



ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS IN MLABRI

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS IN MLABRI

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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ เสนอการศึกษาวิจัยภาษามลเบรีในสามประเด็น ประเด็นที่หนึ่ง เกี่ยวกับระบบเสียง ซึ่งประกอบด้วย ทานองเสียง คำ พยางค์ และหน่วยเสียง ประเด็นที่สอง เกี่ยวกับลักษณะทางด้านมานุษยวิทยา ซึ่งประกอบด้วย ระบบเครือญาติ บ้าน ลักษณะ เครื่องมือเครื่องใช้ การรักษาโรคและเพลง ประเด็นที่สาม เกี่ยวกับความสัมพันธ์ ระหว่างภาษาและมานุษยวิทยา ซึ่งเห็นได้ชัดเจนจากการสร้างคำ โดยอาศัยแนวเทียบกับสภาพแวดล้อมทางมานุษยวิทยา และสังคม

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to study in three main aspects, Linguistics, Anthropology and their relationship of Mlabri. The first part consists of Mlabri phonology. The second concerns anthropological aspects such as kinship, material culture, medicine and songs. The last concerns the relationship between Language and Anthropology. Mlabri words are created by analogy of anthropological, environmental, social aspects.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

arch.	archaic
asp.	aspirated
C	consonant
e.g.	for example
implod.	imploded
(KHMU)	KHMU word
,n.	noun
old.	old word
pp.	page
S	stress
sec.	section
(THAI)	THAI word
U	unaspirated
unasp.	unaspirated
V.	vowel
vd.	voiced
vi.	intransitive verb
vt.	transitive verb
vl.	voiceless
.	long
.	boundaries
/	high pitch level
~	unreleased
	voiceless

+	combine
()	optional
/ /	phonemic brackets
' ,	meaning
— —	Scientific names
ˈ	strong stressed
ˌ	weakly stressed
→	corresponds to

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The Mlabri are a small group of hunter-gatherer in the north of Thailand. They are living a secluded life in some of the most inaccessible parts of the hill country. Other people seldom see them. The existence of these timid nomads has been known to most outsiders only through their abandoned and yellow-leafed thatched windcreens.

There are many ethnographic records about the Mlabri (e.g. Seidenfaden 1919 : 50, Kerr 1924 : 142, Bernatizik 1938, Boeles 1963 : 153, Young 1974 : 70). It is likely that the Mlabri had a original settlement near the Mekhong river in Sayaburi in Laos (Boeles : 1963)

In Thailand, Mlabri firstly appeared in Chaiyaphum, Loei and Chiangrai (Seidenfaden : 1919). At present, Mlabri are in only 18 villages of 4 districts in Phrae and Nan provinces.

Mlabri were named in various ways. They call themselves Mlabri. It consists of two words /mla/ and /bri?/, the former meaning 'people' the latter 'forest, jungle' so it means the 'people of the jungle' which is

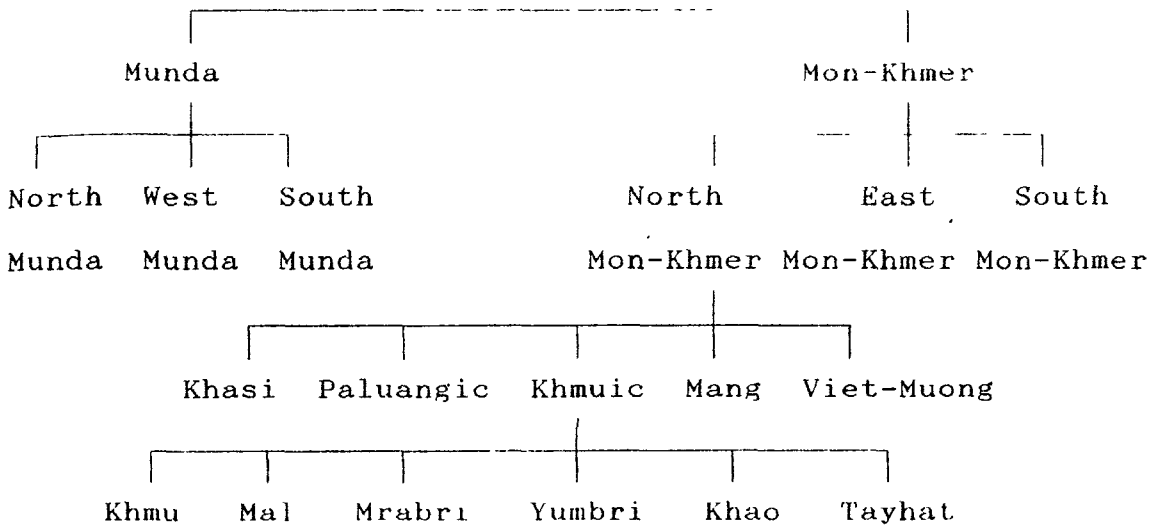
similar to 'Khon Pa'in Thai, 'Mang Koo' in Hmong. The Laotian know them as "Kha Tuang Luang". Thai name them as "Phi Tong Luang "which means "the spirit of the yellow leaves" because of their being as elusive as ghosts, always moving from their jungle camp to a new place when the green thatch turn yellow.

In 1982 the Mlabri population in Thailand was about 138. It is likely that this figure is more or less accurate, since there are only a few Mlabri families that are not found. Moreover, Mlabri are diminishing people ; being killed by malaria, infant malnutrition and other diseases. In 1987, 4 Mlabri died of malaria, of nutrient deficiency, and were killed accidentally by gun shots.

Besides, approximately more 250 Mlabri are still found in the high hills in the north of The People's Republic of Laos. ... Laotians name them as Sonsat Phudoi, a hill tribe who lives on the mountain nowadays. (Siho : 1988)

Mlabri is in the Khumic branch of the Mon-Khmer family of the Austroasiatic Language Family. (Gerard Diffloth 1973 : 481)

Austroasiatic



(Gerard Diffloth : 1973 Encyclopedia Britannica III)

Mrabri is a word that Kraisi (1963) had transcribed of the term Mlabri in his second expedition in 1963. Later the tapes were re-studied by Harris in 1964. After repeated listenings, he transcribed Mlabri which is the clear emphatic way of pronouncing the name in isolation (Harris : 1986).

For Mrabri and Yumbri that Bernatzik had studied in 1941, Rischel assumed that they are varieties of the same language. Because he found another dialect which shares most of the vocabulary with Yumbri, it is possible that Yumbri is a dialect of Mlabri. (Rischel : 1988)

1.2 Aim of the study

1. To study the phonology of Mlabri in the lexicon used in everyday life.

2. To study the relationship between language and anthropology of the Mlabri tribe emphasizing the lexicon.

1.3 Scope of the study

This study consists of three parts linguistics, anthropology and relationship between linguistic and anthropological aspects. It is arranged as follows :

1. Linguistic aspects

- consonants
- vowels -
- suprasegmentals
- morphemes
- words

2. Anthropological aspects

- kinship
- dwellings
- tools- and instruments
- medicine

- music

3. Relationship aspect between linguistics and anthropology

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Preparation of the study

1.4.1.1 I have studied published and unpublished documents on the Mlabri to have an idea of some aspects of Mlabri anthropology.

1.4.1.2 I spent several days with Mlabri groups for a preliminary survey. I have an idea how to study and how to stay during the three months fieldwork. Subsequently, I conducted field-work in Phrae and Nan between June - 1986 and 1989. Data were collected in five fieldtrips during this period, lasting between one week to one month.

1.4.2 Collection of data

1.4.2.1 Participant observation in the customs to some degree to obtain general anthropological data. I used this particular method since it may help me to establish good relationships with the people being

studied. It helps to open channels of communication. Moreover, by trying to experience their culture (as they do), it is possible to get an inside view.

1.4.2.2 Informant interview. This is done on the assumptions that many things in a culture are covert and can be detected and understood adequately only by questioning informants (who have relationships of mutual trust), who are familiar with the researcher. Also, I must depend on informants to learn about things that occur infrequently, perhaps only at certain times of the year, or in places not easily accessible to the investigation, e.g. the birthplace. I started working as the following :

1. Setting topics. Topics about which the informants were interviewed are concerned with language in culture, ritual and belief, life-cycle, economic organization, and material culture.

2. Instruments used. I used field-notebooks, pictures, real materials and a cassette tape-recorder when interviewing, a camera for taking photographs of specific objects and events that occur in every day life.

1.4.3 Selection of informants

The informants selected represent various ages, both sexes and other categories of the society. I therefore, selected my informants from other Mlabri groups in the vicinity as :

1. Mr. Kaep, approximate age 46, lives at Doi Phamung.

2. Mr. Som, approximate age 39, moves in the jungle from Phrae to Nan's. He was also a movie star in "Tawan Yim Chaeng" (The Sun smiles).

3. Mr. Paeng-Noi, approximate age 47, is familiar with strangers who visited his group. He can speak three languages fluently; Hmong, Mlabri (his native language) and Northern Thai.

4. Mrs. Pa, approximate age 20, is rather shy and afraid of strangers. She now married Mr. Paeng-Noi. She has a child by him.

5. Mr. Kuaj, approximate age 57, is familiar with strangers. He works in Hmong rice swiddens at Doi Phukheng, Nan province.

6. Mr. Yot, approximate age 34, was married three times. His first wife died of a snake bite and the second one was divorced from him. Now he married E-La.



Fig. 1 Ai-Lung ,Ai--Yot



Fig. 2 E-La

7. Mr.Lung, approximate age 16, is eager to communicate with outsiders. He looks cleaner than other Malbri.

8. Mrs. Ya-Chuduk, approximate age 58, Although she is rather afraid of strangers, she is talkative. She told me many details in ritual and food technology.

9. Mrs. La, approximate age 35, is Yot's wife. Before marrying him, she stayed with Mr. Paeng-Noi.

10. Mr. Chan, approximate age 43, is Paeng-Noi's friend.

11. Mr. Thon, a man of 28 years old, is the son of Paeng-Tow. He is familier with outsiders e.g. Thai, Khmu, foreigners who studied hill tribe people.

1.4.4 Analysis of data -

The analysis of data is divided into 3 parts :

1.4.4.1 Linguistics. All data will be described phonologically and semantically.

1.4.4.2 Anthropological aspects. To study the vocabularies concerned with Mlabri society; the result will be interpreted as to how it reflects the culture, and anthropological aspects.



Fig. 3 Yachuduk



Fig. 4 Ai-Kuay



Fig. 5 Kuay's family



Fig. 6 Mot's family

1.4.4.3 Relationship between linguistic and anthropological aspects

1.5 Assumptions of the study

Mlabri language, especially, vocabulary reflects the life and culture of Mlabri.

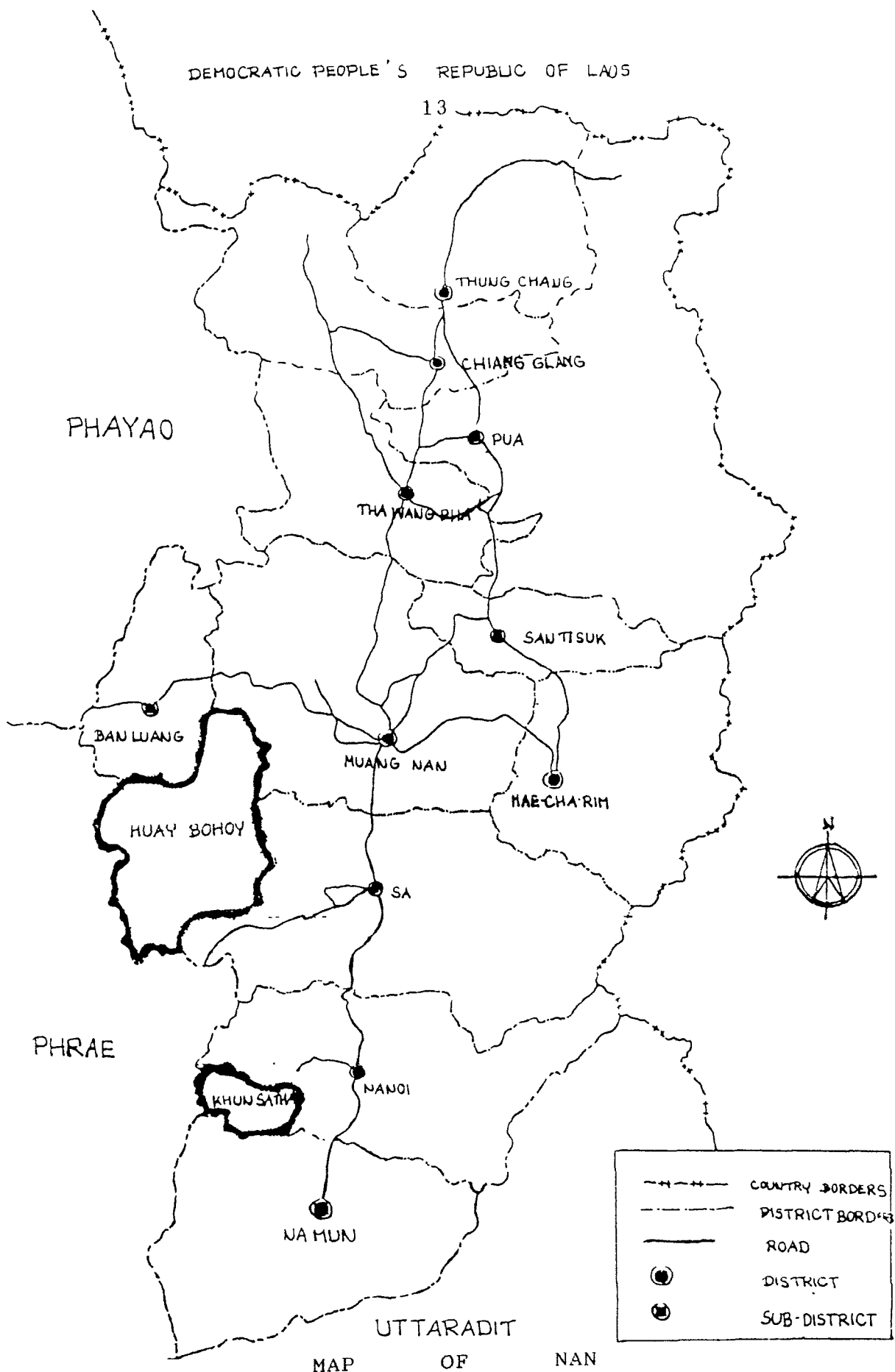
1.6 Benefits of the study

The expected benefits of this study are as follows:

1. This study provides the knowledge of Mlabri Phonology.

2. This study can be a guide for further study of anthropological linguistics of other tribes.

3. The results may be useful for social workers or government officials as a preliminary source for project implementation involving the improvement of living standards and solving human rights problems that Mlabri are facing.



1.7 Studied Areas

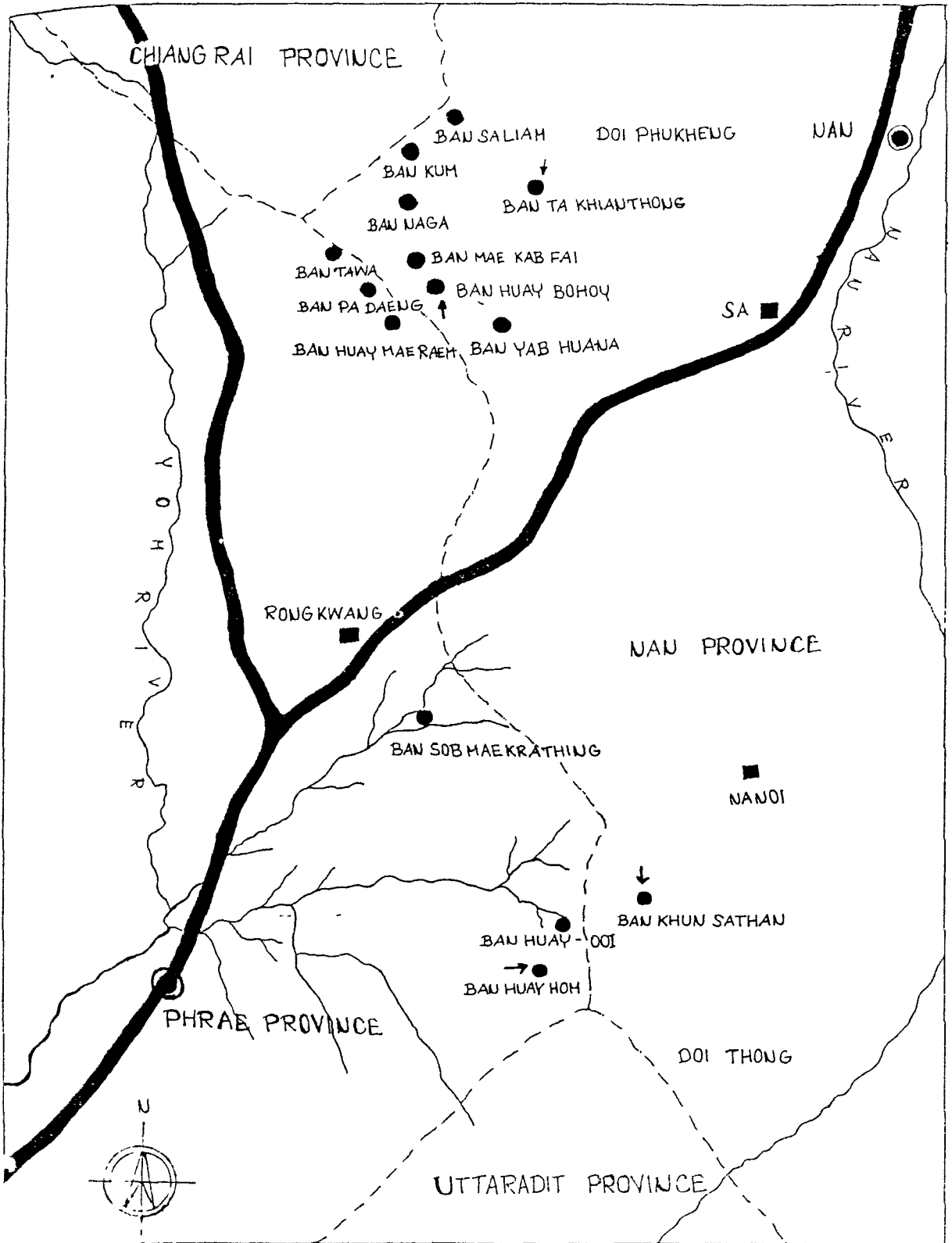
There are many ethnographic records about Mlabri. It is likely that they have originated near the Mekhong River in Sayaburi of Laos. (Boeles : 1963 : 153)

In Thailand, Mlabri are distributed in almost all mountains which lie between Sa and Nanoi districts in Nan province and Rongkwang district in Phrae province. The detail is shown on the map. Since Mlabri always move to another place for hunting-gathering, it is difficult to communicate with them. There are few places where outsider groups often saw them, so I chose to study them at 3 places as follow :

1. Ban Huay Hom, Hmong Village, Rong Kwang district, Phrae province.

2. Ban Khun Sathan, Nanoi District, Nan province

3. Ban Huay Bohoy, Ban Naga, Huay Mae Kab Fai Sa district, Nan Province.



LOCATION OF STUDIED AREAS

MAP 2

CHAPTER II

Mlabri Phonological System

2.1 The Intonation Group


2.1.1 General Definition

The Intonation Group is the highest level of the phonological hierarchy presented here, so its function in higher units is not discussed. Its structure is stated in terms of the stress group.

2.1.2 Types of Intonation

Mlabri has only two types of intonation contours, the Rising - Falling contour and the Rising contour. Both contours can be characterised by lengthening the final syllable of the last word.

2.1.2.1 The Rising - Falling Contour

The rising - Falling contour is used in commands, affirmatives and in questions. It is phonetically marked by []

Commands

There are two types of commands. The first is a request to do something. It has the initial particle [dih] 'please' or prohibitive [gΛm] 'not' and a deleted subject or actor. The second is a persuasion to do something.

[dih ?ʌ? ?oh ɕo?e?]

eat I hungry

'Let's eat, I am hungry. '

[gΛm̄ toc tʰɾlɔh rumuɕ]


not seize cooking pot hot

' Don't pick up the cooking pot, it's hot. '

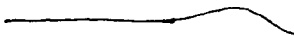
[dih thalɛw wɜk ɕap thu?ur]

bathe water sunlight hot

' Let's take a bath, it is hot. '



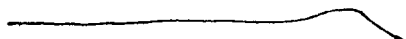
[dih buʔuj ʔeʔlam]
 to burn casava
 'Please to burn casava.'



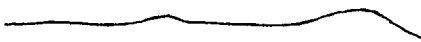
[dih ʔalɛk ʃa:k
 [dark to walk]
 'Hurry up, it was dark.'

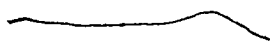
Affirmative Statement

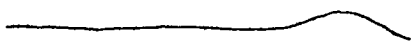
An affirmative statement is accompanied by the rising - falling contour as in the following examples.



[ɲaj ʔɤʔ bluŋ]
 boar eat bamboo shoot
 'A boar eats a bamboo shoot.'

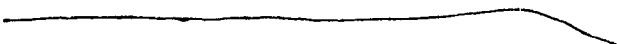

 [ka? ɲuh ni wɤk]
 fish stay at water
 ' Fish are in the water.'

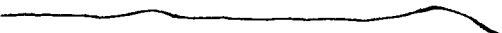

 [?e? komblɪŋ]
 taro raw
 ' A taro is raw.'



 [?jek krʌp ?ot ?ew]
 bee bite my son
 ' A bee bit my son.'

Question

A question statement may be intensified by using the rising - falling contour. The question marker is [tummlapʌ] 'who' and [gɤlɛŋ] 'where' as the following examples.



 [tummlapʌ ?aʃak thaŋ ramap]
 who go clear field
 ' Who went clearing the field ? '


 [mɛt mɔ̃ ʃak ɡɔ̃lɛŋ]
 your wife go where
 ' Where did your wife go to ?


 [tummlapʌ malam mlabri?]
 who sing Mlabri
 ' Who sings Mlabri songs ? '

2.1.2.2 The Rising Contour

The rising contour is used in negative statements, polar questions.

It is phonetically characterized by the rising of the pitch of the last syllable, and it is phonetically marked by []

Negative Statement

A statement may be negated by adding the negative marker /kɔ̃ bɔ̃ / 'not' before the main verb of a sentence or the negative marker / ʔi ʔoj / 'don't know' after a statement. The negative statement is accompanied by the rising contour.

[?oh kɔbɔ mʌc]

I not know

' I don't know. '

[(?oh) ?i?oj]

not know

' I don't know. '

[ɕakɻmruɕ kɔbɔ ?ʌ? brap]

old man not eat dog

' An old man doesn't eat dog's meat. '

[mət ?ɛ w kɔbɔ thalɛw wɿk]

your son not bathe water

' Your son doesn't take a bath. '


[roj kɔbɔ wɿ k ?ja]

younger brother not smoke tobacco


' A younger brother doesn't smoke. '

polar question

The polar question is characterized by the rising contour and the use the of question marker [kɔbɔ.lɛ]



[mɿm kɔbɔ ?ɿ? juk lɛ]
 father not eat rice ?
 ' Father, Don't you eat rice ? '



[mɛh kɔbɔ ʃak kwɛl ?jek lɛ]
 you not go seek bee ?
 ' Don't you go to seek honey ? '

Note : [kɔ bɔ] 'not' may be a loan from Lao.
 Because Mlabri word which means "not" is / gɬm /.

It should be noted that the rising contour may be used to accompany a question when the speaker has an emotional expression, for example, anger, suspicion.


[hʌlɛh pi?pʌ]

Laugh what

' What do you laugh at ? '


[anger]


[dor pi?pʌ]

throw what

' What did you throw away '

[anger]



[?ʌleh tal dʃ]

come day when

' When did you come ? '

(How long ago did you come ?)

[suspicion]



[diŋ ʔh kɔ k ɕiŋde]
 elder brother do pipe how
 ' How did you make a pipe ? '
 [suspicion]

2.2 The Stress Group

2.2.1 General Definition

A unit whose elements are syllables is sometimes called a stress group or a phonological word. The stress group functions in the intonation group, and is defined as the rank whose units have a structure in terms of syllables.

2.2.2 -Stress

A stressed syllable is defined as a syllable which is louder and has greater length (in the vowel) than an unstressed syllable.

The degree of stress in Mlabri is predictable from the position of the stress in a word and from the syllable structure



Mlabri has three phonetic levels of stress, as follows :

2.2.2.1 Strong Stress

A strongly stressed syllable is a syllable which has more amplitude (loudness) and intensity (usually on the vowel) than a weakly stressed syllable or an unstressed syllable. It is a major syllable. (see sec 2.2.3.1)

2.2.2.2 Weak Stress

A weakly stressed syllable is a syllable which has more amplitude/ intensity than an unstressed syllable, but less than a strongly stressed syllable. It is a closed minor syllable (See sec. 2.2.3.2.1)

2.2.2.3 No Stress

An unstressed syllable is a syllable which has less amplitude/intensity and length than a weakly stressed syllable, in other words we can say that it is a syllable which does not bear any stress. It is an open minor syllable (See sec. 2.2.3.2.2)

2.2.3 Structure

The stress group of Mlabri may have from one to two syllables. A three syllable structure is rare in this language, not including loanwords. The final syllable is always the nucleus which bears primary stress. It can be preceded by one to three peripheral syllables.

Syllable boundaries are marked by (.), Strongly stressed syllables by (') (S), weakly stressed syllables by (,) (W) and unstressed syllables are unmarked () (U).

There are three types of stress group structure in Mlabri, monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic.

2.2.3.1 Monosyllabic Stress-Group

A monosyllabic stress - group is a group which is formed by only one syllable, with strong stress. It has only structure : S

Examples

/ gɛŋ /	[gɛŋ]	' a house '
/ mʌc ' /	[mʌc]	' to see, to know '
/ brap /	[bra:p]	' a dog '
/ drup /	[dru:p]	' a flying termite '

2.2.3.2 Disyllabic Stress - Group

A disyllabic stress group is a group with two syllables. The stresses occur in 2 patterns : WS and US

2.2.3.2.1 WS

Examples :

/ micmɛc /	[,mic.'mɛc']	' an ant '
/ thukwek /	[,thuk.'wek']	' black '
/ cenra? /	[,tʃe:n.'ra?]	' liquor '
/ khabok /	[,kha.'bo:k']	' a steel with sharp ends '

2.2.3.2.2 US

/ bɿlak	[bɿ.'la:k ʔ]	' white '
/ cɿboh /	[fɿɿ.'boh]	' a mountain '
/ ɕɿmɔp /	[cɿ.'mɔ: p]	' a little star '
/ gɿlɛŋ /	[gɿ.'lɛŋ]	' where '

2.2.3.3 Trisyllabic Stress - Group

A trisyllabic word is formed by three syllables. These three syllables have only one meaning. However, trisyllabic words in Mlabri are very rare.

The stress group occurs in three patterns : UWS, WUS and WWS

2.2.3.3.1 UWS

/ tɿrlampam / [tɿr;lampam] ' a moth '
 / tɿrlaŋkuŋ / [tɿr;la:ŋkuŋ] ' a hawk '

2.2.3.3.2 WUS

/ banhne? -/ [,ban.hne?] ' mother's relative '

2.2.3.3.3 WWS

/ !u?ŋle? / [!u?.ŋ.le?] ' an occiput '

There is only one word having / ŋ / in the medial syllable. This word is pronounced in normal speech. In a rapid speech, / ŋ / will be dropped. This also happens in Khmer. I believe / ŋ / will disappear from

Mlabri language eventually. Because there is only one word in this language and / ŋ / in the middle of the word is difficult to pronounce.

2.3 The Syllable

2.3.1 General Definition

The syllable is defined as the rank whose units have a structure in terms of phonemes, and which functions in the stress - groups.

2.3.2 Syllable Structure

The structure of the syllable is described in terms of a nucleus formed by a vowel (V) and a periphery formed by consonants (C).

There are three types of syllables in Mlabri : The presyllable, the major syllable and the minor syllable. There are closed minor syllables and open minor syllables ; the closed minor syllables bear a weak stress and the open minor syllables are also weakly stressed.

2.3.2.1 The Presyllable

The presyllable is defined as a syllable whose nucleus is only [ɤ] and bears no stress. It can only be an open syllable. Its occurrence is optional. A presyllable can be merged with the main syllable into one monosyllabic word and can also be dropped in rapid speech. It precedes the major syllable in a disyllabic word and the major syllable or a minor syllable in a trisyllabic word

There is only one type of presyllable according to its structure; [cv]

Examples

/ pɤgoh /	[pɤ!goh]	'to break '
/ tɤruŋ /	[tɤ!ruŋ]	'a bamboo '
		container '
/ thɤwa? /	[thɤ!wa?]	'a monkey '
/ kɤlam /	[kɤ!la:m]	'a flat bamboo '
/ cɤbut /	[tɕɤ!bu:t']	'a pig '
/ bɤlak /	[bɤ!la:k']	'white '

2.3.2.2 The Major Syllable

A major syllable is defined as a syllable which immediately precedes a potential pause. It always takes a strong stress. Its occurrence is obligatory, that is, every word must have one main syllable. Its structure is [C(C) V (C)].

There are four different types of major syllable, according to its structure as follows :

2.3.2.2.1 Sub - type A Simple initial
open syllable. Its structure
is : [CV]

/ lɛ / [lɛ :] ' question maker '

- 2.3.2.2.2- Sub - type B Compound
initial open syllable. Its
structure is [CCV]

/ mʃ / [mʃ :] ' a wife '

/ mla / [mla :] ' human being '

/ blu / [blu :] ' a leg '

2.3.2.2.3 Sub - type C Simple initial
closed syllable. Its struc-
ture is [CVC]

/ ?ac /	[?ac ^ː]	' a bird '
/ rap /	[ra:p ^ː]	' to chase '
/ mAc /	[mAc ^ː]	' to know '
/ pon /	[po:n]	' four '
/ bih /	[bih]	' to cut '

2.3.2.2.4 Sub-type D Compound initial
closed syllable. It struc-
ture is [CCVC]

/ brap /	[bra:p]	' a dog '
/ grw? /-	[grw:?]	' to crow , (a hen)
/ kwaj /	[kwa:j]	' a taro '
/ plut /	[plut ^ː]	' to peel '

2.3.2.3 The Minor Syllable.

A minor syllable is defined as a syllable which bears no stress in a disyllabic word and has a weak stress in a trisyllabic word. It always precedes the main major syllable in both a disyllabic word and a trisyllabic one. Minor syllables cannot merge with major syllables into one monosyllabic word, but some can be dropped in rapid speech. Its structure can be either closed or open. However, the nucleus of minor syllables of which structure are open can be any vowel. Its structure is : [C(C) VC]

There are two sub-types of the minor syllable according to its structure , as follow :-

2.3.2.3.1 Closed Minor Syllables

A closed minor syllable is defined as a syllable which always takes a secondary stress (or weak stress). It can only be a closed syllable.

There are two different types of minor closed syllable according to its initial as follows :-

Sub - type A Simple initial closed
 syllable

Its structure is CVC

/ micmɛc /	[mic'mɛcʰ]	' an ant '
/ namtum /	[nam'tu:m]	' water medicine
/ mɔʔmɛʔ /	[mɔʔ'mɛʔ]	' a crossbow '

Sub - type B Simple initial closed
 syllable

Its structure is [CCVC]

/ gwɔcɣwɛc /	[gwɔc'ɣwɛc]	' to scrape '
/ prɔʔ preʔ/	[prɔʔ 'preʔ]	' a common myna

The two closed minor syllable structures may be
rewritten as one pattern [C(C) VC].

/ thuʔur /	[thuʔu:r]	' hot '
/ ŋɔtŋɛt /	[ŋɔtŋɛtʰ]	' a cicada '
/ krɔldɔl /	[krɔldɔl]	' a gallbladder '

2.3.2.3.2 Open Minor Syllable

An open minor syllable is
defined as a syllable which takes no stress. It can only
be an open syllable. Its structure is CV.

/ malaŋ /	[ma.'laŋ]	' kind of bamboo'
/ cikhej /	[ci.'khej]	' to itch'
/ gugu? /	[gu.'gu?]	' lid of eyes, skin'
/ ɕo?e? /	[ɕo.'?e?]	' hungry'
/ thɤpuh /	[thɤ.'pu:h]	' a belly'

2.3.3 Function

The syllable functions in the phonological word. There are two main classes of the syllable in terms of their function in the phonological word : the Nuclear Syllable and the Peripheral Syllable.

2.3.3.1 The Nuclear Syllable.

The syllables in this class function as the nucleus of the phonological word. The nuclear syllable is the major syllable and always takes the strong stress. It always occupies the last position in the word.

Example

/ ɕe? /	[ɕe?]	a head louse'
/ boŋ /	[boŋ]	' to eat (meat)'
/ thombok /	[thom.'bok]	' to close'
/ paluh /	[pa.'luh]	' to scold, to abuse'

2.3.3.2 The Peripheral Syllable

The syllables in this class function as the periphery of the phonological word.

The peripheral syllables consist of a presyllable which takes no stress, a minor syllable (See. sec 2.2.3.2.2 which takes no stress in a disyllabic word (See. sec. 2.2.3.2.2 and a weak stress in a trisyllabic word (See. sec. 2.2.3.3.2).

The peripheral syllables occupy the first position in a disyllabic word (See. sec. 2.2.3.2) and the first position and the second one in trisyllabic word, (See. sec 2.2.3.3).

Example

/ takat /	[ta.'kat']	' cold'
/ kujlua? /	[kuj'.lua?]	' a flying squirrel'
/ kyrwac /	[kyr'.wac ⁷]	' a broom'
/ buŋboŋ /	[buŋ'.bɔ:ŋ]	' to swell'
/ tortuŋ?jew/	[tor.tuŋ'.?jew]	' a white mushroom'
/ cɛnrak /	[tɕɛn'.rak ⁷]	' to comb'
/ tɣrlampam /	[tɣr'.lampam]	' a moth'
/ juhwaju /	[ju.hwaju:]	' to shake'

2.4 The Phoneme

2.4.1 General Definition

The phoneme rank is defined as the rank whose units function in the syllable. It is the lowest rank of the hierarchy. It has no statable internal structure, but the phonetic forms of the phonemes may be described.

2.4.2 Phoneme Functions and Subclasses.

There are two major classes of phonemes according to their function in the syllable ; consonants and vowels.

2.4.3 Consonant Phonemes.

The consonants function as syllable peripheries. In Mlabri, there are 32 consonant phonemes :
 / m, n, p, ŋ, m̥, n̥, p̥, ŋ̥, p̥, t, c, k, ʔ, ph, th, kh, b, d, g, ʃ, β, d̥, ʒ, h, l, l̥, r, w̥, w, ʔw, j, ʔj /

On the basis of their function in different positions in different types of syllables, The consonant phonemes can be further subdivided into consonant subclasses, as follows :

Sub - class C₁

All of the consonants can function in the syllable initial position.

Examples :

/ muk /	[muk']	' to smell'
/ nɔ? /	[nɔ?]	' a nephew'
/ pɔk /	[pɔk']	' a net-fish'
/ ŋɔr /	[ŋɔr]	' a path'
/ mɛ? /	[mɛ?]	' new'
/ n̄ar /	[n̄ar]	' kind of banana'
/ p̄ar /	[p̄ar]	' long pepper'
/ ŋuh /	[ŋuh]	' to stay'
/ puŋ /	[puŋ]	' to blow'
/ tɛk /	[tɛk']	' to beat'
/ cɻbut /	[tɕɻbu:t']	' a pig'
/ kɔc /	[kɔc]	' a bamboo rat'
/ ?oh /	[?oh]	' I'
/ phad̄am /	[phad̄am]	' a black cloth'
/ thɻŋ /	[thɻ:ŋ]	' five'
/ khot /	[khot']	' a lance'
/ boŋ /	[boŋ]	' to eat (meat)'
/ dɔr /	[dɔr]	' to throw'
/ ʃak /	[ʃak']	' to go'
/ gal /	[gal]	' ten'
/ ɬɻ? /	[ɬɻ?]	' leaf'

/ dɔ ? /	[dɔ ?]	' a porcupine'
/ ɕɛ? /	[ɕɛ?]	' plenty of many'
/ hɤŋke? /	[hɤŋke?]	' fire'
/ loŋ /	[lo :ŋ]	' in'
/ lɤŋ /	[lɤŋ]	' a bracelet'
/ rojmi:m /	[rojmi:m]	' a house fly'
/ wɔp /	[wɔp]	' to yawn'
/ wɤk /	[wɤ: k]	' water'
/ ?uk?wɛk /	[?uk?wɛ:k]	' a wood peaker'
/ ja?ram /	[ja?ra:m]	' a widow'
/ ?jɤ /	[?jɤ]	' to call'
/ ɤweh /	[ɤweh]	' a macaw'

Sub - Class C₂

This sub-class functions as the cluster-forming C₂ consonants in the syllable pattern : CC V (C) and consist of four phonemes : / j, r, w, l /

Examples :

/ prem /	[prem]	' old'
/ trɤk /	[trɤk]	' ribs'
/ krɔw /	[krɔw]	' to fear'
/ thrut /	[thrut]	' a taro'
/ brap /	[bra:p]	' a dog'
/ drup /	[drup]	' flying termite'
/ grw? /	[grw?]	' to crow'
/ ʃru? /	[ʃru?]	' deep'

/ plut /	[plu : t']	' to pell'
/ klɛh /	[klɛh]	' a buffalo'
/ blun /	[blun]	' bamboo shoot'
/ glɿ? /	[glɿ?]	' head'
/ mla /	[mla:]	' human being'
/ kwe! /	[kwe!]	' to hunt'
/ bombwaj /	[bom.'bwa:j]	' a spider'
/ pɿdwaw /	[pɿ'd waw]	' to set up'
/ twɛr /	[twɛr]	' a rabbit'
/ gwɛt /	[gwɛt]	' to poke'
/ ɕwɿj /	[ɕwɿ:j]	' to wash (one's face)'
/ pje /	[pje]	' a monitor'
/ cjak /	[cja:k']	' a deer'
/ mjɿ /	[mjɿ:]	' a wife'

Sub - Class C

This sub-class functions as final consonant C in the syllable pattern : C(C)VC. There are sixteen of them:

Examples :

/ mɛm /	[mɛ:m]	' blood '
/ pon /	[po:n]	' four'
/ brap /	[bra:p]	' dog'
/ tɿrun /	[tɿ'run]	' a bamboo container'

/ krʌp /	[krʌpʰ]	' to bite'
/ cɤbut /	[ʈcɤ'bu:tʰ]	' a pig'
/ gɤmtak /	[gɤm'takʰ]	' to click'
/ mɤ? /	[mɤ?]	' a mother'
/ ?ac /	[?ac ʰ]	' a bird'
/ prɛɕ /	[prɛɕ]	' to sneeze'
/ goh /	[goh]	' to break'
/ tal /	[ta:l]	' the sun'
/ pol /	[po:l]	' a mountain deer'
/ dor /	[dor]	' to throw'
/ braw /	[bra:w]	' a coconut'
/ roj /	[ro: j]	' a younger brother or sister'

2.4.3.1 The Consonant. Phoneme Inventory

The are 32 initial Consonant phonemes in Mlabri as follows :

Point of Mode of articulation		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	Vd.	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	Vl.	m̥	n̥	ɲ̥	ŋ̥	
Stop	Vl. unasp.	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Vl. asp	ph	th		kh	
	Vd.	b	d	ʃ	g	
	Vd. imploded	ɓ	ɗ			
Fricatives				ç		h
Lateral	Vl.		l̥			
	Vd.		l			
Trill			r			
Semi-Vowel	Vl.	w̥				
	Vd.	w		j		
		ʔw		ʔj		

Table 1. The Initial Consonant Phoneme Chart

CHART : Showing the co-occurrence of the cluster-forming consonants (C₂) with the initial consonants.

pr	pl		pj
tr		tw	
			cj
kr	kl	kw	
thr			
br	bl	bw	
dr		dw	
gr	gl	gw	
Jr			
	ml		mj
		φw	

Table 2

CHART :

There are 16 final consonant phonemes as shown in figure:

Point of Mode of articulation		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glotta
Nasal	Vl.					
	Vd.	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Stop	Vl. unasp.	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Vl. asp					
	Vd.					
	Vd. imploded					
Fricatives				ç		h
Lateral (Vl.)			!			
Vd.						
Trill			r			
Semi-Vowel		w		j		

Table 3 The Final Consonant Phonemes Chart

2.4.3.2 The Formational Statement of Consonants

/ m / [m] a voiced bilabial nasal, occurs
syllable initially and finally.

/ mat /	[mat̚]	' eyes'
/ mɔj /	[mɔ:j]	' one'
/ mɛm /	[mɛm]	' blood'
/ mɣm /	[mɣm]	' father'

/ n / [n] a voiced alveolar nasal, occurs
syllable initially and finally.

/ nɔm /	[nɔ:m]	' urine'
/ nɛ /	[nɛ]	' a bamboo rat'
/ pon /	[pon]	' four'
/ ranthen /	[ran̚then]	' kind of ratlan'

/ p / [p] a voiced palatal nasal, occurs
syllable initially and finally.

/ pɔk /	[pɔk]	' a weaven basket'
/ pep /	[pep]	' to shoot'
/ drup /	[dru:p]	' termites'
/ cʌp /	[cʌp]	' tooth'

/ ŋ / [ŋ] a voiced velar nasal, occurs
syllable initially and finally.

/ ŋɔr /	[ŋɔ:r]	'a path'
/ ŋaj /	[ŋaj]	'a boar'
/ bluŋ /	[blu:ŋ]	'a bamboo shoot'
/ braŋ /	[braŋ]	'a horse'

/ m̥ / [m̥] a voiceless bilabial nasal,
occurs only syllable initially.

/ m̥ɛ? /	[m̥ɛ?]	'new'
/ m̥^ŋ /	[m̥^ŋ]	'to bleed'

/ ɲ / [ɲ] a voiceless alveolar nasal, occurs
only initially.

/ ɲam /	[ɲam]	'a year'
/ ɲut /	[ɲutʰ]	'a black bee wax'

/ ɲ / [ɲ] a voiceless palatal nasal, occurs
only syllable initially.

/ ɲar /	[ɲar]	'a long pepper'
---------	---------	-----------------

/ ŋ̥ / [ŋ̥] a voiceless velar nasal, occurs only
syllable initially.

/ tɛk /	[tɛ:kʰ]	' to beat'
/ tar /	[tar]	' a rope'
/ takat /	[takatʰ]	' cold'

[tʰ] a voiceless aspirated alveolar
stop, occurs only syllable
finally.

/ gret /	[gretʰ]	' to pain'
/ ɟat /	[ɟatʰ]	' to puncture'

/ th / [th] a voiceless aspirated alveolar
stop occurs only syllable
initially.

/ thet /	[thetʰ]	' to cut'
/ thrut /	[thru:tʰ]	' a taro'
-- / thal w / -	[tha'lew]	' to bath'
/ thuk luak /	[thuk'luakʰ]	' to lie'

/ c / [tɕ] a voiceless unaspirated palatal
stop occurs only syllable
initially.

/ cuʌk /	[tɕuʌkʰ]	' to dig with a spade'
/ cɤbut /	[tɕɤbutʰ]	' pig'

/ cəkwek / [ˈt͡ɕəkˈwek] 'big knife'

[c] a voiceless unreleased palatal
stop, occurs only syllable finally.

/ ?ac / [?ac̚] 'a bird'

/ koc / [koc̚] 'a bamboo rat'

/ thalwɔc / [thalwɔc̚] 'to be torn'

/ k / [k] a voiceless unaspirated velar stop,
occurs only syllable initially

/ kʷr / [kʷr] 'to thunder'

/ kaɕoŋ / [ka:ɕo:ŋ] 'a land tortoise'

/ kʲndiŋ / [kʲndi:ŋ] 'a navel'

[k] a voiceless unreleased velar stop,
occurs only syllable finally.

/ ɕek / [ɕek̚] 'bitter'

/ wɤk / [wɤk̚] 'water'

/ gɤmtak / [gɤmtak̚] 'to click'

/ kh / [kh] a voiceless aspirated velar stop,
occurs only syllable initially.

/ khaŋ /	[khaŋ]	' to kick'
/ khɔt /	[khɔtʰ]	' a lance'
/ khɤroj /	[khɤroj]	' to flow'

/ ʔ / [ʔ] a glottal stop, occurs both syllable initially and finally.

/ ʔac /	[ʔacʰ]	' a bird'
/ ʔiʔoj /	[ʔiʔoj]	' don't know'
/ kaʔ /	[kaʔ]	' fish'

/ b / [b] a voiced bilabial stop, occurs only syllable initially.

/ bæʔ /	[bæʔ]	' soil'
/ biʔ /	[biʔ]	' to be full'
/ braŋ /	[bra:p]	' a dog'

/ ɓ / [ɓ] a voiced imploded bilabial stop, occurs only syllable initially.

/ ɓɔʔ /	[ɓɔʔ]	' to carry in one's arm'
/ ɓɤʔ /	[ɓɤʔ]	' leaf'
/ ɓuak /	[ɓuakʰ]	' to boil'

/ d / [d]	a voiced alveolar stop, occurs only syllable initially.
/ diŋ /	[di:ŋ] 'elder brother or sister'
/ dor /	[do:r] 'to throw'
/ drup /	[drup] 'a flying termite'
/ d̥ / [d̥]	a voiced imploded alveolar stop, occurs only syllable initially.
/ d̥o? /	[d̥o?] 'a porcupine'
/ d̥oŋ /	[d̥oŋ] 'a panis'
/ d̥iŋ /	[d̥iŋ] 'a bison'
/ ʃ / [ʃ]	a voiced palatal stop, occurs only syllable initially.
/ ʃʌŋ /	[ʃʌŋ] 'feet'
/ ʃual /	[ʃual] 'sticky'
/ g / [g]	a voiced velar stop, occurs only syllable initially.
/ geŋ /	[geŋ] 'a house'
/ ducgwec /	[duc ^h gwec ^h] 'earth worm'

/ ç / [ç] a voiceless palatal fricative,
occurs both syllable initially
and finally

/ çiw /	[çiw]	' blunt'
/ kroç /	[kroç]	' a crocodile'
/ çrʔum /	[çrʔum]	' bad odor'

/ h / [h] a voiceless glottal fricative,
occurs both syllable initially
and finally.

/ hot /	[hotʰ]	' to fell'
/ hɔm /	[hɔ :m]	' to bark'
/ goh /	[goh]	' to break'
/ kɛh /	[kɛh]	' a mountain goat'

/ l / -[l] a voiced alveolar lateral occurs
both syllable initially and
finally.

/ lat /	[latʰ]	' to lick'
/ lɤmbaʔ /	[lɤmbaʔ]	' a cow'
/ bwl /	[bw:l .]	' to die'
/ kɤlʔak /	[kɤlʔa:kʰ]	' a crow'

/ l̥ / [l̥] a voiceless alveolar lateral,
occurs both syllable initially
and finally.

/ l̥oj /	[l̥oj]	'two times'
/ plʌ̃ /	[plʌ̃]	'to flick'
/ prõ /	[prõ]	'to spray'

/ r / [r] a voiced alveolar trill, occurs
both syllable initially and
finally.

/ roj /	[roj]	'younger brother or sister'
/ rɣwaj /	[rɣwa:j]	'a tiger'
/ mlabri? /	[mlá̃bri?]	'Mlabri'

/ w̃ / [w̃] a voiced labio - velar semi -
vowel, occurs both syllable
initially and finally.

/ wʌŋ /	[wʌŋ]	'a chin'
/ ?ɛw /	[?ɛw]	'an offspring'
/ dwõgwɛc /	[dwõgwɛc']	'a millipede'

/ w̥ / [w̥] a voiceless bilabial fricative,
occurs only syllable initially.

/ wəp / [ʔep ʼ] ' shoulder'
/ kɯmwap / [kɯmʔapʼ] ' to yawn'

/ w / [?w] a preglottalized labial semi-vowel
occurs only syllable initially.

/ ?weh / [?weh] ' a macaw'

/ j / [j] a voiced palatal semi - vowel,
occurs both syllable initially
and finally.

/ juk /	[ju:k.]	' rice'
/ jaram /	[ja'ram]	' window'
/ r j /	[rɔ:j]	' a house fly'
/ m j /	[mɔ:j]	' fat'

/ ʔj / - [ʔj] - a preglottalized palatal semi-vowel, occurs only initially.

/ ?jek /	[?jek]	' honey bee'
/ ?joh /	[?joh]	' to spit'
/ ?ja? /	[?ja?]	' tobacco'

2.4.3.3 Consonant Contrasts

/ m / - / m₀ / / mε? / 'rain'
/ mε? / 'new'

/ m / - / p /	/ mɛ? /	'rain'
	/ pɛ? /	'three'
/ m / - / b /	/ mɔ? /	'a nose'
	/ pɔ? /	'an ash'
/ -m / - / -w /	/ mɛm /	'blood'
	/ mɛw /	'cheeks'
/ m / - / w /	/ mɯk /	'to tattoo'
	/ wɯk /	'grass'
/ m / - / n /	/ mɯŋ /	'hive'
	/ nɯŋ /	'to wear'
/ n / - / n̩ /	/ nam /	'a needle'
	/ n̩am /	'a year'
/ n / - / p /	/ nak /	'heavy' (Thai/Lao?)
	/ pak /	'tight'
/ n / - / t /	/ nɔ? /	'a grandson'
	/ tɔ? /	'knife'
/ n / - / d /	/ ni? /	'to escape'
	/ di? /	'of'

/ n / - / ŋ /	/ nam /	' a needle'
	/ ŋam /	' to hear'
/ n̥ / - / p /	/ nar /	' kind of bamboo'
	/ par /	' a long pepper'
/ -p / - / -ŋ /	/ brap /	' a dog'
	/ braŋ /	' a horse'
' n / - / ŋ /	(See sec. 2.4.3.3.1)	
/ p / - / c /	/ thop /	' a sting'
	/ thoc /	' a cup'
/ p / - / j /	/ pɛt /	' to poke (by finger)'
	/ jɛt /	' a woman's skirt'
- - -		
/ -p / - / p /	/ pak /	' tight
	/ pak /	' difficult'
/ -n / - / -k /	/ ʃʌŋ /	' feet'
	/ ʃʌk /	' to carry'
/ p / - / ph /	/ pak /	' to prick'
	/ phak /	' floor'

/ p / - / b /	/ po? /	' a cup'
	/ bo? /	' breasts'
/p/-/t/-/k/-/?/	/ pap /	' turmeric'
	/ tap /	' critorise'
	/ kap /	' a duck'
	/ ?ap /	' cliff'
/ p / - / w /	/ pet /	' a liver'
	/ wet /	' a chamelon'
/ p / - / ẉ /	/ pap /	' a turmeric'
	/ ẉap /	' to yawn'
/ t / - / th /	/ tɛk /	' to beat'
	/ thɛk /	' covered with disorderly plant growth
/ t / - / d /	/ tor /	' a mushroom'
	/ dor /	' to throw away'
/ b / - / w /	/ bʌt /	' to fetch'
	/ wʌt /	' to lie'
/ b / - / d /	/ bi? /	' full'
	/ di? /	' of'

/ d / - / l /	/ dɿŋ /	' enough'
	/ lɿŋ /	' together'
/ -l / - / -l̥ /	/ pol /	' a blanket'
	/ pol̥ /	' a barking deer'
/ k / - / kh /	/ kɔt /	' last offspring'
	/ khɔt /	' a lance'
/ -c / - / -j /	/ ?ac /	' a bird'
	/ ?aj /	' kind of plant'
/ -? / - / -h /	/ mɛ? /	' rain'
	/ mɛh /	' you'
/ r / - / l /	/ roj /	' younger sibling'
- -	/ loj /	' two times'
/ ?j / - / ʃ /	/ ?jak /	' an excrement'
	/ ʃak /	' to go'

2.4.3.3.1 Non-minimal contrasts.

1. / ŋ / - / ŋ / contrast in the following
analogous environment.

[ŋuh] to puzzle (old)

[ŋuh] to sit

2.4.4 Vowel Phonemes

The vowels function as the syllable nucleus, and in this mlabri dialect there are ten single vowel phonemes : / i, e, ε, u, ʌ, ɔ, a, u, o, / and no contrasts between short and long vowels, therefore, vowel length is not phonemic. Moreover, there are four diphthongs : / iɜ, uɜ, uʌ, ua /

2.4.4.1 The Vowel Phonemes Chart

Tongue Position		Unrounded		Rounded
		Front	Central	Back
Monophthong	Close	i	ʊ	u
	Middle	e	ɜ	o
	Open	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
			a	
Diphthongs		ɪʃ	ʊʃ , uʌ	ua

Table 4

2.4.4.2 Vowel Phoneme Distribution

On the basis of occurrence in syllable types, the vowels can be sub-divided into two sub-classes as follows :

2.4.4.2.1 Vowel Phonemes in Presyllable /ɤ/, /a/.

The pattern of the presyllable is [CV], e.g.

/ pɤtok /	[pɤ'to:k ']	'to urn out of'
/ thɤlwɔc /	[thɤ'lw: c']	'to be torn'
/ cɤbut /	[tɤ'bu:t ']	'a pig'
/ kɤrit /	[kɤ'rit ']	'to weep'
/ pajɤ? /	[pajɤ?]	'to wake up somebody'

2.4.4.2.2 Vowel Phonemes in Major Syllables and Closed Minor Syllables.

The pattern of the major syllable and closed minor syllable is C(C) V (C), so the vowel class in the major syllable and 'closed minor syllable consists all vowels except / / and /a/, e.g.

/ .bih- /	[bih]	'to cut'
/ pep /	[pe:p]	'to shoot'
/ mɛ? /	[mɛ?]	'rain'
/ mɯj /	[mɯ:j]	'fat'
/ wɤk /	[wɤk ']	'water'
/ mʌc /	[mʌc]	'to meet'
/ braŋ /	[bra:ŋ]	'horse'
/ drup /	[dru:p]	'a flying termite'
/ loŋ /	[loŋ]	'in'
/ hɔm /	[hɔ:m]	'to bark'

/ cinbriɸ /	[tʃinbri:p]	'a cricket'
/ ʃɪmɐɸ /	[ʃɪme:p]	'star'
/ ʃɪrkɛŋ /	[ʃɪr.'kɛ:ŋ]	'hen'
/ pɪbʊl /	[pɪ.'bʊ: l]	'to kill'
/ tɪgɪh /	[tɪ'gɪh]	'over there'
/ ʃanət /	[ʃanət']	'gun'
/ thuʔur /	[thu.'ʔu:r]	'hot (sunlight)'
/ thombok /	[thom.'bok']	'to cover'
/ dɪmɔj /	[dɪmɔ:j]	'only one'
/ bimbiɪm /	[bimbiɪm]	'to blink'
/ luɪj /	[luɪj]	'keen'
/ ʃuʌk /	[ʃuʌk']	'salt'
/ ʃuak /	[ʃuak']	'to boil'

2.4.4.3 The Formational Statements

2.4.4.3.1 The Monophthongs.

In Mlabri, there are ten monophthongs as follows :

/ i / [i] a close front unrounded vowel.

/ tiʔ /	[tiʔ]	'eight'
/ briʔ /	[briʔ]	'a jungle'
/ hɪŋgik /	[hɪŋgi:k']	'a native pumpkin'

/ e / [e] a mid front unrounded vowel.

/ pre? /	[pre?]	' chilli'
/ kwe! /	[kwe!]	' to hunt'
/ hʔnge? /	[hʔnge?]	' fire'

/ ɛ / [ɛ] an open front unrounded vowel.

/ mɛ? /	[mɛ?]	' new'
/ preɕ /	[preɕ]	' to sneeze'
/ mɔ?mɛ? /	[mɔ?mɛ?]	' a crossbow'

/ ʊ / [ʊ] a close - central unrounded vowel.

/ dʊn /	[dʊ:n]	' lazy'
/ grʊ? /	[grʊ?]	' to crow'
/ tʃrʊŋ /	[tʃrʊŋ]	' a bamboo container'

/ ʌ / [ʌ] a half open central unrounded.

/ krʌp /	[krʌpʰ]	' to bite'
/ wʌt /	[wʌtʰ]	' to tie'
/ plʌk /	[plʌkʰ]	' to hiccough'

/ a / [a] an open central unrounded vowel.

/ gap /	[ga:p]	' sunlight '
/ thraj /	[thra:j]	' a worm '
/ çanat /	[ça!nat˘]	' a gun '

/ u / [u] a close back rounded vowel.

/ pum /	[pu:m]	' a bamboo basket '
/ lut /	[lut]	' deaf '
/ bluŋ /	[blu:ŋ]	' a bamboo shoot '

/ o / [o] a close middle back vowel.

/ boŋ /	[boŋ]	' to eat ' (meat)
/ throc /	[thro:c]	' a mollusk '
/ butbot /	[but˘bot˘]	' to tremble '

/ ɔ / [ɔ] an open back rounded vowel.

/ mɔj /	[mɔj]	' one '
/ kɔk /	[kɔ:k˘]	' a pipe '
/ çemɔp /	[çem˘ɔp]	' a little star '

2.4.4.3.1 Vowel Contrast

All vowels described above are phonemically contrastive in this language. The suspect pairs of vowels are shown below with examples of minimally contrastive pairs and with analogous environment.

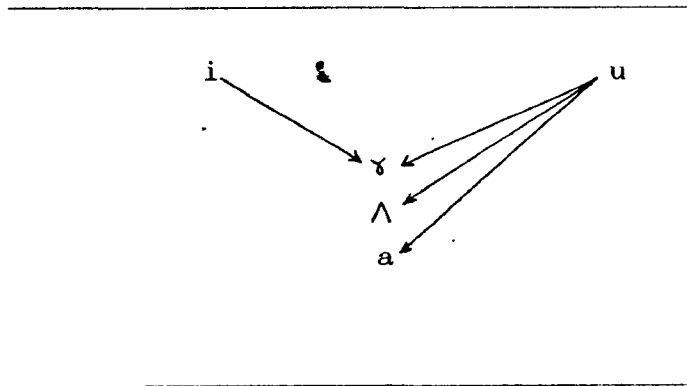
/ i / - / e /	/ pi? /	' husked rice '
	/ pe? /	' to chip '
/ i / - / u /	/ ri? /	' fast '
	/ ru? /	' to take off '
/ e / - / ɛ /	/ bek /	' to cry '
	/ bɛk /	' a bear '
/ e / - / ʌ /	/ ʃeŋ /	' to sew '
	/ ʃʌŋ /	' foot '
/ ɛ / - / ʏ /	/ mɛm /	' blood '
	/ mʏm /	' father '
/ ɛ / - / a /	/ mɛt /	' your '
	/ mat /	' eyes '

/ u / - / u /	/ buk /	'to wear'
	/ buk /	'a face'
/ u / - / ɣ /	/ gup /	'kind of water turtle'
	/ gɣp /	'to crab'
/ ɣ / - / ʌ /	/ plɣm /	'kind of bamboo'
	/ plʌm /	'beeswax'
/ ɣ / - / a /	/ hɣk /	to clear the throat'
	/ hak /	to throw up'
/ ʌ / - / u /	/ ʃʌŋ /	feet'
	♫ / ʃuŋ /	to abandon'
/ ɣ / - / o /	/ ?ɣh /	to do, to make'
	/ ?oh /	I'
/ a / - / ɔ /	/ n̩ar /	'kind of wild banana'
	/ n̩ɔr /	a small spirit'
/ u / - / o /	/ kut /	'a fern'
	/ kot /	'to embrace'

/ o / - / ɔ /	/ roj /	' a younger brother or sister'
	/ rɔj /	' a house fly'

2.4.4.3.2 The Diphthongs

There are 4 diphthongs in Mlabri. They are rare in my data. The length of these diphthongs is not contrastive (non-phonemic). These diphthongs are close vowels. i.e. / i, u / gliding to / ɤ /, / ʌ / or / a / as shown in the figure below :



/ iɤ / a close front unrounded diphthong

/ bim biɤm / [bim'biɤm] 'to blink'

/ u / a close back rounded diphthong

/ luʌj / [luʌj] 'keen'

/ ʃuʌj / [ʃuʌj] 'down stream'

/ uʌ / a close back rounded dikphthong

/ cuʌk /	[t̪ʰuʌkʰ]	'to dig'
/ ʃuʌŋ /	[ʃuʌŋ]	'to hang'

/ ua / a close back rounded diphthong

/ buak /	[ʔbuakʰ]	'to boil'
/ thokluak /	[thokʰluakʰ]	'to lie'
/ luah /	[luah]	'a forest'

2.5 Suprasegmental Features

Suprasegmental features are phonetic features that are associated with segmental speech sounds. The syllable nucleus (vowels) always carries the suprasegmental feature. Length is a phonetic feature concerned with the duration of sound. In Mlabri there are no phonemic contrast between short and long vowels. But there is automatic lengthening of the vowels in open syllables and in the strongly stressed syllables in the last position.

Therefore vowel length is predictable and so non-phonemic.

/ ɕi /	[ɕi:]	'to want'
/ ?jɤ /	[?jɤ:]	'to call'
/ thop /	[tho:p]	'a sting'
/ bɤnliŋ /	[bɤnli:ŋ]	'a green'

2.6 Word

2.6.1 Word formation

Word formation in Mlabri is similar to other languages in the Mon-Khmer language family. There are four methods to form a word in this language :

1. compounding
2. affixation
3. borrowing
4. coining

- 2.6.1.1 Compounding Words

When compounding words, the rules and pattern are the same as in other Mon-Khmer languages. Theoretically, any part of speech (noun, verb) may be combined.

/ wɤk /	+	/ cɤbut /	---->	/ wɤkcɤbut /
water		a pig		lard

/ ?jak /	+	/ mim /	----→	/ ?jakmim /
an excrement		a fly		a mole

/ ?ɣh /	+	/ ɕɣre? /	----→	/ ?ɣhɕɣre? /
to do		vargina		to intercourse

'/ pɣ? /	+	/ ?ɛw /	----→	/ pɣ?ɛw /
to have		offsprings		to pregnant

/ wɣk /	+	/ diŋ /	----→	/ wɣkdiŋ /
water		elder brother		a large river

/ ?jak /	+	/ hɣŋke? /	----→	/ ?jakhɣŋke? /
excrement		fire		ashes from fire

/ ?ɛw /	+	/ brap /	----→	/ ?ɛwbrap /
baby small		a dog		a whelp

The other compounding words are blend forms.
One word is Mlabri. The other one is Thai or Lao.

Mlabri		Lao		Word
/ tɔ? /		/ boŋ /	---→	/ tɔ?boŋ /
a knife		to puncture		a knife with a
		a hole		sharp blend in
				the end
/ ple? /	+	/ kiʌŋ /	---→	/ ple? kiʌŋ /
fruit		smooth		an orange
/ ɕʌ? /	+	/ ɕwɤn /	---→	/ ɕʌ?ɕwɤn /
to make a fire		a garden		to burn of plantation

Mlabri		Thai		Word
/ ?ac /	+	/ ?jaŋ /	---→	/ ?ac?jaŋ /
a bird		bird's name		a cattle egret

2.6.1.2 Affixation. There are two kinds of affixes in this language, prefix and infix. There are four types of affixation.

2.6.1.2.1 a verbalizing prefix [kom]

/ bo? /	-----→	/ kombo? /
breast		to absorb, to suck

/ bliŋ /	----->	/ kombliŋ /
green		raw

2.6.1.2.2 a causative prefix [pɣ]

/ buɭ /	----->	/ pɣbuɭ /
dead, to die		to kill

/ muk /	----->	/ pɣmuk /
to smell		to make someone smell something

/ bro? /	----->	/ pɣbro? /
wound		to wound, to injure

/ goh /	----->	/ pɣgoh /
to break		to cuse, to break

/ ?jɣ /	----->	/ pɣ?jɣ /
to call		to wake up somebody

2.6.1.2.3 a perfective prefix [?a]

/ prem /	----->	/ ?aprem /
old		a past

/ buɭ /	----->	/ ?abuɭ /
die		dead

/ ɕoʔeʔ/	----->	/ ʔaɕoʔeʔ /
hungry		desirous

/ goh /	----->	/ ʔagoh /
to break		broken

2.6.1.2.4 a nominalizing instrumental infix
[-ɣr(h)]

/ tɛk /	----->	/ tɣrnek /
to beat		a hammer

/ klap /	----->	/ kɣrlap /
to split with a bamboo		a split bamboo

2.6.1.2.5 Lengthening the main syllable with
a nominalizing infix [-imn -]

/ ɕi /	----->	/ ɕimni /
to drill		a drill

2.6.1.3 Loanwords. Due to the fact that Mlabri communicate with outsiders for any purpose, they get information from other cultures including language. So there are many words borrowed from Lao, Thai and Khmu. One interesting aspect is that many Mlabri words are close to other languages in the Mon-Khmer family, especially Khmu.

Lao may have been borrowed by Mlabri when they were living in Laos. Some Lao words appear in this language e.g.

/ kɔ bɔ /	[kɔ bɔ]	'not'
/ bɔŋ /	[bɔ:ŋ]	'to puncture, a hole'
/ hɔj /	[hɔ:j]	'a wind (old)
/ ɔon /	[ɔo:ŋ]	'a trouser'
/ ɔup/	[ɔu:p']	'to wear'
/ maktho /	[maktho:]	'beans'
/ malam /	[mala:m]	'songs'

Mlabri have lived in Thailand for almost a century. They easily assimilate with other people as Thai in many ways, especially in language. In my data, I found almost one hundred Northern Thai words in Mlabri. These words may have been borrowed by Mlabri for a long time. Some Thai phonemes may be replaced by Mlabri phonemes.

/ bɿ? /	[?bɿ:ʔ /	'leaf'
/ ʃɔn /	[ʃɔn]	'a spoon'
/ phaʔlɯŋ /	[phaʔlɯŋ]	'yellow cloth'
/ thaŋ /	[tha:ŋ]	'to clear (grass or undergrowth with a knife'
/ ?jɯn /	[?jɯn]	'to stand'
/ ?jaŋ /	[?jaŋ]	'to roast'

Khmu is another language Mlabri borrowed from. It is assumed that they contacted with Khmu when they lived in Lao as well as when they immigrated to Thailand.

/ ti? /	[ti:ʔ]	'a hand'
/ ʃʌŋ /	[ʃʌŋ]	'feet'
/ takat /	[takatʰ]	'cold'
/ mɛm /	[mɛm]	'blood'

/ kel?ak /	[kel!?'a:kʔ]	' a crow'
/ thalwɛ /	[tha!lwɛʔ]	' to be tear'
/ mɔ?mɛ? /	[mɔ?.' mɛ?]	' a crossbow'
/ kʔr!ʔ t /	[kʔr!lɔtʔ]	' a neck'
/ kʔn dɪn /	[kʔndɪn]	' a navel'
/ maktɔm /	[ma:k.tɔ:m]	' a button'
/ tʔrlɔh /	[tʔr!lɔh]	' a cooking pot'
/ tʔrlampam /	[tʔrla:mpa:m]	' a moth'
/ ple? /	[ple? /	' fruit'

Note . The Khmer words presented here were taken from Thai-English-Khmu Dictionary (Suwilai 1979).

2.8.3.1 To him, it is interesting that Mlabri coin a word for calling animals they have never known. They imitated their crow then they name it after it. These animals are mostly birds. They are shown as below :

/ nokçıp /	a grey-headed para keet	<u>Psittacula</u> <u>finschii</u>
/ prun /	a brown breasted tree Partridge	<u>Arborophila</u> <u>brunneopectus</u>
/ prɔtprɛc /	a swinhoe's white throated bulbul	<u>Criniger pallidus</u>
/ tɣr lok /	a grey treepie	<u>Crypsirina</u> <u>occipitalis</u>
/ kap /	a duck	
/ krawɕɣ? /	a hunting green pie	<u>Cissa chinensis</u>
/ cɔk /	a cinnamon-winged buzzard	<u>Butastur</u> <u>liventer</u>
/ ʃɤkcɣrɛk /	a black-crested bulbul	<u>Pycnonotus</u> <u>melanicterus</u>
/ buk bok /	a magpie robin	<u>Copsychus</u> <u>saularis</u>
/ gligloj /	a spotted Owlet	<u>Athene brama</u>

/ ɕɛlɔh /	a rhinoceros	<u>Buceros</u>
	hornbill	<u>bicornis</u>
/ ɕupɕup /	a moorhen	<u>Gallinula</u>
		<u>chloropus</u>
/ nokwɛk /	a born owl	<u>Tyto alba</u>
/ tim tem /	a water fall	

The last word is the sound of waterfall.

Mlabri usually see the waterfall in a rainy season so they name it after its sound.

2.6.2 Word types

-Semantically, Mlabri words can be divided into the following types.

2.6.2.1 One word, including polysyllables, has only one meaning.

/ ʃaw /	[ʃa:w]	'a gibbon'
/ mat /	[ma:tʔ]	'eyes'
/ ɕalam /	[ɕa'la:m]	'to be tired'

/ tʃrlam pam / [tʃrlampa:m] 'moth'

/ ʃɛkɔnk / [ʃɛkt͡ʂɛk] 'a black-crested
 bullul'

2.6.2.2 Homophones. These are lexical items where one word has several meanings. They may be divided into 3 groups.

2.6.2.2.1 Identity of nominal and verbal forms

[illegible]

/ mʌj /	[mʌj]	1. fat (n.)
		2. to be fat (vi.)

/ ʃeŋ /	[ʃeŋ]	1. a needle (n.)
		2. to sew (vt.)

/ cən rak / [tʃənˈrak] 1. a comb (n.)
2. to comb (vi.)

2.6.2.2.2 Extension of meaning

/ mʌ? /	[mʌ?]	1. a rope (n.) 2. a slender stem of a vine
/ cʌp /	[tʃʌp]	1. teeth (n.) 2. a claws of a crab (n.)
/ wʌk /	[wʌkʰ]	1. water 2. to inhale (to drink, to smoke)
/ cʌdup /	[tʃʌ!dupʰ]	1. back (n.) 2. a shell of a tortoise
/ ʃʌr kɛŋ /	[ʃʌrkɛ:ŋ]	1. a hen 2. a wing
/ thuk wɛk /	[thu!kwɛkʰ]	1. black (adj.) 2. dark color (n.)
/ grʌ? /	[grʌ?]	1. to thunder 2. to crow (a hen)

2.6.2.2.3 Words with many meanings. The lexical items are rare in this type. In my data are the following.

/ tal /	[ta:l]	1. sun day 2. late 3. six
/ ɕat /	[ɕat̚]	1. bitter 2. to prick 3. to throw at
/ hɤŋke? /	[hɤŋke?]	1. fire 2. firewood 3. tick
/ ɕuʌk /	[ɕuʌk̚]	1. salt 2. to tie 3. a wood for weaving

2.6.2.3 Synonyms

‘to light’

/ ɕʌ? /	[ɕʌ?]	to light tobacco in a pipe
---------	---------	-------------------------------

/ pɣ to? /	[pɣ.to:ʔ]	to light a cigarette
------------	-------------	-------------------------

‘to pain’

/ ɕret /	[ɕretʔ]	to wound, to injure
----------	-----------	------------------------

/ ɕi? /	[ɕi? /	to feel pain
---------	---------	--------------

‘to slope’

/ ɕidep /	[ɕide:p]	to slope
-----------	------------	----------

/ huʔup /	[huʔu:p]	to slope (arch.)
-----------	------------	------------------

'monkeys'

/ kwar / [kwa:r] a black monkey

/ thɤwa? / [thɤ'.wa:ʔ] a white monkey

'snakes'

/ tɤmʔo? / [tɤm'.ʔo?] a snake

/ mʌ? / [mʌ?] a python

'a horn'

/ gau? / [gau?] a horn (arch.)

/ khandɛj / [khandɛ:j] a horn

'drip of water'

/ kaʃɤl / [kaʃɤl] (arch.)

/ pakgu? / [pak'gu?] drip of water

2.6.2.4 Near-synonyms : semantic differentiation :

2.6.2.4.1 Verb

'to crow'

/ grw? /	[grw?]	to crow (a hen)
----------	----------	-----------------

/ ?iw /	[?i:w]	to crow (a pig)
---------	----------	-----------------

to eat'

/ boŋ /	[boŋ]	to eat (meat)
---------	---------	---------------

/ ?ʌ? /	[?ʌ?]	to eat (carbohydrate)
---------	---------	--------------------------

/ pɤj /	[pɤj]	to eat (fruit)
---------	---------	----------------

'to wear' (clothes)

/ bwk /	[bwkʰ]	to wear (shirt or blouse)
---------	----------	-------------------------------

/ nuŋ /	[nu:ŋ]	to wear (trouser, shorts, sanitary towels or simple skirts)
---------	----------	--

/ ɕup /	[ɕupʰ]	to put on (hat, sardal or shoe)
---------	----------	------------------------------------

'to cut' (See. sec 2.3.4)

/ pɤɕ /	[pɤɕ]	to cut up to down
---------	---------	-------------------

/ thet /	[thetʰ]	to cut (hair)
----------	-----------	---------------

/ bih /	[bih]	to cut across
---------	---------	---------------

/ gɤrlac /	[gɤrlacʰ]	to cut in slices
------------	-------------	------------------

2.6.2.4.2 Adjectives

'hot'

- / pluŋ /	[plu:ŋ]	(things) hot
------------	-----------	--------------

/ rumwɤ /	[rumʷɤ]	(a pot) hot
-----------	-----------	-------------

/ thuʔur /	[thuʔu:r]	(weather) hot
------------	-------------	---------------

'old'

/ tʌmbloc /	[tʌmblocʰ]	(creatures) old
-------------	--------------	-----------------

/ prem / [prem] (time) old, past

/ ɕakɿmruɕ / [ɕa.kɿm'ruɕ] (a man) old

/ nɔŋpɿr'nah / [nɔŋ.pɿr'nah] (arch.) old

2.6.2.4.3 Noun

'dwelling'

/ geŋ / [geŋ] Mlabri' house

/ thɔt / [thɔt] Thai's house

'an elephant' .

/ pompo / [pom'po:] an elephant
(arch.) or
wild elelphant

/ ɕaŋ / [ɕa:ŋ] an elephant
(generic word)

turtle'

/ kaɕoŋ / [kaɕo:ŋ] a land tortoise

/ ɕɔgwɔn / [ɕɔ'gwɔn] a fresh tortoise

/ ka ?um / [ka'ʔum] a black tortoise

'termites'

/ drup / [dru:p] kind of termite

/ koh / [koh] kind of a small
termite

'star'

/ ɕɛmɔp / [ɕɛmɔp] a little star

/ ɕɛmɛp / [ɕɛmɛp] a big star

'rattan'

/ ɕek / [ɕek] * (Calamus ratant
Linn.)

/ thom / [tho:m] (Calamus redentum
Roxb.)

/ ran then / [ran'thɛ:n] (Calamus latifolius
Roxb.)

‘bananas’

/ nar / kind of banana

/ tor / kind of banana

/ kwɤj / [kwɤ:j] (Musa sapientu_Linn)

/ ?jak / [?ja:k] (Musa paradisica
Linn.)

/ ʃwɯŋ / [ʃwɯ:ŋ] (Musa acuminata
colla)

‘pigs’

/ cɤbut / [tɕɤbutʰ] a feeding-pig.

/ ɲaj / [ɲaj] a boar.

/ ɕiŋ / [ɕiŋ] a boar

/ ɕwɛ? / [ɕwɛ?] arctonyx collaris

/ taplɔŋ / [taplɔŋ] a wild boar (old.)

'bamboos'

/ thok /	[tho:kʰ]	<u>Bambusa natans Wall.</u> <u>ex Munro</u>
----------	------------	--

/ praj /	[praj]	<u>Dendrocalamus</u> <u>giganteus Munro</u>
----------	----------	--

/ talu? /	[talu?]	<u>Dendrocalamus</u> <u>hamiltonii Neo &</u> <u>Am ex Munro</u>
-----------	-----------	---

/ malaŋ /	[mala:ŋ]	<u>Cephalostachyum</u> <u>pergracile Munro</u>
-----------	------------	---

/ micin /	[mi'tɕi:ŋ]	<u>Gigantochloa</u> <u>albociliata Munro</u>
-----------	--------------	---

'taros'

/ katam /	[ka'ta:m]	<u>Disgcorea decipiens</u> <u>Hook.f.</u>
-----------	-------------	--

/ manwec /	[man'wecʰ]	<u>Agyvireia sprendens</u> <u>Sucent.</u>
------------	--------------	--

/ ?e? /	[?e?]	<u>Dioscorea alata</u> <u>Linn</u>
/ kwaj /	[kwa:j]	<u>Dioscorea esculenta</u> <u>(Lour.) Burkill.</u>
/ guwεk /	[guwε kʰ]	<u>Dioscorea</u> <u>pentaphylla Linn</u>
/ thrut /	[thru:tʰ]	<u>Dioscorea burmanica</u> <u>Prain & Burk</u>
/ ?e? lam /	[?e? lam]	<u>Manihot esculenta</u> <u>Crantz.</u>
/ ?e mʌ? /	[?e? mʌ?]	<u>Ipomoea batatus</u> <u>(L.) L.</u>

* Scientific names are from ชื่อพันธุ์ไม้เมืองไทย
(สงวน : 2525)



Fig. 7 / thrut / tree

2.7 Lexical Fields

The lexical fields reflected everyday life of Mlabri. These lexical fields consist of four areas : body movements, to carry, to sleep and to cut. The focus is on these four areas because previous studies have found that Southeast Asian languages are clearly differentiated in their vocabularies (Suwilai 1982).

2.7.1 Body movement :

There are two types of body parts, stationary and moving. They can be divided into sub-categories as in the following.

Movement involved

a) head : Vocabularies involved head

mɿrŋɛn	turn one's head
	repeatedly sideways
taŋɔk	to nod
mur	to bow
taŋɔk	to strike by head

b) eyes :

pɿbutmat	to close one eyes
thuɔc mat	to wipe one's eye
bimbiɿm	to blink

c) nose :

muk	to smell
	to sneeze, eject nasal
	mucus

go|uak to breath in

go|uak jur to breath out

d) tongue

lat to lick

kʏmtak to click

e) mouth

kon to sneeze

hʏrlɛh to laugh (arch.)

mʏkʏk to laugh

ʒʏmpʏm to smile

ʃok to suck

proc to blow smoke

piw (ʒʏmbɛp) to whistle

- malam to sing

bek to cry

puŋ to blow

piʏŋ to open widely mouths

tʌp to speak

krʌp to bite

rop to gnaw, nibble (bone)

kʏmpa? to chew

kap to carry by mouth

hak to vomit liquid

gɤmwak	to vomit solid food
!ur	to swallow
prʌk	to hiccough
jɔh	to spit
kɤmbun	to keep in mouth (liquid)
ɤalup	to keep in mouth (solid)
bɤpbɤp	to gossip
jɤ?	to call

f) hand

geh	to weave (something)
wʌt	to lie
kwac	to sweep
ɖa!	to put hand on hip
got	to fold arms in front of chest
palaj	to write
ɖip	to massage
tuɤtɤk	to hit
butbot	to knock
pan	to roll (tobacco)
paguh	to knuckle, squeeze are out of joints
paɤiɤpti?	to clasp
pep	to put hand into container (pocket, bag, etc.)

toc	to carry in one's arms
gruh	to poke with finger
plah	to stretch out flat hand (pla.m up)
plʌ	to flick, tap
pliweɿ	to beckon
pɿrweɿ breŋ	to shake off
prek	to pinch
grutgweɿ	to scratch gently
gweɿ	to scratch thoroughly
joɾbreŋ	to lean on hand
pɿnde?	to lean on hand (archaic)
pajok	to raise
patwaw	to lift (object)
prek doɾ	to pick out (with tip of finger)
cok	to remove earwax
juh	to twist hair
tek	to hit
dor	to throw (away)
kadoŋ	to throw
ɕuʌkdoɿ	to suspend
pɔh	to push
we?	to join palms together to way (လှံ)
borweɿti?	to swing arms
johjen	to crumple

thu?tho?	to apply soil to body
thalaw	to bath

g) foot

ʃak	to walk
khaŋ	to kick
grɔʃil	to raise foot
muljɔl	to move foot around ankle
kaɗaŋ	to push with foot
jukjɔk	to stand on tip-toes
katoŋ	to jump
ladap	to hop
kawəŋ	to step
gwrɕwɔp	to drag one leg (because of injury)
katwɔ	to stamp
rap	to run
khajɔr	to slide to side

2.7.2 Words for 'to carry'

Words for 'to carry' as pointed out by Huffman (1978) are differentiated in Southeast Asian languages according to the 'agent', the number of persons involved, that is, the subject, the subject, and the 'object', or

'instrument'. The 'agent', or the focus, specifies the part and/or the location of the subject's body involved in the act of carrying. The study of Mlabri will focus on 'hand' (one or both), 'waist', 'shoulder', 'finger' because they use these body parts to carry something in every day's life activities. The number of persons involved in the act of carrying varies between one or several ; there is no category for 'dual' (two persons only). The 'object' , or 'instrument', specifies the size, weight, and whether the object carried is animate or inanimate. (See pp.98)

2.7.3 TO SLEEP

The vocabulary for 'to sleep' is also unusually differentiated in that various positions of the body are distinguished; blend-forms, consisting of Thai/Lao and Mlabri also exist.

vocab	meaning
nɔn	to sleep (in general)
pikɤrnɔn	to want to sleep
kɤrnɔn	sleepy
kɤr ɤŋ	face to the sky
dʉlgul	face to sideways
mukʔuk	turn over, face to the earth

Vocab	carry by						Actor		object							
	hand one	hands two	waist	shoulder	finger	one	two or more	size	weight		animate		solid	liquid		
									small	big	gentle	heavy			human	animal
grip					/	/			/		/					
toc						/		/	/		/					
koc						/		/								
bek						/										
hap						/										
qabaj						/		/								
kutkwat						/										
boh						/										
qiep taho						/										
perjol						/										

pokbuk	face to the sky and one hand lies on the forehead
pokglɿʔ	face to the sky and weave the hand under the head.
nɔŋɕakatket	face to sideways and two hands cover with ears
gruɗup	to sleep and raise knees put up
nɔntɿŋ	to sleep in sitting position
gruɿ	to sleep in sitting position by leaning to the tree.
pɿp	to rest by sleeping (not sleepy)
nɔŋ mʌc	to dream
ʔɛm	to take a nap

/ nɔŋ / word is similar to Thai word. It may be borrowed into language from either Thai or Lao.

2.7.4 TO CUT

In order to arrive at a componential analysis of the various forms for 'to cut', Suwilai's system (1982), used to analyze cutting words in Khmu, was used. The following parameters were distinguished : the material cut, the cutting action such as the speed with which the action is performed, its direction, the kind of motion, the purpose, and the implement used for cutting.

What is remarkable in the case of Mlabri is the fact that the material culture is so extremely limited, yet Mlabri cutting words are so highly differentiated.

Implement Mlabri use for cutting something is /cokwek /, a knife or /tɔʔbɔŋ/ a traditional knife. Because it is an important implement they can make it by basic technology they have ever known and have experience.

Lexical fields of cutting words reveal that Mlabri have developed their language skills.

Vocab	material		speed		direction			motion		in order to	implement used
	hair	meat	wood	soil	slow	fast	up	down	across	long	contingent
ai			/			/		/			drill
thet	/				/	/		/			Scissors
ca?			/		/	/		/		to make a hole	a knife
ket		/	/		/	/		/		to shorten	a knife
plak			/		/	/		/		to divide into 2 parts	a knife
poh			/		/	/		/		to cut across	a knife
bren	/		/		/	/		/		to pelt	a knife
bih	/		/		/	/		/		to divide into 2 parts	a knife
pom	/		/		/	/	/	/		to divide equally	a knife
grec	/		/		/	/		/		to cut trees	a knife
greogon	/		/	/	/	/		/		to sharpen	a knife
pekpe?	/		/	/	/	/		/		to smoothen	a knife
plut	/		/	/	/	/		/		to make a hole	a knife
greh	/		/	/	/	/		/		to cut in small piece	a knife
keh	/		/	/	/	/		/		to peel (fruit)	a knife
										to flat	a knife
										to puncture surface	a knife

Vocab	material				speed				direction				notion		in order to	implement used
	wood	meat	wood	soil	slew	fast	up	down	across	long	cont	discont				
del		/			/				/			/			to cut, to separate each other	a knife
gl ^h h		/			/					/					to sharpen	a knife
g ^h t		/			/											
pat		/			/										to kill	a lance
pakam		/			/				/			/			to tighten	
bot		/			/				/			/			to cut off	a knife
lake?		/			/				/			/			to cut off	a knife
than		/			/				/			/			to clear	a knife
px ^h pakham		/			/		/		/			/			to cut off	a knife
dep		/			/					/		/			to make a tangle	a knife
h ^h nlah		/			/			/	/			/			to cut in small piece	a knife
pak ^h u?		/			/				/		/	/			to cut in small piece	a knife
cu ^h k		/		/	/			/				/			to make a hole	a spade
!xtla?		/		/	/		/				/				to cut off	a knife

CHAPTER III

Anthropological Aspects

This chapter presents six important aspects of Mlabri Anthropology namely, kinship, housing, material culture, curing, song, and zoological terms together with Mlabri vocabularies in the field* of each aspect.

3.1 Kinship

The Mlabri live exclusively as nomadic forest gatherer and hunters, organizing themselves socially and economically on the basis of bands. The best way to study Mlabri and their society is through Kinship. Because it is not only a network of biological relationships but of socialities, patterns of behavior, obligations and responsibilities and patterns of authority also. Mlabri have no political or legal system of authority. There is no king, chief or ruling council. Nevertheless there is social order, economic development, and organized defense, The Mlabri social structure is based on the kinship system.

Kinship is explicitly reflected by the kinship terminologies which determine the statuses and roles, right and duties of its members and the behavioral patterns by which its members interact with each other.

Consideration of the kinship system, then, should focus on its three significant elements namely; kinship terminology, Kin-groups, marriage rules and incest taboo and function of Kinship system.

3.1.1 Kinship Terminology

3.1.1.1 Diagraming of Kinship structure

To help analyze kinship systems, the researcher uses Shusky's system, since it is widely used and recognized. (1965)

The symbols are used as shown in the following.



represents males



represents male ego



represents females



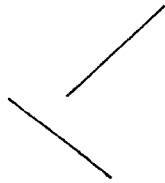
represents the affinal ties,
referring to kinship relationship tied together by marital bonds.



represents the consanguine ties, referring to kinship relationships tied together by biological relationships.



refers to ' descend to '



refers to ' death '

refers to ' divorce '

The diagram for a nuclear family is shown in below :

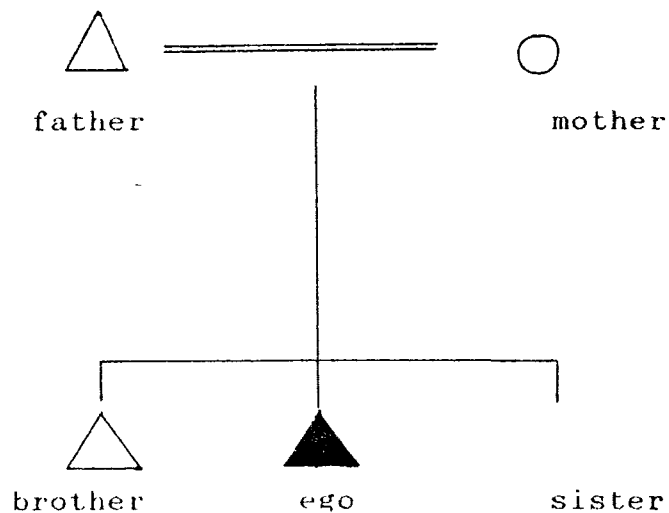


Fig 8 family structure

The ideal nuclear family consists of father, mother, brother, ego and sister. This diagram is used since it demonstrates the maximum possible relationships using the minimum number of persons.

An adult ego is usually a member of two families, the one into which he is born and the one into which he marries. The family that the ego was born into is called his family of orientation. This is the family that has oriented him in this culture and prepares him for his role in life. The family that the ego forms by marriage is called family of procreation. That is the family where he is involved in procreation.

Family of Orientation

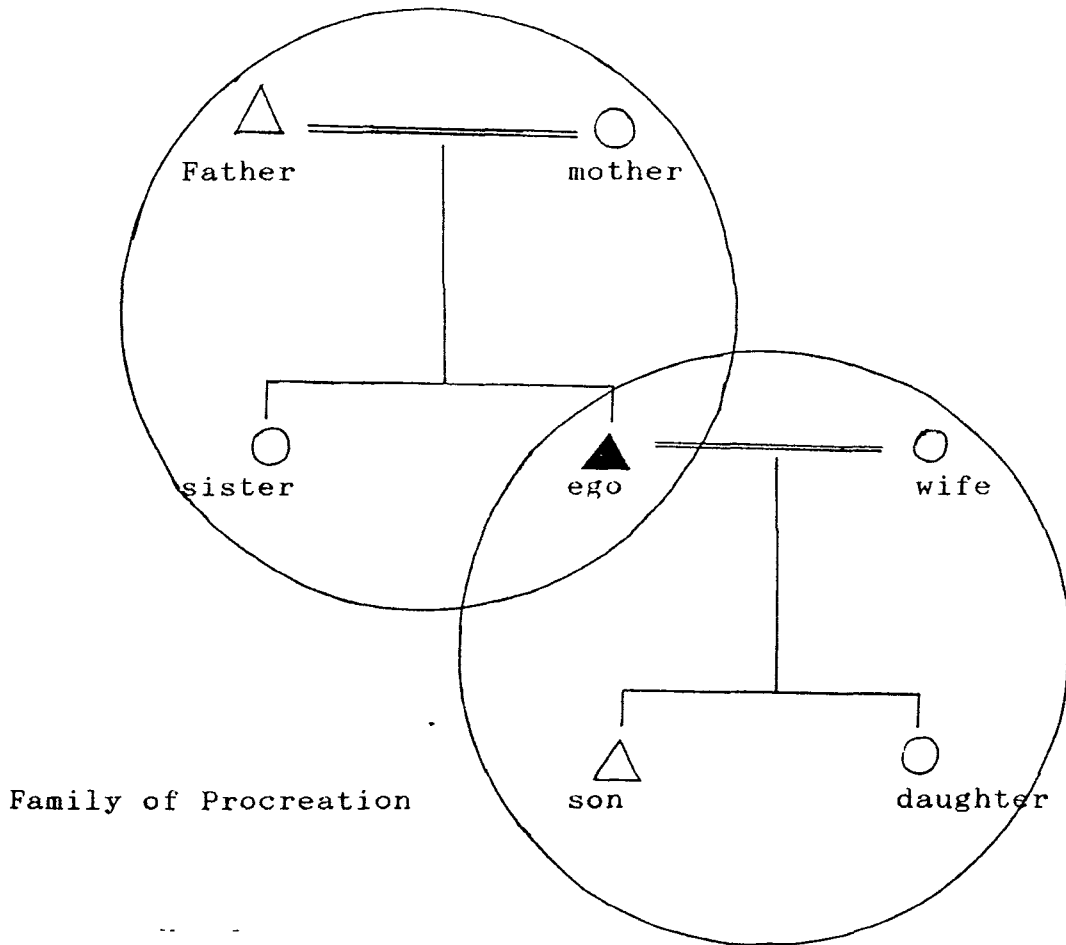


Fig 9 Family of Orientation & Procreation

Ego must assume two roles ; one is being a member of family of orientation and the latter is the chief of family of procreation. This diagram shows the relation between family of orientation and family of procreation.

3.1.1.2 Categories of Kinship Terms

Mlabri kin terms can be divided into three categories. The first includes the terms used for referring to the relatives in the younger generation. The second includes those used for the relatives in the preceeding generation and the third includes those used for the relative in the ego's generation.

The kinship terms in the first category are illustrated in the following.

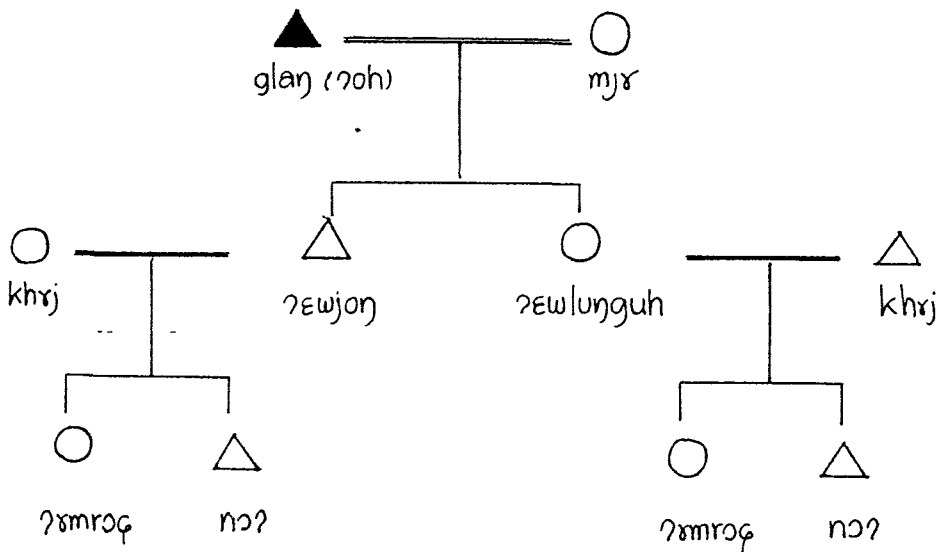


Fig 10

The terms used for referring to the relatives in the younger generation.

Kinship Termsmeaning

?oh	I (ego)
glaŋ	husband (Being addressed by m.jʎ)
m.jʎ	wife
?ewjoŋ	son
?ɛwluŋguh	daughter
khʎj	son's wife or daughter's husband
noʔ	grandson
?ʎ mɾo ɕ	grand daughter

The kinship terms used for the relatives in the preceeding generation can be further divided into two subcategories which are the terms used for the paternal and the maternal relatives.

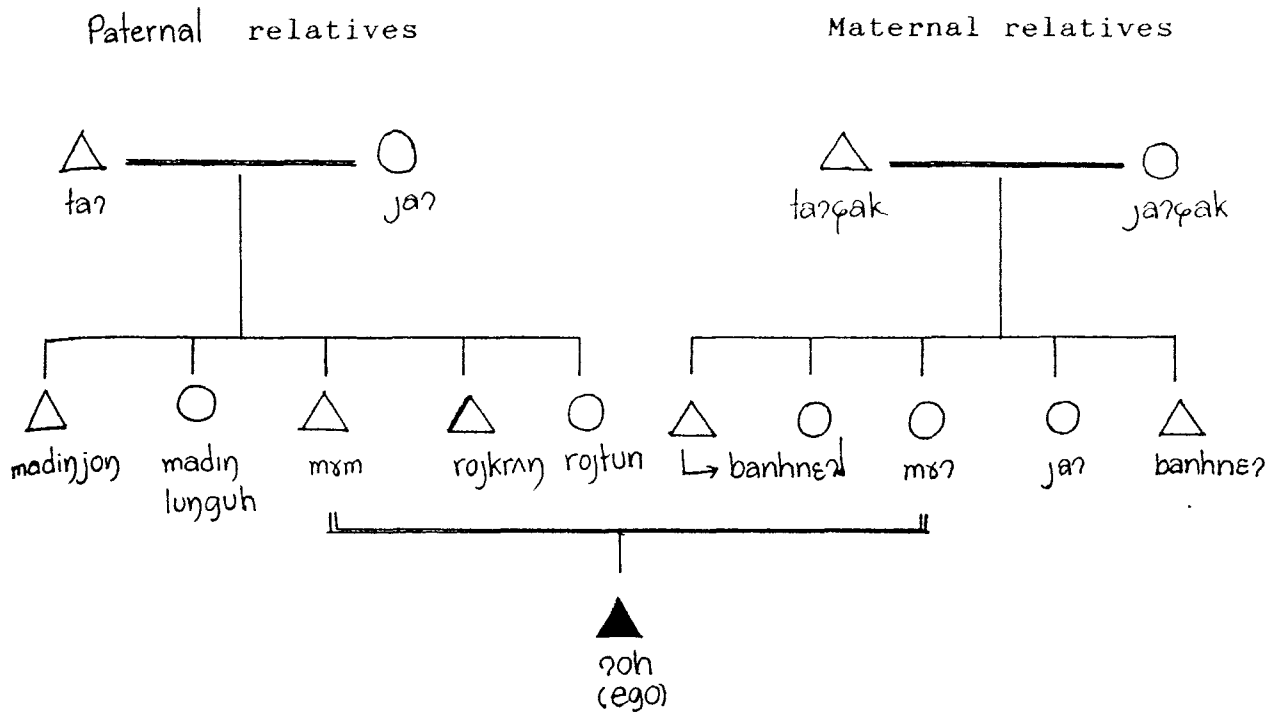


Fig 11

The terms used for referring to the relative in the
preceeding generation.

Kinship Termsmeaning

ta?	grandfather (father's father)
ja?	grandmother (father's mother)
madinjon	father's elder brother
madin lunguh	father's elder sister

mɿm	father
rojkrʌŋ	father's younger brother
rojɬun	father's younger sister
taʔçak	mother's father
jaʔçak	mother' mother
mɿʔ	mother
jaʔ	mother's younger sister
banhnæʔ	wife's younger or elder brother

. The kinship terms used for the relatives in ego's
generation (2 nd generation)

diŋroj	an elder brother
diŋluŋguh	an elder sister
ʔoh	I (ego)
rojluŋguh	a younger sister

rojjon

a younger brother

Kin terms related by marital bonds is shown in the following.

dinber

an elder brother' wife
or an elder sister'
husband

rojber

a younger sister's husband
or a younger brother' wife

mjx

wife

The following diagram shows all three categories of Mlabri kin terms.

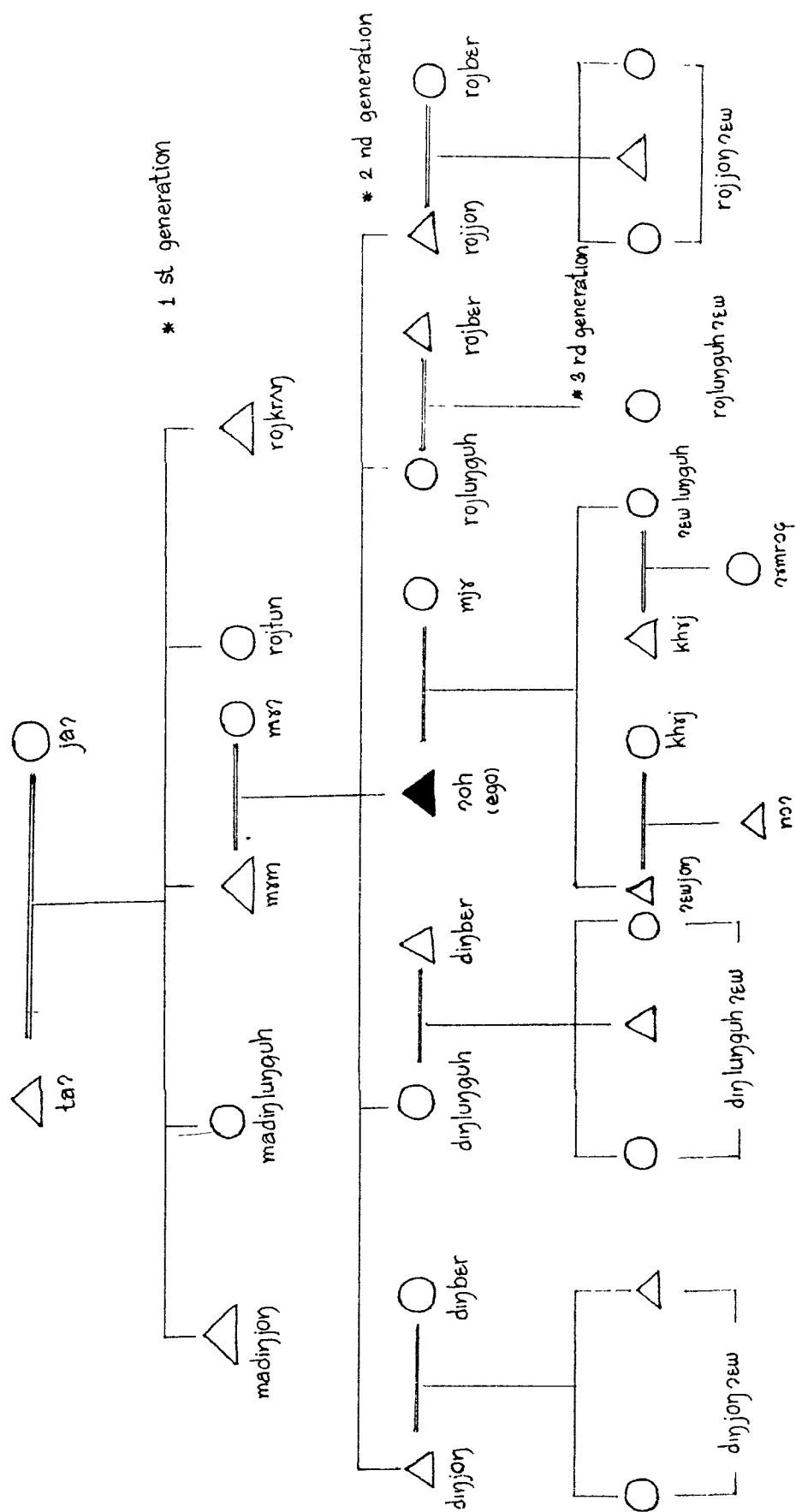


Fig 12 Patrilinear

3.1.1.3 Structure of Kinship terms

Kin terms may consist of simple words and compounds.

3.1.1.3 Simple Words

<u>Simple kinterms</u>	<u>meaning</u>
ta?	father's father
ja?	father's mother
mɣ?	mother
mɣm	father
diŋ	elder brother or sister
roj	younger brother or sister
?oh	I
glaŋ	husband
mjɣ	wife

Simple kintermsmeaning

?ɛw	offsprings (generic)
khɣj	daughter/son-in-law
nɔ?	grandson
got	offsprings (generic) .
?ɣmrɔɔ	grand daughter

3.1.1.3.2 Compound kinterms

According to their internal structure, compound kinterms in Mlabri are classified into three groups as follows : head + modifier, modifier + head and modifier + modifier + head

a) Head + Modifier

The fillers in head slot are ta?, ja?, ?ɛw, diŋ, roj

[ta?] usually means father's father. However, when [ta?] occurs with [ɟak, ɣamruɔ, ram], it conveys the meaning of masculine.

ta?	+	ɕak	=	ta?ɕak
		mother' kin		mother' father

ta?	+	kamruɕ	=	ta?kamruɕ
		old		very old man

ta?	+	ram	=	ta?ram
		widowed		a widower

[ja?] usually means father's mother. However, when [ja] occurs with [ɕak, ram], it means feminine.

ja?	+	ɕak	=	ja?ɕak
		mother's kin		mother's mother

ja?	+	ram	=	ja?ram
		widowed		a widow

[?ɛw] means offspring.

?ɛw	+	jon	=	?ɛwjon
		male		a son

?ɛw	+	luŋguh	=	?ɛwluŋguh
		female		a daughter

[diŋ] means an elder brother or sister.

diŋ	+	ber	=	diŋber
		in-law		elder brother or sister in-law

diŋ	+	luŋguh	=	diŋluŋguh
		female		elder sister

diŋ	+	joŋ *	=	diŋjoŋ
		father		father's elder brother

[roj] means a younger brother or sister

roj	+	ber	=	rojber
		relative-in -law		younger brother or sister in-law,

roj	+	luŋguh	=	rojluŋguh
		female		younger sister

roj	+	joŋ	=	rojjoŋ
		father, male		younger brother

* proto-Mon-Khmer

roj	+	tun	=	roj ^h tun
				father's younger
				sister

roj	+	krΛŋ	=	fojkrΛŋ
				father's younger
				brother

b) Modifier + Head

This structure is rare but it still appears in this language, however. It can be divided into 3 types according to fillers of modifier and head.

Mod : Poss.Adj + Head : noun

Modifier slot is filled by possessive adjectives i.e. [ʔot, m t-]. Head slot is filled by noun.

ʔot	+	khʏj	=	ʔotkhʏj
my son or daughter-				my son or daughter-
in-law				in-law

met	+	ʔεw	=	metʔεw
your offspring				your offspring

gut	+	got *	=	gutgot
last		offsprings		the last born children

?wn*	+	got	=	?wngot
first		offsprings		the first born children

Mod : Verb + Head : noun

Modifier slot is filled by verb [grm] to call.
Head slot is filled by noun. There are four terms of address for children of both sexes. The first one is used more frequently than others.

gym	-	+ -	-	ber	=	gymber
to call				relative- in-law		children

gym	+	ti?	=	gymti?
to call		eight		children

gym	+	çinto	=	gymçinto
to call		?		children

Note : Words with an asterisk above are archaic words. The word [gut] is Lao. It may be borrowed into Mlabri; otherwise, it should be a crossword. Its meaning is to 'finish.'

Modifier : noun + Head : noun.

Modifier slot is filled by noun as same as head slot.

madiŋ	+	luŋguh	=	madiŋluŋguh
father's		female		father's elder
relative				sister

madiŋ	+	joŋ	=	madiŋjoŋ
father's		father,		father's elder
relative		male		brother

c) Modifier + Modifier + Head noun.

All slots are filled by nouns.

diŋ	+	luŋguh	+	?ew	=	diŋ luŋguh?ew
father's relative		female				offsprings father's
						elder brother
						children.

3.1.2 Kin Groups

Mlabri bands seldom live together as a community or a village. But they stay in their own kin groups. The structure of a group consists of 3-4 nuclear families with 4-5 members. In a family a new married couple must split up to set up neolocal. This family is called extended family. The couple stay solely without living in the same family with either husband's household or wife's.

In addition, limitation in food sources causes malnutrition in children, sickness, malaria which reduce the number of Mlabri each year and affect the structure of family and the number of members in nearly all families. Therefor, the number of members of a band will be limited to two or three generations.

The diagram shown below illustrates the relationship of the Mlabri band while I was studying at Doi Phamung, Ban Huay Hom Bon, Rong Kwang district, Phrae provinces (June 1, 87)

/ ple?gwen / or Paeng-Noi is the chief of this group, approximate age 42. His family comprises 4 persons, himself, / grw drw? / mother-in-law, / pa / his wife and

/ ple?gwen / his son. / kɛɕ / is Paeng-Noi's daughter. When she married / jok /, she built up a new household, partilocal. / ɕuroŋ / was Paeng-Noi's ex wife who died of malaria. / ɕuroŋ / had two boys, / ɕak / and / laŋ /. / ɕak / married / paŋ /, and left to start a new family.

/ jɔt / is the husband of / la / who had been previously Paeng-Noi's wife. His family consists of 5 persons himself, / la / his wife, / waŋ / his son with ex-wife /ɕoŋ/, / laŋ / Paeng-Noi's son and / weŋ / his nephew, (the son of his elder brother / kɛp / who died in a car accident).

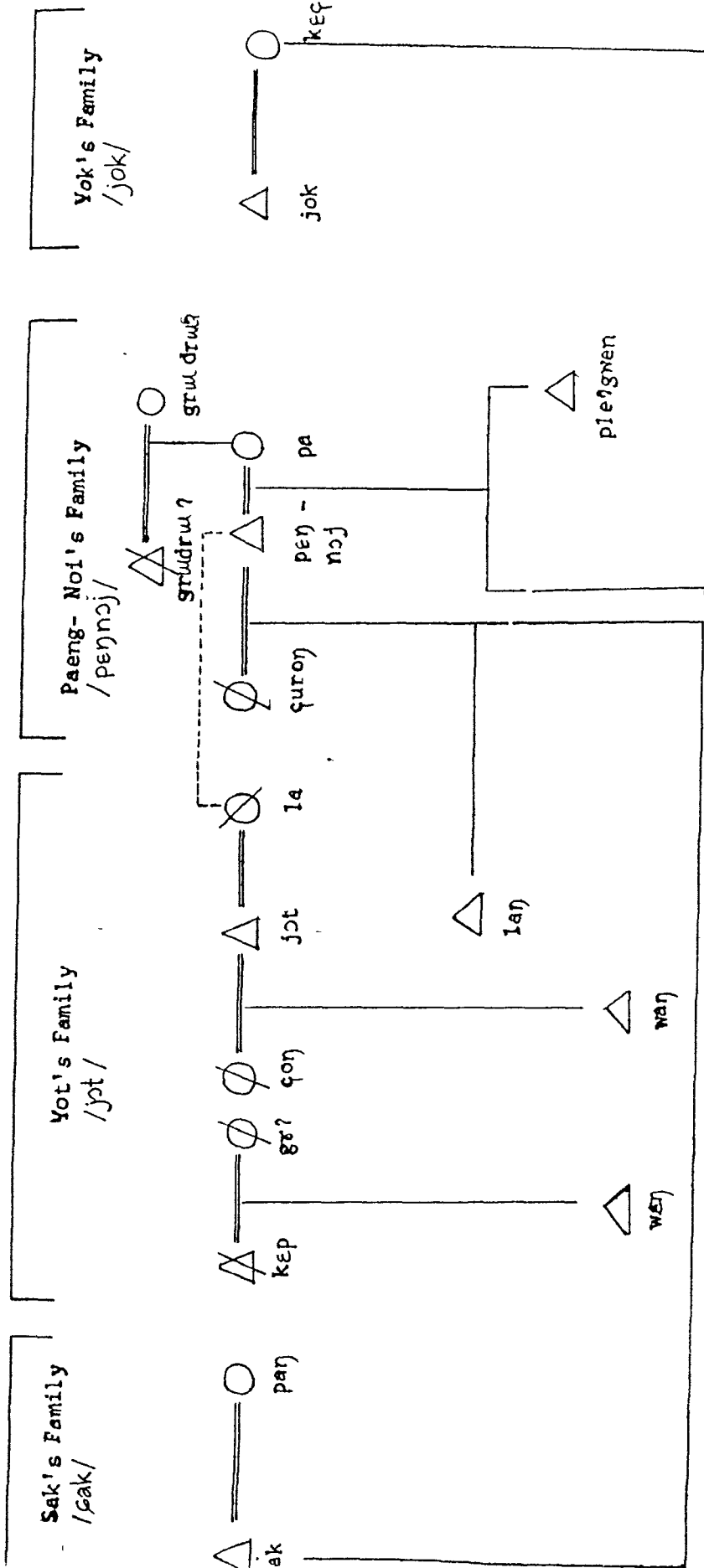


Fig. 13 Family Relationship
(June 1,87)

This group consists of 13 persons living in the same area. Paeng-Noi is a leader of the group in hunting and gathering as well as working in the Hmong fields in exchange for clothes, salt, rice and a pig (favorite food). La is a leader for seeking fish, mushroom and bamboo shoots. All collected food must be shared. Moreover, they do not have the idea of property ownership. Each family has only necessary things that are used for survival such as a cooking pot, knife or / tɔʔboŋ / a sharp iron implement.

3.1.3 Marriage rules and Incest taboo

Marriage rules and incest taboo have an effect on the kinship system. In marriage practice, it is interesting to note that courtship behavior is unusual in Mlabri culture. If an adult male is attracted to an adult female and wants to marry her, he must ask her relatives, may be her father, her elder brother or younger brother (in that order if somebody dies.) The adult male will go by himself and may offer him some small gifts, for example, dress, a blanket, wild yam, honey, etc, to give to her relatives. If her father or elder brother does not speak to him, it means that his request is refused. The suitor will leave without anger or sorrow and start to look for somebody else. But if the relative of the adult female speaks to him it means that his request is

accepted. Then he can take the bride with him and begin their conjugal life immediately. No ritual is required.

Marriage rites as performed in most societies do not exist in Mlabri society. Since its population is very limited, the marriage of any couple is known without any public rite.

Considering their marriage practice of Mlabri it can be stated that the marriage rules in Mlabri society encourage marriages that are both exogamous and monogamous. The breach of any of marriage rules is thought to be against the supernatural being and that it will bring about misfortune, such as famine, to all of the Mlabri. Remarriage can be done only after a divorce or the death of the former spouse.

Marriage is not always based solely upon mutual love, independently discovered and expressed by the two life partners to be. Nor is it based upon sex alone. Marriage has to do also with the kinship system. For example, one cannot marry a person who is a relative.

An in other societies, there are a number of incest taboos and marriage rules in Mlabri society which control sexual relation of its members. Although the rate

of divorce and changing of spouses is rather high in this society, the sexual relations of the Mlabri are by no means permission. There are several normative rules that have to be abided.

Firstly, sexual relations between close kin is prohibited. There is the incest taboo which controls the relations between siblings including co-siblings.

Secondly, sexual relations between cousins, including both cross and parallel cousins, are also prohibited.

Thirdly, premarital sexual experimentation is not allowed in any case.

Finally, committing adultery is forbidden. Briefly sexual relation in Mlabri culture is restricted to the conjugal status : individuals cannot commit this kind of relationship with anyone other than his or her spouse.

3.1.4 Function of Kinship System.

The Kinship system is an important part of the social structure in Mlabri society. The kinship system performs many necessary functions as follows :

3.1.4.1 Socialization The nuclear family usually has the primary responsibility for the socialization of the young. The extended family usually has an important role in the nuclear family, also. As Mlabri, a boy learns to hunt a wild game and gather plants, how to survive in the jungle and other important things for a useful life from father or his kins. A girl usually learns to cook, to seek a small animal or water animal for food, how to make a home (/ gɛŋ / or windscreen). So the entire Kinship system provides models of behavior. Also, certain members of the kinship system have specific roles in certain aspects of the socialization of a child.

3.1.4.2 Teaching Language

Language serves as a bridge between biological and cultural aspects of life and linking the past with the present. Since language is learned behavior and is therefore part of culture, adaptation to one's culture setting begins even before birth. Time schedules, for example, are cultural. The fetus is subject to his mother's time schedule before birth. After birth, feeding, sleeping, and other activities are some of the baby's first life experiences. Parents or kin routinely teach him a language in order to communicate with other people in response to biological need, culture and society.

The Mlabri give language experience to their children, both by teaching them and by indirect experience. First, they begin with easy words then more complicated words. Sometimes they learn vocabularies by themselves, in participation of activities every day's life so they are able to distinguish clearly kinds of bamboo, rattans, taros and banana, of which there are many kinds or types in the forest.

For learning a second language, they have a gift, so they can study quickly in short time by communication with outsiders. Most of Mlabri can speak Northern Thai dialect and Hmong. Some can speak Khmu or Yao fluently. They study these languages from parents or relatives including native speakers when they follow them to work or exchanging goods.

3.1.4.3 Security and Aid

Mlabri do not have a social security system to care for the old. The kinship system takes care of the old, the young and orphan. Some Mlabri work in the Hmong's rice swidden. If they cannot work in time, their kin will help to work till it is finished, without additional wage. After work, Hmong will not pay Mlabri the money but they will give them the things that are necessary for their everyday life, for example, pig, rice clothes, salt.



Fig. 14 Work in Hmong's rice swidden



Fig. 15 Clearing for planting.



Fig. 16 Work with cousins

3.2 Housing

One of the basic needs of humankind is dwellings. All cultures have certain patterns for the physical establishment of a home. House types are variable in structure, depending upon the nature of the local climate and materials, the kind of subsistence economy and the nature of the social organization of the society.

Mlabri houses are only the simplest temporary shelter as a result of mobility to newer more abundant food sources and a loose social structure ; they lack a

sense of property, for example land. In addition their food comes from wild-uncultivated sources. These factors affect their dwellings. Mlabri houses consist of a rough and ready shed made up of bamboo, tree branches and roofed with leaves; in particular banana leaves and / ta?oh / a palm's leaves. (Alocasia indica Schott).

The roof is just high enough for a man sitting without his head touching it. One side of it slopes down touching the soil. The sloping floor is covered with dry leaves or big pieces of the outer bark of trees split and flattened-out bamboo.

The Mlabri vocabularies which are related to the area of housing are as follows :

Vocabularies in housing

meaning

gen

Mlabri house. Generally, this word refers to a windscreen. It is a temporary shelter Mlabri live for a period of time till the food source is exhausted.

Then they migrate to a newer more abundant one. During their lives, they must build

vocabularies in housing

meaning

them up some hundred wind-screens or more. The size of windscreen depends on the members of family.

cenrʌŋ

house post.

A windscreen consists of two erected posts in front, sometimes it has more than two posts depending on the size or the structure of the house. It carries a lintel and sticks behind it to support the roof. Woods or bamboo stems are used as posts with 2 metres long or more, and buried approximately 30 centimetres into the ground. One of the ends of the posts must be shaped as shown below.

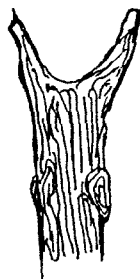


/ cenrΛη / in picture 1 is suitable for bamboo stems
such as :

thok Bambusa natans Wallex Munro

malaη Cephalostachyum pergracile
Munro

taluf Dendro calamus hamiltonii Neos
& Arn. ex Munro



/ cenrΛη / in = picture 2 is suitable for any kind of wood.

kʏnraw

lintel

It lays across the end of the post for supporting sticks which support the roof. Either a wooden rod or a stem of bamboo is a lintel. There is only one lintel in each windscreen.

pʏ?col

Several sticks lay on / kʏnraw / to strengthen the structure of the windscreen. Both of /pʏ?col? which are at edge of each side must be longer than others and buried into the ground about 15-20 centimetres.

..pʉ?rɛ?

Several sticks lie across on /pʏ?col/ for carrying leaves which function as roof of the windscreen. This part may be any kind of wood or bamboo stem.

mʏ?

climbers.

They function as a rope to tie /kʏ nraw/ with / pʏ?col / ,

/pʰʌ?col/ with /pʰʌ?rɛ? / . It
there are no climbers left or
Mlabri cannot find them, they
use the fibrous layer on the
trunk of the banana tree
instead.

tulwʌt

bamboo strips used for tying
instead of / mʰʌ? /

glʰʌ?gɛŋ

roof.

This compound consists of two
words, / glʰʌ? / and / gɛŋ /.
/ glʰʌ? / means 'head', and
the latter refers to house or
windscreen, so this compound
word means 'the head of house'.
For the Mlabri it means 'roof'.
They compare roof with head
because it is set up higher
than the highest part of
human body.

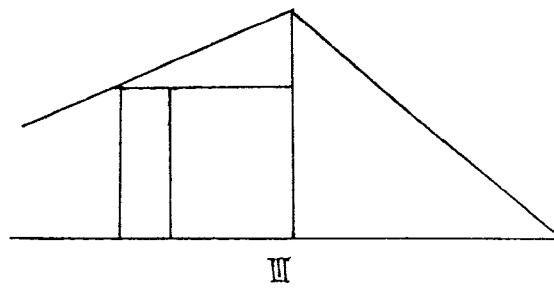
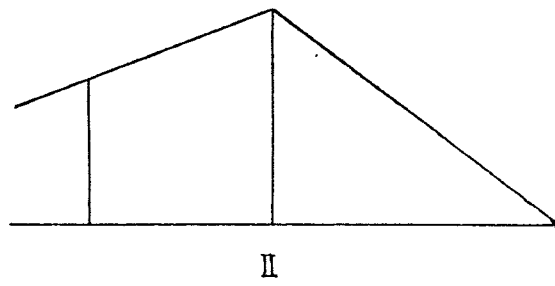
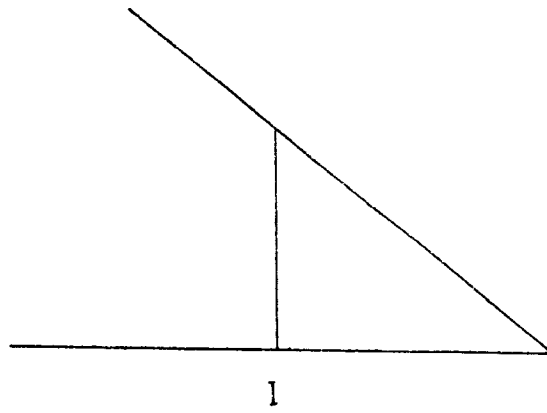


Fig. 17

roof, horizontal view
(cross-section)

Figure 1 is a simple roof that we can see everywhere especially during the dry season. This wind-screen has no partition. This type is a primitive style. It is a simple structure and accommodates their lives. Moreover it takes a short time to build it. So it is a symbol of the Mlabri.

Figure 2 A simple roof with a splasher is another type they build. A splasher is a third of the roof long. It prevents rain or sunshine getting into a windscreen. The sides may also be covered by splashers.

The last type (figure 3) is rare and found only once. The roof is covered by two sides, like a cable, partitions are covered at three sides like a hut. There is one door, approximate 150 centimetres high.

Roof types are not distinguished in vocabulary except $\sim / gl\gamma \text{ ?} g\epsilon \eta /$. One may conclude that shelter, wind-screen or $/ g\epsilon \eta /$ is less important than how they spend their everyday life and how they afford food. As a result they can distinguish any kind of plants ; in particular rattans, bamboos, bananas ; animals. But for 'roof' they have only one word.



Fig. 18 House roof 1



Fig. 19 House roof 2

geŋhɔŋke?

"Splasher" This word means house of fire / geŋ / means in Mlabri house / hɔŋke? / mean fire'. The house of fire is built like the roof /glɔʔ geŋ / but shorter. This part protects a fire which set up at the foot of a house, and prevents rain from splashing into a / geŋ / .

Moreover, it can protect sunshine to pass through the house. Mlabri usually make it in the rainy season.

pɣr

partition.

..

Although Mlabri stay at the windscreen, they need to adapt themselves to natural phenomena. To prevent themselves from getting wet, while they are at the windscreen, / pɣr/ is attached to the screen. Rain cannot splash in their shelter. The structure of /pɣr/ is the same as the roof.



Fig. 20 House roof 3



Fig. 21 Staying at windscreen

ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ

door.

/ ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ / is unnecessary in the structure of a Mlabri shelter; however; it was seen at Phukeng (ฝักเิง). I presume that Mlabri imitate it from neighbouring house styles, for instance Hmong or Khmu. First, an old man never builds /ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ/ up with a door. Second I saw only one house during my research visit. Finally, Mlabri who build this style often communicate with outsiders.

Mlabri dwellings are the simplest temporary shelter..so. there are less specified vocabularies to name any parts of it. These lexical items are one to two syllables. Compounding words, / ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ / and / ꠘꠞꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ / , indicate that they have more conceptualization.

/ ꠘꠞꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞ / comes from / ꠘꠞꠞꠞ / 'head' and / ꠘꠞꠞꠞ / 'house' or windscreen. As a compounding word /ꠘꠞꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ/ meas 'roof'. Mlabri coin compounding words in the same way as Thai do. The house of fire / ꠘꠞꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ /

is necessary for Mlabri. It is a custom to make a fire at the foot of a house which must be lit all the time. Fire protects them from attack by wild animals, to give light in the night and warmth in the winter. Moreover, smoke prevents mosquitoes biting, so the fire should be set up below their feet when they sleep.

To prevent the fire from being extinguished when it rains they build a roof.

Housing and vocabularies give the following aspects of Mlabri society :

1. Their building materials are all natural, unprocessed materials. Hard wood is not used. They reflect the simple life of Mlabri.

2. The residential pattern of the Mlabri cannot be called a "community" but rather a band, consisting of no more than five households. Their shelter can be built by only one or two members of the family; this will take no more than a day. If they lived in larger groups their food sources would be limited, and they would have to migrate in search of new food sources.

3. Mlabri build the new households or the shelters in case of the sleeping or resident places. But all activities or social relationship are shared in their society.



Fig. 22 Sleeping in the windscreen

3.3 Material Culture

Since Mlabri are the primitive group which still live on hunting and gathering, so their material culture are basic technology.

3.3.1 kh t

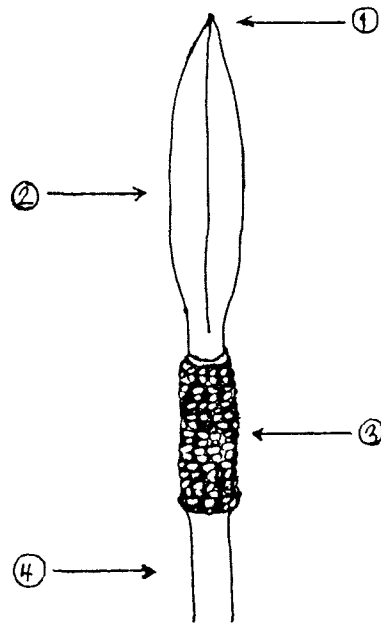


Fig. 23 kh t

- k h t

a lance

tul kh t (1)

tip of lance

c a p (2)

sharp blade, kh t has two blades.

g e c kh t (3)

joint between a blade and a
holder is tied tightly by a
woven rattan

lam khɔt (4)

long wooden holder.

khɔt

is used for killing wild game.

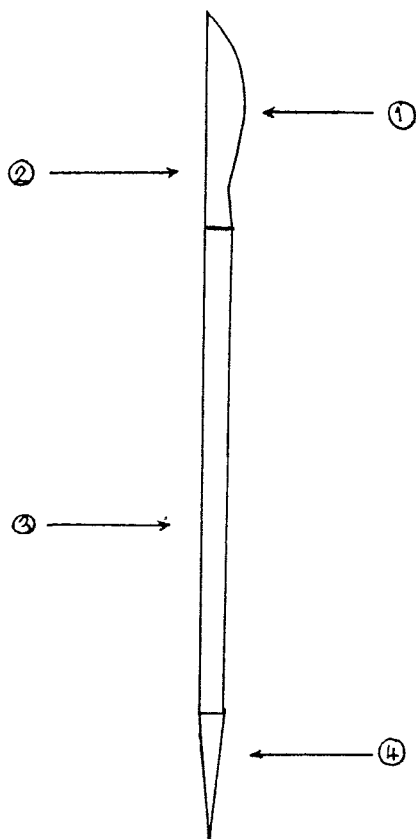


Fig. 24 khabok

3.3.2 Khabok

Khabok

a kind of weapon.

cɔp

(1)

blade

tɔʔ bɔŋ (2) a knife with a hole at the edge for insertion of a holder, made of iron. Its shape is like a Laotian knife.

gurtɔʔbɔŋ (3) a long wooden holder.

khabok (4) a long sharp pointed steel pick with a hole. It is used to stab small animals such as frogs, fish, rats.

These weapons tɔʔ bɔŋ and khabok will be separated from a holder in case of migration and replaced by another holder when needed. Every group must have at least one. Whenever Mlabri live in the jungle, this weapon is never withdrawn from the holder. It is used to protect the Mlabri from wild animals.

Generally, Mlabri made khabok by themselves in traditional ways. They bought iron from the neighboring group and burn it till it turns red by wind pumps (See Sec 3.36). Then they forge it to khabok shape. Finally they put the hot khabok into the water for hardening. It is unbelievable that they have experience to forge iron in making it.

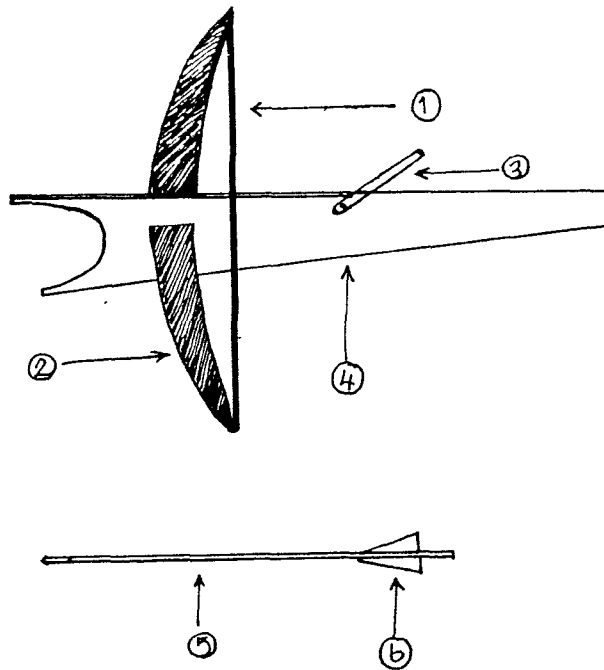


Fig. 25 mɔʔmɛʔ

3.3.3 / mɔʔmɛʔ /

The / mɔʔmɛʔ /, a crossbow, is not a primitive weapon. The Mlabri get it when they communicate with outsiders, such as the Khmu, Hmong, or Yao. /mɔʔmɛʔ/ is a Khmu word. When they obtained this weapon, they must have borrowed the word / mɔʔmɛʔ / into their language too. Then / mɔʔmɛʔ / appeared in Mlabri even though they coin their own word later. They still use both of them. Another reason is that they cannot make it by themselves. We can find it only in some Mlabri groups.

Some speakers have no detailed knowledge of this word.

/mɔʔmɛʔ/

crossbow

tar

(1)

string

A crossbow string made from fibre of the crimbers, like / thapɛt / (*Pueraria* sp.)

Some fibre is spun as a string with one loop at each end of it.

mɔʔmɛʔ

(2)

crossbow's leg

It functions as a spring that pushes an arrow straight ahead when it is bent and released by / doŋɕiŋ /

_doŋɕiŋ

(3)

a trigger

A trigger is made of a piece of wood and adjacent to /kɛn/ with wooden knot. It is 7-10 centimetres long.

kɛn

(4)

part of crossbow

This part is larger than other parts. On the back it is grooved to lay on a arrow.

ple? mɔʔmɛ? (5)

an arrow

An arrow is made of bamboo.

khantɛk

(6)

a direction controller

This part is made of leaf as a triangle. It functions as a direction controller of the arrow.

3.3.4 ɣanat

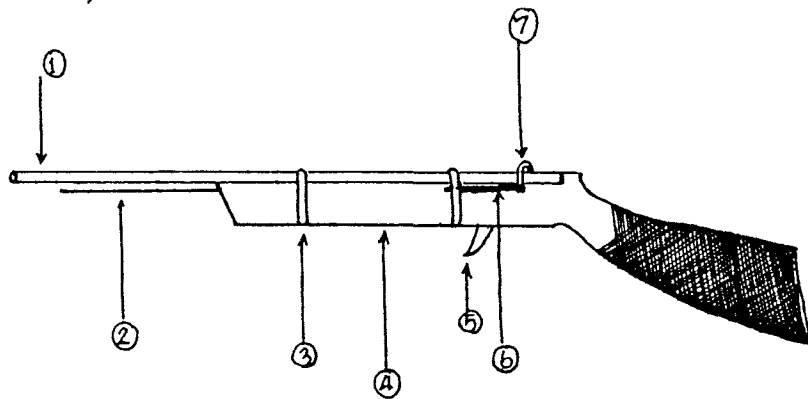


Fig. 26 ɣanat

ɣanat

a gun

gɔŋ

(1)

a gun barrel

culuh

(2)

iron rod

It is used to push gunpowder into the barrel tightly before putting in bullets.

tektep	(3)	a ring
		This part is a metal ring to tighten the gun barrel and a gunstock (holder)
lam hakok	(4)	a holder or gunstock
lek çanat	(5)	a trigger
tarkoŋ	(6)	an elastic plastic rubbers
		It functions as pulling /paŋ baŋkol/ to strike percussion cap on the barrel
paŋ baŋkol	(7)	a lock
		This part functions as a hammer

I saw this weapon when I worked at Khun Sathan (ขุมนจาน), a Hmong Village, Na-noi district. The Hmong give it to the Mlabri as wages, while they are employed by the former. If they want bullets and gunpowder they must work for the Hmong again in order to be able to afford them. For this reason Mlabri must labour all the time when they need anything. The wages they get are unfair.

The consequences of the introduction of guns into Mlabri culture are numerous as follows :

1. In order to obtain bullets and gunpowder they have to work for the Hmong.

2. They have more food available because they use an efficient weapon.

3. Guns cause accidental injuries. Mlabri people are kind and generous and have no idea of property ownership. Property is shared in the community. They are eager to learn about outside cultures and technologies. When they see a gun, they try to learn to use it. During my field trip, I saw a boy and an adult accidentally shot. (21 June 1987).

4. Mlabri use guns to make a loud noise. In the past, Mlabri believed that loud noises were made by spirits when they were angry. In this case they must be appeased through sacrifices of food. The Mlabri reduce their fear by using guns simply to make a noise.

3.3.5 Cokwək

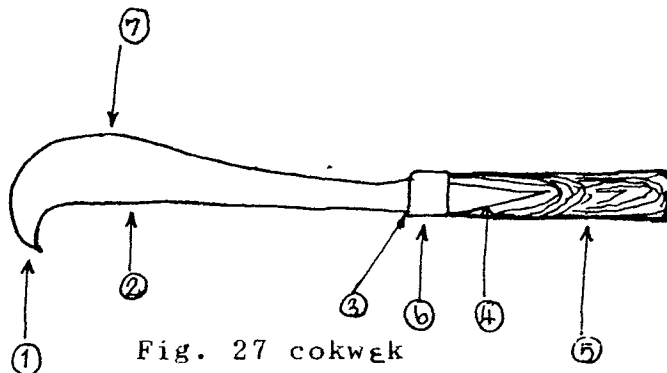


Fig. 27 cokwək

/ cokwek / (a knife) is one of the instruments that are important for Mlabri in everyday life in clearing the rice or corn fields, cutting wood and meat. It is not a traditional instrument, unlike tɔʔboŋ, but they obtain it from working in the field. It seems that they favor it over the tɔʔboŋ.

tɔʔboŋ		kind of knife
tul	(1)	bent sharp tip of knife
cʌp	(2)	blade
tɔk	(3)	black hard lac
		It prevents the blade to slide from the holder.
ɕijɔj-	(4)	end of blade
		A blade is fixed tightly to a holder because this part is laying inside a holder.
gʷrcok	(5)	a holder, made of wood

gɛc (6) metal ring

This part seizes a blade and
a holder tightly and prevents
the end of holder to break

carɪŋ (7) back of the blade

These words are native Mlabri words. Sometimes one word has several meanings for example, / ɕijɔj / refers to 'intestines', and it also refers to particular part of a knife, e.g. end of blade' which is inside a holder. It can be seen that the meaning 'intestines' still remains within another meaning in that the end of blade is inside a holder of a knife therefore it is something like the 'intestine' of knife.

3.3.6

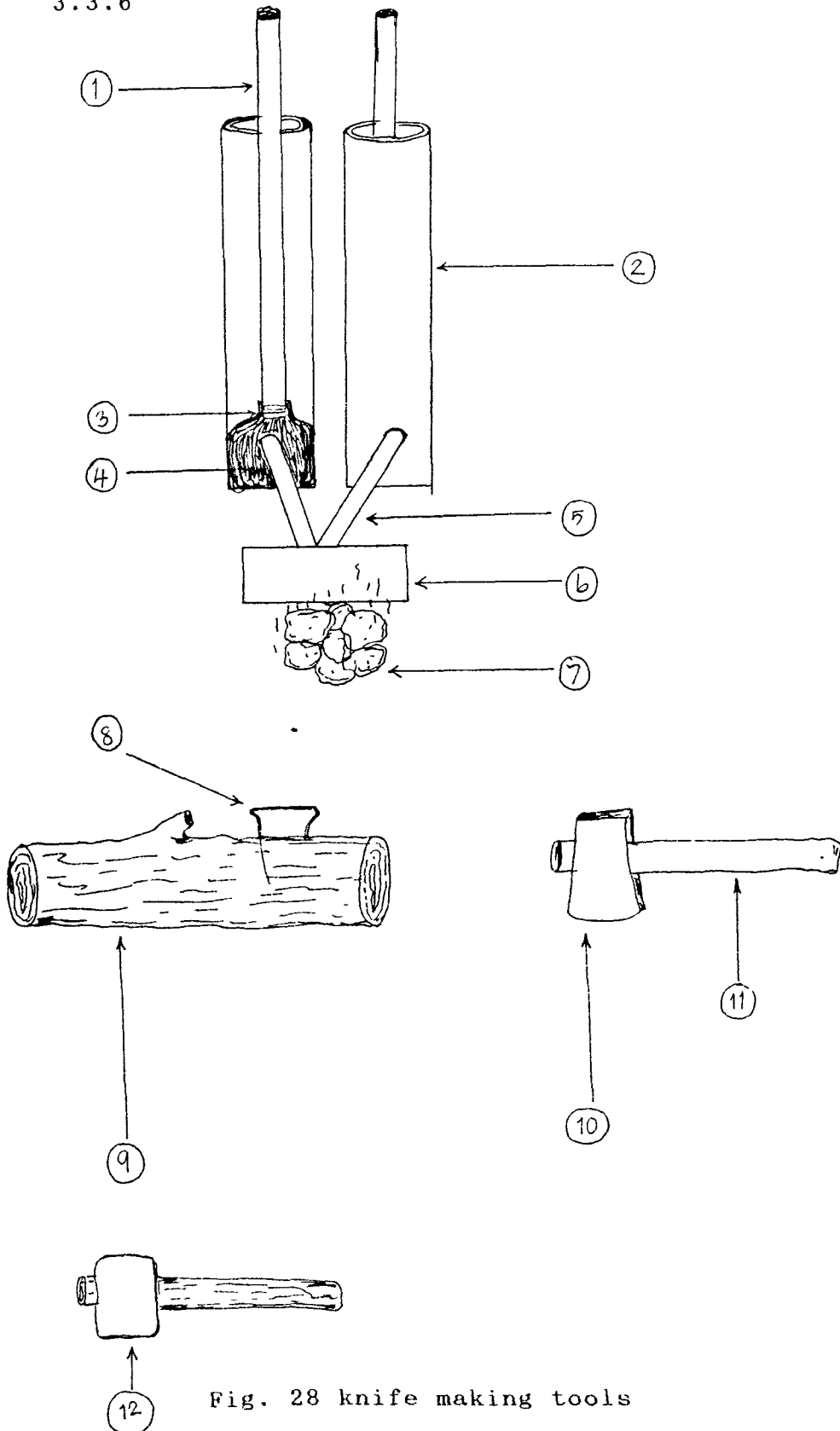


Fig. 28 knife making tools

- ?akdon (1) air pump holder
- It is made of wood and tied to the other tip of a rod with a cloth functioning as air pump.
- gu?hur (2) air cylinder
- It is made of bamboo that is a large and long stem. There are two air cylinders with the air pump holders [?akdon] inside. At the bottom end of each air cylinder, the air pipe [?akpuj] is attached to the air pump holder. To get the air pipe upright, it is inserted into the air pump holder about 15-20 centimetres.
- breɕ (3) strip of rattan
- It ties the ?akdon to the cloth.
- phacet (4) a piece of cloth (𐄚𐄚) for air pressure

- ?akpuj (5) air pipe
When air is pressed into cylinder, it links ?akpuj and /kΛmbluc/.
- kΛmbluc (6) a clod of clay.
Two ?akpuj are combined together by k m bluc. There is a big hole inside, a wind channel, in order to accelerate the wind move at high speed to no 7
- hʔŋke? (7) charcoal
Fire is made on it and iron, in making Khot, Khabok and tʔʔbʔŋ, burned here. When becomes red iron, it will be hit to its desired shape. on ng 8
- klo?|ek (8) an anvil
- lam (9) a log
An anvil is set up on it. It may be any kind of wood that is available to Mlabri from the jungle.

kwək (10) an axe

It functions as a hammer
/ tʏrɲək / when they cannot
provide a hammer. The back
of the blade is used for
doing the metal work.

lam (11) an axe's holder

tʏrɲək (12) a hammer

To harden iron by quenching, Mlabri use only
water, a basic technology.



Fig. 29 Wind Pump



Fig. 30 Making knife

3.3.7 kɔk wɔkʔja? (a pipe)

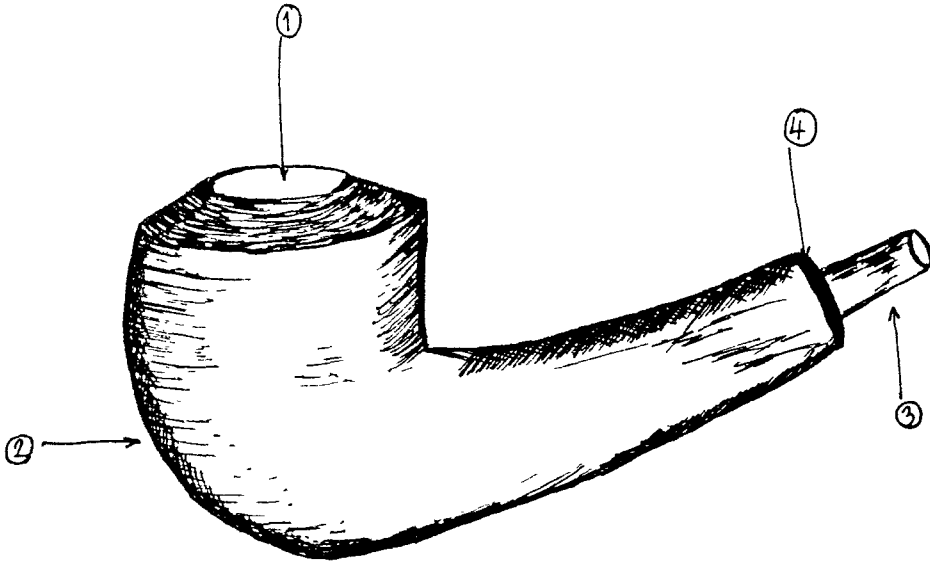


Fig. 31 kɔk wɔkʔja?

kɔk wɔkʔja?

a pipe

It is made of thok, a kind of bamboo. Mlabri cut / thok / and smooth it with / tɔʔbɔŋ / (a knife) till it has the shape of a pipe. After that they heat / ɕimniw / , a small sharp-pointed piece of iron, and puncture a hole inside it. The length is about 13-17 centimetres.

- gru?uŋ kɔk (1) a big hole to contain tobacco,
and to light it.
- kɔk (2) a pipe
A pipe may have a geometric
design on it. An old Mlabri
made wonderful styles which
show his skill as an artist.
- klɔŋ kok (3) an end of pipe.
It is a tube of bamboo. The
smoker holds this part of
a pipe.
- put (4) black beeswax
It is the linker between /kɔk/
and / klɔŋ kok /. It prevents
smoke from coming out of the
pipe. / put / is the product
of a kind of insect, which
makes a nest underground and
looks like bees. Laotians
use it in the manufacturing
of the Khean, a musical
instrument.

It is remarkable that Mlabri do not plant tobacco being prohibited by taboo. They consider the spirits of the sky and earth will hurt or cause sickness if they plant. It is possible that they collect it from neighbour's field such as Khmu, Hmong when they live in the jungle and later when they are employees. In addition, smoking a pipe is a western custom. Mlabri can make pipe by themselves. This pipe is different from the pipe made by Hmong. Its shape looks like western style. It is assumed that they had seen it first when they had a contact with Seidenfaden (1919) and Bernatizik (1938).

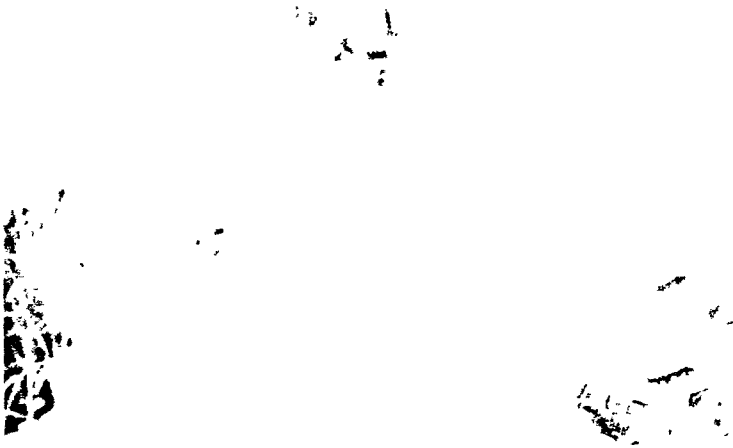


Fig. 32 Smoking a pipe



Fig. 33 Another type of pipe

3.3.8 𐌆𐌵𐌰?

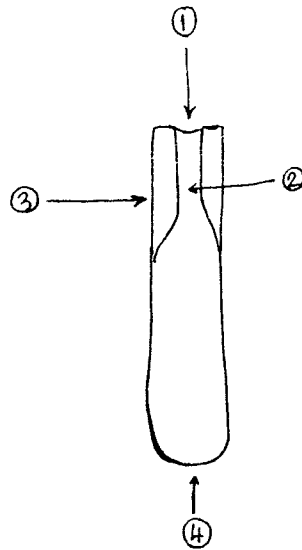


Fig. 34 𐌆𐌵𐌰?

Vocabularies		meaning
𐌆𐌵𐌰?		spade
gru?uŋ	(1)	hole at the top of spade, for inserting a holder
ḡoŋ	(2)	groove of spade
ḡariŋ	(3)	edge of blade
cʌp	(4)	blade of spade

/ ɕo? / a spade is an instrument Mlabri use for digging and hunting small games such as / tun / (Rhizomys). / mankok / (bamboo rat) / tAm?oh / (snake). Moreover, they cut bamboo shoots, dig a hole of the windscreen's post and for seeking taro (wild yams which is a staple food). For example, the Mlabri dig the ground with / ɕo?/ (a spade) to follow a bamboo rat till the depth is 110-130 centimetres and spend a day for only one game. Finally they get it. They believe that endeavor brings success, so they have good luck in hunting if that game never leaves its hole.

They themselves make a spade in the same way as making / khɔt/, / khabok / and / tɔ?bɔŋ /. They get steel from other tribes. Its shape is like northern spades. It is possible that Mlabri learn how to make /ɕo?/ and other instruments for agriculture from neighbouring group.

Usually, they will remove a holder and throw it away and keep only the spade while they move to seek a new abundant food source since they want to accommodate it for the journey.

For vocabulary, it is remarkable that / ɕɔŋ / is a blend-form. This word is borrowed from Lao.

3.3.9 တၢ်ဝှၢ် ခုၤက

/ တၢ်ဝှၢ် ခုၤက / is a compound form, consisting of / တၢ်ဝှၢ် / 'a container' and / ခုၤက / 'salt'. It is a bamboo utensil. Generally, its size is rather small and easy to carry everywhere. Mlabri get salt from the outsiders and salty soil from the forest.

/ တၢ်ဝှၢ်ခုၤက / consists of a lid and a container. Its diameter is 6 centimetres long and its height is about 25 cms. Both of them have been curved in geometric design. They are tied with rattan to prevent them from breaking (as shown in picture).

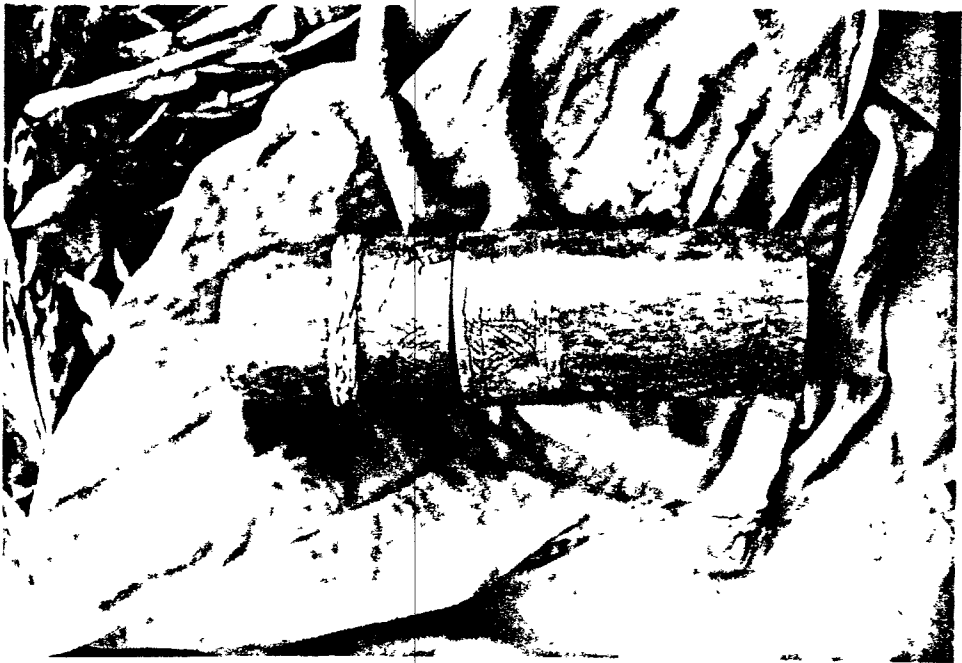
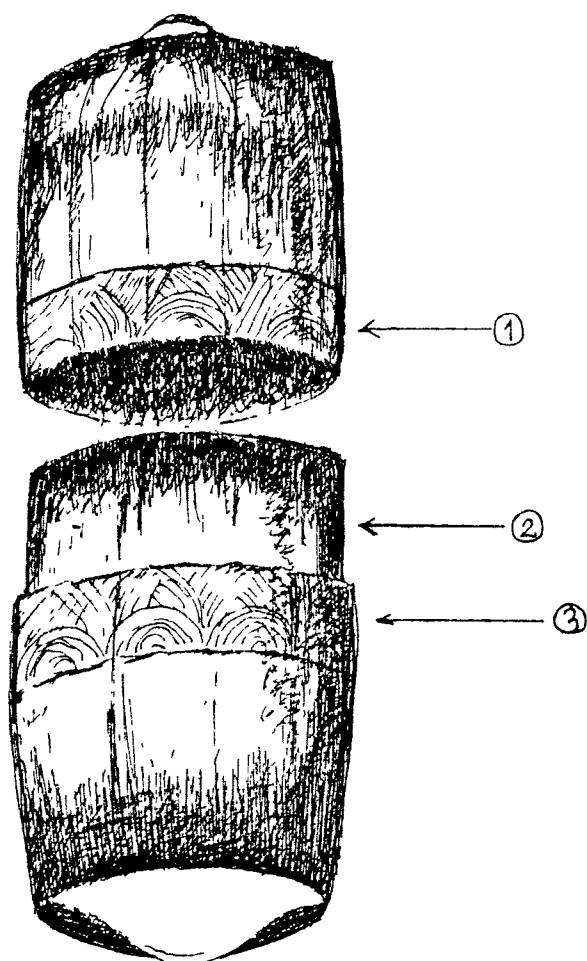


Fig. 35 တၢ်ဝှၢ် ခုၤက

/ တၢ်ဝှၢ် ခုၤက / does not only keep / ခုၤက / (salt) but keeps /pre?/ (chilli) or / ?ja? / (Lao/thai : ဖၢ) (tobacco) also.



tørun, cuAk
(salt container)

Fig. 36

tʃrʊŋ ʃuʌk

a salt container

Sometimes can keep chilli or tobacco

guguh (1)

one part of the lid

It covers the container and locks tightly till /guguh/ and container do not move. This part is wider than the other parts, about 5 cms long.

ken (2)

tip of the container

The height is approximately 5 cms. It is narrower and smaller than other parts of it.

dɔk (3)

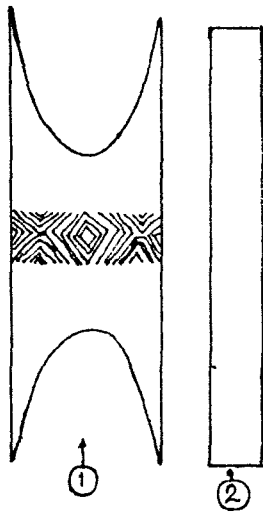
geometric design

This part of salt container showed the art and aesthetics of the maker. Several beautiful patterns are carved on the container.

All words (about /tʃrʊŋ ʃuʌk/) are generic, not specific words which are available in the language. It is easy to understand what they refer to when they speak about / tʃrʊŋ ʃuʌk /

3.3.10 guak

guak (1)



An instrument made of bamboo. It is used for weaving a bag and a fishing net which are used to catch fish in a small stream on a mountain or river. They have this kind of instrument because they used to live near Mekhong (Seidenfaden 1919). They may learn to make /cuak/ from other groups. / guak / is 4 - 6 centimetres wide and 15 centimetres long. There are geometric designs on it. A rope is spun around it.

gap (2)

flat bamboo. It is used for weaving bags and fishing nets. Width of bag or fishing net square depends on the width of /gap/. Usually, /gap/ is about 1 centimetre wide and 14-16 centimetres long.

Weaving a bag or a fishing nets is a female task as a male one is a bamboo basket or a rattan mat weaving.



Fig. 37 Weaving a bag

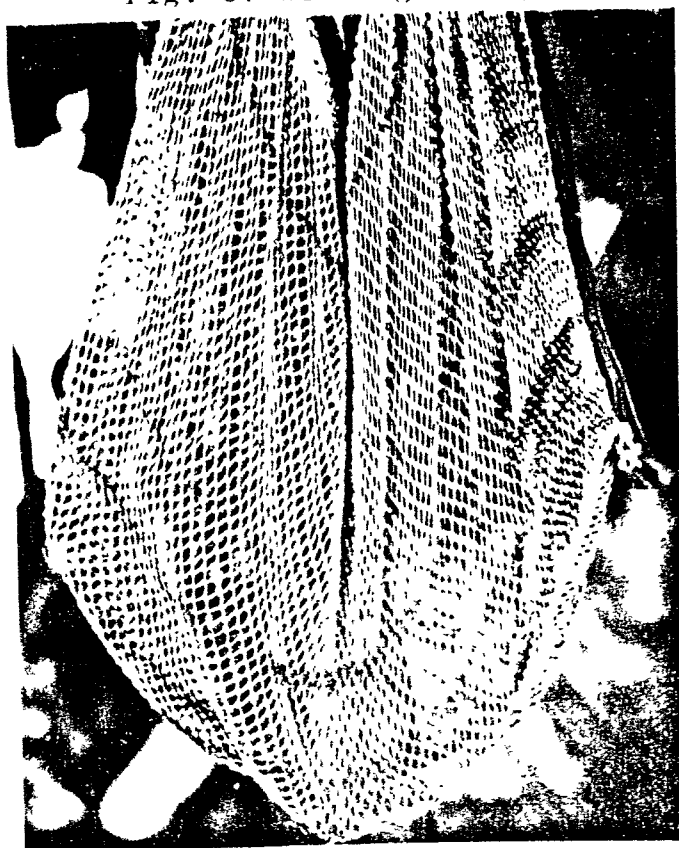


Fig. 38 a bag

3.4 Curing of diseases

The Mlabri believe in spirits. They are superstitious so there are many sacrificial ceremonies for appeasing the spirits. Mlabri believe that these spirits may harm them when they have done anything wrong. The spirits will punish a wrongdoer in various ways for example in the form of sickness, insect bites, being hit by trees. Here are the spirits that cause Mlabri sickness.

dakar	a small spirit
wɔk buɪ	a dead spirit
wɔk baŋ	spirit of the rainbow
wɔk ruʔat	spirit of the salt soil
wɔk ruɪwɔ	spirit of the wind
wɔk bɛʔ	spirit of the earth
wɔk guɾ	spirit of the thunder
wɔk glar	spirit of the sky
wɔk mɪʔmɪm	parent spirits

When there is a sick person in a Malbri group, he will be asked what he did before being sick by an old man. Then he will decide what spirit caused him being sick. A sick person must make offerings to that spirit for asking for forgiveness by himself. If he becomes seriously ill, the offerings to the spirit can be postponed or delayed.

but he must make one as soon as he gets better. However, if he does not do that, he will get a severe punishment from the spirit.

Furthermore, herbs are used for healing as well as for sacrifices. It assumes that he is cured both in his mental condition he believes in and in his physical condition that really causes sickness. The name of herbs in the following are well-known by the Mlabri :

pap

Catimbium malaccensis Holt

To cure malaria and headache.
The leaves are boiled with the crushed roots and boiled water in the treatment of malaria. This will be drunk, and also used for baths.

komtom

to cure chronic ulcer and pus
The cover of roots is crushed throughly to cover wound or pus twice or three times a day. Wound or pus will dry later.

kombon

Eupatorium odoratum L.

to cure fresh wound

Leaves are crushed and mixed with saliva to cover fresh wound. Moreover, it is used for stopping bleeding.

ga?al

Clausena excavata Burnf

1. to relieve a stomachache

Leaves are roasted and put on the pained area.

2. to cure pained wrist or

ankle Leaves and stems are

crushed and put on pained

wrist or ankle, then wrapped

by a strip of clothes. Symptom

will be better within one-two

days.

3. to relieve a headache

Leaves, stems are boiled.

Water is poured over the

head.



Fig. 39 kamtom



Fig. 40 kombon

sympt

Scleria levis Retz.

to relieve pain from a centipede or a snake bite.

1. to relieve pain from a centipede bite

Leaves and stems are crushed thoroughly to cover wound twice or three times a day. Symptoms will improve.

2. to relieve pain from a snake bite

The treatment is the same as centipede bite. To cure better in a short time, leaves and stems are boiled in order to get water for bathing and watering. If a patient gets less snake's poison, the pain will be relieved in 7-10 days. This herb is used only when a snake which poisons the vascular system.

bareñ

to relieve pain

Leaves are boiled and the water is sprinkled on the head to relieve a headache.



Fig. 41 çā?al

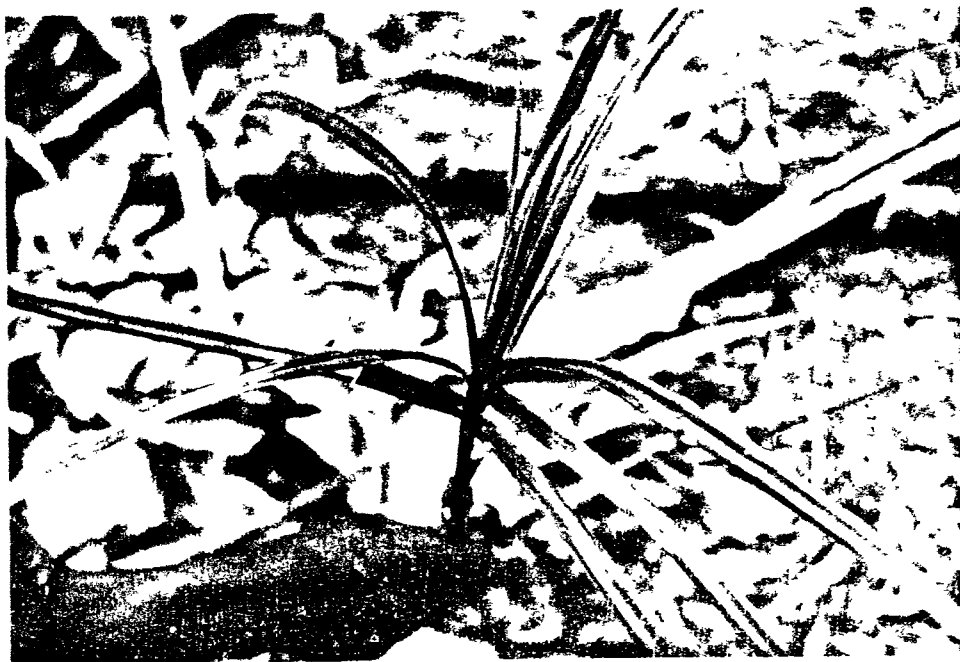


Fig. 42 çāmpit

lamhər

-

to relieve a painful wrist
 Leaves are roasted and put on
 a painful wrist. In two or
 three days, pain will be
 reduced.

br?

leaf
 to stop nosebleed
 Leaf is wrapped and put into
 the nostril from which blood
 comes out. Then cold water
 is sprinkled at the back of
 the head. Nosebleed will be
 stopped.

mokwək

Cnesmone Javanica Blume

This plant is not a herb. It
 is a stem and fruit covered
 with hair. Whenever it touches
 a man's skin, it causes itch.
 Mlabri rub that itchy area
 with clay or crush by sticky
 rice, itch will be relieved.

Mlabri dislike to take a bath ; hence they
 believe that bathing makes / wɔk wɔk / , a spirit of

water, angry with them. If they do, they know perfectly well that they sometimes get sick no sooner or later from drinking water (which may have been contaminated by, for example, a dead animal, germ). Therefore they often prefer to make a hole in a wet area and take the water from there. The immediate surroundings within the hole will act as a filter.

In case of illness, they can take a bath or sprinkle on their bodies with water which is boiled with herbs. In addition they will boil water in / tɿrɯŋ / , a bamboo container, for drinking, when they have a stomachache. Some sick men recover or get better when they were cured by both offerings and herbs in 4-5 days. If the patient is seriously ill more than one day, Mlabri will believe that the spirit is still angry with him. The patient's cousin will make offerings to the sky spirit, the most powerful of all. A bamboo altar is constructed and this is decorated with / bakkah / (flowers), / ?e? / (a taro), / nɔt / (piece of cloth), / khɛj / (an egg). Then an old man will pray.

kuk man mɯl roj diŋ gɐm ki ʃram ki nɣj
to call death spirit younger elder not tired rest

dit ʃrɣw dam di ɕariŋ ŋɔr nɔŋ na pɿrnah cɣbut joŋ
back call near at backhill path in the past pig male

, toŋ wʌl bɔ lon bɔ man ta? ma? tʏrɲɛj katɛj
 ,irit come calling spirit back ceremony grandfather give charcoa

,ɕoŋ ʒak ɕidʏ krap ɕikat ɕokko? mat dʏmoj
 ,rtoise go upside return fever wet eye alone

,trak ʒalac hʏrlɛh kʏrʒi? ɣʌmtak lʏpu? bɛ? lʏpu? mok
 ,a constrictor finish laugh not tear click fall soil fall mountain

,j ʔuk naj boŋ ʔuk khɛj mʌ? khɛj trak jet
 ,ar Eldi deer boar eat Eldi deer egg snake egg Bao Constrictor

t ʔac ɕwɛŋ then thawa? ɣʌmki ʒak butbot
 ,bird a small bird rhesus monkey monkey not go tremble

man krap gret takat ki hiw ki hoŋ dit ʒrɔw
 ,lling spirit back ceremony return pain cole sad not cry back call

m di ɕariŋ ɣʌm kwe! bʏnliŋ bʏrɲʌŋ ŋuh di?
 ,ar at backhill not look for to be faint nose bleed stay good

? ŋam ʒak nɔŋ na di ʒur di ŋɔr hoŋ di hʏrlɛh
 ,od beautiful go at downhill at path rather at laugh

but tut pʏto? pʏ? lʏmba? ɕʏbut liʏj ɕʏbut baj
 ,g gourd exhaust have cow pig sharp pig big

tuttlew thwɿj loŋ boŋ di? di? di? ɲam
woodpecker make in eat good good good beautiful

?idiŋ ?iroj gʌm hiw ki hɔŋ gʌm cʏnla?
elder younger not sad and cry not slim

gʌm cʏrɔŋ ?inɔ? ?iroj gʌm bek gʌm wɛp
not thin grandson younger not cry not cry

gret takat gret naw dit ʃrɿw dam di ʃariŋ krap
pain cold pain cold back call near at backhill return

?idiŋ ?iroj ʃak ʃidɿ mʌ? ʃidɿ ?e? mankoç gʏrwɛç
elder younger go upside plant upside yam yam taro

çrɱʔar kʏrwɛç ʃi nam kʏrlɛj gʌm buɭ
plant sweep pain joint wrist not die

kepraɭ gʌm gret takat gret naw dit ʃrɿw di
suffer not pain cold pain cold bake call at

dam ɛariŋ nɔŋ na pʏrnah pʏrnah ?idiŋ ?iroj
near backside in the past old elder younger

gʌm ki takat ?inɔ? gʌm cʏnla? gʌm cʏrɔŋ ?inɔ?
not cold grandson not slim not thin grandson

qiroj gAm kxtu?ar gAm takat di? nam tagı di? nam
 younger not sick not cold good beautiful today good beautiful

gAm ma ? bɔ cuɣj bɔ ɕar kxtu?ar kɣrhɣleh kɣmnɣj katɛj
 not give not see not find sickness laugh ? charcoal

kəɕoŋ diw dicet diprem ?aleh
 tortoise come seen old come

boŋ nai boŋ ?uk lɣpu? bɛ? lɛpu? mok
 eat boar eat Eldi deer fall soil fall mountain

ɕwe? mɔh hWɣjmat kitokkiɣak ɕɣrmat ɕɣrmɔh
 white boar nose tear poverty eye pain nose pain

ma? koh kwɣj ɟɔr gAm ɕɣrmat ɕɣrmɔh
 give out down short not eye pain nose pain
 gɔn.

here (so on)

As speaking he will burn the offerings near the patient's head, / / not / will be tied around the patient's neck and wrists. He will pray again to call back the spirit of the sick person (Mlabri believe that the spirit of person is taken away by a spirit, so he is sick). The prayer in calling back the spirit I record is shown below:

kup kɣman mɣ? mɣm rojdiŋ kup
 cloud dead spirit mother father brothers and sister cloud

joŋ puŋ man gɬm gɛt Jak buɬ
 boy blow dead not quickly go die

gɯngu? nam di? cwɣj leh mun gɔn
 fell nice good please come he here

gɣmber prem ɕideɛj ɕɛ? dam mɛh ?aleh
 children old say much near you?(he) come

After this ceremony, some patients recover or get better (and some die). Then they will find another place for setting a new -shelter or windscreen quickly. They believe that they cannot stay at the old place.

In case of killing a pig for offerings, they will cut all parts of a pig to offer to the spirit. Then they feast on the meat. The rest they will share in their groups. When tomorrow comes, they must desert the old houses soon.

3.5 Song

Songs are a part of recreational activities of human society. For Mlabri singing is relaxation when they

have success in hunting, or have a festival. They will sing a song accompanied by a Khaen, which is named Molum Mlabri. It can be divided into two parts : Khaen, a musical instrument and vocal.

3.5.1 Khaen

It is a type of musical instrument, mouth organ, commonly, found in Northeastern Thailand. It is made of bamboo tubes, hollow wood and black beewax. Mlabri can play it beautifully, but strangely, no Mlabri musician makes it. The lack of Khaen manufacturing may indicate that Mlabri obtain it from outsiders or they had already forgotten how to make it.

Moreover, it is remarkable that Mlabri cannot play Hmong Khaen even though they have been in contact with them for a long time. It may be Hmong Khaen is played within their group for spirit sacrifice, burial ceremony or especially important activities. Besides Hmong believe that Khaen is a high-class musical instrument. They are not allowed to play it by outside tribal groups and are not allowed to play it without some ceremony except for themselves. So Mlabri have no occasion to play it.

Mlabri play Khaen only for entertainment such as successful hunting or festival. So the Khaen, generally, is suitable for them. Most Khaen musicians are men. They learn it from a person who can play it. Fortunately, he has a gift for playing it. So it is easy to practice and play beautifully.

3.5.2 Vocal

Mlabri songs are in both Mlabri language and in Lao. It is possible that they copy from Lao Songs, which are called Molum (หมอลำ) because they had lived in Lao before migrating to Thailand. They may have assimilated Lao culture into their group. The songs' tempo is rather slow. Mostly songs tell of wanderings, poverty, suffering in their lives and emphasize the difference between Mlabri and other tribal groups in this region. They rarely have a rhyme between words or sentences. A singer will chant with the melody made by the Khaen.

Before beginning to sing, the Khaen player will introduce the melody or style of song by the Khaen. Then a singer will chant immediately without lengthening the first introduction word unlike Molum chanted by other groups such as Lao. Here is a song chanted by Paeng-Noi.

?e?	man	thugal	lupu?
taro	taro (Lao)	old person	old person

?oh	lɿm?ɿh
I	make a fire

lɿmɲuh	ni	geɲ	ni	mɔɲ	ɕi	ʃʌɲ	ɕi	ti?	mɭa?
stay	in	house	in	house	pain	foot	pain	hand	person

loj	ni?	loj	ʃak	ɕe?	wɿk	ɕe?	wan
immigrate	go away	imigrate	go	many	stream	many	swamp

ɕe?	than	?i	mɿm	?i	diɲ	nɔɲ	na	pɿrnah
many	path/road	address	father	address	elder	in	the	past

Jak	?ɿh	ʃak	kweɿ	ɕwe?	poɿ	ɡɔtɡwʌw
go	do	go	hunt	boar	deer	now

?oh	lɿm?ɿh	lɿmɲuh	?ɿh	ɕwɿn	mɔn	ɕi
I	make a fire	stay	do	rice	swidden	cotton pain

ɕɿdup	ɕi	nɿrlaɲar	?oh	kɔ bɔ	loj	ʃak
backbone	pain	throat	I	not	immigrate	go

?oh	kɔ bɔ	loj	wʌl	bri?	?oh	?ɿh	ramap	paw	kɔ bɔ
I	not	immigrate	return	forest	I	do	rice	swidden	Yao not

prot kɔ bɔ ?ɣh ramap mɛw bri? thɛk pon
 finish not do rice swidden Hmong forest thick three

ʔagi? thɣŋ lɛk ?oh ʃram kɔ bɔ ʃak lɣp prɛw
 say four night I tired not go put to cut

gruɯn kɔ bɔ kweɿ pruŋ gre? plɔk ɕɣrjɔk
 o clear for not to hunt bird bird bird bird

ɣrjɛk pɛ? leh la? cɣbut ɕiŋ
 bird hunt (small games) come back and pig boar

ɔhpɛ? leh lɔj ɕi? lɔj ma? to?
 unt come back not buy not sell classifier

a? lɔj ?ot ?ɛw ?ot mjɣ ɕo?e?
 ell not my children my wife hungry (carbohydrate)

ɔ?mal ɕi?e? ɕipia? malam mlabri?
 hungry (meat) want to eat then song Mlabri

i diŋ ?iroj ?ita? kokkrop murɕa? ?idiŋ kakenka?
 lder younger grandfather small younger old person elder adult

ak ?akwɣk ?ak druɔŋ di mok bɛ?
 water flow swamp at mountain soil/earth

pɛ? cʌ? ?jek thabat kɔ bɔ fak
 hunt male bee female bee underground bee not go

kwe! kɔ bɔ pɣŋ keŋ ?oh ɣɔp ?ɣh ɣɔp wɣk
 hunt not follow chase I try do try observe

lɣm ?ɣh lɣm ɣuʌk ?oj ?idin ?iroj ɣi cadwɔp ɣi
 do dig exclaim elder younger pain back bone pain

kʏrlɣt
 neck



Fig. 38 playing Khaen and dancing.

He continues chanting impromptu songs till he is tired : then the other singer will continue. While the singer is singing other person will dance slowly. Their dancing is kneeling a little bit and raising hands with turning wrist like a circle. Some one will dance like animal's walking, hopping. Sometimes they will clap to give a rhythm. They sing and dance till they are tired and then they finish.

3.5.3 Zoological names

Hunting and gathering is the way of life of Mlabri. Because they have never known how to plant and breed owing to their belief. Although some hill tribal groups, Hmong, Yao, persuade them to settle down and stay with them. Moreover they will teach them about those things. They refuse their proposes and immigrate to another place for seeking new food resource. So they almost know all kinds of animals in the forest they have ever seen. Here are the zoological names in Mlabri.

3.5.3.1 Winged animals

no!	a greater coucal	1. <u>Greater coucal</u>
	a kalij pheasant	2. <u>Lophura leucomelana</u>
nokpɨp	a grey-headed parakeet	<u>Psittacula finschii</u>
prun	a brown breasted tree	<u>Arborophila brunneopectus</u>
	Partridge	

pru?pre?	a common myna	<u>Acridotheres tristis</u>
prɿtprɛc	a swinhoe's white-throated Bulbul	<u>Criniger pallidus</u>
tɿrlɔk	a grey treepie	<u>Crypsirina occipitalis</u>
tɿrlaŋkuŋ	a peregrine falcon	<u>Falco peregrinus</u>
tuttɛw		a wood pecker
trolotba?		a peacock
kap		a duck
krɔpwɿk	a black-nacked stock	<u>Xenorhynchus asiaticus</u>
kabo?lom	a brown headed gull	<u>Larus brunnicephalus</u>
krawɔɿ?	a hunting greenpie	1. <u>Cissa chinensis</u>
	a black-collared starling	2. <u>Sturnus nigricollis</u>
kɿl ?ak	a large-billed crow	<u>Corvus macrorhynchos</u>
kokdroj		a dove
kjaŋ	a myna	<u>Acridotheres fuscus</u>
cok	a common-winged buzzard	<u>Butastur liventer</u>
?ac?jaŋ	a cattle egret	<u>Bubulcus ibis</u>
?acrak	a silver-eared mesia	<u>Upupa epops</u>
?uk?wɛk	a streaked-breasted green woodpecker	<u>Dicus viridanus</u>
?uh?weh		<u>Vanellus indicus</u>
?weh		a macaw
ʃɿkɿrɛk	a black-crested bulbul	1. <u>Pycnonotus melanicterus</u>
	a sahy bulbul	2. <u>Griniger flaveolus</u>
ʃɿruŋ		<u>Himantopus himantopus</u>

bukbuk	a magpie robin	<u>Copsychus saularis</u>
glaŋ	a blaci-shouldered kite	<u>Elanus caeruleus</u>
gligwɔj	a spotted owlet	<u>Athene brama</u>
ɕɔloh	a rhinoceros hornbill	<u>Buceros bicornis</u>
ɕɔrkɛŋ		a hen
ɕɔrjɔk	a golden-headed myna	<u>Ampeliceps coronatus</u>
ɕupɕup	a moorhen	1. <u>Gallinula chloropus</u>
	a red turtle dove	2. <u>Streptopelia</u> <u>tranquebarica</u>
ɕukɕɔk	a white-breasted king fisher	<u>Halcyon smyrnensis</u>
ɕlaŋŋɔɕ	a black-billed roller	<u>Coracias benghalensis</u>
rɔt		a parrot
wɔŋ	a spectacled barwing	<u>Garrulus glandarius</u>
wokwɛk	a barn owl	<u>Tyto alba</u>
.jok		a fowl

3.5.3.2 Insects

rɔj	a bee
rɔjmim	a house fly
?jek	a honey bee
lɔp	a red ant
mut	a mosquito
ŋwtŋɛt	a cicada
micɔc	a kind of butterfly

tʏr lampam	a moth (Khum)
kʏmpuʁ	a termite mound
kʏmpur	a kind of house fly
kʏcot	a praying mantis
micmɛc	an ant
ɲaʁ	a flea
tʏcel	a hornet
thʏpuʔ	a termite
thokkul	a wasp
cinbrip	a cricket
kʏrpel	a dragon fly
kʏrphep	a butterfly
ku co	a grasshopper
kujrɔj	an underground bee
koh	a kind of termite
komlot	a firefly
bombwaj	a spider
dinqmriŋ	a louse
ditdreŋ	a weevil
drup	a flying termite
ʃwet	a termite pu pa
ʁiʁɛt	a black cicada
ʁeʔ	a head louse
mɛʔlat	a ring worm
mʏ	a caterpillar
mukbok	a scorpion
thra,j	a worm

kɯndɛp	a centipede
mopkrup	a worm
duɛgwɛc	an earth worm
jaɔuj	a kind of wasp
rɯmrum	a kind of insect
rɯŋkap	a moth

3.5.3.3 Four-legged animals :

cɯbut	a pig
ŋa.j	a boar
po!	a barking deer
tɯkkrek	a rat
thɯbɛ?	a goat
thɛŋ	a rhesus monkey (arch.)
thɯwa?	a rhesus monkey
pompo	a wild elephant
twɛr	a rabbit
cjak	a sambhar deer
ɔo?	a porcupine
ʃaw	a gibbon
gɛg	a rhinoceros
ciphɛj	a cat
ʃor	a pangolin
brap	a dog
braŋ	a horse
bɛk	a bear

kleh	a buffalo
kwar	a howler monkey
klun̄klon̄	a rat
gl̄x̄kglek	a mouse
?ji?jɛ̄n̄	a mongose
r̄x̄waj	a tiger
l̄x̄mba?	a cow
tun	a mole rat
mankoc	a bamboo rat
kɛ̄h	a mountain deer
ler	a squirrel
kra	a kind of squirrel
kullua?	a flying lemur
d̄x̄rm̄ʔ?	a ferret

3.5.3.4 Reptiles

mʌ?	a python
pje	a monitor
t̄x̄m̄ʔo?	a cobra
thak	a land leech
throc	a water snail
thɛk	a snail
kɛ̄ɕ	a crab
tu?kuk	a frog
c̄r̄r̄ɛ̄n̄	a small frog
ɣ̄w̄n̄ɣ̄w̄n̄	a shink

gwp	a kind of water trutle
baŋ	a small crocodile
ka?um	a black turtle
kaɣoŋ	a land turtle
?uŋ	a bull frog
wet	a chamelon
tut	a gourd

3.5.3.5 Aquatic animals

leŋpeŋ	a shrimp
ɣɣpa	a soft shelled turtle
ben	an eel
ka?	fish
ɣɣgwen	a soft-shelled turtle (arch.)

Most animals known or seen in the forest are Mlabri's food and some are unedible. When forest was destroyed most of them were killed and some immigrate to other places. So Mlabri cannot seek them for food. Instead they have to work in Hmong's rice swidden. Vocabularies about animal names may be forgotten by a new generation because they have never seen them and talked about them again. Moreover they get more vocabularies referring to animals from Hmong and other outsiders they contact with.

All important aspects of Mlabri Anthropology above and vocabularies indicate mentioned above that Mlabri society is a simple and primitive one. Their implements, the way of life, belief depend on their environment. It is remarkable that some Mlabri, especially a new generation, have never known some vocabularies. Members of the same culture who use the same language always communicate imperfectly. Part of the reason arises from.

1. The inherent differential endowment of members in the groups just referred to.

2. Differing cumulative contacts with environment.

3. Variant experience with the use of the same language.

4. The necessity for communication to begin between individuals only within the areas of overlap of environment and nature.

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion and Suggestions

4.1 Mlabri Language

There are 32 initial consonant phonemes / m, n, p, ɱ, m̥, n̥, p̥, t̥, c, k, ʔ, ph, th, kh, b, d, ɟ, g, ɓ, d̪, ɕ, h, ɭ̥, l, r, w̥, w, j, ʔw ʔj / , 4 cluster consonant phonemes in postinitial position / r, l, w, j / and 16 final consonant phonemes / m, n, ɱ, ɱ̥, p, t, c, k, ʔ, ɕ, h, ɭ̥, l, r, w, j /

Vowel phonemes. Vowel phonemes include single vowel phonemes and diphthongs. There are 10 single vowel phonemes / i, e, ɛ, ʊ, ɤ, ʌ, a, u, o, ɔ / and 4 diphthongs / iɤ, uɤ, uʌ, ua /. There is no phonemic contrast between short and long vowels. But there is automatic lengthening of vowels in open syllables and in the strongly stressed syllables in the last position.

For word formation, Mlabri language is similar to other languages in the Mon-Khmer language family. There are four ways to form a word : compounding, affixation, loanwords and coining.

4.2 Anthropological aspects.

4.2.1 Society

Mlabri society can be studied by interpretation of kinship terms. It can be said that Mlabri comprise an endogamous group organized into bands, each with a core of a few, closely related, nuclear families. Food and tools are to a large extent, shared within the band. Women have a lower status than men, but there is very little social stratification and no real leaders.

Among the Mlabri themselves, parents are of prime importance. They believe that they will be punished severely by the great sky spirit if any of them should have children with other hill peoples ; so there are no terms to name these children in their language.

From kinship terms, it is found that the relationship of Mlabri group is within no more than three generations. But some Mlabri groups especially new generation have never known the Kinship terms referring to Mlabri who are in the fourth generations. Since everybody has a high degree of individual freedom and has no contacts with each other.

4.2.2 Culture

The material culture of traditional Mlabri society can be characterised by simplicity ; windscreens, some simple tools which are necessary for their lives. For songs, and medical treatment Mlabri adapt to the modern ways of life they are confronted with.

4.2.3 Environment

The natural geographical, and economical surroundings are the environment of Mlabri

4.2.4 Economy

Hunting and gathering are the way of life of the Mlabri. They have never known how to plant and breed because of their beliefs.

They know all edible roots, plants, fruits and where they are, when they need them. Mushrooms, bamboo or rattan shoot are also Mlabri food.

For animal game, they hunt by many methods, although hunting is not important for them considering the hunting implements. They hunt game by spear, trap, digging and handing. All of them are small animals,

for example pangolins, bamboo rats, boars, bees, bird eggs, crabs, fish, mollusks.

Whenever they want something they will take forest products, such as honey, beeswax, rattan, rattan woven baskets or mats, ivory, taros, herbs to exchange with hill tribal groups, Khmu, Hmong, or Yao. Mostly, they want salt, clothes, iron, tobacco or matches.

Forest is being destroyed for rice swidden by hill tribal groups and for wood (by timber companies). It affects Mlabri food resources. Some Mlabri have to adjust themselves for survival. They work for Hmong as labourers in corn or rice fields or other activities for exchanging food, clothes or things they need. So it is not surprising to see radios, cooking pots spoons, plastic bowls in their windscreen.

Resulting from contacts with Hmong, they learn how to plant (rice or corn), to saw wood, to wear ornaments, to cook with pot, to wear Hmong styled clothes. It is likely that Mlabri will assimilate to Hmong culture absolutely in the future. The knowledge of botanical and zoological terms will be gradually reduced.

4.2.5 Communication

Since Mlabri have to wander in the forests and hills between Phrae and Nan for seeking new food resources, they are well familiar with them. Moreover, over many generations, their ancestors have stayed in this area. They rely on experience of earlier generations. For example, they know where the west is by touching the trunk of tree. (The warmer side is the west). When they move to another place, the movement of sun tells them the direction.

A path in the forest is a small one, only for walking. Some hill tribe groups made it especially for seeking forest products or walking to opium fields. Mlabri use this path to go to other new resources. If there is no path in the virgin forest they themselves make it by cutting only small creeps or trees so that they can pass through. This new path is not far from water. And they dislike clear paths because they do not want other people to see them.

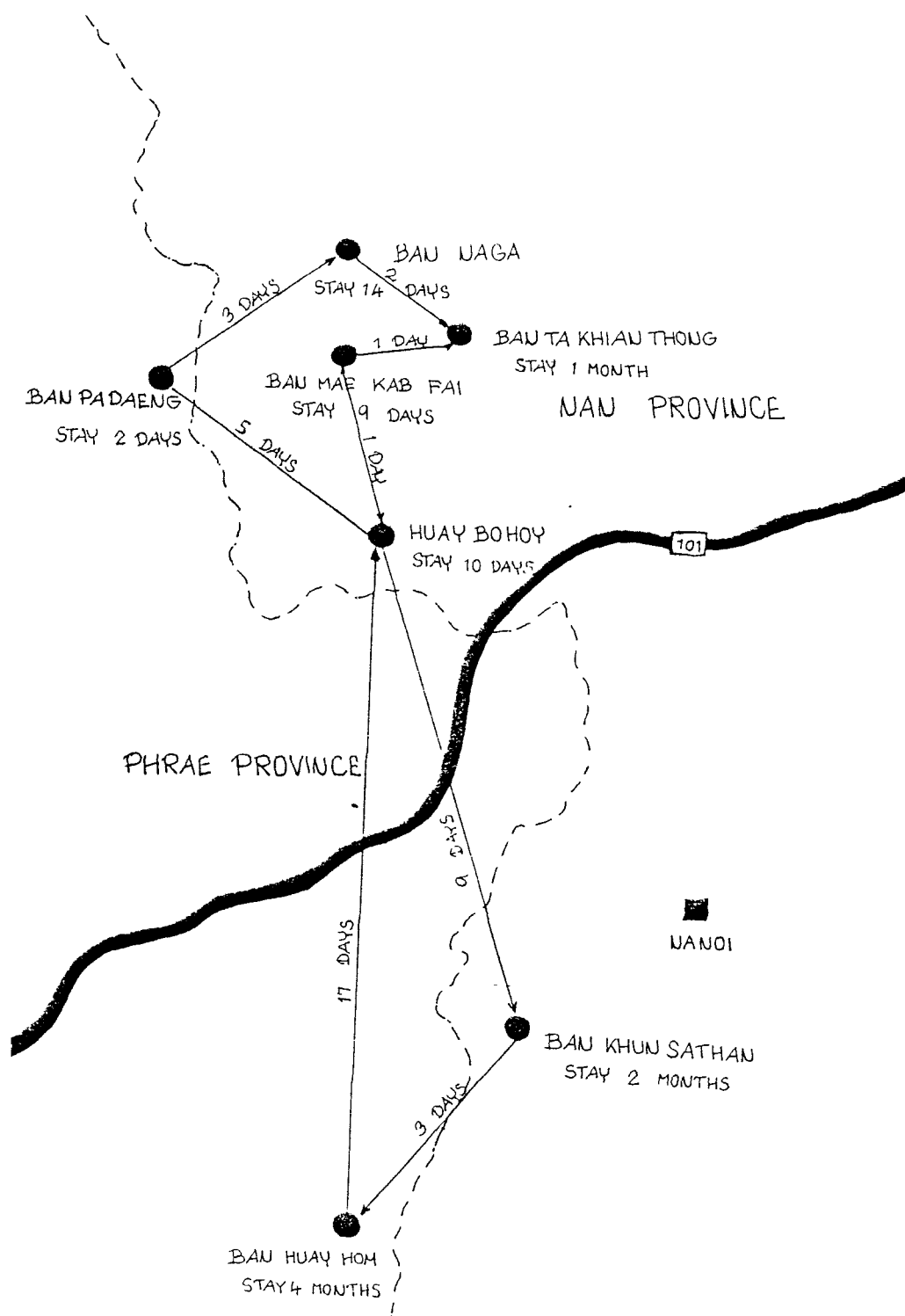
A Mlabri movement averages no more than 15 kilometers a day for a family with babies. They have good sight and can go by daytime or night. Their children can help themselves since they are small except for small ones which their parents must carry on back or on waist. Although the paths pass through mountains and valleys they can walk quickly on bare feet.

Today, they need to be in contact with Hmong to work in their fields for food because of forest destruction. They are good and responsible workers. When they finish working, they move to find a new employer or stay freely in the forest in their traditional way depending on each group's pleasure or appointment.

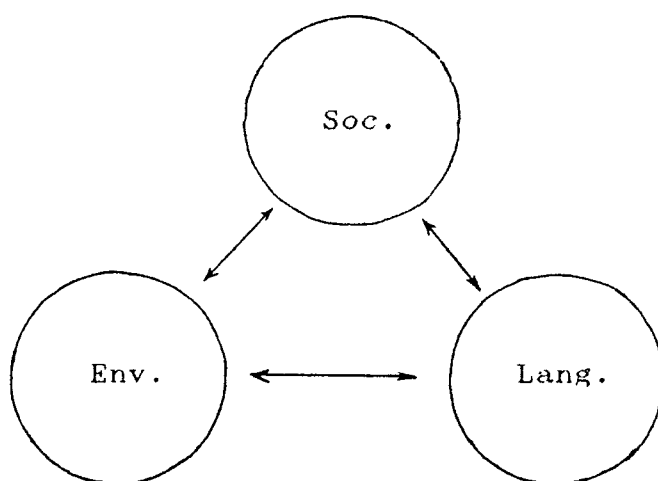
The next map shows Ai-Paeng Noi's family's migration within a year. It begins at Ban Huay Hom in Rongkwang district, Phrae. They work at Hmong's rice field for 4 months for preparing the earth, planting, clearing a swidden. Next, they wander in the forest between Ban Huay Bohoy, Ban Padaeng, Ban Naga till they work in corn fields for harvesting at Ban Ta Khian Thong in Sa district, Nan, for 1 month. Then they move to Ban Mae Kab Fai and Ban Huay Bohoy again. After that, they migrate to Ban khun Sathan in Nanoi district, Nan for harvesting rice.

4.3 Relationship of Anthropology, Language and Environment

Anthropological linguistics is the study of language and anthropology. Results from studying Mlabri vocabularies under anthropological aspects, especially society and their environment, can be summarized as :



MIGRATION ROUTE OF AI-PAENG NOI'S FAMILY



The natural geographical, and economic surroundings are the environment of the Mlabri. The environment influences society and language.

1. Language is not solely or absolutely influenced by the environment. People's way of life is involved with the environment, thus, language used by people can not avoid being dominated by the environment to which people are subjected. Generally, the environment influences Mlabri language in 3 ways, that is, to create new words, to cause loss of vocabulary, to cause and to borrow new words.

2. The environment affects society and language. A belief in supernaturalism, for instance, is a result of the geographical or natural environment. A linguistic innovation may also be based on the environment to create a new lexical item. Language is affected by a natural environment, / pluŋ /, / rɔmɔŋ /, / thu?ur /, for instance, which mean hot in different ways, and

geographical environment animals.

3. A society and its environment cannot exist separately. They are affected by each other.

4. Society and language mutually affect each other. They exist side by side. The society is reflected in language in differentiating its vocabulary or the opposite tendency-to decrease vocabulary differentiation. Similarly a meaning change is affected by social phenomena, such as the borrowing of / khɿ j / "in-law" which is used in relationships between people in kinship.

5. The environment and a society mutually affect each other. For example the environment (plants, animals etc.) provides members of society with natural resources for survival. Similarly, the environment has been changed by people in a society. Moreover environment change makes the way of life or society change too.

4.4 Suggestions for Further Studies.

4.4.1 A descriptive study of Mlabri morphology and syntax in Nan province.

4.4.2 A comparative study between Mlabri and Khmu in Nan province.

4.4.3 A reconstruction of Mlabri.

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APPENDIX

A

APPENDIX

GLOSSARY

Some selected lexical items of Mlabri are presented in the following list with their general meaning in English. The vocabularies have been arranged in the following order :

1. The lexical items are listed according to their initial consonants which are grouped into Nasal, Stop, Affricate, Fricative, Lateral and Semi-Vowel such as / j, l, w / and voiceless consonants came after voiced consonants, so the full order is / m, m̥, n, n̥, p, p̥, ɲ, ɲ̥, p̪, ph, t, th, c, k, kh, ʔ, b, β, d, d̪, ʃ, g, ɣ, h, l, l̥, r, w, w̥, ʔw, j, ʔj The lexical items which have clusters are listed after their initial consonants.

2. The vowel order is / i, e, ɛ, u, ʌ, ɤ, a, u, o, ɔ, iɤ, uʌ, uɤ, ua /

m

mimut	a split bamboo
mim	a house fly
micin	kind of bamboo
micmɛc	an ant

micgoc	kind of butterfly
mɛm	blood (khmu?)
mɛn	yes, correct (Thai)
mɛt	your
mɛ?	rain, raining
mɛ?lat	ringworm
mɛh	you
mɛw	1. checks
	2. Hmong
mɯw	1. a musk melon
	2. to understand
mɯj	fat
mɣm	father
mɣp	to stab
mɣkɣk	to laugh
mɣ?	1. mother
	2. a rop
	3. a slender stem of
	a vine
mɣ	a caterpilla
mɣ?mɛh	tem poral bone
mɣrɛn	to shake one's head
mɣrcar	hard
mʌp	to close eyes
mʌc	1. to know
	2. to meet, to see,
	to find

mʌʔ	1. a python 2. name of plant (kind of creeper)
mʌr	to creep
ma	1. in order to, so that (prefix of purpose) 2. to come (Thai)
mankoc	a bamboo rat
manwɛc	kind of taro
mat	eyes
matɔŋ	segment of the many jointed stem of bamboo
mak	to like something (Thai)
makɔm	a button (Khmu)
maktho	beans (Thai)
makkhwen	tomato (Thai)
ma (?)	to give
mabut	a pile
madɪŋ	elder sibling
madʌl	1. a heel 2. a palm
mahun	a castor bean
mal	death
malam	to sing a song (Thai)
malan	kind of bamboo
munʔjek	a beehive

mut	a mosquito
muk	to smell something
muk ?uk	to sleep by turning face over
mur	to bend finger
monmon	a lymph gland
mopkrup	a worm maggot
mop?up	to roast on an open fire
moktʰk	aghost in forest
mɔ	a doctor (Thai)
mɔ?mɛ?	a crossbow
mɔh	a nose
mɔi	one, alone
muak	a hat (Thai)
mlɛt	to crush (on nail)
mla	a human-being
mjʰ	a wife

m

mɛ?	new
mɯk	tattooing (Thai)
mɯrcar	hard
mɯrkai	kind of bamboo
mɯʰŋ	to decompose
mɯʰŋ	to bleed, bleeding
mɔ?	to thatch

mukbok	a scorpion
mul	to dive
muljol	to circle one's ankle

n

ni,	at on
ni?	to go away to flee (Thai)
nak	heavy (Thai)
nam	a needle
namtum	mixer, water medicine
naw	a knife
nun	to wear on (trousers, skirt) (Thai)
nur	back of blade
no!	a fireback
nɔm	urine, piss
nɔn	to sleep (Thai)
nɔnmac	to dream
nɔŋ pɔrnah	past, the old time
nɔ?	1. a grandson a nephew 2. a ring finger

n_o

n _o el	1. lower let, thigh
n _o am	year
n _o ar	kind of wild banana
n _o un	a jackfruit (Thai)
n _o ukok	a gun
n _o or	a small personal spirit

p

pippap	scissors
piw	a pillow
p _o et	to poke (by finger)
pak	tight
p _o ʌ?	that, over there
put	black beeswax
p _o ʔk	1. a net-fish 2. a bag with shoulder strap

p_o

p _o impem	eyelashes
p _o i?p _o ei	grass, weeds
p _o ar	a long pepper
p _o ak	difficult

၇

၇ုဟ	to puzzle
၇ဟတ ၇ဟတ	a cicada
၇ဟမ	1. to hear, to listen 2. to rememory
၇ဟဗ	a flea
၇ဟ့	a boar
၇ဟဂ	1. to play 2. money (Thai)
၇ဟဂ	to raise a head (Thai)
၇ဟလ	a footprint
၇ဟတ	a piece of cloth
၇ဟ?	a rambutan (Thai)
၇ဟဂ	road, trail

၇.

၇ုဟ	to sit, to stay
၇ု	a pine tree

ပ

pin	an opium (Thai)
pitpoc	to stroke something with hand

pi?	1. to fall down on
	2. miled rice /
	husked rice
pi?pʌ	what
pi?ɕʌ?	who
pi?ɕʌŋ	who (arch)
piw	to whistle
pet	a liver
pep	to shoot
peŋ	a thorny palm
pe?	to chip
peh	to crack
pɛp	to up hand into
	pocket, bag
pɛ?	three
pɛrmʌc	to see
pɛ.i	to insert
pʊŋjɛn	stool (old word)
pʊŋkɛl	to oblique
pʊh	to wake up
pɣmuk	to make someone smell
	something
pɣndɛ?	to point
pɣn dak	to knee
pɣŋ	to follow
pɣtit	to join face to face
pɣ tok	to extinguish, finish

pʸt wet	to wag
pʸ buɿ	to kill
pʸ blut	to close eyes
pʸ broʔ	to injure
pʸ col	a crossbeam running parallel to the base of a gable
pʸʔ	to have, there is
pʸgoh	cause to break
pʸɕ	to cut off
pʸr	a wall of house
pʸr mar	braw
pʸr ɲɔr	a path
pʸj	to eat (fruit)
pʸʔjʸ	to wake up somebody
pʌp	to sleep
pʌr	to fly
pa	causative prefix
pam	1. to jump 2. to fight
pamuk	to make someone smell something
pan	to roll tobacco
pandʸ	how much
paŋ	rainbow (Thai)
pap	1. banana leaf 2. a trumeric

pa tɿ?	smoke
pato?	to ignite
pak	1. to prick (a horn) 2. pod of knife
pa kuh	to place on its side
pa?u?	curry
pa dwaw	to set up, to upright
pa ɛide	to turn something upside down
pa leh	1. to stick out 2. to give birth
paləj	to write
palʌp	to rinse
paluh	to scold
parɛl	a hail
pum	a weaven basket
pun	to blow
putpuʌt	to split into many sections
puhpuh	to beat
pu,j	a stomach
pompo	a wild elephant (old)
pon	four
pok	to be startle
pok glɿ?	to sleep covering the fore head with hand

pok buk	sleep covering the
	fore head with hand
pokpo?	to cut to be bamboo flat
po?	a crockery
po?uh	to boil something
poh	to divide into 2 pieces
pol	a blanket
po	a barking deer
pok	a ring
pot	lungs (Thai)
po?	to push
pu^k	full
plin	small water leech
plil	vulva
ple?	fruit
plel?kok	Adam's apple
plel	to close one eye
plym	kind of bamboo
pl^m	besswax
pl^k	to hiccough
pl^c	to flick away
pl^	to flick
plah	to open palm
plun	to warm (thing) hot
plut	to remove, to peel off
plok	a checkbone
prem	to worn out, ole

pre?	a pepper chilli
preh	a stick
preɕ	to sneeze
prew	blow nose
prej	kind of bamboo
pru?pre?	<u>Acridotheres tristis</u>
prɣtprɛc	<u>Criniger pallidus</u>
praw	a dead tree, a dry wood
pruŋ	<u>Arborophila brunneopectus</u>
pru?	sugar cane
proc	to blow smoke
prol	to hiss to wheeze
	to spray
pje	a monitor
pje? pʌ	what
pjɛ?dʒ	medicine
pjɛl	an orange, tangerine

ph

phɣlɛk	to lightening
phakatam	kind of tree
pha? cet	wrap
pha?dam	black clothes
pha?luŋ	yellow clothes
pha? wɣk	loincloth
pha? .jaŋ	a plastic rope

phon	to sharpen (Thai)
phɔk	to peel (Thai)

t

ti	at, in, on
timtɛm	a waterfall
tiŋ	to kick
ti?	1. a hand, lower arm 2. eight
ten	to walk
tɛŋ	to divide, to distribute
tɛk	1. to hit, to beat
tɛ.j	to climb (Thai)
tʉnŋɔk	to nod
tʉk	phlegm
tʉktɛk	to clap
tʉ?	bamboo tissue
tʉɕ	to pound something
tʉmnʌp	to speak
tʉmnʌŋ	a stool (Thai)
tʉmʔo?	a cobra
tʉn rɔh	wade through a stream
tʉnwʌt	a string
tʉŋbʉŋ	kind of bird
tʉkkrek	a bat
tʉkrʉŋ	half (Thai)

tɔ̌cel	a hornet
tɔ̌ʔaʔ	saliva
tɔ̌gɔ̌h	overthere
tɔ̌bɛr	a chin
tɔ̌ruŋ	a bamboo container
tɔ̌rmɔ̌h	a palm civet
tɔ̌rneɛk	a hammer
tɔ̌rnaɸ	big
tɔ̌rnwɔ̌	a pestle
tɔ̌ŋɔ̌k	to bow one's head
tɔ̌rneɛl	leg ligament
tɔ̌rlet	to rub between hands
tɔ̌rleɛl	a spleen
tɔ̌rleɛk	to turn back quickly
tɔ̌rlampam	a moth (Khmu)
tɔ̌rlaŋkuŋ	a hawk (Falco peregrinus)
tɔ̌rlak	a scar
tɔ̌rluʔ	kind of bamboo
tɔ̌rlɔ̌h	a cooking pot (Khmu)
tɔ̌rlɔ̌k	<u>Crypsirina occipitalis</u>
tʌmbloc	old
tʌp	to speak
tam	near
tama	particle indicating past
taŋ	to build (Thai)
taŋket	an ear's ring

tap	critoris
tapir	female genital organ
tapen	powder
tapan	a rainbow
tapoj	left
tak	a pock
takat	cold
taho?	an armpit
ta?	father's father
ta?al?om	to be husband-wife
ta?o?	a sugar palm
ta??,jet	to cover
tagi	day
taglu?	kind of bamboo
tal	1. a sun 2. a daylight 3. late 4. six
talet	to mold
talel	a kidney
talē	ugly
tar	1. to dry in the sunlight 2. a rope
taria?	a necklace
tarlagi?	afternoon
taw	a wild banana
tawan	a sun (Thai)
tum	to enclose, to clothe (Thai)

tun	a mole rat (Thai)
tuntun	a drum
tut	a gourd
tuɬlɛw	a wood pecker
tutwɤk	a water container
tuʔkuk	a frog
tuʔt ?	a whole day
tul	end, a tip of knife
tommla	who
tombloc	old
toc	to seize, to pinch
toʔ	to make a fire
tor	1. a mushroom
	2. kind of bird
	3. a small inedible banana
tortwɨʔjɛw	a white mushroom
tɔɨʔjɛɨ	a rattan
tɔʔ	a knife
tɔʔbɔɨ	a stiletto
tuɑɨ	to place something under something else
trɛk	the side of the neck
trɤk	ribs
trɤktɛk	kind of small frog
trɤj	kind of large bird
tral	bright

trup	hard, crusty
trolotba?	a peacock
twɛr	a rabbit
twaj	a pupil of eye

th

thet	1. to cut 2. tape (Thai)
then	1. a rhesus monkey 2. a blade
thɛk	1. an impassable jungle 2. a snail
thwt	to wipe, to fondle
thɔŋ	1. five 2. to see
thɔŋɔr	to be drunk, dizzy
thɔŋuh	to recover
thɔpɯ?	a termite
thɔpɛt	a string
thɔpul	a belly
thɔpruh	a betel
thɔbɛ?	a goat
thɔlet	to spin
thɔwa?	a monkey
thʌp	to be on fire
thʌp pompo	an elephant's tusk

thampul	to put down
thankom	battery
than	to clear (Thai) land
thak	1. pulp of fruit 2. land leech
thakat kiol	out of breath
thabat	underground bee
thablok	to girdle on head
thabreo	a woven rattan
thal	long
thalew	to bath
thalu	to be torn
thalun	a lowland
thukluak	to lie
thukwek	black
thu?	rotten (fruit)
thu?ur	(weather) hot
thu?tho?	to wrap with soil
thom	1. rattan
thombok	to plug, to cover with leaves
thon	a sting
thoptop	to wrap
thok	<u>Bambusa</u> <u>ulda</u>
thoc	a cup (Thai)
thot	hill people, mountain farmers

thokkul	a hornet
thlɿkal	grey
thrwɔk	to girdle
thrɔltɪl	waning
thraj	a worm, but, maggot
thrut	kind of taro
throc	a water snail
thr m	kind of leaf for dye
	violet
thwɿj	a plate (Thai)

c

cinbrɪp	a cricket
cenra?	liquor
cenrʌŋ	a post
cwɒŋwɒn	night late
cwɒŋthoŋ	a pocket
cɿrɒŋk	a beak
cɿnrak	to comb, a comb
cɿkɛɾɛk	kind of bird
cɿkbej	to saw
cɿʔɛj	small (of wood)
cɿbut	a pig
cɿboh	a hill, mountain
cɿdup	back of person or animal
cɿl	to stir

cɣrɔŋ	a small frog
cʌŋ	1. tooth 2. claw of crab
cʌʔ	1. to light a cigarette 2. male bee
cakdar	a squirrel
caʔɛŋ	bone
cumner	steep
cun	smoke, stream
curwɔl	a spatula made of bamboo
cok	1. a knife 2. to suck 3. <u>butastur liventer</u>
cokwɛk	a big knife
cɔt	to perch, to roost
cuaʔk	to dig with spade, to bury
crek	to tear up to tear upon
crɛk	kind of plant with edible tubers .
cnuw	to call somebody
crɣluh	to put into, to stick into
croʔ	kind of bird
crɔŋ	small, little
cwɔn	to stir (Thai)
cwɔp	to point to
cjak	a sambhar deer

k

kɪ	not
kiʔ	light
kiw	a valley
keŋ	1. to carry in a strap 2. to chase
ket	ears
keh	to weave
kelʔak	a crow (<i>Corvus macrorhynchos</i>)
kɛn	core, seed
kɛp	a rock
kɛɸ	a crab
kɛh	a mountain deer
kɛw	a drinking glass (Thai)
kɯdɯp	to stab
kɯr	to thunder
kɤmip	flesh meat
kɤmɔm	son, daughter
kɤmniw	a bell
kɤmpaʔ	to chew
kɤmpuɸ	a termite mound
kɤmpur	a housefly
kɤmtɯl	a thorn
kɤmtɯŋru!	to pull out
kɤmʔuak	to expectorate

kʏmbɛr	children
kʏmbun	to keep in mouth (liquid)
kʏmhɔɔ	to sneeze
kʏmlɪl	upper stomach (a hen)
kʏmwap	to yawn
kʏnat	kind of vine with edible berries
kʏndʊl	a buttock
kʏndak	to bend (knee)
kʏndar	to scream
kʏndɔ?	leaves used for thatching
kʏndin	a navel
kʏndɛp	a centipede
kʏnrɔw	bamboo sticks horizontal beam between two forks in building
kʏnrɔp	small
kʏp	sandals (Thai)
kʏpɔ?	can not
kʏtɛl	charcoal
kʏtoŋ	to jump down
kʏkkɔt	kind of bird
kʏɕan	unable
kʏcɔt	a praying mantis
kʏdʊp	to stab
kʏdʏŋ	to smile

kʰgil	knees
kʰlam	a flat wood
kʰlay	Malay fish owl
kʰlwʌŋ	an anklebone
kʰrit	to weep
kʰrnil	eyebrows
kʰrpel	a dragon fly
kʰrphep	a butterfly
kʰrtel	elbow joint
kʰrkol	to trip
kʰrcop	to sit
kʰrʔak	a raven
kʰrʔuŋ	a hole
kʰhkeh	to pounce
kʰrlɿt	a throat
kʰrlap	1. to split made of split bamboo
	2. chopsticks
kʰr eŋ	an uvelar
kʰrwen	side direction
kʰrwek	1. a bearcat
	2. bent, crooked
kʰrweɕ	1. fingers
	2. a black musk
kʰrwac	a broom
kʰwak	to cross over

kammɔr	a shin
kap	a duck
katam	a taro
katwɤ	to hit with knuckles
kakkɔt	kind of bird
kaboʔlom	<u>Larus brunnice phalus</u>
kadɔŋ	to chop by the spade
kaʔ	fish
kaʔum	a black turtle
kaɕoŋ	a land tortoise
kal	to defeat
kalaŋ	a mongoose
kaw	a horn, an antler (Thai)
kawakbut	to chase, to round up
kawɛŋ	to step
kum	1. a wound, crack 2. wooden floor in tomb
kumbluɕ	an avil
kunrɔp	narrow
kup	cloud
kupmʌp	to close mouth
kut	fern
kut cɣrɔŋ	child
kuʔkɔʔ	a clavicle
kuʔdiŋ	to measure
kuɤ	to hide

ku co	a grasshopper
kulmu,j	hair
kuluak	to breath in
kuluak jur	to breath out
kujlua?	a flying lemur, squirrel
kujro,j	kind of bee
kom	flashlight (Thai)
kontak	to kick
kombo?	to absorb
komblin	raw
kombuə	an anthill
komlot	a firefly
komjɿk	to chew
kon	to snore, to purr
kop	a frog (Thai)
kot	to embrace
kokdro,j	a dove
koc	1. a bamboo rat 2. to gather up with two hand
koh	a termite
kɔ	particle (Thai)
kɔ bɔ	not
kɔmbɔŋ	Eupatorium odoratum L.
kɔk	a pipe
kɔh	to wipe
kian	a mynah

kiʌŋ	an orange
klet	scales
kleh	hard
klɤp	a box
klɤj	near (Thai)
kleŋ	to stuck in the throat
klep	chaff when still on rice (Thai)
kleh	1. a buffalo 2. to strike a light
klɛr	to index
klap	to hold something with a split piece of bamboo
klak	to sharpen
klunklon	a rat
klukklol	a heart
kluh	to stuff into
klol	a heart
klolkleh	to leap
klɔt	to lengthen
klɔ?	to classify
kre	no, yet
kre?	to correct
krɯldɯl	a gallbladder
krɤŋ	1. a winnowing basket 2. middle (Thai)
krʌp	to bite, to sting

krΛw	afraid
kraŋɔt	a pill
krəpʷk	<u>Xenorhynchus asiaticus</u>
krəʔΛp	a sack (Thai)
kra!	kind of squirrel
krawɕʰ?	<u>Cissa chinensis</u>
kru??wɛk	crooked
kroc	a crocodile
kwe!	to hunt for, to look for
kwɿj	1. a basket 2. cultivated banana (Thai)
kwΛr	town people
kwa,j	a kind of taro
kwar	a howler monkey, a slow loris
kwɛk	an axe
kwɛc	1. to catch 2. to sweep (Thai)
kjaŋ	<u>Aeridotheres fuscus</u>

kh

khin	ginger (Thai)
khi?ɗuŋ	1. a mygale 2. shooting
khɛn	a flute
khɛj	an egg

khɿpa	grass
khɿpuk	unhusked rice, paddy
khɿdup	to stab
khɿrol	to flow
khɿj	an elder brother, son or daughter-in-law
khandɛj	horn, tusk
khaŋ	to kick
khabok	an implement
khunthet	Bangkok (Thai)
khonhon	a crest
khon	a log, a pole
khɔt	a spear

?

?i	female prefix
?i?o.j	not to know
?ir	to bellow (pig), to scream
?iw	to cry animal
?ek	to take, to hold
?e?	yam, a taro
?ɛm	to sleep
?ɛp	a green frog
?ɛw	a child, offspring
?uŋ	a bull frog (Thai)

ʔʌmrɔɔ	a niece
ʔʌnɔɔ	delicious
ʔʌh	to do, to make
ʔʌ?	to eat (rice)
ʔa	prefix for past tense
ʔaŋ	wood
ʔap	cliff
ʔapapɔn	to leave
ʔa prem	past
ʔathɔŋ	we
ʔak	preposed noun maker, article
ʔabul	dead
ʔac	bird
ʔacʔjaŋ	<u>Babulcus ibis</u>
ʔaɔɔŋ	to ablaze
ʔagoh	broken
ʔaʔɔn	cooked, ripe
ʔagi?	morning
ʔagɔrlɛŋ	evening
ʔagul	earrobe
ʔaj	kind of plant
ʔalɛk	dark
ʔuh	a thumb
ʔukʔwɛk	Picus Viridanus
ʔul	a mouse deer

?u.j	1. female
	2. a moon
?oh	1
?ot	my
?on	soft, tender
?o.j	sugar cane (Thai)

b

bimbixm	to blink
bi?	to be full
bih	to cut to split
ben	a full moon, waxing moon
bek	to cry
bek	a bear
ben	expensive (Thai)
bε?	soil earth, ground
ber	two, in-law.
bunlin	green
bunɣur	to sprout
bulk	to wear
bul	to die
burpip	wide, broad
bɔnnah	greenish
bɔnnε?	old sibling
bɔnlin	greenish grey
bɔblin	tobacco leaves

bʁtoʔ	to make a fire
bʁthʁŋ	cousins
bʁcer	to grill
bʁbɛp	to whisper
bʁboh	to cut into small pieces
bʁɕʁŋ	to make, to blaze up
bʁɕol	a raffer
bʁli	a cigarett
bʁrla	a bird pepper
bʁlak	1. white 2. milled rice
bʌt	to fetch, to scoop up
bʌtwaw	to raise one hand
banhnɛʔ	mother's relative
baŋ	a small crocodile
bak	to smear
bap	to dig
bakkah	a flower
bakuh	to turn something on its slide
bar	now
baw	1. a carpenter bee 2. young man (Thai)
bajgiʔ	yesterday
bunbuŋ	a pregnant woman
bunbɔŋ	to swell, to get bigger
butbot	to tremble

buk	a face
buk.buk	<u>Copsychus saularis</u>
bukluak	kind of grasshopper
bu?	slow
bu?uj	to burn
bu?bun	a husk
bib taw	the luffa, a gourd
bombwa,j	a spider
bon	to come off
bon	to eat (fresh, meat)
bonket	to perforate (ears)
botblin	to be faint. to be sense
bokbok	a scorpion
bo?	breasts
borwec	to pick out
bon	to dance (Thai)
bo?	to carry a bady
boh	an ah
blin	green, alive, raw
bleŋ	an arm
blet	kind of rattan
blut	blind
blun	bamboo shoot
blu?	thigh
blon	opening
blon	transplanted rice
blot	to growl

blok	to come in
bri?	a jungle
bræc	to tie with rattan
brɛ?	muscle
brɣ?	mud
brap	a dog
bran	a horse
braw	a coconut
bro?	a wound
broc	to spit out water, to spray water

6

bi	a rasp
bip	to sneeze
beŋ	an eel
bet	a cockspur
beɰ	to carry (on shoulder) (Thai)
be?	a clenched hand
beɣ?	leaf
boŋ	fat thick
bok	a tube
bor	a pangolin
bo?	to carry in one's arm
bauk	to boil

d

di	imperative marker
din	elder sibling
dinmriŋ	a louse
dinroj	brothers and sisters
dit	back
ditdreŋ	a weevil
di?	of
diglo	to be glad
dih	to persuade
dɛl	to cut with axe, to chop
dwn	1. to pull along 2. to cut down
dwcgweɕ	an earth worm
dɤ	when
dɤmɔj	single alone
dɤŋ	1. enough 2. to look
dɤŋbɤŋ	kind of bird
dɤlaw	kind of bamboo
dɤlɔj	hard, very
dɤrmɔ?	a ferret
dɤrnʌl ɲɤn	kind of grasshopper
dɤrthan	kind of bamboo
dʌm	a long period

dam	near, close
dupkrup	kind of worm
du?lon	afraid, to be startled
dudor	to slide
domɔ?	all, everybody
dop	to fold (Thai)
diɕiŋ pʌ?	likewise
dor	to throw away
dɔk	to remain in same position
	to lie
dɔ?tor	an inflorescence of
	banana plant
drʌ?	to belch, to retch
drup	a flying termite,
	a tussock moth
drol	good (quality)
droj	a little finger

dʰ

dʰi	good (Thai)
dʰiŋ	1. a bison, a gaur
dʰɿŋ	big, large
dʰuŋ	lazy
dʰur	to get out of (water)
dʰa	to catch one's waist
	by hand

ḏoŋ	a penis
ḏoʔ	a porcupine

ʃ

ʃin	meat
ʃinrak	to fight
ʃeŋ	1. to sew 2. a needle 3. thread
ʃun	heating candle coil
ʃukʃɛk	a king fisher
ʃur,juɾ	to flutter, to fling
ʃʌŋ	feet
ʃɿk	to carry
ʃɿkɿɾɛk	<i>Pycnorotus melanicterus</i>
ʃɿr	short
ʃʌɕ	delicious, sweet
ʃak	to go
ʃaw	a gibbon
ʃuŋ	deserted abandoned
ʃunɣlum	to crouch
ʃur	down, downhill
ʃok	to suck
ʃɔn	a spoon
ʃɔc	to pick up (by peak)

Jiɣk	to carry in hand (as bag)
Juɣj	a downstream
Juʌŋ	to hang in a string
Juak	a strip bamboo for wearing
Jua?	rotten
Jual	stickly
Jri?	a banyan tree
Jram	exhausted and hungry
Jɾɣw	to call somebody
Jra?	thin
Jrʌh	to cough
Jru?	deep
Jwɛt	a termite pupa

g

gi?	a moon
gem	spicy, salty
get	to cut (branches)
geh	hard
geŋ	house, windscreen
get	fast
gɛ?	branch
geg	a rhinoceros
gʷŋgʷŋ	a skink
gʷn dʷl	a buttock

gwp	kind of water turtle
gw?gul	thin
gwlhgeh	to wash hair
gwrpoh	thunder (old)
gɣm	to call (name), to give (name)
gɣmti?	a girl
gɣmtak	to click the tongue
gɣm?uk	to scream
gɣmber	child
gɣnlɛŋ	afternoon
gɣnlɔk	to shake
gɣnrɛ	curry
gɣp	1. to crab 2. shoe (Thai)
gɣtaɕ	bright
gɣgil	knees
gɣh	overthere
gɣlɛŋ	where
gɣrit	to scour
gɣrɛk	kind of plant
gɣrfɕwp	
gɣrɕil	to bend ankle
gɣrhur	bellow
gɣrlat	to slide
gɣrlac	to slice
gɣrlɛj	wrist ankle

gɣrweɕ	finger, toe
gɣj	ever
gʌm	don't, don't do it
gʌ?	there
gʌh	this, here
gʌl	ten
gap	sunshine
gat	to buckle
gaɕeŋ	<u>Alpinia</u> <u>galanga</u>
gal	ten
gaɕ	nine
gawul	to move
gaj	kind of butterfly
gun	1. pus
	2. wood oil
gunɡon	kind of plant
gut	last
gutɡot	yound woman
gutɡol	to fell down (tree)
	Thai
gutrel	firn
guguh	skin, lid of eyes
gugwul	to wallow
gu?	to fall
	to overflow
guhur	a wind pumper
gul	seven

gulcol	an elbow
gur	jaw
guril	a temple
gonʁil	to forget
got	to keep hand on chest
goh	1. to break
	2. soft
goguh	a cover
gɔp	to try
got	behind
gɔj	1. bladder and urinary tract
gau?	a horn
ɡlɪɡwɔj	Athene brama
ɡlɔkɡlek	a mouse
ɡlɔ?	a head, stump
ɡlaŋ	1. a husband
.	2. Elanus caeruleus
ɡret	to pain, hurt
ɡre?	
ɡrec	to keep
ɡre!	
ɡre?	to slice
ɡrɛc	to scale
ɡrɯ?	to crow noise
ɡrʌp	to close the mouth
ɡrɔp	to sharpen

grur	clothes
grok	a mortar (Thai)
grok	group
gwet	to poke, to goad
gwwcgrwec	to scratch
gwan	big (Thai)
gwac	to sweep (Thai)

๘

๘i	1. to puncture (Thai)
	2. four
	3. to have pain, to have an irritation
	4. to want
๘inde	how
๘inker	a nail
๘ipap	to take a nap
๘ikhej	to itch
๘icet	thin
๘ibe?	close to the ground
๘i?ih	talkative
๘i?phej	a cat
๘i?joj	a bowel intestines, end of blade inside handle of knife
๘idep	to slope

ɕida.i	to wish
ɕicɛt	a cicada
ɕek	1. bitter
	2. kind of rattan
	3. to chase a dog
ɕiw	blunt
ɕe?	a head louse
ɕeŋ	black (old world)
ɕe?	many, several
ɕu	to buy (Thai)
ɕuŋtuŋ	a door
ɕut	to grow
ɕuk cak	to scrape off
ɕukwok	mud
ɕɤmɛp	a small star
ɕɤmɔp	a big star
ɕɤmniw	an awl
ɕɤmpɤm	to smile (arch.)
ɕɤm bɛp	lips, jaws, beak
ɕɤm lak	dirty, black
ɕɤn re?	to cover with earth,
	to bury corpse
ɕɤnrɛt	flank, area around
	kidneys
ɕɤŋ	flame on fire
ɕɤŋkap	a smouldering charcoal
ɕɤnlɛp	a flame

ꨶpat	1. sift bolt 2. to wash clothes
ꨶpa?	a soft-shelled turtle
ꨶpaw	a water melon
ꨶpuh	to rinse
ꨶkat	to close something
ꨶkprak	a fork
ꨶ?in	a water grass galangal, lemon grass
ꨶ?ak	to hate
ꨶ?al	bad smell
ꨶ?um	stink rotten smell
ꨶ?ok	kind of bamboo
ꨶbe?	low short
ꨶba.i	to carry across shoulder (Thai)
ꨶda	guava
ꨶhun	a papaya (Thai)
ꨶle	color
ꨶlet	a weaven utensil
ꨶlmen	bad smell
ꨶlup	to keep in mouth (solid)
ꨶloh	<u>Buceros bicornis</u>
ꨶrin	ridge, back of slaughtered pig
ꨶre?	vagina
ꨶrel	a mango

ꠘꠞꠞꠞ	a scres pine
ꠘꠞꠞꠞ	kind of small palm tree
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ	kind of bird
ꠘꠞꠞꠞ	to dry
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	kind of bird
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	a horn an antler
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	fin of fish
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	1. wing
	2. chicken
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	to help
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	to sing
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	a hoof
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	a porcupine's hair
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	thatch arass
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ	<u>Ampeliceps</u> - <u>Coronatus</u>
ꠘꠞ?	to light tobacco in a pipe
ꠘꠞꠞ	1. to be knocked over
	2. three (Thai)
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ	to remember
ꠘꠞꠞꠞ	a drill
ꠘꠞꠞꠞ	a gun
ꠘꠞꠞ	1. an elephant (Thai)
	2. sour
ꠘꠞꠞ	a bamboo strip used for wearing a basket
ꠘꠞꠞꠞ	to winnow
ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ	to carry

cat	1. to prick 2. to throw at 3. a weaven mat (Thai)
catbat	a moment
cak	mother's kin
cakxmruc	old (person)
çakat	to close
ça?al	<u>Clausena excavata Burn.f</u>
çaluc	to put in
çalam	1. a thron 2. tired
çalɔ?	a plam tree's leaf
çalo	a corn, maize
çal?jok	kind of bird
çar	a shirt, clothes
çumnup	to put on (shoe)
çun	high, tall (Thai)
çungoldo?	. kind of tree
çup	to put into (Thai)
çupçup	<u>Gallinula Chloropus</u>
çupçun	a sock
çupcup	kind of bird (Thai)
çukko?	wet
çukero k	<u>Halcyon smyrnensis</u>
çuh	down, below, under
çuwok	the fire shelter

ꨀompu?	a plant of the genus Solanum
ꨀon	a trouser (Thai)
ꨀop	to ask for
ꨀo?	a blade of knife or spade
ꨀo?e?	1. hungry 2. to desire
ꨀom	to sharpen
ꨀon	two (Thai)
ꨀogwen	a soft-shelled turtle
ꨀoh	to start fire, to scorch
ꨀol	to cut off, to slice
ꨀuak	1. an eggplant 2. salt
ꨀuak	to tie, to tie up (Thai)
ꨀuak	1. light 2. easy to carry 3. wild
ꨀlanꨀꨀꨀ	<u>Coracias benghalensis</u>
ꨀlanꨀꨀok	<u>Pychnotus atriceps</u>
ꨀwꨀ?	a hognosed badger (<u>Arctonyx Collaris Dictator</u> <u>Thomas</u>)
ꨀwꨀr	she, he
ꨀwꨀn	a swidden field (Thai)
ꨀwꨀꨀ	to clean one's face
ꨀwꨀk	to tie

h

hik	very
het	mushroom (Thai)
hekutwAt	an eyepit
hEm	clogged
hɤnta?	a tail
hɤn ɔɔɔ	delicious
hɤnde?	to point to
hɤnlin	to forget
hɤŋke?	1. fire
	2. woodfire
	3. dog's louse
hɤŋkik	a native kpumpkin
hɤŋkok	a gun
hɤk	to vomit, to clear the throat
hɤleh	to take out
hɤle?	to laugh, to neigh
hɤlah	to cut up meat
	lengthwise for roasting
hɤloj	to flow
hɤjmat	tears
hak	to throw up (Thai)
huɔew	to wait for
hu?up	to slope (old)
hot	to fall (rain)

hɔm	1. to bark
	2. good smell (Thai)
hɔt	to arrive (Thai)

1

lin	steep
lika	a watch
ligoj	the rump
letmut	to fall down
letkec	a large timber tree
le?	a white gibbon
leh	to come, to produce
ler	a squirrel
le	final question particle
leŋ	red, orange (color)
leŋpeŋ	a shrimp
lɛk	late night
lɛr	to stick out tongue
lutlit	to rub one's eyes
lurpar	wet, muddy
lɯ?mʌ?	dumb, mute
lɤmba?	a cow
lɤp	a red ant
lɤŋ	together with
lɤp	to put flower on one's ears.

lɿpu?	to fall into
lɿpot	to go into
lɿtɿŋ	upward above
lɿktɛj	a car
lɿklik	to get burn
lɿdap	to hop
lɿge?	a branch
lɿgʷh	up there
lɿgɿh	over there
lɿgʌ?	up there
lɿgʌh	up there
lɿhʷk	catarrh
lɿhʷr	medicine drug
lʌr	to swallow (something)
lam	a tree, wood
lamŋɛŋ	<u>Dipterocarpus alatus</u>
lamtruŋ	kind of tree
lamboʔ	kind of (tree with)
	large fruit
lat	to lick
lakprek	the wax gourd
lak ɛk	a plant allied to the
	balsam apple
ladat	flat
ladap	tohop
la?	a should
laʔɔk	a thorn

law	to tell
lun	here
lunlin	kind of palm tree
lungo,j	a waist
lunguh	a woman
lom	a wind (Thai)
loŋ	in, into, and
longun	a thumb
lo,j	ever
loŋ	to descend
lo?	to sick
loŋta?a?	saliva
loø	to steal to remove
loh	near by, by on
lo,j	to pick
luŋ,j	sharp pointed
luah	a forest, a penetrable jungle (Thai)

!

!ek	iron, anvil
!ektɛ,j	air plane
!u?ŋ!ɛ?	occiput (back of the head)
!xŋ	1. a bracelet a bangle 2. yellow

l̥ɣj	a spine
l̥ɣw	keen, sharp
l̥ak	nothing, empty
l̥ut	deaf
l̥ur	to swollen
l̥oj	plus one, two times

r

rip	often
rikoj	small of the black, tail feathers
ri?	fast
riwe	fruit fly
riwoj	public hair, antennae of other insects
rɛt	matches
rɛ?	to run, to run away
rɛl̥	root
ru?	to take off
rutlat / rutlat /	a tongue
rumuɕ	(fire) hot
ryŋkap	a mouth
ryphɛp	a butterfly
ru?	to undo (shirt)
rumo?	stupid

rwri?	1. a small bead
	2. jujube
rwjur	1. to blow
	2. to flip
rwuun	to be pain
rwuel	a spirit
rxmal	kind of wood used for making pestle
rxmɕit	to sharpen
rxm?ɛ	to stretch oneself
rxmloh	a kapok
rxmrum	kind of insect
rxŋgap	jaws
rxŋkum	a hump of cow
rxtre?	weevil
rxtha?	a sheath
rx?ɣk	chest
rxʃaŋ	bamboo shoot (arch.)
rxwaj	a tiger
ram	widowed
ramap	upland field
rambah	half
ramut	wind
ranthen	<u>Calamus rudentum Roxb</u>
raŋ	1. to chew
	2. teeth

rap	to chase, to follow
rawu?	to move
rotthɿŋ	air plane
ron	to bite by little
roj	younger sibling
roʝ	a bee
roʝmim	a house fly
ruʌt	salt soil

w

wet	a chameleon
wen	to take a walk
wek	curved
wep	a taro
wɿŋ	1. a Chin
	2. <u>Garrulus glandarius</u>
wɿk	1. water ..
	2. to smoke to inhale
	3. to drink
wʌt	to tie
wʌl	to return
wakwem	<u>Piper sarmentosum Roxb</u>
wakwɛk	<u>Tyto alba</u>
wɔk	a spirit, a ghost

w

wep	shoulder
wuk	grass
wɔk	to observe
wɔ.j	saliva
wap	to yawn
wanɲɔ	when (Thai)

?w

/ ?weh /	a macaw <i>Vanellus indicus</i>
/ ?uk ?wek /	a wood pecker '
	<i>Picus viridanus</i>

j

jekki.jɛt	to smile
.jɛ	he she
.jɛt	woman's skirt
jaɲu.j	kind of wasp
jaɲ	a market
jaɲk	thus
ja?	a grandmother, aunt
ja?lam	female
ja?ram	a widow
jaw	Yao

juk	rice, cooked rice
jukdon	cultivated rice
jukjɤk	to stand on the toc
juhuju:	to shake
juh	to wrig hair
jon	male, male person, animal
jok	a finger
joc	a fowl
joh	to nip, to pull out (hair) with nails
jɔr	1. path way 2. to sit and stretch leg out

?j

?ji?jɛŋ	a mongoose
?jek	a honey bee
?jɛ?	far
?jun	to stand (Thai)
?jɤ:	to call, to shout
?ja :	medicine, drug, to bacco (Thai)
?jak	1. excrement, shit, dung 2. wild edible banana

?jaŋ	to dry by fire, to roast (Thai)
?jol	leaves of wild banana
?joh	to spit

APPENDIX

B

Vocabularies Comparison in Yumbri and Mlabri

Yumbri *	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
ătrlāt	radlad	rutlat	a tongue	ลิ้น
atrnkāb	sambaeb	ɕɤmbɛp	lips	ริมฝีปาก
atrtrmǝ	moh	mɔh	a nose	จมูก
māt	mad	mat	eyes	ตา
kēk	ked	ket	ears	หู
ăküǝ	krerh	glɤ?	a head	ศีรษะ
wũoĩkuǝ	ja-aengkrerh	ɕa?ɛŋ glɤ?	a skull	กะโหลก - ศีรษะ
ătrén	jern	cɤp	tooth	ฟัน
ăblén	braeng	brɛŋ	an arm	แขน
atí	tih	ti:?	hand	มือ
atšskēr	tih	ti:?	a finger	นิ้วมือ
ătrmgũm	rum kum	?uh	a thumb	นิ้วหัวแม่มือ
ătrmgũm	tih	jɔk	a finger	นิ้วชี้
ăklēr	-	?ɛw	a middle finger	นิ้วกลาง
ătrumgũm		nɔ?	a ring finger	นิ้วนาง
ăklēr		droj	a little finger	นิ้วก้อย
atrkrēr	kraeæk			
atyǝn	jerŋ	ʃɤŋ	foot	เท้า
bũl	sak	ɕarebũl	a corpse	ซากศพ
ătšák	boh	bo?	breast	นม
bǝ	boh	bo?	a nipple	หัวนม
atărădy	tapool	tapul	a stomach	ท้อง

Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
t _{ón}	dong	d _{on}	ó genital organ	อวัยวะสืบ- พันธุ์ชาย
ǎkláú	krau	?akple?	testicle	ลูกอ้นทะ
wálahi (Loa lehnwort)	kapreel	kapit	ó genital	อวัยวะสืบ- พันธุ์หญิง
át _{ót} y	kongku	gugul	skin	ผิวหนัง
ǎkú _{dú} k	.ja-aeng	ca?e _ŋ	bone	กระดูก
át _{mém}	mong	mem	blood	เลือด
lmb _{ón}			mammals	สัตว์เลี้ยง ลูกด้วยนม
laš _ó	bran	brap	a dog	สุนัข
laš _{ósf} n	jabood	c _x but	a pig	หมู
la _{ín}	ngai	ŋai	a boar	หมูป่า
p _{ól}	-	kulmuj	hair	เส้นผม
prút	-	?ac	a bird	นก
kéy _{ót}	kai	khaj, khej	an egg	ไข่
tr _{ól}	rod	rot	a parrot	นกแก้ว
túr	proong	pru _ŋ	a kind of bird	นกจุม
t _{ót} y	eehwerl	trolotba?	peacock	นกยูง
y _{ót} y	sragaeng youn	ɕrke _ŋ jon	a cock	ไก่ตัวผู้
át _{úy}	sragaeng oui	ɕrke _ŋ ?uj	a hen	ไก่ตัวเมีย
át _{éu}	aeo saragaeng	?ɛw ɕrke _ŋ	chicken	ลูกไก่
ká	ka	ka?	fish	ปลา
d _{ōg}	-	-	a chameleon	กิ้งก่า
tm _{ōg}	toom-oh	tom?o?	a snake	งูเห่า
tgūk	jarerng	tu?kuk	a frog	กบ

Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	meaning	Thai
kătsôgn̄	kasong	kaçon	a tortiose	เต่า
kôân	rapaeb	rwphəp	a butterfly	ผีเสื้อ
rôy	roi	roj̄mim	a housefly	แมลงวัน
šiōyn	mood	mut	a mosquito	ยุง
rmūt	-	ken	seed	เมล็ด
lām	lam	lam	a tree	ต้นไม้
tô	lamsalo	ta?o?		ต้นกือ
plětšrér	-	-		ดอกเกี๋ยง
brăô	srareng	çaren	thatch	หญ้าคา
ÿyūk	yak	cajak	wild banana	กล้วยป่า
plēmū	mak	ple? mak	a betel	หมาก
pūnān	-	dɔʔtor	-	ติบลิ
pēnmāk	tabrooh	tabruh	betel leaf	ใบพลู
klop	kabmak	kapmak	a box of betel	กล่องหมาก
kôk	-	ʃwɔp	an oar	พาย (ไม้ ค้ำกพูน) น้ำ
wô	werk	wɔk	water	น้ำ
tškăntūy	hungeh	hŋge?	fire	ไฟ
bătô	bater	pɔtɔ?	smoke	ควัน
klār	kral	gap	sky	ท้องฟ้า
kūp	lengterng	lottajtɔŋ, kup	cloud	เมฆ
mē	maeh	mɛ?	rain	ฝน
rmôt	lom	rumuɔ	wind	ลม
přl	palaek	pɔlɛk	lightening	ฟ้าแลบ
křl	kull	gru?	thunder	ฟ้าร้อง

Yumbri	Marbri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
tăw ¹ _{en}	ki	gi?	sun	ดวงอาทิตย์
kein	kroom	grum	shadow	เงา
Ausdruck				
ăb ¹ _ă	aki	tal	day	กลางวัน
taw _{en} līb ¹ _ē	ki-akea	?agi?	morning	ตอนเช้า
taw _{en} âk _ē	kē-aniing	ηχη	noon	ตอนกลางวัน
taw _{en} awík	ackanlaeng	?al _ē k	evening	ตอนเย็น
ăkădn _{yit}	jankiin	ʒungur	night	ตอนกลางคืน
adyăk	ner		north	ทิศเหนือ
ătdô _y	tai		south	ทิศใต้
taw _{en} awik	ki-ahod	tal ?x _{bw} l	west	ทิศตะวันตก
taw _{en} līb _ē	ki-ale	tal ?x _{leh}	east	ทิศตะวันออก
kein Asdruck	-	-	northeast	ทิศตะวันออกเฉียง
				เฉียงเหนือ
kein Asdruck	-		southeast	ทิศตะวันออกเฉียง
				ใต้
dô _p	sad	cat	a mat	เสื่อ
ătpŭmp ¹ _ō	ki-akbeng	ben	a full moon	เดือนเต็มดวง
kein	ki-araem		a dark moon	เดือนมืด
kí	tiki	gi?	a moon	ดวงจันทร์
kí m ¹ _ē	kilaeh	gi? leh	way moon	ข้างขึ้น
tšun _{yn}	samon	ɕɤmɔp	a star	ดาวดวงเล็ก ๆ
kein		ɕɤmep		ดาวดวงใหญ่
Ausdruck				

Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
kein Ausdruck -				
bě́	beh	bə?	earth	ดิน
bĩššāná	dong	ramap	field	ทุ่ง, ไร่
unbekannt	behtalu		platau	ที่ราบ
ădyăk	ngol	ŋor	a path	ทาง
ăďăy	jaboh	cɔboh	a mountain	ภูเขา
ăďăy šibě́	-		hill	ทิวเขา
krūn	gaeng	geŋ	house	บ้าน
pě́	mohkae	moʔke?	windscreen	ที่พกในป่า
kein	hungke	hŋge?	a stove	เตาไฟ
Ausdruck				
krūn	non	nɔn	sleep place	ที่นอน
unbekannt	prush nge.	puŋ	to blow	พัด
kein	werkbo	wɛkbɔ:	a pool	บ่อน้ำ
Ausdruck				
kein	samdaeh	ɕɔndɛ?	utensils	ภาชนะ
dsikdogŋ				กระดาง
				ใบไม้
dăláů		tɕruŋ	a bamboo	กระบอกลู
keine		ʃɔn	a spoon	ช้อน
keine		-	a wooden bowl	ถ้วยไม้
keine	yādood	?ja?	tobacco	ยาสูบ
keince	samnee	ɕɔmniw	a drill	สว่าน
keine	kwack	kwek	an axe	ขวาน
keine	kulkwaek	gulkwek	a handle	ด้ามขวาน
tšyū	tar	tar	a rope	เชือก

Yambri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
blōn	poom	pum	a basket	ตะกร้า
kok	ersak badtalad		to do easily	ทำง่าย ๆ
keine	-		a chimney	ปล่องไฟ
kót	kod	khot	a lance	หอก
keine	hao	hok	a wooden lance	หลาวไม้
yăk gŭā	kod	khot	a lance	หอกปลาย กระดุก
kot			to hunt by	ล่าด้วย
			a lance	หอก
kré			a wood	จอบไม้
keine	bralam	cok	a pade	จอบ, เสียม
keine	ngang ngong		a harvest	ฤดูเก็บ
Ausdruck			season	ชา
kein	mohya	mɔʔja?	a doctor	หมอชา
kein	ya	?ja?	tablet	ยาเม็ด
krɔdɔkbē	wokbɔ	juakhok wɔkbul	a grave	หลุมฝังศพ
		cuʌkhok		
dyăkĕdōk	juakdok	cuʌk	to bury	ฝัง
mlă	-	wɔk	spirit	ผี
grŭrăy	wokdee	wɔkdɪ?	a good spirit	ผีดี
dkāt und	wok kai	wɔk kaj	a devil	ผีร้าย
băā			spirit	
tĕn dyāk	ngol	ŋɔr	a footprint	รอยเท้า
kein Ausdruck	-	cu	name	ชื่อ
kein Ausdruck	-		noise	เสียง
kein Ausdruck	-		property	ทรัพย์สินสมบัติ

Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
keine	-		to revenge	แก้แค้น
něřěm ^ó y	jrong		a little bit	เล็กน้อย
năk ^ó bě	saeh	ɕɛ?	many, plenty of	มาก
beyg ^ó ou	deeng	bonbon	big	ใหญ่
ăt ^é ũ	jrong	cɤron	small	เล็ก
ăt ^é ũ	-		less	เล็กน้อย
lūl ^ó gn	soong	ɕun	tall	สูง
grū	sabaeh	ɕabɛ?	short	เตี้ย
dyūm	nak	nak	weigh	หนัก
k ^ó k	swal	ɕwal	light	เบา
dyūm	yak	pak	difficult	ยาก
ady ^á k	syak	ɕak	to go	ไป
tōdy	nub		to pick up	เลือก
tšăk ^é mré	taokal	ɕa.kɤmruɕ	old	แก่
dōm ^ó y	kohnum		young	หนุ่ม, อ่อน
děk ^á t	takad	takat	cold	หนาว
tū ^á ur	hon	thu?ur	hot	ร้อน
tšŭk ^ó	prao		dry	แห้ง
tšōg ^ó	sohkoh	cokkɔ?	wet	เปียก
bŭl	kred	gret	to pair	จับคู่
ădădny ^á t	bun	bwl	to die	ตาย
kēk lūt	-	mat blwt	blind	ตาบอด
k ^ó bá	-	lut	deaf	หูหนวก
kēday tšăk kwei		-	mute	ใบ้
b ^ó en	adee	-		ชาลิบ
dyūr	bodee	bo?di?	to pregnant	ตั้งครรภ์

Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
glō	gara	balak	good	ดี
lākáũ	tookwaek	thokwək	bad	เลว
tšēn	nae	balak	white	ขาว
lětawěné	ma- n	thokwək	black	ดำ
gruń	kile	baj gi?	yesterday	เมื่อวาน, วันวาน
kein	kihod		right	ขาว
Ausdruck				
kein			left	ซ้าย
Ausdruck				
ěyũk		mən	yes	ใช่
ănōym	oh ki bo mod	?oh kə bɔmAc	I don't know	ฉันไม่รู้
dēchmēm	-		to breath	หายใจ
bũnũy	poong	puŋ	to blow	เป่า
tšāk	-	bɔj	no	ไม่
eklikũl	ba-oui	bu?u.j	to burn	เผา
kein Ausdruck k n			to think	คิด
tškón	er, bong	?ɜ? boŋ, pr.j	to eat	กิน
tākăglóũ	kaeh	kɛh	to weave	ทอ
lábĩtɔy	hlaeh	lɔwɔh ɛ?	happy	มีความสุข
krōũ	bokrao	grɔw	to fear	กลัว
tănâp	kam hers	kɜmhɜɔ	to yawn	หาว
tōt	bama	ma?	to give	ให้
tsăt	mradaeo	mɜlat?ɛw	to give a birth	เกิด
dōgn	mod	mAc	to see	เห็น

Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
yōm		ṇuh	to sit	นั่ง
ěkǒlték		tɛk	to collide, to hit	ตี กระทบ
sōŭé	jram	ɕo?e?	hungry	หิว
tyām	herk	hɤk	to hiccup	จาม
ōyūk pūm	jerm	cʌp	to chew	เคี้ยว
kein	wal	wʌl	to come	มา
Ausdruck				
lăbītōy	hlaeh	lɔwɦlɔ?	to laugh	หัวเราะ
moy	padual k n	patwaw	to raise	ยกขึ้น
pâyú	poh	guh, mak	to love	รัก
tkōl	praes	prɛɕ	to sneeze	จาม
yăkyăk	nom	nɔm	to urinate	ปัสสาวะ
glōdy	pew	piw	to whistle	ผิวปาก
grūy	tern	tʌp	to speak	พูด
nūk	mook	muk	to smell	ดมกลิ่น
gryū mǎ	ern	ɤʌ?	to call	เรียก
yōm	ngooh jool	ṇuh ʃur	to sit down	นั่ง
sīí	so	malam	to sing	ร้องเพลง
lgomat	non	nɔn	to sleep	นอน
tēk		tɛk	to strike	ตี
prgoyn tǒ			to polish	ขัด
kǒn	kon		to sneeze	จาม
yún	yun	?jɔn	to stand	ยืน
kǒn kǒdǎ	onkrol	?ɔnglɔ	sorrow	เสีย
bēt	bed	bek	to cry	ร้องไห้



Yumbri	Mrabri	Mlabri	Meaning	Thai
kum	dôr	dor	to throw	ขว้าง, ปา
todũm	diin	đũn	to pull	ดึง, ลาก
aryāk	syak-langal	ʃak longal	to go ahead	ไปข้างหน้า
păpũwǒ	werk	wɛk	to drink	ดื่ม

*

Yumbri Consonant Phonemes (Smalley : 1963)

b	'd	dy	g
p	t	ty	k
	ds		
	ts	tʃ tʃ̥	
m	n	ny	
	s	ʃ̥ ʃ̥̥	ñ
w/ɔ̃/ũ		y/ɿ	

Yumbri Vowel Phonemes (Smalley : 1963)

i (i)	-	ú (u)
Y (ɪ)	r' (u)	ũ (u)
ē (e)	ā (x)	u
e (e)	ǎ (x)	ō (o)
ē̃ (ε)		ố (o)
ě̃ (ε)		o
ā̃ (a)		ō̃ (o)
ǎ̃ (a)		ố̃ (o)
a		

