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A Sketch of Darma Grammar

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A Sketch of Darma Grammar

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1.0 Introduction

The data on Darma were collected at Dharchula and Kalika Village from native speakers of Darma, and further checked with other informants to varify 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 /ə/, as found in Sanskrit words such as /ə-shi/ 'ascetic' and /ə-tu/ 'season'. Phonemic contrasts of the consonant phonemes have been worked out on the basis of minimal and sub-minimal pairs as far as they are available in the present data. Where minimal pairs were not available the phonemes have been shown in different environments. Phonemic contrasts and the occurrence of different consonant phonemes are given in the following section. The following charts show the inventory of Darma segmental phonemes:

Table 1: The Consonant Phonemes of Darma

	Bilabial	Dental-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:					
voiceless	p	t		k	
voiceless aspirated	ph	th		kh	
voiced	b	d		g	
Affricates:					
voiceless		ts	c		

	voiceless aspirated		tsh		ch	
	voiced		dz		j	
Fricatives:			s		ç	h
Nasals:						
	plain	m	n			ŋ
	pre-aspirated	hm	hn			
Liquids:						
	plain		l			
	pre-aspirated		hl			
Trill:						
	plain		r			
	pre-aspirated		hr			
Semi-vowels:						
	plain	w			y	
	pre-aspirated	hw			hy	
Vocalic r			ə			

Table 2: The Vowel Phonemes of Darma

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

2.1.1 Phonotactic Rules

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(x) Vocalic /ə/ 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 stops, but the voiced aspirated affricate /jh/, the voiced aspirated post-alveolar stop /Dh/, and the post-alveolar flap /R/ occur in the following words in our data: /jhəb-mo/ 'to pierce' /DhaR'u/ 'male cat'. No other examples of these three sounds or any of the voiced aspirates, flaps and retroflex stops are found.

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

2.1.2 Consonant Contrasts

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

Syllable initial contrasts:

/p ph b/

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

/t th d/

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

/k kh g/

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

/c ch j/

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

/ts tsh dz/

/tsum/	'bridge'	/tshuwm/	'hair'	/dzuwnu-basu/	'good smell'
/tseb-mo/	'suck'	/tshɛ/	'fat (grease)'	/dzɛnu/	'good'
/tse/	'grass'	/tshe/	'joint'	-----	
/kur-tso/	'lamb'	-----		/dzo/	'ox'

/s sh h/

/pisa/	'forty'	/pica/	'head'	/hati/	'fresh'
/si-nu/	'white'	/ci/	'blood'	/hiba-jəti/	'defence'
/so/	'tooth'	/ço-ni/	'Autumn'	/ho-mo/	'roast'
/səl/	'charcoal'	/cəŋ/	'big'	/həl/	'jaw'

/m n ŋ/

/mi-nu/	'small'	/nim/	'nose'	-----	
/mən/	'mind'	/nəŋ-mo/	'to measure'	-----	
/moro/	'dead body'	/no-mo/	'to stretch'	-----	
/mar-jya/	'tea'	/na-no/	'spicy hot'	/ŋalo/	'to bless'

/l hl/

/la/	'moon'	/hlan/	'dirt'
/le-mo/	'to fall down (vi.)'	/hle-mo/	'to say'
/lo/	'language'	/hlo-mo/	'to shake'
/ləla/	'father's mother'	/hləŋ-mo/	'to jump'

/r hr/

/ro/	'bone'	/hro/	'snow'
/ru/	'horn'	/hru-mo/	'to question'
/renəm/	'western direction'	/hre/	'louse'
/rado/	'widower'	/hra-mo/	'be ashamed'

/w hw/

/wa/	'wild cat'	/hwa/	'honey'
/wəme/	'face'	/hwən-mo/	'to reach'
/wi-mo/	'to call'	/hwi/	'wind'

/y hy/

/yaŋ-si-mo/	'to prepare'	/hyaŋ-mo/	'flexible'
/yi-mo/	'grate, grind'	/hyi/	'flour'
-----		/hye-mo/	'to complete'
-----		/hyu-nu/	'deep'

/m hm/

/muŋ/	'name'	/hmũ/	'rain'
/mar-jya/	'tea'	/hma/	'sheep'
/mẽ/	'eye'	/hmẽ/	'fire'

/ə-/

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

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

Some syllable final contrasts:

/m n ŋ/

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

/l r/

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

2.1.4 Consonant clusters

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

2.1.5 Vowel Contrasts

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

/i e/

/hri/	'tale'	/hre/	'field'
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/mi/	'person'	/mē/	'eye'
/e ε/			
/tse-mo/	'to break'	/tsɛb-mo/	'to suck'
/tshe-mo/	'to carry by hanging'	/tshe/	'fat'
/a ə/			
/dal/	'hailstone'	/dəl/	'much', 'tiredness'
/mar-jya/	'tea'	/mər-ti/	'oil'
/u o/			
/sarʊ/	'forest'	/sarɔ/	'hard'
/bu/	'insect'	/bo-la/	'thumb'
/o ɔ/			
/hro/	'graze'	/hrɔ/	'snow'
/roŋ-mo/	'amuse'	/rɔŋ-mo/	'to cover'
/w u/			
/thum-mo/	'to cut (wood)'	/thum-mo/	'to collect'
/duŋ-mo/	'tremble'	/duŋ-mo/	'to husk'

2.1.6 Occurrence of vowels in different environments

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

Initial		Medial		Final	
/i/					
/idum/	'same'	/birmi/[birmi:]	'all'	/hati/	'fresh'
/e/					
/eləŋ/	'that much'	/çeli/	'brass'	/pe/	'brother'
/ɛ/					
-----		/penu/	'short'	/soktsɛ/	'comb'

/a/					
/aŋcino/	'high'	/pala/ [pala:]	'mortar'	/sa/	'earth'
/ə/					
/əm/	'path'	/səl/	'charcoal'	/jilə/	'creeper'
/ɔ/					
-----		/pola/	'shoe'	/phɔ/	'male'
/o/					
/ol/	'he'	/goga/	'maize'	/lono/ [lo:no]	'easy'
/u/					
/uwi/	'they'	/nu-nu/ [nu:nu]	'new'	/pyu/	'mouse'

2.1.7 Vowel sequences

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

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

2.2 Tones

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

Rising tone:

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

Falling tone:

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

Level tone:

/la/	'hand'	/ro/	'bone'	/phu/	'copper'
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Since the contrast in tone is restricted to only a few lexical items, it is left unmarked in the data.

3.0 Grammatical Structure

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

3.1 Root morphemes

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

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

3.2 The Noun Phrase

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

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

3.2.1 Gender

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

Human:

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

Non-human:

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

3.2.2 Number

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

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

3.2.3 Pronouns

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

	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	ji ~ je	Excl.	niŋ-nimi	niŋ
		Incl.	niŋ-nimi	niŋ-birmi
Second person	gɛ		gəni	gəni-birmi
Third person	o ~ uo		usi-nimi	usi-birmi

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

Proximate:	/nədo/	'this, it'
	/nədo-ber/	'these'
	/dokhoŋ/	'here'

Distal, Visible:	[o ~ uo]	'that'
	/ui-ber/	'those'
	/təɾɛ/	'there'
Distal, Non-visible	/ido/	'that'
	/ido-ber/	'those'
	/təɾɛ-məɾən/	'there away'

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

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

3.2.4 Case marking postpositions

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

3.2.4.1 Absolutive and dative: unmarked

The single direct argument of an intransitive verb, the patient of a transitive or ditransitive verb, and the dative of a ditransitive verb are all unmarked in Darma.

- (i) /əndo mithai ram da tya/
 this sweet Ram give IMP
 'Give this sweet to Ram.'

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

- (iii) /ji ja kə-ja so/
 1sg food PAST-eat PAST
 'I ate the food.'

- (iv) /ji de-mo da/
 1sg go-INF PERMISSIVE
 'Let me go.'

- (v) /siri-so nikhi kə-kəm co/
 boy-AGT dog PAST-beat PAST
 'The boy beat the dog.'

3.2.4.2 Agentive: /so/

The agent of a transitive past tense clause often takes the agentive suffix /so/. The occurrence of /so/ is restricted to the past tense only.

- (i) /ji-so je-guna ja ja 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 phərsa-so ciŋ thum ti/
 1sg axe-INST tree cut PRESENT
 'I cut the tree with the axe.'
- (ii) /ge 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-tə-so pato bir ni/
 tree-LOC-ABL leaf fall NONPAST
 'A leaf falls from the tree.'
- (ii) /hne mi-jən kheco sunkhuŋ-so hra-no hle/
 these man-pl. another village-ABL come-NOM COP
 'These people have come from another village.'

3.2.4.5 Benefactive: /dəŋso/

- (i) /o-so ji-dəŋso gorge hre-te so/
 3sg-AGT 1sg-BEN cloth bring-carry PAST
 'He has brought cloth for me.'
- (ii) /je-so siri-dəŋso am hre-te so/
 1sg-AGT boy -BEN mango bring-carry PAST
 'I have brought mango for the boy.'

3.2.4.6 Locative: /rə/, [yərto ~ to]

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

- (i) /gera buɕem-rə ni-ni/
 grains grain.box-LOC be.at-NONPAST
 'The grains are in the grain box.'
- (ii) /lopuŋ bɛg-rə ni-ni/
 book bag-LOC be.at-NONPAST
 'The books are in the bag.'

- (iii) /idumna o ji cim-rɔ hra ni/
 usually 3sg 1sg house-rɔ come NONPAST
 'He usually comes to my house.'
- (iv) /niŋ chuŋ-to ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-sən/
 1pl roof-LOC sit-state be.at-PRESENT
 'We are sitting on the roof.'
- (v) /lopuŋ mejə-yəto ni-ni/
 book table-LOC be.at-NONPAST
 'The books are on the table'

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

- (i) /ji bəs-rɔ-to ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-si/
 1sg bus-in-on sit-state be.at-NONPAST
 'I am sitting in the bus.'
- (ii) /ge bistər-rɔ-to ɕɔŋ-ɕino ni-si/
 2sg bedding-in-on sit-state be.at-NONPAST
 'You are sitting in the bedding.'

Note: The informant gave the explanation that /rɔ/ occurs when the object is visible and /to/, which is the short form of /yəto/, occurs when the object is invisible. But the investigator was not convinced by this explanation since he observed other situations where both the alternatives were used by some other informants.

3.2.4.7 Genitive and possessive: [ko ~ go]

There is alternation between the two suffixes [ko] and [go] (see rule (xii) in Section 2.1.1 for the conditions on the alternation). Examples:

- (i) /əndo ji-go-cim hle/
 this 1sg-GEN-house COP
 'This is my house.'

- (ii) /ji-go-muŋ dhərəm siŋ hlɛ/
 1sg-GEN-name Dharm Singh COP
 'My name is Dharm Singh.'

3.2.4.8 Comitative: /rəkʰsa/

- (i) /ji-rəkʰsa hriŋ-ɕya lɛ de ni/
 1sg-COM younger-sister also go NONPAST
 'My younger sister is also going with me.'
- (ii) /niŋ-rəkʰsa dyəŋ ɕən/
 1pl(ex)-COM go FUTURE
 '(You) will go with us.'
- (iii) /ji-rəkʰsa go-go-hriŋ-ɕya lɛ de ni/
 1sg-COM 2sg-GEN-younger-sister also go NONPAST
 '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 kəɡui ɕino ni-ni/
 1sg-GEN-front lamb tie state be.at-NONPAST
 '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-NONPAST
 'There is a small mountain in front of my house.'

/nyokənti/ 'behind, after'

- (i) /ji gɛ-nyokənti hra-ŋ si/
 1sg 2sg-after come-FUTURE NONPAST
 'I will come after (behind) you.'

- (ii) /niŋ-go-hre-go-nyokənti serəŋ ni-ni/
 1pl-GEN-field-GEN-after forest be.at-NONPAST
 '(There) is a forest behind our field.'

/bero/ 'under, below'

- (i) /bila khatu-ko-bero tu ɕəŋ-ɕino ni-ni/
 cat cot-GEN-under quite sit-state be.at-NONPAST
 'The cat is sitting quite under the cot.'

- (ii) /khui meja-ko-bero tu ɕəŋ-ɕino ni-ni/
 dog table-GEN-under quite sit-state be.at-NONPAST
 'The dog is sitting quite under the table.'

/gunda/ 'middle, in between'

- (i) /niŋ-nimi-gunda ɕənu ɕəŋ-ɕino ni-ni/
 1-dual-between child sit-state be.at-NONPAST
 'The child is sitting between us.'

- (ii) /bharət nepal-go-gunda bo-ni/
 India Nepal-GEN-between stay-NONPAST
 '(We) stay between India and Nepal.'

3.2.6 Adjectives

Adjectives in Darma precede the noun in a noun phrase. They sometimes take the same suffixes as the nouns do. But mostly they do not take any suffixes for number or gender like the nouns. Most adjectives take a nominalizing suffix, [-no ~ -nu ~ -o], just as in the relative clause construction, showing that formally these modifiers are in fact relative clauses. Examples:

/mi-no/	'small'	+	/we/	'mountain'	>	/mino we/	'small mountain'
/chər-no/	'dry'	+	/siŋ/	'tree'	>	/chərno siŋ/	'dry tree'
/lo-no/	'easy'	+	/lən/	'work'	>	/lono lən/	'easy work'
/buŋ-no/	'tall'	+	/mi/	'person'	>	/buŋno mi/	'tall person'

Predicative adjectives take the same nominalizers, and so it is necessary to have a copula in such constructions, e.g.

- (i) /cim pu-nu the/
house big-NOM COP
'The house is big.'
- (ii) /phu cuŋna hyu-nu the/
cave very deep-NOM COP
'The cave is very deep.'
- (iii) /siŋ cuŋna buŋ-nu the/
tree very tall-NOM COP
'The tree is very tall.'

3.2.7 Numerals

3.2.7.1 Cardinal Numerals

Numerals in Darma are of the decimal type, i.e. the forms for 'one' to 'ten' are monomorphemic, whereas in the numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' the first syllable of the basic numeral is suffixed to the numeral 'ten'. The numerals from 'seventeen' to 'nineteen' show a peculiar infix */-r-/* in between the morpheme for 'ten' and the morpheme for the unit number. In the numeral 'eighteen' a whole syllable [-bər- ~ -ber-] is infix.

The form for 'twenty' is /nəsa/, which is also a peculiar combination of 'two' plus something which can be called an allomorph of 'ten'. The forms for 'twenty one' to 'twenty nine' are combinations of 'twenty' plus 'one' to 'nine'.

/təko/	'one'	/niso/	'two'
/suw/	'three'	/pi/	'four'
/ŋai/	'five'	/tuku/	'six'
/nisu/	'seven'	/jədu/	'eight'
/gui/	'nine'	/ci/	'ten'

/cyəte/	'eleven'	/cyəne/	'twelve'
/cyəsʊm/	'thirteen'	/cyəpi/	'fourteen'
/cyəbən/	'fifteen'	/cyəθuk/	'sixteen'
/cyərni/	'seventeen'	/cyəberji/	'eighteen'
/cyərgu/	'nineteen'	/nəsa/	'twenty'
/hnəsataku/	'twenty one'	/hnəsakniso/	'twenty two'
/hnəsasʊm/	'twenty three'	/hnəsa, hyədu/	'twenty eight'
/hnəsagui/	'twenty nine'	/sʊsa/	'thirty'
/sʊsataku/	'thirty one'	/sʊsane/	'thirty two'
/sʊsabərɕi/	'thirty eight'	/sʊsagu/	'thirty nine'
/pisa/	'forty'	/pisa tuku/	'forty one'
/pisagu/	'forty nine'	/ɲasa/	'fifty'
/hnasagu/	'fifty nine'	/tuk-cha/	'sixty'
/tuk caci/	'seventy'	/jya cha/	'eighty'
/jya chaci/	'ninety'	/jyə tsha cigu/	'ninety nine'
/ra/, /se/	'hundred'	/ratuku/	'one hundred one'
/cise/	'one thousand'	/lakh/	'one lakh'

There are no classifiers in Darma, so numerals directly modify nouns. See section 3.2.2 for examples.

3.2.7.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinals are formed by suffixing /go/ to the cardinal numerals. There is a slight change in the root in the case of 'second', as given below:

/təko-go/	'first'	/nəkəndi-go/	'second'
/sʊm-go/	'third'	/ci-go/	'tenth'

3.2.7.3 Additives

The additives are generally formed by suffixing the word /pali/ 'turn', an Indo-Aryan loan, to the numeral, though it was found that some older informants still retain the native suffix /-tso/. We give examples of both suffixes below:

Borrowed system	Native system	
/tək-pali/	/tək-tso/	'once'
/nik-pali/	/nik-tso/	'twice'

/sum-pali/	/sum-tso/	'thrice'
/pi-pali/	/pi-tso/	'four times'

3.2.7.4 Multiplicatives

When forming multiplicatives the suffix /pa/ is added to the basic numerals. Examples:

/hni-pa/	'two times'	/sum-pa/	'three times'
/pi-pa/	'four times'	/ŋai-pa/	'five times'

3.2.7.5 Fractions

Fractions in Darma are formed as in many TB languages, by describing the total process of their formation. For example, to say 'one fourth', one will say 'one part out of four parts'. Most of the Darma speakers use Hindi fractions these days. Some of the fractions which could be collected from an old man are as follows:

/pəl-cho/	'half'
/po-pəl/	'three quarters'
/pəl-thē-niso/	'one and a half (half less than two)'
/pəl-thē-sum/	'two and half (half less than three)'

3.3 Adverbs

Darma has various types of adverbs. The adverbs precede the constituent they modify, and are often followed by the adverbial marker /na/. They are as follows:

/nə-dum/	'like this, in this way'	/i-dum-na/	'usually'
/i-dum-ga/	'like that, in that manner'	/hagu mōte/	'stealthily'
/hra-lən-na/	'continuously'		

Locative Adverbs:

/doru/	'towards (near)'	/tuktu/	'before'
/hne-nəm/	'near'	/nyo-kənti/	'behind'
/dəŋ-su/	'far'		

Temporal Adverbs:

/una-čət-leni/	'immediately'	/əi-tək-tso/	'at once (lit. 'once again')
/ləŋ-na/	'as soon as'	/ləŋ-wana-su/	'till when, how long'
/i-ta-wana-su/	'till now'	/uma-wana-su/	'till what time'

Use of adverbs in sentences:

- (i) /sin nədum thəm-mo/
 tree like.this cut-infinitive
 'Cut the tree like this.'
- (ii) /idumna o ji cim-rəhra ni/
 usually 3sg 1sg house-rə come NONPAST
 'He usually comes to my house.'
- (iii) /idumna niŋ chəga ja ni/
 usually 1pl(ex) rice eat NONPAST
 'We(exclusive) usually eat rice.'
- (iv) /siri haguməte phuŋ məŋ co/
 boy stealthily run lost PAST
 'The boy ran away stealthily.'

3.4 The Verb Phrase

The verb phrase in Darma consists of a verb, plus possibly a modifier, i.e. an adverb, negation, etc., all of which precede the verb root. The verb root may also take the tense-aspect-mood and number suffixes. In the case of predicative adjectives, the adjective must take the copula /the/. Examples:

- (i) /cim pu-no the/
 house big-NOM COP
 'The house is big.'
- (ii) /phu cuŋna hyu-nu the/
 cave very deep-NOM COP
 'The cave is very deep.'

(iii)	/siŋ	cuŋna	buŋ-no	the/
	tree	very	tall-NOM	COP
	'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.)'
/çɔŋ-çi/	'sit still'	/rɔk-ga-mo/	'to help'
/da-tyə/	'give-give'	/si/	'blood'
/nim/	'nose, smell (n.)'	/si-ci-mo/	'to die'
/nim-mo/	'to smell'	/wi/	'a call'
/khusi/	'theft'	/wi-mo/	'to call'
/khusi-mo/	'to steal'		

3.4.2 Tense

On the basis of the data collected, we find that there are two distinct tenses, i.e. past and NONPAST. The auxiliaries for past tense are /so/, often pronounced [hiɔ], for 1st and 2nd person and /co/ for 3rd person. There is also an optional prefix /kə-/, which seems to be an older form of past tense marking (cf. the past tense prefix /ka-/ in Byangsi). The auxiliaries for NONPAST 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 NONPAST forms, it follows the NONPAST marker, possibly an old copula, i.e. /si + n/ > [sen]). The NONPAST can be further divided into two categories, the eventive or stative (i.e. present) and the intentive (i.e. future). The latter tense formation is marked by suffixing /-ŋ/ to the verb, which is then, for 1st and 2nd person, followed by the NONPAST marker. Some examples of these forms are given below:

Past tense:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) | /je ja hiɔ/ | 'I ate.' or 'I have eaten.' |
| | /je kə-ja so/ | 'I ate.' or 'I have eaten.' |
| (ii) | /gɛ ja-n so/ | 'You ate.' or 'You have eaten.' |
| | /gɛ kə-ja-n so/ | 'You ate.' or 'You have eaten.' |
| (iii) | /o ja so/ | 'He ate.' or 'He has eaten.' |
| | /o kə-ja co/ | 'He ate.' or 'He has eaten.' |

NONPAST:**(a) Stative**

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (i) | /ji ja-si/ | 'I eat.' or 'I am eating.' |
| | /ji ja-hi/ | 'I eat.' or 'I am eating.' |
| (ii) | /gɛ ja-sen/ | 'You (sg.) eat.' or 'You are eating.' |
| | /gɛ ja-hen/ | 'You (sg.) eat.' or 'You are eating.' |
| (iii) | /gəni nimiri ja-hini/ | 'You (two) eat.' or 'You are eating.' |
| (iv) | /usi birmi ja-ni/ | 'They eat.' or 'They are eating.' |

(b) Intentive

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | /ji ja-ŋ-si/ or /ji ja-ŋ-hi/ | 'I will eat.' |
| (ii) | /gəni ja-ŋ-hen/ | 'You (pl.) will eat.' |
| (iii) | /o ja-ɛŋ/ | 'He will eat.' |
| (iv) | /usi ja-ɛŋ/ | 'They will eat.' |

3.4.3 Aspect

The category of aspect marks the internal temporal structure of an event rather than its relation to the time of speaking or some other reference point. The different aspectual categories of Darma and their marking are discussed below.

3.4.3.1 Perfective

The perfective aspect can be used with both past and NONPAST, but not in the stative. The peculiarity of Darma is that the action verb-roots are compounded by adding the word /hlən/ 'work, action' after these roots, especially in the perfective aspect. In the past tense this compound is then followed by /so/ in the first and second person and /co/ in the third person. Examples:

/ja hlən/	'act of eating'	/tuŋ hlən/	'act of drinking /smoking'
/phuŋ hlən/	'act of running'	/gyo hlən/	'act of running (stealthily)'

The perfective marker is /ta/ or /tap/, though the conditions on the use of /ta/ vs. /tap/ are not yet clear. Examples:

- (i) /polis hra so khumi phuŋ hlən ta co/
 Police come PAST thief run action perfective PAST
 'When the police came the thief had already run away.'

- (ii) /o soŋru hwəna so ji hlo ta so/
 3sg residence reach PAST 1sg go perfective PAST
 'When he reached home I had already gone.'

- (iii) /ge ja-hlən tap cun so/
 2sg eat-action perfective PAST PAST
 'You had eaten.'

3.4.3.2 Progressive

In the progressive the nominalizing suffix /-no/ is attached to the verb root, and this is followed by the progressive marker /hni/. The suffix /-no/ derives from the word /no/ 'to stretch', which came to be used with the verb to convey the meaning of an extended action or continuity of the action.¹⁰⁾ In the stative the simple and the progressive are the same, hence no progressive marker is used. Examples:

- (i) /ji ca tuŋ-no hni si so/
 1sg tea drink-extend progressive still PAST
 'I was taking tea.'

- (ii) /usi ja ja-no hni so/
 they food eat-extend progressive PAST
 'They were eating food.'

- (iii) /siri jər-no hni səŋ/
 boy fear-extend progressive FUT
 'The boy will be afraid.'
- (iv) /ji ya-no hni səŋ-si/
 1sg sleep-extend progressive FUT-NONPAST
 'I will be sleeping.'

3.4.3.3 Habitual

The habitual in Darma is an elaborately expressed formation. It consists of several morphemes such as /hra-hlən-na/ 'continuously' ('come' + 'action/work' + adverbial marker), which is shortened to /hlən-na/ when used in a construction with /cəŋ/ 'sit'. The tense markers are used according to the time of the happening of the event. Examples:

- (i) /ji ja-hlənna cəŋ si ni/
 1sg eat-continuously sit still NONPAST
 'I eat continuously' or 'I keep on eating.'
- (ii) /ram hri-hlənna cəŋ si ni/
 Ram write-continuously sit still NONPAST
 'Ram habitually writes' or 'Ram keeps on writing.'
- (iii) /o ji doro hra-lənna cəŋ si ni/
 3sg 1sg house come-continuously sit still NONPAST
 '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 after close observation and analysis this is taken as a declarative marker only. Examples:

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) | /ji bər niktso hraŋ si/ | 'I will come in the afternoon.' |
| (ii) | /sənu chiŋtə nini/ | 'The child is on the roof.' |
| (iii) | /tunɡu huwəŋ nini/ | 'The sky is blue.' |
| (iv) | /siŋrəm tano nini/ | 'The ginger is pungent (hot).' |

3.4.4.2 Imperative

The verb root is used in this type of mood without any suffix when the verb root ends in a vowel, but if the verb root ends in a consonant the suffix /-a/ is added to the verb root. (See Sec. 3.4.5 for the negative imperative.) Examples:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (i) | /(gɛ) de/ | '(You) go!' |
| (ii) | /(gɛ) ɕiŋ thəm-a/ | '(You) cut the wood!' |
| (iii) | /(gɛ) darim kər-a/ | '(You) close the door!' |
| (iv) | /(gɛ) hya/ | '(You) sleep!' |
| (v) | /gwa/ | 'Laugh!' |

3.4.4.3 Permissive

In the permissive the infinitive form of the verb is used instead of the root as in the imperative. The permissive marker /da/ is used after the infinitive marker. The examples are:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) | /ji de-mo da/ | 'Let me go.' |
| (ii) | /o de-mo da/ | 'Let him go.' |
| (iii) | /khumi de-mo tha-da/ | 'Don't let the thief go.' |
| or | /khumi de-mo mə-da/ | 'Don't let the thief go.' |

3.4.4.4 Hortative

In the hortative the verb root takes the suffix /-nya/. It gives the meaning of suggestion by the speaker to the second person and both of them are involved in the action. Examples:

- (i) /joni (ja) ja-nya/ 'Let us eat.'
- (ii) /chəm de-nya/ 'Let us go.'
- (iii) /jo ja-nya/ 'Let me eat.'

3.4.4.5 Subjunctive (Conditional clauses)

The subjunctive mood is formed by using the suffix /-cɛ/ after the irrealis marker or the verbal root of the dependent clause. Examples:

- (i) /ji de cɛ thəkta mə-hra-lɛ/
1sg go if return NEG-come-IRREALIS
'If I go I may not come back.'
- (ii) /o hlən gano lɛ cɛ rɔ mə-suŋ-se-lɛ/
3sg work do IRREALIS if hunger NEG-sit-still-IRREALIS
'If he had worked he would not have remained hungry.'
- (iii) /gɛ dɔlin cɛ ji mə-de-lɛ/
2sg present if 1sg NEG-go-IRREALIS
'Had you been here I would not have gone.'

3.4.4.6 Other construction types

/tər/ 'can, able'

- (i) /darma mi tsəm pəm tər ni/
Darma person wool spin able NONPAST
'Darma people can spin.'
- (ii) /ji cya ja tər si/
1sg meat eat able NONPAST
'I can eat meat.'

- (iii) /ji-go hriŋ-ɕya ja ga tər ni/
 1sg-GEN younger-sister food cook able NONPAST
 'My younger sister can cook.'

/ciŋ/ 'should'

- (i) /thən ji de-mo ciŋ ni/
 now 1sg go-INF should NONPAST
 'Now I should go.'

- (ii) /gɛ ja ja-mo ciŋ yəŋ/
 2sg food eat-INF should IMPF
 'You should eat meal.'

- (iii) /thən gɛ ya-mo ciŋ yəŋ/
 now 2sg sleep-INF should IMPF
 'Now you should sleep.'

/naciŋ/ 'must'

- (i) /thən ji de-mo naciŋ ni/
 now 1sg go-INF must NONPAST
 'Now I must go.'

- (ii) /gɛ ja ja-mo naciŋ yəŋ/
 2sg food eat-INF must IMPF
 'You must eat your food.'

- (iii) /thən gɛ ya-mo naciŋ ni/
 now 2sg sleep-INF must NONPAST
 'Now you must sleep.'

3.4.5 Negation

The negative marker /mə-/ and the prohibitive marker /tha-/ immediately precede the verb. If there is a modal verb in the construction, the negative markers always occur before the modal verb and so follow the main verb. Examples:

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--|--|----------|--|--------------------------|
| (i) | /ji ɕya mə-ja no/ | | | | | 'I do not eat meat.' |
| (ii) | /ge ɕya tha-ja/ | | | | | 'You do not eat meat!' |
| (iii) | /o ɕya mə-ja/ | | | | | 'He does not eat meat.' |
| (iv) | /o tshəm mə-hrɛ/ | | | | | 'He did not bring wool.' |
| (v) | /kani mi təm mə-tər yər/ | | | | | |
| | blind person see | | | NEG-able | | IMPF |
| | 'A blind man cannot see.' | | | | | |

3.4.6 Causatives

The causative construction is formed by suffixing the coverb /phuŋ/, which literally means 'run stealthily'. The following examples give the simplex and causative forms:

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|--|
| (i) | /o hlən ga ta/ | | 'He works.' |
| | /o hlən ga phuŋ ta/ | | 'He gets the work done.' |
| (ii) | /məŋgəl cim thaŋ ta/ | | 'Mangal constructs a house.' |
| | /məŋgəl cim thaŋ phuŋ ta/ | | 'Mangal gets the house constructed.' |
| (iii) | /cəmə-jən sige chil ta/ | | 'The girls wash the clothes.' |
| | /cəmə-jən so dəŋmi co ge chil phuŋ ta/ | | 'The girls get the clothes washed by the servant.' |

3.5 The Relative Clause

The relative pronoun is /ənduna/. The verb denoting the action takes the nominalizing suffix /-no/ or /-sino/. The structure of the relative clause is unusual for Tibeto-Burman, as it is a correlative with the usual Tibeto-Burman prehead relative with nominalization, and a post-head relative pronoun, as in the Indo-Aryan languages, but not a full post-head relative clause. The following examples show relativization on an actor (i) and on different types of patients and themes (ii-iv). Examples:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------|------|--------|------|
| (i) | /amə | ja-no | siri | ənduna | hle/ |
| | mango | eat-NOM | boy | RELPRO | COP |
| | '(He) is the boy who had eaten the mango.' | | | | |
| (ii) | /niməŋ | to-sino | bəna | ənduna | hle/ |
| | yesterday | purchase-NOM | cow | RELPRO | COP |
| | '(This) is the cow which was purchased yesterday.' | | | | |

- (iii) /ji-go-cəme-so hrəŋ-sino biəm ənduna hle/
 1sg-GEN-daughter-ERG sell-NOM carpet RELPRO COP
 'This is the carpet which my daughter sold.'
- (iv) /niməŋ go-sino hma-gu tsumən ənduna hle/
 yesterday cut-NOM sheep-GEN wool RELPRO COP
 'This is the same sheep whose wool was cut yesterday.'

3.6 Emphatic possession constructions

The emphatic possessives are formed by suffixing /-guna/ to a form of the personal pronoun which controls the emphatic pronoun. Examples:

- (i) /ji-so je-guna ja ja so/ 'I have eaten my food.'
 (ii) /o-so o-guna ja ja co/ 'He has eaten his food.'
 (iii) /ge-so go-guna ja jan so/ 'You have eaten your food.'

Note: The third person emphatic pronoun is generally /apno/, which is a loan from Indo-Aryan. When the subject is a third person pronoun the construction with /əbigo/ is sometimes used, but when the subject is expressed by a personal noun the emphatic pronoun is always the loan word. Examples:

- (i) /ram əbigo ja jən co/ 'Ram has eaten his food.'
 (ii) /radha apno lən gan co/ 'Radha has done her work.'

3.7 The Reciprocal Construction

The reciprocal construction does not have either a suffix or a prefix but is formed by using the reciprocal words /usi-usi/ and /əphi-əphi/. /əphi-əphi/ is again a loan from Indo-Aryan. The reciprocals are followed by the adverbial marker /na/. These occur before the verb. Examples:

- (i) /sən-jan usi-usi-na orsi ni/ 'The children bathe each other.'
 (ii) /cəme-jən usi-usi-na cha ni/ 'The girls are playing with each other.'
 (iii) /sən-jən əphi-əphi-na kəmsi ni/ 'The boys are beating each other.'

Darma-English Glossary

əhi-nu— up	bō-pha-ro— buttocks
əhind— above	bō-da-mo— swim (v.)
əitag-tso— at once	bo-la— thumb
əlipɛ mi— a few(people)	bōk-cu— socks
əlipɛ, əlibɛ— some	bōkrō— flute
əllyā— only	bōŋ-buŋ— bell
ələŋ-wəna-su— till then	bōŋ-ju— donkey
əm— path	bə-ti— dew
əm-mo— lift (vt.)	brin-çi-ni— earthquake
əŋkura— jar	bu— insect
ərsi (IA)— mirror	bu-mo— carry on back (v.)
a-la-mo— lie (v.)	budru— inside
ahe-nu— high	buŋ-nu— long, tall
akpo, akple— lips	buo— porcupine
ala-nu— lie	byā-bu— fly (insect)
alo (IA)— potato	byaŋ-ro, malo— Tibet
amō (IA)— mango	byoli-çya— bride
aŋ-khula— goose-berry	bəgwan (IA)— god
ata— husband's elder brother's wife; son's wife's mother; daughter's husband's mother; wife's elder brother's wife	bəli-da-mo (IA, bəli)— sacrifice (v.)
ba— father	bəli-çi-mo— braid (v.)
ba-mo— fold (cloth) (v.)	bəlma— yeast
baguca— marriage	bəŋ— place
balo-çyano— infant	bəŋ-gar— alloy
basu (IA)— smell	bən-muk-ca— noon
bathi— ladle (for pulse)	bəŋ-ro— verandah
bɛ— skin	bəŋ-tsum-mo— occupy (v.)
bē-ti— lizard (house)	bəna— neck
bɛ-ra-ga-mo— sing (v.)	bəna— throat
begun (IA)— brinjal	bənda-gunda— utensils
bela-çiŋ— bamboo	bər-tsi— sheep (castrated)
bəna— bright (light)	bərdino— year
bero— under	bəyəŋ— nest
billa (IA)— cat (female)	būja-tsəme, hrithi-çya— wife
bir mi— all	būjum— grain-store
blis— resin (of pine)	būl-nu— fat
	būl-nu, pər-nu— broad
	būr-mo— drop (v.)
	būr-mo— fall (a branch) (v.)

caŋ-ko, jaŋ-go—lizard (wild)
 ce—flower
 ce-jaŋ—bowl (for pulses)
 ce-mo—bark (v.)
 ce-mo—cut (cloth) (v.)
 ce-ra-mo—long for (v.)
 cəm-tsa—goat (virgin)
 ceŋ-jo—younger sister's husband
 cēr-ga-nu—crooked
 ci-cəndu—side (right)
 ci-mo—squeeze, wring (v.)
 ci-çiŋ—fodder
 cib-la—fist
 cib-mo—fasten (v.)
 cil (IA)—kite
 cil-cil da-nu—mica
 cim—house
 cim-lən-ta-mo—hold (v.)
 cini (IA)—sugar
 ciŋ-mo—burn (vt.)
 ciŋ-mo—need (v.)
 ciŋ-mo—want (v.)
 cip-cu—chicken
 cir-cir-ga-mo—chirp (v.)
 co-la—finger (index)
 co-mo—finish (v.)
 cək-çi-mo—wear (clothes) (v.)
 cu—chin
 cu-tshim—beard
 cuku—lemon
 cuŋ-bala—gown (for married women)
 cuŋ-geju—long shirt (for married women)
 cuŋ-lə—headgear
 cuŋ-na—many
 cunə—cheap
 cya (IA)—tea
 cya-mo—hide (v.)
 cyo-mo—bring out (scoop)(v.)
 cyo-numa—madly
 cyu—thorn
 cə-jo—elden sister's husband

cəŋ-mo—soak (v.)
 cəŋ-çya—thigh
 cəŋ-thəŋ—ladder
 cəpa—armpit
 cha—salt
 chāju—early morning
 chana (IA)—hut
 che—life
 che-mo—carry by hanging (v.)
 che—sister's son
 che-çya—sister's daughter
 chər-mo—serve (food) (v.)
 chər-çi-mo—avoid (v.)
 chi—rose colour
 chi-mo—divide (v.)
 chi-mo—meet (v.)
 chiŋ-cha—liver
 chiŋ-mo—tether (v.)
 chiru, dəmba—urine
 cho—lake, sea
 cho-mo—scratch (v.)
 chukto—chest
 chura—cheese
 chya-no—sweet
 chya-nu—sweet
 chyo-mo—dye (v.)
 chyŋ-to—roof
 chəb—needle
 chəga—rice (cooked)
 chət-chət—quick
 da-mo—give, offer (v.)
 da-rum, kholi, mərəŋ—door
 dak-çi-mo—fight (v.)
 dali (IA)—branch
 de-mo—go (v.)
 delna—much
 dharu (IA)—cat (male)
 di—mule
 di—string (for yak)
 dikte-çya—husband's younger sister
 dimo—yak (cross-bred)
 do-mo—plant (v.)

dokh-ga-mo (IA) — accuse (v.)
 dɔŋ-mo — pound (v.)
 doru — towards
 dra-mo — cry (v.)
 dudi, pudi — buttermilk
 duŋ-mo — husk (v.)
 duŋ-mo — rear (v.)
 duo — poison
 dyu — marsh
 dʒɛ-nu — good
 dzor-su (IA) — loudly
 dʒuunu-basu — good smell
 dəl-thəŋ — costly
 dən-dɔ-ka-li — spider
 dəŋro — height
 dəpya — sword
 dərm (IA) — religion
 dərəm-damo, baba-cəmo — divorce
 duun, tshuur — belly
 duŋ-mo — tremble (v.)
 duur-mo — push (v.)
 ga — paddy
 ga-ji — animal (domestic)
 ga-mo — do (v.)
 ga-nu — tight
 gata, tati — valley
 ge — cloth
 ge — you (sg.)
 ge-mo — collapse (person) (v.)
 ge-ɕi-mo — tease (v.)
 geju — pajamas
 ɣɛra — crop
 gigin-ɕinu — rolled
 gim-mo — roll up (v.)
 go-mo — cut (grass) (v.)
 go-na — fox
 goga, koga — maize
 gogu-ano — happy
 ɣɔk-mo — collapse (house) (v.)
 gola (IA) — nut (coco)
 gu-ɣɔk-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
 gukər — sheep (uncastrated)
 gul-ɕi-mo — cough (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-thəŋ — molehill
 gup-cya — often
 guroŋ — conceive (vi.)
 gyo-mo — run (v.)
 gyəmo — brown
 ɣəb-da-mo — brood (v.)
 ɣədro — hole
 ɣəl — glacier
 ɣəl — yak (male)
 ɣəm-so — molar teeth
 ɣəm-thena — continuously
 ɣəŋ-mo — bulge (v.)
 ɣəndu — round
 ɣəni-birmi — you (pl.)
 ɣəni-go — your (pl.)
 ɣəni-nimi — you (dual)
 ɣuuro — fang
 ha-ɕi-mo — complain (v.)
 hagu-məte, hau-məte — stealthily
 hami, ko-hoi-nu — roasted barley
 hati — fresh
 he-mo — increase (liquid) (v.)
 hiba-jəti — defense
 ho-ga-mo — kiss (v.)
 ho-mo — roast (on fire) (v.)
 ho-məŋ — dark
 ho-ɕi-mo — quarrel (v.)

hok-çi-mo—quarrel (vi.)
 hul-ba—when
 hul-pa—everywhere
 hul-pari—never
 hulpa-hulpa—sometimes
 hum-ba—then
 hwa—honey
 hwa-nəm—far
 hwε-the—loud, loudly
 hwi—wind
 hwi-mo—fan (v.)
 hwəl-nu—loose
 hyi—flour
 hyu-nu—deep
 hyunu-mini—shallow
 həl—jaw
 həlpa—cheek
 hær-ga-mo—yawn (v.)
 hærthi—phlegm
 idum—like that
 it-təna-raçi—just now
 ita-wəna-su—till now
 ituna—same
 ja, jamo-tuŋmo—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
 jε, tsəmā—barley
 jε-mo—bloom (v.)
 je-mo—sneeze (v.)
 jε-nu—clean
 jenu-sa—soil
 jhəb-mo—pierce (v.)
 ji, je—I (1sg pronoun)
 ji-gε—mine
 ji-mo—cut into pieces (v.)
 ji-mo—sneeze (v.)
 jilə—creeper

jim-mo—consult (v.)
 jiphε (IA)—tongue
 jitne (IA)—win (v.)
 jəŋ-mo—pay (v.)
 jəŋ-phuul—money
 jəŋ-su—pair
 ju-jəŋ—belt
 jubba—bull
 jugo—long gown
 juŋ-mo—begin (v.)
 juŋa-bu—leech
 junu (IA)—young
 jya—next year
 jyama—intestine
 ज्या-mo—drown (v.)
 jyu—colour
 jəd-jəd—quickly
 jəm-ma—whole
 jəŋ—gold
 jəŋgi—flour
 jər-mo—afraid of (v.)
 jər-nani—east
 jər-nu, ga-nu—narrow
 ka—crow
 kāso (IA)—bell metal
 ka-tsuk-ta—goose
 kalo (IA)—death
 kana (IA)—blind
 kap-çi-mo—lay down (v.)
 kar—car
 kε-mo—defeat (v.)
 kela (IA)—banana
 ki-bəŋ—temple
 kib-mo—close (eyes) (v.)
 kil (IA)—nail
 kɔ—bark (of tree)
 ko-mo—stir (vegetable) (v.)
 koi-mo—bite (dog) (v.)
 koi-mo—chew (v.)
 koka-hinu—boiled food
 kəloŋ—bell (a type)
 kopho-çinu—open

- kər-mo—carry in hand (v.)
 kor-mo—take (v.)
 ku-li—calf
 kuɛ-mo—boil, cook (v.)
 kur-tso—lamb
 kuən-cəndu—side (left)
 kuənti—gourd
 kwali—forehead
 kyok—ladle (for liquid)
 kyon-mo—take (one by one) (v.)
 kə-tshər-mo—dry (vi.)
 kəcar (IA)—mud
 kəm-mo—beat (v.)
 kəŋ-the-ga-mo—talk (v.)
 kəŋnu hmi—ill
 kər-mo—close (door, box) (v.)
 kər-tsu—sheep (male)
 kəru—sprout
 kətəm, pəŋ-pho—plough
 kuub-mo—fold (arms) (v.)
 kuum, gum, gərto—how
 kuup-çi-mo—shrink (v.)
 kha—walnut
 kha-no—bitter
 kha-nu—difficult
 khato (IA)—cot
 khe—son's son; daughter's son
 khe-mo—change (v.)
 khe-çi-mo—bite (meat) (v.)
 kheju—another, other
 khel-cu—reins
 khemē—son's daughter; daughter's daughter
 kheta—shirt
 khi-jak-ce-mo—hate (v.)
 khi-çi-mo—desire (v.)
 khijeg—till then
 kho-ba—cobra
 kho-mo—peel out (v.)
 khosi-mu—feast
 khrɔ—corner (inside)
 khu—smoke
 khu-çi-mo—steal (v.)
 khu-ti—saliva, spittle
 khuc-çi-mo—bind (bundle) (v.)
 khuci—knot
 khue-mo—split (wood) (v.)
 khui—dog
 khura-hini—roasted
 khuyəŋ—plate (for female)
 khuən—scorpion
 khwe-mo—dig (v.)
 khwe-mo—scratch (utensils) (v.)
 khə-dəŋ-sə—kidney
 khəi—tomorrow
 khələ—what
 khəmi—who
 khəmi-go—whom
 khəmi-jən—who (pl.)
 khəni-jən-gə—whom (pl.)
 khənu—brain
 khəpa—heal
 khər-mo—defend (v.)
 khətə—scar
 la—hand
 la-kər—star
 la-mo—bring down (v.)
 la-ur-mo—wash (hands) (v.)
 la-nu—thin
 la-çəŋ—moon
 lacya—resin
 lak-chəp—ring
 lak-puŋ—finger
 lak-puŋ—gloves
 lak-pəŋ—clutch
 lak-pəŋ—paw
 lak-çiŋ—nail
 lakuri-təsine—echo
 lakənti—in front of
 lasəŋ—goat (bearable)
 lasəŋ—light (of moon)
 lɛ-mo—climb down (v.)
 lɛ-mo—fall down (v.)

- lɛ-ci-mo—forget (v.)
 lɛnu-ga-mo—love (v.)
 li-jəŋ—iron
 li-nu—heavy
 lige—foot
 lo—language
 lo, lo-əŋ—fruit
 lo-khəl-mo—believe (v.)
 lo-mo—hesitate (v.)
 lo-mo—read (v.)
 lo-mə-de-mo—suspect (v.)
 lo-nu—easy
 lək-mo—climb up (v.)
 loŋ—back of the body
 loŋ-bər—lungs
 loŋ—vomit
 loŋ-mo—vomit (v.)
 loŋ-ni—hot
 loŋ-nu—summer
 lophuŋ—book
 ləb-mo—teach (v.)
 ləcən—end
 ləgən-di-si—incisors
 ləla—father's mother; mother's mother
 lən-ga-mo—work (v.)
 ləŋ-sək—manure
 ləphu—tail
 lurb-mo—bury (v.)
 lurb-mo—plaster (v.)
 luge—leg
 luge-pəŋ—sole
 hlan—dirt
 hlaŋ-mo—fly (v.)
 hle-mo—say (v.)
 hlo-mo—shake (v.)
 hləŋ-mo—jump (v.)
 mā—goat (male)
 mā-ci-mo—hunt after (v.)
 ma-ci-mo—search (v.)
 mala, məla—goat
 mar-jya—tea (local)
 mē—eye
 me-kum—eye lid
 me-ti—tear (of eye)
 meluŋ—hearth
 mər-mo—winnow (v.)
 mi, hmi—person
 mi-muk-tshum—eye lashes
 mi-nu—small
 mim-nya—mother's younger sister;
 father's younger brother's wife
 min-ba—father's younger brother;
 mother's younger sister's husband
 min-pua—mother's brother
 min-puni—mother's younger brother's
 wife
 minā—mother
 mini-dəŋ—foot-hill
 mini-nədəŋ-cən—pebble
 minu-ti—rivulet
 minu-we—hill
 mo—cloud
 mō—family
 mōna—bee
 mo-guano—unhappy
 mɔ-hrəŋ—horse (female)
 mɔ-koro (IA)—ant
 mobuŋ-nu—empty
 mok-ɕya—mushroom
 molo (IA)—price
 mor (IA)—peacock
 moro (IA)—corpse
 mə-ti, muləti—stream
 mug-təŋ—spectacle
 muk-tshum—eye brow
 muŋ, hmuŋ—name
 muŋ-harte-mi—brave
 muŋ-nu-lo—ripe (fruit)
 muŋ-ta-mo—name (v.)
 mya-mi—bridegroom
 mə-rɔŋ-mo—refuse (v.)
 mə-ruŋ-mo—deny (v.)
 mə-tir-penu—smooth

mə-tsər-nu — blunt
 mə-tər-nu — weak
 məkhun — quilt
 mən (IA) — mind
 məŋ-mo — drive (cattle) (v.)
 məŋ-nu — red
 mən-ra-mo — like (v.)
 mən-çi (IA) — buffalo
 mənə-mo (IA) — celebrate (v.)
 məŋnu, murtso (IA) — chili
 mər — ghee
 mər-ti — oil
 mətshər (IA) — mosquito
 mwl — silver
 mwl-dwun — iris of eye
 mūr-ti, jəŋ-ti — clear
 hma — sheep
 hmē — fire
 hmē-təb-mo — light (fire) (v.)
 hmū — rain
 hmyaŋ-mo — enjoy (v.)
 hmyaŋ-mo — taste (v.)
 na-no — hot (like ginger)
 na-nu — soft
 ŋak-pya — duck
 nakəl — moss (swamp)
 nalo — bless (v.)
 nam-chəŋ-ni — morning
 naraŋki (IA) — orange
 nə-lok — hell
 nə-mo — save (v.)
 ne-mo — oil (v.)
 ne-mo — rub (v.)
 ne-nəm — near
 ne-çi-mo — relax (v.)
 nəŋ-nu — light (in weight)
 nep-tsui-mo — fold (hands) (v.)
 ni — light (of sun)
 ni — sun
 nil — gums
 nim — nose

nim-mo — smell (v.)
 nim-çi-mo — blow (nose) (v.)
 nim-toto — nostrils
 niməŋ — yesterday
 niŋ-birmi — we (pl. incl.)
 niŋ-go — our
 niŋ-jya — day after tomorrow
 ni-nimi — we (pl.)
 nōni (IA) — butter
 no-kənti, nyo-kənti, no-kəndi — again,
 behind, last
 no-mo — drag (v.)
 no-mo — increase (by stretching) (v.)
 nu-nu — new
 nuk-chou — day
 nunu — younger brother
 nyaŋ thəpa — evening
 nyəm-no — pungent
 nədo, dəkhuŋ — here
 nədo-bər, nəŋ-birna — these
 nədu, nədo — this
 nədum-ga — like this
 nəll — iron-shaft
 nəm-cya — younger brother's wife
 nəmbu-jəŋ — cloth (woolen)
 nəŋ-mo — measure (v.)
 hne — medicine
 hnəp-ti — snot
 hnya — fish
 hnya-mo — catch fish (v.)
 hnyuəŋ-nu — flexible
 ŋa-çi-mo — pray (v.)
 ō — yes
 o, uo, wo — he, she
 o-çi-mo — nod (v.)
 omphə — hips
 or-çi-mo — bathe (vt.)
 pādro (IA) — monkey
 pa-mo — fill (liquid) (v.)
 pa-mo — measure (grains) (v.)
 pagaro — ankle
 pagər-çino — closed

pala—mortar
 paləŋ (IA) —spinach
 pan (IA) —betel leaf
 papəl—calves
 pat (IA) —leaf
 pe-mā—father's elder sister's husband;
 father's younger sister's husband
 pe-ma, powa—wife's father; husband's
 father
 pə-mo—know (v.)
 pe-mo—slip (v.)
 pe-mo—tear (v.)
 pə-nu—short
 pəl-muŋ—midnight
 pələp—frog
 pənu-mi, lama—priest
 pi-mě, nəm-ɕya—son's wife
 pi-tsu, mya—daughter's husband
 pi-tum—egg
 pichəŋ (IA)—behind,below
 pije (IA)—seed
 piɕa—head
 piɕa—skull
 po-lini—spring
 po-mo—increase (v.)
 po-mo—take out (v.)
 pok-sa-pe-mo—sweep (v.)
 pək-ɕinu—rotten
 pɔla (IA)—shoe
 pɔla-guna—cobbler
 pomi-la—finger (ring)
 poŋ-mo—fill (grains) (v.)
 ponə-be—rock
 pu—elder brother; husband's elder
 sister's husband
 pu—husk
 pu, nunu—husband's younger sister's
 husband
 puk-to—knee
 puk-to-ro—patella
 pum-nya—mother's elder sister
 pum-nya, pum-mi-na—father's elder

 brother's wife
 pun-ba—father's elder brother;
 mother's elder sister's husband
 pun-pua—mother's elder brother
 pun-puni—mother's elder brother's
 wife
 puna-ta—elder sister
 puni—wife's mother; husband's
 mother
 puni, cini—father's elder sister;
 father's younger sister
 punu, cən—big, large
 punu, mun-ci—elder brother's wife
 puəl-mo—knead (v.)
 pya—bird
 pya-gue-mo—break (v.)
 pyaju (IA) —onion
 pyu—mouse
 pəlti-bu—bedbug
 pəm-mo—spin (v.)
 pəŋ-mo—send (v.)
 pəŋ-mo—spread (bed) (v.)
 pəŋ-phəl—wall
 pəŋ-ɕi-mo—hum (v.)
 pəŋě—ladle (for rice)
 pəsui, pəchura—blanket
 puɕja—three days after tomorrow
 puə—navel
 putshum—rice
 pha—ash
 pha-mo—speak (v.)
 pha-nu—gray (ash)
 phak-ɕinu—down, low
 phak-ɕya—rabbit
 phe—thred
 phɛ-nu—thick (liquid)
 phəl-mo—wash (clothes) (v.)
 pher-mo—blow (wind) (v.)
 pho—male
 pho—animal (wild)
 pho, jərya—deer
 pho-hrəŋ—horse (male)

pho-mo—open (v.)
 pho-mo—uncover (v.)
 phək-ci-mo—cover (self) (v.)
 phoŋ-lo—water-pot
 phu—cave
 phu—copper
 phu-ciŋ, dyu-ri—beam
 phuŋ-mo—run (stealthily) (v.)
 phya-mo—rebuke (v.)
 phyala—palm
 phyam-mo—pour out (v.)
 phyəŋ-mo—rinse (v.)
 phəm-mo—stitch (v.)
 phər-mo—open (chain) (v.)
 phər-mo—untie (v.)
 phətita-ga-mo—insult (v.)
 ra-ləŋna—as soon as
 ra-mo—arrive (v.)
 rado (IA)—widower
 rani-ɕyani—widow
 rap—flame
 rɛ-mo—cold (to get) (v.)
 re-nani—west
 ritu (IA)—season
 ro—bone
 rɔ-mo—bellow (v.)
 ro-mo—roast (in fire) (v.)
 rək-ga-mo—help (v.)
 rək-mo—chuckle (v.)
 rək-ci-mo—comb (v.)
 rək-səŋ, rək-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
 ruŋ-ci-mo—accept (v.)
 rupya (IA)—rupee
 rəje—wheat

rəju—ear
 rəm-mo, rən-mo—weave (v.)
 rəŋ—arm
 rəŋ—feather (wing)
 rəŋ-mo—sell (v.)
 ruɐb-mo—stitch (torn clothes) (v.)
 ruum—root
 ruum-mo—knit (v.)
 hra-mo—ashamed of (v.)
 hra-mo—come (v.)
 hre—field
 hre, darti (IA)—earth
 hrɛ-mo—bring (v.)
 hri—louse
 hri-ca-mo—stand up (v.)
 hri-jya—day before yesterday
 hri-mo—back-bite (v.)
 hri-mo—set (sun) (v.)
 hri-mo—write (v.)
 hri-ra-ni—avalanche
 hri-su—anger
 hrin-ɕya—younger sister; husband or
 wife's younger brother's wife
 hrithi—husband
 hrithi-hrithi-ɕya—couple
 hro—snow
 hro-bə-ti—frost
 hro-hrun-kən—sibling
 hrɔ-mo—graze (to cause) (v.)
 hrok-ga-mo—accompany (v.)
 hrək-mo—graze (v.)
 hru-mo—ask (v.)
 hrui (IA)—cotton
 hruk-cɛ—louse egg
 hruŋ-mo—protect (v.)
 hruŋ-ci-mo—obey (v.)
 hrə-ci-mo—awake (v.)
 hrəti—temple
 hrup—ribs
 sa-pha, pu-pa—straw
 sak—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
 sɛ-ga-mo — shoot (v.)
 sɛ-mo — extinguish (v.)
 sɛ-mo — kill (v.)
 se-mo — cold (feel cold) (v.)
 se-mo — cross (v.)
 sɛ-tho-mo — worship (v.)
 sɛl-chu — rainy season
 sero — forest
 sew (IA) — apple
 sikən — sickle
 silɛ — vulture
 sɔŋ — village
 suk-tɛ — comb
 suk-tsi — mole
 sumlo — foam
 supari (IA) — nut (betel)
 suər (IA) — pig
 syal (IA) — jackal
 syaŋ-we — precipice
 səl — charcoal
 səŋ-dəmə — drum
 suu, so — tooth
 ɕak-ci-mo — wear (ornament) (v.)
 ɕeli — brass
 ɕən-ɕən — child
 ɕepi-ci-mo — pinch (v.)
 ɕi — blood
 ɕi-ci-mo — die (v.)
 ɕi-ji-mo — use (v.)
 ɕi-mo — paint (v.)
 ɕi-no — white
 ɕik-su-nɔ — slope
 ɕilbər (IA) — aluminum
 ɕildu — dough
 ɕilmu — raw (vegetable)

ɕimɛ — breast
 ɕimɛ-lo — nipple
 ɕiŋ — fire-wood
 ɕiŋ — stick
 ɕiŋ — tree
 ɕiŋ — wood
 ɕiŋ-dala — log
 ɕiŋ-wəm — ginger
 ɕini — cold
 ɕinu-bətə — bean
 ɕir-no — sour
 ɕir-ci-mo — move (v.)
 ɕiri — boy
 ɕiri — son; brother's son
 ɕiɕɔ — heart
 ɕo-kəŋ-mo — mercy (to have) (v.)
 ɕo-ni — autumn
 ɕəŋ-mo — leak (v.)
 ɕya — flesh
 ɕya — king
 ɕya — meat
 ɕyai (IA) — ink
 ɕəŋ-dum — garlic
 ɕəŋ-jəŋ-go — lizard (wild, big)
 ɕum-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)
 te-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-mətən—there (invisible)
 tirpe-nu—rough
 tɔ-mo—light (a lamp) (v.)
 to-mo—burn (vi.),
 to-mo—obstruct (v.); forbid (v.)
 to-çi-mo—stop (v.)
 tolya (IA)—deaf
 tɔm-mo—appear (v.)
 topli (IA)—cap
 tota (IA)—parrot
 tuk-tu—before, next, beginning
 tuŋ-bu—sky
 tuŋ-mo—drink, smoke (v.)
 tyara (IA)—festival
 tyəma—tobacco
 təb-mo—thresh (v.)
 təguna—your (sg.)
 təho, kəp-tso—hot-plate
 tək-cu—part
 təli—plate (for male)
 tɔm-mo—see (v.)
 təŋ-bu—python
 təŋ-lan—straight
 təŋ-mo—live (v.)
 tən-çiŋ—peg
 təŋ-yəb-mo—stand (quite) (v.)
 tər-mo—able, to be (v.)
 tər-nu—bravely
 tha-mo—strike (match) (v.)
 tha-rɛ-mo—report (v.)
 thalo (IA)—bowl (for kneading flour)
 the-mo—show (v.)
 thi-mo—dance (v.)
 thi-mo—melt (vi.)
 thi-mo—wet (to get) (v.)
 thi-nu—thin (liquid)
- thi-nu—wet
 thi-çi-mo—melt (vt.)
 thim—first floor
 thimd-la—pastel
 tho, dɔ—near
 tho-lok—heaven
 tho-mo—reply (v.)
 tho-mo, cha-mo—pluck (v.)
 tho-çi-mo—beg (v.)
 thək-çi-mo—return (v.)
 thuŋ-lən-de-mo—allow (v.)
 thuŋo, thən (IA)—hammer
 thyä—today
 thyak-nu—fit
 thək-çi-mo—collide (v.)
 thəm-mo—cut (wood) (v.)
 thəŋ—ground
 thən, thən-diŋ—now
 thəŋ-mo—built, construct (v.)
 thəŋ-tso—elbow
 thum-ja—custom
 tsu—bush
 tsa-mo—play (v.)
 tse-mo—bite (snake) (v.)
 tse-mo—ripe (v.)
 tse-mo—understand (v.)
 tsɛ-tso—husband's brother; son's
 wife's father; daughter's
 husband's father
 tsɛb-mo—suck (v.)
 tsɛr-bu, nunu—wife's younger sister's
 husband
 tsi—grass
 tsi-ramo—memory
 tsir, tsirr—loin
 tsobuŋ-nu—full
 tsok-çi-mo—attack (v.)
 tsu-mo—spread (tent) (v.)
 tsu-mu—post (pillar)
 tsəmɛ—daughter; brother's daughter
 tsəmɛ—girl
 tsəmɛ—husband's or wife's elder sister

tsəŋ-mo—throw (v.)
 tsər-nu—sharp
 tsər-pya—cock
 tsu-mo—catch (v.)
 tsuukun-la—finger (little)
 tsur-ro—back-bone
 tshē—fat (grease)
 tshē-ci-mo—swing (v.)
 tshē-tso—wife' elder brother
 tshē-əŋ—wife' younger brother
 tshi—joint
 tshir-mo—milk (v.)
 tshōka-ga-mo—feel (v.)
 tshər-mo—dry (vt.)
 tshər-mo—spread (seed) (v.)
 tshər-nu—dry
 tshum—hair
 tshum-ba—scissors
 tshur—waist
 u-we—mountain
 ude-wude—where
 udiri-mini—nowhere
 ui-berna—those
 uləŋ—nearly
 uma-wəna-su—till what time
 uŋ-mo, so-mo—look after (v.)
 uo—that
 usi-birmi, uiber—they (pl.)
 usi-go, uigo—their
 usi-nimi—they (dual)
 uwaŋ—blue
 uwi-nogəl, wi-nogəl—ice
 vɔ-səŋ-ci-mo—fast (v.)
 wa—lion
 wa-co pundo—bind (thread, join) (v.)
 wami—face
 wi-mo—call (v.)
 wi-mo—invite (v.)
 wiru—old
 wəm—bear
 wəmna-mirci—pepper

wor-mo—scrub (v.)
 wəlcu—lock
 wəm-mo—spring out (v.)
 ya-mo—sleep (v.)
 ya-nu, khi-nu—dirty
 yak-khər-ma—then
 yaŋ-ci-mo—prepare (v.)
 yaŋ-ti—river
 yana—bad
 yana-basu—bad smell
 yaŋa-mo—curse (v.)
 yaŋti-thəm-thəmte—bank (of river)
 yer-mo—shout (v.)
 yi-mo—grate, grind (v.)
 yo, tho—downward
 yohe-nu—curd
 yəb-mo—sow (v.)
 yəkəm—yoke
 yəm-ja-mo—take (an oath) (v.)
 yən-mo—hear (v.)
 yerto, yerto—on, in

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a few (people)—əlipɛ mi	back of the body—lɔŋ
able, to be (v.)—tər-mo	back-bite (v.)—hri-mo
above—əhind	back-bone—tsur-ro
accept (v.)—ruŋ-çi-mo	bad smell—yana-basu
accompany (v.)—hrok-ga-mo	bad—yana
accuse (v.)—dokh-ga-mo (IA)	bamboo—bela-çiŋ
afraid of (v.)—jər-mo	banana—kela (IA)
after, again, behind, last—no-kənti,	bank (of river)—yaŋti-thəm-thəmte
nyo-kənti, no-kəndi	bark (of tree)—kɔ
all—bir mi	bark (v.)—ce-mo
allow (v.)—thuŋ-lən-de-mo	barley—jɛ, tsəmā
alloy—bəŋ-gar	bathe (vt.)—or-çi-mo
aluminum—çilbər (IA)	beam—phu-çiŋ, dyu-ri
amuse (v.)—roŋ-mo	bean—çinu-bətə
anger—hri-sur	bear—wəm
animal (domestic)—ga-ji	beard—cu-tshim
animal (wild)—pho	beat (v.)—kəm-mo
ankle—pagaro	bedbug—pəlti-bu
another, other—kheju	bee—mōna
ant—mə-koro (IA)	before, next, beginning—tuk-tu
appear (v.)—təm-mo	begin (v.)—juŋ-mo
apple—sew (IA)	beg (v.)—thɔ-çi-mo
arm—rəŋ	behind, below—pichəŋ (IA)
armpit—cəpa	believe (v.)—lo-khəl-mo
arrive (v.)—ra-mo	bell (a type)—kəloŋ
arrow—tɪr (IA)	bell—bəŋ-buŋ
as soon as—ra-ləŋna	bell metal—kāso (IA)
ash—pha	bellow (v.)—rɔ-mo
ashamed of (v.)—hra-mo	belly—dun, tshur
ask (v.)—hru-mo	belt—ju-jəŋ
at once—əitag-tso	betel leaf—pan (IA)
attack (v.)—tsok-çi-mo	big, large—punu, cən
autumn—ço-ni	bind (bundle) (v.)—khuc-ci-mo
avalanche—hri-ra-ni	bind (thread, join) (v.)—wa-co pundo
avoid (v.)—çer-çi-mo	bird—pya
awake (v.)—hrə-ci-mo	birth—jamo (IA)

bite (dog) (v.)—koi-mo
 bite (meat) (v.)—khε-çi-mo
 bite (snake) (v.)—tse-mo
 bitter—kha-no
 blanket—pəsui pəchura
 bless (v.)—nalo
 blind—kana (IA)
 blood—çi
 bloom (v.)—jε-mo
 blow (nose) (v.)—nim-çi-mo
 blow (wind) (v.)—pher-mo
 blue—uwaŋ
 blunt—mə-tsər-nu
 boil, cook (v.)—kuε-mo
 boiled food—koka-hinu
 bone—ro
 book—lophuŋ
 bow—gujali
 bowl (for cooking rice)—tawi
 bowl (for kneading flour)—thalo (IA)
 bowl (for pulses)—ce-jəŋ
 boy—çiri
 braid (v.)—bəli-çi-mo
 brain—khənu
 branch—dali (IA)
 brass—çeli
 brave—muŋ-harte-mi
 bravely—tər-nu
 bread—rota (IA)
 break (stick) (v.)—jak-mo
 break (v.)—pya-gue-mo
 breast—çime
 breath—sak
 breathe (v.)—sak-çi-mo
 bride—byoli-çya
 bridegroom—mya-mi
 bright (light)—bəna
 bring down (v.)—la-mo
 bring out (scoop) (v.)—cyo-mo
 bring (v.)—hrε-mo
 brinjal—begun (IA)
 broad—buul-nu, pər-nu

brood (v.)—gəb-da-mo
 brown—gyəmo
 buffalo—mən-çi (IA)
 built, construct (v.)—thəŋ-mo
 bulge (v.)—gəŋ-mo
 bull—jubba
 burn (vi.)—to-mo
 burn (vt.)—ciŋ-mo
 burst (vi.)—gui-mo
 bury (v.)—luub-mo
 bush—tsui
 butter—nōni (IA)
 buttermilk—dudi, pudi
 buttocks—bō-pha-ro
 calf—ku-li
 call (v.)—wi-mo
 calves—papəl
 cap—topli (IA)
 car—kar
 carry by hanging (v.)—che-mo
 carry in hand (v.)—kər-mo
 carry on back (v.)—bu-mo
 carry on head (v.)—ta-mo
 cat (female)—billa (IA)
 cat (male)—dharu (IA)
 catch fish (v.)—hnya-mo
 catch (v.)—tsui-mo
 cave—phu
 celebrate (v.)—məne-mo (IA)
 change (v.)—khe-mo
 charcoal—səl
 cheap—cunə-thəŋ
 cheek—həlpə
 cheese—chura
 chest—chukto
 chew (v.)—koi-mo
 chicken—cip-cu
 child—çen-cən
 chili—məŋnu, murtso (IA)
 chin—cu
 chirp (v.)—cir-cir-ga-mo
 chuckle (v.)—rək-mo

- clean—jɛ-nu
 clear—mur-ti, jəŋ-ti
 climb down (v.)—lɛ-mo
 climb up (v.)—lɔk-mo
 close (door, box) (v.)—kər-mo
 close (eyes) (v.)—kib-mo
 closed—pagər-çino
 cloth (woolen)—nəmbu-jəŋ
 cloth—gɛ
 cloud—mo
 clutch—lak-pəŋ
 cobbler—pɔla-guna
 cobra—kho-ba
 cock—tsər-pya
 cold (feel cold) (v.)—se-mo
 cold (to get) (v.)—rɛ-mo
 cold—çini
 collapse (house) (v.)—gɔk-mo
 collapse (person) (v.)—ge-mo
 collide (v.)—thək-çi-mo
 colour—jyu
 comb—suk-tse
 comb (v.)—rɔk-çi-mo
 come (v.)—hra-mo
 complain (v.)—ha-çi-mo
 conceive (vi.)—guroŋ
 consult (v.)—jim-mo
 continuously—gəm-thəna
 copper—phu
 corner (inside)—khrɔ
 corner (outside)—ru
 corpse—moro (IA)
 costly—dəl-thəŋ
 cot—khato (IA)
 cotton—hrui (IA)
 cough (to) (v.)—gul-çi-mo
 couple—hrithi-hrithi-çya
 cover (self) (v.)—phɔk-çi-mo
 cover (vt.)—rəŋ-mo
 coward—jaho-mi
 creeper—jilə
 crooked—çər-ga-nu
 crop—gɛra
 cross (v.)—se-mo
 crow—ka
 cry (v.)—dra-mo
 curd—yohe-nu
 curse (v.)—yaŋa-mo
 custom—thum-ja
 cut (cloth) (v.)—çə-mo
 cut (grass) (v.)—go-mo
 cut (harvest) (v.)—jab-mo
 cut (wood) (v.)—thəm-mo
 cut into pieces (v.)—ji-mo
 daughter; brother's daughter—tsəmɛ
 dance (v.)—thi-mo
 dark—ho-məŋ
 day—nuk-chou
 day after tomorrow—niŋ-jya
 day before yesterday—hri-jya
 deaf—tolya (IA)
 death—kalo (IA)
 deep—hyu-nu
 deer—pho, jərya
 defeat (v.)—kɛ-mo
 defend (v.)—khər-mo
 defense—hiba-jəti
 deny (v.)—mə-ruŋ-mo
 desire (v.)—khi-çi-mo
 dew—bə-ti
 daughter's husband—pi-tsu, mya
 die (v.)—çi-ci-mo
 difficult—kha-nu
 dig (v.)—khwe-mo
 dirt—hlan
 dirty—ya-nu, khi-nu
 divide (v.)—chi-mo
 divorce—dərəm-damo, baba-çemo
 dog—khui
 donkey—boŋ-ju
 door—da-rum, kholi, mərəŋ
 dough—çildu
 dove, pigeon—guguti

down, low — phak-çinu
 downward — yo, tho
 do (v.) — ga-mo
 drag (v.) — nɔ-mo
 drink, smoke (v.) — tuŋ-mo
 drive (cattle) (v.) — məŋ-mo
 drop (v.) — buɹ-mo
 drown (v.) — jyaŋ-mo
 drum — səŋ-dəmə
 dry (vi.) — kə-tshər-mo
 dry (vt.) — tshər-mo
 dry — tshər-nu
 duck — ŋak-pya
 dye (v.) — chyɔ-mo
 ear — rəju
 early morning — chāju
 earth — hre, darti (IA)
 earthquake — brinj-çi-ni
 east — jər-nani
 easy — lo-nu
 eat (v.) — ja-mo
 elder brother — pu
 elder brother's wife — punu, mun-ci
 echo — lakuri-təsine
 egg — pi-tum
 elbow — thəŋ-tso
 empty — mobuŋ-nu
 end — ləcən
 enjoy (v.) — hmyaŋ-mo
 elder sister's husband — cə-jo
 elder sister — puna-ta
 evening — nyaŋ-thəpa
 everywhere — hul-pa
 extinguish (v.) — sɛ-mo
 eye brow — muk-tshum
 eye lashes — mi-muuk-tshum
 eye lid — me-kum
 eye — mē
 father — ba
 face — wami
 fall (a branch) (v.) — buɹ-mo

fall down (v.) — lɛ-mo
 family — mō
 fan (v.) — hwi-mo
 fang — gwuro
 far — hwa-nəm
 fast (v.) — vɔ-səŋ-çi-mo
 fasten (v.) — cib-mo
 fat (grease) — tshe
 fat — buɹ-nu
 feast — khosi-mu
 feather (wing) — rəŋ
 father's elder brother (1st.) — pun-ba
 father's elder brother (2nd.) — gunda-ba
 father's elder brother (3rd.) — gubda-ba
 father's elder brother's wife — pum-nya,
 pum-mi-na
 feel (v.) — tshoka-ga-mo
 father's elder sister — puni, cini
 father's elder sister's husband — pe-mā
 festival — tyara (IA)
 father's father; mother's father — tete
 field — hre
 fight (v.) — dak-çi-mo
 fill (grains) (v.) — poŋ-mo
 fill (liquid) (v.) — pa-mo
 finger — lak-puŋ
 finger (index) — co-la
 finger (little) — tsuikuŋ-la
 finger (middle) — gunda-la
 finger (ring) — pomi-la
 finish (v.) — co-mo
 fire — hmē
 fire-wood — çin
 first floor — thim
 fish — hnya
 fist — cib-la
 fit — thyak-nu
 flame — rap
 flesh — çya
 flexible — hnyuŋ-nu
 flour — hyi
 flour — jəŋgi

- flower—ce
 flute—bəkɾə
 fly (insect)—byā-bu
 fly (v.)—hlaŋ-mo
 father's mother; mother's mother—ləla
 foam—sumlo
 fodder—ci-çin
 fold (arms) (v.)—kuwb-mo
 fold (cloth) (v.)—ba-mo
 fold (hands) (v.)—nep-tsuw-mo
 foot—lige
 foot-hill—mini-dəŋ
 forbid (v.)—to-mo
 forehead—kwali
 forest—sero
 forget (v.)—lə-çi-mo
 fox—go-na
 fresh—hati
 frog—pələp
 frost—hro-bəʔ-ti
 fruit—lo, lo-əŋ
 full—tsobuŋ-nu
 father's younger brother—min-ba
 father's younger brother's wife—mim-
 nya
 father's younger sister—puni, cini
 father's younger sister's husband—pe-
 mā
 garden—saro, hre
 garlic—çəŋ-duum
 ghee—mər
 ginger—çin-wəm
 girl—tsəmē
 give, offer (v.)—da-mo
 glacier—gəl
 gloves—lak-puŋ
 goat (bearable)—lasəŋ
 goat (male)—mā
 goat (virgin)—cəm-tsa
 goat—mala, məla
 god—bəgwan (IA)
 gold—jəŋ
 good—dze-nu
 good smell—dzuunu-basu
 goose—ka-tsuk-ta
 goose-berry—aŋ-khula
 gourd—kuənti
 gown (for married women)—cuŋ-bala
 go (v.)—de-mo
 grain-store—bujuum
 grass—tsi
 grate, grind (v.)—yi-mo
 gray (ash)—pha-nu
 graze (to cause) (v.)—hrə-mo
 graze (v.)—hrək-mo
 green—tiŋ-nu
 ground—thəŋ
 gums—nil
 guts—rək-səŋ, rək-tsəŋ
 husband—hrithi
 hair—tshuum
 hammer—thuŋo, thən (IA)
 hand—la
 happy—gogu-ano
 hard—saro
 hare—royoŋ
 hate (v.)—khi-jak-ce-mo
 have (v.)—tati
 he, she—o, uo, wo
 head—piça
 headgear—cuŋ-le
 heal—khəpa
 heart—çiçə
 hearth—meluŋ
 hear (v.)—yən-mo
 heaven—tho-lok
 heavy—li-nu
 husband's brother—tsə-tso
 husband's elder brother's wife—ata
 height—dəŋro
 hell—nə-lok
 help (v.)—rək-ga-mo
 here—nədo, dəkhuŋ
 husband's elder sister—tsəmē

- husband's elder sister's husband—pu
 hesitate (v.)—lo-mo
 hide (v.)—cya-mo
 high—ahe-nu
 hill—minu-we
 hips—omphə
 hold (v.)—cim-lən-ta-mo
 hole—gədro
 honey—hwa
 horn—ru
 horse (female)—mə-hrəŋ
 horse (male)—phə-hrəŋ
 hot (like ginger)—na-no
 hot—loŋ-ni
 hot (like chili)—ta-no
 hot-plate—təho, kəp-tso
 house—cim
 how—kum, guum, gəro
 hum (v.)—pəŋ-ci-mo
 hunt after (v.)—mā-ci-mo
 husk—pu
 husk (v.)—duŋ-mo
 hut—chana (IA)
 husband's younger brother's wife
 —hrin-çya
 husband's younger sister—dikte-çya
 husband's younger sister's husband
 —pu, nunu
 I (1sg pronoun)—ji, je
 ice—uwi-nogəl, wi-nogəl
 ill—kəŋnu hmi
 in front of—lakənti
 incisors—ləgən-di-si
 increase (by stretching) (v.)—no-mo
 increase (liquid) (v.)—he-mo
 increase (v.)—po-mo
 infant—balo-çyano
 ink—çyai (IA)
 insect—bu
 inside—budru
 insult (v.)—phətita-ga-mo
 intestine—jyama
 invite (v.)—wi-mo
 iris of eye—muul-duun
 iron—li-jəŋ
 iron-shaft—nəll
 jackal—syal (IA)
 jar—əŋkura
 jaw—həl
 joint—tshi
 jump (v.)—hləŋ-mo
 just now—it-təna-raçi
 keep, to put up (v.)—ta-mo
 kettle—tibri (IA)
 key—taruum
 kidney—khə-dəŋ-se
 kill (v.)—se-mo
 king—çya
 kiss (v.)—ho-ga-mo
 kite—cil (IA)
 knead (v.)—puəl-mo
 knee—puk-to
 knit (v.)—rum-mo
 knot—khuci
 know (v.)—pə-mo
 ladder—cəŋ-thəŋ
 ladle (for liquid)—kyok
 ladle (for pulse)—bathi
 ladle (for rice)—pənyē
 lake, sea—cho
 lamb—kur-tso
 language—lo
 last year—tanu-yin
 lay down (v.)—kap-ci-mo
 leaf—pat (IA)
 leak (v.)—çəŋ-mo
 leech—juŋa-bu
 leg—luge
 lemon—cuku
 lie—ala-nu
 lie (v.)—a-la-mo
 life—che
 lift (vt.)—əm-mo
 light (a lamp) (v.)—tə-mo

light (fire) (v.) — hme-tə-b-mo
 light (in weight) — nəŋ-nu
 light (of moon) — lasəŋ
 light (of sun) — ni
 like that — idum
 like this — nədum-ga
 like (v.) — mən-ra-mo
 lion — wa
 lips — akpo, akple
 listen (v.) — rəŋ-çi-mo
 liver — chiŋ-cha
 live (v.) — təŋ-mo
 lizard (house) — bē-ti
 lizard (wild) — caŋ-ko, jaŋ-go
 lizard (wild, big) — cəŋ-jəŋ-go
 lock — wəlcu
 log — ciŋ-dala
 loin — tsir, tsirr
 long for (v.) — ce-ra-mo
 long gown — jugo
 long shirt (for married women) — cuŋ-geju
 long, tall — buŋ-nu
 look after (v.) — uŋ-mo, so-mo
 loose — hwəl-nu
 loud, loudly — hwε-the
 loudly — dzor-su (IA)
 louse egg — hruk-cε
 louse — hri
 love (v.) — lenu-ga-mo
 low voice — tar-su
 lungs — ləŋ-bər
 madly — cyo-numa
 maize — goga, koga
 male — pho
 mango — amō (IA)
 manure — ləŋ-sək
 many — cuŋ-na
 marriage — baguca
 marsh — dyu
 meal — ja, jamo-tuŋmo

measure (grains) (v.) — pa-mo
 measure (v.) — nəŋ-mo
 meat — cya
 mother — minā
 mother's elder brother — gukhe (if only one)
 mother's elder brother (1st.) — pun-pua
 mother's elder brother (last) — min-pua
 mother's elder brother's wife — pun-puni
 medicine — hne
 meet (v.) — chi-mo
 melt (vi.) — thi-mo
 melt (vt.) — thi-çi-mo
 memory — tsi-ra-mo
 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-gε
 mirror — ərsi (IA)
 molar teeth — gəm-so
 mole — suk-tsi
 molehill — gunta-thəŋ
 money — jəŋ-phuɫ
 monkey — pādro (IA)
 moon — la-cəŋ
 morning — nam-chəŋ-ni
 mortar — pala
 mosquito — mətshər (IA)
 moss (swamp) — nakəl
 mountain — u-we
 mouse — pyu
 mouth — a
 move (v.) — ciŋ-çi-mo
 much — dɛlna

mud—kəcar (IA)
 mule—di
 mushroom—mok-çya
 mother's younger brother—min-pua
 mother's younger brother's wife—min-puni
 mother's younger sister—mim-nya
 mother's younger sister's husband—min-ba
 nail—kil (IA)
 nail—lak-çin
 name (v.)—muŋ-ta-mo
 name—muŋ, hmuŋ
 narrow—jər-nu, ga-nu
 navel—pura
 near—ne-nəm
 near—thə, də
 nearly—uləŋ
 neck—bəna
 needle—chəb
 need (v.)—cin-mo
 nest—bəyəŋ
 net—jali
 never—hul-pari
 new—nu-nu
 next year—jya
 nipple—çime-lo
 nod (v.)—o-çi-mo
 noon—bən-muk-ca
 nose—nim
 nostrils—nim-toto
 now—thən, thən-disi
 nowhere—udiri-mini
 nut (betel)—supari (IA)
 nut (coco)—gola (IA)
 obey (v.)—hruŋ-çi-mo
 obstruct (v.)—to-mo
 occupy (v.)—bəŋ-tsum-mo
 often—gup-cya
 oil—mər-ti
 oil (v.)—ne-mo
 old—wiru

on, in—yərtə, yərtə
 onion—pyaju (IA)
 only—əlyə
 open (chain) (v.)—phər-mo
 open—kopho-cinu
 open (v.)—pho-mo
 orange—naraŋki (IA)
 our—niŋ-go
 paddy—ga
 paint (v.)—çi-mo
 pair—joŋ-su
 pajamas—gəju
 palm—phyala
 parrot—tota (IA)
 part—tək-cu
 pastel—thimd-la
 patella—puk-to-ro
 path—əm
 paw—lak-pəŋ
 pay (v.)—jəŋ-mo
 peacock—mor (IA)
 pebble—mini-nədəŋ-cən
 peel out (v.)—kho-mo
 peg—tən-çin
 pepper—wəmma-mirci
 person—mi, hmi
 phlegm—hərthi
 pierce (v.)—jhəb-mo
 pig—suər (IA)
 pinch (v.)—cepi-ci-mo
 place—bəŋ
 plant (v.)—do-mo
 plaster (v.)—lurb-mo
 plate (for female)—khuyəŋ
 plate (for male)—təli
 play (v.)—tsa-mo
 plough—kətəm, pəŋ-pho
 pluck (v.)—tho-mo, cha-mo
 poison—duo
 porcupine—buo
 post (pillar)—tsu-mu
 potato—alo (IA)

pound (v.) — dɔŋ-mo
 pour out (v.) — phyam-mo
 pray (v.) — ŋa-ci-mo
 precipice — syaŋ-we
 prepare (v.) — yaŋ-çi-mo
 price — molo (IA)
 priest — pɛnu-mi, lama
 protect (v.) — hruŋ-mo
 pungent — nyəm-no
 push (v.) — dɯr-mo
 python — tɔŋ-bu
 quarrel (vi.) — hok-çi-mo
 quarrel (v.) — ho-çi-mo
 quick — chət-chət
 quickly — jəd-jəd
 quilt — məkhuŋ
 rabbit — phak-ɕya
 rain — hmũ
 rainy season — sɛl-chu
 raw (vegetable) — ɕilmu
 ready — gu-jɔk-su
 read (v.) — lo-mo
 rear (v.) — duŋ-mo
 rebuke (v.) — phya-mo
 red — mɔŋ-nu
 refuse (v.) — mə-rɔŋ-mo
 regularly — jarna
 reins — khɛl-cu
 relax (v.) — ne-çi-mo
 religion — dɛrm (IA)
 reply (v.) — tho-mo
 report (v.) — tha-rɛ-mo
 resin (of pine) — blis
 resin — lacya
 return (v.) — thɔk-çi-mo
 ribs — hrup
 rice (cooked) — chəga
 rice — putshuɯm
 ring — lak-chəp
 rinse (v.) — phyəŋ-mo
 ripe (fruit) — muŋ-nu-lo

ripe (v.) — tse-mo
 river — yaŋ-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 — ponə-be
 roll up (v.) — gim-mo
 rolled — giŋin-ɕinu
 roof — chyəŋ-to
 root — rum
 rose colour — chi
 rotten — pɔk-ɕinu
 rough — tirpe-nu
 round — gəndu
 rub (v.) — ne-mo
 run (stealthily) (v.) — phuŋ-mo
 run (v.) — gyo-mo
 rupee — rupya (IA)
 son; brother's son — ɕiri
 sacrifice (v.) — bəli-da-mo (IA, bAli)
 saliva, spittle — khu-ti
 salt — cha
 same — ituma
 sand — sak-sa
 save (v.) — nɛ-mo
 say (v.) — hle-mo
 scar — khətə
 scissors — tshuɯm-ba
 scorpion — khuən
 scratch (utensils) (v.) — khwe-mo
 scratch (v.) — chɔ-mo
 scrub (v.) — wor-mo
 son's daughter; daughter's daughter
 — khemɛ
 search (v.) — ma-çi-mo
 season — ritu (IA)
 seed — piɕe (IA)
 see (v.) — tɔm-mo
 sell (v.) — rɔŋ-mo
 send (v.) — pəŋ-mo

serve (food) (v.)—cher-mo
 set (sun) (v.)—hri-mo
 shake (v.)—hlo-mo
 shallow—hyunu-mini
 sharp—tsər-nu
 sheep—hma
 sheep (castrated)—bər-tsi
 sheep (male)—kər-tsu
 sheep (uncastrated)—gukər
 shirt—kheta
 shoe—pəla (IA)
 shoot (v.)—se-ga-mo
 short—pə-nu
 shoulder—rəŋ
 shout (v.)—yər-mo
 show (v.)—thə-mo
 shrink (v.)—kuwp-çi-mo
 sister—tata
 sister's daughter—che-çya
 sister's son—che
 sibling—hro-hrun-kən
 sickle—sikən
 side (left)—kuən-cəndu
 side (right)—ci-cəndu
 silver—muł
 sing (v.)—bə-ra-ga-mo
 skin—bə
 skull—pica
 sky—tuŋ-bu
 sleep (v.)—ya-mo
 slip (v.)—pə-mo
 slope—cik-su-nə
 slow, slowly—tar-ta-su
 small—mi-nu
 smell—basu (IA)
 smell (v.)—nim-mo
 smoke—khu
 smooth—mə-tir-penu
 sneeze—ji-mo
 sneeze (v.)—je-mo
 snot—hnep-ti
 snow—hro

soak (v.)—cəŋ-mo
 socks—bək-cu
 soft—na-nu
 soil—jənu-sa
 sole—lurge-pəŋ
 son's wife—pi-mě, nəm-çya
 some—əlipə, əlibə
 sometimes—hulpa-hulpa
 sour—çir-no
 sow (v.)—yəb-mo
 speak (v.)—pha-mo
 spectacle—mug-təŋ
 spider—dən-də-ka-li
 spinach—paləŋ (IA)
 spin (v.)—pəm-mo
 split (wood) (v.)—khue-mo
 spread (bed) (v.)—pəŋ-mo
 spread (seed) (v.)—tshər-mo
 spread (tent) (v.)—tsu-mo
 spring out (v.)—wəm-mo
 spring—po-lini
 sprout—kəru
 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-kər
 stealthily—hagu-məte, hau-məte
 steal (v.)—khu-çi-mo
 stick—çin
 stir (vegetable) (v.)—ko-mo
 stitch (torn clothes) (v.)—ruwb-mo
 stitch (v.)—phəm-mo
 stop (v.)—to-çi-mo
 straight—təŋ-lan
 straw—sa-pha, pu-pa
 stream—mə-ti, muləti
 strike (match) (v.)—tha-mo
 string (for yak)—di
 strong—tar-nu
 suck (v.)—tsəb-mo
 sugar—cini

- summer—lon-*nu*
 sun—*ni*
 supporting pillar—tak-sa
 suspect (v.)—lo-mə-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.)—bɔ-da-mo
 swing (v.)—tshe-*ci*-mo
 son' wife's mother; daughter's husband's
 mother—ata
 sword—dəpya
 tail—ləphu
 take (an oath) (v.)—yəm-ja-mo
 take (one by one) (v.)—kyon-*mo*
 take out (v.)—pɔ-mo
 take (v.)—kor-mo
 talk (v.)—kəŋ-the-ga-mo
 taste (v.)—hmyaŋ-mo
 tea—cya (IA)
 tea (local)—mar-jya
 teach (v.)—ləb-mo
 tear (of eye)—me-ti
 tear (v.)—pe-mo
 tease (v.)—ge-*ci*-mo
 temple—hrəti
 temple—ki-bəŋ
 testicles—gul-thiŋ
 tether (v.)—chiŋ-mo
 that—uo
 their—usi-go, ui-go
 then—hum-ba
 then—yak-khər-ma
 there (invisible)—tɪrə-mətən
 there (visible)—tɪrə
 these—nədo-bər, neŋ-birna
 they (dual)—usi-nimi
 they (pl.)—usi-birmi, ui-bər
 thick (liquid)—phe-nu
 thigh—cəŋ-cya
 thin (liquid)—thi-nu
 thin—la-nu
 this—nədu, nədo
 thorn—cyu
 those—ui-bərna
 thread—phe
 three days after tomorrow—pu-jya
 thresh (v.)—təb-mo
 throat—bəna
 throw (v.)—tsəŋ-mo
 thumb—bo-la
 Tibet—byaŋ-ro, malo
 tie (v.)—gui-mo
 tiger—saŋ-wa
 tight—ga-nu
 till now—ita-wəna-su
 till then—khiŋg
 till then—ələŋ-wəna-su
 till what time—uma-wəna-su
 tobacco—tyəma
 today—thyā
 tomorrow—khəi
 tongue—jiphe (IA)
 tooth—su, so
 towards—doru
 tree—ciŋ
 tremble (v.)—dɔŋ-mo
 two days after tomorrow—ɕum-jya
 two days before yesterday—ta-jya
 uncover (v.)—pho-mo
 under—bero
 understand (v.)—tse-mo
 unhappy—mo-guano
 untie (v.)—phər-mo
 up—əhi-nu
 urine—chiru, dəmba
 use (v.)—*ci*-ji-mo
 usually—gubakte
 utensils—bənda-gunda
 uvula—tal
 valley—gata, tati

- verandah—bəŋ-ro
 village—səŋ
 vomit—loŋ
 vomit (v.)—loŋ-mo
 vulture—sile
 waist—tshur
 wall—pəŋ-phəl
 walnut—kha
 want (v.)—ciŋ-mo
 wash (clothes) (v.)—phəl-mo, chil-mo
 wash (hands) (v.)—hla-ur-mo
 water—ti
 water-pot—phoŋ-lo
 we (pl. incl.)—niŋ-birmi
 we (pl.)—niŋ-nimi
 weak—mə-tər-nu
 wear (clothes) (v.)—cək-ci-mo
 wear (ornament) (v.)—cak-ci-mo
 weave (v.)—rəm-mo, rən-mo
 wife—buja-tsəmə, hrithi-çya
 wife's elder brother—tshə-tso
 wife's elder brother's wife—ata
 weep (v.)—te-mo
 wife's elder sister—tsə-mě
 west—re-nani
 wet (to get) (v.)—thi-mo
 wet—thi-nu
 wife or husband's father—pe-ma, powa
 what—khələ
 wheat—rəje
 when—hul-ba
 where—udə-wudə
 white—ci-no
 who (pl.)—khəmi-jən
 who—khəmi
 whole—jəm-ma
 whom (pl.)—khəni-jən-ge
 whom—khəmi-go
 widow—rani-çyani
 widower—rado (IA)
 wind—hwi
 window—tewari (IA)
 winnow (v.)—mər-mo
 winter—gun-chu
 win (v.)—jitne (IA)
 wife's mother; husband's mother
 —puni
 wood—ciŋ
 work (v.)—lən-ga-mo
 worship (v.)—sə-tho-mo
 write (v.)—hri-mo
 wife's younger brother—tshe-əŋ
 wife's younger brother's wife—hrin-
 çya
 wife's younger sister—sali-çya (sali,
 IA)
 wife's younger sister's husband—tser-
 bu, nunu
 yak (cross-bred)—dimo
 yak (male)—gəl
 yawn (v.)—hər-ga-mo
 younger brother—nunu
 younger brother's wife—nəm-çya
 year—bərdino
 yeast—bəlma
 yes—ō
 yesterday—niməŋ
 yoke—yəkəm
 you (dual)—gəni-nimi
 you (pl.)—gəni-birmi
 you (sg.)—gə
 young—junu (IA)
 your (pl.)—gəni-go
 your (sg.)—təguna
 younger sister's husband—cəŋ-jo
 younger sister—hrin-çya