

THE ADI-DAFLA GROUP OF LANGUAGES OF NORTH-EAST INDIA : A SKETCH

Geoffrey E. Marrison

Introduction

During 1962-1964, I worked in Assam as Linguistics Adviser to the Bible Society of India and Ceylon, chiefly in relation to a then very active programme of translation work in the Tibeto-Burman tribal languages of North-East India. An important part of my field research was incorporated into my Ph.D. thesis, *The classification of the Naga languages of North-East India*, (Marrison 1967). This was in effect a review of some of the work and conclusions of Sten Konow as recorded in *The linguistic survey of India* (Grierson 1903-28 3/2; *LSI*), taking into account later publications, as well as my own field work. This was done by modern descriptive linguistics and linguistic analysis, with special reference to phonemic, morphological and lexical data. In particular, I used much longer word lists for comparative purposes than has sometimes been customary.

Konow's main problem had been to place the so-called Tibeto-Burman languages into viable groups, a difficulty which he himself acknowledged. This was due in part to the scanty and often unreliable data available, and in part to the fact that it was impossible to establish close, or in some case any plausible affinities of certain languages. The result was that where linguistic criteria failed, a purely geographical grouping was adopted for some languages. A further consequence of this perplexity is that in the overall survey, as exemplified by the Comparative Vocabulary (Grierson 1903-28 1/2), the nine sub-groups under the heading Tibeto-Burman Languages represent very discrepant collocations which are not really comparable one with another. For instance, the languages included in the Kuki-Chin group for the most part show close mutual affinities at all linguistic levels, which become even more impressive as lexical comparisons are extended. The same may be said, though with slight reservations, of the

David Bradley, Eugénie J.A. Henderson and Martine Mazaudon eds,
Prosodic analysis and Asian linguistics: to honour R.K. Sprigg, 205-222.
Pacific Linguistics, C-104, 1988

© Geoffrey E. Marrison

205

languages of the Boro group. The Naga languages, however, are another matter. The 26 languages listed by Konow he divided into five subgroups, which however are not more closely related one to another than they are to other, non-Naga, languages. In my own survey I concluded that there were in fact three main groups of Naga languages, rather than Konow's five.

The most unsatisfactory of all the groupings proposed by Konow was that of North Assam. In *LSI* 3/1 (Grierson 1909), six languages are described : Aka (= Hrusso) from Kameng Division, Dafla from Subansiri, Abor (= Adi) from Siang and a part of Lohit, Miri from the Brahmaputra plain, and Digaru Mishmi and Miju Mishmi (Grierson 1928 1/2) from Lohit. In the *Comparative Vocabulary* (Grierson 1928 : 1/2), all these, with many others from the west, are included under the general heading Himalayan Languages, though these latter are not like any of the North Assam group. Even within it, Aka stands alone, with no close affinities among the Tibeto-Burman languages of North-East India; Abor, Miri and Dafla evidently stand together linguistically, and are spoken through a continuous geographical area, both in the hills and the plains; while the Mishmi languages clearly belong to another group.

In the present paper, I propose to describe the Adi-Dafla group of languages, using as a type-language Padam, one of the Adi languages, spoken in South-East Siang and a small contiguous part of Lohit, all north of Sadiya, to which the Padam resort for marketing and other purposes. The other languages I note only briefly, representing them chiefly through a comparative vocabulary. However it may be said that at all linguistic levels, these languages show fairly close similarities one to another, the main division being between the Dafla languages, together with Apatani in the west, and the Adi languages of the hills of Siang, together with the Miri of the Brahmaputra plain. This linguistic homogeneity contrasts with a considerable diversity of social organisation and custom. The Apatani inhabit a small, fertile plain in the middle of Subansiri division, with a highly developed agriculture; they have a symbiotic relationship with the Dafla, who surround them, and who dress in many ways similarly to the Apatani, in particular the man wearing long hair in a topknot, though the Dafla's way of life is different, as they are characteristically hunters in the hills and traders to the plains. The various Adi tribes live along the Siang, that part of the middle Brahmaputra which flows south from Tibet to the Assam plain, where it turns westward; some of them live along the various affluents of the Siang. They engage in agriculture, and some of the northern tribes in hunting; many are crop-haired, and are noted both for their fine textiles, and for attractive dances.

The Miri of the plains speak a language very close to Padam and some of the other Adi dialects, but have a different life-style, having been settled for some centuries in the Assamese cultural region. They practice agriculture, but are specially notable for their fine silk weaving, for fishing and for their skill with elephants. They have adopted plains dress, but they have retained their longhouses, like their kin in the hills. It seems possible that the Miri people represent an early migration from the north of Adi groups, who may have occupied the plains during the time of the dominance of the Tai Ahom, who established their rule in the Assam valley in A.D. 1228. At that time, the Chutiya, a Boro people, had a kingdom based on Sadiya. They were eventually defeated by the Ahom in 1523, when their territory was annexed, but was largely depopulated. It seems plausible to suppose that this was the time when some of the Adi came into the plain, and adopted a life style suited to the region, rather more like their

predecessors than their cousins in the hills. This, however, must remain a hypothesis for future investigation. It is however in line with the general theory that tribal movement was southwards by the river valleys into Assam, and that the nearer their present location is to Tibet, the later they came into North-East India.

In the present study, as in many others, there is difficulty in making firm classifications in view of the nature of the evidence available. In most cases the data are scanty, impressionistic, unreliable, and not recorded in an accurate, scientific way with proper definitions of the way the material is handled or presented. Many of the areas are inaccessible, or could only be dealt with summarily by officers passing by in the course of other duties; while the number of languages and dialects is so great, that no one person can investigate more than one or two of them extensively and in depth. On the other hand, if one were to wait for perfect opportunities, the work would never be attempted at all. Hence it is necessary to have some criteria of how to use unsatisfactory materials, and what authority to claim for any conclusions reached.

In recent times, it has been customary to attempt language classifications on the basis of a fairly small number of basic terms, closeness being expressed in terms of percentage agreement in these. An overall comparison by this method would in many cases show a low measure of agreement with so-called Common Tibeto-Burman, and might pose the question as to whether there is really a sound basis for postulating a Tibeto-Burman family of languages as has been customarily conceived. However, in verifying the results of lexico-statistical analysis based on a small number of terms by considering a much longer comparative vocabulary, some of these difficulties may be overcome: a sample of five hundred words would, for instance, well indicate convergence or divergence of any two languages which had been compared on a hundred-word basis. Another difficulty is that forms which are morphologically similar in two languages may differ semantically; the occurrence of different forms in comparative lists may hide the fact that morphologically similar forms do exist, but may not have been recorded. All that is attempted in the present paper is to show that an Adi-Dafla group of languages can be postulated, having close similarities within the group, but without near affines in the neighbouring languages. Sten Konow's term North Assam Group should be discarded as linguistically meaningless, and the place of the Adi-Dafla languages within the Tibeto-Burman family be treated with caution.

1. The Adi-Dafla languages

As far as the available evidence allows a judgment to be made, there is one principal language of the Siang division, the Adi, formerly called Abor, with dialects which to some degree correspond with tribal divisions. A characteristic of Padam is the absence of the palatal consonant *c*, for which *s* is substituted, so that Gallong (Western Adi) has *citium*, Eastern Adi (Padam) *situm* for 'to shut'. Gallong often drops a final velar nasal e.g. *dolu* = Padam *dolung*, 'village'. In the comparative vocabulary, Gallong represents Western Adi, and Padam, with the closely similar Minyong, are Eastern Adi; in many respects, Miri is close to Padam in phonemics, and to a large degree in vocabulary. Little is known about the northern dialects, but Bokar shows some affinities with Dafla: both these groups include nomadic hunters. From a brief investigation of Apatani of speakers from three different villages, I was not able to perceive

any significant dialect variation. We have some records of three dialects of Dafla: Yano in the west of Subansiri, Tagen in the east and Palin-Nyapin, north centre; there may well be other unrecorded dialects, especially in the north. The so-called Hill Miri has not been described, but is probably close to Tagen. Apatani shows many similarities to Dafla, but also has significant differences. Apatani and Tagen use a velar fricative, conventionally written *kh*; Yano has a bilabial fricative, usually written *f* corresponding to the velar of the other languages.



2. Padam-Adi

In the winter of 1964, I did some field work on Padam at the Christian Centre at Panikhowa, near Dumduma, Assam. I had the help of six language informants, all schoolboys from the villages of Damro, Mekha and Dambuk, in the south-eastern part of Siang and the adjacent part of the Lohit Division. From them I collected a vocabulary, specimen sentences, and readings from a primer, all of which I recorded in International Phonetic Script, which formed the basis for the subjoined description and analysis, which, however, as explained below, is presented in a slightly modified form of the conventional romanisation following the phonemic description. There appeared to be no significant dialect variation among my informants.

The importance accorded to Padam among the Adi dialects lies in the fact that the region where it is spoken is close to Sadiya, which was the political centre in British times, and was also the base for Christian missions. Furthermore it was both linguistically and geographically nearest to the Miri of the plains. J.F. Needham, Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya, 1882-1905, wrote *An outline grammar of the Shaiyang Miri language, as spoken by the Miris of that clan residing in the neighbourhood of Sadiya* (Needham 1886). J.H. Lorrain, of the Arthington Mission, was working in Sadiya from 1901 to 1903. With the help of a Padam Adi, Mili Mipak, and others, he produced *A dictionary of the Abor-Miri language, with illustrative sentences* (Lorrain 1907), and a substantial Bible history, *Aro Ishor-ke doying-e*, (Lorrain 1908). Later the American Baptist Mission was active in the region, in schools and in publishing reading materials, such as *Padam A-B Luponane: a primer in Padam Abor*, (American Baptist Mission 1947).

2.1 The phonetic system of Padam

Padam has seven vowels, *a, i, e, u, o, ʊ*, and *ɣ*, the last two being unrounded back high and middle vowels. It has fifteen consonants: *k, g, ŋ, j, ɲ, t, d, n, p, b, m, y, r, l, s*, all of which may occur in syllable-initial position; but in syllable-final position there are only nine possibilities: zero, *k, ŋ, t, n, p, m, r*, and *l*. The vowel pairs *i/ʊ* and *e/ɣ* appear to be phonemically distinct, all occurring freely in similar phonetic contexts; but they are not noted in the conventional romanisation, except that the back high unrounded is sometimes signalled by the digraph *ui*, though not consistently. Among the consonants, a feature differentiating Padam from some other Adi dialects is the absence of the aspirate, *h* and the palatal plosive, *c*.

In the following sections, a modified form of the conventional romanisation will be used, as follows :

Phonemic	Modified conventional	Old romanisation
<i>ʊ</i>	ü	i, (or ui)
<i>ɣ</i>	ö	e
<i>ŋ</i>	ng	ng
<i>c</i> (not in Padam)	c	ch
<i>ɲ</i>	ny	ny

2.2 Morphology

The basic structural element in Padam is the syllable. To the extent that some meaning or function can be ascribed to each syllable, the language might be called monosyllabic; but this is really a subordinate feature, as Padam is characterised by agglutinative word and phrase building, and by a strong tendency to develop disyllabic stems, which may take the forms prefix + root, root + suffix, or root + root. This principle appears to be more important than the possible operation of lexical tone, which is not well attested.

Some sandhi rules operate in Padam, the most important being that a final voiceless stop becomes voiced before a following voiced plosive, but nasalised before a following nasal. A final nasal may also sometimes be dropped before a following nasal or certain plosives. Another principle is the dropping of prefixes when two root syllables are combined. These features may be illustrated by the following paradigms of noun classifiers in combination with numerals. Thus *tadok* ('bead', classifier *dok-*), *soben* ('goat', *ben-*), *ūsing* ('tree', *sing-*).

	Numeral (isolate)	With <i>dok-</i>	With <i>ben-</i>	With <i>sing-</i>
one	<i>akon</i>	<i>dokkon</i>	<i>benkon</i>	<i>singkon</i>
two	<i>anyü</i>	<i>dongnyü</i>	<i>bennyü</i>	<i>sinyü</i>
three	<i>angum</i>	<i>doggum</i>	<i>benum</i>	<i>singum</i>
four	<i>api</i>	<i>dokpi</i>	<i>benpi</i>	<i>sipi</i>
five	<i>pilngo</i>	<i>dongngo</i>	<i>benngo</i>	<i>singo</i>
six	<i>ake</i>	<i>dokke</i>	<i>benke</i>	<i>singke</i>
seven	<i>künüt</i>	<i>dokkünüt</i>	<i>benkünüt</i>	<i>singkünüt</i>
eight	<i>pünyi</i>	<i>dokpünyi</i>	<i>benpünyi</i>	<i>sipünyi</i>
nine	<i>konang</i>	<i>dokkonang</i>	<i>benkonang</i>	<i>singkonang</i>
ten	<i>üying</i>	<i>dogying</i>	<i>ben-ying</i>	<i>siying</i>

The operation of sandhi and root combination may also be illustrated by words for animals: generic, male, female and young:

	cattle	goat	fowl	duck
generic	<i>goru</i>	<i>soben</i>	<i>pörok</i>	<i>pöjap</i>
male	<i>rubo</i>	<i>benbo</i>	<i>rokpo</i>	<i>jabbo</i>
female	<i>runö</i>	<i>bennö</i>	<i>rongnö</i>	<i>jamnö</i>
young	<i>ruo</i>	<i>beno</i>	<i>rogo</i>	<i>pöjap-o</i>

The word *goru* is of Assamese origin, but in this paradigm is treated in the normal Padam way; *pöjap-o* is perhaps to be explained by the possible confusion between **jabo* and *jabbo*.

Number is not usually expressed in nouns, but may be shown by a suffix (*gadde*) when not indicated by context or by other words in the sentence. Case is indicated by suffix, *-öm* for accusative, *-gö* (*-kö*) for genitive, *-ö* for instrument, *-lo* for locative, *-lokke* for ablative.

Pronouns have singular and plural forms :

I	<i>ngo</i>	we	<i>ngolu</i>
thou	<i>no</i>	you	<i>nolu</i>
he/she	<i>bö</i>	they	<i>bülu</i>

Verbal forms usually consist of a monosyllabic root plus suffix indicating tense or aspect. Further modifications may be expressed by stringing on additional suffixes: a few samples will indicate the system :

to say	<i>ponam</i>
I say	<i>ngo podung</i>
I said	<i>ngo poto, pokai</i>
shall say	<i>ngo poye</i>
I do not say	<i>ngo pomang</i>
say!	<i>potoka</i>
is said	<i>potuai</i>
I did not say	<i>ngo pomato</i>
having said	<i>pola</i>
do not say	<i>poyoka</i>
I can say	<i>ngo poladung</i>

2.2 Some sample sentences

The above features, together with other grammatical features not described, may be illustrated by some examples:

1. *ngolu ekumlo güyeku*
We house-to go-shall
We shall go home
2. *ngolukö agü dolungö*
Our Agü village
Our village is Agü
3. *delo güyelo longumko iye*
There going-to days-three take-will
It takes three days to get there.
4. *iyingkola öditko goru kadunö?*
field-in how many cows are
How many cows are in the field?
5. *iyingkongsi pilngoko goru kadung*
field-in-this five cows are
There are five cows in this field.

6. *rokomöm donyü sadung, yumöm donyü wadung.*
morning-in sun rises, evening-in sun sets
The sun rises in the morning, and sets in the evening.
7. *talelo domukö dangmelo, takaröm kabamang.*
sky-in cloud is-when, star-acc. see-can-not.
When there are clouds in the sky the stars cannot be seen.
8. *ngok abulokö ditak tagying pilngoko a.*
my father-of years year-ten five is.
My father is fifty years old.
9. *ngo бүкөло siiko adla biliktuai.*
I him-to letter written-having sent-it-was.
I wrote a letter and sent it to him
10. *no dubgon mülo, bümekumlo püngang-kumang adapö, no büm püpuyöpö.*
thou run-fast if, him house-to reaching-arriving before, thou him overtake-wilt.
If you run fast, you will overtake him before he reaches home.

2.4 A Padam folk tale: the story of two cats and a monkey

kandari anyü kölang sibekö doyingö
cats two and monkey-of story

konno-mölo longö konöm, kandari anyü kone güman-gonö.
once-upon-a-time day-on certain, cats two certain walking-went.

delo kandari akon dö etüng alemko pato. etüng alem döm kala,
then cat one that rice-cake piece found. rice-cake piece that seen,

kandari akon dö kabokai. alem delokkö-legapö momün sukai.
cat one that eat-wanted. then therefore quarrel began.

momün sududöm, sibe konö kala, kandari anyü döm luto:
quarrel beginning-while, monkey one having seen, cats two those said

kandari anyüö, ngok lunam sim-itoka. döm imölo airupö aiye. sibeö depö
cats two-o, my speech listen-to! that very good will be monkey from

lunam döm tatla, kandari anyü dö tolikto. sibe dö gula kolok
speech that having heard, cats two those agreed. monkey that shop from

ser-kükünana lo lala, kükü-bito. attung kon dö boje yato mülo,
scale-measuring one having-brought, measure-gave. piece one that bigger being if,

anyongko lala doto, dan-dan ito, depö ila-ila, sibe de etüng
some having-taken ate, finish-2 did. so having-done, monkey that cake

alöm döm doyin pala, esi sine töyong kolo gesang kaku.
all that consuming-took, tree tree tall on up climbed.

delok rongöm dö kandari anyü dö kangkü-kangkü-la ser kükünana döm idung.
that after that cats two those angrily scale measuring that dealt-with.

döm gula-ato dö ala inö kandari anyü döm düla monpakto.
then shopkeeper that having-come, cats two those having-beaten, chased-out.

depö ila momün sumapö, aipö dobosu-langka. döbong.
therefore quarrel do not! well behave; the end.

Once upon a time, two cats went for a walk; one of them found a piece of rice-cake, but when the other saw it, he wanted to eat it, and so they began to quarrel. While they were quarrelling, a monkey who had been watching said to the two cats. 'You two cats, it would be a good idea if you were to listen to me.' When they heard what the monkey had to say, the cats agreed. The monkey brought a pair of scales from a shop, and divided the cake. If one piece was bigger than the other, he took some and ate it, and in this way managed to consume the whole, and then he climbed a tall tree. Thereupon, the two cats angrily smashed the scales. The shop keeper came after them, beat the cats, and chased them away. So don't quarrel, but behave properly!

3. Comparative lexicon

Subjoined is a comparative vocabulary of 227 terms in eight languages or dialects of the Adi-Dafla group: Gallong, Minyong and Padam being dialects of Adi, while Tagen, Yano and Palin are Dafla dialects. The list has the defects of most of its kind, being a compilation from a number of sources, including my own field work, for which insufficient time was available.¹ Hence the reliability and precision of the entries is not high, and sometimes affinities are obscured because only one term was recorded for a particular language, whereas if synonyms had been noted, more correspondences might have been shown. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the list demonstrates the lexical closeness of the languages discussed.

When, however, these vocabularies are compared with Tibetan, Burmese, or other languages assigned to the Tibeto-Burman language family, the correspondences are very few. The following comparisons between Padam and Tibetan might be made: (Tibetan written forms, except where noted).

English	Padam	Tibetan
ant	<i>taruk</i>	<i>grogma</i> (spoken: troma)
a bear	<i>situm</i>	<i>dom</i>
to beat	<i>döm</i>	<i>rduñ</i>
to die	<i>si</i>	<i>śi</i>
dog	<i>ekki</i>	<i>khyi</i>
eye	<i>amik</i>	<i>mig</i>
father	<i>aba</i>	<i>pha</i> <i>cont.</i>

English	Padam	Tibetan
fire	<i>ömö</i>	<i>me</i>
fish	<i>engo</i>	<i>ña</i>
five	<i>pilango</i>	<i>lña</i>
to give	<i>bi</i>	<i>sbyin</i>
hand	<i>alak</i>	<i>lagpa</i>
house	<i>ekum</i>	<i>khyim</i>
I	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ña</i>
to know	<i>ken</i>	<i>mkhyen</i>
man	<i>ami</i>	<i>mi</i>
moon	<i>polo</i>	<i>zla</i>
name	<i>amünü</i>	<i>min</i>
not	<i>ma, mang</i>	<i>ma</i>
nose	<i>nyöbung</i>	<i>sna</i>
ripe	<i>min</i>	<i>smin</i>
to sit	<i>du</i>	<i>'dug</i>
star	<i>takar</i>	<i>skar</i>
sun	<i>donyü</i>	<i>ñima</i>
three	<i>angum</i>	<i>gsum</i>
tree	<i>üsing</i>	<i>śin</i>
two	<i>anyü</i>	<i>gñis</i>
woman	<i>mimö</i>	<i>mo</i>

The above list of 28 terms represents a possible 12.5 per cent correspondence in basic vocabulary (compare the comparative vocabulary lists below). Burmese offers rather more comparisons:

English	Padam	Burmese
a bow	<i>iyi</i>	<i>le</i>
to bring	<i>la</i>	<i>yula</i>
cold	<i>ancing</i>	<i>akyin</i>
to die	<i>si</i>	<i>se</i>
dog	<i>ekki</i>	<i>khwe :</i>
dove	<i>pökü</i>	<i>khruï :</i>
ear	<i>nyorung</i>	<i>na :</i>
eye	<i>amik</i>	<i>myak</i>
finger	<i>lacking</i>	<i>lakkhron</i>
fire	<i>ömö</i>	<i>mi :</i>
fish	<i>engo</i>	<i>ña :</i>
five	<i>pilango</i>	<i>ña :</i>
fruit	<i>aye</i>	<i>asi :</i>
to give	<i>bi</i>	<i>pe :</i>
hand	<i>alak</i>	<i>lak</i>

English	Padam	Burmese
I	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ña</i>
moon	<i>polo</i>	<i>la</i>
name	<i>amünü</i>	<i>amañ</i>
pig	<i>ek</i>	<i>wak</i>
river	<i>korong</i>	<i>khoñ</i>
sand	<i>siye</i>	<i>sai</i>
seven	<i>künüť</i>	<i>khunhac</i>
to sit	<i>du</i>	<i>thuiñ</i>
to sleep	<i>ip</i>	<i>ip</i>
to speak	<i>po</i>	<i>pro</i>
sun	<i>donyü</i>	<i>ne</i>
this	<i>dö, ödö</i>	<i>di</i>
tongue	<i>ayo</i>	<i>lhya</i>
two	<i>amyü</i>	<i>nhac</i>
woman	<i>mimö</i>	<i>mimma</i>

Similar comparison with nearby tribal languages usually classified as Tibeto-Burman would reveal about the same degree of correspondence, perhaps rather the same lack of it. The general conclusion concerning the lexicon of the Adi-Dafla group of languages is that there is a high degree of correspondence within the group, but low correspondence with outside groups.

4. Conclusions

This brief survey of a group of languages of North-East India closely related one to another, and of one representative language within it, indicates the need for more substantial scientific investigation of such languages: probably the selection of a single language from a recognisable group is the most practicable method, in view of the general difficulty of access and opportunity to carry out the work. What we have at hand are mostly old, short and unreliable vocabularies, and in a few cases more extensive descriptions in the style of old grammars made by and designed for working officers in the region, such as Bor (1938), which also includes a Tagen-Dafla vocabulary, and Das Gupta (1963), which has a grammatical description, and English-Gallong classified vocabularies, in both Roman and Devanagari scripts. Both of these works provide extensive lexical materials, but the phonological descriptions they give are impressionistic and difficult to interpret.

A scientific study of Padam would be of great value: the language is spoken in a region which is reasonably accessible, and there has been a certain amount of publication in it for school, church and government purposes.

If language relationships are to be established chiefly on the basis of lexicon, then a 12.5 per cent agreement of basic vocabulary with Tibetan, Burmese, or Common Tibeto-Burman, does not suggest a very firm place for the Adi-Dafla group within the Tibeto-Burman family. But a similar result can be predicted for other languages and language groups of North-East India and

the contiguous regions. This must in turn place a question on the reality of the Tibeto-Burman language family as generally accepted. If on the other hand, the main matter is the mechanics of the languages, then widespread general similarities may be seen: but then as long ago as 1891, Percival Lowell pointed out the functional similarity of Japanese and Burmese (Lowell 1891). The Tibeto-Burman family is an unsatisfactory construct, and this whole field of investigation should be reopened.

APPENDIX: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE ADI-DAFLA GROUP

English	Gallong	Minyong	Padam	Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
angry	<i>aci,mar</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>hakha</i>	<i>hafak</i>	<i>hahak</i>	<i>hadü</i>
ant	<i>taruk</i>	<i>taruk</i>	<i>taruk</i>	<i>merang</i>	<i>tarup</i>	<i>tarup</i>	<i>tarup</i>	
arrow	<i>upuk</i>	<i>epuk</i>	<i>epuk</i>	<i>epuk</i>	<i>uppu</i>	<i>öppök</i>	<i>upuk</i>	<i>apu</i>
ash	<i>mico</i>	<i>medbu</i>		<i>medbu</i>	<i>taco</i>	<i>taco</i>		<i>müri</i>
to ask	<i>taka</i>	<i>tungki</i>	<i>üngküt</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>takh</i>	<i>tao</i>	<i>te</i>	
to ask for	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>		<i>ku</i>
axe	<i>egi</i>		<i>ügüng</i>	<i>ügüng</i>	<i>ekhe</i>	<i>öffe</i>	<i>ehe</i>	<i>yüg</i>
back	<i>koki</i>	<i>lamku</i>	<i>lamku</i>	<i>lamku</i>	<i>langke</i>	<i>lamko</i>	<i>hangtang</i>	
bad	<i>alma</i>	<i>aimang</i>		<i>aimang</i>		<i>alamo</i>	<i>alema</i>	<i>ayama</i>
bag	<i>seko</i>	<i>sakyap</i>		<i>sagap</i>	<i>caku</i>	<i>coku</i>	<i>cukhöp</i>	
banana	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>	<i>kopak</i>
bead	<i>tadok</i>	<i>tadok</i>	<i>tadok</i>	<i>daksiri</i>	<i>tesü</i>	<i>taseng</i>		
a bear	<i>sotum</i>	<i>situm</i>	<i>situm</i>	<i>situm</i>	<i>süttöm</i>	<i>settöm</i>		<i>situng</i>
to bear				<i>o</i>	<i>koben</i>	<i>kobeng</i>		<i>himebu</i>
to beat	<i>mod</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>döm</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>jeng</i>		<i>kü</i>
bee	<i>tangik</i>	<i>tangut</i>	<i>tangut</i>	<i>tangud</i>	<i>tonge</i>	<i>tangu</i>	<i>tungu</i>	<i>tangu</i>
belly	<i>ake</i>	<i>aki</i>	<i>aki</i>	<i>aki</i>	<i>ayek</i>	<i>köpa</i>	<i>kepo</i>	<i>ere</i>
big	<i>atte</i>	<i>bote</i>	<i>bote</i>	<i>bote</i>	<i>koya</i>	<i>lakhe</i>	<i>koi</i>	<i>kae</i>
to bind	<i>og</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>rüngap</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>rak</i>	<i>rak</i>
bird	<i>peta</i>	<i>pettang</i>	<i>pettang</i>	<i>pettang</i>	<i>pötta</i>	<i>pötta</i>	<i>pata</i>	<i>pata</i>
black	<i>yake</i>	<i>yorang</i>	<i>yorang</i>	<i>yaka</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kaya</i>	<i>ji</i>
blood	<i>i</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>iyi</i>	<i>yie</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>ai</i>
boar		<i>sira</i>	<i>sira</i>		<i>seru</i>	<i>sera</i>		<i>siira</i>
boat		<i>etku</i>	<i>etkung</i>	<i>olung</i>	<i>holu</i>	<i>holung</i>		<i>nao</i>
body	<i>ayi</i>	<i>amir</i>	<i>amül</i>	<i>amir</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>au</i>
bone	<i>alo</i>	<i>along</i>	<i>along</i>	<i>along</i>	<i>allo</i>	<i>sola</i>		<i>alo</i>

English	Gallong	Minyong	Padam	Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
a bow	<i>ire</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>iyi</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>iliü</i>	<i>uri</i>	<i>iri</i>	<i>alyi</i>
boy	<i>ome</i>	<i>miloko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>nyegako</i>	<i>nyegakao</i>	<i>hemi</i>	<i>milobo</i>
to break	<i>tir</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>böt</i>	<i>tir</i>	<i>pace</i>	<i>peci</i>	<i>tatar</i>	<i>pece</i>
to bring	<i>bea</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>jobom</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ungge</i>	<i>la</i>	
brother,e	<i>asi</i>	<i>abing</i>	<i>abüng</i>		<i>ebung</i>	<i>aböng</i>	<i>abang</i>	<i>abang</i>
brother,y	<i>abir</i>	<i>biro</i>		<i>biryo</i>	<i>börre</i>	<i>burro</i>	<i>buru</i>	<i>anu</i>
to burn	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>rilek</i>	
to bury	<i>ru</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>semali</i>	<i>samali</i>		
to buy	<i>re</i>		<i>rü</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>arü</i>
cat	<i>taso</i>	<i>kedari</i>	<i>kandari</i>	<i>mendari</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>asa</i>		<i>asa</i>
to catch	<i>gag</i>	<i>gak</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>gak</i>	<i>natung</i>	<i>natung</i>	<i>latung</i>	<i>latü</i>
child	<i>ome</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ojüng</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kao</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>nyüümü</i>
clean	<i>derek</i>		<i>denam</i>	<i>naröng</i>	<i>döörü</i>	<i>darrak</i>	<i>darek</i>	<i>darükhü</i>
cloth	<i>eje</i>	<i>gasur</i>	<i>gasör</i>	<i>gasur</i>	<i>eji</i>	<i>eji</i>	<i>iji</i>	<i>pulye</i>
cloud	<i>dome</i>	<i>domuk</i>	<i>domuk</i>	<i>damir</i>	<i>damök</i>	<i>damök</i>	<i>hapam</i>	<i>jomü</i>
coat	<i>lalik</i>	<i>galuk</i>	<i>pörding</i>	<i>galuk</i>				
cold	<i>sikir</i>	<i>sikil</i>	<i>ancing</i>	<i>sikir</i>	<i>sökör</i>	<i>sökör</i>	<i>sirek</i>	<i>auntu</i>
to come	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>a</i>
cow	<i>soye</i>	<i>sou</i>	<i>sou</i>	<i>goru</i>	<i>sehenne</i>	<i>henne</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sü</i>
a crow	<i>pak</i>	<i>pak</i>	<i>pak</i>	<i>piyag</i>	<i>poak</i>	<i>pak</i>		
to cry	<i>nyig</i>	<i>kab</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kab</i>	<i>khap</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kap</i>	
to cut	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>
dao	<i>orok</i>	<i>yok</i>	<i>öyok</i>	<i>yoktung</i>	<i>olyök</i>	<i>örök</i>	<i>oryok</i>	<i>ilyo</i>
dark	<i>kene</i>	<i>anum</i>	<i>anun</i>	<i>rurup</i>	<i>kano</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>kane</i>	
daughter	<i>nyime</i>	<i>ome</i>	<i>umö</i>	<i>ome</i>	<i>nyeme</i>	<i>nyeme</i>		<i>milu</i>
day	<i>alo</i>	<i>longe</i>	<i>longö</i>	<i>longa</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alo</i>
deer	<i>sodum</i>	<i>sidum</i>		<i>dumsing</i>	<i>södöm</i>	<i>södöm</i>	<i>sudum</i>	<i>siding</i>
to die	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sü</i>
to do	<i>ri</i>		<i>i</i>		<i>ni</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>aji-in</i>
dog	<i>iki</i>	<i>ekki</i>	<i>ekki</i>	<i>ekhye</i>	<i>iki</i>	<i>iki</i>	<i>iki</i>	<i>akyü</i>
door	<i>erap</i>		<i>eyap</i>		<i>ereng</i>	<i>arep</i>	<i>aryap</i>	<i>ale</i>
dove		<i>peki</i>	<i>pökü</i>	<i>peki</i>	<i>pukhu</i>	<i>pukhu</i>		<i>pari</i>
to drink	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tü</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>dü</i>		<i>tan</i>
dry	<i>or</i>	<i>ereng</i>	<i>öröng</i>	<i>sang</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>piteng</i>	<i>pitang</i>
duck	<i>pejap</i>	<i>pejap</i>	<i>pöjap</i>	<i>pejap</i>				
ear	<i>nyeru</i>	<i>norung</i>	<i>nyorung</i>	<i>yerung</i>	<i>nyeru</i>	<i>nyerung</i>	<i>nyurung</i>	<i>yarung</i>
earth	<i>kode</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>kedi</i>	<i>supum</i>

English	Gallong	Minyong	Padam	Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
to eat	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>dü</i>
egg	<i>pipe</i>	<i>rokpi</i>	<i>rokpü</i>	<i>rokpi</i>	<i>püpe</i>	<i>püpü</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>papu</i>
eight	<i>pine</i>	<i>pini</i>	<i>pünyi</i>	<i>pini</i>	<i>plöne</i>	<i>plönö</i>	<i>pine</i>	<i>prünyi</i>
elbow	<i>lagbi</i>	<i>lakbin</i>	<i>lakbin</i>	<i>lakbin</i>	<i>lade</i>	<i>laböng</i>		<i>lakdö</i>
elephant	<i>sote</i>	<i>sitte</i>	<i>sita</i>	<i>sitta</i>	<i>sete</i>	<i>hati</i>	<i>sete</i>	
eleven	<i>irigo-laken</i>	<i>üyingko</i>	<i>üyingko</i>				<i>ering-akin</i>	<i>alyang-leküeng</i>
enemy	<i>nyimak</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>miru</i>		<i>nyemuk</i>	<i>nyebu</i>	<i>nyimak</i>	<i>igükhü</i>
eye	<i>anyik</i>	<i>amik</i>	<i>amik</i>	<i>amida</i>	<i>enyik</i>	<i>nyek</i>	<i>anyik</i>	<i>ami</i>
face	<i>nyukmo</i>	<i>mingmo</i>	<i>mingmo</i>	<i>mingmo</i>	<i>nyekmie</i>	<i>nyegma</i>	<i>nyokmu</i>	
faeces	<i>e</i>			<i>tæ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	
to fall	<i>olo</i>	<i>atok</i>	<i>olet</i>	<i>atok</i>	<i>gue</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>holu</i>	
far	<i>odo</i>	<i>mordo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mordo</i>	<i>adda</i>	<i>addo</i>	<i>ado</i>	<i>ado</i>
father	<i>abo</i>	<i>abo</i>	<i>abao</i>	<i>abuo</i>	<i>abe</i>	<i>abo</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>aba</i>
to fear	<i>bos</i>	<i>peso</i>	<i>peso</i>	<i>peso</i>	<i>böss'</i>	<i>büsso</i>	<i>busu</i>	<i>büso</i>
feather	<i>ame</i>	<i>amide</i>	<i>amap</i>	<i>amide</i>	<i>lobe</i>	<i>labu</i>		<i>ale</i>
field	<i>rik</i>	<i>arik</i>	<i>arük</i>		<i>ringa</i>	<i>rek</i>	<i>rongmo</i>	<i>aji</i>
to find	<i>ilen</i>	<i>pangku</i>	<i>pangku</i>	<i>pangku</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>kapa</i>	<i>pabü</i>
finger	<i>lakse</i>	<i>lakke</i>	<i>lakking</i>	<i>lakke</i>	<i>lücü</i>	<i>laceng</i>	<i>lakang</i>	<i>lakci</i>
fire	<i>eme</i>	<i>eme</i>	<i>ömö</i>	<i>umma</i>	<i>ume</i>	<i>ume</i>	<i>eme</i>	<i>yamu</i>
fish	<i>ngoi</i>	<i>engo</i>	<i>engo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngui</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>ngui</i>	<i>ngü</i>
five	<i>ango</i>	<i>pilango</i>	<i>pilango</i>	<i>ango</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ango</i>	<i>angu</i>	<i>yango</i>
flower	<i>apu</i>	<i>apun</i>	<i>apun</i>	<i>apun</i>	<i>opo</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>apu</i>	<i>apu</i>
a fly	<i>nyimnin</i>		<i>taying</i>	<i>taying</i>	<i>tüyü</i>	<i>tayeng</i>		<i>tami</i>
to fly	<i>de</i>		<i>yam</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>jar</i>	<i>jar</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>go</i>
foot	<i>ale</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>alö</i>	<i>leppa</i>	<i>all'loc'</i>	<i>leco</i>		<i>ali</i>
forest	<i>motum</i>	<i>monam</i>	<i>monam</i>	<i>yumrang</i>	<i>mlaro</i>	<i>mlaro</i>	<i>nyora</i>	<i>more</i>
four	<i>appi</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>epi</i>	<i>appi</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>pülyi</i>
fowl	<i>rogo</i>	<i>perok</i>	<i>pörök</i>	<i>parok</i>	<i>pöyök</i>	<i>pörrök</i>		<i>rokpo</i>
friend	<i>ajen</i>	<i>angong</i>	<i>angong</i>		<i>ajin</i>	<i>ajin</i>	<i>arom</i>	<i>ajing</i>
frog	<i>tatik</i>	<i>tatik</i>	<i>tatük</i>	<i>tatik</i>	<i>titek</i>	<i>tatek</i>		<i>tatü</i>
fruit	<i>ase</i>	<i>aye</i>	<i>aye</i>	<i>aye</i>	<i>akh</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>ayi</i>
to get	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>		<i>pa</i>
ginger	<i>take</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>take</i>					<i>takhi</i>
to give	<i>bi</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>bhi</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>bi</i>
to go	<i>nen</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>gü</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>eng</i>	<i>in</i>
goat	<i>sobin</i>	<i>soben</i>	<i>soben</i>	<i>soben</i>	<i>sabin</i>	<i>sabin</i>	<i>sobing</i>	<i>sübing</i>

English	Gallong	Minyong	Padam	Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
good	<i>aido</i>	<i>aido</i>	<i>airupa</i>	<i>aido</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>aya</i>
granary	<i>nasu</i>	<i>kumsung</i>	<i>kumsung</i>	<i>kumsung</i>	<i>amnam</i>	<i>umnasung</i>	<i>nasong</i>	<i>nesu</i>
grass	<i>nemi</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>tami</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>eng</i>		<i>tami</i>
green	<i>je</i>	<i>yaying</i>	<i>yaying</i>		<i>jeve</i>	<i>jeve</i>		
gun	<i>mebuk</i>	<i>abbuk</i>	<i>abuk</i>	<i>abbuk</i>	<i>möbök</i>	<i>möbök</i>	<i>mobuk</i>	<i>mobu</i>
hair	<i>dumi</i>	<i>adum</i>	<i>dumüt</i>	<i>dumid</i>	<i>dume</i>	<i>dömö</i>	<i>dumi</i>	<i>dimu</i>
hand	<i>alak</i>	<i>alak</i>	<i>alak</i>	<i>elag</i>	<i>alak</i>	<i>lak</i>	<i>alak</i>	<i>alek</i>
hat	<i>bolup</i>	<i>dumlup</i>	<i>dumlup</i>		<i>bopang</i>	<i>bapa</i>		<i>bropa</i>
he	<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bü</i>	<i>bü</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	
head	<i>dumpo</i>	<i>dumpong</i>	<i>dumkong</i>	<i>tupko</i>	<i>dömpa</i>	<i>dömpa</i>	<i>dumpo</i>	<i>dumpa</i>
to hear	<i>ta</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tat</i>
heart	<i>apuk</i>	<i>apui</i>	<i>apü</i>		<i>hopök</i>	<i>hapök</i>		
here	<i>sogo</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>so</i>	
high	<i>tayo</i>	<i>kedon</i>	<i>ködon</i>	<i>adag</i>	<i>ao</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>nyoku</i>	
hill	<i>modi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>mladi</i>	<i>mladi</i>		
horn	<i>rebu</i>	<i>areng</i>	<i>areng</i>	<i>areng</i>	<i>eringe</i>	<i>reng</i>		
hot	<i>ago</i>	<i>agau</i>	<i>pamki</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>ogu</i>
house	<i>nam</i>	<i>ekum</i>	<i>ekum</i>	<i>ekum</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>ogu</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>ude</i>
husband	<i>nyilo</i>	<i>milo</i>	<i>milo</i>	<i>milo</i>	<i>nyole</i>	<i>nyelo</i>	<i>nyolu</i>	
I	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngu</i>
iron	<i>yokdin</i>	<i>yogir</i>	<i>aröm</i>	<i>yogir</i>	<i>yakder</i>	<i>rakder</i>	<i>ryakdar</i>	<i>kakdar</i>
to kill	<i>rik</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>mopat</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>ming</i>	<i>ming</i>	
knife	<i>yokcik</i>	<i>yoksik</i>	<i>yoksik</i>	<i>yoksik</i>	<i>yakci</i>	<i>gueci</i>	<i>ryokcik</i>	
to know	<i>cen</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kacin</i>	<i>kacin</i>	<i>cing</i>
ladder	<i>koba</i>	<i>ebang</i>	<i>ebang</i>	<i>kobang</i>	<i>sobla</i>	<i>sobla</i>	<i>eba</i>	
to laugh	<i>nyir</i>	<i>ngil</i>	<i>nyil</i>	<i>yür</i>	<i>nyir</i>	<i>nyer</i>	<i>nyior</i>	
leaf	<i>ane</i>	<i>anne</i>	<i>annö</i>	<i>annü</i>	<i>nabör</i>	<i>nabör</i>	<i>nane</i>	<i>anü</i>
light	<i>oca</i>	<i>ötsang</i>	<i>ötsang</i>	<i>ötsang</i>				
lightning	<i>dorak</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>yarü</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>dolya</i>	<i>darak</i>		<i>taryam</i>
long	<i>aso</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>ayar</i>	<i>ass'</i>	<i>aso</i>		
man	<i>nyi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>bengni</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>bangne</i>
mat	<i>upe</i>	<i>epuh</i>	<i>epuh</i>	<i>epoh</i>	<i>appike</i>	<i>uppit</i>	<i>eping</i>	<i>pepu</i>
millet	<i>tami</i>	<i>miring</i>	<i>mirung</i>			<i>timi</i>	<i>timi</i>	<i>mipa</i>
mithan	<i>hobogo</i>	<i>eso</i>	<i>eso</i>		<i>sebbe</i>	<i>sebbe</i>	<i>sebe</i>	<i>sübe</i>
money	<i>murko</i>	<i>abal</i>	<i>abal</i>		<i>töka</i>	<i>tengka</i>	<i>toka</i>	
moon	<i>polo</i>	<i>polo</i>	<i>polo</i>	<i>polo</i>	<i>palo</i>	<i>palo</i>	<i>polu</i>	<i>pülo</i>
mother	<i>amo</i>	<i>nane</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>amme</i>	<i>anne</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>ane</i>

English	Gallong	Minyong	Padam	Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
mouth	<i>nappa</i>	<i>nepang</i>	<i>napang</i>	<i>nappang</i>	<i>agöm</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>agam</i>	<i>agam</i>
name	<i>amin</i>	<i>amin</i>	<i>amünü</i>	<i>amin</i>	<i>emin</i>	<i>mungmin</i>	<i>amin</i>	
near		<i>mongyo</i>	<i>ange</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>kacü</i>	<i>goyu</i>	<i>kuci</i>	
neck	<i>lipo</i>	<i>aling</i>	<i>alüng</i>	<i>aling</i>	<i>lapa</i>	<i>lengpa</i>	<i>longgum</i>	
net	<i>esap</i>	<i>esap</i>	<i>ösap</i>	<i>üsap</i>	<i>issik</i>	<i>essek</i>	<i>nagi</i>	
new	<i>ali</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>nitti</i>	<i>nitti</i>	<i>niti</i>	<i>niti</i>
night	<i>ayo</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>kyemmo</i>	<i>kanopo</i>	<i>kanapao</i>	<i>kane</i>	
nine	<i>keng</i>	<i>kinide</i>	<i>konang</i>	<i>konang</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kayo</i>		<i>kua</i>
not	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
nose	<i>nyepum</i>	<i>nobung</i>	<i>nyöbung</i>	<i>nyewung</i>	<i>nyepöm</i>	<i>nyepöm</i>	<i>nyopum</i>	<i>yapung</i>
now	<i>ija</i>	<i>supak</i>	<i>supak</i>	<i>supag</i>	<i>seja</i>	<i>keja</i>	<i>seje</i>	
oil	<i>tula</i>	<i>tulang</i>	<i>tulang</i>	<i>tulang</i>	<i>tele</i>	<i>telle</i>	<i>ahu</i>	
old	<i>aku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>kucuk</i>	<i>kucuk</i>	<i>pukunyi</i>	<i>khu</i>
one	<i>ako</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>okon</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>akin</i>	<i>akin</i>	<i>aking</i>	<i>kung</i>
pig	<i>eyek</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>eyek</i>	<i>ilik</i>	<i>erek</i>	<i>irik</i>	<i>alyi</i>
pot	<i>pici</i>	<i>peki</i>	<i>peret</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>pücü</i>	<i>peceng</i>	<i>poceng</i>	
to pull	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>		
to push	<i>tu</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>nü</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>lung</i>		
quick	<i>in</i>	<i>münapi</i>	<i>münapi</i>	<i>lomdanna</i>	<i>herug</i>	<i>nyerobo</i>	<i>aneng</i>	
rain	<i>nido</i>	<i>pelong</i>	<i>padong</i>	<i>pedang</i>	<i>nyedo</i>	<i>nyedo</i>	<i>nido</i>	
rat	<i>kobu</i>	<i>kebu</i>	<i>kabung</i>	<i>kebung</i>	<i>kubu</i>	<i>kebung</i>	<i>kubung</i>	
rattan	<i>oso</i>	<i>jeying</i>	<i>jeying</i>	<i>esong</i>	<i>ossa</i>	<i>ossa</i>	<i>oso</i>	<i>yaso</i>
red	<i>yali</i>	<i>yaling</i>	<i>yalüng</i>		<i>lucu</i>	<i>lengci</i>	<i>lengceng</i>	<i>lancang</i>
rice, plant	<i>amo</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>amsik</i>	<i>emo</i>
rice, uncooked	<i>ambin</i>	<i>ambin</i>	<i>ambün</i>	<i>ambin</i>	<i>embin</i>	<i>umbin</i>	<i>ambing</i>	
rice, cooked	<i>acin</i>	<i>apin</i>	<i>apim</i>	<i>apin</i>			<i>aping</i>	<i>aping</i>
ripe	<i>ngi</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>		
to rise	<i>ca</i>	<i>darep</i>	<i>darep</i>	<i>darep</i>	<i>göröp</i>	<i>göröp</i>		
river	<i>sibu</i>	<i>botte</i>	<i>korong</i>	<i>abung</i>	<i>pobu</i>	<i>sabung</i>	<i>pabung</i>	<i>kele</i>
road	<i>beda</i>	<i>lambe</i>	<i>bedang</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>lamta</i>	<i>laong</i>	<i>laung</i>	<i>lenda</i>
root	<i>apir</i>		<i>apür</i>	<i>apür</i>	<i>meme</i>	<i>mami</i>		
to run	<i>duk</i>	<i>dup</i>	<i>duk</i>	<i>dup</i>	<i>khar</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>har</i>
salt	<i>alo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alye</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alo</i>
sand		<i>siye</i>	<i>siye</i>	<i>sulie</i>	<i>bali</i>	<i>bali</i>		
to say	<i>men</i>		<i>lu</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bin</i>	<i>bing</i>	<i>lu</i>
to sell	<i>puk</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>		<i>pog</i>	<i>pug</i>	
seven	<i>kane</i>	<i>konange</i>	<i>künüt</i>	<i>kinitko</i>	<i>kennü</i>	<i>kanni</i>	<i>kane</i>	<i>kanu</i>

English	Gallong	Minyong Padam		Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
shoe		<i>leyuk</i>	<i>leyuk</i>	<i>junta</i>	<i>lakum</i>	<i>lakum</i>	<i>lokok</i>	
to shut	<i>citum</i>	<i>situm</i>	<i>situm</i>	<i>pokom</i>	<i>motum</i>	<i>motum</i>	<i>motum</i>	
sick	<i>erema</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>		<i>garam</i>	<i>garam</i>		
to sit	<i>du</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dung</i>		<i>daa</i>
six	<i>akke</i>	<i>akye</i>	<i>ake</i>	<i>akeng</i>	<i>akhe</i>	<i>akke</i>	<i>ake</i>	<i>khu</i>
skin	<i>apin</i>	<i>asik</i>	<i>asik</i>	<i>asig</i>	<i>epin</i>	<i>supin</i>	<i>apin</i>	<i>alo</i>
sky	<i>tale</i>	<i>taling</i>	<i>talüng</i>					<i>yapum</i>
to sleep	<i>yup</i>	<i>immi</i>	<i>ip</i>	<i>immi</i>	<i>yep</i>	<i>yep</i>	<i>yub</i>	<i>imi</i>
small	<i>amme</i>	<i>amiyo</i>	<i>ame</i>	<i>amye</i>	<i>incu</i>	<i>incung</i>	<i>anyio</i>	
snake	<i>tabi</i>	<i>tabi</i>	<i>tabü</i>	<i>tabbe</i>	<i>tebbü</i>	<i>tabbü</i>	<i>tibi</i>	
snow	<i>tapam</i>	<i>tapam</i>	<i>tapam</i>		<i>töpum</i>	<i>tapum</i>	<i>hapam</i>	
soft	<i>remap</i>	<i>römak</i>	<i>remak</i>	<i>römak</i>	<i>ninyak</i>	<i>nyeng</i>		
son	<i>ao</i>	<i>ao</i>	<i>umö</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>hime</i>
to sow	<i>le</i>	<i>let</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>let</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>		
to speak	<i>men</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bin</i>		<i>lū</i>
spear	<i>nibu</i>	<i>ginning</i>	<i>güning</i>	<i>gidding</i>	<i>nakha</i>	<i>nengka</i>		<i>dangka</i>
to stand	<i>dag</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>dag</i>	<i>dag</i>	<i>dög</i>	<i>dög</i>	<i>dag</i>	<i>dak</i>
star	<i>takar</i>	<i>takar</i>	<i>takar</i>	<i>takar</i>	<i>takhör</i>	<i>takhör</i>	<i>takar</i>	<i>takar</i>
to steal	<i>doso</i>	<i>dotpi</i>	<i>dotpyo</i>	<i>dotpi</i>	<i>döca</i>	<i>dutca</i>		
stone	<i>ili</i>	<i>eling</i>	<i>ülüng</i>	<i>eling</i>	<i>ilü</i>	<i>elung</i>	<i>olang</i>	<i>yalang</i>
strong	<i>tor</i>	<i>ral</i>	<i>ral</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>atör</i>	<i>bara</i>	<i>atar</i>	
sun	<i>donyi</i>	<i>donyi</i>	<i>donyü</i>	<i>donyi</i>	<i>danyi</i>	<i>danyi</i>	<i>donyi</i>	<i>danyi</i>
sweet	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tü</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	
to take	<i>la</i>	<i>bom</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>bom</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bue</i>
ten	<i>iri</i>	<i>iyinge</i>	<i>üying</i>	<i>irying</i>	<i>ilücü</i>	<i>rengceng</i>	<i>aring</i>	<i>alyang</i>
there	<i>alo</i>	<i>ülo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>olo</i>	
they	<i>bulu</i>	<i>bulu</i>	<i>bulu</i>	<i>bulu</i>		<i>alla</i>	<i>bulu</i>	
this	<i>si</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ödö</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>
thou	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>
three	<i>aum</i>	<i>angom</i>	<i>angum</i>	<i>aum</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>aum</i>	<i>hing</i>
thunder	<i>dogum</i>	<i>domur</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>domir</i>	<i>dagum</i>	<i>dagum</i>		
today	<i>silo</i>	<i>silo</i>	<i>silo</i>	<i>silo</i>	<i>salo</i>	<i>sölo</i>	<i>sulu</i>	
tomorrow	<i>allone</i>	<i>nyampo</i>	<i>nyampo</i>	<i>yampo</i>	<i>arlo</i>	<i>aro</i>	<i>aro</i>	
tongue	<i>aro</i>	<i>aiyo</i>	<i>ayo</i>	<i>yoper</i>	<i>ayeh</i>	<i>roh</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>alyo</i>
tooth	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ipang</i>	<i>aye</i>	<i>ekhe</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>ihi</i>	<i>ahi</i>
tree	<i>isi</i>	<i>esing</i>	<i>üsing</i>	<i>ising</i>	<i>senne</i>	<i>sengne</i>	<i>sengre</i>	<i>sanü</i>
two	<i>anyi</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>anyü</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>anyi</i>	<i>anyi</i>	<i>anyi</i>	<i>anyi</i>

English	Gallong	Minyong	Padam	Miri	Tagen	Yano	Palin	Apatani
urine	<i>yese</i>	<i>esi</i>			<i>sisum</i>	<i>sisum</i>	<i>usum</i>	
village	<i>dolu</i>	<i>dolung</i>	<i>dolung</i>	<i>dolung</i>	<i>nampöm</i>	<i>nampöm</i>	<i>nampöm</i>	
to want	<i>mi</i>	<i>ngom</i>	<i>mü</i>	<i>ngom</i>	<i>nü</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>nabe</i>	
war	<i>nyimak</i>	<i>mimak</i>	<i>mimak</i>	<i>mimag</i>	<i>neb'pase</i>	<i>nyebopase</i>		
water	<i>isi</i>	<i>asi</i>	<i>asi</i>	<i>asi</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>yasi</i>
we	<i>ngolu</i>	<i>ngolu</i>	<i>ngolu</i>	<i>ngolu</i>	<i>ngolu</i>	<i>ngolu</i>	<i>ngulu</i>	
where	<i>yadlo</i>	<i>edilo</i>	<i>ingkolo</i>	<i>ingkolo</i>	<i>hoguloga</i>	<i>hoguloga</i>	<i>huguho</i>	
white	<i>yepu</i>	<i>yalun</i>	<i>yalun</i>	<i>kampo</i>	<i>pule</i>	<i>ponglu</i>	<i>yapung</i>	<i>pulu</i>
wife	<i>nyime</i>	<i>meng</i>	<i>meng</i>	<i>miyeng</i>	<i>nyikhü</i>	<i>nyefung</i>	<i>nyime</i>	
the wind	<i>dore</i>	<i>asar</i>	<i>asar</i>	<i>asar</i>	<i>dalye</i>	<i>dari</i>	<i>dori</i>	<i>ali</i>
wing	<i>alap</i>	<i>alap</i>	<i>alap</i>		<i>allape</i>			
woman	<i>jirte</i>	<i>mime</i>	<i>mimö</i>	<i>mimmo</i>	<i>nyeme</i>	<i>nyeme</i>		<i>nyimu</i>
word	<i>agom</i>	<i>gompil</i>	<i>agom</i>	<i>gompir</i>	<i>besa</i>	<i>binsa</i>		
work		<i>ager</i>	<i>ager</i>	<i>ager</i>	<i>nito</i>	<i>reto</i>		
year	<i>anyi</i>	<i>ditak</i>	<i>ditak</i>	<i>ditag</i>	<i>nyeng</i>	<i>nyeng</i>	<i>anying</i>	
yesterday	<i>melo</i>	<i>melo</i>	<i>mölo</i>	<i>melo</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>mülo</i>	<i>melu</i>	
you	<i>nolu</i>	<i>nolu</i>	<i>nolu</i>	<i>nolu</i>	<i>nolu</i>	<i>nolu</i>	<i>nolu</i>	
young	<i>yam</i>	<i>yamye</i>	<i>yamye</i>	<i>yamye</i>	<i>nya</i>	<i>yapa</i>	<i>yapa</i>	

NOTES

- ¹ My own field notes cover Padam, Miri, Tagen-Dafla and Apatani, in the winter of 1964. I met informants for Padam at a school in Panikhowa, on the Assam plains, for Tagen-Dafla and Apatani at North Lakhimpur, and for Miri at Pathalipam. Additional sources include: for Gallong, Das Gupta (1963); for Minyong, Roy (1960); for Miri, Pegu (1956); for Tagen and Yano Dafla, Bor (1938), which also contains a short Apatani vocabulary; for Palin-Nyapin Dafla, Das Gupta (1969).