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## A Grammar of Lepcha

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## Citation

Plaisier, H. (2006, February 16). A Grammar of Lepcha. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4379

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)
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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

# A Grammar of Lepcha 

Proefschrift<br>ter verkrijging van<br>de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Dr. D.D. Breimer, hoogleraar in de faculteit der Wiskunde en Natuurwetenschappen en die der Geneeskunde, volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties te verdedigen op donderdag 16 februari 2006<br>klokke 16.15<br>door<br>Heleen Plaisier<br>geboren te Eindhoven<br>in 1968

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De totstandkoming van dit proefschrift werd mede mogelijk gemaakt door financiële ondersteuning van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO).

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

| 1 | first person |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ABL | ablative marker |
| adj. | adjective |
| adv. | adverb |
| AST | assertive particle |
| AUTH | authorative particle |
| cf. | confer, compare |
| CMP | completive auxiliary |
| CRT | certainty particle |
| D | dual |
| DAT | dative suffix |
| DEF | definite article |
| DSC | discovery particle |
| DUB | dubitative particle |
| ed. | editor |
| eds. | editors |
| et al | et alii, and others |
| etc. | et cetera, and the rest |
| EXH | exhaustive auxiliary |
| FCT | factitive marker |
| GEN | genitive suffix |
| GER | gerund marker |
| IFR | inferential particle |
| IND | individuative suffix |
| INF | infinitival marker |
| LOC | locative suffix |
| n. | noun |
| NEG | negative marker |
| NPR | non-preterite tense marker |
| num. | numeral |
| OBL | oblique form |
| P | plural |
|  |  |

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

| pf. | prefix |
| :--- | :--- |
| PL.H | human plural suffix |
| PL.NH | non-human plural suffix |
| PRF | perfect auxiliary |
| PRG | progressive tense marker |
| pron. | pronoun |
| PSB | possibility particle |
| PTC | participle |
| Q | interrogative particle |
| REP | reported speech particle |
| REQ | request particle |
| RES | resultative auxiliary |
| S | singular |
| sal. | salutation |
| sf. | suffix |
| V. | verb |
| viz. | videlicet, or by substitution |
| vs. | versus |
|  |  |
| [ ] | phonetic transcription; analytical note |
| // | phonological transcription |
| < | morphological transcription |
| italics | transliteration |
| $\sim$ | alternates (allomorphs, allophones) |
| - | word-internal morpheme boundary or boundary be- |
|  | tween a word and an affix in glosses |
| - | syllable boundary in phonetic transcription |
| - | syllable boundary in transliteration |
| (v | vowel sign in Lepcha orthography |
| C | consonant sign in Lepcha orthography |
| Go | vowel or consonant sign in Lepcha orthography |

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Nepali is transliterated from the devanāgarī script conventionally in accordance with Indological tradition:

|  | a |  |  |  |  | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 |  |  |  |  | $\overline{1}$ |  |  |
|  | u |  |  |  |  | $\overline{\mathrm{u}}$ |  |  |
|  |  |  | $\underline{r}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | e |  |  |  |  | ai |  |  |
|  | o |  |  |  |  | u |  |  |
|  | m |  |  |  |  | h |  |  |
| k | kh |  | g |  |  | h |  | n |
| c | ch |  | j |  |  | h |  | ñ |
| t | th |  | d |  |  | h |  | $\underline{\square}$ |
| t | th |  | d |  |  | dh |  | n |
| p | ph |  | b |  |  | h |  | m |
| y |  | r |  | 1 |  |  | v |  |
|  | S |  | S |  |  | S |  |  |
|  |  |  | h |  |  |  |  |  |

The modern pronunciations of Dzongkha and Dränjoke are given in Roman Dzongkha, the official system for the phonological representation of Dzongkha, described in van Driem 1998.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

 Shuzóng Támsáng and $(\underset{\sim}{*})$ © of the material on which the present study is based and who devoted a


 the late Emú Foning for assisting me with practical advice and offering moral support during my sojourns in Kalimpong and Sikkim. I would also like to thank my hosts in Ngáse, Mane Gomba, Passingdang and Gangtok for providing me with homes away from home. This book has benefited enormously from the insightful font design of Jason Glavy, who developed the Lepcha font used that is used here. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Richard Keith Sprigg and his late wife, the dear Ray Margaret Sprigg, for their enduring support and friendship.

## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

Lepcha is a Tibeto－Burman language spoken in Sikkim，Darjeeling district in West Bengal in India，in Ilām district in Nepal，and in a few villages of Samtsi district in south－western Bhutan．The tribal home－ land of the Lepcha people is referred to as $贝$ 万苃،
 eternal purity＇．Most of the areas in which Lepcha is spoken today were once Sikkimese territory．The kingdom of Sikkim used to com－ prise all of present－day Sikkim and most of Darjeeling district．Kalim－ pong，now in Darjeeling district，used to be part of Bhutan，but was lost to the British and became＇British Bhutan＇before being incorpo－ rated into Darjeeling district．The Lepcha are believed to be the abo－ riginal inhabitants of Sikkim．

Today the Lepcha people constitute a minority of the population of modern Sikkim，which has been flooded by immigrants from Nepal． Although the Lepcha themselves estimate their number of speakers to be over 50,000 ，the total number is likely to be much smaller．Accord－ ing to the 1991 Census of India，the most recent statistical profile for which the data have been disaggregated，the total number of mother tongue Lepcha speakers across the nation is 29,854 ．While their dis－ tribution is largely in Sikkim and the northern districts of West Ben－ gal，there are no reliable speaker numbers for these areas．In the Dar－ jeeling district there are many Lepcha villages particularly in the area surrounding the small town of Kalimpong．There are reportedly roughly a hundred Lepcha households in Ilām，mainly in the villages Nāmsāliñ，Phikkal，Kolbuñ，Pañckanyā，Kanyām，Śrī Antu and Cisopān̄̄，and approximately a thousand Lepcha speakers in Samtsi District，in Denchukha north of the＇Amochu in Bhutan（van Driem 2001：819）．Although Lepcha is unmistakably a Tibeto－Burman lan－ guage，its exact position within Tibeto－Burman is still unclear．

The English name＇Lepcha＇derives from Nepali lāpce or lāpcā， which originally had the derogatory connotation of＇inarticulate
speech'. Nowadays, the term 'Lepcha' is widely used without this
 róngkup rumkup 'children of the Róng and of God', or simply ( $\mathcal{F} \dot{\boldsymbol{E}}$ ) róngkup 'children of the Róng'. Alternatively, the Lepcha people may call themselves $\mathfrak{F} \mathbb{Z}(\mathfrak{f} \tilde{\mathcal{G}}$ róng Págít 'the Róng tribe'. The Lepcha word for 'language' is $\mathbb{Z}(\mathbb{Y}) \mathcal{F}$ Páríng, and the Lepcha call their own language , $\mathbb{F} \mathfrak{y}$ F róngríng.

The Lepcha divide themselves into four main groups according to the region they inhabit. The Lepcha from Kalimpong, Kurseong, Mirik and Darjeeling are known as ミ゙̈‘culz támsángmú, the Lepcha
 cha living in the Ilām district of Nepal are known as \{qürz\} Pilámmú and the Lepcha who live in ( $\mathfrak{F} \times \mathrm{an}$ prolyáng 'Bhutan' are referred to as ( $\boldsymbol{7}$ ) 3 ) promú. The Lepcha of Kalimpong, though formerly part of Bhutanese territory, are Támsángmú and not Promú. There is some debate over whether the Lepcha from Kurseong, Darjeeling and Mirik should belong to the Renjóngmú or the Támsángmú Lepcha, as some people use the name Támsángmú strictly for Lepcha living in and around Kalimpong.

The four groups do not represent four different dialects; although there are regional differences between the Lepcha spoken in different areas, these differences are largely lexical. The Lepcha spoken by the Renjóngmú is generally more influenced by Dränjoke than the Lepcha spoken by the Támsángmú, which in itself is more influenced by Nepali than the Lepcha spoken by the Renjóngmú. Since there is a lot of mobility between Sikkim and Darjeeling district, with children going to school or college or finding jobs in areas different from where their parents live, the regional influences are not always straightforward. However, the sense of regional identity is strong enough, buttressed by a number of real cultural differences, between the Renjóngmú and the Támsángmú to make the distinction between these major groups within the Lepcha speaking community a vital one.

In Sikkim, Lepcha is one of eleven official languages. Lepcha is taught in schools, there is a textbook department that develops official learning materials, there is a Lepcha edition of a government newspaper, the Sikkim Herald, and the government radio station broadcasts news bulletins and cultural programmes in the Lepcha language. A special area in North Sikkim holds the $\mathfrak{\{} \mathfrak{F} \omega\}$ Dzongú [zónggú] Lepcha reserve, a Lepcha conservation area where but few outsiders have
been allowed to settle. In the Darjeeling district, the Lepcha have had to struggle to get official status in order to receive special benefits and to be able to have air time on the official radio stations. The Lepcha Association, which is a social and cultural organisation with several different branches and chapters in which all Lepchas have organised themselves, coordinates evening classes in the Lepcha language and other social and cultural initiatives, such as festivals and archery competitions.

The Lepcha are divided into various clans or families known as IJro putsho and each clan has its own $\approx$ dâ 'lake' and 0$\}$ cú 'moun-
 tain worship' ceremonies. In the Kalimpong area, the origin of the clan names is traditionally explained as follows: when the evil king
 thíng 'Lord Támsáng', then Lord Támsáng expressed his gratitude to 108 men by bestowing upon each of them an honorary title, as well as placing each of them under the protection of a specific lake and mountain peak. The honorary titles developed into clan names, such
 most Lepcha know to which putsho they belong, they do not always know the corresponding dâ and cú. Today the full clan name may be

 may be substituted by the generic epithet 'Lepcha', e.g. Dorji Tshering Lepcha.
 dumdyám, is usually made of smooth cotton or silk and consists of one large piece of material that is folded over one shoulder, pinned at the other shoulder and held in place with a waistband over which part of the remaining material hangs. The ankle-length dumdem is worn over a long-sleeved blouse, which may be of a constrasting colour. The native male dress is knee-length and consists of a multicoloured hand-woven cloth called $\ddot{\text { F̈ }}$ Ir dumprá 'male dress', which is pinned together at one shoulder and held in place by a waistband. The dumprá is usually worn over a simple white shirt and knee-length trousers. The men wear the di(き) thyáktuk 'cap', a flat round hat with stiff black velvet sides and a softer top of coloured material with a knot in the centre. The more traditional hat, now rarely seen, is made of bamboo and rattan strips and is cone-shaped with a narrow brim.

The Lepcha are known as excellent weavers and they weave the $\ddot{*}$ ) dum 'cloth' for the dumprá themselves. The Lepcha are also famous for their unique knowledge of the medicinal properties of local plants. Bamboo, $\mathfrak{I}$ po, plays an important role in Lepcha life and the Lepcha sometimes refer to themselves as the 'brothers of the bamboo', because of their skilful use of various kinds of bamboo and rattan in building houses, weaving baskets, constructing bridges, rafts, fences and making bows, arrows and all sorts of household utensils.

The central religious roles in the Lepcha community are tradition-
 as shamans. The bóngthíng is traditionally a male shaman who presides at recurring religious ceremonies and seasonal festivals and may heal acute illness. The mun, often but not necessarily a female shaman, is a healer who exorcises demons, helps to heal illness and guides souls to the afterlife. It is possible for a bóngthing to develop into a mun, in Sikkim such healers are known as $\boldsymbol{7}$ 委 padem. In the eighteenth century, the Lepcha people were converted to Buddhism, although indigenous Lepcha shamanism managed to coexist with Buddhist customs and beliefs. Both Buddhist lamas and Lepcha bóngthíngs preside at many important ceremonies in Lepcha life, each to perform their own rituals. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, in the Darjeeling district a significant number of Lepcha people have converted to Christianity. Many Christian Lepcha people have lost their language and have distanced themselves from the old shamanistic rituals and beliefs. This stance occasionally gives rise to tension between Buddhist and Christian Lepcha.

The entire complex of Lepcha myths, legends, fables and fairytales that has been orally transmitted throughout the centuries is known as $\times \mathrm{N} 3$ B̉ ، (us) lúngten sung 'mythology, legends'. The Lepcha have their own indigenous script which dates back to the 18th century, explained in the next chapter. Although many written Lepcha texts are adaptations of Tibetan Buddhist literature, they clearly display a Lepcha character. Further research is required in order to determine the precise nature of the influence of Lepcha oral traditions, regional folkloristic influences and Tibetan Buddhism on Lepcha literature (Plaisier 2003b, Klafkowski 1983: 172).

Archibald Campbell published a short list of Lepcha words in 1840. In 1842, the independent clergyman William Start brought more than twenty German missionaries to Darjeeling in order to start
a Christian mission post there. Although the initiative was not a lasting success, William Start and his colleague Karl Gottlieb Niebel did run a school for Lepcha children in Tukvár, near Darjeeling, for some time and translated parts of the Bible into Lepcha (Start and Niebel 1849, 1872). When Start returned to England in 1852, Niebel continued his missionary work in the area. A commemorative plaque in St. Columba's Church in Darjeeling reads: '1865. Karl G. Niebel, 23 years translator with the Lepcha, died' (Perry 1997: 31). Some of the other missionaries that Start had brought over settled in the region and started up various businesses. Joachim Stölke, for example, became a tea planter, as did his sons John and William Stölke, who together wrote an as yet unpublished extensive Lepcha-English dictionary around 1900.

At around the same time that William Start became interested in the Darjeeling area, Colonel George Byres Mainwaring of the Bengal Staff Corps made his first visit to Darjeeling. The Lepcha customs and way of life had a great impact on Mainwaring, who saw all the traits of Lepcha culture he so admired reflected in their language. He was the first to write a grammar of Lepcha, which was published in 1876. Mainwaring worked on a Lepcha dictionary as well, the manuscript of which was edited and published in 1898 by Albert Grünwedel after Mainwaring's death. Mainwaring's work has been of pivotal importance for the survival of the Lepcha language, although it has also been criticised because of its strong latinate bias.

Apart from editing Mainwaring's dictionary, Albert Grünwedel published translations of Lepcha texts based on Tibetan sources. Lawrence Waddell published an article with remarks on a number of Lepcha place names in 1892, and in an article in 1899 he translated and explained nine Lepcha songs. In his account of Tibetan Buddhism, Waddell (1895) also described Lepcha religious practices. These works were followed by different short accounts of the Lepcha language by Schott (1881), Drouin (1901) and Feer (1898).

Several studies on Lepcha culture or aspects thereof have been published, such as those by Stocks (1925), Morris (1938), Gorer (1938), Hermanns (1954) and later Klafkowski (1980, 1983), Thakur (1988) and Chattopadhyay (1990). The Austrian tibetologist René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz published extensively on the religion of the Lepcha until his early death in 1959. The most important anthropological
study of the Lepcha people and their culture remains the monumental work by Halfdan Siiger and Jørgen Rischel, published in 1967.

Notable 20th century publications on the Lepcha language consist of studies on the field of classification (Benedict 1972, Shafer 1955, Forrest 1962, Bodman 1988), orthography and inconsistencies in spelling (Haarh 1959, Sprigg 1983, 1989, 1997, 1998, Chakraborty 1978) and phonology (Sprigg 1966a, 1996b, Bodman 1989). In 1966, Prabhakar Sinha wrote an unpublished grammar of Lepcha as a Ph.D. dissertation at Deccan College in Pune.

Only after writing the present grammar was I able to understand much of Mainwaring's descriptions, shrouded as they are behind its latinate veil. The same applies a fortiori to the unpublished dissertation written by Sinha, which contains numerous lists but is not exceedingly insightful and usually omits descriptions of the meanings of grammatical morphemes. The articles by Haarh, Bodman and especially Sprigg are useful studies of highly specific aspects of the language.

The Lepcha Textbook Department of the Government of Sikkim and the various Lepcha Associations of Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Sikkim have been publishing periodicals, books, plays and collections of poetry in Lepcha for decades. The Lepcha author Arthur Foning published his influential book Lepcha, My Vanishing Tribe in 1987, and the book was reprinted in 2003. Two other outstanding Lepcha
 sóm, have both published grammar textbooks of Lepcha written in Lepcha, i.e. Támsáng (1978), Luksóm (1981), as well as other studies. These grammar books should not be seen as comprehensive grammatical descriptions of the Lepcha language, but rather as language textbooks. Both books are of a prescriptive nature, apparently written with an audience of language learners in mind. Although both grammars appear to be based on Mainwaring's grammar of 1876, Luksóm follows Mainwaring much less closely than Támsáng does and offers several original and insightful discussions and examples.

Several dictionaries of the Lepcha language have been compiled (Grünwedel 1898a, Cemjong 1970, Kumar 1978). Khárpú Támsáng’s magnificent Lepcha English Encyclopedic Dictionary, published in 1980, is indispensible to anyone working on Lepcha. In 1983, a Lepcha Hindi English Dictionary was compiled by Dóngtshen Luksóm. In 1996, an English to Lepcha Dictionary was published by the emi-




Ever since its first issue in 1997, the quarterly Lepcha bilingual news magazine $\mathbb{Z}(0) \mathfrak{N}$ Aachuley [ácúle] published by the Lepcha Lit-
 sóng Támsáng, has proven to be an important forum for contributions on Lepcha language and culture written by authors from all over the world.

The present book is a descriptive study of the Lepcha language. The data for this study were collected during several pleasant sojourns amongst the cheerful Lepcha people in Kalimpong and Sikkim between 1994 and 1998. During my research, I also investigated the history and origins of old Lepcha texts. The results of this investigation have appeared in the form of a catalogue describing the unique collection of Lepcha manuscripts kept in Leiden, the world's largest collection of Lepcha texts. This catalogue also contains an introduction to Lepcha literary history and a survey of the smaller collections of Lepcha manuscripts in London, Gangtok and Vienna.

## CHAPTER TWO

## PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

This chapter is concerned with the organisation of sounds as linguistic units in the Lepcha language. In this chapter, the phonemes of Lepcha are represented both in the romanisation used throughout this book, as well as in a phonetic transcription in the International Phonetic Alphabet. The phonetic transcription is given between square brackets. In example sentences, the original Lepcha orthography is included. The romanisation used in this book is in fact a transliteration of the native Lepcha orthography, which is faithful to the facts of the traditional orthography. Since the transliteration is consistent with the way text is written in traditional orthography, it remains possible at all times to derive the spelling in original Lepcha orthography from the transliteration. Moreover, the use of the transliteration eases comparisons to transcribed Lepcha forms used in other publications. The transliteration used here is largely phonological, the few phonological ambiguities that arise from the transliteration are discussed in this chapter. In the chosen transliteration, syllable boundaries in multisyllabic words are indicated by a hyphen only in those cases where they cannot be predicted on the basis of the phonotactic rules described in this chapter, or when it is necessary to separate phoneme symbols which might otherwise be read as a digraph for another phoneme, e.g.

 phonetic transcriptions, syllable boundaries are indicated with the symbol [•]. In glossed example sentences, a dash [-] is used to indicate a word-internal morpheme boundary or the boundary between a word and an affix.

### 2.1 Vowels

Lepcha has eight phonemic vowels, symbolised as $i$ or $i$ for [i], $e$ for [ $\mathrm{e} \sim \varepsilon], u$ for $[\mathrm{u}], a$ or $\hat{a}$ for [ə], $a ́$ for [a], $u ́$ for [u], $o$ for [o], and $o$ for [0]. The vowel phonemes are presented in Diagram 1, where their phonetic values are given between square brackets and their transliteration graphemes are given in italics. The qualitative contrast between the vowels involves four degrees of vowel height dimension and three degrees in the front-back dimension. There is no phonological vowel length, although a vowel in an open syllable tends to have a longer realisation than the same vowel in a closed syllable.

|  | front |  | back |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| close | $[\mathrm{i}] i, i, i$ | $[\mathrm{ur}] u$ | $[\mathrm{u}] \hat{u}$ |
| half-close |  |  | $[\mathrm{o}] o$ |
| half-open | $[\mathrm{e} \sim \varepsilon] e$ | $[\Lambda] a, \hat{a}$ | $[\mathrm{o}] \hat{o}$ |
| open |  | $[\mathrm{a}] a ́$ |  |

Diagram 1: Lepcha vowel phonemes
The phoneme /i/ is an unrounded close front vowel [i]. In open syllables, /i/ is often realised as [i:]. In closed syllables, /i/ is generally realised as [i] but may occasionally move toward the more central quality of [I].

| $\mathcal{F}_{\text {F }}^{\text {r }}$ ríp | [riPp ${ }^{\text {] }}$ ] | 'flower' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| jo $b i$ | [bi] | 'give' |
| fin Pik | [ i i ${ }^{\text {² }}$ ] | 'still |
| f(\% Pit | [ $\mathrm{iiqt}{ }_{\text {r }}$ ] | 'create' |

The phoneme /e/ varies in pronunciation between [e] and $[\varepsilon]$ and sometimes [r], especially before velar consonants. In general, we can
say that in open syllables the phoneme／e／is realised as an unrounded half－close front vowel［e］or［r］and in closed syllables the phoneme ／e／is realised as an unrounded half－open front vowel［ $\varepsilon$ ］．However， the variation between the different allophones is in fact slighly more complex，since the realisation $[\varepsilon]$ does not seem to occur before［ g ］ and $[k]$ ．Before $[p],[m],[1],[n],[r]$ ，and $[t]$ the phoneme／e／may be realised as either $[\mathrm{e}],[\mathrm{I}]$ or $[\varepsilon]$ ．

| § pe | ［pe］ | ＇grass＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ［ren 3 ¢¢］ | ＇Sikkim＇ |
| N ${ }^{\text {a }}$ len | ［len］ | ＇than＇ |
| $\stackrel{\text { ®̈ }}{\text { er }}$ jer | ［3er］ | ＇gold＇ |
| ، heng | ［hı， | ＇ginger＇ |
| 又イン̈ Pámlem | ［ $\mathrm{Pa} \cdot \mathrm{ml} \mathrm{mm}$ ］ | ＇face＇ |
| ${ }_{5}$ k̇lek | ［kle？k＇］ | ＇force，urge＇ |

The phoneme／á／is an unrounded open front vowel［a］，with allo－ phones ranging to an unrounded back vowel［a］．

| ๑ồ navár | ［ $\mathrm{n} \wedge \cdot \mathrm{var}$ ］ | ＇boat＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ör bám | ［bam］ | ＇dwell＇ |
| íngár | ［nar］ | ＇slice＇ |
| 又 1 E Pákâ | ［ $2 \mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{ks}$ ］ | ＇hand＇ |
| H（S）záti | ［da＇tii］ | ＇nutmeg＇ |

The phonetic value of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{a}$／，represented by the translit－ eration graphemes $a$ and $\hat{a}$ ，varies considerably．This vowel can be described as an unrounded central vowel that usually approaches the quality of schwa［ə］．This phoneme may also be realised as an un－ rounded half－open central vowel［ $\Lambda$ ］or as an unrounded central vowel ［u］．From the point of view of widespread conventions regarding the use of diacritics with the Roman script，the circumflex accent above the $a$ to represent a schwa may strike many as odd．However，this convention in transliterating Lepcha script dates back to Mainwaring and stems from the peculiar role of the diacritic flourish known as the $\bar{\xi}$ rân in Lepcha script and first described as a＇circumflex＇sign by Mainwaring，a historically interesting orthographic device discussed in greater detail later in this chapter．

| $\underset{\mathbf{E}}{ }{ }^{\text {d }}$ a | ［d＾］ | ＇lake＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 膑 fâk | ［fə2k］ | ＇scrape＇ |
| \％ิ vâm | ［vəm］ | ＇song＇ |
| Q0 cang | ［слу］ | ＇foster，nourish＇ |
| J،ß）patung | ［pə＇tup］ | ＇shoulder＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{u} /$ is an unrounded back vowel［ w$]$ ，sometimes real－ ised closer to the value of［i］．The phoneme／ú／is a rounded close back vowel［u］．

| 又（ä）？ánит | ［？a＇num］ | ＇younger brother＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\bigcirc r^{r u}$ | ［ru］ | ＇cane＇ |
| 文）O̧ ？ulbú | ［2ill bu］ | ＇salesman，seller＇ |
| ＊3dú | ［du］ | ＇umbrella＇ |
| E®S kajú | ［kə 3 u ］ | ＇dog＇ |
| ${ }_{60}{ }^{\text {a }}$ thúk | ［ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u} \mathrm{mk}^{\text {² }}$ ］ | ＇season＇ |
| ธ̄3 Pút |  | ＇otter＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{o} /$ is a rounded half－close back vowel［ o$]$ ．This rounded half－close back vowel is usually a bit raised，viz．［o］．

| （ $\times$ hlo | ［hlo］ | ＇hill＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\stackrel{( }{6}$ dop | ［do？p］${ }^{\text {² }}$ | ＇burn＇ |
| （ $\omega$ go | ［go］ | ＇I＇ |
| （a）، Potshóng | ［ Pot $^{\text {h }}$ On］ | ＇that day |

The vowel／ó／is a rounded half－open back vowel［๑］，usually raised，i．e．［？］．

|  | ［ $2 \mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{nom}$ ］ | ＇elder sister＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ［mon］ | ＇pig＇ |
| （ $\sqrt{6}$ ）myóng | ［mjov］ | ＇experience＇ |
| （ \％$_{\text {B }}$ myón | ［mjon］ | ＇forget＇ |
| « ¢ gó | ［go］ | ＇be happy＇ |
| 信 Oót | ［ 30 ？${ }_{\text {r }}$ ］ | ＇pluck，as fruits＇ |

The distinction between the phonemes／o／and／ó／is clearly phoneti－ cally differentiated in reading pronunciations and the cultivated enun－ ciations of many literate speakers．However，the distinction is lost in the speech of non－literate speakers，particularly those highly fluent in

Nepali，where no comparable phonological distinction exists．It is dif－ ficult to ascertain whether this distinction，i．e．／o／vs．／ó／，is an original phonological distinction which is on the way out or an artificial dis－ tinction inspired by the Lepcha literary tradition，which was invented in the eighteenth century．

## 2．2 Consonants

The phoneme inventory of Lepcha consonants is listed in Diagram 2， with a phonetic transcription between square brackets，followed by the transliteration used throughout this book in italics．In contrast to the Lepcha vowels，the phonemic units of the consonant system match the transliteration graphemes in a straightforward one－to－one correspondence．The phonemes are briefly described below，begin－ ning with the velar，palatal，dental，retroflex and bilabial stops and nasals，followed by fricatives，affricates，approximants，the trill and the glottal stop．

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{k}$／is an unaspirated voiceless dorso－velar stop［k］． Before the vowels $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and $/ \mathrm{e} /, / \mathrm{k} /$ is slightly palatalised $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{j}}\right]$ ．In sylla－ ble－final position，$/ \mathrm{k} /$ is found to be realised as a voiceless unreleased dorso－velar stop $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{l}}\right]$ ，usually reinforced with a simultaneous glottal stop $\left[? \mathrm{k}^{\top}\right]$ ，as is the case in kakyók［k $\left.\cdot \mathrm{kj} \partial \mathrm{Rk}^{\prime}\right]$＇nine＇．

| EV kacer | ［kı $\cdot \mathrm{cer}$ ］ | ＇wheat＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ［luk $\cdot$ Pal］ | ＇tomorrow＇ |
| je kít | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i} \mathrm{T}^{\mathrm{t}}$ ］ | ＇snatch＇ |
| 广 ¢ rák | ［rapk］ | ＇search，examine＇ |
| X（）烒 Pákrím | ［ $\mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{a}$ krim］ | ＇bitter＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{kh} /$ is an aspirated voiceless dorso－velar stop $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ ． The phoneme $/ \mathrm{kh} /$ occurs only in syllable－initial，not in syllable－final position．

| ¢ $k$ kek | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{e} 2 \mathrm{k}$ ］$]$ | ＇freeze＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ふ́s khák | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a} \mathrm{k}^{\text { }}$ ］ | ＇choke＇ |
| © 3 khú | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}$ ］ | ＇loaf of bread＇ |
| （G）3 khyú | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ju}$ ］ | ＇bathe＇ |


|  | labial | dental | alveolar | retroflex | palatal | velar | glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| voiceless | ［p］ | ［t］ |  | ［t］ | ［c］ | ［k］ | ［？］ |
| stop | $p$ | $t$ |  | tr | c | $k$ | $?$ |
| aspirated voiceless stop | ［p ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ］ | ［ ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ］ |  | ［t ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ］ | ［ ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ］ | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ］ |  |
|  | $p h$ | th |  | thr | ch | kh |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { voiced } \\ \text { stop } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | ［b］ | ［d］ |  | ［d］ |  | ［g］ |  |
|  | $b$ | $d$ |  | $d r$ |  | $g$ |  |
| voiced <br> nasal | ［m］ | ［n］ |  |  | ［n］ | ［ท］ |  |
|  | $m$ | $n$ |  |  | ny | $n g$ |  |
| voiceless affricate |  |  | ［s］ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | $t s$ |  |  |  |  |
| aspirated voiceless affricate |  |  | ［ $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ］ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | tsh |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| voiceless fricative | ［f］ |  | ［s］［J］ |  |  |  |  |
|  | $f$ |  | $s \quad s h$ |  |  |  |  |
| voiced fricative | ［v］ |  | ［z］［3］ |  |  |  |  |
|  | $v$ |  | $z \quad j$ |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { voiced } \\ \text { trill } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |  | ［r］ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | $r$ |  |  |  |  |
| voiced approximant | ［w］ | ［1］ |  |  | ［j］ |  |  |
|  | $w$ | $l$ |  |  | $y$ |  |  |
| voiceless approximant |  |  |  |  |  |  | ［h］ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $h$ |

Diagram 2：Lepcha consonant phonemes
The phoneme $/ \mathrm{g} /$ is an unaspirated voiced dorso－velar stop $[\mathrm{g}]$ ．Be－ fore the vowels／i／and／e／，the $/ \mathrm{g} /$ is slightly palatalised $\left[\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{j}}\right]$ ．The pho－ neme $/ \mathrm{g} /$ occurs only in syllable－initial，not in syllable－final position．

| Gor gán | ［gan］ | ＇old，aged＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （ $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{r}$ ）gorúng | ［go ruy］ | ＇either＇ |
| ¢⿴囗十心夊 gek－lát | ［ $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{ek} \cdot \mathrm{las} \mathrm{T}^{\text {² }}$ ］ | ＇birth＇ |
| Covj gyú | ［gju］ | ＇skill＇ |

$$
\text { acor, } \operatorname{tagryú} \quad[\mathrm{t} \Lambda \cdot \mathrm{grju}] \quad \text { 'cheek' }
$$

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{y} /$, corresponding to the transliteration digraph $n g$, is a voiced dorso-velar nasal [ n$]$. The phoneme $/ \mathrm{y} /$ also occurs in syl-lable-final position. There is a tendency to neutralise the difference between $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{in}$ syllable-final position. A small number of speakers occasionally realise an initial / $\mathrm{y} /$ closer to a dental nasal [ n ].

| ̇̇ngán | [yan] | 'remain, sit' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (\%) ngol | [ yol ] | 'early' |
| ، \& $^{\text {Púng }}$ | [Ruy] | 'water' |
| ،(E) kryóng | [krjon] | 'praise' |

In syllable-initial position, the phoneme $/ \mathrm{y} /$ is sometimes realised as a voiced [h], as we can see in the three examples listed directly below this paragraph. The relationship between the relaxed state of the glottis and the lowered state of the velum conventionally termed nasality, is known as rhinoglottophilia. Examples discussed by Matisoff (1975), Michailovsky (1975) and Sprigg (1987), point to this phenomenon as an affinity resulting in the nasalisation of sounds such as [h] or [?], but the examples in Lepcha operate in the opposite direction, from a nasal to an [h]. Although not many examples of this phenomenon were found in Lepcha, the few attested instances are very common and widespread among Lepcha speakers of different ages and of different regions. Nevertheless, most speakers would deny having pronounced the initial $/ \mathrm{y} /$ as $[\mathrm{h}]$ when confronted with this observation, and the alternation would be rejected in written Lepcha.

| F̧ ngâk |  | 'look, observe' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ろngú | [nu~hu] | 'fish' |
| i3ngún | [gun~hun] | 'become' |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{c} /$ is an unaspirated voiceless palatal stop [c]. The phoneme $/ \mathrm{ch} /$ is its aspirated counterpart $\left[\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$. The phonemes $/ \mathrm{c} /$ and /ch/ occur only in syllable-initial, not in syllable-final position.

| $\mathfrak{o}$ co | $[\mathrm{co}]$ | 'tea' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathfrak{j} \mathfrak{o}$ cí | $[\mathrm{ci}]$ | 'cí, fermented grain liquor' |
| $\mathfrak{( \gamma}$ cho | $\left[\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}\right]$ | 'book' |


| $\bar{\sim}_{\sim}$ chet | ［ ${ }^{\mathrm{h}} \varepsilon$ R $\mathrm{t}^{\text {t }}$ ］ | ＇relate＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ［ce．ch ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ？ $\mathrm{Rk}^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇loveable＇ |

The phoneme $/ \tilde{n} /$ ，corresponding to the transliteration digraph $n y$ ， is a voiced palatal nasal［ n$]$ ．The phoneme／ñ／occurs only in syllable－ initial，not in syllable－final position．

| ₹ nyet |  | ＇two＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ¢ㅈNㅇ nyilop | ［ni $\cdot 102 \mathrm{p}$ ］ | ＇earlobe＇ |
| 实 nyók | ［nopk］ | ＇delay＇ |
| 〕令 nyín | ［nin］ | ＇milk＇ |

The phoneme／t／is realised as a voiceless dental stop［t］，or as a voiceless alveolar stop［ t ］．The phoneme／t／is truly dental in that the tip of the tongue actually touches the back of the teeth．In syllable－ final position，／t／is found to be realised as a voiceless unreleased den－ tal $\left[\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{T}}\right.$ ］or alveolar stop［ $\mathrm{t}^{ }$］，usually reinforced with a simultaneous glottal stop，like［ $\mathrm{Pt}^{\mathrm{r}}$ ］or［ $\mathrm{Pt}^{\mathrm{t}}$ ］．

| ふ） | ［țu2k nom］ | ＇nose＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 令 timre | ［tim＇re］ | ＇respect＇ |
| ลิ่ tór | ［tor］ | ＇silk＇ |
|  |  | ＇tamarind fruit＇ |
| 弐了 tyút | ［tju？${ }_{\text {d }}$ ］ | ＇scar＇ |
| \＆（ữ Páhret |  | ＇bone＇ |

The phoneme／th／is an aspirated voiceless dental $\left[\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ or alveolar stop $\left[\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}\right.$ ］．The phoneme／th／occurs only in syllable－initial，not in sylla－ ble－final position．

| ̈̈（İ thámpót | ［ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{am} \cdot \mathrm{post}{ }^{\text {d }}$ ］ | ＇fruit＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| jorez thikúng | ［ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i} \cdot \mathrm{kuy}$ ］ | ＇great grandfather＇ |
| （\％）thop | ［ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{opp}$ ］ | ＇get＇ |
| 安，thyók | ［ $\mathrm{tr}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{j}$ ¢ $\mathrm{Kk}^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇shelter＇ |

The phoneme／d／is a voiced dental［d］or alveolar stop［d］．The phoneme／d／occurs only in syllable－initial position，not in syllable－ final position．

| $\int * d i$ | ［di］ | ＇come＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathfrak{S}$ 柂 ding | ［dip］ | ＇stand＇ |
| 禾dâ | ［d $\Lambda$ ］ | ＇lake＇ |
| （ $\omega *$ ）sadu | ［sə•dur］ | ＇slowly＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$ is realised as a voiced alveolar nasal［ n ］．The phoneme $/ \mathrm{n}$／occurs both syllable－initially and syllable－finally．

| ก̃or nâlá | ［ $\mathrm{n} \cdot \mathrm{la}$ ］ | ＇always |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| อ̈¢ nám | ［nam］ | ＇year＇ |
| 管mân | ［mın］ | ＇meat＇ |

The phoneme／tr／is an unaspirated voiceless retroflex stop［t］，and the phoneme／thr／is its aspirated counterpart［ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ］．The phoneme $/ \mathrm{dr} /$ is an unaspirated voiced retroflex stop［d］．The retroflex phonemes only occur syllable－initially，not syllable－finally．The retroflex series are
 and $\omega g r$ for $/ \mathrm{dr} /$ ．In Lepcha orthography，the retroflex consonants are often distinguished from the clusters $/ \mathrm{kr} /$ ，／hr／，／gr／，by a small dot written below the consonant cluster．Retroflex sounds occur mainly in loanwords from Tibetan，although some Lepcha words with one of the native initial consonant clusters $/ \mathrm{kr} /$ ，／hr／or $/ \mathrm{gr} /$ are now some－ times pronounced with retroflex sounds，especially in Sikkim．For ex－



| S第通trínchen | ［tin $\cdot c^{\text {h }}$ en］ | ＇kindness＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 它 tróp | ［ $\dagger$ Pp ${ }^{\text {²］}}$ | ＇winnow＇ |
| 5 tre | ［te］ | ＇mule＇ |
| $\mathrm{S}_{\substack{\text { ¢ }}}$ thri | ［ ${ }^{\text {hi }}$ ］ | ＇throne＇ |
| jự̣̂ thrím | ［t ${ }^{\text {him }}$ ］ | ＇law＇ |
| （\％̛̣）throm | ［t ${ }^{\text {h }}$ \％ ］ | ＇town，market＇ |
|  | ［di］ | ＇fort，palace＇ |
| （สู）dróp | ［do？p］ | ＇moment＇ |
| cos dre | ［de］ | ＇demon＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{p} /$ is an unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop［p］．In syllable－final position the phoneme $/ \mathrm{p} /$ is often realised as a voiceless unreleased bilabial stop［ $\mathrm{p}^{\top}$ ］，often glottally reinforced，viz．［ $\mathrm{pp}^{\top}$ ］．

| き pel | ［pel］ | ＇be tired＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\stackrel{\text { Ė（ }}{\text { pla }}$（ák | ［plapk］ | ＇break＇ |
| Irspano | ［pa＇no］ | ＇king＇ |
| $\mathfrak{J} p i$ | ［pi］ | ＇write＇ |
| $\mathfrak{1}$ po | ［po］ | ＇bamboo＇ |
| for ríp | ［riPp ${ }^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇flower＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{ph} /$ is an aspirated voiceless bilabial stop $\left[\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}\right.$ ］， which occurs only in syllable－initial position．The phoneme／f／is a voiceless labiodental fricative［ f ］，occasionally realised as a voiceless bilabial fricative［ $\phi]$ ．The phoneme／f／occurs only syllable－initially， not syllable－finally．When children learn the Lepcha alphabet in the © $\widetilde{\mathbb{F}}$ lazzóng tradition，the letter $\xi f$ ，which is pronounced［fə］，is some－ times pronounced as［fre］，possibly to increase the contrast between the phonemes $/ \mathrm{f} / \mathrm{and} / \mathrm{ph} /$ ．The difference between the two phonemes $/ \mathrm{ph} /$ and／f／appears to be fading these days，no doubt under the influ－ ence of Nepali，although in the spoken language of some Lepcha speakers the contrast is still clearly audible．

| ふ̈r phám | ［ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{am}$ ］ | ＇defeat＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （ D pho | ［ ${ }^{\text {ho }}$ ］ | ＇time，turn＇ |
| f答phil | ［ ${ }^{\text {h }}$ il］ | ＇be distant＇ |
| Erfá | ［fa］ | ＇swim＇ |
| físfik | ［firk＇］ | ＇tear＇ |
| （E）SE fungfing | ［fun fin］ | ＇blue＇ |
| ज flet | ［flȩt］ | ＇wash one＇s face＇ |
| กิ่ flók | ［flo？k＇］ | ＇peel＇ |
| E，fyek | ［fje？k＇］ | ＇sharpen＇ |

The phoneme／b／is a voiced bilabial stop［b］．The phoneme／b／oc－ curs only in syllable－initial position，not in syllable－final position．

| ỏr bán | ［ban］ | ＇knife＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| jo $b i$ | ［bi］ | ＇give＇ |
| fôb bik | ［biPk＇］ | ＇cow＇ |
| 又⿴囗口⿺尢丶 Pábek | ［ $2 \mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{be} 2 \mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ ］ | ＇middle＇ |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{m} /$ is a voiced bilabial nasal [m]. The phoneme $/ \mathrm{m} /$ occurs both in syllable-initial and in syllable-final position.

| ¢ ¢ mák | [maPk ${ }^{\text {] }}$ ] | 'die' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{j}_{6} \mathrm{mi}$ | [mi] | 'fire' |
| $\stackrel{5}{15}$ món | [mon] | 'pig', 'medicine' |
| zv( mlyá | [mlja] | 'level, even' |
| $\mathcal{X}$ (\%) Párom | [?a'rom] | 'fear' |

The phoneme /ts/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate [ s ]. The phoneme $/ \mathrm{tsh} /$ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate [ $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ]. The phonemes /ts/ and /tsh/ occur only syllable-initially, not syllable-finally.

| そ̈ tsám | [tsam] | 'hold' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (\%)tsót | [so?t'] | 'squeeze' |
| (̇) tsúk | [su?k'] | 'bite' |
|  | [sur'sur] | 'twinkle' |
| To tshó | [ $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}$ ] | 'aim' |
| (e) $\overline{\text { c }}$ tshukpót | [ $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{h}}$ uk $\cdot \mathrm{postr}$ ] | 'word' |
|  | [ $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{h}} \Lambda$-lum] | 'orange' |

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. The phoneme /sh/ is a voiceless alveolopalatal fricative [ $\int$ ]. Both /s/ and /sh/ occur only in syllable-initial position. The distinction between $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{sh} /$ is neutralised before the vowel [i], as for example in $\mathfrak{j}$ shi [ $\mathrm{ji} \sim \mathrm{si}]$ 'see'.

| (cow So | [so] | 'rain' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| coly sagrek | [sı ${ }^{\text {gre }}$ [k'] | 'throat' |
| (cw) sung | [swy] | 'story' |
| ¢ | [ $\int \wedge 2 \mathrm{k}^{+}$] | 'louse' |
| ※ sher | [ $\left.\int \varepsilon \mathrm{cr}\right]$ | 'glass' |
| ¢ ¢ shól | [ ol ] | 'fox' |

The phoneme $/ \mathrm{j} /$ is a voiced alveolopalatal fricative [3]. The phoneme /j/ occurs only in syllable-initial position, not in syllable-final position. The phoneme $/ \mathrm{z} /$ is a voiced alveolar or dental fricative [ z$]$, sometimes realised as a voiced alveolar affricate [dz]. The distinction between $/ \mathrm{j} /$ and $/ \mathrm{z} /$ appears to be fading in modern-day spoken Lep-
cha，as some speakers no longer distinguish between the two pho－ nemes．

|  | ［3＾1］ | ＇dry＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ๙ึjer | ［3عr］ | ＇gold＇ |
| ̈̈̈r jám | ［3am］ | ＇assemble＇ |
| 茾 $z \hat{a}$ | ［zı］ | ＇err＇ |
| （4zok | ［zo？k＇］ | ＇trickle＇ |
| H（S）＊záding | ［dza $\cdot \mathrm{diy} \sim \mathrm{za} \cdot \mathrm{din}$ ］ | ＇jug＇ |
| 己 $\sqrt{\text {（İ }}$ Pázóm | ［1a•dom～${ }^{\text {a }}$＇zom］ | ＇rice，food＇ |

The phoneme／r／is a voiced alveolar trill［r］，which occasionally has a flapped articulation［r］．The phoneme／r／occurs both in syllable－ initial and in syllable－final position，and can also occur as a post－ consonantal glide with a certain set of consonants in syllable－initial position．The initial consonants with which the post－consonantal glide $/ \mathrm{r} /$ may combine are $/ \mathrm{k} /$ ，／g／，／n／，／p／，／f／，／b／，／m／，／h／（cf．Diagram 3）． The post－consonantal glide／r／also combines with the post－ consonantal glide $/ \mathrm{y} /$ ，in which case it always precedes the $/ \mathrm{y} /$ ，so we may find an initial consonant followed by the sequence $/ \mathrm{ry} /$ ，as in mryóm＇spread over the ground，creep＇．

The Lepcha script distinguishes special symbols for the phoneme ／r／in its syllable－initial use，its syllable－final use，and its post－ consonantal use，cf．$₹$（ ra，（ $\mathcal{E}$ kor，（ $\mathfrak{I}$ ）pro．In this respect，Lepcha or－ thography structurally uniquely resembles the Limbu script，a writing system which was designed in the same region and time as the Lepcha script．The cluster $\forall h r$ is realised as a voiceless apico－alveolar trill ［r］and is only found in syllable－initial position．

| $\bigcirc r u$ | ［ru］ | ＇cane＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 广 rám | ［ram］ | ＇thunder＇ |
| けとrok | ［ro？k］ | ＇read，study＇ |
| （E）kor | ［kor］ | ＇wander，stroll＇ |
| 鹈krón | ［kron］ | ＇scratch＇ |
| デ）tsur | ［sur］ | ＇radiate＇ |
| （v）hro | ［ro］ | ＇come up＇ |
| ช̛i¢ hryám | ［rjam］ | ＇jerk＇ |
| نึ）${ }^{\text {b }}$ hrún | ［run］ | ＇hot＇ |

The phoneme／v／is realised as a voiced labiodental fricative［v］ and the phoneme $/ \mathrm{w} /$ is a voiced bilabial approximant［w］．The native Lepcha orthography offers a distinction between the two graphemes for $[v]$ and［w］，i．e．$\theta v$ for $[v]$ and $w w$ for［w］．This distinction is still adhered to in written Lepcha，but in spoken Lepcha the distinction is marginal，and is only made when Lepcha speakers feel the need to contrast two lexemes containing either／v／or／w／that are spelt differ－ ently（but normally pronounced the same），or when the alphabet is read out loud．The phonemes $/ \mathrm{v} /$ and $/ \mathrm{w} /$ occur only in syllable－initial position，not in syllable－final position．Although the distinction be－ tween $/ \mathrm{v} /$ and $/ \mathrm{w} /$ is fading in spoken Lepcha，no doubt under influ－ ence of Nepali，which lacks a phoneme／v／，I have chosen to retain the distinction in writing．

| ®̈̈ vóm | ［vom］ | ＇salt＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Xfer Pávyo | ［2a•vjo］ | ＇tibia＇ |
| fê vik | ［viPk＇］ | ＇soldier＇ |
| Ejpyet | ［vje？tr］ | ＇ask，inquire＇ |
| （rob）womú | ［wo $\cdot \mathrm{mu}$ ］ | ＇spindle＇ |
| ¢roj wómú | ［wo ${ }^{\text {mu］}}$ | ＇jackal＇ |
| バう（＊wúrdo | ［wur＊do］ | ＇sling＇ |

The phoneme／l／is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant［1］．The phoneme／l／occurs both in syllable－initial and in syllable－final posi－ tion．The phoneme／l／also occurs as a post－consonantal glide with a certain set of consonants in syllable－initial position．For these initial consonant clusters with $/ 1 /$ ，there is a special series of consonant let－ ters in the native orthography，i．e．$\varsigma \mathrm{kla}$ ，七刀 gla $\simeq p l a$ ，ง fla，ぃ bla，ょ $m l a, \times h l a$ ．All consonant letters in this series actually do represent consonant clusters，although the phonological cluster $\times h l a$ is realised as a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative［1］．

| （ָ̄）lót | ［109tr ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ］ | ＇repeat＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ふ̊، láp | ［lapp ${ }^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇bury＇ |
| ¢ ${ }_{\text {N }}$ lít | ［liţr ${ }^{\text {² }}$ ］ | ＇sift＇ |
| （1） Pul | ［ul］ | ＇sell＇ |
| ¢ิ้ nól | ［ nol ］ | ＇skin＇ |
| （ $\times$ hlo | ［10］ | ＇hill＇ |
| ،×ı hláng | ［lag］ | ＇harden |


| $\dot{\chi}$ hlok | $[\mathrm{lo} 2 \mathrm{ok}]$ | ＇break，as eggs＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\dot{\chi} \boldsymbol{\jmath}($ hlyám | $[\mathfrak{l j} a \mathrm{~m}]$ | ＇shake，quiver＇ |

The phoneme／h／is a voiceless glottal approximant［h］，which oc－ curs only in syllable－initial position．

| $\dot{\text { ̛ }}$（ hák | ［hark］ | ＇carve＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＊heng | ［hen］ | ＇ginger＇ |
| が（ háp | ［happ］ | ＇shut＇ |
| jỡ híp | ［hipp］ | ＇shave＇ |

The phoneme／y／is a voiced palatal approximant［j］，which can occur in syllable－initial position，but not in syllable－final position．The phoneme／y／also occurs as a post－consonantal glide with a certain set of consonants in syllable－initial position．The initial consonants with which $/ \mathrm{y} /$ combines as a post－consonantal glide，are $/ \mathrm{k} /$ ，／kh／，／g／，／t／， $/ \mathrm{th} /, / \mathrm{d} /, / \mathrm{p} /$ ，／ph／，／f／，／b／，／m／，／r／，／l／，／h／，／hl／and／v／，cf．Diagram 3.

Glottal hiatus is a pre－vocalic glottal closure followed by abrupt voice onset which occurs word－initially in words beginning with a vowel and word－internally between vowels．In native Lepcha orthog－ raphy，a glottal stop is indicated by the symbol $\mathcal{Z}$ ，e．g． $\mathcal{Z}$（ $\mathcal{4}$ Páre［？a•re］ ＇this＇，設 it［Ri？tr＇］＇create＇．

| （coũ sopâm | ［so． 3 2m］ | ＇summer＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| do Páre | ［？a＇re］ | ＇this＇ |

The sequence that is written $\underset{x}{ } ? y$－at the beginning of a word，in－ dicates an initial glottal stop［？］followed by a voiced palatal ap－ proximant［j］．Some of the examples starting with $\mathbb{Z}$ ？$y$［？j］listed immediately below form minimal pairs with words with an initial voiced palatal approximant［j］．

| （E）yok | ［jo2k＇］ | ＇top，summit＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 風 P Yók | ［ $\mathrm{Pjo} \mathrm{Pk}^{\text {²］}}$ | ＇work，job，chore＇ |
| ̇ yel | ［jel］ | ＇know a language＇ |
| 食 Pyel | ［？jel］ | ＇divert＇ |
| Ėyâ | ［j＾］ | ＇know＇ |
| ぬ Pyá | ［？ja］ | ＇formerly＇ |
| ¢̇ yor | ［jor］ | ＇row＇ |


| （ ® $_{\text {P }}$ Por | ［ ${ }^{\text {jor }}$ ］ | ＇pitfall＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ėyáp | ［japp ${ }^{\text {］}}$ ］ | ＇grope＇ |
| 8i¢ Pyáp | ［ $2 \mathrm{japp}{ }^{\text {² }}$ ］ | ＇chop＇ |
| § Pyen | ［？jın］ | ＇last year＇ |

## 2．3 Syllables

Each syllable in Lepcha contains a vowel phoneme at its core．The syllable contains an initial consonant or consonant cluster，and may or may not contain a final consonant．While all consonants may occur as syllable－initial consonants，not all consonants may be combined with the post－consonantal glides -y －and $-\mathrm{r}-$ ，nor with post－consonantal -l － All possible combinations for initial consonant clusters are listed in Diagram 3.

| $-y$－ | －r－ | －ry－ | －l－ | －ly－ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{array}{r} \text { 区 } P y a \\ \text { Ev kya } \\ \text { אv khya } \end{array}$ | E $\mathrm{kra} / \mathrm{tra}$ | En krya／trya | 5 kla | 50 klya |
| （a）gya | （v）gra／dra خ ngra | （a）gryaldrya | to gla | tas glya |
| A）tya <br> （a）thya <br> ＊）dya |  |  |  |  |
| IV pya | J） pra | In prya | $\simeq p l a$ | ¢ plya |
| 20 phya |  |  |  |  |
| Ev fya | G）$f r a$ | Es frya | ง fla | （9）flya |
| O，bya | O）bra |  | （）$b l a$ | （7）blya |
| zo mya | 万） mra | 万0，mrya | よ mla | zv mlya |
| ro rya |  |  |  |  |
| （N）lya |  |  |  |  |
| x hlya |  |  |  |  |
| Q vya |  |  |  |  |

Diagram 3：Syllable－initial consonant clusters

The following consonants may appear in syllable-final position: /k/, /n/, /t/, /n/, /p/, /m/, /r/, /l/.

Lepcha morphemes are monosyllabic. Many Lepcha words are composed of different syllables, with the stress usually on the second syllable. Richard Keith Sprigg analyses Lepcha as having contrastive stress (1966b: 199-200). The intonation of Lepcha is characterised by the clustering of syllables into groups, often these are phrases or groups of words marked by suffixes, postpositions or particles. The intonation of Lepcha from northern Sikkim is markedly different to the intonation of Lepcha from other regions, in that it is much slower and much less monotonous. This type of intonation is believed to represent an older and more elegant style of speaking, less influenced by neighbouring languages such as Nepali or Dränjoke.

### 2.4 Native Lepcha orthography

The Lepcha script is written from left to right, with spaces between words. In Lepcha, no distinction is made between capital and lowercase letters. Punctuation marks are similar to the ones used in the Tibetan orthography, although nowadays full stops, commas and question marks from the Roman alphabet are also used. The 'alphabet' or 'syllabary' is referred to in the Lepcha language as $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{s}}$ kakha ' ABC ',
 The native Lepcha orthography is systematically treated in the text wrat lazóng, the book on the Lepcha alphabet, which is traditionally used to teach Lepcha orthography (Plaisier 2003: 31-32).

The order of the Lepcha alphabet as given in the $\mathfrak{N}_{\mathrm{K}}$ lazóng, is different to the order in which the Lepcha alphabet is taught and read out today. The original Lepcha syllabary was built out of five units, as given below in Diagram 4, the first units running from \& ${ }^{2} a$ to $\mathbf{z} m a$, and the second unit running from $\mathfrak{f}$ ha to $\boldsymbol{f}$ tha, etc. Although most NrAF lazóng books use the same order, occasionally there is some variation in the order of the units. A similar conclusion was pointed to by R. K. Sprigg in his article 'Original and sophisticated features of the Lepcha and Limbu scripts' (Sprigg 2003). The order of the consonant symbols within the five units may vary slightly between different versions of the $\mathfrak{N} \checkmark \mathcal{F}$ lazóng, between the introductory summary of the alphabet in the opening part of $\mathfrak{N} \cdot \mathbb{A}$ lazóng and the actual listing of all
possible syllables in $\mathfrak{N} \times \mathbb{F}$ lazóng books. However, the differences are minor and most of them are apparently oversights of the copyists.

| \& ? ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | $E k a$ | $\omega g a$ | J $p a$ | E $f a$ | $\bigcirc b a$ | 7 ma |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathfrak{f} a$ | ¢ra | $\mathcal{S} k h a$ | 2 $t a$ | ¢ tha |  |  |  |  |
| * da | ( $l a$ | $5 k l a$ | to gla | $\simeq p l a$ | ง fla | © bla |  |  |
| よ $m l a$ | $\times h l a$ | $\theta v a$ | Ynga | $\bigcirc c a$ | J pha | ₹ nya | $\bigcirc n a$ | J $t s a$ |
| fr $w a$ | $\boldsymbol{\sim} j a$ | * $z a$ | \& $y a$ | © sha | ¢ cha | wo tsha | cosa |  |

Diagram 4: Original order of the syllabary
In the N•א্F lazóng, all the orthographic symbols and combinations of symbols are treated in a specific order, building from simple consonant or vowel signs to more complex syllables. Apart from a few paragraphs which introduce the different sections making up the book, the N•瓜 lazóng does not contain running text as such. The traditional method of instruction is for the teacher to recite sections of the N. $\mathbb{F}^{F}$ lazóng in a set melody and for the students to read and chant along with the teacher, until the students have memorised the values of the letters and the syllables and are able to read and to recite by themselves. Although most people nowadays learn to read and write Lepcha through primers and textbooks based on different methods, the traditional method based on recitation of the $\begin{gathered} \\ \times \mathbb{F} \\ \text { lazóng is still }\end{gathered}$ practised. The list of possible syllables in Lepcha given by Mainwaring in his grammar (1876: 12-18), is clearly based on the $\mathbf{N} \cdot \boldsymbol{F}$ lazóng. The order of the syllabary that is mostly used in primers and textbooks today, clearly influenced by the order of the devanāgarī alphabet, is given in Diagram 5 below, starting with $£ k a, \mathcal{s} k h a$, $\omega g a, ~ \succ$ $n g a$, and ending with $\subsetneq b l a, ~ ғ m l a, ~ \times h l a$.

Although many Lepcha believe that a literary tradition existed among the Lepcha before the arrival of Buddhism in the area, thus far no evidence has been found to corroborate this claim. It seems more likely that the invention of the Lepcha alphabet was motivated by the
religious activities of Buddhist missionaries. The Buddhist monks were keen to communicate with the Lepcha people in their own language, and as so often happens when the influence of a new religion spreads, religious texts were translated into the local language of the area, in this case Lepcha, for which an alphabet had yet to be created (Plaisier 2003: 20-23, Risley 1894: 13, Sprigg 1983, 1996).

The Lepcha script is understood to be devised during the reign of
 (imperabat 1700-1716). According to Lepcha tradition, the native
 Thikúng Mensalóng, who is believed to have been a contemporary of
 'Lama Lhatsün Namkha Jimi (1597-1654), the patron saint of Sikkim, who is considered to have played a definitive part in the Sikkimese conversion to Buddhism. Since sources mention that ${ }^{\circ}(\omega)(\mathbb{N})$ Mensalóng and Lhatsün Chenpo met each other (Foning 1987: 152), it might well have been the case that they worked together on the Lepcha orthography, which would account for a Tibetan tradition which ascribes the introduction of the Lepcha script to Lhatsün
 invention of the Lepcha script, seems even more plausible when we realise that during the reign of Châdo 'Namgä not just the Lepcha script, but also the Limbu or Kiranti script was developed, not by Châdo 'Namgä himself, but by the Limbu monk Siriijangā (van Driem 2001: 674-675).
 Pámú Pámíng 'consonants, mother letters' are given below in Diagram 5 with a Roman transliteration of each symbol. When the consonant is not marked by any vowel sign, the inherent vowel of the consonant is the vowel transliterated as $a$.

Vowel diacritics may be added to the consonant symbols. The nine
 or $\mathfrak{Z}(\dot{\oplus}) \mathbb{Z}(\hat{\mathfrak{O}}$ 亿 ?ákup Pámíng 'vowel signs, child letters, small letters'
 critical vowel signs', cf. Diagram 6. Mainwaring claims that the term $\mathfrak{a}(\dot{\mathscr{E}})$ ?ákup was 'formerly applied by the Lepcha exclusively to the Finals' (1876: 3).

| $\begin{aligned} & \mathbb{Z} \\ & ? a \end{aligned}$ | $E$ $k a$ | kha | $\omega$ $g a$ | Y $n g a$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{c}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \underset{\sim}{x} \\ & \text { cha } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathfrak{\sigma} \\ & j a \end{aligned}$ | F $n y a$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ミ | 6 | * | $\bigcirc$ | J | 0 | $E$ | O | 6 |
|  | ta | tha | $d a$ | na | pa | pha | $f a$ | $b a$ | $m a$ |
|  | $\pi$ | $\omega$ | * | $\varepsilon$ | r | ( ) | * | $\theta$ |  |
|  | $t s a$ | $t s h a$ | $z a$ | $y a$ | ra | la | ha | $v a$ |  |
|  | $\mathfrak{E}$ | cou | ${ }^{\text {r }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | sha | sa | wa |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5 | to | ᄃ | ง | (1) | よ | X |  |  |
|  | kla | gla | pla | fla | bla | mla | hla |  |  |

Diagram 5: Consonant letters

| c | or | © | $\int$ © | $\int{ }^{\text {c }}$ | (c) | (c) | c) | c) | © |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | á | $\hat{a}$ | $i$ | í | $o$ | ó | $u$ | ú | $e$ |  |

Diagram 6: Vowel signs

At the beginning of a syllable, any Lepcha consonant may occur. Although all Lepcha vowels may be found at the end of a syllable, only a limited number of consonants can occur syllable-finally. The consonants found at the end of syllables are: $-k,-t,-n,-p,-m,-r,-l$ and
 'final consonant signs' are given in Diagram 7.

The $\mathfrak{j} \underset{\sim}{\underset{\sim}{2}}(*$ nyíndo sign, i.e. ' $)$ ', transliterated here as -ang, is used to indicate a final velar nasal when no specific vowel sign is indicated, as in ow sang. The NoE lakang sign is used to indicate a final velar nasal in combination with diacritical vowel signs, as in the syllables ،ow sáng, facu sing, and ،co song. The distinction between the f $\underset{\sim}{\frac{\tilde{E}}{( }} *$ nyíndo and the NoE lakang is not always made when people discuss orthography, often the $\int \mathfrak{F}(*$ nyindo is used as a general term for a written final velar nasal.

| symbol | （9） | （9） | （6） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| transliteration | －k | －m | －l |
| name of symbol | NES | NF | NÖ̈ |
|  | lakát | lanyet | lasám |
| examples | rirok | S華 kím | ̇ı pál |
| symbol <br> transliteration <br> name of symbol | （2） | （92） | （2） |
|  | －n | －p | －r |
|  | Nธె） | （ $\underbrace{\circ}$ ） | N＊ |
|  | lanun | lakup | ladar |
| examples | O̧r bán | 夈о́p | （Ėkor |
| symbol <br> transliteration <br> name of symbol | （9） | （2） | （9） |
|  | －t | －ng | －ang |
|  | Ne | Note |  |
|  | lakat | lakang | nyíndo |
| examples | E（fát | ＇Fróng | ）$)^{\text {pang }}$ |

Diagram 7：Final consonant signs
For those consonant clusters in which the initial consonant is fol－
 mingthyú＇conjunct consonants，affixed consonants＇is used．The $\mathfrak{\{ \delta}$ vor míngthyú series includes the consonant symbols 5 kla ，七o gla，モ pla，ヘง fla，๙ $b l a$ ，よ $m l a$ and $\times h l a$ ，which are also sometimes referred to as the Navj lathyú＇ 1 －cluster＇，literally＇ 1 －affix＇．The orthography also has special symbols for post－consonantal $-y$ and $-r$ ，i．e．the $\{00\}$
 rathyú symbols can be used in combination with each other，as for
 bols may also be used in combination with the Novj lathyú series，as in 子ỉ mlyúk＇lukewarm，tepid＇，in which case the Evoß yathyú always
 $\lceil\times 03$ rathyú may not be combined with each other．

| symbol | © ${ }^{\circ}$ | (c) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| transliteration | -y | -r |
| name of sign | Exy y yathyú | Fory rathyú |
| examples | Ev kya, ¢¢ kra, En krya |  |

## Diagram 8: Affixed consonant signs

For retroflex sounds, which occur mainly in loanwords from Drän-
 'town, market', and 安 预 trók chí ' 'thank you'. The retroflex sounds are usually marked by a dot written below the graph, so as to distinguish these sounds from the unmarked non-retroflex sounds kra, hra
 hróng 'come up, arrive'. This useful diacritic was introduced by Mainwaring (1876: 10-11), and is known as Mainwaring's dot. Mainwaring suggests that the dot was also used with the letters \& za and $\ulcorner$ ra, but this particular usage is no longer found (Mainwaring 1876: 11). Although not all Lepcha writers favour the orthographic innovation, Mainwaring's dot still is widely used to indicate retroflex sounds.

| E | (a) | $\forall$ | ¢ | Q) | ษ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kra | gra | hra | tra | $d r a$ | thra |

Diagram 9: Retroflex consonants
The $\tilde{\tilde{F}}$ rân 'circumflex' sign is a diacritic flourish written over a consonant sign or over a vowel sign ' $\widetilde{a}$ ', as in $\tilde{F}$ rân, $\widetilde{\mathbb{8}}$ Pâ or $\tilde{\mathfrak{z}}$ Pí. Although the original function of the $\tilde{F}$ rân sign is still unclear, it is often present in closed syllables, in which case the circumflex sign should be written above the final consonant sign. It has been suggested that the function of the $\stackrel{\tilde{F}}{\boldsymbol{F}}$ ran is to indicate stress or pitch, in order to distinguish stressable syllables from syllables that never appear in a stressed position, and this hypothesis may well be correct (Plaisier 2003: 28-29, Sprigg 1983: 316). However, because the function of the $\stackrel{\tilde{F}}{\Gamma}$ rân sign is unclear to most writers, nowadays the sign is
used by the Lepcha in a variety of ways and opinions vary strongly as to which is the correct usage.

### 2.5 Romanisation and spelling

In order to represent Lepcha in the Roman alphabet, either a transliteration or a transcription system may be used. Transliteration systems carefully substitute orthographical symbols by Roman letters and should follow the same spelling conventions and particularities that are used in the native orthography. Transcriptions are devised with the pronunciation of a language in mind and are used to characterise the phonology of a language. Not all systems that are used for the representation of Lepcha in the Roman alphabet are fully systematic in the sense that they can be called either a proper transliteration or a transcription, but the most popular ones represented in Diagram 10 below are systematic and fairly easy to grasp.

The prevailing transliteration system is that of Mainwaring, and most other romanisations are based on his system (1876: 2-3), albeit with some modifications. The transcription system used by Gorer (1938) is based on the pronunciation of well-known western European languages such as English, French and German. The basis of the transcriptions of Stocks (1925) and Hermanns (1954) is unclear.

Grünwedel (1898: viii-xi) uses Mainwaring's system, but introduces several changes in order to conform to the spelling of Tibetan words according to the Jäschke transcription. Also, Grünwedel arrived at a different treatment of Lepcha vowels, as can be concluded from Diagram 10. Mainwaring did not romanise the $\stackrel{\widetilde{F}}{\mathcal{F}}$ rân sign, which flaws his system, and Grünwedel chose to be more systematic in the transliteration of Lepcha vowels. Grünwedel also decided to romanise syllables with an initial $\mathbb{\bigotimes}^{\prime}$ as ' $a$-, whereas Mainwaring would have transliterated this initial as ay-. In Grünwedel's system, the retroflex sounds are not distinguished from the consonant clusters kra, gra, $h r a$, but he does mark each form that he believes to be a Tibetan loan with an asterisk *. Grünwedel's work is often criticised because it did not include the original Lepcha orthography. It should be noted that it was not his own choice to publish the manuscript dictionary left by Mainwaring and carefully edited by Grünwedel with just a transcription of the Lepcha words and examples, but that it was demanded by
the British Government, which commissioned the publication of the Lepcha dictionary manuscript (Grünwedel 1898a: ix).

In his publications on the Lepcha language, R.K. Sprigg also uses a transcription that is based on Mainwaring, although he replaces $c h$ by $c$ and $c h h$ by $c h$. Sprigg adds an apostrophe to indicate an initial glottal stop, and to avoid the suggestion of disyllabicity in words with an initial $\boldsymbol{\bigotimes}^{\boldsymbol{y}}$ he chooses to romanise this initial as ' $y$ - instead of with Mainwaring's ay-. (Sprigg 1983: 305).

The system of transliteration used in Siiger and Rischel's monograph (1967) is in principle the same as Grünwedel's system, but for typographical reasons some diacritics are replaced by consonants. Bodman (1988:1) also used a system based on Grünwedel's transcription with a few modifications. Bodman replaced $\dot{n}$ with $n g, \check{s}$ with $s y$, $c$ with $c y, c^{\prime}$ with $c h y$, and $j$ with $z y$. Bodman systematically represents aspiration with the letter $h$, and he replaced $t s$ with $c$, and $t s$, with $c h$. The initial glottal stop is not represented in his transcription system.
K. P. Támsáng chose a transliteration system that is close to Mainwaring's in the realm of the consonants, apart from chya for $\tau, j y a$ for $\mathfrak{r}$, shya for $\in$, and $t a$ for $\mathfrak{a}$ as well as retroflex $\xi_{\ddagger}, d a$ for $*$ as well as retroflex $\left(\boldsymbol{O}\right.$, and hta for retroflex $\boldsymbol{\vartheta}_{\mathrm{G}}$. As can be seen from Diagram 10 below, Támsáng's system differs a great deal from other systems in the representation of the vowels. Khárpú Támsáng chooses to avoid
 Lepcha-English Encyclopedic Dictionary, Khárpú Támsáng (1980) does not romanise the $\stackrel{\tilde{F}}{\mathcal{F}}$ rân, although from examples in the Lepcha orthography it is evident that he uses the diacritic systematically in closed syllables where no vowel diacritic is used. Khárpú Támsáng sometimes uses the $\tilde{F}$ rân in open syllables ending in $-a$, i.e. in syllables where no vowel diacritic is used, which implies a distinction between syllables ending in $-a$ and $-\hat{a}$. In other words, Támsáng implies that the difference between open syllables ending in $-a$ and $-\hat{a}$ is lexical.

Sometimes, Lepcha is transcribed in the devanāgarī script, which does not accurately reflect the original orthography but merely represents a phonetic approximation of Lepcha, which may lead to confusion as to the pronunciation and spelling of words. Nevertheless, many Lepcha find a representation in devanāgarī script helpful, especially those who are not familiar with native Lepcha orthography but
have learned to read and write Nepali in devanāgarī script. A standardised representation of Lepcha orthography into devanāgarī script could be helpful for this group of people.

The romanisation used throughout this book is based on Mainwaring's system, but the following modifications have been made: $c a$ is used instead of cha for the consonant symbol $\mathfrak{\imath}$, and for the symbol $\boldsymbol{\sim}$, $c h a$ is used instead of chha. The clusters tra, dra and thra are used for the retroflex sounds, the symbol $\mathbb{Z}$ is systematically transcribed as $?$, $\mathbb{\bigotimes}$ is transcribed as $P y$-, $\hat{a}$ is used for $\widetilde{\mathbb{c}}$, and $i ́$ is used for $\int \widetilde{(\mathbb{c}}$.

From Diagram 11, in which the native orthography, the transliteration used throughout this book, and a phonetic transcription of Lepcha vowels are put side by side, it can be seen that the native Lepcha orthography is not wholly phonological. On the one hand, the native orthography distinguishes between symbols that do not, or no longer,
 example in $\in k a$ ). On the other hand, the orthography does not adequately distinguish between the sounds $[\mathrm{e}]$ and $[\varepsilon]$, as will be shown below.

In older manuscripts, the symbols $\int \mathfrak{C} i$ and $\mathfrak{j}_{\mathrm{C}} i$ are used in a systematic manner: $\int \mathfrak{\int} \mathbb{C} i$ is used only in closed syllables and $j_{0} i$ only in open syllables. Since Mainwaring's time and possibly through his influence, the distribution of the orthographic symbols $\mathfrak{j c} i$ and $\mathfrak{j}_{\odot} i$ has become much more random.

The function of the $\tilde{\mathcal{F}}$ rân sign in the Lepcha orthography remains unclear to me, although, as mentioned above, old texts suggest that the circumflex sign originally occurred mainly in closed syllables and could serve to point to the presence of a final consonant diacritic. It is also possible that the circumflex sign was used to indicate stress, or stressable syllables. Nowadays the usage of the circumflex sign appears to be unsystematic or even unpredictable, and a closer study of the usage of the $\tilde{F}$ rân sign in old texts is likely to shed more light on this matter.

The $\{0, j$ yathyú, the infixed © $2, y$-, is often used before the vowels /e/ and $/ \mathrm{i} /$ to indicate the palatalisation of certain consonants before these front vowels. Not all Lepcha writers favour this approach, which is found to be more common in Sikkim than in the Kalimpong and Darjeeling hills. The word for 'give', for example, can be found spelt as $\mathfrak{j o}$ bi or jo byi, and the word for 'play' may be written either

ten point to a realisation of the phoneme /e/ as [ $\varepsilon$ ], as in $\hat{\text { orr }}$ gyal $[\mathrm{gj} \mathrm{cl}]$, which is sometimes found written $\hat{\text { Ar }}$ gyál [gjel].

There is rather a lot of variation and some inconsistency in the spelling of many Lepcha words. Some spellings are spontaneous, others idiosyncratic. The spelling used in certain books or by certain scholars is often seen as indicative. Opinions about what is and what is not correctly spelt are generally strong. There are quite a lot of regional differences when it comes to the spelling of words, and some spellings are clearly influenced by either Dränjoke, Tibetan or Nepali.

Especially in the realm of vowels, the spelling of Lepcha words is often seen to be confusing if not inconsistent, although a number of recurring variations can be recognised. In several papers, Sprigg points to the phonetic reasons underlying a number of spelling variations. In short, we can conclude from his work that an important role is played by the difference in realisation between vowels that occur in closed syllables as opposed to vowels that occur in open syllables. The presence of certain distinctions between vowels in one kind of syllable and the lack of the same distinctions in the other kind of syllable appear to make it impossible for the vowels to alternate in a consistent manner, as is discussed in more detail below (cf. Sprigg 1983, 1989).

In some Lepcha words, variant spellings correspond to differences in pronunciation, such as in $\mathfrak{\mathfrak { Q } ^ { \prime }}$ Pyók vs. $\left.\mathfrak{X}\right\}$ vs. if thúp 'get', but at other times another phenomenon can be seen at work. This is the influence of nasalisation on the spelling of words. While it does not make a difference to the meaning of a Lepcha word if vowels are nasalised or not, it does appear to make the spelling of such words less straightforward. In the case of the variation between written © $o$ and $\odot u$, Sprigg points to the fact that while the three
 lables with non-nasal initial consonants, in syllables with an initial nasal consonant the vowel is nasalised, and in such syllables only two back vowels occur, i.e. $\odot \mathcal{u}$ and (๑ $\delta$. In other words, Sprigg claims that there are only two lip-rounded vowel units in nasal-initial sylla-
 [o], and $๔ \sigma$ [ 0 ] in other syllables. Sprigg also points out that a spelling with (o $O$ would often yield a spelling closer to a Tibetan cognate, but that perhaps for this very reason many Lepcha prefer a spelling with © $\mathfrak{u}$ (Sprigg 1989: 229).

|  | Plaisier | Mainwaring | Grünwedel | Támsáng |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $E$ | ka | ka | $k a ̆$ | ka | $E$ |
| $\mathcal{G}$ | kha | kha | $k^{\prime} \breve{a}^{\prime}$ | kha | $\mathcal{G}$ |
| $\omega$ | ga | ga | $g \breve{ }$ | ga | 7 |
| 7 | nga | nga | $\dot{n} \breve{a}^{\prime}$ | nga | ＞ |
| $\bigcirc$ | ca | cha | čă | cha | $\checkmark$ |
| $\checkmark$ | cha | chha | $\check{c}^{\prime}{ }^{\text {a }}$ | chya | $\checkmark$ |
| $\sigma$ | ja | ja | $j a ̆$ | jya | F |
| F | nya | nya | nyă | nya | ₹ |
| 2 | ta | ta | tă | ta | 6 |
| 6 | tha | tha | $t^{\prime} \breve{a}$ | tha | 6 |
| $*$ | $d a$ | $d a$ | $d a ̆$ | $d a$ | － |
| $\bigcirc$ | na | na | $n a ̆$ | na |  |
| $\mathfrak{J}$ | pa | pa | $p \breve{a}$ | pa | $\pi$ |
| $\pi$ | pha | pha | $p^{\prime} \breve{a}$ | pha | $\pi$ |
| $E$ | fa | $f a$ | $f a ̆$ | fa | （9） |
| 0 | $b a$ | $b a$ | $b a ̆$ | $b a$ | － |
| 6 | ma | $m a$ | $m a ̆$ | ma | $\cdots$ |
| $\checkmark$ | tsa | tsa | $t s a ̆$ | tsa | 6 |
| 0 | tsha | tsha | $t s ' \breve{a}$ | tsha | Go |
| ＊ | $z a$ | $z a$ | $z a ̆$ | $z a$ | 9 |
| $\varepsilon$ | $y a$ | $y a$ | $y a ̆$ | ya | ᄃ |
| 5 | ra | ra | ră | ra | $\sim$ |
| （1） | $l a$ | la | lă | la | ＊ |
| $\mathfrak{F}$ | ha | ha | $h a ̆$ | ha | $x$ |
| $\theta$ | $v a$ | $v a$ | $v a ̆$ | $v a$ | ＇ |
| ${ }^{( }$ | sha | sha | šă | sya | $\mathfrak{*}$ |
| cou | sa | sa | $s a ̆$ | sa | $\mathfrak{E}$ |
| －r | wa | wa | $w a ̆$ | wa | 5 |
| 5 | kla | kla | klă | kla | 5 |
| Go | gla | gla | glă | gla | ， |
| Q | fla | fla | flă | fla | ง |
| ᄃ | pla | pla | $p l a ̆$ | pla | ᄃ |
| （） | bla | bla | blă | bla | ツ |
| よ | mla | mla | mlă | mla | よ |
| X | hla | hla | $h l a ̆$ | $h l a$ | X |


|  | Plaisier | Mainwaring | Grünwedel | Támsáng |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ¢ | tra | kra | - | $t a$ | 5 |
| ()) | dra | gra | - | $d a$ | ()) |
| U | thra | h.ra | - | hta | U |
| 2 | $?$ | - | - | $a$ |  |
| 21 | Pá | á | $a$ | $a \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathfrak{z}$ |
| $\widetilde{8}$ | Pâ | $a \mathrm{a}$ | á | - | $\widetilde{2}$ |
| $\mathfrak{1 8}$ | Pi | $i$ | $i$ | ae | f |
| $\int \widetilde{8}$ | Pí | $\hat{l}$ | í | $a i$ | $\int \widetilde{2}$ |
| 18 | ?o | $o$ | $o$ | ao | 1 |
| $\sqrt{2}$ | ?ó | ó | ó | aao | $\sqrt{2}$ |
| d) | Pu | $u$ | $\breve{u}$ | au | d) |
| 83 | Pú | ú | $u$ | аоо | 13 |
| 2 | Pe | $e$ | $e$ | aey | 8 |
| $\mathfrak{Q}^{2}$ | Py- | ay- | ' $a$ - | ay- | 区 |
| or | -á | -á | - $a$ | -aa | or |
| (c) | - $\hat{a}$ | - $\hat{a}$ | -á | $-a$ | © |
| 5¢ | -i | -i | -i | -e | ¢( |
| $\sqrt{\text { c }}$ | -í | -í | -í | -i | 5c |
| (c) | -o | -o | -o | -o | (c) |
| (c) | -ó | -ó | -о́ | -ao, -oo | (c) |
| c) | -u | -u | -й | -u | c) |
| c) | -ú | -ú | -u | -oo, -o | c) |
| $\stackrel{\square}{8}$ | -e | -e | -e | -ey | $\stackrel{\square}{\circ}$ |
| (8) 1 | - $y$ - | - $y$ - | - $y$ - | - $y$ - | (8) $)^{2}$ |
| c) | $-r$ - | -r- | -r- | $-r$ - | (c) |
| (9) | -k | -k | -k | -k | (9) |
| (91) | -m | -m | -m | -m | (9) |
| * | -l | -l | -l | -l | (6) |
| (24) | -n | -n | -n | -n | (9) |
| (90) | -p | -p | -p | -p | (9) |
| (9) | -r | -r | -r | -r | (2) |
| (9) | -t | -t | -t | -t | (9) |
| $)^{(1)}$ | -ang | -ang | -ăn | - | $\bigcirc$ |
| (92) | -ng | -ng | -n | -ng | (2) |

Diagram 6: Romanisation systems

| phonetic transcription | native grapheme | transliteration |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [i] | $\int_{0}$ | $i$ |
|  | 56 | $i$ |
| [ $\sim \sim \varepsilon$ ] | © | $e$ |
|  | ${ }^{\text {© }}$ | -ya |
| [a] | a | -á |
| [ ${ }^{\text {] }}$ | ๔ | â |
| [ ${ }^{\text {] }}$ | © | $a$ |
| [u] | ©) | $u$ |
| [u] | 93 | ú |
| [o] | (0) | $o$ |
| [ ${ }^{\text {] }}$ | (¢) | ó |

Diagram 11: Transliteration and transcription of Lepcha vowels
Similarly, in this context, according to Sprigg, there is a discrepancy between the oral and nasalised sets of vowels that would account for spelling variations between of $u$ and the consonant-inherent vowel $a$, i.e. when no vowel diacritic is added to a consonant symbol. The three spread vowels © $u$ [ u$], a$ [ə] and or $a ́$ [a] are clearly distinguished from each other in syllables with non-nasal initial consonants and, according to Sprigg, in such syllables no spelling variations should occur. Sprigg claims that the situation in syllables with an initial nasal consonant is such that only two spread vowel units may be distinguished from each other, i.e. ©) $u$ [ũ] ~ © $a$ [z̃] vs. © $a ́$ [ã], which results in spelling variations between ©) $u$ and the consonantinherent vowel $a$ (Sprigg 1989: 229).

The variation between spellings with $a$ and $a$, in words like cüs sám 'three', which is sometimes written cios sam, could, Sprigg explains, be attributed to the difference between open syllables and closed syllables. In open or vowel-final syllables, there is a distinction between an open front or back vowel $[\mathrm{a} \sim a]$, romanised as $a ́$, and a half-close central vowel [ə], romanised as $a$. In consonant-final or closed syllables, the half-close central vowel [ə], is written as $\widetilde{a}$ and the vowel
realised as [a~a] may be written either or $\mathfrak{a}$ or not explicitly indicated by any consonant grapheme implied inherent vowel romanised here as $a$ (Sprigg 1983:317).

## CHAPTER THREE

## PARTS OF SPEECH

Lepcha distinguishes nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, numerals, postpositions, suffixes, conjunctions and particles. Nouns refer to objects, entities and individuals, and express the subject or object of verbs. Verbs describe states, events and actions, and relate to the referents of noun phrases. Adjectives modify nouns, while adverbs modify verbs to specify the time, manner, place or direction of the event described by the verb. Adverbs may also modify adjectives or other adverbs. Suffixes and postpositions express a range of semantic relations between the parts of speech they attach themselves to or combine with. Conjunctions are used to connect or combine words, phrases, clauses or sentences. Particles add a semantic notion to a whole sentence. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals comprise the group of nominals which may be pluralised and take nominal suffixes or postpositions. Verbs may be marked by auxiliary verbs and take verbal suffixes. A small group of suffixes and particles is used to mark nouns, verbs and whole sentences.

This chapter provides an overview of derivational processes in Lepcha. It should be noted that an analysis of word classes or parts of speech in a language cannot be made on purely formal grounds. A single root can belong to more than one word class, that is, it may function as a noun, as an adjective or as a verb. Apart from looking at the internal structure of words, the syntactic context and semantic properties of words should also be taken into account.

### 3.1 Derivational affixes

When we look at the internal structure of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, we can recognise certain derivational relationships. For example, we see that verbs are often monosyllabic, whereas nouns, adjectives and adverbs often consist of two or more syllables. In many
nouns and adjectives we recognise the prefix $\mathfrak{\&}$（ $\mathfrak{Q a}-$ and a verbal root， as in the following examples．

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| 彥 Póm＇shine＇ |  |
|  | dı๙ Págó＇joy，happiness＇ |
| 论 kón＇taste＇ |  |
| ¢ gek＇be born＇ | 又l＇ç Págek＇birth＇ |
| fin li＇say，speak＇ |  |
| （4 zo＇eat＇ | 又 ${ }^{\text {drä }}$ Pázóm＇rice，food＇ |
| roz ryú＇be good＇ | 又ariz Páryúm＇good＇ |
| joll＇carry＇ | 又 ¢N̈̈ $^{\text {a }}$ Pálím＇heavy＇ |
| ＊3 dúm＇be white＇ | 又l＊${ }^{\text {a }}$ Pádúm＇white＇ |


 hyâng［？hjəy］．This optional variation prompted George Mainwaring to state that＇the retention or rejection of the $a$ ，is merely a matter of euphonic consideration，it is in general more elegantly retained＇ （Mainwaring 1876：120）．The prefix at once reminds one of the Bur－ mese nominalising prefix $a$－．

The suffix er－lá creates adverbs when it is added to the verbal
 thyenlá＇laughingly’．

The suffix $\tilde{\tilde{N}}$－lât is added to verbs or adjectives to create abstract nouns and nomina actionis，as f3 $\ddagger \tilde{\tilde{N}}$ zúk－lât＇action，performance＇from
 gánlât＇oldness，old age＇from Ĝr gán＇old＇，‘ֹֹNิ̃ nók－lât＇blackness＇ from $\mathfrak{Z}$（痛 Pánók＇black＇，斊 $\mathfrak{N}$ Pállât＇freshness，newness＇from $\hat{\mathbf{a}}$（ Pál ＇new＇．

The suffix（ $E-k o$ creates concrete nouns from verbs or nouns，as
 from wr zá＇circle＇，$\downarrow j f E$ chúko＇energy，force＇from $\approx\}$ chú＇strength＇， （rxe choko＇paper＇from la cho＇book＇，،esle tángko＇basket＇from ،er táng＇bundle＇．

The morpheme 爪ึ⿵ lóm＇way，road，path＇adds its meaning to nouns
 conducting，guidance＇．

The suffix $\mathbf{7 3}$－mú creates nominals denoting people or things de－ riving from a certain place of origin，and is added to place names or

 philíngmú＇Englishman＇，ઈ̌z\} tíngmú 'plainsfolk'. Another element
 pounds in which it expresses the sense＇main，origin，mother＇，e．g．


The suffix（N）－lu forms deverbative nouns，e．g．ㅎ mát＇do’，$\overline{\boldsymbol{z}}(\mathbb{N})$ mátlu＇habit，custom＇，买）dun＇say，tell＇，疋Ny dunlu＇remark＇．The suffix ©o）－thup creates adjectives from verbs，e．g．（ $\#$ zo＇eat＇，（ixib） zómthup＇edible＇，形 zúk＇make＇，（ifib）zúkthup＇manageable＇．The suf－ fix $\mathbb{区}_{\mathrm{e}}$－shet can be recognised in nouns and adjectives that are formed





 may also be attached to other nominals，e．g．จ）$c u$＇small，little＇，凤）$\stackrel{\circ}{\dagger}$ ）



## 3．2 Gender－specific endings

Lepcha has no grammatical gender．There are gender－specific deriva－ tional suffixes，some of which are given below with examples．

| O）$-b u$ | ＇male of animals＇ |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\stackrel{\text { ¢ }}{5}$－mót | ＇female of animals＇ |
|  | ＇sow＇ |
| （\％）0）mónbu | ＇boar＇ |
| ¢OECO sakamót | ＇female deer，doe＇ |


| 10－bo | ＇father，uncastrated male parent animal＇ |
| :---: | :---: |
| \％ | ＇boar，uncastrated male of swine＇ |
| ،（Nuo lóngbo | ＇bull＇ |
| fôro bikbo | ＇bull，steer＇ |
| © ${ }^{\text {－}}$－gú | ＇female animal that has given birth＇ |
| fôwj bikgú | ＇cow＇ |
|  | ＇sow＇ |
| coewj sakagú | ＇doe，female deer＇ |
|  | ＇female goat＇ |
| ،（w）（ewj sungvogú | ＇female buffalo＇ |
| （ $\omega$ O）$\omega \mathfrak{j}$ saburgú | ＇female musk deer＇ |
| （（ ）lóng | ＇ox，steer＇ |
| ¢Ö، $\mathfrak{N}$ biklóng | ＇ox＇ |
| couser（x）savínglóng | ＇stag＇ |
| （w）（eras sungvolóng | ＇wild buffalo＇ |
| （wO）¢（ณ）saburlóng | ＇musk deer＇ |
| （1）$-t s u$ | ＇male of pigs and goats＇ |
| （u®̃）（0）sapártsu | ＇goat，billy goat＇ |
| （0゙もT）sakatsu | ＇buck，stag＇ |
| （\％์ช）móntsu | ＇boar，uncastrated boar＇ |
| 16－mi | ＇female animal that has not had young＇ |
|  | ＇fallow sow＇ |
| ¢ $\mathfrak{0}$－bop | ＇young of bulls＇ |
|  | ＇bullock，castrated male bovine＇ |
| － O3－cúng $^{\text {a }}$ | ＇young of bulls＇ |
| \}ôr(x) O3 biklóngcúng | ＇young bull＇ |
| （ $\mathfrak{N} \cdot 03$ lóngcúng | ＇young bull＇ |
| ، ©－－sháng | ＇barren，sterile＇ |
|  | ＇barren sow＇ |
| 〔－tâng | ＇corpulent male animal，pig or dog＇ |


| 又ra Pátâng | ＇a fat male beast＇ |
| :---: | :---: |
| Exja kajutâng | ＇fat male dog＇ |
| fis móntâng | ＇fat boar＇ |
| （\％）－bom | ＇brooding female animal＇ |
| jư̇⿺辶 hikbom | ＇female hen having chickens＇ |

## 3．3 Compounding

Compounding is a common process in Lepcha word formation．A compound may involve verbal as well as nominal constituents．
jo bi＇curry＇， $\mathbb{Z}$ drE Páfong＇green＇，jork bifong＇green leafy vege－ table＇
 ＇scalp＇，ג＇（※̇）thyáktuk＇hat，cap＇．
$\overline{\mathfrak{N}}$ lót＇repeat＇，$\overline{\mathfrak{N}) \mathfrak{\imath}}$ lótthi＇come back again＇，$\overline{\mathbb{N}} \times$ lóttho＇put again＇，（ָָּjo lótbi＇give back＇，（ָָּty lótzúk ‘remake＇．
 bon＇，行・ロ3 tsómcúng＇pigtail＇，辰白 tsómtrat＇comb＇．

Compounding sometimes results in the dropping of prefixes or bound


又任 Pákâ＇hand＇，E ＇thumb＇，EÄr katyám＇muscle of the arm＇，Eje kathi＇little finger，
 kalít＇ring finger＇，$E$ ヘí，kalyók＇palm of the hand＇．

Zarc Páthong＇leg＇，،（b） ،（b）今ิv thongpyól＇footprint＇
 dyángtung＇heel＇，‘＊ur（ラ dyángpók＇calf’，‘＊urさ dyângpak＇knee＇．
d（f）


Z（IE Páfo＇tooth＇，（E） ＇incisor＇（ENBj folún＇wisdom tooth＇．
$\mathcal{G}$ zo＇eat，food，rice＇， $\mathfrak{F}$ rí＇smell＇，$(\mathbb{H} \mathbb{F}$ zorí＇fragrant rice＇




Sometimes it is hard to distinguish between compounds and juxta－ posed elements，e．g．jo $\frac{\tilde{3}}{3}$ vimân＇kin，offspring，relatives＇（literally ＇flesh and blood＇）， $\mathfrak{f}((\mathbb{N}$ hánlon＇not simultaneously＇（literally＇before and after＇）．

## 3．4 Reduplication

Lexical reduplication yields adverbials of time，e．g．®̈r nám＇year＇，
 process is different from the syntactic reduplication of words in collo－ quial speech，e．g．ミ̧ tú＇who＇，ミjミ\} tútú 'such as who', 'who exactly', coor sabá＇where＇，wor wor sabásabá＇such as where＇，＇where ex－ actly＇，which may well be an areal phenomenon influenced by Nepali．

## 3．5 Causative verbs

Lepcha causatives express transitive notions derived from intransitive meanings or causative motions derived from a base meaning．In the former cases，the subject of the intransitive verb，e．g．＇die＇，＇stay＇， corresponds to the object of the derived transitive verbs，e．g．＇kill＇， ＇keep＇．In the latter cases，the semantic relationship between the two verbs connected by means of this now defunct morphological process is more subtle，e．g．＇push＇vs．＇cause to quiver＇．A closed class of causative verbs is derived by palatalisation of the initial consonant of the base verb．Lepcha native orthography，as reflected in most trans－
literation and transcription systems，uses the symbol $y$ representing the affixed glide $/ \mathrm{y} /$ to indicate palatalisation of consonants，as in $\mathrm{Ev}_{0}$ kya［kja］，Iv pya［pja］．The palatal nasal［n］，however，is written in Lepcha orthography with the consonant sign 飞，which is transliterated here as／ny／．Some examples of causative verbs and the verbs they are derived from by palatalisation of the initial consonant are listed here．

| と̀ nók <br> 容 nyók | ＇push＇ <br> ＇cause to quiver，shake＇ |
| :---: | :---: |
| ¢́r mák | ＇die＇ |
| zil myák | ＇kill＇ |
| ör bám | ＇dwell，stay，reside＇ |
| Ör byám | ＇keep，leave behind＇ |
| Eplâ | ＇come forth，come out，rise＇ |
| 气．plyâ | ＇produce，bring forward＇ |
| N3 lú | ＇rise＇ |
| nuz lyú | ＇erect＇ |
| a） ？${ }^{\text {a }}$ | ＇ripe，sweet，tasty＇ |
| （3）Pyum | ＇ripen，bring to maturity＇ |
| À）tyul | ＇fall＇ |
| At tyal | ＇fell＇（also spelt ${ }_{\text {S }}^{\text {Stel }}$ ） |

When the stem of the root verb ends in a vowel，in some cases a final ／t／is added to the derived causative，viz．$\omega \boldsymbol{3}$ glú＇fall down＇，tiv glyat （also spelt glet）＇drop，decline，suspend＇and of $b u$＇carry＇，$\overline{\mathrm{Q}}$ bet ＇load＇．

## CHAPTER FOUR

## NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter is devoted to the morphosyntax of nominals, which comprise the following parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals. Nouns lack a grammatical gender distinction and show no agreement with articles, adjectives or verbs. Pronouns include personal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Adjectives may be used adnominally, predicatively or independently as nominal heads.

Nominals may be pluralised and may take case endings. Case endings are suffixes or postpositions attached to the nominal. In Lepcha, it is possible to make a distinction between 'genuine' case endings, which are suffixes that exhibit morphological behaviour proper to suffixes and postpositional case endings, which do not show any morphophonological interaction with the nominal which they modify. The set of 'true' case endings, as it were, comprises only the definite article 5 -re 'the' and the dative marker ${ }^{\circ}-m$. All other case endings are actually postpositions. This having been said, all such case endings are treated together in this chapter for the sake of convenience. Two or more case endings may co-occur attached to a single noun when this yields a desired and semantically plausible combination.

A number of Lepcha morphemes index grammatical categories which can be combined with constituents of different syntactic status, i.e. with nouns, with verbs and with entire clauses. The apparent difference in sense expressed by such morphemes, e.g. the locative morpheme E $\mathbb{E}-k a ́$, is a straightforward function of the difference in syntactic status of the constituent which they modify. The morpheme in question can be shown to express the same invariant meaning. For coherence of presentation, such morphemes are discussed in all the relevant chapters of this grammar and the sections pertaining to such morphemes are cross-referenced.

### 4.1 Number

Plural number in nouns is expressed by the suffixes $\mathfrak{y}$-pang and $\mathfrak{n} \omega$ -sang. The non-human plural suffix $\mathfrak{J}$-pang (PL.NH) is used to express plurality of animals, things and, indeed, all entities except humans. The human plural suffix ow-sang (PL.H) indexes the plurality of human beings and personified, anthropomorphic beings such as benevolent heavenly creatures, gods, goddesses and good spirits. It is a point of ethnopsychological interest that nouns denoting benevolent supernatural beings take the human plural suffix ow -sang (PL.H), whereas nouns denoting malevolent beings take the non-human plural
 dutmúng-pang 'demons'. Despite the fact that the distinction described here between the two plural suffixes is used by most speakers of Lepcha, a small number of Lepcha speakers use the plural suffixes differently. These less fluent speakers use both suffixes interchangeably in free variation, without making any distinction between human or non-human referents.

1 30)
bik-pang
cow-PL.NH
'cows'
2 (x)J
cho-pang
book-PL.NH
'books'
3 ( $\sqrt{2})(\omega$
?óng-sang
boy-PL.H
'boys'
4 戸) \%
rum-sang
god-PL.H
'gods'

```
#(f)
thámbík thámcâng-pang
insect animal-PL.NH
    `animals, creatures'
```

6 E(N)
faleng nómleng-sang
young.boy young.girl-PL.H
'youngsters, teenagers'
 múng-sá Páthong Pákâ-pang Pámel Pátím nyí devil-GEN leg hand-PL.NH hair big be
'The hair on the devil's limbs was very long.'
'The devil's limbs were very hairy.'
About the distinction between ow -sang (PL.H) and $\mathfrak{y}$-pang (PL.NH) George Mainwaring wrote:

The difference between the two plural terms, is, sang, is applied chiefly to human beings; pang, to inferior animals, and to inanimate things. pang, may, however, be made to denote the plural of human, or inferior beings, and of inanimate things, indifferently. sang, although it may be applied to all living animals, human or inferior, can never be correctly affixed as a plural sign to inanimate things..., (1876: 27)

The plural category in Lepcha is not equivalent in meaning to the plural category in English or, for that matter, most European languages. In English, the grammatical category of plural indexes a meaning which means simply more than one of a countable entity or item. The Lepcha plural category denotes manifoldness. A fundamental distinction between manifoldness and plurality lies in the fact that plurality is numerically definite, i.e. European-type plurality expressly denotes a quantity greater than one of a countable item. Therefore, the plural is automatically used when an English nominal is modified by a numeral denoting a quantity greater than one, e.g. two boys. It is in-
herent in the meaning of manifoldness that a definite number of items precludes manifoldness. This is why the Lepcha 'plural' suffixes are not used when a nominal is modified by a numeral denoting a quantity greater than one, e.g. Lepcha (zciu( cho sám 'three books'. The definite quantity expressed by the numeral is incompatible with the meaning of manifoldness denoted by the Lepcha plural suffixes, e.g. (8).

kasu-sá $\quad$ Pákup fali nyí-wám
1S.OBL-GEN child four be-PRG
'I have four children.'

By the same token, whereas English has a zero-marked singular, Lepcha lacks a singular. A form such as ( $\underset{\sim}{ }$ cho 'book', in ( $\underset{\sim}{\text { cü cul cho sám }}$ 'three books' is simply not marked for number.

A Lepcha plural ending does not denote, but stresses what we call plurality in English. English or European plurality of a noun is often indicated by the context and in such cases is not expressed by a plural suffix in Lepcha. Modifiers like 'many' or 'how many' will take a plural in English, but not in Lepcha, for manifoldness need not necessarily be stressed in such a context, e.g. (9), (10).

Pádo-sá Pákup nyí-wám

2S.OBL-GEN child be-PRG
'Do you have children?'

Pádo-sá Pányúr-re satet Pátím go
2S.OBL-GEN ear-DEF how.much big be
'Your ears are so big!'

Moreover, Lepcha plural endings such as the human plural suffix )w -sang can be used with proper names or kinship terms, e.g. $\int \approx \approx()<\omega$ nyímá-sang 'Nyima and his friends'. Here the human plural suffix ow-sang conveys the sense of English 'and the like' or 'and company' or Latin cum suis. In this sense, the suffix ow-sang de-
notes a group surrounding a particular person. Since Nyima is the proper name of an individual, of which there is only one, a 'literal' translation with an English plural form, i.e. *Nyimas, would yield an essentially different and somewhat absurd meaning. The notion expressed is the identification of a group surrounding an individual or set of individuals or, in other words, of more specimens of the same. The Lepcha plural in $)(w$-sang occurs in such expressions as $\mathbb{Z}$ (roo $\mathfrak{d}(\bar{z}\}) \ldots=$ ?ábo Pámú-sang [father mother-PL.H], in the meaning 'family' or 'forefathers', e.g. (11).

The lack of plural suffix in (13) leaves unspecified the number of friends who have left the speaker, whereas the use of the human plural suffix ow -sang in (14) enhances the sense of desolation of the speaker and the manifoldness of the friends which have abandoned him. In sentence (15), the numeral El kát 'one' is used to express explicit singular number.

11

zōjpär
ma-khut-ne-bám
NEG-be.able-NEG-PRG
'We Lepcha are still unable to stand up for ourselves.'

kasu tyól fát-nón ma
1s.obl friend lose-RES AST
'My friend has disappeared.'
'My friends have disappeared.'

```
tíngmú-sang Pánók gum
plainsfolk-PL.H black be.AST
    'Plainsfolk are black.'
    'People from the plains are black.'
```

    'My friens have disappeared.
    

```
kasu tyól-sang fát-nón ma
1S.OBL friend-PL.H lose-RES AST
'My friends have disappeared.'
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline (1) & & & \\
\hline kasu & tyól-kát & făt-nón & ma \\
\hline 1s.OBL & friend-one & lose-RE & AST \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'One of my friends has disappeared.'
```

The plural morphemes $\mathfrak{x}$ ( -sang (PL.H) and $\mathfrak{y}$-pang (PL.NH) are directly suffixed to the nominal constituent which they modify. This entails that the suffixes precede all case endings, postpositions, articles or demonstrative pronouns which modify the nominal, but that, when a nominal consists of a noun immediately followed by a modifying adjective, the morphemes ow-sang (PL.H) and $\mathfrak{y}$-pang (PL.NH) follow the adjective, i.e. they follow the nominal constituent as a whole.

go Píngngá-sang-re-m gó ma
1S child-PL.H-DEF-DAT be.happy AST
'I am fond of children.'

?álóng muró جátím-sang ma-nyí-n
now man big-PL.H NEG-be-NEG
'There are no tall men around at the moment.'
The suffix $\mathfrak{y}$ - pang (PL.NH), which is otherwise restricted to nonhuman referents, can be used with any nominal to convey the sense of a collective, group or gang.

18 E(\{\})J
káyú-pang
1P-PL.NH

## 'we (collectively, as a group)'

19

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hu-nu | $l i$ | thámcang | Páre | Pábá-pang |
| 3S-ABL | say | animal | this | here-PL.NH |


lá nyí-wám
also be-PRG
'He said that such an animal also lives over here with us.'

When the definite article $\Gamma_{\sim}$-re is added, the specificity of the group in question is indicated.

```
E(E] (F)\T)
káyú róng-pang-re
1P Lepcha-PL.NH-DEF
    'We, the Lepcha.'
    'We, as Lepcha'
E(E} (F)Cow,
káyú róng-sang-re
1P Lepcha-PL.H-DEF
    'We Lepcha...'
    'Us Lepcha...'
```

21

The meaning of the morpheme ow-sang is in fact 'whole, entire' and the meaning of the morpheme $\mathfrak{a}$-pang is 'thing, things'. With regard to the non-human plural marker $\mathfrak{g}$-pang, Grünwedel suggests that $\mathfrak{1}$ - -pang was not only used as a non-human plural marker attached to nominals, but also as a nominal head: mlo-păn [mlo-pang] 'things', să-re gŭn-nă păn [sare gunna-pang] 'every thing', kă-sŭ-să păn் [kasu-sá-pang] 'my things, mine' (Grünwedel 1898a: 209). In his grammar, Mainwaring mentions the form nyí-pang 'possessions' (Mainwaring 1876: 97). Grünwedel also suggests that the use of $\mathfrak{y}$ -pang with human referents indicates a certain disrespect for these
referents（Grünwedel 1898a：209）．Although we do not，or no longer， find these usages，if the meaning of $\mathfrak{J}$－pang was indeed at one point strongly associated with＇things＇，an implied disrespect would have made sense．

I have not been able to corroborate the analysis of the morpheme F゙）－nyum as a pronominal dual suffix，or as a dual suffix for nouns，as was first reported by Mainwaring in 1876，and repeated by Sinha （1966：67）and Támsáng（1978：10），for example in Mainwaring maro nyum＇two persons＇（1876：27），go nun to nyum ká byi sho＇to whom （two）I shall give it＇（1876：42）．If the speaker intends to express the dual number of nouns explicitly，the numeral $₹$ nyet＇two＇is used，as in example（22）．

22

> 万) F₹ jhem̈r murô-nyet thi-wám man-two reach-PRG
> 'Two men are arriving'

Grünwedel analyses $\stackrel{\text { I }}{ }$－nyum as a possible variant of the bound pro－ nominal morpheme f発－nyím，as in a－nyŭm［？ányum］＇you two＇，kă－ nyŭm［kanyum］＇us two＇，but this usage appears to have fallen into disuse（Grünwedel 1898a：108）．Mainwaring provides examples such as áre nyum［？áre nyum］＇these two＇（1876：43），áre nyumká sare ryú ［？áre nyumká sare ryú］＇of these two which is good？＇（1876：33），re－ flecting a usage of the morpheme $\underset{F}{ }$ ）－nyum in the sense of＇a pair＇． We indeed still find－nyum used in this meaning in spoken Lepcha to－ day，e．g．（23）．

23 2（
Pâre nyum－ká sare ryú－wung gó
this pair－LOC which good－PTC Q
＇Which of these two is better？＇

## 4．2 The definite and indefinite article

The numeral É（kát＇one＇is not an indefinite article as such，but can be used in some of the same functions as the indefinite article in Eng－ lish，e．g．（15），（24）and（25），where the speaker wishes to make ex－ plicit the singularity of the referent．


| hu lát-thi-bú-re | nám-kát | nahán | nón |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3 S | return-reach-FCT-DEF | year-one | before |
| RES |  |  |  |

'His return here was a year ago'
'He returned here a year ago'
25

Píngngá-kát dá-nyí-tho ma
child-one sleep-be-EXH AST
'One of the children is already asleep.'
Lepcha E(kát 'one' can be used in the sense of 'a certain' or 'a', e.g.万) $\mathcal{F} E($ muró kát 'a man, one man, a certain man'. It is also used in a few set phrases, like $\mathcal{E}(\Im) \mathfrak{y}$ ) $\mathcal{E}$ kátnu plângká 'again and again', literally 'one and then on top of that'.

go-nu saróng bu-kát pacák-do tyak-hát
1S-ABL today snake-one almost-self tread-PRF
'I almost stepped on a snake today.'

27

muró kát-do lá ma-nyí-n
man one-self also NEG-be-NEG
'There isn't even one person left.'

The ending 5 -re is the Lepcha definite article (DEF). The definite article 5 -re acts as a true suffix in that it forms a prosodic word unit with the stem or phrase with which it combines. The suffix $5-r e$ is attached to nouns, e.g. $\bar{z})(5)$ muróre 'the man'. Like the definite article in English, the Lepcha definite article fulfils a thematic or even contrastive function, e.g. (20), (28), (29). The use of Lepcha 5 -re as a topic marker is a function of the meaning of a definite article.

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | sar | dorji-nun |  |
| use | whic | Dorji-ABL | make-EX |



```
Pore-re Páre gum
that-DEF this be.AST
```

'This is the house that Dorji built.'


```
fán-tho-bú mân-re món-sá gum
burn-EXH-FCT meat-DEF pig-GEN be.AST
```

'The meat that was burnt is pork.'

тuró-nu zúk-tho-bú Pázóm
man-ABL make-EXH-FCT food

|  zo-shang-re eat-INF-DEF | Pájóm easy | ngún become |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

'It's easy to eat food that somebody else has cooked.'

The fact that the numeral $\mathbb{E}$ c kát 'one' is a numeral and not a genuine indefinite article in the Western European sense is underscored by instances such as ENAE kalók-kát-re 'the one mouse', 'that mouse', in which Eat is used in combination with the definite article $5^{-r}$. The Lepcha definite article $\tau_{\text {- }}$-re is etymologically cognate with the root found in the Lepcha demonstratives $\mathbb{Z}$ (8) Pore 'that', and it is easy to see how the meaning of the definite article is derived from the deictic function of the demonstrative. This also explains the speech habit of some speakers who use the definite article $\Gamma_{\text {- }}$ re as a stopgap when they pause in mid-sentence to formulate their thoughts, e.g. (31).


```
ren-do-m-re go-re jen-sung-lá kám
sir-self-DAT-DEF 1S-DEF other-story-also little.bit
```

| vyet-shang sákcíng-bá-re inquire-INF think-then-DEF | Pyá-nám-ká-re <br> past-year-LOC-DEF |
| :---: | :---: |


róng-sang-sá-re hlo-múng-sá sung-re
Lepcha-PL.H-GEN-DEF peak-devil-GEN story-DEF

Yyá-sá munjú-sang-nu káyú-m-re
past-GEN grandmother-PL.H-ABL 1P-DAT-DEF

dun-Pâm-bâ-re káyú-re Potet-ká-re
tell-PRG-when-DEF
1P-DEF that.much-LOC-DEF

ro-nu ryúlá ma-thyo-ne
fear-ABL well NEG-hear-NEG
'Sir, I want to ask you about another story as well. In the past, when our grandmothers told us the Lepcha stories about the devil of the mountains, we were so very frightened, that we didn't listen to them very well.'

In contrast with English, the Lepcha definite article 5 -re can be affixed to pronouns to single out the person or persons in question, e.g. (32), (33).

huyú nóng-ká muró Páre hu-re Páryúm gum 3P inside-LOC man this 3s-DEF good be.AST 'Among them, this man, he is good.'
kasu-sá Píng-nu li-bá

hu-re dok-bám
3s-DEF be.ill-PRG
'According to my younger brother, he is ill.'
The following two examples illustrate the contrast between the use and the non-use of the Lepcha definite article $5-r e$, whereby the article in sentence (35) singles out the house in question and highlights the house as the topic.

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pádo-sá | lí | sabá |
| 2S.OBL-GEN | house | where |

'Where is your house?'


1S.OBL-GENhouse-DEF Mane Gomba-LOC be ma
'My house is in Mane Gomba.'
There is no zero morpheme expressing an indefinite category in Lepcha, i.e. the non-use of the definite article in Lepcha is not tantamount to expressing the notion of indefiniteness with respect to a noun. In examples (36) and (37) below, one of two actants in the sentences, viz. " $\sqrt{2}$ Póng-re 'the boy', is marked by the definite article 5 $-r e$, whereas $E \mathcal{E}$ kaju' 'the dog' is not, even though it is appropriate in the given context to translate $\in \mathfrak{E j}$ kajú into English with a definite article.


```
kalók-kát-re-m Pályú-nun-do sót ma
mouse-one-DEF-DAT cat-ABL-self kill AST
```

'The cat itself killed the mouse.'

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ، } \\
& \text { ?óng-re-m kajú-nun-do tsúk ma } \\
& \text { boy-DEF-DAT dog-ABL-self bite AST }
\end{aligned}
$$

'The dog bit the boy.'
Clearly, the Lepcha definite article expresses another meaning than for example the English definite article category. In Lepcha, the grammatical category of definiteness, like the Lepcha plural, takes part in a privative opposition, and not in an equipollent opposition like the English definite article, that contrasts with the corresponding indefinite article. In colloquial speech, the definite article is even on occasion observed to occur twice, as if to emphasise the singling out of the referent, e.g. $\quad$ (TFTr maró-re-re-m [man-DEF-DEF-DAT] 'to that very man'.

Mainwaring (1876: 23) and Támsáng (1980: 655) mention yet another 'definite article' 万) - $-\boldsymbol{\text { . However, this morpheme is not an arti- }}$ cle, but an individuative suffix for people, evidently cognate with the first element in both Lepcha z) (t) muzu 'body' and Lepcha z) $\mathbb{F}$ muró $\sim$ б $\mathfrak{F}$ maró 'person'. We find this morpheme also in expressions such as z) © $\approx u$ sâ 'purify the body after childbirth', with © $\underset{\omega}{ }$ sâ meaning 'purify', as in the expression $9 \boldsymbol{\gamma}$ § $\approx$ múng sâ 'exorcise, purify ghosts'.

The human individuative suffix $\quad$ 万) $-m u$ (IND) is attached directly to the numeral. In combination with $\mathbb{E}$ ( kát 'one', the individuative suffix conveys the sense of 'that very person, that specific person' and in combination with $\underset{\text { n }}{ }$ nyet 'two' it conveys the sense of 'both of them'. In the following sentences, Lepcha 7 ) - $m u$ can be translated by the Nepali suffix -cāhĩ, although it would be premature to simply equate the two categories.

38 alt ent eler jo

| Pâre | kát-mu | kát-ká | $b i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this | one-IND | one-LOC | give |

＇Give it to him and to no one else．＇

Pore Pyók hunyí nyet-mu-nu zúk
that work 3D two-IND-ABL make
＇The two of them did that．＇

```
(
throm-ká kát-mu kát-re-m klóng
market-LOC one-IND one-DEF-DAT send
```

＇Send this to him and to him alone at the market．＇

## 4．3 Pronouns

## 4．3．1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns，listed below in Diagram 12，differentiate three persons and three numbers．

|  | singular | dual | plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | $\omega^{\omega} \mathrm{go}$（1S） | E（）§ kányí（1D） | Eŗ̉ káyú（1P） |
| 2nd person | $\mathfrak{*}$ hó（2S） | 又（9ミ ？ányí（2D） |  |
| 3 rd person | キ）$h u(3 \mathrm{~S})$ | も） $\mathfrak{F}$ ₹ hunyí（3D） | Ұ）̧ huyú（3P） |

Diagram 12：Personal pronouns
The third person $\mathfrak{f}$ ）$h u$ denotes only human referents．When the refer－ ent is non－human a demonstrative is used，except in the case of fables or other tales in which animals are personified and the third person pronoun $\mathfrak{\forall}) h u$ is used to refer to these animals．The morpheme $£ k a$ ， first person singular marker（ S 1 ）used in oblique and derived forms， forms a minimal pair with the morpheme $\in \subset k a ́(P 1)$ ，the correspond－ ing first person plural marker．These morphemes should not be con－ fused with the locative suffix $E(k a ́$（LOC），or with the word $E k a \sim \tilde{E}$ $k \hat{a}$ ，meaning＇hand＇，which is taken to be a shortened form of $\mathbb{A}(E$ Páka～de $\mathfrak{E}$ Pákâ＇hand＇．The first person plural marker el $k a ́$（P1）
may be followed by a numeral to indicate the specific number of people included in the activity mentioned.


| ká-sám-nun | Pyók Páre | zúk-nu | lel-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| P1-three-ABL | work this | make-ABL | complete-LOC |

'Let us three get this job over and done with.'

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hó | saróng | shú |
| $2 \mathrm{~s}$ | today | what |
| thave you don |  |  |


hu ma-nóng-ne
3s NEG-go-NEG
'He didn't go.'
'He isn't going.'
'He won't go.'
Singular possessive pronouns are formed by suffixing the genitive marker col -sá (GEN) to the oblique forms of the singular pronouns listed in Diagram 13. The oblique forms listed in Diagram 13 are also used with the dative suffix, e.g. Section 4.9.


Diagram 13: Singular oblique pronouns
The meaning of the element (w) $s u$ in the first person singular oblique pronoun is as yet unclear. In everyday conversations, the first person singular marker $E k a$ (S1) may be directly followed by the genitive suffix, as in $E \in(\mathbb{Z}$ (roon kasá Pábryáng 'my name'. In the second and third person singular oblique pronouns we recognise the
element ( $*$ do 'self', which accentuates the identity of the referent denoted by the constituent to which it is suffixed, in the sense of 'this very one, by himself, on his own, of his own accord', viz. $\bar{b} \mathfrak{F}$ (* maródo 'the man himself', si* tado 'oneself', $(*)(* \omega)$ dodosá 'personal, of one's own'.

kasu-sá Pábryáng
1S.OBL-GEN name
'my name'
45
zatacol jin
Pádo-sá lí
2S.OBL-GEN house
'your house'
Dual and plural possessive pronouns are formed by suffixing the genitive marker to the dual and plural personal pronouns, viz. $E(f)=\omega($
 hunyísá, キ) \&̧cor huyúsá. Further usage of the genitive marker col -sá is discussed below in Section 4.6.

46

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { káyú-sá kyóng } \\
& \text { 1P-GEN village } \\
& \text { 'our village' }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

 'that' and the interrogative pronoun $\omega 5$ sare 'what' are morphologically transparent in the sense that they appear to consist of the element 5 -re, cognate with the definite article, combined with one of the following deictic elements: the proximal morpheme $\mathbb{Z}$ ? ?á-, the distal morpheme $\mathbb{q}_{\mathbb{Q}}$ ?o- or the interrogative morpheme $\mathfrak{c} s a-$. The proximal and distal morphemes refer to a location relative to that of the speaker. Some speakers use the proximal deictic morpheme as a
nominal head in itself，e．g． $\mathbb{Z}_{1}(\omega \times$ Pásá＇with this＇．The proximal ele－ ment $\mathbb{Z}$ ？ $\mathfrak{a}$－could conceivably be etymologically related to the pro－ nominal root found in the second person pronouns $\mathfrak{Z}(* *$ Pádo， $\mathbb{Z}() \approx$ Pányí and $\mathcal{Z}$ 䟥 Páyú．

In the following list of demonstratives，in which which we find not only demonstrative pronouns but also adverbs，we see the proximal element er Pá－prefixed to other morphemes that refer to a location relative to the speaker．

| aldor | Pátháng | ＇this up there（to or at any point that is considered higher）＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $8(x)$ | Páthú | ＇this up over there，this up above there＇ |
| aror | Pábá | ＇this here＇ |
| 8150 | Pábi | ＇this right here＇ |
| dife | Páfi | ＇this just here，this nearby here，this in this direc－ tion，this to or towards here＇ |
| 又1／ | Páthól | （adj．）＇very near，very close＇ |
| 8（ว） | Pápun | （adj．）＇near，close＇ |
| dris | Pálem | ＇in this direction，hither＇ |
| difis | Pálon | ＇in this direction＇ |
| 又（ハ） | Pálol | ＇this way，in this direction＇ |
| d（a） | Páchú | ＇this down here，this down below，this lower down＇ |
| 2103 | Pácún | ＇below，lower down，beneath＇ |

Many of these demonstratives have counterparts formed with the dis－ tal morpheme $\mathbb{Q}_{\mathbb{Z}}$ ？o－．

| c8id | Potháng | ＇that up there＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （80） | Pothú | ＇that up over there＇ |
| （8）${ }^{\text {d }}$ | Pochú | ＇that down here＇ |

In some demonstratives we recognise a noun indicating a location， such as $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{J}$ pin＇the other side，the opposite side＇，and（ỏ bon＇side＇．

| 819 等 | Pápín | ＇this on the other side＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （8）${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Popín | ＇that on the other side＇ |
| $\mathfrak{Z l i o}$ | Pábon | ＇on this side＇ |
| ${ }^{1} 101$ | ？obon | ＇on that side＇ |

## 

Three other deictic elements commonly encountered are $\mathfrak{J} p e$-,
 spelt $\approx t a$-, 'up there'. These elements may also be prefixed to the ar-

 deictic elements mentioned above, such as $\mathfrak{J}$ etet 'up to that place
 mebí 'there below' (less distant than $\mathbf{z o r}$ mebá), for mebá 'there below', down there', zor tabá 'above there, up there, 25 tarere 'the one there
 it is there above', combined with each other, e.g. Jo peme 'there, down there', or reduplicated $\mathfrak{\nwarrow} \mathfrak{J}$ pepe 'that there, yonder'.

All the deictic elements introduced thus far form part of many demonstratives and their corresponding interrogatives in Lepcha, as for example in the pair ( $\mathcal{E x}$ ( Pothá 'then, at that time', cobs sathá 'when, at what time'. The demonstratives encode notions such as whether or not an indicated or implied referent is close to the deictic center, whether the referent is at a higher or lower elevation, moving toward or away from the deictic center. Some common demonstratives are listed below in order to illustrate this phenomenon. In the first set of examples, all the demonstratives and the corresponding interrogative contain the element or $-b a ́$, indicating a location relative to the speaker.

| 3lor | Pábá | 'here' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| rar | Pobá | 'there' |
| Jor | pebá | 'there' |
| zor | mebá | 'there below' |
| aror | tábá | 'there above' |
| coor | sabá | 'where' |

The following pronouns of manner contain the element $\underset{ }{ } \sim$（ lom，＇road，path＇．

| 又（N） | Pálom | ＇like this＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （ （1）$^{(1)}$ | Polom | ＇like that＇ |
| İバ | pelom | ＇like that＇ |
| 万（N） | melom | ＇like that down there＇ |
| E（ハ） | tálom | ＇like that there above＇ |
| coun | salom | ＇how，like what＇ |
| coulönr | salomlá | ＇anyhow，anyway＇ |

The element $\ddot{\sim}$－lem，expresses the meaning＇towards，in the direction of＇，is found in the following demonstratives．

| 8 | Pálem | ＇in this direction，hither＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （8バ） | Polem | ＇in that direction，thither＇ |
| Coï） | salem | ＇in what direction，whither，where＇ |
| 2（0）F | tálem kón | ＇in the direction there above＇ |

The element（ヘ̂ lol＇bend＇which forms part of a set of demonstratives is also used as a verb meaning＇bend，bend onwards，turn or incline in a forward direction，be directed＇．
$\mathcal{Z}(\leftrightarrow \hat{\aleph})$ Pálol＇this way，in this direction＇
（A）R Polol＇that way，in that direction＇
$\operatorname{\omega }(\hat{N})$ salol＇which way，in which direction，whither＇
e（ß̂）talol＇up above there＇
In the following examples the morpheme $\mathfrak{N}$－lon＇in this direction＇is found．

| $\mathcal{Z}$（rNo | Pálon | in this direction |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （ PRN | Polon | in that direction |
| ミパ｜ | talon kón | in the direction there above |

The morpheme $\overline{5}$ tet，also spelt sy tyet and sivat，expresses the meaning＇until，up to＇．

[^0]| (d) Potet 'that much, this many' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CuT satet | 'how much, how many' |
| T. |  |
| petet 'up to that place over there' |  |

The morpheme $\boldsymbol{z}$ tet is used as an approximative suffix with nominals and verbs, indicating a limit or boundary, a continuation or extension as far or as much as specified, e.g. cū $\bar{G})$ satet khut tet 'as much as possible'. When used with verbs, the morpheme tet is suffixed to the verb to express a limiting event with respect to the situation expressed by the main verb. Occasionally the element $\mathfrak{\xi}$ tet also occurs as a verb meaning 'touch, aim'.

gun-len Pátím-nu gun-len Pácum-tet all-than big-ABL all-than small-until
'from the greatest of all to the smallest'
48

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hu | satet | zúk-tet | go-lá | zúk-sho |
| 3s | how.much | make-until | 1s-also | make-NPR |

### 4.3.3 Interrogative and relative pronouns

Many interrogative pronouns contain the element $\omega v s a$-. In addition to these pronouns Lepcha uses the pronouns $\mathfrak{e z}$ shú 'what' and $\mathfrak{z}\}$ tú 'who'. Occasionally, as in (51), interrogative pronouns are reduplicated. The pronoun got sare 'which' is used with both human and non-human referents, whereas is tú 'who' is only used with human referents. Some interrogative pronouns are also used as relative pronouns, like $\omega \mathbf{\omega}$ sare 'which' in example (53). The notion 'why?' is expressed by the expression $\mathbb{C} \boldsymbol{\jmath}$ ( $Q$, shúmátne 'why', sometimes spelt
 sometimes facultatively marked by the clause-final interrogative particle $\varlimsup_{\omega}$ gó (Q). Yes/no questions are not marked by the interrogative particle.

| 2ll* |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pádo-sá | tyól | tú |
| 2S.OBL-GEN | friend | who |

'Who is your friend?'

Páyú-m tú-nu lík-bám gó
2P.OBL-DAT who-ABL call-PRG Q
'Who is calling you?'
( $\omega$ Or
go cálóng-do shú-shú zúk gát
1s now-self what-what do must
'What should I do now?'

Páre-zang shúmú-dep-re Pádyút shúmátne this-like man-with-DEF fight why
(Fa)e (as
dóng-shang gó
search-INF Q
'Why are you picking a fight with a guy like him?'

zónggú-re sukdum-sá Páre-zang lyáng-kát
Dzongú-DEF world-GEN this-like land-one

gum sare-ká-re sabá-re róng
be.AST which-LOC-DEF where-DEF Lepcha
Z
Págít thop-sho
tribe get-NPR
'Dzongú is one of those places on earth in which, where, we can find Lepcha people.'

Notions such as 'everywhere' and 'everyone' are expressed in Lepcha by using interrogative pronouns reinforced with the morpheme or lá 'also', e.g. cuornc sabálá 'everywhere', ejov shúlá 'everything, whatever', cupronr sathálá 'always', zjnc túlá 'everyone, someone, anyone, whoever'. When these are combined with a negative verb they convey the senses 'nowhere', 'no one', etc, e.g. (55). The pronoun $\mathfrak{z}\}$ tú 'who' is also found reinforced with $(* d o$ 'self', viz. : zjı túdo 'any person, anybody, anyone'.


| hó | sathálá | ma-yâ-n |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 S | always | NEG-know-NEG |


|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| shúlá | $m a-y \hat{a}-n$ | li-sho |
| everything | NEG-kn | say-N |

'You're always saying: I don't know, I don't know anything.'

go-nu shúlá ma-mát-ne

1S-ABL everything NEG-do-NEG
'I didn't do anything.'
56 ziso
Pábi Pân sabálá
here and everywhere
'here and everywhere'

### 4.3.4 Indefinite pronouns

Common indefinite pronouns referring to unspecified persons or

 'other', 疋 jen 'other'.


meaning 'another, second, different' in the sense of 'a second one', 'one more', but also in the sense of'a different one from the one at
 rangsâ ~ additional' might be a loan from Dzongkha or Dränjoke बाबन्वें zhenmi or बাबন' zhen 'other', although the Lepcha and Dränjoke meanings cannot be simply equated. In older texts, we find the form jemen 'other, another, different, additional', which is taken to be an older form of $\mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{F}$ jen. The etymological relationship between the forms $\stackrel{B}{\circ}$ jen and unclear. The adjective $\underset{\sim}{\mathfrak{B}}$ jen 'other, another, different, additional' is

 dep [other object with] 'with other objects'. The form $\mathfrak{\mathcal { B }}$ jen 'other, another, different, additional' is also used as what could be called a true indefinite pronoun, i.e. used independently as a pronominal head, which can be directly followed by suffixes and/or a definite article,


57

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { jen múng-pang lá gun ro-nu nóng ma } \\
& \text { other devil-PL.NH also all fear-ABL go AST }
\end{aligned}
$$

'All the other devils were also afraid and left.'

58 , (T SNE SE が
róng lí-kát nyí gang

Lepcha house-one be if
9) $\underset{\sim}{\widetilde{\omega}} \mathcal{Z}$ (f)
rungsâr Págít-sá lí Págyáp nyí-sho
other tribe-GEN house much be-NPR
'If there is one Lepcha house there, there will be many more houses of other tribes.'

The meaning expressed by the adjective $\ddot{\ddot{y}} \times 3$ kumdúng is 'other, different, strange, foreign, alien', in the sense of 'someone or something that does not resemble the person or thing referred to'. The noun $\boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{F}$ maró 'man, person' may also be used to express the notions 'someone, someone else, anyone, whoever, another person', e.g. (60).

When the noun $\boldsymbol{\pi} \boldsymbol{F}$ maró is reinforced with $(* d o$＇self＇，this yields the meaning＇the man himself＇，as in $\bar{\sigma} \mathscr{F}(* \mathfrak{Z} 30$ ör maródo zúkbám［man－ self make－PRG］＇the man is doing it himself＇．

59

| す E゙か＊ |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pe | kumdúng | maró－re | tú | gó |
| over．there | other | man－DEF | who | Q |

＇Who is that strange man？＇
$60 \quad$（2）
Pore－do ma－mát le maró thyo－sho that－self NEG－do REQ man hear－NPR
＇Please don＇t do that．People will hear．＇

In example（61），we see the adjective $\mathfrak{p}$ e jen＇other，another＇，the noun $\boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{\tau}$ maró＇man，person＇，the adjective $\ddot{\forall}) *\}$ kumdúng＇different， strange＇and the plural suffix ow－sang，all grouped together in one phrase．

61

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\substack{\text { Ber } \\
\text { jen } \\
\text { other } \\
\text { ota } \\
\text { maró } \\
\text { man }} & \text { kumdúng-sang-re } \\
\text { different-PL.H-DEF }
\end{array}
$$

＇Other people，outsiders，they were not allowed to come here．＇
 things，is derived from the verb $\mathfrak{j} \mathfrak{G}$ flí $\sim j \tilde{\hat{ज}}$ flím＇divide，separate＇， from which the adverb $\mathfrak{\kappa} \mathfrak{T}$ flik＇apart，aside＇is also derived．The form E（SNT

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { स(SNG } \\
& \text { Páflík-re-m ma-bi-n } \\
& \text { some-DEF-DAT NEG-give-NEG }
\end{aligned}
$$

'Some people were not given any.'
The form $\hat{\nu}^{\boldsymbol{r}}$ rel occurs as a noun expressing the meaning 'piece' and as an adverb in the sense 'separate, separately, respectively'. As a main verb $\hat{\digamma}$ rel expresses the meaning 'separate maize from the cob'. The form $\stackrel{\hat{C}}{ } \mathrm{rel}$ is also used as an indefinite pronoun expressing the meaning 'each'. More often than not the reduplicated form is used, expressing the meanings 'one by one, one after the other, each one individually'.

63 将3
hиуи́-m rel-rel bi
3P-DAT each-each give
'Give one to each of them.'
For the concepts 'all', 'every' and 'whole', the words ©) gun and (§, tyâng are used. In order to grasp the difference between (ङ) gun 'all, every' and ss tyâng 'all, whole', it is important to realise that when (b) gun 'all, every' is used, everybody or everything that is referred to is seen as an individual person or item, whereas when (s) tyâng is used a reference is made to the whole or the entirety of a group of things or people.

Pábá-sá lí gun Pázuk-Pázuk nyí here-GEN house all pretty-pretty be
'All the houses here are very nice.'

### 4.4 The ablative suffix

The invariant meaning of the ablative suffix $\wp \boldsymbol{\rho} \sim$ ) $-n u n \sim-n u$ is source or cause. Lepcha $\mathfrak{\Omega}) \sim$ ~ $-n u n \sim-n u$ is cognate with the Limbu comitative suffix -nu 'with, from', which also fulfils an ablative function. Lepcha $\mathfrak{\Omega}) \sim \rho^{\circ}-n u n \sim-n u$ is suffixed to nominals, verbs or clauses and the apparently different types of meaning which the morpheme $\mathfrak{\Omega}) \sim \Omega$ ) -nun $\sim-n u$ expresses in these combinations are a function of the difference in the syntactic status of the constituent to which the morpheme is attached.

There are native speakers and Lepcha authors who consistently use the form $\mathfrak{\Omega})$-nun after nouns and the form $\mathfrak{\rho})$-nu after verbs. This is generally regarded as proper or correct usage. However, this is clearly a cultivated norm because in practice most speakers and writers do not observe any distinction. This is just one facet of a wider sociolinguistic phenomenon in Lepcha, for in Lepcha textbooks norms of speech are often prescribed which deviate from the actual norms observed in natural speech. In the examples which I adduce below, the two allomorphs $\mathfrak{\Omega}$ ) -nun and $\wp_{\text {g }}-n u$ are used seemingly at random. Two general tendencies can be observed. One is the tendency to use the form ค̉) -nun more frequently in combination with nouns and the form $\Omega_{j}-n u$ more frequently with verbs, an artificial tendency which, as already pointed out, is not observed consistently. A second tendency is to use the form form $\mathfrak{\rho}$-nun in the sense of 'by, through', whereas the abbreviated form form $\rho)-n u$ more often occurs in the sense of 'from, since', but here too there is little consistency. The situation therefore appears to be in flux, and widespread bilingualism may have exacerbated the confusion because in certain areas fluent monolingual speakers of Lepcha are in the minority.

One sense which the suffix $\mathfrak{\Omega} \mathfrak{j} \sim \mathfrak{\rho}^{\text {g }}-n u n \sim-n u$ expresses when affixed to nouns and adverbs denoting a place or time is the ablative, viz. to mark the source, origin or point of departure for the activity denoted by the main verb. In such contexts the ending is comparable in function to English 'from'.


| Pábi-nu | shúlá | ma-shí-n |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| here-ABL | everything | NEG-see-NEG |

'From here I cannot see anything.'

go kốm Pore sabá-nu thop te
1s money that where-ABL get DUB
'Where would I get that kind of money from?'

saróng-nu go cholí-ká nóng-sho
today-ABL 1s school-LOC go-NPR

# 'As of today, I shall go to school.' 

'from the bottom of my heart'
'Where are you from?'
'Where do you come from?'
'Where did you come from?'


```
dárjúlyáng-nun kálenpúng-tet
Darjeeling-ABL Kalimpong-until
'from Darjeeling to Kalimpong’
```

'from head to toe'
The Lepcha ablative suffix $\mathfrak{\Omega}) \sim$ ค) $-n u n \sim-n u$ can be affixed to nominals to express an agent, which in some other languages such as Limbu or Kulung would be termed ergative or instrumental. For a further discussion of the meaning and function of the ablative suffix, the reader is referred to Section 5.13 below.

### 4.5 The lative suffix

In its ablative sense, the Lepcha ablative suffix $\mathrm{\rho}_{\mathrm{j}} \sim$ ~ $)-n u n \sim-n u$ contrasts with the Lepcha lative suffix $\underset{\sim}{\wedge}$-lóm 'via, through'. The lative suffix indicates via which or through which motion a location is reached. Whereas the Limbu root -lam occurs both as a noun meaning 'road, way' and as a mediative suffix meaning 'via, from', the Lepcha
root $\not \approx \underset{\sim}{\sim}$-lóm occurs as the lative suffix, as a noun in the meaning 'road, way' and as a verb in the meaning 'walk'. Both the Lepcha and the Limbu forms reflect the Tibeto-Burman root *lam 'road, direction'. As examples (72) and (73) show, the Lepcha ablative suffix ค) $\sim$ ค) -nun $\sim-n u$ and the lative suffix $\sqrt{\wedge})$-lóm 'via' are closely related in function but distinct in meaning. Whereas in example (72) Lepcha ハ̈ -lóm suggests a particular direction or pathway, in sentence (73) only the point of origin is suggested by $\mathfrak{\rho j} \boldsymbol{\sim}$ ~ $\rho$-nun $\sim-n u$. In sentences (74)-(77), we see more examples of the suffix ๙یঁ -lóm 'via'.
( $\omega$ (ন)
go prolyáng-lóm thi
1S Bhutan-via reach
'I arrived by way of Bhutan.'

go prolyáng-nu thi
1S Bhutan-ABL reach
'I arrived from Bhutan.'

kúng-lóm kúng-kóng glet-nón ma tree-via tree-branch drop-RES AST
'Branches fell down from the tree.'
75 キ) $\mathfrak{N N}$
hu lí-lóm plâ yet-nón ma
3s house-via come.out descend-RES AST
'He came out of his house and went down.'

?ádo-lóm go kóm-kám thop-sho

2S.OBL-via 1s money-little.bit get-NPR
'I'll get some money through you.'


```
hu mák myóng shumyú-sang-lóm go thyo
3S die experience person-PL.H-via 1S hear
'I heard from these people that he died.'
```

There are a number of Lepcha suffixes which are similar in meaning but distinct from both the ablative and the lative suffixes. One of these is the Lepcha suffix ${ }_{5}^{5}$-ren 'since'. Whereas ${ }_{5}{ }^{2}$-ren 'since' has a straightforward temporal meaning 'since', e.g. (78), the use of the ablative suffix $\mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{j} \sim \mathcal{O}^{\boldsymbol{y}}-n u n \sim-n u$ implies a cause, a change of heart or some similar implication because of its meaning denoting origin, e.g. (79).

78

```
s(6u)
tasó-ren
yesterday-since
    'since yesterday'
```

79

```
2(cu\Omega)
tasó-nu
yesterday-ABL
```

'since yesterday, from yesterday on'
Another such suffix is the Lepcha ending $\mathcal{R}_{\mathcal{E}}^{*}-k o ́ n$ 'side, towards, in the direction'. This Lepcha morpheme to some extent resembles the frequent usage of the suffix -patṭī 'side' in some varieties of colloquial eastern Nepali and, for that matter, the use of the English postposition 'side' in Bhutanese and Lepcha English, e.g. 'He went Darjeeling side', i.e. 'He went to/towards Darjeeling'. As a noun, Lepcha浞-kón translates into English as 'side'.

80

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { hó ka-sá kón tyúk } \\
& \text { 2S S1-GEN side kick } \\
& \text { 'You kicked it towards me.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

 nóng-kón tho inside-side put
'Put it inside.'
 go prolyáng-kón nóng-sho 1S Bhutan-side go-NPR
'I am going in the direction of Bhutan.'

go prolyáng-ká nóng-sho
1S Bhutan-LOC go-NPR
'I am going to Bhutan.'

### 4.6 The genitive and comitative suffixes

The Lepcha suffix cwl -sá (GEN) expresses possession, part-whole relationships and related semantic functions.
 Pâre kasu-sá lí go ma this 1S.OBL-GEN house be AST
'This is my house.'

kasu-sá Pákâ nyet nyí ma
1s.OBL-GEN hand two be AST
'I have two hands.'

kasu-sá Pákup nyet nyí ma
1s.OBL-GEN child two be AST
'I have two children.'

| - Efous ${ }_{\text {a }}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| kúng-sá | Pún |
| tree-GEN | horse |

'a wooden horse'

```
Ercov( E/ה)
fát-sá fâtyók
earth-GEN pot
```

'an earthen pot'

The Lepcha comitative suffix cos $\sim \omega-s a ́ \sim-s a$ 'with' is partially homophonous with the genitive suffix cus -sá. Usage of the genitive suffix col $-s a ́$ is straightforward and ubiquitous in the language, but the usage of the comitative suffix requires some discussion and must be contrasted with the instrumental function of the Lepcha ablative suffix $\mathfrak{\sim j} \sim \mathcal{O}^{\prime}-n u n \sim-n u$. The comitative suffix can be used to indicate the instrument or means by which an action is enacted or takes place.

go Púng-sá Pákâ cóng-sho
1S water-with hand wash-NPR
'I wash my hands with water.'

go nyúgú-sá pi-sho
1S pen-with write-NPR
'I write with a pen.'

phyokmú-sá lí phyok
broom-with house sweep
'Sweep the house with the broomstick.'
$92 \quad$ rizous 关) 利
ryúm-sá dum hráp
needle-with cloth sew
'Sew cloth with a needle.'

Whereas the suffix $\mathfrak{\Omega}) \sim \propto)-n u n \sim-n u$ marks the agent performing an action, the Lepcha comitative suffix $c \omega(\sim) \sim-s a ́ \sim-s a$ marks the implement with which the situation is enacted, e.g. (93)-(96). The situation in Lepcha is markedly different from that in Limbu, where
 and ablative functions. In Lepcha, the suffix $\wp) \sim \infty)-n u n \sim-n u$ denotes origin, whereas the suffix $\omega(\sim) \sim-s a ́ \sim-s a$ denotes belonging and expresses the comitative sense 'with'. The comitative suffix col ~ $\varsigma \omega-s a ́ \sim-s a$ is especially used when the referent of the constituent it modifies is the obvious choice of means by which to enact the situation denoted by the main verb, i.e. when the activity denoted by the verb, in a manner of speaking, belongs to the implement. It is via the sense of belonging that an etymological relationship with the nearly homophonous Lepcha genitive suffix becomes plausible. However, note that in examples (93) through (95), the ablative suffix คु) ~ -nun ~ -nu could be used instead of Lepcha cor ~ co -sá ~-sa, whereas in sentence (96) the use of $\mathfrak{\rho}) \sim \rho-n u n \sim-n u$ would yield an awkward or less obvious reading. This is because the notion of origin, cause or source would yield suitable applications in examples (93) through (95), but not in utterance (96), where the knife is merely an implement accompanying the action.

go Pámík-sá ngâk-bám
1s eye-with look-PRG
'I look with my eyes.'

go Pányưr-sá nyen-bám
1S ear-with listen-PRG
'I listen with my ears.'

go Pábong-sá jók-bám
1s mouth-with talk-PRG 'I talk with my mouth.'


```
go bánkup-sá tyók-bám
1S knife-with cut-PRG
'I am cutting with a knife.'
```

In the following examples, both the Lepcha ablative suffix $\mathfrak{\rho}$ ) ~ -nun ~ -nu and the Lepcha comitative suffix col ~ $\omega$-sá $\sim-s a$ are used. The difference in meaning is that in example (97) the pen is depicted as a means or point of origin and therefore highlighted as the means by which the writing takes place, whereas in example (98) the pen is merely mentioned as the obvious means with no special highlighting of its function as the implement.

пуи́gú-пи shú zúk-sho
pen-ABL what make-NPR
'What do you use a pen for?'

nyúgú-sá shú zúk-sho
pen-with what make-NPR
'Why are you using a pen?'
The comitative suffix $\omega(\omega$ ~ co -sá ~-sa 'with', is also used with numerals, e.g. (99) and Section 3.12. Occasionally, the comitative suffix is also used to coordinate arguments, e.g. (100), (101), (102) and (104).

99 Grécued
khá-kát sa kát
score-one with one
'twenty one'
100

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 200303 (u) © } \\
& \text { phyuk-bû sa jen-bú ma-flíne } \\
& \text { be.rich-FCT with other-FCT NEG-separate-NEG }
\end{aligned}
$$

'Don't distinguish between the rich and the poor.'
$\cos ) \cos (\operatorname{cosin}$ Ji) $\sqrt{H}$
sathang sá sacák punzók
tiger with leopard forest

thámcâng-pang gum
animal-PL.NH be.AST
'Tigers and leopards are animals of the jungle.'

hó sa go-re tyól Páryúm gum 2 S with $1 \mathrm{~S}-\mathrm{DEF}$ friend good be.AST
'You and I are good friends.'

The postposition $\underset{\sim}{*}$ dep 'together, along with' is often used in combination with or as an alternant to the comitative suffix cou ~ co-sá ~ -sa 'with'. The postposition $\underset{\sim}{\text { 米 } d e p ~ ' t o g e t h e r ' ~ i n d i c a t e s ~ a c c o m p a n i-~}$ ment.

hó hu-dep nóng
2 S 3s-together go
'You go with him.'
104


ka-dep nóng-ká le
s1-together go-LOC REQ
'Please go with me.'

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hu | throm－ká | muró－dep | ma－nóng－ne |
| 3s | market－LOC | man－together | NEG |

＇He went to the market without anyone else．＇
107

|  | （1） |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hu | hudo－sá | tyól－dep |
| 3 s | 3s．obl－GEN | friend－together |

が衣＊
cálóng－do lát
just．now－self return
＇He just came together with his friend．＇
A verb that should be mentioned here is $\mathbb{\boxed { x }}$ chó＇unite，join＇．Tám－ sáng lists the word fe nyíp＇together＇，but no examples of this form have been attested（Támsáng 1980：376）．

108

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
(\omega \sqrt{\boldsymbol{\gamma}} \mathrm{D}) & \text { ، } \mathfrak{N} E \mathrm{E} & \\
\text { go } & \text { chó-nun } & \text { nóng-ká } \\
\text { 1s } & \text { join-ABL } & \text { go-LOC }
\end{array}
$$

＇I＇ll join you and then let＇s go．＇

## 4．7 The locative suffix

The invariant meaning of the Lepcha suffix $E c-k a ́$ ，which I have ex－ pediently labelled＇locative＇，is one of＇direction＇，and the locative suffix may be attached to nominals，verbs and entire clauses．The in－ variant meaning of direction yields the notion of a supine when the locative suffix $E(-k a ́$ is affixed to a verb，e．g．（107），and produces an adhortative meaning when suffixed to an entire clause，e．g．（108）．The latter uses of the locative suffix Ec－ká are treated in Section 5．12． When the locative morpheme $E r-k a ́$ is suffixed to a noun，it denotes the site of an activity or the destination towards which an activity is directed．The supine，adhortative and locative senses of the Lepcha locative morpheme $E(-k a ́$ are all functions of the same meaning，i．e． the goal toward which the action or situation is directed．The locative， supine and adhortative senses of the Lepcha locative category are
treated in separate sections of the grammar, but the same gloss (LOC) is used throughout the grammar in keeping with the analysis of this morpheme as indexing a single grammatical category with a uniform Gesamtbedeutung in all cases. Comparativists should keep in mind that the fact that the locative $E(-k a ́$ in its various functions synchronically represents a single grammatical category in modern Lepcha does not necessarily preclude that the three syntactically distinct uses of this morpheme may actually derive from historically distinct etyma through convergent evolution or analogy. The Dzongkha locative suffix Ar khar, more usually pronounced kha, which particularly occurs in toponyms, might reflect the same etymon as Lepcha locative E( $-k a ́$, but it is unclear at this point whether an etymological relationship obtains between the two.


| go lyem-ká | nóng-det | ma |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 S | play-LOC | go-move | AST |

'I am going to play.'

$\begin{array}{lll}\text { kányí dep theng-ká } \\ \text { 1D } & \text { together sing-LOC }\end{array}$
'Come on, join us in singing.'

lí Pákíng-ká ribiríp nyí ma
house front-LOC ribi.plant be AST
'There are ribiplants in front of the house.'

The Lepcha locative morpheme $E(-k a ́$, when suffixed to a nominal constituent, can fulfil a regular locative function indicating the location, place or site of an activity or situation, e.g (112)-(113).

112

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { jÑEr } \\
& \text { lí-ká } \\
& \text { house-LOC } \\
& \text { 'at home' }
\end{aligned}
$$

```
w(9) Jj)KECÖ|(U
sáthang punzók-ká bám-sho
tiger forest-LOC dwell-NPR
```

'Tigers live in the jungle.'
The locative ending er -ká can also express the destination or entity towards which an activity or situation is directed, e.g. (114)-(115). Example (112) can therefore be correctly translated into English 'home', in the sense of 'homewards' or 'at home', depending on which of the two meanings the speaker wishes to express.

## 114

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { go kalenpúng-ká nóng-sho } \\
& \text { 1S Kalimpong-LOC go-NPR }
\end{aligned}
$$

'I am going to Kalimpong.'
When affixed to a nominal denoting an animate referent, as in the following example, Lepcha $\mathrm{Er}-\mathrm{ka}$ can be contrasted with the Lepcha dative suffix $\ddot{6}-m$, e.g. (115) vs. (116) and the discussion in Section 4.8.

115

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| go | kaju-ká | kám | zo | $b i$ |
| 1 s | dog-LOC | little.bit | food | give |

'I gave some food to the dog.'
116

go kaju-re-m kám zo bi
1s dog-DEF-DAT little.bit food give
'I gave the dog some food.'

### 4.8 The dative suffix

The dative suffix $\ddot{\otimes}-m$ (DAT) indicates the entity towards which the action or situation expressed by the verb is directed, but in a much more personal way than the locative suffix $E(-k a ́$. The meaning expressed by the locative suffix may be called 'local, directional', whereas the meaning expressed by the dative suffix may be called 'af-
fected'. The Lepcha dative suffix marks what in many Western languages would be called the 'direct object' of a sentence. When an activity expressed by a verb is directed 'to' or 'for' someone or something, the goal is marked by the dative suffix ${ }^{*}-m$. The dative suffix may mark the place to or towards which the motion is directed, or the person or thing to whom the action is directed, or for whom the action is intended. In other words, the verb expresses an activity that is targetted at an entity or object and the affected target or beneficiary of the activity or emotion is marked by the dative suffix.

117

118

119
 muró kányí-do-m shú sákcíng-shang man 1D-self-DAT what think-INF
'What will people think of the two of us?'
120

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { E(iï) (fx@ër } \\
\text { kasu-m } & \text { dok-wám } \\
\text { 1s.OBL-DAT } & \text { be.ill-PRG } \\
\text { 'I am feeling ill.' }
\end{array}
$$

A combination of the meanings of the dative suffix with the meaning of the locative suffix is not semantically plausible. Therefore, the dative suffix is not likely to be combined with the locative suffix. The meanings of the two suffixes can be contrasted as follows: When a referent is marked by the locative suffix, the action is directed towards the referent, which may be a person, place or thing. When a referent is marked by the dative suffix, we can say that the described action or state is more emphatically intended to affect the referent, or
that the referent is or would be affected in a more immediate way. We can see this illustrated in examples (121) through (128) below. For example, in (121) the general act is expressed of more or less accidentally coughing in someone's face without meaning to do so. If the speaker had used 又屰 Pámlem-re-m [face-DEF-DAT], rather than
 coughing into someone's face had been deliberate.

121

muró-sá Pámlem-ká ma-hleng man-GEN face-LOC NEG-cough
'Don't cough into someone's face.'

## 

ka-sá hunyí-ká línshet shúlá ma-nyí-n S1-GEN 3D-LOC speech nothing NEG-be-NEG
'I don't have anything to say to them.'

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hó | kasu-m | tyúk |
| 2 S | 1S.OBL-DAT | kick |
| 'You kicked [it to] me.' |  |  |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathfrak{F} E \operatorname{Con}(\underset{E}{*} E(\mathbb{E})\} \\
& \text { hó ka-sá kón-ká tyúk } \\
& \text { 2S S1-GEN side-LOC kick } \\
& \text { 'You kicked it in my direction.' }
\end{aligned}
$$


go-nun hu lyáng-ká yuk klóng
1S-ABL 3s land-LOC letter send
'I sent a letter to his place.'


```
Pingngá-re-m buk
child-DEF-DAT hit
```

'Strike the child!'

```
127 (E%)
    fo-re-m tsám
bird-DEF-DAT hold
    'Catch the bird!'
E& E(&)(#̈)
káyú-do-m-re ma-bi-ne
1P-self-DAT-DEF NEG-give-NEG
```

＇We were not given it．＇

## 4．9 Adjectives

The Lepcha equivalent to an English adjective may be an adjective or a verb expressing a state or a condition．Many adjectives are formed from verbs by adding the prefix $\mathfrak{Z}$（ $P a ́-$ and sometimes suffixing ag $-m$ to the verb root，e．g．rıj ryú＇be good＇，\＆\＆rỉ Ráryúm＇good＇，as men－ tioned in Chapter 3．Some common adjectives are listed below．

| $\mathcal{Z}\left(\mathfrak{z r}^{\text {r }}\right.$ ） | Páhyur | ＇red＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 又 ${ }_{\text {d }}$ | Pánók | ＇black＇ |
| 又我3 | Pádúm | ＇white＇ |
| $\mathcal{Z}\left(\sim_{0}\right.$ | Pácor | ＇sour＇ |
| E（if） | Pázuk | ＇pretty＇ |
| dreiz | Páryúm | ＇good＇ |
| 8（Cu） | Pásúm | ＇spicy＇ |
| 又（5i） | Páklyam | ＇sweet＇ |
| 26＊） | Páhyâng | ＇cold＇ |
| 又utio | Pákyâng | ＇light，bright＇ |

An adjective describes or specifies the properties or attributes of a noun．Adjectives used adnominally generally follow the noun they modify，e．g．$\underset{\sim}{\text { A．}}$ â lóm Pál［road new］＇the new road＇，although the or－ der may be reversed for emphasis．

129

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Púng | Páhyâng | ma－thóng |
| water | cold | NEG－drink |

＇Do not drink cold water．＇
 tukpópôt－re Páklyam nyí peach－DEF sweet be
＇Peaches are sweet．＇
Nouns are modified by adjectives，whereas adjectives may be modified by intensifiers，such as Z（G゚ir Págyáp＇much，very＇，some－ times shortened to cir gyáp，and（＊do＇self＇，or a combination of both as in（131）and（132）．

## 131 20 2）

？áre tukpópót Págyáp－do klyam－bám
this peach much－self be．sweet－PRG
＇This peach is very sweet．＇
132

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Zur cill* } & \text { Bus } & \\
\text { Pare-re } & \text { gyáp-do } & \text { Pákhú } \\
\text { this-DEF } & \text { much-self } & \text { expensive }
\end{array}
$$

＇This is very expensive．＇

## 4．10 Comparative and superlative constructions

A comparative construction is formed by means of the postposition $\mathbb{N}$ len＇than，compared to＇，which follows the element it modifies．In other words，the postposition ぶ len＇than＇is suffixed to the element with which the comparison is made．

pemkît len nurkít Páryúm nyí Pemkít than Nurkít good be
＇Nurkít is better than Pemkít．＇

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Pâre kajû-re pe len cóng } \\
& \text { this dog-DEF over.there than be.quick }
\end{aligned}
$$

'This dog is quicker than that one over there.'
A superlative meaning is expressed by comparison with a totality expressed by ©̂) gun 'all, every'.

Pore gun-len nahán nóng ma
that all-than before go AST
'He left before everyone else.'
136

A superlative meaning may also be expressed by suffixing $\dot{x}\}$-chúk 'most, worthy', or (x-cho 'best, greatest', to the root.

hu muró tím-cho gum
3s man big-most be.AST
'He's the biggest man of all.'

hu muró tím-chúk gum
3s man big-most be.AST
'He is the biggest man.'

### 4.11 Numerals

The Lepcha numerals from zero through ten are as follows:

| jo | $t i$ | 'zero' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Er | kát | 'one' |
| E | nyet | 'two' |
| cild | sám | 'three' |
| ESN | fali | 'four' |


| E53 | fangú | 'five' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5it | tarók | 'six' |
| E | kakyók | 'seven' |
| EE) | kaku | 'eight' |
| E\% | kakyót | 'nine' |
| ESE | kati | 'ten' |

The numerals from eleven through nineteen are formed through suffixation of the morpheme ơ -tháp to the numerals from one through nine. The numerals for the teens have both a full and an abbreviated form. The full forms are felt to be more formal and precise. The abbreviated numerals are formed by dropping the decimal numeral Eje kati 'ten'.

| full form |  | short |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | kati kát tháp | Elt | kát tháp | 'eleven' |
| ESENO | kati nyet tháp | Eid | nyet tháp | 'twelve' |
| E fecur ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | kati sám tháp | Cur ${ }^{\circ}$ | sám tháp | 'thirteen' |
| EjEESNio | kati fali tháp | Ejnior | fali tháp | 'fourteen' |
| EjEETjo | kati fangú tháp | ETjor | fangú tháp | 'fifteen' |
| Esesifio | kati tarók tháp | ミ1F\% | tarók tháp | 'sixteen' |
| EjEETENOM | kati kakyók tháp | EEENOC | kakyók tháp | 'seventeen' |
| ESEEJio | kati kaku tháp | EEjor | kaku tháp | 'eighteen' |
| ESEETENOO | kati kakyót tháp | EEENOT | kakyót tháp | 'nineteen' |

Starting with the numeral for 'twenty', Lepcha makes use of a vigesimal numeral system based on cs khá 'one score', which would appear to be the same root as reflected in Dränjoke or Dzongkha बavজ ठेषा"
 sám [score-three] 'sixty'. The coordinative conjunction cor ~ cu-sá ~ $-s a$ 'with' is used to combine the vigesimal portion of the numeral with the lesser numeral.

| SGET | khá kát | 'twenty' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SGIETCon(E) | khá kát sá kát | 'twenty-one' |
| SGEVCOM | khá kát sá nyet | 'twenty-two' |
|  | khá kát sá sám | 'twenty-three' |
| UGEVCOTESN) | khá kát sá fali | 'twenty-four' |


|  | khá kát sá fangú | ＇twenty－five＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | khá kát sá tarók | ＇twenty－six＇ |
|  | khá kát sá kakyók | ＇twenty－seven＇ |
| UGEVCN（EE） | khá kát sá kaku | ＇twenty－eight＇ |
| UGEVCN（ETEN | khá kát sá kakyot | ＇twenty－nine＇ |

After this，the system counts in a mixture of tens and twenties．

|  | khá kát sá kati | ＇thirty＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | khá kát sá kati kát thap | ＇thirty－one＇ |
|  | khá kát sá kati nyet thap | ＇thirty－two＇ |
| UFE | khá nyet | ＇forty＇ |
| $\mathcal{S C O}$ | khá sám | sixty＇ |
| U（E）N | khá fali | ＇eighty＇ |

The Lepcha word $\pi$ ，gyó＇one hundred＇is cognate with the Dzongkha and Dränjoke numeral $\bar{\square}$ 列呵 cikja＇one hundred＇，but note the more conservative consonantism of the Lepcha form．Alter－ natively，the word（cu so＇one hundred＇is found，e．g．（ou EjN so fali ＇four hundred＇，（ज凶 Ey\} so fangú 'five hundred'. The forms ö̉ búm, （cuel soyá and orr cewo，listed below，would appear to be loans from
 j＇iwa＇crore＇respectively．

| （G）EC | gyó kát | ＇one hundred＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 四を | gyó nyet | ＇two hundred＇ |
|  | tunghrók kát | ＇one thousand＇ |
|  | tunghrók kati | ＇ten thousand＇ |
| Suflerel | hritsho kát | ＇one myriad＇ |
|  | búmtsho kát | ＇one lakh＇ |
| OZ）E | búm kát | ＇one lakh＇ |
| raveré | soyá kát | ＇one million，ten lakh＇ |
| drem | cewo kát | ＇one crore＇ |
|  | túngchúr kát | ＇one hundred million＇ |
|  | sosotsho kát | ＇one billion＇ |
| （Colconoty er | sosotshúr kát | ＇ten billion＇ |
| COJE | therbúm kát | ＇one billion＇ |
| （ $\left.\mathcal{U}_{\text {G }}\right)$ | thrókthrík kát | ＇ten billion＇ |
| （Concousler | sosoyá kát | ＇one hundred billion＇ |

The numeral forms discussed above are used in counting. Attributive forms of the numerals are formed by adding the factitive marker $\mathfrak{O j}$-bú to the numeral, e.g. Ér of kátbú 'the first'. Some speakers add the form frón 'number' and prefer to say E(G)Oj kátfrónbú, 'the first', or (G゚Oj nyetfrónbú, 'the second', etc.

An alternative more fully vigesimal system augments the repertoire of numeral forms based on the score as mentioned above. This system uses the notion cor báng 'half of'. Kalimpong speakers of Lepcha, who are usually not closely familiar with this system of counting, consider the system based purely on çr khá 'the score' to be the original counting system, and claim that the cor báng system is a modern Sikkimese invention. In fact, this system for arriving at numerals 30 , 50, 70, 90 and so forth matches the Dränjoke and Dzongkha vigesimal system.

| Sfore | khá báng nyet | '30' [score half-of two] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathcal{S H O C N}$ | khá báng nyet sá kát | ' 31 ' [score half-of two with one] |
| Sforcü | khá báng sám | '50' [score half-of three] |
| UfOCEIN | khá báng fali | '70' [score half-of four] |
| G6OLET3 | khá báng fangú | '90' [score half-of five] |

The form cor báng is also used as a main verb meaning 'break, cut, chop wood or bamboo in short pieces'.

139

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'er (QT) Ỏr cor cor N M } \\
& \text { sháng Pore bán-sá báng le } \\
& \text { firewood that knife-with break REQ } \\
& \text { 'Go ahead and chop up the firewood with the } \\
& \text { knife.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

The expression $\mathfrak{c r u o r}$ cul(cul khábáng sámsám 'fifty fifty, an equal share', is given by Khárpú Támsáng (1980: 257), but was not recognised by Lepcha informants consulted in Kalimpong and Sikkim.

Sikkimese Lepcha textbooks have introduced an additional decimal system, to which Sikkimese schools give preference in their instruction. This system is based on the form in thep 'extra, additional, successive', e.g. $\mathfrak{C}$ 둥 theppa theppa 'successively', which is introduced as a decimal morpheme.

| Efe | kati | '10' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ei | nyet thep | '20' |
| Foter | nyet thep kát | '21' |
|  | sám thep | '30' |
| ESNO | fali thep | '40' |
| ET3 ${ }^{\circ}$ | fangú thep | '50' |
| 515\% | tarók thep | '60' |
| Eters | kakyók thep | '70' |
| EEj) | kaku thep | '80' |
| EEAN | kakyót thep | '90' |
| (G) E' | gyó kát | '100' |

Another decimal system was introduced by Colonel Mainwaring at the end of the nineteenth century, for the purpose of teaching arithmetic in schools. (Mainwaring 1876: 116) This system was based on the artificial form $E k a$, which Mainwaring derived from the numeral $E j$ kati 'ten', e.g. EEVCon $\mathcal{E}($ kakát sá kát 'eleven', E₹ kanyet 'twenty', and so on. The system is not in use anymore and it is unclear whether it ever was popular.

In schools, some specialised vocabulary is used for counting and for arithmetic, for example $\sqrt{\boldsymbol{x}}$ chó 'even number, pair, couple', $\mathfrak{F}$ nyó
 (*dryándo 'equal to'. Specific units for counting are used in certain professions or in harvesting, such as the word $\mathfrak{j \approx ( ⿺ )}$ which is used to indicate a certain amount of rice growing in the paddy. This form is evidently the same as the Dränjoke and Dzongkha form ริंq్' nyishu 'twenty' used in the Sikkimese and Bhutanese decimal system.

The symbols used to indicate numbers in native Lepcha orthography are listed in Diagram 14.


Diagram 14: Lepcha numbers

## 4．12 Telling time

The concept＇today＇is expressed in Lepcha by the adverb cur $\sqrt[F]{ }$ saróng ＇today＇．Adverbs expressing days in the immediate past include $\mathbf{a} \boldsymbol{\tau}_{\mathbf{w}}$

 ＇three days ago＇and $\mathbb{Q} \overline{\boldsymbol{x}}$ Pyochót＇four days ago＇．The adverb Ny lúk？ál＇tomorrow＇can be analysed as a compound of the verb ńs lúk ＇get up，rise＇（which also serves as the noun＇morning＇）and the adjec－ tive $\hat{\mathbf{z}}$（ Pál＇new＇．Analogous to the way the adverbs of the immediate past are formed，days in the immediate future are expressed by the adverbs E‘rao katshóng＇day after tomorrow＇，E（ẍr káchám＇in three days＇time，after three days＇and $E(\bar{x}$ káchót＇in four days＇time，after
 for＇three years ago＇．The adverb（arao Potshóng＇that day＇，containing the distal morpheme $\mathbb{\&}$ ？ 0 －，was heard in a conversation when a speaker referred to a specific day that was mentioned before in the same conversation．Additional examples of words containing the
 imply a specific number of days，have not been attested．

Words for now and later include $\mathbb{Z}$ d $\sqrt{\wedge}$ Pálóng＇now，at this very moment＇，\＆arnor Pálóngbá＇in a moment，in a little while＇， $\mathbb{Z}$ は抒N Pálónglá＇still＇， $\mathbb{Q}_{\mathbb{W}}$ Pyá＇formerly，a long time ago，in the days of old＇， $\mathfrak{Q}_{\mathfrak{X}}$ Pyo＇before，formerly，some time ago＇，ar cá＇just，a moment ago＇， $\mathfrak{N}$（NN cálóng＇just now，just a moment ago＇，ơo̊ cánáp＇last night＇， oror cábá ‘some time ago＇．

A period of twenty－four hours is referred to as cuad sa？yák ‘day， day and night＇．The hours of daylight are referred to as colj sanyí， also spelt as（w） night－time is referred to（ $\omega \mathfrak{\circ}$（ sonáp＇night，night－time＇．Another way of expressing a whole 24 －hour period would be by using the expres－
 means＇daily，every day＇．Midday or noon is expressed by pointing to the fact that daytime is halfway over，by using $\bar{\Gamma}$ phet＇half＇，e．g．
 wise the expression（๘ぃคำ sonápphet＇midnight＇is used．
 ＇evening＇，ภ゚‘̛̉z náp－lúk＇day and night，morning and evening＇，ถீ＇f


 ＇early morning，when sun is completely visible＇，ij）or tsuknáng＇mid－ day＇．

A period of time is referred to in Lepcha as $₹ \tilde{\bar{J}}$ tatsât＇time，period of time＇．Some names for seasons of the year are（cuã̃ sotâm＇sum－
 sozóng＇winter，be cold＇．

The word Nre lávo for＇moon＇in Lepcha is also used to indicate a lunar month．A calendar month is referred to as ër Nure nám lávo，the word $\mathfrak{\mathfrak { \circ }}$ r nám means＇year＇．A cycle of twelve years is a $\mathfrak{\rho}(\underset{\tilde{E}}{ }$ námkor， and the twelve years comprising a full cycle are listed below in

 gle year＇．

| E（ָ̃ ${ }^{\text {ör }}$ kalók nám | ＇rat year＇ |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | ＇ox year＇ |
| ） $\mathfrak{\sim}$（ sathang nám | ＇tiger year＇ |
| （氏，${ }^{\text {are }}$（punthyóng nám | ＇eagle year＇ |
|  | ＇thunder year＇ |
| 0） O O bu nám | ＇snake year＇ |
| à̉ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ¢ Pún nám | ＇horse year＇ |
| ベ3 ¢̈r lúk nám | ＇sheep year＇ |
| （w）${ }^{\text {a }}$（sahu | ＇monkey yea |
| ®̈r hik nán | ＇chicken ye |
| ¢ ${ }_{\text {ö kajú nám }}$ | ＇dog year＇ |
|  | ＇boar year＇ |

The Lepcha year generally consists of twelve months，but during a period of nineteen years reportedly seven years will have thirteen
 month＇．The meaning of the names of the different months is not clear in all cases，although tog glú means＇fall down＇，r（rá means＇hunt＇，fã
 also means＇bright＇．

兹）، $\overbrace{\omega}$（


A week of seven days is referred to as $\mathfrak{f}$ 安安duntrók＇week＇．The Lepcha names of the days of the week are listed below．Since（ $\omega$ ） $\mathcal{\approx}$

 suknyím or $\mathfrak{j}_{6}$（ $\omega$ ） $\mathfrak{\approx}$ mi sanyí，the same holding for the other days of the week．The fourth day of the week is referred to by some people as


| ఖi mi saryák | ＇day of fire，Sunday＇ |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | ＇day of water，Monday＇ |
| 9N cuqi lang sapyák | ＇day of stone，Tuesday＇ |
| ، E\} cozei kúng saPyák | ＇day of wood，Wednesday＇ |
|  | ＇day of wind，Thursday＇ |
| Er cu®qu fát sapyák | ＇day of earth，Friday＇ |
|  | ＇day of iron，Saturday＇ |

The Lepcha word for＇clock＇is JJ $\tilde{y}$ tsugyer and the word for ＇hour＇is $23 \tilde{\tilde{\sigma}}$ chútsât，borrowed from Dränjoke and Dzongkha तुत्कर्के＇ chutshö，although the Nepali loan ortr bázá＇hour＇is also frequently heard．The four o＇clock flower Mirabilis jalapa，which opens its
 falibú ríp．To ask the time，one may use the phrase orfr cuē $\mathfrak{O})$ ®o bázá satet buknón，＇what＇s the time，how many hours has it struck？＇．For telling the time in whole hours，one may use several expressions，such


 bázá sám sa phet buknón＇it has struck three and a half o＇clock，it＇s
half past three'. One may also tell time in terms of minutes after the
 fangú ngúnnu minetra khányet nón 'it has become five ò'clock and then forty minutes passed by, it's five forty'.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Lepcha has no elaborate conjugational morphology. There is no verbal agreement morphology and actants are not morphologically indexed in the verb. Tense, mood, aspect and other meanings of the verb are expressed by the use of postpositions and auxiliary verbs. Whilst the verbal system of Lepcha may lack the formal complexity of some Himalayan languages, the interest of Lepcha verbal morphology lies in the semantics of the grammatical categories expressed by the Lepcha repertoire of endings and auxiliaries.

### 5.1 Verb stems

All Lepcha verbs have two stem forms, viz. a regular and an inflected stem. The majority of Lepcha verbs end in a consonant, and for these verbs the regular and the inflected stem are one and the same. In other words, all of the verbs with a closed stem and a minority of the verbs with an open stem are invariable. The majority of the verbs which regularly show an open or vowel-final stem, however, additionally exhibit an inflected stem with a final consonant before auxiliary verbs.

The final consonant preserved in the inflected stem of those verbs which show stem alternation may reflect a lost segment or, alternatively, the remnant of some now defunct morphological or morphophonological process. The consonants which occur as finals in such inflected stems are $/ \mathrm{t} /, \mathrm{ln} /$ and $/ \mathrm{m} /$. If the open stem ends in $/ \mathrm{i} /$ or $/ \mathrm{o} /$, these vowels in the inflected stem systematically change to /í/ and /ó/ respectively. In the glossary, the longer, inflected stem of verbs that show stem alternation is specified because the inflected stem cannot be predicted on the basis of the short stem of the verb.

The question arises as to how the finals $/ \mathrm{t} /, / \mathrm{n} /$ and $/ \mathrm{m} /$ occurring uniquely in inflected stems, such as inflected $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{N}$ lin vs. regular $\mathfrak{j}$ N $l i$
 cally from the finals $/ \mathrm{t} /, / \mathrm{n} /$ and $/ \mathrm{m} /$ of invariable closed verb stems， e．g．尼 kón＇let，allow＇，तূ lóm＇walk＇，छ mát＇do＇．Light is shed on this question by the indirect relationship between a final consonant uniquely occurring in an inflected stem and the final consonant occur－ ring in a corresponding deverbative nominal．For example，the final
 final $/ \mathrm{n} /$ in the old deverbative form $\mathbb{Z}\left(\int \tilde{\tilde{N}}\right.$ Palín＇tongue＇，whereas the final $/ \mathrm{n} /$ in the inflected stem $\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{N}$ lin of the verb fo $l i$＇carry＇corre－ sponds to an $/ \mathrm{m} /$ in the nominal derivative $\mathcal{Z}$（痛 Pálím＇heavy＇．Some other examples of regular closed stems of verbs ending in $/ \mathrm{m} /, / \mathrm{n} /$ or ／t／are ür tsám＇hold，retain＇，ت̈）tsum＇meet＇，従，dryóm＇attach＇，¿̧ ngán＇remain＇，疋）dun＇tell，narrate＇，ī ngún＇become＇，i̧ ngút＇cut， sever＇，亏̈ mát＇do＇and j会 kitt＇snatch＇．

Auxiliary verbs are a set of verbs which can be distinguished on the basis of both semantic and morphological criteria．Lepcha auxil－ iary verbs not only exhibit meanings which in other languages are of－ ten expressed by modal verbs，e．g． $\bar{\sigma})$ khut＇be able，can＇，the set of auxiliary verbs can also be defined morphologically in that they com－ bine with the inflected stems of verbs and that they may be negated． Auxiliary verbs differ from particles，which combine with the regular stem or citation form of the verb and may not be negated．Example sentences（140）and（141）are related in that they form part of a dia－ logue and illustrate the inflected and regular stem of the verb $\tilde{\approx}$ plâ ＇come out，come up，rise＇．Examples（143）and（144）are both re－ sponses to the statement made in（142），and these three sentences of－ fer examples of the inflected and regular stem of the verb $\tilde{\varepsilon} y \hat{a}$＇know＇．


```
tukfyíl-sang plâ-wám
ant-PL.NH come.out-PRG
```

＇Ants are coming out of it．＇

```
\tilde{\tilde{E}}\mathrm{ 呧}
plâm-kón
come.out-let
```

＇Let them come out．＇

| Pore－re | Páyú－do | yâm | gát |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that－DEF | 2P－self | know | must |

＇You ought to be aware of that．＇
（a） $\begin{gathered}\text { 等 }\end{gathered}$
go $m a-y a \hat{a}-n$
1s NEG－know－NEG
＇I don＇t know．＇
$144 \tilde{\mathcal{E}} *$ б包仅
yâ－do ma－gát－ne
know－self NEG－must－NEG
＇I don＇t have to know．＇
The verb jo $b i \sim$ so bo＇give＇also has two different stems，but in this case the choice for one or the other stem depends on the recipient of the verb．The stem $\mathfrak{c}$ bo is used when something is given to a first or second person singular or plural recipient，e．g．$E(i)$ ）（o kasu－m bo

 used when something is given to a third person singular or plural re－ cipient，e．g． $\mathfrak{f})(\underset{\text { for }}{ }$ fo hudo－m bi＇give to him／her＇，fjëz jo huyú－m bi ＇give to them＇．

145 （ $\sqrt{2}$（N）

| Póng sare－nun cho | Páre | kasu－m | bo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| boy which－ABL book | this | 1s．OBL－DAT | give |


$\begin{array}{llll}\text { hudo－m } & \text { go } & \text { thyák } & \text { ma } \\ \text { 3s．OBL－DAT } & \text { 1S } & \text { recognise } & \text { AST }\end{array}$
＇The boy who gave me this book，I recognised him．＇


| hík | sót－shang | go | Pádo－m |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| chicken | kill－INF | 1s | 2s．obl－DAT |


bánkup bo－sho small．knife give－NPR
＇I＇ll give you a small knife to kill the chicken．＇
This pattern of stem alternation in Lepcha resembles the patterns of stem alternation in biactantial verbal agreement systems observed in other Tibeto－Burman languages．The Lepcha alternation is clearly triggered by the personal number of the＇patient＇or recipient，and in this pattern we see a vestige of a grammatical phenomenon of interest to the historical linguist．

## 5．2 Permission，ability，opportunity，exigency

To be allowed or permitted to do something is expressed by the modal verb 哫 kón＇let，allow＇，as in the following examples．

hudo－m Púng bín ma－kón
3S．OBL－DAT water give NEG－allow
＇Don＇t allow anyone to give him water．＇
148

go hudo－m Púng thóng kón
1s 3s．OBL－DAT water drink allow
＇I let him drink some water．＇
149 び方极续
huyú－m dyút kón
3P－DAT argue allow
＇Let them argue．＇
Example（150）gives the first line of a song that was fairly well－ known in the Kalimpong hills during the 1990s．


| lyáng | Páre-sá <br> land <br> this-GEN | fát <br> earth Páre-ká | dúngis-LOC |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | | dút |
| :--- |
| tradition |



```
káyú-sá mák ma-kón
1P-GEN die NEG-allow
'Our traditions of this land, on this soil, don't let them perish.'
```

The verb is ngún can be used as a main verb expressing the meaning 'become, happen, occur'. In addition to its use as a main verb, the verb 行ngún can also be used as a modal verb to express whether or not an action is seen as necessary, allowed, all right or as it should be. The verb may be used to express confirmation, affirmation or assent, like English 'OK'. Example (151) may also be translated by 'What's the matter?'.

shú ngún-nón
what become-RES
'What happened?'
152 2llacos jor ijin
Pádo-sá bri ngún-nón

2S.OBL-GEN marriage become-RES
'Did you get married?'

Páshúm-Yâshúm ngún-bám
fat-fat become-PRG
'He's getting fatter and fatter.'

káyú tabá nóng ngún-sho
1P up.there go become-NPR
'Is it OK if we go up there?'


```
so yu bá lyáng-ká nóng ma-ngún
rain descend when land-LOC go NEG-become
    'When it rains you should not go outside.'
```



| kasu-m | Pábi-do | ngún |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s.OBL-DAT | here-self | become |
| 'I'm comfortable right here.' |  |  |

To be able to do something in the sense of being in a position to do something or being physically capable of doing something is expressed by the modal verb $\mathcal{G}) k h u$ 'be able to'. The inflected stem of the verb $\mathcal{G})$ khu 'be able to' is $\overline{\mathcal{G}}$ khut.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Pâre hó rok ma-khu-n } \\
& \text { that } 2 \mathrm{~S} \text { read NEG-be.able-NEG } \\
& \text { 'Can't you read that?' }
\end{aligned}
$$

To be able to do something in the sense of knowing how to perform a certain task or activity is expressed by the verb $\tilde{\varepsilon} y \hat{a}$ 'know, know how to'. The verb $\tilde{\varepsilon} y \hat{a}$ is also used in the sense of knowing something, having knowledge about something being aware of something. The verb cir thyák 'recognise' is used in the sense of knowing someone or recognising who someone is.

shú mát-shang go ma-yâ-ne
what do-INF 1 s NEG-know-NEG
'What to do, I don't know.'

159
F) Bids
hu ma-thyák-ne
3s NEG-recognise-NEG
'I don't know him.'


$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { go róng-ríng } & y \hat{a}-w a ́ m ~ \\
\text { 1S } & \text { Lepcha-language } \\
& \text { know-PRG } \\
\text { 'I know Lepcha.' }
\end{array}
$$

The verb $\hat{\boldsymbol{c}}$ jel 'understand, know a language, speak a language', is used specifically when the speaker wants to express whether he does or does not speak or understand a language fluently, cf. examples (161) and (162).

go róng-ríng jel-bám
1S Lepcha-language understand-PRG
'I speak Lepcha.'

go Pádo-sá Páríng ma-jel-ne
1s 2S.OBL-GEN language NEG-understand-NEG
'I didn't understand what you said.'

go Pádo-sá Páríng ma-thyo-ne
1S 2S.OBL-GEN language NEG-hear-NEG
'I didn't hear what you said.'
The verb ©̃ gát 'must, need, require' expresses a need or desire, and is used as a modal of exigency. When the verb ©er gát is negated, it may express the sense of 'it isn't necessary', 'it isn't wanted' or 'don't want'.

lúk-hrong ngol-do lúk gát-sho
morning early-self get.up must-NPR
'I'll have to get up early in the morning.'

'We ought to know how to sing a song.'

bánkup Páre-do shúmátne gát-shang small.knife this-self why must-INF
'What do you need this knife for?'

### 5.3 Verbs 'to be'

The verbs in Lepcha which cover senses of English 'to be' are ( $\omega$ go and $\mathfrak{j \approx n y i ́ . ~ T h e ~ v e r b ~}(\omega$ go is used as an identity marker, to say that X is Y and so to express the identity or inherent quality of a person, entity or thing. Incidentally, the verb $\omega$ go is homophonous with the first person singular pronoun $(\omega$ go.

167

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Páre cho | go | ma |
| this book | be | AST |

168

'This is my house.'

hu nyúrpang go ma
3s deaf be AST
'He is deaf.'
The verb f₹ nyí covers the attributive, existential and locative senses of English 'to be'. The verb f₹ nyí may be used to ascribe a quality to someone or something, e.g. (170) and (173), to indicate the whereabouts of the subject of the sentence, e.g. (171), or in an exis-
tential sense to indicate the availability or presence of a person, commodity or thing, e.g. (172).


| vóm Pákrím nyí | ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| salt bitter be | bst |
| 'Salt is bitter.' |  |


kasu-sá lí manegombú-ká nyí ma 1S.OBL-GEN house Mane.Gomba-LOC be AST
'My house is in Mane Gomba.'


```
kasu-sá Pákup nyet nyí ma
1S.OBL-GEN child two be AST
    'I have two children.'
```


Pâre taPyu Pázuk nyí ma
this girl pretty be AST
'This girl is beautiful.'
The clause-final particle $\mathrm{z} m a$ (AST) is the assertive particle, which adds force to a statement. Historically, the assertive particle may derive from an earlier Tibeto-Burman 'to be'. The assertive particle $\overline{6}$ $m a$ can be translated into English as 'it is so', 'it is the case that'. The Lepcha particle would appear to be cognate with the Hayu assertive particle $-m$ and a copula reflected as a full verb in many Kiranti languages, the stem of which characteristically consists of an initial mwith some associated vowel (cf. van Driem 1990: 569, 1993: 168176, Kortlandt 1984: 182, Michailovsky 1988: 93, 190, 192-193). In questions, the assertive particle may be used as in example (176), which may be contrasted to the use of the clause-final interrogative particle $\kappa_{\omega}$ gó (Q) in sentence (177).
い

| go nám tarók thák－nón | ma |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1S year six | be．complete－RES | AST |
| ＇I am six years old．＇ |  |  |


ríp－sá Párí nyí ma flower－GEN scent be AST
＇The flower has a［strong］smell．＇

hó sabâ nóng－det gó

2 S where go－move Q
＇Where are you going？＇

hó sabâ nóng－det ma
2 S where go－move AST
＇Where is it that you are going？＇

The form（a）gum（be．AST）is understood to be a contracted form of the verb $\omega$ $\omega$ go＇be＇and the assertive particle $\quad$ т $m a$ ．

lyáng Páre róngkup bámlyáng gum land this Lepcha homeland be．AST
＇This land is the Lepcha homeland．＇

179

go tím－bú gum
1s big－FCT be．AST
＇I am the big one．＇

## 5．4 Negation

Negation of verbs is expressed by means of the negative prefix $\frac{\mathrm{ma}}{}$－ in combination with the negative suffix $9-n e$ ，e．g．（ 10 子快 go mazone
 fixes can be seen as a single discontinuous morpheme and are attached to the regular stem of the verb. When the stem of the verb is open, the negative suffix $Q$-ne may be shortened to $-n$, e.g. $\frac{\text { 万会 }}{}$ ma-nyí-n 'there isn't'.

hu Pábí sathálá ma-lát-ne
3 S here always NEG-return-NEG
'He never came here.'


| hó | ma-nóng-ne | gang | Pádom | bo | pú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s | NEG-go-NEG if | 2s.OBL | give | PSB |  |

The regular stem of verbs is used as the imperative. A negative imperative is formed by adding the negative prefix $\frac{\mathrm{ra}}{\mathrm{m}}$ - to the regu-
 fuss, don't worry', cf. (182). If the negative suffix $\Omega$-ne were used in
 sentence would not express a negative imperative but a negated preterite tense and could be translated as 'He did not sing, he did not speak.'

'Don't sing, don't speak!'

### 5.5 Gerund and the participle

A present gerund is expressed by adding the ending $\mathfrak{\wedge}$ ) -lung (GER) to the verb. When the ending $(\mathbb{N})$-lung (GER) is affixed to the verb, the resultant gerund expresses an activity which is simultaneous, concurrent or contemporaneous with the activity, situation or event denoted by the main verb of the sentence or syntagma. The subject of the main verb and the subject of the gerund in $\mathbf{N} \mathrm{N}$-lung are one and the same,
and the meaning of the suffix $\times \mathrm{N})$-lung is simultaneity with the action expressed by the main verb. The morpheme ، w ) -lung happens to be homophonous with a verb meaning 'spill, spill of liquids or grains, pour as water or rice'.

?ályú lík-lung thít-nón
cat call-GER reach-RES
'The cat arrived here caterwauling.'
$184(\mathrm{H} \cdot \mathrm{N})^{3} \mathrm{~F}(\mathrm{~N}$
zo-lung ngán le
eat-GER remain REQ
'Carry on eating, please'

hu-nun cho rok-lung Pázóm zo
3S-ABL book read-GER food eat
'He ate his food whilst reading a book.'
The participle is formed by adding the ending (以) -wung (PTC) to a verb, e.g. (186), (187). Used as a gerund, modifying a clause, the participle precedes the event denoted by the main verb, e.g (188). The ending (ल) -wung appears to have both a participial and a nominalising function, e.g. (187), (190). Older speakers of Lepcha point to a residual morphophonological pattern affecting the initial of (r) -wung, and claim the past participial ending is spelt (ल) -wung after verbs ending in a vowel, $-n g,-n,-m$ or $-l$, but $(\epsilon)-k u n g$ after verbs ending in $-k$, (e)-tung after verbs ending in $-t, v$-rung after verbs ending in $-r$, (J) -pung after verbs ending in -p, e.g. (189), (190).

186 Rixember zat
thyen-wung-sá Páring
laugh-PTC-GEN language
'funny language'



```
hudo-sá gyó zúk-kung-sá sung-pang
3S.OBL-GEN quarrel make-PTC-GEN story-PL.NH
```



```
káyú-sá thikúng Pábo-sang-nu Polóm
1P-GEN great.grandfather father-PL.H-ABL like.that
E(垖 采)
káyú-m dun
1P-DAT tell
'The stories of the quarrels he got into, our fathers and great-grandfathers told them to us like that.'
```


hó-lá Pálut mát-nu rok-kung ma-nyí-n-bú 2 S -also heart do-ABL read-PTC NEG-be-NEG-NOM
'You used not to study very attentively either.'

### 5.6 Infinitive

The infinitival ending is $₫$ e-shang (INF). Infinitives may function as the complement of a main verb. The infinitive indicates an action or situation as such.

káyú mák-shang sák ma-cíng 1P die-INF mind NEG-think
'We do not even think about dying.'
 Pázóm sathá zo-shang food when eat-INF
'When are we going to eat?'

go nóng-shang mát
1S go-INF do
'I acted as if I were going.'

thám vyet-shang Pájóm gum
thing ask-INF easy be.AST
'It's simple to ask a question.'
195

go shú yâ-shang
1s what know-INF
'What do I know?'
The infinitival ending $₫ \lll$-shang may also express intent or purpose, and could be translated as 'in order to'. In such cases, the infinitival ending ${ }_{\mathfrak{N}}$ shang is often, but not necessarily, reinforced with the locative suffix $\in(-k a ́$.

go lí pár-shang kóm tsung-bám
1s house buy-INF money save-PRG
'I am saving money to buy a house.'


| zo-shang-ká | Pázóm | gát-sho |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| eat-INF-LOC | food | must-NPR |

'In order to eat, there must be food.'

?átím ngún-shang zo-thóng-do gát big become-INF eat-drink-self must 'One must eat and drink in order to get big.'

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| go lí | drâm | khyâ-shang- | m |
| 1 s house | quick | arrive-INF-LO | n-P |

'I am running so that I will get home quickly.'

Pádo lí-ká thi-shang

2S.OBL house-LOC reach-INF
2
tatsât satet zok-shang
time how.much flow-INF
'How long will it take to get to your house?'

### 5.7 Aorist

The unmarked or zero form of the verb in Lepcha indicates a preterite tense, which denotes actions anterior to the speech moment without any inherent implication with regard to result or duration. The zero form of the verb may express just the transpiration of an event in past time, merely indicating that the situation took place at some point in the past. The zero form of the verb may also impose an inceptive reading of the situation, expressing that the situation has only just started to take place.

201

```
(cov)
so yu
rain descend
    'It rained.'
    'It's raining.' 'It has begun to rain.'
```

When used in the context of a narrative structure in colloquial speech, the unmarked form of the verb is used to express a sequence of events.

202


```
tasó go Dárjúlyáng nóng
yesterday 1S Darjeeling go
(WO) (RJO ،(G0 Nr
go-nu ?obi tshóng pár
1S-ABL there goods buy
(\omegaOO) (&) SÑE( M&}O)
go-nu Pore lí-ká blá-yú-nu
1S-ABL that home-LOC take-descend-ABL
E(w) Z(E)(## jo
kasu Páyu-do-m bi
1S.OBL wife-self-DAT give
# (\omegaO) f)** E)& fN
?ân go-nu hudo kâ-shang li
and 1S-ABL 3S.OBL cook-INF say
\forall)9)(&) E E E(&)O)(H
hu-nu Pore kâ Pân káyú-nu zo
3S-ABL that cook and 1P-ABL eat
```

'Yesterday I went to Darjeeling, I bought some things there, I brought them back home, gave them to my wife, and I told her to cook them, she cooked them and we ate them.'

## 5．8 Progressive tense

The progressive auxiliary verb ör bám（PRG）expresses that the situa－ tion denoted by the main verb is in effect or in progress．The progres－ sive auxiliary is used both with stative and with non－stative verbs，and is not restricted to dynamic verbs．When used as a main verb，ör bám means＇dwell，reside，be in or at a place＇．When the progressive auxil－ iary is attached to a verb stem ending in a vowel，the allomorphs pär －wám or ${ }_{\text {z }}$（－？ám may be used．

203 キ）（ヘ์Oั
hu lok－bám
3 s dance－PRG
＇She is dancing．＇
204

> kasu-sá Pámú-re jú-wám
> 1S.OBL-GEN mother-DEF live-PRG
＇My mother is［still］alive．＇
The verb $\begin{gathered}\text { 委 det＇move＇is used as a dynamic auxiliary with verbs of }\end{gathered}$ motion，e．g．（205）．In example sentence（206），the meanings of the dynamic and progressive auxiliaries are combined in a single form．

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| hu | nóng－det |
| 3s | go－move |

＇He is on his way．＇

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { hu nóng-det-bám ma } \\
& 3 \mathrm{~S} \text { go-move-PRG AST } \\
& \text { 'He is on his way.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 5．9 Non－preterite tense

A non－preterite tense may be signalled by adding the verbal ending $\mathfrak{c}_{\bullet}$ －sho（NPR）to the verb．The non－preterite tense is used to describe
situations which take place in the non-past, i.e. in the present or the future, e.g. (207) or to describe situations which are true in general, e.g. (208). Sentence (207) may express a future meaning, e.g. 'the boys will go to school', but if the speaker had wanted to express that the situation was in progress, it is likely that he would have used the
 'the boys are on their way to school'. The non-preterite tense marker ( $\in$ sho may be combined with other verbal endings or postpositions if this yields a semantically plausible meaning, viz. (209).

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ،(X)culv(f) } \\
& \text { Póng-sang cho rok-sho } \\
& \text { boy-PL.H book read-NPR } \\
& \text { 'The boys go to school.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

208

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { ME Crcorf } & \\
\text { hlo-ká } & \text { sozóng-sho } \\
\text { peak-LOC } & \text { be.cold-NPR }
\end{array}
$$

'It will be cold on the mountain peak.'


```
hlo-ká sozóng-sho lyók
peak-LOC be.cold-NPR IFR
```

'It will probably be cold on the mountain peak.'
The non-preterite tense may be used to describe a situation or activity which is taking place at the present time, an activity which the speaker is planning to perform, or an event or situation in that the speaker is certain or convinced will take place soon.

210

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (W) ÖEl donc } \\
& \text { go vấm-kát theng-sho } \\
& \text { 1S song-one sing-NPR } \\
& \text { 'I shall sing a song.' }
\end{aligned}
$$


go Pádo-m cho bo-sho
1 S 2S.OBL-DAT book give-NPR
'I'll give you the book.'

go punzók-ká nóng-sho
1 S forest-LOC go-NPR
'I will go to the forest.'
5.10 The factitive marker with verbs

When used with verbs, the factitive marker of -bú (FCT) conveys an imperfective meaning and indicates a state, a matter of fact or a situation as such. In other words, the Lepcha imperfective indicates whether an event has taken place or is taking place.

213

> ̈̈roz
> bám-bú
> dwell-FCT
'Are they staying?'
214

tú nóng-sho-bú
who go-NPR-FCT
'Who will be going?'
The factitive marker $\mathcal{O}$-bú can be seen as a single grammatical morpheme with a varying syntactic scope, acting mainly as a verbal marker indexing imperfective aspect and as a clause-final marker nominalising a syntagma (cf. Section 6.11). In all cases the meaning of the suffix is one of reification. The factitive marker $\mathfrak{o j}$-bú has close parallels in other languages of the Himalayas, where there often is a morpheme which both nominalises verbs and clauses and, when affixed to the main verb of a sentence, marks a type of imperfective aspectual meaning (cf. van Driem 1987: 193-199, 1993a: 190-197, 1993b, 2001: 654, Opgenort 2004: 244-246, Rutgers 1998: 231-263).
go-nu shi-bú só lát-bú maró 1S-ABL see-FCT yesterday return-FCT man
'I saw the man who returned yesterday.'

### 5.11 Aktionsart auxiliaries

Aktionsart auxiliaries add a semantic dimension to the meaning of the verb they modify. The four such auxiliaries discussed in this section also occur as main verbs.

### 5.11.1 The perfect auxiliary

The perfect auxiliary $\overline{\mathfrak{f}}$ ( hát (PRF), which occurs as a main verb in the meaning 'lose, leave behind', signals that the situation occurred sometime in the past and is still relevant. The perfect auxiliary $\overline{\mathfrak{y}}$ (hát (PRF) points to the relevance of a situation to the current moment, e.g. (217), rather than simply locating the situation at some point in the past, e.g. (216). Sentences in which the perfect auxiliary $\overline{\mathfrak{y}}$ (hát (PRF) is used are typically translated into English by using the English perfect, often accompanied by the relational adverbs 'already' or 'just'.


| go | Póng-re-m | kám | kóm | bi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 S | boy-DEF-DAT | little.bit | money | give |

'I gave the boy some money.'

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| go | ?óng-re-m | kám | kóm | bi-hát |
| 1 S | dog-DEF-DAT | little.bit | money | give-PRF |
| 'I have already given the boy some money.' |  |  |  |  |


go thi-wung-sá nahán hu zúk-hát
1S reach-PFG-GEN before 3 S make-PRF
'Before my arrival, he had already done it.'


```
saróng-sá so-nu kasu-sá nyót lók-hát
today-GEN rain-ABL 1S.OBL-GEN field damage-PRF
    'Today's rain has damaged our field.'
```

220


### 5.11.2 The resultative auxiliary

The resultative auxiliary $\mathfrak{\AA}$ nón (RES), which appears to be derived from the verb ، $\sqrt[\mathfrak{T}]{ }$ nóng 'go', signals that a state or an event exists as a result of a transition in the past. The resultative auxiliary stresses the result or outcome of the situation denoted by the main verb and implies an absolute transition. When the resultative auxiliary is used with verbs of motion, the meaning added by the auxiliary can literally be understood as 'getting into motion' in order to perform the action denoted by the main verb.

221
\&) (rٌo
mák-nón
die-RES
'He died.'


```
go-nu myón-nón hó shú li
1S-ABL forget-RES 2S what say
    'I forgot what you said.'
```


tungvyeng thok-nón tú-nu thok
door close-RES who-ABL close
'The door is closed, who closed it?'

### 5.11.3 The exhaustive auxiliary

The exhaustive auxiliary (o tho (EXH) indicates that an activity or action has come to an end. This auxiliary focuses on the termination of the event. The form (o tho is also used as a main verb 'put'.

go-nun-do cho Páre rok-tho ma 1S-ABL-self book this read-EXH AST
'I read this book myself.'
225
Pázóm Páre tú-nu zo-hát-tho
rice this who-ABL eat-PRF-EXH
'Who has eaten this rice?'

Although a construction containing the resultative auxiliary $\mathfrak{\mathfrak { \circ }}$ nón also implies termination, the resultative auxiliary $\mathfrak{\circ}$ nón focuses on a transition in the past. By contrast, the exhaustive auxiliary io tho expresses the thorough enactment or performance of the activity or situation denoted by the verb. The action has been performed thoroughly, or the situation has been effectuated exhaustively. The suffixes $\mathfrak{\kappa}^{\circ}$ nón and $\mathfrak{c}$ tho are sometimes used in combination.

226 そ) 3 )
huyú thi-nón
3P reach-RES
'Did they arrive?'
227 -
thi-nón-tho
reach-RES-EXH
'They arrived.'
228

> tasó-do lát-nón-tho
> yesterday-self return-RES-EXH
> 'They returned yesterday.'

### 5.11.4 The completive auxiliary

The completive auxiliary ̂̂lel (CMP), also used as a main verb 'complete' indicates that an activity is completed or fulfilled. The completive auxiliary specifies that the event described by the main verb is carried out to completion.

kâ-sám-nun Pyók Páre zúk-nu lel-ká P1-three-ABL work this make-ABL complete-LOC
'Let us three finish this work.'

Pázóm zo-lel-nu rok
rice eat-CMP-ABL read
'After you have eaten your food, go and study.'

go mák-lel-nu tagrikup Páre-nu shú mát te 1s die-CMP-ABL boy this-ABL what do DUB 'What will this boy do after I die?'

232

> go-nun-do cho Páre rok-lel-hát
> 1S-ABL-self book this read-CMP-PRF
> 'I read the whole book myself.'

### 5.12 The locative suffix with verbs

When the locative suffix $E(-k a ́$ is attached to a verb it may fulfil one of two different functions, i.e. a supine or an adhortative function. When the locative suffix marks the verbal complement of a main verb, it fulfils a supine function. When the locative suffix marks the main verb of a syntagma, it fulfils an adhortative function. The core meaning of the locative morpheme remains the same.

The supine expresses the sense 'in order to' and is attached to a verb by which it becomes the verbal complement, denoting a situation towards which the activity denoted by the main verb is directed. Su-
pine forms marked by the locative suffix Ec-ká may appear as the complements of verbs of motion as well as of other verbs.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hu | Pádo-m | ngâk-ká | thi |  |
| 3s | 2S.OBL-DAT | look-LOC | reach |  |
| 'He came to see you.' |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | cho rok-sh | n-ká yânthor | ó-ká | nóng |
|  | book read-In | -LOC scho | l-LOC | go |

The second function of the locative morpheme $E(-k a ́$ in combination with a verb is an adhortative function. The adhortative meaning of a main verb marked by the locative suffix $E \subset-k a ́$ is the result of the fundamental locative meaning of the suffix interacting with the highest syntactic node in the syntagma, thus expressing the goal towards which the entire event structure is directed. The supine verbs serve as complements of the main verb of a syntagma, whereas adhortative forms in El-ká serve as main verbs themselves.

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hudo-sá | lí-ká | nóng-ká |
| 3s.OBL-GEN | house-LOC | go-LOC |

'Let's go to his house.'

vâm ma-theng-ká hu dá-nyí-wám
song NEG-sing-LOC 3 S rest-be-PRG
'Let's not sing, he is resting.'

### 5.13 The ablative suffix with verbs

A verb marked by the ablative suffix $\mathfrak{\rho}) \sim \Omega)-n u n \sim-n u$ expresses a situation which serves as the source of the action denoted by the main verb. However, the meaning expressed by the ablative suffix is not so much a matter of cause as it is of point of origin.

'If you open your eyes and look, you will see it all.'

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| shúmú-re | Págyáp | zo-nu |
|  | much | eat-ABL be.ill-PRG |

'The man fell ill after he ate too much.'


nóng-nu-re go-nu sút dun-shang myón-nón
go-ABL-DEF $1 \mathrm{~S}-\mathrm{ABL}$ message tell-INF forget-RES
'Because you left my house early yesterday, I forgot to give you the message.'

In what may be described as an ergative function, $\mathfrak{\rho j} \sim \sim$ ) $-n u n \sim$ -nu tends to be suffixed to the agent of transitive verbs or the 'transitive subject', particularly in preterite time. A discussion on ergativity in Lepcha may shed more light on the meaning of the Lepcha ablative category.

Ergativity in Lepcha is manifested by the behaviour and meaning of the suffix $ค \mathfrak{\rho}) \sim \rho$ ) -nun $\sim-n u$ when attached to the agentive argu-
 works quite differently than a classic ergative. Lepcha $\mathfrak{\Omega}) \sim$ ~ $-n u$ is used when an animate agent and an animate patient are linked by a transitive verb to make clear who is doing what to whom. The suffix $\mathfrak{\wp j}) \sim$ ~ $)$-nun $\sim-n u$ is also used to highlight the agentive character of an animate entity which acts as the agent of an activity, whether this be transitive or intransitive. Lepcha $\mathfrak{\rho}) \sim \rho_{j}-n u n \sim-n u$ likewise marks the instrument whereby an activity is performed or may indicate the cause of an activity or state. In an ergative function, Lepcha

ค) ~ ค) -nun $\sim-n u$ is more likely to occur when the verb is transitive and, when the subject is animate because in these cases the agentive character of the subject is either more obvious or more pronounced.

kajū-nun ${ }^{\wedge}$ Póng-re-m tsúk ma
dog-ABL boy-DEF-DAT bite AST
'The dog bit the boy.'
 go-nu tasó
$1 \mathrm{~S}-\mathrm{ABL}$ yesterday
Pyók ma-zúk-ne
work NEG-make-NEG
'Yesterday I did not do any work.'


```
go-nu hudo-sá taशyukup-re-m buk-hát
1S-ABL 3S.OBL-GEN daughter-DEF-DAT hit-PRF
'I hit his daughter.'
```



```
hudo-sá taYyukup-nu kasu-m
3S.OBL-GEN daughter-ABL 1S.OBL-DAT
```

ar ó ${ }^{6}$
lá buk ma
also hit AST
'His daughter hit me too.'
The occurrence of the Lepcha ending $\left.\mathfrak{\rho}^{j} \sim \infty\right)-n u n \sim-n u$ cannot be described by a mechanical rule. In many respects, the factors motivating the use of Lepcha $\mathfrak{\rho}) \sim$ ~ - nun $\sim-n u$ in an ergative sense resemble the semantic considerations which determine the use or non-use of the ergative suffix in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998). For example, the ergative suffix is also more likely to occur in the past tense because the agentive meaning of the Lepcha ergative is more likely to be appropriate in contexts where the activity expressed has already actually taken place. In both Dzongkha and Lepcha, it appears that this phenomenon has to do with the widespread tendency in ergative lan-
guages to conceptualise an already performed transitive act as being more transitive than a transitive act which has not yet been completed. The meaning of the morpheme $\mathfrak{\rho}) \sim \mathfrak{\rho}^{\circ}-n u n \sim-n u$ in an ergative sense is entirely a matter of highlighting the agentivity of an actant which, in most cases, happens to be the subject of the sentence. As in Dzongkha, the factors which induce the use of ergative case marking in Lepcha are volition on the part of the subject, the degree of control which the subject has over the event denoted by the verb, the animacy of the subject and the transitivity and completedness of the event denoted by the verb.

## CHAPTER SIX

## CLAUSE-FINAL PARTICLES, COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

Several clause-final particles are used in Lepcha to express the mood or emotional attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying. The clause-final interrogative particle ๙ $\begin{gathered} \\ g\end{gathered}$ ( Q ) and the assertive particle б $m a$ (AST) have been discussed above in Sections 4.3.3 and 5.3 respectively. The adhortative function of the locative suffix El -ká (LOC) when suffixed to a clause has been discussed in Sections 4.7 and 5.12. This chapter deals with several clause-final particles marking attitudes such as doubt, certainty, likelihood and discovery. This chapter also briefly discusses coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Subordination of clauses by means of the factitive marker $0 \mathcal{O}$-bú (FCT) is a common phenomenon in Lepcha.

### 6.1 The request particle

The particle $v l e$ (REQ) expresses a polite request and is used when a person wishes to express reassurance towards the addressee or request the addressee to do something.

244 arorifn
Pábá di le
here come REQ
'Could you come here please.'
245 首员 EU
yupthen-kât sóm le
moment-one breathe REQ
'Do catch your breath for a minute.'

### 6.2 The authorative particle

The particle $q$ ce (AUTH) expresses authority on the part of the speaker and is used to request or urge the addressee to do something. The authorative particle may be related to the noun $\mathcal{Z}$ (., ? 'áce 'love'.

?ábi thop pú dóng ce here get PSB search AUTH
'You may find it over here, have a look.'

lín-bú ’áríng nyen ce
say-FCT language listen AUTH
'Just listen to what is said.'

### 6.3 The dubitative particle

The clause-final particle $\underset{\sim}{ }$ te, glossed as [DUB] for 'dubitative', indicates doubt, uncertainty or even confusion about the precise nature or result of an event. The context of example (248) is that the speaker is looking for something that the addressee put away. The speaker cannot find the object that he is looking for and rather than simply saying $\mathfrak{F}$ wor (bv̄( hó sabá tho hát 'where did you put it', he stresses his uncertainty about being able to locate the object.

248


249
( $\omega$ ( 10 OT)
go nóng khut te
1 S go be.able DUB
'Could I perhaps go?'


```
lyángsóng sabá nóng te
Lyángsóng where go DUB
```

'Where did Lyángsóng go?'

### 6.4 The possibility particle

The clause-final particle $\mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{y}$ pú (PSB) expresses a hypothetical possibility.

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lyángsóng sabá | nóng | pú |
| Lyángsóng where | go | PSB |

Where could Lyángsóng have gone?


```
saróng-re Pádo-sá lyáng thít khut pú
today-DEF 2S.OBL-GEN land reach be.able PSB
```

'Today we might be able to reach your place.'
In example (249), the speaker expresses doubt or uncertainty in that he is unsure whether he himself would be the best person to undertake the journey or task. In (253), the speaker points out that he is a possible candidate for the job.

253

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { go nóng khut pú } \\
& \text { 1s go be.able PSB } \\
& \text { 'I could go.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.5 The inferential particle

Inference or assumption is expressed by the morpheme which can also be used as a main verb meaning 'resemble, look like', e.g. (257). When the speaker of example (254) noted that the addressee had only just come back after a long journey, she inferred that
the addressee was probably tired．The addressee did not look particu－ larly tired，nor was there any other evidence for her assumption．

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hó | saróng－do | lát－nón－tho | pá |
| 2 S | today－self | return－RES－EXH | CRT |

た
hó pel－nón lyók
2 S be．tired－RES IFR
＇You just came back today！You must be tired．＇
255
ヌ（
Pádo－m lí lát－shang Pákán

2S．OBL－DAT house return－INF hurry

Pátím nyí lyók
big be IFR
＇You＇re probably in a hurry to get home．＇
In example（255），literally＇it looks like there is a great hurry to get home unto you＇，the speaker assumes or infers that the addressee is likely to be in a great hurry．She could also have said Pádom lí látshang Pákán Pátím nyí，＇you are in a great hurry to get home＇，but this would have been tantamount to accusing the addressee of behav－ ing impolitely by being in such a hurry．By using the ending $\underset{\text { 爪i，lyók，}}{\text { l }}$ she is being polite，and the message she is conveying is something like：＇You must be in a great hurry to get home，I can see that you would be，I can＇t blame you，anyone would be in a hurry under these circumstances，there is nothing in your behaviour that shows it，but it is just something that is to be expected under these circumstances＇．

The context of example（256）is that the speaker＇s mother was away visiting friends in a neighbouring village．Since there had re－ cently been a death in the family，the speaker thought it likely that his mother would return home as soon as possible．

| Eajuarar |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| asu-sá | ?ámú | lúk | $o$ |
| 1S.OBL-GEN | mother | tomorrow | return-NPR |

'My mother is probably coming back tomorrow.'
so yu-sho lyók-bám
rain descend-NPR resemble-PRG
'It looks like it's going to rain.'

### 6.6 The certainty particle

The meaning of the particle $\mathfrak{I r}$ pá (CRT) combines an element of direct perception or direct observation with an element of certainty. It describes a conviction on the part of the speaker with respect to the situation described. There is also an element of proof, direct observation or control. The information does not have to be new or unexpected, although it may be.

hík-nu Pátí tho-hát pá
chicken-ABL egg put-PRF CRT
'The chicken has [just] laid an egg.'
259

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ríp | ?ăre-re | Pázuk | pá |
| flower | this-DEF | pretty | CRT |

'This flower is beautiful.'
In example (260), the speaker has observed that the man about whom he has been talking has aged a lot. He speaks about it with certainty and is trying to convince the addressee of this fact.

260

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| shúmú man | ?áre-re this-DEF | $\begin{aligned} & \text { gán-nón-tho } \\ & \text { old-RES-EXH } \end{aligned}$ |

### 6.7 The discovery particle

The particle $\tilde{\tilde{z}}$ or yâmbá (DSC) marks information that the speaker has come to know and consists of the inflected verb stem $\tilde{\tilde{\varepsilon}}$ yâm of the verb $\mathfrak{\xi} y \hat{a}$ 'know' and the postposition or $b a ́$ 'when'. The discovery marker $\tilde{\tilde{z}}$ or yâmbá may refer to all sorts of information that the speaker has come to know, whether acquired indirectly, through inference, based on direct evidence, by observable results or by general knowledge. There is also an extension of the meaning that could be called 'mirative'. The particle $\overline{\tilde{z}}$ or yâmbá may indicate that the situation denoted was contrary to expectation, though not necessarily sudden, arresting or surprising. Sentence (261) implies that the speaker has not seen the man in question for quite some time but that he has come to know that the man is quite old now.


```
shuumú ?áre-re gán-nón-tho yâmbá
man this-DEF old-RES-EXH DSC
```

'This man should be very old now.'
The context of example (262) is that the speaker went over to a certain place to find out what was happening to a friend who had been taken seriously ill. He then either heard or inferred that his friend had died. In example (263), the certainty particle $\mathfrak{I r} p a ́$ is used whereby the speaker points out that he has acquired direct and personal evidence for the described event. He may have entered the house only to find his friend had died, so that he practically witnessed the event. By virtue of its mirative sense, the marker $\tilde{\tilde{z}}$ or yâmbá is also employed to focus the listener's attention to crucial points in a narrative.

262

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { go nóng-bá-re hu mák-nón-tho yâmbá } \\
& \text { 1s go-when-DEF 3S die-RES-EXH DSC }
\end{aligned}
$$

'When I went over there, I gathered that he had already died.'


```
go nông-bá-re hu mák-nón-tho pá
1S go-when-DEF 3S die-RES-EXH CRT
```

'When I went over there, it turned out that he was already dead.'

### 6.8 The reported speech particles

Something that was said by someone else may be marked by the phrase tre mere (REP). This marker is used to indicate that the information did not come to the speaker's knowledge through direct information or through inference, but rather by word of mouth. This particle is highly reminiscent of the Nepali reported speech particle re and the Limbu reported speech particle $m u$. The meaning expressed by this particle is not just a purely reportative marker, in that it adds a meaning of 's/he says' to the reported information, as in $\mathscr{O H} \in$ shúshú mere 'what was that?', 'what did you just say?'. When a speaker chooses to use the reportative particle mere, this highlights the fact that the information is based on something someone said, and there is an undertone that suggests that the speaker cannot necessarily vouch for the information or is unsure whether the information is necessarily accurate.


$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { káyú lyáng } & \text { lúk’ál } & \text { zóm-ká } \\
\text { 1P } & \text { land } & \text { tomorrow }
\end{array} \text { food-LOC }
$$


tú-tú ${ }^{\text {Mát-shet mere }}$
who-who return-NOM REP
'Who did they say are coming back to dine with us tomorrow?'

Pâre-zang Páshúm shúmú lá
this-like fat man also

```
(&5 O) 6 (%) 5
Pore bun ma-khu-n mere
that carry NEG-be.able-NEG REP
```

'Such a heavy fellow, and yet he claims he cannot carry that load'.

The quotative particle of yang 'thus' marks a direct quote. This particle is placed at the end of the quoted statement and often fol-


hudo-sá lí-re Pábi yang hu-nun li
3S.OBL-GEN house-DEF here thus 3S-ABL say
'His house is here, he said.'

huyú-nu li-bá hu lúk?ál lát-sho yang
3P-ABL say-when 3 S tomorrow return-NPR thus
'They said that he will return tomorrow.'

hu-nun huyú-m kasu Pámlem Pík sathálá
3S-ABL 3P-DAT 1S.OBL face still always

ma-ngâk-ne yang li ma
NEG-look-NEG thus say AST
'He said that they had never seen my face before.'

### 6.9 Coordination

The coordinative suffix $\tilde{\mathbb{Z}}$ Pân 'and' coordinates arguments. This suffix connects two or more elements of a sentence, such as noun phrases, verb phrases or independent clauses.

punzók thámcâng Pân lí thámcâng
forest animal and house animal

砋
ma－dúk－ne
NEG－be．alike－NEG
＇The animals in the forest and the animals in the house are not alike．＇

dorji lí－ká nóng ma Pân go Pábá lát ma Dorji house－LOC go AST and 1 here return AST
＇Dorji went home and I came back here．＇

|  | 等 6 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hó | Pábá hro | Pân |
| 2 S | here come．up | and |


Pádo－m róng－díng－sho
2S．OBL－DAT wait－stand－NPR
＇You climb up there and I will stand here and wait for you．＇

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nyíma | Pân kursóng | faleng |
| Nyima | and Kursóng | young．boy |

```
（ธ゙N（W）
nómleng gum
young．girl be．AST
```

＇Nyima and Kursóng are a boy and a girl．＇
The alternative conjunction ،ép yángne＇or，either＇indicates that an alternative exists，e．g．（273）．In the sense of＇either ．．．or ．．．＇，the
conjunction ،a@ yángne 'or, either' precedes both the first and the second alternative, e.g. (274).

hó yángne go nóng gát-sho
2s or 1 S go must-NPR
'You or I will have to go.'

274

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { hó yángne ?âre yángne Pore lyâ } \\
& 2 \mathrm{~S} \text { or this or that accept } \\
& \text { 'You'll have to accept either this or that.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

The adversative conjunction ©ex ren shenlá 'but' expresses a contrast or opposition of some kind between two propositions.


|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sukdum-ká nyí-tho-bú |  | róng-kyóng |  | sabálá |
| world-LOC | be-EXH-FCT | Lepcha-vil |  | everywhere |
| E(G3D) (8) Me |  |  |  |  |
| kayú-nun | Pore shi | ma-thop-ne | shenlá |  |
| 1P-ABL | this see | NEG-get-NEG |  |  |
| (85) \% 8urn |  |  |  |  |
| Pore-zang | Pálóng Páb | bá káyú-nun | shím | thop |
| this-like | now here | e 1P-ABL | see-g |  |

'In all the Lepcha villages in the world we don't find any, but if we look around over here we will find some.'

### 6.10 Subordination

Subordinating conjunctions introduce dependent clauses and indicate the nature of the relationship between the independent clause and the dependent clause. The conditional conjunction $\omega$ gang 'if' is added to the clause specifying the condition.

277

280

hó lúk?ál trókchi lyók

2S tomorrow be.thankful IFR
'If you take this medicine, you'll thank me in the morning.'

When the conditional conjunction $\%$ gang is combined with the morpheme ar lá 'also, even', the combination expresses the meaning 'even if'.

hó hryóp-pung Pân mák-kung gang-lá

taPyu Páre ma-thop-ne
girl this NEG-get-NEG
'Even if you cry or die, you won't get this girl.'
Another subordinating conjunction is the concessive conjunction rarjour gorúnglá 'although, even', which is added to the end of the concessive clause.

282

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { go-nu shúlâ ma-mát-ne gorúnglá } \\
& \text { 1S-ABL everything NEG-do-NEG even }
\end{aligned}
$$

> hu-nu kasu-m buk
> 3S-ABL 1s.obl-DAT hit
'Even though I did not do anything, he hit me.'
When the concessive conjunction is added to interrogative pronouns such as $\mathfrak{Z}$ tú 'who', © $\mathfrak{H}$ shú 'what', wot sare 'which', wor sabá 'where', 唈 satet 'how much', this process yields forms indicating any of all possible persons, things or places. This yields the forms $\mathbb{\Sigma} 3$

 gorúnglá 'wheresoever, in any place whatsoever'. Similar expressions consist of the same interrogative pronouns combined with the phrase
 ganglá 'whatever', (w, ๗wnr sare ganglá 'whichever', wor ownr sabá ganglá 'wherever'. As with the corresponding forms in $\mathfrak{N r}$-lá (cf. Section 4.3.3), forms in ( $\omega \times$ ₹ 3 Nr gorúnglá can be used with a negative
verb to yield emphatic negative meanings such as 'none whatsoever', 'nobody at all', etc.

### 6.11 The factitive marker

The factitive marker $\mathcal{O}$-bú (FCT) is the most important nominaliser in Lepcha. The factitive marker of -bú (FCT) nominalises verbs as well as clauses, and these nominalised constituents serve as adnominal attributes or as subordinated clauses. The meaning of the factitive marker $0 \mathcal{O}$-bú has been discussed in Section 5.10 and examples of the factitive marker used with numerals have been given in Section 4.11. When a nominalised verb or clause functions as a nominal head it can be pluralised and take case endings if the result is semantically plausible.
 go-nu tasó zúk-tho-bú Pyok shi-hát 1S-ABL yesterday make-EXH-FCT work see-PRF
'Did you see the work I did yesterday?'

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| bun ma-khut-ne-bú | Pádók |
| carry NEG-be.able-NEG-FCT | pain |
| 'unbearable pain' |  |

Pádo-nu pi-tho-bú yuk Páre-do gum 2S.OBL-ABL write-EXH-FCT letter this-self be.AST
'This is the letter you wrote.'
 dok-bám-bú bík-re kúng sagrám-ká bám nyí be.ill-PRG-FCT cow-DEF tree below-LOC dwell be
'The cow that's ill is lying under the tree.'

Potet-bek-ká
that.much-middle-LOC
yók-bík dók-bú-sang-nun
yak-cow keep-FCT-PL.H-ABL

Págyáp yók-bík-pang ryák-lung
much yak-cow-PL.NH follow-GER

ITAE , NJ) $=$ FÖ
pe-zót-ká lúngdi-det-bám
grass-graze-LOC bring-move-PRG
'In the midst of all this, whilst the herders of the yaks and cows were chasing a lot of yaks and cows, he brought it to the pasture.'

## TEXT ONE

## THE MOUNTAIN DEVIL







又 ( )














々














 ElE ( $\mathfrak{Z}$ (N)





























| (15) myók | lâ | saróng | kasu-sá | ló-bú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (15) son.in.law | hey | today | 1s.OBL-GEN | wage-FCT |


| nyí-wám | kasu-m | bi | Pázóm | gát | me | li |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be-PRG | 1S.OBL-DAT | curry | rice | must that | say |  |


| gang | saka | savíng | shángdri-ká | thík-nu | tungvyeng-ká <br> if |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| deer | stag | twig-LOC | tie-ABL | door-LOC |  |


| thi-nu | thík-tho | bi-sho | (16) me | yang-sá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| reach-ABL | tie-EXH | give-NPR | (16) that | thus-GEN |


| sung | káyú-sá | Pábo | bojo-sang-nu | Rolom |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| story | 1P-GEN | father | grandfather-PL.H-ABL | like.that |


| dun | (17) shenlá | taPyukup | Pálóng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tell | (17) but | daughter | now |


| hlomúng-nu | lúngnóng-bú-ká | Pámú-re | Pálóng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mountain.devil-ABL | take-FCT-LOC | mother-DEF | now |


| taPyukup | thál-thál | tsum-ká | nóng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| daughter | up.above-up.above | meet-LOC | go |


| (18) lyáng-nu-re | hlomúng-nu-re | ?ore-zang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (18) place-ABL-DEF | mountain.devil-ABL-DEF | that-like |


| ma-gát-ne-re | hu-nu | lát-nóng-nu-re <br> NEG-must-NEG-DEF |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3s-ABL |  |  |
| return-go-ABL-DEF |  |  |


| taPyukup-re-do-m | kúngbóng-nu <br> daughter-DEF-self-DAT | lúngnóng-nu <br> tree.stump-ABL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| take-ABL |  |  |

laháp-ká tho (19) laháp-ká lá tsum-nóng-nu-re
cave-LOC put (19) cave-LOC also meet-go-ABL-DEF


| Páre | hlomúng-nu | lúngnóng-sá | sung (24) lavo |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this | mountain.devil-ABL | take-GEN | story | (24) month |


| kakyók-ká | dóng-bám | dóng-bám-nu | lá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| seven-LOC | search-PRG | search-PRG-ABL | also |


| thop-pung-sá | sung | nyí | (25) dóng-lung-bá-re | kúng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| get-PTC-GEN | story | be | (25) search-GER-when-DEF | tree |


| Pátímmú | Páre | samálkúng | Pátím-sá | Pyók-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| big | this | toon.tree | big-GEN | work-LOC |


| tabá | ngán-nyí | mere | (26) ngán-nyí-bá-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| up.there | remain-be | REP | (26) remain-be-when-DEF |


| hudo-sá | dumdem | bám-bú | dum-pang | lá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3S.OBL-GEN | dumdem | dwell-FCT | clothes-PL.NH | also |


| gun | dumprá-pang | lá | gun | hrík-nón-tho | mere |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| all | dumprá-PL.NH | also | all | tear-RES-EXH | REP |


| (27) hudo-m-re | tabá | shúmú-sang | róng-sang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (27) 3S.OBL-DAT-DEF | up.there | man-PL.H | Lepcha-PL.H |


| nóng-nu | tabá-do | tukpo-sá | dám-nu | hu-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| go-ABL | up.there-self | rope-with | tie-ABL | $3 S-D E F$ |

tít-sho mere (28) tado numnu-zang-do-m
flee-NPR REP (28) 3S.OBL brothers-like-self-DAT

| shi | bá | hudo-m | tsám-dám-nu | tabá-nu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| see | when | 3S.OBL-DAT | hold-tie-ABL | up.there-ABL |


| mebá | lá | glet-nu | lí-ká | blá-thi-nu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| there.below | also | drop-ABL | house-LOC | take-reach-ABL |



| chó-nu <br> unite-ABL | (33) bojo <br> (33) grandfather | hu-re <br> 3s-DEF | ?álong-re <br> now-DEF |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hu-nu | bri | mát-nu-re | (34) káyú-sá |
| 3S-ABL | marriage | do-ABL-DEF <br> (34) 1P-GEN |  |


| Rábo-sang | gek-bú | yang-sá | sung | Rolom |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| father-PL.H | be.born-FCT | thus-GEN | story | like.that |


| nyí | (35) Ráre | hlomúng-sá | sung |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be | (35) this | mountain.devil-GEN | story |



| hlomúng | dóng-ká | Rábá-bá | thi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mountain.devil | search-LOC | here-when | reach |


| sabá-sabá | dóng | (37) go | sákcíng-bá-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| where-where | search | (37) 1s | think-when-DEF |


| dóng-bú-sang-nu | róng-sang-do-m-re | lúng-nu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| search-FCT-PL.H-ABL | Lepcha-PL.H-self-DAT-DEF | take-ABL |

nóng go-re tsum khut-sho lyók nóng go

| sákcíng | (38) cálóng | cá | dá | sherbú-sang-do-m |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| think | (38) just.now | just | sleep | Sherpa-PL.H-self-DAT |


| lúngnóng-nu-re | cálong | cá | dá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| take-ABL-DEF | just.now | just | sleep |


| tsum | ma-khu-n | nóng | ma-khu-n-bám |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| meet | NEG-be.able-NEG | go | NEG-be.able-NEG-PRG |


| shenlá | róng-sang-do-m | lúng-ne | nóng | go-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| but | Lepcha-PL.H-self-DAT | take-ABL | go | be-DEF |


| tsum | khut-sho | lyók | (39) shúmátnu | go | jen |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| meet | can-NPR | IFR | (39) why | be | other |


| (40) róng-sang-dep-re | róng-sang-nu | lín-bú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (40) Lepcha-PL.H-together-DEF | Lepcha-PL.H-ABL | say-FCT |


| Páríng | lá | hu | thyo-wung-sá | sung | kám |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| language | also | 3 S | hear-PTC-GEN | story | little.bit |

cá

just \begin{tabular}{llll}
sung-nu-re <br>
story-ABL-DEF

$\quad$

káyú <br>
1 P

$\quad$

Rolom <br>
like.that

$\quad$

kám <br>
little.bit
\end{tabular}

| dóng-ká | lúng-nóng | go-re | thop-sho | lyók |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| search-LOC | take-go | be-DEF | get-NPR | IFR |

(42) cálóng-nu nám pacák khá-nyet-zang
(42) just.now-ABL year almost score-two-like

| thák-nón | (43) kasu | lyáng-re | sadermi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be.complete-RES | (43) 1S.OBL | land-DEF | gun |


| nyí-wám-bú | go-re | Rolom | punzók-ká | saka |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be-PRG-FCT | be-DEF | like.that | jungle-LOC | deer |


| shú | mân | dryák-ká | nong-bá | (44) Rotshóng-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| what | meat | pursue-LOC | go-when | (44) that.day-DEF |


| go | ma-nóng | kasu-sá | tyól-re | nóng-bú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1S | NEG-go | 1S.OBL-GEN | friend-DEF | go-FCT |

róng-do (45) hu-nu nóng-nu Páre Rore-zang

| shúmú | shi | Páre | Pore | Pálóng | hlomúng | pú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | see | this | that | now | mountain.devil | PSB |


| bá | shi-wung | pú | shenlá | pung-nu | míl |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| when | see-PTC | PSB | but | mound-ABL | down |


| kát?áp | shim-bú | hu-nu | pung-nu | thál |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| alone | see-FCT | $3 \mathrm{~S}-\mathrm{ABL}$ | mound-ABL | up.above |


| hu-nu | shi | ma-khu-n | (46) Ráre | shúmátnu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3S-ABL | see | NEG-be.able-NEG | (46) this | why |


| go | jen | (47) Râlóng | langklyók-nu-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be | other | (47) now | big.flat.stone-ABL-DEF |

tyóng-hát-nu-re hu-nu pung-nu míl hide-PRF-ABL-DEF 3S-ABL mound-ABL down

| shi-bá-re | Páthóng | Pakâ-pang | Rámel | Pátím |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| see-when-DEF | leg | hand-PL.NH | hair | big |


| (48) lá | salom | mát-sho | gang | sakakup-kát |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (48) also | how | do-NPR | if | young.deer-one |






```
sâm-ká nyí-wám
mind-LOC be-PRG
```

(1) First of all, I will tell you what we call a devil. (2) We Lepchas speak of a devil when our bodies have been struck by illness, when we die, we say that a devil has eaten us. (3) But there is also something else that we call a devil. (4) When something has the ability to do something, when something can make itself disappear, what we can see one moment, but can't see the next moment, we also call that a devil. (5) Hlo means mountain, múng means devil, it lives in the mountains. (6) It is a devil, so we call it devil of the mountains. (7) The Mountain Devil is very friendly to us Lepchas. (8) Our forefathers passed stories of the Mountain Devil on to us. (9) There is even talk about someone in our own clan, the Támsángmú, having once even been married to the Mountain Devil. (10) My parents told me this, I am 74 years old now. (11) My grandfather told me that my great-grandfather's own aunt was taken away by the Mountain Devil and held by it on a tree stump. (12) She was her mother's only daughter and she was taken away. (13) It is said that during the time that she was held captive by the Mountain Devil, it would do any work for them that it could. (14) "Hey, son-in-law, today there is some work to be done in my house. The wooden pillars have to be put up. Give us a hand." If they would say something like that, the Mountain Devil would come at night and put up the wooden pillars. (15) If they would say: "Hey, son-in-law, today a paid worker is coming, I need some rice and curry," it would catch a deer and a stag and tie these to the door. (16) My grandparents told us stories like that. (17) Yet, the Mountain Devil had taken away their daughter. So the mother went all the way up to see her daughter. (18) The Mountain Devil didn't want that. So it took the daughter away from the tree stump and put her in a cave. (19) She also went to the cave to see her daughter. (20) The story goes that it had taken her away from the cave into a tunnel and blocked the opening of the cave with a stone. "Now my daughter is dead," the mother said and took home the severed finger that she found there. (21) My father's forefathers told us these stories about quarrels with the Mountain Devil. (22) Later, my grandfather, my
own grandfather, his name was Pingke. (23) When he was 18 years old, that same year, he was taken away by this Mountain Devil. This is another story. (24) It is said that they searched and searched for seven months before he was found. (25) While they were searching, he is supposed to have been sitting on top of a very big tree, a toon tree. (26) He was sitting up there, and all of his clothes were torn to bits. (27) Some people, some Lepchas, climbed up there to tie a rope around him, but it is said that he got away. (28) But when he saw his own brothers climbing up there in order to tie him down, he climbed out of the tree and they took him home and locked him in the storage room. (29) He was all by himself for three years, then he became a human being again. He didn't see any fire. He didn't see any human being. He just stayed in the locked storage room. (30) He was given bits of food through an opening, he simply ate the food and slept, and, like an animal, he would jump at water or anything else that was given to him. (31) He lived like this for three years. (32) After three years of sleeping, he started speaking again and he was reunited with us. (33) My grandfather then got married. (34) That is the story of how my father and his siblings came to be born. (35) This is the story of the Mountain Devil. (36) I think that what we call the mountaildevil is the kind of devil that our friends, the foreigners from far away places, came looking for. They looked everywhere for it. (37) I think that, those who were looking for it, if they had just gone out together with some Lepchas, they might just have found it, that's what I think. (38) As it is, they only went looking for it with some Sherpas, and they haven't been able to find it, but if they had taken Lepchas along, they would probably have been able to. (39) Why is this so? (40) We know that there are rumours to the effect that it can understand some of the Lepcha language. (41) If they had taken us Lepchas along, they might have found it. (42) Now, this is a story of almost 40 years ago. (43) I owned a gun. So I went out to hunt for deer or any other meat in the forest. (44) That day I did not go, my friend went, he is also a Lepcha. (45) He went and then he saw something like a man, possibly the Mountain Devil, but, well, when he saw it, he could only see the lower half of it. He could not look up higher than that. (46) Why this is so? (47) Well, he hid himself behind a big flat stone, and when he looked down he saw big and hairy legs and hands. (48) And, as if it knew how to, it was holding a small deer, holding it and letting it live. (49) It held the deer and it cried all night long. It was crying all night
long. (50) When the others were all asleep, the Mountain Devil made a whistling sound and walked closer to them and nearly reached the house where everyone was staying. (51) When it came that close, and my friend the hunter saw it, his mouth and hands froze. He became like that, dumbfounded. (52) And just as it was leaving again, my friend came back to his senses. (53) He was afraid and put all the firewood together to make a big fire, he was afraid and stayed right there. (54) That night he held his body close to the ground, like a log. (55) The story is that by the next morning, he freed the small deer and went back home. (56) He had seen everything, the hair on its legs, its body, its knees. (57) He told us that the Mountain Devil was definitely out there. (58) And, later on, it was also hanging around in my fields up there in Kafer. (59) When I went to the fields there, one old hunter from around there said: "There is a tiger here that has eaten the cows. We went out in the night to kill the tiger, and when we were waiting, in the middle of the night there was a sudden wind." (60) "The boy was asleep, he had fallen asleep," he said. (61) He carried a gun and he was just sitting there, when there was a sudden cold wind, he said. (62) Just a moment after the cold wind, something like a tree was moving towards him from far far away, and it was coming closer, he said. (63) Far away in the moonlight, he could see something for a moment, far away but coming closer, something taller than the trees, with a shadow like a man's. (64) The far, far- away tree was coming closer to him, but it didn't look in his direction and went away again, still quite far away. (65) It went up there, near Shángcóng mountain, he told me. (66) He said that such an animal definitely still lives there, he told me. (67) Now we live there as well. (68) I have often thought that it is still there, that is what I think.

## TEXT TWO

## THE STORY OF THE JACKAL




 gor zran







| (1) Yyá | nám-ká | lúngten-ká | káyú | pât-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (1) formerly | year-LOC | tradition-LOC | 1 P | Tibet-LOC |


| vóm | lyâ-ká | nóng-shang-sá | sung | yâmbá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| salt | accept-LOC | go-INF-GEN | story | DSC |


| (2) káyú | róng-pang-re | pât-ká | vóm | lyâ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (2) 1P | Lepcha-PL.NH-DEF | Tibet-LOC | salt | accept |


| nóng-bám-bá-sá | sung-kát-re | (3) saryók-nun | kát |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| go-PRG-when-GEN | story-one-DEF | (3) jackal-ABL | one |


| lóm-ká | plâ-bá-re | sa?ár-kát | lóm-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| road-LOC | come.out-when-DEF | goat-one | road-LOC |




(1) This is a story about how we used to go to Tibet to get salt. (2) Just one of the many stories about us Lepchas going to Tibet to get salt. (3) Once a leopard had captured a goat and wanted to eat it, and just when a jackal appeared on the road, the goat said: "I am on my way to Tibet to eat some salt, why don't you eat me when I come back again, I will be a little fatter." (4) "I am just on my way up there to eat some salt," he said, and he resumed his journey. (5) When he was on his way back again, he said: "Today, now that I have eaten some salt, when I get down there again, the leopard will tear me to pieces and eat me," and he had just started crying when he noticed that the jackal was standing in front of him and had heard what he said. (6) "Hey, let me take on the devil that wants to eat you, I will defeat him for you," he said. (7) Then the jackal carried the goat on his back and they started climbing down, when, grrr, with a roaring sound, the leopard appeared on the road. (8) He came out of nowhere and stood there, his mouth watering. (9) The jackal carried a pack of smoking tobacco. (10) The jackal opened the pack, threw the tobacco around and said: "All the animals of the whole wide world end up like this." (11) "You could be next," and after he said this, he started to move closer to the leopard. The leopard rose and ran into the forest, and the goat escaped as well.

## TEXT THREE

## THE GREAT KING GYEBÚ

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| (1) ren | Pore | kyóng | Páre-sá | bâm.basti | róng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (1) sir | this | village | this-GEN | Bâm.Basti | Lepcha |

kyóng-sá Rân nahán-re Páre kyóng puntsáyât-sá village-GEN and before-DEF this village assembly-GEN

| gúlón-bú | lá | ngún | pá | mándrál | lá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| guide-FCT | also | become | CRT | mandal | also |


| ngún | pá | (2) cálóng-re | róng | shezúm-sá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| become | CRT | (2) just.now-DEF | Lepcha | association-GEN |











| sót | shen | hu-re | ma-mák-ne-shum-bú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kill | but | 3S-DEF | NEG-die-NEG-NPR-FCT |


| (45) hudo-sá | gyebú-Ráchúk-sá-do | payúk-nu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (45) 3S.OBL-GEN | Gyebú-great-GEN-self | sword-ABL |


| ma-tyât-nu | sangtyet | hu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG-cut.down-NEG | up.till | $3 S$ |



| ván | nóng | Páthyák | ma-thop-nu-bú-sá | sung |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| enter | go | head | NEG-get-ABL-FCT-GEN | story |


| (47) cálóng | gun-lá-nu | yâ-wám | (48) Rân | pro |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (47) just.now | all-also-ABL | know-PRG | (48) and | Bhutan |


| pano-sang-re | Rábá | kálenpúng-ká | lá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| king-PL.H-DEF | here | Kálenpúng-LOC | also |


| bám | pú | kríl | lávúng-nón | pú | (49) nálón-re | pro |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dwell | PSB | dirty | turn.back-RES | PSB | (49) last-DEF | Bhutan |


| pano-nu-re | gyebú-Ráchúk-sá | Ráthyák | tíng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| king-ABL-DEF | Gyebú-great-GEN | head | divide |


(1) "Sir D.T. Támsáng used to be chairman of the local assembly of the Lepcha village Bâm basti and he was also the mandal of the village." (2) Sir, at the moment you are president of the Lepcha Association of West Bengal, on this behalf I have invited you here to ask you a few questions about some legendary stories." (3) "Sir, I would like to ask you some questions about the story about king Gyebú RÁchúk, the great king Gyebú." (4) Whilst we are here, sir D.T. Támsáng, may I ask what is the meaning of the expression Máyel Málúk Lyáng? What is meant by this so-called 'holy' land?" (5) "What we call the land of Máyel Málúk is what we get when we combine all of the territory of Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Ilám. That is what we call the hidden paradise, Máyel Málúk Lyáng." (6) "What does the expression Mútâncí Róngkup Rumkup mean?" (7) "The Mútâncí Róngkup are also called children of god or Rumkup, because all Lepcha
people are truly honest." (8) "What we now know as Darjeeling was called Darjúlyáng in the past. What does that mean, Darjúlyáng?" (9) "Dárjúlyáng is the place where it is said that the gods rested after they had created the holy land of Máyel. They called it Dárjúlyáng, 'Abode of Gods'." (10) "What we now call Kálenpúng was also called Kálenpúng in the past. What is the meaning of this name?" (11) "The name Kálenpúng was only given recently. (12) In the old days Kálenpúng was just a part of the land of Máyel Málúk. (13) The name Kálenpúng was given by the great king Gyebú. (14) The area of Kálenpúng was flat and open. (15) Because of it being a flat area, the Lepcha people decided this was a place were we could all meet, and therefore they gave this place the name Kálenpúng, ká meaning 'we', len meaning 'gather' and púng referring to 'place'. (16) The great king Gyebú, king Gyebú RÁchúk of the Lepcha people, his father's name was king ?Áprázáp, he is said to be his son, it is written in the old books." (17) "What is the meaning of the name king Gyebú ?Áchúk?" (18) "It is true that the king Gyebú ?Áchúk's father's name was RÁprázáp. (19) "His mother's name was RÁshekmít, his father's name was PÁprázáp, this is the truth. (20) So, his mother was ?Áshekmít and his father was RÁprázáp. The parents of the great Gyebú were born in a place called Longshol. (21) Gyebú RÁchúk's father's castle was in Longshol. (22) Gyebú ?Áchúk was an only child. (23) According to the Lepcha calendar, he was born on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month in the year of the pig." (24) "A long time ago, king Gyebú RÁchúk built many secret castles over here in the Kálenpúng area." (25) "Those houses and castles, where were they built and what are they called?" (26) "We Lepcha's did not take on those Tibetans from up there. (27) We did not take on those Bhutanese up there either. (28) In order to protect Álgará here from an attack, Gyebú ?Áchúk is said to have built Dámsáng fort, near Gorubathan we have the Dálíng fort and near the Róngnyú river over here there is another fort. (29) If we go to the forts and look around, we can see that the ruins are still there. (30) Of all that remains, the most beautiful and largest forts are Dámsáng fort and Dálíng fort. (31) If we go all the way up there now, we can still see the stones that the great Gyebú put there." (32) "In Kalimpong, king Gyebú RÁchúk is said to have fought a battle with the king from Sikkim, what was that about?" (33) "The Tibetan king and the Tibetans came to Sikkim and all the Lepcha people were made soldiers. (34) When they came from
all the way over there to fight here in Kalimpong, Gyebú ?Áchúk chased them right back to Pakyóng in Sikkim. (35) He also built Pakyóng fort up there." (36) "Later, the Paro Pönlo or ruler of Paro Dzong also said that he would challenge king Gyebú ?Áchúk in Kalimpong to fight a battle, what happened between them?" (37) "In order to fight Gyebú RÁchúk, the Bhutanese king sent his soldiers up to Dáling fort. (38) When they arrived there, there was a battle there. (39) When they came down there, at first they didn't fight and Gyebú ?Áchúk visited them. (40) They claimed that they would live under his rule and they gave him all sorts of food and drink. When they were having a good time, when they were getting drunk, they killed him. (41) They threw him into the nettle bushes. (42) When they had thrown him into the nettle bushes, someone came over there looking for herbs, and the great Gyebú was saying "Gyebú RÁchúk chúk chúk, Gyebú PÁchúk chúk chúk." (43) Gyebú RÁchúk's body had joined back together and they went back to the king and said that Gyebú ?Áchúk had returned. (44) The soldiers went back to kill Gyebú ?Áchúk again, but he was immortal. (45) Even when their swords were worn down from fighting, Gyebú ?Áchúk still could not be killed. (46) Now the story is that when they cut Gyebú ?Áchúk with his own sword, his head fell into the river below and they couldn't find his head anymore. (47) Everybody knows this now." (48) "And the king of Bhutan and his men, did they stay here in Kalimpong or did they go back home?" (49) "After they killed Gyebú ?Áchúk, the king of Bhutan said: "Now you have to bring me the severed head of Gyebú ?Áchúk", but they couldn't find the head when they went down to the river. (50) Because of this, those soldiers fought the other soldiers and they killed each other and everybody died there, this is the story."

## TEXT FOUR

## TWO LEPCHA GIRLS









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| (1) khámrímó | khámrí | Rálem-do | di le | ?íng | (2) khámrí |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (1) khámrímó | khámrí | hither-self | come | REQ | child |
| (2) khámrí |  |  |  |  |  |


| Pánóm | khámrímó | Pánóm | (3) saróng | káyú kyóng-sá |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| elder.sister | khámrímó | elder.sister | (3) today | 1P | village-GEN |


| Páríng | kát-nyet <br> language | li-ká <br> one-two | le | Ráng-do-m |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| say-LOC |  |  |  |  |$\quad$| REQ |
| :--- |
| child-self-DAT |


| tsum-bá | (4) shú | Ráríng | línshet | nyí | gó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Pánóm |  |  |  |  |  |
| meet-when | (4) what language | speech | be | Q | elder.sister |


| (5) káyú-sá | kyóng-sá | shezúm-re | salom |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (5) 1P-GEN | village-GEN | association-DEF | how |


| ngún-det-bám <br> become-move-PRG | (6) káyú-sá <br> (6) 1P-GEN | kyóng <br> village | shezúm <br> association |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| salom mát-shang <br> how do-INF | Pánum-sang-do <br> elder.brother-PL.H-self | tsum ma-tho-n <br> meet |  |


| (7) tsum ma-gát | Yákâ | Pálóng | káyú-do | zúk-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (7) meet NEG-must | hand | now | 1P-self | make-LOC |

(8) Rolom gangne Rálóng Ránóm-do yâ ma
(8) like.that if now elder.sister-self know AST
(9) trút mát-ká le káyú suknyím-kát káyú
(9) advise do-LOC REQ 1P day-one 1P

| kyóng-sá | gun-re-m | lík-bán | trút | mát-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| village-GEN | all-DEF-DAT | call-after | advise | do-LOC |


| (10) ngún | Pánóm | Polom | gangne | (11) sathá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (10) become | elder.sister | like.that | if | (11) when |


| $\begin{aligned} & \text { lík-shang } \\ & \text { call-INF } \end{aligned}$ | (12) tshâ-k <br> (12) date- | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { ati-ká } & \text { lík } \\ \text { en-LOC } & \text { call } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { gát } \\ & \text { ll } \end{aligned}$ | ho <br> -NPR | $\begin{aligned} & \text { lyók } \\ & \text { IFR } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (13) go $\text { (13) } 1 \mathrm{~s}$ | lúkhróng-re morning-DEF | lúng-sho <br> be.free-NPR | lyók-Rám IFR-PRG |  |  |
| (14) tshâ <br> (14) date | -kati-ká-do -ten-LOC-self | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tho-ká } \\ & \text { put-LOC } \end{aligned}$ | (15) ngún <br> (15) become |  |  |
| (16) káyú <br> (16) 1P | róngkup-sang-re-m <br> Lepcha-PL.H-DEF-DAT |  | salom how | mát-shang <br> do-INF |  |
| (17) go <br> (17) 1 s | lá shúlá <br> also nothing | $\begin{array}{ll}\text { lín } & \text { ma-khu } \\ \text { say }\end{array}$ | ma-khu-n | EG | $\begin{aligned} & \text { yâ-n } \\ & - \text {-know } \end{aligned}$ |


| Pánóm | (18) thál | lúngtár-shang-sá | sung-kát-sá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| elder.sister | (18) up.above | develop-INF-GEN | story-one-GEN |


| lá | ma-nyí-n | (19) linko-do | Pánóm | Pánóm |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| also | NEG-be-NEG | (19) talk-self | elder.sister | elder.sister |


| róngkup-sá | vi-do | ma-nyí-n | lyók |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Lepcha-GEN | blood-self | NEG-be-NEG | IFR |

(20) vi shúmátne ma-nyí-n káyú ryótkup
(20) blood why NEG-be-NEG 1P orphan

| ma-go-n | káyú-sá | pano nyí | (21) pano-sá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG-be-NEG | 1P-GEN | king | be | (21) king-GEN


| Pábryáng-re | shú ngún | pú | kasu-m-nu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| name-DEF | what become | PSB | 1S.OBL-DAT-ABL |


| Pore | ma-yâ-n | (22) hó | gebú.Ráchúk |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that | NEG-know-NEG | (22) 2 S | Gebú.RÁchúk |


| thyák | ma-tho-ne | (23) go | thyák |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| recognise | NEG-EXH-NEG | (23) 1S | recognise |


| ma-tho-n-Rám | (24) gebú.Ráchúk-sá | Pábo-sá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG-EXH-NEG-PRG | (24) Gebú.?Áchúk-GEN | father-GEN |


| Pábryáng | Páprázáp | Pámú-sá | Páshekmít |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| name | PẤprázáp | mother-GEN | PÁshekmít |


| Páshekmít-sá | tagrikup-re | gebú.?áchúk | go | ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PÁshekmít-GEN | boy-DEF | Gebú.1Áchúk | be | AST |


| (25) Pe | (26) hó-nu | dálíng | dri | kor-tho |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (25) ah | (26) $2 \mathrm{~S}-\mathrm{ABL}$ | Dálíng | fort | wander-EXH |


| (27) go | kor | ma-tho-n | Pánóm |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (27) 1 S | wander | NEG-EXH-NEG | elder.sister |


| (28) dámsáng | dri | kor-tho | (29) go | sabálá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (28) Dámsáng | fort | wander-EXH | (29) 1 S | everywhere |


| nóng | ma-tho-n | Pácá | (30) káyú-do |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| go | NEG-EXH-NEG | still | (30) 1P-self |


| dabling-kyóng-ká-lá | gebú.Ráchúk-sá | dri | nyí-Rám |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dabling-village-LOC-also | Gebú.?Áchúk-GEN | fort | be-PRG |


| (31) sabá-do | (32) sagór-ká | ?ún-thík-lyáng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (31) where-self | (32) rock-LOC | horse-tie-place |


| (33) Ránóm | hó | kor | hát-tho | (34) go | kor |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (33) elder.sister | 2S | wander | lose-EXH | (34) 1S | wander |




| ma-yâ-n | li-nu | ma-lí-n | (56) káyú |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG-know-NEG | say-ABL | NEG-say-NEG | (56) 1P |


| kor-nu | lóm-nu | róngkup-sá | sáktsum | tyâng-sá |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wander-ABL | walk-ABL | Lepcha-GEN | thought | whole-GEN |


| thyák-ká | Pámú-sá | dúnggít-lá | tsum-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| recognise-LOC | mother-GEN | tradition-also | meet-LOC |


| Pábryáng | ma-kyól-ne-ká | (57) káyú | róngkup-re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| name | NEG-blend-NEG-LOC | (57) 1P | Lepcha-DEF |


| sabá-nu | Rít | (58) cú-nu | (59) hó |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| where-ABL | create | (58) mountain.peak-ABL |  |


| thyák-Rám | (60) ?ore | go | Pámú-bo-nu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| recognise-PRG | (60) that | 1 S | mother-father-ABL |


| kám-kám | dun-Rám-tho-nu | li-ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| little bit-little bit | tell-PRG-EXH-ABL | say-AS |

(61) káyú róngkup-sá tân-ká álom zúk-nu
(61) 1P Lepcha-GEN behalf-LOC like.this make-ABL

| Páryúm | ngún-nu | (62) káyú | tyâng | gun | kyóng-ká |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| good | become-ABL | (62) 1P | whole | all | village-LOC |


| kor-ká | (63) ngún | Pánóm | kor-ká | Pálóng |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wander-LOC | (63) become | elder.sister | wander-LOC | now |

(1) "Khámrimó, khámri, please come over here for a minute, sister."
(2) "Khámrí, sister, khámrimó, sister." (3) "Since we're here now, let's talk about our village for a bit." (4) "What's on your mind, sister?" (5) "How is our village association coming along? (6) "How is our village association coming along? We've still not met up with our
brothers." (7) "We don't have to get together with them, let's arrange things ourselves." (8) "Well, we could, I suppose, you do know about such things." (9) "Let's set up a meeting and get the whole village together to discuss things." (10) "All right sister, let's do that." (11) "When shall we have the meeting?" (12) "We should probably have it on the tenth." (13) "I will be free that morning." (14) "Let's set it for the tenth then." (15) "All right." (16) "What can we do for our Lepcha people?" (17) "I really couldn't say, sister, I don't know." (18) "I don't really know any success stories." (19) "That's right sister, it's almost as if there is no Lepcha spirit anymore." (20) "Why do you put it like that? It's not as if we are orphans, after all we have a king." (21) "And what is the name of this king? I don't know it." (22) "Do you not know king Gebú ?Áchúk?" (23) "I don’t." (24) "Gebú ?Áchúk's father's name is RÁprázáp, his mother's name is RÁshekmít, so RÁshekmít's son is Gebú RÁchúk." (25) "I see." (26) "Have you been to Dálíng fort?" (27) "I haven't been there, sister." (28) "Have you been to Dámsáng fort?" (28) "I've not been anywhere yet." (30) "Here in our village, in Dabling, there is also a fort of Gebú ?Áchúk's." (31) "But where?" (32) "By the rocks, where they tie up the horses." (33) "Have you been there, sister?" (34) "I have." (35) "I have not been to any of these places." (36) "You should walk around a bit more in our village." (37) "Let's do that right now, sister." (38) "We should to go to all the villages to see what is going on." (39) "I'll go and look around right away, sister." (40) "When we have the meeting with all the Lepcha people, all of us have to become as one. (41) Some of us are doing things, others are not doing anything. We should not think this way. If one of us makes an effort, we should all join in." (42) "I don't think I will be able to do anything much, sister." (43) "It's not right to say that you can't do anything. (44) Are you Lepcha or Nepali?" (45) "I am Lepcha, of course." (46) "What is your name?" (47) "It is RÁ?itámít Lepcha." (48) "Why do you call yourself Lepcha when you are not truly a Lepcha?" (49) "What is your name, sister?" (50) "Mine is ?Óngmít Lepcha." (51) "I had not heard your name before, sister." (52) "You've only just learnt my name? You must feel as if you are reborn into the Lepcha Máyel world. (53) The way we're living isn't right. (54) We should look around the villages to see where all the Lepcha people are and find out if they are feeling lost. (55) From now on, you shouldn't say "I don't know", anymore. (56) Let's walk around, so that we become
aware of all the thoughts of the Lepcha people and of the traditions of our parents, let's not get the names of things mixed up again. (57) Where do we Lepcha originally come from?" (58) "From the snowy peaks." (59) "You know it already!" (60) "I only said that because my parents told me a little bit about it." (61) "It would be good if we did things like that for the benefit of the Lepcha people as well." (62) "Let's walk over to all the villages." (63) "Yes, sister, let's do that straight away."

## GLOSSARY

This glossary lists the Lepcha words used in examples and texts in this grammar．The entries are listed by their initial consonants，ac－ cording to the following order：$\approx \mathrm{k}, \hookleftarrow \mathrm{kh}, \xi \mathrm{kr}, 5 \mathrm{kl}, \omega \mathrm{g}, \omega_{\hookleftarrow} \mathrm{gl}, \succ \mathrm{ng}, \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\circ}$


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$$
E \mathrm{k}-
$$

E $k \hat{a}$ v．cook
气 $k$ ât v ．order，command
EE）kaku num．eight
Eだ，kakyók num．seven
Eモ，kakyót num．nine
$E \tilde{Q}$ kacer $n$ ．wheat E
Eか\} kajún. dog
Efjac kajútâng n．fat male dog
Eèr katáp n．fist
Eje kati num．ten
EEAン katyám n ．muscle of the arm
Ejo kathi n ．little finger
E（苹 kadóm n．thumb
E（O）kábu v．carry
E، $\sqrt{\text { Ge }}$ katshóng adv．day after tomorrow
Eféz kayók n．fingertip
E، $\sqrt[\varepsilon]{ }$ kayóng n ．middle finger
E $\int \tilde{N}$ Nalít n ．ring finger
Eヘベ kalók n．rat，mouse
E（氏），kalyók n．palm of hand
E（ẍr káchám adv．in three days time，after three days

Eqr káchót adv．in four days time，after four days Era§̉ kátaPyen adv．three years ago
Efjê káflik adj．some

E（ kát num．one

芭 kán v．pulverise，reduce to powder
Ë kám adv．little bit
$\int_{E} k i n$ ．thread
$\int_{E} k i v$ ．claim，demand，assert
$\int_{E \in J O}$ kibri v．twist，wind threads together
$\int_{E E} E \tilde{F}$ kiríl v．roll thread into a ball
うた

（₹ E kor v ．wander，stroll
（伭 kol n．box
fe kón．order
位 kók v ．fence in
侯 kón n．taste
辰 kón n．side
姕 kón v．let，allow
，FEÓng n．branch
化 kóm n．money
芭 kóm v．curdle，congeal
E）$k u$ v．urge，impel
$\stackrel{\circ}{\dagger}$ ）$k u p$ n．child，small
ت̈）．＊3 kumdúng adj．other
E．）．（我，kumthyóng n．kite

، $E\}$ kúng n．tree

Ey稿 kúmíng n．appellation，name
ث̈3 kúl v．encircle，surround
ke v．try，attempt
ceor kyáng v．freeze
（GI）kyokv．churn butter
،（E）kyóng n．village
绿 kyón v．suffer
な્ષ，kyóp v．lock

s kh－
ş khá num．score
đ̛（ khák v．choke
©̈（ $\mathfrak{F}$ khámrí sal．greeting
©̈（ $(\mathfrak{F} \sqrt{\square}$ khámrímó sal．greeting（more respectful than khámrí）
（G）$\sim \overline{\mathcal{G}}) k h u \sim k h u t$ v．be able to
G3 khún．loaf of bread
© khek v．freeze
$\hat{\tilde{G}}$ khyâ v．arrive
arj khyú v．bathe

## $5 \mathrm{kl}-$

5 kla v．cleave
$\tilde{5}^{5}(\mathbb{N}$ Klánlá adj．resembling
$\sqrt{5}$ klít v．polish，rub
${ }^{5}$ klo adj．straightforward
，$\sqrt{5}$ klóng v ．send
53～5̈3klú～klúm v．fall
i klek v．force，urge
5ji klyam v．be sweet

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\leftrightarrows \mathrm{kr}-
$$

捻 krit n．hunger
（G）kró v．slice
念krón v．scratch
（婜，kryóng v．praise

## $\omega \mathrm{g}-$

๘ $g \hat{a} \mathrm{v}$ ．resist
$\omega$ gang conj．if
\％os gangne conj．if
ownr ganglá even if
©̀ gát v ．must，need，require
©ir gán adj．old，aged
ぷ（Ñ）gánlât n．oldness，old age
（ $\omega$ go pron．I
（ $\omega$ go v．be
（ $\omega, 5$ ）gorúng conj．either
（ar）Jov gorúnglá conj．although，even
๘ ๘ó v．be happy，rejoice，be glad
（i）gun all，every
（i）gum v．to be
$\omega\}$－gú sf．female animal that has given birth
（i）gek v．be born
Giviv gek－lát n．birth

๘，gyó num．one hundred
๘，gyó v．quarrel
$\omega, j$ gyú n．skill，experience
w，gye v．win，gain the victory

$$
\omega \mathrm{gl}-
$$

Sto glí adj．distinct
to glót v．kindle，set fire to

toj glyat v．sag，drop，decline，suspend（also spelt getet）

## y ng -

〒̧ ngâk v．look，observe
₹̀ ngán v．remain，sit
$\hat{\mathcal{F}}$（ex ngánshet n ．seat
デ $n g a ́ r$ v．slice
ث̂ ngol adv．early
‘̇̀ ngók v．grind
¡\} ngú n. fish
₹₹ ngút v．cut，sever or divide with a knife
¡\} ngún v. become, happen, occur

## $\sim$ c－

－o cang v．foster，nourish
or cá adv．just，a moment ago
－or cáng v．cross river
かo̊ cánáp adv．last night
oir cáp v．thatch
oror cábá adv．some time ago
ör cám v．wink
かr（ヘN）cálóng adv．just now，just a moment ago
$\sqrt{\mathfrak{V}}$ ci n．cí，fermented grain liquor
$\sqrt{0}$ cí $v$ ．dry meat or fish in the sun
$\sqrt{\mathfrak{0}}$ cí v．tread，tremble upon
fôio cík v．weigh
$\sqrt[50]{0}$ cing v．think
$\sqrt{\overline{\mathcal{V}}}$ cít v．split wood or bamboo

（o）co n．tea
（o）co v．mend
（ $\overline{\mathcal{O}} \cot \mathrm{v}$ ．assist，help
（̈）com v ．oppress
（ $\hat{\circ} \operatorname{col} \mathrm{v}$ ．pour water over body
（ $\mathfrak{v}$ cóng v ．wash
، $\sqrt{ }$ cóng v ．be quick
㺃 cóm v．leave，depart
กั๋ cór v．be sour，be acid
จ）$c u$ adj．small，little
－）$\frac{\text { E．j }}{}$ cukup a little bit
0）cup v．restrain
©\} $с и$ n．the snowy range，the Himalayas
ở cúk n．kiss
$\checkmark \rightarrow 3$－cúng young of bulls
$\bar{\top}\}$ cút v ．rise of dough
2 ce n．love
2‘夭 cechók adj．loveable
Q（re cewo n．crore
$\dot{2}$ cek v．hew，cut down
$\overline{2}$ cet v ．thrust，stab，pierce
なep v．bore，pierce
$\tilde{\mathfrak{y}}$ cer v ．be lazy
© cer v．milk

$$
\boldsymbol{\gamma}_{\mathrm{r}}^{\mathrm{ch}}
$$


$\boldsymbol{x}(\sqrt{5})$ chárín．letter
f̃̌ chí n．example，model
（ $\downarrow$ cho n．book
（ $\boldsymbol{\sim}$－cho sf．best，greatest
（xie choko n．paper
（ $\mathfrak{x}$ 乕 chokóng n ．offering of dough rice
（ $\mathcal{X} \cdot E\}$ chokúng n ．brass lamp
（エơj chochúk v．copy，transcribe，reproduce
（ $\boldsymbol{\alpha} \mathfrak{a}, \boldsymbol{\}}$ chogyú n．lesson

（xT3 choten n ．chörten，monument，memorial
（エギャ chodám n．book binding
（ $\underset{\sigma O Z}{\mathcal{Z}}$ chobúm n．sacred scriptures of Buddhism
（x）
（x）
（จย์ะ choyântân n ．education
（マદ̇）choyuk n．literature
（ $\boldsymbol{\sim}$ ）Ñ cholí n．school
（ $\underset{\sim}{\mathrm{N}}$ cholep n ．leaf of a book
$\sqrt{\boldsymbol{x}}$ chó v．unite，join
$\sqrt{\wedge}$ chó n ．even number，pair，couple
（حָּe）chómtun n．friendship
设 chór v ．pour
（ᄌxは）
エ\} chú n. strength, courage
$\Delta\}$ chú n．cheese
$\pm$ ©－chúk sf．most，worthy
ajfe chúko n．energy，force
マ $\mathfrak{j} \mathfrak{I}$ chúpí n．sulphur

ə focou）chúsung n．crocodile
$\bar{x}_{2}$ chet v ．relate
$\underset{\sim}{\underset{\sim}{\underset{\sim}{2}}}$ chet n ．need，want，lack，demand，necessity

त्लि jâl v．dry over fire
$\dot{\mathfrak{d}}$（ ják v．itch
،ar jáng adj．stiff
ल̈॰（jám v．assemble
jã $j i ́ v$. annoy，disturb
ja $j i ́ n$ ．filth
jo～$\sim \tilde{\mathfrak{w}}$ jí $\sim j i ́ t$ v．sift
$\underset{\mathfrak{c}}{ }$ jók v．talk，speak
، $\sqrt{\text { a }}$ jóng v．memorise
（ำ jóp v．flatten，make or become flat
©）$j u$ n．thorn
© $\mathfrak{\text { fú v．live，burn }}$
$\stackrel{\dot{\text { e }}}{ }$ jek v．bud
$\stackrel{\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\dot{®}}}{ }$ jen adj．other
$\stackrel{\tilde{ต}}{\mathfrak{c}}$ jer n ．gold
商 jel v ．understand，know a language，speak a language
₹ny－
ざ nyák v．exceed
$\mathfrak{N}$（N゚ nyilop n ．earlobe
jะ nyí v．to be
je⿳亠二口欠彡 nyín n．milk
₹ nyó n．odd number
实 nyók v．delay
齐 nyók v．cause to quiver，shake
₹ nyót n ．field
莀 nyóm v．smell
स）nyuk v．grind
F゙）nyum n．pair
₹303 nyúgú n．pen
※̌uッフ nyúrpang adj．deaf
₹ nyet num．two
商 nyet v ．show，demonstrate
鿖 nyen v ．listen

## $\mathrm{e}^{\mathrm{t}}$

§ tân n．cause，reason，behalf
ぶㅜㅜㅊ tândók n ．cause，reason，behalf
$\mathfrak{\imath}$－tâng sf．corpulent male animal，pig or dog
ミ $t a \mathrm{v}$ ．bear，endure
ミヌり ta？ayu n．woman
ミor tabá adv．up there，there above（also spelt ミror tábá）
ミ์์ tabók n．abdomen，stomach，belly，womb
e（＊tado pron．oneself
2jos tagrí n．man
ミj $\omega, \frac{\circ}{\epsilon}$ ）tagrikup n．boy
acorj tagryú n．cheek
ミ $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\tau}$ tarók num．six
之气 tatsât n ．time，period of time
$\mathfrak{R}$（N） $\mathfrak{F}_{\text {E }}$ talon kón adv．in the direction there above
2（ヘ̂ talol adv．up above there
 tálemkón）
2،（N）talyáng n．sky，heaven
ミ（Nu）falyádâ n．sea，ocean
ミviv tahyut n ．whistle

ミヌை ta？yu n．girl

ミぎ ta？yen adv．last year
efit ta？i n．flour，meal，powder
e $t a ́-\mathrm{pf}$ ．up there（also spelt $\mathfrak{\imath} t a-$ ）
،er táng n．bundle
،er（モ tángko n ．basket
ミ』（バ）tálom adv．like that there above
ミ̂̀،（Nur tállyáng n．highland
je $t i$ num．zero
なミ tíng v．separate
乌ֻz\} tíngmú n. plainsman
fe tít v．flee
Fだ，Ef tit－rekúng n．tamarind tree
気ป tít－repót n．tamarind fruit
§ tím adj．big

苃 tímre n．respect
でセ tóm n．speech
（マิ tór n．silk
ミ）～ミ）tu～tut v．wash，cleanse
き）$t u k \mathrm{v}$ ．cover，protect
き）
き）
ぎปさ tukpát n．knee
きj） $\mathfrak{J}$ tukpo n ．rope
ぎぶ・E\} tukpókúng n ．peach tree
$\mathfrak{\bigotimes} \mathfrak{\mathfrak { I }}$ tukpópót n ．peach
（き）先 tungder n．cockroach
（E）
（2）．${ }^{(2)}$ tungvyeng n ．door
ef tú pron．who
،（3）ั์ túngchúr num．hundred million
ミj（＊túdo pron．anybody，anyone
ミjNr túlá pron．everyone，someone，anyone，whoever
tet v ．touch，aim
－tet sf．until，up to（also spelt $\overline{\text { E }}$ tyet or 部 tyat）
（Ey tyâng all，whole
s̃ tyât v ．cut down，hew down
\＆tyak v．tread

隹 tyók v．cut
（조 tyóng v．hide
（太）tyól n．friend
＊）tyu v．subdue，defeat
A）tyul v．fall
Å\} tyúk v. kick
arj tyút n．scar

$$
5 \mathrm{tr}-
$$

E（ trát v．tear

安敃 trókchí thank you
它 tróp V ．winnow
E，trút v．advise

与 tre n．mule
oth－
\％）
of thá v ．chew，eat
d́ thák v．be complete，sufficient
ör thám n ．thing，object
©̈（ $\mathfrak{0}$ thámcâng n ．animal

ถ̈（،（ᄌ）thámbóng n．plant
©̈（0）thámbu n．worm
©̈（ $\mathfrak{I}$ thámpót n ．fruit
̈̈（j）
$\ddot{\mathrm{B}}(\overline{\mathrm{E}}$, ，thámvyet n ．question
\＆o tháp v ．put
Á thál adv．up above
$j_{6} \sim \sqrt{\overline{6}}$ thi $\sim$ thit v ．reach
fí thík v．tie
jobe3 thikúng n．great grandfather
（x～依 tho～thóm v．put
（is thok v．close

،（b）${ }_{\text {c }}$ thongjóm n ．toe
（かった
（bre）thongtung n．heel

（i8 thop v．get（also spelt iof thúp）
（6）thol adj．near
๙̃̃ thór v．escape
ijg thúk n．season
ch theng v．sing
\％thep adj．extra，additional，successive
©
气̈̉3 therbúm num．billion
d̛̀ thyák v．recognise，identify
đ̛o（E）thyáktuk n．hat，cap

s．thyen v．laugh

ห่ㅜㅔ thyenlât n ．laughter
Bîur thyenlá adv．laughingly
（k）～保 thyo～thyóm v．hear
（大̇）thyók n．shelter
（x） ，thyór v．set free
（v）～（iv）thyu～thyum v．mix，combine，unite

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v_{1} \text { thr- }
$$

Sษ thri n．throne
S華 thrím n．law
（苞，throm n．town，market
（丬），$) \underset{\mathfrak{U}}{ }$ ，thrókthrík num．ten billion

$$
* \mathrm{~d}-
$$

米dâ n．lake
釆方\} dâpúk n. shore
Finur dâlyáng n ．island
，氐 dâng v．run
宷dal v．germinate，sprout
＊dá v．sleep，rest
＊（ro dátho n．almanac
＊i dáp v ．cover
＊$\underset{\text {（ dám v．tie，bind }}{ }$

ff木 díng v．stand
（ $*$ do pron．self
（＊＊＊oul dodosá adj．personal，of ones own
（＊do v．collect，gather together，assemble
（ $\underset{*}{ }$ dok v．be ill
（ ${ }^{*}$ dop v．burn
${ }^{*}$ dó v．announce，make known
$\stackrel{\text {＊}}{*}$ dók v．keep
،（天 dóng v．search，seek
＊）$d u$ n．disease
$\underset{\text { f }}{\boldsymbol{f})}$ dun v．tell，narrate，say
荬（N）dunlu n．remark
㺼低 duntrók n．week

75． 63 dutmúng n．demon
＊）dum n．cloth
＊ 3 dú n．umbrella
＊ 3 ～跃 dú～dún v．dig
＊ 3 dúk v．be alike
（＊） 3 © dúnggít n ．tradition
＊3 dúm v ．be white
＊de v．destroy
＊Ńj delúk n．resurrection
f dek v．break
秀 $\operatorname{det} \mathrm{v}$ ．move
穼dep sf．together，along with
委dem n ．dress
،＊u（re）dyángtung n ．heel
،＊ね（ dyângpak n．knee
＊＊ur（ラ̉ dyángpók n ．calf
（＊ur（ณึ）dyánglyók n．sole of foot
＊v）～＊iv dyu $\sim$ dyut v．argue

## $\omega_{1} \mathrm{dr}-$

（ज）drâm adv．quick
ज̣̈ drám v．break

$\int_{\mathrm{L}}^{\mathrm{G}} \mathrm{G}_{\mathrm{g}} d r i \mathrm{n}$ ．fort，palace
jGeg drí v．wind，roll or coil thread
商 $d r i ́ p$ v．confine
（๘ู）dróp n．moment
© dre n．demon
G dret v．push
cợ dryák v．pursue，chase
coirl＊dryándo adv．equal to
$\rho^{\mathrm{n}}$

テ̃N（ nâlá adv．always
คกে nalón adv．last
๑ồ navár n．boat
or ná v．take

คن゚（ nahán adv．before
ör nám n．year
コ̈（（モ̃ námkor n ．cycle of twelve years
อ̈（ว̈（ námnám adv．yearly
か̊ำ nápmún n．evening
ふ̊유 nápzâ n．dusk
ぷがぶ\} náp-lúk n. day and night, morning and evening
广্ড nók v．push
ウ่ำ̃ nók－lât n．blackness
‘（ᄌִ nóng v．go
‘（న్ nóng adv．inside
（゙̈ア（ ）nómleng n ．young girl
（ڭ̆ nól n．skin
๑）～$\overline{\text { Oj }} n u \sim n u t$ v．suck
ојэу питпи n ．brothers

か）nup v．flood
か̀̉ núl v．crush，knead

J pân．incense
Э 73 pâtmú n．Tibetan
Jơ pacák adv．almost
Jre）patung n．shoulder
Ifo pano n．king
It pá v．beckon，signal
さı pár v．buy
$\mathfrak{J} p i$ v．write
〕ป $\mathfrak{J}$ pík v．purify
f予 pín v．brush，brush off
（コ po n．bamboo
（J）pung n．mound，heap
J）re punjeng n．iron
J） $\mathfrak{r}$（K，punthyóng n．eagle

ป）$p u p$ v．cover
I pe n．grass
ฐ pe v．agree

I pe－adv．over there（also spelt $\mathfrak{f I} p i^{-}$）
I）
Jor pebá pron．there
Te petet adv．up to that place over there
IT pepe adv．that there，yonder
IT peme adv．there，down there

İN゙ pelom adv．in that manner
İה゙ pelom adv．like that
き̂ pel v．be tired
$\mathfrak{\jmath} \mathfrak{j}$ prâ n．cut bamboo
（ฟ）$\}$ promú n ．Bhutanese
J\} рги́ n ．ash
Inc pryá n．hymn
Ins pryá v．describe，give an account of something

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\nabla \mathrm{ph}-
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ス̈r phám v．defeat
fo phiv．wash of utensils
jవీヘ̃z\} philíngmú n. Englishman
f荅 phíl v．be distant
（ D pho n ．time，turn
D）$p h u$ v．offer，sacrifice
হ phet adv．half
（ave phyá v．disjoin
（

avy phyú v．hatch
वण्）phyuk v．be rich

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\simeq \mathrm{pl}-
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气plâ v．come forth，come out，rise
亡（plák v．break
〕Éplív．deny
气 plyâ v．produce，bring forward

$$
E \mathrm{f}-
$$


テ̇
Ey）fangú num．five
ESN fali num．four
E（N）faleng n．young boy
E（fá v．swim
E（ fát n．earth
E（ fát v．lose
Ė fán v．burn
Ẽ fár v．rust
f笑 fík v．tear，pull apart
（s fo n．bird
（E fo n．tooth（also 叉（le Páfo）
（た侯 fogóm n．molar
（Eき fonyel n．gums
（统 fozâl n．incisor
（EN゚\} folún n ．wisdom tooth
宅 fók adv．throughout
言 fók v．pierce，stab
E fót v．taste
（ 5 ） $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{E}}$ fungfing adj．blue
（Ev）fyo n．brass
Ev）$f y u$ n．pot
Ev，fyek v．sharpen

## n fl－

ヘึ flâ v．narrate，describe
 うளิ̃ flík adv．apart，aside ֹสิ่ flík v．separate，cleave ๙่ flók v．peel，peel off skin or bark $\overline{\mathrm{9}}$ flet v ．wash ones face

0 b－
$\tilde{\mathfrak{O}}$ bâk v ．weed
$\mathfrak{O}(\sqrt{ }$ báhó n．storage，store room
or báng v．break，cut，chop wood or bamboo in short pieces
cor－báng num．half of
ör bám v．dwell，stay，reside
Ör،Nい（ bámlyáng n．homeland，residence
ỏ bán n．knife
ỏ bán adv．after
Ỏ（E̊）bánkup n．small knife
ortr bázá n．hour
ôr bál v．repeat

jo bi n．curry
jor（
fõ bík n．cow
jÖ Ooj bíkgú n．cow
fỡo bíkbo n．bull，steer
foัં，（N）bíklóng n．ox

fơ주N•O\} bíklóngcúng n. young bull
Jồ bíl v．fold of cloth or paper
roro bojo n．grandfather
（Ö－bom sf．brooding female animal
ง 1 ～ケ゚ bo～bón v．give
（o̊－bop sf．young of bulls
O）$b u$ n．snake，worm
O）$b u$ v．carry
O）$-b u$ sf．male of animals
©）$b u k$ v．hit，strike，thresh
O）bun v．carry
©）bul v．scrape
Ö $\mathfrak{Z}$ búm num．lakh
̈̈łfo búmtsho num．lakh
©ै\} búr v. flower, bloom
ổ búl v．boil over
Ö، byám v．keep，leave behind
$\dot{0} \mathcal{Z}$ byúp v．parch，dry in fire
ör brám v．stray，deviate，roam，be lost
fo bri n．marriage，union
－bret v．separate，divide

## © bl－

かr blá v．take
（o－bo sf．father，uncastrated male parent animal
$\stackrel{(\mathfrak{c}}{\mathfrak{( i n}}$ blók v ．separate the outer and inner part of bamboo or cane以ิ．blen v ．be full，be filled up

## 6 m－


万F marón．man
бr má v．hide，conceal from sight
ł́ mák v．die
\＆$(\omega)$ mán－gú n．sow
छ mát v ．do
あ（N̈）mátlóm n ．conduct，act of conducting，guidance
z（N）mátlu n．habit，custom
$j_{6} m i n$ ．fire
$\sqrt{6}-m i$ sf．female animal that has not had young
fot
f荅言 míkcóm n ．eyelash，eyebrow

$\left.\int_{\mathfrak{Z}}^{\mathfrak{Z}} \mathfrak{*}\right\}$ míkdúm n ．foreigner（literally white eyes）

f荅 míl adv．down
10 món n ．medicine
fómón n．pig，boar
どった móntâng n．fat boar
Fio mónbo n ．boar，uncastrated male of swine
（\％）mónbu n．boar
Fシ̊）mónmi n ．fallow sow
$\sqrt{56}$ mónmót n ．sow
（\％゚亍）móntsu n．boar，uncastrated boar

б－mót sf．female of animals
،63 múng n．devil
b） $\mathfrak{b j}$ munjú n ．grandmother
万） $\mathfrak{F}$ murón．man

万）（W）muzu n．body
б $m e$－adv．down there
তor mebá adv．there below

雨 $\mathfrak{N}$ melon adv．in that direction down there
伿 melom adv．like that down there
mere adv．that down there
で（ myák v．kill
安’ myók n．son in law
، $\sqrt{5}$ myóng v ．experience
感 myón v ．forget

> よ ml-

Ғ̧ mlú n．utensil，implement
$\mathcal{Z v}$（ mlyá adj．level，even
子iŋ mlyúk adj．lukewarm，tepid
$\sigma$ ts－
Z̈ tsám v．hold
（ت゙̈ tsóm v．limit
（ひ̈•0）tsómcúng n．pigtail
（云云t tsómtrat n．comb
（丁ु）${ }^{\circ}$ tsómrík n．ribbon
ジッ以 tsómbleng n．single hair
उ tsót v．squeeze
J）$-t s u$ sf．male of pigs and goats
むj）$\hat{\omega}$ tsukgi n．afternoon
（ֹ）
ずֹた tsukkyer n ．sunset，west
む்テ̄̃̀ tsuk－lát n．sunrise，east
Jjay tsugyer n．clock
むjヶか（ tsuknáng n．midday
む்） $\mathfrak{H}(t$ tsukzán n．early morning，when sun is completely visible
（J）tsung v．save up
（̈）tsum v．meet
テj）tsur v．radiate，gleam
む̃テั）tsurtsur n．twinkle
đ̇ tsúk v．bite
we tsh－
ऊ tshâ n．date
Ge（v）tshâlum n．orange
TGe tshó v．aim
，We tshóng n．goods
،（Ge tshóng v．complete
（i） $\mathfrak{J}$ tshukpót n ．word

## ＊Z－

芹 $z \hat{a} \mathrm{v} . \mathrm{err}$
of zang adj．like
H（ zá n．circle
H（le záko n．planet
H（Sミ záti n．nutmeg
स（r）$\approx$ záding n ．jug
（Hzo v．eat，food，rice
（it zok v．trickle，flow
$(\mathbb{H}) \mathcal{F}$ zorí n ．fragrant rice
依 zók v．strike

＊zót v．graze
（T3 zúk v．make
（ $\ddagger$ jio）zúkthup adj．manageable
\＃3）

## と $\mathrm{y}-$

$\tilde{\varepsilon} \sim \tilde{\tilde{\varepsilon}} y \hat{a} \sim y a ̂ m$ know，know how to
茞促 yânthó n．school
秫 yang conj．thus
،\＆囚 yángne conj．or，either
\＆́ yáp v．grope
（E yok n．top，summit

દُ yók n．yak
g）$y u$ v．descend
غ）$y u k \mathrm{n}$ ．letter
$\left.\dot{\varepsilon})^{R} \sim \mathcal{E}\right)$ yupthen $\sim$ yuptho ．moment
$\bar{\xi}$ yet v．descend
$\dot{\hat{\xi}}$ yel v．know a language

## rr－


rráv．hunt
¡́rák v．search，examine
Fr rám n．thunder
$\int_{\mathcal{F}} r i ́ n$ n．smell，scent，fragrance，odour
jrjofor ribiríp n．ribiplant，Calamus latifolius
$j_{\tilde{F}}$ ríp n．flower，blossom，flowering plant
or ro v．fear
（f）rok v．read，study
，F róng n．Lepcha
， $\mathcal{F}$ róng v ．wait
（ $\mathcal{F}$ ） $\mathfrak{F}$ róngjíng adv．daily
〕run．cane

「̧or rúbá n．tortoise
「）rum n．god

$\hat{\Gamma}$ rel v．separate maize from the cob
$\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{+}$ rel adv．each
$\stackrel{\perp}{\stackrel{ }{2}}$ ren adv．since


riv ryák v．follow
ro3 ryú v．be good
ryjur ryúlá adv．well
riz ryúm n ．needle
（ ）1－
̃̃ lâm v．fly
on lang n．stone
onfiv langklyók n．big flat stone
Ṇ̛̛ laháp n．cave
ar lá adv．also，even
©̃ lát v ．return
ぷr láp v．bury
Nre lávo n．moon
jN～j
foliv．carry
jÑ lín．house
jũ lik v．call
jüne línko n．speech，statement
fine linshet n．speech
§ $\mathfrak{N}$ lít v．sift
（N $l o$ v．dry，spread out to dry in the sun of corn or grain
（N์ lok v．dance
（N）lon in this direction
（ヘ̂）lol v．bend，turn
๙a ló n．wage，pay
๙ิ่ lớk v．damage，injure，harm
، $\mathfrak{N}$ lóng n．ox，steer
،（Nuo lóngbo n ．bull
（রN•O3 lóngcúng n ．young bull
๙ิ龴 lón lead，command
๙ิ lóm sf．via，through，n．road，way，v．walk
$\sim$ lót v ．repeat
Nóo lótbi v．give back

Nuo lóttho v．put again
ペif3 lótzúk v．remake
N3～～̈3 lú～lúm v．rise
N̉ lúk v．get up，rise
w̉ lúk n．sheep


،（W）lúng v．take
، W）lúng n ．leisure， v ．be free，have free time
،N3ミ̈̀ lúngtár v．develop，n．development
، N ？
،（W）${ }^{\circ}$ lúngdi v ．bring

（̈jejo lúmkup n．Nepali，person from Nepal
N̄̉ lút v．skin，strip or deprive of skin，remove cover
Nิlen adv．than，compared to
シ̈̈lem sf．direction
ث̂ lel v．complete
a $\sqrt{\text { J }}$ lyâ v．accept
،（M）lyáng n．land
氒 lyók v．resemble，look like
（ヘ่）lyók v．turn，divert，reverse
（ ）lyót v ．free
wo lyú v．erect
ii．lyem v．play

$$
\mathfrak{f}-
$$

キ há v．scrape，skim
$\dot{\forall}(h a ́ k v$ ．carve in wood or stone
$\mathfrak{\forall}($（N̉ hánlon adv．not simultaneously（literally before and after）
$\overline{\mathfrak{q}}$（ hát v ．lose，leave behind
$\dot{\mathfrak{\forall}(~ h a ́ p ~ v . ~ s h u t ~}$
f $\mathfrak{\tilde { f }}$ hîk n．chicken
$\mathfrak{S} \tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}(\mathbb{O}$ híkbom n ．female hen having chickens
jữ híp v．shave，scrape
،（f hong adj．hollow
キ）$h u$ pron．he，she
キ）$h u$ n．bee
rf heng n ．ginger
$\overline{\mathfrak{G}}$ het v ．hurt，harm
莨 hel v．fill
（訁े）hyol v．mix，blend
なٌセン hyóp v．accompany
＊v）hyu v．purify
ث̂̉ hyúl v．swallow
ن̊⁄ hráp v．sew
Sư hrîk v．tear
SUf（Ge hritsho num．myriad
（v）hro v．come up
$\checkmark \sqrt{*}$ hróng v ．come up，arrive from a lower place or region

نỉ3 hrún adj．hot，warm，spicy
$\dot{\sim} \mathfrak{i} 3$ hrúp v．pick up
＇tigheng v．dry wood，meat or vegetables in the sun
̛op hryá v．pull
キ̛ip hryám v．jerk
เั๋้ hryóp v．cry

## xhl－

‘× hláng v．harden，as yams
メ̊ hláp v．learn

（x hlo n．hill，peak
（义่ hlok v．break，as eggs
، hleng v．cough
र̊®̊ hlentón v ．help
خ̈̈l hlyám v ．shake，quiver

## $\theta$ V－

$\tilde{\mathfrak{\Theta}} \sim \tilde{\tilde{\theta}} v \hat{a} \sim v a ̂ m \mathrm{v}$ ．chant，sing
テ̃ vâm n ．song
er vá v．throw，hurl，fling
Ỏr ván v．enter
je vin．blood
jo答 vimân n ．kin，offspring，relatives（literally flesh and blood）
fố vík n．soldier
©® vóm n．salt
© ．vyet v ．ask，inquire
$\mathfrak{E}$ sh－
そe shâk n．louse
،el sháng n．firewood
،（ex－sháng sf．barren，sterile

fe～$\sim$ ese shi $\sim$ shím v ．see
dex shíng adj．drunk
fe shíng n．garden

```
S芭 shíl n．trap
\＆
庆 shól v．scatter
ejN（ shúlá pron．everything，anything，whatever
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©joj shúmú n．man
Bư shenlá conj．but
๗̋ity shezúm n ．assembly，congregation，association
～sher n．glass
\(\underset{\text { ® }}{\text { ® }}\) sher v．rot，decay
© M（O）sherábú n．hunter
※̛OJ sherbú n．sherpa
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## Cov S－

（～）sâm n．mind
cue saka n．deer
cぃewf sakagú n．doe，female deer
जいモठ sakamót n．female deer，doe
（ぃモJ）sakatsu n．buck，stag
coór sacák n．leopard
$\left.\omega_{0}\right) \omega$ sagi n．power，strength
ตากั้ sagór n．cliff
co（̈）sagrám adv．below
cog sagrek n．throat，intestines
curi）sangúng n ．lizard



जs satet pron．how much，how many
coor sathá pron．when，at what time
coor（N）sathálá adv．always
（w）b sathang n．tiger
（ ${ }^{*}$ ）sadu adv．slowly
con sader n ．thunder
ज利6 sadermi n．gun（literally thunder－fire）
cuor saná n．bear
ตur（గ）sanóng n．snow
（ws（ $\mathfrak{A} \ddot{\mathscr{F}})$ sanóngjum n．snow flake
（w上v）safyu n．garlic
coviv）safyum n．breeze
coor sabá pron．where
coornc sabálá pron．everywhere
（ $\omega$ Õ）sabur n．musk deer
जõj $\omega$ j saburgú n．female musk deer
$\cdots$（ 0 ）（ヘ̃）saburlóng n．musk deer

जモ்）satsuk n．sun
cor sare pron．which
curs saróng adv．today
$\omega 00 \mathrm{i}$ salem adv．in what direction，whither，where
$\operatorname{\omega u}(\hat{N}$ salol adv which way，in which direction，whither
$\cdots(\mathbb{N})$ salom adv．how，like what
cur（N̈Nr salomlá adv．anyhow，anyway
（wも）sahu n．monkey
curf（）savíng n ．stag
curs）
$\omega \sim$ z̃ saPár n ．goat


cu®̀（saPyák n．day，day and night
cơ（ sák n．mind
cu（،） $5 \mathcal{O}$ sákcíng v ．think


ぶ（ت̈）sáktsum n．thought
cü（ sám num．three
con（r゙リ sáryók n．jackal
（cu so n．rain
（co so num．one hundred
といかっ่ sonáp n．night，night－time
といっ゚（হ̄ sonápphet n ．midnight

（cuz）somyer n．dusk
（Cur\＆sozóng n ．winter，cold，v．be cold
rGuel soyá num．million
（GwNr solá n．twilight
coucol sosá n．dry season
（curruo sosóng n．dawn
ravicul（GO sosotsho num．billion
（Coulcovion sosotshúr num．ten billion
rculcuel sosoyá num．hundred billion
（Cou $\overline{\tilde{z}}$ sopâm n．summer
ru só adv．yesterday
ruvin sósó adv．lately
cu sót v．kill
rü sóm v．breathe
（w）$s u$ v．contain
（cw）sung n．story
（cu）（Өબj sungvogú n ．female buffalo
（ $\omega$ ）（ $(\sqrt{(N)}$ ）sungvolóng n ．wild buffalo
（i）${ }^{\text {（ }}$ ）sukdum n ．world
（iv）$)^{5}$ ）sukmut n ．wind
（ज）sut v．purify
（i）súk v．pound，strike
©uj sút n ．message
or W-
（rob）womú n．spindle
ᄃrof wómú n．jackal
（ror wó n．tub


$$
\mathfrak{A}
$$

$\mathfrak{Z}($ Pyá adv．formerly，a long time ago，in the days of old
®ํ Pyáp v．chop
$\mathfrak{( x )}$ Pyo adv．before，formerly，some time ago
（叉）̈ Pyochám adv．three days ago
（叉ヌ Pyochót adv．four days ago
（び Pyor n ．pitfall

days ago

ジ Pyum v．ripen，bring to maturity
※े ？yel v．divert

3를 ？yen adv．last year
妾 Pân and
Z（E Yákâ n．hand
Z EX Pákán n．hurry
Z（GE Pákíng n．front


区（Ẽv Pákyâng adj．light，bright
Z（9）華 Pákrím adj．bitter
$\mathcal{Z}$（эiv Páklyam adj．sweet
Z（̛）？ákhú adj．expensive
又）於 Págít n．tribe
又（๘ Rágó n．joy，happiness
Z（Ġ Págek $n$ ．birth

\＆（ปั）Pángpur n．tunnel，opening
Z（orner Pácálá adv．still
Z（•or Pácáng n．back
Z
\＆（シ̈）Pácum adj．small
$\mathfrak{E}(\mathfrak{o j}\}$ Pácún adv．below，lower down，beneath
又（w Páce n．love
$\mathfrak{Z}(\underset{\}}{\}}$ Páchú adv．this down here，this down below
又（扁 Pájóm adj．easy，simple
又跃 Pányúr n．ear
\＆
又（）ミ Ráti n．sole
z（）ミ Rátí n．egg
又（）乏 Pátím adj．big

$\mathcal{E}$（S Pátet adv．this much，this many
Z（rıor Pátháng adv．this up there
Zart Páthong n．leg
又،危 ？áthól adj．very near，very close
$\mathcal{Z}(b)$ Páthú adv．this up over there，this up above there
Zはが Páthyák n．head
又（屎 Pádók n．pain



又（所 Pánók adj．black

又（ $\mathfrak{\text { ® }}$ ）Pánum n ．younger brother
（狺 Rápíl n．shadow
$\mathfrak{Z}$（予 Pápín adv．this on the other side
$\mathfrak{Z}(\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{Z} \mathfrak{Z}($ Ỏ Pápín Pábon adv．on both sides，here and there
区（J̊）～ป̉ ）？ápun～pun adj．near，close
$\mathfrak{Z}(\mathfrak{j} \in$ Páfi adv．this just here，this nearby here
Z（Ŝֹ̃ Táflík adj．some

Zは纸 Páfong adj．green
zlor Pábá adv．here，this here
\＆ $\mathfrak{l} 0$ Pábi adv．here，this right here
Xr（ro Pábo n．father
Zuro Pábong n．mouth
$\mathfrak{Z}$ r（ỏ Pábon adv．on this side
\＆（Ó Pábek n．middle
Z（9）
ふ（竞 Pámel n．hair
\＆（f）
又は̈ Pámlem n ．face

又（获 Pátsóm n．hair
又（戾 Pázóm n ．rice，food
Z（if）Pázuk adj．pretty
$\mathcal{Z}(\varepsilon)$ Páyu $n$ ．wife，woman joined in marriage to a husband
又（）두 Párín．scent
$\mathfrak{Z}(\sqrt{\prime}) \mathscr{F}^{\text {Páríng } n \text { ．language }}$
ᄅ（庐 Párom n．fear
又（デ）Párum adv．far
又 $\mathcal{S H}_{5}$ Páre pron．this
Zoriz ？áryúm adj．good
き \＆ál adj．new
※ُ（ $\mathfrak{N}$ Pállât n ．freshness，newness
$\mathcal{Z}(\hat{\aleph N} \widetilde{N}$ Pálín $n$ ．speech，talk
\＆（̧）
$\mathfrak{Z}$（๙N）Pálóng adv．now，at this very moment
\＆\＆rヘNor Pálóngbá adv．in a moment，in a little while
draño Pálónglá adv．still
$\mathfrak{Z}$ ハ（N）Pálon adv．in this direction
$\mathcal{Z}$（ハ̈）Pálom adv．like this
$\mathcal{Z}$（๗犬̂ Pálol adv．this way，in this direction
\＆（Nָ）Pálut n．heart
$\mathcal{Z}$（Ni）Pálem adv．in this direction，hither
区（NW\} Pályú n. cat
区（v্ৰ Páhret n ．bone

\＆（v̌v）Páhyur adj．red
（re Pávyo n．tibia

又（cüz ？ásúm adj．spicy
又（誩 PáPít n ．origin，creation

fǐ Pík adj．still
$\mathfrak{f} \widetilde{\mathbb{Z}}$ Píng n ．younger sibling
، ك $\underset{\mathbf{z}}{7}$（ Píngngá n ．child
誩 Pít v．create
（ $\mathfrak{\sim} \mathfrak{\}}$ Pochú adv．that down here
（ $\mathcal{Z}$ Potet adv．that much，this many
rar Pothá adv．then，at that time
（ $\mathcal{A} \times($ Potháng adv．that up there
（ $2 \times j$ Pothú adv．that up over there
（2）隻 Popin adv．that on the other side
\＆or Pobá adv．there
（ $\mathcal{A}$（Ỏ Pobon adv．on that side
（ $\mathfrak{A} \cdot \mathfrak{G}$ ？otshóng adv．that day
（ $\mathfrak{A}$（N）Polol adv．that way，in that direction
（ $\mathcal{A}$（̈）Polom adv．like that
（ $\mathbb{A}$ N゚ Polon in that direction
（又⿺辶 ？olem adv．in that direction，thither
（ $\mathfrak{\mathcal { A }}$ Ook v．open
، $\sqrt{2}$ Póng n．boy
（ $\mathbb{Q} \mathcal{E})$ Póngkup n．small boy
\＆ ？ót v．pluck，as fruits
苍 Póm v．shine
© $\mathfrak{A j}$ Púng n．water
$\overline{\mathbf{x}} \mathfrak{j}$ Pút n ．otter

д̈) ?um adj. ripe, sweet, tasty
(̀) $? u l$ v. sell
艾)어 ?ulbú n. salesman, seller

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[^0]:    X（彐彐 Pátet＇this much，this many＇

