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## A Grammar of Lepcha

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# A Grammar of Lepcha

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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.	<i>confer</i> , 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	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , 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.	<i>videlicet</i> , or by substitution
vs.	versus
[ ]	phonetic transcription; analytical note
//	phonological transcription
< >	morphological transcription
<i>italics</i>	transliteration
~	alternates (allomorphs, allophones)
—	word-internal morpheme boundary or boundary between a word and an affix in glosses
·	syllable boundary in phonetic transcription
-	syllable boundary in transliteration
⓪	vowel sign in Lepcha orthography
Ⓢ	consonant sign in Lepcha orthography
Ⓢ⓪	vowel or consonant sign in Lepcha orthography

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

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

	a		ā	
	i		ī	
	u		ū	
		ṛ		
	e		ai	
	o		au	
	ṁ		ḥ	
k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
t	th	d	dh	n
p	ph	b	bh	m
	y	r	l	v
	ś	ṣ	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.



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## 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 homeland of the Lepcha people is referred to as ལེ་མལེ་ལྷ་མོ་ *ne máyel lyáng* ‘hidden paradise’ or ལེ་མལེ་ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ *ne máyel málúk lyáng* ‘land of eternal purity’. Most of the areas in which Lepcha is spoken today were once Sikkimese territory. The kingdom of Sikkim used to comprise all of present-day Sikkim and most of Darjeeling district. Kalimpong, now in Darjeeling district, used to be part of Bhutan, but was lost to the British and became ‘British Bhutan’ before being incorporated into Darjeeling district. The Lepcha are believed to be the aboriginal 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. According 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 distribution is largely in Sikkim and the northern districts of West Bengal, there are no reliable speaker numbers for these areas. In the Darjeeling 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 Nāmsālīn, Phikkal, Kolbuñ, Pañckanyā, Kanyām, Śrī Antu and Cisopānī, 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 language, 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 connotation. The Lepcha call themselves རྩོམ་ཆེན་ཀླུ་མུ་འུ་ལྷ་མོ་ *mútuncí róngkup rumkup* 'children of the Róng and of God', or simply རྩོམ་ཆེན་ *róngkup* 'children of the Róng'. Alternatively, the Lepcha people may call themselves རྩོམ་རྩོམ་ཆེན་ *róng ?ágít* 'the Róng tribe'. The Lepcha word for 'language' is རྩོམ་ཆེན་ *láríng*, and the Lepcha call their own language རྩོམ་ཆེན་ *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 རྩོམ་ཆེན་ཆུ་མུ་ *támsángmú*, the Lepcha from Sikkim are called རྩོམ་ཆེན་ལྷ་མོ་ *renjóngmú*. The smaller group of Lepcha living in the Ilām district of Nepal are known as རྩོམ་ཆེན་ལྷ་མོ་ *lilámmú* and the Lepcha who live in རྩོམ་ཆེན་ལྷ་མོ་ *prolyáng* 'Bhutan' are referred to as རྩོམ་ཆེན་ *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 རྩོམ་ཆེན་ལྷ་མོ་ 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 ཏུལ་ *putsho* and each clan has its own ཇ་ *dâ* ‘lake’ and ལུ་ *cú* ‘mountain peak’. The *cú* are regularly honoured in ལུ་ རྟེན་ *cú rumfát* ‘mountain worship’ ceremonies. In the Kalimpong area, the origin of the clan names is traditionally explained as follows: when the evil king མཆེན་པོ་ *hlaso múng* ‘Lhasa Devil’ was killed by རྩ་པོ་ *támsáng thín* ‘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 as ལུ་པོ་ལུ་ *lúksómmú*, སུ་མེ་ལུ་ *simíkmú*, སུ་ཇ་ལུ་ *sadámú*. Although 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 shortened, e.g. *Simik* from སུ་མེ་ལུ་ *simíkmú*, anglicised and shortened, e.g. *Foning* from རྩ་པོ་ རྟེན་ *fonyung rumsóngmú*, or the clan name may be substituted by the generic epithet ‘Lepcha’, e.g. *Dorji Tshering Lepcha*.

The native Lepcha female dress, ཇུ་པོ་ *dumdem*, also spelt ཇུ་པོ་ *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 contrasting colour. The native male dress is knee-length and consists of a multicoloured hand-woven cloth called ཇུ་པོ་ *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 ཐུ་ལུ་ *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 ཨྱ *dum* ‘cloth’ for the *dumprá* themselves. The Lepcha are also famous for their unique knowledge of the medicinal properties of local plants. Bamboo, འཕྱུལ *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 traditionally occupied by the ཨྱ *mun* and འཕྱུལ *bóngthín*, who both function as shamans. The *bóngthín* 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 *bóngthín* to develop into a *mun*, in Sikkim such healers are known as འཕྱུལ *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 *bóngthíns* 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 འཕྱུལ འཕྱུལ *lúngen 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), Gorar (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 scholars, ཁྲུལྱུ་ཐུམ་སངས་ Khárpú Támsáng and འཕྲུལ་ལྷོ་ཤེན་ལུ་ཐོམ་ Dóngtshen Luksóm, 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 indispensable 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-

nent Lepcha authors ཡུ་ཤིཔ་མུ་ Úgen Shipmú, ཨེ་ལཱ་ཀར་མུ་ Karma Lode Righimú, འཕེ་ལྷེ་ཤེ་ལཱ་མུ་ Nakú Tshering Likmú and རྟེན་ཡུང་མུ་ Dorji Wángdi Kunchúdyangmú.

Ever since its first issue in 1997, the quarterly Lepcha bilingual news magazine རལ་ལཱ་ *Aachuley* [áculé] published by the Lepcha Literary Organisation in Kalimpong and edited by ལཡང་སོང་མུ་ Lyáng-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. ལུཀ་མརྟོང་ *lúk-hróng*, ལུཀ་ལྟ་ *zúk-lât*. If a syllable ends in a vowel the syllable boundary is not indicated, e.g. རཱེ *ʔáre*, རཱེལྟུལ་ *ʔámlem*, རཱེལྟུལ་མེ *ʔákrím*. In 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 *í* for [i], *e* for [e~ɛ], *u* for [u], *a* or *â* for [ə], *á* for [a], *ú* for [u], *o* for [o], and *ó* for [ɔ]. 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	[i] <i>i, í</i>	[ʊ] <i>u</i>	[u] <i>ú</i>
half-close			[o] <i>o</i>
half-open	[e~ɛ] <i>e</i>	[ʌ] <i>a, â</i>	[ɔ] <i>ó</i>
open		[a] <i>á</i>	

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 [ɪ].

ʃ̃ <i>ríp</i>	[riʔp̚]	‘flower’
ʃ̃ <i>bi</i>	[bi]	‘give’
ʃ̃̃ <i>ʔík</i>	[ʔiʔk̚]	‘still’
ʃ̃̃ <i>ʔít</i>	[ʔiʔt̚]	‘create’

The phoneme /e/ varies in pronunciation between [e] and [ɛ] and sometimes [ɪ], 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 [ɪ] and in closed syllables the phoneme /e/ is realised as an unrounded half-open front vowel [ɛ]. However, the variation between the different allophones is in fact slightly more complex, since the realisation [ɛ] does not seem to occur before [ŋ] and [k]. Before [p], [m], [l], [n], [r], and [t] the phoneme /e/ may be realised as either [e], [ɪ] or [ɛ].

ꠤꠞ <i>pe</i>	[pe]	‘grass’
ꠤꠞꠟꠞ <i>renjóng</i>	[rɛnˈʒɔŋ]	‘Sikkim’
ꠤꠞ <i>len</i>	[lɛn]	‘than’
ꠤꠞꠟ <i>jer</i>	[ʒɛr]	‘gold’
ꠤꠞꠟ <i>heng</i>	[hɪŋ]	‘ginger’
ꠤꠞꠟꠞꠟ <i>ʔámlem</i>	[ʔɑˈmlɛm]	‘face’
ꠤꠞꠟ <i>klek</i>	[kleʔkʰ]	‘force, urge’

The phoneme /á/ is an unrounded open front vowel [a], with allophones ranging to an unrounded back vowel [ɑ].

ꠤꠞꠟ <i>navár</i>	[nʌˈvar]	‘boat’
ꠤꠞꠟ <i>bám</i>	[bam]	‘dwell’
ꠤꠞꠟ <i>ngár</i>	[ŋar]	‘slice’
ꠤꠞꠟꠞꠟ <i>ʔákâ</i>	[ʔaˈkʌ]	‘hand’
ꠤꠞꠟꠞꠟ <i>záti</i>	[ʒɑˈti]	‘nutmeg’

The phonetic value of the phoneme /a/, represented by the transliteration graphemes *a* and *â*, 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 unrounded half-open central vowel [ʌ] 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 ꠤꠞ *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.



𐄎 <i>dâ</i>	[dʌ]	‘lake’
𐄏 <i>fâk</i>	[fəʔkʰ]	‘scrape’
𐄐 <i>vâm</i>	[vəm]	‘song’
𐄑 <i>cang</i>	[cʌŋ]	‘foster, nourish’
𐄒 <i>patung</i>	[pəʔuŋ]	‘shoulder’

The phoneme /u/ is an unrounded back vowel [ʊ], sometimes realised closer to the value of [ɪ]. The phoneme /ú/ is a rounded close back vowel [u].

𐄓 <i>ʔánum</i>	[ʔaːnum]	‘younger brother’
𐄔 <i>ru</i>	[ru]	‘cane’
𐄕 <i>ʔulbú</i>	[ʔɪlˈbu]	‘salesman, seller’
𐄖 <i>dú</i>	[du]	‘umbrella’
𐄗 <i>kajú</i>	[kəːʒu]	‘dog’
𐄘 <i>thúk</i>	[tʰuʔkʰ]	‘season’
𐄙 <i>ʔút</i>	[ʔuʔtʰ]	‘otter’

The phoneme /o/ is a rounded half-close back vowel [o]. This rounded half-close back vowel is usually a bit raised, viz. [ɔ̞].

𐄚 <i>hlo</i>	[hlo]	‘hill’
𐄛 <i>dop</i>	[doʔpʰ]	‘burn’
𐄜 <i>go</i>	[go]	‘I’
𐄝 <i>ʔotshóng</i>	[ʔotʰɔŋ]	‘that day’

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

𐄞 <i>ʔánóm</i>	[ʔaːnɔm]	‘elder sister’
𐄟 <i>món</i>	[mɔn]	‘pig’
𐄠 <i>myóng</i>	[mjɔŋ]	‘experience’
𐄡 <i>myón</i>	[mjɔn]	‘forget’
𐄢 <i>gó</i>	[gɔ]	‘be happy’
𐄣 <i>ʔót</i>	[ʔɔʔtʰ]	‘pluck, as fruits’

The distinction between the phonemes /o/ and /ó/ is clearly phonetically differentiated in reading pronunciations and the cultivated enunciations 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 difficult to ascertain whether this distinction, i.e. /o/ vs. /ó/, is an original phonological distinction which is on the way out or an artificial distinction 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, beginning with the velar, palatal, dental, retroflex and bilabial stops and nasals, followed by fricatives, affricates, approximants, the trill and the glottal stop.

The phoneme /k/ is an unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop [k]. Before the vowels /i/ and /e/, /k/ is slightly palatalised [k<sup>j</sup>]. In syllable-final position, /k/ is found to be realised as a voiceless unreleased dorso-velar stop [k<sup>̚</sup>], usually reinforced with a simultaneous glottal stop [ʔk<sup>̚</sup>], as is the case in *kakyók* [kʌ·kʲəʔk<sup>̚</sup>] ‘nine’.

ᱵᱚᱴᱟ <i>kacer</i>	[kʌ·cɛɾ]	‘wheat’
ᱵᱚᱠᱟᱨ <i>lúkʔál</i>	[luk·ʔal]	‘tomorrow’
ᱵᱚᱴᱟᱨ <i>kít</i>	[kʲiʔt̪]	‘snatch’
ᱵᱚᱴᱟᱨ <i>rák</i>	[raʔk <sup>̚</sup> ]	‘search, examine’
ᱵᱚᱴᱟᱨ <i>ʔákrím</i>	[ʔa·krim]	‘bitter’

The phoneme /kh/ is an aspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop [k<sup>h</sup>]. The phoneme /kh/ occurs only in syllable-initial, not in syllable-final position.

ᱵᱚᱴᱟ <i>khek</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> eʔk <sup>̚</sup> ]	‘freeze’
ᱵᱚᱴᱟ <i>khák</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> aʔk <sup>̚</sup> ]	‘choke’
ᱵᱚᱴᱟ <i>khú</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> u]	‘loaf of bread’
ᱵᱚᱴᱟ <i>khyú</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> ju]	‘bathe’

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	[p] <i>p</i>	[t] <i>t</i>		[ʈ] <i>tr</i>	[c] <i>c</i>	[k] <i>k</i>	[ʔ] <i>ʔ</i>
aspirated voiceless stop	[p <sup>h</sup> ] <i>ph</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> ] <i>th</i>		[ʈ <sup>h</sup> ] <i>thr</i>	[c <sup>h</sup> ] <i>ch</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> ] <i>kh</i>	
voiced stop	[b] <i>b</i>	[d] <i>d</i>		[ɖ] <i>dr</i>		[g] <i>g</i>	
voiced nasal	[m] <i>m</i>	[n] <i>n</i>			[ɲ] <i>ny</i>	[ŋ] <i>ng</i>	
voiceless affricate			[ʈs] <i>ts</i>				
aspirated voiceless affricate			[ʈ <sup>h</sup> ] <i>tsh</i>				
voiceless fricative	[f] <i>f</i>		[s] <i>s</i>	[ʃ] <i>sh</i>			
voiced fricative	[v] <i>v</i>		[z] <i>z</i>	[ʒ] <i>j</i>			
voiced trill			[r] <i>r</i>				
voiced approximant	[w] <i>w</i>	[l] <i>l</i>			[j] <i>y</i>		
voiceless approximant							[h] <i>h</i>

Diagram 2: Lepcha consonant phonemes

The phoneme /g/ is an unaspirated voiced dorso-velar stop [g]. Before the vowels /i/ and /e/, the /g/ is slightly palatalised [g<sup>j</sup>]. The phoneme /g/ occurs only in syllable-initial, not in syllable-final position.

ᱵᱚ ᱛᱟᱞ	[gan]	‘old, aged’
ᱵᱚᱠᱚ ᱛᱟᱞᱟᱱ	[goːruŋ]	‘either’
ᱵᱚᱠᱚ ᱛᱟᱞᱟᱱ	[g <sup>j</sup> ekˌlaʔt̪]	‘birth’
ᱵᱚ ᱛᱟᱞᱟᱱ	[gju]	‘skill’

ᄒᄒᄒ tagryú [tʰgrju] ‘cheek’

The phoneme /ŋ/, corresponding to the transliteration digraph *ng*, is a voiced dorso-velar nasal [ŋ]. The phoneme /ŋ/ also occurs in syllable-final position. There is a tendency to neutralise the difference between /ŋ/ and /n/ in syllable-final position. A small number of speakers occasionally realise an initial /ŋ/ closer to a dental nasal [ɲ].

ᄒᄒ ngán	[ŋan]	‘remain, sit’
ᄒᄒ ngol	[ŋol]	‘early’
ᄒᄒ ᄒúᄒ	[ʔuŋ]	‘water’
ᄒᄒ kryóng	[krjɔŋ]	‘praise’

In syllable-initial position, the phoneme /ŋ/ 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 [ʔ], 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 /ŋ/ as [h] when confronted with this observation, and the alternation would be rejected in written Lepcha.

ᄒᄒ ngâk	[ŋəʔk̚ ~ həʔk̚]	‘look, observe’
ᄒᄒ ngú	[ŋu ~ hu]	‘fish’
ᄒᄒ ngún	[ŋun ~ hun]	‘become’

The phoneme /c/ is an unaspirated voiceless palatal stop [c]. The phoneme /ch/ is its aspirated counterpart [c<sup>h</sup>]. The phonemes /c/ and /ch/ occur only in syllable-initial, not in syllable-final position.

ᄒᄒ co	[co]	‘tea’
ᄒᄒ cí	[ci]	‘cí, fermented grain liquor’
ᄒᄒ cho	[c <sup>h</sup> o]	‘book’

ṡ chet	[c <sup>h</sup> εʔʔ]	‘relate’
ṡṡ cechók	[ce·c <sup>h</sup> ɔʔk]	‘loveable’

The phoneme /ñ/, corresponding to the transliteration digraph *ny*, is a voiced palatal nasal [ɲ]. The phoneme /ñ/ occurs only in syllable-initial, not in syllable-final position.

ṡ nyet	[ɲεʔʔ]	‘two’
ṡṡṡ nyilop	[ɲi·loʔp]	‘earlobe’
ṡṡ nyók	[ɲɔʔk]	‘delay’
ṡṡ nyín	[ɲin]	‘milk’

The phoneme /t/ is realised as a voiceless dental stop [t̪], 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 dental [t̪̚] or alveolar stop [t̚], usually reinforced with a simultaneous glottal stop, like [ʔt̪̚] or [ʔt̚].

ṡṡ tuknóm	[t̪uʔk·nɔm]	‘nose’
ṡṡ tímre	[t̪im·re]	‘respect’
ṡṡ tór	[t̪ɔr]	‘silk’
ṡṡṡ títrepót	[t̪iʔʔ·re·pɔʔʔ]	‘tamarind fruit’
ṡṡ tyút	[t̪juʔʔ]	‘scar’
ṡṡ ṡáhret	[a·ʔεʔʔ]	‘bone’

The phoneme /th/ is an aspirated voiceless dental [t̪<sup>h</sup>] or alveolar stop [t<sup>h</sup>]. The phoneme /th/ occurs only in syllable-initial, not in syllable-final position.

ṡṡ thámpót	[t̪ <sup>h</sup> am·pɔʔʔ]	‘fruit’
ṡṡṡ thikúng	[t̪ <sup>h</sup> i·kɯŋ]	‘great grandfather’
ṡṡ thop	[t̪ <sup>h</sup> oʔp]	‘get’
ṡṡ thyók	[t̪ <sup>h</sup> jɔʔk]	‘shelter’

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

ཨྲི <i>dī</i>	[d̪i]	‘come’
ཨྲིང <i>díng</i>	[d̪iŋ]	‘stand’
ཨྲི་ <i>dâ</i>	[d̪ʌ]	‘lake’
ཨྲི་ལྟ་ <i>sadu</i>	[səˈd̪ʌ]	‘slowly’

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

ཨྲི་ལྟ་ <i>nâlá</i>	[nʌˈla]	‘always’
ཨྲི་ <i>nám</i>	[nam]	‘year’
ཨྲི་ <i>mân</i>	[mʌn]	‘meat’

The phoneme /tr/ is an unaspirated voiceless retroflex stop [t̪], and the phoneme /thr/ is its aspirated counterpart [t̪ʰ]. The phoneme /dr/ is an unaspirated voiced retroflex stop [d̪]. The retroflex phonemes only occur syllable-initially, not syllable-finally. The retroflex series are written in the native Lepcha orthography as ཨྲི *kr* for /tr/, ཨྲིྱ *hr* for /thr/ and ཨྲིྱ *gr* for /dr/. In Lepcha orthography, the retroflex consonants are often distinguished from the clusters /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 /kr/, /hr/ or /gr/ are now sometimes pronounced with retroflex sounds, especially in Sikkim. For example, the word ཨྲི་ཨྲིྱ་ཨྲིྱ་ *tagrikup* [taˈgriːkuʔp̪] ‘boy’ is sometimes pronounced [taˈd̪iːkuʔp̪].

ཨྲི་ཨྲིྱ་ <i>trínchen</i>	[t̪inˈcʰen]	‘kindness’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>tróp</i>	[t̪ɔʔp̪]	‘winnow’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>tre</i>	[t̪e]	‘mule’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>thri</i>	[t̪ʰi]	‘throne’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>thrim</i>	[t̪ʰim]	‘law’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>throm</i>	[t̪ʰom]	‘town, market’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>dri</i>	[d̪i]	‘fort, palace’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>dróp</i>	[d̪ɔʔp̪]	‘moment’
ཨྲིྱ་ <i>dre</i>	[d̪e]	‘demon’

The phoneme /p/ is an unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop [p]. In syllable-final position the phoneme /p/ is often realised as a voiceless unreleased bilabial stop [p̚], often glottally reinforced, viz. [p̚ʔ].

ꠤꠞ <i>pel</i>	[pɛl]	‘be tired’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>plák</i>	[plɑʔkʰ]	‘break’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>pano</i>	[paˈno]	‘king’
ꠤꠞ <i>pi</i>	[pi]	‘write’
ꠤꠞ <i>po</i>	[po]	‘bamboo’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>ríp</i>	[riʔpʰ]	‘flower’

The phoneme /ph/ is an aspirated voiceless bilabial stop [p<sup>h</sup>], which occurs only in syllable-initial position. The phoneme /f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative [f], occasionally realised as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]. The phoneme /f/ occurs only syllable-initially, not syllable-finally. When children learn the Lepcha alphabet in the ꠤꠞꠞ *lâzóng* tradition, the letter ꠤꠞꠞ *f*, which is pronounced [fə], is sometimes pronounced as [frə], possibly to increase the contrast between the phonemes /f/ and /ph/. The difference between the two phonemes /ph/ and /f/ appears to be fading these days, no doubt under the influence of Nepali, although in the spoken language of some Lepcha speakers the contrast is still clearly audible.

ꠤꠞꠞ <i>phám</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> am]	‘defeat’
ꠤꠞ <i>pho</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> o]	‘time, turn’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>phíl</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> il]	‘be distant’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>fá</i>	[fa]	‘swim’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>fík</i>	[fiʔkʰ]	‘tear’
ꠤꠞꠞꠞ <i>fungfing</i>	[fuŋɣːfiŋ]	‘blue’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>flet</i>	[fleʔtʰ]	‘wash one’s face’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>flók</i>	[flɔʔkʰ]	‘peel’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>fyek</i>	[fjeʔkʰ]	‘sharpen’

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

ꠤꠞ <i>bán</i>	[ban]	‘knife’
ꠤꠞ <i>bi</i>	[bi]	‘give’
ꠤꠞꠞ <i>bík</i>	[biʔkʰ]	‘cow’
ꠤꠞꠞꠞ <i>ʔábek</i>	[ʔaˈbeʔkʰ]	‘middle’

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

ᄃᄂ <i>mák</i>	[maʔk̚]	‘die’
ᄃᄂ <i>mi</i>	[mi]	‘fire’
ᄃᄂ <i>món</i>	[mɔn]	‘pig’, ‘medicine’
ᄃᄂ <i>mlyá</i>	[mlja]	‘level, even’
ᄃᄂ ᄃᄂ <i>ʔárom</i>	[ʔaːrom]	‘fear’

The phoneme /ts/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate [t͡s]. The phoneme /tsh/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate [t͡sh]. The phonemes /ts/ and /tsh/ occur only syllable-initially, not syllable-finally.

ᄃᄂ <i>tsám</i>	[tsam]	‘hold’
ᄃᄂ <i>tsót</i>	[tsɔʔt̚]	‘squeeze’
ᄃᄂ <i>tsúk</i>	[tsuʔk̚]	‘bite’
ᄃᄂ <i>tsurtsur</i>	[tsurːtsur]	‘twinkle’
ᄃᄂ <i>tshó</i>	[t͡shɔ]	‘aim’
ᄃᄂ <i>tshukpót</i>	[t͡shukːpɔʔt̚]	‘word’
ᄃᄂ <i>tshâlum</i>	[t͡shʌːlum]	‘orange’

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. The phoneme /sh/ is a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ʃ]. Both /s/ and /sh/ occur only in syllable-initial position. The distinction between /s/ and /sh/ is neutralised before the vowel [i], as for example in ᄃᄂ *shi* [ʃi~si] ‘see’.

ᄃᄂ <i>so</i>	[so]	‘rain’
ᄃᄂ <i>sagrek</i>	[saːgreʔk̚]	‘throat’
ᄃᄂ <i>sung</i>	[suŋ]	‘story’
ᄃᄂ <i>shâk</i>	[ʃʌʔk̚]	‘louse’
ᄃᄂ <i>sher</i>	[ʃɛr]	‘glass’
ᄃᄂ <i>shól</i>	[ʃɔl]	‘fox’

The phoneme /j/ is a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]. The phoneme /j/ occurs only in syllable-initial position, not in syllable-final position. The phoneme /z/ is a voiced alveolar or dental fricative [z], sometimes realised as a voiced alveolar affricate [d͡z]. The distinction between /j/ and /z/ appears to be fading in modern-day spoken Lep-



cha, as some speakers no longer distinguish between the two phonemes.

ꨀ <i>jâl</i>	[ʒʌl]	‘dry’
ꨀ <i>jer</i>	[ʒɛr]	‘gold’
ꨀ <i>jám</i>	[ʒam]	‘assemble’
ꨀ <i>zâ</i>	[zʌ]	‘err’
ꨀ <i>zok</i>	[zoʔkʰ]	‘trickle’
ꨀ <i>záding</i>	[ɕaːdiŋ~zaːdiŋ]	‘jug’
ꨀ <i>ʔázóm</i>	[ʔaːɕom~ʔaːzom]	‘rice, food’

The phoneme /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill [r], which occasionally has a flapped articulation [ɾ]. 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 /r/ may combine are /k/, /g/, /ŋ/, /p/, /f/, /b/, /m/, /h/ (cf. Diagram 3). The post-consonantal glide /r/ also combines with the post-consonantal glide /y/, in which case it always precedes the /y/, so we may find an initial consonant followed by the sequence /ry/, as in ꨀ *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. ꨀ *ra*, ꨀ *kor*, ꨀ *pro*. In this respect, Lepcha orthography structurally uniquely resembles the Limbu script, a writing system which was designed in the same region and time as the Lepcha script. The cluster ꨀ *hr* is realised as a voiceless apico-alveolar trill [ɽ] and is only found in syllable-initial position.

ꨀ <i>ru</i>	[ru]	‘cane’
ꨀ <i>rám</i>	[ram]	‘thunder’
ꨀ <i>rok</i>	[roʔk]	‘read, study’
ꨀ <i>kor</i>	[kor]	‘wander, stroll’
ꨀ <i>krón</i>	[krɔn]	‘scratch’
ꨀ <i>tsur</i>	[tsur]	‘radiate’
ꨀ <i>hro</i>	[ɽo]	‘come up’
ꨀ <i>hryám</i>	[ɽjam]	‘jerk’
ꨀ <i>hrún</i>	[ɽun]	‘hot’

The phoneme /v/ is realised as a voiced labiodental fricative [v] and the phoneme /w/ is a voiced bilabial approximant [w]. The native Lepcha orthography offers a distinction between the two graphemes for [v] and [w], i.e. ཨ བ for [v] and ཨ ས 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 differently (but normally pronounced the same), or when the alphabet is read out loud. The phonemes /v/ and /w/ occur only in syllable-initial position, not in syllable-final position. Although the distinction between /v/ and /w/ is fading in spoken Lepcha, no doubt under influence of Nepali, which lacks a phoneme /v/, I have chosen to retain the distinction in writing.

ཨ བོམ	[vɔm]	‘salt’
ཨ འཁྲུག་པ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་	[ʔaˈvjo]	‘tibia’
ཨ འི་ཁྲོ་	[viʔkʰ]	‘soldier’
ཨ འཇུག་	[vjɛʔʰ]	‘ask, inquire’
ཨ འཇུག་ མུ་	[woˈmu]	‘spindle’
ཨ འཇུག་ མུ་	[wɔˈmu]	‘jackal’
ཨ འཇུག་ མུ་	[wurˈdo]	‘sling’

The phoneme /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l]. The phoneme /l/ occurs both in syllable-initial and in syllable-final position. 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 /l/, there is a special series of consonant letters in the native orthography, i.e. ཨ ཀྲལ་, ཨ གྲལ་ རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་, ཨ རྒྱལ་, ཨ རྒྱལ་, ཨ རྒྱལ་, ཨ རྒྱལ་. All consonant letters in this series actually do represent consonant clusters, although the phonological cluster ཨ རྒྱལ་ is realised as a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative [ɬ].

ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬɔʔʰ]	‘repeat’
ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬaʔpʰ]	‘bury’
ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬiʔʰ]	‘sift’
ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬul]	‘sell’
ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬɔl]	‘skin’
ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬo]	‘hill’
ཨ རྒྱལ་	[ɬaŋ]	‘harden, as yams’

ᵛ hlok	[loʔkʰ]	‘break, as eggs’
ᵛ hlyám	[ljám]	‘shake, quiver’

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

ᵛ hák	[hɑʔk]	‘carve’
ᵛ heng	[heŋ]	‘ginger’
ᵛ háp	[hɑʔp]	‘shut’
ᵛ híp	[hiʔp]	‘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 /y/ combines as a post-consonantal glide, are /k/, /kh/, /g/, /t/, /th/, /d/, /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 orthography, a glottal stop is indicated by the symbol ʔ, e.g. ʔáre [ʔaːre] ‘this’, ʔí [ʔiʔí] ‘create’.

ʔ soʔám	[soːʔəm]	‘summer’
ʔáre	[ʔaːre]	‘this’

The sequence that is written ʔy- at the beginning of a word, indicates an initial glottal stop [ʔ] followed by a voiced palatal approximant [j]. Some of the examples starting with ʔy [ʔj] listed immediately below form minimal pairs with words with an initial voiced palatal approximant [j].

ᵛ yok	[joʔkʰ]	‘top, summit’
ʔyók	[ʔjoʔkʰ]	‘work, job, chore’
ᵛ yel	[jel]	‘know a language’
ʔyel	[ʔjel]	‘divert’
ᵛ yá	[jʌ]	‘know’
ʔyá	[ʔja]	‘formerly’
ᵛ yor	[jor]	‘row’

ꨀꨣ ꠢyor	[ʔjor]	‘pitfall’
ꨀꨣ ꠢyáp	[jaʔp̚]	‘grope’
ꨀꨣ ꠢyáp	[ʔjaʔp̚]	‘chop’
ꨀꨣ ꠢyen	[ʔjɛn]	‘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 -r-, nor with post-consonantal -l-. All possible combinations for initial consonant clusters are listed in Diagram 3.

-y-	-r-	-ry-	-l-	-ly-
ꨀꨣ ꠢya				
ꨀꨣ kya	ꨀꨣ kra/tra	ꨀꨣ krya/trya	ꨀꨣ kla	ꨀꨣ klya
ꨀꨣ khya				
ꨀꨣ gya	ꨀꨣ gra/dra	ꨀꨣ grya/drya	ꨀꨣ gla	ꨀꨣ glya
	ꨀꨣ ngra			
ꨀꨣ tya				
ꨀꨣ thya				
ꨀꨣ dya				
ꨀꨣ pya	ꨀꨣ pra	ꨀꨣ prya	ꨀꨣ pla	ꨀꨣ plya
ꨀꨣ phya				
ꨀꨣ fya	ꨀꨣ fra	ꨀꨣ frya	ꨀꨣ fla	ꨀꨣ flya
ꨀꨣ bya	ꨀꨣ bra		ꨀꨣ bla	ꨀꨣ blya
ꨀꨣ mya	ꨀꨣ mra	ꨀꨣ mrya	ꨀꨣ mla	ꨀꨣ mlya
ꨀꨣ rya				
ꨀꨣ lya				
ꨀꨣ hya	ꨀꨣ hra/thra	ꨀꨣ hrya/thrya		
ꨀꨣ hlya				
ꨀꨣ vya				

Diagram 3: Syllable-initial consonant clusters

The following consonants may appear in syllable-final position: /k/, /ŋ/, /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 lower-case 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 ཡུ ཁཀྱུ *kakha* ‘ABC’, རྩོམ་ཐུང་ *chomíng* ‘written letters’ and རྩོམ་ཐུང་མཆོག་ *míngzât* ‘treasure of letters’. The native Lepcha orthography is systematically treated in the text རྩོམ་ཐུང་མཆོག་ *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 རྩོམ་ཐུང་མཆོག་ *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 ག ཁཀྱུ *ʔa* to མ ཁཀྱུ *ma*, and the second unit running from བ ཁཀྱུ *ha* to ཐ ཁཀྱུ *tha*, etc. Although most རྩོམ་ཐུང་མཆོག་ *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 རྩོམ་ཐུང་མཆོག་ *lazóng*, between the introductory summary of the alphabet in the opening part of རྩོམ་ཐུང་མཆོག་ *lazóng* and the actual listing of all

possible syllables in ལཱ་ལྷོང་ *lazóng* books. However, the differences are minor and most of them are apparently oversights of the copyists.

ཧྲ ཇa	ཇྱ ka	ཇཱ ga	ཇཱ pa	ཇཱ fa	ཇཱ ba	ཇཱ ma	
ཇྱ ha	ཇྱ ra	ཇྱ kha	ཇྱ ta	ཇྱ tha			
ཇྱ da	ཇྱ la	ཇྱ kla	ཇྱ gla	ཇྱ pla	ཇྱ fla	ཇྱ bla	
ཇྱ mla	ཇྱ hla	ཇྱ va	ཇྱ nga	ཇྱ ca	ཇྱ pha	ཇྱ nya	ཇྱ na ཇྱ tsa
ཇྱ wa	ཇྱ ja	ཇྱ za	ཇྱ ya	ཇྱ sha	ཇྱ cha	ཇྱ tsha	ཇྱ sa

Diagram 4: Original order of the syllabary

In the ལཱ་ལྷོང་ *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 ལཱ་ལྷོང་ *lazóng* does not contain running text as such. The traditional method of instruction is for the teacher to recite sections of the ལཱ་ལྷོང་ *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 ལཱ་ལྷོང་ *lazóng* is still practised. The list of possible syllables in Lepcha given by Mainwaring in his grammar (1876: 12-18), is clearly based on the ལཱ་ལྷོང་ *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 ཇྱ ka, ཇྱ kha, ཇཱ ga, ཇྱ nga, and ending with ཇྱ bla, ཇྱ mla, ཇྱ hla.

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 the third chögel of Sikkim, ཇོ་མོ་གླུ་མཁན་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *Chögü Châdo 'Namgü* (*imperabat* 1700-1716). According to Lepcha tradition, the native Lepcha orthography was created by the Lepcha scholar མཁན་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *Thikung Mensalóng*, who is believed to have been a contemporary of ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མཁན་པོ་ *'Lama Lhatsün Chenpo*, i.e. ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མཁན་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *'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 མཁན་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *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 Chenpo*. The Lepcha tradition that credits མཁན་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *Mensalóng* with the invention of the Lepcha script, seems even more plausible when we realise that during the reign of *Châdo 'Namgü* not just the Lepcha script, but also the Limbu or Kiranti script was developed, not by *Châdo 'Namgü* himself, but by the Limbu monk *Śirijaṅgā* (van Driem 2001: 674-675).

The 36 consonant symbols འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *chomíng 'ámo* or འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *'ámú 'ámíng* ‘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 vowel diacritics are traditionally known as འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *chomíng 'ákup* or འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *'ákup 'ámíng* ‘vowel signs, child letters, small letters’ and འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *'ákup thámbyín* or འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *míngkup thámbyín* ‘diacritical vowel signs’, cf. Diagram 6. Mainwaring claims that the term འཕྲོ་ཆུ་མཁན་ *'ákup* was ‘formerly applied by the Lepcha exclusively to the Finals’ (1876: 3).

ꠄ	ꠅ	꠆	ꠇ	ꠈ	ꠉ	ꠊ	ꠋ	ꠌ
<i>pa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>nya</i>
ꠍ	ꠎ	ꠏ	ꠐ	ꠑ	ꠒ	ꠓ	ꠔ	ꠕ
<i>ta</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>
ꠖ	ꠗ	ꠘ	ꠙ	ꠚ	ꠛ	ꠜ	ꠝ	
<i>tsha</i>	<i>tsha</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>va</i>	
ꠞ	ꠟ	ꠠ						
<i>sha</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>wa</i>						
ꠡ	ꠢ	ꠣ	ꠤ	ꠥ	ꠦ	ꠧ		
<i>kla</i>	<i>gla</i>	<i>pla</i>	<i>fla</i>	<i>bla</i>	<i>m̐la</i>	<i>hla</i>		

Diagram 5: Consonant letters

꠨	꠩	꠪	꠫	꠬	꠭	꠮	꠯	꠰	꠱
<i>a</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>e</i>

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 *-ng*. The ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *tyelbú thámbyín* or ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *múngtyel thámbyín* ‘final consonant signs’ are given in Diagram 7.

The ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *nyíndo* sign, i.e. ‘ꠄ꠨’, transliterated here as *-ang*, is used to indicate a final velar nasal when no specific vowel sign is indicated, as in ꠄ꠨ *sang*. The ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *lakang* sign is used to indicate a final velar nasal in combination with diacritical vowel signs, as in the syllables ꠄ꠨ *sáng*, ꠄ꠨ *síng*, and ꠄ꠨ *song*. The distinction between the ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *nyíndo* and the ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *lakang* is not always made when people discuss orthography, often the ꠄ꠨ ꠄ꠨ *nyíndo* is used as a general term for a written final velar nasal.



symbol	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷
transliteration	-k	-m	-l
name of symbol	ᳵᳵᳵ	ᳶᳶᳶ	᳷᳷᳷
	<i>lakát</i>	<i>lanyet</i>	<i>lasám</i>
examples	ᳵᳵ rok	ᳶᳶ kím	᳷᳷ pál
symbol	᳸	᳹	ᳺ
transliteration	-n	-p	-r
name of symbol	᳸᳸᳸	᳹᳹᳹	ᳺᳺᳺ
	<i>lanun</i>	<i>lakup</i>	<i>ladar</i>
examples	᳸᳸ bán	᳹᳹ óp	ᳺᳺ kor
symbol	᳻	᳼	᳽
transliteration	-t	-ng	-ang
name of symbol	᳻᳻᳻	᳼᳼᳼	᳽᳽᳽
	<i>lakat</i>	<i>lakang</i>	<i>nyíndo</i>
examples	᳻᳻ fát	᳼᳼ róng	᳽᳽ pang

Diagram 7: Final consonant signs

For those consonant clusters in which the initial consonant is followed by one of the post-consonantal glides -y, -r or -l, the term ᳵᳶᳶ *míngthyú* ‘conjunct consonants, affixed consonants’ is used. The ᳵᳶᳶ *míngthyú* series includes the consonant symbols ᳵ *kla*, ᳶ *gla*, ᳷ *pla*, ᳸ *fla*, ᳹ *bla*, ᳺ *mla* and ᳻ *hla*, which are also sometimes referred to as the ᳵᳶᳶ *lathyú* ‘l-cluster’, literally ‘l-affix’. The orthography also has special symbols for post-consonantal -y and -r, i.e. the ᳵᳶᳶ *yathyú* ‘y-affix’ and the ᳶᳶᳶ *rathyú* ‘r-affix’. The ᳵᳶᳶ *yathyú* and ᳶᳶᳶ *rathyú* symbols can be used in combination with each other, as for example in ᳶᳶᳶ *fryóm* ‘suspect’. The ᳵᳶᳶ *yathyú* and ᳶᳶᳶ *rathyú* symbols may also be used in combination with the ᳵᳶᳶ *lathyú* series, as in ᳶᳶᳶ *mlyúk* ‘lukewarm, tepid’, in which case the ᳵᳶᳶ *yathyú* always follows either the ᳵᳶᳶ *lathyú* or the ᳶᳶᳶ *rathyú*. The ᳵᳶᳶ *lathyú* and ᳶᳶᳶ *rathyú* may not be combined with each other.

symbol	ᳵ	ᳶ
transliteration	-y	-r
name of sign	ᳵᳶ yathyú	ᳶᳶ rathyú
examples	ᳵᳶ kya, ᳵ kra, ᳶᳶ krya	

Diagram 8: Affixed consonant signs

For retroflex sounds, which occur mainly in loanwords from Drän-joke, the clusters ᳵ kra, ᳶ hra and ᳶ gra are used, e.g. ᳵᳶ *throm* ‘town, market’, and ᳶᳶ ᳶᳶ *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* and *gra*, which occur widely in Lepcha, e.g. ᳶᳶ *krít* ‘hunger’, and ᳶᳶ *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 ᳶ za and ᳶ 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.

ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳶ
<i>kra</i>	<i>gra</i>	<i>hra</i>	<i>tra</i>	<i>dra</i>	<i>thra</i>

Diagram 9: Retroflex consonants

The ᳶ *rân* ‘circumflex’ sign is a diacritic flourish written over a consonant sign or over a vowel sign ‘ᳶ’, as in ᳶ *rân*, ᳶ ᳶ *â* or ᳶ ᳶ *í*. Although the original function of the ᳶ *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 ᳶ *rân* 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 ᳶ *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  $\text{Ṛ}$  *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  $\text{Ṃ}$  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*, *hra*, 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 *ch* by *c* and *chh* by *ch*. Sprigg adds an apostrophe to indicate an initial glottal stop, and to avoid the suggestion of disyllabicity in words with an initial *ʁ* 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 *ñ* with *ng*, *š* with *sy*, *c* with *cy*, *c'* with *chy*, and *j* with *zy*. Bodman systematically represents aspiration with the letter *h*, and he replaced *ts* with *c*, and *ts'* with *ch*. 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 *ꠏ*, *jya* for *ꠐ*, *shya* for *ꠑ*, and *ta* for *ꠒ* as well as retroflex *ꠓ*, *da* for *ꠔ* as well as retroflex *ꠕ*, and *hta* for retroflex *ꠖ*. 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 the *ꠗ* (ꠗ *nyíndo* sign; where others spell *ꠗꠘ sang*, he spells *ꠗ*). In his *Lepcha-English Encyclopedic Dictionary*, Khárpú Támsáng (1980) does not romanise the *ꠘ* *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 *ꠘ* *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 *-â*. In other words, Támsáng implies that the difference between open syllables ending in *-a* and *-â* 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: *ca* is used instead of *cha* for the consonant symbol  $\text{ᑕ}$ , and for the symbol  $\text{ᑭ}$ , *cha* is used instead of *chha*. The clusters *tra*, *dra* and *thra* are used for the retroflex sounds, the symbol  $\text{ᑭ}$  is systematically transcribed as *ʔ*,  $\text{ᑭ}$  is transcribed as *ʔy-*,  $\text{ᑭ}$  is used for  $\text{ᑭ}$ , and  $\text{ᑭ}$  is used for  $\text{ᑭ}$ .

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, represent a phonological distinction, i.e.  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  vs.  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$ , and  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  vs.  $\text{ᑭ}$  (for example in  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$ ). On the other hand, the orthography does not adequately distinguish between the sounds [e] and [ɛ], as will be shown below.

In older manuscripts, the symbols  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  and  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  are used in a systematic manner:  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  is used only in closed syllables and  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  only in open syllables. Since Mainwaring's time and possibly through his influence, the distribution of the orthographic symbols  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  and  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  has become much more random.

The function of the  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  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  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  sign in old texts is likely to shed more light on this matter.

The  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  *yathyú*, the infixed  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  -y-, is often used before the vowels /e/ and /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  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  *bi* or  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  *byi*, and the word for 'play' may be written either  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  *lem* or  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  *lyem*. The orthographic sequences  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  -ya, and  $\text{ᑭ} \text{ᑭ}$  -yá of-

ten point to a realisation of the phoneme /e/ as [ɛ], as in རྩ་ལྔ *gyal* [gɛl], which is sometimes found written རྩ་ལྔ *gyál* [gɛl].

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 རྩ་ལྔ *pyók* vs. རྩ་ལྔ *pyúk* ‘work’ and རྩ་ལྔ *thop* vs. རྩ་ལྔ *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 རྩ་ལྔ *o* and རྩ་ལྔ *ú*, Sprigg points to the fact that while the three rounded back vowels རྩ་ལྔ *ú* [u], རྩ་ལྔ *o* [o], and རྩ་ལྔ *ó* [ɔ] may occur in syllables 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. རྩ་ལྔ *ú* and རྩ་ལྔ *ó*. In other words, Sprigg claims that there are only two lip-rounded vowel units in nasal-initial syllables, i.e. རྩ་ལྔ *ú* [ũ] ~ རྩ་ལྔ *o* [õ] and རྩ་ལྔ *ó* [õ] versus three, i.e. རྩ་ལྔ *ú* [u], རྩ་ལྔ *o* [o], and རྩ་ལྔ *ó* [ɔ] in other syllables. Sprigg also points out that a spelling with རྩ་ལྔ *o* would often yield a spelling closer to a Tibetan cognate, but that perhaps for this very reason many Lepcha prefer a spelling with རྩ་ལྔ *ú* (Sprigg 1989: 229).

	Plaisier	Mainwaring	Grünwedel	Támsáng	
ㄏ	ka	ka	kǎ	ka	ㄏ
ㄎ	kha	kha	k'ǎ	kha	ㄎ
ㄍ	ga	ga	gǎ	ga	ㄍ
ㄋ	nga	nga	nǎ	nga	ㄋ
ㄘ	ca	cha	čǎ	cha	ㄘ
ㄔ	cha	chha	č'ǎ	chya	ㄔ
ㄐ	ja	ja	jǎ	jya	ㄐ
ㄑ	nya	nya	nyǎ	nya	ㄑ
ㄒ	ta	ta	tǎ	ta	ㄒ
ㄒ	tha	tha	t'ǎ	tha	ㄒ
ㄔ	da	da	dǎ	da	ㄔ
ㄎ	na	na	nǎ	na	ㄎ
ㄍ	pa	pa	pǎ	pa	ㄍ
ㄍ	pha	pha	p'ǎ	pha	ㄍ
ㄆ	fa	fa	fǎ	fa	ㄆ
ㄅ	ba	ba	bǎ	ba	ㄅ
ㄇ	ma	ma	mǎ	ma	ㄇ
ㄊ	tsa	tsa	tsǎ	tsa	ㄊ
ㄊ	tsha	tsha	ts'ǎ	tsha	ㄊ
ㄗ	za	za	zǎ	za	ㄗ
ㄢ	ya	ya	yǎ	ya	ㄢ
ㄣ	ra	ra	rǎ	ra	ㄣ
ㄤ	la	la	lǎ	la	ㄤ
ㄆ	ha	ha	hǎ	ha	ㄆ
ㄅ	va	va	vǎ	va	ㄅ
ㄎ	sha	sha	šǎ	sya	ㄎ
ㄍ	sa	sa	sǎ	sa	ㄍ
ㄎ	wa	wa	wǎ	wa	ㄎ
ㄏ	kla	kla	klǎ	kla	ㄏ
ㄍ	gla	gla	glǎ	gla	ㄍ
ㄎ	fla	fla	flǎ	fla	ㄎ
ㄎ	pla	pla	plǎ	pla	ㄎ
ㄍ	bla	bla	blǎ	bla	ㄍ
ㄐ	mła	mła	mlǎ	mła	ㄐ
ㄐ	hla	hla	hlǎ	hla	ㄐ

	Plaisier	Mainwaring	Grünwedel	Támsáng	
ᠲ	<i>tra</i>	<i>ḱra</i>	—	<i>ta</i>	ᠲ
ᠳ	<i>dra</i>	<i>gra</i>	—	<i>da</i>	ᠳ
ᠱ	<i>thra</i>	<i>ḥra</i>	—	<i>hta</i>	ᠱ
ᠠ	<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	<i>a</i>	ᠠ
ᠠᠠ	<i>ʔá</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aa</i>	ᠠᠠ
ᠠᠡ	<i>ʔâ</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>á</i>	—	ᠠᠡ
ᠠᠢ	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ae</i>	ᠠᠢ
ᠠᠣ	<i>ʔí</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>ai</i>	ᠠᠣ
ᠠᠤ	<i>ʔo</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ao</i>	ᠠᠤ
ᠠᠥ	<i>ʔó</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>aaó</i>	ᠠᠥ
ᠠᠦ	<i>ʔu</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>au</i>	ᠠᠦ
ᠠᠦᠡ	<i>ʔú</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>aoo</i>	ᠠᠦᠡ
ᠠᠦᠢ	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>aey</i>	ᠠᠦᠢ
ᠠᠦᠣ	<i>ʔy-</i>	<i>ay-</i>	<i>'a-</i>	<i>ay-</i>	ᠠᠦᠣ
ᠠᠦᠠ	<i>-á</i>	<i>-á</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-aa</i>	ᠠᠦᠠ
ᠠᠦᠡ	<i>-â</i>	<i>-â</i>	<i>-á</i>	<i>-a</i>	ᠠᠦᠡ
ᠠᠦᠢ	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-e</i>	ᠠᠦᠢ
ᠠᠦᠣ	<i>-í</i>	<i>-í</i>	<i>-í</i>	<i>-i</i>	ᠠᠦᠣ
ᠠᠦᠤ	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o</i>	ᠠᠦᠤ
ᠠᠦᠥ	<i>-ó</i>	<i>-ó</i>	<i>-ó</i>	<i>-ao, -oo</i>	ᠠᠦᠥ
ᠠᠦᠦ	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-ũ</i>	<i>-u</i>	ᠠᠦᠦ
ᠠᠦᠦᠡ	<i>-ú</i>	<i>-ú</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-oo, -o</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠡ
ᠠᠦᠦᠢ	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ey</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠢ
ᠠᠦᠦᠣ	<i>-y-</i>	<i>-y-</i>	<i>-y-</i>	<i>-y-</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠣ
ᠠᠦᠦᠠ	<i>-r-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠠ
ᠠᠦᠦᠡ	<i>-k</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-k</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠡ
ᠠᠦᠦᠢ	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠢ
ᠠᠦᠦᠣ	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠣ
ᠠᠦᠦᠤ	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠤ
ᠠᠦᠦᠥ	<i>-p</i>	<i>-p</i>	<i>-p</i>	<i>-p</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠥ
ᠠᠦᠦᠦ	<i>-r</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-r</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠦ
ᠠᠦᠦᠦᠡ	<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠦᠡ
ᠠᠦᠦᠦᠠ	<i>-ang</i>	<i>-ang</i>	<i>-ǎñ</i>	—	ᠠᠦᠦᠦᠠ
ᠠᠦᠦᠦᠡ	<i>-ng</i>	<i>-ng</i>	<i>-ñ</i>	<i>-ng</i>	ᠠᠦᠦᠦᠡ

Diagram 6: Romanisation systems



phonetic transcription	native grapheme	transliteration
[i]	ᳵ᳚	<i>i</i>
	ᳵ᳚̃	<i>í</i>
[e~ɛ]	ᳵ̣᳚	<i>e</i>
	ᳵ̣᳚ᳵ	<i>-ya</i>
[a]	ᳵ̣᳚ᳶ	<i>-á</i>
[ʌ]	ᳵ᳚̃	<i>â</i>
[ʌ]	ᳵ᳚	<i>a</i>
[u]	ᳵ̣᳚ᳶ	<i>u</i>
[u]	ᳵ̣᳚ᳶ̃	<i>ú</i>
[o]	ᳵ̣᳚ᳶ̃	<i>o</i>
[ɔ]	ᳵ̣᳚ᳶ̃̃	<i>ó</i>

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 ᳵ̣᳚ *u* and the consonant-inherent vowel *a*, i.e. when no vowel diacritic is added to a consonant symbol. The three spread vowels ᳵ̣᳚ *u* [u], *a* [ə] and ᳵ̣᳚̃ *á* [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. ᳵ̣᳚ *u* [ũ] ~ ᳵ̣᳚̃ *a* [ã] vs. ᳵ̣᳚̃ *á* [ã], which results in spelling variations between ᳵ̣᳚ *u* and the consonant-inherent vowel *a* (Sprigg 1989: 229).

The variation between spellings with *a* and *á*, in words like ᳵ̣᳚̃ *sám* ‘three’, which is sometimes written ᳵ̣᳚̃ *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 [a~ɑ], romanised as *á*, 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 ᳵ̣᳚̃̃ *â* and the vowel

realised as [a~ɑ] may be written either ʘ( *á* 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  $\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{?á-}$  and a verbal root, as in the following examples.

$\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{X}$ $\text{?ít}$ ‘create’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{X}$ $\text{?á?ít}$ ‘origin, creation’
$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}$ $\text{?óm}$ ‘shine’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}$ $\text{?á?óm}$ ‘radiance’
$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}$ $\text{gó}$ ‘be happy’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}$ $\text{?ágó}$ ‘joy, happiness’
$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{K}$ $\text{kón}$ ‘taste’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{K}$ $\text{?ákón}$ ‘taste’
$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}$ $\text{gek}$ ‘be born’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}$ $\text{?ágek}$ ‘birth’
$\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$ $\text{li}$ ‘say, speak’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$ $\text{?álin}$ ‘speech, talk’
$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}$ $\text{zo}$ ‘eat’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}$ $\text{?ázóm}$ ‘rice, food’
$\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{R}$ $\text{ryú}$ ‘be good’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{R}$ $\text{?áryúm}$ ‘good’
$\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$ $\text{li}$ ‘carry’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$ $\text{?álim}$ ‘heavy’
$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}$ $\text{dúm}$ ‘be white’	$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}$ $\text{?ádúm}$ ‘white’

The prefix  $\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{?á-}$ , phonetically [ $\text{?a}$ ], may be shortened to [ $\text{?}$ ], e.g.  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{?áhrún}$  [ $\text{?a-rún}$ ] vs.  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{hrún}$  [ $\text{?rún}$ ],  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{H}$   $\text{?áhyâng}$  [ $\text{?a-hjəŋ}$ ] vs.  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{H}$   $\text{hyâng}$  [ $\text{?hjəŋ}$ ]. This optional variation prompted George Mainwaring to state that ‘the retention or rejection of the  $\text{á}$ , 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 Burmese nominalising prefix  $a-$ .

The suffix  $\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{-lá}$  creates adverbs when it is added to the verbal root, e.g.  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{R}$   $\text{ryú}$  ‘be good’,  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{ryúlá}$  ‘well’,  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{thyen}$  ‘laugh’,  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{thyenlá}$  ‘laughingly’.

The suffix  $\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{-lât}$  is added to verbs or adjectives to create abstract nouns and *nomina actionis*, as  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{zúk-lât}$  ‘action, performance’ from  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}$   $\text{zúk}$  ‘make’, and  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{thyenlât}$  ‘laughter’ from  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{thyen}$  ‘laugh’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{gánlât}$  ‘oldness, old age’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{gán}$  ‘old’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{nók-lât}$  ‘blackness’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}$   $\text{?ánók}$  ‘black’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{?állât}$  ‘freshness, newness’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{?ál}$  ‘new’.

The suffix  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}$   $\text{-ko}$  creates concrete nouns from verbs or nouns, as  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}$   $\text{línko}$  ‘speech, statement’ from  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{li}$  ‘say’, and  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}$   $\text{záko}$  ‘planet’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{zá}$  ‘circle’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}$   $\text{chúko}$  ‘energy, force’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}$   $\text{chú}$  ‘strength’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}$   $\text{choko}$  ‘paper’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}$   $\text{cho}$  ‘book’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}$   $\text{tángko}$  ‘basket’ from  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}$   $\text{táng}$  ‘bundle’.

The morpheme  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{lóm}$  ‘way, road, path’ adds its meaning to nouns to create manner nouns, e.g.  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}$   $\text{mát}$  ‘do’,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}$   $\text{mátlóm}$  ‘conduct, act of conducting, guidance’.

The suffix མུ་ *-mú* creates nominals denoting people or things deriving from a certain place of origin, and is added to place names or location words, e.g. རྩོམ་མུ་ *renjóngmú* ‘Sikkimese’, སྤུ་མུ་ *pâtmú* ‘Tibetan’, བྱ་མུ་ *promú* ‘Bhutanese’, ལྷ་མུ་ *gyagármú* ‘Indian’, སྐུ་མུ་ *philíngmú* ‘Englishman’, སྤང་མུ་ *tíngmú* ‘plainsfolk’. Another element མུ་ *-mú*, derived from རྩ་མུ་ *lámú* ‘mother’, occurs as a part of compounds in which it expresses the sense ‘main, origin, mother’, e.g. རྩ་མུ་ རྩ་མུ་ *runngnyít lúngmú* ‘the main stream of the Rungnyít’.

The suffix ལུ་ *-lu* forms deverbative nouns, e.g. མུ་ *mát* ‘do’, མུ་ལུ་ *mátlu* ‘habit, custom’, སྤུ་ *dun* ‘say, tell’, སྤུ་ལུ་ *dunlu* ‘remark’. The suffix སྤུ་ *-thup* creates adjectives from verbs, e.g. མུ་ *zo* ‘eat’, མུ་མུ་ *zómthup* ‘edible’, སྤུ་ *zúk* ‘make’, སྤུ་མུ་ *zúkthup* ‘manageable’. The suffix མུ་ *-shet* can be recognised in nouns and adjectives that are formed from verbs, e.g. མུ་ *thóng* ‘drink’, མུ་མུ་ *thóngshet* ‘drinkable’, སྤུ་ *li* ‘say, speak’, སྤུ་མུ་ *línshet* ‘speech, means of speaking’, སྤུ་ *ngán* ‘remain, sit’, སྤུ་མུ་ *ngánshet* ‘seat’.

The word སྤུ་ *kup* ‘child, small’, also མུ་མུ་ *lákup* ‘child’, acts as a diminutive suffix in nouns, e.g. མུ་ *bán* ‘knife’, མུ་མུ་ *bánkup* ‘small knife’, མུ་ *lóng* ‘boy’, མུ་མུ་ *lóngkup* ‘small boy’. The word སྤུ་ *kup* may also be attached to other nominals, e.g. སྤུ་ *cu* ‘small, little’, སྤུ་མུ་ *cukup* ‘a little bit’, མུ་མུ་ *lára* ‘this’, མུ་མུ་མུ་ *lárakup* ‘just this’, མུ་མུ་ *kátkup* or མུ་མུ་མུ་ *kátlákup* ‘alone’.

### 3.2 Gender-specific endings

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

མུ་-bu	‘male of animals’
མུ་-mót	‘female of animals’
མུ་མུ་ mónmót	‘sow’
མུ་མུ་ mónbu	‘boar’
མུ་མུ་ sakamót	‘female deer, doe’

ᵐᵒ –bo	‘father, uncastrated male parent animal’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ mónbo	‘boar, uncastrated male of swine’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ lóngbo	‘bull’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ bíkbo	‘bull, steer’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –gú	‘female animal that has given birth’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ bíkú	‘cow’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ mán-gú	‘sow’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ sakagú	‘doe, female deer’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ saʔárgú	‘female goat’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ sungvogú	‘female buffalo’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ saburgú	‘female musk deer’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ lóng	‘ox, steer’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ biklóng	‘ox’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ savínglóng	‘stag’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ sungvolóng	‘wild buffalo’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ saburlóng	‘musk deer’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –tsu	‘male of pigs and goats’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ saʔártsu	‘goat, billy goat’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ sakatsu	‘buck, stag’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ móntsu	‘boar, uncastrated boar’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –mi	‘female animal that has not had young’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ mónmi	‘fallow sow’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –bop	‘young of bulls’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ biklóngbop	‘bullock, castrated male bovine’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –cúng	‘young of bulls’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ biklóngcúng	‘young bull’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ lóngcúng	‘young bull’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –sháng	‘barren, sterile’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ mónsháng	‘barren sow’
ᵐᵒᵐᵒ –tâng	‘corpulent male animal, pig or dog’

ꠄꠤ ꠕátâng	‘a fat male beast’
ꠄꠤ ꠕajutâng	‘fat male dog’
ꠄꠤ ꠕóntâng	‘fat boar’
ꠄꠤ –bom	‘brooding female animal’
ꠄꠤ ꠕíkbom	‘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.

ꠄꠤ bi ‘curry’, ꠄꠤ ꠕáfong ‘green’, ꠄꠤ ꠕifong ‘green leafy vegetable’

ꠄꠤ thyák ‘recognise, identify’, ꠄꠤ ꠕáthyák ‘head’, ꠄꠤ ꠕáthyákdám ‘scalp’, ꠄꠤ ꠕáthyáktuk ‘hat, cap’.

ꠄꠤ lót ‘repeat’, ꠄꠤ ꠕlótthi ‘come back again’, ꠄꠤ ꠕlóttho ‘put again’, ꠄꠤ ꠕlótbi ‘give back’, ꠄꠤ ꠕlótzúk ‘remake’.

ꠄꠤ ꠕátasóm ‘hair’, ꠄꠤ ꠕtsómb Beng ‘single hair’ ꠄꠤ ꠕtsómrík ‘ribbon’, ꠄꠤ ꠕtsómcúng ‘pigtail’, ꠄꠤ ꠕtsómrát ‘comb’.

Compounding sometimes results in the dropping of prefixes or bound morphemes, e.g. ꠄꠤ satsuk ‘sun’, ꠄꠤ tsukkyer ‘west’.

ꠄꠤ ꠕákâ ‘hand’, ꠄꠤ ꠕajóm ‘finger’, ꠄꠤ ꠕatáp ‘fist’ ꠄꠤ ꠕadóm ‘thumb’, ꠄꠤ ꠕatyám ‘muscle of the arm’, ꠄꠤ ꠕathi ‘little finger, pinkie’, ꠄꠤ ꠕayók ‘fingertip’, ꠄꠤ ꠕayóng ‘middle finger’, ꠄꠤ ꠕalít ‘ring finger’, ꠄꠤ ꠕalyók ‘palm of the hand’.

ꠄꠤ ꠕáthong ‘leg’, ꠄꠤ ꠕthongjóm ‘toe’, ꠄꠤ ꠕthongtung ‘heel’, ꠄꠤ ꠕthongpyól ‘footprint’

ꠄꠤ ꠕádyáng ‘lower leg’, ꠄꠤ ꠕdyánglyók ‘sole of foot’, ꠄꠤ ꠕdyángtung ‘heel’, ꠄꠤ ꠕdyángpók ‘calf’, ꠄꠤ ꠕdyângpak ‘knee’.



ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁámík ‘eye’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ míkcom ‘eyelash, eyebrow’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ míkmyóng ‘eyelid’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ míkgrúng ‘tear’.

ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁáfo ‘tooth’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ fonyel ‘gums’ ᄁᄁᄁᄁ fogóm ‘molar’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ fozâl ‘incisor’ ᄁᄁᄁᄁ folún ‘wisdom tooth’.

ᄁᄁ zo ‘eat, food, rice’, ᄁᄁ rí ‘smell’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ zorí ‘fragrant rice’

ᄁᄁ thám- ‘thing, object’, ᄁᄁᄁ thám câng ‘animal’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ thám bík ‘insect’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ thám bóng ‘plant’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ thám bu ‘worm’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ thám pót ‘fruit’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ thám lí ‘seed’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ thám vyet ‘question’

Sometimes it is hard to distinguish between compounds and juxtaposed elements, e.g. ᄁᄁᄁᄁ vimân ‘kin, offspring, relatives’ (literally ‘flesh and blood’), ᄁᄁᄁᄁ hánlon ‘not simultaneously’ (literally ‘before and after’).

### 3.4 Reduplication

Lexical reduplication yields adverbials of time, e.g. ᄁᄁ nám ‘year’, ᄁᄁᄁ nám nám ‘yearly’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ tasó ‘yesterday’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ sósó ‘lately’. This process is different from the syntactic reduplication of words in colloquial speech, e.g. ᄁᄁ tú ‘who’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ tú tú ‘such as who’, ‘who exactly’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁ sabá ‘where’, ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ sabásabá ‘such as where’, ‘where exactly’, 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 /y/ to indicate palatalisation of consonants, as in  $\text{ᳵ}$  *kya* [kja],  $\text{ᳶ}$  *pya* [pja]. The palatal nasal [ɲ], however, is written in Lepcha orthography with the consonant sign  $\text{᳷}$ , 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.

$\text{ᳵ}$ <i>nók</i>	‘push’
$\text{ᳶ}$ <i>nyók</i>	‘cause to quiver, shake’
$\text{᳷}$ <i>mák</i>	‘die’
$\text{᳸}$ <i>myák</i>	‘kill’
$\text{᳹}$ <i>bám</i>	‘dwell, stay, reside’
$\text{ᳺ}$ <i>byám</i>	‘keep, leave behind’
$\text{᳻}$ <i>plâ</i>	‘come forth, come out, rise’
$\text{᳼}$ <i>plyâ</i>	‘produce, bring forward’
$\text{᳽}$ <i>lú</i>	‘rise’
$\text{᳾}$ <i>lyú</i>	‘erect’
$\text{᳿}$ <i>ɣum</i>	‘ripe, sweet, tasty’
$\text{ᳺ}$ <i>ɣyum</i>	‘ripen, bring to maturity’
$\text{᳽}$ <i>tyul</i>	‘fall’
$\text{᳾}$ <i>tyal</i>	‘fell’ (also spelt $\text{᳽}$ <i>tel</i> )

When the stem of the root verb ends in a vowel, in some cases a final /t/ is added to the derived causative, viz.  $\text{᳽}$  *glú* ‘fall down’,  $\text{᳾}$  *glyat* (also spelt  $\text{᳽}$  *glet*) ‘drop, decline, suspend’ and  $\text{᳽}$  *bu* ‘carry’,  $\text{᳽}$  *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 ལྟེ་ *-re* ‘the’ and the dative marker ལྟེ་ *-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 ལྟེ་ *-ká*, 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 ཉམ་ *-pang* and ཉམ་ *-sang*. The non-human plural suffix ཉམ་ *-pang* (PL.NH) is used to express plurality of animals, things and, indeed, all entities except humans. The human plural suffix ཉམ་ *-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 ཉམ་ *-sang* (PL.H), whereas nouns denoting malevolent beings take the non-human plural suffix ཉམ་ *-pang* (PL.NH), e.g. རྩཱུ་ཉམ་ *rumdár-sang* ‘gods’ vs. རྩཱུ་ཉམ་ *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        རིམ་  
           *bik-pang*  
           cow-PL.NH  
           ‘cows’

- 2        ཇམ་  
           *cho-pang*  
           book-PL.NH  
           ‘books’

- 3        རྩཱུ་ཉམ་  
           *lóng-sang*  
           boy-PL.H  
           ‘boys’

- 4        རྩཱུ་ཉམ་  
           *rum-sang*  
           god-PL.H  
           ‘gods’

- 5      ཐུམ་བློ་ ཐུམ་ཁྱེད་  
*thámblík thámcâng-pang*  
 insect    animal-PL.NH  
 ‘animals, creatures’
- 6      བུ་ལྷོ་ འོ་ལྷོ་སང་  
*faleng nómleng-sang*  
 young.boy    young.girl-PL.H  
 ‘youngsters, teenagers’
- 7      བློ་སྒྲུབ་ རྩེ་ལྷོ་ རྩེ་ལྷོ་ རྩེ་ལྷོ་ རྩེ་ལྷོ་ རྩེ་ལྷོ་  
*múng-sá    lathong    lákâ-pang    lámel    látím 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 འོ་སང་ *-sang* (PL.H) and ཁྱེད་ *-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 (ᱵᱟᱨᱟ *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).

- 8            ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ  
*kasu-sá            ṛákup      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 (ᱵᱟ *cho* ‘book’, in (ᱵᱟᱨᱟ *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).

- 9            ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ  
*ṛádo-sá            ṛákup      nyí-wám*  
 2S.OBL-GEN    child      be-PRG  
 ‘Do you have children?’

- 10            ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ ᱵᱟᱨᱟ  
*ṛádo-sá            ṛányúr-re    satet            ṛátím      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 ᱵᱟᱨᱟ *-sang* can be used with proper names or kinship terms, e.g. ᱵᱟᱨᱟ *nyímá-sang* ‘Nyima and his friends’. Here the human plural suffix ᱵᱟᱨᱟ *-sang* conveys the sense of English ‘and the like’ or ‘and company’ or Latin *cum suis*. In this sense, the suffix ᱵᱟᱨᱟ *-sang* de-

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 ځس *-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 ځي *kát* ‘one’ is used to express explicit singular number.

- 11
- འཇུ་རྒྱལ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་  
*káyú róng-sang-re*      *ʔácálá*      *lúk-do*  
1P      Lepcha-PL.H-DEF      still      get.up-self
- མ་ཤུ་ལྟོ་  
*ma-khut-ne-bám*  
NEG-be.able-NEG-PRG
- ‘We Lepcha are still unable to stand up for ourselves.’
- 12
- འོ་ལྷོ་ལྷན་པོ་  
*tíngmú-sang*      *ʔánók*      *gum*  
plainsfolk-PL.H      black      be.AST
- ‘Plainsfolk are black.’  
‘People from the plains are black.’
- 13
- ཇ་སྐྱུ་ལྷན་པོ་  
*kasu*      *tyól*      *fát-nón*      *ma*  
1S.OBL      friend      lose-RES      AST
- ‘My friend has disappeared.’  
‘My friends have disappeared.’



- 14      རྩུ་ (སྐྱེ་ལ་ རྩུ་ལྟོ་  
*kasu      tyól-sang      fát-nón      ma*  
 1S.OBL   friend-PL.H   lose-RES   AST  
 ‘My friends have disappeared.’

- 15      རྩུ་ (སྐྱེ་ལ་ རྩུ་ལྟོ་  
*kasu      tyól-kát      fát-nón      ma*  
 1S.OBL   friend-one   lose-RES   AST  
 ‘One of my friends has disappeared.’

The plural morphemes ལ་ *-sang* (PL.H) and ལ་ *-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 ལ་ *-sang* (PL.H) and ལ་ *-pang* (PL.NH) follow the adjective, i.e. they follow the nominal constituent as a whole.

- 16      ལ་ (ཉམ་ལ་ལ་ ལ་  
*go      ʔíngngá-sang-re-m      gó      ma*  
 1S      child-PL.H-DEF-DAT   be.happy   AST  
 ‘I am fond of children.’

- 17      ལ་ (ལ་ ལ་ ལ་  
*ʔálong      muró      ʔátím-sang      ma-nyí-n*  
 now      man      big-PL.H      NEG-be-NEG  
 ‘There are no tall men around at the moment.’

The suffix ལ་ *-pang* (PL.NH), which is otherwise restricted to non-human referents, can be used with any nominal to convey the sense of a collective, group or gang.

- 18      ལ་  
*káyú-pang*  
 1P-PL.NH

‘we (collectively, as a group)’

- 19      ཨུ་ལུ་ ལི་ ཐུ་ལྷ་མོ་ རེ་ལྷ་མོ་  
*hu-nu li thámcang ?áre ?ábá-pang*  
 3S-ABL say animal this here-PL.NH

ལེ་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་  
*lá nyí-wám*  
 also be-PRG

‘He said that such an animal also lives over here  
 with us.’

When the definite article རེ་ *-re* is added, the specificity of the group in question is indicated.

- 20      ལེ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་  
*káyú róng-pang-re*  
 1P Lepcha-PL.NH-DEF  
 ‘We, the Lepcha.’  
 ‘We, as Lepcha’

- 21      ལེ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་  
*káyú róng-sang-re*  
 1P Lepcha-PL.H-DEF  
 ‘We Lepcha...’  
 ‘Us Lepcha...’

The meaning of the morpheme རྒྱལ་ *-sang* is in fact ‘whole, entire’ and the meaning of the morpheme རྒྱལ་ *-pang* is ‘thing, things’. With regard to the non-human plural marker རྒྱལ་ *-pang*, Grünwedel suggests that རྒྱལ་ *-pang* was not only used as a non-human plural marker attached to nominals, but also as a nominal head: *mlo-pän* [*mlo-pang*] ‘things’, *sä-re gñn-nä päñ* [*sare gunna-pang*] ‘every thing’, *kä-sü-sä päñ* [*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 རྒྱལ་ *-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 *ṣṣ* -*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 *ṣṣ* -*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 *ṣṣ* *nyet* ‘two’ is used, as in example (22).

- 22      *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ*  
*muró-nyet thi-wám*  
 man-two reach-PRG  
 ‘Two men are arriving’

Grünwedel analyses *ṣṣ* -*nyum* as a possible variant of the bound pronominal morpheme *ṣṣ* -*nyím*, as in *a-nyüm* [*ʔányum*] ‘you two’, *kă-nyüm* [*kanyum*] ‘us two’, but this usage appears to have fallen into disuse (Grünwedel 1898a: 108). Mainwaring provides examples such as *áre nyum* [*ʔáre nyum*] ‘these two’ (1876: 43), *áre nyumká sare ryú* [*ʔáre nyumká sare ryú*] ‘of these two which is good?’ (1876: 33), reflecting a usage of the morpheme *ṣṣ* -*nyum* in the sense of ‘a pair’. We indeed still find -*nyum* used in this meaning in spoken Lepcha today, e.g. (23).

- 23      *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ* *ṣṣ*  
*ʔáre 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 *ṣṣ* *kát* ‘one’ is not an indefinite article as such, but can be used in some of the same functions as the indefinite article in English, e.g. (15), (24) and (25), where the speaker wishes to make explicit the singularity of the referent.

- 24      བྱ་ལྟོན་ལྟོན་ལྟོན་ལྟོན་  
*hu lát-thi-bú-re nám-kát nahán nón*  
 3S return-reach-FCT-DEF year-one before RES  
 ‘His return here was a year ago’  
 ‘He returned here a year ago’
- 25      རྒྱུ་ལྟོན་ལྟོན་ལྟོན་  
*lingngá-kát dá-nyí-tho ma*  
 child-one sleep-be-EXH AST  
 ‘One of the children is already asleep.’

Lepcha ལྟོན་ *kát* ‘one’ can be used in the sense of ‘a certain’ or ‘a’, e.g. བྱ་ལྟོན་ *muró kát* ‘a man, one man, a certain man’. It is also used in a few set phrases, like ལྟོན་ རྒྱུ་ལྟོན་ *kát nu plângká* ‘again and again’, literally ‘one and then on top of that’.

- 26      ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་  
*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      བྱ་ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་  
*muró kát-do lá ma-nyí-n*  
 man one-self also NEG-be-NEG  
 ‘There isn’t even one person left.’

The ending ལྟོན་ *-re* is the Lepcha definite article (DEF). The definite article ལྟོན་ *-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 ལྟོན་ *-re* is attached to nouns, e.g. བྱ་ལྟོན་ *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 ལྟོན་ *-re* as a topic marker is a function of the meaning of a definite article.

- 28      གླིང་ལྟ་ (རྩོམ་པ་) བློ་བཟོ་  
*lí            sare        dorji-nun    zúk-tho*  
 house      which      Dorji-ABL    make-EXH

འདྲེན་པའི་མེ་ལྔ་  
*ḡore-re       ḡáre    gum*  
 that-DEF    this    be.AST

‘This is the house that Dorji built.’

- 29      རྩོམ་པ་ལྟ་ (རྩོམ་པ་) བློ་བཟོ་  
*fán-tho-bú       mân-re       món-sá    gum*  
 burn-EXH-FCT    meat-DEF    pig-GEN    be.AST

‘The meat that was burnt is pork.’

- 30      མུ་རོ་ལྟ་ བློ་བཟོ་ རྩོམ་པ་  
*muró-nu       zúk-tho-bú       ḡázóm*  
 man-ABL      make-EXH-FCT    food

འཇུག་པའི་མེ་ལྔ་  
*zo-shang-re    ḡájóm    ngún*  
 eat-INF-DEF    easy       become

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

The fact that the numeral ཅི་ *kát* ‘one’ is a numeral and not a genuine indefinite article in the Western European sense is underscored by instances such as ཅི་ལྟ་ཅི་ *kalók-kát-re* ‘the one mouse’, ‘that mouse’, in which ཅི་ *kát* is used in combination with the definite article ལྟ་ *-re*. The Lepcha definite article ལྟ་ *-re* is etymologically cognate with the root found in the Lepcha demonstratives གླིང་ *ḡáre* ‘this’ and འདྲེན་ *ḡore* ‘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 ལྟ་ *-re* as a stopgap when they pause in mid-sentence to formulate their thoughts, e.g. (31).

31      རྩོམ་པ་ལ་གཏམ་པའི་ལྟོགས་ལ་  
*ren-do-m-re      go-re      jen-sung-lá      kám*  
 sir-self-DAT-DEF 1S-DEF other-story-also little.bit

ཞུ་བ་ལ་ཤུམ་པའི་ལྟོགས་ལ་  
*vyet-shang      sákcíng-bá-re      gyá-nám-ká-re      káyú*  
 inquire-INF think-then-DEF past-year-LOC-DEF 1P

རྩོམ་པ་ལ་མེ་ཤུམ་པའི་ལྟོགས་ལ་  
*róng-sang-sá-re      hlo-múng-sá      sung-re*  
 Lepcha-PL.H-GEN-DEF peak-devil-GEN story-DEF

ལྟོགས་ལ་མེ་ཤུམ་པའི་ལྟོགས་ལ་  
*gyá-sá      munjú-sang-nu      káyú-m-re*  
 past-GEN grandmother-PL.H-ABL 1P-DAT-DEF

དུང་པ་ལ་གཏམ་པའི་ལྟོགས་ལ་  
*dun-?ám-bá-re      káyú-re      ?otet-ká-re*  
 tell-PRG-when-DEF 1P-DEF that.much-LOC-DEF

ཀྱེ་ལ་ལྟོགས་ལ་  
*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 རྩོམ་ -*re* can be affixed to pronouns to single out the person or persons in question, e.g. (32), (33).

- 32       $\text{huyú} \text{ nóng-ká} \text{ muró} \text{ páre} \text{ hu-re} \text{ páryúm} \text{ gum}$   
          3P    inside-LOC   man   this   3S-DEF   good   be.AST

‘Among them, this man, he is good.’

- 33       $\text{kasu-sá} \text{ líng-nu} \text{ li-bá}$   
          1S.OBL-GEN   younger.sibling-ABL   say-when

$\text{hu-re} \text{ dok-bám}$   
          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 *-re*, whereby the article in sentence (35) singles out the house in question and highlights the house as the topic.

- 34       $\text{pádo-sá} \text{ lí} \text{ sabá} \text{ gó}$   
          2S.OBL-GEN   house   where   Q

‘Where is your house?’

- 35       $\text{kasu-sá} \text{ lí-re} \text{ manegombú-ká} \text{ nyí} \text{ ma}$   
          1S.OBL-GEN   house-DEF   Mane.Gomba-LOC   be   AST

‘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.  $\text{póng-re}$  ‘the boy’, is marked by the definite article *-re*, whereas  $\text{kajú}$  ‘the dog’ is not, even though it is appropriate in the given context to translate  $\text{kajú}$  into English with a definite article.

- 36       $\text{kalók-kát-re-m} \quad \text{ʔályú-nun-do} \quad \text{sót} \quad \text{ma}$   
mouse-one-DEF-DAT cat-ABL-self kill AST  
‘The cat itself killed the mouse.’
- 37       $\text{ʔóng-re-m} \quad \text{kajú-nun-do} \quad \text{tsúk} \quad \text{ma}$   
boy-DEF-DAT dog-ABL-self bite AST  
‘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.  $\text{maró-re-re-m}$  [man-DEF-DEF-DAT] ‘to that very man’.

Mainwaring (1876: 23) and Támsáng (1980: 655) mention yet another ‘definite article’  $\text{-mu}$ . However, this morpheme is not an article, but an individuating suffix for people, evidently cognate with the first element in both Lepcha  $\text{muzu}$  ‘body’ and Lepcha  $\text{muró}$  ~  $\text{maró}$  ‘person’. We find this morpheme also in expressions such as  $\text{mu sâ}$  ‘purify the body after childbirth’, with  $\text{sâ}$  meaning ‘purify’, as in the expression  $\text{múng sâ}$  ‘exorcise, purify ghosts’.

The human individuating suffix  $\text{-mu}$  (IND) is attached directly to the numeral. In combination with  $\text{kát}$  ‘one’, the individuating suffix conveys the sense of ‘that very person, that specific person’ and in combination with  $\text{nyet}$  ‘two’ it conveys the sense of ‘both of them’. In the following sentences, Lepcha  $\text{-mu}$  can be translated by the Nepali suffix  $\text{-cāhī}$ , although it would be premature to simply equate the two categories.

- 38       $\text{ʔáre} \quad \text{kát-mu} \quad \text{kát-ká} \quad \text{bi}$   
this one-IND one-LOC give



‘Give it to him and to no one else.’

- 39      (ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ) ᄃᄃ  
          ʔore ʔyók hunyí nyet-mu-nu zúk  
          that work 3D two-IND-ABL make  
          ‘The two of them did that.’

- 40      (ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ) ᄃᄃᄃ  
          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	ᄃᄃ go (1S)	ᄃᄃᄃ kányí (1D)	ᄃᄃᄃ káyú (1P)
2nd person	ᄃᄃ hó (2S)	ᄃᄃᄃ ʔányí (2D)	ᄃᄃᄃ ʔáyú (2P)
3rd person	ᄃᄃ hu (3S)	ᄃᄃᄃ hunyí (3D)	ᄃᄃᄃ huyú (3P)

Diagram 12: Personal pronouns

The third person ᄃᄃ *hu* denotes only human referents. When the referent 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 ᄃᄃ *hu* is used to refer to these animals. The morpheme ᄃᄃ *ka*, first person singular marker (S1) used in oblique and derived forms, forms a minimal pair with the morpheme ᄃᄃ *ká* (P1), the corresponding first person plural marker. These morphemes should not be confused with the locative suffix ᄃᄃ *ká* (LOC), or with the word ᄃᄃ *ka* ~ ᄃᄃ *kâ*, meaning ‘hand’, which is taken to be a shortened form of ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ *ʔákâ* ‘hand’. The first person plural marker ᄃᄃ *ká* (P1)

may be followed by a numeral to indicate the specific number of people included in the activity mentioned.

- 41       $\epsilon(\text{ㄨㄟ}) \text{ ㄓㄩㄛ ㄗㄩㄎ ㄌㄟㄣ}$   
*ká-sám-nun ʔyók ʔáre zúk-nu lel-ká*  
 P1-three-ABL work this make-ABL complete-LOC  
 ‘Let us three get this job over and done with.’

- 42       $\text{ㄏㄨ} \text{ ㄙㄞㄣ} \text{ ㄜ} \text{ ㄗㄩㄎ}$   
*hó saróng shú zúk-hát*  
 2S today what make-PRF  
 ‘What have you done today?’

- 43       $\text{ㄗ} \text{ ㄇㄞㄣ}$   
*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  $\text{ㄙㄞ}$  -*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.

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
$\epsilon(\text{ㄨ}) \text{ kasu}$	$\text{ㄓ}(\text{ㄞ) ʔádo}$	$\text{ㄗ}(\text{ㄞ) hudo$
‘1S.OBL’	‘2S.OBL’	‘3S.OBL’

Diagram 13: Singular oblique pronouns

The meaning of the element  $\text{ㄙ} \text{ su}$  in the first person singular oblique pronoun is as yet unclear. In everyday conversations, the first person singular marker  $\epsilon \text{ ka}$  (S1) may be directly followed by the genitive suffix, as in  $\epsilon(\text{ㄨ}) \text{ ㄓㄞㄣ} \text{ kasá ʔábryáng}$  ‘my name’. In the second and third person singular oblique pronouns we recognise the

element  $\text{do}$  ‘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.  $\text{maródo}$  ‘the man himself’,  $\text{tado}$  ‘oneself’,  $\text{dodosá}$  ‘personal, of one’s own’.

- 44       $\text{kasu-sá}$        $\text{ʔábryáng}$   
          1S.OBL-GEN      name  
          ‘my name’

- 45       $\text{ʔádo-sá}$        $\text{lí}$   
          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.  $\text{kányísá}$ ,  $\text{káyúsá}$ ,  $\text{ʔányísá}$ ,  $\text{ʔáyúsá}$ ,  $\text{hunyísá}$ ,  $\text{huyúsá}$ . Further usage of the genitive marker  $\text{-sá}$  is discussed below in Section 4.6.

- 46       $\text{káyú-sá}$        $\text{kyóng}$   
          1P-GEN      village  
          ‘our village’

#### 4.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The Lepcha demonstrative pronouns  $\text{ʔáre}$  ‘this’ and  $\text{ʔore}$  ‘that’ and the interrogative pronoun  $\text{sare}$  ‘what’ are morphologically transparent in the sense that they appear to consist of the element  $\text{-re}$ , cognate with the definite article, combined with one of the following deictic elements: the proximal morpheme  $\text{ʔá-}$ , the distal morpheme  $\text{ʔo-}$  or the interrogative morpheme  $\text{sa-}$ . 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. ʒ(ʌ) ʒásá ‘with this’. The proximal element ʒ(ʌ) ʒá- could conceivably be etymologically related to the pronominal root found in the second person pronouns ʒ(ʌ) ʒádo, ʒ(ʌ) ʒányí and ʒ(ʌ) ʒáyú.

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

ʒ(ʌ) ʒátháng	‘this up there (to or at any point that is considered higher)’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒáthú	‘this up over there, this up above there’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒábá	‘this here’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒábi	‘this right here’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒáfi	‘this just here, this nearby here, this in this direction, this to or towards here’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒáthól	(adj.) ‘very near, very close’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒápun	(adj.) ‘near, close’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒálem	‘in this direction, hither’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒálon	‘in this direction’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒálol	‘this way, in this direction’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒáchú	‘this down here, this down below, this lower down’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒácún	‘below, lower down, beneath’

Many of these demonstratives have counterparts formed with the distal morpheme ʒ(ʌ) ʒo-.

ʒ(ʌ) ʒótháng	‘that up there’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒóthú	‘that up over there’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒóchú	‘that down here’

In some demonstratives we recognise a noun indicating a location, such as ʒ(ʌ) ʒín ‘the other side, the opposite side’, and ʒ(ʌ) ʒon ‘side’.

ʒ(ʌ) ʒín	‘this on the other side’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒópín	‘that on the other side’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒábon	‘on this side’
ʒ(ʌ) ʒobon	‘on that side’

ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁ ‘on both sides, here and there’

Three other deictic elements commonly encountered are ᄁ *pe-*, also spelt ᄁᄁ *pí-*, ‘over there’, ᄁ *me-* ‘down there’, and ᄁ *tá-*, also spelt ᄁ *ta-*, ‘up there’. These elements may also be prefixed to the article ᄁ *re*, viz. ᄁᄁ *pere* ‘that over there’, also spelt ᄁᄁ *pír*, ᄁᄁ *pyir*, ᄁᄁ *pyur*; ᄁᄁ *mere* ‘that down there’; ᄁᄁ *táre* ‘that up there’, or to other deictic elements mentioned above, such as ᄁᄁ *petet* ‘up to that place over there’, ᄁᄁ *pefi* ‘there (near)’, ᄁᄁ *pelom* ‘in that manner’, ᄁᄁ *mebí* ‘there below’ (less distant than ᄁᄁ *mebá*), ᄁᄁ *mebá* ‘there below’, ᄁᄁ *melom* ‘like that down there’, ᄁᄁ *melon* ‘in that direction down there’, ᄁᄁ *tabá* ‘above there, up there’, ᄁᄁ *tarere* ‘the one there above’, ᄁᄁ *talem kón* ‘above there, in that direction’, ᄁᄁ *talom* ‘as it is there above’, combined with each other, e.g. ᄁᄁ *peme* ‘there, down there’, or reduplicated ᄁᄁ *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 ᄁᄁ *ᄁothá* ‘then, at that time’, ᄁᄁ *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 ᄁ *-bá*, indicating a location relative to the speaker.

ᄁᄁ	<i>ᄁábá</i>	‘here’
ᄁᄁ	<i>ᄁobá</i>	‘there’
ᄁᄁ	<i>pebá</i>	‘there’
ᄁᄁ	<i>mebá</i>	‘there below’
ᄁᄁ	<i>tábá</i>	‘there above’
ᄁᄁ	<i>sabá</i>	‘where’

The following pronouns of manner contain the element ᐃᐃ ~ ᐃᐃ *lóm* ~ *lom*, ‘road, path’.

ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔálom</i>	‘like this’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔolom</i>	‘like that’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>pelom</i>	‘like that’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>melom</i>	‘like that down there’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>tálom</i>	‘like that there above’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>salom</i>	‘how, like what’
ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	<i>salomlá</i>	‘anyhow, anyway’

The element ᐃᐃ *-lem*, expresses the meaning ‘towards, in the direction of’, is found in the following demonstratives.

ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔálem</i>	‘in this direction, hither’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔolem</i>	‘in that direction, thither’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>salem</i>	‘in what direction, whither, where’
ᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃ	<i>tálem kón</i>	‘in the direction there above’

The element ᐃᐃ *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’.

ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔálol</i>	‘this way, in this direction’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔolol</i>	‘that way, in that direction’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>salol</i>	‘which way, in which direction, whither’
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>talol</i>	‘up above there’

In the following examples the morpheme ᐃᐃ *-lon* ‘in this direction’ is found.

ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔálon</i>	in this direction
ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔolon</i>	in that direction
ᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃ	<i>talon kón</i>	in the direction there above

The morpheme ᐃᐃ *tet*, also spelt ᐃᐃ *tyet* and ᐃᐃ *tyat*, expresses the meaning ‘until, up to’.

ᐃᐃᐃ	<i>ʔátet</i>	‘this much, this many’
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ᄀᄃᄃ	<i>ʔotet</i>	‘that much, this many’
ᄃᄃᄃ	<i>satet</i>	‘how much, how many’
ᄃᄃᄃ	<i>petet</i>	‘up to that place over there’

The morpheme  $\text{ᄃᄃᄃ}$  *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. ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ *satet khut tet* ‘as much as possible’. When used with verbs, the morpheme  $\text{ᄃᄃᄃ}$  *tet* is suffixed to the verb to express a limiting event with respect to the situation expressed by the main verb. Occasionally the element  $\text{ᄃᄃᄃ}$  *tet* also occurs as a verb meaning ‘touch, aim’.

- 47      ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃ  
*gun-len      ʔátím-nu      gun-len      ʔácum-tet*  
 all-than      big-ABL      all-than      small-until  
 ‘from the greatest of all to the smallest’

- 48      ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ  
*hu      satet      zúk-tet      go-lá      zúk-sho*  
 3S      how.much      make-until      1S-also      make-NPR  
 ‘I will also do as much as he has done.’

#### 4.3.3 Interrogative and relative pronouns

Many interrogative pronouns contain the element ᄃ *sa-*. In addition to these pronouns Lepcha uses the pronouns ᄃᄃ *shú* ‘what’ and ᄃᄃ *tú* ‘who’. Occasionally, as in (51), interrogative pronouns are reduplicated. The pronoun ᄃᄃᄃ *sare* ‘which’ is used with both human and non-human referents, whereas ᄃᄃ *tú* ‘who’ is only used with human referents. Some interrogative pronouns are also used as relative pronouns, like ᄃᄃᄃ *sare* ‘which’ in example (53). The notion ‘why?’ is expressed by the expression ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *shúmátne* ‘why’, sometimes spelt ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *shúmátnu*. Questions containing an interrogative pronoun are sometimes facultatively marked by the clause-final interrogative particle ᄃᄃ *gó* (Q). Yes/no questions are not marked by the interrogative particle.

- 49      རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*ṛádo-sá      tyól      tú      gó*  
 2S.OBL-GEN    friend    who    Q  
 ‘Who is your friend?’
- 50      རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*ṛáyú-m      tú-nu      lík-bám      gó*  
 2P.OBL-DAT    who-ABL    call-PRG    Q  
 ‘Who is calling you?’
- 51      ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*go      cálong-do      shú-shú      zúk      gát*  
 1S    now-self    what-what    do    must  
 ‘What should I do now?’
- 52      རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*ṛáre-zang      shúmú-dep-re      ṛádyút      shúmátne*  
 this-like    man-with-DEF    fight    why
- རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*dóng-shang gó*  
 search-INF    Q  
 ‘Why are you picking a fight with a guy like him?’
- 53      རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*zónggú-re      sukdam-sá      ṛáre-zang      lyáng-kát*  
 Dzongú-DEF    world-GEN    this-like    land-one
- རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*gum      sare-ká-re      sabá-re      róng*  
 be.AST    which-LOC-DEF    where-DEF    Lepcha
- རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
*ṛágít 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  $\text{𑜋𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *lá* ‘also’, e.g.  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇𑜋𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *sabálá* ‘everywhere’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *shúlá* ‘everything, whatever’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇𑜋𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *sathálá* ‘always’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *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  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *tú* ‘who’ is also found reinforced with  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *do* ‘self’, viz.  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *túdo* ‘any person, anybody, anyone’.

- 54       $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇𑜋𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   
          *hó sathálá ma-yâ-n*  
          2S    always    NEG-know-NEG
- $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   
          *shúlá            ma-yâ-n            li-sho*  
          everything    NEG-know-NEG    say-NPR
- ‘You’re always saying: I don’t know, I don’t know anything.’
- 55       $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇𑜋𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   
          *go-nu shúlá            ma-mát-ne*  
          1S-ABL everything    NEG-do-NEG
- ‘I didn’t do anything.’
- 56       $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$   
          *ꞑábi ꞑân sabálá*  
          here    and    everywhere
- ‘here and everywhere’

#### 4.3.4 Indefinite pronouns

Common indefinite pronouns referring to unspecified persons or things are  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rel* ‘each’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *ꞑáflík* ‘some’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *gun* ‘all, every’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *tyâng* ‘whole, all’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *kumdúng* ‘other’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rangsâ* ~  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rangsâr* ‘other’,  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *jen* ‘other’.

The adjective  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rangsâ* ~  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rangsâr*, sometimes spelt  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rangsó* ~  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rangsór* or  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rungsó* ~  $\text{𑜇𑜂𑜆𑜇}$  *rungsór*, expresses the

57      རྟེན་ལྷ་ལྟ་ཀྱང་འཁྱེད་པོ་ལྟ་  
*jen   múnŋ-pang   lá   gun   ro-nu   nóng   ma*  
 other devil-PL.NH also all fear-ABL go AST  
 ‘All the other devils were also afraid and left.’

The meaning expressed by the adjective ḫḫ *kumdúŋ* 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 ḫḫ *maró* ‘man, person’ may also be used to express the notions ‘someone, someone else, anyone, whoever, another person’, e.g. (60).

When the noun  $\text{maró}$  is reinforced with  $\text{(*do)}$  ‘self’, this yields the meaning ‘the man himself’, as in  $\text{maródo zúkbám}$  [man-self make-PRG] ‘the man is doing it himself’.

- 59       $\text{pe kumdúng maró-re tú gó}$   
           over.there other man-DEF who Q  
           ‘Who is that strange man?’

- 60       $\text{pore-do ma-mát le maró thyo-sho}$   
           that-self NEG-do REQ man hear-NPR  
           ‘Please don’t do that. People will hear.’

In example (61), we see the adjective  $\text{jén}$  ‘other, another’, the noun  $\text{maró}$  ‘man, person’, the adjective  $\text{kumdúng}$  ‘different, strange’ and the plural suffix  $\text{-sang}$ , all grouped together in one phrase.

- 61       $\text{jén maró kumdúng-sang-re}$   
           other man different-PL.H-DEF
- $\text{pábi-do lát ma-kón}$   
           here-self return NEG-allow  
           ‘Other people, outsiders, they were not allowed to come here.’

The adjective  $\text{páflik}$  ‘some’, referring to either persons or things, is derived from the verb  $\text{flí} \sim \text{flím}$  ‘divide, separate’, from which the adverb  $\text{flík}$  ‘apart, aside’ is also derived. The form  $\text{káflik}$  ‘some’ is also found, albeit less frequently.

- 62       $\text{páflik-re-m ma-bi-n}$   
           some-DEF-DAT NEG-give-NEG

‘Some people were not given any.’

The form  $\hat{r}el$  occurs as a noun expressing the meaning ‘piece’ and as an adverb in the sense ‘separate, separately, respectively’. As a main verb  $\hat{r}el$  expresses the meaning ‘separate maize from the cob’. The form  $\hat{r}el$  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       $\text{v}\ddot{\text{y}}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{ } \hat{r}\hat{r}\text{ } \text{so}$   
            $\text{huyú-m } rel-rel \quad bi$   
           3P-DAT each-each give  
           ‘Give one to each of them.’

For the concepts ‘all’, ‘every’ and ‘whole’, the words  $\text{gun}$  and  $\text{tyâng}$  are used. In order to grasp the difference between  $\text{gun}$  ‘all, every’ and  $\text{tyâng}$  ‘all, whole’, it is important to realise that when  $\text{gun}$  ‘all, every’ is used, everybody or everything that is referred to is seen as an individual person or item, whereas when  $\text{tyâng}$  is used a reference is made to the whole or the entirety of a group of things or people.

- 64       $\text{ʔábá-sá } lí \text{ } \text{gun } \text{ʔázuk-ʔázuk } nyí$   
           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  $\hat{n} \sim \text{ny} -nun \sim -nu$  is source or cause. Lepcha  $\hat{n} \sim \text{ny} -nun \sim -nu$  is cognate with the Limbu comitative suffix  $-nu$  ‘with, from’, which also fulfils an ablative function. Lepcha  $\hat{n} \sim \text{ny} -nun \sim -nu$  is suffixed to nominals, verbs or clauses and the apparently different types of meaning which the morpheme  $\hat{n} \sim \text{ny} -nun \sim -nu$  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 *ꠄꠤ -nun* after nouns and the form *ꠄꠤ -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 *ꠄꠤ -nun* and *ꠄꠤ -nu* are used seemingly at random. Two general tendencies can be observed. One is the tendency to use the form *ꠄꠤ -nun* more frequently in combination with nouns and the form *ꠄꠤ -nu* more frequently with verbs, an artificial tendency which, as already pointed out, is not observed consistently. A second tendency is to use the form *ꠄꠤ -nun* in the sense of ‘by, through’, whereas the abbreviated form *ꠄꠤ -nu* 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 *ꠄꠤ ~ ꠄꠤ -nun ~ -nu* 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’.

- 65      *ꠄꠤꠄꠤ ꠄꠤ ꠄꠤ*  
*ꠄábi-nu      shúlá      ma-shí-n*  
 here-ABL      everything      NEG-see-NEG  
 ‘From here I cannot see anything.’

- 66      *ꠄ ꠄꠤꠄꠤ ꠄꠤꠄꠤ ꠄ ꠄꠤ*  
*go      kóm      ?ore      sabá-nu      thop      te*  
 1S      money      that      where-ABL      get      DUB  
 ‘Where would I get that kind of money from?’

- 67      *ꠄꠤꠄꠤ ꠄ ꠄꠤꠄꠤ ꠄꠤꠄꠤ*  
*saróng-nu      go      cholí-ká      nóng-sho*  
 today-ABL      1S      school-LOC      go-NPR

68                   ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆫ  
                    ʔálut-nu  
                    heart-ABL  
                    ‘from the bottom of my heart’

69                   ᄃᆞᆫ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆫ  
                    hó       sabá-nu  
                    2S       where-ABL  
                    ‘Where are you from?’  
                    ‘Where do you come from?’  
                    ‘Where did you come from?’

70                   ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆫᆯᆫ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆫᆯᆫ  
                    dárjúlyáng-nun      kálenpúng-tet  
                    Darjeeling-ABL      Kalimpong-until  
                    ‘from Darjeeling to Kalimpong’

71                   ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆫ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆫᆫᆯᆫ  
                    ʔáthyák-nu       ʔáti-tet  
                    head-ABL       sole-until  
                    ‘from head to toe’

#### 4.5 The lative suffix

In its ablative sense, the Lepcha ablative suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ}$  *-nun*  $\sim$  *-nu* contrasts with the Lepcha lative suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \text{-lóm}$  ‘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 ལོམ -*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 ལྷྱ ~ ལྷྱ -*nun* ~ -*nu* and the lative suffix ལོམ -*lóm* ‘via’ are closely related in function but distinct in meaning. Whereas in example (72) Lepcha ལོམ -*lóm* suggests a particular direction or pathway, in sentence (73) only the point of origin is suggested by ལྷྱ ~ ལྷྱ -*nun* ~ -*nu*. In sentences (74)-(77), we see more examples of the suffix ལོམ -*lóm* ‘via’.

- 72 ལོམ ལྷྱ་ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ཁྱི  
*go prolyáng-lóm thi*  
 1S Bhutan-via reach  
 ‘I arrived by way of Bhutan.’
- 73 ལོམ ལྷྱ་ལྷྱ་ལྷྱ་ ཁྱི  
*go prolyáng-nu thi*  
 1S Bhutan-ABL reach  
 ‘I arrived from Bhutan.’
- 74 ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་  
*kúng-lóm kúng-kóng glet-nón ma*  
 tree-via tree-branch drop-RES AST  
 ‘Branches fell down from the tree.’
- 75 ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་  
*hu lí-lóm plâ yet-nón ma*  
 3S house-via come.out descend-RES AST  
 ‘He came out of his house and went down.’
- 76 ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་ ལྷྱ་ལོམ་  
*láo-lóm go kóm-kám thop-sho*  
 2S.OBL-via 1S money-little.bit get-NPR  
 ‘I’ll get some money through you.’

- 77       $\text{hu} \quad \text{mák} \quad \text{myóng} \quad \text{shumyú-sang-lóm} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{thyo}$   
          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  $\text{ren}$  ‘since’. Whereas  $\text{ren}$  ‘since’ has a straightforward temporal meaning ‘since’, e.g. (78), the use of the ablative suffix  $\text{nun} \sim \text{nu}$  implies a cause, a change of heart or some similar implication because of its meaning denoting origin, e.g. (79).

- 78       $\text{tasó-ren}$   
          yesterday-since  
          ‘since yesterday’
- 79       $\text{tasó-nu}$   
          yesterday-ABL  
          ‘since yesterday, from yesterday on’

Another such suffix is the Lepcha ending  $\text{kón}$  ‘side, towards, in the direction’. This Lepcha morpheme to some extent resembles the frequent usage of the suffix  $\text{-paṭṭi}$  ‘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  $\text{kón}$  translates into English as ‘side’.

- 80       $\text{hó} \quad \text{ka-sá} \quad \text{kón} \quad \text{tyúk}$   
          2S    S1-GEN    side    kick  
          ‘You kicked it towards me.’



- 81      འོང་ཅི་འུ་  
*nóng-kón tho*  
 inside-side put  
 ‘Put it inside.’
- 82      འོ་ཤུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཅི་འོང་  
*go prolyáng-kón nóng-sho*  
 1S Bhutan-side go-NPR  
 ‘I am going in the direction of Bhutan.’
- 83      འོ་ཤུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཅི་འོང་  
*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 འོ་ -*sá* (GEN) expresses possession, part-whole relationships and related semantic functions.

- 84      གཤེ་ འོ་ཤུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ འོ་ འོ་  
*ǵáre kasu-sá lí go ma*  
 this 1S.OBL-GEN house be AST  
 ‘This is my house.’
- 85      འོ་ཤུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ གཤེ་ གཤེ་ འོ་ འོ་  
*kasu-sá ǵákâ nyet nyí ma*  
 1S.OBL-GEN hand two be AST  
 ‘I have two hands.’
- 86      འོ་ཤུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ གཤེ་ གཤེ་ འོ་ འོ་  
*kasu-sá ǵákup nyet nyí ma*  
 1S.OBL-GEN child two be AST  
 ‘I have two children.’

- 87      ལཱ་སྤྱི་ལྷོ་སྤྱི་  
*kúng-sá*      *ṣún*  
 tree-GEN      horse  
 ‘a wooden horse’

- 88      ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་  
*fát-sá*      *fâtyók*  
 earth-GEN      pot  
 ‘an earthen pot’

The Lepcha comitative suffix ལཱ་ ~ ལཱ་ -*sá* ~ -*sa* ‘with’ is partially homophonous with the genitive suffix ལཱ་ -*sá*. Usage of the genitive suffix ལཱ་ -*sá* 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 ལྷོ་ ~ ལྷོ་ -*nun* ~ -*nu*. The comitative suffix can be used to indicate the instrument or means by which an action is enacted or takes place.

- 89      ལཱ་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་  
*go*      *ṣúng-sá*      *ṣákâ*      *cóng-sho*  
 1S      water-with      hand      wash-NPR  
 ‘I wash my hands with water.’

- 90      ལཱ་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་  
*go*      *nyúgú-sá*      *pi-sho*  
 1S      pen-with      write-NPR  
 ‘I write with a pen.’

- 91      ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་  
*phyokmú-sá*      *lí*      *phyok*  
 broom-with      house      sweep  
 ‘Sweep the house with the broomstick.’

- 92      ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་ ལྷོ་སྤྱི་  
*ryúm-sá*      *dum*      *hráp*  
 needle-with      cloth      sew  
 ‘Sew cloth with a needle.’

Whereas the suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -nun \sim -nu$  marks the agent performing an action, the Lepcha comitative suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -sá \sim -sa$  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 the Limbu comitative suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -nun \sim -nu$  fulfils both comitative and ablative functions. In Lepcha, the suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -nun \sim -nu$  denotes origin, whereas the suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -sá \sim -sa$  denotes belonging and expresses the comitative sense ‘with’. The comitative suffix  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -sá \sim -sa$  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  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -nun \sim -nu$  could be used instead of Lepcha  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -sá \sim -sa$ , whereas in sentence (96) the use of  $\text{Ṛṇ} \sim \text{Ṛṇ} -nun \sim -nu$  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.

- 93       $\text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ}$   
           *go ṛámík-sá ngâk-bám*  
           1S eye-with look-PRG  
           ‘I look with my eyes.’
- 94       $\text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ}$   
           *go ṛányûr-sá nyen-bám*  
           1S ear-with listen-PRG  
           ‘I listen with my ears.’
- 95       $\text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ} \text{Ṛṇ}$   
           *go ṛábong-sá jók-bám*  
           1S mouth-with talk-PRG  
           ‘I talk with my mouth.’

- 96      ལོ་ཅི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་  
*go      bānkup-sá    tyók-bám*  
 1S      knife-with    cut-PRG  
 ‘I am cutting with a knife.’

In the following examples, both the Lepcha ablative suffix རྟེ་ ~ རྟེ་ -*nun* ~ -*nu* and the Lepcha comitative suffix ལ་ ~ ལ་ -*sá* ~ -*sa* 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.

- 97      རྟེ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་  
*nyúgú-nu    shú    zúk-sho*  
 pen-ABL      what    make-NPR  
 ‘What do you use a pen for?’

- 98      ལ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་  
*nyúgú-sá    shú    zúk-sho*  
 pen-with      what    make-NPR  
 ‘Why are you using a pen?’

The comitative suffix ལ་ ~ ལ་ -*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      ལ་ལྟ་བུ་ ལ་ ལྟ་བུ་  
*khá-kát    sa    kát*  
 score-one    with    one  
 ‘twenty one’

- 100      རྟེ་ལྟ་བུ་ ལ་ ལྟ་བུ་ རྟེ་ལྟ་བུ་  
*phyuk-bú    sa    jen-bú    ma-flí-ne*  
 be.rich-FCT    with    other-FCT    NEG-separate-NEG  
 ‘Don’t distinguish between the rich and the poor.’

- 101       $\text{ᑭᓐᓂᑦ ᓂᑦ ᓂᓐᓂᑦ ᑭᓐᓂᑦ}$   
*sathang sá sacák punzók*  
 tiger with leopard forest

$\text{ᑭᓐᓂᑦ ᓂᓐᓂᑦ ᓂᓐᓂᑦ}$   
*thámcâng-pang gum*  
 animal-PL.NH be.AST

‘Tigers and leopards are animals of the jungle.’

- 102       $\text{ᑭᓐ ᓂᑦ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ}$   
*hó sa go-re tyól ʔáryúm gum*  
 2S with 1S-DEF friend good be.AST

‘You and I are good friends.’

The postposition  $\text{ᑭᓐ}$  *dep* ‘together, along with’ is often used in combination with or as an alternant to the comitative suffix  $\text{ᓂᑦ} \sim \text{ᓂᓐ} -sa$  ‘with’. The postposition  $\text{ᑭᓐ}$  *dep* ‘together’ indicates accompaniment.

- 103       $\text{ᑭᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ}$   
*hó hu-dep nóng*  
 2S 3S-together go

‘You go with him.’

- 104       $\text{ᑭᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ}$   
*rúbá sa ngú ʔúng-ká dep bám*  
 tortoise with fish water-LOC together dwell

‘The tortoise and the fish live together in the water.’

- 105       $\text{ᑭᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ ᓂᓐ}$   
*ka-dep nóng-ká le*  
 S1-together go-LOC REQ

‘Please go with me.’

- 106      ཨུ་ (ཨྱེ་ཅུ་) རྒྱུ་མཉམ་པུ་  
*hu throm-ká muró-dep ma-nóng-ne*  
 3S market-LOC man-together NEG-go-NEG

‘He went to the market without anyone else.’

- 107      ཨུ་ ཨྱེ་ལཱ་ (ཨྱེ་ལཱ་)  
*hu hudo-sá tyól-dep*  
 3S 3S.OBL-GEN friend-together

འཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་  
*cálóng-do lát*  
 just.now-self return

‘He just came together with his friend.’

A verb that should be mentioned here is རྒྱུ་མཉམ་ *chó* ‘unite, join’. Tamsáng lists the word རྒྱུ་མཉམ་ *nyíp* ‘together’, but no examples of this form have been attested (Tamsáng 1980: 376).

- 108      ལོ་ (ལོ་) རྒྱུ་མཉམ་  
*go chó-nun nóng-ká*  
 1S join-ABL go-LOC

‘I’ll join you and then let’s go.’

#### 4.7 The locative suffix

The invariant meaning of the Lepcha suffix ལཱ་ *-ká*, which I have expediently labelled ‘locative’, is one of ‘direction’, and the locative suffix may be attached to nominals, verbs and entire clauses. The invariant meaning of direction yields the notion of a supine when the locative suffix ལཱ་ *-ká* 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 ལཱ་ *-ká* are treated in Section 5.12. When the locative morpheme ལཱ་ *-ká* 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 ལཱ་ *-ká* 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 རྒྱུ་ཅི་ -ká 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 ཁ་ *khar*, more usually pronounced *kha*, which particularly occurs in toponyms, might reflect the same etymon as Lepcha locative རྒྱུ་ཅི་ -ká, but it is unclear at this point whether an etymological relationship obtains between the two.

- 109 ལོ་ ལྷོ་ཅི་ འོ་ཏོ་ ཐོ་  
 go lyem-ká nóng-det ma  
 1S play-LOC go-move AST  
 ‘I am going to play.’
- 110 རྒྱུ་ཅི་ རྒྱུ་ཅི་ རྒྱུ་ཅི་  
 kányí dep theng-ká  
 1D together sing-LOC  
 ‘Come on, join us in singing.’
- 111 ལྷོ་ རྒྱུ་ཅི་ རྒྱུ་ཅི་ རྒྱུ་ཅི་  
 lí ?áking-ká ribiríp nyí ma  
 house front-LOC ribi.plant be AST  
 ‘There are *ribiplants* in front of the house.’

The Lepcha locative morpheme རྒྱུ་ཅི་ -ká, 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 ལྷོ་ཅི་  
 lí-ká  
 house-LOC  
 ‘at home’

- 113      ལཱཱ་ཁྱེ་པུན་འུ་ཅི་ འུ་ལཱ་  
*sáthang punzók-ká bám-sho*  
 tiger forest-LOC dwell-NPR  
 ‘Tigers live in the jungle.’

The locative ending ཅི་ *-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      ལཱ་ ཅི་ཁྱེ་པུན་འུ་ འུ་ལཱ་  
*go kalenpúng-ká nóng-sho*  
 1S Kalimpong-LOC go-NPR  
 ‘I am going to Kalimpong.’

When affixed to a nominal denoting an animate referent, as in the following example, Lepcha ཅི་ *-ká* can be contrasted with the Lepcha dative suffix ར་ *-m*, e.g. (115) vs. (116) and the discussion in Section 4.8.

- 115      ལཱ་ ཅི་ཁྱེ་པུན་ ཅི་ འུ་ལཱ་  
*go kaju-ká kám zo bi*  
 1S dog-LOC little.bit food give  
 ‘I gave some food to the dog.’

- 116      ལཱ་ ཅི་ཁྱེ་པུན་ ཅི་ འུ་ལཱ་  
*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 ར་ *-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 ཅི་ *-ká*. The meaning expressed by the locative suffix may be called ‘local, directional’, whereas the meaning expressed by the dative suffix may be called ‘af-



affected'. 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 མ -*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 targeted at an entity or object and the affected target or beneficiary of the activity or emotion is marked by the dative suffix.

- 117 འཁྱུ་ མཁ་ རངས་ མ་ བེ་  
*hu-nu kasu-m rangsâr cho bi-sho*  
 3S-ABL 1S.OBL-DAT other book give-NPR  
 'He'll give me the other book.'

- 118 མཁ་ རང་ མེ་  
*kasu-m-nu ?ore ma-yâ-n*  
 1S.OBL-DAT-ABL that NEG-know-NEG  
 'I didn't know that.'

- 119 འཁྱུ་ མཁ་ རང་ མ་ བེ་  
*muró kányi-do-m shú sâkcíng-shang*  
 man 1D-self-DAT what think-INF  
 'What will people think of the two of us?'

- 120 མཁ་ མ་  
*kasu-m dok-wám*  
 1S.OBL-DAT be.ill-PRG  
 'I am feeling ill.'

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  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ} \text{ } \text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$  [face-DEF-DAT], rather than  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$  [face-LOC], it would have been clear that the act of coughing into someone's face had been deliberate.

- 121      $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$   
*muró-sá ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ma-hleng*  
 man-GEN face-LOC NEG-cough  
 'Don't cough into someone's face.'
- 122      $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$   
*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.'
- 123      $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$   
*hó kasu-m tyúk*  
 2S 1S.OBL-DAT kick  
 'You kicked [it to] me.'
- 124      $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$   
*hó ka-sá kón-ká tyúk*  
 2S S1-GEN side-LOC kick  
 'You kicked it in my direction.'
- 125      $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$   
*go-nun hu lyáng-ká yuk klóng*  
 1S-ABL 3S land-LOC letter send  
 'I sent a letter to his place.'
- 126      $\text{ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ}$   
*ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆯᆯᆯᆫᆯ-re-m buk*  
 child-DEF-DAT hit  
 'Strike the child!'

- 127      བཟླ་བ་ཅི་  
*fo-re-m                  tsám*  
 bird-DEF-DAT hold  
 ‘Catch the bird!’
- 128      ཡེ་ཅག་གི་མེད་པའི་  
*káyú-dó-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 གཤམ་ *ʔá-* and sometimes suffixing མ་ *-m* to the verb root, e.g. རྩལ་ *ryú* ‘be good’, གཤམ་རྩལ་ *ʔáryúm* ‘good’, as mentioned in Chapter 3. Some common adjectives are listed below.

མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔáhyur</i>	‘red’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔánók</i>	‘black’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔádúm</i>	‘white’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔácor</i>	‘sour’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔázuk</i>	‘pretty’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔáryúm</i>	‘good’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔásúm</i>	‘spicy’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔáklyam</i>	‘sweet’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔáhyâng</i>	‘cold’
མེད་པའི་	<i>ʔákyâng</i>	‘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. ལོ་གྲོ་མེད་པའི་ *lóm ʔál* [road new] ‘the new road’, although the order may be reversed for emphasis.

- 129      གཤམ་མེད་པའི་  
*ʔúng          ʔáhyâng          ma-thóng*  
 water          cold                  NEG-drink

‘Do not drink cold water.’

- 130       $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$   
*tukpópót-re    ʔáklyam    nyí*  
 peach-DEF    sweet    be  
 ‘Peaches are sweet.’

Nouns are modified by adjectives, whereas adjectives may be modified by intensifiers, such as  $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$  *ʔágyáp* ‘much, very’, sometimes shortened to  $\text{ṣṣ}$  *gyáp*, and  $\text{ṣṣ}$  *do* ‘self’, or a combination of both as in (131) and (132).

- 131       $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$   
*ʔáre tukpópót    ʔágyáp-do    klyam-bám*  
 this peach    much-self    be.sweet-PRG  
 ‘This peach is very sweet.’

- 132       $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$   
*ʔare-re    gyáp-do    ʔákhú*  
 this-DEF    much-self    expensive  
 ‘This is very expensive.’

#### 4.10 Comparative and superlative constructions

A comparative construction is formed by means of the postposition  $\text{ṣṣ}$  *len* ‘than, compared to’, which follows the element it modifies. In other words, the postposition  $\text{ṣṣ}$  *len* ‘than’ is suffixed to the element with which the comparison is made.

- 133       $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$   
*pemkít len nurkít    ʔáryúm nyí*  
 Pemkít than Nurkít    good    be  
 ‘Nurkít is better than Pemkít.’

- 134       $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$   
*ʔáre kajú-re    pe    len    cóng*  
 this dog-DEF    over.there    than    be.quick

‘This dog is quicker than that one over there.’

A superlative meaning is expressed by comparison with a totality expressed by ལྷོ *gun* ‘all, every’.

- 135 ཇུ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ལམ་ འོ་ ཅ  
*ʔore gun-len nahán nóng ma*  
 that all-than before go AST  
 ‘He left before everyone else.’

- 136 ལ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རྩོ་ ལྷོ་  
*go gun-len tím-bú gum*  
 1S all-than big-FCT be.AST  
 ‘I am the biggest one of all.’

A superlative meaning may also be expressed by suffixing རྩོ་ *-chúk* ‘most, worthy’, or རྩོ་ *-cho* ‘best, greatest’, to the root.

- 137 ལ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ ལྷོ་  
*hu muró tím-cho gum*  
 3S man big-most be.AST  
 ‘He’s the biggest man of all.’

- 138 ལ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ ལྷོ་  
*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:

ཇེ	<i>ti</i>	‘zero’
ཇཱཱ	<i>kát</i>	‘one’
ཇཱཱ	<i>nyet</i>	‘two’
ཇཱཱ	<i>sám</i>	‘three’
ཇཱཱ	<i>fali</i>	‘four’

ᄢᄢ	<i>fangú</i>	‘five’
ᄢᄢ	<i>tarók</i>	‘six’
ᄢᄢ	<i>kakyók</i>	‘seven’
ᄢᄢ	<i>kaku</i>	‘eight’
ᄢᄢ	<i>kakyót</i>	‘nine’
ᄢᄢ	<i>kati</i>	‘ten’

The numerals from eleven through nineteen are formed through suffixation of the morpheme ᄢᄢ -*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 ᄢᄢ *kati* ‘ten’.

<i>full form</i>		<i>short form</i>		
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati kát tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>kát tháp</i>	‘eleven’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati nyet tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>nyet tháp</i>	‘twelve’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati sám tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>sám tháp</i>	‘thirteen’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati fali tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>fali tháp</i>	‘fourteen’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati fangú tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>fangú tháp</i>	‘fifteen’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati tarók tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>tarók tháp</i>	‘sixteen’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati kakyók tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>kakyók tháp</i>	‘seventeen’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati kaku tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>kaku tháp</i>	‘eighteen’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>kati kakyót tháp</i>	ᄢᄢ	<i>kakyót tháp</i>	‘nineteen’

Starting with the numeral for ‘twenty’, Lepcha makes use of a vigesimal numeral system based on ᄢᄢ *khá* ‘one score’, which would appear to be the same root as reflected in Dränjoke or Dzongkha ཁ་ཁྱེ་ *khäci* ‘one score’, viz. ᄢᄢᄢᄢ *khá kát* [score-one] ‘twenty’, ᄢᄢᄢᄢ *khá sám* [score-three] ‘sixty’. The coordinative conjunction ᄢᄢ ~ ᄢᄢ -*sá* ~ -*sa* ‘with’ is used to combine the vigesimal portion of the numeral with the lesser numeral.

ᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>khá kát</i>	‘twenty’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>khá kát sá kát</i>	‘twenty-one’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>khá kát sá nyet</i>	‘twenty-two’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>khá kát sá sám</i>	‘twenty-three’
ᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢᄢ	<i>khá kát sá fali</i>	‘twenty-four’



The numeral forms discussed above are used in counting. Attributive forms of the numerals are formed by adding the factitive marker འ་ *-bú* to the numeral, e.g. འ་ འ་ *kátbú* ‘the first’. Some speakers add the form འ་ *frón* ‘number’ and prefer to say འ་འ་འ་ *kátfrónbú*, ‘the first’, or འ་འ་འ་ *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 འ་ *báng* ‘half of’. Kalimpong speakers of Lepcha, who are usually not closely familiar with this system of counting, consider the system based purely on འ་ *khá* ‘the score’ to be the original counting system, and claim that the འ་ *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.

འ་འ་འ་	<i>khá báng nyet</i>	‘30’ [score half-of two]
འ་འ་འ་འ་འ་	<i>khá báng nyet sá kát</i>	‘31’ [score half-of two with one]
འ་འ་འ་	<i>khá báng sám</i>	‘50’ [score half-of three]
འ་འ་འ་འ་	<i>khá báng fali</i>	‘70’ [score half-of four]
འ་འ་འ་འ་	<i>khá báng fangú</i>	‘90’ [score half-of five]

The form འ་ *báng* is also used as a main verb meaning ‘break, cut, chop wood or bamboo in short pieces’.

- 139 འ་ འ་ འ་ འ་ འ་ འ་  
*sháng pore bán-sá báng le*  
 firewood that knife-with break REQ  
 ‘Go ahead and chop up the firewood with the knife.’

The expression འ་འ་ འ་འ་ *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 འ་ *thep* ‘extra, additional, successive’, e.g. འ་ འ་ *theppa theppa* ‘successively’, which is introduced as a decimal morpheme.



ᵿᵿᵿ	<i>kati</i>	‘10’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>nyet thep</i>	‘20’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>nyet thep kát</i>	‘21’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>sám thep</i>	‘30’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>fali thep</i>	‘40’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>fangú thep</i>	‘50’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>tarók thep</i>	‘60’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>kakyók thep</i>	‘70’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>kaku thep</i>	‘80’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>kakyót thep</i>	‘90’
ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ	<i>gyó kát</i>	‘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 *ᵿ ka*, which Mainwaring derived from the numeral *ᵿᵿᵿ kati* ‘ten’, e.g. *ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ kakát sá kát* ‘eleven’, *ᵿᵿᵿᵿ 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 *ᵿᵿ chó* ‘even number, pair, couple’, *ᵿᵿᵿ nyó* ‘odd number’, *ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ chólúng nóngshang* ‘multiply’ and *ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ dryándo* ‘equal to’. Specific units for counting are used in certain professions or in harvesting, such as the word *ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ nyíshu* ‘twenty’, 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 *ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ 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.

ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Diagram 14: Lepcha numbers

4.12 *Telling time*

The concept ‘today’ is expressed in Lepcha by the adverb ལཱཱྱ saróng ‘today’. Adverbs expressing days in the immediate past include ལཱྱ tasó ‘yesterday’, sometimes shortened to ལཱ só, ལཱཱྱ Pyotshóng or ལཱཱྱ Pitshóng ‘day before yesterday, two days ago’, ལཱཱྱ Pyochám ‘three days ago’ and ལཱཱྱ Pyochót ‘four days ago’. The adverb ལཱཱྱ lúkál ‘tomorrow’ can be analysed as a compound of the verb ལཱཱྱ lúk ‘get up, rise’ (which also serves as the noun ‘morning’) and the adjective ལཱཱྱ lál ‘new’. Analogous to the way the adverbs of the immediate past are formed, days in the immediate future are expressed by the adverbs ལཱཱྱ katshóng ‘day after tomorrow’, ལཱཱྱ káchám ‘in three days’ time, after three days’ and ལཱཱྱ káchót ‘in four days’ time, after four days’. We also find ལཱཱྱ taŷen for ‘last year’ and ལཱཱྱ kátaŷen for ‘three years ago’. The adverb ལཱཱྱ Potshóng ‘that day’, containing the distal morpheme ལཱ ལo-, 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 morphemes ལཱ tshóng, ལཱ chám and ལཱ chót, which each appear to imply a specific number of days, have not been attested.

Words for now and later include ལཱཱྱ lálóng ‘now, at this very moment’, ལཱཱྱ lálóngbá ‘in a moment, in a little while’, ལཱཱྱ lálónglá ‘still’, ལཱཱྱ lya ‘formerly, a long time ago, in the days of old’, ལཱཱྱ lyo ‘before, formerly, some time ago’, ལཱ cá ‘just, a moment ago’, ལཱཱྱ cálong ‘just now, just a moment ago’, ལཱཱྱ cánáp ‘last night’, ལཱཱྱ cábá ‘some time ago’.

A period of twenty-four hours is referred to as ལཱཱྱ saŷyák ‘day, day and night’. The hours of daylight are referred to as ལཱཱྱ sanyí, also spelt as ལཱཱྱ sanyím or ལཱཱྱ suknyím ‘day, daytime’ and the night-time is referred to as ལཱཱྱ sonáp ‘night, night-time’. Another way of expressing a whole 24-hour period would be by using the expression ལཱཱྱ ལཱཱྱ sanyí sonáp ‘day and night’. The word ལཱཱྱ róngjín means ‘daily, every day’. Midday or noon is expressed by pointing to the fact that daytime is halfway over, by using ལཱ phet ‘half’, e.g. ལཱཱྱ sanyím phet or the shorter ལཱཱྱ nyímphet ‘midday’, and likewise the expression ལཱཱྱ sonápphet ‘midnight’ is used.

Other adverbs expressing the time of day include ལཱཱྱ nápmún ‘evening’, ལཱཱྱ náplúk ‘day and night, morning and evening’, ལཱཱྱ nápzâ ‘dusk’, ལཱཱྱ lúk-hróng ‘morning’, ལཱཱྱ somyer ‘dusk’, ལཱཱྱ

*solá* ‘twilight’, འོ་ལྷོ་ *sosóng* ‘dawn’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *tsuk-lát* ‘sunrise, east’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *tsukkyer* ‘sunset, west’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *tsukgi* ‘afternoon’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *tsukzán* ‘early morning, when sun is completely visible’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *tsuknáng* ‘mid-day’.

A period of time is referred to in Lepcha as འོ་ལྷོ་ *tatsât* ‘time, period of time’. Some names for seasons of the year are འོ་ལྷོ་ *so?âm* ‘summer’, འོ་ལྷོ་ *somyáng* ‘rainy season’, འོ་ལྷོ་ *sosá* ‘dry season’, འོ་ལྷོ་ *sozóng* ‘winter, be cold’.

The word འོ་ལྷོ་ *lávó* for ‘moon’ in Lepcha is also used to indicate a lunar month. A calendar month is referred to as འོ་ལྷོ་ *nám lavo*, the word འོ་ལྷོ་ *nám* means ‘year’. A cycle of twelve years is a འོ་ལྷོ་ *námkor*, and the twelve years comprising a full cycle are listed below in chronological order. Some people call the fourth year ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *kumthyóng nám* ‘kite year’, rather than ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *punthyóng nám* ‘eagle year’.

ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>kalók nám</i>	‘rat year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>lóng nám</i>	‘ox year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>sathang nám</i>	‘tiger year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>punthyóng nám</i>	‘eagle year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>sader nám</i>	‘thunder year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>bu nám</i>	‘snake year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>ʔún nám</i>	‘horse year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>lúk nám</i>	‘sheep year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>sahu nám</i>	‘monkey year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>hík nám</i>	‘chicken year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>kajú nám</i>	‘dog year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>món nám</i>	‘boar year’

The Lepcha year generally consists of twelve months, but during a period of nineteen years reportedly seven years will have thirteen months. The additional month is called ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *numtsám nyóm* ‘leap month’. The meaning of the names of the different months is not clear in all cases, although ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *glú* means ‘fall down’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *rá* means ‘hunt’, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *ʔít* means ‘creation’ and ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *kursóng* is the name of an orchid and also means ‘bright’.

ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>kurnyít nyóm</i>	‘first month of the Lepcha year’
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ <i>kursóng nyóm</i>	‘second month of the Lepcha year’

ཐོན་ཁྱེ་	<i>thón nyóm</i>	‘third month of the Lepcha year’
སྦྱེ་	<i>sâm nyóm</i>	‘fourth month of the Lepcha year’
ཐཱ་ཁྱེ་	<i>tafá nyóm</i>	‘fifth month of the Lepcha year’
འཁྱེ་	<i>blúng nyóm</i>	‘sixth month of the Lepcha year’
འཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>numkum nyóm</i>	‘seventh month of the Lepcha year’
པུལྱེ་	<i>purvím nyóm</i>	‘eight month of the Lepcha year’
ཁྱེ་	<i>glú nyóm</i>	‘ninth month of the Lepcha year’
ཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>ʔít nyóm</i>	‘tenth month of the Lepcha year’
རྩེ་	<i>rá nyóm</i>	‘eleventh month of the Lepcha year’
མེ་	<i>már nyóm</i>	‘twelfth month of the Lepcha year’

A week of seven days is referred to as རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *duntrók* ‘week’. The Lepcha names of the days of the week are listed below. Since སྦྱེ་ *sanyí*, སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *suknyím* and སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *saʔyák* all are used for ‘day’, we sometimes may hear སྦྱེ་ སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *mi saʔyák* and at other times སྦྱེ་ སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *mi suknyím* or སྦྱེ་ སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *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 སྦྱེ་ སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *nyín saʔyák* ‘day of milk’.

སྦྱེ་ སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>mi saʔyák</i>	‘day of fire, Sunday’
ལྱེ་སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>ʔúng saʔyák</i>	‘day of water, Monday’
ལྱེ་སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>lang saʔyák</i>	‘day of stone, Tuesday’
ལྱེ་སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>kúng saʔyák</i>	‘day of wood, Wednesday’
ལྱེ་སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>sukmut saʔyák</i>	‘day of wind, Thursday’
ལྱེ་སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>fát saʔyák</i>	‘day of earth, Friday’
ལྱེ་སྦྱེ་ཁྱེ་	<i>punjeng saʔyák</i>	‘day of iron, Saturday’

The Lepcha word for ‘clock’ is རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *tsugyer* and the word for ‘hour’ is རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *chútsât*, borrowed from Dränjoke and Dzongkha རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *chutshö*, although the Nepali loan རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *bázá* ‘hour’ is also frequently heard. The four o’clock flower *Mirabilis jalapa*, which opens its flowers in the late afternoon, is referred to as རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *bázá falibú ríp*. To ask the time, one may use the phrase རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *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 as རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *chútsât tarók ngúnnón* ‘it has become six o’clock’, or རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *bázá tarók buknón* ‘it has struck six o’clock’. When telling time in half hours, one may say for example རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ རྩེ་ཁྱེ་ *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 whole hour, as in the expression 𑜋𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨 𑜏𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜏𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜇𑜨 𑜏𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 *chútsât fangú ngúnnu minetra khányet nón* 'it has become five o'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 /t/, /n/ and /m/. If the open stem ends in /i/ or /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 /t/, /n/ and /m/ occurring uniquely in inflected stems, such as inflected  $\text{ṣṛ} \text{ lín}$  vs. regular  $\text{ṣṛ} \text{ li}$

‘say’, ཇློམ་ *zóm* vs. ཇའ་ *zo* ‘eat’ and ཇཱློཏ་ *dít* vs. ཇཱློཏ་ *di* ‘come’, differ historically from the finals /t/, /n/ and /m/ of invariable closed verb stems, e.g. ཇློཏ་ *kón* ‘let, allow’, ཇློཏ་ *lóm* ‘walk’, ཇློཏ་ *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 occurring in a corresponding deverbative nominal. For example, the final /n/ in the inflected stem ཇློཏ་ *lín* of the verb ཇློཏ་ *li* ‘say’ corresponds to a final /n/ in the old deverbative form ཇློཏ་ *ʔálín* ‘tongue’, whereas the final /n/ in the inflected stem ཇློཏ་ *lín* of the verb ཇློཏ་ *li* ‘carry’ corresponds to an /m/ in the nominal derivative ཇློཏ་ *ʔálím* ‘heavy’. Some other examples of regular closed stems of verbs ending in /m/, /n/ or /t/ are ཇློཏ་ *tsám* ‘hold, retain’, ཇློཏ་ *tsum* ‘meet’, ཇློཏ་ *dryóm* ‘attach’, ཇློཏ་ *ngán* ‘remain’, ཇློཏ་ *dun* ‘tell, narrate’, ཇློཏ་ *ngún* ‘become’, ཇློཏ་ *ngút* ‘cut, sever’, ཇློཏ་ *mát* ‘do’ and ཇློཏ་ *kít* ‘snatch’.

Auxiliary verbs are a set of verbs which can be distinguished on the basis of both semantic and morphological criteria. Lepcha auxiliary verbs not only exhibit meanings which in other languages are often expressed by modal verbs, e.g. ཇློཏ་ *khut* ‘be able, can’, the set of auxiliary verbs can also be defined morphologically in that they combine 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 dialogue and illustrate the inflected and regular stem of the verb ཇློཏ་ *plâ* ‘come out, come up, rise’. Examples (143) and (144) are both responses to the statement made in (142), and these three sentences offer examples of the inflected and regular stem of the verb ཇློཏ་ *yâ* ‘know’.

- 140 ཇློཏ་ཇློཏ་ཇློཏ་ ཇློཏ་  
*tukfyíl–sang plâ–wám*  
 ant–PL.NH come.out–PRG  
 ‘Ants are coming out of it.’

- 141 ཇློཏ་  
*plâm–kón*  
 come.out–let  
 ‘Let them come out.’

- 142      ʔore-re ʔáyú-do yâm gát  
 that-DEF 2P-self know must  
 ‘You ought to be aware of that.’

- 143      go ma-yâ-n  
 1S NEG-know-NEG  
 ‘I don’t know.’

- 144      yâ-do ma-gát-ne  
 know-self NEG-must-NEG  
 ‘I don’t have to know.’

The verb ʃo *bi* ~ ʔo *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 ʔo *bo* is used when something is given to a first or second person singular or plural recipient, e.g. ʔo *kasu-m bo* ‘give to me’, ʔo *káyú-m bo* ‘give to us’, ʔo *ʔádo-m bo* ‘give to you (S)’, ʔo *ʔáyú-m bo* ‘give to you (P)’. The stem ʃo *bi* is used when something is given to a third person singular or plural recipient, e.g. ʃo *hudo-m bi* ‘give to him/her’, ʃo *huyú-m bi* ‘give to them’.

- 145      ʔóng sare-nun cho ʔáre kasu-m bo  
 boy which-ABL book this 1S.OBL-DAT give  
  
 hudo-m go thyák ma  
 3S.OBL-DAT 1S recognise AST  
 ‘The boy who gave me this book, I recognised him.’



- 146       $\text{hík} \quad \text{sót-shang} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{ʔádo-m}$   
           chicken   kill-INF   1S   2S.OBL-DAT

$\text{bánkup} \quad \text{bo-sho}$   
           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  $\text{cón}$  ‘let, allow’, as in the following examples.

- 147       $\text{hudo-m} \quad \text{ʔúng} \quad \text{bín} \quad \text{ma-kón}$   
           3S.OBL-DAT   water   give   NEG-allow  
           ‘Don’t allow anyone to give him water.’

- 148       $\text{go} \quad \text{hudo-m} \quad \text{ʔúng} \quad \text{thóng} \quad \text{kón}$   
           1S   3S.OBL-DAT   water   drink   allow  
           ‘I let him drink some water.’

- 149       $\text{huyú-m} \quad \text{dyút} \quad \text{kón}$   
           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.

- 150      ᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ  
*lyáng      ʔáre-sá      fát      ʔáre-ká      dúnggít*  
 land      this-GEN      earth      this-LOC      tradition
- ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ  
*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 ᐱᐱ *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 ᐱᐱ *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?’.

- 151      ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ  
*shú      ngún-nón*  
 what      become-RES  
 ‘What happened?’
- 152      ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ  
*ʔádo-sá      bri      ngún-nón*  
 2S.OBL-GEN      marriage      become-RES  
 ‘Did you get married?’
- 153      ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ  
*ʔáshúm-ʔáshúm      ngún-bám*  
 fat-fat      become-PRG  
 ‘He’s getting fatter and fatter.’
- 154      ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ  
*káyú      tabá      nóng      ngún-sho*  
 1P      up.there      go      become-NPR  
 ‘Is it OK if we go up there?’



- 160      ལོ་རྩལ་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་  
             *go      róng-ríng      yâ-wám*  
             1S      Lepcha-language    know-PRG  
             ‘I know Lepcha.’

The verb ལྟོགས་ *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).

- 161      ལོ་རྩལ་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་  
             *go      róng-ríng      jel-bám*  
             1S      Lepcha-language    understand-PRG  
             ‘I speak Lepcha.’

- 162      ལོ་རྩལ་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་མེད་པོ་  
             *go      ?ádo-sá      ?áring      ma-jel-ne*  
             1S      2S.OBL-GEN    language    NEG-understand-NEG  
             ‘I didn’t understand what you said.’

- 163      ལོ་རྩལ་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་མེད་པོ་  
             *go      ?ádo-sá      ?áring      ma-thyo-ne*  
             1S      2S.OBL-GEN    language    NEG-hear-NEG  
             ‘I didn’t hear what you said.’

The verb ལྟོགས་ *gát* ‘must, need, require’ expresses a need or desire, and is used as a modal of exigency. When the verb ལྟོགས་ *gát* is negated, it may express the sense of ‘it isn’t necessary’, ‘it isn’t wanted’ or ‘don’t want’.

- 164      ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་  
             *lúk-hrong    ngol-do      lúk      gát-sho*  
             morning    early-self    get.up    must-NPR  
             ‘I’ll have to get up early in the morning.’



tential sense to indicate the availability or presence of a person, commodity or thing, e.g. (172).

- 170      བོམ་ རྩཀྱིམ་ རྟེན་ མ་  
*vóm    ʔákrím    nyí    ma*  
 salt   bitter   be   AST  
 ‘Salt is bitter.’
- 171      ཡུ་ཤུ་ལ་ རྩ་ལོ་ལྟེ་ལེ་ རྟེན་ མ་  
*kasu-sá      lí      manegombú-ká      nyí    ma*  
 1S.OBL-GEN   house   Mane.Gomba-LOC   be   AST  
 ‘My house is in Mane Gomba.’
- 172      ཡུ་ཤུ་ལ་ རྩཀུལ་ རྟེན་ མ་  
*kasu-sá      ʔákup      nyet    nyí    ma*  
 1S.OBL-GEN   child   two   be   AST  
 ‘I have two children.’
- 173      རཱེ་ ཏཱུ་ རྩཀུལ་ རྟེན་ མ་  
*ʔáre    taʔyu    ʔázuk    nyí    ma*  
 this   girl   pretty   be   AST  
 ‘This girl is beautiful.’

The clause-final particle མ་ *ma* (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 མ་ *ma* 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 *m*- with some associated vowel (cf. van Driem 1990: 569, 1993: 168-176, 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 རྩ་ *gó* (Q) in sentence (177).

- 174      ལོ་ རྩ་ ཅུ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་  
*go nám tarók thák-nón ma*  
 1S year six be.complete-RES AST  
 ‘I am six years old.’

- 175      རྩ་ ལོ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་  
*ríp-sá ?árí nyí ma*  
 flower-GEN scent be AST  
 ‘The flower has a [strong] smell.’

- 176      རྩ་ ལོ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་  
*hó sabá nóng-det gó*  
 2S where go-move Q  
 ‘Where are you going?’

- 177      རྩ་ ལོ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་  
*hó sabá nóng-det ma*  
 2S where go-move AST  
 ‘Where is it that you are going?’

The form རྩ་ *gum* (be.AST) is understood to be a contracted form of the verb ལོ་ *go* ‘be’ and the assertive particle རྩ་ *ma*.

- 178      ལོ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ རྩ་  
*lyáng ?áre róngkup bámlyáng gum*  
 land this Lepcha homeland be.AST  
 ‘This land is the Lepcha homeland.’

- 179      ལོ་ རྩ་ རྩ་  
*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 རྩ་ *ma-* in combination with the negative suffix རྩ་ *-ne*, e.g. ལོ་ རྩ་ རྩ་ *go mazone*

‘I didn’t eat’,  $\text{ካ ሕመኑ} hu\ manónɡne$  ‘he didn’t go’. The negative affixes 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  $\text{ኑ} -ne$  may be shortened to  $-n$ , e.g.  $\text{ማነሰ} ma-nyí-n$  ‘there isn’t’.

- 180  $\text{ካ ሕመኑ ሕመኑ ሕመኑ}$   
*hu ሕábí sathálá ma-lát-ne*  
 3S here always NEG-return-NEG  
 ‘He never came here.’

- 181  $\text{ሕመኑ ሕመኑ ሕመኑ ሕመኑ ሕመኑ ሕመኑ}$   
*hó ma-nóng-ne gang ሕádom bo pú*  
 2S NEG-go-NEG if 2S.OBL give PSB  
 ‘If you don’t go, I might give it to you.’

The regular stem of verbs is used as the imperative. A negative imperative is formed by adding the negative prefix  $\text{ሕ} ma-$  to the regular stem of the verb, e.g.  $\text{ሕመኑ} ma-mát$  ‘don’t’,  $\text{ሕክኑ} ma-kyân$  ‘don’t fuss, don’t worry’, cf. (182). If the negative suffix  $\text{ኑ} -ne$  were used in example (182), as in  $\text{ሕመኑ ሕመኑ} vâm\ ma-theng-ne\ ma-jók-ne$ , the 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.’

- 182  $\text{ሕመኑ ሕመኑ}$   
*vâm ma-theng ma-jók*  
 song NEG-sing NEG-speak  
 ‘Don’t sing, don’t speak!’

### 5.5 Gerund and the participle

A present gerund is expressed by adding the ending  $\text{ካ} -lung$  (GER) to the verb. When the ending  $\text{ካ} -lung$  (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  $\text{ካ} -lung$  are one and the same,



and the meaning of the suffix ལུག་ *-lung* is simultaneity with the action expressed by the main verb. The morpheme ལུག་ *-lung* happens to be homophonous with a verb meaning ‘spill, spill of liquids or grains, pour as water or rice’.

- 183      རལུཧུ་ སྒྲུ་ལུག་ སྒྲུ་ལུག་  
*ʔályú      lík-lung      thít-nón*  
 cat          call-GER      reach-RES  
 ‘The cat arrived here caterwauling.’

- 184      ལུག་ལུག་ སྒྲུ་ ལུག་  
*zo-lung      ngán      le*  
 eat-GER      remain      REQ  
 ‘Carry on eating, please’

- 185      ལུག་ལུག་ (མ ལུག་) རལུཧུ་ ལུག་  
*hu-nun      cho      rok-lung      ʔázóm      zo*  
 3S-ABL      book      read-GER      food      eat  
 ‘He ate his food whilst reading a book.’

The participle is formed by adding the ending ལུག་ *-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 ལུག་ *-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 ལུག་ *-wung*, and claim the past participial ending is spelt ལུག་ *-wung* after verbs ending in a vowel, *-ng*, *-n*, *-m* or *-l*, but ལུག་ *-kung* after verbs ending in *-k*, ལུག་ *-tung* after verbs ending in *-t*, ལུག་ *-rung* after verbs ending in *-r*, ལུག་ *-pung* after verbs ending in *-p*, e.g. (189), (190).

- 186      ལུག་ལུག་ལུག་ རལུཧུ་  
*thyen-wung-sá      ʔáring*  
 laugh-PTC-GEN      language  
 ‘funny language’

- 187       $\text{ʃe-wung-re} \quad (\text{thyo-wung-re}) \quad \text{len} \quad \text{ʔáryúm} \quad \text{gum}$   
           see-PTC-DEF    hear-PTC-DEF    than    good    be.AST  
           ‘Seeing is better than hearing.’
- 188       $\text{go} \quad \text{thi-wung-sá} \quad \text{nahán} \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{zúk-hát}$   
           1S    reach-PTC-GEN    before    3S    make-PRF  
           ‘Before my return, he finished it.’
- 189       $\text{hudo-sá} \quad \text{gyó} \quad \text{zúk-kung-sá} \quad \text{sung-pang}$   
           3S.OBL-GEN    quarrel    make-PTC-GEN    story-PL.NH
- $\text{káyú-sá} \quad \text{thikúng} \quad \text{ʔábo-sang-nu} \quad \text{ʔolóm}$   
           1P-GEN    great.grandfather    father-PL.H-ABL    like.that
- $\text{káyú-m} \quad \text{dun}$   
           1P-DAT    tell  
           ‘The stories of the quarrels he got into, our fathers  
           and great-grandfathers told them to us like that.’
- 190       $\text{hó-lá} \quad \text{ʔálut} \quad \text{mát-nu} \quad \text{rok-kung} \quad \text{ma-nyí-n-bú}$   
           2S-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  $\text{ʃe} \text{ -shang}$  (INF). Infinitives may function as the complement of a main verb. The infinitive indicates an action or situation as such.

- 191      ཡེ་ཤེ་མཐོང་མཐོང་  
*káyú mák-shang sák      ma-cíng*  
 1P    die-INF      mind      NEG-think  
 ‘We do not even think about dying.’
- 192      མཚོ་མཐོང་མཐོང་  
*ǰázóm sathá      zo-shang*  
 food      when      eat-INF  
 ‘When are we going to eat?’
- 193      ཡོ་ཤེ་མཐོང་  
*go nóng-shang      mát*  
 1S      go-INF      do  
 ‘I acted as if I were going.’
- 194      ཐོ་ཤེ་མཐོང་  
*thám vyet-shang ǰázóm      gum*  
 thing ask-INF      easy      be.AST  
 ‘It’s simple to ask a question.’
- 195      ཡོ་ཤེ་མཐོང་  
*go shú      yâ-shang*  
 1S      what      know-INF  
 ‘What do I know?’

The infinitival ending *ཤེ* -*shang* may also express intent or purpose, and could be translated as ‘in order to’. In such cases, the infinitival ending *ཤེ* *shang* is often, but not necessarily, reinforced with the locative suffix *ཡེ* -*ká*.

- 196      ཡོ་ཤེ་མཐོང་མཐོང་  
*go lí      pá-r-shang kóm      tsung-bám*  
 1S      house      buy-INF      money      save-PRG  
 ‘I am saving money to buy a house.’

- 197      འཇ་ཤེང་མཁའ་མཁའ་  
*zo-shang-ká    ?ázóm    gát-sho*  
 eat-INF-LOC    food    must-NPR  
 ‘In order to eat, there must be food.’
- 198      གཤམ་ཤེང་འཇ་མཁའ་  
*?átím    ngún-shang    zo-thóng-do    gát*  
 big    become-INF    eat-drink-self    must  
 ‘One must eat and drink in order to get big.’
- 199      འཇ་ཤེང་མཁའ་མཁའ་  
*go lí    drâm    khyâ-shang-ká    dâng-bám*  
 1S house    quick    arrive-INF-LOC    run-PRG  
 ‘I am running so that I will get home quickly.’
- 200      གཤམ་ཤེང་འཇ་  
*?ádo    lí-ká    thi-shang*  
 2S.OBL    house-LOC    reach-INF
- གཤམ་ཤེང་འཇ་  
*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      ལེ ག  
           *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      ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་ལྟ་ལྟ་ ལོ་  
           *tasó*            *go*    *Dárjúlýáng*   *nóng*  
           yesterday    1S    Darjeeling   go
- ལོ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་  
           *go-nu*   *?obi*   *tshóng*   *pár*  
           1S–ABL   there   goods   buy
- ལོ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་  
           *go-nu*   *?ore*   *lí-ká*            *blá-yú-nu*  
           1S–ABL   that   home–LOC   take–descend–ABL
- ལོ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་  
           *kasu*            *?áyu-do-m*    *bi*  
           1S.OBL   wife–self–DAT   give
- ལོ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་  
           *?ân*   *go-nu*   *hudo*    *kâ-shang*    *li*  
           and   1S–ABL   3S.OBL   cook–INF   say
- ལོ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་  
           *hu-nu*   *?ore*   *kâ*    *?ân*   *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 ႁ bām (PRG) expresses that the situation denoted by the main verb is in effect or in progress. The progressive auxiliary is used both with stative and with non-stative verbs, and is not restricted to dynamic verbs. When used as a main verb, ႁ bām means ‘dwell, reside, be in or at a place’. When the progressive auxiliary is attached to a verb stem ending in a vowel, the allomorphs ႁwám or ႁpám may be used.

- 203      ႁ ႁႁ  
           *hu      lok-bām*  
           3S    dance-PRG  
           ‘She is dancing.’

- 204      ႁႁႁ ႁႁႁ ႁႁႁ  
           *kasu-sá      pámú-re      jú-wám*  
           1S.OBL-GEN    mother-DEF    live-PRG  
           ‘My mother is [still] alive.’

The verb ႁ *det* ‘move’ is used as a dynamic auxiliary with verbs of motion, e.g. (205). In example sentence (206), the meanings of the dynamic and progressive auxiliaries are combined in a single form.

- 205      ႁ ႁႁ ႁ  
           *hu      nóng-det      ma*  
           3S    go-move    AST  
           ‘He is on his way.’

- 206      ႁ ႁႁႁ ႁ  
           *hu      nóng-det-bám      ma*  
           3S    go-move-PRG    AST  
           ‘He is on his way.’

### 5.9 *Non-preterite tense*

A non-preterite tense may be signalled by adding the verbal ending ႁ -*sho* (NPR) to the verb. The non-preterite tense is used to describe

207      ၥၵၵၵ ၵ ၵၵၵ<sup>၆</sup>  
*lóng-sang cho rok-sho*  
 boy-PL.H    book read-NPR  
 ‘The boys go to school.’

208      (X-ၵ (လၢၵ ၵ<sup>၆</sup>  
*hlo-ká sozóng-sho*  
 peak-LOC    be.cold-NPR  
 ‘It will be cold on the mountain peak.’

209      (X-ၵ (လၢၵ ၵၵၵ<sup>၆</sup> (ၵၵၵ<sup>၆</sup>  
*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      ᳵ᳚ ᳄᳐᳂ ᳆ᳱ᳚  
           *go vâm-kát theng-sho*  
       1S song-one sing-NPR  
           ‘I shall sing a song.’

- 211      ལོ་ཐོ་མེད་པུ་ཤོ་ལེ  
             *go*      *ṭádo-m*      *cho*    *bo-sho*  
             1S      2S.OBL-DAT    book   give-NPR  
             ‘I’ll give you the book.’

- 212      ལོ་པུ་མེད་པུ་ཤོ་ལེ  
             *go*      *punzók-ká*    *nóng-sho*  
             1S      forest-LOC    go-NPR  
             ‘I will go to the forest.’

#### 5.10 *The factitive marker with verbs*

When used with verbs, the factitive marker ཐོ་མེད་ *-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      ཐོ་ཐོ་  
             *bám-bú*  
             dwell-FCT  
             ‘Are they staying?’
- 214      ཐོ་ཐོ་ཐོ་  
             *tú*      *nóng-sho-bú*  
             who    go-NPR-FCT  
             ‘Who will be going?’

The factitive marker ཐོ་མེད་ *-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 ཐོ་མེད་ *-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).



- 215      ལཱ་ ཤེལ་ ལཱ་ ལྷོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་  
           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 རྩོ་ (*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 རྩོ་ (*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 རྩོ་ (*hát* (PRF) is used are typically translated into English by using the English perfect, often accompanied by the relational adverbs ‘already’ or ‘just’.

- 216      ལཱ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་  
           go      རྩོ་-re-m      kám      kóm      bi  
           1S      boy-DEF-DAT   little.bit   money   give  
           ‘I gave the boy some money.’
- 217      ལཱ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་  
           go      རྩོ་-re-m      kám      kóm      bi-hát  
           1S      dog-DEF-DAT   little.bit   money   give-PRF  
           ‘I have already given the boy some money.’
- 218      ལཱ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་  
           go      thi-wung-sá      nahán      hu      zúk-hát  
           1S      reach-PFG-GEN   before      3S      make-PRF  
           ‘Before my arrival, he had already done it.’

- 219       $\text{saróng-sá so-nu kasu-sá nyót lók-hát}$   
 today-GEN rain-ABL 1S.OBL-GEN field damage-PRF  
 ‘Today’s rain has damaged our field.’
- 220       $\text{hu bri mát-hát}$   
 3S marriage do-PRF  
 ‘He’s already married.’

### 5.11.2 The resultative auxiliary

The resultative auxiliary  $\text{nón}$  (RES), which appears to be derived from the verb  $\text{nóng}$  ‘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       $\text{mák-nón}$   
 die-RES  
 ‘He died.’
- 222       $\text{go-nu myón-nón hó shú li}$   
 1S-ABL forget-RES 2S what say  
 ‘I forgot what you said.’
- 223       $\text{tungvyeng thok-nón tú-nu thok}$   
 door close-RES who-ABL close  
 ‘The door is closed, who closed it?’

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

- Although a construction containing the resultative auxiliary *ṣón* also implies termination, the resultative auxiliary *ṣón* focuses on a transition in the past. By contrast, the exhaustive auxiliary *ṣtho* 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 *ṣón* and *ṣtho* are sometimes used in combination.

- 226                    ʰyɛʝ ʃɒŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*huyú                thi-nón*  
 3P                    reach-RES  
                          ‘Did they arrive?’
- 227                    ʃɒŋ<sup>2</sup>ɒ  
*thi-nón-tho*  
 reach-RES-EXH  
                          ‘They arrived.’
- 228                    ɬasó(ʰ) ɒŋ<sup>2</sup>ɒ  
*tasó-do               lát-nón-tho*  
 yesterday-self        return-RES-EXH  
                          ‘They returned yesterday.’

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.

- ### 5.12 The locative suffix with verbs

When the locative suffix  $\text{𐤀𐤊}$  *-ká* 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  $\text{ㄟ}$  *-ká* may appear as the complements of verbs of motion as well as of other verbs.

- 233       $\text{ㄅㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   
*hu*    *ɣádo-m*            *ngâk-ká*    *thi*  
 3S    2S.OBL-DAT    look-LOC    reach  
 ‘He came to see you.’
- 234       $\text{ㄅㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   
*hu*    *cho*    *rok-shang-ká*    *yânthó-ká*    *nóng*    *ma*  
 3S    book    read-INF-LOC    school-LOC    go    AST  
 ‘He went to school in order to study.’

The second function of the locative morpheme  $\text{ㄟ}$  *-ká* in combination with a verb is an adhortative function. The adhortative meaning of a main verb marked by the locative suffix  $\text{ㄟ}$  *-ká* 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  $\text{ㄟ}$  *-ká* serve as main verbs themselves.

- 235       $\text{ㄅㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   
*hudo-sá*            *lí-ká*            *nóng-ká*  
 3S.OBL-GEN    house-LOC    go-LOC  
 ‘Let’s go to his house.’
- 236       $\text{ㄅㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   $\text{ㄗㄞㄟ}$   
*vâm*    *ma-theng-ká*            *hu*    *dá-nyí-wám*  
 song    NEG-sing-LOC            3S    rest-be-PRG  
 ‘Let’s not sing, he is resting.’

### 5.13 The ablative suffix with verbs

A verb marked by the ablative suffix  $\text{ㄟ}$   $\sim$   $\text{ㄟ}$  *-nun*  $\sim$  *-nu* 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.

- 237      རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་  
*ṭámík ṭok-nu ngâk gang gun shi*  
 eye open-ABL look if all see  
 ‘If you open your eyes and look, you will see it all.’
- 238      ལྷུ་མུ་རེ་ཤྲུ་གྲུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་  
*shúmú-re ṭágyáp zo-nu dok-bám*  
 man-DEF much eat-ABL be.ill-PRG  
 ‘The man fell ill after he ate too much.’
- 239      ཁོ་ཅག་གི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་  
*hó tasó ka-sá lí-nu ngol-do*  
 2S yesterday 1S-GEN house-ABL early-self  
 ‘Because you left my house early yesterday, I forgot to give you the message.’
- འོ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ལྟ་སྟེ་  
*nóng-nu-re go-nu sút dun-shang myón-nón*  
 go-ABL-DEF 1S-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, རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ *-nun ~ -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 རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ *-nun ~ -nu* when attached to the agentive argument of a transitive verb. In this function Lepcha རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ *-nun ~ -nu* works quite differently than a classic ergative. Lepcha རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ *-nun ~ -nu* 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 རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ *-nun ~ -nu* 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 རྩམ་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་སྟེ་ *-nun ~ -nu* likewise marks the instrument whereby an activity is performed or may indicate the cause of an activity or state. In an ergative function, Lepcha

ཏྲེ་ ~ ཏྲེ་ -*nun* ~ -*nu* 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.

- 240 རྒྱུ་ཏྲེ་ རྒྱུ་ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་  
*kajú-nun gónɡ-re-m tsúk ma*  
 dog-ABL boy-DEF-DAT bite AST  
 ‘The dog bit the boy.’
- 241 ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་  
*go-nu tasó gyók ma-zúk-ne*  
 1S-ABL yesterday work NEG-make-NEG  
 ‘Yesterday I did not do any work.’
- 242 ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་  
*go-nu hudo-sá taʔyukup-re-m buk-hát*  
 1S-ABL 3S.OBL-GEN daughter-DEF-DAT hit-PRF  
 ‘I hit his daughter.’
- 243 ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་  
*hudo-sá taʔyukup-nu kasu-m*  
 3S.OBL-GEN daughter-ABL 1S.OBL-DAT  
 ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་ ཏྲེ་  
*lá buk ma*  
 also hit AST  
 ‘His daughter hit me too.’

The occurrence of the Lepcha ending ཏྲེ་ ~ ཏྲེ་ -*nun* ~ -*nu* cannot be described by a mechanical rule. In many respects, the factors motivating the use of Lepcha ཏྲེ་ ~ ཏྲེ་ -*nun* ~ -*nu* 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 རྟོ་ ~ རྟོ་-*nun* ~ -*nu* 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  $\text{ḡ} \text{gó}$  (Q) and the assertive particle  $\text{ḡ} \text{ma}$  (AST) have been discussed above in Sections 4.3.3 and 5.3 respectively. The adhortative function of the locative suffix  $\text{ḡ} \text{-ká}$  (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  $\text{ḡ} \text{-bú}$  (FCT) is a common phenomenon in Lepcha.

#### 6.1 *The request particle*

The particle  $\text{ḡ} \text{le}$  (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       $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$   
            $\text{ḡ} \text{ábá} \text{ di} \quad \text{le}$   
           here   come     REQ  
           ‘Could you come here please.’

245       $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$   
            $\text{yupthen-kát} \quad \text{sóm} \quad \text{le}$   
           moment-one   breathe   REQ  
           ‘Do catch your breath for a minute.’

6.2 *The authorative particle*

The particle ꠘ *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 ꠘꠘ ꠘáꠘe ‘love’.

- 246      ꠘꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘ  
             ꠘábi thop pú dónꠘ ce  
             here get PSB search AUTH  
             ‘You may find it over here, have a look.’

- 247      ꠘꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘ  
             lín-bú ꠘáring nyen ce  
             say-FCT language listen AUTH  
             ‘Just listen to what is said.’

6.3 *The dubitative particle*

The clause-final particle ꠘ *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 ꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘꠘ hó sabá tho hát ‘where did you put it’, he stresses his uncertainty about being able to locate the object.

- 248      ꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘꠘ ꠘ  
             hó sabá tho-hát te  
             2S where put-PRF DUB  
             ‘But where did you put it?’

- 249      ꠘ ꠘ ꠘ ꠘ  
             go nónꠘ khut te  
             1S go be.able DUB  
             ‘Could I perhaps go?’

- 250      ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
 lyángsóng    sabá      nóng    te  
 Lyángsóng    where      go      DUB  
 ‘Where did Lyángsóng go?’

#### 6.4 The possibility particle

The clause-final particle ၵၵ *pú* (PSB) expresses a hypothetical possibility.

- 251      ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
 lyángsóng    sabá      nóng    *pú*  
 Lyángsóng    where      go      PSB  
 Where could Lyángsóng have gone?

- 252      ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
 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      ၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
 go      nóng      khut      *pú*  
 1S      go      be.able    PSB  
 ‘I could go.’

#### 6.5 The inferential particle

Inference or assumption is expressed by the morpheme ၵၵ *lyók* [IFR], 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

254      ᖃᓂᓄᓐᔪᓐᔭᓐᔪᓐᔫᓐᔪᓐ  
*hó saróng-do lát-nón-tho pá*  
 2S today-self return-RES-EXH CRT

ᠬᠣ	ᠫᠡᠯ	ᠨᠣᠨ		
<i>hó</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>nón</i>		<i>lyók</i>
2S	be.tired	RES		IFR

255      ǎdo-m      lí      lát-shang      ǎkán  
2S.OBL-DAT      house return-INF      hurry

ꠘꠞꠟ ꠘꠞꠟ ꠘꠞꠟ  
*pátim*      *nyí*      *lyók*  
 big          be      IFR

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 *Ǿ́dom lí látshang Ǿ́kán Ǿ́tím nyí*, ‘you are in a great hurry to get home’, but this would have been tantamount to accusing the addressee of behaving impolitely by being in such a hurry. By using the ending *Ǿ́ lyók*, 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 recently been a death in the family, the speaker thought it likely that his mother would return home as soon as possible.

- 256       $\text{kasu-sá} \quad \text{?ámú} \quad \text{lúk?ál} \quad \text{lát-sho} \quad \text{lyók}$   
 1S.OBL-GEN    mother    tomorrow    return-NPR    IFR

‘My mother is probably coming back tomorrow.’

- 257       $\text{so} \quad \text{yu-sho} \quad \text{lyók-bám}$   
 rain    descend-NPR    resemble-PRG

‘It looks like it’s going to rain.’

### 6.6 The certainty particle

The meaning of the particle  $\text{pá}$  (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.

- 258       $\text{hík-nu} \quad \text{?átí} \quad \text{tho-hát} \quad \text{pá}$   
 chicken-ABL    egg    put-PRF    CRT
- ‘The chicken has [just] laid an egg.’

- 259       $\text{ríp} \quad \text{?áre-re} \quad \text{?ázuk} \quad \text{pá}$   
 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       $\text{shúmú} \quad \text{?áre-re} \quad \text{gán-nón-tho} \quad \text{pá}$   
 man    this-DEF    old-RES-EXH    CRT
- ‘This man has become a lot older.’

6.7 *The discovery particle*

The particle  $\tilde{\text{D}}\text{O}$  *yâmbá* (DSC) marks information that the speaker has come to know and consists of the inflected verb stem  $\tilde{\text{E}}$  *yâm* of the verb  $\tilde{\text{E}}$  *yâ* ‘know’ and the postposition  $\text{O}$  *bá* ‘when’. The discovery marker  $\tilde{\text{E}}\text{O}$  *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  $\tilde{\text{E}}\text{O}$  *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.

- 261       $\text{shúmu} \quad \text{?áre-re} \quad \text{gán-nón-tho} \quad \text{yâmbá}$   
           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  $\text{D}$  *pá* 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  $\tilde{\text{E}}\text{O}$  *yâmbá* is also employed to focus the listener’s attention to crucial points in a narrative.

- 262       $\text{go} \quad \text{nóng-bá-re} \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{mák-nón-tho} \quad \text{yâmbá}$   
           1S    go-when-DEF    3S    die-RES-EXH    DSC  
           ‘When I went over there, I gathered that he had already died.’

- 263      ལོ་གོ་མོ་ཅེ་གི་མེད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ།  
           go    nong-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 མྱོད་མེད་ (*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 *mu*. 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 ལྟོ་མེད་ མྱོད་མེད་ *shúshú mere* ‘what was that?’, ‘what did you just say?’. When a speaker chooses to use the reportative particle མྱོད་མེད་ *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.

- 264      ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་  
           káyú   lyáng   lúk?ál   zóm-ká  
           1P   land   tomorrow   food-LOC  
  
           ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་ མྱོད་མེད་  
           tú-tú   lát-shet   mere  
           who-who   return-NOM   REP  
           ‘Who did they say are coming back to dine with us  
           tomorrow?’

- 265      གཤམ་པ་ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་ ལྟོ་མེད་  
           páre-zang   páshúm   shúmú   lá  
           this-like   fat   man   also



ᄃᆞᆫ ᄋᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ  
*ʔore 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 *ᄋᆞᆫ yang* ‘thus’ marks a direct quote. This particle is placed at the end of the quoted statement and often followed by a phrase such as *ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ* *hunu li ma* ‘s/he said’.

- 266     *ᆫᆞᆫᆫᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᄃᆞᆫ ᄋᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ*  
*hudo-sá li-re ʔábi yang hu-nun li*  
 3S.OBL-GEN house-DEF here thus 3S-ABL say  
 ‘His house is here, he said.’

- 267     *ᆫᆞᆫᆫᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᄋᆞᆫ*  
*huyú-nu li-bá hu lúkʔál lát-sho yang*  
 3P-ABL say-when 3S tomorrow return-NPR thus  
 ‘They said that he will return tomorrow.’

- 268     *ᆫᆞᆫᆫᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᄃᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ*  
*hu-nun huyú-m kasu ʔámlem ʔík sathálá*  
 3S-ABL 3P-DAT 1S.OBL face still always

ᆫᆞᆫ ᄋᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ ᆫᆞᆫ  
*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 *ᆫᆞᆫ ʔân* ‘and’ coordinates arguments. This suffix connects two or more elements of a sentence, such as noun phrases, verb phrases or independent clauses.

- 269       $\text{punzók thám câng} \quad \text{?ân lí} \quad \text{thám câng}$   
 forest    animal            and    house            animal
- $\text{ma-dúk-ne}$   
 NEG-be.alike-NEG
- ‘The animals in the forest and the animals in the house are not alike.’
- 270       $\text{dorji lí-ká} \quad \text{nóng ma} \quad \text{?ân} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{?ábá lát} \quad \text{ma}$   
 Dorji house-LOC go            AST    and    1S here    return AST
- ‘Dorji went home and I came back here.’
- 271       $\text{hó} \quad \text{?ábá hro} \quad \text{?ân} \quad \text{go}$   
 2S    here    come.up            and    1S
- $\text{?ádo-m} \quad \text{róng-díng-sho}$   
 2S.OBL-DAT    wait-stand-NPR
- ‘You climb up there and I will stand here and wait for you.’
- 272       $\text{nyíma} \quad \text{?ân} \quad \text{kursóng} \quad \text{faleng} \quad \text{?ân}$   
 Nyima    and    Kursóng    young.boy    and
- $\text{nómleng} \quad \text{gum}$   
 young.girl    be.AST
- ‘Nyima and Kursóng are a boy and a girl.’

The alternative conjunction  $\text{yángne}$  ‘or, either’ indicates that an alternative exists, e.g. (273). In the sense of ‘either ... or ...’, the

conjunction  $\text{ḡḡ}$  *yángne* ‘or, either’ precedes both the first and the second alternative, e.g. (274).

- 273      $\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *hó yángne go nóng gát-sho*  
          2S or 1S go must-NPR  
          ‘You or I will have to go.’

- 274      $\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *hó yángne ḡáre yángne ḡore lyâ*  
          2S or this or that accept  
          ‘You’ll have to accept either this or that.’

The adversative conjunction  $\text{ḡḡ}$  *shenlá* ‘but’ expresses a contrast or opposition of some kind between two propositions.

- 275      $\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *shumu-kát ḡádo-m tsum-ká thi-wám*  
          man-one 2S.OBL-DAT meet-LOC reach-PRG

$\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *shenlá go thyák ma-tho-n*  
          but 1S recognise NEG-EXH-NEG  
          ‘Somebody has come to see you, but I did not re-  
          cognise him.’

- 276      $\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *sukdum-ká nyí-tho-bú róng-kyóng sabálá*  
          world-LOC be-EXH-FCT Lepcha-village everywhere

$\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *káyú-nun ḡore shi ma-thop-ne shenlá*  
          1P-ABL this see NEG-get-NEG but

$\text{ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ}$   
          *ḡore-zang ḡálóng ḡábá káyú-nun shím-thop*  
          this-like now here 1P-ABL see-get

## 6.10 Subordination

'If you take this medicine, you'll thank me in the morning.'

When the conditional conjunction *ḡ gang* is combined with the morpheme *la* ‘also, even’, the combination expresses the meaning ‘even if’.

- 281      ሆ (ከሆነ) ጅ ሕይወት ግደላ  
*hó hryóp-pung ?ân mák-kung gang-lá*  
 2S cry-PTC and die-PTC if-also

ቴሃ ጸጥ ሕይወት  
*ta?yu ?áre 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 *ግራንግላ* *gorúnglá* ‘although, even’, which is added to the end of the concessive clause.

- 282      ግራንግላ ሕይወት ግራንግላ  
*go-nu shúlá ma-mát-ne gorúnglá*  
 1S-ABL everything NEG-do-NEG even

ህንግ ጭን ሰጥ  
*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 *ጃ tú* ‘who’, *ጃ shú* ‘what’, *ሥጥ sare* ‘which’, *ሥጥ sabá* ‘where’, *ሥጥ satet* ‘how much’, this process yields forms indicating any of all possible persons, things or places. This yields the forms *ጃ ግራንግላ tú gorúnglá* ‘whosoever’, *ጃ ግራንግላ shú gorúnglá* ‘whatsoever’, *ሥጥ ግራንግላ sare gorúnglá* ‘whichever’, *ሥጥ ግራንግላ sabá gorúnglá* ‘wheresoever, in any place whatsoever’. Similar expressions consist of the same interrogative pronouns combined with the phrase *ግደላ ganglá* ‘even if’, e.g. *ጃ ግደላ tú ganglá* ‘whoever’, *ጃ ግደላ shú ganglá* ‘whatever’, *ሥጥ ግደላ sare ganglá* ‘whichever’, *ሥጥ ግደላ sabá ganglá* ‘wherever’. As with the corresponding forms in *la* -*lá* (cf. Section 4.3.3), forms in *ግራንግላ 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 འཕྱེད་པུ་ (FCT) is the most important nominaliser in Lepcha. The factitive marker འཕྱེད་པུ་ (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 འཕྱེད་པུ་ 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.

- 283 ལཱ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་ འཕྱེད་པུ་ རྩོམ་ ཤི་མཐུན་  
 go-nu tasó zúk-tho-bú ʔyok shi-hát  
 1S-ABL yesterday make-EXH-FCT work see-PRF  
 ‘Did you see the work I did yesterday?’
- 284 བྱ་བུ་མ་ཁུ་ནེ་པུ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་  
 bun ma-khut-ne-bú ʔádók  
 carry NEG-be.able-NEG-FCT pain  
 ‘unbearable pain’
- 285 རྩོམ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ རྩོམ་པུ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་  
 ʔádo-nu pi-tho-bú yuk ʔáre-do gum  
 2S.OBL-ABL write-EXH-FCT letter this-self be.AST  
 ‘This is the letter you wrote.’
- 286 འཕྱེད་པུ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་  
 dok-bám-bú bík-re kúng sagrá-m-ká sám nyí  
 be.ill-PRG-FCT cow-DEF tree below-LOC dwell be  
 ‘The cow that’s ill is lying under the tree.’

287      ၵၵၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
*ʔotet-bek-ká                      yók-bík      dók-bú-sang-nun*  
 that.much-middle-LOC      yak-cow      keep-FCT-PL.H-ABL

ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
*ʔágyáp    yók-bík-pang      ryák-lung*  
 much      yak-cow-PL.NH      follow-GER

ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵၵၵ<sub>ၵ</sub>  
*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.’

# THE MOUNTAIN DEVIL

[illegible]



[illegible]

(1) hán-mú-re go ʔáre múng me yang-sá  
 (1) before-NOM-DEF 1S this devil that thus-GEN

ʔáring-re go chet bo-sho (2) káyú  
 language-DEF 1S relate give-NPR (2) 1P

róng-nu-re múng me yang lín-bú-re káyú  
 Lepcha-ABL-DEF devil that thus say-FCT-DEF 1P

muzu-ká thi zók dok káyú mák-re  
 body-LOC reach strike be.ill 1P die-DEF

múng-re zo me li (3) shenlá múng  
 devil-DEF eat that say (3) but devil

lín-bú káyú-sá ʔáring-re rangsâr-do-m  
 say-FCT 1P-GEN language other-self-DAT

lá káyú múng yang li (4) hudo-sá shú  
 also 1P devil thus say (4) 3S.OBL-GEN what

khut nyí-wám-bú hudo-sá hu fát-bá  
 be.able be-PRG-FCT 3S.OBL-GEN 3S lose-when

fát khut-sho-bú shi-bá shi khut-sho-bú  
 lose be.able-NPR-FCT see-when see be.able-NPR-FCT

ʔo-zang khut nyí-wám-bú hudo-m lá káyú  
 that-like be.able be-PRG-FCT 3S.OBL-DAT also 1P

múng yang li-wám-bú (5) hlo-re hlo  
 devil thus say-PRG-FCT (5) mountain-DEF mountain

múng-re    múng    hu    hlo-ká    bám-bú  
 devil-DEF    devil    3S    mountain-LOC    dwell-FCT

(6) hu    múng    go-nu-re    hudo-m-re  
 (6) 3S    devil    be-ABL-DEF    3S.OBL-DAT-DEF

hlomúng    yang    li-wám-bú    (7) hlomúng-re  
 mountain.devil    thus    say-PRG-FCT    (7) mountain.devil-DEF

káyú    róng-sang-dep-re    nyákdo  
 1P    Lepcha-PL.H-with-DEF    very

chóm-nu-bám    (8) mung-sá    sung    ?ayá  
 be.friendly-ABL-PRG    (8) devil-GEN    story    past

ren-sang-nu    dun-lung    yu-tho    nyí    (9) ?acálá  
 sir-PL.H-ABL    tell-GER    descend-EXH    be    (9) moreover

káyú    támsángmú-sang-sá    ?ágít-ká-re  
 1P    Támsángmú-PL.H-GEN    tribe-LOC-DEF

hlomúng-re-dep-ká-re    bri-tho-wung-sá  
 mountain.devil-DEF-with-LOC-DEF    marriage-EXH-PTC-GEN

lá    ?áring    nyí    (10) kasu-sá    cálong  
 also    language    be    (10) 1S.OBL-GEN    just.now

go    nám    khá-sám-sá    kati-fali-tháp-ká  
 1S    year    score-three-with    ten-four-put-LOC

nóng-det    kasu-sá    ?ábo    ?ámú-nu  
 go-move    1S.OBL-GEN    father    mother-ABL

dun-tho-bú    (11) kasu-sá    bojo  
 tell-EXH-FCT    (11) 1S.OBL-GEN    grandfather

bojo-plang-sá      bojo-sá      lá      ʔányú-do-m  
 grandfather-on-GEN   grandfather-GEN   also   aunt-self-DAT

hlomúng-nu      lúgnóng-nu      lúgnóng-nu-re  
 mountain.devil-ABL   take-ABL      take-ABL-DEF

kúngbóng-ká      thóm-bú      (12) ʔámú-sá      ʔálóng  
 tree.stump-LOC   keep-FCT   (12) mother-GEN   now

taʔyukup      kátʔáp-bú      lúng-nu      (13) hu-nu  
 daughter      alone-FCT   take-ABL      (13) 3S-ABL

lúgnóng-bá-re      hlomúng-do-m      ʔyok  
 take-when-DEF   mountain.devil-self-DAT   work

khut-bá      lá      hu      zúk-bú-sho      mere (14) myók  
 be.able-when   also   3S   do-FCT-NPR   REP   (14) son.in.law

ʔâ      saróng      kasu-sá      lí      zúk-shang  
 hey      today   1S.OBL-GEN   house   make-INF

nyí-wám      káwodámpú      lú-shang      nyí-wám  
 be-PRG      wooden.pillar   rise-INF   be-PRG

myók-nu      kám      tyól      gát      me      li  
 son.in.law-ABL   little.bit   friend   must   that   say

gang      hlomúng-nu      thi-nu      sonáp-do-ká  
 if      mountain.devil-ABL   reach-ABL   night-self-LOC

thi-nu      káwodámpú      lú-bi-sho      mere  
 come-ABL   wooden.pillar   rise-give-NPR   REP

(15) myók            ʔâ    saróng    kasu-sá            ló-bú  
 (15) son.in.law    hey    today    1S.OBL-GEN    wage-FCT

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

gang            saka    savíng    shángdri-ká    thík-nu            tungvyeng-ká  
 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            ʔábo            bojo-sang-nu            ʔolom  
 story            1P-GEN            father            grandfather-PL.H-ABL    like.that

dun            (17) shenlá            taʔyukup            ʔálong  
 tell            (17) but            daughter            now

hlomúng-nu            lúngnóng-bú-ká    ʔámú-re            ʔálong  
 mountain.devil-ABL    take-FCT-LOC            mother-DEF            now

taʔyukup            thál-thál            tsum-ká            nóng  
 daughter            up.above-up.above    meet-LOC            go

(18) lyáng-nu-re            hlomúng-nu-re            ʔore-zang  
 (18) place-ABL-DEF    mountain.devil-ABL-DEF    that-like

ma-gát-ne-re            hu-nu            lát-nóng-nu-re  
 NEG-must-NEG-DEF    3S-ABL            return-go-ABL-DEF

taʔyukup-re-do-m            kúngbóng-nu            lúngnóng-nu  
 daughter-DEF-self-DAT    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

(20) ?obi-nu      lá      lúgnóng-nu      hu-nu      laháp  
 (20) there-ABL      also      take-ABL      3S-ABL      cave

?ánpur-ká      nóng-tho-nu-re      lang-sá      lá  
 opening-LOC      go-put-ABL-DEF      stone-GEN      also

dáp-pung-sá      sung      (21) ?ân      ?álong      kasu-sá  
 cover-PTC-GEN      story      (21) and      now      1P-GEN

ta?yúkup-re      mák-nón      bá      yang      kajóm  
 daughter-DEF      die-RES      when      thus      finger

tíng      blá-di-nu      hudo-sá      gyó  
 separate      take-come-ABL      3S.OBL-GEN      quarrel

zúk-kung-sá      sung-pang      káyú-sá      thikúng  
 make-PTC-GEN      story-PL.NH      1P-GEN      great.grandfather

?ábo-sang-nu      ?olom      káyú-m      dun      (22) nalón  
 father-PL.H-ABL      like.that      1P-DAT      tell      (22) last

kasu-sá      bojo      ?yáng      bojo-do  
 1S.OBL-GEN      grandfather      real      grandfather-self

hudo      ?ábryáng-re      píngke      (23) hudo-m      lá      nám  
 3S.OBL      name-DEF      Píngke      (23) 3S.OBL-DAT      also      year

kati-kaku-tháp-sá      tatsât-ká      hu      nám      ?otet  
 ten-eight-put-GEN      time-LOC      3S      year      that.much

thikúng-sá      tatsât-ká      hudo-m      lá  
 great.grandfather-GEN      time-LOC      3S.OBL-DAT      also

ʔáre 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

ʔátímmú ʔáre samálkúng ʔátím-sá ʔyók-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 bām-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 dām-nu hu-re  
 go-ABL up.there-self rope-with tie-ABL 3S-DEF

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

shi bá hudo-m tsám-dām-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

báhhó-ká      háp-nu      (29) hudo-m-re  
 storage-LOC    shut-ABL    (29) 3S.OBL-DAT-DEF

nám-sám-ká      kátʔáp      hu-re      shúmú  
 year-three-LOC    alone      3S-DEF    man

lá      ngún      mere      hu      mi      ngâk      ma-tho-n  
 also    become    REP    3S    fire    see    NEG-EXH-NEG

shúmú    ngâk      ma-tho-n      ʔolom  
 man    see    NEG-EXH-NEG    like.that

báhhó-ká      háp-nu      (30) hudo-m-re      zo-re  
 storage-LOC    shut-ABL    (30) 3S.OBL-DAT-DEF    food-DEF

cukup      ʔángpur-nu      tháp-bi      ʔâ      zo  
 little.bit    opening-ABL    put-give    eh    food

zo      ʔân      nalón      cádá lá      hryá-nu  
 eat    and    last    rest    also    pull-ABL

ʔúng      shú      bi      thám câng      klánlá  
 water    what    give    animal    resembling

(31) hudo-m-re      ʔolom      nám      sám  
 (31) 3S.OBL-DAT-DEF    like.that    year    three

jú-wung-sá-re      (32) nám-sam-nu-re      hu      cádá  
 live-PTC-GEN-DEF    (32) year-three-ABL-DEF    3S    rest

lá      jók-shang      káyú      shúmú-dep-ká      lá  
 also    speak-INF    1P    man-with-LOC    also



chó-nu      (33) bojo      hu-re      ?álong-re  
unite-ABL   (33) grandfather   3S-DEF   now-DEF

hu-nu      bri      mát-nu-re      (34) káyú-sá  
3S-ABL      marriage   do-ABL-DEF   (34) 1P-GEN

?ábo-sang      gek-bú      yang-sá      sung      ?olom  
father-PL.H   be.born-FCT   thus-GEN   story   like.that

nyí      (35) ?áre      hlomúng-sá      sung  
be      (35) this   mountain.devil-GEN   story

(36) hlomúng      lín-bú-re      sare-zang  
(36) mountain.devil   say-FCT-DEF   which-like

múng-sang      go      sákcíng      tyól-nu      míkdúm-sang  
devil-PL.H   1S   think   friend-ABL   foreigner-PL.H

phíl-lyáng      talyádâ      phíl-nu      shúmú-sang  
be.distant-land   sea   be.distant-ABL   man-PL.H

hlomúng      dóng-ká      ?ábá-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  
go      be-DEF   meet   be.able-NPR   IFR   go   1S

sákcíng      (38) cálong      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

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

cá sung-nu-re káyú ʔolom kám  
just story-ABL-DEF 1P like.that little.bit

yâ (41) káyú róng-sang-do-m-nu ʔolóm  
know (41) 1P Lepcha-PL.H-self-DAT-ABL like.that

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

(42) cálong-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	ʔolom	punzók-ká	saka
be-PRG-FCT	be-DEF	like.that	jungle-LOC	deer

shú	mân	dryák-ká	nong-bá	(44) ʔotshóng-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	ʔáre	ʔore-zang
Lepcha-self	(45) 3S-ABL	go-ABL	this	that-like

shúmú	shi	ʔáre	ʔore	ʔálong	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

kátʔáp	shim-bú	hu-nu	pung-nu	thál
alone	see-FCT	3S-ABL	mound-ABL	up.above

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

go	jen	(47) ʔálong	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	ʔáthóng	ʔakâ-pang	ʔámel	ʔátím
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

hu 3S	tsám-tho-bú hold-EXH-FCT	sakakup-ká young.deer-LOC	hu-nu 3S-ABL	tsám-nu hold-ABL
jú-sang live-PL.H	tho put	(49) tho-bá-re (49) put-when-DEF	sonáp-fók night-throughout	
lík-nu call-ABL	sonáp-fók night-throughout	lík-nu call-ABL	(50) huyú-re (50) 3P-DEF	
dá-nyí-bá-re sleep-be-when-DEF	hlomúng-re mountain.devil-DEF	tahyut whistle	mát-nu do-ABL	
mát-lung do-GER	mát-lung do-GER	yu come	mere REP	ʔân and
yuptho-kát-ká-re moment-one-LOC-DEF	huyú 3P	bám-bú-sá dwell-FCT-GEN		
li-ká house-LOC	lóm-lung walk-GER	di come	mere REP	(51) di-bá-re (51) come-when-DEF
ʔotet-ká-re that.much-LOC-DEF	kasu-sá 1S.OBL-GEN	tyól friend	sherábú-nu-re hunter-ABL-DEF	
shi-wám-bú see-PRG-FCT	hudo-sá 3S.OBL-GEN	ʔothá-bá-re then-when-DEF		
ʔábong-ʔákâ-pang mouth-hand-PL.NH	gun all	lá also	hudo-sá 3S.OBL-GEN	ma-det-ne NEG-move-NEG
hu 3S	ʔolom like.that	ngún-nón-bú become-RES-FCT	bóng-nón-bú dumb-RES-FCT	

(52) ?ân hu nóng-lung-sá-re hu ?otet  
 (52) and 3S go-GER-GEN-DEF 3S that.much

sáknón-re lát-nu-re (53) hu  
 conciousness-DEF return-ABL-DEF (53) 3S

ro-nu-re ?ân sháng tháp-nu mi ?átim  
 fear-ABL-DEF and firewood put-ABL fire big

ro-nu ?olom ngán-nu (54) muzu sonáp  
 fear-ABL like.that remain-ABL (54) body night

tyât-nu-re (55) lúk?ál-zang-re sakakup-re  
 cut.down-ABL-DEF (55) tomorrow-like-DEF small.deer-DEF

hu-re lyót-nu-re hu-re li-ká  
 3S-DEF free-ABL-DEF 3S-DEF house-LOC

thi-wung-sá sung (56) hu-nu ?áthóng  
 reach-PTC-GEN story (56) 3S-ABL leg

hudo-sá ?ámel muzu dyángpak-pang hu-nu  
 3S.OBL-GEN hair body knee-PL.NH 3S-ABL

gun shím-bú (57) hlomúng-re ?ábá-do  
 all see-FCT (57) mountain.devil-DEF there-self

lá nyí-wám pá yang hu-nu dun-bú (58) ?ân  
 also be-PRG CRT thus 3S-ABL tell-FCT (58) and

nalón kasu-sá nyót pe kafer-lyáng-ká lá  
 last 1S.OBL-GEN field that Kafer-land-LOC also

nyí-wám (59) go ?obá ?áre nyót-do-ká  
 be-PRG (59) 1S there this field-self-LOC

nóng-bá-re go-when-DEF	ʔobá-sá there-GEN	sherabú hunter			
thikúng-kát-nu great.grandfather-one-ABL		li say	ʔábi here	sathang-nu tiger-ABL	bík cow
thá-nu-re chew-ABL-DEF	káyú 1P	sonáp-ká night-LOC	nóng-nu go-ABL		
sathang-do-m tiger-self-DAT	sót-shang kill-INF	róng-bá-re wait-when-DEF			
sonáp-phet-ká night-half-LOC	sukmut wind	di come	mere REP		
(60) tagrikup-re (60) boy-DEF	hu 3S	dá sleep	nyí be	tagrikup-re boy-DEF	
miktráp-nón asleep-RES	mere REP	(61) hu-re (61) 3S-DEF	sadermi gun	bu-nu carry-ABL	
ngán-nyí-bá-re remain-be-when-DEF	sukmut wind	ʔáhyâng cold	di come	mere REP	
(62) sukmut (62) wind	ʔáhyâng cold	di-nu come-ABL	yuptho-kát-ká moment-one-LOC		
kúng tree	ʔálom like.this	phíl-lung be.distant-GER	phíl-lung be.distant-GER		
di come	mere REP	di come	mere REP	(63) hu-nu-re (63) 3S-ABL-DEF	dróp moment

ʔárum-do-nu      shi-wám-bú      yâmbá      lávo      lóng-ká  
far-self-ABL      see-PRG-FCT      DSC      moon      bright-LOC

phíl-lúng      di-bá-re      kúng-len      lá      ʔátho  
be.distant-GER      come-when-DEF      tree-than      also      height

shúmú-sá      ʔápíl-zang      hu-nu-re      ʔolom      shi-nu  
man-GEN      shadow-like      3S-ABL-DEF      like.that      see-ABL

(64) kúng      phíl-lúng      phíl-lúng      hróng-nu  
(64) tree      be.distant-GER      be.distant-GER      come.up-ABL

hudo      lem      ma-dóng-ne-sá      ʔápil      kám  
3S.OBL      direction      NEG-search-NEG-GEN      shadow      little.bit

phíl-lúng      (65) hu      thol      ʔáre      shángcóng-hlo  
be.distant-GER      (65) 3S      near      this      Shángcóng.mountain

lín-bú      kón      ʔothá      nóng-wúng-sá      sung  
say-FCT      side      up.there      go-PTC-GEN      story

hu-nu      lá      kasu-m      dun      (66) hu-nu      lá  
3S-ABL      also      1S.OBL-DAT      tell      (66) 3S-ABL      also

li      thám-câng      ʔáre-re      ʔábá-pang      lá      nyí-wám  
say      animal      this-DEF      here-PL.NH      also      be-PRG

pá      hu-nu      lá      kasu-m      dun      (67) káyú-re  
CRT      3S-ABL      also      1S.OBL-DAT      say      (67) 1P-DEF

hu      ʔábá-pang      lá      bám      (68) cálong      satet  
3S      here-PL.NH      also      dwell      (68) just.now      how.much

lá      nyí-wám-yang-sá      sákcíng-re      kasu-sá  
also      be-PRG-thus-GEN      think-DEF      1S.OBL-GEN

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 mountail-devil 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.



# THE STORY OF THE JACKAL

lóm-ká	plâ-bá-re	saʔár-kát	lóm-ká
road-LOC	come.out-when-DEF	goat-one	road-LOC

sacák-nu      thá-shang      tsám-bá-re      saʔár-nu  
leopard-ABL      chew-INF      hold-when-DEF      goat-ABL

li-bá      go      ʔálong      pát      nóng-nu      vóm  
say-when      1S      now      Tibet      go-ABL      salt

thá-bú      yu-nu      kám      ʔáshúm-sá      thá  
chew-FCT      descend-ABL      little.bit      fat-GEN      chew

le      (4) cálong      tá      go      vóm      thá-ká  
REQ      (4) just.now      up.there      1S      salt      chew-LOC

nóng-det      ma      li-nu      lát-nóng      ma      yâmbá  
go-move      AST      say-ABL      return-go      AST      DSC

(5) lát-nón-nu      lá      yu-bá-re      ʔálong      vóm  
(5) return-RES-ABL      also      descend-when-DEF      now      salt

thá-bú-nu      chúl      lá      lyáng-ká      lá  
lick-FCT-ABL      down.below      also      land-LOC      also

yu-bá-re      lóm-ká      ʔálong      sacák-nu  
descend-when-DEF      road-LOC      now      leopard-ABL

saróng      kasu-m      thá      trát-shang      go      li-nu  
today      1S.OBL-DAT      chew      tear-INF      be      say-ABL

hryóp-nu      lá      yu-bá-re      saryók-re      ʔobá  
cry-ABL      also      descend-when-DEF      jackal-DEF      there

thyo      dǐng      yâmbá      (6) ʔe      ʔabi      kasu-m  
hear      stand      DSC      (6) hey      here      1S.OBL-DAT

blá-nu      le      ʔádo-sá-do-m      zo-sho-bú  
take-ABL      REQ      2S.OBL-GEN-self-DAT      eat-NPR-FCT

múng-re go tyu-bo-sho (7) ?o-nu-re  
 devil-DEF 1S subdue-give-NPR (7) that-ABL-DEF

hudo-m saryók-do-m ?ácáng-ká kábu-nu  
 2S.OBL-DAT jackal-self-DAT back-LOC carry-ABL

sa?ár-dep lá yu-bá-re sacák-re  
 goat-together also descend-when-DEF leopard-DEF

hâng thá yang lóm-ká plâ-di  
 grr chew thus road-LOC come.out-come

(8) plâ-di-bá-re cá thá-shang  
 (8)come.out-come-when-DEF just chew-INF

mát-bá-re (9) hudo thangkú thóng  
 do-when-DEF (9) 3S.OBL tobacco drink

thangkú-sá kol-kát bu-wám yâmbá  
 tobacco-GEN box-one carry-PRG DSC

(10) ?o-re saryók-re-nu ?o-re  
 (10) that-DEF jackal-DEF-ABL that-DEF

shól-tho-bá-nu ?áre sukdam-ká tyâng gun-sá  
 scatter-EXH-when-ABL this world-LOC whole all-GEN

thâmcâng-sá tsum-re tshóng yâmbá  
 animal-with meet-DEF complete DSC

(11) sacák tsum-re ma-tshóng yâmbá  
 (11) leopard meet-DEF NEG-complete DSC

li bán yet-shang mát-bá-re sacák-re  
 say after descend-INF do-when-DEF leopard-DEF

plâ-nu	ʔân	punzók-ká	lá	thít-nón
come.out-ABL	and	forest-LOC	also	reach-RES

ʔân	saʔár-re	lá	thór	yâmbá
and	goat-DEF	also	escape	DSC

(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.

# THE GREAT KING GYEBÚ

[illegible]



(1) ren	ʔore	kyóng	ʔáre-sá	bâm.basti	róng
(1) sir	this	village	this-GEN	Bâm.Basti	Lepcha

  

kyóng-sá	ʔân	nahán-re	ʔáre	kyóng	puntsáyât-sá
village-GEN	and	before-DEF	this	village	assembly-GEN

  

gúlón-bú	lá	ngún	pá	mándráł	lá
guide-FCT	also	become	CRT	mandal	also

  

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

West.Bengal-sá	president	ngún-bú-sá		
West.Bengal-GEN	president	become-FCT-GEN		
tândók-nu	go-re	ʔáre	róng-sá	nahán
behalf-ABL	be-DEF	this	Lepcha-GEN	before
nahán-sá	ʔáring-pang-sá	ʔáring	kám	
before-GEN	language-PL.NH-GEN	language	little.bit	
nyen-shang	mát-nu	(3) ren-do-m	go	pano
listen-INF	do-ABL	(3) sir-self-DAT	1s	king
gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá	ʔáring	kát-nyet	vyet-shang	
Gyebú-great-GEN	language	one-two	ask-INF	
mát-nu	(4) saróng	ʔábi	thi	ngán
do-ABL	(4) today	here	reach	remain
				sir
d.t.támsáng	máyel.málúk-lyáng	nye-lyáng	lín-bú-re	
D.T.Támsáng	Máyel.Málúk-land	holy-land	say-FCT-DEF	
ʔáre-sá	tândók-re	shú	ngún	pú
this-GEN	behalf-DEF	what	become	PSB
(5) máyel.málúk-lyáng	lín-bú-re	renjóng-lyáng		
(5) Máyel.Málúk-land	say-FCT-DEF	Sikkim-land		
ʔílám-lyáng	kálenpúng-lyáng	dárgjúlyáng-lyáng	gun-lá	
Ilám-land	Kalimpong-land	Darjeeling-land	all-also	
chó-nu-re	hudo-m-re	máyel.málúk-lyáng		
unite-ABL-DEF	3S.OBL-DAT-DEF	Máyel.Málúk-land		
yang	lín-bám-bú	(6) mûtâncí	róngkup	rum-kup
thus	say-PRG-FCT	(6) Mûtâncí	Lepcha	god-child

lín-bú-re      ʔáre-sá      tândók-re      shú      ngún      pú  
say-FCT-DEF      this-GEN      behalf-DEF      what      become      PSB

(7) mûtâncí      róngkup-do-m-re      rum-kup      yang  
(7) Mûtâncí      Lepcha-self-DAT-DEF      god-child      thus

lá      li-bám-bú      ʔore      róng      tyâng-nu-re  
also      say-PRG-FCT      that      Lepcha      whole-ABL-DEF

róng-re      ʔánáng      ʔátsóng      go-nu      rum-kup  
Lepcha-DEF      straight      pure      be-ABL      god-child

yang      hudo-m      li-bám-bú      (8) ʔyá  
thus      3S.OBL-DAT      say-PRG-FCT      (8) past

nám-ká-re      cálong-sá      dárjílíng-lyáng-do-m-re  
year-LOC-DEF      just.now-GEN      Darjeeling-land-self-DAT-DEF

dárjúlyáng      yang      li-wám      ʔáre-re      dárjúlyáng  
Dárjúlyáng      thus      say-PRG      this-DEF      Dárjúlyáng

lín-bú-re      ʔáre-sá      tóm-re      shú      ngún      pú  
say-FCT-DEF      this-DEF      speech-DEF      what      become      PSB

(9) dárjúlyáng      lín-bú-re      máyel.lyáng  
(9) Dárjúlyáng      say-FCT-DEF      Máyel.Lyáng

nye-máyel.lyáng      ʔáre-sá      lyáng-ká      gun-len  
holy-Máyel.Lyáng      this-GEN      land-LOC      all-than

zúk-bú      dá-nyí-bú      lyáng      go-nu-re  
make-FCT      rest-be-FCT      land      be-ABL-DEF

hudo-m-re      dárjúlyáng      lín-bú  
3S.OBL-DAT.DEF      Dárjúlyáng      say-FCT

(10) cálong-sá      kálenpúng-do-m-re      ?yá-re  
 (10) just.now-GEN      Kálenpúng-self-DAT-DEF      past-DEF

kálenpúng    yang      li-wám-bá-re      ?o-sá  
 Kálenpúng    thus      say-PRG-when-DEF      that-GEN

tândók-re      shú      ngún      pú      (11) kálenpúng  
 behalf-DEF      what      become      PSB      (11) Kálenpúng

lín-bú-re      ?ábryáng      thóm-bú-re      cálong  
 say-FCT-DEF      name      put-FCT-DEF      just.now

nalón      go-sho      (12) hán-re      kálenpúng      lá  
 last      be-NPR      (12) before-DEF      Kálenpúng      also

máyel.málúk.lyáng-do      go      (13) kálenpúng  
 Máyel.Málúk.Lyáng-self      be      (13) Kálenpúng

?ábryáng-re      gyebú-?áchúk-nu      pano      gyebú-?áchúk-nu  
 name-DEF      Gyebú-great-ABL      king      Gyebú-great-ABL

thóm-bú      (14) hu-nu-re      ?ábi      ?áre  
 put-FCT      (14) 3S-ABL-DEF      here      this

kálenpúng-lyáng-re      purtám-sá      halá      lyáng  
 Kalimpong-land-DEF      flat.land-GEN      cleared      land

?áre-re      gum      (15) ?áre-re      purtám      go-nu-re  
 this-DEF      be.AST      (15) this-DEF      flat.land      be-ABL-DEF

róng-sang-do-m      lá      zúk-shang      tândók-ká  
 Lepcha-PL.H-self-DAT      also      make-INF      behalf-LOC

ʔábi-re      ká      len      lá      zúm-sá      tândók-ká  
 this-DEF    P1      gather    also    meet-GEN    behalf-DEF

kálenpúng      yang      ʔábryáng      bi-tho-bú  
 Kálenpúng      thus      name      give-EXH-FCT

(16) pano      gyebú-ʔáchúk-re      róng-sang-sá      pano  
 (16) king      Gyebú-great-DEF      Lepcha-PL.H-DEF      king

gyebú-ʔáchúk-re      hu-sá      ʔábo-sá      ʔábryáng-re  
 Gyebú-great-DEF      3S-GEN      father-GEN      name-DEF

pano      ʔáprázáp      hu-sá      tagrikup-sá      yang li-bám  
 king      ʔÁprázáp      3S-GEN      boy-GEN      thus say-PRG

cho-ká      lá      ʔolom-do      pi-tho      (17) ʔáre  
 book-LOC      also      like.that-self      write-EXH      (17) this

pano      gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá      ʔábryáng-sá      tândók-re      shú  
 king      Gyebú-great-GEN      name-GEN      behalf-DEF      what

pú      (18) gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá      ʔábo-re      ʔáprázáp-re  
 PSB      (18) Gyebú-great-GEN      father-DEF      ʔÁprázáp-DEF

thâng      go-sho      (19) ʔámú      ʔáshekmít      ʔábo  
 true      be-NPR      (19) mother      ʔÁshekmít      father

ʔáprázáp-re      thâng      go-sho      (20) ʔámú  
 ʔÁprázáp-DEF      true      be-NPR      (20) mother

ʔáshekmít      ʔábo      ʔáprázáp      gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá      ʔábo  
 ʔÁshekmít      father      ʔÁprázáp      Gyebú-great-GEN      father

ʔámú      hudo-sá      ʔágyek      lyáng-re      lóngshól-lyáng-ká  
 mother      3S.OBL-GEN      birth      land-DEF      Lóngshól-land-LOC

go-sho (21) gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá lyáng-re  
 be-NPR (21) Gyebú-great-GEN land-DEF

gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá ʔábo-sá dri-re lóngshól-lyáng  
 Gyebú-great-GEN father-GEN fort-DEF Lóngshól-land

gum (22) gyebú-ʔáchúk-re tagrikup hu  
 be.AST (22) Gyebú-great-DEF boy 3S

kátʔáp-bú (23) hudo-sá ʔágyek-re káyú róng  
 alone-FCT (23) 3S.OBL-GEN birth-DEF 1P Lepcha

ʔáfrón-ká-re món nám már.lavo tshâ  
 number-LOC-DEF pig year twelfth.month date

kati.tarók.tháp go-sho (24) ʔyá nám-ká  
 sixteen be-NPR (24) past year-LOC

gyebú-ʔáchúk pano-nu-re ʔáre  
 Gyebú-great king-ABL-DEF this

kálenpúng-sá ʔápun pun-re ʔágyáp má  
 Kálenpúng-GEN near near-DEF much secret

dri-pang zúk-tho (25) li ʔân dri-pang-re  
 fort-PL.NH make-EXH (25) house and fort-PL.NH-DEF

cálóng-re sabá pú sabá mát lá  
 just.now-DEF where PSB where do also

zúk-thóm pú ʔábryáng-re shú pú (26) káyú  
 make-EXH PSB name-DEF what PSB (26) 1P

róng-sang-do-m-re tá pátmú  
 Lepcha-PL.H-self-DAT-DEF up.there Tibetan

ʔárát-sang-nu      káyú-m      ma-ná-n  
Tibet-PL.H-ABL    1P-DAT      NEG-take-NEG

(27) tá-ká                      yang      pro      ʔárát-sang-nu  
(27) up.there-LOC          thus      Bhutan    Tibet-PL.H-ABL

ma-ná-n                      (28) tá-ká                      yang    hu-nu-re  
NEG-take-NEG              (28) up.there-LOC          thus    3S-ABL-DEF

fyenkyóp-shang              tândók-ká              ʔátháng              ʔálgará-sá  
fight-INF                      behalf-LOC              this.up.there      Álgará-GEN

ʔápín                              dâmsáng      dri      chó      gúrúbáthán-sá  
this.on.the.other.side    Dâmsáng      fort    join    Gorubathan-GEN

ʔátán      dálíng      dri      ʔân      ʔáfi      róngnyú  
short      Dálíng      fort      and      here      Rongnyú

pun-ká      rangsâr              lín-bú              zúk-tho  
near-LOC      other                      say-FCT              make-EXH

dri      (29) dri-pang              ʔácálá      káyú      nóng-nu      ngâk  
fort      (29) fort-PL.NH              still      1P      go-ABL      look

gang      shi      pú      ʔo      dá-nyí-bú              ʔá-sá  
if      see      PSB      that      rest-be-FCT              that-GEN

lang-sang-re              (30) cálóng              sóngtet              tá  
stone-PL.H-DEF              (30) just.now              up.till              up.there

nyí      dá      gun-len              ʔázúk      ʔátím      dri-re  
be      rest      all-than              pretty      big              fort-DEF

dámsáng dri-sá dálíng dri (31) ?áre cálóng  
 Dámsáng fort-and Dálíng fort (31) this just.now

lá káyú-nu nóng-nu ?á gyebú-?áchúk-nu  
 also 1P-ABL go-ABL there Gyebú-great-ABL

zúk-tho-bú lang-pang káyú shím-tho  
 make-EXH-FCT stone-PL.NH 1P see-EXH

(32) pano gyebú-?áchúk-do-m kálenpúng-ká ?ore  
 (32) king Gyebú-great-self-DAT Kálenpúng-LOC that

?áthú renjóng-sá pano-nu-re nahán  
 this.up.over.there Sikkim-GEN king-ABL-DEF before

chádóng fyenkyóp me li ?â fyenkyóp-bá-re  
 battle fight that say and fight-when-DEF

shú ngún pú (33) pâtmú pano pâtmú-sang-nu  
 what become PSB (33)Tibetan king Tibetan-PL.H-ABL

renjóng-lyáng-ká thi-nu-re róng-sang-do-m  
 Sikkim-land-LOC reach-ABL-DEF Lepcha-PL.H-self-DAT

gun vík zúk-nu-re  
 all soldier make-ABL-DEF

(34) othú-nu-re ?áre kálenpúng-lyáng-ká  
 (34) that.up.over.there-ABL-DEF this Kálenpúng-land-LOC

fyenkyóp-bá-re gyebú-?áchúk-nu dryák-nu-re  
 fight-when-DEF Gyebú-great-ABL chase-ABL-DEF

tábá pákyong renjóng-lyáng-sá  
 up.there Pákyong Sikkim-land-GEN



pakyong-lyáng-ká    nong-nu    ?obá    sóngtet  
Pakyong-land-LOC    go-ABL    there    up.till

go-nu-re    (35) ?obá    pákyóng    dri    yang  
be-ABL-DEF    (35) there    Pakyóng    fort    thus

lá    zúk-tho-nyi    (36) ?ân    nalón-re  
also    make-EXH-be    (36) and    last-DEF  
páro.penlóp    páro-sá    pano    páro    zóng    pe  
Paro.Pönlo    Paro-GEN    king    Paro    Dzong    there

li-wám-bú-nu-re    lá    ladá    kálenpúng-ká  
say-PRG-FCT-ABL-DEF    also    also    Kálenpúng-LOC

chádóng    kyón    me    li    gyebú-?áchúk-dep    chádóng  
battle    suffer    that    say    Gyebú-great-with    battle

tsum    me    li    ?ân    huyú-dep-ká-re    shú  
meet    that    say    and    3P-with-LOC-DEF    what

ngún    pú    (37) pro-sá    pano-nu-re  
become    PSB    (37) Bhutan-GEN    king-ABL-DEF

gyebú-?áchúk-dep-ká    fyenkyóp-shang    hudo-sá  
Gyebú-great-with-LOC    fight-INF    3S.OBL-GEN

vik-sang    klóng    ?ábá    dálíng    dri-ká  
soldier-PL.H    send    there    Dálíng    fort-LOC

(38) di-nu-re    huyú-sá    fyen-re    ?obi  
(38) come-ABL-DEF    3P-GEN    fight-DEF    there

ngún    pá    (39) ?ochú    di-nu-re  
become    CRT    (39) that.down.there    come-ABL-DEF

hu-nu-re      fyen      ma-kyóp-nu  
 3S-ABL-DEF    fight      NEG-fight-ABL

gyebú-?áchúk-do-m-re      yón-nu      (40) ?álong  
 Gyebú-great-self-DAT-DEF    visit-ABL    (40) now

káyú-re      ?ádo-sá      ?ámín      bám-sho      cí  
 1P-DEF      2S.GEN      under      dwell-NPR    cí

?ázom. ?áthen      bi-nu-re      lúng      shíng-nu-re  
 foodstuff      give-ABL-DEF      leisure      drunk-ABL-DEF

hudo-m      sót-nu-re      (41) kúzá-bóng-ká  
 3S.OBL-DAT    kill-ABL-DEF      (41) nettle-base-LOC

vá-vú      (42) kúzá-bóng-ká      vá-tho-bá-re  
 throw-tangle    (42) nettle-base-LOC    throw-EXH-when-DEF

món      zo      dóng-bú-nu-re      gyebú-?áchúk  
 medicine    eat      search-FCT-ABL-DEF    Gyebú-great

chúk      chúk      gyebú-?áchúk      chúk      chúk      li-nu  
 chúk      chúk      Gyebú-great      chúk      chúk      say-ABL

(43) gyebú-?áchúk-re      lá      shopdá-bá      hu-nu-re  
 (43) Gyebú-great-DEF    also    rejoin??-when      3S-ABL-DEF

pano-ká      lát-nóng      li-nu-re      (44) vik-sang-nu  
 king-LOC    return-go    say-ABL-DEF      (44) soldier-PL.H-ABL

thi-nu      cádi      gyebú-?áchúk-do-m      lá  
 reach-ABL    approach    Gyebú-great-self-DAT    also

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

(45) hudo-sá	gyebú-ʔáchúk-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	3S

ma-mák-nu-shum-bú	ngún-nu-re	(46) álóng
NEG-die-NEG-NPR-FCT	become-ABL-DEF	(46) now

gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá-do	payúk-nu-do-nu
Gyebú-great-GEN-self	sword-ABL-self-ABL

hudo-sá	ʔáthyák	tíng-bá-re	hudo-sá
3S.OBL-GEN	head	divide-when-DEF	3S.OBL-GEN

ʔáthyák-re	ʔáchú	shel	úngkyóng-ká	nóng-nu
head-DEF	this.down.there	wet	river-LOC	go-ABL

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

(47) cálong	gun-lá-nu	yâ-wám	(48) ʔân	pro
(47) just.now	all-also-ABL	know-PRG	(48) and	Bhutan

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

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

pano-nu-re	gyebú-ʔáchúk-sá	ʔáthyák	tíng
king-ABL-DEF	Gyebú-great-GEN	head	divide

blá-dí      yang      li-tho      shenlá      ?áthyák-re  
take-come    thus      say-EXH      but      head-DEF

?ochú                      úngkyóng-ká      nóng-nu      bán  
that.down.there      river-LOC      go-ABL      after

nóng-sá-re      ma-thop-nu-re      (50) ?ore      vík-sang  
go-GEN-DEF      NEG-get-ABL-DEF      (50) that      soldier-PL.H

chádóng-ká      dí-t-bú      vik-sang      huyú-do-nu  
battle-LOC      come-FCT      soldier-PL.H      3P-self-ABL

huyú-do      lá      sót-nu      huyú-do-nu      huyú-do  
3P-self      also      kill-ABL      3P-self-ABL      3P-self

mák-nu-re      mebá                      lá      ma-khu-n-sá  
die-ABL-DEF      there.below      also      NEG-be.able-NEG-GEN

sung      ?olom      nyí  
story      like.that      be

(1) “Sir D.T. Támsáng used to be chairman of the local assembly of the Lepcha village Bám *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 ?Áchúk, 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 *Darjúlýáng* in the past. What does that mean, *Darjúlýáng*?” (9) “*Dárjúlýáng* is the place where it is said that the gods rested after they had created the holy land of Máyel. They called it *Dárjúlýáng*, ‘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 where 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 ʔÁchúk of the Lepcha people, his father’s name was king ʔÁprázáp, he is said to be his son, it is written in the old books.” (17) “What is the meaning of the name king Gyebú ʔÁchúk?” (18) “It is true that the king Gyebú ʔÁchúk’s father’s name was ʔÁprázáp. (19) “His mother’s name was ʔÁshekmít, his father’s name was ʔÁprázáp, this is the truth. (20) So, his mother was ʔÁshekmít and his father was ʔÁprázáp. The parents of the great Gyebú were born in a place called Longshol. (21) Gyebú ʔÁchúk’s father’s castle was in Longshol. (22) Gyebú ʔÁchúk 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 ʔÁchúk 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 ʔÁchúk 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 ʔÁchúk 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 ?Áchúk, 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 ?Áchúk chúk chúk, Gyebú ?Áchúk chúk chúk.” (43) Gyebú ?Áchúk’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.”



## TWO LEPCHA GIRLS

[illegible]



ᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ

(1) khámrimó khámri ?álem-do di le ?íng (2) khámri  
(1) khámrimó khámri hither-self come REQ child (2) khámri

?ánóm khámrimó ?ánóm (3) saróng káyú kyóng-sá  
elder.sister khámrimó elder.sister (3) today 1P village-GEN

?áring kát-nyet li-ká le ?íng-do-m  
language one-two say-LOC REQ child-self-DAT

tsum-bá (4) shú ?áring línshet nyí gó ?ánóm  
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 (6) káyú-sá kyóng shezúm  
become-move-PRG (6) 1P-GEN village association

salom mát-shang ?ánum-sang-do tsum ma-tho-n  
how do-INF elder.brother-PL.H-self meet NEG-EXH-NEG

(7) tsum ma-gát ?ákâ ?álóng káyú-do zúk-ká  
(7) meet NEG-must hand now 1P-self make-LOC

(8) ?olom gangne ?álóng ?ánóm-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      ʔánóm      ʔolom      gangne    (11) sathá  
 (10) become    elder.sister   like.that    if            (11) when
- lík-shang    (12) tshâ-kati-ká      lík      gát-sho      lyók  
 call-INF      (12) date-ten-LOC    call    must-NPR      IFR
- (13) go    lúkhroṅg-re      lúṅg-sho      lyók-ʔám  
 (13) 1S    morning-DEF    be.free-NPR    IFR-PRG
- (14) tshâ-kati-ká-do      tho-ká      (15) ngún  
 (14) date-ten-LOC-self    put-LOC      (15) become
- (16) káyú      róngkup-sang-re-m      salom      mát-shang  
 (16) 1P      Lepcha-PL.H-DEF-DAT    how      do-INF
- (17) go    lá      shúlá      lín      ma-khu-n      ma-yâ-n  
 (17) 1S    also    nothing    say    NEG-be.able-NEG    NEG-know-NEG
- ʔánóm      (18) thál      lúṅgtár-shang-sá      sung-kát-sá  
 elder.sister    (18) up.above    develop-INF-GEN      story-one-GEN
- lá      ma-nyí-n      (19) linko-do      ʔánóm      ʔánóm  
 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
- ʔábryáng-re      shú      ngún      pú      kasu-m-nu  
 name-DEF      what    become    PSB      1S.OBL-DAT-ABL

ʔore ma-yâ-n (22) hó gebú.ʔáchúk  
that NEG-know-NEG (22) 2S Gebú.ʔÁchúk

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

ma-tho-n-ʔám (24) gebú.ʔáchúk-sá ʔábo-sá  
NEG-EXH-NEG-PRG (24) Gebú.ʔÁchúk-GEN father-GEN

ʔábryáng ʔáprázáp ʔámú-sá ʔáshekmít  
name ʔÁprázáp mother-GEN ʔÁshekmít

ʔáshekmít-sá tagrikup-re gebú.ʔáchúk go ma  
ʔÁshekmít-GEN boy-DEF Gebú.ʔÁchúk be AST

(25) ʔe (26) hó-nu dálíng dri kor-tho  
(25) ah (26) 2S-ABL Dálíng fort wander-EXH

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

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

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

dabling-kyóng-ká-lá gebú.ʔáchúk-sá dri nyí-ʔám  
Dabling-village-LOC-also Gebú.ʔÁchúk-GEN fort be-PRG

(31) sabá-do (32) sagór-ká ʔún-thík-lyáng  
(31) where-self (32) rock-LOC horse-tie-place

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

(35) go    nǒng    ma-tho-n                    ʔobálá                    (36) kám  
 (35) 1S    go            NEG-EXH-NEG            everywhere            (36) little.bit

kor-shang            lá            mát    le            hó            kyóng-ká  
 wander-INF            also    do            REQ    2S            village-LOC

(37) ʔálong go            kor-sho                    ʔánóm  
 (37) now    1S            wander-NPR            elder.sister

(38) kyóng-kyóng-ká            shú            ngún-bám            kám            ngâk  
 (38) village-village-LOC            what    become-PRG            little.bit    see

gát            káyú    (39) ʔálong-re-nu            go            kor-sho  
 must            1P            (39) now-DEF-ABL            1S            wander-NPR

ʔánóm            (40) róngkup-sang-sá            trút-re                    gun            cá  
 elder.sister    (40) Lepcha-PL.H-GEN            advise-DEF            all            just

katʔáp            ngún            gát            (41) káflík-nu            zúk-shang            káflík-nu  
 alone            become    must    (41) some-ABL            make-INF            some-ABL

ma-zúk-shang            ʔolom            sákcing            ma-ngún            kát-nu  
 NEG-make-INF            like.that    think            NEG-become            one-ABL

ʔáthong            hrúp            gang            gun-nu            hrúp            gát  
 leg            pick.up    if            all-ABL            pick.up            must

(42) ʔánóm            go            ma-khu-n-sho                    lyók-ʔám  
 (42) elder.sister            1S            NEG-be.able-NEG-NPR            IFR-PRG

(43) hó            ma-khu-n                    li-nu                    ma-ngún  
 (43) 2S            NEG-be.able-NEG            say-ABL            NEG-become

(44) hó róng yángne lúmkup (45) go róng go  
 (44) 2S Lepcha or Nepali (45) 1S Lepcha be

róngkup-do (46) ?ádo-sá kúmíng shú  
 Lepcha-self (46) 2S-GEN appellation what

(47) kasu-sá ?á?itámít róngkup  
 (47) 1S.OBL-GEN ?Á?itámít Lepcha

(48) hó róngkup shúmatne pi róngkup ma-go-n gang  
 (48) 2S Lepcha why write Lepcha NEG-be-NEG if

(49) ?ánóm-sá kúmíng shú gó  
 (49) elder.sister-GEN appellation what Q

(50) kasu-sá ?óngmít róngkup  
 (50) 1S.OBL-GEN ?Óngmít Lepcha

(51) ?ánóm-sá kúmíng go saróng-do thyo-ma  
 (51) elder.sister-GEN appellation 1S today-self hear-AST

(52) hó-nu kasu-sá kúmíng saróng-do yâm-bú  
 (52) 2S-ABL 1S.OBL-GEN appellation today-self know-FCT

hó ?ácálá gek gát róng máyel sukdam-ká  
 2S still be.born must Lepcha Máyel world-LOC

(53) káyú ?álong ?áлом bâm-nu ma-ngún  
 (53) 1P now like.that reside-ABL NEG-become

(54) kyóng-ká ngâk gát róngkup-sang sabá-sabá  
 (54) village-LOC look must Lepcha-PL.H where-where

tsóm-?ám sabá brám-?ám (55) ?álong hó go  
 limit-PRG where stray-PRG (55) now 2S 1S

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            ?ámú-sá            dúnggít-lá            tsum-ká  
recognise-LOC       mother-GEN       tradition-also    meet-LOC

?ábryáng        ma-kyól-ne-ká            (57) káyú            róngkup-re  
name            NEG-blend-NEG-LOC       (57) 1P            Lepcha-DEF

sabá-nu            ?ít            (58) cú-nu            (59) hó  
where-ABL        create            (58) mountain.peak-ABL       (59) 2S

thyák-?ám            (60) ?ore        go            ?ámú-bo-nu  
recognise-PRG       (60) that        1S            mother-father-ABL

kám-kám            dun-?ám-tho-nu            li-ma  
little.bit-little.bit    tell-PRG-EXH-ABL       say-AST

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

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

kor-ká            (63) ngún            ?ánóm            kor-ká            ?álong  
wander-LOC       (63) become       elder.sister       wander-LOC       now

(1) “Khámrímó, khámrí, please come over here for a minute, sister.”  
(2) “Khámrí, sister, khámrímó, sister.” (3) “Since we’re here now,  
let’s talk about our village for a bit.” (4) “What’s on your mind, sis-  
ter?” (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 ?Áprázáp, his mother’s name is ?Áshekmít, so ?Áshekmít’s son is Gebú ?Áchúk.” (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 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 ?Á?ítámít 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, according to the following order: ར k, ལ kh, ས kr, ཏ kl, འ g, ཡ gl, བ ng, ཏ c, ཨ ch, ཉ j, ཇ ny, ི t, ཱ tr, ཱ th, ཱ thr, ཱ d, ཱ dr, ཱ n, ཱ p, ཱ pl, ཱ ph, ཱ f, ཱ fl, ཱ b, ཱ bl, ཱ m, ཱ ml, ཱ ts, ཱ tsh, ཱ z, ཱ y, ཱ r, ཱ l, ཱ h, ཱ hl, ཱ v, ཱ sh, ཱ s, ཱ w, ཱ ?, ཱ -â, ཱ -a, ཱ -i, ཱ -í, ཱ -o, ཱ -ó, ཱ -u, ཱ -ú, ཱ -e, ཱ -y-.

 $\notin k-$ 

- [illegible]

- 𐄂𐄆𐄇 *káchót* adv. in four days time, after four days  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉 *kátaʔyen* adv. three years ago  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *káflík* adj. some  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *káwodámpú* n. wooden pillar  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈 *kát* num. one  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉 ~ 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 ~ 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kátʔáp ~ kátʔákup ~ kátkup* adv. alone  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *kán* v. pulverise, reduce to powder  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *kám* adv. little bit  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉 *ki* n. thread  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉 *ki* v. claim, demand, assert  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kibri* v. twist, wind threads together  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kiríl* v. roll thread into a ball  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kiyâp* v. stitch together, quilt  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kít* v. snatch  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *kor* v. wander, stroll  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *kol* n. box  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *kó* n. order  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kók* v. fence in  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kón* n. taste  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kón* n. side  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kón* v. let, allow  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kóng* n. branch  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kóm* n. money  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kóm* v. curdle, congeal  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *ku* v. urge, impel  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 *kup* n. child, small  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kumdúng* adj. other  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏 *kumthyóng* n. kite  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐 *kursóng* adj. bright  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kúng* n. tree  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐 *kúngbóng* n. tree stump  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑 *kúmúng* n. appellation, name  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kúl* v. encircle, surround  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊 *ke* v. try, attempt  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍 *kyáng* v. freeze  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏 *kyok* v. churn butter  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐 *kyóng* n. village  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐 *kyón* v. suffer  
 𐄂𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑 *kyóp* v. lock

ᄃᆞᆫ *kyól* v. blend, mix, confuse

### ᄃ kh-

ᄃᆞ *khá* num. score

ᄃᆞᆫ *khák* v. choke

ᄃᆞᆫᆫ *khámrí* sal. greeting

ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆫ *khámrimó* sal. greeting (more respectful than *khámrí*)

ᄃᆞ ~ ᄃᆞᆫ *khu ~ khut* v. be able to

ᄃᆞᆫ *khú* n. loaf of bread

ᄃᆞᆫ *khek* v. freeze

ᄃᆞᆫ *khyâ* v. arrive

ᄃᆞᆫ *khyú* v. bathe

### ᄃᆞ kl-

ᄃᆞ *kla* v. cleave

ᄃᆞᆫᆫ *klánlá* adj. resembling

ᄃᆞᆫ *klít* v. polish, rub

ᄃᆞ *klo* adj. straightforward

ᄃᆞᆫ *klóng* v. send

ᄃᆞ ~ ᄃᆞᆫ *klú ~ klúm* v. fall

ᄃᆞᆫ *klek* v. force, urge

ᄃᆞᆫ *klyam* v. be sweet

### ᄃᆞ kr-

ᄃᆞᆫ *krít* n. hunger

ᄃᆞᆫ *kró* v. slice

ᄃᆞᆫ *krón* v. scratch

ᄃᆞᆫᆫ *kryóng* v. praise

### ᄃᆞ g-

ᄃᆞ *gâ* v. resist

ᄃᆞᆫ *gang* conj. if

ᄃᆞᆫᆫ *gangne* conj. if

ᄃᆞᆫᆫᆫ *ganglá* even if

ᄃᆞᆫ *gát* v. must, need, require

𐌆𐌵 *gán* adj. old, aged  
 𐌆𐌵𐌴 *gánlât* n. oldness, old age  
 𐌵 *go* pron. I  
 𐌵 *go* v. be  
 𐌵𐌴𐌶 *gorúng* conj. either  
 𐌵𐌴𐌶𐌴 *gorúnglá* conj. although, even  
 𐌵𐌴 *gó* v. be happy, rejoice, be glad  
 𐌵𐌴 *gun* all, every  
 𐌵𐌴 *gum* v. to be  
 𐌵𐌴 -*gú* sf. female animal that has given birth  
 𐌵𐌴 *gek* v. be born  
 𐌵𐌴𐌴 *gek-lát* n. birth  
 𐌵𐌴𐌴𐌴 *gyagármú* n. Indian  
 𐌵𐌴 *gyó* num. one hundred  
 𐌵𐌴 *gyó* v. quarrel  
 𐌵𐌴 *gyú* n. skill, experience  
 𐌵𐌴 *gye* v. win, gain the victory

### 𐌵 gl-

𐌵𐌴 *glí* adj. distinct  
 𐌵𐌴 *glót* v. kindle, set fire to  
 𐌵𐌴 ~ 𐌵𐌴 *glú ~ glúm* v. fall down  
 𐌵𐌴 *glyat* v. sag, drop, decline, suspend (also spelt 𐌵𐌴 *glet*)

### 𐌵 ng-

𐌵𐌴 *ngâk* v. look, observe  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngán* v. remain, sit  
 𐌵𐌴𐌴 *ngánshet* n. seat  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngár* v. slice  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngol* adv. early  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngók* v. grind  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngú* n. fish  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngút* v. cut, sever or divide with a knife  
 𐌵𐌴 *ngún* v. become, happen, occur

## C-

- ཁྱ རྩ རྩ རྩ *cang* v. foster, nourish  
 ཁྱ རྩ རྩ *cá* adv. just, a moment ago  
 ཁྱ རྩ རྩ *cáng* v. cross river  
 ཁྱ རྩ རྩ *cánáp* adv. last night  
 ཁྱ རྩ *cáp* v. thatch  
 ཁྱ རྩ རྩ *cábá* adv. some time ago  
 ཁྱ རྩ *cám* v. wink  
 ཁྱ རྩ རྩ *cálóng* adv. just now, just a moment ago  
 རྩ རྩ *ci* n. *cí*, fermented grain liquor  
 རྩ རྩ *cí* v. dry meat or fish in the sun  
 རྩ རྩ *cí* v. tread, tremble upon  
 རྩ རྩ *cík* v. weigh  
 རྩ རྩ *cíng* v. think  
 རྩ རྩ *cít* v. split wood or bamboo  
 རྩ རྩ *cíp* v. drain of liquids  
 རྩ རྩ *co* n. tea  
 རྩ རྩ *co* v. mend  
 རྩ རྩ *cot* v. assist, help  
 རྩ རྩ *com* v. oppress  
 རྩ རྩ *col* v. pour water over body  
 རྩ རྩ *cóng* v. wash  
 རྩ རྩ *cóng* v. be quick  
 རྩ རྩ *cóm* v. leave, depart  
 རྩ རྩ *cór* v. be sour, be acid  
 རྩ རྩ *cu* adj. small, little  
 རྩ རྩ *cukup* a little bit  
 རྩ རྩ *cup* v. restrain  
 རྩ རྩ *cú* n. the snowy range, the Himalayas  
 རྩ རྩ *cúk* n. kiss  
 རྩ རྩ *-cúng* young of bulls  
 རྩ རྩ *cút* v. rise of dough  
 རྩ རྩ *ce* n. love  
 རྩ རྩ *cechók* adj. loveable  
 རྩ རྩ *cewo* n. crore  
 རྩ རྩ *cek* v. hew, cut down  
 རྩ རྩ *cet* v. thrust, stab, pierce  
 རྩ རྩ *cep* v. bore, pierce

མྱོའི་ཆེ་ལེ་འདྲི་བ་ *cer* v. be lazy

མྱོའི་ཆེ་ལེ་འདྲི་བ་ *cer* v. milk

## མ ch-

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chádóng* n. war, battle

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chárí* n. letter

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chí* n. example, model

མཆེད་ *cho* n. book

མཆེད་ *-cho* sf. best, greatest

མཆེད་ *choko* n. paper

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chokóng* n. offering of dough rice

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chokúng* n. brass lamp

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chochúk* v. copy, transcribe, reproduce

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chogyú* n. lesson

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chotân* n. essence of religion

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *choten* n. chörten, monument, memorial

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chodám* n. book binding

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chobúm* n. sacred scriptures of Buddhism

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chomí* n. religious lamp or light

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chotsóm* n. altar

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *choyântân* n. education

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *choyuk* n. literature

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *cholí* n. school

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *cholep* n. leaf of a book

མཆེད་ *chó* v. unite, join

མཆེད་ *chó* n. even number, pair, couple

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chómtun* n. friendship

མཆེད་ *chór* v. pour

མཆེད་ཆེད་ཆེད་ *chólúng nóngshang* v. multiply

མཆེད་ *chú* n. strength, courage

མཆེད་ *chú* n. cheese

མཆེད་ *-chúk* sf. most, worthy

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chúko* n. energy, force

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chúpí* n. sulphur

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chútsât* n. hour

མཆེད་ཆེད་ *chúsung* n. crocodile

མཆེད་ *chet* v. relate

མཆེད་ *chet* n. need, want, lack, demand, necessity

## ꯏ j-

- ꯏ ꯊꯩ v. dry over fire  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯕ v. itch  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯔ adj. stiff  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯓ v. assemble  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ v. annoy, disturb  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ n. filth  
 ꯏ ~ ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ ~ ꯊꯩꯑ v. sift  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯕ v. talk, speak  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯔ v. memorise  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ v. flatten, make or become flat  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ n. thorn  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ v. live, burn  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ v. bud  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ adj. other  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ n. gold  
 ꯏ ꯊꯩꯑ v. understand, know a language, speak a language

## ꯏ ny-

- ꯏ ꯎꯩꯕ v. exceed  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ n. earlobe  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. to be  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ n. milk  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ n. odd number  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. delay  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. cause to quiver, shake  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ n. field  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. smell  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. grind  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ n. pair  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ ꯎꯩꯑ n. pen  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ ꯎꯩꯑ adj. deaf  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ num. two  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. show, demonstrate  
 ꯏ ꯎꯩꯑ v. listen



## ᄃ t-

- ᄃᄃ *tân* n. cause, reason, behalf  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tândók* n. cause, reason, behalf  
 ᄃᄃ -*tâng* sf. corpulent male animal, pig or dog  
 ᄃ *ta* v. bear, endure  
 ᄃᄃ *taʔayu* n. woman  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tabá* adv. up there, there above (also spelt ᄃᄃᄃ *tábá*)  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tabók* n. abdomen, stomach, belly, womb  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tado* pron. oneself  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tagrí* n. man  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tagrikup* n. boy  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tagryú* n. cheek  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tarók* num. six  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tatsât* n. time, period of time  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ *talon kón* adv. in the direction there above  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *talol* adv. up above there  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *talemkón* adv. above there, in that direction (also spelt ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ *tálemkón*)  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *talyáng* n. sky, heaven  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *talyádâ* n. sea, ocean  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tahyut* n. whistle  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tasó* adv. yesterday, sometimes shortened to ᄃᄃᄃ *só*  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *taʔyu* n. girl  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *taʔyukup* n. daughter  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *taʔyen* adv. last year  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *taʔi* n. flour, meal, powder  
 ᄃᄃ *tá-* pf. up there (also spelt ᄃ *ta-*)  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *táng* n. bundle  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tángko* n. basket  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tálom* adv. like that there above  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tállyáng* n. highland  
 ᄃᄃ *tí* num. zero  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tíng* v. separate  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tingmú* n. plainsman  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tít* v. flee  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tít-rekúng* n. tamarind tree  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tít-repót* n. tamarind fruit  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *tím* adj. big

- 𑜏𑜤𑜂𑜫 *tímre* n. respect  
 𑜏𑜤 *tóm* n. speech  
 𑜏𑜤 *tór* n. silk  
 𑜏𑜤 ~ 𑜏𑜤 *tu* ~ *tut* v. wash, cleanse  
 𑜏𑜤 *tuk* v. cover, protect  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tuknóm* n. nose  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tukfyíl* n. ant  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tukpát* n. knee  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tukpo* n. rope  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 𑜏𑜤 *tukpókúng* n. peach tree  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tukpópót* n. peach  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tungder* n. cockroach  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tunghrók* num. thousand  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *tungvyeng* n. door  
 𑜏𑜤 *tú* pron. who  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *túngchúr* num. hundred million  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *túdo* pron. anybody, anyone  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *túlá* pron. everyone, someone, anyone, whoever  
 𑜏𑜤 *tet* v. touch, aim  
 𑜏𑜤 -*tet* sf. until, up to (also spelt 𑜏𑜤 *tyet* or 𑜏𑜤 *tyat*)  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyâng* all, whole  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyât* v. cut down, hew down  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyak* v. tread  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyal* v. fell (also spelt 𑜏𑜤 *tel*)  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyók* v. cut  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyóng* v. hide  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyól* n. friend  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyu* v. subdue, defeat  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyul* v. fall  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyúk* v. kick  
 𑜏𑜤 *tyút* n. scar

### 𑜏𑜤 tr-

- 𑜏𑜤 *trát* v. tear  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *trínchen* n. kindness  
 𑜏𑜤𑜃𑜫 *trókchí* thank you  
 𑜏𑜤 *tróp* v. winnow  
 𑜏𑜤 *trút* v. advise

ᄃᆞ tre n. mule

# th-

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thangkú n. tobacco

ᄃᆞ thá v. chew, eat

ᄃᆞ thák v. be complete, sufficient

ᄃᆞ thám n. thing, object

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámčang n. animal

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámbík n. insect

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámbóng n. plant

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámbu n. worm

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámpót n. fruit

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámlí n. seed

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thámvyet n. question

ᄃᆞ tháp v. put

ᄃᆞ thál adv. up above

ᄃᆞ ~ ᄃᆞ thi ~ thút v. reach

ᄃᆞ thík v. tie

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thikúng n. great grandfather

ᄃᆞ ~ ᄃᆞ tho~thóm v. put

ᄃᆞ thok v. close

ᄃᆞ thóng v. drink

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thongjóm n. toe

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thongpyól n. footprint

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thongtung n. heel

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thóngshet adj. drinkable

ᄃᆞ thop v. get (also spelt ᄃᆞ thúp)

ᄃᆞ thol adj. near

ᄃᆞ thór v. escape

ᄃᆞ thúk n. season

ᄃᆞ theng v. sing

ᄃᆞ thep adj. extra, additional, successive

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ theppa theppa adv. successively

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ therbúm num. billion

ᄃᆞ thyák v. recognise, identify

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thyáktuk n. hat, cap

ᄃᆞᄃᆞ thyákdám n. scalp

ᄃᆞ thyen v. laugh

𐌿𐌽𐌾𐌿 *thyenlât* n. laughter  
 𐌿𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌰 *thyenlá* adv. laughingly  
 𐌿𐌽 ~ 𐌿𐌾𐌿 *thyo ~ thyóm* v. hear  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 *thyók* n. shelter  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *thyór* v. set free  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 ~ 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *thyu ~ thyum* v. mix, combine, unite

### 𐌿𐌾𐌿 thr-

𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *thri* n. throne  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰 *thrim* n. law  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *throm* n. town, market  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 *thrókthrik* num. ten billion

### 𐌿 d-

𐌿 *dâ* n. lake  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰 *dâpúk* n. shore  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dâlyáng* n. island  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 *dâng* v. run  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *dâl* v. germinate, sprout  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 *dá* v. sleep, rest  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dátho* n. almanac  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰 *dáp* v. cover  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰 *dám* v. tie, bind  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 ~ 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *di ~ dít* v. come, approach  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *díng* v. stand  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 *do* pron. self  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dodosá* adj. personal, of ones own  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿 *do* v. collect, gather together, assemble  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *dok* v. be ill  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰 *dop* v. burn  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dó* v. announce, make known  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dók* v. keep  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dóng* v. search, seek  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰 *du* n. disease  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰 *dun* v. tell, narrate, say  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 *dunlu* n. remark  
 𐌿𐌾𐌿𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 *duntrók* n. week

- རྩ་མཚན་ *dutmúng* n. demon  
 རྩ་ *dum* n. cloth  
 རྩ་ *dú* n. umbrella  
 རྩ་ ~ རྩ་ *dú ~ dún* v. dig  
 རྩ་ *dúk* v. be alike  
 རྩ་མཚན་ *dúnggít* n. tradition  
 རྩ་ *dúm* v. be white  
 རྩ་ *de* v. destroy  
 རྩ་མཚན་ *delúk* n. resurrection  
 རྩ་ *dek* v. break  
 རྩ་ *det* v. move  
 རྩ་ *dep* sf. together, along with  
 རྩ་ *dem* n. dress  
 རྩ་མཚན་ *dyángtung* n. heel  
 རྩ་མཚན་ *dyângpak* n. knee  
 རྩ་མཚན་ *dyângpók* n. calf  
 རྩ་མཚན་ *dyánglyók* n. sole of foot  
 རྩ་ ~ རྩ་ *dyu ~ dyut* v. argue

### ལྷ་ dr-

- ལྷ་ *drâm* adv. quick  
 ལྷ་ *drám* v. break  
 ལྷ་མཚན་ *drámdyân* v. break down  
 ལྷ་ *dri* n. fort, palace  
 ལྷ་ *drí* v. wind, roll or coil thread  
 ལྷ་ *dríp* v. confine  
 ལྷ་ *dróp* n. moment  
 ལྷ་ *dre* n. demon  
 ལྷ་ *dret* v. push  
 ལྷ་ *dryák* v. pursue, chase  
 ལྷ་མཚན་ *dryándo* adv. equal to

### འ་ n-

- འ་མཚན་ *nâlá* adv. always  
 འ་མཚན་ *nalón* adv. last  
 འ་མཚན་ *navár* n. boat  
 འ་ *ná* v. take

- འཇམ་ *nahán* adv. before  
 འུ་ *nám* n. year  
 འུ་ཨ་ *námkor* n. cycle of twelve years  
 འུ་འུ་ *námnám* adv. yearly  
 འུ་མེད་ *nápmún* n. evening  
 འུ་མེད་ *nápzâ* n. dusk  
 འུ་མེད་ *náp-lúk* n. day and night, morning and evening  
 འུ་ *nók* v. push  
 འུ་ལྷོ་ *nók-lât* n. blackness  
 འུ་ *nóng* v. go  
 འུ་ *nóng* adv. inside  
 འུ་ལྷོ་ *nómleng* n. young girl  
 འུ་ *nól* n. skin  
 འུ་ ~ འུ་ *nu ~ nut* v. suck  
 འུ་འུ་ *numnu* n. brothers  
 འུ་མེད་ཨ་ *numtsám nyóm* n. leap month  
 འུ་ *nup* v. flood  
 འུ་ *núl* v. crush, knead

པ p-

- པ་ *pâ* n. incense  
 པ་མེད་ *pâtmú* n. Tibetan  
 པ་མེད་ *pacák* adv. almost  
 པ་མེད་ *patung* n. shoulder  
 པ་མེད་ *pano* n. king  
 པ་ *pá* v. beckon, signal  
 པ་ *pár* v. buy  
 པ་ *pi* v. write  
 པ་ *pík* v. purify  
 པ་ *pín* v. brush, brush off  
 པ་ *po* n. bamboo  
 པ་ *pung* n. mound, heap  
 པ་མེད་ *punjeng* n. iron  
 པ་མེད་ *punthyóng* n. eagle  
 པ་མེད་ *punzók* n. forest  
 པ་ *pup* v. cover  
 པ་ *pe* n. grass  
 པ་ *pe* v. agree

- རྩ *pe-* adv. over there (also spelt རྩ *pí-*)  
 རྩཌ *pefi* pron. there (near)  
 རྩལ *pebá* pron. there  
 རྩེ *petet* adv. up to that place over there  
 རྩཾ *pepe* adv. that there, yonder  
 རྩཿ *peme* adv. there, down there  
 རྩེ *pere* adv. that over there (also spelt རྩེ *pír*, རྩེ *pyir*, རྩེ *pyur*)  
 རྩེ *pelom* adv. in that manner  
 རྩེ *pelom* adv. like that  
 རྩེ *pel* v. be tired  
 རྩེ *prâ* n. cut bamboo  
 རྩེ *promú* n. Bhutanese  
 རྩེ *prú* n. ash  
 རྩེ *prýá* n. hymn  
 རྩེ *prýá* v. describe, give an account of something

### ཐ ph-

- ཐལ *phám* v. defeat  
 ཐལ *phi* v. wash of utensils  
 ཐལཌལཌ *philíngmú* n. Englishman  
 ཐལཌ *phúl* v. be distant  
 ཐལ *pho* n. time, turn  
 ཐལ *phu* v. offer, sacrifice  
 ཐལ *phet* adv. half  
 ཐལཌ *phyá* v. disjoin  
 ཐལཌ *phyok* v. sweep  
 ཐལཌལཌ *phyokmú* n. broom  
 ཐལཌ *phyú* v. hatch  
 ཐལཌ *phyuk* v. be rich

### ཕ pl-

- ཕལ *plâ* v. come forth, come out, rise  
 ཕལ *plák* v. break  
 ཕལ *plí* v. deny  
 ཕལ *plyâ* v. produce, bring forward

## ᄒ f-

- ᄒᄒᄒ *fâtyók* n. pot  
 ᄒ *fâk* v. scrape  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *fangú* num. five  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *fali* num. four  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *faleng* n. young boy  
 ᄒᄒ *fá* v. swim  
 ᄒᄒ *fát* n. earth  
 ᄒᄒ *fát* v. lose  
 ᄒᄒ *fán* v. burn  
 ᄒᄒ *fár* v. rust  
 ᄒᄒ *fík* v. tear, pull apart  
 ᄒ *fo* n. bird  
 ᄒ *fo* n. tooth (also ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒáfo)  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *fogóm* n. molar  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *fonyel* n. gums  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *fozâl* n. incisor  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *folún* n. wisdom tooth  
 ᄒᄒ *fók* adv. throughout  
 ᄒᄒ *fók* v. pierce, stab  
 ᄒ *fót* v. taste  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *fungfing* adj. blue  
 ᄒᄒ *fyo* n. brass  
 ᄒᄒ *fyu* n. pot  
 ᄒᄒ *fyek* v. sharpen

## ᄒ fl-

- ᄒ *flâ* v. narrate, describe  
 ᄒᄒ ~ ᄒᄒ *flí ~ flím* v. divide, separate  
 ᄒᄒ *flík* adv. apart, aside  
 ᄒᄒ *flík* v. separate, cleave  
 ᄒᄒ *flók* v. peel, peel off skin or bark  
 ᄒᄒ *flet* v. wash ones face

## ᄒ b-

- ᄒ *bâk* v. weed



- 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *báho* n. storage, store room  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *báng* v. break, cut, chop wood or bamboo in short pieces  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *-báng* num. half of  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bám* v. dwell, stay, reside  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bámlyáng* n. homeland, residence  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bán* n. knife  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bán* adv. after  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bánkup* n. small knife  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bázá* n. hour  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bál* v. repeat  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 ~ 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bi* ~ 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bín* v. give  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bi* n. curry  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bifong* n. green leafy vegetable  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bík* n. cow  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bíkgú* n. cow  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bíkbo* n. bull, steer  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bíklóng* n. ox  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bíklóngbop* n. bullock, castrated male bovine  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bíklóngcúng* n. young bull  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bíl* v. fold of cloth or paper  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bojo* n. grandfather  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *-bom* sf. brooding female animal  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 ~ 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bo* ~ 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bón* v. give  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *-bop* sf. young of bulls  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bu* n. snake, worm  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bu* v. carry  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *-bu* sf. male of animals  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *buk* v. hit, strike, thresh  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bun* v. carry  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bul* v. scrape  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *búm* num. lakh  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *búmtsho* num. lakh  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *búr* v. flower, bloom  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *búl* v. boil over  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *byám* v. keep, leave behind  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *byúp* v. parch, dry in fire  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫𑜃𑜫𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *brám* v. stray, deviate, roam, be lost  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bri* n. marriage, union  
 𑜋𑜧𑜨𑜃𑜫 *bret* v. separate, divide

## ᄃ bl-

ᄃᄃ *blá* v. takeᄃᄃ -*bo* sf. father, uncastrated male parent animalᄃᄃ *blók* v. separate the outer and inner part of bamboo or caneᄃᄃ *blen* v. be full, be filled up

## ᄃ m-

ᄃᄃ *mân* n. meatᄃᄃ *maró* n. manᄃᄃ *má* v. hide, conceal from sightᄃᄃ *mák* v. dieᄃᄃᄃ *mán-gú* n. sowᄃᄃ *mát* v. doᄃᄃᄃ *mátlóm* n. conduct, act of conducting, guidanceᄃᄃᄃ *máthu* n. habit, customᄃᄃ *mi* n. fireᄃᄃ -*mi* sf. female animal that has not had youngᄃᄃᄃ *míktráp* n. sleepᄃᄃᄃ *míkcóm* n. eyelash, eyebrowᄃᄃᄃ *míkgrúng* n. tearᄃᄃᄃ *míkdúm* n. foreigner (literally white eyes)ᄃᄃᄃ *míkmyóng* n. eyelidᄃᄃ *míl* adv. downᄃᄃ *món* n. medicineᄃᄃ *món* n. pig, boarᄃᄃᄃ *móntâng* n. fat boarᄃᄃᄃ *mónbo* n. boar, uncastrated male of swineᄃᄃᄃ *mónbu* n. boarᄃᄃᄃ *mónmi* n. fallow sowᄃᄃᄃ *mónmót* n. sowᄃᄃᄃ *mónsu* n. boar, uncastrated boarᄃᄃᄃ *mónsháng* n. barren sowᄃᄃ -*mót* sf. female of animalsᄃᄃ *múng* n. devilᄃᄃᄃ *munjú* n. grandmotherᄃᄃᄃ *muró* n. man

- མུ་ *muzu* n. body  
 མ་ *me-* adv. down there  
 མའ་ *mebá* adv. there below  
 མའོ *mebí* adv. there below (less distant than མའ་ *mebá*)  
 མའོ *melon* adv. in that direction down there  
 མའོ *melom* adv. like that down there  
 མའོ *mere* adv. that down there  
 མའོ *myák* v. kill  
 མའོ *myók* n. son in law  
 མའོ *myóng* v. experience  
 མའོ *myón* v. forget

### མ ml-

- མུ་ *mlú* n. utensil, implement  
 མུ་ *mlyá* adj. level, even  
 མུ་ *mlyúk* adj. lukewarm, tepid

### ཏ ts-

- ཏ་ *tsám* v. hold  
 ཏ་ *tsóm* v. limit  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsómcúng* n. pigtail  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsómtrat* n. comb  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsómrík* n. ribbon  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsómbheng* n. single hair  
 ཏ་ *tsót* v. squeeze  
 ཏ་ *-tsu* sf. male of pigs and goats  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsukgi* n. afternoon  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsukkyer* n. west  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsukkyer* n. sunset, west  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsuk-lát* n. sunrise, east  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsugyer* n. clock  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsuknáng* n. midday  
 ཏ་ལྷ་ *tsukzán* n. early morning, when sun is completely visible  
 ཏ་ *tsung* v. save up  
 ཏ་ *tsum* v. meet  
 ཏ་ *tsur* v. radiate, gleam  
 ཏ་ཏ་ *tsurtsur* n. twinkle

ᲙᲗ *tsúk* v. bite

ᲙᲗ tsh-

ᲙᲗ *tshâ* n. date

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *tshâlum* n. orange

ᲙᲗ *tshó* v. aim

ᲙᲗᲗ *tshóng* n. goods

ᲙᲗᲗ *tshóng* v. complete

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *tshukpót* n. word

ᲙᲗ Z-

ᲙᲗ *zâ* v. err

ᲙᲗ *zang* adj. like

ᲙᲗ *zá* n. circle

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *záko* n. planet

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *záti* n. nutmeg

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *záding* n. jug

ᲙᲗ *zo* v. eat, food, rice

ᲙᲗ *zok* v. trickle, flow

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *zorí* n. fragrant rice

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *zók* v. strike

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *zómthup* adj. edible

ᲙᲗ *zót* v. graze

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *zúk* v. make

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *zúkthup* adj. manageable

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *zúk-lât* n. action, performance

ᲙᲗ y-

ᲙᲗ ~ ᲙᲗ *yâ ~ yâm* know, know how to

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *yânthó* n. school

ᲙᲗ *yang* conj. thus

ᲙᲗᲗᲗ *yángne* conj. or, either

ᲙᲗ *yáp* v. grope

ᲙᲗ *yok* n. top, summit

ᲙᲗ *yor* n. row

ᲙᲗ *yók* n. yak

ཅྱ *yu* v. descend  
 ཅྱ *yuk* n. letter  
 ཅྱཏྱ ~ ཅྱཏྱ *yupthen ~ yuptho* n. moment  
 ཇྱ *yet* v. descend  
 ཇྱ *yel* v. know a language

## ར ར-

རྩྱ ~ རྩྱ *rangsâ ~ rangsâr* adj. other  
 རྩྱ *rá* v. hunt  
 རྩྱ *rák* v. search, examine  
 རྩྱ *rám* n. thunder  
 རྩྱ *rí* n. smell, scent, fragrance, odour  
 རྩྱཏྱཏྱ *ribiríp* n. ribiplant, *Calamus latifolius*  
 རྩྱ *ríp* n. flower, blossom, flowering plant  
 རྩྱ *ro* v. fear  
 རྩྱ *rok* v. read, study  
 རྩྱ *róng* n. Lepcha  
 རྩྱ *róng* v. wait  
 རྩྱཏྱཏྱ *róngjín* adv. daily  
 རྩྱ *ru* n. cane  
 རྩྱཏྱཏྱཏྱ *rungnyít* རྩྱཏྱཏྱ n. main stream of *Rungnyít* river  
 རྩྱཏྱ *rúbá* n. tortoise  
 རྩྱ *rum* n. god  
 རྩྱཏྱ *rumdár* n. god  
 རྩྱ *rel* v. separate maize from the cob  
 རྩྱ *rel* adv. each  
 རྩྱ *ren* adv. since  
 རྩྱཏྱ *renjón* n. Sikkim  
 རྩྱཏྱཏྱ *renjónmú* n. Sikkimese  
 རྩྱ *ryák* v. follow  
 རྩྱ *ryú* v. be good  
 རྩྱཏྱ *ryúlá* adv. well  
 རྩྱ *ryúm* n. needle

## ལ ལ-

ལྱ *lâm* v. fly  
 ལྱ *lang* n. stone

- ႁႃႏႃႏ *langklyók* n. big flat stone  
 ႁႃႏႃ *laháp* n. cave  
 ႁႃ *lá* adv. also, even  
 ႁႃ *lát* v. return  
 ႁႃ *láp* v. bury  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lávo* n. moon  
 ႁႃ ~ ႁႃႃ *li ~ lín* v. say, speak  
 ႁႃ *li* v. carry  
 ႁႃ *lí* n. house  
 ႁႃ *lík* v. call  
 ႁႃႃႃ *línko* n. speech, statement  
 ႁႃႃႃ *línshet* n. speech  
 ႁႃ *lít* v. sift  
 ႁႃ *lo* v. dry, spread out to dry in the sun of corn or grain  
 ႁႃ *lok* v. dance  
 ႁႃ *lon* in this direction  
 ႁႃ *lol* v. bend, turn  
 ႁႃ *ló* n. wage, pay  
 ႁႃ *lók* v. damage, injure, harm  
 ႁႃ *lóng* n. ox, steer  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lóngbo* n. bull  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lóngcúng* n. young bull  
 ႁႃ *lón* lead, command  
 ႁႃ *lóm* sf. via, through, n. road, way, v. walk  
 ႁႃ *lót* v. repeat  
 ႁႃႃ *lótbi* v. give back  
 ႁႃႃ *lótthi* v. come back again  
 ႁႃႃ *lóttho* v. put again  
 ႁႃႃ *lótzúk* v. remake  
 ႁႃ ~ ႁႃ *lú ~ lúm* v. rise  
 ႁႃ *lúk* v. get up, rise  
 ႁႃ *lúk* n. sheep  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lúk-hróng* n. morning  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lúkʔál* n. tomorrow  
 ႁႃ *lúng* v. take  
 ႁႃ *lúng* n. leisure, v. be free, have free time  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lúngtár* v. develop, n. development  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lúngten* n. tradition  
 ႁႃႃႃ *lúngdi* v. bring

- ལུང་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *lúgnóng* v. take, take away  
 ལུང་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *lúmkup* n. Nepali, person from Nepal  
 ལུ་ *lút* v. skin, strip or deprive of skin, remove cover  
 ལེ་ *len* adv. than, compared to  
 ལེ་ *lem* sf. direction  
 ལེ་ *lel* v. complete  
 ལེ་ *lyâ* v. accept  
 ལེ་ *lyáng* n. land  
 ལེ་ *lyók* v. resemble, look like  
 ལེ་ *lyók* v. turn, divert, reverse  
 ལེ་ *lyót* v. free  
 ལེ་ *lyú* v. erect  
 ལེ་ *lyem* v. play

### ཁ h-

- ཁ་ *há* v. scrape, skim  
 ཁ་ *hák* v. carve in wood or stone  
 ཁ་ལྷོ་ *hánlon* adv. not simultaneously (literally before and after)  
 ཁ་ *hát* v. lose, leave behind  
 ཁ་ *háp* v. shut  
 ཁ་ *hík* n. chicken  
 ཁ་ལྷོ་ *híkbom* n. female hen having chickens  
 ཁ་ *híp* v. shave, scrape  
 ཁ་ *hong* adj. hollow  
 ཁ་ *hu* pron. he, she  
 ཁ་ *hu* n. bee  
 ཁ་ *heng* n. ginger  
 ཁ་ *het* v. hurt, harm  
 ཁ་ *hel* v. fill  
 ཁ་ *hyol* v. mix, blend  
 ཁ་ *hyóp* v. accompany  
 ཁ་ *hyu* v. purify  
 ཁ་ *hyúl* v. swallow  
 ཁ་ *hráp* v. sew  
 ཁ་ *hrík* v. tear  
 ཁ་ལྷོ་ *hritsho* num. myriad  
 ཁ་ *hro* v. come up  
 ཁ་ *hróng* v. come up, arrive from a lower place or region

𐌿𐌺 *hrún* adj. hot, warm, spicy  
 𐌿𐌺 *hrúp* v. pick up  
 𐌿𐌺 *hreng* v. dry wood, meat or vegetables in the sun  
 𐌿𐌺 *hryá* v. pull  
 𐌿𐌺 *hryám* v. jerk  
 𐌿𐌺 *hryóp* v. cry

# ✕ hl-

𐌿𐌺 *hláng* v. harden, as yams  
 𐌿𐌺 *hláp* v. learn  
 𐌿𐌺 *hlápjóng* v. memorise  
 𐌿𐌺 *hlo* n. hill, peak  
 𐌿𐌺 *hlok* v. break, as eggs  
 𐌿𐌺 *hleng* v. cough  
 𐌿𐌺 *hlentóp* v. help  
 𐌿𐌺 *hlyám* v. shake, quiver

# 𐌿 V-

𐌿 ~ 𐌿 *vâ ~ vâm* v. chant, sing  
 𐌿 *vâm* n. song  
 𐌿 *vá* v. throw, hurl, fling  
 𐌿 *ván* v. enter  
 𐌿 *vi* n. blood  
 𐌿 *vimân* n. kin, offspring, relatives (literally flesh and blood)  
 𐌿 *vík* n. soldier  
 𐌿 *vóm* n. salt  
 𐌿 *vyet* v. ask, inquire

# 𐌿 sh-

𐌿 *shâk* n. louse  
 𐌿 *sháng* n. firewood  
 𐌿 *-sháng* sf. barren, sterile  
 𐌿 *shángdri* n. twig  
 𐌿 ~ 𐌿 *shi ~ shím* v. see  
 𐌿 *shíng* adj. drunk  
 𐌿 *shíng* n. garden



- ሻ፭ *shíl* n. trap  
 ሻ፮ *shól* n. fox  
 ሻ፯ *shól* v. scatter  
 ሻ፳ *shúlá* pron. everything, anything, whatever  
 ሻ፳፫ *shúmátne* pron. why (also spelt ሻ፳፫፫ *shúmátnu*)  
 ሻ፳፭ *shúmú* n. man  
 ሻ፳፮ *shenlá* conj. but  
 ሻ፳፯ *shezúm* n. assembly, congregation, association  
 ሻ፳፱ *sher* n. glass  
 ሻ፳፺ *sher* v. rot, decay  
 ሻ፳፻፫ *sherábú* n. hunter  
 ሻ፳፻፮ *sherbú* n. sherpa

## ሠ S-

- ሠ፩ *sâm* n. mind  
 ሠ፪ *saka* n. deer  
 ሠ፪፯ *sakagú* n. doe, female deer  
 ሠ፪፳፫ *sakamót* n. female deer, doe  
 ሠ፪፳፭ *sakatsu* n. buck, stag  
 ሠ፪፻፫ *sacák* n. leopard  
 ሠ፪፻፮ *sagi* n. power, strength  
 ሠ፪፻፳፫ *sagór* n. cliff  
 ሠ፪፻፳፭ *sagrám* adv. below  
 ሠ፪፻፳፯ *sagrek* n. throat, intestines  
 ሠ፪፻፳፱ *sangúng* n. lizard  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፫ (ሠ፪፻፳፻፮) *sanyí sonáp* adv. day and night  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sanyí* n. day, daytime (also spelt ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sanyím* or ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *suknyím*)  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ ~ ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sanyím phet ~ nyímphet* adv. midday  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *satet* pron. how much, how many  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sathá* pron. when, at what time  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sathálá* adv. always  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sathang* n. tiger  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sadu* adv. slowly  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sader* n. thunder  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sadermi* n. gun (literally thunder-fire)  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *saná* n. bear  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sanóng* n. snow  
 ሠ፪፻፳፻፮ *sanóngjum* n. snow flake

- (ᄒᆞᆫ) *safyu* n. garlic  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *safyum* n. breeze  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sabá* pron. where  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sabálá* pron. everywhere  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sabur* n. musk deer  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *saburgú* n. female musk deer  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *saburlóng* n. musk deer  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *samálkúng* n. toon tree, *Cedrela toona*  
 (ᄒᆞ) *satsuk* n. sun  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sare* pron. which  
 (ᄒᆞ) *saróng* adv. today  
 (ᄒᆞ) *salem* adv. in what direction, whither, where  
 (ᄒᆞ) *salol* adv. which way, in which direction, whither  
 (ᄒᆞ) *salom* adv. how, like what  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *salomlá* adv. anyhow, anyway  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sahu* n. monkey  
 (ᄒᆞ) *savíng* n. stag  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *savínglóng* n. stag  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sa?ár* n. goat  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sa?árgú* n. female goat  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sa?ártsu* n. goat, billy goat  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sa?yák* n. day, day and night  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sák* n. mind  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sákcíng* v. think  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sáknyín* v. recollect  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sákdi* v. feel  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sáktsum* n. thought  
 (ᄒᆞ) *sám* num. three  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sáryók* n. jackal  
 (ᄒᆞ) *so* n. rain  
 (ᄒᆞ) *so* num. one hundred  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sonáp* n. night, night-time  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sonápphet* n. midnight  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *somyáng* n. rainy season  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *somyer* n. dusk  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sozóng* n. winter, cold, v. be cold  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *soyá* num. million  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *solá* n. twilight  
 (ᄒᆞᆫ) *sosá* n. dry season

(ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sosóng* n. dawn  
 (ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sosotsho* num. billion  
 (ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sosotshúr* num. ten billion  
 (ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sosoyá* num. hundred billion  
 (ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *so?âm* n. summer  
 ᄒᄒ *só* adv. yesterday  
 ᄒᄒᄒ *sósó* adv. lately  
 ᄒ *sót* v. kill  
 ᄒᄒ *sóm* v. breathe  
 ᄒᄒ *su* v. contain  
 ᄒᄒ *sung* n. story  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sungvogú* n. female buffalo  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sungvolóng* n. wild buffalo  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sukdum* n. world  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *sukmut* n. wind  
 ᄒᄒ *sut* v. purify  
 ᄒᄒ *súk* v. pound, strike  
 ᄒᄒ *sút* n. message

## ᄒᄒ W-

ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *womú* n. spindle  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *wómú* n. jackal  
 ᄒᄒ *wó* n. tub  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *wúrdo* n. sling

## ᄒᄒ ?-

ᄒᄒ *?yá* adv. formerly, a long time ago, in the days of old  
 ᄒᄒ *?yáp* v. chop  
 ᄒᄒ *?yo* adv. before, formerly, some time ago  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *?yochám* adv. three days ago  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *?yochót* adv. four days ago  
 ᄒᄒ *?yor* n. pitfall  
 ᄒᄒᄒᄒ ~ ᄒᄒᄒᄒ *?yotshóng ~ ?itshóng* adv. day before yesterday, two days ago  
 ᄒᄒ *?yók* n. work, job, chore  
 ᄒᄒ *?yum* v. ripen, bring to maturity  
 ᄒᄒ *?yel* v. divert

- [illegible]

- 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮 *ʔádyút* n. fight  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄱 *ʔánók* adj. black  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄲 *ʔánóm* n. elder sister  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄳 *ʔánum* n. younger brother  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄴 *ʔápíl* n. shadow  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄵 *ʔápín* adv. this on the other side  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄶 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄷 *ʔápín ʔábon* adv. on both sides, here and there  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄸 ~ 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄹 *ʔápun ~ pun* adj. near, close  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄺 *ʔáfi* adv. this just here, this nearby here  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄻 *ʔáflik* adj. some  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄼 *ʔáfo* n. tooth  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄽 *ʔáfong* adj. green  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄾 *ʔábá* adv. here, this here  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐄿 *ʔábi* adv. here, this right here  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐅀 *ʔábo* n. father  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐅁 *ʔábong* n. mouth  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐅂 *ʔábon* adv. on this side  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐅃 *ʔábek* n. middle  
 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿

- ʒ(ʌ́) ʒálonglá adv. still  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒálon adv. in this direction  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒálom adv. like this  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒálol adv. this way, in this direction  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒálut n. heart  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒálem adv. in this direction, hither  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒályú n. cat  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒáhret n. bone  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒáhyâng adj. cold  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒáhyur adj. red  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒávyo n. tibia  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒáshúm adj. fat  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒásúm adj. spicy  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒáʔít n. origin, creation  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒáʔóm n. radiance  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒík adj. still  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒíng n. younger sibling  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒíngngá n. child  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒít v. create  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒochú adv. that down here  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒotet adv. that much, this many  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒothá adv. then, at that time  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒotháng adv. that up there  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒothú adv. that up over there  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒopín adv. that on the other side  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒobá adv. there  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒobon adv. on that side  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒotshóng adv. that day  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒolol adv. that way, in that direction  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒolom adv. like that  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒolon in that direction  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒolem adv. in that direction, thither  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒok v. open  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒóng n. boy  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒóngkup n. small boy  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒót v. pluck, as fruits  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒóm v. shine  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒúng n. water  
 ʒ(ʌ́) ʒút n. otter

ᄃᄆ ᄆᄆᄆ n. horse

ᄃᄆ ᄆᄆᄆ adj. ripe, sweet, tasty

ᄃᄆ ᄆᄆ v. sell

ᄃᄆᄆ ᄆᄆᄆᄆ n. salesman, seller

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