TRIBAL LANGUAGES OF LADAKH--I
(Part One)
(A Concise Grammar and Dictionary of Brok-skad)

D. D. SHARMA

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PREFACE

The present volume on Brok-skad is the first part of the volume No VI of the series, Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages. As in the analysis of other speeches of this group presented in seven parts of preceding volumes, the aim of this volume too, is to present a detailed grammatical analysis of a language which due to geographical reasons has been able to preserve the oldest crude forms of Dardic language quite faithfully and as such occupies a unique place not only in Dardic, but in the entire group of the languages of the Indo-Iranian as well.

The upper Indus valley, the home of this speech had remained inaccessible for outside world due to its inhospitable topographical conditions. Till recent past there was little contact between the inhabitants of Brok-yul and the people living outside of it. But now things have changed a little. So I was fortunate enough to contact as many as four informants (three males and one female) from the heart land of this speech area. All of whom were the native speakers of this tongue and their speech too was pure and unadulterated. There were two sets of them and were engaged on two different occasions and, on both the occasions, they were at my disposal for a couple of days. It were they from whom the varied extensive linguistic material of their speech was elicited and checked too. As the language is uncultivated and non-standardised, variations in their pronunciation were bound to occur. At times phonetic variations were attested even in the speech of the one and the same speaker. Efforts were made to sort out these differences from the speakers themselves but with regard to some they too were uncertain. Any way, my efforts were to record as much material from them as possible within the limited time at my disposal. Still there are limitations to the type of studies conducted on prepared outlines. As such it can not be claimed to be an exhaustive and final presentation of this speech. There will always be a scope to improve upon it. However, this much can be stated, unreservedly, that, from historical view point, this study is sure to be a landmark in the linguistic history of this sub-continent. Undoubtedly, it shall be a
faithful record of the synchronic phase of this speech for the posterity, the purity of which, otherwise, due to increasing exposure of the speech community to outside influences, on account of improved communication system and educational awareness in the new generation, is most likely to be diluted and the older forms are lost to us for ever. In that case, naturally, in the absence of any written documents, it will be well nigh impossible to have an authentic information of its historical past. It is with this object in view that a section on its vocabulary, viz. Concise Dictionary, has been appended to it.

The lexical and the grammatical material analysed in this volume is, though primarily based on the material recorded by me directly from the informants, noted ahead (see Intro p. 28-29), yet some lexical items which were not there in my list, but have been recorded by Prof. N. Ramaswamy (1989) too, have been incorporated in the material of the part IV, viz. Concise Dictionary, of this volume, though I am not pretty sure whether many of the terms recorded by him are equally current among the Buddhist Dards of the Brog-yul, because the area, viz. Kargil, from where the material was recorded by Prof. Ramaswamy, is primarily a Purki speaking area and both of his informants were Muslims. Naturally, the linguistic data elicited from them is sure to have local and religious influences on it. This fact is also confirmed from a comparison of many of the lexical items from his data with that of the data recorded for Purki by me from the speakers of Purki from Kargil. However, notwithstanding this aspect of the data, I am indebted to Prof. Ramaswamy for the material incorporated in this study from his works which he was kind enough to supply me at my request.

But, first of all, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my informants without whose active and willing co-operation collection of reliable data would not have been possible.

I am also highly grateful to the authorities of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, New Delhi, who made it possible for me to have the extensive survey of these Himalayan languages from Ladakh to Bhutan by way of awarding the prestigious academic fellowship, viz. Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship, to me for this purpose.

Last, but not the least, I would also like to express my deep sense of gratitude to Mr. E. Jolden, a retired High School Head-Master, who not only made my stay comfortable in his guest-house
at Leh (Ladakh), but also arranged the Buddhist Dard informants for me there.

My thanks are also due to my publisher, M/s Mittal Publications, but for whose active cooperation publication of eight volumes of this series would not have been possible within a span of 6 years. Now, the work is there and it is for the scholars to assess its merits/demerits and importance.

Haldwani

D D SHARMA
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TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Although the precise values of all the phonemes used for the transcription of the linguistic material of Brok-skad have been indicated in the inventories of vowels and consonants of it, yet for the convenience of the general readership the scheme of transliteration and the nearest values of these symbols in the Devanagari script, too, are being presented as under:

Vowels: (in Brok-skad): ə (ə) a (आ), ı (ि), i: (ई), u (उ), u: (ऊ) e (ए) ε (े), o (ओ); ɔ(औ); (in Tib.): a (अ, आ), i (इ, ई) u (उ, ऋ) (in I. A. or OIA words), a (अ) ā (आ), i (इ), ī (ई), u (उ), ū (ऊ).

Consonants: k (क), kh (ख), ɡ (ग), ɳ (ण), c (च), č (छ), ch (छ), j (ज), z (ज) ɺ (ज/म) ŋ (ङ), t (ट), th (ठ), d (ड), n(ण), ñ (़), th (थ), d (ध), n (न), p (प), ph (फ), f (फ), b (ब), bh (भ), m (म), y (य), r (र), l (ल), w/v (व), ṣ (ष) s (स), h (ह)

Other phonetic signs used in this volume be interpreted as under:

: = in relation to
_. = centralization (above the vowel)
~ = nasalisation (above the vowel)
~ = in free variation/free form (after the morph or word)
/ = or, alternate form; stem-formative divider (in dictionary)
[ ] = phonetic form
/ / = Phonemic form
< > = orthographic form (Tib.)
< = is derived from, comes form
> = develops into, becomes
→ = is rewritten as
+ = added to, plus juncture
* = hypothetically constructed from
√ = verb root
ˌ = component separator
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PART-I

INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

1. The Land and the People

(a) The land: In Tibetan (Ladakhi) it is called 'Brog-yul', a hilly/mountainous region (Brog--hill + yul--country). It is a land of narrow ravines and valleys south of the Hindukush-Karakoram ranges forming the part of Central Ladakh. It is situated in narrow rocky gorges of Indus Valley at the elevation of 9000-10000 ft. above the sea level. The prominent inhabited localities of this land are--Da, Hanu, Darčhiks and Garkhon. Garkhon, the biggest village of this is situated at the elevation of 9000 feet above the sea level and is considered the lowest and warmest place of Ladakh region. There the gorges are so high and narrow that it is said that the sun does not rise there for many days. Beyond Da, which is situated at a distance of 4 km. from Garkhon, towards the West the Indus gorge gets narrower, and the mountains, on both sides, steeper and higher. There the width of the village, at some places is hardly more than that of a foot-ball ground. Hanu which is situated about 20 km. away from Da towards Leh in the east too is hardly about 10 km. long. There are a few more smaller hamlets, viz. Chulichan, Gurgurbo, Larsang, Sanit, Batalik, etc. around the village Garkhon.

Surface approach to this land is either from Kargil (from Srinagar side) or from Leh, the headquarters of Ladakh. The distance from Kargil side is approximately 70 km. and from Leh 190 km. From Leh vehicular conveyance, once in a week, too is available up to Bema, a distance of 95 km. The approximate length and width of the Brog-yul, extending from borders of Baltistan to nearly 50 km. beyond Leh in Ladakh is about 150 km, though the total populated area would not be more than 50 kms.

(b) The people: The inhabitants of the Brog-yul prefer to be referred as 'Shin' or 'Shrin', yet they are designated as 'Dokpas' (< Dog-pa< Brog-pa) by their Tibetan speaking Balti and Ladakhi neighbours, which means the inhabitants of mountainous region
neighbours, which means the inhabitants of mountainous region and herdsman (Dog < Brog 'hill' + pa 'inhabitant'). It is because of the unculivable rocky land occupied by them and of the pastoral and nomadic life led by them. Even now, rearing of cattle or flocks of sheep and goats form their main occupation and source of subsistence. That livestocks of goats and sheep formed their principal source of wealth is also confirmed by the fact that in their speech the term 'nor' denotes both 'wealth' as well as 'flocks of sheep and goats', consequently a wealthy person as well as a person with big flocks of goats and sheep is identically termed as norchan. In fact, in Tibetan the term 'Dokpa' is generally used for all those people who lead a nomadic life irrespective of their nationality, class or creed.

Racially, the Dokpas of Brog-yul are Dards who originally belonged to the regions of Hindukush, known as Darada country in Hindu mythology, which lateron, on the analogy of Kohistan, Baltistan, etc., was termed as Dardistan by G. W. Leitner in 1866. The Dard hymns of these Dokpas, sung by their Lapdraks during their harvest festival days too state that their ancestors emigrated from Gilgit under the leadership of Gil Singe. According to A.H. Francke, (1977: 71 Reprint) this emigration must have taken place many centuries back when the Daradas of Gilgit were speaking the same ancient language of Daradas which, to a great extent, is faithfully preserved in the speech of the Daradas (Dokpas) of Brog-yul, and which in other Dardic languages of the Shina (Gilgiti) - Khowar group, including Drasši have undergone tremendous changes.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Mohammad Khan who was the Charas officer in Leh in 1930s and had also served in Gilgit writes that the Dards of Da and Drass migrated from Bagrot valley in Gilgit. (J.A.S. 1950, Folk Songs of Gilgit). But the Dards of Drass had embraced Islam nearly 3 centuries back, consequently their original folklores and customs have been slamped out and their original language too has changed a lot on account of their communion with their Muslim brethren of Dardistan and Kohistan. Consequently, now their speech attests closer affinity with Gilgiti rather than with Brok-skad. Although the Dok-pas (<Brog - pas) of Da-Da-Do, Chuli-Chan, and of a few more villages of the lower Indus valleys too have embraced Islam and have
given up the Brok-pa dress and culture too, yet have not given up their old Dardic tongue (Jolden, E. 1985: 31).

But contrary to the Dards of the lower valleys, the Dards of Brog-yul have, though overtly embraced Buddhism, which was imposed on them by a Buddhist king of Ladakh to deprive them of their separate identity. But except the inhabitants of Hanu, the Dards of other villages, neither fully accepted Buddhism nor gave up their dresses, culture and language [see Francke, 1977 (Reprint): 69]. It is said that this conversion of the Dards of Brog-yul to Buddhism was formalized by Lama Samphet of Lamayuru Gonpa about 150 years ago and the extant two Gonpas of Da and Garkhon and the Manis there too were built by him. (Jolden, E. 1985: 32)

2. Linguistic Area and Population
(a) Area: Brok-skad, the language of the Dokpas (< Brospas) of the Brog-yul, is spoken mainly in villages of Da, Garkhon, Darchiks and a few hamlets surrounding these localities which fall in the upper Indus Valleys of Tehsils Kargil and Leh (Da in Kargil, others in Leh) in the district of Leh in Ladakh. These are the areas which have fully preserved the archaic form of the Darada language of the legendary Daradas of the north-west parts of the Aryavarta, besides a few villages of Muslim converts of the lower Indus valley, viz. Da-Da-Do, Chulichan and a few more. Formerly, the inhabitants of Hanu too spoke this very tongue, but more than one and a half century ago they are said to have been persuaded by a Ladakhi Buddhist King to give up their ancestral language, the Brok-skad and adopt Ladakhi as their mother tongue. As a result of this, now they speak a form of Ladakhi, similar to that of lower Ladakhi with a Purig accent.

(b) Population: The exact number of the speakers of Brok-skad is not known. However, according to the Census of 1981 the total population of the 4 prominent villages of Brog-yul, viz. Garkhon, Da, Hanu and Darchik was estimated about 2467. If one adds another 600 or so for other hamlets speaking Brok-Skad, the total population living between Hanu and Batalik, a distance of 180 Km. would be nearly 3000 or so.

3. Linguistic Scenario
Brog-yul, the home of Brok-skad, is surrounded by speakers
of different tongues of the Tibeto-Himalayan family, i.e. it is surrounded by Ladakhi in the north-east, by Balti in the west and by Purig in the south. Beyond Bema, a village in the west of Leh, all men and women are bilingual, fluently speaking Ladakhi with a Purig accent along with their mother tongue, Brok-skad. The menfolk of the heart land of Brok-skad, besides having some working knowledge of the regional tongues are well acquainted with the official language of the J & K. State, viz. Urdu or Hindustani which is the medium of the primary education as well. Consequently, now the purity of Brok-skad is being polluted gradually by the outer influences. Besides assimilating new terms, in some cases older terms too are being replaced. Now, this pace is being quickened with the opening of this inner line region to outsiders and improvement in transportation and communication facilities to these inaccessible areas.

4. Position of Brok-skad among Other Languages of the Region

As pointed out above the people of the Ladakh region of the state J & K speak 4 languages, viz. Ladakhi, Balti, Purig and Brok-skad, besides the official language Urdu. Out of these the first three belong to the Tibeto-Himalayan group of languages and the fourth to the Dardic group. The Brog-yul being an inaccessible, inhospitable mountainous land had remained cut off from the outside areas of the region and thus was able to preserve the purity of the ancestral tongue of its inhabitants for all these centuries since their emigration to this land from their ancestral land in Gilgit. That the speech of the Dards of Brog-yul, unlike the speeches of the Dards of Dardistan and Kohistan, has not been influenced by the speeches of the region, in spite of their stay for many centuries, can be illustrated by a few vocabulary items of common use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Brok-skad</th>
<th>Purig</th>
<th>Balti</th>
<th>Ladakhi</th>
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<td>cigpa</td>
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<td>Čethe</td>
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<td>Dom</td>
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<td>Šyau</td>
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<td>Mar</td>
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<td>Tinba</td>
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<td>Sna</td>
<td>Namcok</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
tribal languages of ladakh--i

5. Place of Brok-skad among the Languages of Dardistan and Kohistan

It would be quite relevant, before assessing the position of Brok-skad and assigning a place to it among the languages of Darada group, to have some information about Dardic in the context of Indo-Aryan or Indo-Iranian.

The linguistic term Dardic has been derived from the term Darada, a name given to the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of north-western frontiers of the Indian sub-continent by the authors of the Aryan scriptures, Purānas and Epics. The people inhabiting these regions were also termed as Piśacas (raw-meat eaters) by Aryan writers of Aryāvarta, hence their language was,
consequently, termed as *Paiśāci* by the Sanskrit grammarians. Taking a cue from it Grierson, too has termed it as *Paiśāci* (*LSI*, Vol. VIII, pt. II). But as he himself admits that the latter term, for certain emotional reasons, was not liked by the people of this land. He states- "... Some of the speakers of these languages take exception to it on the ground that, in Indian mythology, the word *Pisāca* was also used to connote a cannibal demon, and it must be admitted that this was the most common acceptance of the word. In such circumstances, it is useless to explain that a tribe speaking a *Pisāca* language is not necessarily of Pisāca descent." (*ibid*, p. 1).

6. Linguistic Substratum of Dardic Languages

Scholars right from the last quarter of the 18th century have been struggling to determine the place of this branch of the Indo-Aryan speech, but have not been able to suggest an answer which may be acceptable to all. Grierson and some of his followers believe that Dardic languages developed out of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European (*LSI*, Vol. VIII, pt. II. pp. 1-10). But scholars like Morgenstierne (*NTS*, XIV (1947), p. 6) and Emeneau hold the view that it is a separate branch of IE., developed from Indo-Iranian. For, disagreeing with Grierson's approach, Morgenstierne--while putting forth his arguments says- "According to Sir George Grierson's well known theory the Dardic languages, among which he also includes Kafir group, form a special branch of Indo-Iranian. And he considers Khow [Khowar] as occupying an independent position within Dardic..." (*op. cit.*, *ibid*, 51).1 Continuing the argument, he further states-"I am unable to share these views. The Dardic language, in contradiction to the Kafir group, are of pure I.A. origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic. This state of affairs cannot be altered by the fact that Dardic has preserved many archaisms

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*Grierson’s view to which Morgenstierne has referred above was that*... the *Pisāca* languages which include Shina-Khowar group occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskrit languages of India proper and the Iranian languages farther to their West. They thus possess many features that are common to them and the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Iranian family." (*Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, 1915).
lost in later IA languages by the widespread loss of aspiration." (ibid)

On the other hand, Emeneau's observations read,- "It was claimed by Grierson (as well as by some before him) that these two groups of languages [Dardic and Kafir] form a third branch of Indo-Iranian in that 'they seem to have left the parent stem after the Indo-Aryan languages, but before all the typical Iranian characteristics, which we meet in the Avesta had become developed'. The material which was gathered by Morgenstierne after Grierson's volume appeared, led Morgenstierne to the conclusion (which has been accepted by, e.g. Jules Bloch and Burrow) that the Dardic languages (Kashmiri, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Khowar, Kalasha, Pashai, Tirahi) are Indo-Iryan, but did not pass through the MIA developments represented by the records, while on the other hand, the Kafir languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun, and to some extent Dameli) may occupy some sort of special position. The task of sorting out the evidence is considerably complicated by loan words in the Kafir languages from neighbouring Iranian languages and from other directions, i.e. from the Kafir languages into neighbouring Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages." (Quoted by B.B. Kachru, 1969: 16, from a paper presented to UCLA Indo-European Conference 1964).

But we see that before the great linguists entered an arena of this controversy there was an English man, B. Robert Shaw, though basically a planter, viewed this question for the first time from a linguist's point of view. After analysing these Dardic languages he came to the conclusion that the basis of these tongues is neither Indo-Aryan nor Indo-Iranian, but an ancient dialect which was the parent language of both. He also contended that their protected joint use in one and the same area and isolation from other languages predetermined subsequent development along parallel lines." (B.R. Shaw. p. 147).

Thus the controversy of the parenthood of these languages, which was set forth by Shaw was finally set at rest by Morgenstierne by convincingly establishing that all the Dardic languages are part and parcel of the Indo-Aryan and have their roots in the earliest forms of the OIA. Here lies the importance of the intensive and extensive study of Brok-skad, the only extant language, which
has faithfully preserved earliest form of the language of the Daradas of the ancient Indian literature and has also preserved the archaic characteristics of the OIA, whereas all other speeches of this group have lost their basic forms, as observed by Emeneau, due to assimilation from neighbouring speeches of Iranian and other groups.

Moreover, the linguistic material on which the earlier investigators based their conclusions was from the languages which have passed various stages of their development during past many centuries when this area came under the influences of the people speaking different tongues and following different faiths and customs. Unfortunately, on account of its inaccessibility they could not lay their hand on enough linguistic material from this land of Dokpas, viz. Brog-yul. Now in view of the material available to us we can have a fresh look on this question.

7. Grouping of Dardic Languages

Dardic languages are spoken in various valleys of the northwestern parts of the Indian sub-continent, viz. Gilgit, Gurez, Swat, Kohistan (now in Pakistan) and Chilas, Kargil, Dras, upper Indus valley (Brog-yul) and Kashmir (in India) which are collectively known as Dardic group. Besides there are two more groups, viz. khowar and Kafir. The languages of the Dardic or Eastern Dardic group are further divided into three main groups, viz. Shina, Kashmiri and Kohistani. There is a further sub-grouping of all of them. The subgroups of the Shina group, to which the Brok-Skad belongs, are--Brokpa, Chilasi, Gilgitii and Shina. Kashmiri has 5 sub-groups and Kohistani only two.

8. Linguistic Affinity between Dardic and OIA

As pointed out above that Dardic has its roots in OIA and is a branch of it having close affinity with it at all levels of linguistic elements can briefly be exhibited through the Tables 1 and 2 which have been arranged to present a few items having their roots in the OIA stems.
Table 1
A Comparative Data of Common OIA and Dard Verb Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Brok Skad</th>
<th>Waigali</th>
<th>Dameli</th>
<th>Gawar-Bati</th>
<th>Katar kalai</th>
<th>Shumasti</th>
<th>Pashai</th>
<th>Kalasa</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| √Kr-            | √kru-     | ?       | kur    | ker        | kdr         | --       | --     | kdr-   |
| √nas-           | √ās-      | ?       | bō-    | ?          | ūs-         | --       | --     | ūs-   |
| √r, ā+yā-       | i-, ya,   | ā-      | a-gā-  | gā-        | ye-         | --       | --     | i-     |
| √gam+yā         | bi, bo    | ga-     | ye-    | gā-        | --          | --       | --     | par-   |
| ni+sid-         | bōs-      | niś     | ?      | niś        | wos-        | niś-     | --     | --     |
| √vas            |           |         |        |            |             |          |        |        |
| √ūt-sthā        | uth-      | uth-    | ?      | uth        | --          | uth-     | --     | --     |
| √dā-            | di-       | dē      | de-    | dē-        | de-         | dā/de    | de-    | de-    |
| √ān-            | ār-       | ān-     | ?      | ān-        | ān-         | on-      |        |        |
| √pār, √pi-      | pi-       | pi-     | pi-    | pi-        | pi-/po-     | pi-      | pi-    | pi-    |
| √Khād-          | kha-      | kha-    | ?      | ?          | Kha-        | --       | --     | --     |
| √pas-bhāl       | -         | pōś     | ?      | pōś        | pōś         | --       | --     | pōś    |
| √dṛs            |           |         |        |            |             |          |        |        |
| √grah, har      | -gin      | grō     | gi-    | gu         | --          | gi-      | gu-    | grh-   |
|                | -har      |         |        |            |             |          |        |        |

(Contd.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khowar</th>
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<th>Kaniyavali</th>
<th>Phuluna</th>
<th>Shinu</th>
<th>Kati</th>
<th>Tirahi</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
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<td>do, become</td>
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*Table 1 (Cont.)*
## Table 2
### A Comparative Data of Person-Number Marker clipped Pronominals

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<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>-k</td>
<td>-si</td>
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<td>-əd</td>
<td>-əd</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-s/ə</td>
<td>-s/ə</td>
<td>-s</td>
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<td>-si</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>`k/g</td>
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<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u/əu</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-mi/-ni</td>
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<td>-o</td>
<td>-s/i</td>
<td>-e/ə</td>
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<td>-i/-r</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>-en</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-ən</td>
<td>-t/to</td>
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Morphological Markers of the Verb 'as to be' in OIA and Dardic

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### Parallels of Morphological Markers in Verbal Conjugation

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<td>kunih</td>
<td>kunivah</td>
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<td>bis</td>
<td>bis</td>
<td>bi(h)</td>
<td>vuh.</td>
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</table>
Nominal Stems from OIA Sources

Besides the verbal roots, pronominal stems, grammatical markers and numerals having their roots in OIA, illustrated in the Tables 3 and 4, there are a good number of nominal stems attestable in all the speeches of Dardic which attest their close affinity with OIA. A few of them, which I could easily locate in the limited data available to me, are as under. (In this, the abbreviations of various languages containing these vocables be read as follows: As. (=Askun), Bas. (=Baskarik), Bro. (Brok-Skad), Dam. (=Dameli), G. (=Gawârbâti), K. (=Kati), Kat. (=Katarkalâ), Kan. (=Kanyâwâli), Kal. (=Kalâsâ), M. (=Mayân), P. (=Pashâi), Pr. (=Prasuni), Ph. (=Phalurâ), Shi. (=Shina), Shu. (Shumasti) Tir. (Tirahi), Tor. (Torwâli), W. (=Waigali), Nur. (Nuristâni):

- ðch (Bas.), ðche (Ph.), ðchi (Shi.), thi (Brok) < aksi eye
- awâ (W.), aw (Pr.) < āpâh water
- ujjâ (Kat.) < ujjwâla white
- oðhi - oði (Bro.), yuṣt (Kat.) < oṣtha lip
- kôṣto (W.) < kani̇ṣtha younger
- krom (Ph.), krum (Bro.) < karma work
- kukur (Kat. Shum.) < kukkuṭa cock
- kucur (Kat.) < kukkura, swa (Bro.) < śvâ dog
- khôr (Pr., Bro.) < khara, ass, donkey
- ga (Dam., Tor., M. Bas.), gaw (Shi, Bro.) 'cow', go (Bask, M. Bro) ox < go cow, ox
- kân (Bas.) < kânda arrow
- goṣṭ (Ph.), goṭh (Bro.), got, (Kat.) goṣ (Shi.) < goṣṭha 'home'
- gram. (Dam.), gam (Kat., Tor.) < grâma, village
- ghasô (G.) < ghâsa grass
- garî (M. Kan.) < grhinî, wife
- ghônû (Ph.) < ghana, saghanâ thick, dense
- guro (W), gor (Kat. Bas.), ghô (M., Kan.), ghûru (Ph.) < ghôṭâka horse
- tato (Bro.), tapik (W.) < tapta, tâpîta hot
- tot (Kat.), tat (W.) < tâta father
- dânt (Tir.), dân (Dam., Bas.), don (Kan.), dâni (Bro),
  dud (Kat.) < danta teeth, tooth.
- dar (W., Bro.) < dâru wood, < dvâra door
- dis (Bro.), dos (Bas.) < divasa day
- drigh (Dam.), dhîrigo (Pr.) < dirgha long
- dhî (M. Kan. Tor.), dhu (Tor.) < duhitâ daughter
- nôm (Kat.) noy/nûy (Bro.) < nava new
Tribal Languages of Ladakh--1

nam (Kat., Tor.), nu (Bro.) < nāma name
padā (Tir) < pāda foot
prāṣu (Ph.), prōši – pōrsi (Bro.) < pārśvikā rib
putrā (W., Pa., pr., Kal.), putār (Tir.), puth (M.), puē (Kan.), puṛ (Kat.) < putra son
purā (Kat.), pruno (Bro.) < purāṇa old (opp. new).
bhī (Kat.) < bhagini sister
brā (W., As., Tir.), bro (Kat.), bāyo (Bro.) < bhṛāṭr brother
manās (W.), manuṣ (G.), manis (Kat.) māṣ (M.) mōṣā (Ph.),
myuś/muṣ (Bro.), mānci (K.) < manuṣya man,
human being muṣo (Ph.), mūzi < muṣi (Bro.) < mūṣika mouse
zuan (Dam.) < yuvan young man; zui (Kat.) < yuvati young lady
yōndrā (Ph.), yundō (Bro.) < yantra, ginding machine, water
mill
lohoko (Ph.), lukūr (Kat.) < laghuka small, short, cf. Dogri-
lohkā, id.
lohur (Tor.), lolo (Shi.), lodo (Bro.) < Lohita, raudra red
wei (M., Kan.), wi:e (Ph.), wi: (Nur.), oi (Shi.), wā (Bro.) <
wāri water
śōru (K.), śōrdā – śyōrdā (Bro.) < śarad /śarat, autumn, winter
šel (Kat.) cold, šil (Brok.) shade < sītāla, cold cf. Kum. šel
shade
stri (K.), stre (Tir.) < stri woman
śī (Kat. Bro.), śīṇo (Shi.) < śṛiga horn
sus (As.) sas (Bro.) < svasr sister
chīr (Kat.) < kṣhīra, milk; khindo (Ph.) < kṣhīna, weak
kān (Bas.) < skandha shoulder, cf. Kum. kano id.
śya (Bro.), iṣ (shī) < īkṣa a bear

9. Linguistic Substrata of Brok-Skad

Brok-skad being affiliated to the Dras sub-group of the Shina
group of Dardic languages, its immediate substratum could be the
Dardic speech of Gilgit (Shina) as is evident from the comparative
data presented on pages 23-25. But in a comparison with Shina and
other languages of Dardistan and Kohistan reveals that there are
deeper linguistic layers which in a diachronic process have been
overlaid by exterior linguistic elements in most of them, but have,
due to geographical reasons, survived in the speech of Brog-yul.

Writing about the languages of the upper Indus valley W.
Crook (1973 (Reprint): 51) states, "In what is called the Kohistan
or hill country, about the upper waters of Indus, the people speak
a Sanskritic tongue derived from Indian plains, which in the
region where the Pathans are dominant has been replaced by Pashto" *(Races of Northern India).*

An intensive historical analysis of Brok-skad reveals that it contains an amazingly high percentage of old Indo-Aryan element. Most of the primary stems, nominal as well as verbal, have their sources in the OIA stems. This aspect of it has extensively been illustrated while dealing with Nominal stems (see, Primary stems from OIA stock) and Verb Roots (see Primary Roots). (Also see etymological notes in Concise Dictionary).

This language, due to faithful preservation of earlier forms of Dardic language, has a special significance for the diachronic studies of the languages of the Darada group as a whole. Its intensive and extensive diachronic analysis is sure to help in solving the problem of identifying the sub-strata, not only of this but of all the other languages of the Darada groups.

As stated above the contact of the speakers of Brok-skad was snapped with their kinsmen many centuries back, when their ancestors migrated to this rugged mountainous valley. Under the circumstances the only precious assets that they could carry with them were their language and culture, which they continued to preserve with love and reverence in this secluded land, bereft of all contacts with outside world, for a few centuries. But there came a time in the past when this tribe, which was proud of its culture and language, was persuaded or compelled by the Tibetan rulers of Ladakh to embrace Buddhism and give up the use of their language and customs. It is said that the Dards of Hanu after embracing Buddhism gave up their language as well, but the Dards of other localities did not give up their language and customs even after embracing Buddhism as their religion. They continued to maintain their ancestral communicative system. But it could not escape the impact of the religious conversion. For, on account of this religious invasion the land was opened to the *lamas* from Ladakh and Tibet, who built a few gonpas there and conducted certain religious ceremonies of the people there. Naturally, the linguistic intercourse that was bound to take place there between the speakers of Brok-skad and Ladakhi/Tibetan had its effect on the speech of these Dards. Consequently, a number of Tibetan terms made an inroad into the exclusive area of Brok-skad and in due course of time they were fully assimilated in it. Now, they are an integral part of their verbal communication. As such one may notice that though the lowest sub-stratum of it pertains to PIA, yet there are a few subsequent layers too, the topmost of which is Tibetan. These sources have amply been indicated in the section dealing with lexical entries. Still a few of them could be illustrated here as well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brok-skad</th>
<th>Ladakhi</th>
<th>Tibetan (W)</th>
<th>Eng. gloss</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>luṇspo</td>
<td>luṇ (-po) &lt; rluṇ&gt;</td>
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<td>mul</td>
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<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>arrow</td>
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<td>zəra</td>
<td>zər-ba</td>
<td>blind</td>
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<td>thil</td>
<td>thil</td>
<td>thil</td>
<td>bottom</td>
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<td>ciu</td>
<td>bug</td>
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<td>cagstag</td>
<td>cagthog</td>
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<td>kəŋpa</td>
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<td>conžok</td>
<td>cončog</td>
<td>god</td>
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<td>ser</td>
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<td>gold</td>
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<td>krəd-pa</td>
<td>ŋdpa &lt; krad-pa&gt;</td>
<td>halō boot</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

10. Inter-relationship between Shina and Brok-skad

As has been stated above that Brok-skad is a member of the Shina group of Dardic languages and the ancestors of the inhabitants of the Brog-yul emigrated to this land many centuries back from Gilgit. Their Gilgiti brethren, due to historical reasons, embraced Islam and as a consequence of this religious conversion their language, along with their culture, has changed to a great extent, but due to geographical reasons the Dokpas of Brog-vul, in spite of embracing Buddhism, have resisted this change and have maintained their original language and traditions. But as we know that language is the last thing to change in spite of change in religion and place of inhabitation. The language of the Gypsies of Europe whose ancestors migrated from India nearly a thousand years back is an indisputable proof of it. Similarly, though the language of the Daradas of Gilgit has undergone various changes due to historical reasons mentioned above, yet its Dardic sub-stratum is still manifested both in vocabulary items and grammatical structure which can be clearly witnessed on comparing Brok-skad with the Shina language of Gilgit. The close affinity of these two speeches of this group can be manifested through the following list of a few vocabulary items, selected randomly. (For identical morphological elements see Comparative Data on Dardic speeches.)

<table>
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<th>Brok-skad</th>
<th>Shina [Dardic]</th>
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<td>zmän</td>
<td>smän</td>
<td>smän [män]</td>
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<td>tīn-gu</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>lol</td>
<td>lel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>box</td>
<td>zgrums</td>
<td>groms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breath</td>
<td>hes</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest</td>
<td>kro</td>
<td>kro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>dolo</td>
<td>ázo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>go/gāw</td>
<td>gāvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cap</td>
<td>kho</td>
<td>khoi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>thub</td>
<td>thap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>čušo</td>
<td>kušo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>zormo</td>
<td>zurmo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry</td>
<td>šuko</td>
<td>šuko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dumb</td>
<td>čušo</td>
<td>čašo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth/clay</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>kui&lt;OA ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>kha-</td>
<td>kha-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>əthi</td>
<td>əchi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flame</td>
<td>melo</td>
<td>güi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower</td>
<td>pušo</td>
<td>pušo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foam</td>
<td>phin</td>
<td>phina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>molši</td>
<td>mulši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr. mother</td>
<td>dede</td>
<td>dadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr. father</td>
<td>dudo</td>
<td>dede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grapes</td>
<td>ras</td>
<td>das</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>hath</td>
<td>hath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home</td>
<td>äpaš</td>
<td>äšap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horn</td>
<td>šin</td>
<td>šišo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hot</td>
<td>tato</td>
<td>tò:to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>got</td>
<td>goš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>boro</td>
<td>bòrev</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insect</td>
<td>kri</td>
<td>kri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron</td>
<td>činžr</td>
<td>čimer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>košo</td>
<td>kušo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leather</td>
<td>čom</td>
<td>čom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>pinkiti</td>
<td>khirkhilo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
<td>mumo</td>
<td>momo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>šadi</td>
<td>šédi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>jün/gyun</td>
<td>yun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In introduction

mouth
no
nose
old
onion
pocket
rain
red
seed
sit
sleep
sour
smell
spring (of water)
stand
sun
tears
turban
thumb
ugly
vegetable
water

Numerals which are less prone to changes, also attest a close affinity between these two varieties of Dardic speeches of the Shina group.
one
two
three
four
five
six
seven
eight
nine
ten
eleven
twelve
twenty
thirty
fourty
fifty
hundred

oesi/uzu
na
nutu
zari
čom
čenda
mei/arö
lodo
bí
biš
sus-
čukoro
gon
uču
uthës
suri
ašo
thot
guth
čuto
šu
wa

azo/aze
ne
nuto
dzaro
čom
čanda
mei
lolo
bi
bey
so-
čurko
gor
uts
utho
suri
ašt
pašo
nu
khačto
ša
oi

ek
du
trö
čor
punč/punš
šö
sät
ěšt
nuö
daš
ko-daš
budešu
bisö
biš daš
du biš
du bisi das
šyo

yek
du
tre
char
pon
ša
sath
asth/atsu
nöu
dah
ka
bah, etc.
bi
bijö dëi
du bio
du bio ga dëi
šëi
11. Sociolinguistic Variations in Brok-skad

As stated above some of the Brogpas had embraced Islam and others Buddhism. Consequently, the socio-religious environment has affected their original language to a considerable extent. The percentage of change is higher in Islamic group as compared with Buddhist group. Some of the examples of this socio-linguistic variations are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Buddhist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rich</td>
<td>ḍḡômes</td>
<td>ramis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>a:zo</td>
<td>aro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>ḍcanāk</td>
<td>sunul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>ḍgas</td>
<td>gős</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forget</td>
<td>ṣmīśis</td>
<td>ḍmśit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>āṭhi</td>
<td>uri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>ḍboni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>xuda</td>
<td>conjuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cave</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>kur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flour</td>
<td>ūma</td>
<td>ṇārzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>orjān</td>
<td>uzu/dyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widow</td>
<td>bėrōnes</td>
<td>moryan-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>bōlbul</td>
<td>beldan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ass</td>
<td>boṇ</td>
<td>khōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>beto</td>
<td>zuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ash</td>
<td>tālsir</td>
<td>gōrzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly (n.)</td>
<td>tonze</td>
<td>mentha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spider</td>
<td>thaskōn</td>
<td>ŝči/stin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weaver</td>
<td>phyaldin</td>
<td>thaskōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dust</td>
<td>thēlcir</td>
<td>thēlcup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glade</td>
<td>thate</td>
<td>šra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bell</td>
<td>ūti</td>
<td>ūtilbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intestine</td>
<td>ūti</td>
<td>ūnsto/nolto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>ūthup</td>
<td>ūthub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman/wife</td>
<td>ūtsiga</td>
<td>ūthiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widower</td>
<td>ūtsiganeš</td>
<td>phoryan-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>cōcu</td>
<td>cei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bug</td>
<td>cōri</td>
<td>kri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thief (m.)</td>
<td>cōqpa</td>
<td>corla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clever</td>
<td>cōlaq</td>
<td>cōlaqčōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>cini-ḫōra</td>
<td>ḫōsa ḫōra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie (n.)</td>
<td>curku</td>
<td>zurku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. Previous Works and Present Analysis

(a) Previous works: Brok-skad being the oldest surviving member of the ancient Dardic language had been drawing attention of scholars' working on Dardistan and Western Tibet right from the last quarter of the 18th century. Some of the works in which references have been made to this dialect are as under:

Frederic Dew, *The Jammu & Kashmir Territory;*
Francke, A. H. *History of Western Tibet;*
Lietner, G.W.V. *The Languages and Races of Dardistan* (Lahore 1877).

Lietner, besides the above, in his book *Dardistan and Kashmir* (1889) also has made a reference to it and has compared some of its vocabulary items with those of the Shina dialect of Gilgit.
But some of the most important and authentic works, entirely devoted to linguistic studies started appearing in the beginning of this century. Some of these which need due mention are--Grammar and Vocabulary of Khowar Dialect (Chitrali) (Lahore, 1895) by G. Morgenstierne. Later on his monumental works, viz., Report on Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan (Oslo, 1926) and Report on Linguistic Mission to North-Western India (Oslo, 1932) threw a detailed light on the position and structure of these speeches. Besides, he also contributed a number of research articles on various languages of the Dardic group which were published from time to time in various research journals in India and abroad.

Another work giving an intensive and extensive account of these tongues was Piśāca Languages of North-Western India by George A. Grierson (1906), besides, the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, pt. II which contains a brief sketch of all the dialects of Dardistan and Kohistan.


Another linguist who needs a special mention here is T. G. Graham Bailey, who in his work, Grammar of Shina Language (London, 1924) has dealt with Gurezi dialect of it at length, along with references to others.

The latest contribution, exclusively to Brok-skad is that of Dr. N. Ramaswamy of CIIL, Mysore. His works entitled, Brok Skat Phonetic Reader (1975) and Brok-Skat Grammar (1982) are significant contribution to this language.

(b) Data collection and analysis: The data for the present analysis were collected in Leh (Ladakh) during two visits there, the first one in Sept. 1983 and the second in Aug.-Sept. 1985 from the following informants from Brog-yul:

1. Tshering Antsuk (29) and Teshu Wonjal (35), both from the village Da. Both of the informants were, though uneducated, yet were well versed in Hindustani. They did not have any difficulty in grasping the sense and shades of words and sentences through which the material was collected. This recording was done exactly on Sept. 18-19, 1983.

2. Another set of informants was of Mrs. and Mr. Tshering Sonam (26) from the village Darchiks. The couple was educated
(High School Pass) and was serving as primary school teacher there. There was no problem of communication with them. The recording for this material was done on Sept. 2 and 3, 1985 at the Jolden Guest House, Leh. In fact, Mr. E. Jolden who had served as Head master in a Govt. High School at Kargil was instrumental in contacting the couple whom he had taught in the above mentioned school. The data collected from the above informants has been analysed in terms of descriptive linguistics as followed by modern linguists.
PART-II

SOUND SYSTEM
SOUND SYSTEM

INVENTORY

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of Brok-skad are as follows:

Vowels

Synchronously, all vocoids, phonemic and non-phonemic, attested in this speech, singly or in sequences, may be presented as under.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ā/ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the lip position only the back vowels, viz. /u/ and /o/ are rounded and all others are unrounded.

Quantity: Normally, the quantity (length : shortness) of a vowel is not significant in it. It is, more or less, conditioned by the phonetic and syllabic environments in which it occurs. However, there are a few examples of significant contrasts of long and normal quantity of /i/ and /u/ available in it. Consequently, length too has been recognized as a phonemic feature for these two vowels only.

Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts of various categories of vowels may be illustrated as follows:

Front: Front: /i/: /i:/ - /šiš/ head : /ši:sə/ mirror;
/i/: /e/ - /nis/ to press: /neš/ is not; /pəni/ leaf : / pene/ pice, money.

Front: Back- /i/: /u/ - /iņ/ blunt : /uņ/ and; /kri/ bed
Tribal Languages of Ladakh-I

Tribal Languages of Ladakh-I

bug: /kru/ corn; /ski-/ to see: /sku/ idol; / sina/ child: / suno/ butter.
i/: /o/- /kri/ bed bug: /kro/ breast of woman; /ti/- intestine: /ti/- bitter; /po/- grand daughter: /po/- grand son.
e/: /a/- /da/ arrow: /de/ give; /ye/ what?: /ya/ to come
i/: /a/- /pis/ to drink: /-pas/ cotton; / sis/ to sew: /sas/ sister.

**Front:**
/i/: /d/- /gdn/ curd. buttermilk: /gin/ to hold; /-η/ colour: /rin/ cost;
e/: /d/- /pene/ pice, money: /pئn/ leaf;

**Back:**
/u/: /u:/ /dus/ to rinse, to wash: /dus/ land, ground:
/o/: /a/- /bo/ father: /ba/ we; /kho/ cap: /kha/ anger, down;
/u/: /a/- /rus/ to cry: /ras/ grapes;

**Back:**
/a/: /z/- /zئs/ vessel: /zئs/ copper; /charpa/ cot: /چئرpa/- rain, /wari/ pond of water: /بئرو/ husband.
/u/: /d/- /dur/ at a distance: /dئr/ door; /rئn/ hill, forest: /rئn/ colour,
/o/- /d/: /o/- /oئs/ air: /ئs/- today;
(for the contrasts of Back: front, see above - Front: Back).

**Distribution:** Distributionally, all vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This feature of the vowels of Brok-skad can be illustrated as under:
/i/- /iئ/ blunt, /bitis/ dispute, /hazi/- laughter, /cica/ meat, /di/- ray.
e/- /er/- palm, /kere/- when, /bede/- plenty, /pepe/ H. F. sister.
/u/- /ur/- nails, /u:zu/- mouth, /gum/- wheat, /thumbu/- spoon (big)
/o/- /oئ/- air, /شئno/-oil; /شئ/- blind, /bئno/-big, /شئo/- story.
/a/- /aris/- to bring, /wa/- water, /cha/- maize; /شئa/- a bear, /aئo/- tear.
/oئ/- /oئb/- horse, /brئs/- rice; /پئyu/- salt, /پئگئم/-tomato.

**Allophonic variations:** Allophonic variations pertaining to quality and quantity both, are attested in certain vowel phonemes set up for this language. These are as under:
**Qualitative:** Qualitative variants are attested with regard to mid, front and back vowels. The front vowel /e/ has a lower and opener variant [ɛ], which occurs in the final position of a word, as in /ane/ [ənɛ] here, [benɛ] out, [lɛ] tongue, [ae ~ aye] mother, [kirzɛ] pulse, [kɛɾɛ] when?, [pɛɾɛ] pice, [bedɛ] many, etc.

The back vowel /o/ shows an opener variant, as /ɔ/ when occurring before a nasal consonant, as in /oŋ/ = [ɔŋ] onion, /chodon/ = [chɔdɔn] a whole in the ground.
/a/ the quality and quantity of the low-back vowel /a/ tends to be reduced to a central vowel /ə/ or even elided in a quick tempo of speech when it occurs at the end of a word, particularly as a case marker, as in /ti-ra/ → /tir/ to you, /wa-ra/ → /wa-r/ in the water.

**Quantitative:** Quantitative variants of vowels, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /a/ are attested in the following syllabic environments.


(ii) In the initial and in the penultimate open syllable of a disyllabic or tri-syllabic word when the following syllable also is an open one, e.g. /muːmo/ maternal uncle, /nuːno/ naked, /suːri/ the sun, /puːso/ flower, /lodo/red, /apo/ small, /aːzo/ ice, /taːto/ hot, /mɔniːli/ loaves of bread, /kuniːli/ pigeon, /gothaːri/ ring, /horesuːro/ yellow, /nuːto/nose.

Moreover, in borrowed vocables the quality and quantity of the vowel in the source language is, more or less, maintained e.g. /thelə/ cloth bag, /ʃeɾa:n/ devil, /pʰlɑːd/ steel, /pʰʃj/ army, etc.

**Vocalic Sequences:** Like many Tibeto-Himalayan languages this language too has no diphthongs, though occurrence of vocalic sequences is not infrequent. In this case both the vowels of the sequence have their distinct syllabic entities. For instance, /sui/=/su-i/ bridge, /a:e/ mother, /ɡo-i ~ ɡu-i/ song, /cei/ bird, /lei/ fox, /be-o/ boy, /che-o/ life, /ti-a/ till, /ka-u/ bangle, /kha-ut/ angry, /d-ekhus/ beggar, etc.

From the above it may also be evident that there is no restriction on the occurrence of any category of vowel as the first or the second component of syllable peaks.
Consonants

In this dialect the number of consonant phonemes, established on the basis of phonemic contrasts, is 30. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives, affricates and sibilants further attest the opposition of presence vs. absence of voice and the consonants belonging to the voiceless plosive class attest the opposition of presence vs. absence of aspiration as well. The phonemic inventory of all the consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schematically be presented as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives (Vl.)</td>
<td>p, ph, t, th</td>
<td>c, ch</td>
<td>ŭ, ŭ</td>
<td>k, kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vd)</td>
<td>b, d</td>
<td>j, d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates (Vl.)</td>
<td>č, čh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vd.)</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m, n</td>
<td>ř, (ń)</td>
<td>ř/ń</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral (unasp)</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(Asp)</td>
<td>(lh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative (vl)</td>
<td>s, š</td>
<td>(ś)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vd)</td>
<td>z, ž</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1=Bilabials, 2=Dental; 3=Plato-Alveolar; 4=Palatal; 5=Retroflex; 6=Velar

Ramaswami (1982) has given a few examples of the aspirate lateral /lh-/ in his analysis which freely varies with /l/. But in my investigation I could not come across this phenomenon, hence not given a status of consonant phoneme for this speech.

**Voiced Sibilants**: A notable feature of consonantal phonemes of this language is that it has all the three sibilants attested in OIA and has their voiced counterparts as well.

**Distribution**: Distributionally, all the consonants and semi-consonants, except /ń/ can occur in the initial and medial positions, but occurrence of aspirates in the final position is rare.
The commonly attested consonants occurring in this position are nasals, liquids and sibilants. This feature may be illustrated as under:

**Bilabials:** /p, ph, b/


**Dentals:** /t, th, d/


/th/ - /thil/ bottom, /thurbo/high, /this/ to do, /cākthur/ chain, /hath/ hat/ hand

/d/ - /di/ ray, /dolo/ cloud, /dudo/ grand father, /sām- dāl/ beard, /stod/ up.

**Palatals:** /c, ch, j/


/ch/ - /chuṭu/ mistake, /chodon/ hole in the ground, /gulcha/ clothes.

/j/ - /uṇjuk/ cheek, face /dajāl/ zealously, /jāngālpo/ forest.

**Palatal Affricates:** /č, ch, ḟ/

/č/ - /cēndā/ pocket, /lče/ tongue,

/čh/ - /čhṛpa/ rain, /čḥṇ/ beer, /čhum/ chin, /čeο/ life /mečhe/ alive

/j/ - /jādu/ magic, /orjān/milk, /jurmana/ fine.

**Retroflex:** /t, th, d/

/t/ - /tō/ cold, /ṭiṭo/ bitter, /ṭilbu/ bell, /chuṭu/ mistake, /phēt/ half, /got/ room.

/th/- /thub/ dark, /thul/ egg, /gathī/ knot, /mēntha/ bee.

/guṭh/ thumb.

/d/ - /dumba/ garden, /yunḍā/ hand mill, /bhedka/ lamb, /đe/ ghost, /do/ smoke.

**Velars:** /k, kh, g/

/k/ - /kur/ cave, /kun/ corpse, /kyono/black, /tuks/ anxiety, /stok/ body.

/kh/ - /khok/ cough, /khēr/ ass, /khormo/ brain, /kho/ cap, /khēs/ fever,
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/g/ - /gono/barley, /ragon/ copper, /gonpa/family,
/gur/ fire, /gim/ liver,

Nasals: /n, ñ, ni, ñi, q/

/m/ - /melo/ flame, /meche/ alive, /khomcu/beak,
/khormo/ brain, /čhum/ chin.

/n/ - /nuno/ naked, /suno/ butter, /manta/bee, /pini:li/

ant, /gni/ curd.

/ñ/ - /ña/ fish, /šňoks/habit, /ňuskdr/ mustard, /ńispa/
sin.

/η/ - /ηermao/ sweet, /ciηdr/ iron, /ηul/ silver, /ηη/ hill,
/sη/ horn.

Liquids: /r, l/

/r/ - /rin/price, /ruη/ hill, /khormo/brain, /uskuru/

butterfly, /khe/ ass, /kur/ cave.

/l/ - /lodo/red, /limbu/ flute, /dolo/cloud, /ňilbu/bell,
/somdēl/beard.

Fricatives: /š, s, š/ : / ż, z, ż / h/

/š/ - /šiš/ head, /šwa/ dog, /šo/ blind, /šuno/ kernel,
/oš/ air, /neš/is not

/s/ - /suno/ butter, /sina/ child, /hose/ guest, /mos/

meat, /zozs/ copper.

/š/ - /püşo/ flower, /myuš/ man, /nusu/ daughter-in-

law.

/ž/ - /gærzi/ ashes, /žid/ body, /žigo/ height, /žuž/ to
grow, /rɂ/ cloth.

/z/ - /zo/ bull, /zubu/ calf (m.), /zozs/ copper, /zgum/

box, /zgogpa/ garlic.

/h/ - /hős/ breath, /hose/ guest, /hēl/ a plough; /zēhër/

poison, /serhōt/ boundary.

Semi-vowels: /y, w/.

/y/ - /yuno/ winter, /yun/ turmeric, /pýyu/ salt, /ley/

fox, /goy/ song.

/w/ - /wa/ water, /wari/ pond, lake, /khërwa/ bronze,

/swa/dog, /kaw/ which?

From the point of distribution a few more notable points

are-

(1) The retroflex sibilant has a limited distribution and is

mainly attested in vocables derived from OIA having this sound

there.

(2) Voiced fricatives do not occur in the final position.

Occurrence of /h/ too is not attested in this position.
Phonemic Contrasts

With regard to the phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes it may be mentioned that, generally, contrasts of minimal pairs of consonants are attested in the initial position only. In the non-initial position there are only a few which attest this phonemic feature of Brok-skad. Occurrence of aspirate plosives, particularly in the final position being rare there is very limited scope for having contrasts of aspirate and non-aspirate plosives in this speech. Moreover, on account of total absence of voiced aspirates in this language, the four-fold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration, too, is not there. In others, too, the features of voice and aspiration are, normally, neutralized in non-initial, particularly in the final position of a word. The phonological feature of significant contrasts of the consonants available in this tongue may be illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

**Bilabials:** /p : b : ph/

- /p/ - /pun/ path: /bun/ village; /pa/ clay: /ba/ we;
- /pəri/ there: /bəro/ husband

- /ph/ - /pho/ that (he): /bo/ father
- /p/ - /pa/ a part: /pho/ that (Demo.)

**Dentals:** /t, th, d/

- /t/ - /stot/ shoulder: /stod/ up, above, /ti/ thou: /di/ ray;
- /tu/ you: /du/ two.

- /tha/ hungry: /da/ arrow

- /t/ - /ti/ thou: /thi/- do; /turi/ star: /thuro/ skin, /tis/

by him: /this/to do.

**Palatals:** /c, ch, j/

- /c/ - /cərpa/ cot: /čərpa/ rain; /cuto/ dumb: /chuțu/

mistake.

**Palatal-Affricates:** /č, ch, ğ/

- /č/ - /čos/ floor: /čhos/ religion; /bečis/ to send: /bečhis/

to buy.


**Contrasts between Palatal Plosives and Palatal Affricates:**

- /č/ - /čərı/ garden: /čərı/ bed bug; /cok/ forest: /čok/

all;

- /ch/ - /chərbu/ button: /čhərču/ rain water.
Retroflex /t, ð, d/  
\( \text{t/ð} - /\text{tani}/ \) to destroy: /\text{dani}/ tooth; /\text{t}/ cold: /\text{du}/ smoke
\( \text{t/ð} - /\text{ti}/ \) tea: /\text{thi}/ throne; /\text{go}/ room: /\text{guth}/ thumb.

Contrast between Dental and Retroflex Plosives  
\( \text{t/ð} - /\text{nuto}/ \) nose: /\text{nuto}/ walking; /\text{t}/ owl: /\text{t}/ cold; /\text{cwalto}/ breakfast: /\text{cwal}/ morning
\( \text{d/ð} - /\text{dar}/ \) door: /\text{dak}/ mail, /\text{du}/ dagger: /\text{dun}/ handle of axe etc.

Velars /k, kh, g/  
k/kh - /ko/ a crow who?: /\text{kho}/ down cap; /\text{kur}/ cave:
/\text{khdr}/ ass.
k/g - /kur/cave: /\text{gur}/ fire; /\text{ko}/ who: /\text{go}/ cow; /\text{šuko}/ dry: /\text{šugu}/letter.

Nasals: /m, n, ŋ, ň/  
m/n - /byamo/ hen: /\text{byanò}/ soup; /\text{mumo}/ maternal uncle: /\text{nuno}/ naked.
m/\text{ń}- /mi:s/ to us: /\text{ńis}/ thirst; /\text{kamču}/ beak: /\text{kaŋku}/ claw.
n/\text{ń} -- /\text{run}/ yesterday: /\text{ruŋ}/ hill, forest; /\text{goŋ}/ butter milk:
/\text{goŋ}/ store.
\( \text{ń}/\text{ń} - /\text{ńirma}/ chilly: /\text{ŋirmo}/ sweet

Liquids: /r, l/  
r/l - /\text{run}/ yesterday: /\text{lun}/ bunch; /\text{ruŋ}/ hill: /\text{luŋ}/ air;

Sibilants/ ŝ ~ Š, s, ž, z/  
\( \text{š}/s - /\text{šin}/ \) frog: /\text{sin}/ river, /\text{śwa}/ dog: /\text{swa}/ a blister;
/\text{šo}/ white: /\text{so}/ he.
\( \text{š}/ž - /\text{šaktaŋ}/ \) pebble: /\text{žaktaŋ}/ daily; /\text{šu}/ vegetable:
/\text{zu}/ apricicot; /\text{šo}/ white; /\text{zo}/ bull.
\( \text{s}/z - /\text{ser}/ \) gold: /\text{zermo}/ pain; /\text{siri}/ sand: /\text{zira}/ cumin seed.
\( \text{ž}/z\text{ž} - /\text{to pull}/ /\text{zo}/ bull;
N.B. No real contrast between /\text{š}/ and /\text{s}/, and /\text{ž}/ and /\text{z}/ could be attested.

Semi-vowels / y, w/  
\( \text{y}/w - /\text{ya}/ \) yes, either: /\text{wa}/ water; /\text{yôr}/ before:
/\text{wôr-po}/ stomach.
/\text{šya}/above: /\text{šwa}/dog.

Contrast between glottal fricative /h/ and /G/  
\( /\text{h}/G - /\text{homo}/ \) this: /\text{Gono}/ barley.

Allophonic Variations  
Overall phonetic tendencies of this dialect can, briefly, be pointed out as under:
Incomplete articulation: It being, predominantly, a vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending language, the articulation of plosives is considerably reduced in the final position, consequently oscillating between their voiced and voiceless, and aspirate and un-aspirate counterparts, as in /ðɔs ~ ðɔps/ horse, /goθ ~ goṭ/ room, etc. some of these and other features of phonetic variations, commonly attested in this speech are as follows:

Devoicing: Voiced plosives: g, d, b, when occurring in the final position of a word or before a voiceless plosive in a cluster tend to be devoiced, e.g. /lagthil/ → /laqthil/ palm; /zgokpa/ → /zgokpa/ garlic; /chɔdpa/ → /chɔtpa/ penalty; /sərḥət/ → /sərḥət/ boundary; /kitab/ → /kitap/ book, /nub/ → /nup/ west, /ustad/ → /ustat/ teacher, /θub/ → /θup/ dark.

Voicing: But contrary to the above noted tendency there are a few examples as well in which voicing of originally voiceless plosives too is attested, as in /debɔr/ < daftar office, /ðɔbs/ < asp (Persian) horse, /ðɔsɔr/ < afsar officer. Tib./ smən/ > zmən, drug, /sga/ > zga saddle.

De-aspiration: This language does not favour aspiration at the end of a vocable. Even in the medial position as well occurrence of asp. plosives or /h/ is rare. In these positions, particularly in the final and before an unaspirate consonant, it is invariably reduced to its un-aspirate counterpart, as in /gɔsth/ < gostha → /gɔt/ room, /pɔtu/ < prɔsta back, /ɔdar/ < udhar credit, /ɔti/ < oṣtha lip, /dut/ < dhugdh milk, /ćo/ < čho (Tib) lake, /ḥat/ < hath hand, /lak/ < lakh a lac (1,00,000) etc.

Retroflexion: May be under the influence of Pusto, there are a number of vocables in which the original dental sounds are realized as their retroflex counterparts, e.g. /pɔṭa/ < pota grandson, /pɔti/ < /poti/ grand daughter, /ṭɪtɔ/ < tiktा bitter, /kɔt- ər/ < qatar knife, /ĉhɔt/ < /ĉhɔt/ (Tib) fever, /rɔnda/ < ῥɔnda a plain.

Besides, consonants /l/, /n/, /s/ too are realized as their retroflex counterparts when followed by a retroflex consonant, as in /mulṭup/ fist, /bəltʃin/bucket, /ḥelduro/ yellow; /bərɔndeq/ varandah, /skɔndik/ dumb, /ʂṇaĉha/ ear-ring; /dst/ eight, /maʃtɔr/ teacher, /stin/ spider, /stok/ body.

Vocalization: Semi-vowels, /y, w/ when occurring in word final positions are almost reduced to their vocalic counterparts.
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/i, u/ respectively, e.g. /ley/ > [lei] fox, /cey/ > [cei] bird, /ney/ new, /goy/ song, /kaw/ > [kau] which?

**Fricativization:** May be under the impact of Perso-Arabic languages the speakers have imbibed the tendency of fricativization of velar plosives, as in /xabar/ news, /boxthis/ to push, /qetdr/ knife, /xorma/ date fruit, /doqmo/ narrow, /laqthil/palm, /laqca/ sword, /begma/bride, /rafo/ hoof, /cofa/ fullmoon, /pagol/ mad.

**Consonant Clusters**

We notice that in respect of consonant clusters this language is very rich, though the more favoured environments for their occurrence are the initial and the medial positions only. Thus the scope for the occurrence of these is extremely limited in the final position. So far as the number of the constituents of these clusters is concerned, normally it is 2 or 3, but not more than 4 in any case. Consonant clusters of different combinations, attested in this speech may be presented as under:

**Initial Clusters:** Componentially, the first member of the 2 member cluster in this position could be a plosive/liquid/fricative and the second member a semi-vowel/ a liquid/ a nasal or a plosive. These combinations could be illustrated as under:

(a) **Plosive + semi-vowel:** /kyono/ black, /byamo/ hen, /gyogspa/ soon, /gyazo/ day, /cwalto/ dawn, /kwalto/ morning, /bwari/ deep, /jwa/ louse, /myus/ man.

(b) **Liquid+plosive:** /lee/ tongue, /leqma/ tree, /rgil/ spittle, /rces/ to dance, /rgudaq/ need, /ldan/ peg, /ldo/ oath, /ldeqbu/ ladder.

(c) **Fricative + semivowel:** /zwakur/ hair, /sydr/ east, /syabu/ joint, /sci/ ~ /stin/ spider, /skilbu/ young, /stod/ up, above, /stok/ body, /spira/ conversation, /skewn/ heaven, /sbolba/ frog.

(d) **fricative+nasal:** /zmqn/ < /smqn/ drug, /snil/ gum (teeth), /sfnundm/ grey, /sfoks/ habit, /smuli/ perspiration, /smul/ silver.

(e) **fricative+ liquid:** /bra/ happy, happiness.

(f) **Liquid + semi-vowel:** /ryon/ hare, /rwa/ light, /lwol/ blood.

(g) **plosive + liquid:** /kro/ breast of woman, /kri/ bed bug, /grinsi/ eagle, /pra-/to lift, /bres/ rice, /pruno/ old, /otranpa/ rightsdie.
(h) fricative + plosive: /zgogpa/garden, /zga/ saddle.

Three member initial cluster: The components of a three member initial cluster are: (1) fricative + plosive + liquid, as in /grum/ box, /zbranzbu/ fly, /zbrantsi/ honey,

(2) fricative + plosive + semi-vowel, as in /skyur/ cure, treatment,

(3) Liquid + plosive + semi-vowel, as in /rgydl/ to conquer, /rgydl-po/ king.

(4) Liquid + nasal + semi-vowel, as in /rmyul/ money.

Medial clusters: As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clusters is wider. The constituents of a two member medial cluster are attested as under:

(a) Plosive + plosive: /bagpo/ bride groom, /lokchus/ bush, /kedpa/ mound, /gogpa/ garden, /phokthis/ to conceal, /chogbu/bunch.


(f) Nasal + fricative: /grinsi/ eagle.

(g) Fricative + nasal: /dumang/ enemy.

(h) Nasal + nasal: /gempa/ each, every.

Constituents of a three member medial clusters have been attested as follows:

(i) Nasal + fricative + plosive: /nangsto/ intestine, /thumska/ladder, /chamspur/in the side, /bachdur/ race

(ii) Plosive + sibilant + plosive: /kokspo/ difficult, /sokste/ snake, /thokskon/ spider.

(iii) Nasal + plosive + sibilant: /sanglis/ broom, /bungs/ drum, /zbraantsi/honey

(iv) Plosive + Sibilant + nasal/semi-vowel: /kipsyan/ jackal, /soksmet/error, evil
Four member clusters like /thuksbrul/snake, /brokskəd/, etc. are attested in compound words only.

**Final clusters:** As pointed out above this language on account of its vowel ending nature, has a limited scope for the occurrence of final clusters. The few clusters attested in our data are as follows: /zəṅgəs/ brass, /rəkəs/ help, /əbəs/ horse, /əʃət/ eight, /muksə/ greed, /khuŋgəs/ manure, /zəṅgəs/ pot, /phamsə/ wooden beam.

**Gemination:** It is not a significant feature of this speech.
PART-III

CONCISE GRAMMAR
CONCISE GRAMMAR

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

The grammatical structure of a language is to be viewed in the light of the language/languages which form the sub-strata of it. As stated earlier (intro.) that, historically, Brok-skad belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the IE. Therefore, its grammatical structure has inherited and preserved many morphological features of it. This will be evident from the analysis of various elements of it.

A Word and its Structure

Being the basic functional unit of the language and also the basis of all phonological features and morphological functions, a word, may be phonological or morphological, occupies an important place in the linguistic analysis of any language.

As in other languages in Brokskad too a word can be both, a phonological (lexical) unit or a morphological (grammatical) unit, having their own structures and constituents.

Constituents of a Word

The immediate constituents of a phonological word, as explained above, are permissible constituents of a syllable and their permissible sequences.

But the constituents of a morphological word are combinations of morphemes, free or bound, which may result in a primary or secondary word.

Phonological Structure

In this dialect the phonological structure of a word, may be mono-syllabic or poly-syllabic, has the following characteristics:

(1) It may begin with any vowel or consonant recognized as phonemes for the language.
(2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel/nasal/liquid or a sibilant, but not in an aspirate plosive or /h/.

(3) No native word begins or ends in a cluster, other than those noted above (p. 42ff.)

(4) In a slow tempo of speech a word necessarily admits a momentary pause on either side of it.

**Syllabic Structure**

As in other languages in this too the immediate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-4, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences, between the two successive junctures and are also capable of conveying a single concept.

**Syllabic Units:** The constituents of a syllabic unit are -- a 'nucleus' which is one of the vowels set up as phoneme for this dialect ± consonantal margins, occurring on either side of it. This can be simple (i.e. a single consonant) or complex (i.e. a cluster of consonants), permissible in the language. Within the established norm of vowels and consonants there is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleus, or a consonant, including clustered ones, as margins of any syllabic unit.

**Patterns of Syllabic Units:** On the basis of analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that permissible constituents of various syllabic units in a monosyllabic word may be one of the following type: /v/, /vc/, /cv/, /cvc/, /ccv/, /ccvc/, /cvcc/, /ccvcc/, /cccv/, /vcc/, /ccvc/, /ccvcc/.

These patterns besides occurring independently as constituents of a mono-syllabic word, can also become the constituents of poly-syllabic words. These may be illustrated as under:

/vc/ - /oš/ air, /in/ blunt, /ek/ one.
/ccv/ - /kru/ corn, /kri/ bedbug, /śwa/ dog, /syä/ bear (n.), /zga/ saddle.
/vcc/- /ōbs/ horse, /ōst/ eight.
/ccvc/- /brəs/ rice, /rgil/ spittle, /ldan/ peg, /stod/up, /smən/ drug.
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**Dissyllabic Patterns:** In Brok-skad permissible disyllabic sequences in a word are as follows:

Among disyllabic words the most frequent syllabic pattern is /cvc-cv/, followed by /cv-cv/ and /cvc-cvc/patterns.
**Tri-syllabic Patterns:** The number of trisyllabic lexical words is not large one. The permissible sequences of this category of words have been attested as follows:

/\textit{cv-cv-cv}/ -- /pinili/ant, /hupupu/owl, /phunuro/mark, /chuṭula/miser
/cvc-cv-cv/--/curkuto/ wrong, lier/ lan-pho-ce/elephant, /hāḍuuro/yellow.
/cv-cv-cvc/--/gulubən/scarf, /pho-so-cən/proud, /to-mochok/empire.
/cvc-cvc-cv/--/mořyan-mo/widow, /phoryan-mo/widower, /tas-ran-to/noon.
/cvc-cv-cvc/--/mir-ga-khən/enemy, /nal-ba-cən/poor
/cv-cvc-cv/--/ko-sin-do/proud, strong.
/ccvc-ccv-cv/--/kšik-kši-mo/creeper.
/cv-cv-cvcc/--/pəhəcoks/insanity.

From the point of frequency the most tri-syllabic pattern is /\textit{cv-cv-cv}/, followed by /\textit{cv-cv-cvc}/ pattern. Occurrence of other patterns in a lexical word is quite limited.

**Quadri-syllabic Pattern:** Quadri-syllabic lexical words are only a few in this dialect. Their syllabic sequences have been attested as under:

/(c)v-cv-cv-cv/ -- /dikhadə/beggar,/ebetoga/somehow, /nabusuna/never.
/cv-cv-cvc-cv/--/zulithispa/sweeper
/cv-cv-cvc-cvc/--/surismoley/rainbow, /surinapyal/sunrise.
/ccv-cv-cvc-cv/--/phyaməlpse/butterfly, /rilbuňırma/pepper.

In fact, all the quadri-syllabic words recorded for this speech are either morphological extension of the basic lexical word or compounds of two or more basic lexical words. In this category there could be words even with five to six syllables as well, as in /həti-rəskispa/ astrologer, /motikak-rumthispa/goldsmith, jeweller, etc.
Syllabic Division

Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables, determined by linguistic forces like accent, quantity of the syllable peak or the pattern of syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic groupings the general principle is to group the preceding and succeeding consonantal margins to the peak vowel. As such other things being equal, in open syllables the consonantal onset margin/margins are grouped with the nucleus and in close syllables consonantal margins, both onset and coda, are grouped with it, e.g. /po-lo/ ball, /sna-bon/ camel, /sbd-pa/ frog, etc. (Here the dash indicates the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, than the most conventional principle, applicable to the syllabic division is that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its onset margin, e.g. in /kur-kum/ saffron, /zbraŋ-ṭsi/ honey, /kon-jok-sum/ goddess, /mo-ryan-mo/ widow. However, in case of multiple interludes, usually not more than two margins are grouped as coda and onset margins, as in /zbraŋ- zbu/ bee, /thuks-brul/ snake. But in case of a semi-vowel, occurring as interlude, the coda margin of the preceding syllable invariably goes with the onset margin of the succeeding syllable, as in /mo-ryan-mo/ widow, /ṛt-tya/ tomorrow etc.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics, which is an interlinking phenomenon, is related to both, viz. to the phonological and morphological aspect of a language. Its area of operation is morphological units of the language, but the resultant is the phonological change in between them. In Brokskad it is attested as under:

(i) In an open syllable the vowels, /i/ and /u/ of the preceding syllable are realized as front and back glides respectively, when followed by a vowel in the succeeding syllable, as in /bi-o/ → /byo/ son, /bi-un-s/ → /byunṣ/ I am going, /pi-al-e/ → /pyale/ he drinks, /so-asto/ → /swasto/ he slept.

(ii) The /e/ of the indefinite article tends to be elided after
the word final vowel to which it is suffixed, as in /mole-ek/ → /molek/ a girl, /bilu-ek/ → /biluk/ a cat, /byo-ek/ → /byok/ a boy etc.

(iii) In a quick tempo of speech the final vowel of certain pronominal stems or case markers, too, tends to be elided, as in /heme myus/ → /hem myas/ these men, /wa-ra/ → /war/ in the water, /hati-ra/ → /hatir/ in the hand, /ane-ai/ → /aner/ here.

**Word Classes**

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic relations the word classes attested in Brok-skad are—noun, pronoun, modifiers, verb and function words/ enclitics. Normally, words of all classes, except the function words, as in OIA, enter into various types of morphological inflections, i.e. these are variable, and are inflected for various grammatical categories, wholly or partially.

**Word Formation**

In it a word can be both, mono-morphemic and poly-morphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of a poly-morphemic word are—juxta-position, suffixation, reduplication and compounding. Various functions and formative processes of the nominal stems in this tongue may be presented as follows.

**NOUN**

Syntactically, a noun functions as a subject, object or complement of a verb. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and cases and can also be followed by postpositions.

**Noun Classes:** On the basis of certain distinctive inflexional peculiarities nouns in Brok-skad can be divided into human and non-human, or animate and inanimate classes. These classificatory characteristics of the nominal stems may be presented as under:

(i) The acc. case marker, /ra/ is affixed to animate nouns only. Consequently, inanimate nouns do not employ any case marker for their acc. case forms.

(ii) Animate nouns have overt gender marker or have a scope for doing so, but inanimate nouns are totally genderless.

(iii) In the use of indefinite pronominal stems too there is a
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distinction between animate and inanimate nouns, i.e. there the animate nouns use /ki/ for the indefinite pronoun "some" and inanimate nouns take /kek/ 'some'.

(iv) The same is true with regard to the use of the interrogative pronominal stems, i.e. animate nouns use the stem /ki/ which, and inanimates take /ko/ 'which', as in /pho kise beo bet/ which boy was that?, but /pho ko kāri be/ which basket was that?

Nominal Stems

Three kinds of nominal stems, viz. primary, derived and compounded, are attested in this speech. Out of these the number of primary/radical stems is the largest. Historically, a majority of them belong to the Indo-Iranian stock. But there are a sizeable number of them which belong either to Tibeto-Burman or fall under the category of Dardic words.

Primary Stems from Indo-Iranian/OIA Stock


Primary Stems from T.H. Sources


Besides, on account of their prolonged and close contacts with the speakers of Dardic and Perso-Arabic speakers, the speakers of Brok-skad have borrowed a number of Dardic and Urdu words as well. A few of them are as follows: /āmir/ rich, /i:mandar/ honest, /beqūp/ stupid, /beman/ dishonest, /pērda/ veil, curtain, /phōl/ steel, /bēsār/ officer, /phesla/ judgement, /tuphan/storm, /zēmanēt/bail, /cōłaq/clever.

Although living in a far off valley, cut off from the modern city life, it has not escaped the influence of modern linguistic terms such as /alu/ potato, /gobi/ cauliflower, cabbage, /am/ mango, / badam/ almond, /burīṣ/ brush, /botol/ bottle, /bōṅgōṅ/ brinjal, /pensil/ pencil, etc.
Stem Formation

In this the normal mechanism of nominal stem formation, as stated above, is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding.

Prefixation: Although there are a few examples of this device of stem formation, yet it is not a productive device in it, e.g. /moryañmo/ widow, /phoryañmo/widower.

SUFFIXATION: It is the most common and productive device of stem formation in it. There the formative suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not. In the latter case, the formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a complex stem to which are added the number, gender and case suffixes. Some of the commonly used suffixal formative are


/po/: It is used to form masculine nouns from epecoines bases: /rgyêl-po/ king, /bya-po/cock, /bag-po/ bridegroom, /bun-po/ village.

/ma/ - It is used to form feminine nouns: /rgun-ma/ mare, /bag-ma/bride, /khê-ma/bitch, /lum-kh tên-ma/ singer (f.), /dzem-kh tên-ma/ dancer (f.).

/ko/ - It is also used to form feminine nouns: /gyêmo/ ~ /rgyêl-mo/ queen, /byamo/ hen, /skik-skik-mo/ creeper.

/khên/ - It is used to form agentive noun or nouns indicative of profession: /šîn-khên/carpenter < /šîn/wood, /da-khên/ quiver < /da/ arrow, /lum-khên/singer. /dzem-khên/ dancer, /mirga-khên/enemy < /mirga/ jealousy ~ enmity.

/to/ - /curkî-to/ liar < /curku/ lie.

Reduplication: The mechanism of reduplication is also employed to form nominal stems, e.g. /de-de/ grand-mother, /pepe/ father's sister, /gur-gur/ thunder, /hupupu/ owl, /them-them/broom, /dêk-dêk-cu/ beans, /cêcu/ bird, /chim-chim/ small pox, /kên-kên/ leg, etc.
Compounding/Juxtaposition: The mechanism of compounding or juxtaposition of two or more stems having independent meaning too is fairly operative in it. In this type of constructions the compounded stems could be all nominals, nominal + adjectival, adjectival + nominal.


Adj. + Noun = Noun: /bono-guli/thumb (=big-finger), /cən -phet/ mid-night (= night-half), /druz-mi/ servant (=working man),

Three Member Compounds: Besides, there are a few numerical terms which are composed of 3 constituents, e.g. /pinən -trabisu/ 50 (=tenless three scores), /pinən -car -bisu/ 70 (=ten less four scores).

Nominal Inflexion

Unlike many Tibeto-Himalayan languages, in the speech of the Dokpas of Da. and Hanu there is a grammatical gender as well. Consequently, in it a noun is inflected for 2 numbers, 2 genders and 6 case categories. In some cases these grammatical markers are kept apart from one another and in others are fused together. Details of these inflectional categories may be presented as under.

**GENDER**

Gender Markers

As pointed out above this language duly recognizes gender category for substantives (noun, pronoun and adjective) and verbal inflections by suffixal devices. Besides, under the influence of Ladakhi, as in Tibetan, the gender distinction is also
affected (i) by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (ii) by prefixing terms denotative of the sense of 'male' and 'female' or 'father' and 'mother' or 'he' and 'she' to the epicines base of the substantive concerned. In borrowed items, however, the basic pattern of the language from which it has been loaned, is maintained.

Moreover, gender distinction is practised for animate beings only, inanimate objects are all genderless. Various devices employed to distinguish the gender of these animate nouns may be explained as follows:

**Suffixation of Gender Markers:** As in Tibetan in this too the suffixal pairs of /po/ : /mo/ or /pa/: /ma/ are added to substantives to indicate its sex or gender. Of these the two /po/ & /pa/ indicate the masculineness of the object and the other two, viz. /mo/& /ma/ stand to indicate its feminineness:

/po/: /mo/- /bya-po/ cock: /bya-mo/ hen

/pa/: /ma/- /gui-dis-pa/ singer (m.): /gui-dis-ma/ singer (f.),

/brun-go-pa/ dancer (m.): /brun-go-ma/ dancer (f.), /lum-khan-pa/ singer (m): /lum-kshan-ma/ singer (f.) /bag-po/ bridegroom: /bag-ma/ bride,

/rdq-pa/ thief (m.): /rdq-mo/ thief (f.)

**Prefixation:** There are a couple of terms recorded for our data in which the gender indicative terms, /pho/ : /mo/ have been prefixed to the object concerned, as in /pho-ryaq- mo/ widow.

The gender indicative term /mo/ can be added to any epiceneous term when the sense of feminineness is to be particularised, e.g. /khi/ ~ /swa/ dog (male or female) but /khi-mo/ bitch, /dsb/ horse: /rgun-ma/ mare.

Moreover, in I.A. loans the device of modifying the stem final vowel is also maintained, as in /poto/ grand-son : /poti/ grand-daughter; /sp/ horse : /spi/ mare; /sazo/ sister's son : /sazoi/ sister's daughter, etc.

**Distinct-Terms:** This method of distinguishing gender of the nouns is particularly operative in the area of kin terms: e.g. /bo/ father ~ father-in law : /aye/ mother ~ mother-in law;

/byo/ boy : /mole/ girl; /bayo/ brother : /sas/ sister;

/dudo/ grand-father : /dede/ grand-mother;

/bro/ husband : /thiga/ wife;

/myus/ man : /thiga/ woman; /sina/ son : /mole/ daughter;

/sas/sister: /baya/ sister's husband:
/ruru/ wife's younger brother : /sas/ wife's younger sister.

Besides, this method of distinguishing gender is attested with reference to domesticated animals as well, e.g. /zo/ bull, ox: /go/ cow; /lāś/ he goat : /mier/ she goat; /ḍbs/ horse : /rgun-ma/ mare.

The peculiar feature of gender distinction, as compared with the speeches of the T.H. group, is that in it, as in I.A. it is marked with attributive substantives as well, in which the stem final /o/ which stands for masculine gender is replaced with /i/ when qualifying a noun of feminine class (for examples see Adj, p. 81).

NUMBER

Grammatical Status of Number

In Brok-skad number is a grammatical category. Accordingly nominal, pronominal, adjectival and verbal stems are inflected for two numbers, viz. singular and plural. There the singular is not marked overtly. It is the absence of plural marker which distinguishes it from the plural. In nominal inflections the number markers, however, follow the nominal stem and precede the case markers, but in verbal conjugations these follow the tense aspect markers. (For examples see Verbal Conjugation).

Pluralisation: In this speech pluralization of nominal stems is affected in two ways, (i) by means of suffixes, occurring in their respective phonetic environments, (ii) by adding a term denotative of the sense of plurality, as 'all', 'many', 'several', 'some' 'a few', etc. (for adjectival and verbal plurality see respective sections).

Suffixal Plurality: The phonetically and semantically conditioned suffixes employed to affect plurality are : /da/, /i/, and /yo/. Their distribution may be presented as under:

/da/ : It is appended to human-nouns indicative of kin terms: /bayo/ brother : /bayo-da/brothers; /bo/ father : /bo-da/fathers; /aye/ mother: /aye-da/mothers (these terms are also used for fathers in-law, mother-in-law etc.); /mumo/maternal uncle: /mumo-da/maternal uncles, etc.

/y/o/- It is appended to stems, ending in a vowel, other than kin terms, e.g. /puṣo/ flower: /puṣo-yo/ flowers; /ḍthi/ eye : /ḍthi-yo/ eyes; /kuṭṭi/ foot : /kuṭṭi-yo/ feet, /sina/ child: /sina-yo/ children's, /zo/ bull, ox: /zo-yo/ oxen; but /sas/ sister : /sasḍh-yo/ sisters,

/i/- It is affixed to stems, ending in a consonant, as in /śiś/ head : /śiś-i/ heads; /bun/ village : /bun-i/ villages;
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/e/ - /byo/ son: /bye/ (< byo-e) sons.

Non-suffixal plurality: As indicated above the non-suffixal method of indicating plurality is to use a modifier indicative of the sense of plurality, such as /čok/ all, /sare/ all, /bode/ ~ /bade/ many, several, etc. This may be illustrated as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sina boy/son</td>
<td>sina čok/-bade sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myuš man</td>
<td>myuš čok/-bade men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat hand</td>
<td>hatiyo čok/hands (double markers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pene pice, rupee</td>
<td>pene čok/-sare rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba brother</td>
<td>ba sare brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirak one thing</td>
<td>spira bade many things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases plurality is also affected, as in I.A., by suffixing a vowel, as in /āps/ horse: /āpsa/ horses; or by modifying the stem final vowel, as in /naro/ tree: /nare/ trees; /bio ~ byo/ boy: /bye/ boys, /go/ cow: /goa>gwa/ cows, etc.

In a colloquial speech, however, a plural marker is, usually left out and the plurality of the object in question is inferred from the plural form of the finite verb, e.g.

/tira kätuk pene hän/ how many rupees have you?
/pho bun-po-r myus kätuk hännu/ how many men are there in that village?
/sina mänili khwan/ children are eating loaves of bread.
/bunu-ra wa pun-lo/ water is filled in fields.
/tyari gutčhi kyan čhere hän/ where have you put your clothes?

CASE SYSTEM

Grammatical Status

Case is a grammatical category in it and is clearly analysable on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, expresses a relationship between two substantives as well.

The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, complement, means,
purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, etc.

In Brok-skad, the commonly used device to express a case form is (i) either to suffix the case marker to the bare stem of the substantive in the singular and after the number suffix in the plural, as in /mole-yo-ya mәni (;) li khwali/girls are eating loaves of bread (lit. by girls loaves of bread are being eaten), or (ii) by means of postpositions which follow the genitive base of the noun or pronoun. In some cases these case markers are tied up with the number-gender markers and in some kept apart from them. Moreover, in this dialect these case markers do not register any distinction for the singular or plural numbers, except in gen. case both having identical forms. Schematically, all the case markers of Brok-skad may be presented as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. Dative</td>
<td>-ra /-dәr /-ә/-r/-ze /-әє - di/-i/φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Agentive</td>
<td>-sa/-ya/-i/-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociative</td>
<td>cisuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ra/phyaci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>zono /-әє</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>-s/-n/-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ra/-ža/ži-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>va/li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above it may be evident that there are 3 categories of these case markers, viz. (1) zero, (2) suffixes, (3) post-positions. Suffixes could be both, mono-morphemic and poly-morphemic, as in Ablative case.

With reference to case markers and syntactic case relations, it may, however, be mentioned here that in Brok-skad, the case markers are more or less like Vibhaktis (case signs) in OIA. As such a case may not necessarily stand for the same relationship with the verb as overtly marked by a case sign, particularly when the verb is a transitive one in which the casal relationship is expressed differently.

Case Relationship of Subject and Object of a Transitive Verb:

The case relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is well defined in it, i.e. in the past tense the
subject of all transitive verbs, other than those having two objects, is invariably placed in the ergative case form and the object in the direct case form, and in non-past tenses the subject, as usual, carries the ergative case markers and the object takes object markers, e.g. /so-ya kitapək sili-thet/he read a book.

/so-ya šuguk zbri-thet/she wrote a letter.

/məsə sina-ra skiyəns/I see a child.

/sinasə mənili khwal/the child is eating bread.

But in the case of a verb, having more than one object, the subject, as usual, is placed in the ergative case, the indirect object in the accusative case and the direct object, real or logical, viz. a substantive or a verbal noun, in the direct case.

/ayes sina-di dyut pyayəd/mother feeds milk to the child.

/sene sinas ayes dyut pyal /small children drink mother's milk.

/sos məra mənili det/he gave me loaves of bread.

/ram-i mohəno-r spiral razis/Ram asked one thing to Mohan.

Syntactic relationship of all the cases and distribution of various case markers and their illustrations may be detailed as under.

**Nominative:** Nominative case bereft of any case marker is the subject or the doer of the action of an intransitive verb or of a verb substantive, e.g.

/mo ekiki həns/ I am alone.

/so ekiki yal/ he is coming alone.

/mo as mi gotiŋ-di byuəns/ I am going to my home today.

/ñə wa-r bəsun/ fishes live in water.

/šadi siŋthok-po-zi bəsun/ monkey live on trees.

/ruŋ aye-seni aner yeu/yesterday aunt came here.

**Accusative:** Acc. /objective case is the case of object towards which the action of the subject is directed. Occurrence of this is confined to transitive verbs only. It could be a single object or a double one. In case of double objects, one of them is called 'direct object' and the other 'indirect'. The former could be a noun or pronoun of any class, but the latter is invariably a noun or pronoun of animate class only. The general principle of marking these objects in this speech is that the animate object, when direct, takes the case markers, otherwise it is left unmarked. For instance--
There are as many as 4 allomorphs of the acc. case marker in this dialect. They are -/-ra/, -/-di -/-de/, -/-i/ and -/ϕ/, but their distribution is not very clear, usually occurring in free variation. This may be illustrated as under:

/-ra/ is usually used with animate object or with indirect object when the verb has double objects, in a quick tempo of speech it is realized as -/-r/ as well, e.g.

/tus kisera ländua hua/ to whom were you calling for?
/mősə sina-ra skiyuŋs/I am seeing a child.
/mole-ra dyut de / give milk to the girl.
/rami mohənor spirak razit/Ram asked one thing to Mohan.
/Sita-i ramo-r pun sunat /sita asked Ram the way.
/sas məra əspak de/ he gave me a horse.
/mősə ti-ra amok dyuŋs/I will give you a mango.

/-di/ - Its use is attested with both types of objects, animate as well as inanimate, and direct and indirect, e.g. /aye sinadi dyut pyayal/mother is making the child drink milk; /mo as mi gotin- di byunṣ/ I am going to my home today; /məso ten-di nə rōza rayuŋs/I shall not allow him speak.

/-i/ - In our data its use is attested with vowel ending stems, as in

/byoi mole-i rithyanə/a boy saw a girl.
/molei byo ədə-i rithyanə/ girls saw boys.
/ϕ/ - The zero allomorph is attested with inanimate objects.
/byoi kitapo silithanə/the boy read the book.
/miyə homo got-po gibet / I built this house.
/əbsar wa de/give water to the horse.
/moi ek śwa rıt/ I saw a dog.

Like Hindi, in Brokskad too there are certain verbs with which the real or logical subject is placed in the acc. case and the object in the nominative case, e.g.

/məra ti pəsənd neš/ I do not like you (cf Hindi-mujhe tu pəsənd nőhi hai.
/məra pene rgośya neš/ I do not need money (= mujhe pəse nőhi cahie)
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/tera homo kitap pəsənd bet/he likes this book (use yədhe kitap pəsənd hai).

tira muşka katik źusun/how many languages do you know?

**Ergative/Agentive Case:** Ergative case which is identical with agentive case, is the case of the subject of transitive verb in the past tense as in Hindi, but like many other languages of the Himalayan group in this too the use of this case is attested with regard to non-past tenses as well. It has 3 allomorphs, viz. /-sə-/ , /-a/ , /-i/. The distribution of which is as under:

/-sə/- which in a colloquial expression is realized as /-s/ as well, is employed to form the ergative case when the verb is in a non-past tense, as in /sinasə ~ sinas mənili khwəl/ the child is eating bread; /ayesə ~ ayes sinadi dyut pyayəl/ mother is feeding milk to the child, /səsə gutugyo žu chinəl/he is cutting tree with axe, /sosə ~ sos sina-ra skiyəl/he sees the child/he will see the child; /sasə pho chinəyəl/she tears/will tear it.

/sos krumyəl/he is doing/will do work (=working)
/sene sinas ayes dyut pyal/babies drink (suck) mother's milk.

/-a/- Its use is attested when the subject is a pronoun and the verb is in the past tense; with stems ending in a vowel it is realized with the front glide /y/:

/soya pho phitət/he broke it/that.
/saya pho chinət/she tore it/that.
/miya bəndet/I ran; /baya bəndet/we ran.

/-i/- Normally, it is attested with proper noun subjects with verbs in the past-tense, but in dialectal variations its use has been attested with vowel ending stems as well:

/Rami məhənor spirak razos/Ram asked one thing to Mohan.
/sitai ramor pun sunət/Sita asked way to Ram.
/byo-i kitap s'ilənət/the boy read the book.
/mole-i byoi rəθyən/girl saw the boy.
/myə-i pəpa khuŋ/I ate food.
/myəi pəpa khyəŋ/I have taken food.
/soi ek kyono šwa rit/he saw a black dog.

**Instrumental:** In Brok-skad instrumental case markers are identical with agentive markers, except /-a/, eg.

/məsə kəkəməs zbritiyəŋs/I write with pen.
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/we hear with ears.

/he cut the apple with the knife.

/Besides /-s∂/ and /-i/, in our data /-gyo/ too has been attested as an instrumental marker, as in /sos∂ gutu-gyo žu chinal/ he cuts down the tree with an axe.

/Sociative Case:/ The sociative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or person with some other things or persons is expressed with the help of the postposition /cisum/ 'with': e.g. /so mo-cisum ut/he came with me.

/so tisa bo-cisum by∂su bet /he has to go with his father.
/ti cisum ko hat/ who was with you?
/sos te-cisum krumit/he worked with him.

/Dative:/ In Brok-skad the dative marker, viz. /-ra/, which in a colloquial speech is reduced to /-r/ as well, is identical with acc. marker. Semantically, it refers to a destination with verbs of motion and to a recipient with others. It also differs from the acc. in respect of the case marker, i.e. in acc. case its use is not necessary with the object, even if it is an animate noun, but in the case of dative it is a must, /sina-ra dyut de/give milk to the child.

/ma-ra kitapok de/give me a book.
/∂bsya-r gas, wa de/give grass and water to the horse.
/tyei dillrnō mōra ye aret/what have you brought for me from Delhi?
/myei tira gotčhi aret/I have brought clothes for you.
/sas r∂no got∂ra byale/she is going to her home.
/mo as mi gotindi ~ got∂ra byuŋs/I am going to my home today.

/But besides the above, the sense of benefaction is also expressed with the postposition/phyaci/, denoting the sense of 'for' or 'for the sake of', which follows the genitive base of the noun or pronoun:
/sinas phyaci dyut de/give milk for the child.
/myo phyaci m∂nili are/bring loaves of bread for me.
/tes phyaci p∂pa t∂yar the /prepare meal for them.

/Ablative:/ The ablative case marker, denoting the relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person or issue, expulsion and other kindred relations, is /no/, which in case of nominal stems is usually preceded by genitive or locative case markers, giving the phrasal sense of
'from near of', 'from within', 'from upon', etc., e.g. /tyei dillirno (< dill-ra-no) ye anet/what have you brought from Delhi?
/mõ bunu-zo-no yuŋs/ I am coming from the village.
/žu-ži- no pəni siŋl/leaves fall from the tree.
/ruŋd̪r̪n̪o bər yal/rivulet comes from the hill.
/ti kyano udo/ where are you coming from?
/tera ṭəjbu:r bo ano go/he under compulsion went from here.

Genitive: Genitive case expressing mutual relationship is formed by suffixing /-s/ and /-n/ to the nominal stems. Of these the former is suffixed to singular bases and the latter to plural bases. Moreover, this is the only case in which a distinction is made between the singular and plural case markers, e.g.
/pho myō mumo-s bun bet/that is my maternal uncle's village;
/sene sina aye-s dyut pyal/babies drink (suck) mother's milk.
/mole-yo-n - sina-n gulučha/girls' - boys' clothes.
/go-s dyut/ cow's milk/, /šwa-s pici/ dog's tail, /cei-s ul/ bird's nest, /sene bo-s got/ uncle's house, /te-s bayo/his brother, /te-n bo/their father, etc. But in colloquial speech the case marker is usually dropped, e.g./bayo sena/ brother's son (nephew), /bayo molei/brother's daughter (niece), /aye sas/ mother's sister, etc.

Besides, in certain expressions it has also been noted that a case marker /-u/ is used instead:
/šadi nəŋles-u zuŋspo-za punet/monkey rode on crocodile's back.
/məra duduzu phyaci muk manyo de/give me some money for a few days.
/mo muzuku phyaci bunu-r byukuzni la/let me go to village for a month.

In pronominal inflections these case markers are employed with 3rd person and demonstrative stems only, as in /tes/his, /te-n/ their, /homo-s/ of this, /ho-s/ whose? but /myo/my, /tue/your.

Possessive: The sense of possessiveness, besides with genetive case, is expressed by suffixing the acc. marker /ra/ with the possessor and the verb /hā/ 'to be' to denote possession.
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/tira kətuk pene hən /how many rupees have (=possess) you?
/məra bye du həne/I have two brothers, but
/myo śasņyo tra henī/I have three sisters.
/tyera kətuk paki həne/how many goats have (=possess) you?
/bono bayo-r sākyal bedc thospo hən/elder brother has more than all fields.

Moreover, besides the acc. marker /-ra/, its allomorph /di/ also is used to express the sense of possessiveness:
/modi ḍbšik hən/I have a horse (=I possess a horse).

Locative: The domain of the locative case is to denote various time and space oriented relations pertaining to location and direction of the object in question. In this speech it becomes operative in respect of inanimate substantives or nominals denoting lower species of animate objects only. In it there are 2 allomorphs of the locative marker, viz. /-ra/ ~ /-r/ and / zā ~ ʒi/. Of these the former is identical with acc. dat. marker. Distributionally, /ra/ is used to denote the sense of 'in', i.e. the sense of interior location or direction and /ža-ʒi/ to denote the sense of 'on' i.e. exterior location.

/ra/- /pho bunpo-r myuṣ kətuk hənu/how many people are in the village.
/ŋa wa-r bəsun / fishes live in water.
/myo byo gotəra hən/ my brother is in the house.
/tyo hati-r ye hən/what is in your hand?
/bunu-ra wa punlo/water has poured into the village.
/mo ťhosu-r beko inihəns/I want to go to the field.

/za/ ~ /zi/ - /pho pe- ā bəsun/ he is sitting on the ground.
/mesu- zä kitap hən/ the book is on the table.
/şadi nəńlesu zuņspo-za punet/the monkey rode on the back of the crocodile.
/həmzi bəs/ sit down here at this place.
/pho siņthok-po-į zi ek cei la/there is a bird on the tree.
/syalti- ži seni cei la/there is a small bird on the roof.
**Vocative:** It is a case of address, having no relation with other constituents of the sentence. Its domain is confined to a third person only, particularly to draw his/her attention toward the speaker/addressee. Structurally, it is identical with nominative/direct case form, but is distinguished by the use of the vocative terms and intonation. In Brok-skad the address terms have two allomorphs, viz. /wa/ and /li/, the former being used with masculine addressee and the latter with feminine addressee, which precede the noun concerned.

/\wa čherin! t\yo bi\o ky\än h\h\n\n/O Čhering! where is your son?  
/\wa son\da\m! ti kyano ud\o/O Sonam! where are you coming from?  
/\li mole ti ky\än b\da\s\u\n\n/O girl! where do you live?  
/\li dolma aner i/O Dolma! come at this place.

**Postpositional Case Markers**

There are certain indeclinable terms like case suffixes which indicate the case relationship between different constituents of a sentence. But unlike case suffixes these stand apart from the substantive in question and normally, follow an inflected base of the noun/pronoun concerned. A couple of them attested for this speech may be illustrated as under: /\phyaci/: This is employed with indirect object of a trans. verb having double objects, to indicate that the benefit of the direct object goes to it, when used, instead of dative marker, it follows the substantive concerned with gen. case marker:

/\senas \phya\c̄i dyut de/give milk for/to the child.  
/\myo \phya\c̄i m\ən\nili are/bring food for me.  
/\m\ə\r\a d\u\d zu \phya\c̄i mulik m\ə\nyo de /give some money to me for a few days, /\m\u\z\u\k\u \phya\c̄i/for a month.  
/\c\i\s\u\m/ - It conveys the sense of the English preposition 'with' and is used to express an association of one substantive with another. It follows the nominative base of the substantive with which association is intended. (For example see Sociative case).

/\t\i \c\i\s\u\m ko h\ua\n\n>h\w\n\a/who was with you?  
/\m\o \c\i\s\u\m ko yu\n\n /who will come with me?
## MODELS OF NOMINAL DECLENSIONS

A. Vowel endings: /sina/ son, child.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>sina</td>
<td>sina-čok/sina-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>sina-ze/-ra</td>
<td>sina cos-ze/-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Agentive</td>
<td>Sina-e/-sə</td>
<td>sina-coge/-cokse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociative</td>
<td>sina-sum/-cisum</td>
<td>sina-coksum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental (Caus.)</td>
<td>sina-sə</td>
<td>sina-coksə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>sina</td>
<td>Sina-cokunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>sina-phyaci</td>
<td>sina-cok-phyaci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>sina-če/-zono</td>
<td>sina-cok-če</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>sina-s</td>
<td>sina-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>va sina!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>bio</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>bio-ze/-ra</td>
<td>ben-ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg. Ag.</td>
<td>bioe&gt;byoye</td>
<td>beye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc.</td>
<td>bio-sum/-cisum</td>
<td>be-sum/-cisum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>bio-re/-ra</td>
<td>be-re/-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben.</td>
<td>bio phyaci</td>
<td>be phyaci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>bio-če/-zono</td>
<td>be-če/-zono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bio-s</td>
<td>bes/ben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>va bio!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>naro</td>
<td>nare/narodə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>naro-ra/-ze</td>
<td>nare-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg./Ag.</td>
<td>naro-i</td>
<td>nare-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>naro-ra</td>
<td>nare-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>naro-zono</td>
<td>nare-zono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>naro-s</td>
<td>nare-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae.</td>
<td>naro-če/-zono</td>
<td>nare-če/-zoni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>mole</td>
<td>mole-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>mole-ze/-ra</td>
<td>mole-yo-ze/-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg. Age.</td>
<td>mole-i</td>
<td>mole-ýoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc.</td>
<td>mole sum/-cisum</td>
<td>moleyo-cisum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mole-re</td>
<td>mole-yo-re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Consonant ending: /myus/ man

Case  
Nom.  
Acc.  
Erg.  
Soc.  
Dat.  
Abl.  
Gen.  

Sg.  
myuś  
myuśure  
myuze  
myuś-cisum  
myuźinde  
myuśpo-če  
muzu (<myuś-u).  

Pl.  
myuś cok/myusi  
myuś cok-zure  
myuś coge  
myuś-cokundě  
myuśpo-cokče  
myuś-cokun.  

Case  
Nom.  
Acc.  
Erg.  
Dat.  
Abl.  
Gen.  
Lac.  

Sg.  
dźš  
dźśa-ze  
dźźe (<dźpse)  
dźśa-re  
dźśa/dźpsezon  
dźśa  
dźśa-ze  

Pl.  
dźśa  
dźśa coku ze  
dźśa coge  
dźśa-cogende  
dźśa-cokunse  
dźśa-cokun  
dźśa-cokun- ze  

Case  
Nom.  
Acc.  
Ag.  
Dat.  
Abl.  
Gen.  

Sg.  
hat  
hat-ra  
hat-so  
hati-re  
hati-zono  
hati-re  

Pl.  
hati-yo/hatyo cok  
hatyo-ra  
hatyo-coksə  
hatyo-coki-re  
hatyo coki-zono  
hatiyo-coki-re  

PRONOUN

Grammatical Status

Pronouns which substitute nouns, can, like nouns, function as subject, object or complement in a syntactic construction. Morphologically, these too, are inflected for 2 numbers, 2 genders (3rd person/demo. only) and 6 cases. There the personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person are not inflected for locative case, but others are. Historically, pronominal stems of Brok-skad, except 2nd person pl., belong to OIA sources.
Classification: Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into 6 classes, viz. (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for both the numbers but not others. Similarly, inflection for genders is confined to the pronouns of 3rd person and demonstrative class only.

Declension: Declension of all the above mentioned classes of pronominal stems may be explained as follows:

Personal Pronouns: Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to', and 'the person spoken of', representing the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd persons respectively. In Brok-skad these are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems both in the singular and plural numbers. For instance,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>mo ~ ma ~ mi</td>
<td>bā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ti ~ tu</td>
<td>či ~ čo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>so (m.) sa (f.)</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inflection

As pointed out above pronouns in this speech are inflected for number, gender and case categories, with clear distinction, which may be explained in the following way.

Number: In case of number distinction Brok-skad like OIA attests the phenomenon of suppletivism, according to which the stem of the singular number is replaced in the plural number (see above). Plurality, besides the replacement of the stem, is also marked with the plural marker attribute /čok/ which in some cases is further strengthened with the plural suffix /-n/ to which are suffixed respective case markers. (For examples see Modal Conjugations).

Gender: In respect of gender distinction, too, it follows the OIA pattern, according to which the pronouns of the first and second persons are epecineous, but the stems of the 3rd person, as well as demo., demonstrate a clear distinction at least in the singular number.

Case: In respect of case inflection pronominal stems of
Brok-skad follow the same pattern as we have discussed above in the context of nominal stems.

**Allomorphemic Variations:** As shown above pronominal stems of the 1st and 2nd person exhibit a few allomorphemic variations as well. Morphophonemic distribution of these allomorphs has been attested as follows: Out of the 3 allomorphs (see above) of the 1st person, /mi/ occurs with erg. case marker /yā/, /mā/ with its allomorph case marker /sā/ and /mo/ else-where, but the distribution of the 2nd person pronominal stems, both in the sg. as well as pl. is not clear. For, their occurrences are attested in free variation, even in idiolectal expressions. (see Modal Declensions for complete declensional patterns of all the personal pronominal stems noted above.) A few examples of their syntactic uses may be illustrated as under:

**1st. sg.** - /mo ekiki hāns/ I am alone.
/myo sasnyō tra hene / I have three sisters.
/māi ek kyono śwa rīt/ I saw a black dog.
/soya māra skit/ he saw me.

**1st. pl.** -
/ba cokse ṇi krumpo becokse chenās/ we ourselves will do our work.
/ba ane yakaŋ yenes/ we come here daily.

**2d. sg.** -
/ti kyan bāsun/ where do thou live?
/tisa tera skiyal/ you see him.
/tyo byo kyan hān/ where is your son?
/tus kisera lendya hua/ to whom were you calling for?
/tisa ye dethed, tuga dyuṇs/ you whatever ask, I shall give to you.
/tis ti krumpo tis krum/ you yourself do your work.

**2nd pl.** -
/či as kyan byalen/ where are you going today?
/čisa tera skiya:leŋ/ you are looking at him.
/čhisak is go, to mōga sumyuns/ had you come, I would have accompanied you.
/če sokse či krumpo čhis krumya/ you yourselves do your work.
Demonstrative Pronouns. The domain of demo. pron. or determinants is to point out to a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' object from the standpoint of the speaker. In this speech like many NIA and T.H. speeches demo. stems are not identical with 3rd pers. pron. There are distinct stems for demo. pron. They are (Prox.) - /homo/ (m.): /hāmo/(f.) 'this'; /heme/ (pl.) 'these'; (Remote)- /pho (m.): /pha/ (f.) 'that' (sg.); /phe/ those (pl.). In syntactic strings their uses may be illustrated as under:

/homo mi got bet/ this is my house.
/pho mo mumos bun bet/ that is my maternal uncle's village.
/hāmo mole ūgī la/ this girl is tall.
/pho thīga go la/ that woman is fat.
/hām ~ zānspo-r ye hōη/what is (there) in this pot?
/heme bye/moleyo bun tonçī bāsen/these boys - girls live in this village.
/phe ēspa zige lan/those horses are tall.
/phe moleyo thali lan/those girls are beautiful.

Interrogative Pronouns: Pronouns of this class are used with reference to an enquiry about some one or some thing. In this the pronominal stems belonging to this category are /ye/ what ?

/kō ~ ki/ who, which? These may be illustrated as follows:
/hām zānspo-r ye hōη/what is (there) in this pot?
/māi ekora sunēt /to whom did I tell?
/tus kisera lēndya hwa/to whom were you calling for?
/ti cisum ko hwa (<hua)/ who was with you?
/mō cisum ko yuη/who will come with me?
Concise Grammar (Pronoun) 73

/ti ye-ra gotin-di byuns/ what for you are going home?
/ti ye rguysya la/ what do you want?

In this context it may also be mentioned that the pronominal stems /ye/ and /ko/ also serve as a base for deriving stems for interrogative adjectives and adverbs, e.g. /kyan/, /kyane/ where? /kere/ when?, /kaw/ which?, /kise/ which one < /ko/ who?; /yeta/how?, /yera/ why < /ye/ what?

Indefinitive Pronouns: Pronouns of this class refer to an unspecified or approximate number of persons or things, or unspecified quantity of a thing. In Brok-skad this sense is expressed either with the help of interrogative stems or with numeral for 'one'. Consequently, the term for 'some one' is /ekuzina/ 'one person'; for 'any body is /keser/ 'any one'; for 'every body' is /myus cok/ 'all men'; /ko utto/ any one, /g6nmao/every one, /yede/ whatever, etc. According to the traditional grammars some of these are classified as distributive pron. as well. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

/eko zino dyal, ekozino khunz/some one gives, some one eats.
/keser ga homo krumbo krumis sunisu la/any body can do this work.
/myus ekige ekikur gule asten/every body had a stick each.
/myusko utthan, ko sut/some are awakened, some slept.
/tisa yedo thed, tu ga dyunz/whatever you ask for, I shall give.

/mora pu6o-kek de/give me some flowers.

Reflexive Pronouns: Reflexive pronouns substitute a pronoun or refer to a noun in the 3rd person, which as a rule, is the logical subject of the sentence. Brokskad like many T.H. tongues has full series of reflexive pronouns, parallel to pronouns these are inflected for both the numbers, e.g.

1st person - /mo/ > /mi/; /ba/ > /asi/
2nd person - /ti/ > /tis/; /chi/ > /chis/
3rd person - /so/ > tis/  ~ /ro6/

From the above it is evident that reflexive stems are obtained from their respective personal pronominal stems. Their syntactic uses may be illustrated as follows:

/mo mi gotin-di byuns/ I am going to my home.
/mi mi krumbo mis krumyos/I, myself do my work.
/ba-cokse asi krumbo be-cokse che-n6s/ we ourselves will do our work.
Tribal Languages of Ladakh–I

/tisə ti krumpo tis krum/ thou thyself do thy work.
/chi-cokse čhi krumpo čhis krumyan/you yourselves do your work.
/so tisə bo čisum byəsu bet/ he has to go with his father.
/sos rəno gutči rən dwal/ he, himself washes his clothes.
/sosə tisə krumpo swəne krum/ he, himself should do his work.
/tesə tesə krumpo tes krumyən/ they, themselves should do their work.

Relative Pronouns. Like many languages of the Himalayan group it has no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually, the purpose of corresponding relative conjunction is served by a pause juncture, i.e. though the principal clause has the pronominal antecedent, yet the subordinate/complementary clause has no corresponding relative term, e.g. 
/tisa ye thethed, dyuəs/you whatever will ask, I shall give (that).
/həm mihilpo-r ko utthoga, byas/in this world who (=who soever) will come (he) will go.

Distributive Pronouns: Pronouns standing for distribution of objects are not many. The only one attested in our data is /cokon/ 'every one', as in /čokondi āme-kik thəpčə bet/every one will get a mango.

MODELS OF PRONOMINAL DECLENSIONS

A. Personal Pronouns

(i) /mo/ I (First person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>ba/ba-čok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mo-ze/mə-ra</td>
<td>ba-cokuze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive/Erg.</td>
<td>mɔi/miya/misə/ məso</td>
<td>basə/ba cogye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>məra/myo phyaci</td>
<td>bacokunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>mo-zono</td>
<td>bakunzone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociative</td>
<td>mi-cisum/-sum</td>
<td>ba-cisum/-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>myo</td>
<td>bacogun/əso (Refl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) /ti/ thou/you (second person)

| Nom. | ti   | ci/chi/ chi-cok |
|Acc.  | ti-ze/ti-ra | chi-cokun-ze |
Concise Grammar (Pronoun)

Erg. Ag. ti-e/ti-sə  chi-coge/cisə/cisə
Soc. ti-cisum/-sum  chi-sum/-cisum
Dat. ti-ra/tyue phyaçi  chicoku phyaçi
Abl. tyu-zono  chi-cokun-zone
Genitive tyo  chi-cokun

(iii) /so/ he (third person masc.)
Nom. te/te cok/te sak
Acc. tera/teri  tecokunde/ten-di
Erg. / Ag. soi/sosə  təs/te-coge
Soc. so-sum/-cisum  te-sum/-cisum
Dat. tes phyaçi  tecokun phyaçi
Abl. te-zono  te-cokun zono
Gen. te  te-cokun

(iv) /sə/ she (3rd person fem.)
Nom. te/te sak
Acc. səra  tendi
Erg. Ag. säsə/səya  təs/teya
Soc. sə-sum  te-sum

(Rest as in masc.)
B. (v) /homo/ this (masc.): /hamo/ this (fem.) (Demo.)
Nom. homo/həmo  heme/hem-cok
Acc. homo-ra/hamo-ra  heme/hem-cok
Erg. Ag. homo-i/hamoi  heme-cogi-e
Dat. homo-s phyaçi/hamo-  heme-n cokun
Abl. homo-če/hamo-če  heme-n-če
Gen. homo-s/hamos  heme-cokun
Loc. homo-riyaŋ  hemcondeyaŋ

(vi) /pho/ that (masc.) /pha/ that (fem.) (Demo.)
Nom. pho/pha  phe

C. (vii) /ko/ who (Interro. sg. only)
Case Sg. pl.
Nom. ko  x
Acc. kisere  x
Erg. Ag. ko-e  x
Dat. kisere/kophyaci  x
Abl. kise-zon (<zono)  
Gen. kise  
Loc. ko-re/yere  

D. (viii) /ho/ who (Relative, sg. only)
Nom. ho  x
Acc. horu  x
_NUMERAL SYSTEM_

Murdock (1945: 124) is perhaps right when he states that the numeral system in any language is perhaps the one which is comparatively more constant than other systems and can also be more exactly compared with languages of the same family or of different families. Moreover, number names, by common consent are the oldest and the best defined words of a language, as mathematics is undisputably the oldest of the sciences.

**Sources of Numerals in Brok-skad:** An analysis of numerals in it clearly shows that the main source of these numerals is Indo-Aryan. Although counting of numerals higher than twenty as in A.A. is based on vigecimal system, yet the basic units are all the same as in I.A. system (see below).

**Classification:** Syntactically, numerals share the position of qualifiers and are, therefore, a sub-category of adjectives. Formal classes of this class of words are- (1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, and (6) Approximatives. The structure and function of all these may be presented as under:

**Cardinals**

As in other languages in this too the function of this class of numerals is to count objects, animate or inanimate. Moreover, in this the cardinal numerals have two fold function, (1) that of an attribute and (2) that of a substantive. With regard to their function as qualifiers it may be mentioned that in it these are used both, attributively and predicatively (see Adj.). However, the numeral for 'one' is not generally used as a nominal qualifier. It, whenever used, indicates the sense of the indefinite article.
Formation of Cardinal Numerals: As in I.A. in it too, cardinal numbers from 1-10 are primary/basic ones, and all higher than this, except for 100, are secondary/compounded. Because the counting of numerals higher than 20 is based on this unit, therefore, first of all a structural analysis of numerals from 1 to 20 is desirable. In Brok-skad these are: /ek/ one, /du/ two, /trä/ three, /čor/ four, /punš/ five, /ša/ six, /sat/ seven, /išt/ eight, /nu/ nine, /daš/ ten, /kodeš/ eleven, /budeš/ twelxe, /trodēš/ thirteenth, /cudeš/ fourteen, /påndeš/ fifteen, /šobeš/ sixteen, /såtuŋ/ seventeen, /ištunŋ/ eighteen, /kunj/ nineteen, /bišā/ twenty.

From the above it is evident that forms of numerals from 1 to 10 are basic units and onwards they are formed by combining these very units with morphophonemic changes. Notable morphophonemic changes taking place in basic unit from 1-9 as the first components and 10 as second component in numeral terms from 11-20 are as under: (first components): /ek/ → /ko/, /du/ → /bu/ , /tra/ → /tro/, /čor/ → /ču/, /punš/ → /pån/, /sä/ → /šo/, /sat/ → /såt/, /išt/ → /išt/ (no change), /nu/ → /k/ , /du/ → /bi/. There the second component /daš/ undergoes the following morphophonemic changes. The morpheme /daš/ is replaced with /beš/ when combined with /šo-, 'and' by /unš/ when combined with allomorphs of 'seven, eight and nine', and with /deš/ when combined with allomorphs of the remaining numerals. Historically, /kodeš/ has its source in (Skt.) ekādaśa. /budeš/ in dvaśaśa and /kunj/ in ekon vimśati. As in OIA-- in it too in these combinations the first component, standing for the smaller unit precedes the unit standing for higher number, e.g. /påndeš/ < paścadaśa, /sobéš/ < /sodaśa/, etc.

Formation of Higher Numerals: Although it draws its numerals up to twenty from the I.A. stock, but follows the vigecimal system beyond this. Consequently, numerals above twenty are formed by combining the terms from one to nineteen to the term for twenty or its multiples, viz. 40, 60, 80. e.g. /biši ek/ 21, /bišidu/ 22, /biši nu/ 29, /biš daš/ 30, /biši kodes/ 31, /biši pondeš/ 35, /biši kunja/ 39, /dubisu/ 40 (2 x 20), /du biši daš/ 50 (2 x 20, 10), /tro biši/ 60 (3 x 20), tro biši daš/ 70 (3 x 20, 10), /cor bišu/ 80 (4 x 20), /corbiši daš/ 90, /corbisu kunja/ 99, etc. but the term for 'hundred', contrary to an expected term like *punš bišū, is attested as /šyo/, again an I.A. term.
But the speakers of Brok-skad, may be under the influence of Ladakhi also follow an alternate system of forming decades 30, 50, 70 and 90. According to which the term /pinaŋ/ 'half' is prefixed to the next decade term, a multiple of twenty e.g. 30 is /pinaŋ du bišu/ denoting the sense of 'half less to two twenties', or 'half biši less to two bisis. Similarly, 50 is /pinaŋ tr̥a bišu/, 70 /pinaŋ cor bišu/, 90 /pinaŋ pun̥s bišu/.

**Formation of Numerals above Hundred:** Numerals for hundred series are formed by combining the terms for 1-9 as first components and the term /šyo/ 100 as the second component, as in /ek šyo/ 100, /du šyo/200, /tr̥a šyo/300, /nu šyo/900, etc.

Numerals above the series of any specific hundred figures are obtained by adding the specific figures to the specific term for hundred, e.g. /du šyo du biši daš/250, etc.

Numeral terms higher than hundred are seldom used by the common folk. In case of necessity either the Tibetan terms /stoŋ/ thousand, /thi/ ten thousand and /bum/ lac, or the NIA terms /həzar/ 1,000, /daš həzar/10,000, and /lakh/ 1,00,000 are used, as in /tr̥a stoŋ /3,000 /pun̥s lakh/ 5,00,000, etc.

**Ordinals**

The use of ordinals to indicate the order of sub-stantitives, is not common among the speakers. In case of necessity either the Ladakhi terms /tan̥-po/ first, /nis-pa/ ~ /ok-po/ second, /sum-pa/ 3rd, or the NIA terms like /du-sir/ second, /tr̥a-sir/ 3rd, etc. are used. Besides the above, terms for third, fourth, etc. can also be obtained by suffixing the formative particle /pa/ to the numeral in requirement, as in /tre-pa/ third, /cor-pa/ fourth, /pun̥s-pa/ 5th, /əşt-pa/ 8th, etc.

**Aggregatives:** This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. There the term for 'both' is /hoyo/, for 'all the three' is /chaŋ- pe/. Further terms of this class of numerals can be obtained by suffixing the formative particle /-pe/ to the number in question, as in /pun̥s-pe/ all the five, etc. These may be illustrated as under: /ci hoyasa krum krumye/both of you are doing work (-working).

/te hoyo rōtya isu bet/both of them will come here tomorrow.
/te hoyosa dyut pit/both of them drank milk.
/te chaŋ-pe tr̥a phţireu kuṭṭa dus/all of the three threshed together.
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/te puns-pe røtya ane isu bet/they, all the five will come here-tomorrow.

**Multiplicatives:** This class of numerals denotes multiplicity of things in terms of 'times' or 'folds'. In this tongue these are obtained by prefixing the NIA term /phera/ 'turns', 'times', to numeral intended, as in /phera-ek/ once, /phera du/ twice, /phera-trø/ thrice, etc., and by prefixing the numeral in question to the term /skæl/ 'fold' as in /du skæl/ double, /trø skæl/ tripple etc.

/modyo ti-ra bun duskæl bede la/your land is double than that of mine.

**Fractionals:** Indication of the fraction or part of a whole is not uncommon in it. So the commonly used fractionals in it are- /paw/ 1/4, /phet/ 1/2, /pawtrø/ 3/4, /pinaqtrø/ ~/pherañ-trø/ 2.1/2 (=half to three), /pinaqços/ 3. 1/2, /pinaq puns/ 4. 1/2, etc.

**Approximatives:** The sense of approximation of the number of objects is expressed by prefixing the term /poze/ 'about' to the object, the approximation of which is in question, as in /hoze hotem poze myus pon-søk asten/ at that time there were about 5-6 persons.

/mø-ra duduzu phyace pene daš-bisø de/give me some 10-20 rupees for a few days.

**ADJECTIVES**

**Grammatical Status**

As in other languages in this too adjectives belong to that class of words which serve as attributes to substantives or intensify the meaning of another attribute. But, as compared with other Himalayan tongues, a special feature of adj. of this tongue is that, like OIA or NIA, in it adj. are inflected for both the numbers and genders, though confined to the adjectival stems ending in vowels only. Moreover, in respect of gender inflection it differs, as in OIA, from nominal declension. It seems that it has inherited this characteristics from the OIA sources in which it is so prominent.

**Classification:** Besides the traditional classification, adjectives in it can, morphologically, be divided into two classes, (1) distinguishing, (2) describing.

**Distinguishing.** This comprises two categories of pronouns,
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viz. possessive and demo. gen. case forms of nouns, which serve as attributes to nominal substantives:

Examples of the possessive pronominal adj. are--
/myo got/ my house: /həmo myo got bet/ this is my house.
/tyo bio/your son: /tyo bio kyan hən/ where is your son?
/mumos bun/maternal uncle's village; /gos dyut/cow's milk, etc. /śwas pici/dog's tail, /ceis ul/bird's nest.

Examples of the demo. adj. are
/pha ḷbs/ that horse, /həm ḷbs/ this horse, /pha ḷspi/ that mare, /heme ḷspa/ these horses, /phe ḷspiyo/ those mares, etc.

Adjectives belonging to this class are termed as distinguishing because these adj. basically distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing of the same class or category, e.g. in an utterance like/myo ḷbs/ the attribute/ myo/my' distinguishes the particular horse from other horses. Similarly, a statement like /pha ḷbs/ that horse, /həm ḷbs/ this horse, etc. distinguish the particular horse from other horses.

A few illustrations of this class of adjectives are:
/məra homo kitap ṭasənd bet / I like this book.
/heme šole ťhole lan/these stories are nice ones.
/pho myuspe go la/that man is fat.
/phe myuspe zige lan/those men are tall.
/pha mole khimet la/that girl is lean.
/heme tes ḷbsa hene/these are his horses.

Describing Adjectives: Adjectives which either denote a quality such as good, bad, black, white etc., or some quantity, such as plenty, enough, much, little, etc. or size, such as long, short, high, low, etc. or number, such as some, few, many, three, four, five, etc. distribution, such as each, every, etc., a state or condition such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc. are to be termed as describing ones, because all these categories of attributes simply describe the quantity, quality, number, or condition of the noun head qualified by them.

Stem Formation: Adjectival stems in it are both radical as well as derived. Radical stems are all monomorphemic, but derived are, naturally, poly-morphemic. Some of these commonly attested in Brokskad are -

Derived: In this speech majority of attributes belong to the radical class. But there are some which are formed either by affixing certain formatives to nominal stems or by reduplicating the radical stems. Some of these are as under:

(i) /cən/ - /phoso-cən/ proud, < /phoso/ pride, /nelpa-cən/ poor < /nelpa/ poverty, /kha-cən/ angry < /kha/ anger,
(ii) /to/- /churku-to/ lier < /churku/ a lie,
(iii) /la/- /chuṭu-la/ naughty < /chuṭu/ bad,
(iv) /pa/- /ḍət-pa/ eighth < /ḍət/ eight.
(v) /met/- /set-met/ weak, /ṭhəl-met/ cruel.
(vi) Reduplication- /gir-gir/ round, /mul-mul/ luke warm, /ṭək-ṭək/ tight, /zəb-zəb/ hard, /čok-čok/ active, /ziŋ-zaŋ/ noisy, /khor-khor/ zig zag, etc.

Uses of some of these may be illustrated as under:

/lodo puṣo/ red flower, /kyono śwa/ black dog, /ṭhulo ruŋ/ beautiful hill, /pəcol khəzəs/ ripe fruit, /kolo myuṣ/ lame man, /tato wa/ hot water, /šo šugu/ white paper, /bono ba/ elder father, /seno ba/ younger father/uncle, /zaro myuṣ/ old man, /shəpo sina/ clever boy, /ŋifo pəni/ green leaf, /zigo byo/ tall boy, etc.

Agreement with Noun Head: In this speech attributes belong to the variable class and are fully in agreement with the number and gender of the noun qualified by them. This may be explained as under:

All attributes ending in a vowel are clearly marked for the number and gender of the noun qualified by them. Consequently the masculine stem final /o/ is replaced by /i/ for the feminine, and by /e/ for the plural. In feminine gender, however, the plural marker is identical with the singular marker, its plurality being inferred from the plural form of the noun itself. This feature of this tongue may be illustrated as follows:

/noro byo/ good boy : /nori mole/ good girl : /nore bye/

**Numeral Adjectives:** As in other speeches in Brok-skad too, numerals of all categories are used as attributes to a noun head: /myo bayo du hanes/I have two brothers: /myo sasnvo tra henē/I have three sisters etc.

**Interrogative Adjective:** These are identical with interro. pron., but are differentiable from the syntactic position and semantic connotation, e.g. /pho ko kārībet/which basket was that?

/pho kise bio bet/which boy was that?

**Distribution**/cokondi amekik thōpe bet/everyone will get a mango

/myus ekige hat-ra eki-kur gule asten/everyone had a stick in hand.

**Placement of Adjectives:** Normally, adj. of distinguishing and describing class precede the noun head qualified by them, but attributes of numeral class, like Tibetan/Ladakhi, follow it. These may be illustrated as under:

/pho ñbs myo la/that horse is mine.

/māi ek kyono śwariṭ/I saw a black dog.

/pho kise bio bet/who's son is that?

/heme goti du bet/these are two houses (lit. houses two)

/myus ekige/every man; /bayo dui/two brothers; /sasnvo trà/three sisters. /poza goti tra lan/there are three houses there, but - /māra trà sina, du bye ushima ek mōle/I have three children: two sons and one daughter.

In a noun phrase containing more than one modifier, the order of different classes of adjectives is, more or less, fixed. Normally, a numeral qualifier precedes a qualitative or quantitative modifier; /māi ek kyono śwa riṭ/I saw a black dog; /pho śinhokpo-zi ek seni cei la/there is a small bird on the tree. But in case of two adjectives of the same class qualifying a noun head, the one denoting the size or quantity precedes the one denoting quality, as in /syaltīži seni lwedi cei la/there is a small red bird on the roof; /māi ek bono kyono śwa riṭ/I saw a big black dog.
But, may be under the influence of Ladakhi, in some cases predicative use of an attribute too is attested, e.g. /pəri pərər khəzəs moro bede hənes/there are more sweet fruits on the other side (lit. fruits sweet more).

**Degrees of Comparison:** As in many IA and TB languages in it too the comparison of degrees of an attribute is not affected by means of suffixes as in OIA or English, but by placing a particle /dyo/ 'than' after the noun with which the comparison is made. In case of comparison in two objects, i.e. in comparative degree, both the nouns, the one which is being compared and that which is the model of comparison on are placed in the direct case, and the attribute follows the particle /dyo/.

/myo got tyo got-dyo bono hən/my house is bigger than yours.
/kha thospo žə thospo dyo bono la/the lower field is bigger than that the upper one.
/pho mo-dyo sene bet/he is younger to me.
/myo mole bio-dyo sene bet/my daughter is younger to my son.
/həmo mole phamole-dyo thonmo hən/this girl is taller than that girl.
/modyo ti-ra bun duskəl bede la/your land is double than that of mine.
/məra ti dyo ho rinžən nə/to me heart is not dearer than you.

In case of comparison among more than two objects of the same kind, i.e., in the superlative degree, the particle of comparison, viz. /sək-dyo/ or /čok-dyo/meaning 'all than' is placed after the object of comparison, as in the case of comparative degree which is followed by the attribute in question, e.g. /hərau thospo sek-dyo bono la/the medial field is the biggest of all,
/am čok-dyo nərmo khəzəsəla/mango is the sweetest fruit; /drus sək-dyo tə la/ Dras is the coldest place of all.

But some times, as in Hindi, the sense of the superlative degree is also expressed by reduplicating the attribute with the comparative particle /dyo/, as in /bono-dyo-bono/biggest (cf. Hindi- bəre se bəra); /seno-dyo-seno/ smallest (=Hindi-chote se chota) /pruno-dyo-pruno sinhək/the oldest tree, etc.

**Intensification:** The quality or the quantity of an adj. of describing class can further be intensified with the use of an
intensifier. In this speech this phenomenon is attested in 2 ways, (1) by using the intensificative term for 'very' 'extremely' etc., (2) by reduplicating the attribute itself, as in (1) /məi ek bede kyono šwa rit/or/ məi bono kyono šwa rit/ (2) /məi ek kyono-kyono šwa rit/I saw a very black (lit. black-black) dog.

Adj. used as a Noun

In a sentence with a verb of incomplete predication an adj. is used as a complementary noun as well, e.g. /so zigo-k la/he is tall; /sa zigik la/she is tall, /myo got seno hən/my house is small.

/pho myušpo go la/that man is fat.

/nənəles-po tʂən mo asto/the crocodile was happy (RS).

Concordance: Brokskad like OIA attests full concordance between the noun head and its attributes and determiners:

(i) Noun and Attribute/norobyo/good boy, /nore bye/good boys; /nori mole/good girl, /nori moleyo/good girls (as in singular), /lodo pušo/red flower, /lode puše/red flowers; /seno baya/younger brother, /sene bayoda/younger brothers, /seni sas/younger sister. Similarly /bono/big, elder: /boni/(f.) /bone/(pl.); /zige byo/ tall boy, /zigi mole/tall girl, /zige bye/ tall boys, etc.

(ii) Noun and Determiner: /homo byo/this boy, /home bye/these boys, /pho myuš/that man, /pha tʰiga/that woman, /phe bye/those boys.

VERBAL SYSTEM

Verb: Definition Functionally, the class of words designated as verb on the basis of their morpho-syntactic functions is an essential component of the predicate, and occupies an important place in the syntactic structure of any linguistic communication. Every language, cultivated or rustic has its own verbal system which distinguishes it from other linguistic systems. Brokskad too has its own verbal system which distinguishes it from the neighbouring T.H. systems in many respects. As compared with Tibetan (Ladakhi) system it is more elaborate and complicated.

Verb Roots: Structurally, verb roots in it belong to three categories, viz. Primary/Radical, Secondary/derived, and
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Compounded. Although majority of roots are radical ones, yet there are some which represent the other two categories as well. Some of these may be enumerated as follows:

Primary Roots: Primary roots are obtained by detaching the infinitive markers from them. These roots are basically monomorphic and can be both, vowel ending as well as consonant ending. For instance, /i-/ come, /bo-/ go, /ski-/ see, /pis-/ show, /suc-/ dry, /ra-/ say, /ro-/ weep, /rə-/ hear, /uth-/ stand, rise, /d'o-/ wash, /bid-/ sow, /yeth-/ call, /bith-/ stop, /el-/ draw, /phet-/ throw, /kə-/ ripe, /sil-/ read, /bər-/ cut down, /bi-/ be afraid, /khut-/ beat, thresh, /bun-/ be suspended, /pi-/ drink, /phet/ break, /chin-/ be broken, cut, /bəš-/ sit, dwell, /-nil-/ hide, /rith-/ see, /so-/ sleep, /kha-/ eat, /di-/ give, /ras-/ raz-/ ask, /krum-/ work, /sum-/ be tired, /rgus-/ want, /ṭham-/ be hungry, /ḥaż- hās-/ laugh, /nar-/ fall, /zbri-/ write, /ut-/ come, /ar-/ bring, /thi-/ do, /būs-/ become.

Sources of Primary Roots: Verbal roots of Brok-skad mainly belong to three sources, viz. Old-Indo-Aryan, Tibetan and Indigenous. But of all these the number of roots belonging to the OIA source is the largest. Some of the commonly used roots belonging to this class are as under:

/ləy-/ to reap < √ lūn-, /bu-/ to be, to become < √ bhu-;
√/bi-/ to be afraid < √ bhi-, /khut-/ to beat, to thresh < √ kutt-/
/phet/ to break, to be broken < sphut-, /chin-/ to tear, to throw < chhid-, /as-/ to be < √ as-, /uth-/ to get up, to rise < ud-stha-, /si-/ to sew < sīv-, /gin-/ to hold, to take < grah-, /pi-/ to drink < √ pi-, /khut-/ to eat < khad-, /bō-/ to sit, to live, to dwell < √ vas-, /di-/ de/to give < √ da-, /li-/ to lick < lih-, /bōd-/ to increase < vṛdh-, /su-/ so-/ to sleep < svap-, /buś- baś-/ to chirp < vāš-, /ar-/ to bring < ā+rā- ~ lā; /bism/ to rest < vi+ √ šram, /bun-/ to lie < √ bandh-, /pač-/ to speak < √ pac-, /ru-/ to weep < rud-, /kru-/ to do < kṛ-, /ya-/ to come < (ā) + ya-, /piš-/ to show < paš-, /suc-/ to dry < šus-; /do-/ to wash < dhāv-, /bid-/ to sow < vap-, /hər-/ to carry, to take away < ḥr-, /mar-/ to kill < mr-, /has-/ to laugh < ḫas-, /bə-h-/ to plough < vāh.

A few roots belonging to other sources are - /hər-/ to be, /thə- chə-/ to do, /skə- ~ rith-/ to see, /bō- bi/ to go, /rəs-/ to read, /baṇ-/ to run, /bər-/ to cut, /ras-/ to say, /el-/ to draw, /gen-/ to ascend, /sun-/ to ask, /gip-/ to build, /hir-/ to cling; /šur-/ to close, /mər-/ to cut, /rə-/ to dance, /ək-/ to dig, /nər-/
to fall, /nar-/ to fell, /pir-/ to fill, /thop-/ to find, /up-/ to fly, /əm-/ to forget, /un-/ to open, /ne-/ to press, /sil-/ to read, /kat-/ to remember, /kas-/ to rub, /kən-/ to scratch, /sur-/ to shut, /cur-/ to suck, (also see above).

**Derived Roots:** In this tongue the number of derived roots is very limited. Some of the roots belonging to this category are either denominatives, derived from the nominal and adjectival stems or causatives/transitive derived from primary roots. The few examples of denominative derived stems are--/krum-is/ to work < /krum/work, /θam-is/to be hungry < /θam/hunger.

**Compound-Stems:** The number of compound stems is fairly large in it. The normal device of obtaining these stems is to compound verbal stems like /this/to do, /dis/to give, /bus/to become to nominal and adjectival stems of various categories. These bases may be illustrated as under:

(a) **Compounding:** (1) **Noun + Verb:** /krum-this/to work, /zuli-this/to sweep < /zuli/ broom, /sperð-this/to speak < /sperð/ word, /gus-this/to feed < /gus/ food, /goy-dis/to sing < /goy/song, /zəhər-dis/to poison, /phəmcuthis/to peck < /phəmu/beak, /in-/bus/to smile < /in/ smile, /sus-bus/to swell < /sus/ swelling, /rgosi-bus/to like < /rgosi/desire, /pham-dis/to defeat < /phams/defeat, /thu-dis/to spit < /thu/spittle, /wa-/cistoto bathe< /wa/water, /busumdis/to rest, /maph-dis/to forgive=to give forgiveness, /zäma this/to collect-to do collection, /sək-bus/to doubt=to become doubtful, /puṭu nəthis/to chase=to run after, /pun-piṣayis/to guide=to show path, /tato this/to heat=to make hot, /zuli-this/to clean=to do brooming, /pheli-bus/to forget=to be forgetful, /phraluks this/to try=to do efforts, /phyaridis/to stir, to move=to give turn, /tisaz dis/to thank=to give thanks. Similarly, /leyar-dis/to prepare, /ṭənthis/to fight, /ṭenik dis/to wait, /thuli-dis/to ascend, /ṭhildis/to sneeze, /jəwab dis/to answer, /chəl-dis/to promise.

(ii) **Adj.+Verb:** /bede bus/to increase < /bede/more, plenty, /ṭəlo this/to decorate < /ṭəlo/beautiful, /zdər-dis/to sharpen< /zdər/sharp, /norο bus/to get well < /norο/good, /apəbus/to decrease < /ape/little, /əboνi-dis/to love, to be nearer < /əboνi/near, etc.

(b) **Reduplication:** Besides the above, verbal stems are also obtained by reduplicating an onomatopoeic stems, e.g. /tuṣ-tuṣ-
this /to tremble, /lɔq-lɔq this/ to twinkle, /gur-gur-this/to stir, to knead, /si-si-this/to whistle, /hu-hun-this/to hum, /chi-q-chi-q-this/to swing, etc.

(iii) Verb+Verb: Verbal compounds are also constructed by combining two or more verbal roots to express various types of idiomatic and aspectual statements. In syntactic constructions involving compound verb forms all grammatical categories are carried by the subsidiary which comes at the end of the grouping of verbal stems, e.g. /cheri-bus-go/finished, as in /krum krumis cheri-bus-go/doing work finish went, /is-go/came, has come < /is/to come + /go/went, as in /chi-sak is go to mo ga sum yuŋs/(if) you all come, I shall also come with you. A few more examples of this class of verbal compounds are-
/mi ccheri-thit/I have done (=Hindi-kar cuka hû). /mi tis marisu bet/I shall kill you (=H. mar dálûga) /mi tendi nə rəza rayuŋs/I shall not allow him to speak. /is bisu /can come, /nari-go /fell down,

Classification of Verb Stems

On the basis of case forms taken by them for their subject/object or of the syntactic distinction of having a second noun/pronoun, other than those serving as their subjects, as their legitimate objects, the verb-stems are classified as transitive and intransitive.

The most distinguishing feature of transitive and intransitive verbs in it is that the subject of the transitive class of verbs is invariably inflected and is placed in the ergative case, even in non-past tenses, whereas that of intransitive class of verbs remains uninflected and as such is always in the nominative/direct case, e.g.

/mo byuŋs/I am going; but /məsə pyuŋs/I am drinking, /ti zazale/you (sg.) are walking; but /tisə silchale/you are reading. /co zazalen/you (pl.) are walking; but /cosa piyalen/you are drinking. /ba biyenes/we are going; but /bas silichales/we are reading. /so zazale/he is walking; but /so sə skiyale/he is seeing. /te byalen/they are going; but /tesə zbrichalen/they are writing.
Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete predication, i.e. requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing, the sense indicated by the verb form, as in-

/myo goṭ seno la /my house is small.
/myo sasnyo trā hāni /I have three sisters.
/mēra moleyo du hāni/ I have two daughters.
/so zigo-k la /he is tall.
/sa zigi-k la /she is tall.

In case of composite verbs, the verbs with /this /as a second component are transitive and those which are composed of /dis/, /bus, /is /could be both.

**Transitivization of Verb Roots**

Brok-skad, like NIA, has an inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitive stem or vice-versa by means of suffixes, the suffixes employed for this purpose are /-a/, /-ra/, e.g. /ro- to weep> /ro-a- to make to weep, /bhi- to fear > /bhi-ra- to frighten, /suc- to dry > /sucera to make to dry, /uth- to rise, to stand > /uthera to raise, /nilj- to hide oneself > /niljera to conceal, /phiṭ- to break itself > /phiṭa to break, /chin- to tear itself> /chinera to tear, etc.

But it may also be mentioned that this mechanism is operative with regard to non-past tense forms only, there being no difference in past tense forms, for instance,

/ pho phityal /it breaks (Intrans.) : /sosō pho phiṭyał /he breaks (Trans.)
/ pho chinjōl /it tears (Intrans.) : /sosō pho chinjōyal /he tears (Trans.) but /phiṭat /broke (itself or something) ;
/ chin /chinit /tore (itself or something).

Besides the above noted suffixal method, transitivization is also affected by means of periphrastic constructions or supple-tivism, e.g.- /cor the /make sit, /chīn chīn the /shake, /ya the/ send for (imp.); /phiṭ- /to break itself > /chin- /to break, /bōs/ to sit > /cher- /to make to sit, etc.

**VERBAL CONJUGATION**

A verb in it is conjugated for grammatical categories of
voice, mood, tense, aspect, person, number and gender. Their basic framework as attested in it may be explained as under:

**Voice**: The forms of a verb indicating the relation of the subject to the action, etc. (denoted by verb) are called voices.

Grammarians have recognized 3 voices, viz. Active, Passive and Impersonal, for IE and OIA languages. Brok-skad which belongs to Indo-Iranian branch of the IE has broadly inherited this feature of it. These may be explained as under:

(i) **Active**: The verb form in this voice indicates that the subject does something or is becoming something. Thus, it is the grammatical as well as the logical subject (the doer) of the verb and the verb in its finite form agrees with it in respect of number, gender and person, as in /mô ekiki hêns/ I am alone, /pho sinadi khutyal /he beats the child, /pho bios krumyal /he gets the work done from the child, /ña wa-r bâsun /fishes live in water, /so ane la/ he is here, /te ane lan /they are here, /so yale /he is coming; /sa yali /she is coming; /te yalen/ they are coming.

(ii) **Passive**: Grammatically, the passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but as acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject is not the logical subject, i.e. the doer, but the logical object, the person or thing toward which /whom the action is directed. Consequently, the verb agrees in numbers, gender and person with the object. Syntactically, it is known as objectival construction.

But as in many Tibeto-Himalayan languages in it too the sense of passivity is manifested in a different way, i.e., though the subject of the transitive verb, the basis of passive formations, is placed in the ergative /agentive case, yet neither the verb takes any passive marker nor it agrees with the object. In fact, in these speeches the use of the subject of the transitive verb is sufficient to convey the sense of the passive voice. Consequently, there will be, structurally, no difference in the verb form in utterances like 'I drink milk' and 'milk is drunk by me', 'I ate food' and 'food was eaten by me,

/môsô dyut pyûns /I drink milk /milk is drunk by me. /môyô pûpa khat /I ate food /food was eaten by me. /sôsô pho phîtyal /it is broken by him /he has broken it. /sôyô pho phîtat /he broke it /it was broken by him. /miyô hôm krum nô krumit /this work was not done by
me, or I did not do this work.
/tisq ye dethed, tu ga dyuŋŋs/whatever will be demanded
by you, that I shall give you/ will be given to you by me.

(iii) Impersonal Voice: Contrary to other voices, the
impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs only and is
always in the 3rd person signular number. In Brokskad it is
expressed by placing the subject, as in passive, in the ergative
case which otherwise is in the nominative case, as in /mo byuŋŋ
/I go, I am going, but /mɔsɔ bɔdŋiyuŋŋ /I am running /running
is being done by me; /mɔsɔ go /I went, but /miyɔ bɔdŋet /I
ran, running was done by me; /bɔyɔ bɔdŋet /running was done
by us /we ran, etc.

In this speech this type of impersonal construction, in which
an intransitive verb takes ergative case for its subject, is limited
to a couple of verb roots only.

Moods: In verbal conjugation mood is an indicator of the
manner of the action, whether it is a normal happening, an
ordered action or an action dependent on some condition, etc.
The 3 moods attested in Brokskad are--(1) indicative,
(2) imperative, and (3) subjunctive.

(i) Indicative: As is clear from its nomenclature it simply
indicates the happening of any action in present, past, or future,
e.g. /sinas mɔnili kʰwawl (< Khual) /the child is eating food.
/bioi (>byoi) kitab siliθan /the boy read the book.
/ŋa wa-r bɔsun /fishes live in water, etc.

(ii) Imperative: In this the verb form stands for command,
request, warning, prohibition, etc. There the subject is usually
left out. In case of command it is invariably a 2nd person-(for
examples see modal conjugation).

(iii) Subjunctive: It is that form of verb which represents
the action as a desire, a hope, a possibility, a probability, a
condition, a presumption, etc. (for details see modal conjugation).

Tenses: In a verbal conjugation tenses are related to the
temporal aspect of the happening of the action. In this respect,
however, this speech attests a clear distinction between past and
non-past tenses only. Their details will be worked out in relevant
sections of this analysis. (cf. /mo byuŋŋ /I am going /I will go)

Aspects: Similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e. denomi-
nation of nature of action) too, a verb in it shows a clear distinction
between perfect and non-perfect aspects only, there being no
formal distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects in colloquial speech. Forms pertaining to both the aspects are freely used for one another, e.g. /sinas mənili khwal /the child eats /is eating loaves of bread, /sos krumyal /he works /he is working; /soi nā khat /he did not eat /he has not eaten; /soya suet /he slept /he was sleeping.

Concordance: A verb in Brokskad fully agrees with the person, number and gender of the subject as well as of the object. There the distinction of number is maintained in all the cases, but the distinction of person is attested between first and non-first persons and of gender in 3rd person only. This may be illustrated as follows:

**Agreement with Subjects**

/mo bi-ə̃n/-s /I am going; /ba bi-en-es /we are going.
/ti bi-al (e) /thou art going; /ci bi-al-en /you are going.
/so bi-al-(e) /he is going /te bi-al-en/ they are going.
/sa bi-al-i /she is going.

**Agreement with object**

/sinas mənili khwal /boy eats /is eating bread.
/sina bede mənili khwan /boys eat breads.
/məra bọ (≥byo) ek hən /I have a son.
/məra mole-yo du hən/ I have two daughters.
/tyo bayo kətuk həne /how many brothers have you?

From the above it may be evident that although a verb in it is expected to have inflection for 12 forms (i.e. 3 person x 2 number x 2 genders) in all the tenses, yet in an actual usage a formal distinction is available for 5 forms only. (1st pers. 2+2nd-pers. 2+3rd sg. 1 = 5). Moreover, in the past tense it has become impersonal, as such there is only one form for all persons and numbers. In forms having identical markers for different persons their semantic connotations are determined by the subject of the verb in question.

**Conjugational Sub-systems**

The verbal conjugation of Brok-skad attests the following types of sub-systems operative in it. They are—(1) Affirmative, (2) Negative, (3) Causative. Of these the range of affirmative sub-system is the widest. Under this all verb roots are inflected for both, the tenses and moods.
Temporal Conjugation: All transitive and intransitive verbs, including verb-substantives, are inflected for their temporal and non-temporal categories in it, but in a non-formal speech, as pointed out above, there is no strict adherence to their temporal and aspectual conjugations, viz., forms of indefinite and continuous tenses are indiscriminately used for one another.

Mechanism of Temporate Conjugation: Under the affirmative sub-system various forms of the non-past temporal conjugation in the indicative mood are obtained by means of temporal suffixes, indicative of their respective persons-numbers and gender (in 3rd sg. only). As such the normal ordering of different elements of these formatives is attested as, conjugational base of the verb stem+tense marker+person-number markers. But the conjugational forms in the past tense take only tense markers and are quite indifferent with regard to the number-person and gender of the subject or object.

Pronominalization: Although Brok-skad is not a pronominalized language, yet partial pronominalization, attested in the conjugation of present tense forms of first and non-first persons is an indicator that in past there was a fulfledged pronominal system operative in it, the personal terminations, /-s/ and /-es/ of the first person and /-e /and /-en /in non-first persons are the remnants of it.

VERB-SUBSTANTIVES

Now before taking up the analysis of finite verb, we shall briefly analyse various forms and functions of verb substantives operative in this speech. There are at least 5 verb roots in it which serve the purpose of the verb substantive. They are: /ha/, /la/, /bus-/, /as- /and /bet-. Of these the first 4 are declinable, but the last one is indeclinable. Semantically, the stem /ha/ conveys the sense of 'to have' besides the sense of 'to be'. Similarly, the stem /bus- /too, conveys the sense of 'to become' and of 'to be', the stem /la/ more or less, is used to indicate the sense of existence with certainty, /bus-/, /bet/ and /as- /too are used to convey the sense of existence in general. Their uses can be illustrated as under:

Non-past Tenses:

/hə/- /mo-di əbs-ik hən/ I have a horse.
/məra mole-yo du hən/ I have two daughters.
/tvo bvo kvăn hən /where is your son?
In periphrastic constructions it is used as an auxiliary as well, as in /mās mi seno bo-r šugu zbrisu hənə/ I have to write a letter to my uncle. /la/-It primarily denotes the sense of an established fact: /honze əbs-ik la /this is a horse, /so ane la/ he is here. /pho myuṣ go la/ that man is fat, /te ane lan /they are here. /homo thuspo bono la/ this field is big one. /soi rāzit mo thomyo la /he said, I am hungry. /bus/-The remnant of the OIA, root √bhu- to become, to exist, is also used to convey its original sense, as in /ko sina-s sili-the-to, ho pas busu/the child who will read, will succeed (will pass). /ko-sā krum krumito tera khu busu /whoso will work, he will eat, /busun/becomes, /busu bet /would have become, /busu /would have been, etc. /as/- It is also a remnant of the OIA root √as- to be’, but has survived in past tense forms only, as in /paripho sini-k asto/ there was a river there, /so tšənmo asto /he was happy, /te ane bāyā asten/they lived here, /paripho khāzās bede asten /there were many fruits on the otherside. /bet/. It may have some affinity with Kashmiri copulative verb /asum/ to be, to become. It is indiclinable and is indiscriminately used for all tenses and numbers. /homo got-ik bet /this is a house; /heme myo got-i bet/ these are my houses; /paripho myo mumos bun bet /there is my maternal uncle’s village, /pho myo byo bet /he is my son; /pha myo mole bet /she is my daughter (Present). (Past)-/michāi buk-buk bet/ the pitcher went to pieces. /phau mōra skei bugaks bet/she was in tears on seeing me. /so gei kə tuk dis bet /how many days have passed gone. /so tisa bo cisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father. (Fut.)- /te hoyo rātya isi bet /both of them will come tomorrow. Past Tense: Out of the 5 stems of the verb-substantives
given above, it is only /hɔ/ which attests inflection for past tense. These are- /hat /was, /hua/ was, were, as in /ti cism ko hat/who was with you? /mɔsɔ silich-a-hua-s /I was reading. /tisɔ silich-a hua /thou wert reading. /sosɔ ~ sasɔ silich-a hua / he ~ she was reading. /tus kisera lɔndi hua /to whom were you calling forth? /wa-/ Besides the above, we also come across past tense forms of the verb substantive 'to be' with the stem /wa /which seems to be a remnant of some verb root which has lost its form in non-past tenses. These have been attested as under. /so wɔ/ he was : /te cok wɔn /they were. /ti wɔ /thou wert : /chiɔk wɔn /you were. /mo wɔs /I was : /ba wɔnes (<*wɔyenes) we were.

Model Conjugation of /hɔ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>Past (All)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hɔns</td>
<td>hɔn</td>
<td>hɔn (m.)/hɔni (f.)</td>
<td>hua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>hɔns</td>
<td>hɔnes</td>
<td>hɔn (m.)/hɔni (f.)</td>
<td>wɔn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AFFIRMATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

Temporal Conjugation of Finite Verbs: As has been stated above, in it a finite verb is inflected for all the grammatical categories recognized for the speech in non-past tenses.

Present Indefinite: In a non-formal speech the present tense of a finite verb in it, besides the indefinite indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes all sorts of non-past occurrences, including future and actions of perpetual nature, e.g. /sos krumyal /he works, he is working, he is always working, he will work, work is being done by him, etc.

Constituents of Present Indefinite. In it the sequence of the constituents of the present indefinite is: Root+tense marker+
personal terminations. These may be tabulated as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person (m.)</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>R+uŋ-s</td>
<td>R+əŋ/en-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>R+al-(e)</td>
<td>R+al/en/an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (m.)</td>
<td>R+al-(e)/uŋ</td>
<td>R+al-en/an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (f.)</td>
<td>R+al-i</td>
<td>R+al-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These may be illustrated as follows:

Intras. /bo-/> /bi-/ to go

/mo bi-uŋ-s (> byuŋs) /I go, I am going, I will go
/ba bi-en-es (> biyenes) /we go,-are going
/ti bi-al-e (> biyale) /thou go, -art going
/ci bi-al-en (>biyalen) /you are going
/so bi-al-e (>biyale) /he is going
/sa bi-al-i (>biyali) /she is going
/te bi-al-en (> biyalen) /they go, are going.

Transitive /kha-/ to eat

1st person- /məs khunũs /I eat : /bo cokse ~ basə khwanes/
we eat

2nd /tis khwale /thou eatest : /cui cokse khwalen /
you eat.

3rd /sos ~ sas khwale ~ khwali /he ~ she eats /tek-
khwalen /they eat,

/rith-/ see

1st /məs rithũns /I see : /basə rithũnes/ we see.
2nd /tis rithal /thou seest : /cui ~ cosə rithan /you see.
3rd (m.) /sos rithal /he sees : /tesə rithan /they see.

A few syntactical uses may be seen in the following utterances recorded from the informants.

/pho sinãdi khutya /he beats ~ is beating the child.
/aye-s sina-di dyut pyayal /the mother is making the children drink milk.

/sosə gũtu-gyo ŋu chinal /he cuts ~ is cutting down the tree.

/ŋu zino pəni sijal /leaves fall from the tree.
/ruŋ-mo bər yal (<i+al) rivulet flows from the mountain.
/sinas mənili khwal /the child eats ~ is eating bread.
/sina-s bede mənili khwan /children are eating breads.
/sosə dyal (<di+al), məsə pyuŋũ /he gives, I drink.

The use of the formative /uŋ/ in the 3rd person sg. number is attested in the following expressions.
/ña wa-r bɒsun/fishes live in water.
/so tonći bɒsun/ he lives here, /ti kyan bɒsun /where do you live?, but /tesak tonći bɒsen /they all live here.
/ciña-r guru-ra čhirez goto tato busuŋ /iron becomes hot when put on fire
/so yunš /he is coming. /mo go ož buŋ/I shall also have to come.

**Past Indefinite:** As the present indefinite, the past indefinite too, besides denoting the sense of an indefinite action in the past, denotes an action in progress, or of a perpetual nature in the past. Conjugationally, these forms are of invariable character and are obtained by suffixing the past formative markers, /-t/ and /-et /to the verb stem. Distributionally, the allomorph /-t/is suffixed to stems ending in a vowel and the /et /to stems ending in a consonant, e.g. /kha-t /ate < /kha-/eat, /pi-t /drank < /pi-/drink, /prə-t /spoke, /skit /saw, /su-t /slept, /u-t /came, /rəzi-t/ said, /ri-t /saw, /hat /was, but /phî-etu /broke, /pun, et/ rode, /bənd-ıt /ran, /silich > silih-ıt /read, /ar-ıt /brought. A few syntactic illustration may be as follows:

/tyəi məra dilli-ro yet aret /what did you bring for me from Delhi.
/məi tira gotchi aret/I have brought clothes for you.
/məi ekura sunet/to whom did I say?
/run aye seni aner yeut /yesterday aunt come here.
/ti cisum ko hat /who was with you?;
/pho kise beo bet /who was that boy?
/sitai ramo-r tha sunet/Sita asked Ram.
/soi nə khat/he did not eat; /soi rəziyet /he said.
/miyo bəndet /I ran; /bayə bəndet /we ran.
/məie kyono šwa rit /I saw a black dog.

But, besides the forms of indefinite past, the forms of the present perfect too are freely used to denote the sense of the simple past, e.g.

/məi mi rar are-an yethan/I asked my younger brother to come here.
/rami mohənor kek spiro razos /Ram asked one thing to Mohan.
/mohəni ramo-r bede spira rayoqs /Mohan asked many things from Ram.
/byoś kítəb silițan /a boy read a book (<silith-a-hən>).
Suppletivism in Past Formations: There are certain verb roots in which the basic stem is replaced by some other stem in the past tense formations, e.g. /bo-/to go > /go/went; /hā-/to be > /wā-/was; /chā-/to do > /the-t/did, /ya-/to come /u-t/came.

Future Indefinite: The normal function of the future tense forms is to indicate some thing about an action or state that has yet to take place or has to come into being. But in this speech it is not a distinct conjugational category. Its function is served by the present tense forms itself, e.g.

/thānig bāś, ti-r ga dyuṃṣ /wait a little, I will give to you as well.
/mo ale-r ma nā byuṃṣ /I shall never go there.
/ti hām coks katik run bāyūṃṣ /for how long will you be weeping like this.
/māso ten-di nā rāza rayūṃṣ /I shall not allow him speak.
/mo as gote-ra byuṃṣ /I will go ~ am going home to day.
/te pūṃspe rātya ane isu bet /they all the five will come here tomorrow.
/ba coksē ḍso krumpo becoksē chenes /we ourselves will do our work.
/mo byuṃṣ /I go, I am going, I will go.
/māsā siliḥyuṃṣ /I read, I am reading, I will read.
/ba beyenes /we go, we are going, we will go.
/ba siliḥyenēs /we read, we are reading, we will read.

ASPECTS

It is a temporal category denoting the state of action with reference to its perfection, non-perfection, inception, simultaneity, or perpetualness, etc. In Brok-skad these have been attested as follows:

Progressive Aspect: (Present) It refers to an action in progress, may be in the present or in the past. As stated above, in a non-formal speech it is in non-past tenses expressed with their indicative tense forms itself, as in /māsā siliḥyuṃṣ /I read, I am reading, /ba biyenes /we go, we are going, we will be going.

/sosā ~ tusā sili ḍa-le /he ~ you (m.) are reading /read.
/čose ~ tesā siliḥa-len /you ~ they are reading /read.
/čosā piya-len /you drink ~ you are drinking, etc.
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/ṃəsə bəṇdiyanəs /I am running, /bəsə bəṇdiyenes /we are running.

But formally, the progressive forms for the first person only may be obtained with the help of the formative element /a /and the verb substantive /hən/ which are appended to the conjugative base of the verb in question and are followed by personal terminations and the forms for non-first persons are identical with their indefinite counterparts:

/ṃəsə ski-a-hən-s /I am seeing, /ṃəsə pi-a-hən-s /I am drinking. /-silich-a-hən-s /-am reading, /ba bi-a-hən-s / we are going, /bəsə silich-a-hən-s /we are reading, etc.

(for non-first person forms see above).

But expressions like /tesək to-r krumyan (<krumi-a-hən) suggest that the practice of obtaining these forms for non-first pers. too was vogue in the past, but, synchronically, has given place to simple indefinite forms.

Progressive Aspect (Past): As in present progressive the past progressive /continuous form to are abtained by oppending the formative element /a + hu + a/to the conjugational base of the past. There the first person, as in the present progressive, takes the pronominal suffix /-s/as well, as in /ṃəsə silich-a-huas /I was reading.

/tisə silich-a-hu-a /you were reading.
/sosə ~ sasə silich-a-hu-a /he ~ she was reading.
/tus kisera ləndya-hwa (<huə) /to whom were you calling forth?
/tesə wa pyahua /they were drinking water.

The progressive aspect, traditionally termed as 'perfect continuous' is expressed as under:

Present Perfect Continuous: These forms too, like those of the progressive forms of the present time, are obtained by appending /a+hə/ to the verbal base, e.g.

/so bedə həz-a-hən/ he has been laughing for long.
/tesə betya-hən /they have been quarreling for long.
/tesə goribo to-r krumyan/ they have been working in the cold for long.

Past Perfect Continuous: The forms of this aspect of the verb are obtained by appending the formative suffix /-a /to the participle base of the verb in question followed by the auxiliary/ bet/ as in /soi kəya bet, tes khwai bet /he had been cooking, they had been eating.
**Perfective Aspect**

**Present Perfect:** In Brok-skad it is a distinct conjugational category, though in a non-formal speech non-perfect forms too, are used for it, as in /soi nə khat /he did not eat, he has not eaten. But grammatically, it is expressed with the help of some auxiliary or helping verb in the past, as in /mo as bede sumi dos /I have become very tired today; /bunu-ra wa pun lo /water is filled in the village, /məi yərto cheri thit /I have already finished it, /miyə ʃolo-k zbri thet /I have written a story, I wrote a story. But often it is expressed with present continuous forms as well, e.g.

/məi mi krumo krumyan /I have done my work.
/məi papa khyanə /I have finished my food.
/soyə ʃolok zbriθi-a-ənə /he has written a story.
/tes dya ənə /they have given.

Besides, it is also expressed with simple past tense forms of a verb, as in /tesak sut /they all have slept (have gone to sleep), /soi nə khat /he did not eat, he has not eaten.

**Past Perfect:** The use of past perfect is neither common, nor very clear. Sometimes it is expressed with simple past tense forms and sometime with the formative suffix /-aw/:

/run myo aye seni ane yeu /yesterday my aunt had come here.
/soyə bəndi-aw /he had run.
/miyə həmo yərto thi-aw/he had done it beforehand.

**Habitual Aspect**

The verbal aspect of doing some action as a habit or occurrence of actions of universal character is expressed with the help of certain helping verbs in their present or past tense forms. In this speech these have been attested as under:

/ naï wa-r bəsunə /fishes live in water.
/sos to zormoya krumyal /he works even when he is ill.
/cınar guru-ra chiniz go to tato busunə /iron become hot when put in fire.
/sos yaktaŋ khwa be yal /he is always eating.
/mo tendi yaktaŋ isi be dos /I use to come daily to their place.
/məsə əps-po sini-di dusta hərisu bedo (RS)
I used to take the horse to the river for bathing.
/sadi-sə ənəles-po-ra khəzəs əryə dyə asto / having brought
fruits the monkey used to give (them) to the crocodile.

**Periphrastic/Compound Constructions**

Besides simple conjugational forms, various temporal and aspectual categories are expressed with compounded verb stems as well. In this type of conjugation the main verb takes participial formatives and all temporal or aspectual markers are carried by the subsidiary of helping verb. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

/ḥəm krumpo takthaŋ cheri the/finish this work quickly.
/mədi yərto cheri thit /I have already finished it.
/so uthe bei nari go /he fell down while standing.
/so tisa bo čisum besu bet /he has to go with his father.
/məsət tendi rəza rayuŋ /I shall not allow him to speak.
/məs thalo krum krumyro zinila /I want to do some good work.
/mo tendi yaktaŋ isi be dos /I used to come to their place daily.
/tyari gutči kyan chere ḥən /where have you put your clothes.
/tus kisera ləndya hua /to whom were you calling forth?
/sosə pəpa khusu baŋ /he may be eating.
/tes khus chəribi baŋ /they might have eaten.
/ti pho-r metkʰəmet byas rgusya la /he must have gone there.
/məs skyal aris suni sun /I know doing swimming.
/so dogdis eko ini lasin /he wanted to come here day-before-yesterday.
/mə muzuku phyaci bunu-r byu kuzni la /let me go my village for a month.
/te hoyo rətya isi bet /both of them will come tomorrow.
/əsu bede ya ut /wind went on increasing.
/so twakbo bi-as (> byaz) buŋ/he went away quietly.
/so twakbo bias buŋ /he went away suddenly.

**MODEL CONJUGATIONS**

**A : Transitive Verbs**

Verb Root /kha- /to eat

*Present tense*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd (m)</td>
<td>(sosə) khwale</td>
<td>(tes) khwalen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**3rd (f.)**
- (sasō) khwali
- (tes) khwalen

**2nd**
- (tisō) khwale
- (coi/cosō) khwalen

**1st**
- (mōsō) khuŋs
- (basō) khwanes

#### Past tense

**3rd (m.f.)**
- (soy/say) khat
- (tey) khat

**2nd**
- (tue/tiy) khat
- (coi/coy) khat

**1st**
- (miō/miy) khat
- (bayō) khat

#### Future tense

**3rd**
- (sose) khuŋ
- (tese) khwan

**2nd**
- (tuse) khuŋ
- (čose) khwen

**1st**
- (mōse) khuŋs
- (base) khwan

**Imp.**
- (tis)
- (cose) khwan-

**Verb Root /pi-/ to drink**

#### Present tense

**3rd (m.)**
- (sosō) pyal/piyale
- pyan/piyalen

**3rd (f.)**
- (sasō) pyali/piyali
- pyan/piyalen

**2nd**
- (tūsō/tisō) pyale/piyale
- pyan/piyalen

**1st**
- (mōsō) pyuns/piyuns/pyenes/piyenes

#### Past tense

**3rd**
- (soi/soy) pit
- (tei/tey) pit

**2nd**
- (tue/tiy) pit
- (coi/čoy) pit

**1st**
- (mōi/miy) pit
- (baye) pit

**Future tense:**

**3rd**
- (sos) pyun
- (tes) pyan/piyen

**2nd**
- (tuis/tis) pyun
- (čosō) pyan/piyen

**1st**
- (mōs) pyun
- (basō) penes

**Imp.**
- pi (sg.)
- nāpi (Neg.)

**Verb Root /chō - /- thō - to do.**

**3rd (m.)**
- chāl(e) /this
- Chān/chōlen

**3rd (f.)**
- chāle/this
- Chān/chōlen

**2nd**
- chāle/this
- Chān/chōlen

**1st**
- chāns/this
- chānes

**Past tense** (Replaced by /thō/) (subject forms as in transitive verbs)

**3rd**
- (soi/soy) thet
- (teye) thet

(Verb forms identical for all persons and numbers)

**Future tense**

**3rd**
- (sos) chun/this
- (tes) chen

**2nd**
- (tūs/tis) chun/this
- (čois)chen

**1st**
- (mōs) chuns/this
- (base) chenes.

**Imp.**
- the
- nāthe (Neg.)
Verb Root /rith- /to see (subject forms as in trans.)

3rd (m.)  rithal  rithan /rithalen
3rd (f.)  rithali  rithan /rithalen
2nd  rithal (e)  rithan /rithalen
1st  rithuns  rithanes

Past tense (subject forms as in trans.)

rit  (for all persons and numbers)

Future tense

3rd  rithon  rithan /rithon
2nd  rithon  rithan /rithon
1st  rithons  rithones.

Imp. (Replaced)  skey  nê skey (Neg.)

B. Intransitive

Verb Root /i- /ya- /to come (Present tense)

3rd (m.f.)  (so /sa) yale /yali  (te) yan /yalen
2nd  (ti) yale /yali  (ci) yan /yalen
1st  (mo) yuns  (ba) yenes

Past tense :  (/ut/for all persons and numbers)

Future tense

3rd  yun  yen
2nd  yun  yen
1st  yuns  yenes

Imp.  ye  yen

Verb Root /bi ~ bo- /to go

Present tense

3rd (m.)  (so) biyal (e) /byale  (te) biyalen /byalen
(f.)  (sa) biyali /byali  biyalen /byalen
2nd  (tu /ti)  biyale /byale  (ci) biyalen /byalen
1st  (mo) biyuns /byuns (ba) biyenes

Past tense  3rd  (so) go  (te) gya /gyan
2nd  (ti) go  (ci) gya /gyan
1st  (mo) gos (ba)  yyes

Future tense  3rd  (so) byun  (te) ben /byane
2nd  (tu /ti) byun  (ci) ben /byane
1st  (mo) byuns  (ba) byenes

Imp.  2nd  bo  ,  (Neg) nê bo

CAUSATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

Mechanism of Causativization

Since causing something to be done' is an action which must
be directed towards some body. Therefore, all causative verbs, derived or otherwise, become essentially transitive. Like NIA languages this too, besides different sets of verb roots, has an inbuilt mechanism or deriving causative roots from the primary roots. However, there is no scope for deriving second causative from the first one, as we find in Hindi. In it, it is obtained by suffixing the formative element /rä/-'to say' to the verb stem which is followed by tense-person markers. In case of consonant ending stems a linking vowel /-ə/-is prefixed to it; e.g. /rōs-/ to read > /rōs-ra-/ to make to read, /bhi-bi-/ to be afraid > /bhi-ra/to frighten, /suci-/to dry > /suci-ra-/ to make to dry; /uth-/to stand, to rise > /uth-əra/to make to stand, to raise, /sosə tendi thaksi thəryale /he makes them burn (something); /sose tendi bəndəryale /he make them run.

In case of intransitive verbs, this causative formative is identical with transitive formative (see transitivization).

Besides the above mentioned formative element /ra/it, like NIA., also employs the causative formative /a-/ as in /ro-/to weep > /ro-a>rowa-/to make to weep, /pi-/to drink > /pi-a>piya-/to make to drink, /kha-/to eat > /khu-a-/to feed.

/ayes sina-di dyut pyayal /mother makes children drink milk.
/pho bios krumo krumyal /he makes the child do work.
/pha sina-di rowali /she makes the child weep.
/ayes sina-di mənili khowal /mother feed children with bread.

In some cases different sets of verb roots too are employed for this purpose:
/ski-/to see > /pisa-/to show, /kon-/to listen > /ras-/to narrate, etc.

### NEGATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

**Grammatical Status**: As compared with affirmative sub-system, the negative sub-system has certain features of its own which demand its distinct entity, particularly with reference to copulative sentences in which the negative particle carries the force of the copula and consequently it is elided.

**Negative Particles**: There the negative particle /nə/ is realized in 3 different allomorphemic shapes, viz. /nə/neš, /nyal/. The distribution is, normally, as follows: /nə/in past tense or negating a statement, /neš/ with simple negation or with progressive aspects, /nyal/ with indicative mood.
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/nes/-/əso bun-po seno nes/our village is not small.
/məsə silichi nes/I am not reading.
otherwise /mi krum nə krumit/I did not do work.
/nə/-/ həmo myo got nə/this (is) not my house.
/myo nui cheriŋ nə/my name (is) not Chering; but
/məso tendi nə rəza rayuns/I shall not allow him speak.
/mo byun-s/I am going, but /mo biyə nes/I am not going
/məsə silich yun-s/I am reading: but /məsilichanə nes/I am not reading.

/nyal/≤Pnə+ al/-It is clear that /nyal/is a compressed form of the negative particle /nə/+ the indefinite tense marker /-əl/. As such it occurs with present indicative tense forms only, and is also followed by personal terminations, except the 1st sg.
/sosə krum krumis nyale/he does not work.
/tisə krum krumis nyale/thou /you do not work.
/tesə krum krumis nyal-en/they do not work.
/basə krum krumis nyal-e-nes/we do not work.

INTERROGATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

Grammatical Status: Like negative sub-system there is an interrogative sub-system too, which, conjugationally, is partially different from the affirmative system. Under this any affirmative form of a verb can be transformed into its interrogative form simply by suffixing an interrogative formative to the finite verb form, irrespective of the use of interrogative particles at the beginning of the sentence, which roughly conveys the sense of 'if', 'whether' etc. Moreover, this sort of syntactic peculiarities are attested with reference to statements in which short answers like 'yes', 'no' are expected.

Interrogative Formative: The interrogative formative element in Brok-skad is /-a/ suffixed to the verbal constituent of the sentence occurring at the end of it. For instance, /so ut /he came: but /so ut-a /did he come (with rising tone)
/soyə khat /he ate: but /so khat-a /did he eat?
/həmo tyo got bet-a /Is this your house?
/tyo bun-po seno hən-a /Is your village small?
Otherwise-/tyo byo kyan hən /where is your son?
/tyo nu-r ye rəzisin /what he is called = what is his name?
/ti kyano udo /where are you coming from?
/ti kyan bəsun/ where do you live?
/tus kisera lɔndya hua /to whom were you calling forth?
/ti cisum ko hat /who was with you? etc.

**MOODS AND MODAL CONJUGATION**

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only a partial inflection of the verbal stems in question. As such modal conjugation, in general, deals with the inflection of the verbal bases indicating the manner of action, i.e. whether it is happening, has happened, is expected to happen (all failing under the realm of indicative mood: see verbal conjugation), or is being ordered to be done or is dependent on fulfilling some condition in future. As such these forms are indicative of moods or mental states of the speaker with reference to a particular point of time only. There are varied mental states and attitudes which fall into the purview of order, polite command, seeking or giving permission, entreaty, desire, advice, obligation, compulsion, presumption, probability, necessity, capability, benediction, etc.

As stated above, this language recognizes three moods, viz. Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the indicative mood have already been dealt with at length in the foregoing pages. Now, in the following pages we shall discuss various forms and functions of the remaining two moods.

**Imperative Mood**

It is that form of verb which expresses an action as an order /polite command /request /warning or prohibition. Thus it has two aspects, (1) positive and (2) negative, the former being termed as simple and the latter as prohibitive. Naturally, in this type of expressions the subject is invariably in the second person and is usually left out in a colloquial speech. Moreover, by its very nature the Imperative can not refer to past events. Consequently, its use is restricted to the present and future times only, usually termed as direct and indirect imperatives. But in the absence of future tense as a distinct category in this speech, its scope is confined to the present only.

In it, imperative forms could be simple or compounded, and are obtained by suffixing the imperative formative /-e/ to the verb
root in the former case and to the subsidiary verb root in the latter case, as in /ar-e /bring, /tha-e / → /the /do, /di-e / → /de /give, /ya-e / → /ye /come, /uth-e /stand, /eth-e /call, /khut-e /beat, etc. Syntactically their uses may be illustrated as under.

(a) **Simple** - /māra wa ar-e /bring water for me.
/māra ṇul puṇj de /give me five rupees.
/pho ḷār ēr-e /keep it down.
/ti tis bayo-ra ane eth-e /you call your brother here.
/myo goṭe-ra ye /come to my house.
/hem zañs-po tomoži chire /leave this pot at this very place.
/ti myo ūnspo-ža pune /you ride on my back.

(b) **Compounded** - /hām krumpo tokthā cheri the /finish this work quickly.

(c) **Bare stem**: But besides the suffixal formations, imperative form are also, usually, obtained as bare stem; as in /the /do, /ras/ speak, /so /sleep, /kha /eat, /pi/ drink, /bo /go, /krum /work, /bās/ wait, stay, sit, etc.
/twagpo ye hām-ži bās /having come here, sit down.
/thānig bās, ti-r ga duṃs /wait a little, I shall give to you as well.
/tis ti krumpo tis krum /you yourself do your work.
/mānili kha, dyut pi /eat loaves of bread, drink milk.

(d) **Prohibitive Imperative**: This form of imperative comes into operation when some one is prohibited from executing the action in question. As in negative sub-system, it is affected by prefixing the negative particle /nā/ to the imperative form of the verb in question, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments; if any.
/teži nā khutē /don’t beat him.
/homo ena nā are /don’t bring this here.
/ane-r nā uthe /don’t stand here.
/ānuž nā ras /don’t speak loudly.
/rātya ane-r ye nā āmsyo /don’t forget to come here tomorrow.

**Subjunctive Mood**

As compared with other moods, the subjunctive mood has a wider range and involves a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as a wish, hope, requirement, probability, presumption, necessity, advice, suggestion, obligation, benediction
condition, etc. In short, it represents "the action or state as a conception of the mind rather than a reality". Broadly, all these aspects of verbal conjugation can be grouped as (i) Optative, (ii) Potential, (iii) Contingent, though the area of one often overlaps with the area of the other. Their forms and functions attested in this speech may be presented as under:

(i) **Optative:** The operational jurisdiction of this mood is a polite/indirect command (desirability), a request or entreaty, a wish, almost always with an implied reference to future.

In case of polite command or advice it is expressed with compounded verb stems, in which the imperative formative is taken by the helping verb and the root of the main verb does not take any grammatical marker.

/mo su-de/ let me sleep, /tera bo-de/ let him go.
/mo muzuku phyaci mi bunu-r byukuzmi la/
(Please) let me go to my village for a month.

The sense of seeking permission for oneself, conveying the sense of 'may' or 'should' is expressed by appending the formative elements, /∂+o~u/ to the verb root, e.g. /chüo/ may, -should I do?, /swu : may, should I sleep?; /rwu : may, should I weep?, /khwu : may I eat? /pyu u/ may I drink?, /byu /may I go? etc.

In this context it may also be mentioned that the formatives /u /~/o/ in the above forms is identical with interrogative formative in it, cf. /ti kyano udo < ut-o /where are you coming from? (Suggestive)- /so ane-r is rgusya nyal /he should not come here.

(ii) **Potential:** The potential mood expressing probability or presumption of the occurrence of an action with reference to present, past and future is usually expressed by appending present/future tense forms of the verb-substantive /ba-/ to the participial base of the main verb.

/röt ya bayos thiga ena nesa /elder brother's wife may come here tomorrow.
/sos thöwän pëpa khusu bañ /he may be eating at this time.
/thöwän to khus chëribo bañ /they may have eaten by now.
/ti te-ra razi (<rasi) bañ /he may have told you.

(iii) **Contingent:** The contingent aspect of the subjunctive mood, also termed as conditional mood, primarily expresses a condition, which with reference to past events, is contrary to fact and a wish, which with reference to a future event may not be fulfilled. In this type of expressions there are invariably
two clauses, one subordinate clause or 'if' clause and the other principal clause or 'then' clause. The verb of the subordinate clause, which is usually a compound form, is invariably in the past tense, but the verb in the principal clause may be in the past or non-past form, though in principle it also should be in the past tense itself:

/krum krumis chribus go-to papu khun /(when) the work was finished (then) food was eaten.
/čhisak isgo-to moga sum yuṣ /had you come, I too would have gone (go) with you.
/so ga ut-to busu hua /had he come, nice it would have been (lit. good was).
/tisə mehənat sosən to ti pas busu bet /had you worked hard, you would have succeeded (in exams.).
/ti ut-to mo ga os-bun /if you come, I shall also have to come.

MISCELLANEOUS ASPECTS OF MODAL CONJUGATION

Besides the above, there are some more aspects of modal communication. For the expression of these the normally adopted device is to employ helping verbs of particular semantic connotations. Some of these may be explained as follows:

Desiderative: The desiderative aspect of a statement involving expression of a wish or desire, but without any condition, is expressed by appending respective tense-person forms of the verb meaning 'want' or 'desire' to the present participle base of the main verb:

/so dogdis ekož lasin /he wanted to come here day-before-yesterday.
/mo thəwan thyo-us-r bekožini həns. /I just now, want to go to the field.
/məsə thalo krum krumik zini la /I want to do some virtuous (good) deed.

Obligative: In this type of expression the sense of doing an action under an obligation or compulsions is conveyed with the help of past and non-past tense forms of the aux. /hə-/ appended to the infinitive base of the main verb:

/məsə mi seno bo-r šugu zbrizisu hən/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.
/so tisə ba čisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father.
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/somajbūr boonero go /being helpless, he had to go from here (he went).

Suggestive: The suggestive sense implying polite command or suggestion for doing some action in future is expressed with the verbal form /rgōṣya /'is desirable' followed by the verb substantive as an auxiliary, e.g. /sokrum ays-ta byās rгоṣya bet /he should go to find work.
/ti pho-r metkhāmet byās rгоṣya la /you should have gone there.
/so ane-r is rгоṣya nyal /he should not come here.
/tisā silithis rгоṣya bet /you should study.
/tisā ti krum krumis rгоṣya bet /you should do your work.

Abilitative: Ability or inability on the part of a doer in the performance of an action is expressed with the verb stem /su- /'can', appended to the verb indicative of the action in question.
/soisis bi-su nyal /he can not come.
/tizazis suni-su nyal /you will not be able to go on foot.
/mocualis bisu nyal /I can not come quickly.
/hāmšugurti-risu nyal /you will not be able to read this letter.
/kesergā homokrumokrumis nunalu /any body can do this work.
/kesergā homokrumokrumis nunaluhua /anybody could do this work.

Inceptual Aspects: In it the verbal aspect of indicating inception of an action is expressed with the help of the aux. /bet /=Hind. √lag-

/pha māraskei bugāks bet /she started weeping (was in tears) on seeing me.
/phomyo ċiśumini bet /he started coming with me.

Simultaneity of Actions: When two actions take place simultaneously the verb of the primary action takes the usual finite verb form and that of the secondary action non-finite (participial) form.

/pha māraskei bugaks bet /she started weeping, as soon as she saw me.
/southebei nari go /he fell down, while standing.
/micheihatirno nakha-zo gochun-to buk-buk bet/ The pitcher went to pieces as soon as it fell from the hand.
/tinuf-ā, ba biyenes /as soon as you come, we shall go.

Intensive Continuative: Intensivity, indicative of the state of
continuous occurrence of an action in a given time is usually expressed by appending respective tense form of the verb substantive to the present participle base of the verb concerned, e.g.

/soi kāya bet, so khwai bet /he continued looking, he continued eating
/sorat pokok uthe bet /he remained awakened for the whole night.
/ti hāmcoks kātik rua bāyun /for how long will you weep like this.
/sor bede hāsa (> hāza) bet /he continued laughing for a long.
/tesak bitya bet /they continued quarreling.

NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

Besides the regular finite verb forms which are the essential constituents of the predicate and regularly take the tense, number-person-gender suffixes, there are some other verb forms as well which are derived from the primary verbal stems, but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequently, these cannot serve as a predicate in a syntactic structure independently as a finite verb serves. In a grammatical terminology these have variously been termed as. Infinitives, Verbal nouns /Gerunds, Participles, etc. with their further sub-divisions. In Brokskad their forms and functions have been attested as follows:

**Infinitive:** Infinitives which simply express the action of a verb without predicating it of any subject or object are obtained by suffixing the infinitive formatives to the verb roots, conditioned by their phonetic environments. In this dialect these are attested as /-s /, /-is /, /-c /, /-ini/ , etc. Distributionally, /-s /is appended to verb stems ending in a vowel, and /-is /to stems ending in a consonant. It is also attested as /-su/ when followed by the verb substantive to complete the sentence. Some of the infinitives obtained for this dialect are--(vowel ending)- /bu-s /to become < /bu- /, /this /to do < /the -/, /di-s/to give < /di-/ , /i-s/to come < /i-/, /khus-s/to eat < /khu- /.

(Consonant ending) - /uth-is /to get up < /uth-/, /ar-is /to get, to bring < /ar-/, /bāhis /to plough < /bāh -/, /bir-is /to boil < /bir-/, /baš-is /to chirp < /baš/, /bec-is /to send < /beč-/, /bech-is /to buy < /bečh-/, /pac-is /to ripen < /pac -/, /pir-is/
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to fill < /pir-/, /puz-is /to grind < /puz-/, /krum- is /to work < /krum-/, etc.
/su - /bya su /to go, /zbrizisu /to write, /kəi-su /to cook,
/ko - /e-ko /to come, /be-ko /to go, /khu-ko /to eat, / krum-iko ; /to do. Some of the syntactic uses of the above may be illustrated as under.

/krum krum-is cheribu-s go /work doing finished has become.
/rətya ane-r ye nə əmsyo /don't forget to come here tomorrow.
/məs skyal ar-is šunisuŋ (sunisu-həŋ)/ I know to swim (=swimming).
/so dogdis ekozini lasin /he wanted to come here yesterday.
/mo thəwaŋ thyosu-r bekozini həŋs /I want to go to the field just now.
/so tisə ba čišum byəsu bet /he has to go with his father.
/məsə mi seno bo-r šugu zbrizisu həŋ /I have to write a letter to my uncle.
/ek dis nənləes-po-s təsə (thəgə) šadi-s ho khuko zinial / one day crocodile's wife wanted to eat monkey's heart.
/məs thəlo krum krumi-ko źini la /I want to do some good (virtuous) deed.
/kheer kəisu brəs rgośyela /rice is needed to cook (prepare) kheer.

Verbal Noun: An infinitive can also be used as a noun, which though formally is identical with it, yet functionally, is quite different from it. For, it has the force of the logical object of a verb, whereas an infinitive simply expresses an action of the verb without predicing it of any subject or object. But, on the other hand, although, like a noun, it can take postpositions and has a semantic correlation with acc.-dative and locative cases, yet is different from it. A noun, may be derived from a verb, can only function as a subject or object of a verb, whereas a verbal noun, in spite of functioning as a noun, retains its verbal character as well, and can, therefore, take an object or complement for itself in the same manner as a finite verb or a verb of incomplete predication does, particularly with verbs denoting the sense of obligation, necessity, requirement, compulsion, etc. In Brokskad the use of an infinitive with a case marker or without it or as bare stem, suffixes appended to their infinitive bases. The formative suffixes are attested as /te-tə/ and /-u /, but their distribution is not clear, at these the /te- tə
/seem to be local variations of the same formative, e.g. /krumiste /for doing, /skiste /for seeing, /suste /for sleeping, /khuste/ for eating/, /piste /for drinking /byašte /for going, /yaste/for coming, /ayasta /to find, /krumista /to work, /sili thista /to read, /kāis-u-r /for cooking, /zbrizisu /to write, /byasu /to go, etc.

Their syntactic uses may be illustrated as under:

/so krum ays-ta byas rgošya bet /he should go to find a work (job)
/mo ti čisum krum krumis-ta byunš /I will go with you to work.
/silithis-u kitab rgošya la /book is needed to read.
/kheer kāis-u-r brūs rgošya la /rice is needed to cook (prepare) kheer, (rice cooked in milk)
/so tiswa čisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father.
/māsā skyal aris sunisunš/I know to do (lit. to bring) swimming.
/māsā mi seno-bo-r šugu zbrizisu hãnš/I have to write a letter to my uncle (father's younger brother); /soyā twāqpo susta go/he went to bed immediately.
/mās thalo krum krumiko zini la/I want to do a good (virtuous) deed.

Nominalisation of the verb, referring to the action, is also attested with the nominal formative /-po /appended to the infinitive base of the verb:

/rat-de khus-po thalo nā/it is not good to eat in the night.
/zazis-po thalo krum bet /walking is a good exercise.
/dyut pi: s-po sehāt phyaci rgyālba bet /drinking milk is good for health.
/cwal to-ži sus-po thalo neš /it is not good to sleep in the morning or sleeping is not good in the morning.

**PARTICIPLES**

Participles, also called verbal adjectives, have a dual character. Syntactically, in an utterance, when these occupy the position of an adjective and modify the meaning of the nominal head concerned like an adjective, then functionally they assume the character of an adjective, but when, on account of retaining their verbal properties, these modify the meaning of a verb in an utterance, and also form the part of the predicate then their function is of an adverb and as such assume the adverbial character.
There are two categories of participles, designated as (i) present participle and (ii) past /perfect participle. However, this speech does not recognize the future participle as a distinct category. Besides, there are conjunctive participles as well, which are absolute in their character, it does not have the modifying feature, a special characteristic of the other categories of participles. The general characteristics and the mechanism of their formations may be explained and illustrated as under:

**Present Participle:** When used as an adjective it denotes a situation in which the action under reference has already started, but is in a state of continuity at the point of time referred to by the finite verb form in question. For instance, /mi₇ tera byari₇ /I saw him going. Here the participle /bya/'going' implies that he was already in the process of going or we may say he had already moved from the starting point when he was seen by the speaker. Like an adj. it also agrees with number and gender of the noun qualified by it.

But while functioning as an adverb it indicates a state of two actions taking place concurrently. For instance, /so uthe bei nari go/he fell down while still standing (on his legs). In its adverbial connotation it also conveys the sense of an action having been done repeatedly, as in /m₇ra krumya bei gur hwa /doing work (uninterruptedly) I am tired.

**Formation:** From the above examples it may be evident that in Brok-skad it is obtained by appending the formative suffix /-a/ to the verb root. However, in case of the verb stem ending in a consonant it also takes a linking vowel /i- /before it. e.g. /krum- /'to work' > /krumya /working, /rith- /to see > /rithya /seeing, /so /to sleep > /sua >/ swa /sleeping, /ro- /to weep > /rwa /weeping, /khu- /to eat > /khwa /eating, /πi- /to drink > /pya /drinking, /bi ~bo /to go > /bya /going, etc., as in /bya myu₇ /moving man, /haza (hasa) bio /laughing boy, /ıwa mole /weeping girl, /swa swa/sleeping dog, etc.

It is also expressed with the helping verb /h₇- /, /su -/ as in

/nari by₇ h₇nu myu₇ /felling man, /zazisu ga₇di /moving train, /bazi h₇nu byo /sitting boy : /bazi h₇ne bye /sitting boys. /b₇zi h₇nimole/ sitting girl : /b₇zi h₇ne moleyo /sitting girls.

**Past Participle /Perfect Participle:** Like present participle, the past participle also acts as a modifier of a substantive or an action word, but, contrary to the present participle, it denotes a
completed state of action in question and is passive by nature. As such it is also termed as perfect participle or passive participle. In Brok-Skad it is obtained by suffixing /e ~ i/ to the past tense base of the verb concerned or by appending past tense forms of the verb sub-stantive to the verb stem, e.g.

/tes ge-i banci bet /it is late enough having gone him.

/so ge-i kätuk dis bet /how many days have passed him gone?

/riñhâns mole /(already) seen girl, /sotân myus /slept man,

/veližohane khâzek cok /all the fallen fruits, /çopthe-de kitap /printed books.

Its adjectival forms are obtained by suffixing /to/, /do/, /su /etc. to the past tense base of the verb, as in /doye-to gulutcha /washed clothes, /puši-to puño/blossomed flower, /silithe-to zabrithe-to myus /educated (=who knows reading and writing) man, /çhinjido gulus /torn cloth; /çhinjide gulutcha /torn clothes.

Conjunctive Participle: In a context of two actions taking place in an un-interrupted sequential order, the verb of the preceding action is placed in the conjunctive participle form and of the succeeding action in the finite verb form. Thus the primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb form or still continues in the state completed earlier. It is called conjunctive because, syntactically, it connects one clause with another. But, it being a non-finite verb form, the sense of the clause containing it remains incomplete until the clause containing the finite verb is also there. The distinguishing feature of this participle, as compared with other classes of participles, is that it neither possesses the characteristics of a modifier, nor indicates any temporal aspect of the action in question. As such it acquires a virtual value of an indeclinable and is consequently termed as absolutive as well by some grammarians.

In Brok-Skad it is obtained by suffixing /to ~ i ~ e / to the verb stem, as in /skye-to /having seen, /so-to /having slept, /ro-to /having wept, /khya-to /having eaten, /pi-ye /having drunk, /gi-ye /having gone, /ye < i-e. /having come,

/twag bo ye hêm ži bâs /having come here sit down.

/pha mära skei bugaks bet /she having seen me became in tears.

/te chanpe phëtireu khûṭt dus /all of them having being together beat me.
/krum krumi go /having done work went.
/tera majbur bo ano go /having become helpless he went from here.

### INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. On the basis of their syntactic functions these indeclinables have been designated as adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these as attested in this speech may be presented as follows:

#### A. ADVERB

Semantically adverbs belong to that class of words which modify the sense of a verb or restrict the scope of it to a place, time and manner of the action in question. Syntactically, it is an integral part of the V.P. and is placed immediately before the finite verb modified by it or before another adverb. Semantically, these are classified as (i) spatial or adverb of place and direction, (ii) temporal or adv. of time, (iii) modal or adverb of manner, and (iv) intensifiers or adverb of degree.

**Formation:** Adverbs are both, basic as well as derived, though to analyse the immediate constituents of the derived category of adv. is not easy. In this speech many of the derived adv. like adjectives have their roots in non-personal pronouns, particularly in demonstrative and interrogative pronominal stems. Besides, some adjectival and radical adverbial stems too have served as a base for the derived class of adv. As such on the basis of their sources these can be designated as pronominal and non-pronominal as well. Some of the adv. belonging to the pronominal class are-/ yera /why? < /ye /what?; /kere /when? < /ko /who?; /kyane /where < /ko/, / yere /when? < /ye /what ?; etc.

Forms and functions of various categories of adverbs can be presented as follows:

**Adverb of Place or Direction:** Commonly used adv. of place are- /kyan /where ?, /əboni /near, /kher /below, /ane /here, /pəri /there, /za /on, /zigindi /over, /yətir /in front of, /putər /behind, /hunar /above, /dur /far, /gənonsə /every where, /hun
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... stod /up, above, /girgiri /around, /gemin /under, below, /zya /up, /zyamin /below, etc.

Their syntactic uses may be illustrated as under:
/pho goṣ yətir šintokek hən /there is a tree in front of that house.
/aboni myo goṭe sinik la /there is a river near my house.
/ti kyano udo (< ut-o) /where are you coming from?
/tyari gutči kyan chere hən /where have you put the clothes?
/kher bōis /sit down; /ane ye /come here.
/tyo bio kyan hən /where is your son?
/həm zaŋspo-r chire /put this pot at this very place.
/kitapo mesužə la /the book is on the table.
/šwa-ek mesu gəmin uthyale /a dog is sitting under the table.
/myo bun sinidyo dur həns ; /my village is for away from the river.

Adverb of Time: Some of the temporal adverbs attested in our data are as follows: /kere /when?. whenever, /zaqtən /~ / yəktən /daily, always ; /as /today, /rətya /tomorrow, /run /yesterday, /thəwən ~ thəpən /just now, /hozənto /when, /goribo /for a long time, /yarə /already, /mo thəwən thəyosu-r bekozini həns /I want to go to the field just now.
/run aye seni ane yeu /yesterday aunt had come here (=came)
/tesak goribo əo-r krumyaq /they are working in the cold for long.
/phoratpocok uthe hən /he remained awakened for the whole night.
/myəi yərto cheri thit /I have already finished it.
/mo tendi yəktən isi bedos /I used to visit (come) their place daily.
/soyə twəqpo susta go /he went to bed (=to sleep) immediately.
/ti ispo-dyo yarbo mo ut / I came (before) early than you came.
/ba sat dis žuknaw bunu-r biyenes /we shall go to village after a week (7 days).
/so kere ut / when did he come.

Adverb of Manner: Some of the commonly used adverbs of manner in Brok-skad are--/cuk-po /quietly, /gyospa /hastily, hurriedly, /stən /~ /sɨtən /slowly, /sunul /suddenly, /sokthe /quickly, /yetə /how ?, /ənuž /loudly, /twəqbo /quickly, suddenly, etc.
Besides the above, adv. of manner are also formed by reduplicating the basic stem, as in /sumə-sumə/suddenly, /sɨtən-
sɨtən /slowly, gradually, /sokthe-sokthe /quickly, /kauthetothe /any how, etc. e.g.
/sɨtən-sɨtən ras /speak slowly.
/ənuʒ nə ras /do not speak loudly.
/twaqbo ye həmţi bəs /having come quickly, sit down here.
/so twa qbo byas buŋ /he had to go suddenly.
/mo cuq is binu nyal /I can not come hurriedly.

**Adverb of Degree:** The number of adverbial intensifiers is very small in it. The only adverb of this class attested in our data is /bede/more, much, identical with adjectival intensifier.
/so bede haza ~ hasa həŋ/he laughed a lot.
/capthe-de sokbi silithis-ta bede leımə həne / printed books are more easy (easier) to read.

**Syntactic Order of Adverbs:** As stated above, the place of an adverb in a syntactic string is immediately before the finite verb (see above p. 115). But when there are more adverbs in a single syntactic string then the order of their occurrence is, more or less, fixed. For instance, if there are two adv. belong to spatial and temporal categories then their sequential order is temporal + spatial, i.e. the adv. of time precedes the adv. of place, e.g. /so run ane yeut /he came here yesterday. And in case of occurrence of more than one adv. belonging to the same class, then the adv. indicating specification of place or time precedes the non-specificative one, e.g. /so run beldan ane ye ut/ he came here yesterday evening. Here the 'specific' term for yesterday precedes the general term for 'evening'. But in case of occurrence of adverbs belonging to the categories of manner, place, and time there the adv. of manner precedes the adv. of place, but is followed by the adv. of time, e.g.
/soyə sɨtən bene go /he went away quietly.
/soyə sokthe-sokthe ane yeut /he came here quickly.
/soyə run sokthe ane bəndet /he ran away quickly from here yesterday.

**Overlapping with Adj.:** There are some adv.. particularly intensifiers, which formly overlap with adj. For example, /bede noro byo /'a very good boy'. Here the intensifier /bede /'very' is an adjective, because it intensifies the adj. 'good' which in its turn modifies the noun head 'boy', but in /bede sokthe /'very quickly' it is an adv. which intensifies the meaning of /sokthe /quickly.
B. PARTICLES

Besides the adverbs, there are other types of indeclinables which in the grammatical parlance are termed as 'particles'. Which on the basis of their functions and syntactic positions are classified as connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections. These may be presented as follows.

Connectives

The primary function of this class of words is to conjoin two or more elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. There are two sub-categories of them, termed as coordinative and subordinative.

Coordinatives: This class of particles conjoins two or more mutually independent elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. Semantically, these have been grouped as-Additive, Alternative, Contrastive, Conditional and Correlative by traditional grammarians. Their forms and functions in Brok-skad may be presented as follows:

(i) Additive: The additive particle in it are: /gā/ and /ūṇa/ which are placed in between the two elements/units joined by them. But in this context it may also be mentioned that in an informal speech it is, usually, left out and its function is served by a pause (open juncture), as in

/bsya-r gas t wa de /give grass (and) water to the horse.
/soi kāya bet t tesā khwai bet /he was cooking (and) they were eating.
/sosā dyal t māsā pyūns /he gives (and) I drink. Of the two additives noted above /gā/ /joins two nominal elements, as in

/ram gā syam /Ram and Shyam.
/byo gā mole /boy and girl; /ti gā mo /you and I, etc.

But /ūṇa/ is employed to join two clauses or sentences:

/mo byūns uṇa kitapik ariyūns /I shall go and bring a book.
/soyo hom modyo prat uṇa molera det /he took it from me and gave to the girl.
/mo consār go uṇa golik bešit /
I went to the fair and bought a cow.
/ba byenes uṇa āspa ariyenes/
We shall go and bring horses.

(ii) Alternative: Basically, uncultivated speeches do not
favour construction of coordinative clauses conjoined by alternative particles like "either. . . or . . ." and 'neither . . . nor . . . etc. There in this case all types of alternate actions are expressed independently either in affirmative or in negative as the case may be. There too in the former case use of the connective 'or' may take place between the two statements, but not in the latter case. Consequently, in utterances like 'either you come or bring your brother', the natural way of rendering would be 'you come or bring your brother' etc., as in /ti ye ya tyo bayo a re/

But in case of necessity the alternative conjuncts 'ya . . . ya . . . or 'nə . . . nə . . .' can be employed.

/yə ti ane ye, ya go̱ṭind̄i bo/either you come here or go home.
/yə ti bo, ya sa byale /either you go or she will go.
/nə̀ soy̱d̄ ut, nə̀ tes bayo /neither he came nor his brother.
/sina du ya trə go̱ṭind̄i byalen /two or three boys are going home.

(iii) **Contrastive:** In this speech there is no native conjunction like the English term 'but' to express the contrast between the statements in two successive coordinative sentences. There the purpose of this particle is served by an open juncture (pause), occurring at the end of the preceding affirmative /declarative sentence, e.g.

/say̱d̄ ut ə mo go̱ṭra nə bet /she came (but) I was not at home.
/mədi pa khyans ə soi nə khat /I have eaten food, (but) he did not eat.

**Subordinatives:** Subordinative conjunctions join two or more clauses/sentences, of which one is dependent on the other (principal) clause/sentence. This could be objectival, conditional or correlative. All these may be presented as follows:

(i) **Objectival:** In this type of compound sentences the dependent clause functions as an object/complement to the finite verb of the principal clause and both of them are conjoined with a subordinative conjunction, equivalent to Eng. conjunct 'that', but in this speech there does not occur any term to conjoin the two sentences. Both of them are expressed independently without any conjunct conjoining them. However, these are interrupted with a pause juncture in between them. For instance,

/sei rəẓit ə mə ṭhyamyə la /he said, I am hungry.
/byoi rəẓit ə mo as mi go̱ṭind̄i byuŋ̄ś /the boy said, I am going to my home today.
(ii) **Conditional:** In conditional clause constructions, the principal as well as the subordinate sentences are marked with the particles 'if' and 'then'. In this type of syntactic constructions the 'then' clause which is the principal clause follows the 'if' clause which is the subordinate clause. In this dialect there is no term for 'if', but the form for 'then', viz. /to/, as in Hindi, occurs at the end of the subordinate clause and is followed by an open juncture. This may be illustrated as under:

/čhisak iz (< is) go to+ mo ga sum yuṇs /
(If) you had come, then I too would have accompanied you.

/so ga ut-to+ток busu hua (/If) he had come, then so nice it would have become.

/mo ədapiк bet-to ḫətya mo yuṇs (/If) I am well, I shall come tomorrow.

/sosə mehnət չահան to + so pas busu bet/ If he works hard, he will success (will pass the exam.).

/so mo cisum hua to ḫαlī busu /(/If) he were with me, it would be good.

/gađi goribo ut-to + bayə noni busu /(/If) the train comes late, then we can catch it.

(iii) **Correlative:** Correlative conjunctions conjoining the subordinate clause with the principal clause are 'when' and 'then'. In this too the speech under consideration attests only a conjunct, viz. /to/ 'then' which takes place at the beginning of the subordinate sentence, e.g.

/krum krumis chəribus go to pəpa khun /
(when) the work was finished then food was eaten.

Some other temporal conjunctions employed with subordinate constructions have been noted as under!

/kere /'at the same time', as in

/mo kere գուտ-dyo nəhatoga mi չisum guluk չhiriyuṇs /
I always take a stick with me when I go to my house.

/mastər kere is մələk soyə չiklapi(:)k չhä asto /when the teacher came in he was talking.

/yarbo /'before', as in

/ti ispo-dyo yarbo mo ut /I came before you came.

/ti-dyo yarbo the soyə krumit /he did the work before you did.

/-a /'as soon as'. The sense of 'as soon as' is expressed by suffixing /-a / to the verbal base of the action taking place first, e.g.
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/ram nuf-a mo yuṃs /as soon as Ram comes, I shall go.  
/ti nuf-a ba kargilurno biyenes /  
we shall leave Kargil as soon as you come.

Emphatic Particles

Emphasis, besides non-verbal devices like stress, pitch, etc., is indicated with the help of emphatic particles as well. In this speech, the emphatic particle has been attested as /gə/, e.g.  
/čhisak is go to mo gə sum yuṃs /If you come, I shall too come with you.  
/thinig bəis  † ti-r gə dyuṃs /wait a little, I shall give to you as well.  
/tisə ye dethet † tu gə dyuṃs /whatever you ask for I will give to you.

Negative Particles

Brok-skad has 3 negative particles, viz. /nə/, /neʃ /and / nyal/ Distributionally /nə /is used to negate the presence of any object or action in general. It is also used to prohibit the execution of an action. Its position in an utterance is immediately before the linguistic element negated by it. For instance,  
/məsə  tendi nərəza rayuṃs /I shall not allow him speak.  
/soyə  krum nə krumit /he did not do the work.  
/ənuz nəras /do not speak loudly, /məi nərit /I did not see.  
/guru yərii  nə bo /don’t go near the fire.  
/nə the /don’t do,  /nə skey /don’t see,  /nə so /don’t sleep,  
/nə kha /don’t eat, etc.

Elision of Copular : The use of negative particle leads to the elision of the copulative verb 'to be' in a non-formal speech, e.g.  
/həmo myo got nə /this (is) not my house.  
/myo nu gulam rəhim nə /my name (is) not Gulam Rahim.  
/neʃ /—It is a condensed form of negative particle + verb substantive, which is equal to 'is not, are not, have not, etc.' Moreover, its placement is invariably at the end of the utterance, e.g. /əso bun-po seno neʃ /our village is not small.  
/myo sas tsali  (thali) neʃ /my sister is not beautiful.  
/myo biya neʃ /I am not going.  
/məsə  silichə  neʃ /I am not reading.
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/nyal/ -- Although /neš/ and /nyal/ both occur at the end of the syntactic string, yet they have different areas of operation and structurally too both have distinct characteristics, i.e. while the former is invariable, and consequently devoid of any person, number markers, and implies the sense of the verb of existence, whereas /nyal/ takes person-number markers for the 2nd-3rd persons and is not used with the person. Its area of operation too is wider, i.e. is used with all verbs capable of being used as finite verbs, e.g.

/so ane-r rgyusya nyal/ he should not have come here.
/mo cual isbinu nyal/ I can not come quickly.
/tisδ krum krumis nyale/ you do not work.
/sosδ krum krumis nyale/ he does not work.
/sasδ krum krumis nyal/ she does not work.
/tesδ krum krumis nyalen/ they do not work.
/so rithes nyal/ he does not see.

There are no Interrogative particles in it. There is only a suffix which becomes operative at the syntactic level only (see Interro. Sub.) No interjections too could be recorded for these data.

SYNTAX

With regard to morpho-syntactic feature of Brok-skad it may be said that in a way various aspects of it have already been taken care of in connection with the analysis of various categories of its constituents. Therefore, in this section only a formal presentation of the syntactic features of it will be done. In brief the nature and structure of various types of sentences may be presented as follows.

Types of Sentences

Traditional grammarians, normally, recognize three types of syntactic compositions, viz. simple, compound and complex. But the language under consideration favours simple and short sentences only, even ideas of a complex nature are expressed by splitting them into distinct simple sentences. With regard to other types of sentences too it may be mentioned that the mechanism of combining them by means of connectors is not favoured. Usually, the purpose of various categories of conjuncts is served by a mode of open juncture (pause).

*Types of Simple Sentences:* Semantically and structurally
too, a simple sentence can be designated as an affirmative, interrogative, imperative, negative, etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal, causative, etc. As pointed out above, all the aspects of a simple sentence correlated with the morpho-syntactic character of the verb, have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal systems and modal formations. Here, reproduction of all of them will be a mere repetition of those facts which have already been explained earlier. These may, therefore, be seen there itself.

Moreover, morphologically, a simple sentence could be subjectival or objectival as well. Obviously, in the former type the agreement, in respect of person-number-gender categories, is attested between the subject and the verb, and in the latter case it takes place between the verb and the object. In Brok-skad syntactic structures of both the types are attested. (See Agreement, p. 91).

Besides this language, like many T.H. languages of the Himalayan regions makes a structural distinction between the use of transitive and intransitive verbs. Accordingly in sentences with transitive verb the subject is invariably in the ergative case, whereas with intransitive verbs in the nominative case (for examples see Nom.-& Erg. cases p. 61, 63).

Components of a Simple Sentence: The essential components of a simple sentence are phrasal units called 'noun phrase' and 'verb phrase,' constituting as subject and predicate of it, respectively, as in /mo goť-ra biyunś /I am going home.

Noun Phrase: Constituents of a noun phrase could be a single noun /pronoun or both or a noun head plus one or more modifiers, preceding or following it. For instance, /myo sasōyo trē hēnī /I have three sisters. /hōmo mi goť bet /this is my house. /ńa wa-r bōsun /fishes live in water. /byoi molei rithyan /a boy saw a girl.

Extension of Noun Phrase: A noun phrase is extendable in the form of case markers and various types of qualifiers of the noun head, as in /ram-i mohānọ-r spira-k razos /Ram asked Mohan one thing (about something). Also /lodo puśo /red flower, /homo goť/ this house, /pha mole /that girl, /tes boyo /his brother, /ten bo /their father, /myo ābs /my horse, etc.

/mēi (ek bono kyono) śwa rit /I saw a (big black) dog.

Verb Phrase: Verb is a part of the predicate of the sentence
and as such occupies an important place in it. Positionally, in Brok-skad, it comes at the fag end of the sentence and carries all the grammatical categories of the subject in subjectival constructions and of the object in objectival constructions, as in /mës ñuguku zbrithi yuŋ /I have to write a letter.

A simple verb phrase or VP. contains either a simple finite /copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries /helping verbs. In case of a simple finite verb the VP can stand by itself, but in case of a transitive or a verb of incomplete predication it may need an object /complement to complete the sense of the utterance.

/mës ti-ra dyuŋ /I shall give to you.
/mëi ek ñwa rî /I saw a dog; /mo goto ra biyuŋ /I am going home.
/myo bayo-da trî han /I have three brothers.

However, the components of a composite verb phrase are--a principal verb stem+one or more full verb stem+aux. /helping verb+object /complement, further extendable by modifiers. Syntactically, the place of an aux. or helping verb is at the end of the VP and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the VP concerned. Thus owing to its affiliation with the SOV group, the normal order of the placement of different constituents of a sentence is-subject (NP.)+object+verb (VP). Moreover, in case of double objects the indirect object precedes the direct object.

/ayes sina-di dyut pyayal /mother feeds the child with milk.
/síñthok-po-žîek seni cî la/(there) is a small bird on the tree.
/sene sinas ayes dyut pyalen /young babies suck (drink) mother's milk.
/so tisë ba cisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father.

NON-SIMPLE SENTENCES

In traditional terminology non-simple sentences are termed as compound and complex sentences.

Compound sentences are combinations of two or more independent simple sentences, joined together by coordinative conjunctions. But, as pointed out earlier, the use of these conjuncts is not favoured in a non-formal speech. There its purpose is, normally, served by a pause juncture, as in /soi këya bet t tes khwai bet / he continued cooking (and) they continued eating.

(for more examples see co-ordinative conjunctions)
Complex sentences too are a combination of more than one clause /sentence, but in this, one of the constituent clause /sentence is subordinate or dependent on the other. There the number of dependent clauses could be more than one as well. The clause of which other clause /clauses are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for this speech.

(i) **Complemental:** In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. Both the clauses are joined by a conjunction which in this speech is usually left out and a pause juncture takes place instead, e.g.

/soi rōzit t mō ūthamō la /he said, I am hungry.
/soi razos t ti kyan bāsun /he asked, where do you live?
(for more examples see: Particles: subordinative conjunctions)

(ii) **Correlative:** In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause. Both the clauses are conjoined by relative pronouns, e.g.

/hām mihilpo- t ko uttoga t byas /whosoever comes in this world+will go (=goes)
/so kere ut t mīd gia huaw /when he came, I had gone.
/pārpo bāndis t zo myo hem bet /the one who is running, (he) is my friend.
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/kosā krum krumito t tera khus busu /who does work, he will get food.
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But in this type of clause constructions this speech sometimes instead of contracting two clauses with conjuncts expressing
condition, prefers to construct it as a single sentence with the use of the conjunctive participle. For this type of syntactic construction a logical reason may be that in this the action denoted by the verb of the principal clause takes place only if the action denoted by the verb of the subordinate clause takes place first, which is a domain of the conjunctive participle as well. For instance, a statement like 'if you come, I will also accompany you' can be rendered as 'an your coming, I will also accompany you' as well. Some of the examples of the conditional construction in it may be illustrated as under:

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Interrogative: At a syntactic level, this speech, besides the use of interrogative terms belonging to pronominal /adverbial class of words, uses an interrogative suffix as well which is affixed to the finite verb form concerned, e.g.

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Otherwise-/tyo byo kyan hɔn/where is your son?
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PART - IV

CONCISE DICTIONARY

(a) Brok-skad-English (with Etymological Notes)

(b) Glossary of Words: English: Brokskad
and as such occupies an important place in it. Positionally, in
Brok-skad, it comes at the fag end of the sentence and carries all the
grammatical categories of the subject in subjectival constructions
and of the object in objectival constructions, as in /məsə ñuguku
zərithi yuŋ /I have to write a letter.
A simple verb phrase or VP. contains either a simple finite /
copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main
verb plus one or more auxiliaries /helping verbs. In case of a simple
finite verb the VP can stand by itself, but in case of a transitive or a
verb of incomplete predication it may need an object /complement
to complete the sense of the utterance.
/məs ti-ra dyuŋ /I shall give to you.
/məi ek ʃwa rə /I saw a dog; /mo goəra biyuŋ /I am going
home.
/myo bayo-da trə hən /I have three brothers.
However, the components of a composite verb phrase are--a
principal verb stem+one or more full verb stem+aux. /helping
verb+object /complement, further extendable by modifiers.
Syntactically, the place of an aux. or helping verb is at the end of the
VP and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the
VP concerned. Thus owing to its affiliation with the SOV group, the
normal order of the placement of different constituents of a sentence
is-subject (NP.)+object+verb (VP). Moreover, in case of double
objects the indirect object precedes the direct object.
/əyes sina-di dyut pyayal /mother feeds the child with milk.
/siŋthok-po-ʒi ek seni cei la /(there) is a small bird on the tree.
/sene sinas ayes dyut pyalen /young babies suck (drink)
mother's milk.
/so tisə ba cisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father.

NON-SIMPLE SENTENCES
In traditional terminology non-simple sentences are termed
as compound and complex sentences.
Compound sentences are combinations of two or more
independent simple sentences, joined together by coordinative
conjunctions. But, as pointed out earlier, the use of these conjuncts
is not favoured in a non-formal speech. There its purpose is,
normally, served by a pause juncture, as in /soi kəya bet ɾ tes khwai
bet / he continued cooking (and) they continued eating.
(for more examples see co-ordinative conjunctions)
Complex sentences too are a combination of more than one clause /sentence, but in this, one of the constituent clause /sentence is subordinate or dependent on the other. There the number of dependent clauses could be more than one as well. The clause of which other clause /clauses are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for this speech.

(i) **Complemental:** In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. Both the clauses are joined by a conjunction which in this speech is usually left out and a pause juncture takes place instead, e.g.

/soi ṭāzit t mō ṭhaymō la /he said, I am hungry.
/soi razos t ti kyan bōsun /he asked, where do you live?
(for more examples see: Particles: subordinative conjunctions)

(ii) **Correlative:** In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause. Both the clauses are conjoined by relative pronouns, e.g.

/hām mihilpo-r ko uttoga t byas /whosoever comes in this world+will go (=goes)
/so kere ut t miē gia huaw /when he came, I had gone.
/pārpo bāndis t zo myo hem bet /the one who is running, (he) is my friend.
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CONCISE DICTIONARY

(a) Brok-skad-English (with Etymological Notes)

(b) Glossary of Words: English: Brokskad
CONCISE DICTIONARY

Preliminary Note: On Arrangement, Signs, Symbols and Abbreviations.

(i) Lexical items have been arranged in the alphabetical order recognized for the Indo-Aryan system.

(ii) Entries of nominal items have been made in their nominative singular forms and of verbal items in their infinitive forms, i.e., root+infinitive formatives.

(iii) Various signs, symbols and abbreviatives be read as under:
- (hyphen) : disjoining different components of the word
-- (dash) : representing the root /stem /first component under reference
\(\checkmark\): verb root. (for others see, Transcription & Phonetic Symbols, p. xvii).

(iv) Linguistic abbreviations used here be interpreted as follows:
(A) Abbreviations for languages
(B) Abbreviations for grammatical terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.A.</td>
<td>a. : Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIA</td>
<td>adv. : Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tib.</td>
<td>cogn. : Cognate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.A.</td>
<td>cf. : Compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIA.</td>
<td>conj. : Conjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIA.</td>
<td>fem /f. : Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pb.</td>
<td>f.s. : Formative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B./Bal</td>
<td>fig. : Figurative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld.</td>
<td>inter. : Interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nep.</td>
<td>M. : Muslim Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. /Pur.</td>
<td>m. /masc. Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi.</td>
<td>n. : Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi.</td>
<td>neg. : Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEP.</td>
<td>num. : Numerical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kum.</td>
<td>pp. : Post-position, Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kash.</td>
<td>part. : Participle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(A) BROK-SKAD-ENGLISH

(With Etymological Notes)

ə, n. monkey (var. šədi)
əstå, num. eight OIA aṣṭapa, num. eighth
əstånum, num. eighteen
əso, pron. our (gen.)=asməkam
əspi, n. mare <əsp+ı=*=aśvī (OIA)
əkəl, n. brain, mind.-cən. a. wise
əka, n. dysentery
əkus, v.t. 1. to scrape, 2. to dig
əkpo, see okpo
əkhus, n. foundation
əkhədə ~ əkhus, n. beggar
əkhon, n. preceptor
əgə ~ əgəcən, a. lazy
əgən ~ əgn, curd, butter milk
əcar, n. pickle (I.A.)
ətət, ~ ətəti, n. bone <OIA asthi
ətəhi, n. eye <OIA akshi, -rgəlməs, n. eye ball.
ətəho, n. walnut < OIA akshota
əris ~ aris, v.t. to get < OIA ə+ra-
ədap, n. recovery
ədəti, n. Sunday < OIA āditya
əpəs, v.t. to feed < OIA əs-to eat
əps ~ əbs, n. horse OIA āsəva., -i (fem.)
əspi, n. mare < OIA āsəv+ı
əpas, n. home, <OIA āvəsa
əboni, adv. near, close, -this
v.i, to love (lit. to do love),
-bus, id. (lit. to be in love).
-dis, id. (lit. to give love),
əmcı, n. physician< Tib. 'amci
əmsis, v.t. to forget
ərā, n. a saw < OIA-ara
əru ~ aru, adv. inside < OIA antare
antərə ~ antare-ṣu
əlis. ~ əlizis, v.t. to fry
əlisim, v.t. to drag
əlun, n. ear-ring for males

A
ais, v.t. to try
əe ~ əye, n. mother, mother-in-
əlaw < āry̪a, -bo, n. parents,
əsən, n. mother's sister (lit.
mother-youngerer),
younger aunt-əboni
mother's elder sister,
elder aunt.
ətətirga, n. skeleton
apik, a. a few
əpeki, a. adv. little, a little.
əris, v.t. 1. to bring, 2. to take, 3.
to fetch, 4. to buy <
ə+ra-
ərəo, n. snow,ice, var. azo
əru ~əru, see əru
əlu, n. potato (I.A.)
əw. n. she goat < OIA avi sheep
əs, wolf, leopard, tiger < əs-to
eat(?) var. ənəkku
əso, n. tears <OIA āsəru id.
əs-əs, adv. today < I.A. āj < OIA adya
azu, pp. in, inside.
azo, n. rain,-yis to rain, var. osa

I
iktå, n. cock
in, n. a smile, -bus v.i. to smile
i: dis, to allow < vi: to come
(lit. to come+to give)
imandar, honest (NIA)
ilaj, n. treatment, cure,-this to treat, to cure
is ~ es to come, < OIA√ ya- (?)
isara, pointing, -this, to indicate, point out

U
un, conj. part. and, again
ucu, n. spring of water, Tib. chu
OIA. utsa, cf. Shi. uts
ucus, v.t. to pick up < OIA-ucca+Inf.
urtles, v.i. 1. to jump, -s, v.i. 1. to jump
2. to swim. <* ut- táp-
ct. Pb. ã p-
uthi-s, v.i. 1. to stand /stand up,
to get up, 2. to rise < OIA ut-stha > uttha-
uthyayis (Caus.) to raise < ut-stha+a (Caus.)
unis, v.t. 1. to feed, 2 to grow, 3.
to tame, to nourish,
4. to open, 5. to unite
< ut-naya
unjuk, n 1. face, 2. cheek
upis v.i.; 1. to fly < ut + pat, 2.
to blow as wind.
uma, n. flour
umur, n. age < umrd (NIA)
umed, n. hope < ummid (NIA)
uri, n. nail
urpo, n. haste, -this vb. to hurry.

ul, n. 1. wing, feather, 2. nest
ular, n. plait of hair, pigtails
ularis, v.t. to knit, to tie, var. bunis, id.
ulo, n. summer, spring season-
< OIA usmila
usu, n. credit,-dis v.t. to lend-
uskuru, n. butterfly, var. phyamö
lapse
uzu, n. mouth-

E
e : inter. attention drawing
sound,-this v.i. to call
ek, num. one (ýek) < OIA eka,-
this to add, to unite,
to collect, to join, to connect
ekik. pron. someone
ekiki, a. 1. alone, 2. single< OIA
ekāki
ebe, v.i. to go < OIA ava gatau, -
tog, adv. some how
erur, a. enough
erýis [eryūs], v.t. to accept
es ~ is, see above-is

O
okpo -ókpo, num. second, next,
another
oți ~ othi, n. lip < OIA oṣtha+i
one. a. open
ono, n. pillow
opeke, a. a little
orgo, v.i. to burn, to kindle
oš, n. air, wind < OIA asu life
breath
osa, see azo
ospin, n. cream of milk
K

kaks-po a. difficult.
kəca, n. trousers, var. ki:t
kənku, n. claw. < kənku an instrument to extract splinters / thorns from the body.
kətəkik, a. how much < kiyatka cf. kum. kətik, id.
kətəqdi, a. a few < kətipaya+i
kətuk, a. how many, how much < kiyatka, id.
kən, n. & a. one eyed, < kənə, var. śwe
kəni, n. ear < karna, puri ear wax < karna-
purisāḥ
kənis, v.t. to scratch <* kan-cf. kum. kən-to itch
kən, n. leg < Tib. kən-pa, id.
kən-kən, n. calf of leg, leg.
kənirbyas, n. earthworm
kəmiz, n. shirt (NIA)
kəmēl, n. blanket < kambala
kəri, n. 1. basket, 2. jug, -sina-, cradle (lit. baby’s basket)
kərja, n. loan (NIA), var. gyusi
kəl, n. arm, cf. N1 A. kəlāi. wrist
kəlak-this, v.t. to do white wash
kəlgi, n. shoulder, cf. B. gəlgi
kələm, n. pen (NIA)
kəyis, v.t. to cook, -pa, n. a cook,-su got, n. kitchen
kəsp, n. armour
kəzis (< kasis) to rub, to sharpen
kəki ~ kake, n. 1. elder sister, 2. elder sister-in-law
kagos, n. partrdige
kən, n. foot, <Tib. kən-pa
< rkan >-thil n. sole of the foot <Tib. thil
< mthil> bottom, śups, n. socks <Tib. subs seath.
kəcā, n. first floor of the house
kətis, v.t to spin < kāt (NIA) < Karta-
ka-this, v.i. to remember <*ka remembrance(?)
kanu:n, n. law (NIA)
kərən, n. cause < kāranam.
kaw, pron. which? <IOA kəkaw ~ kau, n. bangle
kaw-thello-the, adv. any how
ki:t, n. trousers, var. kəca
kitab, n. book (NIA)
kismet ~ khimet, a lean and thin-
kir-kir, a round < Tib. kyir-kyir, id.
kiṣṭi, n. boat,-pa, n. boat-man
kispa, n. palmist, var. həthiras
ku ~ ko, 1. a ~ crow < kəka, 2. wall
kurc, n. boit, var. pikyok
kuṭər ~ kətar, n. knife < kartara
kuti ~ kuṭṭi, foot, leg,-s bono guli, toe
kuṭṭis, v.t. to beat, to thresh < OIA Kuṭṭa-kuṭṭu -s, n. beating < kuṭṭa to beat
kuṭ-this, v.t. to build, var. gipas
kuṭo, n. knee,-ti-n-zis, v.i. to kneel. cf. CEP. kuṭo leg, foot.
kəuθ, n. wood < OIA kəuθa
kun, n. 1. corpse 2. life breath, var. mora
kuno, n. thorn <OIA kəntaka. cf. kum. kən-o, -this, v.t. to prick
kunili, n. mouse, var, mu: zi < mu : sika
kuni:li, n. pigeon
kunj, num. nineteen < ekon vimša-
kunjok – konjok, n. god,-sum, n. goddess < Tib. koncog, var. lha
kupas, n. cotton, < kārpāsa (OIA)
kur, n. cave
kurkum, n. saffron < OIA kumkuma
kurce, n. bed of a garden or field
kusun, a. triangular = ku+sum
kek, pron, some < OIA kiyatka
kedpa, n. a mound
kemöt (M), n. hell < qayāmat (PA)
kere, pron. whosoever
kere, adv. when?, -beto when ever
kesera, pron. (acc.) whom?
ko, pron. who? < Kah, id, -gō, pron. any (=ko who+gō also), -utto, pron. anyone
kogeneš (=ko-gō-neš) a. none (lit. any one not)
k:no, n. comb < karika (OIA), -this v.t. to comb-
konye, lama incharge of the village
kodes, num. eleven < OIA ekādaśa
kon-this, v.t. to listen, to hear
konna-this, v.t. to forbid
konjok, see kunjok
kor, n. mine,-por, n. mineral
kolo, a. lame
kośis, n. effort (NIA)
kosundo, a. 1. active, 2. clever, 3. proud, 4. brave 5. healthy, var. kosendi, strength
kosō, a. several
kyōbyōsis, v.i. to visit
kyōrō, n. ram. var. nilok
kyaner, adv. where?
kyukyan ~ kyukyōn, n. peas, var. gambu, decūn
kyok-this, v.i. to bend
kyono, a, black < OIA kṛṣṇa
krād-pa, n. half boot < Tib [tād-pa] < krād-pa
krād-pa, n. old man, < Tib. <rgad-pa>
krāsu, n. spoon (big)
krami-this, v.t. to sprinkle
kri, n. 1. worm < OIA kṛmi, 2. bed bug
kriṇzis (<-sis), v.t. & i to stick, var. li-are
kriw-this, v.i. to shout, to cry
kru, n. corner < kona (?)
krum, n. work < OIA Karma, -this to work
kruzbi, a. square (lit. corner-four) < Tib. kug-zbi < bzi
kro. n. chest, breast
kṣa, n. crane (bird)
kṣōchem, a bright
ksik-ksik-mo, n. creeper
KH
khōcār, n mule
khijbuka, a. reverse
khān. n. place, a place to keep / house. some thing
< OIA khanda (?)
khānci, n. prison, -do, n. prisoner, -ris ~khān-
cis v.t. to imprison, to tie up, to confine.

khěpāt, n. window, var. běrběn
khēbēr, n. news, information (NIA),-this, v.t. to inform

khāmcu, n. beak (of bird),-this ~ -dis, v.t. to peck

khār ~ xār, n. ass, donkey <OIA khara

khērū ~ khēro n. iron-smith, blacksmith

khēreti, n. plant
khōroti, n. basket, var. kāri

khārwa ~ khārba, n. bronze, bell metal <Tib. Kharwa < mkharba >

khārma [gārma], n. female blacksmith

khāl, n. threshing floor < OIA khala, id.

khālma, n. kidney <Tib. khalma < mkhalma>

khās, n. 1. heat, 2. fever

khāso-this, v.t. to roast, var. gipothis

khātun-bāis, n. to fast, to abstain from food

khāha-dis, v.t. to plug

khāhyun, adv. in the middle, centre

kha, adv. below, down, pit, ditch, low

kha~xa, n. anger <Tib. kro-ba, i d . , - c ө n ~ ~ u t , a . angry, -yis, v.l. to be angry

khan, n. quarry <OIA khāni, id.

khara, n sugar, <Tib. kara/ khara

khalip ~khēlip, n. lid
khali-pe, n. fallow land
khi ~khyi, n. dog <Tib. khyi,-ma, n. bitch, var. šwa <šwa, id.

khyipsyn, n. jackal
khimet, a. thin, weak, var. thospa
khimces, n. neighbour

khun, n. manure
kuhto, n. breath

khutis, v.t. to ring (bell, etc.)

khun ~kuhuno, n. elbow <OIA kona cf. Kum. kuhuno, id.

khunu, n. nostril, var. nuto-s khor

khumsis, v.i. to shrink cf. Kum. gumcino

khus, v.t. to eat <OIA khā-khetis, v.t. to bury

keni-bus, v.t. to predict

kel, n. a play <OIA khela

kho, n. cap. cf. khopāri, skull, head

khok ~ khoks, n. cough, -bus v.t. to cough

k踔te-bus, v.i. to hit, to hurt

khon, n. enmity, var. mirgakhyn

khopa, n. coconut, cf. Pb. khopa, id.

khor, n. relation, circle

khorma ~ xorma, n. date fruit

khorpo, n. area

khormo, n. 1. skull, 2. brain, mind

kholo, a. short

khosecis, v.t. to embrace

khosonī hyal, n. manners

khost, n. meal <khus - to eat

khyurdum, (part.) like

khyogapā, n. intellect.
G

gd, part. also, too
gh, n. store
gh-ma, a. 1. all, 2. every, 3. whole, total,-ko. a. everyone,-kyane, adv. everywhere,-bet,
v.t. & i to complete
gt, n. hut
gh, see gh-
gbchel, n. barking of dog, etc.
gmis, n. wealth
gmuni, adv. down, below,-yis
v.i. to alight, to come down
gmloge-bus, v.t. to vomit, var. chdis
gorji, n. ashes, charcoal
gbdt, a. wrong, incorrect (NIA)
gdti, n. mistake,-this v.t. to commit mistake, to offend.

gs-gas, n. grass < ghas (NIA)
gansrip, n. necklace, var. skichya gan (P.), n. stoneslab, var. thonbo
ganduru, n. throat
gamo, n. interest
gambu, n. peas, var. kyukyan
ginido, p.p. accused <OIA grhita
ginis, v.t. to catch, to hold, to pounce, < OIA. grh-
id. cf. Pb. ghin-
gind, n. giant <zind (P.A)
gipa-this, v.t. to roast, var. khdso this
gim, n. liver, var. chinma, lomchhin
girgir, a. round, <Tib. kyir-kyir
girgiri, adv. around
girim/s, n, a sneeze,-si this -bus v.i. to sneeze, var. this

gilat, n. alluminium (NIA)
guna, guilt, crime < gunah (PA), -cdn, a. guilty
gunchh, n. juice=gun+chh
beer
gtu, n. axe
gth, ~ gothari, n. ring < OIA angusthi

gur, n. fire
guri, n. mirror
guro, a. heavy <OIA guru, id.
gurun, n. feast
guluc ~gulus ~ gulca, clothes

gulcha-sis, to sew clothes
guluband, n. muffler, scarf (NIA)
guli, n. finger <OIA anguli, id.
guth, n. thumb < OIA angustha, id.
guthul, n. testicles
gum, n. wheat <OIA godhuma
gurgur, thunder, var. lokchdr, -this to stir
gulu ~ gule, n. stick, whip
genis, v.t. to count <OIA. gana
gemin, pp. under
geru, n. circle< ghera (NIA)
go, n. cow< OIA-goi, id.
go-gaw a. fat
go, n. song<ga-, -dis v.t. to sing, -,-, pa, n. singer, var. lumkhun
gt ~goth, n. < OIA gostha, 1. house, 2. home, 3. room, chamber
go, n. knot < granthi, id.
gothul, n. testicles, see guthul
got, n. loss, <Tib. god, gut, var. nuksan (NIA)
goti, n. regret,-bus, v.i. to regret
gon, n. smell <OIA gandha, id.,
-this v.t. to smell, var. šnumi
gono, n. wheat, barley, corn
<OIA godhūma, id. Pb. gəndəm
gondi, n. cuckoo
gonchutu ~ gonthutu, n. smell
<OIA gandhiima, id.
gonpa, n. Buddhist temple <Tib.
gompa, var. chod-
khən
gongo, n. stone pestle (bəṭṭa)
gop, n. hollow
gom-cən, a. idle
gori, a. late
goso ~ gozo, n. excreta of animal
<go puriṣa=gomaya.
gow, a. rough, course, var. phəṭaro
grəps, n. conspiracy
gri, n. neck <OIA grīvā
griṃsi, n. eagle <grdhra (?)
grisi, n. musk
grim-sis v.t. to twist
greti, n. movement, <OIA gati,
-bus, v.i. to slip, -busula, a. slippery
gron-pa, n. household
gron, n. invitation,-dis, v.t. to invite
gyap ~ gyab, n. canal, water channel
gyusi, n. loan.
gyusis, v.t. to take loan, to lend
gyokiska, adv. soon.
η
ñarmac, a. sweet, Ld. ñarma <Tib. ñarwa < dñar-ba >
ñilo, a. blue < OIA nila
ñilok, n. ram, var. kyöṛlo
ñil-zis, v.i. to hide,-zəris, v.t. to hide, var. phaq-this
ñin-dis, v.t. to weed.
ñi-s, n. thirst, -dis, v.i. to be thirsty
ñilo, a. thirsty
ñis-bu-ris, v.t. to awaken
ñulcha, n. perspiration, Tib. <rṇul>

C
cəkthr, n. chain, < Tib. Cags
< ləcags>, n. iron +thr(?)
cəq-pa, n. thief
cəkma, n. bamboo <OIA kīchaka
id + ma, part.
cəksər, n. tin < Tib. cags + sər
cəgma, n. tree, var. sinthok
cən-khu, n. arm-pit <Tib.
cənkhən
cəngi, n. mosquito
cəngu, n. rheumatism
cən-bus, v.i. to have a jərk,
-çən this, v.t. to jolt
cətni, n. chutney (NIA) var. bōliš
cəndlu, n. trousers (pāyjāmā)
cənda, n. pocket
cəndral, n. Monday <OIA candravaɾa
cəpyal, v.t. to clip
cən-phet, n. mid-night, (lit. half-
moon, half-night)
cəmdən, n. cheese
cəmo, a. & adv. easy
cəri, n. worm, glow worm, bed bug
cəris, v.i. to graze <OIA car-
cərpə, n. cot <NIA cərpəi
cəlak-cən, a. clever, NIA cələk +
çən
concise dictionary

ca& -cazdr, n. shawl, sheet, bed
sheet, bed cover <NIA. cādar
ca, n. tea
cē, n. lightning <OIA cancela, cf.
Kum. cāl, id.
čaks, n. sieve, filter < Tib. cags
iron.
can, n. north <Tib. ẓan <byan>
cans, n. niche
canra, n. courtyard
cin, n. iron
cidis, n. day after tomorrow
ciris, v.t. 1. to keep, 2. to continue
cirtha-ciris, v.t. to arrange
či-šok, pron. every thing
cispa, n. a kiss, -are [cispare] to
kiss, -dis, to give a
kiss
cukbo-bāi-this, v.i. to be silent
cusu, a. urban
cukuro, a. sour, citrous, <OIA
cukra, id.
cukur, n. a metal pot for water,
viz. loṭā
cun-this, v.t. to chew, var. cepis
čuṭu-čhuṭu, a. bad, dirty, rotten,
cunning, -la, a. miser,
-this, v.t. to accuse
čuto, a. deaf, dumb
cudeš, num. fourteen OIA
caturdaša
cup, a. quiet (NIA), -la, adv.
quietly
cupis - curis, v.t. to suck
curōṭ, n. a pinch, -this to pinch
čurku - curkuto, a. false
curasis, v.t. to dig
čurut, n. waterfall <Tib. chu-
water
čulbōgs, n. wave <Tib. chu-
water
cust, a. smart (NIA)
čei, n. bird <OIA catāki, cf. Ld.
čeri, Tib, ciu, Kum.
čēri
čepis, v.t. to chew, cf. Kum. cēp-
čok, a. all
čok-čok, a. active, smart
čok-sis, v.t. to resemble
coga, n. full moon day.
čon, n. onion <Ld. Tib. čon
čodis, n. 4th day from to day
<OIA. caturtha
divasa
čon, n. injury, -dis, v.t. to injure
čonu-this, v.i. to pretend
čomo, n. Buddhist nun <Tib. čos-
ma
como-tok, n. ankle
comsi-bus, v.t. to be finished
čor, num. four < catvāra, -phet,
num. 1. One fourth,
2. a quarter, -bisu,
um. eighty
čor-la, n. thief <OIA. Caura + la
čor-aris, v.t. to steal < čur-to
steal
čori, n. theft <OIA cauryam > cori
čorok, n. suspicion
čose, n. floor of the house
čoskhon, n. prejudice
cwalto, n. 1. breakfast,
2. morning, dawn

Ch
čhais, v.i. to vomit
čhoksa, part. until
čhoksa, n. 1. excreta (human), 2
lavatory
chākphul, n. worship, -this v. t. to worship
chāgbu, n. bunch
chān, n. a local beer
chāndāl, v.t. to bite
chāndlis, v.t. to shake
chānē ~ chānye, n. twines
chāt, a. enough
chāt-this, v.t. to promise < Tib. < ċad-pa,>-pa, n. penalty.
chāti, n. local blanket
chāb-this, v. i. to feel shy, to be ashamed
chāpun-this, v.t. to squeeze, var. grimzus
chāri-this, v.t. to finish, -bus, v.t.
chāṛcu, to spend, to lack n. rain water < Tib. charpa rain + ōhu water
chāl, n. lamb < chāgala (OIA), -lo he goat
čha, n. maize, var. mōka
chags-pa, see cags
chapo, n. dry apricot
champsur, adv. beside
čhar, num. see čor
čhali, a. pure, var. thali < ṭsali>
čhigs, n. wrist
čhīn-čhīn-bāl, n. earthquake
chide, n. a patch, -dis v.t. to patch
čhin, n. rind
čhini, n. chisel < OIA čhīd-
čchinis, v.t. 1. to cut, 2. to tear < OIA čhīd-
čchin-ma, n. liver < Tib. činpa < mčin-pa > , var;
gim, lomčhin
čhim-čhim, n. small box
chiris, v.t. 1. to keep to place, 2. to spit

chiriyoŋs, v.t. to rear
čhun- pa, n. earning
čhun- me, n. lamp for worship < Tib. id.
čhucil, a. dry, < Tib. čhu < mčhu> water
čhuci-dis, v.t. to dry < čhu -
čhu-chot n. hour < Tib. čhu-
čhuṭu, n. mistake, -la, n. 1. miser,
2. rotten, -this, v.t. to speak ill of
čhun, a. n. vain, useless
čhunīt, n. wound
čhutswa, n. moss
čhubji, n. witness
čhum. n. chin. var. kusko
čhumik, spring of water, stream, < Tib. čhumig, id.
čhumbu, n. lap
čhur, n. mountain pass
čhulok ~ čhuboq, n. flood < Tib. čhu-log
čhus, n. urine, -this, v.t. to urinate
čhe, n. soul < Tib. čhe life
čhei ~ čheyi, n. lock
čheo, n. life span < Tib. čhe
čherthaks, n. hedge
čhesi-bus, v.i. to trust
čho ~ čo, n. lake, pond, < Tibcho < mčho > var. warī.
čhoks, n. south
čhoṭu, a. dangerous
čoti-bus, v.t. to grasp
čhod-khān, n. temple; var. gonpa
čhodon, n. hole
čhonu, a. innocent,-hāryan this, v.t. to waste
čholo, n. dice < Tib. čholo id., -nutis, v.t. to gamble
chologđn, n. powder
čhos, n. religion < Tib. čhosid, -gyus, v.i. to swear, -thispa, a. n. sinner

J
jaga, n. place (NIA)
jāj, n. judge (Eng.)
jāb - jāb, a. humble
jāwan, a. & n. young, youngman (NIA)
jawab, n. answer, reply, - this
v.t. to answer
jaket, n. a jerk
jādu, n. charm, magic, - gār, n. magician,-this, v.t. to charm, to bewitch.
jali, n. pilgrim, pilgrimage
jas, v.i. to move < OIA jyotsnā, -ṭhup, n. moonless night (=moon+ darkness) ef. Kum. ju:n, id.
j'urku ~ č'urku, n. a lie, -to lie, -dis to tell a lie
još, n. spirit (soul)
jyut, a. living (opp. dead)

Ñ
ñārma, a sweet cf. Ld. id.
ñāgzār, n. ray (of light)
ña, n. fish < Tib. āna, id,-drundre fishing net, -nākhālis, v.t. fishing
ñalba-cōn, a. poor, cf. Ld. id.
ñiro, m. sheep

nis, n. & v. slumber, to sleep < Tib. ānīd < gnid > Ld. ānit,
ñispa, n. sin < Tib. ānespa
ñirma, n. chilly, cf. Ld. ānerma, var. mārci < OIA marica
ñūṣkār, n. haircut, shaving
ñukār, n. mustard, Ld. ānūṣkār < Tib. yuṣkār

T
ṭōk-ṭōk, a. light (in weight)
ṭāŋka, n. pasture
ṭāṇa, n. noise, var. hisis
tar, a. equal
ṭito, a. bitter, sour < OIA tikta
ṭidis, n. day before yesterday < tritiya divasa
ṭibil, n. a metal pot (lotā)
ṭilbu ~ tiṇ, n. bell < Tib. dilbu < dril>
ṭuḍidis, n. day after tomorrow < dvitiya-divasa
ṭuz - bet, a. pregnant (animal)
ṭenik, n. wait, -this to wait
ṭrōlpis, v.i. to shine
ṭrenis, v.t. to send, var. becis < NIA vbej-

Th
ṭhā, n. nerve
ṭham, n. dance, -bus to bloom
ṭhāspo, n. field (agri.)
ṭha, a hungry, -m, n. hunger, -mis v.i. to be hungry, -ṭhub-this, v.t. to extinguish
ṭhali, a pure, var. čhali, -bus, v.t. to purify,-la sharp
ṭhalo (fem. ṭhali), a. good, best,
nice, beautiful, clean, handsome, lovely, shining, -this - bus to clean, to decorate < Tib. thu-wa

țhar-por, n. opposition
țhi, n. 1. throne < Tib. thi < khri>, 2. ink cf. B. ṭiṣi
țhiga, n. wife, woman, family, female, -bet, married
țhī̄dayis, v.t. to drive away
țhik, a correct (NIA)
țhumška, n. ladder
țhub, n. dark, darkness < Tib. dib < sgrib >
țhul, n. egg < Tib. thul id, Ld. id.
țhus - thospo, n. field (agri.)
țhemkhon, n. dance, -pā, n. dancer, var. brungopa
țhespa, n. love, var. zamat
țhonis, v.t. to thresh, threshing
țhwalo, n. truth

Ď
țăni, n. tooth < OIA danta, Pb. dăndi
țak, n. mail (NIA)
țam-phorok, v.t. to turn down
țindiro, a. thick, var. phętoro
țim, n. stem (of a tree)
țu, n. smoke < Tib. dud-pa
țun- țun, n. a knock, -this, v.t. to knock, knocking
țun, n. handle, -this, v.t. to hang
țumba, n. garden.
țumba, n. an iron pan for cooking
țubet, n. scissors
țe, n. devil < Tib. de < dre> Var. bhut (OIA)

T
țektən, adv. ever, always
țkōri, n. balances (NIA)
țn-this, v.t. to fight
țnis, v.t. to destroy
țñmo, n. amusement
țbēk, n. metal plate (thāli)
țmaku - tamaku tobacco, pi- to smoke
țlkhor, n. vagabond
țlsir, n. ashes, var. gärzi
țr̥yis, v.t. to cool
tagipās, v.t. to fold
tato, a. hot, warm < OIA tapta, -this, v.t. to heat
tamaku, see tāmaku
țar, n. wire (NIA)
tasraňto, n. noon
ti, pron. thou (2nd. p. sg.)
ti, adv. now, var. thępən
ția, adv. till, var. hosibuŋ
țin-ba, n. ankle, heel < Tib. tin-pa
țīl, n. oil < OIA taila, id.
tizit, n. injury
tizis, v. i. to stumble
tisaz, n. thank, gratitude, -dis, v.t. to thank, to express gratitude
tu, pron. (2nd. p.) thou, you < tvam
țungāra, n. ginger
tun, n. trumpet
tuti, n. parrot < tota (NIA)
tubəŋq, n. gun (P.A.)
Concise Dictionary

thiks, n. a drop
thig-la, a. n. right, correct, thini-dis, v.t. to spread
thit, n.a sneeze, < Tib. thid
< phrid>, - this v.i. to sneeze, var. grimsi-this
thil, n. bottom, lower part < Tib. thil, id.
this, v.t. to do
thu ~ thui, n. spittle, var. rgil, -this, v.i. to spit (ono.)
thuks-brul (p.) snake, var. zun
thumbu, n. spoon, var. khopi
thumsksa, n. 1. pillar < OIA stambha cf. Kum.

thuri, adv. at once
thamo, n. battle, war < Tib. thab-po,

thita, a. glad, var. sra
thapen-thaj, a. altogether
thali, metal plate (NIA) < OIA sthali

tumi-this, v.t. to cover
tura, n. spindle, var. phθn, -ris to uncover
turi, n. star < OIA tārikā
tuspor, adv. during
tus-tus-this, v.t. to shake, -bus to tremble
tendi, pron. (gen.) their
temsya, a peculiar
tebus ~ this to fold (NIA)
to, n. 1. owl, 2. (adv.) then, 3. iron plate for baking bread
tok, n. haste, - gyspa, adv. hastily, -pak, adv. at once
tomo, a same
tri- num. three- siro threefold < OIA tri
tran, left (side), var. yon-pa,- khusi, n. bow, var. tan khusi
tra n. torch, bus, v. i. to flee
tyokpa-this, v. i. to endure
twaktɔ, adv. early < OIA twaritaka

thokesa, n. loom
thapa, adv. now, - thapen, adv. just now
thamo, n. battle, war < Tib. thab-mo

tharayis, v.t. to persuade
tha-li-bus, v. i. to overtake
tha-lcir ~ thclcup, n. dust < Tib. thal-wa < thal-ba>
thak-sis, v.t. to weave, -skên n. weaver.
thate, a. glad, var. sra
thapen-thaj, a. altogether
thali, metal plate (NIA) < OIA sthali
D

Dékcuc, n. beans, var. kyukyên
Déjt, n. merry making
Dëninya, n. coriander
Dënôñ, n. drum < damama
Dëmsi-bus, v.t. to gather, to collect
Dëya, n. mercy, compassion < dayâ (OIA)
Dërgôn, n. dozen (Eng.)
Dërgji-pa, n. tailor (NIA)
Dëru, n. hunt,-this, v.t. to hunt
Dës, num. ten <OIA daša
Dëwat, n. inkpot (NIA) < dëwât
Da, n. arrow < Tib. da,-khuñ, n. bow, -kuñ, n. quiver
Da, n. jealousy < OIA √dah-, jöl, a. jealous, -cis v.i. to bejealous, todojealousy, -sis ~ zis, v.t. to scorch
Da, p.p. at,
Da-drok, mountain pass
Dän-dañ, n. a brass drum
Dar, n. door < OIA dvâra
Dal, n. pulse (NIA)
Dayô, n. nurse, midwife, < dhây < dhâtr
Di, n. beam, ray of light
Dilis, v.t. 1. to peel, to snatch, to strip off, 2 to hurt
Dis, v.t. to give, to pay <√da-Þ di-du, num. two < OIA. dvi-siro, a twofold, -bišu, num. forty, -phera, twice
Duk ~ sduk, n. grief < OIA duhkhâ
Duksukis, v.t. to burn < OIA dhukš

Tribal Languages of Ladakh--1

Dugzmi, n. servant < Tib. dugsmi
Dun, n.-dagger
dut ~ dyut, n. 1. milk OIA dugdha, -are, v. t. to milk, 2. breast of woman, nipple
dudo, n. 1. grand father (both sides) 2. oldman
duniya, n. world (NIA)
dunmár, n. a change, -is, v.t. to change
dur adv. 1. far away, 2. n. distance, a. distant, < OIA dûre, id.
Dus, v.t. to wash < dho < dhâv-, -pa, n. washerman
Dus, 1. n. ground, plain landfield, 2. a. flat
de, give (imp.), -this, v.t. ask for, to beg, to request for < OIA. dehi
dokho ~ dokha, n. betrayal, cheating, -this ~ dis, v. t. to betray, to deceive < dhokhâ (NIA)
Doqsi-this, v.t. to tease, to trouble
dob-dis, n. day before yesterday
dolo, n. cloud, var. sprin (Tib.)
Drâk, a. fast (in speed)
Dren-mo (P), n. bear < Tib. Þemo < dre-mo>
Dyañ-ma, n. trust, faith

N

Nô, part. no, not,-bet, part without,-pakó a. raw, unripe *<na pakva
nakhalis, v.t. to take away
nakhasis, v.t. to swallow
nakheius, v.t. & i to defend
nat-pa, ill, sick, diseased
nafort, v.i. to reach
nafort, n. hatred (NIA), -this v.i. to hate
nem. n. sky < Tib. nam, -za, n. season < Tib. namda, - rel, n. aeroplane (=sky-train)
namskyon, n. paralysis, var. mordarbyun
naris, v.i. to fall
noola, n. & a. truthful
ney, a new < OIA nava
naye-this, v.i. to refuse, to say no
nasis, v.t. to lose=not being
naz(=nasə), n. vien (NIA) < snayu
nagzuro, n. pus
nunur, n. pig, var. phaq < Tib. phag
nakur, n. famine
nsto ~ nalto, n. intestine
nacha, n. ear-ring (female)
naris, v.t. to fell
nilo, n. ewe
nis, v.i. to be pressed
nisei-this, v.t. to extinguish
nisto, conj. either
nu, n. name < OIA. naman
nu, num. nine < OIA nava
nuksan, n. loss, damage (NIA), var. got < Tib. god, gut
nugal, n. bags for carrying load on the back of goat/sheep, of Kum. Karbwoj
nulis, v.i. to dance < OIA √nrt-
nuno, a. naked < OIA nagna, id.
nuto ~ natus, n. nose < OIA nāsā, cf. Tib. na, - s khor, n. nostril (lit. hole of the nose)
nuphus, v.i. to arrive
nupho, n. arrival
nub, n. west < Tib. id.
nulo ~ nolo, n. forehead
nusu ~ nuš, n. daughter-in-law < OIA ſnušā, id.
net-met, a healthy (=sick not)
net-bus, v.t. to press
ner, n. fort, palace
nes, v. neg. is not (< nə- is)
nesik, n. insult, - this, v.t. to insult
nesu, part. except
neswi, n. indigestion
neza, n. spear (PA)
nono (Budh.) younger brothers, -mo, younger sister
nor ~ noro, 1. wealth, riches, < Tib nor id., -cən, a. wealthy, rich, well to do, - co, n. booty.
-nək, n. festival
2. noro, well, hale and hearty, -bus, v.i. to get well, - this, v. t. to treat, to protect
nolto see, nsto
nyo, a. new n. a. new < OIA lava, see nay
- this v.t. to renew, to refresh
nyal, a. pointed, var. ſastə

P
pəkur, n. desert
pəko, pp. 1. cooked, boiled, 2. ripe < OIA pakva, var. pəcola
pəcola, see pəko
pəgəm, n. tomato
pəzulo, n. shepherd
pətakh, n. leaf < OIA patraka, var. pəni
pətək, n. root
pəti -pati, n. cup < *patri (?)
pəni, see pətakh < pərni < pərna
pəndeš, num. fifteen < OIA paṇca-daśa
pəyu, n. salt, -cən, a. salted, -skis, v.t. to taste
pəyis, v.i. to play on an instrument, var. būj-dis
pələ, n. apple
pəldis, v.t. to wipe
pəlparis, v.t. to drag
pəša-this, v.t. to point out
pəholoks, n. insanity
pao, n. sheets of woollen cloth (pattu)
pə ~ pe, n. earth, clay
paki, n. she goat
pagəl, a. mad (NIA)
pacis, v.t. to cook, to ripen < OIA ṣ pac -,
pacol, p.p. cooked, ripened
pazo-ciris, v.t. to save, to protect
pəṭthe, a. light (in weight)
pərī ~ parī, adv. there, on the other side, across < OIA pāra
paro, n. a flea (pissū)
pasis, v.i. to flow
piyok, n. bolt, var. kucur
pići, n. tail < OIA puccha
pinaŋ, num. half, -trə, num. two
and a half, -čor, 3 1/2, -trabiu, num. fifty (lit. half less three score) - corbišu, 70, -šyo, 90
pimpo, n. musical
piris, v.t. to fill < OIA pr-pis, v.t. to drink < OIA ṣpib-pisāyis, v.t. to lead
pisu-smān, n. mixture, pasted (pištīta) medicine
pisut, n. pastil
puns, num. five < OIA paṇca
puṭunakhsis, v.i. to germinate
puṭhū, n. back part of the body, or any thing, - nathis v.i. to chase, - zenizo to lean on the back
pun, n. path, way, road < OIA pantha
pun-pisāyis, v.t. to guide=pun path + pisāyis-to lead
punis, v.i. to ride
punzol, a. full, var. peret
punaris, v.t. to reduce
puris, v.t. to grind
pula ~ pila, n. local shoes made of wool and grass
pusil, a. (pp), bloomed < OIA puspita
puṣo ~ pusro, n. flower < OIA puspā
pene, n. coin, paisa, pice, riches < OIA paṇa
pepe, n. 1. father’s sister, 2. husband’s sister, 3. mother’s brother’s wife
peret, a. full, var. punzol
poebagun, a. tamed
poṭi, n. grand daughter (both sides) <OIA. pautri
poṭo, n. grand son (both sides) <OIA. pautra
polo, n. 1. ball 2. a. round
pyasis, v.t. to sprinkle
pra-bis, v.t. to lift
prinkiti, n. lizard
prōyis, v.t. to remove
pruno, a. old (opp. to new) < OIA purāṇa
presī ~ pārsi, n. rib < parśvika

Ph

phāq, n. pig < Ld. phāk < Tib. phag-pa, var. nanur
phāgūt, a. secret
phāṭī. n. spindle < Tib. phāñ, var. tura
phāṭhā, num. one half, part
phēṭa a. bald
phēṭali, n. thigh. var. sāsnā
phēṭili, n. buttocks, var. sāsnā
phēṭur, n. dry apricot
phēṭoro, a. thick, var. dindi ro
phēṭkāri, n. alum (NIA)
phēṭiris, v.i. to take turn, to take circles
phēṭri, v.i. to turn back, -aris. v.i. to return, -razi, v.t. to repeat
phēbi-us, n. oven, var. huphus
phēms, n. defeat
phēm-dis, v.t. to defeat
phērpuṭ, n. bark of tree
phērphuṭ, n. adge
phēlānāk. pron. so and so (NIA)
phēli, n. shield, <OIA phalaka
phēlcānd, a. wide
phams, n. beam of wood

phikulīki, n. key
phīṭayis, v.t. to be broken, to break
phīṭis, v.i. to breat itself
philūṇa, n. sleeve
phina, n. foam < OIA phena
phulītis, utensil for worship
phu-thēs, v.t. to blow (with mouth) (ono), (lit. blowing doing)
phunīs. v.t. to put on, to wear
phunuro, n. mark
phurīdo, p.p. burnt
phul, n. plough share < OIA phalaka
phulbāks, n. a belch
phuletis, n. & v. gift, to gift
phuyan, n. lung
phetis, v.t. to throw
phetog, n. afternoon
phet ~ phēṭ a. half
phete-bis, v.t. to divorce
phete-thēs, v.t. to leave
pheda n., profit < fāyda (NIA)
phēbo, n. a wooden vessel for sattu
phēra, n. turn, circle, - ek. num. once, -du twice, -trā thrice, etc.
pheli-bus, v.i. 1. to spread (NIA), 2. to forget
phelthe, a. loose
phesla, n. judgement (NIA)
pho, n. & a. male < Tib. pho
phok, n. incense
phoryan-mo, n. widower
phoso, n. pride, -cōn, a. proud.
phyari-thēs, v.i. to take turn
phyalda, n. a swing, -bus, v.i. to sway, to swing,
-phyal this, to swing,
-bus, v.i. to spread

phyupus, n. hearth
phyos, part. at
phran, n. thread, string
phraluks-this, to try

B
beghar, n. seasoning (NIA)
bagpo, bridegroom < Tib.
  bagpo, - nāthedi, n. virgin (lit. having no bridegroom)
bagma, n. bride < Tib. bag-ma, - nāthedi, a. (bachelor,)
  unmarried (lit. having no bride)

bendis, v.i. to run
benezdur, n. race, var. bendyons
bəmi-yato, n. midwife
bamo, n. 1. fog. 2. dew
bər, n. load < OIA bhāra, id.
bər, n. peak, top < OIA vara
topmost
bəro, n. husband < OIA vara
bərbən, n. window, var. kəpət
bəlus, n. a cooking pot of stone
bələyis, v.i. to wave
bəlbəl ~ bəbul, n. dusk, evening
bəsis ~ bəs, v.i. to dwell, to live,
to stay, to remain < OIA əvas-
bəluš, n. a stone pan for cooking
bəsun, n. summer
bəskət, n. calf < OIA. vatsaka,
  var. beto < vatsa
bəhana, n. pretention (NIA)
bəhis, v.t. to till the field, to plough, to cultivate.
  < OIA. vāh-

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bace, n. uncle (fathers' younger brother) var. seno-bo
batu-bus, v.i. to roll down
bamba, n. lamp
bayo. n. brother < OIA bhrāṭ-,
  -sina, n. nephew,
  -mole, n. niece.
bar, n. rivulet < OIA wāri water
bani, n. peach
balangus, n. crowling, -this v.i.
  to crawl
basən, n. winnowing basket
basis ~ busis, v.i. to chirp, to cry
  (animal) < OIA bəs-
  to chirp, bukk-to bark, make a cry, cf
  Kum. bās-

bi, n. seed < bija-,yis, v.t. to sow
bio ~ byo ~ beo, n. 1. son, 2. boy,
  3. child, 4. nephew
bitis ~ betis. v.t. & i, 1. to fight.
  to dispute, 2. to handle
bityo ~ bhityo, a quarrelsome
bithyoyis, v.t. to stop
bidis, v.t. to let go
binis, v.t. to scatter
bris, v.t. to boil
bilons, animal
bilasis, v.t. to melt
bilisis, v.i. to melt

bilu. n. cat (masc.) < OIA vidāla
bildum, a. quiet
bišu ~ bišo, num. twenty <OIA.
  višati, - dās num.
  thirty

bistəra, n. bedding < OIA vi-əstr-
bihis, n. fear, fearful < OIA -
  əbhi- to be afraid, -
  this, v.i. to be afraid.
bihisula, a. afraid, frightened
būki, n. against, -this, to curse
bui, n. a vessel for keeping grain
bunṣ, n. drum
būjdis, v.i. to play on an instrument
bhut, n. ghost, devil < OIA bhūta
budei, n. son’s father-in-law, mother-in-law (relationship)
budeš, num. twelve < dvādaśa
bun, n. village
bunis, v.t. to tie, to wrape < OIA bandh- var. buskya
this, ularis
bumbrik ~ bumbārik, n. blessing, -this, v.i. to bless
bus, v.s. to be, to become < OIA bhū, id
busis, v.i. to bark to roar, to cry (animals & birds) < OIA. bhūk- to bark
busum, n. rest, -this, to rest < OIA vi-šram-
busums, n. sickle
buskya-this, see bunis-
bustūra, n. cattleshek
bequ:p. n. a. idiot, stupid, < bewāqūf (NIA)
bengdān, n. brinjal
bechis, v.t. to buy, var. aris
bede, n. enclosure, shed for animals
bhedka, n. lamb (NIA)
bet, v.s. to be, to become, -this v.i. to approve, to agree
betis, see bitis
beto, see bāskēt
bethi-sis, v.i. to stop, to stay
beda ~ bede, a. many, more, very much, (bede)-bus, v.i. to grow, to increase, 2. to spread
ben ~ bene, adv. out, outside
bendak ~ benduk, n. kite, vulture, var. rgyurgyāp.
beril, n. excreta of birds
belan- khus, n. dinner (lit. belan evening + khus meals)
belun ~ byālun, n. crane (bird)
beldan, n. evening, - zāntun, n. dinner (=evening meal)
bo, n. 1. father, 2. step father, 3. father-in-law
boi, n. ground floor of the house < OIA. bhūmi
bon, n. donkey < Tib. don
bon- dyon, see bānzdur
boks - this, v.t. to push,
bozun, n. spring season
bodu, n. wednesday < budha
bonizis, v.i. to be intangled
bono (masc.), boni ~ bone (fem). a. big, elder, great, grand, etc., bus v.i. to boast, -bayo n. elder brother, - bo elder uncle, (boni) - aye, n. elder aunt.
bol-bol, n. peace
boli, n. language (NIA)
boybogun, n. cattle, animal
boyo, n. utensil
byās ~ bo, v.i. to go
bya-pho, n. cock < Tib. bya-pho, id.
bya-phru, n. chicken < bya hen + phru young one, child
bya-mo, n. hen, -phru, n. chicken
byānā, n. soup
brāk-brāk-this, v.i. to converse
bras, n. rice, Tib. bras < abras>
brāsput, n. Thursday < OIA vrhaspati
brungo-pa, n. dancer, var. thāmkhān-pa
bwari, a. deep, var. hombu

M
mākāi, n. oil cake
mākpa, n. son-in-law < Tib.
māks, n. greed
mājbur-this, v.t. to compel
māzit, n. mosque (NIA)
mātāks, n. honey
mātlāb, n. meaning, sense (NIA)
mādāt, n. help, assistance (NIA), -chāns, v.t. to help, to assist
māna-this, v.i. to prohibit (NIA)
māni:li, n. bread, -yaris, n. betrothal
mānuth ~ mānud, n. marriage, -this, v.t. to marry
māntha, n. bee, honey bee, fly
mābz, n. peacock
mā- muz, adv. no where
māris, v.t. to kill, to slay < āmr.
mārci, n. chilly OIA. marica, var. żirma
mārdār byūn, n. paralysis, var. nāmskison
mārdun, n. beam, ray of light
mārjēl bēla, a. pleasant
mārmēt, n. repair, - this, v.t. to repair
mālaks, abn. true
mālthor, n. hammer
māsāris ~ musāris, v.t. to mix < OIA miśra-
māsala, n. spice (NIA)
māsok, n. dispair
matkin, a. last
mate, adv. after, -kīn, n. afternoon
maph-this, v.t. to forgive (NIA)
maphi, n. forgiveness (NIA)
mābuldun, a. lonely (place)
ma-busu-nā, adv. never (lit. not becoming ever)

mamuli, a. ordinary (NIA)
marris, v.t. to kill < OIA āmr-
māmal, n. property, var. sākyāl
master, n. teacher, -mo, teacheress
mahe, n. buffalo < OIA māhiṣa
mier, n. he goat
mīg, n. eye < Tib. mig, id.
- sōk, n. eyelash, eyelid, -sma, n. eye-brow
michāi, n. pitcher, earthen jar
mit, n. massage, -this, v.t. to do massage
mithai, n. sweetmeat (NIA)
minis, n. weight
minis, v.i. to die < OIA āmr-
mipse, n. & a. murderer
mirga, n. jealousy, -kān, n. enmity, -kān-pa, n. enemy
mugur, n. bowl
mučis, v.t. to leave < OIA muč-
var. phete-this
mutik, n. pearl < OIA mautika
munis/- z, v.t. to embrace
muni-bus, v.i. to faint
muphut, n. free of charge (NIA)
mumo, n. 1. maternal uncle, <
OIA māma, 2. father's sister's hus-
band
muru, n. taste
mul, pp. dead < OIA mṛta
mulān, n. cremation ground
mulo, n. 1. raddish, 2. turnip,
<OIA mūlaka
multuk, n. a blow
mulτup, n. fist
mus, n. month < OIA māsa
muzi (<musi), n. mouse <
muśika, var. kunili
mei, n. rain < OIA. megha + i
meŋga, a. costly (NIA)
meleps, n. fire fly, glow
worm
meldp - melo, n. flame, < Tib.
me fire + ldp
mo, pron. I < PIA* ma
monphōli, n-groundnut (NIA)
mozi, n. sulphur < Tib. mu-zi
moti, n. mud, < OIA mṛttika
mora, n. corpse < OIA mṛta, var.
kun
moryan -mo, n. widow
moldi, ~ mole, n. daughter, girl.
mos, n. flesh, meat < OIA māmsa
mosphyace, n. ritual
myuto, a. stale
myus, n. man < OIA manuṣya

Y
yākjōns. n. festival
yōto, n. & a. friend, dear
ya, part., yes
ya, conj. either - or
yak, n. yāk, a hybrid animal
yan- pa this v.t. to play
yanśpa-this, v.t. to wrestle
yani-, mo, a. light (in colour)
yari, adv. front, in the front
yariris, v.i. to approach
yarbo, adv. already, before hand
yun ~ hyun. n. turmeric < Tib.
yun-ba
yunts, n. recognition
yuno, n. winter < OIA. hemanta,
cf. Kum. hyūnä, var.
syrd Šarat
yunda, n. handmill, grinding
mill
yus, n. recollection
yusons, v.t. to recognise
ye, pron. what?, - ra/re why?
- hōn, pron. anything,
- tha, adv. how?
yegenes (=ye-gō-nes) pron.
nothing
yeri, n. palm, var. lāgthil
yeldāk, n. branch < Tib. yal-ga
yonpa, a. left (side) < Tib. yen-pa

R
rōgo, n. hoof. < Tib. rago
rōn, n. colour < NIA rōng < OIA
raŋji, -this, v.t. to dye,
-senayis, v.t., to paint,
-sucdl, v.i. to fade in
colour, to be colour-
less
rəz, n. cloth < Ld. rəs, Tib. raz.
- bəl, n. cotton < Ld.
rəzərəl, Tib. rebəl < rasbal >
rətya ~ rətya, n. tomorrow < OIA rətr + ʃyə-
rənis, v.t. to brew
rənda < jackplane < NIA rənda
rəpsəl, n. bed sheet/cover
rərgi, n. sword. Tib. rəldi
< ralgrɪ>
rəs ~ ras n. grapes, cf. Shi. das < OIA drəksə
rəsito, adv. as far as
rəskuṭ, n. thread (cotton)
rəgən ~ rhəgən. n. brass < Tib. rəgən
razis (< rasis), to tell, to teach
razəz, n. teaching
razis, v.t. to blame
razəl, n. a shout, shouting
razuməs, n. request
razum-this, v.t. to request
rat, n. - right < OIA rətri
ratyənəsis, v.i. to wait, var. ʃənək
this
ratis, v.t. to make
rabi, n. oar
rabo, n. spoon (wooden)
ramis, a. rich, var. norcən
raš, n. root
ras, n. grapes, cf. Shi. das < OIA drəksə
rasis ~ razis, to say, to speak, to tell
ri, hill, mountain
rigo, n. rock, cliff < Tib. ri
mountain
riginis, v.t. to sell
rizbi, n. door frame
riṭhis, v.t. to see, to behold

ritis, v.i. to appear
rin, n. cost, price < Ld. Tib. rin
rindi, n. bullet
rin-mocə, n. beloved (fig) lit. diamond
riyoən, n. hare, rabbit, < Tib. ri-
boən (ri mountain + boən donkey)
ri, n. roller
riwaj, n. custom (NIA)
runə, n. 1. hill, 2. forest
< Ld. Tib. ri
ruthis, v.i. to slide
run ~ rhun, n. yesterday
ruru, n. brother-in-law (both sides)
ruş, n. bone Tib. rus-pə sunə, n. back bone, spine
rus (<rəsis), v.i. to weep, to cry < OIA ʃrud-
-re, pp. in
rebchənəo, n. abuse
roks, n. help, assistance, -this. v.t. to help
rga-khən, n. friendship
rgil, n. spittle, var. thui
rgun-mə, n. mare < Tib. rgun-
ma, var. əʃpi < OIA aʃvi
rgo, n. body, var. ʃid, ʃtək
rgo-sənə, n. need
rgosi-bus, v.t. to need
rgospa, n 1. desire, want, 2. desirable, ought, should
rgyəlma n. victory, -bus v.t. to win, conquer < Tib. <rgyəl-balə>, -po, n. king, conqueror, -ma, queen, -ba, a virtuous
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rgyur gydp, n. vulture, var. bendak
rčes, n. dance, Tib. čam-pa
rzanţǝn, n. chickenpox
rzon. chisel
rdami, n. choice
rdqcoq, n. a kick, -this v.t. to kick
rmul ~ rmyul, 1. Silver, 2. money
ryon, n. hare, rabbit < Tib. ribon
rwa, n. light, var. sǝn
lǝis, v.t. to reap < OIA lʊn-id
lǝk-lǝk, n. twinkling of eye
lǝk chus, n. bush
lǝq pa, n. hand < Tib. lagpa,
- thil, n. palm, -čikǝs,
- this, n. wrist, -phis, n. handkerchief, -šups,
- this, n. gloves
lǝpdrǝk, n. caretaker of gods.
lǝkčer-dis, to clap (=lǝkpa hand + ĉir + this (to do),
lǝndi, n. 1. voice, 2. a call,
-landis, to call
lemdǝn-χon, n. traveller
lakh, num. lac
lanphoçe, n. elephant, var. hathi
ランス-pa, n. steam < Tib. lanspa
< rlans-pa>
li-are, v.t. to stick, to paste
liǝs, n. hunt (prey), hunting (game), -kıh, n. hound, -this, v.t. to hunt
lizis, v.t. to meet, var. misis
lim-this, v.t. to lick
limbu, n. flute
liris, v.i. to cling
lisit, v.i. to stick
le, n. worry
lun, n. air, wind < Tib. lun-po
< ṟun-po>, Ld. lun-조사- po, -khor, n. wind storm, cyclone,
- drǝk, id.
luzu, n. pearl, var. mutik
lu-to, n. monk
lupras, v.t. to burn, to kindle
lum-χon, a. & n. singer
var. goi-dis-pa
lei, n. fox
lere-this, v.t. to hire
lezis (< lesis), v.t. to close
lo, n. south < Tib. lo < lho
lok-bus, v.i. to fall down, -this v.t. to knockdown
lokske, n. country
lokskyǝr, adv. towards
lokčhǝr, n. thunder, var. gurgur
lokhor, n. year < Tib. lo + khor
lǝn, n. cloves < OIA lavaŋga, id.
lodo, a red < OIA raudra, id.
lomčhin, n. liver, var. chinma
lon-pho, n. artist
lol ~ lwol, n. blood < OIA lohita
lolis, v.i. to bleed, bleeding
loš, n. gum (rasin) cf. Kum.-liso.
lǝče- ltya, n. tongue, < Ld. lǝče <
Tib. če < lǝče>
lǝs, n. oath, -this, to swear, to take oath
ldǝd-pa, n. brain < Tib. lad-pa
< klad-pa>
ldǝn, n. peg
lstya, n. navel < Tib. < lte-ba>
lha, god, var. conjuk

W
wǝgul, n. bank of river < OIA.
waři-kula
wɔyɔl, n. a flow < OIA vāha (cf. pravāha)
wɔr ~ bɔr, n. stomach, belly
wɔr-nazu-go, v.i. to sink
(= went into the water) < wari +
wɔlizis, v.i. to descend
wa, n. water < OIA. wāri, -čis v.i. to bathe, -dis, v.t. to irrigate
wari, n. lake, pond, pool of water < OIA wāri, var. čo

š
šɔk, n. doubt, suspicion (NIA), -bus, v.t. to doubt, to suspect
šɔkphul, n. prayer
šɔkyɔl, n. property, var. mal
šɔŋkhu, n. wolf, leopard, hyena Ld. id.
šɔd-this, v.t. to castrate < OIA sādha, to discipline, cf. Kum. sadano, id
šɔdi, n. monkey, var. ċs
šɔr ~ syɔr, n. 1. east, 2. wick. < Tib. šar
šèro ~ syaro, n. deer
šèro-this, v.t. to decide
šɔrap, n. wine, liquor < šarāb (NIA)
ša, n. compassion, var. dɔya
šaks, n. trail
šati, n. dream, -ritis, v.i. to dream
šaro, n. autumn, OIA < šarat ~ d id.
šastɔ, a. pointed, var. ňal
šiket, n. complaint < šikayet (NIA)

šin, n. horn < OIA sr̥̄ga
šiŋseru, n. Saturday < OIA šaniścara
šizɔk, n. a post-death feast
šiṭayis, v.t. to touch,
šili, n. belt, waist band, cf. Kum. šeli a rope let to tie hind feet of cow at milking time
šil, n. a stone slab for grinding
šipsi, n. evidence
šis, n. head, top < OIA širṣa, -zɔrm, n. headache
šu, n. vegetable, cf. shi. ša < OIA šaka
suko, a. dry, dried, drought < OIA šuṣka
šukpa, n. pencil cedar
šugu, n. 1. letter, 2. paper, Ld. šugu < Tib. šog-pa
šudmɔr, n. purified butter < OIA šodhitā + Tib. mar
šuno, n. kernel
šup-šup-this, v.t. to whisper
šubs, n. seath < Tib. šubs
šumphu, n. skin of fruit, bark
šus, w. swelling < OIA. šotha > NIA sūj, -bus, v.i. to swell
sēn, n. mat
šo, a. white < OIA. šveta
šolo, n. story
štun, n. mortar
šya, n. bear
šyas ~ skyōs, a. kind
šyo ~ š, num. hundred < šata
šwa, n. dog < OIA švā
šwe, n. 1. digestion, one-eyed
šnɔtoyis, v.t. to tease, var. do-kṣi-this
ṣ̌ro ~ šo. n. blind

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§

$ə$, num. six < OIA sət ~səsh-
beš, num. sixteen

šuʃ- ruš, n. back bone, spine

štag, n. spindle

šra, a. & n. glad, happy, happiness

səkthən, n. pebble

səksmit, n. hatred

šən, n. light, var. rwa

šənlis, n. broom

šənleciris v.i. to persist, <

šənle increase + crisis to
continue

= increased continuance

šənle, v.t. to pile up

šətpa-this, v.i. to mourn

šənik, n. bat (bird)

šəmjə-rayis, v.t. to explain, to
make to understand
(NIA+Brok.)

səmdəl, n. beard, Ld. id.

səmba, n. intention, imagination,
-this, v.t. to imagine, to think <
Tib. Samba thinking, thought.

sərum, n. thread (woolen)

səlbayis, v.i. to amuse

səsta, a. cheap (NIA)

səsnəd, n. thigh, buttocks, var.
phə tali ~ phətili

sa pron. she OIA sə, var. mo <
Tib. mo

sənlis, n. broom

sənlı-this, v.t. to sweep, to clean

santra, n. orange (NIA)

səbid, v.i. to agree

səbən, n. soap (NIA)

sali-this, v.t. choose

sas, younger sister, < OIA svəsr

sazo, n. sister’s son < sas sister

səzoi, n. sister’s daughter,
maternal uncle’s
daughter, wife’s
younger sister

səzəri, n. wife’s brother, sister’s
husband

sar, n. year, var. lo-khor

si, n. measurement

siki-this, v.t. to winnow

singe, n. lion < OIA simha >
simgha

sītan, a. slow, late, - sitan, 1.
slowly-slowly, lately,
2. gradually

sītanwe, v.t. to leak, var. zəgəi-
bus

sitə, part., with, alongwith < OIA
sahita, -rayis, v.t. to mix

sitraəyis, v.t. to learn

sida. -ə. straight (NIA) < sīdhā

sin, n. river

sino, n. baby, child, -kəri, n.
cradle

sinthok, 1. tree < Tib. sɨn-don
var. cəgma (<
cəma), laksus

sinthok, n. fruit < Tib. sɨn-thog.
var. khəzəs (B).

sɨnkən, n. carpenter, < Tib. sɨn
wood+ kən

siri, n. sand, var. səksul

silis ~ sili-this, v.t. to read, to
study

si:sə, n. glass (NIA)

su, n. needle < OIA səcɪ

sui n. whistle, cf Kum. swè, id.
su-sis, to sleep < OIA svap + sis
Inf.
sui, n. bridge
suite ~ swit, a. pregnant (human) < *suitā <
prasavitā
sukuru, n. Friday < OIA šukra
sūṇul, adv. suddenly
sudis, n., divorce, -this to
divorce
suno ~ sono, n. 1. butter, 2. oil,
-aciς oilman
sunhmpho, n. frog
sunỳis, v.t. to ask, to enquire
sunphu, n. husk, bark, skin of
fruit
sunyaņs, n. question
suma, with, along with, -byas,
v.i. to accompany
sumi, n. fatigue, -t, -bo tired
< OIA šramita, -bus
v.t. to be tired
suri, n. sun < OIA sūrya- this
sunrise, -nupis sun-
set, -mole rain-bow (=daughter of the
sun)
suru, n. beginning (NIA-śuru),
-this v.t. to begin, to
start
suro a. 1. hard, 2. close
sul, adv. side
sus, n. thread < sūtra (OIA)
seni (fem.), a. small, young,
short,
-aye, younger aunt, step-mother, -mole,
younger daughter
sene, (masc.), a younger, small, short,-bayo, younger

brother, -bo uncle, step father, -sina,
inant, baby, -this, v.t. to shorten
seno, a small, short, younger, cf.
Nep. sano, id.
sen, n. gold < Tib. ser < gser>,
egdr, n. gold smith,
-rōn golden
setu, n. sattu (fried barley flour)
sa, pron. he < OIA sah
soso, a. next < OIA. sah-sah,
-this, v.t. to separate
sokthe, a. quick, -soksthe, adv.
quickly
soli-bus, v.t. to disperse
sosbu, n. lap,-unis v.t. to adopt
(lit. to unite with lap)
skɔn, n. hymn
skɔmba, n. nail of iron
skɔrm, n. star < Tib. skar-ma,
zukɔrin, n. comet,
var, turi
skɔl-this, v.t. to share
skari-this, v.t. to weigh, var.
li-this
ski-čhya, n. necklace, var. gaŋ-
srip
skica, n. coral
skit, n. whistle, -this, v.i. to
whistle
skis, v.t. 1. to touch, 2. to see
sku, n. idol < Tib. sku, gipayis,
n. idolator
skulithis, v.t. to shake head
skumi-this, v.t. to draw
ske- zɔk, n. birth day
sket, n. service,-this v.t. to serve
skeli, n. swimming,-this, v.i to
swim
Concise Dictionary

skewa, n. heaven
skesa, n. garland, var. har
skora-this, v.i. 1. to encircle, 2. to pray (fig) < khor circle
skoyi-this, v.t. to order
skyard, n. cure, treatment
skyana -this, v.t. to stretch var. zgeg-pa (< sgeg-pa)
skyono, n. wick, var. sor
sgogpa, n. garlic < Tib. sgog-pa var. zgeg-pa (< sgeg-pa)
sna-bon, n. camel, (lit. sna desert + bon donkey)
snil, n. gum (of teeth)
snum, n. 1. silver, 2. rupee, money, < Tib. nul < dnum>, var. smul
snumdum, a. grey
snyoks, n. habit
snya-this, v.t. to avoid
snyatojis, v.t. to tease, var. do ksi-this
sci, n. spider, var. stin
scotidis, v.t. to beg, var. de-this
stha ~ stra, n. lane
stak, n. body, var. zid, rgo
stha, n. slow, -stha, adv. slowly
stago, n. gate
state'-this, v.t. to search
stin, n. spider, var. seii
staks, n. target
stonz, num. thousand, Tib. ston, -pa, n. merchant, trader, -kabebus, v.i. to trade
stonz, n. oath
stod, adv. above
ston-lza, (p). rainy season
stra, n. street, lane
strabs, n. reins, var. thorgowa
strok-dis, v.t. to sacrifice.
sduk ~ duk, n. sorrow < OIA duhkha
sniatal-this, v.t. to encourage
snumi, v.t. to smell, var. gon-this
snubi-this, v.t. to dip
spulu, n. feather, wing
spira ~ spera, n. conversation, talk, word, -this v.t. to converse, to talk, Ld. spera,
sprin, n. cloud, < Tib. tin < sprin>
sprind (B) cloud < Tib. tin < sprin>
sphu-this, v.i. to sprout, to germinate
sbelba (B), n. frog
smagra, n. moustache
smen, n. 1. drug, medicine, herb, < Tib. man < sman > 2. gun powder, -ma n. devil
smanet-chiris, v.t. to believe
smiti-this, v.t. to swallow
smul, n. silver, coin, money, var. snum < Tib. smul
smuli, n. perspiration, sweating, -bus, v.i. to perspire, to sweat
smyd, n. mole
syard, n. winter, < OIA sarat, var. yuno
syalta ~ syaltha, n. roof, var. thok
syolba, n. spade
syabu, n. joint
syasur, n. father-in-laws home < OIA svasura +
syendis, v.t. to scold
swa, n. boil, blister
slyya, n. navel

H
hā ~ ho, n. heart
hāk, n. claim (NIA)
hān, yes
hān-si-bus, v.i. to pant
hāti, n. shop < OIA haṭṭa, cf. Pb. haṭṭī, - pa, n. shop-keeper
hātubār, adv. in front of
hādūro, a. green
hāpta, n. week (NIA) < hāfta
hāmba-this, v.i. to dare
hāmla, n. attack, -this v.t. to attack
hārān, adv. in the centre, between, -por, in between
hārān oguli, n. ring finger
hārūs, n. winnowing basket
hāris, v.t. to carry < OIA hr-, id.
hārdōn (B), n. dumb
hāl, n. plough < OIA hala
hālōs, n. temptation, -this, v.i. to be tempted
hāludro ~ hālādūro, a & n. 1. yellow 2. jaundice < OIA haridrā
hāltun ~ yoke
hās ~ heś ~ heš n. breath, -is, v.i. to breathe
hāsa, a. soft, powdered, -khāra
n. sugar < Tib. kara
hais ~ hayis. v.i. to yawn
hansi-bus, v.i. to shiver
hath, n. hand < OIA hasta
hathi-ras, n. palmist, var. kispa
hathi, n. elephant < OIA hastin

Tribal Languages of Ladakh–I
har, n. garland (NIA) < OIA hāra
has, n. valley
hazi (< hasi), n. laughter < OIA ṇhas-
hazis (< hasis), v.i. to laugh
harido ~ hārido, a wet < OIA ārdra
hisis ~ hesis, n. 1. asthma, 2. noise, var. ṭāṇṇa
huk, n. hiccup, - ucinis, v.i. to hiccup
hukumāt, n. rule, reign (NIA), -this, v.i. to rule
hun, adv. above
hunna, n. silence, -this, v.i. to keep silence
huhun, n. humming, -this, v.i. to hum
hek-po, a. alright
hem, n. friend, var. yēto
heś ~ hōš, n. breath < OIA śvas
ho, pron. that
ho, n. heart, -la, a. interesting
hoganis, n. asthma
hocospo, part. like, var. kyurdum
hozantō, conj. when
hozono, adv. then
hotro-bus, v.i. to be dispaired
hodaskal n. offer, -this, v.i. to offer
honato, conj. otherwise
honaro, a. dull
honjār, adv. here
hones, a. timid
hopis, v.i. to belch, belching
hobeto, part, still
hobetoga, conj. therefore
homo, pron. this, -cok, pron.
these, these all
hombu, a. deep
hosibun, adv. till, var. tia
hosonossør, adv. upward
hošo, n. guest
hyaps, n. veranda
hyabi-dis, v.t. to fan, to give air
hyasi, n. itch, -bus, v.i. to itch, itching

Z
ž̞ok, n. day, date < Tib. žag, -tən, adv. daily, always,
ž̞ekzan, n. celebration, -this to celebrate
ž̞agdi-bus, v.i. to leak
ž̞əmno, n. (good) omen
ž̞əns – žanəs, n. copper < Tib. žanəs
ž̞əti-bus, v.i. go astray
ž̞ənphe, n. grain
ž̞əb-žəb, a. hard
ž̞əma-this, to collect, to put together (NIA)
ž̞ergət, n. joke, fun, -this, v.i to joke, to ridicule
ž̞erba, a. blind, < Ld. žəra Tib. žar -ba
ž̞ərmən, n. hoof
ž̞ərmo ~ žerməno, n. pain < Tib. žərmo <gzer>
ž̞əla-this, v.t. to bore
ž̞ełta, n. argument, -this, to argue, to advise
ža, wheather
zar, n. poison < žəhər (P.A.)
zaro ~ zyro, n. (masc) oldman, var. dudo
zazi, n. walk, -s, v.i. to walk
zamat, n. love, var. ʧəspra
zaddət ginis, v.i. to follow
zik pisayis, v.i. to follow
zigo, a. high, tall, long, var. thonmo
zigindi, pp. on, upon
ziginyō, v.i. to overflow
zigro, a. cowardice
zịnzan, a. noisy
zịnzi, v.i. to decay
zit – zet, n. soul
zid, n. body < Tib. zug-po, var. štak, rgo
zims, a wooden vessel for keeping liquid
zini, n. conscience
ziːra, n. cuminseed
ziri, n. target, -this, v.t. to aim at
žu, n. salutation, -this, to salute,
-zule, a term to pay salutation (lit. salute to you) < Ld. žule
žuk, adv. now, after, afterwards, -poce, adv. after that.
zuŋdul, adv. generally
zut, pp. born
zun, n. snake
zunis, v.t. conceive, to think
zuno, pp. from
zubu, calf (he), var. zophru < zo bull + phru youn-gone).
zuq, adv. now, after, afterwards, -poce, adv. after that.
zur, n. edge
zurmana, n. fine, penalty (NIA)
zurmo ~ žerməno, n. illness, sickness, disease, pain, -cən, a. ill, sick, cf. B. žerməno, cf. Ld. žumo
zuli, n. curry, cf. Kum. ʧholi, id.
zus ~ zuz, v.i. 1. to -grow, to bear, 2. to take birth
zeq-zeq-bus, v.i. to tremble, var. tus-tus-bus
zeri. n. old woman, var. zyari.
zo, n. bull, bullock < Tib. zo,
- phru, he calf, see zubu
zom-bus, v.i & t. to collide
zga, n. saddle < Tib. ga < sga>
zgaltos, n. scorpion
zgui-this, v.i. to kneel
zgu:y, n. groaning with pain
zagpa, n. garlic, < Ld. Tib. < sgo
gpa
zgum, n. box < Tib. dom < sgrom
ziiu n. desire, want
zdardis. v. t. to sharpen, var. kazis
zdor, n. food, diet
zba, n. bubble

zbyan-this, v.i. to practise
zbra, n. tent
zbri, n. handwriting, -this v.t. to write
zbwa-n. foam
zma, n. drug, medicine, Ld. sma < Tib. man < sman
zya, adv. up, upward
zyari, see zeri
zyususnis, v.t. to understand
zru-razis, v.t. to blame
zwa. n, louse, < OIA yūka
zwakur – zākor, n. hair on the head, or body, cf. Kum. jākōro hair on the head, jākur-ōno horripilation, erection of hair on the body of animals, etc.
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<td>ùthis beautiful (a) thôlo / thôli (f.)</td>
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<td>ñisburis become, to (v) bus, bet</td>
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<td>gutu bed (cot) (m) cûrpâ</td>
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<td>Baby (n)</td>
<td>sene sina bed (land) (n) kûrce</td>
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<td>Back (n)</td>
<td>puthù, zûns bed-room (n) rôpsôl</td>
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<td>âthu / âchûtu bed sheet (n) côzôr, cásôr (Pu.)</td>
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<td>thêla bedding (n) bistôra</td>
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<td>wôgul begin (v) sôru this</td>
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<td>Bark (of tree)</td>
<td>phûrput behind (adv.) puthu</td>
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belch (v)  hopiyis  blessing (n)
bell (n)  tīlbu/ṭīn  blow (n.)
bell metal (n)  khoṛba  blow (to flow)
belly (n)  wār, bār  blow (as wind)
believe (v)  smanāt-chi-ris  blow (with mouth)
beloved (n)  rinmoce  boast (v)
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belt (n)  sili, peṭi  boatman (n)
bend (v)  kyoκtis  body (n)
beside (adv.)  chamspur  boil (Trans.)
betray (v)  dokha-this  boiled (pp)
betrothal (n)  māniliyaris  boil (blister)
between (part.)  hārēn  bolt (n)
bewitch (v)  jadu this  big (a)  bono  bone (n)
bird (n)  cei  book (n)
birth, to take (v)  žuž-  booty (n)
birthday (n)  skežōk  born, to be (v)
bitch (n)  šwa, khima  bottom (n)
bite (v)  čḥeŋčhel  bowl (n)
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bind (v)  bu:nis  box (n)
black (a)  kyono  bore (v)
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blame (n.)  chōti, kēmbel  breadth (a)
blame (v)  chono razis, break (Intrans.)
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bride (n) bâg-ma
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broom (n) sanâlis, zoli
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(Bal.)
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brother (n) bayo
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cattle (n)
ruru/ nono
bustdra
cause (n)
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(B)
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kho
\(\text{Bal.}\)
\(\text{Bal.}\)
\(\text{Bal.}\)
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chirp (v)  basis, busis
choice (n)  rdami
choose (v)  sali-this
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citron (a)  tišo, čukur
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claw (n)  kəṅku
clap (v)  ləqcər-dis
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clever (a)  cəlakən
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clip (v)  cəpyal-
zigo
cloak (n)  rəz
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coconut (n)  khopa
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colt (n)  thuru
collide (v)  zombok
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cooked (pp)  spira
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count (v)  genis
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crowling (n) balângus
crowl (v) bōlângus-this
cry (of human) (v) rus
cry (of animal) (v) bušēl
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cuckoo (n) gondiň
cultivate (v) bōhis
cultivator (n) zāmindar
cuminseed(n) zīra
cunning (a) čhuťu
cup (n) pōti, pati
cure (n.) skyērd
 cure (v) ilaj this
curd (n) gōn, ēgōn
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curse (v) bu:kithis
custom (n) riwaj
cut (v) čhinis
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damage (n) nuksan
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dangerous (a) choṭu
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daughter (n) mole, molē
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day (n) gyazo,
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deaf (n) cuto
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defeat (v) phĒmdis
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despair (v) hotro bus
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fell (v)  naris  fly (n.)  məntha
female (n)  Ḟhīga  fly (v)  upis
festival (n)  yəkzəns,  foam (n)  zbwə
norō-žək (B)  fog (n)  bəmo
fetch (v)  aris  fold (v)  tagipəs,
fever (n)  khəs  tebus, -this
few (a)  kətəqəik, apik  follow (v)  zaddet ginis
field (agri)  thus, thəspo  food (n)  zdor
field (ground) (n)  dus  for (part.)  kətthi, kəti
filter, sieve (n)  caqs  phyəcə
fifty (num.)  pınantəbišu  forbidden (v)  konnathis
fifteen (num.)  pəndəš  ðəməs, phelibus
fight (v)  betis, tənθhis  maph-this
fill (v)  piris  forgive (v)  maphi
find (v)  thəpi-buš  forgiveness (n)  nulo/nolo
fine (n.)  zurmana  forest (n)  ruə
finger (n)  guli  forty (num.)  dubišu
finish (v.tr.)  čhəridis,  foundation (n)  ne:r
finish (v. Int.)  čoməbišu  ðəkhus
fire (n)  gur  four (noun.)  čo:r
cr  meleps  fourteen (num.)  čudeš
firefly (n)  phupus  lei
fire place (n)  məltup  fox (n)  lei
fist (n)  nə  free of charge
fish (n)  nə nəkhəlis (a/n)  muphus
fishing (v)  puns  fresh (a)  muphus
five (num.)  me-λo, meləp  friend (n)  nyọ, nyọ
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flesh (n)  čhulok,  ši, sunəm
flood (n)  čhuboq  phato sbəlpa
floor (n)  čos  żunə
floor (ground)  boi  yarı
floor (1st)  kača  śinthok, thin-
flour (n)  únə, nərjın  thok, khojəs
flow (n.)  fry (v)  əlis
flow (v)  wəyəl  peret, punzol
flow (n)  pyasis  full moon day (n)  coga
flower  pušo, pušro  zərğər
flute  limbu  rul
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hammer (n) thwa, mālthor
hand (n) hath
hand mill (n) yundā
handle (n) bitis, dung
handkerchief (n) laqphis
handsome (a) thalo, thali (f)
hang (v) dūn this
happy (a) śra
happiness (n) śra
hard (a) śuro, zōb-zōb
hare (n) ryon, ribon
haste (n) tok
hastly (adv) tok gyospa
hate (v) nafra
hatred (n) Saksmit
he (pron) so, pho (Bal.)
head (n) 5is
headache (n) šiśzārmo
heal (v) so bēyis
hear (v) konthis
heat (n) khēs
heat (v) tato-this
heart (n) hā/hō
hearth (n) phyopus
healthy (a) kosunda,
net met
heaven (n) skewa
heavy (a) guro
heel (n) tinba
hedge (n) čerthaks
height (n) źigo, thonmo
(bal.)
hell (n) kemōt
help (n.) roks
help (v) roks-this
hen (n) byamo
herb (n) smēn
here (adv) honjōr
hiccups (n) huk
hiccups (v) hukucunis
hide (Intrans) nilzis
hide (Trans.) nilzāris,
phaqthis
thonbo
run
doko
lerethe-this
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ginis
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hātun, gop
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mātāks
zermān, rāgo
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imandar
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hum (v) huhun this
humble (a) jōb-jōb
hunger (n) tham
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hungry (a) thamis
hungry, to be (v) thamis
hundred (num) syo
hunt(v) līνs this, dāru-
this, thā dāru
dilis
urpothis
bēro, var.
husband (n) bēro
husband's brother
husband's father bo
husband's sister (n) pepe
husband's mother (n) aye
husband's sister (n) sas
husk (n) sunphu
hut (n) gētō
hymn (n) sqēn

I
I (pron.) mo
ice (n) aro
idea (n) khāyal
idiot (a) bekūp
idle (a) gomcēn
idol (n) sku
idolator (n) skugipayis
ill (a) zormocēn
illness (n) zormo
imagine (v) sēmba-this
injure (Trans.) con-dis
injury (n) tizit
in (p.p.) re, ēzu
imprison (v) khēncēs
in between (adv) hērnēpor
incense (n) phok
indicate (v) iṣara this
indigestion (n) neswi
inform (v) khēbārthis
in front of (adv) hatubar
ink (n) thi, tsi (Bal.)
inkpot (n) dēwat
innocent (a) chonu
insanity (n) pēhōloks
insect (n) ētirin (Pu)
insist (v) jēbārēn-this
inside (adv.) ēru/aro
insult (v) nēšik-this
intellect (n) ēkēl,

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intention (n) sēmba
interest (n) gamo
interesting (a) hola
intestine (n) nolto, nañsto
invite (v) gron-dis
iron (n) cinēr
iron smith (n) khēru
irrigate (v) wa-dis
itch (n) hyasi
itching (v) hyasi-bus
jealous (a) dajāl
jealousy, to do (v) da-cis
järk (n) jaker
joke (n) zergēt
joke (v) zergēt-this
jolt (v) jēs
judge (n) jēs
judge (n) kēri
jury (n) fesla
juice (n) gunchēn
justnow (adv) thapēn thapēn
keep (v) ciris
keep silence (v) hunnā-this
kernel (n) šuno
key (n) phikuliki
kick (v) rdoqcon-this
kidney (n) khōlma (Bal.)
kill (v) maris
Concise Dictionary

kind (a) skyős, šyas
king (n) rgyalpo
kiss (n) cispa
kiss (v) cispare
kiss, to give (v) cispa-dis
kitchen (n) kāisu got,
rāpsel
kite (bird) (n) benduk
knead (v) gurgur this
knee (n) kuṭo
kneel (v) zgui-this,
kütințis
knife (n) kuṭdr, qetdr
knit (v) uralis
knock (v) ķundun this
knock down (v) lok-this
knot (n) gāthi
know (v) jitis

labourer (n) sitan
lac (num) lakh
lack (v) chōri-bus
ladder thumska
lake (n) wari, čo (tib)
lamb (n) čhēl, bheđka
lame (a) kolo
lamp (n) bamba
lamp (for worship) (n) chuñme
lane (n) stōn, stōn
language (n) boli
lap (n) chumbu
last (a) matkin
late (a) sitan, gori
latrine/lavatory (n) chāksa
laugh (v) hazis < hasis
laughter (n) hazi < hasi
law (n) kanūn
lazy (a) dgêmcdn,
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slow (a) stōn
slowly (adv) stōn stōn
sleeve (n) philun
small (a) seno
small pox (n) čhim-čhim, brumpa
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smell (n) gonchuṭu
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smile (v) in bus
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smoke (v) tōmakupi-
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soap (n) sabon
soft (a) hosa
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sole (of foot) (n) kaŋthil
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someone (pron) ekik
somehow (adv) ebetoγa
son (n) bio/byo
son’s wife (n) nuṣu
son’s son (n) poṭo
son’s daughter (n) poṭi
son’s father-in-law (n) budei
son’s mother-in-law (n) budei
song (n) goi
soon (adv) gyokispa
sorrow (n) duk/sduk
soul (n) čhe, žit
soup (n) byōndā
sour (a) tito, cukuro
south (n) co, choks
sow
spade (n) syālba
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speak ill of (v) chuṭu-this
spear (n) neza,
spend (v) charibus
spice (n) mōsala
spider (n) sći, stīn
spin, spinning (v) kātis
spine (n) sn ruṣ
spirit (soul) (n) još
spoon (n) khōpi,
spoon (big (n) krōsu
spoon (wooden) (n) rabo
spit (v) thu-this,-dis
spittle (n) rgil, thui
split (v) čhiris
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mithis (Pu)
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squeeze (v) grimzus,
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stale (a) myuto
stand (v) uthis
star (n) turi, skarma (Bal.)
statue (n) sku
stay (v) bēis
start (v) šuru this
steal (v) coraris
steam (n) lanśpa
stem (of tree) (n) dim
step (n) pēnu
step mother (n) sene aye
step father (n) bo
stick (n) gulu/gule
stick to (Tr.) kriņzis, li-are
stick (Intr.) lisis
still (part) hobeto
stir (v) gurgur this, phyari this
stomach (n) wōr
stone (n) naro
stop (Tr.) bithayis
stop (Intr.) bethizis
store (n) gōñ
storm (of wind)(n) lunḍrōk
storey (n) thok
story (n) šolo
straight (a) sida
stream (n) chumik (Tib)
stretch (v) skyaņ this
street (n) strōñ
string (thread) (n) phran
strong (a) sechend
strength (n) kosondo
tail (n) piči
strip off (v) dilis
tailor (n) dērjipa
study (read) (v) silithis
take (v) aris
stumble (v) ti:zis
take away (v) nākhlis
stupid (a, n) beqūp
take turn (v) phōtiris
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<td>tie up (v)</td>
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<td>ho</td>
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<td>tendi</td>
<td>till (adv)</td>
<td>tia, hosibuŋ</td>
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<td>then (adv.)</td>
<td>to, hozono</td>
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<td>(P)</td>
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<td>sømba-this</td>
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<td>thirst (n)</td>
<td>nis</td>
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tribal languages of ladakh--i

tomorrow (n)   retya/ratyar
tomorrow (daughter)   tui dis
tomorrow (3rd day)   codis

tomato (n)   pðgðm

tooth (n)   ððvni

top (n)   šïš

torture (v)   ñqspisðvïs

total (a)   gœnma

touch (v)   skis

towards (adv)   lokskyær

trade (v)   stonkabe bus

trail (n)   šaks

traveller (n)   lœmœðnkhœn

tree (n)   sinthok,
cœgmo

(lœnma)

tremble (v)   zeñœœn bus,
tustus

triangular (a)   kusun

trousers (n)   ki:t, kœca

true (a)   mœtaks

trust (n)   turœn, tœn
dyanœma

trust (v)   chësibus

truth (n)   ðhwalo

truthful (a)   nœrola

try (v)   phraluks-this (Pu), ais

thot

yœn, hyœn

mulo
dampferok

buðœs

thirteen (v)
diœðo/biœðu

phëradu

chœnve

loœð loœd

grimsis
du

two (num)   phinañtrœ

U

uncle (y) (n)   sœnœbo, ba:ce

uncle (e) (n)   bono bo

umbrella (n)   nïrïp

unmarried (a)   bœgœma nœ

th-edi
gœrn

under (adv)   zyusœnsis

understand (v)   ek-this

unite (v)   unis

unite (v)   turarïs

until (part)   ñhya<ska

up (adv)   zya

upward (adv)   hosonœsœðr

urban (a)   cuksa

urinate (v)   chus this

urine (n)   chus

unripe (a)   nœ pako

utensil (n)   boyo

V

vagabond (n)   tœlkhor

vain (a)   ñhon

valley (n)   ha:s

vegetable (n)   œu

vein (n)   nœzdœ

veranda (n)   hyaps

very much (a)   bede

vessel (pot) (n)   zœns

vessel (wooden)   pœhebo

victory   rgyœl

village (n)   bun

virgin (a, n)   bœgœponeðthœdi

virtuous deed (n)   rgyœl ba

visit (v)   kœdyœdyœœsis

vomit (v)   ñhœis, gœm-

loge bus,

voice (n)   lœndœ

vulture (n)   bendak, rœvœruvœn
Concise Dictionary

W

waist (n) doko
waist band (n) sili
wait (n) tenik (Pu.)
wait (v) rathyansis, tenikthis
walk (n) zazi, ser
walk (v) zazis
wall (n) ku
walnut (n) dtho
want (n) zuu
war (n) thamo
warm (a) tato
wash (v) dus
washerman (n) duspa
waste (v) chonuharyan this
water (n) wa
water mill (n) yunda
water channel (n) gyab
water pot (lotha)(n) tibil
waterfall (n) Cururt
wave (n) Culbegr
wave (v) baldoyis
weak (a) khimet
wealth (n) gamis, nor
wealthy (a) norcan
weather (n) za
wear (v) phunis
weave (v) thaksis
weaver (n) thaskan
Wednesday (n) bodu (dak)
weed (v) nin-this
week (n) hopta
weep (v) rus, rusis
weigh (v) lji this, skari-this
weight (n) minis
well (of water) chodoj
well (hale hearty) (a) noro

(get) well (v) norobus
well to do (a) norocan
west (n) nub
wet (a) harido, horto
what? (pron) ye?
whenever (adv) kerebeto
when? (adv) kyaner
where? (adv) kaw
which (pron, a) gulu
white wash (v) kelak-this
who? (pron) ko
whom? (pron) kesera
whosoever (pron) kere
whole (a) gama
why (adv) yera, yere
wick (n) skyono, sdr
(n)
wide phelchend(a.)
widow moryamo(n.)
widower phoryamo (n.)
wife thiga (n.)
wife's brother (y) ruru (n.)
wife's brother (e) bonobayo (n.)
wife's sister (y) sas (n.)
wife's sister (e) kake (n.)
wife's mother aye (n.)
wife's father bo (n.)
wife's brother's son sazo (n.)
wife's brother's daughter sozoi (n.)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Ladakhi Word</th>
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<td>rgyale-bus</td>
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<td>Wipe (v)</td>
<td>pəldis (v)</td>
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<td>Wise</td>
<td>akəlcən (a)</td>
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<td>With (p.p.)</td>
<td>sum, suma</td>
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<td>With (in company)</td>
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<td>chubji (n)</td>
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<td>Wrap</td>
<td>bunis,</td>
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<td>buskya this</td>
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<td>(Pu.)</td>
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<td>Wrist</td>
<td>chigs, loqčiks</td>
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<td>Write (v)</td>
<td>zbru-this</td>
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<td>Wrestle (v)</td>
<td>yaŋspa this</td>
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<td>Yawn (v)</td>
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<td>həlčuru (a)</td>
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<td>Yes (part)</td>
<td>ya, hən</td>
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<td>Day before</td>
<td>run/rhu (n)</td>
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<td>Dobdis (n)</td>
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<td>You</td>
<td>ti/tu (pron.)</td>
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<td>Young</td>
<td>jəwan (n, a)</td>
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<td>seno, š-kil bu</td>
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<td>nono</td>
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<td>Yoke</td>
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