

PHUNOI OR CÔÔNG¹

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ABSTRACT

A substantial vocabulary of this Loloish Tibeto-Burman language follows some phonetic, phonological, and comparative observations. Phunoi usually has final /p/, /t/, /m/, or /n/ in reflexes of Proto-Loloish roots reconstructed with *-p, *-t, *-m, or *-n respectively. Phunoi is also conservative in preserving the three-tone system reconstructed for Proto-Loloish non-stopped syllables; in stopped syllables, the two-way tonal distinction has its southern Loloish phonetic reflex. Phunoi, like other Bisoid languages, has undergone a chain shift in manners of initials: *voiced stops have voiceless unaspirated reflexes, while *stop-prefixed nasals have voiced *stop* reflexes.

PREVIOUS WORK

The first vocabulary of this language appears in Lefèvre-Pontalis 1892, under the name 'Khong'. An excellent vocabulary, with tones indicated, is in Roux 1924; there is also ethnographic and historical information in this source. Several linguists, including Shafer and Nishida, have used the Roux material in comparison. Nishida 1966-7 shows that Phunoi is closely related within Southern Loloish to Bisu, a language of northern Thailand, and to Pyen in Burma, reported in Scott/Hardiman 1900; Matisoff 1972 uses the term 'Bisoid' for this subgroup. Harris has more recently worked with several informants, including mine. Ferlus has also done work on the language, and some ethnographic information on the Cồông in Vietnam is found in Vương 1973.

PHUNOI AND THEIR SETTING

The Phunoi live in Phongsaly Province, northeastern Laos; the Northwest Autonomous Region of Vietnam; and probably in China as well. In Vietnam, the Phunoi are called Cồông, and speak a slightly different dialect; according to the 1960 census, there are about 6,500 in all. In Laos, the Phunoi live in a concentrated area around Phongsaly town; Roux reports a population of 10,000 in 1923, which is now probably far too low. There are, according to informants, five major clans, each with a dialect; Roux reports one, Ferlus another, and Harris and myself a third. Some Phunoi also now live in Luang Phrabang and Vientiane Provinces, as they were unable to return home after serving in the Royal Lao forces. 'Phunoi' means *little man* in various Dai languages including Ly, and is probably not the original name for this group; Cồông [kho:ŋ] is more likely to be the original name. The relatively small areas inhabited by the Phunoi, and the large population concentrated in these areas, are both unusual among Loloish groups — which tend to be geographically scattered, and intermingled with other groups.

According to Phunoi tradition, they were under Burmese rule in the Muong Sing area of northwestern Laos until five generations before 1923. This location is much closer to the modern Bisu and Pyen, so genetic comparison supports the tradition. Then, after a Chinese invasion, they fled to their present area; perhaps this invasion can be associated with Yung Li, the last Ming emperor, and his Manchu pursuers; or with the later upheavals associated with the Mohammedan rebellion in Yunnan.² They were then involved, always on the losing side, in wars between the Burmese and the Vietnamese. The resettlement of populations after wars, in the territory of the victors, may account for the presence of Phunoi in Vietnam. The main concentration of Phunoi was in Muong U, a part of the Ly Federation [sip sŋ phān na:], *twelve thousand wet-rice fields*, when the French entered the area;³ there are strong Ly cultural and lexical influences on the Phunoi in the area. For example, the Phunoi adopted Ly Buddhism.

The history of Muong U has been extremely turbulent in the last century. Various armies of Chinese bandits caused chaos for more than thirty years at the end of the nineteenth century. These Chinese, called [hɔ] in most Dai languages of the area, are called /hɔə bà/ in Phunoi; several other Loloish languages have related forms, derived from *hek¹. These Chinese were eventually subdued by the Ly, who were in turn conquered by the French — who then received cession of the area from China, the nominal ruler, in 1895.⁴ There were major Ly revolts in 1908-10 and 1914-6;⁵ the French suspected the Phunoi of involvement

in at least the second of these.⁶ Between 1917 and 1924, the French built many roads in the area to consolidate their rule – using mainly Phunoi corvée labour.⁷ Most of the non-Phunoi population of the area went to China to avoid this work; thus, in 1921 the French moved their administrative centre to Phongsaly, in the Phunoi area of the province. There were constant bandit raids from China – one source lists ten between 1917 and 1930.⁸ The Phunoi began to serve in the French armies, and later benefitted from high opium prices, and Vichy government support of opium cultivation, during World War II. Anti-Japanese, Viet Minh, Pathet Lao, and CIA guerillas were active in the area at various times; the Royal Lao government also used the Phunoi in its forces. During a brief truce in 1958-9, the Royal Lao government tried to exterminate the Pathet Lao and Neutralist forces in the area.⁹ From 1959, Phongsaly Province became a Neutralist stronghold under Colonel Khammouane; he was supplied from China, and roads were built connecting northern Laos with adjacent areas of China. For about ten years, the area was subject to intensive US bombing. Now, at last, Laos has achieved peace; the Phunoi are certain to benefit.

TRANSCRIPTION: PHONETICS, PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORY

Items in brackets do not occur in the primary system, but only in the secondary system of loans. There are very many loans in Phunoi.

1. Minor Syllables (schwa vowel, pitch same as following syllable, with these initials)

	(t)	c	k	
		ch	kh	
b	d	ʒ	g	
f	s			
w	l	j		

Xh are voiceless aspirated stops. /t/, /d/ are dental; /f/ is a bilabial or labiodental fricative. /ʒ/ here is [dʒ].

2. Initial Consonants (followed by full, tonal vowel)

p	p̣	t	c	(ḳ)	(ḳ̣)	k	?	
ph	pḥ	th	ch	(kḥ)		kh		
b	ḅ	d	j			g		
m	ṃ	n	ɲ					
hm	hṃ	hn	hɲ					
(f)		s	(ʃ)			(x)	h	
w	l	j				(y)	ɥ	
	hl	hj						
		sh						

As above, but /ʒ/ is a palatalized dental, weakly affricated. /b/, /ḅ/, /d/ are sometimes implosive. /ṃ/ and /p̣/ occur only in juncture in my data. /j/ is a palatal continuant; /ḥ/ and /ḥ̣/ are strongly articulated, voiceless-onset palatal and lateral continuants. /sh/ is an aspirated dental spirant. hN are voiceless nasals.

3. Vowels

i	ɨ	u	ĩ	(ɨ)	(ũ)	All but two native vowels are non-diphthongal. The nonnative diphthongs are listed later.
e	ɛ	o	ẽ	(ẽ)	õ	
(e)	a	(o)	ã			

4. Final Consonants

p	t	(k)	[?]	Occurring combinations of Vowel and Final Consonants are stated below. [?] is a juncture phenomenon in primary system.
m	n	ɲ	(ŋ)	
ɸ		ɿ		

5. Tones

ˈ ˊ ˋ ˋˊ ˋˋˊ (ˋˋˋ)

High (level or slightly falling), low (level or slightly falling), mid (level), and rising, phonetically. The rising tone does not occur in the primary system.

PHONOLOGY

The phonological oppositions are subsumed in the charts above. Minor Syllable Consonants have a two-way opposition, stop (S) or continuant (C); Initial Consonants have a three-way opposition, with nasal (N) in addition to S and C. Vowels are oral (O) or nasalized (N).

The S and C group consonants are contrastively voiced (V), strongly articulated (H), or weakly articulated (W), the last non-voiced and non-aspirated. The N group are either strongly articulated (H) or voiced, weakly articulated (V); the values of H and V are different with N than with S or C. Borrowings have added a number of additional CW elements, and introduced one which formerly occurred only in Minor Syllables to Initial Consonant position (f). The following chart refers to Initial Consonants; Minor Syllables have several fewer possibilities, thus the opposition is more restricted; this reduction can sometimes be shown to be recent (either by comparisons with Roux materials, or with other languages).

The positions of articulation which are contrastive in primary phonological system (native words) are labial (L), dental (D), palatal (P), velar (X), and laryngeal (L̥). Labials also occur palatalized (LY), and velars occur labialized in secondary system (XL).

		L	D	P	X	ɛ	LY	XL
S	W	p	t	c	k	ʔ	pɿ	(kɿ)
S	H	ph	th	ch	kh		phɿ	(khɿ)
S	V	b	d	ɟ	g		bɿ	
C	W	(f)	s	(ʃ)		h		
C	H		sh	hɟ, hɿ				(palatal continuants are
C	V	w		j, l		ɦ		lateral or nonlateral)
N	H	hm	hn	hɳ			hmɿ	
N	V	m	n	(ɳ)			(mɿ)	
O	i	ɨ	u		N	ɿ		
	e	ə	o			ɛ		ø
		a						ã

The final consonants have the same basic three-way manner opposition as initial consonants, S, C, or N; but there is no additional V/H/W opposition. Also, the position opposition in native syllables is two- or three-way, L/D for S, L/P for C, and L/D/P for N.

There are voiced fricative realizations of /b/, /d/, /g/, /w/, and /j/; they occur mainly in close-juncture; although /w/ sometimes has a [v] realization initially. As in Vietnamese and most Dai languages, but in few other Loloish languages, the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ tend to be implosive. Also like Vietnamese, final /m/ tends to have a simultaneous velar closure: [ŋ̤m̤]. The Dai loanword element in Phunoi can hardly be overemphasized; several consonants, e.g. /f/ and /ʃ/, occur only in loanwords; the vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ appear to be distinct from /e/ and /o/ only in loanwords — although there is allophonic variation between [e] and [ɛ] for native /e/, and [o] and [ɔ] for native /o/.

In native words, and in assimilated or fortuitously canonical loanwords, the following combinations of vowel, and final occur — some are much more frequent than others.

-ap, -up, -op, -at, -ot, -it, -ət, -et
 -am, -um, -ɨm, -an, -on, -in, -en, -in
 -aɿ -aɿ

In addition to the two diphthongs shown, various possibilities occur across morpheme boundaries, and a very large number of possibilities occur in borrowed words, along with nearly every possible combination of O-vowel + final stop and N-vowel + final /m/, /n/ or /ŋ/. Many diphthongs, including [-ɛɨ, -ɔɨ, -oɨ, -eɔ, -ɛɔ, -iɔ, -uɨ] all appear to be secondary. Examples of Vowel plus Final Consonant combinations that are secondary include [-ip, -ep, -em, -en] and several others of which there are fewer examples. There are several vowels which do not

occur nasalized in native words, but which do in loanwords. All of these changes involve utilizing sounds which occur in the language in combinations that did not previously, but which may well have at some previous stage in the language. A case in point are the velar finals. These must be reconstructed for *Loloish, and are in fact attested in Roux and in Bisu in the case of the velar nasal final; but sound change has eliminated them from Phunoi. The possibility of a velar final is then reintroduced by loanwords.

Several further juncture phenomena can also be tentatively stated on the basis of my data. Within a word (for this purpose defined as coextensive with the noun phrase or verb phrase, including particles if any) there are various kinds of assimilation which affect the nasal initials. Specifically, a nasalized vowel, or a vowel with following *n*, or the glide *-ay*, all are realized with [m] when followed by a labial; in the case of the vowel with following *n*, there is no longer an *n*, but only an *m*; cf. *mouth* below. Word finally, and particularly in utterance-final or citation form, there is a possible final glottal stop; when the Tone is low or mid in pitch, there may also or instead be a constriction and laryngealization of the vowel (not, however, corresponding to instances where comparative data would indicate a final **-k* for Loloish). In closer juncture than word juncture, the *H* (voiceless, strongly articulated) nasals often become *V* (voiced), but the conditions are difficult to state.

Many minor syllables in primary system words show a reduced form of the first element in a compound: /lɿ-/ from /lā/ *hand*, among others. In such cases, the rhyme correspondence of the reduced syllable is, of course, irregular. In cases of juncture or reduction differences, the form which actually occurs is given in the vocabulary.

DIALECT DIFFERENCES

At least six dialects of Phunoi exist: five in Laos and one in Vietnam. The transcription used by Lefèvre-Pontalis is not accurate enough to show dialect characteristics, and Vuong does not give enough forms, so much more data is needed on the Vietnam dialect. As noted, Roux records one Laos dialect, Ferlus another, and herein a third is presented. When they differ from my data, forms from Roux are included in the vocabulary, in parentheses ().

One striking difference is the presence of *-ng*, presumably representing final [ŋ], in Roux; while such forms simply have nasalized vowels in my data. Perhaps the loss of final [-ŋ] has occurred in the last fifty years. Another difference concerns reduced minor syllables where /n/ initial would be expected etymologically, such as *bean* or

nose. The Roux data shows an /n/, but my data shows a change to /lɕ/ – as there are no nasal-initial minor syllables. Another implied change parallels Lao: palatal affricates seem to have become aspirated dental spirants *tchà là tiger*, my data /shɕlà/. Further differences include a possible retention of initial /ŋ/ in the Roux dialect, unlike its rather heterogeneous reflexes in my data.

Further study of Phunoi dialects is needed.

COMPARISON WITH *LOLOISH

As noted in the abstract above, Phunoi is similar to Bisu in many respects; in fact it is Bisoid in the sense of Matisoff 1972. *Loloish reconstructions have been the subject of much work lately, especially by Matisoff. I have adopted the labels used by Matisoff for various reconstructed categories; in some cases Phunoi does not supply data to differentiate them all. Following Matisoff 1971, I use the labial to represent all positions of articulation in correspondence charts when discussing *Manner of articulation; and the voiceless unaspirate to represent all manners when discussing *Position of articulation.

Prefixes

Some of the Minor Syllables in Phunoi are from *Southern Loloish prefixes. One example is *moon* /fɕla/, Akha /bala/, Lisu /haba/, Lahu /hapa/, the latter two with the order reversed (forms from data obtained in Thailand). In many other Loloish languages, this word has a voiceless lateral initial reflecting this prefix. In *arrow* /bɕla/, Akha /mja/ Akha has fused the prefix to the initial as a nasal; other southern Loloish languages reflect this prefix in initial and/or tonal differences. An example that shows how these prefixes may have arisen is *tear* (n) /bɕlǎ/, from a reduced form of *eye* /bja/ plus *water* /lǎ/.

The *Lolo-Burmese prefixes *ʔ causative, *k animal, and *ʃ body part have fused with the initial and been treated as a unit. With some *Resonant initials, there is a different development, resulting in a different correspondence, when the animal prefix is involved. The causative prefix, because of regular sound change, would not be observable with stop initials; with nasal initials, one might expect causative pairs of verbs one of which was a voiced stop and the other of which was a voiced or voiceless nasal. For further on these three prefixes elsewhere, see Bradley 1971 and 1975.

Initials A. Manner

*Plain (formerly *Aspirated, and usually realized as such) and *Stop-prefixed stops are realized as voiceless aspirated stops in Phunoi. *Voiced and *Nasal-prefixed stops have reflexes with voiceless unaspirated stops. *Stop-prefixed nasals have reflexes with voiced stops; *Plain nasals have reflexes with voiced nasals; and *S- or *?-prefixed nasals have reflexes with voiceless nasals. This could be seen as an example of a drag type of chain shift: a merger among voiceless stops (to a phonetically aspirated stop) leaving room for voiced stops to become voiceless (phonetically unaspirated) stops; leaving room for some nasals (in fact, the *Stop-prefixed nasals) to become voiced stops, while other nasals remain nasal.¹⁰

Initial Manner Chart

Stops

*Loloish	Phunoi	Bisu	examples (in Phunoi; sometimes the Bisu is not available)
*Plain	ph	ph	<i>above, bitter, dog, day after tomorrow, fear, goat, grey, horn, leaf, person, deer, paddy, silver, six, foot, thorn, tie, vomit, wash (person), sweet, spit, smoke, steal, (loans) pepper, Shan</i>
*Stop-prefixed	ph	ph	<i>change, dove, drum, frog, grandmother, grind, hawk, male suffix, sour, teeth, (possible causatives) fear, steal</i>
*Voiced	p	p	<i>alive, bee, branch, bark, caladium, give, head,² have, poison, pile up, pound, drink, wing, vulva</i>
*Nasal-prefixed	p	p	<i>book/read, cowrie, dig, shoot</i>

Nasals

*Plain	m	m	<i>horse, sky, you, old, cat, powder, heart</i>
	m	b	<i>father, husband, sit (proto-variation: *Plain vs. *Stop-prefixed)</i>
	b	m	<i>eye, face, grass, wind (proto-variation: *Stop-prefixed vs. *Plain)</i>
*Stop-prefixed	b	b	<i>fire, hungry, lightning, round, mother, elephant,² heart,² thumb, son-in-law, dream, girl, monkey, ill, morning, near, black, spirit, gun, brain</i>
*S- or *?-prefixed	hm	hm	<i>blow, cow, mushroom, knife, hair, red, listen, name, see, ripe, snot, earth, forget, potato, lungs, tail, bamboo shoot, ear</i>

Spirants

*Plain, *Prefixed	s	s	<i>round thing, kill, louse, meat, pour, steam, (iron), tomorrow, die, blood, who, three, liver, rub/sharpen</i>
*Voiced	j	j	<i>child, he, go down</i>

Resonants

*w	w	w	hide, flower, palm, pig
*S-wat	hl	-	wear, clothes
*C-w	?	?	bear, elder sibling
*r	j	g	bone, chest, get pheasant, weave
*S-r	hj		count, sell, clf. people, ashamed
*?-r	hi		chicken, stand up
*k-ra(t) *k-wa	h		ant, bamboo, leech
*p-,k-r		h	big, in front, rat, termite
*C-r	?		ashes, ² laugh, MeB
*y	j	j	field, horse, medicine, opium, sleep
*S-y	hj		antelope, itch, raise animal, tobacco
*C-y	h		bellows, drunk, rain
*l	l	l	come, enough, hand, neck, warm etc.
*S-l	hl	hl	tongue, pants, penis
*?-l	l		ashes, ¹ boat
	{ h		bark, beg, wind
*C-l	?		grandchild

Fused *prefix becomes initial: free, husband, lick, lightning

Laryngeals

*?	?	?	below, crow, egg, go, ¹ intestines, noun/ verb prefix
*h	h, ɦ		be the case, belch, that, rice

The chart above summarizes developments of *Loloish initials of all *Manners, including *Spirants and all *Positions of *Resonants, in Bisoid. In some cases, the Bisu form is not available; perhaps Nishida can supply these forms from his notes. Some scarce *Resonants, e.g. *?-w, have been omitted since Bisoid data is not available.

*Resonants have fairly regular developments reflected by their Phunoi reflexes. *r-type resonants and *Voiced spirants have merged with *y-type resonants with the same *prefixes in Phunoi (but not in Bisu). *S-w apparently (one example) merges with *S-l. *Resonant *Manners are reflected quite well by Phunoi phonetics: *Plain are realized as Phunoi voiced continuants; *S-prefixed, strongly articulated continuants; *C-prefixed, Phunoi glottal stop initial; *?-prefixed *r/*y type resonants are realized as Phunoi voiceless, weakly articulated continuants (voiceless spirants), but *?-l has initial /l/ among its Phunoi reflexes. A couple of the *k-prefixed *r and one *k-prefixed *w are not realized as /ʔ/ in Phunoi, but /h/ or /ɦ/ depending on exact

environment. The *Laryngeal system is approximately as reconstructed elsewhere (Bradley 1971), but some *Nasals, particularly *prefixed velar nasals, and some *Resonants as just noted, also have become phonetic laryngeals in Phunoi. More on the *Spirants below.

Initials B. Position

The following chart is similar to several in Burling's and Matisoff's works.

*Loloish	P	PY	T	TS	C	KY	KR	K
Bisu	p	pj	t	ts	ts	kj	k	
Phunoi (unasp.)	p	p _i	t	c				k
(asp.)	ph	ph _i	th	sh	ch		kh	

Examples for Phunoi follow.

*P (unasp.) *potato, chin, carry (shoulder), deaf, cheek, give, rot, roast, shoot, vulva*

(asp.) *frog, grandmother, open vomit, leaf, grey*

*PY (unasp.) *bee* (asp.) *silver*

*T (unasp.) *alive, dig, drink, hit, poison, think, wing*
above, knot, sharp, thick

*TS }
 *C } (unasp.) *food, have, sparrow, suck,² waist, hawk*
 *KY }

*TS (asp.) *deer, salt, person, cough*

*C *lift, thorn, paddy, Shan/Dai*

*KY (asp.) *sweet*

*KR (unasp.) *hear, cowrie*

/ch/ sour, garden

(asp.) { */kh/ foot, hair, dove*

*K *bark, branch, neck,² bitter, behind, dog, steal, smoke*

The *Positions of articulation are from Matisoff. It is interesting to note that Bisu has almost the same number of positions as the reconstructed *Loloish system, and that their phonetic realization in Bisu supports the reconstruction. Phunoi is less conservative. Developments of *voiced stop-initials, which become phonetically unaspirated in Phunoi differ somewhat from developments of *voiceless stop-initials, which become aspirated.

*P initials are realized as phonetic labials in Phunoi; *PY as palatalized labials. *T initials are dental, and *K initials are velar stops (*Velar nasals have different kinds of reflexes, mostly laryngeal).

When *voiceless, *TS initials have reflexes with /sh/, *C and *KY with /ch/, and *KR with /ch/ or /kh/ depending on the *rhyme. When *voiced, *TS, *C, *KY and *KR initials all have reflexes with /c/.

*Nasals develop as *stops in some positions: *Labial, *Palatalized Labial, and *Dental as noted above. *Palatal nasals, of which there are comparatively few, are seen in *green* and *finger*; in Phunoi, these words have /hj/ initial and an irregular rhyme development with a nasalized vowel — perhaps partly involving metathesis. *Velar nasals sometimes follow the patterns seen elsewhere, but more often do not.

I has a voiced velar stop initial in Phunoi; this is regular, parallel to *fire*.

Five has a glottal stop initial and vowel nasalization (metathesis again?).

Fish has initial /j/, which is a reconstructable *medial in this root, and also has an unusual rhyme development and vowel nasalization.

Banana has a voiced laryngeal /ʁ/ initial, from *Loloish *S-ŋ, rather than [hŋ] which does not occur in Phunoi, but would parallel the other voiceless nasals.

*Spirants, listed in the Initial Manner Chart above, are voiceless dental continuants in cognates of *Plain and *Prefixed spirants; and voiced palatal continuants in cognates of *Voiced spirants. Thus, the two *Positions of articulation for *Spirants have merged in Phunoi; in fact, the *Voiced have merged with the (*r- and) *y-type *Resonants. In Bisu, there is still a distinction between dental and palatal spirants, which corresponds to the *Loloish distinction. Unlike the *Voiced Spirants, *ʔ-prefixed *r-type and *y-type *Resonants are usually voiceless spirants in their Phunoi (and indeed all their southern Loloish) cognates.

*Tones

Phunoi tones (high, low and mid level pitches) correspond regularly with *Loloish *Tones I, II, and III respectively. *Loloish *High Stopped syllables have cognates in Phunoi with mid level pitch; *Low Stopped, low level pitch. In other words, Phunoi has merged *Tone III with *High Stopped, and *Tone II with *Low Stopped. Phunoi is thus similar to other southern Loloish languages in having a reflex of *Loloish *High Stopped which is phonetically higher in pitch than the reflex of *Loloish *Low Stopped. However, there is unfortunately no relation between presence of final glottal stop or of vowel laryngealization and the former presence of a final stop (*-k) which has been lost in Phunoi. In native words, syllables with final stops have only

The developments of *front open-syllable rhymes are very heterogeneous; the conditioning factors are the *initial-consonant positions of articulation. The developments of *back open-syllable rhymes require ordered rules, as do the developments of *dental-final closed syllable rhymes. It can be noted that the developments of *labial-final *stop and *nasal are parallel, but *-t rhymes develop differently from *-n rhymes. However, the resulting systemic possibilities for final /t/ and /n/ are similar: both occur after /i/, /ə/, /a/ and /o/ in primary-system words.

There are some subregularities of *Rhyme development additional to those shown in the diagram above, which are listed in the following table.

*Loloish	Phunoi	Examples
*ʔi/?n+i	õ	<i>boat, wind, yB</i> (allophonic nasalization becomes contrastive after *-ŋ loss)
*ʔm ^{ye} _{ri}	in	<i>name, tail, forget</i>
*i	e	<i>MeB, know</i>
*i	i	<i>fat/oil, fire, fruit, daughter, grandmother, hit, lift, little, near, pound, sit</i>
*P, KY+e	ẽ, ĩ	<i>excrement, give</i> (allophonic nasalization becomes contrastive after *-ŋ loss)
*e	e	<i>grey, MyZ, blood, die, liquor, what, leg, bite, snake</i>
*e	i	<i>earth, thatch, sun, day, cowrie, borrow</i>
*i, e	e	<i>go, penis, red</i>
*ai	e, ĩ aĩ	<i>now, star, laugh, pull sand</i>
*a	a	(many examples) <i>eat, come, I, etc.</i>
*wa	e { o	<i>teeth cattle, rain</i>
*u	u	<i>dig, egg, head,² intestine, rooster, silver, take, thick, thorn etc.</i>
*Po	u	<i>mushroom, price, (sky /o/)</i>
*ʔno	ã	<i>finger, green</i>
*o	au	<i>bone, count, cough, dove, horn, smoke, sweet, steal, wash</i>
*aw	au	<i>call</i>

*Loloish	Phunoi	Examples
*ip, up	L*op up	book, rot sleep
*ap	ap	duck, lightning, lungs, snot
*it	ət	goat, grind
*et	et/it	drunk, bamboo shoot
*ut	ot	blow, body hair
*at	at	alive, clothes, b.deer, fear, flower, free, hungry, kill, leech, spirit, vomit
*ik	i ə	angry, joint, root, year kick, new
*ek/ök	ə	cut, shoot
*uk/ok	ot o	born, crooked, (fear /at/) back, bark, below, brain, enough, poison, waist
*ak	at a	ant, day after tomorrow, hide above, ashamed, ashes, ² banana, bird, black, chicken, crow, dream, eye, hand, leaf, morning, pig, etc.
*wak	o	grass, rat
*im/um	um m	drum, house, pile up, warm caladium, three, thread
*am	am	bear, cloud, fence/garden, hair (head), iron, sheep, eZ
*in	in	good, name, sour
*un	on	stomach/belly, breast
*an	ən an	louse, paddy field (wet)
*wan	an	hawk, face, spittle
*in	in in	finger nail, full, neck liver, tree
*on	ō	wing

*Loloish	Phunoi	Examples
*aŋ	õ	horse, husband
	ã	cooked rice, deaf, drink, old, friend, he, light, nose, open, person, sell, water, you

Vocabulary

The following vocabulary includes Roux, with no modification in transcription, within brackets (when the Roux form differs appreciably from the one I elicited). It also includes items from Harris' tapes, when those differed from the form (in this case mostly reflecting lexical differences) that I obtained. These are not bracketed, since the transcription is mine. Forms cited include all juncture and other morphophonemic processes.

-a

above	tha ɛ?	bracelet	hná tán	divorce	chó hna ní?
(add	ca lau)	branch	ʔá gà?	(go) down	yà lé o
adult	sě púp bà	brave ²	ʔá fá yà	dream	júp ba ba ce
Akha	khá kò bà	bread	hma phǎu	dry (vt)	wěchǎ jút
animal	sǎ kǎ yà	break	pha o ví ce	dust	bǔkhla
ant	fat tsà	black	ʔá da	ear	ʔá hnà
antelope	hjà	burp	khon bá kǎn ce	easy	ʔá gá èà?
anvil	cam ba wa?	button	hna tǔm si	eat ²	cà ce
arrow	bǎla	carry (back)	sà ce	(elder	ja khoa)
ascend	phǎ hnǔ	(shoulder)	pà ce	elephant	jǎba
ashamed	ʔá hjà/sà	(bring	ha làu)	electricity	faj fà T
ashes ²	khǎlá	change	phá ce	empty	m̃ thi cà
ask	hná ní?	cheek	bo pà	(enemy	tò sa cha lǎn)
awake	ná nǎ	chicken	hja	enough ²	ǎja
baby	jǎka jà	Chinese	hvo bà	evening	mò da eve chi cǐn
bachelor	jǎkhà	child	ʔá jà	eye	ʔá bja
banana	fa sǐ	cloudy	jà ǎ pè hnǎ	face	bǎkà?
bank	ja tha	comb	tǎcha	fall	tá ce
bat	pé fà	come	lá	(farmer	yá chue bà)
(beard	tù sa mǔt)	cotton	chǎpát	fast	ʔá tè wà jǎ
	(bàn hmut)	coolie	pà sà	fat	bǎpǎn bja jay
beautiful	ʔá hma?	clf. gen.	má	Fy B	wa
bell	lǎkhǎ sǐ	crab	wěchǎ	female	ba
betel	hna hma é	crawl	lá to	fern	kút kà
bitter	ʔá khà	crow	ʔua?	few	je ká jà
bird	hǎa	dark	mò blà?	(field	yá)
blind	ʔá bja pò	deep	ʔá hnà	find	sa hmǎ

-a (continued)

(forest fire	chápăt/ bìlôngpià)	lake	nun khăm ba	pour	lă sè na nǎ
fireplace	bì hmot jà	larynx	khon bá sǐ	priest ¹ T	phá?
(fix hair	yà)	late	fa nǎ?	put ²	ka na nǎ
float	lă thà faj ce	leaf	ʔă phà	rake (v)	lă
fly	fa/hya	like	gà hǎ ə?	refuse	m khă
(fly	mă ba)	liquor	dăkhà	remain	ʔă ca
food	ʔă cá	little ²	sá	rhyme	tà ní?
forget	hmin là ce	light (v)	ʔa jă jà?	river	lă ba
frog	phà	live	ʔă ca	road	căbà
(foot	p'a vǎa)	look for	sa ce	rooster	hja phu
	(lăkhà)	love T	ʔă hà?	run	pja hma hnǎ
garlic	pha thiem sǐ	be loved	lom bà?	(rocky out- crop	yà thà bă)
get	ja ce	man	kăpià	salt	shà
girl	jà bì	male	phà	satisfied	ʔă tă bò jă
go up	phià	marrow	ʔă khat mǐa	scale	dá cá
good smell- ing	cə sǐă ca	marry	khěba la ní?	scorpion	wăcha dot
god T	thé wa dà	mattress	pha sá	scratch	cha ce
government T	la tha bǎn	meat	sà	send	sá nǎ?
granary ²	dăkha	medicine T	ja	separate	ʔò? hnà biò
(grass ²	ù tsǐ chǎ)	(merchant	cam cha bà)	sharpen	sǐ jò tha ce
hang	gà	monkey	dà bà	shelf	tha thà
happy	ʔă tà hmu		(cf. Roux)	shoulder	
(hardworking	tsǎng k'ha)	moon	fǎla	bag	fà
hate ²	ʔă lò nǎ	(moon	ùlǎ)	short (per- son)	ʔă bé bià
hear	cà ce	morning	lǎsə dà	(thing)	ʔă hnǐ mǐa
heart	lăba sǐ	mother	ba	sick	dá ce
(heart	ni ma)	navel	măchà?	six	khà
hen	hja ba	never	m chă	sky	mò thà
help	ʔă bià sǐ ní?	(new	ya su)	skirt ¹	din kà
hill	săpup bià	no T	bo ă	slash	bià ce (cf. knife)
honey	pja chàu lă	onion	pha kyó sǐ	slave	hmja cé la ma
hornbill	băsa	opium	ja jǐen	small	ʔă pia
I	gá nǎm	ox	nă	smell	
(immediately	chǐ a chà)	palm	lăwqa	(good)	cə sǐă ca
itch	ʔă hja	parrot	kià	((bad)	nă mǎ)
join ¹	kó na ní?	(pheasant	ya nhè p'iu)	soft	ʔă pǎn jà
jump	ga é me	pig	wǎa	sole	pò woa lăkhà
hand	là-	plant (v)	kó nǎ ní?	spider	pó bà
knife	hmja	pumpkin T	mà pǎ sǐ	(spider	cà cà bô ăm)
(lac	khà tù)	poor	jà ʔe jă	pants	hlyá hmǎ
		porch	lăkyo bă		

a- (continued)

spit	phít da ní?	-i	(little	ghi ề)	
split	thá	(angry	tsì)	lift	chì jò mã wìò
(split	p'a)	beat	tì	near	ṛá dì a
spring	lă jà	black magic	cí ə sá ce	needle	ci ke cǎp
spinach	síp phà	blister	cí jo bè ce	(owe	atsì achò)
steam	sà ní?	bury	hni ton a tè	(palm leaf	dìn nì)
step T	thi ja?	ce		(pardon	tsí là nhè)
straw	là chi	buttocks	hpi tǎ	peppers	lǎphí sì
sunrise	mò ní sì khən	cat	mí	pigeon	dò ko kì ke
	là ce	(charcoal	bì chi)	pound	tì
sunset	mò ní sì ta	chin, heel	pi tùn	(prevent	m kha bì)
	wea	color T	sí	put ¹	ci ce
swallow (v)	hna ce	cowrie	cí lǎ kàp	rain	mò hó lì ve
sweat	mò hút na	curry T	kǎlǐ	ride	ta i ṛé o
tea	lǎ	daughter	jǎbì	root	ṛá hì
thin	ṛá hǎ jà	day	hi ni	round thing	sì
this one	hnǎ	dye	hnì ní?	sand T	khi sǎi
(threaten	kha khat chù u)	earth	hmí tǎ	(scrawny	hiông ề)
thumb	lǎba	eat ²	cì ce	set (sun)	nì u
tiger	shà là	elbow	lǎshi ton	sharpen	sì jò tha ce
tobacco	hja kòn	empty	m thi cǎ	sit	nì ní?
tongue	ṛá hǎ	fat (n)	ṛá shí	short	
tone	sa mèn	fight	tì hnǎ ce	(length)	ṛá hní mǎ
town	khon bá	fire	bì	(skirt	tèng pì)
trap	hna tán	(formerly	nì chàng)	(sparrow	chì chò)(tǎcǎ)
truck T	lót tó bà	four (cit)	sì	(square	sí chề)
understand	ca kət (2nd T)	(foyer	bì giáp)	(straw	là chi)
("	chə yip là)	(gibbon	nà lǐ)	stretch	ay hmǎ pi ce
vegetable	kày(m)ba	go down	jà li ce	sun	mò ní sì
	phá	(granary ²	cô chí)	there	hjóh nì
wait	gà hnǎ ce	(grass ²	ù tsí chǎ)	today	hpa mé ni
(walk	quà àu)	grandmother	phí	vulture	cán bàn hní kón
(waterfall	yǎ thà lǎng)	(heart	nì ba)(lǎba)	wide	ṛá tí
wife	khǎba	(here	nhú chì chề)	win	ká ci ce
wind	há ban (mǎn)	(indigo	mì)	(win	mì chǎp)
what	ṛa cǎ	(jewelry	chì nhu sì)	year	hi pi
(white	a pa)	jungle	lo dú di wé	yesterday	hù nì
woman	kh~bià	(immediate-		verb part.	ní?
((fire)wood	bì xa thum)	ly	chí a chà)	verb part.	lì
son-in-law	jǎbà				

-e

adverb		<i>MyB</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>powder</i>	<i>mí</i>
particle	è	<i>needle</i>	<i>ci ke càp</i>	(<i>remember</i>	<i>chữ khư dề</i>)
<i>always</i>	<i>thề lén</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>tè</i>	(<i>run</i>	<i>hừ (n) nu</i>)
<i>appear</i>	<i>hứa tè</i>	<i>penis</i>	<i>hlè</i>	(<i>sister-in-</i>	
<i>armpit</i>	<i>kà kɪ lé</i>	(<i>pheasant</i>	<i>ya nhè p'iu</i>)	<i>law</i>	<i>tsù</i>)
<i>arrow</i> ²	<i>she na sì</i>	<i>pigeon</i>	<i>dò ko kɪ ke</i>	(<i>shake</i>	<i>khừ dù</i>)
<i>ashes</i> ¹	<i>khẽlã</i>	<i>pine tree</i>	<i>té jun cín</i>	<i>smile</i>	<i>ʔí nɪʔ</i>
<i>bat</i>	<i>pé fà</i>	<i>red</i>	<i>ʔá hné</i>	<i>star</i>	<i>băkɪ sì</i>
<i>behind</i>	<i>lăkhua hnò è</i>	<i>roast</i>	<i>ʔá shè</i>	(<i>thank</i>	<i>tàu bửu bla</i>)
<i>bite</i>	<i>the ce</i>	(<i>square</i>	<i>sí ché</i>)	(<i>try</i>	<i>chư nề cơ bê</i>)
<i>boar</i>	<i>wéthã</i>	<i>swim T</i>	<i>lă luè nɪ</i>	<i>turtle</i>	<i>tă khɪ</i>
<i>buy</i>	<i>hne ce</i>	(<i>talkative</i>	<i>chê ê lamè</i>)		
<i>choose</i>	<i>shé ce</i>	<i>teeth</i>	<i>she phé</i>	-ə	
<i>close</i>	<i>phè nɪ</i>	(<i>ten</i>	<i>tsè</i>)	<i>above</i>	<i>tha əʔ</i>
<i>cloudy</i>	<i>jà é pè hnò</i>	<i>thunder</i>	<i>mò ce cé ce</i>	<i>armpit</i>	<i>kà kɪ lé</i>
<i>copper T</i>	<i>tă hné</i>	<i>today</i>	<i>hpa mé ni</i>	<i>bark</i> ² (v)	<i>non cə ce le</i>
<i>cord</i> ²	<i>hnin hnè</i>	<i>top (moun-</i>		<i>basket</i>	<i>khón kă wə kán ce</i>
(<i>crest</i>	<i>cùng the</i>)	<i>tain</i>)	<i>khàn thé</i>	<i>go back</i>	<i>khè hnă</i>
<i>cross</i> (v)	<i>tù lé ce</i>	(<i>try</i>	<i>chư nề cơ bê</i>)	<i>beam</i> (hor.)	<i>khə</i>
(<i>cut</i> ²	<i>te</i>)	<i>verb</i>		<i>behind</i>	<i>lăkhua hno e</i>
<i>dish T</i>	<i>kho phé</i>	<i>particle</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>ʔă bà</i>
(<i>dryness</i>	<i>mù nɪ tè</i>)	(<i>verb</i>		<i>bile</i>	<i>bôkə</i>
<i>fast</i>	<i>ʔá tè wà jă</i>	<i>particle</i>	<i>yè</i>)	<i>blood</i>	<i>sə</i>
<i>few</i> ²	<i>je kă jă</i>	(<i>verb</i>		<i>calf</i> (leg)	<i>băthá</i>
<i>fish</i>	<i>jă te</i>	<i>particle</i>	<i>bê</i>)	<i>chaff</i>	<i>kə tɪ</i>
<i>forehead</i>	<i>băttă se</i>	-ɪ		(<i>cut</i>	<i>tə</i>)
<i>go</i>	<i>ʔé ~ lé</i>	<i>armpit</i>	<i>kà kɪ lé</i>	<i>dance</i>	<i>jən ce</i>
<i>god T</i>	<i>thé wa dà</i>	(<i>attach</i>	<i>p'iu</i>)	<i>die</i>	<i>sé ce</i>
<i>hawk</i>	<i>cán té à</i>	(<i>big</i>	<i>hử ề</i>)	<i>dog</i>	<i>khə</i>
<i>iron T</i>	<i>hleʔ</i>	(<i>bring</i>	<i>su à nữ</i>)	<i>easy</i>	<i>ʔă bà</i> (cf. <i>big</i>)
<i>jump</i>	<i>ga é me</i>	<i>chaff</i>	<i>kə tɪ</i>	<i>FeB, FeS</i>	<i>ʔá</i>
(<i>jungle</i>		(<i>cure</i>	<i>bù</i>)	<i>FyS</i>	<i>mé</i>
<i>fowl</i>	<i>k'hia nhè</i>)	<i>dry</i>	<i>ʔá kɪ</i>	<i>fence</i>	<i>mù kə lò</i>
<i>language</i>	<i>cè</i>	(<i>farmer</i>	<i>yá chư bà</i>)	(<i>finish</i>	<i>pə (n)</i>)
<i>lazy</i>	<i>bè ce</i>	<i>few</i> ²	<i>sɪ</i>	<i>fog</i>	<i>chəʔ</i>
<i>lick</i>	<i>bè ce</i>	(<i>give</i>	<i>p'iu</i>)	<i>foot</i>	<i>lăkhə</i>
<i>light</i> (fire)	<i>bì hlón wə à</i>	<i>good</i>		<i>good</i>	
<i>low</i>	<i>ʔă bé bià</i>	<i>smelling</i> ²	<i>cə sɪa ca</i>	<i>smelling</i>	<i>cə sɪa ca</i>
<i>many</i> ²	<i>be hnú</i>	<i>laugh</i>	<i>ʔí nɪʔ</i>	<i>gray</i>	<i>ʔă phə</i>
(<i>measure</i>	<i>tè ù</i>)	(<i>look at</i>	<i>cừu</i>)	<i>grow</i>	<i>bə ce</i> (<i>big</i>)
<i>middle</i>	<i>gù hnié</i>	<i>new moon</i>	<i>kham nɪ</i>	<i>gums</i>	<i>bàn khă</i>
(<i>monkey</i> ²	<i>a miều</i>)	<i>otter</i> ¹	<i>ʔí bò</i>	<i>hiccup</i>	<i>həʔ ce</i>

-ə (continued)

hoe T	kə có?	tie	phè ce	harvest	ko cũ ce
(how long	asò nhám mò)	tomorrow	lǝsə	rice	đá tu (atu)
how much T	thé də	day after		head	mì tchù sǝ)(lǝba)
hornbill	bǝ sà	tomorrow	phat sə	(heart	nhú chi ché)
in front	gǝhùeǝ	top (toy) ² T	hmə khan	(here	đá?ú
	(hù sǝ)	use	sé	intestines	chí nhu sǝ)
inside	thá ə?	vulva	pè tò	(jewelry	lo dú dí we
kick	bǝthá?	(when	asò nhám mè)	jungle	bǝtu
knee	bǝtu	where	sé dǝ?	knee	khà tù)
leak	?ə ce		(a sǝ)	(lac	lǝ khu sǝ
locative	-ə?	who	sé	ladle	tǝpu
look at	kə ce	yes	?ə	mat	be hnú?
man	kǝpǝ	thunder	mò ce kə cǝn	many ²	lǝ cù ce
mat	tǝpu			make waves	gù hnìe?
mattress	pha sé	-u		middle	nù(n)làng)
meat ²	tlə kèn	(abandon	tsiu)	(milk	pǝ tchàu p'ú)
moan	həǝ ce	arm	lǝpù	(molasses	ù là)
FeB, FeZ	?é	blunt ¹	?á pú	(moon	hǝng pǝn bǝ cu)
FyZ	mé	blunt ²	bu cha	(mosquito	hmú
mountain	sə pup bà	e B	hu jà	mushroom	ya su)
mule	mò lə lǝ	y B	hnu jà	(new	hnue
night	khə thǝ	(boil	tsú lǝ yè)	outside	tchà là pám pǝng
now	hnǝ mè?	catch	hlap bǝ su bǝ	(panther	thù)
noodle	há	chair	tǝ kú	pillow	tǝkù
pleasant	?ǝ cǝn hmə	cheap	?á thù jà	pair	thǝkhú
plow	lǝ tǝ sə ce	chopsticks	khǝn dan thǝn	Phunoi	phu nǝǝ
pour	sə ce		sə	(pot	ù lǝng)
question	sə tǝ hnǝ sǝ?	(close	p'ú)	sweet	chə kù hmǝ
(rain	mò hǝ)	cross	tù lə ce	potato	?á hù?
roll	hǝé bǝ nǝn cə è?	daughter-	jù	raise	hǝú
roof	jə mú	in-law	tù ce	roof	ǝmú
(separate	tsǝ (n) lǝu)	dig	bǝkhla	rooster	hǝa pu
shoot	pə pǝ?	dust	hə ?u?	sad	m tǝ hmu
soybeans	wǝn tǝ rə	egg	sù - sù -	set (sun)	nǝ u
sparrow	tə cǝ jà?	every	mú	(shake	khù dù)
straight	?ǝ dǝ	father	mù kǝlò	short	shǝ thi phu jà?
sweet		fence	hu?	(person)	tù?
potato	chə kù hmǝ		mú bà	shelf ²	cǝn kú
ten	ǝí	grandchild	jǝ ?ú	silk	phǝú
thing	?a kǝn khè cə	(grass	ù tsǝ chá)	silver	
	{ sé, sǝ	happy	?á tǝ hmu		

-u (continued)

<i>silver coin</i>	phĩu sị	<i>butterfly</i>	ham pin tǎlo	<i>harvest</i>	ko cũ ce
<i>skin</i>	ǎ hĩu?	<i>buy</i>	bo ce	<i>hate</i> ¹	ǎ lò nǎ
<i>skull</i>	ǎ tu jǎu	<i>cabbage</i>	kan bò	<i>hate</i> ²	lò e ja
(<i>sister</i>	a tsu)	<i>catch</i>	hlap bò su bò	<i>high</i>	ǎ muó e jǎu
(<i>stool</i>	tǒng khu)	<i>cattle</i>	jò hmiǎ	<i>hot</i> ²	hmo e
(<i>student</i>	khu nhũm)	<i>chain</i>	shaj sho	(<i>how much</i>	a tso do)
(<i>straight</i>	a chu)	<i>change of</i>		<i>join</i> ¹	ko khat ní
<i>son's wife</i>	jù	<i>state</i>	ò	<i>join</i> ²	ko nǎ ní
<i>suck</i>	lǎ cũ ní?	<i>cheek</i>	bo pà	<i>jungle</i>	lo dú di we
<i>take</i> ²	bu ce	<i>chew</i>	kò ce	<i>kapok tree</i>	ba lo cín
<i>tall</i>	ǎ mú e jà	<i>Chinese</i>	hũo bà	<i>kidney</i>	kho sị
<i>tendon</i>	lǎkua	<i>cloud</i>	mò thàm	(<i>kneel</i>	p'at thô khai)
<i>termite</i>	wũ kǎt	<i>cold</i>	ǎ chò	(<i>less</i>	ô)
<i>testicles</i>	hĩǎu/shèu	(<i>come out</i>	do)	<i>life</i> T	ǎ jo?
<i>thick</i>	ǎ thú	<i>cook</i>	ko ce	<i>lift</i>	chì jò mã biò
<i>thorn</i>	ǎ chũ	<i>crawl</i>	lǎ to	<i>sole (foot)</i>	pǒwa lǎkhà
<i>twist</i> T	bít dũ	<i>cucumber</i> T	sǎkhũs sị	<i>spread out</i>	kò ní
<i>valley</i>	mũ phǎp biǎ	<i>rhino</i>	shat nǎ	<i>squirrel</i>	ho to
<i>vein</i>	ǎ kũ sà	<i>rice plant</i>	ko	<i>stomach</i>	po pon
(<i>whistle</i>	tu tsúi)	<i>right</i>	ǎ dǎn hno jà	<i>stone</i>	lǎphò
<i>yesterday</i>	hũ ni	<i>roll</i>	hĩǎ bò nǎn cǎ è	<i>sweat</i>	mò hut na
		<i>satisfied</i>	ǎ tǎ bò jǎ	(<i>take</i>	cô)
-o		<i>sent</i>	sa no	(<i>light</i>	bì thò)
(<i>adultery</i>	cò lǎng p'iep lǎng)	<i>separate</i>	ò hna biò	<i>lightning</i>	mò biǎp
<i>Akha</i>	khǎ kò bà	(<i>b. deer</i>	hò pǒng)	<i>lips</i>	ban kho
<i>ashes</i> ³	kò	<i>difficult</i>	hǎk bò	<i>little</i>	so ~ sa
(<i>aunt</i>	ak'ò)	<i>dish</i>	kho phé	<i>lose</i>	tò ce
<i>axe</i> T	khũam bǎ?	<i>divorce</i>	chò hna ní	<i>married</i>	
(<i>back</i>	nò khò)	<i>door</i>	lǎk (ũ)o	<i>woman</i>	khò biǎ
<i>bark</i> (n)	ǎ kò	<i>earring</i>	hnò	<i>medicine</i>	ja mo à
<i>bark</i> (v)	hmó ce	<i>enough</i>	lò	<i>mosquito</i>	bò khũ
<i>behind</i>	khũà hnò	<i>feed</i>	hnó ní	<i>mule</i> C	mò lǎ ló
<i>belly</i>	po pon	<i>finished</i>	bé hnò ja	<i>no</i> T	bǎ ǎ
<i>below</i>	ǎ ǎ	<i>forearm</i>	lǎkho	<i>noisy</i>	so ce
<i>blind</i>	ǎ biǎ pò	<i>forehead</i>	bo kón	<i>onion</i> T	pha kũs sị
(<i>blind</i>	bé chò)	<i>fork</i>	khò tam	(<i>open</i>	p'ò ù)
<i>blister</i>	cí jo bè ce	<i>free</i>	phó khàt ní	<i>otter</i> ¹	ǎ bò
<i>brain</i>	ǎ dò	<i>go out</i>	ko nò	<i>otter</i> ² T	có nám
<i>w. buffalo</i>	jò	(<i>granary</i>	cò chí)	(<i>owe</i>	a tsì a chò)
<i>build</i>	sò ní	<i>grass</i>	bò	<i>pen</i>	so dǎm
		<i>hail</i>	lo kó sị	<i>g. pepper</i> T	fǎrǎ sǎkhũs sị

-o (continued)

<i>clf. person</i>	hjo	<i>window</i>	lǎkɣo jà	<i>wash</i>	lǎ thàɯ ce
<i>pickle</i>	ʔǎ chén hɲò			<i>widow</i>	bəchàɯ
<i>pigeon</i>	dò ko kì ké	-aɯ		<i>work</i>	mǐɲàɯ wən (2nd T)
<i>pipe</i>	kóʔ sì	<i>abacus</i>	hjáɯ sà	<i>Yao</i>	jaɯ jín bà
<i>plant (v)</i>	kó nǎ ní	<i>answer</i>	taɯ bo	<i>house post</i>	júm ʔín sǎɯ
<i>poison</i>	ʔǎ tò	<i>beg</i>	jón hàɯ		
<i>porch</i>	lǎko bǎ	<i>bone</i>	ʔǎ jàɯ	-aǐ	
<i>priest</i> ²	to pí	(<i>break</i>	tau)	<i>ascend</i>	taǐ é o
<i>pumpkin</i> T	ma po sì	<i>call</i>	hàɯ ce	(<i>bad</i>	a hay)
<i>put in</i>	hɯo no	<i>coconut</i> T	mà pháɯ sì	<i>belt</i>	sǎǐ hjǎ
<i>put up</i>	tho ce	<i>coffin</i>	day khəm	<i>be born</i>	sǎǐ tǎǐ?
<i>rain</i>	mò hó lǐ ce	<i>cord</i>	hně jǎɯ?	<i>chain</i>	shǎǐ sho
<i>rat</i>	ho tǎm	<i>cough</i>	shàɯ ce	<i>cord (elec)</i>	sǎǐ fǎ ní? T
<i>read</i>	bò bo ní	<i>count</i>	hjáɯ ce	<i>change (loc)</i>	giáy ò
<i>rib</i>	ʔǎ cò jàɯ	(<i>cover</i>	k'hiàɯ)	<i>electricity</i>	faj fà T
<i>upper side</i> ¹	hmiǎ ʔǐ tho ʔǐ	<i>delicious</i>	ʔǎ cháɯ	(<i>king</i>	a(ŋ)day a sinh)
	tho sǎ	(<i>dirty</i>	tsào k'hùng...)	(<i>plow (v)</i>	thàɯ)
(<i>unhappy</i>	tôe p'a nê)	<i>dove</i>	khón khàɯ	(<i>mark (v)</i>	mai)
<i>verb</i>		(<i>dress (v)</i>	chau)	<i>rabbit</i>	kětǎǐ T
<i>particle</i>	hnò	(<i>happy</i>	tào bù ề)	<i>sand</i>	khi sǎǐ T
<i>verb</i>		<i>horn</i>	ʔǎ cháɯ	(<i>silk</i>	may)
<i>particle</i>	bǐò	(<i>lift</i>	thǎu)	(<i>handsome</i>	mà ai)
<i>vulva</i>	pǎtò	(<i>nine</i>	câu)(tề)	(<i>spend</i>	chai)
<i>wag (v)</i>	kò e ce	(<i>please</i>	tào bù ề)	<i>step on</i>	nǎǐ wàn ce
<i>waist</i>	ʔǎ cò	(<i>question</i>	nào)	<i>striped</i>	ʔǎ plǎǐ
<i>shadow</i>	ʔǎ ho	<i>rib</i>	ʔǎ cò jàɯ	(<i>suffer</i>	dai)
<i>sharpen</i>	sì jò tha ce	(<i>rice</i> T	khǎu tsé)	(<i>thin</i>	a pǎi â)
<i>shiver</i>	cho jə sǎn ce	<i>shout</i>	hǎɯ ce	<i>Thai</i>	thǎǐ bà
<i>shoulder</i>	bǎhǔm		(cf. <i>call</i>	<i>upperside</i>	thǎǐ bǎka set
<i>sky</i>	mò thà	<i>smoke</i>	bǎkhàɯ		
<i>sloping</i>	ʔǎ phǎn bo	<i>steal</i>	khǎɯ ce	-əǐ (secondary)	
(<i>there</i>	yò)	<i>stretch</i>	ay hmǎ pi ce	<i>be born</i>	sǎǐ tǎǐ
<i>throat</i> ²	ʔǎ kò	<i>sugarcane</i>	pòn cháɯ	<i>saw</i>	lǎǐ
<i>thunder</i> ²	mò ce cé ce		(cf. <i>sweet</i>)	<i>clear</i>	lǎǎǐ
<i>truck</i> T	lòt to bà	<i>sweet</i>	ʔǎ cháɯ	<i>moan</i>	hǎǐ ce
(<i>turn over</i>	khò)	<i>thank</i>	tào bú u		
<i>upper back</i>	lǎkho	<i>they</i> T	khǎɯ che hǎ	-ɔǐ, -oǐ (secondary)	
(<i>weak</i>	pôn)	<i>think</i>	tàɯ ce	<i>but</i>	ʔǎ kǎǐ
<i>weed (v)</i>	bò bo ní	<i>twenty</i> T	sǎɯ	<i>hundred</i>	hòǐ
<i>wheat</i>	bò sì	<i>vegetable</i>	kàɯ(m) ba	(<i>sink</i>	pòǐ)
<i>white ant</i>	ho bìn	<i>walk</i>	quà òu		
<i>why</i>	m tǎ kǐo				

-eq, -eq̣ (secondary)				
(agile	têu ư ế)	(win	mỉ chăp bla)	clear fields bò cat ce
(choose	tsêu)			clothing hlat số
cup	kăkêq̣	-up (-op)		cotton chăpat
(destroy	p'ieù)	adult	səpúp bà	(cultivate k'hat bù)
fat	ʔă teq̣	(answer	tóp)	day after
flame	peq̣ bì	bedroom	júp phĩđ	tomorrow phat sə
go down	jà léq̣	book	pop	b. deer shat
(immediately	ăt têu êu)	dream	júp ba ba ce	dry pat (cf. bean)
(pants T	têu)	(cook	tsúp)	fear khăt ce
rattan	ʔă teq̣	fist	lăsup	(fight pat lăng)
wither T	hèq̣ ce	(greet	đôp ừ)	(fire chă păt)
		hold	súp ce	flower hĩ wat
-ui, -ei, -uq̣ (secondary)		(mountain	tu p'up)	free phó khăt nĩ?
able T	khăt juq̣ pen	sleep	júp ce	gun jĩn dat
(faded	pèi)	(prepare	úp)	hide wăt ce
(fat	lui ề)	rot	póp	hungry hă bát
		(stop	tsup)	(jump ² yăt ăn-nù)
-ap		wet	ʔă cup	kill săt ce
arrive	iap la	yawn	júp sà kă ce	(kneel p'at thỏ khâu)
basket		(thighs	li p'up)	leech fat
(fish)	khòn kap			market T tălat
catch	hláp bò su bò	-ip (secondary)		marrow ʔă khăt mĩa
cowrie	cĩ lon káp	(adultery	cồ lăng p'iep lăng)	(mix piat lăng)
duck	kap			narrow khăt
fold	pháp	box	ʔă hĩp (area)	(paper T kalat)
(foyer	bĩ giáp)	(understand	chạ yĩp là)	peanut pat thòm
goose	kap lĩn cèn			rhino shat nỏ
hammer	băchap	-ep, -əp (secondary)		shirt hlat
hat/turban	lăpáp	clever	ʔă tep	shrimp lon thăt
(healthy	cháp bù nĩ bù ề)	(house (on		spirit dăt
lid	ʔă kap	ground)	téng bệp)	sweep T kuăt
lightning	mò biáp	valley	mù phəp bĩa	temple T wat
lungs	ʔă hmap			thirsty lă bát de
(pierce	tsáp ừ)	-at		undress hlap hlat ce
shoes	băkháp	alive	ʔă tăt	vomit phăt ce
snot	hnáp	ant	hăt sà	wash
(stab	tsáp p'fot)	(approach	yăt lău)	(clothes) hlap cat nĩ?
(stand up	hiáp)	baht T	bat	waterfall lă thăt
tongs	chap	beans	lăpat	(wipe păt ử)
	(cf. hammer)	(beans	na păt)	
NTai	mə(m) báp	breast		
		pendant	lăpat	

-ut (~ot)

<i>beard</i>	bàn hmot	(rhino	hết)(shat nǎ)	<i>cloth</i>	hnám
<i>bellows</i>	piǎn hùt	(eight T	pét)	<i>cloud</i>	mò thàm
<i>bend</i>	khot ce	(seven T	chết)	<i>coffin</i>	day khàm
<i>blow</i>	hmot ce			<i>cross T</i>	khám lé o
<i>body hair</i>	ǎ hmot	-et		<i>eight Vse.</i>	tám
<i>born</i>	tot nǐ?	(at night	khựt thàng)	(<i>feel</i>	nàm mǔ)
(<i>divide</i>	put lǎng)	(dirty	chút)	<i>fence</i>	chám
<i>fern T</i>	kút kà	<i>be born</i>	kàt	<i>few</i>	h̄ lam
<i>set on fire</i>	hmot ce	<i>ewe</i>	chàt jà	<i>floor</i>	júms̄i
<i>fireplace</i>	bì hmot jà	<i>goat</i>	chàt	<i>fork</i>	khò tam
<i>mosquito</i>		<i>grind</i>	khət	<i>garden</i>	cham (cf. fence)
<i>net</i>	fut	<i>rake (n)</i>	ǎ chàt	<i>gold</i>	khàm
(<i>soft</i>	a pòt)	(<i>repair</i>	lót leu)	<i>hair</i>	sham khǎ
<i>smoke (v)</i>	wǎchǎ jut	<i>sheep</i>	chàt ʔam	<i>iron</i>	sám
<i>stump</i>	ǎ hùt	<i>termite</i>	wù kət	(<i>keep</i>	cu u chi lām è)
<i>sweat</i>	mò hùt na	(<i>toad</i>	a pút)	<i>lake</i>	nún khàm bà
(<i>suffocate</i>	mút)	<i>understand</i>	ǎ ca kət	<i>Lao</i>	wǎchàm
<i>throw</i>	ʔut ce			<i>left side</i>	là kam
<i>pluck</i>	chút nǐ?	-ak, -ok, ək (secondary)		<i>little</i>	sám
(<i>hot</i>	mò hut dè)	(<i>change</i>		(<i>merchant</i>	cām cha bà)
		<i>clothes</i>	tsòng p'ǎc)	<i>mouth</i>	bam fòn
-oet		<i>difficult T</i>	hpak bò	<i>much</i>	ǎ làm
<i>crazy</i>	ǎ poet	<i>leave T</i>	càk pǎi	<i>middle</i>	nám kon kon hniá
<i>liquid mud T</i>	(ǎ) pòet	<i>coffin</i>	ʔiŋ kǎlók wòn ce	<i>new moon</i>	kham nǐ
<i>spill</i>	lǎ kɔet ce	<i>loom (n) T</i>	ǎ hok	(<i>otter</i>	làng sam)
		(<i>say T</i>	bóc)	(<i>panther</i>	tchàlà pám pōng thù)
-ot (secondary)		<i>there</i>	hjak nǐ	<i>pen</i>	so dām
<i>car T</i>	lòt	<i>cabbage</i>		<i>rat</i>	hò tǎm
<i>train T</i>	lòt faj	(<i>bok choy</i>)	phək lām	<i>remember</i>	cām ce
<i>yeast</i>	bòt			<i>Shan</i>	bǎchàm
		-am		<i>sheep</i>	chàt ʔam
-it		<i>arvil</i>	cām ba wa?	<i>es</i>	hnám ba
<i>bamboo</i>		<i>axe T</i>	kyam bɔ?	<i>stairs</i>	chám
<i>shoots</i>	hǎ hmit	<i>bad smell-</i>		<i>sugar T</i>	nàm tàn
<i>spit</i>	phít dà nǐ?	<i>ing</i>	ǎ hnám	(<i>swamp</i>	p'ùm p'rām)
<i>twist</i>	bít dǔ	<i>bok choy</i>	kam bò	<i>three (cit)</i>	săm T
		<i>butterfly</i>	ham pin tǎo	<i>tripod</i>	shám kyiin sǐ
-et		<i>cabbage</i>	phək lām	<i>wall</i>	chám piá
<i>chest of</i>		<i>carry</i>		(<i>when</i>	asò nhám mè)
<i>drawers</i>	bǎché Eng.	(<i>hand</i>)	hpam ce	(<i>year</i>	ni, ne)(hi pi)
<i>drunk</i>	het ce	<i>chaff²</i>	ham		

-um

<i>ashes</i> ¹	gəthúm	(rice field lang bôm m)	<i>hawk</i>	can té è
(awaken	júp nùm blă)	<i>say</i>	lom ce	gă hàn
<i>w. basket</i>	gəđúm	<i>sew</i> T	hom nĩ?	hole ² T
<i>borrow</i> T	jum ce	<i>swing</i>	chóm plen hiễn	(hemp
<i>bury</i>	thum ce		ce	(jump
<i>beat (drum)</i>	thùm tì ce	<i>tired</i>	gă hóm	late
<i>drum</i>	thùm sị	<i>untie</i>	thòm ce	leggings
(fianceé	lúm p'a)			lips
(fiancee	lúm ba)	-m, -em		mix
(flood	lăng thum)	<i>caladium</i>	pĩ sị	more
<i>house</i>	júm (~ yám)	<i>elder</i> ¹	nm mà	near ²
(idiot	tsum è)	(dumb	a thêm pên)	old (thing)
(low, short	nhúm)	<i>roof</i> ²	nm mắ	play
<i>pus</i>	gă úm	<i>tick</i>	nm sị	pleasant
<i>pick fruit</i>	chum ce	<i>garlic</i>	pha thiem sị	proud
<i>pile up</i>	pùm nĩ?	<i>NTai</i>	mèm báp	put
<i>shoulder</i>	bốhúm	<i>three</i>	sòm (~ shòm)	read
(student	khu nhúm)	<i>thread</i>	dại khem	roll
(swamp	p'ùm p'răm)			saddle T
<i>urinate</i>	gă chum ce	-an		sharp ²
(unripe	a chòm)	<i>ashamed</i>	gă hĩa cắn	shiver
<i>house post</i>	júm ?ín sắu	(go) back	khè nan	sloping
<i>warm</i>	gă lúm	<i>basket</i>	khon ká wə kắn	slow (ly)
(wood	bỉ xa thum)		ce	spittle
		(soy) beans	wán té	soldier
		<i>beard</i>	bàn hmot	step on
		<i>board</i> ¹ T	ka dàn	storm
		<i>bracelet</i>	hná tán	study
		<i>burp</i>	khon bá kắn ce	sugar
		(burn	bỉ chắn)	swell
		(carry away	hắn na nữ)	thousand
		<i>cave</i> T	gắn thón	toad
		(chase	cắn nù)	(tobacco
		<i>embrace</i>	gắn ce	trap
		(enemy	tô sa cha lắn	use
			yề)	vulture
		<i>far</i> ²	gắ kắn	(wait
		<i>field</i>	lắtàn	work T
		<i>flea</i>	tắ hắn	yellow
		<i>government</i>	la tha bắn	
		<i>grandchild</i> ¹	gắ ?an	
		<i>gums</i>	bàn khắ	

-om

<i>bow head</i>	gom ce			
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-om

<i>breath</i>	lóm			
<i>burn</i> ²	hnóm bỉ a			
<i>button</i> T	hna tòm sị			
<i>conver-</i>				
<i>sation</i>	lom hnắ nĩ?			
<i>corn</i>	hnám piòm			
(good				
<i>smelling</i>	a hóm)			
<i>I</i>	gắnóm			
<i>be loved</i>	lom bà			
<i>meet</i> T	phòm hmiắ ce			
<i>peanut</i>	pat thòm			

-in

<i>bed</i>	tín cén	(wet	làng chên yề)	<i>sprinkle</i>	lả sùn ce
<i>chain</i> ²	jín jò hné			<i>stin</i> ²	kũn ce
<i>cord</i> ²	hnin hné	-en, -ean (secondary)		(<i>storm T</i>	hăn fũn)
<i>evening</i>	mò da é ve chi cín	<i>board</i> ² T	pén		
<i>forget</i>	hmin là ce	<i>same T</i>	lễn	-on	
<i>glutinous rice</i>	hà hmin	<i>seed</i> ² T	¿ấ kén	<i>bark</i> ² (v)	nón cắce le pí?
<i>good</i>	¿ấ hmin	<i>hard T</i>	¿ấ kén	<i>basket</i>	khon ká wə kán ce
<i>hope</i>	hmin cè me a	<i>mix</i>	peán hnan ce	<i>beg</i>	jón hày ce
<i>house post</i>	júm ?ín sǎu	-en		<i>belly</i>	po pon
(<i>lamp</i>	p'ǎng mǎn)	<i>bed</i>	tín cén	<i>boil</i>	ton ce
<i>lean</i> (v)	hnin ce	<i>dance</i>	jən ce	<i>bloom</i>	phòn ce
<i>liver</i>	¿ấ sìn	(<i>finish</i>	pon bla)	<i>blow</i>	hon ce
<i>name</i>	¿ấ hmin	<i>hundred</i>		(<i>blue</i>	a lon)
(<i>palm leaf</i>	dìn nì)	<i>thousand</i>	mén T	<i>bump</i>	khon bá kán ce
<i>socks T</i>	thon tĩn	<i>louse</i>	sén	<i>bury</i>	hni ton a tè ce
<i>sour</i>	¿ấ chín	(<i>plate</i>	hà(n)p'um)	<i>cave T</i>	¿án thón
<i>spin</i>	pin pí?	<i>poisoned</i>	ton sèn	(<i>centipede</i>	u sôn)
<i>tail</i>	tǎ hmin	<i>paddy</i>	gěchén	<i>coffin</i>	¿ĩg kǎlók wòn ce
(<i>termite</i>	hù bìn)(wùkət)	<i>sunrise</i>	mòni sì khən là ce	<i>dove</i>	khón khày
<i>thunder</i> ¹	mò ce kà cín	(<i>tender</i>	a pòn)	<i>elbow</i>	lǎshi ton
<i>tree</i>	cín	<i>top (mtn)</i>	khàn thề	<i>fall</i> ²	ton ce
<i>tripod</i>	sham kũn sì	(<i>ugly</i>	bun ne)	<i>fish basket</i>	khòn kap
<i>white ant</i>	hò bìn			(<i>forehead</i>	bo kón)
<i>wood (tree)</i>	cín	-in, -ien, -ien (secondary)		<i>have fun</i>	¿ấ hmòn
<i>Yao</i>	jaŋ jín bà	(<i>climb</i>	khùn)	<i>hunt</i>	son kǎ/hǎ ce
		(<i>return</i>	khùn)	<i>larynx</i>	khon bá sì
-en (secondary)		<i>mirror T</i>	wièn	<i>light fire</i>	bì hlón we à
<i>be T</i>	pén	<i>right T</i>	¿ấ dìn hno jà	<i>middle</i>	nám kon kon hniá
<i>blanket</i>	phèn	<i>soft</i>	¿ấ pín jà	<i>mouth</i>	bam fòn
(<i>dumb</i>	a thəm pèn)	<i>opium</i>	ja jién	<i>nipple</i>	lon sì
<i>find</i> ²	sa jèn hmiá o ja	<i>top (toy)</i> ¹	fǎlìn	<i>noon</i>	hĩ kon ă
<i>flute T</i>	chèn	(<i>ugly</i>	bun ne)	<i>partridge</i>	hĩa jon
<i>hang up</i>	chèn ce			<i>pound</i>	thon ce
(<i>hang up</i>	pèn)	-un		<i>poisoned</i>	ton sèn
(<i>opium</i>	yàng yèn)	<i>chalk</i>	pun	(<i>reunite</i>	tsón lǎng lau)
<i>see T</i>	hèn ce	<i>chin, heel</i>	pì tùn	<i>round</i>	¿ấ bón
<i>study T</i>	hèn han ce	<i>lake</i>	nún khăm ba	<i>sel</i> ²	kòn ce
<i>swing</i>	chóm plen hiěn ce	<i>pine tree</i>	tế? jun cín	<i>socks T</i>	thon tĩn
		<i>masturbate</i>	nè phun phun ce	<i>spear</i>	con
				<i>spoon T</i>	cỏn
				<i>shrimp</i>	lon thát

-on (continued)

<i>smoke</i>	kòn é sǎ	-iŋ, -əŋ, -ɔŋ (secondary)	(<i>divide</i>	put lǎng)
<i>stand</i>	con ní?		(<i>divorce</i>	càng lǎng)
<i>stick</i> (v)	ǎ lòn	<i>half</i> T khǎŋ	<i>drink</i>	tǎ sǎ
<i>stick</i> (n)	con kón	<i>one</i> (cit) T níŋ	(<i>earrings</i>	nà wǎŋ)
<i>stomach</i>	(cf. <i>belly</i>)	(<i>flat</i> tǎ kiǎ lǎŋ)	<i>earth</i>	hmí tǎ
<i>sugarcane</i>	pòn cháŋ	<i>thing</i> ² ǎ kèŋ khə cə	<i>elder</i> ²	jǎmǎ
<i>village</i>	khon	<i>call</i> ³ hóŋ	<i>fan</i>	bǎpǎ
<i>vulture</i>	cán bàn hní kón	<i>two</i> (cit) T sǎŋ	<i>false</i>	m tǎ
<i>water</i>			<i>fast</i>	ǎ tǎ wǎ jǎ
<i>carrier</i>	jon	-ǎ	<i>fight</i>	tí hnǎ ce
(<i>weak</i>	pòn nǎ)	(<i>adultery</i> cǎ lǎng p'iép lǎng)	(<i>fight</i>	tí lǎng pat lǎng)
-iŋ		<i>afternoon</i> shǎ	<i>finger</i>	lǎhǎ
(<i>collar</i>	lính kòŋ)	(<i>amuse self</i> ga(n) nù)	<i>fish</i>	jǎ te
(<i>cook</i>	mính yǎ)	<i>animal</i> sǎ kǎ jǎ	<i>five</i>	ǎ
<i>fingermail</i>	lǎshǐŋ	<i>appear</i> hnǎ tǎ	<i>flat</i> ¹	tǎ kiǎ lǎŋ
<i>full</i>	ǎ pín	<i>bamboo</i> hǎ	<i>flea</i>	tǎ hǎn
(<i>headman</i>	khòŋ sinh)	<i>barn</i> cǎ	(<i>flee</i>	p'ǎng yǎ)
(<i>king</i>	a(n)dǎy a sinh)	<i>belt</i> sǎi hǎ	(<i>flesh</i>	à má (nasal))
(<i>lead</i>	tsíŋh)	<i>blue</i> hjǎ da	<i>forehead</i>	bǎtǎ jǎ?
<i>roast</i>	pín ce	<i>boar</i> wǎ thǎ	(<i>formerly</i>	ní chàŋ)
(<i>narrow</i>	a ình)	<i>brave</i> ǎ hjǎ hǐ	<i>friend</i>	ǎ chà
<i>skirt</i>	dǐn kǎ	<i>breast</i> lǎ sǐ	<i>ginger</i>	hnǎ sǐ
<i>spinach</i>	sín phǎ	<i>bridge</i> tí hnǎ ce	<i>green</i>	ǎ hjǎ
<i>throat</i>	ǎ lín	<i>bright</i> tsǎng-é	(<i>hard-</i>	
(<i>wrist</i>	là lǐnh)(lǎko)	<i>candle</i> bǎshǎ	<i>working</i>	tsǎng k'ha)
-en, -un		<i>carry</i> (head) chǎ ce	<i>have</i>	ǎ cǎ
<i>sing</i>	lǎn ce	<i>cattle</i> zǎ hmiǎ	<i>he</i>	jǎ
<i>country</i>	ǎ hmún	<i>chair</i> tǎ kú	(<i>hem</i>	khǎng khǎn)
		<i>chest</i> ǎ jǎ	<i>hot</i>	ǎ hǎ
		<i>clean</i> ǎ shǎ	<i>house</i> ²	cǎ
		(p'iu-chê-ang)	<i>hunt</i>	son kǎ hǎ ce
-aŋ (secondary)		<i>conver-</i>	<i>incline</i>	ǎ phiǎ
<i>bellows</i>	pǎŋ hùt	<i>sation</i> lom hnǎ ní?	<i>inside</i>	thǎ ə?
<i>top</i> (toy) ²	hmə khǎŋ T	<i>cooked rice</i> hǎ	(<i>join</i>	nhǎng lǎng yǎ)
		<i>cooking pot</i> bǎ khǎŋ T	<i>lamp</i>	bǎtǎ
-iŋ (secondary)		<i>copper</i> tǎ hnǎ	<i>lift</i>	chǐ jǎ mǎ biǎ
<i>coffin</i>	ǎŋ kǎlók wòn ce	<i>courie</i> cí lǎ kǎp	<i>listen</i>	hnǎ ce
<i>goose</i>	kǎp lǐŋ cǎn	<i>cry</i> ² hǎ ce	<i>light</i>	
<i>silk</i>	cín kú	<i>cup</i> T kǎ kǎŋ	(<i>weight</i>)	ǎ jǎ jǎ?
		<i>deaf</i> lǎpǎ	<i>live</i> ²	hnǎ cǎ ní?
		<i>defecate</i> ǎ kǎ ce		

-ă (continued)

meet	phòm hmiă ce	(X time	thàng)	pierce	thế ce
(mix	piat lăng yề)	toad	khan khă	(skirt	tèng pì)
nation	khă bá wá	tone /word	sătă	(strong	hèng ghê)
new ²	ǎă jă	turtle	tă kh		
night	khə thă	true	jă tă ce	-ĩ (allophonic → phonological	owing to secondary system)
nose	lăkă	upper side	hmiă	(crest	cùng the)
nostril	lăkă thă	verb pre-		ten (cit)	wĩ
now	hnă mề?	fix, noun		ten thou-	mĩ, hmĩ T
once	khă thăcă	prefix	ǎă	sand	
onion ²	kù phă sị	(verb part.)	lăng	(sing	to lo mung)
open	phă nĩ?	(wait	tăng gi bân)	hair	sam khĩ
foreign	făđă T	water	lă	meat	căkĩ
patch	ǎă tă tă ce	weep	hă ce	(thread	khung sụ)
person	shă	(weigh	chăng)	yam	hmĩ
plow	lă tă sê ce	you	nă		
poor	jă ʔe jă	yawn	júp sà kă ce		
pot T	băkhuă			-ũ (secondary)	
prison	kəlă	-ĩ (allophonic → phono-		ascend	phiă hnũ
proud	ǎă hjă căn	logical owing to		airplane	jě hũ
push (wood		secondary system)		(dirty	tsəp k'hùng k'hùng
in fire)	hnă nĩ?	brave	ǎă hjă ǎă hĩ	u ề)	
quarrel	jă hnă ce	broad	ǎă tĩ	flag T	tũ
question	sătă hnă sề?	excrement	ǎă	(husk rice	cô thùng p'fũ
(rainbow	lă tă hyă)	expensive T	ǎă pĩ	khâu)	
rest	hnă ce	flat ²	ǎă lĩ		
(reunite	tsón lăng lau)	flower	hĩ wat	-ô	
(rich	hăng)	full (moon)	thĩ ce	boat	lố
roof	júm mă	(water) jug	lă tĩ	yB	hnố jă
satisfied	ǎă tă bô jă	Meo	mĩ bà	(in law	a sòng)
scale	dă că	noon	hĩ kon ă	(bed	têng chòng)
sell	hjă	(offer	nĩ(n))	(burn	bỉ lòng)
shield	kă sề?	(slow	mieng ă ề)	(change	a tsòng p'ăc)
sink	lă tă ce	strength	ǎă hĩ	clothes	hlat sỏ
yz	hnă jă	-ě (allophonic → phono-		clothing	linh kòng)
sneeze	shă ce	logical owing to		(collar	ung yề)
(spinning		secondary system)		(cry	cỏ
stick	ông(n)cáng yề)	airplane T	jě hũ	dumb	tchồng kòng)
spoiled	ǎă ǎă	clench		(forest	bỉ lông piă)
stab	ǎă jă thê ce	(fist)	kyế ce	fire	tu tchồng)
stir	sỏ	cord ¹	hně jău?	(hat	mỏ
they	khău che hă	(bed	têng chòng)	horse	
(throw	hiàng)	give	pě ce		
		pickle (v)	ǎă chể hỏ nĩ?		

-õ (continued)

(house on posts	téng mǒng)	(pot	ù lǒng)	(they	lǒng lǎng yè)
husband	?ǎ miǒ	(scrawny	hi-ông ề)	(umbrella	chòng)
(panther	tchà là pām pōng thù)	spider	pổ bà	(village chief	khòng sinh)
pants	hlua hmo	(spinning stick	ông(n)cáng yề)	verb part.	hnồ
(pound	thồng)	(stool	tồng khu)	wing	?ǎ tồ
		(suit	à tsòng)		

APPENDIX: Counting

The citation forms used in counting by my informant are very different from numbers used in context, and also from the counting numbers that Roux was given. From *one* to *ten*, *seven*, *eight* and *nine* in the Roux list are from some Dai language; otherwise, the numbers appear to be regularly derived from *Loloish roots. In my data, on the other hand, *one* to *four* are from Dai; *five* and *six* look Tibeto-Burman, but do not show regular Phunoi correspondences with *Loloish; *seven* and *eight* are from Vietnamese; and *nine* and *ten* are from some source unknown to me. In context, *one* to *three* at least are from *Loloish in my data.

Roux (1923)	Bradley (1972)	in context (1972)
(thì lùm)	nɨŋ	thə-
(ni lùm)	sɔŋ	hnə-
(sum lùm)	sǎm	sám
(hal lùm)	sì	(cf. <i>square</i>)
(ngà lùm)	?ǎ	
(khô lùm)	khà	
(chét lùm)	bjò (bǎy)	
(pét lùm)	tám (tám)	
(câu lùm)	tè	
(thì (t)tsé)	wɨ	

In addition to Ly/Lao/Thai and Vietnamese, the Phunoi may have been in contact with other Tibeto-Burmans (Akha and Burmans); with mountain Mon-Khmer (Khmu? and possibly others); with Miao-Yao, and certainly with Chinese (southwestern Mandarin). There are some words in Bisoid, such as *duck* and *lung*, which do not occur to my knowledge outside Bisoid, but are perfectly regular within it; perhaps these are early borrowings into Bisoid.

N O T E S

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2. Hall 1964, Roux 1924; conjectures my own.
3. Adams, McCoy article p.76.
4. Aymé, p.77.
5. Adams, McCoy article p.89-91.
6. Aymé, p.87.
7. Adams, McCoy article p.83.
8. Aymé, p.88-89.
9. Adams passim: articles by Feingold, McCoy.
10. Martinet 1955.
11. Contrary to my initial finding, reported in Matisoff 1973.

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