

Chapter- 3

PHONOLOGY

Phonemic inventory of Hajong consists of 6 vowels, 11 diphthongs and 25 consonants under segmental features. The phonemic inventories of this language are presented below.

3.1. Vowels:

It is seen that Hajong has six oral vowel sounds /i, e, a, o, u, ʊ/.

3.1.1. Vowels Chart: The vowel phonemes are shown in the chart below.

Chart of Vowel Phonemes

	Front		Centre		Back	
	U	R	U	R	U	R
Close	i				ʊ	u
Mid	e					o
Open			a			

3.1.2. Description of vowels:

Phoneme	Description
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/i/	close, front, unrounded vowel.
/e/	mid-open, front, unrounded vowel.
/a/	mid- open central un-rounded vowel
/u/	close back un-rounded vowel
/ʊ/	close back rounded vowel
/o/	mid-open back rounded vowel

3.1.3. Distribution of vowels:

In Hajong, all the six vowels occur initially, medially and finally. There is no contrast in vowel length. The following examples show the occurrence of vowels in different word-positions:

/i/ Word-Initial position:

/ikru/	‘root’
/itu/	‘brick’
/iri/	‘grain’
/is/	‘middle part of plough’
/isk ^h ati/	‘plough lock’
/isumas/	‘shrimp’

/ilusi/ 'cardamom'

/i/ Word-Medial position:

/asirbad/ 'blessing'

/b^hitur/ 'in'

/b^hiturte/ 'among, within'

/b^hituu/ 'plot of land for building'

/barib^hituu/ 'dwelling'

/bisib^hat/ 'sticky rice'

/bebakdigi/ 'everywhere'

/dinpora/ 'rice cooked in bamboo'

/hidul/ 'dry fish with yam leaf added'

/hizabare/ 'rabbit'

/mit^hwi/ 'sweets'

/mundir/ 'temple'

/niduŋ/ 'drum'

/pit^huw/ 'fried sweet made of rice flour and often
coconut'

/čiruu/	‘flat rice’
/čikuu/	‘piece of food e.g. betel nut’
/tin/	‘three’
/tinali/	‘three-way intersection’
/up ^h is/	‘office’

/i/ Word-Final position:

/agaguri/	‘everywhere’
/ali/	‘boundary marker’
/bari/	‘farm’
/bebakdigi/	‘everywhere’
/b ^h ati/	‘west’
/b ^h iturni/	‘inside’
/čikuni/	‘one who is very neat and clean’
/dinni/	‘everyday, always, daily’
/dini rati/	‘day and night’
/d ^h iki/	‘traditional rice grinder operated by foot pedel’

/giyuni/	‘wise’
/g ^h uri/	‘to turn, spin, return’
/hanji/	‘pot for making rice’
/k ^h udri/	‘small portion’
/muri/	‘crispy rice’
/morasali/	‘graveyard’
/ni/	‘in, at’
/pani/	‘water’
/pit ^h li/	‘rice flour, powdered rice’
/ruti/	‘bread’
/tari/	‘mountain’
/tinali/	‘three-way intersection’
/ulti/	‘to overturn’

/e/ Word-Initial position:

/ela/	‘now’
/eite/	‘here’
/ek/	‘one’

/ekseo/ 'little way, a short distance, few steps'

/ekonda/ 'each, every'

/egaro/ 'eleven'

/e/ Word-Medial position:

/bela/ 'sun'

/bera/ 'wall of the house, fence'

/bekoŋ/ 'both, two'

/d^hemna/ 'boil or rash that is not itchy'

/kene/ 'why?'

/keŋka/ 'how?'

/neŋra/ 'lame'

/penkata/ 'safety pin'

/pepa/ 'horn, flute'

/sek/ 'hot poultice to relieve pain'

/tero/ 'thirteen'

/e/ Word-Final:

/bare/ 'to serve food'

/base/	‘to live, survive, be saved from’
/dore/	‘to fear’
/d ^h ore/	‘to grasp, catch, hold, seize, Fig. to agree’
/hakle/	‘soon, quickly’
/kare/	‘to snatch’
/lage/	‘to hit, need’
/mare/	‘to kill, hit, murder’
/maq ^h e/	‘to weigh, measure, compare’
/name/	‘to descend’
/pasre/	‘to forget’
/t ^h ame/	‘to land, stop, e.g. boats, birds’

/a/ Word-Initial:

/abu/	‘grandmother’
/azo/	‘grandfather’
/ada/	‘ginger’
/adidar/	‘landowner’
/ag/	‘front’

/agaguri/	‘everywhere’
/akon/	‘medicinal plant, leaf is used as medicine for curing pains’
/akra/	‘hooks, for hanging towels’
/akas/	‘sky’
/alik ^h oŋ/	‘a kind of bird’
/amorsa/	‘sad’
/amsikluk/	‘yellow bird, medium sized, song like the name’
/aŋgurgota/	‘bird, with a black beak, white breast, moves its tail’

/a/ Word-Medial:

/baŋji/	‘masmelon, shaped like a mango, green, yellowish when ripe, used as fruit/vegetable’
/base/	‘searching’
/daŋkli/	‘wooden tool used as hammer’
/g ^h apat/	‘sudden, for biting, catching’

/katabazu/	‘armband, traditional upper arm band worn by bride’
/k ^h aru/	‘bangles, worn on hands and legs of bride during traditional Hajong wedding’
/sat ^h al/	‘courtyard, dirt compound surrounding a house’
/tat/	‘handloom’

/a/ Word-Final:

/ada/	‘ginger’
/adha/	‘half’
/akra/	‘hook for hanging towels’
/k ^h asa/	‘bamboo basket to store vegetables, bottles, (it can be carried on the head)’
/na/	‘right?’
/petelkana/	‘halfboiled, used for rice only’
/rowa/	‘rice seedling to transplant’
/čork ^h a/	‘spinning wheel’

/sara/ 'whole (used for time e.g. whole day, every year)'

/solt^ha/ 'long thread'

/ukt^hupakt^ha/ 'opposite, wrong side, upside down'

/o/ Word-Initial:

/ogodepta/ 'devil'

/ok^ha/ 'dandruff'

/oktai/ 'to spit/vomit, foam at the mouth'

/opuman/ 'blasphemy'

/ot/ 'lip'

/ola/ 'his'

/o/ Word-Medial:

/bowa/ 'weaving net, a string net covered with plastic used for weaving'

/dob^haza/ 'fried rice grain, cira that has been refried'

/dos, doj/ 'ten'

/d^hona/ 'beams, refers to all horizontal beams, e.g. main beam of a roof, axel on a vehicle'

/goŋrai/	‘to roar (used for lion, tiger)’
/haŋgor/	‘wooden latch for blocking the door in the middle so that no one can break it down’
/čork ^h a/	‘spinning wheel’
/kodal/	‘spade’
/solt ^h a/	‘long thread’
/somaz, homaz/	‘society’

/o/ Word-Final:

/at ^h aro/	‘eighteen’
/b ^h okto/	‘disciple’
/koto/	‘how much?’
/kusto/	‘leprosy’
/pozonto/	‘until, to that point, till, even, for time, directions’
/pondro/	‘fifteen’
/rokto/	‘blood’
/sulo/	‘sixteen’
/soŋk ^h o/	‘conch’

/sotoro/ 'seventeen'

/tero/ 'thirteen'

/u/ Word-Initial:

/ub^hisap/ 'curse'

/ugur/ 'burps, belch'

/unnis/ 'nineteen'

/usut/ 'medicine taken internally'

/ukt^hupakt^ha/ 'opposite, wrong side, upside down'

/up^hur/ 'up'

/ultu/ 'opposite, upside down'

/ut/ 'camel'

/usp^hus/ 'uneasy feelings'

/usut/ 'medicine (taken internally)'

/ulumpalaŋ/ 'distressed'

/u/ Word-Medial:

/aŋgur/ 'grapes'

/bursi/ 'fish hook'

/gududum/	‘long-faced, associated with anger’
/kuyuu/	‘rotten, used for cooked food’
/nunt ^h uu/	‘salty, used for biscuits’
/puruu/	‘twenty kilogram’
/putu/	‘a fruit/vegetable shaped like a porol, but smaller’
/raguwuu/	‘short tempered’
/ramd ^h unu/	‘rainbow’
/zulpi/	‘fish trap, long, cylindrical and placed over the fish’

/u/ Word-Final:

/abu/	‘grandmother’
/bastu/	‘nature’
/dadu/	‘ringworm’
/daru/	‘poultice, medicine applied on outside of the body e.g. on broken bones or wounds’
/guru/	‘teacher’
/hulu/	‘gibbon, a kind of monkey’

/naru/	‘crispy rice ball’
/putu/	‘fruit/vegetable shaped like a porol, but smaller’
/ramd ^h unu/	‘rainbow’
/zuntu/	‘animals, generic term’

/u/ Word-Initial

/ui/	‘profit’
/uyuu/	‘mom, to address own mother’
/uskui/	‘today’
/umugui/	‘we’
/unuzi/	‘eye disease, pimples in the eyelid’
/ugui/	‘to go ahead’
/urui/	‘wild duck’
/uwsu/	‘a kind of paddy’

/u/ Word-Medial:

/biničui/	‘sticky rice grain’
/buri/	‘grove’

/bulusora/	‘reef’
/bursu/	‘rainy season’
/b ^h uisul/	‘earthquake’
/čul/	‘rice’
/g ^h umut/	‘sudden (used with meeting people after a long time)’
/kws/	‘ceramic’
/phukur/	‘spring, water that comes up from the ground’
/sui/	‘sixty’
/turwuy/	‘brother or sister's father-in-law’
/umubusy/	‘dark night’

/u/ Word-Final:

/amagumu/	‘cloudy, looks like rain, but then the sun comes out’
/biru/	‘equal to forty pieces’
/hiru/	‘diamond’
/huilu/	‘short worm, stinging hairs cause itchiness’

/kuwlu/	‘cloudy, fluffy clouds’
/puilu/	‘first’
/rupu/	‘silver’
/čipu/	‘narrow, used for roads’
/sutu, hutu/	‘thread’
/ultu/	‘opposite, upside down’

3.1.4. Contrasting pairs of vowels:

Above mentioned vowel sounds are established on the basis of minimal pairs and where minimal pairs are not available, sub minimal pairs are used for the purpose.

Examples are presented below:

/i/ vs /e/:

/bari/	‘farm’
/bare/	‘to serve food’
/iri/	‘grain’
/eri/	‘edi’

/zati/ 'press, run over'

/zate/ 'so that'

/i/ vs /a/

/bis/ 'twenty'

/bas/ 'bamboo'

/bisi/ 'seed'

/bisa/ 'insect'

/čali/ 'verandah'

/čala/ 'tent, temporary shelter of
leaves/branches'

/čiru/ 'flat rice'

/čara/ 'plant'

/dari/	‘beard’
/dara/	‘peak, roof support’
/din/	‘sky’
/dan/	‘donation/gift’
/haji/	‘pot for making rice’
/haja/	‘a type of marriage, by elopement’
/ita/	‘brick’
/ata/	‘wheat’
/sozi/	‘flour’
/soza/	‘simple, streight’

/i/ vs /u/

/biri/

‘bidi’

/biru/

‘equal to 40 pieces’

/kumli/

‘jaundice’

/kumlu/

‘immature’

/ulti/

‘to overturn’

/ultu/

‘opposite’

/i/ vs /u/

/dari/

‘beard’

/daru/

‘poultice’

/e/ vs /a/:

/mela/

‘festival, mela’

/mala/

‘garland’

/pen/	‘pant’
/pan/	‘betel leaf’
/tera/	‘squint-eyed’
/tara/	‘star’
/tel/	‘oil’
/tal/	‘palmyra tree’

/a/ vs /o/

/at/	‘eight (number)’
/ot/	‘lip’
/b ^h ak/	‘division’
/b ^h ok/	‘hunger’
/b ^h at/	‘cooked rice’
/b ^h ot/	‘wild berry’

/dʰan/

‘paddy’

/dʰon/

‘wealth’

/hagra/

‘jhum cultivation’

/hogra/

‘antelope’

/e/ vs /u/

/dei/

‘to give’

/dui/

‘two’

/kʰer/

‘straw, thatch, hay, used for making
a roof’

/kʰur/

‘a razor’

/mek/

‘rain’

/muk/

‘face’

/u/ vs /u/

/buuz/

‘music’

/buz/

‘understand’

/b^hui/

‘brother’

/b^hui/

‘paddy or grain field’

/guru/

‘powder, smashed rice’

/guru/

‘cow, generic term’

/a/ vs /u/

/bisra/

‘poor’

/bisru/

‘search, look for’

/bari/

‘farm’

/buuri/

‘grove’

/b^hai/ 'to, trough'

/b^hui/ 'younger brother'

/i/ vs /o/

/bari/ 'farm, uncultivated grove'

/baro/ 'twelve'

/b^hokti/ 'honor'

/b^hokto/ 'disciple'

/din/ 'sky'

/don/ 'measuring basket' (of cane)

/a/ vs /u/

/čan/ 'moon'

/čun/ 'lime'

/dat/ 'tooth'

/dut/ 'breast'

/mas/	‘fish’
/mus/	‘moustache’
/pare/	‘to pluck (used for fruit)’
/pure/	‘to read’
/p ^h al/	‘plow blade’
/p ^h ul/	‘flower’
/o/ vs /e/	
/bor/	‘blessing’
/ber/	‘temporary storage, esp. rice’
/mola/	‘my, mine’
/mela/	‘festival’
/posa/	‘rotten’
/pesa/	‘owl’

/tol/ 'below'

/tel/ 'oil'

/u/ vs /o/

/pura/ 'study'

/pora/ 'burn'

/p^hul/ 'flower'

/p^hol/ 'fruit'

/ut/ 'camel'

/ot/ 'lip'

/u/ vs /o/

/duul/ 'lentils'

/dol/ 'a group of men'

/mun/

‘man, male’

/mon/

‘mind’

3.2. Diphthongs:

There are 11 diphthongs in Hajong viz. /ai, ao, oi, ui, uu, ei, eu, ia, iu, ui, uu/.

All diphthongs do not occur in all the position in a word.

3.2.1. Diphthong chart: Formations of diphthongs are given below with chart.

	a	e	i	o	u	u
a			ai	ao		
e			ei		eu	
i	ia					iu
o			oi			
u			ui			uu
u			ui		uu	

3.2.2. Description and Distribution of Diphthongs:

All the Hajong diphthongs do not occur in all positions. They are mostly found to occur in word medial and final positions. So far our study shows, the occurrence of

diphthongs in word initial position has been found less frequent as compared to those occur in the medial position. The occurrences of diphthongs in various positions are shown below:

Initial position:

/ai/	/ain/	‘law’
	/aina/	‘mirror’
/ao/	does not occur	
/oi/	/oi/	‘he, she’
	/oita/	‘that one’
	/oi sumui/	‘then’
/uu/	does not occur	
/ui/	/uidinui/	‘that day’
	/uidinkui/	‘that day’
/ei/	/eib ^h ai/	‘this way’
	/eite/	‘here’
/eu/	does not occur	

/ui/ /uiyu/ ‘mother’

/uu/ does not occur

/ia/ does not occur

/iu/ does not occur

Medial position:

/ai/ /baindar/ ‘one who plays musical instrument’

 /baigon/ ‘brinjal’

 /daini/ ‘witch’

 /saina/ ‘shadow’

/ao/ /gaonia/ ‘singer’

/oi/ /boisak^h/ ‘the month of Baisakh (first
month of Bengali year’

 /koila/ ‘bitter gourd’

 /koira/ ‘how many’

 /t^hoila/ ‘sack’

/ui/ /b^huisul/ ‘earthquake’

	/huisul/	‘whistle’
	/huilu/	‘short worm, stinging hairs cause itchiness, cured by rubbing hair on the skin’
	/puilu/	‘first’
	/puisa/	‘paisa’
/uu/	/duur/	‘door’
	/duut/	‘inkpot’
	/zuur/	‘bajra’
/ei/	does not occur	
/eu/	/deusi/	‘one who kills the animal for <i>buli</i> (religious rite of sacrificing)’
/ia/	/b ^h ian/	‘morning’
	/gian/	‘knowledge’
/iu/	/kusiur/	‘sugarcane’
	/piuz/	‘onion’

/ui/ /buiiza/ ‘sterile’

 /suiit/ ‘sixty’

uu/ /kuusuu/ ‘tortoise’

 /kuuwuu/ ‘crow’

 /nuuwuu/ ‘barbar’

Final position:

/ai/ /aklai/ ‘to hug’

 /asrai/ ‘to beat (used for clothes)’

 /barai/ ‘to offer’

 /berai/ ‘to walk’

 /b^haŋai/ ‘to break’

 /čai/ ‘to look at, behold, observe, see’

 /daŋai/ ‘to beat to death’

 /d^horp^h orai/ ‘to convulse, used of spasms e.g.
before death’

 /d^hai/ ‘foster mother’

	/kamrai/	‘to bite’
	/k ^h ai/	‘to eat, drink’
	/kobai/	‘to beat, to strike, to hit, to hammer, also for goading animals’
	/zolphai/	‘olive’
	/oktai/	‘to spit/vomit, foam at the mouth’
	/sibai/	‘to chew’
	/zai/	‘to go’
/ao/	/dao/	‘chopper’
	/gao/	‘body’
	/mao/	‘mother’
	/rao/	‘voice’
	/tao/	‘yet’
	/zao/	‘wife of husband’s brother’
/oi/	/d ^h oi/	‘to wash’
	/k ^h oi/	‘puffed rice’

	/moi/	‘ladder’
	/toi/	‘you’
	/zanjoi/	‘daughter’s husband, son-in-law’
/uu/	/bid ^h uu/	‘widow’
	/geruu/	‘saffron’
	/guu/	‘betel nut’
/ui/	/dui/	‘two’
	/b ^h ui/	‘paddy or grain field’
	/zui/	‘fire’
/ei/	/dei/	‘to give’
	/nei/	‘to take’
/eu/	/g ^h eu/	‘ghee’
	/teu/	‘roof’
	/zeu/	‘life’
	/z ^h eu/	‘daughter’

/ia/	/bia/ (also /biu/)	‘marriage’
	/gaonia/	‘singer’
/iu/	/biu/	‘marriage’
	/duniu/	‘world’
	/d ^h uniu/	‘coriander’
	/haldiu, hildiu/	‘yellow’
	/k ^h uliu/	‘one who plays on <i>khul</i> - a musical instrument’
	/nimuniu/	‘neumonia’ (desease)
	/paniu/	‘liquid’
/ui/	/bisui/	‘to ache e.g. head ache, tooth ache, stomach ache’
	/čiŋk ^h rui/	‘to pinch’
	/duwrui/	‘to run’
	/dup ^h ui/	‘to throw’
	/dit ^h ui/	‘aunt (father's elder brother's wife or mother's elder sister)’
	/huzui/	‘to climb, get in’

	/lut ^h ui/	‘to kick’
	/muzui/	‘to ripen’
/uu/	/buu/	‘elder brother’s wife, son’s wife’
	/luu/	‘gourd’
	/muu/	‘honey’
	/ruu/	‘a kind of fish’

3.2.3. Contrasting pairs of diphthongs:

Above mentioned diphthong are established on the basis of minimal pairs and where minimal pairs are not available, sub-minimal pairs are used for the purpose. Following list is presented to show the contrasting pairs of diphthongs.

/ai/ vs /oi/

/k ^h ai/	‘to eat, drink, smoke, inhale’
/k ^h oi/	‘puffed rice’
/d ^h ai/	‘foster mother’
/d ^h oi/	‘to wash’

/ai/ vs /ui/

/barai/ 'to offer'

/burui/ 'to appear'

/ao/ vs /ei/

/dao/ 'chopper'

/dei/ 'to give'

/nao/ 'boat'

/nei/ 'to take'

/ao/ vs /eu/

/tao/ 'fit'

/teu/ 'yet'

/ao/ vs /uu/

/gao/ 'body'

/guu/ 'betel nut'

/ui/ vs /ei/

/dui/ 'two'

/dei/ 'to give'

/ui/ vs /oi/

/b^hui/ 'paddy field'

/b^hoi/ 'fear'

/dui/ 'two'

/doi/ 'curd'

/eu/ vs /ia/

/beu/ 'weaving tool, traditional way to
tighten the thread before the *tat* was
used'

/bia/ 'marriage'

/deu/ 'god'

/dia/ 'to give'

/eu/ vs /iu/

/beu/ 'weaving tool, traditional way to
tighten the thread before the *tat* was
used'

/biu/ (also /bia/ 'marriage'

/deu/ 'god'

/diu/ 'through'

/teu/ 'yet'

/tiu/ 'parrot'

/ui/ vs /ui/

/b^hui/ 'paddy or grain field'

/b^hui/ 'brother'

/gui/ 'an iguana'

/gwi/ 'a female cow'

3.3. Consonants:

Investigation reveals that there are twenty-five (25) consonantal phonemes in Hajong as the following: / p, b, t, d, k, g, p^h, b^h, t^h, d^h, k^h, g^h, m, n, ŋ, č, ʃ, s, z, z^h, h, l, r, w, y/.

The consonants, as a whole, include 12 stops and 13 continuants. The stops show voiced, voiceless and aspirated, unaspirated contrast. Among the continuants, there are 3 nasals, 4 fricatives, 2 affricates, 1 trill, 1 lateral and 2 approximants. The nasals, the trill, the lateral and the approximants are all voiced and the affricate is voiceless whereas the fricatives show voiced and voiceless. Place of articulation can be divided into bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal.

3.3.1. Consonant chart: The consonant phonemes are presented below with a chart.

Hajong Consonant chart

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD
Unasp	p	b	t	d			k	g		
Stops										
Asp	p ^h	b ^h	t ^h	d ^h			k ^h	g ^h		
Unasp					č	z				
Affricates						z ^h				
asp										
Fricative			s		ʃ				h	
Nasal		m		n				ŋ		
Lateral				l						
Trill				r						
Semi		w				y				
Vowel										

3.3.2. Description of consonants:

/p/ voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop

/p^h/ voiceless aspirated bilabial stop

/b/ voiced unaspirated bilabial stop

/b^h/ voiced aspirated bilabial stop

/t/ voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop

/t^h/ voiceless aspirated alveolar stop

/d/ voiced unaspirated alveolar stop

/d^h/ voiced aspirated alveolar stop

/k/ voiceless unaspirated velar stop

/k^h/ voiceless aspirated velar stop

/g/ voiced unaspirated velar stop

/g^h/ voiced aspirated velar stop

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal

/ŋ/	voiced velar nasal
/z/	voiced alveo-palatal unaspirated affricate
/z ^h /	voiced alveo-palatal aspirated affricate
/č/	voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative
/ʃ/	voiceless palatal fricative
/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
/r/	voiced alveolar trill
/w/	voiced bilabial semi-vowel
/y/	voiced palatal semi- vowel

3.3.3. Distribution of consonants:

In Hajong, all the consonantal phonemes do not occur in all the positions. The phonemes /p^h, b, b^h, t^h, d, d^h, k^h, g, g^h, s, č, z, h, l, w/ do not occur in the final position. On the other hand, the phonemes / ŋ, y/ do not occur in initial position. All the phonemes except /b^h, g^h/ occur in the medial position.

The following set of data is prepared on the basis of our investigation which shows the Hajong consonant phonemes in their different positions.

/p/ Word-Initial

/pathin/	‘Pathin, homespun dress of the Hajong women’
/pas/	‘back’
/pasc/	‘after that’
/palta/	‘rightside up’
/pata/	‘leaf, page’
/pepa/	‘horn, flute’
/pithu/	‘fritter, fried sweet made of rice flour and often coconut’
/porsat/	‘food offered to idols’
/poŋa/	‘adoption’
/pusu/	‘animals’

/p/ Word-Medial/

/bapzada/	forefathers
/čapa/	‘cheek’

/dinpora/	‘rice cooked in bamboo’
/d ^h opra/	‘ready to ripen’
/hakpat/	‘vegetable’
/hapal/	‘child’
/hatpet/	‘forearm’
/nawrapata/	‘nawra leaf, medicinal and good to eat, barks can be used for jaundice’
/tapa/	‘fish curry with soda’

/p/Word-Final

/ap/	‘cloud’
/bap/	‘father (used for another's father)’
/pap/	‘sin’
/sap/	‘snake’
/ub ^h isap/	‘curse’
/wap/	‘wild cat’
/z ^h ap/	‘jungle, bush’

/p^h/ Word-Initial:

/p ^h ara/	‘torn’
/p ^h ake/	‘side’
/p ^h okra/	‘hooligan, deceiver’
/p ^h ol/	‘fruit, generic term’
/p ^h ukur/	‘spring, water that comes up from the ground’
/p ^h ul/	‘flower’
/p ^h ulu/	‘swelling, inflammation’

/p^h/ Word-Medial

/atap ^h ol/	‘custard apple’
/dorp ^h orai/	‘to convulse, used of spasms e.g. before death’
/tusp ^h ol/	‘mulberry’
/up ^h is/	‘office’
/usp ^h us/	‘uneasy feelings’
/petp ^h ulu/	‘flatulence’

/p^h/ Word-Final

/borop^h/

‘ice’

/zirap^h/

‘zgiraffe’

/b/Word-Initial

/bahi/

‘bamboo flute used for puja’

/bid^huun/

‘seedling, collected to plant rice for
the next year’

/bia, biu/

‘marriage’

/bisui/

‘to ache e.g. head ache, tooth ache,
stomach ache’

/basuli/

‘paralyses

/bat/

‘allergy’

/bowa/

‘weaving net, a string net covered
with plastic used for weaving’

/buli/

‘sacrificing for God (decapitation
from the back of the neck, head and
blood are sacrificed, usually goats,
ducks etc.)’

/b/ Word-Medial

/asirbad/	‘blessing’
/baba/	‘dad, to address own father’
/dombol/	‘gland, tumor’
/leba/	‘powdered rice curry’
/tabis/	‘amulet, talisman’
/tulibuw/	‘lift’

/b/ Word-Final

does not occur

/b^h/ Word-Initial

/b ^h ui/	‘younger brother’
/b ^h ay/	‘to’
/b ^h alukzor/	‘malaria’
/b ^h okdat/	‘molar’
/b ^h oskai/	‘to prick/pierce with a needle, to push something out with a needle’
/b ^h ian/	‘morning’

/b^h/ Word-Medial

/dob^haza/ ‘fried rice grain, chira that has been
refried’

/patb^har/ ‘plant’

/silb^har/ ‘bronze’

/b^h/ Word-Final- Occurance of this phoneme is very rare.

/lab^h/ ‘profit’

/t/ Word-Initial

/tat/ ‘handloom’

/tiyu/ ‘parrot’

/titul/ ‘tamarind’

/tol/ ‘below’

/tokda/ ‘anesthetic, a body part falling
asleep’

/tuli/ ‘to lift, pull up, pick up, carry (for
rising children, plants, objects,
crossing legs)’

/tusp^hol/ ‘mulberry’

/t/ Word-Medial

/atok/	‘cut off, separated, isolated by the community e.g. for marrying across racial lines’
/čapta/	‘flat’
/itu/	‘brick’
/katabazu/	‘armband, traditional upper arm band worn by bride’
/sutuu/	‘thread’

/t/ Word-Final

/b ^h at/	‘cooked rice’
/dat/	‘tooth’
/hat/	‘market’
/not/	‘nose ring’
/usut/	‘medicine taken internally’

/t^h/ Word-Initial

/t ^h aka/	‘branch of a tree’
/t ^h ame/	‘to land, stop, e.g. boats, birds’

/t ^h anda/	‘cold’
/t ^h eŋ/	‘leg’
/t ^h otla/	‘stutterer, who has a speech impediment/difficulty’

/t^h/ Word-Medial

/aŋt ^h i/	‘ring (on finger)’
/bʉlʉpat ^h ar/	‘desert’
/baŋt ^h i/	‘bracelet, metal bracelet or fetters put around the wrists or ankles’
/but ^h i/	‘to roll’
/bawkunt ^h i/	‘whirlwind’
/solt ^h a/	‘long thread’
/net ^h a/	‘ugly’
/pit ^h ʉ/	‘fritter, fried sweet made of rice flour and often coconut’
/zot ^h or/	‘spinning wheel’

/t^h/ Word-Final

/at ^h /	‘eight’
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/lut^h/

‘kick’

/d/ Word-Initial

/des/

‘country’

/delpa/

‘dented, e.g. frying pan’

/dig/

‘length’

/dob^haza/

‘fried rice grain, chira that has been
refried’

/dol/

‘a group of people’

/d/ Word-Medial

/badri/

‘bat’

/bandor/

‘monkey’

/bogda/

‘not sharp’

/genda/

‘male infant, used to address one’s
own son’

/hidul/

‘dry fish with yam leaf added’

/hindul/

‘large tree, fruit used for cloth
similar to cotton, it has red flowers,
thick petals’

/kanda/ 'near'

/d/ Word-Final

/asirbad/ 'blessing'

/mod/ 'wine'

/moszid/ 'mosque'

/sid/ 'whole bunch of rice'

/d^h/ Word-Initial

/d^har/ 'sharp'

/d^hemna/ 'boil or rash that is not itchy'

/d^hol/ 'flood'

/d^hola/ 'white'

/d^hum/ 'addiction, infatuation, mania'

/d^hupul/ 'windstorm'

/d^h/ Word-Medial

/ad^ha/ 'half'

/bid^hun/ 'seedling, collected to plant rice for
the next year'

/gad^ha/ 'donkey'

/gond^har/ 'rhino'

/k^hukrid^honda/ 'window'

/d^h/ Word-Final does not occur

/k/ Word-Initial

/kaka/ 'uncle, father's younger brother'

/kamar/ 'blacksmith'

/kamla/ 'servant'

/kapur/ 'cloth, garment, clothing'

/kiruni/ 'clerk'

/koŋ/ 'tell'

/kola/ 'generic name for all bananas'

/kopat/ 'door panel'

/kotal/ 'cymbals'

/kukul/ 'dog, the generic term'

/k/ Word-Medial

/akon/	‘medicinal plant, leaf is used as medicine for curing pains’
/bakra/	‘barren field, playground’
/b ^h alukzor/	‘malaria’
/dakra/	‘messenger’
/penkata/	‘safety pin’
/zolka/	‘dull’

/k/ Word-Final

/battik/	‘ripe, ready to gather or pluck’
/bebak/	‘every’
/b ^h ak/	‘division, chapter’
/b ^h aluk/	‘bear’
/čabuk/	‘whip’
/čorok/	‘thunder’
/k ^h atak/	‘short’
/mek/	‘rain’

/suk/ 'happiness'

/zonak/ 'moonlight'

/k^h/ Word-Initial

/k^ham/ 'post, pillar for building houses'

/k^holpa/ 'bamboo frame'

/k^hoŋ/ 'hole'

/k^horan/ 'dry season, drought'

/k^hul/ 'drum'

/k^hunzuni/ 'small leather drum like a
tambourine but with no bells'

/k^huri/ 'firewood, wood for burning'

/k^h/ Word-Medial

/čork^ha/ 'spinning wheel'

/čiŋk^hrui/ 'to pinch'

/mak^hu/ 'shuttle, used for weaving'

/pak^ha/ 'feather, fur e.g. cat, rabbit and
human body hair'

/nolk^hagri/ 'reed grows in water'

/k^h/ Word-Final

does not occur

/g/ Word-Initial

/gwi/

‘cow’

/geza/

‘sprout, before germination’

/gili/

‘to gulp, swallow’

/giri/

‘author’

/gom/

‘wheat’

/guru/

‘teacher’

/gurumas/

‘powdered mixture of fish’

/g/ Word-Medial

/borgas/

‘banyan’

/b^hogoban/

‘god’

/b^hotbugri/

‘berry, white when ripe’

/hagol/

‘goat’

/sigri/

‘quick, at once’

/zongol/

‘forest, jungle’

/g/ Word-Final

/ag/	‘front’
/bag/	‘anklet, traditional anklet worn by bride’
/dig/	‘length’
/meg/	‘rain’

/g^h/ Word-Initial

/g ^h as/	‘grasses’
/g ^h um/	‘sweat’
/g ^h umuusi/	‘heat rash’
/g ^h anra/	‘phlegm’
/g ^h ar/	‘shoulder’
/g ^h awa/	‘wound’
/g ^h es/	‘hump of a bull or camel’
/g ^h ui/	‘main’
/g ^h or/	‘house’
/g ^h ora/	‘horse’

/g^hug^hu/

‘dove’

/g^h/ Word-Medial

/gulig^hor/

‘cowshed’

/pak-ghuri/

‘to go around in circles’

/g^h/ Word-Final

does not occur

/s/ Word-Initial

/salzawa/

‘bruise’

/sek/

‘hot poultice to relieve pain’

/sorol/

‘simple, easy’

/soman/

‘equal, even’

/surdi/

‘cold’

/s/ Word-Medial

/kusto/

‘leprosy’

/moska/

‘break, a dislocated bone’

/p^hesra/

‘chicken pox’

/s/ Word-Final

/bas, banos/

‘bamboo’

/gas/	‘tree’
/kubiras/	‘shaman, a medicine man’
/tabis/	‘amulet, talisman’

/z/ Word-Initial

/zaŋla/	‘bamboo support for vines’
/zoŋal/	‘yoke, for oxen’
/zaŋoi/	‘son-in-law, groom’
/zor/	‘fever’
/zai/	‘to go’
/zate/	‘to run over, press’
/zibon/	‘life’
/zuntu/	‘animals, generic term’
/zumru/	‘grapefruit, pomello’

/z/ Word-Medial

/azo/	‘grandfather’
/b ^h uzi/	‘sister-in-law, elder brother's wife’
/bazar/	‘market’

/dob ^h aza/	‘fried rice grain’
/geza/	‘sprout, before germination’
/hazar/	‘thousand’
/k ^h ozon/	‘short fleshy drumstick’
/k ^h izur/	‘date’
/muzui/	‘to ripen’

/z/ Word-Final

/buuz/	‘music’
/raz/	‘iron comb’
/somaz/	‘society’

/z^h/ Word-Initial

/z ^h injui/	‘a kind of vegetable, like snake gourd’
/z ^h eu/	‘daughter’
/z ^h uri/	‘cymbal’
/z ^h api/	‘ <i>zapi</i> , a cultural symbol of the Assamese’
/z ^h orna/	‘stream’

/z^hora/

‘stream’

/z^h/ Word-Medial

does not occur

/z^h/ Word-Final

does not occur

/h/ Word-Initial

/hakim/

‘judge’

/hawri/

‘helper, labourer with no wage’

/hagna/

‘dysentery’

/ham/

‘small pox’

/hilipora/

‘tumeric charm, a necklace worn to
cure jaundice’

/hijabare/

‘rabbit’

/hupuni/

‘asthma’

/horol/

‘a kind of dal’

/huisul/

‘whistle, horn’

/huriṅ/

‘deer with horns’

/h/ Word-Medial

/baha/

‘nest’

/dohandi/ 'relationship of husband's elder
brother to wife's elder brother'

/kahol/ 'jackfruit'

/mahi/ 'aunt, mother's younger sister'

/pahar/ 'mountain'

/ruhun/ 'garlic'

/h/ Word-Final

does not occur

/č/ Word-Initial

/ča/ 'tea'

/čal/ 'roof'

/čali/ 'verandah'

/čan/ 'moon'

/čara/ 'sapling, for plants, trees'

/čat^hal/ 'courtyard'

/čondon/ 'sandalwood'

/čorek/ 'hen'

/čaŋ/ 'granary, barn'

/čʉl/ ‘rice grain, uncooked rice’

/čʉr/ ‘four’

/č/ Word-Medial

/biničʉl/ ‘sticky rice grain’

/b^hinči/ ‘brother-in-law, elder sister's
husband’

/telčora/ ‘cockroach’

/čončol/ ‘restless’

/č/ Word-Final

/bakoč/ ‘box’

/kakoč/ ‘paper’

/f/ Word-Initial

/fanti/ ‘peace’

/fĩŋ/ ‘horn’

/forek/ ‘to go away’

/f/ Word-Medial

/ofanti/ ‘peaceless’

/j/ Word-Final

/akɑj/ 'sky'

/baɟ/ 'bamboo'

/m/ Word-Initial

/manek/ 'to obey'

/madar/ 'tree, with small, red flowers, wood
is used to make toy car wheels'

/mana kusu/ 'big wild yam'

/mit^hu alu/ 'sweet potato'

/motor/ 'pea'

/mud^hup^hol/ 'papaya'

/m/ Word-Medial

/bemar/ 'illnesses'

/kumru/ 'gourd'

/gurumas/ 'powdered mixture of fish'

/m/ Word-Final

/am/ 'mango'

/b^hom/ 'bud especially leaf, blade of
grasses'

/gom/ 'wheat'

/n/ Word-Initial

/naru/ 'crispy rice ball'

/nir/ 'dew'

/noy/ 'nine'

/narkul/ 'ripe coconut'

/n/ Word-Medial

/ad^hunik/ 'modern'

/andar/ 'dark'

/sona/ 'gold'

/zonak/ 'moonlight'

/n/ Word-Final

/k^horan/ 'dry season, drought'

/gon/ 'common people'

/mon/ 'equal to 40 kg'

/zan/

‘stream’

/ŋ/Word-Initial

does not occur

/ŋ/Word-Medial

/aŋsa/

‘liver’

/boŋso/

‘ancestor, kin’

/poŋa/

‘adoption’

/ŋ/Word Final

/dhaŋ/

‘gong’

/gaŋ/

‘river’

/huriŋ/

‘deer with horns’

/kadaŋ/

‘mud’

/zoŋ/

‘pointed’

/l/Word-Initial

/labra/

‘mixed veg curry’

/leba/

‘powdered rice curry’

/letrab^hat/

‘sticky rice, boiled’

/lewa/

‘climber, creeper, vine’

/lore/ 'shake'

/l/Word-Medial

/bela/ 'sun'

/bolla/ 'wasp'

/b^hilki/ 'magic'

/gudlu/ 'cloudy, rain clouds'

/telka/ 'cold'

/l/Word-Final

/atap^hol/ 'custard apple'

/bel/ 'wood apple'

/čul/ 'rice grain, uncooked rice'

/hiul/ 'jackal'

/mol/ 'flower of fruit bearing plants'

/r/Word-Initial

/ramdhunu/ 'rainbow'

/rot/ 'sunshine, the sun's heat'

/rokto/ 'blood'

/rowa/ 'rice seedling'

/ruti/ 'bread'

/rupu/ 'silver'

/r/Word-Medial

/čorta/ 'wise, clever'

/dara/ 'peak, roof support'

/dakra/ 'messenger'

/dorza/ 'door'

/giri/ 'author'

/guru/ 'teacher'

/kiruni/ 'clerk'

/mistri/ 'carpenter'

/nolk^haru/ 'anklet, traditional anklet worn by
bride'

/sonaru/ 'goldsmith'

/r/ Word-Final

/bak^har/ 'many, more'

/buidur/	‘nomad’
/duwur/	‘door’
/daktor/	‘doctor’
/d ^h ar/	‘sharp’
/g ^h ar/	‘shoulder’
/kapur/	‘cloth, garment, clothing’
/met ^h or/	‘sweeper’
/up ^h ur/	‘up’
/zor/	‘fever’
/zot ^h or/	‘spinning wheel’

/w/ Word-Initial

/wap/	‘wild cat’
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/w/ Word-Medial

/lewa/	‘climber, creeper, vine’
/powa/	‘one quarter, used for kilos/litres’
/rowa/	‘rice seedling’
/sawa/	‘male infant’

/w/ Word-Final

/b^haw/ 'right'

/raw/ 'voice'

/y/ Word-Initial

does not occur

/y/ Word-Medial

/ayuzon/ 'arrangement'

/biya/ 'marriage'

/proyuzon/ 'need'

/y/ Word-Final

/b^hay/ 'to'

/noy/ 'nine'

/soy/ 'six'

3.3.4. Contrasting pairs of consonants:

These consonantal sounds are established on the basis of minimal pairs and where minimal pairs are not available, sub-minimal pairs are used for the purpose. Contrasting pairs of consonants are presented in following list:

/p/ vs /b/

/pase/

‘after that’

/base/

‘searching’

/pare/

‘to pluck (used for fruit)’

/bare/

‘to serve food’

/pas/

‘back’

/bas/

‘bamboo’

/pap/

‘sin’

/bap/

‘father, for another's father’

/pat/

‘leaf’

/bat/

‘allergy’

/t/ vs /d/

/tonke/

‘mostly’

/donke/

‘humorously’

/tari/

‘mountain’

/dari/

‘whiskers, beard or whiskers like on
a cat’

/k/ vs /g/

/kasa/

‘raw unripe’

/gasa/

‘lamp’

/kan/

‘ear’

/gan/

‘song’

/kan/

‘ear’

/pan/

‘betel leaf’

/p/ vs /b^h/

/pat/

‘leaf’

/b^hat/

‘cooked rice’

/pokpoka/

‘loose, soft’

/b^hokb^hoka/

‘fully ripe’

/pore/

‘to fall down’

/b^hore/

‘to fill up’

/p^h/ vs /b^h/

/p^hot/

‘boils’

/b^hot/

‘wild berry’

/p^hara/

‘torn’

/b^hara/

‘rent, fare’

/p^hul/ 'flower'

/b^hul/ 'mistake'

/p/ vs /p^h/

/para/ 'village, locality'

/p^hara/ 'torn'

/b/ vs /b^h/

/bui/ 'elder sister'

/b^hui/ 'younger brother'

/bera/ 'wall'

/b^hera/ 'lamb'

/t/ vs /t^h/

/ata/ 'flour'

/at^ha/ 'gum'

/gata/ 'hole'

/gat^ha/ 'to sew'

/taka/ 'rupee'

/t^haka/ 'branch, one of a cluster'

/tana/ 'to pull'

/t^hana/ 'police station'

/k/ vs /k^h/

/koŋ/ 'tell'

/k^hoŋ/ 'hole'

/kata/ 'to cut'

/k^hata/ 'short'

/kam/ 'work'

/k^ham/ 'post/pillar for building houses'

/g/ vs /g^h/

/gwi/ 'cow'

/g^hwi/ 'main'

/gas/

‘tree’

/g^has/

‘grasses’

/d/ vs /d^h/

/dol/

‘a group of people’

/d^hol/

‘floods’

/dan/

‘gift’

/d^han/

‘paddy’

/m/ vs /n/

/kam/

‘work’

/kan/

‘ear’

/morek/

‘to die’

/norek/

‘to move away’

/mum/

‘food, boiled rice’

/mun/

‘people’

/n/ vs /ŋ/

/čan/

‘moon’

/čaŋ/

‘bamboo bed’

/d^han/

‘paddy’

/d^haŋ/

‘gong’

/sunu/

‘hear’

/suŋu/

‘smell’

/zon/

‘person, to mean an individual’

/zoŋ/

‘pointed’

/m/ vs /ŋ/

/kom/

‘less’

/koŋ/

‘to tell’

/rom/ 'a kind of wine'

/roŋ/ 'color'

/m/ vs /n/ vs /ŋ/

/zom/ 'god of death'

/zon/ 'person, to mean an individual'

/zoŋ/ 'pointed'

/s/ vs /h/

/sorol/ 'simple, easy'

/horol/ 'a kind of dal'

/sal/ 'skin'

/hal/ 'ploughing'

/sar/ 'teacher'

/har/ 'fertilizer'

/s/ vs /z/

/bisi/

‘seed’

/bizi/

‘needle’

/punsi/

‘to arrive, reach’

/punzi/

‘capital money’

/l/ vs /r/

/bel/

‘wood apple’

/ber/

‘wall, fence’

/sagol/

‘goat’

/sagor/

‘sea’

/čul/

‘rice grain, uncooked rice’

/čur/

‘four’

Chart of Initial two consonant cluster

First member	Second Member		
	t	r	l
p	-	+	-
b	-	+	+
t	-	+	-
d	-	+	-
k	-	+	-
g	-	+	-
s	+	+	+

Stop + liquid:

/pr-/ /prit^hibi/

‘world’

/prob^hu/

‘master, lord’

/proyuzon/

‘need’

/br-/	/bristibar/	‘Thursday’
	/brindo/	‘all, to mean more than one’
	*/braʃ/	‘brush’
	*/breik/	‘brake of car, bike etc’
/bl-/	*/bluuz/	‘blouse’
	*/bled/	‘blade’
/tr-/	/triful/	‘ <i>trishul</i> - trident’
	*/trein/	‘train’
/dr-/	*/drum/	‘drum’
	*/dres/	‘dress’
/kr-/	/kranti/	‘revolution’
	/kris ^h no/	‘Lord/ God’
/gr-/	/grohon/	‘eclipse’
	/grahok/	‘consumer’

* *English loan words used as everyday Hajong words*

Fricative + liquid:

/sl-/	*/slet/	‘slate’
	*/slim/	‘smooth’
/sr-/	/srini/	‘class’
	/srota/	‘listener’

Fricative + stop:

/st-/	*/steson/	‘station’
	*/student/	‘student’
	*/stail/	‘style’
	*/stok/	‘stock’

3.3.5.2. Medial two consonant clusters:

The language has medial two consonant clusters and the various combinatory possibilities are presented below with a chart and examples. However, the occurrences of these clusters are very few. In the medial consonant clusters, the first member can be / b, t, d, k^h, g, s,/ while other consonants viz. liquids /l, r/ occupy the position as the second member of the clusters.

**English loan words used as words everyday Hajong*

Chart of Medial two consonant cluster

First member	Second Member	
	r	l
b	+	-
t	+	-
d	+	-
k^h	+	-
g	+	+
s	+	-

Voiced obstruent + liquid

/-br-/ /he-bre/ ‘rabbit’

Voiceless obstruent + liquid

/-tr-/ /do-tra/ ‘musical instrument’

/-dr-/ /ba-dri/ ‘bat’

/ban-dra/ ‘naughty’

/b^hu-druburu/ ‘cattail’

	/čon-dro/	‘moon’
	/pon-dro/	‘fifteen’
/-k ^h r-/	/čij-k ^h rui/	‘to pinch’
/-gr-/	/he-gra/	‘rebel, stubborn person/ animal’
	/ho-gra/	‘antelope’
	/mo-gra/	‘boasting’
/-gl-/	/a-ma-glu/	‘we’
	/koto-glu/	‘how many?’
	/u-glu/	‘they’

Fricative/Affricate + liquid:

/-sr-/	/a-srai/	‘beat to death’
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3.3.5.3. Final Two Consonant clusters:

A small number of two consonant clusters occur in the final position of a word in Hajong. Most of the consonants which occur in the final cluster do not occur in the word initial position. Interestingly, most of the words, where the final clusters occur are the loan word from English. At the same time, it is also seen that the final cluster is found only in the speech of educated persons whereas there

is a case of final consonant cluster deletion when the same words are used by the uneducated native speakers. The possible combinations of final two consonant clusters are indicated in the chart below.

Chart of Final two consonant cluster

First member	Second Member			
	t	d	s	m
n	+	+	+	-
s	+	-	-	-
l	-	+	+	+

The following are the examples of words having final consonant cluster.

/-nt/

/eksident/

‘accident’

/grant/

‘grant’

/karent/

‘light’

/siment/

‘cement’

/-nd/

/bodolend/ ‘Bodolannd’

/nagalend/ ‘Nagaland’

/p^hand/ ‘fund’

/-ns/

/edb^hans/ ‘advance’

/čans/ ‘chance’

/dep^hens/ ‘defence’

/saens/ ‘science’

/-st/

/rest/ ‘rest’

/post/ ‘pillar’

/-lm/

/p^hilm/ ‘film’

3.3.5.4. Consonant sequence:

As per investigation, consonant sequences in Hajong are found in various forms as discussed below.

3.3.5.4.1. Two Consonant Sequences:

Two consonant sequences are found in abundant numbers in the Hajong language. The most possible combinations of these sequences are indicated by the following chart.

<u>Ist member</u>	<u>2nd member</u>
p +	(t, g ^h , z, s, l, r,)
p ^h +	(n)
b +	(d, l, r)
t+	(p, p ^h , b, b ^h , k, k ^h , g ^h , s, m, n, l, r)
t ^h +	(l)
d+	(b, g, n, l, r)
d ^h +	(k)
k+	(p, b, t, t ^h , d, d ^h , g ^h , z, s, n, l, r)
k ^h +	(l, r)
g+	(d, n, l, r)
g ^h +	(n)

z+	(n, l)
s+	(p, p ^h , t, k, k ^h , g, m, n, l, r)
m+	(p, b, d ^h , k, k ^h , s, n, l, r)
n+	(b, t, t ^h , d, d ^h , č, z, s, l, r)
ŋ+	(p, p ^h , t, t ^h , k, k ^h , g, z, s, h, l, r)
l+	(p, p ^h , b, b ^h , t, t ^h , d, k, k ^h , g, č, z, z ^h , s, m, n)
r+	(p, p ^h , b, b ^h , t, d, k, k ^h , g, z, s, m, n)

Stop+Stop:

/-p+ t-/

/čap-ta/	‘flat’
/čap-talap-ta/	‘misshapen, flat things’
/ogodep-ta/	‘devil’
/zap-te/	‘until, up to’

/-p+ g^h-/

/ghup-ghupu/	‘deep darkness’
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/-b+d-/

/ab-dar/

‘appeal, request’

/deb-daru/

‘a kind of ornamental tree’

/-k+ b-/

/mek-batas/

‘storm’

/-k+ g^h-/

/pak-ghuri/

‘to go around in circles’

/-k + p-/

/čuk-pani/

‘tears’

/čuk-pak^ha/

‘eye lash’

/čuk-pata/

‘eyelid’

/duk-pawa/

‘wounded’

/muk-pat/

‘face’

/pek-peka/

‘sticky’

/-k+ t-/

/b^huk-ti/

‘honor’

/dak-tor/

‘doctor’

/hak-ti/	‘meat’
/rok-to/	‘blood’
/sok-to/	‘stern, hard texture’
/ok-tai/	‘to vomit’
/tok-ta/	‘lumber’
/-k +t^h-/	
/sik-thuu/	‘rubbery’
/uk-thuupak-tha/	‘opposite, wrong side’
/-k+ d-/	
/ak-dat/	‘incisor’
/bebak-digi/	‘everywhere’
/b ^h ok-dat/	‘molar’
/tok-da/	‘anesthetic’
/-k +d^h-/	
/nak-d ^h onda/	‘nostril’
/-g+ d-/	
/bog-da/	‘not sharp’

/-t +b-/

/bat-bis/ 'arthritis'

/b^hot-bugri/ 'berry'

/-t +b^h-/

/ pat-b^har/ 'plant'

/-t+ p-/

/hat-pet/ 'forearm'

/- t+ ph-/

/ pet-phuluw/ 'flatulence'

/-t+ k-/

/hot-ketetew/ 'a kind of bird'

/kot-kota/ 'brittle, crisp like new'

/let-ku/ 'a kind of edible fruit (tastes
a mixture of a bit sour and
sweet)'

/sit-kupoka/ 'flea, a jumping insect'

/sit-kari/ 'a bolt'

/sut-kes/ 'suitcase'

/-t +k^h-/

/hat-k^hola/

‘market place’

/-t +g^h-/

/g^hut-g^hutu/

‘dark, extreme black’

/-d+g-/

/b^hud-guru/

‘cream of rice’

/- d+b-/

/bu d-bar/

‘Wednesday’

/-d^h+k/

/dud^h-kuči/

‘snake gourd’

Stop+Nasal:

/p^h+n/

/dap^h-na/

‘shoulder’

/t+m/

/hat-mak^ha/

‘fist’

/-t+n-/

/čat-ni/

‘chutney’

/hut-ni/

‘co-wife’

/d+n/

/sad-nu/ 'vomit'

/-k+n-/

/buk-ni/ 'juicy'

/čik-nuy/ 'tasty'

/kek-na/ 'ant'

/d^hak-na/ 'lid'

/-k^h+n-/

/ba k^h-nawa/ 'admired, praised'

/g+n/

/bug-nu/ 'cooking pot'

/b^hag-na/ 'river fish, 1 ½ inches wide'

/b^hug-nu/ 'nephew'

/hag-na/ 'dysentery'

/zog-nat^h/ 'pumpkin'

Stop + fricative/ affricate:

/-p+s-/

/ čap-si/ 'talkative'

/-p+z-/

/bap-zada/ 'forefathers'

/-t+s-/

/čikit-sa/ 'checkup'

/-k+s-/

/buk-suli/

‘shirt, ageneric term for clothing’

/b^hak-samas/

‘dry fish’

/dik-si/

‘cooking pot’

/nak-si/

‘cattle ring, put in the nose of an ox/cow to control it’

/p^hok-sa/

‘lungs’

/p^hak-suli/

‘armpit’

/uk-suu/

‘tall, high’

/-k+z-/

/b^haluk-zor/

‘malaria’

Stop + liquid:

/-p+l-/

/tap-lu/

‘buttock, lap’

/-p+r-/

/d^hop-ra/

‘ready to ripen’

/-b+l-/

/gab-la/

‘mixing bowl’

/-b+r-/

/lab-ra/

‘mixed veg curry’

/deb-ra/

‘left’

/-t+l-/

/kit-li/	‘kettle’
/git-lu/	‘singers’
/g ^h ot-lai/	‘to stir/shake’
/pat-la/	‘thin, light (not heavy)’
/put-lu/	‘carved idol, doll’
/t ^h ot-la/	‘stutterer’

/-t+r-/

/bawsit-ru/	‘slanted (rain)’
/d ^h ut-ru/	‘thorn apple’
/ket-ra/	‘eye mucus’
/set-ra/	‘plenty’
/let-rab ^h at/	‘sticky rice’
/b ^h ot-ra/	‘dull, blunt, not sharp’

/-t^h+l-/

/pit ^h -li/	‘rice flour, powdered rice’
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/-d+l/

/b ^h id-li/	‘bad smelling creeper’
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/-d+r-/

/k ^h ud-ri/	‘apportioned, small portion’
/čad-ra/	‘fat man’

/-k+l-/

/bak-la/	‘tree bark’
/čak-la/	‘part, division’
/hak-le/	‘early’
/tok-le/	‘wild berry’

/-k+r-/

/ak-ra/	‘hook, for hanging towels’
/kuk-rikana/	‘night blindness’
/k ^h uk-ri/	‘a curved dagger’
/k ^h uk-rid ^h onda/	‘window’
/bak-ra/	‘barren field, playground’
/p ^h ok-ra/	‘hooligan, deceiver’
/ik-ru/	‘root’
/mak-ra/	‘spider’
/kak-ra/	‘crab’
/tok-ra/	‘gourd container for storing salt, dried meats’

/dok-ron/

‘scream, shout, call of an
animal e.g. rooster’

/-k^h+l-/

/ak^h-la/

‘clay’

/ak^h-lig^hor/

‘kitchen’

/čuk^h-lu/

‘paralyzed (whole body)’

/puuk^h-lu/

‘buttock’

/zok^h-la/

‘bamboo ladder’

/-g+l-/

/ghog-labeŋ/

‘toad’

/dig-lu/

‘long, tall’

/-g+r-/

/bag-rum/

‘a kind of pigeon’

/bug-ri/

‘berry’

/hag-ra/

‘jhum cultivation’

/nag-ra/

‘announcement drum’

/nolk^hag-ri/

‘reed, grows in water’

/og-run/

‘a kind of dress worn by women’

/sig-ret/

‘cigarette’

Liquid + stop/nasal/fricative/affricate

/-l+p-/

/batul-pithu/

‘steamed fritter coated with powdered rice’

/d^hol-pohor/

‘dawn’

/k^hol-pa/

‘bamboo frame’

/tol-pet/

‘abdomen’

/zul-pi/

‘fish trap’

/-l+p^h-/

/dol-p^hin/

‘dolphin’

/sul-phithu/

‘ribbon, hairbow’

/-l+b-/

/moŋol-bar/

‘Tuesday’

/-l+b^h-/

/sil-b^har/

‘bronze’

/-l+t-/

/bal-ti/

‘bucket’

/pal-ta/	‘rightside up’
/k ^h ol-tai/	‘to pronounce’
/ul-tuu/	‘opposite, upside down’
/-l+t^h-/	
/kol-t ^h ur/	‘heart of a plantain tree’
/sol-t ^h a/	‘long thread’
/-l+d-/	
/dul-duli/	‘quicksand’
/hil-di/	‘turmeric’
/hil-duu/	‘yellow’
/kal-dat/	‘canine’
/-l+k-/	
/b ^h il-ki/	‘magic’
/gul-kibatas/	‘cyclone’
/kel-kusi/	‘armpit’
/kuul-kuu/	‘yesterday or tomorrow’
/petel-kana/	‘halfboiled, used for rice only’

/tel-ka/ ‘cold’

/tuul-kuu/ ‘palate’

/čuuł-kumruu/ ‘white gourd’

/zɔł-ka/ ‘dull’

/-l+k^h-/

/nɔł-k^hagri/ ‘reed, grows in water’

/nɔł-k^haru/ ‘anklet, traditional anklet
worn by bride’

/k^hul-k^hulipoka/ ‘fruit fly’

/-l+g-/

/al-ga/ ‘separate’

/al-goseya/ ‘careful, more than careful’

/duł-gota/ ‘nose ring, nose ornament’

/-l+m-/

/gul-muris/ ‘black pepper’

/kortal-mas/ ‘pangolin, scaly anteater’

/-l+n-/

/zal-na/

‘window’

/-l+č-/

/čul-čura/

‘house sparrow’

/čol-čola/

‘crystal clear’

/-l+s-/

/bel-sa/

‘shovel’

/dal-sini/

‘cinnamon’

/k^hul-si/

‘pot’

/k^hol-sa/

‘a kind of small fish’

/tul-si/

‘basil’

/-l+z-/

/kul-zu/

‘heart’

/sal-zawa/

‘bruises’

/-l+z^h-/

/z^hol-z^hola/

‘watery (curry)’

/-r+p-/

/her-pai/	‘to peel’
/-r+p^h-/	
/borp ^{hi} /	‘a kind of sweets’
/p ^h or-p ^h ora/	‘clean white, extremely white’
/-r+b-/	
/asir-bad/	‘blessing’
/čor-bazar/	‘black market’
/dor-barkhana/	‘assembly hall’
/por-bo/	‘festival, generic word’
/sor-bot/	‘cold drink’
/-r+b^h-/	
/gor-b ^h oboti/	‘pregnant’
/zor-b ^h aŋa/	‘eyebrow’
/-r+t-/	
/b ^h itur-te/	‘among, within’
/b ^h or-ta/	‘mashed eatables with a pinch of salt and mustard oil’

/hor-tal/	‘a kind of piegon’
/mur-ti/	‘idol’
/sor-ta/	‘wise, clever, cunning’
/kor-talmas/	‘pangolin, scaly ant eater’
/-r+d-/	
/sur-di/	‘cold’
/hur-duu/	‘rebel’
/-r+k-/	
/kir-kun/	‘elbow’
/k ^h ir-ki/	‘window’
/kor-kora/	‘strong, hard, tight, crisp’
/nar-kul/	‘ripe coconut’
/per-kok/	‘brown bird, size of a crow’
/suur-kani/	‘square’
/tar-kata/	‘nail’
/-r+k^h-/	
/čor-k ^h a/	‘spinning wheel’

/čor-k ^h ela/	‘festival dance during the month of Kartika (October)’
/dorbar-k ^h ana/	‘assembly hall’
/-r+g-/	
/bor-gas/	‘banyan tree’
/bor-giri/	‘brother-in-law’
/gur-guru ⁿⁱ /	‘thunder’
/hur-gun/	‘vulture’
/k ^h or-go/	‘rhino horn’
/-r+m-/	
/am-ra/	‘hogplum’
/b ^h or-mon/	‘travel’
/dar-ma/	‘rash’
/čor-maga/	‘festival begging during sorkhela festival’
/mor-mora/	‘crispy’
/saper-mui/	‘salamander’
/tor-muz/	‘water melon’

/-r+n-/

/b^hitur-ni/

‘inside’

/g^hur-nibatas/

‘cyclone’

/-r+s-/

/bur-si/

‘fish hook’

/buur-suu/

‘rainy season’

/por-sat/

‘food offered to idols’

/huur-sora/

‘necklace’

/sur-suu/

‘mustard’

/-r+ z-/

/bir-zi/

‘mongoose’

/ gir-zuu/

‘church’

/dor-za/

‘door’

/dur-zi/

‘tailor’

Nasal + stop:

/-m+p-/

/b^humikom-po/

‘earthquake’

/kam-puluku/	‘fruit, like a star fruit, used as a vegetable’
/som-pereka/	‘shrunken, shapeless’
/-m+b-/	
/dom-bol/	‘gland, tumor’
/kom-bol/	‘blanket’
/-m+d^h-/	
/ram-d ^h unu/	‘rainbow’
/-m+k-/	
/sam-kahol/	‘a kind small jackfruit’
/-m+k^h-/	
/tam-k ^h u/	‘tobacco’
/-n+b-/	
/bagan-bari/	‘garden’
/bon-bari/	‘forest’
/d ^h an-bari/	‘paddy field’

/-n+t-/

/k^hon-ta/

‘a spud’

/zun-tu/

‘animal’

/-n+t^h-/

/bawkun-t^hi/

‘whirlwind’

/-n+d-/

/an-dar/

‘dark’

/b^hen-di/

‘ladys finger’

/dohan-di/

‘relationship of husband's
elder brother to wife's elder
brother’

/gen-da/

‘son, male infant, used to
address one's own son’

/kun-duu/

‘which?’

/t^han-da/

‘cold’

/hin-dul/

‘large tree, fruit used for
cloth similar to cotton’

/in-dur/

‘rat’

/kan-da/	‘near’
/mun-dir/	‘temple’
/-n+d^h-/	
/gon-d ^h ar/	‘rhino’
/bison-d ^h an/	‘seed of a grain’
/-ŋ+p-/	
/diŋ-pora/	‘rice cooked in bamboo’
/t ^h eŋ-pet/	‘calf’
/-ŋ+p^h-/	
/seŋ-phuy ^h lu/	‘crooked, used for clothing’
/-ŋ+t-/	
/taŋ-taŋa/	‘sunny’
/g ^h aŋ-ta/	‘bell’
/t ^h eŋ-tola/	‘foot’
/-ŋ+t^h-/	
/aŋ-t ^h a/	‘charcoal’
/aŋ-t ^h i/	‘ring (on finger)’

/baŋ-tʰi/

‘bracelet, metal bracelet or
fettors put around the wrists
or ankles’

/-ŋ+k-/

/gaŋ-kola/

‘riverbank’

/haŋ-kay/

‘big earthen plate-shaped
lamp used for worship’

/kaŋ-kara/

‘a crab’

/keŋ-ka/

‘how’

/niŋ-kur/

‘tail of animals, birds, and
fish’

/-ŋ+kʰ-/

/kaŋ-kʰi/

‘the outer edge of the mud
floor of a house’

/soŋ-kʰo/

‘conch’

/-ŋ+g-/

/aŋ-gur/

‘grapes’

/moŋ-gol/

‘Mars’

/zoŋ-gol/

‘forest, jungle’

Nasal + fricative/affricate

/-m+s-/

/g^ham-sa/

‘handful, what fits in one
hand’

/hum-sw/

‘mildewy smell’

/-n+s-/

/sun-suni/

‘bitter flower’

/son-sa/

‘core, inside a banana tree’

/pʉn-sw/

‘watery taste, waterlike color’

/-n+č-/

/b^hin-či/

‘brother-in-law, elder sister's
husband’

/-n+z-/

/k^hun-zuni/

‘a small leather drum’

/gun-zi/

‘to plant in a cluster (rice)’

/zin-zini/

‘medicinal plant’

/zun-zuni/

‘firefly’

/-ŋ+s-/

/aŋ-sa/

‘liver’

/boŋ-so/

‘ancestor, kin’

/teŋ-sa/

‘short tempered man’

/tepeŋ-sa/

‘little, esp. liquid’

/-ŋ+z-/

/poneŋ-zali/

‘newborn, only for animals’

/-ŋ+h-/

/siŋ-ho/

‘lion’

Nasal + liquid

/-m+l-/

/kum-li/

‘jaundice’

/kum-lu/

‘immature’

/kam-la/

‘servant’

/gam-la/

‘metal basin used to wash’

/lim-limw/

‘smooth’

/kom-la/

‘orange’

/-n+l-/

/kan-loti/ ‘earlobe’

/-ŋ+l-/

/aŋ-la/ ‘a kind of fruit’

/čaŋ-li/ ‘sifting basket, sieve’

/zaŋla/ ‘bamboo support for vines’

/naŋlikara/ ‘plowing tool, rope joining
jongal and *nangol*’

/siŋ-lu/ ‘green’

/-ŋ+r-/

/aŋ-ra/ ‘charcoal, burned’

/čeŋ-ra/ ‘youth, adolescent’

/neŋ-ra/ ‘lame’

/goŋ-rai/ ‘to roar (used for lion/ tiger)’

/g^haŋ-ra/ ‘phlegm’

/daŋ-ra/ ‘big’

/z^haŋ-ra/ ‘sifting basket, sieve’

/-m+r-/

/b ^h im-rul/	‘wasp’
/čalkum-ruu/	‘white gourd’
/čam-ra/	‘skin’
/dam-ra/	‘male calf’
/kam-reŋa/	‘a kind of acid fruit’
/zum-ruu/	‘grapefruit, pomello’
/zum-ri/	‘big citrus fruit’
/kum-ruu/	‘white gourd’

/-n+r-/

/baigonroŋ/	‘purple’
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Nasal + nasal:

/-m+n-/

/dumni/	‘cluster fig’
/d ^h emna/	‘boil or rash’

/-ŋ+m-/

/seŋmas/	‘a kind of fish’
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Fricative + stop/trill/

/-s+p-/

/nas-poti/

‘a kind of pear’

/-s+ph-/

/p^hus-p^husi/

‘lungs’

/tus-p^hol/

‘mulberry’

/-s+t-/

/as-te/

‘slow’

/bas-tu/

‘nature, earth’

/b^has-ti/

‘niece, brother's daughter’

/kus-to/

‘leprosy’

/kas-ta/

‘groin’

/nas-ti/

‘navel’

/girus-ti/

‘family’

/gus-ti/

‘relative’

/gus-timun/

‘guest, visitor’

/mas-tor/

‘teacher’

/sas-ti/

‘punishment’

/-s+k-/

/mos-ka/

‘break, dislocated bone’

/mus-ku/

‘chair, furniture’

/b^hos-kai/

‘to prick’

/mus-ki/

‘to sprain’

/tas-ka/

‘brittle’

/-s+k^h-/

/is-k^hati/

‘plough lock’

/-s+g-/

/tus-guru/

‘chaff’

Fricative+ nasal/trill/ liquid:

/-s+m-/

/mos-mosa/

‘brittle’

/-s+n-/

/mus-ni/

‘duster’

/bas-na/

‘flavour, fragrance’

/bas-natel/	‘perfume, sweet smelling oil’
/bas-nai/	‘to wait’
/-s+l-/	
/pis-lai/	‘to slip away’
/pis-luu/	‘slippery’
/mos-la/	‘spice’
/lus-lusu/	‘spongy’
/b ^h us-luk/	‘at a glance’
/-s+r-/	
/p ^h es-ra/	‘chicken pox’
/mus-ri/	‘mosquito-net’
/sus-ri/	‘mother-in-law’
/kus-rikasra/	‘wrinkle’
/pas-re/	‘to forget’
/kus-ripoka/	‘grasshopper’
/-z+n-/	
/buuz-nuu/	‘housefly’

/soz-na/

‘horse raddish’

/-z+l-/

/kez-la/

‘jolly person’

3.3.5.4.2. Three consonant sequences:

In this language, there are only a few three consonant sequences available where the first member is always a stop/nasal/trill/lateral and the second member may be stop or fricative. The third member is either a trill or a lateral. Three consonant sequences never occur in word initial and final position. The chart below shows the possible combinations of these sequences.

<u>First member</u>	<u>Second & Third member</u>
n+	(tr, dr)
ŋ+	(kl, k ^{hr})
r+	(pr)

Following are the examples of words with three consonant sequences:

/-n+tr-/ /mon-tri/ ‘minister’

/-n+dr-/ /čon-dro/ ‘moon’

/-ŋ+kl-/ /doŋ-klapani/ ‘slough’

	/daŋ-kli/	‘wooden tool used as hammer’
/-ŋ+k ^h r-/	/čiŋ-k ^h rui/	‘to pinch’
/-r+pr-/	/zor-propat/	‘waterfall’

3.3.5.4.3. Geminate

As per our investigation, the following stop, affricate and laterals form geminates in medial positions in Hajong. For example,

/p+p/	/čoppya/	‘mishappen, shrunken’
	/happen/	‘shorts, half pants’
/-t+t-/	/battik/	‘ripe, ready to gather or pluck’
	/hatta/	‘spatula’
	/t ^h atta/	‘joke’
/d+d/	/adda/	‘a regular meeting place’
	/čuddo/	‘fourteen’
	/poddop ^h ul/	‘lotus’
/k+k/	/bukka/	‘foolish’
	/k ^h okkeŋ sap/	‘a kind of snake’
/m+m/	/bromma/	‘coriander’

/n+n/	/dinni/	‘everyday’
	/unnis/	‘nineteen’
/l+l/	/bolla/	‘wasp’
	/čelli/	‘a kind of fish’
	/kaŋkalliru/	‘garden lizard’
	/mella/	‘many, a lot’
	/sillu/	‘a female kite (kind of bird), eagle’

3.4. Syllable:

3.4.1. Mono-syllabic words:

3.4.1.1. Open mono-syllabic words:

CV	/ča/	‘tea’
	/ni/	‘in/at’
	/te/	‘within’
CVV	/b ^h ui/	‘paddy or grain field’
	/k ^h ai/	‘to eat, drink, smoke, inhale’

/k^hoi/ 'puffed rice'

/zai/ 'to go'

3.4.1.2. Closed mono-syllabic words:

VC /ag/ 'front'

/am/ 'mango'

/ot/ 'lip'

CVC /tus/ 'husk'

/gʉl/ 'round'

/bor/ 'blessing'

/b^hak/ 'division, chapter'

/b^hat/ 'cooked rice'

/b^hok/ 'hunger'

/čaŋ/ 'granary, barn'

/čʉl/ 'rice grain, uncooked rice'

/čun/ 'lime'

/der/ 'one and a half'

/des/ 'country'

/duɪl/	‘lentils’
/d ^h an/	‘paddy’
/d ^h ar/	‘sharp’
/gom/	‘wheat’
/g ^h or/	‘house’
/hak/	‘curry’
/hat/	‘market’
/mum/	‘food, boiled rice’
/pan/	‘pan leaf’
/pas/	‘back’
/sid/	‘whole bunch of rice’
/tol/	‘below’
/tus/	‘husk’

3.4.2. Disyllabic words:

3.4.2. 1. Open disyllabic words:

VCV /abu/	‘grandmother’	/a-bu/
/azo/	grandfather’	/a-zo/

/ada/	‘ginger’	/a-da/
/ad ^h a/	‘half’	/a-d ^h a/
/ali/	‘boundary marker’	/a-li/
/alu/	‘potato’	/a-lu/
/ata/	‘flour’	/a-ta/
/iri/	‘grain’	/i-ri/
/itu/	‘brick’	/i-tu/
/uyuw/	‘to address own mother’	/u-yuw/
VCCV /akra/	‘hook (for hanging towel)’	/ak-ra/
/alga/	‘separate’	/al-ga/
/aŋsa/	‘liver’	/aŋ-sa/
/aŋt ^h i/	‘ring (on finger)’	/aŋ-t ^h i/
/awsa/	‘kind of paddy’	/aw-sa/
VCCVV /asrai/	‘to beat (used for clothe)’	/as-rai/
/aklai/	‘to hug’	/ak-lai/
/oktai/	‘to spit, vomit’	/ok-tai/

CVCV	/beka/	‘uneven twisted’	/be-ka/
	/bisi/	‘seed’	/bi-si/
	/buli/	‘sacrificing for god’	/bu-li/
	/čaka/	‘lump’	/ča-ka/
	/čaki/	‘small earthen lamp used for puja’	/ča-ki/
	/čiku/	‘piece of food e.g. betel nut’	/či-ku/
	/dala/	‘branch’	/da-la/
	/mela/	‘festival’	/me-la/
	/pani/	‘water’	/pa-ni/
CVCCV	/barai/	‘to offer’	/ba-rai/
	/burui/	‘to appear’	/bu-rui/
	/b ^h aŋai/	‘to break’	/b ^h a-ŋai/
	/čibai/	‘to chew’	/či-bai/
	/huzai/	‘to climb’	/hu-zai/
	/zalai/	‘to sprout’	/za-lai/
CVCCV	/bakra/	‘bren field’	/bak-ra/

	/bogda/	‘not sharp’	/bog-da/
	/čakla/	‘part, division’	/čak-la/
	/čapta/	‘flat’	/čap-ta/
	/debra/	‘left, north’	/deb-ra/
	/hagra/	‘z ^h um cultivation’	/hag-ra/
	/kanda/	‘near’	/kan-da/
	/labra/	‘mixed vegetable curry’	/lab-ra/
	/porbo/	‘festival’	/por-bo/
	/punsi/	‘to arrive’	/pun-si/
	/zolka/	‘dull’	/zol-ka/
CVVCV	/diuli/	‘new corn puja’	/diu-li/
	/niuri/	‘a large deciduous tree’	/niu-ri/

3.4.2. 2. Closed disyllabic word:

(First syllable open, closed second syllable)

VCVC	/agal/	‘top of a plant/tree’	/a-gal/
	/amon/	‘a kind of paddy’	/a-mon/

	/ugur/	‘burp, belch’	/u-gur/
	/up ^h is/	‘office’	/u-p ^h is/
CVCVC	/bagan/	‘garden’	/ba-gan/
	/bazar/	‘market’	/ba-zar/
	/b ^h itur/	‘in’	/b ^h i-tur/
	/čohor/	‘town’	/čo-hor/
	/hidul/	‘dry fish with yam leaf added’	/hi-dul/
	/masaŋ/	‘meat’	/ma-saŋ/
	/mat ^h ay/	‘central’	/ma-t ^h ay/
	/ruhun/	‘garlic’	/ru-hun/
	/t ^h okon/	‘from’	/t ^h o-kon/
CVCCVC	/borgas/	‘banyan tree’	/bor-gas/
	/budbar/	‘Wednesday’	/bud – bar/
	/b ^h ormon/	‘travel’	/b ^h or-mon/
	/čondon/	‘sandal wood’	/čo-n-don/
	/hindul/	‘a large tree’	/hin-dul/

/mundir/	‘temple’	/mun-dir/
/raikos/	‘demon’	/rai-kos/
/sorbot/	‘syrup’	/sor – bot/
/sindur/	‘vermillion’	/sin – dur/

3.4.3. Trisyllabic words:

3.4.3.1. Open (Third syllable is open):

CVCVCV	/dob ^h aza/	‘fried rice grain’	/do-b ^h a-za/
	/solsola/	‘straight’	/sol-so-la/
CVCVCCV	/b ^h iturni/	‘inside’	/b ^h i-tur-ni/
	/b ^h iturte/	‘within’	/b ^h i-tur-te/
CVVCVCV	/b ^h uib ^h ita/	‘land’	/b ^h ui-b ^h i-ta/
CVCCVCV	/čarkani/	‘square’	/čar-ka-ni/
	/čunčuni/	‘edible red flower with bitter taste’	/čun-ču-ni/
	/diŋ-po-ra/	‘rice cooked in bamboo’	/diŋ-po-ra/
	/gaŋkola/	‘riverbank’	/gaŋ-ko-la/
	/hatk ^h ola/	‘market place’	/hat-k ^h o-la/

	/pawruti/	‘loaf’	/paw-ru-ti/
	/pak ^h uri/	‘to go around in circles’	/pak-g ^h u-ri/
	/punziku/	‘almanac’	/pun-zi-ku/
	/z ^h ol ^h ola/	‘watery (curry)’	/z ^h ol-z ^h o-la/
CVCCVCCV	/gawkansi/	‘backside of the village’	/gaw-kan-si/
	/seŋp ^h ayla/	‘crooked, used for clothing’	/seŋ-p ^h ay-la/

3.4.3. 2. Closed (Third syllable is closed):

VCVCVC	/anaros/	‘pineapple’	/a-na-ros/
	/opuman/	‘blasphemy’	/o-pu-man/
	/ozogor/	‘python’	/o-zo-gor/
	/ub ^h isap/	‘curse’	/u-b ^h i-sap/
VCVCCVC	/asirbad/	‘blessing’	/a-sir-bad/
CVCVCVC	/bak ^h adur/	‘remote’	/ba-k ^h a-dur/
	/biničul/	‘sticky rice grain’	/bi-ni-čul/

	/bisib ^h at/	‘sticky rice, steamed’	/bi-si-b ^h at/
	/b ^h ogoban/	‘god’	/b ^h o-go-ban/
	/dalidor/	‘piggish, eating all the time’	/da-li-dor/
	/guramas/	‘powdered mixture of fish’	/gu-ra-mas/
	/hurilot/	‘religious food’	/hu-ri-lot/
CVCCVCVC	/letrab ^h at/	‘sticky rice, boiled’	/le-tra-b ^h at/
	/tayk ^h orok/	‘demanding’	/tay-k ^h o-rok/
CVCVCCVC	/kuzayg ^h or/	‘temporary shelter built with leaves and branches’	/ku-zay-g ^h or/

3.4.4. Tetra-syllabic words:

Our study reveals that in Hajong, tetra-syllabic words occur in a very less number. Due to this, only a few examples have been given.

3.4.4. 1. Open Tetra-syllabic (Fourth syllable is open):

VCCVCVCV

/algooseya/	‘careful’	/al-go-se-ya/
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VCVCVCV

/agaguri/	‘everywhere’	/a-ga-gu-ri/
/alaziba/	‘vocal chord’	/a-la-zi-ba/
/at ^h upare/	‘to kneel’	/a-t ^h u-pa-re/

VCVCVCCV

/ogodepta/	‘devil’	/o-go-dep-ta/
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VCVCCVCV

/asond ^h ore/	‘to sit with legs crossed’	/a-son-d ^h o-re/
/anjurgota/	‘a bird with a black beak, white breast’	/anjurgota/

CVCVVCV

/barealu/	‘root’	/ba-re-a-lu/
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CVCCVCVCV

/b ^h odrobura/	‘cattail’	/b ^h o-dro-bu-ra/
/čompereka/	‘shapeless’	/čom-pe-re-ka/

/kampulukw/ ‘a kind of fruit, like star fruit’
/kam-pu-lu-kw/

/nawrapata/ ‘nawra leaf’ /naw-ra-pa-ta/

CVCCVCVCCV

/čaptalapta/ ‘mishappen’ /čap-ta-lap-ta/

/kokrabekra/ ‘twisted’ /ko-kra-be-kra/

/tewratewri/ ‘crooked, uneven’ /tew-ra-tew-ri/

CVCVCVCV

/bamonani/ ‘priest’s wife’ /ba-mo-na-ni/

/b^hikilitu/ ‘small, bitter fruit’ /b^hi-ki-ti-tu/

/čapalaga/ ‘burned’ /ča-pa-la-ga/

/čorekani/ ‘butterfly’ /čo-re-ka-ni/

/čuŋamara/ ‘deep, used for baskets’
/ču-ŋa-ma-ra/

/d^hepepeka/ ‘small, flat, used for intimate things’
/d^he-pe-pe-ka/

/katabazu/	‘armband’	/ka-ta-ba-zu/
/katamasi/	‘black fly’	/ka-ta-ma-si/
/kusuloti/	‘roots of yam’	/ku-su-lo-ti/
/kh ^h ukrid ^h onda/	‘window’	/kh ^h u-kri-d ^h on-da/
/lurapaka/	‘coiled’	/lu-ra-pa-ka/
/lewatana/	‘song about pulling creepers’	/le-wa-ta-na/
/morasali/	‘graveyard’	/mo-ra-sa-li/
/mohokuma/	‘sub-division’	/mo-ho-ku-ma/
/pokalera/	‘worm’	/po-ka-le-ra/

CVCCVCCVCV

/dorbar ^h ana/	‘assembly hall’	/dor-bar-k ^h a-na/
/dolčekčeka/	‘aquatic insect’	/dol-ček-če-ka/

CVVCVCVCV

/baizapuka/	‘wasp’	/bai-za-pu-ka/
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/kuilutituu/ ‘bitter gourd’ /kui-luu-ti-tuu/

CVCCVCVCV

/kindiliwuu/ ‘millipede’ /kin-di-li-wuu/

CVCCVCVCVV

/hotketeteo/ ‘a kind of bird’ /hot-ke-te-teo/

3.4.4.2. Closed Tetra-syllabic (Fourth syllable is closed):

CVCVCVCCVC

/čukabaygon/ ‘tomato’ /ču-ka-bay-gon/

CVCVCVCVC

/dotalag^hor/ ‘two-storied house’ /do-ta-la-g^hor/

3.4.5. Pentasyllabic words:

The occurrences of such words are also found very less in Hajong. So, we could not find more examples during our data collection.

3.4.5.1. Open Pentasyllabic (Fifth syllable is open):

CVCVCVCVCV

/barohazari/ ‘a dialect of Hajong’ /ba-ro-ha-za-ri/

3.4.5.2. Closed Pentasyllabic (Fifth syllable is closed):

VCCVCVCVCVC

/agrikowa mun/ ‘fortune teller’ /ag-ri-ko-wa- mun/

3.5. Morphophonemics:

3.5.1. Phonologically conditioned changes:

3.5.1.1. Epenthesis:

A semi vowel /y/ or /w/ is inserted between /i/ or /o/ or /u/ or /e/ and another vowel to break the cluster of these vowels. Examples are given below:

/bea/> /beya/	‘bad’
/korea/> /koreya/	‘frying pan’
/bia/>/biya/	‘marriage’
/dunia /> /duniya /	‘world’
/g ^h oa/> /g ^h oya/	‘seed, hard shelled seed’
/kuu/> /kuyuu/	‘rotten, used for cooked food’
/noa/> /noya/	‘new’

/roa/ > /rowa/	‘rice seedling’
/kuu/ > /kuwu/	‘fog’
/guu/ > /guwu/	‘betel nut’
/gerua/ > /geruwa/	‘saffron’
/alsia/ > /alsiya/	‘lazy’
/sian/ > /siyan/	‘intelligent’

3.5.2. Morphologically conditioned changes:

/d^h/ is optionally replaced by /d/ when followed by vowel or /b/. It is because of voiced feature of the following sound. Examples are given below:

/ ad ^h iyar/ > /adiyar/	‘tenant’
/ad ^h amora/ > /adamora/	‘half-dead’
/bud ^h bar/ > /budbar/	‘Wednesday’

3.5.3. Prothesis:

/i/ is added before borrowed (English) words beginning with a consonant cluster having /s/ as the first member of the cluster in order to break the cluster, e.g.:

/stop/ > /istop/	‘stop’
/skul/ > /iskul/	‘school’
/stupid/ > /istupid /	‘stupid’
/steson/ > /isteson/	‘station’
/stul/ > /istul/	‘stool’
/skel/ > /iskel/	‘scale’
/skru/ > /iskru/	‘screw’
/sports/ > /isports/	‘games’

3.5.4. Apocope:

The last consonant of the final consonant cluster is dropped from the borrowed English words. Examples are as follows:

/belt/ > /bel/	‘belt’
/result/ > /resul/	‘result’
/karent/ > /karen/	‘current’
/lemp/ > /lem/	‘lamp’
/post/ > /pos/	‘pillar’

/siment/ > /simen/ ‘cement’

The medial consonant cluster of /tr/ is broken by inserting /i/ between /tr/. e.g.:

/istri/ > /istiri/ ‘iron’

/mistri/ > /mistiri/ ‘carpenter’

The medial consonant cluster of /ns/ is broken by inserting /i/ between /ns/. e.g.:

/inspector/ > /inispector/ ‘inspector’

The final vowel sound is dropped out as in the words below.

/haturi/ > /hatur/ ‘hammer’

/botali/ > /botal/ ‘a chisel’

3.5.5. Syncope:

Medial vowel sound is dropped from the second syllable of the word e.g.

/b^hagina/ > / b^hagna/ ‘nephew, sister’s son’

/koleza/ > /kolza/ ‘heart’

/natini/ > /natni/ ‘grand daughter’

/narikol/ > /narkul/ ‘ripe coconut’

3.5.6. Aphesis:

Initial vowel sound is lost in some words as in the following:

/ɔbhɪantɔr/ > /bʰitur/ ‘inner part’

/ɔlɔu/ > /lɔu/ ‘gourd’

3.5.7. Diphthongization:

In this language, diphthongization of vowel sound at the end of a word is noticed

e.g.:

/dɔ/ > /dɔɔ/ ‘chopper’

/mɔ/ > /mɔɔ/ ‘mother’

/gɔ/ > /gɔɔ/ ‘body’

3.5.8. Deaspiration-Devoicing:

Voiced aspirated sound is de-aspirated and then changed into unvoiced sound

e.g.:

/bagʰ/ > /bag/ > /bak/ ‘tiger’

/megʰ/ > /meg/ > /mek/ ‘rain’

/megʰ-batas/ > /meg-batas/ > /mek-batas/ ‘wind’

3.5.9. Devoicing:

Voiced sound turns into voiceless sound as noticed in the following examples:

/gulab/ > /gulap/	‘rose’
/morod/ > /morot/	‘male’
/p ^h ulkobi/ > /p ^h ulkopi/	‘cauliflower’
/sob/ > /sop/	‘all, whole’
