

STEDT Monograph Series, No. 3

PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORIES OF  
TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES

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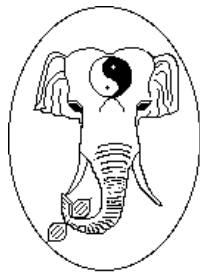
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**STEDT Monograph Series, No. 3**

James A. Matisoff, General Editor

# **PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORIES OF TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES**

Ju Namkung, Editor



**Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary  
and Thesaurus Project**

Center for Southeast Asia Studies  
University of California, Berkeley  
1996

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J.A.M.  
Berkeley

# INTRODUCTION

## DESCRIPTION OF THE STEDT PROJECT

The *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* (STEDT) project began at the University of California at Berkeley in 1987 with joint funding from the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The goal of the project is the publication of a multi-volume dictionary, organized by semantic field, of reconstructed Sino-Tibetan (ST) and Tibeto-Burman (TB) roots. To that end hundreds of thousands of lexical items from over 250 Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects have been amassed and analyzed, and the phonological shape and semantic range of thousands of reconstructed roots have been established, confirmed or refined. The first volume of *STEDT, Bodypart Nomenclature*, will be published in individual chapter-length fascicles beginning in 1997.

## PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORIES

### *Purpose of the work*

This collection of phonological inventories is intended to serve two purposes. First, it will be a companion to the forthcoming *STEDT* volumes. Our database contains data on over 250 languages and dialects culled from more than a hundred published and unpublished sources. While many of these sources employ standard transcriptional systems (such as the International Phonetic Alphabet), many others use idiosyncratic or unconventional transcriptions. The inventories contained herein function as a key to interpreting these sometimes cryptic orthographies, allowing the reader to accurately interpret and assess *STEDT* data. (It should be noted that not every data source represented in the *STEDT* database has been inventoried here. Sources for which we have only a few lexical items, which are of poor quality, or which defy phonological analysis have not been included.)

Secondly, this book is meant to stand alone as a useful reference tool for the Tibeto-Burman linguist. Collected in these pages are inventories of over 170 scholarly treatments of the sound systems of more than 150 languages and dialects. A few of these inventories are from sources that are not part of the *STEDT* database, but have been deemed important enough in their own right to warrant inclusion.



*STEDT volumes, the STEDT database, and the STEDT font*

In the early years of the STEDT project an attempt was made to retranscribe unwieldy source material according to American or International phonetic transcriptional norms. The data from a number of sources has been “normalized” in this way. Unfortunately, the hope that all STEDT data could be consolidated under a single transcription system, facilitating phonological comparison, turned out to be exceedingly naive. Some very early sources do not explain their transcription systems accurately enough to permit normalization without overinterpretation; some data is transcribed phonemically, some phonetically, and some in a mixture of the two; and sometimes the task of conversion simply proved too demanding on the project’s limited resources. We then adopted a policy of strict preservation of original source orthography (as we call it, “following copy”), with occasional deviations necessitated by computer font limitations. (All data is represented in our STEDT font, a mixed-orthography phonetic Macintosh font we have developed for transcribing Tibeto-Burman languages.) Although this policy makes the data more difficult to use for comparative phonological purposes, it ensures that the integrity of the original source data is preserved. The phonological inventories, originally intended to be an appendix to the first volume of *STEDT*, were conceived of as an adjunct to the new policy.

For each source inventoried, the transcriptional symbols are listed *as they appear* in the STEDT database. (For inventories of data sources not included in the STEDT database, the symbols follow the original source usage.) Where these symbols represent a “normalization”, that fact is carefully noted and differences with the original transcription are listed.

As an example of how the phonological inventories in this volume can be used, consider the following excerpt from *STEDT Volume 1: Bodypart Nomenclature*:<sup>1</sup>

## 1.1.1:1.00

**\*sya-n ʌ ša-n**  
**FLESH/MEAT/GAME ANIMAL**

*Sino-Tibetan*

*Kiranti	<b>sa</b>	<i>meat</i>	BM-PK7 116
*Loloish	<b>sa<sup>2</sup></b>	<i>meat /flesh</i>	AW-TBT 289
	<b>xa<sup>2</sup></b>	<i>meat</i>	DB-PLolo 135
	<b>xa<sup>2</sup></b>	<i>meat</i>	ILH-PL 81
	<b>ʃə-ro<sup>2</sup></b>	<i>bone</i>	DB-PLolo 136
	<b>ʃə-ro<sup>2</sup></b>	<i>bone</i>	ILH-PL 370

<sup>1</sup> The right-hand column shows the “source abbreviation”, a shorthand bibliographic citation of the work from which the data was taken. All works in the STEDT database have been assigned a source abbreviation. Source abbreviations are used throughout this volume, usually within square brackets, as in [JAM-VSTB]. For a listing of all source abbreviations with full references to the work they represent, see the list of STEDT source abbreviations at the back of the book.

*Northern Naga	<b>swun</b>	<i>flesh</i>	WTF-PNN p. 489
*Tibeto-Burman	<b>sya</b>	<i>flesh, meat, animal</i>	STC 181
	<b>sya</b>	<i>meat</i>	BM-PK7 116
	<b>sya</b>	<i>meat /flesh</i>	AW-TBT 289
	<b>sya</b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	RJL-DPTB 127
	<b>śa</b>	<i>flesh</i>	ACST 386a-c
	<b>śa</b>	<i>flesh/meat/animal</i>	ACST 1100a-f
*Tibeto-Kanauri	<b>sa(B)</b>	<i>flesh/meat/animal</i>	ACST 386a-c
Achang Lianghe	<b>ṣa<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	RJL-DPTB 127
	<b>ṣa<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	JZ-Achang
Achang Longchuan	<b>ṣua<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	RJL-DPTB 127
	<b>zua<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	JZ-Achang
Achang Luxi	<b>sa<sup>55</sup></b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	JZ-Achang
	<b>sa<sup>55</sup></b>	<i>meat, flesh</i>	RJL-DPTB 127
Achang Xiandao	<b>a<sup>31</sup> ṣa<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>lean meat</i>	DQ-Xiandao 559
	<b>ṣa<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>flesh</i>	DQ-Xiandao 154
	<b>ṣa<sup>31</sup></b>	<i>meat</i>	DQ-Xiandao 554
Ahi	<b>pa<sup>33</sup> xo<sup>21</sup></b>	<i>flesh / meat</i>	LMZ-AhiQ 1.11
Akha	<b>shà-pòʔ</b>	<i>lung</i>	JAM-VSTB 1c
	<b>sha paw</b>	<i>lung</i>	JAM-Ety
	<b>sha yoẽ</b>	<i>bone</i>	JAM-Ety
	<b>sha_pya_k'eh_</b>	<i>hip</i>	JAM-Ety
	<b><u>sjhà</u></b>	<i>meat</i>	ILH-PL 81
	<b><u>sjhà-jö</u></b>	<i>bone</i>	ILH-PL 370
	<b>śà·jí</b>	<i>meat /flesh</i>	AW-TBT 289
	<b>śà·yò</b>	<i>bone</i>	AW-TBT 173
Akha (Thai)	<b>sjhà-djí</b>	<i>meat</i>	ILH-PL 81
	<b>sjhà-jö</b>	<i>bone</i>	ILH-PL 370
Akha (Yunnan)	<b>sjhà djí</b>	<i>meat</i>	ILH-PL 81
	<b>sjhà jö</b>	<i>bone</i>	ILH-PL 370

Compare two forms for the Akha word for ‘bone’: **sha** yoẽ from [JAM-Ety] and **sjhà-jö** from [ILH-PL] (underlined above). The phonological inventories can be used to explain some of the unusual symbols used. When we consult the [PL-AETD]<sup>2</sup> Akha inventory (see following page), we see from its position in the phonemic charts that <sh> represents a voiceless palatal fricative. We also see that <y> is a palatal approximant, that <oe> is a mid front rounded vowel, and that both syllables are oral (non-laryngealized). The tones are a mid tone followed by a high tone. Similarly, the Akha inventory for

<sup>2</sup> The relevant phonological inventory for the Akha forms in [JAM-Ety] is the inventory for which Lewis [PL-AETD] is the “Data Source”, as the index by source abbreviation reveals. See below for a discussion of the relationship between different sources and the relevant inventory.

[ILH-PL] shows that <sjh> represents a voiceless aspirated palatal fricative, that <j> represents a palatal approximant and that <ö> represents a mid front rounded vowel. Both syllables are non-laryngealized, with a low tone followed by a high tone.

The inventories thus allow easy comparison of different dialects. The most striking difference is that the dialect of Akha found in [ILH-PL] has an aspiration distinction which the dialect found in [PL-AETD] does not have.

Phonemic charts for Akha data from [PL-AETD]:

*CONSONANTS*

p	py	t	ts	c	k	
b	by	d	dz	j	g	
		s		sh	k'	h
(v)		z		y	g'	
m	my	n	ny		ng	
		l				

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

i , oi	ui , u
e , oe	eu , o
eh	a , aw
m	ah

*TONES*

	<i>Oral</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	maˇ	
mid	ma	ma^
low	maˇ	ma^

Phonemic charts for Akha data from [ILH-PL]:

### INITIALS

p	pj	t	ts	tj	k	
ph	pjh	th	tsh	tjh	kh	
b	bj	d	dz	dj	g	
		s		sj	x	h
		sh		sjh	xh	
		z			ʎ	
m	mj	n			ŋ	
		l		j		

### RHYMES

<i>Non-Laryngealized</i>			<i>Laryngealized</i>		
i , ü		y , u	iq , üq		yq , uq
e , ö		ə , o	eq , öq		əq , oq
ε	a	ɔ	εq	aq	ɔq
m		aŋ	mq		

### TONES

	<i>Non-laryngealized</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	má	
mid	ma	maq
low	mà	màq

#### *Quality of the sources*

The sources of both our lexical data and the phonological information used in compiling these inventories vary widely in quality, readability, and accuracy. Each type of source demanded different treatment in the compilation of this volume.

For modern sources written by trained linguists which include phonological charts and discussion, inventories could be compiled in a straightforward manner.

Inventory data from sources written in languages other than English (e.g. French, Chinese, Japanese, etc.) required translation by the editors.

Many of the questionnaires solicited from field linguists do not contain explicit inventories; in such cases the editors have “extracted” the inventories based on an analysis of the lexical data and knowledge of the characteristics of the languages concerned.

Older sources, particularly those from the turn of the century, presented particularly vexing problems of interpretation. Many of these employ transcriptions based on the standard British English (RP) of the time, which are explained in impressionistic rather than precise linguistic language. In these cases the editors have had to use careful judgment; often we have tried to avoid over-interpretation by simply quoting the original, while suggesting a likely interpretation.

In a number of cases we have discovered that the phonological or transcriptional system described by an author does not tally with the lexical data presented. We have generally not attempted to rectify such errors unless their solutions are patently obvious; instead we have merely pointed out the discrepancies and occasionally suggested alternative explanations.

The following sources have peculiarities worth pointing out:

- [GEM-CNL]. Marrison’s lexical data are presented in an orthographic notation which is not necessarily phonemic. His phonological descriptions, however, are presented as lists of phonemes. For each language, Marrison provides correspondence charts correlating his orthographic symbols with these phonemes. Unfortunately, the meaning of this correlation is not always clear. Where there is a one-to-one correspondence, e.g. orthographic <sh> is phonemic /ʃ/, Marrison seems to mean simply that the phoneme realized [ʃ] is written as <sh>. But when two or more orthographic symbols correspond to a phoneme, e.g. <ts> and <ch> correspond to /tʃ/, it is not clear whether Marrison means that /tʃ/ has two distinct allophones, [ts] and [ch], or that the phoneme /tʃ/ is arbitrarily written as both <ch> and <ts> but always has the same phonetic realization. A further difficulty with Marrison is that his data and phonological descriptions are riddled with typographical errors. In our inventories for Marrison’s data, we have listed only the orthographic symbols in the charts, and placed Marrison’s phoneme correspondences in the notes. It is left to the reader to interpret the meaning of these correspondences.

Most of Marrison’s lexical data comes from other works, but he seems to have normalized the transcription of most of the data to conform to his own system.

- [ZMYYC]. Many of the Chinese sources, principally [ZMYYC], treat alveolar affricates/fricatives as having a more forward articulation than alveolar stops when placing them in consonant charts. We believe this is not a reflection of phonetic reality, but merely the result of the Chinese analytic tradition. (Even the Chinese nomenclature encodes a distinction: alveolar affricates/fricatives are called literally “tongue-tip front sounds” while alveolar stops are called “tongue-tip middle sounds”.) In our treatment of these sources, we have assumed there is no place-of-articulation distinction between alveolar stops on the one hand and alveolar affricates/fricatives on the other unless such a distinction is specifically mentioned.

- Chinese sources. Please note that in romanizing place names, dialect names, etc. taken from Chinese sources, we have generally used the standard *pinyin* transcription system, but have not included tone marks. In the case of place names located in non-Chinese speaking areas, we have sometimes included, in square brackets following the *pinyin*, alternate spellings from other languages or orthographic systems.

### *Organization of the volume*

The inventories are listed in alphabetical order by “standard language name”, from Achang to Zhaba. The standard language name is the official designation for the language in the STEDT database; this is usually the name which is now most widely accepted among scholars in the field. (If unable to find a given language, the reader should consult the language name index, which lists other common appellations. STEDT Monograph II, *Languages and Dialects of Tibeto-Burman*, is a more complete reference.) When an inventoried author’s name for a language differs from the language name we have chosen as “standard”, the author’s appellation is given in a footnote.

For many languages more than one inventory is listed, either because different dialects require separate treatment, or because different sources have employed different transcriptions or phonological interpretations for the same language.

In some cases scholars disagree about what constitutes a dialect as opposed to a distinct language. For example, should the various Karen languages be listed as dialects under Karen, or as individually alphabetized languages in their own right? The organizational decisions made by the editors should not be considered a final endorsement of one view over the other.

The running headers across the top of the page indicate the subgroup within Tibeto-Burman to which the language belongs. (See the section on subgrouping below for more information.)

### *Structure of the inventories*

Each inventory contains a heading, source information, and the inventory proper.

#### 1. Heading

The heading of all inventories includes the language name in capital letters. The dialect name, if applicable, appears below the language name in italics. Although a single “standard” name has been chosen for each language, this is not always the case for each dialect. If more than one name is used to refer to the same dialect, both have been listed, separated by slashes. When a dialect is further divided into sub-dialects a colon separates

the subdialect name from the dialect name, as in the case of Amdo: Bla-brang of Tibetan or Lüchun: Dazhai of Hani.

## 2. Source information

Directly following the language and dialect name, we provide information about the sources relevant to the phonological inventory. The order in which the sources are listed is intended to roughly reflect the history of the path by which the data made its way into the STEDT database.

*Data Source: The original source of the lexical data to which the inventory applies.* Data from the Data Source may or may not be in the STEDT database. In some cases the data from the Data Source may also appear in a secondary source, and it is the secondary source which was entered in the STEDT database. More than one Data Source is listed when the inventory applies equally well to more than one source but neither one is secondary to the other.

The notes which follow the Data Source line generally include information, if available, on the time, place, and manner of the collection of the data and/or an explanation of the dialect described.

*Inventory: The source or sources consulted when compiling the phonological inventory.* The Inventory Source is either the same as the Data Source or the two sources have a close relationship to each other. It may be that the Inventory Source and the Data Source are works by the same author, and thus describe the same dialect and use the same transcription system, as in the example from an Akha inventory, shown below. Hansson's "Phonological comparison of Akha and Hani" [ILH-PCAH] was used to explain the transcription of the Akha data in her "A comparison of Akha, Hani, Khatu and Pijo" [ILH-PL]. Another possibility is that the Inventory Source is a secondary source whose data comes originally from the Data Source, as in the Apatani inventory below. Jackson Sun's dissertation, *A historical-comparative study of Tani (Mirish) branch in Tibeto-Burman* [JS-HCST], was consulted for the inventory for Apatani data from Simon's *An introduction to Apatani* [IMS-Apatani]. A portion of Sun's data on Apatani comes from Simon.

The analysis and transcription in the inventory generally follows that of the Inventory Source. Where the transcription in the STEDT database differs from that of the Inventory Source, the inventory follows the STEDT database, but differences between the STEDT transcription and the Inventory Source's transcription are noted. Where possible, differences between the analysis or the transcription of the Inventory Source and any of the data sources are also noted. Where the phonemic inventory was not explicitly given in the Inventory Source but was induced from the lexical data by the editors, that is noted as well.

*Secondary Sources: Sources in the STEDT database which are derived from the Data Source.* Often these Secondary Sources are etymological works comparing data from several languages. Only Secondary Sources with a significant number of forms in the STEDT database (about 40 or more) are listed. In the example from Apatani below, there are listed two Secondary Sources, Jackson Sun's dissertation [JS-HCST] and his comparative wordlist [JS-Tani], which both take forms from the Data Source, Simon 1972 [IMS-Apatani].

Sometimes the author of the Secondary Source modified the transcription system that were used in the original Data Source. STEDT policy is to follow copy, so that if forms were entered into the database via the Secondary Source, the transcription may differ from that of the original. While we have tried to note when this is the case, the reader should be aware that forms in the STEDT database from Secondary Sources may differ in transcription from the system given in the Phonological Inventory. The analysis, however, should be the same.

When there is more than one Data Source listed, any Secondary Source will specify which one(s) of the Data Sources its lexical material comes from, as in the example from Gurung below. Three examples follow.

---

## AKHA

Data Source: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

*From the main dialect of Akha spoken in Thailand and Burma, based on Hansson's work in Thailand and on the data in [PL-AED] from Burma.*

Inventory: Hansson 1982 [ILH-PCAH] (pages 63-94)

## APATANI

Data Source: Simon 1972 [IMS-Apatani]

*From work in Ziro (1962-3) with one male informant, in Doimukh with four male informants; final revisions in Shillong with three male informants.*

Inventory: Sun 1993 [JS-HCST] (pages 38-39), normalized from [IMS-Apatani]  
*Sun refers to Simon's data as "Apatani S".*

Secondary Sources: [JS-HCST], [JS-Tani]



## GURUNG

### *Ghachok*

Data Source: Glover 1972 [SIL-Gur]  
Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's word list is from Deu Bahadur Gurung, Warren Glover and Jessie Glover. The data is from Ghachok, six miles Northwest of Pokhara in Kaski District.*

Inventory: Glover 1972 [SIL-Gur]  
Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 13-14), from [GLO1969] as revised in [GLO1970b], [GLO1970c], [HG1970]

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety] (from [AH-CSDPN])

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### 3. The inventory proper

If the source provides information about the structure of the syllable canon, this is listed first. The phonological system of each language is then generally described either by first listing consonants and then vowels, or by first listing syllable-initial elements (consonants) and then syllable-rhyme elements (vowel plus final consonant). Which analysis is used depends primarily on how the original source presents the information, but compactness and readability of the inventory are also taken into consideration.

The reader may find it helpful when reading the following section to consult one or two of the inventories as an example.

*Syllable canon* descriptions are provided when available. The following symbols are employed in syllable canon descriptions:

- T tone
- C consonant
- G glide
- V vowel

Other symbols may be used where appropriate; their meaning will be explained in each specific case.

A typical syllable canon might look like this:

$$\begin{array}{c} T \\ (C)(G)V(C) \end{array}$$

Phonetic symbols, which may represent either phonemes or phones, are arranged in charts according to the following principles:

*Consonants* are laid out in the traditional way, with a separate row for each manner of articulation, and a separate column for each place of articulation. Labials are on the extreme left and glottals on the extreme right. From top to bottom, the order of manners is stop, fricative, nasal, sonorant. If both stops and affricates occur in a given place of articulation, stops are listed first with affricates placed in a separate column to their right. The simplified general schema looks like this (according to IPA representation):

p	t	ts	tʃ	c	k	q	ʔ
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tʃ <sup>h</sup>	tʃ <sup>h</sup>	ç <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>		
b	d	dz	dʒ	ʝ	g	ŋ	
f		s	ʃ	ç	x	χ	h
v		z	ʒ		ɣ	ʁ	ɦ
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	ɴ	
w	l	r		j			

Unless the source makes explicit comments about the quality of <r>, we have placed it in the charts under the assumption that it has a dental or alveolar articulation. (This often requires establishing a separate column just to accommodate the one symbol.)

Any symbols whose interpretation is not clear are explained in notes following the chart. Common orthographic conventions whose interpretation is made unambiguous by placement in the chart are not noted; for example, the appearance of <ng> in the velar nasal slot or <y> in the palatal glide slot will not warrant an explanation that these symbols represent IPA [ŋ] and [j] respectively.

Initial clusters, if few enough in number, may be placed in the same chart as the simple initials. Otherwise they are placed in a separate chart, where they are generally listed in rows according to the medial element.

In some cases consonants that occur only in syllable-final position are listed in a separate chart. When the source does not make explicit the distribution of the consonants, they are listed simply under the heading “Consonants”. If there is a listing of “Initial Consonants” with no heading “Final Consonants” then it can be assumed that there are no syllable-final consonants in that language.

Symbols which occur only in foreign loanwords, or which appear in very few lexical items, are placed in parentheses.

*Vowels* are laid out in the traditional way, with high front vowels on the upper left and low back vowels on the lower right. If two vowels occupying the same place of articulation differ in roundedness, they are separated by a comma. If they differ in some other quality (e.g. length or nasality), they are separated by spaces. Vowels may be laid

out in more than one chart in order to improve readability. The general schema is shown below, but the placement of vowel symbols may vary depending on what they represent.

ɿ (=ɹ̥)	ɿ (=ɹ̥)	ɿ
ɪ , y	ɪ , ʏ	ʉ , u
e , ø		ɤ , o
ɛ , œ	ə ə̃	ɔ
æ		ʌ , ɔ̃
	a	ɑ , ɒ

Special symbols and diacritics are explained in notes following the chart, except for the following common usages: <ṽ> for nasalized vowels, <ɿ> or <v̄><sup>3</sup> for constricted/laryngealized vowels, and <vː> or <vˑ> for long vowels. As with consonants, common orthographic conventions (e.g. the use of <ü> for IPA [y]) whose interpretation is made unambiguous by placement in the chart are not noted.

*Diphthongs* are, whenever possible, placed in charts according to the place of articulation of the primary vowel. Thus <ai> and <au>, where <-i> and <-u> are off-glides, are placed in the slot for <a>. Diphthongs sharing a slot are separated according to the same conventions as monophthongs: with a comma if the primary vowel differs in roundedness, with spaces otherwise. In many cases there is no way to determine which vowel, if any, of a diphthong is primary. In these cases the editors have placed diphthongs in the charts where they fit most conveniently; the reader should take care not to assume that if, for example, <ui> appears in the upper right of the chart, that <u-> is necessarily the main vowel and that <-i> is necessarily an off-glide.

*Rhymes* are usually listed in tables, with a separate chart for each final consonant. The general schema looks like this:

i	u		
e	o	ei	ou
	a	ai au	

<sup>3</sup>When underscores are used to represent constriction/laryngealization, macrons (̄) are considered to be allographs for use with characters with long descenders. We do not note the substitution of a macron for an underscore in the inventories. Of course there are other possible uses of macrons, such as to indicate vowel length.

ip	up	im	um
ep	op	em	om
	ap		am
it	ut	it	ut
et	ot	et	ot
	at		at
ik	uk	ik	uk
ek	ok	ek	ok
	ak		ak

For tonal languages, the notation of *tones* is indicated on dummy syllables <ma> or <ma>. This usage is purely schematic; no claim is made as to whether these syllables actually occur under these tones. Tones that only occur with stopped syllables are generally shown with the dummy syllables <mak> or <ma?>; those that occur only with constricted tones are shown with the dummy syllable <mạ>. If the original source provides prose descriptions of the tones, these are included as well. The general schema looks like this:

ma<sup>55</sup> high level  
ma<sup>33</sup> mid level  
ma<sup>21</sup> low falling  
mak<sup>54</sup> high stopped

*Notes* are preceded by a bullet (•), and are usually placed after the relevant chart. Notes pertaining to the inventory as a whole are placed at the end under a separate heading. Information in notes is usually taken directly from the source, but it is distilled by the editors for simplicity and readability. (Some sources provide a tremendous amount of detail in their phonological descriptions.) In general, the following guidelines have been followed in determining what information to include in notes:

- Information on phonotactics
- Information on allophonic variation
- Information on the phonemic/phonetic value of unfamiliar symbols

We generally do not include notes on:

- Historical phonology
- Morphophonology (except where directly relevant to an understanding of the transcription)
- Tone sandhi (except where directly relevant to understanding the transcription)
- Finely detailed phonetics

The following orthographic conventions are employed within notes:

1) Symbols enclosed in slashes (/x/) represent phonemes. The enclosed symbol will generally be one of the elements in the inventory's charts. In some cases the author of the source has given no indication as to whether the symbols listed are phonemic; in such cases we still treat them as phonemes when referring to them in the notes.

2) Symbols enclosed in square brackets ([x]) are phones. In our notes, we always use IPA notation within square brackets. For example, the note  
“/kh/ is [x].”

means that the phoneme written **kh** has the value of IPA **x**, a voiceless velar fricative. However, if the author uses a transcription different from standard IPA notation, we do not “translate” it into IPA. For example, in his *Ao Naga phonetic reader* ([GOW1972]), Gowda employs a *phonetic* transcription. He uses the symbol **c** for a voiceless alveolar affricate, which is an allophonic variant of a voiceless palatal affricate. Thus in the notes we write:

“/č/ is realized as a voiceless alveolar affricate [c] before [u].”

We leave it as **c** and not the IPA equivalent **ts**.

3) Symbols enclosed in angle brackets (<x>) represent typographs. In other words, <x> is equivalent to **the typographic symbol x**. Some examples of angle brackets:

“Nasalization is marked by <,> below the vowel.”

“Aspirated stops are marked by <<sup>h</sup>> in some cases and by <h> in others.”

Here we are referring to the *symbols* **h** and **h**, not to any particular phonetic values.

These three conventions apply as well to tonemes and allotones:

“/<sup>33</sup>/ is realized [<sup>31</sup>] in syllables with voiced initials.”

It is not always a simple matter to determine which type of bracketing is best suited to a given symbol; the editors have attempted to make clarity a higher priority than strict adherence to principle.

### *Subgrouping*

Determining a precise subgrouping for the many ramified languages of Tibeto-Burman remains a thorny problem. A number of proposals have been made over the years, most

notably by Shafer<sup>4</sup>, Benedict<sup>5</sup> and Matisoff<sup>6</sup>. As languages have been more carefully scrutinized, and previously unknown languages have come to light, these proposals have all seen criticism and revision. Some so-called “subgroups”, such as *Kamarupan*, remain almost purely geographic catch-all terms. The subgrouping presented here represents our latest thinking, but should nevertheless be considered provisional. An appendix lists the inventoried languages by subgroup, so that the interested reader can compare and contrast the inventories of closely related languages.

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<sup>4</sup> Shafer, Robert. 1957/63. *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan languages*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. Vol. 1, 1975; Vol. 2, 1963.

Shafer, Robert. 1966-73. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*. 5 parts. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus*. (Princeton-Cambridge Series in Chinese Linguistics, #2.) New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Matisoff, James A. 1991. “Sino-Tibetan linguistics: present state and future prospects”. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20:468-504.

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<sup>1</sup>For alternate names of some of these languages, please see Index.

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**ACHANG**

*Lianghe*

Data Source: Dai and Cui 1985 [JZ-Achang]

Collected in Guanzhang, Xiangsong Commune, Lianghe County, Yunnan.

Inventory: Dai and Cui 1985 [JZ-Achang] (pages 81-87)

*INITIALS*

p	ph	phj	t	th	ts	tsh	tɕ	tɕh	tc	tcʰ	k	kh
f					s	ʃ	ɕ	ɕʰ	ç	çʰ	x	
							ʐ	ʐʰ				
m	ṃ	mj	n	ṅ					ɲ	ɲʰ	ŋ	ŋʰ
w			l	ɭ								

- The voiceless velar nasal is transcribed <ŋ> in [JZ-Achang]. It always appears as <ŋʰ> in the STEDT database.

*RHYMES*

ɿ i ɛ ẽ	a	u, u o ɑ ǣ	ui ai uai
iu		ou iau au	iɛ iẽ uɛ ia ua uǣ
iʔ ɛʔ	aʔ	uʔ, uʔ oʔ ɑʔ	iaʔ uaʔ auʔ
it ɛt		ut uat	in iɛn ɛn uɛn an uan
ik ɛk		uk, uk ok ak	iŋ ɛŋ iaŋ aŋ uaŋ

*TONES*ma<sup>55</sup> high levelma<sup>31</sup> low fallingma<sup>35</sup> high rising

- Stopped syllables appear only in the high level and low falling tones.
- Open syllables in the low falling tone have an accompanying glottal stop coda, which is not transcribed.
- The high rising tone usually occurs in the second syllable of bisyllabic forms, and only rarely in monosyllabic forms.
- Tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers, in [JZ-Achang].

**ACHANG***Longchuan*

Data Source: Dai and Cui 1985 [JZ-Achang]

Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #41

*[JZ-Achang]: Collected in Husa-Languang-Dadui-Lajie-Dahan, Longchuan County, Yunnan.**[ZMYYC]: Collected in Husa-Lajie, Longchuan County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Dai and Cui 1985 [JZ-Achang] (pages 8-23)

Sun et al 1991 [ZMYYC] #41 (pages 308-312)

*INITIALS*

p	pɿ	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	kɿ
ph	phɿ	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	khɿ
(f)			s	ɕ	ɕ	x	xɿ
v				ʐ	ʐ		
m	mɿ	n		ŋ		ŋ	
ᵐ	ᵐɿ	ᵎ		ᵎ		ᵎ	
		l					
		l̥					

- /f/ occurs only in Chinese loanwords.
- The voiceless velar nasal is transcribed <ŋ> in [JZ-Achang] but <ᵎ> in [ZMYYC]. It always appears as <ᵎ> in the STEDT database.

- Some words with voiceless nasal or lateral initials can be freely pronounced with voiced initials.

*RHYMES*

<p>ɿ i                      u e            ə            o                  a            ɔ</p>	<p>ei                      ui                          oi                  ai uai</p>
<p>iu                  əu                  iau au ua</p>	<p>iʔ                      uʔ eʔ                      əʔ                      oʔ                          aʔ uaʔ                      ɔʔ</p>
<p>                                 uiʔ                          aiʔ</p>	<p>                                 ouʔ                          auʔ</p>
<p>ip                      up ep                      əp                      op                          iap ap                      ɔp</p>	<p>im                      um em                      əm                      om                          iam am                      ɔm</p>
<p>it                      ut et                      ət                      ot                          at uat                      ɔt</p>	<p>in                      un en                      ən                      on                          an uan                      ɔn</p>
<p>ik                      uk ek                      ək                      ok                          iak ak uak                      ɔk</p>	<p>iŋ                      uŋ eŋ                      əŋ                      oŋ                          iaŋ aŋ uaŋ                      ɔŋ</p>

- The vowel /ɿ/ is transcribed <ɿ> in [JZ-Achang].
- /e/ is pronounced [iE].
- /o/ is pronounced [uo] when followed by a consonant coda.
- When /i/ appears as a coda it is pronounced [ɿ].
- Vowels in syllables with high level tones are slightly tense; in syllables with high rising tones they are slightly lax.
- /uaŋ/ can be pronounced as [ɔŋ] when in close juncture with a following syllable.
- Other rhymes (/ei əu iu iau uai iaŋ uan iak/) appear only in loanwords.

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>51</sup>	full falling

- In syllables without a stop coda, the high level tone is pronounced somewhat lower, as [<sup>44</sup>].
- The full falling tone is the basic tone for only a few words; otherwise it appears in sandhi forms and loanwords.
- Tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers, in [JZ-Achang].

**ACHANG***Luxi*

Data Source: Dai and Cui 1985 [JZ-Achang]

*Collected in Gaogengtian, Jiandong Commune, Luxi County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Dai and Cui 1985 [JZ-Achang] (pages 81-87)

*INITIALS*

p	pj	t	ts	tɕ	k	kj
ph	phj	th	tsh	tɕh	kh	khj
f			s	ɕ	x	xj
			z	ʐ		
m	mj	n		ŋ	ŋ	
w		l				

*RHYMES*

l i ε ə a	u, u ɔ	ui ɔi ai uai
iu əu iau au	iε uε ia ua	
iʔ εʔ iaʔ aʔ uaʔ	uʔ ɔʔ	əuʔ aiʔ auʔ
iap ap iap ap	ɔp iap ap	ɔm iam am
it ət at uat	ut ət at uat	in iɛn ɛn ən an uan
ək iak ak	uk ɔk	iuŋ uŋ uŋ əŋ iaŋ aŋ uaŋ

*TONES*ma<sup>55</sup> high levelma<sup>31</sup> low fallingma<sup>35</sup> high risingma<sup>51</sup> full falling

- Stopped syllables appear only in the high level and low falling tones.
- Tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers, in [JZ-Achang].



**AHI**<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Yüan 1953 [YC-FAPL]

*Collected in Lunan County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Yüan 1953 [YC-FAPL] (pages 7-17)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-TSR]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k
pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	tʂʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	g
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x
v		z	ʒ		ɣ
m	n				ŋ
w	l			j	
	ɬ				

- /s/ is noticeably aspirated before /a/, but not before other vowels.
- Before the vowel /i/, /j/ is pronounced with strong frication as [z].
- Before the vowel or medial /i/, /n/ is backed to [ŋ] or even [ŋ].
- There is some alternation between [l] and [ɬ] in common words.
- Before /o/ and /u/, the velar consonants are pronounced as labiovelars [k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>ʰw</sup> g<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup> ŋ<sup>w</sup>].

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

ɿ		
i		u
e ~ ɛ		ɤ, o
	a	
	ɤ	

<sup>1</sup>Called *Axi* in [YC-FAPL], [CK-YiQ].



*Diphthongs*

ie ~ ie	ue ~ ue	oe ~ oe	ɤε
ia	ua	oa	

- /ɲ/ is pronounced [ɲ] after the dental affricates and fricatives, and [ɲ̥] after the retroflex affricates and fricatives. They could be considered vocalized forms of /z/ and /z̥/, respectively.
- /e/ has allophones [e] and [ɛ]. [e] occurs after /tɕ dz j/; [ɛ] after /p pʰ t tʰ d k kʰ g dz tɕ tɕʰ f ɣ x ɣ m ŋ l/. Both allophones occur after /ts tsʰ tɕʰ w v s z ɕ n ʎ/, but this seems mainly to be due to Chinese loanwords. Furthermore, [ie] and [iɛ] are in free variation, as are [oe] and [oɛ]. Yüan's transcription is, in this regard, phonetic rather than phonemic.
- /u/ is actually pronounced more like [ʏ].
- The diphthongs all have stress on the second phone; thus the first phone is more of a glide than a full vowel.
- There is only one phonemic diphthong: /ie/. The other diphthongs probably result historically from combination of more than one syllable (p. 10).
- There is some confusion in the source as to whether the seventh diphthong is [ɤa] (p. 10) or [ɤε] (p. 14).

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>44</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>22</sup>	low level
ma <sup>44</sup>	mid short
ma <sup>21</sup>	low falling
(ma <sup>21</sup> )	(low short)

- The high level tone is actually slightly rising, and could be written <<sup>45</sup>>.
- The mid level tone is actually [<sup>33</sup>], but has been written as <<sup>44</sup>> to more clearly differentiate it from the low level tone.
- The mid short tone is realized with a final glottal stop.
- The low falling tone has two readings; in connected speech it is not clearly falling, realized as [<sup>11</sup>]; at other times it is pronounced falling and short, but without a final glottal stop. In isolated words both readings are possible.

- Note that in [JAM-VSTB] and [JAM-TSR], tone numbers are not superscripted and follow after a space. Short (i.e. checked) tones are indicated by the letter <s>. For example, [JAM-TSR] <ma 44s> is equivalent to [YC-FAPL] <ma<sup>44</sup>>.
- Tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers, in [YC-FAPL].

### NOTES

- Yüan has also developed a system for Ahi using only Roman characters, including Roman letter symbols to indicate tone. This system is described on pages 17-19.



### AHI

Data Source: Luo 1990 [LMZ-AhiQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Luo 1990 [LMZ-AhiQ]

### CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	t̥	tɕ	tɕ	k		
pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	t̥ʰ	tɕʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ		
b	d	dz		dz̥	dz	g		
		s		ɕ	ɕ	x		h
v		z		z̥	z	ɣ		
m	n					ŋ		
	l							
	ɭ							

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>		
i	ɯ, u			i̥	ɯ̥, u̥	
e	o			e̥	o̥	
ɛ	a			ɛ̥	ḁ	

*Diphthongs*

iu

*TONES*ma<sup>55</sup> high levelma<sup>33</sup> mid levelma<sup>22</sup> mid lowma<sup>21</sup> low falling*NOTES*

- A ligature between syllables, transcribed as a breve mark <˘> in the STEDT database, indicates close juncture between two syllables, e.g. <no<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>33</sup> ɛ<sup>33</sup>> ‘back’.

**AHI**

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. Spoken in Mile, Luxi, Yiliang, and Lunan Counties, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	t̪	tɕ	tɕh	k
ph	th	tsh	t̪h	tɕh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	d̪	dzɿ	dzɿ	g
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x
v		z		zɿ	zɿ	ɣ
m	n					ŋ
	l					
	ɬ					

## VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ			ɿ̥	
i	ɯ, u		i̥	ɯ̥, u̥
e	o		e̥	o̥
ɛ			ɛ̥	
	a			ḁ

- /ɿ̥/ have allophones [ɿ̥ ɿ̥̥].

## TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>22</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>



**AKHA**

Data Source: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

*From the main dialect of Akha spoken in Thailand and Burma, based on Hansson's work in Thailand and on the data in [PL-AED] from Burma.*

Inventory: Hansson 1982 [ILH-PCAH] (pages 63-94)

*INITIALS*

p	pj	t	ts	tj	k		
ph	pjh	th	tsh	tjh	kh		
b	bj	d	dz	dj	g		
		s		sj	x	h	
		sh		sjh	xh		
		z			ʎ		
m	mj	n			ŋ		
		l		j			

- Initial voiceless consonants are always aspirated in non-laryngealized syllables and unaspirated in laryngealized ones (p. 76).

*RHYMES*

<i>Non-Laryngealized</i>			<i>Laryngealized</i>		
i , ü		y , u	iq , üq		yq , uq
e , ö		ə , o	eq , öq		əq , oq
ε	a	ɔ	εq	aq	ɔq
m		aŋ	m	mq	

- /y ə/ are back unrounded vowels. Laryngealization is marked by <q> following the vowel.

*TONES*

	<i>Non-laryngealized</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	má	
mid	ma	maq
low	mà	màq
	❖	❖
	❖	❖
	❖	❖
	❖	❖
	❖	❖

## AKHA

Data Source: Lewis 1989 [PL-AETD]

*The 'standard' dialect, Jεu g'oe, spoken in Burma and Thailand.*

Inventory: Lewis 1989 [PL-AETD] (pages 8-12)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-TSR], [JAM-GSTC]

## CONSONANTS

p	py	t	ts	c	k	
b	by	d	dz	j	g	
		s		sh	k'	h
(v)		z		y	g'	
m	my	n	ny		ng	
		l				

- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ]. “When a vowel clitic is in close juncture with the preceding syllable, however, a hyphen is used [orthographically] to show that there is no glottal stop preceding that vowel” (p. 8).
- /c/ is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate.
- /j/ is a voiced alveopalatal affricate. Its quality is determined by the quality of the following vowel: “It has no palatization when followed by an oral vowel .... It is palatalized when followed by a laryngealized vowel” (p. 9).
- /sh/ is a voiceless alveopalatal fricative.
- /k' g'/ are fricatives [x ɣ].
- /y/ is a voiced alveopalatal fricative “with the apex of the tongue pointing slightly downward” (p. 8).
- The quality of seven of the voiceless consonants /p py t ts c k k'/ “is determined by the quality of the following vowel. As a general rule, the consonant is aspirated when followed by an oral vowel, and unaspirated when followed by a laryngealized (or glottalized) vowel” (p. 9).
- /h/ “occurs only with oral vowels” (p. 9).
- [v] occurs in a small number of Shan borrowings; most Akha use [b] in these words (p. 9).

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

i , oi	ui , u
e , oe	eu , o
eh	a , aw
m	ah

### *Diphthongs*

(ao) (ai) (am)

- /ah/ is nasalized.
- Most vowels can occur as either laryngealized or oral (non-laryngealized), but /oi/ and /ah/ occur only as non-laryngealized.
- “There are three diphthongs that occur in some words borrowed from Shan. Although these are usually given an oral quality when Akha borrow the words, sometimes when the Shan word ends with an unreleased stop, some Akha give the vowel a laryngealized quality. Akha treat these diphthongs in the same way they treat vowel enclitics (CVV), with the exception that in the diphthongs, the tone is the same on both segments” (p. 11).

## TONES

	<i>Oral</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	ma <sup>ˇ</sup>	
mid	ma	ma <sup>^</sup>
low	ma <sub>˘</sub>	ma <sub>˘</sub>

- “In utterance final position ... high tones may drop slightly, and low tones may rise slightly. Whenever an oral vowel on any tone is in utterance final position there may be a glottal stop which is insignificant to the meaning.” In addition, “[c]ertain series of tones in close juncture tend to change the tonal pattern. Three contiguous syllables on the low tone, for example, are spoken as if the middle syllable is on the mid tone .... When there are three contiguous syllables which are all normally high tones, the middle syllable tends to drop to a point somewhere between the high and mid tones” (p. 12).
- “When there is reduplication with four syllables in a row, a different type of tonal change sometimes takes place.” As these are lexical (“not always predictable,” p. 12), they are always indicated.



**ANGAMI***Khonoma*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Angami is spoken in the Kohima District in the southern part of Nagaland. The data represents the Khonoma form of standard Angami as spoken by the Tongime. Marrison takes his lexical data from [MCC1887].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 345-347)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)(C)V(V/C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	pr	t	ts/ch	k	kw	kr
ph		th		kh		
b		d	dz/j	g	gw	
f		s	sh		h	
v		z	zh			
m		n		ng		
mh		nh				
w		l	r	y		
		lh	rh			

*Finals*

-r

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/, and <dz> and <j> correspond to /j/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <sh zh> correspond to /ʃ ʒ/ respectively.
- /-r/ is rare.



## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü ~ (ë)	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

(ie)

- Marrison indicates that <ü> and <ë> correspond to /ə/.
- The diphthong /ie/ appears rarely in Angami Khonoma.



## ANGAMI

*Khonoma*

Data Source: Blankenship et al. 1994 [BLBC-Khonom]

*From the speech of two female and four male adult native speakers, collected in February 1992 at the Linguistics Department of Deccan College, Pune, India. All of the speakers were students at institutions in the neighborhood of Pune.*

Inventory: Blankenship et al 1994 [BLBC-Khonom]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts		tʃ	k	k <sup>w</sup>
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>				k <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>◦w</sup>
b	d				g	g <sup>w</sup>
		s		ʃ		h
v		z		ʒ		
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
m <sup>h</sup>	n <sup>h</sup>			ɲ <sup>h</sup>		
w	l		ɽ	j		
w <sup>◦</sup>	l <sup>h</sup>		ɽ	ɿ		

*Medials*

-t-

- Retroflex /ɽ/ is laminal before high vowels but sublaminal before other vowels.
- Khonoma voiceless nasals “remain voiceless throughout the nasal articulation and even beyond the release; voicing of the following vowel begins well after the articulatory stricture has been released”

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

- Although diphthongs do occur in Khonoma, Blankenship et al. write that they are very infrequent, and they are not discussed.

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	ma <sup>2</sup>	ma <sup>3</sup>	ma <sup>4</sup>
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

- Khonoma Angami has four tones, the highest indicated by <<sup>1</sup>> and the lowest by <<sup>4</sup>>.

❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖

**ANGAMI***Kohima*

Data Source: Ravindran 1974 [RAV1974]

*Fieldwork done in the Kohima district of Nagaland.*

Inventory: Ravindran 1974 [RAV1974] (vowel chart: page 13; consonant chart: pages 21-22; phonemic charts: pages 55-57)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic.*

*CONSONANTS*

p	pf	t	ts	c	k	
ph		th		ch	kh	
b	bv	d	dz	j	g	
	f		s	š		h
	v		z	ž		
m	m̥	n		ñ	ŋ	
mh		nh		ñh		
w		l	R		y	
wh		lh	Rh		yh	

- [c ch] are palatal affricates.
- [h] is a postvelar fricative.
- [R Rh] are post alveolar trills.
- [mh nh ñh] are voiced aspirated nasals.
- [lh Rh] are voiced aspirates.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ɔi	ou
ie	uo

- [ə] is not listed in the vowel chart on page 13, but is described on page 15.

*TONES*

mā	mid
má	high
mà	low
mǎ	mid rising
mâ	low falling

*NOTES*

- Ravindran claims that the consonants, vowels, and tones listed above are all distinctive.



## ANGAMI

### *Kohima*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Angami is spoken in the Kohima District in the southern part of Nagaland. The data represents the Kohima form of standard Angami as spoken by the Tongime.*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 345-347)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)V(V)

### CONSONANTS

p	pf	pr	t	ts/ch	k	kr
ph		phr	th	chh	kh	khr
b	bv		d	dz	g	
	f		sh			h
	v		zh			
m	mv		ny	ñ	ng	
mh			nyh	ñh		
w			l	r	y	
wh			lh	rh		

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <c> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <chh dz sh zh> correspond to /ch j s z/ respectively.
- Marrison indicates that <ny nyh> correspond to /n nh/ respectively. This is almost certainly a typographical error for /ñ ñh/, which appear in his phoneme chart.
- Though not discussed, <mp mb nd nn> appear as initials in the data.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ei	ou
ie	uo

- No phonemic equivalent is provided for <ü>, but it probably corresponds to /ə/, which Marrison lists in his phoneme chart.



**AO**  
*Chungli*

Data Source: Gowda 1972 [GOW1972]

*Spoken in Nagaland. The Chungli dialect, which is accepted as standard, is spoken in the villages of Melongimsen and Longpa.*

Inventory: Gowda 1972 [GOW1972] (vowel chart: page 13; consonant chart: page 20; phonemic charts: page 50)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

**CONSONANTS**

*Initials*

*Phonetic chart*

p	t	c	č	k	?
ph	th			kh	
b	d		ǰ	g	
	s		š		
	z				
m	n			ŋ	
	l	lh			
w			y		

*Phonemic chart*

p	t	č	k	?
	s			
	z			
m	n		ŋ	
	l	lh		
w			y	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-?
-m	-n	-ŋ	
-w		-lh	-y

- /p t k/ have aspirated allophones [ph th kh], which occur in free variation with [p t k].
- /p t k č/ have voiced allophones [b d g ĵ]. They are in free variation with [p t k č] only intervocalically or after voiced sonorants.
- /č/ is realized as a voiceless alveolar affricate [c] before [u].
- /s/ is realized as [š] before [i].
- [h] is a “voiced retroflex lateral fricative” (page 33).

### VOWELS

#### Phonetic chart

i		ɯ , u
e	ɛ̆	o
		ʌ , ɔ
		a

#### Phonemic chart

i		ɯ , u
e	a	o

- /e/ is realized as a higher-mid central unrounded retroflex vowel [ɛ̆] in closed syllables. In initial position, /e/ is preceded by [y].
- /a/ is realized as [ʌ] in syllables with the falling tone.
- /o/ is realized as [ɔ] when preceded or followed by velars.
- /ɯ/ does not occur initially.

### TONES

ma	level
má	rising
mà	falling



## AO

### *Chungli*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Ao is spoken in the Mokokchung District in the central western part of Nagaland. The data represents the dominant dialect of Ao and is spoken in the northern and eastern parts of the Ao country. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Ao].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 348)

Note: Transcription normalized in the STEDT database.

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	ts/ch	k
b	d	tz/j	g
	s	sh	
	z		
m	n		ng
w	l	r	y

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng
	-r	

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <tz sh> correspond to /j f/ respectively.
- In the STEDT database, <tz> has been normalized to <j> only occasionally; not all instances have been normalized.

### VOWELS

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.





## AO

*Mongsen*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Ao is spoken in the Mokokchung District in the central western part of Nagaland. The data represents one of the main dialects of Ao. Marrison takes his lexical data from [JP-Mong].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 348)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts/ch	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	g
	s	sh	
	z		
m	n		ng
w	l	r	y

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng
	-r	

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <sh> corresponds to /ʃ/.
- [ph th kh] are allophones of /p t k/.

## VOWELS

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

- No phonemic equivalent is provided for <ü>, but it probably corresponds to /ə/, which Marrison lists in his phoneme chart.



## APATANI

Data Source: Simon 1972 [IMS-Apatani]

*From work in Ziro (1962-3) with one male informant, in Doimukh with four male informants; final revisions in Shillong with three male informants.*

Inventory: Sun 1993 [JS-HCST] (pages 38-39), normalized from [IMS-Apatani] Sun refers to Simon's data as "Apatani S".

Secondary Sources: [JS-HCST], [JS-Tani]

### CONSONANTS

#### Simple Initials

p	t	č	k		
b	d	ǰ	g		
	s				h
m	n	ñ	ŋ		
	l	r	j		

#### Initial Clusters

pr	kr				
prj	brj	mrj	lj	krj	grj

#### Finals

-r	-ʔ
----	----

- /č ǰ ñ j/ are transcribed <č j ñ y> in [IMS-Apatani].
- The clusters /prj krj/ are realized as [pʰrj kʰrj].
- [x] occurs rarely and is probably not phonemic.
- [ɣ] occurs in only one word: <ja-ɣə> 'axe'; it is probably not phonemic.
- [w] occurs only between /-o-/ or /-u-/ and a following /-a/; it is not phonemic.

### VOWELS

#### Monophthongs

i ī	u ũ	u ũ
e ě	ə	o õ
	a ã	

#### Diphthongs

ai au

- “Lengthening usually takes place before nasals.” Vowel length, which is probably phonemic, is not marked.
- /ə u/ are transcribed <é í> in [IMS-Apatani]. [IMS-Apatani] also has <ú>, which seems to be a rounded allophone of <í> = /u/ appearing only after labials. Its phonetic value is thus probably [ʊ].
- When a nasalized vowel is in close juncture with a following consonant, a homorganic nasal stop may be inserted. For example, when /ajĩ/ ‘friend’ is followed by the adverbial particle /-pa/, the result is [ajim-pa] ‘friendly’.

### TONES

- Simon notes that “tone is not entirely absent” from Apatani; however, it is only contrastive in a few cases. Although Simon makes passing reference to a “level” and “level fall” tone, he does not elaborate, and tones are not marked.



## APATANI

Data Source: Abraham 1985 [ABR1985]

Inventory: Sun 1993 [JS-HCST] (pages 491-492), normalized from [ABR1985]  
*Sun refers to Abraham’s data as “Apatani A”.*

Secondary Sources: [JS-Tani]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	č	k		
b	d	ǰ	g		
	s		x	h	
m	n		ŋ		
	l	r	j		

#### *Initial Clusters*

pj	bj	mj	dj	lj	gj
----	----	----	----	----	----

#### *Finals*

	(-s)			
(-m)				-ŋ
	(-l)	-r		

- /č ʃ j ŋ/ are transcribed <c j y ñ> in the original source [ABR1985].
- /b/ is realized as [β] intervocalically.
- Word-finally, /-ŋ/ is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel.
- Three additional codas /-m -s -l/ are said to occur, but they seem to be found only in loanwords.

### VOWELS

i	u	u
e		o
	a	

- /u/ is transcribed <i> in [ABR1985].
- Vowel length is not recorded.
- Several ‘vowel clusters’ are listed in [ABR1985], pp. 16-17, most of which are probably not true diphthongs.

### TONES

má	rising
mà	falling
ma	level



### APATANI

Data Source: Weidert 1987 [AW-TBT]

*From the North Assam division of Tibeto-Burman languages, also called the Abor-Miri-Dafla group, or Mirish. The informant was Mr. Tama Tage from Modantage village near Ziro, headquarters of Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh in northeastern India (p. 493, n. 10).*

Inventory: Weidert 1987 [AW-TBT] (pages 216-219)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tš	k
b	d	dz	dž	g
m	n		ñ	ŋ
		s		x h
(w)	l	r	y	

*Initial Clusters*

py	gy	ly		
pry	bry	mry	gry	xry

*Finals*

-r	-ŋ	-ʔ
----	----	----

- The bilabial continuant [w] occurs in only one word, so may not be phonemic.
- [x] sometimes can vary freely with [xry].
- “/ŋ/ can be realized as [m] or [n] if followed by a homorganic stop or nasal in the following syllable” (p. 217).
- The glottal stop occurs only in non-final syllables, and drops word-finally (p. 218).
- [ŋ] can form a tone-bearing syllable.

*VOWELS*

i i:	u u:	o o:
e e:		
	a a:	

- “Length is contrastive only in nonfinal position of open syllables” (p. 216).
- /e o/ are realized as [ɛ ɔ].
- <:> indicating vowel length is transcribed <·> in [AW-TBT].

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	low
ma <sup>2</sup>	high



## ATONG

Data Source: Burling 1959 [RB-PB]

*Collected from a number of speakers in the Garo Hills (Baghmara area, Assam) in the mid 1950s.*

Inventory: Burling 1959 [RB-PB]

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t		k
b	d		g
	s	c	h
m	n		
w	r		

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	
-ʔm	-ʔn	-ʔŋ	
	-r		
	-ʔr		

- Voicing and aspiration: “/p t k/ are unvoiced and aspirated initially. /b d g/ are only weakly voiced; they are more consistently distinguished from /p t k/ by their lack of aspiration” (p. 437).
- “/s c/ are pronounced between the positions of /s/ and /š/ of English” (p. 437).
- “/r/ is a flap” (p. 437).

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

əi	əu
ai	au



**BAI**  
*Bijiang*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #37

*Northern Dialect. Collected in District Four, Bijiang County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #37 (pages 291-293)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	t̚	tɕ	tɕ	k	q
ph	th	tsh	t̚h	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh
b	d	dz	d̚	dz̥	dz̥	g	G
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x	
v		z		z̥		ɣ	
m	n				ŋ	ŋ	
	l				j		

- Rhymes following the consonants /t̚ t̚h d̚/ all have an epenthetic medial /-i-/.
- The initials /tɕ tɕh dz̥ ɕ z̥/ take only the retroflex vowel /e¹/.

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

		u	ũ
i	ĩ	u	ũ
e	ẽ	e¹	ẽ¹
		o	õ
		a	ã

*Diphthongs*

ui	uĩ
ue¹	ue¹
ua	uã

- /u ũ/ are realized as [v ỹ].

*TONES*

*Unconstricted*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising

*Constricted*

ma <sup>44</sup>	mid-high level
ma <sup>42</sup>	mid falling
ma <sup>21</sup>	low falling

- Constriction of syllables is not explicitly marked in the transcription.



**BAI**  
*Bijiang*

Data Source: Xu and Zhao 1984 [JZ-Bai]

*Northern Dialect. Collected in Bijiang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Xu and Zhao 1984 [JZ-Bai] (pages 4-12 and pages 117-123)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	t̚	tɕ	tɕ	k	q
ph	th	tsh	t̚h	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh
b	d	dz	d̚	dʒ	dʒ	g	G
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x	
v				ʒ	j	ɣ	
m	n				ŋ	ŋ	
	l						

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

	<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
		ɥ			ɥ̃
i		u, u		ĩ	ũ
e	e¹	o		ẽ	õ
	a			ã	

*Diphthongs*

	<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
ui				uĩ	
ie	ie¹ ue¹	io		iẽ	
	ua				uã



*TONES*mɑ<sup>33</sup> mɑ<sup>42</sup> mɑ<sup>55</sup> mɑ<sup>35</sup> mɑ<sup>44</sup> mɑ<sup>21</sup>

- In [JZ-Bai], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers. The laryngealized tones are indicated by writing the horizontal stroke to the right of the vertical reference line.

**BAI***Dali*

Data Source: Dell 1981 [FD-Bai]

*Collected from one consultant from a locality near Dali.*

Inventory: Dell 1981 [FD-Bai] (pages 21-35)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)V(V)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts	k
p'	t'	ts'	k'
f		s	x
(v)		z	
m	n		ng
	l		

- <v> is attested only once in the vocabulary, in <va 1>, 'ten thousand', a borrowing from Chinese (p. 24).
- The zero-initial is realized as [ɣ] before the vowel /w/.

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>		
		v			
i, y	w	u		iw	
e	ö	o	ue	uö	io uo
ε	œ	ɔ	iε uε	iœ uœ	iɔ
	a			ia ua	

- /w/ is realized as [u] after velars and the zero-initial (which is in turn realized as [ɣ]); and as [ɰ] after sibilants.

## TONES

ma 1	[ma <sup>44</sup> ]
ma 2	[ma <sup>33</sup> ]
ma 3	[ma <sup>22</sup> ]
ma 4	[ma <sup>21</sup> ]
ma 5	[ma <sup>41</sup> ]
ma 6	[ma <sup>23</sup> ]
ma 7	[ma <sup>212</sup> ]
ma 8	[ma <sup>255</sup> ]

- Dell distinguishes between pre-pausal (PP) and non-pre-pausal (NPP) syllables (p. 29).
- In all syllables with T1, T2, and T3, the end of the vowel is “sharp, without, however, giving the impression of a glottal stop” (p. 31).
- In non-pre-pausal syllables, the third and fourth tones (T3 and T4) are merged into T3; in pre-pausal syllables, the distinction is maintained except in some words in which the two are in free variation (p. 30).
- “In NPP syllables, T5 loses much of its slope and of its amplitude and becomes a slightly descending tone” (p. 32).
- “[U]nder T6 [the vowel] gives the impression of fading gradually” (p. 32).
- In isolation, T7 is “long, low, and curved ([212] or [211]). In all other contexts ..., T7 is realized as a short, low tone which gives the auditory impression similar to that of the Pekingese ‘neutral tone’ when it follows a syllable in fourth tone” (p. 32).
- “In pre-pausal syllables, T8 is very high (in the same context, perceptibly higher than T1), very short, and interrupted by a rather sharp glottal stop” and is either [<sup>55</sup>] or [<sup>54</sup>]. “In non-pre-pausal syllables, T8 loses its glottal stop and its shortness, and is realized as a steep descending tone starting very high (value 53)” (p. 32).



## BAI

### *Dali*

Data Source: Xu and Zhao 1984 [JZ-Bai]  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #35

[JZ-Bai]: *Southern Dialect. Collected in Dali County, Yunnan*

[ZMYYC]: *Southern Dialect. Collected in Xizhou Hamlet, Dali County, Dali Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Xu and Zhao 1984 [JZ-Bai] (pages 4-12 and pages 117-123)  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #35 (pages 288-290)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh
f		s	ɕ	x
v		z	j	ɣ
m	n		ŋ	ŋ
	l			

- Initials /p t k ts tɕ/ are pronounced voiced in syllables with tones /<sup>33</sup>/ and /<sup>51</sup>/, according to [ZMYYC].

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

		ɤ
i		u, u
e	e <sup>1</sup>	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

	ui		iu
ie ue	ie <sup>1</sup> ue <sup>1</sup>	io	uo ou
	ia ua		

- An additional diphthong /uu/ is listed in [ZMYYC].
- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after the initials /ts tsh s/.

### TONES

ma<sup>33</sup>    ma<sup>42</sup><sub>—</sub>    ma<sup>31</sup>    ma<sup>55</sup>    ma<sup>35</sup>    ma<sup>44</sup><sub>—</sub>    ma<sup>21</sup><sub>—</sub>    ma<sup>32</sup>

- In [JZ-Bai], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers. The laryngealized tones are indicated by placing the tone contour line to the right of the vertical reference line.
- The tone /<sup>32</sup>/ is written as <<sup>53</sup>> in [ZMYYC].



**BAI**  
*Jianchuan*

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Bai]

Data collected by Li Shaoni in Jianchuan County, Ma Deng Village.

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-Bai]

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	te	k
p'	t'	ts'	te'	k'
f		s	ɕ	x
v		z	ʐ	ʎ
m	n		ɲ	ŋ
	l			

- <'> indicates aspiration.

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral, Unconstricted</i>				<i>Oral, Constricted</i>		
ɿ				ɿ̥		
i, y		u		i̥, y̥		u̥
e	ə	o		e̥	ə̥	o̥
a	A			ḁ	Ḁ	

<i>Nasal, Unconstricted</i>				<i>Nasal, Constricted</i>		
ĩ				ĩ		
ẽ	õ	õ		ẽ	õ	õ
ã	ã			ã	ã	
<b>Diphthongs</b>						
<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>		
yẽ	iə iõ	io iõ ou		yẽ	iə iõ	io iõ
ia iã ya ai	iA iã			iã iã ya	iA iã	
ue uẽ				ue uẽ		
ua uã	uA uã			uã uã	uA uã	
<b>Triphthongs</b>						
uai						

### TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>42</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>

❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖

### BAI

#### *Jianchuan*

Data Source: Xu and Zhao 1984 [JZ-Bai]  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #36

[JZ-Bai]: *Central Dialect. Collected in Jianchuan County, Yunnan.*

[ZMYYC]: *Central Dialect. Collected in Chengjinhua Hamlet, Jianchuan County, Dali Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Xu and Zhao 1984 [JZ-Bai] (pages 4-12 and pages 117-123 )  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #36 (pages 286-288)

## CONSONANTS

### Initials

p	t	ts	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh
f		s	ɕ	x
v			j	ɣ
m	n			ŋ
	l			

## VOWELS

### Monophthongs

Oral			Nasal	
		ɿ		ʅ
i		u, u	ĩ	ũ
e		o	ẽ	õ
ɛ			ẽ	
	a			ã

### Diphthongs

Oral			Nasal	
ui		iu	uĩ	iũ
		io		iõ
iɛ uɛ		(ao)	iẽ uẽ	
	ia ua			iã uã

## TONES

mɑ<sup>33</sup> mɑ<sup>42</sup> mɑ<sup>31</sup> mɑ<sup>55</sup> mɑ<sup>35</sup> mɑ<sup>44</sup> mɑ<sup>21</sup> mɑ<sup>55</sup>

## NOTES

- The /ao/ rhyme is found only in Chinese loanwords.
- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after the initials /ts tsh s/.
- /ɛ/ is realized as [ɑ] in the following laryngealized tones: /<sup>44</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>21</sup>/.
- The sequence /ŋɿ/ is pronounced [ŋ] (syllabic labiodental nasal).

- The velar fricative /x/ is retracted to [h] before nasalized vowels.
- /o/ is lowered to [ɔ] in tone /<sup>21</sup>/ syllables.
- In [JZ-Bai], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers. The laryngealized tones by writing the horizontal stroke to the right of the vertical reference line.

❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖

**BAI**

*Jianchuan*

Data Source: Zhao 1990 [ZYS-Bai]

Inventory: Zhao 1990 [ZYS-Bai]

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh
f		s	ɕ	x
v		(z)	j	ɣ
m	n			ŋ
	l			

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
ɿ	ɤ		ĩ	ỹ
i	u, u		ẽ	ũ
e	o		ã	õ
ə	ɔ		ã̃	õ̃
æ	a		ã̃	õ̃

*Diphthongs*

<i>Oral</i>					<i>Nasal</i>			
ui		iu			uĩ		iũ	
		io					iõ	
		ao iao						
iæ uæ	ia ua				iã uã	iã uã		

- Constriction of vowels is contrastive. It is marked by <\_> under the vowel.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>42</sup> ma<sup>31</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>





**BAIMA***Luotongba*

Data Source: Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-BaimaQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. Collected in Luotongba village, Baima Township, Pingwu County, Gansu Province. Baima is spoken by approximately 11,000 people in northern Sichuan and some parts of Gansu Province.*

Inventory: Extracted from Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-BaimaQ]

**CONSONANTS***Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tʃ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	g	
		s		ʃ	ɕ		
		sh		ʃh	ɕh		
		z		ʒ	ʒ		fi
m	n				ŋ	ŋ	
	l	r					

*Initial Clusters*

nb	nd	ndz	ndʒ	ndʒ	ndʒ	ng
----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----

**VOWELS***Monophthongs*

ɿ		
i, y		u
e, ø	ə	o ɔ̃
ɛ ẽ	ɐ	ɔ
	a	a ɑ̃

*Diphthongs*

iø, ue	io
iɛ yɛ uɛ	iɔ uɔ
	ia ua uɑ̃

**TONES**

ma<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>341</sup>



**BANTAWA***Rabi*

Data Source: Rai 1985 [NKR-Bant]

*The author is a native speaker of Bantawa (p. 2). The dissertation is based on the Rabi dialect of the Panchthar district in the Mechi zone (p. 15). Collected in 1982 and rechecked in 1983.*

Inventory: Rai 1985 [NKR-Bant] (pages 19-55)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)V(C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	T	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	Th	ch	kh	
b	d	D	j	g	
bh	dh	Dh	Th	gh	
	s				
					h
m	n			N	
w	l	r	y		

*Finals*

-p			-T	-k
-m	-n			-N

- /N/ represents a velar nasal.
- /t th d dh/ are dental stops.
- /T Th D Dh n s l r/ are alveolar; /D/ has two allophones: a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop (intervocally) and a voiced unaspirated apicoalveolar stop (elsewhere).
- /c ch j jh/ are palatal affricates.
- /h/ is a voiced glottal fricative.
- /r/ is an alveolar trill.

## VOWELS

i	(A)	U , u
e	a	o

- /U/ is a high back unrounded vowel.
- /A/ is a mid central unrounded vowel which never appears in final position. It occurs mostly in loanwords, and has probably only recently acquired phonemic status.
- /i e o U u/ have two allophones each: they are long finally and “relatively short” elsewhere (pp. 42-44).
- The author claims that there are no diphthongs and that vowel sequences always occur across a syllable or morpheme boundary and are made up of two pure vowels with distinct syllabic peaks (p. 52).

## NOTES

- Minimal pairs with medial and final obstruents “are very rare” (p. 29).
- Initial consonant clusters appear only in onomatopoeic words; final clusters do not occur. “Lateral and frictionless continuant phonemes are the only possible second members in this type of cluster”: /pl pw Tw cw phw Thw chw khw bl my Ty ly Dw gw bhw Dhw sw hw rw cy ky/ (p. 45).
- “All consonants except the glottal stop /ʔ/ can occur word-initially. All consonants occur word medially. All nasals and voiceless unaspirated stops except /t/ and /ʔ/ can occur finally in native words” (p. 35), but /ʔ/ can appear syllable-finally when followed by another consonant.
- “In borrowed words, only the velar nasal /N/ can occur word-finally but numerals which are borrowed from Nepali are exceptions to this rule” (p. 35).
- “Voiceless unaspirated stop consonants are unreleased in the final position” (p. 35).
- “The frequency of the dental stops is relatively less in native words but they are found in non-native words” (p. 35).
- “The occurrence of two or more consonants together within a syllable are considered as consonant clusters but across the syllable boundary they are treated as sequences of consonants. Consonant clusters are very few in Bantawa. There is no initial consonant cluster except in onomatopoeic words. No consonant sequence or cluster is available finally.” Most sequences or clusters contain only two consonants. Medial consonant sequences always occur across syllable boundaries (including apparent geminates) (pp. 44-46).



## BAWM

Data Source: Schwerli 1979 [VS-GBL]

*Drawn from various texts and from work with two informants, Mr. S. L. Pardo from Munnuam village, Southern Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Miss Piang from Lunginkhar village, Northern Chittagong Hill Tracts.*

Inventory: Schwerli 1979 [VS-GBL] (chapter 1)

*Although Schwerli notes some differences between the southern and the northern dialects, she provides only a single phoneme inventory.*

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	tl	ɽ	ch	k	ʔ
ph	th	thl	ɽh		kh	
b	d				(g)	
f				s		h
v	z					
m	n				ng	
	l		r			

#### *Finals*

-p	-t		-k	-ʔ
-m	-n		-ng	
-mʔ	-nʔ		-ngʔ	
	-l	-r		
	-lʔ	-rʔ		

- /r/ is a trill.
- /s/ is an alveo-palatal fricative.
- /g/ only occurs in loan words.
- In the orthography introduced by the missionaries, final <-h> represents a glottal stop [-ʔ].

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i î	u û
e ê	aw âw
a â	

*Diphthongs*

îu	ui ûi
ei eu êu	awi âwi o
ia ai âi au âu ua	

*Triphthongs*

iau uai

- Vowel length is phonemic. It is marked by <^> above the vowel. Short vowels are centralized. Length is often neutralized in open syllables.
- Long vowels do not occur before a glottal stop or glottalized endings.
- /aw/ is realized as [ɔ]; /awi/ is realized as [ɔy]; /âwi/ is realized as [ɔ:y].
- /e/ is realized as [ɛ]; /o/ is realized as [ou].
- [ei] and [ai] tend to occur in free variation.
- Of the diphthongs and triphthongs, only /ia/ and /ua/ can be followed by final consonants other than /-ʔ/.

## TONES

*Northern Dialect*

ma (1)	low
ma (2)	medium or rising
ma (3)	high

*Southern Dialect*

ma (1)	flat
ma (2)	raised

- Tones are not consistently indicated.
- In the northern dialect, pitch is grammatically determined and is not generally indicated.
- In the southern dialect, the two tones are phonemic in nouns and verbs. There is also a third falling tone which is an intonation contour, and pitch levels associated with grammatical particles.



BENGNI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST]

J. Sun 1993b [JS-Tani]

*Collected in Rtsedthang County in Tibet from a speaker of the Na tribe of Taksing area in the Upper Subansiri District of Arunachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST] (pages 36-38)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	(tɕ)	č	k	kj	
b	bj	d		ǰ	g	gj	
f	fj			š			h
v							
m	mj	n		ñ	ŋ		
		l		j			
		r		rj			

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

- There is no phonemic distinction between dental and palatal affricates and spirants. Represented uniformly as palatals, /č/, /ǰ/, and /š/ are pronounced [ts], [dz], and [s] before /u/ and /u:/ (e.g. <ta-čur> ‘spittle’ -> [ta-tsər]); elsewhere, they are realized as palatals.
- /tɕ/ occurs only in loanwords, e.g. <kuŋ-tɕin ñi:> ‘Chinese’ (lit. ‘communist man’, cf. Chinese <gòngchǎndǎng> ‘communist party’).
- The velar stops /k/ and /g/ are significantly palatalized before the high vowel /i/ (e.g. <ki-po:> -> [k<sup>j</sup>i-po:] ‘belly’).

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Na (Bengni)*, or “*Bengni S*” in [JS-HCST].

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>
i i:	u u:	u u:		ui
		o:		
	a a:			

- Vowel length is contrastive in open syllables. Short vowels carry a final consonant at the phonetic level, which varies between [-k], [-ʔ], and a fricative. Thus, the word for ‘tooth’ /fi/ is realized as [fik], [fiʔ], or [fiç]. The high vowels /i/, /u/ and /u:/ are devoiced when they are preceded by voiceless onsets in the second syllable of a disyllabic word; the vowel in the first syllable may be optionally lengthened (e.g. /ə-ši/ -> [ə(:)çi] ‘water’).
- Before labial codas, only /a/ and /u/ can occur; before the dental codas /-n/ and /-t/, only the nuclear vowel /i/ can occur; before the /-r/ coda, the only permitted nuclear vowels are /i/ and /u/.
- The diphthong /ui/ may have originally been bimorphemic (e.g. /ɲui/ < /ɲu-i/ ‘fish’, cf. /ɲu-čak/ ‘species of silvery, slender fish’).

## TONES

- Bengni seems to have developed a marginal tone system which has not yet become fully functional in the entire lexicon. This area of Bengni phonology requires further research.



**BISU<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Beaudouin 1988 [PB-Bisu]

*Beaudouin bases most of his information on the Bisu spoken in the village of Ban Doy (also known as Ban Lua and Huai Chomphu), the only one of four Bisu villages in northern Thailand that is entirely Bisu-speaking. Collected in three phases in 1985, 1986, and 1987.*

Inventory: Beaudouin 1991 [PB-MB] (pages 39-94 and Volume 2, pages i-v)

*The data in [PB-MB] and [PB-Bisu] are identical, but there are some slight differences in transcription.*

Note: Transcription of [PB-Bisu] normalized in STEDT database.

*SYLLABLE CANON*

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \\ \text{C(C)V(C)} \end{array}$$
*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tj		k	kj	ʔ
ph	(phj)	th	tsh		tʃh	kh	(khj)	
b	bj	d				g		
(f)			s	sj	ʃ ~ ɕ			h    hj
v								
m		n			ɲ	ŋ		
hm		hn			hɲ	hŋ		
w		l			j			
		hl						

*Initial Clusters*

(bw)	(fw)	(mw)	(tw)	kw	khw	
pl	phl	bl	thl	kl	khl	hml

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *mBisu* in [DB-PLolo].



*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
-j		

- In [PB-Bisu], the consonants <tʃ tɕ ʃh> also appear. In [PB-MB] they have been transcribed <tʃh tʃ ɕ> respectively.
- Glottal stop is not distinctive in Bisu, but indicates morpho-syntactic boundaries. Beaudouin analyzes it as a phoneme which is realized as [ʔ] before vowels at morphological or syntactic boundaries, and as [Ø] elsewhere (pp. 41-43). It is transcribed only when it has phonetic realization.
- /phj khj/ are very rare (p. 44).
- An initial consonant /hmj/ occurs in three words, but is not listed by Beaudouin.
- [f] is found only in borrowings from Thai (p. 46).
- The clusters [bw fw mw tw] appear only in borrowings (p. 53).
- The clusters /kw khw/ are realized as labialized velars.
- /b/ can be realized as [m] word-initially in open syllables containing /i a u/. This alternation is not allowed word-internally, although the constraint against word-internal variation appears to be relaxing (pp. 44-45).
- /ʃ/ is realized as [ʃ] before the front vowels [i ɛ] and [ɕ] before the central and back vowels [ɨ ə a ɔ u] (pp. 46-47). Beaudouin's transcription is phonetic in this regard.
- [v] is a variant of /w/, which occurs only in a very limited environment (pp. 47-48). The transcription here is phonetic.
- Before [ɔ], /ts/ varies freely between [ts] and [s] (p. 48). This phoneme is always transcribed <ts>.

*VOWELS*

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i	ɨ	u			
ɛ	ə	ɔ		ɔɛ	
	a			aɔ	

- Diphthongs occur only in open syllables. Except for /əp ɔp ɨm/, which occur only in Thai loans, all monophthongs combine with all the final stops and nasals. Only /u ə ɔ a/ combine with final /-j/.
- /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are realized somewhat higher, approaching [e] and [o]. In borrowed Thai vocabulary, the Thai distinctions /e/ vs. /ɛ/ and /o/ vs. /ɔ/ are retained (p. 54).

- The diphthongs /aɔ ɔɛ/ are transcribed <a<sub>ɔ</sub> ɔ<sub>ɛ</sub>> in [PB-MB] and [PB-Bisu].
- In addition to the two native Bisu diphthongs /aɔ ɔɛ/, there are also three diphthongs in borrowings from Thai: /ɛɔ eɔ iu/.

*TONES*

má	high
ma	mid
mà	low

**BISU**

Data Source: Nishida 1966 [NT-Bisu]  
Nishida 1966-67 [NT-CS]

*Fieldwork in one village of 200 people in Myang District, Chiengrai Province, northern Thailand.*

Inventory: Bradley 1979 [DB-PLolo] (pages 44-45), from [NT-CS] and [NT-Bisu]  
*Bradley's data is from [NT-CS] and [NT-Bisu]. Bradley has retained Nishida's phonemic transcription; but where Nishida provided only a phonetic transcription, Bradley has rendered it phonemically.*

Secondary Sources: [DB-PLolo], [DB-Bisu], [JAM-TSR]

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	pl	pj	t	ts	tš	kj	kl	k	?
ph	phl	phj	th	tsh	tšh	khj	khl	kh	
b	bl	bj	d						
f				s	š				
m			n		ň			ŋ	
hm		hmj	hn		hň			hŋ	
w	l				j				
	hl				hj				

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
-w	-j	

*VOWELS*

i	u	u
e	ɤ	o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	

*TONES*

má	high level
ma	mid level
mà	low level or low falling

- In data from [JAM-TSR], the mid tone is sometimes indicated by a macron: <mā>.



**BODO<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Bhat 1968 [Bhat-Boro]

*Spoken mainly in the three districts of Assam, Darrang, Nowgong, and Kamrup; also some speakers in the Goalpara, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, and Garo Hills districts. “Boro” (or Bodo, Bara, Baro, etc.) is the name of both the people and the language; the people are also known as “Kachari”.*

*The material was collected with the help of Madhu Ram Baro, a native speaker of Boro from Hajo, Kamrup district (as informant and early collaborator) (pages vii-viii).*

Inventory: Bhat 1968 [Bhat-Boro] (pages 1-7)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-GSTC]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	k	
b	d	g	
	s		h
	z		
m	n		
	l	r	

*Finals*

-b	(-d)	(-g)	
	(-s)		(-h)
-m	-n	-ŋ	
-w	-l	-r	-y

- /r/ is an alveolar flap, but intervocalically it is in free variation with a trill.
- /s/ has a freely varying palatalized allophone which is more prominent before /y/.
- /d g h s/ are rare in final position.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i	ə	u
e	a	o

*Diphthongs*

əa
----

<sup>1</sup>Called *Boro* in [Bhat-Boro], [JAM-GSTC]; *Kachari* in [RB-PB]; *Plains Kachari* elsewhere.

- Nasalization occurs only in two words: <kewũ> ‘clarified butter’ and <gehũ> ‘kind of red fruit’ (p. 4).

### TONES

má high-falling

ma mid-falling

- A glottal stop (“catch”) is usually found after a final vowel with high tone (p. 5).
- “When a monosyllabic word in high tone becomes the initial syllable of a polysyllabic word, it loses its high tone. And the following syllable, if in itself is not already in high tone, gets a high tone”(p. 9):

zá ‘to eat’                      zadáŋ ‘eats’

- When a polysyllabic word with high tone in the second syllable takes a (monosyllabic) prefix the tone gets transferred to the first syllable (i.e. to the second syllable of the derived form) (p. 10):

bazáy ‘elder brother’s wife’  
bibázəy ‘his elder brother’s wife’

### NOTES

- “Most of the medial two-consonant clusters have a morphemic boundary in-between. Exceptions are mainly the following:  
(i) clusters with two identical consonants,  
(ii) some of the stop + *r* or stop + *l* clusters (mostly having a voiceless stop as the first member), and  
(iii) clusters with *y*, *w* or *ŋ* as the second member” (p. 6).
- Clusters with two identical obstruents are in free variation with reduction to a single consonant, especially in words “functioning as adjectives” (p. 6).
- The voiced obstruents never form a cluster with the voiceless obstruents (p. 6).
- Initial clusters alternate with clusters broken up by a vowel identical to the final vowel in the word (p. 7):

kró ~ koró ‘head’  
prú ~ purú ‘to loosen’  
klum ~ kulum ‘to worship’  
kma ~ kama ‘to lose’  
knó ~ konó ‘to put in’

Bhat’s analysis is that the vowel is deleted from the longer form, but we analyze it as a harmonic epenthetic vowel to break up the cluster.



**BODO**

Data Source: Burling 1959 [RB-PB]

*From one informant in Goalpara District, north of the Garo Hills, Assam.*

Inventory: Burling 1959 [RB-PB] (pages 435-437)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-GSTC]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	k	
b	d	g	
	s		h
	z		
m	n		
	l	r	

*Simple finals*

-p	-t	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

*Final clusters*

-ʔm	-ʔn	-ʔŋ
		-ʔr

- “/l/ is a lateral, and /r/ is a moderate trill” (p. 436).
- /s/ is very similar to English /s/. /z/ is a very weak affricate and is articulated further back than /s/, closer to the position of English /ʒ/.
- Aspiration of /p t k/ varies allophonically, depending upon the following vowel: all are strongly aspirated before /o/ and /u/, and unaspirated before /a e ə/. Before /i/, all are unaspirated, but /k/ has a slightly spirantal release, /t/ has a more emphatically spirantal release, and /p/ has very strong spirantization.
- Glottal stop is only realized as glottal stop when word-final or in a final cluster. When it is followed by another syllable in the same word, glottal stop is not pronounced, but the following syllable is pronounced with a high pitch. In words which have no glottal stop in the first syllable, the second syllable is pronounced with a low pitch. Burling regards pitch to be an allophone of /ʔ/.

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i		u			
e	ə	o		əi	əu
	a			ai	au

- The diphthongs do not combine with any finals except /-ʔ/.

## TONES

- Burling only finds evidence of two tones, high and low. High tone follows syllables ending in glottal stop, and low tone follows syllables without glottal stop. However, he speculates that further investigation might find two contrasting tones in syllables ending without a glottal stop.
- In other words : “In Kachari the glottal stop is apparently just one phonetic aspect of a phonemic feature that includes pitch. Morphemes which when used alone end in a glottal stop are followed by a rise in pitch on a following syllable if there is one. The symbol /ʔ/ in Kachari bisyllabic words, then, does not actually denote a phonetic glottal stop, but instead means that the second syllable is spoken with a raised pitch” (p. 450).



**BOKAR<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Megu 1990 [MEG1990]

*Monigong, West Siang District, Arunachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST] (page 495), normalized from [MEG1990]

*Sun refers to Megu's data as "Bokar M".*

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	č	k	
b	d	ǰ	g	
	s			h
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
(w)	l	r	j	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

- /č ǰ ñ j ŋ/ are transcribed <c j ny y ng> in [MEG1990].
- [w] does not seem to be a phoneme in this language.
- /ŋ/ is transcribed <ng> in [MEG1990].

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i i:	u u:	u u:
e e:	ə ə:	o o:
	a a:	

- Vowel length marking does not seem to be consistent in [MEG1990].



<sup>1</sup>Also called *Bokar Adi* in [JS-HCST]; called *Luoba (Boga'er)* in [ZMYYC]; *Luoba* in [SLZO-MLD], [JZ-Luoba].



## BOKAR

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #51  
 Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD]  
 Ouyang 1985 [JZ-Luoba]

*Collected in Qionglin Village, Nayu Town, Milin [Mainling] County, Tibet.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #51 (pages 347-350)  
 Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD] (pages 115-121)  
 Ouyang 1985 [JZ-Luoba] (pages 3-12)

Secondary Sources: [JS-HCST] (from [ZMYYC], [JZ-Luoba])

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	pj	t	(tʂ)	tɕ	k	
b	bj	d		dz	g	
				ɕ		h
						fi
m	mj	n		ɲ	ŋ	
(w)		l	r	j		

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

- The initial /r/ is pronounced as a trill by most speakers, and as [ʀ] by some speakers.
- /w/ and /j/ are approximants. /w/ is rare. /j/ is very lightly fricated, and is confusable with /fi/.
- In native words [fi] and [h] are in free variation, with the majority of speakers pronouncing [fi]. However, all Tibetan loanwords are pronounced with [h], so [fi] and [h] are kept distinct in the transcription.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- Aspirated stops sometimes occur in Tibetan loanwords, but most speakers pronounce them as unaspirated.
- Before vowels other than /i/, some speakers pronounce /tɕ ɕ/ as [ts s]; however, /dz/ is always [dz].
- /tʂ/ occurs only in Tibetan loanwords.

- The palatal series /tɕ dz ɕ ŋ j/ is retranscribed <č ǰ š ñ j> in [JS-Tani] and [JS-HCST].
- /fi/ is retranscribed <h> in [JS-Tani] and [JS-HCST].

### VOWELS

i i:	u u:	ɯ ɯ:
e e:	ə ə:	o o:
	a a:	

- Vowel length is distinctive only in open syllables.
- The vowel /ə/ is pronounced somewhat closed and back; after velars it is confusable with /u/.
- /oŋ/ is realized as [ɔŋ].
- /u/ is fronted to varying degrees in the rhymes /uɔk/ and /uŋ/ when preceded by dental initials.
- There are systematic gaps in the Bokar rhyme system. Before dental codas /-n/ and /-t/, only front vowels /i/ and /e/ can occur; before labial codas /-m/ and /-p/, the vowels /i/, /ə/, and /u/ do not occur.
- [ZMYYC] also lists forms with diphthongs /ei iu əu/.

### TONES

- Editor's note: Contrastive tones do not exist in Bokar. [JZ-Luoba] reports that certain syllables are associated with conventionalized pitch contours which seem unpredictable. E.g. <ja:> 'tea' carries low rising pitch whereas <ŋo:> 'I' carries high level pitch. This may be due to influence from tonal dialects of Tibetan ("Bokar OY" <ja:> 'tea' is a Tibetan loan, cf. Lhasa <chə>).



**BOLA**

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Bola]  
 Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL]

[DHFRL]: Collected in Kongjiazhai of Santaishan District, Luxi County, Yunnan.

Inventory: Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL] (pages 316-351)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tʃ	k	kj
ph	phj	th	tsh	tʃh	kh	khj
f		s		ʃ	x	
v				(ʒ)	ɣ	
m	mj	n			ŋ	ŋj
			l		j	

- /ʒ/ occurs mainly in loanwords.
- When /t th n l ts tsh s tʃ tʃh/ combine with /e/, they are palatalized by insertion of an epenthetic glide [j].

*RHYMES*

<p>l</p> <p>i</p> <p>ɛ , ø</p> <p>ə</p> <p>a</p>	<p>u</p> <p>ɔ</p>	<p>ī</p> <p>ī</p> <p>ɛ , ø</p> <p>ɑ</p>	<p>u</p> <p>ɔ</p>
<p>ẽ ẽ̃ , ø̃</p>	<p>õ õ̃</p>	<p>ai ɑi au ɑu</p>	<p>ui ɰi</p> <p>ɔi</p>
<p>ɛʔ , øʔ</p> <p>əʔ</p> <p>aʔ auʔ</p>	<p>ɔʔ</p>	<p>ɛʔ , øʔ</p> <p>ɑʔ ɑuʔ</p>	<p>ɔʔ</p>
<p>ap ɑp</p>		<p>am ɑm</p>	

ɛt	ɔt ɔ̣t	ɛn	ən an ɹn	un ɔn ɔ̣n
	ak ɹk		aŋ auŋ ɹŋ ɹuŋ	uŋ ɹuŋ ɔŋ ɔ̣ŋ

- Only unconstricted vowels occur after aspirated stops and affricates. After voiceless fricatives there is no contrast between constricted and unconstricted vowels; most are pronounced as unconstricted.
- In a small number of words there is variation between [ɿ] and [i], or between [i] and [ai].
- /ə/ is generally pronounced [e] in open syllables, whether as a monophthong or in the diphthong /əi/.
- There are a number of rhymes, not listed above, which occur only in a handful of words, most of which are loanwords.
- Syllables with constricted vowels are realized with an initial [ʔ].

### TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> high level

ma<sup>35</sup> high rising

ma<sup>31</sup> low falling

ma<sup>51</sup> full falling

- When the high level tone occurs in stopped syllables, it is [<sup>54</sup>]; in non-stopped syllables it is [<sup>44</sup>].
- The full falling tone mostly occurs as sandhi variants of other tones, but does occur as the basic tone in a small number of words.
- In stopped syllables, only the high level and low falling tones occur.



**BORI**

Data Source: Megu 1988 [MEG1988]

*Collected in Payum village, West Siang District, Arunachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: Megu 1988 [MEG1988]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	c	k	
b	d	j	g	
	s			h
m	n	ny	ng	
	l	r	y	

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k
-m	-n		-ng
	(-l)	-r	

- <c j> represent [tʃ dʒ].
- /-l/ seems to occur only in loanwords.
- A distinctive trait of Bori is the tendency to merge labial and dental codas. This sound change apparently has not yet run its full course, since there are instances of labial codas in native vocabulary (provided, of course, that the data is correct).

*VOWELS*

i	í	u
e	é	o
	a	

- <í é> represent [i̯ ə].
- Vowel length marking seems inconsistent (vowel length is said to be distinctive at least for the vowel /a/).



**BUNAN***Gahri*

Data Source: S. R. Sharma 1991a [SBN-BunQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. The informants were Bodh Norbu and Nawang Norbu.*

Inventory: S. R. Sharma 1991a [SBN-BunQ]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ʈ	ts	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	ʈh	tsh	ch	kh	
b	d	ɖ	dz	j	g	
	s	ʂ		ʃ		h
	z					
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
w	l	r		y		

- /t th d s/ are dentals and /ʈ ʈh ɖ ʂ/ are alveolars.

*VOWELS*

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i		u			
e		o		oi	
ɛ	ə			oa	
(a)		ɑ			

- <a> appears in the handwritten data but is not included in the vowel chart.

*TONES*

mà	high falling
ma	level



**BURMESE (WRITTEN)**

Data Source: Benedict 1976 [PKB-WBRD]

Inventory: Benedict 1976 [PKB-WBRD] (pages iv-ix)

*Additional phonological information provided by James A. Matisoff.*

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
(bh)	(dh)	(jh)	(gh)	
	s			h
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
hm	hn	hñ	hŋ	
w	l	r	y	
hw	hl	hr	hy	

- The voiced aspirates appear only in borrowings from Sanskrit and Pali.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- There is no contrast between dental and palatal affricates in WB. The value of this series of affricates is not certain, but a palatal articulation is most likely for several reasons. First, /c/ and /ñ/ show the same combinatory pattern in rhymes; furthermore final dental affricates are far less common than final palatal affricates (p. viii).

*Initial Clusters*

(pl)	(kl)				
pr	phr	br	kr	chr	gr
py	phy	by	ky	kyh	gy

- “[W]e regard medial /-w-/ as belonging to the syllable’s rhyme, while medial /-y-/ and /-r-/ are treated as part of the initial consonant cluster” (p. v).
- /l/ appears in clusters with /p/ and /k/ only in inscriptional Burmese (Old Burmese).
- Clusters with voiced stops are less common than those with voiceless stops.

*Finals*

-p	-t	-c	-k
-m	-n	-ñ	-ŋ

*RHYMES*

i e we  a wa  u o	ui  ai wai
ip  ap wap	im  am wam
it  at wat	in  an wan
ac	añ
uik  ak wak  ok	uiŋ  aŋ waŋ  oŋ

- “The WB rhyme here transcribed ‘ui’ has been interpreted as [iu] or [i] by other scholars” (p. viii).
- “The rhymes here transcribed as ‘o’ and ‘ok’ are sometimes deemed to have represented [au] and [auk], respectively” (pp. viii-ix).

*TONES*

ma	level tone
mâ	heavy tone
ma’	creaky tone

- Unstressed schwa has no tone and is unmarked (p. viii).
- There is no tonal contrast in syllables with final stops /-p -t -c -k/.





**BURMESE***Rangoon*

Data Source: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB]

*“I collected all the data myself or at least checked it personally with speakers of the various languages, largely with students at the University of Rangoon in 1959-60” (p. 4).*

Inventory: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB] (pages 13-15)

**CONSONANTS***Initials*

p	py	t	c	k	(?)
ph	phy	th	ch	kh	
b	by	d	j	g	
		θ	s	š	h
		sh			
		z			
m	my	n	ny	ŋ	
hm	hmy	hn	hny	hŋ	
w		l	y		
		hl	hy		

- /c ch/ are affricates.
- /hm hn hŋ hl hy/ are pre-aspirated.
- Editor’s note: /š/ is more like IPA [ç], and is derived from /\*hr/.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ]. Burling does not indicate initial glottal stop in order to keep it distinct from the final glottal stop (p. 14).
- /w/ can precede only the unrounded vowels /i ei e a/.

*Medials*

-y-

-w-

- /-y-/ occurs only after the initial consonants /p ph b m hm n hn h/ (p. 14).
- /-w-/ occurs after any simple initial except /w/. It does not occur with any clusters with medial /-y-/ except for in /hyw/. It only occurs with vowels /i ei e a/ (p. 14).

*Finals*

-ʔ

- /-ʔ/ cannot follow nasalized vowels.
- Editor's note: Although /-ʔ/ derives historically from final stops, it is now best regarded as a tonal feature.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i in	u un
e	o
a an	

*Diphthongs*

ei ein	ou oun
ai ain aun	

- <-n> represents nasalization.
- “Nasalized vowels moreover do assimilate to an initial consonant which follows in close conjuncture to produce a homorganic nasal. Nasalization is incompatible with the glottal stop, but both nasalized and stopped high vowels (in, iʔ, un, uʔ) are articulated somewhat lower than the most similar open vowel” (p. 15).

*TONES*

má	“Low, long and gently rising”
mâ	“Higher than /á/, falling”
mà	“High, short, sharply falling, [with] marked glottal constriction”
maʔ	“Very short and terminated by a glottal stop”
mă	“‘Toneless’, short, weakly stressed”

- /mà/: This tone is characterized by glottal constriction which produces creaky voice.
- /maʔ/: The glottal tone does not occur with nasal vowels.
- “Burmese has a ‘weak’ syllable type in which the vowel is very short, always low or mid central and weakly stressed. Such syllables can never occur alone and they never occur in word-final position. No tone contrast is found on such syllables and they might therefore be called ‘toneless’ syllables. Alternatively, they might be said to constitute a fifth tone, but since these syllables occur only with a single ‘schwa’ like vowel, their status is clearly quite different from that of the other tones.” These syllables are never nasalized or stopped (p. 15).

*NOTES*

- “Burmese is characterized by wholesale assimilation both of syllable final stops and vowel nasalization to the initial of the following syllable, and also of syllable initials

to the voicing characteristics of the preceding syllable. Thus what appears in absolute final position as a glottal stop assimilates to the articulatory position of the initial stop of the following syllable, while a final nasal is always homorganic with the following syllable initial” (pp. 13-14).

- Initial stops are always voiced when they occur in close juncture after open syllables. Many phonetically voiced obstruents occur as a result of assimilation, and are rare in absolute initial position (p. 14).
- Rather than including the assimilation of the consonants in his transcription, Burling transcribes each morpheme in only form, that of the syllable said in isolation (p. 14).



**BURMESE**

*Rangoon*

Data Source: Roop 1972 [DHR-IBWS]

Inventory: Roop 1972 [DHR-IBWS] (pages ix-xiii)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(T)  
C<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)V(n)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	c	k	q
hp	ht	hc	hk	
b	d	j	g	
	th	s	hy	h
		hs		
	dh	z		
m	n		ng	
hm	hn		hng	
w	l	(r)	y	
	hl			

- <h> before obstruents indicates aspiration (p. xii).
- <h> before sonorants indicates voicelessness (p. xii).

- <h> after <t> and <d> indicates frication. /th dh/ are spirants (p. xii).
- /c hc j/ are affricates (p. xii).
- /r/ is a “voiced flap or spirant” and appears only in borrowings (p. xii).

### *Medials*

-y-                      -w-

- /-y-/ occurs with /p hp b m hm n hn/ and, rarely, with /l hl/ (p. xi).
- /-w-/ occurs with all initial consonants except /w/ and /q/ (p. xi).

### *Finals*

-n

- /-n/ never occurs in a syllable with tone IV.

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

i	u
ei	ou
e	o
a	

### *Diphthongs*

ai au

- /ei/ and /ou/ are upper mid vowels; /e/ and /o/ are lower mid vowels.
- /ai/ and /au/ do not occur in open syllables with tone I, II, and III (p. xiii).
- /e/ does not occur with final /-n/; /o/ does not occur with tone IV or with final /-n/ (p. xiii).

## TONES

ma-, ma	Tone I	low level
ma:	Tone II	long high falling
ma.	Tone III	short high falling, with slow glottal closure
ma'	Tone IV	short high level, with sharp glottal closure

- Tone marks follow the syllable to which they refer, even if closed.
- Tone I is unmarked only before a space.
- Toneless syllables are short with neutral pitch and occur only with /a/ and before another syllable. They are unmarked.



**CANGLUO<sup>1</sup>**  
*Eastern Bhutan*

Data Source: Andvik 1993 [EA-Tsh]

*Collected from Bhutanese Tshangla speakers in the Darjeeling district in West Bengal, India.*

Inventory: Andvik 1993 [EA-Tsh] (page 133)

**CONSONANTS**

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tr	ch	k	
ph	th	tsh	thr	chh	kh	
b	d	(dz)	dr	j	g	
		s		sh		h
		z		(zh)		
m	n			ny	ng	
w	l		r	y		
	(lh)					

- Symbols in parentheses are found in loanwords.

*Finals*

-p	-t			-k
	-s			
-m	-n			-ng
-w	-l	-r	-y	

**VOWELS**

i			u
e			o
	a		
❖	❖	❖	❖

<sup>1</sup>Called *Tshangla* in [EA-Tsh]; *Menba (Motuo)* in [ZMYYC], [SLZO-MLD]; *Central Monpa* in [KDG-ICM]. Also called *Shar chop-kha*.

## CANGLUO

*Motuo*

Data Source: Zhang Jichuan 1986 [JZ-CLMenba]

Collected in Beibeng Village, Motuo [Mêdog] County, Tibet.

Inventory: Zhang Jichuan 1986 [JZ-CLMenba] (pages 3-14)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pr	t	ts	(tʂ)	tɕ	k
p <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>hr</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup>	(tʂ <sup>h</sup> )	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
			s	(ʂ)	ɕ	h
m	mr	n			ŋ	ŋ
w		l		r	j	
		(ʈ)				

- Aspiration is indicated by < ' > in [JZ-CLMenba] but is indicated by <h> in the STEDT database.
- All zero-initial syllables in the high tone have an optional initial glottal stop, which is not transcribed. Zero-initial syllables in the low tone are rare.
- /p t k ts tʂ tɕ s/ have voiced realizations in low tone syllables, which are not transcribed. (The voiced allophone [z] of /ɕ/ has devoiced for most speakers even in low tone syllables. [z] has devoiced for some speakers as well.)
- The retroflex affricates appear mostly in Tibetan loanwords. [ʂ] appears in a very few Chinese loanwords. /ʈ/ only appears in Tibetan loanwords.
- Velar initials /k k<sup>h</sup> ŋ/ are palatalized before high front vowels /i e/.
- /h/ is realized as [x] before vowels /a e/.
- /r/ is realized as a retroflex glide [ɻ].

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
	-s		
-m	-n	-ŋ	
		-r	

- Finals /p t k/ are unreleased and are realized with an accompanying glottal stop.

- Final /r/ may be realized as a retroflex glide, flap, or trill.

### VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i, (y)	u		iu	(ui)
e, ø	o			oi
a			ai au	

- /ai/ is realized as [ae]; /oi/ is realized as [øe].
- /y/ and /ui/ appear mostly in Tibetan loanwords.
- The five basic vowels /i e a o u/ can combine with all finals. /y/ only occurs in open syllables, and /ø/ only occurs in open syllables or with /-?/.
- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after /ts ts<sup>h</sup> s/ and as [ɨ] after /tʂ tʂ<sup>h</sup> r/ except in the rhymes /in/ and /ui/.

### TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> high  
ma<sup>13</sup> low

- In [JZ-CLMenba], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Grammatical words, suffixes, and some other syllables may occur in a neutral tone, in which case they are transcribed without tone letters.
- Only nasal and glide initials occur in both tones. Voiceless affricates and fricatives have voiced allophones in low tone (except /c/, whose low tone allophone has devoiced).



## CANGLUO

### *Motuo*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #7  
Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD]

[ZMYYC]: Collected in Didong Village, Didong Town, Motuo [Mêdog] County, Tibet.

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #7 (pages 174-177)  
Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD] (pages 65-74)

## CONSONANTS

### *Initials*

p	pr	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	ʔ
ph	phr	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	
b	br	d	dz	dz̥	dz̥	g	
			s		ɕ		h
			z		z̥		
m	mr	n			ŋ	ŋ	
w		l		r	j		
		(ɬ)					

- /ʈ/ appears only in Tibetan loanwords.
- /wu/ is realized as [ɦu] or [u].
- /r/ is realized as a retroflex glide [ɻ].
- /z z̥/ have devoiced to [s ɕ] for some young speakers.
- Aspiration is indicated by < ʰ > in [SLZO-MLD] but is indicated by <h> in the STEDT database.

### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
	-s		
-m	-n	-ŋ	
	-l	-r	

- /-l/ does not occur in the speech of some speakers.
- /-p -t -k/ are unreleased and are realized with an accompanying glottal stop.
- /-r/ may be realized as a retroflex glide, flap, or trill.

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

i, y	u
e, ø	o
a	

### *Diphthongs*

ai au

- The five basic vowels /i e a o u/ can combine with all finals (except for the combination /il/). /y/ and /ø/ appear only in open syllables or with /-ʔ/.



- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after /ts tsh s/ and as [ɿ̥] after /tʂ tʂh dz r/ except in the rhymes /in/ and /ui/.
- /y/ can be realized as [ui] or [yi]; /ø/ can be realized as [oi] or [øi].
- /ut un ot on os/ are realized as [yt yn øt øn øs] by some speakers.



## CANGLUO

### *Tilang*

Data Source: Das Gupta 1968 [KDG-ICM]

Collected in Tilang Area, Mendawang [Moindawang] District, Tibet.

Inventory: Zhang Jichuan 1986 [JZ-CLMenba] (pages 167-169), from [KDG-ICM]

Secondary Sources: [JZ-CLMenba]

Note: Transcription of [JZ-CLMenba] normalized in STEDT database.

## CONSONANTS

### *Initials*

p	pr	t	ts	tr	tɕ	k	kr		
p <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>hr</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tsh		tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>hr</sup>		
b	br	d		dr	dz	g	gr		
			s	sr	ɕ			h	hr
			z		ʐ				
m	mr	n			ɲ	ŋ			
w		l		r	j				
		ʈ							

- /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> dz ɕ z ɲ j ŋ ʈ/ are transcribed <c ch j sh zh ny y ng lh> in [JZ-CLMenba].

### *Finals*

	-p	-t		-k
		-s		
	-m	-n		-ŋ
	-mp	-nt		-ŋk
			-r	
			-rr	

- The value of <rr> is unclear.

### *VOWELS*

i  
e

u  
o

a

### *TONES*

- Das Gupta's transcription does not include tones.



## CHAMLING

Data Source: Winter 1985 [WW-Cham]

*The principal consultant was Mr. Dhan Prasad Rai.*

Inventory: Winter 1985 [WW-Cham] (page 1)

## CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
b	d		g
bh	dh		gh
	s		h
m	n		ng
w	l	r	y

- <h> indicates that the following syllable is breathy.
- The data include isolated instances of <t̥>; it does not appear to have phonemic value.

## VOWELS

## Monophthongs

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>			
i		u				uN	
e (E)	A	(O) o		eN		(ON) oN	
	a					aN	
<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>			
iu iw		uy				uyN	
ae aE ea	Ay	oy ow Ow		AyN			
	ay ua						

- /A/ is [ə].
- Although it is unclear, <O> is probably an allophone of /o/.
- The status of /ua Ay uy ow iu Ow oy ae ea uyN AyN/ is uncertain; they have been treated as diphthongs here.
- The data include isolated instances of <E>; it does not appear to represent a phonemic distribution.



## CHANG

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the central part of the Tuensang district of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [HUT1929].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 350)

Secondary Sources: [WTF-PNN]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ch	k	
ph	th		kh	
b	d	j	g	
	s	sh		h
			gh	
m	n	ny	ng	
w	l	y		

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	
			-h
-m	-n		

- Marrison indicates that <ch gh sh> correspond to /c ɣ ʃ/ respectively.
- Marrison does not list /h/ as a final, but it appears finally in several forms.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ei		ou
	ai au	ao

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.
- The symbols <ũ ū û> also appear in the data; their value is uncertain.



## CHANTYAL

Data Source: Noonan et al. 1992 [NPB-ChanQ]  
*STEDT Questionnaire. The informant was Ram Bhulanja.*

Inventory: Noonan et al. 1992 [NPB-ChanQ]

### CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
pʰi	tʰi	cʰi	kʰi
b	d	j	g
bʰi	dʰi	jʰi	gʰi
	s		
m	n		ŋ
mʰi	nʰi		
w	l	r	y
	lʰi	rʰi	yʰi

- <ʰi> indicates that the following vowel is murmured.
- /t th tʰi d dʰi s n nʰi l lʰi/ are dentals.
- Medial consonants may be long, in which case they are doubled in transcription.
- “Voiceless murmured stops involve a voiceless stop (aspirated or unaspirated depending on point of articulation) followed by a murmured vowel. Our consultant, Ram Bhulanja, considers this series phonemic.”
- The affricates /jʰi j c ch cʰi y yʰi/ are alveolar except before front vowels and /y/, when they are alveopalatal.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>		
i ii		u uu		ĩ ĩĩ		ũ ũũ
e ee	ə əə	o oo		ẽ ẽẽ	ã ãã	õ õõ
	a aa				ã ãã	

- There is no discussion of diphthongs. The data supplied includes examples of vowel + glide (/y/ and /w/) but no examples of vowel + vowel.



## CHEPANG

*Eastern/Maiserang*

Data Source: Caughley 1990 [RC-ChepQ]  
 Caughley 1972 [SIL-Chep]

*Collected in Maiserang, a village in the Makwanpur District of Nepal. This dialect serves as the standard for the Eastern Dialect of Chepang.*

Inventory: Caughley 1990 [RC-ChepQ]  
 Caughley 1972 [SIL-Chep]

Note: Transcription of [SIL-Chep] normalized in STEDT database.

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
bh	dh	jh	gh	
	s			h
m	n		ŋ	
hm	hn		hŋ	
w	l	r	y	
hw	hl	hr	hy	

- /ʔ/ is transcribed <ʔ> in [SIL-Chep].
- <h> representing aspiration in [SIL-Chep] appears as <<sup>h</sup>> in the STEDT database.

*Medials*

-l-	-r-	-y-	-w-
-ly-	-lw-	-ry-	

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k
	-s		
-m	-n		-ŋ
-mh	-nh		-ŋh
-w	-l	-r	
-wh	-lh	-rh	-yh

*Final Clusters*

-mʔ	-nʔ		-ŋʔ
-wʔ	-lʔ	-rʔ	-yʔ
-yk	-yŋ	-yŋh	-yŋʔ

- /-ʔ/ may be realized as a falling tone.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

- /e/ is pronounced [ɛ]; /o/ is pronounced [ɔ].
- /a ə/ are transcribed <aa a> in [SIL-Chep].

*NOTES*

- < . > represents probable morpheme boundaries; however, < . > in [SIL-Chep] appears as < - > in the STEDT database.



## CHEPANG

*Eastern/Maiserang*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Bhubikan Chepang, Ross Caughley and Kathleen Caughley . The data is from Maiserang in Makwanpur District, Nepal.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 30-31), from [CAU1969]

Note: Transcription of [AH-CSDPN] normalized in STEDT database.

## CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
bh	dh	jh	gh	
m	n		ng	
hm	hn		hng	
mh	nh		ngh	
	s			h
w	l	r	y	
hw	hl	hr	hy	
wh			yh	

- /ʔ/ is transcribed <ʔ> in [AH-CSDPN].
- <hm hn hng hw hl hr hy mh nh ngh wh yh> represent voiceless sonorants. When <h> precedes the sonorant (as in <hm>), the sound is syllable initial, and when <h> follows it (as in <mh>), the sound is syllable final.

## VOWELS

i		u
e	a	o
	ā	





## CHOKRI

Data Source: Nienu 1990 [VN-ChkQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Nienu 1990 [VN-ChkQ]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p		t	ts		k	kr
ph		th	tsh	ch	kh	khr
b	bv	d	dz			
			s	sh		h
v			z	zh		
m		n		ny		
mh		nh		nyh		
		l	r	y		
		lh	rh			

- /bv/ occurs only before /ü/.
- There is an instance of syllabic [m] freely alternating with [mü] ('kiss').

#### *Medials*

-r-                      -y-

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i	ü	u
e		o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

ie	ou
----	----

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid
ma <sup>11</sup>	low
ma <sup>31</sup>	falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	rising

**CHOKRI**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the area east of the Doyang River by the Chokri, an Eastern Angami Group. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Chok].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 350-351)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)V(V)

*CONSONANTS*

p	pr	t	ts/ch	k	kr	kw
ph	phr	th		kh	chr	khw
b		d		g		
		s	sh	shw		h
v		z	zh			
m		n		ng		
mh		nh				
		l	r	y		
		lh	rh			

- The sequence <nd> appears in the data but not in Marrison's inventory.
- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <sh zh> correspond to /ʃ ʒ/ respectively.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ie

- The list of phonemes includes <θ>, which is probably a typographical error for <ə>.
- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.

## TONES

- Marrison indicates that there is a tonal system but does not mark tones.



CUONA<sup>1</sup>*Southern/Mama*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #6  
 Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD]  
 Lu 1986 [JZ-CNMenba]

*Collected in Mama Town, Lebu District, Cuona County, Tibet.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #6 (pages 168-173)  
 Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD] (pages 4-11)  
 Lu 1986 [JZ-CNMenba] (pages 3-16)

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	ch	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʑ	ʃ	g	
		s	ʂ	ɕ			h
		z		ʑ			
m	n			ɲ		ŋ	
w	l	r			j		
	ɬ						

*Initial Clusters*

pl	phl	bl	kl	khl
pr	phr	br	kr	chr

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
	-s		
-m	-n	-ŋ	
	-r		

- /b d ʃ g dz dʒ dʑ/ are only slightly voiced.
- /r/ is heavily fricated as a simple initial (close to [ʒ]), but is realized as [r] elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Menba* (*Cuona*) in [ZMYYC], [SLZO-MLD].

- All syllables with zero-initial in the low tones (high rising tone in [JZ-CNMenba]) are realized with a non-phonemic initial [fi], which is not transcribed.

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

<i>Short</i>		<i>Long</i>	
i , y	u	iː , yː	uː
e , ø	o	eː , øː	oː
ɛ	ɔ	ɛː	ɔː
A		Aː	

### *Diphthongs*

iu  
eu  
Ai AU

- /i(:)/ is realized as [ɿ(:)] after alveolar affricates, [ʅ(:)] after retroflex affricates.
- /i/ is the only vowel that combines with /-s/.
- Only short vowels occur with finals.

## TONES

m<sup>A55</sup> high level  
m<sup>A53</sup> high falling  
m<sup>A13</sup> low rising  
m<sup>A31</sup> low falling

- [JZ-CNMenba] describes the low rising tone as /<sup>35</sup>/.
- In [JZ-CNMenba], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high falling tone has allotone [<sup>54</sup>] with short vowels, diphthongs, and nasal finals and allotone [<sup>52</sup>] with finals /-p -t -k -ʔ/.
- The low rising tone has allotone [<sup>14</sup>] with long vowels or consonant cluster initials and allotone [<sup>131</sup>] with diphthongs or finals /-p -t -k -ʔ/.
- The low falling tone occurs only with grammatical particles.



## CUONA

*Northern/Wenlang*

Data Source: Lu 1986 [JZ-CNMenba]

Collected in Wenlang Commune, Dexing District, Motuo [Mêdog] County, Tibet.

Inventory: Lu 1986 [JZ-CNMenba] (pages 125-133)

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
b	d	dz	dz̥	dz̥	g
		s	ʂ	ɕ	x
		z		ʐ	ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
w	l	r		j	
	ɬ				

- /ɣ/ is transcribed <l> in [JZ-CNMenba], but it is positioned in the chart as the voiced counterpart of /x/. Its exact phonetic nature is not explained.
- Aspiration is indicated by <h> in [JZ-CNMenba] and by <<sup>h</sup>> in the STEDT database.

*Cluster Initials*

pl	bl	ml	kl	gl	ŋl			
pr	p <sup>hr</sup>	br	mr	kr	k <sup>hr</sup>	gr	xr	ŋr

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i, y		u
e, ø	(ə)	o
		ɑ

*Diphthongs*

iu, yu		ui
eu, øu	əu	io
		ai ia ua au

- Only monophthongs occur with finals.

## TONES

mɑ<sup>55</sup> high level

mɑ<sup>35</sup> high rising

- In [JZ-CNMenba], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high level tone has a high falling variant.
- The high level tone usually occurs with voiceless initials, and the high rising tone usually occurs with voiced initials.



## DAMU

Data Source: Ouyang

Inventory: J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST] (pages 497-498)

*Sun's data is from Ouyang 1985 [JZ-Luoba], and his own personal communication with Ouyang. He refers to Ouyang's data as "Damu OY".*

Secondary Sources: J. Sun 1993a. [JS-HCST]

J. Sun 1993b. [JS-Tani]

## INITIALS

p	pr	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	c	k	ʔ
ph		th	tʂh	tʂh	tɕh		kh	
b	br	d	dz	dz̥	dz̥	ʃ	g	
			s			ɕ	x	
			z				fi	
m		n			ŋ		ŋ	
ṃ							ŋ	
w			l	r		j		
			l̥					

## RHYMES

(ɿ)	(ɿ)	u, u	i:, y:	u:, u:
i, y	ə	o	e:, ø:	ə:
e, ø	a		a:	o:
iu		ui	y?	u?, u?
ei	əu	yo	e?, ø?	o?
	ia:			ia? a?
ip		up	im, ym	um
ep, øp	iəp yəp əp		em	iəm əm
	iap ap			iam am
it, yt		ut	in, yn	un, un
et, øt	ət uet		en, øn	ən
	at			an



ik                      uk , iuk yuk uk ek            iək ək            ok ak	iŋ                      uŋ , yuŋ uŋ eŋ            iəŋ əŋ            oŋ iaŋ aŋ
ir , yr                      ur , ur er , ør            iər ər            or iar ar	

- Vowel length is contrastive only in open syllables.
- /ɲ/ and /ɳ/ are found only in Tibetan loanwords.



**DARANG<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #49

Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD]

*Collected in Xiani Village, Ba'antong Town, Xiacha'ou District, Cha'ou County, Tibet.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #49 (pages 337-341)

Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD] (pages 174-175)

*INITIALS**Simple*

p	t	ts	(tʂ)	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	(tʂh)	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz		dʒ	g
(f)		s	(ʂ)	ɕ	x
m	n			ɲ	ŋ
ᵹ	ᵹ				ŋ
w	l		ɿ	j	
	ʈ				

*Cluster*

pl	phl	bl	ml	kl	khɿ	gl
pɿ	phɿ	bɿ	mɿ	kɿ	khɿ	gɿ xɿ

- /f tʂ tʂh ʂ/ occur mainly in loans.
- Velar initials /k kh g ŋ x/ before /i/ are realized as corresponding palatals /c ch ɟ ɲ ç/.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

*RHYMES*

i	u	u	iu	iu
e	a	o	ie	io
ui	ui	uu	ai	au
ue	ua		iai uai	iauu uauu

<sup>1</sup>Called *Deng* (*Darang*) in [ZMYYC], [SLZO-MLD].

im    ium um em    am	in    un    un
iŋ    uŋ eŋ    aŋ    oŋ	ieuŋ    iuuŋ ieŋ ueŋ    iaŋ uaŋ    ioŋ

- /i/ is realized as [ɪ] after sibilant initials /ts tsh dz s /.
- /e/ and /o/ are realized as [E] and lower [o] respectively.
- /a/ is realized as [a] when occurring alone as the rhyme.
- Syllabic nasals /m̩ n̩ ŋ̩/ may also occur as a rhyme. They may only occur by themselves or be preceded by homorganic voiceless nasals /m̩ n̩ ŋ̩/.

### TONES

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level
- ma<sup>53</sup> high falling
- ma<sup>35</sup> high rising
- ma<sup>31</sup> low falling

- The low falling tone is weakened (neutral) when occurring in the first syllable of disyllabic words.



DEURI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: W. B. Brown 1895 [WBB-Deuri]

The author gathered the data “[w]ith the help of an intelligent Deori muharrir, who has some knowledge of Bengali grammar” and on “occasional visits to the Deori settlement” (p. viii).

Inventory: Extracted from W. B. Brown 1895 [WBB-Deuri] (pages 4-5)

## CONSONANTS

p	t		k
	th	ch	kh
b	d	j	g
	dh		
f	s	sh	h
	(z)		
m	n	ny	ng
	l	r	y

- Brown writes that /ch/ “is sounded as in *church*.”
- Brown writes that [z] does not seem to occur, but there is one instance in his vocabulary.

## VOWELS

## Monophthongs

i í	u ú
e é    ă	o ó
a      á	â

## Diphthongs

ei	oi
ai	au

- According to Brown’s description, the vowels have the following approximate values:

Brown:	ă	â	a	á	e	é	i	í	o	ó	u	ú
IPA:	ə	ɒ	æ	ɑ	ɛ	e	ɪ	ɪ	ɔ	o	u	u

- Brown writes <-ñ> to indicate “a faint nasalization of the preceding vowel. This sound is rather difficult to distinguish, and seems to be often dropped; thus ‘añ’ I, ‘á-chapí’ ‘from me’.”
- <ui> represents a sequence of two vowels, not a diphthong.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Chutiya* in [WBB-Deuri].

- “When ‘ai’, ‘oi’, ‘ei’ are written with a diæresis, the vowels are to be separately sounded.”
- “‘iy’ used in the termination of the present tense in some verbs denotes the combination of the root ending in ‘i’ with the tense termination ‘i’.”



**DHIMAL**

Data Source: King 1994 [JK-Dh]

Inventory: King 1994 [JK-Dhimal]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	c	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	g
bh	dh	jh	gh
	s	sy	h
v			
m	n		
mh	nh		
w	l	r	y
wh	lh	rh	yh

- /c j jh/ are affricates.
- “Some retroflex phonemes also exist in words borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages, but are used irregularly.”
- “Traces of a former aspirated voiceless affricate /ch/ can be found in the pronunciation of some Dhimal speakers.”
- “The aspirated voiceless velar plosive /kh/ has a velar fricative allophone of [x].”

*Medials*

-w-                      -y-

*Finals*

-q

-m                      -n                      -ŋ

-l                      -r

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i	u		ui	
e	o		eu	oi
a			ai au	

- “There are five vowel phonemes in Dhimal (the schwa being rare) and five diphthongs. With the exception of the glottal stop, vowels become lower or more lax in closed syllables, especially those ending with a nasal. Diphthongs occur only in open syllables.”
- “Nasalization of vowels, although common enough, is not a distinctive feature of Dhimal.” It is marked by <~> over the vowel.



## DUMI

Data Source: Driem 1993 [SVD-Dum]

*Data collected by the author from several native speakers of the language.*

Inventory: Driem 1993 [SVD-Dum] (pages 49-59)

## CONSONANTS

p	t		(t̥)	k	ʔ
ph	th		(t̥h)	kh	
b	d	dz	(d̥)	g	
bh	dh	(dzh)	(d̥h)	gh	
		s			h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r	y		

- /t th d dh/ are dentals, but some dialects have alveolar articulation.
- /t̥ d̥ dzh d̥h/ are restricted to Nepali loans and proper names; /t̥h/ occurs primarily in these contexts as well.
- /p t k/ are realized as [p t̥ k] initially; finally they are unreleased and accompanied by a simultaneous glottal stop, except in the sequence /t/ + /s/.
- /ŋ/ is palatalized before /s/.
- /r/ is a lamino-alveolar fricative trill “phonetically identical to Czech ř” in careful speech, but with less friction in faster speech (p. 54).
- Simple /s/ is realized as [ʃ] or [ç] before high vowels and glides; before /e/ and /e:/ there is variation between [s] and [ʃ]/[ç].
- /ts/ is considered a cluster. It is the only initial cluster in the language. The behavior of /s/ in this cluster is similar to that of simple /s/.
- /dz/ is a voiced lamino-alveopalatal affricate usually realized as [dʒ] or [dʒ̥]; it is realized as [dz] before /ə œ/.
- /h/ is an energetically articulated voiced glottal fricative [ɦ].



## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i i:	ɨ	u u:
e e:		o o:
æ	ə	
	a a:	

*Diphthongs*

e:y	oy
	əy
	o:ə
	ai

- The articulation of /ɨ/ varies from [ɨ] to [u]; this phoneme also has a front rounded allophone [y] after the palatal glide /y/ [j].
- /e/ and /e:/ are usually realized as [ɛ] and [ɛ:], respectively; they have higher allophones [e] and [e:] before /-l -r -w -s/ and in stressed open syllables.
- /o/ is realized as [ɔ].
- /o:/ is realized as [o:] or [ɔ:] depending on the environment.

*STRESS**NOTES*

- In general, verbs and deverbatives are stressed on the root; nouns and other parts of speech are stressed on the first syllable. When stress is not predicatable, it is marked by <' > before the stressed syllable.



## DZONGKHA

Data Source: Mazaudon 1985 [MM-Dzong]

*Data collected from Bhutanese speakers by the author and Boyd Michailovsky in January-February 1977.*

Inventory: Mazaudon 1985 [MM-Dzong] (pages 151-152)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	pʃ	t	ts	t̥	c	k
ph	pʃh	th	tsh	t̥h	ch	kh
b	bʃ	d	dz	d̥	ʃ	g
bh	bʃh	dh	dzh	d̥h	ʃh	gh
			s		ɕ	
			z		ʐ	
			zh		ʐh	
m		n			ɲ	ŋ
w		l	r		j	
		lh				

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i	y	u
ɛ̥		
e	ø	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

iu		
eu		ou
	ai	au a:u

- Vowel length and nasalization are contrastive. Nasalization is marked by <~> over the vowel; length is marked by <: > following the vowel.
- The phonemic status of [ɛ̥] is unclear.

### TONES

ma	low
'ma	high

- As tone is predictable for obstruent-initial syllables (see below), it is indicated only on syllables where a contrast exists: vowel-initial or sonant-initial syllables.
- Mazaudon notes that more work must be done on tone in this language.
- Mazaudon only marks the high/low tone contrast in this work. However, she notes that a melodic contrast on long open syllables exists.

### *NOTES*

- Mazaudon divides initial consonants into classes, each class with a particular tone. Thus, tone is predictable for all syllables except those beginning with sonants or with vowels.

CLASS	CONSONANT	TONE
I	Voiceless consonants	High
II	Voiceless asp. consonants	High
III	Voiced consonants	Low
IV	Voiced asp. consonants	Low
Sonant	Nasals and Glides	H/L
Sonant	/lh/	High

- The voiced aspirated series is pronounced either as plain voiced with a low tone or as voiceless aspirates with a low tone depending on the dialect.
- Dialectal variation between low-toned /c z/ is represented by /zh/ and variation between low-toned /s z/ is represented by /zh/.



## ERGONG

*Daofu*

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Daofu]

*Data collected by Ma Erji.*

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-Daofu]

## INITIALS

p		t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	q	(?)
ph		th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh	
b		d	dz	dzɿ	dzɿ	g		
f	ɸ		s	ɕ	ɕ	x		h
			sh		ɕh	xh		
v	β		ʃ	ʒ	ʒ	ɣ		fi
m		n			ŋ	ŋ		
w		l	r		j			
		ɬ						

- The glottal stop [ʔ] only occurs as a preglottalized element of some initials.

## RHYMES

*Open**Monophthongs*

i		u
e, ø	ə	o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	ɑ

*Diphthongs*

ui	
ei	uo ou
	ua au

*Closed*

in  
en eŋ

uŋ  
oŋ  
am an aŋ



**ERGONG**

*Daofu*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #14

Collected in Dasang District, Danba County, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan.

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #14 (pages 210-218)

*INITIALS*

*Simple*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	q	
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh	qh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʑ	g		
(f)		s	ʂ	ɕ	x	ɣ	
		sh		ch			
v	z	ʐ	ʑ	ʑ	ɣ	ʁ	fi
m	n			ŋ	ŋ		
w	l			j			
	ɬ						

- In addition to the simple initials, there are over 200 initial clusters of two or three simple consonants.
- /ʑ/ is realized as such when occurring as an initial by itself; elsewhere it may alternate with [r].
- /f/ occurs mainly in Chinese loans.
- Glides /w j/ involve some friction; /j/ is actually close to [ɣi].
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

*RHYMES*

ɿ				
i, (y)	ɯ, ʉ	u	yi	iu yu
e, ø	ə	o	ie ye	io
ɛ	a	ɔ	iɛ	ia io

ui	uu		uu
ue	uə		
uε	ua		εi εu ai au
			uu
			əɪ
uei	iau	iəu	ɛɪ iɑɪ aɪ uɑɪ
il	ɯl		
	əl		əɱ
ɛl	al		ɛɱ iam am
in , (yn)		un	iŋ uŋ
en uen ən uən			əŋ ioŋ oŋ
iɛn yɛn ɛn uɛn an			iaŋ uaŋ ɔŋ uɔŋ

- /y/ occurs mainly in Chinese loans.
- /ɣ/ is realized as [ɣ] after retroflexed fricatives and affricates.
- /ɰ/ after bilabials is close to [y].
- The retroflexed vowels, in addition to being rhotacized, carry an [-ɿ] offglide as well.

### TONES

- Tone does not appear to be contrastive in Ergong. However, all monosyllabic words are consistently pronounced in one of two high tones, [55] or [53]. Other tones occur in polysyllabic compounds. Since they are not phonemic, tones are not transcribed.



**ERSU**

*Ganluo*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #18

*Collected in Zeluo Town, Yutian District, Ganluo County, Liangshan Prefecture, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #18 (pages 231-235)

*INITIALS*

*Simple*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tʃ	tɕ	k		
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tʃh	tɕh	kh		
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	g		
f		s	ʂ	ʃ	ɕ	x	h	
v		z	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ			
m	n				ɲ	ŋ		
w	l	r			j			
	ɬ							

- /tʂ tʂh dʒ/ approximate the corresponding stops [t ʈ d].
- In certain words [r] and [ʒ] may occur in free variation.
- /w/ sometimes involves velar friction, pronounced close to [ɣu].
- Velar sounds /k kh g x ŋ/ before /i/ become corresponding palatals [ç ch ɟ ç ɲ]. In certain words, these velars are actually pronounced close to uvulars, especially in the speech of the older generation.
- Voiced stops and affricates are close to voiceless stops with breathy release.
- The syllabic /ŋ/ has labialized coloring, pronounced close to [ŋ<sup>w</sup>].
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

*Cluster*

nph nth ntsh ntʂh ntʃh ntɕh nkʰ  
 nb nd ndz ndʑ ndʒ ndʒ ng  
 hp ht hts htʂ htʃ htɕ hk  
 ps pʂ phs phʂ bz bʑ  
 nphs nphʂ nbz nbʑ  
 hps

*RHYMES*

ɿ i, (y) ɛ            ə a            ɑ	u o	ui iɛ yɛ uɛ                    io ia ua
ɛi            əi əu            ou ai au	iəu iau uai	
aɿ uaɿ əɿ		

- Nasalized vowels do occur, but mostly in Chinese loanwords. Nasalization is marked by <~> over the vowel.
- [ɛ] may occur in free variation with [ə] in certain words.
- /a ɑ o/ are actually closer to [æ ʌ u] respectively.
- /u/ is significantly labialized after bilabials. It is realized as [y] after velars, and as [u] elsewhere.
- /ə/ approximates [u] when occurring alone as the rhyme.
- /u/ after /m ŋ/, and /i/ after /ŋ/, are often elided.
- /y/ occurs mainly in Chinese loans.
- Constriction of vowels is not contrastive, but certain words do sound constricted.



*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> high level

ma<sup>33</sup> mid level

- In connected speech, the high level and mid level tones usually become high falling and mid rising respectively.
- In Chinese loans, mid level usually becomes low falling.



## GALLONG

Data Source: Weidert 1987 [AW-TBT]

*The informant was Mr. Gimli Bomjen of Along village of Subansiri district in Arunachal Pradesh. The Bomjen clan is originally from Nari village (p. 494, n. 11).*

Inventory: Weidert 1987 [AW-TBT] (pages 219-221)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	tš	k	
b	d	dž	g	
	s			h
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
w	l	r	y	

*Finals*

-p	(-t)		-k
-b			-g
	(-s)		
-m	-n		-ŋ
	(-l)	-r	

- Intervocally, [s] varies freely with [h].
- Syllable-final stops assimilate to [-t] if followed by [t tš dž].
- Final lateral /-l/ and sibilant /-s/ result from a synchronic root reduction process in which disyllabic roots lose the final vowel.
- In verb stems, final voiced obstruents /-b -m/ may alternate with homorganic nasals /-m, -ŋ/.

## VOWELS

i i:	u u:	u u:
e e:	ɣ ɣ:	o o:
	a a:	

*TONES*

ˆma slight falling

`ma steep falling

ˉma high level

**GALLONG**

Data Source: Das Gupta 1963 [KDG-IGL]

Inventory: Das Gupta 1963 [KDG-IGL] (pages 1-3)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	c	k	
b	d	ɟ	g	
	s			h
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	l	r	y	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	
	-r	

- /c ɟ ɲ ŋ/ are transcribed <c j ñ ng> in [KDG-IGL].
- /r-/ tends to be palatalized.
- [-ŋ] does not exist in Gallong, except secondarily as a result of phonetic assimilation (e.g. <rok-ne> > [roŋ-ne] 'hen').

*VOWELS*

i i:	u u:	u u:
e e:	ɤ ɤ:	o o:
	a a:	

- /ɤ u/ are transcribed <é í> in [KDG-IGL].



## GARO

Data Source: Burling 1961 [RB-GG]

*Fieldwork in the Garo Hills, Assam, India, 1954-1956.*

Inventory: Burling 1961 [RB-GG] (pages 1-9)

Burling 1959 [RB-PB] (pages 434-435)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	
b	d	j	g	
	s			h
m	n			
w	r			

#### *Initial Clusters*

pr	tr	cr	kr	br	dr	jr	gr
sp	st	sr	sk				

- /g/ is further back than in English and in word-initial position it is often spirantized ([RB-GG] pp. 2-3).
- In initial position, /p t k/ are slightly aspirated and more tense than the voiced series ([RB-GG] p. 3).
- /s/ is intermediate between English /s/ and /š/. /c j/ are affricates in the same position. and /r/ is a flap ([RB-PB], p. 435; [RB-GG], p. 3).
- Initially or in an initial cluster, /r/ is a voiced alveolar flap, or a very brief trill. Word-medially, when followed by a vowel, it is a voiced lateral [l]. When word-final or followed by another consonant, the two allophones are in variation ([RB-GG] pp. 3-4; [RB-PB] p. 435).

#### *Simple Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
	(-s)		
-m	-n	-ŋ	
	-r		

*Final Clusters*

-ʼm            -ʼn            -ʼŋ            -ʼr

- /-s/ is found syllable-finally only in certain loanwords.
- Glottal finals do not occur word-finally ([RB-GG], p. 8).
- Phonemically, /-ʼm -ʼn -ʼŋ -ʼr/ are final clusters, but phonetically they are single glottalized consonants ([RB-GG]; pp. 4-5, [RB-PB], p. 435).

*VOWELS*

i	u	
e	ə	o
	a	

- /u/ is a high central vowel, moderately rounded ([RB-GG], p. 1).
- /i/ has a high front allophone in open syllables, and a lower, farther back allophone in closed syllables ([RB-PB], p. 435).
- Burling analyzes sequences of vowels as distinct syllables, even though they are often blurred in rapid speech ([RB-GG], pp. 5-6).



## GASU

Data Source: Wu 1994 [WZL-Gasu]

*Collected in Balong, Guangnan County, Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Wu 1994 [WZL-Gasu] (pages 39-41)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	pl	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	kl
pʰ	plʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	tɕʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ	klʰ
b	bl	d	dz	dzɿ	dzɿ	g	gl
f	θ		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	
v	ð		z	zɿ	zɿ	ɣ	
m	ml	n			ŋ	ŋ	ŋl
		l					

- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- /θ/ and /ð/ are pronounced with lateral aspiration; they are close to lateral fricatives [θ<sub>l</sub>] and [ð<sub>l</sub>].
- Velar initials /k kʰ g/ become [c cʰ ɟ] before /i/ and [q qʰ G] before /a/ and /o/.
- /f/ is mostly found in Chinese loans.

#### *Finals*

-ŋ

- /u u/ are the only vowels that can combine with final /-ŋ/ in native words.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>		
i		u , u		i̥		u̥ , u̥
ɪ				ɪ̥		
e		o		e̥		o̥
	A	ɑ			A	ɑ̥

*Diphthongs*

*Unconstricted*

ui  
ie ue

ua ua

*Constricted*

ui̥  
ie̥ ue̥

uḁ uḁ

- The following thirteen rhymes are found only in Chinese loanwords: /ɛ ia io au ui ue ɛn iŋ aŋ oŋ ieŋ iaŋ uaŋ/.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>31</sup>

- The /<sup>55</sup>/ tone is pronounced closer to [<sup>44</sup>].
- In syllables with constricted vowels, tones /<sup>13</sup>/ and /<sup>31</sup>/ become [<sup>35</sup>] and [<sup>51</sup>] respectively.



## GAZHUO

Data Source: Dai et al. 1987 [DLF-Gazhuo]

Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL]

Dai 1989 [DQ-Gazhuo]

[DLF-Gazhuo]: Collected in five villages (including Baige) in Hexi District, Tonghai County, Yunnan.

[DHFRL]: Collected in Baige Village, Hexi District, Tonghai County, Yunnan.

Inventory: Dai et al. 1987 [DLF-Gazhuo] (pages 151-153)

Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL] (pages 249-252)

Dai 1989 [DQ-Gazhuo]

### CONSONANTS

#### Initials

p	t	ts	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh
f		s	ɕ	x
v		z	j	ɣ
m	n		ŋ	ŋ
w	l			

- /j/ is considered the voiced counterpart of /ɕ/ ([DLF-Gazhuo] p. 151).
- The alveolar affricates and fricatives are sometimes pronounced as retroflexes ([DLF-Gazhuo], p. 152; [DHFRL], p. 250).
- /m ŋ/ can constitute tone-bearing syllables, in which case they are transcribed <ṃ ṅ> [DLF-Gazhuo] or simply <m ṅ> [DHFRL]; [DQ-Gazhuo].

### VOWELS

#### Monophthongs

ɿ	v
i	u
ɛ	ɤ, o
a	

#### Diphthongs

(oi)	
iɛ (oɛ)	oɤ, (io)
ia	ao

#### Triphthong

(iao)



- Syllabic /v/ is transcribed as <ɣ> in our representation of [DLF-Gazhuo] and [DQ-Gazhuo].
- /ɲ/ is transcribed <ɳ> in [DHFRL].
- /iao oi oe io/ mostly appear in Chinese loanwords ([DLF-Gazhuo], p. 153).
- Some words show alternation between /i/ and /ɛ/ ([DLF-Gazhuo], p. 153; [DHFRL], p. 251).

### *TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>44</sup>	mid high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>24</sup>	mid rising
ma <sup>323</sup>	falling rising
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling

- Syllables in the high level tone are slightly constricted.
- The mid high level tone is uncommon.
- Words in the low falling tone are generally realized with a final glottal stop.



**GEMAN<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #48

Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD]

*Collected in Saqiong Village, Ba'antong Town, Xiaocha'ou District, Cha'ou County, Tibet.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #48 (pages 342-346)

Sun et al. 1980 [SLZO-MLD] (pages 232-239)

*INITIALS**Simple*

p	t	ts	(tʂ)	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	(tʂh)	ch	tɕh
b	d	dz		dʒ	dʒ
(f)		s	(ʂ)	ɕ	x
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
w	l		ɿ	j	
	(ɬ)				

*Cluster*

pl	phl	bl	kl	khl	gl	
pɿ	phɿ	bɿ	kɿ	khɿ	gɿ	xɿ
mph	nth	ntsh	ntɕh	ŋkh		
mphɿ	ŋkhɿ	mphl	ŋkhl			

- /f ɬ tʂ tʂh ʂ/ occur mainly in Chinese or Tibetan loans.
- The voiced stops and affricates /b d dz dʒ g/ are phonetically voiced prenasalized stops.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

*RHYMES*

i	u	u	ui	ui
e		o	ǎi	oi ioi
	a		iai ai uai	

<sup>1</sup>Called *Deng (Geman)* in [ZMYYC], [SLZO-MLD].

iu	uu ǎu au iau au				io ia ua
ip ep	up ǎp iap ap	iup up iop	im em	um ǎm am iam	um iom om
it et	ut uut ǎt iat at uat	ut ot	in en	un uun ǎn ian an	un on
ik	uk ǎk iak ak	uuk uk ok	iŋ eŋ	uŋ ǎŋ ǎuŋ iaŋ aŋ auŋ	uŋ ioŋ oŋ
	iul ul uul ǎl al	iul ul ol			

- /i/ is realized as [ɪ] after /ts tsh dz s/.
- /a/ is realized as [a]. Vowel length is contrastive only with this vowel, and only in open syllables. Short /a/ is marked <ǎ>.

### TONES

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level
- ma<sup>53</sup> high falling
- ma<sup>31</sup> low falling
- ma<sup>35</sup> high rising



## GUIQIONG

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #17

Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-GuiqQ]

*Collected in Maiben Village, Yutong District, Kangding County, Ganzi [Garzê] Prefecture, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #17 (pages 227-230)

Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-GuiqQ]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tʃ	tɕ	k	q
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	qh
b	d	dz	dz̥	dʒ	dʒ̥	g	
f		s	ɕ	ʃ	ɕ	x	
v		z	z̥	ʒ	ʒ̥	ɣ	
m	n				ŋ	ŋ	
w	l				j		
	ʔ						

#### *Initial Clusters*

np	nt	nts	ntɕ	ntʃ	ntɕ	nk
nph	nth	ntsh	ntɕh	ntʃh	ntɕh	nkh
nb	nd	ndz	ndz̥	ndʒ	ndʒ̥	ng

- Older speakers retain the distinction between the alveolo-palatal and retroflex series; younger speakers do not.
- Older speakers retain the distinction between the velar and uvular series; younger speakers have both series in free variation.
- The zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- In clusters, <n> represents a nasal homorganic with the following obstruent.

VOWELS

Monophthongs

	<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>		
l i, y e, ø ε	ʈ    	u o ɔ a		ĩ, ỹ ẽ ẽ  ã	ù õ õ  ã

Diphthongs

	<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>
yi ui ie ue uε	io iɔ uɔ ua		uẽ iẽ yẽ uẽ  uõ iã uã

TONES

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level
- ma<sup>33</sup> mid level
- ma<sup>35</sup> high rising
- ma<sup>53</sup> high falling

- The mid level tone is sometimes realized as a low falling tone.



## GURUNG

### *Ghachok*

Data Source: Glover 1972 [SIL-Gur]  
Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's word list is from Deu Bahadur Gurung, Warren Glover and Jessie Glover. The data is from Ghachok, six miles Northwest of Pokhara in Kaski District.*

Inventory: Glover 1972 [SIL-Gur]  
Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 13-14), from [GLO1969] as revised in [GLO1970b], [GLO1970c], [HG1970]

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety] (from [AH-CSDPN])

### CONSONANTS

p	t	T	c	k
ph	th	Th	ch	kh
b	d	D	j	g
m	n			ng
	s			
w	l	r	y	
	kl			

- /T Th D ng/ are transcribed <ʈ tʰ d ŋ> in [SIL-Gur].
- <h> representing aspiration is transcribed <ʰ> in [SIL-Gur].
- The cluster /kl/ is phonetically a voiceless lateral [ɬ]. Glover analyzes it as a cluster because of distributional and comparative considerations.
- The palatal series /c ch j/ are affricates.

### VOWELS

i ɨ	u ʊ
e ɛ e:	o ɔ o:
ā ā:	

- <ɨ> indicating nasalization is transcribed <ɨ̃> in [SIL-Gur].
- /ā/ is transcribed <a> in [SIL-Gur].
- All vowels are nasalized when contiguous to a nasal consonant. Nasalization is also contrastive for all vowels except /ā/.

- Voice quality (breathy-clear) is contrastive for all vowels, and breathy voice is represented by <h> following a vowel. The breathy-clear contrast has been observed only on the first syllable of a word (but see p. 14 for two exceptions to this rule). Aspirated voiceless stops do not occur before breathy vowels. Voiced stops do not occur in initial syllables before clear accented vowels.

### ACCENT

- Accent is indicated by <q> following the vowel. In general, a word may have a maximum of one accented syllable.



## GURUNG

### *Ghachok*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]  
Mazaudon 1978 [MM-K78]

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (pages 30-34 of Volume 2)

*Mazaudon's phonological information is from [GLO1977], but she uses a different transcription based on a different analysis of the data.*

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	t̥	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	t̥ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
b	d	dz	(d)	g	
	s			ʃ	(h)
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r		j	

- /ʃ/ is a palatalized fricative lateral.

*Initial Clusters*

pw	p <sup>h</sup> w	mw	tsw	tsh <sup>h</sup> w	dzw	ʈw	kw	k <sup>h</sup> w	ŋw
pl	p <sup>h</sup> l	bl	ml						
pr	p <sup>h</sup> r	br	mr	kr	k <sup>h</sup> r	gr	(ŋr)		
pj	p <sup>h</sup> j	bj	mj	tsj	tsh <sup>h</sup> j	dzj	sj	kj	khj
gʝ	ŋʝ								
pḡ	p <sup>h</sup> ḡ	mḡ	tsḡ	tsh <sup>h</sup> ḡ	dzaḡ	kaḡ	k <sup>h</sup> ḡ		
tsjw	tsh <sup>h</sup> jw	sjw	kjw	ŋjw					

- The initial clusters /br- bl-/ occur only in the second syllable of dissyllabic words.
- The /ŋr-/ cluster is rare and seems to occur only in few onomatopoeic words.

*Finals*

-b	-d								
									(-h)
-m	-n							-ŋ	
	-l								

- /-r/ occurs frequently as a final, while /-l/ occurs less frequently.
- /-b -d -m -n -l -r/ occur as apparent syllable-final consonants, but are in fact elided suffixes. Thus they never occur phrase-finally (except in imperatives).
- <-m -n -ŋ> can occur word-internally before homorganic consonants.
- The phonemes /h d/ only occur in loans from Nepali.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	ĩ		u	ũ
e	ẽ	a (ã)	o	õ
		a: ã:		

*Diphthongs*

ae	oe
----	----

- /a/ is realized as [ʌ].
- Nasalized /ã/ is only found in one example: <<sup>2</sup>nã> ‘Take it!’ (in contrast with <<sup>1</sup>na> ‘nose’).
- The length opposition between /a:/ and /a/ is found only in the initial syllable of a word.



*TONES*

<sup>1</sup> ma	high, clear (unaccented)
<sup>2</sup> ma	high, clear (accented)
<sup>3</sup> ma	low, murmured (unaccented)
<sup>4</sup> ma	low, murmured (accented)

- All words in which voiced initials occur with high tone are loans from Nepali.



RGYALRONG<sup>1</sup>*Zhuokeji/Cog-rtse*

Data Source: Lin 1993 [LXR-Jiarong]

Collected in Zhuokeji Town, 8 kilometers from Ma'erkang, seat of Aba Prefecture.

Inventory: Lin 1993 [LXR-Jiarong] (pages 38-67)

*INITIALS**Simple*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tʃ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dz̥	dʒ	dʒ̥	g	
f	ɬ	s	(ʂ)	ʃ			h
		z		ʒ			
m	n			ɳ		ŋ	
w	l		r		j		

*Cluster*

sw	zw	tʃhw	hw			
pl	bl	wl	ɬl	sl	zl	kl
pr	wr	tsr	sr	kr	gr	
phr̥	chr̥					
pj	phj	bj	wj	sj	kj	
pʃ						

- There are 227 possible consonant cluster combinations, which can be divided into three types. First, 172 loosely conjoined clusters consisting of a main consonant and a prefixed consonant—these are often articulated with an epenthetic schwa. Second, 26 tightly conjoined clusters consisting of a stop, affricate, or fricative initial followed by a flap, lateral, or glide (these are listed in the cluster chart above). Third, 29 loosely conjoined triple clusters consisting of a main cluster and prefixed consonant—again often articulated with an epenthetic schwa.
- [dz dz̥ dʒ] do not appear as simple initials, but only as components of cluster initials.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Jiarong* in [LXR-Jiarong]; *Jiarong (Suomo)* in [ZMYYC]; *rGyarong* in [YN-HSJVS].

- /f s/ are borrowed from Chinese. They are not original to the rGyalrong sound system, but have become integrated into it in the last few decades. They are firmly embedded in the phonological system of young speakers. /f/ is often pronounced somewhat bilabialized, halfway between [f] and [ɸ].
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

*RHYMES*

i , (y) e	ə ə̃ ɐ a	u o	(iu iou) ui (ie ye) ei    əi    (io) (iə yə) ɐi (ia)
	uə əu uə̃ ua au	ou	is                    us es                    os əs ɐs as
	əl ɐl al	ul ol	er                    ur ər ɐr ar
ip ep	əp ɐp ap	op	em                    om ɐm am
et	ət ɐt uət at uat	ut ot	in , (yn)                    un (ien) en    ən uən                    on (iən yən) ɐn an uan
ik ek	ək ɐk ak uak	uk ok	uŋ ɐŋ                    oŋ ɐŋ (iaŋ) aŋ uaŋ

- When pronounced lightly, /-r/ is often devoiced to [r̥] = [ɣ̥].
- The vowel /ə/ is often dropped. When in close juncture with a following syllable, this may create a clustered consonant. For example, <kə-mə-tca> -> [kə-mtca] ‘many’. In other cases, the orphaned initial may become a final consonant of the preceding syllable, as in <no mo tə-pu> -> [no mot-pu] ‘Are you doing it?’.

- /i/ is [i].
- /y/ has been borrowed into the system from Chinese, but also occurs in a few native words as an allophone of medial /u/ before front vowels.
- Diphthongs occur with both onglides and offglides. Those with onglide /i/ or /y/ appear only in Chinese borrowings. A single triphthong, /iou/, appears also, but only in Chinese loanwords.

### TONES

- “Although Jiarong syllables show pitch differences, the functional load of tonemes is minimal. For this reason Jiarong has been described as a toneless language ... but there are a small number of lexical items which can only be distinguished by tone, and tones play a grammatical role in distinguishing tenses” (p. 65). Tones are not marked.



### RGYALRONG

#### *Zhuokeji/Cog-rtse*

Data Source: Nagano 1984 [YN-HSJVS]

*Two informants, both from lCog-rtse, living in India (pages 7-8).*

Inventory: Nagano 1984 [YN-HSJVS] (pages 15-17)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)C<sub>i</sub>(G)V(C<sub>f</sub>)(s)

### CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tr	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	trh	ch	kh	
b	d	dz	dr	j	g	
	s			sy		h
	z			zy		
m	n			ny	ng	
w	l		r	y		

- /sy zy/ are alveopalatal fricatives.
- /tr trh dr/ are “retroflexives.”

- “[A]ll the voiced stops and affricates are usually prefixed, except for words which are suspected to be Tibetan loans” (p. 16).
- “In addition, there is a prenasal phoneme to the stops and affricates, /N-/, which assimilates and is rather syllabic. In this sense, this phoneme is contrastive to /m-/ at the prefixing position which never assimilates” (p. 16).

VOWELS

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

- /i/ is [i].
- /e/ is [E].
- /u/ is [u].

TONES

- Tone is not distinctive although every word has a somewhat fixed pitch pattern.



RGYALRONG

*Zhuokeji/Cog-rtse*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #12

*Zhuokeji of Ma'erkang County, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #12 (pages 201-210)

INITIALS

*Simple*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tʃ	cç	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tʃh	cçh	kh
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dʒ	ʃʃ	g
(ɸ)	ɬ	s	(s)	ʃ	(ç)	h
		z		ʒ		
m	n			ŋ		ŋ
w	l		r		j	

- /ϕ ʂ ç/ occur mainly in loans.
- The voiced affricates occur mainly in consonant clusters.
- Zero-initial is realized /ʔ/.
- There are several hundred initial clusters consisting of two or three clustered simple consonants.

### RHYMES

i E	ə ɐ a	u o	ɨi ai	əi əu ui (ou)
(iE)	uə ia ua	(iuo)	is ES	əs əs as us os
	əl ɐl al	ul ol	ɛr	ər ɐr ar ur or
ip ɛp	əp ɐp ap	op	ɛm	əm ɐm am om
ɛt	ət ɐt uət at uat	ut ot	in (iEn) en	ən ɐn an uan un on
ik ɛk	ək ɐk ak uak	uk ok	ɛŋ	əŋ ɐŋ iaŋ aŋ uŋ oŋ

- /ə/ becomes [ɿ] after /ts ts s/.
- /iE/ is only found in Chinese loans. /ou/ is also mostly found in Chinese loans.
- The triphthong /iuo/ is rare.

### TONES

- Two tones occur: [44] and [42]. Tones are not marked, since they have only marginal function in the language. Pitch register and contour are often contextually predictable. There are only about a dozen tonally distinguished minimal pairs.



HANI<sup>1</sup>*Lüchun (Dazhai)*

Data Source: Li and Wang 1986 [JZ-Hani]  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #31  
 Dai 1989 [DQ-Hani]

*Collected in Dazhai, Lüchun County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Li and Wang 1986 [JZ-Hani] (pages 3-9)  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #31 (pages 274-276)  
 Dai 1989 [DQ-Hani]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tɕ	k
ph	phj	th	tsh	tɕh	kh
b	bj	d	dz	dʒ	g
(f)			s	ɕ	x
			z		ʎ
m	mj	n		ɲ	ŋ
		l		j	

- [JZ-Hani] lists /j/ as a voiced palatal fricative rather than as an approximant.
- /f/ occurs only in Chinese loanwords.
- [ZMYYC] also lists consonants /tj thj lj/, which appear only in Chinese loanwords. [JZ-Hani] and [DQ-Hani] apparently interpret such sequences as consonant followed by [i], thus enriching the inventory of diphthongs (see below).
- In native words, /p pj t ts tɕ k/ occur only with constricted vowels, while their aspirated counterparts /ph phj th tsh tɕh kh/ occur only with unconstricted vowels.

<sup>1</sup>Broadly speaking, there are three Hani dialects: 1) Haya (spoken by the people with autonyms *Hani* and *Yani*); 2) Bika (spoken by the people with autonyms *Biyue* and *Kaduo*); 3) Haobai (spoken by the people with autonyms *Haoni* and *Baihong*) [JZ-Hani] (p. 2). If we distinguish more finely, the six autonyms above give us six dialects (i.e. Hani, Yani, Biyue=Pijɔ, Kaduo, Haoni, Baihong).

Dialects are also referred to by the town in which they are spoken. The town name is the most specific dialect referent.

Dialect	Subdialect	County	Town	Other names
Haya	Hani	Lüchun	Dazhai	= “standard Hani” = “Xhani” [ILH-PL]
Haya	Yani	Lüchun	Gelanghe	
Bika	Biyue	Mojiang	Caiyuan	= “Pijɔ” [ILH-PL]
Bika	Kaduo	Mojiang		= “Khatu” [ILH-PL]
Haobai	Haoni	Mojiang	Shuikui	= “Xhɔni” [ILH-PL]

- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

### VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ			ɿ̥	
i	ɯ, u		i̥	ɯ̥, u̥
e, ø	ɤ, o		e̥, ø̥	ɤ̥, o̥
	ɔ			ɔ̥
	a			ḁ

- Diphthongs appear only in Chinese loanwords. According to [JZ-Hani] and [DQ-Hani], these are /ie ia io iɤ ue ua/ (p. 6). [ZMYYC] lists only /ue ua/ (p. 275), interpreting the others as monophthongs following palatalized consonants (see above).

### TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>24</sup>	mid rising

- In [JZ-Hani], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The mid rising tone occurs primarily in Chinese loanwords.
- The tones of syllables with constricted vowels are pronounced slightly higher than for lax vowels.
- Except for cases of tone sandhi, the high tone does not occur with constricted vowels in native words.



## HANI

### *Lüchun*

Data Source: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

Inventory: Hansson 1982 [ILH-PCAH]

*The primary material for [ILH-PCAH] is a wordlist entitled A Short Hani-Chinese Vocabulary (Kunming 1959) (Hani title: Haqniq pyulniul soqmiav niq pyu hu zzaol e nilgevnei soqhhavq; Chinese title: Hehan duizhao xiao cihui), and a tape of a Lüchun speaker made by Søren Egerod in Kunming in 1981. They are listed separately as*



*Written Hani and Spoken Hani, with different transcriptions. Written Hani is transcribed in a pinyin-like orthography developed by the Chinese government. (See the Lisu inventory for [DB-Lisu] for comparison.) Spoken Hani is transcribed in Hansson's "Akha transcription system" (similar to IPA) to facilitate comparison with Akha.*

*In [ILH-PL], there are two sources of Hani words using different transcriptions as well. One is labelled "Hani W", and is from the Hani-Chinese wordlist mentioned above. The second is labelled "Hani L" (Lüchun Xhani) and is taken from her own fieldwork with a Lüchun dialect speaker in Kunming.*

## CONSONANTS

### Initials

[ILH-PCAH] Spoken Hani; [IHL-PL] Hani L

p	pj	t	ts	tj	k
ph	pjh	th	tsh	tjh	kh
b	bj	d	dz	dj	g
			s	sj	x
			sh	sjh	xh
			z		ɣ
m	mj	n			ŋ
		l		j	

[ILH-PCAH] Written Hani; [IHL-PL] Hani W

b	bi	d	z	j	g
p	pi	t	c	q	k
bb	bbi	dd	zz	jj	gg
			s	x	h
			ss		hh
m	mi	n			ng
w		l		y ~ yi	

- Voiceless consonants are always aspirated in non-laryngealized syllables, and non-aspirated in laryngealized ones ([ILAH-PCAH], p. 76). Thus Written Hani <s x h> represents either [s sj x] or [sh sjh xh] depending on the laryngealization of the syllable. Note that in the other analyses of this dialect (see above), no aspirated fricative phonemes or allophones are indicated.
- Written Hani <yi> is used in place of <y> when necessary to avoid ambiguity. For example, <yi> is used rather than <yu>, which represents the vowel [ö] (see vowel chart below).

- Written Hani <w> appears only in the syllable <wu> (Spoken Hani [u]), where it represents a zero-initial ([ILH-PCAH], p. 68).

### VOWELS

[ILH-PCAH] Spoken Hani;  
[ILH-PL] Hani L

y		
i		y, u
ö	ə	o
ε	a	ɔ

[ILH-PCAH] Written Hani;  
[ILH-PL] Hani W

i		
i ~ ii		ee, u
yu	e	o
ei	a	ao

- Spoken Hani <y> represents [ɿ] and [ʉ], which are in complementary distribution. Written Hani <i> represents Spoken Hani <y> ([ɿ]) after dental affricates and fricatives; otherwise it represents Spoken Hani <i> ([i]). Written Hani <ee> always represents Spoken Hani <y> ([ʉ]) ([ILH-PCAH] p. 93).
- All vowels are found in both laryngealized and non-laryngealized syllables.

### TONES

[ILH-PCAH] Spoken Hani; [ILH-PL] Hani L

*Non-laryngealized*    *Laryngealized*

<i>high</i>	má	
<i>mid</i>	ma	maq
<i>low</i>	mà	màq

[ILH-PCAH] Written Hani; [ILH-PL] Hani W

*Non-laryngealized*    *Laryngealized*

<i>high</i>	mal	
<i>mid</i>	ma	mav
<i>low</i>	maq	màq

- There is also a high rising tone, transcribed with final <-f> in Written Hani (e.g. <maf>), which is only used for Chinese loanwords ([ILH-PCAH], p. 65).



**HANI**

*Haoni (Shuikui)*

Data Source: Li and Wang 1986 [JZ-Hani]  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #32  
 Dai 1989 [DQ-Haoni]

*Collected in Shuikui, Lianhe Town, Mojiang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Li and Wang 1986 [JZ-Hani] (pages 9-15)  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #32 (pages 276-278)  
 Dai 1989 [DQ-Haoni]

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tʃ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tʃh	tɕh	kh
f		s	ʃ	ɕ	x
v		z	ʒ		ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
	l			j	
	l̥				

- [JZ-Hani] and [ZMYYC] list /j/ as a voiced palatal fricative rather than as an approximant.
- /f/ occurs only with the vowels /ɥ ʏ a ɔ/.
- /ɣ/ occurs only in Chinese loans.
- Except when combining with vowels /i ī/, /tɕ tɕh ɕ ŋ/ are found only in Chinese loans.
- Younger speakers pronounce /ts tsh s z/ as [tɕ tɕh ɕ j] before /i ī/.

*VOWELS*

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ	ɥ		ɿ̄	ɥ̄
i	u, u		ī	
ɛ	ɣ, o		ɛ̄	
(æ)	ɔ			
a				

- /y/ appears as <y> in [JZ-Hani], but is transcribed <ȳ> in the STEDT database. (In data from [ZMYYC] it is transcribed following copy as <y>.)
- [DQ-Haoni] does not list /y/ as a phoneme.
- /ɿ ʔ/ are pronounced [ɿ ʔ] following /tʃ tʃh ʃ ʒ/.
- /æ/, as well as diphthongs /ia iɔ io iu ua uɛ ui/ and nasalized vowels /ĩ ẽ ã õ iẽ iã iõ uẽ uã/, occur primarily in Chinese loanwords.
- Discounting the foreign phoneme /æ/, only four of the ten vowels show a constricted/unconstricted distinction. However, /a o ɤ/ are normally pronounced with some constriction, and they function as constricted equivalents of /ɔ u u/ respectively in vowel harmony rules.

### TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising

- In [JZ-Hani], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high rising tone occurs primarily in Chinese loanwords and grammatical particles.
- The tones of syllables with constricted vowels are pronounced slightly higher than for lax vowels.
- Constricted vowels appear only in the mid level and low falling tones in native words.



### HANI

#### *Biyue (Caiyuan)*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #30  
Li and Wang 1986 [JZ-Hani]

*Collected in Caiyuan Biyue, Mojiang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #30 (pages 271-273)  
Li and Wang 1986 [JZ-Hani] (pages 129-142)

CONSONANTS

Initials

p	pj	t	ts	k
ph		th	tsh	kh
f			s	x
v				
m	mj	n		ŋ
		l	j	

- /ts tsh s/ are pronounced [tʃ tʃh ʃ] before /ɿ ʔ/, [tɕ tɕh ɕ] before /i ɿ e ɛ/ (including diphthongs with /i/ as first segment). In [JZ-Hani], /tɕ tɕh ɕ/ appear as phonemes, but their environment seems to be limited to the vowels /i ɿ e ɛ/.
- /n/ is pronounced [n̥] before high and mid-high vowels.

VOWELS

Unconstricted

ɿ	ɿ̄	v
i		u
e		ɤ
	a	

Constricted

ɿ̄	ɿ̄̄	ɥ
ɿ̄		
ɛ̄		ɥ̄
		ɔ̄
	ɑ̄	

- Other rhymes occur in Chinese loanwords, namely /ai au ɤu aŋ ɤŋ eŋ ia iau iu iaŋ iŋ ua uai ui uaŋ ueŋ uŋ/.

TONES

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level
- ma<sup>33</sup> mid level
- ma<sup>31</sup> low falling
- ma<sup>35</sup> high rising

- In [JZ-Hani], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high rising tone occurs mainly in Chinese loanwords.



**HANI***Biyue*

Data Source: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

*Collected in Kunming (Yunnan Institute of Nationalities) from one male informant, aged 29, from Mojiang County and resident in Kunming for three years (p. 7).*

Inventory: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tj	k	kj
ph	pjh	th	tsh	tjh	kh	kjh
f			s	sj		
v			sh	sjh	xh	
					ɣ	
m	mj	n		nj	ŋ	
		l		j		

- Aspirated stops and fricatives only occur in non-laryngealized syllables (p. 8).

*VOWELS*

i	y	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

- Laryngealization can occur with all vowels except /u/. It is marked by <q> following the vowel.

*TONES*

	<i>Non-laryngealized</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	má	
mid	ma	maq
low	mà	màq



**HANI***Kaduo*

Data Source: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

*Collected in Kunming (Yunnan Institute of Nationalities) from one male informant, aged 16, from Mojiang County and resident in Kunming for one year (p. 7).*

Inventory: Hansson 1989 [ILH-PL]

**CONSONANTS***Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tj	k	
ph	pjh	th	tsh	thj	kh	kjh
		s		sj	h	
		sh		sjh	xh	
m	mj	n		nj	ŋ	
w	v	l		j	ɣ	

- Hansson places /h/ in the same column as velars (p. 8).
- Aspirated stops and fricatives only occur in non-laryngealized syllables (p. 8).

**VOWELS**

i	y	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

- Laryngealization can occur with all vowels except /u/ and /i/. It is marked by <q> following the vowel.

**TONES**

	<i>Non-laryngealized</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	má	
mid	ma	maq
low	mà	màq

- The low tone is slightly falling.



**HAYU<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Michailovsky 1989 [BM-Hay]  
 Michailovsky 1991 [BM-PK7]

*Collected in Nepal in 1971, 1972, and 1984.*

Inventory: Michailovsky 1988 [BM-LH] (pages 45-76)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)V(C)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	c	k	
ph	th	tsh		kh	
b	d	dz	ɟ	g	
		s		x	h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r	j		
	hl				

*Initial Clusters*

pl	phl	bl	kl	khl	gl
kr	khr	gr			

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k
-m	-n		-ŋ
	-l	-r	

- The opposition between the palatal and alveolar series is neutralized before front vowels. Michailovsky posits the existence of archiphonemes /TS DZ/ (p. 49).

<sup>1</sup>Called *Vayu* in [JAM-VSTB], [JAM-GSTC].



- /x/ is realized as [x] (voiceless dorso-velar fricative) before back vowels and [x<sup>w</sup>] (voiceless labiovelar fricative) before /a/ (p. 50). In part of the book <xwa-> appears in place of <xɑ->.
- “The initial clusters are fairly rare: about thirty words, half of which have a phonesthetic character” (p. 52).
- In initial position in internal syllables, if preceded by a stop, /h/ can be realized as a voiceless nasal homorganic with the preceding stop (p. 59).

### VOWELS

i	i:	u	u:
ɪ	ɪ:	ʊ	ʊ:
e	e:	o	o:
	ɑ	ɑ:	

- The length mark <: > is transcribed <· > in [BM-LH].

### NOTES

- The systems of initials and finals, particularly the inventory of syllable finals, in the interior of polysyllabic words is richer than the systems of monosyllabic words (p. 54).
- Michailovsky uses an apostrophe <' > to mark syllable boundaries where it is ambiguous (p. 60).



**HPUN***Megyaw/Northern*

Data Source: Henderson 1986 [EJAH-Hpun]

*Based on field notes collected in Burma by Gordon H. Luce in October 1962 on the Megyaw ([phyèi məcó]) dialect. Informants: (1) U Khan, 59, of Man-lé village; born at Kòk-ma village (east bank of the Irrawaddy). (2) U Kwè, 45, Yé-na Pinlôn village; born at Nan-hè village (east bank of the Irrawaddy, 3 miles from Kòk-ma) (p. 103).*

*Megyaw is distinct from the Samong (Southern) dialect of Hpun, which Luce concluded to be extinct by the time of his field work. In addition, he considered the Megyaw dialect to be “rapidly disappearing” (p. 103)*

Inventory: Henderson 1986 [EJAH-Hpun] (pages 106-114)

*SYLLABLE STRUCTURE*

CV(C)

- The most common syllable structures are CV, CV?, CVŋ.

*CONSONANTS**Simple*

p	t	ts	c	k	ʔ
ph	th		ch	kh	
(b)		dz	j		
(f)	(θ)	s	f		x h , ’
		sh			
(v)		z			R
m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
	(hn)				
w	l		y		

*Cluster*

tw thw shw lw chw f w khw xw ŋw  
 py phy my  
 vR

- Henderson is uncertain whether /c ch j f/ are pre-palatal or alveolo-palatal. /ɲ y/ are palatal.

- /c ch j/ are affricates.
- Henderson interprets /x/ to be more retracted than plain velars. /R/ represents a back unrounded glide or a post-velar voiced fricative.
- There are instances of free variation between the following phones, although some of these variants are also separate phonemes:
 

x ~ kh	xw ~ khw
hw ~ xw	s ~ ʃ
s ~ sh	sh ~ ʃ
s ~ ts	s ~ dz
ts ~ z	

The following alternations are rarer, but also exist:

- |       |       |       |        |
|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| l ~ n | ɲ ~ y | ɲ ~ z | ŋy ~ ɲ |
|-------|-------|-------|--------|
- /f θ hn/ are all very rare. /θ hn/ may be borrowed from or influenced by Burmese.
  - There are instances of alternation between <x> ~ <xR> and <kh> ~ <khR>. <R> is probably an optional voiced glide in these cases. /w/, which is an integral component of certain clusters, sometimes also appears optionally before rounded vowels.
  - The final velar nasals of verb forms are often heard as syllabic. There are also two examples of word-initial syllabic nasals.
  - Henderson interprets final symbols <-’ -h> as representing final laryngealization, which Luce called “a slight catch in the voice.” Henderson thinks that these are pre-pausal features and are not phonemic.
  - Final glottal stop /ʔ/ exists as a phoneme, but some instances of glottal stop in the word list may simply represent pre-pausal features.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ǎ (ə)	(ɤ), o
ɛ	a	ʌ, ɔ

- /ə ɤ/ are rare, probably of Shan origin.
- “[ʌ] seems to be an allophonic variant of /a/” (p. 110).
- The following variations exist. In some cases, variation may be grammatically conditioned, or may be affected by some morphophonemic process:
 

[u ~ ʊ],	[ɪ ~ ɛ],	[e ~ ɛɪ],	[e ~ əɪ].
----------	----------	-----------	-----------
- Nasalization of vowels occurs in seemingly free variation with final /-ŋ/, or with some other nasal in medial position. There is one instance where only the variant with the nasalized vowel occurs.

*Diphthongs*

əɪ, eɪ

ui

ai

ɛə

au

ɔɪ

- Many of the diphthongs alternate with monophthongs, making their phonemic status doubtful. The following alternations occur: [ɛə ~ ɛ], [e ~ eɪ], [e ~ əɪ], [au ~ ɔ].
- /ɔɪ/ is rare.

*TONES*

má high (or mid-high) level

ma unstressed syllable (or tone not determined)

mà falling or low level

- Although Luce set up a two-tone system for Hpun (with basically a high vs. low distinction), he later concluded that the language was ‘barely tonal, like Tibetan’. Nevertheless, there are some minimal pairs.



IDU<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Pulu 1978 [JP-Idu]  
 Anonymous 1962 [NEFA-PBI]

*Collected in the hills of the western part of the Lohit District of Arunachal Pradesh. Dialectal variations are minimal except in the Mithun (Bebejiya) section. The materials for [JP-Idu] were collected mainly from the village of Ceta.*

*These two sources have the same publisher and look extremely similar. The later source, [JP-Idu], does not make any reference to the earlier source, but its organization, content, and even the examples used are the same as in [NEFA-PBI].*

Inventory: Pulu 1978 [JP-Idu] (pages 1-3)  
 Anonymous 1962 [NEFA-PBI] (pages 1-3)

## CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
b	d		g
	s		h
	z	j	
m	n		ng
w	l	r	y

- /c/ is a palatal affricate which is sometimes pronounced as a dental affricate [ts].
- /s/ is neither purely dental nor purely palatal, but somewhere between the two.
- Liquids are often palatalized. Palatalized /ly/ is sometimes distinct in meaning from unpalatalized /l/ (e.g. ili ‘bow’, ilyi ‘pig’), indicating that it may have phonemic status.

## VOWELS

i , ú	í , u
e , é	o
	a

- /o/ seems to have a phonetic value between [o] and [ɔ].
- The vowels with accent marks /ú í é/ are called “central”, but the description suggests that their values are close to IPA [y u ø].

<sup>1</sup>Called *Luoba (Yidu)* in [ZMYYC].

- Nasalization in Idu is phonemic and is marked by <~> over the vowel. Nasalization can cause the introduction of a homorganic nasal before a following consonant.

### TONES

- There are three tones in Idu: rising, mid, and falling. Neither [JP-Idu] nor [NEFA-PBI] indicates tone.



### IDU

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #50

*Collected in Shangcha'ou District, Cha'ou County, Changdu Area, Tibet.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #50 (pages 351-355)

### INITIALS

#### *Simple*

p	t	ts	(tʂ)	tɕ	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	(tʂh)	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	(dzɿ)	dz	g	
	s		ɕ			h
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
w	l		ɹ	j		fi

#### *Cluster*

pɭ	bɭ						
pɹ	phɹ	bɹ	kɹ	khɹ	gɹ	hɹ	mɹ
mb	nd	ndz	ndzɿ	ndz	ŋg		
mbɹ	ŋgɹ						

- The retroflexed affricates /tʂ tʂh dzɿ/ are found in few words, mostly Chinese or Tibetan loans.
- The voiced affricates /dz dzɿ dz/ are sometimes realized as fricatives word-medially. Since [z zɿ z] never occur initially in monosyllabic words, they are in complementary distribution with the above voiced affricates and are not phonemically distinct.
- The phoneme /ɹ/ is pronounced with more friction initially, close to [zɿ]. It is close to [r] or [r] in consonant clusters.

- Velar stops /k kh g/ are realized as the corresponding palatal stops [c ch j] before /i/.
- Glottal stop is a distinct initial consonant; in monosyllables, it may contrast with a vowel (or zero) initial. However it is usually lost in connected speech.
- /w j/ are pronounced with friction, actually closer to voiced fricatives [β z].

### *RHYMES*

i e	u	u o a	iu uu	iau au
ui ia i ai uai			ie ue uu	io ia ua
im	um	um am	in en	un an
iŋ ieŋ eŋ	uŋ	uŋ ioŋ oŋ iaŋ aŋ		

- /i/ is realized as [ɪ] after /ts tsh dz s k kh g ŋ/ and as [ui] after /t th d l/.
- /e/ and /o/ are realized as diphthongs [ei] and [ou] when occurring by themselves; when combined with other consonants or vowels to form syllables, they are pronounced as [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively.
- /a/ is realized as [a] before the [i] offglide and as [ɒ] before the [u] offglide; elsewhere, it is [ʌ].
- /u/ is realized phonetically as follows: [ɯ] after dental affricates and sibilant /ts tsh dz s/; [ɰ] after retroflexed affricates /tʂ tʂh dzʂ/; [ʊ] before nasal endings /m n and ŋ/; and [ə] in weak syllables.
- /m/ can constitute a syllabic nasal rhyme by itself.

### *TONES*

- ma<sup>55</sup> High level
- ma<sup>53</sup> High falling
- ma<sup>35</sup> High rising
- ma<sup>31</sup> Low falling

- The /<sup>31</sup>/ tone occurs mainly in the first syllable of disyllabic words, where it often becomes a weakened (unstressed) tone; when occurring in monosyllables (rare), it is realized as a lower mid level [<sup>22</sup>] tone.
- The high level /<sup>55</sup>/ is the most frequent tone, followed by the low falling tone /<sup>33</sup>/. The high rising /<sup>35</sup>/ and high falling /<sup>53</sup>/ tones are relatively fewer.





**JINGPHO<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Dai et al. 1983 [JCD]

Inventory: Dai et al. 1983 [JCD] (pages 919-929)

*This section also explains the relationship between the Jingpho romanized writing system and the phonology.*

**CONSONANTS**

*Initials*

p	pj	pɜ	t	ts	tʃ	k	kj	kɜ
ph	phj	phɜ	th	tsh	tʃh	kh	khj	khɜ
f				s	ʃ	x		
					ʒ			
m	mj		n			ŋ	ŋj	
w			l		j			

*Finals*

	-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
	-m	-n	-ŋ	

**VOWELS**

*Monophthongs*

i	i̥		u	u̥
e	e̥	(ǎ)	o	o̥
		a	ḁ	

*Diphthongs*

		ui	ui̥
		oi	oi̥
ai	ḁi	au	ḁu

- All monophthongs can combine with all finals. Diphthongs do not occur with finals.
- Syllables with the zero-initial have constricted vowels; since there is no contrast, the underscore <\_> marking constriction is not transcribed.
- Certain prefixed syllables are weakened. In such syllables the vowel is realized as central [ə] or [ɨ]; the tone is neutralized; and the entire syllable becomes shortened. The vowel of a weakened syllable is transcribed <ǎ>.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Kachin* in [OH-DKL]; *Jinghpaw* in [JAM-TJLB], [JAM-MLBM], [JAM-VSTB]; *Jingpo* in [JCD], [JZ-Jingpo].

*TONES*

ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>51</sup>	high falling

- There is considerable tone sandhi in Jingpho. In all cases the changed tone is transcribed.

**JINGPHO***Bhamo*

Data Source: Hanson 1906 [OH-DKL]

*Hanson refers to the pronunciation of Jinghpaw (or Chinghpaw) and Hkauris (or Cowries). The Jinghpaws are the “largest and most influential tribe of the race known as Kachin” (p. 212). The Hkauris, also known as Gauris, are “a large clan of the Lahpai tribe inhabiting a score or more villages due east of Bhamo. ...[They] differ to certain extent in dialect from the Jinghpaws, and are more under Chinese influence” (p. 172). In the preface, the author says, “The Southern Kachin, or Chinghpaw, as spoken in the Bhamo district has been taken as our basis.”*

Inventory: Hanson 1896 [OH-GKL] (pages 13-17)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-TJLB]

*CONSONANTS**Simple*

p	t	ts	chy	ky	k	
hp	ht		(ch)	hky	hk	
b	d		j	gy	g	
(pf)		s	sh		(kh)	(h)
(v)		z				
m	n		ny		ng	
w	l	r	y			

*Cluster*

phw bw tw htw dw kw hkw gw  
 pr hpr br tr kr hkr gr  
 py hpy by my

- /ch/ is not clearly distinguishable from /hky/.
- /chy/ is often “used interchangeably with *ja* and even *hky*” (pp. 81).
- /h/ only occurs in loans and interjections.
- <pf>, <v>, and <kh> ([x]) generally occur only in Hkauri pronunciations, and are equivalent to /hp/, /y/, and /hk/ respectively.
- [n] can occur as a syllabic. Before labials /b p hp m/, the “performative” syllabic /n/ is often realized as [ɱ].
- A hyphen is used to distinguish /n-g/ and /n-y/ (syllabic nasal /n/ followed by /g/ or /y/) from /ng/ (velar nasal) and /ny/ (palatal nasal). Similarly, a hyphen is used to separate two monophthongs that might otherwise be interpretable as a diphthong.

*VOWELS*

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i		u		
ē		o		
e	ǎ	aw		oi
	a		ai au	

- The vowel chart is in [OH-GKL], pp. 13-14.
- /ē/ is [e], “long sound of a, as in *ale*”; /e/ is [ɛ], “short sound of e, as in *ten, met*”.
- /aw/ is [ɔ], “as in *law*”.
- Hanson also lists a vowel <è>, “the sound of ay, as in *prayer*”, but provides no example word in the chart, and notes, “the usage of è as distinct from ē is somewhat doubtful.”
- Hanson’s chart also lists vowels <ö> ([ø]) and <ǔ> ([ʊ]), which are not in Jingpho but “have been introduced in order to facilitate the writing of kindred dialects”.

*TONES*

- Although Hanson describes five tones in [OH-GKL], page 17, he does not indicate them in his transcriptions. “The tones ... can by mastered only with the help of a native teacher, and it would be useless to burden these pages with tonal marks in regard to which no two Europeans would ever agree” (p. 4).



## JINGPHO

### *Enkun*

Data Source: Liu 1984 [JZ-Jingpo]

Collected in Tongbiguan Commune, Yingjiang County, Yunnan.

Inventory: Liu 1984 [JZ-Jingpo] (pages 5-16)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	ph	phɿ	t	th	(f)	ts	(tsh)	s	tʃ	(tʃh)	f	k	kh	(x)	kj	khj	kɿ	khɿ	ʔ	
											ʒ									
m			mj			n						ŋ			ŋj					
w						l					j									

- /w/ is realized as [v] before /a/ and /o/.
- Jingpho has a syllabic nasal transcribed <ŋ> which constitutes a tone-bearing syllable; the place of articulation is homorganic to the following initial consonant.
- The dentals /t th ts s l/ are palatalized before /e e/: [tj thj tsj sj lj].
- /f tsh tʃh x/ are found only in Chinese loans and have phonemic status only for young speakers.

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i i̇		u u̇
e ė	(ǎ ǎ̇)	o ȯ
	a ȧ	

#### *Diphthongs*

ui u̇i
oi ȯi
ai ȧi au ȧu

- All monophthongs can combine with all finals. Diphthongs do not occur with finals.

- Certain prefixed syllables are weakened. In such syllables the vowel is realized as [ə], [ɿ], or [ʉ], depending on the initial. This vowel is transcribed <ǎ> or <ǎ̃>.
- Rhymes /ua iau iu/ also appear in Chinese loanwords.
- When /i i/ occur after velar initials in closed syllables, they are retracted and lowered to [ɤ ʏ].

### *TONES*

ma<sup>33</sup> mid level  
 ma<sup>31</sup> low falling  
 ma<sup>55</sup> high level

- In [JZ-Jingpo], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high level tone is realized in lax syllables as high rising [<sup>35</sup>].
- A marginal tone [<sup>51</sup>] occurs only in kinship terms (terms for address), exclamation words, sentence-final particles, the copula <ʒe<sup>51</sup>>, and in tone sandhi as an allotone of the low falling toneme.



## JINUO

### *Buyuan*

Data Source: Gai 1986 [JZ-Jinuo]

*Collected in Buyuan Mountain District, Jinghong County, Xishuangbanna Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Gai 1986 [JZ-Jinuo] (pages 121-126)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
f		s	ɕ	x
v		z		ʎ
m	n		ŋ	ŋ
w	l		j	

- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- /x/ is realized as [χ] before /æ a ɔ o/.
- The consonants /m n/ can constitute tone-bearing syllables, in which case they are transcribed <ṁ ṅ>.

#### *Palatalized Initials*

pj	p <sup>h</sup> j	mj	tj	t <sup>h</sup> j	lj
----	------------------	----	----	------------------	----

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i	ĩ	ɯ	u
e	ẽ	ɣ	o
ɛ	ə	ɔ	
æ	a	ã	

#### *Diphthongs*

ui	uĩ		
		əu	ɔu
uæ	ua	uã	

- /i/ is pronounced [ɿ] after alveolar affricates and fricatives.
- /a/ is pronounced [A].
- There are also rhymes /iŋ aŋ ɣŋ oŋ uŋ uaŋ/ which occur mostly in Chinese loanwords.

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>44</sup>	mid high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>42</sup>	mid falling
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising
ma <sup>11</sup>	high level
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling

- In [JZ-Jinuo], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.

**JINUO***Youle*

Data Source: Gai 1986 [JZ-Jinuo]

*Youle Dialect. Collected in Manka and Mandou, Jinuo Mountain District, Jinghong County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Gai 1986 [JZ-Jinuo] (pages 3-13)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tʃ	tɕ	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	tʃ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
f		s	ʃ	ɕ	x
v		z	(ʒ)		ʎ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
m̥	n̥			ŋ̥	ŋ̥
(w)	l			j	
	ɬ				

- Zero-initial is realized <ʔ>.
- <w> and <ʒ> are used to transcribe the sounds represented by pinyin <w> and <ʀ> in Chinese loanwords. They do not appear in native words.

- The consonants /ɱ m ŋ n/ can constitute tone-bearing syllables, in which case they are transcribed <ɱ ɱ ŋ ɳ>.

*Palatalized Initials*

pj p<sup>h</sup>j mj ɱj tj t<sup>h</sup>j lj

*Cluster Initials*

pɿ p<sup>h</sup>ɿ mɿ ɱɿ kɿ k<sup>h</sup>ɿ

- /ɿ/ is pronounced [ɾ].

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>
i		ɯ, u	ĩ
e, ø		ɤ, o	ẽ
ɛ, œ	ə (əɿ)	ɔ	
	a		ã

*Diphthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>
ui			uĩ
uɛ	əu	ɔu	
	ai ua		uã

- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after alveolar affricates and fricatives, and as [ɿ] after palato-alveolar affricates and fricatives.
- /a/ is pronounced [A].
- The nasal vowels occur mostly in Chinese loanwords.
- There is also a retroflexed vowel /əɿ/ which occurs only in Chinese loanwords.
- The diphthongs occur mostly in Chinese and Tai loanwords.
- There are also rhymes /iŋ aŋ ɤŋ oŋ uəŋ/ which occur only in Chinese loanwords.



*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>44</sup>	mid high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>42</sup>	mid falling
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling

- In [JZ-Jinuo], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high rising tone occurs mostly in Chinese and Tai loanwords. In native words it has only a morphological function.

**JINUO***Youle*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #34

*Collected in Many, Jinuo District, Jinghong County, Xishuangbanna Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #34 (pages 282-285)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tʃ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tʃh	tɕh	kh
f		s	ʃ	ɕ	x
v		z			ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ̊
	l			j	
	ɬ				

- All zero-initial syllables (except the prefix <a>) begin with a non-phonemic glottal stop, which is not transcribed.

- /ŋ/ appears in only a few words, and is pronounced [ɲ].
- /k kh/ are palatalized to [c ch] before /i e ε/.
- Although /ŋ/ does not appear in the consonant chart, it does appear in the lexical data (cf. <ŋo<sup>44</sup>> ‘lake’ (p. 390 set 20)).

*Palatalized Initials*

pj phj mj tj thj lj

*Cluster Initials*

pɿ phɿ mɿ kɿ khɿ

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

	<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>
i, y		ɯ, u		ĩ
e, ø		o		ũ
ε ɛɾ	ɐ ɐɾ	ɔ		ẽ
	a			ã

*Diphthongs*

	<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>
ui			
ɛi ɛɛ	ɐu	ɔu	
	ua		uã

- /ɛɾ ɐɾ/ are retroflex vowels.
- /i/ is pronounced [ɿ] after alveolar affricates and fricatives, [ɿ] after palato-alveolar affricates and fricatives.
- /a/ is pronounced [A].

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>44</sup>	mid high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>42</sup>	mid falling
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising

- The high rising tone occurs mostly in Chinese and Tai loanwords. In native words it has only a morphological function.
- The mid high level and mid falling tones are pronounced with constriction; they can be considered constricted equivalents of the mid level and low falling tones, respectively.
- A high falling tone occurs as well, but since it does not contrast with the high level tone it is considered an allotone.



## KANAURI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: D. D. Sharma 1988 [DS-Kan]

*Collected on the Northeastern border of India, State of Himachal Pradesh (western Himalayas on both banks of the Satluj river). There are three distinct subgroups forming two main linguistic subgroups (the Kalpa and Nichar subgroups comprise Lower Kinnauri; Pooh comprises Upper Kinnauri), each with dialectal subdivisions.*

*The dialect of the Kalpa region (Kinnaurayanuskad) should be regarded as the standard dialect, since it was the lingua franca used before Hindi (pages 4-5).*

Inventory: D. D. Sharma 1988 [DS-Kan] (pages 19-46)

*The transcription used here is a transliteration of the Devanāgarī script in which Kanauri is written. Thus distinctions that do not exist in the spoken language (such as a voicing contrast in final consonants) may be preserved in the orthography.*

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)

### CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	ʈ	c	k	
ph	th	tsh	ʈh	ch	kh	
b	d	dz	ɖ	j	g	
		s		š		h
		z		ž		
m	n		ɳ		ɳ̄	
w		l	r	y		l(h)

- Sharma is inconsistent in his treatment of the palatal consonants. On page 26 he refers to /c ch j/ as “palatal plosives”. In the chart on page 28 they are written <č čh j> (implying that they are affricates). On page 29 two series, /c ch j/ and /č čh j/, are listed.
- The retroflex sibilant [ʂ] is a regional allophonic variant of /š/, and [ɽ] is a variant of /r/. The latter is “sporadically attested in the pronunciation of educated individuals in Hindi loans” (p. 32).
- Voicing and aspiration are both neutralized in final position, resulting in voiceless unaspirated articulations; however, the voicing distinction is maintained in the orthography.

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Kinnauri* in [DS-Kan].

- The palatal and the retroflex nasals /ñ ɳ/ have very low functional load. /ɳ/ never occurs initially or finally, but only in intervocalic position. Although it does not occur in opposition with other nasals, Sharma accords it phonemic status.

### *Consonant Clusters*

#### *Initial*

py	spy	phy	by	my	dy	ny	ry	šy
ñy	ky	sky	khy	gy	sgy	hy		
tw	thw	chw	kw	skw	khw	gw		
pr	phr	br	tr	thr	kr	chr		
lh	rh							
sp	sb	st	sɽ	sk	sg	sks	skl	
žg								

#### *Final*

-ms		
-nɽ		
-ñs	-ñč	-ñk
-lk	-lč	
-rk	-rz	
-kč		
-šk		

- Sharma writes <č> for /c/ in his list of final clusters (p. 36).
- In standard Kanauri, as opposed to some of the more conservative dialects, many consonant clusters have been reduced to simple consonants.
- Word-medially, almost any combination of two- and three-consonant clusters is possible.

### *VOWELS*

i		u
e	ə	o
		a, ɔ

- Vowel length is distinctive, and is marked by <ː> following the vowel.

- Vowel nasalization is phonemic as well as phonetically conditioned by a following nasal. It is marked by <~> over the vowel.
- The phonemic status of /ɔ/ is dubious as it does not contrast with /o/, but Sharma sets it up as an independent phoneme because of its opposition to /ə/. [ɔ] also occurs as an allophone of the phonemes /ə/ and /o/.
- Sharma includes the symbol <E> in parentheses, in the position of a low front vowel. He analyzes this as an allophone of /e/.
- Sharma also includes the symbol <á> in parentheses, in the position of a low central vowel, but does not mention this symbol again. He does mention <ä> as an allophone of /ə/ (p. 22). The two symbols probably represent the same sound, with one being a typographical error for the other.
- “There are no diphthongs in Kinnauri, but it has vocalic sequences” (p. 23). Almost any combination of two vowels may appear in sequence.



## KANAURI

### *Standard*

Data Source: Bailey 1911 [BAI1911]

*The standard dialect is spoken between Long. 77°50' and 78°40', and between Lat. 31°23' and 31°40' in the Satlaj Valley in Punjab.*

Inventory: Extracted from Bailey 1911 [BAI1911] (pages 3-5)

Secondary Sources: [STC], [JAM-Ety]

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

### CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	ʈ	c	k
ph	th	tsh	ʈh	ch	kh
b	d		ɖ		g
bʼ	dʼ				gʼ
		s		<u>sh</u>	h
m	n		ɳ		ɳ̃
	l	r		y	

- <ɳ̃> is [ɳ̃].
- /bʼ dʼ gʼ/ probably represent [β ð ɣ].
- [ʃ] is transcribed by Bailey as /sh/ to distinguish it from a sequence of /s/ + /h/.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Short</i>					<i>Long</i>
i , ü		u			ī
ĩ		ũ			ū
e , ö		o			ē , œ
ě		ǎ , ǝ			ō
	a				ā

*Diphthongs*

ai

- An additional digraph, <au>, appears in Indic loanwords, and is phonetically equivalent to the sound represented by <ṣ>.
- Due to typographical limitations, a few of Bailey's symbols have been modified in the STEDT database. <œ ǝ ō> are transcribed <ō ǝ ō> in [BAI1911].
- Of the short vowels, those marked with <˘> over the vowel are lax and the others are half-long.



**KAREN (BWE)***Blimaw*

Data Source: Henderson, forthcoming [EJAH-BKD]

Inventory: Henderson, forthcoming [EJAH-BKD]

*The phonological information is from the introduction by David Solnit.*

*SYLLABLE CANON*

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \\ \text{C(C)V} \end{array}$$
*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	'
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
ḃ	ḋ			
	θ	f	x	h
m	n			
w	l	r	y	R
'w			'y	

- /R/ is an unrounded velar semivowel.
- /ḃ ḋ/ are glottalized plosives. The latter appears as <Ī> in the source.
- [ch] is in near-complementary distribution with /th/, appearing only before vowels /i i/.
- Zero-initial is usually realized as [ʔ]. <ʔ> is used to transcribe it only word-medially to separate syllables.
- An initial <'> (reversed apostrophe) is used to mark those few syllables pronounced with breathy onset.
- /'w 'y/ are preglottalized [ʔw ʔy].
- /x/ is rare.



*Initial Clusters*

ɗw	nw	θw	lw	ʃw	kw	khw	gw	pw
bw	ɸw	mw	thw					
pr	phr	br	tr	dr	θr	kr	khr	gr
pl	phl	bl	kl	khl	gl			

*VOWELS*

i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ə	o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	

- /ɪ ʊ/ are centralized, tense, and constricted. /ʊ/ sometimes appears as <v> in the STEDT database.
- /ə/ appears only in unstressed syllables. It may be realized as [ə] or it may take on characteristics of the vowel in the following stressed syllable.

*TONES*

má	high level
ma	mid level
mà	low level
-ma	unstressed suffix, no independent tone
ma-	unstressed prefix, no distinct tone

- The tone of a suffix is identical to the tone of the preceding stressed syllable, unless the suffix has a voiced initial and the preceding syllable is in the high tone, in which case the suffix is in mid tone.

**KAREN (BWE)***Chitabu*

Data Source: Weidert 1987 [AW-TBT]

*Fieldwork in Chitabu village in 1975, with informant Miss Lu May (p. 494, n. 13).*

Inventory: Extracted from Weidert 1987 [AW-TBT] (pages 321-324)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	tš	k	ʔ
ph	th	tšh	kh	
b	d	dž	g	
ʔb	ʔd			
	θ	š	x	h
			ɣ	
m	n			
ʔm	ʔn			
w	l	r	y	
ʔw	ʔl	ʔr	ʔy	

- /ʔb ʔd/ are voiced implosives.
- /r/ is a trill.

*Initial Clusters*

pw	phw	bw	ʔbw	ʔmw	thw	ʔdw	ʔnw	lw
θw	tšw	šw	yw	kw	khw	gw		
pl	phl	bl	ʔbl	kl	kh	gl		
br	thr	θr						
by								
gɣ								
pʔw	kʔw							
pʔl	kʔl							
kʔɣ								

*VOWELS*

i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ə	o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	

- /ə/ appears only in unstressed syllables.

### TONES

má high  
mà low

- Unstressed syllables with schwa vocalism are not marked for tone.



### KAREN (EASTERN KAYAH/RED KAREN)

Data Source: Solnit 1986 [DS-Kayah]

*The language is spoken in three villages to the south of Mae Hong Son town: Thā Médy Lē Khā (Thai khūn hūaj dyà), Rùsō Lē (Thai hūaj sǎa thāw), and Thā Médy Lē Chá (Thai hūaj dýa). The main informant was a 25-year-old woman, whose home is in Huai Dya. She is a native speaker of Kayah, but in addition speaks Shan and Standard Thai (page Intro-3).*

Inventory: Solnit 1986 [DS-Kayah] (pages 1-12)

### SYLLABLE CANON

T  
(C<sub>1</sub>)(C<sub>2</sub>)(G)V

T            tone  
C<sub>1</sub>        any consonant  
C<sub>2</sub>        a liquid  
G           glide (/w/ or /j/)  
V           any vowel

Possible combinations: V, GV, CV, CGV, CCV, CCGV

### CONSONANTS

#### Simple Initials

p	t	c	k	(?)
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	(j)		
	s			h
m	n		ŋ	
w	l	r	(j)	

*Initial Clusters*

pl kl  
phr khr

Solnit suggests that although it is possible to analyze glottal stop as an allophone of zero-initial, the three known instances of contrast between initial glottal stop and zero-initial make it simpler to consider glottal stop to be phonemic.

- /c ch/ are alveopalatal affricates [tç tçʰ]. /ch/ is occasionally realized with no stop component as [çʰ].
- “/j/ varies between a palatal glide and a voiced palatal fricative, also occasionally appearing as a slightly prenasalized alveopalatal affricate [ʲdz], especially in the Low Falling tone.”
- /ŋ/ is realized as [ŋʲ ~ ɲ] (fronted velar or palatal nasal) before front vowels and glide /j/.
- /w/ is usually realized as [v].
- “/r/ is usually a retroflex approximant similar to Mandarin Chinese /r/. In emphatic speech it may be an alveolar trill. As C<sub>2</sub> in clusters it is largely or completely devoiced by simultaneous aspiration, approaching [ʃ].”
- In clusters, aspiration appears to be conditioned by the presence of medial /-r-/.

*VOWELS*

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i		ɯ , u	wi	(ju)
e		ɤ , o	(we)	(jo)
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ		
	a		ja wa	

- “The phonemic status of /ɤ/ is solid only in the high tone .... In other tones, occurrences of /ɤ/ are rare and include many Shan/Thai loans.”
- “The on-glides /j- w-/ are usually closer to [e-] and [o-] respectively.”
- /juu jo we/ are rare. The first two each occur in only one word so far recorded, and the third only in loanwords.

*TONES*

má	high	[ <sup>55</sup> ]
maə	high falling	[ <sup>52</sup> ]
mā	mid	[ <sup>33</sup> ]
ma	low level	[ <sup>22</sup> ]
mà	low falling	[ <sup>21</sup> ]

- The high falling tone, represented by /ə/ suffixed to the main vowel, is rare, occurring most often in animal names and some other polysyllabic morphemes. (p. 9)

**KAREN (PA-O<sup>1</sup>)**

Data Source: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS]

*Provided by Miss Mary Nang Mat Aye while she was in the U. S., and later spot-checked with her relative, Miss Hla Si. The variety of Pa-O described here is a northern variety spoken around Taunggyi. There is also a southern variety spoken around Thaton (p. 61).*

Inventory: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS] (pages 71-73)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	?
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d			
	s			h
m	n		ŋ	
w	l	r	j	

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Taungthu* in [RBJ-KLS].

*Initial Clusters*

pw bw tw thw nw cw chw kw khw  
 ηw ʔw sw hw lw  
 pl bl kl  
 pr phr kr khr  
 pj phj mj tj nj chj kj khj ʔj  
 lj rj  
 phrw khwr

*Finals*

-p -t -k -ʔ  
 -m -n -ŋ

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	y	ɨ, u
e / ə		o
ɛ	a	ɔ

*Diphthongs*

ai au

- /y/ is a high central vowel.

## TONES

má	high
mâ	high falling
mā	mid
mà	low

- Closed syllables occur only with the high and the low tones.

**KAREN (PALAYCHI)**

Data Source: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS]

Provided by Mr. Lincoln Smith. Palaychi is a Karen village just south of Thandaung (p. 61).

Inventory: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS] (pages 74-78)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

*CONSONANTS**SimpleInitials*

p		t		c	k	ʔ
ph		th		ch	kh	
b		d		ǰ		
f	θ	s		š	x	h
		sh				
v		z			ɣ	
m		n				
w		l	r	j		

- Although /y/ is not listed in the inventory on page 75, it occurs as an initial consonant in the data.

*Initial Clusters*

pw	phw	bw	tw	thw	cw	kw	khw	ʔw
šw	nw	jw	lw					
pl	phl	bl	kl	khl				
pr	tr	kr	shr					
phj	nj							
fv								
sz	shz							

*Finals*

-q    -ʔ

*VOWELS*

ɪ	ɨ	
i	y	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

- /y/ is a “higher mid fronted rounded central vowel” (p. 74).
- “[T]he high back and mid back vowels have voiceless allophones unique to Palaychi.”

*TONES*

má high

mà low

- Each phonemic tone has three allotones, which depend on the presence of /-ʔ/, /-q/, or no final (p. 76).

**KAREN (PHO)***Bassein*

Data Source: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS]

*Originally collected in the U. S. from Dr. Florence Taw, a speaker from Moulmein who spoke Burmese, English, Pho, and Sgaw with various relatives, and who taught school in Bassein for many years. It was revised and expanded with the help of Mrs. Rose S. Po (p. 61). Bassein Pho and Moulmein Pho are not completely mutually intelligible.*

Inventory: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS] (pages 66-70)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [AW-TBT]

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th		kh	
b	d			
	θ	s	š	x
	sh			
			ʎ	
m	n		ŋ	
w	l	r	j	

- Although /w/ is not listed in the inventory on page 68, it occurs as an initial consonant in the data.



*Initial Clusters*

pw bw mw thw dw nw kw khw ?w sw  
 shw θw xw jw lw  
 pl phl bl ml kl khl  
 pr tr thr kr θr  
 phj bj

*Finals*

-ʔ

- <-n> represents “nasalization of the preceding nucleus” (p. 68).

**VOWELS**

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>		
i	y	u				
e	ə	o		en	ən	on
ɛ	a	ɔ		ɛn	an	ɔn

*Diphthongs*

ai au

**TONE**

má high

mà low

- Each phonemic tone has two allotones, which depend on the presence or absence of final /-ʔ/.



**KAREN (PHO)**

***Moulmein***

Data Source: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS]

*Originally collected in the U. S. from Dr. Florence Taw, a speaker from Moulmein who spoke Burmese, English, Pho, and Sgaw with various relatives, and who taught school in*

*Bassein for many years. It was revised and expanded with the help of Daw Paw Shin (p. 61). Moulmein Pho and Bassein Pho are not completely mutually intelligible.*

Inventory: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS] (pages 66-70)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [AW-TBT]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th		kh	
b	d			
	θ	s	š	x
		sh		
			ɣ	
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
w	l	r	j	

- /w/ occurs as an initial in the data, although it is not so described in the author's inventory.

#### *Consonant Clusters*

pw	bw	mw	thw	dw	nw	kw	khw	ʔw
sw	shw	θw	xw	jw	lw			
pl	phl	bl	ml	kl	khl			
pr	tr	thr	kr					
pj	phj	bj						

#### *Finals*

-ʔ

- <-n> represents “nasalization of the preceding nucleus” (p. 68).

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>		
i	y	u		yn		
e	ə	o		ɛn	ən	on
ɛ	a	ɔ		ɛn	an	ɔn

*Diphthongs*

ai au

- The two diphthongs occur only in stopped syllables (p. 67).

## TONES

má high

mā mid

mà low

- Each phonemic tone has two allotones, which depend on the presence or absence of final /-ʔ/.
- The high tone has two realizations: in open syllables, mid with a slight rise; in stopped syllables, high-falling.
- The mid tone has two realizations: in open syllables, mid with a slight fall; in stopped syllables, mid-level.
- The low tone has two realizations: in open syllables, low-falling; in stopped syllables, low-level.
- “Besides the allotonic features of final /-ʔ/, the low tone itself has fairly strong pharyngeal constriction .... Note that the presence of a final /-ʔ/ tends to raise the pitch of the tone” (p. 69).



## KAREN (SGAW)

*Bassein*

Data Source: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS]

*Originally collected in the U. S. from Dr. Florence Taw, a speaker from Moulmein who spoke Burmese, English, Pho, and Sgaw with various relatives, and who taught school in Bassein for many years. It was revised and expanded with the help of Mrs. Rose S. Po, a speaker from Bassein (p. 61). Bassein Sgaw and Moulmein Sgaw are mutually intelligible.*

Inventory: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS] (pages 62-65)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	k	ʔ
ph	th	kh	
b	d		
	θ	s	š
		sh	
			ɣ
m	n	ñ	
w	l	r	j

*Consonant Clusters*

pw	bw	mw	tw	thw	dw	nw	kw	khw	sw
shw	θw	jw	ñw	lw					
pl	phl	bl	ml	kl	khl				
pr	tr	kr	θr						
pj	phj								
pɣ	phɣ	bɣ	shɣ						

- /ñw/ “occurs only as a variant of /jw/” (p. 64).

*Finals*

-ʔ

- The glottal stop “occurs in final position in mid and low tones only.”

### VOWELS

i	y	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

### TONES

má	high
mā	mid
má	low

- The mid and high tones each have two allotones, which depend on the presence or absence of final /-ʔ/. This is different from Moulmein Sgaw, which has two allotones for all three of its phonemic tones.



## KAREN (SGAW)

### *Delugong*

Data Source: Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL]

*Collected in Delugong Village (near Rangoon), Zebeding District, Ensen [Ensein] County, Burma*

Inventory: Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL] (pages 388-413)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	tc	k		
ph	th	tch	kh		
b	d	dz			
	θ	s	ɕ	x	h
		sh			
m	n				
w	l	r	j	ɣ	

*Initial Clusters*

pl phl bl ml kl khl  
 pr tr θr sr

*Final*

-ʔ

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i ī                      u ū  
 e ē                      ə ə̄                      o ō  
 ɛ ɛ̄                      a ā                      ɔ ɔ̄

*Diphthongs*

ui  
 uɛ                      ia ua

## TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> high level  
 ma<sup>33</sup> mid level  
 ma<sup>31</sup> low falling

**KAREN (SGAW)***Moulmein*

Data Source: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS]

*Based on information provided by one speaker, Rev. Judson Aung, born in Toungoo in 1913, but grew up in Moulmein; graduated from a Rangoon college; taught in Moulmein; to U.S. for theological training; pastor of a Rangoon Baptist church. “[A]ssumed to be representative of the speech of educated speakers of Sgaw Karen in the area of Moulmein” (p. 3). Moulmein Sgaw and Bassein Sgaw are mutually intelligible.*

Inventory: Jones 1961 [RBJ-KLS] (pages 5-13 and pages 62-65)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d			
	θ	s	ʃ	ʃi
		sh		
		z	ɣ	
m	n	ñ		
w	l	r	j	ŋ

*Initial Clusters*

pw	tw	thw	dw	nw	kw	khw	sw	shw
θw	jw	ñw	lw	rw				
pl	phl	bl	ml	kl	kh			
pr	br	tr	thr	kr	θr			
phj	mj							
pɣ	phɣ	bɣ	mɣ	sɣ	shɣ			

*Finals*

-ʔ

*VOWELS*

i	y	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

- “/y/ is a lower high central tense vowel, unrounded but with slight lip protrusion” [i] (p. 8).

*TONES*

má	high
mā	mid
mà	low



**KHALING***Khastap*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Sapta Man Khaling, Sueyoshi Toba and Ingrid Toba. The data is from Khastap in Solu Khumbu District.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 27-28), from [SIT1972a]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	c	k	
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
bh	dh	jh	gh	
	s			h
m	n		ng	
w	l	r	y	

*VOWELS*

i, ü		u
e, ö		o
āe	ā	a

- Vowel length is not contrastive. The only long vowel in the system is the low central vowel /ā/.

*PITCH*

'ma	high
ma	low

- There are two contrastive pitches, high and low, the distinctive pitch of the word being carried on the first syllable.





## KHAM

Data Source: Watters and Watters 1989 [DNW-KhamQ]

*The data is the same as that in [SIL-Kham] and [DNW-Gloss] (although the orthography is different). It is based on the Taka dialect, spoken in Taka (a village in the Baglung District, Dhaulagiri Zone, Nepal; about 1500 speakers). There is dialectal variation from village to village, but as Taka lies in the geographical center of the Kham-speaking area (the Dhaulagiri and Rapti Zones of West Nepal), and because it is recognized as a prestige dialect, this dialect is intelligible to all Kham speakers. The glossary material was provided mainly by one 47-year old man (a former Gurkha soldier) from Taka village ([DNW-Gloss] p. viii).*

Inventory: Watters 1973 [DNW-Gloss] (pages viii-xii)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(G)V(G)(C)

### CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k	
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
		s		h
		z		
m	n		ng	
	l	r		

- /c ch j s z/ are alveolars [ts tsh dz s z]; they are palatalized before /y i e/.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>		
i i:		u u:		ĩ:		ũ:
e e:	ə ə:	o o:		ẽ:	õ:	õ:
	a a:			ã:		

*Diphthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
wi wi:	yu yu:		wĩ:	yũ:
	yo yo:			yõ:
ya ya: wa wa:			yã: wã:	
əy	oy		ẽ:y	õ:y
ay			ã:y	

*Triphthongs*

<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>
yay way		yã:y wã:y

- All vowels occur both oral and nasal. Nasalized vowels are always long. Vowels with an offglide do not have a length distinction.
- A period <.> is used to disambiguate syllable boundaries where necessary (e.g. <oy.o> vs. <o.yo>).

*TONES*

'ma	tense	pitch pattern 1	(clear voice)
'mah	lax	pitch pattern 1	(breathy voice)
ma	tense	pitch pattern 2	(clear voice)
mah	lax	pitch pattern 2	(creaky voice)

- Tone in Kham is a complex correlate of pitch pattern and voice register and is a feature of words (not syllables). Basically, pitch pattern 1 (indicated by '>') consists of a high level pitch on the word stem, and a low level pitch on the suffix (if present). Pitch pattern 2 consists of a falling pitch on the stem, and a mid-level pitch on the suffix (if present). (For a more detailed description of tone in Kham, see [AH-CSDPN] pp. 20-22.)

**KHAM**

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Hasta Ram Buhda, David Watters and Nancy Watters. The data is from Taka in the Baglung District and Sera in the Rukum District*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 19-22), from [DW1971a] and [DW1971b]

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

Note: The orthography is identical to that of [DNW-KhamQ] (see above), with the following differences:

/ə/ is transcribed <a>; /a/ is transcribed <ā>;  
nasalization is marked by <,> under the vowel.



**KHEZHA<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the area south of the Chokri by the Khezhamas, an Eastern Angami Group. Marrison takes his lexical data from [LSI].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 351-352)

**CONSONANTS***Initials*

p	t	ts/ch	k	kr
	th			
b	d	dz/j		gw
f	s	sh		h
v	z	zh	gh	
m	n	ny	ng	
mh	nh			
	l	r	y	
	lh	rh		

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/; <j> and <dz> correspond to /j/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.

**VOWELS***Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü ö	ã o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

uo
----

- Marrison indicates that <ü> and <ö> correspond to /ə/; <ã> and <o> correspond to /o/.



<sup>1</sup>Called *Kezhama* in [GEM-CNL]; *Khözha* in [SY-Khözha].

**KHEZHA***Pfetsero*

Data Source: Yabu 1994 [SY-KhözhaQ]

*Collected in Mysore, India in 1992, from a male informant (Kedutso Kapfo), born 1949 in a village near Pfutsero (population: 22,000-25,000) in Phek District, Nagaland State, near the southern border with Manipur State, India.*

Inventory: Yabu 1994 [SY-KhözhaQ]

*SYLLABLE CANON*

T  
C(C)V

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	pf	t	ts	c	k	'
ph	pfh	th	tsh	ch	kh	
b	bv	d	dz	j		
	f		s	š		h
	v		z	ž	ɣ	
m		n		ñ	ŋ	
mh		nh				
	w	l	r	y		
	wh	lh	rh			

*Initial Clusters*

kw

pr    phr    tr    thr    dr

- <ñ> represents [ɲ].
- <'> represents [ʔ].
- /mh/ and /nh/ are aspirated nasals, and /lh/ and /rh/ are aspirated liquids.
- /c ch j/ are affricates.

*VOWELS*

i	ũ	u
e	õ	o
	a	

*TONES*

má	high
ma	mid
mà	low



**KHOIRAO**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in North Manipur. Marrison takes his lexical data from [LSI].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 352-353)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)V(V/C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ch	k
mp	nt	ñch	nk
ph	th		kh
mph	nth		nkh
b	d	j	g
	s		h
m	n		ng
w	l	r	y
	nl	nr	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	

- <ch> corresponds to /c/.
- Marrison lists <nty yk ykh> as phonemes; these sequences do not appear in the data and are probably errors for <nt nk nkh> respectively.
- The graphs <gh np nph ɔ> appear in the data but not in Marrison's inventory.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

*Diphthongs*

	ui
ei	ao
ai	au

- Marrison also lists <a> among the diphthongs; this is probably a typographical error.





**KOKBOROK<sup>1</sup>***Debbarma*

Data Source: Karapurkar 1972 [KAR1972]

*Spoken in Tripura. The data is taken from the Debbarma dialect which is spoken by the ruling class.*

Inventory: Karapurkar 1972 [KAR1972] (notes about consonants: pages 6-25; notes about vowels: pages 25-30; phonemic chart: page 57; list of allophones: pages 55-56)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

**CONSONANTS**

p	t	c	č	k	
ph	th	ch	čh	kh	
b	d	j	ǰ	g	
		s	š		h
m	n		ñ	ŋ	
w	l	r	y		

- [c ch j] are dental affricates.
- /c/ is realized as a palatal [č] before front vowels; in other positions it is realized as either [c] or [č], which are in free variation.
- /j/ is realized as [ǰ] before front vowels; in other positions it is realized as either [j] or [ǰ], which are in free variation.
- /čh/ does not appear in the phoneme chart on page 57, but is listed as a phoneme on page 56. It is realized as either [čh] or [š], which are in free variation.
- /s/ is realized as [s] before front vowels; in other positions it is realized as either [s] or [ch], which are in free variation.
- /n/ is realized as [ñ] before [č ǰ].

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Tripuri* in [KAR1972].

## VOWELS

### *Phonetic chart*

		ɯ , u
I		U
ε	ʌ	o
E		ɔ
	a	

### *Phonemic chart*

		ɯ , u
i		U
ε	ʌ	o
	a	

- /i/ is realized as [I] (“front lower-high unrounded voiced”) (p. 25).
- /ε/ is realized as [ε] (“front higher-low unrounded voiced”) when followed by [a] in the next syllable, and as [E] (“front mid unrounded voiced”) elsewhere (p. 26).
- /u/ is realized as [u] (“back high voiced rounded”) after bilabials in word final position, and as [U] (“back lower-high voiced rounded”) elsewhere (pp. 27-28).
- Karapurkar writes that /ɔ/ has two allophones [o] and [ɔ] (p. 56), but the distribution of the two is not distinct according to his description. [o] (“mid-back voiced rounded”) occurs in the final position or before non-syllabic [i], and [ɔ] (“back higher-low voiced rounded”) occurs “in the medial and the final position” (p. 29).
- The vowels [i u] can be “nonsyllabic” and combine with other vowels, in which case they are transcribed with an underscore, as in [Ịị ạị ọị Ụị ụị Ẹị ạụ]. For example: [pỊị] ‘father’s sister’ (p. 30).

## TONES

ma    level  
mà    low



## KOKBOROK

### *Gabing*

Data Source: Tripura and Jurafsky 1988 [PT-Kok]

*The information is from one informant, Prashanta Tripura; Gabing (Gəbeĩñ) dialect, spoken by Prashanta's father. Gabing is characterized by a heavy loss of finals, especially in comparison with the Nairong dialect spoken by Prashanta's mother.*

*Kokborok is spoken in northeast India (state of Tripura) and neighboring regions of Bangladesh. Heavily influenced by Bengali (loanwords, grammar).*

Inventory: Tripura and Jurafsky 1988 [PT-Kok]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	č	k	ʔ
ph	th	š	kh	h
b	d	j	g	
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
w	l	r	y	

- Both <č> and <c> occur in the word list. They are probably in free variation.
- The palatal fricative /š/ is actually pronounced [s]. (In Bengali [s] and [š] are also allophonic.) It is considered to be a palatal because it functions as the aspirated counterpart of /č/. This relationship also holds in the aspiration dissimilation rule.
- /j/ occurs primarily in Bengali loanwords

#### *Initial Clusters*

pl	phl	bl	kl	khl			
pr	phr	br	tr	dr	kr	khr	gr
km	k <sup>h</sup> m						
k <sup>h</sup> n							
sp	st	sn	sl	sr			

- Although some of the clusters seem to come from PTB clusters, Jurafsky et al. write “There is some evidence, however, that these clusters should be considered reduced syllables, phonemically speaking” (p. 6).

*Finals*

(-m)	-n	(-ñ)	-ŋ	-ʔ
-w	(-l)	(-r)	-y	

- The status of these finals is not clear due to influence from the Nairong dialect. /-ʔ -n -ŋ/ certainly exist in the Gabein dialect, but /-m -ñ -r -l/ probably no longer exist in the Gabein dialect. Final /-n/ and /-m/ seem to produce a nasalized vowel, while final /-r/ and /-l/ are dropped. Syllable-final /-r/ is retained, however, in word medial positions.

*RHYMES*

i		u			auʔ
e	ə	ɔ			oʔ
	a				aʔ
		um			un
		ɔm		en (?)	ən (?)
	am				an
əiñ					uŋ
				eŋ	əŋ
					aŋ
		uy			
	əy	ɔy			or ɔr
	ay			ar	

- The glottal stop seems to be dropped sometimes in the two back rhymes which contain it (auʔ and oʔ), apparently in free variation, i.e. au(?), o(?).
- [əiñ] is the phonetic realization of /iŋ/.

*TONES*

má	high or rising
mà	low or falling

- The contrast may be viewed either as high/low or rising/falling.
- There are 40-50 cases of minimal pairs involving tonal contrast.
- There appears to be some kind of tone spreading from roots to affixes. This implies that affixes do not carry lexical tone.

*NOTES*

- There is a rule of aspiration dissimilation in Kokborok. If a polysyllabic word contains two aspirates, the second one loses aspiration. If there is a syllable between the two aspirates, this dissimilation goes through it if its initial is a voiced consonant or a liquid or glide.

Thus,            /phaŋ/ ‘tree’ + /tham/ ‘three’  
is realized      [phaŋ tam].



## KOM REM

Data Source: Toba and Kom 1991 [T-KomRQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. Collected in Manipur State, Northeast India.*

Inventory: Toba and Kom 1991 [T-KomRQ]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	č	k	(?)
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	
(b)	(d)	ǰ	(g)	
f	s	š		h
v	z			
m	n		ŋ	
ṃ	ṇ		(ŋ̣)	
w	l	r		
	l̥	r̥		

#### *Finals*

-p	-t		-k	-h
-m	-n		-ŋ	
	-l	-r		

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

		ui
ei	əi	oi

- <ě> also appears in the data but its phonetic value is uncertain.
- Long and short vowels are not marked consistently in [T-KomRQ].



**KONYAK**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the northern part of the Tuensang District of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Kon].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 353-354)

Secondary Sources: [WTF-PNN]

*SYLLABLE CANON*

CV(V/C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ch	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	g
		sh	
m	n	ny	ng
w	l	y	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng

- Marrison indicates that <ch> corresponds to /c/.
- Marrison indicates that <ny> corresponds to /n/. This is probably a typographical error for /ñ/.
- No equivalent is provided for the graph <sh>; the phoneme chart does not include any fricatives.
- Marrison's phoneme chart lists /n/ with both the palatal and the alveolar/dental series. The instance in the palatal series is probably a typographical error for /ñ/.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ei		oi
	ai	ao

- A number of other vowel sequences not listed in the phoneme charts, including /ea ia iuiei/, appear in the wordlist data. These may be polysyllabic sequences.
- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/; <ae> corresponds to /au/.





## KULUNG

Data Source: Rai et al. 1975 [RPHH-Kul]

Inventory: Boyd Michailovsky (pc), who transliterated Rai's forms from the Devanāgarī

### CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k	
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
bh	dh	jh	gh	
	s			h
m	n		ŋ	
w	r		y	
	l			

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

		ui
ei	əi	əu
	ai	

- /əə aa uu/ also appear in the data, but are rare. Their phonetic value is unclear.

### NOTES

- Where a virāma (explicit marker of consonant-final words) was not present in the original Devanagari, Michailovsky has transcribed the final 'inherent vowel' <ə>. However, he suspects that in some of these cases the viram may have been omitted in error.



## LAHU

*Black/Na*

Data Source: Matisoff 1988 [JAM-DL]

*From Black Lahu, primarily from the village of Huey Tat (Hwè-tà?) about 65 km north of Chiang Mai, near Chiang Dao. “The variety of Black Lahu that is documented in this Dictionary ... has been identified with the Mân-pù-lón dialect of Burma and is very similar to the Lâhū-nâ? of Yunnan. It should be stressed that there are still very few of these ‘true’ Black Lahu in Thailand, and that all of them are Christians who were led there from the Kengtung area of Shan State by missionaries ... beginning some 40 years ago” (p. 12).*

*Collected during three trips, in 1965-66, 1970, and 1977.*

Inventory: Matisoff 1988 [JAM-DL] (pages 14-28)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-TSR], [JAM-TJLB], [JAM-MLBM]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	c	k	q
ph	th	ch	kh	qh
b	d	j	g	
f		š		h
v		y	ğ	
m	n		ŋ	
	l			

- /c ch j š y/ are realized as their dental counterparts [ts tsh dz s z] before /i/ (p. 22).
- /p ph b m/ are affricated to [pf pfh bv mv] before /u/ (p. 22). /mu/ is often realized as a syllabic labiodental nasal [m̥].
- /n/ is realized as [ñ] before /i/.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	ĩ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

*Diphthongs*

wi	
we ew	oy
wɛ ay wa aw	

- Diphthongs are rare, and almost always have their origin in fusion, onomatopoeia, or foreign loanwords.
- /ay aw/ are realized as [aɛ aɔ] (p. 17).
- When /w/ is the first element of a diphthong, it varies in height according to the height of the following main vowel. Thus /we wɛ/ are actually [ɔe ɔɛ] (p. 17).
- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after the five palatal initials.
- /u/ is realized as [u] after /p ph b m/.

### TONES

má	high-rising	[ <sup>45</sup> ]
mâ	high-falling	[ <sup>54</sup> ]
ma	mid	[ <sup>33</sup> ]
mà	low-falling	[ <sup>21</sup> ]
mā	very low	[ <sup>11</sup> ]
mâ?	high-checked	[ <sup>4</sup> ]
mà?	low-checked	[ <sup>2</sup> ]



### LAHU

#### *Black/Na*

Data Source: Chang 1986 [JZ-Lahu]  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #33

*Collected in Menglangba, Lancang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chang 1986 [JZ-Lahu] (pages 4-9)  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #33 (pages 279-281)

### CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	k	q
ph	th	tsh	kh	qh
b	d	dz	g	
f		s	x	
v		z	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ	
	l			

- The alveolar series /ts tsh dz s z/ is realized as alveolars only before [ɿ]. Before front vowels /i e ε/ they are realized as [tç tʃh dz ç z]; before back vowels /ʌ ɔ u ʏ ʉ ɯ ʋ/ they are realized as [tʃ tʃh dʒ ʃ z] (note the aberrant behavior of the voiced fricative).

## VOWELS

### Monophthongs

<i>[JZ-Lahu]</i>				<i>[ZMYYC]</i>		
		ʏ		ɿ		
i		ɯ , u		i		ɯ , u
e		ʏ		e	ə	o
ε	a	ɔ		ε	ʌ	ɔ

- [ZMYYC] /u o ə/ correspond to [JZ-Lahu] /ʏ u ʋ/ respectively.
- [JZ-Lahu] /a/ appears as <ʌ> in the phonological description, but as <a> in the wordlist.
- There seems to be some confusion about the phonemic status of [ɿ] in [JZ-Lahu]. On page 5 it is set up in opposition to /i/ in its effect on preceding alveolar consonants; but on page 8 it is described as an allophone of /i/ occurring after alveolar consonants.

### Diphthongs

ui		iu
ei		ou
		ia ua ai au

### Triphthongs

iau uai

- Diphthongs and triphthongs occur mainly in loanwords; those that appear in native words are often morphologically analyzable. All the diphthongs and triphthongs are written with /ʌ/ in [ZMYYC] rather than with /a/.

*TONES*

ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>11</sup>	low level
ma <sup>54</sup>	checked high falling
ma <sup>21</sup>	checked low falling

- In [JZ-Lahu], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- In the STEDT database a final glottal stop <ʔ> has been added to checked tone words from [JZ-Lahu], but not to those from [ZMYYC].

**LAHU***Yellow/Xi: Bakeo*

Data Source: Bradley 1979 [DB-Lahu]

*Collected by the author in Thailand. “There are no pure Bakeo villages in Thailand. Either the Bakeo live with other Christians, or they have mixed with Nyi and Lisu.” Bradley uses a modification of the Baptist Lisu orthography in his transcriptions, which is overspecific from a phonemic point of view but is not strictly phonetic*

Inventory: Bradley 1979 [DB-Lahu] (phonological information: pages 122-129, orthographic system: pages 81-88)

*CONSONANTS*

p	pf	t	ts	c	k	k'
hp	hpf	ht	hts	ch	hk	hk'
b	bv	d	dz	j	g	
f			s	sh	h	
v			z	y	g'	
m	mv	n	nv		ng	
		l				

- /h/ is [x]; /g'/ is [ɣ]; <nv> represents [ɲv] (placed in the alveolar column for convenience); /k' hk'/ are back velars which are nearly uvular.
- <pf hpf bv mv> represent labiodental allophones of /p hp b m/ which occur before /u/.

- <ts hts dz s z> are alveolar allophones of palatals /c ch j sh y/ which occur before /uh/.
- <nv> represents an affricated dental nasal allophone of /n/ which occurs before /eu/.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

### VOWELS

i	uh	u
e	eu	o
eh		aw
	a	

- /eh/ is [ɛ]; /eu/ is [ɐ]; /aw/ is [ɔ].
- <uh> usually represents the phoneme /i/, but the sequence <uh> is also used to represent an allophone of /u/ (see following note).
- After alveolar affricates and fricatives, <uh> represents a backed allophone of /uh/, approaching [u]; after labiodentals, <uh> represents an unrounded allophone [u] of /u/.
- After /n/ and after palatals, /eu/ is realized as [ʌ].
- Most vowels also occur nasalized in unassimilated loanwords. Nasalization is marked by <-n> following the vowel.
- In addition, there are a number of diphthongs which occur as a result of syllable fusion. They seldom occur and are transcribed <wi we weh ui-i eu-e ai ao>. Those beginning with <w> have a back rounded on-glide; the phonetic values of the others are roughly indicated by the transcription.

### TONES

Tone 1	ma <sup>ˇ</sup>	long	high level ~ high falling
Tone 2	ma <sub>˘</sub>	long	half-low falling
Tone 3	ma <sup>ˉ</sup>	long	low rising ~ half-high rising
Tone 4	ma <sub>ˌ</sub>	long	low level
Tone 5	ma:	long	mid level
Tone 6	ma <sup>ˆ</sup>	short	half-high rising ~ high falling
Tone 7	ma <sub>˘</sub>	short	low level ~ half-low falling

- Tones 1, 3, 6, and 7 have two alternative realizations, one similar to the Banlan realization of that tone, and one similar to the Black Lahu realization. The choice of allotone depends on “the attitude and previous contacts of the speaker” (p. 129).

- The two short tones are checked, with a final glottal stop. Some long syllables, especially in the low level and mid level tones, may include a final glottal stop in citation form or clause-final position as well (p. 129).



## LAHU

### *Yellow/Xi: Banlan*

Data Source: Bradley 1979 [DB-Lahu]

*Collected by the author in the course of fieldwork in Thailand. Bradley uses a modification of the Baptist Lisu orthography in his transcriptions, which is overspecific from a phonemic point of view but is not strictly phonetic.*

Inventory: Bradley 1979 [DB-Lahu] (phonological information: pages 112-122, orthographic system: pages 81-88 and 120-121)

### CONSONANTS

p	pf	t	ts	c	k	
hp	hpf	ht	hts	ch	hk	
b	bv	d	dz	j	g	
f			s	sh		h
v			z	y	g'	
m	mv	n			ng	
		l				

- /g'/ represents [ɣ].
- <pf hpf bv mv> represent labiodental allophones of /p hp b m/ which occur before /uh/ (p. 116).
- The palatal stops [c ch j] are in free variation with palato-alveolar affricates [tʃ tʃh dʒ] (p. 112).
- The palatal phonemes /c ch j sh y/ are realized as alveolar affricates <ts hts dz s z> before /uh/ (p. 116).
- Zero-initial may be realized as [ʔ] (p. 112).
- [ŋi] and [ni] are in free variation (p. 116).

## VOWELS

i		u
e		o
		uh , aw
eh	a	

- /eh/ is [æ]; /aw/ is [ɔ]; /uh/ is /ʌ/.
- After palatals (which are realized as alveolar affricates or fricatives), /uh/ is lowered to [ɔ]. After alveolar and velar phonemes, it is raised to [ɻ] (p. 116).
- Nasalization is marked by <-n> following the vowel. All long vowels occur nasalized; vowels in short syllables (i.e. those in one of the two short tones) are nasalized only in unassimilated loanwords (p. 113).

## TONES

ma <sup>˘</sup>	long	high level	[ <sup>55</sup> ]
ma <sub>˘</sub>	long	high falling	[ <sup>54</sup> ]
ma <sup>-</sup>	long	low rising	[ <sup>13</sup> ]
ma <sub>-</sub>	long	low level	[ <sup>11</sup> ]
ma:	long	mid level	[ <sup>33</sup> ]
ma <sup>ˆ</sup>	short	half-high rising	[ <sub>42</sub> ]
ma <sub>ˆ</sub>	short	low level	[ <sub>11</sub> ]

- The high falling tone has a low falling [<sup>21</sup>] allotone optionally realized in clause- or sentence-final position (p. 119).
- The two short tones are checked, with a final glottal stop which is elided word-medially. The low level and mid level tones are pronounced with a final glottal stop in clause- or sentence-final position as well (p. 117).





LAHULI<sup>1</sup>*Nalda*

Data Source: J. D. Singh 1989 [JDS-Lahauli]

*“The variety chosen for study here is spoken in Nalda village, Post Office Muring and Tahsil Keylong. The informant, Shri Durga Das ... comes from a high caste and is a native speaker of the dialect.”*

Inventory: J. D. Singh 1989 [JDS-Lahauli] (pages 41-42)

## CONSONANTS

p	t	c	ɟ	ç	č	k
ph	th	ch	ɟh	çh	čh	kh
b	d	j	ɖ	ɟ	ǰ	g
bh	dh	jh	ɖh	(jɟ)	ǰh	gh
		s	ʂ		š	h
v		z				
m	n		ɳ		ɳ̃	ŋ
	l	r	ɽ	ɽ	y	

- /c ç č/ are dental, retroflex, and palatal affricates, respectively: [ts tʂ tc] (p. 41). Presumably /j ǰ ǰ/ are the corresponding voiced affricates [dz dʂ dz̃].
- /ɽ/ is a trill; /ɽ/ is a flap.

## VOWELS

i i:	u u:
e e:	o o:
	ə
	a a:

## TONES

ma	level
mà	falling
má	rising



<sup>1</sup>Called *Lahauli* in [JDS-Lahauli].

**LAIZO<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Osburne 1975 [AO-diss]

*From three years of work with a male informant, Mr. Sai Ling Thang, who came from the Falam area of Chin State, Burma and is now living in Virginia. The informant also spoke Burmese and English, and had some knowledge of Lushai.*

Inventory: Osburne 1975 [AO-diss] (pages 6-64)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

C(V)V(C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	tl	tr	c	k	q
ph	th	thl	thr		kh	
b	d					
f	s					h
v	z					
m	n				ng	
hm	hn				hng	
w		l	r			
		hl	hr			

- /q/ is a glottal stop. In combination with other letters <q> represents glottalization.
- /c/ is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate (p. 32).
- /tl thl/ are laterally released stops (p. 37).
- /tr thr/ are retroflex stops [ɽ ʈ] (p. 37), but they pattern with liquids /r hr/.

*Finals*

-p	-t			-k	-q
-m	-n			-ng	
-w	-l	-r	-y		
-wq	-lq	-rq	-yq		

<sup>1</sup>Called *Zahao* in [AO-diss].

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i ii

u uu

e ee

o oo

a aa

*Diphthongs*

ia ua

- Monophthongs are always long in word-final position, and short before glottalized finals (pp. 54-55).

*TONES*

mǎ low

mâ high

má rising

- The rising tone never occurs with stop finals or glottalized finals (p. 7).
- Short and long vowels in the rising tone are longer than short and long vowels in the other tones (p. 8).



**LAKHER<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: R. Lorrain 1951 [RAL-GDL]

Inventory: R. Lorrain 1951 [RAL-GDL] (pages 3-4)

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ch	k
ph	th	chh	kh
b	d		
	s		h
v	z		
m	n		ng
hm	hn		
	l	r	
	hl	hr	

- /ch chh/ represent [tʃ tʃʰ].
- /r/ is a trill; /hm hn hl hr/ represent [ṃ ṇ ḷ ṛ].
- <h> represents [h] in initial position and [-ʔ] in final position. There are no final consonants other than <-h> [-ʔ].

*VOWELS*

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i		u		
e, y	o	aw	yu	
		a ô		ao

- According to the informal, not to say, picturesque, descriptions by Lorrain, the symbols <y a aw o ô yu> seem to represent [ø a ɔ ɿ ɑ̃ øu].  
As an example, Lorrain's description of the pronunciation of <ô> is "a combination of sounds, like ar in the English word ark combined with a short aw sound concluding with a nasal half sound ng and not the full sounded ng as in English; these three sounds must be sounded in one sound with no hiatus between them" (p. 4).
- /a aw e i u/ can be long. Length is indicated by <^> over the vowel.




---

<sup>1</sup>Also called *Mara*.

**LALO**

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*Spoken in Weishan, Nanjian, Yangbi, Heqing, and Midu Counties, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dz	g	
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z	zɿ	z	ʝ	
ʔv						
m	n				ŋ	
ʔm	ʔn					
	l					
	ʔl					

- /m ʔm n ʔn/ may constitute tone-bearing syllables, in which case they are transcribed <ṁ ʔṁ ṅ ʔṅ> if unconstricted and <ṁ, ʔṁ, ṅ, ʔṅ> if constricted.

*VOWELS*

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>		
ɿ	ɿ	ɿ̥	ɿ̄	ɿ̄	ɿ̥̄
i, y		ɿ, u	ɿ̄, ȳ̄		ɿ̥̄
ɿ			ɿ̄		
e		o			
a		a			

- [ɿ ɿ̄] and [ɿ̄ ɿ̥̄] are allophones of /i ɿ̄/; they are transcribed phonetically.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>



**LALO**  
*Weishan*

Data Source: Björverud 1994 [SB-Lalo]

*Collected in Longjie Township, Weishan County, Dali Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Björverud 1994 [SB-Lalo]

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(1)        T  
            CV

(2)        T  
            N

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	tj	k	kj	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tjh	kh	kjh	
b	d	dz	dj	g		
f	s		sj	x		h
v	z		zj	ɣ		
ʔv						
m	n			ŋ		
ʔm	ʔn					
w	l		j			
	ʔl					

- There is some uncertainty as to the phonemic status of the glottal stop; tentatively it is considered the realization of a zero-initial and is not transcribed (p. 4).
- The phoneme /h/ is clearly nasalized; it can be considered the glottalized counterpart of /ŋ/ (p. 5).
- The glides [w] and [j] might be allophones of the zero-initial; for now, however, Björverud treats them as phonemes (p. 6).

## VOWELS

Ni		
i, y		u
e	ə	o
	a	
	n	

- /u/ represents a back vowel with labial co-articulation; in the clear register it is similar to [v] (p. 2).
- /e/ is [ɛ] (p. 3).
- /n/ is a syllabic nasal. Its place of articulation is determined by the following phoneme; in final position it varies freely between a dental and velar articulation (p. 3).
- <Ni> represents a nasalized high front vowel, which never occurs with an initial consonant and is distinct from /ni/. In some areas it is pronounced [ʔni] (p. 7).
- Laryngealized vowels tend to be articulated more open than their clear counterparts; /e/ does not occur in laryngealized syllables (p. 6).
- /i/ is realized as [ɿ] after alveolar affricates and fricatives (p. 8).
- Diphthongs and nasal-final syllables also occur as the result of morpheme fusion. Such syllables also display unusual tonal patterns (p. 9).

## TONES

	<i>Clear</i>	<i>Laryngealized</i>
high	má [55]	
mid	ma [33]	maq [33]
low	mà [21]	màq [22]



## LALUNG

Data Source: Balawan 1965 [MB-Lal]

*The Lalung people live in Assam and probably number about 40,000. Their biggest village is Umswai, in the West Mikir Hills, and they generally live among the other peoples of the area, the Mikirs, the Assamese, and the Khasis.*

Inventory: extracted from Balawan 1965 [MB-Lal], with additional information from Karl-Heinz Grüssner (p.c.)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple*

p	t	ch	k	
ph	th		kh	
b	d	j	g	
	s	sh		h
m	n		ng	
w	l	r		

#### *Clusters*

pl	phl	sl	kl	kh	
pr	phr	tr	thr	kr	chr

- As a final consonant <-h> represents [-ʔ]; however, glottal stops are not consistently indicated.
- <ch> represents a voiceless unaspirated affricate.
- /ng/ does not occur initially; /ch j sh/ do not occur finally.
- Geminate consonants and other clusters occur medially.

### VOWELS

i		u
e	y	o
	a	

- /y/ represents [ə].





LASHI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Lashi]

Data collected by Xu Xijian in Zhongxin Town, Zhongshan Village, Luxi County, Yunnan.

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-Lashi]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tʃ	k	kj
ph	phj	th	tsh	tʃh	kh	khj
f			s	ʃ	x	xj
v				ʒ	ʎ	
m	mj	n			ŋ	ŋj
w		l		j		

*Finals*

-m		-n		-ŋ		
-p		-t		-k		-ʔ

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs**Short, Unconstricted*

ɿ			
i, y			u
e	ə		ɔ, o
ɛ	a		

*Short, Constricted*

ɿ̥			
i̥, y̥			u̥
e̥	ə̥		ɔ̥, o̥
ɛ̥	ḁ		

*Long, Unconstricted*

i:			
i:, y:			u:
e:	ə:		ɔ:, o:
ɛ:	a:		

*Long, Constricted*

i̥:			
i̥:, y̥:			u̥:
e̥:	ə̥:		ɔ̥:, o̥:
ɛ̥:	ḁ:		

<sup>1</sup>Called *Leqi* in [DQ-Lashi].

*Diphthongs**Unconstricted*

ui

ei e:i      iə:      ɔi ɔ:i , ou

uɛ    a:i a:u ia ua

*Constricted*

ɛi ɛ:i                      ɔi ɔ:i , ou

ɑ:i ɑ:u iɑ̣ uɑ̣

- <ǎ> and <ǒ> both appear in the data, although they are not mentioned in the inventory. They may represent reduced vowels.
- All vowels and diphthongs occur in open syllables except /ɛ̣ iạ uạ uɑ̣ iə:/.
- Not every combination of vowel and final is possible.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> high level

ma<sup>53</sup> high falling

ma<sup>33</sup> mid level

ma<sup>31</sup> low falling



## LEPCHA

Data Source: Mainwaring 1898 [GBM-Lepcha]

*Manuscripts left behind by Mainwaring were edited by Grünwedel. Although there was no information about the source of the data or the method used, Grünwedel surmises that Mainwaring had collected oral and manuscript information from native speakers (p. i).*

Inventory: Mainwaring 1898 [GBM-Lepcha] (pages I-XI)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	pl	pr	t	ts	č	k	kl	kr		
p'			t'	ts'	č'	k'				
b	bl	br	d		j	g	gl	gr		
f	fl	fr	s		š			h	hl	hr
v			z			a'				
m	ml		n		ny	ñ		ñr		
w			l	r	y					

- “*a'* (initial) may be called the basis of the vowels, it may be a sort of guttural spirant often combined with *y*; it is used as a consonant. In some cases *ayă* corresponds to Tibetan *ɣya* (p. xi)”

#### *Medials*

-l-                      -r-                      -y-

#### *Initial Clusters*

pl	bl	fl	ml	kl	gl			
pr	br	fr	kr	gr	ñr			
py	p'y	by	fy	vy	my	ty	t'y	dy
ly	ry	ky	k'y	gy	hy			
ply	bly	fly	mly	kly	gly	hly		
pry	fry	bry	kry	gry	hry			

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ñ
	-l	-r

*VOWELS*

i í		u
e	ă ŭ	o ó
	a á	

- “I cannot give any additions to M[ainwaring]’s notes concerning the pronunciation of the vowels, the only source from which any comments could be drawn being rather unintelligible” (p. xi).
- The acute sign indicates “accentuated” vowels (p. xi).
- The breve sign indicates short vowels, and the sounds of /ă ŭ/ are “nearly identical with the short English a or u” (p. xi).



LI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*Spoken in Dayao, Yao'an, Chuxiong, Nanhua, and Yongren Counties, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	g
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x
v		z	ʒ	ʒ	ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
	l				

VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ			ɿ̄	
i	ɯ, u		ɿ̄	ɯ, ɯ
e	ɣ, o		e	ɣ, o
ɛ				
a			a	

TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>



<sup>1</sup>Also called *Lipho*, Li should not be confused with the Kadai language Hlai (sometimes also called Li).

LIANGMEI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the Zeliang sub-district in the extreme southwest of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Liang].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 354)

## SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ch	k
mp	nt	nch	ngk
ph	th		kh
mph	nth		ngkh
b	d	j	g
mb	nd	nj	ngg
	s	sh	h
	z		
		nʒ	
m	n		ng
mm	nn		ngng
w	l	r	y
		nr	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-h
-m	-n	-ng	
-mh	-nh	-ngh	

- Marrison indicates that <ch> corresponds to /c/; <sh> corresponds to /ʃ/.
- <-d -h> represent /-t -ʔ/ in final position.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Liangmai* in [GEM-CNL].

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

*Diphthongs*

iu	ui
ou	
ia ai ua	

- It appears that the diphthongs /ai ui iu ou/ do not occur in closed syllables.



## LIMBU

Data Source: Driem 1987 [SVD-Lim]

*From the Phedappe dialect of Limbu as spoken in Tamphula village, Tehrathum district, Kosi zone, Nepal. Data collected by the author on site in 1984 and 1985.*

Inventory: Driem 1987 [SVD-Lim] (pages 1-9)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C<sub>i</sub> (G)) V (C<sub>f</sub>)

- V = vowel or syllabic nasal.
- G = /y w l/ (with /l/ realized as its allophone [r]).

### CONSONANTS

p	t	(t̚)	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	(t̚h)	ch	kh	
b	(d)	(d̚)	(dz)	(g)	
(bh)	dh	(d̚h)	(dzh)	(gh)	
	s				h
m	n	(ŋ)		ŋ	
w	l	r	y		
	ʔl				

- Consonants in parentheses appear only in a limited set of Nepali loanwords.
- /c/ represents [t̚c].
- /h/ represents [f̥h].
- /l/ has allophones [l] and [r], but remains phonemically distinct from the phoneme /r/.
- Geminate consonants are distinctive.
- Voiceless consonants (both aspirated and unaspirated) are generally voiced when occurring after a nasal, glottal stop, or intervocalically. These allophones are transcribed as <g gh d dh b bh dz>.
- The glottalized lateral allophone [ʔl] of /t/ and the post-dental allophone [t̚ch] of /s/ are transcribed as <ʔl> and <ch> respectively.



## VOWELS

i	i·			u	u·
e·		ə		o·	
ɛ	ɛ·			ɔ	ɔ·
		a	a·		

- Vowel length (except for the three mid vowels) is distinctive in both closed and open syllables. Length is marked by <·> following the vowel.
- /ɔ/ is unrounded [ʌ] except after labials.
- Nasalization of vowels is not distinctive except in the Limbu word for ‘yes’, <ã>, and in a small number of Nepali loans.
- /e·/ is transcribed simply as <e> in certain suffixes.



## LISU

*Northern/Standard*

Data Source: Bradley 1994 [DB-Lisu]

*From the Northern dialect of Lisu as spoken in the Nujiang Autonomous Prefecture of northwestern Yunnan. This dialect is spoken in northwestern Yunnan, southern Sichuan, northern Burma and northeastern India. The data for the Chinese dictionary on which [DB-Lisu] is based was prepared between 1953 and 1966, and revised and rechecked between 1974 and 1984. Some further revisions were made by Bradley before the publication of the English version.*

Inventory: Bradley 1994 [DB-Lisu] (pages viii-xi)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database. The New Lisu Script transcription was converted into IPA based on the equivalence chart on p. viii. The transcription is primarily phonetic. For more details, see Handel 1994.

## CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tʃ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʑ	g	
f		s	ʃ	ɕ		h
v		z	ʒ		ɣ	ħ
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
w	l	r		j		

- [z] and [j] are only marginally distinct, and are both transcribed <j>.
- [x] and [h] are only marginally distinct, and are both transcribed <h>.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ], which is not transcribed.
- The palato-alveolar series [tʃ] etc. appear only before the vowels [u] and [ɿ]; their phonemic status is questionable. This series is also used to transcribe Chinese loanwords with retroflex initials.
- [ħ] is a “nasalized cavity fricative”; in the transcription the tilde is placed over the following vowel rather than over the <h>; e.g. [ħa] is transcribed <hã>.
- [ɣ w f r] occur in limited environments; their phonemic status is questionable.

VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>
ɿ			
i, y	ɯ, u		
e, ø	ɣ, ɔ		
æ	a		ja wa

- Nasalization of vowels is marked by <~> over the vowel, but is not phonemic. Vowels are nasalized after the nasalized cavity fricative [ɲ] and after the zero-initial (with the exception of [ɣ]).
- [ɲ] appears only after the palato-alveolar series; its phonemic status is questionable. It is probably realized as a syllabic fricative [z] or [ʒ].
- The contrast between [e] and [ø] is not observed by most speakers.
- Other diphthongs, not listed here, appear in Chinese loanwords.

TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>44</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>21</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>

- Final glottal stop is considered a tonal element rather than a final consonant.



LISU

*Northern/Standard*

Data Source: Anonymous 1959 [Anony1959]

*Standard Lisu as spoken on the east bank of the Nu River in Bijiang County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan in the five-district area between Shuangmeigawaji and Zileng'ada.*

Inventory: Anonymous 1959 [Anony1959] (6-13)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-TSR]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	tʃ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʃh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	g	
f		s	ʃ	x	h
		z	ʒ	ʎ	
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r			

- The palato-alveolars are pronounced as true palatals before /i/ and /y/.
- Strictly speaking, [f] is the allophone of /x/ occurring before /u/. But it also occurs before other vowels in Chinese loanwords, and has developed independent phonemic status.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
i	ɯ, u			ɯn, un
e, y	o		en	on
ɛ			ɛn	
a				an
<i>Diphthongs</i>				
	ue		(uu)	
	iɛ uɛ		io	
		ua		

- /e/ represents [ɪ]; /y/ is its rounded counterpart [ʏ].
- /i/ is realized as [ɨ] after alveolar affricates and fricatives.
- /u/ is realized as a labiodental except after alveolar affricates and before /a/.
- /ɯ/ is realized as [ɰ] after palato-alveolars.
- Nasal vowels occur only with the zero-initial. They are marked by <n> following the vowel.
- /uu/ occurs only in Chinese loanwords.

- When not preceded by a consonant, /ue/ is pronounced [vɛ]. It can follow a consonant only in Chinese loanwords.
- When not preceded by a consonant, /ue/ is pronounced [ve].

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	high level	[ <sup>55</sup> ]
ma <sup>2</sup>	mid rising	[ <sup>35</sup> ]
ma <sup>3</sup>	mid-high level (constricted)	[ <sup>44</sup> ]
ma <sup>4</sup>	mid level	[ <sup>33</sup> ]
ma <sup>5</sup>	mid falling	[ <sup>31</sup> ]
ma <sup>6</sup>	mid-high falling (constricted)	[ <sup>42</sup> ]



**LISU**

*Northern/Standard*

Data Source: Xu et al. 1986 [JZ-Lisu]  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #27

[JZ-Lisu]: *Collected on the East Bank of the Nu River, North of Suangmeijiawaji and South of Zileng’ada (including Bijiang and Fugong Counties) Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.*

[ZMYYC]: *Collected in Chaiding Village, Jiakedi Town, Fugong County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Xu et al. 1986 [JZ-Lisu] (pages 2-9)  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #27 (pages 262-264)

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	tʃ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʃh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	g	
f		s	ʃ	x	h
v		z	ʒ	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ	ŋ	
	l				

- /tʃ tʃh dʒ ʃ ʒ/ are realized as palatals before /i/ and /u/.

- /n/ and /n̥/ contrast only before /i/ and /ua/; before other vowels both are realized as [n].
- Vowels are automatically nasalized after /h/; this nasalization is not transcribed.
- <h> indicating aspiration is superscripted in our data for [JZ-Lisu] forms.

## VOWELS

### Monophthongs

<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>
l		
i	u , u	ũ , ù
e	o	ẽ
ε		ẽ
a		ã

*Diphthongs*

(ui)		(io)
iε uε		
	ua	

- Nasalized vowels only occur with the zero-initial.
- /iε/ occurs only after initials /p ph b m n/. It is written <ia> in [ZMYYC].
- /io/ occurs only after /p/, and only in Chinese loanwords; /ui/ occurs only after velars and palato-alveolars, and only in Chinese loanwords.

## TONES

mɑ<sup>55</sup> mɑ<sup>35</sup> mɑ<sup>44</sup> mɑ<sup>33</sup> mɑ<sup>42</sup> mɑ<sup>31</sup>

- In [JZ-Lisu], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Tone /<sup>42</sup>/ is transcribed <<sup>41</sup>> in [ZMYYC].
- In syllables with voiceless initials, [<sup>44</sup>] varies with [<sup>33</sup>] and [<sup>42</sup>] varies with [<sup>31</sup>].
- /<sup>44</sup>/ and /<sup>42</sup>/ are constricted tones. In the STEDT database, underlining <v̄> or a macron <v̄> has been added to vowels in constricted syllables for clarity.



## LISU

*Central*

Data Source: Bradley 1994 [DB-Lisu]

*From the central dialect of Lisu. Central variants of Northern Lisu forms are cited in square brackets after some entries in the dictionary.*

*The Central Lisu transcription is identical to the Northern Lisu transcription, except that the diphthong /jø/ also appears. Central Lisu also distinguishes [e] from [ø] and [ni] from [ɲi]; neither of these distinctions are present in Northern Lisu. See the inventory of [DB-Lisu] Lisu (Northern/Standard) above.*

Inventory: Bradley 1994 [DB-Lisu] (pages vii-xi)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database. The New Lisu Script transcription was converted into IPA based on the equivalence chart on p. viii.



## LISU

*Central*

Data Source: Fraser 1922 [JF-HLL]

*From the dialects of the Têngyüeh and Longling districts in China, and Myitkina, Bhamo and the Northern Shan States in Burma.*

Inventory: Fraser 1922 [JF-HLL] (pages 1-5)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts	ch	k	
hp	ht	hts	hch	hk	
b	d	dz	j	g	
		s	sh	hh	h
v					
m	n			ng	h'
w	l	r	y		

*Medials*

-w-

-y-

- <hh> represents [x]. Fraser calls this a “guttural h.” It only occurs before the vowel /a/, and appears to be in complementary distribution with /h/.
- <h’ > represents [h̃], a “nasal h.” It indicates nasalization of the entire syllable.
- /v/ sometimes resembles /ū/ in its pronunciation (p. 2).
- <rz> appears as an initial in Fraser’s wordlist, but not his chart of sounds. Presumably it is an r-colored voiced dental fricative. It corresponds regularly to [z] in Northern Lisu.
- Palatals /j ch hch sh/ often change to dentals [dz ts hts s] when followed by the back vowels /a o u/.
- The glides in the syllables /waw/, /wu/, and /yi/ are generally not realized as consonantal, but as lengthening of the vowel: [ɔ:] [u:] [i:]. These syllables only occur without consonant initial, with one exception: /nyi/ (‘day’, ‘two,’ etc.), which contrasts with /ni/ (‘evil spirit,’ ‘red,’ ‘few,’ etc).

### VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i , ū	ĩ	u			
ye , ē		rgh , aw		rghe	
á		a			rgha

- <ĩ> is the “plain colourless” vowel that follows the affricate consonants.
- In some dialects, /i/ after dental sibilants is realized as [ĩ], but this distinction is slight, as /i/ is not a cardinal [i]. The distinction is made by older speakers but not by younger speakers.
- /ū/ represents [y].
- /ye/ represents [e]. Fraser writes that the <y> is “somewhat suppressed” in combination with consonants.
- /ē/ represents [ø].
- In some dialects, the distinction between <ye> [e] and <ē> [ø] is lost after labials.
- /rgh/ represents [ɣ]. Fraser describes it as “a plain guttural vowel sound, difficult to describe. Approximated in involuntary retching” (p. 3).
- /aw/ represents [ɔ]. Fraser writes that “many Lisu words have a vowel sound somewhat between [ɔ] and [o],” but as they are difficult to distinguish, he does not indicate them.
- /á/ represents [æ].
- <rgha> and <rghe> probably represent [ɣa ɣe] in initial position, but [ɣa ɣe] as vowels.



- In Lisu, vowels have both oral and nasalized allophones. In combination with oral consonant initials, the vowels are oral. When there is no initial, or when the initial is nasal (including /h'/), the vowels are nasalized. The exceptions are the vowels /a/ and /rgh/, in which there is a contrast between nasal and oral vowels without initials. However, this contrast occurs very rarely, so vowel nasalization is not considered to be phonemic. Nasalization is marked by <'> following the vowel.

All cases of combination of oral initials and nasal vowels are borrowings from Chinese words ending in /n/ or /ŋ/.

- <é> is not in Fraser's chart, but it appears in a few syllables in Fraser's wordlist (e.g. <vé<sup>6</sup>> 'leech', <si<sup>3</sup>-vé<sup>3</sup>> 'flower', <vé<sup>3</sup>-ra<sup>5</sup>> 'guest'), always following the consonant /v/. This may simply be a typographical error for <vē> (cf. <(yi vē<sup>3</sup>) vē<sup>3</sup>> 'blossom') or an allophone of /ye/. It regularly corresponds to [e] in Northern Lisu.
- Fraser mentions a sound called "a slurred," but does not explain its value. He writes that it "should neither be given its full sound value nor entirely omitted." He represents it as <(a)>.

### TONES

ma <sup>1</sup>	high and even
ma <sup>2</sup>	abrupt, rising
ma <sup>3</sup>	medium, even
ma <sup>4</sup>	very slightly lower than tone / <sup>3</sup> /
ma <sup>5</sup>	low, even
ma <sup>6</sup>	low, abrupt



### LISU

#### *Central*

Data Source: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB]

*"I collected all the data myself or at least checked it personally with speakers of the various languages, largely with students at the University of Rangoon in 1959-60" (p. 4).  
"Lisu is spoken primarily in the northern Shan States" (p. 2).*

Inventory: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB] (pages 22-25, including a chart for conversion from Fraser's [JF-HLL] orthography)

*CONSONANTS*

p	py	t	ty	ts	c	k	kw		
ph	phy	th		tsh	ch	kh	khw		
b	by	d		dz	j	g	gw		
f				s	š	x		h	hy
				ř	y	ɣ			
m	my	n	ny				ŋw		
w		l	ly						

- /ř/ and /y/ are the voiced equivalents of /s/ and /š/, but they vary in realization from fricatives to continuants. When occurring as a medial, /y/ is always a continuant.
- /w/ is [w] before /o a/ and [v] before /ø, e, æ/. It is intermediate between [w] and [v] before /u/.
- /h/ is nasalized, resulting in non-distinctive nasalization of the following vowel.
- /y/ and /w/ appear as medials other than in the clusters indicated above, but this occurs primarily in Chinese loanwords.

*VOWELS*

i	ú	ə	u
e	ø	ʌ	o
æ		a	

- Nasalization of vowels is not marked, since it only occurs predictably after /m n ŋ h/.

*TONES*

má	very high
mǎ	mid, gently rising
mâ	rising-falling
mā	mid level
mà	very low
ma?	stopped

- The rising-falling tone <mâ> consists of a “[s]light rise, followed by a somewhat pronounced fall.” The vowel is slightly glottalized.



**LISU**  
*Southern*

Data Source: Hope 1972 [ERH-DSLS]

*Based on the dialect of Lisu spoken in Thailand.*

Inventory: Hope 1972 [ERH-DSLS] (vii-x)

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	kh	
b	d	dz	g	
f		s	x	h
v		z	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ	
	l			

- Labialization is indicated by <w> and palatalization by <y> following the initial consonant; these are suprasegmentals in Hope's phonological system.
- Alveolar consonants becomes alveopalatal or palatal when followed by /y/. Alveolar stops have an affricated release when followed by the combination /yɨ/ (p. viii).
- /w/ is realized as a labio-dental fricative when followed by /i/ or /u/.

*VOWELS*

i	ɨ	u
e	ə	ɔ
æ		a

- Laryngealization (considered suprasegmental by Hope) is marked by <̎> under the vowel. It is articulated as glottalization of the nuclear vowel in low-tone syllables, and as tenseness of the nuclear vowel in mid-tone syllables (p. ix).
- The high vowels /ɨ/ and /u/ are articulated with simultaneous frication when following /w/ or /y/ (p. ix).
- The vowel /e/ is articulated with rounding in labialized syllables. For example, /twe/ is realized as [tʷø] (p. ix).
- Adjacent syllabic vowels may optionally lose their syllabicity, fusing into a diphthong. Where such a syllable reduction is usual, the two vowels are joined by a hyphen <-> in the transcription.

*TONES*

má	high
mâ	high-fall
mǎ	mid-rise
ma	mid
mà	low



**LOLOPHO<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Lolopho]

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-Lolopho]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	g
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x
v		z	ʒ	ʒ	ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
	l				

*VOWELS*

*Unconstricted*

ɿ	ʏ
i	u
e	ɤ, o
ɛ	ɔ

*Constricted*

ɿ̥	ʏ̥
i̥	u̥
e̥	ɤ̥, o̥
ɛ̥	ɔ̥

- There are no examples of /ɿ̥/ or /ɔ̥/ in the data.

*TONES*

mɔ <sup>55</sup>	high level
mɔ <sup>44</sup>	mid-high level
mɔ <sup>33</sup>	mid level
mɔ <sup>31</sup>	low falling



<sup>1</sup>Called *Yi (Lolophu)* in [DQ-Lolopho].

**LOTHA<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Acharya 1975 [ACH1975]

*Spoken in the Wokha District of Nagaland.*

Inventory: Acharya 1975 [ACH1975] (phonemic charts: pages 10-11; vowel chart: page 19; consonant chart: page 27)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

**CONSONANTS***Phonetic chart*

p	pf	t	ts	c	k
ph		th	tsh	ch	kh
	pv				
	f		s	š	h
	v		z	ž	
m		n		ñ	ŋ
m <sup>h</sup>		n <sup>h</sup>		ñ <sup>h</sup>	ŋ <sup>h</sup>
		l	r		
w		l <sup>h</sup>	r <sup>h</sup>	y	

- /c ch/ are palatal affricates.
- /p k m/ are unreleased when they occur word-finally. This is represented as [p> k> m>].
- /t th n n<sup>h</sup>/ are realized as dentals [t̪ th̪ n̪ n̪<sup>h</sup>]. In addition, /t/ is realized as [d̪] when it occurs after a homorganic nasal.
- [g] is an allophone of /k/ which occurs medially before /r/, as in [t̪ɛ̃grɛ̀] ‘honey bee’. It also occurs intervocalically in only one example: [sɔ̃nrɛ̀gà] ‘rainbow’.
- /m<sup>h</sup> n<sup>h</sup> ñ<sup>h</sup> ŋ<sup>h</sup>/ are voiced aspirated nasals.
- /l<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiced aspirated alveolar lateral.
- /r/ is a voiced unaspirated alveolar trill. /r<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiced aspirated alveolar trill.

**VOWELS**

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

<sup>1</sup>Also called *Lotha Naga*.

- /i u/ are realized as [I U] when they occur in the first syllable with a falling tone. These are “lower high” vowels.

### TONES

má	rising
mā	level
mà	falling

- The author says that yet another tone (rising-falling tone) is found in a few words, which he suspects are remnant loanwords from an unidentified donor language which had more tones (p. 17).



### LOTHA

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 355)

*Spoken in the western part of the Mokokchung District of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [WIT-Lotha].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 355)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)V(C)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	pf	t	ts/ch	k
ph		th	tsh/chh	kh
	f/fh	s	sh	h
	v	z	zh	
m		n	ny	
mh		nh	nyh	ngh
w		l	r	y
		lh	rh	hy

*Initial Clusters*

py phy my mhy ly ky khy  
 thr  
 thry  
 mp mph mb mm nt nth ns nz nn  
 ndr nl nch nsh nny ngk ngkh

*Finals*

-p -t -k  
 -m -n -ng

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /ç/; <f> and <fh> correspond to /f/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <sh ny nyh> correspond to /ʃ ñ ñh/ respectively.
- Marrison does not indicate the value of <tss>.
- Marrison indicates that <zh> corresponds to /ʒ/, but does not list /ʒ/ in his phoneme chart. The omission is probably a typographical error.
- <tchh> appears in some forms in the data from this source; the value of this orthographic sequence is uncertain.

*VOWELS*

i u  
 e ü o  
 a

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.





LUQUAN<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Ma 1948 [MXL-Lolo]

Inventory: Matisoff 1979 [JAM-Quo] (page 20), normalized from [MXL-Lolo]

*The charts below have been modified to reflect the data as it appears in [JAM-TSR].*

Secondary Sources: [JAM-TSR]

CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	t̥	tɕ	tʃ	k	k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ
pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	t̥ʰ	tɕʰ	tʃʰ	kʰ	k <sup>w</sup> ʰ	ʔh
mpʰ	ntʰ	ntsʰ	nt̥ʰ	ntɕʰ	ntʃʰ	ŋkʰ	ŋk <sup>w</sup> ʰ	
b	d	dz	d̥	dʒ	dʒʰ	g	(g <sup>w</sup> )	
f		s		ɕ	ʃ	x	x <sup>w</sup>	
v		z		(ʒ)		ɣ	ɣ <sup>w</sup>	
m	n		ŋ		ɲ	ŋ	ŋ <sup>w</sup>	
	l							
	hl				y			

- There appears also to be a series of voiceless nasal initials, e.g. <ɲa 11> ‘brains’.
- The palatal series /tʃ/ etc. is written /tɕ/ etc. in [MXL-Lolo].

VOWELS

	ɹ̥	ʏ
i, y		ɯ, u
ɪ		
e	ə	ɤ
ɛ		ɔ
	a	ɶ

- /ɪ ɯ ɤ ɔ/ are not common.

<sup>1</sup>Mistranscribed *Lü-ch’üan* in [JAM-Quo], [JAM-TSR]. Referred to as “Lolomaa” in Matisoff’s notes to Benedict 1972 (e.g. note 123, p. 38).

*TONES*

ma 55	high
ma 55c	high constricted
ma 44s	high stopped
ma 33	mid
ma 22s	low stopped
ma 11	low

- In [MXL-Lolo], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-MLBM], and [JAM-TIL] tones are indicated by superscript numbers, e.g. <ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>>. In these sources constriction is indicated by an underscore below the vowel.
- In [JAM-Quo], there are only four tones indicated: <55 33 11 1°1> (the latter low stopped).



LUSHAI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Lorrain 1940 [JHL-Lu]

*Collected over forty years in the “Lushai Hills”, first at Fort Aijal in the North Lushai Hills and then at Serkawn in the South Lushai Hills.*

Inventory: Lorrain 1940 [JHL-Lu] (pages x-xi)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-Ety], [STC]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	tl	ṭ	ch	k
ph	th	thl	ṭh	chh	kh
b	d				(g)
f				s	h
v				z	
m	n				ng
hm	hn				hng
		l	r		
		hl	hr		

*Finals*

-p	-t			-k	-h
-m	-n				
	-l		-r		
	-lh		-rh		

- /ṭ ṭh/ are pronounced “with the tongue against the bars of the roof of the mouth”.
- /ch chh/ represent [tʃ tʃh]; /s/ and /z/ vary in articulation from dental to post-alveolar.
- /g/ is found only in loanwords.
- In syllable-final position, <-h> represents /-ʔ/.

<sup>1</sup>Now often called *Mizo*.

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

î	û
i	u
ê	o
e	a , âw
	â , aw

- /î û ê â/ represent the long vowels [i u e a].
- /i u e a/ represent the short vowels [ɪ ʊ ɛ ʌ].
- /aw/ is “like *o* in English words *pot, on, ox*, etc.”; thus: short [ɒ].
- /âw/ is “like *aw* in the English words *awl, bawl*, etc.”; thus: long [ɔ̃].
- /â î û/ are often written without the accent mark, as <a i u>, when at the end of a syllable.
- It appears that Lorrain is describing a six-vowel system with contrastive length which is neutralized in open syllables.
- The vowels combine to form diphthongs and triphthongs which are not described explicitly by Lorrain.

## TONES

- Lushai is a tonal language, but tones are not indicated in Lorrain’s dictionary. Lorrain was aware of tonal differences: “There are three main tones—the upward, the downward, and the level. But there are also other intermediate ones. Rather than lumber this Dictionary with diacritical marks, in an attempt to indicate these different tones, I have omitted them altogether” (p. xv).



## LÜSU

Data Source: Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL]

Collected in Kala Town, District Two, Muli County, Liangshan Prefecture, Sichuan.

Inventory: Dai et al. 1991 [DHFRL] (pages 132-152)

### INITIALS

#### Simple

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dzɿ	g	
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z	zɿ	zɿ	ɣ	fi
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
w	l			j		
	ʈ					

#### Cluster

nph nb nth nd ntsh ndz ntɕh ndzɿ ndz nkh ng  
 pz phzɿ bzɿ nbz  
 phzɿ nphzɿ nbzɿ  
 ptsh  
 sk

- Before the vowel /ɨ/, the dental stops /t th d/ etc. are pronounced with some lip trill.
- Fricatives which are the last element of a consonant cluster may be pronounced as affricates, e.g. [nphzɿu<sup>35</sup>] ~ [nphtɕu<sup>35</sup>] ‘steal’.
- There is only one example of the /sk/ cluster, [skŋ<sup>53</sup>] ‘seven’.
- There are no examples of a cluster /ntɕh/. The cluster /ptsh/ occurs only twice.
- Word-initially, the nasal component of prenasalized clusters is not always realized. Medially, it has the effect of nasalizing the preceding vowel and is not itself pronounced.
- Editor’s note: Note that only the voiceless aspirated and voiced series of obstruents may be prenasalized. This is similar to the restrictions on the occurrence of the /m-/ and /ŋ-/ prefixes of Written Tibetan.

*RHYMES*

l i, y e æ	ʈ u, u o a	ĩ (ẽ)	ũ, ỹ õ ã
(ie) iæ iẽ uæ	iu iũ uo ua (uã)	(ei) (uei) (əu)	ai (au)
æɿ	əɿ oɿ aɿ	(uŋ) (oŋ) (aŋ) (uaŋ)	

- /e/ is read fairly closed, and after palatals is pronounced [ɪ].
- /ʈ/ is labiodentalized to [ɣ] after retroflexes and velars.
- [əɿ] and [zə] are in free variation.
- [iu] appears only after the initial /l/, where it is in free variation with [i].
- Finals with velar nasal coda generally only appear in Tibetan and Chinese loanwords. The finals /ẽ ie uã əu au ei uei/ also only appear in Chinese loanwords.
- Syllabic /ŋ/ serves as a rhyme in a few words.

*TONES*

ma<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>31</sup> ma<sup>33</sup>

- The [<sup>33</sup>] tone never occurs in isolation, only in polysyllabic forms. Some of its occurrences are realizations of the /<sup>35</sup>/ and /<sup>31</sup>/ tonemes.
- The /<sup>53</sup>/ tone is sometimes realized as [<sup>55</sup>]. When followed by another /<sup>53</sup>/ tone, it is always realized as [<sup>55</sup>].



## MAGARI

*Yanchok*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Krishna Bahadur Thapa Magar, Gary Shepherd and Barbara Shepherd. The data is from Yanchok, three miles east of Bandipur in Tanahu District of Gandaki Zone. The Yanchok material was supplemented by words from Arakhala of Palpa District of Lumbini Zone, as some native Magari words were replaced by Nepali loanwords in Yanchok.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 18-19)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [GBS1971].*

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

## CONSONANTS

p	t	T	c	k
b	d	D	j	g
m	n			ng
	s			
w	l	r	y	

- /T D/ represent [t d].

## VOWELS

i ị		u ụ
e ẹ	a ạ	o ọ
	ā ạ̄	

- Nasalization is distinctive for all vowels. It is marked by <̣> under the vowel.
- The mid-central vowel /a/ is found almost exclusively in loanwords.

## NOTES

- Breathiness is a contrastive feature of Magari syllables. It is realized as a lowering of the pitch of the entire syllable, and as aspiration of voiceless initial consonants or as breathiness of voiced initial consonants.

Alternatively, what is here referred to as breathiness could be treated as a series of consonants occurring in syllable initial position /ph th Th ch kh bh dh Dh jh gh sh mh ng ngh lh rh wh yh h/. This is how they are indicated in the word list orthography. Hale favors the analysis of breathiness as a feature of syllables rather than of consonants since they can be illustrated in terms of breathiness patterns in Magari

verbs. There are four types of Magari monosyllabic verb stems: 1) clear verb stems taking clear suffixes, 2) clear verb stems taking breathy suffixes, 3) breathy verb stems taking clear suffixes, and 4) breathy verb stems taking breathy suffixes.

Thus there are two otherwise identical sets of verb suffixes in Magari: breathy and clear. The following illustration is from [AH-CSDPN] (p. 19).

	<i>Clear Stem</i>		<i>Breathy Stem</i>	
Clear Affix	pā-ke dā-ke	to learn to put away	mhat-ke bha-ke	to forget to separate
Breathy Affix	pā-khe bā-khe	to search to alight	cha-khe khyo-khe	to pierce to come out

- There is fluctuation between nasalized vowels and vowels followed by velar nasal consonants. In addition, word initial velar nasals are sometimes elided, resulting in the nasalization of a following vowel. The forms containing nasalized vowels can be considered “normal speech”, whereas the nasal consonant plus vowel or vowel plus nasal consonant sequences should be recognized as characteristic of “slow distinct speech”.





## MANANG

*Gyaru*

Data Source: Nagano 1984 [YN-Man]

*From work in Kathmandu with one male informant, aged 28, from Gyaru village of Manang district but resident mostly in Kathmandu for 14 years.*

Inventory: Nagano 1984 [YN-Man] (pages 203-205)

## SYLLABLE CANON

T  
C(G)V(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p		t	ts	tr	c	k	?
b		d	dz	dr	j	g	
			s		sy		h
m	my	n			ny	ng	
w		l		r	y		
		hl		hr			

*Medials*

-w-                      -l-                      -r-                      -y-

*Finals*

				-k	-ʔ
	-m	-n		-ng	
	-w	-l	-r	-y	

- Stops and affricates: /b d dz j g/ are phonetically voiceless unaspirated [p t ts c k]; while /pʰ tʰ tsʰ cʰ kʰ/ are phonetically aspirated [pʰ tʰ tsʰ cʰ kʰ].
- /tr/ and /dr/ are retroflex.
- /hl/ and /hr/ are voiceless liquids.

*VOWELS*

i ii	u uu
e ee	o oo
a aa	

- /u/ is realized as [u].
- The vowel [ʌ] exists, but Nagano interprets it as /wa/ pronounced in fast speech.

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	markedly high (like step-up tone)
ma <sup>2</sup>	high level [44] or high rising [45]
ma <sup>3</sup>	low level [22] or low rising [23]
ma <sup>4</sup>	remarkably low

- Tone 4 is often accompanied by breathiness of the vowel and voicing of the initial.

**MANANG***Prakaa*<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Hoshi 1984 [HM-Prak]

*From work in Kathmandu with one female informant, aged 48, from Prakaa village of Manang district but resident in Kathmandu for ten years.*

Inventory: Hoshi 1984 [HM-Prak] (pages 135-137)

Secondary Sources: [MM-Thesis]

*SYLLABLE CANON*

T  
C(C)V(V)(C)

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Praka* in [MM-Thesis].

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts	t̚	c	k	'
ph	th	tsh	ṭh	ch	kh	h
		s		sh		
m	n			ny	ng	
w	l		r	y		
	l̥		r̥			

*Initial Clusters*

pw	phw	mw	tsw	kw	khw	ngw	
pl	ml	l̥					
pl̥							
pr	mr	kr					
pr̥	kr̥						
py	phy	my	ty	thy	shy	ky	khy

*Finals*

-p						-k
-m						-ng
		-l		-r		

- /' / represents glottal stop [ʔ].
- /c ch sh ny r/ are phonetically [t̚ t̚h c ɲ ɹ] respectively.
- /ṭ ṭh/ are phonetically [t th].

*VOWELS*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>		
i ii		u uu	iN		uN
e ee	ə	o oo	eN	əN	oN
a aa				aN	

- Nasalization is marked by <N> following the vowel.
- “There still remains some ambiguity in the length of vowels” (p. 137).

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	high rising	[ <sup>45</sup> ]
ma <sup>2</sup>	high falling	[ <sup>42</sup> ]
ma <sup>3</sup>	mid level	[ <sup>33</sup> ]
ma <sup>4</sup>	low falling	[ <sup>21</sup> ]

- “The same tone patterns found on monosyllabic words are spread out on polysyllabic words” (p. 135).



**MAO**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 356-357)

*Spoken in the extreme north of Manipur. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Mao].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 356-357)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)(C)V

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	pf	pr	t	ts/ch	k	kr
ph		phr	th		kh	khr
b	bv		d	dz/j		
	f		s	sh		h
	v			zh		
m			n		ng	
					ngh	
w			l	r	y	
			rh			

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/; <j> and <dz> correspond to /j/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <sh zh> correspond to /ʃ ʒ/ respectively.
- Marrison indicates that <zh> corresponds to /ʒ/, but does not list /ʒ/ in his phoneme chart. The omission is probably a typographical error.
- The source also indicates a correspondence between <ng> and /n/ but this is likely a typographical error, and should state that <ng> corresponds to /ŋ/.
- The correspondence between <ngh> and /h/ appears to be an error for a correspondence between <ngh> and /ŋh/.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ei		oi
	ai	

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.



## MARAM

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in Manipur. Marrison takes his lexical data from [WM-Cha] .*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 357)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(V/C)

### CONSONANTS

#### Initials

p	t		ch	k
ph	th			gh
b	d			g
	s			h
m	n			ng
w	l	r	y	

#### Finals

		-t	-k
-m		-n	
		-l	

- Marrison indicates that <gh ch> correspond to /kh c/ respectively.

### VOWELS

#### Monophthongs

i	u
e	o
a	

#### Diphthongs

ei	oi
ai	au



## MARING

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the southeast of Manipur State. Marrison takes his lexical data from [LSI].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 357-358)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(V/C)

### CONSONANTS

#### Initials

p	t	ch	k
ph/f	th		kh
b	d	j	
f	s		h
m	n		ng
w	l	r	y

#### Finals

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	
	-l	-r

- Marrison indicates that <ph> and <f> correspond to /ph/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <ch> corresponds to /c/.

### VOWELS

#### Monophthongs

i	u
e	o
a	

#### Diphthongs

ei	ui
ai au	oi





MARU<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB]

*“I collected all the data myself or at least checked it personally with speakers of the various languages, largely with students at the University of Rangoon in 1959-60” (p. 4).*

Inventory: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB] (16-22)

## SYLLABLE CANON

T  
(C)(G)V(V/C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

ph	phy	th		tsh	ch	kh	khy	
p?	p?y	t?		ts?	c?	k?	k?y	
p	py	t		ts	c	k	ky	
				s	š			h
					y	ɣ		
m	my	n	ny			ŋ		
m?	m?y	n?	n?y			ŋ?		
w		l		(r)				
		l?						

*Medials*

(-w-)      -y-

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-?
-m	-n	-ŋ	

- /y/ is fricated considerably and is interpreted as the voiced counterpart of /š/ (p. 20).
- /h/ has some degree of pharyngeal constriction as well as glottal friction (p. 20).
- The question mark is used for glottal stops. /?/ after stops, nasals, and [l] imposes creaky vocalization on the following vowel, as in Zaiwa (p. 16).
- A very small number of Maru words, judged to be borrowed, have medial /-w-/.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Langsu* in [DQ-Langsu]

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i	u			
e, (ö)	o			oi
a			ai au	

- Diphthongs occur only in open syllables.
- /i u e/ generally do not occur without final consonants.
- In a few words the front mid rounded vowel [ö] occurs, sometimes with the variant [öi]. This vowel is assumed to be the result of borrowing (p. 21).
- The most common combinations of vowels and final consonants are /it in eʔ uk un um oʔ ok oŋ at ap ak am aŋ/. Some other combinations also exist, but are much rarer, and may have been introduced through borrowed words (p. 21).

## TONES

/má(N)/	high level
/mā(N)/	mid level
/mà(N)/	low falling
/mák/	high stopped
/màk/	low stopped
/mʔak/	stopped creaky
/mǎ/	‘weak’ or toneless syllables

- In open and nasal-coda syllables the low falling tone is a bit shorter than the mid level and high level tones. It differs from the mid tone more in contour and length than in pitch; the mid and high tones are “moderately long” and differ only in pitch (p. 21).
- In stopped syllables, there are low and high tones.
- Creaky stopped syllables do not bear tone; they occur with glottalized initials (p. 22).
- Unlike toneless syllables in Burmese and Zaiwa (Atsi), those in Maru occasionally alternate with syllables having full tone. The glottalized quality of vowels following glottalized stops does not occur in toneless syllables (p. 22).



## MARU

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Langsu]

*Data collected by Xu Xijian in Taishan, Luxi County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-Langsu]

CONSONANTS

Initials

p	ph	f	v	m	pj	phj	mj	t	th	n	l	ts	tsh	s	tʃ	tʃh	ʃ	ʒ	k	kh	x	ɣ	kj	khj	ŋ	ŋj	j
---	----	---	---	---	----	-----	----	---	----	---	---	----	-----	---	----	-----	---	---	---	----	---	---	----	-----	---	----	---

Finals

-p	-m	-t	-n	-r	-k	-ŋ	-ʔ
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

- /-r/ occurs only with the vowel /ə/.

VOWELS

Monophthongs

<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>		
i		u		<u>i</u>		<u>u</u>
ɛ, ø	ə	ɔ		ɛ, ø	ə	ɔ
	a				a	
ẽ		õ		ẽ		õ

Diphthongs

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
	ai	ui		<u>ui</u>
		ɔi		<u>ɔi</u>
	au			<u>au</u>
				<u>ai</u>

- The nasal vowels /ẽ ẽ õ õ/ do not occur with final consonants.

TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>31</sup>



**MEITHEI<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Abbi and Mishra 1985 [AAK-SSM]

*From “approximately forty native speakers ... living in Imphal, the capital of Manipur, India. Interviews, questionnaires, narratives, songs, and dialogues were used” (p. 81).*

Inventory: Abbi and Mishra 1985 [AAK-SSM] (pages 81-92)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)(Y)V(Y/C)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	g
(bh)	(dh)	(jh)	(gh)
	s		h
m	n		ŋ
w	l	r	y

- Voiced aspirates occur only in borrowings (p. 82).

*Initial Clusters*

dw	jw	kw	khw	sw						
pl	kl	khl	gl	sl						
br	phr	dhr	jr	cr	dr	tr	gr	kr	khr	ŋr
dhy	gy	ky	khy	ŋy	hy					

*Medial Geminates*

-pp-	-tt-	-cc-	-kk-
-mm-	-nn-		-ŋŋ-
-ww-	-ll-	-yy-	

- Geminates occur only in medial position (p. 87).

<sup>1</sup>Called *Meitei* in [AAK-SSM]; *Manipuri* in [CHE1990].

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k
-m	-n		-ŋ
-w		-y	

- Finally, [-l] can occur in place of [-n] (p. 91).

*VOWELS*

i			u
e		ə	o
		a	
❖	❖	❖	❖

**MEITHEI**

Data Source: Chelliah 1990 [CHE1990]

Inventory: Chelliah 1990 [CHE1990] (pages 28-30)

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	c	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	c <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
(b <sup>h</sup> )	(d <sup>h</sup> )	(j <sup>h</sup> )	(g <sup>h</sup> )
			h
m	n		ŋ
w	l	y	

- /b<sup>h</sup> d<sup>h</sup> j<sup>h</sup> g<sup>h</sup>/ occur only in borrowings.
- Chelliah claims (p. 28) that the voiced stops [b d j g] are not phonemes.
- /l/ is in free variation with [n] word-finally and is realized as [r] intervocalically.
- Chelliah treats phonetic [s] and [s<sup>h</sup>] as belonging to the phoneme /c<sup>h</sup>/, because [s] and [s<sup>h</sup>] trigger the same rules as “the other phonemes in the aspirated series” (p. 29).

## VOWELS

	i		u
	e	ə	o
		a	
❖	❖	❖	❖

## MEITHEI

Data Source: I. Singh 1975 [SIN1975]

Inventory: I. Singh 1975 [SIN1975] (pages 59-72)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
b	d	j	g
bh	dh	jh	gh
	s	š	h
m	n		ŋ
w	l	r	y

*Finals*

-p	-t	-c	-k
-b	-d	-j	-g
	-s		
-m	-n		-ŋ
	-l	-r	

- /c ch j jh/ are affricates.
- Word-finally, [n] and [l] are in free variation, at least in some words.

*VOWELS*

i i:

e:

u u:

o:

a a:

- Length is not distinctive for /i/ and /u/ in open syllables.

*TONES*

má rising

ma level

mà falling

- Other sources on Meithei ([AAK-SSM], [CHE1990]) do not distinguish tones.



## MELURI

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the three villages of Meluri, Lephori, and Sahunyun. Marrison takes his lexical data from [JPM-Reng].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 358-359)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V

### CONSONANTS

p	pr	t	ts/ch	k	kr	kw
ph	phr	th		kh	chr	khw
	pf	s	sh			h
	v	z				
m		n	ny	ng		
w		l	r			
wh			rh			

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <ny sh> correspond to /ñ f/ respectively.
- The source shows <khwn> in the phoneme list; apparently a space was left out between the phonemes /khw/ and /ŋ/.

### VOWELS

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.





## MIJI

Data Source: Simon 1979 [IMS-Miji]

*Spoken in the northeastern region of Kameng District, Arunachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: Simon 1979 [IMS-Miji] (pages v-vi)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

### CONSONANTS

p		t	ts	tʃ	c	k	ʔ
p <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup>			c <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
b		d	dz		ʃ	g	
f	θ	s		ʃ			h
v	ð	z		ʒ			
m		n			ɲ	ŋ	
w		l	ll	j	r		
		hl					

- /tʃ ʃ ʒ ʃ ŋ j ʔ/ are transcribed <tsh sh zh j ng y h> in [IMS-Miji].
- Aspiration is indicated by <h> in [IMS-Miji].
- Simon's chart includes a consonant <gh> in square brackets. It appears in only one word, <ghwen> "to show".
- /ll/ is [l] articulated "with the tongue rolled".
- Simon's chart includes two consonants <th dh> which he says represent [θ ð]; the former is distinguished from [t<sup>h</sup>] by being written in italics. However, italicized <th> and <dh> do not appear in the wordlist, perhaps due to typographical error. Therefore all instances of <th> have been transcribed as <t<sup>h</sup>> in the STEDT database.

### VOWELS

i	u	u
e		o
	a	

- /u/ is transcribed <í> in [IMS-Miji].
- Simon also lists a symbol <ú> in square brackets. It appears very rarely in the wordlist, and is probably an allophone of /u/.
- Simon states that vowel length is "significant" (p. vi) but does not mark it.



**MIKIR**

Data Source: Grüssner 1978 [KHG-Mikir]

Inventory: Grüssner 1978 [KHG-Mikir] (pages 9-21)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

T  
(C)(C)V(N)

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ch	k
p <sup>h</sup>	th		k <sup>h</sup>
b	d	j	
(b <sup>h</sup> )	(d <sup>h</sup> )		
	s		h
m	n		ŋ
w	l	y	
	r		

- The voiced aspirates /b<sup>h</sup> d<sup>h</sup>/ originally come from Assamese (pp. 30-31).

*VOWELS*

i		u
e		o
	a	

*TONES*

mà	Tone 1	low
má	Tone 2	high
mā	Tone 3	mid



## MILANG

Data Source: Tayeng 1976 [AT-MPB]

Inventory: Tayeng 1976 [AT-MPB] (pages 1-3)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	
b	d	ʃ	g	
	s			h
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	l	r	y	

#### *Finals*

-p	-t		-k
-m	-n		-ŋ
	-l	-r	

- There are also cluster initials of the type /Cy/.
- /c ʃ ɲ ŋ/ are transcribed <c j ny ng> in [AT-MPB].

### VOWELS

i		u
e		o
	a	

- [AT-MPB] lists two central vowels <é> and <í> but writes them as simply <e> and <i> in the wordlist; they are thus not distinguished from /e/ and /i/ in the STEDT database.



**HILL MIRI**

Data Source: Simon 1976 [IMS-HMLG]

Inventory: Simon 1976 [IMS-HMLG] (pages v-vii)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	c	k
b	d	ɟ	g
	s	ʃ	h
m	n	ɲ	ŋ
w	l	r	j

- /c ɟ ʃ ɲ j ŋ/ are transcribed <c j ʃ ñ/ny y ng> in [IMS-HMLG].
- Because of Hill Miri's tendency to apococate word-final short vowels, almost all initial consonants can also occur as final consonants.

*VOWELS*

i	ɯ, y	u
e	ɤ	o
	a	

- Central vowels /ɯ ɤ y/ are transcribed <í é ú> in [IMS-HMLG].
- Vowel length is distinctive but is not consistently marked.



MISING<sup>1</sup>*Sadiya*

Data Source: J. H. Lorrain 1907 [JHL-AM]

*Work with native speakers in Sadiya for two and a half years from 1900 to 1903.*

Inventory: J. H. Lorrain 1907 [JHL-AM] (pages 3-10)

J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST] (pages 40-41)

*Sun uses a retranscription of Lorrain's data.*

Secondary Sources: [JS-HCST], [STC]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t		k
b	d	j	g
	s	sh	
m	n	ny	ng
	l	r	y

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng
	-l	-r

- In [JS-HCST] /j sh ny y ng/ are retranscribed <ǰ s ñ j ŋ>.
- Although Lorrain makes no mention of it, <ny> appears at least in initial position and probably corresponds to [ɲ].
- The only initial clusters in Padam and Mising belong to the /Cj-/ type, the /-j-/ glide being represented as <-i-> (e.g. orthographic <piong> 'steal' is /pjoŋ/).
- In Mising, but not in Padam, there seems to be a tendency for the original palatal nasal /ɲ/ to denasalize to /j/.
- /-l/ and /-r/ have fallen together to [-r] in Mising, but remain distinct in Padam.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Miri* in [JHL-AM], [JAM-GSTC], [STC], [WSC-SH], [RJL-DPTB].

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

î	í	û
i		u
ê	e	ó
é	a	ô
	â	o

### *Diphthongs*

ui  
ai ao

- According to Lorrain’s description, the vowels have the following approximate values:

Lorrain:	î	i	e	é	í	e	a	â	û	u	ó	ô	o
IPA:	i:	ɪ	e:	ɛ	ɨ	ə	ʌ	ɑ:	u:	ʊ	o:	ɔ:	ɑ

The short vowels usually have longer allophones in open syllables.

- A survey of the dictionary shows that other diphthongs appear as well, including /éi eí oi ua/. [JS-HCST] does not list these.
- In [JS-HCST] /e é/ are retranscribed <ə e> respectively; <í ui> (which are in complementary distribution) are retranscribed as <u>; and /ao/ is retranscribed <au>. Lorrain’s circumflex <^> is treated as a length mark and is not transcribed by Sun “because this distinction does not correspond consistently with contrastive quantity in the phonetically more accurate sources” (p. 41).

## NOTES

- Padam and Mising, formerly known as Abor and Miri, two closely related varieties of Eastern Tani, are treated together in Lorrain’s dictionary. Global phonological differences between the two varieties, though not mentioned by Lorrain, most certainly exist. Separate Padam and Mising forms are provided only when Lorrain detected a linguistic (usually lexical) difference.



## MISING

Data Source: Taid 1987 [TAI1987]

Inventory: Taid 1987 [TAI1987] (page 131)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t		k
b	d		g
	s		
	z		
m	n	ny	ng
	l	r	y

#### *Finals*

-p	-t		-k
	(-s)		
-m	-n		-ng
	(-l)	-r	

- /-l/ is very infrequent.
- /-s/ occurs only in loanwords.

### VOWELS

i i:	i' i':	u u:
e e:	e' e':	o o:
	a a:	

- Vowel sequences occur, but it seems most of them are not true diphthongs.
- Vocalic length is neutralized in word-final position.



## MO-ANG

Data Source: Wu 1993 [WU1993]

*Collected in Funing County, Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Wu 1993 [WU1993] (pages 53-56)

## SYLLABLE CANON

T  
(C)(C)CV(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	tj	ts	tɕ		k	kj	q	qj	ʔ
p'	p'j	t'	t'j	ts'	tɕ'		k'	k'j	q'	q'j	
b	bj	d	dj	dz	dʒ		g		G		
mb	mbj	nd	ndj								
f				s	ɕ						h
v	vj			z	ʒ		ɣ				
ʔv		ʔl	ʔlj		ʔz						
m	mj	n	nj		ɳ		ŋ				
ʔm	ʔmj	ʔn	ʔnj		ʔɳ	ʔɳj	ʔŋ				
		l	lj								

*Finals*

	-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
	-m	-n	-ŋ	

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	ị		u	ụ, ṳ	u̥
e	ẹ		o	ọ	
ɛ					
		a	ạ		

*Diphthongs*

ui	uị
ei	ue ue
ɛi	ɛị
au	ạụ uạ ụạ uạ ụạ



*Triphthongs*uau

- The underscore indicates vowel constriction.
- /ε u uq ua uq/ do not occur in open syllables.

*TONES*ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>51</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup> ma<sup>13</sup>

## MOYON

Data Source: Kosha 1990 [DK-Moyon]

*STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Kosha 1990 [DK-Moyon]

### CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	c	k	ʔ
ph	th			kh	
b	d		j	(g)	
bh	(dh)			(gh)	
f	f̂	s	š		h
v		z			
m	n			ŋ	
w		l, r	y		

- Kosha calls /dh g gh/ “marginal phonemes,” as they occur only in borrowed words and have very low frequency.
- [f̂] is a labiodental fricative similar to [f] except that there is more tension between the teeth and the lips in articulation than for [f]. In addition, the lips protrude more in the articulation of this consonant, and the tongue is slightly retracted.
- [s] varies freely with [š], but [s] is “strongly preferred” before /ə/ and /ow/. Likewise, [r] and [l] are in free variation, but [r] is strongly preferred to [l] before these two vowels.
- /c j/ are palatal affricates.
- [j] and [y] are in free variation, as are [v] and [w].

### VOWELS

i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ə	o ow
	ʌ	
æ		a

- /a/ is transcribed <a> in [DK-Moyon].
- [ow] is a mid vowel articulated with tension and a very high degree of lip protrusion. It is transcribed <o<sup>w</sup>> in [DK-Moyon].

*TONES*

má rising  
ma mid  
mà falling



## MPI

Data Source: Srinuan 1976 [SD-MPD]

*Collected in Ban Dong Village, Suan Khuean, Mueang District, Prae Province, Thailand. The principal informant is the author, Srinuan Duanghom.*

Inventory: Srinuan 1976 [SD-MPD] (Thai: pages i-viii; English: pages ix-xvi)

Bradley 1979 [DB-PLolo] (pages 47-49)

*[DB-PLolo] is based on [SD-MPD], supplemented by Bradley's own fieldwork in Ban Dong in 1976.*

Secondary Sources: [DB-PLolo], [ILH-PL], [JAM-MLBM]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	tw	tj	tɕ	k	kw	kj	ʔ
ph	phj	th			tɕh	kh	khw	khj	
f		s							h    hj
m	mj	n		nj	ɲ	ŋ			
w		l			j				

- /f/ has an allophone [hw].
- [DB-PLolo] does not include /tj/ among the initial consonants.
- [DB-PLolo] treats /hj/ as the voiceless counterpart of /j/ rather than the palatalized counterpart of /h/.
- /m n ɲ ŋ/ can constitute tone-bearing syllables initially in polysyllabic words; they are homorganic with the initial of the following syllable.

## VOWELS

i	ɯ , u
e	ɤ , o
a	ɑ

- Diphthongs /iu ai ɤi oi/ occur mostly in loanwords.

*PHONATION*

ma	ordinary
maʔ	creaky
maŋ	nasalized
maŋʔ	creaky nasalized

- Monophthongs can occur in all four phonations.
- [a] and [aʔ] appear to be in free variation.
- /e/ is realized as [ɛ] in all phonations other than the ordinary phonation.

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	low rising	[ <sup>13</sup> ]
ma <sup>2</sup>	low falling	[ <sup>21</sup> ]
ma <sup>3</sup>	mid rising-falling	[ <sup>343</sup> ]
ma <sup>4</sup>	mid level	[ <sup>33</sup> ]
ma <sup>5</sup>	high rising-falling	[ <sup>454</sup> ]
ma <sup>6</sup>	high rising	[ <sup>45</sup> ]

- Words with Tones 1, 3, and 5 are usually “verbals,” and those with Tones 2, 4, and 6 are usually “substantives.”



## MRU

Data Source: Löffler 1966 [LL-CMST]

*Consists of a vocabulary of about 2,000 words collected during fieldwork among the Mru (living in the hill tracts of East Bengal and Arakan) as part of the German Chittagong Hills Expedition (1955-57).*

Inventory: Löffler 1966 [LL-CMST]

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	c	k	
ph	th	ch	kh	h
b	d			
m	n		ng	
w	l	r	y	

#### *Initial Clusters*

kw	sw	
pl	kl	
pr	kr	mr

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng
	-r	

- /c ch/ represent [tʃ tʃh].

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i	ü , u
e	ö , o
a	

#### *Diphthongs*

üi ui	ou
eu	öi , oi
ia	ai au
	üa ua

- /ö ü e o/ represent [ɤ u ε ɔ] respectively.



**MUYA**

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #15  
 Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-MuyaQ]

[ZMYYC]: *Collected in Liuba Town, Shade District, Kangding County, Ganzi [Garzê] Prefecture, Sichuan.*

[SHK-MuyaQ]: *STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #15 (pages 219-222)  
 Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-MuyaQ]

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	q		
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh	qh		
mph	nth	ntsh	ntʂh	ntɕh	ŋkh	ŋqh		
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʑ	g	G		
mb	nd	ndz	ndʒ	ndʑ	ŋg	ŋG		
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x	χ	h	
v		z	ʒ	ɟ	ɣ	ɣ	fi	
m	n			ŋ	ŋ			
w	l			j				

- /z/ is sometimes realized as [r]; /tʂ tʂh dz/ are sometimes realized as [tʃ tʃh dʒ].
- In [SHK-MuyaQ] <NG> is used in place of <ŋG> and the aspiration symbol <h> is raised.

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral (unconstricted)</i>			<i>Nasal or Constricted</i>		
i, y		ɯ, u		ĩ	ɯ̃, ù̃
e, ø		o		ẽ	õ
ɛ		ɔ		ẽ̃	
a	ɐ	ɑ		ã	ɛ̃

*Diphthongs*

<i>Oral (unconstricted)</i>				<i>Nasal or Constricted</i>		
yi ui		yɯ uɯ				
ie ye ue , uø				iẽ yẽ		
yɛ uɛ				u̠	y̠	y̠
ua	yɐ uɐ	yɑ uɑ				

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level

- The high level and mid level tones rarely contrast, except in reduplicated bisyllabic forms such as <ni<sup>55</sup>ni<sup>33</sup>> ‘red’.





**MZIEME**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the Zeliang sub-district of the Kohima District of Nagaland and in a few villages of northwest Manipur. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Mzieme].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 359-360)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)V(V)(C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts		k	
mp	mt	nts			ngk
b	d			g	
n'b	md			ngg	
wh		s	sh		h
					n'h
		z			
		nz			
m	n		ny	ng	
mm		n'n		n'ny	n'ng
	l	r	y		
	nl	nr			

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-h
-m	-n	-ng	

- Marrison's charts on page 359 are incomplete. Additional information was extracted from the data.
- Mzieme has a rich system of prenasalization, including a series of prenasalized nasals. The prenasalization is probably syllabic. Prenasalization is sometimes indicated by a homorganic nasal, and sometimes by <n> or by <n'>. These are probably variant transcriptions of the same sound.

- The symbols <nk n'k ngk> appear in the data, apparently interchangeably for the prenasalized voiceless velar stop.
- The symbols <n'ng ngng> appear in the data, apparently interchangeably for the prenasalized velar nasal.
- The symbols <nm mm>, <nz mz> and <nr mr> appear in the data. The distinction between prenasalized <n> and <m> probably reflects subphonemic variations in pronunciation.
- The sequences /pw tw tsw kw nkw dw gw nngw sw zw nzw mw m'mw n'ngw lw/ are found in the data. However, these are usually followed by the vowel /a/ and in a few instances by /e/. It is perhaps better to regard <wa we> as alternate transcriptions of /ua ue/, i.e. to consider the labial element to be part of the rhyme rather than the initial.
- Marrison indicates that <ts sh> correspond to /c ʃ/ respectively.
- Marrison indicates that <ng> corresponds to /ŋ/. This is probably a typographical error for <ny> corresponding to /ɲ/.
- In the word list, final <-h> occurs although /-h/ is not listed as a final. It is likely that <-h> corresponds to /-ʔ/, as this convention is used elsewhere in [GEM-CNL].

### VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>		<i>Diphthongs</i>		
i	u	ie		ui
e		ei eu		ue
	a	ia	ai au	ua

- It appears that the diphthongs /ai ei ui au eu/ occur only in open syllables.
- /ua ue/ are usually transcribed <wa we> in the data.



NAMUYI

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #19  
 Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-NamuQ]

[ZMYYC]: *Collected in Luobo Town, District Two, Muli County, Liangshan Prefecture, Sichuan.*

[SHK-MuyaQ]: *STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #19 (pages 236-239)  
 Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-NamuQ]

CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	q		
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh		
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dzɿ	g	(G)		
f		s	ɕ	(ɕ)	x	ɣ	h	
v		z	zɿ		ɣ	ɕ	fi	
m	n			ŋ	ŋ			
(w)	l			j				
	ɬ							

- /w ɕ/ occur mainly in Chinese loanwords.
- In some words [k kh g] may alternate with [q qh G]. Otherwise, [G] occurs only in clusters.

*Initial Clusters*

mph	nth	ntsh	ntɕh	ntɕh	ŋkh	ŋqh
mb	nd	ndz	ndzɿ	ndzɿ	ŋg	ŋG
phs	mphs					
bz	mbz					
phɕ	mphɕ					
bzɿ	mzɿ	mbzɿ				

## VOWELS

## Monophthongs

<i>Oral (unconstricted)</i>			<i>Nasal or Constricted</i>		
ɿ			ĩ		
i, y		u	ĩ, ỹ		ũ
e	ə ə <sup>1</sup>	o	ẽ	ẽ̃	õ
ɛ	ɛ <sup>1</sup>	ɔ	ẽ ɛ̃	ɛ̃ <sup>1</sup>	
	a			ã	

- /ɔ/ and the nasalized vowels occur mostly in Chinese loanwords.

## Diphthongs

<i>Oral (unconstricted)</i>			<i>Nasal</i>		
ui					
ie ye ue	iə uə <sup>1</sup>		ueĩ		
iɛ yɛ ue	ue <sup>1</sup>	iɔ uɔ	iẽ yẽ ueĩ		
	ua			iã uã	

- All diphthongs are “rising”, i.e. composed of a medial followed by a main vowel.

## TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level

- The high rising tone is realized as [24].
- The mid level tone has an allotone [31].



NASU

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

Spoken in Luquan, Wuding, Xundian, Lufeng, Zhaotong, and Yiliang Counties, Yunnan.

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	t̥	tɕ	tɕ	k	
pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	t̥ʰ	tɕʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ	
b	d	dz	d̥	dz̥	dz̥	g	
mbʰ	ndʰ	ndzʰ	nd̥ʰ	ndz̥ʰ	ndz̥ʰ	ŋgʰ	
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z		z̥	z̥	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ		ŋ	ŋ	
	l						
	ɬ						

VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>		
ɿ			ɿ̥		
i		ɯ, u	i̥		ɯ, u
e	er	ɤ, o	e̥	er̥	ɤ, o
		ɔ			
		ɔ̄			ɔ̄
	a			ḁ	

- /ɿ ɿ̥/ have allophones [ɿ ɿ̥] which are not indicated in the transcription.

TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>



## NASU

Data Source: Gao 1958 [GAO1958]

*Collected in 1953 in Hetaojing Village near Kunming, Yunnan Province, with informant Yang Fushun.*

Inventory: Gao 1958 [GAO1958] (pages 4-14)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-TSR]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	ʔ
p'	t'	ts'	tʂ'	tɕ'	k'	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	g	
b'	d'	dz'	dʒ'	dʒ'	g'	
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x	
v		z	ʒ	ʒ	ɣ	
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
m'	n'					
w		l		j		
		ɬ				

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>		
ɿ					ŋ
i		ɯ, u	ĩ		ũ
ə		ɤ, o		ẽ	ỹ, õ
ɛ, ø		ɔ	ẽ, ø̃		õ
a				ã	

*Diphthongs*

uo

uo

ue

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup>

ma<sup>44</sup>

ma<sup>33</sup>

ma<sup>32</sup>

ma<sup>24</sup>

ma<sup>213</sup>

ma<sup>21</sup>



NAXI<sup>1</sup>*Western/Lijiang*

Data Source: Sun et al. [ZMYYC] #28  
He and Jiang [JZ-Naxi]

[ZMYYC]: *Western Dialect. Collected in Lijiangba, Lijiang County, Yunnan.*  
[JZ-Naxi]: *Collected in Qinglong Town, Lijiangba, Lijiang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. [ZMYYC] #28 (pages 265-268)  
He and Jiang [JZ-Naxi] (pages 5-18)

## CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	dz̥	dz̥	g
mb	nd	ndz	ndz̥	ndz̥	ŋg
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x
v		z	z̥	z̥	ɣ
m	n			ŋ̥	ŋ
	l				

- /t th d n/ are realized as retroflexes [ʈ ʈh ɖ ɳ] in combination with vowels /u ʉ ə əɪ/.
- /x/ is realized as [χ] when combined with /y e a o u/.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

		v
i, y		ʉ, u
e	ə əɪ	o
a		ɑ

*Diphthongs*

ie, ye ue	iə uə	io
ia, ya ua		ia ua

- /əɪ/ is transcribed <əɪ> in [JZ-Naxi].
- The phonetic value of /a/ is [æ].
- When /v/ acts as a vowel, its phonetic value is closer to the labiodental approximant [ʋ]. When it combines with /ŋ/, the phonetic value of the syllable is [ŋʋ].
- /ʉ/ is realized as [ɿ] or [ʎ] after dental affricates and fricatives or retroflexes.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Nakhi* in [ROC1963].



- “When one of the vowels /a o a ə/ occurs without an initial consonant, if the tone is low falling there is an automatic laryngeal onset [ʔh] or [h]; in all other tones there is an automatic glottal onset [ʔ].”
- /e/ is realized as [ɛ] with bilabials or alveolar stops.
- /y/ is realized as [ø] after bilabials, alveolar stops or velars.

### TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising

- In [JZ-Naxi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.



### NAXI

#### *Lijiang*

Data Source: Rock 1963 [ROC1963]

*The data represents Naxi as spoken in the villages to the north and west of Lijiangba in the Yangtze Valley, Lijiang County, Yunnan. This dialect was chosen over that spoken in Lijiangba (the county seat) because there “the populace is unable to pronounce certain <sup>1</sup>Na-<sup>2</sup>khi sound complexes due to the fact that there is an infusion of Chinese among the inhabitants” (p. xxvii). Collected in the 1930s.*

Inventory: Rock 1963 [ROC1963] (pages xxxi-xxxii and pages xxxvi-xxxvii)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

bp	dt	ts	ch		gk	
p'	t'	ts'	ch'		k'	
		ds	dsh			
		nds	ndsh			
		ds'				
b	d	dz	dzh		g	
mb	nd	ndz	ndzh		ng	
bb	dd				gg	
mbb	ndd				ngg	
(f)		s	sh	ḵh	kh	h
ff		ss				
v		z	zh			gh
		sz				
m	n				ṅḡ	
	nn					
w	l			y		
	ll					

*Initial Clusters*

gky	gy	khy	ngy	ny
dgy	dtgy	tgky	t'kh	t'khy

*Finals*

-ng                      -gh

- Rock's consonant system is very complex and certainly not phonemic. In addition to distinguishing consonants according to whether they are voiced, voiceless, aspirated, or unaspirated, he also identifies some consonants as long, short, fortis, or lenis. In general, long initial consonants take short vowels, while short consonants take long vowels.
- /bp dt ts ch gk/ are voiceless unaspirates.
- <'> represents aspiration.

- /ds ds'/ are distinguished from /ts ts'/ by being “lenis”.
- /sz/ is distinguished from /z/ by being “fortis, long”.
- /k̥h/ is a voiceless palatal fricative.
- /gh/ is a voiced uvular (or pharyngeal) fricative.
- /ng/ represents a cluster (probably [ŋg]) while /n̄g/ is the velar nasal [ŋ].

VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

		v
i ī	ü	ǔ u
ï		
e , ö	ěr (erh)	ǒ ō
ä		aw
		ǎ a

- Rock also lists a single constricted vowel, <‘a>.

*Diphthongs*

iu	uo
oa	ou
ùa uà	üe

- Short vowels are indicated with a breve <˘>, and long vowels with a macron <ˉ>.
- <ü> ranges in value from a front rounded vowel [y] to a back unrounded vowel [u] (after velars).
- <ěr> is a retroflexed mid central vowel [ɤ̣]. This vowel is transcribed <erh> in Chinese loanwords.
- <ùa> is a diphthong with prominence on [u] and a centralized off-glide; <uà> has prominence on [a].
- <üe> probably represents [uɤ].
- Nasalization of a vowel is indicated by a following <ŋ>.
- After velar initials, diphthongs beginning with <u> are transcribed with a medial <w>, as in <gwuo>.

## TONES

<sup>1</sup> ma	low falling
<sup>2</sup> ma	mid level
<sup>3</sup> ma	high, short
<sup>4</sup> ma	rising

- The fourth tone occurs mostly in loans from Chinese and Tibetan.



## NAXI

*Eastern/Yongning*

Data Source: Sun et al. [ZMYYC] #29  
He and Jiang [JZ-Naxi]

[ZMYYC]: *Eastern Dialect. Collected in Yongningba, Ninglang County, Yunnan.*  
[JZ-Naxi]: *Collected in Yongningba, Ninglang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. [ZMYYC] #28 (pages 268-270)  
He and Jiang [JZ-Naxi] (pages 107-116)

## CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	dʂ	dʑ	g
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x
		z	ʐ	ʑ	ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
	l				
	ɭ				

- /t th d n l/ are realized as retroflexes [ʈ ʈh ɖ ɖ ɭ] in combination with vowels /i a ə əɾ ua uəɾ/ etc.
- /k kh g x/ are realized as palatals /c ch ɟ ɟ/ in combination with vowels /i e/.
- “When the velars combine with /a əɾ/, they are articulated slightly back, with a phonetic value close to uvulars [q qh].”
- “When velar /ɣ/ combines with vowels /a a o əɾ u v ua/ etc., it is realized as uvular [ɣ].”

- “When /m/ combines with the vowel /v/, the pronunciation is either [mv] or [m̃].”

VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
ɿ				
i		v		ĩ
e	ə əɿ	u, u		ẽɿ
a		o		
		ɑ		

*Diphthongs*

ua	uə	uɑ
----	----	----

- /əɿ ẽɿ/ are transcribed <ər ẽr> in [JZ-Naxi].
- The apical vowel /ɿ/ is realized as [ɿ] after retroflexes or with alveolars /t th d n l/.
- /e/ is realized as [ɛ] when combines with bilabials /p ph b/, alveolars /t th d/, or when it occurs without an initial consonant.
- /u/ and /ua/ are nasalized when they occur without an initial consonant.
- /v/ and /və/ are nasalized when they occur with initial /x/.
- /əɿ/ is realized as [uəɿ] when it combined with retroflexes /tʂ tʂh dz ʂ z/ or with velars.

TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising

- In [JZ-Naxi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Tone /<sup>31</sup>/ is described as /<sup>21</sup>/ in [JZ-Naxi].
- “The high level tone and the low rising tone are in free variation in many lexical items.”



## NEPALI

Data Source: Schmidt 1993 [RLS-PDMN]

*Research was carried out in Nepal (in affiliation with Tribhuvan University's Nepali Instruction Committee) and at the University of California, Berkeley, for nearly seven years.*

Inventory: Schmidt 1993 [RLS-PDMN] (page xxxix)

### CONSONANTS

p	t	T	c	k
ph	th	Th	ch	kh
b	d	D	j	g
bh	dh	Dh	jh	gh
	s			h
m	n			ng
w	l	r	R	y

- The authors provide a spelling transcription and a pronunciation transcription. The chart above reflects the pronunciation transcription.
- It is assumed that capital letters represent retroflex consonants. The authors make no mention of consonant values.
- [h] is also indicated using <'> in the transcription.

### VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i ii		u uu			
e	ɾ	o			
	a aa				ai au
❖	❖	❖		❖	❖

## NEPALI

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Chudamani Bandhu and Maria Hari .*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 12-13)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [BDHH1971].*

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	T	c	k
ph	th	Th	ch	kh
b	d	D	j	g
bh	dh	Dh	jh	gh
	s			h
m	n			
	l	r		

- Capital letters represent backed or retroflex consonants.

*VOWELS*

i	ᵢ		u	ᵤ
e	ᵛ	a	ᵛ	o
ā	ᵛ			

- Vowel nasalization is contrastive. However, oral-nasal pairs are only common for the low central-to-front vowel /ā/.
- Vowel length is not contrastive, but it can occur in the following cases: emphatic enunciation, elision of intervocalic /h/ in normal speech, and vowel sequences produced by affixation.
- Vowel breathiness is not contrastive but is an automatic feature of vowels which follow the breathy consonants /bh dh Dh jh gh/.



## NESU

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*Spoken in Yuxi, Huaning, Tonghai, Xinping, Yuanjiang, Shiping and Eshan Counties, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

## CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
b	d	dz	dz̥	dz̥	g
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x
v		z	z̥	z̥	ɣ
m	n			ŋ	ŋ
	l				
	ɭ				

- /ŋ/ can occur as a tone-bearing syllable, in which case it is transcribed <ŋ>.

## VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>		
ɿ	ɿ		ɿ̥	ɿ̥	
i		y, u	i̥		y̥, u̥
ɿ			ɿ̥		
e	er	o	e̥	er̥	o̥
	a			ḁ	

- [ɿ ɿ̥] are allophones of /i/, but they are transcribed phonetically.

## TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>





## NEWARI

*Dolakha*

Data Source: Genetti 1987 [CG-Dolak]

*The data is from work in Nepal (1987, 1988-89). The primary consultants were two women (Kalpana and Rama Shrestha; one more isolated from Dolakha during part of childhood). Seventeen other speakers provided data on narrative texts and conversation.*

Inventory: Genetti 1987 [CG-Diss] (pages 34-56)

*The charts below have been modified to reflect the data as it appears in [CG-Dolak].*

## SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)V(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ʈ	c	k	
ph	th	ʈh	ch	kh	
b	d	(ɖ)	j	g	
	s				h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r	y		

- <ʈ ʈh ɖ> are transcribed <T Th D> in [CG-Diss].
- The alveopalatal phonemes /c ch j/ are affricates (p. 37).
- /s/ is palatalized before /y/ (p. 36).
- The phoneme /h/ is voiced, with breathy voiced or murmured articulation (p. 38).
- [r] is in complementary distribution with [ɖ]. The latter occurs word-initially, the former medially and finally (p. 39). The choice of [r] to represent the phoneme is made ultimately on diachronic grounds. However, both <ɖ> and <r> are used in transcription (parallel to the distinction made orthographically) (p. 41).
- “Geminate consonants are found in a limited number of words” (p. 56).
- “Word-initial /y/ is optionally pronounced as [ʔ] before /e/ if it is utterance initial or follows a vowel-final word, providing /e/ is not followed by /i/” (p. 52).
- “In words with a single consonant onset, any consonant can be found .... In words with a complex onset, the second consonant must be a glide, either /y/ or /w/, although /r/ but not /y/ can occur as the second member in medial clusters. Most

consonants can appear preceding glides, the exceptions being /r/, /y/, /w/ and /h/” (p. 55).

### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-s	
	-l	-r

- “[S]yllable final /m/ and /ŋ/ are also found” (p. 49).

### *VOWELS*

i ĩ	u ũ
e ě	o õ
	a ã
	ɔ ɔ̃

- /a ã ɔ ɔ̃/ are transcribed <ā ā̃ a ã> in [CG-Diss].
- “The vowel /e/ is pronounced lax and lower than English [e] when it is followed by a consonant or /u/ in the same syllable. It is pronounced as [e] syllable-finally or when followed by /i/” (p. 45).
- /o/ has the phonetic allophones [o], [wɔ] and [wo], which never contrast (p. 46).
- The low back vowel /ɔ/ is realized as [ɑ] in most environments, but as [ə] in the final syllable of a polysyllabic word (p. 48).
- Vowel length is not contrastive in Dolakha. Orthographically, however, sequences such as <aa>, <ii> etc. appear for morphological reasons (p. 50). Diphthongs exist where the second vowel is /i/ or /u/ and differs in quality from the preceding vowel (p. 55).



## **NEWARI**

### *Kathmandu*

Data Source: Malla 1985 [MAL]

Inventory: Malla 1985 [MAL] (pages 3-18)

### *SYLLABLE CANON*

C(C)V(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

### *Initials*

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
b	d	j	g
bh	dh	jh	gh
		s	h
m	n		
mh	nh		
	l	(r)	
	lh	(rh)	

- /c ch j jh/ are [ts ts<sup>h</sup> dz dz<sup>h</sup>]
- “Breathy consonants are initially voiceless and end as voiced, though the onset of voicing may be delayed. This voice is breathy or murmur voice. It continues throughout the whole syllable” (p. 16).
- Syllable-initial /h/, like breathy initial consonants, conditions breathy vowels (p. 17).
- Stops, liquids and nasals can take on palatal or labial secondary articulation features when “word initial or [in] the initial syllable of a word compound” (p. 12). Palatalization is conditioned by /e/ or /i/ and labialization is conditioned by /u/ or /o/.
- The velar nasal <ŋ> occurs syllable initial in Bhaktapur dialect. Otherwise, it occurs only where /n/ has assimilated to a following velar stop (p. 13).
- /r/ and /rh/ are given marginal status because they have been found to fluctuate freely with /d/ and /dh/, particularly in intervocalic positions” (p. 13).

### *Medials*

-w-                      (-r-)                      -y-

- Medial consonants /y, w/ can follow any stop, affricate, fricative, liquid or nasal.
- Glides cannot be followed by other glides or liquids. In addition, /y/ cannot be followed by /i/ or /w/ by /u/.
- “Glides participate as non-contrastive assimilatory features as well as contrastive medial segments in CC-cluster[s].” However, glides that occur word-initially or syllable-initially have phonemic status and do not arise from assimilation (p. 12).
- /r/ is a voiced alveolar flap. It may follow an initial consonant in loan words.

*Finals*

-p	-t	-c	-k
-ph	-th		-kh
-b	-d	-j	-g
	-s		
-m	-n		
	-l	-r	

- Consonants do not occur word-finally.
- CCC sequences do not occur initially or finally except in loanwords.
- Breathy and aspirated consonants do not occur finally.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

<i>Short</i>			<i>Long</i>	
i ī	u ũ		i: ī:	u: ũ:
e ē	o ō		e: ē:	o: ō:
a ā			ae: āe:	a: ā:
ā ā			āe: ā̃e:	ā: ā̃:

*Diphthongs*

	(ui)
ei eu	
	ai au
	āi āu

- /a ā ae: āe:/ are realized as [ə a ε: æ:].
- “The long low front vowels, /ae:/ and /āe:/, occur only in open syllables, mainly in morpheme-final position. They resulted from the loss of the morpheme-final fricative -s and affricates -c and -j” (p. 11).
- Vowel nasalization causes the whole syllable to be nasalized (p. 17).
- Vowels following breathy consonants or initial /h/ are breathy (p. 17).
- “High vowels /i/ and /u/ preceding another different vowel trigger glide reduction, e.g. *bi-u*, give, becomes *byu*, [and] *gu-i*, (will be) torn, becomes *gwi*” (p. 17).

- “The vowel sequence /ui/ has been observed either in loan words or in nominal or verbal inflections, e.g. *būi*, in the field, *bui*, will be born” (p. 13).
- “All complex vowels can potentially occur in syllable-final or word-final positions as syllabic nuclei” (p. 13).
- “Monosyllabic vowel clusters in slow speech are realized as single vowels in normal speech. Thus /ae/ and /āe/ are monophthongized to [ɛ:] and [æ:] in normal speech” (p. 17).
- Stress is not distinctive in polysyllabic words. However, it has been suggested that Newari has a stress-timed rhythm (pp. 17-18).
- Newari clauses or sentences have two basic intonation patterns, one with a final pitch fall and one with a final pitch rise (p. 18).



**NEWARI**  
*Kathmandu*

Data Source: Genetti 1990 [CG-Diss]  
*Collected from two speakers in Oregon, 1984-1990.*

Inventory: Genetti 1990 [CG-Diss] (pages 58-68)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	c	k	
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
bh	dh	jh	gh	
	s			h
m	n			
mh	nh			
w	l	y		
(wh)	lh	(yh)		

- There are no final consonants in Kathmandu Newari.

## VOWELS

<i>Short</i>			<i>Long</i>	
i ī	u ũ		ii īī	uu ũũ
e ē	ō		ee ēē	ōō
ā ā̃	a ã		āā ā̃ā̃	aa ãã

- Kathmandu has no retroflex obstruents; “all coronal anterior obstruents are pronounced at the alveolar place of articulation” (p. 58). “The Dolokha retroflex stops regularly correspond to Kathmandu alveolar stops;” also “true for the [D], the allophone of /r/” (pp. 58-59).
- “Regular correspondences also exist between dentals in Dolakha and alveolars in Kathmandu” (p. 59).
- “The breathy voiced glides of Kathmandu Newari are extremely rare and generally left out of discussion of Kathmandu Newari phonology” (p. 69, n. 6).
- “Loss of syllable final consonants has resulted in compensatory lengthening and a consequent phonemicization of vowel length in Kathmandu .... Loss of syllable final nasal consonants resulted in both the lengthening and the nasalization of the preceding vowel” (p. 67).
- “There is some disagreement as to whether the Kathmandu dialect has a distinct phoneme /o/” (p. 70, n. 8).



## NEWARI

*Kathmandu*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale’s wordlist is from Thakurlal Manandhar, Margrit Hale and Austin Hale . The data is from Kathmandu.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 28-30)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [MAH1969] and [HS1972].*

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
b	d	j	g
bh	dh	jh	gh
	s		h
m	n		(ng)
w	l	r	y
	lh	rh	

- The velar nasal <ng> [ŋ] has doubtful status as a phoneme in the Kathmandu dialect. It occurs mainly in loan words and only in word-final position.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e		wa
ae		a
āe	ā	

*NOTES*

- <wa> is realized as [wɤ]; Hale notes that this could also be analyzed /o/.
- Length is contrastive for all vowels and is marked by <: > following the vowel. However, the two vowel sequences <ae> [ɛ:] and <āe> [æ:] (analyzed as sequences on morphological evidence) very closely approximate a phonetic simple vowel for many speakers. If these are taken as simple vowels, they then constitute long vowels for which there are no short counterparts.
- Nasalization is contrastive for all vowels and vowel sequences. It is marked by < , > under the vowel. It often has as its source a word-final nasal consonant which, in the absence of any following suffix, survives only as length and nasalization of the final vowel of the stem. This nasal may be either /m/ or /n/. In the word list the fluctuating nasal consonant is written in parentheses, e.g. lāka(m) ‘shoe’.
- The breathy consonants /bh dh jh gh mh nh lh rh/ condition breathiness in the vowels which follow them. Pitch is not lexically contrastive in Newari. Breathiness has a lowering effect upon the pitch of a syllable.



**NEWARI**  
*Kathmandu*

Data Source: Shakya and Hargreaves 1989 [SH-KNw]  
*STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Shakya and Hargreaves 1989 [SH-KNw]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	c	k	
ph	th	ch	kh	
b	d	j	g	
bh	dh	jh	gh	
	s			h
m	n		(ŋ)	
mh	nh			
w	l	(r)	y	
	lh			

- /r/ is not phonemic in native vocabulary. Its presence reflects the large number of assimilated loans from various Indo-Aryan languages.
- /c ch j jh/ are affricates.

*VOWELS*

<i>Short</i>		<i>Long</i>
i ī	u ũ	i: u:
e ě	o õ	e: o:
æ æ̃	ɔ ɔ̃	æ: ɔ:
a ã		a:





NISHI<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Chhangte 1992 [TC-list]

*The data is “pan-dialectal” since Chhangte worked with speakers from various dialect backgrounds (principally South Aya, Sagali, Lel) when she conducted her field work in Lower Subansiri District, Arunachal Pradesh, in the summer of 1989.*

Inventory: J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST] (pages 506-507)

*Sun refers to Chhangte’s data as “Nishi C”.*

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	č	k	
b	d	ǰ	g	
	s		x	h
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
	l	r	j	

*Medials*

-j-

*Finals*

-p	-t	-č		-ʔ
-b	-d	-ǰ	-g	
-m	-n			
	-l	-r		

- /č ǰ j/ are transcribed <c j y> in [TC-phon].
- /r/ is an alveolar flap.
- Final /ʔ/ is realized as [k] in some dialects.
- In Western Nishi dialects the codas /b d/ are spirantized and accompanied by breathy voice.
- The stop codas may be released.
- In addition to the finals listed above, syllables can end in a rich variety of consonant clusters including /ʔg mŋ ŋg/ etc. These clusters may be broken up by an epenthetic vowel.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Nyisu*, *Eastern Dafla* in [HAM1900]; *Dafla* in [KDG-Daf]

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i i:	ʊ ʊ:	u u:		ui	ui
e e:	ə ə:	o o:			oi
	a a:			ai	ao

- /ə ʊ/ are transcribed <ë ï> in [TC-phon]. The long vowels are transcribed as geminates (e.g. <aa>) in [TC-phon].
- The contrast between /ə/ and /ʊ/ is neutralized in unstressed syllables.
- Vowel length seems to be distinctive only in the first syllable of polysyllabic words.

## TONES

- “Chhange claims that of the Nishi dialects she heard, only the Sagali dialect seems more likely to have tones. For the other dialects (Lel and South Aya), however, there are a few suspicious pairs with apparently identical segmental elements but which speakers claim to be distinct. It is still unclear if these putative minimal pairs are real, and, if so, what phonetic distinctions (tone?) are involved.” (Sun, p. 507)



## NISHI

Data Source: Hamilton 1900 [HAM1900]

*A dialect of Lower Subansiri Nishi distributed to the north of the town of North Lakhimpur in Assam, called “Eastern Dafla” by Hamilton.*

Inventory: J. Sun 1993 [JS-HCST] (pages 509-511)

*Sun refers to Hamilton’s data as “Nyisu H”.*

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	č	k	
b	d	ǰ	g	
	s		x	h
	z			
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
	l	r	j	

*Initial Clusters*

pl      bl  
 tr      kr~xr   gr  
 kj      lj  
 mn

- /č ǰ ñ j x ŋ/ are transcribed <ch j ny y kh ng> in [HAM1990]. When appearing word-medially, /č/ is sometimes transcribed <tch>.
- The cluster [kr] seems to vary with [xr].
- In Nyisu final short vowels tend to be elided. This means practically all onset consonants can potentially occur as syllable codas. As in Nishi C (see above), there are also secondary cluster codas.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i i:      u      u u:  
 e e:      ə      o o:  
 a a:

*Diphthongs*

oi  
 ai au

- Long vowels are indicated in [HAM1990] by placing a circumflex <^> over the vowel.
- /ə u/ are transcribed <ǘ ü> in [HAM1990]. No length distinction is indicated for these two vowels.
- Both <ü> and <ui> appear in [HAM1990]. The former is “like the French ‘u’ in lune (i.e. [y])” and the latter is “fluctuating between the French ‘eu’ (i.e. [ø]) and ‘î’ (i.e. [i:])”. Sun presumes both are allophones of /u/.
- Both <â> (i.e. [ɔ]) and <o> appear in [HAM1990]. Sun presumes both are allophones of /o/.

**NISHI**

Data Source: Das Gupta 1969 [KDG-Daf]

*The speech of the Nishis of the Palin-Nyapin area.*

Inventory: J. Sun 1993a [JS-HCST] (page 508)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	č	k	
b	d	ǰ	g	
	s			h
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
	l	r	j	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

- /č ǰ ñ j ŋ/ are transcribed <c j ny y ng> in [KDG-Daf].

*VOWELS*

i	u	u
e	ə	o
	a	

- /ə u/ are transcribed <é í> in [KDG-Daf].
- Vowel length is not marked in [KDG-Daf].



## NOCTE

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the Tirap Division of N.E.F.A. near Khonsa, in Jaipur in the Lakhimpur District, and in Namsang in the Sibsagar District. Marrison takes his lexical data from [BRO1851].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 360)

Secondary Sources: [WTF-PNN]

## SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(V)C

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ch	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	
	s		h
v			
m	n	ny	ng
	l	r	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng

- Marrison indicates that <ch> corresponds to /c/.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

*Diphthongs*

ie	uo
ua	



## NOCTE

*Hawa-jap*

Data Source: Das Gupta 1971 [KDG-INL]

*Hawa-jap Dialects are spoken in Namsang, Borduria, Laptang, Kaimai, Paniduria, Notunkheti, Wathin, Khela, Khonsa, Kheti Thingsa, Dadam, Muktoa, Cinkoe, Laho, Kothin, Hongkah, Biara, Kapo, Cangnyiak (Kolagao). “The primary material ... was collected in Namsang and Borduria villages. It was subsequently checked and verified with the help of Sarvashri Wangkap, Wangpha and Thunwang” (p. iii).*

Inventory: Das Gupta 1971 [KDG-INL] (pages 1-3)

## CONSONANTS

p	t	c	k
ph	th	ch	kh
b	d	j	
	s		h
	sh		
v			
m	n	ny	ng
w	l	r	y

- /t d/ are sometimes realized as “dentaloalveolar”.
- /v/ is sometimes aspirated.
- /k/ is sometimes realized as [ŋ] when followed by a nasal consonant.

## VOWELS

i	u
e	o
a	

- “Usually o is realized as o in ‘not’ but it is close at the end of the word like o in English ‘note’” (p. 1).
- “e is sometimes centralized with the mouth shaped for the ordinary e and the tongue drawn slightly backwards” (p. 1).
- There are some instances of vowel harmony (p. 1).

*TONES*

- Although Das Gupta does not indicate tone, he writes that it is “an important feature”. He does not describe the tones, but lists minimal pairs. Tones listed include “level”, “rising”, “rise falling”, and “falling” (p. 2).



## NOESU

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*Spoken in Weining, Hezhang, Dafang, Bijie, and Qianxi Counties, Guizhou.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

## CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	t̥	tɕ	tɕ	k	
pʰ	tʰ	tʰ	t̥ʰ	tɕʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ	
b	d	dz	d̥	dz̥	dz̥	g	
mb	nd	ndz	nd̥	ndz̥	ndz̥	ŋg	
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z		z̥	z̥	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ		ŋ	ŋ	
	l						
	ɬ						

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>	
i, y		u		ie
ɪ				
e		ɤ, o		
	a			

- /i/ has allophones [ɪ ɿ] which are not transcribed.

## TONES

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup> ma<sup>13</sup>



**NOSU**

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*Spoken in Xide, Yuexi, Zhaojue, and Xichang Counties, Sichuan and in Ninglang and Huaping Counties, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dzɿ	g	
mb	nd	ndz	ndzɿ	ndzɿ	ŋg	
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z	zɿ	zɿ	ʃ	
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
ᵹ	ᵹ					
	l					
	ɭ					

- [l] can occur as a tone-bearing syllable, in which case it is transcribed <ɭ>.

*VOWELS*

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ			ɿ̥	
i	u, u			u̥
e	o			o̥
a				

- /ɿ/ has an allophone [ɿ̥] which is not transcribed.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>44</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>



## NTENYI

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in a few northern Rengma villages. Marrison takes his lexical data from [JPM-Reng].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 362-363)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(N)(C)V(N)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	pf/pv	t	ts/ch	k	kw	
mp	mt	nt	mts/mch	ngk		
ph		th		kh	khw	
mph		nth			ngkh	
b		d	j	g	gw	
	f	s	sh			h
	v	z	zh	gh		
m	mv	n	ny	ng		
w		l	y			
wh	nwh					

#### *Finals*

-n                      -ng

- Marrison indicates that <ts> and <ch> correspond to /c/; <pf> and <pv> correspond to /pf/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <gh sh zh ny> correspond to /ɣ ʃ ʒ ñ/ respectively.
- Marrison's phoneme chart lists /n/ with both the palatal and the alveolar/dental series. The instance in the palatal series is probably a typographical error for /ñ/.

*VOWELS*

i

u

e

ü

o

a

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.



NUNG<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #44

Collected in Magujia-Lianhe Town, Fugong County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #44 (pages 331-336)

## INITIALS

*Simple*

p	t	ts	t̚	tɕ	tɕ	k	ʔ
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	t̚ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
b	d	dz	d̚	dz̥	dz̥	g	
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z		z̥		ɣ	
m	n		ŋ		ŋ̥	ŋ	
m̚	n̚				ŋ̥	ŋ	
	l		ɭ	ɭ			
	ɬ						

*Cluster*

pɭ	p <sup>h</sup> ɭ	bɭ	fɭ	vɭ	mɭ	k <sup>h</sup> ɭ	gɭ	xɭ
ʔbɭ	ʔn̚	ʔŋ̥						

- /ɭ/ is a retroflex lateral.
- In some words voiced stops and affricates may alternately be voiceless.
- In connected speech the retroflexed stops and affricates may occur in free variation with corresponding dental stops and fricatives respectively.
- Nasals can form syllables by themselves. Phonetically, they are normally realized as having a preceding glottal stop, i.e. [ʔm], [ʔŋ] etc.
- /ɭ/ is an unstable sound; it may change to [z] or [z̥], and may sometimes disappear before /i/.

<sup>1</sup> Called *Nu* (*Fugong*) in [ZMYYC]; *Anong* elsewhere.

*RHYMES*

ɿ i, y e ɛ  ɑ	ʊ, u o ɔ	ui ie ye ue iɛ uɛ  ia ua	iu, iu io iɔ
uai ai au iau	ɿʔ iʔ  ɛʔ uɛʔ	ʊʔ, uʔ ioʔ oʔ ɔʔ  aʔ uaʔ	
ɿm im em ɛm  iam am uam	um, um om ɔm	ɿn in en iɛn ɛn uɛn  an	un ɔn
ɿŋ iŋ		iŋ ɛŋ ɛŋ  iaŋ aŋ uaŋ	iuŋ uŋ, iuŋ uŋ ioŋ oŋ iɔŋ ɔŋ

- /u/ after /m ɿ/ and /i/ after /ŋ/ are often elided.
- The /-ŋ/ coda seems to be secondary, deriving from weakened second syllables, from which the vowel following the /-ŋ-/ is deleted.
- /-ŋ/ can drop, causing compensatory nasalization of the preceding nuclear vowel.
- /-ʔ/ is an unstable coda, which may be realized as laryngealization of the vowel.
- In connected speech /ɿ/ may occur as an ending, but only in a few words. Sometimes it is close to a retroflex vowel but at other times it disappears.

*TONES*

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level  
 ma<sup>53</sup> high falling  
 ma<sup>31</sup> low falling  
 ma<sup>35</sup> high rising

- There is also a fifth tone whose pitch is either high level or low falling, depending on the environment.
- The high rising and high falling tones are less frequent tones lexically.



NUSU

*Bijiang/Central*

Data Source: Sun and Liu 1986 [JZ-Nusu]  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #45

*Collected in Zhizhiluo Village, Bijiang County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun and Liu 1986 [JZ-Nusu] (pages 3-16)  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #45 (pages 297-302)

INITIALS

*Simple*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tc	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tch	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	g	
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x	h
fh		sh	ʂh	ch		
v		z	ʒ	ʒ	ɣ	
m			n	ɳ	ŋ	
ᵐ			ᵑ	ᵑ	ᵑ	
		l	ɭ			
		ɬ				

- Before /w/, the aspirated stops and affricates are realized with a following velar fricative [x].
- Before the retroflexed rhymes the alveolars (except the affricates) are pronounced as corresponding retroflexed segments.
- The voiceless nasals have aspirated oral release; i.e. /ᵐ-/ > [ᵐpʰ-].
- [m] can form a syllable by itself.

*Cluster*

pɿ	phɿ	bɿ	fɿ	vɿ	mɿ	ᵐɿ	kɿ	khɿ	gɿ	xɿ
ʔm	ʔn	ʔn	ʔɳ	ʔl						

*RHYMES**On-glides*

i , y            u , u

*Main Vowels*

<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>		
ɿ						
i , y		u , u		i̥		u̥
e		o		e̥		o̥
ɛ	ə , ɵ	ɔ		ɛ̥	ə̥	ɔ̥
		ɑ				ɑ̥
<i>Nasal</i>				<i>Retroflex</i>		
ĩ						
ĩ		ũ				ũ <sup>1</sup>
ẽ		õ		ẽ <sup>1</sup>		
ẽ	ã , ǣ	õ			ə <sup>1</sup> ǣ <sup>1</sup>	ɔ <sup>1</sup>
		ã				ɑ <sup>1</sup> ã <sup>1</sup> ɑ̃ <sup>1</sup> ẽ <sup>1</sup>

- Medial glides /-i- -u-/ combine with most vowels, /-y-/ with very few, and /-u-/ only with /i/ and /e/ (mainly after labial initials).
- Medial glide /-u-/ can also occur with two vowels, /ẽ ǣ/, that do not occur alone.
- In some rhymes the /-i-/ onglide can be realized as [-ɿ-].

*TONES*mɑ<sup>53</sup>   mɑ<sup>55</sup>   mɑ<sup>35</sup>   mɑ<sup>31</sup>

- In [JZ-Nusu], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Most tense rhymes carry tone /<sup>53</sup>/, which is then realized as [<sup>54</sup>].
- /<sup>55</sup>/ is phonetically [<sup>44</sup>]; /<sup>35</sup>/ is [<sup>24</sup>].
- /<sup>31</sup>/ is realized as [<sup>21</sup>] in monosyllables, [<sup>11</sup>] in prefix syllables, and [<sup>22</sup>] medially in polysyllabic words.





**NYI<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Wu et al. 1984 [YHJC-Sani] [WAH-Sani]  
*Southeastern Yi (Sani)*.

Inventory: Wu et al. 1984 [YHJC-Sani] [WAH-Sani] (Nyi: pages 13-14; Chinese: pages 15-16)

Note: Transcription of [WAH-Sani] normalized in the STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	tʰ	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	q	
ph	th		tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh	
b	d	dl	dz	dzɕ	dzɕ	g		
f			s	ɕ	ɕ	x	ɣ	h
v			z	zɕ	zɕ	ʎ		
m	n				ŋ	ŋ		
	l							
	ɬ							

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>		
i	ĩ		ɨ		ɨ̥, ɨ̥̄
ɪ	ĩ̄		ɪ̥		
e	ẽ	ɤ, o			ɤ̥, o̥, ẽ̥
ɛ	ã	ɔ	ɛ̥	ḁ̃	ɔ̥

*Diphthongs*

<i>Unconstricted</i>		<i>Constricted</i>	
ui	uĩ		iu
ue	uẽ		iɥ
	ia	ua	uã
	i̥a	u̥a	u̥ã

<sup>1</sup>Called *Yi* in [YHJC-Sani], [WAH-Sani]; *Sani* or *Sani (Nyi)* in [JAM-Quo], [JAM-TSR], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-VSTB], [RJL-DPTB].

- /ɛ/ represents [æ]. This is transcribed phonetically in our data for [WAH-Sani], but follows copy in our data for [YHJC-Sani].
- /ɒ/ is transcribed <ɑ> in our data for [WAH-Sani].
- Syllables /mu ŋu/ (constricted or unconstricted) are realized as [m̥ ŋ]; syllables /ni li/ (constricted or unconstricted) are realized as [ŋ l̥]. These are all transcribed phonetically in the STEDT database for [WAH-Sani], but follow copy in the STEDT database for [YHJC-Sani].
- Syllables /ɬi tɬi dli/ (constricted or unconstricted) are realized as [ɬ̥ tɬ̥ dli̥]. These are all transcribed phonetically in the STEDT database for [WAH-Sani], but follow copy in the STEDT database for [YHJC-Sani].
- When /i i/ appear after /ts tsh dz s z/ they are realized as [ɿ ɿ̥]; after /tʂ tʂh dz̥ ʂ z̥/ they are realized as [ɿ̥ ɿ̥̥]. These are all transcribed phonetically in the STEDT database for [WAH-Sani], but follow copy in the STEDT database for [YHJC-Sani].
- The diphthongs and semi-nasalized vowels generally appear only in Chinese loanwords.

### TONES

mA <sup>55</sup>	high level
mA <sup>33</sup>	mid level
mA <sup>21</sup>	low falling

- When syllables with the zero-initial appear in the mid level tone, the vowel is always realized as constricted.



### NYI

Data Source: Ma 1951 [MXL-Sani]

Inventory: Matisoff 1979 [JAM-Quo] (p 20), normalized from [MXL-Sani]

*The charts below have been modified to reflect the data as it appears in [JAM-TSR].*

Secondary Sources: [JAM-TSR]

CONSONANTS

p	t	ts	tʃ	tɕ	tʂ	k	k <sup>w</sup>	q	
pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ		tɕʰ	tʂʰ	kʰ	k <sup>w</sup>	qʰ	
b	d	dz	dl	dzɿ	dʒ	g			
f	s			ɕ	ʂ	x	x <sup>w</sup>	ɣ	h
v	z			ʐ	y	ʎ			
m	n				ɲ	ŋ			
		l							
		lh							

VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ, ʐ	ɿ			ɿ	ʎ
ɪ	ɤ	u		i	u
e	ə	o			
æ	a				

Syllabic Nasals

ᵐ	ᵎ	ᵑ
---	---	---

- <ɿ> represents a high front rounded apical vowel, the rounded counterpart of <ɿ> = [ɿ].

TONES

ma 55    ma 44    ma 33    ma 11    ma 22s

- Tone /22s/ is stopped.
- In the data from [JAM-GSTC] the tones are written with superscript numbers, e.g. <ni<sup>55</sup> vi<sup>22s</sup>>.

NOTES

- There is considerable variation in the transcriptions in the STEDT database, even from the single source [JAM-TSR]. Aspiration is represented by both <ʰ> and <h>; syllabic consonants are represented by <ᶇ>, <ᶈ> and <ᶉ>; etc. The consonant symbol <c> appears occasionally to indicate vowel constriction.



## NYI

Data Source: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

*Spoken in Lunan, Yiliang, Shizong, and Luliang Counties, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Chen 1986 [CK-YiQ]

### CONSONANTS

p	t	tʰ	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	q		
pʰ	tʰ		tsʰ	tɕʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ	qʰ		
b	d	dl	dz	dzɿ	dz	g			
f			s	ɕ	ɕ	x	ɣ	h	
v			z	zɿ	z	ɣ			
m	n				ŋ	ŋ			
	l								
	ɬ								

- /m n/ can constitute tone-bearing syllables, in which case they are transcribed <ṃ ṅ>.

### VOWELS

i		ɯ , u
ɪ		
e		ɤ , o
æ	a	ɑ

- /i/ has allophones [ɪ ɿ] which are not indicated in the transcription.

### TONES

ma<sup>55</sup>   ma<sup>44</sup>   ma<sup>33</sup>   ma<sup>22</sup>   ma<sup>21</sup>



## PAANG

Data Source: Löffler 1985 [LL-PRPL]

*The Paangkhua live in the middle and northern part of the eastern side of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. The data is from two informants: “one Paangkhua who used Lorrain-Savidge’s dictionary of 1899, replacing English by Paang” (the “LP-dialect”); also “a Bawm, who used the Bawm-English dictionary (on which I have been working from time to time since 1965)” (the “BP-dialect”).*

Inventory: Löffler 1985 [LL-PRPL]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	(tl)	ts	k	(kr)
ph	th	tlh		kh	
b	d			(g)	
(f)			s		h
v			z		
m	n			ng	
	l	r			
	(hr)	(hl)			

- /tl hl hr f/ occur only in loanwords (probably from Lushai); /g kr/ occur only in loanwords from Bengali and English.

#### *Finals*

-p	-t		-k
-m	-n		-ng
	-l	-r	

- According to Löffler, “[T]he finals are the same as in Lushai, except that (apart from loan words) no glottal stop appears behind laterals and glides” (p. 280). However, there are no final glottal stops in *any* of the Paang data presented.

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

<i>Monophthongs</i>	<i>Diphthongs</i>
i ii e ee  a aa	u uu o oo  ia ua

- In addition, offglides [i u] may follow the above vowels, although “whether Paang differentiates between aai/ai, ooi/oi, uui/ui needs to be checked” (p. 280).

### TONES

má	high
mǎ	high-rising
máà	high-falling
maà	low or low-falling, long
mà	low short/breathy

- Prefixes have no tone marks.
- The high-falling tone is used in certain exclamations and terms of address only.
- “A peculiar phenomenon of Paang (otherwise well-known from African tone languages) is the appearance of a mid tone instead of the high tone in second or later position: this tendency may spread over the whole sentence leading to a repeated lowering of the pitch level” (p. 281).



**PADAM<sup>1</sup>*****Bor-Abor***

Data Source: J. H. Lorrain 1907 [JHL-AM]

*Padam and Mising, two closely related varieties of Eastern Tani, are treated together in Lorrain's dictionary. Global phonological differences between the two varieties, though not mentioned by Lorrain, most certainly exist. Separate Padam and Mising forms are provided only when Lorrain detected a linguistic (usually lexical) difference.*

Inventory: J. H. Lorrain 1907 [JHL-AM]

Secondary Sources: [JS-HCST], [JAM-Ety]

*See the inventory for Mising.*

**PADAM**

Data Source: Tayeng 1983 [AT-Padam]

*Collected in Siang District, Arunachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: Tayeng 1983 [AT-Padam] (page 1)

**CONSONANTS***Initials*

p	t			k
b	d		j	g
	s			
m	n		ny	ng
	l	r	y	

*Finals*

-p	-t			-k
-m	-n			-ng
	-l		-r	

<sup>1</sup>Called *Abor* in [JHL-AM], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-VSTB], [RJL-DPTB], [STC].

- /j/ is a voiced palatal affricate [dz], /ny/ is a palatal nasal [ɲ], /y/ is a palatal semi-vowel [j].

### VOWELS

i	í	u
e	é	o
	a	

- /e/ represents [ə]; /í/ represents [ɯ].





**PATTANI<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Sharma SR 1991b [STP-ManQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. The data is based on work with an informant, Shri Tashi Phuncock.*

Inventory: Partially extracted from Sharma SR 1991b [STP-ManQ]

**CONSONANTS***Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	T	tʂ	c	k
ph	th	tsh	Th	tʂh	ch	kh
b	d	dz	D	ɖʂ	j	g
bh	dh		Dh		jh	gh
		s		ʂ	ʃ	h
		z				
m	n		N		ɲ	ŋ
mh	nh				ɲh	
w	l	r	R		y	
wh	lh	rh			yh	

*Medials*

-w-                      -l-                      -r-

- /T Th D Dh N R ʂ tʂ tʂh ɖʂ/ are retroflex.

**VOWELS***Monophthongs*

i , i:		u , u:
e , e:	ə	o , o:
		ɑ , ɑ:

*Diphthongs*

ei		oi
	ai ua	

- Nasalized /ĩ/ occurs rarely.

<sup>1</sup>Also called *Manchad* or *Manchati*.

*TONES*

mà	high falling
ma	level
mǎ	falling rising



## PHOM

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the northwest part of the Tuensang District of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Phom].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 363)

Secondary Sources: [WTF-PNN]

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(C/V)

### CONSONANTS

#### Initials

p	t	ch	k	
ph	th		kh	
b	d	j	g	
		sh		h
v				
m	n	ny	ng	
	l	y		

#### Finals

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng

- Marrison indicates that <ch> corresponds to /c/.
- Marrison indicates that <sh> corresponds to /ʃ/ but does not list /ʃ/ in his phoneme chart. The omission is probably a typographical error.

### VOWELS

#### Monophthongs

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

#### Diphthongs

ei		ou
	ai	

- Marrison indicates that <ü> represents /ə/.



**PHUNOI<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Bradley 1979 [DB-PLolo]

*The data is based on fieldwork carried out in Laos in 1972.*

Inventory: Bradley 1979 [DB-PLolo] (pages 45-47)

**CONSONANTS***Minor Syllable Initials*

	(t)	c	k
		ch	kh
b	d	ʃ	g
f	s		
w	l	j	

*Initials*

p	pj	t	c	(kw)	k	ʔ
ph	phj	th	ch	khw	kh	
b	bj	d	ʃ		g	
(f)		s	(ʃ)		(x)	h
		sh				
m	(mj)	n	ɲ			
hm	hmj	hn	hɲ			
w		l	j			
		hl	hj			

- Minor syllables have a reduced vowel, neutralized tone, and no final consonant. They usually occur as prefixes.
- /c ch ʃ/ are palato-alveolar affricates [tʃ tʃʰ dʒ].
- /hj/ is realized as [çj].
- Items in parentheses occur only in loanwords.

*Finals*

-p	-t		(-k)
-m	-n	-ɲ	(-ŋ)

<sup>1</sup>Called *Phou Noy* in [MF-PhnQ]. Also called *Công* or *Khong* by the Vietnamese.

VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	ĩ	ɨ	ĩ	u	ũ
e	ẽ	ə	ẽ	o	õ
		a	ã		

*Diphthongs*

ai	ãi	aw	ãw
----	----	----	----

- Some of the nasalized vowels occur only in loanwords.

TONES

má	high level or falling
ma	mid level
mà	low level or falling
(mǎ)	low rising

- The low rising tone occurs only in loanwords.



PHUNOI

Data Source: Ferlus 1990 [MF-PhnQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. Data collected by Patrick Beaudouin.*

Inventory: Ferlus 1990 [MF-PhnQ]

CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	c	k	ko	?
ph	phj	th	ch	kh	kho	
b	bj	d		g		
f		s				h
m	mj	n		ɲ		
hm	hmj	hn		hɲ		
v	vj	l		y		
		hl		hy		

*Finals*

-p	-t	-ʔ
-m	-n	

- /ch/ represents [tʃ].
- /ko kho/ represent [k<sup>w</sup> kh<sup>w</sup>].
- Glottal-stop initial is sometimes realized as zero.

*VOWELS*

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>		
i ĩ	ɨ ɨ̃	u ũ			ui
e	ə	o (õ)	eo	əi	oi
	a ã			ai	ao

- The seven oral vowels combine with all five final consonants. The nasal vowels and diphthongs occur only in open syllables.
- There is also a vowel <ʔ> which represents a non-phonemic “support vowel” (“voyelle d’appui non phonémique”).

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high
ma	mid
ma <sup>31</sup>	low
ma <sup>ʔ55</sup>	mid high
ma <sup>ʔ31</sup>	low

- Checked tones occur in syllables with /-p -t -ʔ/ finals.
- Since Ferlus describes the high checked tone as “mid high”, it is probably not realized as [<sup>55</sup>].



## PUIRON

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the northern part of the Manipur State, to the east of the Rongmei area. Marrison calls Puiron a dialect of Rongmei, but treats it separately. Marrison takes his lexical data from [WM-Cha].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 364)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(C/V)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t		ch	k	
ph	th			kh	
b	d		j	g	
		s			h
m	n			ng	
w	l	r	y		

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	

- Marrison indicates that <ch> represents unaspirated /c/.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

#### *Diphthongs*

ei	oi
ai au	



**PUMI**  
*Jinghua*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #11  
Lu 1983 [JZ-Pumi]

*Southern Dialect. Collected in Jinghua Town, Hexi District, Lanping County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #11 (pages 192-196)  
Lu 1983 [JZ-Pumi] (pages 3-20)

*INITIALS*

*Simple*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tʃ	tɕ	k	q
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	qh
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	g	G
(f)		s	ɕ	ʃ	ɕ	x	
(v)		z	ʒ	ʒ		ɣ	
m	n				ŋ	ŋ	
ᵐ	ᵎ						
	l						
	ɭ						

*Cluster*

sp	st	stʃ	sk	sq
sph	sth	stʃh	skh	sqh
sb	sd	sdʒ	sg	sG
pʒ	phʒ	bʒ	mʒ	
pʒ	phʒ	bʒ		

- /f/ and /v/ are mainly found in Chinese loans.
- /l/ is realized as laminal [l̥] before /ɛ/ and /y/, as retroflexed [ɭ] before /ə/ and /o/.
- /x/ is realized as [x] before high vowels and as [χ] before low vowels; /ɣ/ is realized as [ɣ] before front vowels and as [ɣ̠] before low vowels.
- /z/ and /ʒ/ when preceded by voiceless initials are realized as [s̚] and [ʃ̚] respectively.



- /s/ in clusters is actually realized as follows:
 

[f] before /p ph/	[v] before /b/
[s] before /t th k kh/	[z] before /d g/
[ʃ] before /tʃ tʃh/	[ʒ] before /dʒ/
[χ] before /q qh/	[ʁ] before /G/

*RHYMES*

*On-glides*

i- , y-                      u-

*Main Vowels*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>	
i , y		ɯ , u		ĩ	
e , ø	ə	ɣ , o		ẽ	õ
ε	ɐ			ẽ	
	a	ɑ		ã	ã

*Off-glides*

-i                              -u

- The on-glides /u- y-/ occur only with unrounded vowels.
- The off-glides occur only in the following combinations with main vowels: /ei ai ɯu əu au ɔ̃u/.
- Four triphthongs occur: /iɯu iəu iau iãu/.
- /i/ is realized as [ɯ] after palatal affricates or before /ɯu/.
- /õ/ can be pronounced in free variation as [õ] or [ũ]; /iẽ iẽ/ as [iẽ iẽ] or [ia iã].
- /-ɯ-/ in /ɯu/ is realized as [ɣ].
- /ei/, /ou/, and /iəu/ are mainly found in Chinese loans.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup>    high level

ma<sup>13</sup>    low rising

- In [JZ-Pumi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.



**PUMI***Taoba*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #10  
Lu 1983 [JZ-Pumi]

*Northern Dialect. Collected in Taoba Town, Muli County, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #10 (pages 196-200)  
Lu 1983 [JZ-Pumi] (pages 90-95)

*INITIALS**Simple*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʑ	g
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x
		z	ʒ	ʑ	ɣ
m	n			ɲ	ŋ
ᵐ	ᵑ			ɲ	ŋ
	l		r		
	ɬ				

*Cluster*

pʒ    phʒ    bʒ

- Alveolar stops /t th d/ are close to the corresponding retroflexes [tʂ thʂ dʒ] before /i/; close to the corresponding dentals [t̪ th̪ d̪] before /u/.
- Palatal initials usually articulate further front before /ɨ ʉ/; velars articulate further back, close to uvulars, before /a/.
- /ɲ ɳ/ are mainly found in Tibetan loans; /f/ is mainly found in Chinese loans.
- /ʒ/ when preceded by voiceless initials is realized as [ʂ].

*RHYMES**On-glides*

i- , y-                      u-

*Main Vowels*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>		
i, y	i, ɨ	ɯ, u		ĩ, ÿ		ũ
e, ø	ə	o		ẽ, ø̃	ẽ̃	õ
ɛ	ɐ			ẽ̃	ẽ̃	
	a				ã	

*Off-glides*

-u

- The on-glides /u- y-/ occur only with unrounded vowels.
- The off-glide /-u/ occurs only in the following combinations: /əu au iau/.
- /a/ is actually [ʌ].
- Nasalized vowels are relatively lower than their oral counterparts.
- /i/ and /ɨ/ in a few words may become constricted.

*TONES*

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level
- ma<sup>53</sup> high falling
- ma<sup>35</sup> high rising

- In [JZ-Pumi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.



## QIANG (NORTHERN)

### *Mawo*

Data Source: Sun Hongkai 1981 [JZ-Qiang]

Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #8

*Northern Dialect. Collected in Mawo, Heishui County, Sichuan*

Inventory: Sun Hongkai 1981 [JZ-Qiang] (pages 22-56)

Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #8 (pages 182-191)

Secondary Sources: [JS-Mawo] (from [JZ-Qiang])

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tʃ	tɕ	k	q		
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	qh		
b	d	dz	dz̥	dʒ	dʒ̥	g			
(ɸ)		s	ɕ		ɕ̥	x	χ	h	
β		z	z̥		z̥	ɣ	ɣ̥		
m	n				ŋ̥	ŋ			
w	l	r	ɹ		j				
	ɬ	ɮ							

- /ɸ/ is found mainly in Chinese loans.
- /β/ and /ɣ̥/ are found mainly in the second syllable of compounds and in consonant clusters.
- /ŋ/ is labialized in native vocabulary.
- The retroflex affricates are very lightly fricated, and are closer to stops than affricates.
- /ɹ/ is trilled as an initial, but flapped in clusters; it corresponds to Taoping /dz̥/ or /l/.
- Dental stops are affricated before central vowels /ə ɤ/.
- Older speakers differentiate another series of palatals.
- /m n l/ are velarized before /ɤ/.
- Voiceless stop codas are released, often with slight aspiration.

*Initial Clusters*

mdz

sp	st	sk	sq	stɕ	sm	sn	sŋ	sl	
zb	zd	zg							
rp	rb	rd	rk	rg	rts	rdz	rtʃh	rdʒ	rdz
rm	rŋ	rl	rw						
r̥p	r̥t	r̥k	r̥ts						
ʂp	ʂk	ʂq	ʂtɕ						
khs	khʂ	khɕ							
gz	gʒ	gʐ							
xp	xts	xtʂ	xtʃ	xtɕ	xl				
ɣb	ɣdʒ	ɣdʒ	ɣdz	ɣl	ɣn				
qhs	qhʂ								
χt	χts	χtʂ	χtʃ	χtɕ	χl				
ɸd	ɸdz	ɸdʒ	ɸdʒ	ɸdz	ɸŋ	ɸz	ɸl	ɸz	

*Simple Finals*

-p	-t	-ts	-tʂ	-tʃ	-k	-q
-b	-d			-dʒ		
-ɸ		-s	-ʂ			-χ
		-z	-ʒ			
-m	-n				-ŋ	
	-l	-r				
		-r̥				

*Final Clusters*

-st    -zd  
 -rb    -rg  
 -ʂp   -ʂk  
 -xs    -xts   -xtʂ   -xtʃ  
 -ɣz    -ɣl    -ɣdz   -ɣz̥  
 -χp    -χs    -χl    -χʂ  
 -ɸdz   -ɸz    -ɸl    -ɸdz̥

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

<i>Plain</i>				<i>Retroflex</i>		
i iː, y		u uː		iˠ, yˠ		uˠ uˠː
e	ə	ɤ ɤː		eˠ	əˠ əˠː	ɤˠ
a aː		ɑ ɑː		aˠ aˠː		ɑˠ ɑˠː

*Diphthongs*

<i>Plain</i>				<i>Retroflex</i>		
ie ue	uə	uɤ		ueˠ	uəˠ uəˠː	
ia ya ua	iaː yaː uaː	ia̯ ua̯ uaː		uaˠ iaˠː yaˠː uaˠː		iaˠː uaˠː uaˠː

- There are also vowels with offglides /ai au əu iu uai iau/ which are mainly found in Chinese loans.
- /iaː iaˠː yaː yaˠː/ appear only in inflected words.

*STRESS*

- There are no phonemic tones in Mawo, but there is contrastive stress in some words. Stress is not marked in the data.



## QIANG (NORTHERN)

*Yadu*

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-QiangN]

*Data collected by Huang Chenglong in Moyu Village, Yadu Town, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-QiangN]

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	q	
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dz	g		
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	ɕ	h
v		z	zɿ		ɣ	ɕ	fi
m	n			ŋ	ŋ		
	l			j			
	ɬ						

- /f/ is sometimes realized as [ɸ], and /v/ as [w].
- /d/ is not listed in the inventory, but does occur initially, e.g. <dukmi> ‘ghost.’
- /ɣ/ is not listed in the consonant inventory, but occurs in consonant clusters.

*Initial Clusters*

st	sts	sɕ		
zd				
ʂp	ʂk	ʂq		
ʐb	ʐm	ʐq		
ɕp	ɕtɕ			
zdʒ				
xs	xl	xʂ	xtʂ	
ɣz	ɣl	ɣdz	ɣʐ	
χs	χl	χtʂ	χʂ	χq
ɕd	ɕz	ɕl	ɕdz	

*Simple Finals*

-p	-t	-ts	-tʂ	-tɕ	-k	-q
	-d			-dz	-g	
-ɸ		-s	-ʂ	-ɕ	-x	-χ
		-z	-ʐ			
-m	-n			-ŋ	-ŋ	
	-l					

*Final Clusters*

-ɕtɕ  
 -xtʂ  
 -ɣz -ɣʐ  
 -χs -χʂ  
 -ɕl



VOWELS

Monophthongs

<i>Short</i>					<i>Long</i>		
i, y		u			i:, y:		u:
e e¹	ə ə¹	o			e:	ə: ə¹:	o:
æ	a				æ:		a:

Diphthongs

<i>On-glides</i>					<i>Off-glides</i>		
ie ye ue	uə uə¹	io			ei		oi
iæ uæ	ua					ai au	
iæ: uæ:	ua:						
❖		❖		❖			❖

QIANG (SOUTHERN)

Taoping

Data Source: Sun Hongkai 1981 [JZ-Qiang]  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #9

*Southern Dialect. Collected in Taoping, Tonghua District, Li County, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun Hongkai 1981 [JZ-Qiang] (pages 4-22)  
 Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #9 (pages 178-182)

INITIALS

Simple

p	t	ts	tɕ	tʃ	tɕ	k	q
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	qh
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	g	(G)
(ɸ)	(f)	s	ɕ	ʃ	ɕ		ɕ
		z	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ		ʒ
m	n				ŋ	ŋ	
	l						

*Cluster*

χp	χt	χtɕ	χtʃ	χtɕ	χk	χq
χb	χd	χdz	χdʒ	χdz	χg	χG
χm	χn	χŋ	χŋ			
pz	phz	bz				
pɿ	phɿ	bɿ				

- /f φ/ mainly occur in Chinese loans.
- Dentals become significantly labialized before /u/ and /uə/.
- Dental stops /t th d/ become affricated before /ə/; e.g. <də> ‘beans’ is pronounced [dðə].
- /d/ is often pronounced as [l] before /i/;
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- /G/ is rare, and is found only in consonant clusters. Only two words occur with /G/ in the corpus.
- The uvular fricatives /χ/ and /ʁ/ are realized as velars before front vowels; before other vowels and in clusters their values approximate glottal fricatives.
- From a comparison of the speech of old and young people, it seems some /tsh dz tɕh dz tɕh dz/ initials developed out of /khs qhs gz khɕ qhɕ qz khɕ gz/ clusters, which are still so pronounced by older people.
- [m] and [ŋ] can form syllables by themselves. Syllabic /ŋ/ is labialized.
- Clusters are being simplified in the speech of young people.
- /ʁ z zɿ/ in clusters become [χ s ɕ] respectively depending on the voicing of the initial consonant.
- Nasals with the /χ-/ prefix are often pronounced as voiceless nasals.

*RHYMES*

ɿ					
i, y		u			
e	ə əʰ	o	ie ye		io
a		ɑ	ia ya		ia ya
ue	uə		yi		
ua		ua	ei	əu	
			ai		au

			(in) (yn)		(un)
	iəu			(əŋ)	
uai		iau	an		
iŋ		uŋ	(ian)	(uan)	(yan)
	(əŋ)				
		aŋ	(iaŋ)	(uaŋ)	uəŋ

- [-in -əŋ] alternate freely with [-iŋ əŋ] respectively in the speech of some people.
- Nasal finals are mostly found in Chinese loans, but /an iŋ aŋ uŋ uəŋ/ do occur in a few native words.
- Triphthongs occur mainly in Chinese loanwords and in inflected words (e.g. when the third person future tense suffix <-u> is added to verbs ending in diphthongs).

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>51</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>31</sup> ma<sup>241</sup> ma<sup>13</sup>

- In [JZ-Qiang], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- /<sup>51</sup>/ and /<sup>13</sup>/ are mostly found in Chinese loans.
- Tone sandhi rules are complex. Where possible, citation tones are transcribed, but for some forms where the individual morphemes are unanalyzable, the tones are given as pronounced.



**RENGMA**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Rengma is mainly spoken to the north of the Kohima District. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Reng].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 365)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)(C)V(n)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	pf/pv	t		ts/ch	k	kv
ph		th			kh	
mp	mpf	nt		nych	ngk	
mph		nth			ngkh	
b		d		j	g	gw
mb		nd	ndr	nyj		nggw
	f		s	sh		h
	v		z	zh		
			ns	nsh		
	mv					
m		n		ny	ng	
mh		nh				
mm		nn		nyny		
w		l	r	y		
wh			rh	yh		

*Clusters*

sw shw jw

nm nr nrh

*Finals*

-n

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/; <pf> and <pv> correspond to /pf/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <kv> corresponds to /kw/.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.



**RONGMEI<sup>1</sup>***Songbu*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in northwest Manipur and in adjacent parts of the Cachar District. There are two main dialects: Songbu, which is spoken in Temenglong and the main Nruanghmei area, and Puiron, which Marrison treats separately. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Nruan].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 362)

**CONSONANTS***Initials*

p	t	c	k	
mp	nt	ñc	ŋk	
mph	nth		ŋkh	
ph	th		kh	
b	d	j	g	
mb	nd	ñj	ŋg	
s				h
ns				
m	n		ŋ	
mm	nn		ŋŋ	
	l	r		
	nl	nr		

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	
-mʔ	-nʔ	-ŋʔ	

<sup>1</sup>Called *Nruanghmei* in [GEM-CNL]; *Kabui* in [SIN1986]

VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>		
i		u		ai	ei	ui
e	ə			au	ao	ou
a					ua	
❖		❖	❖	❖		❖

RONGMEI

Data Source: Singh and Singh 1986 [SIN1986]

Inventory: Singh and Singh 1986 [SIN1986]

CONSONANTS

p	t	č	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	
b	d	ǰ	g	
	s			h
m	n		ŋ	
w	l	y		
	r			

VOWELS

i		u
e	a	o

- /a/ is [ə].



**SAK<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: L. Bernot 1967 [LB-LC]

*The data was obtained through a Marma interpreter.*

Inventory: L. Bernot 1967 [LB-LC] (pages 228-229)

**CONSONANTS***Initials*

p	θ	t	č	c	k	ʔ
ph		th				
b		d	ǰ	j	g	
f		s				h
v						
m		n	ñ		ɳ	
w		l	r			

*Finals*

-f	-ɳ	-ʔ	-h
----	----	----	----

- /θ/ is a dental stop.
- /č ǰ/ are pre-palatal affricates.
- /c j/ are retroflex affricates.
- /-h/ and /-f/ very rarely appear in final position. Each is only known to occur in one word.

**VOWELS**

i		ɯ, u
ɪ		
e	ə	o
		ɑ

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Çak* in [LB-LC].



*TONES*

ma mid-low  
`ma mid-high  
ma´ low

- Syllables in the mid-low tone are characterized by long vowels and even stress.
- Syllables in the mid-high tone are stressed.
- Syllables in the low tone have short vowels, are stressed, and terminate with a slight glottal constriction.
- Only two tones are possible on syllables ending with /-ʔ -ŋ -h/: mid-low and mid-high.



## SANGKONG

Data Source: Li Yongsui 1991 [LYS-Sangkon]

Inventory: Matisoff 1993 [JAM-SK] (pages 123-126)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tɕ	k	q	ʔ
ph	phj	th	tsh	tɕh	kh	qh	
			s	ɕ	x		h
mb	mbj	nd				ŋg	
m	mj	n		ɲ		ŋ	
w		l		ʐ			

- The four finals /-p -m -n -ŋ/ appear in the data discussed by Matisoff. In addition, there is one form from [LYS-Sangkon] with a final /-t/. Due to the small amount of data at our disposal, we cannot state categorically that these are the only five final consonants of Sangkong.

## VOWELS

ī		
i i		ɯ , u ɯ
e e , ø ø		o ɔ
	a a	

## TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling
[ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising (sandhi tone)]



## SANGTAM

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in Lophomi and Thukumi, both located in Tuensang District, and Pochuri in the south of the Kohima District of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Sang].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (pages 365-366)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)V(C)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts/ch	k	
ph	th	ths	kh	
b	d	j	g	
	s	sh		h
	z		gh	
m	n	ny	ng	
	l	r	y	

#### *Initial Clusters*

tp	tph	tr	thr
ky	khy		

- Marrison indicates that <ts> and <ch> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <ths gh ny sh> correspond to /ch ɣ ñ f/ respectively.

#### *Finals*

-p		-'
-m	-ng	

- <-' > corresponds to /-ʔ/.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.



## SEMA

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Sema is mainly spoken in the southeastern part of the Mokokchung District in the center of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [BOR-Sema].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 367)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)V(V)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	pf/pv	t	ts/ch	k
ph		th		
b		d		g
	f	s		kh h
	v	z		
m		n	ny	
mh		nh	nyh	
w		l	y	
		lh		

#### *Clusters*

mp	mt	ml
kw	khw	gw
ky	khy	

- Marrison indicates that <ch> and <ts> correspond to /c/; <pf> and <pv> correspond to /pf/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- Marrison indicates that <ny nyh> correspond to /n nh/ respectively. This is certainly a typographical error for /ñ ñh/, which appear in his phoneme chart.
- <kh> corresponds to /x/.

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>		
i		u				iu
e		o		ei eu	oe	ou
	a			ae	au	
❖		❖	❖			❖

## SEMA

Data Source: Sreedhar 1976 [SRE1976]

*Collected in Zunheboto District, Nagaland.*

Inventory: Sreedhar 1976 [SRE1976] (consonant chart: page 78; vowel chart: page 60; phonemic charts: page 26)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

## SYLLABLE CANON

CV(G)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials**Phonetic chart*

p	t̪	c	t	č	k	k>	q
p <sup>h</sup>	t̪ <sup>h</sup>	c <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	č <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> >	q <sup>h</sup>
b	d̪		d	j/ǰ	g	g>	
f		s		š	x		h
v		z		ž	ɣ		
m	ɳ			ɳ̃	ɳ̃̂		
(m <sup>h</sup> )	(ɳ̃ <sup>h</sup> )			(ɳ̃̃ <sup>h</sup> )			
w			l	y			
			l <sup>h</sup>				

*Phonemic chart*

p	t	c	k	q
b	d		g	
f		s	x	h
v		z	ɣ	
m	n		ɳ	
w	l	y		

- [t̪ tʰ d̪] are dental stops. /t tʰ d/ are realized as [t tʰ d] before front vowels and as [t̪ tʰ d̪] elsewhere.
- [c cʰ] are dental affricates.
- /c s z/ are realized as [c s z] before central vowels and [č š ž] elsewhere. /z/ is also realized as a voiced affricate before [i]; it is written as either <j> or <ǰ>.
- [k> kʰ> g>] are slightly backed variants of velar stops which occur before back vowels.
- [q qʰ] are post-velar stops.
- /n/ is realized as a palatal [ɲ] before front vowels and as a dental [ɳ] elsewhere.
- [ɳ] is a velar nasal.
- Sreedhar treats aspiration as a sequence of the unaspirated phoneme followed by /h/.
- Aspirated nasals occur in very few words.
- [w] occurs only before back vowels; [y] occurs only before front and central vowels.

*VOWELS**Phonetic chart*

i	i̯	i̥	u	, u	u̯
e		ə	o		
E			o̯		
			ʌ		
		a	â>		

*Phonemic chart*

i	i̥	u
e		o
	a	

- [i̯] occurs only in the first syllable of words, or in the second syllable when preceded by a vowel-initial syllable; elsewhere /i/ is realized as [u].
- [E ɔ] are “mid-way between half-close and half-open”. [E] is an allophone of /e/ which occurs before [i̯]; [ɔ] is an allophone of /o/ which occurs after fricatives and before [i̯].
- The phoneme /a/ has the following conditioned variants: [ə] occurs before [i̯]; [â] (“slightly closer and retracted form of [a]”) occurs before velar nasal /ŋ/; [ʌ] occurs in word-initial position but not before [u]; and [a] occurs elsewhere.
- [i̯ u̯] are “non-syllabic vowels” which occur with other vowels to form diphthongs. [i̯] occurs after [E ə ɔ]; [u̯] occurs only after /a/.

### TONES

ma	level
má	high
mà	low

- When a word begins with a vowel, the initial vowel carries a level tone (p. 76).





**SHIXING**

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #20  
 Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-ShixQ]

[ZMYYC]: *Collected in Shuiluo River and environs, District One, Muli County, Liangshan Prefecture, Sichuan.*

[SHK-ShixQ]: *STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #20 (page 240-244)  
 Sun Hongkai 1991 [SHK-ShixQ]

*INITIALS*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tʃ	tɕ	k	q		
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tʃh	tɕh	kh	qh		
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	g			
nb	nd		ndʒ		ndʒ	ng	nG		
ɸ		s	ʂ	ʃ	ɕ	x	χ	h	
β		z	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʎ	ɣ	fi	
m	n				ŋ	ŋ			
ᵹ	ᵹ								
w	l	r			j				
	ɬ								

- /ŋ χ ʃ/ are found in very few words.
- Prenasalized <n-> represents a homorganic nasal.

*RHYMES*

ɿ					
i, y	u	u	ĩ, ỹ	ũ	ũ
e	ɐ	o	ẽ	əɪ	õ
ɛ	ɑ	ɔ	ẽ	ã	õ
yi	iu	iu			
ie, ye		io			
iɛ, yɛ	ia	io	iẽ, yẽ	iã	
ui	uu			uũ	
ue	uɐ				
uɛ	ua		uẽ	uã	uõ

ei εi	uɿ  uɿi
----------	---------------

- There is a velar nasal coda [-ŋ], which occurs mainly after back vowels. It may often be pronounced as nasalization of vowels, and thus is not set apart as a separate phoneme here.
- Some words, mostly with high level or high falling tones, have short vowel duration followed by a glottal stop. In a few other words, vowels are constricted as in some Yi languages. These features are not included in the inventories above because of the rare occurrence and/or the lack of contrastive pairs.
- /ũ/ and /õ/ may interchange in many cases. Since this is not true of all words containing them, however, they are considered separate phonemes.
- /uɿ/ is actually lower, close to [ɤ] or [ə].
- /y/ after bilabials is realized as [ɸ].

### TONES

mɑ<sup>55</sup> high level  
 mɑ<sup>33</sup> mid level  
 mɑ<sup>35</sup> high rising  
 mɑ<sup>53</sup> high falling

- In syllables with voiced obstruent initials, the contour tones are relatively lower: high falling /<sup>53</sup>/ becomes [<sup>341</sup>] and high rising /<sup>35</sup>/ becomes [<sup>14</sup>].
- The mid level tone occurs more frequently in polysyllabic words.



SULONG<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #52

Sun Hongkai 1993 [SHK-Sulung]

[ZMYYC]: Collected in Lagong District, Longzi [Lhiinzê] County, Tibet.

[SHK-Sulung]: STEDT Questionnaire.

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #52 (pages 356-361)

Sun Hongkai 1993 [SHK-Sulung]

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p		t	ts	tɕ	c	k	
					ch		
b		d	dz	dʒ	ʃ	g	
f	θ		s	ɕ	ç		h
v			z	ʒ		ɣ	fi
m		n			ŋ	ŋ	
w		l	r	ɹ	j		

*Initial Clusters*

pɹ bɹ fɹ gɹ hɹ

- [ç] and [c] are sometimes interchangeable.
- /r/ is realized as a flap [ɹ].
- /g/ is pronounced with considerable prevoicing, approximating [əg].

## RHYMES

i, y		ɯ, u			
e		o		e <sup>1</sup>	o <sup>1</sup>
ɛ	ə	ɔ		ɛ <sup>1</sup>	ə <sup>1</sup> ɔ <sup>1</sup>
æ	a			æ <sup>1</sup>	a <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Called *Luoba* (*Sulong*) in [ZMYYC]; *Sulung* in [SHK-Sulung].

ei e'i ɔi ɔ'i ui oi	ie iɛ iə ia iu io
ue , ue uɛ ua	ye yɛ yo
in ien en e'n ɛn ɛn ɔ'n an	it iet et ɛt ɔt ɔ't at a't uat
in̩ , yn̩ en̩ ɛn̩ un̩	it̩ , yt̩ ɛt̩ ɔt̩ at̩
in̩ ɛ'n̩ ɔn̩ ɔ'n̩ an̩	ik iek ɔk ɔ'k wək iak ak uak uk , uk ok ɔk
ion̩ uon̩ iəŋ , yəŋ wəŋ iaŋ uaŋ	ih eh ɔr ar uh oh

- /-m/ and /-p/ occur as final consonants in some Bengni loanwords.
- Final /-r/ is realized as [ɹ].
- Final /-h/ is in the process of disappearing. It is often difficult to detect, and in connected speech disappears completely.
- <v̤> represents a retroflexed vowel; the tongue is curled but stationary during articulation. The original notation in [ZMYYC] is <v<sup>l</sup>>; it has been modified in the STEDT database.

*TONES*

ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level [high level]	[ <sup>33</sup> ~ <sup>55</sup> ]
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling [mid falling]	[ <sup>53</sup> ~ <sup>42</sup> ]
ma <sup>11</sup>	low level	[ <sup>11</sup> ]

- Since the mid level and high level tones do not contrast, they can be considered a single toneme, which is always transcribed <<sup>33</sup>>. Similarly, since the high falling and mid falling tones do not contrast, they can be considered a single toneme, which is always transcribed <<sup>53</sup>>.
- Syllables in the high falling tone, and syllables with diphthong rhymes in the low falling tone, end in a glottal stop [ʔ]. All syllables ending in /h/ are in the low falling tone.
- Prefixed syllables are pronounced with a reduced tone, but are here transcribed in the mid level tone.



SUNWARI<sup>1</sup>*Sabra*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Gyen Singh Sunwar, Dora Bieri, Marlene Schulze . The data is from Sabra in the Ramechhap District.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 26-27)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [BS1971b], [BS1971c].*

## CONSONANTS

p	t	T	c	k	(ʔ)
ph	th	Th		kh	
b	d	D	j	g	
	s		sy		h
m	n			ng	
w	l	r	y		

- /ʔ/ is not shown in Hale's phonemic inventory; however, he notes that words beginning with vowels are considered to begin with phonemic glottal stop.

## VOWELS

i i: i̇:	u u: u̇:
e e: ė:	o o: ȯ:
ā ā: ā̇:	

- Length is contrastive for all Sunwari vowels.
- Nasalization occurs only on long vowels in Sunwari. Nasalization has been interpreted as a variant of syllable-final /-n/, an interpretation which is supported by the pitch contour system of Sunwari. /-n/ is also manifested as nasalization on central or back vowels followed by /-y/.
- Laryngealization occurs only on long vowels in Sunwari. It is stronger in words with low tone than in words with high tone, and it has been interpreted as a variant of syllable-final /-k/. The Sunwari analysis of laryngealization is supported by data from a related dialect—Surel of Suri—and by pitch contour, as laryngealized vowels in Sunwari have a falling pitch contour.
- Hale notes that in Sunwari word-final vowels devoice in rapid speech.

<sup>1</sup>Called *Sunwar* in [AH-CSDPN].

*PITCH*

- Sunwari words are characterized by pitch, where high pitch contrasts with low pitch. The stem determines pitch, and affixes are neutral for pitch. Open syllables are characterized by level pitch while closed syllables have a falling one. On the other hand, pitch contour is not contrastive.



TAGIN<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Das Gupta 1983 [KDG-Tag]

*Collected in Taliha in the Sippy Valley, Arunachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: Das Gupta 1983 [KDG-Tag]

Note: Transcription normalized in the STEDT database.

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	c	k	
b	d	ʃ	g	
	s			h
m	n	ny	ŋ	
	l	r	y	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

- /ʃ ŋ/ are transcribed <j ng> in [KDG-Tag].

## VOWELS

i	u	u
e	ɣ	o
	a	

- /ɣ u/ are transcribed <é î> in [KDG-Tag].
- Vowel length is apparently significant, but is not marked.

## TONES

- Tagin seems to be a tone language ([KDG-Tag] lists minimal pairs), but tone is not marked.



<sup>1</sup>*Tagin* must not be confused with *Nishi*, which is unfortunately also known as *Tagin* or *Tagen*. To quote Jackson Sun p. 485, “this tribal group [Tagin] must be carefully distinguished from the ‘Tagen’ Daflas of Bor 1938, who are none other than Nishis of Subansiri”.



## TAMANG

*Risiangku*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]

Collected by the author.

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (pages 5-10 of Volume 2)

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	t̥	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	t̥ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
	s			h
m	n			ŋ
w	l	r	j	

*Initial Clusters*

tsw	t <sup>h</sup> w	sw	t̥w	t̥ <sup>h</sup> w	kw	k <sup>h</sup> w	(hw)	(hrw)
pl	p <sup>h</sup> l	ml	kl	k <sup>h</sup> l	hl			
pr	p <sup>h</sup> r	mr	kr	k <sup>h</sup> r	hr			
pj	p <sup>h</sup> j	mj	tsj	t <sup>h</sup> sj	sj	kj	k <sup>h</sup> j	ŋj

- The consonants /h hr/ were each found to occur once before /-w-/ in native words.

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	(-s)	
	-l	-r
	-i	-u

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

*Diphthongs*

<i>On-glides</i>		<i>Off-glides</i>
iu ju:		ui
io jo:		oi
ia ja: ua wa: iua:		ai au

*Triphthongs*

iui  
ioi  
iai iau uai

- Length and nasalization are contrastive for all vowels. Nasalization is marked by <~> over the vowel.
- The on-glide /i-/ may be transcribed <j> if interpreted as part of an initial cluster; similarly, on-glide /u-/ may be transcribed <w>, and /oi/ may be transcribed <we>.
- /iua:/ is realized as [ɥa:]; /iui/ is realized as [ɥi]. It is not clear why Mazaudon considers the first to be a diphthong and the second a triphthong.

*TONES*

<sup>1</sup>ma   <sup>2</sup>ma   <sup>3</sup>ma   <sup>4</sup>ma

- There are four tones, two high and two low. The low tones (3 and 4) are characterized by increased breathiness and the high tones (1 and 2) by decreased breathiness.

❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖

**TAMANG***Sahugaon*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]

*Collected by the author in the village of Sahu.*

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (pages 11-12 of Volume 2)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts	t̚	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	t̚ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
		s		
m	n			ŋ
w	l	r	j	
w <sup>h</sup>		r <sup>h</sup>		

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	(-s)	

- /n ŋ/ are neutralized before /i/.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

*Diphthongs*

(ea)	ui
	oi
ai ua	

- Vowel length is contrastive for all vowels. It is marked by <: > following the vowel.
- Nasalization, marked by <~ > over the vowel, is distinctive only for /e/ and /a/. However, /ẽ ã/ are both quite rare.

*TONES*

<sup>1</sup>ma   <sup>2</sup>ma   <sup>3</sup>ma   <sup>4</sup>ma

- There are four tones, two high (1 and 2) and two low (3 and 4). As with the Risiaingku dialect, the low tones of Sahugaon are characterized by “redundant voicing” in the form of breathiness.

- The contrast in aspiration is neutralized in the low tones.



**TAMANG**  
*Sahugaon*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Karna Bahadur Tamang, Doreen Taylor, and Fay Everitt . The data is from Sahugaon, approximately five miles north-northwest of Trisuli Bazar in Nuwakot District.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 15-16)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [TAY1969], [HAR1970c], [HTP1970],*

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	T	c	k
ph	th	Th	ch	k
m	n			ng
	s			
w	l	r	y	
wh		rh		

- Capital letters represent backed or retroflexed consonants.
- In word-initial position, stops show a phonetic distinction between voiced and voiceless, and the voicing of a word-initial consonant is predictable depending on the tone of the word. If a word is tense, initial stops are voiceless. A lax word will begin with a voiced stop. In other positions there is considerable fluctuation. In addition, there is a short list of loan words for which the general rule does not hold.

*VOWELS*

i	u
e	o
ā	

- Vowel nasalization is contrastive for the vowels /e/ and /ā/ only, and even then only in a handful of words. It is marked by <\_> under the vowel.
- Vowel length is contrastive for all Tamang vowels. It is marked by <: > following the vowel.

*TONES*

'mā	tense, “relatively high,” falling contour
mā	tense, “relatively high,” level contour
'māh	lax, “relatively low,” falling contour
māh	lax, “relatively low,” level contour

- Tenseness and laxness are contrastive for the morpheme. However, there are very few breathy suffixes. Laxness is represented by an <-h> following the vowel, and aspirated stops can occur only in morpheme-initial position. Lax vowels do not occur after aspirated stops or the following voiceless segments: /rh wh h/. The tense-lax vowel contrast is manifested only after unaspirated stops, after /s/, after voiced consonants, and in syllable-initial position.
- Pitch contour is also contrastive for the morpheme, which may either be falling or level. A few affixes have their own contour, but for the most part, most affixes are neutral. A falling contour is marked by a single quote at the beginning of the morpheme (e.g. <'e:>), whereas a level contour is left unmarked. The author notes that the Tamang tone system may be viewed as the result of the combination of breathiness and pitch contours, and that subsequently four tones may be distinguished on this basis.

**TAMANG***Taglung*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]

*Collected by the author in the village of Tamang, which is located on the northern edge of the Kathmandu Valley.*

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (pages 13-15 of Volume 2)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	t̚	ts	k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	t̚ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
	s			h
m	n			ŋ
w	l	r	j	
hw				

*Initial Clusters*

(tʷ) hw  
 pl (pʰl) ml kl kʰl hl  
 pr pʰr mr hr  
 pj pʰj mj tsj tʰsj sj kj kʰj ŋj hj

- There is only one example of a <tʷ> cluster in the word for ‘pig’. /pʰl/ is also rare.

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

*Diphthongs*

ju ui
jo oi
ja ai (wa)

*Triphthongs*

wai	joi
-----	-----

- Vowel length is contrastive for all vowels. It is marked by <: > following the vowel.

*TONES*

- Taglung has three high tones and one low tone, which is murmured.



TANGKHUL<sup>1</sup>*Ukhrul*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in northwest Manipur. Marrison takes his lexical data from [WP-TNgd].*

Inventory: Pettigrew 1918 [WP-TNgd] (pages 1-4)

Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 368)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	z	ch	k	
ph	th			kh	
b	d		j	g	
f	s		sh		h
v					
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r			

- /z ch j/ represent [tʃ ts dʒ].
- [l] and [r] are often interchanged. Pettigrew remarks that the /r/ often assimilates to an /l/ when both appear in the same word.

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	
	-r	

- This chart is from [GEM-CNL].

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Tankhur* in [Bhat-TNV].

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

ī		ū
i		u
ē	ǣ	ō
e		a, o
(à)		ā

- According to Pettigrew's description, the vowels have the following approximate values:

Pettigrew:	ī	i	ē	e	à	ǣ	ū	u	ō	o	a	ā
IPA:	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	æ	ə	u	ʊ	o	ɔ	ʌ	ɑ

- Marrison only lists the monophthongs /i a ǣ o u/.

*Diphthongs*

		ui
ei	eo	oe
	ai	ao

- Marrison only lists the diphthongs /ei ai ao ui/.

## TONES

- “[T]here are two noticeable changes in intonation in Tangkhul Naga, a high and low tone to a great number of words ....” (p. 4). Tones are left unmarked in Pettigrew's text, “as these differences can only be properly learned by ear” (p. 4).



## TANGKHUL

*Ukhrul*

Data Source: Arokianathan 1980 [ARO1980]

*From the Ukhrul village in Manipur, India. This dialect is the most widely used variety and is considered the most prestigious.*

Inventory: Arokianathan 1980 [ARO1980] (phonemic charts: pages 1-2; tones: pages 21-23; vowel chart: page 24; consonant chart: page 34)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*



## CONSONANTS

### *Phonetic chart*

p	t		c	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	
b	d		j	g	
m	n			ŋ	
f	s		š	x	h
v	z		ž		
w	l	r	y		
		ɾ			

### *Phonemic chart*

p	t		c	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	
m	n			ŋ	
f	s		š		h
	z				
w	l	r	y		

- /p t c k š/ have allophones [b d j g ž] which occur in medial position before a vowel and after a vowel, semivowel or nasal.
- /h/ is realized as [x] when followed by a vowel and preceded by a semi-vowel or nasal; it is realized as [h] elsewhere.
- /w/ is realized as [v] initially and after consonants, and as [w] after vowels.
- /r/ is realized as an alveolar flap [ɾ] in word final syllables before [u], and as an alveolar trill [r] elsewhere.
- /y/ is realized as [y] initially and when the second consonant of a cluster, and as [i] after vowels.

## VOWELS

### *Phonetic chart*

i		ɨ		ɯ, u
I				U
e				o
E		ə		
		ʌ		ɔ
		a		

*Phonemic chart*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

- [I U] are lower high vowels. They are shorter in duration than [i u].
- /i/ is realized as [I] in syllables with level tone and as [i] in syllables with high and low tones.
- /u/ is realized as [ɨ] after nasals; as [ɯ] in word final position when preceded by non-nasal consonants; as [U] initially or after non-nasal consonants in closed syllables with level tone; as [u] after non-nasal consonants in closed syllables with rising and falling tones; and before /y/ regardless of whether the preceding segment is nasal or not.
- [E] is a mean mid vowel. Its duration is shorter than the higher mid vowel [e].
- /e/ is realized as [E] in syllables with level tone (unless followed by /y/) and as [e] in syllables with high or low tones and before /y/.
- /o/ is realized as [ɔ] in syllables with level tone (unless followed by /y/) and as [o] in syllables with high or low tones and before /y/.
- /a/ is realized as [ʌ] in syllables with level tone when in initial position or when followed by consonants other than nasals or /y/; and as [a] in syllables with high or low tones, or in syllables with level tone when it is the word final syllable or followed by a nasal or by /y/.

*TONES*

ma	level (mid)
má	rising (high)
mà	falling (low)



## TANGSA

### *Moshang*

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the central part of the Tirap Division of N.E.F.A. There are also some Tangsa speakers on the Burmese side of the Indian-Burmese border. Marrison takes his lexical data from [WAL1948].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 370)

*This transcription also applies to Marrison's data on the Yogli dialect of Tangsa.*

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(V/C)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	ch	k	
ph	th		kh	
b	d	j	g	
		s	sh	h
m	n	ny	ng	
v	l	r	y	

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-l	-r

- Marrison indicates that <ch sh ny> correspond to /c ʃ ñ/ respectively.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

	oi
ai	au

- Marrison indicates that <ü> corresponds to /ə/.



## THADO<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Thirumalai 1972 [THI1972]

*Spoken in the Manipur Hills.*

Inventory: Thirumalai 1972 [THI1972] (phonetic and orthographic charts: pages 7-8;  
phonemic charts: pages 72-76)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th			
b	d	j	g	
	s		x	h
v	z			
m	n		ŋ	
	l	y		
	lh			

#### *Finals*

-p	-t		-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	
	-l		

- The consonant charts above are *phonetic*, not phonemic.
- [c j] are palatal stops.
- [lh] is a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative.
- [k ʔ] are both allophones of /k/. [ʔ] occurs syllable finally and [k] occurs elsewhere.
- [z j y] are allophones of /j/. They are in free variation intervocalically. Word-initially [j] and [z] vary, but [z] is preferred.

---

<sup>1</sup>Called *Thaadou* in [THI1972]; *Thadou* in [KRI1980].

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ʌ	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

- There are typographical errors in a number of forms in [THI1972], where <aa> is written for [a].

*TONES*

ma	level
má	rising
mà	falling

**THADO**

Data Source: Krishan 1980 [KRI1980]

Inventory: Krishan 1980 [KRI1980]

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	č	k	ʔ
ph	th			
b	d		g	
	s		x	h
v	z			
m	n		ŋ	
hm	hn		hŋ	
	l			
	lh			

- /hm hn hŋ/ are “preaspirated nasals”.

*Finals*

-p	-t	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ
-hm	-hn	-hŋ
	-l	

- Editor's note: The finals <-hm -hn -hŋ> undoubtedly represent preglottalized nasals [-ʔm -ʔn -ʔŋ]. The use of <-h> for [-ʔ] is widespread in the orthographies of Kuki-Chin languages.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ʌ	o
	a	

*TONES*

ma	mid level
má	sharp rising
mà	sharp falling
mǎ	slow rising
mâ	slow falling



## THAKALI

### *Marpha*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]

*Collected by the author during a month and a half stay in Marpha in 1972.*

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (pages 19-24 of Volume 2)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	t̪	tɕ	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup>	t̪ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
	s			ɕ		h
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
w	l		r	j		
	h̥		h̪			

#### *Initial Clusters*

pw	p <sup>h</sup> w	mw	tw	t <sup>h</sup> w	sw	(lw)	ts <sup>h</sup> w	kw	ŋw
pl	p <sup>h</sup> l	ml							
pr	p <sup>h</sup> r	mr							
pj	p <sup>h</sup> j	mj	tsj	ts <sup>h</sup> j	lj	kj	k <sup>h</sup> j		

#### *Finals*

-p							-k
			(-s)				
-m			-n				-ŋ
			-l			-r	

- /h̥ h̪/ are voiceless liquid fricatives which are pronounced with a very high degree of frication.
- /h̪/ is distinguished from /ɕ/ by the absence of palatalization. It resembles [ʃ].
- /h̥/ is strongly palatalized.
- In addition to the clusters listed above, there is one example of a /tj/ initial cluster and two of an initial /nj/ cluster.
- The cluster [ŋj], because it is so frequent, is better interpreted as the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

- Clusters with glide /-w-/ are followed by the unstable vowel nucleus /ui/ or /ue/. It is postulated that /lw/ occurs only in Tibetan loanwords.
- Final consonants are rare, and there are only a few examples of each of the above consonants in final position.
- /-s/ occurs finally in only one Marphali word.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ʌ	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

ji		ju ui
je eʌ ʌe		jo oi
	jʌ ʌi	
	ja	

- Vowel length does play a role, but it is not phonemic and is sometimes a variant of a diphthong.
- On-glide /u-/ may be transcribed <w> if interpreted as part of an initial cluster; similarly, /oi/ may be transcribed <we>.
- /ʌi/ is [i] or sometimes [e:].
- /ʌe/ is [ʌε].
- /eʌ/ is [eʌ].
- /ui/ is pronounced [ʏi] after the dentals.

### TONES

- There are three high tones and one low tone. The low tone is articulated with murmured voice.





## THAKALI

*Syang*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]

Collected by the author in two households of Syang.

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (25-29 of Volume 2)

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	t̥	tɕ	k	
pʰ	tʰ	tʰs	t̥ʰ	tɕʰ	kʰ	
(b)	(d)	(dz)	(d̥)		(g)	
	s			ɕ		h
m	n			ɲ		(ŋ)
w	l		r	j		
	h̥		h̥ʈ			

*Initial Clusters*

pw	pʰw	bw	mw						
pl	bl	ml							
pr	pʰr	br	mr						
pj	pʰj	bj	mj	tj	tʰj	(dj)	(nj)	lj	ʈj
tsj	tʰsj	dzj	kj	kʰj	gj				
(plj)									

*Finals*

(-p)						
		(-s)				
-m		-n				-ŋ
		-l		-r		

- /h̥ h̥ʈ/ are voiceless liquids.
- /t̥ʰ/ appears in only one word.
- Clusters with /-w-/ always precede /i/.

- The cluster /phr/ occurs in only a single word.
- [ɲ] varies with [ɲ]; aside from this, clusters with /-j-/ occur rarely.
- The consonants that cluster with /-j-/ are also those that occur before diphthongs beginning with /i/.
- There are several rules of co-occurrence of vowels and final consonants. For more information, see page 28.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ʌ	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

		ui
ʌe	ʌi	oi
	ai	

- /ui/ is sometimes transcribed <wi>.
- The importance of vowel length has not been well established, and it appears that the phenomenon is disappearing.
- Nasality is often realized in the form of a weak velar nasal following the vowel. Nasalized vowels very rarely occur unless they are adjacent to a nasal consonant.

### TONES

- There are two high tones and two murmured low tones.



### THAKALI

#### *Tukche*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

Hari 1971 [SIL-Thak]

[AH-CSDPN]: Hale's wordlist is from Narendra Garchan, Nila Gauchan, and Maria Hari. The data is from Tukche in Dhaulagiri Zone.

[SIL-Thak]: Hari's research on the Tukche dialect of Thakali was completed over a total of 15 weeks in Pokhara and approximately four months of further study in Kathmandu. There were four principal informants, all brought up in or near Tukche.

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 17-18)  
 Hari 1971 [SIL-Thak]

The phonological analysis follows that of [HAR1969], and [AHR1971c]

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety] (from [AH-CSDPN])

Note: Transcription of [SIL-Thak] normalized in STEDT database.

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(C)V(C)

### CONSONANTS

#### Simple Initials

[AH-CSDPN]

p	t	T	c	k
ph	th	Th	ch	kh
m	n			ng
	s			
w	l	r	y	
	L	R		

[SIL-Thak]

p	t	t̚	c	k	
ph	th	t̚h	ch	kh	
	s				h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r	y		
	lh	rh			

- /L R/ (<lh rh> in [SIL-Thak]) are voiceless liquids.
- /T Th/ (<t̚ t̚h> in [SIL-Thak]) are backed or retroflexed voiceless stops.

*Initial Clusters*

kw  
 pl phl ml  
 pr phr mr tr  
 py phy my sy cy chy ky khy ngy

- There are only two examples of words containing a three-consonant initial cluster; thus this type of cluster should be treated as exceptional.

*VOWELS*

<i>[AH-CSDPN]</i>			<i>[SIL-Thak]</i>	
i	u		i	u
e	o		e	o
ā	a		a	ɔ

- Vowel nasalization occurs automatically for vowels following nasal consonants. Nasalization is noncontrastive.

*TONES*

<i>[AH-CSDPN]</i>	<i>[SIL-Thak]</i>	
'ma	'ma	tense, contour pitch
ma	ma	tense, level pitch
'mah	ma <sup>h</sup>	lax, contour pitch
mah	ma <sup>h</sup>	lax, level pitch

- Tone is a combination of voice quality and pitch contour. Breathiness is indicated by an <h> after the vowel in [AH-CSDPN] and by an <h> in [SIL-Thak]. It is contrastive only on the first syllable of a morpheme. All noninitial syllables are clear. Breathy vowels do not occur after aspirated stops, affricates or the voiceless initials /R L h/. Breathy syllables are lax.
- Contour pitch is indicated by an apostrophe <'>. High level pitch is unmarked.

**THAKALI***Tukche*

Data Source: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis]

*The data follows the analyses of [HAR1969] and [AH-CSDPN].*

Inventory: Mazaudon 1994 [MM-Thesis] (pages 16-18 of Volume 2)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(G)V(F)

- In this template, G can be /r l j w/, the occurrence of which is governed by the restrictions listed below.
- Only two words have an alternate syllable structure: CGGV. One of the words has a variant which abides by the “regular” syllable canon.

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	t̚	k	
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	tsh	t̚ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
	s				h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l		r	j	
	hl		hr		

#### *Initial Clusters*

kw								
pl	p <sup>h</sup> l	ml						
pr	p <sup>h</sup> r	mr	(tr)					
pj	p <sup>h</sup> j	mj	tsj	tshj	s	kj	khj	ŋ

#### *Finals*

-p				(-t̚)	
		-s			
-w		-l		-r	-j

- /hl hr/ are voiceless liquids.
- The occurrence of a /tr/ cluster is unusual from a Pre-Proto-Tamang evolutionary viewpoint. It occurs certainly in one word and possibly in a second word from [HAR1969] which has elsewhere been transcribed without the initial /tr/ cluster.
- /kw/ occurs only before the low vowels /a ʌ/.
- [-t̚] is extremely rare and only occurs in one onomatopoeic word.

*VOWELS*

i

u

e

o

a

ʌ, ɔ

- The /ʌ ɔ/ opposition is neutralized in favor of [a] in a syllable ending with /-ŋ/.

*TONES*

- There are four tones, two high tones and two low tones. The low tones are articulated with murmured voice.



## THULUNG

Data Source: Allen 1975 [NJA-Thulung]

*Collected by the author in Solu Khumba Jilla. Most of the research was conducted in Mukli village, with additional data gathered in Tingla and Lokhim over a total period of 15 months.*

Inventory: Allen 1975 [NJA-Thulung] (pages 11-37)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

### CONSONANTS

#### *Simple Initials*

p	t	T	c	k	-
ph	th		ch	kh	
b	d	D	j	g	
bh	dh	(Dh)	jh	gh	
	s				h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r	y		

#### *Initial Clusters*

pl	phl	bl	kl	khl	gl	ghl
pr	phr	br	bhr	kr	KHR	gr ghr

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-T	-k
	-s		
-m	-n		-ŋ
-w	-l	-r	-y

- /T D/ are retroflex [t̪ d̪]. Intervocalic /D/ is flapped. Syllable-initial /T/ is rare. A single instance of aspirated /Dh/ is recorded.
- /-/ is the glottal stop [ʔ]. It is not transcribed word-initially.
- The velar voiced aspirated stop /gh/ only appears before liquids.
- Aspiration of voiced stops “is subject to free or dialectal variation” (p. 12).
- Syllable-final stops are usually unreleased.

- /-k/ and /-s/ are rare, especially in monosyllables, where they are confined to kinship terms.
- /-s/ may appear post-finally, i.e. following other final consonants.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i , iu		u
e , eo	ə	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

ea	oa
----	----

- /iu/ is [y]; /eo/ is [ø].
- All vowels, including diphthongs, can be contrastively long, marked with <ː> over the vowel. Long vowels are, however, “found characteristically in word-initial open syllables. The only long vowels identified in closed syllables were /ē/ and /eō/ and these occurred only in a small number of verb forms” (p. 23).
- Both diphthongs are “rising diphthongs, i.e. they have the length and stress on the second element” (p. 23).
- “Vowels following a nasal consonant are automatically nasalized, and one nasalized vowel automatically causes nasalization of contiguous vocoidals” (p. 26).

### TONES

- There is a discussion of tone in which Allen asserts that tonal contrast plays a minimal role in Thulung and appears to be dying out with the spread of Nepali. “[T]he whole section is to be regarded as tentative .... (Thus) tone is seldom marked in the orthography” (p. 32).





**TIBETAN (WRITTEN)**

Data Source: Jäschke 1881 [HAJ-TED]

Inventory: Beyer 1992 [SB-ClassTib] (pages 39-89)

*Additional phonological information from James A. Matisoff.*

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-TIL], [JAM-TJLB], [JAM-VSTB], [JS-Tib]

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C<sub>1</sub>)(C<sub>2</sub>)(C<sub>3</sub>)(G)V(C<sub>4</sub>)(C<sub>5</sub>)

Pre-prefix	Pre-initial	Initial	Glide	Vowel	Final	Post-final
b	b d g m r l s ɣ	any consonant except ɣ	(w) l r y	any vowel	b d g m n ŋ r l s	s

- An example of a word with a maximally full syllable:

brgyuŋs-pa      ‘marrow in backbone’ (Jäschke p. 124)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials and Initial Clusters**Initial Segment Inventory*

p	t	ts	č	k	
ph	th	tsh	čh	kh	
b	d	dz	ǰ	g	
		s	š		h
		z	ž		
m	n		ñ	ŋ	ɣ
w	l	r	y		

- We represent the letter called “a-chung” as <ɣ>, but it is represented in a number of ways by different authors, such as with an apostrophe <’>, or with a subscript circle <◦> (Jäschke).

The majority of forms within the database have been normalized to <ɣ>.

The phonetic realization of “a-chung” in preconsonantal position is controversial.

Some consider it to be a nasal [N], others suggest a glottal stop [ʔ]. We consider it to represent a syllabic nasal accompanied by glottal closure [ʔN̩-]. See Matisoff 1975.

- Aspiration is indicated here with the letter <h>. Some sources, such as Jäschke, indicate it with a reverse apostrophe <‘>, as in <p‘>.
- Palatals are indicated in the STEDT database with either a haček or, in the case of the palatal nasal, with a tilde: <č čh ĵ š ž ñ̃>. Jäschke indicates palatals with a grave accent <č č‘ ĵ ĵ‘ š š‘ ñ̃>.

*Velar Initials and Initial Clusters*

k-	dk-	bk-			rk-	(brk-)	lk-	sk-	(bsk-)
ky-	dky-	bky-			rky-			sky-	
kr-	dkr	bkr-						skr-	
kl-		bkl-							
kh-			mkh-	ḥkh-					
khy-			mkhy-	ḥkhy-					
khr-			mkhr-	ḥkhr-					
g-	dg-	bg-	mg-	ḥg-	rg-	brg-	lg-	sg-	bsg-
gy-	dgy-	bgy-	mgy-	ḥgr-	rgy-	brgy-	(lgy-)	sgy-	
gr-	dgr-	bgr-	mgr-	ḥgr-				sgr-	bsgr-
gl-									
ŋ-	dŋ-		mŋ-		rŋ-	brŋ-	lŋ-	sŋ-	bsŋ-

*Palatal Initials and Initial Clusters*

č-	gč-	bč-						lč-	
čh-			mčh-	ḥčh-					
ĵ-			mĵ-	ḥĵ-	rĵ-	brĵ-	lĵ-		
ñ-	gñ-		mñ-		rñ-	brñ-		sñ-	bsñ-

*Dental Initials and Initial Clusters*

t- (tr-)	gt-	bt-			rt-	brt-	lt-	st-	bst-
th-			mth-	ḥth-					
d- dr-	gd-	bd- bdr-	md-	ḥd- ḥdr-	rd-	brd-	ld-	sd-	bsd-
n-	gn-		mn-		rn-	brn-		sn- (snr-)	bsn-

*Labial Initials and Initial Clusters*

p	dp- dpy-					(lp-)	sp- spy-
pr-	dpr-						spr-
ph- phy- phr-				ḥph- ḥphy- ḥphr-			
b- by- br- bl-	db- dby- dbr-			ḥb- ḥby- ḥbr-	rb-	lb-	sb- sby- sbr-
m- my-	dm- dmy-				rm- rmy-		sm- smy- smr-

*Affricate and Fricative Initials and Initial Clusters*

ts-	gts-	bts-		rts-	brts-	sts-
tsw-				rtsw-		
tsh-			mtsh-	ḥtsh-		
tshw-						
dz-			mdz-	ḥdz-	rdz-	
s-	gs-	bs-				
sr-		bsr-				
sl-		bsl-				
z-	gz-	bz-				
zl-		bzl-				
š-	gš-	bš-				
ž-	gž-	bž-				
(žw-)						

*Resonant and Laryngeal Initials and Initial Clusters*

r-	br-	h-	l-	w-	y-	ʔ-	Ø-
		hy [gy]					
		hr-					
rl-	brl-	hl (“lh”)					
rw-		hw-					

- /r- l- s- ḥ-/ precede initials of all four buccal positions: velar, palatal, dental, labial.
- Velars may be preceded by /d- b-/, and followed by /-y -r -l/.
- Palatal and dentals may be preceded by /g- b-/, and followed by /-y -r/.
- Labials may be preceded only by /d-/, and followed by /-y -r -l/.
- /m- br- bs-/ do not occur before labial initials.
- Aspirates may be preceded only by /m- ḥ-/.
- As pre-initials, /ḥ m/ occur only before the aspirated and the voiced series of obstruents, but not before the plain series.

*Simple Finals*

-b	-d			-g	
	-s				
-m	-n			-ŋ	-ḥ
(-w)	-l	-r	(-y)		

*Final Clusters*

-bs	-gs
-ms	-ŋs

## VOWELS

i		u
e		o
	a	



## TIBETAN

*Amdo: Bla-brang*<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #4

Collected in Labuleng [*Bla-brang*], Xiahe County, Gannan Prefecture, Gansu.

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #4 (pages 164-167)

<sup>1</sup>Called *Tibetan (Xiahe)* in [ZMYYC].

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh	
nb	nd	ndz	ndʐ	ndʑ	ng	
		s	ʂ	ɕ	(x)	h
		sh			xh	
					ɣ	
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
w	l		r	j		
	ɬ					

*Initial Clusters*

ht	hts	htʂ	htɕ	hk	
hb	hd	hdz	hdʐ	hdʑ	hg
hz	hz				
hm	hn	hnɲ	hnŋ		
hw	hl	hj			

- Voiced obstruents (except /ɣ/) occur only in consonant clusters.
- /r/ is realized as [ʐ].
- /x/ is found only in Chinese loans.

*RHYMES*

i		u			
e	ə	o	en	ən	on
	a			an	
ep	əp	op	em	əm	om
	ap			am	
	ək	ok			oŋ
	ak			aŋ	

er	ər	or	el	əl	ol
	ar			al	

- /o/ and /ə/ before velars are realized as [u] and [ʊ] respectively.
- /a/ is realized as [ɐ] before velars /k ɲ/ and as [æ] before /l n m/.



## TIBETAN

### *Amdo: Zeku*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #5

*Amdo [Amdo] Dialect (Grazing District). Collected in Zeku [Zəkog] County, Guoluo [Golog] Prefecture, Qinghai.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #5 (pages 159-164)

## CONSONANTS

### *Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	cç	tç	k	
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	cçh	tçh	kh	
nph	nth	ntsh	ntɕh	ncçh	ntçh	nkh	
nb	nd	ndz	ndz̥	njj	ndz̥	ng	
		s	ɕ		ç		h
		sh				xh	
						ɣ	
m	n				ɲ	ŋ	
w	l		r		j		
	ʈ						

*Cluster Initials*

pt	pts	ptʂ	pcç	ptɕ	pk			
hw								
ɣm	ɣt	ɣts	ɣd	ɣs	ɣz	ɣn	ɣl	ɣʂ
ɣdʑ	ɣcç	ɣtɕ	ɣɕ	ɣz	ɣŋ	ɣj		
mth	md	mtsh	mdz	mn	mtʂh	mdzɕ	mcçh	mɲj
mtɕh	mdz	mŋ	mkh	mg	mŋ			
rm	rŋ	rt	rd	rn	rŋ	rts	rdz	rcç
rɲj	rtɕ	rdz	rŋ	rŋŋ	rk	rg	rŋ	rŋ
wt	wts	wd	wdz	ws	wz	wŋ	wl	wtʂ
wdzɕ	wʂ	wr	wcç	wɲj	wdz	wɕ	wz	wŋ
wk	wg	wŋ						

- Voiced obstruents (except /ɣ/) and voiceless nasals occur only in consonant clusters.
- /r/ is realized as [zɕ] initially and [r] finally.
- Pre-initial <n-> represents a nasal homorganic to the following consonant.
- Pre-initials /ɣ- m- n- r-/ can be realized as either voiceless or voiced depending on the voicing of the following initial.
- /w/ is realized as [v] when a simple initial, and as either [ϕ] or [β] as a pre-initial depending on the voicing of following initials.
- /ɣ/ is more like a uvular, or even close to a glottal sound when occurring as a pre-initial.
- A labial off-glide occurs after certain clusters, especially of the type labial followed by velar, i.e. /pk/, /ptʂ/, /mkh/, /mg/, and /wg/ are realized as [pk<sup>w</sup>], [ptʂ<sup>w</sup>], [mkh<sup>w</sup>], [mg<sup>w</sup>], and [wg<sup>w</sup>] respectively.

*RHYMES*

i		u			
e	ə	o	en	ən	on
	a	ɔ		an	
ep	əp	op	em	əm	om
	ap			am	



	ək	ok			oŋ
	ak			aŋ	
er	ər	or	el	əl	ol
	ar			al	



## TIBETAN

*Balti*

Data Source: Rangan 1975 [RAN1975]

*This dialect is spoken in the Ladakh district of Jammu and Kashmir.*

Inventory: Rangan 1975 [RAN1975] (vowel chart: page 14; consonant chart: page 22; phonemic charts: pages 80-83)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

## CONSONANTS

*Phonetic chart*

p	t̪	t	c	č	k	q	
p <sup>h</sup>	t̪ <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	ch	č <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>		
b	d̪	d		ǰ	g		
(f)			s	(ʃ)	š	ɣ	h
	ð		z	ž		ʎ	
m	n̪	n		ñ	ŋ		
w		l	r	(ɽ)	y		
		ɬ					

*Phonemic chart*

p	t̪	t	c	č	k	q
p <sup>h</sup>	t̪ <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	c <sup>h</sup>	č <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
b	ɖ	d		ʃ	g	
(f)			s	š		x h
			z	ž		ɣ
m		n		ɳ	ŋ	
w		l	r	y		

- [t̪ t̪<sup>h</sup> ɖ n] are dentals.
- [c c<sup>h</sup>] are alveolar affricates.
- [č č<sup>h</sup>] are palatal affricates.
- [r] is an alveolar flap.
- /x ɣ/ are realized as post-velar fricatives [x̠ ɣ̠].
- [ð] is an allophone of /ɖ/ which only occurs intervocalically (p. 84).
- [ɳ] is an allophone of /n/ which only occurs before dental stops (p. 84).
- [ɬ] is a voiceless fricativized lateral. It is an allophone of /l/ which occurs syllable-initially when followed by a voiceless consonant, e.g. [ɬwa] ‘belly’, [meɬche] ‘flame’ (p. 84).
- [ɽ] is not listed in the consonant chart, but is mentioned in the description of consonants as a retroflex flap. It is an allophone of /d/ which occurs intervocalically (p. 84).
- [ʂ] is not listed in the consonant chart, but is mentioned in the description of consonants as a voiceless retroflex fricative. It is an allophone of /š/ which occurs before a consonant (p. 84).

*VOWELS**Phonetic chart*

i i· i:	u u· u:
e e· e:	o o· o:
ɛ	ʌ , ɔ
a a· a:	

*Phonemic chart*

i i:		u u:
e e:		o o:
a a:		

- [i· e· u· o· a·] are medium long. They are allophones of the short vowels and only occur in syllable-final position.
- [ʌ] is an allophone of /a/ which only occurs medially. Initially, /a/ is realized as [a] and finally as [a·].
- [ɛ] is an allophone of /e/ which occurs only in initial position in disyllabic words where /a/ or /a:/ follows in the next syllable (p. 84).
- [ɔ] is an allophone of /o/ which occurs only in initial position in disyllabic words where /a/ follows in the next syllable. There is only one example of this: [ɔma·] ‘curds’ (p. 84).

**TIBETAN*****Batang***

Data Source: Jumian 1989 [GJ-Batang]

*Batang belongs to the southern group of the Kham<sup>1</sup> dialect of Tibetan. It is spoken in Mangkang County of Changdu, near the Jinsha (Yangzi) River.*

Inventory: Jumian 1989 [GJ-Batang]

**SYLLABLE CANON**

(C)(C)V(V)(C)

---

<sup>1</sup>Often called the *Khams* dialect. This should be distinguished from the *Kham* language of Nepal.

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	ts	t	tʂ	tʰ	k	
p'	ts'	t'	tʂ'	tʰ'	k'	
b	dz	d	dʂ	dʒ	g	
nb	ndz	nd	ndʂ	ndʒ	ng	
	s			ʃ	x	h
	s'	ʎ	ʂ'	ʃ'	x'	
	z		ʐ	ʒ	ɣ	
ṃ		ṅ		ṅ	ŋ	
m		n		ń	ŋ	
w		l		j		

*Finals*

-ʔ

- The distribution of [w] and [ʂ] is rather restricted (p. 338).
- Glottal stop is phonemic only as a final. Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ] (p. 338).
- /z/ is pronounced as a retroflex spirant [ʐ] word-initially, but as “vibrant” [r] word-medially (p. 338).
- <n-> in clusters represents a nasal homorganic to the following consonant (p. 338).

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
i, y	u		ĩ, ÿ	ũ
e, ø	o		ẽ, ø̃	õ
ɛ				
a	ɑ			ã

*Diphthongs*

<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>
ei , øy	iu	eĩ
ia	au	

- Vowels can be realized as long or as short, but Jumian considers this to be a tonal feature, and does not mark length on the vowel (p. 351).
- /e o/ each have two allophones. With long tones, they remain unchanged, but with short tones, they are realized as higher and more centralized, close to [i] and [u] respectively (p. 347).
- [a] and [ɑ] are in complementary distribution with regard to tone length. However, according to Jumian, native speakers feel that there is a great difference between [a] and [ɑ], and so they may be considered to be different phonemes (p. 347).
- The diphthongs are relatively rare (p. 348).

*TONES*

mā	high level long	[ <sup>55</sup> ]
mà	high falling short	[ <sup>53</sup> ]
má	low rising long	[ <sup>13</sup> ]
mâ	low rising-falling short	[ <sup>231</sup> ]

- There is a fifth “light tone” of unstressed syllables (p. 350).
- There are twenty-one finals which occur only with low tones: the eight nasalized finals (derived from WT /-am -an -aŋ/, etc.), the eight long vowels (derived from WT /-al -ar -as/, etc.), and the five finals with diphthongs (derived from contraction of two syllables).
- There are twelve finals which occur only with short tones: the nine closed finals with glottal stop (derived from Old Tibetan rhymes with /-p -t -k/ [WT -b -d -g]), and the three finals with short vowels (derived from Old Tibetan open finals) (p. 352).
- There are thirteen initials which occur only with high tones: the four voiceless nasals [ṃ ṅ ṅ̃ ṅ̃̃], the six aspirated spirants [s' ṣ' č' x' h], and the four voiced spirants [z ẓ ž ẓ̌]. The other 37 initials may occur with both high and low tonemes.
- “Initials accompanied with low tones are mostly those nine, now aspirated ones derived from old simple voiced initials, or from old voiced initials only with postbound -r- or -y-, and the four voiced nasal initials remounting to old nasals without prebound consonants. Beside this, there are four initials, the two semivowels and two liquids, which belong to the group of the voiced initials with low tonemes” (pp. 352-354).



## TIBETAN

*Batang*

Data Source: Dai 1989 [DQ-Batang]

Inventory: Dai 1989 [DQ-Batang]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dz̥	g	
mb	nd	ndz	ndzɿ	ndz̥	ŋg	
		s		ɕ	x	h
		sh	ʂh	ɕh	xh	
		z	zɿ	z̥	ʎ	
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
ṃ	ṅ			ṅ	ṅ	
w	l			j		
	ʈ					

*Finals*

-ʔ

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>			<i>Nasal</i>	
i, y	u		ĩ, ÿ	ũ
e, ø	o		ẽ, ø̃	õ
ɛ				
a	ɑ			ã

*Diphthongs*

	<i>Oral</i>		<i>Nasal</i>
		iu	
ei , øy			eĩ
		ia au	

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>231</sup>

**TIBETAN***Jirel*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale's wordlist is from Olak Bahadur Jirel, Esther Strahm, and Anita Maibaum. The data is from Jiri in Dolkha District.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 22-24)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [SM1971a].*

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety]

*CONSONANTS*

p	t	T	c	cy	k
ph	th	Th	ch	cyh	kh
b	d	D	j	jy	g
m	n				ng
	s			sy	h
w	l	r		y	
	lh	rh			

- In [AH-CSDPN], /s/ is placed in the retroflex column. We assume this to be an error.

### VOWELS

i		u
e		o
ā		

- Vowel nasalization, marked by <\_> below the vowel, occurs in very few words.
- Vowel length, marked by <: > following the vowel, is only marginally contrastive.

### TONES

māq	Tone 1	(high pitch, tense vowel)
mā	Tone 2	(low pitch, lax vowel)

- Voice quality (tense versus lax) correlates with pitch in Jirel.
- The characteristic pitch (and voice quality) of a word is confined to the initial syllable.
- Voiced stops and affricates occur only in words with low pitch (lax voice quality).

### PITCH

'ma	non-falling pitch pattern
ma	falling pitch pattern

- “The tone system may be thought of as the result of the combination and interplay of voice quality and pitch pattern. It is most clearly illustrated in terms of disyllabic, monomorphemic words. A plus sign (+) following a morpheme indicates a modification of the pitch pattern of that morpheme by an elided grammatical marker (see Strahm and Maibaum, 1971a.79)” (p. 23). The following illustration is from [AH-CSDPN] (p. 24).

	<i>Nonfalling</i>	<i>Falling</i>
High (Tense)	$\overline{CV} \quad \overline{CV}$ 'cyhimpakq 'liver' 'thakpaq 'rope'	$\overline{CV} \quad   \quad \underline{CV}$ nyimaq 'ear of corn' phenggakq 'shirt'
Low (Lax)	$\underline{CV} \quad   \quad \overline{CV}$ 'cyhirkbuk 'chicks' 'Thangka 'river'	$\underline{CV} \quad \underline{CV}$ nyima 'sun, day' pherka 'stick'

*Interplay of voice quality and pitch pattern in Jirel*





## TIBETAN

### *Khams: Dege*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #3

*Kang [Khams] Dialect. Collected in Dege [Dêgê] County, Ganzi [Garzê] Prefecture, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #3 (pages 156-159)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	dʒ	g	
nb	nd	ndz	ndʒ	ndʒ	ng	
		s	ʂ	ɕ	x	h
		sh		ɕh	xh	
		z		ʒ	ɣ	
m	n			ɱ	ŋ	
ᵐ	ᵎ			ᵎ	ᵎ	
w	l		r	j		
	ʈ					

#### *Finals*

-ŋ                      -ʔ

- Velar fricatives /x xh ɣ/ are palatalized to [ç ɕh ɣ] before front vowels.
- /r/ is realized as [ɹ].
- Voiceless nasals often have voiced release; for instance, /ᵐ/ is often pronounced as [ᵐm] etc.
- <n> in clusters represents a nasal homorganic to the following consonant.
- [-n] (which occurs only after front vowels) and [-ŋ] (only after back vowels) are weak and may be realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e, ø		o
ɛ	a	ɑ

- In certain words, /i u o/ before a glottal stop are realized as central variants [i̯ ʊ̯ o̯].

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising
ma <sup>31</sup>	low falling

**TIBETAN***Ladakhi*

Data Source: Koshal 1976 [KOS1976]

*“Based mainly on the Central Ladakhi variety (as spoken in Leh), which is considered as the standard variety.” Most data was collected from a thirty-year old male speaker, but was compared with speakers of other ages, classes and gender.*

Inventory: Koshal 1976 [KOS1976] (phonemic charts: pages 18-19)

*The transcription of the lexical data is phonetic, not phonemic.*

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)

## CONSONANTS

### *Simple Initials*

#### *Phonetic chart*

p	t	ts	ʈ	č	k	k>	
ph	th	tsh	ʈh	čh	kh		
b	d	dz	ɖ	ǰ	g		
		s	ʂ	š			h
ḅ	ḍ	z		ž	ǧ		
m	n			ñ	ŋ		
w	l	r		y			
	ɬ						
	ɭ	ɽ					

#### *Phonemic chart*

p	t	ts	ʈ	č	k	
ph	th	tsh	ʈh	čh	kh	
b	d	dz	ɖ	ǰ	g	
		s	ʂ	š		h
		z		ž		
m	n			ñ	ŋ	
w	l	r		y		
	ɬ					

- [k>] is a retracted variety of [k]. It is an allophone of /k/ which occurs in final position.
- [ḅ] is a voiced bilabial fricative. It is an allophone of /b/; it can occur (1) in initial clusters after [r], (2) after a vowel followed by a syllable boundary or (3) after [r l n ŋ] followed by a syllable boundary; in all these environments it is in free variation with [b].
- [ḍ] is a voiced alveolar fricative. It is an allophone of /d/; it can occur (1) in initial clusters after [r l], (2) after a vowel followed by a syllable boundary or (3) after [r l n ŋ] followed by a syllable boundary; in all these environments it is in free variation with [d].
- [ǧ] is a voiced velar fricative. It is an allophone of /g/; it can occur (1) in initial clusters after [r], (2) after a vowel followed by a syllable boundary, or (3) after [r l n ŋ] followed by a syllable boundary.

- [ts tsh dz] are transcribed with a bottom ligature which we do not reproduce here. On page 19 the voiceless alveolar affricate is written as <st>, but this is certainly a typographical error for <ts>.
- /l r/ are realized as [l̥ r̥] in clusters before voiceless consonants.
- [ɬ] is a voiced alveolar murmured lateral. It is produced at a lowered pitch and only occurs syllable-initially. The historical origin of this consonant is Old Tibetan /hl-/.

### *Cluster Initials*

rḡ	rḃ	rḍ	rḷ	rdz	rts	rt
lḡ	lḍ	lḷ	lz	lp	lt	lč
sk	st	sp	sm	sn	sñ	sŋ
zb	zd	zg				
št	šk	šm	šn	šñ	šŋ	
ky	khy	gy	ñy			
ks	ps	ŋs	ms			

### *Cluster Finals*

ts    ns    rs    ls

## VOWELS

### *Phonetic chart*

i		u
e		o
E	ə	ɔ
	ɐ	a

### *Phonemic chart*

i		u
e		o
	ə	

- /e/ is realized as [e] in final position and [E] initially and medially.
- /ə/ varies freely between [ə] and [ɐ] in initial and medial position; it is realized as [a] in final position.
- /o/ is realized as [ɔ] in initial and medial position, and in syllable-final but not word-final position; it is realized as [o] in word-final position.



## TIBETAN

### *Lhasa: Weizang*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #2

*Weizang Dialect. Collected in Lhasa, Tibet.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #2 (pages 149-156)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	c	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	ch	kh	
		s	ɕ	ɕ	ç		h
m	n			ŋ		ŋ	
w	l		r		j		fi
	ɬ						

#### *Finals*

-p		-k	-ʔ
-m		-ŋ	
	-r		

- /c/ and /ch/ are actually alveo-palatal stops [tɕ] and [tɕh] respectively.
- The initial /r/ is realized as a retroflexed semivowel [ɻ] or a retroflexed voiced fricative [zɻ].
- In the second syllable of a disyllabic word, /t/ and /s/ are voiced to [l] and [zɻ] (<r>) respectively, and aspirated sounds become unaspirated.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ] in high tone syllables and [fi] in low tone syllables.
- Prenasalized stops are attested for some speakers. The dialect on which the present data are based does not have these prenasalized sounds.

## VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>				<i>Diphthongs</i>
i, y		u		iu
e, ø	ə	o		
ɛ	a	ɔ		au

- All vowels except /ɔ/ can occur nasalized. Nasalization is marked by <~> over the vowel.
- Most vowels can be either long or short. However, /ə ə̃/ are always short while /ɔ/ is always long. In “long tone” syllables and open syllables vowels are long (a diphthong is considered to be equivalent to a long vowel); in other cases vowels are short. Length distinctions are thus not transcribed.
- /o/ before consonants /-ʔ -k -p -r/ is realized as [ɔ].
- The nasal ending /-ŋ/ is often weakly pronounced. Stop endings /-k/ and /-p/ are unreleased.
- /-k/ is mostly found in the first syllable of disyllabic words. It is rarely found in monosyllabic words, and never occurs in the second syllable of disyllabic words.
- Nasal finals /-m -ŋ/ in short tone syllables are realized with a light final glottal stop.
- The glottal stop ending in the first syllable of disyllabic words (excluding verbs) is elided.

## TONES

ma<sup>53</sup> [53]ma<sup>13</sup> [132]ma<sup>55</sup> [44]ma<sup>15</sup> [113]

- In syllables with an oral vowel and a final consonant, tone /<sup>53</sup>/ is realized as [43] and tone /<sup>13</sup>/ as [12].
- Tones /<sup>55</sup>/ and /<sup>15</sup>/ are relatively longer than tones /<sup>53</sup>/ and /<sup>13</sup>/. The former two are called “long tones”, and the latter two “short tones”.



## TIBETAN

*Sherpa: Helambu*

Data Source: Bishop 1989 [B-ShrpaHQ]

*STEDT Questionnaire. The data is from the Helambu dialect of Sherpa, spoken in Kagate, Nepal.*

Inventory: Extracted from Bishop 1989 [B-ShrpaHQ]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts	T	ch	k
ph	th			chh	kh
b	d	dz		j	g
		s		sh	h
		z		zh	
m	n				ŋ
w	l	r		y	

- /T/ is [t].
- /ch chh zh j/ are [tʃ tʃh ʒ dʒ].
- Bishop uses a <ʒ> in the handwritten source. Based on analysis of the consonant system of Sherpa, this has been treated as a graphic variant of ordinary print <z> representing [z].

*Medials*

-y-                      -l-                      -r-

*Finals*

-p		-c	-k
-ph			-g
			-h
-m	-n		-ng
	-l	-r	-y

- Based on comparison with [AH-CSDPN], it seems that <-ng> has the same phonetic value as <ŋ>. We find <ŋ> only in initial position, and <ng> only in final position.

- Note the final palatal stop /~c/, rare in Tibeto-Burman.

### VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>		
i , ī		u , ū			
e , ē		o , ō		ue	ow
	a , aa				ai oa

- <aa> appears in two words. It is assumed that this represents a long vowel.
- <ii> occurs in only one word (<chiimba> ‘bile’). Elsewhere we find <ī>.
- Only /u a/ have nasalized variants (<ū ã>), generally in the environment of a nasal consonant. Two words, however, appear to be exceptions to this rule: <yāi> ‘itch (v.)/be itchy’ and <loc kāi> ‘cough’.



### TIBETAN

#### *Sherpa*

Data Source: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN]

*Hale’s wordlist is from Ang Nyima Lama, Burkhard and Heiderose Schoettelndreyer. The data is from the area around Phaphlu in Solu-Khumbu District.*

Inventory: Hale 1973 [AH-CSDPN] (pages 24-26)

*The phonological analysis follows that of [GOR1969], [GOR1970], [GS1970], [HS1971], [BS1971a], and [BS1971c].*

### CONSONANTS

p	t	T	c	č	k
(ph)	(th)	(Th)	(ch)	(čh)	(kh)
b	d	D	j	ǰ	g
m	n			ny	ng
	s			š	
	l	r			
	(lh)	(rh)			
w				y	

- /T Th D/ are retroflex consonants.



- The consonants in parentheses are generally interpreted as consonant clusters. Hale includes them here for comparison with other languages.

### MEDIALS

-y-

-w-

- Hale calls the medials /-y- -w-/ “co-vowels,” since they modify the vowels with which they occur. These are distinct from the consonants /y w/. The co-vowels occur after stops, after the consonants /w y/ (i.e. ww-, yy-, yw-), or before the vowels /e o/, but never word-initially.

### VOWELS

i ɨ

u ʊ

e ɛ

o ɔ

ā ā̄

a ʌ

- “The vowels in Sherpa are especially tricky” (p. 25).
- Nasalization is contrastive for all Sherpa vowels and is marked by < , > under the vowel.
- /ā̄/ is a low front vowel.
- In general, length is not contrastive for Sherpa vowels. However, /ā̄/ tends to be longer than /a/ in certain monosyllabic words.

### TONES

maq High pitch (tone 1-tense vowel), falling/level contour.

'maq High pitch (tone 1-tense vowel), rising contour.

ma Low pitch (tone 2-lax vowel), falling/level contour.

'ma Low pitch (tone 2-lax vowel), rising contour.

- Pitch level, which is contrastive in Sherpa morphemes, may be either high or low. Hale refers to high pitch as tone 1 and to low pitch as tone 2. High pitch is indicated by <-q>.
- Words and morphemes of tone 1 are characterized by tense vowels and morphemes of tone 2 are characterized by lax vowels. It is often difficult to hear this distinction (tense/lax) in the low vowels /ā̄ a/.
- In addition, Sherpa words and morphemes have either a rising pitch contour or a falling/level pitch contour. Stress is placed on the second syllable of a disyllabic morpheme if the contour is rising. A rising pitch contour is indicated by an apostrophe <'> before the word.



## TIBETAN

*Spiti*

Data Source: S. R. Sharma 1981 [SRS-PSS]

*Collected in the Spiti Valley, Lahul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh.*

Inventory: S. R. Sharma 1981 [SRS-PSS]

## CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	ʈ	c	k	
ph	th	tsh	ʈh	ch	kh	
b	d	dz	ɖ	j	g	
		s	ʂ	ʃ		h
		z		ʒ		
m	n			ɳ	ŋ	
w	l	r	ɽ	y		

- /ʈ ʈh ɖ ʂ ɽ/ are [t th d ʃ r].
- /j ʃ ʒ ɳ/ are [j ʃ ʒ ŋ].

*Initial Clusters*

py	ty	tsy	ty	cy	ky
phy	thy	chy	khy		
by	dy	ɖy	gy		
ʃy	hy				
my	ny	ɳy	ŋy		
ly	ry	ɽy			

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k
-m	-n		-ŋ
	-l	-r	

- Word-medially, voiced stops may also be found as finals of initial syllables.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e		o
ɛ	a	ɔ

*Diphthongs*

		ui
ei	ea oe ue	oi uo
oe uɛ	ai ae ao oa ua	

- Any non-initial vowel can be nasalized (p. 109). Nasalization is marked by <~> over the vowel.

## TONES

mà	falling
ma	level
má	rising



## TIDDIM

Data Source: Henderson 1965 [EJAH-TC]

*From work in the Northern Chin Hills (1954) for 4 weeks with 2 male informants: Vul Za Thang and Hao Go.*

Inventory: Henderson 1965 [EJAH-TC] (pages 9-28)

Secondary Sources: [JAM-Ety], [JAM-GSTC]

### *SYLLABLE STRUCTURE*

- Henderson identifies two types of syllable, stressed and unstressed. Unstressed syllables are “never differentiated by vowel length or pitch, and are never closed by a consonant” (p. 18). They have short vowels only.

### *CONSONANTS*

#### *Initials*

p	t	c	k	
ph	th			
b	d		g	
	s		x	h
v	z			
m	n			ŋ
?w	l			

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-?
-m	-n	-ŋ	
	-l		
	-l?		

- /c/ is an alveolar affricate.
- /b d/ may have very slight glottalization.
- /z/ may be palatalized, especially before front vowels with a strong palatal offglide.
- /-l/ has a slightly retroflex articulation and resonance.

## RHYMES

i i: ε ε: a a:	u u: ɔ ɔ:	i? ε? a?	u? ɔ?
im i:m em ε:m iam am a:m uam	um om ɔ:m	ip i:p ep ε:p iap ap a:p	u:p op ɔ:p
in i:n en ε:n ian an a:n uan	un u:n ɔ:n	it et ε:t iat at a:t uat	ut u:t ot ɔ:t
iŋ i:ŋ eŋ ε:ŋ iaŋ aŋ a:ŋ uaŋ	uŋ u:ŋ oŋ ɔ:ŋ	i:k ek ε:k iak ak a:k uak	uk u:k ok ɔ:k
il el ε:l ial al a:l ual	ul u:l ol ɔ:l	il? el? al?	ul? ol?
iu i:u ei eu ε:i ε:u ia ai a:i au a:u ua	ui u:i oi ou ɔ:i	iu? ei? eu? ia? ai? au? ua?	ui? oi? ou?
iai iau uai uau		uai?	

- The five short open rhymes /i u ε ɔ a/ only occur in unstressed syllables. A short unstressed vowel is sometimes marked with <˘> over the vowel.
- A central glide is frequently heard after the long front vowels /i: ε:/ before a following velar consonant.
- /o/ before a final lateral is commonly pronounced without lip-rounding.

*TONES*

ma <sup>1</sup>	high
ma <sup>2</sup>	mid
ma <sup>3</sup>	low

- Generally, the high tone is rising in all open and long syllables, and level or rising in short syllables closed by a stop. The low tone is falling in open and long syllables, and level or falling in short syllables closed by a stop. The mid tone is always level. (p. 13.) However, other variations are possible, and Henderson also employs nine tone marks to indicate fine phonetic distinctions among the allotones.

*NOTES*

- There is a standard roman orthography in use for Tiddim. Henderson generally cites forms in both this common orthography and in the phonetic transcription described above. Longer examples and texts are given only in orthography. For more information about the orthography, see [EJAH-TC].



## TOSU

Data Source: Nishida 1973 [NT-Tosu]

*There may still be Tosu speakers today in some part of Yunnan, but there is no hard evidence that the language has survived into the twentieth century. Nishida's data source is an 18th century Chinese wordlist (Tosu Yi-Yu) which records the language as spoken in Sichuan. The Tosu words are glossed in Chinese, and their pronunciation is rendered both in modified Tibetan script and in transliterated Chinese characters. Nishida has used this data to "reconstruct" the phonology of the language.*

Inventory: Nishida 1973 [NT-Tosu] (pages 40-116)

### SYLLABLE CANON

T  
CV(C)

### CONSONANTS

#### Initials

p	t	ts	tś	tš	c	k	·
ph	th	tsh	tśh	tšh	ch	kh	
b	d	dz		dž	j	g	
		s	ś	sh			h
				zh		ɣ	fi
m	n			ň	ɲ	ŋ	
w	l	r			y		

- /tś tśh ś/ are palato-alveolars (apico-palatals).
- /tš tšh dž sh ŋ/ are alveolo-palatals (lamino-palatals).
- /c ch j/ are palatal stops.
- /zh/ is retroflex.
- The phonemic status of the voiced glottal fricative [fi] is uncertain; it is probably an allophone of /w/ (p. 96).
- The zero-initial /·/ only occurs before the vowel /a/.

#### Finals

-r                      -N                      -.

- Final /r/ is preserved in only a few words, all of which have main vowel /a/ (p. 102).

- <-N> is a nasal final with unspecified place of articulation. It may only represent nasalization of the preceding vowel.
- <- . > indicates constriction or glottalization, or a final glottal stop.

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

<i>Short</i>			<i>Long</i>	
i	u		ii	uu
e , ö	o		ee , öö	oo
a			aa	

- Most occurrences of the long vowels are as allophones of their short counterparts.

#### *Diphthongs*

iu		ui
	ai au	

### TONES

ˉma	high level
_ma	low level
´ma	rising
`ma	falling





**TRUNG<sup>1</sup>***Dulonghe*

Data Source: Sun Hongkai 1982 [JZ-Dulong]  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #46

*Collected in Longla Village, Town Three (Dulonghe Commune), District Four, Gongshan County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun Hongkai 1982 [JZ-Dulong] (pages 3-21)  
Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #46 (pages 325-330)

*CONSONANTS**Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	c	tɕ	k	ʔ
b	d	dz	ɟ	dʒ	g	
(f)		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	
		(z)				
m	n		ɲ	ŋ	ŋ	
w	l	ɹ	j			

- Voiceless stops and affricates may have aspirated variants; aspirated initials in Chinese loans may also be unaspirated. Thus no phonemic contrast of aspiration is attested here.
- /f z/ are found only in Chinese loans, representing Chinese /f r/ respectively.
- In a few Chinese loans with alveopalatal initials [tɕ dz ɕ] there is free variation with the corresponding retroflexes [tʂ dz ʂ].
- Velars are actually close to uvulars.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- In certain words, voiced stop and lateral initials are preceded by a glottal element [ʔ]. This glottalized feature is elided in connected speech. In certain other words, voiced stops may also be preceded by homorganic nasals.
- Alveolar initials /t d n l/ before high vowels have retroflex coloring, articulated more or less between retroflex and alveopalatal sounds.
- /ɹ/ is fricated as an initial, close to [z]; it is flapped [r] as second element of a cluster; and represents vowel rhotacization as a final.
- /-ɹ/ appears as <-<sup>ɹ</sup>> in [ZMYYC].

<sup>1</sup>Called *Dulong* in [JZ-Dulong], [ZMYYC].

*Initial Clusters*

(tw)	(lw)	(tsw)	(sw)	kw	gw	xw	ŋw
pl	bl	ml	kl	gl			
pɿ	bɿ	mɿ	kɿ	gɿ	xɿ		
pj	(tj)	bj	mj	(lj)			

- /tj lj tw lw tsw sw/ occur only in Chinese loans.

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k	-ʔ
-m	-n		-ŋ	
-mʔ	-nʔ		-ŋʔ	
	-l	-ɿ		

*VOWELS**Monophthongs*

ĩ i, (y)	ũ u	ũ u
ě e		ǔ ɔ
	ǎ a	

*Diphthongs*

(ye)	ui	ui
		ɔi
	ai	

- All monophthongs (except /y/, which occurs only in Chinese loanwords) show length contrast. Short vowels are marked by <˘> over the vowel. The length distinction is neutralized in open syllables.
- Only short vowels may precede glottalized nasal finals. With all other finals, the vowel may be short or long.
- Diphthongs only occur in open syllables.
- /i/ after bilabials is [Ii]; /e/ after velars is [Ei]; /a/ before /i/ is [a]; /ɔ/ before /ɿ/ is [ɔ]; and /u/ before consonantal endings is between [u] and [ʉ].
- /u/ is [ɿ] after alveopalatal initials; between [ĩ] and [u] after bilabials; and [ə] when occurring in the initial syllable of disyllabic words. It is realized as [uɿ] when occurring in an open syllable with the high falling tone; and close to [uɿ] when occurring word-finally.
- /ye/ is found only in Chinese loans.

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> high level  
 ma<sup>53</sup> high falling  
 ma<sup>31</sup> low falling

- In [JZ-Dulong], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Syllables with stop endings only occur with high level tone.

**TRUNG***Nujiang*

Data Source: Sun Hongkai 1982 [JZ-Dulong]

*Collected in Bingzhongluo, District One, Gongshan County, Nujiang Prefecture, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun Hongkai 1982 [JZ-Dulong] (pages 190-194)

*INITIALS*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dz	g	
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	
		z	zɿ	z		
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
w	l		ɿ	j		

*TONES*

ma<sup>55</sup> high level  
 ma<sup>53</sup> high falling  
 ma<sup>31</sup> low falling  
 ma<sup>35</sup> high rising

- In [JZ-Dulong], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Syllables with stop endings only occur with high level tone.

*NOTES*

- Rhyme inventories are more or less the same as those of Dulonghe (q.v.), except that Nujiang does not have a lateral final /-l/.



## TUJIA

### *Northern/Longshan*

Data Source: Tian et al. 1986 [JZ-Tujia]

*Collected in Dianfang Town, Longshan County, Xiangxi Prefecture, Hunan.*

Inventory: Tian et al. 1986 [JZ-Tujia] (pages 3-27)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

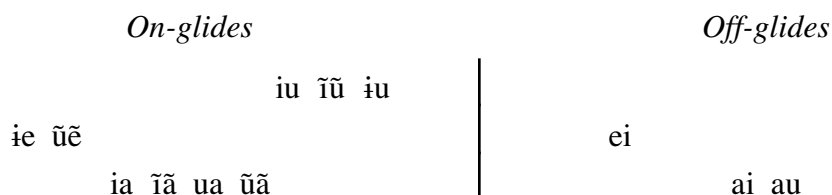
p	t	ts	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh
		s	ɕ	x
		z		ʎ
m	n			ŋ
(w)	l		(j)	

- /n/ is realized as [n̥] before /i/.
- /n/ can constitute a tone-bearing syllable. In such cases, syllabic /n/ is phonetically preceded by a glottal stop. It is pronounced homorganic to the following sound, and may voice following unaspirated obstruents.
- Under the influence of the local Chinese dialect, /n/ and /l/ are confused in young people's speech.
- /x/ is realized as [xɸ] before /u/, and as [ç] before /i/.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i	ĩ	i	u	ũ
e	ẽ		o	
		a	ã	

*Diphthongs**Triphthongs*

uei  
iau uai

- /i/ is realized as the apical vowel [ɿ] after dental fricatives and affricates.
- When /e/ is preceded by any initial but the zero-initial, it is realized as [ie].
- /u/ is realized as [ʊ]; /a/ as [ʌ].
- /o/ is somewhat closed. Due to the influence of Chinese, young people now pronounce the /io/ rhyme in Chinese loans as [io], while older people pronounce it as [iau].
- /ɛ/ is pronounced as [ɛə] after velar initials.
- /ã/ and /ũ/ are realized as [ẽ] and [ũ] respectively when preceded by any initials but the zero-initial.

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>21</sup>	low falling

- The high level tone /<sup>55</sup>/ may be realized as [<sup>54</sup>], [<sup>53</sup>], or [<sup>51</sup>] in final position.
- The low falling tone /<sup>21</sup>/ may be realized as [<sup>22</sup>] or [<sup>11</sup>], especially in non-medial position in a sentence.



**TUJIA**  
*Southern/Luxi*

Data Source: Tian et al. 1986 [JZ-Tujia]

Collected in Zexi Town, Luxi County, Xiangxi Prefecture, Hunan.

Inventory: Tian et al. 1986 [JZ-Tujia] (pages 113-118)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	k	ʔ
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	g	
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	ħ
		z			ʎ
m	n				ŋ
w	l			j	

- /ħ/ corresponds to the Northern dialect [x].

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

i ɿ, y	i, ɯ	u
e ẽ		o ɔ
	a ǎ	

*Diphthongs*

<i>On-glides</i>		<i>Off-glides</i>
yi ỹĩ      iũ		
ie, ye ie ẽ      io		ei
ia ĩǎ, ya ỹǎ      ua ũǎ		ai ai

*Triphthongs*

uei

iaɪ

- All vowels with on-glide /y-/ are found only in Chinese loans.
- The /ai iaɪ iũ õ/ rhymes correspond to the /au iau iu ù/ rhymes in Northern dialects respectively.

*TONES*ma<sup>55</sup> high levelma<sup>35</sup> high risingma<sup>21</sup> low fallingma<sup>33</sup> mid levelma<sup>13</sup> low rising

- The high level tone /<sup>55</sup>/ in the Northern dialect may correspond to tones /<sup>55</sup>/, /<sup>33</sup>/, or /<sup>13</sup>/ in the Southern dialect.
- Northern tones /<sup>35</sup>/ and /<sup>21</sup>/ correspond to Southern tones /<sup>21</sup>/ and /<sup>35</sup>/ respectively.





**UGONG**

Data Source: Bradley 1993 [DB-Ugong]

*STEDT Questionnaire. Kok Chiang District, Kanchanaburi Province, Thailand.*

Inventory: Bradley 1993 [DB-Ugong]

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	t	c	k	ʔ
ph	th		kh	
b	d		g	
	s			h
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
w	l	y		
	(ʎ)			

- /ʎ/ has now been replaced by /ʎ/ for most speakers.

*Medials*

(-l-)	-y-
-------	-----

- /-l-/ has now been lost or replaced by /-y-/.
- Medials occur only after labial and velar stops.

*Finals*

-k	-ʔ
-ŋ	

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

i	ɨ	ɯ , u
ɪ	ɘ	ɰ , U
ɛ̄	ɛ̄ , ɛ̄	ɤ , ɔ̄
ɛ	ɛ̄ ,	ʌ , ɔ
	a	

- The vowel transcription is phonetic, not phonemic.
- The symbol < , > appears in the handwritten original as a subscript hook. This symbol evidently indicates a lower or more open variety of the main symbol. Note the three varieties of the vowel symbol <ə>, one with a subscript dot, one with a single hook, and one with a double hook.

*Diphthongs*

oa

ua

uo

*TONES*

má [55]

mâ [53]

mǎ [35]

ma [33]

mà [21]

- Nearly all instances of tone [53] are underlyingly /21/ when they occur word-finally.



## WANANG

Data Source: Burling 1959 [RB-PB]

*Collected on the western border of the Garo Hills, Garobadha.*

Inventory: Burling 1959 [RB-PB] (page 438)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	c	k
	tʰ		
ɸ		s	h
m	n		ŋ
w	l	r	

- /tʰ/ is a strongly aspirated stop.
- /c/ is an alveolar affricate.
- /ɸ/ is a very breathy bilabial fricative.
- /r/ is a flap.

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ŋ
	-r	

### VOWELS

#### *Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

#### *Diphthongs*

əi	əu
ai	au

- The author stated that his recording was somewhat inconsistent as regards the distinction between /a/ and /ə/, and that there might be no distinction between /ai/ and /əi/.



## WANCHO

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the extreme northeastern part of the Tuensang District of Nagaland and the adjacent western end of the Tirap Division of N.E.F.A. Marrison takes his lexical data from [PEA1873] and [PEA1874].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 371)

Secondary Sources: [WTF-PNN]

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(V)(C)

### CONSONANTS

#### Initials

p	t		ch	k	
b	d	tz	j	g	
		s	sh		h
m	n		ny	ng	
v	l	r			

#### Finals

	-p	-t	-k
	-m	-n	-ng

- Marrison indicates that <ch sh tz ny> correspond to /c ʃ j ñ/ respectively.

### VOWELS

#### Monophthongs

i	u
e	o
a	

#### Diphthongs

ia wa ai au
-------------

- <wa> represents /ua/.
- It appears that final consonants do not occur with the diphthongs /ai au/.



**XIXIA<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Nishida 1964, 1966 [NT-SGK]

*The data come from a number of textual sources, including Xixia rhyme books and transcriptions of Xixia sounds in Tibetan and Chinese. An explanation of these sources is given in English on pages 525-533. A few of the symbols have been modified in the STEDT database.*

Inventory: Nishida 1964, 1966 [NT-SGK] (rhymes: pages 40-68; vowel charts: pages 68-69; initials: pages 71-149; consonants: page 149; explanation of the phonemic reconstruction (in English): pages 525-537)

Note: Transcription normalized in STEDT database.

*CONSONANTS*

*Simple Initials*

p		t	ts	t̥	tš	k	ʔ
ph		th	tsh	tʰ	tšh	kh	
					ñtšh		
mb	m̥v	nd	ndz	n̥d̥	ñdž	ŋg	
	f	lh	s		š	x	
	v	ɬ				ɣ	
					ňž	ŋɣ	
m		n		n̥	ň	ŋ	
		nh				ŋh	
w		l	r				ʁ
ʔw					ʔy		

*Cluster Initials*

nr stsh tshl ɣk ŋz ʁz

- <ɬ> is a voiced lateral fricative [ɬ] (p. 140).
- <lh> is a voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ] (p. 141).
- <ʔ ndz ɬ ʔw ʔy> are transcribed <ʔ<sup>l</sup> ndz ɬ ʔw<sup>l</sup> ʔy> in [NT-SGK].
- In addition, Nishida uses the cover symbols <B F T G C č H L> to represent initials that are not fully reconstructible. (The set of phonemes covered by each symbol is determined by the traditional Chinese place-of-articulation term—in Nishida’s translation ‘bilabial’, ‘labiodental’, ‘dental’, ‘velar’, ‘alveolar’, ‘alveopalatal’, ‘velar

<sup>1</sup>Called *Hsi-Hsia* in [NT-SGK], *Tangut* in [EG-Tangut].

fricative', 'retroflex and liquid' — which does not correspond exactly to the actual place of articulation of the reconstructed Xixia initials.)

### *Medials*

-ǎ-                      -w-                      -ǎ<sup>w</sup>-

### *Finals*

-w                      -ě                      -~                      -fi

- <ě> is a palatal off-glide, described by Nishida as equivalent to <y> (p. 69).
- <~> is written over the vowel and represents nasalization. It is treated systemically as a final by Nishida (p. 69).

### *VOWELS*

i	ĩ , ʈ	u
ɪ		ʊ
e		o
ɛ	ə	ɔ
a		ɑ

- There is a three-way contrast among vowels: lax (unmarked), tense (marked by <ː> under the vowel), and retroflexed (marked by <-r> following the vowel), but [ʊ] and [ə] do not occur. (Nasalization of the vowel is analyzed by Nishida as a final.) There are tentative reconstructions of three rhymes with vowels that are both tense and retroflexed /-ɪr -ĩr -ǎr/, marked by Nishida with a question mark (p. 67).

### *TONES*

- Nishida believes that Xixia was not tonal.

❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖                      ❖

### **XIXIA**

Data Source: Sofronov c1978 [MVS-Grin]

*Sofronov added his handwritten reconstructions to the glossary of Xixia characters in [EG-Tangut]. The intended phonetic values are unclear.*

Inventory: Extracted from Sofronov c1978 [MVS-Grin]

CONSONANTS

*Simple Initials*

p	t	ts	tś	k	·
ph	th	tsh	tśh	kh	
		s	ś	x	
v			ž		
m	n			ng	
mb	nd	ndz	ndź		
w	l	r			
	lh				

- <·> represents glottal stop [ʔ].
- There seems to be a pre-initial <h-> that occurs in a few words.

*Initial Clusters*

ld    rng    rm

*Medials*

-ị-                    -ị-                    -ịw-                    -ịw-

*Finals*

-n                    -u

VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u	ụ			û
ɪ	ɪ̣					
e	ẹ	ə	ə̣	o	ọ	ê
		a	ạ	ɑ	ɑ̣	â

- There is a three-way contrast among vowels. Those with a subscribed dot are presumably tense. The phonetic value of the circumflex is unclear.
- <ɑ> may just be an allograph of <a>.

*Diphthongs*

ei ɛi

ai ɤi

uo ɤo

ou

*TONES*ma<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>

- A few of the syllables in the STEDT database lack tone marks. The value of the two tones is unclear.





## YACHAM-TENGA

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Yacham-Tengsa is spoken east of the Dikhu River in what is now mostly Phom country. Marrison takes his lexical data from [JPM-Ao].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 372)

### SYLLABLE CANON

(C)V(C)

### CONSONANTS

#### *Initials*

p	t	ch	k
ph	th	chh	kh
b		j	
	s	sh	
m	n	ny	ng
w	l	y	

#### *Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng

- “In this, as in other Ao dialects, there is no phonemic distinction between aspirate and non-aspirate initial plosives” (p. 372).
- Marrison indicates that <p> and <ph> correspond to /p/; <t> and <th> correspond to /t/; <ch> and <chh> correspond to /c/; <k> and <kh> correspond to /k/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- No phonemic equivalent is provided for <sh>, but it probably corresponds to /ʃ/, which Marrison lists in his phoneme chart.
- <ny> corresponds to /ɲ/.

*VOWELS*

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

- No phonemic equivalent is provided for <ü>, but it probably corresponds to /ə/, which Marrison lists in his phoneme chart.



## YAKHA

Data Source: Kohn 1990 [TK-Yakha]

*STEDT Questionnaire.*

Inventory: Extracted from Kohn 1990 [TK-Yakha]

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	c		k	ʔ
ph	th	ch		kh	
b	d	dz	ɖ	g	
		s			h
m	n			ŋ	
w	l	r		y	

- The phonetic values of /c ch/ are unclear.

*Finals*

-p	-t		-k	-ʔ
				-h
-m	-n		-ŋ	
	-l	-r		

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i i:		u u:
e e:		o o:
ɛ ɛ:	ə	ɔ ɔ:
	a a:	

*Diphthongs*

ai	iu
----	----

- There is one instance of a nasalized vowel: <õ> in <gõda> 'knee'.



## YI

*Dafang*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #22  
 Chen et al. 1985 [JZ-Yi]

[ZMYYC]: *Eastern Dialect. Collected in Chengguan Hamlet, Dafang County, Guizhou.*

[JZ-Yi]: *Eastern Dialect. Collected in Dafang County, Guizhou.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #22 (pages 258-261)  
 Chen et al. 1985 [JZ-Yi] (There is no specific information on this dialect, but there is a general discussion of the phonology of Eastern Yi dialects on pages 180-182)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	ts	t̚	te	k	
ph	th	tsh	t̚h	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	d̚	dʒ	g	
mb	nd	ndz	nd̚	ndʒ	ŋg	
f		s		ɕ	x	h
v		z		ʒ	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ	ŋ̥	ŋ	
	l					
	ɬ					

- /ŋ/ may be realized as [n] before /i/ in weakened syllables.
- When /m/ and /u/ combine in a syllable, the sequence is often realized as a syllabic nasal. Such syllables occur with relatively high frequency. Examples are <ṃ(u)<sup>55</sup>> ‘old’, <ṃ(u)<sup>33</sup>> ‘horse’, and <ṃ(u)<sup>21</sup>> ‘make’.
- When /ni/ or /ŋi/ are pronounced quickly as weakened syllables, they are realized as syllabic nasals. Such syllables occur only rarely. Examples are <ŋ(i)<sup>21</sup> dz<sub>y</sub><sup>33</sup>> ‘day’, <ŋ(i)<sup>21</sup> tsu<sup>33</sup>> ‘twenty’.

## VOWELS

ɿ		ɯ , u
i , y		
e	ə	o
		ɔ
a		ɑ

- /ɿ/ is realized as [ɿ] after alveolars /ts tsh dz ndz s z/, and as [ʅ] after retroflexes /ʈ ʈh ɕ ndʑ ɲ/.
- /e a ɔ o/ are realized as [ɛ ʌ o u].
- The vowel /ɯ/ can occur without an initial consonant.
- There are sixteen rhymes containing diphthongs or final consonants; these rhymes mostly occur in Chinese loanwords.

## TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising
ma <sup>21</sup>	low falling

- In [JZ-Yi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- Some occurrences of the /<sup>13</sup>/ tone are in polysyllabic Chinese loanwords.

❖                    ❖                    ❖                    ❖                    ❖

## YI

*Mile*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #25  
*Southeastern Dialect. Collected in Dapingdi, Xiyi Town, Mile County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #25 (pages 256-258)

## CONSONANTS

### Initials

p	t	ts	t̥	tɕ	tɕ	k
ph	th	tsh	t̥ʰ	tɕh	tɕh	kh
b	d	dz	d̥	dz̥	dz̥	g
f		s		ɕ	ɕ	x
v		z		z̥	z̥	ɣ
m	n					ŋ
	l					
	ʎ					

- Voiced stops and affricates are slightly prenasalized when occurring in individual words pronounced slowly.
- “When bilabial stops /p ph b/ combine with vowels /u ʊ/, there is a slight vibration of the lips, so that they are realized as [pʰ pʰh bʰ].” (Note: The text here has the Greek symbol psi <ψ> (which is not in the IPA) rather than phi <φ>. Presumably a bilabial affricate or ‘attrillate’ is indicated. IPA has no symbol for a voiceless bilabial trill; the authors here may be inventing their own or, more likely, the typesetter has simply confused two similar Greek letters.)
- When /n/ combines with vowels /i ɪ e/, it is realized as [ŋ].
- When the velar fricative /x/ combines with vowels /i ɪ e/, it is realized as [ç].
- When /m/ combines with vowels /u ʊ/, the vowel is weakened and drops out, and the initial becomes syllabic.

## VOWELS

### Monophthongs

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
i	ɯ, u		ɪ	ʊ, ʊ
e	o		ɛ	ɔ
ɛ	ʌ		ɛ	ʌ

### Diphthongs

uʌ

- When the high vowels /i ɪ/ combine with dental affricates and fricatives, they are realized as [ɿ ʃ̥]; when they combine with retroflexes, they are realized as [ɿ ʃ̥].

- /e ɛ/ are realized as [ie ie].
- /ɛ ɛ/ are pronounced with the mouth more open; their phonetic value is close to [æ æ].
- /o ɔ/ are realized as [u ʊ].
- /u ʊ/ are articulated front, their phonetic value is [ɥ ɥ].
- When the vowels /i a o u/ appear without an initial consonant, there is an automatic glottal onset, which is not transcribed.
- Aside from /uA/, there are also diphthongs /oe oA/ etc., but these generally appear only in Chinese loanwords and in certain grammatical words when they occur in running speech.

### TONES

mA<sup>55</sup> high level

mA<sup>33</sup> mid level

mA<sup>21</sup> low falling

- Words in the low falling tone with constricted vowels are realized with a [31] tone and a final glottal stop [ʔ].
- Some words occur with tone [22], but in speech they are in free variation with other tones. Since there is no contrast, [22] is not considered a toneme.



### YI

#### *Mojiang*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #26

*Southern Dialect. Collected in Jingxing, Mojiang County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #26 (pages 253-255)

## CONSONANTS

### *Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dʒ	g	
f		s	ɕ	x	h
v		z	ʒ	ɣ	
m	n		ŋ	ŋ	
	l				

- When /m ŋ/ combine with vowels /u ʉ/, the vowel usually drops out; when /n/ combines with vowels /i ī/, the vowel usually drops out. Lateral /l/ can occur syllabically.
- When /ts tsh dz s z/ combine with vowels /i ī/, they are realized as [tʃ tʃh dʒ ʃ ʒ].
- [ŋ] and [h] occur only rarely, but they do contrast with the other consonants.

## VOWELS

### *Monophthongs*

<i>Unconstricted</i>				<i>Constricted</i>		
i		ɯ, u		ī		ɯ̄, ū
e		o		ē		ō
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ		(ɛ̄)	ʌ̄	(ɔ̄)

- When /i ī/ combine with dental affricates and fricatives, they are realized as [ɿ ʃ̣].
- /e/ is pronounced [ɪ].
- /u ʉ/ are realized as [ɯ̣ ɯ̣], and are slightly dentalized.
- Tense vowels /ɛ̄ ɔ̄/ occur mostly in loanwords.

### *Diphthongs*

ui		iu
ie ue		io
uɛ	iʌ uʌ	iɔ

- Diphthongs /ie iʌ iɔ io iu ue uɛ uʌ ui/ also occur, but only in Chinese loanwords.



*TONES*

mA<sup>55</sup> high level  
 mA<sup>33</sup> mid level  
 mA<sup>21</sup> low falling

- In the high level tone /o/ and /õ/ are not generally distinguished. The single exception is <mo<sup>55</sup>> ‘high’ and <mo<sup>55</sup>> ‘bamboo’; in the former the vowel is realized as [u].
- No words in the low falling tone have constricted vowels, and the abrupt [<sup>32</sup>] tone does not occur in syllables that can take the low falling tone. Therefore the [<sup>32</sup>] tone can be considered an allotone of the low falling toneme: all words with the low falling toneme with constricted vowels are realized with tone [<sup>32</sup>].
- Editor’s note: The author, basing his analysis on the fact that no constricted syllables occur under the low falling tone, considers this tone to be in complementary distribution with the abrupt tone [<sup>302</sup>]. He therefore writes constricted syllables under [<sup>32</sup>] with the symbol <\_<sup>32</sup>>. This has the great disadvantage of obscuring the historical difference in the origin of [<sup>32</sup>] (from PLB \*low checked) and [<sup>21</sup>] (from PLB Tone \*1).
- Chinese loanwords enter the high level tone category.

**YI***Nanhua*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #24

*Central Dialect. Collected in Yangjiatian Village, Xijian Town, Nanhua County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #24 (pages 251-253)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts	tʂ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tʂh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dz̥	dʒ	g	
f		s	ʂ	ɕ	x	h
v		z	z̥	ʒ	ɣ	
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
	l					

- The glottal fricative /h/ is usually nasalized and should properly be written <ḥ>; but since there is no contrast, the tilde has been left off in transcription.

## VOWELS

### Monophthongs

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
i			i̥	
	ɯ, u			ɯ̥, u̥
e			e̥	
	o			o̥
ɛ	A		ɛ̥	Ḁ

### Diphthongs

iu  
io iɔ  
iA uA

- When /i i̥/ combine with dental affricates and fricatives, they are realized as [ɿ ʅ̥]; when they combine with retroflexes, they are realized as [ɿ̚ ʅ̥̚].
- When /u ɯ̥/ combine with velars, they are realized as [ɣ ɣ̥].

## TONES

m<sup>A</sup>55 high level  
m<sup>A</sup>33 mid level  
m<sup>A</sup>21 low falling



## YI

### Nanjian

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #23  
Chen et al. 1985 [JZ-Yi]

[ZMYYC]: *Western Dialect. Collected in Wuju Village, Zhonghua Town, Nanjian County, Yunnan.*

[JZ-Yi]: *Western Dialect. Collected in Nanjian County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #23 (pages 248-2651)  
Chen et al. 1985 [JZ-Yi] (There is no specific information on this dialect, but there is a general discussion of the phonology of Western Yi dialects on pages 195-198)

CONSONANTS

Initials

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dzɕ	dzɕ	g	
f	s		ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v	z		zɕ	zɕ	ɣ	
m	n				ŋ	
	l					

Finals

-ŋ

- When /m/ combines with /u u/, or when /n l/ combine with /ɿ ɿ̄/, they are unreleased and the vowels are weakened; they are transcribed <ṁ(u) ṁ(u) ṁ(ɿ) ṁ(ɿ̄) l̄(ɿ) l̄(ɿ̄)> respectively.
- After /h/, all vowels become nasalized; this is not marked in the transcription.
- /-ŋ/ occurs only with the vowel /a/.

VOWELS

Monophthongs

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ	u		ɿ̄	u
i, y	u, u		i, ȳ	u
e	o			
a	a			

Diphthongs

ai ao

- /u u/ are dentalized vowels.
- There are also twenty-odd diphthongs and nasalized vowels that are used when spelling Chinese loanwords, but their use is infrequent and inconsistent.

*TONES*

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level
ma <sup>21</sup>	low falling
ma <sup>13</sup>	low rising

- In [JZ-Yi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The low rising tone occurs mostly in Chinese loanwords.
- Four allotones [<sup>51</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>31</sup>] can occur in compounded syllables.

**YI***Xide*

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #21  
Chen et al. 1985 [JZ-Yi]

[ZMYYC]: *Northern Dialect. Collected in Lizi Town, Hongma District, Xide County, Liangshan Prefecture, Sichuan.*

[JZ-Yi]: *Northern Dialect. Collected in Xide County, Sichuan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #21 (pages 245-248)  
Chen et al. 1985 [JZ-Yi] (pages 3-29)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	
ph	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	
b	d	dz	dzɿ	dz	g	
mb	nd	ndz	ndzɿ	ndz	ŋg	
f		s	ɕ	ɕ	x	h
v		z	zɿ	z	ɣ	
m	n			ŋ	ŋ	
ᵹ	ᵹ					
	l					
	ɬ					

- In this dialect, original /ŋ̥/ has merged with /ŋ/. ([JZ-Yi] lists a parenthesized (ŋ̥) in the consonant chart; it is absent in [ZMYYC].)
- When consonants /m̥ m̥ n̥ l̥ /combine with /ɿ ɿ̃ u̥ ɯ̥/ they are unreleased and the vowels are weakened; these syllables are transcribed as <m̥(u) m̥(ɯ) n̥(ɿ) n̥(ɿ̃)>, etc. Syllabicity marks are not written under the voiceless nasals.

VOWELS

<i>Unconstricted</i>			<i>Constricted</i>	
ɿ			ɿ̃	
i	ɯ , u			ɯ̥
	o		e	ɔ
			a	

- Constricted vowels /e a ɔ/ are not marked with an underline since there is no contrast with unconstricted vowels.
- The constricted vowel [ɯ̥] occurs in the suffix of some words, but is considered an allophone of /u/.
- /ɿ ɿ̃/ are realized as [ɿ̣ ɿ̣̃] after retroflexes; /u ɯ̥/ are realized as dentalized [ɯ̣ ɯ̥̣] after labiodentals and velars, as [ɿ̣ ɿ̣̃] after alveolar fricatives and affricates, and as [ɿ̣̣ ɿ̣̣̃] after retroflexes. /e/ is realized as [ɛ] or [i̯ɛ] ([ZMYYC]); or as [jɛ] ([JZ-Yi]).

TONES

- ma<sup>55</sup> high level
- ma<sup>44</sup> mid high level
- ma<sup>33</sup> mid level
- ma<sup>21</sup> low falling

- In [JZ-Yi], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- /<sup>44</sup>/ is a basic toneme, but [<sup>44</sup>] is also a sandhi form of /<sup>33</sup>/ and /<sup>21</sup>/, which are always transcribed in their original tone.
- Some syllables in this dialect, in addition to their tone, have emphatic length. This, however, has not been transcribed.



## YIMCHUNGRÜ

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the south-central and southeastern parts of the Tuensang District of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Yimch].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 373)

## SYLLABLE CANON

(C)(r)V(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	t	tr	ts/ch	k
ph	th	thr	tsh/chh	kh
b	d		j	
	s		sh	h
m	n			ng
w	l	r	y	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng

- Marrison indicates that <ts> and <ch> correspond to /c/. It is not clear whether this represents allophonic or merely orthographic variation.
- <sh> corresponds to /ʃ/.
- Marrison indicates that <tsh> and <chh> correspond to /ch/, but does not list /ch/ in his phoneme chart. The omission is probably a typographical error.

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i		u
e	ü	o
	a	

*Diphthongs*

ie	ou
----	----

- Marrison indicates that <ü> represents /ə/.



ZAIWA<sup>1</sup>

Data Source: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB]

*“I collected all the data myself or at least checked it personally with speakers of the various languages, largely with students at the University of Rangoon in 1959-60” (p. 4).*

Inventory: Burling 1967 [RB-PLB] (pages 16-19)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

ph	phy	th		tsh	ch	khy	kh
pʔ	pʔy	tʔ		tsʔ	cʔ	kʔy	kʔ
p	py	t		ts	c	ky	k
				s	š		h
m	my	n	ny				ŋ
mʔ	mʔy	nʔ	nʔy				ŋʔ
v		l		(r)	y		
		lʔ					

- /p py t ts c ky k/ are all fully voiced consonants.
- The “glottalized” consonants impose creaky vocalization on the following vowel.
- /v/ is realized as [β] after [e a] when in a high tone syllable. Otherwise there is free variation ranging from [β]- to [w]-like sounds.
- /r/ is retroflex and fricative; it probably only occurs in borrowings.

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

i	u
e	o
a	

<sup>1</sup>Called *Atsi* in [RB-PLB], [JAM-TSR], [JAM-GSTC], [JAM-VSTB].

*Diphthongs*

ui

ai au

- /i/ is high front when following initial or medial /-y-/. Otherwise it is backed toward high central.
- Diphthongs occur only in open syllables.

*TONES*

mà low falling

mâ mid level; short falling

má high falling

mā high level

mak checked

mǎ toneless, with reduced schwa-like vowel

**ZAIWA**

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #42

Xu and Xu 1984 [JZ-Zaiwa]

*[ZMYYC]: Collected in Xishan, Luxi County, Dehong Prefecture, Yunnan.**[JZ-Zaiwa]: Spoken in Xishan, Luxi County, Zhanxi of Yunjiang County, and Bangwa of Longchuan County, Yunnan.*

Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #42 (pages 313-317)

Xu and Xu 1984 [JZ-Zaiwa] (pages 6-20)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

p	pj	t	ts	tʃ	k	kj
ph	phj	th	tsh	tʃh	kh	khj
(f)			s	ʃ	x	xj
v				ʒ		
m	mj	n			ŋ	ŋj
		l		j		



*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	

- /f/ is found only in Chinese loans.
- Dentals are palatalized before front vowels (e.g. [tʃi], [lʃe]) but this is not indicated in the transcription.
- Nasals can be syllabic in a few cases.

*VOWELS*

*Monophthongs*

i ị	u ụ
e ẹ	o ọ
a ạ	

*Diphthongs*

ui ụi
oi ọi
ai ại au ạu

- All ten monophthongs occur with all seven final consonants, except that /i/ does not combine with /-p/, and /ị/ does not combine with /-m/. Diphthongs occur only in open syllables.
- /e/ is realized as [ə]; /ẹ/ is realized as [ẹ] except after dental affricates, bilabials, velars, and /v/, where it is realized as [ə].
- After velars, or after dental affricates, bilabials, /v/, and before a velar coda, /i ị/ are realized as [ɣ ɣ̣].
- In the speech of youngsters and cadres, four more rhymes are found under influence from Chinese: /ɿ ua iu iau/.

*TONES*

ma<sup>21</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>51</sup>

- In [JZ-Zaiwa], tones are represented by Chao tone letters, not numbers.
- The high level tone /<sup>55</sup>/ is realized as high rising [1<sup>5</sup>] when the syllable contains an unaspirated initial plus a lax vowel nucleus.
- In weakened syllables, all three tones become reduced; /<sup>51</sup>/ and /<sup>55</sup>/ become a weak high tone, while /<sup>21</sup>/ becomes a weak low tone.



## ZAIWA

*Sadon*

Data Source: Yabu 1982 [YS-Zaiwa]

*The Zaiwa language is called “Atsi-ga” in Jinghpo, but “/tsaiwâ taŋ/” by the people themselves. It is spoken in a number of scattered villages in northern Burma, from the east bank of the “Nmaiha” River in Kachin State to northern Shan State and in the southwestern part of Yunnan Province in China.*

*Sadon is located about 53 miles across the Irrawaddy River from Myitkyina, capital of Kachin State, and about 40 miles from Waimaw, where the township office has been shifted.*

*Although the author made several short trips to Mandalay and Myitkyina off and on since 1972, in the end he failed to get to this area. The fieldwork for this book was done primarily during a short stay at Mandalay in 1978 and 1979, with a student at the Teacher Training Institute, Mandalay (U Hpakawn Yaw, then age 27), who was born and had lived in Sadon and a nearby town, excluding the period of four years of education in the plains of Burma.*

Inventory: Yabu 1982 [YS-Zaiwa] (pages 7-12)

## SYLLABLE CANON

T  
C(C)V(V)(C)

## CONSONANTS

*Initials*

p	py	t	ts	c	k	ky	?
ph	phy	th	tsh	ch	kh	khy	(kr)
				š	x		
m	my	n		ň	ŋ		
w		l	r	y			

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
-m	-n	-ŋ	

- /p t ts c k/ are pronounced [p t ts t̚ k] when combined with constricted vowels, but are realized as [b̥ d̥ d̥z̥ d̥z̥ ɡ̥] when combined with non-glottalized vowels. In the latter case, these are actually semi-voiced sounds that begin with a voiceless onset but become fully voiced as they are released. In the medial position of words and phrases, the voiceless onset portion completely disappears.

- /c/, /ch/, and /ň/ are phonetically [tɕ ~ ɕʒ], [tɕh], [ɲ ~ ɲj], respectively.
- /w/ is realized as a weakly fricated [v] before the back vowels /o u/, and as [w] elsewhere.
- /r/ is realized as [z̥ ~ ɾ ~ ɾ]. In the post-verbal particle /-rá ~ -râ/ it is pronounced as [ɾ] at normal speed.
- /š/ is phonetically [ɕ].
- /x/ is pronounced [ç ~ χ] before /i/, and [x] otherwise.
- /ʔ/ is phonemic as a syllable onset.
- There are only two examples of /r/ in loanwords from Jingpho.

VOWELS

<i>Monophthongs</i>			<i>Diphthongs</i>
i <u>i</u>	u <u>u</u>		ui <u>ui</u>
e <u>e</u>	o <u>o</u>		oi <u>oi</u>
a <u>a</u>			ai <u>ai</u> au <u>au</u>

- There is a contrast between glottalized and non-glottalized vowels. The glottalized vowels are pronounced with a strong constriction of the larynx. When pronounced emphatically, the initial consonants preceding constricted vowels are also glottalized, but otherwise they are not.
- The following initial consonants combine with glottalized vowels:  
/p t ts c k m n ɲ w l š y x ʔ/
- Glottalized vowels do not combine with the aspirated series of consonants, and no examples of glottalized vowels combining with /r/ have been observed. The initial nasals /m n ɲ y/ are realized as preglottalized [ʔm ʔn ʔɲ ʔŋ] when combined with constricted vowels.
- /e e/ never combine with finals /-p -t -k -m/, and combine with finals /-n -ŋ/ only in loanwords.
- /i i/ never combine with final /-m/, and combine with finals /-p -k/ only in loanwords.
- Diphthongs only occur in open syllables.

TONES

ma	low level (I)	[ <sup>22</sup> ]
má	high level (II)	[ <sup>44</sup> ]
mâ	high falling (III)	[ <sup>41</sup> ]

- When a vowel occurs in an open prefixal syllable, there are cases where it is weakened and shortened. Even here, however, a two-way contrast between high and

low is strictly preserved. This may be regarded as the contrast between tones I and II. Although it is a subphonemic detail, weakened vowels are written with a superscript breve; e.g. the tone of <mã> is [22], and the tone of <mã̃> is [44].



**ZEME**

Data Source: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL]

*Spoken in the eastern part of the North Cachar Hills and the contiguous tract in the Zeliang sub-district of the Kohima District of Nagaland. Marrison takes his lexical data from [GEM-Zeme].*

Inventory: Marrison 1967 [GEM-CNL] (page 374)

*SYLLABLE CANON*

(C)(C)V(V)(C)

*CONSONANTS**Initials*

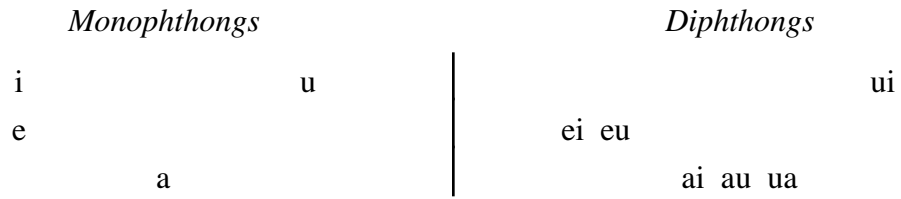
p	t	ch	k
mp	nt	nch	ngk
b	d		g
mb	nd		ngg
	s		h
	ns		
	z		
	nz		
m	n		ng
mm	nn		ngng
w	l	r	
		nr	

*Finals*

-p	-t	-k
-m	-n	-ng

- Marrison indicates that <ch j> correspond to /c z/ respectively.

### VOWELS



- /ua/ is the only diphthong which co-occurs with final consonants.



**ZHABA<sup>1</sup>**

Data Source: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #16  
*Collected in Tuanjie Town, Yajiang County, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan.*  
 Inventory: Sun et al. 1991 [ZMYYC] #16 (pages 223-226)

*CONSONANTS*

*Initials*

p	pr	t	ts	tɕ	tɕ	k	q
ph	phr	th	tsh	tɕh	tɕh	kh	qh
b	br	d	dz	dzɿ	dzɿ	g	
nb		nd	ndz	ndzɿ	ndzɿ	ng	
(f)			s	ɕ	ɕ	x	h
			z	zɿ	zɿ	ɣ	fi
m		n			ŋ	ŋ	
ᵐ		ᵑ			ᵑ	ᵑ	
w		l	r		j		
		ɬ					

- /f/ occurs only in Chinese loans.
- /s ɕ/ can be pronounced with aspiration in certain words.
- /l/ and /ɬ/ can freely interchange in native vocabulary, but since they must be differentiated in Tibetan loanwords, /ɬ/ is considered a separate phoneme.
- The /zɿ/ and /r/ may interchange word-initially; but they are contrastive when occurring in the second syllable of words.
- Zero-initial is realized as [ʔ].
- <n-> in prenasalized initials represents a homorganic nasal.

---

<sup>1</sup>*Zhābā*, the language treated here, should be distinguished from *Zhābà*, spoken in Daofu County, Sichuan. The Zhaba treated here has been identified with Queyu (Yajiang) by Jackson Sun (J. Sun 1992).

## VOWELS

*Monophthongs*

<i>Oral</i>				<i>Nasal</i>		
i, y	u	u		ĩ, ỹ		ũ
e, ø	ə	o		ẽ, ø̃	ã	õ
ɛ	ɐ	a		ẽ		ã

*Diphthongs*

<i>On-glides</i>				<i>Off-glides</i>		
ui						
ue uẽ				ei	əu	
uɛ yɛ	uə	ua		ɛi		ai au

*Triphthongs*

uei

iau

- /i/ is realized as [i] after alveopalatals, as [ɨ] after alveolar fricatives and affricates, and as [ɻ] after retroflexed fricatives and affricates.
- /a/ represents [A].
- Nasalized vowels are lower than their plain counterparts.

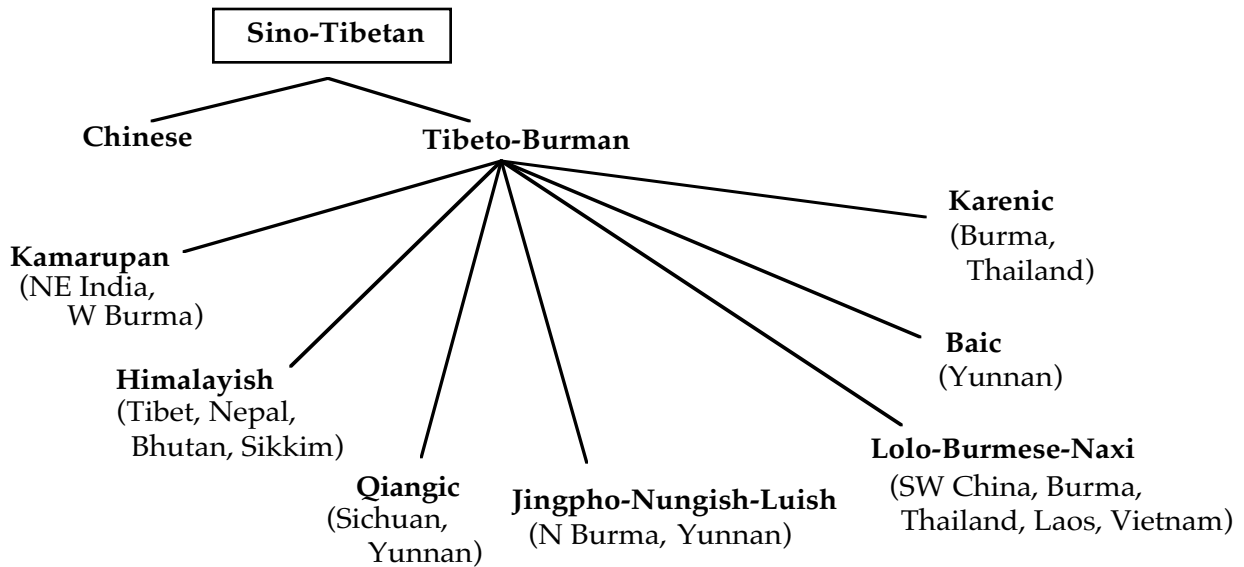
## TONES

ma <sup>55</sup>	high level
ma <sup>53</sup>	high falling
ma <sup>35</sup>	high rising
ma <sup>33</sup>	mid level





## MAJOR BRANCHES OF TIBETO-BURMAN



### KAMARUPAN

Kuki-Chin  
 Meithei  
 Mikir  
 Mru  
 Naga  
 -Angamoid  
 -Central  
 -Eastern  
 -Southern  
 -Southwestern  
 Northern Naga  
 Bodo-Garo  
 Abor-Miri-Dafla

### HIMALAYISH

Bodic  
 Western Himalayish  
 TGTM  
 Central Nepal Group  
 Kiranti  
 Newari  
 Lepcha  
 Dhimalish

### QIANGIC

rGyalrong/Ergong  
 Xixia/Tosu  
 Qiang, Northern and Southern  
 Other Qiangic

### JINGPHO-NUNGISH-LUISH

### LOLO-BURMESE-NAXI

Northern Loloish  
 Central Loloish  
 Southern Loloish  
 Burmish  
 Naxi

### BAIC

### KARENIC

### UNCLASSIFIED

Tujia  
 Jinuo

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- ACK-DTE      Csoma de Körös, Alexander. 1934. *Essay towards a dictionary, Tibetan and English, prepared with the assistance of Bandé Sangs-Rgyas Phun-ts'ogs*. Calcutta.
- ACK-GTL      Csoma de Körös, Alexander. 1834. *A grammar of the Tibetan language in English*. Calcutta.
- ACST          Chou Fa-kao. 1972. *Archaic Chinese and Sino-Tibetan*. *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*. 5.1:159-237.
- AH-CSDPN     Hale, Austin. 1973. *Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal IV: word lists*. (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 40). Kathmandu, Nepal: SIL and Tribhuvan University Press.
- AJ-BED        Judson, Adoniram. 1893. *Burmese-English dictionary*. Rangoon: Baptist Board of Publications.
- Anony1959    Anonymous. 1959. *Lisuyu yufa gangyao [An outline of Lisu grammar]*. Beijing: Scientific Publishing Company.
- AO-diss        Osburne, Andrea. 1975. *A transformational analysis of tone in the verb system of Zahao (Laizo) Chin*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University.
- ARO1980      Arokianathan. 1980. *Tangkhu phonetic reader*. (Phonetic reader series, 20.) Mysore: CIIL.
- AT-MPB        Tayeng, Aduk. 1976. *Milang phrase book*. Shillong: The Director of Information and Public Relations, Gov't of Arunachal Pradesh.
- AT-Padam     Tayeng, Aduk. 1983. *A phrase book in Padam*. Shillong: Director of Research, Arunachal Pradesh.
- AW-TBT        Weidert, Alfons K. 1987. *Tibeto-Burman tonology: A comparative account*. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, Vol. 54.) Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- B-ShrpaHQ    Bishop, Naomi. 1989. *Questionnaire (Sherpa Helambu)*. (unpublished).
- BAI1909        Bailey, Thomas Grahame. 1909. *A brief grammar of the Kanauri language*. *ZDMG* 63:661-87.
- BAI1911        Bailey, Thomas Grahame. 1911. *Kanauri vocabulary in two parts: English-Kanauri and Kanauri-English*. (RAS Monograph 13.) London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- BDHH1971     Bandhu, Chuda Mani, B. N. Dahal, A. Holzhausen and A. Hale. 1971. *Nepali segmental phonology*. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed.

470 SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

- BER1965 Bernot, Denise. 1965. The vowel systems of Arakanese and Tavoyan. *IPLS*. II:463-74.
- Bhat-Boro Bhat, D. N. Shankara. 1968. Boro vocabulary (with a grammatical sketch). (Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series 59.) Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
- Bhat-TNL Bhat, D. N. Shankara. 1968. The Tankhur Naga language. *Linguistic Survey Bulletin* (Indian Deccan College, Poona, India). 3:6-11.
- Bhat-TNV Bhat, D. N. Shankara. 1969. Tankhur Naga vocabulary. (Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series 67.) Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
- BK-AD Karlgren, Bernhard. 1923. Analytic dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- BLBC-Khonom Blankenship, Barbara et al. 1993. Phonetic structures of Khonoma Angami. *LTBA*. 16.2:69-88.
- BM-Bah Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. Bahing. ms. (electronic).
- BM-Bbp Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. Bantawa body parts. ms.
- BM-Hay Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. Hayu. ms. (electronic).
- BM-Hbp Michailovsky, Boyd. 1974. Hayu body parts, in phonemic notation. ms.
- BM-Htvm Michailovsky, Boyd. 1974. Hayu typology and verbal morphology. *LTBA*. 1.1:1-26.
- BM-LH Michailovsky, Boyd. 1988. La langue hayu [The Hayu language]. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- BM-Lim Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. Limbu. electronic (unpublished).
- BM-PK7 Michailovsky, Boyd. 1991. Big black notebook of Kiranti, proto-Kiranti forms, ms. (unpublished).
- BM-PTNL Michailovsky, Boyd. 1988. Phonological typology of Nepal languages. *LTBA*. 11.2:25-50.
- BMMM-Bbp Michailovsky, Boyd and Martine Mazaudon. 1974. Bahing body parts: Rangadip village. ms.
- BON1930-31 Bonnerjea, B. 1930-31. Contribution to Garo linguistics and ethnology. *Anthropos*. 30:509-32, 837-50, 31:141-57, 456-69.
- BOR-Sema Bor, N.L. and C.R. Pawsey. 1938. English-Sema vocabulary. *JASB-Letters*. 4:309-349.
- BOR1938 Bor, N.L. 1938. Yano Dafla grammar and vocabulary. *JASB-Let*. 4:217-81.
- BRO1920 Brown, George Eustace Riou Grant. 1920. The Kadus of Burma. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*. 1.3:1-28.
- BRO1951 Brown, N. 1851. Specimens of the Naga Language of Assam *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 2:157-165.
- BS1971b Bieri, Dora and Marlene Schulze. 1971. Sunwar phonemic summary, revised version Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries IX. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed.
- BS1971c Bieri, Dora and Marlene Schulze. 1971. A guide to Sunwar tone. A guide to tone in Nepal IV. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed.



- BSCH1971a Schoettelndreyer, Burkhard. 1971. Glides in Sherpa.. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed.
- BSCH1971c Schoettelndreyer, Burkhard. 1971. Vowels and tone patterns in the Sherpa verb. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed.
- BSTL Shafer, Robert. 1957/63. Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan languages. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. Vol. 1, 1975; Vol. 2, 1963.
- BUT1875 Butler, J. 1875. A rough comparative vocabulary of the two more of the dialects spoken in the Naga Hills. JASB. 44.1:216-227.
- CAU1969 Caughley, Ross. 1969. Chepang phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman phonemic summaries IV. Kirtipur: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
- CB-SpitiQ Bodh, Sri Chhimed. 1991. Questionnaire (Spiti). (unpublished).
- CG-Diss Genetti, Carol. 1990. A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Dolakha Newari Dialect. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon.
- CG-Dolak Genetti, Carol. 1990?. Dolakhali (Newari) word list. (unpublished).
- CG-Kath Genetti, Carol. 1990?. Kathmandu word list. (unpublished.).
- CHE1990 Chelliah, Shobhana L. 1990. Level ordered morphology and phonology in Manipuri. LTBA. 13.2:27-72.
- CHU1867 Chuckerbutty, R.N. 1867. English, Bengali, and Garrow vocabulary. Calcutta.
- CK-pGd Chang Kun. 1968. The phonology of the Gyarong dialect. (Academia Sinica/ Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology.) 38:251-75.
- CK-TujBQ Chen Kang. 1986. Questionnaire. (unpublished).
- CK-TujMQ Chen Kang. 1986. Questionnaire. (unpublished).
- CK-YiQ Chen Kang. 1986. Questionnaire. (unpublished).
- CLA1911 Clark, Ephraim W. 1911. Ao-Naga dictionary. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- CSL-YIzd Chen Shilin, Li Min, et al., eds. 1979. Yihan zidian [Yi-Chinese dictionary]. Yi Language Work Unit, People's Committee of Sichuan.
- CYS-Meithei Singh, Ch. Yashwanta. 1991. Questionnaire (Meithei). (unpublished).
- DB-Bisu Bradley, David. Bisu dialect vocabulary. (unpublished).
- DB-Lahu Bradley, David. 1979. Lahu dialects. (Oriental Monograph Series, No. 23) Canberra: Australian National University.
- DB-Lisu Bradley, David. 1994. A dictionary of the northern dialect of Lisu (China and southeast Asia) [Based on Xu, Mu et al. 1985]. (Pacific Linguistics Series C-126.) Canberra: Australian National University.
- DB-Ph Bradley, David. 1977. Phunoi or Cômông. PSEAL 4. 5:67-98.
- DB-PLolo Bradley, David. 1979. Proto-Loloish. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, no. 39.) London and Malmo: Curzon Press.
- DB-Ugong Bradley, David. 1993. Questionnaire (Ugong). (unpublished).
- DBK-ECD Van Bik, David 1986. English-Chin (Haka) dictionary. Haka.

- DHFRL Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991. *Zangmianyu shiwuzhong* [Fifteen Tibeto-Burman languages]. Beijing: Yanshan Chubanshe.
- DHR-IBWS Roop, D. Haigh. 1972. *An introduction to the Burmese writing system*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- DK-Moyon Kosha, Donald. 1990. *Questionnaire (Moyon)*. (unpublished).
- DLF-Gazhuo Dai Qingxia, Liu Juhuang, and Fu Ailan. 1987. *On the Gazhuo language of the Mongolian people of the Yunnan Province*. (Yuyan Yanjiu, No. 1.)
- DNW-Gloss Watters, David and Nancy Watters. 1973. *An English-Kham Kham-English glossary*. Kirtipur, Nepal: SIL and Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.
- DNW-KhamQ Watters, David and Nancy Watters. 1989. *Questionnaire (Kham)*. (unpublished computer file).
- DQ-AL Dai Qingxia and Cui Zhichao. 1983. *A brief description of the Achang language*. MZYW. 1983.3:69-80.
- DQ-Amdo Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Bai Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Bai)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Batang Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Batang)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Bola Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Dafang Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Dafang)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Daofu Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Daofu)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Gazhuo Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Gazhuo)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Hani Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Hani)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Haoni Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Haoni)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Jiarong Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Jiarong)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-JinA Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-JinB Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-KarenA Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-KarenB Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Langsu Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Lashi Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Lolopho Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Naxi Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Naxi)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Nusu Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Nusu)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-NusuA Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-NusuB Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-QiangN Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Tujia Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Tujia)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Xiandao Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Field Notebook*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Xixia Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Xixia)*. (unpublished).
- DQ-Yi (Axi) Dai Qingxia. 1989. *Questionnaire (Yi: Axi)*. (unpublished).

- DQ-Zaiwa Dai Qingxia. 1989. Questionnaire (Zaiwa). (unpublished).
- DS-Kan Sharma, D.D. 1988. A descriptive grammar of Kinnauri. Delhi: Mittal Publications (Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan languages 1).
- DS-Kayah Solnit, David. 1986. A grammatical sketch of Eastern Kayah (Red Karen). Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- DS-PAO Solnit, David. 1989. Pa-O word list. ms. (electronic).
- DS-Patt Sharma, D.D. 1982. Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan linguistics: A descriptive analysis of Pattani (a dialect of Lahaul). Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab University.
- DUN1908 Dundas W.C.M. 1908. An outline grammar of the Kachari (Dimasa) language. Shillong.
- DW1971a Watters, David E. 1971. Kham phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries X. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- DW1971b Watters, David E. 1971. A guide to Kham tone. A guide to tone in Nepal III. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- EA-Tsh Andvik, Eric. 1993. Tshangla verb inflections. LTBA. 16.1:75-136.
- EDG1932 Edgar, J. Huston. 1932. An English-Giarung vocabulary. Journal of the West China Border Research Society. 5. Supplement.
- EG-Tangut Grinstead, Eric. 1972. Analysis of the Tangut script. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, no. 10.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- EJAH-BKD Henderson, Eugénie J. A. forthcoming. Bwe Karen dictionary. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- EJAH-Hpun Henderson, Eugénie J. A. 1986. Some hitherto unpublished material on Northern (Meyaw) Hpun. Contributions to Sino-Tibetan studies, ed. by John McCoy and Timothy Light, 101-34. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- EJAH-TC Henderson, Eugénie J. A. 1965. Tiddim Chin: A descriptive analysis of two texts. (London oriental series 15.) London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- ELS-CLL Evans, Jonathan P., John B. Lowe, Jackson T. S. Sun. 1991. Comparative Loloish lexicon. (unpublished.)
- ERH-DSLS Hope, Edward R. 1972. The deep syntax of Lisu sentences; a transformational case grammar Ph.D. Dissertation, Australian National University.
- EWC-Ao Clarke, E.W. 1893. Ao Naga Grammar with Illustrative Phrases and Vocabulary Shillong.
- FD-Bai Dell, François. 1981. La langue Bai: phonologie et lexique [The Bai language: phonology and lexicon]. Paris: Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.
- GAO1952 Gao Huanian. 1952. Yangwu Haniyu chutan [Preliminary investigation of the Yangwu Hani language]. Scholarly reports of Chung-shan University. 2:175ff.
- GAO1958 Gao Huanian. 1958. Yiyu yufa yanjiu [A study of Yi grammar]. Peking: Scientific Publishing Co.

- GBM-Lepcha Mainwaring, G.B. 1898. Dictionary of the Lepcha language. Berlin: Unger Brothers.
- GBS1971 Shepherd, Gary and Barbara Shepherd. 1971. Magar phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries VIII. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- GDW-DML Walker, George David. 1925. A dictionary of the Mikir language, Mikir-English and English-Mikir. Shillong: Assam Gov't. Press.
- GEM-Ao Marrison, G.E. 1962. Ao-English vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Chok Marrison, G.E. 1962. English-Chokri vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-CNL Marrison, G.E. 1967. The classification of the Naga languages of north-east India. Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. 2 volumes.
- GEM-Kon Marrison, G.E. 1962. Konyak-English vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Liang Marrison, G.E. 1964. English-Liangmai vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Mao Marrison, G.E. 1965. English-Mao vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Mzieme Marrison, G.E. 1965. English-Mzieme vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Nruan Marrison, G.E. 1965. English-Nruanghmei vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Phom Marrison, G.E. 1965. English-Phom vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Sang Marrison, G.E. 1963. Sangtam-English vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Yimch Marrison, G.E. 1965. English-Yimchungrü vocabulary. ms.
- GEM-Zeme Marrison, G.E. 1965. English-Zeme vocabulary. ms.
- GHL-PPB Luce, G. H. 1985. Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma languages and history, Vol. 2. School of Oriental and African Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GJ-Batang Jumian, Gesang. 1989. Phonological analysis of Batang Tibetan. Budapest: Acta Orientalia Scientiarum. 43.2-3:331-358.
- GLO1969 Glover, Warren W. 1969. Gurung phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman phonemic summaries I. Kirtipur: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
- GLO1970b Glover, Warren W. 1970. Gurung texts. OPWSTBL 3, ed. by Hale and Pike III.1-31. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- GLO1970c Glover, Warren W. 1970. Gurung segmental synopsis. OPWSTBL 3, ed. by Hale and Pike, I.211-236. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- GOR1969 Gordon, Kent. 1969. Sherpa phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries II. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- GOR1970 Gordon, Kent. 1970. Sherpa tone and higher levels. OPWSTBL 3, ed. by Hale and Pike I.186-206. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- GOW1972 Gowda, K.S. Gurubasave. 1972. Ao Naga phonetic reader. (Phonetic Reader Series, 7.) Mysore: CIIL.
- GS1970 Gordon, Kent and Burkhard Schoettelndreyer. 1970. Sherpa segmental synopsis. HP I.345-367.
- GSR Karlgren, Bernhard. 1957. Grammata serica recens. (reprinted from Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin 29.) Göteborg, Sweden: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.

- HAJ-TED Jäschke, Heinrich August. 1881. A Tibetan-English dictionary, with special reference to the prevailing dialects. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- HAM1900 Hamilton, Robert Clifton. 1900. An outline grammar of the Dafla language as spoken by the tribes immediately south of the Apa Tanang country. Shillong.
- HAR1969 Hari, Maria. 1969. Thakali phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman phonemic summaries III. Kirtipur: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
- HAR1970c Hari, Maria. 1970. A guide to Tamang tone. A guide to tone in Nepal I. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- HAR1971c Hari, Maria. 1971. A guide to Thakali tone. *Pacific Linguistics A* 29:23-78
- HG1970 Hale, Austin and Warren W. Glover. 1970. A note on glides and syllabicity and tone in Gurung. *OPWSTBL* 3, ed. by Hale and Pike 1.45-51. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- HM-Prak Hoshi Michiyo. 1984. A Prakaa vocabulary - a dialect of the Manang language. *Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal II*. (Monumenta Serindica No. 12.) Tokyo: ILCAA.
- HOD1847a Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1847a. On the aborigines of the sub-Himalayas. *JASB*. 16:1235-44.
- HOD1848 Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1848. On the Chépáng and Kúsúnda tribes of Nepal. *JASB*. 17.2:650-8.
- HOD1857 Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1857. Comparative vocabulary of the several languages (dialects) of the celebrated people called Kirântis. *JASB*. 26.5:333-71.
- HOU1895 Houghton, Bernhard. 1895. Southern Chin vocabulary (Minbu district). *JRAS*. (1895):727-37.
- HP1970 Hale, Austin and Kenneth L. Pike (eds.) 1970. Tone systems of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal Parts I-IV. (*OPWSTBL* 3.) Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- HS1972 Hale, Austin and Iswaranand Sresthacharya. 1972. Toward a revision of Hale's roman Newari orthography. ms.
- HSCH1970 Schoettelndreyer, Heiderose. 1970. A guide to Sherpa tone. A guide to tone in Nepal V. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- HTP1970 Hari, Maria, Doreen Taylor, and Kenneth L. Pike. 1970. Tamang tone and higher levels. *OPWSTBL* 3, ed. by Hale and Pike 1.82-124. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- HU-Hani Hu Tan and Dai Qingxia. 1964. Haniyu yuanyin de songjin [Tense and lax vowels in Hani]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* [Chinese language and writing], Beijing. 128.1:76-87.
- HUT1929 Hutton, John Henry. 1929. Outline of Chang grammar. *JASB* n.s. 15:1-101.
- ILH-PCAH Hansson, Inga-Lill. 1982. A phonological comparison of Akha and Hani. *LTBA*. 7.1:63-115.
- ILH-PL Hansson, Inga-Lill. 1989. A comparison of Akha, Hani, Khatu, and Pijo. *LTBA*. 12.1:1-91.

## 476 SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

- IMS-Aka Simon, Ivan Martin. 1970. Aka language guide. Shillong: North-East Frontier Agency.
- IMS-Apatani Simon, Ivan Martin. 1972. An Introduction to Apatani. Shillong: Research Department, Arunachal Pradesh.
- IMS-HMLG Simon, Ivan Martin. 1976. Hill Miri language guide. Shillong: Philological Section, Research Dept., Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- IMS-Miji Simon, Ivan Martin. 1979. Miji language guide. Shillong: Directorate of Research (Philological Section) Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- INT Xu Lin and Mu Yuzhang et al., eds. 1985. Lisu-Chinese dictionary. Kunming: Yunnan Nationalities Publishing House.
- ISC-LNED Chemjong, Imam Singh. 1962. Limbu-Nepali-English dictionary. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- JAM-AHWST Matisoff, James A. 1985. Out on a limb: arm, hand and wing in Sino-Tibetan. *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: The state of the art*, ed. by Graham Thurgood et al., 421-425. (Pacific Linguistics Series C, No.87). Canberra: Australian National University.
- JAM-DL Matisoff, James A. 1988. The dictionary of Lahu. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, v. 111.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- JAM-Ety Matisoff, James A. 1987. Body Part Card File. (unpublished.)
- JAM-GSTC Matisoff, James A. 1985. God and the Sino-Tibetan copula, with some good news concerning selected Tibeto-Burman rhymes. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (Tokyo Foreign Languages University). 29:1-81.
- JAM-IWBRD Matisoff, James A. 1976. Introduction to the Written Burmese rhyming dictionary. *LTBA*. 3.1:iii-x.
- JAM-Lbh Matisoff, James A. 1969. Lahu bilingual humor. *ALH*. 12.2:171-206.
- JAM-LDTB Matisoff, James A. 1986. The languages and dialects of Tibeto-Burman: and alphabetic/genetic listing, with some prefatory remarks on ethnonymic and glossonymic complications. *Contributions to Sino-Tibetan studies*, ed. by John McCoy and Timothy Light, 1-75. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- JAM-LPLB Matisoff, James A. 1969. Lahu and Proto-Lolo-Burmese. *OPWSTBL* 1, ed. by Alton L. Becker, 117-221. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.
- JAM-MLBM Matisoff, James A. 1978. Mpi and Lolo-Burmese microlinguistics. *Monumenta Serindica* (ILCAA, Tokyo). 4:1-36.
- JAM-Quo Matisoff, James A. 1979. Problems and progress in Lolo-Burmese: quo vadimus? *LTBA*. 4.2:11-43.
- JAM-Rong Matisoff, James A. 1994. Rongmei elicitation. (unpublished.)
- JAM-SK Matisoff, James A. 1993. Sangkong of Yunnan: secondary "verb pronominalization" in Southern Loloish. *LTBA*. 16.2:123-142.
- JAM-TIL Matisoff, James A. 1983. Translucent insights: a look at Proto-Sino-Tibetan through Gordon H. Luce's comparative word-list. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*. 46.3:462-76.
- JAM-TJLB Matisoff, James A. 1974. The tones of Jinghpaw and Lolo-Burmese: Common origin vs. independent development. *ALH*. 15.2:153-212.

- JAM-TSR Matisoff, James A. 1972. The Loloish tonal split revisited. (Research Monograph No. 7.) Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- JAM-VCIL Matisoff, James A. 1969. Verb concatenation in Lahu: the syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxtaposition. *ALH*. 12.1:69-120.
- JAM-VSTB Matisoff, James A. 1978. Variational semantics in Tibeto-Burman: The 'organic' approach to linguistic comparison. (OPWSTBL 6.) Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- JCD Dai Qingxia, Xu Xigen, Shao Jiacheng, Qiu Xiangkun. 1983. *Jing-Han Cidian -- Jinghpo Miwa Ga Ginsi Chyum -- Jinghpo-Chinese Dictionary*. Yunnan Nationalities Press.
- JDS-Lahauli Singh, J. D. 1989. Lahauli verb inflection. *LTBA*. 12.2:41-50.
- JF-HLL Fraser, James Outram. 1922. *Handbook of Lisu (Yawyin) language*. Rangoon: Superintendent Government Printing.
- JFN-DMT Needham, Jack Francis. 1886. A few Digaro (Taroan), Miju (M'ju) and Tibetan words.... Shillong.
- JHL-AM Lorrain, J. Herbert. 1907. *A dictionary of the Abor-Miri language, with illustrative sentences and notes*. Shillong: Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Printing Office.
- JHL-Lu Lorrain, J. Herbert. 1940. *Dictionary of the Lushai language*. (Bibliotheca Indica 261.) Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JHN-Moshang Needham, J.H. 1897. *A collection of a few Moshang Naga words*. Shillong.
- JK-Dh King, John. 1994. *Dhimal body parts*. (personal communication).
- JK-Dhimal King, John. 1994. *Picking up where Hodgson left off: further notes on Dhimal*. *LTBA*. 17.2:121-132.
- JML-Lushai Lloyd, J.M. 1956. *English-Lushai Dictionary*. Aijal.
- JO-PB Okell, John. 1971. *K clusters in Proto-Burmese*. *STC* 4.
- JP-Idu Pulu, Jatan. 1978. *Idu phrase book*. Shillong: The Director of Information and Public Relations, Arunachal Pradesh.
- JPM-Ao Mills, J.P. 1926. *The Ao Nagas*. London.
- JPM-Mong Mills, J.P. n.d. *Mongsen Ao Word List* Typescript.
- JPM-Reng Mills, J.P. 1937. *The Rengma Nagas*. London.
- JS-Amdo Sun, Jackson. 1985. *Amdo Tibetan*. M.A. Thesis. ms.
- JS-Ch Sun, Jackson. 1985. *Chinese Glosses, excerpted*. M.A. Thesis. ms.
- JS-HCST Sun, Jackson. 1993a. *A historical-comparative study of the Tani (Mirish) branch in Tibeto-Burman*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- JS-Mawo Sun, Jackson. 1986?. *Qiang Mawo*. ms.
- JS-Tani Sun, Jackson. 1993b. *Tani synonym sets*. ms. (electronic).
- JS-Tib Sun, Jackson. 1985. *Tibetan glosses, excerpted*. M.A. Thesis. ms.
- JTR-GDK Joshi, Tika Ram. 1909. *A grammar and dictionary of Kanawari*. *JASB* n.s. 5, extra no. 2.

- JUI1948 Jui, I-fu. 1948. *Ji Lisu yuyin jian lun suowei Lisuwen* [On the sounds of the Lisu language with remarks on the Lisu script]. *AS/BIHP*. 17:303-26.
- JZ-Achang Dai Qingxia and Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985. *Achangyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Achang language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Bai Xu Lin and Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984. *Baiyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Bai language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-CLMenba Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986. *Cangluo Menbayu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Cangluo Menba language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-CNMenba Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986. *Cuona Menbayu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Cuona Menba language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Dulong Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982. *Dulongyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Dulong language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Hani Li Yongsui and Wang Ersong, eds. 1986. *Haniyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Hani language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Jingpo Liu Lu, ed. 1984. *Jingpozu yuyan jianzhi (Jingpoyu)* [Brief description of the Jingpo language of the Jingpo people]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Jinuo Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986. *Jinuoyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Jinuo language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Lahu Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986. *Lahuyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Lahu language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Lisu Xu Lin, Mu Yuzhang, Gai Xingzhi, eds. 1986. *Lisuyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Lisu language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Luoba Ouyang Jueya, ed. 1985. *Luobayu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Luoba language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Naxi He Jiren and Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985. *Naxiyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Naxi language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Nusu Sun Hongkai and Liu Lu, eds. 1986. *Nuzu yuyan jianzhi (Nusuyu)* [Brief description of the Nusu language of the Nu people]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Pumi Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983. *Pumiyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Pumi language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Qiang Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981. *Qiangyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Qiang language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Tujia Tian Desheng, He Tianzhen et al., eds. 1986. *Tujiayu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Tujia language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Yi Chen Shilin, Bian Shiming, Li Xiuqing, eds. 1985. *Yiyu jianzhi* [Brief description of the Yi language]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Zaiwa Xu Xijian and Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984. *Jingpozu yuyan jianzhi (Zaiwayu)* [Brief description of the Zaiwa language of the Jingpo people]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.
- KAR1972 Karapurkar, Pushpa. 1972. *Tripuri phonetic reader*. (Phonetic Reader Series, 5.) Mysore: CIIL.
- KDG-Daf Das Gupta, K. 1969. *Dafla language guide*. Shillong: Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.



- KDG-ICM Das Gupta, K. 1968. An introduction to Central Monpa. Shillong: Philology Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
- KDG-IGL Das Gupta, K. 1963. An introduction to the Gallong language. Shillong: Philological Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
- KDG-INL Das Gupta, K. 1971. An introduction to the Nocte language. Shillong: Philological Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
- KDG-Tag Das Gupta, K. 1983. An outline on Tagin language. Directorate of Research, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh.
- KE-Cham(2) Ebert, Karen. 1989?. Questionnaire (Chamling). (unpublished).
- KEI1873 Keith, T.J. 1873. Dictionary of the Garo language, Garo and Bengali-English. Jalpaiguri.
- KHG-Mikir Grüssner, Karl-Heinz. 1978. Arleng Alam, die Sprache der Mikir: Grammatik und Texte. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- KOS1976 Koshal, Sanyukta. 1976. Ladakhi phonetic reader. (Phonetic Reader Series, 18.) Mysore: CIIL.
- KRI1980 Krishan, Shree. 1980. Thadou: a grammatical sketch. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, Gov't. of India.
- LB-LC Bernot, Lucien. 1967. Les Çak. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- LCP-Trung Lo Ch'ang-p'ei. 1945. A preliminary study of the Trung language of Kung Shan. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. 8: 343-8.
- LI1980 Li Fangkuei. 1980. Shanggu yin yanjiu [Studies on Old Chinese pronunciation]. Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan.
- LI1981 Li Min and Ma Ming. 1981. Liangshan Yiyu yufa [Grammar of Liangshan Yi]. Sichuan People's Press.
- LL-AAM Löffler, Lorenz G. 1966. L'alliance asymétrique chez les Mru (Pakistan orientale). Homme 6.3:68-80.
- LL-CMST Löffler, Lorenz G. 1966. The contribution of Mru to Sino-Tibetan linguistics. ZDMG 116.1:118-59.
- LL-CS Löffler, Lorenz G. 1964. Chakma und Sak: ethnolinguistische Beiträge sur Geschichte eines Volkes. Internationale Archive der Ethnographie. 50.1:72-115.
- LL-MSTC Li Lin-ts'an, Chang K'un and Ho Ts'ai. 1967. Moso sound and tone charts. Symposium on Historical, Archeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, Southeast Asia and the Hong Kong Region, F.S. Drake, ed., 90-100. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- LL-PRPL Löffler, Lorenz G. 1985. A preliminary report on the Paangkhua language. Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: The state of the art, ed. by Thurgood, Graham et al., 279-286. (Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 87.) Canberra: Australian National University.
- LMZ-AhiQ Luo Meizhen. 1990?. Questionnaire (Yi: Ahi). (unpublished).
- LNC-DTL Chakravarty, L.N. et al. 1963. A dictionary of the Taron language. Shillong: Philology Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
- LSI Grierson, Sir George Abraham (ed.) 1903-28. Linguistic survey of India. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.

- LSTA Thurgood, Graham, James A. Matisoff, and David Bradley, eds. 1985. *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: The state of the art. Papers presented to Paul K. Benedict for his 71st birthday.* (Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 87.) Canberra: Australian National University.
- LXR-Jiarong Lin Xiangrong. 1993. *Jiarongyu yanjiu* [Research on rGyarong]. Chengdu: Sichuan Nationalities Press.
- LYS-Sangkong Li Yongsui. 1991. *Mian-Yi yuyan diaocha de xin shouhuo: Sangkongyu* [A new harvest from research into Burmese-Yi: the Sangkong language]. Presented at the Fifth International Yi-Burmese Conference. Xichang Sichuan. Beijing: Institute of Nationality Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
- MAH1969 Hale, Margrit and Austin Hale. 1969. *Newari phonemic summary.* Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries V. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed.
- MAL Malla, Kamal P. 1985. *The Newari language: A working outline.* (Monumenta Serindica No. 14.) Tokyo: ILCAA.
- MB-Lal Balawan, M., S.D.B., M.Sc. 1965. *A first Lalung dictionary, with the corresponding words in English and Khasi.* Shillong.
- MCC1887 McCabe, Robert Blair. 1887. *Outline grammar of the Angami Naga language, with a vocabulary and illustrative sentences.* Calcutta.
- MEG1988 Megu, Arak. 1988. *Bori phrase book.* Itanagar: Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- MEG1990 Megu, Arak. 1990. *Bokar language guide.* Itanagar: Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- MF-PhnQ Ferlus, Michel. 1991. *Questionnaire (Phunoi).* (unpublished).
- MIS1905 Mason, M.C. et al. 1905. *English-Garo dictionary.* Shillong.
- MM-Dzong Mazaudon, Martine. 1985. *Dzongkha number systems.* Southeast Asian Linguistic Studies Presented to A-G. Haudricourt, ed. by Suriya Ratanakul et al. Bangkok: Mahidol University.
- MM-K78 Mazaudon, Martine. 1978. *Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang sub-family of Tibeto-Burman.* *Kailash.* 6.3:157-79.
- MM-PTPK Mazaudon, Martine. 1985. *Proto-Tibeto Burman as a two-tone language? Some evidence from Proto-Tamang and Proto-Karen.* *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: The state of the art*, ed. by Graham Thurgood, et al., 201-229. (Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No. 87). Canberra: Australian National University.
- MM-TamRisQ Mazaudon, Martine. 1991. *Questionnaire (Tamang: Risiangku).* (unpublished).
- MM-Thesis Mazaudon, Martine. 1994. *Problèmes de comparatisme et de reconstruction dans quelques langages de la famille tibéto-birmane.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle.
- MM1973 Mazaudon, Martine. 1973. *Tibeto-Burman tonogenetics.* *LTBA.* 3.2:1-123.
- MOR1963 Morse, Robert H. 1963. *Phonology of Rawang.* *Anthropological Linguistics.* 5.4:17-41.
- MVS-Grin Sofronov, M.V. c1978. *Annotations to analysis of the Tangut script.* Personally entered into glossary of Grinstead 1972 [EG-Tangut].

- MXL-Lolo Ma Xueliang. 1948. Luowen "Zuoji, xianyao, gongshengjing" yizhu [Annotated translation of the Lolo book of rites, cures, and sacrifices]. AS/BIHP. 20:577-666.
- MXL-Sani Ma Xueliang. 1951. Sani Yiyu yanjiu [Researches in the Yi language of Sani]. (Chinese Academy of Sciences linguistics monographs 2.) Shanghai.
- MXL-SaniQ Ma Xueliang. 1989?. Field Notebook. (unpublished).
- NEFA-PBI Anonymous. 1962. A phrase book in Idu. Shillong: Philological Section, Research Dept., North-East Frontier Agency.
- NJA-Thulung Allen, N.J. 1975. Sketch of Thulung grammar. (East Asian Papers no.6.) Ithaca: Cornell University China-Japan Program.
- NKR-Bant Rai, Novel Kishore. 1985. A descriptive study of Bantawa. Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.
- NM-PTChin Mundhenk, N.A. 1968. Words and reconstructions: Proto Lushai-Chin. ms.
- NPB-ChanQ Noonan, M., W. Pagliuca, and R. Bhulanja. 1992. Questionnaire (Chantyal). (unpublished).
- NT-Bisu Nishida, Tatsuo. 1966. Bisugo no kenkyu: Taikoku okeru Bisu-zoku no gengo no yobiteki ni kenkyu [A preliminary study of the Bisu language -- a language of Northern Thailand discovered by us]. TAK. 4.1:65-87.
- NT-CS Nishida, Tatsuo. 1966-67. A comparative study of the Bisu, Akha, and Burmese languages, Parts I and II. TAK. 4.3 (1966):42-68; 4.5 (1967):52-68.
- NT-SGK Nishida, Tatsuo. 1964, 1966. Seikago no kenkyu [A study of the Hsi-Hsia language: reconstruction of the Hsi-Hsia language and decipherment of the Hsi-Hsia script]. Japan: Zauho Kaukokai. 2 volumes.
- NT-Tosu Nishida, Tatsuo. 1973. Tosu yakugo no kenkyu [A study of the Tosu-Chinese vocabulary Tosu I-Yu]. Kyoto: Shokado.
- OH-DKL Hanson, Ola. 1906. A dictionary of the Kachin language. Rangoon. (Reprint 1954, 1966, Rangoon, Baptist Board of Publications).
- OH-GKL Hanson, Ola. 1896. A grammar of the Kachin language. Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press.
- OT-KnsI Ono, Toru. 1965. Kyotsu-kuki-chin-go no saikosei I: Goto shi in [The reconstruction of Proto-Kuki-Chin I: initial consonants]. Gengo Kenkyu. 47.8-20.
- PB-Bisu Beaudouin, Patrick. 1988. Glossary English-French-Bisu; Bisu-English-French. Nice, France: Section de Linguistique. U.E.R. Lettres. Université de Nice.
- PB-MB Beaudouin, Patrick. 1991. Une monographie du Bisu. Nouveau Doctorat es Sciences du Langage, Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis.
- PB-TCV Bhaskararao, Peri. 1994. Tiddim Chin verbs and their alternants. Journal of Asian and African Studies Nos. 46-47.
- PE1933 Pe Maung Tien. 1933. The dialect of Tavoy. JBRS. 23:31-2.
- PEA1872 Peal, S.E. 1872. Vocabulary of the Banpara Nagas. JASB. 41:29-30.
- PEA1873 Peal, S.E. 1873. Vocabulary of the Banpara Nagas. JASB. 42, Appendix:xxx-xxxvi.
- PHI1904 Phillips, Elnathan Gooding. 1904. Outline grammar of the Garo language. Shillong.

- PKB-KLH Benedict, Paul K. 1979. Four forays into Karen linguistic history. *LTBA*. 5.1:1-35.
- PKB-WBRD Benedict, Paul K. 1976. Rhyming dictionary of Written Burmese. *LTBA*. 3.1:1-93.
- PL-AED Lewis, Paul. 1968. Akha-English dictionary. (Data Paper 70, Linguistics series III.) Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Southeast Asia Program.
- PL-AETD Lewis, Paul. 1989. Akha-English-Thai dictionary. Chiang Rai: Development & Agricultural Project for Akha.
- PT-Kok Tripuri, Prashanta and Dan Jurafsky. 1988. Kokborok dictionary. ms.
- RAL-GDL Lorrain, Reginald Arthur. 1951. Grammar and dictionary of the Lakher or Mara language. Gauhati: Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam.
- RAN1975 Rangan, K. 1975. Balti phonetic reader. (Phonetic Reader Series, 17.) Mysore: CIIL.
- RASD-TRB Rai, Agam Simg Devasa. 1944. Thulung Rai bhasa [Thulung Rai language]. Darjeeling.
- RAV1974 Ravindran, N. 1974. Angami phonetic reader. (Phonetic Reader Series, 10.) Mysore: CIIL.
- RB-GB Burling, Robbins. 1992. Garo (Bangladesh dialect) semantic dictionary. (unpublished).
- RB-GG Burling, Robbins. 1961. A Garo grammar. (Deccan College Monograph Series 25.) Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
- RB-PB Burling, Robbins. 1959. Proto-Bodo. *Language*. 35:433-53.
- RB-PKR Burling, Robbins. 1969. Proto-Karen: a reanalysis. *OPWSTBL* 1, ed. by Alton L. Becker, 1-116. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.
- RB-PLB Burling, Robbins. 1967. Proto-Lolo-Burmese. (Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, publication 43.) The Hague: Mouton.
- RBJ-KLS Jones, Robert B., Jr. 1961. Karen linguistic studies: Description, comparison, and texts. (University of California Publications in Linguistics #25.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- RC-ChepQ Caughley, Ross. 1990. Questionnaire (Chepang). (unpublished).
- RJL-DPTB LaPolla, Randy J. 1987. Dulong and Proto-Tibeto-Burman. *LTBA*. 10.1:1-43.
- RLS-PDMN Schmidt, Ruth Laila, ed. 1993. A practical dictionary of modern Nepali. Delhi: Ratna Sagar.
- RLT-IAD Turner, R.L. 1966. A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages. London: Oxford University Press.
- ROB1849 Robinson, W. 1849. Notes on the languages spoken by various tribes inhabiting the valley of Assam *JASB*. 18:323-330 and 342-349.
- ROC1937 Rock, Joseph F. 1937. Studies in Na-khi literature. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*. 37:1-119.
- ROC1963 Rock, Joseph F. 1963. A Na-khi English encyclopedic dictionary. (Serie Orientale Roma, XXVII.) Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

- ROE1933 Roerich, Georges de. 1933. The Tibetan dialect of Lahul. *Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute*. 3:219.
- RPHH-Kul Rai, Krishna Prasad, Anna Holzhausen, and Andreas Holzhausen. 1975. Kulung body part index from: Kulung-Nepali-English glossary. Kathmandu: SIL and Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.
- SAV1908 Savidge, Fred W. 1908. A grammar and dictionary of the Lakher languages. Allahabad.
- SB-ClassTib Beyer, Stephan V. 1992. The classical Tibetan language. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- SB-Lalo Björverud, Susanna. 1994. The phonology of Lalo. Paris: Paper presented to the 27th international conference on Sino-Tibetan languages and linguistics.
- SBN-BunQ Sharma, S.R. 1991a. Questionnaire (Bunan). (unpublished).
- SCH Schuessler, Axel. 1977. The Archaic Chinese equivalents of Tibeto-Burman -r. *STC* 10.
- SD-MPD Srinuan Duanghom. 1976. An Mpi dictionary. ed. by Woranoot Pantupong, (Working papers in phonetics and phonology 1). Bangkok: Indigenous Languages of Thailand Research Project, Central Institute of English Language.
- SH-KNw Shakya, Daya Ratna and David Hargreaves. 1989. Questionnaire (Newari). (unpublished).
- SHA1947 Shafer, Robert. 1947. Hruso. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London*. 12:184-96.
- SHA1966-73 Shafer, Robert. 1966-73. Introduction to Sino-Tibetan. 5 parts. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- SHK-Anong Sun Hongkai. 1988. Notes on Anong, a new language. *LTBA*. 11.1:27-63.
- SHK-BaimaQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Baima). (unpublished).
- SHK-ErgDQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Ergong: Danba). (unpublished).
- SHK-ErgNQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Ergong: Northern). (unpublished).
- SHK-ErsCQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Ersu). (unpublished).
- SHK-GuiqQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Guiqiong). (unpublished).
- SHK-Idu Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Idu). (unpublished).
- SHK-MawoQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Mawo). (unpublished).
- SHK-MuyaQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Muya). (unpublished).
- SHK-NamuQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Namuyi). (unpublished).
- SHK-rGEQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (rGyarong: Eastern). (unpublished).
- SHK-rGNQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (rGyarong: Northern). (unpublished).
- SHK-rGNWQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (rGyarong: Northwest). (unpublished).
- SHK-ShixQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Shixing). (unpublished).
- SHK-Sulung Sun Hongkai. 1993. Questionnaire (Sulong). (unpublished).
- SHK-ZhabQ Sun Hongkai. 1991. Questionnaire (Zhaba). (unpublished).
- SIL-Chep Caughley, Ross. 1972. A vocabulary of the Chepang language. Kathmandu: SIL.

- SIL-Gur Glover, Warren W. 1972. A vocabulary of the Gurung language. Kirtipur: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
- SIL-Kham Watters, David and Nancy Watters. 1972. A vocabulary of the Kham language. Kirtipur, Nepal: SIL and Tribhuvan University.
- SIL-Sahu Taylor, Doreen, Fay Everitt, and Karna Bahadur Tamang. 1972. A vocabulary of the Tamang language. Kirtipur, Nepal: SIL and Institute of Nepal Studies, Tribhuvan University.
- SIL-Thak Hari, Maria. 1971. A vocabulary of the Thakali language. Kathmandu: SIL and Tribhuvan University.
- SIN1975 Singh, Inder. 1975. Manipuri phonetic reader. (Phonetic Reader Series, 12.) Mysore: CIIL.
- SIN1986 Singh, L. Mahabir and L. Priyokumar Singh. 1986. Kabui language: a short description.
- SIT1972a Toba, Sueyoshi and Ingrid Toba. 1972. Khaling phonemic summary Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries XII. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- SKR1889 Skrefsrud, Lars Olsen. 1889. A short grammar of the Mech or Boro language. Benagoria: Santal Mission.
- SLZO-MLD Sun Hongkai, Lu Shaozun, Zhang Jichuan and Ouyang Jueya, eds. 1980. Menba, Luoba, Dengren de yuyan [The languages of the Menba, Luoba and Deng peoples]. Beijing: Social Sciences Press.
- SM1971a Strahm, Esther and Anita Maibaum. 1971. Jirel phonemic summary. Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries XI. Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
- SOP1885 Soppitt, C.A. 1885. A short account of the Kachcha Naga (Empeo) tribe in the North Cachar Hills, with an outline grammar, vocabulary, and illustrative sentences. Shillong.
- SRE1976 Sreedhar, M.V. 1976. Sema phonetic reader. (Phonetic Reader Series, 15.) Mysore: CIIL.
- SRS-PSS Sharma, S.R. 1979. Phonological structure of Spiti. *LTBA*. 4.2:83-110.
- STC Benedict, Paul K. 1972. Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus. (Princeton-Cambridge Series in Chinese Linguistics, #2.) New York: Cambridge University Press.
- STE-Ashö Stern, Theodore. n.d. Ashö (Sandoway) paradigms, texts, vocabulary, and tape recordings of texts. Eugene, Oregon: BSTL.
- STE-Lente Stern, Theodore. n.d. Lente paradigms, texts, and vocabulary; Laizo word lists and some additional data; Zanniat paradigms, one text, vocabulary, and tape recordings. Eugene, Oregon: BSTL.
- STE-Zo Stern, Theodore. n.d. Zo paradigms, texts, vocabulary, and tape recordings of texts. Eugene, Oregon: BSTL.
- STE1955 Stern, Theodore. 1955. A provisional sketch of Sizang (Siyin) Chin. Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology.
- STE1963 Stern, Theodore. 1963. A provisional sketch of Sizang (Siyin) Chin. *AM* 10.2:228-78.
- STI1866 Stilson, Lyman. 1866. Brief notice of the Kemi language spoken by a tribe in Arakan, farther India. *JAOS*. 8:213-26.
- STP-ManQ Sharma, S.R. 1991b. Questionnaire (Manchati). (unpublished).

SVD-Dum	Driem, Sjors van. 1993. A grammar of Dumi. (Mouton Grammar Library 10.) Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
SVD-Lim	Driem, Sjors van. 1987. A grammar of Limbu. (Mouton Grammar Library 4.) Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
SY-KhözhaQ	Yabu, Shiro. 1994. Questionnaire (Khözha). (unpublished).
T-KomRQ	Toba, Sueyoshi and Allen Kom. 1991. Questionnaire (Kom Rem). (unpublished).
TAI1987	Taid, Tabu. 1987. A short note on Mising phonology. <i>LTBA</i> . 10.1:130-7.
TAY1969	Taylor, Doreen 1969. Tamang phonemic summary. <i>Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries VII</i> . Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, mimeographed
TBL	Dai Qingxia et al. 1992. A Tibeto-Burman lexicon. Beijing: Central Institute of Minorities.
TC-gram	Chhangte, Thangi. 1990. Nishi grammar sampler. Arlington, Texas: Paper presented to the 23th international conference on Sino-Tibetan languages and linguistics.
TC-list	Chhangte, Thangi. 1992. Nishi (Dafla) word list. ms.
TC-phon	Chhangte, Thangi. 1992. Phonology of some Nishi (Dafla) dialects. Berkeley: Paper presented to the 25th international conference on Sino-Tibetan languages and linguistics.
THI1972	Thirumalai, M.S. 1972. Thaadou phonetic reader. (Phonetic reader series, 6.) Mysore: CIIL.
THO1980	Thoudam, Purna C. 1980. Grammaticality and non-meaning phrases in Meiteiron. <i>STC</i> 13.
TK-Yakha	Kohn, Tamara. 1990?. Questionnaire (Yakha). (unpublished).
TT-Mising	Taid, Tabu. 1987. Mising morphophonemics <i>LTBA</i> . 10.1:138-46.
VIA1909	Vial, Paul. 1909. Dictionnaire français-lolo, dialecte gni.... Hong Kong.
VN-AngQ	Nienu, Vikuosa. 1990. Questionnaire (Angami Naga). (unpublished).
VN-ChkQ	Nienu, Vikuosa. 1990. Questionnaire (Chokri). (unpublished).
VN-LothQ	Nienu, Vikuosa. 1990. Questionnaire (Lotha). (unpublished).
VS-GBL	Schwerli, Verena. 1979. A grammar of the Bawm language. ms.
WAH-Sani	Wu Zili, Ang Zhiling, Huang Jianmin. 1984. <i>Yi-Han jianming cidian</i> [Abridged Yi-Chinese dictionary]. Yunnan Nationalities Press.
WAL1948	Walker, G.E.D. 1948. Outline grammar of a few Moshang Naga words Shillong.
WBB-Deuri	Brown, W.B. 1895. An outline grammar of the Deori Chutiya language: spoken in Upper Assam with an introduction, illustrative sentences, and short vocabulary. Shillong: Assam Secretariat Printing Office.
WHB-OC	Baxter, William. 1992. A handbook of Old Chinese phonology. ( <i>Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs</i> 64.) Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
WIL1869	Williamson, W.J. 1869. A vocabulary of the Garo and Konch dialects. <i>JASB</i> . 38.1:14-20.
WIT-Lotha	Witter, W.E. 1888. Outline Grammar of the Lotha Naga Language Calcutta.

- WM-Cha McCulloch, W. 1859. Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the hill tribes, with a comparative vocabulary of the Munnipore and other languages. (Selections from the records of the Gov't of India (Foreign Department) 27.) Calcutta: Bengal Printing Co.
- WOL1966 Wolfenden, Stuart. 1936. Notes on the Jyârung dialect of Eastern Tibet. *T'oung Pao*. 32:167-204.
- WP-Mg Pettigrew, William. 1912. Manipuri (Mitei) grammar with illustrative sentences... Allahabad: Pioneer Press.
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- YN-HSJIP Nagano, Yasuhiko. 1979. A historical study of rGyarong initials and prefixes. *LTBA*. 4.2:44-68.
- YN-HSJR Nagano, Yasuhiko. 1979. A historical study of rGyarong rhymes. *LTBA*. 5.1:37-47.
- YN-HSJSV Nagano, Yasuhiko. 1984. A historical study of the rGyarong verb system. Tokyo: Seishido.
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### *Abbreviations used in the bibliography*

ALH	Acta Linguistica Hafniensia, Copenhagen.
BSTL	Shafer, Robert, et al. eds., Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan languages, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, Vol. 1, 1957, Vol. 2, 1963.
CIIL	Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India.
IPLS	Milner, G. B., and Eugénie J. A. Henderson, eds., Indo-Pacific linguistic studies (Lingua 14-15), Vol. 1: Historical linguistics, Vol. 2: Descriptive linguistics, Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing Co., 1965.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, CT.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
LTBA	Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area, University of California, Berkeley.
OPWSTBL	Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics.
PSEAL	Papers in South East Asian Linguistics.
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics.
STC	Sino-Tibetan Conference.
TAK	Tonan Ajia Kenkyu (Southeast Asian Studies), Tokyo.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.

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