^h lo/ | phlegm | 0496 |
| | /k ^h lap/ | to count | 0293 |
| | /kʰlaɲ/ | eel | 1237 |
| , 1 . | | | |
| /ml-/ | | | 0.4=0 |
| | /mlo/ | to be loose | 0459 |
| | /mlak/ | bat | 1195 |
| | /mlwt/ | to swallow | 0262 |

 $^{^{28}}$ The occurrences of consonant clusters /p^hl-/, /k^hl-/ and /ml-/ are rare in the data.

b) Consonant clusters with the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as the second member: /pr, phr, (br), kr, khr, mr, nr, nr/

Examples:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /pr-/ | | | |
| | /prɛ/ | mend, repair | 0961 |
| | /pre?/ | to be spicy | 0412 |
| | /prvŋ/ | mosquito | 0132 |
| | /prah/ or $(/brah/)^{29}$ | some (people) | 0372 |
| | | | |
| /p ^h r-/ | | | |
| | /p ^h ri/ | sorcerer (male) | 0735 |
| | /p ^h rɛ/ | unwrap (v) | 0920 |
| | /p ^h rɔm/ | agree | 0787 |
| | /p ^h ra/* | God (supreme being) | 1118 |
| | | | |
| (/br-/) |)30 | | |
| | /bruic/ | (be) open [blossom] | 0909 |
| | /bri?/ | wing | 0110 |
| | | | |
| /kr-/ | | | |
| | /kro/ | wither (plant) | 1332 |
| | /krip/ | cut (tr) (wood/fish) | 0877 |
| | /krak/ | buffalo | 0102 |
| | /kra?/ | road/path | 0215 |
| | | | |
| /k ^h r-/ | | | |
| | /k ^h ri/ | gold | 0037 |
| | /kʰrak/ | to shave (beard) | 0159 |
| | /kʰraʔ/ | trousers | 0231 |
| | /kʰran/* | (be) lazy | 0638 |
| | | | |

²⁹ The parentheses () refer to lexical item in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang, i.e., Namt Yoke and Loi Yang: /brah/; Pan Tang and Pang Wan: /prah/.

This consonant cluster with prarentheses () refer to /br/ which occurs only in the Meung Yum

varieties spoken in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang villages.

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| /mr-/ | | | |
| | /mra?/ | (be) healthy, (be) well | 0550 |
| | /mrai/ | disgusting | 0612 |
| | /mroŋ/ | horse | 1178 |
| | | | |
| /nr-/ | | | |
| | /ɲri/ | mat | 0223 |
| | /prec/ | break (tr) | 1469 |
| | | | |
| /ŋr-/ | | | |
| | /ŋrɯɲ/ | termite hill | 1276 |
| | /ŋri?/ | pestle (for peppers) | 0238 |
| | /ŋrwm/ | plunder (a town) | 1099 |
| | /ŋrɔk/ | to snore | 0297 |

It is important to note that the consonant clusters of /pr-/, /phr-/, /kr-/ and /khr-/ are more commonly found in Meung Yum, but the occurrences of consonant cluster (/br/), /mr/, / η r/ are rare in the word list.

4.2.4 Consonant contrasts

Meung Yum phonological analysis is based on general phonological principles. There are three types of relationship between phonetically similar segments in a language. The first type is they may have contrast in Identical Environments (CIE) or contrast in Analogous Environments (CAE); second type is they may be in complementary distribution and the third is they may have free variation. Some of the evidences in the following are not phonetically similar segments but there are good evidence for contrasts of some segments. Complementary distribution is not found in Meung Yum and free variation is noted in Section 4.2.5. The contrast of initial consonants and contrast of final consonants will be presented below.

| Initial | consonants: |
|---------|-------------|
| | |

| illitiai collso | nants. | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recor refere | _ |
| $/p^h/$ - $/p/$ | | | | |
| | /phai/ | to be fast | 0425 | CIE |
| | /pai/ | heal (tr), cure (v) | 0553 | |
| (/p/ - /b/) ³¹ | | | | |
| | /pau?/ | bag | 0897 | CIE |
| | /bau?/ | father-in-law (male) | 0685 | |
| | /pre?/ | to be spicy | 0412 | CAE |
| | /bri?/ | wing | 0110 | |
| /p ^h / - /t ^h / | | | | |
| .1 | /p ^h a/ | to be blunt | 0418 | CIE |
| | /t ^h a/ | turn round (intr) | 0520 | |
| | | | | |
| /p/ - /t/ | | | | |
| | /pai/ | heal (tr), cure (v) | 0553 | CIE |
| | /tai/ | sarong (female) | 0230 | |
| /t/ - /t ^h / | | | | |
| | /tai/ | sarong (female) | 0230 | CIE |
| | /thai/ | cotton | 1327 | |
| (/t/ - /d/) | | | | |
| | /tak/ | tongue | 0153 | CAE |
| | /de?/ | arm | 0168 | |
| /t ^h / - /c ^h / | | | | |
| , , , , , , , | /t ^h eŋ/ | quarrel | 0821 | CIE |
| | /cʰeŋ/ | cooking stone | 0893 | U1 |
| | J | · · | | |
| /c ^h / - /c/ | | | | |
| | /c ^h au/ | order (someone to do someth | ning) | 0810 CIE |
| | /cau/ | (be) alone | | 0743 |
| | | | | |

³¹ The parentheses () refer to the contrasts only occur in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties.

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording Reference |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| $/c^{h}/$ - $/k^{h}/$ | | | |
| | /c ^h a/ | (be) intelligent | 0592 CIE |
| | /k ^h a/ | to give | 0329 |
| /t/ - /c/ | | | |
| | /tɔ?/ | to look at | 0259 CIE |
| | /cɔ?/ | mortar (for peppers) | 0237 |
| /k ^h / - /k/ | | | |
| | /kʰauʔ/ | tree | 0043 CIE |
| | /kau?/* | classifier of persons | |
| | | (ten persons) | 0366 |
| /k/ - /?/ | | | |
| | /kɔk/* | cup | 0895 CIE |
| | /?ɔk/ | sister (elder of f) | 0206 |
| /?/ - /h/ | | | |
| | /?ia/ | chicken | 0114 CIE |
| | /hia/ | bee | 0133 |
| /t/ - /s / | | | |
| | /tak/ | tongue | 0153 CIE |
| | /sak/ | to be full (after eating) | 0264 |
| /m/ - /n/ | | | |
| | /mat/ | tether (sheep, goats) (v) | 1013 CIE |
| | /nat/* | gun | 1094 |
| /m/ - /ɲ/ | | | |
| . , , , , , | /me?/ | you (2s) | 0445 CIE |
| | /ne?/ | needle | 0233 |
| | | | |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|------------|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| /m/ - /ŋ/ | | | |
| | /ma?/ | mother | 0196 CIE |
| | /ŋa?/ | to be itchy | 0302 |
| /n/ - /n/ | | | |
| | /na?/ | to be sour | 0410 CIE |
| | /ɲa?/ | house | 0217 |
| /n/ - /ŋ/ | | | |
| | /ɲaʔ/ | birdlime | |
| | | (adhesive to catch birds) | 1022 CIE |
| | /ŋaʔ/ | to be itchy | 0302 |
| /r/ - / j/ | | | |
| | /raŋ/ | face | 0141 CIE |
| | /jaŋ/ | village | 0214 |
| /l/ - /j/ | | | |
| • | /laŋ/ | to be tall | 0379 CIE |
| | /jaŋ/ | village | 0214 |
| /r/ - /l/ | | | |
| | /rat/* | tighten (tr) | 0927 CIE |
| | /lat/ | fear (n) | 0605 |
| /n/ - /r/ | | | |
| | /naŋ/ | ringworm | 0567 CIE |
| | /raŋ/ | face | 0141 |
| | | | |
| /s/ - /h/ | | | |
| | /sak/ | to be full (after eating) | 0264 CIE |
| | /hak/ | feather (body hair) | 0111 |

It is important to note that the voiced velar stop /g/ does not phonemically occur in any variety of Meung Yum. The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ do not exist in Pan Tang and Pang Wan but occur in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang.

Final consonants:

| rinai conson | | | - 11 |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
| | | | reference |
| /-p/ - /-t/ | | | |
| | /t ^h iap/ | side (of something) | 1417 CIE |
| | /t ^h iat/ | to kick | 0322 |
| | , , | | |
| /-c/ - /-k/ | | | |
| /-C/ - /-K/ | | 1 | 0005 015 |
| | /mac/ | sand | 0035 CIE |
| | /mak/ | to cough | 0270 |
| | | | |
| /-k/ - /-?/ | | | |
| | /hak/ | feather (body hair) | 0111 CIE |
| | /ha?/ | to ascend | 0316 |
| | ,, | | |
| /2/ /=/ | /li2 / | tuon (onimol) (v) | 100E CIE |
| /-?/ - /-p/ | /kri?/ | trap (animal) (v) | 1025 CIE |
| | /krip/ | cut (tr) (wood/fish) | 0877 |
| | | | |
| /-?/ - /-h/ | | | |
| | /c ^h i?/ | firewood | 0241 CIE |
| | /c ^h ih/ | salt | 0084 |
| | , , | | |
| /-m/ - /-n/ | | | |
| /-111/ - /-11/ | /O: / | 4 > 1: | 0576 015 |
| | /?im/ | (be) alive | 0576 CIE |
| | /?in/ | this | 0396 |
| | | | |
| /-n/ - /-n/ | | | |
| | /klun/ | mongoose | 1193 CIE |
| | /klun/ | to be fat (person) | 0383 |
| | , | 11 20 14t (P020011) | 2000 |
| / m / / :- / | | | |
| /-n/ - /-ŋ/ | | | |
| | /nan/ | war | 1088 CIE |
| | /naŋ/ | ringworm | 0567 |
| | | | |

4.2.5 Variation

Free variation

In Meung Yum the voiceless velar stop [k] and voiced velar stop [g] may occur in the same position without changing the meaning; this phenomenon only occurs in consonant clusters. There is no phonemic contrast between [k] and [g] in Meung Yum. The only examples exhibited in the data are shown below.

Examples:

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | | reference |
| $[k]\sim[g]$ | | |
| [kri?]~[gri?] | trap (animal) (v) | 1025 |
| $[krih] \sim [grih]$ | bear | 0088 |
| [klun]~[glun] | mongoose | 1193 |

Note on ambiguous sequences:

In the phonological analysis a phonetic data can either interpreted as two phonological units or as a single unit thus the unambiguous of CV patterns need to be determined. The ambiguous sequences of Meung Yum need to be decided are shown below.

$$/p^h$$
, t^h , c^h , $k^h/$

[ph, th, ch, kh] are treated as one consonant (C), rather than as the clusters (CC) in this analysis. In Pang Wan variety $/t^h/$ is realized phonetically as voiceless aspirated dental stop [t_n^h]. The phoneme $/c^h/$ is phonetically realized as an affricate alveolopalatal [t_n^c].

$$/c^{h}, c/$$

Phonetically there are two alveolo-palatal affricates, the voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate $[t\varsigma^h]$ and the voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate $[t\varsigma]$. Both are treated as single units (C), rather than as clusters (CC), i.e., $[t\varsigma]$ and $[t\varsigma h]$. In this thesis following Watkins' treating the initial consonant of voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate $[t\varsigma h]$ is phonemically transcribed as voiceless aspirated palatal stop $/c^h/$ and the initial and final consonant of voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate $[t\varsigma]$ is phonemically transcribed as voiceless palatal stop /c/.

4.3 Vowels³²

Meung Yum has nine clear monophthongs /i, e, ϵ , a, u, o, \flat w, γ /, six breathy monophthongs /i, ϵ , a, ψ , ϱ , γ /, nine clear diphthongs /io, ia, γ i, oi, ν i, ai, au, ue, ua/ and seven breathy diphthongs / ψ ii, io, ia, γ i, ia, au, ue/. Three triphthongs /iai, iau, uai/ are found in Meung Yum but there are no breathy triphthongs. It is noteworthy that in Meung Yum breathy vowels mostly occur with voiced consonants such as /m/, /n/, /v/, /j/ and /l/. They rarely occur with stops consonants. The monophthongs are shown in Table 53 and diphthongs and triphthongs in Table 54.

Table 53: Monophthongs

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| | | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | i, <u>i</u> | | ш,щ | u |
| Close- mid | e | | Υ, Υ | ο, ο |
| (mid) | | | | |
| Open- mid | ε, ε | | | Э |
| Open | | a ³³ , a | | |

Table 54: Diphthongs and Triphthongs

| Diphthongs | | | Tr | iphthon | ıgs |
|------------------|----------------|------------|------|---------|-----|
| ia, i̯a, io, i̯o | щi | ue, ụe, ua | iai, | | uai |
| | | | iau | | |
| | γi, <u>ự</u> i | oi | | | |
| | | oi , ai | | | |
| ai | | au, au | | | |

³² Meung Yum has an asymmetrical vowel system of not having breathy monophthongs [e, u, o]; clear diphthong [ui] and breathy diphthongs [ai, ua, oi] in Tables 53 and 54 respectively, this asymmetrical vowel system is noted and it will be discussed in Footnote 38 of Chapter 5 Section 5.4.2 Breathy register and Section 5.5 Language change in Example 2.

³³ The open central vowel /a/ is phonetically realised as [ə] (schwa) which occurs only in presyllables (see Chapter 3 Section 3.3 and 3.5.2).

4.3.1 Monophthongs

Meung Yum has no phonemic vowel length. There are nine clear vowels /i, e, ϵ , a, u, o, ι , ι , and six breathy vowels /i, ϵ , a, ι , ι , ι , o/ are found in Meung Yum. All clear vowels appear in open and closed syllables. And the breathy vowel / ι only occurs in closed syllables while the rest can occur in both environments. The examples of occurrences of monophthongs in Meung Yum are presented below.

Examples of vowels in open syllables:

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| | | reference |
| /pi/ or (/bi/) ³⁴ | flute | 1106 |
| /ne/ | (be) pregnant | 0578 |
| $/p^{ m h}\epsilon/$ | conquer, defeat | 1096 |
| /va/ | garden | 0946 |
| /kw/ | wind | 0012 |
| /px/ or (/bx/) | earring | 0855 |
| /t ^h u/ | gizzard | 1219 |
| /ro/ | grow up | 0584 |
| /?ɔ/ | pot (cooking) | 0236 |
| /r <u>i</u> / | to be thin (thing) | 0382 |
| /tɛ̞/ or (/dɛ̞/) | begin | 1501 |
| /ta/ or (/da/) | to rub/scrub | 0332 |
| /l <u>x</u> / | to be many (people) | 0370 |
| /ro̯/ | to bark | 0096 |

Examples of vowels in closed syllables:

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|
| | | reference |
| /?ih/ | to eat | 0261 |
| /ne?/ | needle | 0233 |
| /pε?/ or (/bε?/) | goat | 1164 |
| /vac/ | knife/blade | 0253 |
| /mlwt/ | to swallow | 0262 |
| /kyn/ | father | 0195 |
| | | |

 $^{^{34}\,}$ All parentheses () without any footnotes in this Section 4.3 Vowels refer to lexical items occurs only in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties.

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| | | reference |
| /jum/ | death | 0585 |
| /phon/ | get, obtain | 1038 |
| /?ɔk/ | brother (elder of father) | 0204 |
| /ɲɛ̞/ | domesticate, tame | 1009 |
| /raŋ/ | tooth | 0155 |
| /jwm/ | vine | 1297 |
| /ti̯ŋ/ or (/di̯ŋ/) | harp | 1107 |
| /txk/ or (/dxk/) | box | 0898 |
| /ŋo̞ʔ/ | paddy rice | 0072 |

4.3.2 Diphthongs

There are nine clear diphthongs /io, ia, vi, oi, oi, ai, au, ue, ua/ and seven breathy diphthongs /wi, io, ia, vi, oi, au, we/ in Meung Yum. The second member of a diphthongs can be /i, e, a, u, o/. The clear diphthongs /ai/, /oi/ only occur in open syllables and /vi/, /oi/, /ue/, /ia/, /ua/, /au/ and /io/ appear in both open and closed syllables. There are no breathy vowels of /ai/, /oi/ and /ua/ nor clear diphthong of /wi/, it has only one breathy diphthong /wi/. Breathy vowels in Meung Yum mostly occur in open syllables except /we/. All examples are given below.

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| /io/ | | | |
| | /mio?/ | town, city | 0841 |
| | /pa.hio/ | cemetery | 1157 |
| /i̯o/ | | | |
| | /pi̯o/ or (/bi̯o/) | (be) happy, (be) joyful | 0599 |
| /ia/ | | | |
| | /?ia/ | chicken | 0114 |
| | /riam/ | iron | 0039 |
| /i̯a/ | | | |
| | /li̯a/ | six | 0362 |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|---------------|----------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| / y i/ | | | |
| | /krvi/ | thread (n) | 0980 |
| | /mri?/ | ant | 1259 |
| / <u>x</u> i/ | | | |
| | /txi/ or /dxi/ | breast | 0471 |
| /oi/ | | | |
| | /ploi/* | to set free, let go (animal) | 0461 |
| | /roi/ | fly | 0134 |
| | /soi/* | to slice/saw | 0338 |
| /ic/ | | | |
| | /mɔi/ | cow | 0100 |
| | /ŋɔit/ | end (n) | 1504 |
| /ig/ | | | |
| | /mɔ̯i/ | banana (fruit) | 0062 |
| | /ŋɔ̯i/ | (be) expensive | 1047 |
| /ai/ | | | |
| | /tai/ | sarong (female) | 0230 |
| | /pai/ | heal (tr), cure (v) | 0553 |
| | /mai/ | (be) engaged, (be) betrothed | 1145 |
| /au/ | | | |
| | /kau/ | annoy | 0819 |
| | /vau/ | (be) courageous, (be) brave | 0634 |
| | /kau?/ | yesterday | 0017 |
| /au/ | | | |
| | /lau/ | to be hot (person) | 0024 |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /ue/ | | | |
| | /klue/ | gong | 0248 |
| | /tuec/ | pluck (feathers) | 0884 |
| | | | |
| /u̯e/ | | | |
| | /lu̯e/ | oil | 0864 |
| | /lue?/ | heel | 0179 |
| | | | |
| /ua/ | | | |
| | /kʰuat/ | to be old (person) | 0197 |
| | /kua/ | to hunt | 0348 |
| | /suat/ | to stab | 0340 |
| | | | |
| /wi/ | | | |
| | /pwi/ | carry on head | 1084 |
| | /ta.mwi/ | nose | 0149 |

From the above observations, the occurrences of breathy monophthongs and diphthongs are rare and this finding is significant, thus the observation will be discussed in Chapter 5 in Section 5.4.2 Breathy registers and in Section 5.5 Language change.

Note on ambiguous segment on front vowels /i/ before and after Palatal stops:

Meung Yum diphthongs ending with the front vowel /i/ before final palatals stops /-c/ or /-n/ create an ambiguous segment due to its palatal onglide features (see Section 4.2.2 Final consonants). In order to create an unambiguous syllable structures and simplify the diphthong system, the front vowel /i/ before final palatals stop /-c/ or /-n/ is treated as a transitional vowel. Example are given below.

Examples:

Final palatal stops: /-c/, /-n/

| Meung Yum | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-----------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Phonemic | Phonetic | | reference |
| /mac/ | [ma ⁱ c] | sand | 0035 |
| /ŋrɯŋ/ | [ŋrɯˈɲ] | termite | 0128 |

Moreover, if the diphthongs begin with front vowel [i] on initial palatal stops [c-], [c^h-] or [n-] it will be phonemically transcribed as monophthongs. The examples are given below.

Examples:

Initial palatal stops: /c-/, /ch-/, /p-/

| Meung Yum | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-----------|------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Phonemic | Phonetic | | reference |
| /cot/ | [ciot] | to push | 0320 |
| /chan/ | [cʰian] | to be heavy | 0419 |
| /na?/ | [ɲia?] | house | 0217 |

Although some linguists may transcribe the diphthong [au] as [aw], in this paper [au] is chosen because the Meung Yum consonants system has no phonemic /w/; this transcription will simplify the consonant phonological rules in Mueng Yum. On the other hand, the reason of [ai] is selected instead of [aj] because of the syllable structures. For example, in (1366) 'charcoal' [suaih] the syllable structure is CVVVC, however if [ua] is transcribed as [wa] and [ai] transcribed as [aj] the syllable structures will be more complicated, for example: [swajh] will be CCVCC. According to the previous studies, this syllable structure with two final consonants is not found in Mon-Khmer languages.

4.3.3 Triphthongs

There are three triphthongs in Meung Yum, involving /i/ and /u/ which are /iai, iau, uai/.

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|--------------------|--|---|
| iai/ | | |
| /pʰiai/ | spear | 0252 |
| /tʰiai/ | to hit/beat (with force) | 0336 |
| | | |
| iau/ ³⁵ | | |
| /miau/ | cat | 0098 |
| | iai/ /pʰiai/ /tʰiai/ iau/ ³⁵ | iai/ /p ^h iai/ spear /t ^h iai/ to hit/beat (with force) |

³⁵ The occurrence of triphthong /iau/ is rare in the data, it only occurs in the lexical item given above.

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-------|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /uai/ | | | |
| | /?uaih/ | swelling | 0557 |
| | /suaih/ | charcoal | 1366 |

4.3.4 Monophthong contrasts

In this analysis no phonemic contrast was found between short and long vowels in Meung Yum. Long and short duration is predictable, i.e., the long duration often occurring in open syllables and short duration occurring in closed syllables. The contrasts between vowels are provided in Identical Environments (CIE) or in Analogous Environments (CAE). The evidences of monophthong contrasts can be divided into two categories which are clear monophthong contrasts, and clear and breathy monophthong contrasts, the details are given below.

Clear monophthong contrasts:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-----------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| /i/- /e/ | | | |
| | /c ^h in/ | bile, gall | 0500 CIE |
| | /chen/ | to sew | 0232 |
| /i/ - /w/ | | | |
| | /c ^h in/ | bile, gall | 0500 CIE |
| | /chun/ | fry | 0886 |
| /e/ - /ɛ/ | | | |
| | /vet/ | to be dark (outside) | 0406 CIE |
| | /vɛt/* | surround | 1452 |
| /ε/ - /e/ | | | |
| | /c ^h ε?/ | they (3p) | 0449 CIE |
| | /che?/ | before | 1388 |
| | /1ε?/ | rain | 0007 CIE |
| | /le?/ | water leech | 0137 |

| // // | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| /w/ - /u/ | /hwt/ | kiss (v) | 0800 CAE |
| | /mut/ | catch (object in air) | 1442 |
| | /nrwn/ | termite | 0128 CAE |
| | /klun/ | to be fat (person) | 0383 |
| /w/ - /ɣ/ | | | |
| / w/ / 6/ | /lɯŋ/* | yellow | 0402 CAE |
| | /lvn/ | to be wet (with water) | 0416 |
| /a/ - /ɤ/ | | | |
| | /p ^h a?/* | monk | 0725 CIE |
| | /p ^h _Y ?/ | to suck (milk) | 0276 |
| /u/ - /o/ | | | |
| | /nu/ | broom | 0986 CIE |
| | /no/ | beeswax | 1278 |
| /o/ - /ɔ/ | | | |
| | /?o/ | daughter-in-law | 0689 CIE |
| | /?ɔ/ | pot (cooking) | 0236 |
| /a/ - /ɔ/ | | | |
| | /kla/ | (be) flat | 1513 CIE |
| | /klɔ/ | kapok | 0057 |
| / x / - /o/ | | | |
| | /p ^h | to suck (milk) | 0276 CIE |
| | /pho?/ | bake (in ashes) | 0887 |
| | | | |

Clear and breathy monophthong contrasts:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| /i/ - / <u>i</u> / | | | |
| | tiŋ or (/diŋ/) | wall of house | 0221 CIE |
| | tịn or (/dịn/) | harp | 1107 |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| /ɛ/ - /ɛ̞/ | | | |
| | /nε/ | (be) silent | 0760 CIE |
| | /ɲɛ̞/ | domesticate, tame | 1009 |
| /a/ - /a̞/ | | | |
| | /ɲa/ | groan (with pain) | 0507 CIE |
| | /na/ | tobacco | 1116 |
| | /raŋ/ | shine | 1495 CIE |
| | /ran/ | tooth | 0155 |
| /w/ - /ɯ̞/ | | | |
| | /pwn/ or (/bwn/) | announce | 0765 CIE |
| | /pwin/ or (/bwin/) | story(tale) | 0794 |
| /o/ - /o̯/ | | | |
| | /mon/* | otter | 0122 CAE |
| | /mom/ | to be good | 0434 |
| | /ro/ | monkey | 0090 CIE |
| | /ro̯/ | to bark | 0096 |
| /e/ - / <u>%</u> / | | | |
| | /tek/ or (/dek/) | accuse | 0784 CAE |
| | /tɤ̞k/ or (/dɤ̞k/) | box | 0898 |

Breathy and breathy monophthong contrasts:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| /a/ - /o/ | | | |
| | /ja/ | to be easy | 0458 CAE |
| | /lo/ | undress | 0845 |
| | /jam/ | nail (n) | 0979 |
| | /mom/ | to be good | 0434 |
| | | | |
| /ö/ - /ɛ̄/ | | | |
| | /no̯/ | to be slow | 0426 CAE |
| | /ɲɛ̞/ | domesticate, tame | 1009 |
| | | | |

| /ɛ̞/ - /a̞/ | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| / #/ / #/ | /ɲɛ̞/ | domesticate, tame | 1009 CAE |
| | /ɲa̞/* | tobacco | 1116 |
| /i/ - /ɯ/ | /tiֵŋ/ or (/diֵŋ/) | wall of house | 0221 CAE |
| | /tw̞n/ or (/dw̞n/) | to run | 0315 |

4.3.5 Diphthong contrasts

Meung Yum diphthong contrasts can be divided into two categories which are clear diphthong contrasts, and clear and breathy diphthong contrasts. The evidences of diphthong contrasts are given below.

Clear diphthong contrasts:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Reco | • |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------------|--------|------|
| /a:/ /a:/ | | | refere | ence |
| /ai/ - /oi/ | . 1 | | 0064 | |
| | /plai/ | liquor | 0061 | CIE |
| | /ploi/ | to set free, let go (animal) | 0461 | |
| | /vai/ | hire (v) | 1053 | CAE |
| | /soi/ | to slice/saw | 0338 | |
| /ia/ - /io/ | | | | |
| | /pia?/ or (/bia?/) | show | 0597 | CAE |
| | /mio?/ | town, city | 0841 | |
| | /?ia/ | chicken | 0114 | CAE |
| | /k ^h io/ | lower (tr) | 1445 | |
| | | | | |
| /ai/ - /au/ | | | | |
| | /vai/ | paddle (v) | 1077 | CIE |
| | /vau/ | (be) courageous, (be) brave | 0634 | |
| | /tai/ | sarong (female) | 0230 | CIE |
| | /tau/ or (/dau/) | send (something to someone) | 1081 | |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recor refere | _ |
|-------------|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----|
| /ai/ - /ɤi/ | | | | |
| | /pai/ | heal (tr), cure (v) | 0553 | CIE |
| | /pri/ or (/bri/) | mole | 1192 | |
| | | | | |
| /ai/ - /ɔi/ | | | | |
| | /mai/ | (be) engaged, (be) betrothed | 1145 | CIE |
| | /mɔi/ | cow | 0100 | |
| | /pʰai/ | to be fast | 0425 | CIE |
| | /phoi/ | feast (n) | 1142 | |
| /oi / /oi / | | | | |
| /oi/ - /oi/ | /:/ * | 41: / | 0000 | OIE |
| | /soi/* | to slice/saw | 0338 | CIE |
| | /sɔi/ | draw (picture) | 1111 | |
| | /roi/ | fly | 0134 | CIE |
| | /rɔi/* | footprint (human) | 1018 | |
| | | | | |
| /ua/ - /ue/ | | | | |
| | /kua/ | to be hard (rock) | 0421 | CIE |
| | /kue/ | to have | 1036 | |

Clear and Breathy diphthong contrasts:

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| /o <u>i</u> /-/ci/ | | | |
| | /ciq/ | to be soft (cotton) | 0422 CAE |
| | /pi̯o/ or (/bi̯o/) | (be) happy, (be) joyful | 0599 |
| /ɔi/ - /ɔ̯i/ | | | |
| | /mɔi/ | cow | 0100 CIE |
| | /mɔ̯i/ | banana (fruit) | 0062 |
| /ii/ - /ii/ | | | |
| | /phoi/ | feast (n) | 1142 CAE |
| | /pwi/ | carry on head | 1084 |

| /ri/ - /ri/ | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| / 81/ - / 81/ | /pri/ or (/bri/) /tri/ or (/dri/) | mole milk (cow) | 1192 CAE 0101 |
| /ue/ - /u̞e/ | /tuec/ /lue?/ | pluck (feathers) heel | 0884 CAE 0179 |
| /ia/ - / <u>i</u> a/ | /mia/ /li̯a/ | spit (noun) six (persons) | 0154 CAE 0362 |
| /au/ - /a̯u/ | /ŋau/ /lau/ | to be the same to be hot (person) | 0408 CAE 0024 |

Breathy and breathy diphthong contrasts:

| /110 / /io / | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording reference |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| /ue/ - /io/ | /kue/ | porcupine | 0093 CAE |
| | /pi̯o/ or (/bi̯o/) | (be) happy, (be) joyful | 0599 |
| /ɣi/ - /ɔ̯i/ | /dxi/ | breast | 0472 CAE |
| | /ŋɔ̯i/ | (be) expensive | 1048 |
| /ại/ - /ạu/ | /lại/ /lạu/ | market(n) to be hot (person) | 0842 CIE 0024 |
| /ɔ̯i/ - /a̞u/ | /mɔ̯i/ | banana (fruit) | 0062 CAE |
| | /na̞u/ | lung | 0490 |

| | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|-----------|
| | | | reference |
| /ai/ - /ai/ | | | |
| | /lai/ | market(n) | 0842 CAE |
| | /ŋɔ̯i/ | (be) expensive | 1047 |
| /ai/ - /ai/ | | | |
| | /mɔ̯i/ | banana (fruit) | 0062 CAE |
| | /ra̞i/ | to choose | 0288 |

It is noteworthy that the breathy and breathy monophthongs and diphthongs contrast are rare in the data and there are no breathy triphthongs and a breathy vowel never occurs in a syllable with a consonant cluster in Meung Yum.

4.4 Summary

There are 21 contrastive consonants in Meung Yum spoken in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties, whereas the contrastive consonants in Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties are only 19. The Meung Yum consonants include nine voiceless stops /ph, th, ch, kh, p, t, c, k, ?/. The Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties have no voiced stops; conversely, Namt Yoke and Loi Yang have the voiced stops /b/ and /d/. All four varieties have three fricatives /v, s, h/; four nasals /m, n, p, ŋ/; the lateral /l/; the trill /r/ and the approximant /j/. Meung Yum has ten final consonants /-p, -t, -c, -k, -?, -h, -m, -n, -p, -ŋ/. There are 13 consonant clusters in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties. Five consonant /p, ph, k, kh, m/ with the voiced alveolar lateral /l/ as the second member and eight consonant /p, ph, b, k, kh, m, p, n/ with the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as the second member. However, Pang Wan and Pan Tang only have 12 consonant clusters, i.e., consonant cluster /br/ does not exist in these varieties.

Meung Yum has nine clear vowels /i, e, ϵ , a, u, o, ϵ , u, ϵ / and six breathy vowels /i, ϵ , a, ϵ , ϵ , a, ϵ , ϵ . There are nine clear diphthongs /io, ia, ϵ , oi, oi, oi, ai, au, ue, ua/ and seven breathy diphthongs /uii, io, ia, ϵ , ia, ia, ue/ are found in Meung Yum. Meung Yum's triphthongs /iai, iau, uai/ only occur as clear vowels. Meung Yum's asymmetrical vowel system (see Tables 53 and 54) may be due to the effect of language change (the details will be discussed in Chapter 5 Section 5.4.2 Breathy register and Section 5.5 Language change in Example 2.)

The examples given in this analysis consist of many loan words from Shan, a Tai language which was borrowed into Meung Yum long time ago. These loan words seem natural to all four speakers from Meung Yum varieties.

The interesting finding in this chapter is in Section 4.2.1.2 (ii) and (iii). This language is probably undergoing language change. From the observation in Section 4.2.1.2 (ii) and (iii) three lexical items 'earring' (0855), 'run' (0524) and 'body' (0463) in Namt Yoke provide reasons to believe that a devoicing process in Namt Yoke is occurring. In addition, the loss of voiced stops in Pang Wan and Pan Tang lead to the possibility that a devoicing process in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang may happen in the future. Further research is needed in this area.

Chapter 5 Suprasegmentals of Meung Yum

5.1 Introduction

Contour tone and register features are commonly found in Mon-Khmer languages (Dnegan and Stampe 1983: 2). As seen in previous studies of Waic languages, the registers tense and lax are found in Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981) and Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984). The registers clear and breathy in addition to high and low tone are found in Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996). In Bulang, however, there is no register but there are four tones (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986). This chapter begins with a discussion of pitch in Meung Yum in Section 5.2. The acoustic parameters of each pitch variety are given in Section 5.3. The clear and breathy register are demonstrated in Section 5.4. Based on the findings, Meung Yum is suspected of undergoing a process of developing tone. This phenomenon is described in Section 5.5 on hypotheses on language change. A summary of this chapter is provided in Section 5.6.

5.2 Pitch in Meung Yum

While doing field research in Meung Yum many questions were asked of speakers regarding pitch. The language resource persons speak languages such as Burmese or Shan that are tonal, but they are not conscious of tone and do not have a Meung Yum word to describe tone. For some Meung Yum words, the language resource persons insist they must be pronounced with a certain pitch, but many words are uncertain. One day a list was made on a whiteboard of words grouped by pitch, but the next day the speakers changed their minds. As a result, there does not seem to be any clear tone in Meung Yum.

There are, however, about forty words that all the speakers agreed should be pronounced on a certain pitch. There appears to be some degree of incipient pitch or tone that may be developing in the language; this may be connected with the loss of voiced stop consonants. It is hypothesized that we have found a language in the very early stages of tonogenesis.

Because of these recording and analysis of words with a specific pitch have been made hope that this will be of use to linguists in the future who can see the direction that Meung Yum has taken.

In this section pitches are discussed based on the data collected from the four villages of Namt Yoke, Loi Yang, Pang Wan and Pan Tang. Four lexical items with level pitch and five lexical items with falling pitch are chosen for pitch analysis. Five lexical items are pronounced with rising pitch in Namt Yoke, Loi Yang and Pan Tang but Pang Wan has a different set of four lexical items with rising pitch. The lexical items are chosen based on three criteria: first, open syllables with a low vowel; secondly, voiceless initial consonants, and third, if a voiceless consonant with low vowel was not possible, then the nearest environment was considered. These criteria were chosen based on the phonetic background of syllable types, initial consonants, final consonants and vowels which may affect pitch. For example, if the pitch of a voiced bilabial stop with low vowel [ba] is compared with the pitch of a voiceless bilabial stop with low vowel [pa], the pitch of the syllable with the voiceless consonant initial is always higher. Therefore for comparison purposes the same features are desired, for a more reliable result. The lexical items for Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 are chosen based on the above criteria. An analysis of pitch contours is presented in Section 5.3.

5.2.1 Level pitch

The lexical items selected for the level pitch in the four Meung Yum varieties as follows:

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| | | reference |
| /ta/* ³⁶ | apply (ointment), besmear | 0860 |
| /?a/* | sister (younger of f) | 0210 |
| /ne/ | (be) pregnant | 0578 |
| /lo/* | need (v) | 1037 |

These words have the mid level pitch in the Namt Yoke, Loi Yang and Pan Tang varieties. In contrast, the Pang Wan mid level pitch (in five range level) is slightly lower than the other varieties; its level pitch is low level. While three of these words

³⁶ The asterisk * marks at the back of the lexical items hypothesized to be loan words from Shan. The loan words here may be borrowed with tones in these lexical items.

are loan words from Shan, they come from three different tone classes in Tai languages (/ta/ 'apply (ointment)' is A4, /?a/ 'sister' is A2, and /lo/ 'need' is A1).

5.2.2 Falling pitch

The falling pitch has two possible contours, high falling or mid falling, depending upon the village. The lexical items for Namt Yoke and Pan Tang villages tend to have high falling pitch, whereas the mid falling pitch occurs in Loi Yang and Pang Wan. Lexical items with falling pitches for the four villages are given below.

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| | | reference |
| /na/* | cheek | 0150 |
| /?ɔ/ | pot (cooking) | 0236 |
| /txi/ or (/dxi/) ³⁷ | breast | 0471 |
| /ro/ | grow up | 0584 |

5.2.3 Rising pitch

The lexical items with rising pitch in three of the Meung Yum varieties are given below.

| | ` |
|---|---|
| а | ١ |
| а | J |

| Meung Yum English gloss (Namt Yoke, Loi Yang and Pan Tang) | | Recording reference | |
|--|-------------------|------------------------|--|
| /jah/ | to be easy | 0458 | |
| /ɲa/ | groan (with pain) | 0507 | |
| /tha/ | turn round (intr) | 0520 | |
| /ka/ | dance (n) | 1104 | |
| /lε?/ | slander (v) | 0778 | |

These lexical items have rising pitch in the Namt Yoke, Loi Yang and Pan Tang varieties, but not in Pang Wan. The Pang Wan variety has different lexical items that occur with rising pitch as seen in the following examples.

 $^{^{37}}$ The parentheses () denote lexical items that occur only in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties. The voiced stop /d/ in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang is realized as voiceless stop /t/ in Pang Wan and Pan Tang.

b)

| Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------|
| (Pang Wan) | | reference |
| /k ^h a/ | to give | 0329 |
| /p ^h a/ | to be blunt | 0418 |
| /c ^h a/ | (be) scarce | 1046 |
| /le?/ | slander (v) | 0778 |

The four varieties share the same set of lexical items for level pitch and falling pitch. For the rising pitch Pang Wan has its own set, but the other three varieties share the same set of lexical items; these sets will be used for measuring the acoustic parameters in Section 5.3.

5.3 An analysis of pitch contours

This section provides evidence for the pitches in Meung Yum. The analysis is based on the lexical items given previously in Section 5.2. For each variety there are three sets of lexical items. Praat 5.0.35 was used for measuring the acoustic parameters related to articulation rate, the fundamental frequency (F0) and F0-Range. All acoustic parameters were keyed into Microsoft Office Excel 2007 to calculate the normalization of duration and fundamental frequency in order to produce the charts of pitches for each variety; each pitch curve is one speaker with four different lexical items, four times each, for a total of 16 measurements arranged for each pitch. These are shown below. From these analyses three pitches are observed in Meung Yum: level, falling and rising. The pitches of each variety are presented in the following sections.

i. Pitch contours of Namt Yoke

The three pitch contours in Namt Yoke are level, falling and rising. These are based on the lexical items in Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2, and 5.2.3a. All the Namt Yoke pitches are lower³⁸ than those of the other three villages. The falling contour of Namt Yoke is the only one begins from extra high, falling to the beginning of low level when falling contour is compared in Figures 11 through 14. The three Namt Yoke pitches are given in Figure 11.

 $^{^{38}}$ Namt Yoke pitches are lower than the rest because the fundamental frequency of Namt Yoke is between 75.33 - 152.98 Hz. See Figure 11.

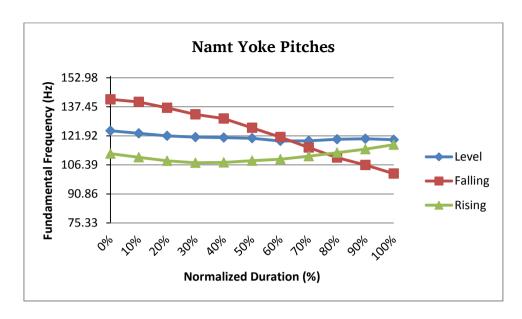


Figure 11: The three pitches of Namt Yoke

ii. Pitch contours of Loi Yang

The three pitch contours of level, falling and rising in Loi Yang are also based on the lexical items in Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3a respectively. These results are given in Figure 12.

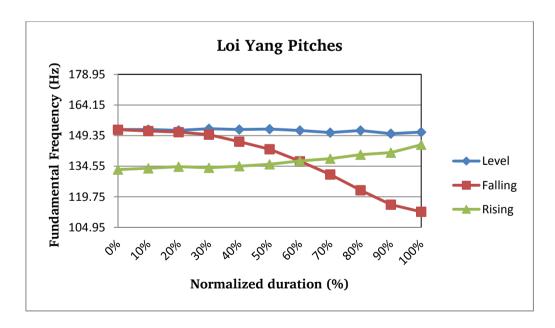


Figure 12: The three pitches of Loi Yang

iii. Pitch contours of Pang Wan

The three pitch contours in Pang Wan, level, falling and rising, are based on the lexical items in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 but for rising pitch in the Pang Wan variety a different set of lexical items, given in Section 5.2.3b, is used. The level pitch

contour of Pang Wan starts from a slightly lower level compared to the level pitch of the other Meung Yum varieties displayed in Figures 11 through 14. The three pitches of Pang Wan are given in Figure 13 below.

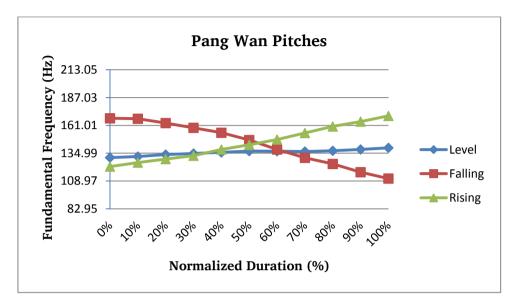


Figure 13: The three pitches of Pang Wan

iv. Pitch contours of Pan Tang

The three pitch contours in Pan Tang for level, falling and rising are based on the lexical items in Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3a respectively. The falling contour in Pan Tang is slightly lower than Namt Yoke but higher than Loi Yang and Pang Wan. The three pitch contours of Pan Tang are presented in Figure 14.

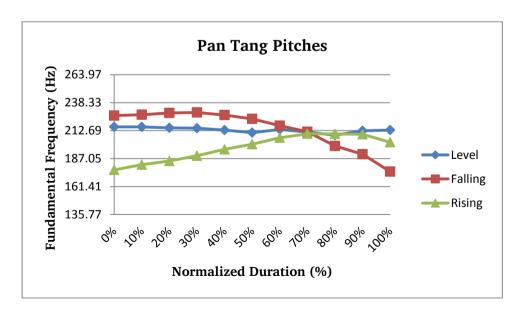


Figure 14: The three pitches of Pan Tang

The acoustic parameters of the four varieties given in Figures 11, 12, 13 and 14 above are based on the lexical items chosen in Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3, which are pronounced with the same pitch in all four varieties. These fixed pitches with the same lexical items are level, falling and rising. This analysis shows that it is possible the language is moving toward developing tonal contrast, but this situation is not stable in the language. Outside of the above lexical items with fixed pitch as chosen by the three criteria given in Section 5.2 for these four varieties of Meung Yum, of which several items are Shan loan words, it is possible that the language resource persons borrowed not only consonants and vowels but also the whole words with tones or pitch in this context. Therefore some words have fixed pitch but many words seem to have no fixed pitch and speakers will accept them as correct with any pitch; neither are they pronounced consistently by these four varieties.

5.4 Clear and breathy registers

The previous studies on Waic registers in Yaongsoi Wa (Wang and Chen 1981) and Ai Shuai Wa (Zhou and Yan 1984) describe it as tense and lax, whereas, the registers in Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) are described as clear and breathy. Meung Yum has two lexically contrastive registers, clear and breathy, which is unlike the registers in Yaongsoi Wa and Ai Shui Wa but similar to Kontoy Plang. Meung Yum's clear register is not marked in the transcription but the breathy register is marked as V. In Watkins (2002) register is treated as a feature of the syllable but in Ai Shuai Wa according to Zhou and Yan (1984) and in Yaongsoi Wa according to Wang and Chen (1981), it is treated as vocalic segments. In this thesis registers are treated as vocalic segments, following the notation of Chinese linguists. The clear and breathy lexical items are given below.

5.4.1 Clear register

Clear register occurs in all environments with voiced, voiceless and voiceless aspirated consonants. Some examples are given below.

| Phonemic | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| transcription | | reference |
| /cep/ | shoe, sandal | 0849 |
| $/c^{h}i/*$ | indicate, point (as with the finger) | 0529 |
| /hon/ | yam | 1319 |
| /jam/ | to weep | 0260 |

| Phonemic | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------|
| transcription | | reference |
| /jah/ | to be easy | 0458 |
| /juh/ | act, do | 0959 |
| /ka?/ | fish | 0116 |
| /kʰac/ | (be) shy | 0633 |
| /lik/ | pig | 0099 |
| /mim/ | claw | 1220 |
| /mɔ/ | tobacco pipe | 1115 |
| /neŋ/* | goiter | 0561 |
| /nε/ | (be) silent | 0760 |
| /pʰan/ | white | 0399 |
| $/p^{h}i/$ | to forget | 0287 |
| /pok/ | take revenge | 0822 |
| /sum/ | to plant | 0341 |
| /tak/ | tongue | 0153 |
| /t ^h u/* | chopsticks | 0896 |
| /?uŋ/ | mud | 0032 |
| /ve?/ | darkness | 1385 |

5.4.2 Breathy register³⁹

The breathy register occurs with both voiced and voiceless consonants but not with aspirated consonants. Voiceless stops with breathy register are rare for both monophthongs and diphthongs. Some examples are presented below.

| Phonemic | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| transcription | | reference |
| /ja/ | to be easy | 0458 |
| /jam/ | nail (n) | 0979 |
| /lo/* | need (v) | 1037 |
| /lo/ | undress | 0845 |
| /mom/ | to be good | 0434 |
| /no̯/ | to be slow | 0426 |

³⁹ The total vowels in the data set are 3600; 15 unique vowels (excluded schwa /a/), if each vowel occurred with equivalent frequency it should occur 240 times; since there are six breathy vowels 1440 uses of breathy vowels would be expected; in fact there are fewer than 100 uses. This observation is significant as evidence that the breathy vowels may be lost or changing in this language.

| Phonemic | English gloss | Recording |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| transcription | | reference |
| /ព្រំ. | domesticate, tame | 1009 |
| /na/* | tobacco | 1116 |
| /pɔ̯/ or (/bɔ̯/) | pick, pluck (fruit) | 1003 |
| /pwin/ or (/bwin/) | story(tale) | 0794 |
| /raŋ/ | tooth | 0155 |
| /ro̯/ | to bark | 0096 |
| /tin/ or (/din/) | wall of house | 0221 |
| /tɛ̞/ or (/dɛ̞/) | begin | 1501 |
| /twin/ or (/dwin/) | to run | 0315 |
| /va/ | get well, recover | 0554 |
| /kue/ | porcupine | 0093 |
| /lai/ | market(n) | 0842 |
| /lau/ | to be hot (person) | 0024 |
| /icm/ | banana (fruit) | 0062 |
| /nau/ | lung | 0490 |
| /ŋɔi/ | (be) expensive | 1047 |
| /pi̯o/ or (/bi̯o/) | (be) happy, (be) joyful | 0599 |
| /rai/ | to choose | 0288 |
| /txi/ or (/dxi/) | milk (cow) | 0101 |

Breathy vowels occur only rarely with initial consonants /p/ and /t/ in the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties and there are nearly none in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties. Table 55 provides some examples that Namt Yoke and Loi Yang initial consonants are /b/ or /d/ with breathy vowels in open syllables. In Pang Wan and Pan Tang they are realized as /p/ and /t/ respectively. The inter-village variation with initials /b/ and /d/ in open syllables in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang versus Pang Wan and Pan Tang is shown in Table 55.

Table 55: Inter-village variation in open syllables

| | Namt Yoke | Pang Wan | Gloss | Recording |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | and Loi Yang | and Pan Tang | | reference |
| /b/ in Open syllable | /bio/ | /pio/ | (be) happy, (be) joyful | 0599 |
| | /bue/ | /pue/ | barking deer | 0089 |
| /d/ in Open syllable | /dɛ̞/ | /tɛ̞/ | begin | 1501 |
| | /dxi/ | /txi/ | breast | 0471 |

Table 56, below, shows the same phenomenon in closed syllables.

Table 56: Inter-village variation in closed syllables

| | Namt Yoke | Pang Wan | Gloss | Recording |
|------------------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| | and | and | | reference |
| | Loi Yang | Pan Tang | | |
| /b/ in Closed syllable | /buc/ | /puc/ | spill (liquid) (tr) | 0905 |
| | /bwn/ | /pwm/ | story (tale) | 0794 |
| /d/ in Closed syllable | /dwn/ | /twin/ | to run | 0315 |
| | /din/ | /tin/ | wall of house | 0221 |

Interestingly when Namt Yoke and Loi Yang have voiced stops /b/ or /d/ with breathy vowels, Pang Wan and Pan Tang have voiceless stops /p/ or /t/ with breathy vowels. It may also be seen that voiceless stops with breathy vowels in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang are rare. These observations may suggest that Meung Yum is undergoing a process of language change. Section 5.5, below, discusses this hypothesis of change.

5.5 Hyphotheses on language change

According to Matisoff (1973) and Haudricourt (1954)⁴⁰, the diachronic development of tone systems is commonly conditioned by the loss of a voicing contrast in initial obstruents. In the Meung Yum consonant system there is no consonant contrast between the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ and /p/ and /t/ in Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties whereas these stops do display a voicing contrast in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties. Diffloth (1980) commented that loss of the Proto-Waic voiced or voiceless contrast in stops gave rise to clear and breathy registers, and the Proto-Waic *a in Drage's Wa (one of the Waic languages in Diffloth's data) produced breathiness in vowel ö⁴¹. The following examples are taken from Diffloth (1980) to compare with Meung Yum.

 $^{\rm 41}$ The pair dots ($\ddot{}$) refers to breathiness in diffloth (1980).

⁴⁰ Haudricourt statement was translated in Thurgood (2007: 3).

Example 1: Proto-Waic voiceless stops remain voiceless stops initially in Meung Yum

| Proto-Waic | Meung Yum | English gloss | Recording |
|---------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| Diffloth 1980 | | | reference |
| *kən | kən | child | 0198 |
| *kap | kap | chin | 0157 |
| *pon | pon | four | 0360 |
| *taɲ | tan | to weave | 0227 |

Example 1 shows that in Meung Yum voiceless stops remain unchanged when compared to the Proto-Waic.

Example 2: Proto-Waic voiced stops become voiceless aspirated initially in Meung Yum

| Proto-Waic | Drage's | Meung Yum | English | Recording |
|-----------------|---------|-------------------|---------|-----------|
| (Diffloth 1980) | Wa | | gloss | reference |
| *gah | hkö | k^ha | to give | 0329 |
| *gaŋ | hköang | k ^h aŋ | rat | 0094 |
| *gac | hköit | k ^h ac | shy | 0633 |
| *baŋ | pöin | p ^h aɲ | white | 0399 |

Voiced stops *g and *b in Proto-Waic are becoming voiceless aspirated stops /kh/ and /ph/ in Meung Yum. However, in Diffloth's data the Proto-Waic voiced stops *g and *b become aspirated velar stop [hk] and voiceless bilabial stops [p] with breathy vowel in Drage's Wa. The vowel *a in Proto-Waic has produced breathiness as vowel ö in Drage's Wa but not in Meung Yum. Tables 55 and 56 in Section 5.4.2 show that in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang the voiced bilabial stop /b/ and voiced alveolar stops /d/ are realized as voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in Pang Wan and Pan Tang respectively. The inconsistant patterns of stops give an idea that the language is going through a change.

Haudricourt (1954) and Svantesson (1989) offer an explanation for the pitch contours and clear and breathy registers occurring in Meung Yum.

Haudricourt (1954)⁴² states that:

'In the segmental interpretation of Vietnamese in which tones are correlated directly with earlier classes of finals and initials. In the initial stage, the three-way distinction among classes of post-vocalic finals (open finals, nasal finals, stopped finals and voiceless fricatives) led to the rise of a three-way distinction in pitch contours a level, a rising, and a falling pattern, respectively.' (Haudricourt 1954)

Svantesson (1989) states that:

'The basic tonogenetic rule is that voiceless and voiced initial consonants have merged, giving rise to a high and low tone, respectively. Stops merged into the voiceless members of the opposition (b, p > p; d, t > t; \mathfrak{f} , c > c; \mathfrak{g} , k > k).' (Svantesson 1989: 5).

Meung Yum demonstrates loss of the voiced velar stop [g] when compared to Proto-Waic (see Example 2, Section 5.5 and the Meung Yum consonant phoneme chart, Table 48). Although the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ remain in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang they are lost in Pang Wan and Pan Tang (see Section 4.2.1.2 ii). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that in Meung Yum breathy vowels occur primarily following voiced consonants; following voiceless stops they are rare; therefore a process of language change in Meung Yum is hypothesized. If the statements by Matisoff (1973), Haudricourt (1954) and Svantesson (1989) are applied in Mueng Yum, a process of tonogenesis has begun, but further study is needed.

5.6 Summary

Based on the findings on suprasegmental phonology, it is hypothesized that Meung Yum is undergoing a process of language change. The three possible pitches: level, falling and rising appear in the same lexical items of all four varieties. The clear and breathy registers contrast primarily with voiced consonants. However, determining whether voiced initials will develop to become devoiced and progress to breathy vowels or aspiration will require further observation. This has not been proven (see Example 2, Section 5.5) and remains an area for further study. Meung Yum demonstrates loss of the voiced velar stop [g] when compared with Proto-Waic and the loss of the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ as well in the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties. It is hypothesized that a process of tonogenesis in Meung Yum has begun. More research needs to be done in the area of suprasegmentals of Meung Yum.

⁴² Haudricourt's statement is translated in Thurgood (2007: 3).

Chapter 6

Phonology of Wa Varieties and Comparison of Wa Varieties with Meung Yum

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 examines the phonology of three Wa varieties in China and make a phonological comparison of those three Wa varieties with Meung Yum in Myanmar. All these varieties have their own phonological features, therefore, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents the phonology of three Wa varieties in China based on the classification of Chinese linguists Zhou and Yan (2004). They classify the Wa sub-group into three varieties: Parauk, A-Vax and Wa/Vax. The sub-varieties of Parauk are Ai Shuai and Ban Hong. The sub-varieties of A-Vax are Ma San, A-Vax Loi, Mang Nuo and Xi Yun. The Wa/Vax has one sub-variety, Meng Gong (Zhou and Yan 2004: 22), the classification of Wa varieties in Wa sub-groups has been presented as Figure 5, here displays again in this chapter.

The following figure displays the classification of Wa according to the Chinese linguists Zhou and Yan (1995, 2004).



Figure 15: Position of Wa varieties in Wa sub-group (adapted from Zhou and Yan 1995, 2004)

The second part of this chapter is to make a phonological comparison of these three Wa varieties and Meung Yum. The sub-varieties that have been chosen for comparison are the sub-variety of Parauk, Ai Shuai; the sub-variety of A-Vax, Xi Yun; and the sub-variety of Wa/Vax, Meng Gong. This comparison will give an overview of the phonological similarities and differences between Meung Yum in Kunlong Township, Shan State, Myanmar and the three Wa sub-groups in China.

The phonology of three Wa varieties in China and a comparison between those varieties and Meung Yum is presented in the following sections.

6.2 Phonology of three Wa varieties in China

In this section the phonology of three Wa varieties in China are presented, based on Zhao and Yan 2004. These are the Ai Shuai variety of Parauk; the Xi Yun variety of A-Vax; and the Meng Gong variety of Wa/Vax. The phonology includes initial consonants and consonant clusters (final consonants are absent in Zhao and Yan (2004)); for vowels it includes monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs. Lastly tones and registers will be presented. The phonologies of the three Wa varieties are shown below.

6.2.1 Phonology of Parauk: Ai Shuai

The phonology of Ai Shuai Wa variety was presented in Section 2.3.3, based on Zhao and Yan (1984), and will be presented again based on Zhao and Yan (2004). The consonant system in Zhao and Yan (1984) and (2004) are the same.

6.2.1.1 Consonants

Ai Shuai has 38 consonants of which 17 are aspirated $/p^h$, t^h , k^h , b^h , d^h , d^h , g^h , v^h , z^h , m^h , n^h , n^h , n^h , n^h , t^h , t^h , t^h , t^h , t^h . The initial consonants of Ai Shuai were presented previously in Table 14 based on Zhao and Yan (1984) and are presented again in the following table based on more recent data from Zhao and Yan (2004).

Table 57: Initial consonants of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | |
| Stop | p ^h | | t ^h | | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | | k | ? |
| | b^{h} | | d^{h} | dz^h | g ^h | |
| | b | | d | dz | g | |
| Fricative | | f | s | | | h |
| | | $\mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{h}}$ | | \mathbf{z}^{h} | | |
| | | v | | Z | | |
| Nasal | m ^h | | n^h | n₄ ^h | $\mathfrak{y}^{^{\mathrm{h}}}$ | |
| | m | | n | n, | ŋ | |
| Affricate | | | ts ^h | t¢ ^h | | |
| | | | ts | tç | | |
| Lateral | | 1 ^h | | | | |
| | | 1 | | | | |
| Trill | | r ^h | | | | |
| | | r | | | | |

Consonant clusters

There are 16 consonant clusters in Ai Shuai. Consonant clusters with the alveolar lateral /l/ as the second member include /pl, $p^h l$, $b^h l$,

Table 58: Consonant clusters of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | 1 | r |
| p | pl | pr |
| p^{h} | p ^h l | p ^h r b ^h r |
| b ^h | b ^h l | b ^h r |
| b | bl | br |
| k | kl | kr |
| k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r |
| g ^h | g ^h l | g ^h r |
| g | gl | gr |

6.2.1.2 Vowels

Zhou and Yan (1984, 2004) identified 18 monophthongs, 28 diphthongs and four triphthongs in the vowel system. When pharyngeal muscles contract it affects the muscles of the oral cavity therefore it becomes tense and the articulation of vowels is tense. When the pharyngeal muscles are lax, however, lax vowels are produced. Zhou and Yan transcribed tense vowel with a marker " \underline{V} ". The monophthongs are given in Table 59 below.

Table 59: Monophthongs of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|-----------|-------------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | i, <u>i</u> | | ш, <u>ш</u> | u, <u>u</u> |
| Close-mid | e, <u>e</u> | | <u> </u> | 0, <u>0</u> |
| Open-mid | ε, <u>ε</u> | | | ე, <u>ე</u> |
| Open | a, <u>a</u> | | | |

The 28 diphthongs and four triphthongs were shown in Table 18 and are presented again in Table 60 below.

Table 60: Diphthongs and Triphthongs of Ai Shuai Wa in China

| Dip | Tripht | hongs | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| iu, <u>iu</u> | wi, <u>wi</u> ui, <u>ui</u> | | iau, <u>iau</u> | uai, <u>uai</u> |
| iε, <u>iε</u> | | | | |
| | 4i, <u>4i</u> | | | |
| io, <u>io</u> | | | | |
| ia, <u>ia</u> | | ua, <u>ua</u> | | |
| εa(-k), (-ŋ), <u>εa</u> | | oi, <u>oi</u> | | |
| | | эі, <u>эі</u> | | |
| ai, <u>ai</u> | аш, <u>аш</u> | au, <u>au</u> | | |

6.2.1.3 Registers

Ai Shuai has two registers, tense (紧) and lax (松). Zhou and Yan state that usually high pitch and falling contour is associated with tense vowels and lower pitch with falling contour are associated with lax vowels. There are some rare exceptions where tense and lax registers produced mid contour instead of falling contour. (Zhou and Yan 1984: 12, 2004: 95)

6.2.2 Phonology of A-Vax: Xi Yun

6.2.2.1 Consonants

Xi Yun has 19 consonants. It has no voiced stops, aspirated voiced stops, affricates and trill unlike the Ai Shuai. The phonemes are given in Table 61, below.

Table 61: Initial consonants of Xi Yun in China

| | Bilabial | Labio- dental | Alveolar | Palato- alveolar | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------|
| Stops | p ^h | | t ^h | | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | | k | ? |
| Fricative | | f | S | | | h |
| | | v | z | | γ | |
| Nasal | m | | n | Ŋ. | ŋ | |
| Affricate | | | | tç | | |
| Lateral | | 1 | | | | |

Consonant clusters

Xi Yun has twelve consonant clusters. Those with the alveolar lateral /l/ as the second member, /pl, p^h l, kl, k^h l, ml, η l/, are common, Furthermore Xi Yun has other consonant clusters with the voiced velar fricative / γ / as second member, i.e., / $p\gamma$, $p^h\gamma$, $k\gamma$, $k^h\gamma$, $m\gamma$, $\eta\gamma$ /, which is rare in Waic languages.

Table 62: Consonant clusters of Xi Yun in China

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd co | nsonants |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | γ |
| p | pl | рγ |
| p ^h | p ^h l | p ^h γ |
| k | kl | kγ |
| k ^h | k ^h l | $k^h \gamma$ |
| m | ml | mγ |
| ŋ | ŋl | ŋγ |

6.2.2.2 Vowels

Table 63: Monophthongs of Xi Yun in China

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|-----------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | | | unrounded | rounded |
| Close | i | | ш | u |
| Close-mid | e | | 8 | 0 |
| Mid | E | | | |
| Open-mid | | | | o o |
| Open | a | | | |

Diphthongs

Xi Yun has ten diphthongs, /iw, io, ia, ai, wi, yi, ui, uw, ua, oi/, as seen in Table 64.

Table 64: Diphthongs of Xi Yun in China

| Diphthongs | | | | | |
|------------|----|----|--|--|--|
| wi ui | | | | | |
| iw | γi | uw | | | |
| ci | | | | | |
| ia | | ua | | | |
| | | oi | | | |
| ai | | | | | |

6.2.2.3 Tones

Xi Yun has three tones, low tone / \rfloor / or /11/, mid tone / \rbrace / or /33/ and high tone / \rbrace / or /55/.

 $^{^{43}}$ E is mid front unrounded vowel (non- IPA symbol), and is the symbol that Zhou and Yan use in their transcription.

6.2.3 Phonology of Wa/Vax: Meng Gong

6.2.3.1 Consonants

Table 65: Initial consonants of Meng Gong in China

| | Bilabial | Labio- | Alveolar | Palato- | Retroflex | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|----------------|--------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|
| | | dental | | alveolar | | | |
| Stop | p ^h | | t ^h | | | k ^h | |
| | p | | t | | | k | ? |
| | b | | d | | | g | |
| Fricative | | f | s | ſ | ş | | h |
| | | v | | 3 | Z _L | | |
| Nasal | m | | n | n, | | ŋ | |
| Affricate | | | ts ^h | t∫h | tş ^h | | |
| | | | ts | t∫ | tş | | |
| | | | | d ₃ | | | |
| Lateral | | 1 | | | | | |
| Trill | | r | | | | | |

Consonant clusters

There are twelve consonant clusters in Meng Gong. Consonant clusters with the alveolar lateral /l/ as the second member include /pl, p^h l, bl, kl, k^h l, gl/ and consonant clusters with the alveolar trill /r/ as the second member include /pr, p^h r, br, kr, k^h r, gr/. Examples are given in Table 66 below.

Table 66: Consonant clusters of Meng Gong in China

| 1 st consonants | 2 nd consonants | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | r |
| p | pl | pr |
| p^{h} | p ^h l | p ^h r |
| b | bl | br |
| k | kl | kr |
| k ^h | k ^h l | k ^h r |
| g | gl | gr |

6.2.3.2 Vowels

Meng Gong has 21 vowels, including tense (紧) vowels and lax vowels (松). The tense vowel in Meng Gong is produced mainly by pharyngeal muscle contraction. The tongue and the wall of the oral cavity is not tense. When the centralized /i/ occurs with /ts, tsh, s/ it is articulated as [η] (voiceless unrounded alveolar apical). With /ts, tsh, s, z/ it is articulated as [η] (voiceless unrounded retroflex apical). When / τ , τ is followed by /t/ or / τ as a final consonant it is articulated as [τ and [E, E] is followed by /k/ or / τ as final consonant it is pronounced as [E and [E and

Table 67: Monophthongs of Meng Gong in China

| | Front | Central | Back | |
|-----------|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|
| | | | unrounded rounde | |
| Close | i, <u>i</u> | ï ⁴⁴ | ш, <u>ш</u> | u, <u>u</u> |
| Close-mid | e, <u>e</u> | | <u> </u> | 0, <u>0</u> |
| Mid | E ⁴⁵ , <u>E</u> | | | |
| Open-mid | | | Λ, <u>Λ</u> | ე, <u>ე</u> |
| Open | a, <u>a</u> | | | |

Meng Gong has 25 diphthongs. The diphthong $/\underline{a}u/$ is in borrowed word from Chinese. The diphthongs $/\underline{E}u/$ and $/\underline{E}u/$ are articulated as $[E^au]$ and $[\underline{E}^au]$ respectively and the diphthongs $/\underline{o}i/$ and $/\underline{o}i/$ are articulated as $[o^ai]$ and $[o^ai]$ respectively. There are no triphthongs in Meng Gong. The details are given as below.

_

⁴⁴ î refer to centralised i.

⁴⁵ E is mid front unrounded vowel (non- IPA symbol).

Table 68: Diphthongs of Meng Gong in China

| Diphthongs | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--|--|--|--|
| iu, <u>i</u> u | iu, <u>i</u> u wi, <u>w</u> i | | | | | |
| eu, <u>e</u> u | γi, <u>γ</u> i | | | | | |
| Eu, <u>E</u> u | | ua, <u>u</u> a | | | | |
| | | oi, <u>o</u> i | | | | |
| | Λ i, <u>Λ</u> i | əi, <u>ə</u> i | | | | |
| | <u>л</u> и | | | | | |
| ai, <u>a</u> i | | au, <u>a</u> u | | | | |

6.2.3.3 Registers and pitches of Meng Gong in China

Meng Gong has two registers, tense and lax. Its tense and lax vowels are correlated with pitches. Tense normally occurs with falling contour but when the final consonants are /-p, -t, -k/ it becomes mid level pitch. Lax occurs with low falling pitch. (Zhou and Yan 2004: 26).

6.3 A phonological comparison of Wa varieties with Meung Yum

This section provides a phonological comparison of consonants, vowels, tones and registers of three Wa varieties in China and Mueng Yum in Myanmar.

6.3.1 A comparison of consonants

Voiceless aspirated stops $/p^h$, t^h , $k^h/$ are typical of three Wa varieties and of Meung Yum, but voiced aspirated consonants $/b^h$, d^h ,

Table 69: A comparison of consonants

| | Three V | Three Wa Varieties in China | | | |
|----------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--|
| | Parauk: | A-Vax: | Wa/Vax: | Meung Yum | |
| | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | | |
| Labial | p ^h | p ^h | p ^h | p ^h | |
| | p | p | p | p | |
| | b ^h | | | | |
| | b | | b | (b) ⁴⁶ | |
| | f | f | f | | |
| | v^h | | | | |
| | v | v | v | v | |
| | m ^h | | | | |
| | m | m | m | m | |
| Alveolar | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h | t ^h | |
| | t | t | t | t | |
| | d ^h | | | | |
| | d | | d | (d) | |
| | S | S | s | s | |
| | | z | | | |
| | n ^h | | | | |
| | n | n | n | n | |
| | tsh | | ts ^h | | |
| | ts | | ts | | |
| | 1 ^h | | | | |
| | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | r ^h | | | | |
| | r | | r | r | |

⁴⁶ The parentheses () denote consonants occurring only in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties.

| | Three V | Va Varietie | s in China | Myanmar |
|-----------|----------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| | Parauk: | A-Vax: | Wa/Vax: | Meung Yum |
| | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | |
| Palato- | | | ſ | |
| alveolar | | | 3 | |
| | | | t∫h | |
| | | | t∫ | |
| | | | d ₃ | |
| | $\mathrm{d}z^{\mathrm{h}}$ | | | |
| | dz | | | |
| | \mathbf{z}^{h} | | | |
| | Z | | | |
| | n, ^h | | | |
| | n, | n, | n, | |
| | t¢ ^h | | | |
| | t¢ | tç | | |
| Palatal | | | | c^{h} |
| | | | | c |
| | | | | n |
| | | | | j |
| Retroflex | | | Ş | |
| | | | Z _L | |
| | | | tş ^h | |
| | | | tş | |
| Velar | k ^h | k ^h | \mathbf{k}^{h} | k ^h |
| | k | k | k | k |
| | g^h | | | |
| | g | | g | |
| | ŋʰ | | | |
| | | γ | | |
| | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ |
| Glottal | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| | h | h | h | h |

In the comparison of consonants of three Wa varieties and the previous research on Waic phonology in Chapter 2, it is common that tonal languages have no voiced stops in the phonological system. These may be seen in Xi Yun, which has three tones with no voiced stops. Other Waic languages with this features are Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) which has four tones but no voiced stops (see in Chapter 2 Section 2.3.5) and Kontoy Plang (Paulsen 1996) which has two tones and two registers with no voiced stops (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.8). The Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties of Meung Yum has no voiced stops (see Chapter 4 Section 4.2.1.2 ii and iii) but there is here no evidence to claim that Pang Wan and Pan Tang are tonal. This consonant comparison does give a reason to consider the possibility that this variety may be going through a process of language change (see Chapter 5).

6.3.2 A comparison of consonant clusters

The comparison of consonant clusters is presented in Table 70.

Table 70: A comparison of consonant clusters

| | | | Three Wa Varieties in China | | | | | Myanmar | |
|----------------|---------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | Parauk: | | A-Vax: | | Wa/V | ax: | Meung | g Yum | |
| | | Ai Shu | ıai | Xi Yu | ın | Meng | Gong | | |
| | | | | | 2 nd c | onsona | nts | | |
| | | 1 | r | 1 | γ | 1 | r | 1 | r |
| | p | pl | pr | pl | рү | pl | pr | pl | pr |
| | p^h | $p^h l$ | $p^h r$ | $p^h l$ | $p^h \gamma$ | $p^h l$ | p ^h r | $p^h l$ | p ^h r |
| | b^h | $b^h l$ | $b^h r$ | | | | | | |
| ts | b | bl | br | | | bl | br | | (br) |
| nan | k | kl | kr | kl | kγ | kl | kr | kl | kr |
| osuo | k^h | k ^h l | k ^h r | k ^h l | $k^h \gamma$ | k ^h l | k ^h r | k ^h l | k ^h r |
| 1st consonants | g^h | g ^h l | g ^h r | | | | | | |
| | g | gl | gr | | | gl | gr | | |
| | m | | | ml | mγ | | | ml | mr |
| | ந | | | | | | | | лr |
| | ŋ | | | ŋl | ŋγ | | | | ŋr |

Ai Shuai, Xi Yun, Meng Gong and Meung Yum has four identical consonant clusters, /pl, phl, kl, khl/. The clusters with the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as the second member of the cluster are absent in Xi Yun. The consonant clusters with voiced velar fricative / γ / as the second member occur only in Xi Yun. The consonant clusters /br, bl/ occur in Ai Shuai, Meng Gong, and the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties of Meung Yum. The /g/ as first consonant of a cluster appears only in Ai Shuai and Meng Gong; it is hypothesized that Xi Yun and Meung Yum has lost this /g/. The nasals /m, η / as first consonants occur in Xi Yun and in Meung Yum, the voiced palatal nasal / η / only occurs in Meung Yum. The consonant clusters /bhl, bhr/; /ghl, ghr/ only appear in Ai Shuai. However, the consonant clusters /m γ , η l, $\eta\gamma$ / only occur in Xi Yun. The unique consonant clusters to Meung Yum are /mr, η r, η r/ and Meng Gong shares it unique consonant clusters /bl, br, gl, gr/ with Ai Shuai.

6.3.3 A comparison of vowels

A comparison of monophthous, diphthous and triphthous of three Wa varieties in China and Meung Yum in Myanmar will be presented in Tables 71 and 72 and it will be discussed in the following sections.

Monophthongs

The most common nine vowels among the three Wa varieties and Meung Yum are /i, e, ε , ω , γ , a, u, o, σ . Tense and lax vowels only occur in Ai Shuai and Meng Gong. Meung Yum is the one variety that has breathy and clear vowels. Xi Yun and Meng Gong both include a non-IPA symbol in their vowel system, /E/, a mid front unrounded vowel. Meng Gong has another special vowel, a centralised /i/ which occurs only in Meng Gong. The vowel comparisons between Meung Yum and the three Wa varieties are shown in Table 71 below.

Table 71: A comparison of vowels

| | Thre | e Wa Varietie | Myanmar | |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Monophthongs | Parauk: | A-Vax: | Wa/Vax: | Meung Yum |
| | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | |
| Front unrounded | i, <u>i</u> | i | i, <u>i</u> | i, <u>i</u> |
| | e, <u>e</u> | e | e, <u>e</u> | e |
| | | E ⁴⁷ | E, <u>E</u> | |
| | ε, <u>ε</u> | | | ε, ε |
| Central | | | ï | (a) ⁴⁸ |
| unrounded or | ш, <u>ш</u> | ш | ш, <u>ш</u> | w,w |
| back unrounded | ٧, <u>४</u> | 8 | Υ, <u>Υ</u> | Y, X |
| | | | Λ, <u>Λ</u> | |
| | a, <u>a</u> | a | a, <u>a</u> | a, a |
| Back rounded | u, <u>u</u> | u | u, <u>u</u> | u |
| | 0, <u>0</u> | 0 | o, <u>o</u> | 0, 0 |
| | ე, <u>ე</u> | Э | ე, <u>ე</u> | o o |

Diphthongs and triphthongs

The most common diphthongs shared among three Wa varieties and Meung Yum are /wi, ua, vi, oi, ai/. Xi Yun and Meng Gong have no triphthongs but Ai Shuai has four, of which two are tense and two lax: /iau, uai, iau, uai/; Meung Yum has three triphthongs, /iau, uai, iai/. Details are given in Table 72 below.

 $^{^{47}}$ E is a mid front unrounded vowel (non- IPA symbol).
⁴⁸ The open central unrounded vowel /a/ (schwa) occurs only in pre-syllables in Meung Yum.

Table 72: A comparison of diphthongs and triphthongs

| Diphthongs a | and | Three W | la Varieties i | n China | Myanmar |
|--------------|-----|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | Parauk: | A-Vax: | Wa/Vax: | Meung Yum |
| triphthongs | | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | |
| Diphthongs | iш | | iw | | |
| | iε | iε, <u>iε</u> | | | |
| | iu | iu, <u>iu</u> | | iu, <u>i</u> u | |
| | io | io, <u>io</u> | | | io, <u>i</u> o |
| | iə | | iə | | |
| | ia | ia, <u>ia</u> | ia | | ia, <u>i</u> a |
| | Eu | | | Eu, <u>E</u> u | |
| | eu | | | eu, <u>e</u> u | |
| | εа | εa(-k),(-ŋ), <u>εa</u> | | | |
| | wi | wi, <u>wi</u> | wi | ші, <u>ш</u> і | шi |
| | uw | | uw | | |
| | ue | | | | ue, ue |
| | ua | ua, <u>ua</u> | ua | | ua |
| | ui | ui, <u>ui</u> | ui | | |
| | γi | γi, <u>γi</u> | γi | γi, <u>γ</u> i | γi, <u>γ</u> i |
| | Λi | | | Λi, <u>Λ</u> i | |
| | лu | | | <u>^</u> u | |
| | oi | oi, <u>oi</u> | oi | | oi |
| | эi | oi, <u>oi</u> | | | oi , ại |
| | ai | ai, <u>ai</u> | ai | ai, <u>a</u> i | ai |
| | au | au, <u>au</u> | | | au, au |
| | aw | aw, <u>aw</u> | | | |
| Triphthongs | iai | | | | iai |
| | iau | iau, <u>iau</u> | | | iau |
| | uai | uai, <u>uai</u> | | | uai |

The diphthongs /iw, io, uw/ occur only in Xi Yun and the diphthongs /iɛ, $\underline{i}\underline{\epsilon}$ /; /ɛa, $\underline{\epsilon}\underline{a}$ / and /aw, $\underline{a}\underline{w}$ / occur only in Ai Shuai. The diphthongs unique to Meng Gong are /Eu, $\underline{E}\underline{u}$ /; /eu, $\underline{e}\underline{u}$ /; /ʌi, $\underline{\Lambda}$ i/ and / $\underline{\Lambda}\underline{u}$ /. Meung Yum shares most of its diphthongs and triphthongs with Ai Shuai except the diphthongs /ue, $\underline{u}\underline{e}$ / and a triphthongs, /iai/.

6.3.4 A comparison of registers and tones

Ai Shuai and Meng Gong both have tense and lax register and their register features are indistinguishable. However, the features of Meung Yum register are different from Ai Shuai and Meng Gong; it does not carry a specific pitch or contour. The clear and breathy registers in Meung Yum are mainly the vowel quality. Xi Yun has no register, but is tonal; it has three tones, low level / \rfloor / or /11/; mid level / \rfloor / or /33/; and high level / \rfloor / or /55/. as the register and tonal systems are summarized in Table 73 below.

Table 73: A comparison of registers and tones

| Registers | Thre | e Wa Varieties in | China | Myanmar |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|----------------|
| and tones | Parauk: Ai Shuai | A-Vax: Xi Yun | Wa/Vax: Meng Gong | Meung Yum |
| Registers | Two registers: Tense (紧) and | | Two registers: Tense (紧) and | Two registers: |
| | Lax (松) | | Lax (松) | Breathy |
| | (Tense is with high pitch and | | (Tense is with falling contour. | |
| | falling contour. | | Lax is with low | |
| | Lax is lower | | falling pitch.) | |
| | pitch with falling contour.) | | | |
| Tones | | Three tones: low level /J/ or /11/; mid level /H/ or /33/; and high level /T/ or /55/ | | |

6.4 Summary

Among three Wa varieties, Ai Shuai, Xi Yun and Meng Gong, of which Xi Yun is the only tonal variety, and Ai Shuai, Meng Gong and Meung Yum being register

languages, it is possible Meung Yum is in the process of language change and may develop tones in future (see discussion, Chapter 5). Ai Shuai has 38 consonants, Meng Gong has 31, Xi Yun has 19, Meung Yum has 21 in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang and 19 in Pang Wan and Pan Tang. Ai Shuai has more consonants than the others, mainly because of the voiced aspirated consonants $/b^h$, d^h , d^p , g^h , v^h , p^h

Ai Shuai has the most consonant clusters (16 consonant clusters), because it has clusters involving the voiced stop aspirated as their first member of consonant $/b^h l$, $b^h r$, $g^h l$, $g^h r$. All have /l, r/ as the second member of consonant except Xi Yun, which has /l, γ /. Xi Yun has the nasals /m, η / and Meung Yum has the nasals /m, η , η / as first member of consonant clusters; Ai Shuai has the voiced stops /b, b^h , g, g^h / and Meng Gong has voiced stops /b, g/ as their first member of consonant. (see Table 70).

Meng Gong has the most monophthongs (21 vowels) followed by Ai Shuai (18 vowels) and Meung Yum (15 vowels). Meng Gong and Ai Shui both have tense and lax vowel qualities and Meung Yum has clear and breathy vowel quality. Therefore they have more than nine vowels when compared to Xi Yun. Meng Gong and Xi Yun have a special non-IPA mid front unrounded vowel /E, E/ and /E/ respectively and Meng Gong has another monophthong, $/\Lambda$, $\Delta/$ which does not occur in any of the Wa varieties nor in Meung Yum (see Table 71).

Each Wa variety and Meung Yum has their own unique diphthongs. Ai Shuai has 28 diphthongs, with the diphthongs /iɛ, iɛ/ and /ɛa, ɛa/ being of special interest; Xi Yun has ten diphthongs and is the only one with the diphthongs /iɯ, iɔ, uɯ/. Meng Gong has 25 diphthongs, with /Eu, \underline{E} u/; /eu, \underline{e} u/; /ʌi, $\underline{\Lambda}$ i/ and / $\underline{\Lambda}$ u/ being of special interest. 16 diphthongs in Meung Yum, the diphthongs /ue, ue/ are the only diphthongs that exist in Meung Yum. Xi Yun and Meng Gong have no triphthongs,

but Ai Shuai has two tense and two lax triphthongs, /iau, uai/ and /iau, uai/. Meung Yum has the same triphthongs /iau, uai/ as Ai Shuai and the triphthong /iai/ is the only one to appear in Meung Yum. Consonants, vowels, and registers and tones are summarized below.

Table 74: A summary of the comparisons.

| | Three | Three Wa Varieties in China | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|--|--|
| | Parauk: | A-Vax: | Wa/Vax: | Meung Yum | | |
| | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | | | |
| Consonants: | | | | | | |
| Single consonants | 38 | 19 | 31 | (21)49, 19 | | |
| Consonant clusters | 16 | 12 | 12 | (13), 12 | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Vowels: | | | | | | |
| Monophthongs | 15 | 9 | 21 | 16 | | |
| Diphthongs | 28 | 10 | 25 | 16 | | |
| Triphthongs | 4 | None | None | 3 | | |
| Registers and tones | Two registers: | Three tones: | Two registers: | Two registers: | | |
| | Tense (紧) | /11/, /33/, | Tense (紧) | Clear | | |
| | and | /55/ | and | and | | |
| | Lax (松) | | Lax (松) | Breathy | | |

This comparison gives an overview of the phonological similarities and differences between Meung Yum at Kunlong Township, Shan State, Myanmar and the three Wa sub-groups in China.

It is noteworthy that Ai Shuai has more consonants when compared to the others. This is because of the others may have lost the voiced aspirated series $/b^h$, d^h , d^h , d^h , g^h , v^h , z^h , m^h , n^h , n

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 $^{^{49}}$ Parentheses () denote the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties; items without parentheses refer to the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The main objective of this thesis is to describe the phonology of Meung Yum, an unknown language in Shan state of Myanmar. The second objective is to present the phonology of three Wa varieties: Parauk, Ai Shuai; A-Vax, Xi Yun; and Vax/Wa, Meng Gong Parauk, in order to make a phonological comparison with Meung Yum. The phonological similarities and differences between Meung Yum at Kunlong Township, Shan State, Myanmar and the three Wa sub-groups in China will be briefly given. The following sections summarize the findings of this study and give suggestions for further study.

7.2 Summary of findings

There are two summary findings in this section which are phonological findings of Meung Yum in Section 7.2.1 and phonological similarities and differences of Mueng Yum and three Wa varieties in Section 7.2.2.

7.2.1 Phonological Findings of Meung Yum

This research was conducted with Meung Yum speakers outside Myanmar for the purpose of data collection. The 1,628 word list elicitation items were used for data collection. Four male language resource persons volunteered themselves for this research. They are from Pan Tang, Namt Yoke, Loi Yang and Pang Wan villages, and aged between 40 and 56 years old. All speakers speak Meung Yum as their first language and they all speak Shan as their second or third language.

This study finds two main syllable structures in Meung Yum, the open syllable which is C(C)V(V)(V) and the closed syllable, which is C(C)V(V)(V)C. Meung Yum has clear and breathy registers, but these are not found in syllables with a CC onset or VVV nucleus. Six pre-syllables /pa-/, /ta-/, /ka-/, /ma-/, /sa-/ and /la-/ are found in Meung Yum. The stress pattern in Meung Yum is iambic and it is not contrastive. Two common word structures are found in Meung Yum, the monosyllable

C(C)V(V)(V)(C) and the sesquisyllable Ca. [C(C)V(V)(C)]. The disyllable C(C)V(V)(C). C(C)V(V)(C) in Mueng Yum is rare.

This study found 21 contrastive consonants in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties of Meung Yum and 19 in the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties, which lack the voiced stops /b/ and /d/. All Meung Yum varieties studied here have nine voiceless stops /p^h, t^h, c^h, k^h, p, t, c, k, ?/, three fricatives /v, s, h/, four nasals /m, n, n, n/, the lateral /l/, the trill /r/ and the approximant /j/. Meung Yum has ten final consonants /-p, -t, -c, -k, -?, -h, -m, -n, -n/, and all four Meung Yum varieties have the 12 consonant clusters /pl, p^hl, kl, k^hl, ml/and /pr, p^hr, kr, k^hr, mr, nr, nr/; the consonant /br/, however, occurs only in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties.

In regards to suprasegmentals, that Meung Yum has developed three pitches, level, falling and rising, but these are not phonemic. The pitch analysis is based upon acoustic parameters being processed and normalization of duration and Fundamental Frequency being calculated in order to produce the chart of pitches for each variety. In addition, two phonemic registers, clear and breathy, are found in Meung Yum. The suprasegmentals in Meung Yum are complex because of the effects of language change.

Based on the finding one, the hypothesis on stages of language change in Meung Yum may be from voiced stops initials developing to breathiness and slowly progressing to develop tones. These stages⁵⁰ may be presented as follows:-

⁵⁰ The examples of the stages with lexical items in the diagram are hypothetical.

However, suprasegmentals will be addressed further in Section 7.3 below, Limitations of the study.

7.2.2 Phonological similarities and differences of Meung Yum and three Wa varieties

When a comparison of three Wa varieties in China and Meung Yum in Myanmar was made, their phonological systems were found to exhibit both similarities and differences among Mueng Yum, Ai Shuai, Xi Yun and Meng Gong.

Ai Shuai, Meng Gong and Meung Yum are register languages, but Xi Yun is the single tonal language among this group. Ai Shuai has 38 consonants, Meng Gong has 31, Xi Yun has 19, Meung Yum has 21 in the Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties and 19 in Pang Wan and Pan Tang. The A-Vax Xi Yun and the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties of Meung Yum has no voiced stops in their consonant systems. Previous studies of tonal languages in Waic branch suggest that tonal languages do not have voiced stops in their phonological systems; other Waic tonal languages without voiced stops include Bulang (Li, Nie and Qiu 1986) and Plang (Paulsen 1996). For Meung Yum, the three non-phonemic pitches level, falling and rising are found in all varieties. In addition, the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties have lost their voiced stops. From this it may be hypothesized that these two villages may in the process of language change and may in future develop tone.

Phonological similarities and differences among Ai Shuai, Xi Yun, Meng Gong and Meung Yum are shown in Table 75 below.

Table 75: Summary of phonological similarities and differences

| | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | Meung Yum | |
|------------|---|--------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | | | | Namt | Pang Wan |
| | | | | Yoke and | and Pan |
| | | | | Loi Yang | Tang |
| Consonants | voiced | No voiced | retroflexs /tş, | | No voiced |
| | aspirated | stops /b, d/ | tş ^h , ş, z/. | | stops /b, d/ |
| | consonants | | | | |
| | $/b^h$, d^h , | | | | |
| | /b ^h , d ^h , dz ^h , g ^h , v ^h , z ^h , m ^h , n ^h , | | | | |
| | z^h , m^h , n^h , | | | | |

| | Ai Shuai | Xi Yun | Meng Gong | Meu | ng Yum |
|--------------|---|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | | | | Namt | Pang Wan |
| | | | | Yoke and | and Pan |
| | | | | Loi Yang | Tang |
| | n, n, tsh, | | | | |
| | tch, 1h, rh/ | | | | |
| | have | have palato- | have palato- | no palato-a | lveolar but |
| | palato- | alveolar | alveolar | palatal /ch, | c, ŋ, j/ |
| | alveolar | /n, tç/ | /n _e / | | |
| | /dz ^h , dz, | | | | |
| | z ^h , z , n , h, n, | | | | |
| | t¢ ^h , t¢/ | | | | |
| Consonant | /l, r/ as | /l, y/ the | /l, r/ as the | /l, r/ as the | e second |
| clusters | the second | second | second | members o | f consonant |
| | members | members of | members of | clusters | |
| | of | consonant | consonant | | |
| | consonant | clusters | clusters | | |
| | clusters | | | | |
| | voiced | nasals /m, | voiced stops | nasal /m, ɲ | ı, ŋ/ as first |
| | stops /b, | ŋ/ as first | /b, g/ as first | member of | consonant |
| | b ^h , g, g ^h / | member of | member of | clusters | |
| | as first | consonant | consonant | | |
| | member of | clusters | clusters | | |
| | consonant | | | | |
| | clusters | | | | |
| Vowels: | | special non- | special non- | | |
| Monophthongs | | IPA mid | IPA mid front | | |
| | | front | unrounded | | |
| | | unrounded | vowel /E, <u>E</u> /, | | |
| | | vowel /E/ | /Λ, <u>Λ</u> / | | |
| Diphthongs | /iε, <u>iε</u> / and | /iw, iɔ, uw/. | /Eu, <u>E</u> u/; | /ue, ue/ | |
| | /εa, <u>εa</u> / | | /eu, <u>e</u> u/; /лі, | | |
| | | | <u>ʌ</u> i/ and / <u>ʌ</u> u/ | | |
| Triphthongs | / <u>iau, uai</u> / | No | No | /iai/ | |
| | | triphthongs | triphthongs | | |
| Tones and | Registers | Tones | Registers | Registers | |
| Registers | | | | | |

The consonants unique to Ai Shuai are the voiced aspirated consonants $/b^h$, d^h , dz^h , g^h , v^h , z^h , m^h , n^h ,

Ai shuai has largest inventory of consonant clusters (16) among these languages because it has a series of clusters with voiced aspirated stops as the first consonant of the cluster, $/b^h l$, $b^h r$, $g^h l$, $g^h r$. Ai Shuai, Meng Gong and Meung Yum has /l, r/ as the second member of consonant clusters, but Xi Yun has a unique series of clusters of which the second member is $/\gamma$ /. Xi Yun also has nasals /m, η /, and Meung Yum has nasals /m, η , η / as the first member of a consonant cluster, but Ai Shuai has clusters with the voiced stops /b, b^h , g, g^h / and Meng Gong has clusters with the stops /b, g/ as the first member the cluster.

Meng Gong has the largest inventory of monophthong vowels (21) among these languages, followed by Ai Shuai (18 vowels) and Meung Yum (16 vowels). Xi Yun has the fewest, with only nine vowels. Meng Gong and Meung Yum has many monophthongs because the former has tense and lax vowel qualities and the latter has clear and breathy vowel qualities. Meng Gong and Xi Yun both have a special non-IPA mid front unrounded vowel, /E, \underline{E} / and /E/ respectively. Meng Gong has one more tense and lax monophthong which is not found in the other languages, /A, $\underline{\Lambda}$ /.

The comparison of diphthongs showed that Ai Shuai has 28 diphthongs, of which /iɛ, iɛ/ and /ɛa, ɛa/ are unique; Xi Yun has ten diphthongs of which /iu, iɔ, uu/ are particular to Xi Yun. Meng Gong however has 25 diphthongs, of which /Eu, Eu/; /eu, eu/; /ʌi, ʌi/ and /ʌu/ are unique to Meng Gong. Meung Yum has 16 diphthongs, of which /ue, ue/ is found only in Meung Yum. There are no triphthongs in Xi Yun or Meng Gong, but Ai Shuai has two tense and two lax triphthongs, /iau, uai/ and /iau, uai/. The triphthongs /iau, uai/ are a similarity between Meung Yum and Ai Shuai, but the triphthong /iai/ appears only in the Meung Yum vowel system.

The phonological comparison of three Wa varieties with Meung Yum shows that they all share some common phonological features, but each phonological system is also unique; therefore it is difficult to determine which Wa varieties are the most or the least similar to each other. Lexicostatistics may help to determine this and is a suggestion for further study. This study also found that Meung Yum has lost the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ from two Meung Yum varieties, but that it is preserved in the other two varieties. The idea of Meung Yum has lost the voiced stops is based on the observation of no voiced velar stop [g] in Namt Yoke and Loi Yang varieties, the second observation is from Proto-Waic which voiced stops become voiceless aspirated initially in Mueng Yum this evidence can be found in Chapter 5, 5.5 Example 2. In addition, the asymmetrical vowel system caused by the uneven distribution of breathy vowels may suggest that Meung Yum may be undergoing a process of language change.

7.3 Limitations of the study

Based on this study, it may be hypothesized that Meung Yum is undergoing a process of language change. The three possible pitches, level, falling and rising appear in all four varieties of Mueng Yum they are non-phonemic. It is difficult to predict how they will develop in the future as the language changes.

The vowel system of Mueng Yum is asymmetrical, a possible result of language change causing a slow loss of the breathy vowel quality. If the 15 unique vowels occurred with equal frequency, they should occur 240 times, and since there are six breathy vowels, 1440 uses of breathy vowels would be expected; in fact, there are fewer than 100 occurences in the data. This is significant as it supports the claim that breathy vowels may be lost or changing. These breathy vowels could lose their breathiness, causing voicing or aspiration of the preceding consonants or develop tones in future. Further observation will show the outcome of these processes.

7.4 Suggestions for further study

There are many possible areas for further study. The first is that the devoicing⁵¹ in Meung Yum, which demonstrates a loss of the voiced velar stop [g] when compared to Proto-Waic and the loss of voiced stops /b/ and /d/ as well in the Pang Wan and Pan Tang varieties. According to the research of Svantesson (1989: 5-8) and Diffloth (1991: 14) tonogenesis or registrogenesis are linked either to devoicing of the initial consonants or to the effects of vowel quality. As a result, based on the findings in Meung Yum, this study hypothesizes that a process of tonogenesis in Meung Yum

⁵¹ Devoicing is the process or change by which voiced is lost or restricted.

may have begun; but more research is needed in the area of suprasegmentals of Meung Yum in order to test this hypothesis.

A second area for further research is to study other Waic languages spoken in Myanmar in order to compare with Meung Yum. The third area for further study is to gather data on other Meung Yum varieties. To this author's knowledge, no grammatical studies have been undertaken of Meung Yum; this also may assist in the classifiaction of Meung Yum within the appropriate Wa sub-group.

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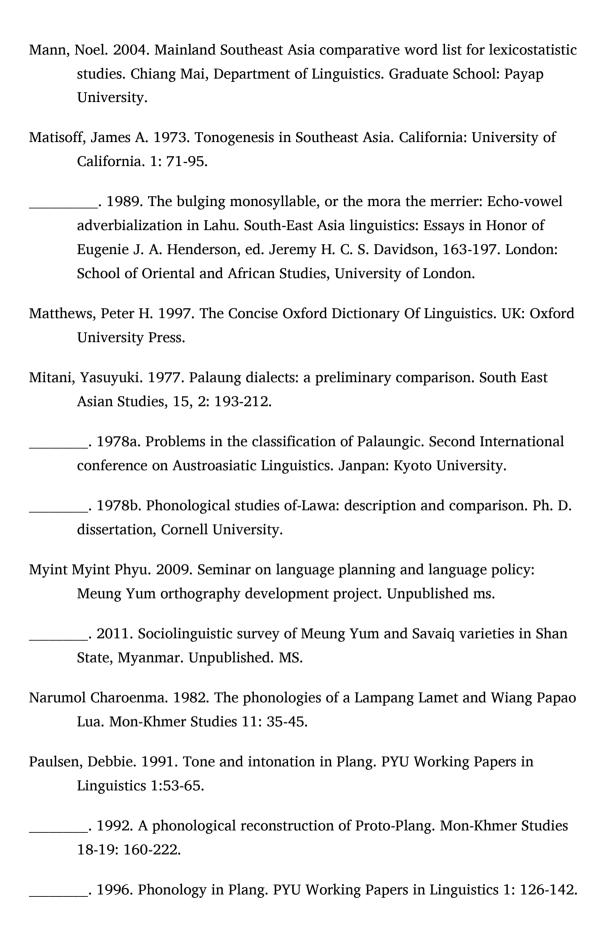
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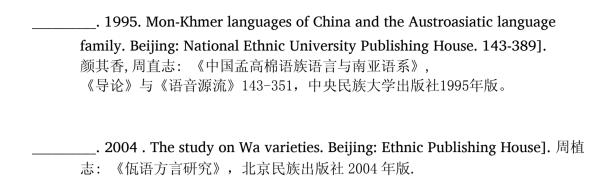
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APPENDIX A 1,628 WORD LIST

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|----|----------------------|------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | sky | | la.jak | la.jak | la.jak | la.jak |
| 2 | sun | | sa.ni? | sa.ni? | sa.ni? | sa.ni? |
| 3 | moon | | c ^h i? | c ^h i? | c ^h i? | c ^h i? |
| 4 | star | | sim.?un | sim.?un | sim.?uɲ | sim.?uɲ |
| 5 | cloud (rain) | | ?om | ?om | ?om | ?om |
| 6 | mist/fog | mvt.mo* | myt.mo | myt.mo | myt.mo | myt.mo |
| 7 | rain | | le? | le? | lε? | 1ε? |
| 8 | rainbow | | la.jɔŋ | la.jɔŋ | la.jɔŋ | la.jɔŋ |
| 9 | lightning (flashing) | | prɔk.ple? | prɔk.ple? | prɔk.ple? | prok.ple? |
| 10 | thunder | | la.nun.la.ja | la.nun.la.ja | la.nun.la.ja | la.nun.la.ja |
| 11 | shadow/shade | | bụe | bụe | vui | pụe |
| 12 | wind | | kw | kw | kw | kw |
| 13 | night | | p ^h an.p ^h o |
| 14 | day | | pʰan.sa.ɲi? | pʰan.sa.ɲi? | pʰan.sa.ɲiʔ | pʰan.sa.ɲiʔ |
| 15 | morning | | kam.sa? | no data | kam.sa? | ka.səm.sa? |
| 16 | noon | | p ^h an.sa? | cʰon.sa.ɲiʔ | cʰon.sa.ɲiʔ | pʰan.sa.ɲiʔ |
| 17 | yesterday | | kau? | kau? | kau? | kau? |
| 18 | tomorrow | | p ^h an.sa? | p ^h a.sa? | p ^h a.sak | p ^h a.sak |
| 19 | year | | num | num | num | num |
| 20 | east | | kra?.t ^h ut.sa.ɲi | kra?.t ^h ut.sa.ɲi | kra?.tʰut.sa.ɲi | kra?.tʰut.sa.ɲi |
| 21 | west | | kra?.lek.sa.ɲi | no data | kra?.lek.sa.ni | kra?.lek.sa.ni |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|----|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 22 | water | | rom | rom | rom | rom |
| 23 | to be hot (water) | | hak | hak | hak | hak |
| 24 | to be hot (person) | | lau | lau | lau | lau |
| 25 | to be warm (water) | | sa.?u | sa.?u | sa.?u | sa.?u |
| 26 | to be cold (person) | | k ^h uŋ | k ^h uŋ | k ^h uŋ | rom.k ^h uŋ |
| 27 | to be cool (water) | | rom.k ^h uŋ | rom.khuŋ | rom.k ^h uŋ | rom.k ^h uŋ |
| 28 | stream | | ŋɔt.rom | ŋɔt.rom | ŋɔt.rom | rom.ŋɔt |
| 29 | river | | rom.t ^h iŋ | sa.kʰrɔŋ | rom.t ^h iŋ | sa.kʰrɔŋ |
| 30 | sea | | paŋ.lai | nam.paŋ.lai | rom.paŋ.lai | nam.paŋ.lai |
| 31 | soil (earth) | | hak.tɛ | hak.tɛ | hak.tɛ | hak.tɛ |
| 32 | mud | | ?uŋ | ?uŋ | ?uŋ | ?uŋ |
| 33 | dust | | la.kau | la.kau | la.kau | la.kau |
| 34 | stone | | sa.mo? | sa.mo? | sa.mo? | sa.mo? |
| 35 | sand | | mac | mac | mac | mac |
| 36 | lime (for betel chew) | | t ^h un | t ^h un | t ^h un | t ^h un |
| 37 | gold | | k ^h ri | k ^h ri | k ^h ri | k ^h ri |
| 38 | silver | | m _Y .prim | mγ | mγ | mγ |
| 39 | iron | | riam | riam | riam | riam |
| 40 | mountain | | mɔ? | mɔ? | mɔ? | mɔ? |
| 41 | cave (natural) | | tau?.raŋ | tau?.raŋ | tau?.raŋ | tau?.raŋ |
| 42 | jungle/forest | | lyk | lyk | lyk | lyk |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 43 | tree | | num.kʰau? | num.kʰau? | num.kʰau? | num.kʰau? |
| 44 | branch (tree) | | kak.k ^h au? | kak.k ^h au? | kak.k ^h au? | kak.k ^h au? |
| 45 | tree bark | | ŋɔ.kʰauʔ | lo?.kʰau? | lo?.kʰau? | lo?.kʰau? |
| 46 | thorn | | k ^h om | k ^h om | k ^h om | k ^h om |
| 47 | root (tree) | | ria.kʰau? | ria.kʰau? | ria.kʰau? | ria.kʰau? |
| 48 | leaf (tree) | | la?.kʰau? | la?.kʰau? | la?.kʰau? | la?.kʰau? |
| 49 | flower | | mak.na | так.па | так.па | так.па |
| 50 | fruit (tree) | | pli?.kʰau? | pli?.kʰau? | pli?.kʰau? | pli?.kʰau? |
| 51 | seed (tree) | | sa.mah | sa.ma | sa.ma | sa.ma |
| 52 | grass (field/jungle) | | rip | rip | rip | rip |
| 53 | bamboo plant (large) | | num.?o? | num.?o? | num.?o? | num.?o? |
| 54 | bamboo shoot (edible) | | p ^h oŋ | p ^h oŋ | p ^h oŋ | p ^h oŋ |
| 55 | mushroom | | dih | dih | tih | tih |
| 56 | cane/rattan | | vại | vai | vại | vại |
| 57 | kapok | | klə | klə | klə | klə |
| 58 | sugarcane | | mre? | mre? | mre? | mre? |
| 59 | betel nut | | no data | tɔi | təi | toi |
| 60 | opium | p ^h in* | p ^h in | p ^h in | p ^h in | p ^h in |
| 61 | liquor | | plai | plai | plai | plai |
| 62 | banana (fruit) | | mại | mại | mại | mai |
| 63 | mango (fruit) | mak.moŋ* | mak.moŋ | mak.moŋ | mak.moŋ | mak.moŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|----|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 64 | eggplant (fruit) | mak.k ^h γ* | mak.k⁴γ | mak.k ^h Y | mak.k⁴γ | mak.k ^h Y |
| 65 | soy bean | tho.nau* | t ^h o.nau | t ^h o.nau | mak.sa.?uai | t ^h o.nau |
| 66 | ginger | | sa.ciŋ | sa.ciŋ | sa.ciŋ | sa.ciŋ |
| 67 | garlic | | mi.la.hɔ | mi.la.hɔ | mi.la.hɔ | mi.la.hɔ |
| 68 | corn | | kʰɤ.klue | sa.klue | sa.klue | sa.klue |
| 69 | red pepper | mak.p ^h it* | mak.p ^h it.sa.krak | mak.p ^h it.sa.krak | mak.p ^h it | mak.p ^h it |
| 70 | dry (burned) field | | pre?.ma | pre?.ma | ma | ma |
| 71 | wet rice field | na* | t ^h uŋ.na | na | na | na |
| 72 | paddy rice | | ກູດ? | ŋo? | ŋo? | ŋo? |
| 73 | rice seedling | ka* | prac.sa.ma | ka | ka | ka |
| 74 | to be ripe | | t ^h wm | t ^h wm | t ^h wm | t ^h wm |
| 75 | pounded rice | | la.kau? | la.kau? | la.kau? | la.kau? |
| 76 | cooked rice | | ?xp | ?үр | ? x p | ?үр |
| 77 | to winnow (rice) | | laŋ.ŋo? | tʰiai.ŋo̯ʔ | laŋ.ŋġ? | tʰiai.ŋo̯ʔ |
| 78 | to dry (rice) | | hok.ŋo? | hok.ŋo? | hok.ŋo? | hok.ŋo? |
| 79 | to pound (rice) | | da.ŋo? | da.ŋo? | ta.ŋo? | ta.ŋo? |
| 80 | to grind | | kʰwt.ŋoʔ | lui | k ^h wt | kʰwt.ŋoʔ |
| 81 | to cook (rice) | | kụe | rəŋ | rɔŋ | rəŋ |
| 82 | to boil (rice) | | krym.la.luk | tuŋ | tuŋ | tuŋ |
| 83 | rice husk (powder) | kam* | kam | kam | kam | kam |
| 84 | salt | | c ^h ih | c ^h ih | c ^h ih | c ^h ih |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|--------------------|------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 85 | animal (tame/wild) | sat* | sat | sat | sat | sat |
| 86 | tiger | | la.vai | la.vai | la.vai | la.vai |
| 87 | pangolin | | sa.p ^h o? | sa.pho? | p ^h o? | sa.p ^h o? |
| 88 | bear | | krih | krih | krih | krih |
| 89 | barking deer | | bue | bue | pue | pue |
| 90 | monkey | | ro | ro | ro | ro |
| 91 | gibbon | | la.joh | lo.lom | liŋ.lom | liŋ.lom |
| 92 | rabbit | | paŋ.tʰai | paŋ.tʰai | paŋ.tʰai | paŋ.tʰai |
| 93 | porcupine | | kụe | kụe | kụe | kụe |
| 94 | rat | | k ^h aŋ | k ^h aŋ | k ^h aŋ | k ^h aŋ |
| 95 | dog | | ?ic? | ?ic? | so? | ?ic? |
| 96 | to bark | | ro | ro | ro | ro |
| 97 | to bite | | c ^h ɛt | c ^h ɛt | c ^h ɛt | c ^h ɛt |
| 98 | cat | miau* | miau | miau | miau | miau |
| 99 | pig | | lik | lik | lik | lik |
| 100 | cow | | mɔi | mɔi | mɔi | mɔi |
| 101 | milk (cow) | | dxi | dxi | txi | txi |
| 102 | buffalo | | krak | krak | krak | krak |
| 103 | horn (of buffalo) | | ruŋ | ruŋ | ruŋ | ruŋ |
| 104 | tail | | sa.ta? | sa.ta? | sa.ta? | sa.ta? |
| 105 | elephant | saŋ* | saŋ | saŋ | saŋ | saŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|----------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 106 | elephant tusk | ŋa* | ŋa.saŋ | ŋa | ŋa.saŋ | ŋa.saŋ |
| 107 | bird | | sim | sim | sim | sim |
| 108 | pigeon | | tuk.du | tuk.du | ŋɔk.tu | no data |
| 109 | bird's nest | | k ^h ryk.sim | k ^h ryk.sim | k ^h ryk.sim | k ^h ryk.sim |
| 110 | wing | bri?* | bri? | bri? | pri? | pri? |
| 111 | feather (body hair) | | hak | hak | hak | hak |
| 112 | to fly | | plu | plu | plu | plu |
| 113 | egg | | tom | dhom | tom | tom |
| 114 | chicken | | ?ia | ?ia | ?ia | ?ia |
| 115 | crest (of chicken or bird) | | la.kʰue | la.kʰue | la.kʰue | la.kʰue |
| 116 | fish | | ka? | ka? | ka? | ka? |
| 117 | snake | | sa.?uɲ | sa.?uɲ | sa.ʔuɲ | sa.?uɲ |
| 118 | poison from snake | | la.nai | la.nai | la.nai | no data |
| | (venom) | | | | | |
| 119 | house lizard | | cy.ryn | cy.ryn | cau.ryn | sa.rvn |
| 120 | turtle | | ti.jvŋ | ti.jvŋ | tau.jɤŋ | tau.jɤŋ |
| 121 | crocodile | | k ^h rx? | no data | no data | k ^h re |
| 122 | otter | mon* | mon | mon | mon | mon |
| 123 | frog | | c ^h at | c ^h at | c ^h at | sa.pon |
| 124 | insect | | no data | k ^h əŋ | rɔi | k ^h ɔŋ |
| 125 | spider | kʰɔŋ.kau* | kʰɔŋ.koŋ | kʰวŋ.kau | kʰɔŋ.koŋ | kʰɔŋ.koŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 126 | spider web | na.kʰuŋ.kau* | րa.kʰuŋ.kau | րa.kʰuŋ.kau | րа.kʰuŋ.kau | na.kʰuŋ.kau |
| 127 | louse (head) | | si? | si? | si? | si? |
| 128 | termite | | ŋrɯɲ | ŋrɯɲ | ŋrɯɲ | ŋrɯɲ |
| 129 | ant | mwc* | mwc | mwc | mwc | mwc |
| 130 | cockroach | pai.pu* | pai.pu | lai.l _Y | pai.pu | pai.pu |
| 131 | snail | hɔi* | hoi | hoi | hoi | hoi |
| 132 | mosquito | | prvŋ | prvŋ | prvŋ | prvŋ |
| 133 | bee | | hia | hia | hia | hia |
| 134 | fly | | roi | roi | roi | roi |
| 135 | butterfly | | pʰɔŋ.pʰɛt | pʰɔŋ.pʰɛt | pʰɔŋ.pʰɛt | pʰɔŋ.pʰɛt |
| 136 | scorpion | meŋ* | mɛŋ.ca.raŋ | mɛŋ.ca.raŋ | mɛŋ.ca.raŋ | mεŋ.ca.raŋ |
| 137 | water leech | | le? | le? | le? | le? |
| 138 | land leech | | plom | plom | plom | plom |
| 139 | earthworm | | kʰວŋ.ŋວ | kʰວŋ.ŋວ | kʰວŋ.ŋວ | kʰວŋ.ŋວ |
| 140 | head | | p ^h aŋ.cen | p ^h aŋ.cen | p ^h aŋ.cen | p ^h aŋ.cen |
| 141 | face | | raŋ | raŋ | raŋ | raŋ |
| 142 | brain | | toŋ | toŋ | toŋ | toŋ |
| 143 | hair (head) | | hak.ceŋ | hak.ceŋ | hak.ceŋ | hak.ceŋ |
| 144 | body hair | | hak.du | hak.hia? | hak.tu | no data |
| 145 | forehead | | сеŋ.ŋаі | сеŋ.ŋаі | сеŋ.ŋаі | сел.ŋаі |
| 146 | eyebrow | | hak.ŋai.vaŋ | hak.ŋai.vaŋ | hak.ŋai.vaŋ | hak.ŋai.vaŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 147 | eye | | ta.ŋai | ta.ŋai | ta.ŋai | ta.ŋai |
| 148 | eyelid | | lo?.ŋai | lo?.ŋai | lo?.ŋai | lo?.ŋai |
| 149 | nose | | ta.mwi | ta.mwi | ta.mwi | ta.mwi |
| 150 | cheek | | na | na | na | na |
| 151 | ear | | ta.ja? | ta.ja? | ta.ja? | ta.ja? |
| 152 | mouth | | ta.tot | ta.tot | ta.tot | ta.tot |
| 153 | tongue | | tak | tak | tak | tak |
| 154 | spit (noun) | | mia | mia | mia | mia |
| 155 | tooth | | raŋ | raŋ | raŋ | ran |
| 156 | gums | | nih | nih | nih | nih |
| 157 | chin | | kap | kap | kap | kap |
| 158 | beard | not* | not | not | not | not |
| 159 | to shave (beard) | | k ^h rak | k ^h rak | k ^h rak | k ^h rak |
| 160 | neck | | ŋɔk | ŋɔk | ŋɔk | ŋɔk |
| 161 | shoulder | | mak.ma | mak.ma | mak.ma | mak.ma |
| 162 | back | | saŋ.krɔŋ | saŋ.krɔŋ | saŋ.krɔŋ | saŋ.krɔŋ |
| 163 | belly | | vet | vet | vet | vet |
| 164 | navel | | sa.li | sa.li | sa.li | sa.li |
| 165 | heart | | sa.rom | sa.rom | sa.rom | sa.rom |
| 166 | liver | | vat | tom | tom | tom |
| 167 | intestines | | sa.non | sa.non | sa.non | sa.non |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------------|------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 168 | arm | | de? | de? | te? | te? |
| 169 | elbow | sɔk* | sək | sək | sək | sək |
| 170 | armpit | | klec | klec | klec | klec |
| 171 | palm | | t ^h ak.te? | dok.thak.te? | thak.te? | thak.te? |
| 172 | finger | | cen.te? | kən.cen | cɛn.te? | kən.cen.te? |
| 173 | fingernail | | mim | mim | mim | mim |
| 174 | leg | | c ^h Yŋ | c ^h Yŋ | c ^h Yŋ | saŋ.ŋoŋ |
| 175 | thigh | | saŋ.vaŋ | saŋ.vaŋ | saŋ.vaŋ | saŋ.vaŋ |
| 176 | knee | | mw.saŋ.rwŋ | mw.saŋ.rwŋ | mw.saŋ.rwŋ | mw.saŋ.rwŋ |
| 177 | calf | | pli?.sa.ŋɔŋ | pli?.sa.ŋɔŋ | pli?.sa.ŋɔŋ | pli?.sa.ŋɔŋ |
| 178 | shin | na.cʰɛŋ* | na.cʰɛŋ | na.c ^h ɛŋ | na.cʰɛŋ | na.cʰɛŋ |
| 179 | heel | | lue? | lue? | lue? | lue? |
| 180 | bone | | sa.?aŋ | sa.?aŋ | sa.?aŋ | sa.?aŋ |
| 181 | joint | | la.soŋ | la.soŋ | sa ŋaʔ cʰu pʰɔʔ | no data |
| 182 | marrow | | lon | lən | lon | lon |
| 183 | rib | | saŋ.prak | saŋ.prak | saŋ.prak | sa.?aŋ.prak |
| 184 | meat/flesh (edible) | | nec | пєс | пес | пєс |
| 185 | fat/grease | | lue | lụe | lụe | lue |
| 186 | skin | | lo? | lo? | lo? | lo? |
| 187 | blood | | nam | nam | nam | nam |
| 188 | sweat | | la.la | la.la | la.la | la.la |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|------------------------|------------|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 189 | pus | | lum | lum | lum | lum |
| 190 | excrement | | ?eŋ | ?еŋ | ?еŋ | ?еŋ |
| 191 | urine | | nwm | nwm | nụm | nwm |
| 192 | man | | la.me? | la.mɛ? | la.me? | la.mɛ? |
| 193 | woman | | la.pun | la.pun | la.pun | la.pun |
| 194 | person | | ?ɛ.pʰi | ?ε.p ^h i | ?ɛ.pʰi | ?ɛ.pʰi |
| 195 | father | | kyn | kyn | kyn | kyn |
| 196 | mother | | ma? | ma? | ma? | ma? |
| 197 | to be old (person) | | k ^h uat | k ^h uat | k ^h uat | k ^h uat |
| 198 | child (young person) | | kən | kən | kən | kən |
| 199 | son (one as own male | | kən.la.mɛk | kən.la.mɛk | kən.la.mɛk | no data |
| | child) | | | | | |
| 200 | son-in-law | | ?et | ?et | ?et | kən.k ^h re |
| 201 | husband | | la.mɛʔ.ʔon | la.mɛ? | la.mɛʔ.ʔon | la.mɛ? |
| 202 | wife | pʰγ.ɲa?* | p ^h ʏ. ɲa? | p ^հ ɤ.ɲaʔ | p ^h ɤ.ɲaʔ | pʰɤ.ɲaʔ |
| 203* | widow | ma?.mai* | ma?.mai | ma?.mai | ma?.mai | ma?.mai |
| 204 | brother (elder of f) | | ?ɔk | ?ɔk | ?ɔk | ?ɔk |
| 205 | brother (elder of m) | | pau? | pau? | pau? | pau? |
| 206 | sister (elder of f) | | ?ɔk | ?ɔk | ?ɔk | ?ɔk |
| 207 | sister (elder of m) | | ?ɔk | ?ɔk | ?ɔk | ?ɔk |
| 208 | brother (younger of f) | ?au* | ?au | ?au | ?au | ?au |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 209 | brother (younger of m) | | pau? | pau? | pau? | pau? |
| 210 | sister (younger of f) | ?a* | ?a | ?a | ?a | ?a |
| 211 | sister (younger of m) | | ma? | ma? | ma? | ma? |
| 212 | friend | | p ^h ak.k ^h ɔ | k ^h ɔ | p ^h ak.k ^h ɔ | p ^h ak.k ^h ɔ |
| 213 | name | chu* | c ^h w | c ^h ui | c ^h w | c ^h ui |
| 214 | village | | jaŋ | jaŋ | jaŋ | jaŋ |
| 215 | road/path | | kra? | kra? | kra? | kra? |
| 216 | boat | rv* | ry | ry | rv | ry |
| 217 | house | | ла? | ла? | ла? | ла? |
| 218 | door | | la.va? | la.va? | la.va? | la.va? |
| 219 | roof | | pi.tʰop.ɲaʔ | lop.sa.p ^h o | pi.t ^h op.ɲa? | pi.tʰop.ɲaʔ |
| 220 | area under house | | krwm.na? | krwm.na? | krwm.na? | krum.na? |
| 221 | wall of house | | din | dịŋ | t <u>i</u> ŋ | t <u>i</u> ŋ |
| 222 | sleeping area | | naŋ.?it | taŋ.?it | naŋ.?it | naŋ.?it |
| 223 | mat | | лri | лri | лri | лri |
| 224 | pillow | mɔn* | mon | mən | mon | mon |
| 225 | blanket | | p ^h a.coŋ | p ^h a.coŋ | p ^h a.coŋ | p ^h a.coŋ |
| 226 | clothing | | k ^h r v ŋ | k ^h rvŋ | k ^h rvŋ | k ^h r v ŋ |
| 227 | to weave (cloth) | | tan | tan | tan | tan |
| 228 | to dye (cloth) | | k ^h am | c ^h uk | c ^h uk | c ^h uk |
| 229 | sarong (male) | sin.toŋ* | sin.toŋ | loŋ.ci | sin.toŋ | sin.toŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 230 | sarong (female) | | tai | tai | tai | tai |
| 231 | trousers | | k ^h ra? | k ^h ra? | k ^h ra? | k ^h ra? |
| 232 | to sew | | c ^h en | c ^h en | c ^h en | c ^h en |
| 233 | needle | | ле? | ле? | ле? | ле? |
| 234 | comb | | sa.kah | sa.kah | sa.kah | sa.kah |
| 235 | ring | | la.cop | la.cop | la.cəp | la.cop |
| 236 | pot (cooking) | | ?၁ | ?ɔ | ?ɔ | ?ɔ |
| 237 | mortar (for peppers) | | сэ? | сэ? | сэ? | сэ? |
| 238 | pestle (for peppers) | | ŋri? | ŋri? | ŋri? | ŋri? |
| 239 | spoon | cho* | c ^h o | c ^h ə | c ^h o | c ^h o |
| 240 | plate | p ^h an* | p ^h an | p ^h an | p ^h an | p ^h an |
| 241 | firewood | | c ^h i? | c ^h i? | c ^h i? | c ^h i? |
| 242 | fire | | ŋo | ŋo | ŋo | по |
| 243 | to burn something | | sau.ŋo | kʰwit.ŋo | sau.ŋo | sau.ŋo |
| 244 | to extinguish (fire) | | j¥t.ŋo | j _Y t.ŋo | jyt.ŋo | jrt.ŋo |
| 245 | ashes | | ло? | ло? | ло? | ло? |
| 246 | smoke | | mvt.ŋo | mrt.ŋo | mʏt.ŋo | myt.ŋo |
| 247 | drum (musical | kɔŋ* | kəŋ | kəŋ | kəŋ | kəŋ |
| | instrument) | | | | | |
| 248 | gong | | klue | klue | klue | klue |
| 249 | bow | | ?ak | ?ak | ?ak | ?ak |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------------------|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 250 | crossbow | | mak | ?ak.tʰɛŋ | ?ak.tʰɛŋ | ?ak |
| 251 | arrow | | ?ak.tʰɛŋ | t ^h ε | $t^{h}\epsilon$ | t ^h ε |
| 252 | spear | | p ^h iai | p ^h iai | p ^h iai | p ^h iai |
| 253 | knife/blade | | vac | vac | vac | vac |
| 254 | to hear | | möù | mön | mön | mön |
| 255 | to listen | | _{ກεt} | _{ກεt} | _ກ εt | _{ກεt} |
| 256 | to be smelly | | sa.?ue | sa.?ue | sa.?ue | sa.?ue |
| 257 | to smell (sniff) | | moŋ.sa.?ue | moŋ.sa.?ue | hwt | moŋ.sa.?ue |
| 258 | to see | | jo? | jo? | jo? | jo? |
| 259 | to look at | | tɔ? | tɔ? | tɔ? | to? |
| 260 | to weep | | jam | jam | jam | jam |
| 261 | to eat | | ?ih | ?ih | ?ih | ?ih |
| 262 | to swallow | | mlwt | mlut | mlwt | mlwt |
| 263 | to be hungry | | kla.vet | kla.vet | kla.vet | kla.vet |
| 264 | to be full (after eating) | | sak | sak | sak | sak |
| 265 | to be thirsty | | kla.vet.rom | kla.vet.rom | kla.vet.rom | kla.vet.rom |
| 266 | to drink | | JIY? | JIY? | nr? | лү? |
| 267 | to be drunk (alcohol) | | mau | mau.n _Y .plai | mau.nɣ.plai | mau.ny.plai |
| 268 | to vomit | | hau | hau | hau | hau.vo.l _Y |
| 269 | to spit | | p ^h et.mia | p ^h et | p ^h et | p ^h et.mia |
| 270 | to cough | | mak | mak | mak | mak |

 $k^{h}ac$

 k^hac

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

Pang Wan

 $k^{h}ac$

Loan Words

Pan Tang

 $k^{h}ac$

English Gloss

to be ashamed

291

to sneeze

No

271

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 292 | to wait | | ko? | ko? | ko? | no data |
| 293 | to count | | k ^h lap | k ^h lap | k ^h lap | k ^h lap |
| 294 | to be afraid | | lat.?a.na | lat | lat.?a.na | lat.?a.na |
| 295 | to be angry | | jɔk.sa.rom | jɔk.sa.ro̯m | jɔk.sa.ro̯m | jɔk.sa.ro̯m |
| 296 | to sleep | | ?it | ?it | ?it | ?it |
| 297 | to snore | | ŋrɔk | ŋrɔk | ŋrɔk | ŋrɔk |
| 298 | to dream | | la.mo? | la.mo? | la.mo? | la.mo? |
| 299 | to get up (from bed) | | kʰau.kɤn.ʔit | kau | kʰau.kɤn.taŋ | no data |
| 300 | to be hurt (after hitting | | sau? | sau? | sau? | sau? |
| | finger with hammer) | | | | | |
| 301 | medicine | | la.bai | la.pai | la.pai | la.pai |
| 302 | to be itchy | | ŋа? | ŋа? | ŋа? | ŋа? |
| 303 | to scratch oneself | | prac | prac | prac | prac |
| 304 | to shiver | | la.k ^h o | la.k ^h o | la.k ^h o | la.k ^h o |
| 305 | to die | | jum | jum | jum | jum |
| 306 | ghost | | sa.cia? | sa.cia? | sa.cia? | sa.cia? |
| 307 | to sit (remain) | | ŋɔm | ŋɔm | ŋɔm | ŋɔm |
| 308 | to stand (remain) | | c ^h oŋ | c ^h oŋ | choŋ | c ^h oŋ |
| 309 | to kneel | k ^h up.k ^h rau* | k ^h up.k ^h rau | cʰiʔ.ma.sa.ŋrɤŋ | c ^h i? | k ^h up.k ^h rau |
| 310 | to walk | | hu.kra? | choŋ²³kraʔ²¹ | hu.kra? | hu ⁴² kra? ³¹ |
| 311 | to crawl on belly (like a | | mọ | mọ | mọ | mọ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | snake) | | | | | |
| 312 | to go | | hu | hu | hu | hu |
| 313 | to come | | ?iŋ | ?iŋ | ?iŋ | ?iŋ |
| 314 | to return | | mɛ.ka.cʰe? | mɛ.ʔiɲ | mɛ.ʔiɲ | ?iŋ.kəp |
| 315 | to run | | dwn | dwn | twn | twn |
| 316 | to ascend | | ha? | ha? | ha? | ha? |
| 317 | to descend | | lih | lih | lih | lih |
| 318 | to enter (house) | | let | let | let | let |
| 319 | to go out / exit (house) | | lih | lih | lih | no data |
| 320 | to push | cot* | cot | cot | cot | cot |
| 321 | to pull | twt* | twt | twt | twt | twt |
| 322 | to kick | | t ^h iat | t ^h iat | t ^h iat | t ^h iat |
| 323 | to throw | | la.vxn | la.vyn | la.vyn | la.vyn |
| 324 | to fall (from a height) | | krec | krec | krec | krec |
| 325 | to swim | | lue.rom | lue.rom | lue.rom | lue |
| 326 | to float | p ^h u* | p ^h u | p ^h u | p ^h u | p ^h u |
| 327 | to submerge something | | com | com | com | com |
| 328 | to flow (river) | | la.mam | lue.rom | la.mam | la.mam |
| 329 | to give | | k ^h a | k ^h a | k ^h a | k ^h a |
| 330 | to tie (something) | mat* | mat | mat | mat | mat |
| 331 | to wipe | | ?ot | ?ət | ?ət | ?ət |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 332 | to rub/scrub | | dạ | tạ | tạ | tạ |
| 333 | to wash (hands) | | k ^h oc | khoc | khoc | k ^h oc |
| 334 | to wash (clothes) | | t ^h wt | t ^h wt | t ^h wt | t ^h wt |
| 335 | to bathe | | hơm | k ^h oc | hym | hym |
| 336 | to hit/beat (with force) | | t ^h iai | t ^h iai | t ^h iai | t ^h iai |
| 337 | to split | | t ^h o | lo | t ^h o | t ^h o |
| 338 | to slice/saw | soi* | soi | soi | soi | soi |
| 339 | to cut (hair) | | cip | cip | cip | cip |
| 340 | to stab | | suat | suat | suat | suat |
| 341 | to plant | | sum | sum | sum | sum |
| 342 | to dig (with a tool) | | kaŋ | kaŋ | kaŋ | kaŋ |
| 343 | to bury (a corpse) | paŋ* | la.paŋ | la.paŋ | la.paŋ | la.paŋ |
| 344 | to work | kan* | juh.kan | juh.kan | juh.kan | juh |
| 345 | to play | | ra? | ra? | ra? | ra? |
| 346 | to dance | | ka | ka | ka | ka |
| 347 | to shoot (gun) | pun* | pun | pun | pun | pun |
| 348 | to hunt | | kua | kua | kua | kua |
| 349 | to kill | | plau? | plau? | plau? | plau? |
| 350 | to fight (hand-to-hand) | | p ^h ip.p ^h o? | t ^h uk | phip.pho? | phip.pho? |
| 351 | to buy | | la.vɛ | la.vɛ | la.vɛ | la.vɛ |
| 352 | to sell | | c ^h ue | c ^h ue | c ^h ue | c ^h ue |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 373 | to be few (people) | | ?iat | ?iat | ?iat | ?iat |
| 374 | half (quantity) | | t v. p ^h ak | tx.p ^h ak | ty.phak | ty.p ^h ak |
| 375 | to be big | | t ^h in | t ^h in | t ^h in | t ^h in |
| 376 | to be small | ?ɛt*, ɲɛt* | лос | ?et | лос | _{ກεt} |
| 377 | to be long | | laŋ | laŋ | laŋ | laŋ |
| 378 | to be short (length) | bɔt* | bət | bot | pɔt | pɔt |
| 379 | to be tall | | laŋ | laŋ | laŋ | laŋ |
| 380 | to be short (height) | | t ^h iam | t ^h iam | t ^h iam | t ^h iam |
| 381 | to be thick (thing) | | p ^h u | p ^h u | p ^h u | p ^h u |
| 382 | to be thin (thing) | | ri | r <u>i</u> | r <u>i</u> | r <u>i</u> |
| 383 | to be fat (person) | | klun | klun | klun | klun |
| 384 | to be skinny (person) | jɔ̞m* | jọm | jạm | jạm | jọm |
| 385 | to be wide/broad | | vah | vah | vah | vua |
| 386 | to be narrow | | la.hɔ? | la.hɔ? | la.hɔ? | la.hɔ? |
| 387 | to be deep | | rau? | rau? | rau? | rau? |
| 388 | to be shallow | | t ^h o | ?a.rau? | c ^h t | c^{h} |
| 389 | to be round | mon* | mon | mon | mon | lop |
| 390 | to be full (container) | | пър | nyp | пър | пұр |
| 391 | right side | | ka.doŋ | ka.doŋ | ka.tom | ka.toŋ |
| 392 | left side | | ka.ɲɛʔ | ка.ɲɛʔ | ka.ɲɛʔ | ka.ɲɛʔ |
| 393 | to be straight (road) | | rx | rx | rv | rx |

Namt Yoke

sa.ŋai

soŋ

pre?

Loi Yang

sa.ŋai

soŋ

pre?

Pang Wan

sa.ŋai

soŋ

pre?

Pan Tang

sa.ŋai

soŋ

pre?

English Gloss

to be bitter

to be spicy

411

412

to be far (village many

No 394 Loan Words

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 413 | to be rotten | | sa.?um | sa.?um | sa.?um | sa.?um |
| 414 | to be swollen | | ?uaih | ?uaih | ?uaih | ?uaih |
| 415 | to be dry (rice) | | kro | kro | kro | kro |
| 416 | to be wet (with water) | | lyn | lyn | lyn | lɣn |
| 417 | to be sharp | | lom | lom | lom | lom |
| 418 | to be blunt | | p ^h a | p ^h a | p ^h a | p ^h a |
| 419 | to be heavy | | c ^h an | c ^h an | c ^h an | c ^h an |
| 420 | to be light | | c ^h aŋ | c ^h aŋ | c ^h aŋ | c ^h aŋ |
| 421 | to be hard (rock) | | kua | kua | kua | kua |
| 422 | to be soft (cotton) | | pio | pio | pio | pio |
| 423 | to be smooth (road) | | _ກ u | лu | лu | mom |
| 424 | to be rough (road) | | jok | kat | jək | jɔk |
| 425 | to be fast | | p ^h ai | p ^h ai | p ^h ai | p ^h ai |
| 426 | to be slow | | nö | nö | nö | nö |
| 427 | to be strong | reŋ* | t ^h iɲ.rɛŋ | t ^h iɲ.rɛŋ | t ^h in.reŋ | t ^h ip.reŋ |
| 428 | to be weak | reŋ* | jet.reŋ | jet.reŋ | jet.reŋ | jet.reŋ |
| 429 | to be tired | | rv | ry | ry | ry |
| 430 | to be ill, sick | | sau? | sau? | sau? | no data |
| 431 | to be blind | | sa.cet | sa.cet | sa.cɛt.ta.ŋai | sa.cet |
| 432 | to be deaf | | lxt | lxt | lxt | lxt |

Namt Yoke

lym.ceŋ.ŋai

mom

?vn

ŋrai

thop

Loi Yang

mom

?vn

ŋrai

ηɔk

lvm.ceŋ.ŋai

Loan Words

Pang Wan

mom

?vn

ŋrai

ŋɔk

sa.ne.cen.nai

Pan Tang

mom

ηrai t^hop

lym.ceŋ.ŋai

English Gloss

to be bald

to be good

No

433

434

451

452

453

to be lost or disappear

to bend

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 454 | to lift | jyk* | jyk | jyk | jyk | j _r k |
| 455 | to do/make (something) | | juh | juh | juh | juh |
| 456 | don't do it | | p ^h iak.juh | c ^h ak.juh | p ^h iak.juh | pak.juh |
| 457 | to be difficult | лар* | лар | лар | лар | лар |
| 458 | to be easy | | ja | ja | ja | ja |
| 459 | to be loose | | mlo | mlo | mlo | mlo |
| 460 | to be tight | k ^h ap* | k ^h ap | k ^h ap | k ^h ap | no data |
| 461 | to set free, let go (animal) | ploi* | ploi | ploi | ploi | ploi |
| 462 | to squeeze | | sa.kiat | sa.kiat | sa.kiat | sa.kiat |
| 463 | body | | tu | du | tu | tu |
| 464 | eyelash | | hak.ŋai | hak.ŋai | hak.ŋai | hak.ŋai |
| 465 | lip | | lo?.tot | lo?.tot | lo?.tot | kap |
| 466 | molar tooth | | ran.som | ŋа | ran.khap | ran.so? |
| 467 | jaw | | sa.?aŋ.kap | sa.?aŋ.kap | sa.?aŋ.kap | sa.?aŋ.kap |
| 468 | throat | | ta.kraŋ | ta.kraŋ | ta.kraŋ | ta.kraŋ |
| 469 | voice box, larynx, Adam's apple | k ^h ɔk.hoi* | k ^h ək.hoi | k ^h ək.hoi | k ^h ɔk.hoi | no data |
| 470 | chest | | la.nak | la.nak | la.nak | la.nak |
| 471 | breast | | dxi | dxi | txi | txi |
| 472 | waist | | ກວi | noi | icn | noi |

Namt Yoke

sa.li

na.kən

puŋ.pu?

kən.k^haŋ

sa.nak

Loi Yang

sa.li

la.hym

no data

no data

sa.nak

Pang Wan

sa.li

la.hym

puŋ.pu?

kən.khan

sa.nak.nam

Pan Tang

sa.li

ta.na

pu?

ηai

kən.k^haŋ

English Gloss

umbilical cord

womb

bladder

muscle

tendon

491

492

493

Loan Words

No

473 474

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 494 | vein | | no data | sa.nak | no data | krəŋ |
| 495 | breath | | tuc.phom | tuc.phom | tuc.phom | tuc.phom |
| 496 | phlegm | | kʰlo | kʰlo | k ^h lo | k ^h lo |
| 497 | nasal mucus, snot | | ?eŋ.mɰi | ?eŋ.mu̞ɪi | ?eŋ.mu̞ɪi | ?eŋ.mw̯i |
| 498 | earwax | | ?eŋ.ja? | ?eŋ.ja? | ?eŋ.ja? | ?eŋ.ja? |
| 499 | tears (n) | | rom.ŋai | rom.ŋai | rom.ŋai | rom.ŋai |
| 500 | bile, gall | | c ^h in | c ^h in | c ^h in | c ^h in |
| 501 | blink | | jap.ŋai | jap.ta.ŋai | jap.ŋai | jap.ŋai |
| 502 | wink (eye) | | jap.ŋai.ta.pʰat | jap.ŋai.la.pʰat | jap.ŋai.la.pʰat | jap.ŋai.la.pʰat |
| 503 | blow nose | | hw.mwi | hw.mwi | hw.mwi | hw.mwi |
| 504 | pant | | tuc.phom.thiŋ | tuc.phom.thiŋ | tuc.phom.thiŋ | ла |
| 505 | belch | | ? % ? | ? x ? | ?~? | ?x? |
| 506 | hiccough (n) | sa.l _Y ?* | sa.l _Y ? | sa.l _Y ? | sa.l _Y ? | sa.l _Y ? |
| 507 | groan (with pain) | | ла | ла | ла | ла |
| 508 | grunt (from effort) | | no data | no data | jum | juin |
| 509 | perspire, sweat (v) | | lih.la.la | lih.la.la | lih.la.la | lih.la.la |
| 510 | bleed | | t ^h ut.nam | t ^h ut.nam | t ^h ut.nam | t ^h ut.nam |
| 511 | (be) dizzy | mau* | mau | mau | mau | mau |
| 512 | faint | | p ^h i.du | p ^h i.du | p ^h i.tu | ry |
| 513 | wake up (intr) | | soh | soh | soh | soh |
| 514 | notice (v) | | k ^h ɔn.to.rom | k ^h ɔn.to.rom | k ^h ɔn.to.rom | to.rom |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|--------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 515 | feel (passive) | | kyt.sa.rom | k ^h am | no data | k ^h am |
| 516 | taste | chim* | c ^h im | c ^h im | c ^h im | c ^h im |
| 517 | chew | | p ^h am | p ^h am | p ^h am | chet |
| 518 | choke | | kri?.ma.sɛ? | k ^h rok | krok | no data |
| 519 | lie down | | ກat.l <u>e</u> | lại | лаt | lại |
| 520 | turn round (intr) | | t ^h a | t ^h a | t ^h a | t ^h a |
| 521 | step (v) | | sa.t ^h aŋ | sa.t ^h aŋ | sa.t ^h aŋ | sa.t ^h aŋ |
| 522 | stumble | | sa.tr | sa.tr | sa.t _Y | sa.tr |
| 523 | limp | | kɔ.sa.kɛ | kɔ.sa.kɛ | krəc | kɔ.sa.kɛ |
| 524 | run | | twn | dwn | twn | twn |
| 525 | jump (v) | | sa.viat | sa.viat | sa.viat | sa.viat |
| 526 | stamp (with foot) | jan* | jan | jan | sa.t ^h un | jan |
| 527 | trample | | c ^h it | c ^h it | c ^h it | c ^h it |
| 528 | wave (hand as a greeting) (v) | | vuc.vai | vuc.vat | vuc.vat | vuc.vai |
| 529 | indicate, point (as with the finger) | chi* | c ^h i | c ^h i | c ^h i | c ^h i |
| 530 | clap (hands) | | dop.dε? | dop.de? | top.te? | top.te? |
| 531 | slap (v) | tap.na* | tap.na | tap.na | tap | top.na |
| 532 | straddle | | ŋom.kʰraŋ.kʰra | ŋom.kʰraŋ.kʰra | ŋom.kʰraŋ.kʰra | ŋom.kʰraŋ.kʰra |
| 533 | lean against (intr) | | t ^h ɔŋ | t ^h oŋ | t ^h oŋ | t ^h əŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|--------------------|--|--|--|
| 534 | bow (as in greeting) | | k ^h rup | k ^h rup | k ^h rup | k ^h rup |
| 535 | (be) seated | | ŋɔm | ŋɔm | ŋɔm | ŋɔm |
| 536 | squat | | ŋom.kom.jok.sa. | ŋom.kom.jok.sa. | ŋom.jok.com | ŋɔm.tek |
| | | | rom | rom | | |
| 537 | (be) sleepy | | ta.ŋai | ta.ŋai | sam.?it | ta.ŋai |
| 538 | rest | | lau? | lau? | lau? | lau? |
| 539 | (be) awake, alert | | soh | soh | soh | soh |
| 540 | wrinkle (on skin) | | vit | vit | vit | vit |
| 541 | pimple | | ma.duec | ma.tuec | ma.tuec | ma.tuec |
| 542 | hump (of hunchback) (B- | | nok | nok | saŋ.krɔŋ.nɔk | nok |
| | of animal) | | | | | |
| 543 | barren woman | | luec.sa.ma | luec.sa.ma | luec.sa.ma | luec.sa.ma |
| 544 | blind person | | sa.cɛt.ta.ŋai | sa.cɛt.ta.ŋai | sa.cɛt.ta.ŋai | sa.cɛt.ta.ŋai |
| 545 | deaf (mute) person | | ŋ ɔ? | ŋɔ? | lxt | ŋɔ? |
| 546 | cripple (n) | | pi.jɔk.pi.kʰrɔi | p ^h i.jɔk.p ^h i.k ^h rɔi | p ^h i.jɔk.p ^h i.k ^h rɔi | p ^h i.jɔk.p ^h i.k ^h rɔi |
| 547 | dwarf | | pi.tɛm.?iat | pi.tɛm.?iat | p ^h i.tɛk.tɛm | pi.tem.?iat |
| 548 | senile person | | kʰuat.ta.mɛ.ɲɔm | kʰuat.ta.mɛ.ɲɔm | kʰuat.ta.mɛ.ɲɔm | kʰuat.ta.mɛ.ɲɔm |
| 549 | mad person | | pi.jot | pi.jot | p ^h i.jot | p ^h i.jot |
| 550 | (be) healthy, (be) well | | mra? | mra? | mra? | mra? |
| 551 | (be) sick, (be) ill | | sau? | sau? | sau? | sau? |
| 552 | hurt oneself | | no data | no data | no data | no data |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 573 | diarrhea | | hu.vet | hu.vet | hu.vet | hu.vet |
| 574 | scabies (the itch) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 575 | life | | ?a.sak | ?a.sak | ?a.sak | ?a.sak |
| 576 | (be) alive | | ?im | ?im | ?im | ?im |
| 577 | menstrual period | | no data | no data | ?a.lih.lym | no data |
| 578 | (be) pregnant | | ле | ле | ле | ле |
| 579 | miscarriage | | lət | lət | lət | lət |
| 580 | labour (n), birth pains | | c ^h ɛt.vet | c ^h ɛt.vet | c ^h ɛt.vet | c ^h ɛt.vet |
| 581 | bear (child), give birth | | kvt.kon.nom | kyt.kon | lih.kən.nəm | kyt.kɔn.ɲɔm |
| 582 | (be) born | | kyt | kryt | kyt | kyt |
| 583 | (be) young | | ?iat | ?iat | ?iat | ?iat |
| 584 | grow up | | ro | ro | ro | ro |
| 585 | death | | jum | jum | jum | jum |
| 586 | (be) dead | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 587 | believe | | ງາມູເກ | ற்யள | num | ற்யள |
| 588 | hope (v) | | ŋai.lɛ̯ | ŋai | moŋ | ŋai |
| 589 | knowledge | | tok.sa.rom | tok.sa.rom | tok.sa.rom | no data |
| 590 | wisdom | pin.ja* | ?a.ɲan. pin.ja | ?a.ɲan.pin.ja | ?a.nan.pin.ja | ?a.nan.pin.ja |
| 591 | (be) wise | pin.ja* | kue.pin.ja | kue.pin.ja | kue.pin.ja | kue.pin.ja |
| 592 | (be) intelligent | | c ^h a | c ^h a | c ^h a | c ^h a |
| 593 | (be) stupid | | p ^h iaŋ | p ^h iaŋ | p ^h iaŋ | p ^h iaŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 594 | (be) confused | | suk.sak | pium.piaŋ | suk.sak | suk.sak |
| 595 | learn | ren* | ren | ren | ren | ren |
| 596 | teach | | sa.ŋau | sa.ŋau | sa.ŋau | sa.ŋau |
| 597 | show | | bia? | bia? | pia? | pia? |
| 598 | remember | | to.rom | to.rom | to.rom | to.rom |
| 599 | (be) happy, (be) joyful | | bịo | bịo | p <u>i</u> o | pio |
| 600 | rejoice | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 601 | (be) sad | | ?iat.sa.rom | ?iat.sa.rom | ?iat.sa.rom | la.mɛɲ |
| 602 | sorrow (n) | | la.mɛɲ | la.mɛɲ | la.mɛɲ | no data |
| 603 | shame (n) | | k ^h ac | k ^h ac | k ^h ac | k ^h ac |
| 604 | pity (n) | | li.ma | li.ma | li.ma | li.ma |
| 605 | fear (n) | | lat | lat | lat | lat |
| 606 | frighten | | ŋrʏŋ.lat | ŋrʏŋ.lat | ŋrɤŋ.lat | ŋrʏŋ.lat |
| 607 | startle, surprise | | kuaŋ | kuaŋ | kuaŋ | kuaŋ |
| 608 | (be) proud | | t ^h ue.sa.re | t ^h ue.sa.re | thue.sa.re | t ^h ue.sa.re |
| 609 | respect (v) | | re.mat | re.mat | re.mat | re.mat |
| 610 | honour (v) | | jyk.jɔ | j _Y k.j ₂ | j r k.jɔ | j _Y k.j ₂ |
| 611 | despise, disdain | | ?a.svm.p ^h on | ?a.svm.phon | ?ia.?a.t ^h aŋ | no data |
| 612 | disgusting | | mrai | mrai | mrai | mrai |
| 613 | want, desire (v) | | sam.p ^h on | sam.phon | sam.phon | sam.p ^h on |
| 614 | decide | | ?vh.hoc | ?yh.hoc | krɛ.sa.rom | hai.hoc |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-----------------------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| 615 | hesitate | | ta.riŋ.sa.rom | ta.riŋ.sa.rom | ta.riŋ.sa.rom | ta.riŋ.sa.rom |
| 616 | abstain | | sa.t ^h i | sa.t ^h i | k ^h am | sa.t ^h i |
| 617 | allow, permit | | kʰa.ʔa.kuaŋ | kʰa.ʔa.kuaŋ | kʰa.ʔa.kuaŋ | kʰa.ʔa.kuaŋ |
| 618 | forbid | | t ^h ap | t ^h ap | t ^h ap | t ^h ap |
| 619 | prevent | | la.ko | la.ko | la.ko | la.ko |
| 620 | plan (n) | | k ^h rwŋ | kra.kʰrɯŋ | k ^h ram | kra.kʰrɯŋ |
| 621 | try | | k ^h at.sa.rom | k ^h at.sa.rom | k ^h at.sa.rom | k ^h at.sa.rom |
| 622 | succeed | | ?၁ŋ.pʰɛ.lɤ | ?ວŋ | ?ວŋ | ?ວ໗.pʰi.lɤ |
| 623 | fail | | sum | sum | sum | sum |
| 624 | pretend | | liŋ.ma | liŋ.ma | lim.ma | ta.reŋ |
| 625 | (be) kind | | lim.ma.c ^h ip.p ^h om |
| 626 | (be) generous | | mε.ta | mɛ.ta | mom.sa.rom | mɛ.ta |
| 627 | (be) selfish | | sa.p ^h ip | sa.p ^h it | sa.p ^h it | no data |
| 628 | (be) honest | | rv.sa.rom | rv.sa.rom | ry.sa.rom | no data |
| 629 | (be) corrupt | | lɣ.ʔa.cʰaŋ | l _Y .?a.c ^h aŋ | lɣ.ʔa.cʰaŋ | lช.?a.cʰaŋ |
| 630 | (be) wicked | | ŋɔk.sa.rom | ŋɔk.sa.rom | ŋɔk.sa.rom | ŋɔk.sa.rom |
| 631 | (be) fierce | | tɔ.sa? | tɔ.sa? | thau tɔ.sa? | tɔ.sa? |
| 632 | (be) jealous | | kʰɔi.pʰi | kʰɔi.pʰi | kʰɔi.pʰi | kʰɔi.pʰi |
| 633 | (be) shy | | k ^h ac | k ^h ac | k ^h ac | k ^h ac |
| 634 | (be) courageous, (be) | | vau | vau | vau | vau |
| | brave | | | | | |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 635 | coward | | ?a.vau.sa.rom | ?a.vau.sa.rom | ?a.vau.sa.rom | ?a.vau.sa.rom |
| 636 | (be) curious | | k ^h om.pε? | k ^h om.pε? | no data | khom.pe? |
| 637 | (be) eager, (be) zealous | | pin.rom.pin.r <u>i</u> | pin.rom.pin.rih | pin.rom.pin.rih | thin.rom.thin.rih |
| 638 | (be) lazy | k ^h ran* | k ^h ran | k ^h ran | k ^h ran | k ^h ran |
| 639 | (be) patient | | laŋ.sa.rom | laŋ.sa.rom | laŋ.sa.rom | laŋ.sa.rom |
| 640 | (be) impatient | | pɔt.sa.rom | pot.sa.rom | pɔt.sa.rom | pɔt.sa.rom |
| 641 | (be) restless, (be) unsettled | | ?a.mom.sa.rom | ?a.mom.sa.rom | ?a.mom.sa.rom | ?a.mom.sa.rom |
| 642 | (be) stubborn | | kuaŋ.cen | kuaŋ.cen | kua.cen | kua.cen |
| 643 | reputation | | kue.sa.re | kue.sa.re | kue.sa.re | kue.sa.re |
| 644 | hardship, distress | | t ^h uk.k ^h a | t ^h uk.k ^h a | t ^h uk.k ^h a | t ^h uk.k ^h a |
| 645 | suffer | | kʰam.ta.ʔi | kʰam.ta.ʔi | k ^h am.sau? | no data |
| 646 | obstruct | | t ^h ap | t ^h ap | t ^h ap | t ^h ap |
| 647 | stumbling block, obstruction | | no data | no data | t ^h ap. | no data |
| 648 | danger | | mram.rom | mram.rom | p ^h ε.?an.ta.re | mram.rom |
| 649 | problem, trouble | | ?a.re | ?a.re | ?a.re | ?a.re |
| 650 | self | | cau.?au | cau.?au | cau.?au | cau.?au |
| 651 | white man | | pʰaɲ.nɛ | pʰaɲ.nε | ?iat.p ^h i.p ^h aɲ.nɛ | pʰaɲ.nɛ |
| 652 | fetus | | kən.ɲɛ | kən.ɲɛ | kən.ɲɛ | kən.ɲɛ |
| 653 | baby | | kən.nəm | kən.nəm | kən.nəm | kɔn.nɔm |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|--------------------------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| 654 | twin | | kən.prom | kən.prom | kən.prom | kyt.prom |
| 655 | boy | | kən.la.mɛ? | kən.la.mɛ? | kən.la.mɛ? | kən.la.mɛ? |
| 656 | girl | | kən.la.pun | kən.la.pun | kən.la.pun | kən.la.pun |
| 657 | adult | | p ^h i.t ^h in.p ^h i.k ^h uat | p ^h i.t ^h in.p ^h i.k ^h uat | p ^h i.t ^h in.p ^h i.k ^h uat | p ^h i.t ^h in.p ^h i.k ^h uat |
| 658 | young man | kən* | kɔn.ro | kən.ro | kən.ro | kən.ro |
| 659 | young woman | kən* | kən.sa.nau | kən.sa.nau | kən.sa.nau | kən.sa.nau |
| 660 | virgin | kən* | no data | no data | kən.sa.nau | no data |
| 661 | divorced man | mai* | ma.mai | ma.mai | ma.mai | ma.mai |
| 662 | divorced woman | mai* | kuın.mai | kwn.mai | kwn.mai | kwn.mai |
| 663 | old person | | p ^h i.k ^h uat |
| 664 | relative (by blood) | | sue.mio | sue.mio | pʰa.cʰɤ | sue.mio |
| 665 | ancestor | | ta?.lɛn.ja.lɛn | ta?.lɛn.ja.lɛn | ta?.lɛn.ja.lɛn | ta?.lɛn.ja.lɛn |
| 666 | grandparent | ta?.ja* | ta?.ja | ta?.ja | ta?.ja | ta?.ja |
| 667 | father's younger brother | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (uncle) | | | | | |
| 668 | father's older brother | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (uncle | | | | | |
| 669 | mother's younger brother | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (uncle) | | | | | |
| 670 | mother's older brother | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (uncle) | | | | | |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 671 | mother's younger sister | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (aunt) | | | | | |
| 672 | mother's older sister | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (aunt) | | | | | |
| 673 | father's younger sister | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (aunt) | | | | | |
| 674 | father's older sister | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | (aunt) | | | | | |
| 675 | cousin (from father's | | no data | no data | kən.p ^h ə?.kən.?ɛt | no data |
| | side) | | | | | |
| 676 | firstborn(male) | | kən.num | kən.num | kən.num | kən.num |
| 677 | descendant | | pan.mɔʔ.pan.ʔan | pan.mɔʔ.pan.ʔan | kən.sau?.kən.siau? | no data |
| 678 | son | | kɔn.la.mɛʔ | kɔn.la.mɛʔ | kən.la.mɛʔ | leŋ.cʰo.leŋ.pʰan |
| 679 | daughter | | kən.la.pun | kən.la.pun | kən.la.pun | kən.la.pun |
| 680 | grandchild | | kən.sau? | kən.sau? | kən.sau? | kən.sau? |
| 681 | nephew | | kɔn.pʰa | kən.pʰa | kən.pʰa.la.mɛʔ | kɔn.pʰa |
| 682 | niece | | kən.pʰa | kən.p ^h a | kɔn.pʰa.la.pun | kən.p ^h a |
| 683 | name | c ^h w* | c ^h w | c ^h ui | c ^h w | c ^h ui |
| 684 | in-law, relative by | | no data | no data | pʰaiʔ. cʰɯ.pʰaiʔ | no data |
| | marriage | | | | | |
| 685 | father-in-law (male) | | bau? | bau? | pau? | pau? |

cau

cau

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

Pang Wan

cau

Pan Tang

cau

English Gloss

(be) alone

743

Loan Words

No

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| 744 | abandon | | nah.ha.na | nah.ha.na | nah.ha.na | nah.ha.na |
| 745 | flee, run away from | | mra.la.dwn | mra.la.dwn | mra.la.twn | mra.la.twn |
| 746 | drive away | | hɔ.lih | hɔ.lih | hɔ.lih | hɔ.lih |
| 747 | avoid | | ŋrε | sa.t ^h i | rε | sa.t ^h i |
| 748 | imitate | | jrŋ | jrŋ | jyŋ | no data |
| 749 | admire | | t ^h iŋ.?a.t ^h aŋ | t ^h iŋ.?a.t ^h aŋ | t ^h iŋ.ʔa.t ^h aŋ | t ^h iŋ.ʔa.t ^h aŋ |
| 750 | language | | cʰuŋ.la.ka | cʰuŋ.la.ka | la.ka.?ɤ | t ^h uŋ.la.ka |
| 751 | word | | la.ka.la.mɔi | la.ka.la.mɔi | la.ka.la.mɔi | la.ka.mon |
| 752 | meaning (n) | | ka.to | ka.to | ka.to | ka.to |
| 753 | say | | ?γh | ?xh | ?γh | ?xh |
| 754 | scold | | cho? | cho? | cho? | cho? |
| 755 | voice | seŋ* | seŋ | seŋ | seŋ | seŋ |
| 756 | whisper (v) | | kʰɔi.la.ʔɤh | kʰɔi.la.ʔɤ | la.siap | kʰɔi.la.ʔɤ |
| 757 | mumble | | set.dy.dot | set.dy.dot | sau?.nɔi.tot | set.ty.tot |
| 758 | stutter | | kle | kle | kle | kle |
| 759 | (be) eloquent | | ?૪h.pʰai | ?ชh.pʰai | ?γh.pʰai | ?ชh.pʰai |
| 760 | (be) silent | | nε | ກε | nε | ກε |
| 761 | write (v) | | tɛm.lai | tɛm.lai | tɛm.lai | tɛm.lai |
| 762 | greet (v.) | | no data | no data | no data | la.ka.la.mui |
| 763 | call (someone) | | kok | kok | kok | kok |
| 764 | say goodbye, take leave | | kʰau.jiŋ.ʔɔ | kʰau.jiŋ.ʔɔ | kʰau.jiŋ.ʔɔ | no data |

k^hat.p^hok

dek.dγ

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

k^hat.p^hok

dek.ka.lγ

Pang Wan

k^hat.p^hok

tek

Pan Tang

no data

tek

Loan Words

English Gloss

of

No

783

784

contradict

accuse

 c^h i

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

Pang Wan

 c^h i

Pan Tang

 c^h i

English Gloss

Loan Words

choi*

 c^h i

No

805

help

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 806 | protect | | mun.hom | mun.hom | mun.hom | mun.hom |
| 807 | look after | | tɔʔ.sa.tʰɔ.ʔan | tɔʔ.sa.tʰɔ.ʔan | tɔʔ.sa.tʰɔ.ʔan | tɔʔ.sa.tʰɔ.ʔan |
| 808 | bring up (a child) | | lum.la | lum.la | lum.la | lum.la |
| 809 | rule over, dominate | | ?up.kʰaŋ | ?up.kʰaŋ | ?up.kʰaŋ | ?up.kʰaŋ |
| 810 | order (someone to do | | c ^h au | c ^h au | c ^h au | c ^h au |
| | something) | | | | | |
| 811 | command (n) | | k ^h a.?a.miŋ | k ^h a.?a.miŋ | k ^h a.?a.miŋ | k ^h a.?a.miŋ |
| 812 | duty, obligation | | kra?.bin | kra?.bin | kra?.pin | kra?.pin |
| 813 | send (someone to do | | dau | tau | tau | tau |
| | something) | | | | | |
| 814 | serve | | bin.kan | bin.kan | pin.kan | pin.kan |
| 815 | lead, guide (v) | | va.kan | va.kan | va.kan | va.kan |
| 816 | follow | | c ^h om | c ^h om | c ^h om | c ^h om |
| 817 | obey | | ກεt.kra?.?γh | ກεt.kra?.?γ | ກεt.kra?.?γ | ກεt.kra?.?γ |
| 818 | please | | juh.kuŋ.juh.?a. | juh.kuŋ.juh.?a. | juh.kuŋ.juh.?a. | juh.kuŋ.ʔa.cʰo |
| | | | c ^h o | c ^h o | c ^h o | |
| 819 | annoy | | kau | kau | kau | kau |
| 820 | deceive | | sec | sec | SEC | SEC |
| 821 | quarrel | | t ^h eŋ | t ^h eŋ | t ^h eŋ | t ^h eŋ |
| 822 | take revenge | | pok | pok | pok | pok |
| 823 | resolve, settle (dispute) | | p ^h i.saŋ.laŋ | p ^h i.saŋ.laŋ | p ^h i.saŋ.laŋ | pʰɛ.saŋ.laŋ |

c^hγp.sa.p^hek

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

cʰɤp.sa.pʰek

Pang Wan

c^hγp.sa.p^hek

Loan Words

Pan Tang

c^hγp.sa.p^hek

English Gloss

wear clothes

843

No

824

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------------|------------|--|--|---|---|
| 864 | oil | | lue | lụe | lụe | lue |
| 865 | soup, broth | | rom.tau? | rom.tau? | rom.tau? | rom.tau? |
| 866 | flour | | ŋo?.ka.la | ŋo?.ka.la | ŋoʔ.ka.la | ŋoʔ.ka.la |
| 867 | breakfast | | sɔm.sa? | sɔm.sa? | sɔm.sa? | sɔm.sa? |
| 868 | lunch | | sɔm.sa.ni | səm.sa.ni | sɔm.sa.ni | səm.sa.ni |
| 869 | evening meal | | sɔm.pʰo | səm.p ^h o | səm.p ^h o | səm.p ^h o |
| 870 | feast | | p ^h ɔi.ʔiʔ.p ^h ɔi.p ^h raʔ | p ^h ɔi.ʔiʔ.p ^h ɔi.p ^h raʔ | p ^h ɔi.ʔiʔ.p ^h ɔi.p ^h ra | p ^h ɔi.ʔiʔ.p ^h ɔi.p ^h ra |
| 871 | leftovers | | pi.hau | pi.hau | pi.hau | pi.hau |
| 872 | spoil (food) (intr) | | sa.?ue.na | sa.?ue.na | sa.?um | sa.?ue.na |
| 873 | milk (n) | | nam.nom | nam.nom | rom.thvi | nam.nom |
| 874 | beer (traditional) | | plai.na | plai.na | plai.na | plai.na |
| 875 | rice wine | | plai | plai | plai | plai |
| 876 | prepare (food to cook) | | kʰrɯŋ.sɔm | kʰrɯŋ.sɔm | kʰrɯŋ.sɔm | kʰrɯŋ.sɔm |
| 877 | cut (tr) (wood/fish) | | krip | krip | krip.taip.k ^h o | krip |
| 878 | cut open (fruit) | | c ^h ai | c ^h ai | c ^h a | c ^h E |
| 879 | slice | | cʰa.ri̯.ri̯ | cʰa.ri̯.ri̯ | c ^h a.r <u>i</u> | cʰa.ri̯.ri̯ |
| 880 | peel (v) | | c ^h a.lo? | c ^h a.lo? | c ^h a.lo? | cha.lo? |
| 881 | mix (v) | | lə | lə | lə | lə |
| 882 | stir | | klau | klau | klau | klau |
| 883 | strain (food) (v) | | ta.rɔŋ | ta.rɔŋ | ta.rɔŋ | ta.rɔŋ |
| 884 | pluck (feathers) | | tuec | twc | tuec | tuec |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 885 | roast | | k ^h o.k ^h re |
| 886 | fry | chun* | c ^h wn | c ^h wn | c ^h wn | c ^h uin |
| 887 | bake (in ashes) | | pho? | pho? | pho? | p ^h o? |
| 888 | (be) smoked | | sa.to?.mɤt.ŋo | sa.to?.mɤt.ŋo | sa.to?.mɤt.ŋo | sa.to?.mʏt.ŋo |
| 889 | ferment (alcohol) (v) | | k ^h am.cɔ | k ^h am.cɔ | k ^h am.cɔ | kam.cɔ |
| 890 | cooking pot (earthenware) | | ?vn | ?ɛɲ | ?ɛɲ | ?ຍຸກ |
| 891 | pot (for water) | | ?vn.rom | ?ɛɲ.rom | ?εɲ.rom | ?ະກ.rom |
| 892 | ladle | | kʰwŋ.pʰraʔ | lɔk.tʰo | kʰwŋ.pʰra? | kʰwŋ.pʰra? |
| 893 | cooking stone | | c ^h eŋ | c ^h eŋ | c ^h eŋ | c ^h eŋ |
| 894 | bowl | | p ^h an.mom | p ^h an.mom | p ^h an.mom | p ^h an.mom |
| 895 | cup | kək* | kək | kək | kək | kɔk.rom |
| 896 | chopsticks | t ^h u* | t ^h u | t ^h u | t ^h u | t ^h u |
| 897 | bag | | pau? | pau? | pau? | pau? |
| 898 | box | | dxk | dχk | txk | txk |
| 899 | basket | | ?aŋ.cʰa | ?aŋ.cʰa | ?aŋ.cʰa | ?aŋ.cʰa |
| 900 | bucket, pail | | puŋ | puŋ | puŋ | puŋ |
| 901 | bottle | | diŋ | diŋ | tiŋ | tiŋ |
| 902 | stopper, plug | | lak.tho? | lak.tho? | lak.tho? | lak.tho? |
| 903 | handle | | sop.de? | sop.te? | sop.te? | sop.te? |
| 904 | pour | | c ^h E | $c^{h}\epsilon$ | $c^{h}\varepsilon$ | $c^h \epsilon$ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|---------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 905 | spill (liquid) (tr) | | bục | bục | püc | püc |
| 906 | take out (from container) | | t ^h ue.lih | t ^h ue.lih | t ^h ue.lih | t ^h ue.lih |
| 907 | fill | | nyk | nyk | nyk | nyk |
| 908 | (be) empty | | ŋa.ŋa | ŋа.ŋа | ŋа.ŋа | ŋa. ŋa |
| 909 | (be) open [blossom] | | bruic | bruic | pru? | ploŋ |
| 910 | open (tr) | | bau | bau | pau | pau |
| 911 | close, shut (tr) | | soŋ.la.vak | soŋ | soŋ | soŋ.la.vak |
| 912 | stand up | | no data | c ^h oŋ | c ^h oŋ | c ^h oŋ |
| 913 | cover (v) | | t ^h ɔp | t ^h op | t ^h op | t ^h op |
| 914 | uncover | | bau | pau | pau | pau |
| 915 | store (up) | | lɔŋ | rəm | lɔŋ | loŋ |
| 916 | bundle (n) | | bua | bua | pụa | pụa |
| 917 | heap (n) | kɔŋ* | kəŋ | kəŋ | kɔŋ | kəŋ |
| 918 | heap up (v) | kɔŋ* | kɔŋ.la.ʔɤn | kɔŋ.la.ʔɤn | kɔŋ.la.?ʏn | kɔŋ.la.ʔɤn |
| 919 | wrap up (v) | | niap | niap | niap | niap |
| 920 | unwrap (v) | | p ^h re | p ^h rɛ | p ^h rε | p ^h rε |
| 921 | pack (v) | | lɔŋ | no data | loŋ | loŋ |
| 922 | strap (n) | | ban | no data | p ^h oc | pan |
| 923 | rope | | mau? | mau? | mau? | mau? |
| 924 | knot (n) | | dɔk.don | tok.ton | k ^h ot.k ^h iat | tok.ton |
| 925 | fasten, bind (load) | mat* | mat | mat | mat | mat |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 926 | untie | | no data | no data | jah | no data |
| 927 | tighten (tr) | rat* | rat | rat | rat | rat |
| 928 | (be) tight | khap* | k ^h ap | k ^h ap | k ^h ap | k ^h ap |
| 929 | loosen | | ploi.mro | ploi.mro | ploi.mro | ploi.mro |
| 930 | hut (in the field) | | na.dɤ | ກa.dາ | na.tr | na.tv |
| 931 | window | | ho.lɛŋ | ho.lɛŋ | ho.lɛŋ | ho.lɛŋ |
| 932 | beam, rafter | | kʰau.hɔi.kʰrɤŋ | kʰau.hɔi.kʰrɤŋ | kʰau.hɔi.kʰrɤŋ | kʰau.hɔi.kʰrɤŋ |
| 933 | floor | | ka.mwi | ka.mwi | ka.mwi | ka.mwi |
| 934 | room | | c ^h ɔŋ | c ^h ɔŋ | c ^h ɔŋ | c ^h ɔŋ |
| 935 | bedroom | | cʰɔŋ.ʔit | cʰɔŋ.ʔit | cʰɔŋ.ʔit | cʰວŋ.ʔit |
| 936 | kitchen | | sum.phra? | sum.p ^h ra? | sum.p ^h ra? | seŋ.pʰra? |
| 937 | sitting room | | ka.lai | ka.lai | ka.lai | ka.lai |
| 938 | kitchen | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 939 | fence (n) | | lɔŋ | lɔŋ | loŋ | ləŋ |
| 940 | fence in (v) | | lɔŋ.la.?ɤn | juh.ləŋ | lɔŋ.la.?ɤn | lɔŋ.la.?ɤn |
| 941 | granary (to store rice) | | krau | krau | krau | krau |
| 942 | well (n) | | rom.k ^h um | rom.k ^h um | rom.k ^h um | rom.k ^h um |
| 943 | bathing place | | naŋ.hɤm | naŋ.hɤm | naŋ.hɤm | naŋ.hɤm |
| 944 | latrine, toilet | | t ^h aŋ.?en | t ^h aŋ.?en | t ^h aŋ.?en | t ^h aŋ.?en |
| 945 | garbage dump | | ກວk.ກε | ŋɔk.ɲɛt | ກ _ິ ນk.ກ _ິ ນ | ກ _າ k.ກ _າ |
| 946 | garden | | va | va | va | va |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 968 | potter's kiln | | tak.tau.?ɔ | tak.tau.?ɔ | no data | tak.tau.?ɔ |
| 969 | wood | | nɛ.kʰau | nɛ.kʰau | siak.kʰau? | nε.kʰau |
| 970 | cut down (tree) | | k ^h o.k ^h ue | k ^h o.k ^h ue | k ^h o.k ^h ue | k ^h o.k ^h ue |
| 971 | log | | thum.khau? | thum.khau? | t ^h um.k ^h au? | thum.khau? |
| 972 | hollow out (log) | | khau?.dau?.do? | k ^h au?.dau?.do? | khau?.tau?.to? | khau?.tau?.to? |
| 973 | axe | | k ^h un.moŋ | k ^h un.moŋ | kʰɔn.moŋ | ta.mat |
| 974 | saw (n) | lek.l _Y * | lek.ly | lek.ly | lek.ly | lek.l _Y |
| 975 | plank (n) | pen* | pɛn.kʰau? | pɛn.kʰau? | pɛn.kʰau? | pɛn.kʰau? |
| 976 | knot (in wood) | | ŋai.kʰau? | ŋai.kʰau? | ŋai.kʰau? | ŋai.kʰau? |
| 977 | splinter, sliver (n) | | pɔt.kʰauʔ.pɔt.ʔoʔ | pɔt.kʰauʔ.pɔt.ʔoʔ | pɔt.kʰau?.pɔt.?o? | pɔt.kʰauʔ.pɔt.ʔoʔ |
| 978 | chisel (n) | | la.set | la.set | la.set | la.set |
| 979 | nail (n) | jam* | jạm | jam | jam | jam |
| 980 | thread (n) | | kryi | kryi | krvi | kryi |
| 981 | hem (n) | | mop.map | mop.map | mop.miap | mop.map |
| 982 | pocket | | hau.sa.p ^h ε | hau.sa.p ^h ε | hau.sa.p ^h ε | hau.sa.p ^h ε |
| 983 | (be) torn | | jɔk.jɔi | jɔk.jɔi | ла | jɔk.jɔi |
| 984 | cloth | | man | man | man | man |
| 985 | rag | | k ^h rɤŋ.jɔk | k ^h rvŋ.jɔk | k ^h rvŋ.jɔk | k ^h rɣŋ.jɔk |
| 986 | broom | _{ກu*} | лu | лu | лu | _ກ u |
| 987 | sweep | | bi | bi | pih | pih |
| 988 | polish | | sa.p ^h ш | sa.p ^h w | sa.p ^h ш | sa.p ^h ui |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 989 | draw water | | tut.rom | tut.rom | chin.rom | tut.rom |
| 990 | fetch (firewood) | | ton.c ^h i? | ton.c ^h i? | ton.c ^h i? | ton.c ^h i? |
| 991 | rubbish | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 992 | cultivate, farm (v) | | sum | sum | sum | sum |
| 993 | fertile soil | | k ^h un | k ^h un | k ^h un | k ^h un |
| 994 | (be) barren (of land) | | nau.lyk | nau.lyk | nau.lyk | nau.lyk |
| 995 | clear (land for planting) | | soh.ma | soh.ma | soh.ma | soh.ma |
| 996 | weed (v) | | kum | kum | kum | kum |
| 997 | hoe (v) | | kum.n _Y .k ^h ɔ | kum.n _Y .k ^h ɔ | kum.n _x .k ^h ɔ | kum.n _x .k ^h ɔ |
| 998 | hoe (n) | k ^h o* | k ^h ɔ | k ^h ɔ | k ^h o | k ^h o |
| 999 | sickle | | c ^h au | c ^h au | c ^h au | c ^h au |
| 1000 | machete, cutlass | | la.ŋoŋ | la.ŋoŋ | la.ŋoŋ | la.ŋoŋ |
| 1001 | harvest season | | kʰauʔ.vɔk.ŋoʔ | khau?.vok.ŋo? | kʰauʔ.vɔk.ŋoʔ | k ^h au?.vɔk.ŋo? |
| 1002 | harvest (rice) (v) | | vɔk.ŋo? | vək.ŋo? | vɔk.ŋo? | vɔk.ŋo? |
| 1003 | pick, pluck (fruit) | | pö | pä | bö | bö |
| 1004 | harvest, collect (honey | | jah.hia | jah.hia | jah.hia | jah.hia |
| | from hive) | | | | | |
| 1005 | threshing-floor | | t ^h ɛ.na | t ^h ɛ.na | t ^h ɛ.na | t ^h ɛ.na |
| 1006 | thresh, beat (grain) | | t ^h iai.ŋo? | t ^h iaj.ŋo? | t ^h iah.ŋo? | tʰiaj.ŋo? |
| 1007 | winnow (n) | | laŋ.ŋo? | laŋ.ŋo? | laŋ.ŋo? | laŋ.ŋo? |
| 1008 | husk (corn) (v) | | k ^h rwt.ŋo? | k ^h rwt.ŋo? | tah.ŋo? | k ^h rwt.ŋo? |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1009 | domesticate, tame | | ກຼ | _ກ ε | ກຼ | ກຼ |
| 1010 | herd (cattle, sheep) (n) | | pʰuŋ.mɔi | pʰuŋ.mɔi | p ^h uŋ | pʰuŋ.mɔi |
| 1011 | herd, tend (cattle, sheep) | | lຯŋ.mɔi.lɤŋ.kra? | lɣŋ.mɔi.lɣŋ.kra? | lຯŋ.mɔi.lɤŋ.kra? | lຯŋ.mɔi.lɤŋ.kra? |
| | (v) | | | | | |
| 1012 | cattle pen | k ^h ɔk* | kʰɔk.mɔi | k ^h ɔk.mɔi | k ^h ək.məi | kʰɔk.mɔi |
| 1013 | tether (sheep, goats) (v) | | mat | mat | mat | mat |
| 1014 | feed (animals) | | k ^h a.rip | k ^h a.rip | ?ɔi | k ^h a.rip |
| 1015 | castrate | | sεh | sεh | sεh | sεh |
| 1016 | stalk (v) | | c ^h o | c ^h o | c ^h o | c ^h o |
| 1017 | chase (v) | | c ^h əm.hu | c ^h əm.hu | c ^h əm | c ^h əm.hu |
| 1018 | footprint (human) | rɔi* | rɔi | rɔi | roi | rəi |
| 1019 | poison (on arrow) | | la.nai | la.nai | la.nai | la.nai |
| 1020 | head of arrow | | no data | no data | si | si |
| 1021 | quiver (n) | | kɔk.tʰε | kɔk.tʰε | kɔk.tʰε | kɔk.tʰε |
| 1022 | birdlime (adhesive to | | ла? | ла? | ла? | ла? |
| | catch birds) | | | | | |
| 1023 | trap (n) | | k ^h a | k ^h a | k ^h a | k ^h a |
| 1024 | set (trap) | | taŋ.kʰa | taŋ.kʰa | taŋ.kʰa | taŋ.kʰa |
| 1025 | trap (animal) (v) | | kri? | kri? | kri? | kri? |
| 1026 | evade | | klət | klət | klət | klət |
| 1027 | escape | | klət.k ^h lət | klət.k ^h lət | klət.k ^h lət | klət.k ^h lət |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1028 | wound (animal) | | taŋ.sau? | taŋ.sau? | taŋ.sau? | taŋ.sau? |
| 1029 | skin (animal) (v) | | lɔk.lo? | lɔk.loh | lɔk.loh | lɔk.loh |
| 1030 | fish (v) | | mut.ka? | mut.ka? | mut.ka? | mut.ka? |
| 1031 | fish dam | | nɔŋ.kaʔ.nɔŋ.rom | nɔŋ.rom | nɔŋ.ka? | nɔŋ.rom |
| 1032 | fishing net | | mɔŋ | mɔŋ | mɔŋ.ka? | mɔŋ |
| 1033 | fishing line | | muŋ.met | muŋ.met | muŋ.met | muŋ.met |
| 1034 | fishhook | mit* | mit | mit | mit | mit |
| 1035 | bait | | nɛ.met | kra?.?i?.ka? | pi.?ɔi | ла.met |
| 1036 | have, possess | | kue | kue | kue | kue |
| 1037 | need (v) | | lo | lo | lo | lo |
| 1038 | get, obtain | | p ^h on | p ^h on | p ^h on | p ^h on |
| 1039 | belongings | | ?up.kʰrɯŋ | ?up.kʰrɯŋ | no data | ?up.kʰrɯŋ |
| 1040 | owner | | cau.?up | cau.?up | cau | cau.?up |
| 1041 | rich man | | cip.mi | cip.mi | cip.mi | sa.t ^h e |
| 1042 | poor man | | p ^h i.p ^h lan | p ^h i.p ^h lan | p ^h lan | p ^h i.p ^h lan |
| 1043 | (be) rich | | lue.mi | lue.mi | puec.mi | cem.mi |
| 1044 | to be poor | | p ^h lan | p ^h lan | p ^h lan | p ^h lan |
| 1045 | money | | mγ | mγ | mY | mγ |
| 1046 | (be) scarce | | c ^h a | c ^h a | c ^h a | c ^h a |
| 1047 | (be) expensive | | ຫຼ ວi | ŋ ეi | ຫຼ ວi | ŋại |
| 1048 | (be) inexpensive | | ja | ja | ja | ja |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|---------------------------|------------|--|--|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1049 | price | | t ^h iŋ.?a.p ^h o | t ^h iŋ.ʔa.p ^h o | ?a.p ^h o | t ^h iŋ.ʔa.p ^h o |
| 1050 | haggle, negotiate a price | | no data | sit | set | c ^h et ²³ |
| 1051 | payment | la.kʰa* | la.kʰa | la.kʰa | la.kʰa | la.k ^h a |
| 1052 | gift | | kʰວŋ.pʰak | kʰວŋ.pʰak | kʰɔŋ.pʰak | kʰɔŋ.pʰak |
| 1053 | hire (v) | | vai | vai | vai | vai |
| 1054 | beg (for money) | | jua.la.?i | jua.la.?i | jua.la.?i | jua.la.?i |
| 1055 | borrow | | rom.k ^h um | rom.k ^h um | rom | rom.k ^h um |
| 1056 | lend | | rom.ma.k ^h a | rom.ma.k ^h a | rom.k ^h a | vai |
| 1057 | debt | | rom | rom | rom | rom |
| 1058 | offer (v) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1059 | accept, receive | | k ^h am | k ^h am | k ^h am | k ^h am |
| 1060 | refuse | | t ^h eŋ | t ^h eŋ | t ^h eŋ | t ^h eŋ |
| 1061 | tax (n) | | k ^h ən | k ^h ən | k ^h ən | k ^h on |
| 1062 | tribute | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1063 | inheritance | | kuŋ | kuŋ | kuŋ | kuŋ |
| 1064 | inherit | | k ^h am.kuŋ | k ^h am.kuŋ | kuŋ | kʰam.kuŋ |
| 1065 | journey, trip (n) | | li.kra? | li.kra? | li.kra? | li.kra? |
| 1066 | bicycle | | lɔʔ.jen | lɔʔ.jen | lau.jen | lɔ?.jen |
| 1067 | travel, go on a trip (v) | | hu.c ^h ε | hu.c ^h ε | hu.c ^h ε | hu.c ^h ε |
| 1068 | traveler | | p ^h i.li.kra? | p ^h i.li.kra? | p ^h i.li.kra? | p ^h i.li.kra? |
| 1069 | driver | | p ^h i.ban.k ^h a? | p ^h i.ban.k ^h a? | p ^h i.pan.ka | p ^h i.pan.ka |

| 1070 | passenger | | no data | ci.prɔk.ka | ci.prɔk.ka | no data |
|------|--------------------------|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1071 | wander | | loŋ.laŋ.kra? | loŋ.laŋ.kra? | loŋ.laŋ.kra? | loŋ.laŋ.kra? |
| 1072 | (be) lost | | ŋrai.kra? | ŋrai.kra? | ŋrai.kra? | ŋrai.kra? |
| 1073 | fork (in path) | | la.kak.kra? | la.kak.kra? | la.kak.kra? | la.kak.kra? |
| 1074 | crossroads, intersection | | la.kum.kra? | la.kum.kra? | sa.kum.kra? | sa.kum.kra? |
| 1075 | cross (river) | | t ^h aŋ | t ^h aŋ | t ^h aŋ.rom | t ^h aŋ |
| 1076 | paddle (n) | | sa.va? | sa.va? | sa.va? | sa.va? |
| 1077 | paddle (v) | vai* | vai | vai | vai | vai |
| 1078 | bale out (canoe, boat) | | kʰiaʔ.kʰrɯŋ | kʰiaʔ.kʰrɯŋ | kʰiaʔ.kʰrɯŋ | kʰiaʔ.kʰrɯŋ |
| 1079 | capsize | | krup.rx | krup.rx | krup.ry | krup.rx |
| 1080 | bring | | t ^h ue.?iŋ | t ^h ue.?iŋ | t ^h ue.?iŋ | t ^h ue.?iŋ |
| 1081 | send (something to | | dau | tau | tau | tau |
| | someone) | | | | | |
| 1082 | carry (in arms) | | ton | ton | ton | ton |
| 1083 | carry (child) on back | | p ^h o? | p ^h o? | p ^h o? | pho23 |
| 1084 | carry on head | | pwi | pwi | pwi | pwi |
| 1085 | load, burden (n) | | klom | klom | klom | klom |
| 1086 | load (v) | | t ^h Y | t ^h Ƴ | t ^h Y | t ^h Ƴ |
| 1087 | unload | | k ^h ia? | k ^h ia? | kʰia? | ploi |
| 1088 | war | | пар | пар | пал | пал |
| 1089 | peace | | hai.jet.jan | hai.jet.jan | hai.jet.jan | hai.jet.jan |

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

Pang Wan

Pan Tang

English Gloss

Loan Words

No

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 1090 | army | | lwk.swk | lwk.swk | t ^h ap | lwk.swk |
| 1091 | spy (n) | | cum.t ^h ɔk | cum.t ^h ɔk | jum.t ^h ɔk | cum.t ^h ɔk |
| 1092 | spy (v), spy on | | cum.t ^h ɔk.lץ | cum.t ^h ɔk.l _Y | ju.jum.t ^h ɔk | cum.t ^h ɔk.lɤ |
| 1093 | sword | | vac.laŋ | vac.laŋ | laŋ.kaŋ | vac.laŋ |
| 1094 | gun | nat* | nat | nat | nat | nat |
| 1095 | shield (n) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1096 | conquer, defeat | | $p^{h}\varepsilon$ | p ^h ε | p ^h ε | $p^{h}\varepsilon$ |
| 1097 | (be) defeated | | sum | sum | sum | sum |
| 1098 | prisoner, captive | | ci.let.t ^h oŋ | ci.let.t ^h oŋ | p ^h i.let.t ^h oŋ | ?on.pi.mut |
| 1099 | plunder (a town) | | ŋrɯm | ŋrɯm | ŋrɯm | ŋrɯm |
| 1100 | slave | | kən.?ot | kɔn.?ot | kən.?ot | kən.?ot |
| 1101 | music | | mon.sɛŋ | mon.sɛŋ | seŋ | mon.sw |
| 1102 | song | k ^h uam* | k ^h uam | k ^h uam | k ^h uam | k ^h uam |
| 1103 | hum (v) | | ?vh.la.man | ?ĸ.la.man | ?r.la.man | ?r.la.man |
| 1104 | dance (n) | | ka | ka | ka | ka |
| 1105 | big(gest) drum | | kəŋ | kəŋ | kəŋ | koŋ |
| 1106 | flute | bi* | bi | bi | pi | pi |
| 1107 | harp | | diŋ | diŋ | tiŋ | tiŋ |
| 1108 | horn (musical | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | instrument) | | | | | |
| 1109 | play instrument | let* | let | let | let | let |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1110 | blow (horn) | | baŋ | baŋ | paŋ | paŋ |
| 1111 | draw (picture) | | ics | ics | ics | ics |
| 1112 | decorate | | k ^h re? | k ^h re? | k ^h re? | k ^h re? |
| 1113 | carve | | k ^h ɔk | k ^h ɔk | k ^h ɔk | k ^h ək |
| 1114 | game | | kʰrɯŋ.rak | kʰrɯŋ.rak | rak | kʰrɯŋ.rak |
| 1115 | tobacco pipe | | mɔ | mo | mo | mɔ |
| 1116 | tobacco | ла* | ла | ла | ла | ла |
| 1117 | awe, reverence (for God) | | ro.se.ro.mat | ro.se.ro.mat | ro.se.ro.mat | ro.se.ro.mat |
| 1118 | God (supreme being) | p ^h ra* | p ^h ra | p ^h ra | p ^h ra | p ^h ra |
| 1119 | demon, evil spirit | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1120 | ghost (visible apparition) | | sa.ca? | sa.ca? | sa.ca? | sa.ca? |
| 1121 | soul, spirit (of living | | sa.rom | sa.rom | sa.rom | sa.rom |
| | person) | | | | | |
| 1122 | spirit (of dead person) | | no data | no data | k ^h uan | kʰuan.ŋau |
| | (invisible) | | | | | |
| 1123 | pray | | jua.?a.c ^h o | jua.?a.c ^h o | jua.?a.c ^h o | jua.?a.c ^h o |
| 1124 | blessing | | kau.mom | kau.mom | kra?.mom | kau.mom |
| 1125 | divine, prophesy (v) | | no data | kra?.krwŋ.kra?. | ho | nam.met.nam.pɔŋ |
| | | | | poŋ | | |
| 1126 | prophecy (n) | | no data | no data | hɔ | nam.met.nam.pɔŋ |
| 1127 | vision (supernatural) | | kra?.moŋ.kra?.jo? | kra?.moŋ.kra?.jo? | kra?.moŋ.kra?.jo? | kra?.moŋ.kra?.jo? |

| 1128 | omen | | nam.mi? | nam.mi? | nam.mi? | nam.mi? |
|------|-------------------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1129 | witchcraft | | kra?.plɔi | kra?.plɔi | kra?.plɔi | kra?.plɔi |
| 1130 | bewitch, cast spell | | kra?.lu.kra?.plɔi | kra?.lu.kra?.plɔi | kra?.plɔi | kra?.prɔ.kra?.plɔi |
| 1131 | curse (v) | | drŋ.lr | drŋ.lr | tyŋ | tyŋ |
| 1132 | curse (n) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1133 | poison (n) | | no data | no data | la.nai | no data |
| 1134 | poison (a person) (v) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1135 | amulet, charm, fetish | | lak.pʰɔi | lak.pʰɔi | lak.pʰɔi | lak.p ^h ɔi |
| 1136 | protect by charm | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1137 | mask (n) | | mo?.raŋ | mo?.raŋ | mo?.raŋ | mo?.raŋ |
| 1138 | (be) taboo | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1139 | exorcise | | hoh.lih | hoh.lih | hoh.lih | hoh.lih |
| 1140 | sacrifice | | kap | kap | kap | kap |
| 1141 | tradition, custom | | t ^h uŋ.ma.nɛ | t ^h uŋ.ma.nɛ | t ^h uŋ.ma.nε | t ^h uŋ.ma.nɛ |
| 1142 | feast (n) | | p ^h oi | p ^h əi | p ^h əi | p ^h oi |
| 1143 | naming ceremony (baby) | taŋ.cʰɯ* | taŋ.cʰw | taŋ.cʰw | taŋ.cʰw | taŋ.cʰw |
| 1144 | marry | | рэŋ | poŋ | poŋ | poŋ |
| 1145 | (be) engaged, (be) | | mai | mai | mai | mai |
| | betrothed | | | | | |
| 1146 | brideprice (for bride's | | krɔŋ.la.pun | krɔŋ.la.pun | krɔŋ.la.pun | krɔŋ.la.pun |
| | family) | | | | | |

Namt Yoke

Loi Yang

Pang Wan

Pan Tang

English Gloss

No

Loan Words

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1147 | wedding (ceremony) | | p ^h ɔi.pɔŋ | p ^h əi.pəŋ | p ^h əi.pəŋ | p ^h əi.pəŋ |
| 1148 | bride | | mun.k ^h rau | mun.k ^h rau | mun.k ^h rau | mun.k ^h rau |
| 1149 | groom | | k ^h re.k ^h rau |
| 1150 | adultery | | la.na | la.na | la.na | la.na |
| 1151 | divorce (v) | | dik.p ^h o | dik.p ^h o | tik.p ^h o | tik.p ^h o |
| 1152 | funeral (at occasion of | | paŋ.cʰo | baŋ³¹cʰo²¹ | paŋ.cʰo | paŋ.cʰo |
| | death) | | | | | |
| 1153 | mourning | | ?iat.rom | ?iat.rom | ?iat.rom | ?iat ³¹ rom ³³ |
| 1154 | condole, comfort (v) | | hu.jo | hu.jɔ | hu.jɔ | hu.jɔ |
| 1155 | corpse | lɔŋ* | lɔŋ | loŋ | loŋ | loŋ |
| 1156 | grave | | tau.la.mwc | tau.la.mwc | tau.la.mwc | tau.la.mwc |
| 1157 | cemetery | | pa.hio | pa.hio | pa.hio | pa.hio |
| 1158 | bull (male cow) | | soh.mɔi | soh.mɔi | soh.mɔi | soh.mɔi |
| 1159 | cow (female) | | ma?.mɔi | ma?.mɔi | ma?.mɔi | ma?.mɔi |
| 1160 | heifer (young cow not | | cʰɛŋ.mɔi | cʰɛŋ.mɔi | cʰɛŋ.mɔi | cʰɛŋ.mɔi |
| | had a calf) | | | | | |
| 1161 | steer (castrated male | | məi.sɛh | mɔi.sɛh | mɔi.sɛh | məi.sɛh |
| | cow) | | | | | |
| 1162 | calf | | kən.pe? | kən.bɛ? | kən.pɛ? | kən.pe? |
| 1163 | herd (of cattle) [group of | | pʰuŋ.mɔi | pʰuŋ.mɔi | pʰuŋ.mɔi | pʰuŋ.mɔi |
| | cattle] | | | | | |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1164 | goat | bε?* | be? | be? | ре? | ре? |
| 1165 | he-goat, billy | | mγŋ.bε? | mvŋ.bɛ? | mvŋ.pɛ? | nvŋ.pɛ? |
| 1166 | she-goat, nanny goat | | ma?.bɛ? | ma?.bɛ? | ma?.pɛ? | ma?.pe? |
| 1167 | kid (child goat) | | kən.bɛ? | kən.be? | kən.pe? | kən.pe? |
| 1168 | sheep | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1169 | ram | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1170 | ewe | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1171 | lamb | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1172 | flock (of sheep, goats) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1173 | rooster (cock) | | la.mɛ.?ia | la.mɛ.ʔia | la.mɛ.?ia | la.mɛ.?ia |
| 1174 | hen | | ma.?ia | ma.?ia | ma.?ia | ma.?ia |
| 1175 | chick | | kən.?ia | kən.?ia | kən.?ia | kən.?ia |
| 1176 | turkey | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1177 | guinea fowl | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1178 | horse | | mroŋ | mroŋ | mroŋ | mroŋ |
| 1179 | stallion (male horse) | | meŋ.mroŋ | meŋ.mroŋ | meŋ.mroŋ | meŋ.mroŋ |
| 1180 | mare (female horse) | | ma.mroŋ | ma.mroŋ | ma.mroŋ | ma.mroŋ |
| 1181 | colt | | kən.mroŋ | kən.mroŋ | kən.mroŋ | kən.mroŋ |
| 1182 | boar (male pig) | | lik.ŋah | lik.ŋah | lik.ŋah | lik.ŋah |
| 1183 | sow (female pig) | | ma.lik | ma.lik | ma.lik | ma.lik |
| 1184 | piglet | | kən.lik | kən.lik | kən.lik | kən.lik |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|--------------------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1185 | pup | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1186 | kitten | | kən.miau | kən.miau | kɔn.miau | kən.miau |
| 1187 | hippopotamus | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1188 | rhinoceros | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1189 | warthog | | p ^h rai | p ^h rai | p ^h rai | p ^h rai |
| 1190 | jackal | | so?.jot | so?.jɔt | so?.jot | so?.jot |
| 1191 | shrew | | k ^h aŋ | k ^h aŋ | k ^h aŋ | k ^h aŋ |
| 1192 | mole | | bri | bri | pyi | pri |
| 1193 | mongoose | | klun | klun | klun | klun |
| 1194 | squirrel | | lai | lai | lai | lai |
| 1195 | bat | | mlak | mlak | mlak | mlak |
| 1196 | wild cat | sua* | sua | sua | sua | sua |
| 1197 | leopard | | la.vai | la.vai | la.vai | la.vai |
| 1198 | lion | | caŋ.si | caŋ.si | ra.cak.si | caŋ.si |
| 1199 | hoof | | t ^h ak.c ^h uŋ.mroŋ |
| 1200 | mane (of horse) | | sa.kʰu.mroŋ | sa.kʰu.mroŋ | sa.kʰu.mroŋ | sa.kʰu.mroŋ |
| 1201 | elephant's trunk | | ŋoŋ.saŋ | ŋoŋ.saŋ | ŋoŋ.saŋ | ŋoŋ.saŋ |
| 1202 | den, lair, hole | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1203 | bare, show (teeth) | | na.la.vai | na.la.vai | la.vai.na | na.la.vai |
| 1204 | growl | | no data | no data | 1203 | ŋa.la.vai |
| 1205 | ruminate, chew cud | | p ^h am | p ^h am | pʰam.mɔi.pʰam.kr | pʰam.mɔi.pʰam.kr |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1226 | land (v), alight | | plu.li.ka.se | plu.li.ka.se | plu.li.ka.se | plu.li.ka.se |
| 1227 | perch | | lau?.lɤ | lau?.lr | lau? | lau?.lr |
| 1228 | flap the wings | | k ^h ri | k ^h ri | k ^h ri.prwit | k ^h ri |
| 1229 | cackle (as of chicken) | | sɛŋ.rak.sim | sɛŋ.rak.sim | ?u.ta.luŋ.?ut | ?u.ka.luŋ.?ut |
| 1230 | crow (as a rooster) (v) | | ?o?.?ia | ?o?.?ia | ?o?.?ia | ?o?.?ia |
| 1231 | peck (tr) | | dot.?ia | dot.?ia | tot.?ia | tot.?ia |
| 1232 | lay (eggs) | | tom.?ia | tom.?ia | tom.?ia | tom.?ia |
| 1233 | incubate, set (on eggs) | | num.tom | num.tom | num.tom | num.tom |
| 1234 | hatch | | t ^h ue.kən | t ^h ue.kən | t ^h o | t ^h o.kɔn |
| 1235 | catfish | | pa.luk | pa.luk | no data | pa.luk |
| 1236 | mudfish (lives in the | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| | mud during dry season) | | | | | |
| 1237 | eel | | k ^h laŋ | k ^h laŋ | k ^h lan | k ^h laŋ |
| 1238 | fish bone | | sa.?aŋ.ka? | sa.?aŋ.ka? | sa.?aŋ.ka? | sa.?aŋ.ka? |
| 1239 | fish-scale | | ket.ka? | ket.ka? | ket.ka? | ket.ka? |
| 1240 | gill | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1241 | fin | | kwn.ka? | kwn.ka? | kwn.ka? | kwn.ka? |
| 1242 | crab | | dam | tam | tam | tam |
| 1243 | shrimp | kuŋ* | kuŋ | kuŋ | kuŋ | kuŋ |
| 1244 | clam | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1245 | spitting cobra | | no data | no data | no data | no data |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1246 | puff adder | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1247 | python | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1248 | green mamba [viper] | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1249 | chameleon | | ?ai.kot.ku̯e | ?ai.kot. ku̯e | ?ai.kot. ku̯e | ?ai.koŋ. kụe |
| 1250 | gecko | | no data | no data | no data | lai.lɤt |
| 1251 | monitor lizard | | no data | no data | cau.r _Y n | no data |
| 1252 | toad | | sa.pɔn | sa.pon | sa.pon | c ^h at |
| 1253 | shell (of turtle) | | lo?.tau.jʏŋ | lo?.tau.jชŋ | lo?.tau.jชŋ | lo?.tau.jɤŋ |
| 1254 | slither (snake) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1255 | hiss | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1256 | flea | | tiap.so? | tiap.so? | tiap.so? | tiap.so? |
| 1257 | bedbug | | huŋ | huŋ | huŋ | huŋ |
| 1258 | maggot (in rotten meat) | | nri? | ກ _ິ ນາ່? ³¹ | ກ _ິ vi? | ле? |
| 1259 | ant | | mvi? | mri? | mvi? | mri? |
| 1260 | army ant, soldier ant | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1261 | flying ant | | mvi?.pluh | mri?.plu | mvi?.plu | mvi?.plu |
| 1262 | dung beetle | | cu.ci | cu.ci | cu.ci | cu.ci |
| 1263 | grasshopper | | thoŋ.tho? | thon.tho? | thok.tho? | thon.tho? |
| 1264 | cricket | | t ^h on | t ^h on | t ^h ən | no data |
| 1265 | locust | | cak.k ^h io | cak.k ^h io | cak.k ^h io | cak.k ^h io |
| 1266 | praying mantis | | no data | no data | no data | no data |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|---------------|------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1267 | caterpillar | | k ^h ɔŋ | k ^h ɔŋ | k ^h əŋ | k ^h ɔŋ |
| 1268 | centipede | | si?.sa.?uɲ | si?.sa.?uɲ | si?.sa.?uɲ | si?.sa.?uɲ |
| 1269 | millipede | | mak.sa.cia? | mak.sa.cia? | mak.sa.cia? | mak.sa.cia? |
| 1270 | dragonfly | | ?ai.kʰo.kʰre | ?ai.kʰo.kʰre | ?ai.kʰo.kʰre | ?ai.kʰo.kʰre |
| 1271 | moth | | p ^h u.tɔi | p ^h u ²¹ təi ³¹ | p ^h u.tɔi | no data |
| 1272 | antenna | | nok.cian | nok.cian | nok.cian | no data |
| 1273 | sting (v) | | hwc.hia | hwc.hia | hia.hwc | hwc.hia |
| 1274 | stinger dard | | no data | no data | lа.ɲɛc | no data |
| 1275 | cocoon | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1276 | termite hill | | ŋrɯɲ | ŋrɯɲ | ŋrɯɲ | ŋrɯɲ |
| 1277 | beehive | | na.hia | na.hia | na.hia | na.hia |
| 1278 | beeswax | | ло | ло | ло | ло |
| 1279 | honey | | rom.hia | rom.hia | rom.hia | rom.hia |
| 1280 | swarm(n) | | p ^h uŋ.hia | p ^h uŋ.hia | pʰuŋ.hia | p ^h uŋ.hia |
| 1281 | teak tree | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1282 | fig tree | | no data | no data | num.ta.plak | no data |
| 1283 | tamarind tree | | num.mak.c ^h aŋ | num.mak.c ^h aŋ | num.mak.c ^h aŋ | num.mak.k ^h iaŋ |
| 1284 | oil palm | | num.?oŋ.si | num.?oŋ.si | num.?oŋ.si | num.?oŋ.si |
| 1285 | coconut palm | | num.mak.pau? | num.mak.pau? | num.mak.pau? | no data |
| 1286 | bush | | nau.jum | nau.jum | nau.jum | nau.jwm |
| 1287 | weeds | | num.rip | num.rip | num.rip | nau.rip |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1307 | lemon | mak* | mak.vuh | mak.vuh | no data | mak.vuh |
| 1308 | orange | mak* | mak.cok | mak.cok | mak.cok | mak.cok |
| 1309 | papaya | mak* | mak.p ^h ɔ | mak.p ^h ɔ | saŋ.pʰɔ.ton | mak.p ^h ɔ |
| 1310 | pineapple | mak* | mak.ceŋ | mak.cʰɛŋ | mak.ceŋ | mak.ceŋ |
| 1311 | guava | mak* | mak.ka | mak.ka | mak.ka | mak.ka |
| 1312 | avocado | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1313 | fig | | no data | no data | mak.ta.plak | no data |
| 1314 | jackfruit (fruit) | mak* | mak.laŋ | mak.laŋ | mak.laŋ | mak.laŋ |
| 1315 | tomato | mak* | mak.k ^h γ.som | mak.k ^h ɣ.som | mak.k ^h ɣ.som | mak.k ^h y.som |
| 1316 | onion | | mi.mo.lɛŋ | mi.mo.lɛŋ | mi.sa.krak | mi.mo.lɛŋ |
| 1317 | okra | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1318 | cocoyam, taro | | krau? | krau? | krau? | krau? |
| 1319 | yam | | hon | hon | hon | hon |
| 1320 | sweet potato | mak.saŋ.pʰɔ* | mak.saŋ.pʰɔ | mak.saŋ.pʰɔ | saŋ.pʰɔ | mak.saŋ.pʰɔ |
| 1321 | potato | | jaŋ.jue | jaŋ.jue | jaŋ.jue | jaŋ.jue |
| 1322 | groundnut, peanut | | t ^h o.lin | t ^h o.lin | t ^h o.lin | t ^h o.lin |
| 1323 | sesame seed | ŋa* | ŋа? | ŋa | ŋa | ŋa |
| 1324 | coffee | ka.p ^h i* | ka.p ^h i | ka.p ^h i | ka.p ^h i | ka.p ^h i |
| 1325 | tea | | rom.c ^h a | rom.c ^h a | rom.c ^h a | rom.c ^h a |
| 1326 | rubber | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1327 | cotton | | t ^h ai | t ^h ai | t ^h ai | t ^h ai |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1328 | grow (of plants) | | t ^h in.num | t ^h in.num | t ^h in.num | t ^h in.num |
| 1329 | sprout (v) | | p ^h lγŋ | p ^h lγŋ | p ^h l ⋎ ŋ | p ^h lγŋ |
| 1330 | (be) unripe | | kɔŋ.sa.ŋa | kɔŋ.sa.ŋa | kʰɔn.sa.ŋa | kʰɔn.sa.ŋa |
| 1331 | (be) shrivelled, (be) | | no data | no data | vit | vit |
| | wrinkled (fruit) | | | | | |
| 1332 | wither (plant) | | kro | kro | kro | kro |
| 1333 | blight (n) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1334 | world | | kx.pʰaŋ.hak.tɛ? | kx.pʰaŋ.hak.tɛ? | ky.pʰaŋ.hak.tɛ? | ky.pʰaŋ.hak.tɛ? |
| 1335 | place | | nan.?ot | nan.?ot | taŋ.?ot | nan.?ot |
| 1336 | desert | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1337 | ground, land | | hak.tɛ? | hak.tɛ? | hak.te? | hak.tɛ? |
| 1338 | summit, highest point | | p ^h aŋ.mɔ | p ^h aŋ.mɔ | p ^h aŋ.mɔ | p ^h aŋ.mɔ |
| 1339 | cliff | | hwk | hwk | hwk | hwk |
| 1340 | valley | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1341 | ditch | | roŋ | roŋ | k ^h roŋ | k ^h roŋ |
| 1342 | hole | | tau.do | tau.to | tau.to | tau.to |
| 1343 | crevice | | t ^h o | t ^h o | t ^h o | t ^h o |
| 1344 | gravel | | mac | mac | sa.mɔʔ.ɲɔc | mit |
| 1345 | clay | | no data | no data | te?.pr | no data |
| 1346 | copper | | tʰɔŋ.sa.kraʔ | t ^h ɔŋ.sa.kra? | no data | thon.sa.kra? |
| 1347 | rust (n) | | ?ih.rɔ | ?ih.rɔ | ?ih.rɔ | ?ih.rɔ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1348 | lake | | noŋ | noŋ | noŋ | no data |
| 1349 | marsh | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1350 | spring | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1351 | waterfall | | tat.rom | tat.rom | rom.kvi.kep.tat | tat.rom |
| 1352 | current (river, stream) | | ŋɔt.rom | ŋɔt.rom | no data | ŋɔt.rom |
| 1353 | riverbed (dry) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1354 | river bank | | t ^h iap.ŋɔt | t ^h iap.ŋɔt | t ^h iap.ŋɔt | t ^h iap.ŋɔt |
| 1355 | bridge | | la.pak | la.pak | la.pak | la.pak |
| 1356 | island | | c ^h ɔk.rom | chok.rom | kun.rom | chok.rom |
| 1357 | beach | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1358 | wave | | sai.rom | sai.rom | sai.rom | sai.rom |
| 1359 | bubble | | no data | no data | pop.rom | pop |
| 1360 | foam | | no data | no data | no data | pop |
| 1361 | slime (organic) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1362 | flame | | dɔk.ŋo | dɔk.ŋo | tək.ŋo | tɔk.ŋo |
| 1363 | candle | t ^h en* | t ^h en | t ^h en | t ^h en | t ^h en |
| 1364 | spark | | sa.tʰɔn.ŋo | sa.tʰɔn.ŋo | sa.tʰɔn.ŋo | sa.tʰɔn.ŋo |
| 1365 | fireplace | | muik.ŋo | mwk.ŋo | pia? | mwk.ŋo |
| 1366 | charcoal | | suaih | suaih | suaih | suaih |
| 1367 | air (breathed) | | no data | no data | kw | no data |
| 1368 | full moon | | paŋ.cʰi? | baŋ.cʰi | paŋ.cʰi | paŋ.cʰi |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-----------------------|------------|---|--|--|---|
| 1389 | after | | kxt.c ^h e? | kyt.c ^h e | k v t.c ^h e | k v t.c ^h e |
| 1390 | early | | c ^h au.c ^h au | c ^h au.c ^h au | c ^h au.c ^h au | c ^h au.c ^h au |
| 1391 | late | | kxt.c ^h e? | kyt.c ^h e? | kvt.c ^h e? | kxt.c ^h e? |
| 1392 | once | | ta.c ^h ɤŋ | ty.c ^h yŋ | ty.c ^h yŋ | ty.c ^h yŋ |
| 1393 | again | | pʰoʔ.ta.cʰɤŋ | pho?.ty.chyŋ | p ^h o?.tx.c ^h xŋ | pho?.ty.chyŋ |
| 1394 | sometimes | | ta.cʰɤŋ.ta.pʰu | ty.c ^h yŋ.ty.p ^h u | ty.c ^h yŋ.ty.p ^h u | ty.c ^h yŋ.ty.p ^h u |
| 1395 | often | | rພŋ.rພŋ.ta.cʰɤŋ | rաŋ.rաŋ.tɤ.cʰɤŋ | rաŋ.rաŋ.tɤ.cʰɤŋ | run.run.tv.c ^h vn |
| 1396 | usually | | no data | no data | pra?.prah | pra?.prah |
| 1397 | always | | se.se | se.se | se.se | se.se |
| 1398 | never | | p ^h an.mo?.k ^h ɔ | p ^h an.mo?.k ^h ɔ | no data | p ^h an.mo?.?u.k ^h ɔ |
| 1399 | spend time, pass time | | ?ot.la.myn | ?ot.la.myn | ?ot.la.myn | ?ot.la.myn |
| 1400 | month | | c ^h i? | c ^h i? | c ^h i? | c ^h i? |
| 1401 | today | | ?iŋ.ɲɛ | ?iŋ.ɲɛ | ?iŋ.ɲɛ | ?iŋ.ɲɛ |
| 1402 | day before yesterday | | ka.kau | ka.kau | ka.kau | ka.kau |
| 1403 | day after tomorrow | | c ^h e?.p ^h an.sak | c ^h e?.p ^h an.sak | c ^h e?.p ^h an.sak | c ^h e?.p ^h an.sak |
| 1404 | olden times | | ka.?in | ka.?in | ka.?in | ka.?in |
| 1405 | dawn (before sunrise) | | mon.liaŋ | mon.liaŋ | mon.liaŋ | mon.liaŋ |
| 1406 | sunrise | | tut.sa.ŋi? | t ^h ut.sa.ŋi? | t ^h ut.sa.ŋi? | t ^h ut.sa.ŋi? |
| 1407 | afternoon | | cʰoŋ.sa.ɲi? | cʰoŋ.sa.ɲiʔ | loŋ.kɤ.la | loŋ.kɤ.la |
| 1408 | sunset | | lɛt.sa.ɲiʔ | lɛt.sa.ɲiʔ | lɛt.sa.ɲi? | lɛt.sa.ɲi? |
| 1409 | dusk, twilight (after | | dət.pləŋ | tət.pləŋ | plot.ploŋ | plot.ploŋ |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|----------------------------|------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1430 | go round, detour | | no data | no data | rε | no data |
| 1431 | come (or go) out, exit (v) | | no data | no data | luan | no data |
| 1432 | ascend, go up | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1433 | descend, go down | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1434 | swing (v), go back and | | pyk.si.jyŋ | pyk.si.jyŋ | vut.vat | pyk.si.jyŋ |
| | forth | | | | | |
| 1435 | slide | | sa.lɔ | sa.lɔ | si.lɔ | sa.lɔ |
| 1436 | roll | | luŋ.liŋ | luŋ.liŋ | luŋ.liŋ | luŋ.liŋ |
| 1437 | spread (disease, fire) | | sa.t ^h Y | sa.t ^h Y | sa.t ^h Y | sa.tr |
| 1438 | burst | | t ^h o | t ^h o | t ^h o | t ^h o |
| 1439 | speed (n) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1440 | hasten, hurry | | la.nɛt | la.nɛt | la.nɛt | la.nɛt |
| 1441 | snatch, seize | | t ^h ue.p ^h ai.p ^h ai |
| 1442 | catch (object in air) | | mut | mut | mut | mut |
| 1443 | pick up | | pɔh.pli? | pɔh.pli? | sa.c ^h ət | pɔh.pli? |
| 1444 | hold | | sop | sop | sop | sop |
| 1445 | lower (tr) | | k ^h iɔ | k ^h iɔ | k ^h iə | k ^h iɔ |
| 1446 | drop (tr) | pləi* | ploi | ploi | ploi.kyc | ploi |
| 1447 | knock down, knock over | | t ^h iai | t ^h iai | cot | t ^h iai |
| | (an object) | | | | | |
| 1448 | turn over (tr) | | no data | no data | t ^h ak.ra? | no data |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------------|------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1449 | drag | twt* | twt | dwt | twt | twt |
| 1450 | steer (v) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1451 | overtake, pass (tr) | | klət | klət | k ^h lot | k ^h lət |
| 1452 | surround | vet* | vet | vet | vet | vet |
| 1453 | twist | | vɔt.vat.mau | vɔt.vat.mau | vɔt.viat | vɔt.vɛt.mau |
| 1454 | fold (v) | | la.niap | la.niap | la.niap | la.niap |
| 1455 | coil (rope) (v) | | p ^h ok.p ^h ek.mau | p ^h ok.p ^h ek.mau | p ^h ok.p ^h ek | p ^h ok.p ^h ek.mau |
| 1456 | hang up | hɔi* | hoi | həi | hɔi | hɔi |
| 1457 | spread out (maize) (tr) | | ry.ra | ry.ra | ry.ra | ry.ra |
| 1458 | stretch | nut* | nut | nwt | nut | nwt |
| 1459 | bump (v), knock against | | no data | hu.sa.ta | hu.sa.ta | hu.tap |
| 1460 | scrape (v) | | no data | k ^h ut | k ^h ut | k ^h ut |
| 1461 | scratch (v) | | no data | brac | prac | prac |
| 1462 | pierce | | no data | to?.ti.jak | toh | to?.ta.jak |
| 1463 | tear (tr) | | no data | лаі | ла | лаі |
| 1464 | strip off (bark) | | no data | no data | cha.lo? | no data |
| 1465 | shake (tr) | | no data | krai | krai | krai |
| 1466 | crush (tr) | | no data | k ^h wt | k ^h wt | k ^h wt |
| 1467 | create, make | | no data | juh | juh | juh |
| 1468 | alter, change (tr) | | no data | lai | lai | lai |
| 1469 | break (tr) | | лrес | лrес | лrес | лrес |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-----------------------------|------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1470 | destroy, spoil | | no data | la.la.tik | la.la.tik | lat.la.tik |
| 1471 | join, put together | | no data | swp | swp | swp |
| 1472 | accumulate | | no data | kəŋ | kəŋ | kəŋ |
| 1473 | gather | | no data | c ^h u.?ɛt.p ^h i | c ^h u? | c ^h u.?ɛt.p ^h i |
| 1474 | divide, separate (tr) | | no data | ŋại | ŋɔi | ກຼວi |
| 1475 | scatter (tr) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1476 | throw away, get rid of | | no data | la.vwn.la.tik | la.vwn.tik | la.vwn.la.tik |
| 1477 | put, place, set | | no data | ?rn | thue.?vn | ?vn |
| 1478 | leave (something somewhere) | | no data | no data | ?yn.ta.ni? | no data |
| 1479 | keep, save | | sa.tʰɔk.la.?ชŋ | sa.tʰɔk.la.?າກ | sa.tʰɔk.la.?າກ | sa.tʰɔk.la.?γŋ |
| 1480 | hide (tr) | | mo?.la.?ɤŋ | mo?.la.?ชŋ | mo? | mo?.la.?ɤŋ |
| 1481 | lose (tr) | | no data | ŋrai | juh.ŋrai | ŋrai |
| 1482 | look for | | no data | no data | sək | sək |
| 1483 | find | | no data | no data | jo? | jo? |
| 1484 | blow (of wind) (v) | | no data | paŋ.kɯ | paŋ.kw | paŋ.kw |
| 1485 | blow down | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1486 | blow away (intr) | | no data | plu.van | plu | plu.la.van |
| 1487 | fan (v) | | no data | jip | jip | jip |
| 1488 | drip | | no data | ro | ro | ro |
| 1489 | leak (v) | | no data | ro | ro | ro |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1490 | sprinkle | | no data | p ^h ret.rom | p ^h ret.rom | p ^h au?.rom |
| 1491 | smear (tr) | ta* | no data | ta | t ^h ək | ta |
| 1492 | dip | | no data | com | prvc | com |
| 1493 | soak | $c^h \epsilon^*$ | no data | $c^{h}\epsilon$ | the.rom | $c^{h}\epsilon$ |
| 1494 | wring out | | no data | no data | sa.cia? | no data |
| 1495 | shine | | raŋ | raŋ | raŋ | raŋ |
| 1496 | fade | | raŋ.ci.mɯŋ.ci.ma | raŋ.ci.mɯŋ.ci.ma | raŋ.ci.mɯŋ.ci.maŋ | raŋ.ci.mwŋ.ci.maŋ |
| | | | ŋ | ŋ | | |
| 1497 | light (fire) (v) | | di.ŋo | di.ŋo | ti.ŋo | ti.ŋo |
| 1498 | burn (intr), blaze | | no data | sa.kʰwn | sa.kʰwn | no data |
| 1499 | melt (intr) | | c ^h ୪m | c^h YM | c^h YM | c ^h Ym |
| 1500 | singe | | prau | prau | haŋ.ŋo | prau |
| 1501 | begin | | dε | dɛ | tε | tε |
| 1502 | beginning | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1503 | continue, resume | | la.swp | la.swp | swp | la.swp |
| 1504 | end (n) | | ŋɔit | ŋɔit | ŋɔit | ŋɔit |
| 1505 | cease, stop | | no data | no data | kwt | no data |
| 1506 | finish, complete (v) | | no data | no data | hoc | no data |
| 1507 | (be) high | | no data | no data | laŋ | no data |
| 1508 | (be) low | | no data | no data | tem | no data |
| 1509 | lengthen | | no data | no data | лεt | no data |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1510 | shorten | | no data | no data | pot | no data |
| 1511 | widen | | no data | no data | juh.t ^h iŋ | no data |
| 1512 | deepen | | no data | no data | juh.krau? | no data |
| 1513 | (be) flat | | kla | kla | kla | kla |
| 1514 | flatten | | k ^h ri | k ^h ri | k ^h ri | k ^h ri |
| 1515 | (be) hollow | | no data | no data | pau | no data |
| 1516 | swell (intr) | | no data | no data | ?uai | no data |
| 1517 | straighten | | ry | ry | ry | ry |
| 1518 | (be) crooked | | ŋɔʔ.ŋɛk | ŋɔʔ.ŋɛk | ŋɔ? | ŋɔʔ.ŋɛk |
| 1519 | weight | nam.nak* | nam.nak | nam.nak | c ^h an | nam.nak |
| 1520 | sharpen (knife) | | kleŋ | kleŋ | kleŋ | kleŋ |
| 1521 | sharpen, bring to point | | c ^h oit | c ^h əit | c ^h oit | c ^h əit |
| | (arrow) | | | | | |
| 1522 | make smooth | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1523 | harden | | juh.mra? | juh.mra? | juh.mra? | juh.mra? |
| 1524 | soften | | juh.pio | juh.pio | juh.pio | juh.pio |
| 1525 | (be) slippery | | лu | nu | лu | лu |
| 1526 | (be) sticky | | cap | cap | p ^h it | sa.p ^h it |
| 1527 | colour | | ?a.rɔŋ | ?a.rɔŋ | pi | ?a.rɔŋ |
| 1528 | (be) blue | | bi.səm | bi.som | pi.səm | pi.səm |
| 1529 | (be) brown | | bi.kam | bi.kam | pi.kam | pi.kam |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1530 | (be) dark (colour) | | bi.loŋ | bi.loŋ | pi.loŋ | pi.loŋ |
| 1531 | (be) light (colour) | | p ^h γ t | p ^h γ t | p ^h ૪ t | p ^h ⋎ t |
| 1532 | taste (n) | | sa.ɲɛ | sa.ɲɛ | sa.nɛ | sa.ɲɛ |
| 1533 | (be) salty | c ^h em* | c ^h em | c ^h em | c ^h em | c ^h em |
| 1534 | odour, smell (n) | hɔm* | həm | həm | həm | həm |
| 1535 | stink, smell (bad) | | sa.?ue | sa.?ue | sa.?ue | sa.?ue |
| 1536 | (be) able (to) | | no data | no data | p ^h on.juh.lɛh | no data |
| 1537 | strength | | no data | no data | kue.rɛŋ | no data |
| 1538 | (be) great, (be) powerful | | kue.?a.ja | kue.?a.ja | kue.?a.ja | kue.?a.ja |
| 1539 | splendour, glory | | sa.mak.sa.m _Y | sa.mak.sa.m _Y | sa.mak.sa.m _Y | sa.mak.sa.m _Y |
| 1540 | truth | | man.ja.ta.ra | man.ja.ta.ra | man.ja.ta.ra | man.ja.ta.ra |
| 1541 | (be) beautiful | | mom | mom | mom.ran | mom |
| 1542 | handsome | | mom.la.met | mom.la.met | möm | no data |
| 1543 | (be) ugly | | jɔk.du | jɔk | jok | jok |
| 1544 | (be) clean | | sa.ŋɔm.sa.ɲai | sa.ŋɔm.sa.ɲai | sa.ŋɔm.sa.ɲai | sa.ŋɔm.sa.ɲai |
| 1545 | (be) important | | t ^h in.?a.je | t ^h in.?a.je | t ^h iŋ.?a.re | t ^h in.?a.je |
| 1546 | (be) amusing, funny | | nom.ta.nai | nom.la.nai | nom.nai | nom.ta.nai |
| 1547 | eleven (11) | | kau.te | kau.te | kau.te | kau.te |
| 1548 | twelve (12) | | kau.ra | kau.ra | kau.ra | kau.ra |
| 1549 | thirteen (13) | | kau.loi | kau.loi | kau.loi | kau.loi |
| 1550 | fourteen (14) | | kau.pon | kau.pon | kau.pon | kau.pon |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|-------------------|------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1551 | fifteen (15) | | kau.p ^h uan | kau.p ^h uan | kau.p ^h uan | kau.p ^h uan |
| 1552 | sixteen (16) | | kau.l <u>i</u> a | kau.l <u>i</u> a | kau.l <u>i</u> a | kau.l <u>i</u> a |
| 1553 | seventeen (17) | | kau.?a.li̯a | kau.?a.li̯a | kau.?a.li̯a | kau.?a.li̯a |
| 1554 | eighteen (18) | | kau.sa.te? | kau.sa.te? | kau.sa.te? | kau.sa.te? |
| 1555 | nineteen (19) | | kau.sa.dim | kau.sa.dim | kau.sa.tim | kau.sa.tim |
| 1556 | twenty-one (21) | | ra.kau.te | ra.kau.t ^h e | ra.kau.t ^h e | ra.kau.t ^h e |
| 1557 | twenty-two (22) | | ra.kau.ra | ra.kau.ra | ra.kau.ra | ra.kau.ra |
| 1558 | twenty-three (23) | | ra.kau.lɔi | ra.kau.lɔi | ra.kau.lɔi | ra.kau.lɔi |
| 1559 | twenty-four (24) | | ra.kau.pun | ra.kau.pun | ra.kau.pun | ra.kau.pun |
| 1560 | twenty-five (25) | | ra.kau.p ^h uan | ra.kau.p ^h uan | ra.kau.p ^h uan | ra.kau.pʰuan |
| 1561 | twenty-six (26) | | ra.kau.l <u>i</u> a | ra.kau.l <u>i</u> a | ra.kau.l <u>i</u> a | ra.kau.l <u>i</u> a |
| 1562 | twenty-seven (27) | | ra.kau.?a.li̯a | ra.kau.?a.li̯a | ra.kau.?a.li̯a | ra.kau.?a.li̯a |
| 1563 | twenty-eight (28) | | ra.kau.sa.te? | ra.kau.sa.te? | ra.kau.sa.te? | ra.kau.sa.te? |
| 1564 | twenty-nine (29) | | ra.kau.sa.dim | ra.kau.sa.dim | ra.kau.sa.tim | ra.kau.sa.tim |
| 1565 | thirty (30) | | loi.kau | loi.kau | loi.kau | loi.kau |
| 1566 | forty (40) | | pun.kau | pun.kau | pun.kau | pun.kau |
| 1567 | fifty (50) | | p ^h uan.kau | p ^h uan.kau | p ^h uan.kau | p ^h uan.kau |
| 1568 | sixty (60) | | l <u>i</u> a.kau | lia.kau | l <u>i</u> a.kau | l <u>i</u> a.kau |
| 1569 | seventy (70) | | ?a.li̯a.kau | ?a.li̯a.kau | ?a.li̯a.kau | ?a.li̯a.kau |
| 1570 | eighty (80) | | sa.te.kau | sa.te.kau | sa.te.kau | sa.te.kau |
| 1571 | ninety (90) | | sa.dim.kau | sa.dim.kau | sa.tim.kau | sa.tim.kau |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1572 | two hundred (200) | | ra.rv.jah | ra.r _Y .ja | ra.r _° .ja | ra.r _Y .ja |
| 1573 | five hundred (500) | | pʰuan.rɤ.jah | pʰuan.rɤ.ja | pʰuan.rɤ.ja | pʰuan.rɤ.ja |
| 1574 | two thousand (2000) | | ra.rvŋ | ra.rvŋ | ra.rvŋ | ra.rvŋ |
| 1575 | (be) first | | nam.pat.t ^h e | nam.pat.t ^h e | nam.pat.the | nam.pat.t ^h e |
| 1576 | (be) second | | nam.pat.rah | nam.pat.rah | nam.pat.rah | nam.pat.rah |
| 1577 | (be) third | | nam.pat.roi | ກວi.pʰreŋ | nam.pat.roi | nam.pat.roi |
| 1578 | (be) last | | ny.rim | no data | ny.rim | ny.rim |
| 1579 | add | | рэŋ | p ^h oŋ | p ^h ɔŋ | p ^h əŋ |
| 1580 | subtract, take away | | nuk | nuk | nuk | nuk |
| 1581 | multiply/increase (intr) | | la.la.hu | la.la.hu | no data | no data |
| 1582 | divided/decrease (intr) | | jom | jom | no data | no data |
| 1583 | arrange | | no data | no data | plan | no data |
| 1584 | (be) equal | | ŋɔi.pʰreŋ | ŋɔi.pʰreŋ | p ^h reŋ | ŋɔi.pʰreŋ |
| 1585 | (be) abundant | | no data | no data | lyŋ | lvŋ |
| 1586 | enough | | k ^h up | k ^h up | k ^h up | lɤŋ.kʰup |
| 1587 | lack (v) | | no data | no data | c ^h ut | no data |
| 1588 | (be) used up | | ?uc.jip | ?uc.jip | ?uc.jip | ?uc.jip |
| 1589 | everybody | | kʰu.kau? | kʰu.kau? | k ^h u.kau? | k ^h u.kau? |
| 1590 | everything | | k ^h u.ŋrɤ | k ^h u.ŋrɤ | k ^h u.ŋrɤ | k ^h u.ŋrɤ |
| 1591 | somebody | | ty.kau.kau | ty.kau.kau | ty.kau.kau | ty.kau.kau |
| 1592 | something | | ty.mu.mu | ty.mu.mu | ty.mu.mu | ty.mu.mu |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|----------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1593 | everywhere | | k ^h u.t ^h i |
| 1594 | nobody | | ?a.ma.mo | ?a.ma.mo | ?a.ma.mo | ?a.ma.mo |
| 1595 | nothing | | ?a.ma.p ^h u | ?a.ma.p ^h u | ?a.ma.p ^h u | ?a.ma.p ^h u |
| 1596 | here | | tuŋ.ʔiŋ | tuŋ.ʔiŋ | tuŋ.ʔiŋ | tuŋ.ʔiŋ |
| 1597 | there | | tuŋ.ʔan | tuŋ.?an | tuŋ.?an | tuŋ.?an |
| 1598 | up | | ka.laŋ | ka.laŋ | ka.lɤŋ | ka.laŋ |
| 1599 | down | | ka.t ^h iam | ka.t ^h iam | ka.sɛ | ka.t ^h iam |
| 1600 | forward (direction) | | no data | no data | ka.ŋai | no data |
| 1601 | backward (direction) | | no data | no data | ka.c ^h ɛʔ | no data |
| 1602 | over, above | | ka.ka.daŋ | ka.ka.daŋ | ka.ka.taŋ | ka.ka.taŋ |
| 1603 | under, below | | ka.seh | ka.seh | ka.seh | ka.seh.taŋ |
| 1604 | in front of, before | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1605 | behind | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1606 | beside | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1607 | inside | | ka.nau | ka.nau | ka.nau | ka.nau |
| 1608 | outside | | ka.p ^h re | ka.p ^h re | ka.p ^h re | ka.p ^h re |
| 1609 | between | | sa.na? | sa.na? | sa.na? | sa.na? |
| 1610 | towards | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1611 | away from | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1612 | with | | ma.mo | ma.mo | ma.mo | ma.mo |
| 1613 | other (men) | | no data | no data | no data | no data |

| No | English Gloss | Loan Words | Namt Yoke | Loi Yang | Pang Wan | Pan Tang |
|------|---------------|------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1614 | which (one)? | | pi?.mo | pi?.mo | pi?.mo | my ⁴² |
| 1615 | why? | | juh.kʰw.pʰu | juh.kʰw.pʰu | juh.kʰɯ.pʰu | juh.kʰw.pʰu |
| 1616 | how? | | juh.p ^h u | juh.p ^h u | juh.p ^h u | no data |
| 1617 | and | | kom | kom | kom | kom |
| 1618 | if | | ŋau.cʰau.ʔan | ŋau.cʰau.ʔan | ŋau.cʰau.ʔan | ŋau.cʰau.ʔan |
| 1619 | but | | ma.juh.nɔ? | ma.ju.nɔ? | ma.ju.nɔ? | ma.ju.nɔ? |
| 1620 | so | | kʰɔp.ʔan | k ^h ɔp.?an | k ^h əp.?an | k ^h ɔp.?an |
| 1621 | because | | juh.haŋ.pʰu | juh.haŋ.pʰu | juh.haŋ.pʰu | juh.haŋ.pʰu |
| 1622 | perhaps | | no data | no data | no data | no data |
| 1623 | really, truly | | man.man | man.man | man.man | man.man |
| 1624 | well (adv) | | mom.mom.pha | mom.mom.pha | mom.mom.pha.pha | mom.mom.pha.pha |
| 1625 | poorly | | jɔk.ma.kʰroi | jɔk.ma.kʰroi | jɔk.jɔk.kroi.kʰroi | jɔk.jɔk.kroi.kʰroi |
| 1626 | only | | tɣ.mu.ti | ty.mu.ti | tɣ.mu.ti | tɣ.mu.ti |
| 1627 | yes | | mγ | mγ | mγ | mγ |
| 1628 | no | | ?a.m _Y | ?a.m _Y | ?a.m _Y | ?a.mɤ.pʰu |

Notes:

1. This word list contains a lot of loan words from Shan, a Tai language which were borrowed into Meung Yum, these loan words are presented in a column and also marked with asterisk -*. In some cases of multisyllabic words part of words are borrowed from Shan e.g. #69 some loan words may be phonologically adapted in order to fit in Meung Yum phonology.

2. The word list consists of 1,628 words. Some words are repeated twice and some words have either no such word in Meung Yum or the speakers do not know the words. All of these are indicated as "no data".

RESUME

Name: Phung Wei Ping
Date of Birth: 08 April 1972

Place of Birth: Melacca, Malaysia

Institutions Attended: 1990, Association of Business Executives UK, Business

Administration

2006, Malaysia Baptist Theological Seminary, Master of

Christian Studies

2008, Payap University, Master of Arts in Linguistics