

**The
Tibeto-Burman Languages
of
Uttar Pradesh**

Edited by

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

This study of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Uttar Pradesh was initiated and sponsored by Prof. Yoshio Nishi of the Kobe City University of Foreign Studies (now retired) in reaction to the publication of D. D. Sharma's *Tibeto-Burman Languages of Uttarakhand* (1989, 1990), which was found to contain several errors. Funding was also provided by , grant number 03044123, "Historical and sociolinguistic studies of Tibeto-Burman languages of two provinces in Northwestern India". Dr. Suhnu Ram Sharma and Dr. Shree Krishan did the fieldwork and sent the resulting papers to me for the production of this volume. After a first round of editing, Prof. Nishi and I both sent copious comments and questions to the authors. Unfortunately, shortly after the production of the first draft of his papers, Shree Krishan had a car accident in which he sustained a head injury, and subsequently was unable to answer our questions. Because of this, in editing the papers written by Shree Krishan I had to take a more active role in resolving some of the questions we had had about the first draft. In most cases this simply involved resolving inconsistencies in the data and analysis, but in a few cases I actually had to rework the analysis. Where I could not resolve the problems, such as whether there are phonemic nasal vowels or not in Raji, I left it as is. Quite a lot of work was put into improving the papers, and it is hoped that the resulting papers will be of use to scholars in the field.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SORT ORDER USED

1	first person	INST	instrumental
2	second person	interj.	interjection
3	third person	LOC	locative
ABL	ablative case	n.	noun
adj.	adjective	NEG	negative
adv.	adverb	NEGIMP	negative imperative marker
AGT	agentive case	NOM	nominalizer
ALL	allative marker	num.	numeral
aux.	auxiliary	PAST	past tense
CAUS	causative marker	pl.	plural
COMPL	completive marker	pp.	postposition
COND	conditional marker	PRESCONT	present continuous tense
conj.	conjunction	pro.	pronoun
DAT	dative case	PURP	purpose
dem.	demonstrative	RELPRO	relative pronoun
du.	dual	sg.	singular
ERG	ergative case	vi.	verb intransitive
FUT	future tense	vt.	verb transitive
GEN	genitive case	:/	vowel length
IMP	imperative		

The first letters of the items in the Tibeto-Burman language glossaries are arranged in the following order:

/ə, a:, a, b, bh, c, ch, d, dh, D, Dh, dz, e, ε, g, gh, h, i:, i, j, jh, k, kh, l, lh/hl, m, mh/hm, n, nh/hn, ŋ, N, o, ɔ, p, ph, r, rh, s, ɕ, t, th, T, Th, ts, tsh, u, u:, w, ɣ, y/

In the glossaries, "-" after a form indicates that the word is a verb root, and "(IA)" indicates a borrowing from Indo-Aryan sources.

A STUDY ON THE TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF UTTAR PRADESH

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1.0 The area under study

The Uttar Pradesh hill districts in the north-western Himalayas form a geographical region popularly known as Uttarakhand. In old records these hill areas are known as the Kumaun and Garhwal Hills. The boundaries of this area extend up to Nepal and Tibet in the north-western Himalayan ranges. The whole area is now sub-divided into eight districts, three districts in the Kumaun region (Almora, Nainital, and Pithoragarh) and five districts in the Garhwal region (Dehradun, Uttarkashi, Chamoli, Tehri-Garhwal and Pauri-Garhwal). The Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages of the districts of Pithoragarh, Chamoli and Uttarkashi, which border on Himachal Pradesh in the north and Nepal and Tibet in the north-west, will be the focus of the present study. The languages of the small groups of Khampas and other Tibetan migrants settled in the district towns in this area will not be discussed.

2.0 The languages, their locations, and their speakers

Grierson (1909) listed seven TB languages spoken in this region in his Linguistic Survey of India. Jad and Garhwal were listed in his classification as Tibetan dialects. Rangkas (Saukiya-Khun), Darmiya, Byangsi, Chaudangsi, and Janggali were placed under the western sub-group of pronominalized Himalayan languages of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. But the amount of data on some of the languages in the Survey is too meager to classify the languages of this region conclusively under one group or the other. Jad has been found to be close to Spiti, a dialect of Tibetan. Moreover, Jad does not have the feature of pronominalization found in the languages of this area. So we can tentatively treat Jad as a Tibetan dialect. Detailed research may some day reveal its place in the TB family. But the so-called Garhwal dialect of Tibetan, actually known as Rongpo, can not be treated as a Tibetan dialect. It is actually a Himalayan language distinct from Tibetan, one with the distinctive feature of pronominalization (Zollar 1983).

Byangsi and Chaudangsi are very closely related and Darma has been found to be slightly less closely related to Byangsi and Chaudangsi. Rongpo and Raji are then related to this grouping. Raji and Rongpo contain a considerable number of IA loans, whereas there are relatively few IA loans in Byangsi, Chaudangsi, and Darma. Geographic factors also play a role because Byangsi, Chaudangsi, and Darma share a contiguous region and use the same market, resulting in mutual intelligibility. Based on cognate counts, we can say that these languages form a close-knit group. However, at the present stage of our study we have not worked out the details of the sub-groupings and precise inter-group relationships.

2.1 Jad

Grierson treated Jad as being closely related to Spiti and other Tibetan dialects, and so grouped it under the Tibetan group. Jad is spoken in several villages, the major ones being Jadang and Nilang in Harsil Sub-division in Uttarkashi District. The name Jad seems to be

derived from the village name 'Jadang', which is the summer village of the Jad speakers. During the winter the Jad speakers migrate to Dunda Sub-division, just 17 kilometers below the Uttarkashi district town on the banks of the river Bhagirathi. They are mainly involved in agriculture and the raising of sheep and goats. During the winter they engage in the weaving of wollen carpets and shawls. The total population of Jad speakers is only around 2000 according the village census of 1991. The Jad tribe is also known as Bhotia, the cover term for all TB speakers in the whole of the western Himalayan region.

2.2 Rangpo (Garhwal dialect)

Grierson called the variety we are calling Rangpo the Garhwal dialect of Tibetan but in fact it is an independent language with pronominalization (verb agreement). Zoller (1983) named it 'Rang Po Bhasa'. From our investigation we found that actually the word /r̥ɔ̃pɔ/ is used for the language and for the community as well. In rapid speech it is realized as [r̥ãpɔ], and thus it has come to be written as either Rongpo or Rangpo. Locally there are two other names given to the people and their language: Marcha and Tolcha. These names, though, are not very acceptable to the people. Rongpo is spoken in the Niti and Mana valleys in Joshimath Tehsil of Chamoli District. The borders of the Niti and Mana valleys extend up to the Tibetan border. The Marcha dialect is spoken in Mana and parts of Niti Valley, and the Tolcha dialect is spoken in Niti Valley. Marcha is the dominant dialect and our data is based on this dialect. The Rongpo people also migrate during the winter to the lower hills. Their winter villages are situated near Chamoli and Gopeshwar town. The total population according to the 1991 village census is 12,000.

2.3 Raji

Raji is listed under the name Janggali in Grierson's Survey, though very little data is recorded. In fact, the Raji are a very small tribe, and the most primitive in the region. They are mostly confined to the deep forests and this pattern of living in the forests must have prompted the neighbouring populations to call them 'Janggali' ('forest dwellers'). Kumaonis also call them 'Ban Rawat' or 'Ban-Khaniya Rawat', which also has a similar meaning. But these names are derogatory, so the name 'Raji', which is acceptable, is used in official records. The Raji language is spoken in four villages in Dharchula Tehsil, four villages in Didihat, and one village in Champawat Tehsil of Pithoragarh District. Some villages of Rajis are also found across the border in Nepal, but no population figures are available from there. The population of Raji in India, according to a census in 1988 done by the development officers, was just 472. The Rajis have been basically food gatherers and hunters, but recently efforts have been made to settle them in villages. The Rajis are a peculiar tribe since their physical appearance does not resemble the neighbouring populations. The only striking similarity is that of the type of language they share with other TB speech communities. But there does not appear to be day-to-day contact with other TB speakers. D. D. Sharma (1990:171) states, as if taking it for granted, that, 'basically the language of the Rajis of Askot belongs to the Munda Group of the Austro-Asiatic family'. The data used by D. D. Sharma (1990) is based on an article consisting of 11 pages by Dr. Shobha Ram Sharma, for which a complete reference is not available. It is strange that D. D. Sharma was able to produce a 58 page description of Raji based only on a short article and some personal communications with the author. Therefore D. D. Sharma's statement that Raji is a Munda language can not be taken at its face value. There is no discussion of why Raji is being treated as a Munda and

not as a TB language. Our data show that it is a TB language with a very high percentage of Indo-Aryan borrowings. However, we do not claim that our study is an exhaustive one. (See article on Raji by Shree Krishan in this volume.)

2.4 Byangsi

Byangsi, actually known as Byāsi, is the most dominant language among the tribal languages spoken in Dharchula sub-division. It is spoken in Byangs Patti of Dharchula sub-division of Pithoragarh district in Uttar Pradesh. The Patti of Byangs and Chaudangs are formed along the river Kali, which meets the river Dhauli at Tawaghat, a few miles upriver from Dharchula town. This is the region between these two rivers. The Patti Chaudangs starts from Tawaghat and extends up to Zipti village. Then there is a stretch of steep and barren hills for a few miles. The Patti Byangs starts from the village Budi and extends up to Kuti village, which is the last village on the Indian side of the border with Tibet. Byangs valley is further separated by the rivers Kali and Kuti Yangti. There are three or four villages of Byangs people found in Nepal.¹ The river Kali forms a natural boundary between India and Nepal. There is a path which passes through Byangs valley and up to the Hindu holy place called Kailash-Mansarowar in Tibet. During summer there are regular pilgrimages from India to visit this place. There was also regular trade between Tibet and India through this route before the Indo-China conflict in 1962. Trade is being revived now since the signing of an agreement with China in 1992.

All the Tibeto-Burman speakers in this area refer to themselves as 'Rang'. Byangs call their dialect 'Byangkho lo'. It is interesting to note that all the Tibeto-Burman speaking populations except the Raji maintain their homes in the upper reaches of the mountains during the summer and during the winter they migrate to the lower hill villages around Dharchula town. This pattern of migration was much more prevalent before the Indo-Chinese conflict when these people regularly used to go to Tibet to buy and sell certain goods. From India they usually carried tea leaves, salt, and horses and in exchange they would bring wool, sheep and goats, ghee, and dried cheese. This exchange trade was carried out without any official formalities. Since the interruption of trade in 1962, many people have been trying to settle permanently in the lower hill villages.

The population figures for the Byangs are not available separately. The total tribal population of Pithoragarh and Almora districts was 19,472 in the 1981 census. More than

¹Editor's note: According to Nawa 2000, there are seven Byans villages in India (Budi, Garbyang, Gunji, Nabi, Rongkang, Napalchu, and Kuti), and originally two in Nepal (Chhangru and Tinkar), but later two new villages (Rapla and Sitola) were founded to the south of the Byansi region in Nepal. The varieties spoken in Kuti (in India) and Tinkar (in Nepal) are quite different from those spoken in the other villages which have been described as Byansi. The variety of Tinkar differs not only from Byansi, but also from Chaudansi and Darmiya, in the forms of their agreement affixes as well as in their basic vocabulary, such as kinship terms. The variety of Kuti is said to be relatively close to that of Tinkar. Geographically, the traditional Byans region is divided into two parts, Pangjungkhu, including Budi, Garbyang and Chhangru, and Yerjungkhu, consisting of Gunji, Nabi, Rongkang and Napalchu. The Byans people recognize two varieties of their language, Pangjungkhu boli and Yerjungkhu boli, which correspond to this geographical division, but the differences between the two are now minor.

99% of the tribals live in Pithoragarh District and the tribes included are Byangs, Chaudangs, Darma, and Raji. For the Raji the exact figures are available separately (472). This means that the population of the Byangs, Chaudangs and Darma tribes together was approximately 19,000 in the 1981 census.

2.5 Chaudangsi

Chaudangsi is closely related to Byangsi. It is spoken in Patti Chaudangs, which starts from Tawaghat and goes up to Zipti Village. Chaudangs do not migrate like their neighbours. The local name for their language is 'Bangba lo'. Population figures are not available separately but certainly their population is less than that of the Byangs. The Byangs and Chaudangs live in close proximity as the Byangs migrate during the winter to Chaudangs villages which are situated on the lower hills. (See article on Chaudangsi by Shree Krishan in this volume.)

2.6 Darma

Darma is spoken in Darma Valley and is locally known as 'Darma lo'. The area of Darma Valley runs from Tawaghat up along the river Dhauli. The valley is divided into Talla Darma and Malla Darma, i.e., lower and upper valleys. It is bounded by Tibet in the north and by the chain of Panchuli mountains in the west. The Darma people also migrate during the winter months to the lower hills and the villages around Dharchaula. Population figures for the Darma people are not available separately, but their population is said to be less than that of the Byangs. (See article on Darma by Shree Krishan in this volume.)

2.7 Rangkas or Saukiya Khun

The Rangkas have not been able to maintain their original TB language and now speak the dominant language Kumauni, an Indo-Aryan language. Rangkas was said to be spoken in Johar valley in Pithoragarh District. Johar Valley is bounded by Tibet in the north, by Darma Valley in the east, Chamoli District of Garhwal in the west and Danapur and Sira divisions of Pithoragarh District in the south. Johar Valley is also divided into Tolla Johar and Malla Johar. Johar Valley is drained by the Dhauli Ganga river. In *The Linguistic Survey of India* (1909) the language is said to have been spoken in five villages of Malla Johar and Malla Danapur. But as early as in 1953 R.P. Srivastava (1967), a famous Indian anthropologist, who also adds Goriphat to the Rangkas area, failed to find any speaker of it while conducting a survey of the area, and most of the local people did not believe that there had been another language spoken in Johar. However, an old man told him that he heard his father speaking such a language in Goriphat during their migration to Johar, and it was still said that speakers of Rangkas could be found in Malla Johar, i.e., the upper valley, but on our fieldtrip we found that the only traces of any TB language found were the village names like Ralam, Lwan, and Sumdu, and the surnames formed after their village names, such as Martolia. The neighbouring Darma and Byangs tribes consider the Rangkas their kin. The Darma people call them 'Chyanam', the Rangpo call them 'Kyonam' and the Byangs call them 'Canpa', which are names similar to those that are often found among the TB speakers in this area. The suffixes, such as /-nam/ and /-pa/, used in the names, are also typical of the suffixes found in the TB languages of this area. The word /nam/ means 'village, or home' in Rangpo as well as in some other Himalayan languages, and /-pa/ is the typical 'person' suffix among TB. It has also been found that some kinship terms and a few vocabulary items are of

TB origin. The speakers contacted claimed their linguistic and social identity to be one with the Kumauni speakers. So it is difficult to say that they spoke a language named Rangkas as such. In all possibilities it has died out already. A detailed study may reveal some traces of a TB substratum even though they have merged their identity with the dominant Kumauni people.

3.0 Sociolinguistic patterns and language use

As stated above, there are six TB languages in this region under study. These six languages are Rongpo, in Chamoli District, Jad, in Uttarkashi, and Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Darma and Raji, in Pithoragarh District. Garhwali is the dominant language in Chamoli and Uttarkashi districts and Kumauni is the dominant language in Pithoragarh District. Garhwali and Kumauni are both Indo-Aryan languages closely related to Hindi. Hindi is the official language of Uttar Pradesh and is widely used as a medium of education and instruction from primary school to the university level. All written communication, mass media, radio and television, political speeches, and formal and official discussions take place in Hindi. English is taught as one of the subjects at the high school level and some of the science subjects are also taught in English at the university level.

All the TB languages are used in the home with family members and friends from the same group. TB languages are not used in any type of written communication. Code switching and code mixing are very common. A coordinate and stable type of bilingualism must have existed for a long time. No one has been reported to be a monolingual in any age group among the speakers of TB languages. The populations of the villages are mixed; the speakers of TB languages are not living in isolated areas like in other hill areas in India. This increased pressure on the TB languages from the dominant languages around them has already caused the displacement of Rangkas by Kumauni.

The TB people are basically traders and agriculturists by profession. Due to their proximity to Tibet, the male members of all the groups except Raji have been trading with Tibet, but the trade was stopped after the Indo-Chinese conflict. Now efforts are being made to revive the trade links. Some older male members have been found to have some working knowledge of Tibetan as well. Some speakers of Byangsi, Darma, and Chaudangsi have also been found to have command of Nepali as well. The border with Nepal is almost open and there are close links among the neighbours on both sides of the border. Migratory patterns of all the groups except the Raji are similar. During the summer they move upwards to the snowbound habitats and during winter they move downwards. They maintain two homes. Even schools and administrative officials used to migrate. Now these migrations are limited to the native people, as the government administration does not migrate to the uphill areas. Even among the tribal people the migrations are on the decline, as stated earlier.

The trade with Tibet operated on a barter system. From India they used to carry salt, cloth, sugar and tea; and in exchange used to bring wool, goats and sheep. The migrations and trade have played a major role in the development of bilingualism.

The TB speakers are called different names by the different neighbouring groups. Bhot or Bhotia is a cover term for all the groups and this name is used in official records. But it is interesting to note that Raji is not included under this term. The Nepali call the TB people of this area 'Sauka', and the Tibetans call them 'Jaba'. The TB speakers also have their own names for their neighbours and for themselves. The cover term for the Byangs, Chaudangs, Darma and Rangpo is 'Rang', and a common name for all the languages is 'Ranglo' or 'Rang

Bhasa'. It is interesting to find that the term 'Rang' includes the now extinct language speakers Rangkas but not the Raji. The root /raŋ-/ in most of these languages means 'to sell'. This meaning goes well with their trading profession. The TB speakers in Pithoragarh District call the Kumauni speakers /walən/. This name is not very much welcomed by the dominant population. Apart from this they are also known by other terms.

The Jad practice Buddhism and the Raji follow their own system of religious beliefs. All other groups practice the Hindu religion. The modes of dress and other ways of living of the dominant Garhwalis and Kumaunis are being copied by the TB speakers. But there is no codified form of religion followed by the TB speakers. Most marriages among the TB speakers take place within their respective groups but intergroup marriages are not unknown.

4.0 Bilingualism and Diglossia

The sociolinguistic patterns described above reveal that the TB speakers in this area are in close contact with the dominant speakers of Garhwali and Kumauni in their oral communication and with Hindi in written and spoken modes due to the nature of the socio-political and educational systems. The TB speakers start learning both their native languages and Kumauni or Garhwali simultaneously. Native languages are learnt at home within the family and Garhwali or Kumauni is learnt from friends outside the home. There is a clearcut demarcation of domains of L1 and L2, L1 being one of the respective TB languages and L2 being either Garhwali or Kumauni. Hindi is learnt at schools and is spoken with officials and teachers who do not know Garhwali or Kumauni. For all written communication Hindi is used. There is an increasing amount of code switching between Hindi and Kumauni/Garhwali in discussions, both formal and informal. Hindi enjoys high prestige and the TB languages have low prestige. According to Fishman's (1972) definition of diglossia, the TB languages, Kumauni, Garhwali and Hindi are distributed in a manner typical of diglossia. However, Ferguson's (1959) defining feature that the distribution must include varieties of the same language is not applicable. The groups are within the same political and economic entity.

There is a movement among the dominant Byangsi speakers to design a script for their language, and this movement has made the speakers of all the TB languages aware of their linguistic identities. This awareness will go a long way to preserving the native languages of these small populations. The native TB languages are maintained in the face of an increased number of domains being occupied by the majority languages and Hindi. If the present socio-political and economic situation, and the sociolinguistic patterns of language use continue to exist, it is possible to predict that the speakers of the TB languages in this region will eventually shift completely to the majority languages, though it may turn out that a stable bilingualism may continue to exist, preserving the TB languages.

5.0 Borrowings

All the TB languages under study are in close contact with the dominant majority languages Garhwali, Kumauni, and Hindi. Due to various factors such as better road transport, increased interaction with Hindi, educational and literacy movements, radio, television and mass media in Hindi, an increased number of jobs in various government offices and army camps, popular Hindi film songs, and the increased movement of tourists, the Indo-Aryan languages are making in-roads among the speakers of the minority TB languages. Rangkas is a good example of a language whose speakers shifted completely to

the majority language. There are a large number of borrowings in most of the TB languages from the majority languages. The amount of borrowings differs from language to language and from generation to generation. The largest number of borrowings from Garhwali are found in Rongpo in Chamoli District. It has been observed that the younger generation between the age group of 10-20 has a higher percentage of borrowings and the number decreases as we move upwards in age. Women have been found to be more conservative in terms of borrowing. An interesting fact about the borrowing is that when a lexical item is borrowed it is the monomorphemic root which is taken and suffixes and prefixes are added from the native languages. Sometimes forms are borrowed along with suffixes. The other languages like Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Darma, Raji and Jad have borrowed to a lesser degree. During our fieldwork, efforts were made to contact informants from the age group of 35 and above so that we could get the TB forms rather than the borrowed ones. However, the borrowings come to the mind of the speakers more easily. Informants have been found consulting their wives and mothers to ascertain the form they were giving for our recording.

A SKETCH OF RONGPO GRAMMAR*

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1.0. Introduction

Our data were collected mainly from the Marcha dialect, since the linguistic differences between Marcha and Tolcha are just at the phonetic level and the Tolcha speakers are numerically very few.

2.0. Rongpo Phonology

2.1. Vowel Phonemes

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i i:		u u:
HIGHER MID	e	ə	o
LOWER MID	ɛ		ɔ
LOW		a a:	

2.1.1. General features of vowels

I agree with Zoller (1983) that length is phonemic in three vowels, viz., /i u a/ and the vowels /e ɛ o ɔ/ are inherently long. But we also found that length in the second set of vowels is at least phonetically significant. It is interesting to note that this is lexically conditioned. Most of the adjectival roots and verbal roots have lengthened allophones. Moreover, the length contrasts are typically found in medial position. It is possible that the contrast is a matter of stress rather than in length in the case of adjectives, but this possibility has not been fully investigated yet.

No length contrasts are available finally but vowels in final position are relatively longer than their other counterpart allophones. It may be speculated that the length contrast must be the result of Indo-Aryan contact.

2.1.2. Initial vowels

/ə/			
/əgəR/	'if'	/əwu/	'potato'
/ənDa/	'egg'	/əb/	'now'
/əR/	'and'	/əl/	'yawn'

* I am grateful to the editors for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I would also like to thank my informants, Shri Awtār Singh Martolia (age 48), and his family members, Village and Post Chinka, district Chamoli. The author alone is responsible for errors and gaps if any.

Rongpo Grammar

/a/			
/aca/	'father's mother'	/aŋ/	'snow'
/an/	'sound or voice'	/apu/	'breast'
/aphi/	'oneself'	/amca/	'path'
/alu/	'floor, inside'	/arsi/	'mirror'
/aku/	'father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband'		
/a:/			
/a:ka/	'stool'	/a:pa/	'father'
/a:ma/	'mother',	/a:m/	'mango'
/a:ra:m/	'rest, cure'	/a:s/	'hope'
/a:na/	'father's sister'	/a:ta/	'elder sister'
/a:co/	'elder brother'	/a:ga:s/, /aga:s/	'sky'
/i/			
/in/	'1pl. pronoun'	/ina:m/	'prize'
/ila:j/	'cure'		
/i:/			
/i:b/	'sleep'	/i:n/	'oneself'
/u/			
/uŋ/	'stone'	/usu/	'a little bit'
/ucɔ/	'high'	/uttər/	'north'
/uda:s/	'sad'	/umər/	'age'
/urpəŋ/	'to wash'	/urspəŋ/	'to wash oneself'
/u:/			
/u:R/	'to fly'	/u:g/	'grow, increase'
/e/			
/e/	'hey!'	/eRi/	'heel'
/ɛ/			
/ɛb/	'vice'	/ɛs/	'sensual enjoyment'
/o/			
/oro/	'tomorrow'	/orĩa/	'smell'
/or/	'direction'	/õs/	'dew'
/ol/	'to knead'		
/ɔ/			
/ɔr/	'and'	/ɔtar/	'a name of a person'
/ɔjar/	'instrument'	/ɔri/	'good'

2.1.3. Medial vowels

/ə a a:/

/kəi/	'some, many'	/chəm/	'wool'
/jəd/	'a kind of wheat'	/phəl/	'fruit'
/rad/	'cow'	/nam/	'village'
/kar/	'castrated ram'	/than/	'today'
/cag/	'iron'	/mar/	'butter, ghee'
/pa:t/	'leaf'	/na:r/	'foot'
/bā:s/	'bamboo'	/jā:s/	'gold'
/ca:ma/	'daughter'		

/i i:/

/kim/	'house'	/din/	'went'
/ci:r/	'to saw'	/siŋ/	'wood'
/si:də/	'white'	/si:r/	'head'
/ti:r/	'arrow'		

/u u:/

/kui/	'fungus'	/khui/	'dog'
/phul/	'flower'	/mul/	'silver'
/phu:l/	'to bloom'	/yu:də/	'old'
/khum/	'pillor'	/ru:də/	'long'
/nu:də/	'new'		

/e ε/

/lhedə/	'yellow'	/pyec/	'bird'
/kheb/	'needle'	/seru/, /səru/	'lad, young boy'
/des/	'country'	/cheri/	'son'
/gɛtə/	'yours (sg.)'	/gɛ̃tə/	'yours (pl.)'
/jɛj/	'having eaten'	/chɛl/	'shade, shadow'

/o ɔ/

/joR/	'joint'	/gou/	'round'
/gõs/	'evening'	/thou/	'lips'
/loto/	'skin'	/roko/	'all'
/sod/	'cold'	/ghotə/	'whose'
/khoR/	'enclosure'	/kor/	'leprosy'
/nɔRi/	'butter'	/sət/	'step-mother'
/nɔnɔ/	'mother`s brother'	/jɔRo/	'root'
/cõr/	'yak'	/pɔR/	'rock'
/phɔRo/	'spade'		

2.1.4. Final vowels: /i e ε a ə u o ɔ/

/mi/	'person'	/pi/	'four'
------	----------	------	--------

/mhe/	'fire'	/gye/	'1sg pronoun'
/dɛ/	'curd'	/ŋɛ/	'five'
/bu/	'grain'	/yu/	'mother-in-law'
/go/	'a Garhwali male'	/gho/	'who'(rel. pronoun)
/gɔu-/	'melt' (vi.)	/nɔ/	'nine'
/lha/	'month'	/ma/	'sheep'
/si:də/	'white'	/lhedə/	'yellow'

In final position the vowel /ə/ (higher mid central), occurs typically in adjectives and in second person possessive (sg. and pl.) forms. Zollar (1983) had not noticed this fact. Examples:

/si:də/	'white'	/lhedə/	'yellow'
/rhu:də/	'long, tall'	/sodə/	'cold'
/tuntə/	'short'	/li:də/	'heavy'

It has also been noticed that, in examples where we have this vowel /ə/ finally, the preceding vowel (in a /cvcv/ pattern) is long. We noted earlier that length is phonemic only in the case of the vowels /i u a/ but in the case of the vowels /e ε o/ there is allophonic length restricted to these examples:

[lhe:də]	'yellow'	[so:də]	'cold'
[gɛ:tə]	'yours (sg.)'	[gɛ̃:tə]	'yours' (pl.)

2.1.5. Diphthongs

The following diphthongs have been found in our data:

	ə	a	a:	ɛ	o	ɔ	u	u:
i	əi	ai	a:i	ɛi	oi	ɔi	ui	u:i
u	uə/uə	au	a:u	uɛ	ou/uo	uɔ		
a		ua	u:a					

Examples:

/la:u/	'saliva'	/mua:ri/	'bee'
/khui/	'dog'	/tai/, /ta:i/	'lock'
/jua/, /ju:a/	'gamble'	/tũĩ/	'drank'
/rui/	'cotton wool'	/su:a/	'a type of barley'
/muã/	'kiss'	/lua/	'lungs'
/kəi/	'many'	/tɔi/	'sole of foot'

It may be noted here that many of the diphthongs are found in borrowed items. The most common diphthongs are /ui/, /ua/, /u:a/, /ai/. The diphthongs [uɛ] and [uo] are formed by the addition of the singular and plural imperative suffixes, /-ɛ/ and /-ni/ respectively, to a root ending in /-o/, e.g. /so-/ 'to bring up, raise' > [suɛ] 'raise! (singular)', [suoni] 'raise (plural)'.

2.2. Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
STOPS:	p ph b bh	t th d dh			T Th D Dh	k kh g gh	
AFFRICATES:				c [tʃ] ch [tʃh] j [dʒ] jh [dʒh]			
FRICATIVES:			s	ʃ			h
NASALS:	m mh	n nh			N	ŋ	
TRILLS:			r rh		R		
LATERALS:			l lh				
SEMI-VOWELS:	w			y			

2.2.1. Some phonetic and distributional features of the consonant phonemes

The aspirated and murmured stops and affricates, and the murmured resonants /mh nh rh lh/, do not occur syllable-finally. The latter are resonants with breathy or murmured phonation like the murmured stops, commonly referred to as voiced aspirated stops. This type of resonant is also found in some of the Himalayan languages, such as Magar, Gurung and Newar.

The alveolar fricative /s/ has a palatal fricative allophone [ʃ] before a front vowel /i e ε/ or the semivowel /y/, e.g. /seru/ [ʃeru] 'boy', /si:də/ [ʃi:də] 'white', /se/ [ʃe] 'ablative marker'. Although [s] and [ʃ] are in contrast otherwise, e.g. /sa:-/ 'to send' vs. /ʃa/ 'meat', they seem to be in free variation in [ʃeru ~ seru] 'boy'.

2.2.2. Consonant Contrasts

/p ph b bh/

/pan-/	'to spin'	/phan-/	'to stitch'
/phag-/	'to break (of rope, thread)'	/bag-/	'to learn'
/bu/	'grain'	/bhu/	'snake, insect'

/m mh/

/ma/	'sheep'	/mha/	'not, no'
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/t th d dh/

/to-/	'to crush'	/tho-/	'to ask for'
/thõ-/	'to graze'	/dõ-/	'to graze(vi.)'
/di-/	'to go'	/dhi/	'this'

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/n nh/

/ni:r/ 'day'	/nhi:s/ 'two'
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/T Th D Dh/

/Tab/ 'bridle, rein'	/Thab-/ 'to winnow'
----------------------	---------------------

/Da:u/ 'wooden beam'	/Dha:u/ 'slope'
----------------------	-----------------

/N R/

Since the retroflex resonants /N R/ do not occur word-/syllable-initially, only the examples for medial and final contrasts are shown below.

/da:Na/ 'grain'	/da:Ra/ 'molar tooth'
-----------------	-----------------------

/gɔN-/ 'to count'	/gəR/ 'castle'
-------------------	----------------

/k kh g gh ŋ/

/kab/ 'when'	/khab-/ 'to cover'
--------------	--------------------

/go/ 'a person from Garhwal'	/gho/ 'who'
------------------------------	-------------

/gẽ/ '2pl. pronoun'	/ŋɛ/ 'five'
---------------------	-------------

/c ch j jh/

/ci:r-/ 'to sew'	/chi:r-/ 'to milk'
------------------	--------------------

/juTha/ 'impurity caused by eating or drinking'	/jhuTha/ 'lier'
---	-----------------

/s h/

/sid/ 'perfect'	/hid-/ 'to grind'
-----------------	-------------------

/r rh/

/rig/ 'bear'	/rhi:g/ 'louse'
--------------	-----------------

/l lh/

/la/ 'a vocative for calling'	/lha/ 'month; goat'
-------------------------------	---------------------

/w y/

/wã-/ 'to appear in sight'	/ya/ 'or'
----------------------------	-----------

2.2.3. Consonant clusters

All consonants except /mh nh N R ng rh lh/ can participate as the first members of a consonant cluster. Consonant clusters typically occur only initially. The second member of the consonant cluster is always /y/ or /w/. Medially consonant clusters are found at morpheme boundaries. These have not been treated as consonant clusters. We also find final consonant clusters such as /-(C)st/ in perfect participle forms. The suffix /-st/ seems to be the reduced form of the perfect participle suffix /-sit/. Some examples will be cited here but see the vocabulary list for more examples.

/kya:wa/ 'banana'	/khwətəŋ/ 'walnut'
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/khyagtə/	'sweet'	/khwəklo/	'hollow'
/gya/	'day'	/gwastə/	'when'
/ghwɔ/, /gho/	'what, who'	/cyag/	'iron'
/chyas/	'fat', rich'	/jya/	'tea'
/jwa:ba/	'a type of yak'		

2.3. Supra-segmental Phonemes

2.3.1. Nasalization

Nasalization is phonemic in Rongpo. Any vowel followed or preceded by a nasal consonant is automatically nasalized and it is not marked. But phonemic nasalization is heavier than the automatic nasalization. Examples:

/yu/	'beer; mother-in-law'	/yũ/	'age, year'
/dɔ/	'there'	/dɔ̃/	'graze (imp. sg.)'

2.3.2. Tones

We have established a two tone system for Rongpo, but it is difficult to find true minimal pairs to show the contrasts. These tones are high falling, marked with /â/, and level, which is not marked in our data. Examples:

/tâppəŋ/	'to beat'	/ta:pəŋ/	'to keep'
/Thâppəŋ/	'to winnow'	/khopəŋ/	'to harvest or to cut grass'
/khâppəŋ/	'to cover'	/gɔpəŋ/	'to melt'

The high falling tone may undergo a change in certain constructions. The high falling tone may be realized as a level tone, and the level tone may be realized as a high falling tone. Examples:

/tâppəŋ/	'to beat'	/tad/	(sg. imp. form)	/tɛni/	(pl. imp)
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With some verbs, such as /thiŋpəŋ/ 'to spread', there is a level tone on the first syllable of the verb but the imperative forms have a high falling tone both in the singular and plural imperative forms, i.e. /thîŋ/ (sg. imp.), /thîŋni/ (pl. imp.). Zoller (1983) also established a similar system of tones in Rongpo and he called these tones high tone and mid tone, but he did not mention the tone alternation.

2.4. Syllable types

Morphemes in Rongpo consist of the following syllable types:

/V/	/i/	'itself'	/VC/	/uŋ/	'stone'
/V:C/	/i:b/	'sleep'	/VCV/	/usu/	'a little bit (of liquid)'
/VCV:C/	/uda:s/	'sad'	/CV/	/mi/	'person'
/CVC/	/thal/	'back'	/CCVC/	/cyag/	'iron'

3.0. Grammar

3.1. Nouns

Nouns are mostly composed of monosyllabic bases with suffixes of various types. Many words have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources along with suffixes. Nouns and pronouns are inflected for number and case.

3.2. Number

Most nouns take the plural suffix */-se/*; pronouns take */-te/* or */-tye/* and personal names take the suffix */-kε/*. This means that suffixes are lexically conditioned. The plural suffix can be added to borrowed words as well.

/lag/	'hand'	/lagse/	'hands'
/mi/	'person'	/mise/	'persons'
/dhi/	'this'	/dhitye/	'these'
/mækru/	'a name'	/mækrukε/	'Makrus'
/yogi/	'yogi'	/yogise/	'yogis'
/uŋ/	'stone'	/uŋse/	'stones'

3.3. Gender

Basically gender is lexically marked in TB languages. Examples:

/a:pa/	'father'	/a:ma/	'mother'
/la:pa/	'father's elder brother'	/la:ma/	'father's eld. bro's wife'
/momo/	'mother's mother'	/popo/	'mother's father'

From the examples above it may appear that */-pa/* or */-po/* marks masculine gender and */-ma/* or */-mo/* marks feminine gender, but these relationships do not hold in other cases, such as */byəd/* 'brother', */rhinja/* 'sister', */rhu/* 'father-in-law', */yu/* 'mother-in-law'. A second pattern is borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Examples:

/kyʃTɔ/	'young boy'	/kēTi/	'young girl'
/da:s/	'slave'	/da:si/	'female slave'
/ra:ja:/	'king'	/ra:Ni/	'queen'
/dyɔ/	'god'	/debi/	'goddess'

3.4. Case

A noun or a pronoun may be inflected for the following cases: agentive/instrumental, accusative/dative, ablative, and genitive. A case suffix may be added to a singular nominal base and in the plural form it is added after the plural suffix. The case suffixes are the same in both singular and plural forms except for the dative plural forms. In the case of the personal pronouns, a special root form is used before some of the case marking suffixes (see below). The chart below gives the forms of the case marking suffixes:

Nominative	zero
Agentive/Instrumental	-jə
Dative	-ru (singular), -nu (plural)

Ablative	-se
Genitive	-tə

3.5. Examples of case marking

/gye/ '1sg pronoun'

	sg.	pl.
Nom.	gye	in
Agentive	gye-jə	in-jə
Dative	gyi-ru	i-nu
Ablative	gyi-se	i-se
Genitive	gyi-tə	in-tə

/gən/ '2sg pronoun'

Nom.	gən	gẽ
Agentive	gən-jə	gẽ-jə
Dative	gɛ-ru	gẽ-ru, gẽ-nu
Ablative	gɛ-se	gẽ-se
Genitive	gɛ-tə	gɛ-tə

/dhɛ/ '3sg pronoun, distal demonstrative'

Nom.	dhɛ	dhɛtye
Agentive	dhɛ-jə	dhətɛ-jə, dhɛtɛ-jə
Dative	dho-ru, dhɛ-ru	dhətɛ-ru, dhətyo-nu
Ablative	dhɛ-se	dhɛ-se
Genitive	dhɛ-tə	dhətɛ-tə, dhɛ-tə

/seru/ 'boy'

Nom.	seru	seru-se
Agentive	seru-jə	serũ-jə
Dative	seru-ru	seru-nu
Ablative	seru-se	serũ-se
Genitive	seru-tə	serũ-tə

/lag/ 'hand'

Nominative	lag	lag-se
Instrumental	lag-jə	lagẽ-jə
Dative	lag-ru	lagse-nu, lagẽ-nu
Ablative	lag-se	lagse-se
Genitive	lag-tə	lagse-tə, lagẽ-tə

/rad/ 'cow'

Nominative	rad	radse
Agentive	raj-jə	radẽ-jə
Dative	rad-ru	radẽ-nu
Genitive	rat-tə	radẽ-tə

/uŋ/ 'stone'

Nominative	uŋ	uŋse
Instrumental	uŋ-jə	uŋsɛ̃-jə
Dative	uŋ-ru	uŋsɛ̃-nu
Genitive	uŋ-tə	uŋsɛ̃-tə

Examples of usage:

The agentive/instrumental case marker /-jə/ marks an agent or instrument. If both agent and instrument appear in the same sentence, this case marker may appear twice, as in the second and fourth examples below.

/jəggu	khui-ru	uŋ-jə	tadi/	'Jaggu beat the dog with a stone.'
Jaggu	dog-DAT	stone-INST	beat	

/a:ma-jə	seru-ru	lag-jə	tadi/	'The mother beat the child with her hand.'
mother-ERG	boy-DAT	hand-INST	beat	

/gye	jãThe-jə	ka:m	ləcəŋ/	'I work with a stick.'
I	stick-INST	work	do	

/dhɛ-jə	gyi-ru	uŋ-jə	tadi/	'He beat me with stone.'
he-ERG	I-DAT	stone-INST	beat	

Subjects of transitive verbs also take the agentive case marker in the past:

/gye-jə	tũki/	'I drank.'
I-ERG	drank	

/mækru-jə	ra:mru	lhama	dhɛ/	'Makru gave Ram a goat.'
Makru-ERG	Ram-DAT	goat	gave	

/gye-jə	dhɛ-ru	rhapəŋ-ru	lwɛki/	'I asked him to come.'
I-ERG	he-DAT	come-DAT	said	

/in-jə	tũ:n/	'We drank.'
we-ERG	drank	

/gan-jə jakhyan/	'You ate.'
you-ERG	ate

Optionally, the case marker is also added to past tense verb forms as well:

/in-jə jɛkhyan-jə/
we-ERG ate-ERG 'We ate.'

/gən-jə tuĩ-jə/
you-ERG drank-ERG 'You drank.'

/dhətẽ-jə tũpĩ-jə/
they-ERG drank-ERG 'They drank.'

In passive constructions when the subject is placed in genitive the verb also takes the agentive case marker:

/gyi-tə tũĩ-jə/
I-GEN drink+PAST-ERG 'This has been drunk by me.'

/gɛ-tə tũpyã-jə/
you-ERG drink+PAST-ERG 'This had been drunk by you.'

/in-tə japĩ:-jə/
we-GEN eat+PAST-ERG 'This had been eaten by us.'

The dative case marker /ru/ is added to singular forms, while /nu/ is added to plural pronouns. This case marker is used on dative arguments and on animate patient/theme arguments. It can also appear on some subordinate verbs, as in the eighth example below.

/jəggu-ru coT lagɛ/
Jaggu-DAT hurt got 'Jaggu got hurt.'

/inu khyeni/
we-DAT give+IMP 'Give us.'

/ra:mu-jə dhətɛ-nu kita:b khi/
Ramu-ERG they-DAT book gave 'Ramu gave a book to them.'

/ra:m-jə apnɔ-ru tadi/
Ram-ERG self-DAT beat 'Ram beat himself.'

/jəggu-ke-nu kita:b-se dhani/
Jaggu-pl.-DAT book.-pl. give+IMP 'Give books to Jaggu's.'

/mækru-jə ra:m-ru lha:ma dhɛ/
Makru-ERG Ram-DAT goat gave 'Makru gave Ram a goat.'

/seru-se kẽTi-nu lhapca dhɛ/
boy-pl. girls-DAT rings gave 'Boys gave girls rings.'

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/gye-jə dhε-ru rhapɔŋ-ru luehi/ 'I asked him to come.'
I-ERG he-DAT come-DAT said

/dhɛtyetighati-ru tadi/ 'They beat each other.'
they each.other-DAT beat

/jəɡɡu-kɛ-nu kita:b-se dhani/ 'Give books to Jaggu's.'
Jaggu-pl.-DAT book-pl. give+IMP

The genitive case marker /-tə/ gives the sense of possession or is used to show that one noun modifies another:

/dhi lha:mə gyi-tə hini/ 'This goat is mine.'
this goat I-GEN is

/dhi khui gho-tə hini/ 'Whose dog is this?'
this dog who-GEN is

/dhi khui məkru-tə hin/ 'This dog is Makru's.'
this dog Makru-GEN is

/jəɡɡu məkru-tə byəd hini/ 'Jaggu is Makru's brother.'
Jaggu Makru-GEN brother is

/dhi rokuɛ-tə hini/ 'This belongs to all.'
this all-GEN is

/seru-tənamfa/ 'son's wife'
boy-GEN wife

/a:pa-təlag/ 'father's hand'
father-GEN hand

/siŋ-tə ca:rpai/ 'wooden cot'
wood-GEN cot

/uŋ-tə kim/ 'house of stone'
stone-GEN house

The ablative marker /se/ marks a source.

/gye dhi məkru-se yənki/ 'I heard this from Makru.'
I this Makru-ABL heard

Aside from these case markers, there is a relational marker of possession which is also used for a type of allative, /dəb/:

/gyi-dəb I-to	kita:b-se book-pl.	hini/ is	'I have books.'
/gyi-dəb I-to	khui dog	yã/ is	'I have a dog.'
/jəggu-dəb Jaggu-to	tig one	khui yã/ dog is	'Jaggu has a dog.'
/dhε he	ra:m-dəb Ram-to	di/ went	'He went to Ram.'

3.6. Personal pronouns

There are only two persons marked by distinct personal pronouns in the Marcha dialect. As in many TB languages, the third person is represented by demonstrative pronouns.

First person	sg. gye	pl. in
Second person	gən	gẽ
Third person/demonstrative		
a) Proximate	dhi	dhitye
b) Remote	dhε	dhetye
Demonstrative for inanimate objects:		
a) Proximate:	di	
b) Remote :	dhu	

3.7. Interrogative pronouns

/khyoru/	'why'	/gho/	'who'
/khye/	'what'	/khye khye/	'what (emphatic form)'

3.8. Adverbial pronouns

Place adverbs:

/gu/	'where'	/gukari/	'somewhere'
/du/	'here'	/dɔ/	'there'

Place definitive:

/du du/	'at this fixed point'	/dɔ dɔ/	'at that point'
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Time adverbials:

/guast/	'when'	/guastari/	'sometimes'
/əb/	'now'	/daga:t/	'at that time'
/khyat/	'at what time'		

Manner adverbials:

/khimi/ 'how' /dimi/ 'like this' /dəmi/ 'like that'²

3.9. Indefinite pronouns

/kheri/ 'some' /ghori/ 'anyone, some, any'
/khebi/ 'anything'

3.10. Relative pronoun

The form of the relative clause as well as the relative pronouns are borrowed from Indo-Aryan. The relative pronouns, /ghuə/ or /gho/ 'who, which, whosoever', /gu/ 'where' follow the head of the construction, and the relative clause follows the relative pronoun. Any argument may be relativized on. Case marking may appear on the relative pronoun to clarify the semantic relationships. Examples (the semantic role of the argument relativized on is given to the left of the translation):

/dhe kyẽTi gho Dya:ra ka:m læœ/
that girl who house work doing
'that girl who is working in the house' (agent)

/dhe mi gho-jə dhi sueTər bəNɛjə/
this man who-ERG this sweater made
'that man who made the sweater' (agent)

/dhi sueTər gho-ru məkru bu:Ncẽ/
this sweater which-DAT makru is making
'the sweater which Makru is making' (patient)

/dhi ja:ga: gu gye huncihĩ/
this place where I sit+PAST
'the place where I sat' (location)

/dhi mi gho-jə lha:ma-ru sadi/
this man who-ERG sheep-DAT kill
'the man who killed the sheep' (agent)

/dhi mi gho-ru bhu-jə kadi/
this man who-DAT snake-ERG bit
'the man whom the snake bit' (patient)

/dhi seru gho nam-ru di/
this boy who village-DAT went
'the boy who went to the village' (agent/theme of intransitive)

²/də/ in /dəmi/ appears to be a reduced form of the demonstrative /dhu/.

/dhi	thəmo	gho	sib	a:pa-jə	ri:-ru	sadi/
this	sickle	which	with	father-ERG	bear-DAT	kill
'the sickle with which the father killed the bear'						(instrument)

/dhi	kim	gu	məkru	hũkan/	
this	house	where	Makru	live	
'the house where Makru lives'					(location)

There is also an older, native form of relative clause, in which there is no relative pronoun, and the relative clause (often simply a nominalized verb) appears before the head:

/tũ-t	mi/	'drinking man' (the man who drinks)
drink-NOM	person	

/di-t	wa:wo/	'one who goes'
go-NOM	one (person)	

3.11. Emphatic pronouns

First person	sg.	gye i:n	'I myself'
	pl.	in i:n	'we ourselves'
Second person	sg.	gən gənən	'you yourself'
	pl.	gẽ gẽn	'you yourself'
Third person	sg.	dhɛ i:n	'he/she himself/herself'
	pl.	dhɛtye isẽn	'they themselves'

These pronouns are only used for emphasis; they are not used in reflexive constructions. Examples of usage:

/gye	gyi-tə	lən	i:n	lacan/	'I will do my work myself.'
I	I-GEN	work	self	will.do	

/gən	gẽ-tə	lən	gənən	lɛ/	'You do your work yourself.'
you	you-GEN	work	self	do+IMP	

/dhɛtye	isẽ-tə	lən	isẽn	lɛtin/	'They will do their work themselves.'
they	one-GEN	work	self	do+FUT	

/dhɛ	i:n	rhatti/	'He himself will come.'
he	himself	come+FUT	

/in	i:n	rhata:/	'We ourselves will come.'
we	ourselves	come+FUT	

3.12. Reflexive pronoun

For reflexives we have only one example (following). It isn't clear if there is only one such reflexive pronoun or if there is a whole set. Zoller (p. 40) gives /əpəŋɔ/ (sing. & plural: 'Beide Worter sind') and /ist/ (sing.) /isēt/ (pl.) ('gleichermassen gebräuchlich'). The form seems to be that of a normal transitive with a dative-marked animate patient (see the examples in §3.5 above), except that the patient is represented by the pronoun for 'self'.

/ra:m-jə	apnɔ-ru	tadi/	'Ram beat himself.'
Ram-ERG	self-DAT	beat	

3.13. Reciprocals

Reciprocals also seem to take the same normal transitive form, but in this case the patient is represented by the expression /tig-hati/ (one-other/next) 'one another'.

/dhetyetighati-ru	tadi/	'They beat each other.'
they	each.other-DAT	beat

3.14. Formation of nouns

Apart from monomorphemic nominals stems, nouns may be formed with the help of suffixes. The typical native suffixes are /-pa/, /-pɔ/, /-ba/, /-mɔ/, /-ma/, /-mi/, /-ka/, /-ci/, and /-ca/. Monosyllabic nouns have the following syllabic patterns:

VC:	/aŋ/	'snow'	/uŋ/	'stone'	/a:m/	'mango'
CV:	/ti/	'water'	/ga/	'rice'	/dɛ/	'curd'
CCV:	/fa/	'meat'	/khui/	'dog'	/cya:-/	'to press'
CVC:	/than/	'today'	/mig/	'eye'	/phan-/	'to sew'
CCVC:	/byəd/	'brother'	/nyhac/	'to dance'	/khyar-/	'to talk'

In the case of the above suffixes, an exact meaning can not be assigned. Possibly we can call them nominalizing suffixes. Examples:

/chinpa/	'liver'	/rɔŋpɔ/	'Rangpa people or language'
/jua:ba/	'a hybrid yak'	/khulmɔ/	'hay'
/ca:ma/	'daughter'	/nipca/	'rat'
/a:ma/	'mother'	/jumi/	'a type of hybrid yak'
/la:ma/	'father's elder brother's wife' ³	/nhimci/	'nose'
/a:ka/	'stool'		

/-pa/ can also function as a derivative suffix to derive nouns from abstract nouns, such as a person hailing from a place. The suffix /-ci/ also gives the sense of 'belonging to'.

/nad/	'sickness'	/nadpa/	'a sick person'
/byaŋ/	'Tibet'	/byaŋpa/	'a person from Tibet'

³/-ma/ has also been treated as a feminine marker and /-pa/ as a masculine marker in kinship terms.

/sõsa/	'a village name'	/sõspa/	'a person from /sõsa/'
/nam/	'village'	/namci/	'villager'

There is a large body of borrowed words along with affixes from Indo-Aryan sources. These words are marked in the vocabulary with 'IA'.

In kinship terms we find an interesting suffix added for giving respect to the kin one is addressing. The examples are: /a:pa/ > /apniŋ/ or /ɛniŋ/ 'father', /a:ma/ > /amniŋ/ 'mother', /byəd/ > /byəniŋ/ 'brother. Some morpho-phonemic changes take place as can be seen from the examples given.

3.15. Numerals

Rongpo has just six cardinal numbers of native origin; all others have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources. These are /tig/ 'one', /nhi:s/ 'two', /sum/ 'three', /pi/ 'four', /ŋa/ 'five', /gya/ 'hundred'. Numerals above one hundred are also borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Examples: /ek sɔ ek/ 'one hundred one', /piso/ 'four hundred', /həja:r/ 'one thousand', /la:kh/ 'one lac'.

Ordinals are formed with the suffix /-pɔ/, e.g. /sumpɔ/ 'third', /pipɔ/ 'fourth', /a:Thpɔ/ 'eighth.'

In the case of 'first' and 'second', the forms used have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources: /pəlo/ 'first', /dusro/ 'second'.

Multiplicatives are also formed using the Indo-Aryan system: the suffix /-Na/ or /-guNa:/ is added to the numeral, e.g. /duNa:/ 'two times', /sum guNa:/ 'three times', /pi guNa:/ 'four times', /dəs guNa:/ 'ten times'.

In order to express things and persons in the sense of 'both' or 'all three', etc., the plural suffix /-se/ is added to the numeral, e.g. /sumse/ 'all three', /nhi:sse/ 'both'.

4.0. Adjectives

Typical adjectival suffixes are /-tə/, /-də/, /-du/, /-tu/, /-t/, /-d/, /-ba/. Native adjectives do not inflect for number and gender but adjectives borrowed from Indo-Aryan inflect for these categories. (For the attributive use of adjectives, see §10.0.) Examples of native adjectives:

/tuntə/	'short'	/məŋdə/	'red'	/khyagtə/	'sweet'
/sod/	'cold'	/chat/	'warm'	/pĩsit/	'full'
/fərba/	'young'	/rhu:də/	'tall'	/yaŋdu/	'light' (in weight)
/bya:du/	'thin' (flat objects)	/lagtə/	'thin' (long objects)		

Adjectives may be formed by reduplication, e.g., /ci:ci/ 'small, a little bit' (solid things); /cəlcəlo/ 'bright'.

Aside from the type of adjectives listed above, there is another type of native adjective which includes adjectives that do not have the typical suffixes noted above. Moreover, they do not form any pattern except that most of them end in a vowel.

/labu/	'big'	/usu/	'a little'	/mhast/	'more, many'
/chawo/	'clear'	/ori/,/ɔri/	'good'	/khəsũ/	'dull'

/dhε kim nu:də yã/ 'That house is new.'

/dhi nam yu:də yã/	'This village is old.'
/dhi nam ci:ci yu:də yã/	'This village is a little old.'
/makru ɔri yã/	'Makru is good.'
/makru mhasɔ ɔri yã/	'Makru is very good.'

4.1. Borrowed adjectives

The number of adjectives borrowed from IA languages like Garhwali, Kumauni and Hindi is growing day by day. Examples:

/muskil/ 'difficult'	/kha:li/ 'empty'	/sẽgo/ 'easy'
/khara:b/ 'bad'	/gou/ 'round'	/nilo/ 'blue'
/həryo/ 'green'	/sãŋNu/ 'narrow'	/Dhono/ 'hollow'

Some adjectives follow the IA system of agreement with regard to number and gender. Examples:

/nilo kəpRo/ 'blue cloth (masc.sg.)'	/nile kəpRe/ 'blue clothes (masc. pl.)'
/nili Topi/ 'blue cap (fem.sg.)'	/nili Topiyã/ 'blue clothes (fem. pl.)'

5.0. Adverbs

Pronominal adverbials have been listed in the section on adverbial pronouns (§3.8).

5.1. Temporal adverbials

(a) Monosyllabic:

/nya:r/ 'yesterday'	/than/ 'today'	/oro/ 'tomorrow'
/dhã/ 'now'	/lyɔN/ 'later'	

(b) Composite forms:

/ba:-gya/	'two days after tomorrow'
/thiŋ-gya/	'three days after tomorrow'
/luŋ-gya/	'four days after tomorrow'
/cuŋ-gya/	'five days after tomorrow'
/thamiŋ/	'the day before yesterday'
/othamiŋ/	'all other days before yesterday'
/thəmiŋ/	'this year'
/naniŋ/	'last year'
/dhi:ŋ/	'the year before last year'

5.2. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner are mostly formed with the suffixes /-lɛ/ and /-li/.

/Tuplɛ/ 'quietly'	/sɔ-sɔlɛ/ 'slowly'	/yakhuli/ 'alone'
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It was found that the following formations were commonly used by children while playing some game in the form of teams of two, three, four and so on:

/dɔkhuli/ 'in twos'

/tyakhuli/ 'in threes'

/cɔkhuli/ 'in fours'

6.0. Postpositions

Zoller (1983) treated all case markers and postpositions as postpositions only. We earlier discussed some of the case relation markers. These are the nominative, expressed by a zero suffix, the instrumental and agentive /-jə/, the ablative /-se/, the dative singular /-ru/ and plural /-nu/, and the genitive /-tə/. The postpositions to be discussed here generally are not case markers, but are locative nouns which follow a noun in the genitive case. Some postpositions can follow nouns in the nominative case. The postpositions /wa:sta/ 'for', /pyər/ 'on', and a few others are borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources. Examples:

/naca:r/	'before'	/lyɔN/	'behind, after'
/hərkū/	'this side, sideways'	/gyərķū/	'that side'
/pɔŋco/	'below'	/kalco/	'above'
/pa:N/	'below the speaker'	/nhamca:r/	'front, before'
/alu/	'inside'	/dagar/	'outside'
/ha:r/	'a little away'	/kalcə/	'on from'
/kal/	'on, in'	/se wado/	'away from'
/lithɔ/	'near'	/kildu/	'in the middle'
/wa:sta/	'for'	/dhipu/	'this side'
/rhapu/	'across'	/su/	'since'
/sib/	'along with; instrumental'		

Examples:

/naca:r/		'before' (takes a nominative NP)
/dhɛ jəpəŋ naca:r rhɛ/		'He came before eating.'
he eat-NOM before came		

/lyɔN/		'behind, after' (takes a genitive NP)
/jəggu gyi-tə lyɔN yā/		'Jaggu is behind me.'
Jaggu I-GEN behind is		

/hərkū/		'this side; sideways' (takes a genitive NP)
/kim-tə hərkū khye yī/		'What was there, this side of the house'
house-GEN this.side what is		

/gyərķū/		'that side; sideways' (takes a genitive NP)
/kim-tə gyərķū/		'that side of the house'
house-GEN that side		

/pɔŋco/		'under something' (takes a genitive NP)
/uŋ-tə pɔŋcə/		'under the stone'
stone-GEN under		

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/kalco/		'above' (takes a genitive NP)
/uŋ-tə	kalco/	'above the stone'
stone-GEN	above	
/pa:N/		'in, inside of' (takes a nominative NP)
/jhoye pa:N/		'inside the bag'
/kēTi	gəRəm pa:N nhasi/	'The girl fell into the river.'
girl	river in fell	
/nhamca:r/		'in front of' (takes a genitive NP)
/dhε	gyi-tə nhamca:r yã/	'He is in front of me.'
he	I-GEN front is	
/alu/		'inside, on' (takes a nominative NP)
/jəggu	alu huncti/	'Jaggu was sitting inside.' (house, etc.)
Jaggu	inside sit:was	
/kita:b	mej alu yã/	'The book is on the table.'
book	table on is	
/da:gar/		'outside' (takes nom. or gen. NP)
/seru-se	Dya:ra dagar hini/	'Boys are outside the house.'
boy-pl.	house outside is	
/ha:r/		'away' (takes a nominative NP)
/mej	kal-cə kita:b ha:r tāNε/	'Remove the book from the table.'
table	on-from book away remove	
(cf. /dhε ha:r di/ [he away went] 'He went away')		
/kal/		'on, in' (takes a nominative NP)
/Dalo kal/		'on the tree'
/pijag	rhigər kal yã/	'The seed is in the field.'
seed	field in is	
/gye	məkru amca kal chisi/	'I met Makru on the way.'
I	Makru way on met	
/kal-cə/		'on from' (takes a nominative NP)
/mej	kal-cə kita:b ha:r tāNε/	'Remove the book from the table.'
table	on-from book away remove	
/seru	Dalo kal-cə nhasi/	'The boy fell from the tree.'
boy	tree on-from fell	
/lithə/		'near' (takes a genitive NP)
/dhε	gyi-tə lithə yã/	'He is nearby me.'
he	I-GEN near is	

/se wado/ /mækru ra:m se wado di/ Makru Ram away.from went	'away from' (takes a nominative NP) 'Makru went away from Ram.'
/wa:sta/ /dhi ra:m-ru wa:sta yã/ this Ram-DAT for is	'for' (takes a dative NP) 'This is for Ram.'
/kildu/ /mi gəRəm kildu nhasi/ man river middle fell /gɛ-tə dɔ̃ gyi-tə kildu gho yã/ you-GEN and I-GEN between who is	'in the middle, between' (nom. or gen. NP) 'The man fell in the middle of the river' 'Who is between you and me?'
/rhapu/ 'across' (takes a nominative NP) /in-tə nam gəRəm rhapu yã/ we-GEN village river across is	'Our village is across the river'
/dhipu/ 'this side' (takes a nominative NP) /gɛ-tə nam gəRəm dhipu yã/ you-GEN village river this.side is	'Your village is this side of the river'
/sib/ /gye ra:m sib diki/ I Ram with went /dhɛ thɔmo sib ci ka:Tɛ/ he sickle with grass cut	'along with, instrumental' (takes nom. NP) 'I went with Ram' 'He cut the grass with a sickle.'
/su/ /dhɛ pi-gya su du yã/ he four-day since here is	'since' (takes a nominative NP) 'He is here since four days ago.'

7.0. Echo-formations

Echo-formations are very productive, as in the surrounding Indo-Aryan languages, and express plurality or 'and others'. We will give the dominant patterns found in Rongpo.

Nouns:

/khui/	'dog'	/khui-hui/	'dogs'
/lha:mo/	'goat'	/lha:mo-wa:mo/	'goats'
/kim/	'house'	/kim-him/	'houses'
/bhu/	'snake'	/bhu-hu/	'snakes'
/rhinja/	'sister'	/rhinja-minja/	'sisters'
/seru/	'lad, child'	/seru-meru/	'children'

Adjectives:

/ɔri/	'good'	/ɔri-mɔri/
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/məŋdə/	'red'	/məŋdə-wəŋdə/
/nu:də/	'new'	/nu:də-mu:də/

Verbs:

/dipəŋ/	'to go'	/dipəŋ-hipəŋ/
/tūpəŋ/	'to drink'	/tūpəŋ-təpəŋ/
/urspəŋ/	'to bathe'	/urspəŋ-arspəŋ/
/yənpəŋ/	'to hear'	/yənpəŋ-hyənpəŋ/
/yūpəŋ/	'to walk'	/yūpəŋ-hyūpəŋ/ or /yāpəŋ/

8.0. The verb

Rongpo verb roots may be classified as transitive and intransitive. Some of the pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished by a suffix added to the transitive verb base. In some cases morphophonemic changes take place. There are other ways to effect the distinction as well:⁴

The suffix /-s/ is added to a transitive base to derive a intransitive base. This also has reflexive and middle uses as well.⁵ Examples:

/sopəŋ/	'to raise'	>	/sospəŋ/	'to be raised'
/ta:pəŋ/	'to keep'	>	/ta:spəŋ/	'to be kept'
/ghopəŋ/	'to dissolve'	>	/ghospəŋ/	'to get dissolved'

In the examples above we have /so-/, /ta-/, and /gho-/ as the transitive bases and /sos-/, /tas-/, and /ghos-/ as the intransitive bases, and /-pəŋ/ as the infinitive marker. It is very interesting to find that this process of extension of bases is extended to some of the borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages as well. Examples:

/phoRpəŋ/	'to break (stone, coconut, utensil or round objects)'
/phoRspəŋ/	'to be broken (in the above sense only)'

In the following cases a morphophonemic change often takes place. When a transitive base ends in a final consonant or consonant cluster, the consonant or cluster is often dropped, with nasalization of the base vowel if the cluster included the nasal consonant /n/, when the /-s/ suffix is added to the base.

/punpəŋ/	'to cook'	>	/pūspəŋ/	'to be cooked'
/huncpəŋ/	'to sit'	>	/hūspəŋ/	'to be seated'
/pinpəŋ/	'to fill'	>	/pĩ:spəŋ/	'to be filled up'

⁴Editor's note: Aside from the forms mentioned here, there seems to also be a transitivizing suffix /a:/, the addition of which shortens a long root vowel, e.g. /pa:k-/ 'ripen (vi.)' > [pəka:-] 'ripen (vt.)'; /su:ŋ-/ 'smell (vi.)' > [suŋa:-] 'smell (vt.)'; /jhu:l-/ 'swing (vi.)' > [jhula:-] 'swing (vt.)'. In at least one case it seems to affect a root vowel rather than being a suffix: /bigəR-/ 'spoil (vi.)' > [biga:R-] 'spoil (vt.)'. It may be this affix only appears in IA loan words.

⁵Editor's note: See LaPolla 1996 for a discussion of reflexive/middle marking in Tibeto-Burman, and LaPolla 2000, in press, for examples from Rawang and Dulong.

/nharpəŋ/	'to throw'	>	/nhaspəŋ/	'to fall'
/phagpəŋ/	'to break (thread, rope)'	>	/phaspəŋ/	'to be broken'
/pinpəŋ/	'to fill'	>	/pĩspəŋ/	'to get filled up by itself' (by some natural process)
/urpəŋ/	'to wash'	>	/uspəŋ/	'to wash oneself, to be washed'

There is a similar process of extension of some verbal bases but it has no grammatical or semantic content. We may say that it is a kind of free variation which is significant for the understanding of some of the morphophonemic changes. Examples:

/gya:kcəŋ/ or /gya:pəŋ/	'to be broken'
/darəŋ/ or /darpəŋ/	'to tremble'
/nhya:cəŋ/ or /nhya:pəŋ/	'to dance'
/lyacəŋ/ or /lyappəŋ/	'to get burnt'

The suffix /-c/ appears in certain verb forms, such as in the imperative. For example, the imperative forms of /nhya:pəŋ/ 'to dance' are /nhya:ci/ and /nhya:cini/ for singular and plural respectively. The /-c/ element in the imperative forms can not be explained. Moreover there are many examples of this type. One might speculate that a historical change has taken place in some verb base forms and in other forms it has not yet taken effect, or the /c/ element is important for maintaining some distinctions in imperative forms but it does not matter in the case of infinitive forms, where it is in free variation.

The transitive-intransitive distinction is also sometimes indicated by a distinction between a voiced initial consonant in the case of intransitive verb stems and voiceless aspirated consonants in the case of transitive verb stems. Examples:

/thɔ̃pəŋ/	'to graze (vt.)'	/dɔ̃pəŋ/	'graze (vi.)'
/phagpəŋ/	'to break (vt.)'	/bagpəŋ/	'to be broken (thread) (vi.)'
/phuəlpəŋ/	'to open (vt.)'	/buəlpəŋ/	'to be opened (vi.)'

In borrowed verb stems the distinction between transitive and intransitive is kept as it is in the donor language, e.g.,

/ha:rpəŋ/	'to be defeated'	/həra:pəŋ/	'to defeat'
/həlpəŋ/	'to get moved'	/həla:pəŋ/	'to move'
/lekhpəŋ/	'to write'	/lekha:pəŋ/	'to make someone write'

Borrowed verbs are treated as nouns and so must take some general native verb to be predicated.

8.1. Verb forms

A verb in Rongpo may have various forms depending on tense and mood. The dominant patterns of various verb forms, such as participles, gerunds, and moods are

described here. We shall also point out the morphophonemic changes which take place during the process of forming the different verb forms.

8.2. Imperative forms

There are several forms for the singular imperative. For some verb roots just the root is used with a rising intonation, since the imperative forms are basically single word sentences. Infinitive and singular imperative forms are given below:

a) Basic roots with intonation, singular forms:

/di-/	'to go'	/di/	'go!'
/rha-/	'to come'	/rha/	'come!'
/chɔ̃-/	'to buy'	/chɔ̃/	'buy!'
/yũ-/	'to walk'	/yũ/	'walk!'
/tũ-/	'to drink'	/tũ/	'drink!'
/lhe-/	'to take'	/lhe/	'take!'
/tər-/	'to finish'	/tər/	'finish!'
/rəŋ-/	'to sell'	/rəŋ/	'sell!'
/sig-/	'to wipe'	/sig/	'wipe!'
/ur-/	'to wash (clothes)'	/ur/	'wash! (clothes)'

b) Vocalic change in the verb root: Some verb roots ending in /ə, a, a:/ drop this vowel when the singular imperative suffix /-ε/ is added to the root.

/lə-/	'to do'	/lε/	'do!'
/jə-/	'to eat'	/jε/	'eat!'
/dha-/	'to give (to third person)'	/dhε/	'give!'
/sa:-/	'to send'	/sε/	'send!'
/ta:-/	'to keep'	/tε/	'keep!'
/piwa:-/	'to make drink'	/piwε/	'make drink!'

Exception to this rule:

/rha-/	'to come'	/rha/	'come!'
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c) Indo-Aryan roots ending in consonants simply add the singular imperative suffix /-ε/ to the base form of the verb. Examples:

/ka:T-/	'to cut'	/ka:Tε/	'cut!'
/lekh-/	'to write'	/lekhε/	'write!'
/ci:r-/	'to saw'	/ci:rε/	'saw!'
/həlk-/	'to move'	/həlkε/	'move!'

d) Verb roots ending in /-c/ or /-s/ take the singular imperative suffix /-i/ with or without vocalic change in the root. Examples:

/guc-/	'to sleep'	/guci/	'sleep!'
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/thos-/	'to wear (cap)'	/thosi/	'wear!'
/dārc-/	'to tremble'	/dārci/	'tremble!'
/sis-/	'to die'	/sīsi/	'die!'
/ghos-/	'to get dissolve'	/ghosi/	'dissolve!'

Some verbs seem to have lost the /-c/ from the infinitive form of the verb base but this consonant appears in the imperative form. Examples:

/lyəpəŋ/	'to burn'	/lyəci/	'burn!'
/gya:kpəŋ/	'to break'	/gya:kci/	'break!'
/humpəŋ/	'to stay, sit'	/hunci/	'stay, sit!'
/nya:-/	'to dance'	/nya:ci/	'dance!'

f) In verb roots with final /-o/, the /-o/ becomes the on-glide /ɤ/ before the singular imperative suffix /-ε/. Examples:

/so-/	'to bring up, raise'	/sɤε/	'raise!' (singular)
/kho-/	'to harvest'	/khɤε/	'harvest!' (singular)

But in plural imperative forms the /o/ becomes the diphthong /ɤo/ when the plural imperative suffix /-ni/ is added. Examples:

/so-/	'to bring up, raise'	/sɤoni/	'raise!' (plural)
/kho-/	'to harvest'	/khɤoni/	'harvest!' (plural)

An exception to this rule is /gho-/ 'to dissolve', the plural imperative of which takes the form /ghowε/ 'dissolve!', in which the imperative suffix has the form [-wε], a separate syllable.

g) With verb roots ending in /-u/, the form of the singular imperative suffix is /-i/. Examples:

/rhu-/	'to ask'	/rhui/	'ask!'
/bu-/	'to bring'	/bui/	'bring!'

In the plural, the plural imperative suffix /-ni/ is added to the base form:

/rhu-/	'to ask'	/rhuni/	'ask!'
/bu-/	'to bring'	/buni/	'bring!'

h) With verb roots ending in /ɔ/, the imperative suffix has the form [-wε], a separate syllable, e.g.

/gɔ-/	'to melt'	/gɔwε/	'melt!'
/mɔ/	'to rub'	/mɔwε/	'rub!'

It is interesting to note that verb roots with nasalized /ɔ̃/ do not take any suffix in the imperative, e.g.

/thɔ̃-/	'to graze'	/thɔ̃/	'graze!'
/tyɔ̃-/	'to weep'	/tyɔ̃/	'weep!'
/chɔ̃-/	'to buy'	/chɔ̃/	'buy!'

8.3. Plural imperative forms

There are only two plural imperative forms for the roots and only one plural imperative suffix, /-ni/.

a) In most cases the plural imperative suffix /-ni/ is added to the base form. In fact for the sake of some morphophonemic changes we should say that the plural imperative suffix is added to the singular imperative forms. Of course we have the singular imperative form with just the base form along with intonation in the case of some verbs.

sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.	
/di/	/dini/	'go!'	/yən/	/yənni/	'hear!'
/rha/	/rhani/	'come!'	/tər/	/tərni/	'finish!'
/dɔ̃/	/dɔ̃ni/	'graze!'	/ur/	/urni/	'wash!'

b) In the second set the plural imperative suffix is added after the singular imperative suffix. Examples:

sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.	
/lɛ/	/lɛni/	'do!'	/jɛ/	/jɛni/	'eat!'
/ka:Tɛ/	/ka:Tɛni/	'cut!'	/ghuwɛ/	/ghuwɛni/	'swallow!'
/guci/	/gucini/	'sleep!'	/olɛ/	/olɛni/	'knead!'
/sôsi/	/sôsini/	'raise!'	/potɛ/	/potɛni/	'brew!'

In some cases although the singular imperative suffix /-ɛ/ appears in the singular imperative form, in the plural the plural imperative suffix is added to the base form without the singular imperative suffix, e.g.

			sg.	pl.	
/ta:-/	'to keep'	>	/tɛ/	/ta:ni/	'keep!'
/dha:-/	'to give'	>	/dhɛ/	/dha:ni/	'give! (to 3rd person)'

In some cases regressive assimilation takes place when a verb root ends in /d/ and the plural imperative suffix /-ni/ is added. The rule ə>ɛ also applies here.

			sg.	pl.	
/səd-/	'to kill'	>	/səd/	/sɛnni/	'kill!'
/təd/	'to beat'	>	/təd/	/tɛnni/	'beat!'

In these examples, when the plural imperative suffix is added, /d/ assimilates to /n/ and ə > ε. In some other cases the plural imperative suffix is added to the base form only. Examples:

			sg.	pl.	
/ta:-/	'to keep'	>	/tε/	/ta:ni/	'keep!'
/dha:-/	'to give'	>	/dhε/	/dha:ni/	'give! (to 3rd person)'

8.4. Prohibitive mood

The negation of the imperative is called the prohibitive mood. The prefix /thə-/ is added to the singular and plural imperative forms. Examples:

	sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.	
/thədi/		/thədini/	'don't go!'	/thələ/	/thələni/	'don't do!'
/thətū:/		/thətu:ni	'don't drink!'	/thələkhε/	/thələkhəni/	'don't write'

8.5. Present participle forms

Present participle forms take the suffixes /-t/, /-tan/, /-ət/ and /-jən/. Examples:

/yū-/	'to walk'		/yūt/		'walking'
/ka:T-/	'to cut'		/ka:Tət/		'cutting'
/rha-/	'to come'		/rhatən/		'coming'
/tū:-/	'to drink'		/tū:jən/		'drinking'
/yən-/	'to listen'		/yənjən/		'listening'
/urs-/	'to bathe'		/urstən/		'bathing'
/bhi:j-/	'to get wet'		/bhi:jtən/		'getting wet'

8.6. Perfective participle

Perfective participle forms take the following suffixes: /-it/, /-t/, /-st/, and /-sit/. Examples:

/sis-/	'to die'		/sicit/		'dead'
/jā-/	'to grow old'		/jāt/		'old'
/di-/	'to go'		/dit/		'gone'
/khab-/	'to cover'		/khabst/		'covered'
/miwa:-/	'to mix'		/miwast/		'mixed'
/kho-/	'to harvest'		/khost/		'harvested'
/hunc-/	'to sit'		/huncit/		'seated'

In some cases the present participle and perfective participle are both marked by the /-t/ suffix, and so it is difficult to tell them apart out of context.

8.7. Gerunds

Gerund forms are used as adverbials giving the sense of completed action, of 'having done something'. The suffix /-jə/ (the agentive case marker) is added to the third person

singular past form. It may be glossed here as 'completive', though it is identical in form with the agentive/instrumental case marker. Examples:

/di:-jə/	'having gone'	/rhε-jə/	'having come, after coming'
/hunci:-jə/	'having sat'	/ka:Tε-jə/	'having cut'
/jε-jə/	'having eaten'	/bha:jε-jə/	'having run'
/jε-jə	dhε	di/	'Having eaten, he went.'
eat+PAST-ERG	he	go	
/hunci:-jə	dhε	jε/	'Having sat, he ate.'
sit:PAST-ERG	3sg	eat-PAST	

8.8. Infinitive forms

Infinitive forms are formed by adding the suffix /-pəŋ/ to the base form of the verb. This infinitive form can also be used as a verbal noun as well. Many of the non-native verbs also take this suffix. Examples:

/lhəpəŋ/	'to take'	/uma:upəŋ/	'to boil'
/pʊnpəŋ/	'to cook'	/cumpəŋ/	'to hold'
/khyɑ:kpəŋ/	'to break; to pluck'	/pinpəŋ/	'to fill'
/rhanpəŋ/	'to weave'	/cu:spəŋ/	'to put on'
/thiŋpəŋ/	'to spread'	/Tɔpəŋ/	'to fry'

8.9. Participle nouns

Participle nouns are formed by adding the suffix /-piŋ/ to the verb base. This form is used in passive formations and indicates a completed action. For example, /di phəl gyi-tə jəpiŋ yã/ [this fruit I-DAT eaten is] 'this fruit was eaten by me'. In fact this translation is not very close in its meaning. The Hindi sentence is more appropriate:

/yəh phəl mera: kha:ya: hua: hai/
 this fruit 1sgPoss eaten be+PAST is
 giving the sense - 'I have the experience of eating this fruit in the past.'

Examples:

/luəpiŋ/	'something spoken'	/bã:cpɪŋ/	'something already read'
/bha:jpiŋ/	'someone who has already run'	/sadpiŋ/	'something killed'
/hwəNpiŋ/	'something which has happened already'		

8.10. Verb forms used as adverbs

Reduplicated verb forms with /-ka/ suffixed to each of the two tokens of the verb are used to indicate some action being performed at the same time as the action of the main verb. Examples:

/tūka tūka/	'while drinking'	/rhaka rhaka/	'while coming'
/ləka ləka/	'while doing'	/lekha lekha/	'while writing'
/jəka-jəka/	'while eating'		

/jəka jəka dhε di/ 'While eating he went.'
 eating eating he go

Verb forms ending in /c/ or /s/ take the suffix /-ika/, e.g.

/rhacika-rhacika/ 'while laughing' /ursika-ursika/ 'while taking a bath'

8.11. Interrogative forms

In many cases interrogative forms are indicated by a simple change of intonation. But in the case of the present tense habitual actions, interrogatives are formed by adding the normal present progressive/continuous suffixes /-cəni/ and /-kini/ to the base of the verbs.

/ka:ʦcəni/ 'does he cut?' /tadcəni/ 'does he beat?'
 /työkini/ 'does he weep?'

8.12. Subjunctive forms

Subjunctive forms are used for asking permission from the hearer. These are possible in first person singular and plural only. First person singular forms have the suffix /-ku/ and the plural forms have the suffix /-pye/ added to the base of the verb. Examples:

/jəku/ 'may I eat?' /jəpye/ 'may we eat?'
 /diku/ 'may I go?' /dipyē/ 'may we go?'
 /rhacku/ 'may I laugh?' /rhacpye/ 'may we laugh?'

8.13. Verbal Nouns

As stated earlier, the infinitive form with the suffix /-pəŋ/ can be used as a verbal noun. Examples:

/dipəŋ naca:r/ 'before going'
 /japəŋ lycN/ 'after eating'
 /gye dipəŋ ca:cəŋ/ 'I want to go'
 /gye-ru dipəŋ gyūkhan/ 'I should go'

In the last two examples subordinate clauses are also included. In the case of /gye dipəŋ ca:cəŋ/ the nominative form of the pronoun /gye/ is used, but in the other construction the pronoun is placed in the dative case: /gyeru/. It is very much like in Hindi *mē ja:na: cahta: hū* 'I want to go' and *mujhe ja:na: ca:hiye* 'I should go' (*mujhe* and *mujhko* are Hindi dative forms).

8.14. Verbal noun as agent of action

Verbal nouns marking the agent of the action can also be formed by adding the suffix /-t/ to the base of the verb along with a borrowed IA agentive nominalizing form /wa:wo/ (Hindi *wa:la:*). But this form may be dropped in rapid speech. Examples:

/jat wa:wo/ 'one who eats' /tūt/ 'one who eats'
 /dit/ 'one who goes' /rhat/ 'one who comes'

/dha:t/ 'one who gives' /bat/ 'one who brings'

Verbal nouns may also be formed by adding the suffix /-cir/ to the verb base. This verb form is used in the sense of 'for the purpose of' or 'for the sake of', and is used as a nominal. Examples:

/gye	dho-ru	kã-cir	diki/	'I went to see him.'
I	him-DAT	see-PURP	went	
/in	dho-ru	dha:-cir	din/	'We went to give him (something).'
we	him-DAT	give-PURP	went	
/jəggu	Ka:T-cir	rɛ/		
Jaggu	cut-PURP	came		'Jaggu came to cut.'

8.15. Tense and Aspect

We shall give the conjugated verb forms in the present, past, and future tenses and in the progressive and perfective aspects.

			Transitive	Intransitive
			tūpəŋ 'to drink'	rhapəŋ 'to come'
Present tense				
1p.	sg.	gye	tū:kəŋ/tū:ŋ	rhaŋ
	pl.	in	tū:kəni/tū:ni	rhani
2p.	sg.	gən	tū:kən/tū:n	rhan
	pl.	gɛ	tū:kəni/tū:ni	rhani
3p.	sg.	dɛ	tū:kən/tū:n	rhan
	pl.	dɛtye	tū:ŋkəni/tū:ni	rhani

The present tense suffixes are fused morphs representing tense, person, and number. The present tense first person singular form is /-kəŋ/ or /-ŋ/; The present tense first person plural, second person plural, and third person plural suffix is /-ni/, and the present tense second and third person singular has the suffix /-n/. These suffixes hold good for both transitive and intransitive verbs. In some cases there is an intervening element /-k-/ in the case of the above conjugations and the element /-c-/ in some verbs; e.g. /dha:/ 'to give', the present forms are 1p. [dha:cəŋ] (sg.), [dha:cini] (pl.); 2p. [dha:cən] (sg.), [dha:cini] (pl.); 3p. [dhacən] (sg.), [dha:cini] (pl.). This /-c-/ element also appears in progressive forms where it may be treated as a progressive marker. Still these elements need further historical explanation.

Present progressive

1p.	sg.	gye	tū:cɛki	rhacɛki
	pl.	in	tū:cɛni	rhacɛni

2p.	sg.	gən	tũ:cəni	rhacēni
	pl.	gē	tũ:cəni	rhacēni
3p.	sg.	dhε	tũ:cε	rhacε
	pl.	dhetye	tũ:cəni	rhacəni

The progressive aspect marker is /-cε/ or /-cē/, which is added before the person-number-tense marker. But the markers undergo changes as we can see above. First person singular is /-ki/; first person plural, second person singular and plural and third person plural have the same suffix, /-ni/.

Past tense

1p.	sg.	gye-jə	tũ:ki	gye	rhaki
	pl.	in-jə	tũ:n	in	rhan
2p.	sg.	gən-jə	tũ:n	gən	rhan
	pl.	gē-jə	tũ:n	gē	rhan
3p.	sg.	dhε-jə	tũ:ĩjə/tũ:ĩ	dhε	rhε
	pl.	dhətē-jə	tũ:ĩjə/tũ:ĩ	dhetye	rhē

The past tense markers are first person singular /-ki/, first person plural, second person singular and plural /-n/, and third person plural /-ĩ/.

The suffix /-jə/ is an agentive marker added to the subject as well as to transitive verbs in past tense forms. However, it is found that the transitive verb may have it optionally. In rapid speech it is sometimes left out even from the subject. It has been found that /jə-/ appears with first person and second person verb forms as well. But it is optionally dropped more often with the first and second person verb forms and it is retained more often with the third person verb forms.

Past progressive

1p.	sg.	gye	tũ:ci/gye-jə	tũ:ci-jə	gye	rhacĩ
	pl.	in	tũ:ci		in	rhacĩ
2p.	sg.	gən	tũ:ci		gən	rhacĩ
	pl.	gē	tũ:ci		gē	rhacĩ
3p.	sg.	dhε	tũ:ci		dhε	rhacĩ
	pl.	dhetye	tũ:ci		dhetye	rhacĩ

Present perfect

1p.	sg.	gyi-tə	tũ:pĩjə	gye	rhatĩ
	pl.	in-tə	tũ:pĩjə	in	rhatĩ
2p.	sg.	gε-tə	tũ:pĩjə	gən	rhatĩ
	pl.	gē-tə	tũ:pĩjə	gē	rhatĩ

3p.	sg.	dhɛ-tə	tū:pĩjə	dhɛ	rhatĩ
	pl.	dhətẽ-tə	tū:pĩjə	dhɛtye	rhatĩ

The suffix /-tə/ is the genitive suffix and is added to perfective forms giving the sense of 'something is done by the subject'. It is used basically in passive constructions.

Future tense

1p.	sg.	gye	tū:ta	gye	rhatta
	pl.	in	tū:tan	in	rhattan
2p.	sg.	gən	tū:tan	gən	rhattan
	pl.	gẽ	tū:tan	gẽ	rhattan
3p.	sg.	dhɛ	tū:ti	dhɛ	rhatti
	pl.	dhɛtye	tū:tin	dhɛtye	rhattin

Conjugation of the auxiliary verb /hwənpəŋ/ 'to be':

Present tense:

1p.	sg.	hinki	pl.	hini
2p.	sg.	hini	pl.	hini
3p.	sg.	yã	pl.	hini

Past tense:

Past tense has a single form in all the persons and numbers: /hĩ/ 'was, were'.

Future tense:

1p.	sg.	hwənta	pl.	hwəntan
2p.	sg.	hwəntan	pl.	hwəntan
3p.	sg.	hwənti	pl.	hwəntin

9.0. Agreement

The agreement system is also tied to the verb forms. The marking differs with the tense of the verb. In some cases it appears to be a degenerated system, whereas in some cases it is symmetrical. In present tense forms it has three way system, i.e., first person singular has one form; first person, second person and third person plural has another form and a third form represents second person and third person singular. We can say that with regard to person the distinction is made between first person singular and non-first person; whereas with regard to number in all the persons the plural form is the same.

In the present progressive also there is a three way system of agreement marking, but with some differences: first person stands out alone then first person plural, second person singular-plural and third person plural; and third person singular is also unique. In the present tense system it goes with second person.

In the past tense the three tier system is maintained but with different alignments: first person maintains its status as earlier, while first person plural goes with second person singular-plural and the third person singular-plural join together in one form. It may be

important here to mention the agentive marker attached to the subject and optionally to the transitive verb form in past tense forms.

Past progressive and present perfect follow a highly simplified system where only a single form is found in all the numbers and persons.

Future tense follows a four way system: first person singular, first person plural, second person singular-plural, third person singular and third person plural. Agreement is with the agent. There is no agreement with regard to patient or noun-adjective forms in this language. Examples of the agreement forms can be seen in the verb paradigm charts just given in the preceding section.

10.0. The Noun Phrase

An NP consists of a noun or a pronoun, which may be modified by a pronoun, quantifier, or adjective. Examples:

/dhi khui/	'this dog'	/mi/	'man'
/dhi si:d khui/	'this white dog'	/dhi mi/	'this man'
/dhitye si:də khuse/	'these white dogs'	/sum mi/	'three men'
/dhitye pi tiŋdə khuse/	'these four black dogs'	/mhast mise/	'many men'
/gyitə byəd/	'my brother'	/ci:ci rhigər/	'some field'
/sarba: nhyanta mi/	'(a) young handsome man'		

Verbal nouns can also appear in NPs, in the older form of relative clause introduced in Section 3.10, e.g. /tūt mi/ 'drinking man' (the man who drinks); /dit wa:wo/ 'one who goes'.

11.0. The Verb Phrase

The VP consists of a main verb preceded by an adverb and/or followed by an auxiliary. Verbal endings appear on the auxiliary. Examples:

/dhε jətti/		'He will drink.'
he	drink+FUT	
/ramu di-t hī/		'Ramu had gone.'
Ramu	go-NOM was	
/jəggu behəd tu:~n/		'Jaggu drinks a lot.'
Jaggu	too.much drink	
/dhε chāTo bha:jε/		'He ran fast.'
he	fast ran	
/gye di-pəŋ ca:cəŋ/		'I want to go.'
I	go-NOM wish+PRESENT	
/dhətye rha-pəŋ ca:cini/		'They want to come.'
they	come-NOM wish+PRESENT	

/in	dhε-ru	kācir	din/	'We went to see him.'
we	he-DAT	see	went	

/gyi-jə	dhε-ru	rha-pəŋ-ru	lwεki/	'I asked him to come.'
I-ERG	he-DAT	come-NOM-DAT	asked	

Some predicates are formed from combinations of noun plus verb, adjective plus verb, or adverb plus verb:

Noun + verb

/ka:m	ləpəŋ/	'to work'
work	do	

/məs	rhapəŋ/	'to dream'
dream	come	

/gyəs	dha:pəŋ/	'to swear'
oath	give	

/yu	bəNa:pəŋ/	'to make beer'
beer	make	

/kaNo	ləpəŋ/	'to make a hole'
hole	do	

Adjective + verb

/ɔri	chuərpəŋ/	'to appear fine'
good	appear	

/sod	chuərpəŋ/	'to feel cold'
cold	appear	

Adverb +verb

/lyɔN	ləpəŋ/	'to follow someone'
behinddo		

/picɔ	ləpəŋ/	'to follow someone'
behind do		

12.0. Syntax

The normal word order in Rongpo is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). Examples of simple sentences with copula:

/gyi-dəb	khui	yā/	'I have a dog.'
I-to	dog	is	

/dhi	gyi-tə	lhama	yã/	'This is my goat.'
this	I-GEN	goat	is	

/gyi-dəb	kita:b-se	hini/	'I have books.'
I-to	book-pl.	is	

/dhε	gyi-tə	byəd	hini/	'He is my brother.'
he	I-GEN	brother	is	

It can be seen from the possession examples that agreement is with the possessed object, even if the oblique possessor phrase precedes the NP representing the possessed object. The copula /yã/ can be substituted for by /hini/ but not vice versa. It may be that initially /yã/ was the singular copula and /hini/ the plural copula, but now with the singular we may have /yã/ or /hini/, but with the plural it is always /hini/.

12.1. The direct object

The direct object normally follows the subject in monotransitive clauses. Subjects may be put in the agentive case and the object may be in the dative case.

/gye-jə	dhε-ru	tāki/	'I saw him.'
I-ERG	he-DAT	saw	

But the object may not always receive dative case. In general, NPs representing inanimate and often also non-human animate referents do not take the dative marker:

/seru-jə	pyec	taŋi/	'The boy saw the bird.'
boy-ERG	bird	saw	

12.2. The indirect object

In ditransitive clauses, the indirect object is placed before the direct object. The indirect object takes the dative marker, while the direct object does not receive any case marking. Examples:

/ramu-jə	mækru-ru	kita:b	dhε/	'Ramu gave Makru a book.'
ramu-ERG	mækru-DAT	book	gave	

/seru-jə	dhε-ru	kita:b	dhẽ/	'The boys gave him a book.'
boys-ERG	he-DAT	book	gave	

/ramu-jə	gyi-ru	phəl	khi/	'Ramu gave me fruit.'
Ramu-ERG	I-DAT	fruit	gave	

12.3. Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences may contain a question word (wh-word) such as /khye/ 'what', which can also move to the front of the sentence, or interrogation may be indicated by a rising intonation. Examples:

/gɛ-dəb khye yã/
you-to what is 'What do you have?'

/khye gən gyi-ru jə-pəŋ mha-khi tərɕəŋ/
what you I-DAT eat-NOM NEG-give can
'Can't you give me something to eat?'

/dhi khui gho-tə hini/
this dog what-GEN is 'Whose dog is this?'

/gho rhɛ/
who came 'Who came?'

/dhɛ guəst rhɛ/
he when came 'When did he come?'

/gən khimi hini/
you how is 'How are you?'

In the examples above the question words are /khye/ 'what', /gho-tə/ 'whose', /gho/ 'who', /guəst/ 'when', and /khimi/ 'how', which are responsible for the interrogative sense along with the rising intonation. The other question words are:

/khyoru/ 'why'	/khyor mha/ 'why not'
/gu/ 'where'	/khyələŋ/ 'how much, how many'
/khilep/ 'how much, how many'	

Interrogative sentences can be formed with the help of rising intonation. Some examples of suffixes like /-ɛ, -ɛni, -cəŋɛ, -kəŋɛ/ are also found (see §8.11). Examples:

/dhɛ ghueɛni/	'Who is he?'
/dhɛ khɛcəŋɛ/	'Does he pull?'
/mækru dijə/	'Makru went.'
/mækru dijɛ/	'Did Makru go?'
/jəggɛ tyɔkəŋɛ/	'Does Jaggu weep?'

In the examples about Makru above, both forms are given because some verbs have the suffix /-ɛ/ in the simple past as well; e.g. /dhɛ rhɛ/ 'he went'. With rising intonation it will be interrogative.

/dhɛ-ru aber rhɛ/
he-DAT late come 'Did he come late?'

/gɛ-dəb boti yã/
you(pl.)-to milk is 'Do you have milk?'

/gən Dya:ra: dicəni/ 'Are you going home?'
 you(sg.) home go+PRESPROG

With rising intonation these sentences can be interrogative ones. One of the suffixes used for imperative sentences also has the form /ɛ/ (see §8.2), but imperatives would not take a rising intonation.

13.4. Negation

The negative adverb [mha ~ ma] generally appears immediately before the verb in negative clauses. The normal form for the negative marker is /mha/, but in rapid speech the aspiration is lost and the negative marker is pronounced [ma]. Examples:

/gye gyəŋ/	'I go.'	/gye ma-gyəŋ/	'I do not go.'
/dhɛ di/	'He went.'	/dhɛ ma-di/	'He did not go.'
/dhɛ ditti/	'He will go.'	/dhɛ ma-ditti/	'He will not go.'

In the case of emphatic sentences the negative particle is placed after the verb form. Examples:

/gye ditta	məgər	rhatta	mha/	'I shall go but shall not come back.'
I	go+FUT	but	come+FUT	not

/gye-se	yū-skən	mha/	'I am not able to walk.'
I-ABL	walk-able	not	

Negation can also appear in interrogative sentences. Examples:

/dhi	gɛ-tə	duka:n	məni/	'Isn't this your shop?'
this	you-GEN	shop	not.is (< mahini)	

/gən	ma-rhacəni/	'Aren't you coming?'
you	not-come+PRESPROG	

13.5. Conjunction and disjunction

Phrases or sentences can be joined with the help of the following coordinate conjunctions: /dɔ̃, dɔ̃Ni, jɛ̃, jɛ̃Ni, əɾ/. /dɔ̃/ and /dɔ̃Ni/; /jɛ̃/ and /jɛ̃Ni/ may alternate. Some informants gave /dɔ̃/, whereas some gave /jɛ̃/ for this coordinator. Only two phrases or sentences can be conjoined with these conjunctions; having more than two phrases is not allowed. E.g.

/gye dɔ̃ dhɛ/	'I and he'
/ramu dɔ̃ məkru/	'Ramu and Makru'

but we cannot say

*/gye, gən, dɔ̃ dhɛ/	'I, you and he'
*/ramu, məkru, dɔ̃ pu:ja:/	'Ramu, Makru and Puja'

In such cases a pause between the phrases or words is enough. The adjectives have their scope within the phrase and they can not cross the conjunction 'and', therefore there is no ambiguity like in English where 'old men and women' has two readings. E.g., /fāt mi jɛ̃ fāt kyɛ̃Ti/ 'old man and old woman'; /fāt mi jɛ̃ kyeTi/ 'old man and woman who is not old'. Verb phrases are conjoined with /ər/. This is a borrowing of Hindi *or* 'and'.

/dhɛ tu:ni ər jəni/	'He drinks and eats.'
/gən rhan ər dhɛ di/	'You came and he went.'

Clauses can also be conjoined by using /məgər/ 'but'. E.g.

/gye ditta məgər rhatta mha/	'I shall go but will not come.'
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Conditional sentences can be conjoined by /əgər ... tɔ/ 'if ... then'.

/əgər gye gyenjə tɔ dim mhawəni/	'If I had gone then it would not have happened like this.'
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Disjunction is marked by /ya/ 'or', /kitə ... kitə/ 'either or', or by /nə ... nə/ 'neither ... nor'. Examples:

/choTu ya moTu/ 'Chotu or Motu'	/pi ya ɲɛ/ 'four or five'
/gən ya dhɛ/ 'you or he'	/du ya dɔ/ 'here or there'
/gən da:l jattan ya jəbəŋ/	'Will you eat Dal or cooked food?'
/kitə ra:m kitə məkru/	'either Ram or Makru'
/nə məkru jatti nə ramu jatti/	'Neither Makru nor Ramu will eat.' (Lit.: 'Neither Makru will eat nor will Ramu eat.')

Note: The forms /məgər/, /əgər ... tɔ/, /ya/, and /na ... na/ are borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources.

RONGPO-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

- əb—adv., now (IA)
 əgər—conj., if (IA)
 əla:R—adj., tight, narrow (IA)
 əlsi—adj., rotten (IA)
 əl—n., yawn
 ənDa:—n., egg (IA)
 əndha—n., blind (masc. IA)
 əndhi—n., blind (fem. IA)
 əndər—pp., inside (IA)
 ərj—n., request (IA)
 ər—conj., and (IA)
 əwu—n., potato (IA)
 aca—n., father's mother
 acha—adj., good, O.K., etc. (IA)
 achi ba:t—adj+n., good thing, good talk,
 used as a phrase (IA)
 aji—adv., once again, more than
 akto phwər- —vt., to open the door
 akto—n., door, entrance
 aku—n., father's younger brother, mother's
 younger sister's husband
 alu—pp., in, inside
 amca—n., path, way, road
 anwa:u—n., shepherd
 an—n., sound, voice
 aphi—reflexive pronoun, himself, oneself
 (IA)
 apu—n., breast
 arsi—n., mirror (IA)
 aRək-—vi., to cry (IA)
 aseŋɔ—adj., difficult (-a is an IA prefix
 added to TB adj. to derive antonyms)
 aŋ rha-—vi. to snow
 aŋ—n., snow
 a:co—n., elder brother
 a:dɔ—n., ginger (IA)
 a:dər—n., respect (IA)
 a:dət—n., habit (IA)
 a:ga:s, aga:s—n., sky (IA)
 a:ka khyər- —vt., to defecate
 a:ka—n, stool
 a:khiri—adv., last (IA)
 a:ləN—n., spice (IA)
 a:ma—n., mother
 a:m—n., mango (IA)
 a:na—n., father's sister
 a:pa—n., father
 a:ra:m—n., comfort, rest (IA)
 a:s lə-—vi., to hope (a:s < IA)
 a:s—n., hope (IA)
 a:ta—n., elder sister, husband's elder
 brother's wife
 a:Th, a:T—num., eight (IA)
 a:wa:j—n., a call, sound (IA)
 a:ŋəN—n., courtyard (IA)
 bəcən dha-—vt., to give promise
 bəcən—n., promise (IA)
 bəɖla: lhe-—vt., to take revenge
 bəɖla:—n., revenge (IA)
 bəɖəl-—vi., to change (IA)
 bəgət—n., time (IA)
 bəja:-—vt., to ring, to play musical
 instrument (IA)
 bəja:r—n, market (IA)
 bəNa:- —vt., to make (IA)
 bəncə:—n., finger
 bəndu:k—n., rifle, gun (IA)
 bənd—adj., close (IA)
 bəra:bər—adj., equal (IA)
 bəRa—adj., big (IA)
 bəRwa:l—n., a Garhwali clan name
 bəRya—n., bull (IA)
 bərət—n., fast (IA)
 bəs—adv., enough, stop (IA)
 bəta:-—vt., to tell (IA)
 bətɔ̄—n., wind (IA)
 bāc- —vt., to read (IA)
 bādər—n., monkey (IA)
 bāj—n., childless woman (IA)
 bās—n., bamboo (IA)
 bāT-—vt., to distribute (IA)
 ba- bar-—vt., to bring
 ba:ba—n., younger brother or sister
 ba:bu—n., father (address term) (IA)
 ba:churu—n., calf (IA)
 ba:dəw—n., cloud (IA)
 ba:gya—adv., two days after tomorrow
 ba:g—n., tiger (IA)
 ba:j-,—vt., to play a musical instrument
 (IA)

- ba:lu—n., lamb
 ba:ŋɔ̃ —adj., left side (IA)
 ba:Re—n., shoemaker (IA)
 ba:Rɔ̃ —n., garden (IA)
 ba:R—n., fence (IA)
 ba:R—n., flood (IA)
 ba:s—n., smell (IA)
 ba:wo—n., sand (IA)
 bag—vt, to tear
 baki—n., remainder, balance (IA)
 barkha rha- —vi., to get rain
 barkha—n., rain (IA)
 behəd—adv., too much (IA)
 beka:r—adj., useless (IA)
 bəri—n., enemy (IA)
 bet—n., stick, cane (IA)
 bi, bhi—adv., also (IA)
 bi:s—num., twenty (IA)
 bi:t—vi., pass away (time) (IA)
 biga:R—vt., to spoil (IA)
 bigəR—vi., to be spoiled (IA)
 bigər—adv., without (IA)
 bik—n., poison (IA)
 bima:ri—n., disease (IA)
 bima:r—n., sick (IA)
 birkhu—n., kidney
 birɔ̃ —n., cat (IA)
 bistəra—n., bedding (IA)
 biswa:s—n., faith (IA)
 bisər—vi., to forget (IA)
 bita:—vt., to spend (time) (IA)
 bit—n., hunger
 bɔ̃Thi—n., a type of sack
 bɔ̃gTya—n., a type of goat
 bok—vt., to weigh
 boldu—adj., soft
 bɔ̃N—n., forest (IA)
 boT—vt., to make rope (IA)
 boti—n., buttermilk
 botəw—n., bottle (IA)
 bɔ̃yɔ̃—n., mad (IA)
 b̄u—vt., to carry
 bu:N—vt., to knit, to weave (IA)
 bu:s—n., straw
 bu:t—n., to sow, to plough
 buDya—n., old man (IA)
 buDəi—n., old woman (IA)
 bu—n., grain
 buā—n., a village name
 buani—n., broom (IA)
 buəl—vi., lie down
 bya:du—adj., thin (flat objects like paper,
 cloth)
 bya:kpya—n., flour
 byaŋ—n., Tibet
 byaŋpa—n., a Tibetan
 byē—vi., to run
 byɔ̃ —n., marriage (IA)
 byɔ̃li—n., bride (IA)
 byɔ̃lɔ̃ —n., bridegroom (IA)
 byoRu—adj., first (IA)
 byəd—n., brother
 byəse—n., brothers (pl.)
 bhəbəR—vi., to roast (IA)
 bhəbəRya:—vt., roast (IA)
 bhəddɔ̃ —adj., ugly (IA)
 bhəga:—vt. drive away, to elope (IA)
 bhəgwa:n—n., God (IA)
 bhəla:dim—n., good person (IA)
 bhəst—n., buckwheat
 bhəs—n., a type of grain out of which a
 loaf is made which is considered
 sacred
 bhətija—n., nephew (IA)
 bhətiji—n., niece (IA)
 bhəTya:—vi., to call (near the speaker)
 bha:i—n., brother (IA)
 bha:j—vi., to run, to go away (IA)
 bha:Nja—n., sister's son (IA)
 bha:Nji—n., sister's daughter (IA)
 bha:N—n., hemp (IA)
 bha:p—n., steam (IA)
 bha:ri—adj., heavy (IA)
 bhaləŋ —n., a generic term used for cows,
 bulls.
 bhaT—a Garhwali brahmin clan name
 (IA)
 bhēsɔ̃—n., buffalo bull (IA)
 bhed—n., secret (IA)
 bhej—vt., to send (IA)
 bhɛN—n., puzzle, shaft (IA)
 bhi:j—vi., to get wet (IA)
 bhija:—vt., to make wet (IA)
 bhiti—n., wall (IA)
 bhɔ̃ rha- vi., to get boiling
 bhɔ̃ —n., eye brow (IA)
 bhori—n., a clan name
 bhɔ̃R—n., hero one who leads (IA)

- bhōw — n., ebullition, boiling
 bhūk-, bhūg- — vi., to bark (IA)
 bhu:j — n., birch tree (IA)
 bhug:r — n., a Tibetan type of sheep
 bhujyəŋ — n., fly (IA)
 bhujəlɔ — n., gourd (IA)
 bhurɔ — adj., brown (IA)
 bhusɔ — n., fodder (IA)
 bhu — n., snake, insect (IA)
 bhwāri — n., bee of big size
 bhwītəya — n., a village name
 bhya:p- — vi., to do good
 cəba- cəpa- — vt., to chew (IA)
 cəku — n., knife (IA)
 cəla- — vt., to drive, to help someone walk
 (IA)
 cəmək- — vi., to shine (IA)
 cəməka:- — vt., to cause to shine (IA)
 cənt — adj., sharp
 cəTɛ — n., mat (IA)
 ca:- — vi., to wish (IA)
 ca:k- — vt., to try, to test
 ca:ma — n., daughter
 ca:m — n., skin (IA)
 ca:s- — vt., to begin, to start
 ca:T- — vt., to lick (IA)
 cag, cyag., — n., iron
 camko — n., a type of bag made of wool
 cart lə- — vt., to make hot
 cart — adj., hot
 caŋ- cyaŋ- — vi., to leak
 ci:ci — adj., small, a little bit (solid things)
 ci:j — n., thing
 ci:mi — n., mother's younger sister
 ci:N- — vt., to build (brick or stone wall or
 house)
 ci:ni — n., sugar (IA)
 ci:r- — vi., to saw (IA)
 cipɔ — n., eye lash (IA)
 cira:- — vi., to get saw (IA)
 ci — n., grass
 comma — n., a type of gamble game
 coR- — vt., to peel (IA)
 cori — n., theft (IA)
 cor — n., thief (IA)
 cu:n- — vt., to choose (IA)
 cu:s- — vt., to suck (IA)
 cum- — vt., to hold, to catch
 cur- — vt., to light (lamp, match etc.)
- cuTka — n., a local blanket
 cuŋ gya — n., sixth day after tomorrow
 cwi:r — n., python
 cwō- — vt., to card cotton or wool
 cwəko — n., chaff (IA)
 cya:p- cya:- — vt., to press
 cyāri — n., bed bug
 cyaŋ- — vt., to lick
 cyu:- — vt., to brew
 cyu:i — n., apricot
 cyūku khyər- — vt., to urinate
 cyūku — n., urine
 cyōcɔ — n., figure, shape
 cyəd- cyəp- — vt., to kindle fire
 cōr — n., yak (IA)
 chəm — n., wool
 chənt — n., light
 chət — n., roof (IA)
 chəwo — adj., dirt
 cha:N- — vt., to choose (IA)
 cha:pɔ — n., elder sister's husband
 cha:rɔ — n., ashes
 cha:ti — n., breast, chest (IA)
 chakɔ — n., picture
 chāT- — vt., to select (IA)
 chāTɔ — adj., fast
 chat — adj., warm
 cha — n., salt
 chemi — n., a type of beans
 cheR- — vt., to tease (IA)
 cheri — n., son
 ches- — vi., to warm oneself
 cheT — adv., far
 chɛ — num., six (IA)
 chəl — n., shade (IA)
 chəpo — adj., sixth
 chi, chi-chi — n., shame
 chīk- — vt., to sneeze
 chīk — n., sneeze (IA)
 chi:l- — vt., to peel (IA)
 chi:N — adj., weak (IA)
 chi:r- — vt., to milk
 chin- — vt., to tie a knot
 chinka — n., a name of a village (winter
 village)
 chinpa — n., liver
 chormi — n., female
 choro — n., spleen
 chorso — n., male

- chõ—vt., to buy
 chõ—n., thorn
 chu:T—vi., to be left out (IA)
 chukpa rha—vi., to be offended
 chukpa—n., anger, a feeling of being
 offended
 chuni—n., chin (IA)
 chura—n., cheese
 chuəiya—n., avalanche
 chuər—vi., to feel, to appear
 chya—n., pair
 chya:c—vt., to break
 chya:s—vi., to be ready
 chyadpa—adj., sweet
 chyampa—n., bad cold
 chyu—vt., to divide, to share
 chyõR—n., extreme edge (IA)
 chyəs, chəs—adj., fat
 dəb—pp., possessive postposition
 dəga:t—n., that time
 dəgDya:no—n., shaky (IA)
 dəkchin—n., south
 dəkt—adj., hard (IA)
 dəma:g, dima:g—n., brain (IA)
 dəmi—adv., like that
 dəphna:-, —vt., to bury
 dəphən—vi., to be buried (IA)
 dəphən—n., bury (IA)
 dərmya:n—pp., in between
 dəs—num., ten (IA)
 dagar—n., outside (outside the room,
 house)
 dagəRya:Ni—n., female friend (IA)
 dagəRya—n., friend (IA)
 daksiN—n., a payment given to a priest
 for his religious work
 da:i—n., mid-wife (IA)
 da:n—n., alms (IA)
 dan—n., a type of carpet
 daŋ—n., a rope used for keeping clothes
 da:Na—n., grain, corn (IA)
 dar- darc—vi., to tremble
 da:Ra—n., molar teeth (IA)
 da:Ri—n., beard (IA)
 darsan—n., visit, meeting, to be seen (IA)
 da:ru—n., liquor (IA)
 dasa—n., position, condition (IA)
 da:si—n., slave (female) (IA)
 da:s—n., slave (IA)
 da:u—n., pulses (IA)
 dε—n., curd (IA)
 debi—n., goddess (IA)
 dədu:t—n., eating and drinking
 dεNo—n., right side (IA)
 des—n., region, country (IA)
 di—vi., to go
 dila:p—adj., so big, that large
 dil—n., heart (IA)
 dimi—adv., like this, so
 din—n., day (IA)
 dipu—n., this one, this side
 diwa:r—n., wall (IA)
 dõ—vi., graze
 dõ—conj., and
 dõ-dõ—adv., exactly there
 dod—n., inkpot (IA)
 dõn—n., sorrow
 dõri—n., hole
 dost—n., friend (IA)
 dosti—n., friendship (IA)
 dõ—adv., there
 du—adv., here
 du-du—adv., exactly here
 duās—vi., to say
 dua:ro—adv., again (IA)
 du:Na—adj., double (IA)
 du:r—adv., far away (IA)
 duka:nda:r—n., shopkeeper (IA)
 duka:n—n., shop (IA)
 dukhi—n., one who has pain (IA)
 dukh—n., pain, grief (IA)
 dusmāni—n., enmity (IA)
 dusmān—n., enemy (IA)
 dusro—adj., the other, second (IA)
 dyõl—n., temple (IA)
 dyõra:Ni—n., husband's younger brother's
 wife (IA)
 dyõr—n., husband's younger brother (IA)
 dyõ—n., god (IA)
 dyələŋ—adj., that many
 dhədyɑ:-—vt., to hunt, to rush (IA)
 dhəja:r—adv., there, near by, at
 dhəjer—adv., up there
 dhəkka:-vt., to push (IA)
 dhəmka:-—vt., to threaten (IA)
 dhəna:i—n., bow (IA)
 dhəndya:-—vi., walk unsteadily
 dhəRək—vi. heart beating (IA)

- dhərəm — n., duty', religion
 dhərəti — n., earth (IA)
 dhətējə — pro., they, those (agentive)
 dhətēnu, dhətyanu — pro., they (dative)
 dhā — adv., now
 dha:- — vt., to give (to 2nd & 3rd person)
 dha:ni — n., a clan name
 dha:n — adv., at once
 dha:rō — n., water stream (IA)
 dha:r — n., an edge, a long mountain range
 (IA)
 dharū — adv., recently,
 dhε — pro., 3sg (animate and inanimate)
 dhεjə — pro., 3sg agentive
 dhεro, dhoru — pro., 3sg dative
 dhetye, dhətējə — pro., 3pl
 dhētə — pro., 3sg possessive
 dhi:η — adv., last to last year
 dhijə — pro., this (sg. agentive)
 dhipu, dipu — adv., on this side
 dhiru — pro., this (sg. dative)
 dhife, dhise — pro., this (sg. ablative)
 dhitya:s- — vi., to be satisfied of hunger
 dhitye — pro., these
 dhitə — pro., of this
 dhi — pro., this
 dhu:- — vt., lay together
 dhuəka — n., deception (IA)
 dhunya:r — n., fisherman (IA)
 dhuwu — n., dust (IA)
 dhya:-vi., to loaf around
 dhya:n se — adv., carefully (IA)
 Da:n — n., punishment in the form of fine
 (IA)
 Da:η — n., rock (IA)
 Da:w — n., wooden beam (IA)
 Dalo — n., tree (IA)
 Damphan. — , a clan name
 Danō — n., hilly (IA)
 Dasa:N — n., bed (IA)
 Di:b — n., edge
 Dor — n., rope (IA)
 Dō — n., pain (IA)
 Du:b — vi., to sink (IA)
 Duba:- — vt., to make something sink (IA)
 Duəg — adj., rough (IA)
 Dya:ra — n., house, a staying place
 Dəga:r rha- — vi., to belch (IA)
 Dəga:r — n., belch
 Dəne — n., fence (IA)
 Dəni — n., stretcher, barrow (IA)
 Dəŋk — n., sting (IA)
 Dər- — vi. to be afraid of (IA)
 Dəra:- — vt., to frighten (IA)
 DhāDu — n., lynx (IA)
 Dha:no rha- — vi., to hail
 Dha:no — n., hail
 Dha:w — n., slope (IA)
 Dher — n., heap (IA)
 Dhono — adj., hollow (IA)
 Dhu:n — vt., to search (IA)
 Dhənya — n., thumb
 Dhəma:k — n., a blow, sound of something
 falling (IA)
 e — interj., hey (while calling someone)
 ekdəm — adj., soon, suddenly (IA)
 ela — interj., exclamation expressing
 surprise
 eRi — n., heel (IA)
 er — pp., above, from the speaker's level
 εbi — n., wicked person (IA)
 εb — n., vice (IA)
 εniη — n., respect form for father, fatherly
 εs — n., enjoyment (IA)
 ε — interj., hey !
 ga:j — n., foam
 ga:lu — n., cheek (IA)
 ga:t — n., torso (IA)
 gala — n., corn, grain
 ga — n., rice
 geR — n., knot
 gi:lo — adv., wet (IA)
 go- — to think, to understand
 goi — n., ball, a glass bead (IA)
 go — n., a term used for the Garhwali
 person (mas. sg.)
 gua:mi — n., a term used for a Garhwali
 person (fem.sg.)
 guastəri — adv., sometimes or the other
 guastə — adv., when
 guc- — vi., to sleep
 guca — n., father's or mother's maternal
 aunt
 gulu — n., penis
 gunTi — n., button (IA)
 gurbawa — n., goat dung
 guti — n., father's or mother's maternal
 uncle

- gu—adv., where
 guəse—n., garhwalis (masc.pl.)
 gyak- gyakc—vi., to be broken (used for hard objects)
 gya—n., day
 gya—num., hundred
 gyejə—pro., 1sg agentive
 gye—pro., 1sg
 gyiru—pro., 1sg dative
 gyitə wa:sta—pro., 1sg benefactive
 gyitə—pro., 1sg possessive
 gyə—vi., to go (present tense stem only)
 gyər- gyərc—vi., to fear
 gyərt—n., fear
 gyəs dha—vt., to take or give an oath
 gyəs—n., oath
 gɔN—vt., to count (IA)
 gɔu—vi., melt (IA)
 gētə—pro., 2pl. possessive
 gətə—pro., 2sg possessive
 gē—pro., 2pl
 gədda—n., ass (IA)
 gədrɔ—n., rivulet
 gəj—n., yard (IA)
 gən—pro., 2sg
 gərmi—n., heat (IA)
 gəR—n., castle (IA)
 gəRəm—n., river (IA)
 gəwa:-—vt., to melt (IA)
 gha:Ti—n., valley (IA)
 gher—vt., to besiege, to surround (IA)
 ghi:N—n., hate (IA)
 ghiNya:s—vt., to hate (IA)
 gho, ghuɔ—pro., who, that (relative pronoun)
 ghojə—pro., who (sg. agentive)
 ghol—vt., to dissolve (IA)
 ghorī—adv., some, any
 ghoRi—n., mare (IA)
 ghoru—pro., to whom (sg.)
 ghotējə—pro., who (pl. agentive)
 ghotɛnu—pro., obj. to whom (pl.)
 ghotētə—pro., whose (pl. possessive)
 ghotə—pro., whose (sg.)
 ghu:m—vi., to stroll, to go around (IA)
 ghuəstəri—adj., sometimes
 ghua:Ra—n., horse (IA)
 ghuma:-—vt., to make something move in a round (IA)
 ghunnɔ—n., knee (IA)
 ghya:r—adv., here, this place
 ghya:wo—n., quarrel
 ghənTa—n., hour (IA)
 ghəRi-ghəRi—adv., time and again (IA)
 ghəRi—n., clock, watch, moment (IA)
 ghəs ləga:-—vt., to sing a song
 ghəs—n., song
 ghəT—n., watermill (IA)
 hāp—vi., to gasp (IA)
 hāfu:Ru—n., funny, cheerful (IA)
 hā—adv., yes (IA)
 ha:r—vi., to be defeated (IA)
 ha:r-gya:r—adv., here and there
 ha:r—adv., away from
 haja:rɔ̄—adj. thousands (IA)
 hakəla,—vi., to stammer (IA)
 halka—adj., light (IA)
 hara:-—vt., to defeat (IA)
 haRkɔ—n., bone (IA)
 harkū—adv., behind
 hati gya—adv., next day
 hati—n., elephant (IA)
 haya—n., plough man (IA)
 hid- hip—vt., to grind
 hilɔ—n., mud
 hi—adv., only (IA)
 hoR—n., competition (IA)
 huŋ-, hunc-, hun-, hum—vi., to sit, to live, to be
 huRkya—n., juggler (IA)
 huɔ̄—vt., to roast
 huən- huəm—vt., to be, to take
 hyə- hyəc—vi., to go down
 hāsa:-, —vt., to make someone laugh (IA)
 həbya:s—n., practice, exercise (IA)
 həja:r—num., one thousand (IA)
 hək—n., right (IA)
 həmba—n., stubborn
 həmesa—adv., always (IA)
 həra:n—adj., surprised (IA)
 həRkū—adv., this side
 həryɔ—adj., green (IA)
 i:b—n., sleep
 ichya—n., desire (IA)
 ila:j—n., treatment (IA)
 in—pro., 1pl
 ina:m—n., prize (IA)
 inja:r lə—vi., to wait for

- inja:r—n, wait (IA)
 injə—pro., we (agentive form)
 intəja:m—n., arrangements (IA)
 intə—pro., ours (poss.)
 inu—pro., we (dative form)
 ĩ pyər—pro., on us
 irfa—n., jealousy, envy (IA)
 ise, ĩse—pro., from us
 iski:m—n., plan (IA)
 isku:l—n., school (English via IA)
 jə—vt., to eat
 jəb ... təb—adv., when ...then (IA)
 jəbki—adv., when, although (IA)
 jəb—adv., when (IA)
 jəbəŋ—n., meal, food
 jəd—n., wheat
 jəgət—n., a name, world (IA)
 jəma:- —vt., to make curd from milk (IA)
 jəmi:n—n., land (IA)
 jəra—adv., a bit (IA)
 jəru:r—adv., surely (IA)
 jəwa:b—n., answer, reply (IA)
 jəŋəl—n., forest (IA)
 ja:ga—n., place (IA)
 ja:g—n., watch
 ja:i—n., net (IA)
 ja:j—n., aircraft (IA)
 ja:N- —vi., to know (IA)
 ja:nwər—n., animal (IA)
 jaRək- —vi., to get stick (IA)
 jās—n., gold
 jāThi—n., a stick (IA)
 jaŋgali—n., pajama
 jaŋma, jagma.—n., copper
 jaŋpə—n., bridge
 ji:b—n., anything with life (IA)
 ji:t- —vi., to win (IA)
 jibəRo—n., tongue (IA)
 jita:-, —vt., to win (IA)
 jog—n., fortune (IA)
 jon—n., moon
 joR- —vt., to join (IA)
 joR—n., joint (IA)
 jor—n., power, strength (IA)
 ju:a nhyā:- —vt., to gamble
 ju:a—n., gamble (IA)
 ju:wə—n., yoke (IA)
 jua:ba—n., a hybrid of yak
 jua:Ra—n., shoe (IA)
 juāka—n., leech (IA)
 juākha—n., moustache
 jugū—n., body
 jumiŋ—n., body
 jumi—n., a hybrid of yak
 juTho—n., defiled by eating or drinking
 (IA)
 jya—n., tea (IA)
 jəRo ~ jəRə—n., root (IA)
 jər—n., fever (IA)
 jəyɔ—n., twins (IA)
 jəNər—n., glow.worm
 jha:Ri—n., bush (IA)
 jhi:lə—adj., loose (IA)
 jhi:l—n., lake (IA)
 jhoyə—n., bag (IA)
 jhu:l- —vi., to swing (IA)
 jhula:- —vt., to swing (IA)
 jhunD—n., herd (of animals) (IA)
 jhuri—n., fold (IA)
 jhuTha—n., liar (IA)
 jhuT—n., false, a lie (IA)
 jhəməlTə—n., wasp (IA)
 jhəTk- —vi., to jerk (IA)
 jhəTka:- —vt., to jerk (IA)
 ka:cə—adj., raw, uncooked (IA)
 kā:c—n., glass (IA)
 ka:g—n., crow (IA)
 ka:m—n., work (IA)
 ka:Ni—n., story, blind woman (IA)
 ka:No lə—vt., to make a hole
 ka:No—n., blind man (IA)
 ka:n—n., shoulder (IA)
 ka:phi—adv., enough (IA)
 ka:T- —to cut (IA)
 kad- —bite of snake, dog
 kakh—adv., besides
 kalco—pp., above, over
 kaldu—pp., above
 kal—pp., in, inside
 kamra—n., room (IA)
 kan- kam- —vi., to catch sight of
 kan- —vi., to see (imp. sg.)
 kanpuRi—n., temple (IA)
 kar—n., ram castrated one
 ker—n., line
 ki (tə) ... ki (tə)—conj., either ... or (IA)
 ki:n—adj., dirt (IA)
 kilcə—adv., nearby

- kildu — pp., in between
 kim — n., house
 kirməla — n., ant
 kisəm — adj., type (IA)
 kita:b — n., book (IA)
 kor- — vt., to carve (IA)
 koT — n., coat (<Eng via IA)
 ku:d — vi., to jump (IA)
 kui — n., fungus
 kukRu — n., hen (IA)
 kuNi, koNi — n., elbow (IA)
 kuŋkya:- — vi., to bark (IA)
 kua:Ra — n., seed, sprout (IA)
 kuataŋ — n., walnut
 kui:R — n., mist
 kuε — adv., some
 kyã — vi., to be ashamed of
 kya:wa — n., banana (IA)
 kyɔTɔ — n., boy, man. lad
 kyələŋ — adv., how much, how many
 kēTi — n., young girl, lady
 kəcha — n., underwear (IA)
 kədu — n., pumpkin (IA)
 kəgrya:i — n., armpit (IA)
 kəi — adv., many (IA)
 kəma- — vt., to earn, to do (IA)
 kəmjor — adv., weak (IA)
 kəməŋ — n., loins, waist (IA)
 kəndha — n., shoulder (IA)
 kənu:N — n., ear (IA)
 kəra:ma:t — n., wonder (IA)
 kəri:b — adv., approximate, near (IA)
 kəs- — vt., to fasten (IA)
 kəTa- — vi., to get cut (IA)
 kətha — n., story
 kəTɔr — adj., hard (IA)
 kəTya:r — n., slope (IA)
 kəŋgi — n., comb (IA)
 khã:s — vi., to cough (IA)
 khã:si rha- — vi., to get a cough
 khã:si — n., cough (IA)
 khab- khap- — vt., to cover
 khaks- — vi. to cover oneself (reflexive v.)
 khaTo — adj., sour (IA)
 khaŋ — n., a weight of dry things about one
 kilogram or a specified weight
 kha — n., hair of head
 khebi — adv., anything
 kheb — n., needle
 khi:- — vi., to worship
 khi:sa — n., pocket (IA)
 khiga:t, khyəgat — adv., sometimes
 khikca- — vi., to giggle
 khilep — adj., how much, how many
 khilta — n., shirt
 khimi — adv., how
 khir- — vt., to close door or window
 khiri ... khiri ... — conj., so ... that ... as ... if
 khiri — n., something (also past form of
 /khir-/)
 khiRki — n., window (IA)
 kho- — vt., to harvest
 khoj lə- — vt., to search
 khoj- — vt., to search (IA)
 khoj — n., search (IA)
 khol- — vt., to open something closed
 khoR — n., enclosure
 khu:b — adj., much, many (IA)
 khub- — vt., to close inside, animals or
 persons etc.
 khud — n., self (IA)
 khuica — n., puppy
 khui — n., dog.
 khulmɔ — n., hay
 khulɔ — adj., lose
 khum — n., pillow
 khuTi — n., lower leg (IA)
 khu — n., smoke
 khua:ma — n., bed
 khuar- — vt., to turn over
 khuəkəlo — adj., hollow (IA)
 khyag- khyak- — vt., to break, to pluck
 khyagtə — adj., sweet
 khyen, khyenɔ — adv., what, that
 khye — adv., what
 khyo- — vt., to scrape
 khyor mha — adv., why not
 khyoru ki — conj., because
 khyoru — adv., why
 khyos- — vi., to ride
 khyə- — vt., to give to first person only
 khyəga:tə mha khyəga:tə — adv.,
 sometimes or the other
 khyəga:tə — adv., sometimes
 khyəkɔ — adv., how much, how many
 khyəl- — vi., to leave behind
 khyər- — vt., to talk
 khyəwa, khyəwa — n., husband

- khɔ— vi., to be hungry
 khɔcɔ— n., belly, stomach
 khɔN— vt., to dig (IA)
 khẽ guast— adv., sometime
 khẽc— vt., to pull (IA)
 khẽgu— adv., somewhere (IA)
 khẽ— adv., somewhere, anywhere (IA)
 khəbər lhe— vi., to take information, or 'to
 take to task
 khəbər— n., news, information (IA)
 khəm— n., beam
 khənt— adj., unsharp
 khəra:b— adj., bad (IA)
 khəro— vt., to stir
 khəsũ— adj., dull, not bright (IA)
 khətagtə— adj., bitter
 khəTkhəT— adv., knock (IA)
 khəTkhəTa— vt., to knock
 khəwa— vt., to feed (IA)
 la:k— num., one lac
 la:ma— n., father's elder brother's
 wife; mother's elder sister
 la:ŋ — vi., to cross some hurdle (IA)
 la:N— n., clothing (IA)
 la:pa— n., father's elder brother, mother's
 elder sister's husband
 la:Tɔ— adj., dumb (IA)
 la:u— n., saliva (IA)
 labu— adj., big, large
 laca— n., young one of goat
 lagpa— n., glove
 lagtū— adj., thin
 lag— n., hand
 lalli— n., a type of woolen blanket
 laŋbɔ— n., cowdung
 laŋRa— adj., lame (IA)
 laŋsa— n., manure, dung
 la— n., a type of goat, month
 lek— vt., to write (IA)
 ler— n., position
 les — vi., to smear
 lɛ— pp., with
 li:də— adj., heavy
 lika:-, — vt., to cause to write (IA)
 litɔ— adv., near
 lob— n., greed (IA)
 logTo— n., uncastrated male goat
 lɔR— vt., to quarrel (IA)
 lɔT-, — vi., to come back (IA)
 lɔTa:- vt., to return (IA)
 lotɔ— n., skin
 lua— n., lungs
 lu:la— adj., a person without hands (IA)
 lu:tɔ— n., mange
 lu:T— vt., to rob (IA)
 luŋgya— adv., four days after tomorrow
 lua:r— n., blacksmith (IA)
 lya— vt., to give birth
 lya:c- — vi., to be born
 lyoni— adj., next
 lyɔN— adv., behind, after
 lyə- lya:c- — vi., burn
 lə-, luə— vt., to say, to speak
 lə— to do, to make
 ləc-ləcɔ— adj., flexible (IA)
 ləga:ta:r— adv., continuously (IA)
 lən— n., work
 ləpeT— vt., to rap, to roll (IA)
 ləs— n., price
 ləTka:- — vt., to hang (IA)
 ləTək- — vi., hang (IA)
 ləwa— n., a type of blanket
 lha:ma— n., a type of goat
 lhabca, lhapca— n., ring
 lhe— vt., to take
 lhedə— adj., yellow
 lhunja— n., leech
 lhyəm- lhyən- — vt., to drive away cattle
 lhəsoR- — vt., to pull
 ma:lək— n., landlord, owner (IA)
 ma:ma— n., mother's brother, father's
 sister's husband
 ma:n- vi., to agree (IA)
 ma:Na— n., a name of the valley
 ma:n— n., respect (IA)
 ma:phi tho- — vt., to request pardon
 ma:phi— n., forgiveness (IA)
 ma:wa— n., a chain of beads (IA)
 ma:ya— n., illusion, money (IA)
 macha— n., fish (IA)
 magpa, makpa— n., younger sister's
 husband, daughter's husband
 makRa— n., spider (IA)
 marcha— n., a name given to the people of
 one of the valley
 marka— n., a village name
 mar— n., ghee, clarified butter
 ma— n., sheep

- mɛ sa:su—n., husband's maternal aunt
 mɛda:n—n., plane ground (IA)
 mɛla—adj., dirty (IA)
 mɛl—n., dirt (IA)
 mɛnət—n., hard work (IA)
 mi:l—n., a mile (English via IA)
 mignəra—n., yellowish eye discharge
 migti—n., tears
 mig—n., eye
 miŋgya—adv., a day after tomorrow
 miri—n., gums
 miser—n., father's younger brother's wife
 mise—n., persons (pl.)
 miTa:-—vt., to wipe (IA)
 mitig—n., a flying insect
 mi—n., person
 momo—n., mother's mother
 moNɔ, moRɔ—n., dead body (IA)
 moR-—vi., to turn (IA)
 mos-—vt., mop up
 mɔsəm—n., weather (IA)
 mu—n., original stock, base
 mu:c-—vi. to let loose
 mua:ri—n., wild bee
 muã—n., kiss
 muca:-—vt. to release
 mulyaŋ—adv., night
 mul—n., silver
 mulɛm. —adj., soft (IA)
 muncanam—adv., early morning
 muncɔ—adv., morning
 munya:u—n., source
 murkuli—n., earring (IA)
 muskil—adj., difficult (IA)
 muyo—n., scoundrel
 muŋri—n., maize (IA)
 myɔ—n., barren land
 myənkɔ—n., frog (IA)
 məchər—n., mosquito (IA)
 məja:k—n., fun, joke (IA)
 mənə:- —vt., to persuade (IA)
 məŋdə—adj., red
 məŋər—n., water well
 mən—n., mind, heart (IA)
 mərc—n., chilli (IA)
 məRgini, məNgini—n., nape of the neck
 (IA)
 mərtoliya—n., a clan name
 məR—n., a weight of 37 kg.
- məs—n., dream
 mhan—n., medicine
 mhast—adv., very many, very much (IA)
 mhafa—n., elder brother's wife
 mha—adv., negation marker, no, not
 mhe—n., fire
 mhin—n., name
 mho-—vt. to load
 na:c-—vt., to dance (IA)
 na:c—n., dance (IA)
 na:g—n., a big snake (IA)
 na:i—n., groove
 na:Ni—n., nerve (IA)
 na:ŋɔ—n., naked (IA)
 na:ra:j—adj., angry (IA)
 na:r—n., foot
 na:s—n., destruction (IA)
 na:tiNi—n., granddaughter, daughter's
 daughter (IA)
 na:ti—n., grandson, daughter's son (IA)
 na:u—n., boat (IA)
 naca:r—adv., before, in front of
 nadpa—n., sick person
 nad—n., sickness
 nag—n., pus
 namchã—vt., to grow dawn or dusk
 namci—n., villager
 namfa—n., younger brother's wife, a
 married lady
 nam—n., village
 naŋcya—n., intestine, gut
 naniŋ—adv., last year
 nem—n., rule (IA)
 nɛR-chiləm—n., smoking pipe (IA)
 ni:lɔ—adj., blue (IA)
 ni:r—n., day
 ni:ti—n., a village name
 nibca—n., rat, mouse
 nica—n., mother's father's sister, father's
 father's sister
 nicoR-—vt., to squeeze (IA)
 nised—n., pain
 nisɔ—adj. low (IA)
 ni—n., sun
 nɔlɔ—n., navel
 nɔnɔ—n., mother's brother's wife
 nɔRi—n., butter (IA)
 nɔ—adj., only
 nɔ—num. nine (IA)

- nu:də—adj., new
 nuəse—n., pots (pl.)
 nya:r—adv., yesterday
 nyama—n., sweets
 nyəlu—n., bastard
 nəg—n., gem (IA)
 nəŋa:-—vt., to cross (IA)
 nəŋ—n., finger nail
 nəRd, nərd—n., husband's younger sister
 nəryu—n., coconut (IA)
 nərək—n., hell (IA)
 nəs—vi., to be ill
 nətər ... nətər—conj., neither ... nor
 nha:- nha:c—vt., to dance
 nha:ma—n., goats and sheep (a common term)
 nhaku—n., pigeon, dove
 nhanta—adj., beautiful
 nhar—vt., to throw
 nhars—n., fall
 nhi:s gya—adj., three hundred
 nhi:s phyero—adv., at two times
 nhi:s—num., two
 nhilaŋ—adv., twice
 nhimci—n., nose
 nhisgya—adv., three days
 nhisəri—adv., both
 nhod—n., pot
 nhu:s—vi., to wait for
 nhəmca:r, nhanca:r, nhica:r—adv., front, before
 ŋε—num., five
 ŋεpɔ—adj., fifth
 ŋεgya—adv., fifth day, five hundred
 o thamiŋ—adv., any day before two days
 ol—vt., to knead
 ola—interjection, oh ! (while calling)
 oro, orɔ—n., tomorrow
 orīya—n., smell'
 or—n., direction (AI)
 oŋ—vi., to doze
 oŋ—n., slumber (IA)
 ɔja:r—n., implement (IA)
 ɔri—adj., good
 ɔr—conj., and (IA)
 ɔs—n., dew (IA)
 ɔta:r—n., a male name-Avatar
 pa:k- —vi. to ripen (IA)
 pa:khi—n., women's upper clothes, a gown type
 pa:l—n., a clan name
 pa:n-sa:t—adj., five-seven (IA)
 pa:n—n., betel leaf (IA)
 pa:N—pp., in, under
 pa:pi—n., sinner (IA)
 pa:p—n., sin (IA)
 pa:R—n., mountain, a big rock
 pa:t—n., leaf of a plant (IA)
 pa:wɔ—n., frost (IA)
 pachim—n., west (IA)
 paləŋ—n., bed (IA)
 pan—vt., to spin
 parbə—n., festival (IA)
 paRdə—adj., wide, broad
 pēc—n., handle (IA)
 pēsav—n., money (IA)
 pec—n., bird
 pel—vt., to feed
 pəla—adj., first (IA)
 pəra dha—vt., to guard (IA)
 pəra—n., watch (IA)
 per—pp., on (IA)
 pi gya—num., four hundred
 pi:T—vt., to beat (IA)
 pīs—vi., to be filled
 pigya—adv., four days
 pijag—n., seed
 pin—vt., to fill
 piwa:-—vt., to make someone drink (IA)
 pi—num., four
 pɔc—vi., to reach (IA)
 pɔŋco—pp., under
 popo—n., mother's father
 pɔR—n., rock
 pot—vt., to brew
 pu:j—vt., to worship (IA)
 pu:ja—n., worship (IA)
 pu:rɔ—adj., whole, full (IA)
 pu:Tu—n., anus, buttocks
 pucəRi—n., tail (IA)
 pun—vt., to cook
 purb—adv., east (IA)
 purpuRi—n., temple (IA)
 puru—n., husband's elder brother
 pusu—n., head
 puyu—n., husband's elder sister
 pwa:ka—n., vagina

- pæcta:- — vi., to repent (IA)
 pæka:- — vt., to ripen (IA)
 pælc — n., milk
 pælTa:- — vt., turn around (IA)
 pælTə- — vi., turn around (IA)
 pændra — num., fifteen (IA)
 pænja: — n., toe (IA)
 pæra:u — n., halt (IA)
 pærsæn — adj., happy (IA)
 pær — pp., on (IA)
 pæta:w — n., imaginary world under the earth. (IA)
 pæta — n., knowledge, address (IA)
 pæya:- — vt., to sharpen
 pæya:r — n., meadow
 pha:ŋɔ — n., branch of a tree (IA)
 pha:R- — vt., to split (IA)
 pha:T- — vi., burst (IA)
 phac- — vt., to put some dry eatable in mouth like, sattu, roasted grains, etc.
 phag- — vt., to break (thread, rope)
 phags- — vi., to be broken
 phan- pham — vt., to stitch, to sew
 phas- — vt., causative form of /phac-/
 phaTɔ — n., arm (IA)
 pha — n., a chip of pine wood
 phæl- — vi., spread (IA)
 phela:- — vt., to spread
 phɛRi — n., staircase (IA)
 pher — n., a round about way (IA)
 phi:ya — n., a squirrel like animal
 phinba — n., saddle cloth
 phiTiŋ, phəT — n., ashes
 pho- — vt., to dry
 phoc- phoj- — vi., fade away
 phɔm — n., supposition
 phoR- — vt., to break (IA) (hard objects, stones etc.)
 phɔro — n., spade
 phoro — adj., brown
 phoRs- — vi., to be broken
 phost — adj., dried
 phu:k- — vt., to blow, to puff (IA)
 phu:l- — vi., to bloom (IA)
 phula: — vt., to pump air (IA)
 phun- — vt., to kindle, to strike (fire)
 phuRdə, phurdə — adj., fat, bulky
 phuskya:- — vt., to persuade, to allure
 phutər — n., hearth, oven
 phuəl- — vt., to open, to loosen
 phuəlɔ- — vi., be open, loose
 phuəlTi — n., a pot
 phuənya — n., a clan name
 phuəst — adj., opened
 phyag- — vt., to open
 phyaləŋ — adj., half
 phyer- — vt., to hasten
 phyəd-mulyəŋ — adj., mid night
 phyeniŋ — adj., noon
 phyəs khyer- — vt., to fart
 phyəs — n., fart
 phəgoT — n., bark of tree (IA)
 phəl — n., fruit (IA)
 phənjo — n., dead body
 phərj- — n., duty (IA)
 rəgəR- — vt., to scrub (IA)
 rəkɔ — n., defense
 rəkcyā — adj., protection
 rənca:- — vt., to erect
 rənka:-, — vt., decapitate, behead
 rəŋya- — vt., to colour (IA)
 rəŋ — n., colour (IA)
 rəssi — n., rope (IA)
 rāc — n., loom
 rāD — n., widow (IA)
 rākɔ — n., torch
 ra:gəs — n., demon (IA)
 ra:ja — n., king (IA)
 ra:jpu:t — n., a Hindu caste name (IA)
 ra:na — n., a clan name (IA)
 ra:Ni — n., queen (IA)
 ra:ŋ — n., tin
 ra:p — adj., heat
 ra:u — n., livestock, animals
 rad — n., cow (from a yak family)
 raŋ- — vt., to sell
 raŋpɔ, rəŋpɔ — n., Rangpo people
 rɛ dha- — vt., to give opinion
 rɛ — n., opinion, counsel (IA)
 ri:Dət-haRkɔ — n., back- bone (IA)
 ri:g — n., bear (IA)
 ri:ŋ- — vi., turn on oneself
 riŋa:- — vt., to circle round
 roj — adv., day, everyday (IA)
 roŋ- — vt., to pull
 rəŋpɔ bha:sa — n., Rangpo language
 rop- — vt., to plant (IA)
 rɔR- — vt., to slip, to slide (IA)

- rɔRɔ—n., landslide (IA)
 rɔRya:s—vi., to overflow
 ru:k—vi., to halt (IA)
 ruka:-—vt., to halt (IA)
 rukɔ—adj., coarse, dry (IA)
 rupē, ruphē —n., money, rupees (IA)
 ruoko, ruəko—adj., all
 ryu:Ni—n., giddiness
 rha-—vi., to come
 rhag- rhagc-—vi., to blush
 rhapu—pp., on the other side, across
 rhi:- —vt., roll up threads into balls
 rhi:gcag—n., lice
 rhi:g—n., louse
 rhigər—n., field
 rhin- rhim-—vt., a process of making
 bundles of threads for further process
 rhinja—n., sister
 rhu:- —vt., to ask
 rhu:də—adj., long, tall
 rhui—n., question, interrogation
 rhəb, rhəc—vi., to laugh
 rhəm- rhən-—vt., to weave
 sās lhe-—vi., take breath
 sās—n., breath (IA)
 sa:- —vi., send for
 sa:i—n., wife's sister (IA)
 sa:l—n., year (IA)
 sa:məN—n., soap (IA)
 sa:Ngəu—n., chain for animals (IA)
 sa:n—adj., brightness
 sa:ra—adj., whole (IA)
 sa:rɔ—adj., firm
 sa:t—num., seven (IA)
 sa:tgya—adv., seven hundred
 sa:tgya—adv., seven days
 sa:wo—n., wife's brother (IA)
 sad-, sap-—vt., to kill, to extinguish
 sag—n., tooth
 saNɔ—adj., intact (IA)
 sastɔ—adj., cheap (IA)
 sēs-—vi., to wake up
 sē—adj., correct
 sɛ-, sɔ-—vi., endure, bear
 sɛdɔ—n., marriage (IA)
 sɛŋɔ—adj., easy
 sɛNo—n., plane land (IA)
 sɛru—n., child
 se—pp., from (agentive in passive forms)
- fāt yu—n., husband's grandmother
 si:da, sidɔ—adj., direct, straight (IA)
 si:də—adj., white
 si:r—n., head (IA)
 sib-—vt., to kill a goat or sheep
 sib—pp., with, along
 sidum—n., garlic
 sid—adj., perfect
 sig-—vt., to wipe
 sigca—n., comb
 siŋ —n., wood
 sis-, sisc-—vi., to die, to extinguish
 so-—vt., to bring up, to raise
 sod lə—vi., to get cold
 sod—n., cold, winter
 sok—n., grief (IA)
 sor-—vt., to sweep, to clean
 sos-—vi., to be brought up
 sōc-—vi., to think (IA)
 sōc—n., thought (IA)
 sōsa—n., a name of a village
 sɔ—num., hundred (IA)
 sɔda—n., deal, bargain (IA)
 sɔt—n., honey (IA)
 sūŋər—n., pig (IA)
 su:c-—vi., to stink
 su:l-—vt., to mend (clothes etc.)
 su:ŋ-—vi., to smell (IA)
 sub—adj., auspicious (IA)
 sud-bud—n., senses (IA)
 sud—adj., pure (IA)
 sum phero—adv., third time
 sumpɔ—adj., third
 sum—num., three
 suNa:-—vt., to narrate (IA)
 suŋa:r-—vt., to repair (IA)
 suRuk—adv., all of a sudden (IA)
 sus-—vi., to wash head
 susu—adv., exactly from
 su—pp., out of (location), since, point of
 time
 səbəd—n., word (IA)
 səb—adj., all (IA)
 səca:r—n., earth, ground
 səc—n., truth (IA)
 sədē, sədɛ—adv., always (IA)
 səd—n., sickle
 səja:-—vt., to decorate (IA)
 sək—n., doubt (IA)

- səlɔ — n., grasshopper
 səm rha — vi., to wish
 səmɔ — n., son's or daughter's father-in-law (IA)
 səmɔNɪ — n., son's or daughter's mother-in-law (IA)
 səmjɑ: — vt., to make understand (IA)
 səmɔndər — n., sea (IA)
 səməj — vi., to understand (IA)
 səm — n., wish
 sənima — n., cinema (English via IA)
 sənsɑ:r — n., world (IA)
 sər-sər — n., , sound of the wind
 səri:r — n., body (IA)
 səræg — n., heaven (IA)
 səs — vi., to know
 səwɑ:l — n., question (IA)
 ʃuɑfɑ — n., heart
 ʃuĩ rha — vi., to bleed
 ʃuĩ — n., blood
 ʃã-, ʃãc — vi., to grow old
 ʃãt rhu — n., husband's grandfather
 ʃãt — adj., old
 ʃamni — n., an old type of greeting term
 ʃampa — n., paddy
 ʃaŋni — adj., elder
 ʃasag — n., a village name
 ʃɑ — n., meat, flesh
 ʃu:Nɪ — n., horn
 ʃərba — adj., young
 ʃəwɑ — adj., seniority
 təb — adv., then (IA)
 təgtə — adj., smell
 təkdi:r — n., fate (IA)
 təlɔ — n., pond (IA)
 təmbu — n., tent (IA)
 tərɑ:ju — n., a pair of scales (IA)
 təri — n., soup (IA)
 tərəm — adv., suddenly (IA)
 tərəph — adv., side (IA)
 təyɑ:ri — n., readiness (IA)
 təyɑ:r — adj., ready (IA)
 tɑ:- — vt., to keep
 tɑ:i — n., lock (IA)
 tɑ:ku — n., spindle
 tɑ:N- — vt., to put off, to take out something
 tɑ:n — n., part
 tɑ:ra — n., star (IA)
 tɑ:rik — adj., date (IA)
 tɑ:r — n., axe
 tɑ:r — n., wire (IA)
 tɑd-, tɑp- — vt., to beat
 tɑg — n., sign, mark
 tɑŋ- — vt., to find
 tɑr- — vt., to finish
 tẽ — pp., before
 tɛj — adj., fast, sharp (IA)
 tɛ — adj., many
 tɛ — n., decision (IA)
 ti:R- — vt., to burst (IA)
 ti:r — n., arrow (IA)
 tig-tig — adv., one by one
 tig — num., one
 tiha:i — adj., one third (IA)
 tikoN — adj., triangle (IA)
 tilguN — n., mole (IA)
 tiŋdə — adj., black
 tir- — vt., to irrigate
 titəli — n., butterfly (IA)
 ti — n., water
 to- — vt., to crush
 tɔi — n., bottom, soil
 toɫ — vt., to weigh
 toɫ — n., weight (IA)
 toNi — adj., best, of first kind
 tɔRo — n., thigh
 tota — n., parrot (IA)
 tɔtɔ — n., father's father
 to — adv., then (IA)
 tũ- — vt., to drink
 tula:- — vt., to get weigh
 tuŋtə — adj., big
 tuntə — adj., short
 tupha:n — n., dust strom (IA)
 tupka:- — vt., to drop (IA)
 tupkə- — vi., to drop (IA)
 tuən- — vt., to keep something on hearth for cooking
 tyǒ- — vi., to weep
 tha:i — n., metal plate (IA)
 tha:m- — vi., to stop (IA)
 thagpa — n., rope
 thalmo — n., flesh
 thal — n., back
 thamiŋ — adv., a day before yesterday
 than — adv., today
 thaniŋ — adv., this year

- thannya:r—adv., always
 thaŋga—n., plain level
 thi:də—adj., wet
 thiŋ — vt., to spread
 thiŋcə—pp., under, below
 thō— vt., to graze
 tho— vt., to ask for
 thok— vt., to knock (IA)
 thōcə—pp., under, below
 thou, thol—n., lips
 thu:g—vi., to spit (IA)
 thud— vt., to teach
 thug—n., spittle (IA)
 thunḡya—adv., three days after tomorrow
 thus— vt., to learn
 thuəri—adv., a little, a few
 thəma— vt., to hand over (IA)
 thəne—pp., up to
 Tāko—n., turban (IA)
 Ta:ŋ— vt., to hang (IA)
 Ta:ŋ—n., leg (IA)
 Ta:Ri—n., whistle (IA)
 Tab—n., bridle, rein
 Tek ləga:- vt., to take support of
 something physical
 Tek—n., support (IA)
 Tem, Təm—n., time (English via IA)
 TɛT lə— vt., to tight
 TɛT—adj., tight (English via IA)
 Ti:k— vt., to hold, to keep (IA)
 Tika:- vt., to keep carefully in place (IA)
 TimTima:- vi., to glow (IA)
 Tobli—n., cap (IA)
 Tolo—adj., deaf (IA)
 Tuku—n., top, peak
 TukəRa—n., piece (IA)
 Tun—adj., intoxicated (IA)
 Tua:na—n., rafter (IA)
 Tuəkəri—n., a basket (IA)
 Tyu:b—n., tube (English via IA)
 TəmaTər—n., tomatoes (IA)
 Təm—adj., something full, brimful (IA)
 TəTTu—n., pony (IA)
 Tha:T lə— vi., to live in luxury (IA)
 Tha:T-ba:T—adv., great pump and show
 (IA)
 Thab— vt., to winnow
 ThaNo hwəŋ— vi., to stand
 ThaNo—adj., upright, erect
 TheT—adj., pure, typical (IA)
 Thik-Tha:k—adj., in good form (IA)
 Thik-Thik—right, exact, OK. (IA)
 Thōr— vt., to attempt, to try some work,
 to determine
 u:g — vi., to grow (IA)
 u:R— vi., to fly (IA)
 ucə—adj., high (IA)
 uda:s lə— vi., to be sad
 uda:s—adj., sad (IA)
 udha:r—n., borrow (IA)
 uDya:r—n., hole (IA)
 ulu—n., owl (IA)
 umsəri—n., wife
 umər—n., age (IA)
 upa: y—adv., method (IA)
 upha:r—n., gift (IA)
 upjə— vt., to grow, produce (noun) (IA)
 ur— vt., to wash (something)
 urs— vi., to wash oneself, to bathe',
 usu—adv., a little bit (liquid)
 uta:r— vt., to get something down
 uttər—n., north (IA)
 utəlo—adj., shallow (IA)
 utər— vi., to come down (IA)
 uŋ—n., stone
 wā— vi., appear in sight
 wa:də—adv., far, away
 wa:pəs rha— vi., to come back
 wa:pəs—n., return (IA)
 wa:sta, wasta—pp., for (IA)
 walən—n., Kumauni person
 wəda lə— vt., to give promise
 wəda—n., promise (IA)
 wəla:r—n., slope
 wətha, wata—adv., next year
 ya:d rha— vi., to remember
 ya:d—n., remembrance (IA)
 ya:r—n., friend (IA)
 yandu, yaŋdə—adj., light (in weight)
 ya—conj., or (IA)
 yer, er—pp., above
 yerē—adj., height
 ye—interjection, hey!
 yū— vi., to walk
 yū-yūt—adv., every year
 yū—n., year
 yu:də—adj., old
 yu—n., mother-in-law; beer

yəg — n., egg
yəkhuli — adv., alone
yəksən — adv., always
yən- yəm- — vi., to hear
yəs- — vi., to be intoxicated
yəs — n., intoxication

ENGLISH-RONGPO GLOSSARY

- a bit (IA)—jəra
a day after tomorrow—miŋgya
a day before yesterday—thamiŋ
a few, a little bit—thuəri
a little bit (liquid)—usu
a name of the valley—ma:Na
a weight of 37 kg.—məR
above—kaldu, yer, er
above, over—kalco
again (IA)—dua:ro
age (IA)—umər
agree (vt.) (IA)—ma:n-
aircraft (IA)—ja:j
all—ruoko, ruəko
all (IA)—səb
alms (IA)—da:n
alone—yəkhuli
also (IA)—bi, bhi
always—thannya:r, yəksən
always (IA)—həmesa
always (IA)—sədē, səde
an old type of greeting term—jamni
and—dō
and (IA)—ər, ər
anger, a feeling of being offended—
 chukpa
angry (IA)—na:ra:j
animal (IA)—ja:nwər
answer, reply (IA)—jəwa:b
ant—kirməla
anus, buttocks—pu:Tu
any day before two days—o thamiŋ
anything—khebi
appear in sight—wā-
approximate, near (IA)—kəri:b
apricot—cyu:i
arm (IA)—phaTə
armpit (IA)—kəgrya:i
arrangements (IA)—intəja:m
arrow (IA)—ti:r
ashes—cha:rə
ashes—phiTiŋ, phəTiŋ, phaTiŋ
ask (vt.)—rhu:-
ask for (vt.)—tho-
ass (IA)—gədda
at once—dha:n
at two occasions—nhi:s phyero
attempt, to try some work, to determine
 (vt.)—Thər-
auspicious (IA)—sub
avalanche—chuəiya
away from—ha:r
axe—ta:r
back—thal
backbone (IA)—ri:Dət- haRko
bad (IA)—khəra:b
bad cold—chyampa
bag (IA)—jhoyə
bag, made of wool—camko
bamboo (IA)—bās
banana (IA)—kya:wa
bark (v) (IA)—bhūk-, bhūg-
bark of tree—phəgoT
barren land—myə
basket, one of the type (IA)—Tuəkəri
bastard—nyəlu
bathe (v)—urs-
be afraid of (vi.) (IA)—Dər-
be ashamed of (vi.)—kyā-
be born (vi.)—lyə:c-
be broken (vi.) (IA)—phoRs-
be broken (vi.)—phags-
be broken (vi.; used for hard objects)—
 gyak-, gyakc-
be brought up (vi.)—sos-
be buried (vi.)—dəphən-
be hungry (vi.)—khə-
be ill (vi.)—nəs-
be intoxicated (vi.)—yəs-
be left out (vi.) (IA)—chu:T-
be loosen (vi.)—phuəlc-
be offended (vi.)—chukpa rha-
be ready (vi.)—chya:s-
be sad (vi.)—uda:s lə-
be satisfied of hunger (vi.)—dhitya:s
bead of a glass (IA)—goi
beam—khəm
beans of local type —chemi
bear (IA)—ri:g
beard (IA)—da:Ri

- beat (vt.) (IA)—pi:T-
beat (vt.)—tad-, tap-
beautiful, handsome—nhanta
because of—khyoru ki
become wet (vi.) (IA)—bi:j-
bed—Dasa:ŋ
bed—khua:ma
bed (IA)—paləŋ
bed bug—cyāri
bedding (IA)—bistəra
bee of big size—bhuāri
before—tē
before, in front of—naca:r
begin, to start (vt.)—ca:s-
behind—harkū
behind, after—lyəN
belch (IA)—Dəga:r
belley, stomach—khəcə
besides—kakh
besiege, to surround (vt.) (IA)—gher-
best, of first kind—toNi
betel leaf (IA)—pa:n
big—tuŋtə
big (IA)—bəRa, bəRya
birch tree (IA)—bhu:j
bird—pyec
bite of snake, dog—kad-
bitter—khətagtə
black—tiŋdə
blacksmith (IA)—lua:r
blanket, a local type—cuTka
blanket, a local type—lalli
blanket, a local type —ləwa
bleed (vt.)—suĩ rha-
blind (fem. IA)—əndhi
blind (masc. IA)—əndha
blind man (IA)—ka:No
blood—suĩ
bloom (vi.) (IA)—phu:l-
blow, sound of falling something (IA)—
Dhəma:k
blow, to puff (vt.) (IA)—phu:k-
blue (IA)—ni:lə
blush (vi.)—rhag-, rhagc-
boat (IA)—na:u
body—jugū
body—jumiŋ
body (IA)—səri:r
bone (IA)—haRkə
book (IA)—kita:b
both—nhisəri
bottle (IA)—botəu
bottom, soil—təi
bow (IA)—dhəna:i
brain (IA)—dəma:g, dima:g
branch of a tree—pha:ŋə
break (vt.) (IA) (hard objects, stones
etc.)—phəR-
break (vt.) (thread, rope)—phag-
break (vt.)—chya:c-
breast—apu
breath (IA)—sās
brew (vt.)—cyu:-
brew (vt.)—pot-
bride (IA)—byəli
bridegroom (IA)—byələ
bridge—janpə
bridle, rein—Tab
brightness—sa:n
bring (vt.)—ba-, bar-
bring up, to raise (vt.)—so-
broom (IA)—buani
brother—byəd
brother (IA)—bha:i
brothers (pl.)—byəse
brown—phoro
brown (IA)—bhurə
buckwheat—bhəst
buffalo bull (IA)—bhēsə
build (vt.) (brick or stone wall or house)
(IA)—ci:N-
bull (IA)—bəRya
burn—lyə-, lya:c-
burst (vi.) (IA)—ti:R-
burst (vi.) (IA)—pha:T-
bury (IA)—dəphən
bury (vt.)—dəphna:-
bush (IA)—jha:Ri
butter (IA)—nəRi
butterfly (IA)—titəli
buttermilk—boti
button (IA)—gunTi
buy (v)—chə-
calf (IA)—ba:churu
call (vt.) (near the speaker)—bhəTya:-
cap (IA)—Tobli
card (vt.) cotton or wool—cuə-
carefully (IA)—dhya:n se

- carpet a local type — dan
 carry (vt.) — bu-
 carve (vt.) (IA) — kor-
 caste name (IA) — ra:jpɯ:t
 castle (IA) — gəR
 cat (IA) — birɔ
 catch sight of (vt.) — kan, kam-
 causative form of /phac-/ — phas-
 cause to shine (IA) — cəməka:-
 chaff (IA) — cuɔko
 chain for animals (IA) — sa:ŋ gəu
 chain made of beads (IA) — ma:wa
 change (vt.) (IA) — bədəl-
 cheap (IA) — sastɔ
 cheek (IA) — ga:lu
 cheese — chura
 chest, breast (IA) — cha:ti
 chew (vt.) (IA) — cəba-, cəpa-
 childless woman (IA) — bāj
 chilli (IA) — mərəc
 chin (IA) — chuni
 chip of pine wood — pha
 choose (vt.) (IA) — cha:N-
 choose (vt.) (IA) — cu:n-
 cinema (English via IA) — sənima
 circle round (vt.) — riŋa:-
 circuitous route (IA) — pher
 clan name — bhorɪ
 clan name — bəRɯa:l
 clan name — Dəmpha
 clan name — dha:ni
 clan name — mərtoliya
 clan name — pa:l
 clan name — phuənya
 clan name (IA) — bhaT
 clan name (IA) — ra:na:
 clock, watch, moment (IA) — ghəRɪ
 close (IA) — bənd
 close door or window (vt.) — khir-
 close inside, animals or persons etc.
 (vt.) — khub-
 clothing (IA) — la:N
 cloud (IA) — ba:dəu
 coarse, dry (IA) — rukɔ
 coat (IA) — koT
 coconut (IA) — nəryu
 cold — sod
 colour (vt.) (IA) — rəŋya-
 colour (IA) — rəŋg
 comb — sigca
 comb (IA) — kəŋgi
 come (vi.) — rha-
 come back (vi.) — wa:pəs rha-
 come back (vi.) (IA) — lɔT-
 come down (vi.) (IA) — utər-
 comfort, rest (IA) — a:ra:m
 common term used for cows, bulls —
 bhaləŋ
 competition (IA) — hoR
 continuously (IA) — ləga:ta:r
 cook (vt.) — pun-
 cooking (passive form) — pūs-
 copper — jaŋma, jagma
 corn, grain — gala
 correct — sē
 cough (vt.) (IA) — khā:s-
 cough (noun) (IA) — khā:si
 count (vt.) (IA) — gɔN-
 courtyard (IA) — a:ŋəN
 cover (vt.) — khab-, khap-
 cover oneself (vi.) — khaks-
 cow (from a yak family) — rad
 cowdung — laŋbɔ
 cross (vi.) (IA) — nəŋa:-
 cross some hurdle (vt.) (IA) — la:ŋ-
 crow (IA) — ka:g
 crush (vt.) — to-
 cry (vi.) (IA) — aRək-
 curd (IA) — də
 cut (vt.) (IA) — ka:t-
 dance (vt.) (IA) — na:c-
 dance (vt.) — nha:-, nha:c-
 dance (IA) — na:c
 date (IA) — ta:rik
 dative suffix (sg.) — -ru
 dative suffix (pl.) — -nu
 daughter (IA) — ca:ma
 day — ni:r
 day (IA) — din
 day, hundred — gya
 dead body — phəŋjɔ
 dead body (IA) — moNɔ, moRɔ
 deaf (IA) — Tolo
 deal, bargain (IA) — sɔda
 debt, loan (IA) — udha:r
 decapitate, behead — rəŋka-
 deception (IA) — dhuəka
 decision — tɛ

- decorate (vt.) (IA)—səja:-
 defeated (be defeated) (vi.) (IA)—ha:r-
 defeat (vt.) (IA)—hara:-
 defecate (vi.)—a:ka khyər-
 defense—rəkcɔ
 defiled by eating or drinking (IA)—juTho
 demon (IA)—ra:gəṣ
 desire (IA)—ichya
 destruction (IA)—na:s
 dew (IA)—ōs
 die, to extinguish (vi.)—sis-, sisc-
 difficult—a sɛŋɔ
 difficult (IA)—muskil
 dig (vt.)—khɔN-
 direct, straight (IA)—si:da, sidɔ
 direction (IA)—or
 dirt—chəwo
 dirt (IA)—ki:n
 dirt (IA)—mɛl
 dirty (IA)—mɛla
 disease (IA)—bima:ri
 dissolve (vt.) (IA)—ghol-
 distribute (vt.) (IA)—bāT-
 divide, to share (vt.)—chyu-
 do good (vi.)—bhya:p-
 do, to make (v)—lə-
 dog.—khui
 door, entrance—akto
 double (IA)—du:Na
 doubt (IA)—sək
 doze (vi.) (IA)—oŋ-
 dream—məs
 dried—phost
 drink (vt.)—tū-
 drive away cattle (vt.)—lhyəm-, lhyən-
 drive away, to elope (IA)—bhəga:-
 drive, to help someone walk (vt.) (IA)—
 cəla-
 drop (vt.) (IA)—tupka:-
 drop (vi.) (IA)—tupkə-
 dry (vt.)—pho-
 dull, not bright—khəsū
 dumb (IA)—la:Tɔ
 dust (IA)—dhuwu
 dust strom (IA)—tupha:n
 duty (IA)—phəj
 duty', religion—dhərəm
 ear (IA)—kənu:N
 early morning—muncanam
 earn, to do (vt.) (IA)—kəma-
 earring (IA)—murkuli
 earth (IA)—dhərəti
 earth, ground—səca:r
 east (IA)—purb
 easy—sɛŋɔ
 eat (vt.)—jə-
 eating and drinking—dədu:t
 ebullition, boiling—bhəu
 edge—Di:b
 egg—yəg
 egg (IA)—ənDa:
 eight (IA)—a:Th, a:T
 either ... or (IA)—ki (tə) ... ki (tə)
 elbow (IA)—kuNi, koNi
 elder—faŋni
 elder brother—a:co, a:cyo
 elder brother's wife—mhafa
 elder sister's husband—cha:pɔ
 elder sister, husband's elder brother's
 wife—a:ta
 elephant (IA)—hati, ha:ti
 enclosure—khoR
 endure, bear—sɛ-, sɔ-
 enemy (IA)—bəri
 enemy (IA)—dusmən
 enjoyment (IA)—ɛs
 enmity (IA)—dusməni
 enough (IA)—ka:phi
 enough, stop (IA)—bəs
 enquire about, or to take to task (vi.)—
 khəbər lhe-
 equal (IA)—bəra:bər
 erect (vt.)—rənca: -
 every year—yū-yūt
 everyday, day (IA)—roj
 exactly from—susu
 exactly here—du-du
 exactly there—dɔ-dɔ
 extreme edge (IA)—chyɔR
 eye—mig
 eye brow (IA)—bhɔ
 eyelash (IA)—cipɔ
 fade away (vi.)—phoc-, phoj-
 faith (IA)—biswa:s
 fall—nhars-
 false (IA)—jhuT
 false person (IA)—jhuTha
 far—cheT

far away — wa:də	five — ɲɛ
far away (IA) — du:r	flesh — thalmo
fart — phyəs	fleshy, and plump — ɸuRdə, ɸurdə
fart (vi.) — phyəs khyer-	flexible (IA) — læcələcə
fast (IA) — bəɾət	flood (IA) — ba:R
fast (IA) — chãTə	flour — bya:kpya
fast, sharp (IA) — tej	fly (IA) — bhujyəŋ
fasten (vt.) (IA) — kəs-	fly (vi.) (IA) — u:R-
fat — chyəs, chəs	foam — ga:j
fate (IA) — təkdi:r	fodder (IA) — bhusə
father (address term) (IA) — ba:bu	fold (IA) — jhuri
father's elder brother, mother's elder sister's husband — la:pa	foot — na:r
father's father — tətə	for (IA) — wa:sta, wasta
father's mother — aca, acya	for me — gyitə wa:sta
father's or mother's maternal aunt — guca	forest (IA) — bəN
father's or mother's maternal uncle — guti	forest (IA) — jəŋgəl
father's sister — a:na	forget (vi.) (IA) — bisər-
father's younger brother's wife — mi:fer	forgiveness (IA) — ma:phi
father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband — aku	fortune (IA) — jog
fear — gyəɾt	four — pi
fear (vi.) — gyər-, gyərc-	four days — pigya
feather (IA) — pã:kh	four days after tomorrow — luŋgya
feed (vt.) (IA) — khəwa-	four hundred — pi gya
feed (vt.) — pyel-	four times — pi guNa
feel (vi.), to appear — chuər-	friend (IA) — dagəRya
female — chormi	friend (IA) — dost
female counter part of /la:pa/ — la:ma	friend (IA) — ya:r
female friend (IA) — dagəRya:Ni	friendship (IA) — dosti
fence (IA) — ba:R	frighten (vt.) (IA) — Dəra:-
festival (IA) — parbə	frog (IA) — myənkə
fever (IA) — jər	from this — dhife, dhise
field — rhigər	from us — ise, ĩse
fifteen (IA) — pəndra	from (agentive in passive forms) — se
fifth — ɲɛpə	front, before — nhəmca:r, nhanca:r, nhica:r
fifth day, five hundred — ɲɛgya	frost (IA) — pa:wə
figure, shape — cyɔ̃cə	fruit (IA) — ɸhəl
fill (vt.) — pin-	full — pĩsit
find (vt.) — taŋ-	fun, joke (IA) — məja:k
finger — bəncə:	fungus — kui
finger nail — nəŋ	funny, cheerful (IA) — hãɸu:Ru
finish (vt.) — tar-	gamble (IA) — ju:a
fire — mhe	gamble (vt.) — ju:a nhya:-
firm — sa:rə	game, a type of gamble — comma
first (IA) — byəRu	garden (IA) — ba:Rə
first (IA) — pəla	Garhwali (fem.sg.) — gua:mi
fish (IA) — macha	garhwali (masc.pl.) — guəse
fisherman (IA) — dhunya:r	garlic — sidum
	gasp (vi.) (IA) — hãɸ-
	ghee, clarified butter — mar

- gem (IA)—nəg
 genitive suffix —-tə
 get belch (vi.) (IA)—Dəga:r rha-
 get cold (vi.)—sod lə-
 get cough (vi.)—khā:si rha-
 get cut (vi.) (IA)—kəTa-
 get filled in (vi.)—pīs-
 get rain (vi.)—barkha rha-
 get saw (vi.) (IA)—cira:-
 get sleep (vi.)—i:b rha-
 get someone to write (vi.) (IA)—lika:-
 get something down (vi.)—uta:r-
 get stick (vi.) (IA)—jaRək-
 get weigh (vi.)—tula:-
 get wet (vi.) (IA)—bhi:j-
 giddiness—ryu:Ni
 gift (IA)—upha:r
 giggle (vi.)—khikca-
 ginger (IA)—a:də
 give (vt.) (to 2nd & 3rd person)—dha:-
 give (to first person only) (vt.)—khyə-
 give birth (vt.)—lya-
 give opinion (vt.)—rə dha-
 give promise (vt.)—bəcən dha-
 give promise (vt.)—wəda lə-
 glass (IA)—kā:c
 glove—lagpa
 glow (vi.) (IA)—TimTima:-
 go (vi.)—di-
 go down (vi.)—hyə-, hyəc-
 go, present tense stem only) (vi.)—gyə-
 goat a general type—lha:ma
 goat a local type —bəgTya
 goat dung—gurbawa
 goat, month—lha
 goats and sheep (a common term)—
 nha:ma
 God (IA)—bhəgwa:n
 god (IA)—dyə
 goddess (IA)—debi
 gold—jās
 good—əri
 good person (IA)—bhəla:dim
 good thing, good talk (fem.) (IA)—achi
 ba:t
 good, O.K., etc. (IA)—acha, achya
 gourd (IA)—bhujələ
 grain—bu
 grain which is considered sacred—bhəs
 grain, corn (IA)—da:Na
 granddaughter, daughter's daughter (IA)—
 na:tiNi
 grandson, daughter's son (IA)—na:ti
 grass—ci
 grasshopper—sələ
 graze (vi.)—dḥ-
 graze (vt.)—thḥ-
 greed (IA)—lob
 green (IA)—həryə
 grief (IA)—sok
 grind (vi.)—hid-, hip-
 groove—na:i
 grow (vi.) (IA)—u:g-
 grow dawn or dusk (vi.)—namchā-
 grow old (vi.)—fā-, fāc-
 grow, produce (noun) (vt.) (IA)—upjə-
 guard (vi.) (IA)—pəra dha-
 gums—miri
 habit (IA)—a:dət
 hail—Dha:no
 hail (vi.)—Dha:no rha-
 hair of head—kha
 half—phyalaŋ
 halt (IA)—pəra:u
 halt (vi.) (IA)—ru:k-
 halt (vt.) (IA)—ruka: -
 hand—lag
 hand over (vt.) (IA)—thəma-
 handle (IA)—pēc
 hang (vt.) (IA)—ləTka:-
 hang (vt.) (IA)—Ta:ŋ-
 hang (vi.) (IA)—ləTək-
 happy (IA)—pərsən
 hard (IA)—dəkt
 hard (IA)—kəTor
 hard work (IA)—menət
 harvest (vt.)—kho-
 hasten (vi.)—phyer-
 hate (vt.) (IA)—ghiNya:s
 hate (IA)—ghi:N
 hay—khulma
 he she (dative)—dhəro, dhoru
 he, she (agentive)—dhəjə
 he, she, that—dhə
 head—pusu
 head (IA)—si:r
 heap (IA)—Dher
 hear (vi.)—yən-, yəm-

- heart — juafja
 heart (IA) — dil
 heart beating (IA) — dhəRək-
 hearth, oven — phutər
 heat — ra:p
 heat (IA) — gərmi
 heaven (IA) — sərəg
 heavy — li:də
 heavy (IA) — bha:ri
 heel (IA) — eRi
 height — yerē
 hell (IA) — nərək
 hemp (IA) — bha:N
 hen (IA) — kukRu
 herd (of animals) (IA) — jhunD
 here — du
 here and there — ha:r-gya:r
 here, this place — ghya:r
 hero one who leads (IA) — bhəR
 hey! (while calling someone) — e, ye
 high (IA) — ucə
 hilly (IA) — Danə
 himself, oneself (IA) — aphi
 his, her — dhətə
 hold, to catch (vt.) — cum-
 hold, to keep (vi.) (IA) — Ti:k-
 hole — dəri
 hole (IA) — uDya:r
 hollow (IA) — Dhono
 hollow (IA) — khuəkəlo
 home — kim
 honey (IA) — sət
 hope (IA) — a:s
 hope (vt.) — a:s lə-
 horn — fu:Ni
 horse (IA) — ghua:Ra
 hot — cart
 hour — ghənTa
 house, a staying place — Dya:ra
 how — khimi
 how much, how many — khilep
 how much, how many — khyəkə
 how much, how many — kyələN
 hundred (IA) — sə
 hunger — bit
 hunt, to rush (vt.) (IA) — dhədya:-
 husband — khyəwa, khyəwa
 husband's elder brother — puru
 husband's elder sister — puyu
 husband's father-in-law — fāt rhu
 husband's maternal aunt — mε sa:su
 husband's mother-in-law — fāt yu
 husband's younger brother (IA) — dyər
 husband's younger brother's wife (IA) —
 dyəra:Ni
 husband's younger sister — nəRd, nərd
 hybrid animal of yak — jumi, jua:ba
 I — gye
 I (dative) — gyiru
 I (agentive) — gyejə
 if (IA) — əgər
 illusion, money (IA) — ma:ya
 implement (IA) — əja:r
 in between — dərmya:n
 in between — kildu
 in good form (IA) — Thik-Tha:k
 in that, in — dhəba:N, dhəpa:N
 in, inside — kal
 in, inside — alu
 in, under — pa:N
 inkpot (IA) — dod
 insect, a flying one — mitig
 inside (IA) — əndər
 intact (IA) — saNə
 intestine, gut — naŋcya
 intoxicated (IA) — Tun
 intoxication — yəs
 iron — cag, cyag
 irrigate (vt.) — tir-
 jealousy, envy (IA) — irfa
 jerk (vi.) (IA) — jhəTk-
 jerk off (vt.) (IA) — jhəTka:-
 join (vt.) (IA) — joR-
 joint (IA) — joR
 juggler (IA) — huRkya
 jump (vi.) (IA) — ku:d
 keep (vt.) — ta:-
 keep carefully in place (vt.) (IA) — Tika:-
 keep something on hearth for cooking
 (vt.) — tuən-
 kidney — birkhu
 kill a goat or sheep (vt.) — sib-
 kill, to extinguish (vt.) — sad-, sap-
 kindle fire (which is already burning)
 (vt.) — cyəd-, cyəp-
 king (IA) — ra:ja
 kiss — muã
 knead (vt.) — ol-

- knee (IA)—ghunno
 knife (IA)—cəku
 knit, to weave (vt.) (IA)—bu:N-
 knock (IA)—khəTkhəT
 knock (vt.) (IA)—khəTkhəTa-
 knot—geR
 know (vi.)—səs-
 know (vi.) (IA)—ja:N-
 knowledge, address (IA)—pəta
 lac—la:k
 lake (IA)—jhi:l
 lamb—ba:lu
 lame (IA)—laŋRa
 land (IA)—jəmi:n
 landlord, owner (IA)—ma:lək
 landslide (IA)—rəRə
 large—labu
 last (IA)—a:khiri
 last to last year—dhi:ŋ
 last year—naniŋ
 laugh (vi.)—rhəb, rhəc-
 lay together—dhu:-
 leaf of a plant (IA)—pa:t
 leak (vt.)—caŋ-, cyaŋ-
 learn (vt.)—thus-
 leave behind (vi.)—khyəl-
 leech—lhuŋja
 leech (IA)—juāka
 left side (IA)—ba:ŋō
 leftover (of something) (IA)—baki
 leg (IA)—Ta:ŋ
 let loose (vi.)—mu:c-
 lice—rhi:gcag
 lick (vt.) (IA)—ca:T-
 lick (vt.)—cyaŋ-
 lie down (vi.)—buəl-
 light—chənt
 light (IA)—halka:
 light (in weight)—yandu, yaŋdə
 light (lamp, match etc.) (vt.)—cur-
 like that—dəmi
 like this, so—dimi
 line—ker
 lips—thou, thol
 liquor (IA)—da:ru
 live in luxury (vt.) (IA)—Tha:T lə-
 liver—chinpa
 livestock, animals—ra:u
 living being (IA)—ji:b
 load (vt.)—mho-
 loaf around (vi.)—dhya:-
 lock (IA)—ta:i
 loins, waist (IA)—kəmər
 long, tall—rhu:də
 loom—rāc
 loose (IA)—jhi:lə
 lose—khulə
 louse—rhi:g
 low (IA)—nisə
 lower leg (IA)—khuTi
 lungs—lua
 lynx (IA)—DhāDu
 mad (IA)—bəyə
 maize (IA)—muŋri
 make (vt.) (IA)—bəNa:-
 make a hole (vt.)—ka:No lə-
 make curd (vt.) (IA)—jəma:-
 make hot (vt.)—cart lə-
 make rope (vt.)—boT-
 make someone drink (vt.) (IA)—piwa:-
 make someone laugh (vt.) (IA)—hōsa:-
 make someone understand (vt.) (IA)—
 səmja:-
 make something move in a round (vt.)
 (IA)—ghuma:-
 make something sink (vt.) (IA)—Duba:-
 make something wet (vt.) (IA)—bhija:-
 male—chorso
 male name-Avatar—əta:r
 mange—lu:tə
 mango (IA)—a:m
 manure, dung—laŋsa
 many—te
 many (IA)—kəi
 mare (IA)—ghoRi
 market (IA)—bəja:r
 marriage (IA)—byə
 marriage (IA)—sədə
 mat (IA)—cəTə
 meadow—pəya:r
 meal, food—jəbəŋ
 meat, flesh—fa
 medicine—mhan
 melt (vi.) (IA)—gəu-
 melt (vt.) (IA)—gəwa:-
 mend (vt.) (clothes etc.)—su:l-
 metal plate (IA)—tha:i
 method (IA)—upay

midnight—phyəd-mulyəŋ	nerve (IA)—na:Ni
mile (English via IA)—mi:l	net (IA)—ja:i
milk—pyəlc	new—nu:də
milk (vt.)—chi:r-	news (IA)—khəbər
mind, heart (IA)—mən	next—lyoni
mirror (IA)—arsi	next day—hati gya
mist—kui:R	next year—wətha, wata
molar teeth (IA)—da: Ra	niece (IA)—bhətiji
mole (IA)—tilguN	night—mulyaŋ
money (IA)—pēsā	nine (IA)—nə
money, rupees (IA)—rupē, ruphē	noon—phyeniŋ
monkey (IA)—bādər	north (IA)—uttər
month, a vocative sentence particle —la	nose—nhimci
moon—jon	now—dhā
mop up—mos-	now (IA)—əb
morning—muncə	nurse (IA)—da:i
mosquito (IA)—məchər	oath—gyəs
mother—a:ma	of this—dhitə
mother's brother's wife—nənə	oh—ela
mother's brother, father's sister's	oh (IA)—həla
husband—ma:ma	oh (while calling)—ola
mother's father—popo	old—jāt
mother's father's sister, father's father's	old—yu:də
sister—nica	old man (IA)—buDya
mother's mother—momo	old woman (IA)—buDəi
mother's younger sister—ci:mi	on (IA)—pyer
mother-in-law; beer—yu	on (IA)—pər
mountain range, an edge (IA)—dha:r	on the other side, across—rhapu
mountain, a big rock—pa:R	on this side—dhipu, dipu
mouth—gico	on us—ĩ pyər
much, many (IA)—khu:b	once again, more than—aji
mud—hilə	one—tig
multiplier (IA)—guNa	one by one—tig-tig
mustache—juākha	one third (IA)—tiha:i
my—gyitə	one thousand (IA)—həja:r
myself, ourselves—i	one who has pain (IA)—dukhi
naked (IA)—na:ŋə	only—nə
name—mhin	only (IA)—hi
name given to the people from one of the	open door (vt.)—akto phuər-
valleys—marcha	open (vt.)—phyag-
narrate (vt.) (IA)—suNa:-	open something closed (vt.)—khol-
navel—nələ	open, to loosen (vt.)—phuəl-
near—litə	opened—phuəst
nearby—kilcə	opinion, counsel (IA)—rē
neck—məRgini	or (IA)—ya
needle—kheb	original stock, base—mu
negation marker, no, not—mha	ours—intə
neither ... nor—nətər ... nətər	out of (location), since, point of time—su
nephew (IA)—bhətija	outside (outside the room, house)—dagar

- overflow (vi.)—rɔRya:s-
 owl (IA)—ulu
 paddy—fampa
 pain—nised
 pain (IA)—Dɔ
 pain, grief (IA)—dukh
 pair—chya
 pair of scales (IA)—təra:ju
 pajama—jaŋgali
 parrot (IA)—tota
 part—ta:n
 pass away (time) (vi.) (IA)—bi:t-
 path, way, road—amca
 payment given to a priest for his religious
 work (IA)—daksiN
 peel (vt.) (IA)—coR-
 penis—gulu
 perfect—sid
 person—mi
 person without hands (IA)—lu:la
 persons (pl.)—mise
 persuade (vt.) (IA)—məna:-
 persuade, to allure (vt.)—phuskya:-
 physical secretion—khyər-
 picture—chakɔ
 piece (IA)—TukəRa
 pig (IA)—sūŋər
 pigeon, dove—nhaku
 pillow—khum
 place (IA)—ja:ga
 plain level—thaŋga
 plan (IA)—iski:m
 plane ground (IA)—mɛda:n
 plane land (IA)—sɛNo
 plant (IA)—rop-
 play a musical instrument (vt.) (IA)—
 bəja:-
 playing of musical instrument (vi.) (IA)—
 ba:j-
 plough man (IA)—haya
 pluck (vt.)—khyag-, khyak-
 plural suffix—-se, -fe
 pocket (IA)—khi:sa
 poison (IA)—bik
 pond (IA)—təɔ
 pony (IA)—TəTTu
 position—ler
 position, condition (IA)—dasa
 possessive postposition—dəb
 pot—nhod
 pot, one type —phuəlTi
 potato (IA)—əwu
 pots (pl.)—nuəse
 power, strength (IA)—jor
 practice, exercise (IA)—həbya:s
 press (vt.)—cya:p-, cya:-
 price—ləs
 prize (IA)—ina:m
 process of making bundles of threads—
 rhin-, rhim-
 prohibitive prefix—tha-
 promise (IA)—bəcən
 promise (IA)—wɛda
 protection—rəkcyɑ
 pull—lhəsoR-
 pull (vt.)—roŋ-
 pull (vt.) (IA)—khɛc-
 pulses (IA)—da:u
 pump air (vt.) (IA)—phula: -
 pumpkin (IA)—kədu
 punishment in the form of fine (IA)—Da:n
 puppy—khuica
 pure (IA)—sud
 pure, typical (IA)—TheT
 pus—nag
 push (vt.) (IA)—dhəkka:-
 put off, to take out something (IA)—ta:N-
 put some eatable in mouth like, roasted
 grains (vt.)—phac-
 puzzle, shaft —bhɛN
 python—cui:r
 quarrel—ghya:wo
 quarrel (vt.) (IA)—lɔR-
 queen (IA)—ra:Ni
 question (IA)—səwa:l
 question, interrogation—rhui
 rafter (IA)—Tua:na
 rain (IA)—barkha
 ram—phara
 ram castrated one—kar
 Rangpo language—rɔŋpɔ bha:sa
 Rangpo people —raŋpɔ, rɔŋpɔ
 rat, mouse—nibca
 raw, uncooked (IA)—ka:cɔ
 reach (vi.) (IA)—pɔc-
 reach boiling stage (vi.)—bhɔ rha-
 read (vt.) (IA)—bāc-
 readiness (IA)—təya:ri

- ready (IA)—təya:r
 recently, —dharũ
 red—məŋdə
 region, country (IA)—des
 release (vt.)—muca:-
 remember (vi.)—ya:d rha-
 remembrance (IA)—ya:d
 repair (vt.) (IA)—suŋa:r-
 repent (vi.) (IA)—pəcta:-
 request (IA)—əɹj
 respect (IA)—a:dər
 respect (IA)—ma:n
 respect form for father, fatherly—ɛniŋ
 return (vt.) (IA)—lɔʔa:-
 return (IA)—wa:pəs
 revenge (IA)—bədla:
 rice—ga
 ride (vi.)—khyos-
 rifle, gun (IA)—bəndu:k
 right (IA)—hək
 right side (IA)—dɛNo
 right, exact, OK. (IA)—Thik-Thi:k
 ring—lhabca, lhapca
 ring, to play musical instrument (vt.)
 (IA)—bəja:-
 ripen (vt.) (IA)—pəka:-
 ripen (vi.) (IA)—pa:k-
 river (IA)—gəRəm
 rivulet—gədrɔ
 roast (vt.) (IA)—bhəbəR-
 roast (vt.) (IA)—bhəbəRya:-
 roast (vt.)—huõ-
 rob (vt.) (IA)—lu:T-
 rock—pəR
 rock (IA)—Daŋ
 roll up threads into balls—rhi:-
 roof (IA)—chət
 room (IA)—kamra
 root (IA)—jəRo ~ jəRɔ
 rope—thagpa
 rope (IA)—Dor
 rope (IA)—rəssi
 rope used for hanging clothes—daŋ
 rotten (IA)—əlsi
 rough (IA)—Duəg
 round (IA)—gou
 rude, naughty (IA)—utyoRu
 rule (IA)—nem
 run—byẽ-
 run, to go away (vi.) (IA)—bha:j-
 sack—bɔʔThi
 sad (IA)—uda:s
 saddle cloth—phiŋba
 saliva (IA)—la:u
 salt—cha
 sand (IA)—ba:wo
 saw (vt.) (IA)—ci:r-
 say (vt.)—duās-
 say, to speak (vt.)—lə-, luə-
 school (English via IA)—isku:l
 scoundrel—muyo
 scrape (vt.) (IA)—chi:l-
 scrape (vt.)—khyo-
 scrub (vt.)—rəgəR-
 sea (IA)—səmundər
 search (vt.) (IA)—khoj-
 search (IA)—khoj
 search (vt.)—khoj lə-
 search (vt.) (IA)—Dhu:n-
 secret (IA)—bhed
 see (vi.)—kan-
 seed—pijag
 seed, sprout (IA)—kua:Ra
 select (vt.) (IA)—chãT-
 self (IA)—khud
 sell (vt.)—raŋ-
 send (vt.) (IA)—bhej-
 send for—sa:-
 seniority—fəwa
 senses (IA)—sud-bud
 seven (IA)—sa:t
 seven days—sa:t gya
 seven hundred—sa:tgya
 shade (IA)—chəl
 shaky (IA)—dəgDya:no
 shallow (IA)—utəlo
 shame—chi, chi-chi
 sharp—cənt
 sharpen (vt.)—pəya:-
 sheep—ma
 sheep, a Tibetan type —bhuga:r
 shepherd—anwa:u
 shine (vt.) (IA)—cəmək-
 shirt—khilta
 shoe (IA)—jua:Ra
 shoemaker (IA)—ba:Re
 shop (IA)—duka:n
 shopkeeper (IA)—duka:nda:r

short — tuntə	so big, that large — dila:p
shoulder (IA) — ka:n	soap (IA) — sa:məN
shoulder (IA) — kəndha	soft — boldu
sick (IA) — bima:r	soft (IA) — muləm
sick person — nadpa	some, any — ghorī
sickle — səd	some — kuε
sickness — nad	something (also past form of verb /khir- /) — khiri
side (IA) — tərəph	sometime — khē guast
sign, mark — tag	sometimes — ghuəstəri
silver — mul	sometimes — khiga:t
sin (IA) — pa:p	sometimes — khyəga:tə
sing a song (vt.) — ghəs ləga:-	sometimes or the other — guastəri
sink (vi.) (IA) — Du:b-	sometimes or the other (Hindi, <i>kabhi na</i> <i>kabhi</i>) — khyəga:tə mha khyəga:tə
sinner (IA) — pa:pi	somewhere — khēgu
sister — rhinja	somewhere, anywhere — khē
sister's daughter (IA) — bha:Nji	son — cheri
sister's son (IA) — bha:Nja	son's or daughter's father-in-law (IA) — səmdi
sit, to live, to be (vi.) — hunc-, hun-, hum-	son's or daughter's mother-in-law (IA) — səmdəNi
six (IA) — chε	song — ghəs
sixth — chεpo	soon, suddenly (IA) — ekdəm
sixth day — cuŋ gya	sorrow — dən
skin — lotə	sound of the wind — sər-sər
skin (IA) — ca:m	sound, voice — an
sky (IA) — a:ga:s, aga:s	soup (IA) — təri
slave (female) (IA) — da:si	sour (IA) — khaTo
slave (male) (IA) — da:s	source — munya:u
sleep — i:b	south — dəkchin
sleep (vi.) — guc-	sow, plough (vt.) — bu:t-
slip (vi.) (IA) — rəR-	spade — phəro
slope — wɛla:r	spend (time) (vt.) (IA) — bita:-
slope (IA) — Dha:u	spice (IA) — a:ləN
slope (IA) — kəTya:r	spider (IA) — makRa
slumber (IA) — oŋ	spin (vt.) — pan-
small, a little bit (solid) — ci:ci	spindle — ta:ku
smear (vt.) — les-	spit (vt.) (IA) — thu:g-
smell — orīya, təgtə	spit (IA) — thug
smell (IA) — ba:s	spleen — choro
smell (vi.) (IA) — su:ŋ-	split (vt.) (IA) — pha:R-
smell (vt.) (IA) — suŋa:-	spoil (vi.) (IA) — bigəR-
smoke — khu	spoil (vt.) (IA) — biga:r (IA)
smoking pipe (IA) — nεR-chiləm	spread (vi.) (IA) — phəl-
snake, a big one (IA) — na:g	spread (vt.) (IA) — ta:N-
snake, insect (IA) — bhū	spread (vt.) — thiŋ-
sneeze (IA) — chīk	squeeze (vt.) (IA) — nicoR-
sneeze (vi.) — chīk-	squirrel-like animal — phi:ya
snout (IA) — siwāNə	
snow — aŋ	
snow (vt.) — aŋ rha-	
so ... that ... as .. if — khiri ... khiri...	

- staircase (IA)—phɛRi
 stammer (IA)—hakəla-
 stand (vi.)—ThaNo huəŋ-
 star (IA)—ta:ra
 steal (IA)—corlap-
 steam (IA)—bha:p
 stick (IA)—jāThi
 stick, cane (IA)—bet
 sting (IA)—Dəŋk
 stink (vi.)—su:c-
 stir (vt.)—khəro-
 stitch, to sew (vt.)—phan-, pham-
 stone—uŋ
 stool—a:ka
 stop (vt.) (IA)—tha:m-
 story (IA)—kətha
 story, blind woman (IA)—ka:Ni
 straw—bu:s
 stretcher, barrow (IA)—Dəni
 strike fire (vt.)—phun-
 stroll, to go around (vi.) (IA)—ghu:m-
 stubborn—həmba
 suck (vt.) (IA)—cu:s-
 suddenly (IA)—təRəm
 suddenly (IA)—suRuk
 sugar (IA)—ci:ni
 sun—ni
 support (IA)—Tek
 supposition—phəm
 surely (IA)—jəru:r
 surprised (IA)—həra:n
 sweep, to clean (vt.)—sor-
 sweet—chyadpa
 sweet—khyagtə
 sweets—nyama
 swing (vi.) (IA)—jhu:l-
 swing (vt.) (IA)—jhula:-
 tail (IA)—pucəRi
 take (vt.)—lhe-
 take, to be (vt.)—huən-, huəm-
 take breath—sās lhe-
 take or give an oath (vt.)—gyəs dha-
 take revenge (vt.)—bədla: lhe-
 take support of something physical (vt.)—
 Tek ləga:-
 talk (vi.)—kamci khyər-
 tea (IA)—jya
 teach (vt.)—thud-
 tear (vt.)—bag-
- tears—migti
 tease (vt.) (IA)—chyeR-
 tell (vt.) (IA)—bəta:-
 temple (IA)—dyəl
 temple (IA)—kanpuRi
 temple (IA)—purpuRi
 ten (IA)—dəs
 tender apology (vt.)—ma:phi tho-
 tent (IA)—təmbu
 term used for the Garhwali people (mas.
 sg.)—go
 that many—dyələŋ
 that time—dəga:t
 the other, second (IA)—dusro
 theft (IA)—cori
 then (IA)—to
 then (IA)—təb
 there—də
 there, near by, at—dhəja:r
 these—dhitye
 they (dative)—dhətēnu, dhətyanu
 they, those—dhətye, dhətējə
 they, those (agentive)—dhətējə
 thief (IA)—cor
 thigh—təro
 thin—lagtu
 thin (flat objects like paper, cloth)—
 bya:du
 thing (IA)—ci:j
 think (vi.) (IA)—sōc-
 think, to understand (vi.)—go-
 third—sumpə
 third time—sum phyero
 this—dhi
 this (sg. agentive)—dhijə
 this (sg.dative)—dhiru
 this one, this side—dipu
 this side—həRkū
 this year—thaniŋ
 thorn—chə
 thought (IA)—sōc
 thousands (pl)—haja:rō
 threaten (IA) (vi.)—dhəmka:-
 three—sum
 three days—nhi:sgya
 three days after tomorrow—thunḡya
 three hundred—nhi:s gya
 throw (vt.)—nhar-
 thumb—Dhuənya

- Tibet—byaŋ
 Tibetan person—byaŋpa
 tie a knot (vt.)—chin-
 tiger (IA)—ba:g
 tight (English via IA)—TɛT
 tight (vt.)—TɛT lə-
 tight, narrow (IA)—əla:R
 time (English via IA)—Tɛm, Tɛm
 time (IA)—bəgət
 time and again (IA)—ghəRi-ghəRi
 tin—ra:ŋ
 today —than
 toe (IA)—pəŋja:
 tomatoes (IA)—TəmaTər
 tomorrow—oro, orɔ
 tongue (IA)—jibəRo
 too much (IA)—behəd
 tooth—ʃag
 top, peak—Tuku
 torch—rākɔ
 torso (IA)—ga:t
 treat (vt.)—ila:j lə-
 treatment (IA)—ila:j
 tree (IA)—Dalo
 tremble (vi.)—dar-, darc-
 triangle (IA)—tikoN
 truth (IA)—səc
 try, to test (vi.)—ca:k-
 tube (English via IA)—Tyu:b
 turban (IA)—Tāko
 turn (vi.) (IA)—moR-
 turn around (vi.) (IA)—pəlTə-
 turn around (vt.) (IA)—pəlTa:-
 turn on oneself (vi.)—ri:ŋ-
 turn over (vi.)—khuar-
 twenty (IA)—bi:s
 twice—nhilaŋ
 twins (IA)—jōyō
 two—nhi:s
 two days after tomorrow—ba:gya
 type (IA)—kisəm
 ugly (IA)—bhəddɔ
 uncastrated male goat—logTo
 under —pəŋco
 under, below—thiŋco
 under, below—thɔrɔ
 understand (vi.) (IA)—səməj-
 underwear (IA)—kəcha
 underworld (IA)—pəta:u
 unsharp—khənt
 up there—dhəjer
 up to—thəne
 upright, erect—ThaNo
 urinate (vt.)—cyūku khyər-
 urine—cyūku
 useless (IA)—beka:r
 vagina—pua:ka
 valley (IA)—gha:Ti
 very many, very much (IA)—mhast
 vice (IA)—ɛb
 village—nam
 village name—bhuītəya
 village name—buā
 village name—marka
 village name—ni:ti
 village name—sōsa
 village name—ʃasag
 village name—chinka
 villager—namci
 visit, meeting, to be seen (IA)—darsan
 voice, sound (IA)—a:wa:j
 wait (IA)—inja:r
 wait for (vt.)—nhu:s-
 wait for (vt.)—inja:r lə-
 wake up (vi.)—sēs-
 walk (vi.)—yū-
 walk unsteadily (IA)—dhəndya:-
 wall (IA)—bhiti
 wall (IA)—diwa:r
 walnut—kuataŋ
 warm—chat
 warm oneself (vi.)—ches-
 wash (vt.)—ur-
 wash head (vt.)—sus-
 wasp (IA)—jhəməlTɔ
 watch—ja:g
 watch (IA)—pəra
 water—ti
 water stream (IA)—dha:rɔ
 water well—məŋər
 watermill (IA)—ghəT
 we—in
 we (dative)—inu
 we (agentive)—injə
 weak (IA)—chi:N
 weak (IA)—kəmjor
 weather (IA)—mɔsəm
 weave (vt.)—rhəm-, rhən-

- weep (vi.)—tyṣ-
 weigh (vt.) (IA)—tol-
 weigh (vt.)—bok-
 weight—tol
 weight of things about one kilogram or a
 specified weight—khaŋ
 west (IA)—pachim
 wet—thi:d
 wet (IA)—gi:lo
 what—khye
 what, that—khyen, khyeno
 wheat—jəd
 when—guastə
 when (IA)—jəb
 when ...then (IA)—jəb ... təb
 when, although (IA)—jəbki
 where—gu
 whistle (IA)—Ta:Ri
 white—si:də
 who (agentive pl.)—ghotḗjə
 who (agentive sg.)—ghojə
 who, that (relative pronoun)—gho, ghuo
 whole (IA)—sa:ra
 whole, full (IA)—pu:rə
 whom (pl.)—ghotənu
 whom (sg.)—ghoru
 whose (pl.)—ghotḗtə
 whose (sg.)—ghotə
 why—khyoru
 why not—khyor mha
 wicked person (IA)—ɛbi
 wide, broad—paRdə
 widow (IA)—rāD
 wife—umsəri
 wife's brother (IA)—sa:wo
 wife's sister (IA)—sa:i
 wild bee—mua:ri
 win (vi.) (IA)—ji:t-
 win (vt.) (IA)—jita:-
 wind (IA)—bətṣ
 window (IA)—khiRki
 winnow (vt.)—Thab-
 winter—sod
 wipe (vt.) (IA)—miTa:-
 wipe (vt.)—sig-
 wire (IA)—ta:r
 wish—səm
 wish (vi.)—səm rha-
 wish (vi.) (IA)—ca:-
- with—lɛ
 with—sib
 with great pomp and show (IA)—Tha:T-
 baT
 without (IA)—bigər
 women's upper clothes, a gown type—
 pa:khi
 wonder (IA)—kəra:ma:t
 wood—siŋ
 wooden beam (IA)—Da:u
 wool—chəm
 word (IA)—səbəd
 work—lən
 work (IA)—ka:m
 world (IA)—jəgət
 world (IA)—sənsa:r
 worship (vt.) (IA)—pu:j-
 worship (IA)—pu:ja
 worship (vt.)—khi:-
 wrap, to roll (vt.) (IA)—ləpeT-
 write (vt.) (IA)—lek-
 yak (IA)—cṣr
 yard (IA)—gəj
 yawn—əl
 year—yũ
 year (IA)—sa:l
 yellow—lhedə
 yellowish eye discharge—mignəra
 yes (IA)—hă
 yesterday—nya:r
 yoke (IA)—ju:wə
 you (pl.)—gḗ
 you (sg.)—gən
 young—fərba
 young boy, lad—feru
 young boy, man—kyṣTə
 young girl, lady—kḗTi
 young one of goat—laca
 younger brother or sister—ba:ba
 younger brother's wife, also a term of
 address for a married lady—namfa
 younger sister's husband, daughter's
 husband—magpa, makpa
 yours (pl.)—gḗtə
 yours (sg.)—getə

A SKETCH OF BYANGSI GRAMMAR*

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1.0 Introduction

There are few dialect variations among the Byangs speakers, but people feel that the dialect spoken by the people in Kuti village is somewhat different from the others. G.M. Trivedi (1991) has also noted this fact, but no variant forms are given. Our study also does not include any data on dialectal variations. Our data are mainly collected from the speakers of the villages Nabi, Gunji and Napalchu.

2.0 Phonology

2.1 Vowel Phonemes

i i: ɪ u u u:
e o
ε ɔ
a a:

2.1.1 Phonetic description of vowel phonemes

/i/	High front short unrounded vowel, occurs syllable initially and finally. This vowel is shorter initially and in closed syllables than in open syllables.	[i]
/i:/	High front long unrounded vowel, occurs syllable initially and finally.	[i:]
/ɪ/	Centralized high short unrounded vowel, occurs in closed syllables and syllable finally.	[ɪ]
/u/	High back rounded short vowel, occurs syllable initially and finally. In closed syllables and syllable initially, it is shorter than in final position.	[u]
/u:/	High back rounded long vowel, occurs syllable finally.	[u:]
/ʊ/	High back unrounded short vowel, occurs in closed syllables and syllable finally.	[ʊ]
/e/	Mid high front unrounded vowel, occurs syllable finally.	[e]
/o/	Mid back rounded vowel, occurs in closed syllables and syllable finally.	[o]
/ε/	Lower-mid front short unrounded vowel, occurs syllable finally.	[ε]
/ɔ/	Lower-mid back short rounded vowel, occurs in closed syllables and syllable finally.	[ɔ]
/a/	Low central short vowel, occurs initially, in closed syllables and in syllable-final position. Initially and in closed syllables it is somewhat shorter than in	[a]

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syllable final position.
 /a:/ Low central long vowel, occurs initially, in closed syllables and syllable finally. [a:]

Phonetically the vowels with high falling tones are shorter than the vowels with level tones. The centralized high short vowel /ɨ/, front mid vowel /e/, front lower-mid short vowel /ɛ/, and the back high unrounded short vowel /ʉ/ are lower than the other vowels. The lower mid vowels /ɛ ɔ/ are inherently long. It is interesting to note that vowels in verbal roots are longer than those found in other roots.

D.D. Sharma (1989) treats Byangsi and Chaudangsi as one and the same dialect with some lexical variations and gives the following vowel chart (p. 110):

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o (ɔ)
Low	ɛ		a

He treats /ɔ/ as an allophone of /o/ when it occurs before a nasal or in final position. He lists another allophone of /o/ which he transcribes as [wo] and says that, 'Another notable variant of mid back vowel /o/ is its glidized pronunciation, realized as [wo], which is more prominent in the dialect of Byangsi' (1989:113). Similarly he also has an allophone of /u/ realized as [wu]. But no phonetic conditions are given. Following the same argument, in his allophonic description he writes, '/i/ > [yi], /e/ > [ye]—similar to the back vowels the front vowels /i/ and /e/ too are pronounced with a preceding front glide /y/' (1989:113). He cites examples but no conditions are stated for where the glides occur. In fact D.D. Sharma has missed the centralized vowel /ɨ/ and the back unrounded vowel /ʉ/ which we have found to be phonemic in our data. He has confused these vowels with glides. We will not cite many of the problems with D.D. Sharma's inadequate description, as they are so numerous, but we will mention major gaps in his description. It is enough to quote from his analysis and the readers will see how messy the description is. He writes, '/e/ > /ɛ/—The lower front vowel /ɛ/, besides a phoneme, is also attested as an allophone of the mid front vowel /e/, in a word final position' (1989:113). Then he cites some examples. We know that some languages do have some type of neutralization of contrasts under certain conditions but we have found clear contrasts between /e/ and /ɛ/ (see §2.2, phonemic contrasts). Trivedi (1991:5) gives a vowel chart in his phonemic inventory where he has 8 vowels, /i i: u u: e o a a:/ and says that there are twelve vowel sounds in Byangsi. Here he has included the allophones in his list. He considers [i i: e e* ɛ] as front vowels; [a a:] as central and [u u: o o* ɔ] as back vowels. Trivedi notes that /e/ has three allophones: [e] occurs in final position but not after an alveolar consonant before a pause; the mean mid allophone, which he transcribed [e*], is comparatively shorter than [e] and occurs in medial position in closed syllables; the lower-mid allophone [ɛ] is comparatively shorter than [e], and occurs in final position after an alveolar consonant before a pause. In our analysis we have established /e/ and /ɛ/ as separate phonemes. Trivedi further states that /o/ has a higher mid allophone [o], which occurs in final position but not after a nasal consonant before a pause, while the mean mid allophone [o*], comparatively shorter than [o], occurs in medial position in closed syllables, and the lower mid allophone [ɔ] occurs in final position after a nasal consonant before a pause. In our description we have treated [o] and as [ɔ] separate phonemes. We have found in our data

examples of clear-cut contrasts, however the functional load of both /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ is certainly low.

2.1.2 Syllable initial vowel contrasts

The front high centralized vowel /ɨ/, the back high unrounded vowel /u/, the mid vowels /e o/ and the lower mid vowel /ɛ/ do not occur syllable initially. The syllable initial occurrences of other vowels are given below in sub-minimal pairs, as minimal pairs are not found. (a hyphen /-/ after the syllable means that it is a verb root)

Initial occurrences :

/a/	
/am/	'path'
/ai/	'this'
/ati/	'that'(remote)
/aŋ-/	'to lift, to pick up'
/alu/	'potato'
/atʂo/	'flour'
/anɛ/	'here'
/atɛ /	'there'
/a:/	
/a:/	'mouth'
/a: m/	'mango'
/a:rsi	'mirror'
/i:/	
/i:/	'stool'
/i/	
/in/	'1pl. pronoun'
/iŋgɛ/	'1pl genitive pronoun'
/ibuŋ/	'anus'
/ilam/	'vagina'
/inʃi/	'1du. pronoun'
/ita:/	'now, at present'
/itta:/	'just at this moment'
/u/	
/uo/	'3sg. pronoun'
/uʃi/	'3pl. pronoun'
/uniʃi/	'3du. pronoun'
/ulo/	'where'
/ulaŋ/	'when, then, how much, how many'
/una:/	'who, someone'
/uŋ/	'stone'
/ɔ/	
/ʂŋ-/	'to inspect'

2.1.3 Closed syllable vowel contrasts

The front mid vowel /e/ and the front lower mid vowel /ɛ/ do not occur in closed syllables at all. The occurrence of /o ɔ/ is also not frequent. A syllable may begin with any consonant but it can be closed most commonly by a nasal stop, a lateral, a trill, or a voiceless or voiced velar, alveolar, dental or bilabial stop. All the final consonants are unreleased except the trill and laterals. The affricates and fricatives are very rare finally and they have their usual articulation where the air escapes narrowly between the articulators. None of the long vowels except /a:/ show contrast in closed syllables. Examples:

/i/	/cim/	'house'
/ɛ/	/cɛm-/	'to burn'
/u/	/ruŋ-/	'a heap of pebbles'
/u/	/ruum-/	'earthquake'
/a/	/daŋ/	'aim; hill'
/u/	/duŋ/	'desire'
/a/	/kaŋ/	'a type of tea cup'
/i/	/kin/	'a round pit'
/a/	/gal/	'yak'
/a:/	/ka:ts/	'lamb'
	/ra:p/	'flame'
/o/	/kots/	'a type of leather bag'
/u/	/gul/	'phlegm'
/ɔ/	/lɔŋ/	'vomit (n.)'
/u/	/luŋ/	'back'
/ɔ/	/phɔŋ-/	'to jump in one place'
/o/	/phoŋ-/	'to jump from up to down'
/ɔ/	/dɔŋ/	'a courtyard on the first floor of the house'
/a/	/dɔam/	'blacksmith'

2.1.4 Syllable final vowel contrasts

/i/ : /i:/	
/ri/	'glacier'
/ri:-/	'to write'
/ti/	'water'
/thì-/	'to melt'
/thi:-/	'to get wet'
/khì-/	'to scrub utensils'
/khi:-/	'to bend'

/ɿ/ : /y/
 /pɿe/ 'brother'
 /pye/ 'knee'
 /bɿe/ 'thread'
 /bye/ 'steep mountain rock'
 /mɿe/ 'fire'
 /myè/ 'eye'

/u/ : /u:/
 /bu-/ 'to release'
 /bu:-/ 'to carry something on the back'

/u/ : /ɯ/
 /khu:-/ 'to steal'
 /khɯ-/ 'to exchange'
 /bu-/ 'to release'
 /bɯ-/ 'to be known'

/e/ : /ɛ/
 /be/ 'buckwheat'
 /bɛ/ 'skin'
 /ce-/ 'to pinch'
 /cɛ/ 'flower'

/o/ : /ɔ/
 /ko-/ 'to boil'
 /kɔ/ 'bark' (of tree)

/a/ : /a:/
 /ba/ 'father'
 /ba:-/ 'to fold'
 /sa/ 'soil'
 /sa:-/ 'to sacrifice an animal (for black magic)'

2.2 Consonant phonemes

The inventory of Byangsi consonant phonemes is given in the following table. Phonemes occurring in loans are placed in parentheses. Square brackets indicate phonetic transcription (allophonic variation). The loan words are borrowed from Indo Aryan sources, especially Kumauni and Hindi.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
STOPS:	p	t	tʃ			k	
	ph	th	tʃh			kh	
	b	d	dʃ			g	
	(bh)	(dh)					
AFFRICATES:			ts	c [tʃ]			
			tʃh	ch [tʃh]			
			dz	j [dʒ]			

English-Rongpo Glossary

FRICATIVES:			s	ʃ		h
NASALS:	m	n	nʃ		ŋ	
	hm	hn				
TRILLS:			r			
			hr			
LATERALS:			l			
			hl			
FLAP					(r)	
SEMI-VOWELS:	w			y		

2.2.1 Consonant phoneme contrasts

The syllable in Byangsi may begin with any consonant except the borrowed retroflex /ɽ/. The contrasts have been shown syllable initially only.

/k/	/kar/	'castrated male sheep'
/kh/	/khar-/	'to cheat'
/g/	/gar-/	'to get burst'
/ŋ/	/ŋɔ/	'face'
	/kɔ/	'bark of tree'
/tʃ/	/tʃa:-/	'to prick'
/tʃh/	/tʃha:-/	'to strike a match'
/tʃh/	/tʃhuum-/	'to dance'
/dʃ/	/dʃuum-/	'to tremble'
/nʃ/	/nʃiɛ/	'noon'
	/nʃa/	'mother'
/t/	/ta:-/	'to keep'
/th/	/thà/	'waterfall'
/d/	/da:-/	'to give'
/dh/	/dharti/	'earth' (Indo-Aryan)
/n/	/niʃɛ/	'seven'
	/nagɛ/	'your'
/hn/	/hna:-/	'to unload something from the head or back'
/p/	/paŋ/	'a Tibetan'
/ph/	/phaŋ-/	'to fly'
/b/	/baŋ/	'place'
/bh/	/bhak/	'sound'
/m/	/maŋ/	'dream'
/hm/	/mi:-/	'to become small'
	/hmi:-/	'ripe'
/ts/	/tsè/	'memory, lid'
/tsh/	/tshè/	'life, age, fat'
/dz/	/dzè/	'boredom'
/c/	/ce-/	'to pinch, to bite'
/ch/	/chè/	'fat, grease'
/j/	/je/	'I' (first person sg.)
/l/	/là/	'hand, boulder'
/hl/	/hlà/	'moon, month'
/ɽ/	/raŋ/	'arm'
	/ru/	'horn'

/hr/	/hraŋ/	'horse'
	/hru-/	'to ask'
/s/	/sɔŋ/	'village'
/ʃ/	/ʃɔŋ-/	'to sit'
/h/	/haŋ/	'then, after'
	/ham/	'how'
/y/	/ya/	'king'
/w/	/wa/	'tiger'
(r)	/hathora:/	'hammer'

2.2.2 Some phonemic gaps and variations

The contrast between alveolar nasal and dental nasal is found syllable initially though this contrast is neutralized in favor of the dental nasal in final position. D.D. Sharma (1989) sets up dental and retroflex stops, and Trivedi (1991) sets up alveolar and retroflex stops, leaving the gap of retroflex nasal in the phonemic system. Pre-aspirated dental and alveolar nasal contrasts are also neutralized in favor of dental pre-aspirated nasals. In the initial stages of our data collection I pronounced all the dental and the alveolar nasals as either dental or alveolar but when the informants insisted on the distinction I carefully went through the entire list of dental and alveolar nasals to make sure that there is no mixing. We have found minimal pairs to show the contrasts as given above. It is possible that some words may have been recorded in reverse order (dental for alveolar or vice-versa) but the phonemic contrasts have been checked time and again. We shall give more examples showing contrasts and neutralization to make the distinction clear.

Syllable initial contrasts:

/n5/ : /n/	
/n5isɛ/; /n5ichɛ/	'noon'
/niʃɛ/	'seven'
/n5ace/	'thorn'
/naʃɛ/	'two'
/n5agɛ/	'mother's'
/nagɛ/	'your'

2.2.3 Neutralization in syllable final position

It has been noted that the occurrence of /n/ and /n5/ is neutralized in syllable final position, as we find only the dental nasal in that position. The syllable final occurrences are not many. Some examples are given below:

/in/	'1pl. pronoun'
/yin/	'year; is'
/kan/	'vegetables'
/gan/	'2sg. pronoun'
/lan/	'work'
/kin/	'a round pit; a grain store outside the house'
/gwan/	'death rites'
/gultɪn/	'testicles'
/lakʃin/	'nail'
/nuʌlan/	'wind'
/wa:lan/	'a term used for the non-TB speakers, esp. the Kumaunis and Nepalis'

/kalin/	'a type of stone'
/khwan/	'scorpion'
/khwaran/	'pigeon'
/una:/	'who, someone'
/gunda:/	'in the middle'
/thinja:/	'today'

Unlike their western neighbor, Rongpo, which has a series of murmured resonants, /hm hn hr hl/, contrasting with unmurmured resonants, Byangsi has a series of voiceless resonants, /hm hn hl hr/. This fact was not recorded by the earlier authors.

The occurrence of syllable final consonants is restricted to the voiced nasal stops /ŋ m n/, and the unaspirated voiceless or voiced stops, except the alveolar stops /t5 t5h d5/. These final consonants are unreleased. Apart from these syllable finals a syllable may end with a lateral, /l/, or a trill, /r/. The trill has a distinctive repeated release in syllable final position when preceded by high back unrounded vowel /u/ e.g. [puurr] 'navel'.

2.2.4 Consonant clusters

Byangsi only allows consonant clusters of the type where the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/ occur as the second member of a syllable initial consonant cluster. These occur with most of the consonants except the alveolar affricates /ts tsh dz/, the alveolar stops /t5 t5h d5/, the lateral /l/ and the retroflex flap /ɾ/. There are less clusters with /w/ than with /y/. Still fewer examples have been found with a trill as the second member of a consonant cluster. Consonant sequences may be found at morpheme or syllable boundaries, but these are not treated as consonant clusters. A few examples :

-y-

/pye/	'knee'
/phyarmo/	'to whiff'
/bye/	'rock'
/myɛdɛ/	'below, low from the level'
/tyemo/	'to weep, to cry'
/thyemo/	'to participate, to join in some work'
/dyemo/	'to go'
/nya:rɛ/	'yesterday'
/n5yɛ/	'day'
/n5ya:/	'fish'
/n5yujjimo/	'to retreat'
/kyemo/	'to chew meat'
/gyera:/	'grain or crop'
/cyɔla:/	'index finger'
/cya:mo/	'to hide'
/chyamo/	'to be hot'
/jyàmo/	'to be broken (thread, rope); to bloom'
/syapi cèmo/	'to pinch'
/jyàmo/	'to run away'
/hmyar/	'frost'
/hya:mo/	'to empty'
/rye/	'a tale'

-w-

/kwali/	'skull'
/khwan/	'scorpion'
/gwan/	'death rites'
/ɲwomo/	'to cut wool of sheep or goat'
/thwacmo/	'to beg'
/hwa:/	'honey'

-r-

/nagra:/	'a paw of lion or tiger'
/gado/	'a ditch, a pit'
/nɔŋkrɔ/	'ant'

2.3 Tonal Contrasts

We have found a two-way tonal contrast in Byangsi, i.e. a high falling tone, transcribed with a grave accent mark on the vowel (/à/), and a level tone, which is left unmarked. The tones typically occur on the first syllable of multisyllabic words only. None of the earlier descriptions mentioned above recorded any tonal contrasts. The examples showing contrasts are given below:

/ye/	'an eagle type of bird'	/khu/	'family'
/yè/	'mountain'	/khù/	'smoke'
/pi/	'four'	/ki-/	'to twine'
/pì-/	'to sweep'	/kì-/	'to break hard objects'
/gi-/	'to bulge'	/ci-/	'to squeeze'
/gì-/	'to swallow'	/cì-/	'ten'

/hna:-/ 'to unload something from the head or back'

/hnà-/ 'to be left over (of something)'

Tone contrasts with long vowels:

/ga:/	'paddy'
/gà:/	'wound'

High falling tone with both short and long vowels:

/chà/	'fodder mixed with some corn'
/chà:/	'grain'

3.0 Grammar

3.1 Nouns

Byangsi has basically two types of noun stems. Simple, with a monosyllabic morpheme, and complex, which may be formed with various suffixes. Simple stems: /hnil/ 'gums', /khù/ 'smoke', /kar/ 'ram', /ka:/ 'crow' and so on.

3.1.2 Complex noun stems

A complex noun stem is composed of a nominal root and a formative suffix. Both the constituents of the complex form are bound forms and are monosyllabic. Therefore, the

complex nouns are bisyllabic and bimorphemic. Often it is not possible to trace the meaning of each morpheme. We have isolated about eight of the most common suffixes used in the formation of complex noun stems. Examples:

/-pa:/	
/khɔk-pa:/	'corpus'
/can-pa:/	'a person from Johar valley'
/khà-pa:/	'winter'
/chyà-pa:/	'summer'
/-pu/	
/ni-pu/	'mouse'
/tha:-pu/	'reserve'
/-bu/	
/kha-bu/	'snake'
/la-bu/	'butter'
/tim-bu/	'sky'
/taŋ-bu/	'a big snake'
/nu-bu/	'insect'
/lam-bu/	'woolen cloth'
/-la:/	
/bɔ-la:/	'thumb'
/cyɔ-la:/	'index finger'
/la:m-la:/	'a Tibetan goat'
/ma:-la:/	'sheep'
/la-la:/	'grandmother'
/-ma:/	
/kar-ma:/	'star'
/ge-ma:/	'a type of dish made with milk'
/-nam/	
/jyar-nam/	'east'
/re-nam/	'west'
/ʃyar-nam/	'north'
/ta-nam/	'south'
/-ts/	
/ʃir-ts/	'male grown up goat'
/ʃip-ts/	'comb'
/ka:ts/	'lamb'
/kar-ts/	'male lamb'
/bar-ts/	'female lamb'
/ko-ts/	'a bag made of leather'
/sa:-/	
/tɔk-sa:/	'side, direction'

/ka-sa:/ 'cloud'
/hrak-sa:/ 'pebbles'

3.1.3 Compound forms

Noun compounds may be formed by taking two or more morphemes and combining them into a compound noun. The compound nouns are classified into various classes as follows:

Class 1: In this class the meaning of the constituents can be traced in the language and the meaning of the resultant form is transparent. Examples:

/mɪtti/	'tear'	<	/myɛ/	'eye'	+	/ti/	'water'
/mikcham/	'eye lashes'	<	/mik/	'eye' ⁶	+	/cham/	'hair, fur'
/puʃakcham/	'hair' (of head)	<	/puʃa:/	'head'	+	/cham/	'hair, fur'
/hnapti/	'snot'	<	/hnim/	'nose'	+	/ti/	'water'
/ʃyaʃi/	'relatives'	<	/ʃya:/	'flesh'	+	/ʃi/	'blood'

Class 2: In this class we find that the meaning of one constituent can be traced in the language, though the meaning of the other form is unknown. e.g., /bu-ti/ 'butter-milk' < /ti/ 'water' and /bu-/, which is a bound form we can not assign any meaning to. Similar examples are: /ʃil-ti/ 'saliva', /la-ti/ 'semen', /gam-so/ 'molar tooth' (/so/ 'tooth'), /lak-ʃin/ 'nail' (/lak/ 'hand'), /khuè/ 'grandson' (/khu/ 'family'). Many examples will fall under this class.

Class 3: This class has complex compounds with two or more syllables but it is hard to find any form with an identifiable independent meaning in the language, e.g. /wambaŋ/ 'dark'. here it is possible to speculate that the morphemes are /wam-/ and /-baŋ/, but there is no way to trace them to the meaning which the complex form has. Similar examples are not hard to find. Some examples are cited here:

/baŋkhar/	'morning'	/pɛna:/	'a type of bat'
/n5amɪn/	'autumn'	/mɪncace/	'bat'
/raŋpli/	'feather'	/mayaŋ/	'a type of basket'
/duŋlaŋ/	'food'	/labu/	'butter'
/thumcaru/	'custom'	/latakta/	'dirt'
/mad5ɔŋmaŋ/	'eagle'	/bochab/	'porcupine'

3.1.4 Gender

Gender is not a grammatical category in Byangsi, but in some domesticated animals it is expressed with the help of some bound morphemes which indicate masculine and feminine gender. For humans there are separate words for male and female persons, though a few terms for females take a morpheme which can be treated as a feminine gender marker:

/byuli ʃya:/	'bride'	/byulo/	'bridegroom'
/ʃin ʃya:/	'sister'	/pɪɛ/	'brother'
/hrithi ʃya:/	'wife'	/hrithi/	'husband'
/nam ʃya:/	'son's wife'	/hrin ʃya:/	'wife's younger brother's wife'

⁶The free form for 'eye' is /myɛ/, but there are three bound forms for 'eye', two of which are given here. However, I cannot relate these forms with each other or the free form by any morphophonemic rules at present. The loss of the final consonant is also observed in the forms for 'hand', thus, /lã/, but /lak-/ in /lakshin/ 'fingernail'.

Some animal names take a morpheme indicating masculine and feminine gender. These morphemes are prefixed to the noun. Examples:

/hraŋ/	'horse'	/pho hraŋ/	'male horse'	/mo hraŋ/	'female horse'
/bila/	'cat'	/pho bila/	'male cat'	/mo bila/	'female cat'

But this is not a very productive process, as many animal names involve separate terms for male and female creatures, apart from a general term, e.g.,

/gal/	'yak'	/d5umo/	'female yak'	/yakt5o/	'male yak'
/ma:la:/	'goat'	/camts/	'female goat'	/lasaŋ/	'male goat'
/re/	'cow'	/kolaŋ/	'bull'		

Since gender is not a grammatical category in this language, there is no agreement of nouns and verbs involving gender.

3.1.5 Number

It has been found that Byangsi count nouns take the plural number marker /maŋ/ and the case affixes are added after this marker in noun phrases. Mostly it is used with human nouns to indicate plurality. When it is added to the other nouns it appears artificial, as in informal speech it is very rarely used. If the number of persons is known, then the specific numeral is added before the noun. The dual number is indicated by suffixing /khan/ to both nouns and pronouns. But this dual marker can be added to nouns representing humans only, whereas the plural marker can be added to other count nouns as well. Examples:

Plural forms:

/mì-maŋ/	'men'	/firi-maŋ/	'boys'
/ma:la:-maŋ/	'goats'	/gal-maŋ/	'yaks'
/jiŋ-maŋ/	'trees'	/n5ya-maŋ/	'fish (pl.)'
/là-maŋ/	'hands'	/hraŋ-maŋ/	'horses'

Dual forms:

/mì-khan/	'two persons'	/firi-khan/	'two boys'
/khuè-khan/	'two grand-sons'	/khume-khan/	'two grand-daughters'

The prefix /nis-/ is an alternate form of the numeral /nafɛ/ 'two' which is sometimes prefixed to nouns representing humans to indicate the dual number. Examples:

/nis-mì/	'two persons'	/nis-firi/	'two boys'
/nis-tsamɛ/	'two daughters'	/nis-pɛɛ/	'two brothers'

4.0 Pronouns

The personal pronouns differentiate three persons and three numbers. The dual forms are not commonly used. Dual number is used only when one needs to be very precise and definite about the number of persons. The dual suffix /-fi/ is added to the plural form to indicate the dual form. The personal pronouns are given below:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person :	je	infi	in
Second person:	gan	ganifi	gani
Third person:	uo	unifi	uji

As discussed above, the dual number can also be formed by suffixing the marker /-khan / to the plural forms of the pronouns. But it is less common to use such forms. Examples: /in-khan/ 'we two'; /gani-khan/ 'you two'; /uji-khan/ 'they two'. The verb forms do not inflect according to dual number but the plural number is marked.

4.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Byangsi demonstrative pronouns differentiate a five way contrast with regard to distance and elvation relative to the speaker's location and whether an object is visible to the speaker or not. The distance can be proximate or distal. The position of an object relative to the position of the speaker can further be specified in terms of elevation, whether it is at a lower elevation or at a higher elevation. These dimensions are used for a visible object; if the object is not visible to the speaker, a separate term is used. The following chart shows the distinctions.

	DISTANCE		SIGHT	HEIGHT	
	Proximate	Distal	Obviate	Higher	Lower
sg. ai	ati	teti	thoti	yoti	
pl.	aimaŋ	atimaŋ	tetimaŋ	thotimaŋ	yotimaŋ

Dual forms, when needed, can easily be constructed by adding the dual marker, e.g., /ai khan/ or /ai niŋi khan/ or /ai ni mi/ 'two persons'. These demonstrative pronouns can also receive case markings.

4.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Byangsi has the following interrogative pronouns. Some of these are used as adverbials as well.

/khà/ 'what' This does not inflect for number or case.

/gan	khà	mɪnta	hlinɔ/	
you	what	name	is	'What is your name?'

/u-ja	khà	yin/	
he-DAT	what	is	'What does he have?'

/ati	khà	hlye/	
that	what	is	'What is that?'

/una:/ 'who' This interrogative pronoun receives case marking but no number markers.

/ati una: hlye/	'Who is he?'
/atimaŋ una: hlyenan/	'Who are they?'
/una:-ja/	'to whom' (sg. / pl.)
/una:-gɛ/	'whose' (sg. / pl.)

/ulaŋ/ 'when'

/gan ulaŋ ranisò/	'When did you come?'
/wà/	'where' Most often this interrogative takes the locative marker /kho/.
/uʃi wà-kho yinan/	'Where are they?'
/ʃelu wà yin/	'Where is Shelu?'
/ham/	'how'
/ati ham yin/	'How is that?'
/hoŋ/	'why'
/gan hoŋ tuŋnisò/	'Why did you drink?'

4.3 Emphatic/Reflexive Pronouns

The emphatic pronoun seems to have been borrowed from Hindi or Kumauni /api/ 'self', and it is used with all the persons and numbers without any case or number markers, even if the coreferential non-emphatic pronoun or noun takes the agentive case marker. Examples:

/je-sɛ api ʃuŋtə/	'I myself will do it.'
/wo-sɛ api ʃuŋta/	'He himself will do it.'

4.4 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns have adjectival and adverbial uses; more details will be given in the discussion of adjectives and adverbs.

/duma m̀/	'some or some one or a few persons'
/lairi/	'all'
/ulaŋ-i/	'sometimes'
/wà-khu-te/	'somewhere'

4.5 The relative pronoun

Byangsi uses a single relative pronoun, /dzai/, and it is always used with the remote demonstrative pronoun /ati/ as a correlative. These two forms can refer to persons, objects, places, or situations. Relativization can be on an agent, a locative, a patient, or an instrument. It appears that this relative pronoun is a borrowing from Hindi (cf. the Hindi relative pronouns *jo, jise*). This relative marker can take case markers. Examples:

/ati	tsame	dzai	cim-dza lan	ʃuŋgetata	je-gɛ	hrinfa	hle/
that	girl	RELPRO	house-in	work	doing	I-GEN	sister is
'That girl who is doing work at home is my sister.'							

/ati	m̀	dzai-sɛ	ai	byam	ransò	bɪd-mi	hle/
that	man	RELPRO-AGT	this	carpet	weave	good-man	is
'The man who made this carpet is a good man.'							

/ati	byam	dzai	gurjan siŋ-sɛ	rangɛtata/
that	carpet	RELPRO	Gurjan Simha-AGT	is.weaving
'That carpet which Gurjan Simha is making.'				

/ati baŋ dzai baŋ-kho je ʃɔŋʃɪyɛsɔ̃/
 that place RELPRO place-LOC I sat
 'That place where (on which) I sat.'

/ati m̀ dzai ma:m̩la saisɔ̃/
 that man RELPRO sheep killed
 'That man who killed the sheep.'

/ati ʃɛndɛ dzai sɔ̃ŋ-kho dyisɔ̃/
 that child RELPRO village-LOC went
 'That child who went to the village.'

/ati m̀ dzai khobu-sɛ c̀isɔ̃/
 that person RELPRO snake-AGT bit
 'That person whom the snake bit.'

/ati akhan dzai-sɛ iŋ-gɛ ba-sɛ wɔm̩ saisɔ̃/
 that sickle RELPRO-AGT 1pl-GEN father-AGT bear killed
 'The sickle with which the father killed the bear.'

/ati cim dzai cim-dza ra:mu basat yin/
 that house RELPRO house-in Ramu live is
 'The house where Ramu lives.' (/basat/ is a loan from Hindi *basna*: 'to dwell')

/ai ati-yi-cukti hle dzai gan nya:re tonisɔ̃/
 this that-same-cap is RELPRO you yesterday bought
 'This is the same cap which you bought yesterday.'

4.6 Case

Morphologically a noun or a pronoun may be marked for three cases, viz., agentive/instrumental, dative and genitive. The nominative is unmarked and the other semantic relations are expressed with the help of postpositions. Case suffixes are given below:

Nominative	zero
Agentive/Instrumental	-sɛ ~ -se
Dative	-ja daŋci, -ja, -ja ci
Genitive	-gɛ

Case tables for one noun and the personal pronouns:

/mi/ 'person'

	sg.	pl.
Nominative	m̀	mimaŋ
Agentive	m̀sɛ	mimaŋsɛ
Dative	m̀ja	mimaŋja
Genitive	m̀gɛ	mimaŋgɛ

/je/ 1st person

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	je	infi	in
Agentive	jese	infise	inse
Dative	jeja	infija	inja
Genitive	jige	infige	ingε

/gan/ 2nd person

Nominative	gan	ganifi	gani
Agentive	ganse	ganifise	ganse
Dative	ganja	ganifija	ganija
Genitive	nage	ganfige	ganige

/uo/ 3rd person (visible)

Nominative	uo	unifi	ufi
Agentive	wose	unifise	ufise
Dative	woja	unifija	ufija
Genitive	uge / woge	unifige	ufige

/ati/ 3rd person (invisible or far away)

Nominative	ati	atifi	atiman
Agentive	atise	atifise	atimanse
Dative	atija	atifija	atimanja
Genitive	atige	atifige	atimanε

4.7 Noun Case Markers

As is evident from the tables given above, the nominative case is expressed by a zero suffix and so the uninflected form of the noun or pronoun is used. In a clause with two nominative NPs, the order of the constituents then determines the interpretation of the case relations. The subject is followed by the object and then the verb follows the object (SOV). It is important to note here that in Byangsi the agentive marker [-se ~ -se] indexes the agentivity or deliberate control of the subject actant over a transitive or intransitive event. The case suffix [-se ~ -se] also expresses instrumental relations. The dative case marker /-ja(dançi)/ also has multiple functions. The pronouns are marked with this case though the nouns do not receive this case marker. It is also used in possessive constructions, e.g., /gan-ja khà yin/ [you-DAT what is] 'What do you have?', /je-ja ma:la:man yinan/ [I-DAT goat-pl. are] 'I have goats'. To see the use of the different case markers, we can contrast /fiŋ-ja/ 'of wood' or 'of tree', which means 'belongs to wood or tree', /fiŋ-se/ 'by the help of wood', and /fiŋ-ge/ 'made out of wood'. The following examples illustrate the use of the case markings.

/uo jaŋ-tsə/
 he run-PAST
 'He ran.'

/uo ti tuŋ-tsə/
 he water drink-PAST
 'He drank water.'

/ra:m-sɛ selu lɪbɪn ka-da:/
 Ram-AGT fɛlu book PAST-give
 'Ram gave Shelu a book.'

/ra:m duŋlaŋ ka-dza:/
 Ram food PAST-eat
 'Ram ate food.'

/ra:m-sɛ selu dɔb-sɔ/
 Ram-erg fɛlu see-PAST
 'Ram saw Shelu.'

/je-sɛ fɪŋ dzaŋ-sɛ cak-sɔ/
 I-AGT tree axe-INST cut-PAST
 'I cut the tree with the axe.'

/je-ja lɪbɪn yin/
 I-DAT book is
 'I have a book.'

/ra:m-ja lɪbɪn-maŋ yinan/
 Ram-DAT book-pl. are
 'Ram has books.'

/je-sɛ fɛndɛ-jalan fɪŋphɪŋ ta:-to/
 I-AGT child-DAT work get done-PRESCONT
 'I am getting the work done by the child.'

/je-sɛ gan-ja kharci ai lɪbɪn kwarya-ŋgo/
 I-AGT you-DAT from this book take:FUT
 'I shall take this book from you.'

/ai uŋ je-ja da:/
 this stone I-DAT give+IMP
 'Give this stone to me.'

/ufɪ-gɛ ma:la:-maŋ yinan/
 they-GEN goat-pl. are
 'They have goats.'

/ai ra:m-gɛ cim hle/
 this Ram-GEN house is
 'This is Ram's house.'

/ati fɪŋ-gɛ hle/
 that tree-GEN is
 'That belongs to the tree.'

/ʃiŋ-gɛ cim/
wood-GEN house
'house made of wood'

/uŋ-gɛ dʂalo/
stone-GENpiece
'a piece of stone'

/ra:msiŋ-gɛ nya:r-ci duka:n yin/
Ramsimha-GEN yesterday-ABL shop is
'Ram Singh's is yesterday's shop. (This sentence means that Ram Singh just started his shop a few days ago.)

/je-ja lan hlikan/ cf. /je-ja lan ma-hle/
I-DAT work done I-DAT work not-done
'The work was done by me.' 'The work was not done by me.'

4.8 Postpositions

Other case relations are expressed by the following postpositions. Some of these postpositions could be considered locative or comitative case markers, as they take a nominative NP, while the others take a dative or genitive NP. The list of postpositions given below is far from complete. Examples:

/rakta/ 'with, along'. (takes a nominative NP)
/in rakta/ 'with us'
/ba rakta/ 'with father'

/khu/ 'on, inside'. (takes a nominative NP)
/uŋ khu/ 'on the stone'
/cu khu/ 'inside the room'

/dza/ 'in'. (takes a nominative NP)
/cim-dza/ 'in the house'

/nʂintam/ 'after, behind'. (takes a nominative NP)
/cim nʂintam/ 'behind the house'

/gunda:/ 'in the middle'. (takes a nominative NP)
/yaŋti gunda:/ 'in the middle of the river'

/yarto/ 'above'. (takes a genitive NP)
/cim-gɛ yarto/ 'above the house'

/yikho/ 'below'. (takes a genitive NP)
/cim-gɛ yikho/ 'below the house'

/kharci/ 'from (source)'. (takes a dative NP)⁷

/ra:m-ja kharci/ 'from Ram'

/je-ja kharci/ 'from me'

/kharci/ 'from' (place, point). (takes a nominative or dative NP)

/yarto kharci yikho wase/ 'from above to below'

/dha:rcu:la: kharci/ 'from Dharcula'

/re-ja-ci/ 'from the field' [field-DAT-ABL]

/cim-ja kharci/ 'from the house'

/khu kharci/ 'from on; out of'. (takes a nominative NP)

/ti khu kharci/ 'out of water'

/fiŋ khu kharci/ 'from on (the) tree'

/hratam/ 'front, before'. (takes a dative NP)

/cim-ja hratam/ 'in front of the house'

/gan-ja hratam/ 'in front of you'

/wase/ terminative, 'up to'. (takes a nominative NP)

/yarto kharci yikho wase/ 'from above to below'

/itta wase/ 'till now'

/wuilaŋ wase/ 'till then'

/nero/ 'near'. (takes a nominative NP)

/cim nero fiŋ yin/ 'Near the house there are trees.'

/tɔksa:/ 'towards'; 'side'. (takes a genitive NP; vowel harmony below).

/ji-ge tɔkse/ 'my side'

/ati-ge tɔkse/ 'that side'

/nittam tɔksa:/ 'both sides'. (takes a genitive NP)

/cim-ge nittam tɔksa: yaŋti yin/ 'There is a river on both sides of the house.'

5.0 Adjectives

Adjectives precede the nouns they qualify and some of them can even function as nouns, e.g. /ati maŋde yin/ 'that is red'. There is no agreement of number or gender between the nouns and adjectives. In fact, the adjectives in Byangsi do not undergo any changes with regard to the nouns they qualify. Adjectives may be classified into four types as follows: 1. Qualitative, 2. Similitive and demonstrative, 3. Quantitative, 4. Numerals.

5.1 Qualitative

These adjectives precede the noun they qualify and refer to a quality of the noun. Most of them are derived from verbs and nominal stems. They take adjectival suffixes to form the adjective class. The most common adjectival suffixes are the following:

⁷The source case is expressed with the ablative postposition /kharci/ or simply /ci/, which takes a dative-marked noun or pronoun, as in these examples. Temporal and locative expressions sometimes also take the ablative marker /-(khar)ci/, but in this case the dative marking is optional, as can be seen from the following set of examples.

/-dɛ/			
/yi:-/	'to become old'		
/yi:dɛ/	'old'		
/buul-/	'to be fat'		
/buuldɛ/	'fat'		
/kha/	'walnut' (which is bitter in taste)		
/kha:dɛ/	'bitter, difficult'		
/bɪɛ/	'thread'		
/byɛdɛ/	'thin' (in thickness)		
/nu:dɛ/	'new'	/lodɛ/	'easy'
/thɛdɛ/	'high'	/mi:dɛ/	'small'
/myɛdɛ/	'low'	/ʃi:dɛ/	'white'
/maŋdɛ/	'red'	/wamdɛ/	'black'
/lyedɛ/	'yellow'	/pha:dɛ/	'ash colour'

It may be noted here that there is no basic colour term for 'blue' in Byangsi; the word /timbu/ 'sky' is used for indicating 'blue', however colour terms for 'brown', /gyamo/, and 'ash' colour, /pha:dɛ/, exist as basic terms in Byangsi. In a way this fact violates Berlin and Kay's universalistic hypothesis of colour terms (Berlin and Kay 1969).

Similar other adjectives are formed with various adjectival suffixes. Some more examples with suffixes are given below:

/-thɛ/			
/nyanθɛ/	'light in weight'	/hli:thɛ/	'heavy'
/buŋθɛ/	'tall, long'	/tuwθɛ/	'short'
/tsanθɛ/	'sharp' (of an instrument)		
/-tɛ/			
/hyuktɛ/	'deep'	/thi:tɛ/	'wet'
/tshartɛ/	'dry'	/laktɛ/	'thin' (of round objects)
/partɛ/	'broad'	/wɔltɛ/	'loose'
/khi:tɛ/	'dirty'	/ŋamtɛ/	'strong'
/-ta/			
/thu:ta/	'weak'	/kyerakta/	'curved'
/khasrakta/	'rough'	/phota/	'thick' (liquid)
/chakta/	'sweet'	/ʃirta/	'sour'
/latakta/	'smell bad'	/dzamta/	'smooth'

Some opposites are formed by prefixing the negative particle to the existing positive form, e.g. /hyuktɛ/ 'deep', /ma-hyuktɛ/ 'shallow'. In cases where the negative marker is required to achieve a certain meaning, a lexicalized opposite does not exist in the language.

5.2 Similitive and demonstrative adjectives

The particle /na/ can be suffixed to some nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs to derive the adjectival meaning 'like' or have the same quality as that of the object or the concept. Examples:

/hla na chantɛ/
 moon like light
 'light like the moon'

/n5i na chantɛ/
 sun like light
 'light like the sun'

Also /je na/ 'like me', /ati na/ 'like that', /tsodɛ na/ 'mad like', /lomo na/ 'saying like, worth saying'. This process is very productive in this language; one can add this particle to any verb and construct verbal nouns like 'worth eating', 'worth drinking', and so on.

The demonstrative pronouns can also function as adjectives and belong to this category of adjectives, e.g. /ai mi/ 'this man'.

5.3 Quantitative adjectives

The following lexical items express the quantity of some entity:

/matmì/	'many'	/dumamì/	'some, a few people'
/lairi/	'all'	/gaŋmì/	'the other person'
/jamma:/	'whole'		

Another group of quantitative adjectives is formed by demonstrative pronouns followed by the suffix /-laŋ/, e.g. /ai-laŋ/ 'this much'; /ati-laŋ/ 'that much' or 'that many', /u-laŋ/ 'how many'.

5.4 Numerals

The cardinal and multiplicative numerals can be used in the same place before the nouns as adjectives. The numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to nineteen are formed by an additive process, as the numeral /cì/ 'ten' and its allomorphs [cɛ-], [co-], [cir-], [sa:] become the base and the allomorphs of 'one' to 'nine' are added with some morphophonemic changes. The form for 'twenty' is /nasa:/, 'two into ten', [na-] being the allomorph of 'two' and [sa:-] being an allomorph of /cì/ 'ten'. From twenty onwards /nasa:/ 'twenty' becomes the base and the counting from twenty to forty is carried out by the process of addition (20+1), where the full form of the numerals from one to nineteen is added, and not their allomorphs. The numeral for thirty can be formed in two ways, one is /nasa: cì/, 'twenty plus ten', and the other is /sumsà/, 'three into ten', but the counting continues with the additive process even after thirty, i.e., 'twenty plus eleven'; 'forty plus eleven', 'sixty plus eleven'; 'eighty plus eleven' continues up to ninety nine. Basically Byangsi follows a decimal system of counting, but the base 'twenty', which is bimorphemic, is utilized in the formation of higher numerals. So in a way the concept of twenty, i.e. a vigesimal system, is also followed. We give the list of numerals below:

/tigɛ/	'one'	/naʃɛ/	'two'	/sum/	'three'
/pi/	'four'	/ŋai/	'five'	/t5ugu/	'six'
/niʃɛ/	'seven'	/jedɛ/	'eight'	/gui/	'nine'
/cì/	'ten'	/cɛthɛ/	'eleven'	/cɛnyɛ/	'twelve'
/cesum/	'thirteen'	/cɛpi/	'fourteen'	cɛban	'fifteen'
/cat5o/	'sixteen'	/conye/	'seventeen'	/cɛbjɛ/	'eighteen'
/cirgu/	'nineteen'	/nassa:/ or /nasa:/	'twenty'	/pisà/	'forty'

/pisa: cì/	'fifty'	/t5usa:/	'sixty'	/t5uksa: cì/	'seventy'
/jatsha:/	'eighty'	/jatsha: cì/	'ninety'	/rà/	'hundred'

Higher numerals like /haja:r/ 'one thousand' and /la:kh/ 'hundred thousand' are borrowed from Hindi.

Multiplicatives are formed through the process of reduplication of the basic numeral. /sum-sum/ 'three times' /pi-pi/ 'four times' and so on, or by adding the suffix /-tsu/ to the basic numeral, e.g., /ti-tsu/ 'once'; /sum-tsu/ 'thrice' and so on. The multiplicatives in the sense of folds used for papers and cloth are formed by adding the suffix /-ba/ to the basic numeral, e.g., /pi-ba/ 'four folds' /ṅaba/ 'five folds' and so on. 'Half' is /phyε/, a monomorphemic form. For other fractions the local measurements are used. The basic numerals are not used in their formation, as these numbers just specify the numeration of those measurements of weights and lengths, etc.

6.0 Adverbs

Adverbs precede the verbs which they qualify. They locate the action of the verb in time or place, or specify the manner. The various types are listed below:

6.1 Time adverbs

6.1.2 Indefinite

/n5intam/	'after'	/hratam/	'before'
/itta waseε/	'till now'	/wuilaŋ waseε/	'till then'
/than/	'now'	/haŋ/	'then'
/thanlaŋ/	'then'	/wakhuri mani/	'at no time' (never)
/ulanŋi/	'sometimes, anytime'	/khaja-guja/	'sometimes'
/ratso/	'every time, time and again' (literally 'hundred times')		

6.1.3 Definite

/baŋkhar/	'morning'	/n5yaŋcheε/	'evening'
/n5iseε/	'noon'	/n5irlaŋ/	'dusk time'
/khàpa:/	'winter'	/chyàpa:/	'summer'
/yane/	'spring'	/n5am+n/	'autumn'
/thinja:/	'today'	/nimja:/	'tomorrow'
/nya:re/	'yesterday'	/hrija/	'day before yesterday'
/thasumja:/	'three days before today'	/thapija:/	'four days before today'
/than yin/	'this year'	/than hla/	'this month'
/sumja:/	'day after tomorrow' (literally 'three days from today')		

Actually the adverb /than/ 'now' functions like a demonstrative adjective here in some of the compounds illustrated above. The literal meaning also corresponds to the meaning of the compound /than hla/ 'now month', which means the current month.

6.2 Place adverbs

The place adverbs are formed with demonstrative pronouns and some location and direction markers. Examples: /ai/ 'this' + /kho/ 'location marker' > /aikho/ 'here'. More examples are given below:

/wakhute/	'somewhere'	/wakhui/	'everywhere'
/wakhuri mani/	'nowhere'	/fyartam/	'left side'
/ati tɔksa:/	'that side, direction'	/ai tɔksa:/	'this side, direction'
/tapɔ/	'across the (river)'	/tɔpɔ/	'this side (of river, rivulet)'
/atikho/	'there'	/aikho/	'here'
/tetikho/	'that, invisible'	/taktam/	'right side'
/thotikho/	'that, at a higher elevation relative to the speaker'		
/yotikho/	'that, at a lower elevation relative to the speaker'		

The directions like east and west are indicated by adding the suffix /-nam/ 'direction' to concepts of physical reality. The verb roots with the meanings of 'sunrise' and 'sunset' receive the direction suffix and indicate 'east' and 'west' respectively. Similarly, north is towards the left side if a person is facing the east and so the noun stem /fyar/ 'left' receives the direction suffix to produce the word for north, while the noun stem /tak/ 'right' takes the directional suffix to indicate south. But in this case the final consonant of the noun stem undergoes regressive assimilation. The forms are given below:

/jyarnam/	'east'	/renam/	'west'
/fyarnam/	'north'	/tanam/	'south'

6.3 Adverbs of manner

Some manner adverbs are also formed from the demonstrative pronoun bases with some suffixes or markers indicating the type of action being qualified. Some involve the suffix /-na/ forms discussed in §5.2. The adverbs precede the verbs they qualify. Examples:

/ai-na/	'like this'	/at-na/	'like that'
/ai-na gartɛ/	'in this way'	/at-na gartɛ/	'in that way'
/dzamri gartɛ/	'in all ways'	/hanhi gartɛ/	'some way or the other'
/catʂak/	'quickly'	/suku suku/	'slowly'
/khaja:i/	'usually'	/chakka sɛ /	'approximately'

/uo dʂi:l rannisð/
he late came
'He came late.'

/ai-na fɪŋyð/
this-like do+IMP
'Do like this.'

/ittai da:/
right now give+IMP
'Give right now.'

/satta: ra:/
again come+IMP
'Come again.'

/saŋde dza:/
with.care eat+IMP
'Eat carefully.'

/uʃi ra:tsori sakul dyegnan/
they regularly school go
'They regularly go to school.'

/tsham-mì tig-tigε-sε dyeyeynan/
all-person one-one-AGT go+FUT
'All will go one by one.'

/u-sε api-gε hritiʃya gɔʃi ka-phan/
he-AGT self-gen wife happy PAST-make
'He made his wife happy.'

7.0 Verbs

Byangsi verbal stems are of two types: (1) simple and (2) compound. The simple ones are composed of monosyllabic roots which may be open or closed syllables . Examples :

7.1 Open syllable roots

/da:-/	'to come	/dza:-/	'to eat'	/ra:-/	'to come'
/dye-/	'to go'	/ya:-/	'to sleep'	/lo-/	'to say'
/hye-/	'to laugh'	/ri-/	'to write'	/co-/	'to finish'
/ko-/	'to boil'	/kwa-/	'to cook'	/cha:-/	'to break'

7.2 Closed syllable roots

/tuŋ-/	'to drink'	/hyuŋ-/	'to do'	/yab-/	'to stand'
/hnim-/	'to smell'	/ruŋ-/	'to hear'	/chil-/	'to wash clothes'
/jaŋ-/	'to run'	/dzuŋ-/	'to begin'	/juŋ-/	'to drown'
/yar-/	'to cry'	/yer-/	'to wash'	/pàc-/	'to masticate'

7.3 Compound verbs

The compound verbs are composed of a noun and the basic verb root, which are combined to derive a different verb, sometimes unrelated in meaning. Examples:

/hnim-tomo/ nose-beat 'to snore'	/phela:-tomo/ palm-stop 'to clap'
/lan-thomo/ answer-pluck 'to answer a call'	/m+n-tamo/ name-to put 'to give name'

7.4 Transitive and intransitive verb stems

The distinction between transitive and intransitive verb stems is very interesting from the morphological point of view. Some verbs are generally treated as transitive or intransitive

on the basis of the grammatical and semantic notions of object-taking verbs and object-less verbs like 'eat' and 'drink' and 'come' and 'go'. But many intransitive stems are formed from the transitive bases by adding the suffix /-ji/. There are also correspondences between sets of related verbs where the transitive member of the set has a unaspirated voiceless initial consonant while the intransitive member has a voiced initial consonant. Similar sets were also found among Rongpo verbs, though the correspondence there was voiceless aspirated in transitive members and voiced in the intransitive members.⁸

7.4.1 Suffixing

/-ji/ is the most common suffix added to the transitive stem to derive intransitive stems. This suffix is added to the transitive base and then the other verbal suffixes are added to this derived intransitive base. /-mo/ is the infinitive marker. Examples:

/lò-mo/	'to shake'	/lò-ji-mo/	'to be shaken'
/thì-mo/	'to melt'	/thì-ji-mo/	'to be melted'
/cha:-mo/	'to break'	/cha:-ji-mo/	'to be broken'
/ʃɔŋ-mo/	'to sit'	/ʃɔŋ-ji-mo/	'to sit by oneself'

Some intransitive verbs undergo a change before this intransitivizing suffix is added. This is a kind of increment of the verb base. Most commonly the suffix /-k/ is added to the transitive base and then the intransitive marking suffix /-ji/ is added. Examples:

/chɔ-mo/	'to itch'	/chɔ-k-ji-mo/	'to get an itch'
/khɔ-mo/	'to peel'	/khɔ-k-ji-mo/	'to be peeled'
/no-mo/	'to pull'	/no-k-ji-mo/	'to be pulled'

The suffix /-ji/ has another function in the case of some other verbs, and that is marking reciprocal action. Examples:

/pù-mo/	'to make some drink'	/pù-ji-mo/	'to make each other drink'
/duŋ-mo/	'to beat'	/duŋ-ji-mo/	'to beat each other'

There is another class of verb stems which are intransitive and the suffix /-ji/ is part of the stem itself since the verbs in question are inherently reciprocal.⁹

/tsimjimo/	'to wrestle'	/tshɔŋjimo/	'cock fight'
/khaʃjimo/	'horse fight'	/tʃhìjimo/	'dog fight'

⁸Editor's note: There also seems to be an analytical causative construction involving the verb /phəmmo/, e.g. [gɔʃi phəmmo] 'to make someone happy' (/gɔʃi/ 'happy'); [yanʃi phəmmo] 'to make someone walk' (/yanʃi/ 'walk'); [dzɛr phəmmo] 'to make someone be afraid' (/dzɛr/ be afraid').

⁹Editor's note: This marker also has reflexive/middle uses, e.g. in [chijimo] 'to feed oneself'; [phokjimo] 'cover oneself'; [thi:jimo] 'to wet oneself'. See LaPolla 1996 on reflexive/middle marking in Tibeto-Burman, and LaPolla 2000, in press, for examples of cognate morphology in Rawang and Dulong.

7.4.2 Voicing contrast

The voiceless initial consonant of the transitive stem corresponds to a voiced initial consonant in a cognate intransitive stem. Examples:

/cuŋ-/	'to drown'	/juŋ-/	'to be drowned'
/cyà-/	'to break' (rope)	/jya-/	'to be broken'
/pyo-/	'to frighten'	/byo-/	'to be frightened'
/kaŋ-/	'to cause to swell'	/gaŋ-/	'to swell by itself'

7.4.3 The verb forms

A verb in Byangsi may have several inflected forms depending on tense, aspect, mood, person and number. The dominant patterns of various verb forms such as participles and gerunds are also described here.

7.4.4 Imperative and prohibitive mood

The imperative forms are used to give commands, orders or requests to the addressee. Three forms are distinguished according to the number: singular, dual, and plural. The plural imperative forms are also used with singular referents to express requests or as a more polite imperative. In the singular imperative three suffixes are found:

(i) Zero suffix, this means that the verb root is used with rising intonation and there is no separate suffix marking the singular imperative form. Some forms are assigned high falling tone.

roots		singular imp. form
/dye-/	'to go'	/dyè/
/ra:-/	'to come'	/ra:/
/dza:-/	'to eat'	/dza:/
/da:-/	'to give'	/da:/
/tuŋ-/	'to drink'	/tùŋ/

(ii) The suffix /-yɔ/ is added to most verb roots with some morphophonemic changes in the verb roots. Most of the verb roots are assigned high falling tone. The verb root final nasal /m/ is deleted and the preceding vowel is nasalized and the root is extended with a vowel /i/ if the root does not have it already. The suffix /-yɔ/ is added after this process. There is no person marking in type (i) and (ii).

roots		singular imp. form
/yab-/	'to stand'	/yabyɔ/
/yeb-/	'to sow'	/yèbyɔ/
/jaŋ-/	'to run'	/jaŋyɔ/
/hye-/	'to laugh'	/hìyɔ/
/ya:-/	'to sleep'	/yàyɔ/
/lo-/	'to say'	/loyɔ/
/chù-/	'to win'	/chùyɔ/
/n5ye-/	'to rub'	/n5yèyɔ/
/hwan/	'to show'	/hwanyɔ/
/lay-/	'to send'	/làyɔ/
/pàm-/	'to spin'	/paiyɔ/
/rà̄m-/	'to weave'	/raiɔ/

/kum-/	'to cause to fall'	/kaiyɔ/
/chim-/	'to tether'	/chiyɔ/

(iii) Some singular imperative forms take the second person pronominal suffix /-n/ but in these cases the imperative suffix becomes zero. The suffix /-n/ is mostly added to verb roots with bisyllabic structure where the second syllable is the suffix /-ji/ or the suffix /-c(i)/, or the syllable ends in /c/. Examples:

roots		singular imp. form
/sɔŋji-/	'to sit'	/sɔŋjin/
/danji-/	'to get up'	/danjin/
/yanci-/	'to hear' (from a distance)	/yancin/
/ruŋji-/	'to listen' (from near)	/yanjin/
/hlabji-/	'to learn'	/hlabjin/
/pàc-/	'to masticate'	/pàcan/

The second person dual and plural imperative forms follow the pronominal agreement system consistently, with certain morphophonemic changes in the verb roots. First of all we would like to cite the examples of various types of verbs and then discuss a possible analysis, since there appears to be more than one solution to this problem. The second person dual and plural pronouns are placed on the top so as to show the pronominal element reflected in the imperative verb forms. In actual speech free pronouns are not required, due to the fact that the pronominal element is present in the verb form.

verb root		/ganiji/ 2du.imp.	/gani/ 2pl. imp.
/dye-/	'to go'	/diniʃɛ/	/dini/
/ra:-/	'to come'	/raniʃɛ/	/rani/
/ʃɔŋ-/	'to sit'	/ʃɔŋjiniʃɛ/	/sɔŋjinni/
/dza:-/	'to eat'	/dzaniʃɛ/	/dzani/
/yanci-/	'to hear'	/yanciniʃɛ/	/yancini/
/ri:-/	'to write'	/riniʃɛ/	/rini/

If we look at the dual imperative forms here we find that the plural imperative form is taken as the base for the dual form and the suffix /-ʃɛ/ is added, and it is then a person-number-imperative complex. Here [-ʃ-] can be interpreted as an allomorph of the dual number morpheme [ʃi], and [-ɛ-] as an allomorph of the imperative suffix /-yɔ/ which we find in singular imperative forms as discussed above. The plural imperative form has the suffix /-ni/ added to the verb roots which represents the person-number-imperative complex, with some morphophonemic changes occurring in the verb roots. The long vowel verb root finals are shortened and /ye/ > [i] as a result of vowel harmony. The suffix /-ni/ can be interpreted in two ways: one is simply to equate it with the second person-plural number suffix, just as we find it in the second person pronoun, and assume the imperative marker is zero, as in some of the singular imperative forms. The second analysis is to treat /-n-/ as the second person marker, which we have found in some singular imperative forms as well, and the [-i] suffix can be assumed to be an allomorph of the imperative morpheme /yɔ/. We are still left with the number marking to be assigned. We know from our number analysis that the number category is not very much a preferred category in Byangsi, because even in nouns it is left unmarked. So the number can be regarded as unmarked here as well.

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The examples below follow a second pattern, where the dual number suffix /-ji/ is added to the full verb roots and then the second person-imperative marker /-ni/ is added:

/hyuŋ-/	'to do'	/hyuŋjini/	/hyuŋni/
/hye-/	'to laugh'	/hiʃjini/	/hini/
/tye-/	'to weep'	/tiʃjini/	/tini/
/cyà/	'to cut'	/cyɛʃjini/	/cyɛni/

A somewhat similar pattern holds for the third type, but with a slight change in the dual number suffix, where /ji/ > /ʃɛ/:

/co-/	'to finish'	/còʃɛni/	/còni/
/naŋ-/	'to drive animals'	/naŋʃɛni/	/naŋni/
/yi-/	'to grind'	/yiʃɛni/	/yini/
/tò-/	'to buy'	/tòʃɛni/	/tòni/
/raŋ/	'to sell'	/ràŋʃɛni/	/ràŋni/

The two examples below follow the first pattern of suffixing but with regressive assimilation in plural imperative forms. The same resultant form is carried over to the dual. The verb root final /-m/ > /-n/.

/ràṃ-/	'to weave'	/ràṃjini	/rànni/
/pàṃ-/	'to spin'	/pàṃjini/	/pànni/

The fourth pattern is found in the following three examples, where the verb root final vowels lose their length and are compensated for by a high falling tone and a following voiceless velar stop /-k/. In the plural imperative forms the lost vowel length is recovered and the usual second person-imperative marker /-ni/ is added.

/ya:-/	'sleep'	/yàkʃini/	/ya:ni/
/pha:-/	'to speak'	/phàkʃini/	/pha:ni/
/cha:/	'to break'	/chàkʃini/	/cha:ni/

The fuller representation of the person-number-imperative complex is found in the imperative form for /lo-/ 'to say', 2du. /lòkʃiniʃɛ/, 2pl. /loni/, where apart from the changes in the verb root we find that dual number represented by the /-ji/ suffix and the plural number form /-ni/ are also found here, followed by the dual imperative suffix /-ʃɛ/, set up earlier. The two examples given below give us a still fuller picture of all the allomorphs representing their morphemes without being affected by the forces of morphophonemic changes. Even the order of morphemes is very systematic, with /-ye/, an imperative suffix, /-ji/, a dual number marker, and /-ni/, the second person-number suffix.

/khi:-/	'to bend like an arc'	/khiyeʃɛni/	/khiyɛni/
/cɪm-/	'to ignite'	/cìyèʃini/	/cìnni/

The imperative forms for the verb /da:/ 'to give' are of two types, one used when the speaker is requesting or ordering his hearer to give something to him, and one when he is requesting or ordering his hearer to give something to someone else. Examples:

/da:/ 'give me'(sg.)	/dani/ 'give us' (du.)	/dani/ 'give us' (pl.)
/dai/ 'give him'(sg.)	/dai/ 'give them'(du.)	/dani/ 'give them' (pl.)

7.5 Prohibitive

The prohibitive forms take the prefix /tha-/ before the imperative forms in all numbers and persons. It has the meaning of telling the hearer not to carry out the action. Some examples are given below:

/ra:/ 'come'	/tha-ra:/ 'don't come' (sg.)
/raniʃɛ/ 'come'	/tha-raniʃɛ/ 'don't come' (du.)
/rani/ 'come'	/tha-rani/ 'don't come' (pl.)

7.6 Infinitive forms

The infinitive suffix is transcribed as /-mo/, but sometimes some informants pronounced it as /-mɔ/. It is added to verb roots to form the infinitive form of the verbs. These can be used as verbal nouns as well. The infinitive forms of some of the verbs are used in compound verbs where the first constituent is a noun. Examples:

/khu:-mo/ 'to steal'	/pu-mo/ 'to cross'
/hwan-mo/ 'to show'	/du-mo/ 'to knead'
/mɛn ta:-mo/ 'to name'	/ta:-mo/ 'to fix; allow; put; hang'
/rusu ra:-mo/ 'to get anger'	/ra:-mo/ 'to come'
/gɔʃi-mo/ 'to be happy'	/gɔʃiphum-mo/ 'to make someone happy'
/da:-mo/ 'to give'	/tum da:-mo/ 'to lay eggs'
/maŋ ra:-mo/ 'to dream'	/nimphan ðŋ-mo/ 'to look backward'
/ðŋ-mo/ 'to look after, watch carefully or closely'	

7.7 Gerunds

The gerund forms are used as adverbials giving the sense of completed action, like 'having done something'. There are two types of meanings expressed with two types of morphological processes. The first meaning is something like "'having eaten' he went almost immediately". It is formed by adding the suffix /-gɛ/ to most verb roots with vowel or nasal finals, for example /dza:-gɛ/ 'having eaten', /ra:-gɛ/ 'having come', /ʃuŋ-gɛ/ 'having done', /uo-tuŋ-gɛ pɪra/ [he-drink-having-came] 'He came after having drunk.' Other verb roots take the suffix /-khɛ/, with or without morphophonemic changes, e.g. /yab-khɛ/ 'having stood'; /luk-khɛ/ 'having said' (< /lo-mo/; the verb root ends in /o/, but /o/ > /u/ with the extension of the verb root by /-k/, and then the gerund suffix /-khɛ/ is added).

The second type of meaning is something like 'after having completed some action' i.e., after some unspecified period of time but not immediately. This is achieved by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb root and adding the suffix /-ŋ/ or /-aŋ/ after the verb root. If the verb root is an open monosyllable form with a long vowel, the vowel is shortened in the first token in the reduplicated form. Examples:

/dzadza:ŋ/ 'after having eaten'	/rara:ŋ/ 'after having come'
/ruruŋʃiaŋ/ 'after having heard'	/dedyeaŋ/ 'after having gone'
/dzadza:ŋ uʃi cim dyeyaŋnan/ 'After having eaten they will go home.'	

7.8 Verb forms used as adverbs

The adverbial form of verbs has the suffix /-laŋ/ added to the verb root and the whole form is then reduplicated. This formation is used for indicating some action being performed in addition to the main verb at the same time. Examples:

/uo	dza:laŋ-dza:laŋ	laiya/	'While eating he slept.'
he	eating-eating	slept	
/tuŋlaŋ-tuŋlaŋ/			'while drinking'
/ra:laŋ/-ra:laŋ/			'while coming'
da:laŋ-da:laŋ/			'while giving'

7.9 Subjunctive forms

Subjunctive forms are used when the speaker asks the hearer's permission to perform some act. These are possible in the first person singular, dual and plural. In the singular the verb root takes the suffix /yɛ/, /-gɔ/, or /-kɔ/, with some morphophonemic changes in the verb root. The dual and plural forms are identical, and the common suffix is /-nɛ/, /-nyɛ/, or /-mɔ/, with some morphophonemic changes taking place in the verb roots, which will be discussed along with the examples. Here the second person pronoun is also incorporated into most of the non-singular forms (/ -n- / second person; /-ɛ/ allomorph of the subjunctive morpheme /-yɛ/). In the last example below we find the ideal situation where even the dual number is also marked apart from the second person. The nasalization in the dual form serves there as an allomorph of the second person morpheme /-n/ and /-ʃ/ as allomorph of the dual morpheme /ʃi/. Since the forms are single word forms used as sentences, there is some difference in the intonation patterns with which the imperative and the subjunctive forms are used. The imperative forms are used with high falling intonation and the subjunctive forms are used with high rising intonation. In case the speaker wants to use the personal pronoun to reinforce his readiness to do something and the verb is transitive, the pronouns must be placed in the agentive case (/je-sɛ/ 'I-AGT'; /in-ʃi-sɛ/ 'we-dual-AGT'; /in-sɛ/ 'we-pl.-AGT'). The Hindi sentence is closer in meaning: *mai karū* 'may I do it!' Examples:

verb roots		singular		dual-plural	
/dye-/	'to go'	/dɿyɛ/	'may I go!'	/dɿnɛ/	'may we go!'
/ra:-/	'to come'	/rayɛ/	'may I come!'	/rainɛ/	'may we come!'
/dza:-/	'to eat'	/dzayɛ/	'may I eat!'	/dzainɛ/	'may we eat!'
/ya:-/	'sleep'	/yayɛ/	'may I sleep!'	/yaknyɛ/	'may we sleep!'
/yab-/	'to stand'	/yabyɛ/	'may we stand!'	/yabkhɛ/	'may we stand!'
/hyuŋ-/	'to do'	/hyuŋgɔ/	'may I do!'	/hyuŋnyɛ/	'may we do!'
/yeb-/	'to sow'	/yebkɔ/	'may I sow!'	/yebmɔ/	'may we sow!'
/hye-/	'to laugh'	/hiyɛ/	'may I laugh!'	/hiʃɛ/ (du.); /hinɛ/	'may we laugh!'

The morphophonemic changes taking place in the root forms are simple: /ye/ > /ɿ/ for both singular and non-singular; long vowels in the singular are shortened and in the non-singular the verb roots receive the root increment /-i/, /-k/, or /-kh/ before the subjunctive suffix is added. These are the dominant patterns of subjunctive formation in Byangsi.

7.10 Verbal Nouns

The infinitive forms of the verbs can be used as verbal nouns. But there is another type of verbal noun which is used in a somewhat different sense, i.e., in the sense of an agent

or the doer of the action, or one who is involved in some action either by way of habit or who somehow possesses a quality as a result of the action, or in some cases the person who is still involved in the on-going action. Most verbs take the suffix /-nidε/ but some roots take the suffix /-ta:dε/. In a few cases these suffixes can alternate, but in most cases one can not be replaced by the other. Most of the verb roots undergo a change with an increment of the roots by one of the velar stops /k kh g/ before the nominalizing suffix is added. In a few cases it has been found that a whole syllable is added to the verb root instead of the single consonants listed above. Verbs with the suffix /-ji/ as the final syllable obligatorily take a full syllable increment /-gε/ and then take the suffix /-nidε/ for this formation. But there does not seem to be a phonological explanation for the kind of changes taking place in the verb roots in this formation. In our data listed below we find many examples which appear very similar in their phonological structure but undergo different changes and take different suffixes. Perhaps some larger corpus of data from Byangsi and other related languages will bring out some sound laws operating here. Here we have only singular forms but the dual and plural forms can be created by adding the dual marker /khan/ or the plural marker /maŋ/ to the verbal noun. The examples given below are listed by the kind of changes taking place in the verb roots.

No change in the verb root:

/dza:-/	'to eat'	/dza:nidε/	'one who eats or is eating'
/tuŋ-/	'to drink'	/tuŋnidε/	'one who drinks'
/ʃuŋ-/	'to do'	/ʃuŋta:dε/	'doer, who is doing'
/hyuŋ-/	'to make'	/hyuŋnidε/, /-ta:dε/	'one who is making'

Verb root adds /-k/:

/lo-/	'to say'	/lokta:dε/	'one who says'
/hye-/	'to laugh'	/hyeknidε/	'one who laughs'
/ya:-/	'to sleep'	/ya:knidε/	'one who sleeps'
/pha:-/	'to speak'	/phaknidε/	'one who is speaking'
/juŋ-/	'to be drowned'	/junknidε/	'one who is drowning'

Loss of root final consonant and the verbal noun takes /-kh/:

/yab-/	'to stand'	/yakhnidε/	'who is standing'
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Verb root adds /-g/:

/dye-/	'to go'	/dyegnidε/	'one who goes or is going'
/tye-/	'to weep'	/tyegnidε/	'one who weeps or weeping'
/ra:-/	'to come'	/ra:gnidε/	'one who comes'
/co-/	'to finish'	/cogta:dε/	'one who is finishing'
/kwar-/	'to take'	/kwargta:dε/	'one who takes, taking'
/chil-/	'to wash'	/chilgta:dε/	'one who washes, is washing'(clothes)

Verb root adds /-gε/:

/ruŋji-/	'to hear'	/ruŋjiɡεnidε/	'one who hears, agrees'
/lɔkji-/	'to climb'	/lɔkjiɡεnidε/	'one who is climbing'
/yarji-/	'to take a bath'	/yarjiɡεnidε/	'one is taking a bath'
/dzuŋ-/	'to begin'	/dzuŋɡεta:dε/	'one who is beginning'

Verb root final consonant is devoiced and then the root adds /-k/:

/yeb-/ 'to sow' /yepkta:dɛ/ 'one who sows'

The following root has two possibilities, one with no change and the other adds /-cig/:

/hnim-/ 'to smell' /hnimnidɛ/ 'one who commands respect'
 /hnimcignidɛ/ 'one who is smelling something'

7.11 Tense and Aspect

We shall give the conjugated verb forms in the present, past, and future tenses, and in the progressive and perfective aspects.

7.11.1 Present tense

Present tense in Byangsi is habitual action generally carried out by way of habit or tradition and not action taking place at the time of the speech. The present forms are also the immediate future forms as well. Most of the transitive verbs distinguish six forms: three persons and two numbers. So the basic distinction is between singular and plural forms in each person. The intransitive verbs have the same distinctions except that the first person plural and the second person plural have the same forms, resulting in five forms. The dual forms are the same as those of the plural and are not included in the table. A full morphological analysis of the tense and aspect system has not been carried out, but we can say that the present tense marker is the suffix /-yɛ/, and it undergoes some changes according to person. The third person forms do not seem to reflect this marker. The verb form in Byangsi is a complex of person-number and tense-aspect along with other morphophonemic changes taking place. The tables are given below.

		/dza:/ 'to eat'	/dye/ 'to go'
1sg.	je	dzɛ	dyeyɛ
1pl.	in	dza:gn5yɛ	dyegn5ye
2sg.	gan	dza:gn5ɔ	dyegn5ɔ
2pl.	gani	dza:gn5i	dyegn5ye
3sg.	uo	dza:gan	dyegan
3pl.	uji	dza:gn5an	dyegn5an

7.11.2 Present progressive

The present progressive forms are formed with the auxiliary verb /yi/ 'to be'. The present tense suffixes are added to the auxiliary and the very root undergoes some morphophonemic changes. In fact, the present tense is also formed with the help of auxiliaries, but they are fused with person-number forms and the verb root has a different phonetic shape.

1sg.	je	dza:giyɛ	dyeg yin yɛ
1pl.	in	dza:gen5yɛ	dyeg yin yɛ
2sg.	gan	dza:gen5ɔ	dyeg yin yɔ
2pl.	gani	dza:gen5yi	dyeg yini (/dyeg yin yi/)
3sg.	uo	dza:geyen	dyeg yin
3pl.	uji	dza:gen5an	dyeg yinan

7.11.3 Past tense

When the action has just been completed the past forms are used. For the past there is a single form for all persons and numbers. The past tense marker /ka-/ is prefixed to the verb root and some verb roots undergo morphophonemic changes. The verbs /ra:-/ 'to come' and /dye-/ 'to go' take the prefix /pɪ-/ in the past. The past form for /dza:-/ 'to eat' is /kadza:/ 'ate'. Apart from a single form there is an alternate system to form past tense in the language which is sometimes used in the positive but always used in negatives. In the alternative system the past tense marker is /sɔ̃/ in all the persons and numbers except third person plural, where the marker is /tsɔ̃/. Alternate forms follow the same rules of agreement as are followed by the present tense forms given above. The table shows both the positive and negative forms of this alternate form.

/dza:/ 'to eat'		positive	negative
1sg.	je	dza:yesɔ̃	madzɛsɔ̃
1pl.	in	dza:nyesɔ̃	madzanyesɔ̃
2sg.	gan	dza:nansɔ̃	madzanansɔ̃
2pl.	gani	dza:nisɔ̃	madzanisɔ̃
3sg.	uo	dza:sɔ̃	madzasɔ̃
3pl.	ufi	dza:nantsɔ̃	madzanantsɔ̃

7.11.4 Past progressive

The past progressive and perfective forms in second person singular and plural are identical.

		/dza:/ 'to eat'	/nɔ̃ye-/ 'to rub'	/dye/ 'to go'
1sg.	je	dza:g	nɔ̃yesɔ̃	dyegnɔ̃yesɔ̃
1pl.	in	dza:g	nɔ̃yinɔ̃yesɔ̃	dyegnɔ̃inɔ̃yesɔ̃
2sg.	gan	dza:g	nɔ̃yinɔ̃isɔ̃	dyegnɔ̃yinɔ̃isɔ̃
2pl.	gani	dza:g	nɔ̃yinɔ̃isɔ̃	dyegnɔ̃yɔ̃inɔ̃isɔ̃
3sg.	uo	dza:g	nɔ̃yisɔ̃	dyegnɔ̃yisɔ̃
3pl.	ufi	dza:g	nɔ̃yinantsɔ̃	dyegnɔ̃ynantsɔ̃

7.11.5 Past perfect

1sg.	je	kadza:d	nɔ̃yiyesɔ̃	pɪdyednɔ̃yiyesɔ̃
1pl.	in	kadza:d	nɔ̃yinɔ̃yesɔ̃	pɪdyednɔ̃yinɔ̃yesɔ̃
2sg.	gan	kadza:d	nɔ̃ɪnɔ̃isɔ̃	pɪdyednɔ̃inisɔ̃
2pl.	gani	kadza:d	nɔ̃ɪnɔ̃isɔ̃	pɪdyednɔ̃inɔ̃isɔ̃
3sg.	uo	kadza:d	nɔ̃yisɔ̃	pɪdyednɔ̃yisɔ̃
3pl.	ufi	kadza:d	nɔ̃ɪnɔ̃antsɔ̃	pɪdyednɔ̃ɪnɔ̃antsɔ̃

7.11.6 Future tense

As stated earlier, the present tense forms can also indicate an action in the future. In Byangsi the future can be of two types: one where the action promised is sure to take place immediately, and the other type is uncertain and remote. The future forms also have the distinctions of person and number like the present forms. A long vowel verb root is shortened.

		Future I: certain and immediate	Future II: remote and uncertain	
		/dza:/ 'to eat'	/dza:/ 'to eat'	/dye/ 'to go'
1sg.	je	dzaiyε	dzayaŋyè	deyaŋyε
1pl.	in	dzain5yè	dzayaŋn5yè	deyaŋn5yε
2sg.	gan	dzain5o	dzayaŋn5ò	deyaŋn5o
2pl.	gani	dzain5i	dzayaŋn5ì	deyaŋn5i
3sg.	uo	dzayaŋ	dzayaŋ	deyaŋ
3pl.	ufi	dzayaŋn5an	dzayaŋn5an	dyeyen5an

7.12 Negation

The negative forms of a verb can be formed by adding the prefix /ma-/. It can be prefixed even to the infinitive forms of the verbs. Examples:

/ra:mo/	'to come'	/mara:mo/	'to not come'
/dza:mo/	'to eat'	/madza:mo/	'to not eat'

7.13 Agreement

The agreement system in Byangsi is tied to the person and number of the subject and the verb form, due to the fact that verb forms incorporate the pronominal elements. We can find from the present tense table above that there are five forms: three forms with regard to person (first, second and third person), and two forms with regard to number, as the first person plural and second person plural forms are identical. In past and future tense we find that we have six verb forms: first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural and third person singular and plural forms can be distinguished.

7.14 Word order and some syntactic structures

Byangsi follows SOV word order. The adjectives and adverbs precede the nouns and verbs respectively.

/ufi-gε	ma:la:-maŋ	yinan/	
he-GEN	goat-pl. are		
'He has goats.'			
/je-sε	tige	nubu	tiŋsò/
I-AGT	one	insect	saw
'I saw an insect.'			
/ʃelu-sε	ra:m	duklaŋ	deisò/
Shelu-AGT	Ram	food	gave
'Shelu gave Ram food.'			

/uo ti tuŋtsə/
he water drank
'He drank water.'

/uʃi jaŋnantsə/
they ran
'They ran.'

/nage ʃiri dʒaŋthe yin/
you+GEN son beautiful is
'Your son is handsome.'

/ra:m-ji ʃelu ranantsə/
Ram-and Shelu came
'Ram and Shelu came.'

/uʃi ma-dzayaŋnan/
they neg-eat+FUT
'They will not eat.'

7.15 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences are formed either with the help of question-words or with rising intonation. We cite a few examples below:

/ai kha hle/
this what is
'What is this?'

/gan ulaŋ ranisə/
you when came
'When did you come?'

/ati kha hlenan/
these what are
'What are these?'

/ra:m wa yin/
Ram where is
'Where is Ram?'

/ati un hle/
hat who is
'Who is he/that?'

/uʃi kaddza:/
who ate
'Who ate?'

/ati una hlenan/
they who are
'Who are they?'

BYANGSI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

- aijamma: —adv., these
 aikho —adv., here
 aimaŋ —adv., these (used for human beings)
 aina garte —adv., like this
 aifε —adv., these
 aitɔksa: —adv., this side
 ai —adv., dem. pro., this
 akhan —n., sickle
 akple —n., lips
 ald5wa:re —n., jaw
 alu —n. (IA) potato
 am —n., path
 anε —adv., here
 aŋmo —vi., to lift, to pick up
 aptyali —n., childless person
 ate —adv., there
 atijamma: —adv., these
 atikho —adv., there
 atimaŋ —adv., those (used for human beings)
 atina garte —adv., that side
 atifε —adv., those
 atitɔksa: —adv., that side
 ati —adv., dem. pro. that (remote)
 atlaŋ —adv., that much
 at5o —n., (IA) flour
 àŋfimo —vt., to boast
 a:gal —n., rein
 a:m —n., (IA) mango
 a:rsi —n., (IA) mirror
 a: —n., mouth
 baba: —n., father (term of address)
 babu —n., father's eldest brother
 bagta:re —n., weather
 baili —n., childless woman
 balcham —n., braid
 balwa: —n., sand
 bamba: —n., Caudangs people
 ba:mo —vt., to fold
 banan sɔŋ —n., in-laws' village
 ba:ndar —n., monkey
 baŋba:lo —n., a local name for Caudangsi language
 band5u —n., utensils
 banje —n., (IA) sister's son
 banji —n., (IA) sister's daughter
 baŋkhar —adv., morning
 baŋmo —vt., to erect a wall for a house, etc.
 baŋ —n., place
 barje —n., lion
 barts —n., female lamb
 ba —n., father (term of reference)
 befimo —vi., to work in exchange
 be —n., buckwheat
 bε —n., skin
 bɛ —n., thread
 bila —n., (IA) cat
 bochab —n., porcupine
 bɔkrɔ —n., throat
 boktsa: —n., uncastrated male-goat
 bɔla: —n., thumb
 bɔmo —vi., to flow, to be opened
 bɔŋtε —n., donkey
 brɔdɔm —n., frost in ice form
 bu:mo —vt., to carry something on the back
 bumo —vt., to release
 buŋmo —vi., to pile; to become long
 buŋthe —adj., tall, long
 buti —n., butter milk
 byaŋkholo —n., the native name for Byangsi language
 byam —n., a type of carpet
 byεdε —adj., thin (in thickness, of a sheet like things)
 bye —n., steep mountain rock
 byulifya: —n., bride
 byulo —n., bridegroom
 bɔdmi —adj., bad (literally bad man)
 bɔldε —adj., fat (round shaped objects)
 bɔmo —vi., to be known
 bɔrmo —vi., falling (of something from a tree, etc.)
 bhak —n., sound
 bhiti —n., (IA) wild lizard
 cakti —n., local beer
 calke —n., threshold
 camts —n., she-goat

- canpa: — n., a person from Johar valley
 caŋjya: — n., hips
 carmo — vt., to weigh
 carpyε — n., cock
 cεban — num., fifteen
 cεbje — num., eighteen
 cemo — vt., to pinch, to bite
 cεnyε — num., twelve
 cεpi — num., fourteen
 cεsəm — num., thirteen
 cεthe — num., eleven
 cεtʂo — num., sixteen
 cε — n., flower
 ci:mo — vt., to squeeze
 cikhu — adv., inside
 cim — n., house, home
 cini — n., (IA) sugar
 ciptε — n., bird
 cirgu — num., nineteen
 cì:l — n., (IA) kite
 cìcimo — vi., to think
 cìmmo — vt., to burn, to ignite
 cìni — n., father's sister, a general term
 cì — num., ten
 code — adj., mad
 como — vt., to finish
 conyε — num., seventeen
 co — n., memory
 cukalε — n., elbow
 cukcham — n., beard
 cukli — n., armpit
 cukjimo — vt., to wear clothes
 cukti — n., cap
 cuku — n., floor; lime
 cuŋmo — vi., to drown, to go ahead
 cuŋjimo — vt., to go forward
 cwo — n., chin
 cya:mo — vt., to hide
 cyamo — vt., to break (rope, thread)
 cyàmo — vt., to cut
 cyesa: — n., cremating place
 cye — n., bud
 cyìmo — vi., to bark
 cyɔla: — n., index finger
 cyukla — n., a gown type of dress
 cha:dε — n., itch, itching sensation
 cha:mo — vt., to break (hard objects- stones
 etc.)
 cha:tʂo — adj., quick, fast
 chakcha: — n., urine
 chakta — adj., sweet
 chaku — n., cooked rice
 cham — n., wool
 chanan — adv., tomorrow
 chandi — n., a hut
 chaŋgo — n., dead human body (in the
 house)
 chaŋkaro — n., a type of basket
 chaŋpaŋ — n., courtyard
 chantε — adj., sun light, bright
 chaŋti — n., water drop
 chaŋ — n., wall
 charmo — vt., to dry
 chajimo — vi., to hide
 chatε — adj., ripe
 chà — n., fodder mixed with some corn
 chà: — n., grain
 chekmo — vt., to cut something with
 scissors (cloth etc.)
 cheme — n., elder brother's wife
 chè — n., fat; a type resin colour
 chilmo — vt., to wash clothes
 chimmo — vt., to tether animals
 chincha: — n., liver
 chirbe — n., dried cheese
 chirmo — vt., to milch
 chifide — n., love
 chifjimo — vt., to feed each other, to feed
 oneself
 chìmo — vt., to feed, to close
 chò — n., lake
 chò: — n., spoon
 choŋ — n., a piece
 chɔkʂjimo — vt., to itch
 chɔlmo — vt., to peel something like potato
 or some vegetables with hard skin
 chòmo — vt., to dye, to mix
 chubu — n., mole
 chusar — adj., rose colour
 chùmo — vi., to win, to collect (mass nouns
 things like corn, etc.)
 chyamo — vi., to be hot
 chyàpa: — adj., summer
 da:mo — vt., to give
 dakjimo — vi., to fight
 dammo — vt., to sieve
 damplya: — adj., gluttonous, voracious
 daŋci — pp., for

danfimo—vi., to wake up
 daŋ—n., aim; hill
 dan—n., belly
 dar—n., a village name
 dimti—n., vegetable with curry
 dinde—adj., cloudy
 dobmo—vi., to see something which is far
 away
 dolo pəfa:—adj., bald headed
 dukta—adj., bitter and hot in taste like
 radish
 duli—n., stick
 dumamì—adv. a few people
 дума—adv., a little bit less
 dumo—vt., to knead
 dumu—n., rat
 duŋlaŋ—n., meal, food
 duŋmo—vt., to beat ; to grind spices
 duŋfimo—vi., to collide, to beat each
 other
 dunu—n., rabbit
 duŋ—n., desire
 dyemo—vi., to go
 dyuru—n., wooden beam
 dəm—n., garlic
 dər—n., ground floor of the typical local
 house
 dharti—n., earth (IA)
 d5abd5ab—adv., nearly, approximately
 d5abmo—vi., gathering of crowd; to
 continue
 d5akthe—adj., bright
 d5ali—n., (IA) branch of tree
 d5alo—n., stone (of fruit), a piece of stone
 d5ami—n., marriage
 d5ammo—vt., to stir
 d5am—n., blacksmith
 d5aŋmi—n., servant
 d5anmo—vi., to be dense
 d5aŋfimo—vi., to be employed
 d5aŋthe—adj., beautiful
 d5e—n., mule
 d5ile—adj., slow
 d5okthe—adj., bright,
 d5oŋ—a small courtyard on the first floor
 of the house
 d5o—n., poison
 d5umo—n., female yak
 d5əmmo—vi., to tremble

dza:mo—vt., to eat
 dzamta—adj., smooth
 dzam—adj., round from the outer side
 dzandi—n., tire, wheel
 dzaŋkhə—n., a lizard
 dzaŋthaŋ—n., staircase
 dzaŋ—n., gold; axe
 dzar—n., corner (outside)
 dzemo—vi., to get bored
 dzər phəmmo—vt., to be afraid of
 dzərmo—vi., rising of sun ; to fear
 dzè—n., boredom
 dzε—n., a type of barley
 dzɪldε—adj., clear
 dzimo—vi., to sneeze
 dzì—n., sneeze
 dzɔmo—vi., to get ready
 dzumo—vi., to sprout
 dzuŋmo—vt., to begin
 dzuŋ—adj., pair
 ga:kta—adj., tight
 ga:lɸimo—vi., to bellow
 gā:t5ha—n., valley
 ga:—n., paddy, a leather blanket
 gadro—n., a ditch, a pit
 galmo—vi., to get stuck by itself
 galt5a:mo—vi., to stumble in intoxication
 gal—n., yak
 gammo—vi., falling, of something by
 itself, roll down
 gammo—vt., to wrap (things)
 gamso—n., molar teeth
 ganɸi—pro., 2du., you
 gani—pro., 2pl., you
 gaŋmì—adj., the other person
 gaŋmo—vi., to swell
 gan—pro., 2sg., you
 garmo—n., door (Hindi kivar)
 garmə—vt., to close (door, box)
 garto—n., woodpecker
 gar—n., fang
 gat5huti—n., rivulet
 gəŋ—n., rock stuck with soil etc
 gà:—n., wound, scar
 gema:—n., a type of dish made with milk
 gi:mo—vi., to bulge
 gìmə—vi., to swallow
 goga:—n., maize
 golca:—n., lock

- gomo—vt., to cut grass
gəŋri gəŋma:—n., middle finger
gonu—n., fox
goraŋ—n., body
gəfi phəmmo—vt., to make someone happy
gəfimo—vi., to be happy
gughu—n., owl
gugti—n., dove
gui—num., nine
gukar—n., uncastrated ram
gul khomo—vt., to clear one's throat
gulʃimo—vi., to cough
gultɳn—n., testicle
gul—n., phlegm
gunchɛ—n., winter
guŋcini—n., father's second younger sister
guŋci—n., father's second elder brother's wife; mother's second elder sister
gunda:—adv., in the middle
gunhya:—n., second elder brother
guŋka:—n., father's second elder brother
gunta:—n., second elder sister
gurda:—n., fist
gwan—n., death rites
gwomo—vi., collapse (house)
gyamo—vt., to white wash
gyera:—n., crop, grain
gyefimo—vt., to quarrel
gyefinde—n., quarrelsome
gyi:mo—vt., to tie, to control something or someone
gyimo—vi., get burst
gəmmo—vi., to roll
ha:ʃimo—vt., to backbite, to complain
ha:thi:—n., (IA) elephant
haja:r—num., (IA) one thousand
hal gammo—vi., to yawn
ham—adv., how
hanau satho—n., friend
haŋ—adv., then, afterwards
hathora:—n., (IA) hammer
haua:—n., fog
heli—n., brass
hicimo—vi., to die, to be extinguished
hinam pɪdi:de—n., married female
hoŋ—adv., why
hurmo—vt., to smoke, to suck
hwa:—n., honey
hwalte—loose (fitting, of clothes or things)
hwalti—n., a wave of water
hwammo—vt., to show; to drive away
hya:mo—vt., to empty
hyarmo—vt., to drive the cattle one by one or two by two
hyà—n., elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband, wife's elder sister's husband
hyelba:—n., adj., feeling of laughter
hyem ra:mo—vi., to get of laughter
hyemo—vi., to laugh
hyomo—vt., to carry something on shoulders, in hands; to take someone on a horse
hyəŋmo—vt., to count
hyu:mo—vi., to float
hyukte—adj., deep
hyuŋmo—vt., to do, to make
ibuŋ—n., anus
ilam—n., vagina
inse—pro., 1pl. agentive pronoun
inʃi—pro., 1du. pronoun
in—pro., 1pl. pronoun
iŋge—pro., 1pl. possessive pronoun
ita—adv., at present, now
itta—adv., just now
i:—n., stool
ja thəcmo—vt., to fix a date for marriage
ja:ba:—n., Tibetan name for the Tibeto-Burman people of this area
ja:mo—vi., to be broken
ja:—n., tea
jablye—n., tongue
jalmo—vi., to limp
jamma:—adj., whole
jammo—vt., to harvest
jaŋmo—vi., to run
jantʃutu—n., uvula
jaŋ—n., rope
jarda—n., slope
jari—n., root
jarya—n., stag
jatʃomo—vt., to fix a date for death ceremony
jatsha: cɛthe—num., ninety one
jatsha: cì—num., ninety
jatsha: tigɛ—num., eighty one

jatsha: — num., eighty
 jɛdɛ — num., eight
 jɛrkhulya: — coward
 je — pro., 1sg, I, me
 jil — n., creeper
 jimmo — vi., to get burnt; to consult
 jirdɛ — adj., narrow
 ji — conj., and
 jodɛ — adj., colored
 jodmi — n., young man
 jōka: — n., (IA) leech
 juŋmo — vi., to be drowned, to take a dip
 juru — n., coral
 jyamo — vi., to be broken (of thread, rope)
 jyarnam — n., adj., adv., east
 jyàmò — vi., to bloom
 kà — n., stool (baby talk)
 ka: — n., crow
 kàbmo — vt., to make short
 kaca:r — n., mud
 kaca: — n., urine (baby talk)
 kacaŋ — n., pubic hair
 kaka — n., mother's younger sister's
 husband, mother's brother, husband's
 or wife's mother's brother
 kakfa: — n., a type of mushroom
 kalin — n., a type of stone
 kalmo — vt., to stick
 ka:lo — n., (IA) death
 kàmmo — vt., to collect things (count noun
 things one by one)
 kan — n., vegetable
 kana — adj., blind
 kaŋga: — n., unmarried, bachelor
 kaŋthe — adj., sick
 kaŋ — adj., single; a type of cup
 ka:ŋdɛ — adj., hard
 ka:ts — n., lamb a generic term
 karko — n., a type of basket used for
 keeping grains
 karma: — n., star
 karts — n., male lamb
 kar — n., ram (castrated)
 kasa: — n., cloud
 kè — n., a type of tuber
 kidaŋ — n., Tibet
 kikanca: — n., little finger
 kilmo — vt., to separate by choosing
 kimo — vt., to twine
 kìmò — vt., to break hard objects;
 kin — n., a round pit; a store of grains
 outside the house
 kolaŋ — n., bull
 komo — vt., to boil
 koŋkro — n., back of skull, neck
 kothlɔ — n., a bag made of jute
 kots — n., a type of leather bag
 kò — n., bark of tree
 kòmò — vt., to erase
 kɔŋfimo — vi., to be bent
 kwalɪn — n., bell made of iron
 kwali — n., skull
 kwamo — vt., to cook
 kwàmò — vt., to dig, to scratch
 kwarmo — vt., to carry something in hand
 or on head
 kwarfi — n., peas
 kyemo — vt., to chew meat
 kyerakta — adj., curved
 kyɔŋmo — vt., to take the sheep, goat to
 lead the herd
 kəŋmɔ ; kəmmɔ — to throw (stone, etc.)
 kha:dɛ — adj., bitter, difficult, costly
 kha:lo — n., a sack of leather
 kha: — n., walnut
 khabu — n., snake
 khaja:i — adv., usually
 kharmo — vt., to cheat
 kharmo — vt., to take out liquid from a pot
 khase-phise — n., clothes
 khase — n., pajama
 khafa: — n., kidney
 khafimo — vi., to grapple (of horse)
 khasrakta — adj., rough
 khat — adj., cold
 khàmò — vi., to get cold and cough
 khàpa: — n., winter
 khi:mo — vt., to bend
 khi:tɛ — adj., dirty
 khilta: — n., shirt
 khìmò — vt., to scrub utensils
 khokcɛ — n., stomach
 khɔkpa: — n., corpse, dead body
 khomo — vt., to dismantle (wall, house)
 khòmò — vt., to peel (orange, banana)
 khopa: — n., heel
 khu:mo — vt., to steal
 khuce — n., knot

- khuè — n., grandson
khuli — n., nest
khulu — n., a type of fine wool
khume — n., granddaughter
khusmo — n., festival
khuti — n., spittle
khùma: — n., soot
khù — n., smoke
khu — n., family
khwan — n., scorpion
khwaran — n., pigeon
khəmo — vt., to exchange
la: — n., a boulder
là — n., hand
labu — n., butter
laca: — n., raisin
ladu — n., dough
lairi — adv., adj., all
lako — n., gloves
lakpɪn — n., finger
lakpəm — n., paw
lakjin — n., nail
lakfya: — n., thigh
laktɛ — adj., thin (round shape)
lakuri — n., echo
lala: — n., mother's mother, father's mother
la:m̩la: — n., a Tibetan goat
la:mo — vt., to lick; to know
làmo — vi., falling (of something with a thud)
lan thomo — vt., to answer a call
laŋji — n., cow dung
laŋlua — adj., careless
laŋmo — vi., to play
lan — n., work, answer
lasaŋ — n., he-goat
latakta — n., bad smell, dirt
lati — n., semen
latsa: — n., young one of goat
laymo — vt., to send
ləkyɛ — n., domesticated animals
lelaŋ — n., fruits etc
leso — n., front tooth
le — n., fruit
lɪbɪn — n., book, paper
like — n., foot
lintsa — n., flute made of silver
lo — n., word, languages, saying
lodɛ — adj., easy, cheap
lɔkɟimo — vi., to ascend
lomo — vi., to say
lòmo — vt., to shake, to swing, to move
lɔŋmo — vt., to vomit
lɔŋ — n., vomit
lɔɟimo — vi., to forget
lòɟimo — vi., to take swing, to be moved
lugra: — n. cloth
lumo — vt., to have sexual intercourse
luŋbar — n., lungs
luŋda — adj., hot, heat
luŋmo — vi., to get warm, hot
luŋpa: — n., summer
luŋ — n., back
luɟimo — vi., to have sexual intercourse
lyedɛ — adj., yellow
ləmo — vi., to get cold
hla:de — adj., straight
hla:mo — vt., to stitch by a putting a patch of cloth
hla:ɟimo — vi., to get down from the horse
hlabmo — vt., to teach, to train
hlabɟimo — vi., to learn
hlame — n., soul
hlammo — vt., to wrap
hlamo — vt., to bring something down
hlaŋ — adv., enough
hlaɟimo — vi., to descend
hlà — n., moon, month
hlemo — vi., to be ready
hli:thɛ — adj., heavy
hlimo — aux., to happen
hlɔkɟimo — vt., to read
hlyemo — vt., to join something together
ma:la: — n., sheep or goat (generic term)
ma:m̩la: — n., sheep
ma:mo — vt., to search
ma:saŋ — n., sheep (female)
madʒɔŋmaŋ — n., eagle
maŋdɛ — adj., red
maŋmo — vi., to become red
mansì — n., buffalo
manu — n., nipples
maŋ — n., dream
man — n., night
marja: — n., salty tea (a Tibetan type)
marɔŋ — n., door
marti — n., oil., water spring
mar — n., butter, clarified butter

masi—n., (IA) ink
masfya:—n., husband's younger brother's wife
mas—n., husband's younger brother
matmì—adv., many
màu—n., family
mayan—n., a type of basket used for carrying various things
mi:dε—adj., small
mi:mo—vi., to become small
mè—n., fire
mikcham—n., eyebrow
milen—n., hearth
mimaṅ—n., foreigner
mɪn manidε—n., ring finger
mɪn tomo—vt., to tell
mincace—n., a bat
mɪndʒli—adj., bald
mɪnje—n., louse
mɪplè—n., eyelid
mɪplicham—n., eyelashes
mɪta—adj., ripe
mithaṅ—n., mother's younger brother
mɪtti—n., tear
mì—n., person
mɪyar—n., an imaginary place beyond the sky
mɪyuy—n., gem, jewel
mìcini—n., father's fourth younger sister
mìhya:—n., fourth elder brother
mìka:—n., father's fourth elder brother
mìta:—n., fourth elder sister
mokfya:—n., a type of mushroom
mor—n., (IA) peacock
mukna:—thunder, dragon
myεdε—adj., below the level (in height)
myè—n., eye
məl-dʒamo—vi., lightning
məldʒi—adj., blunt
məl—n., silver
mətti—n., flea
hmi:mo—vi., to ripe
hmint—adj., ripe
hmin—adj., name
hmomo—vt., to put cloth, wool, corn in place
hmyar—n., frost
hmye—n., daughter's husband, younger sister's husband

nace—n., thorn
naga—n., cobra (IA)
nagε—pro., your
nagra:—n., paw of lion, tiger
nakte—adj., soft
nambu—n., woolen cloth
namfya:—n., younger brother's wife; son's wife
naṅmo—vt., to drive cattle
naṅmo—vt., to measure
naṅ—n., a type of bangle
napal—n., buckwheat
napfidε—adj., flexible, elastic
narak—n., hell (IA)
nare—n., lice
nafε—num., two
nassa: cεthe—num., thirty one
nassa: cì—num., thirty
nassa: tige—num., twenty one
nassa:—num., twenty
natsar—n., lice egg
nayamo—vt., to aim at
nəlan—n., wind
nibfimo—vi., to hum
nikisò—n., incisors
nimo—vi., to live, to stay
nɪmphan nyuṅfimo—vi., to retreat, to look at oneself
nɪmphan ɔṅmo—vt., to look back
nɪmphan—adv., behind
nipe—n., chicken
nipu—n., mouse
niʒε—num., seven
nithalo—n., second floor of the house
nɔksam—adj., appropriate
nomo—vt., to., pull
nɔṅkrò—n., ant
nu:dε—adj., new
nunu—n., younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband
nù—n., milk
nya:rε—adv., yesterday
nyanthe—adj., light (in weight)
nyero—adv., near
nyuṅfimo—vi., to retreat
hna:mo—vt., to unload something from the head or back
hnabmo—vi., to reach
hnakfimo—vi., to pray

- hnaŋmo—vt., to measure
 hnappa:—n., accident, unfortunate
 happening
 hnapti—n., snot
 hnaŋfimo—vi., to make love
 hnàmo—adj., to be left over (something
 left over after some use)
 hnil—n., gums
 hnim d5oŋ t5hɔŋ—n., nostrils
 hnimmō—vi., to smell
 hnimmidɛ—n., one who commands respect
 hnim—n., nose
 ŋaba—adj., five fold
 ŋagba:—duck
 ŋai—num., five
 ŋakhte—n., bad smell
 ŋalde—n., a separated lover
 ŋamte—adj., robust, strong
 ŋaŋba:—n., duck
 ŋasa—num., fifty
 ŋatsu—adj., five times
 ŋokhɔ—pp., in front of, in the presence of
 ŋɔ—n., face
 ŋuo—n., a kiss
 ŋwomo—vt., to cut hair of sheep, goat
 n5aba—n., parents
 n5agɛ—n., mother's
 n5amɪn—n., autumn
 n5ana—n., mother (term of address)
 n5a—n., mother
 n5ikapɛ—n., sprout
 n5ikhi—n., dog
 n5iŋgo—n., lower part of the body below
 the waist
 n5intam—adv., after, behind, next
 n5irlaŋ—adv., dusk
 n5isɛ, n5ichɛ—adv., noon
 n5i—n., sun
 n5ya:—n., fish
 n5yamɛ—adj., pleasant
 n5yaŋchɛ—adv., evening
 n5yaŋthe—adv., dim light
 n5yemo—vt., to rub
 n5yɛ—n., day
 n5yuŋfimo—vi., to retreat
 n5əbu—n., insect
 ɔŋmo—vt., to inspect, to watch something
 closely
 ɔ—adv., an affirmative answer to a
 question
 pa:mo—vt., to fill (water)
 pa:t—n., leaf.(IA)
 pàcmo—vt., to chew (something which is
 something hard)
 pàkare—n., ankle
 palo—n., frog
 pàmō—vt., to fill (solid articles in a bigger
 container etc.)
 pàmmo—vt., to spin
 paŋmo—vt., to spread
 paŋphan—adv., outside
 paŋ—n., a Tibetan
 papalɣya:—n., calf (of human leg)
 partɛ—adj., broad
 pàfimo—vi., to stroll
 paula:—n., (IA) shoes
 paul—n., plant
 pɛna:—n., a type of bat
 pèmo—vt., to tear (cloth)
 pɛ—n., blanket made of wool
 pi:ku—n., bedbug
 piba:—adj., fourfold
 pɛ—n., brother
 piɣɛ—n., seed
 pipi—adj., four times (arithmetic sense)
 pisa: cɛthe—num., fifty one
 pisa: cì—num., fifty
 pisa:—num., forty
 pitsu—adj., four times (on a fourth
 occasion)
 pìmo—vt., to sweep
 pi—num., four
 pocini—n., father's first younger sister
 poda—adj., big
 pohya:—n., eldest brother
 ponà:—n., father's eldest brother's wife,
 mother's elder sister
 pɔŋfimo—vi., to jump in one place
 pophyɛ—adj. three fourth
 pota—n., eldest sister
 pòmo—vi., to become big., to be increased
 pua—n., husband's elder brother
 puci—n., mother's elder sister
 pukɛ—adj., ripe
 pumo—vt., to cross
 puni—n., mother's brother's wife, father's
 eldest sister, mother-in-law

puthaŋmi—n., mother's elder brother
 pu—n., husk
 pyalmo—vt., to saw
 pye—n., knee
 pyomo—vt., to frighten
 pəchni—n., tail
 pər—n., navel
 pəfa:—n., head
 pəfak cham—n., hair of head
 pəthra:—n., forehead
 phà:—n., ashes
 pha:dε—adj., ash colour
 pha:mo—vi., to speak
 phabmo—vt., to sprinkle (liquid)
 phaktsham—n., a type of bridge
 phammo—vt., to stitch
 phaŋ phənmo—vt., to make something fly
 phaŋlore—n., patella
 phaŋmo—vi., to fly
 pharmo—vt., to untie a knot
 phatʂko da:mo—vi., to jump from one
 place to another
 phəmo—vt., to sprinkle (grains, powder)
 phərmo—vt., to pluck fruits by throwing a
 stick or stones
 phətsap—n., rice
 phela tomo—vt., to clap
 phela—n., palm
 phefide—adj., sacred
 phir—n., a box for keeping clothes
 pho-bila:—n., male-cat
 pho-hraŋ—n., horse
 pho-phyā:—n., wild animal
 phoda—adj., dry (from the state of being
 wet)
 phokfimo—vi., to wrap, to cover with a
 sheet while sleeping, cover oneself
 phoktimo—vt., to cover
 phomo—vt., to open a door, to uproot, to
 unlock
 phoŋmo—vi., to jump from higher place to
 lower place
 phote—adj., thick (liquid)
 phò—n., cave, deer
 phuli—n., a pot to keep water
 phumo—vt., to churn, to make cloth short
 by a special washing process
 phuŋgli—n., a water pot
 phyamo—vt., to throw water
 phyarmo—vt., to whiff
 phyε—adj., half
 rādʂi—adj., widow (IA)
 rādʂo—adj., widower
 ra:mo—vi., to come
 ra:p—n., flame
 ra:tso—adv., time and again
 ra:—n., enclosure for goats and other
 animals
 rà—num., hundred
 rabmo—vt., to mend clothes or shoes by
 stitching
 racimo—vi., to get up
 rackwanti—n., temple
 rajε—n., wheat
 rakhù—n., people belonging to one's
 group
 ram—n., an extra field which is not a legal
 one
 ràmmo—vt., to knit
 raŋlo—n., a cover term for all the Tibeto-
 Burman people in this area except Raji
 raŋmo—vt., to sell; to weave cloth
 rannu—n., curd
 raŋpli—n., feather
 raŋ—n., upper arm
 rayaŋ—n., hare
 renam—n., adj., adv., west
 resumo—vt., to plough
 rè—n., bone
 re—n., cow, field, land
 ri:mo—vt., to carve; to draw; to write
 rɪm—n., arrow (cf., earthquake)
 ri—n., glacier
 rəkʂimo—vi., to have mercy
 rɔla:—n., centipede
 romo—vt., to roast meat
 rəŋmo—vt., to cover
 rəŋ—n., shoulder
 rəkʂimo—vt., to comb
 rɔ—adj., hungry
 ro—n., a plank
 rui—n., (IA) cotton
 rukcimo—vi., to chew a cud
 rum—n., princess
 ruŋfimo—vi., to hear, to agree, to accept
 rusu—adj., (IA) angry
 rùŋ—n., a heap of small pebbles
 ru—n., corner (inside the house); horn

- rye—n., a story, tale
 rəm—n., earthquake; bottom; a boundary
 stone between the two fields
 hra:dɛ—adj., clean
 hra:mo—vi., to be ashamed of
 hracɛ—n., ear
 hraksa:—n., pebbles
 hramo—vt., to bring
 hraŋ—n., horse
 hraso—n., front teeth
 hratom—adv., in front, before
 hrati—n., cheek
 hremɪn—n., sister, brother
 hri:mo—vi., setting of sun
 hril—n., gland
 hrimmo—vt., to criticize
 hrincimo—vi., to wait for
 hrinjimo—vt., to guard, to watch
 hrinjya:—n., sister (general term), wife's
 younger brother's wife
 hrinte—n., wave
 hrithijya:—n., wife
 hrithi—n., husband
 hrokjimo, hrojimo—vi., to graze
 hromo—vt., to graze
 hrɔ—n., snow
 hru:mo—vt., to ask
 hrəb, shrəb—n., ribs
 sa—n., soil
 sa:dʃu—n., (IA) wife's younger sister's
 husband
 sa:mo—vt., to sacrifice some animal for
 black magic
 sa:rangi—n., (IA) a kind of singing bird
 sa:tso—adj., empty
 sacco—n., (IA) truth
 sàg—n., breath
 sai—num., hundred
 sal—n., charcoal
 sàmo—vt., to kill, to extinguish
 samundro—n (IA) sea
 sande—adv., carefully, with care
 sapaŋ—n., earth
 sapha—n., dust
 sara:—n., hailstone
 sata:ni—n., a type of liquor
 satta:—adv., again
 se—pp., because of, due to (some reason)
 semo—vt., to bear
 serè—n., forest
 sɛrcimo—vt., to agree
 silju—n., female musk deer
 sɪmo—vt., to recognize
 sirtsɪ—adj., wild
 sò—n., tooth
 sòŋ—n., village
 suiyo—n., parrot
 sukce cyamo—vt., to cut with teeth
 suku—adj., low voice, slow
 swarg—n., (IA) heaven
 syapi cèmo—vt., to pinch
 səm sa—num., thirty
 səm səm—adj., three times
 səmthalo—third floor of the house
 səmtsu—adj., thrice
 səm—num., three
 sətə—adj., rotten
 fakcimo—vi., to breathe
 fakjimo—vt., to wear (ornaments)
 fanda—n., spinach
 fàŋ—adj., large
 faŋka:—n., father's third younger brother
 faŋla:—n., a type of rock
 faŋmi—adj., a wealthy person
 faŋthe—adj., old (person)
 faŋwa:—tiger (a large size)
 fau—n., (IA) an apple
 felo—adv., shade
 fendɛ—n., child
 fɛrci phəmo—vt., to make someone agree
 fɛrcimo—vi., to agree
 fejimo—vi., to crawl (a baby)
 fì—n., blood
 fi:dɛ—adj., white
 fìl—n., dew-drops
 fildi—n., saliva
 fime—n., breast
 fimo—vt., to apply something, to wipe
 fɪncini—n., father's third younger sister
 fɪnci—n., father's third younger brother's
 wife
 fɪnhya:—n., third elder brother
 fiŋram—n., ginger
 fɪnta:—n., third elder sister
 fin—n., wood
 fipts—n., comb
 firi—n., boy, son
 firta—adj., sour

firts—n., male goat
 fir—n., castrated male goat
 fiʃi da:mo—vi., to mimic
 fisɔ—n., heart
 fiyumo—vi., to bleed
 fomo—vt., to roast (dry) to parch
 ʃɔla:—n., birch tree bark used as paper in
 olden days
 ʃɔmo—vt., to fulfill a promise
 ʃɔmo—vi., to slip
 ʃɔŋmo—vt., to make some one sit
 ʃɔŋʃimo—vi., to sit
 ʃuŋmo—vt., to do
 ʃyà:—n., meat, flesh
 ʃyala: kalmo—vt., to plaster
 ʃyàɛ—n., rainy season
 ʃyàmo—vi., to run away, to abscond; to
 increase
 ʃyàndɛ—n., offspring
 ʃyarnam—n., adj., adv., north
 ʃyartam—n., adv., left side of the body
 ʃyafɪ—n., relatives (related by blood)
 təm-da:mo—vt., to lay egg
 təmmo—vi., to become short
 təmmo—vt., to pack a package
 təm—n., an egg
 ta:mo—vt., to hang
 ta:mo—vt., to keep, to put, to allow, to fix,
 to have
 ta:rmo—vt., to spread spread tent etc., to
 help cross some river or a difficult path
 tabmo—vt., to thrash
 taktam—adv., right side of the body
 tammo—vt., to touch
 tamo—vt., to keep something (light
 things)
 tanam—n., adj. adv., south
 taŋbu—n., a big snake, python
 taŋmo—vt., to bury
 taŋmo—vt., to press
 taŋʃimo—vi., to be hung
 taŋʃimo—vi., to be pressed
 tanu—n., brain
 taŋze—n., bag of wool
 tapɔ—adv., across (of the river or rivulet)
 taram—n., key; mediator
 tàrmo—adj., brave

tata—n., son's wife's mother, husband's
 elder brother's wife, wife's elder
 brother's wife, fifth elder sister
 tɛka—n., saddle
 tete—n., sister's husband, wife's elder
 brother
 teti—adv., dem., pro., that (invisible)
 ti—n., water
 tɪbka—n., gun
 tigɛ—num., one
 tikilmo—vt., to boycott
 tɪlin—n., ice
 timbu—n., sky; blue
 timmo—vi., to appear, to be seen
 tinci—adj., green (literally green grass)
 tindɛ—adj., raw
 tiŋmo—vi., to see, to be found
 tipɔ—adv., this side (of the river or
 rivulet)
 tɪte—n., father's father; mother's father
 tithe—n., nut (generic term)
 tithimo—vt., to irrigate
 titsu—adv., once
 tɔ da:mo—vt., to give loan
 tɔ karmo—vt., to take loan
 tocmo—vt., to sing
 tokca:—n., pickaxe
 tɔksa:—adv., direction
 tomo—vt., to stop; to understand; to buy
 tòmomo—vt., to play a musical instrument; to
 intervene
 toŋmo—vt., to trap
 toŋ—n., bead
 toʃimo—vi., stop; understand
 tɔ—n., loan
 tukka—n., miser
 tuŋdɛ—n., one who drinks
 tuŋmo—vt., to drink
 tyɑ:ba:ri—n., window
 tyemo—vi., to weep, to cry
 thəbmo—vi., to spit
 thəmo—vt., to cut with an axe
 thà—n., waterfall
 tha:pu—n., reserve
 thammo—vt., to saw, to wring
 than kyamo—vt., to arrange things in
 order
 thaŋmi—n., father's sister's husband,
 father-in-law

- thanjin—adv., this year
 than—adv., now
 thaŋ—n., flat ground or land
 thapija:—adv., three days before yesterday
 thapjimo—vi., to grapple (animals with horns)
 tharwa—n., leopard
 thasəmja:—adv., two days before yesterday
 theɖe—adj., height, high
 thi:mo—vi., to get wet
 thìmo—vt., to melt
 thi:fimo—vi., to wet oneself
 thìfimo—vi., to be melted
 thi:tɛ—adj., wet, watery
 thim—n., ceiling
 thinja:—adv., today
 thɔcmo—vt., to settle marriage
 thokam—n., bed
 thɔkfimo—vi., to return
 tholi—n., penis
 thomo—vt., to pluck fruits
 thɔmo—vt., to return something
 thɔfimo—vi., to return, to come back
 thoti—adv., dem., pro., that (object at a higher level relative to the speaker)
 thu:mo—vi., to become weak
 thu:ta—adj., weak
 thukfimo—vt., to destroy
 thwacmo—vi., to beg
 thyemo—vt., to participate, to join in some work
 t5a:mo—vt., to prick, to fix a nail
 t5a:fimo—vi., to be pricked
 t5amt5am, t5amyar—n., bank of a river
 t5am—n., edge
 t5aŋde—adj., alive
 t5aŋmala—n., animal
 t5aŋthe—adj., short (in length)
 t5aŋt5aŋ—adv., only
 t5imo—vi., to go by taking something
 t5i:fa:—n., a group of women in a marriage party
 t5ìfɪmɔ—vi., to grapple (of dogs)
 t5ɔllya:—n., deaf
 t5ɔlmo—vt., to fondle, to cuddle
 t5òmmo—vt., to light a lamp (religious purposr)
 t5ugba:—adj., six fold
 t5ugu—num., six
 t5uksa: cathe—num., seventy one
 t5uksa: ci—num., seventy
 t5uksa: tige—num., sixty one
 t5uksa:—num., sixty
 t5uktsu—adj., six times
 t5ənthɛ—adj., short
 t5ha:mo—vt., to strike a match; to push
 t5haŋmo—vt., to castrate, to improve, to decorate
 t5harmo—vt., to respect; to pose
 t5hàmo—vt., to inform
 t5hàfimo—vi., to be informed
 t5hat5o—n., cot
 t5hèkka—adj., fit (neither loose nor tight)
 t5hilmo—vt., to take off clothes
 t5hinka—n., clothes
 t5hifimo—vi., fighting of dogs
 t5hɔmo—vi., to worship
 t5hummo—vt., to uproot (plants etc.)
 t5huŋa:—n., hammer
 t5huŋmo—vt., to tame, to rear
 t5həmcaru—n., custom
 t5həmmo—vi., to dance
 t5həmo—vt., to tighten a screw
 tsa:—n., remains of corn after making beer
 tsame—n., girl, daughter
 tsamo—vt., to make (a piece of furniture); to fix
 tsaŋmo—vt., to throw
 tsanthe—adj., sharp (instrument)
 tsebindɛ—adj., full
 tsè—n., memory; lid
 tsì—n., grass
 tsimmo—vt., to catch
 tsìmo—vt., to fry
 tsimfimo—vi., to wrestle
 tsiri—n., intestine
 tsəmmo—vt., to collect
 tshà:—n., salt
 tsham—n., bridge
 tshaŋmo—vt., to cut into small pieces
 tshartɛ—adj., dry.(wood)
 tshedɛ—adj., sacred, pious
 tshè—n., life; age; fat
 tshig—n., joint, knot
 tshimo—vi., to ripe
 tshɔŋfimo—vi., grapple (of cocks)
 tshù—adj., part (of whole)

tshumo—vt., to distribute, to divide
 tshufjimo—vi., to be divided
 tshər—n., loin
 ulaŋi—adv., sometimes
 ulaŋ—adj., how many, how much, when,
 then
 ulo—adv., where
 una:—pro., who
 unifi—pro., 3du., they
 uŋ—n., stone
 uo—pro., 3s., he/ she
 ufi—pro., 3pl., they
 uso—n., medicine
 wa—n., tiger
 wà—pro., adv., where
 wa khui—adv., everywhere
 wa khuri mani—adv., nowhere
 wa khute—adv., somewhere
 wa nayaŋ—n., bee
 wa:lan—n., a term used for the Indo-
 Aryan speakers by the Tibeto-Burman
 people.
 wàlte—adj., loose, not tight
 wamdε—adj., black
 wàmmo—vi., to spring out (streamlet)
 wamyε—n., face
 wa:ri—adv., anywhere
 wa:ts—n., a thread ball
 wase—adv., up to.(up to a point)
 wathε—adv., a longer path, far away
 wo fiŋmo—vt., to kiss
 woja—pro., 3sg. dative pronoun
 womba—n., smallpox
 wɔm—n., bear
 wɔŋ—n., a herd, flock
 wurthe—adj., loud
 ya:mi—n., bad person
 ya:mo—vi., to sleep
 yabmo—vi., to stand
 yaddε—adj., bad
 yaknidε—n., one who is sleeping
 yaktʂo—n., male yak
 yana:-yana:—adv., in olden days; once
 upon a time in the past
 yane—n., spring season
 yaŋkwal—n., a serving spoon
 yanfi phəmmo—vt., to make someone
 walk
 yanfjimo—vi., to walk

yaŋti—n., river
 yargo—n., upper part of the body (above
 the waist)
 yarmo—vt., to wash utensils, to bathe
 someone; to cry
 yarfjimo—vi., to bathe (oneself)
 yarto—adv., above
 yatsa: galmo—vt., to invite
 yàmmo—vi., to take an oath
 ya—n., king
 ye—n., an eagle type of bird
 yebmo—vt., to sow
 yedaŋ—n., big mountain
 yelba:—n., bamboo
 yemɪn—n., husband-wife
 yemo—vt., to save
 yenfjimo—vi., to walk
 yefjimo—vi., to get collected
 yè—n., mountain., a type of flour
 yi:dε—adj., old
 yi:mo—vt., to grind corn; vi., to grow old
 yi:—n., bow
 yikho—adv., below, down
 yilmo—vt., to sharpen
 yilthe—adv., late
 yilwuŋ—n., a sharpening stone
 yinmo—vi., to be tired
 yin—vi., aux., be
 yoti—adv., dem., pro., that (object at a
 lower level relative to the speaker)
 yugu—n., a log
 yùkfjimo—vi., to ride a horse

ENGLISH-BYANGSI GLOSSARY

- above — yarto
 accident, unfortunate happening — hnappa:
 across (of the river or rivulet) — tapɔ
 affirmative answer to a question, yes — ɔ
 afraid of — dzɛr pħəmmo
 after, behind, next — n5intam
 again, due to, by — satta:
 agree (vi.) — fɛrcimo
 aim at (vt.) — nayamo
 alive — t5aŋde
 all — lairi
 and (conj.) — ji
 angry — rusu (IA)
 animal — t5aŋmala
 ankle — pākare
 answer a call (vt.) — lan thomo
 ant — nɔŋkrɔ
 anus — ibuŋ
 anywhere — wa:ri
 appear, to be seen (vi.) — timmo
 apple — fau (IA)
 apply something, wipe (vt.) — fimo
 appropriate — nɔksam
 armpit — cukli
 arrange things in order (vt.) — than kyamo
 arrow — rɪm
 ascend (vi.) — lɔkfimo
 ash colour — pha:de
 ashamed of (vi.) — hra:mo
 ashes — ph'a:
 ask (vt.) — hru:mo
 autumn — n5amɪn
 back — luŋ
 back of skull, neck — kɔŋkro
 backbite, to complain — ha:fimo
 bad — yadde
 bad (literally bad man) — bɔdmi
 bad person — ya:mi
 bad smell — ŋakhte
 bad smell, dirt — lataкта
 bag made of jute — kothlɔ
 bag of wool — taŋdze
 bald — mɪnd5li
 bald headed — dolo pɔfa:
 bamboo — yelba:
 bangle, one type of — naŋ
 bank of a river — t5amt5am, t5amyar
 bark (vi.) — cyimo
 bark of tree — kɔ
 barley — dzɛ
 basket used for carrying various things —
 mayaŋ
 basket used for keeping grains — karko
 basket, one of the types — chaŋkaro
 bat — mincace
 bathe (someone), wash utensils (vt.) —
 yarmo
 bathe oneself (vi.) — yarɟimo
 be (aux.) — yin
 be broken (of stone etc.) (vi.) — ja:mo
 be broken (of thread, rope) (vi.) — jyamo
 be divided (vi.) — tshufimo
 be employed (vi.) — d5aŋɟimo
 be happy (vi.) — gɔɟimo
 be informed (vi.) — t5hàhimo
 bead — toŋ
 bear — wɔm
 bear (vt.) — semo
 beard — cukcham
 beat, grind spices (vt.) — duŋmo
 beautiful — d5aŋthe
 become big, to be increased (vi.) — pɔmo
 become red (vi.) — maŋmo
 become short (vi.) — tɔmmo
 become small (vi.) — mi:mo
 become weak (vi.) — thu:mo
 bed — thokam
 bedbug — pi:ku
 bee — wa nayaŋ
 beg — thwacmo
 begin — dzuŋmo
 behind — nɪmphan
 bell made of iron — kwalɪn
 bellow — ga:lɟimo
 belly — dan
 below the level (in height) — myɛde
 below, down — yikho
 bend (vi.) — kɔŋɟimo
 bend (vt.) — khi:mo
 big — poda
 big snake, python — taŋbu
 birch tree bark (used as paper in olden
 days) — ɟɔla:
 bird (genral) — ciptɛ
 bird, a kind of singing bird — sa:raŋi (IA)
 bird, a type — pɛna:
 bitter and hot in taste like radish — dukta
 bitter, costly, difficult — kha:de
 black — wamde wàlte
 blacksmith — d5am
 blanket made of wool — pɛ
 bleed — ɟiyumo
 blind — kana
 blood — ɟi
 bloom — jyàmo
 blunt (not sharp) — mɔld5i

- boast—*anʃimo*
body—*goraŋ*
boil (vt.)—*komo*
bone—*rê*
book, paper—*lɪbɪn*
boredom—*dzê*
boulder—*la:*
bow—*yi:*
box for keeping clothes—*phir*
boy, son—*firi*
boycott (vt.)—*tikilmo*
braid—*balcham*
brain—*tanu*
branch of tree—*d5ali (IA)*
brass—*heli*
brave (adj.)—*tarmo*
break (hard objects- stones etc.) (vt.)—*cha:mo*
break (rope, thread) (vt.)—*cyamo*
break (hard and hollow objects as nuts) (vt.)—*kimo*
breast—*fime*
breath—*sag*
breathe (vi.)—*fakcimo*
bride—*byulifya:*
bridegroom—*byulo*
bridge—*tsham*
bridge, a type—*phaktsham*
bright—*d5akthe*
bring—*hramo*
bring something down—*hlamo*
broad—*partɛ*
brother—*pɛ*
buck wheat, a type of—*napal*
buckwheat, a type of—*be*
bud—*cye*
buffalo—*mansi*
bulge—*gi:mo*
bull—*kolaŋ*
burn, to ignite—*cimmo*
bury—*taŋmo*
butter—*labu*
butter milk—*buti*
butter, clarified butter—*mar*
Byangsi language (local name) —*byaŋkholo*
calf (of leg)—*papalfya:*
cap—*cukti*
carefully—*sande*
carefully, with care—*sande*
careless—*laŋlua*
carpet, a type of—*byam*
carry something in hand or on head—*kwarmo*
carry something on shoulders; in hands ; on a horse—*hyomo*
carry something on the back—*bu:mo*
carve; to draw; to write—*ri:mo*
castrate, to improve, to decorate—*t5haŋmo*
castrated he- goat—*fir*
cat—*bila (IA)*
catch—*tsimmo*
Caudangs people—*bamba:*
cave, deer—*phò*
ceiling—*thim*
centipede—*rɔla:*
charcoal—*sal*
cheat (vt.)—*kharmo*
cheek—*hrati*
chew (something which is something hard)—*pàcmo*
chew a cud—*rukcmo*
chew meat—*kyemo*
chicken—*nipe*
child—*fendɛ*
childless person—*aptyali*
childless woman—*baili*
chin—*cwo*
churn, to make cloth short by a special washing process—*phumo*
clap (vi.)—*phela tomo*
clean—*hra:dɛ*
clear—*dzɪldɛ*
clear one's throat—*gul khomo*
close (door, box)—*garmo*
cloth—*lugra:*
clothes—*t5hinka*
clothes etc.—*khase-phise*
cloud—*kasa:*
cloudy—*dinde*
cobra—*naga (IA)*
cock—*carpyɛ*
cold—*khat*
collapse (house)(vi.)—*gwomo*
collect—*tsəmmo*
collect (count noun things one by one)—*kàmmo*
collide, to beat each other—*duŋfimo*
colored—*jodɛ*
comb (n.)—*fjptsá*
comb (vt.)—*ròkfimo*
come—*ra:mo*
cook (vt.)—*kwamo*
cooked rice—*chaku*
coral—*juru*
corner (inside the house); horn—*ru*
corner (outside)—*dzar*
corpse, dead body—*khòkpa:*
cot—*t5hat5o*
cotton—*rui (IA)*
cough (vi.)—*gulfimo*
count—*hyoŋmo*
courtyard—*chaŋpaŋ*
cover (fully)(vt.)—*phoktimo*
cover (vt.)—*ròŋmo*

cover oneself, to wrap (vi.)—phokjimo
cow, field, land—re
cow-dung—lanji
coward—jerkhulya:
crawl (of a baby)—fejimo
creeper—jil
cremating place—cyesa:
criticize—hrimmo
crop, grain—gyera:
cross—pumo
crow—ka:
curd—rannu
curved—kyerakta
custom—t5həmcaru
cut—cyàmo
cut (with an axe or with bigger
instrument)—thəmo
cut grass—gomo
cut hair of sheep, goat—ɲwomo
cut into small pieces—tshaŋmo
cut something with scissors (cloth etc.)—
chekmo
cut with teeth (vt.)—sukce cyamo
dance (vt.)—t5həmmo
dative form of 3sg. pro.—woja
daughter's husband, younger sister's
husband—hmye
day—n5yε
dead human body (in the house)—chanɣo
deaf—t5ɔllya:
death rites—gwan
death.—ka:lo (IA)
deep—hyuktε—
dense, to be dense (vi.)—d5anmo
descend—hlaɣimo
desire—duŋ
destroy—thukjimo
dew drops—f̄il
die, to be extinguished—hicimo
dig, to scratch—kwàmo
dim light—n5yaŋthε
direction—tɔksa:
dirty—khi:tε
dish made with milk—gema:
dismantle (wall, house)—khomo
distribute, to divide (vt.)—tshumo
ditch, a pit—gadro
do (vt.)—fuŋmo
do, to make—hyuŋmo
dog—n5ikhi
domesticated animals—lεkyε
donkey—boŋtε
door—marɔŋ
dough—ladu
dove—gugti
dream—maŋ
dried cheese—chirbe
drink—tuŋmo

drinker—tuŋdε
drive cattle—naŋmo
drive the cattle one by one, or two by two
(vt.)—hyarmo
drown, to go ahead (vt.)—cuŋmo
drown, to take a dip (vi.)—juŋmo
dry (adj., n.)—tshartε
dry (from the state of being wet)—phoda
dry (vt.)—charmo
duck—ɲagba:
due to, because of—se
dusk—n5irlaŋ
dust—sapha
dye, to mix—chòmo
eagle—mad5ɔŋmaŋ
eagle type of bird—ye
ear—hracε
earth—sapaŋ
earth—dharti (IA)
earthquake; bottom; a boundary stone—
rəm
east—jyarnam
easy, cheap—lodε
eat—dza:mo
echo—lakuri
edge—t5am
egg—təm
eight—jedε
eighteen—cεbjε
eighty one—jatsha: tigε
eighty—jatsha:
elbow—cukalε
elder brother—hyà:
elder brother's wife—cheme
eldest brother—pohya:
eldest sister—pota
elephant—ha:thi: (IA)
eleven—cεthe
empty—sa:tso
empty (vt.)—hya:mo
enclosure for goats and other animals—ra:
enough—hlaŋ
erase—kòmo
erect a wall for a house, etc.—baŋmo
evening—n5yaŋchε
everywhere—wa khui
exchange (vt.)—khəmo
extra field which is not a legal one—ram
eye—myε
eyebrow—mikcham
eyelashes—mɔplicham
eyelid—mɔplε
face—ɲɔ
falling (of something from a tree, etc.)—
bərmo
falling (of something with a thud)—lào
falling, of something by itself, roll
down, to wrap—gammo

- family—khu, màu
fang—gar
fat (round shaped objects)—baldə
fat; a type resin colour—chè
father (term of address)—baba:
father (term of reference)—ba
father's eldest brother—babu
father's eldest brother's wife, mother's
elder sister—ponà:
father's eldest sister—puni
father's father; mother's father—tɛte
father's first younger sister—pocini
father's fourth elder brother—mìka:
father's fourth younger sister—mìcini
father's second elder brother—guŋka:
father's second elder brother's wife—guŋci
father's second younger sister—guŋcini
father's sister's husband, father-in-law—
thaŋmi
father's sister, a general term—cìni
father's third younger brother—faŋka:
father's third younger brother's wife—
fɛnci
father's third younger sister—fɛncini
feather—raŋpli
feed each other, to feed oneself (vi.)—
chiŋjimo
feed, to close (vt.)—chìmo
female lamb—barts
female musk deer—silju
female yak—d5umo
festival—khusmo
fifteen—cɛban
fifty—ŋasa
fifty—pisa:cì
fifty one—pisa: cɛthe
fight (vt.)—dakŋjimo
fighting of dogs, be melted—t5hiŋjimo
fill (solid articles) (vt.)—pàmo
fill (water) (vt.)—pa:mo
fine wool—khulu
finger—lakpɛn
finish—como
fire—mɛ
fish—n5ya:
fist—gurda:
fit (neither loose nor tight)—t5hèkka
five—ŋai
five fold—ŋaba
five times—ŋatsu
fix a date for death ceremony—jat5omo
fix a date for marriage—ja thɔcmo
flame—ra:p
flat ground or land—thaŋ
flea—mɔtti
flexible, elastic—napfide
float (vi.)—hyu:mo
floor; lime—cuku
flour—at5o (IA)
flow, to be opened (vi.)—bɔmo
flower—cɛ
flute made of silver—lintsa
fly (vi.)—phaŋmo
fodder mixed with some corn—chà
fog—haua:
fold—ba:mo
fondle, to cuddle—t5ɔlmo
foot—like
for—daŋci
forehead—pəthra:
foreigner—mimaŋ
forest—serè
forget—lɔŋjimo
forty—pisa:
four—pi
four times (arithmetic sense)—pipi
fourfold—piba:
fourteen—cɛpi
fourth time (on a fourth occasion)—pitsu
fourth elder brother—mìhya:
fourth elder sister—mìta:
fox—gonu
friend—hanau satho
frighten—pyomo
frog—palo
front teeth—hraso
front tooth—leso
frost—hmyar
frost in ice form—brɛdɔm
fruit—le
fruits etc—lelaŋ
fry—tsìmo
fulfill a promise—fɔmo
full—tsebindɛ
garlic—dɔm
gathering of crowd; to continue (vi.)—
d5abmo
gem, jewel—mɛyuŋ
get bored (vi.)—dzemo
get burnt; to consult (vi.)—jimmo
get burst (vi.)—gyimo
get cold (vi.)—lɔmo
get cold and cough (vi.)—khàmo
get collected (vi.)—yefjimo
get down from the horse (vi.)—hla:ŋjimo
get laughter (vi.)—hyem ra:mo
get oneself wet (vi.)—thi:ŋjimo
get ready (vi.)—dzɔmo
get stuck by itself (vi.)—galmo
get up (vi.)—racimo
get warm, hot (vi.)—luŋmo
get wet (vi.)—thi:mo
ginger—fɛŋram
girl, daughter—tsame
give (vt.)—da:mo
give loan (vt.)—tɔ da:mo

- glacier—ri
gland—hril
gloves—lako
gluttonous, voracious—damplya:
go—dyemo
go by taking something—t5imo
go forward—cuŋjimo
gold; axe—dzaŋ
gown type of dress—cyukla
grain —chà:
granddaughter—khume
grandson—khuè
grapple (of cocks)—tshəŋjimo
grapple (of dogs)—t5iɸimə
grapple (of horse)—khaɸjimo
grapple (vi.) (animals with horns)—
thapjimo
grass—tsì
graze (vi.)—hrokjimo, hrojimo
graze (vt.)—hromo
green (literally green grass)—tintsi
grind, grow old—yi:mo
ground floor of the typical local house—
dər
group of women in a marriage party—
t5ifa:
guard, to watch—hrinjimo
gums—hnil
gun—tɪbka
hailstone—sara:
hair of head—pəɸak cham
half—phyɛ
hammer—hathora: (IA)
hammer—t5huŋa:
hand—là
hang (vi.)—tanjimo
hang, keep, put, to have, fix, allow (vt.)—
ta:mo
happen—hlimo
hard—ka:ŋdɛ
hare—rayaŋ
harvest (vt.)—jammo
have mercy (vi.)—rəkjimo
have sexual intercourse (vt.)—lumo
have sexual intercourse (vi.)—luɸjimo
have the feeling of laughter—hyelba:
he, she (3s.)—uo
he-goat—lasaŋ
head—pəɸa:
heap of small pebbles—ruŋ
hear, to agree, to accept (vi.)—ruŋjimo
heart—ɸisə
hearth—milen
heavy—hli:thɛ
heel—khopa:
height, high—thɛdɛ
hell—narak (IA)
herd, flock—wəŋ
here—aikho
hide (vi.)—chafimo
hide (vt.)—cya:mo
hill; aim—daŋ
hips—caŋɸya:
honey—hwa:
horse (generic term)—hraŋ
horse (male horse)—pho-hraŋ
hot, be hot (vi.)—chyamo
hot, heat—luŋda
house, home—cim
how—ham
how many, how much—ulaŋ
hum (vt.)—nibjimo
hundred—rà
hundred—sai
hungry—rə
husband—hrithi
husband's elder brother—puà
husband's younger brother—mas
husband's younger brother's wife—
masɸya:
husband-wife—yemɪn
husk—pu
hut—chandi
ice—tɪlin
imaginary place beyond the sky—mɪyar
in front of, in the presence of—ŋokhə
in front, before—hratam
in olden days; once upon a time in the
past—yana:-yana:
in the middle—gunda:
in-law's village—banan səŋ
incisors—nikisə
index finger—cyəla:
inform (vt.)—t5hàmo
ink (Indo-Aryan)—masi
insect—n5əbu
inside—cikhu
inspect, to watch something closely—
ŋŋmo
intestine—tsiri
invite (vt.)—yatsa: galmo
irrigate—ti: thimo
itch (vi.)—chəkjimo
itch, itching sensation—cha:dɛ
jaw—ald5wa:re
join something together—hlyemo
joint, knot—tshig
jump from higher place to lower place—
phəŋmo
jump from one place to another—phat5ko
da:mo
jump in one place—pəŋjimo
just now—itta
keep something (light things)—tamo
keep, to put, to allow, to fix, to have—
ta:mo

- key; mediator — taram
kidney — khaʃa:
kill, extinguish (vt.) — sàmo
king — ya
kiss — ŋuo
kite — cì:l
knead — dumo
knee — pye
knit — ràmmo
knot — khuce
know (vi.) be known — bəmo
lake — chò
lamb (male) — karts
lamb, a generic term — ka:ts
large — ʃaŋ
late — yilthə
laugh (vi.) — hyemo
lay egg — təm-da:mo
leaf — pa:t (IA)
learn — hlabʃimo
leather bag — kots
leech — jəʃka: (IA)
left over (vi.) — hnəmo
left side of the body — ʃyartam
leopard — tharwa
lice — nare
lice egg — natsar
lick; to know — la:mo
lid, memory; — tsɛ
life; age; fat — tshɛ
lift, to pick up — aŋmo
light a lamp (religious sense)(vt.) —
t5ðmo
light (in weight) — nyanthə
lightning — məl-d5amo
like this — aina gartə
limp — jalmo
lion — barje
lips — akple
liquor, a particular type — sata:ni
little bit less — duma
little finger — kikanca:
live, to stay — nimo
liver — chincha:
lizard — dzaŋkhə
loan — tə
local beer — cakti
local name for Caudangsi language —
baŋba:lo
lock — golca:
log — yugu
loin — tshər
longer path, far away — wathə
look back (vi.) — nɪmpħan ɔŋmo
loose (not tight) — walthe
loud — wurthe
louse — mɪnʃe
love — chifide
lower part of the body, below the waist;
buttocks — n5iŋgo
lungs — luŋbar
mad — codɛ
maize — goga:
make (a piece of furniture); to fix — tsamo
make love — hnaʃimo
make short — kàbmo
make someone walk (vt.) — yanʃi
phəmmo
make someone agree (vt.) — ʃɛrci phəmo
make someone happy — gɔʃi phəmmo
make someone seat (vt.) — ʃɔŋʃimo
make something fly — phaŋ phəmmo
male goat — ʃirts
male yak — yakt5o
male-cat — pho-bila
mango — a:m (IA)
many (literally many people) — matmì
marriage — d5ami
married female — hinam pɪdi:de
me, I — je
meal, food — duŋlaŋ
measure (vt.) — hnaŋmo
meat, flesh — ʃyà:
medicine — uso
melt (vt.) — thìmo
memory — co
mend clothes or shoes by stitching —
rabmo
middle finger — gɔŋri gɔŋma:
milch — chirmo
milk — nù
mimic (vt.) — ʃiʃi da:mo
mirror — a:rsi
miser — tukka
molar teeth — gamso
mole — chubu
monkey — ba:ndar (IA)
moon, month — hlà
morning — baŋkhar
mother (term of address) — n5ana
mother (term of reference) — n5a
mother's — n5agɛ
mother's brother, husband's or wife's
mother's brother — kaka
mother's elder brother — puthaŋmi
mother's elder sister — puci
mother's mother, father's mother — lala:
mother's second elder sister — guŋci
mother's younger brother — mithaŋ
mother's younger sister's husband; — kaka
mother-in-law, mother's brother's wife —
puni
mountain big one — yedaŋ
mountain, small, one a type of flour — yɛ
mouse — nipu
mouth — a:

mud—kaca:r	peel something like potato or some vegetables.—chɔlmo
mule—d5e	penis—tholi
mushroom, another kind—mɔkʃya:	people belonging to one's group—rakhù
mushroom, one of the various kinds—kakʃa:	person—mì
nail—lakʃin	person from Johar valley—canpa:
name—hmin	phlegm—gul
narrow—jirde	pickaxe—tokca:
native term for T-B people in this area except Raji—raŋlo	piece—choŋ
navel—pər	pigeon—khwaran
near—nyero	pile up ; to become long (vt.)—buŋmo
nearly, approximately—d5abd5ab	pinch a pinch—syapi cèmo
nest—khuli	pinch, to bite—cèmo
new—nu:dɛ	place—baŋ
night—man	plank—ro
nine—gui	plant—paul
nineteen—cirgu	plaster (vt.)—fyala: kalmo
ninety—jatsha: cì	play—laŋmo
ninety one—jatsha: cɛthe	play a musical instrument; to intervene—tòmo
nipples—manu	pleasant—n5yamde
noon—n5ise, n5iche	plough—resumo
north—fyarnam	pluck fruits—thomo
nose—hnim	pluck fruits by throwing a stick or stones—phəmo
nostrils—hnim d5oŋ t5hɔŋ	poison—d5o
now—than	porcupine—bochab
now, at present—ita	pot to keep water—phuli
nowhere—wa khuri mani	potato—alu (IA)
nut (generic name)—tithɛ	pray (vi.)—hnakʃimo
offspring—fyànde	press (vi.)—taŋʃimo
oil., water spring—marti	press (vt.)—taŋmo
old—yi:dɛ	prick (vi.)—t5a:ʃimo
old person—faŋthe	prick, to fix a nail (vt.)—t5a:mo
once—titsu	princess—rum
one—tigɛ	pubic hair—kacaŋ
one who commands respect—hnimnidɛ	pull—nomo
one who is sleeping—yaknidɛ	pure, pious—tshedɛ
only—t5aŋt5aŋ	put cloth, wool, corn, in place—hmomo
open a door, to uproot, to unlock—phomo	quarrel—gyeʃimo
outside—paŋphan	quarrelsome—gyeʃinde
owl—gughu	quick, fast—cha:t5o
pack a package—təmmo	rabbit—dunu
paddy, a leather blanket—ga:	rainy season—fyàlɛ
pair—dzuŋ	raisin—laca:
pajama—khase	ram (castrated)—kar
palm—phela	rat—dumu
parents—n5aba	raw—tindɛ
parrot—suiyo	reach—hnabmo
part (of whole)—tshù	read—hlɔkʃimo
participate, to join in some work—thyemo	ready (vi.)—hlemo
patella—phaŋlore	recognize (vt.)—si>mɔ
path—am	red—maŋde
paw—lakpəm	rein—a:gal
paw of lion, tiger—nagra:	relatives (related by blood)—fyafi
peacock—mor (IA)	release—bumo
peas—kwarʃi	remains of corn after making beer—tsa:
pebbles—hraksa:	reserve—tha:pu
peel (orange, banana)—khɔmo	

respect; to pose—t5harmo
retreat—nyuŋfimo
retreat, to look back at oneself—nɪmphan
nyuŋfimo
return (vi.)—thəkfimo
return something (vt.)—thəmo
return, to come back (vi.)—thəfimo
ribs—hrəb, frəb
rice—phətsap
ride a horse—yùkfimo
right side of the body—taktam
ring finger—mɪn manidə
ripe (adj.)—chatə
ripe (vi.)—hmi:mo
ripe (vt.)—tshimo
ripened—hmint
ripened—mɪta
rise (of sun); to fear—dzərmo
river—yaŋti
rivulet—gat5huti
roast (dry) parch (vt.)—fomo
roast meat—romo
robust, strong—ŋamte
rock along with the soil—gəŋ
rock, a type of—faŋla:
roll—gəmmo
root—jari (IA)
rope—jaŋ
rose colour—chusar
rotten—səta
rough—khasrakta
round from the outer side—dzam
round pit; a store of grains outside the
house—kin
rub—n5yemo
run—jaŋmo
run away, abscond, to increase—fyàmo
sack of leather—kha:lo (IA)
sacred—phefide
sacrifice some animal for black magic—
sa:mo
saddle—təka
saliva—filiti
salt—tshà:
salty tea (a Tibetan type)—marja:
sand—balwa:
save—yemɪn
save (vt.)—yemo
saw—pyalmo
saw, to wring—thammo
say—lomo
scorpion—khwan
scrub utensils—khìmo
sea—samundro (IA)
search—ma:mo
seat, to make someone sit (vt.)—fəŋmo
second elder brother—gunhya:
second elder sister—gunta:

second floor of the house—nithalo
see, something which is a far away—
dobmo
see, to be found—tiŋmo
seed—pijə (IA)
sell; to weave cloth—raŋmo
semen—lati
send—laymo
separate by choosing or selecting—kilmo
separated lover—ŋalde
servant—d5aŋmi
serving spoon—yaŋkwal
setting (of sun)—hri:mo
settle marriage—thəcmo
seven—nifə
seventeen—conyε
seventy—t5uksa: ci
seventy one—t5uksa: cathe
shade—felo
shake, to swing, to move—lòmo
sharp (instrument)—tsanthe
sharpen (vt.)—yilmo
sharpening stone—yilwuŋ
she-goat—camts
sheep—ma:m̄la:
sheep (female)—ma:səŋ
sheep (generic term)—ma:la:
shirt—khilta:
shoes—paula: (IA)
short—t5ənthə
short (in length)—t5əŋthe
shoulder—rəŋ
sick—kaŋthe
sickle—akhan
sieve—dammo
silver—məl
sing—tocmo
single; a type of cup—kaŋ
sister (general term), wife's younger
brother's wife—hrinɣya:
sister's daughter—banji (IA)
sister's husband, wife's elder brother—tete
sister's son—banjə (IA)
sister-brother—hremɪn
six—t5ugu
six fold—t5ugba:
six times—t5uktsu
sixteen—cət5o
sixty—t5uksa:
sixty one—t5uksa: tigə
skin—bε
skull—kwali
sky; blue—timbu
sleep—ya:mo
slip—fəmo
slope—jarda
slow—d5ile
slow, low voice—suku

small — mi:de
small courtyard on the first floor of the
house — d5oŋ
smallpox — womba
smell — hnimmo
smoke — khù
smoke, suck (vt.) — hurmo
smooth — dzamta
snake — khabu
sneeze — dzì
sneeze (vi.) — dzimo
snot — hnapti
snow — hrɔ
soft — nakte
soil — sa
some, a few people — dumamì
sometimes — ulaŋi
somewhere — wa khute
son's wife's mother, husband's elder
brother's wife — tata
soot — khùma:
soul — hlame
sound — bhak
sour — jirta
south — tanam
sow (vt.) — yebmo
speak — pha:mo
spin — pàmmo
spinach — fanda
spit — thəbmo
spittle — khuti
spoon — chò:
spread — paŋmo
spread tent etc., to help cross some river or
a difficult path — ta:rmo
spring out (vi.) — wàmmo
spring season — yane
sprinkle (grains, powder) — phəmo
sprinkle (liquid) — phabmo
sprout (n.) — n5ikapce
sprout (vi.) — dzumo
squeeze — ci:mo
stag — jarya
staircase — dzaŋthaŋ
stand up (vi.) — yabmo
star — karma:
steal — khu:mo
steep mountain rock — bye
stick — duli
stick with (vi.) — kalmo
stir — d5ammo
stitch — phammo
stitch by a putting a patch of cloth —
hla:mo
stomach — khokce
stone — uŋ
stone (of fruit), a piece of stone — d5alo
stone, a particular type — kalin

stool — i:
stool (baby talk) — kà
stop; to understand; to buy (vt.) — tomo
stop; understand (vi.) — tojimo
story, tale — rye
straight — hla:de
strike a match; to push — t5ha:mo
stroll — pàjimo
stumble in intoxication — galt5a:mo
sugar — cini (IA)
summer — chyàpa:
summer — luŋpa:
sun — n5i
sun light, bright — chants
swallow — gimo
sweep — pimo
sweet — chakta
swell — gaŋmo
tail — pəchni (IA)
take an oath — yàmmo
take loan — tɔ karmo
take off clothes — t5hilmo
take out liquid from a pot — kharmo
take swing, to be moved — ləjimo
take the sheep, goat to lead the herd —
kyoŋmo
tall, long — buŋthe
tame, to rear — t5huŋmo
tea — ja:
teach, to train — hlabmo
tear — mɔtti
tear (cloth) (vt.) — pèmo
tell — mɔn tomo
temple — rackwanti
ten — cì
testicle — gultɔn
tether animals — chimmo
that (invisible) — teti
that (object at a higher level relative to the
speaker) — thoti
that (object at a lower level relative to the
speaker) — yoti
that (remote) — ati
that much — atlaŋ
that side — atina garte
that side — atitəksa:
the other person — gaŋmì
then, afterwards — haŋ
there — atikho
there — ate
these — aijamma:
these — aifɛ
these (used for human beings) — aiməŋ
they (3du.) — unifi
they (3pl.) — ufi
thick (liquid) — phote
thigh — lakjya:

- thin (in thickness, of a sheet like things)—
byɛdɛ
thin (round shape)—lakɛ
think—cìcimo
third elder brother—ʃɪnhya:
third elder sister—ʃɪnta:
third floor of the house—səm
thirteen—cɛsəm
thirty—nassa: cɪ
thirty one—nassa: cɛthe
this—ai
this side—aitɔksa:
this side (of the river or rivulet)—tipɔ
this year—thanʃin
thorn—nace
those—atɪʃɛ
those (used for human beings)—atimanʃ
thousand—haja:r (IA)
thrash—tabmo
thread—bɪɛ
thread ball—wa:ts
three—səm
three days before yesterday—thapija:
three fourth—pophyɛ
three times—səm səm
threshold—calkɛ
thrice—səmtsu
third floor of the house—səmthalo
throat—bɔkrɔ
throw—tsaŋmo
throw (stone, etc.)—kənmo kəmmo
throw water—phyamo
thumb—bɔla:
thunder, dragon—mukna:
Tibet—kidaŋ
Tibetan—paŋ
Tibetan goat—la:mɪa:
Tibetan name for the Tibeto-Burman
people of this area—ja:ba:
tie, to control something or someone—
gyi:mo
tiger—wa
tiger (a large size)—ʃaŋthe
tight—ga:kta
tighten a screw—tʃhəmo
time and again—ra:tso
tire (vi.)—yinmo
today—thinja:
tomorrow—chanan
tongue—jablye
tooth—sò
touch (vt.)—tammo
trap (vt.)—toŋmo
tremble (vi.)—dʃəmmo
truth—saco (IA)
tuber—kɛ
twelve—cɛnyɛ
twenty—nassa:
twenty one—nassa: tigɛ
twine—kimo
two—nafɛ
two days before yesterday—thasəmja:
two times—səm sa
tyre, wheel—dzandi
uncastrated male-goat—boktsa:
uncastrated ram—gukar
unload something from the head or back—
hna:mo
unmarried, bachelor—kaŋga:
untie a knot—pharmo
up to.(up to a point)—wamyɛ
upper arm—raŋ
upper part of the body (above the waist)—
yargo
uproot (plants etc.)—tʃhummo
upto a point, upto—wase
urine—chakcha:
urine (baby talk)—kaca:
usually—khaja:i
utensils—bandʃu
uvula—jantʃutu
vagina—ilam
valley—gà:tʃha
vegetable—kan
vegetable with curry—dimti
village—sòŋ
village name—dar
vomit (n.)—lɔŋ
vomit (vi.)—lɔŋmo
wait for—hrincimo
wake up—danʃimo
walk (vi.)—yanʃimo
wall—chaŋ
walnut—kha:
wash clothes—chilmo
wash utensils, to bathe someone; to cry—
yarmo
water—ti
water drop—chaŋti
water pot—phungli
waterfall—thà
wave—hrinte
wave of water—hwalti
we (1du.)—inʃi
we (1pl., erg.)—inʃɛ
we (pl.)—in
weak—thu:ta
wealthy person—ʃaŋmi
wear clothes—cukʃimo
wear ornaments—ʃakcimo
wear ornaments (vi.)—ʃakʃimo
weather—bagta:re
weep, to cry—tyemo
weigh—carmo
west—renam
wet, watery—thi:tɛ

wheat—raje
where—ulo
where—wà
whiff—phyarmo
white—ji:dε
white wash—gyamo
who—una:
whole—jamma:
why—hoŋ
widow—rād5i (IA)
widower—rād5o (IA)
wife—hrithifya:
wife's elder brother's wife, fifth elder
sister—tata
wife's younger sister's husband—sa:d5u
(IA)
wild—sirtsi
wild animal—pho-phyā:
wild lizard—bhiti (IA)
win, to collect mass nouns like corn, etc.—
chùmo
wind—nəlan
window—tya:ba:ri
winter—gunchε
winter—khàpa:
wood—jin
wooden beam—dyuru
woodpecker—garto
wool—cham
woolen cloth—nambu
word, languages, saying—lo
work in exchange (vt.)—befjimo
work, answer—lan
worship—t5hōmo
wound, scar—gā:
wrap (anything)—hlammo
wrap (things)—gammo
wrestle—tsimfjimo
yak—gal
yawn (vi.)—hal gammo
yellow—lyedε
yesterday—nya:rε
you (2du.)—ganifi
you (2pl.)—gani
you (2sg.)—gan
young man—jodmi
young one of goat—latsa:
younger brother's wife; son's wife—
namfya:
younger brother; husband's younger
sister's husband—nunu
your—nage

DARMA, CHAUDANGSI, AND RAJI

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1.0 General Introduction

Dharchula is a sub-divisional head-quarters of Pithoragarh district, where the main population consists of the Byangs (Byang-khung), Chaudangs (Bangba:mi) and Darma (Darma:) tribes. Other ethnic groups, who speak the Indo-Aryan languages Kumauni and Nepali, live side by side with these tribes. The Kumauni people call the tribals names such as Sauka:, Sakya:, and Sa:k. The river Kali flows to the eastern side of Dharchula town. This river serves as a natural boundary between India and Nepal. The township across the river in Nepal is known as Darchula, only a phonetic variation of the Indian word Dharchula. Nineteen kilometers upriver from Dharchula is the town of Tawaghat, at the confluence of the rivers Kali and Dhauli, the river Kali coming from the eastern side of Mount Puloma and the river Dhauli coming from the western side. Mount Puloma divides Byangs/Chaudangs Valley on the eastern side from Darma on the western side.

The tribals in the valleys are both settled and migratory. In Darma Valley there are eighteen villages inhabited by the Darma tribe. This valley is divided into two geographical regions, Malla Darma (Upper Darma) and Talla Darma (Lower Darma). Talla Darma consists of eight villages which are settled permanently, whereas the ten villages of Malla Darma migrate to the lower regions around Dharchula and down to Jaulzibi, which is 28 kilometers downriver from Dharchula, and stay there during the winter months (October to April). During the winter months most of the people are engaged in the spinning and weaving of woolen clothes, carpets and blankets. During the summer they cultivate crops in the upper regions.

In Byangs/Chaudangs Valley there are seven villages of Byangs and fourteen villages of Chaudangs. The Byangs occupy the upper region of the valley and the Chaudangs inhabit the lower region of the same valley. The Byangs migrate during the winter like their Malla Darma brothers to the settlements in and around Dharchula town and go back to the upper region during the summer months.

Though the number of Byangs villages (seven) is only half that of the Chaudangs villages (fourteen) in this valley, the Byangs tribe is socially and linguistically dominant over the Darma and Chaudangs tribes. The Byangs consider themselves to be superior to the Darmas and Chaudangs. This sense of superiority may be due to the fact that the Byangs are more educated and economically more prosperous.

The People of India Project initiated by the Anthropological Survey of India in 1985 gives a list of 4,635 communities found in the country on the basis of their field work, but none of the three Rang communities (Byangs, Chaudangs, Darma) are mentioned in that list. But the Raji tribe, which is a very small community, is listed. It may be possible that these people have been given an alternative name like Bhot or Bhotia, which is very much the current term in official records and a common popular term used for most of the speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages in this area.

All these tribes had barter trade with Tibet before the Indo-Chinese conflict disrupted the trade in 1962. Because of this, some older people have a working knowledge of Tibetan as well. The border trade began again in July 1992 after the signing of an agreement between India and China. The name of the trade centre is Nihurchu Mandi in Tibet. During the interim 30 years these tribals became settled traders in Dharchula and in some semi-urban settlements. Nowadays the tribals are going for higher education and occupy government jobs both in the central and state government departments and other organizations.

2.0 The Languages

The common name for all the TB languages used by these tribes is /ranglo/. The morpheme /raŋ/ means 'self' or 'own' and /lo/ means 'language' or 'speech'. The individual names of each language are give below:

- (i) Bya:ns, Bya:ngkho lo, Bia:ngsi, Bia:nsi (Byā:si)
- (ii) Darma, Darma:, Darma: lo, Da:mia (Da:rmiyā)
- (iii) Chauda:ns lo, Chanpa: lo, Bangba: lo, Chauda:ngsi, Chauda:nsi.

The last names in these lists were coined by the Indo-Aryan speakers (Kumauni). The names were coined on analogy with the names of Indo-Aryan languages such as Bengali and Panjabi. The names Darmiyā, Byangsi, and Chaudangsi mean the language of the Darma, Byangs and Chaudangs people respectively.

The people of all three tribes are multilingual in Hindi, Kumauni and their respective mother tongues. One might say that they have accepted Kumauni and Hindi as additional mother tongues along with their native languages, since all three are learnt right from childhood. Hindi is a prestigious language, and is the official language of the state and the medium of education at all levels. It is also the medium of inter-group communication among these tribes and between these tribes and the other adjacent linguistic groups. The people prefer to communicate in Hindi in many of the domains of language use. It appears that over a period of time the native languages of these people may be lost in favour of Kumauni and Hindi, similar to what happened to the extinct language Johari or Rangkas once found in Johar Valley.

There is no script for these tribal languages. The people of the tribes have tried to develop a script to maintain their mother tongues but have not been able to develop a suitable one. Even if they develop a script for these languages it will be based on the Devanagri script which is used for Hindi, Nepali, and Kumauni.

On the basis of the data collected, the phonology and skeleton grammars of Darma and Chaudangsi have been worked out. However, these are in no way comprehensive studies of either language. It has been observed that there are dialect variations between Malla Darma and Talla Darma. Even village to village variations were reported by the informants. Therefore for a comprehensive study a long term project should be undertaken in order to record the variatons of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the region. Since the languages are loosing ground to the Indo-Aryan languages, there is an urgent need to record them in detail so that valuable data will not be lost forever.

A SKETCH OF DARMA GRAMMAR

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1.0 Introduction

The data on Darma were collected at Dharchula and Kalika Village from native speakers of Darma, and further checked with other informants to verify its validity. The informants were all above the age of 45, and were bilingual in their mother tongue and Hindi. Some of them had a working knowledge of English as well. They felt more at home in Hindi and hence the medium of communication between the informants and the researcher was mainly Hindi.

2.0 Phonology

2.1 Segmental Phonology

Darma has thirty-two consonant phonemes and nine vowel phonemes. There is a three-way phonemic contrast between voiceless, voiced, and voiceless aspirated stops and affricates, though all fricative phonemes are voiceless. Except for the velar nasal, all nasals, liquids and semi-vowels show a phonemic contrast between preaspirated and plain voiced phonemes. There is also a syllabic /ʌ/, as found in Sanskrit words such as /ʌ-shi/ 'ascetic' and /ʌ-tu/ 'season'. Phonemic contrasts of the consonant phonemes have been worked out on the basis of minimal and sub-minimal pairs as far as they are available in the present data. Where minimal pairs were not available the phonemes have been shown in different environments. Phonemic contrasts and the occurrence of different consonant phonemes are given in the following section. The following charts show the inventory of Darma segmental phonemes:

Table 1: The Consonant Phonemes of Darma

	Bilabial	Dental-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:					
voiceless	p	t		k	
voiceless aspirated	ph	th		kh	
voiced	b	d		g	
Affricates:					
voiceless		ts	c		
voiceless aspirated		tsh	ch		
voiced		dz	j		
Fricatives:		s	ç		h
Nasals:					
plain	m	n		ŋ	
pre-aspirated	hm	hn			
Liquids:					
plain		l			
pre-aspirated		hl			
Trill:					
plain		r			

pre-aspirated		hr	
Semi-vowels:			
plain	w		y
pre-aspirated	hw		hy
Vocalic r		ə̃	

Table 2: The Vowel Phonemes of Darma

Front	Central	Back	
		unrounded	rounded
i		u	u
e			o
	ə		
ɛ			ɔ
	a		

2.1.1 Phonotactic Rules

(i) The vowels /ɛ/, /u/ and /ɔ/ do not occur initially. In Darma the occurrence of vowels in initial position is restricted mostly to adjectivals except in a few pronominals and nominals.

(ii) The vowels /i e a o u/ are considered long.

(iii) In disyllabic and trisyllabic words the length of the vowels depends mainly on their environment. Two long vowels do not occur in successive syllables, i.e. one after the other. As a general rule, when two long vowels occur in successive syllables the first one is shortened.

(iv) Though examples of bisyllabic and trisyllabic words are given to show the occurrence of different phonemes, the canonical syllabic structure of the language is monosyllabic. Some exceptions may be found in loan words from Indo-Aryan.

(v) More than one morpheme occurring in a word may have independent meaning but in certain cases the meaning can not be deciphered.

(vi) Except for the stops /p t k/, the liquids /l r/, the semi-vowel /y/, and the nasals /m n ŋ/, all consonants occur only in syllable initial position. Examples given of their occurrence in non-initial position are to be considered as occurring initially at syllable boundaries. These examples show their occurrence in the context of a word.

(vii) The velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in syllable initial position only in a few words in the data collected so far, e.g. /ŋak-pya/ 'duck', /ŋa-ci-mo/ 'pray'.

(viii) The dental-alveolar affricates /ts tsh dz/ and the palatal affricates /c ch j/ have been treated as distinct phonemes. However, there is a great amount of free variation between the two sets in the speech of some informants, except before the high unrounded back vowel /u/, where only dental-alveolar affricates occur in the speech of all the informants.

(ix) The voiced dental-alveolar affricate /dz/ is nearer to the pronunciation of the voiced fricative /z/ in the speech of some of the informants.

(x) Vocalic /ə̃/ occurs only in the medial and final position of words, and only in a limited number of words.

(xi) The inventory of phonemes does not include voiced aspirated stops and affricates, and also does not include retroflex or palatal consonants, but the voiced aspirated affricate /jh/, the voiced aspirated post-alveolar stop /Dh/, and the post-alveolar flap /R/ occur in the

following words in our data: /jhəb-mo/ 'to pierce' /DhaR'u/ 'male cat'. No other examples of these three sounds or any of the voiced aspirates, flaps and retroflex stops are found.

(xii) Voiceless and voiced stops have been found in free variation in initial position in rapid speech. However, when the informants were asked to specify whether it was one or the other in a particular context they maintained the distinction. Voiceless stops are realized as voiced stops between vowels or when preceded by a voiced consonant.

2.1.2 Consonant Contrasts

Following we will present examples of syllable initial and syllable final consonant contrasts.

Syllable initial contrasts:

/p ph b/

/pu/	'elder brother'	/phu/	'cave'	/bu/	'insect'
/pɛ/	'knowledge'	/phɛ-nu/	'thick (liquid)'	/bɛ/	'skin'
/pya/	'bird'	/phyala/	'palm'	/byā-bu/	'fly (n.)'
/pa-mo/	'fill (liquid)'	/pha-mo/	'speak'	/ba/	'father'

/t th d/

/to-mo/	'to tune (an instrument)'	/tho-lok/	'heaven'	/domo/	'to plant'
/tər-mo/	'to see'	/thəŋ/	'ground'	/dən/	'belly'
/te-mo/	'weep'	/the-mo/	'to throw'	/de-mo/	'go'
/hrəti/	'temple'	/hrithi/	'wife'	/di/	'mule'

/k kh g/

/ke-mo/	'fall (vt.)'	/khe/	'daughter'	/ge-mo/	'collapse'
/ka/	'crow'	/kha/	'walnut'	/ga/	'paddy'
/kɛ/	'defeat'	/khɛl-cu/	'reins'	/gɛ/	'you (pl)'
/kəcar/	'mud'	/khəto/	'scar'	/gədro/	'hole'

/c ch j/

/bagu-ca/	'marriage party'	/cha/	'salt'	/ja/	'eat'
/cuku/	'lemon'	/chura/	'cheese'	/jubba/	'bull'
/cəpa/	'armpit'	/chəp/	'needle'	/jəŋ/	'rope'
/ce-mo/	'bark'	/che/	'life'	/je-mo/	'sneeze'

/ts tsh dz/

/tsum/	'bridge'	/tshum/	'hair'	/dzunu-basu/	'good smell'
/tɛb-mo/	'suck'	/tshɛ/	'fat (grease)'	/dzɛnu/	'good'
/tse/	'grass'	/tshɛ/	'joint'	-----	
/kur-tso/	'lamb'	-----		/dzo/	'ox'

/s sh h/

/pisa/	'forty'	/piçə/	'head'	/hati/	'fresh'
/si-nu/	'white'	/çi/	'blood'	/hiba-jəti/	'defence'
/so/	'tooth'	/ço-ni/	'Autumn'	/ho-mo/	'roast'

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/səl/	'charcoal'	/cəŋ/	'big'	/həl/	'jaw'
/m n ŋ/					
/mi-nu/	'small'	/nim/	'nose'	-----	
/mən/	'mind'	/nəŋ-mo/	'to measure'	-----	
/moro/	'dead body'	/no-mo/	'to stretch'	-----	
/mar-jya/	'tea'	/na-no/	'spicy hot'	/ŋalo/	'to bless'
/l hl/					
/la/	'moon'	/hla/	'hand'		
/le-mo/	'to fall down (vi.)'	/hle-mo/	'to say'		
/lo/	'language'	/hlo-mo/	'to shake'		
/ləla/	'father's mother'	/hləŋ-mo/	'to jump'		
/r hr/					
/ro/	'bone'	/hro/	'snow'		
/ru/	'horn'	/hru-mo/	'to question'		
/renəm/	'western direction'	/hre/	'louse'		
/rado/	'widower'	/hra-mo/	'be ashamed'		
/w hw/					
/wa/	'wild cat'	/hwa/	'honey'		
/wəme/	'face'	/hwən-mo/	'to reach'		
/wi-mo/	'to call'	/hwi/	'wind'		
/y hy/					
/yaŋ-si-mo/	'to prepare'	/hyaŋ-mo/	'flexible'		
/yi-mo/	'grate, grind'	/hyi/	'flour'		
-----		/hye-mo/	'to complete'		
-----		/hyu-nu/	'deep'		
/m hm/					
/muŋ/	'name'	/hmũ/	'rain'		
/mar-jya/	'tea'	/hma/	'sheep'		
/mẽ/	'eye'	/hmẽ/	'fire'		

/ə/

No exact medial contrasts with the /r/ trill or any other sound are found, but some final contrasts are given below:

/bə-uti/	'sew'	/ciə/	'stick to roll cloth on'
/chiə/	'loin'	/puə/	'navel'
/tir/	'arrow'	/hər/	'sound'
/mə-uti/	'stream'		

Some syllable final contrasts:

/m n ŋ/			
/lim/	'anus'	/gigin-mo/	'to roll'
/thum-mo/	'to collect'	/gunda/	'middle'
/gəm-so/	'molar teeth'	/rən-mo/	'to knit'
		/niŋ/	'1pl pron.'
		/duŋ-mo/	'to husk'
		/rəŋ/	'feather'

/l r/			
/həl/	'jaw'	/mər/	'ghee'
/khɛl-cu/	'reins'	/phɛr-mo/	'to blow (of the wind)'
/hul-pa/	'sometimes'	/hur-mo/	'to separate'
/tolya/	'deaf'	/wor-mo/	'to scrub'

2.1.4 Consonant clusters

Darma has a limited number of intrasyllabic consonant clusters. These clusters are generally available initially only with /y/, /w/, or /r/ as the second member of the cluster. E.g. /hnyɑ/ 'fish', /kyok/ 'ladder'; /kwali/ 'forehead'; /brɪŋ-çi-ni/ 'earthquake', /khrɔ/ 'corner'. The semi-vowel /y/ combines with most initials in our data, though /w/ and /r/ appear in our data only in the lexical items just given. Pre-aspirated phonemes such as /hm hn hl hr hy hw/ are treated as unit phonemes and not as a sequence of two sounds. Examples were given above, therefore we have not given any examples here.

2.1.5 Vowel Contrasts

Most vowel contrasts are found in final and medial position only. Significant contrasts are shown below.

/i e/			
/hri/	'tale'	/hre/	'field'
/mi/	'person'	/me/	'eye'
/e ɛ/			
/tse-mo/	'to break'	/tsɛb-mo/	'to suck'
/tshe-mo/	'to carry by hanging'	/tshɛ/	'fat'
/a ə/			
/dal/	'hailstone'	/dəl/	'much', 'tiredness'
/mar-jya/	'tea'	/mər-ti/	'oil'
/u o/			
/saru/	'forest'	/saro/	'hard'
/bu/	'insect'	/bo-la/	'thumb'
/o ɔ/			
/hro/	'graze'	/hrɔ/	'snow'
/roŋ/	'amuse'	/rəŋ-mo/	'to cover'
/u u/			
/thum-mo/	'to cut (wood)'	/thum-mo/	'to collect'

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/duŋ-mo/ 'tremble' */duŋ-mo/* 'to husk'

2.1.6 Occurrence of vowels in different environments

The occurrence of vowels shown below will exemplify the conditions given earlier in Section 2.1.1.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/i/</i>					
<i>/idum/</i>	'same'	<i>/birmi/[birmi:]</i>	'all'	<i>/hati/</i>	'fresh'
<i>/e/</i>					
<i>/eləŋ/</i>	'that much'	<i>/çeli/</i>	'brass'	<i>/pe/</i>	'brother'
<i>/ɛ/</i>					
-----		<i>/pɛnu/</i>	'short'	<i>/soktsɛ/</i>	'comb'
<i>/a/</i>					
<i>/aŋçino/</i>	'high'	<i>/pala/ [pala:]</i>	'mortar'	<i>/sa/</i>	'earth'
<i>/ə/</i>					
<i>/əm/</i>	'path'	<i>/səl/</i>	'charcoal'	<i>/jilə/</i>	'creeper'
<i>/ɔ/</i>					
-----		<i>/pɔla/</i>	'shoe'	<i>/phɔ/</i>	'male'
<i>/o/</i>					
<i>/o/</i>	'he'	<i>/goga/</i>	'maize'	<i>/lono/ [lo:no]</i>	'easy'
<i>/u/</i>					
<i>/uwi/</i>	'they'	<i>/nu-nu/ [nu:nu]</i>	'new'	<i>/pyu/</i>	'mouse'

2.1.7 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences are mainly intersyllabic. When two vowels co-occur in a sequence the first one is generally shortened, except when schwa (*/ə/*) is the second vowel. The following combinations are found:

/uə/, /eə/, /əi/, /ie/, /io/, /ia/, /ea/, /eo/, /ui/, /uo/, /ua/, /ue/

2.2 Tones

Though Darma has three lexical tones, i.e. rising */á/*, falling */à/*, and level tone (unmarked), we have not been able to find them contrasting in many lexical items. It appears that due to the influence of Hindi and its dialects, in which these people have been bilingual for generations, the clear-cut distinctions in the tonal system have been considerably affected, giving rise to many homophonous words. Following are all the minimal or near minimal pairs we were able to record:

Rising tone:

/lá/	'moon'	/ká/	'crow'	/phú/	'wild animal'
/chúum/	'to walk'	/wá/, /uwá/	'where'	/ló/	'language'
/ró/	'flat basket'				

Falling tone:

/là/	'rock'	/kà/	'excreta'	/phù/	'cow'
/chùum /	'wool'	/wà/	'wild cat'	/lò/	'fruit'
/rò/	'hungry (person)'				

Level tone:

/hla/	'hand'	/ro/	'bone'	/phu/	'copper'
-------	--------	------	--------	-------	----------

Since the contrast in tone is restricted to only a few lexical items, it is left unmarked in the data.

3.0 Grammatical Structure

The basic sentence pattern of Darma is subject-object-verb. The verb may appear with or without tense-aspect-number markers. The verb may be modified by an adverb.

3.1 Root morphemes

Darma has two types of root morpheme: nominal/pronominal roots and bound roots. The nominal roots are the personal, proper, and mass nouns, whereas the bound roots are nouns or verbs depending on their position in the sentence and the suffixes they take. Examples:

/ja-mo/	'to eat'	/jaləm/	'food'
/ja hi/	'I eat'	/yo-mo/	'to come'
/la/	'hand'	/la-mo/	'to bring out'

3.2 The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase in Darma consists of a noun or pronoun plus possibly a number marker and/or a gender marker. A noun phrase may be followed by a postposition. A noun may also be modified by an adjective, which precedes the noun. In the following sentences the noun phrases are marked off with square brackets:

- (i) [niŋ-go-cim-ko-lakənti] [çinu-kar] nini/
 1pl-GEN-house-GEN-front white-car stative
 'A white car is (standing) in front of our house.'
- (ii) [dharcula] [sim-we-ko-gunda] nini/
 Dharchula three-mountain-GEN-middle stative
 'Dharchula is in the middle of three mountains.'
- (iii) [pya] [tuŋmu]-ru khər-tso [thaŋ]-ru nyce-co/
 bird sky-LOC high-up ground-LOC alight-PAST

'A bird alighted onto the ground from the sky.'

3.2.1 Gender

Darma exhibits natural gender only; inanimate nouns are not marked with any gender marker. Animates can be further classified into human and non-human categories based on the type of marker they take. Human category nouns take /-mẽ/, /-çya/, /-nya/, or /-nã/ as feminine markers, and /-jo/ or /-tso/ as masculine markers. The choice of which of the different markers to use in each category appears to be lexically conditioned. There are other markers as well in kinship terms, such as /-ma/, /-ni/, and /-nu/ for feminine gender. Non-human category nouns take /mɔ-/ as the feminine marker and /phɔ-/ as the masculine marker. Human gender markers are suffixed to the nouns, while non-human gender markers are prefixed to the nouns. Examples:

Human:

/hriŋ-çya/	'younger sister'	/nem-çya/	'son's wife'
/mim-nya/	'mother's younger sister'	/minã/	'mother'
/pum-nya/	'mother's elder sister'	/tse-tso/	'younger brother'
/khe-mẽ/	'daughter's daughter'	/tsəmẽ/	'girl'
/cə-jo/	'elder sister's husband'		

Non-human:

/phɔ-hrəŋ/	'male horse'	/mɔ-hrəŋ/	'female horse'
/phɔ-çyar/	'male jackal'	/mɔ-çyar/	'female jackal'

3.2.2 Number

Darma has a three-way number contrast for nouns representing animate referents, i.e. singular, dual, and plural, though the verb is marked for singular and non-singular only. The marking of number in the verb may differ depending on the tense as well. The dual marker for nouns is /ni-mi/ (< 'two' + 'person') and the plural marker is [cən ~ jən ~ jan]. The plural marker appears to be a loan from Indo-Aryan /jən/, which means 'persons'. A special plural marker [bɛr ~ bir] is used on some pronouns (see §3.2.3 below). Examples:

/siri/	'boy'	/siri deni/	'the boy goes'
/siri nimi/	'two boys'	/siri nimi deni/	'two boys go'
/siri jən/	'boys'	/siri jən deni/	'boys go'

3.2.3 Pronouns

In its system of personal pronouns, Darma has a three-way person contrast, i.e. first person, second person and third person. First person plural can be divided into inclusive (Incl.) and exclusive (Excl.) plural. The third person pronoun [o ~ ou] is the same form as the (visible) distal demonstrative pronoun. The plural suffix [ni-mi] derives from 'two' + 'person', while the plural suffix /birmi/ derives from a plural marker [bɛr ~ bir] + 'person'. The chart below shows the system of personal pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	ji ~ je	Excl. niŋ-nimi	niŋ

		Incl.	niŋ-nimi	niŋ-birmi
Second person	gɛ		gəni	gəni-birmi
Third person	o ~ uo		usi-nimi	usi-birmi

The demonstrative pronouns show a two-way split of proximate and distal, and a secondary split in the distal pronouns between visible referent and non-visible referent.

Proximate:	/nədo/	'this, it'
	/nədo-bɛr/	'these'
	/dɔkɔŋ/	'here'
Distal, Visible:	[o ~ uo]	'that'
	/ui-bɛr/	'those'
	/təɾɛ/	'there'
Distal, Non-visible	/ido/	'that'
	/ido-bɛr/	'those'
	/təɾɛ-mətən/	'there away'

The base form for most of the interrogative pronouns is /khə/, with the morpheme /mi/ 'person' added to form 'who', and the genitive postposition /go/ added to that for the meaning 'whose'. The different forms are given below:

/kha/	'why'	/gum gərtə/	'how'
/khəmi/	'who'	/ude/	'where'
/khəmiɡo/	'whose'		
/khəco/	'whom'		
/khəwa/	'what'		

3.2.4 Case marking postpositions

As stated above, within a noun phrase the noun may be followed by a case marking postposition. Following are the markings used for the different case relationships:

3.2.4.1 Absolutive and dative: unmarked

The single direct argument of an intransitive verb, the patient of a transitive or ditransitive verb, and the dative of a ditransitive verb are all unmarked in Darma.

- (i) /əndo mithai ram da tya/
 this sweet Ram give IMP
 'Give this sweet to Ram.'

- (ii) /əndo gorge o da tya/
 this cloth 3sg give IMP
 'Give this cloth to him.'

- (iii) /ji ja kə-ja so/
 1sg food PAST-eat PAST
 'I ate the food.'

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- (iv) /ji de-mo da/
1sg go-INFINITIVE PERMISSIVE
'Let me go.'
- (v) /siri-so nikhi kə-kəm co/
boy-AGT dog PAST-beat PAST
'The boy beat the dog.'

3.2.4.2 Agentive: /so/

The agent of a transitive past tense clause often takes the agentive suffix /so/. The occurrence of /so/ is restricted to the past tense only.

- (i) /ji-so je-guna ja ja ɕo/
1sg-AGT 1sg-self food eat PAST
'I have eaten my food.'
- (ii) /o-so apnom ja ja co/
3sg-AGT self food eat PAST
'He has eaten his food.'

3.2.4.3 Instrumental: /so/

The instrumental is also expressed by the suffix /so/. It seems when this marker is used on an instrument, the agent does not take the agentive marker (which has the same form).

- (i) /ji phərsa-so ɕiŋ thum ti/
1sg axe-INST tree cut PRESENT
'I cut the tree with the axe.'
- (ii) /gɛ jib-so de so/
2sg jeep-INST go PAST
'You went by jeep.'

3.2.4.4 Ablative: /so/

The form /so/ is also used for marking the ablative relation, the sense of separation from a source. It sometimes appears together with the locative case marker, as in example (i) below. Examples:

- (i) /ɕiŋ-tə-so pato bir ni/
tree-LOC-ABL leaf fall NON.PAST
'A leaf falls from the tree.'
- (ii) /hɲɛ mi-jən kheco suŋkhuŋ-so ra-no hlɛ/
these man-PL another village-ABL come-NOM COPULA
'These people have come from another village.'

3.2.4.5 Benefactive: /dəŋso/

- (i) /o-so ji-dəŋso gorge hrɛ-te so/
 3sg-AGT 1sg-BEN cloth bring-carry PAST
 'He has brought cloth for me.'
- (ii) /je-so siri-dəŋso am hrɛ-te so/
 1sg-AGT boy-BEN mango bring-carry PAST
 'I have brought mango for the boy.'

3.2.4.6 Locative: /rɔ/, [yərto ~ to]

The locative marker [-rɔ ~ -ru] has an inessive ('in(side)'), or allative ('to') sense, while the marker [-yərto ~ -to] has the sense of 'on', i.e., 'placed'. Examples:

- (i) /gera buɕɛm-rɔ ni-ni/
 grains grain.box-LOC be.at-NON.PAST
 'The grains are in the grain box.'
- (ii) /lopuŋ bɛg-rɔ ni-ni/
 book bag-LOC be.at-NON.PAST
 'The books are in the bag.'
- (iii) /idumna o ji cim-rɔ hna ni/
 usually 3sg 1sg house-rɔ come NON.PAST
 'He usually comes to my house.'
- (iv) /niŋ chuŋ-to ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-sən/
 1pl roof-LOC sit-state be.at-PRESENT
 'We are sitting on the roof.'
- (v) /lopuŋ mejə-yərto ni-ni/
 book table-LOC be.at-NON.PAST
 'The books are on the table'

It has been found that /rɔ/ and /to/ occur together in certain constructions, especially when the subject is inside something and sitting on some object. Examples:

- (i) /ji bəs-rɔ-to ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-si/
 1sg bus-in-on sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
 'I am sitting in the bus.'
- (ii) /gɛ bistər-rɔ-to ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-si/
 2sg bedding-in-on sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
 'You are sitting in the bedding.'

Note: The informant gave the explanation that /rɔ/ occurs when the object is visible and /to/, which is the short form of /yərto/, occurs when the object is invisible. But the investigator was not convinced by this explanation since he observed other situations where both the alternatives were used by some other informants.

3.2.4.7 Genitive and possessive: [ko ~ go]

There is alternation between the two suffixes [ko] and [go] (see rule (xii) in Section 2.1.1 for the conditions on the alternation). Examples:

- (i) /əndo ji-go-cim hlɛ/
 this 1sg-GEN-house COPULA
 'This is my house.'
- (ii) /ji-go-muŋ dhərəm siŋ hlɛ/
 1sg-GEN-name Dharm Singh COPULA
 'My name is Dharm Singh.'

3.2.4.8 Comitative: /rəkɬa/

- (i) /ji-rəkɬa hriŋ-ɕya lɛ de ni/
 1sg-COM younger-sister also go NON.PAST
 'My younger sister is also going with me.'
- (ii) /niŋ-rəkɬa dyəŋ ɕən/
 1pl(ex)-COM go FUTURE
 '(You) will go with us.'
- (iii) /ji-rəkɬa go-go-hriŋ-ɕya lɛ de ni/
 1sg-COM 2sg-GEN-younger-sister also go NON.PAST
 'Your younger sister is also going with me'

Note: [go-go] in the above example is in fact /gɛ-go/ 'your', but sometimes it is realized as [go-go], a case of vowel harmony.

3.2.5 Locational nouns

The following locational nouns are generally used in construction with the genitive to specify the location of a particular object.

/lakənti/ 'in front of'

- (i) /ji-go-lakənti kurtso kəgui ɕino ni-ni/
 1sg-GEN-front lamb tie state be.at-NON.PAST
 'A lamb is tied in front of me.'
- (ii) /ji-go-cim-ko-lakənti minu we ni-ni/
 1sg-GEN-house-GEN-front small mountain be.at-NON.PAST
 'There is a small mountain in front of my house.'

/nyokənti/ 'behind, after'

- (i) /ji gɛ-nyokənti ra-ŋ si/
 1sg 2sg-after come-FUTURE NON.PAST
 'I will come after (behind) you.'

- (ii) /niŋ-go-hre-go-nyokənti serɔŋ ni-ni/
 1pl-GEN-field-GEN-after forest be.at-NON.PAST
 '(There) is a forest behind our field.'

/bero/ 'under, below'

- (i) /bila khatu-ko-bero tu ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-ni/
 cat cot-GEN-under quite sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
 'The cat is sitting quite under the cot.'

- (ii) /khui mejə-ko-bero tu ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-ni/
 dog table-GEN-under quite sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
 'The dog is sitting quite under the table.'

/gunda/ 'middle, in between'

- (i) /niŋ-nimi-gunda ɕənu ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-ni/
 1-dual-between child sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
 'The child is sitting between us.'

- (ii) /bharət nepal-go-gunda bo-ni/
 India Nepal-GEN-between stay-NON.PAST
 '(We) stay between India and Nepal.'

3.2.6 Adjectives

Adjectives in Darma precede the noun in a noun phrase. They sometimes take the same suffixes as the nouns do. But mostly they do not take any suffixes for number or gender like the nouns. Most adjectives take a nominalizing suffix, [-no ~ -nu ~ -o], just as in the relative clause construction, showing that formally these modifiers are in fact relative clauses. Examples:

/mi-no/	'small'	+	/we/	'mountain'	>	/mino we/	'small mountain'
/chər-no/	'dry'	+	/siŋ/	'tree'	>	/chərno siŋ/	'dry tree'
/lo-no/	'easy'	+	/lən/	'work'	>	/lono lən/	'easy work'
/buŋ-no/	'tall'	+	/mi/	'person'	>	/buŋno mi/	'tall person'

Predicative adjectives take the same nominalizers, and so it is necessary to have a copula in such constructions, e.g.

- (i) /cim pu-nu the/
 house big-NOM COPULA
 'The house is big.'

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- (ii) /phu cuŋna hyu-nu the/
cave very deep-NOM COPULA
'The cave is very deep.'
- (iii) /siŋ cuŋna buŋ-nu the/
tree very tall-NOM COPULA
'The tree is very tall.'

3.2.7 Numerals

3.2.7.1 Cardinal Numerals

Numerals in Darma are of the decimal type, i.e. the forms for 'one' to 'ten' are monomorphemic, whereas in the numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' the first syllable of the basic numeral is suffixed to the numeral 'ten'. The numerals from 'seventeen' to 'nineteen' show a peculiar infix */-r-/* in between the morpheme for 'ten' and the morpheme for the unit number. In the numeral 'eighteen' a whole syllable [-bər- ~ -ber-] is infixes.

The form for 'twenty' is /nəsa/, which is also a peculiar combination of 'two' plus something which can be called an allomorph of 'ten'. The forms for 'twenty one' to 'twenty nine' are combinations of 'twenty' plus 'one' to 'nine'.

/təko/	'one'	/niso/	'two'
/sum/	'three'	/pi/	'four'
/ŋai/	'five'	/tuku/	'six'
/nisu/	'seven'	/jədu/	'eight'
/gui/	'nine'	/ci/	'ten'
/cyəte/	'eleven'	/cyəne/	'twelve'
/cyəsum/	'thirteen'	/cyəpi/	'fourteen'
/cyəbəŋ/	'fifteen'	/cyəthuk/	'sixteen'
/cyəɾni/	'seventeen'	/cyəberji/	'eighteen'
/cyərgu/	'nineteen'	/nəsa/	'twenty'
/hnəsataku/	'twenty one'	/hnəsakniso/	'twenty two'
/hnəsasum/	'twenty three'	/hnəsa, hyədu/	'twenty eight'
/hnəsagui/	'twenty nine'	/susa/	'thirty'
/susataku/	'thirty one'	/susane/	'thirty two'
/susabərçi/	'thirty eight'	/susagu/	'thirty nine'
/pisa/	'forty'	/pisa tuku/	'forty one'
/pisagu/	'forty nine'	/ŋasa/	'fifty'
/hnasagu/	'fifty nine'	/tuk-cha/	'sixty'
/tuk cacı/	'seventy'	/jya cha/	'eighty'
/jya chaci/	'ninety'	/jyə tsha cigu/	'ninety nine'
/ra/, /sɛ/	'hundred'	/ratuku/	'one hundred one'
/cisɛ/	'one thousand'	/lakh/	'one lakh'

There are no classifiers in Darma, so numerals directly modify nouns. See section 3.2.2 for examples.

3.2.7.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinals are formed by suffixing /go/ to the cardinal numerals. There is a slight change in the root in the case of 'second', as given below:

/təko-go/	'first'	/nəkəndi-go/	'second'
/sum-go/	'third'	/ci-go/	'tenth'

3.2.7.3 Additives

The additives are generally formed by suffixing the word /pali/ 'turn', an Indo-Aryan loan, to the numeral, though it was found that some older informants still retain the native suffix /-tso/. We give examples of both suffixes below:

Borrowed system	Native system	
/tək-pali/	/tək-tso/	'once'
/nik-pali/	/nik-tso/	'twice'
/sum-pali/	/sum-tso/	'thrice'
/pi-pali/	/pi-tso/	'four times'

3.2.7.4 Multiplicatives

When forming multiplicatives the suffix /pa/ is added to the basic numerals. Examples:

/hni-pa/	'two times'	/sum-pa/	'three times'
/pi-pa/	'four times'	/ŋai-pa/	'five times'

3.2.7.5 Fractions

Fractions in Darma are formed as in many TB languages, by describing the total process of their formation. For example, to say 'one fourth', one will say 'one part out of four parts'. Most of the Darma speakers use Hindi fractions these days. Some of the fractions which could be collected from an old man are as follows:

/pɛl-cho/	'half'
/po-pɛl/	'three quarters'
/pɛl-thɛ-niso/	'one and a half (half less than two)'
/pɛl-thɛ-sum/	'two and half (half less than three)'

3.3 Adverbs

Darma has various types of adverbs. The adverbs precede the constituent they modify, and are often followed by the adverbial marker /na/. They are as follows:

/nə-duum/	'like this, in this way'	/i-duum-na/	'usually'
/i-duum-ga/	'like that, in that manner'	/hagu mətɛ/	'stealthily'
/hra-lən-na/	'continuously'		

Locative Adverbs:

/doru/	'towards (near)'	/tuktu/	'before'
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/hne-nəm/	'near'	/nyo-kənti/	'behind'
/dəŋ-su/	'far'		

Temporal Adverbs:

/una-chət-leni/	'immediately'	/əi-tək-tso/	'at once (lit. 'once again)'
/ləŋ-na/	'as soon as'	/ləŋ-wana-su/	'till when, how long'
/i-ta-wana-su/	'till now'	/uma-wana-su/	'till what time'

Use of adverbs in sentences:

- (i) /siŋ nədum thəm-mo/
tree like.this cut-infinitve
'Cut the tree like this.'
- (ii) /idumna o ji cim-rɔ hna ni/
usually 3sg 1sg house-rɔ come NON.PAST
'He usually comes to my house.'
- (iii) /idumna niŋ chəga ja ni/
usually 1pl(ex) rice eat NON.PAST
'We(exclusive) usually eat rice.'
- (iv) /siri haguməte phuŋ məŋ co/
boy stealthily run lost PAST
'The boy ran away stealthily.'

3.4 The Verb Phrase

The verb phrase in Darma consists of a verb, plus possibly a modifier, i.e. an adverb, negation, etc., all of which precede the verb root. The verb root may also take the tense-aspect-mood and number suffixes. In the case of predicative adjectives, the adjective must take the copula /the/. Examples:

- (i) /cim pu-no the/
house big-NOM COPULA
'The house is big.'
- (ii) /phu cuŋna hyu-nu the/
cave very deep-NOM COPULA
'The cave is very deep.'
- (iii) /siŋ cuŋna buŋ-no the/
tree very tall-NOM COPULA
'The tree is very tall.'

3.4.1 The Verb

As stated above, the lexical root in Darma can be a noun or a verb depending on the suffix it takes. The roots can be compounded to express the totality of the meanings. Noun roots take the infinitive suffix /-mo/ to become verbs. For example:

/hre-te/	'bring-carry'	/rɔk/	'help (n.)'
/çəŋ-çi/	'sit still'	/rɔk-ga-mo/	'to help'
/da-tyə/	'give-give'	/si/	'blood'
/nim/	'nose, smell (n.)'	/si-ci-mo/	'to die'
/nim-mo/	'to smell'	/wi/	'a call'
/khusi/	'theft'	/wi-mo/	'to call'
/khusi-mo/	'to steal'		

3.4.2 Tense

On the basis of the data collected, we find that there are two distinct tenses, i.e. past and non-past. The auxiliaries for past tense are /so/, often pronounced [hiɔ], for 1st and 2nd person and /co/ for 3rd person. There is also an optional prefix /kə-/, which seems to be an older form of past tense marking (cf. the past tense prefix /ka-/ in Byangsi). The auxiliaries for non-past are [si ~ hi] for 1st person, [sen ~ hen] for 2sg, [sini ~ hini] for 2pl, and /ni/ for 3pl. 3sg forms do not take any auxiliary. The /-n/ final of the 2sg forms may be the remnant of an old person-marking suffix (in the case of the past forms, the /-n/ is suffixed to the verb, but in the non-past forms, it follows the non-past marker, possibly an old copula, i.e. /si + n/ > [sen]). The non-past can be further divided into two categories, the eventive or stative (i.e. present) and the intentive (i.e. future). The latter tense formation is marked by suffixing /-ŋ/ to the verb, which is then, for 1st and 2nd person, followed by the non-past marker. Some examples of these forms are given below:

Past tense:

(i)	/je ja hiɔ/	'I ate.' or 'I have eaten.'
	/je kə-ja so/	'I ate.' or 'I have eaten.'
(ii)	/gɛ ja-n so/	'You ate.' or 'You have eaten.'
	/gɛ kə-ja-n so/	'You ate.' or 'You have eaten.'
(iii)	/o ja so/	'He ate.' or 'He has eaten.'
	/o kə-ja co/	'He ate.' or 'He has eaten.'

Non-past:

(a) Stative

(i)	/ji ja-si/	'I eat.' or 'I am eating.'
	/ji ja-hi/	'I eat.' or 'I am eating.'
(ii)	/gɛ ja-sen/	'You (sg.) eat.' or 'You are eating.'
	/gɛ ja-hen/	'You (sg.) eat.' or 'You are eating.'
(iii)	/gəni nimir ja-hini/	'You (two) eat.' or 'You are eating.'
(iv)	/usi birmi ja-ni/	'They eat.' or 'They are eating.'

(b) Intentive

(i)	/ji ja-ŋ-si/ or /ji ja-ŋ-hi/	'I will eat.'
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- (ii) /gəni ja-ŋ-hən/ 'You (pl.) will eat.'
 (iii) /o ja-εŋ/ 'He will eat.'
 (iv) /usi ja-εŋ/ 'They will eat.'

3.4.3 Aspect

The category of aspect marks the internal temporal structure of an event rather than its relation to the time of speaking or some other reference point. The different aspectual categories of Darma and their marking are discussed below.

3.4.3.1 Perfective

The perfective aspect can be used with both past and non-past, but not in the stative. The peculiarity of Darma is that the action verb-roots are compounded by adding the word /hlən/ 'work, action' after these roots, especially in the perfective aspect. In the past tense this compound is then followed by /so/ in the first and second person and /co/ in the third person. Examples:

- | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| /ja hlən/ | 'act of eating' | /tuŋ hlən/ | 'act of drinking/smoking' |
| /phuŋ hlən/ | 'act of running' | /gyo hlən/ | 'act of running (stealthily)' |

The perfective marker is /ta/ or /tap/, though the conditions on the use of /ta/ vs. /tap/ are not yet clear. Examples:

- (i) /polis hra so khumi phuŋ hlən ta co/
 Police come PAST thief run action perfective PAST
 'When the police came the thief had already run away.'
- (ii) /o soŋru hwəna so ji hlo ta so/
 3sg residence reach PAST 1sg go perfective PAST
 'When he reached home I had already gone.'
- (iii) /gε ja-hlən tap cun so/
 2sg eat-action perfective PAST PAST
 'You had eaten.'

3.4.3.2 Progressive

In the progressive the nominalizing suffix /-no/ is attached to the verb root, and this is followed by the progressive marker /hni/. The suffix /-no/ derives from the word /no/ 'to stretch', which came to be used with the verb to convey the meaning of an extended action or continuity of the action.¹⁰ In the stative the simple and the progressive are the same, hence no progressive marker is used. Examples:

- (i) /ji ca tuŋ-no hni si so/
 1sg tea drink-extend progressive still PAST
 'I was taking tea.'

¹⁰Editor's note: Another possibility is that this /-no/ is the nominalizing suffix.

- (ii) /usi ja ja-no hni so/
 they food eat-extend progressive PAST
 'They were eating food.'
- (iii) /siri jər-no hni səŋ/
 boy fear-extend progressive FUT
 'The boy will be afraid.'
- (iv) /ji ya-no hni səŋ-si/
 1sg sleep-extend progressive FUT-NON.PAST
 'I will be sleeping.'

3.4.3.3 Habitual

The habitual in Darma is an elaborately expressed formation. It consists of several morphemes such as /hra-hlən-na/ 'continuously' ('come' + 'action/work' + adverbial marker), which is shortened to /hlən-na/ when used in a construction, and /ɕəŋ/ 'sit' occurring successively in a construction. The tense markers are used according to the time of the happening of the event. Examples:

- (i) /ji ja-hlənna ɕəŋ si ni/
 1sg eat-continuously sit still NON.PAST
 'I eat continuously' or 'I keep on eating.'
- (ii) /ram hri-hlənna ɕəŋ si ni/
 Ram write-continuously sit still NON.PAST
 'Ram habitually writes' or 'Ram keeps on writing.'
- (iii) /o ji doro ra-lənna ɕəŋ si ni/
 3sg 1sg house come-continuously sit still NON.PAST
 'He used to come to my house.'

3.4.4 Mood

Mood, tense, and aspect in Darma are mixed up in such a way that it sometimes becomes difficult to decide which of the affixes or other bound morphemes represent what category. Still, some of these categories have been worked out to give a fragmentary view of the functions of these categories. Some of them are distinguished below:

3.4.4.1 Declarative

This is a mood of simple statement in this language without many suffixes or prefixes except the completive, which occurs at the end of the sentence or just after the main verb. Sometimes it appears that this element might be an auxiliary and the researcher was tempted to put it under that category. But on close observation and analysis this is taken as a declarative marker only. Examples:

- (i) /ji bər niktso raŋ si/ 'I will come in the afternoon.'

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- (ii) /sənu chiŋtə nini/ 'The child is on the roof.'
- (iii) /tuŋgu huwəŋ nini/ 'The sky is blue.'
- (iv) /siŋrəm tano nini/ 'The ginger is pungent (hot).'

3.4.4.2 Imperative

The verb root is used in this type of mood without any suffix when the verb root ends in a vowel, but if the verb root ends in a consonant the suffix /-a/ is added to the verb root. (See Sec. 3.4.5 for the negative imperative.) Examples:

- (i) /(gɛ) de/ '(You) go!'
- (ii) /(gɛ) ɕiŋ thəm-a/ '(You) cut the wood!'
- (iii) /(gɛ) darim kər-a/ '(You) close the door!'
- (iv) /(gɛ) hya/ '(You) sleep!'
- (v) /gwa/ 'Laugh!'

3.4.4.3 Permissive

In the permissive the infinitive form of the verb is used instead of the root as in the imperative. The permissive marker /da/ is used after the infinitive marker. The examples are:

- (i) /ji de-mo da/ 'Let me go.'
- (ii) /o de-mo da/ 'Let him go.'
- (iii) /khumi de-mo tha-da/ 'Don't let the thief go.'
- or /khumi de-mo mə-da/ 'Don't let the thief go.'

3.4.4.4 Hortative

In the hortative the verb root takes the suffix /-nya/. It gives the meaning of suggestion by the speaker to the second person and both of them are involved in the action. Examples:

- (i) /joni (ja) ja-nya/ 'Let us eat.'
- (ii) /chəm de-nya/ 'Let us go.'
- (iii) /jo ja-nya/ 'Let me eat.'

3.4.4.5 Subjunctive (Conditional clauses)

The subjunctive mood is formed by using the suffix /-cɛ/ after the irrealis marker or the verbal root of the dependent clause. Examples:

- (i) /ji de cɛ thəkta mə-ray-lɛ/
1sg go if return NEG-come-IRREALIS
'If I go I may not come back.'
- (ii) /o hlən gano lɛ cɛ rɔ mə-suŋ-se-lɛ/
3sg work do IRREALIS if hunger NEG-sit-still-IRREALIS
'If he had worked he would not have remained hungry.'

- (iii) /gɛ dɔlin cɛ ji mə-de-lɛ/
 2sg present if 1sg NEG-go-IRREALIS
 'Had you been here I would not have gone.'

3.4.4.6 Other construction types

/tər/ 'can, able'

- (i) /darma mi tsəm pəm tər ni/
 Darma person wool spin able NON.PAST
 'Darma people can spin.'
- (ii) /ji ɕya ja tər si/
 1sg meat eat able NON.PAST
 'I can eat meat.'
- (iii) /ji-go hriŋ-ɕya ja ga tər ni/
 1sg-GEN younger-sister food cook able NON.PAST
 'My younger sister can cook.'
- (iv) /sənu gəm je tər ni/
 child able NON.PAST
 'The child can walk.'

/ciŋ/ 'should'

- (i) /thən ji de-mo ciŋ ni/
 now 1sg go-INFINITIVE should NON.PAST
 'Now I should go.'
- (ii) /gɛ ja ja-mo ciŋ yəŋ/
 2sg food eat-INFINITIVE should IMPERFECTIVE
 'You should eat meal.'
- (iii) /thən gɛ ya-mo ciŋ yəŋ/
 now 2sg sleep-INFINITIVE should IMPERFECTIVE
 'Now you should sleep.'

/naciŋ/ 'must'

- (i) /thən ji de-mo naciŋ ni/
 now 1sg go-INFINITIVE must NON.PAST
 'Now I must go.'
- (ii) /gɛ ja ja-mo naciŋ yəŋ/
 2sg food eat-INFINITIVE must IMPERFECTIVE
 'You must eat your food.'

- (iii) /thən gɛ ya-mo naciŋ ni/
 now 2sg sleep-INFINITIVE must NON.PAST
 'Now you must sleep.'

3.4.5 Negation

The negative marker /mə-/ and the prohibitive marker /tha-/ immediately precede the verb. If there is a modal verb in the construction, the negative markers always occur before the modal verb and so follow the main verb. Examples:

- (i) /ji ɕya mə-ja no/ 'I do not eat meat.'
 (ii) /gɛ ɕya tha-ja/ 'You do not eat meat!'
 (iii) /o ɕya mə-ja/ 'He does not eat meat.'
 (iv) /o tshəm mə-hrɛ/ 'He did not bring wool.'
 (v) /kani mi təm mə-tər yəŋ/
 blind person see NEG-able IMPERFECTIVE
 'A blind man cannot see.'

3.4.6 Causatives

The causative construction is formed by suffixing the coverb /phuŋ/, which literally means 'run stealthily'. The following examples give the simplex and causative forms:

- (i) /o hlən ga ta/ 'He works.'
 /o hlən ga phuŋ ta/ 'He gets the work done.'
 (ii) /məŋgəl cim thaŋ ta/ 'Mangal constructs a house.'
 /məŋgəl cim thəŋ phuŋ ta/ 'Mangal gets the house constructed.'
 (iii) /cəmɛ-jən sige chil ta/ 'The girls wash the clothes.'
 /cəmɛ-jən so dəŋmi co ge chil phuŋ ta/ 'The girls get the clothes washed by the servant.'

3.5 The Relative Clause

The relative pronoun is /ənduna/. The verb denoting the action takes the nominalizing suffix /-no/ or /-sino/. The structure of the relative clause is unusual for Tibeto-Burman, as it is a correlative with the usual Tibeto-Burman prehead relative with nominalization, and a post-head relative pronoun, as in the Indo-Aryan languages, but not a full post-head relative clause. The following examples show relativization on an actor (i) and on different types of patients and themes (ii-iv). Examples:

- (i) /amə ja-no siri ənduna hlɛ/
 mango eat-NOM boy RELPRO COPULA
 '(He) is the boy who had eaten the mango.'
 (ii) /niməŋ to-sino bəna ənduna hlɛ/
 yesterday purchase-NOM cow RELPRO COPULA
 '(This) is the cow which was purchased yesterday.'

- (iii) /ji-go-cəmə-so hrəŋ-sino biəm ənduna hlɛ/
 1sg-GEN-daughter-ERG sell-NOM carpet RELPRO COPULA
 'This is the carpet which my daughter sold.'
- (iv) /niməŋ go-sino hma-gu tsumən ənduna hlɛ/
 yesterday cut-NOM sheep-GEN wool RELPRO COPULA
 'This is the same sheep whose wool was cut yesterday.'

3.6 Emphatic possession constructions

The emphatic possessives are formed by suffixing /-guna/ to a form of the personal pronoun which controls the emphatic pronoun. Examples:

- (i) /ji-so je-guna ja ja so/ 'I have eaten my food.'
 (ii) /o-so o-guna ja ja co/ 'He has eaten his food.'
 (iii) /gɛ-so go-guna ja jan so/ 'You have eaten your food.'

Note: The third person reflexive is generally /apno/, which is a loan from Indo-Aryan. When the subject is a third person pronoun the construction with /əbigo/ is sometimes used, but when the subject is expressed by a personal noun the reflexive is always the loan word. Examples:

- (i) /ram Abigo ja jən co/ 'Ram has eaten his food.'
 (ii) /radha apno lən gan co/ 'Radha has done her work.'

3.7 The Reciprocal Construction

The reciprocal construction does not have either a suffix or a prefix but is formed by using the reciprocal words /usi-usi/ and /əphi-əphi/. /əphi-əphi/ is again a loan from Indo-Aryan. The reciprocals are followed by the adverbial marker /na/. These occur before the verb. Examples:

- (i) /sən-jan usi-usi-na orsi ni/ 'The children bathe each other.'
 (ii) /cəmə-jən usi-usi-na cha ni/ 'The girls are playing with each other.'
 (iii) /sən-jən Aphi-Aphi-na kəmsi ni/ 'The boys are beating each other.'

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<p>əhi-nu — up əhind — above əitag-tso — at once əlipɛ mi — a few əlipɛ, əlibɛ — some əllya — only ələŋ-wəna-su — till then əm — path əm-mo — lift (vt.) əŋkura — jar ərsi (IA) — mirror a-la-mo — lie (v.) ahe-nu — high akpo, akple — lips ala-nu — lie alo (IA) — potato amō (IA) — mango aŋ-khula — goose-berry ata — husband's elder brother's wife; son's wife's mother; daughter's husband's mother; wife's elder brother's wife ba — father ba-mo — fold (cloth) (v.) baguca — marriage balo-ɕyano — infant basu (IA) — smell bathi — ladle (for pulse) bɛ — skin bē-ti — lizard (house) bɛ-ra-ga-mo — sing (v.) begun (IA) — brinjal bela-ɕiŋ — bamboo bɛna — bright (light) bero — under billa (IA) — cat (female) bir mi — all blis — resin (of pine) bō-pha-ro — buttocks bɔ-da-mo — swim (v.) bo-la — thumb bɔk-cu — socks bɔkrɔ — flute bɔŋ-buŋ — bell boŋ-ju — donkey bə-ti — dew</p>	<p>brin-ɕi-ni — earthquake bu — insect bu-mo — carry on back (v.) budru — inside buŋ-nu — long, tall buo — porcupine byā-bu — fly (insect) byaŋ-ro, malo — Tibet byoli-ɕya — bride bəgwan (IA) — god bəli-da-mo (IA, bəli) — sacrifice (v.) bəli-ɕi-mo — braid bəlma — yeast bəŋ — place bəŋ-gar — alloy bən-muk-ca — noon bəŋ-ro — verandah bəŋ-tsum-mo — occupy (v.) bəna — neck bəna — throat bənda-gunda — utensils bər-tsi — sheep (castrated) bərdino — year bəyəŋ — nest buja-tsəmə, hrithi-ɕya — wife bujsum — grain-store buul-nu — fat buul-nu, pər-nu — broad buur-mo — drop (v.) buur-mo — fall (a branch) (v.) caŋ-ko, jaŋ-go — lizard (wild) ce — flower ce-jəŋ — bowl (for pulses) ce-mo — bark (v.) ce-mo — cut (cloth) (v.) ce-ra-mo — long for (v.) cəm-tsa — goat (virgin) cəŋ-jo — younger sister's husband cər-ga-nu — crooked ci-cəndu — side (right) ci-mo — squeeze, wring (v.) ci-ɕiŋ — fodder cib-la — fist cib-mo — fasten (v.) cil (IA) — kite</p>
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cil-cil da-nu—mica	chya-no—sweet
cim—house	chya-nu—sweet
cim-lən-ta-mo—hold (v.)	chyo-mo—dye (v.)
cini (IA)—sugar	chyon-to—roof
ciŋ-mo—burn (vt.)	chəb—needle
ciŋ-mo—need (v.)	chəga—rice (cooked)
ciŋ-mo—want (v.)	chət-chət—quick
cip-cu—chicken	da-mo—give, offer (v.)
cir-cir-ga-mo—chirp (v.)	da-rum, kholi, mərəŋ—door
co-la—finger (index)	dak-ci-mo—fight (v.)
co-mo—finish (v.)	dali (IA)—branch
cək-ci-mo—wear (clothes) (v.)	de-mo—go (v.)
cu—chin	delna—much
cu-tshim—beard	dharu (IA)—cat (male)
cuku—lemon	di—mule
cuŋ-bala—gown (for married women)	di—string (for yak)
cuŋ-geju—long shirt (for married women)	dikte-ɕya—husband's younger sister
cuŋ-lɛ—headgear	dimo—yak (cross-bred)
cuŋ-na—many	do-mo—plant (v.)
cunə-thəŋ—cheap	dokh-ga-mo (IA)—accuse (v.)
cya (IA)—tea	dəŋ-mo—pound (v.)
cya-mo—hide (v.)	doru—towards
cyo-mo—bring out (scoop) (v.)	dra-mo—cry (v.)
cyo-numa—madly	dudi, pudi—buttermilk
cyu—thorn	duŋ-mo—husk (v.)
cə-jo—elder sister's husband	duŋ-mo—rear (v.)
cəŋ-mo—soak (v.)	duo—poison
cəŋ-ɕya—thigh	dyu—marsh
cəŋ-thəŋ—ladder	dze-nu—good
cəpa—armpit	dzor-su (IA)—loudly
cha—salt	dzuunu-basu—good smell
chāju—early morning	dəl-thəŋ—costly
chana (IA)—hut	dən-də-ka-li—spider
chɛ—sister's son	dəŋro—height
che—life	dəpya—sword
che-mo—carry by hanging (v.)	dərm (IA)—religion
chɛ-ɕya—sister's daughter	dərəm-damo, baba-ɕemo—divorce
chɛr-mo—serve (food) (v.)	duun, tshur—belly
chɛr-ci-mo—avoid (v.)	duŋ-mo—tremble (v.)
chi—rose colour	dūr-mo—push (v.)
chi-mo—divide (v.)	ga—paddy
chi-mo—meet (v.)	ga-ji—animal (domestic)
chiŋ-cha—liver	ga-mo—do (v.)
chiŋ-mo—tether (v.)	ga-nu—tight
chiru, dəmba—urine	gata, tati—valley
cho—lake, sea	gɛ—cloth
chə-mo—scratch (v.)	gɛ—you (sg.)
chukto—chest	ge-mo—collapse (person) (v.)
chura—cheese	ge-ci-mo—tease (v.)

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gɛju — pajama	hiba-jəti — defense
gɛra — crop	ho-ga-mo — kiss (v.)
gigin-ɕinu — rolled	ho-mo — roast (on fire) (v.)
gim-mo — roll up (v.)	ho-məŋ — dark
go-mo — cut (grass) (v.)	ho-ɕi-mo — quarrel (v.)
go-na — fox	hok-ɕi-mo — quarrel (vi.)
goga, koga — maize	hul-ba — when
gogu-ano — happy	hul-pa — everywhere
gɔk-mo — collapse (house) (v.)	hul-pari — never
gola (IA) — nut (coco)	hulpa-hulpa — sometimes
gu-jɔk-su — ready	hum-ba — then
gubakte — usually	hwa, hua — honey
gubda-ba — father's elder brother (3rd.)	hwa-nəm — far
guguti — dove, pigeon	hwɛ-thɛ — loud, loudly
gui-mo — burst (vi.)	hwi — wind
gui-mo — tie (v.)	hwi-mo — fan (to) (v.)
gujali — bow	hwəl-nu — loose
gukhe (if only one) — mother's elder brother	hyi — flour
gukər — sheep (uncastrated)	hyu-nu — deep
gul-ɕi-mo — cough (to) (v.)	hyunu-mini — shallow
gul-thiŋ — testicles	həl — jaw
gun-chu — winter	həlpə — cheek
gunda — middle size, in the middle, in between	hər-ga-mo — yawn (v.)
gunda-ba — father's elder brother (2nd.)	hərthi — phlegm
gunda-la — finger (middle)	idum — like that
gunta-thəŋ — molehill	it-təna-raɕi — just now
gup-cya — often	ita-wəna-su — till now
guroŋ — conceive (vi.)	ituuna — same
gyo-mo — run (v.)	ja, jamo-tuŋmo — meal
gyəmo — brown	ja-mo — eat (v.)
gəb-da-mo — brood (v.)	jab-mo — cut (harvest) (v.)
gədro — hole	jaho-mi — coward
gəl — glacier	jak-mo — break (stick) (v.)
gəl — yak (male)	jali — net
gəm-so — molar teeth	jamo (IA) — birth
gəm-thɛna — continuously	jarna — regularly
gəŋ-mo — bulge (v.)	jɛ, tsəmã — barley
gəndu — round	jɛ-mo — bloom (v.)
gəni-birmi — you (pl.)	je-mo — sneeze (v.)
gəni-go — your (pl.)	jɛ-nu — clean
gəni-nimi — you (dual)	jɛnu-sa — soil
guuro — fang	jhəb-mo — pierce (v.)
ha-ɕi-mo — complain (v.)	ji, je — I (1sg pronoun)
hagu-mətɛ, hau-mətɛ — stealthily	ji-gɛ — mine
hami, ko-hoi-nu — roasted barley	ji-mo — cut into pieces (v.)
hati — fresh	ji-mo — sneeze
he-mo — increase (liquid) (v.)	jilə — creeper
	jim-mo — consult (v.)
	jiphɛ (IA) — tongue

jitne (IA)—win (v.)	kyoŋ-mo—take (one by one) (v.)
jəŋ-mo—pay (v.)	kə-tshər-mo—dry (vi.)
jəŋ-phuwl—money	kəcar (IA)—mud
joŋ-su—pair	kəm-mo—beat (v.)
ju-jəŋ—belt	kəŋ-the-ga-mo—talk (v.)
jubba—bull	kəŋnu hmi—ill
jugo—long gown	kər-mo—close (door, box) (v.)
juŋ-mo—begin (v.)	kər-tsu—sheep (male)
juŋa-bu—leech	kəru—sprout
junu (IA)—young	kətəm, pəŋ-pho—plough
jya—next year	kuwb-mo—fold (arms) (v.)
jiyama—intestine	kuum, guum, gərto—how
jiyaŋ-mo—drown (v.)	kuwp-çi-mo—shrink (v.)
jiyu—colour	kha—walnut
jəd-jəd—quickly	kha-no—bitter
jəm-ma—whole	kha-nu—difficult
jəŋ—gold	khato (IA)—cot
jəŋgi—flour	khe—son's son; daughter's son
jər-mo—afraid of (v.)	khe-mo—change (v.)
jər-nani—east	khε-çi-mo—bite (meat) (v.)
jər-nu, ga-nu—narrow	kheju—another, other
ka—crow	khel-cu—reins
kāso (IA)—bell metal	khemē—son's daughter; daughter's daughter
ka-tsuk-ta—goose	kheta—shirt
kalo (IA)—death	khi-jak-ce-mo—hate (v.)
kana (IA)—blind	khi-çi-mo—desire (v.)
kap-çi-mo—lay down (v.)	khijεg—till then
kar—car	kho-ba—cobra
kε-mo—defeat (v.)	kho-mo—peel out (v.)
kela (IA)—banana	khosi-mu—feast
ki-bəŋ—temple	khro—corner (inside)
kib-mo—close (eyes) (v.)	khu—smoke
kil (IA)—nail	khu-çi-mo—steal (v.)
kɔ—bark (of tree)	khu-ti—saliva, spittle
ko-mo—stir (vegetable) (v.)	khuc-çi-mo—bind (bundle) (v.)
koi-mo—bite (dog) (v.)	khuci—knot
koi-mo—chew (v.)	khue-mo—split (wood) (v.)
koka-hinu—boiled food	khui—dog
kɔloŋ—bell (a type)	khura-hini—roasted
kopho-çinu—open	khuyəŋ—plate (for female)
kər-mo—carry in hand (v.)	khuən—scorpion
kor-mo—take (v.)	khwe-mo—dig (v.)
ku-li—calf	khwe-mo—scratch (utensils) (v.)
kuε-mo—boil, cook (v.)	khə-dəŋ-sε—kidney
kur-tso—lamb	khəi—tomorrow
kuən-cəndu—side (left)	khəle—what
kuənti—gourd	khəmi—who
kwali—forehead	khəmi-go—whom
kyok—ladle (for liquid)	

English-Byangsi Glossary

khəmi-jən — who (pl.)	ləŋ-sək — manure
khəni-jən-ge — whom (pl.)	ləphu — tail
khənu — brain	lɔb-mo — bury (v.)
khəpa — heal	lɔb-mo — plaster (v.)
khər-mo — defend (v.)	luŋe — leg
khətə — scar	luŋe-pəŋ — sole
la — hand	hla-ur-mo — wash (hands) (v.)
la-kər — star	hlan — dirt
la-mo — bring down (v.)	hlaŋ-mo — fly (v.)
la-nu — thin	hle-mo — say (v.)
la-ɕəŋ — moon	hlo-mo — shake (v.)
lacya — resin	hləŋ-mo — jump (v.)
lak-chəp — ring	mã — goat (male)
lak-puŋ — finger	mã-ɕi-mo — hunt after (v.)
lak-puŋ — gloves	ma-ɕi-mo — search (v.)
lak-pəŋ — clutch	mala, məla — goat
lak-pəŋ — paw	mar-jya — tea (local)
lak-ɕiŋ — nail	mě — eye
lakuri-təsine — echo	me-kum — eye lid
lakənti — in front of	me-ti — tear (of eye)
lasəŋ — goat (bearable)	meluŋ — hearth
lasəŋ — light (of moon)	mər-mo — winnow (v.)
lɛ-mo — climb down (v.)	mi, hmi — person
lɛ-mo — fall down (v.)	mi-muktshum — eye lashes
lɛ-ɕi-mo — forget (v.)	mi-nu — small
lɛnu-ga-mo — love (v.)	mim-nya — mother's younger sister; father's younger brother's wife
li-jəŋ — iron	min-ba — father's younger brother; mother's younger sister's husband
li-nu — heavy	min-pua — mother's brother
lige — foot	min-puni — mother's younger brother's wife
lo — language	minã — mother
lo, lo-əŋ — fruit	mini-dəŋ — foot-hill
lo-khəl-mo — believe (v.)	mini-nədəŋ-cən — pebble
lo-mo — hesitate (v.)	minu-ti — rivulet
lo-mo — read (v.)	minu-we — hill
lo-mə-de-mo — suspect (v.)	mo — cloud
lo-nu — easy	mō — family
lək-mo — climb up (v.)	mōna — bee
ləŋ — back of the body	mo-guano — unhappy
ləŋ — vomit	mɔ-hrəŋ — horse (female)
ləŋ-bər — lungs	mɔ-kɔro (IA) — ant
ləŋ-mo — vomit (v.)	mɔbuŋ-nu — empty
ləŋ-ni — hot	mok-ɕya — mushroom
ləŋ-nu — summer	molo (IA) — price
ləphuŋ — book	mor (IA) — peacock
ləb-mo — teach (v.)	moro (IA) — corpus
ləcən — end	mə-ti, muləti — stream
ləgən-di-si — incisors	
ləla — father's mother; mother's mother	
lən-ga-mo — work (v.)	

mug-təŋ — spectacle
 muk tshuʊm — eye brow
 muŋ, hmuŋ — name
 muŋ-harte-mi — brave
 muŋ-nu-lo — ripe (fruit)
 muŋ-ta-mo — name (to) (v.)
 mya-mi — bridegroom
 mə-rəŋ-mo — refuse (v.)
 mə-ruŋ-mo — deny (v.)
 mə-tir-penu — smooth
 mə-tsər-nu — blunt
 mə-tər-nu — weak
 məkhuŋ — quilt
 mən (IA) — mind
 məŋ-mo — drive (cattle) (v.)
 məŋ-nu — red
 mən-ra-mo — like (v.)
 mən-çi (IA) — buffalo
 məŋε-mo (IA) — celebrate (v.)
 məŋnu, murtso (IA) — chili
 mər — ghee
 mər-ti — oil
 mətshər (IA) — mosquito
 muul — silver
 muul-duun — iris of eye
 mʉr-ti, jəŋ-ti — clear
 hma — sheep
 hmē — fire
 hme-təb-mo — light (fire) (v.)
 hmū — rain
 hmyaŋ-mo — enjoy (v.)
 hmyaŋ-mo — taste (v.)
 na-no — hot (like ginger)
 na-nu — soft
 ŋak-pya — duck
 nakəl — moss (swamp)
 nalo — bless (v.)
 nam-chəŋ-ni — morning
 naraŋki (IA) — orange
 nε-lok — hell
 nε-mo — save (v.)
 ne-mo — oil (v.)
 ne-mo — rub (v.)
 ne-nəm — near
 ne-çi-mo — relax (v.)
 nəŋ-nu — light (in weight)
 nep-tsu-mo — fold (hands) (v.)
 ni — light (of sun)
 ni — sun

nil — gums
 nim — nose
 nim-mo — smell (v.)
 nim-çi-mo — blow (nose) (v.)
 nim-toto — nostrils
 niməŋ — yesterday
 niŋ-birmi — we (pl. incl.)
 niŋ-go — our
 niŋ-jya — a day after tomorrow
 niŋ-nimi — we (pl.)
 nōni (IA) — butter
 no-kənti, nyo-kənti, no-kəndi — after, again,
 behind, last
 nɔ-mo — drag (v.)
 no-mo — increase (by stretching) (v.)
 nu-nu — new
 nuk-chou — day
 nunu — younger brother
 nyā — fish
 nyaŋ-thəpa — evening
 nyəm-no — pungent
 nədo, dəkhuŋ — here
 nədo-bər, nəŋ-birna — these
 nədu, nədo — this
 nəduum-ga — like this
 nəll — iron-shaft
 nəm-çya — younger brother's wife
 nəmbu-jəŋ — cloth (woolen)
 nəŋ-mo — measure (v.)
 hne — medicine
 hnɛp-ti — snout
 hnɛya-mo — catch fish (v.)
 hnyuŋ-nu — flexible
 ŋa-çi-mo — pray (v.)
 ō — yes
 o, uo, wo — he, she
 o-çi-mo — nod (v.)
 omphə — hips
 or-çi-mo — bathe (vt.)
 pād̄ro (IA) — monkey
 pa-mo — fill (liquid) (v.)
 pa-mo — measure (grains) (v.)
 pagaro — ankle
 pagər-çino — closed
 pala — mortar
 paləŋ (IA) — spinach
 pan (IA) — betel leaf
 papəl — calves
 pat (IA) — leaf

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- pe-mã — father's elder sister's husband;
father's younger sister's husband
pe-ma, powa — wife's father; husband's
father
pɛ-mo — know (v.)
pe-mo — slip (v.)
pe-mo — tear (v.)
pɛ-nu — short
pɛl-muŋ — midnight
pɛlɔp — frog
pɛnu-mi, lama — priest
pi-mɛ̃, nəm-ɕya — son's wife
pi-tsu, mya — daughter's husband
pi-tuum — egg
pichaŋ (IA) — behind, below
pijɛ (IA) — seed
piɕa — head
piɕa — skull
po-lini — spring
po-mo — increase (v.)
po-mo — take out (v.)
pok-sa-pe-mo — sweep (v.)
pɔk-ɕinu — rotten
pɔla (IA) — shoe
pɔla-guna — cobbler
pomi-la — finger (ring)
poŋ-mo — fill (grains) (v.)
ponə-be — rock
pu — elder brother; husband's elder sister's
husband
pu — husk
pu, nunu — husband's younger sister's
husband
puk-to — knee
puk-to-ro — patella
pum-nya — mother's elder sister
pum-nya, pum-mi-na — father's elder
brother's wife
pun-ba — father's elder brother; mother's
elder sister's husband
pun-pua — mother's elder brother
pun-puni — mother's elder brother's wife
puna-ta — elder sister
puni — wife's mother; husband's mother
puni, cini — father's elder sister; father's
younger sister
punu, ɕən — big, large
punu, muun-ci — elder brother's wife
puəl-mo — knead (v.)
pya — bird
pya-gue-mo — break (v.)
pyaju (IA) — onion
pyu — mouse
pɛlti-bu — bedbug
pəm-mo — spin (v.)
pəŋ-mo — send (v.)
pəŋ-mo — spread (bed) (v.)
pəŋ-phəl — wall
pəŋ-ci-mo — hum (v.)
pənyɛ̃ — ladle (for rice)
pəsɯ, pəchura — blanket
pujya — three days after tomorrow
puə — navel
puutshuum — rice
pha — ash
pha-mo — speak (v.)
pha-nu — gray (ash)
phak-ɕinu — down, low
phak-ɕya — rabbit
phe — thread
phɛ-nu — thick (liquid)
phɛl-mo — wash (clothes) (v.)
phɛr-mo — blow (wind) (v.)
phɔ — male
pho — animal (wild)
pho, jərya — deer
phɔ-hrəŋ — horse (male)
pho-mo — open (v.)
pho-mo — uncover (v.)
phɔk-ɕi-mo — cover (self) (v.)
phoŋ-lo — water-pot
phu — cave
phu — copper
phu-ɕiŋ, dyu-ri — beam
phuŋ-mo — run (stealthily) (v.)
phya-mo — rebuke (v.)
phyala — palm
phyam-mo — pour out (v.)
phyəŋ-mo — rinse (v.)
phəm-mo — stitch (v.)
phər-mo — open (chain) (v.)
phər-mo — untie (v.)
phətita-ga-mo — insult (v.)
ra-ləŋna — as soon as
ra-mo — arrive (v.)
rado (IA) — widower
rani-ɕyani — widow
rap — flame

- rɛ-mo—cold (to get) (v.)
 re-nani—west
 ritu (IA)—season
 ro—bone
 rɔ-mo—bellow (v.)
 ro-mo—roast (in fire) (v.)
 rɔk-ga-mo—help (v.)
 rɔk-mo—chuckle (v.)
 rɔk-ɕi-mo—comb (v.)
 rɔk-sɔŋ, rɔk-tsɔŋ—guts
 rɔŋ—shoulder
 rɔŋ-mo—cover (vt.)
 roŋ-mo—amuse (v.)
 rɔŋ-ɕi-mo—listen (v.)
 rota (IA)—bread
 royɔŋ—hare
 ru—corner (outside)
 ru—horn
 ruŋ-ɕi-mo—accept (v.)
 rupya (IA)—rupee
 rəjɛ—wheat
 rəju—ear
 rəm-mo, rən-mo—weave (v.)
 rəŋ—arm
 rəŋ—feather (wing)
 rəŋ-mo—sell (v.)
 ruub-mo—stitch (torn clothes) (v.)
 rum—root
 rum-mo—knit (v.)
 hra-mo—ashamed of (v.)
 hra-mo—come (v.)
 hre—field
 hre, darti (IA)—earth
 hrɛ-mo—bring (v.)
 hri—louse
 hri-ca-mo—stand up (v.)
 hri-jya—a day before yesterday
 hri-mo—back-bite (v.)
 hri-mo—set (sun) (v.)
 hri-mo—write (v.)
 hri-ra-ni—avalanche
 hri-su—anger
 hriŋ-ɕya—younger sister; husband or
 wife's younger brother's wife
 hrithi—husband
 hrithi-hrithi-ɕya—couple
 hro—snow
 hrɔ-bə-ti—frost
 hro-hrun-kən—sibling
 hrɔ-mo—graze (to cause) (v.)
 hrok-ga-mo—accompany (v.)
 hrɔk-mo—graze (v.)
 hru-mo—ask (v.)
 hrui (IA)—cotton
 hruk-cɛ—louse (egg)
 hruiŋ-mo—protect (v.)
 hruiŋ-ɕi-mo—obey (v.)
 hrə-ɕi-mo—awake (v.)
 hrəti—temple
 hrup—ribs
 sa-pha, pu-pa—straw
 sak (IA)—breath
 sak-sa—sand
 sak-ɕi-mo—breathe (v.)
 sali-ɕya (sali, IA)—wife's younger sister
 saŋ-wa—tiger
 saro—hard
 saro, hre—garden
 sɛ-ga-mo—shoot (v.)
 sɛ-mo—extinguish (v.)
 sɛ-mo—kill (v.)
 se-mo—cold (feel cold) (v.)
 se-mo—cross (v.)
 sɛ-tho-mo—worship (v.)
 sɛl-chu—rainy season
 sero—forest
 sew (IA)—apple
 sikən—sickle
 silɛ—vulture
 sɔŋ—village
 suk-tsɛ—comb
 suk-tsi—mole
 sumlo—foam
 supari (IA)—nut (betel)
 suər (IA)—pig
 syal (IA)—jackal
 syaŋ-we—precipice
 səl—charcoal
 səŋ-dəmə—drum
 su so—tooth
 ɕak-ɕi-mo—wear (ornament) (v.)
 ɕeli—brass
 ɕɛn-cən—child
 ɕepi-ɕi-mo—pinch (v.)
 ɕi—blood
 ɕi-ɕi-mo—die (v.)
 ɕi-ji-mo—use (v.)
 ɕi-mo—paint (v.)

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çi-no — white	tibri (IA) — kettle
çik-su-nɔ — slope	tiŋ-nu — green
çilbər (IA) — aluminum	tir (IA) — arrow
çildu — dough	tire — there (visible)
çilmu — raw (vegetable)	tire-mətən — there (invisible)
çimɛ — breast	tirpe-nu — rough
çimɛ-lo — nipple	tɔ-mo — light (a lamp) (v.)
çiŋ — fire-wood	to-mo — burn (vi.), forbid (v.)
çiŋ — stick	to-mo — obstruct (v.)
çiŋ — tree	to-çi-mo — stop (v.)
çiŋ — wood	tolya (IA) — deaf
çiŋ-dala — log	təm-mo — appear (v.)
çiŋ-wəm — ginger	topli (IA) — cap
çini — cold	tota (IA) — parrot
çinu-bətə — bean	tuk-tu — before, next, beginning
çir-no — sour	tuŋ-bu — sky
çir-çi-mo — move (v.)	tuŋ-mo — drink, smoke (v.)
çiri — boy	tyara (IA) — festival
çiri — son; brother's son	tyəma — tobacco
çiçɔ — heart	təb-mo — thresh (v.)
ço-kəŋ-mo — mercy (to have) (v.)	təguna — your (sg.)
ço-ni — autumn	təho,kəp-tso — hot-plate
çəŋ-mo — leak (v.)	tək-cu — part
çya — flesh	təli — plate (for male)
çya — king	təm-mo — see (v.)
çya — meat	təŋ-bu — python
çyai (IA) — ink	təŋ-lan — straight
çəŋ-dum — garlic	təŋ-mo — live (v.)
çəŋ-jəŋ-gɔ — lizard (wild, big)	tən-çiŋ — peg
çuum-jya — two days after tomorrow	təŋ-yəb-mo — stand (quite) (v.)
ta-jya — two days before yesterday	tər-mo — able, to be (v.)
ta-mo — carry on head (v.)	tər-nu — bravely
ta-mo — keep, to put up (v.)	tha-mo — strike (match) (v.)
ta-no — hot (like chili)	tha-rɛ-mo — report (v.)
tak-sa — supporting pillar	thalo (IA) — bowl (for kneading flour)
tal — uvula	thɛ-mo — show (v.)
tanu-yiŋ — last year	thi-mo — dance (v.)
tar-nu — strong	thi-mo — melt (vi.)
tar-su — low voice	thi-mo — wet (to get) (v.)
tar-ta-su — slow, slowly	thi-nu — thin (liquid)
tarum — key	thi-nu — wet
tata — sister	thi-çi-mo — melt (vt.)
tati — have (v.)	thim — first floor
tawi — bowl (for cooking rice)	thimd-la — pastel
te-mo — weep (v.)	thɔ, dɔ — near
tete — father's father, mother's father	tho-lok — heaven
tewari (IA) — window	thɔ-mo — reply (v.)
ti — water	tho-mo, cha-mo — pluck (v.)
ti-mo — swallow (v.)	thɔ-çi-mo — beg (v.)

- thək-çi-mo—return (v.)
 thuŋ-lən-de-mo—allow (v.)
 thuŋo, thən (IA)—hammer
 thyã—today
 thyak-nu—fit
 thək-çi-mo—collide (v.)
 thəm-mo—cut (wood) (v.)
 thəŋ—ground
 thən, thən-disi—now
 thəŋ-mo—built, construct (v.)
 thəŋ-tso—elbow
 thuum-ja—custom
 tsu—bush
 tsa-mo—play (v.)
 tsɛ-mẽ—wife's elder sister
 tse-mo—bite (snake) (v.)
 tse-mo—ripe (v.)
 tse-mo—understand (v.)
 tsɛ-tso—husband's brother; son's wife's
 father; daughter's husband's father
 tsɛb-mo—suck (v.)
 tsɛr-bu, nunu—wife's younger sister's
 husband
 tsi—grass
 tsi-ramo—memory
 tsir, tsirr—loin
 tsobuŋ-nu—full
 tsok-çi-mo—attack (v.)
 tsu-mo—spread (tent) (v.)
 tsu-mu—post (pillar)
 tsəmẽ—daughter; brother's daughter
 tsəmẽ—girl
 tsəmẽ—husband's elder sister
 tsəŋ-mo—throw (v.)
 tsər-nu—sharp
 tsər-pya—cock
 tsu-mo—catch (v.)
 tsukun-la—finger (little)
 tsur-ro—back-bone
 tshɛ—fat (grease)
 tshɛ-çi-mo—swing (v.)
 tshɛ-tso—wife' elder brother
 tshɛ-əŋ—wife' younger brother
 tshi—joint
 tshir-mo—milk (v.)
 tshōka-ga-mo—feel (v.)
 tshər-mo—dry (vt.)
 tshər-mo—spread (seed) (v.)
 tshər-nu—dry
 tshuum—hair
 tshuum-ba—scissors
 tshur—waist
 u-we—mountain
 udɛ-wudɛ—where
 udiri-mini—nowhere
 ui-bɛrna—those
 uləŋ—nearly
 uma-wəna-su—till what time
 uŋ-mo, so-mo—look after (v.)
 uo—that
 usi-birmi, uiber—they (pl.)
 usi-go, uigo—their
 usi-nimi—they (dual)
 uwaŋ—blue
 uwi-nogəl, wi-nogəl—ice
 vɔ-səŋ-çi-mo—fast (to) (v.)
 wa—lion
 wa-co pundo—bind (thread, join) (v.)
 wami—face
 wi-mo—call (v.)
 wi-mo—invite (v.)
 wiru—old
 wəm—bear
 wəmna-mirci—pepper
 wor-mo—scrub (v.)
 wəlcu—lock
 wəm-mo—spring out (v.)
 ya-mo—sleep (v.)
 ya-nu, khi-nu—dirty
 yak-khər-ma—then
 yaŋ-çi-mo—prepare (v.)
 yaŋ-ti—river
 yana—bad
 yana-basu—bad smell
 yaŋa-mo—curse (v.)
 yaŋti-thəm-thəmte—bank (of river)
 yɛr-mo—shout (v.)
 yi-mo—grate, grind (v.)
 yo, tho—downward
 yohe-nu—curd
 yəb-mo—sow (v.)
 yəkəm—yoke
 yəm-ja-mo—take (an oath) (v.)
 yən-mo—hear (v.)
 yərto, yərto—on, in

ENGLISH-DARMA GLOSSARY

a day after tomorrow — niŋ-jya	bank (of river) — yaŋti-thəm-thəmte
a day before yesterday — hri-jya	bark (of tree) — kɔ
a few — əlipɛ mi	bark (v.) — cɛ-mo
able, to be (v.) — tər-mo	barley — jɛ, tsəmã
above — əhind	bathe (vt.) — or-çi-mo
accept (v.) — ruŋ-çi-mo	beam — phu-çiŋ, dyu-ri
accompany (v.) — hrok-ga-mo	bean — çinu-bətə
accuse (v.) — dokh-ga-mo (IA)	bear — wɔm
afraid of (v.) — jər-mo	beard — cu-tshim
after, again, behind, last — no-kənti, nyo-kənti, no-kəndi	beat (v.) — kəm-mo
all — bir mi	bedbug — pəlti-bu
allow (v.) — thuŋ-lən-de-mo	bee — mōna
alloy — bəŋ-gar	before, next, beginning — tuk-tu
aluminum — çilbər (IA)	begin (v.) — juŋ-mo
amuse (v.) — roŋ-mo	beg (v.) — thɔ-çi-mo
anger — hri-su	behind, below — pichaŋ (IA)
animal (domestic) — ga-ji	believe (v.) — lo-khəl-mo
animal (wild) — pho	bell (a type) — kəlɔŋ
ankle — pagaro	bell — bɔŋ-buŋ
another, other — kheju	bell metal — kãso (IA)
ant — mɔ-kəro (IA)	bellow (v.) — rɔ-mo
appear (v.) — təm-mo	belly — duun, tshur
apple — sew (IA)	belt — ju-jəŋ
arm — rəŋ	betel leaf — pan (IA)
armpit — cəpa	big, large — punu, çən
arrive (v.) — ra-mo	bind (bundle) (v.) — khuc-çi-mo
arrow — tir (IA)	bind (thread, join) (v.) — wa-co pundo
as soon as — ra-ləŋna	bird — pya
ash — pha	birth — jamo (IA)
ashamed of (v.) — hra-mo	bite (dog) (v.) — koi-mo
ask (v.) — hru-mo	bite (meat) (v.) — khɛ-çi-mo
at once — əitag-tso	bite (snake) (v.) — tse-mo
attack (v.) — tsok-çi-mo	bitter — kha-no
autumn — ço-ni	blanket — pəsɯ pəchura
avalanche — hri-ra-ni	bless (v.) — nalo
avoid (v.) — chɛr-çi-mo	blind — kana (IA)
awake (v.) — hrə-çi-mo	blood — çɪ
back of the body — lɔŋ	bloom (v.) — jɛ-mo
back-bite (v.) — hri-mo	blow (nose) (v.) — nim-çi-mo
back-bone — tsur-ro	blow (wind) (v.) — phɛr-mo
bad smell — yana-basu	blue — uwaŋ
bad — yana	blunt — mə-tsər-nu
bamboo — bela-çiŋ	boil, cook (v.) — kuɛ-mo
banana — kela (IA)	boiled food — koka-hinu
	bone — ro

- book—lophuṅ
 bow—gujali
 bowl (for cooking rice)—tawi
 bowl (for kneading flour)—thalo (IA)
 bowl (for pulses)—ce-jəŋ
 boy—çiri
 braid—bəli-çi-mo
 brain—khənu
 branch—dali (IA)
 brass—çeli
 brave—muṅ-harte-mi
 bravely—tər-nu
 bread—rota (IA)
 break (stick) (v.)—jak-mo
 break (v.)—pya-gue-mo
 breast—çime
 breath—sak
 breathe (v.)—sak-çi-mo
 bride—byoli-çya
 bridegroom—mya-mi
 bright (light)—bəna
 bring down (v.)—la-mo
 bring out (scoop) (v.)—cyo-mo
 bring (v.)—hrε-mo
 brinjal—begun (IA)
 broad—buul-nu, pər-nu
 brood (v.)—gəb-da-mo
 brown—gyəmo
 buffalo—mən-çi (IA)
 built, construct (v.)—thəŋ-mo
 bulge (v.)—gəŋ-mo
 bull—jubba
 burn (vi.)—to-mo
 burn (vt.)—çiŋ-mo
 burst (vi.)—gui-mo
 bury (v.)—luḅ-mo
 bush—tsu
 butter—nōni (IA)
 buttermilk—dudi, pudi
 buttocks—bō-pha-ro
 calf—ku-li
 call (v.)—wi-mo
 calves—papəl
 cap—topli (IA)
 car—kar
 carry by hanging (v.)—che-mo
 carry in hand (v.)—kər-mo
 carry on back (v.)—bu-mo
 carry on head (v.)—ta-mo
 cat (female)—billa (IA)
 cat (male)—dharu (IA)
 catch fish (v.)—hnya-mo
 catch (v.)—tsu-mo
 cave—phu
 celebrate (v.)—mənε-mo (IA)
 change (v.)—khe-mo
 charcoal—səl
 cheap—cunə-thəŋ
 cheek—həlpə
 cheese—chura
 chest—chukto
 chew (v.)—koi-mo
 chicken—cip-cu
 child—çen-cən
 chili—məŋnu, murtso (IA)
 chin—cu
 chirp (v.)—cir-cir-ga-mo
 chuckle (v.)—rək-mo
 clean—jε-nu
 clear—mur-ti, jəŋ-ti
 climb down (v.)—lε-mo
 climb up (v.)—lək-mo
 close (door, box) (v.)—kər-mo
 close (eyes) (v.)—kib-mo
 closed—pagər-çino
 cloth (woolen)—nəmbu-jəŋ
 cloth—gε
 cloud—mo
 clutch—lak-pəŋ
 cobbler—pəla-guna
 cobra—kho-ba
 cock—tsər-pya
 cold (feel cold) (v.)—se-mo
 cold (to get) (v.)—rε-mo
 cold—çini
 collapse (house) (v.)—gək-mo
 collapse (person) (v.)—ge-mo
 collide (v.)—thək-çi-mo
 colour—jyu
 comb—suk-tε
 comb (v.)—rək-çi-mo
 come (v.)—hra-mo
 complain (v.)—ha-çi-mo
 conceive (vi.)—guroŋ
 consult (v.)—jim-mo
 continuously—gəm-thəna
 copper—phu
 corner (inside)—khrə

Introduction

corner (outside)—ru	dough—cildu
corpus—moro (IA)	dove, pigeon—guguti
costly—dəl-thəŋ	down, low—phak-činu
cot—khato (IA)	downward—yo, tho
cotton—hrui (IA)	do (v.)—ga-mo
cough (to) (v.)—gul-çi-mo	drag (v.)—nɔ-mo
couple—hrithi-hrithi-çya	drink, smoke (v.)—tuŋ-mo
cover (self) (v.)—phək-çi-mo	drive (cattle) (v.)—məŋ-mo
cover (vt.)—rəŋ-mo	drop (v.)—buur-mo
coward—jaho-mi	drown (v.)—jyaŋ-mo
creeper—jilə	drum—səŋ-dəmə
crooked—çer-ga-nu	dry (vi.)—kə-tshər-mo
crop—gəra	dry (vt.)—tshər-mo
cross (v.)—se-mo	dry—tshər-nu
crow—ka	duck—ŋak-pya
cry (v.)—dra-mo	dye (v.)—chyō-mo
curd—yohe-nu	ear—rəju
curse (v.)—yaŋa-mo	early morning—chǎju
custom—thuum-ja	earth—hre, darti (IA)
cut (cloth) (v.)—ce-mo	earthquake—brin-çi-ni
cut (grass) (v.)—go-mo	east—jər-nani
cut (harvest) (v.)—jab-mo	easy—lo-nu
cut (wood) (v.)—thəm-mo	eat (v.)—ja-mo
cut into pieces (v.)—ji-mo	elder brother—pu
daughter; brother's daughter—tsəmɛ	elder brother's wife—punu, muun-çi
dance (v.)—thi-mo	echo—lakuri-təsine
dark—ho-məŋ	egg—pi-tuum
day—nuk-chou	elbow—thəŋ-tso
deaf—tolya (IA)	empty—mobuŋ-nu
death—kalo (IA)	end—ləcən
deep—hyu-nu	enjoy (v.)—hmyaŋ-mo
deer—pho, jərya	elder sister's husband—cə-jo
defeat (v.)—kɛ-mo	elder sister—puna-ta
defend (v.)—khər-mo	evening—nyaŋ-thəpa
defense—hiba-jəti	everywhere—hul-pa
deny (v.)—mə-ruŋ-mo	extinguish (v.)—se-mo
desire (v.)—khi-çi-mo	eye brow—muk tshuum
dew—bə-ti	eye lashes—mi-muuktshuum
daughter's husband—pi-tsu, mya	eye lid—me-kuum
die (v.)—çi-ci-mo	eye—mɛ
difficult—kha-nu	father—ba
dig (v.)—khwe-mo	face—wami
dirt—hlan	fall (a branch) (v.)—buur-mo
dirty—ya-nu, khi-nu	fall down (v.)—lə-mo
divide (v.)—chi-mo	family—mō
divorce—dərəm-damo, baba-çemo	fan (to) (v.)—hwi-mo
dog—khui	fang—guro
donkey—boŋ-ju	far—hwa-nəm
door—da-ruum, kholi, mərəŋ	fast (to) (v.)—vɔ-səŋ-çi-mo

- fasten (v.)—cib-mo
 fat (grease)—tshē
 fat—buul-nu
 feast—khosi-mu
 feather (wing)—rəŋ
 father's elder brother (1st.)—pun-ba
 father's elder brother (2nd.)—gunda-ba
 father's elder brother (3rd.)—gubda-ba
 father's elder brother's wife—pum-nya,
 pum-mi-na
 feel (v.)—tshōka-ga-mo
 father's elder sister—puni, cini
 father's elder sister's husband—pe-mã
 festival—tyara (IA)
 father's father; mother's father—tete
 field—hre
 fight (v.)—dak-ci-mo
 fill (grains) (v.)—poŋ-mo
 fill (liquid) (v.)—pa-mo
 finger (index)—co-la
 finger (little)—tsuikuŋ-la
 finger (middle)—gunda-la
 finger (ring)—pomi-la
 finger—lak-puŋ
 finish (v.)—co-mo
 fire—hmē
 fire-wood—ciŋ
 first floor—thim
 fish—nyã
 fist—cib-la
 fit—thyak-nu
 flame—rap
 flesh—çya
 flexible—hnyuŋ-nu
 flour—hyi
 flour—jəŋgi
 flower—ce
 flute—bōkrō
 fly (insect)—byã-bu
 fly (v.)—hlaŋ-mo
 father's mother; mother's mother—ləla
 foam—sumlo
 fodder—ci-ciŋ
 fold (arms) (v.)—kuub-mo
 fold (cloth) (v.)—ba-mo
 fold (hands) (v.)—nep-tsu-mo
 foot—lige
 foot-hill—mini-dəŋ
 forbid (v.)—to-mo
 forehead—kwali
 forest—sero
 forget (v.)—lɛ-ci-mo
 fox—go-na
 fresh—hati
 frog—pələp
 frost—hrō-bə-ti
 fruit—lo, lo-əŋ
 full—tsobuŋ-nu
 father's younger brother—min-ba
 father's younger brother's wife—mim-nya
 father's younger sister—puni, cini
 father's younger sister's husband—pe-mã
 garden—saro, hre
 garlic—çəŋ-dum
 ghee—mər
 ginger—ciŋ-wəm
 girl—tsəmē
 give, offer (v.)—da-mo
 glacier—gəl
 gloves—lak-puŋ
 goat (bearable)—lasəŋ
 goat (male)—mã
 goat (virgin)—cəm-tsa
 goat—mala, məla
 god—bəgwan (IA)
 gold—jəŋ
 good—dzɛ-nu
 good smell—dzunu-basu
 goose—ka-tsuk-ta
 goose-berry—aŋ-khula
 gourd—kuənti
 gown (for married women)—cuŋ-bala
 go (v.)—de-mo
 grain-store—bujuum
 grass—tsi
 grate, grind (v.)—yi-mo
 gray (ash)—pha-nu
 graze (to cause) (v.)—hrō-mo
 graze (v.)—hrōk-mo
 green—tiŋ-nu
 ground—thəŋ
 gums—nil
 guts—rōk-səŋ, rōk-tsəŋ
 husband—hrithi
 hair—tshuum
 hammer—thuŋo, thən (IA)
 hand—la
 happy—gogu-ano

Introduction

hard—saro	ice—uwi-nogəl, wi-nogəl
hare—royoŋ	ill—kəŋnu hmi
hate (v.)—khi-jak-ce-mo	in front of—lakənti
have (v.)—tati	incisors—ləgən-di-si
he, she—o, uo, wo	increase (by stretching) (v.)—no-mo
head—piça	increase (liquid) (v.)—he-mo
headgear—cuŋ-lə	increase (v.)—po-mo
heal—khəpa	infant—balo-çyano
heart—çiçə	ink—çyai (IA)
hearth—meluŋ	insect—bu
hear (v.)—yən-mo	inside—budru
heaven—tho-lok	insult (v.)—phətita-ga-mo
heavy—li-nu	intestine—jyama
husband's brother—tse-tso	invite (v.)—wi-mo
husband's elder brother's wife—ata	iris of eye—mul-duun
height—dəŋro	iron—li-jəŋ
hell—nə-lok	iron-shaft—nəll
help (v.)—rək-ga-mo	jackal—syal (IA)
here—nədo, dəkhuŋ	jar—əŋkura
husband's elder sister—tsəmĕ	jaw—həl
husband's elder sister's husband—pu	joint—tshi
hesitate (v.)—lo-mo	jump (v.)—hləŋ-mo
hide (v.)—cya-mo	just now—it-təna-raçi
high—ahe-nu	keep, to put up (v.)—ta-mo
hill—minu-we	kettle—tibri (IA)
hips—omphə	key—taruum
hold (v.)—cim-lən-ta-mo	kidney—khə-dəŋ-se
hole—gədro	kill (v.)—se-mo
honey—hwa, hua	king—çya
horn—ru	kiss (v.)—ho-ga-mo
horse (female)—mə-hrəŋ	kite—cil (IA)
horse (male)—phə-hrəŋ	knead (v.)—puəl-mo
hot (like ginger)—na-no	knee—puk-to
hot—loŋ-ni	knit (v.)—rum-mo
hot (like chili)—ta-no	knot—khuci
hot-plate—təho,kəp-tso	know (v.)—pə-mo
house—cu	ladder—cəŋ-thəŋ
how—kum, gum, gərto	ladle (for liquid)—kyok
hum (v.)—pəŋ-çi-mo	ladle (for pulse)—bathi
hunt after (v.)—mā-çi-mo	ladle (for rice)—pənyĕ
husk—pu	lake, sea—cho
husk (v.)—duŋ-mo	lamb—kur-tso
hut—chana (IA)	language—lo
husband's younger brother's wife—hrin- çya	last year—tanu-yiŋ
husband's younger sister—dikte-çya	lay down (v.)—kap-çi-mo
husband's younger sister's husband—pu, nunu	leaf—pat (IA)
I (1sg pronoun)—ji, je	leak (v.)—çəŋ-mo
	leech—juŋa-bu
	leg—luŋe

lemon — cuku	mother — minã
lie — ala-nu	mother's elder brother — gukhe (if only one)
lie (v.) — a-la-mo	mother's elder brother (1st.) — pun-pua
life — che	mother's elder brother (last) — min-pua
lift (vt.) — æm-mo	mother's elder brother's wife — pun-puni
light (a lamp) (v.) — tɔ-mo	medicine — hne
light (fire) (v.) — hme-təb-mo	meet (v.) — chi-mo
light (in weight) — nɛŋ-nu	melt (vi.) — thi-mo
light (of moon) — lasəŋ	melt (vt.) — thi-çi-mo
light (of sun) — ni	memory — tsi-ramo
like that — idum	mercy (to have) (v.) — ɕo-kəŋ-mo
like this — nədum-ga	mother's elder sister — pum-nya
like (v.) — mən-ra-mo	mother's elder sister's husband — pun-ba
lion — wa	mica — cil-cil da-nu
lips — akpo, akple	middle size, in the middle, in between — gunda
listen (v.) — rəŋ-çi-mo	midnight — pəl-muŋ
liver — chiŋ-cha	milk (v.) — tshir-mo
live (v.) — təŋ-mo	mind — mən (IA)
lizard (house) — bẽ-ti	mine — ji-gɛ
lizard (wild) — caŋ-ko, jaŋ-go	mirror — ərsi (IA)
lizard (wild, big) — cəŋ-jəŋ-gɔ	molar teeth — gəm-so
lock — wəlcu	mole — suk-tsi
log — ɕiŋ-dala	molehill — gunta-thəŋ
loin — tsir, tsirr	money — jɔŋ-phuul
long for (v.) — ce-ra-mo	monkey — pãdro (IA)
long gown — jugo	moon — la-ɕəŋ
long shirt (for married women) — cuŋ-geju	morning — nam-chəŋ-ni
long, tall — buŋ-nu	mortar — pala
look after (v.) — uŋ-mo, so-mo	mosquito — mətshər (IA)
loose — hwəl-nu	moss (swamp) — nakəl
loud, loudly — hwɛ-the	mountain — u-we
loudly — dzor-su (IA)	mouse — pyu
louse (egg) — hruk-cɛ	mouth — a
louse — hri	move (v.) — ɕir-çi-mo
love (v.) — lɛnu-ga-mo	much — dɛlna
low voice — tar-su	mud — kəcar (IA)
lungs — lɔŋ-bər	mule — di
madly — cyo-numa	mushroom — mok-ɕya
maize — goga, koga	mother's younger brother — min-pua
male — phɔ	mother's younger brother's wife — min-puni
mango — amõ (IA)	mother's younger sister — mim-nya
manure — ləŋ-sək	mother's younger sister's husband — min-ba
many — cuŋ-na	nail — kil (IA)
marriage — baguca	nail — lak-ɕiŋ
marsh — dyu	name (to) (v.) — muŋ-ta-mo
meal — ja, jamo-tuŋmo	name — muŋ, hmuŋ
measure (grains) (v.) — pa-mo	
measure (v.) — nəŋ-mo	
meat — ɕya	

Introduction

narrow — jər-nu, ga-nu	peacock — mor (IA)
navel — pʊə	pebble — mini-nədəŋ-cən
near — ne-nəm	peel out (v.) — kho-mo
near — thɔ, dɔ	peg — tən-cɪŋ
nearly — uləŋ	pepper — wɔmna-mirci
neck — bəna	person — mi, hmi
needle — chəb	phlegm — hərthi
need (v.) — ciŋ-mo	pierce (v.) — jhəb-mo
nest — bəyəŋ	pig — suər (IA)
net — jali	pinch (v.) — cəpi-ci-mo
never — hul-pari	place — bəŋ
new — nu-nu	plant (v.) — do-mo
next year — jya	plaster (v.) — lʊb-mo
nipple — cɪmɛ-lo	plate (for female) — khuyəŋ
nod (v.) — o-ci-mo	plate (for male) — təli
noon — bən-muk-ca	play (v.) — tsa-mo
nose — nim	plough — kətəm, pəŋ-pho
nostrils — nim-toto	pluck (v.) — tho-mo, cha-mo
now — thən, thən-disi	poison — duo
nowhere — udiri-mini	porcupine — buo
nut (betel) — supari (IA)	post (pillar) — tsu-mu
nut (coco) — gola (IA)	potato — alo (IA)
obey (v.) — hruŋ-ci-mo	pound (v.) — dɔŋ-mo
obstruct (v.) — to-mo	pour out (v.) — phyam-mo
occupy (v.) — bəŋ-tsum-mo	pray (v.) — ŋa-ci-mo
often — gup-cya	precipice — syaŋ-we
oil — mər-ti	prepare (v.) — yaŋ-ci-mo
oil (v.) — ne-mo	price — molo (IA)
old — wiru	priest — pɛnu-mi, lama
on, in — yərto, yerto	protect (v.) — hruŋ-mo
onion — pyaju (IA)	pungent — nyəm-no
only — əllyə	push (v.) — dʊr-mo
open (chain) (v.) — phər-mo	python — təŋ-bu
open — kopho-cinu	quarrel (vi.) — hok-ci-mo
open (v.) — pho-mo	quarrel (v.) — ho-ci-mo
orange — naraŋki (IA)	quick — chət-chət
our — niŋ-go	quickly — jəd-jəd
paddy — ga	quilt — məkhʊŋ
paint (v.) — ci-mo	rabbit — phak-cya
pair — joŋ-su	rain — hmū
pajama — gɛju	rainy season — sɛl-chu
palm — phyala	raw (vegetable) — cilmu
parrot — tota (IA)	ready — gu-jɔk-su
part — tək-cu	read (v.) — lo-mo
pastel — thimd-la	rear (v.) — duŋ-mo
patella — puk-to-ro	rebuke (v.) — phya-mo
path — əm	red — məŋ-nu
paw — lak-pəŋ	refuse (v.) — mə-rɔŋ-mo
pay (v.) — jɔŋ-mo	regularly — jarna

reins — khəl-cu	son's daughter; daughter's daughter — khemē
relax (v.) — nē-çi-mo	search (v.) — ma-çi-mo
religion — dǎrm (IA)	season — ritu (IA)
reply (v.) — thǎ-mo	seed — pijē (IA)
report (v.) — tha-rē-mo	see (v.) — tǎm-mo
resin (of pine) — blis	sell (v.) — rǎŋ-mo
resin — lacya	send (v.) — pǎŋ-mo
return (v.) — thǎk-çi-mo	serve (food) (v.) — chēr-mo
ribs — hrup	set (sun) (v.) — hri-mo
rice (cooked) — chǎga	shake (v.) — hlo-mo
rice — pwtshum	shallow — hyunu-mini
ring — lak-chǎp	sharp — tsǎr-nu
rinse (v.) — phyǎŋ-mo	sheep (castrated) — bǎr-tsi
ripe (fruit) — muŋ-nu-lo	sheep (male) — kǎr-tsu
ripe (v.) — tse-mo	sheep (uncastrated) — gukǎr
river — yaŋ-ti	sheep — hma
rivulet — minu-ti	shirt — kheta
roast (in fire) (v.) — ro-mo	shoe — pǎla (IA)
roast (on fire) (v.) — ho-mo	shoot (v.) — sē-ga-mo
roasted barley — hami, ko-hoi-nu	short — pē-nu
roasted — khura-hini	shoulder — rǎŋ
rock — pǎnǎ-be	shout (v.) — yēr-mo
roll up (v.) — gim-mo	show (v.) — thē-mo
rolled — gigin-çinu	shrink (v.) — kuwp-çi-mo
roof — chyǎŋ-to	sister — tata
root — rum	sister's daughter — chē-çya
rose colour — chi	sister's son — chē
rotten — pǎk-çinu	sibling — hro-hrun-kǎn
rough — tǎrpe-nu	sickle — sikǎn
round — gǎndu	side (left) — kuǎn-cǎndu
rub (v.) — nē-mo	side (right) — ci-cǎndu
run (stealthily) (v.) — phuŋ-mo	silver — muul
run (v.) — gyo-mo	sing (v.) — bē-ra-ga-mo
rupee — rupyā (IA)	skin — bē
son; brother's son — çiri	skull — piça
sacrifice (v.) — bǎli-da-mo (IA, bAli)	sky — tuŋ-bu
saliva, spittle — khu-ti	sleep (v.) — ya-mo
salt — cha	slip (v.) — pē-mo
same — ituna	slope — çik-su-nǎ
sand — sak-sa	slow, slowly — tar-ta-su
save (v.) — nē-mo	small — mi-nu
say (v.) — hle-mo	smell — basu (IA)
scar — khǎtǎ	smell (v.) — nim-mo
scissors — tshum-ba	smoke — khu
scorpion — khuǎn	smooth — mǎ-tir-penu
scratch (utensils) (v.) — khwe-mo	sneeze — ji-mo
scratch (v.) — chǎ-mo	sneeze (v.) — je-mo
scrub (v.) — wor-mo	snot — hnǎp-ti

Introduction

snow — hro	sweet — chya-no
soak (v.) — cəŋ-mo	sweet — chya-nu
socks — bək-cu	son's wife's father; daughter's husband's father — tsɛ-tso
soft — na-nu	swim (v.) — bɔ-da-mo
soil — jɛnu-sa	swing (v.) — tshe-ɕi-mo
sole — luŋge-pəŋ	son' wife's mother; daughter's husband's mother — ata
son's wife — pi-mɛ̃, nəm-ɕya	sword — dəpya
some — əlipɛ, əlibɛ	tail — ləphu
sometimes — hulpa-hulpa	take (an oath) (v.) — yəm-ja-mo
sour — ɕir-no	take (one by one) (v.) — kyəŋ-mo
sow (v.) — yəb-mo	take out (v.) — po-mo
speak (v.) — pha-mo	take (v.) — kor-mo
spectacle — mug-təŋ	talk (v.) — kəŋ-the-ga-mo
spider — dən-dɔ-ka-li	taste (v.) — hmyaŋ-mo
spinach — paləŋ (IA)	tea — cya (IA)
spin (v.) — pəm-mo	tea (local) — mar-jya
split (wood) (v.) — khue-mo	teach (v.) — ləb-mo
spread (bed) (v.) — pəŋ-mo	tear (of eye) — me-ti
spread (seed) (v.) — tshər-mo	tear (v.) — pe-mo
spread (tent) (v.) — tsu-mo	tease (v.) — ge-ɕi-mo
spring out (v.) — wəm-mo	temple — hrəti
spring — po-lini	temple — ki-bəŋ
sprout — kəru	testicles — gul-thiŋ
squeeze, wring (v.) — ɕi-mo	tether (v.) — chiŋ-mo
son's son; daughter's son — khe	that — uo
stand (quite) (v.) — təŋ-yəb-mo	their — usi-go, uigo
stand up (v.) — hri-ca-mo	then — hum-ba
star — la-kər	then — yak-khər-ma
stealthily — hagu-mətɛ, hau-mətɛ	there (invisible) — tire-mətən
steal (v.) — khu-ɕi-mo	there (visible) — tire
stick — ɕiŋ	these — nədo-bɛr, neŋ-birna
stir (vegetable) (v.) — ko-mo	they (dual) — usi-nimi
stitch (torn clothes) (v.) — ruub-mo	they (pl.) — usi-birmi, uiber
stitch (v.) — phəm-mo	thick (liquid) — phe-nu
stop (v.) — to-ɕi-mo	thigh — cəŋ-cya
straight — təŋ-lan	thin (liquid) — thi-nu
straw — sa-pha, pu-pa	thin — la-nu
stream — mə-ti, muləti	this — nədu, nədo
strike (match) (v.) — tha-mo	thorn — cyu
string (for yak) — di	those — ui-bɛrna
strong — tar-nu	thread — phe
suck (v.) — tsɛb-mo	three days after tomorrow — pu-jya
sugar — cini	thresh (v.) — təb-mo
summer — loŋ-nu	throat — bəna
sun — ni	throw (v.) — tsəŋ-mo
supporting pillar — tak-sa	thumb — bo-la
suspect (v.) — lo-mə-de-mo	Tibet — byaŋ-ro, malo
swallow (v.) — ti-mo	
sweep (v.) — pok-sa-pe-mo	

- tie (v.)—gui-mo
 tiger—saŋ-wa
 tight—ga-nu
 till now—ita-wəna-su
 till then—khiǰɛg
 till then—ələŋ-wəna-su
 till what time—uma-wəna-su
 tobacco—tyəma
 today—thyã
 tomorrow—khəi
 tongue—jiphɛ (IA)
 tooth—su, so
 towards—doru
 tree—ciŋ
 tremble (v.)—duŋ-mo
 two days after tomorrow—ɕum-jya
 two days before yesterday—ta-jya
 uncover (v.)—pho-mo
 under—bero
 understand (v.)—tse-mo
 unhappy—mo-guano
 untie (v.)—phər-mo
 up—əhi-nu
 urine—chiru, dəmba
 use (v.)—ci-ji-mo
 usually—gubakte
 utensils—bənda-gunda
 uvula—tal
 valley—gata, tati
 verandah—bəŋ-ro
 village—səŋ
 vomit—ləŋ
 vomit (v.)—ləŋ-mo
 vulture—silɛ
 waist—tshur
 wall—pəŋ-phəl
 walnut—kha
 want (v.)—ciŋ-mo
 wash (clothes) (v.)—phɛl-mo
 wash (hands) (v.)—hla-ur-mo
 water—ti
 water-pot—phoŋ-lo
 we (pl. incl.)—niŋ-birmi
 we (pl.)—niŋ-nimi
 weak—mə-tər-nu
 wear (clothes) (v.)—cək-ci-mo
 wear (ornament) (v.)—çak-ci-mo
 weave (v.)—rəm-mo, rən-mo
 wife—buja-tsəmə, hrithi-çya
 wife's elder brother—tshe-tso
 wife's elder brother's wife—ata
 weep (v.)—te-mo
 wife's elder sister—tsɛ-mě
 west—re-nani
 wet (to get) (v.)—thi-mo
 wet—thi-nu
 wife or husband's father—pe-ma, powa
 what—khələ
 wheat—rəjɛ
 when—hul-ba
 where—udɛ-wudɛ
 white—ci-no
 who (pl.)—khəmi-jən
 who—khəmi
 whole—jəm-ma
 whom (pl.)—khəni-jən-gɛ
 whom—khəmi-go
 widow—rani-çyani
 widower—rado (IA)
 wind—hwi
 window—tewari (IA)
 winnow (v.)—mər-mo
 winter—gun-chu
 win (v.)—jitne (IA)
 wife's mother; husband's mother—puni
 wood—ciŋ
 work (v.)—lən-ga-mo
 worship (v.)—sɛ-tho-mo
 write (v.)—hri-mo
 wife's younger brother—tshe-əŋ
 wife's younger brother's wife—hrin-çya
 wife's younger sister—sali-çya (sali, IA)
 wife's younger sister's husband—tsər-bu,
 nunu
 yak (cross-bred)—dimo
 yak (male)—gəl
 yawn (v.)—hər-ga-mo
 younger brother—nunu
 younger brother's wife—nəm-çya
 year—bərdino
 yeast—bəlma
 yes—ō
 yesterday—niməŋ
 yoke—yəkəm
 you (dual)—gəni-nimi
 you (pl.)—gəni-birmi
 you (sg.)—gɛ
 young—junu (IA)

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your (pl.)—gəni-go

your (sg.)—təguna

younger sister's husband—cɛŋ-jo

younger sister—hrin-çya

A SKETCH OF CHAUDANGSI GRAMMAR

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1.0 Introduction

The geographical area where Chaudangsi is spoken starts from the village Pangu /pūngū/ and goes up to the village Zipti along the path which leads to Tibet in Dharchula Sub-division of Pithoragarh District of Uttar Pradesh. The whole area lies between the rivers Kali and Dhauli. During the summer months the route to Tibet is used by the pilgrims who visit the famous place known as Kailash-Manasarovar, a religious place of Hindus and Buddhists. The tribals of this area used to go to Tibet before 1962. There is a concrete-tar road up to Tawaghat and from there the people take the hilly tract. From Tawaghat to Pangu there is a jeepable road. Pangu is the first camp for the pilgrims. There are fourteen villages from Pangu to Jipti and the word for fourteen in Hindi and Kumauni is /cauda:h/ and so the area and the people are known by the name /caudaŋs/ or /caudā:s/. The village Pangu is around eight kilometers from Tawaghat via a hilly pathway (on foot) and twenty four kilometers via jeepable road.

The total population of Chaudangsi speakers has been estimated to be around 3,500 by the local village census records. However, the census reports give the total figures of scheduled tribes in the whole of district. The population consists of the scheduled tribes, who align themselves with Hindu caste names like Kshatriyas, Thakurs, Brahmins, Chertris and some scheduled castes.

As stated elsewhere, /raŋ/ is a cover term for the Chaudangs people and the language in this area. Chaudangsi is closer to Byangsi and Darma. Chaudangs learn Kumauni and Nepali, as they are in close contact with speakers of these languages. Hindi is learnt through education and other formal occasions in offices and in written communication. The people in this area had barter trade relations with Tibet which were disrupted by the Indo-Chinese conflict in 1962. Because of this, some older people have a working knowledge of Tibetan as well. Trade relations were again resumed in June 1992 with the signing of an Indo-Chinese agreement. The name of the trade centre is Nihurchu Mandi in Tibet.

The Chaudangs people mostly resemble the Aryan type in their physical features, though their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages. The Chaudangs may be of Aryan stock which migrated to this area long ago, or there may have been large scale intermixing with the Aryan population.

Most of the villages in the Chaudangs area are multi-ethnic and multi-lingual, and there the Chaudangs come in close contact with Kumauni and Nepali. Many a time Hindi is used for inter-group communication as it is the official language of administration and education. The increasing use of Kumauni and Hindi in various domains is reducing the native Chaudangsi to highly restricted domains of language use.

The data for this project were collected from two informants at Pangu Village and were further checked with two more informants who came from Simkhola, an upper Chaudangs village. The data constituted around 1200 words and a few hundred sentences, from simple statements to complex structures. As the informants were not educated in

English, the data were collected through the medium of Hindi and then English translations were given. Some of the data were also recorded on tape for further verification.

2.0 Phonology

Fourty consonant and ten vowel phonemes have been set up for Chaudangsi. The voiced aspirate consonants are mostly found in loan words from Indo-Aryan sources.

Table 1: The Consonant Phonemes of Chaudangsi

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:						
voiceless	p	t	T		k	
voiceless aspirated	ph	th	Th		kh	
voiced	b	d	D		g	
voiced aspirated	bh	dh	Dh		gh	
Affricates:						
voiceless		ts		c		
voiceless aspirated		tsh		ch		
voiced				j		
voiced aspirated				jh		
Fricatives:						
		s		ç		h
Nasals:						
plain	m	n	N		ŋ	
pre-aspirated	hm	hn				
Liquids:						
Lateral		l				
pre-asp. lateral		hl				
Trills:						
plain		r				
pre-aspirated		hr				
Flap						
		r				
Approximants:						
plain	w			y		
pre-aspirated	hw			hy		

Table 2: The Vowel Phonemes of Chaudangsi

Front	Central	Back	
		unrounded	rounded
i		u	u
ɪ			
e			o
	ə		
ɛ			ɔ
	a		

2.1 Occurrence of Phonemes

2.1.1 Vowels

- (i) /ɪ/ and /u/ occur in medial position only.
- (ii) /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ do not occur in initial position.
- (iii) All other vowels occur in all the positions.
- (iv) /i/ and /ɪ/ are established as distinct phonemes but they are found in free variation in some cases.
- (v) /i/ and /u/ are always longer in final position.

2.1.2. Consonants

- (i) No aspirate consonants except /kh/ occur in medial or final position in a word.
- (ii) The consonants /p t k, s, ʃ/, nasals and liquids occur finally.
- (iii) The retroflex nasal /N/ and the flap /ɾ/ do not occur initially.
- (iv) All other consonants occur in all positions, with the restrictions listed above.
- (v) The frequency of voiced aspirate sounds is very low and most of them are found in loan words from Indo-Aryan.
- (vi) The frequency of the retroflex consonants is also very low.
- (vii) The dental fricative /s/ is found in free variation with the palatal fricative /ç/ in the speech of some informants.
- (viii) Most of the final consonants are fully released.

2.2 Consonant contrasts

/p ph b bh/

/pe/	'knee'	/pu/	'husk'	/poə/	'roasted barley'
/pho/	'cave'	/phu/	'copper'	/phetə/	'thick'
/be/	'rock'	/buti/	'buttermilk'	/boə/	'porcupine'
/bhe/	'thread'	/bhu-the-mə/	'to roast'		

/t th d dh/

/ta/	'sister'	/te-mə/	'to weep, to tell a lie'
/to-mə/	'to buy'	/toŋ/	'trap'
/tha/	'spring (water)'	/the-mə/	'to change'
/tho/	'upwards'	/thuum/	'custom'
/da-mə/	'to give'	/delo/	'round'
/dup/	'poison'	/dumti/	'raw vegetable'
/duma/	'a few (things)'	/duli/	'stick'
/dhou-dhou/	'bravely'	/dharti/	'earth'

/T TH D DH/

/To-mə/	'to burn'	/TAm/	'last point'
/Tha-mə/	'to rub a matchstick'	/Thuum-mə/	'to dance'
/Tho-mə/	'to worship'	/Thungo/	'hammer'
/De/	'mule'	/Dumo/	'a male yak'
/Dharu/	'male' (or 'cat')	/Dhung-mə/	'to beat'
/Dhami/	'marriage'	/Dhuum-mə/	'to tremble'

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/k kh g gh/

/ka/	'crow'	/kundi/	'avalanche'
/kwa-mə/	'to boil, to cook'	/kwe-mə/	'to fell (tree)'
/kwəlen/	'animal's bell'	/kha/	'walnut'
/khala/	'a pit of water'	/khu/	'smoke'
/ga/	'paddy'	/gunda/	'middle'
/gimə/	'to swallow'	/gwəlcya/	'lock'
/ghukər/	'ram'	/ghaktə/	'tight'
/ghau/	'scar'		

/c ch j jh /

/ci/	'memory; ten'	/ce-mə/	'to burn'
/cəmə/	'to hold'	/cye-mə/	'to hesitate'
/cyo-mə/	'to last'	/che/	'fat, grease'
/chi/	'hate'	/chɛ/	'wife's younger brother'
/chi-mə/	'to meet'	/chənni/	'hut'
/chərtə/	'dry'	/chyo-mə/	'to break'
/je/	'I'	/jigə/	'my'
/jɛ/	'barley'	/jyodə/	'young'
/jhi-mə/	'to sneeze'	/jhɛmə/	'to bloom'
/jhyəŋ-mə/	'to run away'		

/ts tsh/

/tsi/	'grass'	/tsəmə/	'daughter'
/tse-mə/	'to bite'	/tsəri/	'intestine'
/tsom/	'tattoo marking'	/tshɪŋ/	'liver'
/tshəm/	'hair'	/tshər/	'lion'

/m hm n hn ŋ/

/mɛ/	'eye'	/muɪ/	'silver'
/hmɛ/	'paw, crack'	/hmin/	'name'
/nəm/	'rein'	/na-si-mə/	'to reconcile'
/hnim/	'smell, nose'	/hna-si-mə/	'to relax'
/hnəmbu/	'woolen cloth'		

/ŋ n m/

/khəŋ/	'a bite of food'	/rəŋ/	'arm'
/nəm/	'rein'	/əkhən/	'sickle'
/rəm/	'new settlement'	/khwərən/	'pigeon'
/rəŋ-mə/	'to sell'	/khwa-mə/	'to boil'
/khwərən/	'woman's eating bowl'	/ŋəmtə/	'strong'

/r hr l hl/

/rəm/	'new settlement'	/hrəm/	'breakfast'
/rəŋ/	'arm'	/hrəŋ/	'horse'
/ra-mə/	'to come'	/hra-mə/	'to be ashamed of'

/lən/	'only'	/re/	'setting of sun'
/hre/	'bane'	/roə/	'plank of wood'
/la/	'hand'	/hla/	'month'
/lok-si-mə/	'to climb up'	/hlok-si-mə/	'to teach'
/w hw y hy/			
/wur-mə/	'to bathe'	/hwur-mə/	'to smoke'
/wi/	'bow'	/hwi-mə/	'to call'
/wa/	'tiger'	/yər-mə/	'to cry'
/ya-mə/	'to sleep'	/hya-mə/	'to lie down'
/ye/	'kite'	/hye/	'sweet potato'

2.3 Vowel contrasts

Most of the vowel contrasts presented below are shown in medial and final position, as the frequency of initial vowels is very low.

Medial contrasts: /i ɪ u ʊ e ə o ε ɔ a/

/cim/	'pin prick'	/rim-mə/	'to write'
/cim/	'house'	/rim/	'arrow'
/sim/	'marsh'	/sem-mə/	'to drag'
/rum/	'root of a tree'	/tʊm/	'egg'
/budə/	'to carry on one's back'	/buɔdə/	'good'
/Thuŋo/	'hammer'	/Thuŋ/	'dance'
/suŋ/	'double, pair'	/soŋ/	'village'
/səŋ-mə/	'sit'	/khuli/	'nest'
/kholi/	'black-faced monkey'	/roktə/	'bleeding'
/ruktə/	'same'	/sal/	'teakwood tree'
/səl/	'coal'	/jhəŋ/	'gold'
/jhangko/	'wild lizard'		

Final contrasts: /i e ε ə a u o ɔ/

/di/	'string of the yoke'	/De/	'mule'
/hri-mə/	'to track'	/hre/	'bone'
/tsi/	'memory, grass'	/tse/	'joint'
/che/	'life'	/chɛ/	'fat (grease)'
/bɛ/	'skin'	/bidə-mə/	'to pierce through'
/budə-mə/	'to carry on one's back'	/pha/	'ash'
/ga/	'paddy'	/kha/	'walnut'
/phu/	'copper'	/ru/	'corner (inside a house)'
/pho/	'cave'	/tho/	'upwards'
/phɔ/	'male'	/rɔ/	'a type of basket'

2.4 Occurance of phonemes in various positions

2.4.1. Consonants

	Initial		Medial		Final
/p/	/pala/	'mortar'	/khəpa/	'cold, winter'	/phucəp/ 'rice'

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/ph/	/pha/	'ash'	/tiphakci/	'at once'	-----	
/b/	/buti/	'buttermilk'	/nəbu/	'cobra'	/səb/	'carpet'
/bh/	/bhəkər/	'copper bigul'	-----		-----	
/t/	/tete/	'grandfather'	/təta/	'co-wife'	/pat/	'leaf'
/th/	/thəŋmi/	'mother's brother'	/rithi/	'husband'	-----	
/d/	/duklaŋ/	'meal'	/podə/	'big'	-----	
/dh/	/dhou/	'bravery'	-----		-----	
/T/	/Təmə/	'to burn'	/cyoTo/	'blanket'	-----	
/Th/	/Thuŋo/	'hammer'	-----		-----	
/D/	/Delo/	'round'	/DāDi/	'yokebeam'	-----	
/Dh/	/Dhami/	'marriage'	-----		-----	
/k/	/kurtsə/	'lamb'	/hykəm/	'yoke'	/ak/	'mouth'
/kh/	/khuli/	'nest'	/əkhən/	'sickle'	-----	
/g/	/gul/	'phlegm'	/cuguli/	'armpit'	-----	
/gh/	/ghəga	'maize'	-----		-----	
/c/	/cuku/	'lemon'	/saco/	'empty'	-----	
/ch/	/cha/	'soft'	/achε/	'there (visible)'	-----	
/j/	/jε/	'barley'	/raju/	'valley'	-----	
/jh/	/jhugo/	'gown for a virgin'	/nəjhəŋ/	'iron'	-----	
/ts/	/tsəmə/	'girl'	/siptsi/	'comb'	-----	
/tsh/	/tshəm/	'hair'	-----		-----	
/m/	/mə/	'eye'	/dəmə/	'drum'	/wom/	'bear'
/hm/	/hmim/	'name'	-----		-----	
/n/	/ni/	'sun'	/nənu/	'yngr brother'	/thən/	'now'
/hn/	/hnis/	'seven'	-----		-----	
/ŋ/	/ŋəmtə/	'strong'	/nəŋ-mə/	'drive (animal)'	/thəŋ/	'beam'
/s/	/so/	'tooth'	/khwəsər/	'deer'	/pəs/	'blanket'
/ç/	/çičə/	'heart'	/pica/	'head'	/niç/	'two'
/h/	/hidi/	'this'	/məhər/	'heaven'	-----	
/r/	/rəjε/	'wheat'	/morəŋ/	'door'	/hrəcər/	'egg louse'
/hr/	/hrətə/	'clean'	-----		-----	
/l/	/ləre/	'before'	/pola/	'shoes'	/səl/	'coal'
/hl/	/hləŋg-mə/	'to play'	-----		-----	
/y/	/yaŋ-mə/	'to prepare'	/khuyəŋ/	'to rule'	-----	
/hy/	/hyε-mə/	'to pour'	-----		-----	
/w/	/wi/	'bow'	-----		-----	
/hw/	/hwur-mə/	'to smoke'	-----		-----	

2.4.2 Vowels

/i/	/in/	'we (exclusive)'	/sim/	'marsh'	/ti/	'water'
/i/	/iŋə/	'mine'	/sil/	'dew'	-----	
/e/	/e/	'vocative'	/Delo/	'round'	/re/	'field'
/ε/	-----		/sεl/	'rainy season'	/bε/	'skin'
/ə/	/əti/	'that'	/lən/	'only'	/ugə/	'his'
/a/	/ak/	'mouth'	/yadə/	'bad'	/sa/	'soil'
/u/	/usi/	'they'	/gul/	'phlegm'	/ləbu/	'butter'

/u/	-----		/tʊm/	'egg'	-----	
/o/	/o/	'he'	/pɔdə/	'big'	/tho/	'up'
/ɔ	-----		/tɔŋ/	'trap'	/pələ/	'frog'

2.5 Consonant clusters

The approximants /y/ and /w/ can occur as the second member of a cluster with most of the consonants which can occur initially. All other clusters occur only at the syllable boundaries of polysyllabic words. These include geminates, the most common of which being /pp/, /mm/, /tt/, /dd/, /nn/, /TT/, /cc/, /kk/, /rr/, /ll/; nasal + consonant, /mp/, /mb/, /md/, /nc/, /nts/, /nd/, /ŋb/, /ŋt/, /ND/; nasal + nasal, /nm/; and the clusters /pr/, /bl/, /kt/, /kd/, /kr/, /gd/, /lb/, /lD/, /lm/, /ml/, /lc/, /rt/, /rk/.

2.6 Vowel sequences:

The most common vowel sequences are the following:

/iə/, /ia/, /ie/, /ua/, /uo/, /uə/, /oə/, /əu/, /əi/

2.7 Syllable structure

Chaudangsi is basically a monosyllabic language. A word may contain two or more syllables, but every syllable which enters into a word generally will have its own meaning. The following syllable patterns have been recorded:

/V/, /VC/, /CVC/, /CCV/, /CCVC/, /NCC/, /CVCC/, /CVV/, /CVVC/

2.8 Phonological rules:

The following rules are found to operate when two or more syllables are combined:

- (i) If two or more phonetically long vowels occur in successive syllables, the first one is shortened.
- (ii) A voiceless consonant which is inter-vocalic or followed by a voiced consonant is invariably voiced.
- (iii) Consonants followed by back vowels are generally retracted.
- (iv) /hr/, /hl/, /hm/, /hn/, /hw/, and /hy/ are clearly pre-aspirated sounds, but in the speech of some informants these have been heard as the aspirated or voiceless sounds /rh/, /lh/, /mh/, /nh/, etc. respectively.
- (v) Chaudangsi has a kind of vowel harmony system which causes the vowels /i u/ to become /e o/ respectively under certain conditions.

3.0 Morphology

3.1 Nouns and the noun phrase

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Chaudangsi has two types of roots: (i) free nominal roots and (ii) bound roots. The nominal roots are personal nouns, proper nouns, mass nouns, and pronouns. The bound roots may be nouns or verbs depending on their position in the word or in a sentence and the suffixes they take. These may be even suffixes themselves. For example:

/thi/ 'wet' /yər/ 'shout'

/thi-mə/	'to get wet'	/yəɾ-mə/	'to shout (cry)'
/thi-tə/	'one who/which is wet'	/yəɾ-tə/	'the shout (noun)'

3.1.1 Gender

Chaudangsi has natural gender only; there is no grammatical gender. Natural differences in gender may be expressed by different words or the nouns representing animate referents may take a gender marker. Inanimate nouns do not take any gender marker.

Animates are further divided into (i) human and (ii) non-human classes on the basis of the kind of gender marker the nouns representing them can take. The gender markers used for the human feminine category are /-çya/ and /-mɛ/. For non-human nouns the masculine marker is /pho/ and the feminine marker is /-mo/. Following are examples of these gender markers:

/hrithi/	'husband'	/hrithi-çya/	'wife'
/byolo/	'groom'	/byoli-çya/	'bride'
/rãDo/	'widower'	/rãDi-çya/	'widow'
/khe/	'daughter's son'	/khu-mɛ/	'daughter's daughter'
/hrəŋ-pho/	'horse (male)'	/hrəŋ-mo/	'horse (female)'

3.1.2 The Diminutive

The diminutive is marked with the suffix /tsɛ/:

/hrəŋ-tɛ/	'young horse'
/kəɾ-tɛ/	'young sheep (male)'
/bhəɾ-tɛ/	'young sheep (female)'

3.1.3 Number

There are three numbers in Chaudangsi for animate referents, i.e., singular, dual and plural. The dual marker [ni] in [ni-mi] is a part of the numeral /nisa/ 'two', and /mi/ means 'person', whereas the plural marker /jəmma/ or /ləiri/ means - 'all' or 'group'. /jəmma/ appears to be a loan from Indo-Aryan which means 'add' or 'addition'. But in the case of verbal forms only the singular and plural distinctions are maintained. Examples:

/tsəmɛ/	'girl'
/tsəmɛ nimi/	'two girls'
/tsəmɛ jəmma/ or /tsəmɛ ləiri/	'all the girls'
/tsəmɛ deyɛ/	'the girl goes'
/tsəmɛ nimi denɛ/	'two girls go'
/tsəmɛ jəmma denɛ/	'all girls go'
/tsəmɛ ləiri denɛ/	'all girls go'

3.1.4 Quantifiers

jəmma	'all' (for things)
ləiri	'all' (for human beings)
mətə	'many' (for animates)
yəmba	'many' (for inanimates)

cyong	'much'
cyong mæng	'group'

3.1.5 Pronouns

3.1.5.1 Personal pronouns

In Chaudangsi there are three persons marked in the pronouns viz., first person, second person and third person. First person plural can further be divided into exclusive and inclusive (the inclusive-exclusive distinction is only made in the pronouns, and is not reflected in the verb). Some informants who are educated and have traveled widely do not maintain this distinction very clearly. It shows that the structure of this language is being influenced by other Indo-Aryan languages and English. The same is true of the dual and plural marking.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person			
Exclusive	ji, je	in nimi	in
Inclusive	----	----	in jəmma / in ləiri
Second person	gε	gəni nimi	gəni jəmma
Third person	o	uçi nimi / uçi nise khən	uçi jəmma / ətibəng

Examples:

/ji ja yε/	'I eat.'
/in nimi janε/	'we two eat.'
/in janε/	'we (excl.) eat.'
/in jəmma janε/	'we (incl.) eat.'
/in ləiri janε/	'we (incl.) eat.'

3.1.5.2 Possessive pronouns

[jigε ~ jigə]	'my / mine'	/oga/	'his'
/iŋgε/	'our'	/uçi nimi ga/	'their (dual)'
/nəga/	'your (sg)'	/uçi lei ga/	'their (plural)'
/gəni nimi gə/	'your (dual)'		
/gəni lei ga/	'your (plural)'		

The possessive/genitive marker is [-ga ~ -gε ~ -gə] which is suffixed to the pronoun in the case of first person singular and third person. The first person dual and plural do not always take the emphatic possessive marker and in the case of second person /gəni/ is the possessive/genitive pronoun for all the numbers. This marker is the same in Tibetan and Meitei as well. In my opinion this appears to be a loan from Indo-Aryan. Examples:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | /ji jigə jya tung yε/ | 'I drink my tea.' |
| (ii) | /in ləiri injya tung nε/ | 'We drink our tea.' |
| (iii) | /gε gəni jya tung ni/ | 'You drink your tea.' |
| (iv) | /o oga jya tung ni/ | 'He drinks his tea.' |

- (v) /ram ramga jya tung ni/ 'Ram drinks his tea.'

3.1.5.3 Demonstrative pronouns

hidi	'this'
hidi bəTTho mən	'these'
hichə	'here'
əti tən gəni	'that (visible)'
əti mətən gəni	'that (invisible)'
əti bəTTho mən	'those'
əchə	'there'

3.1.5.4 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns can be divided into two categories, i.e., interrogative forms based on the interrogative pronoun /khɛ/, and the interrogative pronoun of location /ulo/. Examples:

khɛ	'what'
khəmi	'who' (sg.)
khami-khami	'who' (pl.)
khəmi-ga	'whose'
khami-ja	'whom, whose'
kha	'why'
ulo	'where'

3.1.5.5 Relative pronouns and relative clauses

There are two forms for the relative clause, the native Tibeto-Burman form where a clause nominalized by /ta/ appears before the head noun (without a relative pronoun; exx. (i-iii) below), and Indo-Aryan-style post-head relative clause involving one of two relative pronouns, i.e. /jo/ or /jəi/ (exx. (iv-vii) below; actually, the relative clause not only follows the head noun in this construction, but also the verb of the main clause, giving a correlative structure similar to English *This is that boy, the one who came yesterday* for (iv)). /jo/ occurs with human subjects whereas /jəi/ occurs with non-human subjects. It appears that both of these relative pronouns are borrowed from Indo-Aryan, especially from Hindi *jo*, though there is no human/non-human distinction in the relative pronouns of Hindi. Examples:

- (i) /nyarə ra-ta siri/ 'the boy who came yesterday'
yesterday come-NOM boy
- (ii) /we-ər-sə cər-ta hrən/ 'the horse which fell from the mountain'
mountain-LOC-ABL fall-NOM horse
- (iii) /ji-sə de-ta məla/ 'the goat given by me'
I-AGT give-NOM goat

- (iv) /hidi əti siri hlɛ jo nyarə ra-s/
 this that boy is who yesterday come-PAST
 'He is the same boy who came yesterday.'
- (v) /ji əti mi hlɛ jogɛ gə-sə go chi yɛ-sə/
 I that person is who you-AGT bus in meet-PAST
 'I am the same person whom you met in the bus.'
- (vi) /hidi əti hrəŋ hlɛ jəi we-ər ɡuŋ-cə/
 this that horse is which mountain-LOC fall-PAST
 'It is the same horse which fell from the mountain.'
- (vii) /hidi əti məla hlɛ jəi jis-sə ɡɛ deyəŋɡɛ/
 this that goat is which I-AGT you give+FUT
 'It is the same goat which I will give to you.'

In this latter type, rather than appearing after the main clause, the relative clause can also appear before the main clause:

/jəi mi itan ra-sə əti ji-ɡɛ pe hlɛ/
 who person just.now come-PAST he I-GEN brother COPULA
 'The man who has come just now is my brother.'

It seems in at least some cases the verb in this structure can take the nominalizer of the native Tibeto-Burman structure:

/jəi -sə lən suŋ-ta əti ɡərib hlɛ mə-tər/
 who-AGT work do-NOM he poor COPULA not-able
 'One who works can not be poor.'

3.1.6 Case marking postpositions

In Chaudangsi there are no case inflections as in inflectional languages like Sanskrit and Greek. Case is expressed by independent markers. Some of them can be treated as postpositions as well, but if we take Fillmore's definition of case they are semantically relevant syntactic relationships involving nouns and the structures that contain them (Fillmore 1968, 1971). In this sense we may take these markers as case markers, and they are treated as such in this study.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Nominative | zero |
| 2. Agentive/Instrumental | /sə/ |
| 3. Accusative | zero |
| 4. Dative | [dəŋsi ~ dəŋci] |
| 5. Ablative | /sə/, /khərɕi/ |
| 6. Locative | [hyər ~ ər] 'at', /ja / 'in', /ɡunda/ 'in between' |
| 7. Genitive | [ɡɛ ~ ɡə] |
| 8. Comitative | /tebha/ 'with, along with' |

Examples:

1. Nominative:

(a) /ji pangū denε/
I Pangu go+FUT 'I will go to Pangu.'

(b) /siri jagəni/
boy eating 'The boy is eating.'

2. Agentive:

(a) /siri-sə dukləŋ jagəni/
boy-AGT food eating 'The boy is eating his food.'

(b) /sudha-sə lən suŋ-yε/
Sudha-AGT work do-NON.PAST 'Sudha works.'

3. Instrumental:

/tsəmē-gε-sə tapli-sə ɕya cε-yε/
girl-GEN-AGT knife-INST meat cut-NON.PAST 'The girls cut meat with a knife.'

4. Dative:

(a) /bəba-sə sən-məŋ-dəŋsi miThai hrε ra-si/
father-AGT child-pl.-DAT sweet bring come-perf.
'The father has brought sweets for the children.'

(b) /hidi khasəbasə sən-məŋ-dəŋci hlε/
this cloth child-pl.-DAT COPULA 'This cloth is for the children.'

5. Ablative:

(a) /siŋ-hyər-khərɕi patə bhər-ni/
tree-LOC-ABL leaf fall-NON.PAST 'A leaf falls from the tree.'

(b) /ji dharchula-khərɕi ra-yasa/
I Dharchula-from come-perf. 'I have come from Dharchula.'

6. Genitive:

(a) /o-sə ji-gə siri hlε/
he-AGT I-GEN son COPULA 'He is my son.'

(b) /o-sə ji-gə lən suŋ-yəŋ/
he-AGT I-GEN work do-FUT 'He will do my work.'

7. Locative:

(a) /Bhaga sing chim-ər Ti soŋ sidə əni/
Bhagat Singh house-LOC sit mood-NON.PAST
'Bhagat singh is sitting in (his) house.'

- (b) /banər cɪŋ-hyər Ti soŋ sidə əni/
 monkey tree-LOC sit mood-NON.PAST
 'The monkey is sitting on the tree.'

3.1.7 Noun modifiers

3.1.7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives and numerals occur before the head in a noun phrase. But in predicate constructions they occur after the nouns. In Chaudangsi [-tə ~ -də] is the most productive adjectival suffix, as has been observed from the data, but not all the adjectives have the /-tə, -də/ ending. It may be interesting to note here that in some cases the suffix [-tə ~ -də] is deleted when it is used in constructions before the noun. Examples:

/ya-də/	'bad'	/ya mi/	'bad person'
/buud-də/	'good'	/buud mi/	'good person'
/saro/	'hard'	/saro siŋ/	'hard wood'
/nəm-tə/	'strong'	/nəm mi/	'strong person'
/əkro/	'costly'	/hra-tə/	'clean'
/po-də/	'large'	/po-də ba/	'father's eldest brother' (cf. /bəba/ 'father')

Placement of adjectives in sentence constructions:

- (a) /səŋ-wa po-də wa hlɛ/ 'The lion is a big animal.'
 lion big wild COPULA

- (b) /we əŋsi-də hlɛ/ 'The mountain is high.'
 mountain high is

3.1.7.2 Numerals

The numeral system in this language is partly decimal, partly subtractive, partly additive. The numerals from 'one' to 'ten' are single morphemes, whereas 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are formed by conjoining the base of 'ten' ([ci ~ cye ~ chi ~ sa]) with the first syllable of the lower numerals as its suffix in an additive manner (i.e. 10+1; 10+2; etc.). The numerals 'twenty', 'thirty', 'fourty' and 'fifty' are 'two', 'three', 'four', and 'five' respectively, compounded with /sa/ 'ten'. 'Ninety' is formed from what appears to be 'half-less-hundred'. The numerals from 'twenty' to 'twenty nine' are formed by adding lower numerals to the base /nəssa/, but 'thirty-one' to 'thirty-nine' are formed from 'twenty' plus 'eleven', 'twenty' plus 'twelve', etc. In a similar way, 'fifty-one' to 'fifty-nine', 'seventy-one' to 'seventy-nine', and 'ninety-one' to 'ninety-nine' are formed from 'fourty' plus 'eleven', 'sixty' plus 'eleven', and 'eighty' plus 'eleven', etc. respectively. Some major formations are given below:

/tigə/	'one'	/nəssa tigə/	'twenty one'
/nis/	'two'	/nəssa nisɛ/	'twenty two'
/sum/	'three'	/nəssa sum/	'twenty three'
/pi/	'four'	/nəssa pi/	'twenty four'
/ŋəi/	'five'	/nəssa ŋəi/	'twenty five'
/Tuggo/	'six'	/nəssa Tugo/	'twenty six'

/hnis/	'seven'	/nəssa hnis/	'twenty seven'
/jyəd/	'eight'	/nəssa jyəd/	'twenty eight'
/gui/	'nine'	/nəssa gui/	'twenty nine'
/ci/	'ten'	/sum sa/	'thirty'
/cyəte/	'eleven'	/nəssa cyəte/	'thirty one'
/cyəne/	'twelve'	/pisa/	'forty'
/cyəs sum/	'thirteen'	/ṅasa/	'fifty'
/cyəppi/	'fourteen'	/pisa cyəte/	'fifty one'
/cyəbən/	'fifteen'	/Tuk cha/	'sixty'
/cyəTTo/	'sixteen'	/Tuk cha tigə/	'sixty one'
/cyənni/	'seventeen'	/pyəl jyɛc cha/	'seventy'
/cyəbjyɛ/	'eighteen'	/Tuk cha gə cyəte/	'seventy one'
/cyərgu/	'nineteen'	/jyəc cha/	'eighty'
/nəssa/	'twenty'	/jyəc cha tigə/	'eighty one'
/pyəlte sai/	'ninety'	/jyəc cha gə cyət/	'ninety one'
/səi/	'hundred'		

The numerals from '100' to '999' are formed by keeping /səi/ 'hundred' as the base and adding other numerals to it. Numerals from one 'thousand' up are loans from Indo-Aryan languages. For example, /həjar/ 'one thousand', /lakh/ 'one hundred thousand', and so on.

3.1.7.2.2 Ordinals

Chaudangsi does not have ordinals of its own but makes use of Hindi ordinals by adding the suffix /-go/ to them. The author could find only two ordinals from this language, which also appear to have been constructed as loan translations.

/ləcɛŋ ləre/	'the very first'
/əti imphəm/	'that behind him' (second)
/dusro go/	'second'
/tisro go/	'third'

3.1.7.2.3 Fractions

The fractions are mostly of the descriptive type, except for /pyɛl/ 'half'. Examples:

/pua/	'one fourth'
/pyɛl/	'half'
/po pyɛl/	'three fourths'
/pyɛl te nis/	'half less than two (one and a half)'
/pyɛl te sum/	'half less than three (two and a half)'

3.1.7.2.4 Multiplicatives

The multiplicatives are formed by adding the suffix /-co/ to the base numeral:

/ticco/	'once'	/nicco/	'twice'
/sumco/	'thrice'	/pico/	'four times'

It has been noted that some informants make use of this type of device to form ordinals but the majority of informants did not approve of it.

3.2 The verb and verb phrase

A verb root is one which can take tense, aspect, mood and number affixes. The verb in its infinitive form in Chaudangsi takes the suffix /-mə/ or /-mo/, such as in /hri-mə/ 'to teach', /the-mo/ 'to throw'. The verb declines according to person and number in Chaudangsi.

3.2.1 Tense and aspect

Chaudangsi has basically two tenses, i.e. past and non-past. The non-past can further be divided into the action taken or going on at the present moment, while the other is when the action is to be taken in the future. We may call them stative and intentive. We will give examples of the full paradigm of tense and aspect for the verb /ja-/ 'to eat'.

3.2.1.1 Non-past

The simple non-past forms combine person and number, but the system does not clearly mark person in most cases, as only 1sg has a unique form. First person non-singular, 2nd person singular, and third person non-singular all take /nɛ/, while 2nd person non-singular and 3rd person singular take /ni/.

First Person:

/ji ja-yɛ/	'I eat (1sg+ NON.PAST).'
/in nimi ja-nɛ/	'We two eat (1non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/in ja-nɛ/	'We (pl. excl.) eat (1non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/in ləiri ja-nɛ/	'We (pl.incl.) eat (1non-sg+ NON.PAST).'

Second Person:

/gɛ ja-nɛ/	'You (sg.) eat (2sg+ NON.PAST).'
/gəni nimi ja-ni/	'You (two) eat (2non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/gəni ləiri ja-ni/	'You (pl.) eat (2non-sg+ NON.PAST).'

Third Person:

/o ja-ni/	'He eats (3sg+ NON.PAST).'
/usi nimi ja-nɛ/	'They (two) eat (3non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/usi ləiri ja-nɛ/	'They (pl.) eat (3non-sg+ NON.PAST).'

Continuous : In the non-past continuous, the form /-g-ən/ is added between the verb and the non-past marker.

/ji ja-g-ən-yɛ/	'I am eating.'
/in nimi ja-g-ən-nɛ/	'We (two) are eating.'
/gɛ ja-g-ən-nɛ/	'You are eating.'
/o ja-g-ən-ni/	'He is eating.'
/usi ləi ja-g-ən-nɛ/	'They are eating.'

Present Perfect: In the present perfect, the prefix /kə-/ is added before the verb root, and the suffix /-d/ is added after the root. The verb formations do not change according to the person and number in the present perfect.

/ji kəjad	'I have eaten.'
/in kəjad/	'We (excl) have eaten.'
/gɛ kəjad/	'You have eaten.'
/o kəjad/	'He has eaten.'
/usi ləi kəjad/	'They have eaten.'

Intentive: In the intentive non-past, the suffix /-ŋ/ is added to the verb root, and the non-past markers, except in the case of the first and third person singular the forms of the non-singular markers are [gɛ] and [yəŋ] instead of [yɛ] and [ni], respectively.

/ji jəŋ gɛ /	'I will eat.'
/ni nimi jəŋ nɛ/	'We two will eat.'
/gɛ jəŋ nɛ/	'You (sg.) will eat.'
/gəni ləi jəŋ ni/	'You (pl.) will eat.'
/o jəŋ yəŋ/	'He will eat.'
/usi ləi jəŋ nɛ/	'They will eat.'

Intentive continuous: In the intentive continuous, the verb root takes the suffixes /-g-ni-yəŋ/ plus the non-past suffixes, except for 3sg, which does not take a non-past marker here.

/ji jagni yəŋ yɛ/	'I will be eating.'
/in jagni yəŋ nɛ/	'We (pl. excl.) will be eating.'
/gɛ jagni yəŋ nə/	'You (sg.) will be eating.'
/gəni ləi jagni yəŋ ni/	'You (pl.) will be eating.'
/o jagni yəŋ/	'He will be eating.'
/usi ləi jagni yəŋ nɛ/	'They will be eating.'

Intentive perfect: /kə-V-d-ni-yəŋ/ + NON.PAST

/ji kəjad ni yəŋ yɛ/	'I would have eaten.'
/in ləi kəjad ni yəŋ nɛ/	'We (excl.) would have eaten.'
/gəni ləi kəjad ni yəŋ ni/	'You (pl.) would have eaten.'
/o kəjad ni yəŋ/	'He would have eaten.'
/usi ləi kəjad ni yəŋ nɛ/	'They would have eaten.'

3.2.1.2 Past: [-s ~ -sə ~ -nɛs ~-nsa ~nisa]

Simple past (statement)

/ji jɛsə/	'I ate.'
/ni nimi jɛnɛs/	'We (two) ate.'
/gɛ jənsa/	'You ate.'
/gəni nimi jənisə/	'You (two) ate.'
/o jas/	'He ate.'
/usi nimi jənɛs	'They two ate.'
/usi ləi jənɛs/	'They (pl.) ate.'

Past Continuous: /V/ + /-g-ni/ + PAST

/ji jag niεs/	'I was eating.'
/ni jag ninεs/	'We (excl.) were eating.'
/gε jag ninsə/	'You were eating.'
/gəni ləi jag ninisə/	'You (pl.) were eating.'
/o jag nisə/	'He was eating.'
/usi ləi jag ninεs/	'They were eating.'

Past Perfect (Recent): /kə-/ + V + PAST

/ji kəjə yəs/	'I have (finished) eating.'
/in ləi kəjə nεs/	'We (pl.) have (finished) eating.'
/gε kəjə nəs/	'you (sg.) have finished eating.'
/gəni nimi kəjə nis/	'you two have (finished) eating.'
/o kəjas/	'he has finished eating.'
/usi ləi kəjə nεs	'they have (finished) eating.'

Past Perfect (Remote) : /kə-/ + V + /-d-ni/ + PAST

/ji kəjad ni εs/	'I had eaten.'
/in ləi kəjad ni nεs	'We (pl.) had eaten.'
/gε kəjad nin sə/	'You (sg.) had eaten.'
/gəni kəjad nini sə/	'You two had eaten.'
/o kəjad ni sə/	'He had eaten.'
/usi ləi kəjad ni nεs/	'They had eaten.'

Note: It has been observed that the final allomorphs [-sə ~ -sε ~ -əs] of the Pangu dialect as given in the above paradigms correspond with [nhε ~ nəhε] in the Sirkha and Sausa village dialects of Chaudangsi. Examples:

/ji kəjad ni nəhε/	'I had eaten.'
/ji jag ni nəhε/	'I was eating.'
/ji je nhε nəhε/	'I ate.'

3.2.1.3 Habitual: /ja-ja-ri/

The habitual in Chaudangsi is formed by inserting the form /ja-ja-ri-/, which literally means 'daily' or 'regularly', in between the subject and the predicate, e.g.

- (i) /ji ja-ja-ri hlok si yε/ 'I habitually read.'
- (ii) /o ja-ja-ri re ja de yε/ 'He habitually goes to the field.'

3.2.2 Mood

3.2.2.1 Imperative

As listed above under (3.2.1g, h, i, j), there are four types of imperative markers divided on the basis of order, request, benefactor, and prohibitive in this language. Some of their occurrences are given below.

(a) /-mə/

This is a general imperative form which is also the infinitive marker as well. This form occurs after /yəŋ/ 'action' when the subject is the beneficiary of the action, e.g.

(i) /gɛ ji-dəŋci dukləŋ hrɛ yəŋ mə/
you I-DAT food bring action IMP
'You bring food for me.'

(ii) /bəgɪca-khərɪci sio tho gɛ hrɛ yəŋ mə/
garden-ABL apple pluck you bring action IMP
'You bring an apple from the garden.'

(b) zero

The polite request marker is simply the bare verb root, e.g.

(i) /gɛ ja gəja/ 'You (please) eat.'

(ii) /ji kha da/ '(Please) give me a walnut.'

(c) /-ye/

This marker is for an order, e.g.

(i) /gɛ ja ye/ 'You eat!' (order)

(ii) /khudə cəm ye/ 'Catch the thief!'

(d) /-m/

This is the marker for the prohibitive, which is always preceded by /mə-/ (the negative marker) prefixed to the verb /da-mo/ 'give'. Examples:

(i) /khudə de mə-da-m/ 'Don't let the thief go!'
thief go NEG-give-NEGIMP

(ii) /o dukləŋ mə-da-m/ 'Don't give him food!'
he food NEG-give-NEGIMP

3.2.2.2 Declarative: [hlɛ ~ hlɛni]

This is a mood of simple statement without many suffixes, except the completive which occurs at the end or just after the main verb. The suffix in the present (copula) is /hlɛ/ or /hlɛni/.

(i) /we aŋsidə hlɛ/ 'The mountain is high.'

(ii) /we aŋsidə hlɛ ni/ 'The mountain is generally high.'

(iii) /hidi jigɛɪm hlɛ/ 'This is my house.'

(iv) /mal bətho əti hlɛjəi yami da phən thok ta/ 'The money is that which is good for the poor people.'

3.2.2.3 Abilitative: /tər/

The ability marker /tər/ occurs after the verb root and is followed by the markers of different tenses depending upon the construction in which it occurs. Examples:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (i) | /ji de tər yɛ/ | 'I can walk.' |
| (ii) | /sɛndə de tər ni/ | 'The child can walk.' |
| (iii) | /ji de tər təni sə/ | 'I was able to walk.' |
| (iv) | /o de tər tər yəŋ/ | 'He will be able to walk.' |

3.2.2.4 Obligative: /-m cin ni/

This type of mood is expressed in English by *should*, *must*, etc. but Chaudangsi /-cin/ is difficult to express in exact translation. For the time being we shall use 'should' as the equivalent of this marker. Examples:

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (i) | /ji dem cin ni/ | 'I should go.' |
| (ii) | /sita dem cin ni/ | 'Sita should go.' |
| (iii) | /gɛ dem cin ni/ | 'You should go.' |

But while expressing some desire or compulsion the marker /-m cin/ is followed by the usual tense markers.e.g.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (i) | /ji dem cinyɛ/ | 'I want (desire) to go.' |
| (ii) | /o dem cin ni/ | 'We want to go.' |
| (iii) | /gɛ dem cin nə/ | 'You want to go.' |

3.2.2.5 Interrogative: /la, khɛ/

The interrogative marker /la/ occurs at the end of a sentence. The other interrogative marker, /khɛ/, occurs at the beginning of the sentence. The latter appears to be a new loan from Indo-Aryan, especially Hindi, (the Hindi equivalent is *kya* 'what'). Both types of construction are found in Chaudangsi. Examples:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (ia) | /hida wa ri ra ni la/ | |
| | here tiger also come NON.PAST INTERROGATIVE | |
| | 'Does the tiger come here?' | |
| (ib) | /khɛ hida wa ri ra ni/ | |
| | INTERROGATIVE here tiger also come NON.PAST | |
| | 'Does the tiger also come here?' | |
| (iia) | /sirɛ-sə nũ da sə la/ | |
| | cow-AGT milk give PAST INTERROGATIVE | |
| | 'Did the cow give milk?' | |
| (iib) | /khɛ sirɛ-sə nũ da sə/ | |
| | INTERROGATIVE cow-AGT milk give PAST | |
| | 'Did the cow give milk?' | |

3.2.3 Negation: /mə-/

The negative marker in Chaudangsi occurs before the verb root. But when an obligative or abilitative /-cin/ or /-tər/ occurs in the construction, it is prefixed to the abilitative marker. For example:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) | /ji jya mə-tuŋ yɛ/ | 'I do not drink tea.' |
| (ii) | /o jya mə-tuŋ gəni/ | 'He does not drink tea.' |
| (iii) | /səndə de ma-tər ni/ | 'The child can not walk.' |
| (iv) | /ji dem mə-cin ni/ | 'I do not want to go.' |

3.2.4 Causatives

Causatives in Chaudangsi are formed by adding /phim/ to transitive verbs and /-k-ta/ to intransitive verbs ([kəta] after a consonant, [kta] after a vowel). All the affixes for aspect, tense and mood follow the causative marker, e.g.

Intransitive:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (i) | /syəndə hya ya kən/ | 'The child sleeps.' |
| (ia) | /məma səndə hyakta/ | 'The mother puts child to sleep.' |
| (ii) | /tsəmɛ yɛr yə kən/ | 'The girl cries.' |
| (iia) | /siri-sə tsəmɛ yɛr-kəta/ | 'The boy makes the girl cry.' |

Transitive:

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) | /o-sə ji libin da sə/ | 'He gave me a book.' |
| (ia) | /o-sə ji libin da phin sə/ | 'He got a book from someone.' |
| (ii) | /sudha-sə lən suŋ ta/ | 'Sudha does the work.' |
| (iia) | /sudha-sə dhəŋmi ja lən suŋ phin ta/ | 'Sudha causes the servant to work.' |
| (iii) | /o-sə ji ga dad hle/ | 'He will give me the paddy.' |
| (iiia) | /o-sə ji ga da phində hle/ | 'He will get me the paddy.' |

3.2.5 Reflexive/middle/reciprocal

The suffix /-ɕi/ is often added to transitive verbs to mark reflexives, middle voice, and reciprocals.

- | | | |
|--------|--------------|---|
| (i) | /wur-ɕi-mo/ | 'bathe (vi.; < wur-mo 'bathe (vt.)') |
| (ii) | /thi-ɕi-mo/ | 'melt (vi.; < thi-mo 'melt (vt.)') |
| (iii) | /cya-ɕi-mo/ | 'hide (self) (vi.; < cya-mo 'hide (vt.)') |
| (iv) | /phok-ɕi-mo/ | 'cover (self) (vi.)' |
| (v) | /dəo-ɕi-mo/ | 'awake (vi.)' |
| (vi) | /lo-ɕi-mo/ | 'shake (vi.; < lo-mo 'shake (vt.)') |
| (vii) | /cə-ɕi-mo/ | 'quarrel (vi.)' |
| (viii) | /dak-ɕi-mo/ | 'fight (vi.)' |
| (ix) | /dok-ɕi-mo/ | 'collide (vi.)' |

4.0 Adverbs

Adverbs usually precede the constituent they modify. The following adverbial types are noted in this language so far.

4.1 Modal Adverbs

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (i) | /amtorko/
/o amtorko hichε rani/ | 'usually' (a Hindi loan)
'He usually comes here.' |
| (ii) | /khaliməntə/
/o khaliməntə əchε deni/ | 'continuously'
'He continuously goes there.' |

4.2 Adverbs of time

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (i) | /thən/
/thən o de tərni/ | 'now'
'Now he can go.' |
| (ii) | /itte/
/ji itte gəra/ | 'just now'
'I have come just now.' |
| (iii) | /ti phakci/
/ti phakci ra/ | 'at once'
'Come at once.' |
| (iv) | /jya jyari/
/ji jya jyari re ja deye/ | 'daily'
'I go to the farm daily.' |
| (v) | /itta wa sa/
/o itta wa sa mə-ra/ | 'till now'
'Till now he has not come.' |

4.3 Adverbs of place:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (i) | /cənto/
/o dharcula cənto ra gəni/ | 'towards'
'He is going towards Dharchula.' |
| (ii) | /ləre/
/ji ləre de/ | 'before'
'Go before me.' |
| (iii) | /yoŋkəti/
/ji yoŋkəti ra/ | 'after'
'Come after me.' |
| (iv) | hwanəm/
/cina hwanəm hlε/ | 'far away'
'China is far away.' |

4.4 Adverbs of Manner

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (i) | /hina roktə/
/hina rokta suŋ/ | 'like this'
'do like this' |
| (ii) | /əna roktə/
/əna rokta suŋ/ | 'like that'
'do like that' |
| (iii) | /saro/
/saro pham/ | 'loudly'
'speak loudly' |
| (iv) | /dhou dhou/
/dhou dhou dak sima/ | 'bravely'
'fight bravely' |
| (v) | /chaTo/
/chaTo ja/ | 'quickly'
'eat quickly' |

5.0 Syntax

The basic word order in Chaudangsi is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). The subject may consist of a nominal head with one or more attributes, commonly called a noun phrase. The occurrence of the object in a sentence is optional. The verb complex might consist of a verb

root with or without tense-aspect-mood marking and the copula depending on the construction. Examples:

/siri deni/

'The boy goes.'

/podə siri deni/

'The big boy goes.'

/podə siri cim deni/

'The big boy goes to the house.'

/podə siri cim degəni/

'The big boy is going to the house.'

/podə siri ci tsəmɛ cim degənɛ/

'The big boy and the girl are going to the house.'

CHAUDANGSI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

əchɛ — there	bokyo (IA) — goat (uncastrated)
əhãmo — refuse (v.)	boŋ-tɕɛ — donkey
əjju — again	boŋci — hoe
əkhən — sickle	boTu — roots
əkra (IA) — costly	boə — porcupine
əlDua-hre — jaw	bruudi — frost
ələn-wa-sa — till then	buddi (IA) — brain
əm — path	buti — buttermilk
əŋ-si-də — high, height	byoli-ɕya — bride
əna-rok-tə — like that	byolo — bride-groom
əni — have (v.)	byomo — afraid of (v.)
əŋmo — lift (vt.)	byuk-kya-li — coward
əpi-suŋmo — occupy (v.)	bəba — father
əti-bəktə — then	bəgica (IA) — garden
əti-bəTTho-məŋ — those	bək-tsu — shoes (woolen)
əti-mətəŋ-gəni — that	bəlmo — yeast
ã — yes	bəlwa — sand
a-bəjamo — talk (v.)	bəŋ — cot
a-gəl — reins	bəŋ — place
a-thomo — open (mouth) (v.)	bəŋ-khər — morning
ak — mouth	bəŋ-phəl — wall
ak tshum, cyo tsim — beard	bəŋkhər — morning
ak-pli — lips	bərəs (IA) — year
ak-silti — saliva	bətək (IA) — duck
alu (IA) — potato	bud-də — good, happy
am (IA) — mango	bun-cim — granary
amtər-ko (IA) — usually	but-təmo — enjoy (v.)
bādər (IA) — monkey	bha — slope
balo (IA) — infant	bhata — ribs
bamo — fold (cloth) (v.)	bhe — thread
baŋ-səmo — spread (bed) (v.)	bhesi (IA) — buffalo
bana — neck	bhokro — throat
bas (IA) — fragrant	bhu-Thəmo — roast (in oil) (v.)
basi (IA) — stale	bhuŋtə — broad, long
bɛ — skin	bhuru — bush
bɛ — skin	bhənDo (IA) — utensils
be — rock	bhər-minchə — midnight
be-bəŋ — precipice	cəm-tsə — goat (female)
bɛgun (IA) — brinjal	cəmo — cut (grass) (v.)
bən-thuluk — headgear (for male)	cemo — burn (kindle) (v.)
bɛra-suŋmo — sing (v.)	cənto — towards
bin — bell of temple	cetə — cold (to get) (v.)
bitth-rəmo — split (milk) (v.)	ci — ten
bōt-cəmo — swim (v.)	cig-guab — shrink (v.)
bɔ-la — thumb	cil, pil-pai — post (pillar)

cimmo— want (v.)	chaTo— fast
cimo— blow (nose) (v.)	chaTo— quickly
cimo— squeeze (v.)	chaTo-cyṅ-chaTo— as soon as
cimo— wring (v.)	chε— fat, grease, life
cin-cin— rupee	chε-mε— wife or husband's sister
cini (IA)— sugar	chermo— serve (food) (v.)
cintā— need (v.)	chetta— ripe (fruit)
cip— fist	chilmo— wash (clothes) (v.)
cip-cēn— suck (v.)	chimmo— tether (v.)
ciramo (IA)— cut (with saw) (v.)	chimo— meet (v.)
cok-tshermo— dry (vi.)	chirbi— cheese
como— pierce (v.)	choṅ-kəlēn— cucumber
cuguli— armpit	choā— lake
cukti— headgear (for female)	chu-cimo— divide (v.)
cuku— lemon	chyak-ca— urine
cyamo— cover (something) (v.)	chyak-ta— sweet
cyamo— hide (something) (v.)	chyamo— break (thread, stick) (v.)
cyamo— soak (v.)	chyara-tsumo— spread (tent) (v.)
cyamo— uncover (v.)	chyermo— bring out (scoop) (v.)
cyamo— wet (to make) (v.)	chyomo— dye (v.)
cya-ḥi-mo— hide (self) (v.)	chyomo— scratch (v.)
cyemo— hesitate (v.)	chyāb— needle
cyo— chin	chyṅ-kuṅ— below
cyodā, nāmtā— fat	chyāpa— summer
cyomo— last	chāktā— sweet
cyuṅ— blouse	chānni (IA)— hut
cyābjyε— eighteen	chāntā— bright (light)
cyābān— fifteen	chārtā— dry
cyāne— twelve	chāru— straw
cyānni— seventeen	dak-ḥi-mo— fight (v.)
cyāppi— fourteen	damo— give (v.)
cyārgu— nineteen	damo— offer, pay (v.)
cyās-suṃ— thirteen	demo— go, leave (v.)
cyāte— eleven	dhou-dhou— bravely
cyāTTo— sixteen	dhārmā (IA)— religion
cā-ḥi-mo— quarrel (v.)	dhārti (IA)— earth
cākkyo— ladle (for liquids)	dimti— vegetables
cāmo— hold (v.)	dirmo— push (v.)
cāntā— sharp	dok-ḥi-mo— collide (v.)
cār-pya— cock	doṅ-tho— hole
cārgā— fall down (v.)	duk-laṅ— food, meal
cīm— house	duktā— pungent
cīm-yār-to— roof (lit.: 'on the house')	duli— stick
cukti— cap (male)	duma, cittā— a few
cha— salt	dumā— knead (v.)
chai— cat (female)	duo— poison
chai-Dhāu— cat (male)	dyār— floor
chaku— rice (cooked)	dām— garlic
chaṅgo— corpus	dāmē— drum

dən—belly	hi—flour
dəo-çi-mo—awake (v.)	hina roktə—like this
dərmo—protect (v.)	hichε—here
dəyen—two years after	hidi bəTTho-məŋ—these
dum-təla—pastel	hidi—this, it
Dā'i (IA)—yoke string	himo—grate, grind (v.)
De—mule	hiya—wife's elder sister's husband
Doŋ-Doŋ-kali—spider	hu-mē—face
Doŋ-her—verandah	huica-thirmo—invite (v.)
Doŋmo—help (v.)	hum-si-ne—echo
Dumo—yak (male)	həjar (IA)—one thousand
Dəlo—round	həlkti—mosquito
Dhami—marriage	həŋga—branch
Dhuŋmo—beat (v.), pound (v.)	həno—how
Dhummo—tremble (v.)	həpta (IA)—week
ga—paddy	iŋ-gε—our
gārə—another	in-jəmma, in-ləiri—we (all)
gε—you (sg.)	in-ni—we (two)
gimmo—roll up (v.)	itta-wa-sə—till now
gimo—swallow (v.)	ittano—lately
gin-si-də—rolled	itte—just now
gui—nine	jamo—eat (v.)
guimo—tie (v.)	jε (IA)—barley
gul—phlegm	jemo—fill (liquid) (v.)
gul-çi-mo—cough (v.)	jər-nəm—east
gun-cha—snow-fall	ji, je—I (1sg pronoun)
gun-dhak—middle size	ji-gε—my, mine
guru (IA)—molasses	jigu—time
gwəlcya—lock	jildə—clear
gəl—glacier	jimmo—burn (hand etc.) (v.)
gəl—yak (female)	jitə (IA)—win (v.)
gəm-su—molar tooth	joŋ—pair
gəmtə—tight-fit	joŋ-si-mə—beginning
gəŋ-thəŋ-mi—father's younger sister's husband	joŋka (IA)—leech
gəni jəmma, gəni ləiri—you (all)	juŋ-çi-mo—begin (v.)
gəni ləigε—your (pl.)	juŋmo—drown (animate) (v.)
gəni—you (pl.)	jya (IA)—tea
gəni-ni—you (two)	jya—day
gənmō—close (door) (v.)	jyodə—young
gəŋrə—next	jyu-jyəŋ—gown belt
gər-so—fang	jyəc-cha—eighty
gərmə—close	jyəc-cha-gui—eighty nine
ghaktə—right	jyəc-cha-gə cyəte—ninety one
ghoga—maize	jyəc-cha-gə-cirgu—ninety nine
ghəktə—narrow	jyəc-cha-gə-cyanni—ninety seven
ghəri (IA)—jar, pot	jyəc-cha-gə-cyəbjyε—ninety eight
ghəu, ghəw (IA)—scar	jyəc-cha-gə-cyəbən—ninety five
hasimo—complain (v.)	jyəc-cha-gə-cyəne—ninety two
	jyəc-cha-gə-cyəpi—ninety four

jyəc-cha-gə-cyəsuum—ninety three	kələk-chiri—sword
jyəc-cha-gə-cyəTTə—ninety six	kəmmo—close (eyes, mouth) (v.)
jyəc-cha-hnis—eighty seven	kən—ill
jyəc-cha-jyəd—eighty eight	kəntsə—bowl (for pulses)
jyəc-cha-nise—eighty two	kəpasu (IA)—cotton
jyəc-cha-ŋəi—eighty five	kərtsimo—lay down (vi.)
jyəc-cha-pi—eighty four	kəso (IA)—bell metal
jyəc-cha-suum—eighty three	kətigu-mətigu—harvest time
jyəc-cha-tigə—eighty one	kəyə-ruŋmo—obey (v.)
jyəc-cha-Tugo—eighty six	kha—walnut
jyəd—eight	kha-sya—kidney
jəbli (IA)—tongue	khadə—bitter
jəl—part	khadə—difficult
jəmma, ləiri—all	khali-məntə—continuously
jənmə (IA)—birth	khə—what
jəŋo (IA)—thigh	khə—son's son, daughter's son
jhaŋ-ko—lizard (wild)	khəgəni—cold (to feel cold) (v.)
jhelmo—bark (dog) (v.)	khəti (IA)—crop
jhəmmo—bloom (v.)	khilta—shirt
jhim—sneeze	khomo—peel out (v.)
jhimmo—sneeze (v.)	khoyəŋ—plate (for females)
jho—yak (cross-bred) (male)	khu—smoke
jho-mo—yak (cross-bred) (female)	khu-mē—daughter's daughter, son's daughter
jhugo—gown (for unmarried female)	khu-çi-go—stealthily
jhəŋ—gold	khuci—knot
ka—crow	khuli—nest
ka-jhoktə—ready	khumo—steal (v.)
kalo (IA)—death	khurə—mole
kaptə—tongs	khurmo—accept (v.)
kəla (IA)—banana	khwa—stream
kəmo—cut (tree) (v.)	khwəmo—dig (v.)
kolo-coŋmo—curse (v.)	khwəmo—scrub (v.)
koləŋ-luk-tse—calf	khwən—scorpion
komo—spread (grains) (v.)	khwəpa—heel
komə—stir (v.)	khwərən—pigeon
kur-tsa—lamb	khwəsər—deer
kwəmo—boil (cook) (v.)	khwətən—plough
kwəmo—break (tr. pots etc.) (v.)	khəja-guja—casually
kwəmo—chew (v.)	khəja-guja—often
kwələn—bell of animal	khəmi—who (sg.)
kwərmo—carry (v.)	khəmi-gə—whose
kwərmo—take (v.)	khəmi-ja—whom
kyo-rəktə—crooked (curved)	khəmi-khəmi—who (pl.)
kə-bhoktə—open	khəmmo—rinse (v.)
kəbində—full	khəmmo—take out (v.)
kəcar—mud	khəpa—winter
kədu—gourd	khərbuja (IA)—melon
kəj-juŋmo—drown (inanimate) (v.)	khəs-rəktə—rough
kəl-lo-çi-mo—forget (v.)	

khəse — pajamas	lətəktə — stinking
la — hand	luummo — wash (floor) (v.)
la-du — dough	hla — month, moon
la-məla — goat (male)	hla-chən — light (of moon)
la-yemo — send off (v.)	hle-çi-mo — climb down (v.)
lagotar (IA) — regularly	hle-si-tə — low
lak-puəm — clutch	hledə — yellow
lak-pəm — toe	hle-mo — bring down (v.)
lak-puəm — finger	hlök-çi-mo — read (v.)
lak-çin — nail	hləkər — sprout
lak-suŋ, lak-ko — gloves	hləŋmo — play (v.)
laŋ-gəni — fly (v.)	ma-nemo — node (v.)
lasəŋ — goat (bearable)	ma-nū — breast, nipple
lemo — say (v.)	makha (IA) — fly (insect)
libin — book	mamo — search (v.)
likε, ligε — foot	mē — eye
lim-pri — tail	mē məbət — blind
liŋε-mala — animal (domestic)	mē-lin — hearth
lintə — bowl	məhər — heaven
lisu — resin (of pine)	məla (IA) — dirt
lo — fruit	midə — short, small
lo — language	min-chə — night
lo-demo — trust (v.)	mit-tshuəm — eye brow, eye lashes
lo-lo-sə — nearly	mo-mal — family
lo-çi-mo — shake (vi.)	mök-çya — mushroom
lohla — bright moon fortnight	mələ (IA) — price
lök-çi-mo — climb up (v.)	mor (IA) — peacock
lomo — burn (vi.)	morəŋ — door
lomo — shake (vt.)	mya-hmya — daughter's husband
loŋmo — vomit (v.)	myaŋmo — taste (v.)
lotə — cheap, easy	myaŋtə — light (in weight)
lotə — heavy	myanə (IA) — scythe
luka, luga — cloth	mə-cəntə — blunt
luŋ — backbone	mə-gəmtə — loose-fit
luŋ-bər — lungs	mə-hratə — dirty
ləbu — butter	məci — tomorrow
ləcyəŋ — above	məi-kyamo — insult (v.)
ləge — leg	mək-kəm — eye lid
ləhma — priest	məla-tsuəm, tshuəm — wool
ləktə — thin (objects)	məma — mother
ləla — father's mother, mother's mother	mən (IA) — mind
ləmma — whole	mən-ramo — like (v.)
ləmmo — plaster (v.)	mənamo (IA) — celebrate (v.)
ləŋ — only	məŋdə — chili
lən-suŋmo — do (v.)	məŋdə — red
lən-thomo — reply (v.)	mər — clarified butter
ləŋmo — cross (by jumping) (v.)	mər-konti — temple
ləre — after	məsɯ — husband's younger brother
ləthəŋ — ladder	məsi (IA) — ink

mət-ti—tear	nəmin—autumn
məta (IA)—many (animate)	nəmtə—strong
mūl—silver	nəŋ-kho—next year
hmε—fire	nəŋmo—drive (cattle) (v.)
hmē—paw	nənu—younger brother
hmē, mhē—crack (in earth)	nəpyu—mouse
hmin-tamo—name (to give) (v.)	nəre—louse
hmōmo—fill (grain) (v.)	nəssa -nise—twenty two
hmyuktə—straight	nəssa—twenty
na-kəl—moss	nəssa-cirgu—thirty nine
nəna—wife's younger sister's husband	nəssa-cyəbjyε—thirty eight
naraŋgi (IA)—orange	nəssa-cyəbən—thirty five
nasa—fifty	nəssa-cyəne—thirty two
nεmo—oil (v.)	nəssa-cyənni—thirty seven
nεmo—rub (v.)	nəssa-cyəpi—thirty four
ni—sun	nəssa-cyəsuum—thirty three
ni—we (pl.excl.)	nəssa-cyəte—thirty one
ni-chən—light (of sun)	nəssa-cyəTTo—thirty six
ni-remo—set (sun) (v.)	nəssa-gui—twenty nine
ni-çi-mo—live (v.)	nəssa-hnis—twenty seven
nicchə—day	nəssa-jyəd—twenty eight
niero (IA)—near	nəssa-ŋəi—twenty five
nil—gums	nəssa-pi—twenty four
nin-jya—day after tomorrow, a	nəssa-stum—twenty three
niŋē-urmo—wash (animals) (v.)	nəssa-tigə—twenty one
nip-cimo—pray (v.)	nəssa-Tugo—twenty six
nip-çi-mo—hum (a tune) (v.)	nəyən—last year
niç—two	hna-çi-mo—relax (v.)
nomo—increase (stretch) (v.)	hnεp-ti—snot
nūdə—new	hnim—name
nu-chirmo—milk (v.)	hnim—nose
nu-so, so—incisors	hnim-Doŋ-Tho—nostrils
nuo-kuŋ—in front of	hnimmο—smell (v.)
nyā—fish	hnis—seven
nyarə—yesterday	hnoŋ-kərcə—ant
nyəmdə—taste	hnəŋmo—measure (v.)
nə-bu—cobra	hnəp-si-də—flexible
nə-gε[your (sg.)	o—he
nə-jhəŋ—iron	o-gε—his, her
nə-khui—dog	o-ləŋ-pa—when
nə-pya—bird	oŋga—compare (v.)
nə-pya-tsip-tse—chicken	oŋgə-somo—look after (v.)
nə-tsi—thorn	oŋmo—see (v.)
nəbu-nəba—insect	pa-sim—defense
ŋəi—five	pala—mortar
nəktə—soft	paliŋu (IA)—spinach
nəm—rain	pamo—measure (grains) (v.)
nəm-çya—son's wife	pan (IA)—betel leaf
nəm-çya—younger brother's wife	paŋ-dən—guts

- pat (IA)—leaf
pe—knee
pe-hre—patella
pemo—know (v.)
pemo—shoot (v.)
pemo—tear (v.)
pha—ash
pi—four
pi-jya—four days after
pijε—seek
piku (IA)—bed bug
pir—navel
pisa—forty
pisa-cibjya—fifty eight
pisa-cirgu—fifty nine
pisa-cyābān—fifty five
pisa-cyāne—fifty two
pisa-cyānni—fifty seven
pisa-cyāpi—fifty four
pisa-cyāsuum—fifty three
pisa-cyāte—fifty one
pisa-cyāTo—fifty six
pisa-gui—forty nine
pisa-hnis—forty seven
pisa-jyād—forty eight
pisa-nisε—forty two
pisa-ṅai—forty five
pisa-pi—forty four
pisa-suum—forty three
pisa-tiga—forty one
pisa-Tugo—forty six
pisak tshuum—braid
piça—head
pitəl (IA)—brass
piəlmo—split (wood) (v.)
po—roasted barley
po-ga—husband's elder brother
po-ga, chε—son's wife's father's daughter's
husband's father
po-gun, chε-mē—elder brother's wife
po-hmintā—ripe (v.)
po-hya—elder brother
po-ma—father's elder brother's wife
poda-ba, gunda-ba, mida-ba, sēnba—
father's younger brother
podā—big, large
poga, chε—wife's younger brother
pola—shoes
poli—water-pot
poṅ-ci-mo—spring (v.)
pətəl—sole
puṭhra—forehead
pu—husk
pu-ni—father's elder sister
pu-ni—father's younger sister
pu-ni—mother's brother's wife, wife's
mother, husband's mother
pu-themo—husk (v.)
pu-thəṅ—mother's elder brother
pu-thəṅ-mi—father's elder sister's husband
pyaj (IA)—onion
pyel-jyεc-cha-, Tukcha-ci—seventy
pyəl-te-sai—ninety
pæmo—sweep (v.)
pəgare—ankle
pəgwe—break (int. pots.) (v.)
pəj-jhyəṅ—extinguish (v.)
pəlo—frog
pəm-pu—moss (on the tree)
pəmmo—spin (v.)
pəpəl cya—calves
pərgān—bulge (v.)
pərtā-suṅmo—roll down (v.)
pəs, cyoto—blanket
pu-cya—skull
phadā—brown, gray
phamo—speak (v.)
phε-la—palm
phemo—spread (seed) (v.)
phetā—thick (liquid)
phi—rope
phi-ci-mo—hunt (v.)
phia—rabbit
phirmo—blow (wind) (v.)
pho—cave
pho-phya—animal (wild)
phok-ci-mo—cover (self) (v.)
phomo—open (door) (v.)
phoṅ-yu—supporting pillar
phoṅmo—run away (stealing) (v.)
phu—copper
phucəp—rice
phuli (IA)—flower
phəbla—dark moon fortnight
phələm—iron shaft
phər-chemo—bind (bundle) (v.)
phəreli-damo—fan (v.)
phərmo—open (knot) (v.)

phərmo—thrash (wool) (v.)	hrimo—teach (v.)
phərmo—untie (v.)	hro—snow
phurmo—drop (v.)	hrok-çi-mo—graze (v.)
rāDi (IA)—widow	hrumo—ask for (v.)
rāDo (IA)—widower	hracər—louse (egg)
raju—valley	hrək-sa—pebble
ramo—come (v.)	hrəŋ-mo—mare
rani (IA)—queen	hrəŋ-pho—horse
rap, hmē-rap—flame	hrəti—cheeks
rartsə—whisper	sa—soil
ratsε—ear	sāu (IA)—bull
re—field	saco—empty
re-nəm—west	sak-cimo—breathe (v.)
rim—arrow	samo—sacrifice (v.)
rimo—write (v.)	saro—hard
rin-çya—wife's younger brother's wife	saro—loudly
rithi-rithi-çya—couple	satho-suŋmo—accompany (with) (v.)
ro-hwəsimo—fast (v.)	sε—God
rok-çi-mo—comb (v.)	se-cimo—use (v.)
rom—roasted food	seb (IA)—apple
romo—roast (on fire) (v.)	səl—rainy season
rəŋ—shoulder	sεmo—increase (liquid) (v.)
ropεmo—plant (v.)	sεmo—kill (v.)
roə—plank	semo—drag (v.)
ru—corner	sεŋ-la—side (left)
ru—horn	sənci—father's younger brother's wife
rugən—two years ago	sənda, syəndə—child
ruk-cimo—chuckle (v.)	sepi-cemo—pinch (v.)
ruktə—same	sεr-cimo—believe (v.)
ruktə, ruksit—same	sεr-təm—south (left side)
ruŋ-çi-mo—hear, listen (v.)	sera—forest
rusu (IA)—anger	si-cimo—die (v.)
rəjε—wheat	sidə—rotten
rəl-siŋē—ox	sil—dew
rəmmo—knit (v.)	sim—mark
rəmmo—weave (v.)	sim-jya—three days after
rəŋ (IA)—colour	sime—chest
rəŋ—wing	siŋ-jyəŋ—creeper
rən—arm	siŋ-ko—bark of tree
rəŋ-pli—feather	sip-tsu—comb
rən-tə-nu—curd	sire—cow
rəŋmo—sell (v.)	siri—boy
rəŋə-semo—paint (v.)	siri—son, brother's son
rummo—stitch (v.)	sirtə—sour
hra-jya—day before yesterday	soŋmo—leak (v.)
hramo—ashamed of (v.)	sontə—fresh
hratə—clean	soTTə—beans
hre—bone	su, so—tooth
hrεmo—bring (v.)	sua (IA)—parrot

suŋmo—build (v.)
suŋær (IA)—pig
supari (IA)—betel nut
swo—fodder
syalo (IA)—fox
syomo—slip (v.)
syotamo—lie (to tell) (v.)
səi—hundred
səi-hyɛr-nise—hundred and two
səi-hyɛr-tigɛ—hundred and one
səju—slow
sək-çi-mo (IA *sək*)—suspect (v.)
səka—cloud
səkh—breath
səl—coal
səmpalo—foam
səŋ-wa—lion
səŋta—old
səntə—old (person)
səpəŋ—hell
səthan (IA)—temple
səThom-bəŋ—place of worship
sum—three
sum-sa—thirty
çi—blood
çi-çi—heart
çidə—white
çiŋ—firewood
çin—tree
çin-rəm—ginger
çoŋ-çi-mo—sit (v.)
çya—meat
çya-çi—relatives
çyoktə—smooth
ta-la—side (right)
tabmo, Dhugmo—thresh (grains) (v.)
tamo—keep (v.)
tamo—put up (v.)
tarəm—key
tela (IA)—oil
təmo—feel (v.)
temo—weep (v.)
tete—father's father, mother's father
ti—water
ti-phak-çi—at once
tibari (IA)—window
tigə—one
tik-bəŋmo—jump (over) (v.)
tilin—ice

tim-bu—sky
timbu-rəŋ (sky colour)—blue
timi—person
tində—green
tipri—kettle
tok-cimo—collapse (person) (v.)
tok-sin—peg
tomo—buy (v.)
tomo—forbid (v.)
tomo—light (v.)
tomo—obstruct (v.)
toŋ-çi-mo—fasten (v.)
toŋ-yəŋ—net
tuŋmo—drink (v.)
tyar (IA)—festival
tək-təm—north (right side)
təktə—hot
təli (IA)—plate (for males)
təmaku (IA)—tobacco
təmmo—hang (v.)
təŋ-bu—python
təni-çi-mo—swing (v.)
təŋmo—bury (v.)
təŋə-kwəre—carry (in hand) (v.)
tərmə—able (v.)
təta—sister, wife's father's brother's wife
təta, hrin-çya—son's wife's mother,
daughter's husband's mother
tuum—egg
tha—spring
themo—change (v.)
themo—throw (v.)
thīyā—today
thi-çi-mo—melt (vi.)
thimo—melt (vt.)
thimo—wet (to get) (v.)
thitə—thin (liquid)
thitə—wet
tho-cəntə—upwards
tho-cimo—beg (v.)
thok-çi-mo—return (v.)
thomo—pluck (v.)
thomo—worship (v.)
thomə—worship
thoŋmo—rear (v.)
thuru—colt (young horse)
thutə—weak
thə-sim-jya—three days before
thə-sun-mən—three years ago

thəm-sinmo—cut (into pieces) (v.)	tshuər—back
thəŋ—beam (wooden log)	tshuər—loin
thəŋ—ground	ulo—where
thəŋ-mi—mother's brother, wife's father, husband's father	urmo—wash (hands) (v.)
thəŋmo—cross (by walking) (v.)	usi jəmma, əti-bəŋ—they (all)
Tollya (IA)—deaf	usi—they (pl.)
Tommo—burn (fire) (v.)	usi-gε—their (pl.)
Tommo—open (eyes) (v.)	usi-ləigε—their (pl)
Tuggo—six	usi-ni migε—their (dual)
Tuk-cha—sixty	usi-ni, usi-nise—they (two)
Tuk-cha-gui—sixty nine	we—hill, mountain
Tuk-cha-hnis—sixty seven	wi—bow
Tuk-cha-jyəd—sixty eight	widə—old
Tuk-cha-nise—sixty two	wo-so—medicine
Tuk-cha-ŋəi—sixty five	wom—bear
Tuk-cha-pi—sixty four	wom-bəŋ—dark
Tuk-cha-suəm—sixty three	womdə—black
Tuk-cha-tigə—sixty one	wur, kunDi—avalanche
Tuk-cha-Tuggo—sixty six	wur-ci-mo—bathe (vi.)
Tukcha-gə -cyəTTo—seventy six	wurmo—bathe (vt.)
Tukcha-gə cyərgu—seventy nine	hwa—honey
Tukcha-gə-cyəbjyε—seventy eight	hwa-nim—bee
Tukcha-gə-cyəbən—seventy five	hwanəm—far
Tukcha-gə-cyəne—seventy two	hwε-mē—divorce
Tukcha-gə-cyənni—seventy seven	hwimo—call (v.)
Tukcha-gə-cyəpi—seventy four	hwurmo—smoke (v.)
Tukcha-gə-cyəsuum—seventy three	hwəltə—loose
Tukcha-gə-cyətə—seventy one	yadə—bad, unhappy
Təm—end	yadə-buiddə-lemo—accuse (v.), rebuke (v.)
Təmo—bind (join) (v.)	yamo—back bite (v.)
Thamo—strike (v.)	yamo—sleep (v.)
Thuŋo—hammer	yaŋ-pə—dusk
Thuum-ca-ru—custom	yaŋmo—prepare (v.)
Thuummo—dance (v.)	yaŋti—river
tse—elbow	yaŋti-thəm—bank of river
tse—joints	yat-təmo—hate (v.)
tsemo—bite (v.)	ye—kite
tsi—grass	yε-ca-məŋ—feast
tsi, tsi-ram—memory	yən—spring
tsi-ramo—long for (v.)	yermo—cry out (v.), shout (v.)
tsi-ramo—understand (v.)	yinŋo—hips
tsiri—intestines	yoŋ-kəl (used for dry things)—ladle
tsəmē—daughter, brother's daughter	yoŋkəti—before
tsəmē—girl	yu-cənto—downwards
tsummo—catch (v.)	yum-phən—behind
tɕiŋ—liver	yunŋo—buttocks
tshərmə—dry (vt.)	yutə, koŋtə—deep
tshuum—hair	

yutə-məni—shallow
yəbmo—stop (v.)
yək-ghwa—collapse (house) (v.)
yəmba—many (inanimate)
yəmmo—sow (v.)
yəmmo—stand up (v.)
yən-jamo—take (oath) (v.)
yərtə—loud
hya—king
hyamo—lay down (vt.)
hyεmo—pour out (v.)
hyəkəm—yoke
hyəlba—bamboo

ENGLISH-CHAUNDANGSI GLOSSARY

a few — duma, cittə	bed bug — piku (IA)
able (vt.) — tərmo	bee — hwa-nim
above — læcyəŋ	before — yonkəti
accept (vt.) — khurmo	beg (vt.) — tho-cimo
accompany (with) (vt.) — satho-suŋmo	begin (v.) — juŋ-ci-mo
accuse (vt.) — yadə-budə-lemo	beginning — jon-si-mə
afraid of (vt.) — byomo	behind — yum-phən
after — lære	believe (vt.) — sər-cimo
again — əjyu	bell metal — kəso (IA)
all — jəmma, læiri	bell of animal — kwələn
anger — rusu (IA)	bell of temple — bin
animal (domestic) — liŋɛ-mala	belly — dən
animal (wild) — pho-phya	below — chyəŋ-kuŋ
ankle — pəgare	betel leaf — pan (IA)
another — gārə	betel nut — supari (IA)
ant — hnoŋ-kərə	big, large — podə
apple — seb (IA)	bind (bundle) (vt.) — phər-chemo
arm — rən	bind (join) (vt.) — Təmo
armpit — cuguli	bird — nə-pya
arrow — rim	birth — jənmə (IA)
as soon as — chaTo-cyəŋ-chaTo	bite (vt.) — tsemo
ash — pha	bitter — khadə
ashamed of (vt.) — hramo	black — womdə
ask for (vt.) — hrumo	blanket — pəs, cyoto
at once — ti-phak-ci	blind — mē məbət
autumn — nəmin	blood — ci
avalanche — wur, kunDi	bloom (v.) — jhemmo
awake (v.) — dəo-ci-mo	blouse — cyuŋ
back bite (vt.) — yamo	blow (nose) (vt.) — cimo
back — tshur	blow (wind) (v.) — phirmo
backbone — luŋ	blue — timbu-rəŋ (sky colour)
bad — yadə	blunt — mə-cəntə
bamboo — hyəlba	boil (cook) (vt.) — kwemo
banana — kela (IA)	bone — hre
bank of river — yaŋti-thəm	book — libin
bark (dog) (v.) — jhelmo	bow — wi
bark of tree — siŋ-ko	bowl — lintə
barley — jɛ (IA)	bowl (for pulses) — kəntsə
bathe (vt.) — wurmo	boy — siri
bathe (with) (vt.) — wur-ci-mo	braid — pisak tshum
beam (wooden log) — thəŋ	brain — buddi (IA)
beans — soTTə	branch — həŋga
bear — wom	brass — pitəl (IA)
beard — ak tshum, cyo tsim	bravely — dhou-dhou
beat (vt.) — Dhuŋmo	break (pots) (v.) — pəgwe

break (thread, stick) (vt.)—chyamo	chili—məŋdə
break (pots, etc.) (vt.)—kwemo	chin—cyo
breast, nipple—ma-nū	chuckle (v.)—ruk-cimo
breath—səkh	clarified butter—mər
breathe (v.)—sak-cimo	clean—hratə
bride—byoli-çya	clear—jildə
bride-groom—byolo	climb down (v.)—hle-çi-mo
bright moon fortnight—lohla	climb up (v.)—lok-çi-mo
bright (light)—chəntə	close (door) (vt.)—gənmo
bring down (vt.)—hləmo	close (eyes, mouth) (vt.)—kəmmo
bring out (scoop) (vt.)—chyermo	close—gərmə
bring (vt.)—hrəmo	cloth—lukra, lugra
brinjal—bəgun (IA)	cloud—səka
broad, long—bhunṭə	clutch—lak-pum
brown, gray—phadə	coal—səl
buffalo—bhəsi (IA)	cobra—nə-bu
build (vt.)—suŋmo	cock—cər-pya
bulge (v.)—pərgən	cold (to get) (v.)—cetə
bull—sāru (IA)	cold (to feel cold) (v.)—khəgəni
burn (fire) (v.)—Tomo	collapse (house) (v.)—yək-ghwa
burn (hand etc.) (vt.)—jimmo	collapse (person) (v.)—tok-cimo
burn (kindle) (vt.)—cemo	collide (v.)—dok-çi-mo
burn (v.)—lomo	colour—rəŋ (IA)
bury (vt.)—təŋmo	colt (young horse)—thuru
bush—bhuru	comb—sip-tsui
butter—ləbu	comb (vt.)—rok-çi-mo
buttermilk—buti	come (v.)—ramo
buttocks—yungo	compare (vt.)—oŋga
buy (vt.)—tomo	complain (v.)—hasimo
calf—koləŋ-luk-tse	continuously—khali-məntə
call (vt.)—hwimo	copper—phu
calves—pəpəl çya	corner—ru
cap (male)—cukti	corpus—chanṅo
carry (in hand) (vt.)—təŋə-kwəre	costly—əkra (IA)
carry (vt.)—kwərmo	cot—bəŋ
casually—khəja-guja	cotton—kəpasu (IA)
cat (female)—chai	cough (v.)—gul-çi-mo
cat (male)—chai-Dharu	couple—rithi-rithi-çya
catch (vt.)—tsummo	cover (something) (vt.)—cyamo
cave—pho	cover (self) (v.)—phok-çi-mo
celebrate (v.)—mənamo (IA)	cow—sirə
change (v.)—themo	coward—byuk-kya-li
cheap, easy—lotə	crack (in earth)—hmě, mhě
cheeks—hrəti	creeper—siŋ-jyəŋ
cheese—chirbi	crooked (curved)—kyo-rəktə
chest—sime	crop—kheti (IA)
chew (vt.)—kwemo	cross (by jumping) (vt.)—ləŋmo
chicken—nə-pya-tsip-tse	cross (by walking) (vt.)—thəŋmo
child—sənda, syəndə	crow—ka

cry (v.)—yermo
 cucumber—choŋ-kələn
 curd—rən-tə-nu
 curse (vt.)—kolo-coŋmo
 custom—Thuum-ca-ru
 cut (tree) (vt.)—kemo
 cut (with saw) (vt.)—ciramō (IA)
 cut (grass) (vt.)—cemo
 cut (into pieces) (vt.)—thəm-sinmo
 dance (v.)—Thuummo
 dark moon fortnight—phəbla
 dark—wom-bəŋ
 day—jya
 day—nicchə
 day after tomorrow, —nin-jya
 day before yesterday, a—hra-jya
 deaf—Tollya (IA)
 death—kalo (IA)
 deep—yutə, koŋtə
 deer—khwəsər
 defense—pa-sim
 dew—sil
 die (v.)—si-cimo
 difficult—khadə
 dig (vt.)—khwəmo
 dirt—məla (IA)
 dirty—mə-hratə
 divide (vt.)—chu-cimo
 divorce—hwε-mē
 do (vt.)—lən-suŋmo
 dog—nə-khui
 donkey—boŋ-tse
 door—moroŋ
 dough—la-du
 downwards—yu-cənto
 drag (vt.)—semo
 drink (vt.)—tuŋmo
 drive (cattle) (vt.)—nəŋmo
 drop (vt.)—phurmo
 drown (animate) (v.)—juŋmo
 drown (inanimate) (v.)—kəj-juŋmo
 drum—dəmē
 dry (v.)—cok-tshərmo
 dry—chərtə
 dry (vt.)—tshərmo
 duck—bətək (IA)
 dusk—yaŋ-pə
 dye (vt.)—chyomo
 ear—ratse

earth—dhərti (IA)
 east—jēr-nəm
 eat (vt.)—jamo
 echo—hum-si-ne
 egg—tuum
 eight—jyəd
 eighteen—cyəbjyε
 eighty eight—jyəc-cha-jyəd
 eighty five—jyəc-cha-ŋəi
 eighty four—jyəc-cha-pi
 eighty—jyəc-cha
 eighty nine—jyəc-cha-gui
 eighty one—jyəc-cha-tigə
 eighty seven—jyəc-cha-hnis
 eighty six—jyəc-cha-Tugo
 eighty three—jyəc-cha-sum
 eighty two—jyəc-cha-nise
 elbow—tse
 eleven—cyəte
 empty—saco
 end—Təm
 enjoy (vt.)—but-təmo
 extinguish (vt.)—pəj-jhyəŋ
 eye brow—mit-tshuum
 eye lashes—mit-tshuum
 eye lid—mək-kəm
 eye—mē
 face—hu-mē
 fall down (v.)—cərgə
 family—mo-mal
 fan (vt.)—phəreli-damo
 fang—gər-so
 far—hwanəm
 fast—chaTo
 fast (v.)—ro-hwəsimo
 fasten (vt.)—toŋ-ci-mo
 fat—cyodə, nəmtə
 fat, grease, life—che
 feast—yε-ca-məŋ
 feather—rəŋ-pi
 feel (vt.)—təmo
 festival—tyar (IA)
 field—re
 fifteen—cyəbən
 fifty eight—pisa-cibjya
 fifty five—pisa-cyəbən
 fifty four—pisa-cyəpi
 fifty—nasa
 fifty nine—pisa-cirgu

fifty one—pisa-cyæte	full—kəbində
fifty seven—pisa-cyænni	garden—bəgica (IA)
fifty six—pisa-cyæTo	garlic—dəm
fifty three—pisa-cyæsum	ginger—çin-rəm
fifty two—pisa-cyæne	girl—tsəmẽ
fight (vt.)—dak-çi-mo	give (vt.)—damo
fill (grain) (vt.)—hmōmo	glacier—gəl
fill (liquid) (vt.)—jemo	gloves—lak-suŋ, lak-ko
finger—lak-pum	go, leave (v.)—demo
fire—hmε	goat (bearable)—lasəŋ
firewood—çiŋ	goat (female)—cəm-tsə
fish—nyã	goat (male)—la-məla
fist—cip	goat (uncastrated)—bokyo (IA)
five—ŋəi	God—sε
flame—rap, hmẽ-rap	gold—jhəŋ
flexible—hnəp-si-də	good—budə
floor—dyər	gourd—kədu
flour—hi	gown belt—jyu-jyəŋ
flower—phuli (IA)	gown—jhugo (for unmarried female)
fly (insect)—makha (IA)	granary—buŋ-cim
fly (v.)—laŋ-gəni	grass—tsi
foam—səmpalo	grate, grind (vt.)—himo
fodder—swo	graze (v.)—hrok-çi-mo
fold (cloth) (vt.)—bamo	green—tində
food, meal—duk-laŋ	ground—thəŋ
foot—likε, ligε	gums—nil
forbid (vt.)—tomo	guts—paŋ-dən
forehead—puθra	hair—tshum
forest—sera	hammer—Thuŋo
forget (vt.)—kəl-lo-çi-mo	hand—la
forty eight—pisa-jyəd	hang (vt.)—təmmo
forty five—pisa-ŋəi	happy—budə
forty four—pisa-pi	hard—saro
forty nine—pisa-gui	harvest time—kətigu-mətigu
forty one—pisa-tiga	hate (vt.)—yat-tεmo
forty—pisa	have (vt.)—əni
forty seven—pisa-hnis	he—o
forty six—pisa-Tugo	head—piça
forty three—pisa-sum	headgear (for female)—cukti
forty two—pisa-nisε	headgear (for male)—bən-thuluk
four days after—pi-jya	hear (vt.)—ruŋ-çi-mo
four—pi	heart—çi-çi
fourteen—cyəppi	hearth—mẽ-lin
fox—syalo (IA)	heaven—mεhər
fragrant—bas (IA)	heavy—lotə
fresh—sontə	heel—khwəpa
frog—pəlo	height—əŋ-sida
frost—bruudi	hell—səpəŋ
fruit—lo	help (vt.)—Doŋmo

here — hichə	kill (v.) — səmo
hesitate (v.) — cyəmo	king — hya
hide (self) (v.) — cya-çi-mo	kite — ye
hide (something) (vt.) — cyamo	knead (v.) — dumə
high — əŋ-si-də	knee — pe
hill, mountain — we	knit (v.) — rəmmo
hips — yiŋgo	knot — khuci
his, her — o-gɛ	know (v.) — pɛmo
hoe — boŋçi	ladder — ləthəŋ
hold (vt.) — cəmo	ladle — yoŋ-kəl (used for dry things)
hole — doŋ-tho	ladle (for liquids) — cəkkyo
honey — hwa	lake — choə
horn — ru	lamb — kur-tsa
horse — hrəŋ-pho	language — lo
hot — təktə	last — cyomo
house — cim	last year — nəyən
how — həno	lately — ittano
hum (a tune) (v.) — nip-çi-mo	lay down (vi.) — kərtsimo
hundred and one — səi-hyɛr-tigɛ	lay down (vt.) — hyamo
hundred and two — səi-hyɛr-nise	leaf — pat (IA)
hundred — səi	leak (v.) — soŋmo
hunt (v.) — phi-çi-mo	leech — joŋka (IA)
husk — pu	leg — ləge
husk (v.) — pu-themo	lemon — cuku
hut — chənni (IA)	lie (to tell) (v.) — syotamo
I (1sg pronoun) — ji, je	lift (vt.) — əŋmo
ice — tilin	light (in weight) — myaŋtə
ill — kən	light (of moon) — hla-chən
in front of — nuo-kuŋ	light (of sun) — ni-chən
incisors — nu-so, so	light (v.) — tomo
increase (liquid) (v.) — səmo	like that — əna-rək-tə
increase (stretch) (v.) — nomo	like this — hi-na-rək-tə
infant — balo (IA)	like (v.) — mən-ramo
ink — məsi (IA)	lion — səŋ-wa
insect — nəbu-nəba)	lips — ak-pli
insult (v.) — məi-kyamo	listen (v.) — ruŋ-çi-mo
intestines — tsiri	live (v.) — ni-çi-mo
invite (v.) — huica-thirmo	liver — tciŋ
iron — nə-jhəŋ	lizard (wild) — jhaŋ-ko
iron shaft — phələm	lock — gwəlcyə
jar, pot — ghəri (IA)	loin — tshur
jaw — əlDua-hre	long for (v.) — tsi-ramo
joints — tse	look after (v.) — oŋgə-somo
jump (over) (v.) — tik-bəŋmo	loose — hwəltə
just now — itte	loose-fit — mə-gəmtə
keep (v.) — tamo	loud — yərtə
kettle — tipri	loudly — saro
key — tarəm	louse (egg) — hrəcər
kidney — kha-sya	louse — nəre

low — hlɛ-si-tə	needle — chyəb
lungs — luŋ-bər	nest — khuli
maize — ghoga	net — toŋ-yəŋ
mango — am (IA)	new — nūdə
many (animate) — mətə (IA)	next — gəŋrə
many (inanimate) — yəmba	next year — nəŋ-kho
mare — hrəŋ-mo	night — min-chə
mark — sim	nine — gui
marriage — Dhami	nineteen — cyərgu
measure (grains) (v.) — pamo	ninety eight — jyəc-cha-gə-cyəbjyɛ
measure (v.) — hnəŋmo	ninety five — jyəc-cha-gə-cyəbən
meat — cya	ninety four — jyəc-cha-gə-cyəpi
medicine — wo-so	ninety nine — jyəc-cha-gə-cirgu
meet (v.) — chimo	ninety one — jyəc-cha-gə cyəte
melon — khərbuja (IA)	ninety — pyəl-te-səi
melt (vi.) — thi-çi-mo	ninety seven — jyəc-cha-gə-cyanni
melt (vt.) — thimo	ninety six — jyəc-cha-gə-cyətTo
memory — tsi, tsi-ram	ninety three — jyəc-cha-gə-cyəsuum
mid night — bhər-minchə	ninety two — jyəc-cha-gə-cyəne
middle size — gun-dhak	node (v.) — ma-nəmo
milk (v.) — nu-chirmo	north (right side) — tək-təm
mind — mən (IA)	nose — hnim
molar tooth — gəm-su	nostrils — hnim-Doŋ-Tho
molasses — guru (IA)	obey (v.) — kəyə-ruŋmo
mole — khure	obstruct (v.) — tomo
monkey — bādər (IA)	occupy (v.) — əpi-suŋmo
month — hla	offer, pay (v.) — damo
moon — hla	often — khəja-guja
morning — bəŋ-khər	oil — tela (IA)
morning — bəŋkhər	oil (v.) — nəmo
mortar — pala	old (person) — səntə
mosquito — həlkti	old — səŋta
moss — na-kəl	old — widə
moss (on the tree) — pəm-pu	one thousand — həjar (IA)
mouse — nəpyu	one — tigə
mouth — ak	onion — pyaj (IA)
mud — kəcar	only — ləŋ
mule — De	open (door) (v.) — phomo
mushroom — mok-cya	open (eyes) (v.) — Tomo
my, mine — ji-gɛ	open (knot) (v.) — phərho
nail — lak-çin	open (mouth) (v.) — a-thomo
name (to give) (v.) — hmin-tamo	open — kə-bhoktə
name — hnim	orange — naraŋgi (IA)
narrow — ghəktə	our — iŋ-gɛ
navel — pɪr	ox — rəl-siŋɛ
near — niero (IA)	paddy — ga
nearly — lo-lo-sə	paint (v.) — rəŋə-semo
neck — bana	pair — joŋ
need (v.) — cintə	pajamas — khəse

palm — phɛ-la	read (v.) — hlɔk-ɕi-mo
parrot — sua (IA)	ready — ka-jhɔktə
part — jəl	rear (v.) — thoŋmo
pastel — dum-təla	rebuke (v.) — yadə-budə-lemə
patella — pɛ-hre	red — məŋdə
path — əm	refuse (v.) — əhāmo
paw — hmɛ	regularly — lagotar (IA)
peacock — mor (IA)	rains — a-gəl
pebble — hrək-sa	relatives — ɕya-ɕi
peel out (v.) — khomo	relax (v.) — hna-ɕi-mo
peg — tok-sin	religion — dhərmə (IA)
person — timi	reply (v.) — lən-thomo
phlegm — gul	resin (of pine) — lisu
pierce (v.) — como	return (v.) — thok-ɕi-mo
pig — suŋər (IA)	ribs — bhata
pigeon — khwərən	rice (cooked) — chaku
pinch (v.) — sepi-cemo	rice — phucəp
place — bəŋ	right — ghaktə
place of worship — səThom-bəŋ	rinse (v.) — khəmmo
plank — roə	ripe (fruit) — chetta
plant (v.) — ropɛmo	ripe (v.) — po-hmintə
plaster (v.) — ləmmo	river — yaŋti
plate (for females) — khoyəŋ	roast (in oil) (v.) — bhu-Themo
plate (for males) — təli (IA)	roast (on fire) (v.) — romo
play (v.) — hləŋmo	roasted barley — po
plough — khwətən	roasted food — rom
pluck (v.) — thomo	rock — be
poison — duo	roll down (v.) — pərtə-suŋmo
porcupine — boə	roll up (v.) — gimmo
post (pillar) — cil, pil-pai	rolled — gin-si-də
potato — alu (IA)	roof — cim-yər-to (literally on the house)
pound (v.) — Dhuŋmo	roots — boTu
pour out (v.) — hyɛmo	rope — phi
pray (v.) — nip-cimo	rotten — sidə
precipice — be-bəŋ	rough — khəs-rəktə
prepare (v.) — yaŋmo	round — Dəlo
price — molə (IA)	rub (v.) — nɛmo
priest — ləhma	run away (stealing) (v.) — phoŋmo
protect (v.) — dərmo	rupee — cin-cin
pungent — dukta	sacrifice (v.) — samo
push (v.) — dirmo	saliva — ak-silti
put up (v.) — tamo	salt — cha
python — təŋ-bu	same — ruktə
quarrel (v.) — cə-ɕi-mo	same — ruktə, ruksit
queen — rani (IA)	sand — bəlwa
quickly — chaTo	say (v.) — lemo
rabbit — phia	scar — ghəu, ghəw (IA)
rain — nəm	scorpion — khwən
rainy season — səl	scratch (v.) — chyomo

scrub (v.)—khwemo	sixty three—Tuk-cha-sum
scythe—myanə (IA)	sixty—Tuk-cha
search (v.)—mamo	sixty two—Tuk-cha-nise
see (v.)—oŋmo	skin—bε
seek—pijε	skin—bε
sell (v.)—rəŋmo	skull—pu-ɕya
send off (v.)—la-yεmo	sky—tim-bu
serve (food) (v.)—chermo	sleep (v.)—yamo
set (sun) (v.)—ni-remo	slip (v.)—syomo
seven—hnis	slope—bha
seventeen—cyənni	slow—səju
seventy eight—Tukcha-gə-cyəbjyε	smell (v.)—hnimmo
seventy five—Tukcha-gə-cyəbən	smoke—khu
seventy four—Tukcha-gə-cyəpi	smoke (v.)—hwurmo
seventy nine—Tukcha-gə cyərgu	smooth—ɕyoktə
seventy one—Tukcha-gə-cyətε	sneeze—jhim
seventy—pyɛl-jyεc-cha-, Tukcha-ci	sneeze (v.)—jhimmo
seventy seven—Tukcha-gə-cyənni	snot—hnεp-ti
seventy six—Tukcha-gə -cyəTTə	snow—hro
seventy three—Tukcha-gə-cyəsuum	snow-fall—gun-cha
seventy two—Tukcha-gə-cyəne	soak (v.)—cyamo
shake (vi.)—lo-ɕi-mo	soft—nəktə
shake (vt.)—lomo	soil—sa
shallow—yutə-məni	sole—pətəl
sharp—cəntə	sour—sirtə
shirt—khilta	south (left side)—sεr-təm
shoes (woolen)—bək-tsuu	sow (v.)—yəmmo
shoes—pola	speak (v.)—phamo
shoot (v.)—pemo	spider—Doŋ-Doŋ-kali
short, small—midə	spin (v.)—pəmmo
shoulder—rəŋ	spinach—paliŋu (IA)
shout (v.)—yεrmo	split (milk) (v.)—bitth-rəmo
show (v.)—hwommo	split (wood) (v.)—piəlmo
shrink (v.)—cig-guub	spread (bed) (v.)—baŋ-səmo
sickle—əkhən	spread (grains) (v.)—komo
side (left)—sεŋ-la	spread (seed) (v.)—phemo
side (right)—ta-la	spread (tent) (v.)—chyara-tsumo
silver—mūl	spring—tha
sing (v.)—bəra-suŋmo	spring—yεn
sit (v.)—ɕoŋ-ɕi-mo	spring (v.)—poŋ-ɕi-mo
six—Tuggo	sprout—hləkər
sixteen—cyəTTə	squeeze (v.)—cimo
sixty eight—Tuk-cha-jyəd	stale—basi (IA)
sixty five—Tuk-cha-ŋəi	stand up (v.)—yəmmo
sixty four—Tuk-cha-pi	steal (v.)—khumo
sixty nine—Tuk-cha-gui	stealthily—khu-ɕi-go
sixty one—Tuk-cha-tigə	stick—duli
sixty seven—Tuk-cha-hnis	stinking—lətəktə
sixty six—Tuk-cha-Tugo	stir (v.)—komə

stitch (v.)—rummo	thirty eight—nəssa-cyəbjyε
stop (v.)—yəbmo	thirty five—nəssa-cyəbən
straight—hmyuktə	thirty four—nəssa-cyəpi
straw—chəru	thirty nine—nəssa-cirgu
stream—khwa	thirty one—nəssa-cyəte
strike (v.)—Thamo	thirty seven—nəssa-cyənni
strong—nəmtə	thirty six—nəssa-cyəTTo
suck (v.)—cip-cən	thirty—sum-sa
sugar—cini (IA)	thirty three—nəssa-cyəsuum
summer—chyəpa	thirty two—nəssa-cyəne
sun—ni	this, it—hidi
supporting pillar—phoŋ-yu	thorn—nə-tsi
suspect (v.)—sək-çi-mo (IA sAk)	those—əti-bəTTho-məŋ
swallow (v.)—gimo	thrash (grains) (v.)—tabmo, Dhugmo
sweep (v.)—pəemo	thrash (wool) (v.)—phərmo
sweet—chəktə ~ chyak-ta	thread—bhe
swim (v.)—böť-cəmo	three days after—sum-jya
swing (v.)—təni-çi-mo	three days before—thə-sum-jya
sword—kələk-chiri	three—sum
tail—lim-pri	three years ago—thə-sun-mən
take (oath) (v.)—yən-jamo	throat—bhokro
take out (v.)—khəmmo	throw (v.)—themo
take (v.)—kwərmo	thumb—bɔ-la
talk (v.)—a-bəjamo	tie (v.)—guimo
taste—nyəmdə	tight-fit—gəmtə
taste (v.)—myaŋmo	till now—itta-wa-sə
tea—jya (IA)	till then—ələn-wa-sa
teach (v.)—hrimo	time—jigu
tear—mət-ti	tobacco—təmaku (IA)
tear (v.)—pemo	today—thīyā
temple—mər-konti	toe—lak-pəm
temple—səthan (IA)	tomorrow—məci
ten—ci	tongs—kəptsə
tether (v.)—chimmo	tongue—jəbli (IA)
that—əti-mətəŋ-gəni	tooth—su, so
their (dual)—usi-ni migε	towards—cənto
their (pl)—usi-ləigε	tree—çin
their (pl.)—usi-gε	tremble (v.)—Dhummo
then—əti-bəktə	trust (v.)—lo-demo
there—əche	twelve—cyəne
these—hidi bəTTho-məŋ	twenty eight—nəssa-jyəd
they (all)—usi jəmma, əti-bəŋ	twenty five—nəssa-ŋəi
they (pl.)—usi	twenty four—nəssa-pi
they (two)—usi-ni, usi-nise	twenty—nəssa
thick (liquid)—phetə	twenty nine—nəssa-gui
thigh—jəŋo (IA)	twenty one—nəssa-tigə
thin (liquid)—thitə	twenty seven—nəssa-hnis
thin (objects)—ləktə	twenty six—nəssa-Tugo
thirteen—cyəs-sum	twenty three—nəssa-sum

twenty two—nəssa -nise	widower—rāDo (IA)
two—niç	win (v.)—jitə (IA)
two years after—døyen	window—tibari (IA)
two years ago—rugən	wing—rəŋ
uncover (v.)—cyamo	winter—khəpa
understand (v.)—tsi-ramo	wool—məla-tsum, tshum
unhappy—yadə	worship—thomə
untie (v.)—phərmo	worship (v.)—thomo
upwards—tho-cənto	wring (v.)—cimo
urine—chyak-ca	write (v.)—rimo
use (v.)—se-cimo	yak (cross-bred)—jho (male)
usually—amtor-ko (IA)	yak (female)—gəl
utensils—bhənDo (IA)	yak (male)—Dumo
valley—raju	yak (cross-bred)—jho-mo (female)
vegetables—dimti	year—bərəs (IA)
verandah—Doŋ-hər	yeast—bəlmo
vomit (v.)—loŋmo	yellow—hledə
wall—bəŋ-phəl	yes—ā
walnut—kha	yesterday—nyarə
want (v.)—cimmo	yoke—hyəkəm
wash (animals) (v.)—niŋĕ-urmo	yoke string—Dāri (IA)
wash (clothes) (v.)—chilmo	you (all)—gəni jəmma, gəni ləiri
wash (floor) (v.)—lummo	you (pl.)—gəni
wash (hands) (v.)—urmo	you (sg.)—gε
water—ti	you (two)—gəni-ni
water-pot—poli	young—jyodə
we (all)—in-jəmma, in-ləiri	your (pl.)—gəni ləigε
we (pl.excl.)—ni	your (sg.)—nə-gε
we (two)—in-ni	
weak—thutə	
weave (v.)—rəmmo	
week—həpta (IA)	
weep (v.)—temo	
west—re-nəm	
wet (to get) (v.)—thimo	
wet (to make) (v.)—cyamo	
wet—thitə	
what—khe	
wheat—rəjε	
when—o-ləŋ-pa	
where—ulo	
whisper—rartsə	
white—cidə	
who (sg.)—khəmi	
who (pl.)—khəmi-khəmi	
whole—ləmma	
whom—khəmi-ja	
whose—khəmi-gε	
widow—rāDi (IA)	

A SKETCH OF RAJI GRAMMAR

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Raji people

The Raji are a small tribe of roughly 496 souls spread over nine villages in Pithoragarh district of the Kumaon Himalayan region of Uttar-Pradesh state. They are also found in the bordering areas of Nepal. Raji villages are located mainly in forest areas and their biggest concentration is in the Sukhi Dang area of Champawat Tehsil. The total area on which the Raji villages are scattered is around 200 kilometers and is located at altitudes ranging from 3000 to 5000 feet. The Raji are one of the oldest ethnic groups in this region. They claim to be the descendants of the 'Rajya Kirata' community which is recorded in the *Warah Samhita*, one of the oldest scriptures of the Hindus. The Kiratas are said to be of the Indo-Mongoloid tribes and according to this thesis the Rajis are one of the Indo-Mongoloid tribes. Looking at the physical features of this tribe we do not find them to belong to this race. Rajis are short, dark brown or darkish people with small flat noses, small round faces and black curly hair. In their appearance they are more like Munda people than Mongoloid. According to their own legends they claim themselves to be the descendants of an Askot prince who voluntarily opted for jungle life because of his fascination for hunting and wandering. Askot is a small village on the way from Pithoragarh to Dharchula. In the past the Raji were nomadic, but now, due to the efforts of the state government, they have been rehabilitated and allotted cultivable land in several villages.

The Rajis are expert in wood craft, especially in carving wooden vessels out of logs. In earlier times they would go in the small hours of the night and put the vessels they had made outside the houses of well to do villagers and hide themselves in nearby bushes. When the house owner opened the door in the morning he would find a wooden vessel in front of the door. He would then take the vessel inside the house, and then put some grains (rice, maize etc.) outside the door and close it again. The Raji would come out of the bushes, collect the grains and disappear. On the basis of this kind of barter trade, the anthropologist D.N. Majumdar has given them the name 'the invisible traders'. This type of habit indicates that the Rajis are very shy people. The situation has since changed and there are a few Ashram type schools in and around Raji villages. The younger generations have started taking interest in literacy programmes and school education and as a result most of the boys and girls are attending these schools. They have even started taking up government and private jobs.

Other names for this tribe are Bana Raut, Bana Raji, Bana Manus, Raut, and Bhulla. This last name is the one by which the community calls itself. Grierson, in his Linguistic Survey of India (1909, Vol-III; part-I, page 530), followed the earlier name, Jangali, given to these people. However, most of the names given to this tribe by outsiders reflect association of the Raji with the forest. The name Raji has been coined for these people by the state government agencies, and has now been accepted by these people.

1.2 The Language

Grierson classified the Jangali (Raji) language in the Tibeto-Burman subfamily akin to the Nepal Himalayan subgroup (p. 530) on the basis of data received by him which was mixed with a large number of Indo-Aryan words. D.D. Sharma (1989) classified this language with the Munda group, most probably on extra-linguistic criterion, i.e. on the basis of the physical features of the Raji people.

The data for the present study were collected from a 26 year old of Khirduari village in the Sukhi Dang area of Champawat Tehsil who had been educated up to the high school level (ten years of schooling). The data were verified by some elderly people of the same area. The data show large scale lexical and grammatical borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages (especially Kumaoni, an Eastern Pahari language). We find that a number of kinship terms, verb-roots, numerals, and natural objects which are considered to be core vocabulary items have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Terms like /da/ 'brother', /di/ 'elder sister', /bhainya/ 'younger sister', /byawli/ 'bride' and many others are of Indo-Aryan origin. In the vocabulary list these are indicated with the abbreviation "(IA)". Raji has retained its original numerals from two to six, whereas the numeral one (/Dah/) seems to be of doubtful origin. We do find a large number of Tibeto-Burman vocabulary items, but some of the items are difficult to trace to Tibeto-Burman sources. Kinship terms like /ba/ 'father' /nhi-ya/ 'father's sister', /gani/ 'father's sister's husband' are of Tibeto-Burman origin, whereas terms like /i-ja/ 'mother', /me-te/ 'wife' seem to be of Dravidian origin. We have not addressed the question of the genetic affiliation of Raji other than to assume it is a Tibeto-Burman language.

Raji presents an interesting picture of loan blending at the word level as well as at the phrase level, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | bin- | ti- | kori | 'valley' |
| | without (IA) | water (TB) | depression (IA) | |
| (2) | nhi- | mila | | 'couple' |
| | two (TB) | combined (IA) | | |
| (3) | kui | bhukko | | '(The) dog is barking.' |
| | dog (TB) | bark (IA) | | |

The examples given above and many other such constructions show that the Raji language presents a very rich field for the study of the processes of language shift leading to language loss. If studied in depth by staying with these people for a longer period, one could understand how and in what spheres of language the shift takes place in a minor language in successive phases due to it being surrounded by speakers of a dominant language group.

2.0 Phonology

Raji has 33 consonants, three approximants and seven vowels in its inventory. All the vowels have nasal counterparts. All the vowels, if added together, will become 14 in number, but in this study nasalization has been considered as a supra-segmental feature, so we will assume there are only seven distinct vowel phonemes. Nasalization of the vowels can be sporadic, possibly due to the influence of Hindi or Kumaoni.

2.0.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:						
Voiceless	p	t	T		k	
Vcless Asp	ph	th	Th		kh	
Voiced	b	d	D		g	
Voiced Asp.	bh	dh	Dh		gh	
Affricates:						
Voiceless				c		
Vcless Asp				ch		
Voiced				j		
Voiced Asp				jh		
Fricatives:						
		s			ʃ	h
Nasals:						
plain	m	n	N		ŋ	
pre-aspirated	mh	nh				
Laterals:						
plain		l				
preaspirated		lh				
Trills						
plain			r			
preaspirated			rh			
Approximants:						
plain	w			y		
pre-asp. approx.				yh		

1.0.2 Vowels

i	u
e	o
ə	
ɛ	
a	

2.0.3 Supra segmental Nasalization [ã]

2.1 Occurrence of phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

1. Aspirated consonants do not occur finally.
2. Raji words generally end in a vowel. Though /b/, /T/, /D/, /c/, /k/, /g/, /ʃ/ occur in final position, their frequency in this position is very low.
3. The phonemes /rh/ and /yh/ occur only in initial position.

4. The phonemes /N/, /ŋ/ and /w/ do not occur initially. Though /N/ has been established as a separate phoneme, it is found only in loan words from Kumaoni. In most cases it occurs as a homorganic nasal before the retroflex consonants.

5. The phonemes /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /yh/ do not occur in medial position.

6. /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /lh/, /yh/ are established as monophonemes on the basis of aural perception; no instrumental test was conducted to establish their monophonemic status. They are found to be equal to the aspirated stops and they contrast with their unaspirated counterparts. In words like /kɛl-ho/ 'near', /tol-hairya/ 'brown' etc., the /lh/ has been treated as a consonant cluster.

7. /D/ has an allophone, i.e. flap [ɾ], which occurs in inter vocalic and final positions, as in the case of Hindi.

8. /y/ and /w/ also occur as glides in between two vowels as follows: /y/ in between the front close vowels /i, e/ and an open vowel; /w/ in between the back close vowels /u, o/ and an open vowel.

9. /s/ has another allophone, i.e. palatal [ç], which occurs before the close front vowel /i/ and the semivowel /y/.

10. All the nasal consonants become homorganic before their oral counterparts though they occur independently, as shown in the examples given for their occurrence. Only /m/ can occur in all environments.

11. A voiceless stop becomes voiced intervocalically at a morpheme boundary. If the voiceless stop is aspirated, it loses the aspiration at this position.

Examples:

	<u>Initial</u>		<u>Medial</u>		<u>Final</u>	
/p/	pati	'arm'	hapar	'brave'	--	--
	piThu	'flour'	hapurə	'thin'	--	--
/ph/	phuləŋ	'flower'	saphə	'clean'	--	--
	phəri	'manure'	sirphə	'only'	--	--
/b/	binti	'without water'	bəbbər	'flat'	təb	'then'
	bāN	'arrow'	jibari	'coward'	əb	'now'
/bh/	bha	'ankle'	kəbhai	'when'	--	--
	bhuDə	'bush'	--	--	--	--
/t/	ti	'water, rain'	pətera	'braid'	--	--
	tallə	'lake'	ceta	'after'	--	--
/th/	thapi	'to carry (on head)'	--	--	--	--
	thyu	'sweet'	--	--	--	--
/d/	darə	'fang'	giddə	'neck'	--	--
	daru	'rice'	sidu	'straight'	--	--
/dh/	dherə	'door'	dudhəŋ	'milk'	--	--
	dhuli	'ash'	jodha	'shoe'	--	--
/T/	Toka	'bear'	kaTo	'bull'	əkhroT	'walnut'
	Tokənya	'black'	khəTɛ	'tight'	--	--
/Th/	Thepɛ	'dark'	piThu	'flour'	--	--
	ThəTTa	'up'	kaThəŋ	'firewood'	--	--
/D/	Daha	'hot'	haDəŋ	'bone'	daD	'beard'

	Dola	'bad'	gɛDi	'field'	bheD	'sheep'
/Dh/	Dhiŋ	'one and a half'	buDha	'old man'	--	--
	Dhəuwe	'To fall down'	--	--	--	--
/c/	ceta	'after'	hace	'to tear'	--	--
	cyuTTi	'hasty'	kəcar	'mud'	--	--
/ch/	chati	'chest'	nəche	'person (male)'	--	--
	chinkya	'sneeze'	--	--	--	--
/j/	jū	'cold season'	nəjik	'near'	--	--
	jeThu	'wife's elder brother'	bhujo	'gourd'	--	--
/jh/	jhī-yē	'to get wet'	jijharo	'priest'	--	--
	jhaD-	'to sweep'	--	--	--	--
/k/	kaNa	'blind'	mhike	'eye'	jak	'meal'
	kəi	'to bite'	χuka	'to cough'	nərək	'hell'
/kh/	kha	'bitter'	ukha	'vomit'	--	--
	khuri	'stream'	əkhroT	'walnut'	--	--
/g/	gaDa	'temple'	ghoga	'maize'	dimag	'brain'
	ginta	'before'	agaχ	'sky'	--	--
/gh/	ghaχri	'grass'	ugha	'cave'	--	--
	ghə-	'to send'	ughaw	'nostrils'	--	--
/m/	mənlə	'to buy'	təmaku	'tobacco'	dəm	'price'
	māssi	'porcupine'	pham	'memory'	--	--
/mh/	mhē	'fire'	--	--	--	--
	mhīke	'eye'	--	--	--	--
/n/	nao	'house'	siŋe	'ripe'	bhəgwan	'god'
	neli	'to cover (self)'	nəoni	'butter'	dhən	'money'
/nh/	nhīlyā	'to swallow'	--	--	--	--
	nhīyā	'couple'	--	--	--	--
/N/	raNīuwa	'widower'	baN	'arrow'	--	--
/ŋ/	--	--	bāŋā	'face'	dyu'ŋ	'day'
	--	--	--	--	mhāŋ	'crooked'
/s/	sigan	'to blow nose'	bhāisi	'buffallo'	bās	'bamboo'
	sura	'begining'	hətasi	'saw'	dhənəs	'bow'
/χ/	χui	'blood'	baχo	'calf (of cow)'	comax	'rainy season'
	χenə	'foot-hill'	deχə	'earth'	riχ	'anger'
/h/	hui	'whom'	behe	'guava'	loh	'iron'
	hoŋ	'to catch'	māhā	'salt'	--	--
/l/	lau	'to come'	paləg	'spinach'	əttəl	'just now'
	lesəni	'garlic'	sile	'to scrub'	kəpal	'forehead'
/lh/	lhaike	'to sing'	ha-lhu	'to bathe'	--	--
/r/	raNiə	'widow'	guru	'elbow'	kəmbər	'waist'
	rəttə	'early morning'	byar	'yesterday'	mor	'peacock'
/rh/	rhu	'to climb down'	--	--	--	--
	rhape	'to swim'	--	--	--	--
/w/	--	--	buwari	'son's wife'	naw/nao	'house'
	--	--	χəwtē	'co-wife'	bhaw	'foot'
/y/	yakə	'to lift'	gayəre	'night'	--	--

	--	--	pəyə	'son'	--	--
/yh/	yhəkε	'to grate'	--	--	--	--
	yhāku	'to knead'	--	--	--	--

2.1.2 Vowels

1. All vowels occur in all the positions except /e/ and /ε/, which do not occur in initial position.

2. All oral vowels have nasal counterparts irrespective of their proximity to nasal consonants.

3. The frequency of occurrence of /o/ in initial position is very low. We have found only one example of its occurrence in initial position, in a loan word.

4. /i/, /u/, and /o/ have two allophones each, [i]-[ɪ]; [u]-[ʊ] and [o]-[ɔ], which are qualitatively and quantitatively different from each other, depending on the environment in which they occur, according to the phonotactic rules of the language.

5. /w/ is in free variation with /o/ in intervocalic and final positions, but perceptually they can be distinguished. Examples:

	<u>Initial</u>		<u>Medial</u>		<u>Final</u>	
/i/	itə	'to grind'	riχ	'anger'	gəlli	'cheeks'
	ise	'to sleep'	nilu	'blue'	ti	'water'
	ija	'mother'	kili	'iron-nail'	di	'elder sister'
/e/	--	--	dexə	'earth'	gayəre	'night'
	--	--	dherə	'door'	biye	'seed'
	--	--	kheti	'crops'	turke	'six'
/ε/	--	--	gɛdi	'field'	mhɛ	'fire'
	--	--	bərəh	'year'	kənε	'husk'
	--	--	nεko	'to say'	gε	'possessive marker'
/ə/	əhəi	'yes'	nəŋ	'you(sg)'	giddə	'neck'
	əb	'now'	səŋ	'sickle'	baDə	'wall'
	əi	'what'	phəri	'manure'	jinnə	'moonlight'
/a/	agayχ	'heaven'	palo	'dew'	jəura	'rope'
	ahə-ghəi	'to believe'	kahe	'barley'	na	'I (1sg pronoun)'
/u/	urəu-wε	'to fly'	rhuŋ	'bright light'	χu	'who'
	upasyo	'fast'	bhuDə	'bush'	ərəgu	'high'
	ugaro	'mastication'	ruwa	'cotten'	jippu	'yak'
/o/	okhədi	'medicine'	konu	'soft'	jāTho	'stick'
	soŋ	'light in weight'	dexo	'sky'		
	noŋ	'new'	guDo	'axe'		

2.1.3 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are discussed intramorphemically but intersyllabically. There are no intrasyllabic clusters except where /y/ is the second element. Clusters taking place at inter-morpheme boundaries are not taken into consideration. Two or more morphemes may form a word in which the meaning of one of the morphemes may not be available, but they are still considered to be separate morphemes.

Clusters are divided into four types: (1) geminates, (2) homorganic nasal plus oral consonant cluster, (3) dissimilar consonant clusters, and (4) consonant plus semi-vowel clusters. Separate lists of all these types are given below:

2.1.3.1 Geminates

/pp/	χəɾəppə	'python'	jippa	'yak'
/bb/	bəbbər	'flat surface'	Dubbya	'to drown' (intr)
/tt/	bhəttə	'cooked rice'	ləttə	'cloth'
/dd/	giddə	'vulture'	addu	'ginger'
/TT/	pəTTu	'intestines'	phaTTua	'splitted'
/TTh/	əTTə	'eight'	DəTTəla	'alone'
/DD/	gəDDə	'river'	maDDo	'to rub (imperative)'
/cc/	nicco	'low'	cucca	'breasts'
/jj/	bhəjja	'brother's son'	bhəjjē	'brother's daughter'
/kk/	likkyə	'egg of louse'	muTikkə	'fist'
/kkh/	cakkho	'taste (imperative)'	bhukkho	'hungry'
/gg/	rəggū	'high, high'	ləggya	'bread'
/mm/	jəmma	'all'	məmma	'maternal uncle'
/nn/	junna	'moon'	mənyo	'agree'
/ss/	kəNessi	'scorpion'	māssi	'porcupine'
/ll/	gəlli	'cheeks'	khəllə	'skin'

2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal clusters

/mb/	jambi	'jaw'	kəmbər	'waist'
/nt/	ginta	'before'		
/nd/	əndher	'large'		
/NT/	ghəNTə	'bell'		
/ND/	phəNDə	'ribs'		
/nc/	məncə	'person'		
/nch/	mənch	'iris of eye'		
/nj/	bhənjə	'sister's son'		
/nk/	chiŋkya	'sneeze'		
/ŋ/	jəŋga	'thigh'		

2.1.3.3 Dissimilar consonant clusters

/pk/	cipkao	'stick the bill'	/md/	səmdi	'son's wife's father'
/Tl/	bəTla	'rolled up'	/Db/	həDbi	'quickly'
/jm/	rajma	'long beans'	/ks/	dəksiNə	'south'
/kr/	mukrya	'hammer'	/khr/	əkhrəT	'walnut'
/st/	χəsto	'cheap'	/hT/	cehTa	'after'
/hr/	mohri	'window'	/hl/	mohləŋ	'pestle'
/ŋr/	χəŋru	'narrow'	/ŋl/	phəŋlo	'waterpot'
/rph/	sirphə	'only'	/rt/	dharti	'earth'

/rk/	cirkənti	'ant'	/rg/	murga	'cock'
/rm/	χərmāu	'to feel shy'	/lb/	phulbər	'aluminium'
/lk/	cilkunti	'mole'	/ls/	silnya	'bed bug'

2.1.3.4 Consonant plus semi-vowel clusters

/by/	byawli	'bride'	/ty/	tyohar	'festival'
/dhy/	dhyuŋ	'day'	/thy/	thyu	'sweet'
/Ty/	philiTYa	'guts'	/Dy/	ciuDya	'lips'
/cy/	cyuTTi	'lastly'	/jy/	gəjyə	'animal'
/ky/	phəkyor	'echo'	/khy/	khyopo	'to shrink'
/sy/	sya	'flesh'	/ny/	bhəinya	'younger sister'
/ry/	gəryə	'vulture'	/ly/	mulya	'liver'

2.1.4 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences are also treated as actual sequences within a morpheme. Intermorpheme vowel sequences are not treated as sequences, just as with the consonant clusters. It is because of this reason that the sequences are found to be less in number in the list given below. The vowel sequences are mostly found in medial and final position.

/əi/	əi	'this'	/āu/	āuTha	'chin'
/āo/	āoDya	'goose berry'	/āi/	bhāisi	'buffalo'
/əu/	jəura	'rope'	/əu/	dhəu	'big'
/əo/	nəoni	'butter'	/ai/	dainu	'right side'
/āi/	māiju	'mother's brother's wife'	/ai/	khurai	'molar teeth'
/āi/	kāij	'mother's younger sister'	/au/	pau	'one fourth'
/ao/	nao	'hut'	/ie/	piero	'yellow'
/eu/	deurə	'husband's younger brother'	/ia/	hədiari	'regularly'
/εo/	tεo	'hotplate'	/uĩ/	cuĩca	'small'
/iu/	ciudya	'lips'	/ua/	rua	'cotton'
/iu/	thiu	'sweet'	/ua/	duar	'door leaf'
/oa/	boa	'bird'	/oi/	jigo	'breakable'
/iə/	ghīəŋ	'refined butter'	/oi/	khoina	'to untie'
/ui/	χui	'needle'	/ūa/	hūa	'to have'

Three vowel clusters:

/iua/	χəkkiua	'end'	/ĩua/	rəNĩua	'widower'
/əia/	gurəia	'kidney'	/əua/	kəTəua	'bowl'
/uia/	huia	'whirl wind'	/uai/	huai	'that lady'
/ūai/	jūai	'daughter's husband'			

2.2 Syllable structure

The syllable in Raji can be V, VV, VC, CV, CVV, CVVV, CCV, CVC, or CVVC. That is, it can consist of a single vowel, as in the case of /i-/ in /i-ja/ 'indicative prefix plus mother', two vowels, as in /əi/ 'this', /ai/ 'he', a vowel and a consonant, as in /əb/ 'now', a

consonant and a vowel, as in /na/ '1st. singular', /χu/ 'who', a consonant plus diphthong, as in /rua/ 'cotton', a consonant plus triphthong, as in /jūai/ 'daughter's husband', a consonant plus /-y-/ plus vowel, as in /thyu/ 'sweet', a consonant-vowel-consonant sequence, as in /riχ/ 'anger', or a consonant-diphthong-consonant sequence, as in /duar/ 'door leaf'.

3.0 Grammar

3.1 The noun and noun phrase

The noun in Raji, like many other languages, can take a case marker or a postposition, plural or dual marker, gender marker, or an emphatic marker. Raji, though a Tibeto-Burman language, has very much been influenced by Indo-Aryan, especially the Hindi language, and follows most Hindi grammatical rules. Most of its vocabulary is borrowed from Hindi or Kumaoni, the dominant languages of the area, e.g.:

<u>gloss</u>	<u>Raji</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
'bone'	haDəŋ	haD
'refined butter'	ghiəŋ	ghi
'sneeze'	chiŋkya	chīk
'tooth'	darə	daRh
'waist'	kəmbər	kəməR
'star'	tara	tara
'day'	dhyuŋ	dIwəs
'flower'	phuləŋ	phul

The structure of the noun phrase consists of the following hierarchy:

Demonstrative + modifier(s) + noun + plural + case				
əi-la	həpura	laŋgə	Tokənya	geda-la-khanəi
this-pl	thin	tall	black	boy-pl-BEN
'for these thin, tall, black boys'				

In the above construction plural markers and several adjectives are given to show a possible noun phrase construction, but it is also possible to just have the head noun and the case marker, e.g.:

geda-di	miThai	gata
boy-ABL	sweets	take
'Take the sweets from the boys.'		

3.1.1 Gender

Gender in Raji is at the lexical level only and is not reflected in the verb, which means that there is no gender concord at the sentence level. Gender in this language is the natural one found in animates. It is difficult to form rules to derive a feminine form from a masculine and vice-versa, except that the /-o/ and /-a/ final masculine forms in most cases become feminine by replacing /-o/, /-a/ with /-i/, a Hindi feminine marker, mainly in loan words, as in the first set of examples below. This is not true of the second set:

byawlo	'groom'	byawli	'bride'
sala	'wife's younger brother'	sali	'wife's younger sister'
ghoDa	'horse'	ghoDi	'mare'
da	'elder brother'	di	'elder sister'
murga	'cock'	murgi	'hen'
gədha	'donkey'	gədhi	'she donkey'
maTa	'Male/female monkey'	*maTi is not acceptable	
bheD	'Male/female sheep'	--	
bəkka	'Male/female goat'	bəkki (female, very rare)	
syari	'Male/female fox'	--	

Hence, we can not form any absolute rule even for the /-o/ and /-a/ final masculine forms. In addition to the above feminine formation pattern we have separate words for masculine and feminine referents. Some of the words are given below for illustration:

ba	'Father'	ija	'Mother'
pəya	'son'	garō	'daughter'
giro	'husband'	mete	'wife'
bhuli	'younger brother'	bhəinya	'younger sister'
buari	'younger brother's wife'	jūaī	'younger sister's husband'
geda	'boy'	garō	'girl'
geda jia hī	'(The) boy goes.'	garō jia hī	'(The) girl goes.'
ba jaku ja rē	'Father eats (the) food.'	ija jaku ja rē	'Mother eats (the) food.'

3.1.2 Number

Raji nouns which represent animate referents can reflect three numbers, i.e. singular, dual and plural, though the marking of number is optional. The dual number is found when specifying only two persons but in normal cases the dual and plural are not strictly differentiated. The dual suffix is /-nhi-mi/, which means 'two people'. One of the informants gave different forms for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, especially for pronouns (these are given in the list of pronouns), but they were not confirmed in the speech of most of the other informants. The plural suffixes are [-jəmma ~ -jəmməl] and /-la/. The suffix /-la/ is used only on demonstrative pronouns. In most cases the dual and plural numbers are both reflected by plural marking (/i/) on the verb.

garō jia hī	'(The) girl goes.'
garō nhimi jia-i hī	'Two girls go.'
garō jəmməl jia-i hī	'(All) girls go.'

3.1.3 Pronouns

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

There are three persons reflected in the system of pronouns, i.e. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. The 1st person plural has two sub-categories, i.e. inclusive and exclusive of the addressee, though there is no such distinction in the dual. Neither the verb or the verbal marker decline

in terms of the inclusive vs. exclusive, but they decline with respect to the singular and plural. A table of the personal pronouns is given below:

<u>person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st Excl.	na	naji/nhimi	nani
Incl.			nani -jəmməl
2nd	nəŋ	nəŋ-ni/-nhimi	nəni-jəmməl
3rd	ai	ai-nhimi	əhəi/ai-jəmməl

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are divided into two types, proximate and non-proximate, the latter being used for the 3rd person pronoun, i.e. /ai/. The non-proximate are further subdivided into two types, i.e. visible and non-visible. The visible demonstrative takes a prefix /χu-/ to indicate that it is in front of the speaker and is visible to him. The suffix /-la/ is the plural marker and the suffix /-ya/ is the locative marker. Demonstrative pronouns also function as demonstrative adjectives when they appear before a noun. Some examples are given below for illustration:

Proximate

əi	'this, it'	əi geda	'this boy'
əila	'these' əila geda	'these boys'	
əiya	'there'		

Non-proximate

ai	'that'	ai geda	'that boy'
aila	'those'	aila mā garō	'those girls'
aiya	'there'		
χuai	'that' (in front of, visible)		
χuaila	'those' (in front of, visible)		

3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The base form or the root for interrogative pronouns is /χ-/ or /χu-/, as in Darma, Chaudangsi and many other TB languages. Raji attests [həŋ ~ hã] 'what', and /gu-/ 'which', different from Darma and Chaudangsi.

χu	'who'	χuəi	'by whom'	χukə	'whose'
həŋ ~ hã	'what'	guna	'which'	kixũa	'why'
guhã	'where'				
χu hĩ			'Who is (there)?'		
χu bə u			'Whom (shall I) give it to?'		
əi hã hĩ			'What is this?'		
nəŋ χukə pəyao ci hĩ			'Whose child are you?'		
nəŋ nao guna hĩ			'Which is your house?'		
nəŋ həŋ kam jei rə			'What work do you do?'		

/həŋ/ is reduplicated if the question involves plurals, e.g.:

nəni-kɛ	godɪ	naya	həŋ həŋ	kheti	hĩ	rɛ
you(pl)-GEN	field	inside	INTERROGATIVE	crops	grow	PRESENT

'What crops do you grow in your field?'

3.1.3.4 Emphatic possessive pronouns

The emphatic possessive pronouns /pənkə/ (sg) and /pənkəl/ (pl) are borrowed from Hindi (Hindi, *əpna*, Kumaoni, *əpənka*). They follow the subject and precede the object, e.g.

na pənkə jaku ja rɛ	'I eat (eating) my food.'
nani pənkəl jaku jai rɛ	'We eat (eating) our food.'
nəŋ pənkə jaku ja rɛ	'You eat (eating) your food.'
nəni pənkəl jaku jai rɛ	'You (pl.) eat (eating) your food.'
geda pənkəl jaku jai rɛ	'Boys eat their food.'

3.1.4 Case suffixes

Raji has six cases which take different markers. Nominative and accusative generally have zero marking, though the Nominative can take the agentive marker /-yẽ/ to clarify the agent of the action. The instrumental suffix is used to mark a causing agent in the causative construction (see §3.2.4, below).

Nominative: zero

geda	jia	hĩ
boy	go	PRESENT

'(The) boy goes.'

na	ti	tituŋ	hĩ
I	water	drink	PRESENT

'I drink water.'

reecho	pithoragarh-ya	ka	hũa	rɛ
personal.name	place.name-LOC	move	be	PRESENT

'Rekha has gone to Pithoragarh.'

Agentive: /-yẽ/

na-yẽ	ija-khənəi	dudhəŋ	bi-tɛ	hũa	rɛ
I-AGT	mother-BEN	milk	move-COMPL	be	PRESENT

'I have brought milk for my mother.'

Accusative/Dative: zero

miThai	geda	bɛ
sweet	boy	give

'Give (the) sweet to (the) boy.'

ghaxə	goru	haiTɛ
grass	cow	feed

'Feed (the) grass to (the) cow.'

əi paTa garō bε
 this cloth girl give
 'Give this saree to (the) girl.'

Allative: /bε/

ai nao-bε hã jia
 he house-ALL NEG go
 'He did not go home.'

Instrumental: [-əi ~ -kəi ~ -gəi]

The instrumental marker has the form [-əi] when the noun which takes it has a final consonant, and [-kəi ~ -gəi] when the noun ends with a vowel.

goD-əi kaThəŋ katiu rε
 axe-INST wood cut PRESENT
 '(He) cuts (the) wood with (the) axe.'

garō sabun-əi lətta cipe rε
 girl soap-INST cloth wash PRESENT
 '(The) girl washes (the) cloth with soap.'

nəŋkələm-əi likkyo
 you pen-INST write+imperative
 'You write with (a) pen.'

geda ti-kəi khuDDo hã rε
 boy water-INST play continue PRESENT
 'The boy is playing with water.'

Benefactive: /-khanəi/

na-yē pənikə metə-khənəi paTa bi-tε hūa rε
 I-AGT self wife-BEN cloth move-COMPL be PRESENT
 'I have brought (a) saree for my wife.'

ram geda-khənəi miThai bi-tε hūa rε
 personal.name boy-BEN sweet move-COMPL be PRESENT
 'Ram has brought sweets for (the) boys.'

Ablative: /-di/

na dilli-di bi hūa rε
 I Delhi-ABL move be PRESENT
 'I have come from Delhi.'

siŋ-di siŋkə whao jhərəu rɛ
tree-ABL leaf separate fall PRESENT
'A leaf falls from the tree.'

sita goDi-di bi hũa rɛ
personal.name fields-ABL move be PRESENT
'Sita has come from (the) fields.'

Genitive: /-kə/

əi syamu-kə nao hĩ
this personal.name-GEN house COPULA
'This is Syamu's house.'

bheDa-kə unnaõ kaTTo bəi
sheep-GEN wool cut HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

nao-kə pakhao χudari bəi
house-GEN roof repair HORTATIVE
'Let us repair (the) roof of (the) house.'

It has been found that 1st person singular pronouns do not take the genitive marker, but this is not true of other pronouns:

əi na garõ hĩ
this I girl COPULA
'This is my daughter.'

χuai na nao hĩ
that I house COPULA
'That is my house.'

χuai mã nəŋ-kə metə hĩ
that lady you-GEN wife COPULA
'That lady is your wife.'

əi nəche ai-kə ba hĩ
this man he-GEN father COPULA
'This man is his father.'

Locative: [-ya ~ -yã]

měj-ya kitab tha hai e rɛ
table-LOC book lie PRESENT ecliptic PRESENT
'(The) book is lying on (the) table.'

khərah-yā mhəi luŋ hã rɛ
 courtyard-LOC fire burn continue PRESENT
 '(The) fire is burning in (the) courtyard.'

goru nao-ya lɛ hũa
 cow house-LOC emphatic be
 '(The) cow is in (the) house.'

3.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives, which modify the noun, specifying their quality, quantity, time and place etc., occur before the noun in a construction. Some examples are given below:

<u>Adjective</u>	+	<u>Noun</u>	>	<u>Modified NP</u>
nhikko 'good'		geda 'boy'		nhikkogeda 'good boy'
Theŋto 'dry'		siŋ 'wood'		Theŋtosin 'dry wood'
khəni 'empty'		phəŋlo 'pot'		khəni-phəŋlo 'empty pot'
moTiya 'fat'		mi 'person'		moTiyami 'fat person'
jhikkəl 'many'		behe 'guava'		jhikkəlbehe 'many guavas'
gintako 'first'		garəŋ 'girl'		gintakogarəŋ 'first girl'
rukka 'last'		bərəh 'year'		rukkabərəh 'last year'
jibi 'next'		bərəh 'year'		jibibərəh 'next year'
ləŋka 'far away'		bhiTTa 'mountain'		ləŋkabhiTTa 'faraway mountain'
nəjikə-lho 'near specific'		yoŋ 'path'		nəjikə-lho yoŋ 'path nearby'

3.1.6 Numerals

Like many of its other words, Raji has borrowed most of the numerals from Hindi. In spite of these borrowings, we find an interesting admixture or convergence of Raji and Hindi numerals, especially in ordinals, fractionals and multiplicatives, which will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1.6.1 Cardinals

Raji has lost most of its cardinal numerals except for those from two to six, which are of Tibeto-Burma origin. The present researcher is not sure about the origin of the Raji numeral for 'one', since most of the cardinals are borrowed from Hindi and are internalized according to the phonotactic rules of Raji. We will simply list some of these numerals:

Dah	'one'	nhi	'two'
χuŋ	'three'	pari	'four'
pŋã	'five'	turke	'six'
χətte	'seven' (Hindi)	əTTə	'eight' (Hindi)
nouɛ	'nine' (Hindi)	dəχ	'ten' (Hindi)
gyara	'eleven' (Hindi)	bara	'twelve' (Hindi)
unis	'nineteen' (Hindi)	bis	'twenty' (Hindi)
nəbbe	'ninety' (Hindi)	ninanəbbe	'ninety nine' (Hindi)
χɛ	'hundred' (Hindi)		
Dah-həjar	'one thousand' (Hindi <i>həjar</i>)		

3.1.6.2 Ordinals

Ordinals take the suffix [-u ~ -o], except for 'third', which already ends in /-u/. This suffix has been borrowed from Hindi *-wa* and is added both to the native as well as to the borrowed numerals.

<u>Raji</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
suruko	'1st'	suruka 'the begining one'
duχəro	'2nd'	dusra
χu	'3rd'	tisra
pariu	'4th'	cautha
pηau	'5th'	pacwa
turku	'6th'	chəTha
χəttau	'7th'	satwā
aTThau	'8th'	aThwā
nəuo	'9th'	nəwā
dəχa	'10th'	dəSwā

3.1.6.3 Additives

Additives are formed by adding /-phera/ to the cardinals. This also is a Hindi loan word, but not an additive suffix in Hindi.

Dah-phera	'once'
nhi-phera	'twice'
χuη-phera	'thrice'

3.1.6.4 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed by adding /-bhag/ 'share', an erroneous loan from Hindi. Hindi *-bhag* means 'part'.

Dah-bhag	'one time' (literally one part)
nhi-bhag	'two times' (literally two parts)
χuη-bhag	'three times' (literally three parts)

3.1.6.5 Fractionals

Fractionals are also similarly formed by taking some parts of the fractionals from Hindi. The Hindi words used in the fractionals are as follows.

pa ~ pau	'one fourth'
şəwa	'one and one fourth' (Raji changes the Hindi ş to χ)
şarhe	'half' (generally added to numerals above three)
nəi	'not'

Some of the fractionals used in Raji are given below:

pryũ-bhag	'fourth part'
-----------	---------------

adda	'half' (Hindi <i>adha</i>)
χu-bhag	'three fourths'
χawayə	'one and one fourth' (Hindi <i>ḡəwa</i>)
Dhiy	'one and a half' (Hindi <i>DeDh</i>)
paunəinhi	'one fourth not two', i.e.- 'one and three fourths'
ha wai nhi	'two and one fourth'
dhai	'two and a half' (Hindi)
pau nəi χu	'two and three fourths'

3.2 The verb and verb phrase

Verb forms in Raji are mostly borrowed from Indo-Aryan, especially from Hindi or Kumaoni. A small number of verbs in this language are of Tibeto-Burman origin, such as /luŋ/ 'to burn', /ja/ 'to eat', /ha/ 'to speak or open mouth', /sin/ 'to ripen', /hoŋ/ 'to hold, catch', /lau/ 'come', /mənɫə/ 'buy', /mhutə/ 'blow', /hai/ 'bind', etc. The verb form mostly remains unchanged when it enters into a construction.

The verb complex consists of a verb which might be followed by another verb (which may be an auxiliary verb or marker of mood), a person marker (only 2nd person is marked, and only in intransitives) or a number marker (only plural is marked and the same marker, /-i/, is used for all persons), aspect marker, and tense marker. The number marking may follow the aspect marker rather than the main verb. In negative sentences the negative particle precedes the verb.

(NEG) + Verb + (Verb) + (aspect) + tense
 (person) (person)
 (number) (number)

Examples:

na ruggə hĩ	'I go (leave).'
na hã ruggə hĩ	'I do not go.'
na ruggə hã rɛ	'I am going (leaving).'
nani ruggə hã-i rɛ	'We are going.'
na hã ruggə hã rɛ	'I am not going.'
na ruggə χuccu hã rɛ	'I want to go.'
nəŋ ruggə ci hĩ	'You go.'

The following markers occur in the verb phrase in different types of constructions:

-i	plural
-ɔ	imperative
ci	2nd person marker (in intransitive present and past perfect)
cukk-	past perfect (Hindi loan)
hã	progressive, negative (homophonous)
hĩ	copula; intransitive present
hɛ	simple past (for plural subject)
həkkə	ability
ri	future
rɛ	transitive present

si	plural marker in past and future perfect and progressive aspects
sya ~ syā	2nd person marker (in progressive aspect)
tah ~ dha	prohibitive
tε	completive
tərya	present perfect (singular subject)
təryε	present perfect (plural subject)
zero	simple past (for singular subject); imperative

3.2.1 Tense

Raji has 3 tenses, present, past, and future.

3.2.1.1 Present tense: /hĩ/, [rε ~ lε]

There are two markers of present tense, i.e. /hĩ/, and [rε ~ lε]. The marker /hĩ/ is actually the equative copula, and occurs when there is no direct object involved in the construction. The marker [rε ~ lε] occurs when there is a direct object in the construction.¹¹ In intransitive clauses with a second person singular actor, the form /ci/ appears before /hĩ/. With plural subjects in transitive clauses, the verb root generally takes the suffix /-i/ in all persons and all tense/aspect combinations, especially when the vowel of the verb is an open vowel. In the following example, of /ise/ 'sleep', the plural marking does not appear.

/hĩ/

na ise hĩ	'I sleep.'
nani nhimi ise hĩ	'We two sleep.'
nani ise hĩ	'We (plural exclusive) sleep.'
nani jəmməl ise hĩ	'We (inclusive plural) sleep.'
nəŋ ise ci hĩ	'You (singular) sleep.'
nəni jəmməl ise ci hĩ	'You (plural) sleep.'
ai ise hĩ	'He sleeps.'
əhəi ise hĩ	'They sleep.'
na ja hĩ	'I eat.'
nəŋ ja ci hĩ	'You eat.'
ai ja hĩ	'He eats.'

/rε/

na jaku ja rε	'I eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i rε	'We eat food.'
nəŋ jaku ja rε	'You eat food.'
nəni jaku ja-i rε	'You (plural) eat food.'
ai jaku ja rε	'He eats food.'
əhəi jaku ja-i rε	'They eat food.'

¹¹Editor's note: There seems to be an exception to this in some uses of the verb 'to drink', as in [na ti tituŋ hĩ] 'I drink water' and [na dudhəŋ tituŋ hĩ] 'I drink milk'. This may be because the verb incorporates the noun /ti/ 'water, liquid' into the verb (originally /tuŋ/). A second exception is the use of /rε/ after /lhu/ 'bathe', e.g. [raja lhu rε] 'The king takes a bath'. This may be construed as a transitive action, where /raja/ is the object as well as the actor.

3.2.1.2 Past tense: zero, /hɛ/

The past tense is unmarked with singular subjects, whereas /hɛ/ occurs mostly with plural subjects.

na jaku ja	'I ate food.'
nani jaku ja-i hɛ	'We ate food.'
nəŋ jaku ja	'You (sg) ate food.'
nəni jaku ja-i hɛ	'You (pl) ate food.'
ai jaku ja hɛ	'He ate food.'
əhəi jaku ja-i hɛ	'They ate food.'

3.2.1.3. Future tense: /ri/

The future tense is denoted by /ri/, which comes at the end of the clause. There does not seem to be any derivational relationship between the present tense marker [rɛ] and the future marker /ri/.

na jaku ja ri	'I will eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i ri	'We will eat food.'
nəŋ jaku ja ri	'You (sg.) will eat food.'
nəni jaku ja-i ri	'You (pl.) will eat food.'
ai jaku ja ri	'He will eat food.'
əhəi jaku ja-i ri	'They will eat food.'

3.2.2 Aspect

Three main aspects found in the language are discussed below with their examples.

3.2.2.1 Perfect: /təry-/ , /cukk-/

The perfect aspect appears in all three tenses. The main perfect marker for all the tenses is [tərya] for singular subjects and [təryɛ] (possibly < tərya-i) for plurals. This is followed by the normal intransitive present tense marker. /cukk-/ (a Hindi perfect marker) can also be used, replacing /təry-/ in the present and past tenses. In the speech of some informants both /cukk-/ and /təry-/ are found to be used in the same sentence in the past tense, which means that both the indigenous and the loan perfect markers can be used simultaneously. The plural marker for present perfect sentences involving /cukk-/, /hɛ/, appears to be a loan from Hindi, e.g. Hindi auxiliary *hɛ* (sg.) *hɛ̃* (pl.) for the verb 'to be'.

Present perfect:

na ja tərya hī	OR	
na ja cukko		'I have eaten.'
nani ja təryɛ hī	OR	
nani ja cukko hɛ		'We have eaten.'

Past perfect:

na ja cukkua
na ja tərya hī

na ja cukku-tərya	'I had eaten.'
nani ja cukkua si	
nani ja təryε si	
nani ja cukku-təryε si	'We had eaten.'
nəŋ ja cukku ci hĩ	
nəŋ ja tərya ci hĩ	
nəŋ ja cukku-tərya ci hĩ	'You (sg) had eaten.'

Future perfect: In the future tense /təry-/ is always followed by /hĩ/ (copula) for singular subjects and /sihĩ/ (plural + copula) for plural subjects. /ri/, the future tense marker, occurs at the end of the sentence.

na ja tərya hĩ ri	'I will have eaten.'
nani ja təryε si hĩ ri	'We will have eaten.'
nəŋ ja tərya syã hĩ ri	'You will have eaten.'
nəni ja təryε si hĩ ri	'You(pl) will have eaten.'
ai ja tərya hĩ ri	'He would have eaten.'
əhəi ja təryε si hĩ ri	'They would have eaten.'

3.2.2.2 Progressive: /hã/, /syã/

The progressive marker for 1st and 3rd persons is /hã/, which is homophonous with the negative marker /hã/, and for the 2nd person it is /syã/. The progressive marker always follows the main verb and precedes the plural marker and the tense markers, /rε/ for present, zero (singular actor) or /si/ (plural actor) for past, and /hĩ/ (singular actor) or /si/ (plural actor) plus /ri/ in the future tense.

Present:

na ruggə hã rε	'I am going (leaving).'
nani ruggə hã-i rε	'We are going.'
nəŋ ruggə syã rε	'You (sg) are going.'
nəni ruggə syã-i rε	'You (pl) are going.'
ai ruggə hã rε	'He is going.'
əhəi ruggə hã-i rε	'They are going.'

Past:

na ruggə hã	'I was going.'
nani ruggə hã-i si	'We were going.'
nəŋ ruggə syã	'You (sg) were going.'
nəni ruggə syã-i si	'You(pl) were going.'
ai ruggə hã	'He was going.'
əhəi ruggə hã-i si	'They were going.'

Future:

na ruggə hã hĩ ri	'I will be going.'
nani ruggə hã si hĩ ri	'We will be going.'
nəŋ ruggə syã hĩ ri	'You (sg) will be going.'

nəni ruggə syã si hĩ ri	'You (pl) will be going.'
ai ruggə hã hĩ ri	'He will be going.'
əhəi ruggə hã si hĩ ri	'They will be going.'

3.2.2.3 Habitual: /babbər/

The habitual is expressed by a lexeme, /babbər/, which is a loan adapted from Hindi *bərabər* or *bərobər* 'habitually', preceded by the subject and followed by the object. The progressive marker /hã/ is always used in the predicate to show the continuity of the action.

mohən	babbər	na	nao-ya	lau	hã	rɛ
personal.name	habitual	1st	house-LOC	come	PROGRESSIVE	PRESENT

'Mohan habitually comes (is continuously coming) to my house.'

geda	babbər	khuDDo	hã	rɛ
boy	habitual	play	PROGRESSIVE	PRESENT

'(The) boy habitually plays (is continuously playing).'

garõ	babbər	nacco	hã
girl	habitual	dance	PROGRESSIVE

'(The) girl habitually/used to dance/continue dancing.'

3.2.3 Mood

Marking for the declarative, subjunctive and imperative, hortative, interrogative and other moods in Raji are described below:

3.2.3.1 Declarative: zero marking

na jia hĩ	'I go.'
mhẽ luɟ hã rɛ	'(The) fire is burning/hot.'
dihu purub yã tun lɛ	'(The) sun rises in the East.'
bhiTTa pəilodi lɛ hoŋdəl hĩ	'(The) mountains stand forever.'
gaDDa pəilodi lɛ bəgghyã rɛ	'(The) river flows forever.'

3.2.3.2 Subjunctive (Conditional): /(əgər) ... -tə/

This mood is expressed by the conditional lexeme /əgər/, a loan from Hindi, which optionally comes at the beginning of the sentence, and the suffix /-tə/, which comes at the end of the dependent clause. The suffix /-tə/ also appears to be a form adapted from Hindi, in this case of /to/, a subjunctive clause terminal.

əgər	tənkha	dha	ri	tə ...
if	salary	get	FUT	COND

'If (I) get the salary, ...'

nhikko	hĩ	ri	tə	geda	khuDDo	ri
good	COPULA	FUT	COND	boy	play	FUT

'If the boy recovers he will play.'

3.2.3.3 Imperative: zero, /-o/

The imperative suffix also appears to have been borrowed from Hindi. The suffix /-o/ occurs when the verb stem ends in a consonant, and zero occurs when it ends in a vowel.

phuŋlo-ya ti bhər-o	'Fill the vessel with water.'
ti hɛ la	'Bring water (emphatic /hɛ/, /la/ 'come').'
nəŋ nao-ya ghɛ	'You go to the house.'
hōinə dhā dəbbo	'Do not see dreams.'

3.2.3.4 Hortative: /bəi/

bheDa-kə	unnaõ	kaTTo	bəi
sheep-GEN	wool	cut	HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'			
nao-kə	pakhao	χudari	bəi
house-GEN	roof	repair	HORTATIVE
'Let us repair (the) roof of (the) house.'			

3.2.3.5 Interrogative: /həŋ/

The system of interrogation in the language is almost the same as in Hindi. The interrogative marker, which has the same form as the pronoun for 'what', occurs at the beginning of the sentence, e.g.:

həŋ	nəŋ	kam	jhei	rɛ
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	work	do	PRESENT
'Do you work?'				

həŋ	nəŋ	bəba	paixə	jiə	bau	rɛ
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	father	money	go	give	PRESENT
'Do you give money to your father?'						

həŋ	nəŋ	hədiari	ci	lhu	rɛ
INTERROGATIVE	you(sg)	daily	go	bathe	PRESENT
'Do you take a bath daily?'					

3.2.3.6 Other mood markers:

/həkko/	'ability marker'
na kam ghəi həkko rɛ	'I can work.' Literally: 'I can do work.'
ai pəDao həkko rɛ	'He can read.'
syam nao-bɛ ga həkko rɛ	'Syam can go to (the) house.'

/χuccu/	'want, desire'
na ruggə χuccu hā	'I want to go.'

garõ nacco χuccu hã	'(The) girl wants to dance.'
ai isekε χuccu hã	'He wants to sleep.'
/cai-/	'should, must'
nəni jaku ja caiyo rε	'You (pl.) should/must eat food.'
ai əbε rugga caiyo rε	'Now he must go.'
na lhu caiyo rε	'I must take bath.'

3.2.4 Causatives

Causatives are formed by suffixing the instrumental case marker to the NP representing the causer and prefixing [ha ~ hai] to the main verb, e.g.:

raja lhu rε	'The king takes a bath.'
dayai raja ha-lhu rε	'(The) slave bathes the king.'
geda bhəttə ja rε	'The boy eats rice.'
ijau-gəi geda bhəttə hai-tu rε	'Mother feeds rice to the boy.'
nokər kam khəi rε	'(The) servant works.'
mali-kəi nokarao kam ha-gəi-yu rε	'Master gets (the) work done by the servant' ¹²

3.2.5 Negatives: /hã/, [tah ~ dhã]

Negatives in Raji can be divided into two subcategories, i.e. (1) negative and (2) prohibitive. The general negative marker is /hã/, whereas the prohibitive marker is [tah ~ dhã]. Both the negative and prohibitive markers precede the verb in a construction.

Negative: /hã/

na sya hã ja rε	'I do not eat meat.'
garõ sya hã ja-i rε	'Girls do not eat meat.'
Golu nao-bε hã jia	'Golu did not go home.'
shiela hã nacco hĩ ri	'Shiela will not have danced.'

Prohibitive: [tah ~ dhã]

nəŋ tah khuDD-o	'You don't play.'
coru tah hoŋ ni	'Don't catch the thief.'
dudhəŋ dhã tituŋ-o	'Don't drink milk.'
kui dhã sya no	'Don't kill the dog.'

¹²Editor's note: It seems there are quite a few pronunciations for the word for 'do', as in 'do work': [jhei], [ghəi], [khəi], [gəi], [ghε] although /khəi/ is given in the glossary, and the last form just given is also glossed 'go' in one example. We also don't know why the word for 'servant' is [nokarao] and not [nokər] here, as [-ao] is not one of the case suffixes given, or what the suffix [-yu], which appears in a few causatives, represents. Quite a number of other verbal affixes are evident in the data, including [-ne], [-u], [-ye], [yε], [-kε], [-ha], and [ji-], but are not glossed.

3.3 Adverbials

Adverbials generally precede the construction they modify, and sometimes take /na/ as a relational marker (also used in [gu-na] 'which'):

ai	babbər	bi	rələ	'Usually he comes.'
he	usually	move	PRESCONT	
na	babbər	ja	rɛ	'I usually eat.'
I	usually	eat	PRESENT	
jagita khəitəl ghe				'continue doing, continuously doing, do'
əttəl khəi				'Do (it) at once.'
həDbɛ khəi				'Do (it) quickly.'
cyuTTi-na həta				'I killed hastily (quickly).'
gaDDə pəilodi-lɛ bəgghyã rɛ				'Rivers are flowing forever.'
ai kiχũã lau				'Why did he come?'
nəŋ guhã pi rələ				'Where are you going (moving)?'
gəu ga				'Where do (I) go?'

3.4 Conjunctions

A conjunction combines two or more words or clauses together to give the complete meaning of a construction. The following conjunctions of Raji are discussed below: /ləi/ 'and', /pər/ 'but', /hãŋəiki/ 'because', /təp/təb/ 'that is why, then'.

3.4.1 /ləi/ 'and'

/ləi/ follows each of the nouns which occur in the construction:

sita	ləi	gita	ləi	lhaiki	hã-i	rɛ	
Sita	and	Gita	and	sing	PROGRESSIVE-pl.	PRESENT	
'Sita and Gita are singing (a) song.'							
na	ləi	na	bhəua	ləi	bəjar-ya	ga hã-i	rɛ
I	and	I	brother	and	market-LOC	go PROGRESSIVE-pl.	PRESENT
'My brother and I are going to market.'							

3.4.2 /pər/ 'but'

na	nao-bɛ	ta	gane	pər	kam	ãji	hũa	lɛ
I	house-ALL	though	go	but	work	unfinished	be	PRESENT
'I (would) have gone home but the work has remained unfinished.'								
dhansiŋ	ta	nhikko	lə	hũa	pər	bhəua	bimar	hũa
Dhan siŋh	though	good	emphatic	be	but	brother	sick	be
'Dhan siŋh is alright but his brother is sick.'								

3.4.3 /haŋəiki/ 'because'

na byar hã biye haŋəiki byar na bimar hĩ
 I yesterday NEG move because yesterday I sick COPULA
 'I did not come yesterday because I was sick.'

coru thuakke haŋəiki bahər Thəppə hĩ
 thief run.away because outside dark COPULA
 '(The) thief ran away because it was dark outside.'

3.4.4 [təp ~ təb] 'that is why'

manəŋ phandao hɛ təp ti hã hĩ yɛ
 forest destroy PAST that.is.why water not COPULA become
 'The forest got cut that is why it did not rain.'

na khuDDo hã təp nəni-ya hã bi həkko
 I play PROGRESSIVE that.is.why you(pl)-LOC NEG come able
 'I was playing that is why I could not come to you.'

3.5 The relative clause

A relative clause is formed by adding [jo ~ joi] to the beginning of the dependent clause. The relative clause is a free-standing nominalized clause, giving a correlative structure similar to English *This is that boy, the one who came yesterday*, and may precede or follow the main clause in a complex sentence. Raji has borrowed the relative pronoun from Hindi, which is *jo* 'the one' or 'who'. The relative clauses are marked off in brackets in the following examples.

whəi əi lə lōDa hĩ [jo byar bi hũa]
 same he emphatic boy COPULA RELPRO yesterday move be
 'He is the same boy who came yesterday.'

əi whəi bəghol hĩ [jo bəkka ja]
 this same tiger COPULA RELPRO goat eat
 'This is the same tiger which ate the goat.'

[joi bəkka hə-tɛ ha] ai lōDa rugga
 RELPRO goat kill-COMPL past that boy leave
 'The boy who killed the goat has left.'

3.6 Conditionals

One type of conditional sentence which takes the /tə/ marker in the dependent clause was discussed earlier under the subjunctive mood (2.2.3.2). The other type of conditional is formed with /jəb/, again a Hindi loan, which does not take any marker in the coordinate clause, e.g.

jəb nəŋ jibi ri na nao-ya lə hĩ ri
when you come FUT I house-LOC emphatic COPULA FUT
'When you come I will be at home.'

jəb ti hĩ ri goDi pari ri
when rain COPULA FUT field sow FUT
'When it rains we will sow the fields.'

RAJI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

- əb (IA)—now
əhat—difficult
əhəi—yes
əi—this
əi—what
əi-jəmməl—whole
əi-χai—this year
əi-ya—there
əia—here
əila—these
əitana-cai—use (v.)
əkhrot (IA)—walnut
əmmã—father's mother; mother's mother
əNDa (IA)—egg
əndher—much
əndher-ləŋka—far
ərəgu—high
əTThə (IA)—eight
əttəl—at once
əttəl-jhani—till now
əguli (IA)—thumb
əgulya (IA)—finger
əoDya—gooseberry
əsu (IA)—tears (of eyes)
əuTha—chin
a-həi-la—they (male)
abəŋ—mango
aDaĩŋ (IA)—two and a half
adda (IA)—half
addu (IA)—ginger
agahə (IA)—above
agaxə—heaven
ahə-ghəi- (IA-TB)—believe (v.)
ai—he
ai-la-kε—their
ai-mã-la—they (female)
aikε (TB-IA)—his, her
ailε, ailə—same
ajji—again
akεro (IA)—costly
alu (IA)—potato
ap-khəitə—like that
ba—father
ba—male
bã-bã-ghəi—bellow (v.)
bãhõ—chirp (v.)
bãN (IA)—arrow
bãŋgã (IA)—crooked
bãs (IA)—bamboo
babbər—usually
babbər-hăinə—flat
baDə—wall
bagho (IA)—lion
bahəry (IA)—outside
bakēro—thick (liquid)
bari bhag—quadruple
bari—afraid of (to be)
bati—son's son, daughter's son
baTla—rolled
baTulo—round
baTy—prepare (v.)
baχa—oil
baχo (IA)—calf (of cow)
bε ko—offer (v.)
be ryu—roll up
bēcū—defense
be—give
bεco-bi- (IA)—avoid (v.)
behe—guava
bigəuta—first milk
bin-ti-khori—valley
binti ghəi—pray (v.)
birari (IA)—cat
birəñ-sya—lizard (wild)
bisəŋ—poison
biye (IA)—seed
biəna—large
boji—elder brother's wife
boli (IA)—language
bos—bird
buari—son's wife
buari—younger brother's wife
buba—wife's father, father's father,
 mother's father
buDha (IA)—old
bura—fish
bura-hoŋ—catch (fish)
byawli (IA)—bride
byarko—evening
byarə—yesterday

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byawlo (IA)—groom	bhərətə—full
bəcɛn-phərakyor—echo	bhəttə (IA)—rice (cooked)
bədel (IA)—change (v.), alter	cabi (IA)—key
bəina—big	caha (IA)—tea
bəina-hattə—loud	cai- (IA)—need (v.)
bəkka—goat	caiyə rɛ—want (v.)
bəlyya—sand	cakoi- (IA)—chew (v.)
bəna- (IA)—build (v.)	cakur—stretch-self (v.)
bərəχə—year	cala- (IA)—drive (vehicle, etc.)
bəsti-hī—conceive (vi.)	cəhTa—after
bətao ko- —report (v.)	cəhTa—behind
bətkao phərkaok—reply (v.)	cəhTako—last
bətkao-ghəi—talk (v.)	ceta—after
bətək (IA)—duck	ci pɛ—wash (v.)
bəχɛ—fat, grease	ci-hāmē-ja—understand (v.)
bəyar (IA)—wind	ci-laggu—sharp
bəyar-hai bə—fan (v.)	ci-mā—father's younger brother's wife
bha—ankle	cilkunti—mole
bha—foot	ciləbəkkyu—flexible
bhāDela (IA)—utensils	cipka- (IA)—put up notice (v.)
bhak—part	cipka- (IA)—stitch (v.)
bhala—leg	cir- (IA)—saw (v.)
bhaTa—Brinjal	cirkenti—ant
bhaw/nihaw—paw	ciuDya—lips
bheD (IA)—sheep	coD—throw (v.)
bhitori (IA)—inside	comāχ—rainy season
bhiTTa—mountain	cucca (IA)—breast
bhiTTY—meet (v.)	cucca-gədaw—nipple
bhucalo (IA)—earthquake	culvani—hearth
bhuDə—bush	cuə-mhā—leak (v.)
bhujo—gourd	cyuTTi—lastly
bhukk- (IA)—bark (v.)	cəkal—noon
bhukəy—fly	cəkk—cry (v.)
bhuli—wife's younger sister's husband	cəkkh—taste (v.)
bhull- (IA)—forget (v.)	cərə—graze (vi.)
bhuniya—pig/bore	chahə (IA)—buttermilk
bhuT- (IA)—burst (vt.)	chati (IA)—chest
bhōisi (IA)—buffalo	chi—urine
bhəgwan (IA)—God	chū—pound (v.)
bhəgwan kəhɛja—take (oath, v.)	chəlla—bank of river
bhəiñyā—husband's younger brother's wife; wife's brother's wife	dəbb—see (v.)
bhəjja (IA)—brother's son (younger or older)	dəbbu-hā—compare (v.)
bhəjjē (IA)—brother's daughter (younger or older)	dəhəu—know (v.)
bhəñjə (IA)—sister's son	dəi (IA)—curd
bhər (IA)—fill (liquid, v.)	dəi—today
bhərəkkyo-bi—return (v.)	dəm (IA)—price
	dəu—dig
	dəχə (IA)—ten

da (IA)—brother (older); husband's
younger sister's husband; wife's elder
sister's husband
daD—beard
dalo—fodder
daro—fang
daro—tooth
daru—rice
debuli—eye brow
dɛl—scythe
deurə (IA)—husband's brother
deχu—cloud
deχə—earth
di—husband's elder brother's wife
dida-kidmala—insect
dimag (IA)—brain
diχua- (IA)—appear (v.)
donə—bulge (v.)
duar—door-leaf
dudhəŋ—milk
dukəiya—father's elder brother; mother's
elder sister's husband
duχro (IA)—second
duχuro—next
duχuru (IA)—another/other
dhera—door
dherə-daro—incisors
dhi-pəu—defeat (v.)
dhitta—down
dhitta—downwards
dhittə—below
dhokka-phəka—bless
dhuli (IA)—ash
dhuri-bāsi (IA)—beam
dhyuŋ (IA)—day
dhəda-χo—gums
dhən (IA)—money
dhənəs (IA)—bow
dhər-bər—hesitate
dhərmə (IA)—religion
dhəssyo—unrolled
dhəurva—gray
dhəurya (IA)—white
Da həjar (IA)—thousand
Da/Dah—one
Dadalya—pillar
Dah phera—once
Daha—hot
Daha—pungent

Dola—dirty
Dola—foam
Dubb- (IA)—drown (v.)
Duby- (IA)—set (the sun, v.)
Dumba—mushroom
DəTThəla—alone
Dhīŋ—one and a half
Dhəu—fall down (vi.)
Dhəkk- (IA)—cover (something)
Dhəkk—collapse (person)
Dhəkki- (IA)—close (door, v.)
gəd-bəddo—brown
gədha (IA)—donkey
gəDə—break (vi.)
gəĩ-hā—look after (v.)
gəiru (IA)—deep
gəjjə/oəjji—animal
gəll- (IA)—melt (vi.)
gəlli (IA)—cheeks
gəruryə—kite
gəu—where
gāThi (IA)—knot
ga-ni—father's sister's husband; elder
sister's husband; husband's elder
sister's husband
gaDa—head
gaDa—paddy
gaDa—temple
gal—melt (vt.)
gara ghəi—node (v.)
garō—daughter, girl
gata—take (v.)
geda—boy
geda—child
gədi—field
giddə—neck
gidha (IA)—vulture
ginta—before
gintako—first
giro—husband
goDi—ground
goi—burst (vi.)
guDo—axe
gugəcca—frog
guhə—see
gui—crack
guna—ear
gurkau—fall down (vt.)
guru—elbow

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gurəiya — kidney	ha-sikko — teach (v.)
gurəŋ — molasses	hace- — tear (v.)
ghãT (IA) — bell	hacərə — graze (cattle, v.)
ghall- — send (v.)	haDbe — quickly
ghaxri — grass	haDbi — quick
ghiəŋ — refined butter	haDDo-rugga-hã — leave (v.)
ghõ-gor- — drag	haDəŋ (IA) — bone
ghoDi (IA) — horse (female)	hahũ — rabbit
ghoDya (IA) — horse (male)	hakε — clutch
ghoga — maize	hakε — hand
ghucc- — push	halhu- — bathe (vi.)
ghuDhi — dough	hamu — hair
ghulli — nest	haniŋto — tight
ghuməŋ — wheat	haniuŋto — fresh
ghəi-χak- — able (to be)	hanu- — pierce
ghəməliha — hot season	hanu- — strike (v.)
hə-bēcū- — protect (v.)	hao-hao lagua — yawn (v.)
həba-ho- — blow (flute, v.)	hapar — young
həddba — divorce	har khəi- — obstruct (v.)
hədiaro — regularly	haro- — move (v.)
həhuri- — amuse (v.)	hasik-ko- (IA) — complain (v.)
həjjε — low voice	hatə- — kill (v.)
həjjə-həlaike-hã — hum (a tune, v.)	hawa- — stir (v.)
həkya — finish (v.)	həro — log
həmaniyã — in front of	hila- (IA) — shake (vt.)
həŋgəl-je- (IA) — accompany with (v.)	himar — ice
həŋly- — fasten (v.)	himar-pəuwε — glacier
hənn- — cover (vt.)	ho syo- — suck (v.)
həŋə-lε — morning	hoi ko- — tether (cattle, v.)
həpar — strong (cloth)	hoi- — bind (v.)
həpar-hĩ-tə — bravely	hoi- — tie (v.)
həpta (IA) — week	hoŋ- — hold
həpurə — thin (liquid)	hoŋ- — catch (v.)
həriyo (IA) — green	hũ — burn (to, common)
hərjε — easy	huã- — have (v.)
hət-yε- — curse (v.)	huai (mã) — she
hətasi — saw	huccyo-rε- — desire (v.)
hã-hã — no	huiya — storm
hã-hã-kəi- — refuse (v.)	hyãku- — knead (v.)
hãbεco- — defend (v.)	hyãkuli — throat
hãci-laggu — blunt	hyək — grate (v.)
hãga habə- — forbid	ica-Dhuŋε — pebbles
hãkk- — drive (cattle)	ija — mother
hãmənn- — deny (v.)	iju buba — husband's father
hãnũ (IA) — beat (v.)	iju — husband's mother; husband's elder sister; wife's mother
ha-bēcū- — save (v.)	ik-kua —
ha-kə — palm	in-khəitə — like this
ha-kəuya-pi- — carry (hanging, v.)	itə — grate (to grind)
ha-ŋã — branch	

jədao — root	kəmo — shake (self, v.)
jəgarəi — weak (breakable)	kəNessi — scorpion
jəgiuta-khəitəl — continuously	kəpal (IA) — forehead
jəmməl (IA) — all	kəpca — joints
jəmmən — feast	kəte-nā-vē — allow
jəŋga (IA) — thigh	kəTəua (IA) — bowl
jəura — rope	kāĩ-ja — mother's younger sister
jāTho — stick	kāχa (IA) — bell metal
ja- — eat (v.)	kaco — wet (clothes)
jaDəyo — deer	kaco, həriyo — wet (wood)
jaiyu (IA) — cream	kaDə- — break (vt.)
jali (IA) — net	kahe — barley
jambi — jaw	kakhəlya (IA) — armpit
jeThan (IA) — husband's elder brother	kakka — father's younger brother; mother's younger sister's husband
jeThu sali (IA) — wife's elder sister	kako — crow
jeThu (IA) — wife's elder brother	kaltə- — sell (v.)
jia- — go (v.)	kam khəi- — work (v.)
jibero — tongue	kammōhā- — tremble (v.)
jibi — next year	kaNa (IA) — blind
jigutə — rough	karəu wε- — dry (vi.)
jiharo — priest	karəw — dry (field/cloth)
jitibwa- — win	kaT-kano — thorn
joDa (IA) — pair	kaThəŋ — firewood
jok (IA) — leech	kaTo (IA) — bull
jū — cold season	kaTT- (IA) — cut (v.)
jūai (IA) — daughter's husband; sister's son daughter's husband	kēci (IA) — scissors
ju-ghəi — cold (to feel)	kera (IA) — banana
juāi — younger sister's husband	kerə- — weep (v.)
junnə — moon	kili — nail
juppa — yak	kilə — post (pillar)
jhaD- (IA) — sweep (v.)	kināo — till what time
jhaĩcəla — only	kināo — when
jhĩ- yē- — wet (to get)	kiTi-ũ-ā- — pinch (v.)
jhikkə — group	koNū (IA) — corner
jhikkəl — many	kotor- — comb (v.)
jhuTi-hā-sya — lie (v.)	(orε)-ku- — fill (grain, v.)
jhəgəru-hĩ (IA) — attack (v.)	kui — dog
jhər- — awake (v.)	kule — cap
jhər- — drop (v.)	kun- — hear (v.)
kəbhəi-kəbhəi — often	kur-χaini — chili
kəcar — dirt	kurai-daro — molar tooth
kəcar — mud	kuru gucci — heel
kəi — bite (v.)	kuths-muThu — straw
kəiku- — grate (teeth, v.)	kha — bitter
kəllə — tomorrow	khaligy — ring
kəmbər — loin	khelle ko- — swing (v.)
kəmbər — waist	khetti (IA) — crop
kəmjər, kəcua — weak (human)	khisə-nahū — unhappy

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khoi- — open (knot, v.)	mæssi (IA) — coal
khoTɛ — strong (human)	mã — female
khoTTa — hard	mã-kəi-nɛ-ko- — rebuke (v.)
khuDD- — play (v.)	mãhã — salt
khuri — stream	mãhãk-ko pe-ci — accuse/backbite (v.)
khusə (IA) — happy	mãi- ju — mother's mother's mother
khuTu-kəni — ladder	mãssi — porcupine
(kaŋa) khə- — close (eyes, v.)	mãχã — mouse
khəbɛ-ru — mouth	machəli (IA) — calves
khəccər (IA) — mule	maDD- — rub (v.)
khəDya — mortar	maDDo-bəi- — oil (v.)
khəhaDyo — not smooth	mago — cobra
khəi- — do (v.)	mal-mittər-hĩ — relatives
khəi- — open (door, v.)	mammã — mother's brother (elder or younger)
khəi-pi-yakə — carry (on back, v.)	man- — obey (v.)
khəlka- — rinse (v.)	manəŋ — forest
khəni — empty	mar-tɛ- — divide (v.)
khəny- — pour out	mara- — hunt (v.)
ləga- — wear-ornaments (v.)	mara- — search (v.)
ləggya — bread	maTa — monkey
ləig- — arrive (v.)	maTTo-hã — jump (v.)
ləm-juŋ-yẽ — mosquito	mete (address) — wife
lətta (IA) — blanket	mohləŋ — pastle
lətta (IA) — cloth	mohri (IA) — window
la- — come (v.)	moŋ-wɛ — honey
lado — belly	mor (IA) — peacock
laDə hã- — kiss (v.)	moTiya (IA) — fat
lagog-bə- — help (v.)	mukreya — hammer
laŋgɛ — long/tall	mulya — liver
laŋgə-ləi- — broad	murga — cock
ləkkh- (IA) — write (v.)	muTika — fist
lesəni (IA) — garlic	mhẽ — fire
letta (IA) — creeper	mhike — eye
lhu-hã- — bathe (vi.)	mhike-hanu — eye lashes
likkya — louse (egg)	mhūtə- — light-fire (v.), burn (vt.)
lipp- — plaster (v.)	mhəŋ — face
lisse — lac	nəjik (IA) — near
loh (IA) — iron	nəjikɛlhõ — near
loT- — lay down (v.)	nəŋ — you (sg.)
loTai-huã- — relax (v.)	nəŋ-gɛ — your (sg.)
lotti — thread	nənce-pətə-ri — hate (v.)
luŋ- — burn (vi.)	nəndə (IA) — husband's younger sister
luŋ-harẽ — flame	nəni — you (pl.)
lupp- — hide (v.)	nəni-la-kɛ — your (pl.)
luppi-luppi — stealthily	nəoni (IA) — butter
mãina (IA) — month	nərək (IA) — hell
məñcə — person	na-ã — my, mine
məne (IA) — heart/mind	na-naokəhĩ (ref) — wife
mənlə- — buy (v.)	

na-nikε — our	pagə — headgear
nacc- (IA) — dance (v.)	pak-rə — dry (vt.)
naji — we two	pakha — roof
nako — food	palo — dew, frost
nali — heavy	palo ko- — roast (v.)
nam — name	panikə khəi — occupy (v.)
namyo tha- — name (to give)	par- — rear (v.)
nani ja lə — we (excl.)	pari — four
nani — we (incl.)	pari phera (TB-IA) — four times
nao — hut	pariũ (TB-IA) — fourth
nap- — measure (v.)	paryũ bhag — one fourth
narəŋgi — orange	pasin- (IA) — boil/to cook
natini — son's daughter; daughter's daughter	paTi — arm
naw — house	pato pəko- — winnow (v.)
ne — I (1sg)	pau nāi nhī — one and 3 quarters
nεko- — say (v.)	pau nāi pari — three and 3 quarters
nel- — cover (self)	pau nāi χũ — two and 3 quarters
neli- — wear-clothes (v.)	paχoro- — husk (v.)
nicco (IA) — low	pero (IA) — yellow
nicory- — wring (v.)	pi- — carry (v.)
ni-hapta (TB-IA) — fortnight	piThu — flour
nihəŋ — nail	pitə — bring (v.)
nilo (IA) — blue	pitələ (IA) — brass
nok- — invite (v.)	pŋā — five
nokə — call (v.)	pŋāō — fifth
noŋ — new	po — dry (pond, etc.)
nouwə (IA) — nine	poTTu — intestines
nyoto banə — invite to feed (v.)	puchera — tail
nhī bhag (TB-IA) — double	puhε — knee
nhī — two	puja khəi- — worship (v.)
nhī-yā — father's sister (younger or older)	pujo-ko- — sacrifice (v.)
nhīmilə — couple	puran (IA) — old
nhīphera — twice	purəbə (IA) — east
nhikko — good	pute — navel
nhikko many- — love	puTTha — hips
nhikkə-kun- — listen (v.)	puTThi (IA) — back of body
nhily- — swallow (v.)	puTThi-haDəŋ (IA) — backbone
ohəDyā-hā — plank	puχε-kε-mhīkəw — patella
okhadi — medicine	pyaji — onion
pəchāh — west	phām — memory
pəD- (IA) — read (v.)	phaik- — beg (v.)
pəglyu-wata — madly	phaNDə — ribs
pəkha (IA) — feather	phapsu — lungs
pəriwaru (IA) — family	phelo — plate
pətera — braid	philiTiya — guts
pəTT- — jump across (v.)	pho- — climb
pəu — attack (v.; by animal)	phūgelu — jar, pot
pa ko- — weave (v.)	phulbər (IA) — aluminum
pāo — village	phullu- (IA) — bloom (v.)

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phuləŋ — flower	sive- TB) — die
phuTTha — buttocks	soŋ — light
phəDyaha (IA) — cot	sura (IA) — beginning
phəl (IA) — fruit	suru ko (IA) — first
phəŋlo — water-pot	suru-ghəi- (used as IA) — begin (v.)
rəggu — height	suyε — corpse
rəŋ- (IA) — colour	sya — flesh
rəŋyā ko- — paint (v.)	sya — meat
rəŋyə- (IA) — dye (v.)	syaDi — fox
ra kə- — quarrel (v.)	syari — jackal
ra pε- — swim (v.)	təb (IA) — then
rajmā (IA) — bean	təiyar (IA) — ready
rakε-ji — collide (v.)	təlwari (IA) — sword
raNiū (IA) — widow	təmaku (IA) — tobacco
raNiūā (address) (IA) — widower	takeε- — fight (v.)
rattəi — morning	tallə — lake
rewja (IA) — custom	tambo (IA) — copper
riχ (IA) — anger	tany- — increase (stretch)
rokka-bərəχə — last year	(mhəŋə)-tar- — close (mouth, v.)
rop- — plant (v.)	taro lao ko- — thresh (v.)
rupiya (IA) — rupee	taru — uvula
ruwa (IA) — cotton	tεo/tεw — hot plate
rhu- — climb down	ti — rain
rhuŋ — bright (light)	ti — water
səkə-hĩ- — stop (v.)	to-lo — towards
səmdi — son's wife 'f/d'h'f	to-nεko — pull out (v.)
sala (IA) — wife's younger brother	tonə- — bring out (v.)
sali (IA) — wife's younger sister	tu- — lift (v.)
saphə (IA) — clean	tu- — pluck (v.)
sek- (IA) — brood (v.)	tuha-poTha — chicken
selo — moss/swamp	tuy- — drink (v.)
serə- — extinguish (v.)	tyohar (IA) — festival
sewə (IA) — apple	tha-pi- — carry (in hand, v.)
si-gən- — blow-nose (v.)	tha- — bring down (v.)
sida hua rə- — feel (v.)	tha- — keep (v.)
sidu — straight	than — temple
silε- — scrub (v.)	thepε — dark
silkə- — light (lamp)	thiu — sweet
silo — loose	thokkulə — few/a few
silsya — bed-bug	thukkəw (IA) — phlegm
siŋ khəllaw (TB-IA) — bark of tree	thuri — calf (of buffalo)
siŋ — tree/wood	thəpy- — increase (v.)
sina — nose	thətta — upwards
sine- — cook (v.)	Tāgy- (IA) — hang (v.)
sinə- — ripe (to get)	Toka — bear (animal)
sioəŋ — horn	Tolhəriya — red
sirphə (IA) — only	Theŋto — dry (wood)
sirə — louse	The — shallow
sive — death	ThəNDi-ua- — cold (to get)

ThəTTa—up
Thəura—floor
Thəura—place
uDar—cave (natural)
udhru-—collapse-house (v.)
uDə- (IA)—fly (v.)
ugha—cave (man made)
ugha—hole
ugha—nostrils
ukhal—vomit
ukhal- lyo-—vomit (v.)
upasy- (IA)—fast (to observe)
uttər (IA)—north
whaiDola—bad
χã-jibari—brave
χãwaĩnhĩ—two and a quarter
χakε lao—milch (v.)
χattãõ (IA)—seventh
χaχ-ghə—breathe (v.)
χaχε—breath
χẽ (IA)—hundred
χεnə—hill, mountain
χode-—ask (v.)
χoηru—narrow
χu—who
χũ bhag (TB IA)—three quarters
χũ bhag—triple
χũη phera—thrice
χũwãyə—one and a quarter
χu-khəi—how
χua—leaf
χua—parrot
χuãki-hã-hã—nearly
χuai—that
χuaila/-jəm̄ma—these
χui—blood
χui—needle
χukə-—cough (v.)
χuη—three
χunəη—gold
χuru—lemon
χutəDya—rotten
χəjao-ko-—castrate (v.)
χəkkiua—end
χəmicca khəi- (IA)—consult (v.)
χəη kya-—suspect (v.)
χərmau- (IA)—ashamed of (to be)
χərəppə—python
χəsto (IA)—cheap

χəttə (IA)—seven
χəwa-di-lagg-—enjoy (v.)
χəwtẽ (IA)—co wife
yoη—path

ENGLISH-RAJI GLOSSARY

- able (to be) — ghəi-χak-
 above — agahə (IA)
 accompany with (v.) — həŋgəl-je- (IA)
 accuse/backbite (v.) — mǎhāk-ko pe-ci
 afraid of (to be) — bari-
 after — cəhTa
 after — ceta
 again — ajji
 all — jəmməl (IA)
 allow — kətε-nǎ-vē
 alone — DəTThəla
 aluminum — phulbər (IA)
 amuse (v.) — həhuri-
 anger — riχ (IA)
 animal — gəjjə/oəjji
 ankle — bha
 another/other — duχuru (JA)
 ant — cirkenti
 appear (v.) — diχua- (IA)
 apple — sewə (IA)
 arm — paTi
 armpit — kakhəlyə (IA)
 arrive (v.) — ləig-
 arrow — bǎŋ (IA)
 ash — dhuli (IA)
 ashamed of (to be) — χərmau- (IA)
 ask (v.) — χode-
 at once — əttəl
 attack (v.) — jhəgəru-hī (IA)
 attack (v.; by animal) — pəu
 avoid (v.) — bəco-bi- (IA)
 awake (v.) — jhər-
 ax — guDo
 brother's daughter (younger or older) —
 bhəjjē (IA)
 brother's son (younger or older) — bhəjja
 (IA)
 back of body — puTThi (IA)
 backbone — puTThi-haDəŋ (IA)
 bad — whaiDola
 bamboo — bās (IA)
 banana — kera (IA)
 bank of river — chəlla
 bark (v.) — bhukk- (IA)
 bark of tree — siŋ khəllaw (TB-IA)
 barley — kahe
 bathe (vi.) — halhu-
 bathe (vi.) — lhu-hǎ-
 beam — dhuri-bāsi (IA)
 bean — rajmā (Dordic)
 bear (animal) — Toka
 beard — daD
 beat (v.) — hǎnū (IA)
 bed-bug — silsya
 before — ginta
 beg (v.) — phaik-
 begin (v.) — suru-ghəi- (used as IA)
 beginning — sura (IA)
 behind — cəhTa
 believe (v.) — ahə-ghəi- (IA-TB)
 bell — ghāT (IA)
 bell metal — kǎχa (IA)
 bellow (v.) — bǎ-bǎ-ghəi-
 belly — lado
 below — dhittə
 big — bəina
 bind (v.) — hoi-
 bird — bos
 bite (v.) — kəi
 bitter — kha
 blanket — lətta (IA)
 bless — dhokka-phəka-
 blind — kaŋa (IA)
 blood — χui
 bloom (v.) — phullu- (IA)
 blow (flute, v.) — həba-ho-
 blow-nose (v.) — si-gən-
 blue — nilo (IA)
 blunt — hǎci-laggu
 boil/to cook — pasin- (IA)
 bone — haDəŋ (IA)
 bow — dhənəs (IA)
 bowl — kəTəua (IA)
 boy — geda
 braid — pətera
 brain — dimag (Perso-Arabic)
 branch — ha-ŋǎ
 brass — pitələ (IA)
 brave — χǎ-jibari
 bravely — həpar-hī-tə

bread—ləggya
break (vi.)—gəDə-
break (vt.)—kaDə-
breast—cucca (IA)
breath—χαχɛ
breathe (v.)—χαχ-ghə-
bride—bvawli (IA)
bright (light)—rhuŋ
bring (v.)—pitə-
bring down (v.)—tha-
bring out (v.)—tonə-
Brinjal—bhaTa
broad—lanɣə-ləi-
brood (v.)—sek- (IA)
brother (older)—da (IA)
brown—gəd-bəddo
buffalo—bhōisi (IA)
build (v.)—bəna- (IA)
bulge (v.)—donə-
bull—kaTo (IA)
burn (vi.)—luŋ-
burn (to, common)—hũ
burn (vt.)—mhūtə-
burst (vi.)—goi-
burst (vt.)—bhuT- (IA)
bush—bhuDə
butter—nəoni (IA)
buttermilk—chahə (IA)
buttocks—phuTTha
buy (v.)—mənlə-
calf (of buffalo)—thuri
calf (of cow)—baχo (IA)
call (v.)—nokə-
calves —machəli (IA)
cap—kule
carry (hanging, v.)—ha-kəuya-pi-
carry (in hand, v.)—tha-pi-
carry (on back, v.)—khəi-pi-yakə
carry (v.)—pi-
castrate (v.) —χəjao-ko-
cat—birari (IA)
catch (fish)—bura-hoŋ-
catch (v.)—hoŋ-
cave (man made)—ugha
cave (natural)—uDar
change (v.), alter—bədəl (IA)
cheap—χəsto (IA)
cheeks —gəlli (IA)
chest —chati (IA)

chew (v.)—cakoi- (IA)
chicken—tuha-poTha
child—geda
chili—kur-χaini
chin—āuTha
chirp (v.)—bāhō-
clean—saphə (IA/Perso-Arabic)
climb down—rhu-
climb—pho-
close (door, v.)—Dhəkki- (IA)
close (eyes, v.)—(kaŋa) khə-
close (mouth, v.)—(mhōŋə)-tar-
cloth—lətta (IA)
cloud—deχu
clutch—hakɛ
co wife—χəwtɛ (IA)
coal—məssi (IA)
cobra—mago
cock—murga
cold (to feel)—ju-ghəi
cold (to get)—ThəŋDi-ua-
cold season—jũ
collapse (person)—Dhəkk-
collapse-house (v.)—udhru-
collide (v.)—rakɛ-ji
colour—rəŋ- (IA)
comb (v.)—kotor-
come (v.)—la-
compare (v.)—dəbbu-hā-
complain (v.)—hasik-ko- (IA)
conceive (vi.)—bəsti-hĩ-
consult (v.)—χəmicca khəi- (IA)
continuously—jəgiuta-khəitəl
cook (v.)—sine-
copper—tambo (IA)
corner—koŋũ (IA)
corpse—suyɛ
costly—akɛro (IA)
cot—phəDyaha (IA)
cotton—ruwa (IA)
cough (v.)—χukə-
couple—nhĩmilə
cover (self)—nel-
cover (something)—Dhəkk- (IA)
cover (vt.)—hənn-
crack—gui
cream—jaiyu (IA)
creeper—letta (IA)
crooked—bāŋgā (IA)

crop—khetti (IA)
 crow—kako
 cry (v.)—cəkk-
 curd—dəi (IA)
 curse (v.)—hət-ye-
 custom—rewja (IA)
 cut (v.)—kaTT- (IA)
 d'h/si'd'h—jūai (IA)
 dance (v.)—nacc- (IA)
 dark—thepə
 daughter—garō
 day—dhyuŋ (IA)
 death—sive
 deep—gəiru (IA)
 deer—jaDəyo
 defeat (v.)—dhi-pəu-
 defend (v.)—hābεco-
 defense—bēcu
 deny (v.)—hāmənn-
 desire (v.)—huccyo-rε-
 dew—palo
 die—sive- TB)
 difficult—əhat
 dig—dəu-
 dirt—kəcar
 dirty—Dola
 divide (v.)—mar-tε-
 divorce—həddba
 do (v.)—khəi-
 dog—kui
 donkey—gədha (IA)
 door—dhera
 door-leaf—duar
 double—nhī bhag (TB-IA)
 dough—ghuDhi
 down—dhitta
 downwards—dhitta
 drag—ghō-gor-
 drink (v.)—tuŋ-
 drive (cattle)—hākk-
 drive (vehicle, etc.)—cala-
 drop (v.)—jhər-
 drown (v.)—Dubb-
 dry (field/cloth)—karəw
 dry (vi.)—karəu wε-
 dry (pond, etc.)—po
 dry (vt.)—pak-rə
 dry (wood)—Theŋto
 duck—bətək

dye (v.)—rəŋyə-
 ear—guna
 earth—deχə
 earthquake—bhucalo
 east—purəbə
 easy—hərjε
 eat (v.)—ja-
 echo—bəcεn-phərakyor
 egg—əŋDa (IA)
 eight—əTTəhə (IA)
 elbow—guru
 elder brother's wife—boji
 empty—khəni
 end—χəkkua
 enjoy (v.)—χəwa-di-lagg-
 evening—byarko
 extinguish (v.)—serə-
 eye brow—dəbuli
 eye lashes—mhike-hanu
 eye—mhike
 father's sister (younger or older)—nhī-yā
 father's mother; mother's mother—əmmā
 father's sister's husband; elder sister's
 husband—ga-ni
 father's elder brother—dukəiya
 face—mhəŋ
 fall down (vi.)—Dhəu-
 fall down (vt.)—gurkau-
 family—pəriwaru
 fan (v.)—bəyar-hai bə-
 fang —daro
 far—əndher-ləŋka-
 fast (to observe)—upasy-
 fasten (v.)—həŋly-
 fat—moTiya
 fat, grease—bəχε
 father—ba
 feast—jəmmən
 feather—pəkha
 feel (v.)—sida hua rə-
 female—mā
 festival—tyohar
 few/a few—thokkulə
 field—gədi
 fifth—pŋāū
 fight (v.)—take-
 fill (grain, v.)—(orε)-ku-
 fill (liquid, v.)—bhər
 finger—āgulya

finish (v.)—həkya	gooseberry—ãoDya
fire—mhē	gourd—bhujō
firewood—kaThəŋ	grass—ghaxri
first—gintako	grate (teeth, v.)—kəiku-
first milk—bigəuta	grate (to grind)—itə-
first—suru ko (IA)	grate (v.)—hyək
fish—bura	gray—dhəurva
fist—muTika	graze (cattle, v.)—hacərə
five—pŋā	graze (vi.)—cərə-
flame—luŋ-harē	green—həriyo
flat—babbər-hāina	groom—bywlo
flesh—sya	ground—goDi
flexible—ciləbəkya	group—jhikkə
floor—Thəura	guava—behe
flour—piThu	gums—dhəda-χo
flower—phuləŋ	guts—philiTiya
fly (v.)—uDə-	husbandaughter's elder brother—jeThan
fly—bhukəy	husbandaughter's elder brother's wife—di
foam—Dola	husband's elder sister's husband—ga-ni
fodder—dalo	husband's v brother—deurə
food—nako	husbandaughter's father—iju buba
foot—bha	husbandaughter's mother;
forbid—hāga habə-	husbandaughter's elder sister—iju
forehead—kəpal	husbandaughter's younger brother's wife—
forest—manəŋ	bhəiñyā
forget (v.)—bhull- (IA)	husbandaughter's younger sister's
fortnight—nihapta (TB-IA)	husband—da
four—pari	husband's younger sister—nəndə
four times—pari phera (TB-IA)	hair—hamu
fourth—pariū (TB-IA)	half—adda (IA)
fox—syaDi	hammer—mukreya
fresh—haniuŋto	hand—hake
frog—gugəcca	hang (v.)—Tāgy-
frost—palo	happy—khusə
fruit—phəl	hard—khoTTa
full—bhərətə	hate (v.)—nənce-pətə-ri
father's younger brother; mother's younger	have (v.)—huā-
sister's husband—kakka	he—ai
Father's younger brother's wife—ci-mā	head—gaDa
garlic—lesəni (IA)	headgear—pagə
ginger—addu (IA)	hear (v.)—kun-
girl—garō	heart/mind—mənə
give—be-	hearth—culvani
glacier—himar-pəuwə	heaven—agaχə
go (v.)—jia-	heavy—nali
goat—bəkka	heel—kuru gucci
God—bhəgwan	height—rəggu
gold—χunəŋ	hell—nərək
good—nhikko	help (v.)—lagog-bə-

here — əia	knead (v.) — hyãku-
hesitate — dhər-bər-	knee — puɛ
hide (v.) — lupp-	knot — gãThi (IA)
high — ərəgu	know (v.) — dəhəu-
hill, mountain — χεnə	lac — lisse
hips — puTTa	ladder — khuTu-kəni
his, her — aikε (TB-IA)	lake — tallə
hold — hoŋ-	language — boli
hole — ugha	large — biəna
honey — moŋ-wε	last — cəhTako
horn — sioəŋ	last year — rokka-bərəχə
horse (female) — ghoDi (IA)	lastly — cyuTTi
horse (male) — ghoDya (IA)	lay down (v.) — loT-
hot — Daha	leaf — χua
hot plate — tεo/tεw	leak (v.) — cuə-mhã
hot season — ghəməliha	leave (v.) — haDDo-rugga-hã
house — naw	leech — jok
how — χu-khəi	leg — bhala
hum (a tune, v.) — həjjə-həlaike-hã-	lemon — χuru
hundred — χẽ (IA)	lie (v.) — jhuTi-hã-sya
hunt (v.) — mara-	lift (v.) — tu-
husband — giro	light (lamp) — silkə-
husk (v.) — paχoro-	light — soŋ
hut — nao	light-fire (v.) — mhütə-
I (1sg) — ne	like that — ap-khəitə
ice — himar	like this — in-khəitə
— ik-kua	lion — bagho (IA)
in front of — həmaniã	lips — ciuDya
incisors — dherə-daro	listen (v.) — nhikkə-kun-
increase (stretch) — tany-	liver — mulya
increase (v.) — thəpy-	lizard (wild) — birəñ-sya
insect — dida-kidmala	log — hεro
inside — bhitori	loin — kəmbər (IA)
intestines — poTTu	long/tall — laŋgε
invite (v.) — nok-	look after (v.) — gəĩ-hã-
invite to feed (v.) — nyoto banə-	loose — silo
iron — loh (IA)	loud — bəina-hattə
jackal — syari	louse (egg) — likkya
jar, pot — phũgɛlu	louse — sirə
jaw — jambi	love — nhikko many-
joints — kəpca	low — nicco (IA)
jump across (v.) — pəTT-	low voice — həjje
jump (v.) — maTTə-hã	lungs — phapsu
keep (v.) — tha-	mother's elder sister's husband — dukəiya
key — cabi	mother's younger sister — kãĩ-ja
kidney — gurəiya	mother's mother's mother — mǎi- ju
kill (v.) — hatə-	mother's brother (elder or younger) —
kiss (v.) — laDə hã-	mammã
kite — gəruryə	madly — pəglyu-wata

maize — ghoga
male — ba
mango — abəŋ
many — jhikkəl
measure (v.) — nap-
meat — sya
medicine — okhadi
meet (v.) — bhiTTy-
melt (vi.) — gəll-
melt (vt.) — gal-
memory — phām
milch (v.) — χακε lao
milk — dudhəŋ
molar tooth — kurai-daro
molasses — gurəŋ
mole — cilkunti
money — dhən (IA)
monkey — maTa
month — mǝina (IA)
moon — junnə
morning — həŋə-lə
morning — rattai
mortar — khəDya
mosquito — ləm-juŋ-yě
moss/swamp — selo
mother — ija
mountain — bhiTTa
mouse — māχǎ
mouth — khəbε-ru
move (v.) — haro-
much — əndher
mud — kəcar
mule — khəccər (IA)
mushroom — Dumba
my, mine — na-ǎ
nail — kili
nail — nihəŋ
name (to give) — namyo tha-
name — nam
narrow — χoŋru
navel — putε
near — nəjik
near — nəjikelhō
nearly — χuǎki-hǎ-hǎ
neck — Giddə
need (v.) — cai-
needle — χui
nest — ghulli
net — jali

new — noŋ
next — duχuro
next year — jibi
nine — nouwǎ (IA)
nipple — cucca-gədaw
no — hǎ-hǎ
node (v.) — gara ghəi-
noon — cəkəl
north — uttər
nose — sina
nostrils — ugha
not smooth — khəhaDyo
now — əb
obey (v.) — mann-
obstruct (v.) — har khəi-
occupy (v.) — panikə khəi
offer (v.) — bε ko
often — kəbhəi-kəbhəi
oil (v.) — maDDo-bəi-
oil — baχa
old — buDha
old — puran
once — Dah phera
one and 3 quarters — pau nǎi nhǐ
one and a half — Dhīŋ
one and a quarter — χūwǎyə
one — Da/Dah
one fourth — paryū bhag
onion — pyaji
only — jhaīcəla
only — sirphə
open (door, v.) — khəi-
open (knot, v.) — khoi-
orange — narəŋgi
our — na-nikε
outside — bahəry
paddy — gaDa
paint (v.) — rəŋyǎ ko-
pair — joDa
palm — ha-kə
parrot — χua
part — bhak
pastle — mohləŋ
patella — puχε-kε-mhīkəw
path — yoŋ
paw — bhaw/nihaw
peacock — mor
pebbles — ica-Dhuŋε
person — mǎncə

phlegm — thukkəw	ribs — phaŋDə
pierce — hanu-	rice (cooked) — bhəttə
pig/bore — bhuniya	rice — daru
pillar — Dadalya	ring — khaligy
pinch (v.) — kiTi-ũ-ã-	rinse (v.) — khəlka-
place — Thəura	ripe (to get) — sinə-
plank — ohəDyã-hã	roast (v.) — palo ko-
plant (v.) — rop-	roll up — be ryu-
plaster (v.) — lipp-	rolled — baTla
plate — phəlo	roof — pakha
play (v.) — khuDD-	root — jədao
pluck (v.) — tu-	rope — jəura
poison — bisəŋ	rotten — χutəDya
porcupine — mǎssi	rough — jigutə
post (pillar) — kilə	round — baTulo
potato — alu	rub (v.) — maDD-
pound (v.) — chũ-	rupee — rupiya
pour out — khəny-	son's daughter; daughter's daughter — natini
pray (v.) — binti ghəi-	son's son, daughter's son — bati
prepare (v.) — baTy-	son's wife — buari
price — dəm	son's wife's father; daughter's husband's
priest — jijharo	father — səmdi
protect (v.) — hə-bēcū-	sacrifice (v.) — pujo-ko-
pull out (v.) — to-nəko	salt — mǎhã
pungent — Daha	same — ailə
push — ghucc-	same — ailɛ
put up notice (v.) — cipka-	sand — bəlyya
python — χərəppə	save (v.) — ha-bēcū-
quadruple — bari bhag	saw (v.) — cir-
quarrel (v.) — ra kə-	saw — hətasi
quick — haDbi	say (v.) — nəko-
quickly — haDbe	scissors — kēcī
rabbit — hahũ	scorpion — kəŋessi
rain — ti	scrub (v.) — silɛ-
rainy season — comãχ	scythe — dəl
read (v.) — pəD-	search (v.) — mara-
ready — təiyar	second — duχro (IA)
rear (v.) — par-	see (v.) — dəbb-
rebuke (v.) — mǎ-kəi-nɛ-ko-	see — guhɛ
red — Tolheriya	seed — biye
refined butter — ghiəŋ	sell (v.) — kaltə-
refuse (v.) — hã-hã-kəi-	send (v.) — ghall-
regularly — hədiaro	set (the sun, v.) — Duby-
relatives — mal-mittər-hĩ	seven — χəttə (IA)
relax (v.) — loTai-huã-	seventh — χattãō (IA)
religion — dhərmə	shake (self, v.) — kəmo
reply (v.) — bətkao phərkao-ko-	shake (vt.) — hila-
report (v.) — bətao ko-	shallow — The
return (v.) — bhərəkya-bi	sharp — ci-laggu

she — huai (mã)
sheep — bheD
sister's son — bhəñjə (IA)
stealthily — luppi-luppi
stick — jāTho
stir (v.) — hawa-
stitch (v.) — cipka-
stop (v.) — səkə-hĩ-
storm — huiya
straight — sidu
straw — kuths-muThu
stream — khuri
stretch-self (v.) — cakur-
strike (v.) — hanu-
strong (cloth) — həpar
strong (human) — khoTε
suck (v.) — ho syo-
suspect (v.) — χəŋ kya-
swallow (v.) — nhily-
sweep (v.) — jhaD-
sweet — thiu
swim (v.) — ra pε-
swing (v.) — khelle ko-
sword — təlwari
tail — puchera
take (oath, v.) — bhəgwan kəheja-
take (v.) — gata-
talk (v.) — bətkao-ghəi-
taste (v.) — cəkhh-
tea — caha
teach (v.) — ha-sikko-
tear (v.) — hacc-
tears (of eyes) — āsu
temple — gaDa
temple — than
ten — dəχə (IA)
tether (cattle, v.) — hoi ko-
that — χuui
their — ai-la-kε
then — təb
there — əi-ya
these — əila
these — χuaila/-jəmma
they (female) — ai-mã-la
they (male) — a-həi-la
thick (liquid) — bakēro
thigh — jəŋga
thin (liquid) — həpurə
this — əi

this year — əi-χai
thorn — kaT-kano
thousand — Da həjar (IA)
thread — lotti
three and 3 quarters — pau năi pari
three quarters — χũ bhag (TB IA)
three — χuŋ
thresh (v.) — taro lao ko-
thrice — χũŋ phera
throat — hyākuli
throw (v.) — coD-
thumb — āguli
tie (v.) — hoi-
tight — haniŋto
till now — əttəl-jhani
till what time — kinăo
tobacco — təmaku
today — dəi
tomorrow — kəllə
tongue — jibero
tooth — daro
towards — to-lo
tree/wood — siŋ
tremble (v.) — kammōhă-
triple — χũ bhag
twice — nhĩphera
two and 3 quarters — pau năi χũ
two and a half — aDaĩŋ
two and a quarter — χăwaĩnhĩ
two — nhĩ
understand (v.) — ci-hămē-ja-
unhappy — khisə-nahũ
unrolled — dhəssyo
up — ThəTTa
upwards — thətta
urine — chi
use (v.) — əitana-cai-
usually — babbər
utensils — bhăDela
uvula — taru
valley — bin-ti-khori
village — păo
vomit (v.) — ukhal- lyo-
vomit — ukhal
vulture — gidha
waist — kəmbər
wall — baDə
walnut — əkhrot
want (v.) — caiyo rε-

wash (v.)—ci pɛ-
 water-pot—phəŋlɔ
 water—ti
 we (excl.)—nani ja lə
 we (incl.)—nani
 we two—naji
 weak (breakable)—jəgarəi
 weak (human)—kəmɟɔr, kəcuɑ
 wear-clothes (v.)—neli-
 wear-ornaments (v.)—ləgɑ-
 weave (v.)—pɑ kɔ-
 week—həptɑ
 weep (v.)—kerə-
 west—pəchãh
 wet (clothes)—kɑcɔ
 wet (to get)—jhĩ- yẽ-
 wet (wood)—kɑcɔ, həriyɔ
 what—əi
 wheat—ghuməŋ
 when—kinãɔ
 where—gəu
 white—dhəuryɑ
 whole—əi-jəmməl
 who—χu
 widower—raŋiũɑ (address)
 widow—raŋiũ
 wife—mete (address)
 wife—na-naokəhĩ (ref)
 wife's brother's wife—bhəiñyã
 wife's elder brother—jeThu
 wife's elder sister's husband—da
 wife's elder sister—jeThu sali
 wife's father; father's father; mother's
 father—bubɑ
 wife's mother—iju
 wife's younger brother—sɑlɑ
 wife's younger sister's husband—bhuli
 wife's younger sister—sali
 window—mohri
 window—mohri (IA)
 wind—bəyar (IA)
 winnow (v.)—pɑtɔ pəkɔ-
 win—jitibwɑ-
 work (v.)—kɑm khəi-
 worship (v.)—pujɑ khəi-
 wring (v.)—nicory-
 write (v.)—lekkh- (IA)
 younger sister's husband—juãi
 yak—jupɑ

yawn (v.)—hɑo-hɑo lɑgɑ-
 year—bərəχə
 yellow—pɛrɔ
 yes—əhəi
 yesterday—byarə
 you (pl.)—nəni
 you (sg.)—nəŋ
 young—hɑpɑr
 younger brother's wife—buɑri
 your (pl.)—nəni-lɑ-kɛ
 your (sg.)—nəŋ-gɛ

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