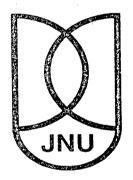
A PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH OF APATANI

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

RUBU MAMUNG



Centre for Linguistics School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi-110067, India 2009

TH17709



Centre for Linguistics School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi-110067, India

-07-09

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

CERTIFICATE

This dissertation titled "A Phonological Sketch of Apatani" submitted by Ms. Rubu Mamung, Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

(PROF. ANVITA ABBI) CHAIRPERSON Centre for Linguistics SLL&CS Chairperson Chairperson Chairperson Chairperson CLISLL & CS CLISLL New Delhi-67

(PROF. PKS PANDEY) SUPERVISOR Centre for Linguistics SLL&CS Professor PKS Pandey Centre for Linguistics Centre for Linguistics School of Language Literature & Culture Studies School of Language Literature & Culture Studies New Deltin - 110 067

i

Dated 21-07-09

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This dissertation titled "A Phonological Sketch of Apatani" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.

!

(RUBU MAMUNG) M.Phil. Scholar Centre for Linguistics SLL&CS Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067

ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

With sincerity and gratitude I would like to thank first of all to Prof PKS Pandey for his supervision that helped me to work with patience towards a topic close to my heart. And for his patience for bearing my absence due to my ill health, I will forever be thankful.

My thanks to respected Prof Vaishna Narang, Prof Aisha Kidwai and our Chairperson Dr Anvita Abi, for their guidance during my Post graduation which is the reason why I was able to persue further. Even my smallest success in the field of academics are due to all of you. Thank you.

Thank you Mairaba for all that you did for me. Especially, helping me with PRAAT. Special thanks to my friends of Chandrabhaga Hostel- Sangmu, Maongla, Deldan and Esther for doing what they are best at doing-encouraging. Especially thank you Sangmu for letting me keep my lights on at night and being a wonderful friend. And also my thanks to Sharmista and Malad for helping me with the typing.

Above all I would like to thank Lienza for her constant guidance which I so needed. Besides helping me with my dissertation, thanks for always being there as a friend to lean on and 'elder sister'. God bless you.

My sincere thanks to my informer Mr Tage Dibo for giving me a decent data.

My love to my parents, my brothers and sisters for their constant love and support. Love you.

Rubu Mamung

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map of Arunachal Pradesh

Map of Lower Subansiri

CHAPTER 1

- 1.1. Methodology
- 1.2. Fieldwork and Data
- 1.3. Scope and Objective
- 1.4. Data Analysis
- 1.5. Methods of Analysis
- 1.6. Chapterization

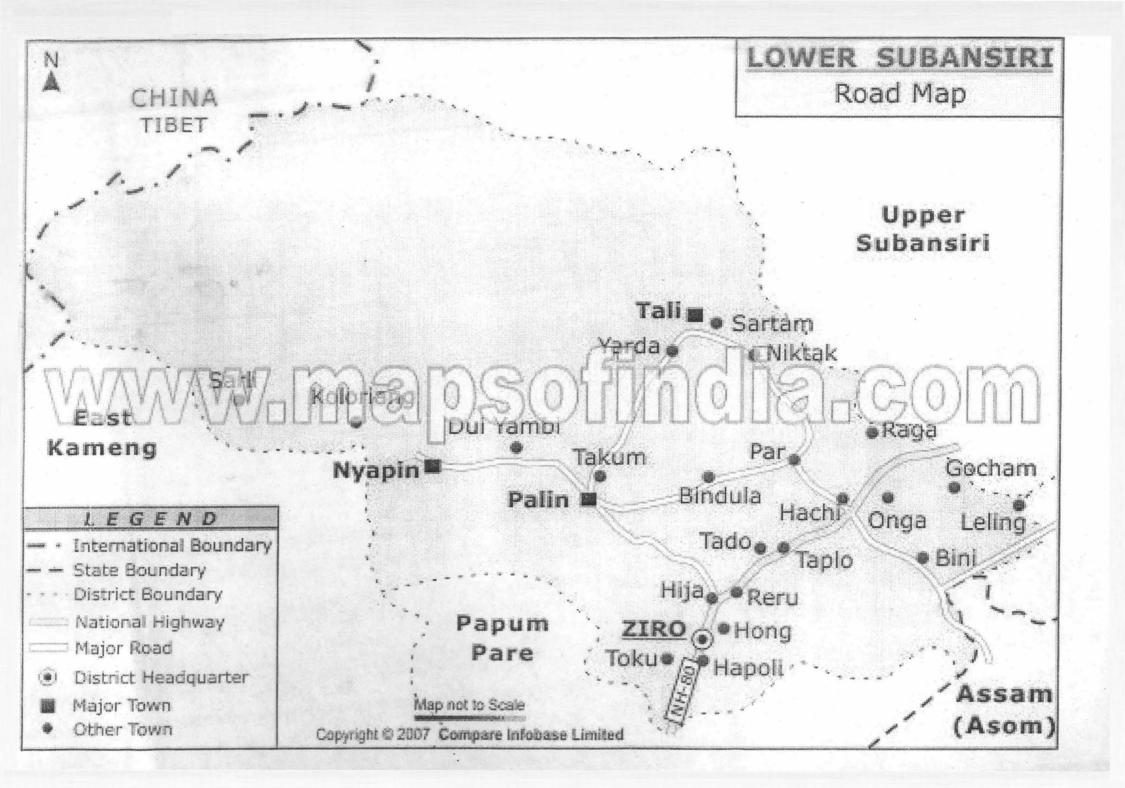
CHAPTER 2: Apatani Language and its Salient Features

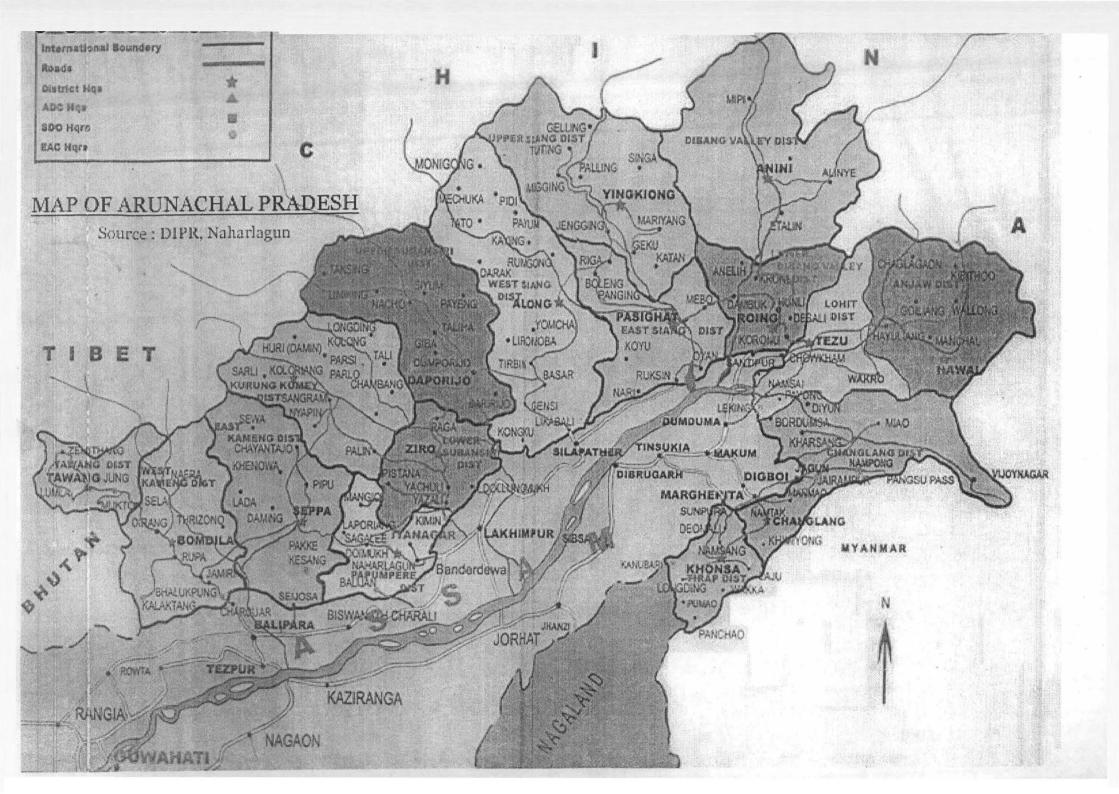
- 2.1. Brief History
- 2.2. Morphological Features of Apatani
- 2.2.1. Noun
- 2.2.2. Numbers
- 2.3. Numerals
- 2.4. Pronouns
- 2.5. Case Marking
- 2.6. Classifiers
- 2.6.1. Classifiers Formed by Duplication
- 2.7. Adjectives
- 2.8. Verb
- 2.8.1. Existential Verb
- 2.8.2. Tense
- 2.8.3. Interrogative
- 2.9. Negation
- 2.10. Word Formation
- 2.10.1. Compounds

- 2.11. Syntactic Features
- 2.11.1. Noun Phrase
- 2.11.2. Verb Phrase
- 2.11.3. Conjunction

CHAPTER 3

- 3.1. Consonants
- 3.1.1. Distribution of Consonants
- 3.1.2. Minimal Pairs of Consonants
- 3.1.3. Permissible Consonant Clusters
- 3.1.4. Geminate Consonants
- 3.1.5. Generalization of Consonants
- 3.2. Vowel
- 3.2.1. Vowel Chart
- 3.2.2. Diphthongs
- 3.2.3. Minimal Pairs in Diphthongs
- 3.2.4. Minimal Pairs in Vowels
- 3.2.5. Distribution of Vowels
- 3.2.6. Symbolism (Vowels)
- **CHAPTER 4:** Conclusion
- APPENDEX: Basic Wordlist of Apatani





INTRODUCTION

Apatani language is the language of Apatani tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. Apatani language belongs to the Tibeto Burman family. It is one of the 40 tribal language spoken in Arunachal Pradesh. Apatani does not have a script of its own.Though Grierson had done an extensive research on Tibeto Burman languages of Northeast, unlike Nagamese, Khasi and Assamese there is only one book exclusively written on *Apatani grammar* by *PT Abraham*, published in 1985.

1.1: METHODOLOGY:

The study would require methods that involve fieldworks, evaluation through phonemic and phonetic translation. Further the sources both primary and secondary sources are required to be sorted and studied in a chronological order. Gathering of informants and sorting them out is done. Interviews and their set up is done through questionnaire prepared with the language in mind. Collection of data by going to the villages to affirm findings given by the informer. While interviewing keeping a note on the changes be it sociological, historical and linguistic through interviewing various informants who particularly are of different age group. Language contacts had to be undertaken. Adopting PRAAT for identification of the sound systems (vowels, consonants,tones). The labeling of linguistic corpus for the study of Morphological analysis.

1.2: FIELDWORK AND DATA COLLECTION:

Instead of going for an extensive study of sound system of the seven villages I am taking in only one village for my present work.

The first step of my data collection was to prepare a questionnaire that includes words, phrases and sentences. The words were mostly common words used

for daily conversations, nouns mostly. Then there were phrases which were taken in order to analyze the sound pattern of Apatani in longer utterances. Sentences were taken in order to study the intonations in Apatani and I put more emphasis on exclamatory and interrogative sentences as it best shows the tonal representation. Further I made it a point to record all possible oral productions like songs- *biisi* (lovers song), *miji* and *migung*- religious chants and story telling passed down from generation to generation. These rcording not only helped me to understand the sound system better but also helped me to understand the historical importance of the sound representation.

The data collection took place in the native village of my informer ie Tajang village at Ziro-the valley of Apatani. There are seven villages in Apatani valley where Apatani is spoken but there is contrast between these villages when it comes to tones and intonation.

The following are my research work Approach;

1.3: SCOPE AND OBJECTIVE

This dissertation will basically deal with the phonological sketch of Apatani language. Under this topic we will be dealing with the Segmental phonology, syllable structure, realization and distribution of tones in the language. Giving an account of possible hypothesis according to the findings and providing an opening for further research.

1.4: DATA ANALYSIS

SOURCES

1. Data collection

The data was first collected from one family. The informers were from Tajang village. They were given the word list and were asked to produce it in continuum three times for the same sound or word. The phrases and sentences were then asked to produce. The

informers were asked if there were any variant forms of the sounds produced and if so what the environment for their occurrence were. For this I had to ask them alternative questions which helped me to understand the environment of the phoneme which gave variations.

2. Book Readings

Though there are linguistic and grammar books available on Phonetics and Phonology, I had to read certain books on History and the folktales of Apatani. This helped in building a certain idea about the language use. But through out I had to refer to linguistic books for any new possible findings and for comparisons.

1.5: METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The data analysis was done through the following proceedings;

Phonemic Analysis was done by analyzing the word list and by giving an account for all the phonemes present in the language.

- The difference between the sounds of Apatani is highlighted and the phonemes that are unique in their characteristics are given an account here.
- The phonemes and their positions in the language structure are also undertaken here.

Phonetic analysis is mostly done through PRAAT.

1.6.: CHAPTERIZATION:

The chapters for this dissertation have been arranged in the same manner as it would appear in most of the books for *introduction to phonetics and phonology*. That is to say that it starts with the basic introductory of the language studied and the sounds (phones) of that language and ends with tonal analysis and final observations. The order of my chapters is briefly described bellow;

- 1. Introduction this chapter introduces Apatani and the objectives of this particular dissertation.. Nature of my dissertation and its chapters are very concisely introduced here. But the most important is the methodology for my fieldwork. It is important to understand the language being studied with basic knowledge about its background.
- 2. Apatani language and its salient Linguistic features In this chapter as the title suggests we look into the nature of the language as spoken by its native speakers, its values both social and linguistic. Then we go on describing the language in accordance to the use of language. The Morphological and syntactic features are briefly discussed here.
- 3. Segmental phonology of Apatani- In this chapter we will look into the segmental phonology of Apatani starting with the vowel and consonantal features present in Apatani. The roles of these phonemes are further explained in parallel to the tone and intonation.
- 4. The last chapter is the conclusion of all the chapters so far. Here it is important to treat this chapter as a part of the research and not just a conclusive chapter as in here we try to come to a close hypothesis. Overall this chapter gives the whole dissertation an envelope to be sealed in before being opened again for further research.

CHAPTER 2:

APATANI LANGUAGE AND ITS SALIENT LINGUISTIC FEATURES

2.1: A BRIEF HISTORY:

There are currently no written no written records of the history of the Apatani tribe besides the valuable documented films and photographs by Heimendorf 1940. The books afterwards are mostly recited work from the same. Through history, however, Apatani had a democratic system of running the society. The village council is known as the Bulyang.

Since there is no script in Apatani the tradition has always been elaborate oral. One of these oral accounts speaks of their migration from extreme month of Subansiri areas following the rivers of Kurung and Kimey. These oral accounts are usually presented in the form of folk tales such as the miji and the migung- miji consists of stories of the human creation and our fore father Abotani also known to be the fore father of all Tani language speakers. Miji is also referred to a priest and his chants which includes all the above said. Migung is referred to as the stories of incidents such as war, eloping, death told by certain people of the society who are well known for such knowledge. Thus, miji is a collection of religious chants performed by priests who presides over the sacrifices of animals during various rituals, whereas, 'migung' is more realistic, since it is narrated in prose and the history of Apatani people. These oral accounts are in many occasions supported by landmarks which still exist in the migratory paths of Apatani. Therefore, these oral accounts have substance but need corroboration with anthropological and various scientific evidences which are at very tender stage at current day. Both 'miji' and 'migung' prose narrations speaks of Abotani, who as earlier mentioned reputed to be the original forefather of Apatani

2.2: MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURE OF APATANI:

The word classes that are present in Apatani can be named in the following order;

- Nouns
- Pronouns
- Verbs
- Adjectives

Among these classes, verbs and nouns outnumber other classes in word formation. Suffixation, prefixation, reduplication and compounding are the morphological processes found in Apatani. Besides these, borrowings are also prominent in Apatani.

In fact borrowed words from Assam were used even before NEFA became Arunachal Pradesh.

2.2.1: NOUN

Apatani language allows a determiner/case word in the same construction. Almost all nouns are formed this way. There is meaning in every segment of a word as in root, stem, suffix or prefix.

GENDER

There are certain nouns that are inherently masculine or feminine in Apatani.

milo-husband

mihi - wife

nimə - girl

milobó – boy

ani - mother

aba – father

aku – uncle (maternal) aci – aunty

The most common pattern that is seen in Apatani regarding gender marking is through the addition of a suffix to the reduplicated syllable of the generic noun. The suffix mostly added is /po/, /bo/ for male and /pə/,/mə/ for females to a generic noun to indicate the gender. The following are few instances of such forms;

paro - fowl ró?po - cock ró?ni - hen

Here we can see that last syllable is reduplicated and then suffixed to give a gender distinct marker.

Another way of marking the gender is through compounding. The words [milobo] 'boy' and [nimə] 'girl' are added to generic nouns to form a compound.

Eg: oho – child

milobo oho – boy child

pimə oho – girl child

2.2.2: NUMBER

There are no specific plural markers in Apatani like English has /s/ and /iz/. The countable nouns are produced by adding the numerical unit to it otherwise if the case is of uncountability then the number is indicated by using the plural word [abuje] 'lots' and [atã] 'group of many'. Both the numeral quantifier and the plural word follow the head

noun.

Singular	With plural word
udé 'house'	ude atã 'houses'
nimə 'girl'	nimə atã 'girls'
miyu 'man'	mijú atã 'humans'
tijo 'insects'	tijó abuje 'lots of insects'
paka 'plates'	paka abuje 'lots of plates'

2.3: NUMERAL

The Apatani numeral system follows the decimal system.

ako – one ané – two hiŋə - three piljé – four jaŋo – five xi – six kánu – seven pinjé – eight koa – nine aljã – ten

These are used for counting objects mostly but sometimes classifiers are added to these numerals to account for many words that represent quantity.

Multiples of ten are formed by compounding the form - [aljã] 'ten' with the unit. The units follow the decimal unit.

8

aljā pilje – 4 x 10 'forty'

But for exceptions like that of twenty, thirty, seventy the form - 'ka' is added to the numeral units.

pi + ka - ika 'twenty'

hiŋ+ ka - hiŋka 'thirty'

The lexical item [laŋ] stands for hundred. It is added to the end syllables of the numerical unit to form multiples of hundred.

laŋ – hundred laŋe – two hundred lahẽ - three hundred

The further up we move in the numerical unit by numbers to a single unit we see that the numerical system of Apatani has a series of prefixes and suffixes which vary but has the common form of not using any phonemes outside the numerical unit. For instance the numerical 1 has many uses for giving other numerals their form so is the case for other numerals.

2.4: PRONOUNS

In the pronominal system of Apatani there is no distinction of gender. There are however two way distinction for third person pronoun on the basis of diexis that is remote and visible.

The pronouns are given in the following table:

Person	Number		
	Singular	Plural	
First	ŋồ 'I'	ŋùnú 'we'	
Second	nó 'you'	nùnú 'you all'	
Third	mó 'he/she/they'	mòlú 'they all'	
	hi 'he/she/it'	hilu 'they all/all of 'it'/	
<u></u>	si 'he/she/this/'	silu 'these all'	

DIECTIC PRONOUNS

In Apatani a three way division is found in spatial situation in identifying the locus of the referent by the speaker.

[in] 'walk' is added to other morphological items like a possessive marker and a pronoun of course to identify the distance.

siksi - the pronoun indicates proximity

si-this+kə-poss+si

insi - the pronoun indicates intermediate distance

in- walk+loc+si

intosi - the pronoun indicates that the referent is far away

in-walk+to-loc+si

The deictic categories 'si', 'hi' are also used as determiners. They are added to generic nouns to limit their referential range and identify the spatial position.

Eg: ami si xedo 'the cat is crying'

Cat+ det+cry

These determiner though are permissible for all nouns, it is usually the subject noun that takes the determiner. In other cases the nouns appear without the determiner.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

In Apatani the demonstratives are formed by adding the markers 'si', 'iŋ', 'inso', 'into'.

Eg: sika ami – 'this cat'

this cat

iŋka miju – 'that man'

In other form like-

insoka alí - 'the road of that place'

Here the pronoun 'inso' is a known distance and 'ka' is a possessive marker. The place referred here however may be either known or remote, even the distance may vary.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The vicinity of the speaker is an important aspect for maintaining interrogatives in Apatani. If the referent is not in the vicinity of the speaker, then 'na' is suffixed to the interrogative pronoun which is used for referent in the vicinity of the speaker.

In the vicinity of the speaker Not in the vicinity of the speaker

hú – 'who'	hùná – 'who'		. '		
nihi – 'which'	ńihina – 'which'				•
	к.	÷		,	
1					

For interrogative 'no'-where is used when the referent is in the vicinity but then when the suffix 'ho' is added then its non vicinity is depicted. 'ni' functions as an interrogative morpheme in most cases.

2.5: CASE MARKINGS

Noun phrases are studied through case markers identifying the syntactic and semantic functions. In Apatani it is done through different case markers. The case signs follows

the head noun. As shown earlier the case sign is treated as the post position. When they occur with first and second person(singular), they are uttered as single lexical items. The following are the case signs that are present in Apatani;

- 1. nominative unmarked
- 2. accusative mi
- 3. dative mi
- 4. locative o
- Nominative case functions as the subject of the sentence and takes the sentence initial position.
- Eg: aki hi pido

Dog det bark-asp

• Accusative case sign in Apatani indicates the object of a transitive verb. Usually this precedes the noun. Eg: no mo mi latuto

I he acc catch-pst

• The Dative case sign is the same as the Accusative ie. 'mi'. it functions as the indirect object at syntactic level. Despite their similar forms they are treated as different cases because of their semantic and syntactic functions. Dative noun phrase indicates the benefactive role.

Eg: no noka ába mi iljo soye bito

I mine father dat knife one give-pst

• Locative case 'o' has a strict relation to the proximity and the remoteness. If the noun phrase is not specified, then it occurs with generic marker 'k'.

Eg: so - indicates proximate location

ho – indicates remoteness of the location

ko - indicates location without spatial specification

2.6: CLASSIFIERS

In Apatani classifiers indicates the shape, size, class of the referents. Numerals of generic nature are also used with human nouns for classifiers.

[pjəre] – this classifier indicates that the object is very small in size.

Eg: lakó pjəre – 'one button'

Button one

tasan pjərne - 'two beads'

Beads two

tarù pjəre - 'one ant'

Ant one

[pu] – When it is suffixed by [je], it indicates that the object is round, cylindrical, or oval.

Eg: papu puje - 'one egg'

Egg one

təná puje – 'one orange'

orange one

[so] – When it is suffixed by [je], it indicates something that is long and thin.

Eg: jaso soje - 'one rope'

Rope one

idan sone - 'two spears'

Spear two

2.6.1: CLASSIFIERS FORMED BY DUPLICATION

This is found with certain nouns. In such forms the final syllable of the noun is duplicated and prefixed to the numeral base.

Eg: pacu cupe

Chicken four

aná nane

Year one

But there are instances where the noun's first syllable in a dysyllabic word is duplicated and prefixed.

Eg: turlá ture

Mug one taló tape

Brass plate two

2.7: ADJECTIVES

There are very less stock of words that fall in this category. The proper adjectives in Apatani are as follows;

Kapjo – beautiful

Karù – ugly

ohó – tall

ako – low (for inanimate objects)

Adjectives are used with various other grammatical items like nouns and verbs to describe someone and something.

Eg: miju aja – good man sanə ohó – tall tree

In the word [kapjó] and [karù], the suffix 'ka' is the root meaning to look at thus, the adjective is formed by the semantic reason that is 'good to look at' for the former and 'bad to look at' for the later by suffixing 'pjo' and 'ru'.

The determiners follow the adjective when they occur with them.

Eg: miju aja hi – 'good man/human'

Man good det

sani ohó si-'tall tree'

Tree tall det

2.8: VERBS

In Apatani, verbs are added to the main verb to modify its inherent meaning and the majority of the verbs found in Apatani are monosyllabic. The verbs that are added to

the main verb to modify their inherent meaning are called Verb Particles. The following are the examples for the same;

Eg: ca – climb

ji – slide/move down

bi – give

When the verb particles are added to the main verb, it modifies their meaning.

Eg: lu + ca – move up to talk

Talk climb

lu + ji - slide/move down to talk

Talk slide/move down

lu + bi – talk in favor of someone else Talk give

2.8.1: EXISTENTIAL VERB

In Apatani, the Existential verb specifies the posture of referent. At the time of action these verbs are used both for animate and inanimate objects. Existential verb specifying posture of an animate object;

Eg: the standing posture of a man –

si miju da – man is standing here

Here man exist

The sitting position of an animal –

ho si du ke - cow is sitting there

There cow sit-pr-exist poss

Sleeping position of a man -

hime imi do

Child sleep exist

The posture verb for the inanimate object is decided conceptually.

2.8.2: TENSE

In Apatani tense is marked according to the proximity of the person. Thus, the three tenses – Past and Future is determined through the proximity of the referent or the speaker. Present tense in this language is not marked like that in Hindi and English.

Eg: Past Future sisi mite sisi mici now do pst now do will

2.8.3: INTERROGATIVE VERBS

The Interrogative may be a yes, no question or wh- question the yes/no questions are formed by adding 'ha' to the end of a sentence, which is a statement.

Eg: no apin haja do ha

You rice hungry exist int

'Are you hungry?'

nunu aji mədu ha

You all paddy field do- exist int 'Are you all working in the paddy field?' Wh- questions are formed using the interrogative pronouns as in examples given below;

iŋkấ ába axa si hu that man old det who 'Who is that old man?' nitampa no mido ho impa How you rain loc walk 'How will you walk in the rain?'

2.9: NEGATION

The nasal 'm' phoneme is almost always used as a negative marker. When sentences are formed these phonemes combine with other phonemes such as 'a'.

Eg: [ma] - 'no'

ci + ma – cima 'don't know'

know neg

aja + ma – ajama 'not good/bad'

good neg

a + ma - ama 'didn't come'

come neg

2.10: WORD FORMATION

2.10.1: COMPOUNDS:

Compound words are formed by combining words in certain order. In Apatani most of the words are formed through compounding. The following are the possible constructions of compound forms in Apatani. Eg: Noun- noun construction

danca jaxo – 'iron rode' iron stick paka turla – 'utensils'

plate mug

abi tari - 'clothes'

pant shirt

Nouns derived from Verb roots;

Action nouns are derived in Apatani from the verb roots by adding the suffix 'ni' to them. This is very productive and regular process by which action nouns are formed from verb roots

ani - 'coming'

luni - 'talking'

ini-'going'

it.

mini - 'working/doing'

2.11: SYNTACTIC FEATURE:

Apatani is an SOV language. Since the cases as mentioned earlier are morphologically marked in this language, the word order is not a restricted type in a sentence. The order can change according to the focus of the sentence ie the focus may be a subject, object or a verb.

1. When the qualifying verbs are used in a sentence, the existential verb also occurs along

Eg: sani ho tabu da Tree loc snake exis 'there are snakes on the tree'

Focus changetabu da sani ho Snake exis tree loc ho iljo soro soje do there sword big one exis 'there is a big sword,

Focus change-

iljo soro soye do ho Sword big one exis loc

2.11.1.NOUN PHRASE

The Noun Phrase as mentioned, when numeral adjective and another modifier are present, the head noun is followed by the modifier and then followed by the adjective. Tha case markers occur at the end of a Noun phrase but there are cases where it occurs medially as well as initially.

abi ano kapjo ako si pant very adj one det 'a very beautiful pant'

ako abi ano kapjo si one pant very beautiful det

2.11.2: VERB PHRASE

The lexical category of verb has yet another set of combinatorial properties. It consist of the verb and noun phrase. The nature of the verb dictates the occurrence of cases.

Eg: mo hargine

He ran away-pt 'he ran away'

mo hapo ho jassi batenehe bucket loc water carry-pt'he went to carry a bucket of water'

The case markers indicate the grammatical relations of the noun phrases in the sentence. So, the order of the elements in the verb phrase is free.

no alo je pa imitaji I day –adv sleep-fut 'I will sleep till day'

2.11.3: CONJUNCTION

In Apatani conjunction occur at both noun phrase as well as in the sentence. Two or more nouns are conjoined to form noun phrase.

tanipi tacho pi

TH-17709

tani con tacho con

another conjoined marker in Apatani is the marker for 'and' [la];

mo la yari la oka aji ine

she/he and yari and oka paddy field went

'he/she and yari and oka went to the paddy field'

The details of the sound system in Apatani are given in the following chapter which deals in Segmental Phonology.

CHAPTER 3:

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY OF APATANI

Sounds in Linguistics are termed as phonemes in a unit (smallest unit of sound) eg : /a/,/e/,/o/ etc. This chapter deals in the study of the sounds in Apatani language and most importantly, the relationship between them and the interplay.

The phonology of the language- its sound system includes;

1- an inventory of sounds and their features

2- rules which specify how sounds interact with each other.

The Phonemic principle states that there in each language a limited numbers of elemental types of speech sounds called phonemes, peculiar to that language; that all sounds produced in the employment of the given language are referable to its sets of phonemes; that only its own phonemes are at all significant in the given language.

3.1: CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	Glottal
	•		•			
		1 · · · · ·				
Stop	p b	t d		сэ	k g	?
			· .			
Nasal	m		n	ŋ	ŋ	· · ·

IPA CHART OF APATANI CONSONANTS

Trill		r			
Fricative	<u> </u>		-	x	
Affricate		s z		h	
Approx	w		j		
Lat approx		1	-		<u> </u>

3.1: DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS

ς.

The distributions of consonants according to the environment in which they occur are as listed below:

SI no	consonants	Initial	medial	Final
1	/p/	pá 'fight'	ipa 'stool'	
2	/b/	bá 'carry'	aba 'father'	
3	/t/	ta 'drink'	ata 'elder sister'	<u>2** 28 2 1</u>
4	/d/	da 'beat'	adù 'talk'	
5	/c/	co 'hop/skip'	aci 'pain'	
6	/ ɟ /	Jо 'carry'	а ј о 'hire'	
7	ſĸ/	kú: 'ask'	aki 'dog'	
8	/g/	go 'carry'	ago 'outside'	

-. ·

9	/x/	хә	ахэ	lux
		'count'	'comb'	'talked to death'
10	/?/			ha?
				'draw water'
11	/m/	mò	amu	
		'he/she'	'body hair'	
12	/n/	nò	une	Pan
		'you'	'sores'	'fund'
13	/ŋ/	ŋò	іђо	Paŋ
		'I/me'	'walk halfway'	'blank- expressive'
14	/ɲ/	ná	anã	
		'point a finger'	'year'	
15	/r/	rá	ara	takir
		'tie'	'empty/naked'	'star'
16	/s/	su:	asu	
		'spring water'	'empty'	
17	/z/	zigziró		
		'nameof a dress		
		pattern'		

18	/h/	hó	oho
		'scratch'	'child'
19	/w/		uwa'Expressive-
			wow'
20	/j/	jò	ajo
		'meat'	'top'

3.1.2: MINIMAL PAIRS OF CONSONANTS

1. /p/ and /b/

Initial

[pí] – 'slape' [bi] – 'give'

[po] – 'hug' [bo] – 'pull'

Medial

[apu] – 'flower' [abu] – 'branch'

2. /t/ and /d/

Initial

[ta] – 'drink' [da] – 'beat'

[ti] – 'pour' [di] – 'hammer in'

Medial

[ato] – 'come' [ado] – 'coming'

3. /c/ and $/_{3}/$

Initial

[ca] - 'climb' [Ja] - 'throw' [kəce] – 'break something by a punch'(inanimate) [kəje] – 'punch to death'(animate)

Medial

[icu] – 'less' [iɟu] – 'weak'

4. /m/ and ./n/

Initial

[mo] – 'he/she' [no] – 'you'

[mu] – 'blow' [nu] – 'knead/ wash'

Medial

[amu] – 'a lie' [anu] – 'younger brother'

5. /ŋ/ and /ŋ/

Initial

[no] - 'fasting' [no] - 'I/me'

[natu] – 'knife' [ŋatu] – 'bind and tie'

[natər] – 'break by hand's force' [natər] – 'break through binding'

6. /n/ and /ŋ/

Initial

[no] - 'you' [ŋo] - 'me'

[nɨji] – 'dip' [ŋɨji] – 'fish'

Medial

[ino] - 'in the mid of walking away' [iŋo] - 'in the of walking'

Final

[pan] – 'fund' [saŋ] – 'bed'

7. /k/ and /x/

Initial

[ke] - 'write'

[xe] - 'cry'

Medial

[aki] – 'dog' [axi] – 'draw'

[pako] – 'break free' [paxo] – 'canals in paddy field'

8. /s/ and /h/

Initial

[so] - 'here' [ho] - 'there'

[sí] - 'this'[hí] - 'beat with a cane'

Medial

[asù] – 'empty husk' [ahù] – 'to wake someone'

9. /x/ and / ? /

Final

[tex] - 'killed by falling tree' [te?] - interjection 'oops'

[tix] - 'pouring something on someone to death' [ti?] - 'draw a line'

10. /c/ and /k/

Initial

[ca] – 'climb' [ka] – 'see'

[camjo] – 'climb ahead' [kamjo] – 'look ahead'

Medial

[acó] – 'too much' [akó] – 'one'

[pacu] – 'chicken' [paku] – 'plate' 11. /l/ and /r/

Initial

[la] – 'bring' [ra] – 'tie'

[luro] – 'unnecessarily exaggerating a talk' [lulo] – 'talk down'

12. /j/ and /r/

Initial

[ja] – 'burn' [ra] – 'tie'

Medial

[aja] – 'flesh' [ara] – 'empty/naked'

13. /c/ and /t/

Initial

[ci] – 'bite' [ti] – 'pour'

Medial

· 14. /c/ and /s/

[pacu] – 'chicken' [pasu] – 'fight'

3.1.3: PERMISSIBLE CONSONANT CLUSTERS

POSITION:

Initial - /bj/ and /pj/ - These clusters occur as word initials in words like [pjaro]
'big' and [bjako] 'bitter tomato'.

2. Medial - medial consonants clusters in Apatani are as follows;

/rl/ - turla 'mug'

/np/ - kanpã 'glarry'

/mn/ - təmni 'grinded object'

/gj/ - agja 'doorway'

/bj/ - tabjã 'hear in disbelief'

/tt/ -itta 'sting' - N

/ll/ - kullu 'upside down'

/rr/ -sirre 'wild boar'

/mm/ - simma 'dead body'

/nn/ - kinnĩ 'to order someone'

/ŋŋ/ - miŋŋo 'rich'

3. Final - final consonant clusters are not present in Apatani.

3.1.4: GEMINATE

Geminate is the combination of two identical consonants in a cluster form. In Apatani the following clusters occur in the word medial form.

nn	kinni	to order someone
rr	sirré	wild boar
tt	itta	sting or tail
mm	immá	did not go
pp	tappú	fair
mɨŋŋo	mɨŋŋò	half work done
11	kullu	upside down

3.1.6: GENERALIZATION OF CONSONANTS

(a) The phonemes /p/ and /b/ never occurs in word final. If there is a disyllabic word then these phonemes always occurs with a vowel either /ə/ or /i/ or any other vowel...

(b) Stop consonants /b/ is sometimes realized as a bilabial fricative continuant β when it occurs in intervocalic position only if there is the condition of a back/ central vowel following and preceding the consonant.

Eg: $[a\beta u \mathbf{j} \mathbf{e}] - \mathbf{i} \mathbf{lots}^{\prime}$

(c) The consonantal phoneme /w/ occurs in only limited expressions.

Eg: [puwa] – 'crow'

[uwa] - expressive for 'gosh!'

(d) Consonant nasal /n/ occurs in word final only in the word [pan] which stands for 'fund'. It may be a influenced borrowed word as Apatani does not have /f/.

(e) The Apical post alveolar lateral fricative /l/ is common in Apatani. It is used as word medial and is always followed by the glide /j/.

32

Name of a person

Eg: [taljã]

[laljã]

Others .

[alji] – 'air/wind'

[saljã] - 'growth' ADJ

[kaljã] – 'look after'

(f) The glottal stop /?/ is a rare phoneme which occurs only in specific environment and by also specific group of speakers. The stop is a result of stress. When we stress on the production of an arresting vowel in a monosyllabic word it may result in the production of the glottal stop /?/

Eg: [ha?] – draw water

[ba?] - 'carry'

[te?] - 'fallen or bended tree or any similar object'

3.2: VOWEL

Vowels are made by shaping the body of the tongue in various ways within the oral cavity.

The Apatani language has in total 8 vowels. They show a three way opposition in terms of both the part of the tongue that is raised and lowered and also the height to which each part of tongue is raised.

The above mentioned oppositions are as mentioned below;

(I): Part of the tongue raised

- front

- central

back

(II): The height to which each part of the tongue is raised

- high
- mid
- low

The eight vowel phonemes in Apatani are;

u

0

/i/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /ə/, /o/, /ɛ/, /a/

3.2.1: VOWEL CHART

i

e

ε

The 8 vowels are classified as follows;

i

Ð

a

- 1. a high front unrounded v -/i/
- 2. a central unrounded v /i/
- 3. a high back rounded v -/u/
- 4. a front unrounded v /e/
- 5. a mid central unrounded v $/ \Rightarrow /$
- 6. a mid back rounded v /o/
- 7. an mid front unrounded v $/\epsilon/$
- 8. an low central unrounded v /a/

apatani distinguishes 6 long vowels.

/i/ - /i:/	/ɛ/ - /ɛ:/
/u/ - /u:/	/e/ - /e:/
/o/ - /o:/	/a/ - /a:/

3.2.2: DIPHTHONGS

In Apatani there are 9 diphthongs. These 9 possible diphthongs are an important articulatory products as to be precise and exact the only clean diphthong is /ui/ which means 'ghost' and /ai/ in a word like [tai] for 'scabbies'. The rest of the diphthong occur according to the elongative nature of the speech register.

The 9 diphthongs in Apatani are;

/ai/, /ia/, /oa/, /ua/, /au/, /ui/, /oi/, /əi/, /ei/

Besides /ui/ and /ai/ diphthong, the rest 7 diphtongs occurs only when there is time and register bound speech production. For an instance the diphthong /ei/ occurs word finally only when the speaker is in haste thus shortening the time of production which in turn shortens the vowel production otherwise in normal speech it occurs with a glide /j/ in between. It is thus a variant form.

Sl no	Diphthong	Word	Eng gloss
1	ai	tai	Skin disease
	ia	pia	Dry fish
2	ei	mei	Look for
	ie	lie	Bundle of grass
3	au	kau	Jealous
	ua	kua	Grasshopper

3.2.3: MINIMAL PAIRS IN DIPHTHONGS

4	ae	tae	One plank
	ea	tea	Lean towards
5	iu	miu	Human/man
	ui	mui	Chant
6	oi	poi	Yeast
	io	tio	Insect

In Apatani the vowel diphthongs can occur both as eg.[ie] or as [eji]. This is the case of variants. The glide 'j' is used only if the utterance is delayed in a speech. But there is an exception for diphthongs like [ou], [au]. So, in Apatani instead of having a long vowel when there is elongation of a word it inserts glide 'j' in between the vowel diphthongs.

3.2.4: MINIMAL PAIRS FOR VOWELS

1. /i/ and /i:/

[pina] - 'desire to cut' [pina] - 'desire to slap'

2. /e/ and /e:/

[tappe] – 'pumpkin' [tappe:] – 'leech'

3. /a/ and /a:/

[tajo] – 'don't drink' [ta:?jo] – 'don't hack'

4. /u/ and /u:/

[adu] – 'talk'

[adu:] - 'come' first person'

5. /o/ and /o:/

[moka] – 'his' [mo:ka] – 'look away'

6. /i/ and /ə/ [tiȝe] – 'pour on'

[təje] – 'to pound'

7. /ɨ/ and /i/

[miti] – 'to do agaiñ' [miti] – 'closing eyes'

8. /u/ and /o/

[mɨbu] – 'ash/dust' [mɨbo] – 'bring towards'

[gubu] – 'hot' [gobo] – 'carry towards'

[uru] - 'family' [uro] - 'big hole/ extreme'

9. /ɛ:/ and /e/

[lɛ:nto] – 'to smear' [lento] – 'name of a person' [mεnto] – 'kill+pst' [mε] – 'kill'

3.2.5: DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

Sl no	vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
1	a			
		alí	malo	ala
· · · .		'road'	'roof'	'hand'
2	e	1	nesu	
· .		ela	granary	ase
	·	Good shooter		Wash
3	i			
· .		iji	miju	siti
		'lets go'	'way of doin smth'	'elephant'
4	i			
	·	ima	riló	pari
		'Didn't go'	'Throw down'	'sparrow'
5	0		· ·	1
		opá	pona	ropo
		'leave'	Fermented	'cock'
• ,		· ·	rice'	
6	u			
	· · ·	uró	sutó	asu
		'Big,loud'	'Draw water	'lazy'
,			with a mug'	
7	l∙a:		·	
•		a:ne	ba:ne	insa:
		'came in'	'carry'	'Lets walk'
8	e:			
· · ·		e:mpà	he:mpa	tabe:
		'husk'	'remember'	'Sugarcane'
9	i:			
		i:nso	pi:nə	asi:
		'there'	'God'	'Nest'
10	0:			

		o:kã 'Ploughing for long duration'	so:kã 'Playing for a long duration'	jalo: 'shadow'
11	u:	u:rã 'Deep'	pu:du 'Time of blooming'	apu: 'flower'

3.2.6: SYMBOLISM

Some words in Apatani changes the adjectives according to the sizes they represents by changing the vowel either at the initial or medial position. The vowels represents the size and the degree.

Eg: /u/ and /o/ signifies round and circular objects and their size is defined by the vowel.

pupo – tiny round object like a marble

pono - small cylindrical object

their size counterparts

puro – big and round like a stone

poro – huge and cylindrical like the tree trunk

other examples;

kupo - small round disc like as a small bowl

kuro - big and circular but there is a depth in the object as in plates with lifted rims

kono – small and circular but its hollow like the bangle

koro - big and circular but flat like a plate

Here we can see that the phonemes /p/ and /r/ are occurring along with the vowel that symbolizes the size. For a bigger size /r/ is used and for smaller ones /p/ is used.

3.3.4: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Illustration of monosyllable structure in Apatani;

Monosyllabic	V	a	Come
words			
······	CV	la	Bring
	CVC	pan	Fund
	CCV	gja	Roam
·	CVV ,	kau	Envy
	VCV	ipa	Stool

CANONICAL STRUCTURE

(C)(C)V(C)

First consonant – all the consonants in the language can occur initially.

Eg: [pa] - 'fight'

[ba] - 'carry'

[ta] – 'drink'

[da] – 'beat'

[ka] – 'look'

[xa] - 'peel'etc

Second consonant – the glide/j/ is the only consonant that occur in the second consonant position.

Eg: [bjako] – 'tomato' [pjaro] – 'big' [gja] – 'roam about' [bja] – 'burn'

Third consonant – the final consonants in Apatani are restricted to /r//n/ and $/\eta/$. Eg: [alir] – 'hard'

[jaŋ] - 'onomatopoeic word for buzzing sound'

[pan] – 'fund'

3.4: TONES AND INTONATION

BASIC CHARACTERISTIC OF TONE LANGUAGE

'A language is a tone language if the pitch of the word can change the meaning of the word. Not just the surface but its core meaning too'¹

A tone language may be defined as a language having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative Pitch on each syllable. When we compare tonal languages to the non tonal languages the difference is so obvious and has a meaning that is indigenous to a tone language itself.

The goal of this chapter is to give as descriptive as possible account for the types of tones and tonal inventories found in Apatani. It begins with a brief discussion of notational and fieldwork issues then we move on to the descriptive tonal inventories of the language.

3.4.1: TONES IN APATANI

Since Apatani doesn't have a large content of words. There are many words in the language that are repeated and most of it is shared between nouns and verbs. This fact is an essential find to be analyzed as the tones is the only factor distinguishing the two or three of the same words. This chapter hence takes in the whole phenomena of tonal

¹ Moira.Y., Tone p 1, Cambridge University Press, 2002

change in same words with different meanings. We have to concentrate on the vowels as they give the optimum flexibility of change in tones.

Apatani is a three tone language. Three tones HIGH, LOW HIGH, HIGH LOW can be assigned to a single Vowel. These tones are given as;

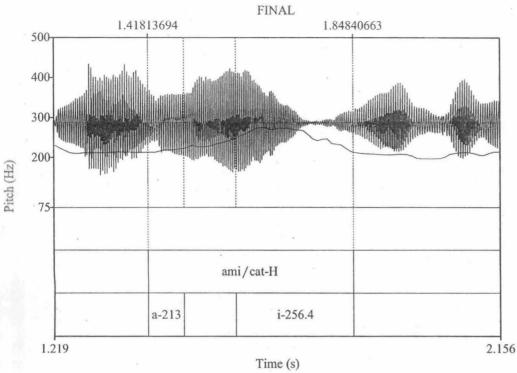
ami - cat – H – HIGH (✓) əmi - eye– LH – RISING (✓) əmi - tail – HL- FALLING (∧)

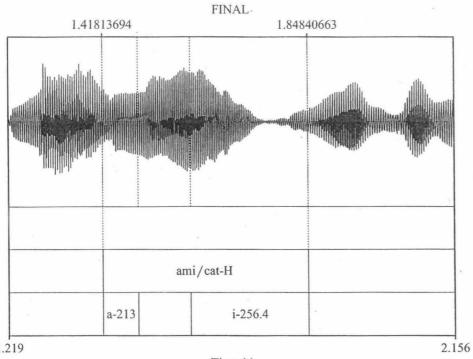
There is tonal spreading in Apatani language system. Here the initial vowel carries the tone and it spreads to the following vowel which may change the tone of the following vowel. The whole syllable is to be considered as a single tone bearing unit.

3.4.2: LEXICALLY SIGNIFICANT PITCH

Pitch signifies and distinguishes the meaning of utterances. In English, the pitch signifies difference either when there a change of speech situation. The semantic difference in Pitch in English applies to the phrase as a whole with meaningful information but not as a lexically changed form. In Apatani the tone signifies lexical meaning. For an instance let us look at some words in the language; the only difference in these two words - [ali] and [ali] are the tones assigned that L and H in the following vowel ie; 'i'. Most of the minimal pairs are of H, LH, HL tone which signifies their meaning.

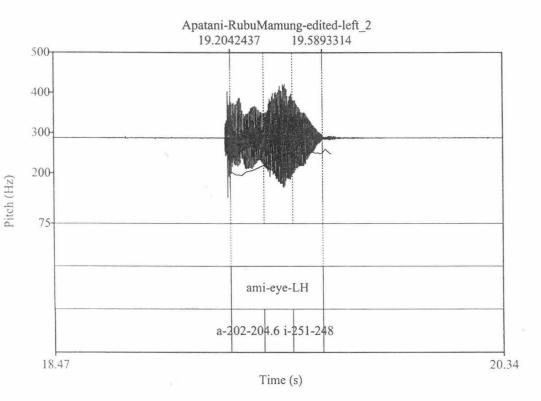
In tone languages the pitch contrasts or a significant pitch difference entails one pitch being kept different or separated from another in the immediate context. Two level pitches may contrast by one of them being relatively higher than the other. On the other hand, a rising pitch may contrast with a falling pitch or one a higher rising pitch. Tone languages have major characteristics in common: the relative height of their tonemes (the contrastive lexical unit of sounds is called phonemes but in tonal analysis it is tonemes), and their pitch in actual utterance which is pertinent to their linguistic analysis)







1.219



3.4.3: MINIMAL PAIRS FOR LEXICAL TONES

Minimal pairs give the best citation for different levels of tones in Apatani. Because in minimal pairs of this language the single tone assigned can carry a meaning and if the tone changes without any other phonological change, then the meaning changes.

TWO WORD MINIMAL PAIR

1. aba:	Father
abà	Piggy back
2. pasú	Fight
pasu	Needle
3. apù	Flower
apú	Bow(and arrow)

THREE WORD MINIMAL PAIR

1. ali	Leg	
áli	Bury	
âlĩ	Make into a ball	
2. taru	Rope	
tarù	Mosquito	
tarú	Bad tasting drink	

3.4.4: TONES IN SYLLABLES

MONOSYLLABLES:

Word	Tone	Gloss
əmi	LH	Еуе
ãju:	LH	Weak
tâpe	HL	Pumpkin
ere	Н	Stomach
təko	HL	Money
åsu	LH	Empty
tåbe	HL	Sugarcane

• Most words in Apatani are Monosyllabic. Rest of the vocabulary is formed through compounds.

DISYLLABLES:

Word	Tone	Gloss	
kǎljākǎda	LH LH	Look after	
kějekěne	LHLH	Grinding between hands	
xðcabâra	LH HL	Nook and corner	
parjapāda	LHLH	Adjust a lid	
xěcexěne	LHLH	Winnowing	
ălojimər	LH HL	Whole day	
ârokŏnci	HL LH	Early morning	
əmia jā	LHLH	Teary eyed	
tâlijordu	HL LH	Raja chilli	

Disyllables in Apatani are compound words where a grammatical category is added to another one (eg. noun + noun or noun + adjective) as in the word [kaljākada] which is compounded by adding [kaljā] and [kada] to form a word. The tones of these words are assigned to the vowels of the first syllable in the single word and not as a whole word (compound+compound). These single words forms do not change their tones when they are in a compound. eg. H will be H and LH will be LH

• RELATIVE PITCH

In Apatani the tones are retained in all speeches by both the gender ie male and female. The relative height of the tones is pertinent to the linguistic analysis and not their actual pitch. While uttering the words the lowering and the raising of the voice is general but the tonal height and contours are maintained thoroughly.

Eg: [a:to] – 'come' -H

TONES- VOICED OBSTRUENTS

Another reason for pitch contrast is the Voicing. In Apatani, the voiced obstruents give a low pitch while the voiceless ones give a high pitch. Usually if the voiced obstruent is followed by a high vowel eg. /i/, then the production is a L tone. The tone can be realized by the obstruent also as in the case of [bi].

Eg: [tí] – 'to pour' (VOICELESS) [di] – 'quick sand' (VOICED)

3.4.5: SINGLE VOWEL, TWO TONES

Each syllable of a tone language carries at least one significant pitch unit. Most frequently, there is a one to one correlation between the numbers of syllables and the number of tonemes in any specific utterance. Apatani tends to differ here. For instance, the word for 'Plough' is [o:] is monosyllable but has three tones. The contour is possibly due to the long /o:/ but, when it is produced not as an elongated phoneme and just /o/ with H tone its meaning changes to 'rice beer'. So we can actually say that vowel elongation can change the tone in a single phoneme.

[0:] - 'plough'

When a language has a small, number of pitch contrasts between level tonemes, the contrastive levels can be termed as Registers. The number of permitted register tones in various languages can be different from each other. In Apatani the number of Registers is two.

1. They can be of two 'moods' – pensive and excitement.

2. The interrogative questions are very different than the normal speech though the use of lexical items is same.

Eg:

milãJu - 'everyone'

milãJu - 'everyone?'

3.4.6: TONELESS WORDS

More surprising are words in this language which are uttered in exactly the same manner and these words are toneless and are not influenced by the tones of its environment in a connected speech. With only difference in the meaning which without the pre phrase and post phrase cannot be differentiated. Instances are as given below;

alo- salt

alo- day

in a sentence like – no alo ho yassi alə masu ha? You salt/day loc water put neg int

This sentence could mean two things that is; 'did you put water in the salt?'

Or,

'did you put water during the day?'

The proximity of the listener plays the role here along with a gesture.

3.4.7:: INTONATION

Intonation is a significant variation in Pitch from one part of an utterance to another. The role of intonation is undoubtedly the most problematic part of this attempt to distinguish what is formally part of the language and what is not. Much of the work in intonation takes up notes of aspects of speech that are not represented in the written form. Nevertheless, an intonation contour does not in itself make any difference in the 'dictionary' meaning of an utterance: it tells the hearer something concerning the emotional attitude of the speaker. The intonation pattern system in every language is difficult and is naturally learnt by the native speakers of that language.

Intonation, as a whole encompasses features like rhythm, pause, length, and stress as well as Pitch that combine to make the prosody of the language.

Two most important characteristics of intonation are-

- 1. the distribution of its contours over phrases, and
- the addition of shades of meaning to phrases rather than the giving of lexical meaning to words.

Both of these characters can be seen in contrast with a difference type of Pitch systems in tone languages. Apatani being a tone language of the lexical kind has the tone contributing by it carrying the basic lexical meaning of the words. For an instance, when the phonemes /g/ is replaced by /t/ in words like [ga] for 'scold' becomes [ta] for 'drink'

In addition to lexical pitch, however, tone language may have various type of pitches superimposed upon them. And the general general pitch of the voice may carry implication of 'moods' like anger, sarcasm, excitement and inquiry.

3.13.1: INTONATIONS IN APATANI

Tone languages are by no means alike in the kinds of tonemes they utilize or in the function of these tonemes in their grammatical system. Apatani is such a tone language. The tones are utilized to give out different moods and statements.

Eg:

nimpa - Inquisitive wh question - 'why?'

hila - 'is it?'

hila - 'yes'

imijo - 'don't sleep!' – expressive

imijo - 'don't sleep' – normal speech or in a pensive speech expression

Like most tone languages, Apatani has variation in pitch and contour defining the meaning of the utterance as well as the embedded, underlying meaning intended by the speaker to the hearer. The following are some of the intonation examples in Apatani.

1. you pluck the (leafy) vegetables

no hamã hito - order

no hamã hito – sarcastic interrogative

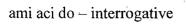
2. he didn't wear pant

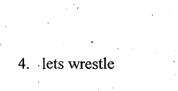
mo abi gima pa – statement

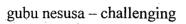
mo abi gima pa – surprised interrogative

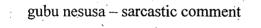
3. eyes are hurting

ami aci do - statement









CONCLUSION

The current dissertation is inconclusive as it is just an initial step towards understanding Apatani sound system by concentrating on some of the most basic phonological aspects like phonemes and their interplay. The accounts given here for tones however should be taken note of as it is mostly a representative of one village only among the seven villages. My informer belonged to the village Tajang. The sound system of the seven villages differ from one another in a way that all villages have different language tunes. Im using tune here reffering to the contours the villages has. It would be improper to say that the tones that exists in one village accounts for all other villages.

As the language was never properly explored in the lights of linguistic, it was first of all necessary to establish the basic sound phonemes ie. the vowel and consonants. The work required extensive field work as despite being an Apatani speaker myself, I have Hindi influence in my speech which changes my tones. The basic word list and the recordings provided the required knowledge of phonemes in the language.

The whole process of writing about a language sound system can be overwhelming. It may sometimes end up looking like a dictionary of language lexicon which I avoided. I tried to put forward what is only required to understand a language by making it as much as phonologically inclined for any linguist to understand. In the course of analyzing the sounds, many facts came up and were dealt with the possibilities of any unique property besides the usual discussion of the data analysis. In all the chapters given, I have tried to give an account of possibilities and not really involve in describing the sound system as an entity of the language structure itself because the findings are not conclusive and to conclude it, an immense study and fieldwork is needed that will account for all the seven villages.

The chief purpose of this dissertation hence involves not to critically examine the language sounds but,

- 1. to give an account of all the possible sounds/phonemes with openness and flexibility.
- 2. a methodology based on available linguistic advance. To use the data accordingly with accounts for variants.
- to provide a firsthand data of Apatani with various examples which represents its sound structure as it is. If possible analyse the difference between the structure of Apatani sound and other known language structure.

Apatani is a tonal language but the tones are not present only in H, LH, HL form but in various contrasts consisting of these tones interchanges. The language shows a sign of contours and stress which is most of the times considered as present in stressed languages but linguists have argued a lot on the problem of a tone language with stress. They are not clearly defined as an entity that can exist together. So the accounts given in my dissertation is not to be thought as a final work but for taking the content to a further level.

The research for this work has brought many first hand information regarding phonemes, tones, intonation and their role in Apatani language.some of the findings are as given below;

- 1. There are 28 phonemes in Apatani. 20 consonants and 8 vowels.
- Allophones are very rare as the language uses very rigid number of sounds. So the instance of the missing phoneme /f/ can be reminded. Because of its absence there is no account for the aspirated /p/ /p^h/.
- 3. Vowel symbolism occurs to give a comparative account for sizes and degree.
- 4. There are instances of rare occurrences of unique phonemes like the apical post alveolar lateral approximate /l/ in the language.

- Consonant clusters are not present in the initial position but there is an exception for the glide /j/ following a plosive eg. [bjako] - 'bitter tomato' and [pjado] unwind v.
- 6. Aspirated phonemes are not present present in Apatani.
- 7. There is no labio dental fricative /f/ in Apatani

The analysis of tonal feature of Apatani language has given some interesting findings.

- 1. Besides the three tones H, HL, LH, Apatani language distinguishes two glides that is Falling and Rising.
- 2. Tones in syllables defined one finding;
 - Tones in a Disyllabic or Polysyllabic word are compound words. The tones assigned to these single units of syllables in their single form are retained in the compounded form. Thus tone does not change in the compounded environment.

This dissertation is not final in its find. There are still some phonological aspects of the language left to explore. But it is hoped that this work will give the readers an overview of the language and will be considered as a phonological guide to the language. Further research is needed to establish any concrete hypothesis.

WORD LIST A:

Relationship (kinship) terms:

Father	aba
Mother	ama/ane
Grandfather	ato
Grandmother	ajo
Brother	abã/ate
Sister	ami
Uncle (maternal)	aku
Aunty (,,)	aci
Uncle (paternal)	ate
Aunty (,,)	aci
Brother in law	mabo

WORD LIST B:

Common terms:

Man	miju
Woman	
Children	hime atã
Girl	ŋimə
Boy	milobo
Friend	aji
Old people	miju axa
Dog	aki
Hen	paro
Cock	ropo

•

Chicks	pacu
Cat	ami
Mithun (a type of animal) male	sibu hibo
" female	sibu hini
Cow (male)	si hibo
" (female)	s i hini
Goat	sibĩ
Monkey	sibi
Bear	sirre
Elephant	siti
Snake	tabu
Squirrel	taxi
Tree	sani
House	ude
Road	leŋgo
Paddy field	а з і
Bed	doko
Utensils	pəc ã turla
Cooking pot	pəcã
Bottle	pĩcu
Sword	iłjo
Knife	natu
Wood	jasã
Plank	santa
Pillow	dinani
Bamboo tree	bije
Bamboo shoot (dry)	hi:

. .

 \sim

" (fresh)	hixu
Stool	ipa
Stool (to sit on)	pira
Leaf	jani
Bark	aljo
Flower	apu
Bud	pomelini
Fruit	aji
Rice	apĩ
Meat	јо
Beer	0
Water	jassi
Salt	alo
Gravy	ala
Cloth	pulje
Plate	paka
Spoon	քսղս
Hearth	ugu
Toilet	nekã
Iron	dacã
Necklace	tasã
Bangle	kobjã
Sun	dani
Moon	pilo
Stars	takər
Earth	kidi

∖.

WORD LIST C:

Body parts:

Face	nimo	
Eyes	əmi	
Nose	japĩ	
Mouth	agũ	
Tongue	ałjo	
Tooth	ai	
Nails	lahĩ	
Cheeks	moru	
Chin	gompə	
Forehead	tiri	
Head	dinta	
Ears	jaru	
Neck	laŋgu	
Shoulder	gorb ã	
Body	apo	
Hands	ala	
Legs	ali	
Fingers	laci	
Toes	ləci	
Ankle	ləŋger	
Elbow	ladu	
Palm	lapjo	
Knee	ləbã	
Stomach	Ere	
Chest	habjã	
Buttock	kota	
Thighs	harlã	

Arms	lapo
Heart	aha
Liver	pahĩ
Lungs	haru
Intestine	хә յ ã
Spine	ho
Hair	dimu
Eyebrow	mitĩ amu
Eyelash	mibu amu
Bone	alo
Done	alo

WORD LIST D:

Day	alo
Night	ajo
Morning	aro
Moonlight	pəlo
Summer	daru
Winter	dori
Autumn	dəhi
Spring	dəgjũ
Priest	nibu
Alter	agj ã
Ghost	igi?
Spirit	jajijalo
Brave	haro
Coward	hame
Mad	

.

Beauty	kapjo/ a	ja
Ugly	karu	
Fair	tappu	
Dark	xalã	
Old woman	anə ax	a
Young woman	1	ŋimũ
Young man		japa

iŋa ajã

Infant

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Abraham, P.T, Apatani Grammer. CIIL, Mysore, Printed at CILL printing press, 1985.

Bolinger, Dwight, Intonation, Middle Sex, England : Penguine Books Ltd, 1972.

Grierson, G.A, Linguistics Survey Of India, Vol III, Part III. Delhi :Low Price Publication, Delhi:1994

Hyman, L.M, *Phonology Theory and Analysis*, New York:Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1975.

Kaji, Shigeki, ed; Cross Linguistic Studies Of Zonal Phenomena, Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2002-03

Pike, Keneth, L, Tone Languages, Michigan : The University Of Michigan, 1948.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Abbi, Anvita, A Manual Of Linguistic Fieldwork and Structures of Indian Language, (Leipzeing) Germany: Lincon Europa, Freebadsts and Muenchen, 2001.

Anderson , Wallace L. and Norman C. Stageberg; *Introductory readings on Linguistics*, New York: Holt, Rinchart and Winston, 1996.

Asher, R.E and Eugenie J.A. Handerson, *Towards a History of Phonetics*, Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 1981.

Carr, Philips, *Phonology*, London: Macmillan, 1993.

Catford, J.C, Fundamental Problems in Phonetics, Bloomington, in : Indiana ?University Press, 1977.

Chapman, Raymond, *The Treatment Of Sounds in Language and Literature*, London: Basil Blackwell Publishers Limited, 1984.

Chomsky, Noam and Halle M, *The Sound Pattern of English*, New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Cuttenden, Allan, Intonation, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Crystal, David, Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

Crystal, David, Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Cole, Jennifer, Charles Kisseberth, *Perspectives in Phonology*, Centre for the Study of Language and Information, Leland Stanford Junior University, USA.

Fishmen, J.A(Dil, A.S. Ed.) Language in Sociocultural Change, Standford University Press, 1972.

Fromkin, V.A, Tone: A Linguistic Survey, New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Fudge, Erick, English Word-stress, U.K: George Allen and Unwin(publishers) limited, 1984.

Gussenhoven Riad, Tones and Tunes, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin New York, 2007.

Gupta, R.S, Anvita Abbi and Kailash Aggarwal, *Language and the State*, New Delhi: Creative Books, 1995.

Hill, Leslie A, Stress and Intonation Step by Step, London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Kiparsky, Paul and Gilbert Youman, ed., *Phonetics and Phonology*, San Dieago, California: Academic Press Inc. 1989.

Ladefoged, Peter, A Course in Phonetiocs, Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

Ladeforge, P and I. Maddison, The Sounds of the World's Language, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995.

Maddieson, Ian, Patterns of Sounds, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Pullum, G.K and W.A Laudusaw, *Phonetic Symbol Guide*, Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1986.

O'Grady, W,J.Archibald, M.Aronff and J.R.Miller. *Contemporary Linguistics*..Boston;Bedford/St.Martin's, Boston, 2001.

Varshey R.L An Introductory textbook of Linguistics & phonology ., sixteenth Edition, Student's store, Bareilly, 2005-2006

Other readings:

Bhat, D.N.S, Sound Change, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas Publishers Private Ltd, 2001

Bickerton, Derek, Language and Species, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Fasold, R.A., The Sociolinguistics of Society, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Fromkin, V, Robert Rodman, An Introduction to Languauge, Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc, The Dryden Press, 1998.

Sethi, Anjanee, Prosodic Phonomorphology, Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1997

Szpyla, Jolanta, The Phonology-Morphology Interface, Cornwall: T.J. Press (Padstow)

Abstracts:

Hyman.L.M., Kuki Thadow: An African System in South East Asia, UC Berkeley Phonology Lab Annual Report (2007).

Kommaluri.V, R.Subramanian, and Sagar.A.K, *Issues in Morphological Analysis of* North East Indian Languages, Language in India, 7 july 2005.

Articles:

Elizabeth.D.Merrill, Tilquiapan Zapotec, Journals of the International Phonetic Association: Illustration of IPA.(2008) 38/1

