ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS IN MLABRI

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วิทยานินท์ฉบับนี้ เลนองการศึกษาวิจัยภาษาลำบูรีนามสปำมประโยน

ประโยคที่นั้น เกี่ยวกับระบบปอง, ชื่อบรรษภทด้วย ท่านอง_rent ค้า

พยางค์

และน้ำยาปอง ประโยคที่เหลือ เกี่ยวกับลักษณะทางด้านมนุษย์ ชื่อบรรษภท

ด้วย ระบบเครื่องมือ บ้าน สิ่งประดิษฐ์เครื่องมือเครื่องใช้ การรักษาโรคและเพลิง

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ชื่องเดิมได้

ชื่อเจ้าจากกราส่งที่ เลยอาศัยแนวโทษภักดีมณฑลทางมนุษย์ และสัจธรรม
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
yd. voiced
vi. intransitive verb
vt. transitive verb
vl. voiceless
: long
· boundaries
/ high pitch level
" unreleased
voiceless
combine

optional

phonemic brackets

meaning

Scientific names

strong stressed

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 outsider only through their abandoned and yellow-leafed thatched windscreens.

There are many ethnographic records about the Mlabri (e.g. Seidenfaden 1919: 50, Kerr 1924: 142, Bernatzik 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 Loas... 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

Munda | Mon-Khmer

North | West | South
Munda | Munda | Munda

Mon-Khmer | Mon-Khmer | Mon-Khmer

North | East | South

Khasi | Paluanic | Khmuic | Mang | Viet-Muong

Khmu | Mal | Mrabri | Yumbri | Khao | Tayhat

(Gerard Diffloth : 1973 Encyclopedia Britannica III)

Mrabri is a word that Kraisri (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
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 fieldwork 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 everyday 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 familiar 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 Malbri society; the result will be interpreted as to how it reflects the culture, and anthropological aspects.
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.
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 [g\m] 'not' and a deleted subject or actor. The second is a persuasion to do something.


cat 1 hungry

'Let's eat, I am hungry.'

[ Ꝋ\m  toc  τγo?h  Ꝋumwγ ]

not seize cooking pot hot

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

[ dih thalēw wsky gap thu?ur ]

bathe water sunlight hot

'Let's take a bath, it is hot.'
[dih buŋuŋ Ḗq̪lam ]
to burn casava
'Please to burn casava.'

[dih Ḗq̪al&q̪ 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.

[ŋaj ?ŋ? bluŋ ]
boar eat bamboo shoot
'A boar eats a bamboo shoot.'
[ ka? ñuh ni wyk ]
fish stay at water
'Fish are in the water.'

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

[ ?jek krąp ?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 [tummlapṆ] who and [gylęŋ] 'where' as the following examples.

[ tummlapṆ ?ąjak thanų ramaŋ ]
who go clear field
'Who went clearing the field?'
your wife go where

'Where did your wife go to?'

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 /kɔ bɔ/ '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 kəbo məc]
I not know
'I don't know.'

[ (?oh) ?i?oj`]
not know
'I don't know.'

[ cəkəmrən kəbo ?ə? brəŋ]
old man not eat dog
'An old man doesn't eat dog's meat.'

[ mət ?ə w kəbo thələw wək]
your son not bathe water
'Your son doesn't take a bath.'

[ roj kəbo wək ?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 of question marker [kɔpyle]

[mim kɔbɔ r? juk le]
father not eat rice?
'Father, Don’t you eat rice?'

[meh kɔbɔ jak kwej r?je le]
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 /gAm/.

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.
[ hylgh pi?pA ]
Laugh what
' What do you laugh at? '
[anger]

[ dor pi?pA ]
throw what
' What did you throw away? '
[anger]

[ ?aleh tal ds ]
come day when
' When did you come? '
( How long ago did you come? )
[suspicion]
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

On 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 a 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 syllabled 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 syllabic, with strong stress. It has only structure: S

Examples

/ $\text{g\epsilon\eta}$ / [ $\text{g\epsilon\eta}$ ] 'a house'
/ $\text{m\Ac}$ / [ $\text{m\Ac}$ ] 'to see, to know'
/ $\text{bran}$ / [ $\text{bran}$ ] 'a dog'
/ $\text{drum}$ / [ $\text{drum}$ ] '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:

/ micmec / [ˈmic.ˈmeːc] ‘an ant’
/ thukwék / [ˈθuk.ˈweːk] ‘black’
/ cenraʔ / [ˈtɛːn.ˈraʔ] ‘liqour’
/ khabok / [ˈkha.ˈboːk] ‘a steel with sharp ends’

2.2.3.2.2 US

/ bvlak [ˈbɾ.ˈlaːk] ‘white’
/ cœboh / [fɔrˈboh] ‘a mountain’
/ cœmop / [cœˈmoː p] ‘a little star’
/ gœlenq / [ɡœ.ˈlenq] ‘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

/ týr Lampam /  [ týr;iampam ] ' a moth '
/ týr Laŋkuŋ /  [ týr;la:ŋkuŋ] ' a hawk '

2.2.3.3.2 WUS

/ banhne? /  [ banhne? ] ' mother's relative'

2.2.3.3.3 WWS

/ lũŋle? /  [ lũŋle?] ' an occiput '

There is only one word having / η / in the medial syllable. This word is pronounced in normal speech. In a rapid speech, / η / will be dropped. This also happens in Khmer. I believe / η / will disappear from
Mlabri language eventually. Because there is only one word in this language and /η/ 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 syllabes are also weakly stressed.
2.3.2.1 The Presyllable

The presyllable is defined as a syllable whose nucleus is only \( \mathcal{Y} \) 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

/ pigoh / \[ pv'go\ ] 'to break'
/ t\(\text{irw}n\) / \[ t\text{ir\(\text{w}n\) }\] 'a bamboo container'
/ th\(\text{ir}w\)a? / \[ th\text{ir\(\text{w}a}\?]\] 'a monkey'
/ k\(\text{ylam}\) / \[ k\text{ylam}\ ] 'a flat bamboo'
/ cy\(\text{ybut}\) / \[ cy\text{ybut}\ ] 'a pig'
/ bi\(\text{lak}\) / \[ bi\text{lak}\ ] '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 ]

/ m˨˧ /   [ m˨˧ : ] ' a wife ' 
/ m˩a /   [ m˩a : ] ' human being ' 
/ blu /   [ blu : ] ' a leg '
2.3.2.2.3 Sub-type C  Simple initial closed syllable. Its structure is [ CVC ]

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

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

/ bræp /  [ bra:p ]  ' a dog '  
/ grawn /  [ grw? ]  ' to crow , (a hen)  
/ kwaj /  [ kwa:j ]  ' a taro '  
/ plut /  [ plut' ]  ' 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

/ micmec /  [ mic'mec' ]  "an ant"
/namtum /  [ nam'tu:m ]  "water medicine"
/mo?me? /  [ mo'\-me? ]  "a crossbow"

Sub - type B  Simple initial closed syllable

Its structure is [ CCVC ]

/gwucgwc /  [ gwuc\-gwec ]  "to scrape"
/prw? pre?/  [ prw\-pre? ]  "a common myna"

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

/thu?ur /  [ thu\-ur ]  "hot"
/ŋwŋet /  [ ŋwŋet' ]  "a cicada"
/kru\-dul /  [ kru\-dul ]  "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.
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

/ ce? / [ ce? ] 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 / [ kɪr'wac ] 'a broom'
/ buŋboŋ / [ buŋ'boŋ ] 'to swell'
/ tortuŋ?jew / [ toɾ;tuŋ,.?jew ] 'a white mushroom'
/ cynrak / [ çɪn'rak ] 'to comb'
/ tyrlampam / [ tyɾˌlampam ] 'a moth'
/ juhůju / [ ju.hůju: ] '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, ñ, ñ, ñ, ñ, p, t, c, k, ?, ph, th, kh, b, d, g, j, ñ, ñ, c, h, l, ſ, r, w, w, ?w, j, ?j /

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 is the syllable initial position.

Examples:

/ muk /       [ muk' ]     to smell
/ nɔʔ /       [ nɔʔ ]     a nephew
/ pok /       [ pok' ]     a net-fish
/ ɳɔɾ /       [ ɳɔɾ ]     a path
/ meʔ /       [ meʔ ]     new
/ ɳar /       [ ɳar ]     kind of banana
/ ɲar /       [ ɲar ]     long pepper
/ ɳuh /       [ ɳuh ]     to stay
/ puŋ /       [ puŋ ]     to blow
/ tɛk /       [ tɛk' ]     to beat
/ çybut/     [ çybu:t' ]     a pig
/ 'koc' /     [ koc ]     a bamboo rat
/ ?oh /       [ ?oh ]     i'
/ phadam /    [ phadam ]     a black cloth
/ thvəŋ /     [ thvəŋ ]     five
/ khoʔ /       [ khoʔ ]     a lance
/ boŋ /       [ boŋ ]     to eat (meat)
/ dor /       [ dor ]     to throw
/ ʃak /       [ ʃak' ]     to go
/ gal /       [ gal ]     ten
/ ɛʔ? /       [ ɛʔ? ]     leaf
/ ɗo? /     [ ɗo? ]     "a porcupine"
/ çe? /     [ çe? ]     "plenty of many"
/ hŋke? /    [ hŋke?]     "fire"
/ loŋ /     [ loŋ]     "in"
/ lŋ /    [ lŋ ]     "a bracelet"
/ rɔjmim /    [ rɔjmim]     "a house fly"
/ ṭap /    [ ṭap ]     "to yawn"
/ wɔk /    [ wɔk ]     "water"
/ ja?ram /    [ ja?ram]     "a widow"
/ ?jɔ /    [ ?jɔ ]     "to call"
/ ʔweŋ /    [ ʔweŋ]     "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"
/ trɔk /     [ trɔk']     "ribs"
/ kɔw /    [ kɔw ]     "to fear"
/ thrut /    [ thrut']     "a taro"
/ braŋ /    [ braŋ]     "a dog"
/ dɾup /    [ dɾup ]     "flying termite"
/ gru? /    [ gru? ]     "to crow"
/ Jru? /    [ Jru? ]     "deep"
Sub-Class C

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

Examples:

/ mêm /  [ mɛ:m ]  ‘blood’
/ pon /  [ po:n ]  ‘four’
/ braŋ /  [ braːŋ ]  ‘dog’
/ tȅrwnŋ /  [ tɛrwnŋ ]  ‘a bamboo container’
/ krʌp /  [ krʌp ' ]  ' to bite'
/ cybæt /  [ ʃə'bu:t' ]  ' a pig'
/ gɨmtak /  [ ɡɨm'tak' ]  ' to click'
/ mɨ? /  [ mɨ? ]  ' a mother'
/ ?ac /  [ ?ac ' ]  ' a bird'
/ prɛɕ /  [ prɛɕ ]  ' to sneeze'
/ goh /  [ goh ]  ' to break'
/ tal /  [ taːl ]  ' the sun'
/ pol /  [ poːl ]  ' a mountain deer'
/ dor /  [ dor ]  ' to throw'
/ braw /  [ braːw ]  ' a coconut'
/ roj /  [ roːj ]  ' a younger brother
                   or sister'
2.4.3.1 The Consonant. Phoneme Inventory

There are 32 initial Consonant phonemes in Mlabri as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of articulation</th>
<th>Point of articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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Table 1. The Initial Consonant Phoneme Chart
CHART: Showing the co-occurrence of the cluster-forming consonants (C2) with the initial consonants.

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Table 2
CHART:

There are 16 final consonant phonemes as shown in figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of articulation</th>
<th>Point of articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>Vl.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Vl. unasp.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vl. asp</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd. imploded</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral (Vl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semi-Vowel</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 / [ mat’ ] ‘eyes’
/ mɔj / [ mɔ:j ] ‘one’
/ mɛm / [ mɛm ] ‘blood’
/ mɛm / [ mɛm ] ‘father’

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

/ nɔm / [ nɔ:m ] ‘urine’
/ nɛl / [ nɛl ] ‘a bamboo rat’
/ pon / [ pon ] ‘four’
/ ranthen / [ ranthen ] ‘kind of rattan’

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

/ pok / [ pok ] ‘a woven basket’
/ pep / [ pep ] ‘to shoot’
/ drup / [ dru:p ] ‘termites’
/ cʌn / [ cʌn ] ‘tooth’
/ η / [ η ] a voiced velar nasal, occurs syllable initially and finally.

/ ηον / [ ηο:ɾ ] 'a path'
/ ηαι / [ ηαι ] 'a boar'
/ θυν / [ θυ:ν ] 'a bamboo shoot'
/ θαν / [ θαν ] 'a horse'

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

/ mεʔ / [ mεʔ ] 'new'
/ m^ʔ / [ m^ʔ ] 'to bleed'

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

/ n^ʔ / [ n^ʔ ] 'a year'
/ nυ / [ nυʔ ] 'a black bee wax'

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

/ mαɾ / [ mαɾ ] 'a long pepper'

/ n / [ n ] a voiceless velar nasal, occurs only syllable initially.
/ ηuh / [ ηuh ] ' to sit' ' to stay'

/ p / [ p ] a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, occurs only syllable initially

/ pår / [ pår ] ' to fly'
/ poɭ / [ poɭ ] ' a barking deer'

[ p’ ] a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, occurs only syllable finally

/ rap / [ rap’ ] ' to chase'
/ künde̱p / [ künde̱p’ ] ' a centipede'

/ ph / [ ph ] a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop, occurs only syllable initially.

/ r安全保障p / [ r安全保障p’ ] ' a butterfly'
/ pha wɪk / [ phaːwɪk’ ] ' loin cloth'

/ t / [ t ] a voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop, occurs syllable initially.
/ tɛk /   [ tɛ:k̚ ]   ' to beat'
/ tar /   [ tar ]   ' a rope'
/ takat /   [ takət̚ ]   ' cold'

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

/ gret /   [ gret̚ ]   ' to pain'
/ ʂat /   [ ʂat̚ ]   ' to puncture'

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

/ thet /   [ thet̚ ]   ' to cut'
/ thrut /   [ thru:t̚ ]   ' a taro'
/ thal w /   [ thalaw ]   ' to bath'
/ thuk luak /   [ thukluak̚ ]   ' to lie'

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

/ cuʌk /   [ думал̚ ]   ' to dig with a spade'
/ csbut /   [ ʧɔbut̚ ]   ' pig'
/ cokwɛk / [ ʷgregation ʷkʷ] 'big knife'

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

/ ?ac / [ ?acː] 'a bird'

/ kɔc / [ kɔcː] 'a bamboo rat'

/ thalwɛc / [ thalwɛː] 'to be torn'

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

/ kwr / [ kwr ] 'to thunder'

/ kəpoŋ / [ kəpoŋː] 'a land tortoise'

/ kɛndiŋ / [ kɛndiːŋ ] 'a navel'

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

/ ɛek / [ ɛekː] 'bitter'

/ wɛk / [ wɛkː] 'water'

/ gılmək / [ gilməkː] 'to click'

/kh / [ kh ] a voiceless aspirated velar stop, occurs only syllable initially.
/ khan / [ khan ] 'to kick'
/khot / [ khot ] 'a lance'
/khoroj / [ khoroj ] 'to flow'

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

/ ?ac / [ ?ac ] 'a bird'
/ ?i?oj / [ ?i?oj ] 'don't know'
/ ka? / [ ka? ] 'fish'

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

/ be? / [ be? ] 'soil'
/ bi? / [ bi? ] 'to be full'
/ brap / [ bra:p ] 'a dog'

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

/ ɓɔ? / [ ɓɔ? ] 'to carry in one’s arm'
/ ɓɔ? / [ ɓɔ? ] 'leaf'
/ buak / [ buak ] 'to boil'
/ d / [ ð ]  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'

/ dɔ/ [ dɔ ]  a voiced imploded alveolar stop, occurs only syllable initially.

/ dɔʔ / [ dɔʔ ]  'a porcupine'

/ dɔŋ / [ dɔŋ ]  'a panis'

/ diŋ / [ diŋ ]  'a bison'

/ ñ / [ ñ ]  a voiced palatal stop, occurs only syllable initially.

/ ñəŋ / [ ñəŋ ]  'feet'

/ Jual / [ Jual ]  'sticky'

/ g / [ ɡ ]  a voiced velar stop, occurs only syllable initially.

/ gəŋ / [ gəŋ ]  'a house'

/ dwcgweć / [ dwcgweć]  'earth worm'
/ ꜯ / [ ꜯ ]  a voiceless palatal fricative, occurs both syllable initially and finally

/ ꜯi:w / [ ꜯi:w ] ' blunt'
/ kɾɔç / [ kɾɔç ] ' a crocodile'
/ ꜯɾʔum / [ ꜯɾʔum ] ' bad odor'

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

/ hot / [ hot' ] ' 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 / [ lat' ] ' to lick'
/ ɬɪmbaʔ / [ ɬɪmbaʔ ] ' a cow'
/ bu:l / [ bu:l ] ' to die'
/ kɛlʔa:k / [ kɛlʔa:k ] ' a corw'
/ l / [ l ]  a voiceless alveolar lateral, occurs both syllable initially and finally.

/ lɔj / [ lɔj ] 'two times'
/ plʌj / [ plʌj ] 'to flick'
/ prɔj / [ prɔj ] 'to spray'

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

/ roj / [ roj ] 'younger brother or sister'
/ rɔwaj / [ rɔwaːj ] 'a tiger'
/ mlɔbri? / [ mlɔbri?] 'Mlabri'

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

/ wəŋ / [ wəŋ ] 'a chin'
/ ʔæw / [ ʔæw ] 'an offspring'
/ ducgweć / [ ducgweć'] 'a millipede'

/ w / [ w ] a voiceless bilabial fricative, occurs only syllable initially.
/ wep /  [ Ʌep ']  "shoulder"
/kɔməp /  [ kɔməp']  "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 /  [ jaram ]  "window"
/r j /  [ rɔ:j ]  "a house fly"
/m j /  [ mɔ:j ]  "fat"
/?j / [ ?j ]  "a preglottalized palatal semi-vowel, occurs only initially.
/?jek /  [ ?jek ]  "honey bee"
/?joh /  [ ?joh ]  "to spit"

2.4.3.3 Consonant Contrasts
/m / - / m̥ /  / m̥e? /  "rain"
/m̥e? /  "new"
/ m / - / p / / mɛʔ / 'rain'
/ pɛʔ / 'three'

/ m / - / b / / mɔʔ / 'a nose'
/ pɔʔ / 'an ash'

/ -m / - / -w / / mɛm / 'blood'
/ mɛw / 'cheeks'

/ m / - / w / / mʊk / 'to tattoo'
/ wʊk / 'grass'

/ m / - / n / / mʊŋ / 'hive'
/ nʊŋ / 'to wear'

/ n / - / n / / nam / 'a needle'
/ nam / 'a year'

/ n / - / p / / nak / 'heavy'(Thai/Lao?)
/ pak / 'tight'

/ n / - / t / / nɔʔ / 'a grandson'
/ tɔʔ / 'knife'

/ n / - / d / / niʔ / 'to escape'
/ diʔ / 'of'
/ n / - / η / / nam / 'a needle'
     / nam / 'to hear'

/ η / - / m / / mor / 'kind of bamboo'
     / mar / 'a long pepper'

/ -p / - / -η / / bran / 'a dog'
     / bran / 'a horse'

/ n / - / η / (See sec. 2.4.3.3.1)

/ p / - / c / / thop / 'a sting'
     / thoc / 'a cup'

/ p / - / j / / pet / 'to poke
     (by finger)'
     / jet / 'a woman's skirt'

/ -p / - / m / / pak / 'tight
     / m̄ak / 'difficult'

/ -n / - / k / / ḫη / 'feet'
     / ḫak / 'to carry'

/ p / - / ph / / pak / 'to prick'
     / phak / 'floor'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cup</td>
<td>/poʔ/</td>
<td>'a cup'</td>
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<tr>
<td>breasts</td>
<td>/boʔ/</td>
<td>'breasts'</td>
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<tr>
<td>turmeric</td>
<td>/p/-/t/-/k/-/?/</td>
<td>'turmeric'</td>
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<tr>
<td>criticise</td>
<td>/tæp/</td>
<td>'criticise'</td>
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<tr>
<td>a duck</td>
<td>/kap/</td>
<td>'a duck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>/ʔap/</td>
<td>'cliff'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a liver</td>
<td>/p/-/w/</td>
<td>'a liver'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a chameleon</td>
<td>/wet/</td>
<td>'a chameleon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a turmeric</td>
<td>/p/-/w/</td>
<td>'a turmeric'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to yawn</td>
<td>/wʔap/</td>
<td>'to yawn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to beat</td>
<td>/t/-/th/</td>
<td>'to beat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>covered with disorderly plant growth</td>
<td>/tɛk/</td>
<td>'covered with disorderly plant growth'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mushroom</td>
<td>/t/-/d/</td>
<td>'a mushroom'</td>
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<tr>
<td>to throw away</td>
<td>/dor/</td>
<td>'to throw away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to fetch</td>
<td>/b/-/w/</td>
<td>'to fetch'</td>
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<tr>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>/wʔt/</td>
<td>'to lie'</td>
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<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td>/b/-/d/</td>
<td>'full'</td>
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<td>of</td>
<td>/diʔ/</td>
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<td>Laryngealization</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ d / - / l /</td>
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<td>'enough'</td>
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<td>/ lηŋ /</td>
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<td>'together'</td>
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<td>/ -l / - / l /</td>
<td>/ pol /</td>
<td>'a blanket'</td>
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<td>/ pol /</td>
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<td>'a barking deer'</td>
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<td>/ k / - / kh /</td>
<td>/ kɔt /</td>
<td>'last offspring'</td>
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<td>/ khɔt /</td>
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<td>'a lance'</td>
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<td>/ -c / - / -j /</td>
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<td>/ ?aj /</td>
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<td>/ mɛ? /</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
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<td>/ mɛh /</td>
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<td>'you'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ r / - / l /</td>
<td>/ roj /</td>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ loj /</td>
<td></td>
<td>'two times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ ?j / - / j /</td>
<td>/ ?jak /</td>
<td>'an excrement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Jak /</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.3.3.1 Non-minmal 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,ɛ,ʊ,ʊ,ʌ,ɔ, a, u, o/ and no contrasts between short and long vowels, therefore, vowel length is not phonemic. Moreover, there are four diphthongs: /iʌ, uʌ, uʌ, uʌ/
### 2.4.4.1 The Vowel Phonemes Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongue Position</th>
<th>Unrounded</th>
<th>Rounded</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monophthong</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Λ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
<td>uɔ , uʌ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ə/, /a/.

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

/ pətok / [ pəto:k ] 'to urn out of'
/ thəlwa / [ thəlwaː ] 'to be torn'
/ cəbut / [ cəbuːt ] 'a pig'
/ kərit / [ kərit ] 'to weep'
/ paŋ? / [ paŋ? ] '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 /a/ and /a/, e.g.

/ .bih./  | bih | to cut'
/ pep / [ pe:p ] to shoot'
/ meʔ / [ meʔ ] 'rain'
/ muj / [ muːj ] 'fat'
/ wiyk / [ wiːk ] 'water'
/ maŋ / [ maŋ ] 'to meet'
/ braŋ / [ braŋ ] 'horse'
/ drup / [ druːp ] 'a flying termite'
/ loŋ / [ loŋ ] 'in'
/ hɔm / [ hɔːm ] 'to bark'
/ cinbriŋ /  [ tʃinbriŋ ] 'a cricket'
/ çirmep /  [ çir'mep ] 'star'
/ çurken /  [ çur'keŋ ] 'hen'
/ prbwł /  [ pr'bwɔ:l ] 'to kill'
/ tvgsh /  [ tə'gʃ ] 'over there'
/ çanat /  [ çanat ] 'gun'
/ thu?ur /  [ thu'ur ] 'hot (sunlight)'
/ thombok /  [ thɔm'bɔk ] 'to cover'
/ dvmɔj /  [ dɔmɔj ] 'only one'
/ bimbirim /  [ bimbirim ] 'to blink'
/ luɔj /  [ luɔj ] 'keen'
/ çuək /  [ çuək ] 'salt'
/ buək /  [ buək ] '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'
/ hŋiŋik /  [ hŋiŋik ] 'a native pumpkin'
/e/ [ e ] a mid front unrounded vowel.

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

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

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

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

dwn / [ dw:n ] 'lazy'
grw? / [ grw? ] 'to crow'
tɛrnɛ / [ tɛrnɛ ] 'a bamboo container'

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

/kra̞p/ [ kra̞p' ] 'to bite'
wɐt / [ wɐt' ] 'to tie'
plAk / [ plAk' ] 'to hiccough'
/ o / [ o ] a close middle back vowel.

/ boŋ / [ boŋ ] 'to eat' (meat)
/ throc / [ throːc ] 'a mollusk'
/ butbot / [ buːbɔt ] 'to tremble'

/ ɔ / [ ɔ ] an open back rounded vowel.

/ məj / [ məj ] 'one'
/ kɔk / [ kɔːk ] 'a pipe'
/ şeməŋ / [ şeməŋ ] '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 /   / piʔ /   ' husked rice'  
/ peʔ /   ' to chip'

/ i / - / u /   / riʔ /   ' fast'
/ ruʔ /   ' to take off'

/ e / - / et /   / bek /   ' to cry'
/ bɛk /   ' a bear'

/ e / - / ã /   / Jeŋ /   ' to sew'
/ ŋæŋ /   ' foot'

/ e / - / y /   / mem /   ' blood'
/ mɛm /   ' father'

/ e / - / a /   / met /   ' your'
/ mat /   ' eyes'
| / ꦓ / - / ꦔ / | / bukelig / | 'to wear' |
| / bukg / | 'a face' |
| / ꦔ / - / ꦑ / | / kugug / | 'kind of water turtle' |
| / gip / | 'to crab' |
| / ꦑ / - / ꦔ / | / plum / | 'kind of bamboo' |
| / plam / | 'beeswax' |
| / ꦒ / - / ꦔ / | / huk / | 'to clear the throat' |
| / hak / | 'to throw up' |
| / ꦔ / - / ꦔ / | / jenha / | 'feet' |
| / hun / | 'to abandon' |
| / ꦒ / - / ꦔ / | / ?xhug / | 'to do, to make' |
| / ?uh / | 'I' |
| / a / - / ꦔ / | / nareg / | 'kind of wild banana' |
| / ner / | 'a small spirit' |
| / ꦔ / - / ꦔ / | / kut / | 'a fern' |
| / kot / | 'to embrace' |
/ o / - / o / / roj / "a younger brother or sister"
/ roj / "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 / γ /, /Λ / or / a / as shown in the figure below:

/ iγ / a close front unrounded diphthong

/ bim biγm / [ bim'bim ] ‘to blink’

/ u / a close back rounded diphthong

/ luΛj / [ luΛj ] 'keen'
/ ūuΛj / [ ūuΛj ] 'down stream'
/ uʌ / a close back rounded diphthong

/ cuʌk / [ ɛuʌk̚' ] 'to dig'
/ juʌŋ / [ ɔuŋ ] 'to hang'

/ ua / a close back rounded diphthong

/ buak / [ ?buak̚' ] 'to boil'
/ thokluak / [ thok̚'luak̚' ] '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 /  [ ɕiː ]  'to want'
/ ?jɔ /  [ ?jɔː ]  'to call'
/ thoŋ /  [ thoːŋ ]  'a sting'
/ bɔnliŋ /  [ bɔnliŋ ]  '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.

/ wɔk / + / cɔ́but / ---→ / wɔkcɔ́but /
water    a pig     lard
/ ?jak / + / mim / ----> / ?jakmim /
an excrement a fly a mole

/ ?sh / + / çyrè?/----> / ?shçyrè?/
to do vargina to intercourse

to have offsprings to pregnant

/ wåk / + / din / ----> / wåkdin /
water elder brother a large river

excrement fire ashes from fire

'/ ?èw / + / bråp / ----> / Èwbåp /
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
/tə/  /bōŋ/  ---->  /təbōŋ/
a knife  to puncture  a knife with a
a hole  sharp blend in
the end

/ple?/  +  /kĭŋ/  ---->  /ple? kĭŋ/
fruit  smooth  an orange

cə?/  +  /çwəŋ/  ---->  /çəńwəŋ/
to make a fire  a garden  to burn of plantation

Mlabri  Thai  Word
/ac/  +  /jaŋ/  ---->  /acjaŋ/
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
2.6.1.2.2 a causative prefix [py]

/bwl/  -------->  /pymbwl/
death, to die  to kill

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

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

/goh/  -------->  /pymgoh/
to break  to cause, to break

/*jx/  -------->  /p*?jx/
to call  to wake up somebody

2.6.1.2.3 a perfective prefix [ ?a ]

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

/bwl/  -------->  /?abwl/
die  dead
hungry desirous

/ goh / \--------\ / ?agoh / 
to break broken

2.6.1.2.4 a nominalizing instrumental infix
[ -ṭrāŋ ]

/ tēk / \--------\ / tārṅēk / 
to beat a hammer

/ klap / \--------\ / kārḷap / 
to split with a bamboo a split bamboo

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

/ ɕi / \--------\ / ɕiimni / 
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'

/ bɔη / [ bɔη ] 'to puncture, a hole'

/ hɔj / [ hɔ:j ] 'a wind (old)

/ çoɔ / [ çoɔ ] 'a trouser'

/ ɔup / [ ɔu:p' ] 'to wear'

/ makthɔ / [ makthɔ: ] '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.
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.
/ kelʔak / | kelʔaːkəʔ | "a crow"

/ thalwc / | thalaːwɔːʔ | "to be tear"

/ moʔmeʔ / | moʔmeʔ | "a crossbow"

/ kyrlqit / | kyrlqit | "a neck"

/ kɔn din / | kɔndin | "a navel"

/ maktɔm / | maːktɔːm | "a button"

/ tɔrlɔh / | tɔrlɔh | "a cooking pot"

/ tɔrlampam / | tɔrlaːmpaːm | "a moth"

/ pleʔ / | pleʔ | "fruit"

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

2.2.1. 's amin. ... amin that Khmer 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:
/ nokcip / a grey-headed parakeet Psittacula finschii

/ pruŋ / a brown-breasted tree Patridge Arborophila brunnepectus

/ prətpréŋ / a Swinhoe's white throated bulbul Criniger pallidus

/ tər lok / a grey treepie Crypsirina occipitalis

/ kap / a duck

/ krawəy / a hunting green pie Cissa chinensis

/ cok / a cinnamon-winged buzzard Butastur liventer

/ Jykcyrəŋk / a black-crested bulbul Pycnonotus melanicterus

/ buk bok / a magpie robin Copsychus saularis

/ gligloj / a spotted Owlet Athene brama
/ ꦱꦶꦭꦺ / a rhinoceros Buceros
hornbill  bicornis

/ ꦱꦺꦥꦸ ꦱ / a moorhen Gallinula
chloropus

/ ꦱꦺꦏ꧀ꦮꦺꦝ ꦱ / a born owl Tyto alba

/ tꦱꦶꦠꦱꦺ ꦱ / 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.

/ ḟꆊꆌ / [ ḟa:w ] 'a gibbon'
/ mattr / [ ma:t' ] 'eyes'
/ ꦱꦭꦭ / [ ça:la:m ] 'to be tired'
/ tərlam pam /  [ tərlampaːm ] 'moth'

/ ʃəkcyŋk /  [ ʃəktʃɨŋk ] '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

/ nɔm /  [ nɔːm ]
1. urine (n.)
2. to urine (vi.)

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

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

/ cyn rak /  [ tɔsˈnərək ]
1. a comb (n.)
2. to comb (vi.)
2.6.2.2.2 Extension of meaning

/mɔʔ/  [ mɔʔ ]
1. a rope (n.)
2. a slender stem of a vine

/cʌn/  [ tʃʌn ]
1. teeth (n.)
2. a claws of a crab (n.)

/wɔk/  [ wɔk ]
1. water
2. to inhale (to drink, to smoke)

/cʌdup/  [ tʃʌdup']
1. back (n.)
2. a shell of a tortoise

/çɔɾ kɛŋ/  [ çɔɾkeŋ ]
1. a hen
2. a wing

/thuk wek/  [ thu!kwɛk']
1. black (adj.)
2. dark color (n.)

/grw?/  [ grw? ]
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:1 ]  
1. sun day  
2. late  
3. six

/ ẓat /  [ ẓaṭ' ]  
1. bitter  
2. to prick  
3. to throw at

/ hḥkeʔ /  [ hḥkeʔ ]  
1. fire  
2. firewood  
3. tick

/ ẓuʌk /  [ ẓuʌk' ]  
1. salt  
2. to tie  
3. a wood  
   for weaving
2.6.2.3 Synonyms

'to light'

/ ħʌʔ /   [ ʔʌʔ ]
  to light tobacco in a pipe

/ pʌʔ toʔ /   [ pʌʔtoʔ ]
  to light a cigarette

'to pain'

/ gret /   [ ɡretʔ ]
  to wound, to injure

/ ɡiʔ /   [ ɡiʔ /
  to feel pain

'to slope'

/ ɡidep /   [ ɡidep ]
  to slope

/ huʔup /   [ huʔuʔp ]
  to slope (arch.)
‘monkeys’

/ kwar/    [ kwaːr ]     a black monkey

/ thväwa?/ [ thväwaʔ ]   a white monkey

‘snakes’

/ tymʔo?/ [ tymʔoʔ ]    a snake

/ mʌʔ/    [ mʌʔ ]        a python

‘a horn’

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

/ khandej/ [ khandeq ]    a horn

‘drip of water’

/ kajwɬ/   [ kajwɬ ]     (arch.)

/ pakguʔ/  [ pakguʔ ]    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)

/ ?r? / \[ ?r? \] to eat
(carbohydrate)

/ pyj / \[ pyj \] to eat (fruit)

' to wear' (clothes)

/ bwk / \[ bwk' \] to wear (shirt or blouse)

/ nuŋ / \[ nuŋ \] to wear (trouser, shorts, sanitary towels or simple skirts)
/ ꞌcup ꞌ/  [ ꞌcupʼ]  to put on (hat, sardal or shoe)

‘to cut’ (See. sec 2.3.4)

/ ꞌpʃɔ ꞌ/  [ ꞌpʃɔ]  to cut up to down

/ thet ꞌ/  [ thetʼ]  to cut (hair)

/ bih ꞌ/  [ bih]  to cut across

/ gɔrłaːc ꞌ/  [ gɔrłaːcʼ]  to cut in slices

2.6.2.4.2 Adjectives

‘hot’

/ pluŋ ꞌ/  [ pluːŋ]  (things) hot

/ rʊmʊ w ɔ ꞌ/  [ rʊmʊ ɔ]  (a pot) hot

/ thuʔur ꞌ/  [ thuʔuːr]  (weather) hot

‘old’

/ tʌmbloc ꞌ/  [ tʌmblocʼ]  (creatures) old
/ prem / [ prem ] (time) old, past

/ ʁakimruŋ / [ ʁa.kimˌruŋ ] (a man) old

/ nɔŋpərnah / [ nɔŋˌpərnah ] (arch.) old

2.6.2.4.3 Noun

dwelling

/ ɡɛŋ / [ ɡɛŋ ] Mlabri' house

/ thɔt / [ thɔt ] Thai's house

an elephant

/ pompo / [ pompoː ] an elephant (arch.) or wild elephant

/ caŋ / [ caŋ ] an elephant (generic word)

turtle

/ kaŋŋ / [ kaŋŋ ] a land tortoise
/ ꞁ Ꞇ\textsubscript{w} Ꞇ/  [ ꞁ Ꞇ\textsubscript{w} Ꞇ ]  a fresh tortoise

/ ka Ꞇ\textsubscript{u} Ꞇ /  [ ka Ꞇ\textsubscript{u} Ꞇ ]  a black tortoise

'termites'

/ dru Ꞇ /  [ dru Ꞇ ]  kind of termite

/ koh /  [ koh ]  kind of a small termite

'star'

/ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ /  [ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ ]  a little star

/ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ /  [ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ Ꞇ ]  a big star

'rattan'

/ Ꞇ Ꞇ /  [ Ꞇ Ꞇ ]  (Calamus\textsubscript{ratant} Linn.)

/ thom /  [ thom ]  (Calamus\textsubscript{redentum} Roxb.)

/ ran\textsubscript{th} Ꞇ Ꞇ /  [ ran\textsubscript{th} Ꞇ Ꞇ ]  (Calamus\textsubscript{latifolius} Roxb.)
'bananas'

/ nar /  kind of banana

/ tor /  kind of banana

/ kwə:j / [ kwə:j ]  (Musa sapientu_linn)

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

/ ʃwun / [ ʃwun ]  (Musa acuminata colla)

'pigs'

/ ʃbut / [ ʃbut ]  a feeding-pig.

/ ēaj / [ ēaj ]  a boar.

/ ʃin / [ ʃin ]  a boar

/ ʃwe? / [ ʃwe? ]  arctonyt collaris

/ taploŋ / [ taploŋ ]  a wild boar '(old.)
bamboos'

/thok/ [ thɔːk] Rambusa natans Wall. ex Munro

/praj/ [ praj] Dendrocalamus giganteus Munro

/talu?/ [ talu?] Dendrocalamus hamiltonii Neo & Am ex Munro

/malan/ [ malan] Cephalostachyum pergracile Munro

/micin/ [ micin] Gigantochloa albociliata Munro

'taros'

/katam/ [ katam] Diagcorea decipiens Hook.f.

/manwec/ [ manweč] Agyvreia sprendens Sucent.

/ kwaj / [ kwaːj ] Dioscorea esculenta (Lour.) Burk. Linn

/ guwek / [ guwek ] Dioscorea pentaphylla Linn

/ thru: / [ thruːt ] Dioscorea burmanica Prain & Burk


* Scientific names are from "อังกฤษไม่เพียงไทย" (อังกฤษไม่เพียงไทย) (พิมพ์ : 2525)
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

myrən

- turn one’s head
- repeatedly sideways

təŋk

to nod

mur

to bow

təŋk

to strike by head

b) eyes:

pəbutmat

to close one’s eyes

thʉc mat

to wipe one’s eye

bimbìxml

to blink

c) nose:

muk

to smell

to sneeze, eject nasal mucus
goluak

to breath in

goluak jur

to breath out

d) tongue

lat

to lick

kymtak

to click

e) mouth

kon

to sneeze

hryleb

to laugh (arch.)

mksk

to laugh

çmpym

to smile

jok

to suck

proc

to blow smoke

piw (çmbep)

to whistle

malam

to sing

bek

to cry

pun

to blow

piri

to open widely mouths

tan

to speak

krap

to bite

rop

to gnaw, nibble (bone)

kymna?
to chew

kap

to carry by mouth

hak

to vomit liquid
gymwak to vomit solid food
|ur to swallow
prak to hiccough
joh to spit
kymbun to keep in mouth (liquid)
calwp to keep in mouth (solid)
bspbep to gossip
jsx to call

f) hand

geh to weave (something)
wat to lie
kwac to sweep
daj to put hand on hip
got to fold arms in front of chest
palaj . to write
biip to massage
twktsk to hit
butbot to knock
pan to roll (tobacco)
paguh to knuckle, squeeze are out of joints
paciplti 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        |
|           | (plam up)                       |
| plj       | to flick, tap                   |
| pliwj     | to beckom                       |
| pyrwet breŋ | to shake off                  |
| prek      | to pinch                        |
| grutgwec  | to scratch gently               |
| gwec      | to scratch thoroughly           |
| jorbreŋ   | to lean on hand                 |
| pɔnde?    | to lean on hand (archaic)       |
| pajok     | to raise                        |
| patwaw    | to lift (object)                |
| prek dor  | to pick out (with tip of finger)|
| cok       | to remove earwax                |
| juh       | to twist hair                   |
| tɛk       | to hit                          |
| dor       | to throw (away)                 |
| kadosŋ    | to throw                        |
| çuŋkðck   | to suspend                      |
| pɔh       | to push                         |
| we?       | to join palms together          |
|           | to way (ŋ)                      |
| borwekti? | to swing arms                   |
| johjen    | to crumple                      |
thu?th? to apply soil to body
thal?w to bath

g) foot

Jak to walk
khan to kick
gu?jil to raise foot
muljol to move foot around ankle
kadan to push with foot
jukjik to stand on tip-toes
kato? to jump
ladap to hop
kawen to step
gwecwp to drag one leg
(because of injury)
katwec to stamp
rap to run
khajyr 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vocab</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non</td>
<td>to sleep (in general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci腈nnon</td>
<td>to want to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyrun</td>
<td>sleepy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyx9yn</td>
<td>face to the sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulgul</td>
<td>face to sideway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muk?uk</td>
<td>turn over, face to the earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocab</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qabaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutkwat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grip taho'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyrsol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pokbuk face to the sky and one hand lies on the forehead

doklv face to the sky and weave the hand under the head.

noncakatket face to sideway and two hands cover with ears

grawp to sleep and raise knees put up

nontsv to sleep in sitting position

grw to sleep in sitting position by leaning to the tree.

py to rest by sleeping (not sleepy)

non mc to dream

?em to take a nap

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

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 /tɔ?bɔn/ 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocab</th>
<th>material</th>
<th>speed</th>
<th>direction</th>
<th>motion</th>
<th>in order to</th>
<th>implement used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>soil</td>
<td>slow</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
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</table>
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 gatherers 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

〇 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:

```
father
   /
  /  
/    
brother  ego  sister
   
O
mother
```

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.
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 preceding 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.

![Diagram illustrating kinship terms]

Fig 10

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?oh</td>
<td>I (ego)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gln̓</td>
<td>husband (Being addressed by mj̓y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mj̓y</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ɛwjoŋ̓</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ɛwluŋɡuh</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khv̓j</td>
<td>son's wife or daughter's husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no?</td>
<td>grandson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?r mrɔŋ ɾ</td>
<td>grand daughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kinship terms used for the relatives in the preceding generation can be further divided into two subcategories which are the terms used for the paternal and the maternal relatives.
Figure 11

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Terms</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta?</td>
<td>grandfather (father's father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja?</td>
<td>grandmother (father's mother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madinjon</td>
<td>father's elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madin lunguh</td>
<td>father's elder sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
m'am      father

rojkran      father's younger brother

rojtun      father's younger sister

ta?çak      mother's father

ja?çak      mother's mother

m?      mother

ja?      mother's younger sister

banhne?      wife's younger or elder brother

---

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

dinroj      an elder brother

dinlunguh      an elder sister

?oh      I (ego)

rojlunguh      a younger sister
rojjoŋ  
a younger brother

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

dinbɛr  
an elder brother's wife
or an elder sister's husband

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

mɔy  
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple kin terms</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta?</td>
<td>father's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja?</td>
<td>father's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny?</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'm</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋ</td>
<td>elder brother or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roj</td>
<td>younger brother or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?oh</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glañ</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mj'y</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Simple kinterms  meaning

?גַּנְו offsprings (generic)

khעj daughter/son-in-law

ןג son grandson

g ע offsprings (generic)

?םךְרוכ 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 + head.

a) Head + Modifier

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

[ ta? ] usually means father’s father. However, when [ta? ] occurs with [םךְ, קְמַרוכ, רָמִי], it conveys the meaning of masculine.
ta? + ꦠak = ta?.WinForms
mother' kin mother' father

ta? + kamruŋ = ta?.WinForms
old very old man

ta? + ram = ta?.WinForms
widowed a widower

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

ja? + ꦠak = ja?.WinForms
mother's kin mother's mother

ja? + ram = ja?.WinForms
widowed a widow


?ew + jonŋ = ?ew.jonŋ
male a son

?ew + lunguŋ = ?ew.lunguŋ
female a daughter
[ diŋ ] means an elder brother or sister.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diŋ} + \text{bēr} &= \text{diŋbēr} \\
\text{in-law} &\quad \text{elder brother or sister in-law}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diŋ} + \text{lunghu} &= \text{diŋlunghu} \\
\text{female} &\quad \text{elder sister}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diŋ} + \text{joŋ}^* &= \text{diŋjoŋ} \\
\text{father} &\quad \text{father's elder brother}
\end{align*}
\]

[ roj ] means a younger brother or sister.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{roj} + \text{bēr} &= \text{rojbēr} \\
\text{relative-in-law} &\quad \text{younger brother or sister in-law,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{roj} + \text{lunghu} &= \text{rojlunghu} \\
\text{female} &\quad \text{younger sister}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{roj} + \text{joŋ} &= \text{rojjōŋ} \\
\text{father, male} &\quad \text{younger brother}
\end{align*}
\]

* proto-Mon-Khmer
roj + tun = rojtun
father's younger sister

roj + krŋŋ = fojkrŋŋ
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 : Pós.s. Adj + Head : noun

Modifier slot is filled by possessive adjectives i.e. [ ?ot, m t · ]. Head slot is filled by noun.

?ot + khŋŋ = ?otkhŋŋ
my son or daughter-
in-law

megt + ?ew = megt?ew
your offspring

your offspring
$gut + got^* = gutgot$

last offspring the last born children

$\text{?wn}^* + got = ?\text{wngot}$

first offspring the first born children

*Mod : Verb + Head : noun*

Modifier slot is filled by verb [gəm] 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.

$gəm + ber = gəmber$

to call relative-children in-law

$gəm + ti? = gəmti?$

to call eight children

$gəm + çinto = gəmcinto$

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{madiŋ} & + \text{ lunguh} = \text{madiŋ lunguh} \\
\text{father's} & \quad \text{female} \quad \text{father's elder} \\
\text{relative} & \quad \text{sister} \\
\text{madiŋ} & + .\text{jonŋ} = \text{madiŋ jonŋ} \\
\text{father's} & \quad \text{father,} \quad \text{father's elder} \\
\text{relative} & \quad \text{male} \quad \text{brother} \\
\end{align*}
\]

c) Modifier + Modifier + Head noun.
All slots are filled by nouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
.\text{dĩŋ} & + \text{ lunguh} + ?\text{ɛw} = \text{dĩŋ lunguh?ɛw} \\
\text{father's relative} & \quad \text{female} \quad \text{offsprings father's} \\
\text{elder brother} & \quad \text{children.}
\end{align*}
\]
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 Bou, Rong Kwang district, Phrae provinces (June 1, 87)

/ ple?kwen / 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. / kẹc / is Paeng-Noi's daughter. When she married / jok /, she built up a new household, partilocal. / Curoŋ / was Paeng-Noi's ex wife who died of malaria. / Curoŋ / had two boys, / Çak / and / laŋ /.
Çak / married / paŋ /, and left to start a new family.

jọt / 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 / çoŋ/, / laŋ / Paeng-Noi's son and / wẹŋ / his nephew, (the son of his elder brother / kẹp / 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 / tɔʔbonŋ / 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 ( / gẹŋ / 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 have first life experiences. Parents or kin routinely teach him a language in order to communicate with other people in respond 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 follows 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. (*Alocasis 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 reflected to the area of housing are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocabularies in housing</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gēη</em></td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
them up some hundred wind-
screens or more. The size of windscreen depends on the members of family.

cenrηη

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

thok  Bambusa natans Wallex Munro

malanŋ  Cephalostachyum per gracile
          Munro

talu?  Dendro calamus hamiltonii Neos
        & Arn. ex Munro

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

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.

py?col

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

pu?re?

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

my?

climbers.
They function as a rope to tie /kynraw/ with /py?col/.
/pla?col/ with /pla?rega?/. It there are no climbers left or Mlabri cannot find them, they use the fibrous layer on the trunk of the banana tree instead.

**tulwaat** bamboo strips used for tying instead of / mi? /

**gli?gẹ̀n** roof.

This compound consists of two words, / gli? / and / gẹ̀n /. / gli? / 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 windscreen 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 splasher.

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 /gly /gɛn/. One may conclude that shelter, windscreen or /gɛŋ/ 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
"Splasher" This word means house of fire / ḡẹŋ / means in Mlabri house / ḡẹŋke? / mean fire'. The house of fire is built like the roof /gayy ęẹŋ / but shorter. This part protects a fire which set up at the foot of a house, and prevents rain from splashing into a / ḡẹŋ / .

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

pyr

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, / pyr/ is attached to the screen. Rain cannot splash in their shelter. The structure of /pyr/ is the same as the roof.
Fig. 20 House roof 3

Fig. 21 Staying at windscreen
door.

/gγtwn⁵/ is unnecessary in the structure of a Mlabri shelter; however; it was seen at Phukeng (ŋ¹k̥ŋ). I presume that Mlabri imitate it from neighbouring house styles, for instance Hmong or Khmu. First, an old man never builds /gŋ/ 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, /glɔ̞ŋ?gɛŋ/ and /gŋ hŋkɛ?/, indicate that they have more conceptualization.

/glɔ̞ŋ?gɛŋ/ comes from /glɔ̞ŋ/ 'head' and /gɛŋ/ 'house' or windscreen. As a compounding word /glɔ̞ŋ?gɛŋ/ 'meas'roof'. Mlabri coin compounding words in the same way as Thai do. The house of fire /gŋ hŋŋe?/
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.
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 khɔt

Fig. 23 khɔt

khɔt a lance

tul khɔt (1) tip of lance

cap (2) sharp blade, kh t has two blades.

gec khɔt (3) joint between a blade and a holder is tied tightly by a woven rattan
lam khot (4) long wooden holder.

khot is used for killing wild game.

Fig. 24 khabok

3.3.2 Khabok

Khabok a kind of weapon.

cAmp (1) blade
tɔ? bon (2) a knife with a hole at the edge for insertion of a holder, made of iron. Its shape is like a Laotian knife.

gurto?bon (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 tɔ? bon 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 mo?me?

3.3.3 / mo?me? /

The / mo?me? /, a crossbow, is not a primitive weapon. The Mlabri get it when they communicate with outsiders, such as the Khmu, Hmong, or Yao. /mo?me?/ is a Khmu word. When they obtained this weapon, they must have borrowed the word / mo?me? / into their language too. Then / mo?me? / 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.

/mɔ?mɛʔ/  crossbow

tar  (1)  string
A crossbow string made from fibre of the crimers, like / thapɛt / (Pueraria sp.) Some fibre is spun as a string with one loop at each end of it.

mɔ?mɛʔ  (2)  crossbow's leg
It functions as a spring that pushes an arrow straight ahead when it is bent and released by / dɔŋɕiŋ /

. dɔŋɕiŋ  (3)  a trigger
A trigger is made of a piece of wood and adjacent to /kɛŋ/ with wooden knot. It is 7-10 centimetres long.

kɛŋ  (4)  part of crossbow
This part is larger than other parts. On the back it is grooved to lay on a arrow.
ple? mɔ́mɛ́? (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 sanat

Fig. 26 sanat

sanat a gun

gɔŋ (1) a gun barrel

culuḥ (2) iron rod
It is used to push gunpowder into the barrel tightly before putting in bullets.
tekterp (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 ganat (5) a trigger

tarkon (6) an elastic plastic rubbers

It functions as pulling /pan bath kol/ to strike percussion cap on the barrel

pan bath kol (7) a lock

This part functions as a hammer

I saw this weapon when I worked at Khun Sathan (คูนสาน), 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 Cokwêk

Fig. 27 cokwêk
/ cokwęk / (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 tɔ?bɔŋ , but they obtain it from working in the field. It seems that they favor it over the tɔ?bɔŋ.

tɔ?bɔŋ kind of knife
tul (1) bent sharp tip of knife
cʌn (2) blade
tɔk (3) black hard lac It prevents the blade to slide from the holder.
şijọ́j (4) end of blade A blade is fixed tightly to a holder because this part is laying inside a holder.
gwọ́rcok (5) a holder, made of wood
gec (6) metal ring
This part seizes a blade and a holder tightly and prevents the end of holder to break

carin (7) back of the blade

These words are native Mlabri words. Sometimes one word has several meanings for example, /giːjoj/ 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.
Fig. 28 knife making tools
?akdoŋ (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 [?akdoŋ] inside. At the bottom end of each air cylinder, the air pipe [?akpuŋ] 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.

breč (3) strip of rattan
It ties the ?akdoŋ to the cloth.

phacet (4) a piece of cloth (H?) for air pressure
?akpuj  (5)  air pipe
When air is pressed into cylinder, it links ?akpuj and /kʌmbʌlc/.

kʌmbʌlc  (6)  a clod of clay.
Two ?akpuj are combined together by kʌmbʌlc. There is a big hole inside, a wind channel, in order to accelerate the wind move at high speed to no 7

hɔŋke?  (7)  charcoal
Fire is made on it and iron, in making Khot, Khabok and to?bɔŋ, burned here. When becomes red iron, it will be hit to its desired shape on 8

kloʔlek  (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.
kwæk (10) an axe

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

lam (11) an axe's holder

týrnæk (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 wɔk?já? (a pipe)

Fig. 31 kɔk wɔk?já?

kɔk wɔk?já? a pipe

It is made of thok, a kind of bamboo. Mlabri cut / thok / and smooth it with / tɔ?bɔŋ / (a knife) till it has the shape of a pipe. After that they heat / ɔ̃mniw / , a small sharp-pointed piece of iron, and puncture a hole inside it. The length is about 13-17 centimetres.
gru?un k-ok (1)  a big hole to contain tobacco, and to light it.

k-ok (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.

klon k-ok (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 /k-ok/ and /klon k-ok/. 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  ço?

Fig. 34  ço?

Vocabularies  

meaning

çö?  
spade

gro?uŋ  (1)  hole at the top of spade, for inserting a holder

göŋ  (2)  groove of spade

gariŋ  (3)  edge of blade

cəŋ  (4)  blade of spade
"go?" a spade is an instrument Mlabri use for digging and hunting small games such as "tun" (Rhizomys). "mankoc" (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 "go?" (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 "khot," "khabok" and "tσ?bɔn". They get steel from other tribes. Its shape is like northern spades. It is possible that Mlabri learn how to make "go?" 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 "bɔn" is a blend-form. This word is borrowed from Lao.
3.3.9 ต้นก แก้ว

/ ต้นก แก้ว / is a compound form, consisting of / ต้นก / 'a container' and / แก้ว / '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.

/ ต้นกแก้ว / 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).

/ ต้นก แก้ว / does not only keep / แก้ว / (salt) but keeps /พริก / (chilli) or / บ่อมา / (Lao/thai : บ่อ / (tobacco) also.
 torpedo cuñk

(salt container)

Fig. 36


a salt container
Sometimes can keep chilli or tobacco

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.

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

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 /τυρμη θυλκ/) are generic, not specific words which are available in the language. It is easy to understand what they refer to when they speak about / τυρμη θυλκ /
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.
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
- **wok ṃwıl**  a dead spirit
- **wok banh**  spirit of the rainbow
- **wok ru?at**  spirit of the salt soil
- **wok ṭwimwe**  spirit of the wind
- **wok bę?**  spirit of the earth
- **wok gum**  spirit of the thunder
- **wok ġlar**  spirit of the sky
- **wok mw?mwe**  parent spirits

When there is a sick person in a Mlabri 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**  
*Cattimbium 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 thoroughly to cover wound or pus twice or three times a day. Wound or pus will dry later.
komboŋ

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.

ça?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


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.

barenh

to relieve pain

Leaves are boiled and the water is sprinkled on the head to relieve a headache.
Fig. 41 çal

Fig. 42 çympit
lamhe r

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

Sr?

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.

mokwe k

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 / wok wok /, 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 /τυρων/ , a bamboo container, for drinking, when they have a stomache-ache. 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), /ʔeʔ/ (a taro), /nɔt/ (piece of cloth), /khɛj/ (an egg). Then an old man will pray.

kuk man mwl roj diŋ gɔm ki ʃram ki nyj
to call death spirit younger elder not tired rest

dit ʃɾw dam di ʃarinŋ ŋɔr noŋ na pyrnah ɕvbut ʃɔŋ
back call near at backhill path in the past pig male
ton wał bo lon bo man ta? ma? týrñe j katej
spirit come calling spirit back ceremony grandfather give charcoal
pon jak cidy krap gikat cokko? mat dýmøj
stoise go upside return fever wet eye alone
a constrictor finish laugh not tear click fall soil fall mountain
j ?uk naj boñ ?uk khøj ma? khøj trak jet
ar Eldi deer boar eat Eldi deer egg snake egg Bao Constrictor
t ?ac cweñ then thawa? xamki jak butbot
bird a small bird rhesus monkey monkey not go tremble

man krap gret takat ki hiw ki hoñ dit ërëw
lling spirit back ceremony return pain cole sad not cry back call
m di sarin ñam kwej bënlîñ bërmññ ñuh di?
ar at backhill not look for to be faint nose bleed stay good

? nam jak noñ na di jùr di nôr hon di hylæh
od beautiful go at downhill at path rather at laugh
but tut pyò? py? lymba? cybut liñj cybut baj
gourd exhaust have cow pig sharp pig big
tuttłew thwįj loŋ boŋ di? di? di? ƞam
woodpecker make in eat good good good beautiful

?idiŋ ?iroj gâm hiw ki hoŋ gâm cûnla?
elder younger not sad and cry not slim

gâm cûnŋ ?inc? ?iroj gâm bek gâm wêŋ
not thin grandson younger not cry not cry

gret takat gret naw dit ūryw dam di serrat krap
pain cold pain cold back call near at backhill return

?idiŋ ?iroj Jak ɕìהחלטת maʔ? ɕìأما؟ maŋkoŋ 烝住房和城
elder younger go upside plant upside yam yam taro
.
Crmʔar kyrwęc gi nam kkerlej gâm bul
plant sweep pain joint wrist not die

kepraŋ gâm gret takat gret naw dit ūryw di
suffer not pain cold pain cold bake call at
.
dam serrat noŋ na pyrnah pyrnah ?idiŋ ?iroj
near backside in the past old elder younger

gâm ki takat ?inc? gâm cûnla? gâm cûnŋ ?inc?
not cold grandson not slim not thin grandson
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:
Cloud dead spirit mother father brothers and sister cloud.

Boy blow dead not quickly go die.

Fell nice good please come he here.

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 (มูลมัน) 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 thwgal lupu?
taro taro (Lao) old person old person

?oh lɔm?yɔh
I make a fire

lɔmnuh ni ʂɛn ni mɔŋ ɔi ʃaŋ ɔi ti? mla?
stay in house in house pain foot pain hand person

loŋ ni? loŋ jak ˀyɛ? wɔŋ ˀyɛ? wɔŋ
immigrate go away imigrate go many stream many swamp

ˀyɛ? ʈhaŋ ?i mɔm ?i diŋ nɔŋ na pyrnah
many path/road address father address elder in the past

Jak ?yu jak kuŋɛ? puŋ ʃɔŋwɔŋwɔŋ
go do go hunt boar deer now

?oh lɔm?yɔh lɔmnuh ?yuŋ ʃɔŋŋu mɔŋ ɔi
I make a fire stay do rice swidden cotton pain

cɔŋdup ɔi nyrɔŋŋar ?oh kɔ bo loŋ jak
backbone pain throat I not immigrate go

I not immigrate return forest I do rice swidden Yao not
trot ko bo ?sh ramap mgw bri? thek pon

finish not do rice swidden Hmong forest thick three

ngi? than lek ?oh jram ko bo ?ak lwp prew

my four night I tired not go put to cut

grun ko bo kwel prun gre? plok oirjok

clear for not to hunt bird bird bird bird

oirjok pe? leh la? cybut cin

bird hunt (small games) come back and pig boar

shpe? leh loj ci? loj ma? to?

unt come back not buy not sell classifier

a? loj ?ot ?ew jot mjy go?e?

eat not my children my wife hungry (carbohydrate)

?mal si?e? gipia? malam mlabri?

hungry (meat) want to eat then song Mlabri

idiq ?iroj ?ita? kokkrop mwrsa? idiq kakeqka?

leader younger grandfather small younger old person elder adult

ak ?akwak ?ak druan di mok be?

water flow swamp at mountain soil/earth
pe? ca? ?jek thabat ko bo jah
hunt male bee female bee underground bee not go

kwe! ko bo paŋ keŋ ?oh koŋ ?yh koŋ wyk
hunt not follow chase I try do try observe

lym ?yh lym puŋ ?oj ?idiŋ ?iroj gi cadwp gi
do dig exclaim elder younger pain back bone pain

kyrlt ....
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 kneeing 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

noŋ | a greater coucal | 1. *Cuculus canorus*

kālī | a kalij pheasant | 2. *Lophura leucomelana*

nokŋipp | a grey-headed parakeet *Psittacula finschii*

pruŋ | a brown breasted tree *Arborophila brunneopsectus*

Patridge
prw?pre? a common myna  Acridotheres tristis
prítpréc a swinhoe's white-throated Bulbul  Criniger pallidus
týrlok a grey treepie  Crysirina occipitalis
týrlañkun a peregrine falcon  Falco peregrinus
tuttew a wood pecker
trolotba? a peacock
kap a duck
krapwýk a black-naked stock  Xenorhynchus asiaticus
kabo?lom a brown headed gull  Larus brunnicephalus
krawũr? a hunting greenpie 1. Cissa chinensis
    a black-collared 2. Sturnus nigricollis
    starling
kyl ?ak a large-billed crow  Corvus macrorhynchos
kokdroj a dove
kjan a myna  Acridotheres fuscus
cok a common-winged  Butastur liventer
    buzzard
?ac?janq a cattle egret  Bubulcus ibis
?acrrak a silver-eared mesia  Upupa epops
?uk?wgk a streaked-breasted  Dicus viridanus
    green woodpecker
?uh?weh Vanellus indicus
?weh a macaw
َjykwyrek a black-crested 1. Pycnonotus melanicterus
    bulbul a sahy bulbul 2. Griniger flaveolus
jyrũn  Himantopus himantopus
bukbuk a magpie robin *Copsychus saularis*

glan a blaci-shouldered kite *Elanus caeruleus*

gligwij a spotted owlet *Athene brama*

gsloh a rhinoceros hornbill *Buceros bicornis*

gyrken a hen

gyrjok a golden-headed myna *Ampeliceps coronatus*

cupcup a moorhen

t a red turtle dove

1. *Gallinula chloropus*
2. *Streptopelia tranquebarica*

gukrork a white-breasted kingfisher *Halcyon smyrnensis*

glanjok a black-billed roller *Coracias benghalensis*

rot a parrot

wseq a spectacled barwing *Garrulus glandarius*

wokwak a barn owl *Tyto alba*

jok a fowl

3.5.3.2 Insects

roj a bee

rojmim a house fly

?jek a honey bee

 trump a red ant

mut a mosquito

muwhtet a cicada

micgoc a kind of butterfly
tyr lampam  a moth (Khum)
kämpug  a termite mound
kýmpur  a kind of house fly
kýchot  a praying mantis
micmec  an ant
etač  a flea
tycel  a hornet
thyrpw?  a termite
thókkul  a wasp
cinbrip  a cricket
kýrpel  a dragon fly
kýrphsp  a butterfly
ku|co|  a grasshopper
kujrcj  an underground bee
koh  a kind of termite
komlot  a firefly
bombwaj  a spider
dinmriŋ  a louse
ditdrenŋ  a weevil
drup  a flying termite
jwet  a termite pu pa
ciget  a black cicada
gẹ?  a head louse
me?lat  a ring worm
mỳ!  a caterpilla
mukbok  a scorpion
thraj  a worm
kỳndep a centipede
mopkrup a worm
dwecwèc an earth worm
jaçuj a kind of wasp
rɔmrum a kind of insect
rɔŋkap a moth

3.5.3.3 Four-legged animals:

cirbut a pig
ŋaj a boar
poŋ a barking deer
tɔkkrek a rat
thɔbeʔ a goat
then a rhesus monkey (arch.)
thɔwaʔ a rhesus monkey
pompo a wild elephant
twɛr a rabbit
cjak a sambhar deer
doʔ a porcupine
jaw a gibbon
gẹg a rhinoceros
ciphej a cat
bɔr a pangolin
braŋ a dog
braŋ a horse
bɛk a bear
klēh  a buffalo
kwar  a howler monkey
kluŋkloŋ  a rat
glykglek  a mouse
?ji?jēŋ  a mongose
rwaj  a tiger
łomba?  a cow
tun  a mole rat
mankoc  a bamboo rat
kēh  a mountain deer
ler  a squirrel
kraŋ  a kind of squirrel
kullua?  a flying lemur
dyrmo?  a ferret

3.5.3.4 Reptiles

mʌ?  a python
pje  a monitor
tymp?o?  a cobra
thak  a land leech
throc  a water snail
thek  a snail
kēŋ  a crab
tu?kuk  a frog
cyraŋ  a small frog
gwngwaŋ  a shink
gwp  a kind of water turtle
ban  a small crocodile
kaʔum  a black turtle
kaʔoŋ  a land turtle
ʔwŋ  a bull frog
wet  a chameleon
tut  a gourd

3.5.3.5 Aquatic animals

leŋpẹŋ  a shrimp
giŋpa  a soft shelled turtle
Gen  an eel
kaʔ  fish
gogwen  a soft-shelled turtle (arch.)

Most animals known or seen in the forest are Mbabri’s food and some are unedible. When forest was destroyed most of them were killed and some immigrate to other places. So Mbabri 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, η, m, n, p, t, c, k, ?, ph, th, kh, b, d, š, g, š, đ, ć, h, l, r, w, w, j, ?w, ?j/ , 4 cluster consonant phonemes in postinitial position /r, l, w, j/ and 16 final consonant phonemes /m, n, p, η, p, t, c, k, ?, ç, h, l, r, w, j/.

Vowel phonemes. Vowel phonemes include single vowel phonemes and diphthongs. There are 10 single vowel phonemes /i, e, è, u, y, ø, a, u, o, ç/ and 4 diphthongs /iø, uy, ua, uø/. 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, mallusks.

Whenever they want something they will take
forest products, such as honey, beewax, rattan, rattan
weaven 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 creepers 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 that 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 Hauy Bohoy again. After that, they migrate to Ban Khun Sathan in Naoi 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:
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 cannot 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 /, / rrequently /, / 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 /khɔj/ "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

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, ŋ, n, ñ, ñ, p, ph, t, th, c, k, kh, ?, b, ɓ, d, dɔ, j, g, ɠ, h, l, l, r, w, Ɂ, ?w, j, ?j. The lexical items which have clusters are listed after their initial consonants.

2. The vowel order is /i, e, ê, œ, Ɂ, γ, a, u, o, ɔ, iy, uʌ, uŋ, ua/

m

mimut a split bamboo
mim a house fly
micinŋ kind of bamboo
micməc an ant
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>micgoc</td>
<td>kind of butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mën</td>
<td>blood (khmu?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mën</td>
<td>yes, correct (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mët</td>
<td>your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>më?</td>
<td>rain, raining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mglat</td>
<td>ringworm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëh</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëw</td>
<td>1. checks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Hmong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëwëw</td>
<td>1. a musk melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. to understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëuj</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mym</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëp</td>
<td>to stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëvëkëk</td>
<td>to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>më?</td>
<td>1. mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. a rop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. a slender stem of a vine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mël</td>
<td>a caterpilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my?mëh</td>
<td>temporal bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myrën</td>
<td>to shake one's head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myrcar</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëp</td>
<td>to close eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëc</td>
<td>1. to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. to meet, to see, to find</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mA?  1. a python
     2. name of plant
        (kind of creeper)

m̄r     to creep

ma  1. in order to, so that
     (prefix of purpose)
     2. to come (Thai)

mankoc  a bamboo rat

manwâc  kind of taro

mat  eyes

mat con  segment of the many
        jointed stem of bamboo

mak  to like something (Thai)

maktôm  a button (Khmu)

maktho  beans (Thai)

makkhwêŋ  tomato (Thai)

ma (?)  to give

mabut  a pile

madîŋ  elder sibling

madîyîl  1. a heel
         2. a palm

mahunî  a castor bean

mal  death

malam  to sing a song (Thai)

malanî  kind of bamboo

munj?jek  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
moktyk  aghost in forest
mo  a doctor (Thai)
mo?me?  a crossbow
mo?h  a nose
mo?i  one, alone
muak  a hat (Thai)
ml?t  to crush (on nail)
mla  a human-being
mj?  a wife

me?  new
muk  tattooing (Thai)
murcar  hard
murkal  kind of bamboo
mn?  to decompose
mn?  to bleed, bleeding
mo?  to thatch
mukbok  a scorpion
mul  to dive
muljol  to circle one's ankle

ni,  at on
ni?  to go away to flee (Thai)
nak  heavy (Thai)
nam  a needle
namtum  mixer, water medicine
naw  a knife
nuŋ  to wear on (trousers, skirt) (Thai)
nur  back of blade
noŋ  a fireback
nɔm  urine, piss
nɔŋ  to sleep (Thai)
nɔŋməŋ  to dream
nɔŋ pyrnah  past, the old time
nɔ?  1. a grandson
      a nephew
      2. a ring finger
ŋel 1. lower leg, thigh
ŋam year
ŋar kind of wild banana
ŋun a jackfruit (Thai)
ŋukok a gun
ŋor a small personal spirit

pippap scissors
piw a pillow
piet to poke (by finger)
pak tight
pʌʔ that, over there
put black beeswax
pɔk 1. a net-fish
2. a bag with shoulder strap

p

pimpeŋ eyelashes
piŋŋeŋ grass, weeds
ŋar a long pepper
ŋak difficult
η

ηυή to puzzle

ηωί ηεί a cicada

ηαμ 1. to hear, to listen
2. to rememory

ηας a flea

ηαϊ a boar

ηγν 1. to play
2. money (Thai)

ηγι to raise a head (Thai)

ηοι a footprint

ηοτ a piece of cloth

ηο? a rambutan (Thai)

ηορ road, trail

ης

ηυή to sit, to stay

ηο a pine tree

p

pin an opium (Thai)

pitpoc to stroke something with hand
pi?  1. to fall down on
     2. miled rice /
       husked rice
pi?pA  what
pi?qA?  who
pi?qηη  who (arch)
piw  to whistle
pet  a liver
pep  to shoot
peh  to crack
peη  to up hand into
     pocket, bag
pe?  three
permac  to see
pej  to insert
pwnjan  stool (old word)
pwnkel  to oblique
pwh  to wake up
pymuk  to make someone smell
     something
pynde?  to point
pyn dak  to knee
pyη  to follow
pytit  to join face to face
py tok  to extinguish, finish
| pɔt weł        | to wag               |
| pɔ bɯl        | to kill              |
| pɔ bıwɛt      | to close eyes        |
| pɔ bɾoʔ        | to injure            |
| pɔ cɔl        | a crossbeam running parallel to the base of a gable |
| pɔʔ           | to have, there is    |
| pɔɡoh         | cause to break       |
| pɔʃɛ          | to cut off           |
| pɔɾ           | a wall of house      |
| pɔɾ maɾ        | braw                 |
| pɔɾ ɐɾɾ        | a path               |
| pɔʃj          | to eat (fruit)       |
| pɔʔ ʃjɔ        | to wake up somebody |
| pap            | to sleep             |
| pɔɾɛ          | to fly               |
| pa             | causative prefix     |
| papa           | 1. to jump           |
| papa           | 2. to fight          |
| pamaŋ          | to make someone smell something |
| pamaŋuk        | to roll tobacco      |
| pandy          | how much             |
| pæŋ           | rainbow (Thai)       |
| pæp            | 1. banana leaf       |
| pæp            | 2. a trumeric        |
pa ty?  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 aide  to turn something upside down
pa leh  1. to stick out 2. to give birth
palaj  to write
palAp  to rinse
paluh  to scold
paral  a hail
pum  a woven basket
pun  to blow
putpuit  to split into many sections
puhpuh  to beat
puj  a stomach
pompo  a wild elephant (old)
pon  four
pok  to be startle
pok gly?  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
polj    a barking deer
pok     a ring
pot     lungs (Thai)
poc?    to push
puak    full
plin    small water leech
plil    vulva
ple?    fruit
plel?kok Adam's apple
plel    to close one eye
plym    kind of bamboo
plam    besswax
plak    to hiccough
plag    to flick away
plalj   to flick
plah    to open palm
plunq   to warm (thing) hot
plut    to remove, to peel off
pljk    a checkbone
prem    to worn out, ole
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pre?</td>
<td>a pepper chilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preh</td>
<td>a stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prɛʁ</td>
<td>to sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prɛw</td>
<td>blow nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prɛ.j</td>
<td>kind of bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prw?prɛ?</td>
<td>Acridotheres tristis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prɛtprɛc</td>
<td>Criniger pallidus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praw</td>
<td>a dead tree, a dry wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pruŋ</td>
<td>Arborophila brunneopectus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pru?</td>
<td>sugar cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proc</td>
<td>to blow smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proj</td>
<td>to hiss to wheeze to spray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjɛ</td>
<td>a monitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjɛ? µɛ</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjɛ?dy</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjɛj</td>
<td>an orange, tangerine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phylēk</td>
<td>to lightening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phakatam</td>
<td>kind of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha? cet</td>
<td>wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha?dam</td>
<td>black clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha?wŋ</td>
<td>yellow clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha? wɪk</td>
<td>loincloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha? jaŋ</td>
<td>a plastic rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phon</td>
<td>to sharpen (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phok</td>
<td>to peel (Thai)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ti</th>
<th>at, in, on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>timtem</td>
<td>a waterfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin</td>
<td>to kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti?</td>
<td>1. a hand, lower arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšŋ</td>
<td>to divide, todistribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšk</td>
<td>1. to hit, tobeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšj</td>
<td>to climb (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twŋok</td>
<td>to nod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twlk</td>
<td>whlege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twktek</td>
<td>to clap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw?</td>
<td>bamboo tissue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twop</td>
<td>to pound something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšmnap</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšmnah</td>
<td>a stool (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšm?o?</td>
<td>a cobra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšn rot</td>
<td>wade through a stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšnwat</td>
<td>a string</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšnbvy</td>
<td>kind of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tškkrek</td>
<td>a bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tškršŋ</td>
<td>half (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρυκελ</td>
<td>a hornet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρ?ατ</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τργυθ</td>
<td>overthere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρβερ</td>
<td>a chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρωνη</td>
<td>a bamboo container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρμωθ</td>
<td>a palm civet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρνκ</td>
<td>a hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρναπ</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρνυρ</td>
<td>a pestle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρηγκ</td>
<td>to bow one's head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρενεγ</td>
<td>leg ligament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρλετ</td>
<td>to rub between hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρλεγ</td>
<td>a spleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρρφκ</td>
<td>to turn back quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρλαμπαμ</td>
<td>a moth (Khmu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρλανκυν</td>
<td>a haw (Falco peregrinus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρλακ</td>
<td>a scar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρλυ?</td>
<td>kind of bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρριχ</td>
<td>a cooking pot (Khmu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τρρλοκ</td>
<td>Crypsirina occipitalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ταμβλοκ</td>
<td>old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ταν</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ταμ</td>
<td>near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ταμα</td>
<td>particle indicating past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ταη</td>
<td>to build (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τανκετ</td>
<td>an ear's ring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tap  
critoris  
tagir  
female genital organ  
tapen  
powder  
tapan  
a rainbow  
tapo:j  
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??,je!  
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  
talë  
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                       |
| lut       | a gourd                      |
| tuilew    | a woodpecker                 |
| tutwyk    | a water container            |
| tu?kuk    | a frog                       |
| Lu?l ?    | a whole day                  |
| tul       | end, a tip of knife          |
| tommla    | who                          |
| tombloc   | old                          |
| toc       | to seize, to pinch           |
| to?       | to make a fire               |
| tor       | 1. a mushroom                |
|           | 2. kind of bird              |
|           | 3. a small inedible banana   |
| tortwny?jew | a white mushroom             |
| tony?jew  | a rattan                     |
| to?       | a knife                      |
| to?bonj   | a stiletto                   |
| tuanj     | to place something under     |
|           | something else               |
| trek      | the side of the neck         |
| tryk      | ribs                         |
| tryktok   | kind of small frog           |
| tryj      | kind of large bird           |
| tral      | bright                       |
| trуп | hard, crusty |
| trolotba? | a peacock |
| twérg | a rabbit |
| twa:j | a pupil of eye |

### th

| thet | 1. to cut |
|      | 2. tape (Thai) |
| then | 1. a rhesus monkey |
|      | 2. a blade |
| thek | 1. an impassable jungle |
|      | 2. a snail |
| thout | to wipe, to fondle |
| thyη | 1. five |
|      | 2. to see |
| thyηρ | to be drunk, dizzy |
| thyηuh | to recover |
| thyρw? | a termite |
| thyrret | a string |
| thyrul | a belly |
| thyrpuh | a betel |
| thyrbe? | a goat |
| thylet | to spin |
| thyrwa? | a monkey |
| thāp | to be on fire |
| thāp pombo | 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
thabrgc  a weaven rattan
thal  long
thalgw  to bath
thalwc  to be torn
thalun  a lowland
thukluak  to lie
thukwęk  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  Bambusa luluca
thoc  a cup (Thai)
thot  hill people, mountain
farmers
thökkul  a hornet  
thlèkal  grey  
thrwbök  to girdle  
thrîltil  waning  
thraj  a worm, but, maggot  
thrut  kind of taro  
throc  a water snail  
thrm  kind of leaf for dye  


c

cinbrip  a cricket  
cenra?  liquor  
cenrâŋ  a post  
cwângun  night late  
cwângthon  a pocket  
cyrnok  a beak  
cïnrak  to comb, a comb  
cykrêk  kind of bird  
cykbêj  to saw  
cy?êj  small (of wood)  
cybut  a pig  
cyboh  a hill, mountain  
cydup  back of person or animal  
cøy  to stir
cyrnη: a small frog

cʌn: 1. tooth
2. claw of crab

caʔ?: 1. to light a cigarette
2. male bee

cakdar: a squirrel

cʌʔɛn: bone

cumner: steep

cuŋ: smoke, stream

curwel: a spatula made of bamboo

cok: 1. a knife  2. to suck
3. butastur liven ter

cokwek: a big knife

cut: to perch, to roost

cuʌk: to dig with spade, to bury

crek: to tear up to tear upon

crɛk: kind of plant with edible tubers.

cʌnuw: to call somebody

cryluh: to put into, to stick into

croʔ: kind of bird

crɛn: small, little

cwɔn: to stir (Thai)
cwɔp: to point to

cják: a sambhar deer
k

ki not
ki? light
kiw a valley
keŋ 1. to carry in a strap
      2. to chase
ket ears
keh to weave
keŋ?ak a crow (Corvus macrorhynchos)
keŋ core, seed
keŋ a rock
keŋ a crab
keŋ a mountain deer
keŋ a drinking glass (Thai)
kuŋwəp to stab
kar to thunder
kɔmip flesh meat
kɔmam son, daughter
kɔmniw a belt
kɔmpa? to chew
kɔmpuŋ a termite mound
kɔmpur a housefly
kɔmtwil a thorn
kɔmtəŋruŋ to pull out
kɔm?uak to expectorate
kumbur  children
kumbun  to keep in mouth (liquid)
kumhup  to sneeze
kumlil  upper stomach (a hen)
kumwop  to yawn
kynat  kind of vine with edible berries
kynawl  a buttock
kynak  to bend (knee)
kynar  to scream
kynp?  leaves used for thatching
kриня  a navel
kyndep  a centipede
kynraw  bamboo sticks
            horizontal beam between two forks in building
kynrop  small
kyр  sandals (Thai)
kyр?  can not
kvтel  charcoal
kvton  to jump down
kvkkot  kind of bird
kvyaŋ  unable
kvocot  a praying mantis
kvдоп  to stab
kyšẹŋ  to smile
| k'gil     | knees     |
| k'lam    | a flat wood |
| k'laŋ    | Malay fish owl |
| k'lwŋ    | an anklebone |
| k'rit    | to weep |
| k'rnιl   | eyebrows |
| k'rpel   | a dragon fly |
| k'rphep  | a butterfly |
| k'rtel   | elbow joint |
| k'rkol   | to trip |
| k'rcop   | to sit |
| k'risak  | a raven |
| k'risŋ   | a hole |
| k'rhkeh  | to pounce |
| k'rlst   | a throat |
| k'srlap  | 1. to split made of split bamboo |
|          | 2. chopsticks |
| k'spŋ    | an uvelar |
| k'swen   | side direction |
| k'swek   | 1. a bearcat |
|          | 2. bent, crooked |
| k'sweč   | 1. fingers |
|          | 2. a black musk |
| k'swac   | a broom |
| k'swak   | to cross over |
kammor  a shin
kap  a duck
katam  a taro
catkɔ  to hit with knuckles
kakkɔt  kind of bird
kabo?lom  Larus brunnice phalus
daŋ  to chop by the spade
ka?  fish
ka?um  a black turtle
kapaŋ  a land tortoise
kal  to defeat
kalaŋ  a mongoose
kaw  a horn, an antler (Thai)
kawakbut  to chase, to round up
ekawen  to step
kum  1. a wound, crack
2. wooden floor in tomb
kumbluŋ  an anvil
kunrɔp  narrow
kup  cloud
kupɔp  to close mouth
kut  fern
kut  cɔŋ  child
ku?kɔ  a clavicle
ku?din  to measure
kuŋ  to hide
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>co</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulmj</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuluak</td>
<td>to breath in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuluak jur</td>
<td>to breath out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujlua?</td>
<td>a flying lemur, squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujroc</td>
<td>kind of bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kom</td>
<td>flashlight (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komtak</td>
<td>to kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kombo?</td>
<td>to absorb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komblin</td>
<td>raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kombug</td>
<td>an anthill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komlot</td>
<td>a firefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komjk</td>
<td>to chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>to snore, to purr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop</td>
<td>a frog (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>to embrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokdroj</td>
<td>a dove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koc</td>
<td>1. a bamboo rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. to gather up with two hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koh</td>
<td>a termite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>particle (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko be</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kombcoh</td>
<td><em>Eupatorium odoratum</em> L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kok</td>
<td>a pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koch</td>
<td>to wipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiaŋ</td>
<td>a mynah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiη</td>
<td>an orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klet</td>
<td>scales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kleh</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klηp</td>
<td>a box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klηj</td>
<td>near (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klηη</td>
<td>to stuck in the throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klηp</td>
<td>chaff when still on rice (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kleh</td>
<td>1. a buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. to strike a light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klηr</td>
<td>to index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klap</td>
<td>to hold something with a split piece of bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klak</td>
<td>to sharpen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klunklonη</td>
<td>a rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klukklool</td>
<td>a heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kluh</td>
<td>to stuff into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klool</td>
<td>a heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kloolkleh</td>
<td>to leap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klöt</td>
<td>to lengthen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klö?</td>
<td>to classify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kre</td>
<td>no, yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kre?</td>
<td>to correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krwuldwal</td>
<td>a gallbladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krηη</td>
<td>1. a winnowing basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. middle (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krηp</td>
<td>to bite, to sting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kra\w  afraid
kra\\d\t  a pill
krapwik  Xenorhynchus asiaticus
kra\q\p  a sack (Thai)
kra\l  kind of squirrel
kraw\f  Cissa chinensis
kru??w\ek  crooked
kroc  a crocodile
kwe\l  to hunt for, to look for
kw\x\j  1. a basket
         2. cultivated banana (Thai)
kwar  town people
kwa,j  a kind of taro
kwar  a howler monkey, a slow loris
kw\ek  an axe
kw\\c  1. to catch
         2. to sweep (Thai)
kja\q  Aeridothereas fuscus

kh

khi\q  ginger (Thai)
khi?\d\n  1. a mygale
         2. shooting
kh\n  a flute
kh\q\j  an egg
khvna  
grass
khrajwak  
unhusked rice, paddy
khrijw  
to stab
khyrol  
to flow
khyj  
an elder brother, son or daughter-in-law
khandej  
horn, tusk
khaŋ  
to kick
khabok  
an implement
khunthet  
Bangkok (Thai)
khonhon  
a crest
khon  
a log, a pole
khot  
a spear

?i  
female prefix
?iʔoŋ  
not to know
tʔir  
to bellow (pig),
tʔiw  
to scream
tʔek  
to take, to hold
tʔeʔ  
yam, a taro
tʔam  
to sleep
tʔep  
a green frog
tʔew  
a child, offspring
tʔem  
a bull frog (Thai)
a niece
delicious
to do, to make
to eat (rice)
prefix for past tense
wood
cliff
to leave
past
we
preposed noun maker,
article
dead
bird
Babulcus ibis
to ablaze
broken
cooked, ripe
morning
evening
earrobe
kind of plant
dark
a thumb
Picus Viridanus
a mouse deer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?u.j</td>
<td>1. female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. a moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?oh</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ot</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?on</td>
<td>soft, tender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?oj</td>
<td>sugar cane (Thai)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- bimbi: 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)
- be?: soil earth, groung
- ber: two, in-law:
- bunlin: green
- bunswr: to sprout
- bulk: to wear
- bul: to die
- burpip: wide, broad
- bnn: greenish
- bnn?: old sibling
- bunlin: greenish grey
- bblin: tobacco leaves
bático? to make a fire
bāθhēʔ cousins
bācër to grill
bābāp to whisper
bābōh to cut into small pieces
bāchēʔ to make, to blaze up
bāgōl a raffer
bāli a cigarette
bālra a bird pepper
bālak
1. white
2. milled rice
bāt to fetch, to scoop up
bātawaw to raise one hand
bānḥnēʔ mother’s relative
baŋ a small crocodile
bak to smear
bap to dig
bakkah a flower
bakuw to turn something on its slide
bar now
baw 1. a carpenter bee
2. young man (Thai)
bajgiʔ yesterday
bunbunē a pregnant woman
bunbōnē to swell, to get bigger
butbot to tremble
buk
buk.buk
bukluak
bu?
bu?u,j
bu?bun
bib taw
bombwaj
bon
bon
bonket
botblinŋ
bokbok
bo?
borwec
bon
bo?
boŋ
blinŋ
blŋŋ
bleŋ
blwt
bluŋ
blu?
blon
blonŋ
blot

a face
Copsychus saularis
kind of grasshopper
slow
to burn
a husk
the luffa, a gourd
a spider
to come off
to eat (fresh, meat)
to perforate (ears)
to be faint, to be sense
a scorpion
breasts
to pick out
to dance (Thai)
to carry a body
an ah
green, alive, raw
an arm
kind of rattan
blind
bamboo shoot
thigh
opening
transplanted rice
to growl
blōk  to come in
brīʔ    a jungle
brsć    to tie with rattan
bręʔ    muscle
bręʔ    mud
brap    a dog
braŋ    a horse
braw    a coconut
broʔ    a wound
broć    to spit out water,
        to spray water

ɓi      a rasp
bip      to sneeze
bęŋ     an eel
bęt      a cockspur
ɓęk      to carry (on shoulder)
        (Thai)
bęʔ      a clenched hand
bęʔ      leaf
bęŋ      fat thick
ɓęk      a tube
ɓer      a pangolin
ɓęʔ      to carry in one’s arm
ɓauk      to boil
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>imperative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din</td>
<td>elder sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋmrinŋ</td>
<td>a louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋroŋj</td>
<td>brothers and sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditdrenŋ</td>
<td>a weevil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diʔ?</td>
<td>of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋlo</td>
<td>to be glad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋh</td>
<td>to persuade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del</td>
<td>to cut with axe, to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dun</td>
<td>1. To pull along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. to cut down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwegwec</td>
<td>an earth worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dy</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋroŋj</td>
<td>single alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋŋ</td>
<td>1. enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋbruŋ</td>
<td>kind of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋlaw</td>
<td>kind of bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋloŋj</td>
<td>hard, very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋroŋ?</td>
<td>a ferret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋnalŋn</td>
<td>kind of grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəŋthaŋ</td>
<td>kind of bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəm</td>
<td>a long period</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dam  near, close
dupkrup  kind of worm
du?lon  afraid, to be startled
dudor  to slide
domo?  all, everybody
dop  to fold (Thai)
diçin pa?  likewise
dor  to throw away
dek  to remain in same position
to lie
dö?tor  an inflorescence of banana plant
dra?  to belch, to retch
drup  a flying termite,
a tussock moth
drol  good (quality)
droj  a little finger
dì  good (Thai)
dinì  1. a bison, a gaur
dinì  big, large
dinun  lazy
dür  to get out of (water)
dalì  to catch one's waist by hand
don
a penis

do?
a porcupine

Jin
meat

Jinrak
to fight

Jen
1. to sew
2. a needle
3. thread

Jun
heating candle coil

Jwkfrék
a king fisher

Jwrjwr
to flutter, to fling

Jyt
feet

Jyk
to carry

Jyks醉rek
Pycnorotus melanicterus

Jyr
short

Jye
delicious, sweet

Jak
to go

Jaw
a gibbon

Jeu
deserted abandoned

Junglum
to crouch

Jur
down, downhill

Jok
to suck

Jon
a spoon

Joc
to pick up (by peak)
Jīrk
Juyj
Juŋŋ
Juak
Jua?
Jual
Jri?
Jram
Jryw
Jra?
JrAh
Jru?
Jwet
to carry in hand (as bag)
a downstream
to hang in a string
a strip bamboo for wearing
rotten
stickly
a banyan tree
exhausted and hungry
to call somebody
thin
to cough
deep
a termite pupa

g

gi?
gem
get
geh
geŋ
get
gē?
gēg
güngwuŋ
gun dul
a moon
spicy, salty
to cut (branches)
hard
house, windscreen
fast
branch
a rhinoceros
a skink
a buttock
gwp  kind of water turtle
gw?gw1  thin
gwihgeh  to wash hair
gwipoh  thunder (old)
gym  to call (name), to give (name)
gymti?  a girl
gymtak  to click the tongue
gym?uk  to scream
gymb3r  child
ynl3g  afternoon
gynluw  to shake
gynre  curry
gyp  1. to crab
    2. shoe (Thai)
gytao  bright
gygil  knees
gyh  overthere
gyl3g  where
gyrit  to scour
gyrek  kind of plant
gyrepw  
gyrjil  to bend ankle
gyrhur  bellow
gyrilat  to slide
gyrilac  to slice
gyrlej  wrist ankle
gwyēc  finger, toe
gyj  ever
gAm  don't, don't do it
gA?  there
gĀh  this, here
gAl  ten
gap  sunshine
gat  to buckle
gacēn  Alpinia galanga
gal  ten
gac  nine
gawal  to move
gaj  kind of butterfly
gunŋ  1. pus
           2. wood oil
gungonŋ  kind of plant
gut  last
gutgsc  young woman
gutgcol  to fell down (tree)
gutrel  firn
guguh  skin, lid of eyes
gugwul  to wallow
gu?  to fall
gu to overflow
guhur  a wind pumper
gul  seven
gulcol an elbow
gur jaw
guril a temple
gongril to forget
got to keep hand on chest
goh
1. to break
2. soft
goguh a cover
gop to try
got behind
goji
1. bladder and urinary tract
2. Elanus caeruleus
gau? a horn
gligwry Athene brama
glykglek a mouse
glu? a head, stump
glan
1. a husband
2. Elanus caeruleus
gret to pain, hurt
gre?
grec to keep
grel

gre? to slice
grec to scale
grw? to crow noise
grap to close the mouth
gryp 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)

9

ci 1. to puncture (Thai)
2. four
3. to have pain, to have
   an irritation
4. to want
cinde how
cinker a nail
cipap to take a nap
cikhsj to itch
cicet thin
cibe? close to the ground
ci?ih talkative
ci?phaj a cat
ci?joj a bowel intestines, end of blade inside handle of knife
cideon to slope
aida, to wish
gicet, a cicada
gek, 1. bitter
2. kind of rattan
3. to chase a dog
ciw, blunt
cge?, a head louse
cgη, black (old world)
cge?, many, several
cow, to buy (Thai)
cwntwn, a door
cwit, to grow
cwck cak, to scrape off
cwkwok, mud
cymen, a small star
cymop, a big star
cymniiw, an awl
cympym, to smile (arch.)
cym bep, lips, jaws, beak
cym lak, dirty, black
cyn re?, to cover with earth,
to bury corpse
cynret, flank, area around
kidneys
cyn, flame on fire
cynkap, a smouldering charcoal
cynlep, a flame
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɕipat</td>
<td>1. sift bolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕipal</td>
<td>2. to wash clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕipaw</td>
<td>a soft-shelled turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕipuh</td>
<td>a watermelon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕikat</td>
<td>to rinse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕikprak</td>
<td>to close something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?in</td>
<td>a fork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?in</td>
<td>a watergrass galangai, lemon grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?ak</td>
<td>to hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?al</td>
<td>bad smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?um</td>
<td>stink rotten smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?ok</td>
<td>kind of bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?be?</td>
<td>low short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?baj</td>
<td>to carry across shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?da</td>
<td>(Thai) guava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?huŋ</td>
<td>a papaya (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?te</td>
<td>color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?let</td>
<td>a woven utensil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?lmen</td>
<td>bad smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?lup</td>
<td>to keep in mouth (solid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?loh</td>
<td><em>Buceros bicornis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?riŋ</td>
<td>ridge, back of slaughtered pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?re?</td>
<td>vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕy?rel</td>
<td>a mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrel</td>
<td>a scores pine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrul</td>
<td>kind of small palm tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrangok</td>
<td>kind of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳron</td>
<td>to dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrnc</td>
<td>kind of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrtel</td>
<td>a horn an antler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrter</td>
<td>fin of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrké</td>
<td>1. wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrbot</td>
<td>to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrbot</td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrbok</td>
<td>a hoof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrgal</td>
<td>a porcupine's hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrlen</td>
<td>thatch arass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çỳrjòk</td>
<td>Ampeliceps - <em>Coronatus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çÀ?</td>
<td>to light tobacco in a pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çam</td>
<td>1. to be knocked over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. three (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çammac</td>
<td>to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çamni</td>
<td>a drill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çanat</td>
<td>a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çan</td>
<td>1. an elephant (Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çap</td>
<td>a bamboo strip used for wearing a basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çapat</td>
<td>to winnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çapaj</td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gat 1. to prick
2. to throw at
3. a weaven mat (Thai)
gatbat a moment
gak mother's kin
gakymrug old (person)
gakat to close
gal\text{?}al Clausena excava\text{ta} Burn.
gal\text{uc} to put in
calam 1. a thron
2. tired
calo? a plam tree's leaf
calo a corn, maize
cal\text{?}jok kind of bird
car a shirt, clothes
cumnup to put on (shoe)
cun high, tall (Thai)
cungold\text{?}o? kind of tree
gup to put into (Thai)
gupgup Gallinula Chloropus
gcup\text{?}n a sock
gcupcup kind of bird (Thai)
gukko? wet
gukcoro k Halcyon smyrnensis
guh down, below, under
guwok the fire shelter
*compu?*  a plant of the genus Solanum

*gon*  a trouser (Thai)

*gor*  to ask for

*go*?  a blade of knife or spade

*go*e?  1. hungry

  2. to desire

*go*m  to sharpen

*go*n*  two (Thai)

*go*gw*en*  a soft-shelled turtle

*go*h  to start fire, to scorch

*go*l  to cut off, to slice

*gu*ak  1. an eggplant

  2. salt

*gu*ak  to tie, to tie up (Thai)

*gu*ak  1. light

  2. easy to carry

  3. wild

*glan*gro*  Coracias benghalensis

*glan*jok  Pycnonotus atriceps

*gw*e?*  a hognosed badger

(Arctonyx Collaris Dictator Thomas)

*gw*ar  she, he

*gw*yn  a swidden field (Thai)

*gw*x,j  to clean one’s face

*gw*ok  to tie
hik  very
het  mushroom (Thai)
hekutwat  an eyepit
hem  clogged
hinta?  a tail
hun dzo  delicious
hýnde?  to point to
hunlíŋ  to forget
hünke?  1. fire
   2. woodfire
   3. dog's louse
hünkik  a native kpmumpkin
hünkok  a gun
hýk  to vomit, to clear the throat
hyleh  to take out
hýle?  to laugh, to neigh
hylah  to cut up meat
   lengthwise for roasting
hýloj  to flow
hýjmat  tears
hak  to throw up (Thai)
hugew  to wait for
hú?up  to slope (old)
hot  to fall (rain)
haw
1. to bark
2. good smell (Thai)
hot
to arrive (Thai)

lina
steep
lika
a watch
ligoj
the rump
letmwt
to fall down
letkec
a large timber tree
le?
a white gibbon
leh
to come, to produce
ler
a squirrel
le
final question particle
lenη
red, orange (color)
lenpenη
a shrimp
leki
late night
ler
to stick out tongue
lumtli
rub one’s eyes
lumpar
wet, muddy
lum?ma?
dumb, mute
lymba?
a cow
lyph
a red ant
liη
together with
lyph
to put flower on one’s ears.
lypu? to fall into
lypot to go into
lztirn upward above
lyktiej a car
lyklik to get burn
lydap to hop
lyge? a branch
lygwh up there
lygyh over there
lygAw up there
lygAh up there
lyhuk catarrh
lyhur medicine drug
lAr to swallow (something)
lam a tree, wood
lamqen \textit{Dipterocarpus alatus}
lamtrun kind of tree
lambo? kind of (tree with) large fruit
lat to lick
lakprek the wax gourd
lakbek a plant allied to the balsam apple
ladat flat
ladap to hop
la? a should
la?Ok a thorn
law to tell
lun here
lunlin kind of palm tree
lungoi a waist
lunguh a woman
lom a wind (Thai)
lon in, into, and
longun a thumb
loj ever
lon to descend
lo? to sick
lokta?a? saliva
loa to steal to remove
loh near by, by on
loj to pick
lui,j sharp pointed
luah a forest, a penetrable jungle (Thai)

[ek iron, anvil
[ekke,j airplane
[w?n]e? occiput (back of the head)
[yen] 1. a bracelet a bangle
2. yellow
| gy | a spine |
| gw | keen, sharp |
| ak | nothing, empty |
| ut | deaf |
| ur | to swollen |
| oj | 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 |
rgt | matches |
rg? | to run, to run away |
rg | root |
rw? | to take off |
rwlat / nwlat / | a tongue |
rmwuc | (fire) hot |
rynkap | a mouth |
rxphgp | a butterfly |
rw? | to undo (shirt) |
rwmo? | stupid |
| rwiri?       | 1. a small bead                      |
| rwjwar     | 2. jujube                            |
| ruwmuñ     | 1. to blow                           |
| ruwel      | 2. to flip                           |
| rȳmal      | to be pain                           |
| rȳmr̄um   | a spirit                             |
| rȳmgr̄um  | kind of wood used for making pestle  |
| rȳmr̄um   |                                       |
| rȳpḡap   | to sharpen                           |
| rȳnḡum   | to stretch oneself                   |
| rȳtȳre?  | a kapok                             |
| rȳth̄ha?  | kind of insect                       |
| rȳst̄k    | jaws                                |
| rȳj̄an̄   | a hump of cow                       |
| rȳsw̄aj    | weevil                              |
| ram        | a sheath                             |
| ramap      | chest                               |
| rambah     | bamboo shoot (arch.)                 |
| ramut      | a tiger                              |
| ranthen    | widowwed                            |
| ran̄nj      | upland field                         |
| ran̄n̄      | half                                |
| ran̄n̄      | wind                                |
| ran̄n̄      | Calamus rudentum Roxb                |
| ran̄n̄      | 1. to chew                           |
| ran̄n̄      | 2. teeth                             |
rap  to chase, to follow
rawu?  to move
rotthyn  air plane
ron  to bite by little
roj  younger sibling
roj  a bee
rojimim  a house fly
ru\at  salt soil

w

wet  a chameleon
we\eta  to take a walk
wek  curved
we\sigma  a taro
w\sigma\eta  1. a Chin
  2. Garrulus glandarius
w\eta\kappa  1. water
  2. to smoke  to inhale
  3. to drink
w\at  to tie
w\al  to return
wakwem  Piper sarmentosum Roxb
wakwek  Tyto alba
w\kappa  a spirit, a ghost
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṟep</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṟuk</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṟyk</td>
<td>to observe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṟxj</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṟap</td>
<td>to yawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṟapdy</td>
<td>when (Thai)</td>
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</table>

/ ?weh / a macaw *Vanellus indicus*
/ ?uk ?wek / a woodpecker *Picus viridanus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jekki,jët</td>
<td>to smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jë</td>
<td>he she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jët</td>
<td>woman's skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqü,j</td>
<td>kind of wasp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jëñ</td>
<td>a market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jAk</td>
<td>thus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja?</td>
<td>a grandmother, aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja?lam</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja?ram</td>
<td>a widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>Yao</td>
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</table>
juk  rice, cooked rice  
jukdon  cultivated rice  
juk jvak  to stand on the toc  
juhwju:  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  
jor  1. path way  
2. to sit and stretch leg out  

?.j  

?.ji?.jeh  a mongoose  
?.jek  a honey bee  
?.je?  far  
?.jun  to stand (Thai)  
?.jys:  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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yumbri</th>
<th>Mrabri</th>
<th>Mlabri</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ãtrlāt</td>
<td>radlad</td>
<td>rwutlat</td>
<td>a tongue</td>
<td>หู</td>
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<td>atrnkāb</td>
<td>sambaeb</td>
<td>ḏynbęp</td>
<td>lips</td>
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<td>mōh</td>
<td>a nose</td>
<td>จมูก</td>
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<td>mat</td>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>ตา</td>
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<td>ked</td>
<td>ket</td>
<td>ears</td>
<td>หู</td>
</tr>
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<td>krerh</td>
<td>gl̪?</td>
<td>a head</td>
<td>ศีรษะ</td>
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<tr>
<td>wūoīkuŋ</td>
<td>ja-aengkrerh</td>
<td>ǵ?aʔɛŋ  ǵl̪?</td>
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<td>jern</td>
<td>cāp</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>ฟัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>braeng</td>
<td>breqη</td>
<td>an arm</td>
<td>แขน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atī</td>
<td>tih</td>
<td>tiːʔ</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>นิ้ว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tiːʔ</td>
<td>a finger</td>
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<td>rum kum</td>
<td>?uʔ</td>
<td>a thumb</td>
<td>นิ้วหัวแม่นิ้ว</td>
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<td>Yumbri</td>
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<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>tën</td>
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<td>Yumbri</td>
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<td>Thai</td>
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<td>Yumbri</td>
<td>Marbri</td>
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<td>Thai</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>타위</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>gi?</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>ดวง พระอาทิตย์</td>
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<tr>
<td>kein</td>
<td>kroom</td>
<td>grum</td>
<td>shadow</td>
<td>เจ้า</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ausdruck

| ยางา | aki | tal | day | กลางวัน |
| 태우呤 | ki-akea | ?agi? | morning | ตอนเช้า |
| 태우نة | ke-aniing | ว่ายา | noon | ตอนกลางวัน |
| 태우 된 | ackanlaeng | ?alék | evening | ตอนเย็น |
| ยางาญุต | jankiin | ว่ายางวูร | night | ตอนกลางคืน |
| adyák | ner | north | พื้นเหนือ |
| ยางาอี | tai | south | พื้นใต้ |
| 태우 된 | akhod | tal ?req | west | ทิศตะวันตก |
| 태우呤 | libé | kal | east | ทิศตะวันออก |
| kein Asdruck | - | northeast | พื้นเหนือ |
| kein Asdruck | - | southeast | พื้นใต้ |

| ยางา | sad | sat | a mat | เลื้อย |
| altern | ki-akbeng | แท้ย | a full moon | เลยพระ

kein | ki-araem | a dark moon | เตื้อนไม่คืบ |
| ยางา | tiki | gi? | a moon | ดวงจันทร์ |
| ยางา เม | kilaeh | gi? leh | way moon | ข้ามขึ้น |
| ยางา | samon | ส้มอวิบ | a star | ดาวดาว |
| kein | ธมะญี | ยางา | วางแผน |

Ausdruck

ไทย
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yumbri</th>
<th>Mrabri</th>
<th>Mlabri</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>Ausdruck</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>bē</td>
<td>beh</td>
<td>be?</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>ติน</td>
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<td>dong</td>
<td>ramaq</td>
<td>field</td>
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<td>behtalu</td>
<td></td>
<td>plateau</td>
<td>ที่ราบ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ādyāk</td>
<td>ngol</td>
<td>ṇūr</td>
<td>a path</td>
<td>ทาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ādāy</td>
<td>jaboh</td>
<td>cēboh</td>
<td>a mountain</td>
<td>ภูเขา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ādāy šibē</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krūn</td>
<td>gaeng</td>
<td>ḍēŋ</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>บ้าน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē</td>
<td>mohkae</td>
<td>moʔke?</td>
<td>windscreen</td>
<td>ที่พักไมน้ำ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kein</td>
<td>hungke</td>
<td>hŋge?</td>
<td>a stove</td>
<td>เตาอิ่ม</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ausdruck**

| krūn  | non     | non    | sleep place | ที่นอน     |
| unbekannt | prush nge. | puŋ  | to blow    | พัด      |
| kein   | werkbo  | wəkbo: | a pool     | บ่อน้ำ    |

**Ausdruck**

| kein   | samdaeh | čāndeq? | utensils | ภาชนะ    |
| dsikdogn. |        | | | กระด้ง    |
| dālān | tarwŋa | a bamboo | กระบองไม้ |
| keine | ŋon     | a spoon | ช้อน     |
| keine  | -       | a wooden bowl | ถ้วยไม้ |
| keine  | yādood | ?ja?    | tobacco  | ยาสบุรุษ |
| keince | samnee | ɡrəmniw | a drill  | สว่าน     |
| keine  | kwack   | kwek   | an axe   | ขาวน     |
| keine  | kulkwaek | kulkwek | a handle | ผ้าม่าน     |
| tšyũ  | tar     | tar    | a rope   | เจียก     |
Yambri  Mrabri  Mlabri  Meaning  Thai
blōn  poom  pum  a basket  ตะเกียบ
kok  ersak badtalad  to do easily  ที่ง่ายๆ
keine  -  a chimney  ปล่องไฟ
köt  kod  khot  a lance  หลอก
keine  hao  hok  a wooden lance  หล้าวไม้
yǎk gǔn  kod  khot  a lance  หลอกปลาย
köt  to hunt by  ล่าด้วย
krē  a wood  ogany
keine  bralam  cok  a pade  โซเม่, เลี้ยม
keine  ngang ngong  a harvest  ฤดูเก็บ

Ausdruck

kein  mohya  mō?ja?  a doctor  หมอ
kein  ya  ?ja?  tablet  ยาเม็ด
krodkōl  wokbō  juakhok  wokbūl  a grave  ถวมฝังศพ

dyākōkōl  juakdok  cuāk  to bury  ฝัง
mlā  -  wōk  spirit  ผี
grūrāy  wokdee  wōkdrī  a good spirit  ผีดี
dkāt und  wok kai  wōk kaj  a devil  ผีร้าย
bōōi  spirit

tēn dyāk  ngol  ṃrē  a footprint  รอยเท้า
kein Ausdruck  -  cuā  name  ชื่อ
kein Ausdruck  -  noise  เลี้ยง
kein Ausdruck  -  property  ทรัพย์สินบุคคล
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yumbri</th>
<th>Mrabri</th>
<th>Mlabri</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keine</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>to revenge</td>
<td>แก้นัด้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něřěmę́y</td>
<td>jrong</td>
<td></td>
<td>a little bit</td>
<td>เล็กน้อย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>năkobę́</td>
<td>saeh</td>
<td>ge?</td>
<td>many, plenty of</td>
<td>พัก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beygōu</td>
<td>deeng</td>
<td>bonbon̈</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>ใหญ่</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ātę́u</td>
<td>jrong</td>
<td>cęraŋ̈</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>เล็ก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ātę́u</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>less</td>
<td>less</td>
<td>เล็กน้อย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūlōng̈</td>
<td>soong</td>
<td>guŋ̈</td>
<td>tall</td>
<td>สูง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grū</td>
<td>sabaeh</td>
<td>cebeî</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>เสีย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyūm</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td>weigh</td>
<td>หนัก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōk</td>
<td>swal</td>
<td>swal</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>เบา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyūm</td>
<td>yak</td>
<td>ŋak</td>
<td>difficult</td>
<td>ยาก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adyāk</td>
<td>syak</td>
<td>ŋak</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>ไป</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tödy</td>
<td>nub</td>
<td></td>
<td>to pick up</td>
<td>เลือก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšākmrę́</td>
<td>taokal</td>
<td>ča.kamrup̈</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>แก่</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děmę́y</td>
<td>kohnum</td>
<td></td>
<td>young</td>
<td>หนุ่ม, ล่อน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děkāt</td>
<td>takad</td>
<td>takat</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>หนาว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūur</td>
<td>hon</td>
<td>thu?ur</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>ร้อน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšūkṓ</td>
<td>prao</td>
<td></td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>แห้ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšōgṓ</td>
<td>sohkoh</td>
<td>cokko?</td>
<td>wet</td>
<td>เบียก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bul</td>
<td>kred</td>
<td>gret</td>
<td>to pair</td>
<td>เจ็บปวด</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āduďnýt</td>
<td>bpng̈</td>
<td>bung̈</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>ตาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēk lūt̂</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mat blwńt̂</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td>หายอด</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē bā́</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ŋut</td>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>หูหนวก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēday tšāk kweи</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mute</td>
<td>mute</td>
<td>ไม่</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bō en</td>
<td>adee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>หาย</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| dyūr         | bodee          | bo?di?         | to pregnant   | ติ่งครั้ง
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yumbri</th>
<th>Mrabri</th>
<th>Mlabri</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glọ</td>
<td>gara</td>
<td>balak</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>ดี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lǎkáũ</td>
<td>tookwaek</td>
<td>thokwek</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>เลว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšéñ</td>
<td>nae</td>
<td>balak</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>ขาว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lětawęñé</td>
<td>ma- n</td>
<td>thokwek</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>ดำ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gruní</td>
<td>kile</td>
<td>baj gi?</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>เมื่อวาน, วานวัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kein</td>
<td>kihod</td>
<td>right</td>
<td>ขวา</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ausdruck**

| kein | left | ซ้าย |

**Ausdruck**

<p>| ěyũk | men | yes | ใช้ |
| ąнgüm | oh ki bo mod | ?oh ko | I don’t know | นั่นไม่รู้ |
| děchměm | - | to breath | หายใจ |
| bũnũy | poong | pũŋ | to blow | เปา |
| tšăk | - | bɔj | no | ไม่ |
| ĕklikųl | ba-oui | buʔuŋ | to burn | เผา |
| kein Ausdurck | k min | to think | คิด |
| tšköŋ | er, bong | ?ŋ? bong, pr. t to eat | กิน |
| tákglóũ | kaeh | kgeh | to weave | ทำ |
| lăbîtųy | hlaeh | ?ʔwε | happy | มีความสุข |
| krōũ | bokrao | graw | to fear | กิ่ง |
| tǎnąŋp | kam hers | kʰmhr̥p | to yawn | หง | ห่าง |
| tŋt | bama | maʔ | to give | ให้ |
| tsat’ | mrad-aeo | məlatʔεw | to give a birth | เกิด |
| dōgn | mod | mAC | to see | เดิน |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yumbri</td>
<td>Mrabri</td>
<td>Mlabri</td>
<td>Meaning Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōm</td>
<td>ṇuh</td>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>ขึ้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋeḵoltēk</td>
<td>tek</td>
<td>to collide, to hit</td>
<td>กระแทก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāguē</td>
<td>jram</td>
<td>ɾoʔeʔ</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyam</td>
<td>herk</td>
<td>hḳk</td>
<td>to hiccup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūgyūk pūm</td>
<td>jerm</td>
<td>cḳn</td>
<td>to chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kein</td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>wḳl</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ausdruck**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lābītōy</td>
<td>hlaeh</td>
<td>ʃwɪhldʔ?</td>
<td>to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moy</td>
<td>padual k n</td>
<td>patwaw</td>
<td>to raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páyuř</td>
<td>poh</td>
<td>guh, mak</td>
<td>to love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tkōl</td>
<td>praes</td>
<td>prɛ̞p</td>
<td>to sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yākyāk</td>
<td>nom</td>
<td>nɔm</td>
<td>to urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glōdy</td>
<td>pew</td>
<td>piw</td>
<td>to whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grūy</td>
<td>tern</td>
<td>tɬ̠p</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūk</td>
<td>mook</td>
<td>muk</td>
<td>to smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gryū mā</td>
<td>ern</td>
<td>jɛʔ</td>
<td>to call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōm</td>
<td>ngooh jool</td>
<td>ṇuh jur</td>
<td>to sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīi</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>malam</td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lgomat</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>nɔn</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēk</td>
<td>tɛk</td>
<td>to strike</td>
<td>ตี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prgoyn tō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōn</td>
<td>kon</td>
<td></td>
<td>to sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūn</td>
<td>yun</td>
<td>ʔiʔun</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōn kōdā</td>
<td>onkrol</td>
<td>ʔeqngloj</td>
<td>sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēt</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>bek</td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yumbri</td>
<td>Mrabri</td>
<td>Mlabri</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kum</td>
<td>dör</td>
<td>dør</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>todūm</td>
<td>diin</td>
<td>dün</td>
<td>to pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aryāk</td>
<td>syak-langal</td>
<td>Jak longal</td>
<td>to go ahead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāpūwo</td>
<td>werk</td>
<td>wrk</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Yumbri Consonant Phonemes (Smalley, 1963)*

- b
- d
- ḏ
- g
- ṭ
- ṭs
- ṭs ṭs
- l
- m
- n
- ṇ
- n
- s
- ʂ
- ʐ
- w/ʔ/ʊ
- y/ɭ

*Yumbri Vowel Phonemes (Smalley, 1963)*

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i (i)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʊ (u)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y (i)</td>
<td>r (w)</td>
<td>ʊ (u)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē (e)</td>
<td>ā (a)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e (e)</td>
<td>ə (ə)</td>
<td>ə (ə)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ (o)</td>
<td>ʊ (o)</td>
<td>ʊ (o)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ (o)</td>
<td>ʊ (o)</td>
<td>ʊ (o)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā (a)</td>
<td>ə (ə)</td>
<td>ə (ə)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ā (a)</td>
<td>ə (ə)</td>
<td>ə (ə)</td>
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<td>ā (a)</td>
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