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

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

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

/ə, aː, a, b, bh, c, ch, d, dh, D, Dh, dz, e, ε, g, gh, h, iː, i, j, jh, k, kh, l, lh/hl, m, mh/hm, n, nh/hn, η, N, o, ɔ, p, ph, r, rh, s, ş, t, th, T, Th, ts, tʃ, u, uː, w, χ, 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 subdivided 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 woolen 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 /rɔpɔ/ is used for the language and for the community as well. In rapid speech it is realized as [r̥apɔ], 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'). Kumaunis 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 Byäsi, is the most dominant language among the tribal languages spoken in Dharcula sub-division. It is spoken in Byangs Patti of Dharcula sub-division of Pithoragarh district in Uttar Pradesh. The Patti of Byangs and Chaudangs are formed along the river Kali, which meets the river Dhauali at Tawaghan, a few miles upriver from Dharcula town. This is the region between these two rivers. The Patti Chaudangs starts from Tawaghan 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. 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 Dharcula 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

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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 Pithorsgarh 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 'Ranglo'.
A Study on the Tibeto-Burman Languages of Uttar Pradesh

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 /walɔŋ/. 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       | o      |  |
| LOWER MID | ε       | ø      |  |
| 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 ø ø/ 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/  
/aR/ 'if'  
/ənDa/ 'egg'  
/əR/ 'and'  
/əw/ 'potato'  
/əb/ 'now'  
/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/
/a:ka/ 'stool'
/a:ma/ 'mother',
/a:ra:m/ 'rest, cure'
/a:na/ 'father's sister'
/a:co/ 'elder brother'

/i/
/in/ '1pl. pronoun'
/i:ta/ 'cure'

/i:/: 
/i:b/ 'sleep'
/i:n/ 'oneself'

/u/
/u:n/ 'stone'
/u:ᵝ/ 'high'
/u:d:s/ 'sad'
/u:ᵯᵝ/ 'to wash'

/u:/
/u:ᵩ/ 'to fly'

/e/
/e/ 'hey!'

/e:/ 
/e:ᵩ/ 'vice'

/o/
/oro/ 'tomorrow'
/or/ 'direction'
/o:ᵩ/ 'to knead'

/ɔ/
/or/ 'and'
/ɔ:ᵩ/ 'instrument'

/ə/ 
/ə:ka/ 'father'
/ə:ma/ 'mango'
/ə:₂a/s/ 'hope'
/ə:ta/ 'elder sister'
/ə:ga:s/ 'sky'

/ɑ/ 
/ɑ:ka/ 'stool'
/ɑ:pa/ 'father'
/ɑ:ma/ 'mother',
/ɑ:₂a/m/ 'rest, cure'
/ɑ:ta/ 'elder sister'
/ɑ:co/ 'elder brother'

/ɑː/ 
/ɑːka/ 'stool'
/ɑːpa/ 'father'
/ɑːma/ 'mother',
/ɑːra:m/ 'rest, cure'
/ɑːna/ 'father's sister'
/ɑːco/ 'elder brother'

/ɑːː/ 
/ɑːːka/ 'stool'
/ɑːːpa/ 'father'
/ɑːːma/ 'mother',
/ɑːːra:m/ 'rest, cure'
/ɑːːna/ 'father's sister'
/ɑːːco/ 'elder brother'

/ɑːːː/
2.1.3. Medial vowels

/a a a:/
/kɔi/ 'some, many' /chɔm/ 'wool'
/jad/ 'a kind of wheat' /phal/ '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' /sin/ 'wood'
/si:dɔ/ 'white' /sir/ 'head'
/ti:r/ 'arrow'

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

/e e/
/lheda/ 'yellow' /pyec/ 'bird'
/kheb/ 'needle' /seru/ 'seru/ 'lad, young boy'
/des/ 'country' /cheri/ 'son'
/geta/ 'yours (sg.)' /geta/ 'yours (pl.)'
/jej/ 'having eaten' /chil/ 'shade, shadow'

/o o/
/joR/ 'joint' /gou/ 'round'
/gōs/ 'evening' /thou/ 'lips'
/loto/ 'skin' /roko/ 'all'
/sod/ 'cold' /ghota/ 'whose'
/khoR/ 'enclosure' /kor/ 'leprosy'
/nɔRi/ 'butter' /sɔt/ 'step-mother'
/nɔnɔ/ 'mother’s brother' /jɔRo/ 'root'
/cɔt/ 'yak' /pɔR/ 'rock'
/phɔRo/ 'spade'

2.1.4. Final vowels: /i e a ɔ u ɔ/
In final position the vowel /a/ (higher mid central), occurs typically in adjectives and in second person possessive (sg. and pl.) forms. Zollar (1983) had not noticed this fact. Examples:

/siːdə/ 'white'  /lheːdə/ 'yellow'
/rhuːdə/ 'long, tall'  /sədə/ 'cold'
/tuːtə/ 'short'  /liːdə/ 'heavy'

It has also been noticed that, in examples where we have this vowel /a/ 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 ø o/ there is allophonic length restricted to these examples:

[lheːdə] 'yellow'  [səːdə] 'cold'
[ɡeːtə] 'yours (sg.)'  [ɡeːtə] 'yours' (pl.)

2.1.5. Diphthongs

The following diphthongs have been found in our data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>a:</th>
<th>ε</th>
<th>ø</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>u:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>a:i</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oɪ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uə/ua</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>a:u</td>
<td>uə</td>
<td>oʊ/oʊ</td>
<td>uə</td>
<td>uə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>u:a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

/laːu/ 'saliva'  /muaːri/ 'bee'
/khiː/ 'dog'  /tai/, /t:i/ 'lock'
/juː/, /juːː/ 'gamble'  /tʊi/ 'drank'
/rui/ 'cotton wool'  /suːə/ 'a type of barley'
/muː/ 'kiss'  /luː/ 'lungs'
/kai/ '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/, /uː/, /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)'.

Rongpo Grammar
2.2. Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STOPS</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c [tʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ch [tʃh]</td>
<td>j [dʒ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>jh [dʒh]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRILLS</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERALS</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI-VOWELS</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɛ/ or the semivowel /y/, e.g. /siːru/ ['boy', /siːda/ ['white', /se/ ['ablative marker']. Although [s] and [ʃ] are in contrast otherwise, e.g. /saː/- 'to send' vs. /ʃa a/'meat', they seem to be in free variation in /ʃeru ~ serif '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'

/t th d dh/

/to-/- 'to crush' /tho-/- 'to ask for'
/th3-/ 'to graze' /dʒ-/ 'to graze(vi.)'
/di-/- 'to go' /dhi/ 'this'
Since the retroflex resonants /N R/ do not occur word-/syllable-initially, only the examples for medial and final contrasts are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/da:Na/</td>
<td>'grain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/da:Ra/</td>
<td>'molar tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/go:Na/-</td>
<td>'to count'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/go:R/</td>
<td>'castle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khab/-</td>
<td>'to cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gho/</td>
<td>'who'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gŋ/</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ci:r/-</td>
<td>'to sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chi:r/-</td>
<td>'to milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jhuTha/</td>
<td>'liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sid/</td>
<td>'perfect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hid-/</td>
<td>'to grind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rhi:g/</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hla/</td>
<td>'month:goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ya/</td>
<td>'or'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kya:wa/</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khwətən/</td>
<td>'walnut'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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'/
- /yū/'age, year'/
- /dø/'there'/
- /dʒ/ '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 /à/, and level, which is not marked in our data. Examples:

- /tāppən/ 'to beat'
- /taːpən/ 'to keep'
- /Thāppən/ 'to winnow'
- /khāppən/ 'to cover'
- /kəpən/ 'to harvest or to cut grass'
- /gəpən/ '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:

- /tāppən/ 'to beat' /tad/ (sg. imp. form) /təni/ (pl. imp)

With some verbs, such as /ṭiŋpən/ '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. /ṭiŋ/ (sg. imp.), /ṭiṅni/ (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'
- /VːC/ /iːb/ 'sleep'
- /VCVːːC/ /udaːs/ 'sad'
- /CVː/ /thal/ 'back'
- /CːCV/ /iːŋ/ 'stone'
- /VC/ /uŋ/ 'a little bit (of liquid)'
- /CV/ /mi/ 'person'
- /CCːCV/ /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 /-ke/. This means that suffixes are lexically conditioned. The plural suffix can be added to borrowed words as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lag/</td>
<td>/lagse/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi/</td>
<td>/mise/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dhi/</td>
<td>/dhiyte/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mākru/</td>
<td>/mākruke/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yogi/</td>
<td>/yogise/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/unj/</td>
<td>/unjse/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3. Gender
Basically gender is lexically marked in TB languages. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a:pa/</td>
<td>/a:ma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/la:pa/</td>
<td>/la:ma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/momo/</td>
<td>/popo/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /byōd/ 'brother', /rhinjā/ 'sister', /rhu/ 'father-in-law', /yu/ 'mother-in-law'. A second pattern is borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kyōTø/</td>
<td>/këTi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/da:s/</td>
<td>/da:si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ra:eq/</td>
<td>/ra:Ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dyc/</td>
<td>/debi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive/Instrumental</td>
<td>-jā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ru (singular), -nu (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.5. Examples of case marking

### /gye/ '1sg pronoun'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>gye</td>
<td>in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>gye-jə</td>
<td>in-jə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>gyi-ru</td>
<td>i-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gyi-se</td>
<td>i-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>gyi-tə</td>
<td>in-tə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /gən/ '2sg pronoun'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>gən</td>
<td>gə́</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>gən-jə</td>
<td>gə́-jə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>gə́-ru</td>
<td>gə́-ru, gə́-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gə́-se</td>
<td>gə́-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>gə́-tə</td>
<td>gə́-tə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /dhə/ '3sg pronoun, distal demonstrative'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dhə</td>
<td>dhə́-tye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>dhe-jə</td>
<td>dhə́-jə, dhə́-jə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>dhe-ru, dhe-ru</td>
<td>dhə́-ru, dhə́-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>dhe-se</td>
<td>dhe-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>dhe-tə</td>
<td>dhə́-tə, dhe-tə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /seru/ 'boy'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>seru</td>
<td>seru-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>seru-jə</td>
<td>seru-jə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>seru-ru</td>
<td>seru-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>seru-se</td>
<td>seru-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>seru-tə</td>
<td>seru-tə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /lag/ 'hand'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>lag</td>
<td>lag-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>lag-jə</td>
<td>lagə́-jə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>lag-ru</td>
<td>lagse-nu, lagə́-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>lag-se</td>
<td>lagse-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>lag-tə</td>
<td>lagse-tə, lagə́-tə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /rad/ 'cow'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>rad</td>
<td>radse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>raj-jə</td>
<td>radə́-jə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>rad-ru</td>
<td>radə́-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>rat-tə</td>
<td>radə́-tə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/uŋ/ 'stone'
Nominative uŋ uŋse
Instrumental uŋ-jɔ uŋse-jɔ
Dative uŋ-ru uŋse-nu
Genitive uŋ-tɔ uŋse-tɔ

Examples of usage:

The agentive/instrumental case marker /-jɔ/ 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.

/jɔggu jhui-ru uŋ-jɔ tadi/ 'Jaggu beat the dog with a stone.'
Jaggu dog-DAT stone-INST beat

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

/gye jäThe-jɔ ka:m laqɔŋ/ 'I work with a stick.'
I stick-INST work do

/dhɛ-jɔ gyi-ru uŋ-jɔ 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-jɔ tükį/ 'I drank.'
I-ERG drank

/mɔkru-jɔ ra:mrů lhama dhɛ/ 'Makru gave Ram a goat.'
Makru-ERG Ram-DAT goat gave

/gye-jɔ dhe-ru rhapsŋ-ru lwɛki/ 'I asked him to come.'
I-ERG he-DAT come-DAT said

/in-jɔ tû:n/ 'We drank.'
we-ERG drank

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/in-ja</td>
<td>jekhyan-ja/</td>
<td>ate-ERG</td>
<td>'We ate.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gən-ja</td>
<td>tuī-ja/</td>
<td>drank-ERG</td>
<td>'You drank.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dhətē-ja/</td>
<td>tūpī-ja/</td>
<td>drank-ERG</td>
<td>'They drank.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gyi-tə</td>
<td>tūi-ja/</td>
<td>drink+PAST-ERG</td>
<td>'This has been drunk by me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gə-tə</td>
<td>tūpyā-ja/</td>
<td>drink+PAST-ERG</td>
<td>'This had been drunk by you.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/in-tə</td>
<td>japī-ja/</td>
<td>eat+PAST-ERG</td>
<td>'This had been eaten by us.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jaggu-ru</td>
<td>coT</td>
<td>lage/</td>
<td>Jaggu got hurt.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ra:mu-ja</td>
<td>dhọtē-nu</td>
<td>kita:b</td>
<td>Ramu gave a book to them.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ra:m-ja</td>
<td>apnō-ru</td>
<td>tadi/</td>
<td>Ram beat himself.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaggu-ke-nu</td>
<td>kita:b-se</td>
<td>dhani/</td>
<td>Give books to Jaggu's.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/makru-jo</td>
<td>ra:m-ru</td>
<td>lha:ma</td>
<td>Makru gave Ram a goat.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/seru-se</td>
<td>kēti-nu</td>
<td>lhapca</td>
<td>Boys gave girls rings.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dative case marker /nu/ is added to plural pronouns.
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/gye-jo dhe-ru rhapñ-ru luehi/ 'I asked him to come.'
I-ERG he-DAT come-DAT said

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

/jaggu-kë-ru kita:b-se dhani/ 'Give books to Jaggu's.'
Jaggu-pl.-DAT book-pl. give+IMP

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

/dhi lha:mo gyo-tø hini/ 'This goat is mine.'
this goat I-GEN is

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

/dhi khui makru-tø hini/ 'This dog is Makru's.'
this dog Makru-GEN is

/jaggu makru-tø byad hini/ 'Jaggu is Makru's brother.'
Jaggu Makru-GEN brother is

/dhi rokuë-tø hini/ 'This belongs to all.'
this all-GEN is

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

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

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

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

The ablative marker /se/ marks a source.

/gye dhi makru-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, /dab/:
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>gye</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person/demonstrative</td>
<td>gən</td>
<td>gē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Proximate</td>
<td>dhi</td>
<td>dhitye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Remote</td>
<td>dhē</td>
<td>dhētye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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' |

**Time adverbials:**

| /guast/ | 'when' |
| /guastari/ | 'sometimes' |
| /ab/ | 'now' |
| /daga:t/ | 'at that time' |
| /khya:t/ | '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, /ghuø/ 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):

/dhë kyêTi gho Dya:ra kə:m ləče/
that girl who house work doing
'that girl who is working in the house' (agent)

/dhë mi gho-jø dhi sueTør baNeja/
this man who-ERG this sweater made
'that man who made the sweater' (agent)

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

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

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

/dhi mi gho-ru bhu-jø 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 /du/. 
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:

/dhi thɔmo gho sib a:pa-jɔ 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 makru hūkan/
this house where Makru live
'the house where Makru lives' (location)

3.11. Emphatic pronouns

First person sg. gye i:n 'I myself'
pl. in i:n 'we ourselves'

Second person sg. gɔn gɔnɔn 'you yourself'
pl. gê gên 'you yourself'

Third person sg. dhɛ i:n 'he/she himself/herself'
pl. dhetye isɛn 'they themselves'

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

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

/gɔn gɛ-tɔ lɔn gɔnɔn le/ 'You do your work yourself.'
you you-GEN work self do+IMP

/dhetye isɛ-tɔ lɔn isɛn letin/ '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 /apnø/ (sing. & plural: 'Beide Woter sind') and /isët/ (sing.) /isët/ (pl.) ('gleichermassen gebrauchlich'). 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-jø apnø-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/, /-pø/, /-ba/, /-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  | /de/  | curd  |
| CCV   | /fa/ | meat   | /khui/ | dog | /cyā:-/ | to press |
| CVC   | /than/ | today | /mig/ | eye   | /phan/- | to sew |
| CCVC  | /byød/ | 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' /røŋpo/ 'Rangpa people or language'
/jua:ba/ 'a hybrid yak' /khulma/ 'hay'
/ca:ma/ 'daughter' /nipca/ 'rat'
/a:ma/ 'mother' /jumi/ 'a type of hybrid yak'
/la:ma/ 'father's elder brother's wife' /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'
/byan/ 'Tibet' /byanpa/ 'a person from Tibet'

³/-ma/ has also been treated as a feminine marker and /-pa/ as a masculine marker in kinship terms.
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/ > /apni/ or /ēnī/ 'father', /a:ma/ > /amni/ 'mother', /bya:da/ > /byanī/ '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', /pī/ 'four', /nha/ 'five', /gya/ 'hundred'. Numerals above one hundred are also borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Examples: /ek sī ek/ 'one hundred one', /pīsī/ 'four hundred', /nha:jī/ 'one thousand', /la:kh/ 'one lac'.

Ordinals are formed with the suffix /-po/, e.g. /sumpo/ 'third', /pīpo/ 'fourth', /po:Thpo/ 'eighth.'

In the case of 'first' and 'second', the forms used have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources: /pelo/ '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', /pī guNa:/ 'four times', /dās 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:se/ 'both'.

4.0. Adjectives

Typical adjectival suffixes are /-t/, /-d/, /-du/, /-tu/, /-l/, /-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:

/tunta/ 'short' /mānda/ 'red' /khyagtā/ 'sweet'
/sod/ 'cold' /chat/ 'warm' /pīsīt/ 'full'
/jarpa/ 'young' /nha:dā/ 'tall' /nha:du/ 'light' (in weight)
/bya:du/ 'thin' (flat objects) /lagtu/ 'thin' (long objects)

Adjectives may be formed by reduplication, e.g., /ci:ci/ 'small, a little bit' (solid things); /cācalo/ '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' /mha:st/ 'more, many'
/chawo/ 'clear' /ori/, /ēri/ 'good' /khāsū/ 'dull'

/dhe kim nu:dā yā/ 'That house is new.'
This village is old.'
'This village is a little old.'
'Makru is good.'
'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:

/dhi nam yu:dô yâ/  'difficult'
/kha:li/  'empty'
/sêgo/  'easy'
/khara:b/  'bad'
/gou/  'round'
/nilo/  'blue'
/hâryo/  'green'
/sânNu/  'narrow'
/Dhono/  'hollow'

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

/nilo kâpRo/  'blue cloth (masc.sg.)'
/nile kâpRe/  'blue clothes (masc. pl.)'
/nili Topi/  'blue cap (fem.sg.)'
/nili Topiâ/  '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'
/dhâ/  'now'
/lyôN/  'later'

(b) Composite forms:

/ba:-gya/  'two days after tomorrow'
/thin-gya/  'three days after tomorrow'
/luñ-gya/  'four days after tomorrow'
/cuñ-gya/  'five days after tomorrow'
/thamin/  'the day before yesterday'
/oðhamin/  'all other days before yesterday'
/thamin/  'this year'
/nâñ/  'last year'
/dhi:n/  'the year before last year'

5.2. Adverbs of manner

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

/Tuplë/  'quietly'
/sô-solë/  'slowly'
/yakhuli/  'alone'

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: 
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'
'/harku/' 'this side, sideways'
'/pəŋco/' 'below'
'/pa:N/' 'below the speaker'
'/alu/' 'inside'
'/ha:r/' 'a little away'
'/kal/' 'on, in'
'/litho/' 'near'
'/wa:sta/' 'for'
'/rhapu/' 'across'
'/sib/' 'along with; instrumental'

'/lyəN/' 'behind, after'
'/gyarku/' 'that side'
'/kalco/' 'above'
'/nhamca:r/' 'front, before'
'/dagar/' 'outside'
'/kalco/' 'on from'
'/se wado/' 'away from'
'/kildu/' 'in the middle'
'/dhipu/' 'this side'
'/su/' 'since'

Examples:

'/naca:r/
/dhe japə naca:r rhe/
he eat-NOM before came

'/lyəN/
/jaggu gyi-tə lyəN yə/
Jaggu I-GEN behind is

'/harku/
/kim-tə harku khye yə/
house-GEN this.side what is

'/gyarku/
/kim-tə gyarku/
house-GEN that side

'/pəŋco/
/ŋt-ə pəŋco/
stone-GEN under
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/kalco/  'above' (takes a genitive NP)
/ŋ-tə kalco/  'above the stone'

/pa:N/  'in, inside of' (takes a nominative NP)
/jhoye pa:N/  'inside the bag'
/këTī ərəm pa:N nhasi/  'The girl fell into the river.'
	n girl  river  in  fell

/nhamca:r/  'in front of' (takes a genitive NP)
/dh‰ ət  ʃa:nhamca:r  yà/  'He is in front of me.'

/he I-GEN front is

/alu/  'inside, on' (takes a nominative NP)
/jaggu alu hunctí/  'Jaggu was sitting inside.' (house, etc.)

/Jaggu  inside  sit:was
/kita:b mej alu yà/  'The book is on the table.'

/book  table  on  is

/dagar/  '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 ʃa:Né/  'Remove the book from the table.'

/table  on-from  book  away  remove
(cf. /dhe  ha:r  di/ [he away went] 'He went away')

/ipigaj rhigər kal yà/  'The seed is in the field.'

/seed  field  in  is
/gye məkrə əmca kal chisi/  'I met Makru on the way.'
/I  Makru  way  on  met

/gəkən kal-cə nhasi/  'The boy fell from the tree.'

/boy  tree  on-from  fell

/lithə/  'near' (takes a genitive NP)
/dhe  gyi-tə lithə yà/  'He is nearby me.'

/he I-GEN near  is
'away from' (takes a nominative NP)
'Makru went away from Ram.'

'for' (takes a dative NP)
'This is for Ram.'

'in the middle, between' (nom. or gen. NP)
'The man fell in the middle of the river'

'Who is between you and me?'

'Our village is across the river'

'Your village is this side of the river'

'along with, instrumental' (takes nom. NP)
'I went with Ram'

'He cut the grass with a sickle.'

'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' |
| /sru/ | 'lad, child' | /sru-meru/ | 'children' |

**Adjectives:**

| 
| /ɔri/ | 'good' | /ɔri-mɔri/ |
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/mənda/ 'red' /mənda-wənda/
/nu:da/ 'new' /nu:da-mu:da/

Verbs:
/dipəŋ/ 'to go' /dipəŋ-hipəŋ/
/tūpəŋ/ 'to drink' /tūpəŋ-tapəŋ/
/urspəŋ/ 'to bathe' /urspəŋ-arspəŋ/
/yəŋpəŋ/ 'to hear' /yəŋpəŋ-hyəŋpəŋ/ /yəŋpəŋ-hyəŋpəŋ/ or /yəŋpəŋ/
/yūpəŋ/ 'to walk'

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 an 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' > /puspəŋ/ 'to be cooked'
/huncəŋ/ 'to sit' > /huspəŋ/ 'to be seated'
/pinpəŋ/ 'to fill' > /pispəŋ/ '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.)' > [jula:-] 'swing (vt.). In at least one case it seems to affect a root vowel rather than being a suffix: /bigəR-/ 'spoil (vi.)' > [bigaːR-] '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.
Suhnu Ram Sharma

/nharŋ/ 'to throw' > /nhasŋ/ 'to fall'
/phagŋ/ 'to break (thread, rope)' > /phasŋ/ 'to be broken'
/pinŋ/ 'to fill' > /píspan/ 'to get filled up by itself' (by some natural process)

/urŋ/ 'to wash' > /usŋ/ '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:kiŋ/ or /gya:ŋ/ 'to be broken'
/darŋ/ or /darp/ 'to tremble'
/nhya:ŋ/ or /nhyap/ 'to dance'
/lyapŋ/ or /lyapνŋ/ 'to get burnt'

The suffix /-c/ appears in certain verb forms, such as in the imperative. For example, the imperative forms of /nhyap/ 'to dance' are /nhyapci/ and /nhyapci/ 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:

/thaŋ/ 'to graze (vt.)' /dąŋ/ 'graze (vi.)'
/phagŋ/ 'to break (vt.)' /bagŋ/ 'to be broken (thread) (vi.)'
/phuŋ/ 'to open (vt.)' /buŋ/ '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:rnŋ/ 'to be defeated' /hara:nŋ/ 'to defeat'
/halkŋ/ 'to get moved' /hala:nŋ/ 'to move'
/lekhpŋ/ 'to write' /lekha:nŋ/ '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/di-/</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>/di/ 'go!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rha-/</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>/rha/ 'come!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chʒ-/</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
<td>/chʒ/ 'buy!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yũ-/</td>
<td>'to walk'</td>
<td>/yũ/ 'walk!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tũ-/</td>
<td>'to drink'</td>
<td>/tũ/ 'drink!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lhe-/</td>
<td>'to take'</td>
<td>/lhe/ 'take!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tær-/</td>
<td>'to finish'</td>
<td>/tær/ 'finish!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ræŋ-/</td>
<td>'to sell'</td>
<td>/ræŋ/ 'sell!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sig-/</td>
<td>'to wipe'</td>
<td>/sig/ 'wipe!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ur-/</td>
<td>'to wash (clothes)'</td>
<td>/ur/ 'wash! (clothes)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lə-/</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>/lɛ/ 'do!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jə-/</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>/jɛ/ 'eat!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dha-/</td>
<td>'to give (to third person)'</td>
<td>/dhe/ 'give!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sa:-/</td>
<td>'to send'</td>
<td>/se/ send!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta:-/</td>
<td>'to keep'</td>
<td>/te/ 'keep!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/piwa:-/</td>
<td>'to make drink'</td>
<td>/piwe/ 'make drink!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/rha-/</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>/rha/ 'come!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ka:T-/</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
<td>/ka:ɛ/ 'cut!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lekh-/</td>
<td>'to write'</td>
<td>/lekhɛ/ 'write!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ci:r-/</td>
<td>'to saw'</td>
<td>/ci:re/ 'saw!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/həlk-/</td>
<td>'to move'</td>
<td>/həlkɛ/ 'move!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/guc-/</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
<td>/guci/ 'sleep!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

/lyapəŋ/ 'to burn' /lyaci/ 'burn!'  
/gya:kpaŋ/ '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 /u/ before the singular imperative suffix /-i/. Examples:

/so-/- 'to bring up, raise' /sui/ 'raise!' (singular)  
/kho-/- 'to harvest' /khui/ 'harvest!' (singular)  

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

/so-/- 'to bring up, raise' /sui-/ 'raise!' (plural)  
/kho-/- 'to harvest' /khui-/ 'harvest!' (plural)  

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

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

/rhu-/- 'to ask' /rhu/i/ 'ask!'  
/bu-/- 'to bring' /bu/i/ 'bring!'  

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

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

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

/gø-/ 'to melt' /gøwe/i/ 'melt!'  
/mø/ 'to rub' /mo/we/i/ 'rub!'  

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

/th₃-/ 'to graze' /th₃/ 'graze!'
/ty₅-/ 'to weep' /ty₅/ 'weep!' /ch₅-/ 'to buy' /ch₅/ '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/di/</td>
<td>/dini/</td>
<td>'go!'</td>
<td>/yₐn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rha/</td>
<td>/rhani/</td>
<td>'come!'</td>
<td>/tǝr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d₃/</td>
<td>/d₃ni/</td>
<td>'graze!'</td>
<td>/ur/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lₐ/</td>
<td>/lₐni/</td>
<td>'do!'</td>
<td>/jε/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kǝ:Tε/</td>
<td>/kǝ:Tǝni/</td>
<td>'cut!'</td>
<td>/ghuwe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guci/</td>
<td>/gucini/</td>
<td>'sleep!'</td>
<td>/olǝ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/šǝsi/</td>
<td>/šǝsi:ni/</td>
<td>'raise!'</td>
<td>/pote/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases although the singular imperative suffix /-ε/ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ta:/</td>
<td>/te/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dha:/</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sǝd/</td>
<td>'to kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tǝd/</td>
<td>'to beat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In these examples, when the plural imperative suffix is added, /d/ assimilates to /n/ and ə > ə. In some other cases the plural imperative suffix is added to the base form only. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ta:/</td>
<td>'to keep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>/ta:ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta:ni/</td>
<td>'keep!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dha:/</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dhe/</td>
<td>/dha:ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dha:ni/</td>
<td>'give! (to 3rd person)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/thadı/</td>
<td>/thadini/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thale/</td>
<td>/thaleni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thaleni/</td>
<td>'don't do!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/thätü/</td>
<td>/thätuni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tholekhı/</td>
<td>/tholekheni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tholekheni/</td>
<td>'don't write'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**8.5. Present participle forms**

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

| /yūt/ | 'to walk' |
| /yūt/ | 'walking' |
| /ka:Tı/ | 'to cut' |
| /ka:Tı/ | 'cutting' |
| /rha/ | 'to come' |
| /rhatı/ | 'coming' |
| /tū:jən/ | 'to drink' |
| /tū:jən/ | 'drinking' |
| /yən:ən/ | 'to listen' |
| /yən:ən/ | 'listening' |
| /urs:ı/ | 'to bathe' |
| /urstanı/ | 'bathing' |
| /bhi:jtı/ | 'to get wet' |
| /bhi:jtı/ | 'getting wet' |

**8.6. Perfective participle**

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

| /sisıt/ | 'to die' |
| /sisıt/ | 'dead' |
| /fät/ | 'to grow old' |
| /fät/ | 'old' |
| /dit/ | 'to go' |
| /dit/ | 'gone' |
| /khabstı/ | 'to cover' |
| /khabstı/ | 'covered' |
| /miwastı/ | 'to mix' |
| /miwastı/ | 'mixed' |
| /khostı/ | 'to harvest' |
| /khostı/ | 'harvested' |
| /huncıt/ | 'to sit' |
| /huncıt/ | '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:-jä/ 'having gone' /rhē:-jä/ 'having come, after coming'  
/hunci:-jä/ 'having sat' /ka:Te:-jä/ 'having cut'  
/je:-jä/ 'having eaten' /bha:je:-jä/ 'having run'  
/jä/ dhē di/ 'Having eaten, he went.'  
/eat+PAST-ERG he go  
/hunci:-jä dhē je/ 'Having sat, he ate.'  
/sit:PAST-ERG 3sg eat-PAST

8.8. **Infinitive forms**  
Infinitive forms are formed by adding the suffix /-pøŋ/ 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:

/lhe,pəŋ/ 'to take' /uma:upəŋ/ 'to boil'  
/punpəŋ/ 'to cook' /cumpəŋ/ 'to hold'  
/khya:kpəŋ/ 'to break; to pluck' /pinpəŋ/ 'to fill'  
/rhanpəŋ/ 'to weave' /cu:spəŋ/ 'to put on'  
/thinpəŋ/ 'to spread' /Tøpəŋ/ '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 jəpəŋ yā/ [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 məra: khə:ya: hə: həi/  
this fruit 1sgPoss eaten be+PAST is  
giving the sense - 'I have the experience of eating this fruit in the past.'

Examples:

/lupəŋ/ 'something spoken' /bā:cpəŋ/ 'something already read'  
/bha:jpəŋ/ 'someone who has already run' /sadpəŋ/ 'something killed'  
/hwaNpəŋ/ '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'
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 /-ceni/ and /-kini/ to the base of the verbs.

/ka:Tceni/  'does he cut?'
/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:

/jaku/   'may I eat?'
/diku/   'may I go?'
/rhacku/ 'may I laugh?'
/japye/  'may we eat?'
/dipye/  'may we go?'
/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 gyūðkhan/  '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'
/dit/        'one who goes'
/tūt/        'one who eats'
/rhat/       'one who comes'
**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>töpᵃŋ 'to drink'</td>
<td>rhapañ 'to come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1p. sg. | gye | tö:kᵃŋ/tᵣᵯ:ŋ | rhaŋ |
| pl.    | in  | tö:kᵃni/tᵣᵯ:ni | rhani |

| 2p. sg. | gən | tö:kᵃŋ/tᵣᵯ:n | rhan |
| pl.    | gē  | tö:kᵃni/tᵣᵯ:ni | rhani |

| 3p. sg. | dhe | tö:kᵃŋ/tᵣᵯ:n | rhan |
| pl.    | dhɛye | tö:kᵃni/tᵣᵯ:ni | rhani |

The present tense suffixes are fused morphs representing tense, person, and number. The present tense first person singular form is /-kᵃŋ/ 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:cəni] (pl.); 2p. [dha:cəŋ] (sg.), [dha:cəni] (pl.); 3p. [dha:cən] (sg.), [dha:cəni] (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present progressive</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p. sg.</td>
<td>gye</td>
<td>tö:cēki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>tö:cēni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The progressive aspect marker is /-cē/ 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-jo tū:ki
pl. in-jo tū:n

2p. sg. găn-jo tū:n
pl. gē-jo tū:n

3p. sg. dhe-jo tū:ja/tū:i
pl. dhētu-jo tū:ja/tū:i

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

The suffix /-ja/ 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 /ja-/ 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 tū:ci/gye-jo tū:ci-jo
pl. in tū:ci

2p. sg. găn tū:ci
pl. gē tū:ci

3p. sg. dhe tū:ci
pl. dhētu-ye tū:ci

**Present perfect**

1p. sg. gyi-ta tū:pīja
pl. in-ta tū:pīja

2p. sg. gē-ta tū:pīja
pl. gē-ta tū:pīja
The suffix /-ta/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1p. sg.</th>
<th>2p. sg.</th>
<th>3p. sg.</th>
<th>1p. pl.</th>
<th>2p. pl.</th>
<th>3p. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gye</td>
<td>tū:ta</td>
<td>gān</td>
<td>dhē</td>
<td>tū:ti</td>
<td>bhānta</td>
<td>dhētye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>tū:tan</td>
<td>gē</td>
<td>tū:tan</td>
<td>tū:tin</td>
<td>tū:tan</td>
<td>tū:tin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1p. sg.</th>
<th>2p. sg.</th>
<th>3p. sg.</th>
<th>1p. pl.</th>
<th>2p. pl.</th>
<th>3p. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hinki</td>
<td>hini</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>hini</td>
<td>hini</td>
<td>hini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past tense:

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

Future tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1p. sg.</th>
<th>2p. sg.</th>
<th>3p. sg.</th>
<th>1p. pl.</th>
<th>2p. pl.</th>
<th>3p. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hwānta</td>
<td>hwāntan</td>
<td>hwānti</td>
<td>hwānti</td>
<td>hwānta</td>
<td>hwānta</td>
<td>hwānta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ageement 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 staus 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'
/dhiyte si:də khoise/ 'these white dogs' /sum mi/ 'three men'
/dhiyte pi ti:nə khoise/ 'these four black dogs' /mhaust mise/ 'many men'
/gyita 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. /tə:t 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:

/dhe jɔtti/ 'He will drink.'
he drink+FUT

/ramu di-t hī/ 'Ramu had gone.'
Ramu go-NOM was

/jaggu behad tuː>n/ 'Jaggu drinks a lot.'
Jaggu too.much drink

/dhe chaTo bha:je/ '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
Some predicates are formed from combinations of noun plus verb, adjective plus verb, or adverb plus verb:

**Noun + verb**

Noun: ka:m
Verb: lapəŋ
'\text{to work}'

Noun: mæs
Verb: rha:paŋ
'\text{to dream}'

Noun: gya:s
Verb: dha:paŋ
'\text{to swear}'

Noun: yu
Verb: bəNa:paŋ
'\text{to make beer}'

Noun: kaNo
Verb: lapəŋ
'\text{to make a hole}'

**Adjective + verb**

Adjective: /ɔri
Verb: chuəpəŋ
'\text{to appear fine}'

Adjective: sod
Verb: chuəpəŋ
'\text{to feel cold}'

**Adverb + verb**

Adverb: /lyɔN
Verb: lapəŋ
'\text{to follow someone}'

Adverb: /piep
Verb: lapəŋ
'\text{to follow someone}'

**12.0. Syntax**

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

We went to see him.'

'I asked him to come.'

I have a dog.'
/dhi gyi-tə lhama yā/ 'This is my goat.'
this I-GEN goat is

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

/dhə 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 preceeds the NP representing the possessed object. The copula /yā/ can be substituted for by /hini/ but not vice versa. It may be that initially /yā/ was the singular copula and /hini/ the plural copula, but now with the singular we may have /yā/ 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 dhē-ru tãki/ '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 tanjı/ '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 makru-ru kita:b dhē/ 'Ramu gave Makru a book.'
ramu-ERG makru-DAT book gave

/seru-jə dhē-ru kita:b dhē'/ 'The boys gave him a book.'
boys-ERG he-DAT book 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:
In the examples above the question words are /khye/ 'what', /gho-ta/ 'whose', /gho/ 'who', /gust/ 'when', and /khi/ 'how', which are responsible for the interrogative sense along with the rising intonation. The other question words are:

/khyoru/ 'why'

/gu/ 'where'

/khilep/ 'how much, how many'

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

/khyoru/ 'why'

/gu/ 'where'

/khilep/ 'how much, how many'

Interrogative sentences can be formed with the help of rising intonation. Some examples of suffixes like /-e/, -eni, -cane, -kane/ are also found (see §8.11). Examples:

/dhe ghueni/ 'Who is he?'

/dhe khècane/ 'Does he pull?'

/makru dija/ 'Makru went.'

/makru dije/ 'Did Makru go?'

/jaggu tyokane/ 'Does Jaggu weep?'

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

/dhe-ru aber rhe/ 'Did he come late?'

/gê-dab boti yâ/ 'Do you have milk?'
With rising intonation these sentences can be interrogative ones. One of the suffixes used for imperative sentences also has the form /ε/ (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 gyεŋ/ 'I go.'
/dhe di/ 'He went.'
/dhe ditti/ 'He will go.'

/gye ma-gyεŋ/ 'I do not go.'
/dhe ma-di/ 'He did not go.'
/dhe ma-ditti/ 'He will not go.'

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

/gye ditta mεgεr rhatta mha/ 'I shall go but shall not come back.'

/gye-se yε-ska:n mha/ 'I am not able to walk.'

Negation can also appear in interrogative sentences. Examples:

/dhi gε-ta duka:n mεni/ 'Isn't this your shop?'

/gεn ma-rhace:n/ 'Aren't you coming?'

13.5. Conjunction and disjunction

Phrases or sentences can be joined with the help of the following coordinate conjunctions: /dɔ̃, dɔNi, jε, jεNi, ɔr/. /dɔ̃/ and /dɔNi/; /jε/ and /jεNi/ may alternate. Some informants gave /dɔ̃/, whereas some gave /jε/ 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 dhe/ 'I and he'

but we cannot say
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., /fät mi jē jät kyēTi/ 'old man and old woman'; /fät mi jē kyeTi/ 'old man and woman who is not old'. Verb phrases are conjoined with /ar/. This is a borrowing of Hindi ø 'and'.

/dhē tu:ni ǝr jənĩ/ 'He drinks and eats.'
/gān rhan ǝr dhē di/ 'You came and he went.'

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

/gye ditta māgr rhatta mha/ 'I shall go but will not come.'

Conditional sentences can be conjoined by /āgr ... tə/ 'if ... then'.

/āgr gye gyenjə tə dim mhawāni/ 'If I had gone then it would not have happened like this.'

Disjunction is marked by /ya/ 'or', /kitə ... kitə/ 'either or', or by /nə ... nə/ 'neither ... nor'. Examples:

/choTu ya moTu/ 'Chotu or Motu'
/gən ya dhē/ 'you or he'
/gən da:l jattan ya jəbəŋ/ 'Will you eat Dal or cooked food?'
/kitə rə:n kətə məkrə/ 'either Ram or Makru'
/nə məkrə jatti nə rəmu jatti/ 'Neither Makru nor Ramu will eat.' (Lit.: 'Neither Makru will eat nor will Ramu eat."

Note: The forms /māgr/, /āgr ... tə/, /ya/, and /nə ... na/ are borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rongpo Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a:b</td>
<td>adv., now (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:gər</td>
<td>conj., if (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:la:R</td>
<td>adj., tight, narrow (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:lsi</td>
<td>adj., rotten (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:l</td>
<td>n., yawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:nDa:</td>
<td>n., egg (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ndha</td>
<td>n., blind (masc. IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ndhi</td>
<td>n., blind (fem. IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ndor</td>
<td>pp., inside (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ri</td>
<td>n., request (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ro</td>
<td>conj., and (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:swu</td>
<td>n., potato (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ca</td>
<td>n., father's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:cha</td>
<td>adj., good, O.K., etc. (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:chi ba:t</td>
<td>adj+n., good thing, good talk, used as a phrase (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:jí</td>
<td>adv., once again, more than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ktō phwər</td>
<td>vt., to open the door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ktō</td>
<td>n., door, entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ku</td>
<td>n., father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:lu</td>
<td>pp., in, inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:mcə</td>
<td>n., path, way, road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:na:u</td>
<td>n., shepherd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:n</td>
<td>n., sound, voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:phi</td>
<td>reflexive pronoun, himself, oneself (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:pu</td>
<td>n., breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:rsi</td>
<td>n., mirror (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:Rək</td>
<td>vi., to cry (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:seŋə</td>
<td>adj., difficult (-a is an IA prefix added to TB adj. to derive antonyms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ŋ rhə</td>
<td>vi. to snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ŋ</td>
<td>n., snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:co</td>
<td>n., elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:də</td>
<td>n., ginger (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:da:r</td>
<td>n., respect (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:da:t</td>
<td>n., habit (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ga:s, aga:s</td>
<td>n., sky (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ka khya:r</td>
<td>vt., to defecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ka</td>
<td>n., stool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:khirı</td>
<td>adv., last (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:la:N</td>
<td>n., spice (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ma</td>
<td>n., mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:m</td>
<td>n., mango (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:na</td>
<td>n., father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:pa</td>
<td>n., father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ra:m</td>
<td>n., comfort, rest (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:s la:vı,</td>
<td>to hope (a:s &lt; IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:s</td>
<td>n., hope (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ta</td>
<td>n., elder sister, husband's elder brother's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:Th, a:T</td>
<td>num., eight (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:wa:j</td>
<td>n., a call, sound (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ŋəN</td>
<td>n., courtyard (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəcən dhə</td>
<td>vt., to give promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəcən</td>
<td>n., promise (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bədəla:</td>
<td>lhe- vt., to take revenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bədəla:</td>
<td>n., revenge (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bədəl-</td>
<td>vi., to change (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəgət</td>
<td>n., time (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəja:-</td>
<td>vt., to ring, to play musical instrument (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəja:r</td>
<td>n., market (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəNa:-</td>
<td>vt., to make (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəncə:</td>
<td>n., finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bənđu:k</td>
<td>n., rifle, gun (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bənd-</td>
<td>adj., close (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəra:bər-</td>
<td>adj., equal (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəRə</td>
<td>adj., big (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəRwa:l</td>
<td>n., a Garhwali clan name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəRya</td>
<td>n., bull (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bərət</td>
<td>n., fast (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəs</td>
<td>adv., enough, stop (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəta:-</td>
<td>vt., to tell (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bət5</td>
<td>n., wind (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəc-</td>
<td>vt., to read (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bədər</td>
<td>n., monkey (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəj</td>
<td>n., childless woman (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəs</td>
<td>n., bamboo (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəT-</td>
<td>vt., to distribute (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə-</td>
<td>bar- vt., to bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:ba</td>
<td>n., younger brother or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:bu</td>
<td>n., father (address term) (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:churu</td>
<td>n., calf (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:da:w</td>
<td>n., cloud (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:gya-</td>
<td>adv., two days after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:g</td>
<td>n., tiger (IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə:j-</td>
<td>vt., to play a musical instrument (IA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ba:lu — n., lamb
ba:ŋ5 — adj., left side (IA)
ba:Re — n., shoemaker (IA)
ba:Rɔ — 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 — vi., to get rain
barkha — n., rain (IA)
behad — adv., too much (IA)
beka:r — adj., useless (IA)
beri — 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)
biga:r — vi., to be spoiled (IA)
bigar — adv., without (IA)
bik — n., poison (IA)
bimaːri — n., disease (IA)
bima:r — n., sick (IA)
birkhu — n., kidney
birɔ — n., cat (IA)
biṣṭaːra — n., bedding (IA)
biṣwās — n., faith (IA)
biṣar — vi., to forget (IA)
biṭaː — vt., to spend (time) (IA)
bit — n., hunger
bṣThi — n., a type of sack
bogṬya — n., a type of goat
bok — vt., to weigh
boldu — adj., soft
bɔN — n., forest (IA)
bɔT — vt., to make rope (IA)
boti — n., buttermilk
botaw — n., bottle (IA)
bɔyɔ — n., mad (IA)
bũ — 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)
buDɔi — n., old woman (IA)
bu — n., grain
buā — n., a village name
buani — n., broom (IA)
bual — vi., lie down
bya:du — adj., thin (flat objects like paper, cloth)
bya:kpya — n., flour
byan — n., Tibet
byanpha — n., a Tibetan
byē — vi., to run
byɔ — n., marriage (IA)
byɔli — n., bride (IA)
byɔlo — n., bridegroom (IA)
byoRu — adj., first (IA)
byɔd — n., brother
byase — n., brothers (pl.)
bhabaR — vi., to roast (IA)
bhabaRyaː — vt., roast (IA)
bhaddɔ — adj., ugly (IA)
bhagaː — vt. drive away, to elope (IA)
bhagwaːn — n., God (IA)
bhalaːdim — n., good person (IA)
bhast — n., buckwheat
bhas — n., a type of grain out of which a loaf is made which is considered sacred
bhatiŋa — n., nephew (IA)
bhatiŋi — n., niece (IA)
bhaṬyaː — vi., to call (near the speaker)
bhai — n., brother (IA)
bhaij — vi., to run, to go away (IA)
bhaːNja — n., sister's son (IA)
bhaːNji — n., sister's daughter (IA)
bhaːN — n., hemp (IA)
bhaːp — n., steam (IA)
bhaːri — adj., heavy (IA)
bhalanə — n., a generic term used for cows, bulls.
bhaṬ — a Garhwali brahmin clan name (IA)
bheśɔ — n., buffalo bull (IA)
bhed — n., secret (IA)
bhej — vt., to send (IA)
bhɛN — n., puzzle, shaft (IA)
bhij — vi., to get wet (IA)
bhijaː — vt., to make wet (IA)
bhiti — n., wall (IA)
bhɔ rha — vi., to get boiling
bhɔ — n., eye brow (IA)
bhɔri — n., a clan name
bhɔR — n., hero one who leads (IA)
bhɔw—n., ebullication, boiling
bhùk-, bhùg—vi., to bark (IA)
bhu:j—n., birch tree (IA)
bhu:g:r—n., a Tibetan type of sheep
bhujəŋ—n., fly (IA)
bhu:jə—n., gourd (IA)
bhurɔ—adj., brown (IA)
bhusɔ—n., fodder (IA)
bhu—n., snake, insect (IA)
bhwəi—n., bee of big size
bhwɨtɔya—n., a village name
bhyap—vi., to do good
caba- capa—vt., to chew (IA)
caku—n., knife (IA)
cala—vt., to drive, to help someone walk (IA)
camək—vi., to shine (IA)
caməkə—I, vt., to cause to shine (IA)
cant—adj., sharp
cəTe—n., mat (IA)
cə—vi., to wish (IA)
cə:k—vt., to try, to test
cə:ma—n., daughter
cə:m—n., skin (IA)
cə:s—vt., to begin, to start
cə:T—vt., to lick (IA)
cag, cyag,—n., iron
camko—n., a type of bag made of wool
cart la—vt., to make hot
cart—adj., hot
can—cyan—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:n—n., sugar (IA)
ci:r—vi., to saw (IA)
cipə—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
cun gya—n., sixth day after tomorrow
cwi:r—n., python
cwɔ—vt., to card cotton or wool
cwɔko—n., chaff (IA)
cyap—cyap—vt., to press
cyːri—n., bed bug
cyan—vt., to lick
cyu—vt., to brew
cyu:—n., apricot
cyːku khyar—vt., to urinate
cyːku—n., urine
cyːcə—n., figure, shape
cyːd—cyap—vt., to kindle fire
cɔr—n., yak (IA)
cham—n., wool
cchant—n., light
chat—n., roof (IA)
chawo—adj., dirt
ta:N—vt., to choose (IA)
ta:pa—n., elder sister's husband
ta:ra—n., ashes
ta:ti—n., breast, chest (IA)
takɔ—n., picture
taːT—vt., to select (IA)
taːTa—adj., fast
tat—adj., warm
ta—n., salt
tchemi—n., a type of beans
tcheR—vt., to tease (IA)
tcheri—n., son
tches—vi., to warm oneself
tcheT—adv., far
tch—num., six (IA)
tcheI—n., shade (IA)
tchepo—adj., sixth
tchi, chi-ch—n., shame
tchik—vt., to sneeze
tchik—n., sneeze (IA)
tchi:l—vt., to peel (IA)
tchi:N—adj., weak (IA)
tchi:r—vt., to milk
tchin—vt., to tie a knot
tchinka—n., a name of a village (winter village)
tchinpa—n., liver
chormi—n., female
chor—n., spleen
chorso—n., male
chö—vt., to buy
dao—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
chuiya—n., avalanche
chuor—vi., to feel, to appear
chya—n., pair
chya:c—vi., to break
chya:s—vi., to be ready
chypadpa—adj., sweet
chyanapa—n., bad cold
chyu—vt., to divide, to share
chyorR—n., extreme edge (IA)
chya, chas—adj., fat
dab—pp., possessive postposition
daga:t—n., that time
dolgDya:no—n., shaky (IA)
dakchin—n., south
dakt—adj., hard (IA)
doma:g, dima:g—n., brain (IA)
domi—adv., like that
daphna:—,—vt., to bury
daphnæ—vi., to be buried (IA)
daphnæ—n., bury (IA)
dormyan:—pp., in between
das—num., ten (IA)
dagar—n., outside (outside the room, house)
dasyRya:Ni—n., female friend (IA)
dasyRya—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
dan—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)
dé—n., curd (IA)
debi—n., goddess (IA)
dedu:t—n., eating and drinking
déNö—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
diwà:r—n., wall (IA)
dö—vi., graze
dö—conj., and
dö-dö—adv., exactly there
dod—n., inkpot (IA)
dön—n., sorrow
döri—n., hole
dost—n., friend (IA)
dosti—n., friendship (IA)
de—adv., there
du—adv., here
du-du—adv., exactly here
duàs—vi., to say
dua:ro—adv., again (IA)
du:Na—adj., double (IA)
du:r—adv., far away (IA)
dukana:r—n., shopkeeper (IA)
duka:n—n., shop (IA)
dukhi—n., one who has pain (IA)
dukh—n., pain, grief (IA)
dusmani—n., enmity (IA)
dusman—n., enemy (IA)
dusro—adj., the other, second (IA)
dyol—n., temple (IA)
dyora:Ni—n., husband's younger brother's wife (IA)
dyör—n., husband's younger brother (IA)
dyö—n., god (IA)
dyöra:—adj., that many
dhadya:—,—vt., to hunt, to rush (IA)
dhaja:r—adv., there, near by, at
dhájer—adv., up there
dhakka:—vt., to push (IA)
dhamka:—,—vt., to threaten (IA)
dhana:i—n., bow (IA)
dhàndya:—,—vi., walk unsteadily
dhàRak—vi. heart beating (IA)
dhāra:—n., duty', religion
dhāratī—n., earth (IA)
dhatēja—pro., they, those (agentive)
dhāṭēnu, dhāṭeyanu—pro., they (dative)
dhā—adv., now
da:—vt., to give (to 2nd & 3rd person)
dha:ni—n., a clan name
dha:n—adv., at once
dha:ro—n., water stream (IA)
dha:r—n., an edge, a long mountain range (IA)
dharū—adv., recently,
dhē—pro., 3sg (animate and inanimate)
dhejā—pro., 3sg agentive
dhērō, dhēru—pro., 3sg dative
dhētye, dhētēja—pro.,3pl
dhētā—pro., 3sg possessive
dhi:ṇ—adv., last to last year
dhi:ja—pro., this (sg. agentive)
dhipu, dipu—adv., on this side
dhiru—pro., this (sg. dative)
dhife, dhise—pro., this (sg ablative)
dhiṭya:s—vi., to be satisfied of hunger
dhiṭye—pro., these
dhītā—pro., of this
dhi—pro., this
dhu:— —vt., lay together
dhu:kka—n., deception (IA)
dhunyā:r—n., fisherman (IA)
dhuwu—n., dust (IA)
dhya:—vi., to loaf around
dhya:n sc—adv., carefully (IA)
Da:n—n., punishment in the form of fine (IA)
Da:ṇ—n., rock (IA)
Da:w—n., wooden beam (IA)
Dalō—n., tree (IA)
Damphan.—, a clan name
Daṇa—n., hilly (IA)
Dasa:N—n., bed (IA)
Dī: —n., edge
Dor—n., rope (IA)
Do—n., pain (IA)
Du:b—vi., to sink (IA)
Duba:— —vt., to make something sink (IA)
Duag—adj., rough (IA)
Dya:ra—n., house, a staying place
Dāg:ra—vi., to belch (IA)
Dāg:ra—n., belch
Dāne—n., fence (IA)
Dåni—n., stretcher, barrow (IA)
Dāγ—n., sting (IA)
Dā:r—vi. to be afraid of (IA)
Dāra:— —vt., to frighten (IA)
DāDownload file
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)
Dhōnya—n., thumb
Dhōma:k—n., a blow, sound of something falling (IA)
e—interj., hey (while calling someone)
ękdam—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)
εniḥ—n., respect form for father, fatherly
εs—n., enjoyment (IA)
ε—interj., hey !
ga:j—n., foam
ga:lu—n., cheek (IA)
gat—n., torso (IA)
gala—n., corn, grain
ga—n., rice
gēR—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.)
guastari—adv., sometimes or the other
guasta—adv., when
guːc— — 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
gu-se—n., garhwalis (masc.pl.)
gyak- gyakc—vi., to be broken (used for hard objects)
gya—n., day
gya—num., hundred
gyeja—pro., 1sg agentive
gye—pro., 1sg
gyiru—pro., 1sg dative
gyita wa:sta—pro., 1sg benefactive
gyita—pro., 1sg possessive
gya—vi., to go (present tense stem only)
gyâr- gyarc—vi., to fear
gyart—n., fear
gyas dha—vt., to take or give an oath
gyas—n., oath
g=N—vt., to count (IA)
gäu—vi., melt (IA)
gêta—pro., 2pl. possessive
geta—pro., 2sg possessive
gê—pro., 2pl
gôdda—n., ass (IA)
gôrâ—n., rivulet
gaj—n., yard (IA)
gôn—pro., 2sg
gôrmi—n., heat (IA)
gôR—n., castle (IA)
gôRâm—n., river (IA)
gôwa:—vt., to melt (IA)
gha:Ti—n., valley (IA)
gher—vt., to besiege, to surround (IA)
ghî:N—n., hate (IA)
ghîNyâs—vt., to hate (IA)
gho, ghuâ—pro., who, that (relative pronoun)
gho:jâ —pro., who (sg. agentive)
ghol—vt., to dissolve (IA)
ghori—adv., some, any
ghôRi—n., mare (IA)
ghorû—pro., to whom (sg.)
ghôtêjâ—pro., who (pl. agentive)
ghôtênu—pro., obj. to whom (pl.)
ghôtêtu—pro., whose (pl. possessive)
ghotâ—pro., whose (sg.)
ghum—vi., to stroll, to go around (IA)
ghuastari—adj., sometimes
ghua:Ra—n., horse (IA)
ghuma:—vt., to make something move in a round (IA)

ghunnô —n., knee (IA)
ghya:r—adv., here, this place
ghya:wo—n., quarrel
ghanTa—n., hour (IA)
ghâRi-ghâRi—adv., time and again (IA)
ghâRi—n., clock, watch, moment (IA)
ghas lâga:—vt., to sing a song
ghâs—n., song
ghâT—n., watermill (IA)
hapus—vi., to gasp (IA)
hapusRu—n., funny, cheerful (IA)
haps—adv., yes (IA)
ha:r—vi., to be defeated (IA)
ha:r-gyâ:r—adv., here and there
ha:r—adv., away from
hajâ:R—adv., thousands (IA)
hakâla,—vi., to stammer (IA)
halka—adj., light (IA)
hara:—vt., to defeat (IA)
hakRâ—n., bone (IA)
harkû—adv., behind
hati gya—adv., next day
hati—n., elephant (IA)
haya—n., plough man (IA)
hid- hip—vt., to grind
hilâ—n., mud
hi—adv., only (IA)
hôR—n., competition (IA)
hunî, hunc-, hun-, hun—vi., to sit, to live, to be
huRkya—n., juggler (IA)
uhu—vt., to roast
huân- huân—vt., to be, to take
hys- hyac—vi., to go down
hâsa:-,—vt., to make someone laugh (IA)
hâbyâ:s—n., practice, exercise (IA)
hajâ:r—num., one thousand (IA)
hak—n., right (IA)
hambâ—n., stubborn
hâmâsa—adv., always (IA)
hâran—adj., surprised (IA)
hoRkû—adv., this side
haryâ—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 1a—vi., to wait for
injā:r—n., wait (IA)
injā—pro., we (agentive form)
inta:jā:m—n., arrangements (IA)
inta—pro., ours (poss.)
inu—pro., we (dative form)
iṃayā—pro., on us
irfā—n., jealousy, envy (IA)
ise, ise—pro., from us
iski:m—n., plan (IA)
isku:l—n., school (English via IA)
ja—vi., to eat
jab ... tab—adv., when ...then (IA)
jābki—adv., when, although (IA)
jāb—adv., when (IA)
jōbaṇ—n., meal, food
jaṭ—n., wheat
jāgūt—n., a name, world (IA)
jamaː—vt., to make curd from milk (IA)
jomā:n—n., land (IA)
jora—adv., a bit (IA)
jārur—adv., surely (IA)
jawā:b—n., answer, reply (IA)
jonāl—n., forest (IA)
ja:ga—n., place (IA)
ja:ū—n., watch
jaː—n., net (IA)
ja:j—n., aircraft (IA)
ja:N—vi., to know (IA)
ja:nwār—n., animal (IA)
jaRok—vi., to get stick (IA)
ja:s—n., gold
jāThi—n., a stick (IA)
jangalī—n., pajama
jaṅma, jagma, —n., copper
jaṇpō—n., bridge
ji:b—n., anything with life (IA)
ji:t—vi., to win (IA)
jiRōa—n., tongue (IA)
jiṭāː—vt., to win (IA)
jog—n., fortune (IA)
jōn—n., moon
joR—vt., to join (IA)
joR—n., joint (IA)
jor—n., power, strength (IA)
juːa nhyaː—vt., to gamble
juːa—n., gamble (IA)
juːwō—n., yoke (IA)
ju:ba—n., a hybrid of yak
jua:Ra—n., shoe (IA)
juākā—n., leech (IA)
juākha—n., moustache
jugū—n., body
jumīŋ—n., body
jumī—n., a hybrid of yak
jūTho—n., defiled by eating or drinking
(IA)
jya—n., tea (IA)
jaRō ∼ jaRō—n., root (IA)
jor—n., fever (IA)
jyās—n., twins (IA)
jeNār—n., glow.worm
jha:Ri—n., bush (IA)
jhiːb—adj., loose (IA)
jiːl—n., lake (IA)
jhoːn—n., bag (IA)
juːl—vi., to swing (IA)
jhulaː—vt., to swing (IA)
juṇD—n., herd (of animals) (IA)
jhuri—n., fold (IA)
juTha—n., liar (IA)
juTh—n., false, a lie (IA)
juːT—n., causing to swing (IA)
jhāmāTō—n., wasp (IA)
juːTk—vi., to jerk (IA)
juːTkːa—vi., to jerk (IA)
kaːc—adj., raw, uncooked (IA)
kāːc—n., glass (IA)
kaːg—n., crow (IA)
kaːm—n., work (IA)
kaːNi—n., story, blind woman (IA)
kaːNo—vt., to make a hole
kaːNo—n., blind man (IA)
kaːn—n., shoulder (IA)
kaːphi—adv., enough (IA)
kaːT—vt., to cut (IA)
kad—vi., to catch sight of
kak—adv., besides
kal ← pp., above, over
kaldu ← pp., above
kal ← pp., in, inside
kamra—n., room (IA)
kam ← vi., to catch sight of
kan ← vi., to see (imp. sg.)
kanpuːRi—n., temple (IA)
karn—n., ram castrated one
ker—n., line
ki (ta) · ki (ta)—conj., either ... or (IA)
kī:n—adj., dirt (IA)
kilcō—adv., nearby
kildu—pp., in between
kim—n., house
kirmāla—n., ant
kisam—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)
ku—n., fungus
kukRu—n., hen (IA)
kuNi—n., elbow (IA)
kuŋkyaː—vi., to bark (IA)
kua:Ra—n., seed, sprout (IA)
kuatar—n., walnut
kui:R—n., mist
kue—adv., some
kyā—vi., to be ashamed of
kya:wa—n., banana (IA)
kyoṭa—n., boy, man. lad
kyaːlŋ—adv., how much, how many
kēTi—n., young girl, lady
kocha—n., underwear (IA)
kaḍu—n., pumpkin (IA)
kagryaːi—n., armpit (IA)
kaː—adv., many (IA)
kaːma—vt., to earn, to do (IA)
kaːmjor—adv., weak (IA)
kaːmŋar—n., loins, waist (IA)
kondha—n., shoulder (IA)
kau:Na—n., ear (IA)
kaːrmaːt—n., wonder (IA)
kaːriːb—adv., approximate, near (IA)
kaːs—vt., to fasten (IA)
kaːTa—vi., to get cut (IA)
kaːtha—n., story
kaːtor—adj., hard (IA)
kaːTyar—n., slope (IA)
kang—i—n., comb (IA)
kaːːs—vi., to cough (IA)
kaːːsiːrha—vi., to get a cough
kaːːsiːn, cough (IA)
hab- khap—vt., to cover
khaː—vi., to cover oneself (reflexive v.)
khaːTo—adj., sour (IA)
khan—n., a weight of dry things about one kilogram or a specified weight
kha—n., hair of head
khebi—adv., anything
kheb—n., needle
khiː—vi., to worship
khiːsa—n., pocket (IA)
khigaːt, khyag—adv., sometimes
khikca—vi., to giggle
khilep—adj., how much, how many
khīta—n., shirt
khimi—adv., how
khir—vt., to close door or window
khiri—n., something (also past form of /khir/-)
khiRki—n., window (IA)
koː—vt., to harvest
koj laː—vt., to search
koj—vt., to search (IA)
koj—n., search (IA)
kholaː—vt., to open something closed
koR—n., enclosure
khuːb—adj., much, many (IA)
khub—vt., to close inside, animals or persons etc.
khud—n., self (IA)
kuica—n., puppy
kuː—n., dog.
kuːmːa—n., hay
kuːːlaː—adj., lose
khum—n., pillow
khuːTi—n., lower leg (IA)
ku—n., smoke
khuːmaː—n., bed
kuːar—vt., to turn over
khuːkalo—adj., hollow (IA)
khyaːɡ—khyaːk—vt., to break, to pluck
khyaːt—a—adj., sweet
khyeːn, khyaːːna—adv., what, that
khyeː—adv., what
khyoː—vt., to scrape
khyor mha—adv., why not
khyor kuːi—conj., because
khyor—a—adv., why
khyos—vi., to ride
khyː—vt., to give to first person only
khyaːt—a mha khyag—adv.,
sometimes or the other
khyag—a—adv., sometimes
khyako—a—adv., how much, how many
khyːl—vi., to leave behind
khyːaro—vt., to talk
khyow, khyow—n., husband
me sa:su—n., husband's maternal aunt
mədæma:—n., plane ground (IA)
mela—adj., dirty (IA)
mel—n., dirt (IA)
menat—n., hard work (IA)
mii:—n., a mile (English via IA)
mignara—n., yellowish eye discharge
migti—n., tears
mig—n., eye
mîngya—adv., a day after tomorrow
miri—n., gums
miser—n., father's younger brother's wife
mise—n., persons (pl.)
mi:Ta:—vt., to wipe (IA)
militig—n., a flying insect
mi—n., person
momo—n., mother's mother
moNɔ, mOR—n., dead body (IA)
omor—vi., to turn (IA)
omos—vt., mop up
mosam—n., weather (IA)
mu—n., original stock, base
mu:ri—vi., to let loose
mua:ri—n., wild bee
muà—n., kiss
muca:—vt. to release
mulyan—adv., night
mul—n., silver
mulem. —adj., soft (IA)
muncanam—adv., early morning
muncɔ—adv., morning
munya:u—n., source
murkuli—n., earring (IA)
muskii—adj., difficult (IA)
muyo—n., scoundrel
mu:ri—n., maize (IA)
myɔ—n., barren land
myankɔ—n., frog (IA)
machar—n., mosquito (IA)
mɔja:k—n., fun, joke (IA)
mæna:—vt., to persuade (IA)
mɔndæ—adj., red
mɔŋar—n., water well
mɔŋ—n., mind, heart (IA)
mɔrc—n., chilli (IA)
marGini, marGini—n., nape of the neck (IA)
mɔrtoliya—n., a clan name
mar—n., a weight of 37 kg.
mɔs—n., dream
mhan—n., medicine
mhaust—adv., very many, very much (IA)
mhæfa—n., elder brother's wife
mha—adv., negation marker, no, not
mhe—n., fire
mhin—n., name
mho—vt. to load
na:ci—vt., to dance (IA)
na:ci—n., dance (IA)
na:gi—n., a big snake (IA)
na:i—n., groove
na: Ni—n., nerve (IA)
na:ŋ—n., naked (IA)
na:raj—adj., angry (IA)
na:ri—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)
nacan—adv., before, in front of
nadpa—n., sick person
nad—n., sickness
nag—n., pus
namchā—vt., to grow dawn or dusk
namci—n., villager
namfa—n., younger brother's wife, a married lady
nam—n., village
nancya—n., intestine, gut
naniŋ—adv., last year
nem—n., rule (IA)
nR-chilam—n., smoking pipe (IA)
ni:lo—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
nol—n., navel
nɔço—n., mother's brother's wife
nɔRi—n., butter (IA)
ɔ—adj., only
ɔ—num.nine (IA)
nu:də—adj., new
nu:se—n., pots (pl.)
nya:r—adv., yesterday
nyama—n., sweets
nyɔlu—n., bastard
nag—n., gem (IA)
nanjaː—vt., to cross (IA)
nəŋ—n., finger nail
naRD, nərd—n., husband's younger sister
naryu—n., coconut (IA)
nərak—n., hell (IA)
nəs—vi., to be ill
nətor ... nətor—conj., neither ... nor
nhaː nhaːc—vt., to dance
nhaːma—n., goats and sheep (a common term)
nhaku—n., pigeon, dove
nhanta—adj., beautiful
nhar—vt., to throw
nhars—n., fall
nhi:s gya—adv., at two times
nhi:s phyero—adv., three hundred
nhi:s—num., two
nhiłaː—adv., twice
nimci—n., nose
nhiːsɡya—adv., three days
nhiːsari—adv., both
nhod—n., pot
nhuːs—vi., to wait for
nhaːmcarr, nhaːcarr, nhicaːr—adv., front, before
ŋe—num., five
ŋeːpɔ—adj., fifth
ŋeːgya—adv., fifth day, five hundred
o thamin—adv., any day before two days
ɔːl—vt., to knead
ola—interjection, oh! (while calling)
or, orː—n., tomorrow
orːiya—n., smell'
or—n., direction (AI)
or—vi., to doze
orː—n., slumber (IA)
orːaː—n., implement (IA)
sri—adj., good
sr—conj., and (IA)
ɔːs—n., dew (IA)
ɔːtar—n., a male name-Avatar
paːkː—vi., to ripen (IA)
paːkhi—n., women's upper clothes, a gown type
paːl—n., a clan name
paːn-sat—adj., five-seven (IA)
paːn—n., betel leaf (IA)
paːN—pp., in, under
paːpi—n., sinner (IA)
paːp—n., sin (IA)
paːR—n., mountain, a big rock
paːt—n., leaf of a plant (IA)
paːwɔ—n., frost (IA)
pachim—n., west (IA)
palaŋ—n., frost (IA)
paːRdə—adj., wide, broad
peːc—n., handle (IA)
pəːsav—n., money (IA)
pec—n., bird
pel—vt., to feed
pela—adj., first (IA)
pəra dha—vt., to guard (IA)
pəra—n., watch (IA)
per—pp., on (IA)
pi gya—num., four hundred
piːT—vt., to beat (IA)
pīs—vi., to be filled
pigya—adv., four days
pijag—n., seed
pin—vt., to fill
piwaː—vt., to make someone drink (IA)
pip—num., four
pɔːc—vi., to reach (IA)
pɔːncɔ—pp., under
popo—n., mother's father
pɔR—n., rock
pot—vt., to brew
puːj—vt., to worship (IA)
puːja—n., worship (IA)
puːrɔ—adj., whole, full (IA)
puːTu—n., anus, buttocks
puːcRi—n., tail (IA)
pun—vt., to cook
purb—adv., east (IA)
purpuːRi—n., temple (IA)
puru—n., husband's elder brother
pusu—n., head
puyu—n., husband's elder sister
pwaːka—n., vagina
 prá:ta:-—vi., to repent (IA)
 prá:k:-—vt., to ripen (IA)
 prá:lc—n., milk
 prá:Ta:-—vt., turn around (IA)
 prá:Te:-—vi., turn around (IA)
 prá:n—n., fifteen (IA)
 prá:nja:-—n., toe (IA)
 prá:un—n., halt (IA)
 prá:so:n—adj., happy (IA)
 prá:pp.—on (IA)
 prá:ta:w—n., imaginary world under the earth. (IA)
 prá:ta—n., knowledge, address (IA)
 prá:ya:- —vt., to sharpen
 prá:ya:r—n., meadow
 prá:na:—n., branch of a tree (IA)
 prá:R—vt., to split (IA)
 prá:T—vi., burst (IA)
 prá:ac—vt., to put some dry eatable in mouth like, sattu, roasted grains, etc.
 prá:go—vt., to break (thread, rope)
 prá:go:s—vi., to be broken
 prá:n—n., arm (IA)
 prá:na—n., a chip of pine wood
 prá:el—vi., spread (IA)
 prá:ela—vt., to spread
 prá:Re:n—n., staircase (IA)
 prá:er—n., a round about way (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a squirrel like animal
 prá:ja:n—n., saddle cloth
 prá:Ta:n—n., ashes
 prá:o—vt., to dry
 prá:o:phoj—vi., fade away
 prá:o:n—n., supposition
 prá:Ro—vt., to break (IA) (hard objects, stones etc.)
 prá:o—n., spade
 prá:ro—adj., brown
 prá:R—vi., to be broken
 prá:ost—adj., dried
 prá:k—vt., to blow, to puff (IA)
 prá:l—vi., to bloom (IA)
 prá:la:—vt., to pump air (IA)
 prá:n—vt., to kindle, to strike (fire)
 prá:R—vt., to break (IA) (hard objects, stones etc.)
 prá:ya:n—n., a tree branch (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a Hindu caste name (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a clan name (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a king name (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a pot
 prá:ya:n—n., a clan name (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a bone (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., a back bone (IA)
 prá:ya:n—n., bear (IA)
 prá:ya:n—vt., to circle round
 prá:ya:n—vi., turn on oneself
 prá:ya:n—vt., to circle round
 prá:ya:n—adj., day, everyday (IA)
 prá:ya:n—vt., to pull
 prá:ya:n—n., Rangpo language
 prá:ya:n—vt., to plant (IA)
 prá:ya:n—vt., to slip, to slide (IA)
səlɔ—n., grasshopper
tə:n—vi., to wish
tsəm-di—n., son's or daughter's father-in-law (IA)
tsəmdɔNi—n., son's or daughter's mother-in-law (IA)
tsəmj—a—vt., to make understand (IA)
tsəmundar—n., sea (IA)
tsəmaj—vi., to understand (IA)
tsəm—n., wish
sonima—n., cinema (English via IA)
sənɔsər—n., world (IA)
sər-sər—n., sound of the wind
səri:r—n., body (IA)
sərəg—n., heaven (IA)
sas—vi., to know
səwa:l—n., question (IA)
ʃuaʃa—n., heart
ʃuI rha—vi., to bleed
ʃuI—n., blood
ʃä—ʃəc—vi., to grow old
ʃāt rhu—n., husband's grandfather
ʃāt—adj., old
ʃamni—n., an old type of greeting term
ʃampa—n., paddy
ʃanı—adj., elder
ʃasag—n., a village name
ʃa—n., meat, flesh
ʃu:ni—n., horn
ʃǝrba—adj., young
ʃəwa—adj., seniority
ʃab—adv., then (IA)
ʃagta—adj., smell
ʃakti:ɾ—n., fate (IA)
ʃaɾ—n., pond (IA)
təmbu—n., tent (IA)
təɾa:ju—n., a pair of scales (IA)
təɾi—n., soup (IA)
təɾam—adv., suddenly (IA)
təɾaph—adv., side (IA)
təya:ri—n., readiness (IA)
təya:r—adj., ready (IA)
ta—evt., to keep
tai—n., lock (IA)
ta:ku—n., spindle
ta:N—evt., to put off, to take out
something
ta:n—n., part
ta:ɾa—n., star (IA)
ta:ɾik—adj., date (IA)
ta:r—n., axe
ta:r—n., wire (IA)
tad—, tap—evt., to tap
tag—n., sign, mark
tan—evt., to find
tar—evt., to finish
tē—pp., before
təj—adj., fast, sharp (IA)
tə—adj., many
tə—n., decision (IA)
ti:R—evt., to burst (IA)
ti:r—n., arrow (IA)
tig—tig—adv., one by one
tig—num., one
thia:i—adj., one third (IA)
tikoN—adj., triangle (IA)
tilguN—n., mole (IA)
tiŋdà—adj., black
tir—evt., to irrigate
titationi—n., butterfly (IA)
ti—n., water
to—evt., to crush
tɔi—n., bottom, soil
tol—evt., to weigh
tol—n., weight (IA)
ton—adj., best, of first kind
tɔRo—n., thigh
tοta—n., parrot (IA)
tɔtɔ—n., father's father
to—adv., then (IA)
tů—evt., to drink
tula:—evt., to get weigh
tuŋtu—adj., big
tuntu—adj., short
tupha:n—n., dust strom (IA)
tupka:—evt., to drop (IA)
tupka—vi., to drop (IA)
tuɑn—evt., to keep something on hearth for cooking
tyj—vi., to weep
thia:i—n., metal plate (IA)
thia:m—vi., to stop (IA)
θagpa—n., rope
thålmo—n., flesh
thɑn—n., back
thamina—adv., a day before yesterday
than—adv., today
thanin—adv., this year
Thannya:r—adv., always
thanga—n., plain level
thi:dā—adj., wet
thī—vt., to spread
thī:cp—pp., under, below
thō—vt., to graze
thok—vt., to knock (IA)
thora—pp., under, below
thou, thol—n., lips
thug—vi., to spit (IA)
thud—vt., to teach
thug—n., spittle (IA)
thungya—adv., three days after tomorrow
thus—vt., to learn
thuari—adv., a little, a few
thamā—vt., to hand over (IA)
thora—pp., up to
Tākö—n., turban (IA)
Ta:n—vt., to hang (IA)
Ta:n—n., leg (IA)
Ta:Rī—n., whistle (IA)
Tab—n., bridle, rein
Tek laga:—vt., to take support of something physical
Tek—n., support (IA)
Tem, Tem—n., time (English via IA)
Te:T la:—vt., to tight
Te:T—adj., tight (English via IA)
Tī:k—vt., to hold, to keep (IA)
Tīka:—vt., to keep carefully in place (IA)
TimTima:—vi., to glow (IA)
Toblī—n., cap (IA)
Tolo—adj., deaf (IA)
Tuku—n., top, peak
TukōRa—n., piece (IA)
Tun—adj., intoxicated (IA)
Tua:na—n., rafter (IA)
Tukārī—n., a basket (IA)
Tyu:b—n., tube (English via IA)
TamaTār—n., tomatoes (IA)
Tam—adj., something full, brimful (IA)
Ta:TTu—n., pony (IA)
Tha:T la:—vi., to live in luxury (IA)
Tha:T-ba:T—adv., great pump and show (IA)
Thab—vt., to winnow
ThaNo hwaŋ—vi., to stand
ThaNo—adj., upright, erect
TheT—adj., pure, typical (IA)
Thik-Thā:k—adj., in good form (IA)
Thik-Thīk—right, exact, OK. (IA)
Thā—vt., to attempt, to try some work, to determine
u:g—vi., to grow (IA)
u:R—vi., to fly (IA)
u:ca—adj., high (IA)
uda:s la:—vi., to be sad
uda:s—adj., sad (IA)
uda:hā:—n., borrow (IA)
uDya:r—n., hole (IA)
ulu—n., owl (IA)
umsārī—n., wife
umar—n., age (IA)
upa:—y—adv., method (IA)
uphā:r—n., gift (IA)
upja:—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
uttar—n., north (IA)
utalo—adj., shallow (IA)
utar—vi., to come down (IA)
un—n., stone
wā—vi., appear in sight
wa:da—adv., far, away
wa:pas rha—vi., to come back
wa:pas—n., return (IA)
wā:sta, wasta—pp., for (IA)
walan—n., Kumauni person
wa:da la:—vt., to give promise
wa:da—n., promise (IA)
wela:r—n., slope
wātha, wata—adv., next year
ya:d rha—vi., to remember
ya:d—n., remembrance (IA)
ya:r—n., friend (IA)
yandu, ya:dā—adj., light (in weight)
yā—conj., or (IA)
yer, er—pp., above
yerē—adj., height
ye—interjection, hey!
yū—vi., to walk
yū-yūt—adv., every year
yu—n., year
yu:dā—adj., old
yu—n., mother-in-law; beer
yog — n., egg
yakhuli — adv., alone
yaksan — adv., always
yam — vi., to hear
yos — vi., to be intoxicated
yos — n., intoxication
a bit (IA)—jara
a day after tomorrow—mingya
a day before yesterday—thamiŋ
a few, a little bit—thuɔri
a little bit (liquid)—usu
a name of the valley—ma:Na
a weight of 37 kg.—mæR
above—kaldu, yer, er
above, over—kalco
again (IA)—dua:ro
age (IA)—umɔ
agree (vt.) (IA)—ma:n-
aircraft (IA)—ja:j
all—ruoko, ruɔko
all (IA)—sab
alms (IA)—da:n
alone—yɔkhuli
also (IA)—bi, bhi
always—thannyar, yɔksɔn
always (IA)—hamesa
always (IA)—sade, sade
an old type of greeting term—fɔmni
and—dɔ
and (IA)—ɔr, ǝr
anger, a feeling of being offended—chukpa
angry (IA)—na:ra:j
animal (IA)—ja:nwɔ
answer, reply (IA)—jɔwa:b
ant—kirmala
anus, buttocks—pu:Tu
any day before two days—o thamiŋ
anything—khebi
appear in sight—wã-
approximate, near (IA)—kari:b
apricot—cyu:i
arm (IA)—paTɔ
armpit (IA)—kagrya:i
arrangements (IA)—intajam
arrow (IA)—ti:r
ashes—cha:ɔ
ashes—phiTj, phɔTj, phaTj
ask (vt.)—ru:-
ask for (vt.)—tho-
ass (IA)—gɔdda
at once—dha:n
at two occasions—ni:si phyero
attempt, to try some work, to determine
(vt.)—Thɔ-
auspicious (IA)—sub
avalanche—chuɔiŋa
away from—ha:r
axe—ta:r
back—thal
backbone (IA)—ri:Dɔt- haRko
bad (IA)—khɔra:b
bad cold—chymada
bag (IA)—jhoyɔ
bag, made of wool—camko
bamboo (IA)—bɔs
banana (IA)—kya:wɔ
bark (v) (IA)—bhului-, bhug-
bark of tree—phagT
barren land—myɔ
basket, one of the type (IA)—Tuakari
bastard—nɔlu
bathe (v)—urs-
be afraid of (vi.) (IA)—Dɔ-
be ashamed of (vi.)—kyã-
be born (vi.)—lya:c-
be broken (vi.) (IA)—phɔRs-
be broken (vi.)—phags-
be broken (vi.; used for hard objects)—gyak-, gyak-
be brought up (vi.)—sos-
be buried (vi.)—daphan-
be hungry (vi.)—khɔ-
be ill (vi.)—nas-
be intoxicated (vi.)—yæ-
be left out (vi.) (IA)—chu:T-
be loosen (vi.)—phuac-
be offended (vi.)—chukpa rha-
be ready (vi.)—czya:s-
be sad (vi.)—uda:s la-
be satisfied of hunger (vi.)—dhitya:s
bead of a glass (IA)—goi
beam—kham
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:n
bed—khu:ma
bed (IA)—pal:n
bed bug—cyāri
bedding (IA)—bistāra
bee of big size—bhārī
before—tē
before, in front of—naca:r
begin, to start (vt.)—ca:s-
besides—kakh
besiege, to surround (vt.) (IA)—gher-
best, of first kind—toNi
betel leaf (IA)—pa:n
big—tuṇṭa
big (IA)—bāRa, bāRyō
birch tree (IA)—bhu:j
bird—pyec
bite of snake, dog—kād-
bitter—khatagta
black—tīndā
blacksmith (IA)—lu:a:r
blanket, a local type—cuTka
blanket, a local type—lāllī
blanket, a local type—lōwa
bleed (vt.)—sūi rhā-
blind (fem. IA)—āndhi
blind (masc. IA)—āndha
blind man (IA)—kaNo
blood—suī
bloom (vi.) (IA)—phu:l-
bloom, sound of falling something (IA)—
Dhama:k
blow, to puff (vt.) (IA)—phu:k-
blue (IA)—ni:lō
blush (vi.)—rhag-, rhagc-
boat (IA)—nu:u
body—jugū
body—jumīn
body (IA)—sōri:r
bone (IA)—haRkō
book (IA)—kita:b
both—nhisāri
bottle (IA)—botōu
bottom, soil—toi
bow (IA)—dhōna:i
brain (IA)—damaːɣ, dimaːɣ
branch of a tree—phaŋŋo
break (vt.) (IA) (hard objects, stones etc.)—phōR-
break (vt.) (thread, rope)—phag-
break (vt.)—chyaːc-
breast—apu
breath (IA)—sās
brew (vt.)—cyu:-
brew (vt.)—pot-
brother—byōli
bridegroom (IA)—byōlō
bridge—jaŋpo
bridle, rein—Tab
brightness—saːn
bring (vt.)—ba-, bar-
bring up, to raise (vt.)—so-
broom (IA)—buani
brother—byōd
brother (IA)—bhā:i
brothers (pl.)—byāse
brown—phoro
brown (IA)—bhurō
cuckoo—bhash
buffalo bull (IA)—bhēːsō
build (vt.) (brick or stone wall or house) (IA)—ciːN-
bull (IA)—bāRyā
burn—lyō-, lyac-
burst (vi.) (IA)—tiːR-
burst (vi.) (IA)—phaːT-
bury (IA)—daphān
bury (vt.)—daphnā:-
bush (IA)—jhā:Rī
butter (IA)—nəRī
butterfly (IA)—tītalī
butter milk—boti
button (IA)—gunTi
buy (v)—chō-
calf (IA)—bāːchuru
call (vt.) (near the speaker)—bhaːTyā:-
cap (IA)—Tobli
card (vt.) cotton or wool—cuo-
carefully (IA)—dhyaːn se
carpet a local type — dan
carry (vt.) — bu-
carve (vt.) (IA) — kor-
caste name (IA) — ra:ju:t
castle (IA) — gəR
cat (IA) — birö
catch sight of (vt.) — kan, kam-
causative form of /phac/- — pha-
cause to shine (IA) — cəməka:-
chaff (IA) — ce:ko
chain for animals (IA) — sə:n gəu
chain made of beads (IA) — ma:wa
change (vt.) (IA) — bədəl-
cheap (IA) — sastö
cheek (IA) — gə:lu
cheese — chura
chest, breast (IA) — cha:ti
crush (vt.) — koT
cold — sod
colour (vt.) (IA) — rəŋya-
colour (IA) — rəŋ
comb — sigca
comb (IA) — kəŋgi
come (vi.) — rhə-
come back (vi.) — wa:pas rha-
come back (vi.) (IA) — ləT-
come down (vi.) (IA) — utar-
comfort, rest (IA) — a:ra:m
common term used for cows, bulls — 
bhalan
competition (IA) — hoR
continuously (IA) — ləga:ta:r
cook (vt.) — pun-
cooking (passive form) — pəs-
copper — jənə, jama
corn, grain — gala
correct — sə

cough (vt.) (IA) — khə:s-
cough (noun) (IA) — khə:si
count (vt.) (IA) — gəN-
courtyard (IA) — a:naN
cover (vt.) — khab-, khap-
cover oneself (vi.) — khaks-
cow (from a yak family) — rad
cowdung — ləŋbo
cross (vi.) (IA) — nəː-
cross some hurdle (vt.) (IA) — la:ŋ-
crow (IA) — kə:g


crush (vt.) — to-
cry (vi.) (IA) — aRak-
curd (IA) — də
cut (vt.) (IA) — kə:t-
dance (vt.) (IA) — na:c-
dance (vt.) — nə:, nə: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 — phəŋə
dead body (IA) — moNə, moRə
defa (IA) — Tolo
deal, bargain (IA) — səda
debt, loan (IA) — udha:r
decapitate, behead — ranka-
decision (IA) — dhuəka
decision — te
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decorate (vt.) (IA)—sāja:-
defeated (be defeated) (vi.) (IA)—ha:r-
defeat (vt.) (IA)—hara:-
defecate (vi.)—a:ka khyan-
defense—rakcō
defiled by eating or drinking (IA)—juTho
demon (IA)—ra:gas
desire (IA)—ichya
destruction (IA)—na:s
dew (IA)—ōs
die, to extinguish (vi.)—sis-, sisc-
difficult—a seŋo
difficult (IA)—muskil
dig (vt.)—khōN-
direct, straight (IA)—si:da, sidō
direction (IA)—or
dirt—chowo
dirt (IA)—ki:n
dirt (IA)—mel
dirty (IA)—mēla
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)—lā-
dog,—khui
door, entrance—akto
double (IA)—du:Na
doubt (IA)—sak
doze (vi.) (IA)—oŋ-
dream—mas
dried—phost
drink (vt.)—tū-
drive away cattle (vt.)—lhyam-, lhyan-
drive away, to elope (IA)—bhaga:-
drive, to help someone walk (vt.) (IA)—cāla-
drop (vt.) (IA)—tupka:-
drop (vi.) (IA)—tupkā-
dry (vt.)—pho-
dull, not bright—khasū
dumb (IA)—la:Tō
dust (IA)—dhuwu
dust strom (IA)—tupha:n
duty (IA)—phārj
duty', religion—dhārām
ear (IA)—kōnu:N
eye—muncanam
far away—waːdɔ
far away (IA)—duːr
fart—phyəs
fart (vi.)—phyəs khyer-
fast (IA)—baːɾat
fast (IA)—chāːTɔ
fast, sharp (IA)—tej
fasten (vt.) (IA)—kɔːs-
fat—chyəs, chəs
fate (IA)—takdiːr
father (address term) (IA)—baːbu
father's elder brother, mother's elder sister's husband—laːpa
father's father—tɔːtɔ
father's mother—aca, acya
father's or mother's maternal aunt—guca
father's or mother's maternal uncle—guti
father's sister—aːna
father's younger brother's wife—mijer
father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband—aku
fear—gyəɾt
fear (vi.)—gyəɾ-, gyəɾc-
feather (IA)—pāːkʰ
feed (vt.) (IA)—khəwa-
feed (vt.)—pyel-
feel (vi.), to appear—chuəɾ-
female—chormi
female counter part of /laːpa/—laːma
female friend (IA)—dagəRyaːNi
fence (IA)—baːR
festival (IA)—parbɔ
fever (IA)—jɔɾ
field—rhigəɾ
fifteen (IA)—pɔndra
fifth—ŋeɾɔ
fifth day, five hundred—ŋeɡya
figure, shape—cyʃɔː
fill (vt.)—pin-
find (vt.)—taːŋ-
finger—bɔncːa:
finger nail—naːŋ
finish (vt.)—tar-
fire—mhe
firm—saːɾɔ
first (IA)—byoRu
first (IA)—pela
fish (IA)—maːcha
fisherman (IA)—dhunyaːr
five—ŋe
flesh—thalmo
fleshy, and plump—phuRɗɔ, phurɗɔ
flexible (IA)—lacəlaco
flood (IA)—baːR
flour—byaːkpya
fly (IA)—bhuːjɔɾə
fly (vi.) (IA)—uːR-
foam—ɡaːj
fodder (IA)—bhusɔ
fold (IA)—jhuri
foot—naːɾ
for (IA)—waːsta, wastə
for me—gyitɔ waːsta
forest (IA)—bɔːN
forest (IA)—jangal
forget (vi.) (IA)—bisaː-
forgiveness (IA)—maːphi
fortune (IA)—jog
four—pi
four days—pigya
four days after tomorrow—lungya
four hundred—pi ɡya
four times—pi guNa
friend (IA)—dagəRya
friend (IA)—dost
friend (IA)—yaːɾ
friendship (IA)—dosti
frighten (vt.) (IA)—Doraː-
frog (IA)—myənɔkə
from this—dhife, dhise
from us—ise, įse
from (agentive in passive forms)—se
front, before—nhamcaːɾ, nhancaːɾ, nhicaːɾ
frost (IA)—paːwɔ
fruit (IA)—phal
full—pisit
fun, joke (IA)—majəːk
fungus—kui
funny, cheerful (IA)—hāʃuːRu
gamble (IA)—juːa
gamble (vt.)—juːa nhyaː-
game, a type of gamble—comma
garden (IA)—baːRɔ
Garhwali (fem.sg.)—guaːmi
garhwalis (masc.pl.)—guəse
garlic—sidum
gasp (vi.) (IA)—hāp-
ghee, clarified butter—mar
get belch (vi.) (IA)—Dāga:r rha-
gold (IA)—sod la-
great (vi.)—khashi rha-
grow (vi.)—barkha rha-
grow old (vi.)—jā-, jāc-
grow, produce (noun) (vt.) (IA)—upjā-
grow down (vi.)—uta:r-
grow old (vi.)—tera dhag-
habit (IA)—a:dat
hail (vi.)—Dha:no
half—phyalan
halt (IA)—pora:u
halt (vi.) (IA)—ruk-
halt down (vi.) (IA)—ruka: -
hand (IA)—la
hand (IA)—thsam
hang (vt.) (IA)—lo:Tka:-
hang (vt.) (IA)—Ta:ŋ-
happy (IA)—parsan
hard (IA)—dakt
hard (IA)—ka:Tor
hard work (IA)—menat
harvest (vt.)—kho-
hasten (vi.)—phyer-
he she (dative)—dhero, dhoru
he, she (agentive)—dhējā
head—pusu
head (IA)—si:r
hear (vi.)—yān-, yam-
get cough (vi.)—khashi rha-
get cut (vi.) (IA)—ka:Ta-
get filled in (vi.)—piś-
get rain (vi.)—barkha rha-
get saw (vi.) (IA)—cira:-
get sleep (vi.)—i:b rha-
get someone to write (vi.) (IA)—lika:-
give birth (vt.)—lya-
give opinion (vt.)—re dha-
give promise (vt.)—ba:can dha-
give promise (vt.)—weda la-
glade (IA)—kā:c
glove—lagpa
glow (vi.) (IA)—TimTima:-
go (vi.)—di-
go down (vi.)—hya-, hya-
go, present tense stem only) (vi.)—gyā-
goat a general type— Leh:ma
goat a local type — bogTya
goat dung—gurbawa
goat, month—lha
goats and sheep (a common term)—

nha:ma
God (IA)—bhāgwā:n
god (IA)—dyō
goddess (IA)—debi
gold—jās
good—ārī
good person (IA)—bhala:dim
good thing, good talk (fem.) (IA)—achi-

bat
good, O.K., etc. (IA)—acha, achya
gourd (IA)—bhujalō
grain—bu
grain which is considered sacred—bhāś

grain, corn (IA)—da:Na
granddaughter, daughter's daughter (IA)—

natiNi
grandson, daughter's son (IA)—nati
grass—ci
grasshopper—sālō
graze (vi.)—dī-
graze (vt.)—thē-
greed (IA)—lob
green (IA)—ārēya

grief (IA)—sok
grind (vi.)—hid-, hip-
groove—nā:
grow (vi.) (IA)—u:g-
grow down or dusk (vi.)—namchā-
grow old (vi.)—jā-, jāc-
grow, produce (noun) (vt.) (IA)—upjā-
guard (vi.) (IA)—pēra dhag-
gums—miri
habit (IA)—a:dat
hail—Dha:no
half—phyalan
halt (IA)—pora:u
halt (vi.) (IA)—ruk-
halt (vt.) (IA)—ruka: -
hand—la
hand (vt.) (IA)—thsam
hang (vt.) (IA)—lo:Tka:-
hang (vt.) (IA)—Ta:ŋ-
happy (IA)—parsan
hard (IA)—dakt
hard (IA)—ka:Tor
hard work (IA)—menat
harvest (vt.)—kho-
hasten (vi.)—phyer-
hate (vt.) (IA)—ghiNya:s
hate (IA)—ghi:N
hay—kulma
he she (dative)—dhero, dhoru
he, she (agentive)—dhējā
he, she, that—dhe
head—pusu
head (IA)—si:r
heap (IA)—Dher
hear (vi.)—yān-, yam-
husband's father-in-law — ḋāṭ ṛhu
husband's maternal aunt — me sa:su
husband's mother-in-law — ḋāṭ yu
husband's younger brother (IA) — ḍyọr
husband's younger brother's wife (IA) — ḍyọr:ni
husband's younger sister — naRd, nard
hybrid animal of yak — jumi, jua:ba
I — gye
I (dative) — gyiru
I (agentive) — gyeːja
if (IA) — əgar
illusion, money (IA) — ma:ya
implement (IA) — ʒa:r
in between — dɔrmyaːn
in between — kildu
in good form (IA) — Thik-Thaːk
in that, in — ḍhoraːN, dhoraːN
in, inside — kal
in, inside — alu
in, under — paːN
inkpot (IA) — dod
insect, a flying one — mitiːg
inside (IA) — ṣaːr
intact (IA) — saNːo
intestine, gut — naːcya
intoxicated (IA) — Tun
intoxication — ɣas
iron — cag, cyag
irrigate (vt.) — tir-
jealously, envy (IA) — irʃa
jerk (vi.) (IA) — jhaTk-
jerk off (vt.) (IA) — jhaTka:-
join (vt.) (IA) — joR-
joint (IA) — joR
juggler (IA) — huRkya
jump (vi.) (IA) — kuːd
keep (vt.) — ta:-
keep carefully in place (vt.) (IA) — Tika:-
keep something on hearth for cooking (vt.) — tuːn-
kidney — birkhu
kill a goat or sheep (vt.) — sib-
kill, to extinguish (vt.) — sado, sap-
kindle fire (which is already burning) (vt.) — cyad-, cyəp-
king (IA) — raːja
kiss — muːa
knead (vt.) — ol-

heart — juːafa
heart (IA) — ḍil
heart beating (IA) — ḍhoraːk-
hearth, oven — phutaː
heat — raːp
heat (IA) — ɡarmina
heaven (IA) — saːɾaː
heavy — liːdā
heavy (IA) — bhareːr
heel (IA) — eRi
height — yerē
hell (IA) — nəɾaː
hemp (IA) — bhaːN
hen (IA) — kukRu
herd (of animals) (IA) — jhunD
here — du
here and there — haːr-ɡyaːr
here, this place — ghyaraː
hero one who leads (IA) — bhareːR
hey! (while calling someone) — e, ye
high (IA) — ucō
hilly (IA) — Danːa
himself, oneself (IA) — aphi
his, her — dhetaː
hold, to catch (vt.) — cum-
hold, to keep (vi.) (IA) — Tiːk-
hole — dorī
hole (IA) — uDyaːr
hollow (IA) — Dhono
hollow (IA) — khusakalo
home — kim
honey (IA) — sət
hope (IA) — aːs
hope (vt.) — aːs laː-
horn — juːNi
horse (IA) — ghuaːRa
hot — cart
hour — ghəNTa
house, a staying place — Dyaːra
how — khimi
how much, how many — khilep
how much, how many — kʰyəkə
how much, how many — kʰyəloN
hundred (IA) — ʃə
hunger — bit
hunt, to rush (vt.) (IA) — dhɒdyə:-
husband — kʰyəwa, kʰyəwa
husband's elder brother — puru
husband's elder sister — puyu
knee (IA)—ghunnɔ
knife (IA)—caku
knit, to weave (vt.) (IA)—bu:N-knock (IA)—khɔTkhɔT
knock (vt.) (IA)—khɔTkhɔTa-
knot—geR
know (vi.)—sas-
knowledge, address (IA)—pɔta
lac—la:k
lake (IA)—jhi:l
lamb—ba:lu
lame (IA)—laŋRa
land (IA)—jɑm:i:n
landlord, owner (IA)—ma:lɔk
landslide (IA)—rɔRɔ
large—labu
last (IA)—a:khiri
last to last year—dhi:ŋ
last year—naniŋ
laugh (vi.)—rhab, rhɔc-
lay together—dhu:-
leaf of a plant (IA)—pa:t
leak (vt.)—caŋ-, cyaŋ-
learn (vt.)—thus-
leave behind (vi.)—khyɔl-
leech—lunja
leech (IA)—ju:aŋka
left side (IA)—bɑŋŋ
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.)—bu:l-
light—chant
light (IA)—halka:
light (in weight)—yandu, yanḍɔ
light (lamp, match etc.) (vt.)—cur-
like that—domi
like this, so—dimi
line—ker
lips—thou, thol
liquor (IA)—da:ru
live in luxury (vt.) (IA)—Tha:T lɔ-
liver—chinpa
livestock, animals—ra:u
living being (IA)—ji:b
load (vt.)—mho-
loaf around (vi.)—dhy:a:-
lock (IA)—ta:i
loins, waist (IA)—kɔmɔr
long, tall—ru:dɔ
loom—rɑc
loose (IA)—jhi:lɔ
lose—khulɔ
louse—rhi:g
low (IA)—nisɔ
lower leg (IA)—kuTu
lungs—lua
lynx (IA)—DhɑDu
mad (IA)—bɔrɔ
maize (IA)—mu:rqi
make (vt.) (IA)—baNa:-
make a hole (vt.)—ka:No lɔ-
make curd (vt.) (IA)—jɔmə:-
make hot (vt.)—cart lɔ-
make rope (vt.)—boT-
make someone drink (vt.) (IA)—piwa:-
make someone laugh (vt.) (IA)—hɔsə:-
make someone understand (vt.) (IA)—
samja:-
make something move in a round (vt.)
(IA)—ghuə:-
make something sink (vt.) (IA)—Du:"-
make something wet (vt) (IA)—bhiə:-
male—chorso
male name—Avatar—ɔː:ɾ
mange—lu:tɔ
mango (IA)—a:m
manure, dung—laŋsa
many—te
many (IA)—kɔi
mare (IA)—gɔRi
market (IA)—bajə:r
marriage (IA)—byɔ
marriage (IA)—sɛToe
mat (IA)—cɑTɛ
meadow—paya:r
meal, food—jabon
meat, flesh—fa
medicine—mhan
melt (vi.) (IA)—g沤-
melt (vt.) (IA)—gɔwə:-
mend (vt.) (clothes etc.)—su:1-
metal plate (IA)—tha:i
method (IA)—upay
midnight—phyād-mulyān
mile (English via IA)—mi:l
milk—pyāc
milk (vt.)—chiri:
mind, heart (IA)—mön
mirror (IA)—arsi
mist—kī:

molar teeth (IA)—da: Ra
mole (IA)—tīlguN
money (IA)—pēsa
money, rupees (IA)—rupē, ruphē
monkey (IA)—bādār

month, a vocative sentence particle—la
moon—jon
mop up—mos-
morning—munč
mosquito (IA)—māchār
mother—a:ma
mother's brother's wife—nānā
mother's brother, father's sister's husband—ma:ma
mother's father—popo
mother's father's sister, father's father's sister—nica
mother's mother—momo
mother's younger sister—ci:mi
mother-in-law; beer—yu
mountain range, an edge (IA)—dha:r
mountain, a big rock—pa:R
mouth—gico
much, many (IA)—khū:b
mud—hilō
multiplier (IA)—guNa
mustache—juākha
my—gyīt
myself, ourselves—i
naked (IA)—nānā
name—mhin
name given to the people from one of the valleys—marcha

narrate (vt.) (IA)—suNa:-
navel—nālō
near—litō
nearby—kilcō
neck—māRgini
needle—khēb
negation marker, no, not—mha

neither ... nor—nātār ... nātār
nephew (IA)—bhaṭīja
nerve (IA)—nā:Ni
net (IA)—ja:i
new—nu:dō
news (IA)—kha:bar
next—lyoni
next day—hāti gya
next year—wōtha, wata
niece (IA)—bhaṭi:ji
night—mulyān
nine (IA)—nō
noon—phyenīn
north (IA)—uttār
nose—nhimci
now—dāh
now (IA)—āb
nurse (IA)—dā:i
oath—gyōs
of this—dhītō
oh—ela
oh (IA)—hāla
oh (while calling)—ola
old—fāt
old—yudō
old man (IA)—buDya
old woman (IA)—buDī
on (IA)—pyer
on (IA)—pār
on the other side, across—rhapū
on this side—dhipu, dipu
on us—i pyēr
once again, more than—āji
one—tīg
one by one—tīg-tīg
one third (IA)—tiha:i
one thousand (IA)—hāja:r
one who has pain (IA)—dūkhi
only—nō
only (IA)—hi
open door (vt.)—akto phuār-
open (vt.)—phag-
open something closed (vt.)—khol-
open, to loosen (vt.)—phuāl-
opened—phuāst
opinion, counsel (IA)—rē
or (IA)—ya
original stock, base—mu
ours—into
out of (location), since, point of time—su
outside (outside the room, house)—dagar
overflow (vi.)—r弹性Rya:s-owl (IA)—ulu
paddy—jampa
pain—nised
pain (IA)—Dɔ
pain, grief (IA)—dukh
pair—chya
pair of scales (IA)—tara:ju
pajama—jaNgali
parrot (IA)—tota
part—ta:n
pass away (time) (vi.)—bi:t-
path, way, road—amca
payment given to a priest for his religious work (IA)—dakṣiṇ
peel (vt.) (IA)—coR-
penis—gulu
perfect—sid
person—mi
person without hands (IA)—lu:la
persons (pl.)—mise
persuade (vt.) (IA)—mana:-
persuade, to allure (vt.)—phuskya:-
physical secretion—khyar-
picture—chakɔ
piece (IA)—TukaRa
pig (IA)—sʊŋar
pigeon, dove—nhaku
pillow—khum
place (IA)—ja:ga
plain level—thanga
plan (IA)—isik:i:m
plane ground (IA)—meda:n
plane land (IA)—seNo
plant (IA)—rop-
play a musical instrument (vt.) (IA)—
baja:-
playing of musical instrument (vi.) (IA)—
baj-
plough man (IA)—haya
pluck (vt.)—khyag-, khyak-
plural suffix—-se, -fe
pocket (IA)—khi:sa
poison (IA)—bik
pond (IA)—ta:o
pony (IA)—TɔTTu
position—ler
position, condition (IA)—dasa
possessive postposition—dɔb
pot—nhod
pot, one type—phuəlTi
potato (IA)—əwu
pots (pl.)—nu:sə
power, strength (IA)—jor
practice, exercise (IA)—hāba:s
press (vt.)—cyə:p-, cyə:-
price—las
prize (IA)—ina:m
process of making bundles of threads—
rhin-, rhim-
prohibitive prefix—tha-
promise (IA)—baca
promise (IA)—wedə
protection—rākcyə
pull—lhasoR-
pull (vt.)—ron-
pull (vt.) (IA)—khēc-
pulses (IA)—da:u
pump air (vt.) (IA)—phula:-
pumpkin (IA)—kədə
punishment in the form of fine (IA)—Da:n
puppy—khuica
pure (IA)—sud
pure, typical (IA)—TheT
pus—nag
push (vt.) (IA)—dhakka:-
put off, to take out something (IA)—ta:N-
put some eatable in mouth like, roasted
grains (vt.)—phac-
puzzle, shaft—bhəN
python—cu:r
quarrel—ghya:wo
quarrel (vt.) (IA)—lɔR-
queen (IA)—ra:Ni
question (IA)—səwa:l
question, interrogation—ruh
rafter (IA)—tua:na
rain (IA)—barkha
ram—phara
ram castrated one—kar
Rangpo language—ṟɔŋpɔ bha:sə
Rangpo people—ṟaŋpɔ, ɾŋpɔ
rat, mouse—nibca
raw, uncooked (IA)—ka:cə
reach (vi.) (IA)—pɔc-
reach boiling stage (vi.)—bhɔ rha-
read (vt.) (IA)—bəc-
readiness (IA)—təya:ri
ready (IA)—təyaːr
recently, —dharū
red—manḍā
region, country (IA)—des
release (vt.)—mucaː-
remember (vi.)—yaːd rha-
remembrance (IA)—yaːd
repair (vt.) (IA)—sugaːr-
repent (vi.) (IA)—pactaː-
request (IA)—ərj
respect (IA)—aːdār
respect form for father, fatherly—ενιη
return (vt.) (IA)—lɔTза:
return (IA)—waːpas
revenge (IA)—bōdla:
rice—ga
ride (vi.)—khyos-
rifle, gun (IA)—bōnduːk
right (IA)—hak
right side (IA)—deNo
right, exact, OK. (IA)—Thik-Thiːk
ring—lḥabea, lḥapca
ring, to play musical instrument (vt.)—(IA)—bajaː-
ripen (vt.) (IA)—pəkaː-
ripen (vi.) (IA)—pə:k-
river (IA)—goRəm
rivulet—gəḍrɔ
roast (vt.) (IA)—bhəbəR-
roast (vt.) (IA)—bhəbəRyaː-
roast (vt.)—huʊ-
rob (vt.) (IA)—luːT-
rock—pəR
rock (IA)—Daŋ
roll up threads into balls—rhiː-
roof (IA)—chɔt
room (IA)—kamra
root (IA)—jəRo ~ jəRɔ
rope—thagpa
rope (IA)—Dor
rope (IA)—rassi
rope used for hanging clothes—daŋ
rotten (IA)—alsi
rough (IA)—Duːg
round (IA)—gou
rude, naughty (IA)—utyoRu
rule (IA)—nem
run—byē-
run, to go away (vi.) (IA)—bhaːj-
sack—bɔThi
sad (IA)—udaːs
saddle cloth—phinba
saliva (IA)—laːu
salt—cha
sand (IA)—baːwo
saw (vt.) (IA)—ciːr-
say (vt.)—duːs-
say, to speak (vt.)—lə-, luː-
school (English via IA)—iskuːl
scoundrel—mu yo
scrape (vt.) (IA)—chːl-
scrape (vt.)—khyo-
scrub (vt.)—rəgaR-
sea (IA)—səmundər
search (vt.) (IA)—khoj-
search (IA)—khoj
search (vt.)—khoj lə-
search (vt.) (IA)—Dhuːn-
secret (IA)—bhed
see (vi.)—kan-
seed—pijag
seed, sprout (IA)—kuaːRa
select (vt.) (IA)—chɑːT-
sel f (IA)—hūd
sell (vt.)—raŋ-
send (vt.) (IA)—bhej-
send for—saː-
seniority—ʃəwa
senses (IA)—sud-bud
seven (IA)—saːt
seven days—saːt gya
seven hundred—saːtgya
shade (IA)—chəl
shaky (IA)—dəgDyaːno
shallow (IA)—utəlo
shame—chi, chi-chi
sharp—cənt
sharpen (vt.)—pəyaː-
sheep—ma
sheep, a Tibetan type—bhugaːr
shepherd—anwaːu
shine (vt.) (IA)—cəmək-
shirt—khilta
shoe (IA)—juaːRa
shoemaker (IA)—baːRe
shop (IA)—dukaːn
shopkeeper (IA)—dukaːndaːr
short—tuntɔ
shoulder (IA)—ka:n
shoulder (IA)—kɔndha
sick (IA)—bima:r
sick person—nadpa
sickle—sɔd
sickness—nad
side (IA)—tæphp
sign, mark—tag
silver—mul
sin (IA)—pa:p
sing a song (vt.)—ghɔs laga:-
sink (vi.) (IA)—Du:b-
sinner (IA)—pa:pi
sister—rɔnja
sister's daughter (IA)—bha:Nji
sister's son (IA)—bha:Nja
sit, to live, to be (vi.)—hunc-, hun-, hum-
six (IA)—chɛ
sixth—chepo
sixth day—cuŋ gya
skin—lɔtɔ
skin (IA)—ca:m
sky (IA)—a:ga:s, aɡa:s
slave (female) (IA)—da:si
slave (male) (IA)—da:s
sleep—i:b
sleep (vi.)—guc-
slip (vi.) (IA)—rɔR-
slope—wɛlɔ:r
slope (IA)—Dhau
slope (IA)—kɔTyɑ:r
slumber (IA)—oŋ
small, a little bit (solid)—ci:ci
smear (vt.)—les-
smell—oɾiya, tɔgtɔ
smell (IA)—bɑ:s
smell (vi.) (IA)—su:n- 
smell (vt.) (IA)—suŋa:-
smoke—khu
smoking pipe (IA)—nɛR-chilɔm
snake, a big one (IA)—na:g
snake, insect (IA)—bhu
sneeze (IA)—chɪk
sneeze (vi.)—chɪk-
snot (IA)—siwɔNɔ
snow—aŋ
snow (vt.)—aŋ rha-
so ... as .. if—khiri ... khiri...
so big, that large—dila:p
soap (IA)—sa:moN
soft—boldu
soft (IA)—mulem
some, any—ghori
some—kuɛ
something (also past form of verb /khiri-
/-)—khiri
sometime—kʰɛ guast
sometimes—ghuastɔri
sometimes—khiga:t
sometimes—khyɔga:tɔ
sometimes or the other—guastɔri
sometimes or the other (Hindi, kabhi na
kabhi)—khyɔga:tɔ mha khyɔga:tɔ
somewhere—kʰɛgu
somewhere, anywhere—kʰɛ
son—cheri
son's or daughter's father-in-law (IA)—
səmdɪ
son's or daughter's mother-in-law (IA)—
səmdaNɪ
song—ghɔs
soon, suddenly (IA)—ekɗam
sorrow—dɔn
sound of the wind—sɔr-sɔr
sound, voice—an
soup (IA)—tɔri
sour (IA)—khaTo
source—munyɑ:u
south—dɔkchi:n
sow, plough (vt.)—bu:t-
spade—phoɾo
spend (time) (vt.) (IA)—biː-
spice (IA)—aːlaN
spider (IA)—makRɑ
spin (vt.)—pan-
spindle—tɑːku
spit (vt.) (IA)—thu:ɡ-
spit (IA)—thuːg-
spleen—choro
split (vt.) (IA)—pha:R-
spoil (vi.) (IA)—bɪɡaR-
spoil (vt.) (IA)—bɪɡaːr (IA)
spread (vi.) (IA)—pheː-
spread (vt.) (IA)—tɑːN-
spread (vt.)—thin-
squeeze (vt.) (IA)—nɪcoR-
squirrel-like animal—phi:ya
staircase (IA)—pheRi
stammer (IA)—hakala-
stand (vi.)—ThaNo huan-
star (IA)—ta:ra
steal (IA)—corlap-
steam (IA)—bha:p
stick (IA)—jäThi
stick, cane (IA)—bet
sting (IA)—Dänk
stink (vi.)—su:c-
stir (vt.)—kharo-
stitch, to sew (vt.)—phan-, pham-
stone—uŋ
stool—a:ka
stop (vt.) (IA)—tha:m-
story (IA)—katha
story, blind woman (IA)—ka:Ni
straw—bu:s
stretcher, barrow (IA)—Däni
strike fire (vt.)—phun-
stroll, to go around (vi.) (IA)—ghu:m-
stubborn—hamba
suck (vt.) (IA)—cu:s-
suddenly (IA)—taRäm
suddenly (IA)—suRuk
sugar (IA)—ci:ni
sun—ni
support (IA)—Tek
supposition—phêm
surely (IA)—jaru:r
surprised (IA)—hara:n
sweep, to clean (vt.)—sor-
sweet—chya:da
sweet—khyagtə
sweets—nyama
swing (vi.) (IA)—jhu:l-
swing (vt.) (IA)—jhu:l-
tail (IA)—puca:Ri
take (vt.)—lhe-
take, to be (vt.)—huən-, huəm-
take breath—säs lhe-
take or give an oath (vt.)—gyəs dha-
take revenge (vt.)—bədla: lhe-
take support of something physical (vt.)—
   Tek laga:-
talk (vi.)—kamci khyər-
tear (vt.)—bag-
tears—migti
tease (vt.) (IA)—chyeR-
tell (vt.) (IA)—bata:-
temple (IA)—dyəłów
temple (IA)—kanpuRi
temple (IA)—purpuRi
ten (IA)—das
tender apology (vt.)—ma:phi thot-
tent (IA)—təmbu
term used for the Garhwali people (mas.
sg.)—go
that many—dyələŋ
that time—dagə:t
the other, second (IA)—dusro
theft (IA)—cori
then (IA)—to
then (IA)—təb
there—do
there, near by, at—dhaja:r
these—dhitye
they (dative)—dhətənu, dhətyanu
they, those—dhətye, dhətəjo
they, those (agentive)—dhətəjo
thief (IA)—cor
thigh—toro
thin—lagtu
thin (flat objects like paper, cloth)—bya:du
thing (IA)—ci:j
think (vi.) (IA)—səc-
think, to understand (vi.)—go-
third—sumpo
third time—sum phyero
this—dhi
this (sg. agentive)—dhijə
this (sg.dative)—dhiru
this one, this side—dipu
this side—haRkə
this year—thaniŋ
thorn—chə
thought (IA)—səc
thousands (pl)—haja:rō
thrust (IA) (vi.)—dhəmkə-
three—sum
three days—nih:sgya
three days after tomorrow—thuŋgya
three hundred—nih:s gya
throw (vt.)—nhar-
thumb—Dhuŋnya
Tibet—byan\textsuperscript{a}n
Tibetan person—byan\textsuperscript{a}npa
tie a knot (vt.)—chin-
tiger (IA)—ba:ga
tight (English via IA)—Te\textsuperscript{T}T
tight (vt.)—Te\textsuperscript{T}la-
tight, narrow (IA)—\textsuperscript{a}la:R
time (English via IA)—Tem, T\textsuperscript{em}
time (IA)—bog\textsuperscript{a}t
time and again (IA)—gha\textsuperscript{a}Ri-gha\textsuperscript{a}Ri
tin—ra:\\textsuperscript{n}
today — than
toe (IA)—\textsuperscript{a}nja:
tomatoes (IA)—\textsuperscript{T}ama\textsuperscript{T}ar
tomorrow—oro, or\textsuperscript{o}
tongue (IA)—jib\textsuperscript{a}Ro
too much (IA)—beh\textsuperscript{a}d
tooth—\textsuperscript{a}g

top, peak—Tuku
torch—r\textsuperscript{\textael}k\textsuperscript{a}
torso (IA)—ga:t
treat (vt.)—ila:j l\textsuperscript{\textael}-
treatment (IA)—ila:j
tree (IA)—Dalo
tremble (vi.)—dar-, darc-
triangle (IA)—tiko\textsuperscript{N}
truth (IA)—sac
try, to test (vi.)—ca:k-
tube (English via IA)—Tyu:b
turban (IA)—T\textsuperscript{ako}
turn (vi.) (IA)—moR-
turn around (vi.) (IA)—p\textsuperscript{\textael}Ta-
turn around (vt.) (IA)—p\textsuperscript{\textael}Ta:-
turn on oneself (vi.)—ri:\textsuperscript{n}-
turn over (vi.)—khuar-
twenty (IA)—bi:s
twice—nhi\textsuperscript{a}n
twins (IA)—j\textsuperscript{\textael}y\textsuperscript{\textael}
two—nhi:s
two days after tomorrow—ba:gya
type (IA)—kis\textsuperscript{a}m
ugly (IA)—bh\textsuperscript{a}do
uncastrated male goat—log\textsuperscript{T}o
under — po\\textsuperscript{n}co
under, below—thi\\textsuperscript{\textael}nco
under, below—\textsuperscript{\textael}th\textsuperscript{\textael}nco
understand (vi.) (IA)—s\textsuperscript{\textael}m\textsuperscript{\textael}j-
underwear (IA)—k\textsuperscript{\textael}cha
underworld (IA)—p\textsuperscript{\textael}ta:u
unsharp—kh\textsuperscript{n}t
up there—d\textsuperscript{\textael}h\textsuperscript{\textael}jer
up to—th\textsuperscript{\textael}n
upright, erect—Tha\textsuperscript{N}o
urinate (vt.)—cy\textsuperscript{\textael}ku khy\textsuperscript{\textael}r-
urine—cy\textsuperscript{\textael}ku
useless (IA)—be\textsuperscript{\textael}k\textsuperscript{\textael}r
vagina—pua:ka
valley (IA)—g\textsuperscript{\textael}h\textsuperscript{\textael}:Ti
very many, very much (IA)—m\textsuperscript{\textael}hast
vice (IA)—\\textsuperscript{\textael}b
village—nam
village name—bhu\textsuperscript{\textael}t\textsuperscript{\textael}ya
village name—bu\textsuperscript{\textael}k
village name—marka
village name—ni:ti
village name—s\textsuperscript{\textael}sa
village name—fasag
village name—chinka
villager—namci
visit, meeting, to be seen (IA)—darsan
voice, sound (IA)—a:\textsuperscript{d}wa:j
wait (IA)—in\textsuperscript{\textael}r
wait for (vt.)—nu:hs-
wait for (vt.)—in\textsuperscript{\textael}r l\textsuperscript{\textael}-
wake up (vi.)—s\textsuperscript{\textael}s-
wake (IA)—\textsuperscript{\textael}yu-
walk unsteadily (IA)—dh\textsuperscript{\textael}nd\textsuperscript{\textael}ya:-
wake (IA)—bh\textsuperscript{\textael}ti
wake (IA)—di\textsuperscript{\textael}wa:r
walnut—ku\textsuperscript{\textael}ta\textsuperscript{\textael}n
warm—chat
warm oneself (vi.)—ches-
wash (vt.)—ur-
wash head (vt.)—sus-
wasp (IA)—jhama\textsuperscript{T}o
watch—ja:g
watch (IA)—p\textsuperscript{\textael}ra
water—ti
water stream (IA)—dha:rc
water well—m\textsuperscript{\textael}n\textsuperscript{\textael}r
watermill (IA)—gh\textsuperscript{\textael}T
we—in
we (dative)—inu
we (agentive)—in\textsuperscript{\textael}r
weak (IA)—chi:\textsuperscript{\textael}N
weak (IA)—kam\textsuperscript{\textael}r
weather (IA)—m\textsuperscript{\textael}s\textsuperscript{\textael}m
weave (vt.)—rh\textsuperscript{\textael}m-, rh\textsuperscript{\textael}m-
weep (vi.)—tyě
weigh (vt.) (IA)—tol
weigh (vt.)—bok
weight—tol
weight of things about one kilogram or a
specified weight—khan
west (IA)—pachim
wet—thid
wet (IA)—gi:lo
what—khye
what, that—khyen, khyen
wheat—jad
when—gust
when (IA)—jab
when ...then (IA)—jab ...tab
when, although (IA)—jabki
where—gu
whistle (IA)—Ta:Ri
white—si:d
who (agentive pl.)—ghotēja
who (agentive sg.)—ghojā
who, that (relative pronoun)—gho, ghurā
whole (IA)—sa:ra
whole, full (IA)—pu:ro
whom (pl.)—ghotenu
whom (sg.)—ghoru
whose (pl.)—ghotēta
whose (sg.)—ghotā
why—khyorū
why not—khyor mha
wicked person (IA)—ēbi
wide, broad—paRda
widow (IA)—rāD
wife—umsāri
wife's brother (IA)—sa:wo
wife's sister (IA)—sa:ī
wild bee—ma:ri
win (vi.) (IA)—ji:t
win (vt.) (IA)—jītā
wind (IA)—batā
window (IA)—khiRki
winnow (vt.)—Thab
winter—sod
wipe (vt.) (IA)—MiTa:
wipe (vt.)—sig
wire (IA)—ta:r
wish—sam
wish (vi.)—sam rha
wish (vi.) (IA)—ca:
with—lē
with—sib
with great pump and show (IA)—Tha:T-baT
without (IA)—bigār
women's upper clothes, a gown type—
pā:khi
wonder (IA)—kora:maṭ
wood—siṇ
wooden beam (IA)—Da:u
wool—chām
word (IA)—sābād
work—lān
work (IA)—ka:m
world (IA)—jagat
world (IA)—sansā:ṛ
worship (vt.) (IA)—pu:jā
worship (IA)—pu:ja
worship (vt.)—khi:
wrap, to roll (vt.) (IA)—lapeT
write (vt.) (IA)—lek-
yak (IA)—cār
yard (IA)—gāj
yawn—āl
year—yū
year (IA)—sa:l
yellow—lheda
yellowish eye discharge—mignāra
yes (IA)—hā
yesterday—nya:r
yoke (IA)—ju:wō
you (pl.)—ge
you (sg)—gōn
young—jārba
young boy, lad—jeru
young boy, man—kṣṬu
young girl, lady—kēTi
young one of goat—laca
younger brother or sister—ba:ba
younger brother's wife, also a term of
address for a married lady—namjā
younger sister's husband, daughter's
husband—magpa, makpa
yours (pl.)—geTā
yours (sg.)—geTā
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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} & \quad \text{i}\text{i} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{u}\text{u} \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \epsilon & \quad \epsilon \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{a}\text{a}
\end{align*}
\]

2.1.1 Phonetic description of vowel phonemes

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

_____________________________________________________________________

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Shri Gurjan Singh Gunjyāl (age 58), Village and Post Gunji, and Shri Mohan Singh
Napalchyu (age 48), Village Napalchyu, Post Gunji; all the consultants were from Tehsil, Dh∞
arculā (Dharchula in the older system of spelling) District Pithauragarh, Uttar Pradesh, India.
The author alone is responsible for errors and gaps if any.
English-Rongpo Glossary

[syllable-final-position]

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

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

Phonetically the vowels with high falling tones are shorter than the vowels with level tones. The centralized high short vowel /i/, front mid vowel /e/, front lower-mid short vowel /e/, and the back high unrounded short vowel /u/ are lower than the other vowels. The lower mid vowels /e/ and /a/ 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o (ɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He treats /ø/ 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 glidalized pronunciation, realized as [wo], which is more prominent in the dialect of Byangs' (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 /i/ and the back unrounded vowel /u/ 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/ > /e/—The lower front vowel /e/, 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 /ε/ (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: e e* ε] as front vowels; [a α:] 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 [ε] 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 /ε/ 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 /e/ and /ɔ/ is certainly low.

2.1.2 Syllable initial vowel contrasts

The front high centralized vowel /ɪ/, 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)
/an-/ 'to lift, to pick up'
/alu/ 'potato'
/at5o/ 'flour'
/ane/ 'here'
/ate / 'there'

/a:/
/ɑ:/ 'mouth'
/ɑː m/ 'mango'
/ɑːrsi 'mirror'

/i/: 
/iː/ 'stool'

/i/ 
/in/ '1pl. pronoun'
/in Eğe/ '1pl genitive pronoun'
/ibuŋ/ 'anus'
/ilm/ 'vagina'
/infi/ '1du. pronoun'
/ita:/ 'now, at present'
/itta:/ 'just at this moment'

/u/
/uo/ '3sg. pronoun'
/uʃi/ '3pl. pronoun'
/unʃi/ '3du. pronoun'
/ulo/ 'where'
/ulan/ 'when, then, how much, how many'
/una:/ 'who, someone'
/un/ 'stone'

/ɔ/ 
/ɔŋ-/ 'to inspect'
2.1.3 Closed syllable vowel contrasts

The front mid vowel /e/ and the front lower mid vowel /ε/ 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'
/i/ /cǐm/- 'to burn'
/u/ /run-/ 'a heap of pebbles'
/u/ /rum-/- 'earthquake'
/a/ /danʃ/ 'aim; hill'
/a/ /duŋ/ 'desire'
/a/ /kanʃ/ 'a type of tea cup'
/i/ /kin/ 'a round pit'
/a/ /gal/ 'yak'
/a:/ /kaːts/ 'lamb'
/aː/ /raːp/ 'flame'
/o/ /kots/ 'a type of leather bag'
/u/ /gul/ 'phlegm'
/ɔ/ /lɔŋ/ 'vomit (n.)'
/u/ /lunŋ/ 'back'
/s/ /phɔŋ/- 'to jump in one place'
/o/ /phɔŋ/- 'to jump from up to down'
/ɔ/ /d5ɔŋ/ 'a courtyard on the first floor of the house'
/a/ /d5am/ 'blacksmith'

2.1.4 Syllable final vowel contrasts

/i/ : /iː/
/i/ 'glacier'
/iː/ 'to write'
/ti/ 'water'
/thiː/- 'to melt'
/thiː/- 'to get wet'
/khiː/- 'to scrub utensils'
/khiː/- 'to bend'
/ɪ : /y/
/pɪɛ/  'brother'
/pyɛ/  'knee'
/bɪɛ/  'thread'
/bye/  'steep mountain rock'
/mɪɛ/  'fire'
/myɛ/  'eye'

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

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

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

/a/ : /ɑː/
/ba/  'father'
/baː:/  'to fold'
/sa/  'soil'
/saː:/  '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STOPS:</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>tʃh</td>
<td></td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(bh)</td>
<td>(dh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATES:</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>c [tʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʃh</td>
<td>ch [tʃh]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j [dʒ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.1 Consonant phoneme contrasts

The syllable in Byangsi may begin with any consonant except the borrowed retroflex /t/. 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'
/t5/ /t5a:-/ 'to prick'
/t5h/ /t5ha:-/ 'to strike a match'
/t5h/ /t5hɔ:-/ 'to dance'
/d5/ /d5um-/- 'to tremble'
/n5/ /n5is/ 'noon'
/n5a/ 'mother'
/t/ /ta:-/ 'to keep'
/th/ /thà/ 'waterfall'
/d/ /da:-/ 'to give'
/dh/ /dhɔrti/ 'earth' (Indo-Aryan)
/n/ /nɔʃ/ 'seven'
/nɔː/ 'your'
/hn/ /hna:-/ 'to unload something from the head or back'
/p/ /pan/ 'a Tibetan'
/ph/ /phɔː/- 'to fly'
/b/ /ban/ 'place'
/bh/ /bhɔː/ 'sound'
/m/ /man/ 'dream'
/hm/ /mi:-/ 'to become small'
/hmɔː/-/ 'ripe'
/ts/ /tsɔː/ 'memory, lid'
/tsh/ /tʃɔː/ 'life, age, fat'
/dz/ /dzɔː/ 'boredom'
/c/ /cɔː/- 'to pinch, to bite'
/ch/ /chɔː/ 'fat, grease'
/j/ /je/ 'I' (first person sg.)
/l/ /lɔː/ 'hand, boulder'
/hl/ /hlɔː/ 'moon, month'
/r/ /raŋ/ 'arm'
/ru/ 'horn'
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/
/n5ise; /n5iche/ 'noon'
/mife/ 'seven'
/n5ace/ 'thorn'
/nafe/ 'two'
/n5age/ 'mother’s'
/nage/ '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'
/gultn/ 'testicles'
/lafin/ 'nail'
/nulan/ 'wind'
/wa:lan/ 'a term used for the non-TB speakers, esp. the Kumaunis and Nepalis'
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 /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'
/myde/ 'below, low from the level'
/tyemo/ 'to weep, to cry'
/thyemo/ 'to participate, to join in some work'
/dyemo/ 'to go'
/nya:re/ 'yesterday'
/n5ye/ 'day'
/n5ya:/ 'fish'
/n5yuŋjimo/ 'to retreat'
/kyemo/ 'to chew meat'
/gyera:/ 'grain or crop'
/cyəla:/ 'index finger'
/cya:mo/ 'to hide'
/chyamo/ 'to be hot'
/jyəmo/ 'to be broken (thread, rope); to bloom'
/syapi cëmo/ 'to pinch'
/jyəmo/ 'to run away'
/hmyar/ 'frost'
/hya:mo/ 'to empty'
/rye/ 'a tale'
-w-

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

-r-

/nagra:/    'a paw of lion or tiger'
/gadro/     'a ditch, a pit'
/ŋəkrɔ/     '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 (/a/), 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'
/yè/    'mountain'
/pi/    'four'
/pi/-   'to sweep'
/gi:-   'to bulge'
/gì/-   'to swallow'
/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/:
/\khok\-pa/: 'corpus'
/can\-pa/: 'a person from Johar valley'
/khà\-pa/: 'winter'
/chyà\-pa/: 'summer'

/\-pu/:
/ní\-pu/: 'mouse'
/tha:-\-pu/: 'reserve'

/\-bu/:
/kha\-bu/: 'snake'
/la\-bu/: 'butter'
/tim\-bu/: 'sky'
/tan\-bu/: 'a big snake'
/nuu\-bu/: 'insect'
/lam\-bu/: 'woolen cloth'

/\-la/:
/bó\-la/: 'thumb'
/cyó\-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'
/jyar\-nam/: 'north'
/ta\-nam/: 'south'

/\-ts/:
/jir\-ts/: 'male grown up goat'
/fip\-ts/: 'comb'
/ka\:ts/: 'lamb'
/kar\-ts/: 'male lamb'
/bar\-ts/: 'female lamb'
/ko\-ts/: 'a bag made of leather'

/\sa:-\/
/tök\-sa/: 'side, direction'
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:

/mìtti/ 'tear' < /mye/ 'eye' + /ti/ 'water'
/mìkcham/ 'eye lashes' < /mik/ 'eye' + /cham/ 'hair, fur'
/pufjìkcham/ 'hair' (of head) < /pu/fa:/ 'head' + /cham/ 'hair, fur'
/hnaptì/ 'snot' < /hmì/ 'nose' + /ti/ 'water'
/fìjìfì/ 'relatives' < /fìya:/ 'flesh' + /fì/ '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-tì/ 'butter-milk' < /ti/ 'water' and /bu-/, which is a bound form we can not assign any meaning to. Similar examples are: /fìl-tì/ 'saliva', /fìa-tì/ 'semen', /gìm-so/ 'molar tooth' (/so/ 'tooth'), /lak-fin/ 'nail' (/lak/ 'hand'), /khìu/ 'grandson' (/khìu/ '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. /wa-ban/ 'dark'. Here it is possible to speculate that the morphemes are /wa- / and /ban/, 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:

/banìkhar/ 'morning' /pìna:/ 'a type of bat'
/nìsamìn/ 'autumn' /minca:/ 'bat'
/ranplì/ 'feather' /mayan/ 'a type of basket'
/dunìla/ 'food' /labu/ 'butter'
/thumcaru/ 'custom' /lataka/ 'dirt'
/mad5ìmnan/ '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 fìya:/ 'bride' /byulo/ 'bridegroom'
/fìn fìya:/ 'sister' /pìe/ 'brother'
/hrìthì fìya:/ 'wife' /hrìthì/ 'husband'
/nam fìya:/ 'son’s wife' /hrìn fìya:/ 'wife’s younger brother’s wife'

The free form for 'eye' is /mye/, 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, /lä/, but /lak- in /lakshin/ 'fingernail'.

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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'  /lasan/ 'male goat'
/re/ 'cow'  /kolan/ '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-ŋ/ 'men'  /firi-ŋ/ 'boys'
/ma:la:-ŋ/ 'goats'  /gal-ŋ/ 'yaks'
/fin-ŋ/ 'trees'  /n5ya-ŋ/ 'fish (pl.)'
/la-ŋ/ 'hands'  /hraŋ-ŋ/ '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 /nætɛ/ 'two' which is sometimes prefixed to nouns representing humans to indicate the dual number. Examples:

/nis-mì/ 'two persons'  /nis-firi/ 'two boys'
/nis-tsame/ 'two daughters'  /nis-pie/ '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 /-fì/ is added to the plural form to indicate the dual form. The personal pronouns are given below:
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'; /uʃi-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTANCE</th>
<th>SIGHT</th>
<th>HEIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximate</td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>Obviate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. ai</td>
<td>ati</td>
<td>teti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. aimaŋ</td>
<td>atimaŋ</td>
<td>tetimaŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual forms, when needed, can easily be constructed by adding the dual marker, e.g., /ai khan/ or /ai niʃi khan/ or /ai ni mĩ/ '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.

/khã/  'what' This does not inflect for number or case.  
/gan khã mĩnta hlīŋ/  
you what name is 'What is your name?'

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

/ati khã 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:-ge/ 'whose' (sg. / pl.)

/ ulaŋ/ 'when'
English-Rongpo Glossary

/gan ulan ranisə/  'When did you come?'

/wà/  'where'  Most often this interrogative takes the locative marker /kho/.
/uji wà-kho yinan/ 'Where are they?'
/felu wà yin/  'Where is Shelu?'

/ham/  'how'
/ati ham yin/  'How is that?'

/hon/  'why'
/gan hon tuṇnisə/  '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-se api ūṇtsə/  'I myself will do it.'
/wo-se api ūṇta/  '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 mì/  'some or some one or a few persons'
/lairi/  'all'
/ulan-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 ūṇgetata je-ğe hrinfa hle/  'That girl who is doing work at home is my sister.'

/ati mì dzai-se ai byam ranisə bîd-mi hle/  'The man who made this carpet is a good man.'

/ati byam dzai gurjan siŋ-se rangetata/  'That carpet which Gurjan Simha is making.'
/ati baŋ dzai baŋ-kho je ∫ŋ∫1yɛsɔ/  
'that place RELPRO place-LOC I sat'

/ati mì dzai ma:mla saisɔ/  
'that man RELPRO sheep killed'

/ati ŋende dzai sɔŋ-kho dyisɔ/  
'that child RELPRO village-LOC went'

/ati mì dzai khobu-se cɪsɔ/  
'that person RELPRO snake-AGT bit'

/ati akhan dzai-se in-gɛ ba-se wɔm saisɔ/  
'that sickle RELPRO-AGT 1pl-GEN father-AGT bear killed'

/ati cim dzai cim-dza ra:mu basat yin/  
'that house RELPRO house-in Ramu live is'

/ai ati-yi-cukti hle dzai gan nya:re tonisɔ/  
'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive/Instrumental</td>
<td>-sɛ ~ -se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ja dańci, -ja, -ja ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-gɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case tables for one noun and the personal pronouns:

/ mi/ 'person'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>mimaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>mîsɛ</td>
<td>mimaŋsɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mịja</td>
<td>mimaŋja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>mịgɛ</td>
<td>mimaŋɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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 

\[ -s\vDash ~ -se \]

indexes the agentivity or deliberate control of the subject actant over a transitive or intransitive event. The case suffix \[ -s\vDash ~ -se \] also expresses instrumental relations. The dative case marker \[ -ja(dan\vDash ci) \] 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 kon\vDash 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 /fi\vDash ja/ 'of wood' or 'of tree', which means 'belongs to wood or tree', /fi\vDash se/ 'by the help of wood', and /fi\vDash ge/ 'made out of wood'. The following examples illustrate the use of the case markings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person (visible)</th>
<th>3rd person (invisible or far away)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>ati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>jes\vDash</td>
<td>ganse\vDash</td>
<td>wose\vDash</td>
<td>atise\vDash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>jeja</td>
<td>ganja</td>
<td>woja</td>
<td>atija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>jige\vDash</td>
<td>nage\vDash</td>
<td>uge\vDash / woge\vDash</td>
<td>atige\vDash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Examples

- /ju/ (he) run-PAST
  - 'He ran.'
- /ju/ ti (he) water drink-PAST
  - 'He drank water.'
Ram-AGT jelu book PAST-give
'Ram gave Shelu a book.'

Ram food PAST-eat
'Ram ate food.'

Ram-erg jelu see-PAST
'Ram saw Shelu.'

I-AGT tree axe-INST cut-PAST
'I cut the tree with the axe.'

I-DAT book is
'I have a book.'

Ram-DAT book-pl.are
'Ram has books.'

I-AGT child-DAT work get done-PRESCONT
'I am getting the work done by the child.'

I-AGT you-DAT from this book take:FUT
'I shall take this book from you.'

this stone I-DAT give+IMP
'Give this stone to me.'

they-GEN goat-pl. are
'They have goats.'

this Ram-GEN house is
'This is Ram’s house.'

that tree-GEN is
'That belongs to the tree.'
English-Rongpo Glossary

/fin-gə cim/
wood-GEN house
'house made of wood'

/un-gə d5alo/
stone-GEN piece
'a piece of stone'

/ra:mfin-gə nya:r-ci duka:n yin/
Ram simha-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)
/uj khu/ 'on the stone'
/cu khu/ 'inside the room'

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

/n5intam/ 'after, behind'. (takes a nominative NP)
/cim n5intam/ 'behind the house'

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

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

/yikho/ 'below'. (takes a genitive NP)
/cim-gə yikho/ 'below 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:

7 The 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.
/-de/
/yi:-/ 'to become old'
/yi:de/ 'old'
/bul:-/ 'to be fat'
/builde/ 'fat'
/kha/ 'walnut' (which is bitter in taste)
/kha:de/ 'bitter, difficult'
/be/ 'thread'
/byede/ 'thin' (in thickness)

/nud:e/ 'new'
/thede/ 'high'
/myede/ 'low'
/mange/ 'red'
/lyede/ 'yellow'

/-th/-
/nyanthe/ 'light in weight'
/bunthe/ 'tall, long'
/tsanthe/ 'sharp' (of an instrument)

/-te/-
/hyukte/ 'deep'
/tsharte/ 'dry'
/par-te/ 'short'
/khi:te/ 'broad'

/-ta/-
/thu:ta/ 'weak'
/khasraka/ 'rough'
/chakta/ 'sweet'
/lataka/ 'smell bad'

/-/militive 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', /tsode 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'  
/ga mmì/ 'the other person'  
/jamma:/ 'whole'

Another group of quantitative adjectives is formed by demonstrative pronouns followed by the suffix /-la/, e.g. /ai-la/ 'this much'; /ati-la/ 'that much' or 'that many', /u-la/ '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 /cî/ 'ten' and its allomorphs [ce-], [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 /cî/ '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: cî/, '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:

/tige/ 'one'  
/pi/ 'four'  
/nife/ 'seven'  
/cî/ 'ten'  
/cesum/ 'thirteen'  
/cat5o/ 'sixteen'  
/cirgu/ 'nineteen'  

/nafɛ/ 'two'  
/ŋai/ 'five'  
/jede/ 'eight'  
/cethɛ/ 'eleven'  
/cepɛ/ 'fourteen'  
/conye/ 'seventeen'  
/nassa:/ or /nasa:/ 'twenty'  

/sum/ 'three'  
/t5ugu/ 'six'  
/guĩ/ 'nine'  
/cɛnɛɛ/ 'twelve'  
/cebɛn/ 'fifteen'  
/cebje/ 'eighteen'  
/pisæ/ 'forty'
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' /naba/ 'five folds' and so on. 'Half' is /phye/, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Rongpo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n5intam/</td>
<td>'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/itta wase/</td>
<td>'till now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/than/</td>
<td>'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thanla/</td>
<td>'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ulanja/</td>
<td>'sometimes, anytime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ratso/</td>
<td>'every time, time and again' (literally 'hundred times')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.3 Definite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Rongpo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/baŋkhar/</td>
<td>'morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n5ise/</td>
<td>'noon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khāpa:/</td>
<td>'winter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yane/</td>
<td>'spring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thinja:/</td>
<td>'today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nya:re/</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thasumja:/</td>
<td>'three days before today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/than yin/</td>
<td>'this year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sumja:/</td>
<td>'day after tomorrow' (literally 'three days from today')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
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 garte/ 'in this way' /at-na garte/ 'in that way'
/dzamri garte/ 'in all ways' /hanhi garte/ 'some way or the other'
/cat5ak/ 'quickly' /suku suku/ 'slowly'
/khaja:i/ 'usually' /chakka se/ 'approximately'

/uo d5i:l rannisd/ he late came 'He came late.'

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

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

/satta: ra:/ again come+IMP 'Come again.'
/sandé  dza:/
with care  eat+iMP
'eat carefully.'

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

/tsham-mi  tig-tige-se  dyeyeɡnan/
all-person  one-one-AGT  go+FUT
'All will go one by one.'

/u-se  api-ɡe  hritiʃya  goʃi  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'  /rnuŋ/-  'to hear'  /chil/-  'to wash clothes'
/jan/-  'to run'  /dzuŋ/-  'to begin'  /jun/-  'to drown'
/yar/-  'to cry'  /yer/-  'to wash'  /pâc/-  '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/  /phela:-tomo/
nose-beat  palm-stop
'to snore'  'to clap'

/lan-thomo/  /mîn-tamo/
answer-pluck  name-to put
'to answer a call'  '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 /-fi/. There are also correspondences between sets of related verbs where the transitive member of the set has a unaspirated voiceless intial 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
/-fi/ 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-fi-mo/  'to be shaken'
/thì-mo/  'to melt' /thì-fi-mo/  'to be melted'
/cha:-mo/ 'to break' /cha:-fi-mo/  'to be broken'
/jòŋ-mo/  'to sit' /jòŋ-fi-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 /-fi/ is added. Examples:

/chò-mo/  'to itch' /chò-k-fi-mo/  'to get an itch'
/khò-mo/  'to peel' /khò-k-fi-mo/  'to be peeled'
/no-mo/  'to pull' /no-k-fi-mo/  'to be pulled'

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

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

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

/tsimfìmo/ 'to wrestle' /tshòŋfìmo/  'cock fight'
/khaʃimo/  'horse fight' /t5hìʃimo/  'dog fight'

---

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

9Editor's note: This marker also has reflexive/middle uses, e.g. in [chiʃimo] 'to feed oneself'; [phokʃimo] 'cover oneself'; [thiʃimo] '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Rongpo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/cuŋ-/ 'to drown'</td>
<td>/jun-/ 'to be drowned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cyà-/ 'to break' (rope)</td>
<td>/jya-/ 'to be broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pyo-/ 'to frighten'</td>
<td>/byo-/ 'to be frightened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaŋ-/ 'to cause to swell'</td>
<td>/gaŋ-/ 'to swell by itself'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>roots</th>
<th>singular imp. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dye/- 'to go'</td>
<td>/dyè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ra:-/ 'to come'</td>
<td>/ra:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dza:-/ 'to eat'</td>
<td>/dza:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/da:-/ 'to give'</td>
<td>/da:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tuŋ/- 'to drink'</td>
<td>/tun:/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>roots</th>
<th>singular imp. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/yab/- 'to stand'</td>
<td>/yabyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yeb/- 'to sow'</td>
<td>/yèbyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaŋ/- 'to run'</td>
<td>/jaŋyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hye/- 'to laugh'</td>
<td>/hiɔyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ya:-/ 'to sleep'</td>
<td>/yɔyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lo/- 'to say'</td>
<td>/loyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chù/- 'to win'</td>
<td>/chùyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n5ye/- 'to rub'</td>
<td>/n5yèyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hwan/- 'to show'</td>
<td>/hwanyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lay/- 'to send'</td>
<td>/lɔyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pàm/- 'to spin'</td>
<td>/paiyɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ràm/- 'to weave'</td>
<td>/raiɔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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 /-ΔΔi/ or the suffix /-c(i)/, or the syllable ends in /c/. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>roots</th>
<th>singular imp. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/søŋʃi/-</td>
<td>'to sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/danʃi/-</td>
<td>'to get up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yançi/-</td>
<td>'to hear' (from a distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ruŋʃi/-</td>
<td>'to listen' (from near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlabʃi/-</td>
<td>'to learn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pàc/-</td>
<td>'to masticate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/søŋʃin/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/danʃin/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yanʃin/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yançi/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yanʃi/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlabʃin/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pàcan/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>singular imp. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ganiʃi/-</td>
<td>'to cause to fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ganiʃin/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gani/ 2pl. imp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gani/ 2du.imp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gani/ 2pl. imp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dye/-</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/diniʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dini/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ra:-/-</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/raniʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rani/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fɔŋʃi/-</td>
<td>'to sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fɔŋʃiʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fɔŋʃinni/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dza:-/-</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dzaniʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dzani/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yançi/-</td>
<td>'to hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yanciʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yancini/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ri:-/-</td>
<td>'to write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rinʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rini/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-ʃe/ is added, and it is then a person-number-imperative complex. Here [-f] can be interpreted as an allomorph of the dual number morpheme [ʃi], and [-e-] as an allomorph of the imperative suffix /-yø/ 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 /yø/. 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.
The examples below follow a second pattern, where the dual number suffix /-Δ∆i/ is added to the full verb roots and then the second person-imperative marker /-ni/ is added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hyu-/</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>/hyuŋ-/</td>
<td>/hyuŋfonyi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hye-/</td>
<td>'to laugh'</td>
<td>/hye-/</td>
<td>/hinyi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tye-/</td>
<td>'to weep'</td>
<td>/tye-/</td>
<td>/tini/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cyà/</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
<td>/cyà-/</td>
<td>/cyèni/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A somewhat similar pattern holds for the third type, but with a slight change in the dual number suffix, where /-Δ∆i/>/-Δ∆‰/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/co-/</td>
<td>'to finish'</td>
<td>/co-/</td>
<td>/coni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/naŋ-/</td>
<td>'to drive animals'</td>
<td>/naŋƒuni/</td>
<td>/naŋni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yi-/</td>
<td>'to grind'</td>
<td>/yi-/</td>
<td>/yini/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tò-/</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
<td>/tò-/</td>
<td>/tòni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/raŋ/</td>
<td>'to sell'</td>
<td>/raŋ/</td>
<td>/raŋni/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ràm-/</td>
<td>'to weave'</td>
<td>/ràm-</td>
<td>/rànfonyi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pàm-/</td>
<td>'to spin'</td>
<td>/pàm-</td>
<td>/pànfonyi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fourth pattern is found in the following three examples, where the verb root final vowels loose their length and are compensated for by a high falling tone and a following voiceless velar stop /-k/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ya:-/</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>/ya:-/</td>
<td>/ya:ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pha:-/</td>
<td>'to speak'</td>
<td>/pha:-/</td>
<td>/pha:ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cha:/</td>
<td>'to break'</td>
<td>/cha:/</td>
<td>/cha:ni/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fuller representation of the person-number-imperative complex is found in the imperative form for /lo-/ 'to say', 2du. /lòkfini/æ/, 2pl. /loni/, where apart from the changes in the verb root we find that dual number represented by the /-Δ∆i/ suffix and the plural number form /-ni/ are also found here, followed by the dual imperative suffix /-Δ∆‰/, 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, /-Δ∆i/, a dual number marker, and /-ni/, the second person-number suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/khi:-/</td>
<td>'to bend like an arc'</td>
<td>/khiye-</td>
<td>/khiyeni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cìm-/</td>
<td>'to ignite'</td>
<td>/cìm-</td>
<td>/cîmni/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Imperative Form</th>
<th>Prohibitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ra:/</td>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>/tha-ra:/ 'don’t come' (sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rani/</td>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>/tha-rani/ 'don’t come' (du.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rani/</td>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>/tha-rani/ 'don’t come' (pl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.6 Infinitive forms
The infinitive suffix is transcribed as /-mo/, but sometimes some informants pronounced it as /-mø/. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Infinitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/khu:-mo/</td>
<td>'to steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hwan-mo/</td>
<td>'to show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mın tā:-mo/</td>
<td>'to name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rusu ra:-mo/</td>
<td>'to get anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gɔʃi-mo/</td>
<td>'to be happy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/da:-mo/</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/man ğ ra:-mo/</td>
<td>'to dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔŋ-mo/</td>
<td>'to look after, watch carefully or closely'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-ge/ to most verb roots with vowel or nasal finals, for example /dza:-ge/ 'having eaten', /ra:-ge/ 'having come', /funj-ge/ 'having done', /uotuŋ-ge pira/ [he-drink-having-came] 'He came after having drunk.' Other verb roots take the suffix /-khe/, with or without morphophonemic changes, e.g. /yab-khe/ 'having stood'; /luk-khe/ '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 /-khe/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Gerund Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dzadza:ŋ/</td>
<td>'after having eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rara:ŋ/</td>
<td>'after having come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rurunŋʃaŋ/</td>
<td>'after having heard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dedyeaŋ/</td>
<td>'after having gone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dzadza:ŋ uʃi cim dyeyəŋnaŋ/</td>
<td>'After having eaten they will go home.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.8 Verb forms used as adverbs

The adverbial form of verbs has the suffix /-la/ 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:

\[
\text{/uo dza:laŋ-dza:laŋ \ aiya/ } \rightarrow \text{ 'While eating he slept.'}
\]

\[
\text{/tuŋlaŋ-tuŋlaŋ/ } \rightarrow \text{ 'while drinking'}
\]

\[
\text{/ra:laŋ/-ra:laŋ/ } \rightarrow \text{ 'while coming'}
\]

\[
\text{da:laŋ-da:laŋ/ } \rightarrow \text{ 'while giving'}
\]

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 /ye/, /-gø/, or /-ko/, with some morphophonemic changes in the verb root. The dual and plural forms are identical, and the common suffix is /-ne/, /-nye/, or /-mx/, 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; /-e/- allomorph of the subjunctive morpheme /-ye/). 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 /-ΔΔ/ as allomorph of the dual morpheme /ΔΔ/. 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/-s/ 'I-AGT'; /in-ΔΔ/-s/ 'we-dual-AGT'; /in-se/- 'we-pl.-AGT'). The Hindi sentence is closer in meaning: mai karū 'may I do it!' Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb roots</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual-plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dye/-</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>/dye/ \ 'may I go!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ra:-/</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>/raye/\ 'may I come!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dzə:-/</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>/dzaye/\ 'may I eat!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ya:-/</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>/yaye/\ 'may I sleep!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yab:-/</td>
<td>'to stand'</td>
<td>/yabye/\ 'may we stand!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hyuŋ:-/</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>/hyungo/\ 'may I do!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yeb:-/</td>
<td>'to sow'</td>
<td>/yebko/\ 'may I sow!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hye:-/</td>
<td>'to laugh'</td>
<td>/hiye/\ 'may I laugh!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphophonemic changes taking place in the root forms are simple: /ye/ > /u/ 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 /-nide/ but some roots take the suffix /-tæde/. 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 /-fi/ as the final syllable obligatorily take a full syllable increment /-ge/ and then take the suffix /-nide/ 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 /ma/ 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:

/daː-/ 'to eat' /daː:nide/ 'one who eats or is eating'
/tuŋ-/ 'to drink' /tuŋnide/ 'one who drinks'
/juŋ-/ 'to do' /juŋta:d/ 'doer, who is doing'
/huŋ-/ 'to make' /huŋnide/, /-ta:d/ 'one who is making'

Verb root adds /-k/:

/lo-/ 'to say' /lokta:d/ 'one who says'
/hye-/ 'to laugh' /hyeknide/ 'one who laughs'
/yaː-/ 'to sleep' /yaːknide/ 'one who sleeps'
/phaː-/ 'to speak' /phaknide/ 'one who is speaking'
/juŋ-/ 'to be drowned' /junknide/ 'one who is drowning'

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

/yab-/ 'to stand' /yakhnide/ 'who is standing'

Verb root adds /-g/:

/dye-/ 'to go' /dyegnide/ 'one who goes or is going'
/tye-/ 'to weep' /tyeɡnide/ 'one who weeps or weeping'
/raː-/ 'to come' /raːɡnide/ 'one who comes'
/co-/ 'to finish' /coɡta:d/ 'one who is finishing'
/kwar-/ 'to take' /kwargeːtaːd/ 'one who takes, taking'
/chil-/ 'to wash' /chilɡtaːd/ 'one who washes, is washing'(clothes)

Verb root adds /-ge/:

/ruŋʃi-/ 'to hear' /ruŋʃiɡnide/ 'one who hears, agrees'
/loŋʃi-/ 'to climb' /loŋʃiɡnide/ 'one who is climbing'
/yaŋʃi-/ 'to take a bath' /yaŋʃiɡnide/ 'one is taking a bath'
/dzuŋ-/ 'to begin' /dzuŋɡtaːd/ 'one who is beginning'

Verb root final consonant is devoiced and then the root adds /-k/:
The following root has two possibilities, one with no change and the other adds /-cig/:  

/yeb-/  
\textit{'to sow'}

/yepkta:de/  
\textit{'one who sows'}

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

/hnim-/  
\textit{'to smell'}

/hnimnide/  
\textit{'one who commands respect'}

/hnimcignide/  
\textit{'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 /-y\v/, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>/dza:/ 'to eat'</th>
<th>/dye/ 'to go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>dz\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>dza:gn5\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>dza:gn5\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>gani</td>
<td>dza:gn5\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>dza:gan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>u\v f\v</td>
<td>dza:gn5an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>/dza:giy\v</th>
<th>dyeg yin y\v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>dza:giy\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>dza:gen5y\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>dza:gen5\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>gani</td>
<td>dza:gen5\v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>dza:geyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>u\v f\v</td>
<td>dza:gen5an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /pi-/ 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 /sø/ in all the persons and numbers except third person plural, where the marker is /tsø/. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dza/: 'to eat'</td>
<td>/n5ye:- 'to rub'</td>
<td>/dye/ 'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg. je</td>
<td>dza:yesø</td>
<td>madzèesø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl. in</td>
<td>dza:nyesø</td>
<td>madzanyesø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg. gan</td>
<td>dza:nansø</td>
<td>madzanansø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl. gani</td>
<td>dza:nisø</td>
<td>madzanisø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg. uo</td>
<td>dza:sø</td>
<td>madzasø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl. uji</td>
<td>dza:nantsø</td>
<td>madzanantsø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.11.4 Past progressive

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/dza:/ 'to eat'</th>
<th>/n5ye:- 'to rub'</th>
<th>/dye/ 'to go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg. je</td>
<td>dza:g</td>
<td>n5yesø</td>
<td>dyegn5yesø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl. in</td>
<td>dza:g</td>
<td>n5yn5yesø</td>
<td>dyegn5in5yesø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg. gan</td>
<td>dza:g</td>
<td>n5yn5isø</td>
<td>dyegn5yn5isø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl. gani</td>
<td>dza:g</td>
<td>n5yn5isø</td>
<td>dyegn5yn5isø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg. uo</td>
<td>dza:g</td>
<td>n5yisø</td>
<td>dyegn5yisø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl. uji</td>
<td>dza:g</td>
<td>n5ynantsø</td>
<td>dyegn5ynantsø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.11.5 Past perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/dza:/ 'to eat'</th>
<th>/n5yiyesø</th>
<th>pidyedn5yiyesø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg. je</td>
<td>kadza:d</td>
<td>n5yiyesø</td>
<td>pidyedn5yiyesø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl. in</td>
<td>kadza:d</td>
<td>n5yn5yesø</td>
<td>pidyedn5in5yesø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg. gan</td>
<td>kadza:d</td>
<td>n5in5isø</td>
<td>pidyedn5in5isø5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl. gani</td>
<td>kadza:d</td>
<td>n5in5isø</td>
<td>pidyedn5in5isø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg. uo</td>
<td>kadza:d</td>
<td>n5yisø</td>
<td>pidyedn5yisø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl. uji</td>
<td>kadza:d</td>
<td>n5in5antsø</td>
<td>pidyedn5inantsø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
/dza:/ 'to eat'
1sg. je dzaiye
1pl. in dzain5yè
2sg. gan dzain5ə
2pl. gani dzain5i
3sg. uo dzayaŋ
3pl. uji dzayaŋ5an

Future II: remote and uncertain
/dza:/ 'to eat'
deyaŋye
1sg. dzayaŋyè
dzan5yè
2sg. dzayaŋ5i
deyəŋ5i
3sg. dzayaŋ
deyəŋ
3pl. dzayaŋ5an
deyəŋ5an

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.

/uçi-ge ma:la:-maŋ yinan/
he-GEN goat-pl. are
'He has goats.'

/je-së tigə nuβu tigung/
I-AGT one insect saw
'I saw an insect.'

/felu-së ra:m duklaŋ deisg/
Shelu-AGT Ram food gave
'Shelu gave Ram food.'
The water drank

They drank.

They ran.

Your son is handsome.

Ram and Shelu came.

They will not eat.

Interrogative sentences

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

What is this?

What are these?

Who is this?

Who are these?
BYANGSI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

aijamma:—adv., these
aikho—adv., here
aimā—adv., these (used for human beings)
aina garte—adv., like this
aif—adv., these
aitoksā:—adv., this side
ai—adv., dem. pro., this
akhan—n., sickle
akple—n., lips
alδwāre—n., jaw
alu—n. (IA) potato
am—n., path
ane—adv., here
anmo—vi., to lift, to pick up
aptyali—n., childless person
ate—adv., there
atijammas:—adv., these
atikho—adv., there
atima:—adv., those (used for human beings)
atina garte—adv., that side
atif:—adv., those
atitoksas:—adv., that side
ati—adv., dem. pro. that (remote)
atla:—adv., that much
at7o—n., (IA) flour
at7imo—vi., to boast
at7—adv., dem. pro. that (remote)
at7o:—n., (IA) mirror
at7—n., mouth
baba:—n., father (term of address)
babu—n., father's eldest brother
bagtare:—n., weather
baili—n., childless woman
balcham—n., braid
balwa:—n., sand
bamba:—n., Caudangs people
bamo—vt., to fold
banan sən—n., in-laws’ village
ba:ndar—n., monkey
ban石材:lo—n., a local name for Caudangsi language
band5u—n., utensils
banje—n., (IA) sister's son
banji—n., (IA) sister's daughter
banjhar—adv., morning
banjmo—vt., to erect a wall for a house etc.
ban—n., place
barje—n., lion
barts—n., female lamb
ba—n., father (term of reference)
bejimo—vi., to work in exchange
be—n., buckwheat
be—n., skin
be–—n., thread
bila—n., (IA) cat
bochab—n., porcupine
bokr̥—n., throat
boktsa:—n., uncastrated male-goat
bola:—n., thumb
bomo—vi., to flow, to be opened
boŋtse—n., donkey
brδdam—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
byeδe—adj., thin (in thickness, of a sheet like things)
bye—n., steep mountain rock
byufiya:—n., bride
byulo—n., bridegroom
bδmi—adj., bad (literally bad man)
balde—adj., fat (round shaped objects)
bomo—vi., to be known
bomo—vi., falling (of something from a tree, etc.)
bhak—n., sound
bhiti—n., (IA) wild lizard
cakti—n., local beer
calk—n., threshold
camts—n., she-goat
canpa: — n., a person from Johar valley
canjya: — n., hips
carmo — vt., to weigh
carpe — n., cock
ceban — num., fifteen
cebje — num., eighteen
cemo — vt., to pinch, to bite
ceny — num., twelve
cepi — num., fourteen
cesam — num., thirteen
cethe — num., eleven
ceto — num., sixteen
cé — n., flower
ci:mo — vt., to squeeze
cikhu — adv., inside
cim — n., house, home
cini — n., (IA) sugar
ciptse — n., bird
cirgu — num., nineteen
ciI — n., (IA) kite
cicimo — vi., to think
cimmo — vt., to burn, to ignite
cini — n., father's sister, a general term
ci — num., ten
code — adj., mad
como — vt., to finish
conye — num., seventeen
cor — n., memory
cukalce — n., elbow
cukham — n., beard
cukli — n., armpit
cukjimo — vt., to wear clothes
cukti — n., cap
cuk — n., floor; lime
cunmo — vi., to drown, to go ahead
cunjimo — vt., to go forward
cwo — n., chin
cyamo — vt., to hide
cyamo — vt., to break (rope, thread)
cyamo — vt., to cut
cyesam — n., cremating place
cy — n., bud
cyim — vi., to bark
cyóla: — n., index finger
cyukla — n., a gown type of dress
chade — n., itch, itching sensation
chamo — vt., to break (hard objects- stones etc.)
chatso — adj., quick, fast

chakcha: — n., urine
chakta — adj., sweet
chaku — n., cooked rice
cham — n., wool
chantan — adv., tomorrow
chandi — n., a hut
chango — n., dead human body (in the house)
chankaro — n., a type of basket
chapanj — n., courtyard
chante — adj., sun light, bright
chaJi — n., water drop
chaj — n., wall
charmo — vt., to dry
chapimo — vi., to hide
chat — adj., ripe
chà — n., fodder mixed with some corn
chà — n., grain
chejmo — vt., to cut something with scissors (cloth etc.)
chame — 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
chijide — n., love
chapimo — vt., to feed each other, to feed oneself
chimo — vt., to feed, to close
chò — n., lake
chò — n., spoon
chonj — n., a piece
chakjimo — vt., to itch
chhalmo — vt., to peel something like potato or some vegetables with hard skin
chom — vt., to dye, to mix
chubu — n., mole
chusar — adj., rose colour
chùmo — vi., to win, to collect (mass nouns things like corn, etc.)
chymo — vi., to be hot
chymo — vi., to summer
dama — vt., to give
dakjimo — vi., to fight
dammo — vt., to sieve
damplya: — adj., gluttonous, voracious
danji — pp., for
danjimo—vi., to wake up
daŋ—n., aim; hill
dan—n., belly
dar—n., a village name
dimtī—n., vegetable with curry
dinde—adj., cloudy
dobmo—vi., to see something which is far away
dolo pāfā:—adj., bald headed
dukta—adj., bitter and hot in taste like radish
duli—n., stick
dumāmi—adv., a few people
duma—adv., a little bit less
dumō—vt., to knead
dumū—n., rat
dunjāŋ—n., meal, food
dunjmo—vt., to beat; to grind spices
dunjimo—vi., to collide, to beat each other
dunu—n., rabbit
duŋ—n., desire
dyemo—vi., to go
dyuru—n., wooden beam
dam—n., garlic
dar—n., ground floor of the typical local house
dharti—n., earth (IA)
d5ab5ab—adv., nearly, approximately
d5abmo—vi., gathering of crowd; to continue
d5akthē—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
d5ajmi—n., servant
d5amno—vi., to be dense
d5ajjimo—vi., to be employed
d5ajthe—adj., beautiful
d5e—n., mule
d5ile—adj., slow
d5okthē—adj., bright,
d5sē—n., a small courtyard on the first floor of the house
d3o—n., poison
d5umo—n., female yak
d5oomo—vi., to tremble
dza:mo—vt., to eat
dzamta—adj., smooth
dzam—adj., round from the outer side
dzandi—n., tire, wheel
dzajkhō—n., a lizard
dzanjhaŋ—n., staircase
dzaj—n., gold; axe
dzar—n., corner (outside)
dzemo—vi., to get bored
dzer phāmmo—vt., to be afraid of
dzēmo—vi., rising of sun; to fear
dzē—n., boredom
dzē—n., a type of barley
dziilde—adj., clear
dzimō—vi., to sneeze
dzi—n., sneeze
dzəmo—vi., to get ready
dzumo—vi., to sprout
dzunjmo—vt., to begin
dzunj—adj., pair
gα:ktā—adj., tight
gα:ljimo—vi., to bellow
gā:t5ha—n., valley
gα:—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)
gamsō—n., molar teeth
ganjjī—pro., 2du., you
ganī—pro., 2pl., you
ganmi—a adj., the other person
ganjmo—vi., to swell
gan—pro., 2sg., you
garmo—n., door (Hindi kivar)
garmō—vt., to close (door, box)
garto—n., woodpecker
gar—n., fang
gat5huti—n., rivulet
gāŋ—n., rock stuck with soil etc
gā:—n., wound, scar
gema—n., a type of dish made with milk
gi:mo—vi., to bulge
gimo—vi., to swallow
goga—n., maize
golca—n., lock
gomo—vt., to cut grass

gøri gømaː—n., middle finger
gonu—n., fox
goran—n., body
gɔji phammo—vt., to make someone happy
gɔjimo—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
gul—n., phlegm

gunch—n., winter
gunche—n., winter
gűcini—n., father's second younger sister
guçi—n., father's second elder brother's wife; mother's second elder sister
gundaː—adv., in the middle
gunhya—n., second elder brother
gunjkaː—n., father's second elder brother
guntaː—n., second elder sister
gurdaː—n., fist

ha:thiː—n., (IA) elephant
ha:thiːcmo—vt., to fix a date for marriage

jaːmo—vi., to be broken
jaː—n., tea
jablye—n., tongue
jalmo—vi., to limp
jammeː—adj., whole
jammo—vt., to harvest
janmo—vi., to run
jant5utu—n., uvula
jaː—n., rope
jarda—n., slope
jari—n., root
jarya—n., stag

hwalte—loose (fitting, of clothes or things)
hwalti—n., a wave of water
hwammo—vt., to show; to drive away
hylaːmo—vt., to empty
hyarmeː—vt., to drive the cattle one by one or two by two
hyàː—n., elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband, wife's elder sister's husband
hyelbaː—n., adj., feeling of laughter
hyem raːmo—vi., to get of laughter
hyemo—vi., to laugh

huːmo—vt., to roll

haːːthiː—n., (IA) elephant
haːːthiːcmo—vt., to fix a date for marriage

jaːːmo—vt., to count

jaː—n., Tibetan name for the Tibeto-Burman people of this area

jaːːmaː—adj., whole
jaːːmo—vt., to harvest
jaːː—n., tea

jat5om—aː—num., ninety one
jat5omːːː—the—num., ninety
jat5omːːːːnum., eighty one
jatsha: — num., eighty
jede — num., eight
jerkhulya: — coward
je — pro., 1sg, I, me
jil — n., creeper
jimmo — vi., to get burnt; to consult
jirde — adj., narrow
ji — conj., and
jode — adj., colored
jodmi — n., young man
jõka: — n., (IA) leech
ju — mo — vi., to be drowned, to take a dip
juru — n., coral
jyamo — vi., to be broken (of thread, rope)
jyarnam — n., adj., adv., east
jy — a — mo — vi., to bloom
k —a — n., stool (baby talk)
ka: — n., crow
kābmo — vt., to make short
kaca:r — n., mud
kaca: — n., urine (baby talk)
kacanj — n., pubic hair
kak — n., mother's younger sister's husband, mother's brother, husband's or wife's mother's brother
kaľja: — n., a type of mushroom
kalín — n., a type of stone
kalmo — vt., to stick
ka:lo — n., (IA) death
kāmmo — vt., to collect things (count noun things one by one)
kan — n., vegetable
kana — adj., blind
kanga: — n., unmarried, bachelor
kanthe — adj., sick
kaŋ — adj., single; a type of cup
kaːnde — adj., hard
kaːts — 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
kē — n., a type of tuber
kidanj — n., Tibet
kikanca: — n., little finger
kilmo — vt., to separate by choosing
kimo — vt., to twine
kimo — vt., to break hard objects;
kī — n., a round pit; a store of grains outside the house
kolan — n., bull
komo — vt., to boil
konkro — n., back of skull, neck
kothlo — n., a bag made of jute
kots — n., a type of leather bag
kō — n., bark of tree
kōmo — vt., to erase
kōffim — vi., to be bent
kwain — n., bell made of iron
kwai — n., skull
kwamo — vt., to cook
kwâmo — 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
kyōmo — vt., to take the sheep, goat to lead the herd
kōmō; kommo — to throw (stone, etc.)
kaːde — adj., bitter, difficult, costly
kaːlo — n., a sack of leather
kha: — n., walnut
khabu — n., snake
khaːj — adv., usually
kharmo — vt., to cheat
kharmo — vt., to take out liquid from a pot
khase-phise — n., clothes
khase — n., pajama
khafja: — n., kidney
khafim — vi., to grapple (of horse)
khaskra — adj., rough
khate — adj., cold
khâmo — vi., to get cold and cough
khâpa: — n., winter
khim — vt., to bend
khite — adj., dirty
khitla: — n., shirt
khim — vt., to scrub utensils
khokce — n., stomach
khokpa: — n., corpse, dead body
khomo — vt., to dismantle (wall, house)
khömo — vt., to peel (orange, banana)
khopa: — n., heel
khu:mo — vt., to steal
khuce — n., knot
lo:ki—n., grandson
lo:ki—n., nest
lo:ku—n., a type of fine wool
lo:ku—n., granddaughter
lo:ku—n., festival
lo:ku—n., spit
lo:ku:ma—n., soot
lo:ku—n., smoke
lo:ku—n., family
lo:ku:na—n., scorpion
lo:ku:na—n., pigeon
lo:ma—v.t., to exchange
lo:ma—n., a boulder
lo:ma—n., hand
lo:ma—n., butter
lo:ka—n., raisin
lo:ka—n., dough
lo:ma—adv., adj., all
lo:k—n., gloves
lo:k—n., finger
lo:k—n., paw
lo:k—n., nail
lo:k—n., thigh
lo:k—adj., thin (round shape)
lo:k—n., echo
lo:k—n., mother's mother, father's mother
lo:k—n., a Tibetan goat
lo:k—v.t., to lick; to know
lo:k—v.i., falling (of something with a thud)
lo:k—v.t., to answer a call
lo:k—n., cow dung
lo:k—adj., careless
lo:k—v.i., to play
lo:k—n., work, answer
lo:k—n., he-goat
lo:k—n., bad smell, dirt
lo:k—n., semen
lo:k—n., young one of goat
lo:k—v.t., to send
lo:k—n., domesticated animals
lo:k—n., fruits etc
lo:k—n., front tooth
lo—n., fruit
lo—n., book, paper
lo—n., foot
lo:k—n., flute made of silver
lo—n., word, languages, saying
lo:ke—adj., easy, cheap
lo:k—vi., to ascend
lo:k—vi. to say
lo:k—v.t., to shake, to swing, to move
lo:k—v.t., to vomit
lo:k—n., vomit
lo:k—vi., to forget
lo:k—vi., to take swing, to be moved
lo:k—n., cloth
lo:k—v.t., to have sexual intercourse
lo:k—n., lungs
lo:k—adj., hot, heat
lo:k—v.i., to get warm, hot
lo:k—n., summer
lo:k—n., back
lo:k—v.i., to have sexual intercourse
lo:k—adj., yellow
lo:k—v.i., to get cold
lo:k—adj., straight
lo:k—v.t., to stitch by a putting a patch of cloth
lo:k—v.i., to get down from the horse
lo:k—v.t., to teach, to train
lo:k—v.i., to learn
lo:k—n., soul
lo:k—v.t., to wrap
lo:k—v.t., to bring something down
lo:k—adv., enough
lo:k—v.i., to descend
lo:k—n., moon, month
lo:k—v.i., to be ready
lo:k—adj., heavy
lo:k—aux., to happen
lo:k—v.t., to read
lo:k—v.t., to join something together
ma:la—n., sheep or goat (generic term)
ma:la—n., sheep
ma:mo—v.t., to search
ma:mo—v.t., to look for
ma:mo—v.t., to sheep (female)
ma:mo—v.t., to become red
ma:mo—n., buffalo
ma:mo—n., nipples
ma:mo—n., dream
ma:mo—n., night
ma:mo—n., salty tea (a Tibetan type)
ma:mo—n., door
ma:mo—n., oil, water spring
ma:mo—n., butter, clarified butter
masi — n., (IA) ink
masfya: — n., husband's younger brother's wife
mas — n., husband's younger brother
matmi — adv., many
mā — n., family
maya — n., a type of basket used for carrying various things
mi:de — adj., small
mi:mo — vi., to become small
mi — n., fire
mikcham — n., eyebrow
milen — n., hearth
mima — n., foreigner
m in manide — n., ring finger
m in tomo — vt., to tell
mncace — n., a bat
mnd5li — adj., bald
m nje — n., louse
mplē — n., eyelid
mplicham — n., eyelashes
mīta — adj., ripe
mitha — n., mother's younger brother
mīti — n., tear
mī — n., person
miyar — n., an imaginary place beyond the sky
miyun — n., gem, jewel
micini — n., father's fourth younger sister
mihya: — n., fourth elder brother
mika: — n., father's fourth elder brother
mita: — n., fourth elder sister
mokfya: — n., a type of mushroom
mor — n., (IA) peacock
mukna: — thunder, dragon
myde — adj., below the level (in height)
myē — n., eye
mal-d5amo — vi., lightning
mald5i — adj., blunt
mal — n., silver
matti — 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)
nage — pro., your
nagra: — n., paw of lion, tiger
nakte — adj., soft
nambu — n., woolen cloth
namfya: — n., younger brother's wife; son's wife
naŋmo — vt., to drive cattle
naŋmo — vt., to measure
naŋ — n., a type of measure
nap — n., buckwheat
napfide — adj., flexible, elastic
narak — n., hell (IA)
nare — n., lice
naf — num., two
nassa: ceth — num., thirty one
nassa: c — num., thirty
nassa: tige — num., twenty one
nassa: — num., twenty
natsar — n., lice egg
nayamo — vt., to aim at
nālan — n., wind
nibfimo — vi., to hum
nikisō — n., incisors
nimo — vi., to live, to stay
nmpfan nyunjfimo — vi., to retreat, to look at oneself
nmpfan əŋmo — vt., to look back
nmpfan — adv., behind
nipe — n., chicken
nipu — n., mouse
nife — num., seven
nithalo — n., second floor of the house
noksam — adj., appropriate
nomo — vt., to., pull
nəŋkrō — n., ant
nu:de — adj., new
nunu — n., younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband
nù — n., milk
nya:re — adv., yesterday
nyaŋthe — adj., light (in weight)
nyero — adv., near
nyunjfimo — vi., to retreat
hna:mo — vt., to unload something from the head or back
hnabmo — vi., to reach
hnakfimo — vi., to pray
hn̄ma—vt., to measure
hnappa:—n., accident, unfortunate happening
hnapti—n., snot
hnâjmo—vi., to make love
hnàmo—adj., to be left over (something left over after some use)
hnil—n., gums
hnim d5aj t5haj—n., nostrils
hnimníde—n., one who commands respect
hnim—n., nose
ñaba—adj., five fold
ñagba:—duck
ñai—num., five
ñakhte—n., bad smell
ñalde—n., a separated lover
ñamte—adj., robust, strong
ñanja:—n., duck
ñasa—num., fifty
ñatsu—adj., five times
ñokhð—pp., in front of, in the presence of
ñð—n., face
ñuño—n., a kiss
ñwomo—vt., to cut hair of sheep, goat
n5aba—n., parents
n5age—n., mother's
n5anmín—n., autumn
n5ana—n., mother (term of address)
n5a—n., mother
n5ikapce—n., sprout
n5ikuñ—n., dog
n5ingo—n., lower part of the body below the waist
n5intam—adv., after, behind, next
n5irlan—adv., dusk
n5ise, n5iche—adv., noon
n5i—n., sun
n5ya:—n., fish
n5yamde—adj., pleasant
n5yanche—adv., evening
n5yanthe—adv., dim light
n5yemo—vt., to rub
n5ye—n., day
n5yñjimo—vi., to retreat
n5sbu—n., insect
ñmo—vt., to inspect, to watch something closely
ñmo—adv., an affirmative answer to a question
pañmo—vt., to fill (water)
pañt—n., leaf.(IA)
pàcmo—vt., to chew (something which is something hard)
pákare—n., ankle
palo—n., frog
påmo—vt., to fill (solid articles in a bigger container etc.)
påmmo—vt., to spin
pañmo—vt., to spread
panphan—adv., outside
pañ—n., a Tibetan
paplfya:—n., calf (of human leg)
parte—adj., broad
pâjimo—vi., to stroll
paula:—n., (IA) shoes
paul—n., plant
pênæ:—n., a type of bat
pëmo—vt., to tear (cloth)
pë—n., blanket made of wool
pi:ku—n., bedbug
pi:ba:—adj., fourfold
pi:æ—n., brother
pije—n., seed
pipi—adj., four times (arithmetic sense)
pisa: cêthe—num., fifty one
pisa: ci—num., fifty
pisa:—num., forty
pitsu—adj., four times (on a fourth occasion)
pîmo—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
pɔnjimo—vi., to jump in one place
pophye—adj.three fourth
pota—n., eldest sister
pòmo—vi., to become big., to be increased
púa—n., husband's elder brother
puci—n., mother's elder sister
pükæ—adj., ripe
pumo—vt., to cross
puní—n., mother's brother's wife, father's eldest sister, mother-in-law
putha
— n., mother's elder brother
pu
— n., husk
pyalmo
— vt., to saw
pye
— n., knee
pyomo
— vt., to frighten
pochni
— n., tail
par
— n., navel
pāja
— n., head
pafak cham
— n., hair of head
pothera
— n., forehead
phā
— n., ashes
phāmno
— vi., to speak
phabmo
— vt., to sprinkle (liquid)
phaktsham
— n., a type of bridge
phammo
— vt., to stitch
pha
≥ ph
˙ nmo
— vt., to make something fly
pha
≥ ph lore
— n., patella
pha
≥ ph mo
— vi., to fly
pharma
— vt., to untie a knot
phat5ko da:mo
— vi., to jump from one place to another
phamo
— vt., to sprinkle (grains, powder)
pharmo
— vt., to pluck fruits by throwing a stick or stones
phatsap
— n., rice
phela tomo
— vt., to clap
phela
— n., palm
phējide
— adj., sacred
phir
— n., a box for keeping clothes
pho-bīla
— n., male-cat
pho-hraṅ
— n., horse
pho-phya:
— n., wild animal
phoda
— adj., dry (from the state of being wet)
phokʃimo
— 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
phɔmno
— vi., to jump from higher place to lower place
photə
— adj., thick (liquid)
phɔ
— n., cave, deer
phuli
— n., a pot to keep water
phumou
— vt., to churn, to make cloth short by a special washing process
phungli
— n., a water pot
phyamo
— vt., to throw water
phyarmo
— vt., to whiff
phyə
— adj., half
rád5i
— adj., widow (IA)
rád5o
— adj., widower
ra:mo
— vi., to come
ra:p
— n., flame
ra:tsa
— adv., time and again
ra:
— n., enclosure for goats and other animals
rā
— num., hundred
rambo
— vt., to mend clothes or shoes by stitching
racimo
— vi., to get up
rackwanti
— n., temple
raj
— n., wheat
rakhū
— n., people belonging to one’s group
ram
— n., an extra field which is not a legal one
rāmmo
— vt., to knit
ranjlo
— n., a cover term for all the Tibeto-Burman people in this area except Raji
ranjmo
— vt., to sell; to weave cloth
rannu
— n., curd
ranpli
— n., feather
raj
— n., upper arm
rayan
— n., hare
renam
— n., adj., adv., west
resumo
— vt., to plough
rē
— n., bone
re
— n., cow, field, land
ri:mo
— vt., to carve; to draw; to write
rim
— n., arrow (cf., earthquake)
ri
— n., glacier
rakʃimo
— vi., to have mercy
rəla:
— n., centipede
romo
— vt., to roast meat
rəmo
— vt., to cover
rəŋ
— n., shoulder
rəkʃimo
— vt., to comb
rō
— adj., hungry
ro
— n., a plank
ru
— n., (IA) cotton
ruckimo
— vi., to chew a cud
rum
— n., princess
runjimo
— vi., to hear, to agree, to accept
rusu
— adj., (IA) angry
ruŋ
— n., a heap of small pebbles
ru
— n., corner (inside the house); horn
rye—n., a story, tale
ram—n., earthquake; bottom; a boundary
stone between the two fields
hra:de—adj., clean
hra:mo—vi., to be ashamed of
hracε—n., ear
hraksa:—n., pebbles
hramo—vt., to bring
hraŋ—n., horse
hraso—n., front teeth
hratam—adv., in front, before
hrati—n., cheek
hrem—n., sister, brother
hri:mo—vi., setting of sun
hril—n., gland
hrimmo—vt., to criticize
hrincimo—vi., to wait for
hrinʃimo—vt., to guard, to watch
hrinʃya:—n., sister (general term), wife's
younger brother's wife
hrinte—n., wave
hrithifya:—n., wife
hrithi—n., husband
hrokʃimo, hroʃimo—vi., to graze
hromo—vt., to graze
hrɔ—n., snow
hru:mo—vt., to ask
hrab, shrab—n., ribs
sa—n., soil
sa:du—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:to—adj., empty
saco—n., (IA) truth
sɔŋ—n., breath
sai—num., hundred
sal—n., charcoal
samo—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
serε—n., forest
sercimo—vt., to agree
silju—n., female musk deer
simo—vt., to recognize
sirtsi—adj., wild
sɔ—n., tooth
sɔŋ—n., village
suiyo—n., parrot
sukce cyamo—vt., to cut with teeth
suku—adj., low voice, slow
swarg—n., (IA) heaven
syapi cɛmo—vt., to pinch
som sa—num., thirty
som som—adj., three times
samthalo—third floor of the house
samtsu—adj., thrice
som—num., three
sata—adj., rotten
ʃakcimo—vi., to breathe
ʃakʃimo—vt., to wear (ornaments)
ʃanda—n., spinach
ʃan—adj., large
ʃanja:—n., father's third younger brother
ʃanla:—n., a type of rock
ʃanmi—adj., a wealthy person
ʃanthe—adj., old (person)
ʃanwa:—tiger (a large size)
ʃau—n., (IA) an apple
ʃelo—adv., shade
ʃendɛ—n., child
ʃerci phamo—vt., to make someone agree
ʃercimo—vi., to agree
ʃefimo—vi., to crawl (a baby)
ʃi—n., blood
ʃi:de—adj., white
ʃil—n., dew-drops
ʃilti—n., saliva
ʃime—n., breast
ʃimo—vt., to apply something, to wipe
ʃinci—n., father's third younger sister
ʃinci—n., father's third younger brother's
wife
ʃinhya:—n., third elder brother
ʃinram—n., ginger
ʃinta:—n., third elder sister
ʃin—n., wood
ʃipts—n., comb
ʃiri—n., boy, son
ʃirta—adj., sour
firts—n., male goat
tir—n., castrated male goat
fi:fi da:mo—vi., to mimic
fisö—n., heart
fiyumo—vi., to bleed
fomo—vt., to roast (dry) to parch
föla:—n., birch tree bark used as paper in olden days
fömo—vt., to fulfill a promise
fömo—vi., to slip
föŋmo—vt., to make some one sit
föŋfimo—vi., to sit
föŋmo—vt., to do
fyà:—n., meat, flesh
fyala: kalmo—vt., to plaster
fyàle—n., rainy season
fyàmo—vi., to run away, to abscond; to increase
fyànde—n., offspring
fyarmam—n., adj., adv., north
fyartam—n., adv., left side of the body
fyafi:n., relatives (related by blood)
 tam-da:mo—vt., to lay egg
tammo—vi., to become short
tammo—vt., to pack a package
tam—n., an egg
ta:mo—vt., to hang
ta:mo—vt., to keep, to put, to allow, to fix, to have
ta:rmö—vt., to spread spread tent etc., to help cross some river or a difficult path
tabmo—vt., to thresh
taktam—adv., right side of the body
tammo—vt., to touch
tamo—vt., to keep something (light things)
tanam—n., adj. adv., south
tanbu:n., a big snake, python
tañmo—vt., to bury
tañmo—vt., to press
tañjimo—vi., to be hung
tañjimo—vi., to be pressed
 tanu:n., brain
tañze:n., bag of wool
tapö—adv., across (of the river or rivulet)
taram—n., key; mediator
tärmo—adj., brave
tata—n., son's wife's mother, husband's elder brother's wife, wife's elder brother's wife, fifth elder sister
teka—n., saddle
tete—n., sister's husband, wife's elder brother
teti—adv., dem., pro., that (invisible)
ti—n., water
tubka—n., gun
tige—num., one	 tikilmo—vt., to boycott	 tulin—n., ice
timbu—n., sky: blue	 timmo—vi., to appear, to be seen	 tinci—adj., green (literally green grass)
tinde—adj., raw	 tinmo—vi., to see, to be found	 tipö—adv., this side (of the river or rivulet)
ttte—n., father's father; mother's father
tithe—n., nut (generic term)
tithimo—vt., to irrigate
titsö—adv., once
to da:mo—vt., to give loan
to karmo—vt., to take loan
tocmo—vt., to sing
tokca:n., pickaxe
 toksa:—adv., direction
tomo—vt., to stop; to understand; to buy
tömo—vt., to play a musical instrument; to intervene
tönmo—vt., to trap
tön—n., bead
tofimo—vi., stop; understand
tö—n., loan
tukka—n., miser
tuñde—n., one who drinks
tuñmo—vt., to drink
tyà:ba:ri—n., window
tyemo—vi., to weep, to cry
thabmo—vi., to spit
thamo—vt., to cut with an axe
thà—n., waterfall
thà:pu—n., reserve
thammo—vt., to saw, to wring
than kyamo—vt., to arrange things in order
thañmi—n., father's sister's husband, father-in-law
thanjin—adv., this year
than—adv., now
than—n., flat ground or land
thapjimo—adv., three days before yesterday
thap—vi., to grapple (animals with horns)
thara—n., leopard
thasamja—adv., two days before yesterday
thede—adj., height, high
thi:mo—vi., to get wet
thimo—vt., to melt
thi:jimo—vi., to wet oneself
thi:te—adj., wet, watery
thim—n., ceiling
thina—adv., today
thocmo—vt., to settle marriage
thokam—n., bed
thokjimo—vi., to return
tholi—n., penis
thomo—vt., to pluck fruits
thomyo—vt., to return something
thojimo—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
thuta—adj., weak
thukjimo—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:jimo—vi., to be pricked
t5amt5am, t5amyar—n., bank of a river
t5am—n., edge
t5and—adj., alive
t5anjmala—n., animal
t5anthe—adj., short (in length)
t5ant5an—adv., only
t5imo—vi., to go by taking something
t5ifa—n., a group of women in a marriage party
t5ijimo—vi., to grapple (of dogs)
t5olloya—n., deaf
t5olmo—vt., to fondle, to cuddle
t5omo—vt., to light a lamp (religious purpose)
t5ugba—adj., six fold

English-Rongpo Glossary

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t5omo—vt., to light a lamp (religious purpose)
t5ugba—adj., six fold
tshumo—vt., to distribute, to divide

yānti—n., river
tshufimo—vi., to be divided
yro—n., upper part of the body (above the waist)
tshar—n., loin
yarmo—vt., to wash utensils, to bathe someone; to cry
ulaŋ—adv., sometimes
yarjimo—vi., to bathe (oneself)
tsh—adj., how many, how much, when, then
yarto—adv., above
ula—adv., where
yatsa: galmo—vt., to invite
una:—pro., who
yàmmo—vi., to take an oath
unifī—pro., 3du., they
ya—n., king
uo—pro., 3s., he/ she
ye—n., an eagle type of bird
ufī—pro., 3pl., they
yebmo—vt., to sow
uso—n., medicine
yedāŋ—n., big mountain
wa—n., tiger
yelba:—n., bamboo
wà—pro., adv., where
yemīn—n., husband-wife
wa khui—adv., everywhere
yemo—vt., to save
wa khuri mani—adv., nowhere
wa nayan—n., bee
yenjimo—vi., to walk
wa:lan—n., a term used for the Indo-Aryan speakers by the Tibeto-Burman people.
ye:—n., river
wàlte—adj., loose, not tight
yargo—n., upper part of the body (above the waist)
wamde—adj., black
wàmmo—vi., to spring out (streamlet)
wanye—n., face
wàmno—vi., to walk
wà:ri—adv., anywhere
wàmno—vi., to walk
wase—adv., up to (up to a point)
ye:de—adj., old
wath—adv., a longer path, far away
yemo—vt., to save
wo fiŋmo—vt., to kiss
yen:mo—vt., to walk
woja—pro., 3sg. dative pronoun
yemo—vt., to save
womba—n., smallpox
ya:mo—vi., to sleep
yamo—vi., to walk
wom—n., bear
yabmo—vt., to stand
wom—n., bear
yadde—adj., bad
woja:—n., a herd, flock
yaknide—n., one who is sleeping
wurthe—adj., loud
yakt5o—n., male yak
ya:mi—n., bad person
yilmo—vt., to sharpen
ya:mo—vi., to sleep
yilthe—adv., late
yabmo—vt., to sow
yilwuŋ—n., a sharpening stone
yem—n., a serving spoon
yinmo—vi., to get collected
yamo—vi., to walk
yin—vi., aux., be
yare:—adv., dem., pro., that (object at a lower level relative to the speaker)
yot—to walk
yung—n., a log
yayi:—adv., above
yüksimo—vi., to ride a horse
ENGLISH-BYANGSI GLOSSARY

above—yarto
accident, unfortunate happening—hnappa:
across (of the river or rivulet)—tāpo
affirmative answer to a question, yes—c
afraid of—dzer phommo
after, behind, next—n5intam
again, due to, by—satta:
agree (vi.)—fercimo
aim at (vt.)—nayammo
alive—t5annde
all—lairi
and (conj.)—ji
angry—rusu (IA)
animal—t5anjalala
ankle—pākare
answer a call (vt.)—lan thomo
ant—nongkrā
anus—ibūn
anywhere—wāri
appear, to be seen (vi.)—timmo
apple—fa (IA)
apply something, wipe (vt.)—fīmo
appropriate—n3ksam
armpit—cuki
arrange things in order (vt.)—than kyamo
arrow—rīm
ascend (vi.)—bākīmo
ash colour—pha:de
ashamed of (vi.)—hra:mo
ashes—phā:
ask (vt.)—hra:mo
autumn—n5amn
back—lūj
back of skull, neck—kōnjro
backbite, to complain—ha:fīmo
bad—yaddē
bad (literally bad man)—baďmi
bad person—ya:mi
bad smell—nākhte
bad smell, dirt—latakta
bag made of jute—kothio
bag of wool—taďnde
bald—mInd5i
bald headed—dolo pōja:
bamboo—yelba:
bangle, one type of—naj
bank of a river—t5am5am, t5am5ar
bark (vi.)—cyīmo
bark of tree—kō
barley—dzē
basket used for carrying various things—
mayań
basket used for keeping grains—karko

basket, one of the types—chaŋkaro
bat—mincace
bathe (someone), wash utensils (vt.)—
yaro
bathe oneself (vi.)—yarjīmo
be (aux.)—īn
be broken (of stone etc.) (vi.)—ja:mo
be broken (of thread, rope) (vi.)—jyamo
be divided (vi.)—ṭshūjīmo
be employed (vi.)—d5anjīmo
be happy (vi.)—gōjīmo
be informed (vi.)—t5āhīmo
bead—tōŋ
bear—wōm
bear (vt.)—semo
beard—cukcham
beat, grind spices (vt.)—duŋmo
beautiful—d5anqthe
become big, to be increased (vi.)—pūmo
become red (vi.)—mbamo
become short (vi.)—tamo
become small (vi.)—mi:mo
become weak (vi.)—thu:mo
bed—thokam
bedbug—pi:ku
bee—wa nayāŋ
beg—thvacmo
begin—duŋmo
behind—n3mphan
bell made of iron—kwałin
bellow—ga:līmo
belly—dan
below the level (in height)—myēde
below, down—yikho
bend (vi.)—kōŋjīmo
bend (vt.)—khi:mo
big—poda
big snake, python—taŋbu
birch tree bark (used as paper in olden
days)—ja:la:
bird (genral)—cipSEP
bird, a kind of singing bird—sa:raŋi (IA)
bird, a type—pēna:
bitter and hot in taste like radish—dukta
bitter, costly, difficult—kha:de
black—wamde wāte
blacksmith—d5am
blanket made of wool—pe
bleed—fiyumo
blind—kana
blood—fī
bloom—jyāmo
blunt (not sharp)—mald5i
boast—ànjëmo
carve; to draw; to write—ri:mo
carry—on the back
carry something on shoulders; in hands
on a horse
castrate, to improve, to decorate—t5haŋmo
carry something on head
castrated he—goat—fir
cat—bila (IA)
catch—t5simmo
careless—phö
caudangs people—bamba:
cave, deer—phö
ceiling—thim
centipede—rola:
charcoal—sal
cheat (vt.)—kharmo
cheek—hrati
chew (something which is something hard)—pâmo
chew a cud—rukimo
chard—kya:mo
chicken—nipe
child—fendë
childless person—aptyali
childless woman—ba:lī
chin—cwo
chill, to make cloth short by a special washing process—phumo
clap (vi.)—phëla tomo
clean—hra:de
clear—dzëldë
clear one's throat—gul khomo
close (door, box)—garmo
clothing—lagra:
clothes—t5hINKA
cloud—kasa:
cloudy—dinë
cobra—naga (IA)
cock—carpyë
cloud—khat
collide (house)(vi.)—gwomo
collection—tsëmmo
collect (count noun things one by one)—kâmmo
collide, to beat each other—du:njëmo
colored—jodë
comb (n.)—jiptsà
comb (vt.)—rëkjëmo
come—ra:mo
cook (vt.)—kwamo
cooked rice—chakù
coconut—gul khomo
corpses, dead bodies—khökpa:
cot—t5ha't5o
cotton—rui (IA)
cough (vi.)—guljëmo
count—hyàmo
courtyard—châmmo
cover (fully ) (vt.)—phëktimo
cover (vt.)—ràmo

boil (vt.)—komo
care—dë
book, paper—lìbìn
boredom—dëzë
boulder—la:
bow—yi:
box for keeping clothes—phir
boy, son—firi
boycott (vt.)—tikìmo
braid—balcham
brain—tânu
branch of tree—d5ali (IA)
brass—heli
brave (adj.)—tâmmo
break (hard objects- stones etc.) (vt.)—cha:mo
break (rope, thread) (vt.)—cyamô
break (hard and hollow objects as nuts) (vt.)—kîmo
breast—fïme
breath—sâg
breathe (vi.)—fëkçîmo
bride—byulifya:
bridgroom—byulo
bridge—tsham
bridge, a type—phaktsham
bright—d5akthë
bring—hramo
bring something down—hlamo
broad—pàte
brother—pëc
buckwheat, a type of—napal
buckwheat, a type of—be
bud—cye
buffalo—mansi
bulge—gi:mo
bull—kolâñ
burn, to ignite—cìmîmo
bury—taŋmo
butter—labu
butter milk—bûti
butter, clarified butter—mar
Byangsi language (local name) —byânjhîlo
by candlelight
(by candlelight)
calf (of leg)—papalifya:
cap—cuki
cautiously—sandë
cautiously, with care—sandë
careless—lanluu
carpet, a type of—byam
carry something in hand or on head—kwarmo
carry something on shoulders; in hands ;
on a horse—hîmo
carve; to draw; to write—ri:mo
cover oneself, to wrap (vi.)—phokfimo
cover, field, land—re
cow—dung—laŋ
coward—jerkhulya:
crawl (of a baby)—jejimo
creeper—jil
cremating place—cyesa:
criticize—hrimmo
crop, grain—gyera:
cross—pumo
crow—ka:
curd—ranu
curved—kyerakta
custom—tšhamcaru
cut—cyamo
cut (with an axe or with bigger instrument)—thamo
cut grass—gomo
cut hair of sheep, goat—gwomo
cut into small pieces—tšaŋmo
cut something with scissors (cloth etc.)—chekmo
cut with teeth (vt.)—sukce cyamo
dance (vt.)—tšaŋmo
dative form of 3sg. pro.—woja
daughter's husband, younger sister's husband—hmye
day—n5ye
dead human body (in the house)—changō
deaf—tšolya:
death rites—gwan
death.—ka:lo (IA)
deep—hyukte—
dense, to be dense (vi.)—d5aŋmo
descend—hlaŋimo
desire—duŋ
destroy—thukfimo
dew drops—f1
die, to be extinguished—hicimo
dig, to scratch—kwamo
dim light—n5yanthe
direction—tškse:
dirty—khi:te
dish made with milk—gema:
dismantle (wall, house), to—homo
distribute, to divide (vt.)—tšumo
ditch, a pit—gadro
do (vt.)—fuŋmo
do, to make—hyuŋmo
dog—n5khi
domesticated animals—lėkyē
donkey—bontse
door—manŋ
dough—ladu
dove—gugti
dream—manŋ
dried cheese—chirbe
drink—tuŋmo
drinker—tunŋde
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.)—tšartē
dry (from the state of being wet)—phoda
dry (vt.)—charmo
duck—ŋagba:
due to, because of—se
dusk—n5irlaŋ
dust—sapha
dye, to mix—chômo
eagle—mad5onymaŋ
eagle type of bird—ye
ear—hrace
earth—sapaŋ
earth—dharti (IA)
earthquake; bottom; a boundary stone—rom
east—jyrnam
easy, cheap—lodge
eat—daŋmo
echo—lakuri
edge—t5am
egg—tam
eight—jedē
eighteen—cebje
eighty one—jatsha: tigē
eighty—jatsha:
elbow—cukalce
elder brother—hôːa;
elder brother's wife—chome
eldest brother—polhya:
eldest sister—pota
elephant—haːthi: (IA)
eleven—cethe
empty—sa:to
empty (vt.)—hya:mo
enclosure for goats and other animals—ra:
enough—hlaŋ
erase—kômo
erect a wall for a house, etc.—baŋmo
evening—n5yanche
everywhere—wa khui
exchange (vt.)—khamo
extra field which is not a legal one—ram
eye—myē
eyebrow—mikcham
eyelashes—mîplîcham
eyelid—mîplē
face—ŋō
falling (of something from a tree, etc.)—barmo
falling (of something with a thud)—lâmo
falling, of something by itself, roll down, to wrap—gammo
family — khu, màn
fang — gar
fat (round shaped objects) — baldè
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 — pôṇa:
father's eldest sister — puni
father's father; mother's father — tâte
father's first younger sister — pocini
father's fourth elder brother — mîka:
father's fourth younger sister — mîcini
father's second elder brother — guṇka:
father's second elder brother's wife — guṇcî
cin
father's second younger sister — guṇcî
father's sister's husband, father-in-law — thanmi
father's sister, a general term — cînî
father's third younger brother — jaṅka:
father's third younger sister — jînci
father's third younger sister's husband — jîncini
father's third younger sister — jîncini
father — ranplî
feed each other, to feed oneself (vi.) — chîfîmo
feed, to close (vt.) — chîmo
cin
female lamb — barts
female musk deer — siljû
cin
female yak — dûmo
festival — khusmo
fifteen — ceban
fifty — ñasa
cin
cin
cin
fifty one — pîsa: cî
fifty one — pîsa: cethâ
fight (vt.) — dâkîmo
cin
cin
fighting of dogs, be melted — t5hîfîmo
cin
cin
fill (solid articles) (vt.) — pâmô
cin
fill (water) (vt.) — pa:mo
cin
fine wool — kholu
finger — lakpîn
cin
finish — como
cin
fire — mîe
cin
fish — nîya:
cin
fist — gurda:
cin
fit (neither loose nor tight) — t5hèkka
cin
cin
cin
five — ni
five fold — nîba
five times — nîatsu
fix a date for death ceremony — jat5omo
cin
fix a date for marriage — ja thîcîmo
cin
fill — ra:p
cin
flat ground or land — thanj
flexible, elastic — napfîdî
float (vi.) — hyu:mo
cin
floor; lime — cukû
cin
flour — at5o (1A)
cin
flow, to be opened (vi.) — bômô
flower — cî
flute made of silver — lintsa
fly (vi.) — phanmo
cin
fodder mixed with some corn — chà
fog — hûla:
cin
fold — ba:mo
fondle, to cuddle — tûlmo
cin
foot — like
cin
for — dàncî
cin
forehead — pothra:
cin
foreigner — mînînîz
forest — serè
forget — lôjîmo
cin
forty — pîsa:
cin
four times (arithmetic sense) — pipî
cin
fourfold — pîba:
cin
fourteen — cêpi
cin
fourth time (on a fourth occasion) — pîtsu
cin
fourth elder brother — mîhya:
cin
fourth elder sister — mîta:
cin
fox — gônî
friend — hanau satho
cin
frighten — pyîmo
frôg — palô
cin
cin
front teeth — hrasô
cin
cin
front tooth — leso
cin
cin
frost — hmyar
cin
frost in ice form — brîdâm
cin
fruit — le
fruits etc — lelânj
cin
cin
fry — tsîmo
cin
fulfill a promise — jîmo
cin
full — tsêbindè
cin
cin
cin
cin
garlic — dâm
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
get bored (vi.) — dzîmo
cin
cin
get burnt; to consult (vi.) — jimmo
get burst (vi.) — gyîmo
cin
cin
get cold (vi.) — lâmô
cin
cin
cin
cin
get cold and cough (vi.) — khâmô
cin
cin
get collected (vi.) — yejîmo
cin
cin
cin
cin
get down from the horse (vi.) — hla:jîmo
cin
cin
cin
get labour (vi.) — hyem ra:mo
cin
cin
cin
cin
get oneself wet (vi.) — nîmo
get ready (vi.) — dzîmo
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
get stuck by itself (vi.) — galmo
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
get up (vi.) — racîmo
cin
cin
cin
cin
get warm, hot (vi.) — lu:nmô
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
get wet (vi.) — thi:mo
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
ginger — jînîram
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
girl, daughter — tsame
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
give (vt.) — da:mo
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
cin
give loan (vt.) — t5o da:mo
cin
herd, flock
gold; axe—dzaŋ
grape (of horse)—khaʃjimo
grape (of dogs)—t5iʃimo
grape (of cocks)—tshŋjimo
head
hang (vi.)—taːmo
hang (vt.)—keep, to put, to allow, to fix, to have
hang something (light things)—taːmo
ground floor of the typical local house—dar
group of women in a marriage party—t5iʃa:
guard, to watch—hrinʃimo
guns—hnil
gun—təbkə
hailstone
hair of head—pajak cham
half—pʰye
hammer—hathora: (IA)
hammer—t5huŋa:
hand—lə
hang (vi.)—taŋʃimo
hang, keep, put, to have, fix, allow (vt.)—taːmo
happen—hlimo
hard—kaːnde
hare—rayan
harvest (vt.)—jammo
have mercy (vi.)—rəkʃimo
have sexual intercourse (vt.)—lumo
have sexual intercourse (vi.)—luʃimo
have the feeling of laughter—hyelba:
he, she (3s.)—uə
he-goat—lasən
head—pəja:
heap of small pebbles—ruŋ
hear, to agree, to accept (vi.)—runʃimo
heart—ʃiːa
hearth—milən
heavy—hlĩːə
heel—khopa:
height, high—thədə
hell—narak (IA)
herd, flock—wəŋ
here—aikho
hide (vi.)—chaʃjimo
hide (vt.)—cyə:mo
hill; aim—daŋ
hips—caŋʃya:
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.)—nibʃimo
hundred—rə
hundred—sai
hungry—tə
husband—hrithi
husband's elder brother—pəə
husband's younger brother—mas
husband's younger brother's wife—masʃya:
husband-wife—yemən
husk—pu
hut—chandi
ice—tələn
imaginary place beyond the sky—miyar
in front of, in the presence of—ŋokhə
in front, before—hratam
in olden days; once upon a time in the past—yanaː.ːyanaː:
in the middle—gunda:
in-law's village—banan səŋ
incisors—nikiːə
index finger—cyəːla:
inform (vt.)—təŋhəmo
ink (Indo-Aryan)—məsi
insect—n5əbu
inside—cikhu
inspect, to watch something closely—səŋmo
intestine—təsiri
invite (vt.)—yatsaː galmo
irrigate—təː thimo
itch (vi.)—chəkʃimo
itch, itching sensation—chaːdə
jaw—ald5waːre
join something together—hlyemo
joint, knot—təʃig
jump from higher place to lower place—phəŋmo
jump from one place to another—phət5ko daːmo
jump in one place—pəŋʃimo
just now—itta
keep something (light things)—tamo
keep, to put, to allow, to fix, to have—taːmo
key; mediator—taram
kidney—khafa:
kill, extinguish (vt.)—samo
king—ya
kiss—juo
kite—ci:l
knead—dumo
knee—pye
knit—rammo
knot—khuce
know (vi.) be known—ba:lo
lake—cho
lamb (male)—karts
lamb, a generic term—ka:ts
large—fan
late—yithê
laugh (vi.)—hyemo
lay egg—tam-da:mo
leaf—pa:t (IA)
learn—xalbêmo
leech—jo:shka: (IA)
left over (vi.)—hnamo
left side of the body—fyartam
leopard—tharwa
lice—nare
lice egg—natsar
lick; to know—la:mo
lid, memory;—tsê
life; age; fat—tshê
lift, to pick up—anmo
light a lamp (religious sense)(vt.)—tsomô
light (in weight)—ya:nhê
lightning—mal-damô
like this—aina gart
limp—jalmo
lion—barje
lips—akple
liquor, a particular type—sata:ni
little bit less—duma
little finger—kikanca:
live, to stay—nimo
liver—chinca:
lizard—dzankhô
loan—tô
local beer—cakti
local name for Caudangsi language—banjalo
lock—golca:
log—yugu
loan—tshîr
longer path, far away—wathê
look back (vi.)—nimfan onmo
loose (not tight)—walthê
loud—wurthe
louse—minje
love—chipide
lower part of the body, below the waist;
buttocks—n5ingo
lungs—lu:bar
mad—code:
maize—goga:
make (a piece of furniture); to fix—tsamô
make love—hnafa:mo
make short—kâmo
make someomae walk (vt.)—yanji
phamô
make someone agree (vt.)—fe:ci phamô
make someone happy—gàfi phamô
make someone seat (vt.)—fànhêmo
make something fly—phân phamô
male goat—fînts
male yak—yak5o
male-cat—pho-bila
mango—a:m (IA)
many (literally many people)—matmi
marriage—d5ami
married female—hinam p:idi:de
me, I—je
meal, food—du:nlaŋ
measure (vt.)—hnaymo
meat, flesh—fyà:
medicine—uso
melt (vt.)—thimo
memory—co
mend clothes or shoes by stitching—
rabmo
middle finger—gàni gà:hà:
milk—chirmô
milk—nû
mimic (vt.)—fi:ji da:mo
mirror—a:rsi
miser—tukka
molar teeth—gamso
mole—chubu
monkey—ba:ndar (IA)
moon, month—là:
morning—bnakhär
mother (term of address)—n5ana
mother (term of reference)—n5a
mother's—n5agê
mother's brother, husband's or wife's
mother's brother—kaka
mother's elder brother—puthan:mi
mother's elder sister—puci
mother's mother, father's mother—lala:
mother's second elder sister—gu:ci
mother's younger brother—mîthân
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—yê
mouse—nipu
mouth—a:
mud—kaca:r
mule—d5e
mushroom, another kind—mokfya:
mushroom, one of the various kinds—
kakfā:

nail—lakʃi:n
ame—hmin
narrow—jirdē

native term for T-B people in this area
except Raji—ranʃlo

navel—pər
near—nyero
nearly, approximately—d5abd5ab
nest—khuli
new—nuːdə
night—man
nine—gui
nineteen—cirgu
ninety—jatshaː: ci
ninety one—jatshaː: cethi
nipples—manu
noon—n5ise, n5iče
north—fyarnam

nose—hmim
nostrils—hmim d5ōŋ t5hŋ

now—than
now, at present—itə
nowhere—wa khuri mani
nut (generic name)—tithe
offsprings—fyāndē

oil, water spring—marti
old—yiːdə
old person—fanʃthe
once—titsu
one—tig

one who commands respect—hmîmnidə
one who is sleeping—yuːnide

only—t5aŋt5aŋ
open a door, to uproot, to unlock—phomō
outside—panphan
owl—gughu
pack a package—təmmo
paddy, a leather blanket—ga:

pair—duŋ
pajama—khase
palm—phela
parents—n5aba
parrot—suıyo
part (of whole)—tshu
participate, to join in some work—thymo

patella—phajlore
path—am
paw—lakpm
paw of lion, tiger—nagːa:

peacock—mor (IA)
peas—kwafir
pebbles—hraksə:

peel (orange, banana)—khɔmo

peel something like potato or some
vegetables.—chɔlmo

penis—tholi

people belonging to one's group—rakhů
person—mī
person from Johar valley—canpa:

phlegm—gul
pickaxe—lokca:
icc—choŋ
pigeon—khوارan

pile up; to become long (vt.)—bʊŋmo
pinch a pinch—syaːpi cėmo
pinch, to bite—cėmo

place—baŋ
plank—ro
plant—paʊl
plaster (vt.)—fyala: kalmo
play—laŋmo

play a musical instrument; to intervene—
təmo

pleasant—n5yamdə

plough—resumo
pluck fruits—thomō
pluck fruits by throwing a stick or
stones—phərmə

poison—d5o
porcupine—bochab
pot to keep water—phuli
potato—alu (IA)

pray (vi.)—hnakʃimo
press (vi.)—təŋʃimo
press (vt.)—təŋmo
prick (vi.)—t5aːʃimo
prick, to fix a nail (vt.)—t5aːmo

princess—rum

pubic hair—kacəŋ
pull—nomo

pure, pious—tshedə

put cloth, wool, corn, in place—hmomo
quarrel—gyeʃimo
quarrelsome—gyeʃinde
quick, fast—chaːt5o
rabbit—duŋu

rainy season—fyálə
raisin—laca:
ram (castrated)—kar
rat—dumu
raw—tində
reach—hnabmo
read—hlɔkʃimo
ready (vi.)—hləmo
recognize (vt.)—siːmə
red—manʃe
rein—aːgal

relatives (related by blood)—fyəfi
release—bumo
remains of corn after making beer—tsa:
reserve—thaːpu

...
respect—t5harmo
retreat—nyunjimo
retreat, to look back at oneself—nimphan
nyunjimo
return (vi.)—th3kjimo
return something (vt.)—themono
return, to come back (vi.)—thajimo
ribs—hrab, frab
rice—phatsap
ride a horse—yukjimo
right side of the body—taktam
ring finger—mim mani:s
ripe (adj.)—chate
ripe (vi.)—hmi:mo
ripe (vt.)—thijimo
ripped—hmint
ripped—mita
rise (of sun); to fear—dzermo
river—yantii
rivulet—gatshuti
roast (dry) parch (vt.)—jomo
roast meat—romo
robust, strong—nantie
rock along with the soil—gan
rock, a type of—fanja
roll—ga:mmo
root—jarii (IA)
rope—jan
rose colour—chusar
rotten—sata
rough—khasraka
round from the outer side—dzam
round pit; a store of grains outside the
house—kin
rub—nyeyemo
run—janmo
run away, abscond, to increase—fyamo
sack of leather—kha:lo (IA)
sacred—phe:jide
sacrifice some animal for black magic—
samo
saddle—tekha
saliva—filti
salt—tshaa
salty tea (a Tibetan type)—marja:
sand—balwa:
save—yem:
save (vt.)—yemo
saw—pyalmo
saw, to wring—thammo
say—lomo
scorpion—khwan
scrub utensils—khimo
sea—samundro (IA)
search—ma:mo
seat, to make someone sit (vt.)—fojemo
second elder brother—gunhya:
second elder sister—gunta:
second floor of the house—nithalo
see, something which is a far away—
dombo
see, to be found—tijmo
seed—pije (IA)
sell; to weave cloth—rango
semen—lati
send—laymo
separate by choosing or selecting—kilmo
separated lover—jalde
servant—dsanmi
serving spoon—ya:kwal
setting (of sun)—hrimo
settle marriage—thocmo
seven—nife
seventeen—conye
seventy—t5uksa cii
seventy one—t5uksa cathe
shade—jelo
shake, to swing, to move—lamo
sharp (instrument)—tsanthie
sharpen (vt.)—yilmo
sharpening stone—yilwuj
she-goat—camts
sheep—ma:mla:
sheep (female)—masa:
sheep (generic term)—ma:la:
shirt—khilta:
shoes—paula (IA)
short—t5anthe
short (in length)—t5anthe:
shoulder—roj
sick—kanthe
sickle—akhan
sieve—dammo
silver—mal
sing—tocmo
single; a type of cup—ka
sister (general term), wife's younger
brother's wife—hrinjya:
sister's daughter—banji (IA)
sister's husband, wife's elder brother—tete
sister's son—banje (IA)
sister-brother—hremin
six—t5ugu
six fold—t5ugba:
six times—t5uktsu
sixteen—ct5o
sixty—t5uksa:
sixty one—t5uksa tige
skin—be
skull—kwali
sky; blue—timbu
sleep—ya:mo
slip—jamo
slope—jarda
slow—dii
slow, low voice—suku
small — mi:de
small courtyard on the first floor of the
house — d5əŋ
smallpox — womba
smell — hnimo
smoke — khù
smoke, suck (vt.) — hurmo
smooth — dzamta
snake — khabu
sneeze (vi.) — dzì
sneeze (vi.) — dzimo
snot — hnapți
snow — hro
soft — nakte
soil — sa
some, a few people — dumami
sometimes — ulānī
somewhere — wa khute
son's wife's mother, husband's elder
brother's wife — tata
soot — khūma:
soul — hlaːme
sound — bhak
sour — fīrta
south — tanam
sow (vt.) — yebmo
speak — phamo
spin — pāmmo
spinach — janda
spit — thabmo
spittle — khuti
spoon — chō:
spread — paŋmo
spread tent etc., to help cross some river or
a difficult path — taːmo
spring out (vi.) — wàmmo
spring season — yane
sprinkle (grains, powder) — phamo
sprinkle (liquid) — phabmo
sprout (n.) — n5ikapce
sprout (vi.) — dzumo
squeeze — ciːmo
stag — jarya
staircase — dzanṭhaŋ
stand up (vi.) — yabmo
star — karma:
steal — khuːmo
steep mountain rock — bye
stick — duli
stick with (vi.) — kalmo
stir — d5ammo
stitch — phammo
stitch by a putting a patch of cloth —
 hlaːmo
stomach — khokce
stone — uŋ
stone, 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.) — tɔjoːmo
story, tale — rye
straight — hlaːde
strike a match; to push — t5haːmo
stroll — pājmo
stumble in intoxication— galt5aːmo
sugar — cini (IA)
summer — chyāpa:
summer — lunpa:
sun — n5i
sun light, bright — chante
swallow — gimo
sweep — pimo
sweet — chakta
swell — gaŋmo
tail — pɔchni (IA)
take an oath — yàmmo
take loan — tɔ karmo
take off clothes — t5hilmo
take out liquid from a pot — karmo
take swing, to be moved — l5jimo
take the sheep, goat to lead the herd —
 kyoŋmo
tall, long — bʊnthe
tame, to rear — t5huŋmo
tea — ja:
teach, to train — hlabmo
tear — mtti
tear (cloth) (vt.) — pemoji
tell — mān tomo
temple — rackwanti
ten — cī
testicle — gult5n
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 — atlan
that side — atina gartɛ
that side — atitəksa:
the other person — gaŋmi
then, afterwards — ḥan
there — atikho
there — ate
these — aijamma:
these — aifɛ
these (used for human beings) — aimaŋ
they (3du.) — unifɨ
they (3pl.) — ujɨ
thick (liquid) — photo
thigh — lāqʃya:
thin (in thickness, of a sheet like things)—
byende
thin (round shape)—laktē
think—cicimo
third elder brother— phyina: a
third elder sister— phyinta:
third floor of the house— som
thirteen— cesom
thirty— nassa: cī
thirty one— nassa: cēthe
this— ai
this side— aitoxa:
this side (of the river or rivulet)— tipa
this year— thanfin
thorn— nace
those— atifē
those (used for human beings)— atimaŋ
thousand— hajā:r (IA)
trash— tabmo
thread— bīe
thread ball— watst
three— som
three days before yesterday— thapija:
three fourth— pophyē
three times— som som
threshold— calkē
thrice— samtsu
thrid floor of the house— somthalo
throat— bokrō
throw— tsoŋmo
throw (stone, etc.)— kanmo kāmmo
throw water— phyamo
thumb— bola:
thunder, dragon— mukna:
Tibet— kidāŋ
Tibetan— pāŋ
Tibetan goat— la:mla:
Tibetan name for the Tibeto-Burman
people of this area— ja:ba:
tie, to control something or someone—
gyi:mo
tiger— wā
tiger (a large size)— fāŋthe
tight— ga:ktā
tighten a screw— tshamo
time and again— ra:tso
tire (vi.)— yinmo
today— thinja:
tomorrow— chanan
tongue— jablye
tooth— sō
touch (vt.)— tammo
trap (vt.)— tōŋmo
tremble (vi.)— d5ammo
truth— saco (IA)
tuber— kē
twelve— cēnē
twenty— nassa:
wheat—raje
where—ulo
where—wa
whiff—phyarmo
white—ji:de
white wash—gyamo
who—una:
whole—jamma:
why—hoŋ
widow—räd5i (IA)
widower—räd5o (IA)
wife—hrithiŋya:
wife's elder brother's wife, fifth elder sister—tata
wife's younger brother's husband—sa:d5u (IA)
wind—nəlan
window—tya:ba:ri
winter—gunche
winter—khapa:
wood—jin
wooden beam—dyuru
woodpecker—garto
wool—cham
woolen cloth—nambu
word, languages, saying—lo
work in exchange (vt.)—befimo
work, answer—lan
worship—t5homo
wound, scar—gà:
wrap (anything)—hlammo
wrap (things)—gammo
wrestle—tsimfimo
yak—gal
yawn (vi.)—hal gammo
yellow—lyedẽ
yesterday—nya:re
you (2du.)—ganifji
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
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:, Saky:, 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 /ra/ means 'self' or 'own' and /lo/ means 'language' or 'speech'. The individual names of each language are given below:

(i) Bya:ns, Bya:ngkho lo, Bia:ngsi, Bia:nsi (Bya:si)
(ii) Darma, Darma:, Darma: lo, Da:mia (Da:miyā)

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 variations 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.
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 /\i/, as found in Sanskrit words such as /\i\-shi/ 'ascetic' and /\i\-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: The Consonant Phonemes of Darma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilabial</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Byangsi Vocabulary

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

Table 2: The Vowel Phonemes of Darma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>∈</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 Phonotactic Rules

(i) The vowels /e/, /u/ and /œ/ 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 cannot 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 /œ/ 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: /jhɔb-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/

/pe/ 'knowledge' /phe-nu/ 'thick (liquid)' /be/ 'skin'

/pya/ 'bird' /phyala/ 'palm' /byā-bu/ 'fly (n.)'

/pa-mo/ 'fill (liquid)' /pha-mo/ 'speak' /ba/ 'father'

/th d/

/to-mo/ 'to tune (an instrument)' /tho-lok/ 'heaven' /domo/ 'to plant'

/ta-mo/ 'to see' /thaŋ/ 'ground' /daŋ/ 'belly'

/te-mo/ 'weep' /the-mo/ 'to throw' /de-mo/ 'go'

/hrati/ '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' /kel-cu/ 'reins' /ge/ 'you (pl)'

/kacar/ 'mud' /khəto/ 'scar' /gədro/ 'hole'

/c ch j/

/bagu-ca/ 'marriage party' /cha/ 'salt' /ja/ 'eat'

/cuku/ 'lemon' /chura/ 'cheese' /juba/ 'bull'

/capa/ 'armpit' /chap/ 'needle' /jọŋ/ 'rope'

/ce-mo/ 'bark' /che/ 'life' /je-mo/ 'sneeze'

/ts tsh dz/

/tsuṃ/ 'bridge' /tshum/ 'hair' /dzunu-basu/ 'good smell'

/tseb-mo/ 'suck' /tše/ 'fat (grease)' /dzenu/ 'good'

/tse/ 'grass' /tse/ 'joint' /-----/ '-----'

/kur-tso/ 'lamb' /-----/ /dzo/ 'ox'

/s sh h/

/pisa/ 'forty' /pica/ 'head' /hati/ 'fresh'

/si-nu/ 'white' /ci/ 'blood' /hiba-jati/ 'defence'

/su/ 'tooth' /co-ni/ 'Autumn' /ho-mo/ 'roast'

Suhnu Ram Sharma
### Byangsi Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/səl/</th>
<th>'charcoal'</th>
<th>/cəŋ/</th>
<th>'big'</th>
<th>/həl/</th>
<th>'jaw'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m n η/</td>
<td>'small'</td>
<td>/nim/</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi-nu/</td>
<td>'mind'</td>
<td>/nəŋ-mo/</td>
<td>'to measure'</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/moro/</td>
<td>'dead body'</td>
<td>/no-mo/</td>
<td>'to stretch'</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mar-jya/</td>
<td>'tea'</td>
<td>/na-no/</td>
<td>'spicy hot'</td>
<td>/ŋalo/</td>
<td>'to bless'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l hl/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/la/</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
<td>/hla/</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/le-mo/</td>
<td>'to fall down (vi.)'</td>
<td>/hle-mo/</td>
<td>'to say'</td>
<td>/l həl/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lo/</td>
<td>'language'</td>
<td>/hlo-mo/</td>
<td>'to shake'</td>
<td>/l ara/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lala/</td>
<td>'father's mother'</td>
<td>/hləŋ-mo/</td>
<td>'to jump'</td>
<td>/l dia/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r hr/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/ro/</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>/hro/</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ru/</td>
<td>'horn'</td>
<td>/hru-mo/</td>
<td>'to question'</td>
<td>/ηu/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/renam/</td>
<td>'western direction'</td>
<td>/hre/</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
<td>/ra/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rado/</td>
<td>'widower'</td>
<td>/hra-mo/</td>
<td>'be ashamed'</td>
<td>/ara/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w hw/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/wa/</td>
<td>'wild cat'</td>
<td>/hwa/</td>
<td>'honey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa me/</td>
<td>'face'</td>
<td>/hwən-mo/</td>
<td>'to reach'</td>
<td>/wi/</td>
<td>'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yi mo/</td>
<td>'to call'</td>
<td>/hwï-mo/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/y hy/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yan si mo/</td>
<td>'to prepare'</td>
<td>/hyan-mo/</td>
<td>'flexible'</td>
<td>/y hy/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Yi mo/</td>
<td>'grate, grind'</td>
<td>/hi/</td>
<td>'flour'</td>
<td>/y hy/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td>/hÎe-mo/</td>
<td>'to complete'</td>
<td>/ηu/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td>/hyu-nu/</td>
<td>'deep'</td>
<td>/ηu/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m hm/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/mug/</td>
<td>'name'</td>
<td>/hmʊ/</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mar jya/</td>
<td>'tea'</td>
<td>/hma/</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
<td>/m ë/</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m a uti/</td>
<td>'stream'</td>
<td>/hoŋ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/h di/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| /bə uti/ | 'sew'      | /sti el/ | 'stick to roll cloth on' |
|/chə/     | 'loin'     | /pər/    | 'navel'            |
|/tir/     | 'arrow'    | /hər/    | 'sound'            |
|/mə uti/  | 'stream'   |          |                    |

Some syllable final contrasts:
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. /hnya/ 'fish', /kyok/ 'laddle'; /kwali/ 'forehead'; /br-˚i-ni/ 'earthquake', /khrø/ '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/
/hr-e/ 'tale'
/hre/ 'field'

/mi/ 'person'
/me/ 'eye'

/e ø/
/tse-mo/ 'to break'
/tsøb-mo/ 'to suck'

/tshe-mo/ 'to carry by hanging'
/tsø/ 'fat'

/a ø/
/dal/ 'hailstone'
/dal/ 'much', 'tiredness'

/mar-˚y/ 'tea'
/mar-ti/ 'oil'

/u ø/
/saru/ 'forest'
/saro/ 'hard'

/bu/ 'insect'
/bo-la/ 'thumb'

/o ø/
/hr-o/ 'graze'
/hrø/ 'snow'

/ronj/ 'amuse'
/ronø-mo/ 'to cover'

/uu u/
/thum-mo/ 'to cut (wood)'
/thum-mo/ 'to collect'
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/idum/</td>
<td>'same'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/birmi/</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/hati/</td>
<td>'fresh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/eləŋ/</td>
<td>'that much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/celi/</td>
<td>'brass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pe/</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ε/</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pɛnu/</td>
<td>'comb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/aŋcino/</td>
<td>'high'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pala/ [pala:]</td>
<td>'mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/sa/</td>
<td>'earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>/ɔm/</td>
<td>'path'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/sɔl/</td>
<td>'charcoal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jilɔ/</td>
<td>'creeper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>'shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phɔ/</td>
<td>'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/goga/</td>
<td>'maize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/lono/ [lo:no]</td>
<td>'easy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/uwi/</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nu-nu/ [nu:nu]</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pyu/</td>
<td>'mouse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

/ua/, /ea/, /ɔi/, /ie/, /iə/, /eə/, /eol/, /ual/, /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'
/chum/ 'to walk'
/wá/, /uwá/ 'where'
/ló/ 'language'
/ró/ 'flat basket'

Falling tone:

/là/ 'rock'
/kà/ 'excreta'
/phù/ 'cow'
/chum / '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/ [cinu-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 khār-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 /-mê/, /-cyâ/, /-nya/, or /-nâ/ 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 /mø-/ as the feminine marker and /phø- as the masculine marker. Human gender markers are suffixed to the nouns, while non-human gender markers are prefixed to the nouns. Examples:

Human:
/hrin-cya/ 'younger sister'  
/mim-nya/ 'mother\'s younger sister'  
/pum-nya/ 'mother\'s elder sister'  
/khe-mê/ 'daughter\'s daughter'  
/ca-jo/ 'elder sister\'s husband'

Non-human:
/phö-hrøŋ/ 'male horse'  
/phö-eyar/ 'male 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 [cøn ~ jøn ~jan]. The plural marker appears to be a loan from Indo-Aryan /jøn/, which means 'persons'. A special plural marker [bër ~ bir] is used on some pronouns (see §3.2.3 below). Examples:

/siri/ 'boy'  
/siri nimi/ 'two boys'  
/siri jøn/ 'boys'

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 [ø ~ 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 [bër ~ bir] + 'person'. The chart below shows the system of personal pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>ji ~ je</td>
<td>Excl.</td>
<td>niŋ-nimi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

/ndo/ 'this, it'
/ndo-ber/ 'these'
/dokho/ 'here'

Distal, Visible:

[o ~ uo] 'that'
/ubi-ber/ 'those'
/tare/ 'there'

Distal, Non-visible

/ido/ 'that'
/ido-ber/ 'those'
/tare-matan/ 'there away'

The base form for most of the interrogative pronouns is /kha/, 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'
/khami/ 'who'
/khamigo/ 'whose'
/khaco/ 'whom'
/khawa/ 'what'

/gum garto/ 'how'
/ude/ 'where'

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) /ndo mithai ram da tya/ this sweet Ram give IMP 'Give this sweet to Ram.'

(ii) /ndo gorge o da tya/ this cloth 3sg give IMP 'Give this cloth to him.'

(iii) /ji ja kā-ja so/ 1sg food PAST-eat PAST 'I ate the food.'
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 co/  
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 pharsa-so ciŋ thum ti/  
1sg axe-INST tree cut PRESENT  
'I cut the tree with the axe.'

(ii) /gə 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) /ciŋ-tɔ-so pato bir ni/  
tree-LOC-ABL leaf fall NON.PAST  
'A leaf falls from the tree.'

(ii) /hnə mi-jən kheco suŋkhuŋ-so ra-no hłe/  
these man-PL another village-ABL come-NOM COPULA  
'These people have come from another village.'
3.2.4.5 Benefactive: /dŋso/

(i) /o-so ji-dŋso gorge hre-te so/
   3sg-AGT 1sg-BEN cloth bring-carry PAST
   'He has brought cloth for me.'

(ii) /je-so siri-dŋso am hre-te so/
   1sg-AGT boy-BEN mango bring-carry PAST
   'I have brought mango for the boy.'

3.2.4.6 Locative: /rø, [yarto ~ to] /

The locative marker [-rø ~ -ru] has an inessive ('in(side)'), or allative ('to') sense, while the marker [-yarto ~ -to] has the sense of 'on', i.e., 'placed'. Examples:

(i) /gera bucem-rø ni-ni/
   grains grain.box-LOC be.at-NON.PAST
   'The grains are in the grain box.'

(ii) /lopŋ bɛg-rø ni-ni/
   book bag-LOC be.at-NON.PAST
   'The books are in the bag.'

(iii) /idumna o ji cim-rø hna ni/
   usually 3sg 1sg house-rø come NON.PAST
   'He usually comes to my house.'

(iv) /niŋ chuŋ-to cəŋ-cino ni-sən/
    1pl roof-LOC sit-state be.at-PRESENT
    'We are sitting on the roof.'

(v) /lopŋ mejo-yarto ni-ni/
   book table-LOC be.at-NON.PAST
   'The books are on the table'

It has been found that /rø/ and /to/ occur together in certain constructions, especially when the subject is inside something and sitting on some object. Examples:

(i) /ji bas-rø-to cəŋ-cino ni-si/
   1sg bus-in-on sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
   'I am sitting in the bus.'

(ii) /gɛ bistar-rø-to cəŋ-cino ni-si/
    2sg bedding-in-on sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
    'You are sitting in the bedding.'

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Note: The informant gave the explanation that /ɾø/ occurs when the object is visible and /to/, which is the short form of /yɾto/, 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) /˙ndo ji-go-cim hlɛ/  
   this 1sg-GEN-house COPULA  
   'This is my house.'

(ii) /ji-go-muň dharam siŋ hlɛ/  
     1sg-GEN-name Dharm Singh COPULA  
     'My name is Dharm Singh.'

3.2.4.8 Comitative: /r̥ksa/

(i) /ji-r̥ksa hriŋ-cya lɛ de ni/  
     1sg-COM younger-sister also go NON.PAST  
     'My younger sister is also going with me.'

(ii) /niŋ-r̥ksa dyəŋ cəŋ/  
     1pl(ex)-COM go FUTURE  
     '(You) will go with us.'

(iii) /ji-r̥ksa go-go-hriŋ-cya 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 kagui cino 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.'
(i) /ji ge-nyokānti ra-ŋ si/
    1sg 2sg-after come-FUTURE NON.PAST
'I will come after (behind) you.'

(ii) /niŋ-go-hre-go-nyokānti serŋ 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 cŋ-cino ni-ni/
    cat cot-GEN-under quite sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
'The cat is sitting quite under the cot.'

(ii) /khui mejā-ko-bero tu cŋ-cino 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 cŋu cŋ-cino ni-ni/
    1-dual-between child sit-state be.at-NON.PAST
'The child is sitting between us.'

(ii) /bharat 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'
/char-no/ 'dry' + /sin/ 'tree' > /charno sin/ 'dry tree'
/lo-no/ 'easy' + /lən/ 'work' > /lono lən/ 'easy work'
/burŋ-no/ 'tall' + /mi/ 'person' > /burŋno 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 infixed /-r-/ in between the morpheme for 'ten' and the morpheme for the unit number. In the numeral 'eighteen' a whole syllable [-bɔr- ~ -ber-] is infixed.

The form for 'twenty' is /nasa/, 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'.

/tako/ 'one'
/sum/ 'three'
/ŋai/ 'five'
/nisu/ 'seven'
/gui/ 'nine'
/cyə/ 'eleven'
/cyəbəŋ/ 'fifteen'
/cyənl/ 'seventeen'
/cyərgu/ 'nineteen'
/hnasatak/ 'twenty one'
/hnasasum/ 'twenty three'
/hnasagu/ 'twenty nine'
/susatak/ 'thirty one'
/susasum/ 'thirty eight'
/pisa/ 'forty'
/pisagu/ 'forty nine'
/hnasagu/ 'fifty nine'
/tuk ci/ 'seventy'
/jya ci/ 'ninety'
/ra/ 'hundred'
/cis/ 'one thousand'

/niso/ 'two'
/pi/ 'four'
/tuku/ 'six'
/jadu/ 'eight'
/ci/ 'ten'
/cyane/ 'twelve'
/cyapi/ 'fourteen'
/cyəthuk/ 'sixteen'
/cyəberji/ 'eighteen'
/nasa/ 'twenty'
/hnasakniso/ 'twenty two'
/hnasahydu/ 'twenty eight'
/susa/ 'thirty'
/susane/ 'thirty two'
/susagu/ 'thirty nine'
/pisa tuku/ 'forty one'
/ŋasa/ 'fifty'
/tuk cha/ 'sixty'
/jya cha/ 'eighty'
/jya tsha cigu/ 'ninety nine'
/ratuku/ 'one hundred one'
/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:

/tako-go/  'first'  /nakandi-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borrowed system</th>
<th>Native system</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tak-pali/</td>
<td>/tak-tso/</td>
<td>'once'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nik-pali/</td>
<td>/nik-tso/</td>
<td>'twice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sum-pali/</td>
<td>/sum-tso/</td>
<td>'thrice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pi-pali/</td>
<td>/pi-tso/</td>
<td>'four times'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

/pel-cho/  'half'
/po-pel/  'three quarters'
/pel-the-niso/  'one and a half (half less than two)'
/pel-the-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:

/na-dum/  'like this, in this way'  /i-dum-na/  'usually'
/i-dum-ga/  'like that, in that manner'  /hagu mate/  'stealthily'
/hra-lan-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-chät-lenı/  'immediately'
/laŋ-na/  'as soon as'
/i-ta-wa-na-su/  'till now'

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Use of adverbs in sentences:

(i) /siŋ nədəm thəm-mo/
    tree like.this cut-infinitive
    'Cut the tree like this.'

(ii) /i đu mna o ji cim-rə hna ni/
    usually 3sg 1sg house-rə come NON.PAST
    'He usually comes to my house.'

(iii) /i đu mna niŋ chägə ja ni/
    usually 1pl(ex) rice eat NON.PAST
    'We(exclusive) usually eat rice.'

(iv) /sirı hagu mətə 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.)'
/ɔŋ-ci/ 'sit still' /rɔk-ga-mo/ 'to help'
/da-tya/ '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 [hi], 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 intensive (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 hi/ 'I ate.' or 'I have eaten.'
    /je ka-ja so/ 'I ate.' or 'I have eaten.'
(ii) /ge ja-n so/ 'You ate.' or 'You have eaten.'
    /ge ka-ja-n so/ 'You ate.' or 'You have eaten'.
(iii) /o ja so/ 'He ate.' or 'He has eaten.'
    /o ka-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) /ge ja-sen/ 'You (sg.) eat.' or 'You are eating.'
    /ge ja-hen/ 'You (sg.) eat.' or 'You are eating.'
(iii) /gəni nimiri ja-hini/ 'You (two) eat.' or 'You are eating.'
    /usi birmi ja-ni/ 'They eat.' or 'They are eating.'
(iv) /usi birmi ja-ni/ 'I will eat.'

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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 hłən/  'act of eating'
/tuŋ hłən/  'act of drinkñ/smoking'
/phuŋ hłən/  'act of running'
/gyo hłən/  '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 hłən 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) /gë ja-hłən 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 /hnı/. 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.'

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10Editor's note: Another possibility is that this /-no/ is the nominalizing suffix.
3.4.3.3 Habitual

The habitual in Darma is an elaborately expressed formation. It consists of several morphemes such as /hra-hlan-na/ 'continuously' ('come' + 'action/work' + adverbial marker), which is shortened to /hl-na/ when used in a construction, and /səŋ/ '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-hlanna səŋ si ni/  
1sg eat-continuously sit still NON.PAST  
'I eat continuously' or 'I keep on eating.'

(ii) /ram hri-hlanna səŋ si ni/  
Ram write-continuously sit still NON.PAST  
'Ram habitually writes' or 'Ram keeps on writing.'

(iii) /o ji doro ra-lanna səŋ 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 niktsəŋ si/  
'I will come in the afternoon.'
(ii) /sɔnu chɨnto nini/ 'The child is on the roof.'
(iii) /tungu huwɔn nini/ 'The sky is blue.'
(iv) /sintram 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) cin thɔm-a/ '(You) cut the wood!'
(iii) /(gɛ) darim kor-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 mɔ-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) /chɔm 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 /-ɛɛ/ after the irrealis marker or the verbal root of the dependent clause. Examples:

(i) /ji de ɛɛ thɔkta mɔ-ray-ɛɛ/  
   1sg go if return NEG-come-IRREALIS  
   'If I go I may not come back.'

(ii) /o hlɔn gano le ɛɛ ro mɔ-sun-ʃ-se-ɛɛ/  
   3sg work do IRREALIS if hunger NEG-sit-still-IRREALIS  
   'If he had worked he would not have remained hungry.'

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(iii) /ge dəlin cə ji mə-de-le/
  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 cya ja tər si/
  1sg meat eat able NON.PAST
  'I can eat meat.'

(iii) /ji-go hriŋ-cya 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) /than ji de-mo ciŋ ni/
  now 1sg go-INFINITIVE should NON.PAST
  'Now I should go.'

(ii) /ge ja ja-mo ciŋ yəŋ/
  2sg food eat-INFINITIVE should IMPERFECTIVE
  'You should eat meal.'

(iii) /than ge ya-mo ciŋ yəŋ/
  now 2sg sleep-INFINITIVE should IMPERFECTIVE
  'Now you should sleep.'

/nacıŋ/ 'must'

(i) /than ji de-mo nacıŋ ni/
  now 1sg go-INFINITIVE must NON.PAST
  'Now I must go.'

(ii) /ge ja ja-mo nacıŋ yəŋ/
  2sg food eat-INFINITIVE must IMPERFECTIVE
  'You must eat your food.'
(iii) /thɔŋ gə ya-mo nacin 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 cya mə-ja no/  'I do not eat meat.'
(ii) /gə cya thə-ja/  'You do not eat meat!'
(iii) /o cya mə-ja/  'He does not eat meat.'
(iv) /o shəm mə-hre/  '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 hən ga ta/
    /o hən ga phuŋ ta/
    'He works.'
    'He gets the work done.'

(ii) /məŋəl cim thəŋ ta/
    /məŋəl cim thəŋ phuŋ ta/
    'Mangal constructs a house.'
    'Mangal gets the house constructed.'

(iii) /cəmə-jən sige chil ta/
    /cəmə-jən sə dəŋmi co ge chil phuŋ ta/
    'The girls wash the clothes.'
    '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 corelative 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 həŋ/
    mango eat-NOM boy RELPRO COPULA
    '(He) is the boy who had eaten the mango.'

(ii) /niməŋ to-sino bəna ənduna həŋ/
    yesterday purchase-NOM cow RELPRO COPULA
    '(This) is the cow which was purchased 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) /ge-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 /abigo/ 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 jan co/  'Ram has eaten his food.'
(ii) /radha apno lan 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 /aphi-aphi/. /aphi-aphi/ is again a loan from Indo-Aryan. The reciprocals are followed by the adverbial marker /na/. These occur before the verb. Examples:

(i) /sã-jan usi-usi-na orsi ni/  'The children bathe each other.'
(ii) /cãme-jan usi-usi-na cha ni/  'The girls are playing with each other.'
(iii) /sã-jon Aphi-Aphi-na kãmsi ni/  'The boys are beating each other.'
DARMA-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

ahin—up
ahind—above
aitag-tso—at once
alpe- mi—a few
alpe, albe—some
allya—only
alae-wana-su—till then
am—path
am-mo—lift (vt.)
ankura—jar
arsi (IA)—mirror
a-la-mo—lie (v.)
ahe-nu—high
akpo, akple—lips
ala-nu—lie
alo (IA)—potato
amo (IA)—mango
aq-khula—goose-berry
ata—husband's elder brother's wife; son's wife's mother; daughter's husband'
mother; wife's elder brother's wife
ba—father
ba-mo—fold (cloth) (v.)
baguca—marriage
balo-cyano—infant
basu (IA)—smell
bathi—ladle (for pulse)
be—skin
be-ti—lizard (house)
be-ra-ga-mo—sing (v.)
begun (IA)—brinjal
bela-cin—bamboo
bena—bright (light)
bero—under
billa (IA)—cat (female)
bir mi—all
blis—resin (of pine)
b5-phu-ro—buttocks
bo-da-mo—swim (v.)
bo-la—thumb
bok-cu—socks
bokro—flute
boj-bun—bell
boj-ju—donkey
bo-ti—dew
brin-ci-ni—earthquake
bu—insect
bu-mo—carry on back (v.)
budru—inside
bunj-nu—long, tall
bvo—porcupine
by-bu—fly (insect)
byan-ro, malo—Tibet
byoli-cya—bride
bagwan (IA)—god
boli-da-mo (IA, boli)—sacrifice (v.)
boli-ci-mo—braid
balma—yeast
baj—place
baj-gar—alloy
bom-muk-ca—noon
baj-ro—verandah
baj-tsum-mo—occupy (v.)
bana—neck
bana—throat
bonda-gunda—utensils
bar-tsi—sheep (castrated)
bardino—year
bayo—nest
buja-tsone, hrithi-cya—wife
bujuum—grain-store
buel-nu—fat
buel-nu, par-nu—broad
bur-mo—drop (v.)
bur-mo—fall (a branch) (v.)
caj-ko, jan-go—lizard (wild)
ce—flower
ce-jan—bowl (for pulses)
ce-mo—bark (v.)
ce-mo—cut (cloth) (v.)
ce-ra-mo—long for (v.)
ce-m-tsa—goat (virgin)
set-jo—younger sister's husband
cer-ga-nu—crooked
ci-cede—side (right)
ci-mo—squeeze, wring (v.)
ci-cin—fodder
cib-la—fist
cib-mo—fasten (v.)
cil (IA)—kite
cil-cil da-nu—mica  
cim—house  
cim-lan-ta-mo—hold (v.)  
cini—I.A.—sugar  
cinj—mo—burn (vt.)  
cinj—mo—need (v.)  
cinj—mo—want (v.)  
cip—cu—chicken  
cir-cir—ga-mo—chirp (v.)  
co-la—finger (index)  
co—mo—finish (v.)  
cok—ci—mo—wear (clothes) (v.)  
cu—chin  
cu—tshim—beard  
cuku—lemon  
cunj—bala—gown (for married women)  
cunj—geju—long shirt (for married women)  
cunj—le—headgear  
cunj—na—many  
cuna—thaj—cheap  
cya—I.A.—tea  
cya—mo—hide (v.)  
cyo—mo—bring out (scoop) (v.)  
cyo—numa—madly  
cyu—thorn  
cao—ji—elder sister's husband  
canj—mo—soak (v.)  
canj—cy-a—thigh  
canj—tha—ladder  
capa—armpit  
cha—salt  
chajju—early morning  
chana—I.A.—hut  
che—sister's son  
che—life  
che—mo—carry by hanging (v.)  
che—cy-a—sister's daughter  
cher—mo—serve (food) (v.)  
cher—ci—mo—avoid (v.)  
chi—rose colour  
chi—mo—divide (v.)  
chi—mo—meet (v.)  
chi—cha—liver  
chi—nj—mo—tether (v.)  
chiru, damba—urine  
cho—lake, sea  
cho—mo—scratch (v.)  
chukto—chest  
chura—cheese  
chy—a—mo—sweet  
chy—a—nu—sweet  
chyo—mo—dye (v.)  
chyon—to—roof  
chob—needle  
chaga—rice (cooked)  
chat—chat—quick  
da—mo—give, offer (v.)  
da—ruum, kholi, maran—door  
dak—ci—mo—fight (v.)  
dal—I.A.—branch  
de—mo—go (v.)  
delna—much  
dharu—I.A.—cat (male)  
di—mule  
di—string (for yak)  
dikte—cy—a—husband's younger sister  
dimo—yak (cross-bred)  
do—mo—plant (v.)  
dokh—ga—mo—I.A.—accuse (v.)  
dom—mo—pound (v.)  
doru—towards  
dra—mo—cry (v.)  
dudi, pudi—buttermilk  
dunj—mo—husk (v.)  
dunj—mo—rear (v.)  
duo—poison  
dyu—marsh  
dze—nu—good  
dzor—su—I.A.—loudly  
dzunu—basu—good smell  
dal—tha—costly  
dan—do—ka—li—spider  
danro—height  
dapy—a—sword  
darm—I.A.—religion  
daram—damo, baba—emo—divorce  
dun, tshur—belly  
dunj—mo—tremble (v.)  
dur—mo—push (v.)  
ga—paddy  
ga—ji—animal (domestic)  
ga—mo—do (v.)  
ga—nu—tight  
gata, tati—valley  
eg—cloth  
eg—you (sg.)  
eg—mo—collapse (person) (v.)  
eg—ci—mo—tease (v.)

Suhnu Ram Sharma
geju—pajama
gera—crop
gigin-cinu—rolled
gim-mo—roll up (v.)
go-mo—cut (grass) (v.)
go-na—fox
goga, koga—maize
gogu-ano—happy
gok-mo—collapse (house) (v.)
gola (IA)—nut (coco)
gu-jok-su—ready
gubakte—usually
gubda-ba—father’s elder brother (3rd.)
guguti—dove, pigeon
gui-mo—burst (vi.)
gui-mo—tie (v.)
gujali—bow
gukhe (if only one)—mother's elder brother
gukar—sheep (uncastrated)
gul-ci-mo—cough (to) (v.)
gul-thiŋ—testicles
gun-chu—winter
gunda—middle size, in the middle, in between
gunda-ba—father’s elder brother (2nd.)
gunda-la—finger (middle)
gunta-thiŋ—molehill
gup-cya—often
guroŋ—conceive (vi.)
gyo-mo—run (v.)
gyam-o—brown
gəb-da-mo—brood (v.)
grod—hole
gol—glacier
gol—yak (male)
gom-so—molar teeth
gom-thena—continuously
gon-mo—bulge (v.)
gəndu—round
gən-birmi—you (pl.)
gən-go—your (pl.)
gən-nimi—you (dual)
guro—fang
ha-ci-mo—complain (v.)
hagu-mate, hau-mate—stealthily
hami, ko-hoi-nu—roasted barley
hati—fresh
he-mo—increase (liquid) (v.)
hiba-jati—defense
ho-ga-mo—kiss (v.)
ho-mo—roast (on fire) (v.)
ho-maŋ—dark
ho-ci-mo—quarrel (v.)
hok-ci-mo—quarrel (vi.)
hul-ba—when
hul-pa—everywhere
hul-para—never
hulpa-hulpa—sometimes
hum-ba—then
hwa, hua—honey
hwa-nam—far
hwe-thiŋ—loud, loudly
hwı—wind
hwı-mo—fan (to) (v.)
hwal-nu—loose
hyi—flour
hyu-nu—deep
hyunu-mini—shallow
hal—jaw
halpa—cheek
har-ga-mo—yawn (v.)
harthi—phlegm
idum—like that
it-tana-raci—just now
ita-won-su—till now
ituna—same
ja, jamo-tunmo—meal
ja-mo—eat (v.)
jab-mo—cut (harvest) (v.)
jaho-mi—coward
jak-mo—break (stick) (v.)
jali—net
jamo (IA)—birth
jarna—regularly
je, tsam—a—barley
je-mo—bloom (v.)
je-mo—sneeze (v.)
je-nu—clean
jenu-sa—soil
jhab-mo—pierce (v.)
jì, je—I (1sg pronoun)
ji-ge—mine
ji-mo—cut into pieces (v.)
ji-mo—sneeze
jilo—creeper
jm-mo—consult (v.)
jiph (IA)—tongue

S.R. Sharma
### English-Byangsi Glossary

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<td>stream</td>
<td>mā-ti, mulatī</td>
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**S.R. Sharma**
mug-tan — spectacle
muk tshum — eye brow
munj, hmun — name
mujharte — brave
munj-nu-lo — ripe (fruit)
munj-ta-mo — name (to) (v.)
myami — bridegroom
ma-tan-mo — refuse (v.)
ma-run-mo — deny (v.)
ma-tir-penu — smooth
ma-tsar-nu — blunt
ma-tar-nu — weak
makhu — quilt
ma (IA) — mind
ma-mo — drive (cattle) (v.)
ma-nu — red
ma-ra-mo — like (v.)
ma-ci (IA) — buffalo
mae-mo (IA) — celebrate (v.)
machnu, murtso (IA) — chili
mahr — ghee
mahr — oil
ma-tshar (IA) — mosquito
muel — silver
muel-dun — iris of eye
murti, jan-ti — clear
hma — sheep
hmee — fire
hmee-ta-b-mo — light (fire) (v.)
hmee — rain
hmyan-mo — enjoy (v.)
hmyan-mo — taste (v.)
na-no — hot (like ginger)
na-nu — soft
nak-pya — duck
nakal — moss (swamp)
nalo — bless (v.)
nam-chang — morning
naraanki (IA) — orange
ne-lok — hell
ne-mo — save (v.)
ne-mo — oil (v.)
ne-mo — rub (v.)
ne-nam — near
ne-ci-mo — relax (v.)
ne-nu — light (in weight)
nep-tsoo-mo — fold (hands) (v.)
ni — light (of sun)
ni — sun
nil — gums
nim — nose
nim-mo — smell (v.)
nim-ci-mo — blow (nose) (v.)
nim-toto — nostrils
nim — yesterday
niunj-birmi — we (pl. incl.)
niunj-go — our
niunj-jya — a day after tomorrow
niunj-nimi — we (pl.)
noni (IA) — butter
no-kanti, nyo-kanti, no-kandi — after, again, behind, last
no-mo — drag (v.)
no-mo — increase (by stretching) (v.)
nu-nu — new
nuk-chou — day
nunu — younger brother
nyam — fish
nyanj-thapa — evening
nyom-no — pungent
nado, dakhunu — here
nado-er, njen-birna — these
naju, nado — this
natum-ga — like this
nall — iron-shaft
nam-cya — younger brother's wife
nambu-jen — cloth (woolen)
nanj-mo — measure (v.)
hne — medicine
hnepti — snout
hnya-mo — catch fish (v.)
hnyunj-nu — flexible
ja-ci-mo — pray (v.)
o — yes
o, oo, wo — he, she
o-ci-mo — nod (v.)
ompah — hips
or-ci-mo — bathe (vt.)
padro (IA) — monkey
pa-mo — fill (liquid) (v.)
pa-mo — measure (grains) (v.)
pagaro — ankle
pagar-cino — closed
pala — mortar
palen (IA) — spinach
pan (IA) — betel leaf
papal — calves
pat (IA) — leaf

Suhnu Ram Sharma
pe-mā—father's elder sister's husband; father's younger sister's husband
pe-ma, powa—wife's father; husband's father
pe-mo—know (v.)
pe-mo—slip (v.)
pe-mo—tear (v.)
pe-nu—short
pel-muṇ—midnight
pelāp—frog
penu-mi, lama—priest
pi-mē, nm-cya—son's wife
pi-tsu, mya—daughter's husband
pi-tum—egg
pichaṇ (IA)—behind, below
pije (IA)—seed
pica—head
pica—skull
po-lini—spring
po-mo—increase (v.)
po-mo—take out (v.)
pok-sa-pe-mo—sweep (v.)
pok-cinu—rotten
pola (IA)—shoe
pola-guna—cobbler
pomi-la—finger (ring)
poṇ-mo—fill (grains) (v.)
pona-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, can—big, large
punuu, mun-ci—elder brother's wife
puṇ-mo—knead (v.)
pya—bird
pya-gue-mo—break (v.)
pyaju (IA)—onion
pyu—mouse
pəlti-bu—bedbug
pəm-mo—spin (v.)
pəṇ-mo—send (v.)
pəṇ-mo—spread (bed) (v.)
pəṇ-phaṭ—wall
pəṇ-ci-mo—hum (v.)
pəṇyē—ladle (for rice)
pəsu, pochura—blanket
pujya—three days after tomorrow
pua—navel
putshum—rice
pha—ash
pha-mo—speak (v.)
pha-nu—gray (ash)
pha-cinu—down, low
pha-cya—rabbit
pha—thread
pha-nu—thick (liquid)
phel-mo—wash (clothes) (v.)
pher-mo—blow (wind) (v.)
pha—male
pho—animal (wild)
pho, jaryā—deer
pho-hraṇ—horse (male)
pho-mo—open (v.)
pho-mo—uncover (v.)
phok-ci-mo—cover (self) (v.)
pho-lo—water-pot
pho—cave
pho—copper
phu-cin, dyu-ri—beam
phuṇ-mo—run (stealthily) (v.)
phya-mo—rebuke (v.)
phyalā—palm
phyal-mo—pour out (v.)
phyā-mo—rinse (v.)
pham-mo—stitch (v.)
phar-mo—open (chain) (v.)
phar-mo—untie (v.)
phatita-ga-mo—insult (v.)
ra-laṇa—as soon as
ra-mo—arrive (v.)
rado (IA)—widower
rani-cyani—widow
rap—flame

S.R. Sharma
Re-mo — cold (to get) (v.)
Re-nani — west
Ritu (IA) — season
Ro — bone
Rö-mo — bellow (v.)
Ro-mo — roast (in fire) (v.)
Rök-ga-mo — help (v.)
Rök-mo — chuckle (v.)
Rök-ci-mo — comb (v.)
Rök-səŋ, Rök-tsəŋ — guts
Rəŋ — shoulder
Rəŋ-mo — cover (vt.)
Rəŋ-mo — amuse (v.)
Rəŋ-ci-mo — listen (v.)
Rota (IA) — bread
Royoŋ — hare
Ru — corner (outside)
Ru — horn
Run-ci-mo — accept (v.)
Rupya (IA) — rupee
Raj — wheat
Raju — ear
Râm-mo, Ran-mo — weave (v.)
Rəŋ — arm
Rəŋ — feather (wing)
Rəŋ-mo — sell (v.)
Rub-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
Hre-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-rajni — avalanche
Hri-su — anger
Hrin-cya — younger sister; husband or wife's younger brother's wife
Hrithi — husband
Hrithi-hrithi-cya — couple
Hro — snow
Hrö-bə-ti — frost
Hro-hrun-kən — sibling
Hrö-mo — graze (to cause) (v.)
Hrok-ga-mo — accompany (v.)
Hrök-mo — graze (v.)
Hru-mo — ask (v.)
Hru (IA) — cotton
Hruk-ce — louse (egg)
Hrůn-mo — protect (v.)
Hrůn-ci-mo — obey (v.)
Hrö-ci-mo — awake (v.)
Hrəti — temple
Hrup — ribs
Sa-ph, Pu-pa — straw
Sak (IA) — breath
Sak-sa — sand
Sak-ci-mo — breathe (v.)
Sali-cya (sali, IA) — wife's younger sister
Saŋ-wa — tiger
Saro — hard
Saro, Hre — garden
Sē-ga-mo — shoot (v.)
Sē-mo — extinguish (v.)
Sē-mo — kill (v.)
Sē-mo — cold (feel cold) (v.)
Sē-mo — cross (v.)
Sē-tho-mo — worship (v.)
Sěl-chu — rainy season
Sero — forest
Sew (IA) — apple
Sikən — sickle
Sile — vulture
Səŋ — village
Suk-tṣe — comb
Suk-tṣi — mole
Sumlo — foam
Supari (IA) — nut (betel)
Suə (IA) — pig
Syal (IA) — jackal
Syəŋ-we — precipice
Səl — charcoal
Səŋ-dəmə — drum
Sū So — tooth
Cak-ci-mo — wear (ornament) (v.)
Celi — brass
Cən-ən — child
Cepi-ci-mo — pinch (v.)
Ci — blood
Ci-ci-mo — die (v.)
Ci-jimə — use (v.)
Ci-mo — paint (v.)

Suhnu Ram Sharma
English-Byangsi Glossary

ci-no—white
cik-su-nɔ—slope
cilbar (IA)—aluminum
cildu—dough
cilmu—raw (vegetable)
cime—breast
cime-lo—nipple
cin—fire-wood
cin—stick
cin—tree
cin—wood
cin-dala—log
cin-wam—ginger
cini—cold
cinu-bata—bean
cir-no—sour
cir-ci-mo—move (v.)
ciri—boy
ciri—son; brother's son
cicɔ—heart
co-kəŋ-mo—mercy (to have) (v.)
co-mi—autumn
coŋ-mo—leak (v.)
cyα—flesh
cyα—king
cyα—meat
cyai (IA)—ink
coŋ-duum—garlic
coŋ-jæŋ-go—lizard (wild, big)
cum-jya—two days after tomorrow
ta-jya—two days before yesterday
ta-mo—carry on head (v.)
ta-mo—keep, to put up (v.)
ta-no—hot (like chili)
tak-sa—supporting pillar
tal—uvula
tanu-yiŋ—last year
tar-nu—strong
tar-su—low voice
tar-ta-su—slow, slowly
tarum—key
tata—sister
tati—have (v.)
tawi—bowl (for cooking rice)
tei-mo—weep (v.)
tete—father's father, mother's father
tewari (IA)—window
ti—water
ti-mo—swallow (v.)
tibri (IA)—kettle
tiŋ-nu—green
tir (IA)—arrow
tire—there (visible)
tire-matɔn—there (invisible)
tirpe-nu—rough
tɔ-mo—light (a lamp) (v.)
to-mo—burn (vi.), forbid (v.)
to-mo—obstruct (v.)
to-ci-mo—stop (v.)
tola (IA)—deaf
tom-mo—appear (v.)
toplɪ (IA)—cap
tota (IA)—parrot
tuk-tu—before, next, beginning
tun-bu—sky
tun-mo—drink, smoke (v.)
tyara (IA)—festival
tyama—tobacco
tɔb-mo—thresh (v.)
ɔguna—your (sg.)
taho, kəp-tso—hot-plate
tak-cu—part
tali—plate (for male)
tam-mo—see (v.)
taŋ-bu—python
taŋ-lan—straight
taŋ-mo—live (v.)
ton-ciŋ—peg
aŋ-yəb-mo—stand (quite) (v.)
tar-mo—able, to be (v.)
tar-nu—bravely
tham-mo—strike (match) (v.)
tha-re-mo—report (v.)
thalo (IA)—bowl (for kneading flour)
θe-mo—show (v.)
θi-mo—dance (v.)
θi-mo—melt (vi.)
θi-mo—wet (to get) (v.)
θi-nu—thin (liquid)
θi-nu—wet
θi-ci-mo—melt (vt.)
thim—first floor
thimd-la—pastel
θɔ, dɔ—near
θo-lok—heaven
θɔ-mo—reply (v.)
θɔ-mo, cha-mo—pluck (v.)
θɔ-ci-mo—beg (v.)
thok-ci-mo — return (v.)
thuŋ-lon-de-mo — allow (v.)
thuno, than (IA) — hammer
thyä — today
thyak-nu — fit
thak-ci-mo — collide (v.)
tham-mo — cut (wood) (v.)
thuŋ — ground
thän, than-disi — now
thaŋ-mo — built, construct (v.)
thaŋ-tso — elbow
thuŋ-ja — custom
tsu — bush
tsa-mo — play (v.)
tse-mē — wife’s elder sister
tse-mo — bite (snake) (v.)
tse-mo — ripe (v.)
tse-mo — understand (v.)
tse-tso — husband’s brother; son’s wife’s father; daughter’s husband’s father
tseb-mo — suck (v.)
tser-bu, nunu — wife’s younger sister’s husband
tsi — grass
tsi-ramo — memory
tsi̊r, tsirr — loin
tsobob-nu — full
tsok-ci-mo — attack (v.)
tsu-mo — spread (tent) (v.)
tsu-mu — post (pillar)
tsamē — daughter; brother’s daughter
tsamē — girl
tsamē — husband’s elder sister
thaŋ-mo — throw (v.)
tser-nu — sharp
tsar-pya — cock
tsu-mo — catch (v.)
tsu-kūŋ-la — finger (little)
tsur-ro — back-bone
tshe — fat (grease)
tshe-ci-mo — swing (v.)
tshe-tso — wife’ elder brother
tshe-aŋ — wife’ younger brother
tshi — joint
tshir-mo — milk (v.)
tshoka-ga-mo — feel (v.)
tshor-mo — dry (vt.)
tshor-mo — spread (seed) (v.)
tshor-nu — dry
tshum — hair
tshum-ba — scissors
tshur — waist
u-we — mountain
ude-wude — where
udiri-mini — nowhere
ui-bērna — those
ulō — nearly
uma-wōna-su — till what time
uŋ-mo, so-mo — look after (v.)
uo — that
usi-birmi, uibēr — they (pl.)
usi-go, uigo — their
usi-nimi — they (dual)
uwan — blue
uiw-nogal, wi-nogal — ice
va-son-çi-mo — fast (to) (v.)
wa — lion
wa-co pundo — bind (thread, join) (v.)
wami — face
wi-mo — call (v.)
wim-o — invite (v.)
wiru — old
wom — bear
wōnna-mirci — pepper
wor-mo — scrub (v.)
wōlcu — lock
wōn-mo — spring out (v.)
ya-mo — sleep (v.)
ya-nu, khi-nu — dirty
yak-khōr-ma — then
yan-ci-mo — prepare (v.)
yan-ti — river
yana — bad
yana-basu — bad smell
yanja-mo — curse (v.)
yānti-tham-thānte — bank (of river)
yēr-mo — shout (v.)
yi-mo — grate, grind (v.)
yo, tho — downward
yohe-nu — curd
yōb-mo — sow (v.)
yakām — yoke
yām-jā-mo — take (an oath) (v.)
yān-mo — hear (v.)
yarto, yerto — on, in

Suhnu Ram Sharma
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<td>a few — alipê mi</td>
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<td>bean — cinu-baṭə</td>
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<td>bear — wöm</td>
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<td>beard — cu-tshim</td>
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<td>beat (v.) — kam-mo</td>
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<td>all — bir mi</td>
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<td>bee — môna</td>
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<td>beg (v.) — thâ-cî-mo</td>
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<td>anger — hri-su</td>
<td>behind, below — pîcha (IA)</td>
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<td>believe (v.) — lo-khal-mo</td>
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<td>bell — bôŋ-buŋ</td>
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<td>armpit — capa</td>
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<td>as soon as — ra-lâŋna</td>
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<td>bite (snake) (v.) — tse-mo</td>
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<td>bitter — kha-no</td>
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<td>autumn — co-ni</td>
<td>blanket — pāstu pachura</td>
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<td>blow (nose) (v.) — nim-ci-mo</td>
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book — lophon
bow — gujali
bowl (for cooking rice) — tai
bowl (for kneading flour) — thal (IA)
bowl (for pulses) — ce-jæ
boy — ciiri
braid — bali-ci-mo
brain — khanu
branch — dali (IA)
brass — celi
brave — mun-harte-mi
bravely — tar-nu
bread — rota (IA)
break (stick) (v.) — jak-mo
break (v.) — pya-gue-mo
breast — cimæ
breath — sak
breathe (v.) — sak-ci-mo
bride — byoli-cya
bridgroom — mya-mi
bright (light) — bëna
bring down (v.) — la-mo
bring out (scoop) (v.) — cyo-mo
bring (v.) — hræ-mo
brinjal — begun (IA)
broad — buil-nu, par-nu
brood (v.) — gæb-da-mo
brown — gyæmo
buffalo — mæn-ci (IA)
built, construct (v.) — thæn-mo
bulge (v.) — gæn-mo
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burn (vi.) — to-mo
burn (vt.) — cin-mo
burst (vi.) — gui-mo
bury (v.) — lub-mo
bush — tsu
butter — nöni (IA)
buttermilk — dudi, pudi
buttocks — b3-phæ-ro
calf — ku-li
call (v.) — wi-mo
calves — papäl
cap — topli (IA)
car — kar
carry by hanging (v.) — che-mo
carry in hand (v.) — kæ-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
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cheese — chura
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child — cen-can
chili — mænù, murtso (IA)
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chuckle (v.) — ræk-mo
clean — je-nu
clear — mur-ti, jæn-ti
climb down (v.) — le-mo
climb up (v.) — lak-mo
close (door, box) (v.) — kær-mo
close (eyes) (v.) — kib-mo
closed — pagar-cino
cloth (woolen) — næmbu-jæn
cloth — ge
cloud — mo
clutch — lak-pæŋ
cobbler — pæ-la-guna
cobra — kho-ba
cock — tsær-pya
cold (feel cold) (v.) — se-mo
cold (to get) (v.) — re-mo
cold — cini
collapse (house) (v.) — gæk-mo
collapse (person) (v.) — ge-mo
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comb — suk-tse
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conceive (vi.) — guroŋ
consult (v.) — jim-mo
continuously — gam-thëna
copper — phu
corner (inside) — khræ
Introduction

corner (outside)—ru
corpus—moro (IA)
costly—dal-thāŋ

cot—khāto (IA)
cotton—hrui (IA)
cough (to) (v.)—gul-ci-mo
couple—hrithi-hrithi-nya
cover (self) (v.)—phok-ci-mo
cover (vt.)—tōŋ-mo
coward—jahol-mi
crooked—cer-ga-nu
crop—gera
cross (v.)—se-mo
crow—ka

cry (v.)—dra-mo
curd—yohe-nu
curse (v.)—yana-mo
custom—thum-ja
cut (cloth) (v.)—ce-mo
cut (grass) (v.)—go-mo
cut (harvest) (v.)—jab-mo
cut (wood) (v.)—tham-mo
cut into pieces (v.)—ji-mo
daughter; brother's daughter—tsamē
dance (v.)—thi-mo
dark—ho-maŋ
day—nuk-chou
defa—tolya (IA)
death—kalo (IA)
deep—hyu-nu
def—pho, jaryā
defeat (v.)—ke-mo
defend (v.)—khar-mo
defense—hiba-jati
deny (v.)—ma-ruŋ-mo
desire (v.)—khic-mo
dew—ba-ti
daughter's husband—pi-tsu, mya
die (v.)—ci-ci-mo
difficult—kha-nu
dig (v.)—khwe-mo
dirt—hlān
dirty—ya-nu, khi-nu
divide (v.)—chi-mo
divorce—daraṃ-damo, baba-cemo
dog—khui
donkey—bonju
door—da-nrum, kholi, māroŋ
dough—cildu
dove, pigeon—guguti
down, low—phak-cinu
downward—yo, tho
do (v.)—ga-mo
drag (v.)—nā-mo
drink, smoke (v.)—tunγ-mo
drive (cattle) (v.)—māŋ-mo
drop (v.)—būr-mo
drown (v.)—jyaŋ-mo
drum—sanaŋ-damē
dry (vi.)—ka-tshar-mo
dry (vt.)—tshar-mo
dry—tshar-nu
duck—ŋak-pya
dye (v.)—chyo-mo
ear—raju
early morning—chāju
earth—hre, darti (IA)
earthquake—briŋ-cinī
east—jar-nani
easy—lo-nu
eat (v.)—ja-mo
elder brother—pu
elder brother's wife—punu, mun-ci
echo—lakuri-tasine
egg—pi-tum
elbow—thaŋ-tso
empty—mobuŋ-nu
end—lačaŋ
enjoy (v.)—hmyaŋ-mo
elder sister's husband—co-jo
elder sister—puna-ta
evening—nyaŋ-thāpa
everywhere—hul-pa
extinguish (v.)—ce-mo
eye brow—muk tshum
eye lashes—mi-muktshum
eye lid—me-kum
eye—mē
father—ba
face—wami
fall (a branch) (v.)—būr-mo
fall down (v.)—le-mo
family—mō
fan (to) (v.)—hwi-mo
fang—guro
far—hwa-nam
fast (to) (v.)—va-sanaŋ-ci-mo
fasten (v.)—cib-mo
fat (grease)—tshê
cut—bul-nu
feeding—khości-mu
feather (wing)—rœj
father's elder brother (1st.)—pun-ba
father's elder brother (2nd.)—ganda-ba
father's elder brother (3rd.)—gubda-ba
father's elder brother's wife—pum-nya,
pum-mi-na
feeling (v.)—tshoka-ga-mo
father's elder sister—puni, cini
father's elder sister's husband—pe-mâ
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
finder (index)—co-la
finder (little)—tsukun-la
finder (middle)—gunda-la
finder (ring)—pomi-la
finder—lak-pun
finish (v.)—co-mo
fire—hmê
firewood—cîn
first floor—thim
fish—nyâ
first—cib-la
fit—thyak-nu
flame—rap
flesh—cya
flexible—ñun-νu
flour—hîy
flour—jonyi
flower—ce
flute—bokrê
fly (insect)—bya-bu
fly (v.)—hlaŋ-mo
father's mother; mother's mother—lâla
foam—sumlo
fodder—ci-cîn
fold (arms) (v.)—kub-mo
fold (cloth) (v.)—ba-mo
fold (hands) (v.)—nep-tsù-mo
foot—lige
foot—hill—mini-dœj
forbid (v.)—to-mo

forehead—kwali
forest—sero
forget (v.)—le-ci-mo
fog—go-na
fresh—hâti
frog—pélâp
frost—hrö-bœ-ţi
fruit—lo, lo-œj
full—tsoũn-nu
father's younger brother—min-ba
father's younger brother's wife—mîm-nya
father's younger sister—puni, cini
father's younger sister's husband—pe-mâ
father's younger sister's husband—pe-mâ
garden—saro, hre
garlic—œn-dum
ghâ¬—môr
ginger—cîn-wâm
girl—tsamë
give, offer (v.)—da-mo
glacier—gâl
gloves—lak-pun
goat (bearable)—lasoñ
goat (male)—mâ
goat (virgin)—çem-tsa
goat—mala, mala
god—bûgwan (IA)
gold—jœj
good—dze-nu
good smell—dzunu-basu
goose—ka-tsuk-ta
goose-berry—œn-khula
gourd—kuœnti
gown (for married women)—çûn-bala
go (v.)—de-mo
grain-store—buûtum
grass—tsî
grate, grind (v.)—yî-mo
grey (ash)—pha-nu
graze (to cause) (v.)—hrö-mo
graze (v.)—hrök-mo
green—tîn-nu
ground—thoñ
gums—nil
guts—rœk-sœj, rœk-tsœj
husband—hrithi
hair—tshum
hammer—thuño, thôn (IA)
hand—la
happy—gogu-ano

Darma Grammar
hard—saro
hare—royoŋ
hate (v.)—khi-jak-ce-mo
have (v.)—tati
he, she—o, uo, wo
head—pica
headgear—cunj-le
heal—khopa
heart—cicə
hearth—melunŋ
hear (v.)—yan-mo
heaven—tho-lok
heavy—li-nu
husband's brother—tse-tso
husband's elder brother's wife—ata
height—daŋro
hell—ne-lok
help (v.)—rok-ga-mo
here—nado, dskhuŋ
husband's elder sister—tsomɛ
husband's elder sister's husband—pu
hesitate (v.)—lo-mo
hide (v.)—cya-mo
high—ahe-nu
hill—minu-we
hips—ompha
hold (v.)—cim-lan-ta-mo
hole—gadro
honey—hwa, hua
horn—ru
horse (female)—mo-hrọŋ
horse (male)—pharọŋ
hot (like ginger)—na-no
hot—lɔŋ-ni
hot (like chili)—ta-no
hot-plate—taho, kap-tso
house—cui
how—kum, gum, garto
hum (v.)—pəŋ-ci-mo
hunt after (v.)—ma-ci-mo
husk—pu
husk (v.)—duŋ-mo
hut—chana (IA)
husband's younger brother's wife—hrin-cya
husband's younger sister—dikte-cya
husband's younger sister's husband—pu,
nunu
I (1sg pronoun)—ji, je

Introduction

ice—uwi-nogal, wi-nogal
ill—kaŋnu hmi
in front of—lakanti
incisors—lagan-di-si
increase (by stretching) (v.)—no-mo
increase (liquid) (v.)—he-mo
increase (v.)—po-mo
infant—balo-cyano
ink—cyai (IA)
insect—bu
inside—budru
insult (v.)—phatita-ga-mo
intestine—jyama
invite (v.)—wi-mo
iris of eye—mul-dun
iron—li-jəŋ
iron-shaft—nəll
jackal—syal (IA)
jar—əŋkura
jaw—həl
joint—tshi
jump (v.)—hləŋ-mo
just now—it-tana-raci
keep, to put up (v.)—ta-mo
kettle—tibri (IA)
key—tarum
kidney—khə-dəŋ-șe
kill (v.)—ʃə-mo
king—cya
kiss (v.)—ho-ga-mo
kite—cil (IA)
knead (v.)—pul-mo
knee—puk-to
knit (v.)—rum-mo
knot—khuci
know (v.)—pe-mo
ladder—caŋ-thəŋ
ladle (for liquid)—kyok
ladle (for pulse)—bathi
ladle (for rice)—pənyə
lake, sea—cho
lamb—kur-tso
language—lo
last year—tanu-yinŋ
lay down (v.)—kap-ci-mo
leaf—pat (IA)
leak (v.)—caŋ-mo
leech—juŋa-bu
leg—luge

Shree Krishan
labor — cuku
lie — ala-nu
lie (v.) — a-la-mo
life — che
lift (vt.) — âm-mo
light (a lamp) (v.) — tô-mo
light (fire) (v.) — hme-tô-b-mo
light (in weight) — nen-ńu
light (of moon) — lasəŋ
light (of sun) — ni
like that — idum
like this — nadum-ga
like (v.) — mən-ra-mo
lion — wa
lip — akpo, akple
listen (v.) — ron-či-mo
liver — čin-ch’a
live (v.) — təŋ-mo
lizard (house) — bē-ti
lizard (wild) — čan-ko, jaŋ-go
lizard (wild, big) — čan-joŋ-go
lock — wəlcu
log — čin-dala
loan — tsir, tsirr
long for (v.) — ce-ra-mo
long gown — jugo
long shirt (for married women) — cuŋ-geju
long, tall — buŋ-ńu
look after (v.) — un-mo, so-mo
loose — hwəl-nu
loud, loudly — hwe-thə
loudly — dzor-su (IA)
love (v.) — ləŋ-mo
louse — hri
louse (egg) — hruk-ce
louse — hri
love (v.) — ləŋ-ga-mo
low voice — tar-su
lungs — ləŋ-bor
madly — cyo-numa
maize — gəga, kəga
male — phə
mango — amə (IA)
manure — laŋ-sak
many — cuŋ-na
marriage — baguca
marsh — dyu
meal — ja, jamo-tuŋ-mo
measure (grains) (v.) — pa-mo
measure (v.) — nəŋ-mo
meat — cyə
mother — minə
mother’s elder brother — gukhe (if only one)
mother’s elder brother (1st.) — pun-puə
mother’s elder brother (last) — min-puə
mother’s elder brother’s wife — pun-puni
medicine — hne
meet (v.) — chi-mo
melt (vi.) — thi-mo
melt (vt.) — thi-ci-mo
memory — tsi-ramo
mercy (to have) (v.) — co-kəŋ-mo
mother’s elder sister — pum-nya
mother’s elder sister’s husband — pun-ba
mica — cil-cil da-nu
middle size, in the middle, in between —
gunda
midnight — pəl-muŋ
milk (v.) — tshir-mo
mind — mən (IA)
mine — ji-ge
mirror — ďəsî (IA)
molar teeth — ǥəm-so
mole — suk-tsɨ
molehill — gunta-thəŋ
money — jəŋ-phuə
monkey — pədro (IA)
moon — la-çəŋ
morning — nam-chəŋ-ni
mortar — pala
mosquito — matshər (IA)
moss (swamp) — nakəl
mountain — u-we
mouse — pyu
mouth — a
move (v.) — cir-ci-mo
much — delnə
mud — kəcər (IA)
mule — di
mushroom — mok-cyə
mother’s younger brother — min-puə
mother’s younger brother’s wife — min-punci
mother’s younger sister — mim-nya
mother’s younger sister’s husband — min-ba
nail — kil (IA)
nail — lak-cyə
name (to) (v.) — munə-tə-mo
name — munə, hmunə

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narrow—jar-nu, ga-nu
navel—puña
near—ne-nām
near—to, do
nearly—ulāŋ
neck—bana
needle—chāb
need (v.)—ciŋ-mo
nest—bāyəŋ
net—jali
never—hul-pari
new—nu-nu
next year—jya
nipple—cime-lo
nod (v.)—o-ci-mo
noon—bān-muk-ca
nose—nim
nostrils—nim-toto
now—than, than-disi
nowhere—udiri-mini
nut (betel)—supari (IA)
nut (coco)—gola (IA)
obey (v.)—hrunj-ci-mo
obstruct (v.)—to-mo
occupy (v.)—bāŋ-tsum-mo
often—gup-cya
oil—mār-ti
oil (v.)—ne-mo
old—wiru
on, in—yarto, yerto
onion—pyaju (IA)
only—allya
open (chain) (v.)—phār-mo
open—kopho-cinu
open (v.)—pho-mo
orange—naranjki (IA)
our—nin-go
paddy—ga
paint (v.)—ci-mo
pair—jon-su
pajama—geju
palm—phyala
parrot—tota (IA)
part—taŋ-cu
pastel—thimd-la
patella—puk-to-ro
path—ām
paw—lak-pəŋ
pay (v.)—jon-mo
peacock—mor (IA)
pebble—mini-nādāŋ-cəŋ
peel out (v.)—kho-mo
peg—tān-ciŋ
pepper—wōmna-mirci
person—mi, hmi
phlegm—hārthi
pinch (v.)—jhab-mo
pig—suər (IA)
place—bəŋ
plant (v.)—do-mo
plaster (v.)—lub-mo
plate (for female)—khuyəŋ
plate (for male)—tali
play (v.)—tsa-mo
plough—kətām, pəŋ-pho
pluck (v.)—tho-mo, cha-mo
poison—duo
porcupine—buo
post (pillar)—tsu-mu
potato—alo (IA)
pound (v.)—doŋ-mo
pour out (v.)—phyam-mo
pray (v.)—nā-ci-mo
precipice—syəŋ-we
prepare (v.)—yaŋ-ci-mo
price—molo (IA)
priest—penu-mi, lama
protect (v.)—hrunj-mo
pungent—nyəm-no
push (v.)—dur-mo
python—təŋ-bu
quarrel (v.)—hok-ci-mo
quarrel (v.)—ho-ci-mo
quick—chat-chat
quickly—jad-jad
quilt—makhun
rabbit—phak-cya
rain—hmū
rainy season—sēl-chu
raw (vegetable)—cilmu
ready—gu-jok-su
read (v.)—lo-mo
rear (v.)—duŋ-mo
rebuke (v.)—phya-mo
red—məŋ-nu
refuse (v.)—mə-rəŋ-mo
regularly—jarna

Shree Krshan
reins—khêl-cu
relax (v.)—ne-ci-mo
religion—darm (IA)
reply (v.)—thê-mo
report (v.)—tha-re-mo
resin (of pine)—blis
resin—lacya
return (v.)—thok-ci-mo
ribs—hrup
rice (cooked)—chôga
rice—putshum
ring—lak-chap
rinse (v.)—phyän-mo
ripe (fruit)—munj-nu-lo
ripe (v.)—tse-mo
river—yañ-ti
rivulet—minu-ti
roast (in fire) (v.)—ro-mo
roast (on fire) (v.)—ho-mo
roasted barley—hami, ko-hoi-nu
roasted—khura-hini
rock—pona-be
roll up (v.)—gim-mo
rolled—gigin-cinu
roof—chyoñ-to
root—rum
rose colour—chi
rotten—pok-cinu
rough—tirpe-nu
round—gandu
rub (v.)—ne-mo
run (stealthily) (v.)—phuñ-mo
run (v.)—gyo-mo
rupee—rupya (IA)
son; brother’s son—ciri
sacrifice (v.)—bali-da-mo (IA, bAli)
saliva, spittle—khu-ti
salt—cha
same—ituna
sand—sak-sa
save (v.)—ne-mo
say (v.)—hle-mo
scar—khêta
scissors—tshum-ba
scorpion—khuan
scratch (utensils) (v.)—khwe-mo
scratch (v.)—chô-mo
scrub (v.)—wor-mo

son’s daughter; daughter’s daughter—khemê
search (v.)—ma-ci-mo
season—ritu (IA)
seed—pîje (IA)
see (v.)—tam-mo
sell (v.)—rññ-mo
send (v.)—pññ-mo
serve (food) (v.)—cher-mo
set (sun) (v.)—hri-mo
shake (v.)—hlo-mo
shallow—hyunu-mini
sharp—tsar-nu
sheep (castrated)—bôr-tsi
sheep (male)—kär-tsu
sheep (uncastrated)—gukar
sheep—hma
shirt—khêta
shoe—polâ (IA)
shoot (v.)—se-ga-mo
short—pe-nu
shoulder—rññ
shout (v.)—yeñ-mo
show (v.)—thê-mo
shrink (v.)—kup-ci-mo
sister—tata
sister’s daughter—chê-cya
sister’s son—chê
sibling—hro-hrun-kân
sickle—sikân
side (left)—kuan-cendu
side (right)—ci-cendu
silver—mul
sing (v.)—be-ra-ga-mo
skin—be
skull—pica
sky—tuñ-bu
sleep (v.)—ya-mo
slip (v.)—pe-mo
slope—cik-su-no
slow, slowly—tar-ta-su
small—mi-nu
smell—basu (IA)
smell (v.)—nim-mo
smoke—khu
smooth—ma-tir-penu
sneeze—ji-mo
sneeze (v.)—je-mo
snot—hnêp-ti
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snow—hro
soak (v.)—cον-mo
socks—bόk-cu
soft—nu
soil—jenu-sa
sole—lude-pəŋ
son’s wife—pi-mē, nam-lya
some—alipe, alibe
sometimes—hulpa-hulpa
sour—cir-no
sow (v.)—yəb-mo
speak (v.)—pha-mo
spectacle—mug-təŋ
spider—dən-də-ka-li
spinach—palaŋ (IA)
spin (v.)—pam-mo
split (wood) (v.)—khue-mo
spread (bed) (v.)—pəŋ-mo
spread (seed) (v.)—tshar-mo
spread (tent) (v.)—tsu-mo
spring out (v.)—wəm-mo
spring—po-li
sprout—karu
squeeze, wring (v.)—ci-mo
son’s son; daughter’s son—khe
stand (quite) (v.)—təŋ-yəb-mo
stand up (v.)—hri-ca-mo
star—la-ka
stealthily—hagu-ma-te, hau-mar
steal (v.)—khu-ci-mo
stick—ciŋ
stir (vegetable) (v.)—ko-mo
stitch (torn clothes) (v.)—rub-mo
stitch (v.)—pha-mo
stop (v.)—to-ci-mo
straight—taŋ-lan
straw—sa-pha, pu-pa
stream—ma-ti, mulati
strike (match) (v.)—tha-mo
string (for yak)—di
strong—tar-nu
suck (v.)—tseb-mo
sugar—cini
summer—lon-nu
sun—ni
supporting pillar—tak-sa
suspect (v.)—lo-ma-de-mo
swallow (v.)—ti-mo
sweep (v.)—pok-sa-pe-mo

sweet—chya-no
sweet—chya-nu
son’s wife’s father; daughter’s husband’s
father—tse-tso
swim (v.)—bo-da-mo
swing (v.)—tsh-e-ci-mo
son’ wife’s mother; daughter’s husband’s
mother—ata
sword—dapya
tail—laphu
take (an oath) (v.)—yam-ja-mo
take (one by one) (v.)—kyon-mo
take out (v.)—po-mo
take (v.)—kor-mo
talk (v.)—kaŋ-the-ga-mo
taste (v.)—hmyaŋ-mo
tea—iya (IA)
teal (local)—mar-ja
teach (v.)—ləb-mo
tear (of eye)—me-ti
tear (v.)—pe-mo
tease (v.)—ge-ci-mo
temple—hrati
temple—ki-bəŋ
testicles—gul-thin
thether (v.)—cin-ŋ-mo
that—uo
their—usi-go, uigo
then—hum-ba
then—yak-kar-ma
there (invisible)—tire-maño
there (visible)—tire
these—nədo-ber, nəŋ-birna
they (dual)—usi-nimi
they (pl.)—usi-birmi, uibαr
thick (liquid)—phɛ-nu
thigh—cəŋ-cya
thin (liquid)—thi-nu
thin—la-nu
this—na-do, nə-do
thorn—cyu
those—ui-birna
thread—phe
three days after tomorrow—pujya
thresh (v.)—təb-mo
throat—bana
throw (v.)—tsəŋ-mo
thumb—bo-la
Tibet—byaŋ-ro, malo
tie (v.)—gui-mo

tiger—sanj-wa

tight—ga-nu

till now—ita-wôna-su

till then—khijeg

till then—âlôg-ôna-su

till what time—uma-wôna-su

tobacco—tyôma

today—thôa

tomorrow—khôi

tongue—jiphe (IA)
tooth—su, so

towards—doru
tree—cin

tremble (v.)—duñ-mo
two days after tomorrow—cûm-jya
two days before yesterday—ta-jya

uncover (v.)—pho-mo

under—berô

understand (v.)—tse-mo

unhappy—mo-guano

untie (v.)—phår-mo

ap—ahi-nu

urine—chiru, damba

use (v.)—ci-ji-mo

usually—gubakte

utensils—bônda-gunda

uvula—tal

valley—gata, tati

verandah—bôñ-ro

village—sôa

vomit—lôgn

vomit (v.)—lôñ-mo

vulture—sîle

waist—tshur

wall—pân-phôal

walnut—kha

want (v.)—cîñ-mo

wash (clothes) (v.)—phêl-mo

wash (hands) (v.)—hla-ur-mo

water—ti

water-pot—phon-lo

we (pl. incl.)—nin-birmi

we (pl.)—nin-nimi

weak—ma-tar-nu

wear (clothes) (v.)—côk-ci-mo

wear (ornament) (v.)—cak-ci-mo

weave (v.)—râm-mo, rôn-mo

wife—buja-tsàme, hrithi-cya

wife's elder brother—tshe-tso

wife's elder brother's wife—ata

weep (v.)—te-mo

wife's elder sister—tse-mê

west—re-nani

wet (to get) (v.)—thî-mo

wet—thî-nu

wife or husband's father—pe-ma, powa

what—khâle

wheat—râjê

when—hul-ba

where—uđe-wûde

white—ci-no

who (pl.)—khômi-jân

who—khômi

whole—jam-ma

whom (pl.)—khômi-jân-ge

whom—khômi-go

widow—rani-cyani

widower—rado (IA)

wind—hwi

window—tewari (IA)

winnow (v.)—mer-mo

winter—gun-chu

win (v.)—jitne (IA)

wife's mother; husband's mother—puni

wood—cin

work (v.)—lôn-ga-mo

worship (v.)—sê-tho-mo

write (v.)—hri-mo

wife's younger brother—tshe-wô

wife's younger brother's wife—hrin-cya

wife's younger sister—sali-cya (sali, IA)

wife's younger sister's husband—tsêr-bu, nunu

yak (cross-bred)—dimo

yak (male)—gôl

yawn (v.)—hôr-ga-mo

younger brother—nunu

younger brother's wife—nâm-cya

year—bôrdino

yeast—bôlma

yes—ô

yesterday—nîmôj

yoke—yakôm

you (dual)—gani-nimi

you (pl.)—gani-birmi

you (sg.)—ge

young—junu (IA)
Introduction

your (pl.)—gəni-go
your (sg.)—təguna
younger sister's husband—cəŋ-jo
younger sister—hrin-cya
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 /caudās/ 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 Chaudangsi 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
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**Table 2: The Vowel Phonemes of Chaudangsi**

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Shree Krishan
2.1 Occurrence of Phonemes

2.1.1 Vowels
(i) /ı/ and /u/ occur in medial position only.
(ii) /e/ and /œ/ do not occur in initial position.
(iii) All other vowels occur in all the positions.
(iv) /i/ and /u/ 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, c/, 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 /c/ 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' /poa/ 'roasted barley'
/pho/ 'cave' /phu/ 'copper' /pheta/ 'thick'
/be/ 'rock' /buti/ 'buttermilk' /boa/ 'porcupine'
/bhe/ 'thread' /bhu-the-ma/ 'to roast'

/t th d dh/
/ta/ 'sister' /te-ma/ 'to weep, to tell a lie'
/to-ma/ 'to buy' /ton/ 'trap'
/tha/ 'spring (water)' /the-ma/ 'to change'
/tho/ 'upwards' /thum/ 'custom'
/da-ma/ '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-ma/ 'to burn' /TAm/ 'last point'
/Tha-ma/ 'to rub a matchstick' /Thum-ma/ 'to dance'
/Tho-ma/ 'to worship' /Thungo/ 'hammer'
/De/ 'mule' /Dumo/ 'a male yak'
/Dharu/ 'male' (or 'cat') /Dhung-ma/ 'to beat'
/Dhami/ 'marriage' /Dhum-ma/ 'to tremble'
Shree Krishan

/k kh g gh/
/kə/ 'crow' /kʌnDi/ 'avalanche'
/kwa-mə/ 'to boil, to cook' /kwe-mə/ 'to fell (tree)'
/kwa-ənən/ 'animal's bell' /kha/ 'walnut'
/khala/ 'a pit of water' /khu/ 'smoke'
/ga/ 'paddy' /gunda/ 'middle'
/gima/ 'to swallow' /gwəlcyə/ 'lock'
/ghukər/ 'ram' /ghakta/ 'tight'
/ghau/ 'scar'

/c ch j jh /
/ci/ 'memory; ten' /ce-mə/ 'to burn'
/cəma/ 'to hold' /cye-mə/ 'to hesitate'
/cyo-mə/ 'to last' /che/ 'fat, grease'
/chi/ 'hate' /che/ 'wife's younger brother'
/chi-mə/ 'to meet' /chənni/ 'hut'
/charta/ 'dry' /chyo-mə/ 'to break'
/jə/ 'I' /jiga/ 'my'
/je/ 'barley' /jyoda/ 'young'
/jhi-mə/ 'to sneeze' /jhəma/ 'to bloom'
/jhyaŋ-mə/ 'to run away'

/ts tsh/
/tsi/ 'grass' /tsəmə/ 'daughter'
/tse-mə/ 'to bite' /tsər/ 'intestine'
/tson/ 'tattoo marking' /tʃiŋ/ 'liver'
/tʃəm/ 'hair' /tʃəɾ/ 'lion'

/m hm n hn η/
/mə/ 'eye' /mul/ 'silver'
/hme/ '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/
/khan/ 'a bite of food' /ɾəŋ/ 'arm'
/nəm/ 'rein' /əkhan/ 'sickle'
/rəm/ 'new settlement' /khwəɾən/ 'pigeon'
/ɾəŋ-mə/ 'to sell' /khwa-mə/ 'to boil'
/khwəɾən/ 'woman’s eating bowl' /ŋəmtə/ 'strong'

/r hr l hl/
/rəm/ 'new settlement' /hrəm/ 'breakfast'
/ɾəŋ/ 'arm' /hrəŋ/ 'horse'
/ra-mə/ 'to come' /hra-mə/ 'to be ashamed of'
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 i u u e ɔ ə a /
/cim/  'pin prick'  /rim-ma/  'to write'
/cim/  'house'  /rim/  'arrow'
/sim/  'marsh'  /sem-ma/  'to drag'
/rum/  'root of a tree'  /tuum/  'egg'
/buda/  'to carry on one's back'  /budda/  'good'
/Thuŋo/  'hammer'  /Thuŋ/  'dance'
/sun/  'double, pair'  /son/  'village'
/sÆ⁄-ma/  'sit'  /khuli/  'nest'
/kholi/  'black-faced monkey'  /rokta/  'bleeding'
/rukta/  'same'  /sal/  'teakwood tree'
/sal/  'coal'  /jhaŋ/  'gold'
/jhangko/  'wild lizard'

Final contrasts: /i e ɛ ø ã o œ a oʊ o /
/di/  'string of the yoke'  /De/  'mule'
/hri-ma/  'to track'  /hre/  'bone'
/tʃi/  'memory, grass'  /tʃe/  'joint'
/che/  'life'  /che/  'fat (grease)'
/be/  'skin'  /bida-ma/  'to pierce through'
/buda-ma/  'to carry on one's back'  /pha/  'ash'
/ga/  'paddy'  /kha/  'walnut'
/phu/  'copper'  /ru/  'corner (inside a house)'
/pho/  'cave'  /tho/  'upwards'
/pho/  'male'  /rɔ/  'a type of basket'

2.4 Occurrence of phonemes in various positions
2.4.1 Consonants

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<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
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<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pala/</td>
<td>'mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/khaŋa/</td>
<td>'cold, winter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phuŋa/</td>
<td>'rice'</td>
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</table>
### 2.4.2 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/ɪn/</td>
<td>'we (exclusive)'</td>
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<td>/u/</td>
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<td>'mine'</td>
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<td>/e/</td>
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<td>'dew'</td>
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<td>/ʊsɪ/</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Shree Krishan

| /ph/   | /pha/ | 'ash' |
| /b/    | /buti/ | 'buttermilk' |
| /bh/   | /bhakar/ | 'copper bigul' |
| /t/    | /tete/ | 'grandfather' |
| /th/   | /thanmi/ | 'mother's brother' |
| /d/    | /dukan/ | 'meal' |
| /dh/   | /dhou/ | 'bravery' |
| /f/    | /foma/ | 'to burn' |
| /f/    | /funo/ | 'hammer' |
| /D/    | /Delo/ | 'round' |
| /Dh/   | /Dhami/ | 'marriage' |
| /k/    | /kurtaha/ | 'lamb' |
| /kh/   | /khula/ | 'nest' |
| /g/    | /gul/ | 'phlegm' |
| /gh/   | /ghaga/ | 'maize' |
| /c/    | /cuko/ | 'lemon' |
| /ch/   | /chaha/ | 'soft' |
| /j/    | /jaja/ | 'barley' |
| /jh/   | /jhuwa/ | 'gown for a virgin' |
| /ts/   | /tsame/ | 'girl' |
| /sh/   | /shama/ | 'hair' |
| /n/    | /nimi/ | 'name' |
| /n/    | /nini/ | 'sun' |
| /n/    | /nuna/ | 'yngr brother' |
| /hn/   | /hnis/ | 'seven' |
| /n/    | /nonta/ | 'strong' |
| /s/    | /sima/ | 'marsh' |
| /c/    | /cica/ | 'heart' |
| /h/    | /hida/ | 'this' |
| /r/    | /raje/ | 'wheat' |
| /h/    | /hara/ | 'clean' |
| /l/    | /lare/ | 'before' |
| /h/    | /hlangma/ | 'to play' |
| /y/    | /yanma/ | 'to prepare' |
| /hy/   | /hyema/ | 'to pour' |
| /w/    | /wi/ | 'bow' |
| /hw/   | /hwurma/ | 'to smoke' |

2.4.2 Vowels

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<td>'to pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/ʊsɪ/</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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/, /ID/, /lm/, /ml/, /lc/, /rt/, /rk/.

2.6 Vowel sequences:

The most common vowel sequences are the following:

/iə/, /iæ/, /ie/, /ua/, /uo/, /uə/, /oæ/, /ou/, /oi/

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/, /VCC/, /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'
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 /-cyə/ and /-me/. 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-cyə/ 'wife'
/byolo/ 'groom' /byoli-cyə/ 'bride'
/rāDo/ 'widower' /rāDi-cyə/ 'widow'
/khe/ 'daughter's son' /khu-mo/ 'daughter's daughter'
/hrōŋ-pho/ 'horse (male)' /hrōŋ-mo/ 'horse (female)'

3.1.2 The Diminutive
The diminutive is marked with the suffix /tse/: 

/hrōŋ-tse/ 'young horse'
/kər-tse/ 'young sheep (male)'
/bhār-tse/ '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 /jamma/ or /lairi/ means 'all' or 'group'. /jamma/ 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:

/tsame/ 'girl'
/tsame nimi/ 'two girls'
/tsame jamma/ or /tsame lairi/ 'all the girls'
/tsame deye/ 'the girl goes'
/tsame nimi dene/ 'two girls go'
/tsame jamma dene/ 'all girls go'
/tsame lairi dene/ 'all girls go'

3.1.4 Quantifiers
jamma 'all' (for things)
lairi 'all' (for human beings)
matə 'many' (for animates)
yəamba 'many' (for inanimates)
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>ji, je</td>
<td>in nimi</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>in jamma / in lairi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>gǝ</td>
<td>gǝni nimi</td>
<td>gǝni jamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>uci nimi / uci nise kǝn</td>
<td>uci jamma / ǝtibǝng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

(i) /ji ja ye/  'I eat.'
(ii) /in nimi janye/  'we two eat.'
(iii) /in jane/  'we (excl.) eat.'
(iv) /in jamma jane/  'we (incl.) eat.'
(v) /in lairi jane/  'we (incl.) eat.'

3.1.5.2 Possessive pronouns

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[jigǝ ~ jigǝ]</td>
<td>'my / mine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ingǝ/</td>
<td>'our'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nǝga/</td>
<td>'your (sg)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ǝgǝni nimi ga/</td>
<td>'your (dual)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ǝgǝni lei ga/</td>
<td>'your (plural)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/oga/  'his'
/uci nimi ga/  'their (dual)'
/uci lei ga/  'their (plural)'

The possessive/genitive marker is [-ga ~ -gǝ ~ -ǝga] 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 /ǝgǝni/ 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 jiga jya tung ye/  'I drink my tea.'
(ii) /in lairi injia tung ne/  'We drink our tea.'
(iii) /gǝ ǝgǝni jya tung ni/  'You drink your tea.'
(iv) /o oga jya tung ni/  'He drinks his tea.'
3.1.5.3 Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hidi</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hidi bɔTTho m ø</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hichø</td>
<td>'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔtø tøø gøøi</td>
<td>'that (visible)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔtø maøø gøøi</td>
<td>'that (invisible)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔtø bɔTTho m ø</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œchø</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.5.4 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns can be divided into two categories, i.e., interrogative forms based on the interrogative pronoun /khø/, and the interrogative pronoun of location /ulo/. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khø</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khami</td>
<td>'who' (sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khami-khami</td>
<td>'who' (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khømi-ga</td>
<td>'whose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khami-ja</td>
<td>'whom, whose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulo</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /jøi/ (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 corelative structure similar to English *This is that boy, the one who came yesterday* for (iv)). /jo/ occurs with human subjects whereas /jøi/ 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) /nyara ra-ta siri/ yesterday come-NOM boy
   'the boy who came yesterday'

(ii) /we-ɔr-sø cər-ta hɾøø/ mountain-LOC-ABL fall-NOM horse
    'the horse which fell from the mountain'

(iii) /ji-sø de-ta mala/ I-AGT give-NOM goat
     'the goat given by me'
In this latter type, rather than appearing after the main clause, the relative clause can also appear before the main clause:

/jo \i mi itan ra\i s\i \i ji-g\i pe h\i/
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:

/jo -s\i l\i san su\i-ta \i g\i rib h\i m\i-t\i
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 /s\i/
3. Accusative zero
4. Dative [d\i si ~ d\i ci]
5. Ablative /s\i/, /k\i h\i rci /
6. Locative [hy\i \i \i ar / ar] 'at', /ja / 'in', /gunda/ 'in between'
7. Genitive [g\i ~ g\i]
8. Comitative /tebha/ 'with, along with'

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Examples:

1. Nominative:
   (a) /ji pangū denɛ/  'I will go to Pangu.'
      I Pangu go+FUT
   (b) /siri jagəni/  'The boy is eating.'
      boy eating

2. Agentive:
   (a) /siri-sə dukləŋ jagəni/  'The boy is eating his food.'
      boy-AGT food eating
   (b) /sudha-sə lan suŋ-ye/  'Sudha works.'
      Sudha-AGT work do-NON.PAST

3. Instrumental:
   /tsamē-ge-sə tapli-sə cya ce-ye/  'The girls cut meat with a knife.'
      girl-GEN-AGT knife-INST meat cut-NON.PAST

4. Dative:
   (a) /bə-ba-sə sen-məŋ-daŋsi miThai hɾe ra-si/  'The father has brought sweets for the children.'
      father-AGT child-pl.-DAT sweet bring come-perf.
   (b) /hidi khasəbasə sen-məŋ-daŋci hle/  'This cloth is for the children.'
      this cloth child-pl.-DAT COPULA

5. Ablative:
   (a) /siŋ-hyər-kʰəɾci patə bhər-ni/  'A leaf falls from the tree.'
      tree-LOC-ABL leaf fall-NON.PAST
   (b) /ji dharcula-kʰəɾci ra-yasa/  'I have come from Dharchula.'
      I Dharchula-from come-perf.

6. Genitive:
   (a) /o-sə ji-gə siri hle/  'He is my son.'
      he-AGT I-GEN son COPULA
   (b) /o-sə ji-gə lan suŋ-yəŋ/  'He will do my work.'
      he-AGT I-GEN work do-FUT

7. Locative:
   (a) /Bhaga sing chim-ər Ti soŋ sida əni/  'Bhagat sing is sitting in (his) house.'
      Bhagat Singh house-LOC sit mood-NON.PAST

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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:

/ba/ 'bad' /ya mi/ 'bad person'
/bud/ 'good' /bud mi/ 'good person'
/saro/ 'hard' /saro sin/ 'hard wood'
/nam-ta/ 'strong' /nam mi/ 'strong person'
/akro/ 'costly' /hra-ta/ '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 hə/ 'The lion is a big animal.'
lion big wild COPULA

(b) /we-āsi-də hə/ '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 fromed from what appears to be 'half-less-hundred'. The numerals from 'twenty' to 'twenty nine' are formed by adding lower numerals to the base /nassa/, 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:

/ti/ 'one' /nassa ti/ 'twenty one'
/nis/ 'two' /nassa nis/ 'twenty two'
/sum/ 'three' /nassa sum/ 'twenty three'
/pi/ 'four' /nassa pi/ 'twenty four'
/ŋoi/ 'five' /nassa ŋoi/ 'twenty five'
/Tuggo/ 'six' /nassa Tugo/ 'twenty six'
The numerals from '100' to '999' are formed by keeping /sói/ 'hundred' as the base and adding other numerals to it. Numerals from one 'thousand' up are loans from Indo-Aryan languages. For example, /hjar/ '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.

/lacén lare/ 'the very first'
/ati imphán/ '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 /pyel/ 'half'. Examples:

/pua/ 'one fourth'
/pyel/ 'half'
/po pyel/ 'three fourths'
/pyel te nis/ 'half less than two (one and a half)'
/pyel 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'
/sümco/ 'thrice'
/nicco/ 'twice'
/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 /-m˙/ or /-mo/, such as in /hri-m˙/ '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 /n‰/, while 2nd person non-singular and 3rd person singular take /ni/.

First Person:

/ji ja-yε/ 'I eat (1sg+ NON.PAST).'
/in nimi ja-ne/ 'We two eat (1non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/in ja-ne/ 'We (pl. excl.) eat (1non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/in lairi ja-ne/ 'We (pl.incl.) eat (1non-sg+ NON.PAST).'

Second Person:

/γε ja-ne/ 'You (sg.) eat (2sg+ NON.PAST).'
/γ anni nimi ja-ni/ 'You (two) eat (2non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/γ anni lairi ja-ni/ 'You (pl.) eat (2non-sg+ NON.PAST).'

Third Person:

/o ja-ni/ 'He eats (3sg+ NON.PAST).'
/usi nimi ja-ne/ 'They (two) eat (3non-sg+ NON.PAST).'
/usi lairi ja-ne/ '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-yε/ 'I am eating.'
/in nimi ja-g-ən-ne/ 'We (two) are eating.'
/γε ja-g-ən-ne/ 'You are eating.'
/o ja-g-ən-ni/ 'He is eating.'
/usi lai ja-g-ən-ne/ '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.

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/ˈji kəˈdɔd/ 'I have eaten.'
/ˈin kəˈdɔd/ 'We (excl.) have eaten.'
/ˈge kəˈdɔd/ 'You have eaten.'
/ˈo kəˈdɔd/ 'He has eaten.'
/ˈuˈsi lai kəˈdɔd/ 'They have eaten.'

Intensive: In the intensive 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.

/ˈji jəŋ ɡɛ / 'I will eat.'
/ˈni nimi jəŋ ne/ 'We two will eat.'
/ˈge jəŋ ne/ 'You (sg.) will eat.'
/ˈɡəni lai jəŋ ni/ 'You (pl.) will eat.'
/ˈo jəŋ yəŋ/ 'He will eat.'
/ˈuˈsi lai jəŋ ne/ 'They will eat.'

Intensive continuous: In the intensive 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.

/ˈji jagni yəŋ yɛ/ 'I will be eating.'
/ˈin jagni yəŋ ne/ 'We (pl. excl.) will be eating.'
/ˈge jagni yəŋ na/ 'You (sg.) will be eating.'
/ˈɡəni lai jagni yəŋ ni/ 'You (pl.) will be eating.'
/ˈo jagni yəŋ/ 'He will be eating.'
/ˈuˈsi lai jagni yəŋ ne/ 'They will be eating.'

Intensive perfect: /kə-V-d- ni-yəŋ/ + NON.PAST

/ˈji kədaj ni yəŋ ye/ 'I would have eaten.'
/ˈin lai kədaj ni yəŋ ne/ 'We (excl.) would have eaten.'
/ˈɡəni lai kədaj ni yəŋ ni/ 'You (pl.) would have eaten.'
/ˈo kədaj ni yəŋ/ 'He would have eaten.'
/ˈuˈsi lai kədaj ni yəŋ ne/ 'They would have eaten.'

3.2.1.2 Past: [-s ~ -sə ~ -nɛs ~-nsa ~-nisa]
Simple past (statement)

/ˈji jesə/ 'I ate.'
/ˈni nimi jesəs/ 'We (two) ate.'
/ˈge jansə/ 'You ate.'
/ˈɡəni nimi jansə/ 'You (two) ate.'
/ˈo jas/ 'He ate.'
/ˈuˈsi nimi jənəs/ 'They two ate.'
/ˈuˈsi lai jənəs/ 'They (pl.) ate.'

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Past Continuous: /V/ + /-g-ni/ + PAST

/ji jag nies/ 'I was eating.'
/ni jag nines/ 'We (excl.) were eating.'
/ge jag ninsa/ 'You were eating.'
/gəni lai jag ninisa/ 'You (pl.) were eating.'
/o jag nisa/ 'He was eating.'
/usi lai jag nines/ 'They were eating.'

Past Perfect (Recent): /kə-/+V+PAST

/ji kəja yəs/ 'I have (finished) eating.'
/in lai kəja nəs/ 'We (pl.) have (finished) eating.'
/ge kəja nəs/ 'you (sg.) have finished eating.'
/gənī nimi kəja nis/ 'you two have (finished) eating.'
/o kəjas/ 'he has finished eating.'
/usi lai kəja nəs/ 'they have (finished) eating.'

Past Perfect (Remote): /kə-/+V+/-d-ni/+PAST

/ji kəjad nəs/ 'I had eaten.'
/in lai kəjad ni nəs/ 'We (pl.) had eaten.'
/ge kəjad nina sə/ 'You (sg.) had eaten.'
/gənī kəjad nini sə/ 'You two had eaten.'
/o kəjad ni sə/ 'He had eaten.'
/usi lai kəjad ni nəs/ 'They had eaten.'

Note: It has been observed that the final allomorphs [-sə ~ -sə ~ -əs] of the Pangu dialect as given in the above paradigms correspond with [nhe ~ nəhe] in the Sirkha and Sausa village dialects of Chaudangsi. Examples:

/ji kəjad ni nəhe/ 'I had eaten.'
/ji jag ni nəhe/ 'I was eating.'
/ji je nhe nəhe/ '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 ye/ 'I habitually read.'
(ii) /o ja-ja-ri re ja de ye/ '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.
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(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) /gə ji-dəνci dukłəŋ hrə yəŋ ma/
you I-DAT food bring action IMP
'You bring food for me.'

   (ii) /bəqica-khərci sio tho gə hrə yəŋ ma/
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) /gə ja ɡəja/
      'You (please) eat.'

 (ii) /ji kha da/
      '(Please) give me a walnut.'

(c) /-ye/
   This marker is for an order, e.g.

      (i) /gə ja ye/
      'You eat!' (order)

 (ii) /khu dəc 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-mə/ 'give'. Examples:

      (i) /khu dəc de mə-da-m/
thief go NEG-give-NEGIMP
'Don't let the thief go!'

      (ii) /o dukłəŋ mə-da-m/
he food NEG-give-NEGIMP
'Don't give him food!'

3.2.2.2 Declarative: [hələ ~ həni]
   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 /hələ/ or /həni/.

      (i) /we ənısədə hələ/
      'The mountain is high.'

      (ii) /we ənısədə hə ni/
      'The mountain is generally high.'

      (iii) /hidi jıgəcım hələ/
      'This is my house.'

      (iv) /mal bətho ətı hələjı 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 ye/ 'I can walk.'
(ii) /sənda de tər ni/ 'The child can walk.'
(iii) /ji de tər təni sə/ 'I was able to walk.'
(iv) /o de tər tər yən/ '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) /gə 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 cinyə/ 'I want (desire) to go.'
(ii) /o dem cin ni/ 'We want to go.'
(iii) /gə dem cin nə/ 'You want to go.'

3.2.2.5 Interrogative: /la, kəə/

The interrogative marker /la/ occurs at the end of a sentence. The other interrogative marker, /kəə/, 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) /kəə hida wa ri ra ni/ INTERROGATIVE here tiger also come NON.PAST
'Does the tiger also come here?'

(iiia) /sirə-sənū da sə la/ cow-AGT milk give PAST INTERROGATIVE
'Did the cow give milk?'

(iiib) /kəə sirə-sə nū da sə/ INTERROGATIVE cow-AGT milk give PAST
'Did the cow give milk?'

_Darma Grammar_
3.2.3 Negation: /mə-/  
The negative marker in Chaudangsi occurs before the verb root. But when an obligative or abilitative /-cin/ or /-tar/ occurs in the construction, it is prefixed to the abilitative marker. For example:

(i) /ji jya mə-tuŋ ye/ 'I do not drink tea.'
(ii) /o jya mə-tuŋ goni/ 'He does not drink tea.'
(iii) /sənda 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-tə/ 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) /tsəmə yer ya kən/ 'The girl cries.'
   (iia) /siri-sə tsəmə yer-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 hə/ 'He will give me the paddy.'
   (iia) /o-sə ji ga da phində hə/ 'He will get me the paddy.'

3.2.5 Reflexive/middle/reciprocal  
The suffix /-ci/ is often added to transitive verbs to mark reflexives, middle voice, and reciprocals.

(i) /wur-ci-mo/ 'bathe (vi.; < wur-mo 'bathe (vt.)')
(ii) /thi-ci-mo/ 'melt (vi.; < thi-mo 'melt (vt.)')
(iii) /cya-ci-mo/ 'hide (self) (vi.; < cya-mo 'hide (vt.)')
(iv) /phok-ci-mo/ 'cover (self) (vi.)'
(v) /dəo-ci-mo/ 'awake (vi.)'
(vi) /lo-ci-mo/ 'shake (vi.; < lo-mo 'shake (vt.)')
(vii) /cə-ci-mo/ 'quarrel (vi.)'
(viii) /dak-ci-mo/ 'fight (vi.)'
(ix) /dok-ci-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/ 'usually' (a Hindi loan)
   /o amtorko hiche rani/ 'He usually comes here.'

(ii) /khalimanta/ 'continuously'
    /o khalimanta ochi deni/ 'He continuously goes there.'

4.2 Adverbs of time

(i) /thän/ 'now'
   /thän o de tārni/ 'Now he can go.'

(ii) /itte/ 'just now'
    /ji itte gāra/ 'I have come just now.'

(iii) /ti phakci/ 'at once'
     /ti phakci ra/ 'Come at once.'

(iv) /jya jyari/ 'daily'
    /ji jya jyari re ja deye/ 'I go to the farm daily.'

(v) /itta wa sa/ 'till now'
    /o itta wa sa mora/ 'Till now he has not come.'

4.3 Adverbs of place:

(i) /cento/ 'towards'
    /o dharcula cento ra gani/ 'He is going towards Dharchula.'

(ii) /lare/ 'before'
    /ji lare de/ 'Go before me.'

(iii) /yoŋkati/ 'after'
    /ji yoŋkati ra/ 'Come after me.'

(iv) hwanam/ 'far away'
    /cina hwanam hle/ 'China is far away.'

4.4 Adverbs of Manner

(i) /hina roktə/ 'like this'
    /hina rokta suŋ/ 'do like this'

(ii) /ona roktə/ 'like that'
    /ona rokta suŋ/ 'do like that'

(iii) /saro/ 'loudly'
    /saro pham/ 'speak loudly'

(iv) /dhou dhou/ 'bravely'
    /dhou dhou dak sima/ 'fight bravely'

(v) /chaTo/ 'quickly'
    /chaTo ja/ '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
Shree Krishan

root with or without tense-aspect-mood marking and the copula depending on the construction. Examples:

/siri deni/  'The boy goes.'
/pot siri deni/  'The big boy goes.'
/pot siri cim deni/  'The big boy goes to the house.'
/pot siri cim degôni/  'The big boy is going to the house.'
/pot siri ci tsaem cim degane/  'The big boy and the girl are going to the house.'
CHAUDANGSI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

acb—including
accho—there
abamo—refuse (v.)
ajyo—again
akhan—sickle
akra (IA)—costly
alDua-hre—jaw
alana-wa-sa—till then
al—as—path
an-si-dho—high, height
ana-rok-ko—like that
ani—have (v.)
ano-mo—lift (vt.)
apo-sunmo—occupy (v.)
ati-bakto—then
ati-baTTbho—those
ati-moeg-wani—that
a—yes
abajamo—talk (v.)
agal—reins
athomo—open (mouth) (v.)
ak—mouth
akitshum, cyo tsi—beard
ak-pli—lips
ak-sili—saliva
alu (IA)—potato
am (IA)—mango
amtor-ko (IA)—usually
badar (IA)—monkey
balo (IA)—infant
bamo—fold (cloth) (v.)
banjanmo—spread (bed) (v.)
bana—neck
bas (IA)—fragrant
basi (IA)—stale
be—skin
be—skin
be—rock
be-ban—precipice
begun (IA)—brinjal
ben-thuluk—headgear (for male)
bera-sunmo—sing (v.)
bin—bell of temple
bitth—remo—split (milk) (v.)
boto—samo—swim (v.)
bola—thumb
boko (IA)—goat (uncastrated)
bon-tse—donkey
bonji—hoe
botu—roots
bo—porcupine
brudi—frost
buddi (IA)—brain
buti—buttermilk
byoli—cy—a bride
byolo—bride-groom
byomo—afraid of (v.)
byuk-kyali—coward
babba—father
bagica (IA)—garden
bak—tseu—shoes (woolen)
balmo—yeast
balwa—sand
ban—cot
ban—place
ban-khar—morning
ban—phal—wall
ban-khar—morning
bap—se (IA)—year
bata (IA)—duck
bud-do—good, happy
bun—cin—granary
but—temo—enjoy (v.)
bha—slope
bhata—ribs
bhe—thread
bhesi (IA)—buffalo
bhokro—throat
bhu—Themo—roast (in oil) (v.)
bhuntha—broad, long
bhuru—bush
bhaNDo (IA)—utensils
bharminchha—midnight
cem—tsa—goat (female)
cemo—cut (grass) (v.)
cemo—burn (kindle) (v.)
cento—towards
ceta—cold (to get) (v.)
ci—ten
cig—gub—shrink (v.)
cil, pilpai—post (pillar)
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<td>cimo—blow (nose) (v.)</td>
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<td>cimo—squeeze (v.)</td>
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<td>cimo—wring (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>cin-cin—rupee</td>
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<tr>
<td>cini (IA)—sugar</td>
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<tr>
<td>cinta—need (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>cip—fist</td>
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<td>cip-cen—suck (v.)</td>
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<td>ciramo (IA)—cut (with saw) (v.)</td>
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<td>cok-tsharmo—dry (v.)</td>
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<td>como—pierce (v.)</td>
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<td>cuguli—armpit</td>
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<td>cukti—headgear (for female)</td>
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<td>cuku—lemon</td>
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<td>cyamo—cover (something) (v.)</td>
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<td>cyamo—hide (something) (v.)</td>
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<td>cyamo—soak (v.)</td>
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<td>cyamo—uncover (v.)</td>
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<td>cyamo—wet (to make) (v.)</td>
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<td>cya-ci-mo—hide (self) (v.)</td>
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<td>cyemo—hesitate (v.)</td>
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<td>cyo—chin</td>
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<td>cyoda, namta—fat</td>
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<td>cyomo—last</td>
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<tr>
<td>cyun—blouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>cyobjye—eighteen</td>
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<td>cyobn—fifteen</td>
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<td>cyane—twelve</td>
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<td>cyanni—seventeen</td>
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<td>cyappi—fourteen</td>
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<td>cyargu—nineteen</td>
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<td>cyas-sum—thirteen</td>
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<td>cyate—eleven</td>
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<td>cyatTo—sixteen</td>
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<td>ca-ci-mo—quarrel (v.)</td>
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<td>cakkyo—ladle (for liquids)</td>
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<td>camo—hold (v.)</td>
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<td>canta—sharp</td>
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<tr>
<td>carypa—cock</td>
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<td>carg—fall down (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>cim—house</td>
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<tr>
<td>cim-yar-to—roof (lit.: 'on the house')</td>
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<td>cukti—cap (male)</td>
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<td>cha—salt</td>
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<td>chai—cat (female)</td>
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<td>chai-Dhāu—cat (male)</td>
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<td>chaku—rice (cooked)</td>
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<td>chango—corpus</td>
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<td>chaTo—fast</td>
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<td>chaTo—quickly</td>
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<tr>
<td>chaTo-cyaŋ-chaTo—as soon as</td>
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<tr>
<td>che—fat, grease, life</td>
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<tr>
<td>che-me—wife or husband's sister</td>
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<td>chermo—serve (food) (v.)</td>
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<td>chetta—ripe (fruit)</td>
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<td>chilmo—wash (clothes) (v.)</td>
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<td>chimmo—tether (v.)</td>
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<td>chimo—meet (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>chirbi—cheese</td>
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<td>chon-kalen—cucumber</td>
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<tr>
<td>choa—lake</td>
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<tr>
<td>chu-cimo—divide (v.)</td>
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<td>chyaak-ca—urine</td>
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<td>chyaak-ta—sweet</td>
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<td>chyamo—break (thread, stick) (v.)</td>
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<td>chyara-tsumo—spread (tent) (v.)</td>
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<td>chyerimo—bring out (scoop) (v.)</td>
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<td>chyomo—dye (v.)</td>
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<td>chyomo—scratch (v.)</td>
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<td>chyob—needle</td>
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<td>chyœ-ku—below</td>
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<tr>
<td>chyœpa—summer</td>
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<tr>
<td>chakt—a—sweet</td>
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<tr>
<td>channu (IA)—hut</td>
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<tr>
<td>chanta—bright (light)</td>
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<td>chart—a—dry</td>
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<tr>
<td>charu—straw</td>
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<tr>
<td>dak-ci-mo—fight (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>damo—give (v.)</td>
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<td>damo—offer, pay (v.)</td>
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<td>demo—go, leave (v.)</td>
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<td>dhou-dhou—bravely</td>
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<tr>
<td>dharmu (IA)—religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>dharti (IA)—earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>dimt—vegetables</td>
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<tr>
<td>dirmo—push (v.)</td>
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<td>dok-ci-mo—collide (v.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>dön-tho—hole</td>
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<tr>
<td>duk-laŋ—food, meal</td>
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<td>dukta—pungent</td>
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<td>duli—stick</td>
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<tr>
<td>duma, citta—a few</td>
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<td>dumao—knead (v.)</td>
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<td>duo—poison</td>
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<tr>
<td>dyar—floor</td>
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<tr>
<td>dam—garlic</td>
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<td>damé—drum</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
dān—belly
dāo-ci-mo—awake (v.)
darmo—protect (v.)
dayen—two years after
dtum-tala—pastel
Dā'ī (IA)—yoke string
De—mule
Doŋ-Doŋ-kali—spider
Doŋ-her—verandah
Doŋmo—help (v.)
Dumo—yak (male)
Dalo—round
Dhami—marriage
Dhuŋmo—beat (v.), pound (v.)
Dhummo—tremble (v.)
ga—paddy
gārā—another
gē—you (sg.)
gimmo—roll up (v.)
gimo—swallow (v.)
gin-si-da—rolled
gui—nine
guimo—tie (v.)
gul—phlegm
gul-ci-mo—cough (v.)
gun-cha—snow-fall
gun-dhak—middle size
guru (IA)—molasses
gwālcya—lock
gāl—glacier
gāl—yak (female)
gōm-su—molar tooth
gōmṭa—tight-fit
gōṇ-Thaŋ-mi—father's younger sister's husband
gōni jamma, gōni lairi—you (all)
gōni laige—your (pl.)
gōni—you (pl.)
gōni-ni—you (two)
gōmmo—close (door) (v.)
gōṛā—next
gōṛ-so—fang
gōrmā—close
ghakta—right
ghoga—maize
ghakta—narrow
ghari (IA)—jar, pot
ghāu, ghaw (IA)—scar
hasimo—complain (v.)
hi—flour
hina roktā—like this
hiche—here
hidi baTTho-məŋ—these
hidi—this, it
himō—grate, grind (v.)
hiyā—wife's elder sister's husband
hu-mē—face
huica-thirmo—invite (v.)
hum-si-ne—echo
ḥojār (IA)—one thousand
halkti—mosquito
hāŋga—branch
hāno—how
ḥupta (IA)—week
in-gē—our
in-jamma, in-lairi—we (all)
in-ni—we (two)
ittal-wa-sō—till now
ittano—lately
itte—just now
jamo—eat (v.)
je (IA)—barley
jemo—fill (liquid) (v.)
er-nām—east
ji, je—I (1sg pronoun)
ji-gē—my, mine
jigu—time
jilda—clear
jimmo—burn (hand etc.) (v.)
jītə (IA)—win (v.)
jōŋ—pair
jōŋ-si-mā—beginning
jonka (IA)—leech
jun-ci-mo—begin (v.)
junmo—drown (animate) (v.)
jya (IA)—tea
jya—day
jyoda—young
jyu-jyāŋ—gown belt
jyāc-cha—eighty
jyāc-cha-gūi—eighty nine
jyāc-cha-gə cyate—ninety one
jyāc-cha-gə-cirgu—ninety nine
jyāc-cha-gə-cyanni—ninety seven
jyāc-cha-gə-cyobbje—ninety eight
jyāc-cha-gə-cyəbən—ninety five
jyāc-cha-gə-cyəne—ninety two
jyāc-cha-gə-cyəpi—ninety four
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jyac-cha-ga-cyasum—ninety three
jyac-cha-ga-cyate—ninety six
jyac-cha-hnis—eighty seven
jyac-cha-jyad—eighty eight
jyac-cha-nise—eighty two
jyac-cha-tnai—eighty five
jyac-cha-pi—eighty four
jyac-cha-sum—eighty three
jyac-cha-tiga—eighty one
jyac-cha-Tugo—eighty six
jyad—eight
jabli (IA)—tongue
jol—part
jamma, lairi—all
jannao (IA)—birth
joa (IA)—thigh
jhan-ko—lizard (wild)
jhelmo—ark (dog) (v.)
jhemo—bloom (v.)
jhim—sneeze
jhimm—sneeze (v.)
jon—yak (cross-bred) (male)
jo-mo—yak (cross-bred) (female)
jhugo—gown (for unmarried female)
jjhan—gold
ka—crow
ka-jhokta—ready
kalo (IA)—death
kaptaa—tongs
kela (IA)—banana
kemo—cut (tree) (v.)
kolocojmo—curse (v.)
kolenlukse—calf
komoo—spread (grains) (v.)
koma—stir (v.)
kurtsa—lamb
kwemo—boil (cook) (v.)
kwemo—break (tr. pots etc.) (v.)
kwemo—chew (v.)
kwalen—bell of animal
kwarmoo—carry (v.)
kwarmoo—take (v.)
kyo-rakta—crooked (curved)
kadhokta—open
kabinda—full
kacar—mud
kadu—gourd
kaj-anmo—drown (inanimate) (v.)
kalo (IA)—close (eys, mouth) (v.)
kan—ill
kantsa—bowl (for pulses)
kapa (IA)—cotton
karstimo—lay down (vi.)
kaso (IA)—bell metal
katigu-matigu—harvest time
kaya-rummo—obey (v.)
ka—walnut
kha-sya—kidney
kha—bitter
khad—difficult
khali-manta—continuously
khe—what
khe—son's son, daughter's son
khegani—cold (to feel cold) (v.)
kheti (IA)—crop
khilta—shirt
khomo—peel out (v.)
khoyam—plate (for females)
ku—smoke
ku-mee—daughter's daughter, son's daughter
ku-ci-go—stealthily
khuc—knot
khuli—nest
khumo—steal (v.)
khure—mole
khuramoo—accept (v.)
khuwa—stream
khwemo—dig (v.)
khwemo—scrub (v.)
khwao—scorpion
khwapa—heel
khwaran—pigeon
khwosar—deer
khwatam—plough
kha—guja—casually
kha—guja—often
kham—who (sg.)
khami—ge—whose
khmi—ja—whom
khmi-khami—who (pl.)
khammo—rinse (v.)
khammo—take out (v.)
khapa—winter
kharbuja (IA)—melon
khos-rakta—rough
khase—pajamas
la—hand
la-du—dough
la-mala—goat (male)
la-yemo—send off (v.)
lagotar (IA)—regularly
lak-pum—clutch
lak-pam—toe
lak-pum—finger
lak-cin—nail
lak-sun, lak-ko—gloves
laŋ-gani—fly (v.)
lasan—goat (bearable)
lemo—say (v.)
libin—book
like, lige—foot
lim-pri—tail
liŋe-mala—animal (domestic)
lintsä—bowl
lisu—resin (of pine)
lo—fruit
lo—language
lo-demo—trust (v.)
lo-lo-sa—nearly
lo-ci-mo—shake (vi.)
lohla—bright moon fortnight
lok-ci-mo—climb up (v.)
lomo—burn (vi.)
lomo—shake (vt.)
lŋŋmo—vomit (v.)
loŋmo—vomit (v.)
lot—a—cheap, easy
lot—a—heavy
luka, luga—cloth
luŋ—backbone
luŋ-bär—lungs
labu—butter
lacyaŋ—above
lage—leg
lähma—priest
laktu—thin (objects)
lała—father’s mother, mother’s mother
lامة—whole
ləmmo—plaster (v.)
лан—only
lan-suŋmo—do (v.)
lan-thomo—reply (v.)
lŋmo—cross (by jumping) (v.)
lare—after
lahəŋ—ladder
latakt—a—stinking
lummo—wash (floor) (v.)
hl—a—month, moon
hla-čan—light (of moon)
hleo-ci-mo—climb down (v.)
hleo-si-ta—low
hleo-dae—yellow
hleo-mo—bring down (v.)
hlok-ci-mo—read (v.)
hləskar—sprout
hləŋmo—play (v.)
ma-nemo—node (v.)
ma-nu—breast, nipple
makha (IA)—fly (v.)
mamo—search (v.)
mə—eye
mə məbat—blind
mə-lin—hearth
məhər—heaven
mela (IA)—dirt
mida—short, small
min-chə—night
mit-tshum—eye brow, eye lashes
mo-mal—family
mok-cya—mushroom
molə (IA)—price
mor (IA)—peacock
moroŋ—door
mya-hmya—daughter’s husband
myaŋmo—taste (v.)
myaŋə—light (in weight)
myana (IA)—scythe
mə-cənta—blunt
mə-gənta—loose-fit
mə-hratə—dirty
məci—tomorrow
məi-kyamo—insult (v.)
mək-kəm—eye lid
məla-tsum, tshum—wool
məma—mother
mən (IA)—mind
mən-ramo—like (v.)
mənomo (IA)—celebrate (v.)
mənda—chili
mənda—red
mər—clarified butter
mər-konti—temple
məsu—husband’s younger brother
məsi (IA)—ink
matiti—tear
mati (IA)—many (animate)
mul—silver
hme—fire
hmē—paw
hmē, mhē—crack (in earth)
hmin-tamo—name (to give) (v.)
hmōmo—fill (grain) (v.)
hmyuktō—straight
na-kāl—moss
nana—wife's younger sister's husband
naraŋgi (IA)—orange
nasa—fifty
nemō-oil (v.)
nemō—rub (v.)
ni—sun
ni—we (pl.excl.)
ni-chān—light (of sun)
ni-remo—set (sun) (v.)
ni-ci-mo—live (v.)
niccha—day
niero (IA)—near
nil—gums
nin-jya—day after tomorrow, a
ningo-urmo—wash (animals) (v.)
nip-cimo—pray (v.)
nip-ci-mo—hum (a tune) (v.)
nic—two
nomo—increase (stretch) (v.)
nūdā—new
nu-chirmo—milk (v.)
nu-so, so—incisors
nuo-kun— in front of
nyā—fish
nyarō—yesterday
nyōmdō—taste
na-bu—cobra
na-gsōyour (sg.)
na-jhō—iron
na-khu—dog
na-pā—bird
na-pa-tsip-tse—chicken
na-tsī—thorn
nabu-nabā—insect
nōi—five
nāktō—soft
nēm—rain
nēm-cya—son's wife
nēm-cya—younger brother's wife
nēmin—autumn
nāmtō—strong
nānjkho—next year
nāŋmo—drive (cattle) (v.)
nānu—younger brother
nāpyu—mouse
nare—louse
nassa -nise—twenty two
nassa—twenty
nassa-cirgu—thirty nine
nassa-cyājiye—thirty eight
nassa-cyāban—thirty five
nassa-cyāne—thirty two
nassa-cyānī—thirty seven
nassa-cyāpi—thirty four
nassa-cyāsum—thirty three
nassa-cyāte—thirty one
nassa-cyāTO—thirty six
nassa-gui—twenty nine
nassa-hnis—twenty seven
nassa-jyād—twenty eight
nassa-ŋai—twenty five
nassa-pi—twenty four
nassa-sum—twenty three
nassa-tigō—twenty one
nassa-Tugo—twenty six
nayān—last year
hna-ci-mo—relax (v.)
hnep-ti—snot
hnim—name
hnim—nose
hnim-Don-θo—nostrils
hnimmo—smell (v.)
hnis—seven
hnoŋ-k сог—ant
hnŋmo—measure (v.)
hnŋp-si-də—flexible
o—he
o-ge—his, her
o-lŋ-pa—when
onga—compare (v.)
ongŋ-somō—look after (v.)
onmo—see (v.)
pa-sim—defense
pala—mortar
paliŋu (IA)—spinach
pamo—measure (grains) (v.)
pan (IA)—betel leaf
pan-dan—guts
pat (IA)—leaf
pe—knee
de—hre—patella
demo—know (v.)
demo—shout (v.)
demo—tear (v.)
pha—ash
pi—four
pi-jya—four days after
pije—seek
piku (IA)—bed bug
pir—navel
pisa—forty
pisa-cibjya—fifty eight
pisa-cirigu—fifty nine
pisa-cyabhan—fifty five
pisa-cyane—fifty two
pisa-cyanin—fifty seven
pisa-cyahpi—fifty four
pisa-cyasum—fifty three
pisa-cyate—fifty one
pisa-cyato—fifty six
pisa-gui—forty nine
pisa-hnis—forty seven
pisa-jyad—forty eight
pisa-nise—forty two
pisa-nai—forty five
pisa-pi—forty four
pisa-sum—forty three
pisa-tiga—forty one
pisa-Tugo—forty six
pisak ts hum—braid
pica—head
pital (IA)—brass
pielmo—split (wood) (v.)
po—roasted barley
po-ga—husband's elder brother
po-ga, che—son's wife's father's daughter's husband's father
po-gun, che-mê—elder brother's wife
po-hminto—ripe (v.)
po-hya—elder brother
po-ma—father's elder brother's wife
podaba, gunda-ba, mida-ba, senba—father's younger brother
poda—big, large
poga, che—wife's younger brother
pola—shoes
poli—water-pot
ponj-ci-mo—spring (v.)
pothal—sole
puthra—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-thoñ—mother's elder brother
pu-thoñ-mi—father's elder sister's husband
pyaj (IA)—onion
pyel-jyse-chta, Tukcha-ci—seventy
pyal-te-sai—ninety
paemo—sweep (v.)
pagare—ankle
pagwe—break (int. pots.) (v.)
poj-hyaoñ—extinguish (v.)
palo—frog
pam-pu—moss (on the tree)
pammo—spin (v.)
papal cya—calves
pargan—bulge (v.)
para-suñmo—roll down (v.)
pas, cyoto—blanket
pucya—skull
phada—brown, gray
phamo—speak (v.)
phela—palm
phemo—spread (seed) (v.)
pheta—thick (liquid)
phi—rope
phi-ci-mo—hunt (v.)
phia—rabbit
phirmo—blow (wind) (v.)
pho—cave
pho-pha—animal (wild)
phok-ci-mo—cover (self) (v.)
phomo—open (door) (v.)
phon-ju—supporting pillar
phonmo—run away (stealing) (v.)
phu—copper
phucap—rice
phuli (IA)—flower
phabla—dark moon fortnight
phalam—iron shaft
pharchemo—bind (bundle) (v.)
phareli-damo—fan (v.)
pharmo—open (knot) (v.)
pharlo—thrash (wool) (v.)
pharlo—untie (v.)
phurarlo—drop (v.)
râDi (IA)—widow
râDo (IA)—widower
raju—valley
ramo—come (v.)
rani (IA)—queen
rap, hmê-rap—flame
rartse—whisper
ratse—ear
re—field
re-nam—west
rim—arrow
rimo—write (v.)
rin-cya—wife’s younger brother’s wife
rithi—rithi-cya—couple
ro-hwasimo—fast (v.)
rok-ci-mo—comb (v.)
rom—roasted food
romo—roast (on fire) (v.)
ro—shoulder
ropemo—plant (v.)
or—to—plank
ru—corner
ru—horn
rugân—two years ago
ruckcee—chuckle (v.)
ruktâ—same
rukta, ruksit—same
run-ci-mo—hear, listen (v.)
rusu (IA)—anger
râje—wheat
râl-sinê—ox
râm—knit (v.)
râmmo—weave (v.)
râmo—colour
râmo—wing
ræn—arm
ræn-pli—feather
ran-to—nu—curd
ranmo—sell (v.)
rân-mo—semo—paint (v.)
râmmo—stitch (v.)
hra—jya—day before yesterday
hrâmo—ashamed of (v.)
hrato—clean
hre—bone
hrêmo—bring (v.)

hrimo—teach (v.)
hrô—snow
hrok-ci-mo—graze (v.)
hrumo—ask for (v.)
hraçar—louse (egg)
hraç-sa—pebble
hrâé-mo—mare
hrâé-pho—horse
hrâé—cheeks
sa—soil
såu (IA)—bull
saco—empty
sak-cimo—breathe (v.)
samo—sacrifice (v.)
saro—hard
saro—loudly
satho-sâmo—accompany (with) (v.)
sé—God
se-cimo—use (v.)
seb (IA)—apple
sel—rainy season
semo—increase (liquid) (v.)
semo—kill (v.)
semo—drag (v.)
señ-la—side (left)
señci—father’s younger brother’s wife
senda, syânda—child
sepi-cimo—pinch (v.)
sêr-cimo—believe (v.)
sêr-tam—south (left side)
sera—forest
si-cimo—die (v.)
sidô—rotten
sil—dew
sim—mark
sim-jya—three days after
simé—chest
siñ-jyañ—creep
gnko—bark of tree
gip-tsu—comb
sire—cow
siri—boy
siri—son, brother’s son
sirtô—sour
sonmo—leak (v.)
sonê—fresh
soTTô—beans
su, so—tooth
sua (IA)—parrot

Darma Vocabulary
sunəmo—build (v.)
sunər (IA)—pig
supari (IA)—betel nut
swo—fodder
syalo (IA)—fox
syomo—slip (v.)
syotamo—lie (to tell) (v.)
sai—hundred
sai-hyer-nise—hundred and two
sai-hyer-tige—hundred and one
saju—slow
sak-ci-mo (IA sak)—suspect (v.)
saka—cloud
sakh—breath
sal—coal
sampalo—foam
saŋ-wa—lion
saŋta—old
santa—old (person)
sapan—hell
sathan (IA)—temple
s Thom-bəŋ—place of worship
sum—three
sum-sa—thirty
ci—blood
ci-ci—heart
ciño—white
cin—firewood
cin—tree
cin-rəm—ginger
çon-ci-mo—sit (v.)
cyta—meat
cyta-ci—relatives
cyoktə—smooth
ta-la—side (right)
tabmo, Dhzugmo—thrash (grains) (v.)
tamo—keep (v.)
tamo—put up (v.)
tarəm—key
tela (IA)—oil
temo—feel (v.)
temo—weep (v.)
tete—father's father, mother's father
ti—water
ti-phak-ci—at once	bibari (IA)—window
tiga—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.)
ton-ci-mo—fasten (v.)
ton-yəŋ—net
tummo—drink (v.)
tyar (IA)—festival
tak-tam—north (right side)
takta—hot
tali (IA)—plate (for males)
tamaku (IA)—tobacco
tommo—hang (v.)
ton-bu—python
ton-ci-mo—swing (v.)
tonmo—bury (v.)
tonə-kware—carry (in hand) (v.)
tomro—able (v.)
tota—sister, wife's father's brother's wife
ton, hrin-cya—son's wife's mother,
ton, hrin-cya—son's wife's mother,
daugther's husband's mother
tum—egg
thə—spring
temo—change (v.)
temo—throw (v.)
thiŋə—today
ti-ci-mo—melt (vi.)
thimo—melt (vt.)
thimo—wet (to get) (v.)
thita—thin (liquid)
thita—wet
tho-cento—upwards
tho-cimo—beg (v.)
thok-ci-mo—return (v.)
thomo—pluck (v.)
thomo—worship (v.)
thoŋmo—worship
thoŋmo—rear (v.)
thuru—colt (young horse)
thutə—weak
tho-sim-jya—three days before
tho-sun-mən—three years ago
tham-sinmo—cut (into pieces) (v.)
thang—beam (wooden log)
thaŋ—ground
thang-mi—mother's brother, wife's father,
husband's father
thaŋmo—cross (by walking) (v.)
Tollya (IA)—deaf
Tomo—burn (fire) (v.)
Tomo—open (eyes) (v.)
Tuggo—six
Tuk-chā—sixty
Tuk-chā-guī—sixty nine
Tuk-chā-hns—isixty seven
Tuk-chā-jiyād—sixty eight
Tuk-chā-nise—sixty two
Tuk-chā-ni—sixty five
Tuk-chā-pi—sixty four
Tuk-chā-sum—sixty three
Tuk-chā-ṭiğā—sixty one
Tuk-chā-Tugo—sixty six
Tukcha-gā—cyāTTTo—seventy six
Tukcha-gā cyārgu—seventy nine
Tukcha-gā-cyābįyē—seventy eight
Tukcha-gā-cyābān—seventy five
Tukcha-gā-cyāne—seventy two
Tukcha-gā-cyāniti—seventy seven
Tukcha-gā-cyāpi—seventy four
Tukcha-gā-cyasun—seventy three
Tukcha-gā-cyātē—seventy one
Tam—end
Tam—bind (join) (v.)
Thamo—strike (v.)
Thuŋo—hammer
Thum-ca-ru—custom
Thummo—dance (v.)
tse—elbow
tse—joints
tsemo—bite (v.)
tsi—grass
tsi, tsi-ram—memory
tsi-ramo—long for (v.)
tsi-ramo—understand (v.)
tsirī—intestines
tsamē—daughter, brother’s daughter
tsamē—girl
tsummo—catch (v.)
tčaŋ—liver
thamro—dry (vt.)
thsun—hair
tshur—back
thshur—loin
ulo—where
urmo—wash (hands) (v.)
usi jāmma, aṭi-baŋ—they (all)
usi—they (pl.)
usi-gē—they (pl.)
usi-lāgē—they (pl)
usi-ni mige—their (dual)
usi-ni, usi-nise—they (two)
we—hill, mountain
wi—bow
widā—old
wo-so—medicine
wom—bear
wom-baŋ—dark
womda—black
wuru, kunDi—avalanche
wur-ci-mo—bathe (vi.)
wurmo—bathe (vt.)
hwa—honey
hwā-nim—bee
hwānām—far
hwē-mē—divorce
hwimo—call (v.)
hwommo—show (v.)
hwurmo—smoke (v.)
hwālta—loose
yadā—bad, unhappy
yadā-budda-lemo—accuse (v.), rebuke (v.)
yamo—back bite (v.)
yamo—sleep (v.)
yanṭ-pa—dusk
yanmo—prepare (v.)
yanṭi—river
yanṭi-thām—bank of river
yat-temo—hate (v.)
ye—kite
ye-ca-maŋ—feast
yen—spring
yērho—cry out (v.), shout (v.)
yingo—hips
yow-kol (used for dry thīṇ)—ladle
yōnkāti—before
yu-cēnto—downwards
yum-phan—behind
yunō—buttocks
yuta, koṇta—deep

Darma Vocabulary
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.)
yərto—loud
hya—king
hyamo—lay down (vt.)
hyɛmo—pour out (v.)
hyəkəm—yoke
hyəlba—bamboo
a few—duma, citta
able (vt.)—tarmo
above—lacya
accept (vt.)—khurmo
accompany (with) (vt.)—satho-suno
accuse (vt.)—yada-budo-lemo
afraid of (vt.)—byomo
after—lare
again—aju
all—jamma, lairi
anger—rusu (IA)
animal (domestic)—linje-mala
animal (wild)—pho-phya
ankle—paga
another—garo
ant—hno-karo
apple—seb (IA)
arm—ran
armpit—cuguli
arrow—rim
as soon as—chaTo-cyona-chato
ash—pha
ashamed of (vt.)—hramo
ask for (vt.)—hrumo
at once—ti-phak-ci
autumn—nomin
avalanche—wur, kunDi
awake (v.)—dao-ci-mo
back bite (vt.)—yamo
back—tshur
backbone—lun
bad—yada
bamboo—hyalba
banana—kela (IA)
bank of river—yantho
bark (dog) (v.)—jelmo
bark of tree—sino
barley—je (IA)
bathe (vt.)—wurmo
bathe (with) (vt.)—wur-ci-mo
beam (wooden log)—thon
beans—soTTo
bear—wom
beard—ak tshum, cyo tsim
beat (vt.)—Dhuomo
bed bug—piku (IA)
bee—hwa-nim
before—yonkati
beg (vt.)—thocimo
begin (v.)—jung-cimo
beginning—jong-simo
behind—yum-phan
believe (vt.)—sir-cimo
bell metal—kaso (IA)
bell of animal—kwan
bell of temple—bin
belly—dan
below—chona-kun
betel leaf—pan (IA)
betel nut—supari (IA)
big, large—poda
bind (bundle) (vt.)—pho-chemo
bind (join) (vt.)—Tamo
bird—na-pya
birth—jamna (IA)
bite (vt.)—tsemo
bitter—khado
black—womda
blanket—pas, cyoto
blind—mee mabot
blood—ci
bloom (v.)—jhimmo
blouse—cyuna
blow (nose) (vt.)—cimo
blow (wind) (v.)—phirmo
blue—timbu-raj (sky colour)
blunt—mocanto
boil (cook) (vt.)—kwemo
bone—hre
book—libin
bow—wi
bowl—linta
bowl (for pulses)—kanto
boy—siri
braid—pisak tshum
brain—buddi (IA)
branch—honga
brass—pitol (IA)
bravely—dhou-dhou
break (pots) (v.)—pawo
break (thread, stick) (vt.)—chyamo
break (pots, etc.) (vt.)—kwemo
breast, nipple—ma-nū
breath—sakh
breathe (v.)—sak-cimo
bride—byoli-cya
bride-groom—byolo
bright moon fortnight—lohra
bright (light)—chāntō
bring down (v.t.)—hle-cimo
bring out (scoop) (v.t.)—chyermō
bring (v.t.)—hremo
brinjal—bēgūn (IA)
broad, long—bhūntā
brown, gray—phado
buffalo—bhesi (IA)
buld (v.t.)—sûmō
bulge (v.)—pārgōn
bull—sāru (IA)
burn (fire) (v.)—Tomo
burn (hand etc.) (v.t.)—jimmo
burn (kindle) (v.t.)—cemo
burn (v.)—lomo
bury (v.t.)—taṃmo
bush—bhuru
butter—labu
buttermilk—buti
buttocks—yungo
buy (v.t.)—tomo
calf—kolō-luk-tse
call (v.t.)—hwimo
calves—pāpāl cyā
cap (male)—cuuki
carry (in hand) (v.t.)—tōnā-kwāre
carry (v.t.)—kwārmo
casually—khājā-guji
cat (female)—chāi
cat (male)—chāi-Dharu
catch (v.t.)—tsummo
cave—pho
celebrate (v.)—manamo (IA)
change (v.)—themo
cheap, easy—lotō
cheeks—hrāti
cheese—chirbi
chest—simē
chew (v.t.)—kwemo
chicken—nā-pya-tsip-tse
child—sända, syāndō
chili—māndō
chin—cyō
chuckle (v.)—ruk-cimo
clarified butter—mār
clean—hratō
clear—jilō
climb down (v.)—hle-cimo
climb up (v.)—lok-cimo
close (door) (v.t.)—gānmo
close (eyes, mouth) (v.t.)—kūmō
close—gāmō
cloth—lukra, lugra
cloud—sāka
clutch—lak- pum
coal—sāl
cobra—nā-bu
cock—cār-pyā
cold (to get) (v.)—cētā
cold (to feel cold) (v.)—khegōnī
collapse (house) (v.)—yāk-ghwa
collapse (person) (v.)—tok-cimo
collide (v.)—dok-cimo
colour—rā (IA)
colt (young horse)—thuru
comb—sip-tsū
comb (v.t.)—rok-cimo
come (v.)—ramo
compare (v.t.)—onga
complain (v.)—hasimo
continuously—khali-māntō
copper—phu
corner—ru
corpus—chāngo
costly—akra (IA)
cot—bāŋ
cotton—kāpasu (IA)
cough (v.)—gul-cimo
couple—rithi-rithi-cya
cover (something) (v.t.)—cyamo
cover (self) (v.)—phok-cimo
cow—sire
coward—byuk-kyā-ly
crack (in earth)—hmē, mhē
creeper—siṇ-jiyān
crooked (curved)—kēo-rakō
crop—kheti (IA)
cross (by jumping) (v.t.)—lōnma
cross (by walking) (v.t.)—thĀnmo
crow—ka
cry (v.)—yermo
 cucumber—choŋ-kalen
curd—ran-ta-nu
curse (vt.)—kolo-coŋmo
custom—Thum-ca-ru
cut (tree) (vt.)—kemo
cut (with saw) (vt.)—ciramo (IA)
cut (grass) (vt.)—cemo
cut (into pieces) (vt.)—thom-sinmo
dance (v.)—Thummo
dark moon fortnight—phabla
dark—wom-baŋ
day—jya
day—niccha
day after tomorrow, —nin-jya
day before yesterday, a—hra-jya
defa—Tolla (IA)
death—kalo (IA)
deep—yuta, koŋta
deer—khwasar
defense—pa-sim
dew—sil
die (v.)—si-cimo
difficult—khada
dig (vt.)—khwemo
dirt—mela (IA)
dirty—ma-hraŋa
divide (vt.)—chu-cimo
divorce—hwe-ma
do (vt.)—lan-suŋmo
dog—na-khui
donkey—boŋ-tsə
doctor—moronj
bough—la-du
downwards—yu-cento
drag (vt.)—semo
drink (vt.)—tuŋmo
drive (cattle) (vt.)—ŋaŋmo
drop (vt.)—phurumo
drown (animate) (v.)—juŋmo
drown (inanimate) (v.)—kaj-juŋmo
drum—damŋ
dry (v.)—cok-tsairmo
dry—chartə
dry (vt.)—tsairmo
duck—batak (IA)
dusk—yan-pa
dye (vt.)—chamo
ear—ratsə

earth—dharta (IA)
est—jar-nam
eat (vt.)—jamo
echo—hum-si-ne
egg—tum
eight—jyaŋ
eighteen—cyabjaŋ
eighty eight—jyaŋ-chajyaŋ
eighty five—jyaŋ-chang
eighty four—jyaŋ-chap
eighty—jyaŋ-chap
eighty nine—jyaŋ-chap-ui
eighty one—jyaŋ-chap-tiŋ
eighty seven—jyaŋ-chap-hna
eighty six—jyaŋ-chap-Tugo
eighty three—jyaŋ-chap-sum
eighty two—jyaŋ-chap-nise
elbow—tse
eleven—cyamə
dirty—saco
end—Tam
enjoy (vt.)—but-təmo
extinguish (vt.)—paŋ-jhyəŋ
eye brow—mit-tsam
eye lashes—mit-tsam
eye lid—mak-kam
eye—mə
face—hu-mə
fall down (v.)—cayama
family—mo-mal
fan (vt.)—phareli-damo
fangs—gar-so
far—hwanam
fast—chaTo
fast (v.)—ro-hwasimo
fasten (vt.)—təŋ-ci-mo
fat—cyoda, nəmtə
fat, grease, life—che
feast—ye-ca-məν
feather—raŋ-pli
feel (vt.)—təmo
festival—tyar (IA)
field—re
fifteen—cyabən
fifty eight—pisa-cibja
fifty five—pisa-cyabən
fifty four—pisa-cyam
fifty—nasa
fifty nine—pisa-cirgu

Darma-English Glossary
fifty one—pisa-cyate
fifty seven—pisa-cyonni
fifty six—pisa-cyTo
fifty three—pisa-cysum
fifty two—pisa-cyane
fight (vt.)—dak-ci-mo
fill (grain) (vt.)—hmômo
fill (liquid) (vt.)—jemo
finger—lak-pum
fire—hmê
firewood—cinj
fish—nyâ
fist—cip
five—ŋai
flame—rap, hmê-rap
flexible—hnap-si-dô
floor—dyâr
flour—hi
flower—phuli (IA)
fly (insect)—makha (IA)
fly (v.)—laŋ-gani
foam—sâmpalo
fodder—swô
fold (cloth) (vt.)—bamo
food, meal—duk-laŋ
foot—like, lige
forbid (vt.)—tomo
forehead—puthra
forest—sera
forget (vt.)—kâl-lo-ci-mo
forty eight—pisa-jyad
forty five—pisa-ŋai
forty four—pisa-pi
forty nine—pisa-gui
forty one—pisa-tiga
forty—pizza
forty seven—pisa-hnis
forty six—pisa-Tugo
forty three—pisa-sum
forty two—pisa-nise
four days after—pi-jya
four—pi
fourteen—cyappi
fox—syalô (IA)
fragrant—bas (IA)
fresh—sontô
frog—palo
frost—brudi
fruit—lo
full—kâbindô
garden—bagîca (IA)
garlic—dam
ginger—cin-rêm
girl—tsâmê
give (vt.)—dâmo
glacier—gâl
gloves—lak-suŋ, lak-ko
go, leave (v.)—demo
goat (bearable)—laŋsaŋ
goat (female)—cêm-tsô
igoat (male)—la-mâla
igoat (uncastrated)—bokyô (IA)
God—se
gold—jhaŋ
good—bûdô
gourd—kâdu
gown belt—juŋ-juŋaŋ
gown—jhuco (for unmarried female)
granary—bun-cim
grass—tsi
grate, grind (vt.)—himo
graze (v.)—hrok-ci-mo
green—tînda
ground—thôŋ
gums—nil
guts—paŋ-dan
hair—tshum
hammer—Thuŋô
hand—la
hang (vt.)—tômô
happy—bûdô
hard—saro
harvest time—kâtigu-mâtigu
hate (vt.)—yat-tëmo
have (vt.)—âni
he—o
head—pica
headgear (for female)—cukti
headgear (for male)—bên-thuluk
hear (vt.)—ran-ci-mo
heart—ci-ci
hearth—mê-lin
heaven—mêhôr
heavy—lotô
heel—khwâpa
height—âŋ-sîda
hell—sâpô
help (vt.)—Donmo
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<td>hill, mountain—we</td>
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<td>his, her—o-ge</td>
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<td>hoe—boŋci</td>
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<td>hut—channî (IA)</td>
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<td>I (1sg pronoun)—ji, je</td>
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<td>ice—tîlin</td>
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<td>light (v.)—tomo</td>
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<td>increase (liquid) (v.)—sêmo</td>
<td>like that—âna-rok-tô</td>
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<td>like this—hi-na-rok-tô</td>
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<td>infant—balo (IA)</td>
<td>like (v.)—mân-ramo</td>
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<td>lion—sâŋ-wa</td>
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<td>insect—nôbû-nôba)</td>
<td>lips—ak-plî</td>
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<td>insult (v.)—mâi-kymo</td>
<td>listen (v.)—run-ci-mo</td>
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<td>intestines—tsiri</td>
<td>live (v.)—ni-ci-mo</td>
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<td>invite (v.)—huica-thîrmo</td>
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<td>iron—nô-jhâŋ</td>
<td>lizard (wild)—jhan-ko</td>
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<td>iron shaft—phalâm</td>
<td>lock—gwâlcya</td>
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<td>jar, pot—ghâri (IA)</td>
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<td>joints—tse</td>
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<td>key—taron</td>
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<td>kidney—kha-sya</td>
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low—hle-si-tə
lungs—luŋ-bər
maize—ghoga
mango—am (IA)
many (animate)—mətə (IA)
many (inanimate)—yəmba
mare—hrəŋ-mo
mark—sim
marriage—Dhami
measure (grains) (v.)—pamo
measure (v.)—hnəŋmo
meat—cyə
medicine—wo-so
meet (v.)—chimo
melon—khaɾbəja (IA)
melt (vi.)—thi-ci-mo
melt (vt.)—thimo
memory—tsi, tsii-ram
mid night—bhaɾ-minchə
middle size—gun-dhak
milk (v.)—nu-chirmo
mind—cyə (IA)
molar tooth—gəm-su
molasses—guru (IA)
mole—khurə
monkey—bədər (IA)
month—hla
moon—hla
morning—bəŋ-khər
morning—bəŋkhar
mortar—pala
mosquito—halkti
moss—na-kəl
moss (on the tree)—pəm-pu
mouse—nəpyu
mouth—ak
mud—kəcar
mule—De
mushroom—mok-cyə
my, mine—ji-ge
nail—lak-cin
name (to give) (v.)—hmin-tamo
name—hnim
narrow—ghəktə
navel—pər
near—nero (IA)
neary—lo-lo-sə
neck—bana
need (v.)—cinta

needle—chyəb
nest—huəli
net—təŋ-yəŋ
new—nədə
next—gəɾə
next year—nəŋ-kho
night—min-chə
nine—gwi
nineteen—cyəɾgu
ninety eight—jəc-chə-gə-cyəɾbiɣə
ninety five—jəc-chə-gə-cyəɾən
ninety four—jəc-chə-gə-cyəɾi
ninety nine—jəc-chə-gə-cyəɾgu
ninety one—jəc-chə-gə-cyate
ninety—pyə-te-sai
ninety seven—jəc-chə-gə-cyamn
ninety six—jəc-chə-gə-cyəɾTo
ninety three—jəc-chə-gə-cyəɾsum
ninety two—jəc-chə-gə-cyən
node (v.)—ma-nəmo
north (right side)—tak-təm
nose—hnim
nostrils—hnim-Don-Tho
obey (v.)—kəya-rəŋmo
obstruct (v.)—tomo
occupy (v.)—api-suŋmo
offer, pay (v.)—damo
often—khaŋa-guə
oil—tela (IA)
oil (v.)—nəmo
old (person)—səntə
old—səntə
old—wida
one thousand—həjər (IA)
one—tigə
onion—pyəj (IA)
only—ləŋ
open (door) (v.)—phomo
open (eyes) (v.)—Tomo
open (knot) (v.)—phəɾmo
open (mouth) (v.)—a-thomo
open—kə-bhokə
orange—naraŋgi (IA)
our—iŋ-ge
ox—raŋ-ŋiŋə
paddy—gə
paint (v.)—ɾəŋə-semo
pair—joŋ
pajamas—khaŋə
| Palm — phē-la    | read (v.) — hlok-ci-mo   |
| Parrot — sua (IA) | ready — ka-jhoktā      |
| Part — jāl      | rear (v.) — thọŋmo       |
| Pastel — dum-tala | rebuke (v.) — yadā-buḍa-leṁa |
| Patella — pe-hre | red — māndā            |
| Path — am       | refuse (v.) — aha-mo      |
| Paw — hmē      | regularly — lagotar (IA)  |
| Peacock — mor (IA) | reind — a-gal         |
| Pebble — hrak-sa | relatives — cya-ci        |
| Peel out (v.) — khomo | relax (v.) — hna-cī-mo   |
| Peg — tok-sin  | religion — dharma (IA)   |
| Person — timi   | reply (v.) — lān-thomo    |
| Plough — kহwātān | resin (of pine) — lisu    |
| Pluck (v.) — thomo | return (v.) — thok-ci-mo |
| Poison — duo    | ribs — bhatā            |
| Porcupine — boś | rice (cooked) — chakū     |
| Post (pillar) — cil, pil-pai | rice — phucāp |
| Potato — alu (IA) | right — ghaktā        |
| Pound (v.) — Dhunmo | rinse (v.) — khāmamo  |
| Pour out (v.) — hyēmo  | ripe (fruit) — chetta  |
| Pray (v.) — nip-cimo | ripe (v.) — po-hmintō  |
| Precipice — be-bah               | river — yānti           |
| Prepare (v.) — yaŋmo          | roast (in oil) (v.) — bhu-Themo |
| Price — mola (IA) | roast (on fire) (v.) — romo |
| Priest — lāhma     | roasted barley — po    |
| Protect (v.) — dārmo     | roasted food — rom     |
| Pungent — duktā    | rock — be              |
| Push (v.) — dirmo    | roll down (v.) — pārṭa-suṃmo |
| Put up (v.) — tamo    | roll up (v.) — gimmo    |
| Python — tāŋ-bu  | rolled — gin-si-dō      |
| Quarrel (v.) — cə-ci-mo | roof — cim-yar-to (literally on the house) |
| Queen — rani (IA) | roots — boTu           |
| Quickly — chaTo  | rope — phi              |
| Rabbit — phia   | rotten — sidā           |
| Rain — nām     | rough — khās-raktā      |
| Rainy season — sēl | round — Đolo           |
|                | rub (v.) — nēmo         |
|                | run away (stealing) (v.) — phoŋmo |
|                | rupee — cin-cin        |
|                | sacrifice (v.) — samo   |
|                | saliva — ak-silī       |
|                | salt — cha              |
|                | same — ruktā           |
|                | same — ruktā, ruksit    |
|                | sand — bālwa           |
|                | say (v.) — lemo         |
|                | scar — ghu, ghow (IA)   |
|                | scorpion — khwan        |
|                | scratch (v.) — chyomo    |
scrub (v.)—khwemo
scythe—myana (IA)
search (v.)—mamo
see (v.)—qmo
seek—pijë
sell (v.)—ræmo
send off (v.)—la-yëmo
serve (food) (v.)—chermo
set (sun) (v.)—ni-remo
seven—hnis
seventeen—cyënni
seventy eight—Tukcha-gà-cyabjië
seventy five—Tukcha-gà-cyôn
seventy four—Tukcha-gà-cyapi
seventy nine—Tukcha-gà cyargu
seventy one—Tukcha-gà-cyate
seventy—pyël-jjëc-cha-, Tukcha-ci
seventy seven—Tukcha-gà-cyënni
seventy six—Tukcha-gà-cyëTTò
seventy three—Tukcha-gà-cyasum
seventy two—Tukcha-gà-cyane
shake (vi.)—lo-ci-mo
shake (vt.)—lomo
shallow—yuta-møni
sharp—cøntø
shirt—khílta
shoes (woolen)—bàk-tsù
shoes—pola
shoot (v.)—pemo
short, small—mido
shoulder—rø̣̇n
shout (v.)—yermo
show (v.)—hwommo
shrink (v.)—cig-guub
sickle—akhàn
side (left)—sø̣̇n-la
side (right)—ta-la
silver—mul
sing (v.)—bëra-suûmo
sit (v.)—coû-ci-mo
six—Tûggò
sixteen—cyëTTò
sixty eight—Tuk-cha-jyød
sixty five—Tuk-cha-ŋai
sixty four—Tuk-cha-pì
sixty nine—Tuk-cha-guí
sixty one—Tuk-cha-tigø
sixty seven—Tuk-cha-hnis
sixty six—Tuk-cha-Tugo
sixty three—Tuk-cha-sum
sixty—Tuk-cha
t sixty two—Tuk-cha-nise
skin—be
skin—ø̣̇n
skull—puu-cya
sky—tim-bu
sleep (v.)—yamo
slip (v.)—syomo
slope—bha
slow—saju
smell (v.)—hnimmo
smoke—ku
smoke (v.)—hwurmo
smooth—cyøktø
sneeze—jhim
sneeze (v.)—jhimmo
snot—hnep-tì
snow—hro
snow-fall—gun-cha
soak (v.)—cyamo
soft—naøtø
soil—sa
sole—pøtal
sour—sirtø
south (left side)—ser-tøm
sow (v.)—yømmo
speak (v.)—phamo
spider—Doø-Doø-kali
spin (v.)—pømìmo
spinach—paliñu (IA)
split (milk) (v.)—bîth-remo
split (wood) (v.)—pømìmo
spread (bed) (v.)—bøø-sëmo
spread (grains) (v.)—komo
spread (seed) (v.)—phemo
spread (tent) (v.)—chyaar-tùmu
spring—tha
spring—yeø
spring (v.)—pøø-ci-mø
sprout—høøkàr
squeeze (v.)—cìmo
stale—bøø (IA)
stand up (v.)—yømmo
steal (v.)—kuømo
stealthily—ku-ci-go
stick—dùli
stinking—løatakø
stir (v.)—kømo
thick (liquid)—pheta
thigh—jono (IA)
thin (liquid)—thita
thin (objects)—laktə
thirteen—cyəs-sum

Darma-English Glossary
twenty two—nässa -nisë
two—nic
two years after—dayen
two years ago—rugan
uncover (v.)—cyamo
understand (v.)—tsi-ramo
unhappy—yada
untie (v.)—phärmo
upwards—tho-cënto
urine—chjak-ca
use (v.)—sê-cimo
usually—amtor-ko (IA)
utensils—bhanDo (IA)
valley—raju
vegetables—dimti
verandah—Don-hër
vomit (v.)—lojmo
wall—bøn-phøl
walnut—kha
want (v.)—cimmo
wash (animals) (v.)—nijë-urmo
wash (clothes) (v.)—chilmo
wash (floor) (v.)—lummo
wash (hands) (v.)—urmo
water—tì
water-pot—polì
we (all)—in-jëmma, in-lëiri
we (pl.excl.)—ni
we (two)—in-nì
weak—thutì
weave (v.)—rëmìmo
week—hàpta (IA)
weep (v.)—temó
west—re-nam
wet (to get) (v.)—thimo
wet (to make) (v.)—cyamo
wet—thità
what—khë
wheat—ræjë
when—o-lên-pa
where—ulo
whisper—rërtsë
white—cìdò
who (sg.)—khàmi
who (pl.)—khàmi-khàmi
whole—lëmma
whom—khàmi-ja
whose—khàmi-gë
widow—râDi (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 descendents 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 descendents 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

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1.0.2 Vowels

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<td>ε</td>
<td>a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.0.3 Supra segmental

Nasalization [ā]

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/, /χ/ 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 /kæl-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 [ʃ], 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pati</td>
<td>hyāpar 'brave'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pīThu</td>
<td>ḫapūrō 'thin'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>phulō</td>
<td>saphō 'clean'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phōri</td>
<td>sirphō 'only'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>binti</td>
<td>bābbār 'flat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bāN</td>
<td>jibari 'coward'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/bh/</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td>kābhai 'when'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bhudō</td>
<td>'bush'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>potēra 'braid'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tālō</td>
<td>ceta 'after'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>thapī</td>
<td>'to carry (on head)'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thū</td>
<td>'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>darō</td>
<td>giddō 'neck'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daru</td>
<td>sidu 'straight'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>dhērō</td>
<td>dudhān 'milk'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhuli</td>
<td>'ash'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/T/</td>
<td>Tōka</td>
<td>kāTo 'bull'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokēnya</td>
<td>khoTē 'tight'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/Th/</td>
<td>Thepe</td>
<td>pīThu 'flour'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ThēTTa</td>
<td>kaThō 'firewood'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/D/</td>
<td>Daha</td>
<td>haDōn 'bone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
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<tr>
<td>'field'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'sheep'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhị</td>
<td>'one and a half'</td>
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<td>buDha</td>
<td>'old man'</td>
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<td>Dhi</td>
<td>'To fall down'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
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<td>'after'</td>
<td>hace</td>
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<td>'to tear'</td>
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<td>jü</td>
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<td>najik</td>
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<tr>
<td>'near'</td>
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<td>/jeThu/</td>
<td>jeThu</td>
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<td>bhujo</td>
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<td>'gourd'</td>
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<td>/jh/</td>
<td>jhī-yē</td>
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<td>'to get wet'</td>
<td>jijharo</td>
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<td>'meal'</td>
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<td>γuka</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĥātasi</td>
<td>'saw'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhōnas</td>
<td>'bow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/χ/</td>
<td>χui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'blood'</td>
<td>bāγo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'calf (of cow)'</td>
<td>comαχ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rainy season'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χενα</td>
<td>'foot-hill'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dεγ</td>
<td>'earth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rīχ</td>
<td>'anger'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>hui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'whom'</td>
<td>behe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'guava'</td>
<td>lōh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'iron'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōŋ</td>
<td>'to catch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhā</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>lau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>palāg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'spinach'</td>
<td>attāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'just now'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesnī</td>
<td>'garlic'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīlē</td>
<td>'to scrub'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāpal</td>
<td>'forehead'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lh/</td>
<td>lhaine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to sing'</td>
<td>ha-lhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to bathe'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>raNīa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'widow'</td>
<td>guru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'elbow'</td>
<td>kāmbār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waist'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retT</td>
<td>'early morning'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byar</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mor</td>
<td>'peacock'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rh/</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to climb down'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhāpe</td>
<td>'to swim'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwari</td>
<td>'son's wife'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naw</td>
<td>'house'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>yakō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to lift'</td>
<td>gayāre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'night'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2 Vowels

1. All vowels occur in all the positions except /e/ and /eː/, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>itə</td>
<td>'to grind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ija</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː/</td>
<td>əhɔi</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>əb</td>
<td>'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔi</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>agaxı</td>
<td>'heaven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aŋ-ghɔi</td>
<td>'to believe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>urau-æ</td>
<td>'to fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>upasyo</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ugaro</td>
<td>'mastication'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>okgədi</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soŋ</td>
<td>'light in weight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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Clusters are divided into four types: (1) geminates, (2) homorganic nasal plus oral consonant clusters, (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/**  
  - χαραπρο  
  - 'python'  
  - jippa  
  - 'yak'
- **/bb/**  
  - βαβρ  
  - 'flat surface'  
  - Dubbya  
  - 'to drown' (intr)
- **/tt/**  
  - βατα  
  - 'cooked rice'  
  - lατα  
  - 'cloth'
- **/dd/**  
  - γιδδο  
  - 'vulture'  
  - addu  
  - 'ginger'
- **/TT/**  
  - στΤθο  
  - 'eight'  
  - DaTTθα  
  - 'alone'
- **/DD/**  
  - γαζζο  
  - 'river'  
  - maζζο  
  - 'to rub (imperative)'
- **/cc/**  
  - κικκο  
  - 'low'  
  - cucca  
  - 'breasts'
- **/jj/**  
  - βαβμ  
  - 'brother’s son'  
  - bαβμ  
  - 'brother’s daughter'
- **/kk/**  
  - λικκκ  
  - 'egg of louse'  
  - muTikkα  
  - 'fist'
- **/kkh/**  
  - κακκο  
  - 'taste (imperative)'  
  - bhukkko  
  - 'hungry'
- **/gg/**  
  - ραγγο  
  - 'high, hight'  
  - λαγγο  
  - 'bread'
- **/mm/**  
  - χαβα  
  - 'all'  
  - mανθα  
  - 'maternal uncle'
- **/nn/**  
  - μαντα  
  - 'month'  
  - μανναο  
  - 'agree'
- **/ss/**  
  - κικκαναζ  
  - 'scorpion'  
  - mασσι  
  - 'porcupine'
- **/ll/**  
  - γαλλι  
  - 'cheeks'  
  - khαλλο  
  - 'skin'

### 2.1.3.2 Homorganic nasal clusters

- **/mb/**  
  - jambil  
  - 'jaw'  
  - kαμβαρ  
  - 'waist'
- **/nt/**  
  - γιντα  
  - 'before'
- **/nd/**  
  - θανθερ  
  - 'large'
- **/NT/**  
  - γανΤθα  
  - 'bell'
- **/ND/**  
  - χανΝθα  
  - 'ribs'
- **/nc/**  
  - μανκα  
  - 'person'
- **/nch/**  
  - μανκθ  
  - 'iris of eye'
- **/nj/**  
  - βανκα  
  - 'sister’s son'
- **/nk/**  
  - χινκα  
  - 'sneeze'
- **/ŋ/**  
  - jανγα  
  - 'thigh'

### 2.1.3.3 Dissimilar consonant clusters

- **/pk/**  
  - cipkao  
  - 'stick the bill'
- **/TI/**  
  - baTa  
  - 'rolled up'
- **/jm/**  
  - rajma  
  - 'long beans'
- **/kr/**  
  - mukrya  
  - 'hammer'
- **/st/**  
  - χανστο  
  - 'cheap'
- **/hr/**  
  - mohri  
  - 'window'
- **/ŋt/**  
  - χαντζου  
  - 'narrow'
- **/rph/**  
  - sirphα  
  - 'only'

- **/md/**  
  - sαμδι  
  - 'son’s wife's father'
- **/Db/**  
  - haDbi  
  - 'quickly'
- **/ks/**  
  - dακσιθα  
  - 'south'
- **/kh/**  
  - ακροθα  
  - 'south'
- **/ht/**  
  - cehTa  
  - 'after'
- **/hl/**  
  - mohλνη  
  - 'pestle'
- **/ŋl/**  
  - phυνλο  
  - 'waterpot'
- **/rt/**  
  - dharti  
  - 'earth'
2.1.3.4 Consonant plus semi-vowel clusters

```
 rk/  cirkɔnti  'ant'  
 rm/  ɾχarmàu  'to feel shy'  
 lk/  cilkunti  'mole'  

 /rg/  murga  'cock'  
 /lb/  phulbɔr  'aluminium'
 /ls/  silsya  'bed bug'
```

2.1.4 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences are also treated as actual sequences within a morpheme. Inter-
morpheme 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.

```
 /o/  ai  'this'  /u/  au  Tha  'chin'
 /ao/  aoDya  'goose berry'  /ui/  ði/  bhãsi  'buffalo'
 /ou/  jôura  'rope'  /au/  dhau  'big'
 /oo/  naoni  'butter'  /ai/  dainu  'right side'
 /ai/  májju  'mother's brother's wife'  /au/  khurai  'molar teeth'
 /a/  mãijj  'mother's younger sister'  /au/  pau  'one fourth'
 /ao/  nao  'hut'  /e/  piero  'yellow'
 /eu/  deurɔ  'husband's younger brother'  /ia/  hadiari  'regularly'
 /eo/  teo  'hotplate'  /ui/  µi/  cuĩca  'small'
 /iu/  ciudya  'lips'  /ua/  rua  'cotton'
 /iu/  thiu  'sweet'  /ua/  duar  'door leaf'
 /oa/  boa  'bird'  /oi/  jigoi  'breakable'
 /ia/  ghian  'refined butter'  /oi/  khoina  'to untie'
 /ui/  cüi  'needle'  /ûa/  hûa  'to have'
```

Three vowel clusters:

```
 /iua/  ckiu  'end'  /ia/  rãNûua  'widower'
 /ia/  guraia  'kidney'  /ua/  kàTûua  'bowl'
 /ia/  huia  'whirl wind'  /uai/  huai  'that lady'
 /ãia/  jüai  'daughter's husband'
```

2.2 Syllable structure

The syllable in Raji can 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 /ai/ 'this', /ai/ 'he', a vowel and a consonant, as in /ãb/ 'now', a

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consonant and a vowel, as in /nɑ/ '1st. singular', /χu/ 'who', a consonant plus diphthong, as in /ruə/ 'cotton', a consonant plus triphthong, as in /jʊai/ 'daughter's husband', a consonant plus /-y-/ plus vowel, as in /θyu/ '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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Raji</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>haDəŋ</td>
<td>haD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'refined butter'</td>
<td>ghiəŋ</td>
<td>ghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
<td>chiŋkya</td>
<td>chiṅk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td>daro</td>
<td>daRh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waist'</td>
<td>kəmbər</td>
<td>kəmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'star'</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>tara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'day'</td>
<td>dhyuŋ</td>
<td>dlwəs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'flower'</td>
<td>phuləŋ</td>
<td>phul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The structure of the noun phrase consists of the following hierarchy:

Demonstrative + modifier(s) + noun + plural + case
əi-la həpurə  ləŋə Tokenya 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' byawlī 'bride'
sala 'wife's younger brother' salī 'wife's younger sister'
ghoDa 'horse' ghoDi 'mare'
da 'elder brother' di 'elder sister'
murga 'cock' murgi 'hen'
gødha 'donkey' gødhi 'she donkey'

maTa 'Male/female monkey' *maTi is not acceptable
bheD 'Male/female sheep' --
bokka 'Male/female goat' bokki (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'   |
| paya   | 'son'      | garō | 'daughter' |
| giro   | 'husband'  | mete | 'wife'     |
| bhuli  | 'younger brother' | bhainya | 'younger sister' |
| buari  | 'younger brother's wife' | jūāi | '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 [-jamma ~ -jammal] 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 jammal 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>naji/nhimi</td>
<td>nani -jəmmal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl.</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>nəŋ-ni/-nhimi</td>
<td>nani-jəmmal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai-nhimi</td>
<td>əni/ai-jəmmal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ə تصنيع/ 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'
- əila: 'these'
- əiya: 'there'

**Non-proximate**
- ai: 'that'
- aila: 'those'
- aiya: 'there'

3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The base form or the root for interrogative pronouns is /چ-/ or /چu-/ as in Darma, Chaudangsi and many other TB languages. Raji attests [həŋ ~ hə] 'what', and /ɡu-/ 'which', different from Darma and Chaudangsi.

- چ: 'who'
- چəi: 'by whom'
- چүkə: 'whose'
- həŋ ~ hə: 'what'
- guna: 'which'
- kɨξuə: 'why'
- ghā: 'where'
- چu hɨ: 'Who is (there),'
- چu bə u: 'Whom (shall I) give it to?'
- əi hā hɨ: 'What is this?'
- nəŋ چүkə pəyəo ci hɨ: 'Whose child are you?'
- nəŋ nao guna hɨ: 'Which is your house?'
- nəŋ həŋ kam jei re: 'What work do you do?'

/həŋ/ is reduplicated if the question involves plurals, e.g.:
nāni-kē godi naya hāŋ hāŋ kheti hī re
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 /pāŋkā/ (sg) and /pāŋkāl/ (pl) are borrowed from Hindi (Hindi, ḍn, Kumaoni, ḍnka). They follow the subject and precede the object, e.g.

na pāŋkā jaku ja re 'I eat (eating) my food.'
nani pāŋkāl jaku jai re 'We eat (eating) our food.'
naŋ pāŋkā jaku ja re 'You eat (eating) your food.'
nani pāŋkāl jaku jai re 'You (pl.) eat (eating) your food.'
geda pāŋkāl jaku jai re '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 /-yē/ 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 hī
boy go PRESENT
'(The) boy goes.'

na ti tituŋ hī
I water drink PRESENT
'I drink water.'

reecho pithoragarh-ya ka hūa re
personal.name place.name-LOC move be PRESENT
'Rekha has gone to Pithoragarh.'

Agentive: /-yē/

na-yē ija-khāŋai dudhāŋ bi-te hūa re
I-AGT mother-BEN milk move-COMPL be PRESENT
'I have brought milk for my mother.'

Accusative/Dative: zero

miThai geda be
sweet boy give
'Give (the) sweet to (the) boy.'

ghaŋa goru haiTe
grass cow feed
'Feed (the) grass to (the) cow.'
"Give this saree to (the) girl."

**Allative:** /be/

\[ \text{ai} \ nao-\text{be} \ \text{hā} \ jia \]

'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.

\[ \text{goD-} \text{ai} \ \text{kəThəŋ} \ \text{katiu} \ \text{rē} \]

'(He) cuts (the) wood with (the) axe.'

\[ \text{garō} \ \text{sabun-} \text{āi} \ \text{lōtta} \ \text{cipe} \ \text{rē} \]

'(The) girl washes (the) cloth with soap.'

\[ \text{naŋkələm-} \text{ōi} \ \text{likkyo} \]

'You write with (a) pen.'

\[ \text{geda} \ \text{ti-} \text{kōi} \ \text{khuDDD} \ \text{hā} \ \text{rē} \]

'The boy is playing with water.'

**Benefactive:** /khanəi/

\[ \text{na-} \text{yē} \ \text{pənikə} \ \text{metə-khanəi} \ \text{pa} \text{Ta} \ \text{bi-} \text{tē} \ \text{hūa} \ \text{rē} \]

'I have brought (a) saree for my wife.'

\[ \text{ram} \ \text{geda-khanəi} \ \text{mīThai} \ \text{bi-} \text{tē} \ \text{hūa} \ \text{rē} \]

'Ram has brought sweets for (the) boys.'

**Ablative:** /-di/

\[ \text{na} \ \text{dilli-} \text{di} \ \text{bi} \ \text{hūa} \ \text{rē} \]

'I have come from Delhi.'
siŋ-di siŋkə whao jhərəu re
tree-ABL leaf separate fall PRESENT
'A leaf falls from the tree.'

tsita goDi-di bi hūa re
personal.name fields-ABL move be PRESENT
'Sita has come from (the) fields.'

Genitive: /-kə/

āi syamu-kə nao hī
this personal.name-GEN house COPULA
'This is Syamu's house.'

bheDa-kə unnaō kaTTo bōi
sheep-GEN wool cut HORTATIVE
'Let us cut the wool of the sheep.'

nao-kə pakhao χudari bōi
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:

āi na garō hī
this I girl COPULA
'This is my daughter.'

χuai na nao hī
that I house COPULA
'That is my house.'

χuai mā naŋ-kə metə hī
that lady you-GEN wife COPULA
'That lady is your wife.'

āi nəcə ai-kə ba hī
this man he-GEN father COPULA
'This man is his father.'

Locative: [-ya ~ -yā]

mej-ya kitab tha hai e re
table-LOC book lie PRESENT ecliptic PRESENT
'(The) book is lying on (the) table.'
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Modified NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhikko</td>
<td>geda</td>
<td>nhikkogeda 'good boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thęnto</td>
<td>siŋ</td>
<td>Thęntosiŋ 'dry wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khani</td>
<td>phəŋlo</td>
<td>khəniphəŋlo 'empty pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moTiya</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>moTiyami 'fat person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhikkəl</td>
<td>behe</td>
<td>jhikkəlbehe 'many guavas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gintako</td>
<td>garoŋ</td>
<td>gintakogarоŋ 'first girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rukka</td>
<td>bəreŋ</td>
<td>rukkabəreŋ 'last year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jibi</td>
<td>bəreŋ</td>
<td>jibibəreŋ 'next year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləŋka</td>
<td>bhiTTa</td>
<td>ləŋkəbhiTTa 'faraway mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>najikə-lho</td>
<td>yoŋ</td>
<td>najike-lho yoŋ 'path nearby'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'   |
| χəŋ    | 'three' | pari    | 'four'  |
| pəŋə   | 'five'  | turke   | 'six'   |
| χətte  | 'seven' (Hindi) | oTTəh | 'eight' (Hindi) |
| nouə   | 'nine' (Hindi) | dəχı   | 'ten' (Hindi) |
| gyara  | 'eleven' (Hindi) | bara   | 'twelve' (Hindi) |
| unis   | 'nineteen' (Hindi) | bis   | 'twenty' (Hindi) |
| nabbe  | 'ninety' (Hindi) | ninanabbe | 'ninety nine' (Hindi) |
| χəe    | 'hundred' (Hindi) | |
| Dah-həjar | 'one thousand' (Hindi həjar) | |
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raji</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suruko</td>
<td>'1st'</td>
<td>suruka 'the begining one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duχaro</td>
<td>'2nd'</td>
<td>dusra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χu</td>
<td>'3rd'</td>
<td>tisra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pariu</td>
<td>'4th'</td>
<td>cautha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pŋau</td>
<td>'5th'</td>
<td>pacwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turku</td>
<td>'6th'</td>
<td>chaơTha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χaTThau</td>
<td>'7th'</td>
<td>satwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nųuo</td>
<td>'9th'</td>
<td>nųwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dąχa</td>
<td>'10th'</td>
<td>daSwā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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' |
| χųų-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) |
| χųų-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' |
| şowa | 'one and one fourth' (Raji changes the Hindi ş to χ) |
| şaRhe | 'half' (generally added to numerals above three) |
| nai | 'not' |

Some of the fractionals used in Raji are given below:

| pryų-bhag | 'fourth part' |
adda  'half' (Hindi adha)
χu-bhag 'three fourths'
χawaya  'one and one fourth' (Hindi ราว)
Dhiy  'one and a half' (Hindi DeDh)
pauainhi  'one fourth not two', i.e., 'one and three fourths'
ha wai nhi  'two and one fourth'
dhai  'two and a half' (Hindi)
pau noi 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 /lun/ 'to burn', /ja/ 'to eat', /ha/ 'to speak or open mouth', /sin/ 'to ripen', /hoŋ/ 'to hold, catch', /lau/ 'come', /manla/ 'buy', /mhuta/ '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 ruggɔ hī  'I go (leave).'
na hā ruggɔ hī  'I do not go.'
na ruggɔ hā rē  'I am going (leaving).'
nani ruggɔ hā-i rē  'We are going.'
na hā ruggɔ hā rē  'I am not going.'
na ruggɔ χuuccu hā rē  'I want to go.'
naŋ ruggɔ ci hī  '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)
hā  progressive, negative (homophonous)
hī  copula; intransitive present
hē  simple past (for plural subject)
hakko  ability
ri  future
rē  transitive present
si  plural marker in past and future perfect and progressive aspects
sya ~ syā 2nd person marker (in progressive aspect)
tah ~ dha prohibitive
tē completive
torya present perfect (singular subject)
toryε 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: /hī/, [re ~ le]

There are two markers of present tense, i.e. /hī/, and [re ~ le]. The marker /hī/ is actually the equative copula, and occurs when there is no direct object involved in the construction. The marker [re ~ le] occurs when there is a direct object in the construction. In intransitive clauses with a second person singular actor, the form /ci/ appears before /hī/. 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.

/hī/
na ise hī  'I sleep.'
nani nhimi ise hī  'We two sleep.'
nani ise hī  'We (plural exclusive) sleep.'
nani jammał ise hī  'We (inclusive plural) sleep.'
nañ ise ci hi  'You (singular) sleep.'
nañ jammał ise ci hi  'You (plural) sleep.'
aie ise hī  'He sleeps.'
añ ci ise hī  'They sleep.'
na ja hī  'I eat.'
añ ja ci hī  'You eat.'
aie ja hī  'He eats.'

/re/
na jaku ja re  'I eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i re  'We eat food.'
añ jaku ja re  'You eat food.'
nani jaku ja-i re  'You (plural) eat food.'
aie jaku ja re  'He eats food.'
añ ci jaku ja-i re  'They eat food.'

11 Editor's note: There seems to be an exception to this in some uses of the verb 'to drink', as in [na ti tūnu hī] 'I drink water' and [na dudhāŋ tūnu hī] 'I drink milk'. This may be because the verb incorporates the noun /ti/ 'water, liquid' into the verb (originally /tun/). A second exception is the use of /re/ after /lu/ 'bathe', e.g. [raja lu re] 'The king takes a bath'. This may be construed as a transitive action, where /raja/ is the object as well as the actor.

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3.2.1.2 Past tense: zero, /he/

The past tense is unmarked with singular subjects, whereas /he/ occurs mostly with plural subjects.

na jaku ja 'I ate food.'  
nani jaku ja-i he 'We ate food.'  
nəŋ jaku ja 'You (sg) ate food.'  
nəni jaku ja-i he 'You (pl) ate food.'  
aï jaku ja he 'He ate food.'  
əhəi jaku ja-i he '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 [rə] 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.'  
nani jaku ja-i ri 'You (pl.) will eat food.'  
aï 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 [təryə] (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-/, /he/, appears to be a loan from Hindi, e.g. Hindi auxiliary he (sg.) hə (pl.) for the verb 'to be'.

Present perfect:
na ja tərya hī OR  na ja cukko 'I have eaten.'  
nani ja təryə hī OR  nani ja cukko he 'We have eaten.'

Past perfect:
na ja cukkua  na ja tərya hī
'I had eaten.'

'You (sg) had eaten.'

Future perfect: In the future tense /təry-/ is always followed by /hĩ/ (copula) for singular subjects and /sĩhĩ/ (plural + copula) for plural subjects. /rĩ/, the future tense marker, occurs at the end of the sentence.

'I will have eaten.'

'You(pl) will have eaten.'

'He would have eaten.'

'They would have eaten.'

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 /sĩa/. The progressive marker always follows the main verb and precedes the plural marker and the tense markers, /rẽ/ for present, zero (singular actor) or /sĩ/ (plural actor) for past, and /hĩ/ (singular actor) or /sĩ/ (plural actor) plus /rĩ/ in the future tense.

'I am going (leaving).'

'You (sg) are going.'

'You (pl) are going.'

'He is going.'

'They are going.'

'I was going.'

'You (sg) were going.'

'You(pl) were going.'

'He was going.'

'They were going.'

'I will be going.'

'You (sg) will be going.'
3.2.2.3 Habitual: /babbar/

The habitual is expressed by a lexeme, /babbar/, which is a loan adapted from Hindi barabar or bopar 'habitually', preceded by the subject and followed by the object. The progressive marker /hā/ is always used in the predicate to show the continuity of the action.

mohān babbar na nāo-ya lau hā re
personal.name habitual 1st house-LOC come PROGRESSIVE PRESENT
'Mohan habitually comes (is continuously coming) to my house.'

geda babbar khuDDo hā re
boy habitual play PROGRESSIVE PRESENT
'(The) boy habitually plays (is continuously playing).'`

garō babbar nacco hā
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 hī
'I go.'

mī hūn hā re
'(The) fire is burning/hot.'

dihu purub yā tun le
'(The) sun rises in the East.'

bhīTTa pāilodi le hōndal hī
'(The) mountains stand forever.'

gāDDa pāilodi le bāghyā re
'(The) river flows forever.'

3.2.3.2 Subjunctive (Conditional): /aŋař/ ... -ta/

This mood is expressed by the conditional lexeme /aŋař/, a loan from Hindi, which optionally comes at the beginning of the sentence, and the suffix /-ta/, which comes at the end of the dependent clause. The suffix /-ta/ also appears to be a form adapted from Hindi, in this case of /to/, a subjunctive clause terminal.

aŋař tānkha dha ri tā...
if salary get FUT COND
'If (I) get the salary, ...'

nhikko hī ri tō 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.

- phunlo-ya ti bhār-o: Fill the vessel with water.
- tī hē la: Bring water (emphatic /hē/, /la/ 'come').
- nāē nāo-ya ghē: You go to the house.
- hōinā dhā dābbō: Do not see dreams.

3.2.3.4 Hortative: /bāi/

- bheDa-kō unnaō kaTTō bāi: Let us cut the wool of the sheep.
- nāo-kō pakhao χūdari bāi: Let us repair (the) roof of (the) house.

3.2.3.5 Interrogative: /hōē/

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.:

- hōē nāē kam jhei rē: Do you work?
- hōē nāē bāba pāiχā jia bāu rē: Do you give money to your father?
- hōē nāē hādiari ci lhu rē: Do you take a bath daily?

3.2.3.6 Other mood markers:

- /hākkō/: 'ability marker'
- na kam ghāi hākkō rē: I can work. Literally: 'I can do work.'
- ai paDaō hākkō rē: He can read.
- syām nāo-bē ga hākkō rē: Syam can go to (the) house.

- /χūccu/: 'want, desire'
- na ruggō χūccu hā: I want to go.

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garō nacco χuccu hā  'The) girl wants to dance.'
ai isekē χuccu hā  'He wants to sleep.'

/cai-/  'should, must'
nānji jaku ja caiyo rē  'You (pl.) should/must eat food.'
ai sbe rugga caiyo rē  'Now he must go.'
na lhu caiyo rē  '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 rē  'The king takes a bath.'
dayai raja ha-lhu rē  '(The) slave bathes the king.'
geda bhattā ja rē  'The boy eats rice.'
ijau-gāi geda bhattā hai-tu rē  'Mother feeds rice to the boy.'
nokār kam khāi rē  '(The) servant works.'
mali-kāi nokarao kam ha-gāi-yu rē  'Master gets (the) work done by the servant'  

3.2.5 Negatives: /hā/, [tah ~ dhā]

Negatives in Raji can be divided into two subcategories, i.e. (1) negative and (2) prohibitive. The general negative marker is /hā/, whereas the prohibitive marker is [tah ~ dhā]. Both the negative and prohibitive markers precede the verb in a construction.

Negative: /hā/

na sya hā ja rē  'I do not eat meat.'
garō sya hā ja-i rē  'Girls do not eat meat.'
Golu nao-be hā jia  'Golu did not go home.'
shiela hā nacco hī ri  'Shiela will not have danced.'

Prohibitive: [tah ~ dhā]

nān tah khuDD-o  'You don't play.'
coru tah hoŋ ni  'Don't catch the thief.'
dudhān dhā tītun-o  'Don't drink milk.'
kui dhā sya no  'Don't kill the dog.'

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12Editor's note: It seems there are quite a few pronunciations for the word for 'do', as in 'do work': [jhei], [ghai], [khai], [gōi], [ghè] although /khāi/ 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 [nokār] 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], [yē], [-kē], [-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 rə 'I usually eat.'
I usually eat PRESENT

jagita khəitəl ghə 'continue doing, continuosly doing, do'
attəl khəi 'Do (it) at once.'
həDbe khəi 'Do (it) quickly.'
cyuTTi-na həta 'I killed hastily (quickly).'
gaDDa pəlodzi-lə bəgghyə rə 'Rivers are flowing forever.'
ai kixəl lau 'Why did he come?'
naŋ guhə pi rələ 'Where are you going (moving)/cli'
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', /həŋəiki/ '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 hə-i rə
Sita and Gita and sing PROGRESSIVE-pl. PRESENT
'Sita and Gita are singing (a) song.'

na ləi na bhəua ləi bəjar-ya ga hə-i rə
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-bə ta gane pər kam āji həu lə
I house-ALL though go but work unfinished be PRESENT
'I (would) have gone home but the work has remained unfinished.'

dhansioŋ ta nhikko lə həu pər bhəua bimər həu
Dhan sinh though good emphatic be but brother sick be
'Dhan sinh is alright but his brother is sick.'
3.4.3 /haŋ̃i/ 'because'

na byar hā biye haŋ̃i byar na bimar hī
I yesterday NEG move because yesterday I sick COPULA
'I did not come yesterday because I was sick.'

coru thuakke haŋ̃i bāhār Thēppō hī
thief run.away because outside dark COPULA
'(The) thief ran away because it was dark outside.'

3.4.4 [tāp ~ tāb] 'that is why'

manōŋ phandao hē tāp ti hā hī ye
forest destroy PAST that.is.why water not COPULA become
'The forest got cut that is why it did not rain.'

na khuDDo hā tāp nān-ya hā bi hākkō
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.

whāi āi lā lōDa hī [jo byar bi hūa] same he emphatic boy COPULA RELPRO yesterday move be
'He is the same boy who came yesterday.'

āi whāi bāghol hī [jo bākka ja] this same tiger COPULA RELPRO goat eat
'This is the same tiger which ate the goat.'

[joi bākka hā-te ha] āi 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 /ta/ marker in the dependent clause was discussed earlier under the subjunctive mood (2.2.3.2). The other type of conditional is formed with /jāb/, again a Hindi loan, which does not take any marker in the coordinate clause, e.g.
'When you come I will be at home.'

'When it rains we will sow the fields.'
RAJI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

ab (IA)—now
ahat—difficult
ahai—yes
ai—this
ai—what
ai-jammal—whole
ai-xai—this year
ai-ya—there
aiha—here
aila—these
ailana-cai—use (v.)
akhrot (IA)—walnut
amm—a—father's mother; mother's mother
ANDa (IA)—egg
andher—much
andher-loŋka—far
araŋu—high
aTTha (IA)—eight
attal—at once
attal-jhani—till now
āguli (IA)—thumb
āgulya (IA)—finger
āDya—gooseberry
āsu (IA)—tears (of eyes)
āTuha—chin
a-hai-la—they (male)
abōn—mango
aDain (IA)—two and a half
adda (IA)—half
addu (IA)—ginger
agahō (IA)—above
agaxa—heaven
ahā-ghāi—(IA-TB)—believe (v.)
ai—he
ai-la-ke—their
ai-mā-la—they (female)
aikē (TB-IA)—his, her
ailē, ailō—same
ajji—again
akēro (IA)—costly
alu (IA)—potato
ap-khōita—like that
ba—father
ba—male
bā-bā-ghāi—bellow (v.)
bāhō—chirp (v.)
bāN (IA)—arrow
bāŋga (IA)—crooked
bāś (IA)—bamboo
babbar—usually
babbar-hāina—flat
baDā—wall
bagha (IA)—lion
bahār (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.)
baxa—oil
bāxō (IA)—calf (of cow)
bē ko—offer (v.)
be ryu—roll up
bēcu—defense
be—give
beço-bi (IA)—avoid (v.)
behe—guava
bigauta—first milk
bin-ti-khori—valley
binti ghāi—pray (v.)
birari (IA)—cat
birān-sya—lizard (wild)
bisōn—poison
biye (IA)—seed
biana—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-hōn—catch (fish)
byawli (IA)—bride
byarko—evening
byarō—yesterday
byawlo (IA)—groom
bocen-pharakyor—echo
bodel (IA)—change (v.), alter
baina—big
baina-hattø—loud
bokka—goat
ballya—sand
bona- (IA)—build (v.)
barøya—year
bosti-hi—conceive (vi.)
btao ko—report (v.)
btkao pharkao-ko—reply (v.)
btkao-ghai—talk (v.)
bok (IA)—duck
bayø—fat, grease
bayar (IA)—wind
boyar-hai bo—fan (v.)
bha—ankle
bha—foot
bhåDela (IA)—utensils
bhak—part
bhala—leg
bhaTa—Brinjal
bhaw/nihaw—paw
bheD (IA)—sheep
bhiTORI (IA)—inside
bhiTTa—mountain
bhiTTy—meet (v.)
bhucalo (IA)—earthquake
bhuDa—bush
bhujo—gourd
bhukk- (IA)—bark (v.)
bhukay—fly
bhuli—wife's younger sister's husband
bhull- (IA)—forget (v.)
bhuniya—pig/bore
bhuT- (IA)—burst (vt.)
bhåisi (IA)—buffalo
bhagwan (IA)—God
bhagwan kaheja—take (oath, v.)
bhainyå—husband's younger brother's wife; wife's brother's wife
bhajja (IA)—brother's son (younger or older)
bhajjë (IA)—brother's daughter (younger or older)
bhajja (IA)—sister's son
bhår (IA)—fill (liquid, v.)
bharkyo-bi—return (v.)
bhårøta—full
bhattø (IA)—rice (cooked)
cabi (IA)—key
caha (IA)—tea
cai-(IA)—need (v.)
caiyo re—want (v.)
cakoï- (IA)—chew (v.)
cakur—stretch-self (v.)
cala- (IA)—drive (vehicle, etc.)
chehta—after
chehta—behind
chehtako—last
ceta—after
ci pe—wash (v.)
ci-hamë-jaa—understand (v.)
ci-laggu—sharp
ci-må—father's younger brother's wife
cilkunti—mole
cilbækkyu—flexible
cipka- (IA)—put up notice (v.)
cipka- (IA)—stitch (v.)
cir- (IA)—saw (v.)
cirkenti—ant
ciuDya—lips
cod—throw (v.)
comåx—rainy season
cucca (IA)—breast
cucca-godaw—nipple
culvani—hearth
cuæ-måh—leak (v.)
cyuTTi—lastly
cakal—noon
cakk—cry (v.)
cakkh—taste (v.)
cara—graze (vi.)
chahæ (IA)—buttermilk
chati (IA)—chest
chi—urine
chû—pound (v.)
chølla—bank of river
dabb—see (v.)
dabbu-hå—compare (v.)
dhau—know (v.)
dai (IA)—curd
dai—today
dam (IA)—price
dau—dig
dåxø (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
del—scythe
deu (IA)—husband's brother
deyu—cloud
dey—a—earth
di—husband's elder brother's wife
dida-kidmala—insect
dim (IA)—brain
di-richa (IA)—appear (v.)
don,a—bulge (v.)
duar—door leaf
dudh—milk
dukaiya—father's elder brother; mother's
elder sister's husband
dukro (IA)—second
dukro—next
dukuru (IA)—another/other
dhera—door
dhera-daro—incisors
dhi-pau—defeat (v.)
dhita—down
dhita—downwards
dhitta—below
dhokka-phaka—bless
dhuli (IA)—ash
dhuri-basi (IA)—beam
dhyu (IA)—day
dheda—gums
dhan (IA)—money
dhanas (IA)—bow
dhara—hesitate
dharm (IA)—religion
dhassyo—unrolled
dhaurva—gray
dhaurya (IA)—white
Da haj (IA)—thousand
Da/Dah—one
Dadalya—pillar
Dah phera—one
Daha—hot
Daha—pungent
Dola—dirty
Dola—foam
Dubh (IA)—drown (v.)
Duby (IA)—set (the sun, v.)
Dumba—mushroom
Darn (IA)—alone
Dhina—one and a half
Dhau—fall down (vi.)
Dhakk (IA)—cover (something)
Dhakk—collapse (person)
Dhakki (IA)—close (door, v.)
gad-baddo—brown
gadh (IA)—donkey
gDa—break (vi.)
gaih (IA)—look after (v.)
gair (IA)—deep
gajja/oajji—animal
gall (IA)—melt (vi.)
galli (IA)—cheeks
gururya—kite
gu—where
gTh (IA)—knot
ga-ni—father's sister's husband; elder
sister's husband; husband's elder
sister's husband
gaDa—head
ngaDa—paddy
ngaDa—temple
gal—melt (vt.)
gara ghai—node (v.)
garo—daughter, girl
gata—take (v.)
geda—boy
geda—child
gedi—field
giddo—neck
gidha (IA)—vulture
ginta—before
gintako—first
giro—husband
goDi—ground
go—burst (vi.)
guDo—axe
guPc—frog
guh—see
gui—crack
guna—ear
gurkau—fall down (vt.)
guru—elbow
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gurṣaya—kidney

gurṇ—molasses

ghāT (IA)—bell

ghall—send (v.)

ghayṛi—grass

ghiṇ—refined butter

ghō—gor—drag

goDi (IA)—horse (female)

goDya (IA)—horse (male)

ghoa—maize

ghucc—push

ghuDhi—dough

ghulli—nest

ghumṇ—wheat

ghā-ya-—able (to be)

ghamalīha—hot season

ha-bēcu—protect (v.)

ha-ba-ho—blow (flute, v.)

hadaba—divorce

hadiaro—regularly

haḥuri—amuse (v.)

hajje—low voice

hajjo-ḥaika-ha—hum (a tune, v.)

hakya—finish (v.)

hamaniyā—in front of

haŋ-gaŋ-le—(IA)—accompany with (v.)

haŋly—fasten (v.)

haŋn—cover (vt.)

haŋ-ga-le—morning

haŋpar—strong (cloth)

haŋpar-hi-ta—bravely

haŋpta—(IA)—week

haŋppura—thin (liquid)

hariyo (IA)—green

haŋje—easy

haŋ-ye—curse (v.)

haŋtasi—saw

ha-ha—no

ha-ha-kai—refuse (v.)

haṅbe-co—defend (v.)

ha-ci-laggu—blunt

haṅga haṅa—forbid

haṅk—drive (cattle)

hamāmn—deny (v.)

hānū (IA)—beat (v.)

ha-bēco—save (v.)

ha-kₐ—palm

ha-kauté-pi—carry (hanging, v.)

ha-nā—branch

ha-sikko—teach (v.)

ha-c—tear (v.)

haćaṙa—graze (cattle, v.)

haDbe—quickly

haDbi—quick

haDDo—rugga-ha—leave (v.)

haDṇ (IA)—bone

haḥu—rabbit

hake—clutch

hake—hand

halhu—bathe (v.)

hamu—hair

haninjto—tight

haninųto—fresh

hanu—pierce

hanu—strike (v.)

hao-hao lagua—yawn (v.)

hapar—young

har khai—obstruct (v.)

haro—move (v.)

hasik-ko—(IA)—complain (v.)

hata—kill (v.)

hawa—stir (v.)

hero—log

hila—(IA)—shake (vt.)

himar—ice

himar-pauwē—glacier

ho syo—suck (v.)

hoi ko—tether (cattle, v.)

hoi—bind (v.)

hoi—tie (v.)

hoŋ—hold

hoŋ—catch (v.)

hū—burn (to, common)

huā—have (v.)

huai (mā)—she

huccyo-re—desire (v.)

huiya—storm

hyakku—knead (v.)

hyākuli—throat

hyak—grate (v.)

ica-Dhunṣ—pebbles

iṣa—mother

iṣu buba—husband's father

iṣu—husband's mother; husband's elder sister; wife's mother

iṣu—grate (to grind)

in-khaita—like this

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jāda — root
jogar — weak (breakable)
jagiuṭa-khaital — continuously
jammol (IA) — all
jammön — feast
jong (IA) — thigh
jaur — rope
jaṭho — stick
ja—— eat (v.)
jadoyo — deer
jaiyu (IA) — cream
jali (IA) — net
jamb — jaw
jeThan (IA) — husband's elder brother
jeThu sali (IA) — wife's elder sister
jethu (IA) — wife's elder brother
jia — go (v.)
jibero — tongue
jibi — next year
jiguta — rough
jiharo — priest
jītibwa — win
joDa (IA) — pair
jok (IA) — leech
jū — cold season
jūai (IA) — daughter's husband; sister's son
daughter's husband
ju-ghai — cold (to feel)
juāi — younger sister's husband
jūni — moon
juppa — yak
jhaD- (IA) — sweep (v.)
jhaikala — only
jhi — yē — wet (to get)
jhikkō — group
jhikkal — many
jhuTi-hā-sya — lie (v.)
jhogaru-hī (IA) — attack (v.)
jhār — awake (v.)
jhār — drop (v.)
kobhāi-kobhāi — often
kacar — dirt
kacar — mud
ekai — bite (v.)
keiku — grate (teeth, v.)
kallō — tomorrow
kambar — loin
kambar — waist
kamjor, kācu — weak (human)
kāmō — shake (self, v.)
kāNessi — scorpion
kāpal (IA) — forehead
kāpca — joints
kate-nā-vē — allow
kāTa (IA) — bowl
kāī-ja — mother's younger sister
kāyā (IA) — bell metal
kaco — wet (clothes)
kaco, hariyo — wet (wood)
kaDa — break (vt.)
kahe — barley
kakhēya (IA) — armpit
kakka — father's younger brother; mother's younger sister's husband
kako — crow
kaltā — sell (v.)
kam khāi — work (v.)
kammōhā — tremble (v.)
kaNa (IA) — blind
karu wē — dry (vi.)
karow — dry (field/cloth)
kaT-kano — thorn
kaTha (IA) — firewood
kaTo (IA) — bull
kaTT- (IA) — cut (v.)
kēcī (IA) — scissors
kera (IA) — banana
kera — weep (v.)
kili — nail
kila — post (pillar)
kīnāi — till what time
kīnāo — when
kīTū-ā — pinch (v.)
kōNū (IA) — corner
kotor — comb (v.)
(ore)-ku — fill (grain, v.)
kui — dog
kule — cap
kun — hea (v.)
kur-χaini — chili
kurāi-daro — molar tooth
kuru gucci — heel
kuths-muThu — straw
kha — bitter
khalig — ring
khelle ko — swing (v.)
khetti (IA) — crop
khīsa-nahū — unhappy
khoī—open (knot, v.)
khoṬe—strong (human)
khoṬTa—hard
kuHuDD—play (v.)
kuhi—stream
kuhu (IA)—happy
kuTu-koni—ladder
(kaŋa) khā—close (eyes, v.)
nhā—mouth
kućeab (IA)—mule
kuDya—mortar
kuhaDyo—not smooth
kuai—do (v.)
kuai—open (door, v.)
kuai-pi-yakā—carry (on back, v.)
khalka—rinse (v.)
kuhni—empty
kuhny—pour out
lagā—wear-ornaments (v.)
laggya—bread
laig—arrive (v.)
lam-juŋ-yē—mosquito
latta (IA)—blanket
latta (IA)—cloth
la—come (v.)
lado—belly
laDo hā—kiss (v.)
lagog-ba—help (v.)
lang—long/tall
langā-laī—broad
lekkh—(IA)—write (v.)
lesani (IA)—garlic
letta (IA)—creeper
lhu-hā—bathe (vi.)
likkya—louse (egg)
lipp—plaster (v.)
lisse—lac
loh (IA)—iron
loT—lay down (v.)
loTāi-huā—relax (v.)
lotti—thread
luŋ—burn (vi.)
luŋ-harē—flame
luppi-luppi—stealthily
māina (IA)—month
maŋca—person
maŋe (IA)—heart/mind
maŋla—buy (v.)
māssi (IA)—coal
mā—female
mā-kōi-ne-ko—rebuke (v.)
māhā—salt
māhāk-ko pe-ci—accuse/backbite (v.)
māi—ju—mother's mother's mother
māssi—porcupine
māyā—mouse
mahrāli (IA)—calves
maDD—rub (v.)
maDDo-bai—oil (v.)
mago—cobra
mal-mittar-hī—relatives
mammā—mother's brother (elder or younger)
man—obey (v.)
manāṇ—forest
mar-te—divide (v.)
marā—hunt (v.)
marā—search (v.)
maTa—monkey
maTTa-hā—jump (v.)
mete (address)—wife
mohran—paste
mohri (IA)—window
mon-ve—honey
mor (IA)—peacock
moTiya (IA)—fat
mukreya—hammer
mulya—liver
murga—cock
muTika—fist
mē—fire
mhike—eye
mhike-hanu—eye lashes
mhiṭa—light-fire (v.), burn (vt.)
mhan—face
najik (IA)—near
najikelhō—near
nāŋ—you (sg.)
naŋ-ge—your (sg.)
nānce-paŋ-ri—hate (v.)
nāndā (IA)—husband's younger sister
nāni—you (pl.)
nāni-la-ke—your (pl.)
nāoni (IA)—butter
nārak (IA)—hell
na—ā—my, mine
na-naokāhī (ref)—wife
| na-nike — our          | paga — headgear       |
| nacc- (IA) — dance (v.) | pak-ra — dry (vt.)    |
| naji — we two          | pakha — roof          |
| nako — food            | palo — dew, frost     |
| nali — heavy           | palo ko — roast (v.)  |
| nam — name             | panika khai — occupy (v.) |
| namyo tha — name (to give) | par — rear (v.)       |
| nani ja la — we (excl.) | pari — four          |
| nani — we (incl.)      | pari phera (TB-IA) — four times |
| nao — hut              | parâ (TB-IA) — fourth |
| nap — measure (v.)     | parây bhag — one fourth |
| narangī — orange       | pasin- (IA) — boil/to cook |
| natini — son’s daughter; daughter’s daughter | paTi — arm |
| naw — house            | pato pâko — winnow (v.) |
| ne — I (1sg)           | pau nāi nhī — one and 3 quarters |
| neko — say (v.)        | pau nāi pari — three and 3 quarters |
| nel — cover (self)     | pau nāi χū — two and 3 quarters |
| nelī — wear-clothes (v.) | paχoro — husk (v.)   |
| nicco (IA) — low       | pero (IA) — yellow    |
| nicory — wring (v.)    | pi — carry (v.)       |
| ni-hapta (TB-IA) — fortnight | pịThu — flour       |
| nihān — nail           | pita — bring (v.)     |
| nilo (IA) — blue       | pitał (IA) — brass    |
| nok — invite (v.)      | pnjā — five           |
| nokā — call (v.)       | pnjāo — fifth         |
| noŋ — new              | po — dry (pond, etc.) |
| nouwâ (IA) — nine      | poTTu — intestines    |
| nyoto baṃa — invite to feed (v.) | puchera — tail   |
| nhī bhaq (TB-IA) — double | puhē — knee         |
| nhī — two              | pujo khai — worship (v.) |
| nhī-ḥāq — father’s sister (younger or older) | pujo-ko — sacrifice (v.) |
| nhīmilā — couple       | puran (IA) — old      |
| nhīphera — twice       | purabo (IA) — east    |
| nhikko — good          | pute — navel         |
| nhikko many — love     | puTTa — hips          |
| nhikko-kun — listen (v.) | puTTi (IA) — back of body |
| nhilī — swallow (v.)   | puTTi-haDān (IA) — backbone |
| ohaDyā-hā — plank      | pyṛe-ke-mhīkaw — patella |
| okhadi — medicine      | pyaji — onion         |
| pachāh — west          | phām — memory         |
| paD — (IA) — read (v.) | phaik — beg (v.)      |
| paglyu-wata — madly    | phaNDā — ribs         |
| pakhā (IA) — feather   | phapsu — lungs        |
| pāriwaru (IA) — family | phēlo — plate         |
| patera — braid         | philiTiya — guts      |
| pəTT — jump across (v.) | pho — climb          |
| pou — attack (v.; by animal) | phūgelu — jar, pot  |
| pa ko — weave (v.)     | phulbar (IA) — aluminum |
| pāo — village          | phullu- (IA) — bloom (v.) |
phulāŋ—flower
phu'TTha—buttocks
phaDyaha (IA)—cot
phal (IA)—fruit
phąlo—water-pot
raggu—height
raŋ- (IA)—colour
raŋyā ko—paint (v.)
raŋyā (IA)—dye (v.)
ra ka—quarrel (v.)
ra pe—swim (v.)
rajmā (IA)—bean
rake-ji—collide (v.)
raNiū (IA)—widow
raNiūū (address) (IA)—widower
rattai—morning
rewja (IA)—custom
ri (IA)—anger
rokkā-barāŋ—last year
rop—plant (v.)
rupiya (IA)—rupee
ruwa (IA)—cotton
rhu—climb down
rhun—bright (light)
saka-hī—stop (v.)
somdi—son's wife'f/d'h'f
sala (IA)—wife's younger brother
sali (IA)—wife's younger sister
sapha (IA)—clean
sek- (IA)—brood (v.)
selo—moss/swamp
serā—extinguish (v.)
sewā (IA)—apple
si-gan—blow-nose (v.)
sida hua ra—feel (v.)
sidu—straight
si=k—scrub (v.)
silka—light (lamp)
silo—loose
silasya—bed-bug
sin khallaw (TB-IA)—bark of tree
sin—tree/wood
sina—nose
sine—cook (v.)
sine—ripe (to get)
si=9n—horn
sirpha (IA)—only
sirā—louse
sive—death
sive- TB)—die
soŋ—light
sura (IA)—beginning
suru ko (IA)—first
suru-ghai- (used as IA)—begin (v.)
suye—corpse
sya—flesh
sya—meat
syaDi—fox
syari—jackal
tāb (IA)—then
taiyar (IA)—ready
talwari (IA)—sword
tāmaku (IA)—tobacco
take—fight (v.)
talle—lake
tambo (IA)—copper
tany—increase (stretch)
(mhāŋ)—tar—close (mouth, v.)
taro lao ko—close (mouth, v.)
taru—uvula
țe=țe w—hot plate
ti—rain
ti—water
to-lo—towards
to-nko—pull out (v.)
tona—bring out (v.)
tu—lift (v.)
tu—pluck (v.)
tuha-poTha—chicken
țuŋ—drink (v.)
tyo|hā (IA)—festival
thā-pi—carry (in hand, v.)
thā—bring down (v.)
thā—keep (v.)
than—temple
thepe—dark
thiu—sweet
thokkulā—few/a few
thukkōw (IA)—phlegm
thuri—calf (of buffalo)
thāpy—increase (v.)
țhatta—upwards
Tāgy- (IA)—hang (v.)
Toka—bear (animal)
Tolhrēiya—red
Thenṭo—dry (wood)
The—shallow
ThɔNDi-ua—cold (to get)
ThāTTa—up
Thāura—floor
Thāura—place
uDā—cave (natural)
udhrū—collapse-house (v.)
UDē—fly (v.)
ugha—cave (man made)
ugha—hole
ugha—nostrils
ukhal—vomit
ukhal-lyo—vomit (v.)
upasy—(IA)—fast (to observe)
uttār (IA)—north
whaiDola—bad
χā-jibari—brave
χāwaīnhī—two and a quarter
χakē lao—milch (v.)
χattāō (IA)—seventh
χαχ-ghā—breathe (v.)
χαχē—breath
χē (IA)—hundred
χenē—hill, mountain
χode—ask (v.)
χonru—narrow
χu—who
χū bhag (TB IA)—three quarters
χū bhag—triple
χūnj phera—thrice
χūwāyō—one and a quarter
χu-khai—how
χua—leaf
χua—parrot
χuāki-hā-hā—nearly
χuai—that
χuaila/jomma—these
χui—blood
χui—needle
χukā—cough (v.)
χunj—three
χūnaŋ—gold
χurū—lemon
χutāDya—rotten
χajao-ko—castrate (v.)
χākkīua—end
χāmicca khai—(IA)—consult (v.)
χṇ kya—suspect (v.)
χārmau—(IA)—ashamed of (to be)
χārappē—python
χāsto (IA)—cheap
able (to be) — ghai-χak-
above — agaha (IA)
accompany with (v.) — hangal-je- (IA)
accuse/backbite (v.) — māhak-ko pe-ci
afraid of (to be) — bari-
after — cehTa
after — ceta
again — ajji
all — jamma (IA)
allow — kate-nā-vē
alone — DāTThāla
aluminum — phulbar (IA)
amuse (v.) — hāhuri-
anger — riχ (IA)
aminal — gajjioajji
ankle — bha
another/other — duχuru (JA)
ant — cirkenti
appear (v.) — diχua- (IA)
apple — sew (IA)
arm — paTi
armpit — kakheya (IA)
arrive (v.) — laig-
arow — bāŋ (IA)
ash — dhuli (IA)
ashamed of (to be) — χora- (IA)
ask (v.) — χode-
at once — aṭṭal
attack (v.) — jhāga- (IA)
attack (v.; by animal) — pōu
avoid (v.) — beco-bi- (IA)
awake (v.) — jhar-
ax — guDo
brother's daughter (younger or older) — bhajī (IA)
brother's son (younger or older) — bhajja (IA)
back of body — puTThi (IA)
backbone — puTThi-haD (IA)
bad — whaDola
bamboo — bās (IA)
banana — kera (IA)
bank of river — challa
bark (v.) — bhuk- (IA)
bark of tree — sij khālaw (TB-IA)
barley — kahē
bathe (vi.) — halhu-
bathe (vi.) — lhu-hā-
beam — dhuri-bāsi (IA)
bean — rajma (Dordic)
bear (animal) — Toka
beard — daD
beat (v.) — hānū (IA)
bed-bug — silṣya
before — ginta
beg (v.) — phaik-
begin (v.) — suru-ghai- (used as IA)
beginning — suра (IA)
hind — cehTa
believe (v.) — aha-ghai- (IA-TB)
bell — ghāT (IA)
bell metal — kāχa (IA)
bellow (v.) — bā-bā-ghai-
belly — lado
below — dhittā
big — bōena
bind (v.) — hoi-
bird — bos
bite (v.) — kai
bitter — kha
blanket — latta (IA)
bless — dhokka-phaka-
blind — kana (IA)
blood — χui
bloom (v.) — phullu- (IA)
blow (flute, v.) — ha-ba-ho-
blow-nose (v.) — si-gan-
blue — nilo (IA)
blunt — hāci-laggu
boil/to cook — pasin- (IA)
bone — haD (IA)
bow — dhana (IA)
bowl — kaTua (IA)
boy — gedā
braid — pēra
brain — dimag (Perso-Arabic)
branch — ha-nā
brass — pēlā (IA)
brave — χā-jibari
bravely — hēpar-hī-tō
bread—løggyareak (vi.)—gøDø-reak (vt.)—kaDø-reak breast—cucca (IA)
breath—χαχε
breathe (v.)—χαχε-ghø-
bridge—bvawli (IA)
bright (light)—rhøn
bring (v.)—pitø-
bring down (v.)—tha-
bring out (v.)—tonø-
Brinjal—bhaTa
broad—langø-lai-
brood (v.)—sek- (IA)
brother (older)—da (IA)
brown—gad-bøddo
buffalo—bhøisi (IA)
build (v.)—bona- (IA)
bulge (v.)—dana-
bull—kø To (IA)
burn (vi.)—luŋ-
burn (to, common)—hű
burn (vt.)—mhøtø-
burst (vi.)—goi-
burst (vt.)—bhuT- (IA)
bush—bhuDø
butter—nøøni (IA)
buttermilk—chaø (IA)
buttocks—phuTha
buy (v.)—manø-
calf (of buffalo)—thuri
calf (of cow)—bøyo (IA)
call (v.)—nøkø-
calves — machøli (IA)
cap—køle
carry (hanging, v.)—ha-køuya-pi-
carry (in hand, v.)—tha-pi-
carry (on back, v.)—køi-pi-yakø
carry (v.)—pi-
ciastrate (v.)—χøjøo-kø-
cat—birari (IA)
catch (fish)—bura-høŋ-
catch (v.)—høŋ-
cave (man made)—uguha
cave (natural)—uDar
change (v.), alter—bødel (IA)
cheap—χøsto (IA)
cheeks — gølli (IA)
chest—chati (IA)
chew (v.)—cakøi- (IA)
chicken—tuha-poTha
child—geda
chili—kur-χaini
chin—auTha
chirp (v.)—bøhø-
clean—saphø (IA/Perso-Arabic)
climb down—rhø-
climb—phø-
close (door, v.)—Dhøkki- (IA)
close (eyes, v.)—(køŋa) kø-
close (mouth, v.)—(mhøø)-tar-
cloth—latta (IA)
cloud—døøu
clutch—høk
co wife—χøwøtø (IA)
coal—massi (IA)
cobra—møgo
cock—murgø
cold (to feel)—ju-gøi
cold (to get)—ThøŋDi-ua-
cold season—jʊ
collapse (person)—Dhøkk-
collapse-house (v.)—udhru-
collide (v.)—røk-ji
colour—røŋ- (IA)
comb (v.)—køtor-
come (v.)—la-
compare (v.)—døbbø-hø-
complain (v.)—hasik-kø- (IA)
conceive (vi.)—bøsti-hø-
consult (v.)—χømøccø kø-
continuously—jgiuca-khøtal
cook (v.)—sine-
copper—tambo (IA)
corner—køŋø (IA)
corpse—suyø
costly—akøro (IA)
cot—phøDøya (IA)
cotton—ruwa (IA)
cough (v.)—χukø-
couple—nhømølo
cover (self)—nel-
cover (something)—Dhøkk- (IA)
cover (vt.)—hønn-
cream—jøi (IA)
creeper—løttø (IA)
crooked—bøngø (IA)
crop—khetti (IA)
crow—kako
cry (v.)—cakk-
curd—dai (IA)
curse (v.)—hat-ye-
custom—rewja (IA)
cut (v.)—kaTT- (IA)
d/h/si'd'h—juai (IA)
dance (v.)—nacc- (IA)
dark—thepe
daughter—garô
day—dhyun (IA)
death—sive
deep—gôiru (IA)
deer—jaDayo
defeat (v.)—dhi-pow-
defend (v.)—hâbceco-
defense—bêcu
deny (v.)—hâmônn-
desire (v.)—huccyo-re-
dew—palo
die—sive- TB)
difficult—ohat
dig—da-
dirt—kacar
dirty—Dola
divide (v.)—mar-te-
divorce—haddba
do (v.)—khô-
dog—kui
donkey—gôdha (IA)
door—dhera
door-leaf—duar
double—nêhî bhag (TB-IA)
dough—ghuDhi
down—dhiita
downwards—dhiita
drag—ghô-gor-
drink (v.)—tuñ-
drive (cattle)—hâkk-
drive (vehicle, etc.)—cala-
drop (v.)—jhar-
drown (v.)—Dubb-
dry (field/cloth)—karow
dry (vi.)—karô wê-
dry (pond, etc.)—pô
dry (vt.)—pak-ô
dry (wood)—Thêntô
duck—bôtâk
dye (v.)—rânyô-
ear—guna
earth—deyô
earthquake—bhucalo
east—purôbô
easy—hârê
eat (v.)—ja-
echo—bace-pharakyôr
egg—ôfDa (IA)
eight—ôTThô (IA)
elbow—guru
elder brother's wife—boji
empty—khôni
end—ôkkiau
enjoy (v.)—ôwa-di-lagg-
evening—yarko
extinguish (v.)—serô-
eye brow—debuli
eye lashes—mhike-hamu
eye—mhike
father's sister (younger or older)—nhû-yä
father's mother; mother's mother—ômmô
father's sister's husband; elder sister's
husband—ga-ni
father's elder brother—dukaiya
face—môn
fall down (vi.)—Dhou-
fall down (vt.)—gurkau-
family—ûriwaru
fan (v.)—bayar-hai bô-
fang—daro
far—ûndher-lôñka-
fast (to observe)—upasy-
fasten (v.)—hôly-
fat—moTiya
fat, grease—bôñô
father—bô
feast—jâmman
feather—ûkha
feel (v.)—sida hua rô-
female—mô
festival—tyohar
few/a few—thokkulô
field—gêdi
fifth—pôû
fight (v.)—takê-
fill (grain, v.)—(ôre)-ku-
fill (liquid, v.)—bhôr
finger—ûgulya

Darma-English Glossary
good — गौड़
gold — गोल्ड
god — गॉड
goat — गोट
go — गो (v.)
glacier — ग्लेशियर
give — गिव
girl — गिर्ल
ginger — गिंजर
garlic — गर्लिक
father's younger brother's wife — गुड़ेरियी
father — फाथर
gift — फाइट
five — पाँच
flame — लाइम
flat — फ्लैट
flesh — फ्लेश
flexible — फ्लेक्सिबल
give — गिव
floor — फ्लॉर
flower — फ्लॉवर
fly — फाइल
fly (v.) — फाइल- (IA)
food — फाउड
foot — फ़ूट
forget (v.) — फर्गेट
fortnight — फॉर्टनाइट
four — फ़ॉर
four times — पारी पर्हाटा (TB-IA)
fourth — पारी ती (TB-IA)
fox — फाक्स
fresh — फ्रिश
frog — फ्रॉग
gun — गवन
group — ग्रोप
guava — ग्वावा
guinea pig — गुमी एन पिग
guts — गूट्स
half — हाफ
hand — हांड
glove — ग्लोव
he — हे
help (v.) — हेल्प
gooseberry — गोज्सबेरी
gourd — गोर्ड
grass — ग्रास
grate (teeth, v.) — ग्रेट (टीथ, v.)
grate (to grind) — ग्रेट (टू ग्राइंड)
grat — ग्रेट
gray — ग्रे
graze — ग्रेज
ground — ग्राउंड
group — ग्रुप
heart/mind — हृदय/मिंड
good — गुड
here—āia
hesitate—dhar-bər-
hide (v.)—lupp-
high—ərgu
hill, mountain—χένα
hips—puTTHa
his, her—aike (TB-IA)
hold—hoŋ-
hole—ugha
honey—moŋ-we
horn—sioŋ
horse (female)—ghoDi (IA)
horse (male)—ghoDya (IA)
hot—Daha
hot plate—tęo/tew
hot season—ghaməliha
house—naw
how—χu-χəi
hum (a tune, v.)—həjjo-həlaike-hə-
hundred—χē (IA)
hunt (v.)—marə-
husband—giro
husk (v.)—paçoro-
hut—nao
I (1sg)—ne
ice—himar
—ik-kua
in front of—həməniyə
incisors—dherə-daro
increase (stretch)—tany-
increase (v.)—thəpy-
insect—dida-kidmala
inside—bhitori
intestines—poTTu
invite (v.)—nok-
invite to feed (v.)—nyoto banə-
iron—loh (IA)
jackal—syari
jar, pot—phuŋəlu
jaw—jambi
joints—kəpca
jump across (v.)—pəTT-
junp (v.)—maTTo-hə
keep (v.)—tha-
key—cabi
kidney—guraïya
kill (v.)—hata-
kiss (v.)—laDə hə-
kite—garuryə
knead (v.)—hyāku-
knee—puhə
knot—gāThi (IA)
know (v.)—dəhau-
lac—lisse
ladder—kuTu-kən
lake—tallə
language—boli
large—biəna
last—cəhiTako
last year—rokkə-bərəχə
lastly—cyuTTi
lay down (v.)—loT-
leaf—χua
leak (v.)—cuə-mhə
leave (v.)—haDDo-rugga-hə
leech—jok
leg—bhala
lemon—χuru
lie (v.)—juTu-hə-sya
lift (v.)—tu-
light (lamp)—silkə-
light—soŋ
light-fire (v.)—mhuTə-
like that—ap-khəiə
like this—in-khəiə
lion—bagho (IA)
lips—cuDya
listen (v.)—nhikə-kun-
liver—mulyə
lizard (wild)—bıroŋ-sya
log—hero
loin—kəmbər (IA)
long/tall—lange
look after (v.)—goT-hə-
loose—silo
loud—bainə-hattə
louse (egg)—likkya
louse—sirə
love—nhikko many-
low—nicco (IA)
low voice—həjje
lungs—phapsu
mother's elder sister's husband—dukəiya
mother's younger sister—kəi-ja
mother's mother's mother—māi- ju
mother's brother (elder or younger)—
mammə
madly—pəglyu-wata
maize — ghoga
male — ba
mango — abañ
many — jhikkal
measure (v.) — nap-
meat — sya
medicine — okhadi
meet (v.) — bhiTTy-
melt (vi.) — gall-
melt (vt.) — gal-
memory — phám
milch (v.) — ɣaké lao
milk — dudhñañ
molar tooth — kurai-daro
molasses — gurañ
mole — cilkunti
money — dhán (IA)
monkey — maTa
month — mása (IA)
moon — jonna
morning — ḥaññ-ḷe
morning — rattai
mortar — khaññña
mosquito — lam-junñ-yë
moss/swamp — selo
mother — ija
mountain — bhiTTa
mouse — máyā
mouth — khaññ-ru
move (v.) — haro-
much — ɭändher
mud — kaar
mule — khaccar (IA)
mushroom — Dumba
my, mine — na-ā
nail — kili
nail — nihañ
name (to give) — namyo tha-
name — nam
narrow — ɣññru
navel — putë
near — najik
near — najikëlhô
nearly — ɣuññi-hañ-hañ
neck — Gidda
need (v.) — cai-
needle — ɣuï
nest — ghlulli
net — jali
new — noñ
next — duχuro
next year — jibi
nine — nouwañ (IA)
nipple — cucca-gødaw
no — hañ-hañ
node (v.) — gara ḡñi-
noon — cëkal
north — uttar
nose — sina
nostrils —  uğha
not smooth — khañññaDña
now — ab
obey (v.) — mann-
obstruct (v.) — har ḡñi-
occupy (v.) — panĩa khñi
offer (v.) — bë ko
often — kãbhaï-kãbhaï
oil (v.) — maDDo-bâi-
oil — baya
old — buDña
old — purañ
once — Dah phera
one and 3 quarters — pau nãi nhĩ
one and a half — Dhññ
one and a quarter — ɣûwáyõ
one — Da/Dañh
one fourth — paryû bhag
onion — pyaji
only — jhaīcāla
only — sirphä
open (door, v.) — khãi-
open (knot, v.) — khoi-
orange — narângi
our — na-ńike
outside — bahñrey
paddy — gaDa
paint (v.) — raññã ko-
pair — joDa
palm — ha-ka
parrot — ɣua
part — bhak
pasta — mohaññ
patella — puyÈ-ke-ññikiw
path — yoñ
paw — bhañ/ñhaw
peacock — mor
pebbles — ica-Dhûññ
person — mañcã
phlegm—thukkāw
pierce—hanu-
pig/bore—bhuniya
pillar—Dadalya
pinch (v.)—kīTī-ū-ā-
place—Thāura
plank—ōhāDyā-hā
plant (v.)—rop-
plaster (v.)—lipp-
plate—phelo
play (v.)—khuDD-
pluck (v.)—tu-
poison—bisaŋ
porcupine—māssi
post (pillar)—kīlō
potato—alu
pound (v.)—chū-
pour out—khāny-
pray (v.)—binti ghāi-
prepare (v.)—baTy-
price—dām
priest—jijharo
protect (v.)—hā-bēcu-
pull out (v.)—to-neko
pungent—Daha
push—ghucc-
put up notice (v.)—cipka-
python—χατkappa
quadruple—bāri bhag
quarrel (v.)—ra kā-
quick—haDbi
quickly—haDbī
rabbit—hahū
rain—ti
rainy season—comāχ
read (v.)—pāD-
ready—taiyar
rear (v.)—par-
rebuke (v.)—mā-kāi-ńe-ko-
red—Tolhēriya
refined butter—ghiŋ
refuse (v.)—hā-hā-ńi-
regularly—hadiaro
relatives—mal-mittār-hī
relax (v.)—loTai-huā-
religion—dharmā
reply (v.)—batkao pharkao-ko-
report (v.)—bātao ko-
return (v.)—bhārākyo-bi
ribs—phāṇDā
rice (cooked)—bhātā
rice—daru
ring—khaligy
rinse (v.)—khałka-
ripe (to get)—sīnā-
roast (v.)—palo ko-
roll up—be ryu-
rolled—baTla
roof—pakha
root—jādao
rope—jāura
rotten—χūtāDyā
rough—jīgutā
round—baTulo
rub (v.)—maDD-
upee—rupiya
son's daughter; daughter's daughter—nati
son's son, daughter's son—bati
son's wife—buari
son's wife's father; daughter's husband's
father—sāmdī
sacrifice (v.)—pujo-ko-
salt—māhā
same—ailō
same—ailē
sand—bāllya
save (v.)—ha-bēco-
saw (v.)—cir-
saw—hātasi
say (v.)—neko-
scissors—kēcī
scorpion—kāŋessi
scrub (v.)—sīle-
scythe—del
search (v.)—mara-
second—durχro (IA)
see (v.)—dabb-
see—guhe
seed—biye
sell (v.)—kaltā-
send (v.)—ghall-
set (the sun, v.)—Duby-
seven—χāttā (IA)
seventh—χāttā (IA)
shake (self, v.)—kāmo
shake (vt.)—hila-
shallow—The
sharp—ci-laggū
she—huai (mā)
sheep—bheD
sister’s son—bhānjo (IA)
stealthily—luppi-luppi
stick—jāTho
stir (v.)—hawa-
stitch (v.)—cipka-
stop (v.)—sākā-hī-
storm—huīya
straight—sīdū
straw—kuths-muThu
stream—khuri
stretch-self (v.)—cakur-
strike (v.)—hanu-
strong (cloth)—hāpar
strong (human)—khoTē
suck (v.)—ho syo-
suspect (v.)—χōn kya-
swallow (v.)—nhīly-
sweep (v.)—jāD-
sweet—thiū
swim (v.)—ra pe-
swing (v.)—khelle ko-
sword—tālvari
tail—puchera
take (oath, v.)—bhāgwan kāheja-
take (v.)—gata-
talk (v.)—bātkaao-ghōi-
taste (v.)—cakh-
tea—caha
teach (v.)—ha-sikko-
tear (v.)—hace-
tears (of eyes)—āsu
temple—gaDa
temple—than
ten—daχə (IA)
tether (cattle, v.)—hōi ko-
that—χūai
their—ai-la-kē
then—tōb
there—ai-ya
these—āla
these—χuaila/-jāmma
they (female)—ai-mā-la
they (male)—a-hai-la
thick (liquid)—bākēro
thigh—janga
thin (liquid)—hāpurə
this—ōi
this year—ōi-χai
thorn—KaT-kano
thousand—Da ḥajar (IA)
thread—lōtī	hree and 3 quarters—pau nāi pari
three quarters—χū bhag (TB IA)
three—χūŋ
thresh (v.)—taro lao ko-
thrice—χūŋ phera
throat—hākuli
throw (v.)—coD-
thumb—āguli
tie (v.)—hōi-
tight—haniṇto
till now—āttal-jhani
till what time—kīnāo
tobacco—tōmaku
today—dāi
tomorrow—kālə
tongue—jībēro
tooth—daro
towards—to-lo
tree/wood—sīn
tremble (v.)—kammōhā-
tripe—χū bhag
twice—nhīphera
two and 3 quarters—pau nāi χū
two and a half—aDaīŋ
two and a quarter—χāwainhī
two—nhī
two—nāi
understand (v.)—ci-hāmē-ja-
unhappy—khīnō-nāhū
unrolled—dhāssyo
up—ThəTTa
upwards—thātta
urine—chī
use (v.)—āitana-cai-
usually—bābīr
utensils—bhāDela
uvula—taru
valley—bin-ti-khori
village—pāo
vomit (v.)—ukhal- lyo-
vomit—ukhal
vulture—gīdha
waist—kambər
wall—baDə
walnut—ákhrō
want (v.)—caiyo re-
wash (v.)—ci pe-
water-pot—phəŋlo
water—ti
we (excl.)—nani ja lə
we (incl.)—nani
we two—najî
weak (breakable)—jəgarai
weak (human)—kəmjor, kəcu
wear-clothes (v.)—neli-
wear-ornaments (v.)—ləga-
weave (v.)—pa ko-
week—hapta
weep (v.)—kerə-
west—pəchəh
wet (clothes)—kaco
wet (wood)—kaco, həriyo
what—əi
wheat—ghuməŋ
when—kınəo
where—gəu
white—dhəurya
whole—əi-jəmməl
who—χu
widower—raṇjũə (address)
widow—raṇjũ
wife—məte (address)
wife—na-naokəhî (ref)
wife's brother's wife—bʰəɨŋyə
deep—jeThu
wife's elder sister's husband—da
deep—jeThu sali
wife's father; father's father; mother's father—buba
wife's mother—iju
wife's younger brother—sala
wife's younger sister's husband—bhuli
wife's younger sister—sali
window—mohri
window—mohri (IA)
wind—bayar (IA)
winnow (v.)—pato pako-
work (v.)—kam khəi-
worship (v.)—pùja khəi-
wring (v.)—nicory-
write (v.)—lekkh- (IA)
younger sister's husband—juəi
yak—juppa

yawn (v.)—hao-hao lagua-
year—bəɾəχə
yellow—pero
yes—əhəi
yesterday—byərə
you (pl.)—nai
you (sg.)—nəŋ
young—hapar
younger brother's wife—buari
your (pl.)—nəni-la-kə
your (sg.)—nəŋ-gə
REFERENCES


