

Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages--VI

# TRIBAL LANGUAGES OF LADAKH--I

(Part One)

*(A Concise Grammar and Dictionary of Brok-skad)*

**D. D. SHARMA**



**MITTAL PUBLICATIONS**

NEW DELHI-110059 (INDIA)

No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner and the publishers.

First Edition 1998

© 1996 by D.D. Sharma

*All rights reserved*

**Lumbini  
International Research**

ISBN 81-7099-616-3 (Vol. VI)  
ISBN 81-7099-048-3 (Series)

**Institute 5133**

Published and printed by K.M. Rai Mittal for Mittal Publications,  
A-110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi-110059, India.

Phones : 5648028, 5648725  
Fax : 91-11-5648733 Gram : Mittalbox

**SHOWROOM**

4594/9, Daryaganj,  
New Delhi 110002

Phone : 3250398

## 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



# CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
<i>Transcription and Phonetic Symbols</i>	xvii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xviii

## PART- I : INTRODUCTION

1. The Land and the People	1
(a) The land	1
(b) The people	1
2. Linguistic Area and Population	3
(a) Area	3
(b) Population	3
3. Linguistic Scenario	3
4. Position of Brok-skad among other Languages of the Region	4
5. Place of Brok-skad among the Languages of Dardistan and Kohistan	6
6. Linguistic Sub-stratum of Dardic Languages	7
7. Grouping of Dardic Languages	9
8. Linguistic Affinity between Dardic and OIA	9
9. Linguistic Sub-strata of Brok-skad	20
10. Inter-relationship between Shina and Brok-skad	23
11. Socio-linguistic Variations in Brok-skad	25
12. Previous Works and Present Analysis	27
(a) Previous Works	27
(b) Data Collection and Analysis	28

## PART-II : SOUND SYSTEM

Inventory: Vowels	33
Quantity	33

Phonemic Contrasts	33
Distribution	34
Allophonic Variations	34
Vocalic Sequences	35
Consonants	36
Voiced Sibilants	36
Distribution	36
Phonemic Contrasts	39
Allophonic Variations	40
Consonant Clusters	42

### PART-III: CONCISE GRAMMAR

<b>Grammatical Structure</b>	47
A Word and its Structure	47
Constituents of a Word	47
Phonological Structure	47
Syllabic Structure	48
Syllabic Division	51
<b>Morphophonemics</b>	51
Word Classes	52
Word Formation	52
<b>Noun</b>	
Noun Classes	52
Nominal Stems	53
Primary Stems from Inde- Iranian/OIA stock	53
Primary Stems from T.H. Sources	54
Stem Formation	55
Nominal Inflection	56
<b>Gender</b>	56
Gender Markers: Suffixation, Prefixation	56-57
Distinct Terms	57



<i>Contents</i>	xi
<b>Number</b>	58
Grammatical Status of Number	58
Pluralisation : Suffixal, non-suffixal	58-59
<b>Case System</b>	59
Grammatical status	59
Case Relationship	61
Nominative	61
Ergative/Agentive case	63
Instrumental	64
Sociative	64
Dative	64
Ablative	64
Genitive	65
Possessive	66
Locative	66
Vocative	67
Postpositional Case Markers	67
Models of Nominal Declensions	68
<b>Pronouns</b>	69
Grammatical Status	69
Classification	70
Declension	70
Personal Pronouns	
Inflection : Number, Gender, Case	
Allomorphic Variations	69-70
Inflation	70
Demonstrative Pronouns	72
Interrogative Pronouns	72
Models of Pronominal Declensions	74
<b>Numeral System</b>	76
Sources of Numerals in Brok-skad	76
Classification	76
Cardinals	76
Formation of Cardinal Numerals	77

- Ordinals 78
- Aggregatives 78
- Multiplicatives 79
- Fractionals 79
- Approximatives 79

## **Adjective**

79

- Grammatical Status 79
- Classification 79
- Describing Adjectives 80
- Stem Formation 80
- Numeral Adjectives 82
- Interrogative Adjective 82
- Placement of Adjectives 82
- Degrees of Comparison 83
- Intensification 83
- Adjectives used as a Noun 84
- Concordance 84

## **Verbal System**

84

- Verb: Definition 84
- Verb Roots 84
- Primary Roots 85
- Sources of Primary Roots 85
- Derived Roots 86
- Compound Stems: (a) Compounding; 86
- (b) Reduplication 86
- Classification of Verb Stems 87
- Transitivisation of Verb-roots 88

## **Verbal Conjugation**

88

- Voice : Active, Passive, Impersonal 89-90
- Moods : Indicative, Imperative, Subjunctive 90
- Tenses 90
- Aspects 90
- Concordance (Agreement) 91
- Conjugational Sub-systems 91

Temporal Conjugation	91
Mechanism of Temporal Conjugation	92
Pronominalisation	92
<b>Verb-Substantive</b>	<b>92</b>
Non-past Tenses	92
Past Tenses	93
Modal Conjugation of /hð/	94
<b>Affirmative Sub-system</b>	<b>94</b>
Temporal Conjugation of Finite Verbs	94
Present Indefinite	94
Past Indefinite	96
Suppletivism in Past Formations	97
Future Indefinite	97
<b>Aspects</b>	<b>97</b>
Progressive Aspect (Present)	97
Progressive Aspect (Past)	98
Present Perfect Continuous	98
Past Perfect Continuous	98
Perfective Aspect	99
Present Perfect	99
Past Perfect	99
Habitual Aspect	99
Periphrastic/Compound Constructions	100
<b>Model Conjugations</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Causative Sub-system</b>	<b>102</b>
Mechanism of Causativization	102
<b>Negative Sub-System</b>	<b>103</b>
Grammatical Status	103
Negative Particles	103

<b>Interrogative Sub-system</b>	104
Grammatical Status	104
Interrogative Formative	104
<b>Moods and Modal Conjugation</b>	
Imperative Mood	105
Subjunctive Mood	106
(i) Optative	107
(ii) Potential	107
(iii) Contingent	107
<b>Miscellaneous Aspects of Modal Conjugation</b>	108
Desiderative	108
Obligative	108
Suggestive	109
Abilitative	109
Simultaneity of Action	109
Intensive Continuative	109
<b>Non-Finite Verb Forms</b>	110
Infinitive	110
Verbal Noun	111
<b>Participles</b>	112
Present Participle	113
Past/Perfect Participle	113
Conjunctive Participle	114
<b>Indeclinables</b>	115
(A) Adverb :	115
Formation	115
Adv. of Place/Direction	115
Adv. of Time	116
Adv. of Manner	116
Adv. of Degree	116
Syntactic Order of Adverbs	117
Overlapping with Adjectives	117

(B) Particles 118  
Connectives 118  
*Co-ordinatives* 118  
i) Additive 118  
ii) Alternative 118  
iii) Contrastive 119  
*Subordinatives* 119  
i) Objectival 119  
ii) Conditional 120  
iii) Correlative 120  
Emphatic Particles 121  
Negative Particles 121  
Elision of Copular 121

**Syntax** 122

Types of Sentences 122  
Types of Simple Sentences 122  
Components of Simple Sentences 123  
Noun Phrase 123  
Extension of Noun Phrase 123  
Components of Verb Phrase 123

**Non-Simple Sentences** 124

Complemental 125  
Correlative 125  
Conditional 125  
Interrogative 126

PART-IV: CONCISE DICTIONARY

(A) Brok-Skad-English (with Etymological Notes) 130  
(B) Glossary: English-Brok-Skad (Glossary of Words) 159  
*Bibliography* 185



# 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 (अ) a (आ), i (इ), i: (ई), u (उ), u: (ऊ) e (ए) ε (ऐ), o (ओ); ɔ (औ); (in Tib.): a (अ, आ), i (इ, ई) u (उ, ऊ) (in I. A. or OIA words), a (अ) ā (आ), i (इ), ī (ई), u (उ), ū (ऊ).

*Consonants:* k (क), kh (ख), g (ग), ŋ (ङ), c (च), č (च्), ch (छ), čh (च्छ), j (ज), z (झ) ž (ज/भ) ñ (ञ), t (ट), th (ठ), d (ड), n (ण), t (त), th (थ), d (द), n (न), p (प), ph (फ), f (फ), b (ब), bh (भ), m (म), y (य), r (र), l (ल), w/v (व), š (श) š (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 from
- > = develops into, becomes
- = is rewritten as
- + = added to, plus juncture
- \* = hypothetically constructed from
- √ = verb root
- = component separator

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abl.	Ablative	Kash.	Kashmiri
Acc.	Accusative	Kum.	Kumauni
Ag.	Agentive	Loc.	Locative
Adj.	Adjective	LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
Adv.	Adverb	Ld.	Ladakhi
Affir.	Affirmative	Lit.	Literally
Asp.	Aspirate/Aspiration	M.	Muslim
Attri.	Attributive	masc.	Masculine
Aux.	Auxiliary	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
Bal.	Balti	N.P.	Noun phrase
cf.	Compare	Neg.	Negative
Caus.	Causative	Obj.	Object/Objectival
Conj.	Conjunctive/ Conjunction	p.	page, person
Comp.	Comparative	p.p.	postposition/past participle
Dat.	Dative	pl.	Plural
e.g.	for example	Pres.	Present
Erg.	Ergative	Pron.	Pronoun
fem.	Feminine	Pur.	Purik
fut.	Future	Pbi.	Panjabi
gen.	genitive	R.	Root
Him.	Himalayan	Sg.	Singular
I.A.	Indo-Aryan	Tib.	Tibetan
I.I.	Indo-Iranian	T.B.	Tibeto-Burman
id.	the same	T.H.	Tibeto-Himalayan
Imp.	Imperative	Vb.	Verb
Inter.	Interjection	Vd./v.	Voiced
Interro.	Interrogative	vl.	Voiceless
i.e.	that is to say	V.P.	Verb phrase
Intrans.	Intransitive		
Inf.	Infinitive		



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 herdsmen (Dog < Brog 'hill' + pa 'inhabitant'). It is because of the uncultivable 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 livestock 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 later on, 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 Drassi 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 slumped 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 (< Brogpas) 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 Aryāvarta, 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 Brog-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.

<i>English</i>	<i>Brok-skad</i>	<i>Purig</i>	<i>Balti</i>	<i>Ladakhi</i>
<i>Gloss</i>				
air	oš	luṅ	khluṅ	luṅspo
anger	kha	cigpa	xa	šo
ant	pinīli	bu	tremok	temok-bu
ashes	gərzi	thewa	kokthəl	kokthəl
aunt	aye seni	ani	amochunce	ane
axe	guṭu	tari	stəri	stepcuṅ

ass	khər	boŋku	boŋ-bu	boŋ-bu
back	puṯhu	džəb	sul	gyəp
bald	phəṯa	čethe	phəṯa	golak
bangle	kau	koma	rdu	dugu
bear	šya	ḍom	rdunmo	ḍom
beard	səmdəl	zəu	smaŋra	
belly	bər	pho	ltwa	ṭodpa
big	bono	bom	chogo	chanmo
bird	cei	bza	byu	cipo
black	kyono	nap	nakpo	nagpo
blind	so	šyau	žərba	žara
blood	lwol	ṯa	ksək	ṯhak
blue	ŋilo	hwem	xəmrəŋ	ŋonpo
body	zid/sṭok	zu/lu	rgo	zugspo
bone	əṯhi	ruto	rhuspa	ruspa
boy	bio	alu	bučh	puča
breath	hes	u	uks	uks
breast	kro	numa	brəŋ	pipi
broom	šanglis	pčəm	žuli	khimca
butter	suno	ma	mar	mər
butter milk	gəŋ	dau	dərba	tara
cap	kho	zam	ṯipi	tibi
cave	kur	ḍagphu	baho	bago
child	sina	alu	phru	ṯugu
clay	pa	sa	ṯəlbə	kálək
clean	ṯhalo	caŋma	ləxmo	lagmo
cloud	dolo	ṯinba	srin	šrin
cold	ṭo	khem	ḍaxmo	taŋmo
comb	k ŋo	guse	soməŋ	səmaks
copper	ragəŋ	zəŋ	zəŋs	zəŋs
craw	ko/ku	ola	phorok	khata
daughter	moləi	bumo	bomo	pomo
dark	ṯhub	numo	ṯhub	mondik
deep	bwari	tiŋpo	xom	konṭo
dirty	chuṯu	cukpa	scokpo	sogpo
dispute	bitis	təŋ	thamo	zigmo
dog	šwa	khi	khi	khi
door	dər	zgo	zgo	gho
dream	šaṯi	ñiləm	ñiləm	ñiləm
ear	kəni	sna	sna	nəmcok

elbow	khuna	krimok	ṭremok	ṭemozuṇ
eye	ḍṭhi	mig	mig	miki
fat	go	brumbo	rompo	
female	ṭhiga	mo	mo	mo
fever	khḍs	chḍmpa	chḍt	chḍt
finger	guli	zugu	zugu	ḷigu
fire	gur	me	me	me
flesh	moṣ	ša	ša	ša
flower	puṣo	mendok	mendok	mentok
fly (n.)	mentḥa	zbyaṇbu	byaṇbu	raũ
foot	kuṭi	kaṇma	kaṇma	kḍṇpa
forehead	nulo	sprḍlba	spḍlba	thodpa
friend	hem	rgakhḍn	rgakhḍn	zapo
fruit	ṣinthok	khḍzḍs	khḍzḍs	khḍzḍs
goat	mier	rḍwak	ra	rama
good	ṭḥḍlo	lesyoṇ	lyakmo	ḍemo
grass	gḍs	sḍwa	sḍwa	sḍa
grandson	poṭo	ḥho	ḥho	chamo
grapes	raṣ	rgun	rgun	gun
to beat	khuttuṇṣ	duṇmi	rduṇma	dunces
to close	suro	damni	cukpa	cugces
to dig	ḍkus	koni	skocḍs	skoces
to do	this	taṇṣ	byacḍs	cos
to dwell	basis	ḍukcḍs	dubcḍs	dugces
to fight	betis	siṇsa	ziṇsa	urces
to fly	upis	phurba	phurces	urces
to give	dis	taṇcḍs	mincḍs	toṇces

## 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 *Paiśācī* by the Sanskrit grammarians. Taking a cue from it Grierson, too has termed it as *Paiśācī* (*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 *Piśāca* 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 *Piśāca* language is not necessarily of *Piśāca* 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.*,\* 51).<sup>1</sup> 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

---

\*Grierson's view to which Morgenstierne has referred above was that ". . . the *Piśāca* 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 north-western 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, Gilgiti 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**

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Brok Skad</i>	<i>Waigali</i>	<i>Dameli</i>	<i>Gawar-Bati</i>	<i>Katar kalai</i>	<i>Shumasti</i>	<i>Pashai</i>	<i>Kalasa</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
√ <u>Kṛ-</u>	√kru-	?	kur	ker	kḁr	--	--	kḁr-
√ <u>ās-</u> , √ <u>bhu-</u>	√ās-	ās-	?	bḁ-	?	ḁs-	--	ḁs-
√ <u>ā-</u> , ā+ <u>yā-</u>	i-,ya,	ā-	a-gḁ-	gḁ-	ye-	--	--	i-
√ <u>gam-</u> yā	bi, bo	ga-	ye-	gā-	--	--	--	par-
ni+ <u>sid-</u>	bḁs-	niṣ	?	niṣ	wos-	niṣ-	--	--
√ <u>vas</u>								
√ <u>ut-s</u> tha	uth-	uth-	?	uth	--	uth-	--	--
√ <u>dā-</u>	di-	dē	de-		dē-	de-	dā/de	de-
			?					
√ <u>ān-</u>	ār-	ān-	?	āṇ		ān-		on-
√ <u>pā-</u> , √ <u>pi-</u>	pi-	pi-	pi-	pi-	pi-/po-	pi-	pi-	pi-
√ <u>Khād-</u>	kha-	kha-	?	?	Kha-	--	--	--
√ <u>pāś-</u> bhāl	--	pḁṣ	?	pḁṣ	pḁṣ	--	--	pḁṣ
√ <u>dr̥s</u>								
√ <u>grah,</u> har	-gin -har	grḁ	gi-	gu	--	gi-	gu-	grḁ-

(Contd.)

Table 1 (Contd.)

Khovar	Torwali	Kanyawali	Phalura	Shina	Kati	Tirahi	English gloss
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
kōr-	kōr-	kōr-	--	--	ku-	kōr-	do
ðs-	--	--	--	ðs-	ðs-	--	be, become
os-	ya-	--	--	--	--	--	come
--	go-	gä-	gä-	--	--	--	go
niš-	--	--	bðs-	bey	niš	--	sit
--	uth-	uth-	--	uth-	wuth-	--	stand
di-	dā/di	de-	da-	da-	de-	de-	give
ān-	ān-	--	--	--	--	--	bring
pi-	pu-	po-	pi-	pi-	pi-	pi-	drink
--	khā	khā-	khā-	kho-	kha-	kha-	eat
poš-	poš-	poš-	poš/drhis-	poš-	--	--	see
--	--	ghin-	ghin-	hər	gā-	--	take

**Table 2**  
**A Comparative Data of Person- Number Marker clipped Prōnominals**

<i>Person- number</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Brok.</i>	<i>Kati</i>	<i>Waigali</i>	<i>Ashkun</i>	<i>Prasun</i>	<i>Gawar- bati</i>	<i>Shu- masti</i>	<i>Pashai</i>	<i>Kalasa</i>	<i>Kho- war</i>	<i>Shina</i>	<i>Tirahi</i>	<i>Dameli</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>
<b>1st sg.</b>	-mi	-s	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m
<b>1st pl.</b>	-mas	-es/ðn	-mis	-mis	-miš	-miš	--	--	-n	-k	-si	--	--	--
<b>2nd sg.</b>	-si	-e	-sð	-sð	-sð	-s	-s	-s	-i/e	-s	-s	-e	-s	--
<b>2nd pl.</b>	thas	-en/ -an	-si	--	k/g	-en	-u	-u	u/ðu	-a	-mi/ -ni	-s	--	--
<b>3rd sg.</b>	-ti	-i	-sð	-	-i	-so	-o	-s/-i	-e/-ð	-u	-i/-r	-	e	-
<b>3rd pl.</b>	-nti	-en	-si	-	- ðn	-t/to	-it	-ðt/in	-in	-n	-ni	-	-	-

## Morphological Markers of the Verb 'as to be' in OIA and Dardic

Language		Present Tense		Past Tense	
Sanskrit	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	
1st person	asmi	(*a)smah	āsam	āsmah	
2nd person	asi	*(a)sthaḥ	āsīḥ	āstha	
3rd person	asti	*(a)santi	āsīt	āsan	
<i>Kati</i>					
1st Person	āsum	asamis	stum	stamis	
2nd person	āsyus/asa	āsi	stus	thur	
3rd person	āsa	aši	sta	stan	
<i>Ashkūn</i>					
1st person	sam/(a)sam	samiš	sago-m	sago-mis	
2nd person	sas/(a)sas	seg/sek	sago-s	sego-k	
3rd person	sei/(a)sei	san	saga/sagi (f)	sagan	
<i>Prasūn</i>					
1st person	sum/(a)se-mo	samiš/ese-mo	se-mo	se-miš	
2nd person	as(o)	sen/esen	esso	eseno/seno	
3rd person	(a)so	ast/asto	esso (vo-)	sto/asto	
<i>Shumasti</i>					
1st person	asim/ahim	āsik/ahik			
2nd person	āsis/ahis	āhiu/āsiu			
3rd person	ās/āsi/āhī	āsin/āhī			
<i>Kalāsā</i>					
1st person	āsā-m	āsi-k	āsi-s	asi-m (i)	
2nd person	āsā-s	ās-ā	a-si	asi-ti	
3rd person	āso-u	āsā-n	āsi-s	asi-ni	
<i>Khowār</i>					
1st person	āsum	āsu-si	āstām/asis-tām	āsis-tām	
2nd person	āsu-s	āsu-mi	āstau	āstāni	
3rd person	āsu-r	āsu-ni	āstai	āstani	

### Parallels of Morphological Markers in Verbal Conjugation

Language	Present tense		Past tense	
Sanskrit	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Ist person	-mi	-maḥ	-am	-(a)maḥ
2nd person	-si	-tha	-as	-tha
3rd person	-ti	-anti	-at	-an/-n
Kalāsā:.. √kr- 'to do'				
Ist person	karem	karik	a-kari-s	a-kari-mi
2nd person	kari-s	karo-u	a-kar-i	a-kare-ri
3rd person	kari-u	kare-n	a-kare-r	a-kare-n
√i- 'to come'			Gawarbati	√ga- 'to go'
Ist person	ī-m	i-k	ga-im	ga-ik
2nd person	i-s	e-u	ga-is	ga-u
3rd person	i-u	i-n	go/ga	ga-it
Shumasti <i>grah</i>		'to take'		
Ist person	gi-m	gī-k	gī-m	gī-ī
2nd person	gī-s	gī-u	gi-u	gī-ī
3rd person	gi	gī-n	gī-s	gī-in/gīn
√niś- <i>to sit</i> (Pres. Cont.)			Ashkun	√ga- to go
Ist person	niśaina-m		go-m	go-mis
2nd person	nisaina-s		go-s	go-k
3rd person	nisai-ne		ge	ge
Tirahi: √khā 'to eat'				
Ist person	Khā-m			
2nd person	Khā-s			
3rd person	Khā-e			
√kr- 'to do'				
Ist person	kare-m			
2nd person	kare-s			
3rd person	kar-e			



Table 3  
A Comparative Data of Dard and OIA Pronominal Stems

Sanskrit	Brok-skad	Waiḡali	Ashkun	Prastun	Dameli	Gawar-Bati	Katar-kalai	Pashai
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>aḥam</i>	mo/mā/ mi	--	--	--	āi	--	ḍu/mḍh	ā
<i>vayam</i>	bā	--	--	--	ai	--	mḍḥke	hḍnḍ
<i>tvam</i>	tī-/tu	tu	--	--	tu/to	--	tu	tu
<i>yūyam</i>	cī/co	wi	--	--	bi	--	--	myḍ
<i>sah/sā</i>	so/sa	sḍ	--	--	sḍ/se	--	se	--
<i>te</i>	te	te	--	--	te	--	--	--
<i>kaḥ-/kim</i>	ko/ki	ke/ki	kao/ cei	kḍs/ kḍste	--	ki	kḍs/ kḍnuk	ki
<i>kim/kasya</i>	ki/ye	kḍḍ	kḍ	kḍḍr	--	ku/kḍmek	--	kor
<i>kadā</i>	kere	kui	--	yumo	--	--	kḍw	--
<i>katham</i>	yeta	kḍst	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>kati/kiyantah</i>	kiti/kaw	kiti	--	--	--	--	kḍtik	kḍi
<i>ātmanah</i>	tānu	tānu	tānu	--	mā/tanu	tanu	tanu	tanu

(Contd.)

Table 3 (Contd.)

Khovar	Torwali	Bashkaritk	Mayan	Phalura	Shina	Tirahi	English gloss
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ɔwə	--	ya/ m̄i	ma/ mi	mā	mā	--	I
ispə	--	ma	bē	be	be	--	we
tu	--	tu	tu	tu	tu	--	thou
pisə	chi	thə	tus	tus	cho	--	you
--	--	ta	səh	so	so	mu/ra	he/she
kə/ka	kām	kom	səi	--	--	--	they
--	--	--	so/su	ko	ko (m)	--	who
ki/ keca	kə	kə	ke(f.)	--	--	--	what
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	when
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	how
--	--	--	kətuk	kəti	--	--	how many
--	--	--	teni	--	--	--	myself

**Table 4**  
**Numerals from one to Twenty: OIA and Dardic**

<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Brok-</i>	<i>Kati</i>	<i>Waigali</i>	<i>Askun</i>	<i>Dameli</i>	<i>Gawar.</i>	<i>Katar.</i>	<i>Shumasti</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ekah	ek	ek/ew	áč	ek	ek	yäk	yðk	yðk
dvi-	dū	dhi	dū	du/do	dū	dū	dū	dū
tri-	trð	tre	tre	trð	trä	tre	ta	tyi
catur-	cor	štðvo	catð	cðta	cor	car	cawor	coŋtur
panca-	punz	puč	pū/ūč	pune	pāč	pāc	panz	pān
ṣaṣṭ	ṣa	ṣu	ṣu	ṣu	ṣo	ṣo/ṣa	ṣo/ṣa	ṣoo
sapta	sat	sut	sot	sut	sat		satð	sat
aṣṭa	əṣṭ	uṣṭ	oṣṭ	oṣṭ	āṣṭ	āthð	āthð	āṣṭ
nava	nū	nū	nū	nu/no	no		nāu	nū
daṣa	dāṣ	duč	doṣ	duṣ	dās	dəṣ	dāsð	dəṣ
ekadāsa	kodaṣ	yaruč	yaṣ	cðnis	yāṣ		yaro	yaṣ
dvādaṣa	budeṣ	dič	bāṣ	bais	bāṣ		bārō	baṣ
tryodaṣa	trodeṣ	trič	trūṣ	trðis	trōṣ		teherū	
catur daṣa	cudeṣ	stureč	cadi	cadiṣ	candeṣ		coheru	
pancadaṣa	pðdeṣ	pēiē	pāci	pacðis	pūdeṣ		pðnheru	
ṣoḍaṣa	ṣobeṣ	ṣeč	ṣeṣ	ṣaris	ṣoyeṣ		ṣoru	
sapta daṣa	satuṅṣ	stič	ṣaṭðṣ	sattðis	sttaṣ		səttaru	
aṣṭa daṣa	ṅṣtuṅṣ	ṣtič	əṣṭəṣ	əṣṭ-is	āṣtas		ðtharu	
ekona	kunj	neč	iṣi	oṣð	unyeṣ		newis	uniṣi
viṣati				wðso				
vīṣati	bīṣð	vðčð	wiṣi	wiṣo	biṣi	iṣi	bīṣð	isi

(Contd.)

Table 4 (Contd.)

	10	11	Kalasa	12	13	Khovar	Torwali	14	15	16	17	Shina	18	19	20
		Pashai							Bask.	Mayan	Phal.			Kash.	Eng.
ek	i		ek	ek	i		ek	äk	äk	äk	äk	ek	äk	äk	one
dū	do		dū	dū	jū		dū	dū	dū	dū	dū	dū	dū	zi	two
tre	trə		tre	trə	trai		ča	ča	tha	ča	tro	če	tre	tre	three
cur	car		čau	čor	čor		cau	saur	čor	saur	čūr	čor	čor	čor	four
pon	panjə		poñ	panj	panj		pān	panz	panj	panz	pənz	poi	poñ	pəñh	five
šu	cha		šo	šoi	šoi		šo	šoh	šo	šoh	šoh	ša	še	še	six
sat	satə		sat	sat	sat		sat	sat	sat	sat	sat	sāt	sāt	sāt	seven
ašt	āstə		āšt	ošt	ošt		ošt	āth	āth	āth	āšt	āš	āš	ə:th	eight
nū	nāw		nō	neoh	neoh		nom	num	num	nāu	nū	nāu	nāu	nav	nine
dāš	day		dāš	još	još		dəš	daš	daš	daš	daš	dai	dai	deh	ten
jas	jay		daš-iekə	jos-i	jos-i		āgaš	əgaldəš	ikya	əgaləš	əgaləš	ākai	ākai	kah	eleven
bas	duway		das-zedua	joh-ju	joh-ju		dvaš	dvaləš	bah	dvaləš	dvaləš	bāi	bāi	bah	twelve
trewəš	trui		das-ze	joh trai	joh trai		treš	cijələš	tho	cijələš	cijələš	čoi	čoi	truvah	thirteen
cudə	cadəi		das-ze cua	cauš	cauš		cauš	saurləš		saurləš	saurləš	condai	condai	c dah	fourteen
panjəš	panji		dus-ze	panəš	panəš		panəš	panjəš		panjəš	panjəš	panzai	panzai	pandeh	fifteen
šudaš	chui		poña	šoh	šoh		šoh	sohləš		sohləš	sohləš			šurah	sixteen
satəš	satti		soa	satləš	satləš		satləš	satləš		satləš	satləš			sadah	seventeen
aštəš	ašti		das-ze	otəš	otəš		otəš							ardah	eighteen
usi	nawī		dad-ze	joh-əñbis	əñbis		əñbis	əñbis		əñbis	əñbis	kunih	kunih	kunivah	nineteen
isi	west		noa	bisir	bisir		bis	bis		bis	bis	bi(h)	bi(h)	vuh.	twenty

### 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. (=Gawārbāti), K. (=Kati), Kat. (=Katarkalā), Kan. (=Kanyāwāli), Kal. (=Kalāsā), M. (=Mayān), P. (=Pashāi), Pr. (=Prasun), Ph. (=Phalurā), Shi. (=Shina), Shu. (Shumasti) Tir. (Tirahi), Tor. (Torwāli), W. (=Waigali), Nur. (Nuristāni):

- ḍčh (Bas.), áche (Ph.), ḍchi (Shi.), thi (Brok) < *aksi* eye  
 awḍ (W.), aw (Pr.) < *āpaḥ* water  
 ujḍl (Kat.) < *ujjwala* white  
 oṭhi ~ oṭi (Bro), yuṣṭ (Kat.) < *oṣṭha* lip  
 kḍṣto (W.) < *kaniṣṭha* younger  
 krḍm (Ph.), krum (Bro.) < *karma* work  
 kukuṣ (Kat. Shum.) < *kukkuṣa* cock  
 kucur (Kat.) < *kukkura*, šwa (Bro.) < *švā* dog  
 khḍr (Pr., Bro.) < *khara*, ass, donkey  
 ga (Dam., Tor., M. Bas.), gaw (Shi, Bro.) 'cow', go (Bask, M. Bro) ox < *go* cow, ox  
 kān (Bas.) < *kāṇḍa* arrow  
 goṣṭ (Ph.), goṭh (Bro.), goṭ, (Kat.) goṣ (Shi.) < *goṣṭha* 'home'  
 gram. (Dam.), gam (Kat., Tor.) < *grāma*, village  
 ghasḍ (G.) < *ghāsa* grass  
 garī (M. Kan.) < *grhīni*, wife  
 ghḍṇu (Ph.) < *ghana*, *saghana* thick, dense  
 guṛo (W), goṣ (Kat. Bas.), gho (M., Kan.), ghuṛu (Ph.) < *ghoṭaka* horse  
 tato (Bro.), tapik (W.) < *tapta*, *tāpita* hot  
 tot (Kat.), tat (W.) < *tāta* father  
 dḍnt (Tir.), dḍn (Dam., Bas.), don (Kan.), dḍni (Bro),  
 dud (Kat.) < *danta* teeth, tooth.  
 dar (W., Bro.) < *dāru* wood, < *dvāra* door  
 dis (Bro.), dos (Bas.) < *divasa* day  
 drigh (Dam.), dhrigo (Pr.) < *dīrgha* long  
 dhī (M. Kan. Tor.), dhu (Tor.) < *duhitā* daughter  
 nḍm (Kat.) noy/nḍy (Bro.) < *nava* new

nam (Kat., Tor.), nu (Bro.) < *nāma* name  
 padḍ (Tir) < *pāda* foot  
 prḍšu (Ph.), prḍši ~ pḍrsi (Bro.) < *pārśvikā* rib  
 putrḍ (W., Pa., pr., Kal.), putḍr (Tir.), puth (M.), puḍ (Kan.),  
 puḍ (Kat.) < *putra* son  
 purā (Kan.), pruno (Bro.) < *purāṇa* old (opp. new).  
 bhī (Kan.) < *bhagini* sister  
 brā (W., As., Tir.), bro (Kat.), bāyo (Bro.) < *bhrātr* brother  
 manḍs (W.), manuḥ (G.), manis (Kat.) māḥ (M.) mōḥḍ (Ph.),  
 myuḥ/muḥ (Bro.), mḍnci (K.) < *manuṣya* man,  
 human being muḥo (Ph.), muzi < muḥi (Bro.) < *mūṣika* mouse  
 zuan (Dam.) < *yuvan* young man; zui (Kat.) < *yuvati* young  
 lady  
 yḍndrḍ (Ph.), yunḍḍ (Bro.) < *yantra*, ginding machine, water  
 mill  
 lohoko (Ph.), lukuḥ (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  
 šḍru (K.), šḍrḍ ~ šyḍrḍ (Bro.) < *śarad / śarat*, autumn, winter  
 šel (Kat.) cold, šil (Brok.) shade < *śītala*, cold cf. Kum. šel  
 shade  
 stri (K.), stre (Tir.) < *strī* woman  
 šin (Kat. Bro.), šino (Shi.) < *śṛṅga* horn  
 sus (As.) sas (Bro.) < *svasṛ* sister  
 chūr (Kat.) < *kshūra*, milk; khūdo (Ph.) < *kshīṇa*, weak  
 kān (Bas.) < *skandha* shoulder, cf. Kum. *kano* id.  
 šya (Bro.), iḥ (shi) < *ṛkṣa* 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 gompas 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.

<i>Brok-skad</i>	<i>Ladakhi</i>	<i>Tibetan (W)</i>	<i>Eng. gloss</i>
luŋ	luŋspo	luŋ (-po) < rluŋ>	air, wind
sŋul	mul	sŋul	silver
da	da	da	arrow
zərba	zəra	zər-ba	blind
thil	thil	thil	bottom
cəri	ceri	ciu	bug
cakthur	cagstag	cagthog	chain (iron)
zaŋs	zaŋs	zaŋs	copper
rin	rin	rin	cost, price
rəzbəl	rəzbəl	rebəl < rasbal>	cotton
ṭhul	ṭhul	ṭhul	egg
migšok	migšok	migšok	eye lid
ña	ña	ña	fish
-kəŋ	kəŋpa	kəŋpa	foot
sinthok	šinthok	šin̄thog	fruit
zgegpa	sgogpa	sgogpa	garlic
konjok	conžok	cončog	god
ser	ser	ser <gser>	gold
ruŋ	ri	ri	hill, mountain
phet	phyet	phyed	half
sku	skund	skundu <-dru>	idol, image
səmdəl	səmdəl	-	moustache
ñuŋskər	ñuŋsər	yuŋskər	mustard
zurmo	zumo / zurmo	zug	pain
phək	phək	phəg / phəg-pa	pig
ñälba	ñälba	ñälchuŋ	poor
chər-ču <ču>	čhərpa	čhərpa	rain
thok	thok	thog	roof
ñis	ñit	ñid	slumber, sleep
nəmdza	nəmda	nəmda	season
ŋərmo	ŋərmo	ŋər-wa <dŋar-ba>	sweet
spira	spera	spera	talk
lce	lce	lce	tongue
thot	thot	thod	turban
nub	nub	nub	west
kərma	skərma	skərma	star
khara	khara / kara	kara / khara	sugar
šubs	-	šubs	seath
krədpa	krəd-pa	ṭədpa < krad-pa>	halı boot



zməṅ	sməṅ	sməṅ [məṅ]	drug, medicine
zo	zo	zo	bull, bullock
čəŋ	žəŋ	zaŋ	north
coŋ	coŋ	coŋ	onion
nor	nor	nor	wealth
brəṣ	dəṣ	dəṣ < brəṣ >	rice
cəŋkhuŋ	chənyok	cəŋkhəṅ	armpit
rərgi	rəgi	rəldi < ral gri>	sword
phəŋ	phəŋ	phəŋ	spindle
tiŋ-bu	tiŋ-gu	dil-bu < dril>	bell
də	-	də < dre>	ghost, devil
riboŋ	riŋ	riboŋ	hare, rabbit
thonbo	thonpo	thonpo	high
rəgo	rəo	rəgo	hoof
zga	sga	sga	saddle
tiŋba	stiŋpa	tiŋpa < rtiŋ - pa>	heel, ankle
məg-pa	məg-pa	məg-pa	son-in-law

### 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-yul, 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.)

<i>English gloss</i>	<i>Brok-skad</i>	<i>Shina</i>
ant	pinīli	pilili
air	oṣ	oṣ
bear	šya	iṣ
bird	čei	čei
blood	lol	lel
box	zgrums	groms
breath	hes	šā
chest	kro	kro
cloud	dolo	ázo
cow	go/gāw	gāvo
cap	kho	khoi
dark	ṭhub	thap
deaf	čuṭo	kuṭo
disease	zormo	zurmo
drink	pi-	pi-
dry	śuko	śuko
dumb	čuṭo	čaṭo
earth/clay	pa	kui<OIA <i>ku</i>
eat	kha-	kha-
eye	ṭhi	ṭči
flame	melo	gúi
flower	puṣo	puṣo
foam	phiṇ	phiṇa
girl	molḁi	mulḁi
gr. mother	dede	dadi
gr. father	dudo	dede
grapes	ras	das
hand	hath	hath
home	āpaš	āšap
horn	šiṇ	šiṇo
hot	tato	tḁ:to
house	goṭ	goṣ
husband	bḁro	bḁrev
insect	kri	kri
iron	čiṇḁr	čimer
knee	koṭo	kuṭo
leather	čom	čom
lizard	pinkiti	khirkhilo
maternal uncle	mumo	momo
monkey	šadi	šḁdi
moon	jūn/gyun	yun

mouth	ozi/uzu	āzo/aze
no	na	ne
nose	nutu	nuto
old	zari	dzaro
onion	čon	čon
pocket	čenda	čanda
rain	mei/aṛo	méi
red	lodo	lolo
seed	bī	bī
sit	biš	bey
sleep	sus-	so-
sour	čukoro	čurko
smell	gon	gora
spring (of water)	uču	uts
stand	uthəṣ	utho
sun	suri	suri
tears	ašo	aṣṭ
turban	thot	pašo
thumb	guṭh	ṇu
ugly	čuṭo	khačto
vegetable	šu	ša
water	wa	oi

Numerals which are less prone to changes, also attest a close affinity between these two varieties of Dardic speeches of the Shina group.

one	ek	yek
two	du	du
three	trə	tre
four	čor	char
five	punč/punṣ	pon
six	ṣə	ša
seven	sat	sath
eight	əṣṭ	aṣṭh/aṣṭ
nine	nuṭ	nṭu
ten	daš	dah
eleven	ko-daš	ka
twelve	budešu	bah, etc.
twenty	bisə	bi
thirty	biš daš	bijə dṭi
fourty	du biš	du bio
fifty	du bisi das	du bio ga dṭi
hundred	šyo	šṭi

### 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:

<i>English gloss</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Buddhist</i>
rich	ðgðmes	ramis
snow	a:zo	aɾo
suddenly	ðcanðk	suŋul
grass	ðgas	gðs
forget	ðmšis	ðmšit
nail	ãþhi	uri
near	ate	ðboni
god	xuda	conjuk
cave	ul	kur
flour	ũma	ŋðrzin
milk	orjðn	uzu/dyut
widow	bðrones	morɣaŋ-mo
evening	bðlbul	beldaŋ
ass	boŋ	khðr
calf	beto	zubu
ash	tðlsir	gðrzi
fly (n.)	toŋze	mentþa
spider	thakskðn	šci/štin
weaver	phyaldin	thaskðn
dust	thðlcir	thðlcup
glade	thate	šra
bell	þiŋ	þilbu
intestine	þiþi	naŋsto/nolto
dark	þhup	þhub
woman/wife	þšiga	þhiga
widower	þšiganeš	phoryaŋ-mo
bird	cðcu	cei
bug	cðri	kri
thief (m.)	cðqpa	corla
clever	cðlaq	cðlaqcðn
sugar	cini-khðra	hðsa khðra
lie (n.)	curku	zurku

ankle	comotok	tiṅba
fever	chət	khəs
pot	čukər	zaṅgs
south	šoks	lo
garden	čər (Balti)	ḍumba
drum	dəmən	buṅs
breast	dut	kro
bear (n.)	drenmo	šya
chin	kusko	čhum
cotton	rəzbəl	pupas
blind	zərba	šo
desert	şgəşgəl	pəkur
sand	şəksul	siri
sweat	smulču	ṅulču
weak	setmet	khimet
hard	zəb -zəb	suro
honey	zbraṅsi	mətəks
wool	zəti	paš
day	zək	gyazo
hair	zəkor	zwakur
broom	zoli (Balti)	sanglis
frog	sbəlpə (Balti)	sunəmpəto
shoulder	stet	kəlgi
eyebrow	smimmə	səmdəl
cloud	sprind	dolo
bridge	svəy	sui
lizard	seprinṅiti	prinkiti

## 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 *Pisāca 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.

Gen. W. Crook, in his book *Races of Northern India* (1973, Reprint, p. 51) too has made a reference to Brok-skad of the Brog-yul.

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

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

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ä/ə	o
Low			a

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/ - /iŋ/ blunt : /uŋ / and; /kri/ bed

bug : /kru/ corn; /ski-/ to see : /sku/ idol; / sina/ child/ :  
/ suno/ butter.

i/ : /o/ - /kri/ bed bug : /kro/ breast of woman; /ṭiṭi/ intestine:  
/ṭiṭo/ bitter; /poṭi/ grand daughter : /poṭo/ 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: Central-** /i/ : /ə/ : / gən/ curd. buttermilk : /gin/  
to hold; / rəŋ/ colour : /rin/ cost;

/e/ : /ə/ - /pene/ pice, money: /pəni/ leaf;

**Back: Back-** /u/ : /u:/ : /dus/ to rinse, to wash : /du:s/  
land, ground :

/u:/: /o/ - /guli/ finger: /goli/ bullet; /guṭh/ thumb: /goṭh/  
room; /tu/ thou : /to/owl; /žuli/ curry : / žoli/ broom; /kru/  
corner : /kro/chest.

/o/ : /a/ - /bo/ father : /ba/ we; /kho/ cap : /kha/ anger, down;

/u/ : /a/ - /rus/ to cry: /ras/ grapes;

**Back: Central** --/a/ : /ə/ : / za ŋs /vessel:/ zəŋs / copper;  
/charpa/ cot: /chərpə/ rain, / wari/ pond of water : /bəro/  
husband.

/u/ : /ə/ - /dur/ at a distance : /dər/ door; /ruŋ/ hill,  
forest : /rəŋ/ colour,

/o/ə/ : / - /oš/ air : /əs/ 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/ - / iŋ/ blunt, /bitis/ dispute, /hazi/ laughter, /cica/ meat,  
/di/ ray.

/e/ - /eri/ palm, /kere/ when, /bede/ plenty, /pepe/ H. F.  
sister.

/u/ - /uri/ nails, /u:zu/ mouth, /gum/ wheat, /thumbu/ spoon  
(big)

/o/ - /oš/ air, /šono/oil; /šo/ blind, /bono/big, /šolo/ story.

/a/ - /aris/ to bring, /wa/ water, /ča/ maize; /šya/ a bear,  
/ašo/ tear.

/ə/ - /əsb/ horse, /brəs/ rice; /pəyu/ salt, / pəgəṃ/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/ [əne] here, [bene] out, [lčɛ] tongue, [ae ~ ayɛ] mother, [kirzɛ] pulse, [kerɛ] when?, [penɛ] pice, [bedɛ] many, etc.

[ɔ] The back vowel /o/ shows an opener variant, as /ɔ / when occurring before a nasal consonant, as in /oŋ / = [ɔŋ] onion, /chodoŋ/ = [chodɔŋ] 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.

(i) When occurring in a close syllable as in /ki:t/ trousers, /ŋi:s/ thirst, /myu:s/ man, /da:r/ door, /ka:w/ bangle, /ke:k/ some, /mo:s/ flesh, /jula:p/ dysentry, /šeta:n/ devil, /imda:d/ help, /de:š/ country, /bar/ stream.

(ii) In the initial and in the penultimate open syllable of a dissyllabic or tri-syllabic word when the following syllable also is an open one, e.g. /mu:mo/ maternal uncle, /nu:no/ naked, /su:ri/ the sun, /pu:šo/ flower, /lodo/red, /apo/ small, /a:zo/ ice, /ta:to/ hot, /məni:li/ loaves of bread, /kuni:li/ pigeon, /gotha:ri/ring, /həldu:ro/ yellow, /nu:to/nose.

Moreover, in borrowed vocables the quality and quantity of the vowel in the source language is, more or less, maintained e.g. /thela/ cloth bag, / šetan/ devil, /phɔlad/ steel, /phɔj/ 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, /go-i ~ gu-i/ song, /cei/ bird, /lei/ fox, /be-o/ boy, /che-o/ life, /ti-a/ till, /ka-u/ bangle, /kha-ut/ angry, /ə-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:

#### Place of Articulation

Manner of Articulation	1	2	3	4	5	6
Plosives (Vl.) (Vd)	p, ph, b	t, th d		c, ch j	ʈ, ʈh ɖ	k, kh g
Affricates (Vl.) (Vd.)			č, čh ǰ			
Nasal Vibrant	m	n		ɳ̃	(ɳ̃) r	ɳ̃/ɳ̃
Lateral (unasp) *(Asp)		l (lh)				
Fricative (vl) (Vd)		s z		š ž	(s) (z)	h
Semi-vowel	w			y		

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 /ɳ̃/ 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/

/p/ - /pini:li/ ant, /polo/ ball, /pepe/ husband's father's sister, /pa/ clay, /yərpo/ before, /ṭhup/ darkness, /khəlip/ lid.

/ph/ - /phok/ incense, /phams/ wooden beam, /phəṭ/ half, /phupus/ fire place, /šumphu/ bark of tree.

/b/ - /bəro/ husband, /bun/ village, /bayo/ brother, /ṭilbu/ bell, /zubu/ calf, /ṭhub/ dark, /nub/ west.

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

/t/ - /tato/ hot, /tuti/ parrot, /tiŋba/ heel, /tuks/ anxiety, /rat/ night.

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

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

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

/c/ - /cei/ bird, /cuṭo/ dumb, /khəmcu/ beak, /cəɾpa/ cot, /gulac/ clothes.

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

/j/ - /uñjuk/ cheek, face /dajəl/ jealousy, /jəŋgəlpə/ forest.

**Palatal Affricates:** /č, čh, ĵ/

/č/ - /čəndə/ pocket, /lčə/ tongue,

/čh/ - /čhəɾpa/ rain, /čhəŋ/ beer, /čhum/ chin, /čeo/ life /meče/ alive

/j/ - /jədu/ magic, /orjən/milk, /jurmana/fine.

**Retroflex :** /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ/

/ṭ/ - /ṭo/ cold, /ṭito/ bitter, /ṭilbu/ bell, /chuṭu/ mistake, /phəṭ/ half, /goṭ/ room.

/ṭh/ - /ṭhub/ dark, /ṭhul/ egg, /gaṭhi/ knot, /məŋtha/ bee, /guṭh/ thumb.

/ḍ/ - /ḍumba/ garden, /yundä/ hand mill, /bheḍka/ lamb, /ḍe/ ghost, /ḍo/smoke.

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

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

/kh/ - /khok/ cough, /khəɾ/ ass, /khormo/ brain, /kho/ cap, /khəs/ fever,

/g/ - /gono/barley, /ragðn/ copper, /groŋpa/family,  
/gur/ fire, /gim/ liver,

**Nasals:** /m, n, ñ, ŋ/

/m/ - /melo/ flame, /mečhe/ alive, /khəmcu/beak,  
/khormo/ brain, /čhum/ chin.

/n/ - /nuno/ naked, /suno/ butter, /mənṭha/bee, /pini:li/  
ant, /gðn/ curd.

/ñ/ - /ña/ fish, /šñoks/habit, /ñuskəɾ/ mustard, /ñispa/  
sin.

/ŋ/ - /ŋəɾmo/ sweet, /ciŋəɾ/ iron, /ŋul/ silver, /ruŋ/ hill,  
/siŋ/ horn.

**Liquids:** /r, l/

/r/ - /rin/price, /ruŋ/hill, /khormo/brain, /uskuru/  
butterfly, /khəɾ/ ass, /kur/ cave.

/l/ - /lodo/red, /limbu/ flute, /ḍolo/cloud, /ṭilbu/bell,  
/səmdəɫ/beard.

**Fricatives:** /š, s, ʃ/ : / ž, z, ʒ /h/

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

/s/ - /suno/ butter, /sina/ child, /hose/ guest, /mos/  
meat, /zəŋs/ copper.

/ʃ/ - /puʃo/ flower, /myuʃ/ man, /nuʃu/ daughter-in-  
law.

/ž/ - /gəɾži/ ashes, /žid/ body, /žigo/ height, /žuž/ to  
grow, /rəž/ cloth.

/z/ - /zo/ bull, /zubu/ calf (m.), /zəŋs/ copper, / zgum/  
box, /zɡogpa/ garlic.

/h/- /həs/ breath, /hose/ guest, /həl/ a plough; /zəhəɾ/  
poison, /serhət/ boundary.

**Semi-vowels:** /y, w/.

/y/ - /yuno/ winter, /yuŋ/ turmeric, /pəyu/ salt, /ley/  
fox, /goy/ song.

/w/ - /wa/ water, /wari/ pond, lake, /khəɾwa/ bronze,  
/šwa/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/b - /pun/path : /bun/ village; /pa/ clay : /ba/ we;  
/pəri/there : /bəro/husband

ph/b - /pho/ that (he):/bo/ father

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

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

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

th/d --/this/ to do : /dis/ ; /thuro/skin : /dur/distance.  
/tha/ hungry; /da/ arrow

t/th - /ti/ thou : /thi-/ do; /turi/star : /thuro/ skin, /tis/  
by him : /this/to do.

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

c/ch - /cəɾpa/ cot : /čəɾpa/rain;/cuṭo/dumb : /chuṭu/  
mistake.

**Palatal-Affricates:** /č, čh, ĵ/

č/čh - /čoṣ/floor: /čhos/religion; /bečis/ to send : /bečhis/  
to buy.

č/j - /čəŋgu/ cripple: /jəŋgəlu/forest, /čo/ lake:/ zo/ bull.

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

c/č - /cəɾ/ garden : /čəɾi/ bed bug; /cok/forest : /čok/  
all;

ch/čh - /chəɾbu/button : /čhəɾču/ rain water.

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

t/d - /tani-/ to destroy: /dani/tooth;/ to/ cold : /du/ smoke  
 t/th - /ti/ tea : /thi/ throne; /got/ room : /guth/ thumb.

**Contrast between Dental and Retroflex Plosives**

t/t̥ - /nuto/nose: /nuṭo/ walking; /to/ owl : /to/cold; /  
 cwalto/ breakfast: /cwal/ to/ morning

d/d̥ - /dar/ door: /ḍak/ mail, /duṅ/ dagger: / d̥un/  
 handle of axe etc.

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

k/kh - /ko/ a crow who?: /kho/ down cap; /kur/ cave:  
 /khər/ ass.

k/g - /kur/cave: /gur/ fire; /ko/who : /go/ cow ; /šuko  
 / dry: /šugu/letter.

**Nasals: /m, n, ñ, ñ̄/**

m/n - /byamo/hen : /byanṭ/ soup;/ mumo/ maternal  
 uncle: /nuno/ naked.

m/ñ̄-/mi:s/ to us: /ṅis/thirst; /kamču/beak : /kaṅku/claw.

n/ñ̄ -- /run/ yesterday: /ruṅ/hill, forest; /gḍṅ/ butter milk:  
 /gḍṅ/ store.

ñ̄/ñ̄ - /ñirma/chilly: / ṅərmo/ sweet

**Liquids: /r, l/**

r/l - /run/ yesterday: /lun/ bunch; /ruṅ/ hill: /luṅ/ air;

**Sibilants/ š ~ š̄, s, ž, z/**

š/s - /šin/ frog: /sin/ river, /šwa/ dog: /swa/ a blister;  
 /šo/ white: /so/ he.

š/ž - /šaktan/ pebble: / žaktan/ daily; /šu /vegetable:  
 /zu/ apricot; /šo/ white; /zo/ bull.

s/z - /ser/ gold:/ zermo/pain; /siri/ sand : / zira/ cumin  
 seed.

ž/z ž- /to pull : /zo/ bull;

N.B. No real contrast between /š/ and /s/, and /ž/ and  
 /z/ could be attested.

**Semi-vowels / y, w/**

y/w - /ya/ yes, either : /wa/ water; / yḍr./po./before :  
 /wḍr-po/stomach.

/šya/above : /śwa/dog.

**Contrast between glottal fricative /h/ and /G/**

h/G - /homo/ this : /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 /əbs ~ əps/ horse, /goṭh ~ 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. /lagṭhɪl/ → /laqṭhɪl/ palm; /zgogpa/ → /zgokpa/ garlic; /čhəḍpa/ → /čhəṭpa/ penalty; /sərhəḍ/ → /sərhəṭ/ boundary; /kitab/ → /kitap/ book, /nub/ → /nup/ west, /ustad/ → /ustat/ teacher, /ṭhub/ → /ṭhup/ 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 /debəṛ / < *daftar* office, /əbs/ < asp (Persian) horse, /əbsəṛ/ < *afsar* officer. Tib./ sməṇ/ > zməṇ, 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 /goṭh/ < *goṣṭha* → /goṭ/room, /puṭu/ < *prṣṭha* back, /odar/ < *udhar* credit, /oṭi/ < *oṣṭha* lip, /dut/ < *dhugdh* milk, /čo/ < čho (Tib) lake, /hat/ < *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. /poṭa/ < *pota* grandson, /poṭi/ < /poti/ grand daughter, /ṭiṭo/ < *tikta* bitter, /kəṭəṛ/ < *qatar* knife, /čhəṭ/ < /čhəṭ/ (Tib) fever, /rəṇḍa/ < *rəṇḍa* a plain.

Besides, consonants /l/, /n/, /s/ too are realized as their retroflex counterparts when followed by a retroflex consonant, as in /muṭṭup/ fist, /bəḷṭin/bucket, /həḷḍuro/ yellow; /bəṛəṇḍə/ varandah, /skəṇḍik/ dumb, /ṣṇačha/ ear-ring; /əṣṭ/ eight, /maṣṭəṛ/ teacher, /ṣṭin/ spider, /ṣṭok/ body.

**Vocalization** : Semi-vowels, /y, w/ when occurring in word final positions are almost reduced to their vocalic counterparts.

/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 /xəbər/ news, /boxthis/ to push, /qəṭər/ knife, /xorma/ date fruit, /ḍoqmo/ narrow, /laqthil/palm, /laqca/ sword, /bəgma/bride, /raḥo/ hoof, /coḥa/ fullmoon, /pagəl/ 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, /myuṣ/man.

(b) **Liquid+plosive:** /lče/ tongue, /lčəṅma/tree, /rgil/ spittle, /rčes/ to dance, /rgudaṅ/ need, /ldaṅ/ peg, /lṭəs/ oath, /ldəṅbu/ ladder.

(c) **Fricative + semivowel:** /žwakur/hair, /šyər/ east, /šyabu/ joint, /šci/ ~ /štin /spider, /skilbu/young, /stod/up, above, /štok/body, /spira/ conversation, /skewn/heaven, /sbə-lba/ frog.

(d) **fricative+nasal:** /zməṅ/ < / sməṅ/ drug, /sṅil/ gum (teeth), /sṅundum/ grey, /sṅoks/ habit, /smuli/ perspiration, /smul/silver.

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

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

(g) **plosive + liquid:** /kro/ breast of woman, /kri/ bed bug, /grinši/ eagle, /pra-/to lift, /bres/ rice, /pruno/old, /ṭraṅpa/rightside.

(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, / zbraṅzbu/ fly, / zbraṅṅsi/ honey,

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

(3) **Liquid + plosive + semi-vowel**, as in / rgyḍl/ to conquer, / rgyḍl-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, / ləkchus/ bush, / kedpa/ mound, / gogpa/ garden, / phəkthis/ to conceal, / chəgbu/ bunch.

(c) **Plosive + liquid/semi vowel /fricative**: / ḍbrək/ mica, / sməgra/ moustache, / skichya/ necklace, / rəpsəl/ kitchen, / chḍksa/ excreta, / thḍksa/ loom, / ḍpsi/ mare.

(d) **Nasal/liquid/fricative + plosive**: / skḍmba/ nail (iron), / mḍnṅtha/ bee, / tiṅba/ heel, / limbu/ flute, / ṣḍṅkhu/ hyeana, / chḍrbu/ lap, / ḍmci/ physician, / nḍmza/ season; / chḍrbu/ button, / cwalto/ break-fast, / ṅilbu/ bell, / thurbo/ high, / curku/ false, / zilpa/ dew, / chḍrpa/ rain, / pḍldḍṅ/ night, / cwaltḍo/ morning; / ḍbsuṅ / till today, / uskuru/ butterfly.

(e) **Liquid + Semi-vowel nasal** : / khḍrwa/ bronze, / zormo/ disease, / zermḍṅ/ hoof.

(f) **Nasal + fricative**: / grṅsi/ eagle.

(g) **Fricative + nasal**: / duṣmḍn / enemy.

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

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

(i) **Nasal + fricative + plosive** : / naṅsto/ intestine, / thumska/ ladder, / chḍmspur/ in the side, / bḍṅdur/ race

(ii) **Plosive + sibilant + plosive**: / kḍkspo/ difficult, / soksthe/ snake, / thḍkskḍn/ spider.

(iii) **Nasal + plosive + sibilant**: / sanglis/ broom, / buṅgs/ drum, / zbraṅṅsi/ honey

(iv) **Plosive + Sibilant + nasal/semi-vowel**: / kipsyḍṅ/ jackal, / ṣḍksmet/ error, evil

Four member clusters like /thuksbrul/snake, /brokskəð/, 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: /zəŋgs/ brass, /roks/ help, /əbs/ horse, /əʃt/ eight, /muks/ greed, /khuŋgs/ manure, /zaŋgs/ pot, /phams/ 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  $\pm$  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/, /cccvcc/.

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/ - /oř/ air, /iŋ/ blunt, /ek / one.

/cv/ - /pa/clay, /bo/ father, /so/ he, /wa/ water, / ye/ what?, /řu/ vegetable, /di/ray.

/cvc/ - /sin/ river, /ruŋ /hill, /moř/ flesh, /řiř/ head, /ser/ gold, /řul/egg.

/ccv/ - /kru/ corn, /kri/ bedbug, /řwa/ dog, /sya/ bear (n.), /zga/ saddle.

/vcc/- /řbs/ horse, /řř/ eight.

/ccvc/ - /brřs/ rice, /rgil/ spittle, /ldan/ peg, /stod/up, /smđn/ drug.

/cvcc/ - /tuks/ anxiety, /muks/ greed, /roks/ help,  
/phams/ wooden beam.

/ccvcc/ - /sñoks/ habit, /stonz/ oath, /grðps/ conspiracy,

/cccv/ - /zbwa/ foam, /ltya/ navel,

/ccvc/ - /zgrom/ box, /rgyðl/ victory, /rmyul/ money,  
/strðŋ/ street.

/cccvcc/ - /sprind/ cloud.

**Disyllabic Patterns:** In Brok-skad permissible disyllabic sequences in a word are as follows:

/cvc-cv/- /chin-ma/liver, /zðr-ba/blind, /t̄il-bu/bell,  
/thur-bo/ high.

/cv-cvc/- /ri-yeŋ/ hare, /phu-pus/ fire place, /chu-bok/  
flood.

/(c) v-cv/ -- /ono/ pillow, /u:- ma/ flour, /po-lo/ ball,  
/zubu/ calf, /pene/ pice.

/ccv-cvc/-- /sti-riŋ/ worm, /ʃna-boŋ/camel. ·

/ccvc-cvc/ -- /sgun-dum/ green, /rdəl-det /dull,

/ccv-cv/ -- /rduku/bangle, /stago/gate, /snu-mi/small,  
/šyaro/deer.

/ccvc-cv/-- /cwat-to/ morning, /rgun-ma/ mare, /sbəl-pa/  
frog.

/ccv-ccv/ -- /rgo-šya/ desire/, /khyðllo/sheep, /bya-phra/  
chicken.

/ccvc-ccv/ -- /zbraŋ -t̄si/ honey, /zbraŋ- bu / bee

/cvc-cvc/ -- /chäk-thur/chain (iron), /kur-kum/saffron,  
/uñjuk/cheek.

/ccvc-ccvc/ -- /rgur-gyðp/ vulture, /lčðk-skðr/tin.

/cvcc-ccvc/ -- /huks-brul/ snake.

/cccv-cv/ -- /rgyðl-bä/clever, /rgyðl-po/ king.

/cvc-cvcc/-- /cul-bðgs/ wave, /ðim-tðms/ wrestling,  
/lðk-chiks/ wrist.

/cvc-ccvc/ -- /khip-šyaŋ / jackal, /tuŋ - drðk/ storm.

/cvc-ccvc/-- /mðm - skyon/ paralysis.

/cvcc-cv/ -- /miks-mä/ eye brow.

/cv-ccv/ -- /rðtya/ tomorrow.

/cv-v/ -- /cei/bird, /lei/fox, /cheo/life, /bio/boy, /goi/  
song.

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:

/cv-cv-cv/-- /pinili/ant, /hupupu/owl, /phunuro/mark,  
/chuṭula/miser

/cvc-cv-cv/--/curkuto/ wrong, liar/ laŋ- pho-ce/elephant,  
/həḷḷuro/yellow.

/cv-cv-cvc/--/gulubəŋ / scarf, /pho-so-cəŋ/ proud, /to-mo-  
čok/empire.

/cv-cvc-cvc/-- / nutoskhor/nostril, / ə-kəl-čəŋ/intelligent,  
/sə- gəs-gəl / desert.

/cvc-cvc-cv/-- / moṛyaŋ-mo/ widow, /phoṛyaŋ-mo/  
widower, /tas- raŋ-to/noon.

/cvc-cvc-cvc/ -- / koŋ-zok-sum/ goddess, /chiŋ- chiŋ-bəl/  
earthquake.

/cvc-cv-cvc/ -- / mir-ga-khəŋ/ enemy, /nāl-ba-cəŋ/ poor

/cv-cvc-cv/-- / ko-sin-do/ proud, strong.

/eeve-cv-ev/ -- / bruŋ-go-pa/ danger, /prin-ki-ti/ lizard.

/ccvc-ccv-cv/ -- /kšik-kši-mo/ creeper.

/cv-cv-cvcc/ -- / pəhəcoks/ insanity.

From the point of frequency the most tri-syllabic pattern is /cv-cv-cv/, followed by /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/ -- /əikhado/ beggar,/ebetoga/somehow,  
/nabusuna/never.

/cv-cv-cvc-cv/--/zulithispa/sweeper

/cv-cv-ccv-cvc/ -- /surismoley/rainbow, /surinapyal/  
sunrise.

/ccv-cv-cvc-cv/ -- /phyaməḷəpse/butterfly, /rilbuŋirma/  
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-boŋ/ camel, /sbəl-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-tsi/ 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, /rə-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-uŋ-s/ → /byuŋs/ 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 myuṣ/→ /hem myaṣ/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

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 kəri bet/ 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 of substantives attesting affiliation with OIA sources are -- /šiš/ < *širša* head, /pušo/ < *puṣpa* flower, /əbs/ < *āspa* (Ira.) < *aśva* (Skt) horse, /wa/ < *wāri* water, /goth/ < *goṣṭha* room house, /siŋ/ < *sṛiṅga* horn, /əṭhi/ [akshi eye, /guli/ < *aṅguli* finger, /myuṣ/ < *manuṣya* man, /oṭhi/<] *oṣṭha* lip, /mūs/ < *māsa* month, /sas/ < *svasṛ* sister, /nuṣu/ < *snuṣa* daughter-in-law, /əšo/ < *aśru* tear, /pene/ < *paṇa* pice, money, /pəni/ < *parṇa* leaf, /tato/ < *tapta* hot, /šukru/ < *śukra* Friday, /brəṣ-put/ < *vṛhaspati* Thursday, /seṅsera/ < *śaniścara* Saturday, /əḍiti/ < *āditya* Sunday, /cəndəl/ < *candravāra* Monday, /əŋgaro/ < *angārak* Tuesday, /bodo/ *budha* Wednesday, /ṣə/ < *ṣaṭ* six, /kəṇə/ < *kāṇa* one eyed, blind, /kəni/ < *karna* ear, /muši/ ~ /muži/ mouse, /hərido/ < *ārdra* wet, /aw/ < *avi* sheep, she goat, /aye/ < *āryā* mother, /kri/ < *kṛmi* worm, /kyono/ < *kṛṣṇa* black, /lwedi/ ~ /lodo/ < *lohita* red, /šwa/ < *švā* dog, /dər/ < *dwār* door, /šuko/ < *śuṣka* dry, /grinši/ < *gr̥ddhra* vulture, /əṣṭ/ < *aṣṭa* eight, /mos/ < *māmsa* flesh, /poṭo/ < *pauṭra* grand-son, /poṭi/ < *pauṭri* grand-daughter, /gəṭhi/ < *granṭhi* knot, /pəṭakh/ < *patṛaka* leaf, /bərə/ < *bhāra* load, /bəro/ < *vara* husband, /dut ~ dyut/ < *dugdha* milk, /mumo/ < *māma* maternal uncle, /jün/ < *jyotsnā* moonlight, /apāš/ < *avāsa* home, /gon/ < *gandha* smell, /čukoro/ < *cukra* sour, /guro/ < *guru* heavy, /pušil/ < *puṣpila*

blooming, /šumit/ < *šramita* tired, /jyūt/ < *jīvita* alive, /dū/ < *dhūma* smoke, /zaro/ < *jarasa* old man, /ḍṭi/ < *asthi* bone, /ruṅ/ *araṅya*, hill, /nū/ < *nāma* name, /gri/ < *grivā* throat, neck, /sū/ < *sūci* needle /sina/ < *sūnu* son, /bayo/ < *bhrātr* brother, /rat/ < *rātri* night, /pruno/ < *purāna* old, /wari/ < *vāri* pond, lake; /həl/ < *hala* a plough, /swite/ < *prasavita* ~ *prasavini* pregnant, /lodo/ < *raudra* red, /presi/ < *pārsvikā* rib, /ṭiṭo/ < *tikta* bitter, /sūri/ < *sūrya* the sun, /kuṭh/ < *kāṣṭha* wood, /həḷḍuro/ < *haridrā* turmeric, /šo/ < *śveta* white, /bḍkṣḍt/ < *vatsaka* (metathesis) she calf, /putu/ < *prṣṭha* back, behind, /kurkum/ < *kumkuma* saffron, /zuṅ/ < *yuga* pair, /tūri/ < *tārikā* star, /ko/ < *kaḥ* who, /krum/ < *karma* work, /guro/ < *guru* heavy, /yuno/ < *hemanta* winter, /betok/ < *vatsaka* calf (m.), /pḍko/ < *pakva* ripe, /pati/ < *pātra* pot, /puṣil/ < *puṣpila* bloomed, /guli/ < *aṅguli* finger /so/ < *sah*, he /sa/ < *sa* she, /swḍṅ/ se/ < *svayameva* onself, /kodḍs/ < *ekadasa* eleven.

### Primary Stems from T.H. Sources

Primary stems belonging to the Tibeto-Himalayan sources are- /phḍq/ < /phḍg/ pig, /byamo/ hen, /byapo/ cock, /brḍs/ rice, /boṅ/ donkey, /baqpo/ < /bagpo/ bridegroom, /baqmo/ < /bagmo/ bride, /phitog/ after noon, /phosocḍn/ proud, /ṭhul/ egg, /čo/ < /čho/ lake, /čḍṭ/ fever, /čḍṭpa/ < čḍḍpa/ penalty, /da/ arrow, /dakhḍn/ quiver, /rgun-ma/ mare, /rgunza/ winter, /rgyḍlpo/ king, /rgyḍlmo/ queen, /siri/ sand, /sgogpa/ garlic, /smḍn/ medicine, /konjok/ god, /khi-ma/ bitch, /lce/ tongue, /netpa/ disease, /luṅ / air, wind, /sṅul/ silver, /rin/ cost, price, etc.

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: /ḍmir/ rich, /i:mandar/ honest, /beqūp/ stupid, /beman/ dishonest, /pḍrda/ veil, curtain, /phḍlat/ steel, /ḍbsḍr/ officer, /phesla/ judgement, /tuphan/ storm, /zḍmandṭ/ bail, /cḍlaq/ 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, /buriṣ/ brush, /botol/ bottle, /bḍṅḍn/ 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. /moryaŋmo/ widow, /phoryaŋmo/ 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 formatives are

/pa/ - It is used to form agentive nouns, abstract nouns, to naturalize borrowed nouns, to form ordinals, etc., e.g. /kišti-pa/ boatman < /kišti/ boat, /zulithis-pa/ sweeper < /zuli/ broom, /gui-dis-pa/ singer < /gui/ song, /dzem-khən-pa/ dancer, /jadu-pa/ magician, /bəŋdis-pa/ runner, /kənis-pa/ ~ /kəyə-pa/ a cook, /əʃt-pa/ eighth, /dək-pa/ resident of high land, /chet-pa/ penalty, /nət-pa/ patient, /dus-pa/ washer, /guluc-dus-pa/ washerman, /həti-pa/ shopkeeper, /luk-khən-pa/ singer, /dərzi-pa/ tailor.

/po/: It is used to form masculine nouns from epecineous bases: /rgyəl-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, /khī-ma/bitch, /lum-khən-ma/ singer (f.), /dzem-khən-ma/ dancer (f.).

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

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

/to/- /curki-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, /dek-dek-cuŋ/ beans, /cəcu/ bird, /čim-čim/ small pox, /kən-kən/ 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.

Noun+noun = Noun - /snyo-siŋ/ yoke, /ae-bo/ parents, /bodu- žək /Wednesday, /pəŋ-deš/ fifteen (5+10), /tra-siro/ three-fold, /čəndal- žək/Monday (<moon+day) /čhəŋ-čhu/ rain-water, /čhu-bok/ flood=water-access), /zbraŋ -bu/bee (= honey fly), /suris-mole/ rain-bow (=Sun's-daughter) /šis-zəŋmo/ headach/ = head-pain), /smul-čhu/ perspiration (=silver-water), /kaŋ-thil/sole (=foot-bottom), /lag-thil/ palm (=hand-bottom), /lag-cha/ weapon, /məhe-bələŋ / cattle (=buffalo-cow), /mig-šok/eye-lid, /migsma/ eye-brow, /nutoskhor/ nostril, (=nose-hole), /cəŋ-khuŋ /arm-pit, /byo-phru/chicken (=hen-young), /phu-pus/fire place, /cho-doŋ/honey,

Noun + Adj. = Noun: /gulus-duspa/washerman (=clothes washer), /kru-sum/ triangular (= corner-three), /pheraŋ-tra/ two and a half (= half-three), /aye-seni/ aunt (=mother-younger), /həsa-khəra/sugar (=grounded sweet), /riibu-ŋirma/ pepper (=chilly-black).

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

**Three Member Compounds:** Besides, there are a few numeral terms which are composed of 3 constituents, e.g. /pinaŋ - tra-bisu/ 50 (=tenless three scores), /pinaŋ -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 inflexional 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



/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; /ləš/ he goat : /mier/ she goat; /əbs/ 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.

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

/i/ - It is affixed to stems, ending in a consonant, as in /šiš/ head : /šiš-i/ heads; /bun/ village : /bun-i/ villages;

/got/ house : /goṭi/ houses; /sin/ river : /sin-i/ rivers; /hat/ hand : /hat-i/ hands, /pak/ goat : /pak-i/ goats, /kən-kən/leg : /kən-kən-i/ legs, /kitap/ book : /kitapi/books.

/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/ ~ /bəde/ many, several, etc. This may be illustrated as under:

Sg.	Pl.
sina boy/son	sina čok/-bəde sons
myuṣ man	myuṣ čok/-bəde men
hat hand	hatiyo čok/hands (double markers)
pene pice, rupee	pene čok/-sare rupees
ba brother	ba sare brothers
spirak one thing	spira bəde many things

In some cases plurality is also affected, as in I.A., by suffixing a vowel, as in /əps/ horse: /əpsa/ 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 kətuk pene hən/how many rupees have you ?

/pho bun-po-r myuṣ kətuk hənnu/ how many men are there in that village?

/sina mənili khwan/ children are eating loaves of bread.

/bunu-ra wa pun-lo/ water is filled in fields.

/tyari gutči kyan čhere hən/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 mən̄ni (:) *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:

<i>Case</i>	<i>Markers</i>
Nom.	ϕ
Acc. Dative	-ra /-ər /-or/-r/-ze /-de ~ di/-i/ϕ
Ergative/Agentive	-sa/-ya/-i/-e
Sociative	cisuma
Dative	ra/phyaci
Instrumental	sa
Ablative	zono /-če
genitive	-s/-n/-u
Locative	-ra/-ža/ži-de
Vocative	va/li

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 casual 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 kitapðk sili-thet/he read a book.

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

/mðsä sina-ra skiyuŋs/I see a child.

/sinasð mðnili 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 pyayðl/mother feeds milk to the child.

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

/sos mðra mðnili det/he gave me loaves of bread.

/ram-i mohðno-r spirak 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 hðŋs/ I am alone.

/so ekiki yal/ he is coming alone.

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

/ña wa-r bðsuŋ/ fishes live in water.

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

/run 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--

/sina-s mənīli khwal /child is eating loaves of bread.

/byoi kitap silithaŋ/ the boy read the book.

/sina-s ayes dyut pyal/ children drink (suck) mother's milk.

/ayes sina-di dyut dyal/ mother gives milk to children.

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 kiserā ləndua hua/ to whom were you calling for?

/məsə 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 det/he gave me a horse.

/məsə 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 gotiŋ- di byuŋs/ I am going to my home today; /məsə ten-di nə rəza rayuŋs/I shall not allow him speak.

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

/byoi mole-i rithyaŋ/a boy saw a girl.

/molei byo bəde-i rithyaŋ/ girls saw boys.

/ϕ/ - The zero allomorph is attested with inanimate objects.

/byoi kitapo silithaŋ/the boy read the book.

/miyə homo goṭ-po gibet / I built this house.

/əbsar wa de/give water to the horse.

/moi ek śwa riṭ/ 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 nəhi hai*.)

/məra pene rgošya neš/ I do not need money (= *mujhe pese nəhi cahie*)



/tera homo kitap pəsənd bet/he likes this book (use *yəh kitap pəsənd hai*).

/tira muška katik žusun/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-s/, /-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 pyayal/ mother is feeding milk to the child, /sosə guṭugyo žu chinal/he is cutting tree with axe, /sosə ~ sos sina-ra skiyal/he sees the child/he will see the child; /sasə pho chinḍyal/she tears/will tear it.

/sos krumyal /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 phiṭat / he broke it/that.

/saya pho chinit/she tore it/ that.

/miya bəṇdet/ I ran; /baya bəṇdet/ 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 mohənor spirak razos/Ram asked one thing to Mohan.

/sitai ramor pun sunat/Sita asked way to Ram.

/byo-i kitap silithaṇ/the boy read the book.

/mole-i byoi riṭhyan /girl saw the boy.

/myə-i pəpa khun / I ate food.

/myəi pəpa khyans/ I have taken food.

/soi ek kyono śwa riṭ/he saw a black dog.

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

/məsə kələməs zbritiyuṇs/ I write with pen.

/basə kəni-s konchenes/we hear with ears.

/sos qəṭərpə-s pəlas chinit/he cut the apple with the knife.

Besides /-sə/ and /-i/, in our data /-gyo/ too has been attested as an instrumental marker, as in /sosə guṭu-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 byəsu 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.

/mə- ra kitapok de/give me a book.

/əbsya-r gas, wa de/give grass and water to the horse.

/tyei dillirnō məra ye aret/what have you brought for me from Delhi?

/myei tira gotči aret/I have brought clothes for you.

/sas rəŋə goṭəra byale/she is going to her home.

/mo as mi goṭindi ~ goṭəra 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 mənīli are/bring loaves of bread for me.

/tes phyaci pəpa təyar 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 ?

/mō bunu-zo-no yuŋs/ I am coming from the village.

/žu-ži- no pəni sijəl/leaves fall from the tree.

/ruŋərnō bəɾ yal/rivulet comes from the hill.

/ti kyano udo/ where are you coming from?

/tera məjbu: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 guluča/girls' ~ boys' clothes.

/go-s dyut/ cow's milk/, /šwa-s pici/ dog's tail, /cei-s ul/ bird's nest, /sene bo-s goɟ/ 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.

/məɾa 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 genitive case, is expressed by suffixing the acc. marker /ra/ with the possessor and the verb /hä/ 'to be' to denote possession.

/tira kətuk pene hən /how many rupees have (=possess)  
you?

/məra bye du həne/I have two brothers, but

/myō sasnyo tra heni/I have three sisters.

/tyera kətuk paki həne/how many goats have (=possess)  
you?

/bono bayo-r səkyal bedo 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 əbšik 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 / ză ~ ži/. 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 /žă~žī/ to denote the sense of 'on' i.e. exterior location.

/ra/- /pho bunpo-r myuṣ kətuk hənnu/how many  
people are in the village.

/nā wa-r bəsuŋ / fishes live in water.

/myo byo goṭəra 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.

/mō thyosu-r beko inihəŋs/I want to go to the  
field.

/za/ ~ /zi/ - /pho pe- ä bəsuŋ/ he is sitting on the ground.

/mesu- ză kitap hən/ the book is on the table.

/šadi nəŋlesu zuŋspo-za punet/the monkey rode  
on the back of the crocodile.

/həmzi bəṣ/ sit down here at this place.

/pho siŋthok-po-i ži 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/addresser. 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 čeriŋ! tyo bio kyän hðŋ/O Čhering! where is your son?

/wa sonðm! ti kyano udo/O Sonam! where are you coming from?

/li mole ti kyän bðsuŋ/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 phyaci dyut de/give milk for/to the child.

/myo phyaci mðnili are/bring food for me.

/mðra dud zu phyaci mulik mðnyo de /give some money to me for a few days, /muzuku phyaci/for a month.

/cisum/- 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*).

/ti čisum ko hua>hwa/who was with you?

/mo čisum ko yuŋ /who will come with me?

## MODELS OF NOMINAL DECLENSIONS

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

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

<i>Case</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom.	bio	be
Acc.	bio-ze/-ra	ben- ze
Erg. Ag.	bioe>byoye	beye
Soc.	bio-sum/-cisum	be-sum/-cisum
Dat.	bio-re/-ra	be-re/-ra
Ben.	bio phyaci	be phyaci
Abl.	bio-če/-zono	be-če/-zono
Gen.	bio-s	bes/ben
Voc.	va bio!	

<i>Case</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom.	naro	nare/narodə
Acc.	naro-ra/-ze	nare-ra
Erg./Ag.	naro-i	nare-i
Dat.	naro-ra	nare-ra
Abl.	naro-zono	nare-zono
Gen.	naro-s	nare-s
Lae.	naro-ze/-zi	nare-ze/-zi

<i>Case</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom.	mole	mole-yo
Acc.	mole-ze/-ra	mole-yo-ze/-ra
Erg. Age.	mole-i	mole-yoi
Soc.	mole sum/-cisum	moleyo-cisum
Dat	mole-re	mole-yo-re

Ben.	mole-phyaci	mole-yo-phyaci
Abl.	mole-če	mole-yo-če
Gen.	mole-s	moleyo-s.
<b>B. Consonant ending: /myuʃ/ man</b>		
Case	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom.	myuʃ	myuʃ cok /myusi
Acc.	myusure	myus cok-zure
Erg.	myuze	myus coge
Soc.	myus-cisum	myus-cok-cisum
Dat.	myuzinde	myus-cokunde
Abl.	myuspo-če	myuspo-cokče
Gen.	muzu (<myus-u).	myus-cokun.
<i>/əps/ horse</i>		
Case	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom.	əpš	əpša
Acc.	əpša-ze	əpša coku ze
Erg. Age.	əpže (<əpse)	əpša coge
Dat.	əpša-re	əpša-cogende
Abl.	əpše /əpsezon	əpša-cokunse
Gen.	əpša	əpša-cokun
Lac.	əpša-ze	əpša-cokun- ze
<i>/hat/ hand</i>		
Case	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom.	hat	hati-yo /hatyo cok
Acc.	hat-ra	hatyo-ra
Ag.	hat-so	hatyo-coksə
Dat.	hati-re	hatyo-coksi-re
Abl.	hati-zono	hatyo coksi-zono
Gen.	hati-re	hatyo-coksi-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,

Person	Sg.	Pl .
1st person	mo ~ ma ~ mi	bä
2nd person	ti ~ tu	či ~ čo
3rd person	so (m.) sa (f.)	te

### 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.

**Allomorphic Variations:** As shown above pronominal stems of the 1st and 2nd person exhibit a few allomorphic 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 /yä/, /mä/ with its allomorph case marker /sä/ 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:

Ist. sg. - /mo ekiki hðŋs/ I am alone.

/myo sasnyō tra hene / I have three sisters.

/mði ek kyono šwa rit/ I saw a black dog.

/soya mðra skit/ he saw me.

Ist pl. - /ba cokse ðsi krumpo becokse chenðs/  
we ourselves will do our work.

/ba ane yaklaŋ yenes/ we come here daily.

2d. sg. - /ti kyan bðsuŋ/where do thou live?

/tisa tera skiyal/you see him.

/tyo byo kyan hðŋ/ where is your son?

/tus kiserā lendya hua/ to whom were you calling for?

/tisa ye dethed, tuga dyuŋs/you whatever ask, I shall give to you.

/tis ti krumpo tis krum/you yourself do your work.

/tyari gutči kyan hðŋ/where are your clothes?

2nd pl. - /či as kyan byalen/ where are you going today ?

/čisa tera skiya:leŋ/ you are looking at him.

/čhisak is go, to mō ga sumyuŋs/had you come, I would have accompanied you.

/či sokse či krumpo čhis krumya/  
you yourselves do your work.

- 3rd sg. - /so tonči bdsuŋ/he lives at this very place.  
 /sos dyal, m̄sa khyuðs/he gives, I eat.  
 /soi r̄zit/he said, /soi n̄ khat/he did not eat.  
 /sose tisa krumpo sw̄ðŋse krum/  
 he himself should do his work.  
 /soya kh̄z̄ðčok ūcut/he collected all fruits.  
 /sa ðso goṭ̄ra yali/she comes to our house.
- 3rd pl.- /te hoyo r̄tya isi bet/both of them will come  
 here tomorrow.  
 /lesaksa zini udo čhyan /they may do whatever  
 they like.  
 /te sak tonči b̄sen/they live at this very place.  
 /teya tesa krum krumit/they did their 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.): /h̄mo/(f.) (sg) '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 goṭ bet/ this is my house.

/pho mo mumos bun bet/ that is my maternal uncle's village.

/h̄mo mole žigi la/ this girl is tall.

/pha ṭhiga go la/ that woman is fat.

/h̄m ~ zaŋspo-r ye h̄ŋ/what is (there) in this pot?

/heme bye/moleyo bun tonči b̄sen/these boys ~ girls live in this very village.

/phe ðspa zige lan/those horses are tall.

/phe moleyo ṭhali 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 ?

/ko ~ ki/ who, which? These may be illustrated as follows:

/h̄m zaŋspo-r ye h̄ŋ/what is (there) in this pot?

/m̄ði ekora suŋ̄t /to whom did I tell?

/tus kiserā l̄ndya hwa/to whom were you calling for?

/ti cisum ko hwa (<hua)/ who was with you?

/mo cisum ko yuŋ/who will come with me?

/ti ye-ra goṭiṅ-di byuṅ/what for you are going home?

/ti ye rgusya 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. /kyaṅ/, /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 Brök-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 čok/ 'all men'; /ko utto/ any one, /gḁṅmako/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 khũṅs/some one gives, some one eats.

/keser ga homo krumpo 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 dyuṅs/whatever you ask for, I shall give.

/mḁra pušo-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/ > /ḁsi/

2nd person - /ti/ > /tis/; /čhi/ > /čhis/

3rd person - /so/ > tis/ ~ /rḁṅ/

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 goṭiṅ-di byuṅ/ I am going to my home.

/mḁi mi krumpo mis krumyos/I, myself do my work.

/ba-cokse ḁsi krumpo be-cokse che-nḁs/ we ourselves will do our work.

/tisə ti krumpo tis krum/ thou thyself do thy work.

/chi-cokse čhi krumpo čhis krummyan/you yourselves do your work.

/so tisə bo čisum byəsu bet/ he has to go with his father.

/sos rəŋo gutči rəŋ dwal/he, himself washes his clothes.

/sosə tisə krumpo swəŋse krum/he, himself should do his work.

/tesə tesə krumpo tes krummyəŋ/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, dyuŋs/you whatever will ask, I shall give (that).

/həŋ 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 ame-kik thəpčə bet/every one will get a mango.

## MODELS OF PRONOMINAL DECLENSIONS

### A. Personal Pronouns

(i) /mo/ I (First person)

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

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

Nom.	ti	ci/chi/ chi-cok
Acc.	ti-ze/ti-ra	chi-cokun-ze

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

(iii) /so/ he (third person masc.)

Nom.	so	te/te cok/te sak
Acc.	tera/teri	tecokunde/ten-di
Erg./Ag.	soi/sosə	tesə/te-coge
Soc.	so-sum/-cisum	te-sum/-cisum
Dat.	tes phyaci	tecokun phyaci
Abl.	te-zono	te-cokun zono
Gen.	tes	te-cokun

(iv) /sà/ she (3rd person fem.)

Nom.	sa	te/te sak
Acc.	səra	tendi
Erg. Ag.	səsə/səya	tesə/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	hem-cogi-e
Dat.	homo-s phyaci/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	
Lac.	ko-re/yere	

D. (viii) /ho/ who (Relative, sg. only)

Nom.	ho	x
Acc.	horu	x

Erg. Ag.	hoe	x
Dat.	horu	x
Abl.	ho-zono	x
Gen.	ho-s	x
Lac.	hor/hore	
E. (ix) /mi : ba/, /ti : chi/, /so : tis : tes) (Reflexive)		
Sg.	pl.	
Ist person	mi > mis;	ba > ∂si
2nd pers.	ti > tis;	chi > chis
3rd pers.	so/sa > tis	te > tes
	so/sa rḥo (Tib.)	

## 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 vigesimal 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, /puṅs/ five, /ṣḍ/ six, /sat/ seven, /ḍṣṭ/ eight, /nu/ nine, /daš/ ten, /kodeš/ eleven, /budeš/ twelve, /trodeš/ thirteen, /cudeš/ fourteen, /pḍndeš/ fifteen, /ṣobeš/ sixteen, /sḍtuṅs/ seventeen, /ḍṣṭuṅs/ eighteen, /kunjḍ/ nineteen, /bišḍ/ 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/, /trä/ → /tro/, /čor/ → /ču/, /puṅs/ → /pḍn/, /sä/ → /ṣo/, /sat/ → /sḍt/, /ḍṣṭ/ → /ḍṣṭ/ (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 /ṣo-/, 'and' by /uṅs/ 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 *dvādaśa* 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. /pḍ-ndeš/ < *pañcadaśa*, /sobeš/ < *ṣoḍaśa*, etc.

**Formation of Higher Numerals:** Although it draws its numerals upto twenty from the I.A. stock, but follows the vigesimal 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 kodeš/ 31, /biši pḍndeš/ 35, /biši kunjja/ 39, /dubišu/ 40 (2 x 20), /du biši daš/ 50 (2 x 20, 10), /trḍ biši/60 (3 x 20), trḍ biši daš/ 70 (3 x 20, 10), /cor bišu/80 (4 x 20), /corbiši daš/90, /corbisi kunjja/99, etc. but the term for 'hundred', contrary to an expected term like \**puṅš 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 trə bišu/, 70 /pinaŋ cor bišu/, 90 /pinaŋ puŋs 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, /trə 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 /ston/ 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 /trə ston /3,000 /puŋš lakh/ 5,00,000, etc.

### Ordinals

The use of ordinals to indicate the order of sub-stantives, is not common among the speakers. In case of necessity either the Ladakhi terms /taŋ-po/first, /ñis-pa/ ~/ok-po/second, /sum-pa/ 3rd, or the NIA terms like /du-sir/ second, /trə-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, /puŋs-pa/ 5th, /əšt-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 /čaŋ-pe/. Further terms of this class of numerals can be obtained by suffixing the formative particle /-pe/ to the number in question, as in /puŋs-pe/ all the five, etc. These may be illustrated as under: /ci hoyasa krum krumye/both of you are doing work (-working).

/te hoyo rətya isu bet/both of them will come here tomorrow.

/te hoyosa dyut pit/both of them drank milk.

/te čaŋ-pe trə phəṭireu kutṭə dus/all of the three threshed together.



/te puŋs-pe rətya 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 /phere-ek/once, /phera du/ twice, /phera-trə/ thrice, etc., and by prefixing the numeral in question to the term /skəl/ 'fold' as in /du skəl/ double, /trə skəl/tripple etc.

/modyo ti-ra bun duskəl bedə 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, /pawtrə / 3/4, /pinaŋtrə/ ~/pheraŋ-trə/ 2.1/2 =half to three), /pinaŋčor/ 3. 1/2, /pinaŋ puŋs/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 hoŋem poze myus pon-sək asten/ at that time there were about 5-6 persons.

/mə-ra duduzu phyace pene daš-bišə 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,

viz. possessive and demo. gen. case forms of nouns, which serve as attributes to nominal substantives:

Examples of the possessive pronominal adj. are--

/myo goṭ/ my house : /hḁmo myo goṭ bet/ this is my house.

/tyo bio/your son: /tyo bio kyan hḁŋ/ where is your son?

/mumos bun/maternal uncle's village; /gos dyut/cow's milk, etc. /šwas pici/dog's tail, /ceis ul/bird's nest.

Examples of the demo. adj. are

/pho ḁbs/ that horse, /hḁm ḁbs/ this horse, /pha ḁspi/ that

mare, /heme ḁspa/ these horses, /phe ḁspiyo/ 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 ḁbs/ the attribute /myo/my' distinguishes the particular horse from other horses. Similarly, a statement like /pho ḁbs/ that horse, /hḁm ḁbs/ this horse, etc. distinguish the particular horse from other horses.

A few illustrations of this class of adjectives are:

/mḁra homo kitap pḁsḁnd bet / I like this book.

/heme šole ṭhole 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 ḁbsa 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 -

**Radical:** /bono/ big, elder, /seno/ small, younger, /t̥halo/ beautiful, handsome, /zigo/ tall, long, wide, /noro/ good, /kyono/black, /lodo/ red, /šo/white, /ñilo/ blue, green, /čuṭu/ bad, dirty, /šuko/dry, /t̥ito/bitter, /to/ cold, /tato/ hot, warm, /curku/false, /go/ fat, thick, /šra/ happy, /suro/hard, /guro/ heavy, /thurbo/ high, /skyos/kind, /kolo/ lame, /zaro/ old, /bede/plenty, enough, many, much, /traṇ/right (side), /p̥col/ ripe, /st̥ən/slow, /ṇarmo/sweet, /kek/ some (countable), /ki/ some (non-countable) /ape/ a little, a few.

**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) /c̥ən/ - /phoso-c̥ən/ proud, < /phoso/pride, /nelpa-c̥ən/ poor < /nelpa/ poverty, /kha-c̥ən/angry < /kha/ anger,
- (ii) /to/ - /čurku-to/ liar < /čurku/a lie,
- (iii) /la/ - /čuṭu-la/ naughty < /čuṭu/ bad,
- (iv) /pa/ - /əst̥-pa/ eighth < /əst̥/ eight.
- (v) /met/ - /set-met/weak, /th̥l-met/ cruel.
- (vi) **Reduplication-** /gir-gir/ round, /mul-mul/luke warm, /t̥k-t̥k/tight, /z̥b-z̥b/hard, /čok-čok/ active, /ziṇ- zaṇ/ noisy, /khor-khor/ zig zag, etc.

Uses of some of these may be illustrated as under:

/lodo pušo/ red flower, /kyono šwa/black dog, /t̥hulo ruṇ/ beautiful hill, /p̥col kh̥z̥s/ripe fruit, /kolo myuṣ/lame man, /tato wa/ hot water, /šo šugu/white paper, /bono ba/ elder father, /seno ba/ younger father/uncle, /zaro myus/old man, /š̥ṇpo sina/clever boy, /ñilo p̥ni/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/

good boys : /nori mole-yo/good girls; /zigo/tall (m) : /zigi/ tall (f.) : /zige/ tall (pl.). Similarly, /kyono/black (m) : /kyoni/ (f.): /kyone / (pl.)/bono bayo/elder brother : /boni sas/ elder sister: /bone bayoda/elder brothers, /seno bayo/younger brother : /seni sas/younger sister : /sene bayoda/younger brothers: /seni sas da/younger sisters, etc.

**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 hānes/ I have two brothers : /myo sasnyo 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?

**Distributive** /cokondi amekik thāpe 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 əbs myo la/that horse is mine.

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

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

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

/myus ekige/every man; /bayo dui/two brothers;

/sasnyo trā/three sisters. /poza goṭi tra lan/there are three houses there, but - /māra trā sina, du bye uṇa ek mole/

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 šwa rit/I saw a black dog; /pho siṅthokpo-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 /syaltiži seni lwedi cei la/there is a small red bird on the roof; /māi ek bono kyono šwa 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. /p̄ri p̄rar kh̄z̄s moro bede h̄nes/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 goṭ tyo goṭ-dyo bono h̄ṅ/ my house is bigger than yours.

/kha ṭhospo ža ṭhospo 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.

/h̄mo mole phamole-dyo thonmo h̄ṅ/  
this girl is taller than that girl.

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

/m̄ra ti dyo ho riṅz̄n n̄/ 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. /s̄k-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. /h̄rau ṭhospo sek-dyo bono la/ the medial field is the biggest of all, /am čok-dyo ṅarmo kh̄z̄s̄la/ mango is the sweetest fruit; /drus s̄k-dyo ṭo 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- *b̄ṛe se b̄ra*); /seno-dyo-seno/ smallest (=Hindi-*choṭe se choṭa*) /pruno-dyo-pruno siṅthok/ 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) /m̄di ek bede kyono šwa rit/or/ m̄di bono kyono šwa rit/ (2) /m̄di 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 goṭ seno h̄ṇ/my house is small.

/pho myuṣpo go la/that man is fat.

/n̄ṇles-po ṭṣṇ 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 puṣo/red flower, /lode puṣe/red flowers; /seno bayo/ younger brother, /sene bayoda/younger brothers, /seni sas/younger sister. Similarly /bono/big, elder : /boni/ (f.) /bone/ (pl.); /zigo 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 myuṣ/that man, /pha ṭhiga/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

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 monomorphemic 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, /rð-/hear, /uth-/stand, rise, /d'o-/wash, /bid-/sow, /yeth-/call, /bith-/stop, /el-/draw, /phet-/throw, /kð-/ripe, /sil-/read, /bðr-/cut down, /bi-/be afraid, /khuṭ-/ beat, thresh, /bun-/ be suspended, /pi-/drink, /phet/ break, /chin-/be broken, cut, /bðš-/sit, dwell, /ñil-/hide, /riṭh-/see, /so-/ sleep, /kha-/eat, /di-/give, /ras ~ raz-/ask, /krum-/ work, /sum-/ be tired, /rgus-/want, /ṭham-/be hungry, /hāz ~ hās/laugh, /nar-/fall, /zbri-/ write, /ut-/ come, /ar-/ bring. /thi-/ do, /bus-/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:

/lðy-/ to reap < √ lūñ-, /bu-/ to be, to become < √bhu-;  
 √/bi-/ to be afraid < √bhi-, /khuṭ-/ to beat, to thresh < √kuttṭ-/  
 /phet/ to break, to be broken < sphuṭ-, /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-, /khu-/ to eat < khad-, /bðs-/to sit, to live, to dwell <  
 √vas-, /di ~ de/to give < √da-, /li-/ to lick < lih-, /bðd- /to  
 increase < vṛdh-, /su ~ so-/ to sleep < svap-, /buš ~ baš-/ to chirp  
 < vāš-, /ar-/ to bring < ā+rā- ~ lā; /bisum/to rest < vi+ √śram,  
 /bun-/to lie < √bandh-, /pač-/ to cook < √pac-, /ru-/ to weep  
 < rud-, /kru-/to do < kṛ-, /ya-/ to come < (ā) + ya-, /piš-/to  
 show < paś-, /suc-/to dry < šuṣ; /do-/ to wash < dhāv-, /bid-/  
 to sow < vap-, /hðr-/ to carry, to take away < hṛ-, /mar-/to kill  
 < mṛ-, /has-/to laugh < √has-, /bðh-/to plough < vāh-.

A few roots belonging to other sources are - /hð-/ to be, /thð-ð~chð-/ to do, /skð- ~ riṭh-/to see, /bō ~ bi/ to go, /rðs-/ to read, /baṇd-/ to run, /bðr-/to cut, /ras-/ to say, /el-/ to draw, /gen-/ to ascend, /sun-/ to ask, /gip-/ to build, /hir-/ to cling; /šur-/to close, /mðr-/ to cut, /rcð-/ to dance, /ðk-/to dig, /nðr-/

to fall, /nar-/to fell, /pir-/to fill, /thop-/to find, /up-/ to fly, /ðm-/to forget, /un-/to open, /ne-/ to press, /sil-/ to read, /kat-/ to remember, /kas-/ to rub, /kəñ-/ 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, /ṭham-is/to be hungry < /ṭham/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, /sperə -this/to speak < /sperə/ word, /gus-this/ to feed < /gus/ food, /goy-dis/to sing < /goy/song, /zəhər-dis/to poison, /phəmcuthis/to peck < /phəmu /beak, /iŋ-bus /to smile < /iŋ /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-cis/to bathe < /wa/ water, /busumdis/ /to rest, /maph-dis /to forgive=to give forgiveness, /zāma this /to collect-to do collection, /sək-bus /to doubt=to become doubtful, /puṭu nəṭhis /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, /ṭaṅthis/ 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, /ṭsalo this /to decorate < /ṭsalo/beautiful, /zdər-dis /to sharpen, < /zdər /sharp, /noro bus / to get well < /noro /good, /apēbus /to decrease < /ape/little, /əbonī-dis /to love, to be nearer < /əboni /near, etc.

**(b) Reduplication:** Besides the above, verbal stems are also obtained by reduplicating an onomatopoeic stems, e.g./tuṣ-tuṣ-



this /to tremble, /ləq-ləq this/ to twinkle, /gur-gur-this/to stir, to knead, /si-si-this /to whistle, /hu-huŋ-this /to hum, /chiŋ-chiŋ-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 /čhi-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-

/mði cheri-thit /I have done (=Hindi-*kar cuka hū*).

/ mðsð ti marisu bet /I shall kill you (=H. *mar dālūga*)

/ mðso tendi nð rðza 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 /mðsð pyuŋs /I am drinking,  
/ti zazale /you (sg.) are walking; but /tisð 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 /sosð skiyale /he is seeing.

/te byalen /they are going; but /tesð 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 trə həni /I have three sisters.

/məra moleyo du həni/ 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, /ñilj- /to hide oneself > /ñiljəra /to conceal, /phiṭ- /to break itself > /phiṭa- /to break, /chinə - /to tear itself > /chinəra- /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 phiṭyal /it breaks (Intrans.) : /sosə pho phiṭəyal /he breaks (Trans.)

/pho chinjəl /it tears (Intrans.) : /sosə pho chinjəyal /he tears (Trans.) but /phiṭat /broke (itself or something) ; /chinit /tore (itself or something).

Besides the above noted suffixal method, transitivization is also affected by means of periphrastic constructions or suppletivism, e.g.- /cor the /make sit, /chiṇ chiṇ the /shake, /ya the /send for (imp.); /phiṭ- /to break itself > /chin- /to break, /bəs /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 /mō ekiki hāṅs/ I am alone, /pho sinadi khutyal /he beats the child, /pho bios krumyal /he gets the work done from the child, / ña wa-r bāsun /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', e.g.

/māṣḍ dyut pyuṅs /I drink milk /milk is drunk by me.

/māyḍ pāpa khat /I ate food /food was eaten by me.

/soṣḍ pho phityal /it is broken by him /he has broken it.

/soya pho phitāt /he broke it /it was broken by him.

/miyḍ hām krum nā krumit /this work was not done by

me, or I did not do this work.

/tisə ye dethed, tu ga dyuŋs/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 singular 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 byuŋs /I go, I am going, but /məsə bəŋdiyūŋs /I am running /running is being done by me; /məsə go /I went, but /miyə bəŋdet /I ran, running was done by me; /bəyə bəŋdet /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 mənili khwal (< Khual) /the child is eating food.

/bioi (>byoi) kitab silitaŋ /the boy read the book.

/ña wa-r bəsuŋ /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 byuŋs /I am going /I will go)

**Aspects:** Similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e. denomination 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 mɔnili khwal /the child eats /is eating loaves of bread, /sos krummyal /he works /he is working; /soi nɔ 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-uŋ-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**

- /sina mɔnili khwal /boy eats /is eating bread.
- /sina bede mɔnili khwan /boys eat breads.
- /mɔra bio (>byo) ek hɔŋ /I have a son.
- /mɔra mole-yo du hɔni/ I have two daughters.
- /tyo bayo kɔtuk hɔne /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 fullfledged 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 : /hə/, /la/, /bus-/, /as- /and /bet-/. Of these the first 4 are declinable, but the last one is indeclinable. Semantically, the stem /hə/ 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 hə/ I have a horse.

/məra mole-yo du həni/ I have two daughters.

/tvo bvo kvän hə/ /where is your son?

- /myo byo goṭe-ra hḁṇ/ my son is in the house.
- /tyo bayo kḁtuk hḁne/ how many brothers have you?
- /mo ekiki hḁṇs/ I am all alone.
- /hḁm zanspo-r ye hḁṇ/ what is (there) in that pot?
- /myo sasṇyo trḁ hḁni /I have three sisters.

In periphrastic constructions it is used as an auxiliary as well, as in /mḁs mi seno bo-r ṣugu zbrisu hḁṇ/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/la/-It primarily denotes the sense of an established fact:

- /honze ḁbs-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 ṭhuspo bono la/ this field is big one.
- /soi räzit mo ṭhomyo la /he said, I am hungry.

/bus-/-The remnant of the OIA, root  $\sqrt{bhu-}$  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-sḁ krum krumito tera khu busu /whoso will work, he will eat, /busuṇ/ becomes, /busu bet /would have become, /busu /would have been, etc.

/as-/- It is also a remnant of the OIA root  $\sqrt{as-}$  to be', but has survived in past tense forms only, as in /paripho sini-k asto/ there was a river there, /so ṭṣḁṇmo asto /he was happy, /te ane bḁyḁ asten/ they lived here, /paripho khḁzḁs 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 goṭ-ik bet /this is a house; /heme myo goṭ-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)-/michḁi buk-buk bet/ the pitcher went to pieces.

/phau mḁra skei bugaks bet/ she was in tears on seeing me.  
/so gei kḁ tuk dis bet /how many days have passed him gone.

/so tisa bo cisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father.

(Fut.)- /te hoyo rḁtya isi bet /both of them will come tomorrow.

**Past Tense:** Out of the 5 stems of the verb-substantives

given above, it is only /hə-/ which attests inflection for past tense.

These are- /hat /was, /hua/ was, were, as in

/ti cisum ko hat/who was with you?

/məsə silich-a-hua-s /I was reading.

/tisə silich-a hua /thou wert reading.

/sosə ~ sasə silich-a hua / he ~ she was reading.

/tus kisera ləndi 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 wə/ he was : /te cok wən /they were.

/ti wə /thou wert : /chičok wən /you were.

/mo wəs /I was : /ba wənes (<\*wəyenes) we were.

### Model Conjugation of /hə/

#### non-past tense:

Person	sg.	pl.
1st	həŋs	həŋes
2nd	həŋ	həŋe (m.)/həni (f.)
3rd	həŋ	həŋe (m.)/həni (f.)
<b>Past (All)</b>	hot	hua
/wə/1st	wəs	wənes
2nd/3rd	wə	wən
/la/- (All) (Pres.)	la	lan
/as-/ (All) (Past)	asto	asten

### 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 krummyal /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:

Person	sg.	pl.
1st	R+uŋ-s	R+ ɔŋ/en-es
2nd	R+al-(e)	R+al-en/an
3rd (m)	R+al-(e) /uŋ	R+al-en /an
3rd (f.)	R+al-i	R+al-en

**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- /eat**

1st person- /mɔs khyuŋs /I eat : /bo cokse ~ basɔ 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,

/riθ-/see

1st /mɔs rithuŋs /I see : /basɔ riθɔŋes/ we see.

2nd /tis riθal /thou seest : /cui ~ cosɔ riθan /you see.

3rd (m.) /sos riθal /he sees : /tesɔ riθan /they see.

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

/pho sinādi khuṭya /he beats ~ is beating the child.

/aye-s sina-di dyut pyayal /the mother is making the children drink milk.

/sosɔ guṭu-gyo žu chinal /he cuts ~ is cutting down the tree.

/žu zino pɔni sijal /leaves fall from the tree.

/ruŋ-rno bɔr yal (<i+al) rivulet flows from the mountain.

/sinas mɔnili khwal /the child eats ~ is eating bread.

/sina-s bede mɔnili khwan /children are eating breads.

/sosɔ dyal (<di+al), mɔsɔ pyuŋs /he gives, I drink.

The use of the formative /uŋ/in the 3rd person sg. number is attested in the following expressions.

/ñā wa-r bəsuŋ/ fishes live in water.

/so tonči bəsuŋ/ he lives here, /ti kyan bəsuŋ /where do you live?, but /tesak tonči bəsen /they all live here.

/ciŋa-r guru-ra čhiriz goto tato busuŋ /iron becomes hot when put on fire

/so yuŋs /he is coming. /mo go oz 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 /phit-et /broke, /pun, et/ rode, /bəŋd-et /ran, /silich > silith-et /read, /ar-et /brought. A few syntactic illustration may be as follows:

/tyði məra dilli-rno yet aret /what did you bring for me from Delhi.

/məi tira gotči 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 rəzit /he said.

/miyə bəŋdet /I ran; /bayə bəŋdet /we ran.

/məiek 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 ane-r yethaŋ/I asked my younger brother to come here.

/rami mohənor kek spiro razos /Ram asked one thing to Mohan.

/mohəni ramo-r bede spira rayoŋs /Mohan asked many things from Ram.

/byoi kitab silithaŋ /a boy read a book (<silith-a-həŋ).

/moleyo-i be bedei riṭhyaṅ /girls saw boys (<riṭhi-a-hḁṅ).

**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; /hḁ-/ to be > /wḁ-/was; /chḁ-/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.

/thḁniḡ bḁs, ti-r ga dyuṅs /wait a little, I will give to you as well.

/mo ale-r ma nḁ byuṅs /I shall never go there.

/ti hḁmcocks katik run bḁyuṅs /for how long will you be weeping like this.

/mḁso ten-di nḁ rḁza rayuṅs /I shall not allow him speak.

/mo as gote-ra byuṅs /I will go ~ am going home to day.

/te puṅspe rḁtya ane isu bet /they all the five will come here tomorrow.

/ba cokse ḁso krumpo becokse chenes /  
we ourselves will do our work.

/mo byuṅs /I go, I am going, I will go.

/mḁsḁ siličhyuṅs /I read, I am reading, I will read.

/ba beyenes /we go, we are going, we will go.

/ba silichyenes /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 /mḁsḁ silčhyuṅs /I read, I am reading, /ba biyenes /we go, we are going, we will be going.

/sḁsḁ ~ tusḁ sili čha-le /he ~ you (m.) are reading /read.

/čḁse ~ tesḁ silicha-len /you ~ they are reading /read.

/čḁsḁ piya-len /you drink ~ you are drinking, etc.

/m̄sə b̄ḥdiyən /I am running, /basə b̄ḥdiyən /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 /h̄ḥ/ 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:

/m̄sə ski-a-h̄ḥ-s /I am seeing, /m̄sə pi-a-h̄ḥ-s /I am drinking. /-silich-a-h̄ḥ-s /-am reading, /ba bi-a-h̄ḥ-s / we are going, /basə silich-a-h̄ḥ-s /we are reading, etc.

(for non-first person forms see above).

But expressions like /tesak ʈo-r krumyan (< krumi-a-h̄ḥ) 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 obtained by appending 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 /m̄sə silich-a-hua-s /I was reading.

/tisə silich-a-hu-a /you were reading.

/sosə ~ sasə silich-a-hu-a /he ~ she was reading.

/tus kisera l̄ḥdya-hwa (<hua) /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+h̄ḥ/ to the verbal base, e.g.

/so bede h̄z-a-h̄ḥ/he has been laughing for long.

/tesak betya-h̄ḥ /they have been quarreling for long.

/tesak goribo ʈo-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 k̄ya 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, /mði yərto cheri thit /I have already finished it, /miyð solo-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.

/mði mi krumo krumyaŋ /I have done my work.

/mði pəpa khyanʂ /I have finished my food.

/soyð šolok zbrihi-a-həŋ /he has written a story.

/tes dya həŋ /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.

/soyð bəŋdi-aw /he had run.

/miyð 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:

/ñā wa-r bəsuŋ /fishes live in water.

/sos to zormoya krumyal /he works even when he is ill.

/ciŋar guru-ra chiniz go to tato busuŋ /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.

/mðsə əps-po sini-di dusta hərisu bedo (RS)

I used to take the horse to the river for bathing.

/sadi-sə ŋəŋles-po-ra khəzəð 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:

/həm krumpo takthaŋ cheri the/finish this work quickly.

/mði yārto cheri thiŋ /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.

/mðsð tendi rðza rayuŋs /I shall not allow him to speak.

/mðs ʈhalo krum krumyo zinila /I want to do some good work.

/mo tendi yakthaŋ isi be dos /I used to come to their place daily.

/tyari gutči kyan chere hən /where have you put your clothes.

/tus kiserā ləndya hua /to whom were you calling forth?

/sosð pəpa khusu baŋ /he may be eating.

/tes khus chəribo baŋ /they might have eaten.

/ti pho-r metkhəmet byas rgusya la /he must have gone there.

/mðs skyal aris suni suŋ /I know doing swimming.

/so dogdis eko ini lasin /he wanted to come here day-before-yesterday.

/mō 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.

/ðsu 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*

Person

Sg.

Pl.

3rd (m)

(sosð) khwale

(tes) khwalen

3rd (f.)	(sasə) khwali	(tes) khwalen
2nd	(tisə) khwale	(coi/cosə) khwalen
1st	(məsə) khuṅs	(basə) khwanes

*Past tense*

3rd (m.f.)	(soy/say)	khat	(tey) khat
2nd	(tue /tiy)	khat	(coi/coy) khat
1st	(miə/miy)	khat	(bayə) khat

*Future tense*

3rd	(sose)	khuṅ	(tese) khwan
2nd	(tuse)	khuṅ	(čose) khwen
1st	(məse)	khuṅs	(base) khwan
Imp.	(tis)	kha	(cose) khwan-

*Verb Root /pi- /to drink*

*Present tense*

3rd (m.)	(sosə)	pyal /piyale	pyan /piyalen
(f.)	(sasə)	pyali /piyali	pyan /piyalen
2nd	(tusə/tisə)	pyale /piyale	pyan /piyalen
1st	(məsə)	pyuṅs /piyuṅs	pyenes /piyenes

*Past tense*

3rd	(soi /soy)	pit	(tei/tey) pit
2nd	(tue /tiy)	pit	(coi /choy) pit
1st	(məi /miy)	pit	(baye) pit

*Future tense :*

	sg.	pl.
3rd	(sos) pyuṅ	(tes) pyan /piyen
2nd	(tuis/tis) pyun	(čosə) pyan /piyen
1st	(məs) pyuṅs	(basə) penes
Imp.	pi (sg.)	nəpi (Neg.)

*Verb Root /chə - /~ /thə - /to do.*

3rd (m.)	chäl(e) /this	Chän /chälən
3rd (f.)	chäle/ this	Chän /chälən
2nd	chäle/ this	Chän /chälən
1st.	chaṅs /this	chənes

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

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

(Verb forms identical for all persons and numbers)

*Future tense*

3rd	(sos) chuṅ /this	(tes) chen
2nd	(tus/tis) chuṅ /this	(cois)chen
1st	(məs) chuṅs /this	(base) chenes.
Imp.	the	nəthe (Neg.)

*Verb Root /riṭh- /to see (subject forms as in trans.)*

3rd (m.)	riṭhal	riṭhan /riṭhalen
3rd (f.)	riṭhali	riṭhan /riṭhalen
2nd	riṭhal (e)	riṭhan /riṭhalen
1st	riṭhuṅs	riṭhanes

*Past tense (subject forms as in trans.)*

riṭ	riṭ
-----	-----

(for all persons and numbers)

*Future tense*

3rd	riṭhoṅ	riṭhan /riṭhən
2nd	riṭhoṅ	riṭhan /riṭhən
1st	riṭhoṅs	riṭhənes.

Imp. (Replaced) skey nə 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) yuṅs	(ba) yenes

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

*Future tense*

3rd	yuṅ	yen
2nd	yuṅ	yen
1st	yuṅs	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) biyuṅs /byuṅs	(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) byuṅ (te) ben /byane

2nd (tu /ti) byuṅ (ci) ben /byane

1st (mo) byuṅs (ba) byenes

Imp. 2nd bo (Neg) nə 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. /rəs -/ to read > /rəs-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 thuksi thəryale /he makes them burn (something); /sose tendi bəṅḍəryale /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 > pi-ya-/to make to drink, /kha-/to eat > /khu-a- /to feed.

/ayes sina-di dyut pyayal /mother makes children drink milk.

/pho bios krumpo krummyal /he makes the child do work.

/pha sina-di rowali /she makes the child weep.

/ayes sina-di mənili khwal /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 allomorphic 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.

/neš/-/əso bun-po seno neš/our village is not small.

/məṣə silichə neš/I am not reading.

otherwise /miə krum nə krumit /I did not do work.

/nə/-/ həmo myo goṭ nə/ this (is) not my house.

/myo nui čeriŋ nə/my name (is) not Čhering ; but

/məso təndi nə rəza rayuŋs /I shall not allow him speak.

/mo byuŋ-s /I am going, but /mo biyə neš/ I am not going

/məṣə silichə yuŋ-s /I am reading : but /məṣə silichəneš / I am not reading.

/nyal /< /nə+ al / -It is clear that /nyal / is a compressed form of the negative particle /nə/ + the indefinite tense marker /-al / . As such it occurs with present indicative tense forms only, and is also followed by personal terminations, except the 1st sg.

/soṣə krum krumis nyale /he does not work.

/tiṣə krum krumis nyale /thou /you do not work.

/teṣə krum krumis nyal-en /they do not work.

/baṣə 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 goṭ bet-a /Is this your house?

/tyo bun-po seno həŋ-a /Is your village small?

Otherwise-/tyo byo kyan həŋ /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 kiserā ləndya 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 falling 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, /thə-e / → /the /do, /di-e / → /de /give, /ya-e / → /ye /come, /uth-e /stand, /eth-e /call, /khuṭ-e /beat, etc. Syntactically their uses may be illustrated as under.

(a) **Simple** - /m̄ra wa ar-e /bring water for me.

/m̄ra ŋul puŋj de /give me five rupees.

/pho kh̄r čher-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 zaŋs-po tomoži chire /leave this pot at this very place.

/ti myo zuŋspo-ža pune /you ride on my back.

(b) **Compounded**-/h̄m krumpo tokthaŋcheri 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, /b̄s/ wait, stay, sit, etc.

/twagpo ye h̄m-ži b̄s /having come here, sit down.

/th̄nig b̄s, ti-r ga dyuŋs /wait a little, I shall give to you as well.

/tis ti krumpo tis krum /you yourself do your work.

/m̄nili 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 /n̄/ to the imperative form of the verb in question, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments; if any.

/teži n̄ khuṭe /don't beat him.

/homo ena n̄ are /don't bring this here.

/ane-r n̄ uthe /don't stand here.

/ḁnuž n̄ ras /don't speak loudly.

/r̄ṭya ane-r ye n̄ ḁmsyo /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, /ð+o~u / to the verb root, e.g. /chðo /may, ~should I do?, /swðu : /may, should I sleep?, /rwðu : /may, should I weep?, /khwðu : /may I eat? /pyð u/ may I drink?, /byðu /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.

/rðtya bayos ðiga ena nesa /elder brother's wife may come here tomorrow.

/sosð thðwañ pðpa khusu bañ /he may be eating at this time.

/thðwañ to khus chðribo 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 chəribus go-to pəpa khun / (when) the work was finished (then) food was eaten.

/čhisak isgo-to moga sum yuŋs / 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 sosəŋ to ti pas busu bet / had you worked hard, you would have succeeded (in exams.).

/ti ut-to mo ga os-buŋ / 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 thəwanə ŋyosu-r bekožini həŋs. / I just now, want to go to the field.

/məsə ŋhalo 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 həŋ / I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/so tisə ba čisum byasu bet / he has to go with his father.

/so mǝjbūr bo aner-no 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 /rgošya /'is desirable' followed by the verb substantive as an auxiliary, e.g. /so krum ays-ta byǝs rgošya bet /he should go to find work.

/ti pho-r metkhǝmet byǝs rgošya la /you should have gone there.

/so ane-r is rgošya nyal /he should not come here.

/tisǝ silithis rgošya bet /you should study.

/tisǝ ti krum krumis rgošya 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.

/so is bi-su nyal /he can not come.

/ti zazis suni-su nyal /you will not be able to go on foot.

/mo cual is bisu nyal /I can not come quickly.

/hǝm šugu ti-risu nyal /you will not be able to read this letter.

/kesergǝ homo krumpo krumis šunis la /any body can do this work.

/kesergǝ homo krumpo krumis sunisu hua /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 mǝra skei bugǝks bet /she started weeping (was in tears) on seeing me.

/pho myo čišum ini 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 mǝra skei bugaks bet /she started weeping, as soon as she saw me.

/so uthe bei nari go /he fell down, while standing.

/michei hati-rno nakha-zo gochuŋ-to buk-buk bet/  
The pitcher went to pieces as soon as it fell from the hand.

/ti nuf-a, ba biyenes /as soon as you come, we shall go.

**Intensive Continuative** : Intensity, 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 kəya bet, so khwai bet /he continued looking, he continued eating

/so rat pokok uthe bet /he remained awakened for the whole night.

/ti həmcoks kətik rua bəyən/for how long will you weep like this.

/so bede həsa (>həza) 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 -/, /bəhis /to plough < /bəh -/, /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/



to fill < /pir -/, /puz-is /to grind < /puz- /, /krum- is /to work < /krum -/, etc.

/su /- /bya su /to go, /zbrizisu /to write, /kði-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.  
/rðtya ane-r ye nð ðmsyo /don't forget to come here tomorrow.

/mðs skyal ar-is šunisun (sunisu-hðŋ)/ I know to swim (=swimming).

/so dogdis ekozini lasin /he wanted to come here yesterday.  
/mo thðwan ðyosu-r bekozini hðŋs /I want to go to the field just now.

/so tisð ba čisum byāsu bet /he has to go with his father.  
/mðsð mi seno bo-r šugu zbrizisu hðŋ /I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/ek dis ñðnles-po-s ðsigð (ðhiga) šadi-s ho khuko zinial / one day crocodile's wife wanted to eat monkey's heart.

/mðs ðhalo krum krumi-ko žini la /I want to do some good (virtuous) deed.

/kheer kðisu brðs rgošyela /rice is needed to cook (prepare) *kheer*.

**Verbal Noun** : An infinitive can also be used as a noun, which though formly 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 predicating 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 /ta~te/ and /-u /, but their distribution is not clear, at these the /te ~ ta

/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 /byaṣṭe /for going, /yaste/for coming, /ayasta /to find, /krumista /to work, /sili thista /to read, /kəis-u-r /for cooking, /zbrizisu /to write, /byasu /to go, etc. Their syntactic uses may be illustrated as under:

/so krum ays-ta byəṣ rgoṣya bet /he should go to find a work (job)

/mo ti čisum krum krumis-ta byuṅṣ /I will go with you to work.

/silithis-u kitab rgoṣya la /book is needed to read.

/kheer kəisu-r brəṣ rgoṣya la /rice is needed to cook (prepare) kheer, (rice cooked in milk)

/so tiṣə ba čisum byasu bet /he has to go with his father.

/məṣə skyal aris sunisuṅ/I know to do (lit. to bring) swimming.

/məṣə mi seno-bo-r šugu zbrizisu həṅ/I have to write a letter to my uncle (father's younger brother); /soyə twəqpo susta go/he went to bed immediately.

/məṣə 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 nə /it is not good to eat in the night.

/zazis-po thalo krum bet /walking is a good exercise.

/dyut pi:s-po sehət phyaci rgyəḷba 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, /mið tera byariṭ /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 /mðra 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, /riṭh- /to see > /riṭhya /seeing, /so /to sleep > /sua > /swa /sleeping, /ro- /to weep > /rwa /weeping, /khu- /to eat > /khwa /eating, /pi- /to drink > /pya /drinking, /bi ~bo /to go > /bya / going, etc., as in /bya myuṣ /moving man, /haza (hasa) bio /laughing boy, /iwa mole /weeping girl, /swa šwa /sleeping dog, etc.

It is also expressed with the helping verb /hð- /, /su -/ as in /nari byð hðnu myuṣ /felling man, /zazisu gaḍi /moving train, /bazi hðnu byo /sitting boy : /bazi hðne bye /sitting boys. /bðzi hðnimole / sitting girl : /bðzi hðne 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 Brokskad 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 kətuk dis bet /how many days have passed him *gone*?

/riṭhaṅs mole /(already) *seen* girl, /sotän myus /*slept* man,

/veližohane khəzek cok /all the *fallen* fruits, /cəpthe-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 pušo/blossomed flower, /silithe-to zbrithe-to myus /educated (=who knows reading and writing) man, /čhinjido gulus /torn cloth; /čhinjide 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 hām ži bās /having come here sit down.

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

/te chaṅpe phətireu khuṭṭ dus /all of them having being together beat me.

/krum krumi go /having done work went.

/tera mǝjbur 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?, /ǝboni /near, /kher /below, /ane /here, /pǝri /there, /ža /on, /zigindi /over, /yǝtir /in front of, /puṭur /behind, /hunar /above, /dur /far, /gǝnonsǝ /every where, /hun

· · · stod /up, above, /girgiri /around, /gemin /under, below, /zya /up, /zyamin /below, etc.

Their syntactic uses may be illustrated as under:

/pho goṭs yətir šintokek həŋ /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 gutčhi kyan chere hən /where have you put the clothes?

/kher bəis /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 hən; /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, /zəqtəŋ /~/ yəktəŋ /daily, always, ; /as /today, /rətya /tomorrow, /run /yesterday, /thəwəŋ ~ thəpəŋ /just now, /hozənto /when, /goribo /for a long time, /yərto /already, /mo thəwəŋ ʰyosu-r bekozini hən; /I want to go to the field just now.

/run aye seni ane yeu /yesterday aunt had come here (=came)

/tesak goribo ʰo-r krumyaŋ /they are working in the cold for long.

/pho ratpocok uthe hən /he remained awakened for the whole night.

/myəi yərto cheri thit /I have already finished it.

/mo tendi yəktəŋ 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 /hastly, hurriedly, /šəŋ/~ /siəŋ/slowly, /suŋul /suddenly, /sokthe /quickly, /yetə/ how ?, /ənuž /loudly, /twəgbo /quickly, suddenly, etc.

Besides the above, adv. of manner are also formed by reduplicating the basic stem, as in /sumð-sumð/suddenly, /siṭṭn-siṭṭn /slowly, gradually, /sokthe-sokthe /quickly, /kauthettothe /any how, etc. e.g.

/siṭṭn-siṭṭn ras /speak slowly.

/ðnuž nð ras /do not speak loudly.

/twagbo ye hðmži bðs /having come quickly, sit down here.

/so twagbo byas buṇ /he had to go suddenly.

/mo cual 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 hðṇ/he laughed a lot.

/capthe-de sokbi silithis-ta bede lcðmð hðne /  
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 beldaṇ 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.

/soyð siṭṭn bene go /he went away quietly.

/soyð sokthe-sokthe ane yeut /he came here quickly.

/soyð run sokthe ane bðṇdet /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: /gə/ and /uŋa/ 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

/ əbsya-r gas † wa de /give grass (and) water to the horse.

/soi kəya bet † tesə khwai bet /he was cooking (and) they were eating.

/sosə dyal † məsə pyuŋs /he gives (and) I drink. Of the two additives noted above /gə/ joins two nominal elements, as in

/ram gə syam /Ram and Shyam.

/byo gə mole /boy and girl; /ti gə mo /you and I, etc.

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

/mo byuŋs u:ŋa kitapik ariyuŋs /I shall go and bring a book.

/soyo hom modyo prat u:ŋa molera det /he took it from me and gave to the girl.

/mo consəɾ go u:ŋa golik bešit /

I went to the fair and bought a cow.

/ba byenes u:ŋa əspa 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 are/

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

/ya ti ane ye, ya goṭindi bo / either you come here or go home.

/ya ti bo, ya sa byale / either you go or she will go.

/nə soyḍ ut, nə tes bayo / neither he came nor his brother.

/sina du ya trḍ goṭindi 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.

/sayḍ ut † mo goṭḍra nə bet / she came (but) I was not at home.

/mḍi pḍ pa khyans † 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 rḍzit † mō ṭhyamyō la / he said, I am hungry.

/byoi rḍzit † mo as mi goṭiṇdi byuṅs / 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 yuṅs /

(If) you had come, then I too would have accompanied you.

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

/mo ədapik bet-to † rətya mo yuṅs / (If) I am well, I shall come tomorrow.

/sosə mehnət čahəŋ to † so pas busu bet/

If he works hard, he will success (will pass the exam.).

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

/gaḍi 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 goṭiŋ-dyo nəhatoga mi čisum guluk čhriyuṅs /

I always take a stick with me when I go to my house.

/mastər kere is mələk soyə čiklapi(:)k čhä 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.

/ram nuf-a mo yuᅇs /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 yuᅇs /If you come, I shall too come with you.

/thing bəis † ti-r gə dyuᅇs /wait a little, I shall give to you as well.

/tisə ye dethet † tu gə dyuᅇs /whatever you ask for I will give to you.

### Negative Particles

Brok-skad has 3 negative particles, viz. /nə/, /neš /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 rayuᅇs /I shall not allow him speak.

/soyə krum nə krumit /he did not do the work.

/ənuz nəras /do not speak loudly, /məi nəriᅇ /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 goᅇ nə /this (is) not my house.

/myo nu gulam rəhim nə /my name (is) not Gulam Rahim.

/neš/—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 neš /our village is not small.

/myo sas ᅇsali (ᅇhali) neš /my sister is not beautiful.

/myo biya neš /I am not going.

/məsə silichə neš /I am not reading.

/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 rgusya nyal /he should not have come here.

/mo cual isbinu nyal /I can not come quickly.

/tisð krum krumis nyale /you do not work.

/sosð krum krumis nyale /he does not work.

/sasð krum krumis nyali /she does not work.

/tesð 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 goṭṭ-ra biyuṅ /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 sasṅyo trḍ hḍni /I have three sisters.

/hḍmo mi goṭ bet /this is my house.

/ñā wa-r bḍsuṅ /fishes live in water.

/byoi molei riṭhyaṅ /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 mohḍno-r spira-k razos /Ram asked Mohan one thing (about something). Also /lodo puṣo /red flower, /homo goṭ/ this house, /pha mole /that girl, /tes boyo /his brother, /ten bo /their father, /myo ḍbs /my horse, etc.

/mḍi (ek bono kyono) śwa riṭ /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 /m̄sə šuguku zbrithi yuŋs /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.

/m̄s ti-ra dyuŋs /I shall give to you.

/m̄i ek šwa rit /I saw a dog; /mo goṭəra biyuŋs /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.

/ayes sina-di dyut pyayal /mother feeds the child with milk.

/siŋthok- po-ži 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 † 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 rəzit + mō thamyō la /he said, I am hungry.

/soi razos + ti kyan bəsun /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.

/həm mihilpo-r ko uttoga + byas /whosoever comes in this world+will go (=goes)

/so kere ut + miə gia huaw /when he came, I had gone.

/pərpobəndis + zo myo hem bet /the one who is running, (he) is my friend.

/run bəndeto mō-dyo seno bet /the one who ran yesterday (he) was younger to me.

/kosə krum krumito + tera khus busu /who does work, he will get food.

/so sinasə silith-to + ho sina pas busu /he who studies will pass. (lit. which boy studies that boy will get through).

(iii) **Conditional**: In this type of complex sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers like 'if', 'when' and 'then' (expressed or understood). In this the clause containing the sense of 'if', 'when' etc. is the subordinate clause and the clause with 'then' is the principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

But in this type of clause constructions this speech sometimes instead of constructing 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:

/krum krumis chəribus go-to pəpa khun /

(when) the work was finished, then food was eaten.

/čhisak isgo-to mō ga sum yuŋs /

(if) you come, then I shall also go with you.

/so ga ut-to tok busu hua / (if) he had come, then nice it would have been.

**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.

/so ut-a / did he come? (with an interro. intonation with a).

/so khat-a / did he eat? ; /tiyə are-t-a / did he bring;

/homo tyo goṭ bet-a / is this your house?

/teso bun-po seno həŋ -a / is their village small?

Otherwise- /tyo byo kyan həŋ / where is your son?

/tera kəluk pene həŋ / how much money have you?

/tyo nu-r ye rəzisin / what you are called? = what is your name?

/ti kyano udo / where are you coming from?



**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 /m̄sə šuguku zbrithi yuŋs /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.

/m̄s ti-ra dyuŋs /I shall give to you.

/m̄di ek šwa rit /I saw a dog; /mo goṭṭara biyuŋs /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.

/ayes sina-di dyut pyayal /mother feeds the child with milk.

/siŋthok- po-ži 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 † 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 rəzit † mō thamyō la /he said, I am hungry.

/soi razos † ti kyan bəsuŋ /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.

/həm mihilpo-r ko uttoga † byas /whosoever comes in this world+will go (=goes)

/so kere ut † mið gia huaw /when he came, I had gone.

/pəɾpo bəŋdis † zo myo hem bet /the one who is running, (he) is my friend.

/run bəndeto mō-dyo seno bet /the one who ran yesterday (he) was younger to me.

/kosə krum krumito † tera khus busu /who does work, he will get food.

/so sinasə silith-to † ho sina pas busu /he who studies will pass. (lit. which boy studies that boy will get through).

(iii) **Conditional:** In this type of complex sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers like 'if', 'when' and 'then' (expressed or understood). In this the clause containing the sense of 'if', 'when' etc. is the subordinate clause and the clause with 'then' is the principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

But in this type of clause constructions this speech sometimes instead of constructing 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:

/krum krumis chðribus go-to pðpa khun /

(when) the work was finished, then food was eaten.

/čhisak isgo-to mō ga sum yuŋs /

(if) you come, then I shall also go with you.

/so ga ut-to tok busu hua / (if) he had come, then nice it would have been.

**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.

/so ut-a /did he come? (with an interro. intonation with a).

/so khat-a /did he eat? ; /tiyð are-t-a /did he bring;

/homo tyo goṭ bet-a /is this your house?

/teso bun-po seno hðŋ -a /is their village small?

Otherwise- /tyo byo kyan hðŋ /where is your son?

/tera kðluk pene hðŋ /how much money have you?

/tyo nu-r ye rðzisin /what you are called? =what is your name?

/ti kyano udo /where are you coming from?

**PART - IV**

---

**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 abbreviations be read as under:  
-(hyphen) : disjoining different components of the word  
--(dash) : representing the root / stem / first component under reference  
√: 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

A		B	
I.A.	Indo-Aryan	a. :	Adjective
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan	adv. :	Adverb
Tib.	Tibetan	cogn. :	Cognate
P.A.	Perso-Arabic	cf. :	Compare
PIA.	Proto-Indo-Aryan	conj. :	Conjunctive
NIA.	New Indo-Aryan	fem / f. :	Feminine
Pb.	Panjabi	f.s. :	Formative suffix
B./Bal	Balti	fig. :	Figurative
Ld.	Ladakhi	inter. :	Interjection
Nep.	Nepali	M. :	Muslim Variant
P. /Pur.	Purik/Purki	m. /masc.	Masculine
Shi.	Shina	n. :	Noun
Hi.	Hindi	neg. :	Negative
CEP.	Centro-Eastern	num. :	Numerical
	Pahari	pp. :	Post-position, Past
Kum.	Kumauni		Participle
Kash.	Kashmiri	part.	Participle

pron.	Pronoun	var.	Variant
pl.	Plural	v. i.	Verb-intransitive
sg.	Singular	v. t.	Verb transitive

## (A) BROK-SKAD-ENGLISH

(With Etymological Notes)

ɔ  
 ɔš, n. monkey (var. šədi)  
 ɔšt, num. eight OIA *aṣṭa-*  
     *pa*, num. eighth  
 ɔštun, num. eighteen  
 ɔso, pron. our (gen.)=*asmākam*  
 ɔspi, n. mare < ɔsp+i=\**ašvī*  
     (OIA)  
 ɔkəl, n. brain, mind.-cɔn. a. wise  
 ɔka, n. dysentery  
 ɔkus, v.t. 1. to scrape, 2. to dig  
 ɔkpo, see *okpo*  
 ɔkhus, n. foundation  
 ɔikhado ~ ɔkhus, n. beggar  
 ɔkhon, n. preceptor  
 ɔgɔ ~ ɔgɔcɔn, a. lazy  
 ɔgɔn ~ gɔn, curd, butter milk  
 ɔcar, n. pickle (I.A.)  
 ɔt̥ti ~ ɔt̥hi, n. bone < OIA *asthi*  
 ɔt̥hi, n. eye < OIA *akshi*, -*rgɔlms*,  
     n. eye ball.  
 ɔt̥ho, n. walnut < OIA *akṣhoṭa*  
 ɔris ~ aris, v.t. to get < OIA *ā+ra-*  
 ɔdap, n. recovery  
 ɔditi, n. Sunday < OIA *āditya*  
 ɔpɔs, v.t. to feed < OIA  $\sqrt{aś}$ -to eat  
 ɔps ~ ɔbs, n. horse OIA *aśva.*, -i  
     (fem.)  
 ɔspi, n. mare < OIA *aśva+i*  
 ɔpas, n. home, < OIA *āvāsa*  
 ɔboni, 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),

ɔmci, n. physician < Tib. ' *amci*  
 ɔmsis, v.t. to forget  
 ɔrā, n. a saw < OIA-*ara*  
 ɔru ~ aru, adv. inside < OIA  
     *antare*  
 antarā ~ antare-*su*  
 ɔlis. ~ ɔlisis, v.t. to fry  
 ɔlisis, v.t. to drag  
 ɔluŋ, n. ear-ring for males

## A

ais, v.t. to try  
 ae ~ aye, n. mother, mother-in-  
     law < *āryā*, -bo, n.  
     parents, -*seni*, n.  
     mother's sister (lit.  
     mother-younger),  
     younger aunt, -*boni*  
     mother's elder sister,  
     elder aunt.  
 aṭṭirga, n. skeleton  
 apik, a. a few  
 apeki, a. adv. little, a little.  
 aris, v.t. 1. to bring, 2. to take, 3.  
     to fetch, 4. to buy <  
     *ā+√rā-*  
 aro, n. snow, ice, var. *azo*  
 aru ~ ɔru, see *ɔru*  
 alu, n. potato (I.A.)  
 aw, n. she goat < OIA *avi* sheep  
 aš. wolf, leopard, tiger <  $\sqrt{aś}$ -to  
     eat(?) var. *śṅkhu*  
 ašo, n. tears < OIA *aśru* id.  
 as~ɔs, adv. today < I.A. *āj* < OIA  
     *adya*



**azu**, pp. in, inside.  
**azo**, n. rain, -yis to rain, var. **osa**

I

**ikta**, n. cock  
**iŋ**, 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  $\sqrt{ya}$ -(?)  
**išara**, pointing, -this, to  
 indicate, point out

U

**uŋ**, 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.  
**uŋu**, n. a jump, -s, v.i. 1. to jump  
 2. to swim. < \**ut-ŋap-*  
 cf. Pb.  $\ddot{t}$   $\partial$  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.  
**u:ma**, n. flour  
**umur**, n. age < *umrə* (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 *ušmila*  
**usu**, n. credit, -dis v.t. to lend-  
**uskuru**, n. butterfly, var. **phyamə**  
**ləpse**  
**u:zu**, n. mouth-

E

**e** : inter. attention drawing  
 sound, -this v.i. to call  
**ek**, num. one (*yək*) <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  
**eryūs** [*eryūs*], v.t. to accept  
**es ~ is**, see above-is

O

**okpo ~ əkpo**, num. second, next,  
 another  
**oŋi ~ oŋhi**, n. lip <OIA *oŋtha+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

**kəks-po** a. difficult.

**kəca**, n. trousers, var. **ki:t**

**kəŋku**, n. claw. < *kaŋku* an instrument to extract splinters / thorns from the body.

**kətəkik**, a. how much < *kiyatka* cf. kum. *kətik*, id.

**kətəgədi**, a. a few < *katipaya+i*

**kətuk**, a. how many, how much < *kiyatka*, id.

**kəndə**, n. & a. one eyed, <. *kāna*, var. *śwe*

**kəni**, n. ear < *karnika*, -**puri** n. ear wax < *karna-puriṣah*

**kənis**, v.t. to scratch <\* *kan*-cf. kum. *kən*-to itch

**kən**, n. leg < Tib. *kaŋ-pa*, id.

**kən-kən**, n. calf of leg, leg.

**kənrbyas**, n. earthworm

**kəməz**, n. shirt (NIA)

**kəmbəl**, n. blanket < *kambala*

**kəri**, n. 1. basket, 2. jug, -**sina**-, cradle (lit. baby's basket)

**kərja**, n. loan (NIA), var. **gyusi**

**kələ**, n. arm, cf. N1 A. *kəläi*. wrist

**kəlak-this**, v.t. to do white wash

**kəlgı**, n. shoulder, cf. B. *gəlgı*

**kələm**, n. pen (NIA)

**kəyis**, v.t. to cook, -**pa**, n. a cook, -**su goṭ**, n. kitchen

**kşəp**. n. armour

**kazis** (< *kasis*) to rub, to sharpen

**kaki** ~ **kake**, n. 1. elder sister, 2. elder sister-in-law

**kagos**, n. partridge

**kaŋ**, n. foot, <Tib. *kan-pa*

< *rkaŋ* >-**thil** n. sole of the foot <Tib. *thil* <*mthil*> bottom, **šups**, n. socks <Tib. *subs* seath.

**kaca**, n. first floor of the house

**katis**, v.t. to spin < *kāt* (NIA) < *Karta-*

**ka-this**, v.i. to remember <\**ka* remembrance(?)

**kanu:n**, n. law (NIA)

**karən**, n. cause < *kāraṇam*.

**kaw**, pron. which? <IOA *ka-kaw* ~**kau**, n. bangle

**kaw-thello-the**, adv. any how

**ki:t**, n. trousers, var. **kəca**

**kitab**, n. book (NIA)

**kimet** ~ **khimet**, a lean and thin-**kir-kir**, a round < Tib. *kyir-kyir*, id.

**kišti**, n. boat, -**pa**, n. boat-man

**kispa**, n. palmist, var. **həthiras**

**ku** ~ **ko**, 1. a ~ crow < *kāka*, 2. wall

**kucur**, n. boil, var. **pikyok**

**kuṭər** ~ **kəṭər**, n. knife < *kartara* **kuti** ~ **kuṭti**, foot, leg, -**s bono guli**, toe

**kuṭtis**, v.t. to beat, to thresh < OIA *Kuṭta-kuṭtu* -**s**, n. beating < *kuṭta* to beat

**kuṭ-this**, v.t. to build, var. **gipas**

**kuṭo**, n. knee, -**tiŋ-zis**, v.i. to kneel. cf. CEP. *kuṭo* leg, foot.

**kuṭh**, n. wood < OIA *kāṣṭha*

**kun**, n. 1. corpse 2. life breath, var. **mora**

**kuno**, n. thorn <OIA *kantaka*. cf. kum. *kāno*, -**this**, v.t. to prick

**kunili**, n. mouse, var, mu: zi < mu : šika

**kuni:li**, n. pigeon

**kunj**, num. nineteen < ekon vimśa-

**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

**kemət** (M), n. hell < **qayāmat** (PA)

**kere**, pron. whosoever

**kere**, adv. when?, -**beto** when ever

**kesera**, pron. (acc.) whom?

**ko**, pron. who? < **Kah**, id,-**gə** , pron. any (=ko who+**gə** also), -**utto**, pron. anyone

**kogeneš** (=ko-**gə**-**neš**) a. none (lit. any one not)

**koŋo**, n. comb < **kaŋka** (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

**košis**, n. effort (NIA)

**kosundo**, a. 1. active, 2. clever,

3. proud, 4. brave 5. healthy, var. **kosendi**, strength

**kosə**, a. several

**kyəbyəsis**, v.i. to visit

**kyərlə**, n. ram. var. **ŋilok**

**kyaner**, adv. where?

**kyukyaŋ** ~ **kyukyən**, n. peas, var. **gambu**, decuŋ

**kyok-this**, v.i. to bend

**kyono**, a, black < OIA **kṛṣṇa**

**krəd-pa**, n. half boot < Tib [təd-pa] < <krad-pa>

**krəd-pa**, n. old man, < Tib. <rgad-pa>

**krəsu**, n. spoon (big)

**krami-this**, v.t. to sprinkle

**kri**, n. 1. worm < OIA **kṛmi**, 2. bed bug

**kriŋzis** (<-sis), v.t. & i to stick, var. **li-are**

**kriw-this**, v.i. to shout, to cry

**kru**, n. corner < **koŋa** (?)

**krum**, n. work < OIA **Karma**, -**this** to work

**kruzbi**, a. square (lit. corner-four) < Tib. **kug-zbi** < **bzi**

**kro**, n. chest, breast

**kša**, n. crane (bird)

**kšəchem**, a bright

**ksik-ksik-mo**, n. creeper

## KH

**khəcə**, n mule

**khijbuka**, a. reverse

**khən**, n. place, a place to keep / house some thing < OIA **khaṇḍa**(?)

**khənci**, n. prison, -**do**, n. prisoner,-**ris** ~**khəŋ-**

cis v.t. to imprison,  
 to tie up, to confine.  
**khəpət**, n. window, var. **bərbən**  
**khəbər**, n. news, information  
 (NIA), -**this**, v.t. to  
 inform  
**khəmcu**, n. beak (of bird), -**this** ~  
 -**dis**, v.t. to peck  
**khər** ~ **xər**, n. ass, donkey <OIA  
*khara*  
**khəru** ~ **khəro** n. iron-smith,  
 blacksmith  
**khəreti**, n. plant  
**khəroti**, n. basket, var. **kəri**  
**khərwā** ~ **khərba**, n. bronze, bell  
 metal < Tib. *Kharwa*  
 < *mkharba* >  
**khərma** [gəɾma], n. female  
 blacksmith  
**khəl**, n. threshing floor < OIA  
*khala*, id.  
**khəlma**, n. kidney < Tib. *khalma*  
 < *mkhalma* >  
**khəs**, n. 1. heat, 2. fever  
**khəso-this**, v.t. to roast, var. **gipo-**  
**this**  
**khətuŋ-bəis**, n. to fast, to abstain  
 from food  
**khəha-dis**, v.t. to plug  
**khəhyun**, adv. in the middle,  
 centre  
**kha**, adv. below, down, pit, ditch,  
 low  
**kha-xa**, n. anger < Tib. *khro-ba*,  
 id., -cəŋ ~ -ut, a.  
 angry, -**yis**, v.l. to be  
 angry  
**khan**, n. quarry < OIA *khani*, id.  
**khara**, n. sugar, < Tib. *kara* /  
*khara*

**khalip** ~ **khəlip**, n. lid  
**khali-pe**, n. fallow land  
**khi** ~ **khyi**, n. dog < Tib. *khyi-ma*,  
 n. bitch, var. **šwa**  
 < *šwa*, id.  
**khyipsyəŋ**, n. jackal  
**khimet**, a. thin, weak, var. **thospa**  
**khimces**, n. neighbour  
**khuŋs**, n. manure  
**khuŋto**, n. breath  
**khutis**, v.t. to ring (bell, etc.)  
**khun** ~ **khuno**, n. elbow < OIA  
*koŋa* 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  
**kheni-bus**, v.t. to predict  
**khel**, n. a play < OIA *khela*  
**kho**, n. cap. cf. **khopəri**, skull,  
 head  
**khok** ~ **khoks**, n. cough, -**bus** v.t.  
 to cough  
**khote-bus**, v.i. to hit, to hurt  
**khon**, n. enmity, var. **mīrgakhən**  
**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  
**khosoniŋ hyal**, n. manners  
**khostə**, n. meal < *khus* - to eat  
**khyurdum**, (part.) like  
**khyogapə**, n. intellect.

G

**gə**, part. also, too

**gəŋ**, n. store

**gəŋ-ma**, a. 1. all, 2. every, 3. whole, total, -ko. a. everyone, -kyane, adv. everywhere, -bet, v.t. & i to complete

**gəto**, n. hut

**gəŋ**, see **əgəŋ**

**gəbchəl**, n. barking of dog, etc.

**gəmis**, n. wealth

**gəmuni**, adv. down, below, -yis v.i. to alight, to come down

**gəmloge-bus**, v.t. to vomit, var. **čhəis**

**gəri**, n. ashes, charcoal

**gələt**, a. wrong, incorrect (NIA)

**gəlti**, n. mistake, -this v.t. to commit mistake, to offend.

**gəs** ~ **gas**, n. grass < **ghas** (NIA)

**gaŋsrip**, 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 **grhīta**

**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. **khəso this**

**gim**, n. liver, var. **čhinma**, **lomčhin**

**girgir**, a. round, < Tib. **kyir-kyir**

**girgiri**, adv. around

**girim/s**, n, a sneeze, -si **this** -bus

v.i. to sneeze, var. **this**

**gilət**, n. alluminium (NIA)

**guna**, guilt, crime < **gunah** (PA), -cən, a. guilty

**gunchəŋ**, n. juice = **gun** + **chəŋ** beer

**guŋu**, n. axe

**guŋhi**, ~ **goŋdəri**, n. ring < OIA **anguṣṭhi**

**gur**, n. fire

**gu:ri**, n. mirror

**guro**, a. heavy < OIA **guru**, id.

**gurun**, n. feast

**guluc** ~ **gulus** ~ **gulcha**, clothes **gulcha-sis**, to sew clothes

**guluband**, n. muffler, scarf (NIA)

**guli**, n. finger < OIA **aṅguli**, id.

**guŋh**, n. thumb < OIA **anguṣṭha**, id.

**guŋhul**, n. testicles

**gum**, n. wheat < OIA **godhūma**

**gurgur**, thunder, var. **lokčədr**, -this to stir

**gulu** ~ **gule**, n. stick, whip

**genis**, v.t. to count < OIA.  $\sqrt{\text{gana}}$

**gemin**, pp. under

**gero**, n. circle < **ghera** (NIA)

**go**, n. cow < OIA -**go**, id.

**go** ~ **gaw** a. fat

**goi**, n. song < **ga-**, -**dis** v.t. to sing, --, --, pa, n. singer, var. **lumkhəŋ**

**goŋ** ~ **goŋh**, n. < OIA **goṣṭha**, 1. house, 2. home, 3. room, chamber

**goŋhi**, n. knot < **granthi**, id.

**goŋhul**, n. testicles, see **guŋhul**

**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. *gəndəṃ*  
**gondiṅ**, n. cuckoo  
**gonchuṭu** ~ **gonthutu**, n. smell  
**gonpa**, n. Buddhist temple <Tib.  
*gompa*, var. **chod-**  
**khəṅ**  
**goṅgo**, n. stone pestle (*bəṭṭa*)  
**gop**, n. hollow  
**gom-cəṅ**, a. idle  
**gori**, a. late  
**goso** ~ **gozo**, n. excreta of animal  
 <*go puriṣa*=*gomaya*.  
**gow**, a. rough, course, var.  
**pəṭaro**  
**grəps**, n. conspiracy  
**gri**, n. neck <OIA *grīvā*  
**grinṣi**, n. eagle <*grdhra* (?)  
**grīsi**, n. musk  
**grim-sis** v.t. to twist  
**greti**, n. movement, <OIA *gati*,  
 -bus, v.i. to slip,  
 -busula, a. slippery  
**groṅpa**, 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.

ṅ

**ṅərmo**, a. sweet, Ld. **ṅərma** <Tib.  
**ṅarwa** < *dṅar-ba* >

**ṅilo**, a. blue <OIA *nīla*  
**ṅilok**, n. ram, var. **kyərlō**  
**ṅil-zis**, v.i. to hide, -zəris, v.t. to  
 hide, var. **phaq-this**  
**ṅin-dis**, v.t. to weed.  
**ṅi-s**, n. thirst, -dis, v.i. to be thirsty  
**ṅilo**, a. thirsty  
**ṅis-bu-ris**, v.t. to awaken  
**ṅulcha**, n. perspiration, Tib.  
 <*ṅul*>

### C

**cəkthur**, n. chain, <Tib. **Cags**  
 < *lcags*>, n. iron  
 +**thur**(?)  
**cəq-pa**, n. thief  
**cəkma**, n. bamboo <OIA *kīchaka*  
*iḍ* + **ma**, part.  
**cəksəṛ**, n. tin <Tib. *cags* + *səṛ*  
**cəgma**, n. tree, var. **sinthok**  
**cəṅ-khu**, n. arm-pit <Tib.  
**caṅkhan**  
**cəṅgi**, n. mosquito  
**cəṅgu**, n. rheumatism  
**cəṅ-bus**, v.i. to have a jərk,  
 -cəṅ this, v.t. to jolt  
**cəṭni**, n. chutney (NIA) var. **bəliš**  
**cəṅṅlu**, n. trousers (*pāyjamā*)  
**cənda**, n. pocket  
**cəndral**, n. Monday <OIA  
*candravāra*  
**cəpyal**, v.t. to clip  
**cəṅ-phet**, n. mid-night, (lit. half-  
 moon, half-night)  
**cəmənd**, n. cheese  
**cəmo**, a. & adv. easy  
**cəri**, n. worm, glow worm, bed  
 bug  
**cəris**, v.i. to graze <OIA *car-*  
**cəṛpa**, n. cot <NIA *cārpāi*  
**cəlak-cəṅ**, a. clever, NIA *cālāk* +  
*cəṅ*

- cəsdər ~ cəzdər**, n. shawl, sheet, bed sheet, bed cover <NIA. *cādar*
- ca**, n. tea
- čā**, n. lightning <OIA *cancalā*, cf. Kum. *cāl*, id.
- čaks**, n. sieve, filter < Tib. *cags* iron.
- caŋ**, n. north <Tib. *žan* <byan>
- caŋs**, n. niche
- caŋra**, n. courtyard
- ciŋər**, n. iron
- cidis**, n. day after tomorrow
- ciris**, v.t. 1. to keep, 2. to continue
- cirtha-ciris**, v.t. to arrange
- či-šək**, pron. every thing
- cispa**, n. a kiss, -are [*cispare*] to kiss, -dis, to give a kiss
- cukbo-bəi-this**, v.i. to be silent
- cuksu**, a. urban
- cukuro**, a. sour, citrous, <OIA *cukra*, id.
- cukur**, n. a metal pot for water, viz. *lotā*
- cuŋ-this**, v.t. to chew, var. **cepis**
- čuṭu ~ čuṭu**, a. bad, dirty, rotten, cunning, -la, a. miser, -this, v.t. to accuse
- čuṭo**, a. deaf, dumb
- cudeš**, num. fourteen OIA *caturdaśa*
- cup**, a. quiet (NIA), -la, adv. quietly
- cupis ~ curis**, v.t. to suck
- curət**, n. a pinch, -this to pinch
- čurku ~ curkuṭo**, a. false
- curasis**, v.t. to dig
- čurut**, n. waterfall <Tib. *ču-*, water
- čulbəgs**, n. wave <Tib. *ču-* water
- cust**, a. smart (NIA)
- cei**, n. bird <OIA *caṭaki*, cf. Ld. **ceri**, Tib, **ciu**, Kum. **cəri**.
- cepis**, v.t. to chew, cf. Kum. **cəp-čok**, a. all
- čok-čok**, a. active, smart
- čok-sis**, v.t. to resemble
- coga**, n. full moon day.
- coŋ**, n. onion <Ld. Tib. *čoŋ*
- 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-ṭok**, n. ankle
- comsi-bus**, v.t. to be finished
- čo:r**, num. four < *catvāra*, -phet, num. 1. One fourth, 2. a quarter, -**bisu**, num. eighty
- cor-la**, n. thief <OIA. *Caura* + *la*
- cor-aris**, v.t. to steal <√*cur*-to steal
- cori**, n. theft <OIA *cauryam*> **cori**
- corok**, n. suspicion
- čose**, n. floor of the house
- čoskhon**, n. prejudice
- cwalto**, n. 1. breakfast, 2. morning, dawn

## Ch

- chəis**, v.i. to vomit
- chəksa**, part. until
- čhəksa**, n. 1. excreta (human), 2. lavatory

**chəkpʰul**, n. worship, - **this** v. t.  
to worship  
**chəgbu**, n. bunch  
**chəŋ**, n. a local beer  
**chəŋchəl**, v.t. to bite  
**chəŋlis**, v.t. to shake  
**chəñe** ~ **chnye**, n. twines  
**chət**, a. enough  
**chət-this**, v.t. to promise < Tib.  
< **čad-pa**, > -**pa**, n.  
penalty.  
**chəti**, n. local blanket  
**chəb-this**, v. i. to feel shy, to be  
ashamed  
**chəpun-this**, v.t. to squeeze, var.  
**grimzus**  
**chəri-this**, v.t. to finish, -**bus**, v.t.  
**chərcu**, to spend, to lack n. rain  
water < Tib. **čarpa**  
rain + **ču** water  
**chəl**, n. lamb < **chāgala** (OIA), -  
lo he goat  
**ča**, n. maize, var, **məka**  
**chags-pa**, see **cags**  
**chapo**, n. dry apricot  
**chamspur**, adv. beside  
**čhar**, num. see **čor**  
**čhali**, a. pure, var. **ṭhali** < **ṭsali** >  
**čhigs**, n. wrist  
**chiŋ- chiŋ- bəl**, n. earthquake  
**chide**, n. a patch, -**dis** v.t. to patch  
**čhin**, n. rind  
**chini**, n. chisel < OIA  $\sqrt{\text{chid}}$ -  
**chinis**, v.t. 1. to cut, 2. to tear <  
OIA  $\sqrt{\text{chid}}$ -  
**chin-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

**chiriyonʃ**, v.t. to rear  
**čuŋ- pa**, n. earning  
**čuŋ- me**, n. lamp for worship  
< Tib. id.  
**čucil**, a. dry, < Tib. **ču** < **mču** >  
water  
**čuci-dis**, v.t. to dry < **ču** -  
**ču-čot** n. hour < Tib. **ču-**  
water  
**čuṭu**, n. mistake, -**la**, n. 1. miser,  
2. rotten, -**this**, v.t. to  
speak ill of  
**čun**, a. n. vain, useless  
**čunit**, n. wound  
**čutswa**, n. moss  
**čubji**, n. witness  
**čum**, n. chin. var. **kusko**  
**čumik**, spring of water, stream,  
< Tib. **čumig**, id.  
**čumbu**, n. lap  
**ču:r**, n. mountain pass  
**čhulok** ~ **čhuboq**, n. flood < Tib.  
**ču-log**  
**čus**, n. urine, -**this**, v.t. to urin-  
ate  
**čhe**, n. soul < Tib. **čhe** life  
**čhei** ~ **čheyi**, n. lock  
**čheo**, n. life span < Tib. **čhe**  
**čherthaks**, n. hedge  
**česi-bus**, v.i. to trust  
**čo** ~ **čo**, n. lake, pond, < Tib **čo**  
< **mčo** > var. **wari**.  
**čoks**, n. south  
**čoṭu**, a. dangerous  
**čoti-bus**, v.t. to grasp  
**čhod-khəŋ**, n. temple; var.  
**gonpa**  
**chodon**, n. hole  
**chon**, a. innocent, - **həryaŋ this**,  
v.t. to waste



**čholo**, n. dice < Tib. **čholo** id.,  
-nutis, v.t. to gamble  
**chologəŋ**, n. powder  
**čhos**, n. religion < Tib. **čhosid.**,  
-gyus, v.i. to swear,  
-thispa, a. n. sinner

**J**

**jəga**, n. place (NIA)  
**jəj**, n. judge (Eng.)  
**jəb** - **jəb**, a. humble  
**jəwan**, a. & n. young, youngman  
(NIA)  
**jawab**, n. answer, reply, - this  
v.t. to answer  
**jaket**, n. a jerk  
**jədu**, n. charm, magic, - **gəŋ**, n.  
magician, -this, v.t. to  
charm, to bewitch.  
**jali**, n. pilgrim, pilgrimage  
**jas**, v.i. to move < OIA  $\sqrt{yā}$ -  
**jitis**, v.t. to know  
**ju:n**, n. moon < OIA  *jyotsnā*,  
-**thup**, n. moonless  
night (=moon+dark-  
ness) ef. Kum. **ju:n**,  
id.  
**j'urku** ~ **č'urku**, n. a lie, -**to** liar,  
-**dis** to tell a lie  
**još**, n. spirit (soul)  
**jyut**, a, living (opp. dead)

**Ñ**

**ñərma**, a sweet cf. Ld. id.  
**ñəgzəŋ**, n. ray (of light)  
**ña**, n. fish < Tib. **ña**, id, -**drundre**  
fishing net, - **nəkhə-**  
**lis**, v.t. fishing  
**ñalba-cəŋ**, a. poor, cf. Ld. id.  
**ñiro**, m. sheep

**ñis**, n. & v. slumber, to sleep <  
Tib. **ñid** < **gnid** > Ld.  
**ñit**,  
**ñispa**, n. sin < Tib. **ñespa**  
**ñirma**, n. chilly, cf. Ld. **ñerma**,  
var. **mərci** < OIA  
*marīca*  
**ñuŋskəŋ**, n. haircut, shaving  
**ñuskəŋ**, n. mustard, Ld. **ñuŋskəŋ**  
< Tib. **yuŋskəŋ**

**Ṭ**

**ṭək-ṭək**, a. light (in weight)  
**ṭəŋka**, n. pasture  
**ṭəŋna**, n, noise, var. **hisis**  
**ṭar**, a. equal  
**ṭiṭo**, a. bitter, sour < OIA *tikta*  
**ṭidis**, n. day before yesterday <  
*tritīya divasa*  
**ṭibil**, n. a metal pot (loṭā)  
**ṭilbu** ~ **tiŋ**, n. bell < Tib. **ḍilbu**  
< **dril**>  
**ṭuidis**, n. day after tomorrow  
< *dvitīya-divasa*  
**ṭuz - bet**, a. pregnant (animal)  
**ṭenik**, n. wait, -**this** to wait  
**ṭrəlpis**, v.i. to shine  
**ṭrenis**, v.t. to send, var. **becis** <  
NIA  $\sqrt{bhej}$ -  
**Ṭh**

**ṭhə**, n. nerve  
**ṭhəŋ**, n. dance, - **bus** to bloom  
**ṭhəspo**, 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. **ṭhu-wa**

**ṭhar-por**, n. opposition

**ṭhi**, n. 1. throne < Tib. **ṭhi** < khri >,  
2. ink cf. B. **ṭṣi**

**ṭhiga**, n. wife, woman, family,  
female, -**bet**, married

**ṭhiḍayis**, v.t. to drive away

**ṭhik**, a correct (NIA)

**ṭhumska**, n. ladder

**ṭhub**, n. dark, darkness < Tib.  
**ḍib** < sgrib >

**ṭhul**, n. egg < Tib. **ṭhul** id, Ld. id.

**ṭhus** ~ **thḍspo**, n. field (agri.)

**ṭhemkhḍn**, n. dance, - **pa**, n.  
dancer, var. **brungo-**  
**pa**

**ṭhespa**, n. love, var. **zamat**

**ṭhonis**, v.t. to thresh, threshing

**ṭhwalo**, n. truth

## D

**ḍḍni**, n. tooth < OIA *danta*, Pb.  
*dḍndi*

**ḍak**, n. mail (NIA)

**ḍam-phorok**, v.t. to turn down

**ḍinḍiro**, a. thick, var. **phḍtoro**

**ḍim**, n. stem (of a tree)

**ḍu**, n. smoke < Tib. *dud-pa*

**ḍuṅ- ḍuṅ**, n. a knock, -**this**, v.t.  
to knock, knocking

**ḍun**, n. handle, -**this**, v.t. to hang

**ḍumba**, n. garden.

**ḍumba**, n. an iron pan for cook-  
ing

**ḍubet**, n. scissors

**ḍe**, n. devil < Tib. **ḍe** < dre > Var.  
**bhu:t** (OIA)

**ḍel-ḍel**, a. lazy < NIA. *ḍhila-*  
*ḍhila*

**ḍoko**, n. 1. hip, 2. waist

**ḍoks**, n. rock

**ḍrundre**, n. net

## T

**tḍktḍṅ**, adv. ever, always

**tḍkḍri**, n. balances (NIA)

**tḍṅ-this**, v.t. to fight

**tḍnis**, v.t. to destroy

**tḍnmo**, n. amusement

**tḍbḍk**, n. metal plate (*thāli*)

**tḍmaku** ~ **tamaku** tobacco, **pi-**  
to smoke

**tḍlkhor**, n. vagabond

**tḍlsir**, n. ashes, var. **gḍrzi**

**tḍrḍyis**, v.t. to cool

**tagipḍs**, v.t. to fold

**tato**, a. hot, warm < OIA *tapta*, -  
**this**, v.t. to heat

**tamaku**, see **tḍmaku**

**tar**, n. wire (NIA)

**tasraṅto**, n. noon

**ti**, pron. thou ( 2nd, p. sg.)

**ti**, adv. now, var. **thḍpḍṅ**

**tia**, adv. till, var. **hosibuṅ**

**tiṅ-ba**, n. ankle, heel < Tib. **tiṅ-pa**

**ti:l**, 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*

**tunḍara**, n. ginger

**tunḍ**, n. trumpet

**tuti**, n. parrot < tota (NIA)

**tubḍq**, n. gun (P.A.)

**tumi-this**, v.t. to cover  
**tura**, n. spindle, var. *phəŋ*, -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  
**temsyā**, a peculiar  
**tə- bus**. ~ **this** to fold (NIA)  
**to**, n. 1. owl, 2. (adv.) then, 3. iron plate for baking bread  
**tok**, n. haste, - **gyospa**, adv. hastily, -**pak**, adv. at once  
**tomo**, a same  
**trə-** num. three- **siro** threefold < OIA *tri*  
**traŋ**, left (side), var. **yon-pa-**  
**khun**, n. bow, var. **taŋ khun**  
**tra** n. touch, **bus**, v. i. to flee  
**tyəkpā-this**, v.i. to endure  
**twaktə**, adv. early < OIA. *twaritaka*  
**th**  
**thəkṣa**, n. loom  
**thəpəŋ**, adv. now, - **thəpəŋ**, adv. just now  
**thəmo**, n. battle, war < Tib. **thab-mo**  
**thəryis**, v.t. to persuade  
**thəli-bus**, v.i. to overtake  
**thəlcir** ~ **thəlcup**, n. dust < Tib. **thal-wa** < **thal-ba**>  
**thak-sis**, v.t. to weave, -**skəŋ** n. weaver.  
**thate**, a. glad, var. **ṣra**  
**thapəŋ-thaj**, a. altogether  
**thali**, metal plate (NIA) < OIA *sthāli*

**thiks**, n. a drop  
**thig-la**, a. n. right, correct,  
**thiŋi-dis**, v.t. to spread  
**thit**, n.a sneeze, < Tib. **ṭhid** < **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. **žun**  
**thumbu**, n. spoon, var. **khəpi**  
**thumska**, n. 1. pillar < OIA *stambha* cf. Kum. **thum** ~ **thumi**, 2. stair case  
**thuru**, n. colt < Tib. *thurbu*, id  
**thuro**, n. 1. jaw, 2. skin, var. **zet thuro**  
**thuli-this**, v.i. to ascend, to climb  
**thela**, n. bag (NIA)  
**thok**, n. 1. roof. 2 ceiling < Tib. **thog**, Ld. **thok**, var. **səltā**  
**thot**, n. turban < Tib. **thod**, id.  
**thon-bo**, a. high,  
**thon-bo**, n. stone slab, var. **gan**  
**thonmo**, n. height < Tib. **thon-po**, var. **žigo**  
**thopi-bus**, v.t. to find  
**thorok**, n. leader  
**thorgowa**, n. reins, var. **strəbs**  
**thosi-bus**, v.t. to excel  
**thosilə-rayis**, v.t. to exaggerate  
**thospa**, a. 1. thin, 2. weak, var. **khimet**  
**thwa**, n. hammer, var. **məlthor** < Tib. **tho-wa** < **tho-ba**>

## D

**dəkcucŋ**, n. beans, var. **kyukyəŋ**  
**dət**, n. merry making  
**dəniya**, n. coriander  
**dəməŋ**, n. drum < damama  
**dəmsi-bus**, v.t. to gather, to collect  
**dəya**, n. mercy, compassion < *dayā* (OIA)  
**dərjəŋ**, n. dozen (Eng.)  
**dərji-pa**, n. tailor (NIA)  
**dəru**, n. hunt, **-this**, v.t. to hunt  
**dəs**, num. ten < OIA *daśa*  
**dəwat**, n. inkpot (NIA) < *dāwāt*  
**da**, n. arrow < Tib. **da**, **-khuŋ**, n. bow, **-khəŋ**, n. quiver  
**da**, n. jealousy < OIA  $\sqrt{dah-}$ , *jəl*, a. jealous, **-cis** v.i. to bejealous, to do jealousy, **-sis** ~ **zis**, v.t. to scorch  
**da**, p.p. at,  
**da-drok**, mountain pass  
**daŋ-daŋ**, n. a brass drum  
**dar**, n. door < OIA *dvāra*  
**dal**, n. pulse (NIA)  
**dayə**, n. nurse, midwife, < **dhāy** < **dhāṭṛ**  
**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 <  $\sqrt{da-}$  *dī*  
**du**, num. two < OIA. **dvi-siro**, a two fold, **-bišu**, num. forty, **-phera**, twice  
**duk** ~ **sduk**, n. grief < OIA *duḥkha*  
**duksukis**, v.t. to burn < OIA *dhukṣ*

**dugzmi**, n. servant < Tib. *dugs-mi*  
**duŋ**, 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)  
**dunməṛ**, n. a change, **-is**, v.t. to change  
**du:r** adv. 1. far away, 2. n. distance, a. distant, < OIA *dūre*, id.  
**dus**, v.t. to wash < *dho* < *dhāv-*, **-pa**, n. washerman  
**dus**, 1. n. ground, plain land field, 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 < *dhokhā* (NIA)  
**doqsi-this**, v.t. to tease, to trouble  
**dob-dis**, n. day before yesterday  
**dolo**, n. cloud, var. **sprin** (Tib.)  
**drək**, a. fast (in speed)  
**dren-mo** (P), n. bear < Tib. *demo* < *dre-mo*>  
**dyaŋ-ma**, n. trust, faith

## N

**nə**, part. no, not, **-bet**, part without, **-pako** a. raw, unripe \* < *na pakva*

**nəkhəlis**, v.t. to take away  
**nəkhəzis**, v.t. to swallow  
**nəkhəlius**, v.t. & i to defend  
**nət-pa**, ill, sick, diseased  
**nəp̄het**, v.i. to reach  
**nəfrət**, n. hatred (NIA), - **this** v.i.  
to hate /  
**nəm**, n. sky < Tib. **nam**, - **za**, n.  
season < Tib. **namda**,  
- **rel**, n. aeroplane  
(=sky-train)  
**nəmskyoŋ**, n. paralysis, var.  
**mərdərbyuŋ**  
**nəris**, v.i. to fall  
**nərola**, n. & a. truthful  
**nəy**, a new < OIA **nava**  
**nəye-this**, v.i. to refuse, to say  
no  
**nəsis**, v.t. to lose=not being  
**nəzə**(< **nəsə**), n. vien (NIA) <  
**snāyu**  
**nəgzuro**, n. pus  
**naŋur**, n. pig, var. **phəq** < Tib.  
**phag**  
**naŋkhur**, n. famine  
**naŋsto ~ 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. **nāman**  
**nu**, num. nine < OIA **nava**  
**nuksan**, n. loss, damage (NIA),  
var. **got** < Tib. **god**,  
**gut**  
**nugəl**, n. bags for carrying load  
on the back of goat/  
sheep, of Kum.  
**Karbwoj**

**nuṭis**, v.i. to dance < OIA  $\sqrt{nr̄t}$ -  
**nuno**, a. naked < OIA **nagna**, id.  
**nuto ~ natu**, 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  
**nuṣu ~ nuṣ**, n. daughter-in-law  
< OIA **ṣnuṣā**, 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  
**neṣu**, 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.  
-**zək**, n. festival  
2. **nor**, well, hale and hearty,  
-**bus**, v.i. to get well,  
- **this**, v. t. to treat, to  
protect  
**nolto see, naŋsto**  
**nyo**, a. new < OIA **ṇava**, see **nəy**  
- **this** v.t. to renew, to  
refresh  
**nyal**, a. pointed, var. **ṣastə**

P

**pəkur**, n. desert

**pəko**, pp. 1. cooked, boiled, 2. ripe < OIA *pakva*, var. *pəcola*

**pəcola**, see **pəko**

**pəgəṁ**, n. tomato

**pəzulo**, n. shepherd

**pətakh**, n. leaf < OIA *patraka*, var. *pəni*

**pətək**, n. root

**pəti ~pati**, n. cup < \* *patri* (?)

**pəni**, see **pətakh** < *parṇi* < *parṇa*

**pəndeš**, num. fifteen < OIA *pañca-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

**pəlḍis**, v.t. to wipe

**pəlraris**, v.t. to drag

**pəša-this**, v.t. to point out

**pəhəloks**, n. insanity

**pao**, n. sheets of woolen cloth (*paṭṭu*)

**pa ~pe**, n. earth, clay

**paki**, n. she goat

**pagəl**, a. mad (NIA)

**pacis**, v.t. to cook, to ripen < OIA √ *pac* -

**pacol**, p.p. cooked, ripened

**pazo-ciris**, v.t. to save, to protect

**paṭṭhe**, a light (in weight)

**pari ~ parīr**, adv. there, on the other side, across < OIA *pāra*

**paro**, n. a flea (*pissū*)

**pasis**, v.i. to flow

**pikyok**, n. bolt, var. *kucur*

**piči**, n. tail < OIA *puccha*

**pinaṅ**, num. half, -*trə*, num. two

and a half, -*čor*, 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, -*trabišu*, 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 √ *pib-*

**pisəyis**, v.t. to lead

**pisu-sməṁ**, n. mixture, pasted (*piṣṭita*) medicine

**pisut**, n. pastil

**puṅs**, num. five < OIA *pañca*

**puṭunakhsis**, v.i. to germinate

**puṭhu**, 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-pisəyis**, v.t. to guide=**pun** path + **pisəyis**-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 *puṣpita*

**pušo ~ pušro**, n. flower < OIA *puṣpa*

**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  
**prinkīṭi**, n. lizard  
**pr̥yis**, v.t. to remove  
**pruno**, a. old (opp. to new) <  
 OIA *purāṇa*  
**presi** ~ **p̥rsi**, n. rib < *parśvikā*

Ph

**ph̥q**, n. pig < Ld. *ph̥k* < Tib.  
*phag-pa*, var. *naṅur*  
**ph̥g̥ṣot**, a. secret  
**ph̥ṅ**, n. spindle < Tib. *phaṅ*, var.  
*tura*  
**ph̥t̥th̥**, num. one half, part  
**ph̥ṭa** a. bald  
**ph̥ṭali**, n. thigh. var. *s̥sn̥*  
**ph̥ṭili**, n. buttocks, var. *s̥sn̥*  
**ph̥ṭur**, n. dry apricot  
**ph̥ṭoro**, a. thick, var. *ḍiṅḍiro*  
**ph̥ṭk̥ri**, n. alum (NIA)  
**ph̥ṭiris**, v.i. to take turn, to take  
 circles  
**ph̥ṭri**, v.i. to turn back, - *aris*. v.i.  
 to return, - *razi*, v.t. to  
 repeat  
**ph̥bi-us**, n. oven, var. *huphus*  
**ph̥ms**, n. defeat  
**ph̥m-dis**, v.t. to defeat  
**ph̥rpuṭ**, n. bark of tree  
**ph̥rphuṭ**, n. adge  
**ph̥lan̥k**. pron. so and so (NIA)  
**ph̥li**, n. shield, <OIA *phalaka*  
**ph̥lc̥nd**, a. wide  
**phams**, n. beam of wood

**phikuliki**, n. key  
**ph̥ṭayis**, v.t. to be broken, to  
 break  
**ph̥ṭis**, v.i. to breat itself  
**philuṅs**, n. sleeve  
**ph̥iṅ**, n. foam < OIA *phena*  
**phulitis**, utensil for worship  
**phu-this**, v.t. to blow (with  
 mouth) (*ono*), (*lit.*  
*blowing doing*)  
**phunis**. v.t. to put on, to wear  
**phunuro**, n. mark  
**phurido**, p.p. burnt  
**phul**, n. plough share < OIA  
*phalaka*  
**phulb̥ks**, n. a belch  
**phuletis**, n. & v. gift, to gift  
**phuyan**, n. lung  
**phetis**, v.t. to throw  
**phetog**, n. afternoon  
**ph̥ṭ** ~ **ph̥ṭ** a. half  
**ph̥ṭe-bis**, v.t. to divorce  
**ph̥ṭe-this**, v.t. to leave  
**pheda** n., profit < *fāydā* (NIA)  
**phebo**, n. a wooden vessel for  
*sattu*  
**phera**, n. turn, circle, - *ek*. num.  
 once, -*du* twice, -*tr̥*  
 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  
**phoryaṅ-mo**, n. widower  
**phoso**, n. pride, - *c̥n*, a. proud.  
**phyari-this**, v.i. to take turn  
**phyaldiṅ**, 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

**phraṅ**, n. thread, string

**phraluks-this**, to try

## B

**beghar**, n. seasoning (NIA)

**bəḡpo**, bridegroom < Tib.

**bagpo**, - **nəthedi**, n.  
virgin (lit. having  
no bridegroom)

**bəḡma**, n. bride < Tib. **bag-ma**, -  
**nəthedi**, a. (bachelor,)   
unmarried (lit.  
having no bride)

**bəḡdis**, v.i. to run

**bəḡzduṛ**, n. race, var. **bəḡdyoṅs**

**bəḡmi-yato**, n. midwife

**bəmo**, n. 1. fog. 2. dew

**bəṛ**, n. load < OIA *bhāra*, id.

**bəṛ**, n. peak, top < OIA *vara*  
topmost

**bəro**, n. husband < OIA *vara*

**bəṛbəṛn**, n. window, var. **khəpət**

**bəlus**, n. a cooking pot of stone

**bələyis**, v.i. to wave

**bəlbəl** ~ **bəlbul**, n. dusk, evening

**bəsis** ~ **bədis**, v.i. to dwell, to live,  
to stay, to remain <  
OIA *√vas-*

**bəluš**, n. a stone pan for cooking

**bəsun**, n. summer

**bəskət**, n. calf < OIA. *vatsaka*,  
var. **betō** < *vatsa*

**bəhana**, n. pretention (NIA)

**bəhis**, v.t. to till the field, to  
plough, to cultivate.  
< OIA . *vāh-*

**bace**, n. uncle (fathers' younger  
brother) var. **sene-bo**

**baṭu-bus**, v.i. to roll down

**bamba**, n. lamp

**bayo**, n. brother < OIA *bhrāṭṛ-*,  
-**sina**, n. nephew,  
-**mole**, n. niece.

**bar**, n. rivulet < OIA *wāri* water

**bari**, n. peach

**baṅṅus**, n. crawling, -**this** v.i.  
to crawl

**basəṇ**, n. winnowing basket

**basis** ~ **busis**, v.i. to chirp, to cry  
(animal) < OIA *bās-*  
to chirp, **bukk-**to  
bark, make a cry, cf  
Kum. *bās-*

**bi**, n. seed < *bīja-*, **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

**biris**, v.t. to boil

**bilcoṅs**, animal

**bilasis**, v.t. to melt

**bilisis**, v.i. to melt

**bilu**, n. cat (masc.) < OIA *viḍāla*

**bildum**, a. quiet

**bišu** ~ **bišo**, num. twenty < OIA.  
*viśati*, - **dəs** num.  
thirty

**bistəra**, n. bedding < OIA *vi-√str-*

**bihis**, n. fear, fearful < OIA -  
*√bhi-* 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  
**buṅs**, 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** ~ **bumbṛik**, 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. *√bukk-*to bark  
**busum**, n. rest, - **this**, to rest < OIA *vi-śram-*  
**busums**, n. sickle  
**buskya-this**, see **bunis-**  
**bustāra**, n. cattleshed  
**bequ:p**, n. a. idiot, stupid, < **bewṁqūf** (NIA)  
**bengḁn**, n. brinjal  
**bečhis**, v.t. to buy, var. **aris**  
**beḁe**, 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 **bḁskḁt**

**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. **rgyurgyḁp**.  
**beril**, n. excreta of birds  
**belañ-khus**, n. dinner (lit. **belañ** evening + **khus** meals)  
**belun** ~ **byḁlun**, n. crane (bird)  
**beldañ**, n. evening, - **zḁntun**, n. dinner (=evening meal)  
**bo**, n. 1. father, 2. step father, 3. father-in-law  
**boi**, n. ground floor of the house < OIA. *bhūmi*  
**boṅ**, n. donkey < Tib. *doṅ*  
**boṅ-dyon**, see **bḁṅzduṛ**  
**boks** - **this**, v.t. to push,  
**bozuṅ**, 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  
**byḁs** ~ **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. chick-  
ken

**byḍnḍ**, n. soup

**brḍk-brḍk-this**, v.i. to converse

**brḍs**, n. rice, Tib. *bras* < *abras*>

**brḍspuṭ**, n. Thursday < OIA  
*vṛhaspati*

**bruṅgo-pa**, n. dancer, var.

**ṭhḍmkhḍn-pa**

**bwari**, a. deep, var. hombu

### M

**mḍkḍi**, n. oil cake

**mḍkpa**, n. son-in-law < Tib.

**mḍks**, n. greed

**mḍjbur-this**, v.t. to compel

**mḍzit**, n. mosque (NIA)

**mḍtḍks**, n. honey

**mḍtlḍb**, n. meaning, sense (NIA)

**mḍdḍt**, n. help, assistance (NIA),  
- **chuṅs**, v.t. to help,  
to assist

**mḍna-this**, v.i. to prohibit (NIA)

**mḍni:li**, n. bread, - **yaris**, n.  
betrothal

**mḍnuṭh** ~ **mḍnuḍ**, n. marriage,  
-**this**, v.t. to marry

**mḍnṭha**, n. bee, honey bee, fly

**mḍbz**, n. peacock

**mḍ- muz**, adv. no where

**mḍris**, v.t. to kill, to slay <  $\sqrt{mr}$ .

**mḍrci**, n. chilly OIA. *marīca*, var.  
**ṅirma**

**mḍrdḍr byuṅ**, n. paralysis, var.  
**nḍmskyon**

**mḍrdun**, n. beam, ray of light

**mḍrjḍl bḍla**, a. pleasant

**mḍrmḍt**, n. repair, - **this**, v.t. to  
repair

**mḍlaks**, abn. true

**mḍlthor**, n. hammer

**mḍsḍris** ~ **musaris**, v.t. to mix <  
OIA *miśra*-

**mḍsala**, n. spice (NIA)

**mḍšok**, n. despair

**matkin**, a. last

**mate**, adv. after, - **kiṅ**, n. after-  
noon

**maph-this**, v.t. to forgive (NIA)

**maphi**, n. forgiveness (NIA)

**mabuldun**, a. lonely (place)

**ma-busu-nḍ**, adv. never (lit. not  
becoming ever)

**mamuli**, a. ordinary (NIA)

**maris**, v.t. to kill < OIA  $\sqrt{mr}$ -

**mal**, n. property, var. **sḍkyḍl**

**master**, n. teacher, -**mo**,  
teacheress

**mahe**, n. buffalo < OIA *mahiṣa*

**mier**, n. he goat

**mig**, n. eye < Tib. *mig*, id.

-**šok**, n. eyelash,

eyelid, -**sma**, n. eye-

brow

**michḍi**, n. pitcher, earthen jar

**miṭ**, n. massage, - **this**, v.t. to do  
massage

**miṭhai**, n. sweetmeat (NIA)

**minis**, n. weight

**minis**, v.i. to die < OIA  $\sqrt{mr}$ -

**mipset**, n. & a. murderer

**mirga**, n. jealousy, - **khḍn**, n.  
enmity, - **khḍn-pa**, n.  
enemy

**mukhdḍm**, n. chief, headman,  
cf. H. *mukḍddḍm*  
(call. O).

**mugur**, n. bowl  
**mučis**, v.t. to leave < OIA *muč-*  
 var. *phete*-this  
**mutik**, n. pearl < OIA *mauktika*  
**munis/-z**, v.t. to embrace  
**muni-bus**, v.i. to faint  
**muphuṭ**, n. free of charge (NIA)  
**mumo**, n. 1. maternal uncle, <  
 OIA *māma*, 2.  
 father's sister's hus-  
 band  
**murū**, n. taste  
**mul**, pp. dead < OIA *mṛta*  
**mulḁn**, n. cremation ground  
**mulo**, n. 1. raddish, 2. turnip,  
 <OIA *mūlaka*  
**muṭuk**, n. a blow  
**muṭup**, n. fist  
**mu:s**, n. month < OIA *māsa*  
**muzi** (<**musi**), n. mouse <  
*muṣika*, var. *kuni:li*  
**mei**, n. rain < OIA. *megha* + *i*  
**meṅga**, a. costly (NIA)  
**meleps**, n. fire fly, glow  
 worm  
**melḁp** ~ **melo**, n. flame, < Tib.  
*me* fire + *lḁp*  
**mo**, pron. I < PIA\* *ma*  
**moṅphḁli**, n-groundnut (NIA)  
**mozi**, n. sulphur < Tib. *mu-zi*  
**moti**, n. mud, < OIA *mṛttikā*  
**mora**, n. corpse < OIA *mṛta*, var.  
*kun*  
**moryaṅ -mo**, n. widow  
**molḁi**, ~ mole, n. daughter, girl.  
**mos**, n. flesh, meat < OIA *māmsa*  
**mosphyace**, n. ritual  
**myuto**, a. stale  
**myus**, n. man < OIA *manuṣya*

Y

**yḁkjḁṅs**. n. festival  
**yḁto**, n. & a. friend, dear  
**ya**, part., yes  
**ya**, conj. either - or  
**yak**, n. *yāk*, a hybrid animal  
**yaṅ- pa this** v.t. to play  
**yaṅspa-this**, v.t. to wrestle  
**yaṅ- mo**, a. light (in colour)  
**yari**, adv. front, in the front  
**yariris**, v.i. to approach  
**yarbo**, adv. already, before hand  
**yuṅ** ~ **hyuṅ**. n. turmeric < Tib.  
*yuṅ-ba*  
**yuṅs**, n. recognition  
**yuno**, n. winter < OIA. *hemanta*,  
 cf. Kum. *hyūṅḁ*, var.  
*syḁrḁ ṣarat*  
**yunḁa**, n. handmill, grinding  
 mill  
**yus**, n. recollection  
**yusoṅs**, v.t. to recognise  
**ye**, pron. what?, - *ra/re* why?  
 -*hḁṅ*, pron. anything,  
 -*tha*, adv. how?  
**yegeneš** (=ye-gḁ-nes) pron.  
 nothing  
**yeri**, n. palm, var. *lḁgthil*  
**yeldḁk**, n. branch < Tib. *yal-ga*  
**yonpa**, a. left (side) < Tib. *yoṅ-pa*

R

**rḁgo**, n. hoof. < Tib. *rago*  
**rḁṅ**, n. colour < NIA *rḁṅg* < OIA  
*raṅj*, -**this**, v.t. to dye,  
 -**senayis**, v.t., to paint,  
 -**sucḁl**, v.i. to fade in  
 colour, to be colour-  
 less

**rəz**, n. cloth < Ld. **rəs**, Tib. **raz**.  
 - **bəl**, n. cotton < Ld.  
**rəzbəl**, Tib. **rebal** < rasbal >  
**rətya** ~ **retya**, n. tomorrow < OIA  
**rātr** + √yā-  
**rənis**, v.t. to brew  
**rənda** < jackplane < NIA **rənda**  
**rəpsəl**, n. bed sheet/cover  
**rərgi**, n. sword. Tib. **rəlqi**  
 < **ralgri**>  
**rəs** ~ **ras** n. grapes, cf. Shi. **das** <  
 OIA **drāksā**  
**rəsito**, adv. as far as  
**rəskuṭ**, n. thread (cotton)  
**ragən** ~ **rhagən**. n. brass < Tib.  
**rāgan**  
**razis** (< **rasis**), to tell, to teach  
**razəz**, n. teaching  
**razis**, v.t. to blame  
**razəl**, n. a shout, shouting  
**razuṣ**, n. request  
**razuṅ-this**, v.t. to request  
**rat**, n. - right < OIA **rātri**  
**ratyaṅsis**, v.i. to wait, var. **ṭenik**  
**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  
**draksā**  
**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-moce**, n. beloved (fig) lit.  
 diamond  
**riyoṅ**. n. hare, rabbit, < Tib. **ri-**  
**boṅ** (**ri** mountain +  
**boṅ** donkey)  
**ril**, n. roller  
**riwaj**, n. custom (NIA)  
**ruṅ**, n. 1. hill, 2. forest  
 < Ld. Tib. **ri**  
**ruthis**, v.i. to slide  
**run** ~ **rhun**, n. yesterday  
**ruru**, n. brother-in-law (both  
 sides)  
**ruṣ**, n. bone Tib. **rus-pa** **suṅ**, n.  
 back bone, spine  
**rus** (< **rusis**), v.i. to weep, to cry  
 < OIA √rud-  
**-re**, pp. in  
**rəbchinjo**, n. abuse  
**roks**, n. help, assistance, **-this**. v.t.  
 to help  
**rga-khən**, n. friendship  
**rgil**, n. spittle, var. **thui**  
**rgun-ma**, n. mare < Tib. **rgun-**  
**ma**, var. **ḍšpi** < OIA  
**ašvi**  
**rgo**, n. body, var. **žid**, **ṣtak**  
**rgo-saṅ**, 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.  
 < **rgyal-ba**>, **-po**, n.  
 king, conqueror, **-ma**,  
 queen, **-ba**, a virtuous

**rgyur gyəp**, n. vulture, var.

**bendak**

**rčes**, n. dance, Tib. **čam-pa**

**rzaŋzəŋ**, n. chickenpox

**rzoŋ**, chisel

**rdami**, n. choice

**rdoqcoŋ**, n. a kick, - **this** v.t. to kick

**rmul ~ rmyul**, 1. Silver, 2. money

**ryoŋ**, n. hare, rabbit < Tib. **riboŋ**

**rwa**, n. light, var. **səŋ**

L

**ləis**, v.t. to reap < OIA **lūñ-id**

**lək-lək**, n. twinkling of eye

**lək čhus**, n. bush

**ləq pa**, n. hand < Tib. **lagpa**,  
-**thil**, n. palm, -**čhiks**,  
n. wrist, -**phis**, n.  
handkerchief, -**šups**,  
n. gloves

**ləpdrək**, n. caretaker of gods.

**ləkcəŋr-dis**, to clap (=ləkpa hand  
+ **cīr** + **this** (to do,))

**ləndi**, n. 1. voice, 2. a call,

**ləndis**, to call

**ləmstəŋ-khəŋ**, n. traveller

**lakh**, num. lac

**laŋphoce**, n. elephant, var. **hathi**

**laŋs-pa**, n. steam < Tib. **laŋspa**  
< **rlaŋs-pa**>

**li-are**, v.t. to stick, to paste

**liŋs**, n. hunt (prey), hunting  
(game), -**khi**, 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

**luŋ**, n. air, wind < Tib. **luŋ-po**  
< **rduŋ-po**>, Ld.  
**luŋs-po**, -**chor**, n.  
wind storm, cyclone,  
-**drək**, id.

**luzu**, n. pearl, var. **mutik**

**luṭo**, n. monk

**lupras**, v.t. to burn, to kindle

**lum-khəŋ**, 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

**lokskyəŋr**, adv. towards

**lokčəŋr**, n. thunder, var. **gurgur**

**lokhor**, n. year < Tib. **lo** + **chor**

**loŋ**, n. cloves < OIA **lavaŋga**, id.

**lodo**, a red < OIA **raudra**, id.

**lomčhin**, n. liver, var. **čhinma**

**lon-pho**, n. artist

**lol ~ lwol**, n. blood < OIA **lohita**

**lolis**, v.i. to bleed, bleeding

**loš**, n. gum (rasin) cf. Kum.-**liso**.

**lče~ ltya**, n. tongue, < Ld. **lče** <  
Tib. **če** < **lče**>

**lṭəs**, n. oath, - **this**, to swear, to  
take oath

**ldəd-pa**, n. brain < Tib. **lad-pa**  
< **klad-pa**>

**ldaŋ**, n. peg

**lstya**, n. navel < Tib. < **lte-ba**>

**lha**, god, var. **conjuk**

W

**wəŋgul**, n. bank of river < OIA.  
**wāri-kūla**

**wəyəl**, n. a flow < OIA *vāha* (cf. *pravāha*)  
**wəṛ** ~ **bəṛ**, n. stomach, belly  
**wəṛ-nazu-go**, v.i. to sink  
 (= went into the water) < *wari* +  
**wəlizis**, 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*  
 ~ *čo*

## Š

**šək**, n. doubt, suspicion (NIA),  
 -**bus**, v.t. to doubt, to  
 suspect  
**šəkphul**, n. prayer  
**šəkyəl**, n. property, var. **mal**  
**šəṅkhu**, n. wolf, leopard, hyeana  
 Ld. id.  
**šəd-this**, v.t. to castrate < OIA  
*sādha*, to discipline,  
 cf. Kum. *sadəno*, id  
**šədi**, n. monkey, var. **əṣ**  
**šəṛ** ~ **syəṛ**, n. 1. east, 2. wick.  
 < Tib. *šar*  
**šəro** ~ **syaro**, n. deer  
**šəra-this**, v.t. to decide  
**šərap**, n. wine, liquor < *šarāb*  
 (NIA)  
**ša**, n. compassion, var. **dəya**  
**šaks**, n. trail  
**šati**, n. dream, -**rītis**, v.i. to dream  
**šaro**, n. autumn, OIA < *šarat* - *d*  
 id.  
**šastə**, a. pointed, var. **ṅal**  
**šiket**, n. complaint < *šikayət*  
 (NIA)

**šin**, n. horn < OIA *sr̥ṅga*  
**šinseru**, n. Saturday < OIA  
*šaniścara*  
**šizək**, n. a post-death feast  
**šitayis**, 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  
**šiš**, n. head, top < OIA *širša*,  
 - *zəmo*, n. headache  
**šu**, n. vegetable, cf. shi. *ša* < OIA  
*śaka*  
**suko**, a. dry, dried, drought  
 < OIA *śuṣka*  
**šukpa**, n. pencil cedar  
**šugu**, n. 1. letter, 2. paper, Ld.  
*šugu* < Tib. *šog-pa*  
**šudmər**, n. purified butter < OIA  
*śodhita* + 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. *šoṭha* >  
 NIA *sūj*, -**bus**, v.i. to  
 swell  
**šən**, n. mat  
**šo**, a. white < OIA. *šveta*  
**šolo**, n. story  
**štun**, n. mortar  
**šya**, n. bear  
**šyas** ~ *skyōs*, a. kind  
**šyo** ~ *šy*, num. hundred < *šata*  
**šwa**, n. dog < OIA *švā*  
**šwe**, n. 1. digestion, one-eyed  
**šñətoyis**, v.t. to tease, var.  
**do-ksi-this**  
**šro** ~ **šo**. n. blind

## Ş

şə, num. six < OIA saṭ ~şaṣ-

-beṣ, num. sixteen

şuŋ- ruş, n. back bone, spine

ştag, n. spindle

şra, a. & n. glad, happy, happiness

səkhə, n. pebble

səksmit, n. hatred

sə, n. light, var. rwa

səŋlis, n. broom

səŋleciris v.i. to persist, <

səŋle increase + crisis to continue

= increased continuance

səŋlis, v.t. to pile up

sətpa-this, v.i. to mourn

sənik, n. bat (bird)

səmjā-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)

səsnə, n. thigh, buttocks, var. phə ʔali ~ phəʔili

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

saŋlis, n. broom

saŋli-this, v.t. to sweep, to clean

santra, n. orange (NIA)

sabid, v.i. to agree

sabən, n. soap (NIA)

sali-this, v.t. choose

sas, younger sister, < OIA svasṛ

sazo, n. sister's son < sas sister

sazoi, n. sister's daughter, maternal uncle's daughter, wife's younger sister

sazəri, 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

siṭan, a. slow, late, - siṭan, 1. slowly-slowly, lately, 2. gradually

siṭanwe, v.t. to leak, var. zəgədi-bus

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

sitrəyis, v.t. to learn

sida. -a. straight (NIA) < sīdhā

sin, n. river

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

sinthok, 1. tree < Tib, šiŋ-don var. cəgma (< caŋma), laksus

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

siŋkhən, n. carpenter, < Tib. šiŋ wood+ khən

siri, n. sand, var. səksul

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

si:sə, n. glass (NIA)

su, n. needle < OIA sūcī

sui n. whistle, cf Kum. swē, id.

**su-sis**, to sleep < OIA *svap* + *sis*  
Inf.

**sui**, n. bridge

**suite** ~ **swit**, a. pregnant  
(human) < \**suitā* <  
*prasavitā*

**sukuru**, n. Friday < OIA *śukra*

**suṅul**, adv. suddenly

**sudis**, n., divorce, -this to  
divorce

**suno** ~ **sono**, n. 1. butter, 2. oil,  
-**acis** oilman

**sunḍmphoto**, n. frog

**sunḍyis**, v.t. to ask, to enquire

**sunphu**, n. husk, bark, skin of  
fruit

**sunyaṅs**, n. question

**suma**, with, along with, -**byas**,  
v.i. to accompany

**sumi**, n. fatigue, -**t**, -**bo** tired  
<OIA *śramita*, -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-*šuru*),  
-**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.*

**ser**, n. gold < Tib. *ser* < *gser*>,  
-**gḍr**, n. gold smith,  
-**rḍḥ** golden

**setu**, n. *sattu* (fried barley flour)

**so**, pron. he < OIA *saḥ*

**soso**, a. next < OIA. *saḥ-saḥ*,  
-**this**, v.t. to separate

**sokthe**, a. quick, -**soksthe**, adv.  
quickly

**solib**, v.t. to disperse

**sosbu**, n. lap, -**unis** v.t. to adopt  
(lit. to unite with lap)

**skḍḥ**, n. hymn

**skḍmba**, n. nail of iron

**skḍrma**, n. star < Tib. *skar-ma*,  
-**zukḍriḥ**, n. comet,  
var, **turi**

**skḍl-this**, v.t. to share

**skari-this**, v.t. to weigh, var.  
**lji-this**

**ski-čhya**, n. necklace, var. **gaḥ**-  
**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- zḍk**, n. birth day

**sket**, n. service, -**this** v.t. to serve

**skeli**, n. swimming, -**this**, v.i. to  
swim



- skewa**, n. heaven  
**skesa**, n. garland, var. **har**  
**skora-this**, v.i. 1. to encircle, 2. to pray (fig) < **khōr** circle  
**skoyi-this**, v.t. to order  
**skyḁrḁ**, n. cure, treatment  
**skyaṅ -this**, v.t. to stretch var. **zgeg-pa** (< **sgeg-pa**)  
**skyono**, n. wick, var. **sḁr**  
**sgogpa**, n. garlic < Tib. *sgog-pa* var. **zgeg-pa** (< **sgeg-pa**)  
**sṅa-boṅ**, n. camel, (lit. **sṅa** desert + **boṅ** donkey)  
**sṅil**, n. gum (of teeth)  
**sṅul**, n. 1. silver, 2. rupee, money, < Tib. *ṅul* < *dṅul*>, var. **smul**  
**sṅundum**, a. grey  
**sṅyoks**, n. habit  
**sṅya-this**, v.t. to avoid  
**sṅyḁtoyis**, v.t. to tease, var. **do ksi-this**  
**sṅi**, n. spider, var. **ṣṭin**  
**sṅotidis**, v.t. to beg, var. **de-this**  
**sṭṅṅ** ~ **strḁṅ**, n. lane  
**sṭak**, n. body, var. **ṣid**, **rgo**  
**sṭḁn**, a. slow, -**sṭḁn**, adv. slowly  
**stago**, n. gate  
**state'-this**, v.t. to search  
**stin**, n. spider, var. **sṅi**  
**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  
**strḁṅ**, n. street, lane  
**strḁbs**, n. reins, var. **thorgowa**  
**strok-dis**, v.t. to sacrifice.  
**sduk** ~ **duk**, n. sorrow < OIA *duḥkha*  
**sniṅtal-this**, v.t. to encourage  
**snumi**, v.t. to smell, var. **gon-this**  
**snumi-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. *ṭin* < **sprin** >  
**sphu-this**, v.i. to sprout, to germinate  
**sbḁlba** (B), n. frog  
**smḁgra**, n. moustache  
**smḁn**, n. 1. drug, medicine, herb, < Tib. *man* < *sman* > 2. gun powder, - **ma** n. devil  
**smanḁt-chiris**, v.t. to believe  
**smiti-this**, v.t. to swallow  
**smul**, n. silver, coin, money, var. **sṅul** < Tib *sṅul*  
**smuli**, n. perspiration, sweating, -**bus**, v.i. to perspire, to sweat  
**smyḁ**, n. mole  
**syḁrḁ**, n. winter, < OIA *śarat*, var. **yuno**  
**syḁlta** ~ **syḁltha**, n. roof. var. **thok**  
**syḁlba**, n. spade  
**syabu**, n. joint  
**syasur**, n. father-in-law's home < OIA *śvasura* +

**syendis**, v.t. to scold  
**swa**, n. boil, blister  
**sltya**, n. navel

## H

**hə** ~ **ho**, n. heart  
**hək**, n. claim (NIA)  
**həŋ**, yes  
**həŋsi-bus**, v.i. to pant  
**həŋi**, n. shop < OIA *hatta*, cf. Pb.  
**həŋŋi**, - **pa**, n. shop-keeper  
**həttubar**, adv. in front of  
**həduro**, a. green  
**həpta**, n. week (NIA) < *həfta*  
**həmba-this**, v.i. to dare  
**həmla**, n. attack, -**this** v.t. to attack  
**hərrəŋ**, adv. in the centre, between, -**por**, in between  
**hərrəŋ oguli**, n. ring fingure  
**hərrūs**, n. winnowing basket  
**həris**, v.t. to carry < OIA *hr-*, id.  
**hərdəŋ** (B), n. dumb  
**həl**, n. plough < OIA *hala*  
**hələs**, n. temptation, -**this**, v.i. to be tempted  
**həlundro** ~ **həlduro**, a & n. 1. yellow 2. jaundice < OIA *haridrā*  
**həlŋuŋ** ~ yoke  
**həs** ~ **heš** ~ **heš** n. breath, - **is**, v.i. to breathe  
**həsa**, a. soft, powdered, - **khəra** 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*

**har**, n. garland (NIA) < OIA *hāra*  
**has**, n. valley  
**hazi** (< **hasi**), n. laughter < OIA *√has-*  
**hazis** (< **hasis**), v.i. to laugh  
**harido** ~ **hərido**, a wet < OIA *ārdra*  
**hisis** ~ **hesis**, n. 1. asthma, 2. noise, var. **ŋaŋna**  
**huk**, n. hiccup, - **ucunis**, v.i. to hiccup  
**hukumət**, n. rule, reign (NIA), -**this**, v.i. to rule  
**hun**, adv. above  
**hunnə**, n. silence, - **this**, v.i. to keep silence  
**huhun**, n. humming, -**this**, v.i. to hum  
**hek-po**, a. alright  
**hem**, n. friend, var. **yəto**  
**heš** ~ **həš**, n. breath < OIA *švas*  
**ho**, pron. that  
**ho**, n. heart, -**la**, a. interesting  
**hoginis**, n. asthma  
**hocospo**, part. like, var. **kyurdum**  
**hozənto**, 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  
**honjəŋr**, adv. here  
**hones**, a. timid  
**hopyis**, v.i. to belch, belching  
**hobetog**, part, still  
**hobetoga**, conj. therefore  
**homo**, pron. this, -**cok**, pron. these, these all

**hombu**, a. deep  
**hosibuη**, adv. till, var. **tia**  
**hosonossər**, 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

**žk**, n. day, date < Tib. **zəg**,  
 -təη, adv. daily,  
 always,  
**žkzaη**, n. celebration, -this to  
 celebrate  
**zəgədi-bus**, v.i. to leak  
**zəηmo**, n. (good) omen  
**zəηs ~ zaηs**, n. copper < Tib.  
**zaηs**  
**zəti-bus**, v.i. go astray  
**zənphe**, n. grain  
**zəb-zəb**, a. hard  
**zəma-this**, to collect, to put  
 together (NIA)  
**zərgət**, n. joke, fun, -this, v.i. to  
 joke, to ridicule  
**zərba**, a. blind, < Ld. **zəra** Tib.  
**zar -ba**  
**zərməη**, n. hoof  
**zərho ~ zermo**, n. pain < Tib.  
**zər-mo** <gzer>  
**zəla-this**, v.t. to bore  
**zəlta**, n. argument, -this, to  
 argue, to advise  
**za**, wheather  
**zar**, n. poison < **zəhər** (P.A.)  
**zaro ~ zyaro**, n. (masc) oldman,  
 var. **dudo**  
**zazi**, n. walk, -s, v.i. to walk  
**zamat**, n. love, var. **thespa**

**zaddət ginis**, v.i. to follow  
**zik pisayis**, v.i. to threaten  
**zigo**, a, high, tall, long, var.  
**thonmo**  
**zigindi**, pp. on, upon  
**ziginyō**, v.i. to overflow  
**zigro**, a. cowardice  
**ziηzaη**, a. noisy  
**ziηzis**, 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  
**zi:ra**, 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.  
**zuηdul**, 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).  
**zur**, n. edge  
**zurmana**, n. fine, penalty (NIA)  
**zurmo ~ zermo**, n. illness,  
 sickness, disease,  
 pain, -cəη, a. ill, sick,  
 cf. B. **zermo**, cf. Ld.  
**zumo**  
**zuli**, n. curry, cf. Kum. **jholi**, id.  
**zus ~ zuz**, v.i. 1. to -grow, to  
 bear, 2. to take birth

**zeṅ-zeṅ-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**>  
**zgam**, n. slap, - **this**, v.t. to slap  
**zgalto**, n. scorpion  
**zgui-this**, v.i. to kneel  
**zgu:y**, n. groaning with pain  
**zgegpa**, n. garlic, < Ld. Tib.  
< **sgogpa**>  
**zgrum**, n. box < Tib. **ḍom**  
< **sgrom**>  
**zñu** n. desire, want  
**zdərdis**, v. t. to sharpen, var.  
**kazis**  
**zdor**, n. food, diet  
**zba**, n. bubble

**zbyaṅ-this**, v.i. to practise  
**zbra**, n. tent  
**zbri**, n. handwriting, -**this** v.t. to  
write  
**zbwa**-n. foam  
**zməṅ**, n. drug, medicine,  
Ld. **sməṅ** < Tib. **man**  
< **smaṅ**>  
**zya**, adv. up, upward  
**zyari**, see **zeri**  
**zyusuṅsis**, v.t. to understand  
**zru-razis**, v.t. to blame  
**zwa**, n. louse, < OIA **yūka**  
**zwakur** ~ **zəkor**, n. hair on the  
head, or body, cf.  
Kum. **jhākəro** hair  
on the head, **ḍakur-**  
**əno** horripilation,  
erection of hair on  
the body of animals,  
etc.

**(B) GLOSSARY: ENGLISH - BROK-SKAD**

abdomen (n)	krət-pa	although (conj.)	hekpo
above (adv.)	hun, stod	alum (n)	phə̀tkəri
abuse (n)	rəbchinjo	altogether (pp)	thapə̀n thaj
accept (v)	eryūs	amuse (v.)	sə̀lbə̀yis
accompany (v)	sumi byas	amusement (n)	tə̀nmo
accused (p.p)	ginido	and (conj.)	uŋ
accuse (v)	cuʈu-this	anger (n)	kha, xa
across (adv.)	perar	angry (a)	kha-ut, kha- cə̀n
active (a)	k o s u n d o , čok-čok	angry, to be (v)	kha-yis, gay- is
adopt (v)	sosbu-unis	animal (n)	bilcoŋs
advise (v)	žə̀lta-this	ankle (n)	tiŋba, com- oʈok
æero plane (n)	nə̀m-rel	answer (n)	jə̀wab
after (adv.)	mate	answer, to (v)	jə̀wab this
after-noon (adv.)	mate kiŋ, phe- -tog	any (pron)	kogə̀
afterwards (adv.)	žuk-naw	any one (pron)	kouto
after that (adv.)	hozuk-poče	anything (pron)	ye hə̀n
afraid (a)	bihisula	any how (adv)	kauthetto the
afraid, to be (v)	bihis-this	annoy, to be (v)	ga-yis, xayis
again (adv.)	uŋ	appear (v)	ritis
against (part.)	buki	apple (n)	pə̀lə̀
age (n)	umur	apricot (n)	chapo, phə̀- tur (dry)
agree, to (v)	bet-this, sa- bid	approach (v)	yarire-yis
air (n)	oš, luŋ	approve (v)	bet-this
aim at (v)	ziri this	area (n)	khorpo
all (a)	gə̀ŋma, čok	argument (n)	žə̀lta
almond (n)	badam	arm (n)	kə̀lə̀
also (part.)	gə̀	arm-pit (n)	cə̀ŋkhuŋ
alluminium (n)	gilə̀t	armour (n)	kšə̀p
allow (v)	i:dis	arrange (v)	cirthaciris
alight (v)	gə̀mmuni-yis	arrive (v)	nu phus
alone (a)	ekiki	arrival (n)	nupho
always (adv.)	žoktə̀ŋ	artisan (n)	šə̀ŋ- khə̀n
already (adv.)	yarbo,	artist (n)	lonpho
alright (a)	ʈogbil	around (a)	girgiri
altar (n)	nazir		

arrow (n)	da	bark (v)	basis, gəb- chəl
ascend (v)	gen, thuli- this	barley (n)	gono
adze (n)	phərphut	base (n)	thil
add (v)	ek-this	basket (n)	kəri/khəroṭi
ashes (n)	gərzy, təlsir	bat (bird) (n)	sənik
ask (v)	sunəyis	bathe (v)	wa-cis
ask for (v)	de-this	battle (n)	thəmo
as (part)	thomo	be, to (v)	bet
as far as (adv)	rəsito	beak (n)	khəmcu
ass (n)	khər, xər	beam (of wood)	
asthma (n)	hoginis, hisis	(n)	phams
assist (v)	məddət chuṅs	beam (of light) (n)	di, mərdun
assistance (n)	roks	beans (veg.) (n)	kyukyən, dəkcuṅ
at (p.p.)	da, phyos	bear (v)	zuš-
at once (adv)	tokpak	bear (n.)	šya, drenmo (P)
attack (v)	həmla-this	beard (n)	səmdəl
aunt (y.)	aye-seni	beat (v)	kuṭtis
aunt (e.)	aye-boni	beating (n.)	kuṭuṅs
autumn (n)	šarə	beautiful (a)	ṭhəlo/ṭhəli (f.)
avenge (n)	kəlephəṭiris	become, to (v)	bus, bet
avoid (v)	səna-this	bed (cot) (m)	cərpə
awake (Intrans.)	uthis	bed (land) (n)	kurce
awake (Trans.)	ṇisburis	bed-room (n)	rəpsəl
axe (n)	gutu	bed sheet (n)	cəzər, cəsər (Pu.)
	<b>B</b>	bedding (n)	bistəra
baby(n)	sene sina	bee (n)	mənṭha
back (n)	puṭhu, zuṅs	beer (n)	chən
bad (a)	čuṭu/čuṭu	before (adv.)	yarbo
bag (n)	thela	beg (v)	šcotidis, de- this
bags (for load) (n)	nugəl	begger (a, n)	ekhus, əyikh- ado
bald (a)	phəṭa	begin (v)	šuru this
ball (n)	polo	behind (p.p.)	puṭhu
balances (n)	təkəri	behold (v)	rithis
bamboo (n)	cakma		
bangle (n)	kaw		
bank (of river)	wəgul		
bark (of tree)	phərpət		
bark (skin of fruit, etc.)	šumphu		

belch (n.)	phul bəks	bless(v)	bu:mbrik-this
belch (v)	hopyis	blessing (n)	bu:mbərik
bell (n)	ṭilbu/ṭiŋ	blow (n.)	muṭʁuk
bell metal (n)	khərba	blow (to flow)	pasis
belly (n)	wəɾ, bəɾ	blow (as wind)	upis
believe (v)	smanəɬ-čhi- ris	blow (with mouth)	phu-this
beloved (n)	rinmoce	boast (v)	bono-bus
bellow (adv)	gəmmuni, kha	boat (n)	kišti
belt (n)	šili, peṭi	boatman (n)	kišti-pa
bend (v)	kyokthis	body (n)	zid, stak, rgo (Bal.)
beside (adv.)	chamspur	boil (Trans.)	biris
betray (v)	dokha-this	boiled (pp)	bəko
betrothal (n)	məniliyaris	boil (blister)	swa
between (part.)	həɾəŋ	bolt (n)	pikyok, kučur
bewitch (v)	jadu this	bone (n)	əṭṭi, əṭhi
big (a)	bono	book (n)	kitab
bird (n)	cei	booty (n)	noročo
birth, to take (v)	žuž-	born, to be (v)	žut žusis
birthday (n)	skežək	bottom (n)	thil
bitch (n)	šwa, khima	bowl (n)	mugur
bite (v)	čəŋčəɬ	bow (n)	traŋ khun
bitter (a)	ṭiṭo	box (n)	zgrum
bind (v)	bu:nis	bore (v)	žəlathis
black (a)	kyono	boy (n)	bio/beo/byo
blacksmith (n)	khəɾo (m.) gəɾma (f.)	bread (n)	məni:li
blanket (n)	chəti, kəmbəɬ	breadth (a)	kuṭo
blame (n.)	chono razis,	break (Intrans.)	phiṭis
blame (v)	zru rayis	break (Trans.)	phiṭayis
blind (a)	šo, zəɾba, (B) šro	breakfast (n)	cwalto, chin-ən
bleeding (v)	lolis	breast (n)	kro, dut
blood (n)	lwol, lol	breath (n)	heš
bloom (v)	ṭhəɱ-ṭhəɱ bus	breathe (v)	hešis
bloomed (p.p.)	pušil	brew (v)	rənis
blue (a)	ṇilo	branch (n)	yeldək
blunt (a)	iŋ	brain (n)	khormo, ldəɬpa

brass (n)	zṅgs, rhagṅ		C
brave (a)	bḍhadur, kosṅndi	calf (he)	zubu, zophru
brick (n)	pḍqbu	calf (she)	bḍskḍt, beto
bride (n)	bāg-ma	calf (of leg)	kṅnkṅn
bridegroom (n)	bag-po	call (v)	e-this, lṅndis
bright (a)	kṣḍḍchem	call (n.)	lṅndi
bridge (n)	sui	camel (n)	ṣṅabon (Bal.)
bring (v)	aris/eris	canal (n)	gya:p
brinjal (n)	beṅḍṅ	cap (n)	kho
broom (n)	saṅlis, žoli (Bal.)	carpenter (n)	ṣiṅkhṅn
brother (n)	bayo	carry (v)	hḍris
brother (e)	bono bayo	castrate (v)	ṣḍd-this
brother (y)	sene bayo/ ruru/ nono (Budh.)	cat (n)	bilu
brother-in-law (f. ego)	ruru	catch (v)	ginis
brother-in-law (m. ego)	sajḍri	cattle (n)	boybogun
bronze (n)	khḍrwa	cattleshed (n)	bustḍra
bubble (n)	zba	cause (n)	karḍn
bug (n)	kri, cḍri(P)	cave (n)	kur
buffalo (n)	mahe	centre (n)	hḍrḍṅ
build (v)	gipas, kuḍ-dis	ceiling (n)	toq
bull/bullock (n)	zo	celebrate (v)	žḍkzaṅ- this
bullet (n)	goli, rinḍi	chain (n)	cḍkthur
bunch (n)	chḍgbu	change (n.)	dunmḍr
burn (Intrans.)	orgo	change (v)	dunmḍris
burn (Trans.)	lupras, duk- sukis	chamber (n)	goḥ
burnt (pp)	phurido	charcoal (n)	gḍrji
bury (v)	kheṣis	chase (v)	puḥhuna-this
bush (n)	lḍkḍhus, cok (B)	cheap (a)	sḍsta
butter (n)	suno, sono	cheating (n)	dokha
butterfly (n)	phyam lḍpse uskuru,	cheat, to (v)	dokha dis
butter milk (n)	gḍn, ḍgḍn	cheek (n)	unjuk
buttocks (n)	phḍṭili, sḍsnḍ	cheese (n)	cḍmḍnd
buy (v)	bechis, aris	chest (n)	kro
		chew (v)	cepis, cuṅthis
		chief (n)	mukhdḍm
		chicken (n)	byaphru
		child (n)	sina
		chilly (n)	ṅirma
		chin (n)	ḍhum, kusko (Bal.)



chicken pox(n)	rzaŋzəŋ	colour (n)	rəŋ
chisel (n)	čhini, rzoŋ (B.)	comb (n)	koŋo
chirp (v)	basis, busis	comb (v)	koŋo -this
choice (n)	rdami	come (v)	is, es
choose (v)	sali-this	comet (n)	skəŋma-žuk- riŋ
chutney (n)	cəŋni, bəliš (B.)	compassion (n)	ša, dəya
circle (n)	gero	complaint (n)	šiket
citron (a)	ŋito, čukur	complete (v)	gəŋma bet
claim (n)	həq	compel (v)	məŋbūr-this
clay (n)	pa	conceal (v)	phək-this
claw (n)	kəŋku	connect (v)	ek-this
clap (v)	ləqcəŋ-dis	conscience (n)	žini
clean (a)	ŋhalo	conceive (think)	žunis
clean (v)	ŋhalo this, -bus	conspiracy (n)	grəps
clean (with broom)	žuli-this	continue (v)	ciris
clever (a)	cəlakcəŋ	conquer (n)	rgyəl
cliff	rigo	conversation (n)	spira
climb (v)	thuli this	converse (v)	brak-brak- this
cling (v)	liris, byaribəl	cook (n.)	vaza, kəyispa
clip (v)	cəpyal -	cook (v)	kəyis
cloak (n)	zigo	cooked (pp)	pəko, pəcola
cloth (n)	rəz	cool (v)	təŋyis
clothes (n)	gulčha, guluc / gulus	copper (n)	ragəŋ, zəŋs
close (adj.)	šuro	coriander (n)	dəniyā
close (v)	lezis	coral (n)	skiča
cloud (n)	dolo, sprind (Bal.)	corn (n)	gono
cloves (n)	loŋ	corner (n)	kru
cock (n)	ikta, byapho	corpse(n)	kun, mora
coconut (n)	khopa	correct (a)	ŋhik
coin ( )	pene, smul	cost (n)	rin
cold (a)	to, tzo (Bal.)	costly (a)	meŋga
collect (v)	ek-this	cot (n)	čarpa
colt (n)	thuru	cotton (n)	rəzbəl, kupaš
collide (v)	zombus	cough (n.)	khoks, khok
		cough (v)	khok-bus
		count (v)	genis
		counting (n)	gyanis
		country (n)	lokske, yul

court (n)	koṭ	dance (v)	nutis
courtyard (n)	caṅra	dancer (n)	bruṅgo-pa, ṭhemkhənpa
course (rough)	phəṭoro, gow		
cover (v)	tumi-this	danger (n)	khətra
cow (n)	go, goli (Bal.)	dangerous (a)	choṭu
cowardice (a)	žigro	dare (v)	həmbathis
cradle (n)	sina kəri	dark (a)	ṭhub
crane (n)	byəḷun, kša	daughter (n)	mole, moləi
cream (n)	ospris	daughter-in-law (n)	nuṣ
credit (n)	usu	dawn (adv.)	cwalto
credit, to give(v)	usu-dis	day (n)	gyazo,
creeper (n)	kšik, kšikmo	day after tomorrow (n)	cidis
cremation ground (n)	mulən	day before yesterday (n)	ṭidis
crow (n)	ko, ku	date fruit (n)	xorma
crowling (n)	balangus	dead (a, pp)	mül
crawl (v)	bəlangus-this	deaf (n)	cuṭo
cry (of human) (v)	rus	dear (n)	yəto
cry (of animal) (v)	bušəḷ	deceive (v)	dokha this
cry (v)	rus, buš	deceit (n)	dokho
cuckoo (n)	gondiṅ	decorate (v)	ṭhalibus
cultivate (v)	bəhis	decide (v)	šəra this
cultivator (n)	zəmindar	decay (v)	ziṅjis
cuminseed(n)	zira	dear (n)	šəro, šyaro
cunning (a)	čuṭu	deep (a)	bwari, hom- bu
cup (n)	pəti, pati		
cure (n.)	skyəṛə	defeat (n.)	phəms
cure (v)	ilaj this	defeat (v)	phəmdis
curd (n)	gəṇ, əgəṇ	defend (v)	nəkhəleus
curry (n)	žuli, xəšo (Bal.)	demon (n)	sməṇma
		desert (n)	pəkur
curse (v)	bu:kithis	desire (n)	rgospa
custom (n)	riwaj	descend (v)	wəlizis
cut (v)	čhinis	desease (n)	nəṭpa, zormo
cyclone (wind storm)	luṅkhor	despair (n.)	məšok
	D	despair (v)	hotro bus
dagger	duṅ	destroy (v)	tənis
daily (adv)	žəktəṅ	devil (n)	bhut, də, šətan
damage (n)	nuksan	dew (n)	bəmo
dance (n)	rces	diamond (n)	rinmoce

dice (n)	čholo	dry (Intrans.)	chuci-dis
die (v)	minis	dull (a)	honaro
diet (n)	zdor	dumb (a, n)	čuto, hændəŋ (B.)
dig (v)	əkus, curaris	dusk (n)	bəlbəl
difficult (a)	kəkspo	dust (n)	thəlcir, thəl- cup
digestion (n)	šwe	during (adv)	tuspor
dinner (n)	beldanžəntun	'dwell (v)	bəsis, bəis
dip (v)	snuhi-this	dye (v)	rəŋ -dis
dirty (a)	čuŋu	dysentery (n)	əka
disperse (v)	soli-bus		E
dispute (n)	bitis	eagle (n)	grinši
distance (n)	dur	ear (n)	kəni
divide (v)	phət̚ this	ear-ring (m.)	əluŋ
divorce (n)	su: dis	ear-ring (f.)	nacha
divorce (v)	phete bis	ear-wax (n)	kənis puri
do, to (v)	this	earning (n)	čuŋpa
dog (n)	šwa	early (adv)	twaktə
donkey (n)	xəɾ, boŋ	earth (n)	pa/pe
door (n)	dar	earthen jar (n)	michei
door frame (n)	ribzi	earth quake (n)	chiŋ chiŋ bəl
double fold (a)	duširo	earth worm (n)	kənirbyas
doubt (n.)	šək	east (n)	šyɾr/šəɾ
doubt (v.)	šək bus	easy (a)	cəmo
down (adv)	kha/xa	eat (v)	khus
dowry (n)	daz	edge (n)	zur
dozen (n)	dərzən	effort (n)	košis
drag (v)	pəlraris, əli-žis	egg (n)	ŋul
draw(v)	skumi this	eight (num)	əšt
dream (n.)	šaŋi	eighth (num)	əšt-pa
dream (v)	šaŋi ritis	eighteen (num.)	əštunš
dried (a.pp)	šuko	eighty (num.)	čhərbušu
drink (v)	pis-	either (conj.)	ya, ništo
drive away (v)	ŋiŋa yis	elbow (n)	khun, khuno
drop (n)	thiks payəl	elder (a)	bono
drought (n)	šuko	elder uncle (n)	bono-bo
drug (n)	zmən	elder aunt (n)	boni aye
drum (n)	buŋs, dəmən	elder sister (n)	kaki/kake
dry (adj.)	šuko	elder sister in-law (n)	kaki/kake
dry (Trans.)	chucil		

elephant (n)	hathi, lanphoce	eye-ball (n)	ð̣hi rgyɔ̣lma
eleven (num.)	kodeš	eye brow (n)	migšok, mig- sma
embrace (n.)	mumiz	eye lash (n)	migšok
embrace (v.)	khosecis	eye lid (n)	migšok
empty, to			F
make (v)	spreithis	face (n)	unjuk
encircle (v)	skora-this	fade (v)	ṛη̣suc̣ɔ̣l, ṛη̣ ṇɔ̣xasis
encourage (v)	snịŋtet-dis	faint (v)	muni-bus
endure (v)	tỵɔ̣kpa-this	fall (v)	ṃð̣ris, nažis (B)
enclosure (shed)	bede	fall down (v)	lok-bus
enemy (n)	mirga kḥə̣npa	fallow land (n)	khali pe
enmity (n)	khon, mirgakḥə̣n	false (a)	čurku, čur- kụto
enough (a)	erur, cḥə̣t	family (n)	ʃhiga
enter (v)	-cis	famine (n)	naṇkhur
equal (n)	ʃar	fan (v)	hyabi-dis
erase (v)	p̣ə̣laris	fat (a)	go, gow
error (n)	ṣ̌ə̣ksmet	fatigue (v)	sumidus
evening (n)	beldạŋ, ḅə̣lbul	father (n)	bo
ever (adv)	ṭə̣kṭə̣ŋ	father's brother (y)	seno bo
every (a)	g̣ə̣ŋma	father's brother (e)	bonobo
everywhere (adv)	g̣ə̣ŋ kyaner	father's father	dudo
every one (pro)	g̣ə̣ŋko	father's mother	dede
every thing (pro)	č̣ịṣ̌ə̣k	father sister	pepe
evidence (n)	ṣ̌ịpsi	father's in-law	bo
ewe (n)	nilo	father-in-law's	
exaggerate (v)	thosiḷð̣razis	house	syasyur
excel (v)	thosi-bus	father's sister's husband	mumo
except (p.p.)	nešu	far (a)	dur
excreta (human)	č̣ḥə̣ksa	fast (in speed)	dṛə̣k
excreta (animal)	gožo/goso	fast (n.)	kḥə̣stuṇḅə̣is
excreta (birds)	beril	fear (n)	bihis
explain (v)	ṣə̣mjarayis	feast (n)	gurun
extinguish (Intrans)	nịṣ̌ei-this	feast (post death) (n)	ṣ̌iẓə̣k (m)
extinguish (Trans.)	ʃ̣ə̣thupthis	feather (n)	spulu
eye (n)	ð̣hi	feed (v)	ð̣p̣ə̣s, unis

fell (v)	naris	fly (n.)	mənṭha
female (n)	ṭhiga	fly (v)	upis
festival (n)	yḏkzḏḥs, noro-žḏk (B)	foam (n)	zbwa
fetch (v)	aris	fog (n)	bḏmo
fever (n)	khḏs	fold (v)	tagipḏs, tebus,-this
few (a)	kḏtḏgḏik, apik	follow (v)	zaddḏt ginis
field (agri)	ṭhus, ṭhḏspo	food (n)	zдор
field (ground) (n)	dus	foot (n)	kuṭṭi, kuṭi
filter, sieve (n)	caqs	for (part.)	phyacḏ
fifty (num.)	pinaṅṭrḏbišu	forbid (v)	konnathis
fifteen (num.)	pḏndeš	forget (v)	ḏmšis, phelibus
fight (v)	betis, tḏṅthis	forgive (v)	maph-this
fill (v)	piris	forgiveness (n)	maphi
find (v)	thopi-bus	forehead (n)	nulo/nolo
fine (n.)	zurmana	forest (n)	ruṅ
finger (n)	guli	forty (num.)	dubišu
finish (v.tr.)	čḥṛidis,	fort (n)	ne:r
finish (v. Int.)	čomsibus	foundation (n)	ḏkhus
fire (n)	gur	four (ḥun.)	čo:r
firefly (n)	meleps	fourteen (num.)	čudeš
fire place (n)	phupus	fox (n)	lei
fist (n)	muṭṭp	free of charge	
fish (n)	ṅa	(a/n)	mupḥuṭ
fishing (v)	ṅa nḏkhḏlis	fresh (a)	nyo/nḏy
five (num.)	puṅs	friend (n)	yḏto, hem
flame (n)	me-lo, melḏp	friendship (n)	rgakhḏn
flat (a)	dus	Friday (n)	šukuru (žḏk)
flee (v)	tra-bus	frog (n)	ši, sunḏm
flesh (n)	mos		phato sbḏlpa
flood (n)	čḥulok, čḥuboq	from (pp)	žuno
floor (n)	čos	front (a, n)	yari
floor (ground)	boi	fruit (n)	šinthok, thiṅ- thok, khḏjḏs
floor (Ist)	kača	fry (v)	ḏlis
flour (n)	ūma, nḏrjin	full (a)	peret, punzol
flow (n.)	wḏyḏl	full moon day (n)	coga
flow (v)	pyasis	fun (n)	zḏrgḏr
flower	pušo, pušro	furrow (n)	rul
flute	limbu		

G			
gamble (v)	čholo nutis	gradually (adv)	siṭən siṭən
garden (n)	ḍumba	grain (n)	gono, zənphe
garland (n)	skesa, har	grand (a)	bono
garlic (n)	zgegpa, sgogpa (Bal.)	grand father (n)	dudo
garment (n)	guluc	grand mother (n)	dede
gate (n)	stago	grand son (n)	poṭo
gather (v)	zəma this, də- msibus	grand daughter (n)	poṭi
general (ly) (adv)	zuṇdul	grapes (n)	raš/rəš
germinate (v)	puṭunaxšis	grass (n)	gəds/gas
get (v)	əris/aris	graze (v)	cəris-
get up (v)	uthis	grasp (v)	čhotibus
get well (recover)	noro bus	great (a)	bono
ghee (purified butter) (n)	šuno, šudmər	greed (n)	məks
ghost (n)	bhut, ɖe	green (a)	həḍuro,
giant (n)	gind	grey (a)	ŋundum
gift (n)	phuletis	grief (n)	duk/sduk
ginger (n)	tuṅḡəra	grind (v)	puris
girl (n)	mole, moləi	grinding mill (n)	yundə
give (v)	dis-	grip (v)	pi:s
glad (a)	thate, šra	groaning (v)	zguy
glass (looking) (n)	šisə	ground (n)	dus
glass (vessel) (n)	gilas	ground nut(n)	moṅphəli
glow worm (n)	cəri	grow (Intrans.)	žuz < žus
gloves (n)	ləqšups	grow (Trans.)	unis
go (v)	byəds-, bo-	guide (v)	punpisəyis
go astray (v)	zəti bus	guilty (a)	gunacən
goat (he) (n)	mier, chətəlo	gum (of teeth) (n)	ŋil
goat (she) (n)	paki, aw	gum (glue)	loš
god (n)	kunjok, kon- jok, lha	gun (a)	tubəq ŋil
goddess (n)	kunjok sum	gun powder (n)	smən
gold (n)	ser	guest (n)	hošo
golden (a)	ser-rəṅ		
gold smith (n)	ser-gər	H	
good (a)	ṭhalo	habit (n)	ŋyoks
gossip (v)	sperathis	hair (n)	zwakur, zəkor
		hair on the body (n)	zwakur, zəkor
		hair cut (v)	ṇuṅskər
		half (a)	phət

hammer (n)	thwa, mǎlthor	hide (Intrans)	ŋilzis
hand (n)	hath	hide (Trans.)	ŋilzǎris,
hand mill (n)	yunda		phaqthis
handle (n)	bitis, đun	high (a)	thonbo
handkerchief (n)	laqphis	hill (n)	ruŋ
handsome (a)	ṭhalo, ṭhali (f)	hip (n)	đoko
hang (v)	đun this	hire (v)	lere-this
happy (a)	šra	hit (v)	khote-bus
happiness (n)	šra	hoe (n)	tokce
hard (a)	šuro, zǎb-zǎb	hold (v)	ginis
hare (n)	ryoŋ, riboŋ	hole (n)	čhodoŋ
haste (n)	tok	hollow(a)	hǎtuŋ, gop
hastly (adv)	tok gyospa	home (n)	goṭh
hate (v)	nǎfrǎt-this	honey (n)	mǎtǎks
hatred (n)	šǎksmit	hoof (n)	zermǎŋ, rǎgo
he (pron)	so, pho (Bal.)	hope (n)	umed
head (n)	šis	honest (a)	imandar
headache (n)	šisžǎrmo	horn (n)	šin
heal (v)	so bǎyis	horse (n)	ǎbš
hear (v)	konthis	hot (a)	tato
heat (n)	khǎs	hound (n)	tiŋskhi/šwa
heat (v)	tato-this	house (n)	goṭh
heart (n)	hǎ/ho	households (n)	groypa
hearth (n)	phyupus	hour (n)	chuchot
healthy (a)	kosunda,	how (adv)	yetha
	net met	how many (a)	kǎtuk
heaven (n)	skewa	how much (a)	kǎtǎkik
heavy (a)	guro	hum (v)	huhuŋ this
heel (n)	tiŋba	humble (a)	jǎb-jǎb
hedge (n)	čherthaks	hunger (n)	ṭham
height (n)	žigo, thonmo	hungry (a)	ṭha
	(Bal.)	hungry, to be (v)	ṭhamis
hell (n)	kemǎt	hundred (num)	šyo
help (n.)	roks	hunt(v)	liŋs this, dǎru-
help (v)	roks-this		this, ṭha dǎru
hen (n)	byamo	hurt (v)	dilis
herb (n)	smǎn	hurry (v)	urpotheris
here (adv)	honjǎr	husband (n)	bǎro, var.
hiccup (n)	huk	husband's brother	
hiccup (v)	hukucuŋis	(y./el.)	bǎro

husband's father	bo
husband's father's	
sister (n)	pepe
husband's mother (n)	aye
husband's sister (n)	sas
husk (n)	sunphu
hut (n)	gəto
hyeana(n)	šəŋkhu
hymn (n)	sqəŋ
I	
I (pron.)	mo
ice (n)	aro
idea (n)	khəyal
idiot (a)	bekūp
idle (a)	gomcəŋ
idol (n)	sku
idolator (n)	skugipayis
ill (a)	zormocəŋ
illness (n)	zormo
imagine (v)	səmba-this
injure (Trans.)	con-dis
injury (n)	tizit
in (p.p.)	re, əzu
imprison (v)	khəŋčis
in between (adv)	hərdəpor
incense (n)	phok
indicate (v)	išara this
indigestion (n)	neswi
inform (v)	khəbərthis
in front of (adv)	hatubar
ink (n)	ṭhi, ṭsi (Bal.)
inkpot (n)	dəwat
innocent (a)	chonu
insanity (n)	pəhəloks
insect (n)	ətirin (Pu)
insist (v)	jəbərən-this
inside (adv.)	əru/aro
insult (v)	nešik-this
intellect (n)	əkəl, khyogapə

intention (n)	səmba
intengla (v)	bonizis
interest (n)	gamo
interesting (a)	hola
intestine (n)	nolto, nansto
invite (v)	gron-dis
iron (n)	ciŋər
iron smith (n)	khəru
irrigate (v)	wa-dis
itch (n)	hyasi
itching (v)	hyasi-bus

## J

jackal (n)	khipsyəŋ
jackplane (n)	rəŋda
jaundice (n)	həlduro
jaw (n)	thuro
jealous (a)	dajəl
jealousy, to do (v)	da-cis
jərk (n)	jaket
jərk (v)	cəŋ bus
join (v)	ekthis
joint (n)	syabu
joke (n)	zərgət
joke (v)	zərgət-this
jolt (v)	cəŋcəŋthis
judge (n)	jəs
judgement (n)	fesla
juice (n)	gunčəŋ
jug (n)	kəri
jump (v)	uṭus
justnow (adv)	thapəŋ thapəŋ

## K

keep (v)	ciris
keep silence (v)	hunnä-this
kernel (n)	šuno
key (n)	phikuliki
kick (v)	rdoqcoŋ-this
kidney (n)	khəlma (Bal.)
kill (v)	maris



kind (a)	skyōs, šyas		deldet
king (n)	rgyālpō	lead (v)	pišōyis
kiss (n)	cispa	leader (n)	thorok
kiss (v)	cispare	leaf (n)	pətakh, pəni
kiss, to give (v)	cispa-dis	lean (adj.)	kimet/ khi-met
kitchen (n)	kāisu goṭ, rəpsəl	leak (v)	siṭanwe, zəgḡi-bus
kite (bird) (n)	benduk	lean to be (v)	nəba yis
knead (v)	gurgur this	lean on back (v)	puṭuzenižo
knee (n)	kuṭo	learn (v)	nuphyuṭ, šit-rəyis
kneel (v)	zgui-this, kuṭiṅzis	leave (v)	phete this, mučis
knife (n)	kuṭər, qəṭər	left (side) (a)	yonpa, traṅ
knit (v)	ularis	leg (n)	kuṭṭi, kənkəṇ
knock (v)	ḡuṅḡuṅ this	let go (v)	bi:dis
knock down (v)	lok-this	letter (n)	šugu
knot (n)	gəṭhi	leopard (n)	a:š, səṅkhu
know (v)	jitis	lick (v)	lim-this
	<b>L</b>	lid (n)	khalip, khəlep
labourer (n)	siṭan	lie (n)	jhurku, čurku
	krumyos	lie, to tell	j'urku-dis
lac (num)	lakh	liar (a, n)	čhurkuṭo
lack (v)	chəri-bus	life (n)	čheo
ladder	ṭhumska	life breath (n)	kun
lake (n)	wari, čo (tib)	lift (v)	pra-bis
lamb (n)	čhəl, bheḡka	light (in weight)	paṭṭhe
lame (a)	kolo	(a)	səṅ, rwa, ṭša
lamp(n)	bamba	light (n)	bijli, ča
lamp (for worship)	chuṅme	lightning (n)	yaṅmo
(n)	stəṅ, strəṅ	light (in colour)	khyurdum, hocospo
lane (n)	boli	like (part.)	singe
language (n)	chumbu	lion (n)	oṭi, oṭhi
lap (n)	matkin	lip (n)	šərap
last (a)	siṭan, gori	liquor (n)	konthis
late (a)	chəksa	listen (v)	apeki
latrine/lavatory (n)	hazis < hasis	little (a)	
laugh (v)	hazi < hasi		
laughter (n)	kanūn		
law (n)	ḡḡəmcəṇ,		
lazy (a)			

live (v)	bəsis	mark (n)	phunuro
liver (n)	gim, chinma, lomčhin	marriage (n)	mənuθ/ mənuɖ
living (not dead)	zyut	married (a, pp)	θiga-bet
lizard (n)	prinkite	marry (v)	mənuɖ this
load (n)	bər	massage (v)	miθ-this
loan (n)	kərja, gyusi	mat (n)	šen
loan, to take (v)	gyušis	meal (n)	khostə
lonely (place) (a)	mabuldu	meaning (n)	mətləb
lock (n)	čhei, čəyi	meat (n)	moš
long (a)	zigo	measurement (n)	si
look, at (v)	skis	medicine (n)	smən
loom (n)	θəksa	meet (v)	misis, lizis
loose (adj.)	phelthe	melt (Intr.)	bililis
lose (v)	nəšis	melt (Tr.)	bilasis
loss (n)	nuksan, got	mend (garment) (v)	gulus-sis
louse (n)	zwa	merchant (n)	ston-pa (Tib)
love (n)	θespa, θəpa zamat	mercy (n)	dəya
love (v)	aboni-dis	merry (adj.)	dət
lovely (adv)	θalo	message (n)	khəbər
low (a)	khá	middle (a)	khəhyun
lunch (n)	beləŋkhus	midnight (n)	cən-phet
lung (n)	phuyan	mid-wife (n)	bəŋmiyato
	M	milk (n)	dut
mad (a, n)	pagəl	milk (v)	dut-are
magic (n)	jədu	mind (n)	khormo, əkəl
magician (n)	jadugər	mine (n)	kor
mail (n)	ɖak	mineral (n)	korpor
maize (n)	čha, məka	mirror (n)	gu: ri
make (v)	ratis	miser (a)	čuɖula
male (a, n)	pho (Tib)	mistake (n)	čuɖu
man (n)	myuš	mix (Intr.)	sitə-rayis
manure (n)	khunš	mix (Tr.)	mesəris, musaris
many (a)	beda	mixture (med.)	pisu-smən
manners (n)	khosoniŋ hyäl	mole (n)	smyə
mare (n)	əšpi, rgun ma (Tib)	monday (n)	cəndral (žək)
		money (n)	rmyul/rmul
		monk (n)	luə
		monkey (n)	əš, sədi

month (n)	mūs	mountain	ri
moon (n)	jun, gyun (B)	mountain pasture	dadrok
moonless night (n)			N
	junṭhup	nail (finger) (n)	uri, neri (Bal.)
more (a)	bede	nail (iron) (n)	skəmba
morning (n)	čwalto	naked (a)	nu: no
mortar (n)	štun	name (n)	nu
mosque (n)	məzɪt	narrow (a)	titək, doqmo
mosquito (n)	ceŋgi	navel (n)	·slyta
moss (n)	chu: tswa	near (adv)	aboni/-nir
mother (n)	aye	neck (n)	gri
mother's father (n)	dudo	necklace (n)	skichya,
mother's mother (n)	dede		gaŋsrip
mother's brother (n)	mumo	need (n)	rgusaŋ
mother's sister (n)	sene aye	need (v)	rgosibus
mother's sister's		needle (n)	su
husband (n)	sene bo	neighbour (n)	khimčes
mother's br's wife (n)	pepe	nephew (n)	bio, bayosina
mother's br's son (n)	bayo	nerve (n)	ṭhə, tsə (Pu.)
mother's br's		nest (n)	ul
daughter (n)	kake(e), sazo	net (n)	ḍrundre
	(y)	new (a)	nəy
mother's sist. son (n)	bayo	news (n)	xəbəṛ
mother's sister's.		next (a)	soso
daughter (n)	kake/sazo	never (adv)	ma busu nə
mound (n)	kedpa	niche (n)	caŋs
mould (v)	chiŋ	niece (n)	bayo moləi
mourn (v)	səṭpa-this	night (n)	rat
mouse (n)	mu:zi, kunili,	nine (num)	nu
moustache (n)	sməgra	nineteen (num)	kunj
mouth (n)	u:zu	ninety (num)	pinaŋ šyo
move (v)	zas	nipple (n)	dut
movement (n)	greti	no/not (part.)	nə, neš, nes-i
much (a)	bede	noise (n)	ṭaŋna, hisis
mud (n)	moṭi	noisy (adj)	ziŋzaŋ
mule (n)	khəcəṛ	none (pron)	kogenes
murderer (a, n)	mipset	noon (n)	tasraŋto
muscle (n)	pimpə	north (n)	caŋ
musk (n)	grīsi	nose (n)	nuto
mustard (n)	ŋyuskəṛ	nostril (n)	khunu, nuto- skhor

nourish (v)	unis	overflow (n)	ziginyō
now (adv)	ti, thəpəŋ,	overtake (v)	thəli-bus
nothing (pron)	yegenēs	owl (n)	to
no where (adv)	məmuz	ox (n)	zo
nun (n)	čomo (Tib)		P
nurse (n)	dayə	pain (n)	zormo/ zurmo
	O	paint (n)	rəŋsenayis
oar (n)	rabi	pair (n)	zuŋs
oath (n)	l̥əs, ston̥z	paisa (n)	pene, rmyul
offend (v)	gəlti-this	palm (n)	yeri, ləqthil (Bal.)
offer (v)	hodaskal-this	palmist (n)	həthiras
oil (n)	sono, t̥il	palace (n)	kispa
oil cake (n)	mək̥di	pan iron for cooking (n)	ner
oilman (n)	sono achis		ɖumba
old man (n)	zaro, dudo, zyaro	pan (of stone) (n)	bəlus
old woman (n)	zeri/zyari	paper (n)	kagəj, šugu
old (not new) (a)	pruno	pant (v)	həŋsi-bus
omen (good) (n)	zəŋmo	paralysis (n)	mərdərbyuŋ, nəmskyon
on, upon (adv. pp)	zigindi	parents (n)	aye-bo
once (num)	phera-ek	parrot (n)	tuti
one-eyed (a)	šwe, kənə	part (n)	phet̥thə, po
onehalf (a, n)	phət̥ the	partridge (n)	kagos
onion (n)	čəŋ	pass (of mountain)	chu:r
only (a)	thamo	pasture (n)	taŋka
open (adj.)	one	past (a)	guzra
open (v)	unis	pastil (n)	pisut
opposition (n)	tharpor	patch (n)	chide
or (conj.)	ya	patient (n)	zurmo
orange (n)	səntra	path (n)	pun
order (v)	skoyithis	pay (v)	dis
ordinary (a)	mamuli	payjama (n)	cəndlu
other (a)	əkpə, okpə	peas (n)	kyukyan, ga: mbu
otherwise (conj.)	honato		məbz
our (pron)	əso	peacock (n)	bari
out (adv)	ben, bene	peach (n)	bər
outside (adv)	ben	peak (n)	bol-bol
ought (a, n)	rgospa	peace (n)	
oven (n)	phəbius, phufus		

pearl (n)	luzu, mutik	play (n)	khel
peck (with beak) (v)	khəmcu-dis	play (v)	yaŋspa-this
pebble (n)	səkhthəŋ	play on (v)	būj-dis, pəyis
peg (n)	ldaŋ	pleasant (a)	məɾjəlbəla
peculiar (a)	təmsya	plenty (a)	bede
peel (v)	dilis	plough (n)	həl, grəmlen (Pu.)
penalty (n)	čhətpa (Tib)	plough (v)	bəhis
pen (n)	kələm	plough share (iron)	phul
pencil cedar	šukpa	plug (v)	khəha-dis
pepper (chilly)(n)	məɾči, ŋirma	pocket (n)	čənda
persist (v)	səŋleciris	point out(v)	pəša-this
perspiration (n)	smuli	pointed (a)	šaštə, nyal
persuade (v)	thəɾəyis	poison (n)	zar
physician (n)	əmcī (Tib)	poor (a n)	nəlbəčəŋ
pickle (n)	əcar	pot (n)	zaŋs,
pick-up (v)	ucus	pot (for water) (n)	cukur
pice (n)	pene	potato (n)	alu
pig (n)	naŋur, phəq (Tib)	pounce (v)	ginis
pigeon (n)	kuni:li	powder (n)	chologəŋ
pile up (v)	səŋlis	practise (v)	zbyaŋ- this
pilgrim (n)	jali	prayer (n)	šəkpul
pilgrimage (n)	jali, zyarat(M)	pray(v)	skora-this
pillar (n)	thumska	preceptor (n)	əkhon
pillow (n)	ono	pregnant (human) (a)	swi:te
pinch (n)	curət	pregnant (animal) (a)	tu:z (bet)
pinch (v)	curet-this	prejudice (n)	čəskhon
pissu (n)	paro	predict (v)	khenibus
pit (n)	kha	press (Tr.)	net-bus
pitcher (n)	michəi	press (Intr.)	nis
pity (n)	dəya, norocosikneš	pretend (v)	čənu this
place (n)	jəga, məlsə	pretention (n)	bəhanə
place (v)	chiris	prick (Intr.)	puro-
plain (a)	du:s	prick (Tr.)	kunočhis,
plait (of hair)	ular	price (n)	puro-
plant (n)	khəreŋi	pride, təqbur (M),	rin
plate (metal) (n)	thali, təbəq (M)	priest (n)	phoso (Tib)
		prison (n)	bamī:r (M)
		prisoner (n)	khəŋči
		profit (n)	khəŋči-do
			phida. pheda

prohibit (v)	m̄na-this	raise (v.t.)	uthya, gyus
promise (v)	ch̄t this, weda-	raw (adj.)	na-pak
property (n)	š̄kȳl, mal	ray of light (n)	n̄ḡz̄r
protect (v)	noro-this	ram (n)	ñilok, kȳrlo
protest (n)	hiliñ	reach (v.i)	n̄phet-
proud (a)	kosundo, phosoc̄n (Bal.)	read (v.t.)	silis, silithis
		reap (v)	l̄dis
pure (a)	č̄hali, th̄ali	rear (v)	č̄h̄riyoñs
purify (v)	th̄ali bus, t̄sali-	reason (n)	th̄p̄r̄ñ
	ž̄o-this	recognize (v)	yusñs
pull (v)	kirze	recognition (n)	yuñs
pulse (local) (n)	d̄al	recollection (n)	yuš
pulse (n)	nagzugo	recovery (n)	̄dap
pus (n)	boks-this	red (a)	lodo
push (v)	phunis	refuse (v)	n̄ye-this
put on (v)		refresh (v)	nyo-this
	Q	regret (n)	goti-
quarrel (n)	bhityo	regret (v)	gyoti-bus
quarry (n)	khan	rheumatism (n)	c̄ñgu
quarter (n)	č̄orphet, paw	reins (n)	str̄bs, thorgowa
queen (n)	rgȳlma	relation (n)	kh̄or
question (n)	sunyans	religion (n)	č̄hos
quick (a)	š̄oksthe	remain (v)	b̄sis
quickly (adv)	š̄oksthe- š̄ok-sthe	remember (v)	ka-this
	cup, bildum	remove (v)	pr̄yis
quiet (a)	cukbo	repair (n)	m̄rm̄t
quietly (adv)	da-kh̄n (Tib.)	repair (v)	m̄rm̄t-this
quiver (n)		repeat (v)	ph̄t̄iri-razis
	R	reply (v)	j̄wab
race (n)	b̄ñz̄dur, boñdyoñs (Budh.)	request (n)	rajuñs
		request (v)	rajuñthis
raddish (n)	mulo	request (ask for)	de-this
rain (n)	azo, ch̄rpa	resemble (v)	coksis
rain (v)	azo-yis	respect (v)	da-cis
rainbow (n)	surimole	rest (n)	busum
rain water (n)	č̄h̄rcu	rest (v)	busum-dis
rainy season (n)	stonlza (Pu.)	return (v)	ph̄tri-aris
		reverse (v)	kh̄j̄buka
		rib (n)	preši, p̄r̄ši

rice (n)	brðs	sacrifice (n)	strok-dis
rich (a)	ramis, norcðn	saddle (n)	zga
riches (n)	pene, nor	saffron (n)	kurkum
ride (v)	punis	salt (n)	pðyu
ridicule (v)	zðrgðt-this	salted (a, pp)	pðyucðn
right (side)	traŋ	salutation (n)	žule
right (correct)	thigla	salute (v)	zu this
rind (n)	čhin	saw (n)	ðra
ring (n)	guṭhi/ goṭhari (Pu.)	same (a)	tomo
ring (bell) (v)	khutis	sand (n)	siri, sðksul (Pu.)
ring finger (n)	hðrðŋo -guli	satiate (v)	peyis
ripe (adj.)	pacol	sattu (n)	setu
ripen (v)	pacis	Saturday (n)	šinšeru
rise (v)	uthis	say (v)	rasis, razis
ritual (n)	mosphyac	save (v)(protect)	pazo čhiris
river (n)	sin	shave	ŋuŋskðr
rivulet (n)	bar	scatter (v)	binis
road (n)	pun	scarf (n)	gulubðnd
roar (v)	bu:-sis	scissors (n)	ðubðt
roast (v)	gipa-, xðšo- this	scold (v)	syedis
rock (n)	ðoks	scrape (v)	ðkus
roll down (v)	baṭu	scratch (v)	kðnis
roller (n)	ril	scream (v)	bihis-this
roof (n)	thok, šyðlta/ šðlta	scorch (v)	dažis, dasis
room (n)	goṭ, goṭh	scorpion (n)	zgaltoš (Pu.)
root (n)	pðtðk	search for (v)	stoti-this
rope (n)	raš	season (n)	nðmza
round (a)	polo, kirkir	seasoning (n)	bðghar
rough (a)	cab-bus	seath (n)	šubs
rotten (a, pp)	chuṭu	second (a. num)	okpo
rub (v)	kažis	see (v)	skis, riṭhis
run (v)	bðŋdis	seed (n)	bi
rupee (n)	sŋul, smul (Tib)	secret (a)	phðqšot
rule (n)	hukumðt	seduce (v)	punaris
rule (v)	hukumðt this	self (my) (pon)	mi -
		selfishness (n)	sesmuk
		sell (v)	riginis
		send (v)	ṭrenis, bečis
		separate (v)	soso-this

servant (n)	dugz mi	shut (v)	suro-this
service (n)	sket	shy, to feel (v)	chəbsis
serve (v)	sket-this	shyness (n)	šikar
serve (food) (v)	kruš-dis	sick (a)	zormocən
seven (num)	sat	sickness (n)	zormo
seventy (num)	pinaŋcor- bišu	sickle (n)	busums
several (a)	kosə	side (n)	sul
sew (v)	si:s	sieve (n)	čhagspa
shade, shadow (n)	sil	silver (n)	smul, sŋul
shake (Tr.)	cheŋtis	silent, to be (v)	cukbobði this
shake (Intr.)	tustus-this	similar (part.)	coks
shake (head)	skulithis	sing (v)	gui-dis
shame (n)	šikar	singer (n)	guidispa, lumkhən
share (v)	skəl this	single (a)	ekeki
sharp (a)	ṭhalila	sink (v)	wərnazugo
sharpen	kazis, zdərdis	sin (n)	ñispa
she (pron)	sa/so	sinner (n a)	čhosthispa
sheep (n)	khyəllo, (Bal) ñiro	sir (Inter.)	kesər
shepherd (n)	pəžulo	sister (n)	sas(y), kake(e)
shield (n)	phəli	sister's husband (n)	sazəri
shine (v)	ṭrəlpis	sister's son (n)	sazo
shining (a)	ṭholo	sister's daughter (n)	sazoi
shirt (n)	kəmi:z	sit (v)	bəs/bis (Pu.)
shiver (v)	haŋsi-bus	six (num)	ṣə
shoe (local) (n)	pila/pula	sixteen (num)	ša-beš
shoe (leather) (n)	krədpa	skeleton (n)	aṭṭirga
shop (n)	həṭi	skin (n)	thuro / žəṭthuro
shopkeeper (n)	həṭi-pa	skull (n)	khormo, go-phor (Pu.)
short (a)	xoṭo	sky (n)	dolo
shorten (v)	sene-this	slap (n)	zgam
should (v)	rgospa	slap (v)	zgam-this
shoulder (n)	kəlgi	slay (v)	maris
shout (v)	kriw-this, ra-zəl	sleep (n)	ñis
showl (n)	cəzər	sleep (v)	susis
shrink (v)	khumsis	slide (v)	ru-this
show (v)	pəša	slip (v)	grətibus
		slippery (a)	grətibəsula



slab (of stone)	thonbo, gan (Pu.)	son's mother-in-law (n)	budei
slow (a)	sṭən	son-in-law (n)	məḵpa (Tib)
slowly (adv)	sṭən sṭən	song (n)	goi
sleeve (n)	philuṅs	soon (adv)	gyokispa
small (a)	seno	sorrow (n)	duk/sduk
small pox (n)	čhim-čhim, brumpa	soul (n)	čhe, žit
smear (v)	senayis	soup (n)	byəndə
smart (a)	cust	sour (a)	ṭito, cukuro
smell (n)	gončuṭu	south (n)	co, choks
smell (v)	šnumi (Pu), gonthis	sow	biyis
smile (n)	i:ŋ	spade (n)	syəḷba
smile (v)	i:ŋ bus	speak (v)	razis
smoke (n)	ḍu	speak ill of (v)	čuṭu-this
smoke (v)	təmaku pi-	spear (n)	neza,
snake (n)	žun, thuks brul (Pu.)	spend (v)	charibus
snatch (v)	dilis	spice (n)	məṣala
sneez (n)	girims	spider (n)	sči, sṭin
sneez (v)	thit-this, giri- msithis,-bus	spin, spinning (v)	katis
snore (n)	ŋizgra	spindle (n)	phəŋ, ṭsaq, tura
snore (v)	ŋizgra-this	spine (n)	suŋ rus
snow (n)	azo, aro	spirit (soul) (n)	još
so and so (pron)	phəlanik	spoon (n)	khəpi, thumbu
soak (v)	warəciris	spoon (big (n)	krəsu
soap (n)	sabəŋ	spoon (wooden) (n)	rabo
soft (a)	həsa	spit (v)	thu-this,-dis
socks (n)	kaŋsups	spittle (n)	rgil, thui
sole (of foot) (n)	kaŋthil	split (v)	čhiris
some (a)	kek	spread (Intr.)	bedebus, ph-yaldin
someone (pron)	ekik	spread (Tr.)	thiŋi -dis
somehow (adv)	ebetoga	spring (season)	bozuŋ, ulo
son (n)	bio/byo	spring (of water)	uču,
son's wife (n)	nušu	sprinkle (v)	phyasis, kra- mithis (Pu)
son's son (n)	poṭo	sprout (v)	sphu-this
son's daughter (n)	poṭi	square (a)	kruzbi
son's father-in-law (n)	budei	squeeze (v)	grimzus,

	čhəpun this	suck (v)	cupis, curis
stair case (n)	thumska	sudden,-ly (adv)	suŋul
stale (a)	myuṭo	sugar (n)	həsa khəra
stand (v)	uthis	sulphur (n)	mozi
star (n)	turi, skərma (Bal.)	summer (n)	ulo, bəsun
statue (n)	sku	sun (n)	suri
stay (v)	bəis	sun-rise (v)	suri-dis
start (v)	šuru this	sun-set (v)	suri-nupis
steal (v)	coraris	Sunday (n)	əditī (žək)
steam (n)	laŋspa	suspicion (n)	šək, corok (Pu.)
stem (of tree) (n)	ḍim	surrender (v)	šunəmsi-this
step (n)	pənu	swallow (v)	nəkhazis, smitithis
step mother (n)	sene aye		ŋulču (Tib)
step father (n)	bo	sweat (n)	šmuli-bus
stick (n)	gulu/gule	sweat (v)	čošgyus, lṭəs
stick to (Tr.)	kriŋzis, li-are	swear (n)	lṭəs-this
stick (Intr.)	lisis	swear (v)	saŋlis, zuli- this
still (part)	hobeto	sweep (v)	žulithispa
stir (v)	gurgur this, phyari this	sweeper (n)	nərmō
stomach (n)	wəṛ	sweet (a)	mithai
stone (n)	naro	sweet meat (n)	škeli
stop (Tr.)	bithayis	swimming (n)	uṭus, škeli- this
stop (Intr.)	bethizis	swim (v)	šusbus
store (n)	gəŋ	swell (v)	šus
storm (of wind)(n)	luŋdrək	swelling (n)	pheli-bus
storey (n)	thok	swell (spread) (v)	phyaldinbus
story (n)	šolo	sway (v)	phyal-phyal this
straight (a)	sida	swing (v)	rərgi
stream (n)	chumik (Tib)	sword (n)	
stretch (v)	skyaŋ this		
street (n)	strəŋ		
string (thread) (n)	phraŋ		
strong (a)	sečhend		
strength (n)	kosondo	tail (n)	piči
strip off (v)	dilis	tailor (n)	dərijpa
study (read) (v)	silitis	take (v)	aris
stumble (v)	ti:zis	take away (v)	nəkhlis
stupid (a, n)	beqūp	take turn (v)	phətiris

## T

tall (a)	žigo	thirsty (adj.)	ni:lo
talk (v)	spira this	thirsty, to be (v)	ni: dis
target (n)	štaks	thirty (num)	bišudəs
tame (v)	unis	this (pron)	homo
tamed (a, pp)	poebaguŋ	thou (pron)	ti
taste (n)	murū	thousand (num)	ston
taste (v)	pəyuskis	thorn (n)	kuno
tea (n)	ca	Thursday (n)	brəspu
teach (v)	razis, šitayis	thunder (n)	gurgur, lokčər
teacher (n)	master		
teacheress (n)	master mo	thumb (n)	guth
teaching (n)	raz rəz	thread (n)	sus
tear (n)	ašo	thread (woolen)	sərum
tear (v)	chinis	thread (cotton)	rəskut
tease (v)	doqsi this, sñətoyis	threaten (num)	zikpisayis
		three (num)	trə/tra
tell (v)	razis	threefold (num, a)	trasiro
temple (n)	gonpa, čhodkhəŋ	threshing (v)	thonis
		threshing floor (n)	khəl
tempt (v)	hələs this	thrice (num, a)	phera trə
ten (num)	dəš	throat (n)	ganduru
tent (n)	zbra	throne (n)	thi
terrible (a)	bihis	throw (v)	phetis
testicles (n)	gothul	tie (v)	bunis, ularis
thank (v)	ti:šaz-dis	tie up (v)	khən ciris
that (pron)	ho	tiger (n)	aš, šəŋkhu
theft (n)	cori	tight (a)	ʔək - ʔək
their (pron)	tendi	till (adv)	tia, hosibuŋ
then (adv.)	to, hozono	time (n)	nəmjə
there (adv)	parir/pari	timid (a)	hones
therefore (conj.)	hobetoga	tin (n)	cəksər
these all (pron)	homočok	tired (a)	šumit, šum-ibo
thick (a)	phətoro, dindiro	tired, to be (v)	šumi-bus
thief (n)	corla, cəqpa (P)	toe (n)	kuʔtis bono- guli
thigh (n)	phəʔali, səsnə	tobacco (n)	tamaku
thin (a)	thospa, khi-met	today (n)	as/əs
		together (par.)	suma
think (v)	səmba-this	tongue (n)	lce, ltya
thirst (n)	ŋis		

tomorrow (n)	retya/rətya	(num)	phinantrə
tomorrow (daughter)	ṭui dis		
tomorrow (3rd day)	coḍis		U
tomato (n)	pəgəm	uncle (y) (n)	senebo, ba:ce
tooth (n)	ḍəni	uncle (e) (n)	bono bo
top (n)	šis	umbrella (n)	ṇirip
torture (v)	nəqspisəyis	unmarried (a)	bəgma nə
total (a)	gəṇma		th-edi
touch (v)	skis	under (adv)	gemin
towards (adv)	lokskyər	understand (v)	zyusuṇsis
trade (v)	stonkabe bus	unite (v)	ek-this
trail (n)	šaks	unite (v)	unis
traveller (n)	ləmstənkħəṇ	uncover (v)	turaris
tree (n)	sinthok, cəgmo (lcəṇma)	until (part)	čħəksa
		up (adv)	zya
tremble (v)	zeṇzeṇ bus, tustus	upward (adv)	hosonošsər
		urban (a)	cuksa
triangular (a)	kusun	urinate (v)	chus this
trousers (n)	ki:t, kəca	urine (n)	chus
true (a)	mətaks	unripe (a)	nə pako
trumpet (n)	turuṇ, tuṇ	utensil (n)	boyo
trust (n)	dyaṇma		V
trust (v)	chesibus	vagabond (n)	təlkhor
truth (n)	ṭhwalo	vain (a)	čhun
truthful (a)	nərola	valley (n)	ha:s
try (v)	phraluks-this (Pu), ais	vegetable (n)	šu
		vein (n)	nəzə
turban (n)	thot	veranda (n)	hyaps
turmeric (n)	yuṇ, hyuṇ	very much (a)	bede
turnip (n)	mulo	vessel (pot) (n)	zaṇs
turn down (v)	ḍampherok	vessel (wooden)	phebo
twelve (num)	budeš	victory	rgyəl
twenty (num)	bišo/bišu	village (n)	bun
twice (a, num)	pheradu	virgin (a, n)	bəgponəthedi
twins (n)	chəṇye	virtuous deed (n)	rgyəl ba
twinkling (n)	ləq ləq	visit (v)	kyəbyəsis
twist (v)	grimsis	vomit (v)	čħəis, gəṇm- loge bus,
two (num)	du	voice (n)	ləndi
two and a half		vulture (n)	bendak, rəvurəvəṇ

W

waist (n)	doko	(get) well (v)	norobus
waist band (n)	šili	well to do (a)	norocən
wait (n)	tenik (Pu.)	west (n)	nub
wait (v)	rathyaŋsis, tenikthis	wet (a)	harido, hərito
walk (n)	zazi, sər	what? (pron)	ye ?
walk (v)	zazis	wheat (n)	gum
wall (n)	ku	when ? (adv.)	kere
walnut (n)	əθho	whenever (adv)	kerebeto
want (n)	zñu	when (conj.)	hozənto
war (n)	thəmo	where? (adv)	kyaner
warm (a)	tato	which (pron, a)	kaw
wash (v)	dus	whip (n.)	gulu
washerman (n)	duspa	whisper	šupšup-this
waste (v)	chonuhəryan this	whistle (n)	skit, swit
water (n)	wa	whistle (v)	sui-this
water mill (n)	yunđa	white (a)	šo
water channel (n)	gyab	white wash (v)	kəlak-this
water pot (loṭa)(n)	ṭibil	who ? (pron)	ko
waterfall (n)	čurut	whom ? (pron)	kesera
wave (n)	čulbəgs	whosoever (pron)	kere
wave (v)	bələyis	whole (a)	gəŋma
weak (a)	khimet	why (adv)	yera, yere
wealth (n)	gəmis, nor	wick	skyoŋo, sər (n)
wealthy (a)	norcən	wide	phəlcənd(a.)
weather (n)	za	widow	moryaŋmo(n.)
wear (v)	phunis	widower	phoryaŋmo (n.)
weave (v)	thaksis	wife	ṭhiga (n.)
weaver (n)	thaskən	wife's brother (y)	ruru (n.)
Wednesday (n)	bodu (žək)	wife's brother (e)	bonobayo (n.)
weed (v)	ŋin -this	wife's sister (y)	sas (n.)
week (n)	həpta	wife's sister (e)	kake (n.)
weep (v)	rus, ruis	wife's mother	aye (n.)
weigh (v)	lji this, skari- this	wife's father	bo (n.)
weight (n)	minis	wife's brother's son	sazo (n.)
well (of water)	čhodon	wife's brother's daughter	sozoi (n.)
well (hale hearty) (a)	noru		

win (v)	rgyale-bus	worship (n)	čhəkp̄hul
wind	oš (n)	worship (v)	chəkp̄hul-
window	bərbəṅ,		tnis
	khəpət	wound (n)	čhunit (n)
wine	chəṅ (n)	wrap (v)	bunis,
wing	ul (n)		buskya this
winnow	siki-this (v)		(Pu.)
winnowing		wrist (n)	chigs, ləqčhiks
basket	basəṅ (n)	write (v)	zbri-this
winter	syəṛə, yuno (n)	wrestle (v)	yaṅspa this
wipe (v)	pəldis (v)	wrong (a)	gələt (a)
wire	tar (n)		Y
wise	əkəlcəṅ (a)	yak (n)	yak (n)
with (p.p.)	sum, suma	yawn (v)	layis
without (part)	na bet	year (n)	sar /lokhor
with (in company)	cesum		(Tib)
witness	chubji (n)	yellow	həlḍuru (a)
wolf	šəṅkhu (n)	yes (part)	ya, həṅ
woman	ṭhiga (n)	yesterday (n)	run/rhun (n)
wood	kuṭh (n)	day before	dəbdis (n)
wool	paš (n)	you	ti/tu (pron.)
woolen patti	pao (n)	young	jəwan (n, a)
word	spera (n)	younger	seno, š-kil bu
world	duniya (n)		(Pu)
work (n)	krum (n)	brother	nono
work (v)	krum this (v)	younger sister	nomo
worm	kri (n)	yoke	həlṭu (n)
worry	le (n)		

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baily, T.G. (1924) *Grammar of the Shina Language*, London.
- Crook, W. (Reprint, 1973), *Races of Northern India*, Cosmo, Delhi.
- Edelman, D. I. (1983), *Dardic and Nuristani Languages*, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow.
- Francke, A. H. (Reprint, 1977), *History of Western Tibet*, Delhi.
- Grierson, G. A. (1916) L.S.I. Vol. III, pt. II & Articles on Piśaca.
- Jaschke, H. A. (first 1881, Reprint, 1987), *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, M.B.D. Delhi.
- Jolden, E. (1985), *Harvest Festival of Buddhist Dards of Ladakh and Other Essays*. Kapur Bros., Srinagar.
- Kachru, B.B. (1967). *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri* (Mimio.)
- Leitner, G.W.V. (1877), *The Languages and Races of Dardistan*, Lahore.
- (1889), *Dardistan and Kashmir etc.*
- Morgen Stierne, George (1926), *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo.
- (1932), *Report on Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, Oslo, and many other articles on different languages of Dardic group appeared in NTS & Acta Orientalia, Oslo.
- Ramaswamy, N., (1975), *Brokskat Phonetic Reader* (1982); *Brokskat Grammar*, (1989), *Brokskat-Urdu-Hindi-Eng. Dictionary* CIIL, Mysore.
- Sharma, D.D. (1983), *Linguistic History of Uttarakhand*, VVR Hoshiarpur.
- (1985, 1987), *The Formation of Kumauni Language*, Part I & II, Delhi.
- (1988-1993), *Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages*, Vol. I-V, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.
- (1994), *A Comparative Grammar of Tibeto-Himalayan Languages*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.