# The Phonological Aspects of Nefamese <br> *Nupur Chandra Bhuyan 

Nefamese is the name given to the language spoken by different ethnic tribes in Arunachal Pradesh, not only among themselves but also with outsiders. It was developed when these different tribes came into contact with economically developed Assamese for verbal communication for trade \& other socio-economical purposes. The different tribes viz. Nishi, Adi, Apatanai, Khampti, Hill Miri, Idu Mishimi, Nocte, Wanchu, Tagin, Mompa etc. have their own languages but those were mutually unintelligible i.e. one tribe did not understand the language of another tribe. Hence they started to use Nefamese as their contact language for oral communication as it was understood by everybody. Though Nefamese is mainly based on Assamese, it is also influenced by Hindi \& English to a considerable extent.

So far as our research is concerned, we have found 6 vowel phonemes, 18 consonantal phonemes \& 6 Diphthongs in Nefamese.

## Vowels:

The vowels in Nefamese are as follows,

> i e d a: o u

While back vowels are rounded, the front \& central vowels are unrounded. The vowels in Nefamese are voiced and oral. The description of the vowel phoneme is as follows-

## Descriptions

| /i/ | close front unrounded |
| :--- | :--- |
| /e/ | half-close front unrounded |
| /d/ | half close central unrounded |
| /a: / | open central unrounded |
| /o/ | half-close back rounded |
| /u/ | close back rounded |

Above-mentioned vowel sounds are established on the basis of minimal pairs:

| /i/ | vs. | lu/ | /ita:/ | brick | /uta:/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | get up

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/a:/vs. /o/ /ga:ri/ vehicle /gori/ clock
/d/ vs. /o/ /dds/ ten /dos/ friend
Distribution of vowels:
All the vowels occur in all the three positions-
Initial position:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { /i/ } & \text { /ita: / brick } \\
\text { /e/ } & \text { /ekta: / one } \\
\text { /d/ } & \text { /dto/ auto rickshaw } \\
\text { /a: / /a:ji/ today } \\
\text { /o/ /okra:/ simpleton } \\
\text { /u/ /ut/ camel }
\end{array}
$$

Medial position:
/i/ /din/ day
/e/ /pet/ stomach
/d/ /mandir/ temple
/a:/ /ma:s/ fish
/o/ /gor/ house
/u/ /pul/ flower

Final position:

| /i/ | /a:ji/ | today |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /e/ | /potokke/ | suddenly |
| /d/ | /gundd/ | smell |
| /a: / /murga:/ | cock |  |
| /o/ | /ma:nso/ | meat |

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/u/ /jà:du/ magic

Diphthongs:

Though no tripthong is found, Nefamese has 6 diphthongs. They are as follows-
/a:i/ as in /a:ina:/ mirror
/a:u/ as in /na:u/ boat
/ia:/ as in /dukia:/ poor
/ua:/ as in /sua:li/ girl
/ui/ as in /jui/ fire
/oi/ as in /homoi/ time

Of these 6 diphthongs, three moves towards [i]. They are /a:i/, /ui/ \& /oi/; one moves towards [u] as /a:u/; \& the other two moves towards [a:] as /ua:/ \& /ia:/. Except /a:i/ the other 5 diphthongs don't occur in the initial positions. The occurrence of the six diphthongs in the three positions are shown as follows-

| /a:i/ | Initial position | /a:ina:/ | mirror |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | Medial position | /pa:ika:na:/ | stool |
|  | Final position | /doba:i/ | medicine |

/a:u/ Initial position not found till now
Medial position /ta:un/ town
Final position /na:u/ boat

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| /ia: / Initial position | not found till now |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Medial position | /goria:I/ | crockodile |
|  | Final position | /dukia:/ | poor |

/ua: / Initial position not found till now
Medial position /sua:li/ girl
Final position /ra:tipua:/ morning
/ui/ Initial position not found till now
Medial position /duita:/ two
Final position / ĵui/ fire
/oi/ Initial position not found till now
Medial position /poisa:/ money
Final position /toi/ you

## Consonants:

There are 18 consonantal phonemes in Nefamese. Among 18 consonants, there are 6 stops \& 12 continuants. Among stops there are 3 voiced \& 3 voiceless phonemes. All the stops are unaspirated. Among the continuants, there are 3 nasals, 3 fricatives, 2 affricates, 1 trill, 1 lateral \& 2 approximants.

The nasals, trill, lateral \& approximants are voiced. Where the fricatives are voiceless, among affricates 1 is voiced and the other 1 is voiceless. No aspirated phoneme is found in Nefamese.

The following is the list of consonants \& its descriptions-
phoneme

## Descriptions

| /p/ | voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop |
| :--- | :--- |
| /b/ | voiced unaspirated bilabial stop |
| /t/ | voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop |
| /d/ | voiced unaspirated alveolar stop |
| /k/ | voiceless unaspirated velar stop |
| /g/ | voiced $\quad$ unaspirated velar stop |
| /m/ | voiced |
| /n/ bilabial nasal |  |
| /n/ | voiced |
| /s/ alveolar nasal |  |
| /s/ | voiced |
| /h/ velar nasal |  |
| /č/ | voiceless |

The consonantal sounds are established on the basis of minimal pairs \& where no minimal pairs are available; sub- minimal pairs have been used for the purposes.

| /p/ | vs | /b/ | /pet/ | stomach | /bet/ | cane |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /t/ | vs | /d/ | /ta:n/ | hard | /da:n/ | paddy |
| /k/ | vs | /g/ | /ka:li/ | tomorrow | /ga:li/ | abuse |
| /m/ vs | /n/ | /ka:m/ | work | /ka:n/ | ear |  |
| /n/ | vs | /n/ | /ka:n/ | ear | /kon/ | anger |
| /m/ | vs | /n/ | /ka:m/ | work | /kon/ | anger |
| /s/ | vs | /š/ | /sati/ | umbrella | /ša:ti/ | sixty |
| /š/ | vs | /h/ | /ša:t/ | seven | /ha:t/ | hand |
| /č/ | vs | /ĵ/ | /čula:/ | stove | /jola:// | to burn |
| /r/ vs | /l/ | /ra:ti/ | night | /la:ti/ | stick |  |
| /w/ vs | /y/ | /ta:wa:/ | frying pan | /ta:ya:/ | a name |  |

## Distribution of Consonants:

So far as our research is concerned till now, most of the consonants occur in all the three positions of words. The 4 consonants which cannot occur in the final position are $/ \mathrm{h} /, / \mathrm{c} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{w} / \& / \mathrm{y} /$. Again $/ \mathrm{h} / \& / \mathrm{y} /$ cannot occur in the initial position of a word in Nefamese.

The following examples are given to show the occurrence of the 18 consonantal phonemes in the three positions:

| /p/ | Initial | /pa:ni/ | water |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Medial | /ka:pur/ | cloth |
|  | Final | /tep/ | tap |
| /b/ | Initial | /ba:k/ | tiger |
|  | Medial | /ĵibon/ | life |
|  | Final | /šob/ | all |

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| /t/ | Initial | /ta:n/ | hard |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
|  | Medial | /kita:p/ | book |
|  | Final | /but/ | ghost |
| /d/ | Initial | /da:m/ | cost |
|  | Medial | /goda:m/ | godown |
|  | Final | /dud/ | milk |


| /k/ | Initial | /ka:m/ | work |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Medial | /a:ka:š/ | sky |
|  | Final | /na:k/ | nose |

/g/ Initial /get/ gate

Medial /ba:ga:n/ garden
Final /jog/ jug
/m/ Initial /ma:/ mother
Medial /a:tma:/ soul

|  | Final | /ka:m/ | work |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /n/ | Initial | /na:k/ | nose |
|  | Medial | /ča:ndi/ | silver |
|  | Final | /ka:n/ | ear |

$/ \mathrm{y}$ / Initial not found till now

| Media | /lenta:/ naked |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Final | /ron/ | colour |

/s/ Initial /sua:li/ girl

Medial /ma:nso/ meat
Final /dos/ friend

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| /š/ | Initial | /ša:di/ | marriage |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Medial | /tiša:r/ | teacher |
|  | Final | /a:ka:š/ | sky |
| /h/ | Initial | /ha: ĵra:/ | wage |
|  | Medial | /pa:ha:r/ | hill |
|  | Final | not found | till now |
| /č/ | Initial | /čula:/ | stove |
|  | Medial | /ba:ča:/ | child |
|  | Final | not found | till now |
| /\̂/ | Initial | /ĵui/ | fire |
|  | Medial | /a:ĵ/ | today |
|  | Final | /la:loĵ/ | greed |
| /r/ | Initial | /ra:ti/ | night |
|  | Medial | /a:ru/ | and |
|  | Final | /ker/ | thatch |
| /I/ | Initial | /la:ti/ | stick |
|  | Medial | /jola:/ | to burn |
|  | Final | /pul/ | flower |
| /w/ | Initial | /wul/ | wool |
|  | Medial | /ta:wa:/ | tawa |
|  | Final | not found | till now |
| /y/ | Initial | not found | till now |
|  | Medial | /boyok/ | age |
|  | Final | not found | till now |

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## Syllabic pattern:

Monosyllabic word:
Open monosyllabic words:
v: /i/ he/she
cv : /ma:/ mother
cvv: /toi/ you

Closed monosyllabic words:
vc: /a:m/ mango
cvc: /na:k/ nose

Disyllabic word:
Open disyllabic words:
vcv: /i-ta:/ brick
cvcv: /ma:-nu/ man

Closed disyllabic words:
cvevc: /pa:-ha:r/ hill
vcccvc: /ek-tres/ actress
Trisyllabic words:
Open trisyllabic words:
vcvev: /a:- ju-ti/ ring
vccvev: / un-no-ti/ progress
Closed triyllabic words:
cvcvevc: / hi-ho-tor/ their
vcvccvc: /i-lek: -s $\mathrm{n} /$ election
So far as our research is concerned, no tetrasyllabic word is found in Nefamese.

## Consonent clusters \& sequences:

In Nefamese consonant clusters occur only in initial \& final position whereas a lot of consonant sequences occur in the medial position. Initial clusters:

So far as our research is concerned Nefamese does not allow more than two consonants initially in a word. While the 1st member of the cluster is a stop, the $2 n d$ member of the cluster is a trill $(/ r /)$.

| /pr/ | /pra:i/ | fry |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /tr/ | /tris/ | thirty |

Final clusters:
A very few numbers of final clusters of consonants are found in Nefamese:

| /mp/ | /kemp/ camp |
| :--- | :--- |
| /nd/ | /na:ga:lend/ nagaland |

Medial Sequences:
So far as our research is concerned, a good number of medial sequences of consonants are found in Nefamese. While in the most of the medial sequences the 1st number is a stop, the second member may be a stop, a nasal, a fricative, an affricate, a trill or a lateral.

| stop+stop: | /kt/ | /ekta:/ one |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| stop+ nasal: | /tm/ /a:tma:/ soul |  |
| stop+ fricative: | /kš/ /ekšo/ hundred |  |

stop+affricate: /bĵ/ /sobĵi/ vegetables
stop+ trill: /kr/ /kekra:/ crab stop+ lateral: /gl/ /pa:gla:/ mad

However it is also found that nasal, affricate, trill or lateral occupy the 1st membership in the medial sequences to a considerable extent.

| nasal + stop: | /nb/ | /ka:nda:/ | cry |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| affricate+ trill: | /ĵr/ | /ha:îra:/ | wages |
| trill + stop: | /rg/ | /murga:/ cock | cock |
| lateral+ nasal: | /lm/ | /a:Ima:ri/ cupboard |  |

Besides this, it is also found that in Nefamese a very few number of three consonant sequences occur in the medial position. The 1st member is either a voiceless stop or a nasal. The 2nd member is usually a stop and the 3rd member is always a trill.

| /ktr/ | /ektres/ | actresss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /ntr/ | / untris/ | twenty-nine |

## Geminates:

So far as our research is concerned, in Nefamese the unaspirated stops, the nasals, the affricates form germinates in the medial position.
/tt/ / pittibi/ earth
/nn/ /unnoti/ progress
/ĵj/ /û̂jol/ bright

## Supra-segmental Feature:

## Stress:

The primary stress, written /' /, falls in first syllable of monosyllabic words and also in the open ended disyllabic as well as triysyllabic words.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /'ma:/ mother } \\
& \text { /'a:m/ mango } \\
& \text { /'okra:/ simpleton } \\
& \text { /'ddrmoha:/ salary }
\end{aligned}
$$

In case of closed ended disyllabic and trisyllabic words. The primary stress falls on second syllable.

> /de'ga:r/ dagger
> /mi'nista: r/ Minister

So far as our data is concerned no tetrasyllabic words have been found in Nefamese.

Again where there is a diphthong in a word, the primary stress falls on the diphthong.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { /'poila:/ } & \text { First } \\
\text { /'gutei/ } & \text { All }
\end{array}
$$

## Morphophonemics:

Morphophonemics is the analysis \& classification of phonological factors which affect the appearance of morphemes.

Morphophonemics or Sandhi(joining in Sanskrit) are forms which have gone specific modifications in specific circumstances in Nefamese.

In Nefamese Sandhi forms are of two types - internal and external Sandhi. In internal Sandhi variations are confined to the arrangement of morphemes
within the words. So far as external sandhi is concerned variations are extended to the arrangement of words within phrases, clauses or sentences.

## External Sandhi:

The final /or/ of a noun/ noun phrase is dropped when it is followed by a post position in a sentence.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /tebul/ + /or/ + /upordt/ = /tebul upordt/ } \\
& \text { Table of on on the table } \\
& \text { /rum/ + /or/ + /bitdrdt/= /rum bitdrdt/ } \\
& \text { Room of inside in the room }
\end{aligned}
$$

Internal Sandhi:
(1) $\mathrm{An} / \mathrm{i} /$ is added before borrowed English words beginning with a consonant cluster having $/ \mathrm{s} /$ as the first number of the cluster.
/skul/-/iskul/ school
/stet/ - /istet/ state
(2) The medial consonant sequence of /str/ is broken by inserting an /i/ between /st/ and /r/.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { /mistri/- /mistiri/ } & \text { carpenter } \\
\text { /istri/ -/ istiri/ } & \text { Iron }
\end{array}
$$

(3) The last consonant of the final consonant cluster is dropped in case of borrowed Hindi/English words.

| /dost/- /dos/ | friend |
| :--- | :--- |
| /post/- /pos/ | pillar |

So we hope that our study will help in preserving Nefamese which is, in fact, necessary as it is the only lingua franca of Arunachal Pradesh which is understood by different communities.

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