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Brokpa texts, glossary and verb stems: *Appendices to* Aspects of Brokpa Grammar

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The appendices to *Himalayan Linguistics 19.1: Aspects of Brokpa Grammar* consist of three parts, namely the text collection compiled by the Brokpa Documentation and Description Project (BDDP) at the Department of Linguistics of Bern University (Appendix A), a commented Brokpa glossary with etymologies (Appendix B) as well as the list of verb stems attested so far, indicating stem alternations (Appendix C). For the abbreviations used in these appendices, the transcription of Brokpa and the transliteration of Written Tibetan, see Gerber & Grollmann (this issue).

A   Texts

This appendix presents the text corpus compiled from 2017 until 2020 by the BDDP, forming the basis for the analyses of the language presented in the papers of this issue. The corpus contains 23 texts of together approximately 30 minutes of recording.

Since we could only work with one speaker, there are no recordings of natural conversations or spontaneous interaction. Rather, all texts represent monologues in various forms and genres. Besides presenting natural data on the Brokpa language, these texts also provide insights into the culture and everyday life of the Brokpa. Many texts allude to the traditional pastoralist lifestyle of the Brokpa, and how this is confronted by modern political and technological structures and tools such as cellphones or army trainings taking place in Merak and Sakteng.

The texts are ordered according to different genres, namely anecdotes, traditional narratives, instructions and descriptions, texts based on prompts, and songs. A full list of all the texts together with their acronym and date of recording can be found in Table 1. The first text in the corpus shows how our consultant Tshering Leki got to know Professor George van Driem, an acquaintance that initiated the BDDP at Bern University. Afterwards, texts are ordered alphabetically within the genres.

In the texts, hesitation is indicated by commas, and repetitions of single words or short sequences are translated accordingly. Breaking-off of the narration is indicated by <->. Code-switching with Tibetan, English or German is indicated in the second line by a subscript abbreviation of the language in question. Note that Tibetan structures are only glossed minimally, without grammatical details.

The audio files of all 23 texts can be found in the folder 'Supplemental Material' on the Himalayan Linguistics-web page of this paper.

Genre	Text	Acronym	Date of recording
Anecdotes	Meeting the Professor	MP	December 19
	Army Camp	AC	April 17
	Explosive Materials	EM	April 17
	Falcon Attack	FA	April 17
	Korean Tourist	KT	November 17
	Lost Schoolboys	LS	July 19
	Misunderstanding	MU	March 19
	My Family	MF	October 17
	New Cellphone	NC	April 17
	Strawberry Incident	SI	May 17
	Village Deity	VD	November 19
	Yak Accident	YA	November 17
	Yeti Encounters	YE	November 19
	Yeti Skeleton	YS	November 19
Traditional narratives	Brokpa Origin	BO	October 17
	The Bat and the Vulture	BV	December 17
Instructions and descriptions	Dyeing Clothes	DC	April 17
	Making Butter	MB	July 19
	Making Tea	MT	October 17
	Village Head	VH	November 17
Texts based on prompts	The North Wind and the Sun	NS	October 19
	Yak Dance	YD	December 17
Songs	Song of Offerings	SO	April 17

Table 1 Index of Brokpa texts

A.1 Anecdotes

A.1.1 Meeting the Professor [MP]

The speaker relates how he first met Professor George van Driem in Geneva, and how he came to be involved in the Brokpa Documentation and Description Project. The text was originally recorded in two parts, with a break between lines 6 and 7.

(1) *profesor dʑoʑdaŋ ɲí ɲi undagif- unda ɸre tʰaŋgi kon lapna*

profesor   dʑoʑ = daŋ   ɲí   ɲî   unda   pʰre   tʰaŋ = gi
Professor George = COM   1PL.EXCL   two   for.the.first.time   meet   way = GEN

   kor = ne   lap na
   about = ABL say COP.EQ.ASM

'I talk about how Professor George and I first met.'

(2) *nam lo ɲîtoŋtɕyʈuki ɖuki gejɔŋ tyɕen tsisuŋ ɟasin tɕinifala ŋa tɕiti*

    nam lo   ɲî-toŋ-tɕyʈuk = gi   ɖuk = gi   gejoŋ   tytɕen tsisuŋ
    sky   year two-thousand-sixteen = GEN Bhutan = GEN national holiday celebration

      ɟap-sin   tɕinifa = la   ŋa   tɕi-pe
      do-CVB1 Geneva = DAT 1SG go.PST-NMLZ.PST

    'I went to celebrate the 2016 Bhutanese national day in Geneva.'

(3) *on eɸildi do:dã ɲí ɲi poŋβɔŋ ɟam te*

    one   epʰi = la = di   do: = daŋ   ɲí   ɲî   poŋpoŋ ɟap-ne
    and.then DEM.DIST = DAT = DEF friend = COM 1PL.EXCL two chat   do-CVB2

      te
      stay.PST

    'I was staying there with a friend and chatting.'

(4) *on ʈonba kaŋ matsa jerga:*

    one   ʈonba kaŋɟo matsa jer-ga:
    and.then guest all   almost run-leave

    'Almost all the guests had left.'

(5) *tɕida kʰɔŋ mi ɲî doxsɔŋ ɲí ɲi tsamla*

    tɕida kʰoŋ mi   ɲî dok-soŋ   ɲí   ɲî tsam = la
    finally 3PL person two arrive-PST.SEN 1PL.EXCL two nearby = DAT

    'Finally, two people came over to us two.'

(6) *on ɲí ɲi ɲam poɣɔŋ ɟane otɕins ɟasin on profesor ʥoʑ daŋ ŋa otɕinse ŋoɕeɸi retina*

    one   ɲí   ɲî   ɲambu poŋpoŋ ɟap-ne   otɕins ɟap-sin   one
    and.then 1PL.EXCL two together chat   do-CVB2 thus   do-CVB1 and.then

      profesor ʥoʑ   daŋ ŋa otɕins ŋo-ɕe-pe   re-pe
      Professor George and 1SG thus   recognize-know-NMLZ.PST become-NMLZ.PST

      na
      COP.EQ.ASM

    'We were chatting with them, and doing so, Professor George and I came to know each other.'

(7) *one profesor dʑoʑɟe cʰo ɖuk kane jin lasɔŋ*

one   profesor   dʑoʑ=ɟe   cʰo   ɖuk   ka=ne   jin
and.then Professor George=AGT 2SG Bhutan where=ABL COP.EQ.EGO
  lap-soŋ
  say-PST.SEN

'The Professor said 'Which part of Bhutan are you from?'.'

(8) *on ŋa ɖuk ɕertɕon jin laɸi*

one   ŋa ɖuk   ɕertɕo=ne   jin   lap-pe
and.then 1SG Bhutan eastern.part=ABL COP.EQ.EGO say-NMLZ.PST

'I said 'I'm from the eastern part of Bhutan'.'

(9) *ɕertɕo kans lasɔŋ*

ɕertɕo   ka=ne=se   lap-soŋ
eastern.part where=ABL=REP say-PST.SEN

''Which part of the east?' he said.'

(10) *on ŋa sâteaŋne jins laɸi*

one   ŋa sâteaŋ=ne   jin=se   lap-pe
and.then 1SG Sakteng=ABL COP.EQ.EGO=REP say-NMLZ.PST

'I said 'I'm from Sakteng'.'

(11) *otɕins lasin profesorɟe a cʰo brokpa es las*

otɕins lap-sin   profesor=ɟe   a   cʰo brokpa e=se   lap=se
thus   say-CVB1 Professor=AGT INJ 2SG Brokpa Q=REP say=REP

'Saying so, the professor said 'Ah, are you Brokpa?'.'

(12) *on ŋa ɔŋ laɸi*

one   ŋa ɔŋ   lap-pe
and.then 1SG alike say-NMLZ.PST

'And I said yes.'

(13) *on lasin profesorɟe cʰo bropki ɕe e las*

one   lap-sin   profesor=ɟe   cʰo brokpa kî   ɕe   e lap=se
and.then say-CVB1   Professor=AGT   2SG Brokpa language know Q say=REP

'Saying so, the professor said 'Do you know the Brokpa language?'.'

(14) *ondi ɲe bropki ɕes laɸi*

one=di   ɲe   brokpa kî   ɕe=se   lap-pe
and.then=DEF 1SG.AGT Brokpa language know=REP   say-NMLZ.PST

'And I said 'I know the Brokpa language'.'

(15) *on lasin one kʰoe kʰogi eso pʰrugba tɕik ɟane kʰegi brokpagi kî lapmigi ʈoa jedɔŋ*

one   lap-sin   one   kʰoe   kʰo=gi   eskur pʰrugu=ba tɕik
and.then say-CVB1   and.then 3SG.M.AGT   3SG.M=GEN   school child=PL   one

  ɟap-ne   kʰe=gi   brokpa=gi kî   lap-mi=gi   ʈoa
  do-CVB2   2SG.GEN=GEN   Brokpa=GEN language say-NMLZ.ACT=GEN   interest

  jedoŋ
  COP.EX.EPI

'Saying so, he said that his students might be interested in meeting up to learn the Brokpa language.'

(16) *one otɕins ʈoa jøna kʰoɲɟe cʰol ʈewa ɟaina cʰol ʈikro es las*

one   otɕins ʈoa   jo-na   kʰoŋ=ɟe   cʰo=la   ʈewa
and.then thus   interest   COP.EX.EGO-COND   3PL=AGT   2SG=DAT   contact

  ɟap-cina   cʰo=la   ʈik-ro   e=se   lap=se
  do-PRS.ALLO   2SG=DAT   be.ready-SBJ   Q=REP   say=REP

'And he said 'If they are interested, they will contact you, if that's okay with you?'.'

(17) *on ɲe ʈicinas laɸi*

one   ɲe   ʈik-cina=se   lap-pe
and.then 1SG.AGT be.ready-PRS.ALLO=REP   say-NMLZ.PST

'And I said 'It's okay with me'.'

A.1.2 Army Camp [AC]

The speaker relates how Bhutanese soldiers from Yonphula near Trashigang came to Merak and Sakteng to exercise, where they accidentally used live rounds instead of blanks on each other.

(1) *jønɸulane unla armiba mera sâteaŋ kʰɔŋ treniŋ jɔŋsin one desin tɕik meral jɔŋ desin tɕik sâteaŋla jɔŋɸenas*

jønpʰula = ne   unla   armi = ba   merak sâteaŋ kʰoŋ treniŋ   joŋ-sin
jønpʰula = ABL previously soldier = PL Merak Sakteng 3PL   training come-CVB1

  one   desin tɕik merak = la   joŋ   desin tɕik sâteaŋ = la
  and.then group one   Merak = DAT come group one   Sakteng = DAT

  joŋ-pe   na = se
  come-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM = REP

'Some time ago, when soldiers came from *jønɸula* to Merak and Sakteng to exercise, one group came to Merak and one group came to Sakteng.'

(2) *kʰɔŋ otɕinsdi ʈeniŋ ɟasin kʰɔŋ ʈeniŋ ɟasin di tɕiŋtɕik kʰɔŋ mâl ʈogidi lukse kʰan ɟam memsa taŋsin di memsa djuːdi ŋonemani sumadi tɕúŋ taŋena*

kʰoŋ otɕins = di ʈeniŋ   ɟap-sin   kʰoŋ ʈeniŋ   ɟap-sin   di   tɕiŋtɕik   kʰoŋ
3PL   thus = DEF training do-CVB1   3PL   training do-CVB1   TOP vis-à-vis 3PL

  mâ = la   ʈo = gi = di   lukse   kʰan ɟap-ne   memsa taŋ-sin   di   memsa
  war = DAT go = GEN = DEF tradition alike do-CVB2 rifle   do-CVB1   TOP rifle

  djuː = di   ŋonemani suma = di   tɕúk-ne   taŋ-pe   na
  bullet = DEF not.real   false = DEF put.inside-CVB2 do-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

'When they were exercising thus, when they were exercising, they faced each other as if they were going to war, and when they were shooting, they did so by loading the rifles with fake bullets.'

(3) *ta ɲeraŋ tɕin bamɕugu djuː laɟin*

ta   ɲeraŋ   tɕín bamɕugu djuː   lap-cina
now 1PL.INCL how plastic   bullet say-PRS.ALLO

'We call these plastic bullets.'

(4) *ne otɕin ɟasin mâmbalal otɕins djuː ŋonedi tónmi ʈanɕen tine bamɕugugi djuː na sam memsa tãtɕinsin di djuː ŋoneɟe pʰoxɸenas*

one	otɕins	ɟap-sin	mâm=ba=lal	otɕins	djuː	ŋone=di
and.then	thus	do-CVB1	soldier=PL=PAUC1	thus	bullet	real=DEF

tón-mi	ʈan-ɕe-ne	tine	bamɕugu=gi	djuː
take.out-NMLZ.ACT	remember-know-CVB2	after.that	plastic=GEN	bullet

na	sam	memsa	taŋ-tɕin-sin	di	djuː	ŋone=ɟe	pʰok-pe
COP.EQ.ASM	think	rifle	do-give-CVB1	TOP	bullet	real=AGT	hit-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'When they were doing so, some of the soldiers forgot to take the real bullets out, and when they were shooting thinking they were plastic bullets, real bullets struck.'

(5) *one mâm pʰatɕogidi natpretinas*

one	mâm	pʰatɕo=gi=di	natpa	re-pe
and.then	soldier	other.side=GEN=DEF	patient	become-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'The soldiers on the other side got injured.'

A.1.3 *Explosive Materials [EM]*

The speaker recalls an anecdote from his childhood, when Bhutanese soldiers from Yonphula near Trashigang came up to Sakteng for training and left some explosive materials upon their departure.

(1) *onedi mâmba jal jɔŋ kʰɔŋ kemp ɟapne di on kʰɔŋ jɛr kʰɔŋ hapto ɲîs tena*

one=di	mâm=ba	ja=la	jɔŋ	kʰoŋ	kemp	ɟap-ne	di	one
and.then=DEF	soldier=PL	up=DAT	come	3PL	camp	do-CVB2	TOP	and.then

kʰoŋ	jer	kʰoŋ	hapto	ɲî-s	te	na
3PL	run	3PL	week	two-APPROX	stay.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'Many soldiers came up, they camped, and they left- they stayed for about two weeks.'

(2) *on kʰɔŋ jɛrgaːldaŋ tin ɲiba eso tɕiti ɕol*

one	kʰoŋ	jer-gaː-pe=daŋ	tine	ɲí=ba	eskur
and.then	3PL	run-leave-NMLZ.PST=COM	after.that	1PL.EXCL=PL	school

tɕi-pe	ɕor=la
go.PST-NMLZ.PST	along.the.way=DAT

'After they had left, we were walking on our way to school.'

(3) *kʰɔŋ josal tɕi têsɔŋ bamɕugu ʈau tɕik tʰɔŋenas*

kʰoŋ	jo-sa=la	tɕi	tê-sin	oŋ	bamɕugu	ʈau
3PL	COP.EX.EGO-NMLZ.LOC=DAT	go.PST	look.PST-CVB1	alike	plastic	alike

tɕik	tʰoŋ-pe	na=se
one	perceive-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'We went to look at the place where they had been and saw something like a piece of plastic.'

(4) *one ɲe doː ɲîɕe ot mel tɕíse ʂataŋsin tin blujoŋɸe kʰõrɔŋ ɲi pʰaɸa tsutsu curtaŋenas*

one	ɲe	doː	ɲî=kʰe	oti	me=la	tɕí=se
and.then	1SG.GEN	friend	two=FOC	DEM.PROX	fire=DAT	what=REP

ʂa-taŋ-sin	tine	bluk-joŋ-pe	kʰoŋ=raŋ	ɲî	pʰa-pʰa
burn-do-CVB1	after.that	explode-come-NMLZ.PST	3PL=REFL	two	there-there

tsu-tsu	cur-taŋ-pe	na=se
here-here	throw-do-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'When two of my friends, um, burned it in the fire, it exploded, and they were thrown all over the place by the blast.'

A.1.4 Falcon Attack [FA]

The speaker relates how his uncle once caught a falcon that stole chickens.

(1) *naːsi preaŋla tɕa ot tɕa tɕin ɕocina koŋa samigi ton*

naːsi	preaŋ=la	tɕa	oti	tɕa	tɕin	ɕo-cina	koŋa
yak.herder	hut=DAT	bird	DEM.PROX	bird	often	put-PRS.ALLO	egg

sa-mi=gi	ton
eat-NMLZ.ACT=GEN	reason

'At the yak herder's hut, chickens, chickens are often kept for eating the eggs.'

(2) *ɟasin naːsba preaŋ tsanine tos matʰoŋesɔŋ tɕaba tɕeri gunm tɕin kʰerʈocina*

ɟap-sin	naːsi=ba	preaŋ	tsanine	to-sa
do-CVB1	yak.herder=PL	hut	all.the.time	stay-NMLZ.LOC

ma-tʰoŋ-pe=sɔŋ	tɕa=ba	tɕeri	kunma	tɕin
NEG-be.able-NMLZ.PST=CVB.CAUS	bird=PL	falcon	thief	often

kʰer-ʈo-cina
take-go.PRS-PRS.ALLO

'Doing so, the herders can't stay at the hut all the time, and so the chickens are often taken by falcons.'

(3) *kʰutɕik ɲe aɕaŋi tɕadoŋɕik tɕeri gun ɟam seɸina*

    kʰuɕ-tɕik   ɲe   aɕaŋ = gi   tɕadoŋ = ɕik   tɕeri   kunma ɟap-ne
    times-one 1SG.GEN maternal.uncle = GEN rooster = INDF falcon thief   do-CVB2

      se-pe   na
      eat.PST-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

    'Once, a rooster of my uncle's was stolen and eaten by a falcon.'

(4) *tɕadoŋdi bomsoŋ tɕeri tématʰoɸe*

    tɕadoŋ = di   bombo = soŋ   tɕeri   té-ma-tʰop-pe
    rooster = DEF   big = CVB.CAUS falcon pick.up.PST-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST

    'Because the rooster was so big, the falcon couldn't pick it up.'

(5) *tɕʰexa sen tɕʰexa otɕins lyɸina*

    tɕʰexa se-ne   tɕʰexa otɕins ly-pe   na
    half   eat.PST-CVB2 half   thus   leave.behind-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

    'He ate half and left the other half.'

(6) *on kʰoe saŋkʰandil ɲé: tɕoɕan tɕeri ɲé: na tʰopn tetina*

    one   kʰoe   saŋ   kʰan = di = la   ɲé: tɕo-ɕak-ne
    and.then 3SG.M.AGT tomorrow alike = DEF = DAT snare.trap make-put.PST-CVB2

      tɕeri ɲé: naŋ   tʰop-ne   te-pe   na
      falcon snare.trap inside achieve-CVB2 stay.PST-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

    'The next day or so, he [the uncle] made a snare trap, and managed to keep the falcon inside the trap.'

(7) *on kʰoe preaŋ tɕer tâɕan di kʰoi do:ɕik kʰoe tsam doxsin do:ɟe tɕeril ɖu*

    one   kʰoe   preaŋ tɕeri   tâ-ɕak-ne   di   kʰo = gi
    and.then 3SG.M.AGT hut   falcon tie-put.PST-CVB2 TOP 3SG.M = GEN

      do: = ɕik   kʰoe   tsam   dok-sin   do: = ɟe   tɕeri-la   ɖu
      friend = INDF 3SG.M.GEN nearby arrive-CVB1 friend = AGT falcon-DAT tease

    'He tied up the falcon in the hut, and when a friend of his came to his hut, the friend teased the falcon.'

(8) *on tɕeri tɕeri kʰoi kaŋbi lol tsapar tãtɕin*

    one   tɕeri   tɕeri   kʰo = gi   kaŋba = gi lo = la   tsapar taŋ-tɕin
    and.then falcon falcon 3SG.M = GEN leg = GEN surface = DAT slap   do-give

    'And then the falcon, the falcon attacked his leg.'

(9) *kʰoi kaŋm napɕo*

    kʰo = gi   kaŋba natpa   tɕo
    3SG.M = GEN leg   patient make

    'His leg was injured.'

(10) *doːd rub laŋ*

    doː = di   ruba laŋ
    friend = DEF anger rise

    'The friend got angry.'

(11) *tɕer seɕakɸena*

    tɕeri   se-ɕak-pe   na
    falcon kill-put.PST-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

    'He killed the falcon and left it for dead.'

A.1.5   Korean Tourist [KT]

The speaker describes the contents of a video he had recently found on YouTube, of a Korean tourist who visited Merak and the footage he shot there. The video can be found online under the title 'Bhutan, In Search of a Celestial Kingdom – Part 1. Road to Merak, an Unchartered Land' (`https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=01z6CrBtsUo`) [24.06.2020].

(1) *taŋcim ɲe tɕíse jutup naŋla korengi miɕik mɛral di turis jɔŋɸe tʰõsɔŋ*

    taŋcim   ɲe   tɕí = se   jutup_ENG   naŋ = la   koren = gi
    a.few.days.ago 1SG.AGT what = REP YouTube_ENG inside = DAT Korean = GEN

     mi = ɕik   merak = la di turis joŋ-pe   tʰoŋ-soŋ
     person = INDF Merak = DAT TOP tourist come-NMLZ.PST perceive-PST.SEN

    'A few days ago, I, um, saw on YouTube a Korean guy, a tourist coming to Merak.'

(2) *ɔne kʰo lamga jal otɕins ʈosin kʰo kaŋɟo otɕins lam jal tɕjâŋ ʈocinam oni jal mal gylin ɟasin tɕjâŋ ɟacinam kãjo kʰoe piru tɕoɕado*

one	kʰo	lamga	ja=la	otɕins	ʈo-sin	kʰo	kaŋɟo	otɕins	lamga
and.then	3SG.M	path	up=DAT	thus	go.PRS-CVB1	3SG.M	all	thus	path

ja=la	tɕjâŋ	ʈo-cina-mi		one	ja=la	ma=la
up=DAT	how	go.PRS-PRS.ALLO-NMLZ.ACT		and.then	up=DAT	down=DAT

gylin	ɟap-sin	tɕjâŋ	ɟap-cina-mi		kaŋɟo	kʰoe	pidju
trade	do-CVB1	how	do-PRS.ALLO-NMLZ.ACT		all	3SG.M.AGT	video

tɕo-ɕak	tuk
make-put.PST	COP.EX.ACQ

'While he's going up on the path, he had made a video of everything, how he is going up the path, how people are doing when they are trading up and down.'

(3) *ɔne mɛra jegi mɛral miba tɕjâŋ tocinam ɔne toptɕe daŋ oʈo mi tos daŋ tɕjâŋ jenam oha kãjo kʰoe tɕíse piru tɕoɕado*

one	merak	ja=gi	merak=la	mi=ba	tɕjâŋ	to-cina-mi
and.then	Merak	up=GEN	Merak=DAT	person=PL	how	stay-PRS.ALLO-NMLZ.ACT

one	toptɕe	daŋ	oʈo	mi	to-sa	daŋ	tɕjâŋ
and.then	food	and	thus	people	stay-NMLZ.LOC	and	how

jena-mi	oba	kaŋɟo	kʰoe	tɕí=se	pidju
COP.EX.ASM-NMLZ.ACT	DEM.PROX.PL	all	3SG.M.AGT	what=REP	video

tɕo-ɕak	tuk
make-put.PST	COP.EX.ACQ

'He, um, had made a video of all this, how people in Merak, up in Merak are living, the food and stuff, how people are and how they live.'

(4) *ɔne ɔti di kʰoe tas jutup naŋ tɕúŋ ɕado*

one	oti	di	kʰoe	tas	jutup_{ENG}	naŋ	tɕúk-ne
and.then	DEM.PROX	TOP	3SG.M.AGT	now	YouTube_{ENG}	inside	put.inside-CVB2

ɕak	tuk
put.PST	COP.EX.ACQ

'And then this he had now put on YouTube.'

A.1.6   Lost Schoolboys [LS]

The speaker relates an incident that happened during his childhood, when a group of schoolboys from Bhutan got lost on a hike in the mountains around Sakteng, leading to a large rescue operation. The story was prompted to illustrate the taboo of throwing stones or otherwise disturbing certain lakes (lines 4 and 5), which is believed to cause harm to the transgressors.

(1)   *unla nam lo ɲîtɔŋ daŋ ɲîtɔŋtɕiks ɸal tsul jinuŋ ŋa jaɸ ʈain min*

unla	nam	lo	ɲî-toŋ	daŋ	ɲî-toŋ-tɕik-s	pʰa=la
previously	sky	year	two-thousand	and	two-thousand-one-APPROX	there=DAT

tsu=la	jinuŋ	ŋa	jakpo	ʈan-co?	min
here=DAT	COP.EQ.EPI	1SG	clearly	remember-PRS.EGO	COP.EX.NEG.ACQ

'It was maybe around the year 2000 or 2001, I don't remember clearly.'

(2)   *ɖukne eso o: ʈuk torɕorena kʰuɕik*

ɖuk=ne	eskur	o:	ʈuk	tor-ɕor-pe	na	kʰuɕ-tɕik
Bhutan=ABL	school	boy	six	throw-lose-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM	times-one

'Once, six schoolboys from Bhutan got lost.'

(3)   *oti tɕín torenasin kʰɔŋba*

oti	tɕín	tor-pe	na-sin	kʰoŋ=ba
DEM.PROX	how	throw-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM-CVB1	3PL=PL

'This is how they got lost.'

(4)   *sa ɲima tawa tɕikla tɕyty kapsol rigi tsila cʰam tɕitil kʰɔŋba l̥áso tɕiki tsam te*

sa	ɲima	tawa	tɕik=la	tɕyti	kapso=la	ri=gi
weekday	saturday	sunday	one=DAT	holiday	during=DAT	mountain=GEN

tsé=la	cʰam	tɕi-pe=la	kʰoŋ=ba	l̥á	tsʰo	tɕik=gi	tsam
top=DAT	walk	go.PST-NMLZ.PST=DAT	3PL=PL	god	lake	one=GEN	nearby

te
stay.PST

'When they were going for a hike on the mountain tops during holidays on a saturday or sunday, they stayed nearby one of the sacred lakes.'

(5)   *tsʰogi naŋ do tomtaŋ otɕin ɟasin tsʰo kʰo:*

tsʰo=gi	naŋ	do	tom-taŋ	otɕins	ɟap-sin	tsʰo	kʰo:
lake=GEN	inside	stone	throw-do	thus	do-CVB1	lake	boil

'They were throwing stones into the lake; doing so, the lake boiled.'

(6) *oni nam pap bruk taŋ kʰɔŋba lam tor on otɕins na: naŋ torɕorena*

one		nam	pap	bruk	taŋ	kʰoŋ=ba	lamga	tor	one		otɕins
and.then	rain	go.down	thunder	do	3PL=PL	path	throw	and.then		thus

na:	naŋ	tor-ɕor-pe	na
forest	inside	throw-lose-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'And then it rained and thundered, they lost the path and thus got lost in the forest.'

(7) *one ɖukne mi maŋ kʰaɲɟoɟe otɕins tɕʰin tsa:lena*

one		ɖuk=ne	mi	máŋ	kaɲɟo=ɟe	otɕins	tɕi-ne
and.then	Bhutan=ABL	person	group	all=AGT	thus	go.PST-CVB2

tsa:-pe	na
search-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'A large group of people from Bhutan went searching.'

(8) *on tɕida lasin ɲim tɕuɕi tɕeŋági tɕitɕi kʰɔŋ ʈukne ɕidi lo tʰɔŋenas*

one		tɕida	lap-sin	ɲima	tɕuɕi	tɕeŋá=gi	tɕitɕi	kʰoŋ	ʈuk=ne
and.then	finally	say-CVB1	day	fourteen	fifteen=GEN	later	3PL	six=ABL

ɕi=di	lo	tʰoŋ-pe	na=se
four=DEF	again	perceive-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'Finally, 14 or 15 days later, they found four of the six again.'

(9) *ɲî lamgal otɕins ɕína kʰɔŋ pʰrugu ɲîdi*

ɲî	lamga=la	otɕins	ɕí	na	kʰoŋ	pʰrugu	ɲî=di
two	path=DAT	thus	die	COP.EQ.ASM	3PL	child	two=DEF

'Two had died on the way, two children.'

A.1.7   Misunderstanding [MU]

In this anecdote from his childhood, the speaker comments on a lexical difference between the Brokpa varieties spoken in Merak and Sakteng. While the animal skin worn over the jacket to protect from rain is called *paktsa* in both villages, only in Sakteng is it also called *ɲo:ɕe*. This leads a friend of his, a boy living in Sakteng whose parents come from Merak, to confuse it with *ɲo:le*, which are maize dumplings filled with cheese.

(1) *unl merakpi o:ɕik sâteaŋla jõ*

unla	merakpa=gi	o:=ɕik	sâteaŋ=la	joŋ
previously	merak.person=GEN	boy=INDF	Sakteng=DAT	come

'Some time ago, a Merak boy came to Sakteng.'

(2) *onedi sâteaŋ mitɕeɕbaɕe kʰol ɲoːɕ kʰe laɸenas*

one = di   sâteaŋ   mi   tɕe-ɕo = ba = kʰe   kʰo = la   ɲoːɕe
and.then = DEF Sakteng person   old-COMPR = PL = FOC   3SG.M = DAT   animal.skin

  kʰe   lap-pe   na = se
  bring.IMP   say-NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM = REP

'The older people in Sakteng told him to bring a piece of animal skin (*ɲoːɕe*).'

(3) *jine merakpe ɲoːɕela paktsa mato ɲoːɕ lak mɛna*

jine   merakpa = ɟe   ɲoːɕe = la   paktsa   mato   ɲoːɕe
but   merak.person = AGT   animal.skin = DAT   animal.skin   only   animal.skin

  lap-ki   mena
  say-NFIN   COP.EX.NEG.ASM

'But people from Merak call the animal skin only *paktsa*, not *ɲoːɕe*.'

(4) *one ta ɲe brokpi kʰala ɲoːɕi daŋ tine lo ɲoːle laɸeɕi jena*

one   ta   ɲe   brokpa = gi   kʰa = la   ɲoːɕe   daŋ   tine
and.then   now   1SG.GEN   Brokpa = GEN   mouth = DAT   animal.skin   and   after.that

  lo   ɲoːle   lap-pe = ɕik   jena
  again   maize.dish   say-NMLZ.PST = INDF   COP.EX.ASM

'In the Brokpa language, there is something called *ɲoːɕe* (animal skin), and something called *ɲoːle* (maize dish).'

(5) *ot lasin ta merakpe ɲoːɕe mato sâteaŋpe paktsal ɲoːɕe lacina*

oti   lap-sin   ta   merakpa = ɟe   ɲoːɕe   mato
DEM.PROX   say-CVB1   now   merak.person = AGT   animal.skin   only

  sâteaŋpa = ɟe   paktsa = la   ɲoːɕe   lap-cina
  sakteng.person = AGT   animal.skin = DAT   animal.skin   say-PRS.ALLO

'So people from Merak only say *ɲoːɕe*- people from Sakteng call the animal skin *ɲoːɕe*.'

(6) *mɛrakpe paktsal paktsa mato ɲoːɕ lak mɛna*

merakpa = ɟe   paktsa = la   paktsa   mato   ɲoːɕe   lap-ki
merak.person = AGT   animal.skin = DAT   animal.skin   only   animal.skin   say-NFIN

  mena
  COP.EX.NEG.ASM

'People from Merak call the animal skin only *paktsa*, not *ɲoːɕe*.'

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(7) *one o:dila tɕíse ɲo:ɕ kʰe lasin ta kʰoe ɲo:l na sam*

one	o:=di=la	tɕí=se	ɲo:ɕe	kʰe	lap-sin	ta
and.then	boy=DEF=DAT	what=REP	animal.skin	bring.IMP	say-CVB1	now

kʰoe	ɲo:le	na	sam
3SG.AGT	maize.dish	COP.EQ.ASM	think

'When they told the boy to bring, um, a *ɲo:ɕe* (animal skin), he thought it was *ɲo:le* (maize dish).'

(8) *tʰap ŋontɕol tsa:tetina*

tʰap	ŋontɕo=la	tsa:-te-pe	na
fireplace	front=DAT	search-stay.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'He searched in front of the fireplace.'

A.1.8   My Family [MF]

The speaker briefly talks about his immediate family in Sakteng: his late father, his mother, and his three younger half-siblings.

(1) *ŋala ap me*

ŋa=la	apa	me
1SG=DAT	father	COP.EX.NEG.EGO

'I don't have a father.'

(2) *ap tɕuŋkune ɕína*

apa	tɕuŋku=ne	ɕí	na
father	small=ABL	die	COP.EQ.ASM

'He died when I was small.'

(3) *am tas sâheaŋ teti jena*

ama	tas	sâteaŋ	te-pe	jena
mother	now	Sakteng	stay.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EX.ASM

'At the moment my mother lives in Sakteng.'

(4) *ɔne ap ap tɕik am tɕik ɟe- ɟape puntsen lane pʰrugu ŋa tɕikle mɛna*

> one   apa   apa   tɕik ama   tɕik ɟap-pe   puntsen lap-ne   pʰrugu
> and.then father father one mother one do-NMLZ.PST sibling say-CVB2 child
>
>   ŋa   tɕik-le   mena
>   1SG one-also COP.EX.NEG.ASM

'And father, from the same father and mother, I am the only sibling, or child.'

(5) *one ta ɲe ɦoːne pʰrugu kʰɔŋ pun am tɕik puntsen sum ɟena*

> one   ta   ɲe   ɦoː=ne   pʰrugu kʰoŋ puntsen ama   tɕik puntsen
> and.then now 1SG.GEN below=ABL child   3PL sibling   mother one sibling
>
>   sum   ɟena
>   three COP.EX.ASM

'And the children younger than me, they're siblings, I have three siblings from the same mother.'

(6) *bom ɲî haŋ oː tɕik*

> bomo   ɲî   daŋ oː   tɕik
> daughter two and son one

'Two sisters and one brother.'

(7) *one kʰõ sumɟeraŋ tas eso ʈocina*

> one   kʰoŋ sum-ɟeraŋ tas eskur ʈo-cina
> and.then 3PL   three-all.of now school go.PRS-PRS.ALLO

'All three of them are going to school now.'

A.1.9 New Cellphone [NC]

The speaker relates how the yak herders from Sakteng started using mobile phones, although the reception in the mountains is often bad.

(1) *tiriŋsaŋdi tsâheaŋla ɸon dɔxvena ɸon movail ɸon*

> tiriŋsaŋ=di   sâteaŋ=la   pʰon dok-pe   na   pʰon
> nowadays=DEF Sakteng=DAT phone arrive-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM phone
>
>   mobail_{ENG} pʰon
>   mobile_{ENG} phone

'Nowadays mobile phones have arrived in Sakteng.'

(2) *jinedi naːsi preaŋ daŋ di ri rɔŋ ɕuŋ netɔk eɕɛn mɛna*

jine=di	naːsi	preaŋ	daŋ	di	ri	rɔŋ	ɕuŋ	netok	eɕen
but=DEF	yak.herder	hut	and	TOP	mountain	valley	along	network	good

mena
COP.EX.NEG.ASM

'But at the yak herder's place and in the mountains and valleys the network is not good.'

(3) *one kʰuɕtɕik ɲe aɕaŋ kʰoe naːs doː ɕanbal tɕik lagoɸe tɕun pʰon tãsin nɛtɔk eɕɛn meti*

one	kʰuɕ-tɕik	ɲe	aɕaŋ	kʰoe	naːsi	doː
and.then	times-one	1SG.GEN	maternal.uncle	3SG.GEN	yak.herder	friend

ɕanma=ba=la	tɕik	lap-go-pe	tɕuŋ-ne	pʰon	taŋ-sin	netok
other=PL=DAT	one	say-must-NMLZ.PST	happen-CVB2	phone	do-CVB1	network

eɕen	me-pe
good	not.exist-NMLZ.PST

'Once it happened that my uncle had to tell something to another of his yak herder friends, and when he phoned him, the network was not good.'

(4) *one pʰon tsam taŋmi ɟapne ɸon pʰal taŋmatoße lyn ondi kʰo pʰon cuɕan di kʰoe pʰal poɸenas*

one	pʰon	tsam	taŋ-mi	ɟap-ne	pʰon	pʰa=la
and.then	phone	how.much	do-NMLZ.ACT	do-CVB2	phone	there=DAT

taŋ-ma-tʰop-pe	ly-ne	one=di	kʰo
do-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST	leave.behind-CVB2	and.then=DEF	3SG.M

pʰon	cur-ɕak-ne	di	kʰoe	pʰa=la	po-pe
phone	throw-put.PST-CVB2	TOP	3SG.M.AGT	there=DAT	call-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'However much he tried to phone, he was left there with the phone not working, and he put the phone down and he yelled there.'

(5) *kʰoe po- po ondi kʰoe tɕíse di tiriŋsã pʰon ɟapned taŋbi pʰonrã ʈaɕ tuks laɸenas*

kʰoe	po	one=di	kʰoe	tɕí=se	di	tiriŋsaŋ	pʰon
3SG.M.AGT	call	and.then=DEF	3SG.M.AGT	what=REP	TOP	nowadays	phone

ɟap-ne=di	taŋbo=gi	pʰon=raŋ	ʈa-ɕo	tuk=se
do-CVB2=DEF	first=GEN	phone=REFL	good-COMPR	COP.EX.ACQ=REP

lap-pe	na=se
say-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'He yelled and he said, um: 'The old phone is better than the new one.''

A.1.10 Strawberry Incident [SI]

The speaker relates how, as a child, his older cousin (the son of his mother's older sister) would make him and his other cousin (the son of his mother's brother) throw strawberries at him so he could catch them with his mouth, until they turned the tables on the older boy.

(1) *unla tɕuŋkula ŋa tɕuŋkula sâteaŋla eso ʈosin di ɲe ɕaŋsin dã ŋa nenda na*

unla	tɕuŋku=la	ŋa	tɕuŋku=la	sâteaŋ=la	eskur	ʈo-sin	di
previously	small=DAT	1SG	small=DAT	Sakteng=DAT	school	go.PRS-CVB1	TOP

ɲe	ɕaŋsin	daŋ	ŋa	nenda na
1SG.GEN	male.cross.cousin	and	1SG	peer	COP.EQ.ASM

'Long ago, when I was small, when I was small and going to school in Sakteng, my cousin and I were of the same age.'

(2) *one ɲe auɕ jena am tɕeɕi o:*

one	ɲe	au=ɕik	jena	ama
and.then	1SG.AGT	older.male.parallel.cousin=INDF	COP.EX.ASM	maternal.aunt

tɕe-ɕo=gi	o:
old-COMPR=GEN	son

'And I had an older cousin, my aunt's son.'

(3) *audi kʰo tɕeɕ na kʰo ɲí ɟapn klase tʰoɕ na*

au=di	kʰo	tɕe-ɕo	na	kʰo	ɲí
older.male.parallel.cousin=DEF	3SG.M	old-COMPR	COP.EQ.ASM	3SG.M	1PL.EXCL

ɟap-ne	klase_GER	tʰo-ɕo	na
do-CVB2	class_GER	high-COMPR	COP.EQ.ASM

'The cousin, he is older, he is in a higher class than we are.'

(4) *on ɲí eso ʈosin di saradi eso teaŋ tʰopcina*

one	ɲí	eskur	ʈo-sin	di	sara=di	eskur	teaŋ
and.then	1PL.EXCL	school	go.PRS-CVB1	TOP	lunch=DEF	school	plain

tʰop-cina
achieve-PRS.ALLO

'When we go to school, we get lunch at school.'

(5) *derm daŋ kopadi sraŋsos pʰâ nã tɕúŋ kʰergohin ʈogohina*

derma   daŋ   kop=ba=di   raŋraŋsoso   pʰâ   naŋ   tɕúk-ne
plate   and   cup=PL=DEF   individually   gho.pocket   inside   put.inside-CVB2

  kʰer-go-cina   ʈo-go-cina
  take-must-PRS.ALLO   go.PRS-must-PRS.ALLO

'Everybody has to put their own plates and cups inside the gho pocket and take them to school.'

(6) *ondi eso tʰetãedan di ɲí lo jɔŋsin telo derm daŋ oba pʰâ nã tɕúŋ cʰɔnjɔŋsin lamgal*

one=di   eskur   tʰer-taŋ-pe=daŋ   di   ɲí   lo   joŋ-sin
and.then=DEF   school   drop-do-NMLZ.PST=COM   TOP   1PL.EXCL   again   come-CVB1

  telo   derma   daŋ   oba   pʰâ   naŋ   tɕúk-ne
  again   plate   and   DEM.PROX.PL   gho.pocket   inside   put.inside-CVB2

  cʰoŋ-joŋ-sin   lamga=la
  bring-come-CVB1   path=DAT

'After school is over, when we come back, we put the plates and stuff inside the gho pocket again, bringing them back on the path.'

(7) *sôdi sisi tɕin jɔŋcina*

sô=di   sisi   tɕin   joŋ-cina
spring=DEF   strawberry   often   come-PRS.ALLO

'In spring there are often strawberries.'

(8) *on ɲíba sisi tôn di sisi otɕins tôçtôç tɕine jal poxtor tsel doxsin derm cʰaŋçin*

one   ɲí=ba   sisi   tô-ne   di   sisi   otɕins   tô-tô
and.then   1PL.EXCL=PL   strawberry   pluck-CVB2   TOP   strawberry   thus   pluck-pluck

  tɕi-ne   ja=la   poxtor   tsé=la   dok-sin   derma   cʰaŋ-cina
  go.PST-CVB2   up=DAT   hill   top=DAT   arrive-CVB1   plate   fill-PRS.ALLO

'And we pluck the strawberries, we pluck them thus going up and when we reach the top of the hill, the plates are full.'

(9) *on parparɕu ɲíba tsemtse*

one   parparɕuŋ   ɲí=ba   tsemtse
and.then   sometimes   1PL.EXCL=PL   play.PST

'And in between we played.'

(10) *ondi au di ɲe am ɕimgin o: au tɕeɕd kʰoe di kí ɟapn tsemtse pʰal tsul ɕoʔn hauhaus lam ɕotgohi*

one＝di au di ɲe ama
and.then＝DEF older.male.parallel.cousin TOP 1SG.GEN maternal.aunt

  ɕim-gin o: au tɕe-ɕo＝di kʰoe
  be.dead-NMLZ.AGT son older.male.parallel.cousin old-COMPR＝DEF 3SG.M

di kí ɟap-ne tsemtse pʰa＝la tsu＝la ɕot-ne hauhau＝se
TOP dog do-CVB2 play.PST there＝DAT here＝DAT jump-CVB2 EXPR＝REP

lap-ne ɕot-go-cina
say-CVB2 jump-must-PRS.ALLO

'The older cousin - the son of my late aunt - the older cousin, he played acting like a dog, he has to jump, jumping all over the place, going bowwow.'

(11) *ɕotsin di ɲíba ɲí tɕuŋɕbaɕo kʰoe kʰai naŋ tɕíse sisi torgoxinas*

ɕot-sin di ɲí＝ba ɲí tɕuŋku-ɕo＝ba＝ɟe kʰo＝gi
jump-CVB1 TOP 1PL.EXCL＝PL 1PL.EXCL small-COMPR＝PL＝AGT 3SG.M＝GEN

  kʰa＝gi naŋ tɕí＝se sisi tor-go-cina＝se
  mouth＝GEN inside what＝REP strawberry throw-must-PRS.ALLO＝REP

'When he jumps, we the smaller ones, we have to throw, um, strawberries in his mouth.'

(12) *sisi ɸal otɕins curgoxinas*

sisi pʰa＝la otɕins cur-go-cina＝se
strawberry there＝DAT thus throw-must-PRS.ALLO＝REP

'We thus have to throw the strawberries there.'

(13) *ondi kʰo sisi otɕins sajin*

one＝di kʰo sisi otɕins sa-cina
and.then＝DEF 3SG.M strawberry thus eat.PRS-PRS.ALLO

'And thus he eats the strawberries.'

(14) *on kʰuɕtɕikdi ɲe sisida ɲam tɕíse luki tu curtãenas*

one kʰuɕ-tɕik＝di ɲe sisi＝daŋ ɲambu tɕí＝se
and.then times-one＝DEF 1SG.AGT strawberry＝COM together what＝REP

  luk＝gi tukpa cur-taŋ-pe na＝se
  sheep＝GEN excrement throw-do-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM＝REP

'And once, I threw, um, sheep's droppings together with the strawberries.'

(15) *luki tu curtaŋsin di kʰoe luki tu murtaŋsin sisi na sam murtaŋsin di kʰo naŋ tɕíse lutɕs-ḍoadi sos tʰɔŋ*

luk=gi	tukpa	cur-taŋ-sin	di	kʰoe	luk=gi	tukpa
sheep=GEN	excrement	throw-do-CVB1	TOP	3SG.M.AGT	sheep=GEN	excrement

mur-taŋ-sin	sisi	na	sam	mur-taŋ-sin	di	kʰo	naŋ
chew-do-CVB1	strawberry	COP.EQ.ASM	think	chew-do-CVB1	TOP	3SG.M	inside

tɕí=se	ḍoa=di	soso	tʰoŋ
what=REP	taste=DEF	different	perceive

'When I threw the sheep's droppings, he chewed the sheep's droppings, he chewed thinking it was strawberries, and he sensed, um, a different taste in his mouth.'

(16) *di kʰo luki tuxɸin man ɕen ondi kʰo ɕox ɕox ruß laŋɸenas*

di	kʰo	luk=gi	tukpa	jin	man	ɕe-ne
TOP	3SG.M	sheep=GEN	excrement	COP.EQ.EGO	COP.EQ.NEG.EGO	know-CVB2

one=di	kʰo	ɕok	ɕok	ruba	laŋ-pe	na=se
and.then=DEF	3SG.M	much	much	anger	rise-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'He knew whether it was or was not sheep's droppings, and he got very very angry.'

A.1.11 Village Deity [VD]

The speaker tells an anecdote of a man from Merak who went missing, and how the people searching for him unsuccessfully followed the advice of the lamas to catch a red panda in order to find him. The story was prompted to illustrate the presence of local village deities, sacred places some way outside a settlement, uphill (*pʰu*) and downhill (*da*), like groves or boulders, which must not be disturbed by noise, the killing of animals, or the burning of meat in their vicinity.

(1) *unla merala mánbaɕ jena*

unla	merak=la	mánbabu=ɕik	jena
previously	Merak=DAT	health.worker=INDF	COP.EX.ASM

'Some time ago, there was a health worker in Merak.'

(2) *kʰo kʰutɕik mal tɕytil tɕiti jinta*

kʰo	kʰuɕ-tɕik	ma=la	tɕyti=la	tɕi-pe	jinta
3SG.M	times-one	down=DAT	holiday=DAT	go.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.EPI.PST

'Once he went down, maybe going for a holiday.'

(3) *on lo jal meral ʈosin apdaŋ kʰɔŋ ɲi ɲam tɕitina*

one   lo   ja=la   merak=la   ʈo-sin   apa=daŋ   kʰoŋ ɲî
and.then again up=DAT Merak=DAT go.PRS-CVB1 father=COM 3PL two

  ɲambu tɕi-pe   na
  together go.PST-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

'Going back up again to Merak, he and his father were traveling together.'

(4) *lamgala kʰo torena*

lamga=la kʰo   tor-pe   na
path=DAT 3SG.M throw-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

'He [the health worker] got lost on the way.'

(5) *on kʰɔŋ katekate tsaːne kʰo ʈati tsaːmatʰɔŋe*

one   kʰoŋ kate kate tsaː-ne   kʰo   ʈati
and.then 3PL where where search-CVB2 3SG.M however.much

  tsaː-ma-tʰoŋ-pe
  search-NEG-be.able-NMLZ.PST

'They searched everywhere, and however much they searched they could not find him.'

(6) *on mibaxe kʰo pʰui kʰergaːlenas laɸena*

one   mi=ba=kʰe   kʰo   pʰu=ɟe   kʰer-gaː-pe
and.then person=PL=FOC 3SG.M village.deity=AGT take-leave-NMLZ.PST

  na=se   lap-pe   na
  COP.EQ.ASM=REP say-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

'People said he was taken away by the village deity.'

(7) *on tɕitɕi mo ɟap*

one   tɕitɕi mo   ɟap
and.then later astrologer do

'Later, an astrologer was consulted.'

(8) *lambal tʰuta ɕy ɟasin lamaɕiɟe kʰeraŋ ɟoɸitsel tɕin kʰo po tuŋ ɟaliŋ taŋna semɕinɕik dokros*

    lama＝ba＝la   tʰuta   ɕy   ɟap-sin   lama＝ɕik＝ɟe

    lama＝PL＝DAT astrologer.HON advise.HON do-CVB1 lama＝INDF＝AGT

     kʰe＝raŋ   ɟopʰitse＝la   tɕi-ne   kʰo   po   tuŋ

     2SG.AGT＝REFL ɟopʰitse＝DAT go.PST-CVB2 3SG.M call Himalayan.horn

     ɟaliŋ   taŋ na   semɕin＝ɕik   dok-ro＝se

     type.of.flute do COP.EQ.ASM animal＝INDF arrive-SBJ＝REP

    'The lamas gave astrological advice, doing so, one lama said [to the father] 'You yourself have to go to *ɟopʰitse*, call him, blow the horns, and an animal will arrive…''

(9) *ot semɕindi suntʰopna kʰo lo tʰɔŋro*

    oti   semɕin＝di   sun-tʰop-na   kʰo   lo   tʰoŋ-ro

    DEM.PROX animal＝DEF catch-achieve-COND 3SG.M again perceive-SBJ

    "…if the animal can be caught, he will be found again…"

(10) *ot sunmatʰopna kʰo tʰɔŋremin*

    oti   sun-ma-tʰop-na   kʰo   tʰoŋ-re   min

    DEM.PROX catch-NEG-achieve-COND 3SG.M perceive-SBJ COP.EX.NEG.ACQ

    "…if it cannot be caught, he will not be found…"

(11) *kʰeranin- kʰeraŋgi naŋ miɕi ɕíros otɕins suŋɸena*

    kʰe＝raŋ＝gi   naŋ   mi＝ɕik   ɕí-ro＝se   otɕins

    2SG.AGT＝REFL＝GEN inside person＝INDF die-SBJ＝REP thus

     suŋ-pe   na

     say.HON-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

    "…then a family member of yours will die,' he thus said.'

(12) *one kʰo po tuŋ ɟaliŋ taŋsin ɦoptɕuŋdɔŋkarɕik doxɸena*

    one   kʰo   po   tuŋ   ɟaliŋ   taŋ-sin   ɦoptɕuŋdoŋkar＝ɕik

    and.then 3SG.M call Himalayan.horn type.of.flute do-CVB1 red.panda＝INDF

     dok-pe   na

     arrive-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM

    'And when he was called and the horns were blown, a red panda appeared.'

(13) *ɦoptɕuŋdɔŋkardi sunmatʰoβe tʰerɕorn- tʰerɕorena*

ɦoptɕuŋdoŋkar=di	sun-ma-tʰop-pe	tʰer-ɕor-pe
red.panda=DEF	catch-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST	drop-lose-NMLZ.PST

na
COP.EQ.ASM

'They could not catch the red panda and it went away.'

(14) *one ɲim ɕi ŋá tɕitɕi lasin kʰoi aɕaŋdi ɕílina*

one	ɲima	ɕi	ŋá	tɕitɕi	lap-sin	kʰo=gi	aɕaŋ=di
and.then	day	four	five	later	say-CVB1	3SG.M=GEN	maternal.uncle=INDF

ɕí-pe	na
die-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'Four or five days later, his [the health worker's] uncle died.'

A.1.12 Yak Accident [YA]

The speaker relates how he and his aunt and uncle once crossed another yak herder with their *so*'s on a narrow path, causing a bullfight between the two leading *so*'s and one of them tumbling off the path.

(1) *ul ŋa sâheaŋ tesm kʰutɕi jal kʰus kʰɛn tɕitina*

unla	ŋa	sâteaŋ	te-sin	kʰuɕ-tɕik	ja=la	kʰus	kʰer-ne
previously	1SG	Sakteng	stay.PST-CVB1	times-one	up=DAT	load	take-CVB2

tɕi-pe	na
go.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'Some time ago, when I was staying in Sakteng, I was once carrying up loads.'

(2) *an daŋ aɕaŋ ɲi sum kʰus kʰen tɕi*

ani	daŋ	aɕaŋ	ɲí	sum	kʰus	kʰer-ne	tɕi
paternal.aunt	and	maternal.uncle	1PL.EXCL	three	load	take-CVB2	go.PST

'Aunt and uncle, we three were carrying loads.'

(3) *ɔn kʰus jal cʰim kʰeɕan lo mal jɔŋsɪn lamgal mejal kʰus cʰɔɲinba ɲam pʰresɔŋ*

one	kʰus	ja=la	cʰim	kʰer-ɕak-ne	lo	ma=la	joŋ-sin
and.then	load	up=DAT	house	take-put.PST-CVB2	again	down=DAT	come-CVB1

lamga=la	meja=la	kʰus	cʰoŋ-gin=ba	ɲambu	pʰre-soŋ
path=DAT	upwards=DAT	load	bring-NMLZ.AGT=PL	together	meet-PST.SEN

'Having carried the loads up home, returning down on the path, we met together with someone bringing loads up.'

(4) *ɔtila di mejal kʰus cʰɔɲinba daŋ jɛmal ɲí soba ɲam pʰregaːsin ɲi soɕikɟe tɕí nam musi soɕik mal duŋtaŋedel lam ɦoː ma ɕugaːln*

oti=la	di	meja=la	kʰus	cʰoŋ-gin=ba	daŋ
DEM.PROX=DAT	TOP	upwards=DAT	load	bring-NMLZ.AGT=PL	and

jema=la	ɲí	so=ba	ɲambu	pʰre-gaː-sin
downwards=DAT	1PL.EXCL	yak.hybrid=PL	together	meet-leave-CVB1

ɲí	so=ɕik=ɟe	tɕí	na-mi	musi
1PL.EXCL	yak.hybrid=INDF=AGT	what	COP.EQ.ASM-NMLZ.ACT	somebody.else

so=ɕik	ma=la	duŋ-taŋ-pe=di=la	lamga	ɦoː
yak.hybrid=INDF	down=DAT	beat-do-NMLZ.PST=DEF=DAT	path	below

ma	ɕuk-gaː-pe	na
down	enter-leave-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'At that point, when the ones bringing loads up and we with our *so*'s coming down met together, one of our *so*'s, what happened was, it knocked one of the other people's *so*'s down, and he [the other *so*] went off the lower side of the path.'

(5) *ɔn ɟoɸɟo kʰoi kʰusba mal pʰap*

one	ɟopcʰo	kʰo=gi	kʰus=ba	ma=la	pʰap
and.then	quickly	3SG.M=GEN	load=PL	down=DAT	take.down

'We quickly took down his load.'

(6) *ɔn tsul tónmi ɟasɪn tɔnmatʰoɸe*

one	tsu=la	tón-mi	ɟap-sin	tón-ma-tʰop-pe
and.then	here=DAT	take.out-NMLZ.ACT	do-CVB1	take.out-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST

'When we tried to pull him back toward us, we couldn't pull him out.'

(7) *tɕida kʰorɔŋ wekɔrɕik plexlaŋasin di tsudi tʰejoŋtʰoɸena*

tɕida	kʰo=raŋ	wekor=ɕik	ple-kʰer-laŋ-ga-sin	di
finally	3SG.M=REFL	rotation=INDF	roll.down-take-rise-leave-CVB1	TOP

tsu=di	tʰe-joŋ-tʰop-pe	na
here=DEF	exit-come-achieve-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'Finally, when he himself rolled down and got up by turning once, he managed to come back toward us.'

(8) *kʰoi tɕindadi ta tɕʰy na ɕugasɔŋ samteduŋ*

kʰo=gi	tɕinda=di	ta	tɕʰu	naŋ	ɕuk-ga-soŋ	sam-te
3SG.M=GEN	owner=DEF	now	water	inside	enter-leave-PST.SEN	think-stay.PST

tuŋ
COP.EX.PST

'His owner had thought that he had fallen into the river.'

A.1.13 Yeti Encounters [YE]

The speaker recounts two instances from his childhood and youth when, according to his relatives, he made contact with the yeti: once hearing a yeti with his grandmother, once finding its footprint in the snow with his uncle.

(1) *unla ŋa lo ʈuk dyns teti kax*

unla	ŋa	lo	ʈuk	dyn-s	te-pe	kapso
previously	1SG	year	six	seven-APPROX	stay.PST-NMLZ.PST	during

'I was around six or seven years old.'

(2) *iː ɕimgindaŋ ɲi kʰuɕtɕik preaŋne jal cʰim tɕiti*

iː	ɕim-gin=daŋ	ɲí	kʰuɕ-tɕik	preaŋ=ne	ja=la
grandmother	be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=COM	1PL.EXCL	times-one	hut=ABL	up=DAT

cʰim	tɕi-pe
house	go.PST-NMLZ.PST

'My late grandmother and I were once walking up home from the yak herder's place.'

(3) *ɔn ɲi ɲi cʰim madɔxɸe ŋontɕen sarugaːl*

one	ɲí	ɲî	cʰim	ma-dok-pe	ŋontɕen
and.then	1PL.EXCL	two	house	NEG-arrive-NMLZ.PST	before

saru-gaː-pe
become.dark-leave-NMLZ.PST

'We two did not reach home before it got dark down in the valley.'

(4) *tɕatastse lapsal dɔxsin kígi ŋam ʈauɕik tónsɔŋ kʰuɕɲî ŋam maʈauɕi*

    tɕatastse   lap-sa=la   dok-sin   kí=gi   ŋam   ʈau=ɕik
    tɕatastse   say-NMLZ.LOC=DAT arrive-CVB1 dog=GEN sound alike=INDF

     tón-soŋ   kʰuɕ-ɲî   ŋam   maʈau=ɕik
     take.out-PST.SEN times-two sound strange=INDF

    'Arriving at a place called *tɕatastse,* we heard a sound like that of a dog twice, a strange sound.'

(5) *ɔne ɲe iː ɕimginla tɕí ŋam na lam ʈisin iː ɕimginɟe kí ŋam na lasɔŋ*

    one   ɲe   iː   ɕim-gin=la   tɕí   ŋam
    and.then 1SG.GEN grandmother be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=DAT what sound

     na   lap-ne   ʈi-sin   iː   ɕim-gin=ɟe   kí
     COP.EQ.ASM say-CVB2 ask-CVB1 grandmother be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=AGT dog

     ŋam   na   lap-soŋ
     sound COP.EQ.ASM say-PST.SEN

    'When I asked my late grandmother saying 'What sound was that?', my late grandmother said 'It's the sound of a dog'.'

(6) *tɕitɕi ɲi ɲi cʰim dɔxsin iː ɕimginɟe ɔti ʈegi ŋam jinta lapne iː ɕiɟayaːtuŋ*

    tɕitɕi ɲí   ɲî   cʰim   dok-sin   iː   ɕim-gin=ɟe
    later   1PL.EXCL two house arrive-CVB1 grandmother be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=AGT

     oti   ʈe=gi   ŋam   jinta   lap-ne   iː
     DEM.PROX yeti=GEN sound COP.EQ.EPI.PST say-CVB2 grandmother

     ɕik-ɟap-gaː   tuŋ
     be.afraid-do-leave COP.EX.PST

    'Later, when we two arrived home, my late grandmother said this might have been the sound of a yeti, and grandmother was very afraid.'

(7) *ɔne kʰuɕtɕik unla aɕaŋ ɲi ɲi preaŋ ʈosin gun kʰaː naŋla kaŋɕa bɔmboɕ tuŋ*

    one   kʰuɕ-tɕik unla   aɕaŋ   ɲí   ɲî   preaŋ   ʈo-sin
    and.then times-one previously maternal.uncle 1PL.EXCL two hut   go.PRS-CVB1

     gun   kʰaː   naŋ=la   kaŋɕa   bombo=ɕik tuŋ
     winter snow inside=DAT footprint big=INDF   COP.EX.PST

    'And once my uncle and I, when we two were going to the yak herder's place, there was a big footprint in the winter snow.'

(8) *oti aɕaɲɟe ʈe kaŋɕa na lasɔŋ*

oti	aɕaŋ=ɟe	ʈe	kaŋɕa	na	lap-soŋ
DEM	maternal.uncle=AGT	yeti	footprint	COP.EQ.ASM	say-PST.SEN

'This my uncle said was a yeti footprint.'

(9) *ɔn mi kaŋɕadaŋ maʈei kaŋɕa bɔmboɕ tuŋ*

one	mi	kaŋɕa=daŋ	maʈau	kaŋɕa	bombo=ɕik	tuŋ
and.then	person	footprint=COM	unlike	footprint	big=INDF	COP.EX.PST

'It was a big footprint, unlike a human footprint.'

(10) *tʰaskɔr kaŋ pú jetiɕi tuŋ*

tʰaskor	kaŋɟo	pú	je-pe=ɕik	tuŋ
around	all	body.hair	exist-NMLZ.PST=INDF	COP.EX.PST

'Around the footprint, there were imprints of hair.'

A.1.14 Yeti Skeleton [YS]

The speaker tells about the alleged skeleton of a yeti kept in the monastery in Sakteng, and the unidentified hair a group of western visitors examined there.

(1) *sâteaŋgi jy ɕu l̥ahaŋ naŋla ʈegi ruspa jenas lacina*

sâteaŋ=gi	ju	ɕuk	l̥ákʰaŋ	naŋ=la	ʈe=gi	ruspa
Sakteng=GEN	village	bottom	monastery	inside=DAT	yeti=GEN	bone

jena=se	lap-cina
COP.EX.ASM=REP	say-PRS.ALLO

'It is said that there is a skeleton of a yeti inside the monastery in the lower parts of the village of Sakteng.'

(2) *jinejaŋ ŋone jenam menam ɲe miɕe*

jinejaŋ_{TIB}	ŋone	jena-mi	mena-mi	ɲe
but_{TIB}	real	COP.EX.ASM-NMLZ.ACT	COP.EX.NEG.ASM-NMLZ.ACT	1SG.AGT

mi-ɕe
NEG.FUT-know

'But I don't know if it is really there or not.'

(3) *one ot tamdi tɕʰi mi ɕanbaxe tʰo:*

one	oti	tam=di	tɕʰi	mi	ɕanma=ba=kʰe	tʰo:
and.then	DEM.PROX	talk=DEF	outside	person	other=PL=FOC	hear

'Other people from outside had heard of this talk.'

(4) *on neɕiŋ tɕea desin tɕik tájɔŋɸenas tʰo:sɔŋ*

one	neɕiŋ	tɕeaba	desin	tɕik	tá-joŋ-pe
and.then	a.few.years.ago	westerner	group	one	look.PRS-come-NMLZ.PST

na=se	tʰo:-soŋ
COP.EQ.ASM=REP	hear-PST.SEN

'I heard that a couple of years ago, one group of westerners came to look.'

(5) *one kʰɔŋ ruspadi tʰoŋenam matʰoŋenam maɕe*

one	kʰoŋ	ruspa=di	tʰoŋ-pe	na-mi
and.then	3PL	bone=DEF	perceive-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM-NMLZ.ACT

ma-tʰoŋ-pe	na-mi	ma-ɕe
NEG-perceive-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM-NMLZ.ACT	NEG-know

'I don't know if they saw the skeleton or not.'

(6) *pú tɕik tʰɔŋenas*

pú	tɕik	tʰoŋ-pe	na=se
body.hair	one	perceive-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'They saw one hair.'

(7) *o púdi semɕin ɕandaŋ maʈeiɕik tʰɔŋenas*

oti	pú=di	semɕin	ɕanma=daŋ	maʈau=ɕik	tʰoŋ-pe
DEM	body.hair=DEF	animal	other=COM	unlike=INDF	perceive-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'They saw that this hair was unlike that of any other animal.'

A.2 Traditional narratives

A.2.1 Brokpa Origin [BO]

The speaker recounts the traditional story on the origins of the Brokpa: where they used to live, and how and why they came to Merak and Sakteng. The narrative covers their former home in Tshona and the killing of the king (lines 2 to 14), their escape to Merak and Sakteng (lines 15 to 23), and the folk etymologies of the mountain pass *ɲaːɕuŋla* between Sakteng and Merak, the grassy plain *lónɖukɕoŋ* at its base, and the village of *sâteaŋ* (Sakteng) itself (lines 24 to 31).

(1) *taŋbo loɟugi tʰone ta mi tɕeɕbake tɕí lacinase na*

taŋbo loɟu = gi tʰô = ne ta mi tɕe-ɕo = ba = kʰe tɕí
first history = GEN point.of.view = ABL now person old-COMPR = PL = FOC what

   lap-cina = se na
   say-PRS.ALLO = REP COP.EQ.ASM

'Regarding the early history, this is what the elders say.'

(2) *mɛra sâteaŋgi midi taŋ pon mal jɔŋɸes lacina po tsʰonane mal*

merak sâteaŋ = gi mi = di taŋbo po = ne ma = la
Merak Sakteng = GEN person = DEF first Tibet = ABL down = DAT

   joŋ-pe = se lap-cina po tsʰona = ne ma = la
   come-NMLZ.PST = REP say-PRS.ALLO Tibet Tshona = ABL down = DAT

'They say the people from Merak and Sakteng first came down from Tibet, down from Tshona in Tibet.'

(3) *taŋbo kʰɔŋ po tsʰonal tesin ta kʰɔŋ kʰɔŋla ɟeboɕ jɛnase*

taŋbo kʰoŋ po tsʰona = la te-sin ta kʰoŋ kʰoŋ = la ɟebo = ɕik
first 3PL Tibet Tshona = DAT stay.PST-CVB1 now 3PL 3PL = DAT king = INDF

   jena = se
   COP.EX.ASM = REP

'When they were first living in Tshona, they, they had a king.'

(4) *ɟebodigi pʰoʈaŋgi ŋotɕɔl ta riɕik jɛnas*

ɟebo = di = gi pʰoʈaŋ = gi ŋontɕo = la ta ri = ɕik
king = DEF = GEN palace = GEN front = DAT now mountain = INDF

   jena = se
   COP.EX.ASM = REP

'In front of the king's palace was a mountain.'

(5) *di ri o riɟe kʰɔl kʰoi ɸoʈaŋla ɲima kapcinas*

di	ri	oti	ri=ɟe	kʰo=la	kʰo=gi	pʰoʈaŋ=la
TOP	mountain	DEM.PROX	mountain=AGT	3SG.M=DAT	3SG.M=GEN	palace=DAT

ɲima	kap-cina=se
sun	cover-PRS.ALLO=REP

'The mountain, that mountain shielded him, his palace from the sun.'

(6) *ɔne: ɲim tɕik ta ɟebe kʰo mi maŋla ká naŋenas*

one	ɲima	tɕik	ta	ɟebo=ɟe	kʰo	mi	máŋ=la	ká
and.then	day	one	now	king=AGT	3SG.M	person	group=DAT	instruction

naŋ-pe	na=se
give.HON-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'One day the king, he gave an order to the people.'

(7) *ta ɲe pʰoʈaŋla ɲim midoxɸa o ridi meti tɕogoɸas*

ta	ɲe	pʰoʈaŋ=la	ɲima	mi-dok-pʰa	oti
now	1SG.GEN	palace=DAT	sun	NEG.FUT-arrive-?NMLZ	DEM.PROX

ri=di	me-pe	tɕo-go-pʰa=se
mountain=DEF	not.exist-NMLZ.PST	make-must-?NMLZ=REP

"There is no sun coming to my palace, you have to destroy this mountain."

(8) *ɔne: ta mi maŋbal ká naŋ ɔn mibaxe ta ri meti tɕoɸenas*

one	ta	mi	máŋ=ba=la	ká	naŋ	one
and.then	now	person	group=PL=DAT	instruction	give.HON	and.then

mi=ba=kʰe	ta	ri	me-pe	tɕo-pe
person=PL=FOC	now	mountain	not.exist-NMLZ.PST	make-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'He gave an order to the people and the people destroyed the mountain.'

(9) *ri meti tɕomigi leak ko tsuk*

ri	me-pe	tɕo-mi=gi	leaka	ko	tsuk
mountain	not.exist-NMLZ.PST	make-NMLZ.ACT=GEN	work	head	put.on

'They began the work of destroying the mountain.'

(10) *tsamɕik ɟapne ridi teti tɕomatʰoɸe*

tsam = ɕik   ɟap-ne   ri = di   me-pe
how.much = INDF do-CVB2 mountain = DEF not.exist-NMLZ.PST

   tɕo-ma-tʰop-pe
   make-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST

'But however much they tried, they couldn't destroy the mountain.'

(11) *ɔne ta motɕiɸɕikɟe ɔn na ɟal laŋ nekap tón*

one   ta   motɕipʰa = ɕik = ɟe   one   naŋ   ja = la   laŋ nekap
and.then now woman = INDF = AGT and.then inside up = DAT rise idea

   tón
   take.out

'A woman rose from the people and presented an idea.'

(12) *ɔne ta ɲeraŋba kã dynɕ ɟagos ri ko tɕetile ta mi ko tɕeti gaːs laɸenas*

one   ta   ɲeraŋ = ba   kaŋɟo dynɕa   ɟap-go = se   ri
and.then now 1PL.INCL = PL all   discussion do-must = REP mountain

   ko   tɕe-pe-le   ta   mi   ko   tɕe-pe
   head break.apart-NMLZ.PST-also now person head break.apart-NMLZ.PST

   gau = se   lap-pe   na = se
   happy = REP say-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM = REP

"Let us all discuss: it is much easier to cut off the head of a man than the head of a mountain,' she said.'

(13) *ɔn kaŋɟo dynɕ ɟap tɕʰam ɔn goːm ɟebi tsam tɕi dynɕaŋ ɟap*

one   kaŋɟo dynɕa   ɟap tɕam one   goːma   ɟebo = gi   tsam
and.then all   discussion do agree and.then evening king = GEN nearby

   tɕi   dyntɕʰaŋ ɟap
   go.PST party   do

'They all discussed and came to an agreement, and in the evening they went to the king's place for a party.'

(14) *ɟebol tɕʰaŋ tɕin ɔn o goːmdi ɟebo setaŋenas*

ɟebo = la   tɕʰaŋ   tɕin one   oti   goːma = di   ɟebo se-taŋ-pe
king = DAT alcohol give and.then DEM.PROX evening = DEF king kill-do-NMLZ.PST

   na = se
   COP.EQ.ASM = REP

'They gave alcohol to the king, and that evening, they killed the king.'

(15) *ta ɟeɸ setidã taŋ pɔl ʈʰim kau jeti jintsaŋ jetisõ ɔndi mal ta o lumbal mateko mal proːtɕos lam kʰɔŋ proːjɔŋ di sâteaŋ dɔxɸenas unda*

ta ɟebo se-pe=daŋ   taŋbo po=la   ʈʰim kau je-pe
now king kill-NMLZ.PST=COM first Tibet=DAT law strict exist-NMLZ.PST

 jintsaŋ_{TIB} je-pe=soŋ   one=di   ma=la   ta
 COP_{TIB} exist-NMLZ.PST=CVB.CAUS and.then=DEF down=DAT now

 oti   luŋba=la ma-te-ko   ma=la   proː-ʈo=se
 DEM.PROX region=DAT NEG-stay.PST-ADH down=DAT move-go.PRS=REP

 lap-ne   kʰoŋ proː-joŋ di sâteaŋ dok-pe   na=se
 say-CVB2 3PL move-come TOP Sakteng arrive-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM=REP

 unda
 for.the.first.time

'Having killed the king, because there was, there was a strict law in Tibet back then, it is said they could not stay in that region and they fled down, and they fled and first reached Sakteng.'

(16) *sâteaŋ ɔn sâteaŋ sâteaŋle mateti*

sâteaŋ one   sâteaŋ sâteaŋ-le ma-te-pe
Sakteng and.then Sakteng Sakteng-also NEG-stay.PST-NMLZ.PST

'And in Sakteng, in Sakteng they also didn't stay.'

(17) *pʰal mɛrala ɔt kʰɔŋ otɕins tɕitinas*

pʰa=la   merak=la oti   kʰoŋ otɕins tɕi-pe
there=DAT Merak=DAT DEM.PROX 3PL thus go.PST-NMLZ.PST

 na=se
 COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'Thus they went over to Merak.'

(18) *tɕisin ta sâteaŋ da mɛragi pal laɕik ɟenas*

tɕi-sin   ta sâteaŋ daŋ merak=gi par=la   la=ɕik
go.PST-CVB1 now Sakteng and Merak=GEN middle=DAT mountain.pass=INDF

 ɟena=se
 COP.EX.ASM=REP

'Going so, there was a mountain pass between Sakteng and Merak.'

(19) *ri- rigi miŋla ɲaːɕuŋlas lacina*

ri=gi   miŋ=la   ɲaːɕuŋla=se   lap-cina
mountain=GEN   name=DAT   ɲaːɕuŋla=REP   say-PRS.ALLO

'The mountain's name was *ɲaːɕuŋla*.'

(20) *ta ɔl o ɲaːɕuŋla dɔxsin kʰɔŋ miba ɲea tába ɲea mi kat kan daŋ pʰrugu tɕuŋpa ɲea oni tá nɔrba ɲea*

ta   ola   oti   ɲaːɕuŋla dok-sin   kʰoŋ mi=ba   ɲeak   tá=ba
now   here   DEM.PROX   ɲaːɕuŋla arrive-CVB1   3PL   person=PL   be.tired   horse=PL

   ɲeak   mi   katpo   kanmo   daŋ   pʰrugu   tɕuŋku=ba   ɲeak   one   tá
   be.tired   person   old.M   old.F   and   child   small=PL   be.tired   and.then   horse

   nor=ba   ɲeak
   cattle=PL   be.tired

'When they reached *ɲaːɕuŋla,* the people were tired, the horses were tired, the old men and women and the small children were tired, and all the cattle were tired.'

(21) *ta kʰɔŋ pʰal dɔxtʰopmins mɛral*

ta   kʰoŋ   pʰa=la   dok-tʰop   min=se   merak=la
now   3PL   there=DAT   arrive-achieve   COP.EX.NEG.ACQ=REP   Merak=DAT

'They couldn't reach Merak.'

(22) *ɔn kʰɔŋ ɕû jogin dã ʈeloŋba pʰal mɛral gaː*

one   kʰoŋ   ɕû   jo-gin   daŋ   ʈeloŋ=ba
and.then   3PL   strength   COP.EX.EGO-NMLZ.AGT   and   young.person=PL

   pʰa=la   merak=la   gaː
   there=DAT   Merak=DAT   leave

'The strong ones and the young people left for Merak.'

(23) *ɔne kat kan daŋ pʰrugubadi tsul lo lokɸenas*

one   katpo   kanmo   daŋ   pʰrugu=ba=di   tsu=la   lo
and.then   old.man   old.woman   and   child=PL=DEF   here=DAT   again

   lok-pe   na=se
   return.PST-NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'The old people and the children turned back again.'

(24) *ta di lagi miŋla mi ɲaɸe ɲaːɕuŋ tá ɲaɸe ɲaːɕuŋs ɲaːɕuŋla lacina tiriŋsaŋ*

ta	di	la=gi	miŋ=la	mi	ɲeak-pe	ɲaːɕuŋ
now	TOP	mountain.pass=GEN	name=DAT	person	be.tired-NMLZ.PST	ɲaːɕuŋ

tá	ɲeak-pe	ɲaːɕuŋ=se	ɲaːɕuŋla	lap-cina	tiriŋsaŋ
horse	be.tired-NMLZ.PST	ɲaːɕuŋ=REP	ɲaːɕuŋla	say-PRS.ALLO	nowadays

'As the people got tired (*ɲeak*) and the horses got tired (*ɲeak*), the mountain pass is nowadays called *ɲaːɕuŋla*.'

(25) *ɔne o rigi tsalraŋ páŋɕ jɛna*

one	oti	ri=gi	tsa=la=raŋ	páŋ=ɕik
and.then	DEM.PROX	mountain=GEN	under=DAT=REFL	grassy.plain=INDF

jena
COP.EX.ASM

'Right at the base of that mountain is a grassy plain.'

(26) *o páŋgi miŋla lónɖukɕoŋs lacinas*

oti	páŋ=gi	miŋ=la	lónɖukɕoŋ=se	lap-cina=se
DEM.PROX	grassy.plain=GEN	name=DAT	lónɖukɕoŋ=REP	say-PRS.ALLO=REP

'The name of that plain is *lónɖukɕoŋ*.'

(27) *ŋone tɕín lonɖuks nas tirinsaŋ miŋ ɟun lónɖukɕoŋ lacina*

ŋone	tɕín	lonɖuk=se	na=se	tiriŋsaŋ	miŋ	ɟur-ne
real	how	lonɖuk=REP	COP.EQ.ASM=REP	nowadays	name	change-CVB2

lónɖukɕoŋ	lap-cina
lónɖukɕoŋ	say-PRS.ALLO

'The actual name was *lonɖukɕoŋ*, nowadays the name has changed and is called *lónɖukɕoŋ*.'

(28) *ta ɔn lo lokpi jintsaŋ lo lokpi mi daŋ tába ɔn lo jɔŋɸesɔŋ sági miŋla lon- lonɖukɕoŋs lam otɕins tʰoɸenas*

ta	one	lo	lok-pe		jintsaŋ~TIB~	lo	lok-pe
now	and.then	again	return.PST-NMLZ.PST		COP~TIB~	again	return.PST-NMLZ.PST

mi	daŋ	tá=ba	one	lo	joŋ-pe=soŋ
person	and	horse=PL	and.then	again	come-NMLZ.PST=CVB.CAUS

sá=gi	miŋ=la	lonɖukɕoŋ=se	lap-ne	otɕins	tʰop-pe
soil=GEN	name=DAT	lonɖukɕoŋ=REP	say-CVB2	thus	achieve-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'Because they turned back again, because the people and horses turned back again (*lo*) and came back again (*lo*), the place thus got called by the name *lonɖukɕoŋ*.'

(29) *ɔni sâteaŋdi unl taŋbo lo miwa tsʰul jɔŋ sâteaŋ tɕaːsin sâteaŋdi páŋ bomboɕi Ɉap oti tsɛl kaɲɈo sâ Ɉenas*

one	sâteaŋ=di	unla	taŋbo	lo	mi=ba	tsu=la	joŋ
and.then	Sakteng=DEF	previously	first	again	person=PL	here=DAT	come

sâteaŋ	tɕaː-sin	sâteaŋ=di	páŋ	bombo=ɕik	Ɉap	oti
Sakteng	settle-CVB1	Sakteng=DEF	grassy.plain	big=INDF	do	DEM.PROX

tsé=la	kaɲɈo	sâ	jena=se
top=DAT	all	small.bamboo	COP.EX.ASM=REP

'And Sakteng, when the people first came back here again and settled in Sakteng, Sakteng was a big grassy plain which had bamboo all over it.'

(30) *ta oti miŋ sâteaŋs sâ lana sâraŋ na*

ta	oti	miŋ	sâteaŋ=se	sâ	lap	na
now	DEM.PROX	name	Sakteng=REP	small.bamboo	say	COP.EQ.ASM

sâ=raŋ		na
small.bamboo=REFL		COP.EQ.ASM

'In the name *sâteaŋ*, one says *sâ*, which simply means *sâ* (small bamboo).'

(31) *teaŋ lana páŋ bom teaŋ eɕen jetiɈe sâteaŋs lacinas*

teaŋ	lap	na	páŋ	bombo	teaŋ	eɕen	je-pe=Ɉe
plain	say	COP.EQ.ASM	grassy.plain	big	plain	good	exist-NMLZ.PST=AGT

sâteaŋ=se	lap-cina=se
Sakteng=REP	say-PRS.ALLO=REP

'One says *teaŋ* because there is a big grassy plain, a good plain (*teaŋ*), so it is called *sâteaŋ*.'

(32) *ɔn tɕíse ta miw tsʰul lo jɔŋginba sâteaŋ tetinas ɕitɕaːn ɔn pʰal ɲaːɕuŋla ɟam pʰal tɛn ʈoginba mɛral ɕitɕaːn tetina*

one	tɕí=se	ta	mi=ba	tsu=la	lo	jɔŋ-gin=ba
and.then	what=REP	now	person=PL	here=DAT	again	come-NMLZ.AGT=PL

	sâteaŋ	te-pe		na=se		ɕitɕaː-ne	one
	Sakteng	stay.PST-NMLZ.PST		COP.EQ.ASM=REP		settle-CVB2	and.then

	pʰa=la	ɲaːɕuŋla	ɟap-ne	pʰa=la		te-ne		ʈo-gin=ba
	there=DAT	ɲaːɕuŋla	do-CVB2	there=DAT		stay.PST-CVB2		go.PRS-NMLZ.AGT=PL

	merak=la	ɕitɕaː-ne	te-pe		na
	Merak=DAT	settle-CVB2	stay.PST-NMLZ.PST		COP.EQ.ASM

'And, um, the people, those who came here again stayed in Sakteng and settled down, and those who went to cross *ɲaːɕuŋla* to stay there stayed and settled down in Merak.'

A.2.2   The Bat and the Vulture [BV]

This traditional story tells how the blood pheasant got its red-colored feathers, and the red-billed chough its red-colored bill and claw: from the blood of the vulture, who called for their help when it was attacked by the bat, which wanted to prevent the vulture from eating people, as the latter used to do.
(Also note that the bat crawling into the hollow of the bamboo (line 6) is meant literally; bats are small enough to fit into a big type of bamboo).

(1) *taŋbo koɟe mi sacinase*

taŋbo	ko=ɟe	mi	sa-cina=se
first	vulture=AGT	person	eat.PRS-PRS.ALLO=REP

'The vulture used to eat people.'

(2) *ta mi samitɕúkmigi ton komɕɸagoje ko tuːmi ɟam nekap tóninase*

ta	mi	sa-mi-tɕúk-mi=gi		ton	komɕinpʰaŋgo=ɟe
now	person	eat.PRS-NEG.FUT-put.inside-NMLZ.ACT=GEN		reason	bat=AGT

	ko	tʰuː-mi		ɟap-ne	nekap	tón-pe		na=se
	vulture	subdue-NMLZ.ACT		do-CVB2	idea	take.out-NMLZ.PST		COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'To stop it from eating people, the bat had some ideas to try to subdue the vulture.'

(3) *nekap taŋbodi kʰoe mi kapiliŋ kʰen ɦoːl ɕuktesin koɟe kapiliŋdi meti tɕotãenas*

nekap	taŋbo=di	kʰoe	mi	kapiliŋ	kʰer-ne	ɦoː=la
idea	first=DEF	3SG.M.AGT	person	skull	take-CVB2	below=DAT

ɕuk-te-sin	ko=ɟe	kapiliŋ=di	me-pe
enter-stay.PST-CVB1	vulture=AGT	skull=DEF	not.exist-NMLZ.PST

tɕo-taŋ-pe	na=se
make-do-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'The first idea, he [the bat] took a human skull, but when he sat underneath it, the vulture destroyed the skull.'

(4) *nekap ɲîpadi kʰoe ɲumagi ɕor tɕo soːtetinas*

nekap	ɲîpa=di	kʰoe	ɲuma=gi	ɕor	tɕo
idea	second=DEF	3SG.M.AGT	type.of.bamboo=GEN	sharpened.tip	make

soː-te-pe	na=se
brace.oneself-stay.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'The second idea, he made a sharpened bamboo tip and lay in wait.'

(5) *one ko doxsin kʰoe kʰorɔŋ ɲuma naŋ ɕugaːsin ɲuma ɕorɟe ko suktã*

one	ko	dok-sin	kʰoe	kʰo=raŋ	ɲuma	naŋ
and.then	vulture	arrive-CVB1	3SG.M.AGT	3SG.M=REFL	type.of.bamboo	inside

ɕuk-gaː-sin	ɲuma	ɕor=ɟe	ko	suk-taŋ
enter-leave-CVB1	type.of.bamboo	sharpened.tip=AGT	vulture	pierce-do

'When the vulture came, and he himself [the bat] went inside the bamboo, the sharpened bamboo tip impaled the vulture.'

(6) *ko ʈʰâ ʈʰâɕi tʰe*

ko	ʈʰâ	ʈʰâ=ɕik	tʰe
vulture	blood	blood=INDF	exit

'A lot of blood came out of the vulture.'

(7) *koɟe weː au ser ɕo au daŋ ɕo au kiŋku ɕos lam posin ser daŋ kiŋku doxɸenas*

ko = ɟe		weː	au		ser		ɕó		au
vulture = AGT		EXPR	older.brother		blood.pheasant		come.IMP		older.brother

daŋ		ɕó		au		kiŋku		ɕó = se
himalayan.monal		come.IMP		older.brother		red.billed.chough		come.IMP = REP

lap-ne	po-sin	ser		daŋ kiŋku		dok-pe
say-CVB2	call-CVB1	blood.pheasant	and	red.billed.chough		arrive-NMLZ.PST

na = se
COP.EQ.ASM = REP

'When the vulture called saying '*We...* come brother *ser,* come brother *daŋ,* come brother *kiŋku,*' the blood pheasant (*ser*) and the red-billed chough (*kiŋku*) came.'

(8) *ta tiriŋsaŋ ser daŋ kiŋku mar ɟetidi kʰogi ʈʰâ nas lacina*

ta	tiriŋsaŋ	ser		daŋ kiŋku		marbo ɟe-pe = di
now	nowadays	blood.pheasant	and	red.billed.chough	red	exist-NMLZ.PST = DEF

kʰo = gi	ʈʰâ	na = se		lap-cina
3SG.M = GEN	blood	COP.EQ.ASM = REP		say-PRS.ALLO

'So nowadays we say that the red colors of the blood pheasant and the red-billed chough are his [the vulture's] blood.'

A.3 Instructions and descriptions

A.3.1 Dyeing Clothes [DC]

The speaker briefly explains the basic steps involved in the traditional Brokpa way of dyeing textiles to make clothes, using the example of the red jacket worn by men (*tɕuba*). The dye comes in powder form and is mixed with a type of sour berry.

(1) *tʰaː tasmidã ɔneː tasmi tʰaː tasmidila nɛmbo lacina*

tʰaː	tâ-sin-pe = daŋ		one	tâ-sin-pe
weaving.loom	tie-finish-NMLZ.PST = COM	and.then		tie-finish-NMLZ.PST

tʰaː	tâ-sin-pe = di = la		nembo	lap-cina
weaving.loom	tie-finish-NMLZ.PST = DEF = DAT	woven.fabric		say-PRS.ALLO

'After having finished the weaving, having finished the weaving, the thing having been woven is called *nembo* (woven fabric).'

(2) *nɛmbodi taŋbo ʈúgɔçna*

nembo = di   taŋbo   ʈý-go-cina
woven.fabric = DEF first   wash-must-PRS.ALLO

'The woven fabric has to be washed first.'

(3) *ʈýn kám*

ʈý-ne   kám
wash-CVB2 dry

'One washes it and dries it.'

(4) *onedi tsʰosa dã cyrba ɲam tsô*

one = di   tsʰosar daŋ curma = ba   ɲambu   tsô
and.then = DEF dye   and sour = PL   together cook

'Then one boils it together with the dye and sour berries.'

(5) *tɛlo kám tɛlo tsaŋma ɟapn ʈý ɔn tɛlo kám*

telo   kám telo   tsaŋma ɟap-ne   ʈý   one   telo   kám
again dry again clean   do-CVB2   wash and.then   again dry

'One dries it again, washes it clean again, and then dries it again.'

(6) *ɔn kʰuçik kámsmida ɔndi pran tɕuba tsɛmgɔçna*

one   kʰuç-tçik kám-sin-pe = daŋ   one = di   pra-ne   tɕuba
and.then   times-one dry-finish-NMLZ.PST = COM and.then = DEF cut-CVB2 red.jacket
  tsém-go-cina
  sew-must-PRS.ALLO

'After having dried it once, one cuts it, and then one has to sew the *tɕuba*.'

A.3.2   Making Butter [MB]

The speaker explains the basic steps involved in the traditional Brokpa way of making butter, as well as cheese and yoghurt.
(Note that, as formulated in line 3, yoghurt is formed through 'sleeping', i.e. being covered with a blanket.)

(1) *brokpagi mar tɕʰora tɕʰo tʰaŋgi korn tɕik lapna*

brokpa=gi	mar	tɕʰora	tɕo	tʰaŋ=gi	kor=ne	tɕik	lap	na
Brokpa=GEN	butter	cheese	make	way=GEN	about=ABL	one	say	COP.EQ.ASM

'I talk about the way the Brokpa make butter and cheese.'

(2) *taŋbo ɦoːma ɕô*

taŋbo	ɦoːma	ɕô
first	milk	milk

'First, one gets milk.'

(3) *ɦoːma ɕôsinidaŋ tɕesadi ɕo ɲa*

ɦoːma	ɕô-sin-pe=daŋ	tɕʰesa=di	ɕo	ɲa
milk	milk-finish-NMLZ.PST=COM	half=DEF	yogurt	sleep

'When one has gotten the milk, one takes one half to make yogurt.'

(4) *n tɕesadi sos ɕaʔ*

one	tɕʰesa=di	soso	ɕak
and.then	half=DEF	different	put.PST

'The other half one keeps separate.'

(5) *ɕodi jal laŋβedaŋ n soː naŋ luk*

ɕo=di	ja=la	laŋ-pe=daŋ	one	soː	naŋ
yogurt=DEF	up=DAT	rise-NMLZ.PST=COM	and.then	butter.container	inside

luk
pour

'After the yogurt has formed, one pours it inside the butter container.'

(6) *ɦoːm tɕesadi soː naŋ luk*

ɦoːma	tɕʰesa=di	soː	naŋ	luk
milk	half=DEF	butter.container	inside	pour

'One pours the other half of the milk also in the butter container.'

(7)　*on tʰapgi ŋotɕol kʰer*

　　one　　　　tʰap = gi　　　　ŋontɕo = la　kʰer
　　and.then　fire.place = GEN　front = DAT　take

　　'Then one takes it in front of the fireplace.'

(8)　*n tɕyse tɕik tɕyse tɕik ɲîs n mi tɕiɟi ɕo côɡoɕina me tsaml*

　　one　　　　tɕyse tɕik tɕyse tɕik ɲî-s　　　　　one　　　mi　　　tɕik = ɟe　ɕo
　　and.then　clock one　clock one　two-APPROX　and.then　person　one = AGT　yogurt

　　　cô-ɡo-cina　　　　　　me　tsam = la
　　　churn-must-PRS.ALLO　fire　nearby = DAT

　　'For an hour, about an hour or two, someone has to churn the yogurt near the fire.'

(9)　*on tɕitɕi mar retidaŋ mardi sos tón*

　　one　　　　tɕitɕi mar　re-pe = daŋ　　　　　mar = di　　　soso　　　tón
　　and.then　later　butter　become-NMLZ.PST = COM　butter = DEF　different　take.out

　　'When it has become butter, one takes the butter out.'

(10)　*ond ɭaːm lyɸidi tara lapcina*

　　one = di　　　　ɭaːm　ly-pe = di　　　　　　　　　　tara　　　　　lap-cina
　　and.then = DEF　rest　leave.behind-NMLZ.PST = DEF　buttermilk　say-PRS.ALLO

　　'What remains is called *tara* (buttermilk).'

(11)　*taradi telo tsʰip tɕo*

　　tara = di　　　　　telo　　tsʰikpa　tɕo
　　buttermilk = DEF　again　hot　　　make

　　'One warms up the buttermilk again.'

(12)　*on tsʰip retida tɕʰora daŋ tɕʰugu sos pâjoŋina*

　　one　　　　tsʰikpa　re-pe = daŋ　　　　　　tɕʰora　daŋ　tɕʰurgu　soso
　　and.then　hot　　　become-NMLZ.PST = COM　cheese　and　whey　　different

　　　pak-joŋ-cina
　　　separate-come-PRS.ALLO

　　'When it has become hot, the cheese and whey parts separate.'

(13) *o paxβedan tɕʰoradi sos ɕór*

> oti   pak-pe = daŋ   tɕʰora = di   soso   ɕór
> DEM.PROX separate-NMLZ.PST = COM cheese = DEF different seave

> 'After it has separated, one seaves the cheese part.'

(14) *l̥a:m lyɸidi tɕʰugus lapcina*

> l̥a:m ly-pe = di   tɕʰurgu = se lap-cina
> rest leave.behind-NMLZ.PST = DEF whey = REP say-PRS.ALLO

> 'What remains is called *tɕʰurgu* (whey).'

A.3.3 Making Tea [MT]

The speaker briefly explains how he makes tea at his home in Switzerland. Note that this differs in a number of points from the traditional Brokpa way of making tea: ginger and cardamom are usually not available; the milk is added in the end without boiling it again; and he uses bags instead of leaves and an electric stove instead of an open fire.

(1) *tɕa ŋarm tɕo tʰaŋgi kɔrn lapna*

> tɕa ŋarmo tɕo   tʰaŋ = gi   kor = ne   lap na
> tea sweet make way = GEN about = ABL say COP.EQ.ASM

> 'I talk about how to make sweet tea.'

(2) *taŋbo tɕʰy tsu*

> taŋbo tɕʰu   tsuk
> first   water put.on

> 'First, one puts water on.'

(3) *one tɕʰy naŋla tɕíse tɕa pati tap tɕin borom tap*

> one   tɕʰu   naŋ = la   tɕí = se   tɕa pati   tap   tɕini borom
> and.then water inside = DAT what = REP tea black.tea sprinkle sugar sweets
>   tap
>   sprinkle

> 'Then one puts, um, the tea in the water and adds sugar.'

(4) *tine saga luk ɔne kaɖamom luk ɔn kʰoːtɕúgoçna*

> tine   saga   luk   one   kaɖamom_ENG   luk   one
> after.that ginger   pour and.then   cardamom_ENG pour and.then

> kʰoː-tɕúk-go-co   na
> boil-put.inside-must-FUT   COP.EQ.ASM

'After that, one adds ginger and cardamom, and lets it boil.'

(5) *tɕʰu kʰoːsmidã ɦoːma luk ɔn lo ɦoːm kʰoːtɕúgoçna*

> tɕʰu   kʰoː-sin-pe=daŋ   ɦoːma   luk   one   lo   ɦoːma
> water   boil-finish-NMLZ.PST=COM   milk   pour   and.then again   milk

> kʰoː-tɕúk-go-co   na
> boil-put.inside-must-FUT COP.EQ.ASM

'After the water has boiled up, one adds milk and lets it boil again.'

(6) *o kʰoːsmidan tɕa ʈikpina*

> oti   kʰoː-sin-pe=daŋ   tɕa   ʈik-pe   na
> DEM.PROX   boil-finish-NMLZ.PST=COM   tea   be.ready-NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM

'When it has boiled up, the tea is ready.'

A.3.4 Village Head [VH]

The speaker explains the rotating office of the *tɕupun*, a sort of village head, which is practiced in Sakteng. The task of the *tɕupun* is basically to remind people to do all the other communal tasks which every household is expected to contribute to: transportation of goods up and down to the village (*deokor*); communal work which requires the labor of the whole community, e.g. building roads (*máŋle*); preparations for the visits of important guests; as well as announcing communal meetings.

(1) *sâteaŋla tɕupuns laɸe jɛna*

> sâteaŋ=la   tɕupun=se   lap-pe   jena
> Sakteng=DAT   village.head=REP   say-NMLZ.PST   COP.EX.ASM

'In Sakteng, there is something called *tɕupun*.'

(2) *ɔti ʈʰaː kʰanɕ jɛna ʈʰaː mire kɔŋre pʰôcina*

> oti   ʈʰaː   kʰan=ɕik   jena   ʈʰaː   mi-re   koŋba-re
> DEM.PROX   duty   alike=INDF   COP.EX.ASM   duty   person-each   household-each

> pʰok-cina
> hit-PRS.ALLO

'This is something like a duty, a duty which affects one person out of each household.'

(3) *otɕins ɕewa ɟɛm ɟam ʈocina*

otɕins ɕeba   ɟap-ne   ɟap-ne   ʈo-cina
thus   alternation do-CVB2 do-CVB2 go.PRS-PRS.ALLO

'Everyone goes on taking turns like this.'

(4) *ta tɕupungi ɟenkurdi tɕí nasin miwa pʰal tsul deokɔr lɛntoŋcina*

ta   tɕupun=gi   ɟenkur=di   tɕí   na-sin   mi=ba
now   village.head=GEN responsibility=DEF what COP.EQ.ASM-CVB1   person=PL
  pʰa=la   tsu=la   deokor   len-toŋ-cina
  there=DAT here=DAT   transportation.duty fetch-do.IMP-PRS.ALLO

'The responsibility of the village head, it is to send people to all sorts of places for transportation duty.'

(5) *ɔne parparɕuŋ jal lumbala mi ʈonba ɟetɕit dɔxsin tɕadi daŋ oʈo ɟagoɕna*

one   parparɕuŋ ja=la   luŋba=la   mi   ʈonba ɟetɕitpo   dok-sin
and.then   sometimes up=DAT   region=DAT person guest important arrive-CVB1
  tɕadik   daŋ oʈo ɟap-go-cina
  preparation   and thus do-must-PRS.ALLO

'And every now and then when important guests arrive up in our community, they have to do the preparations.'

(6) *on miwa mɑ́le kuːgin na*

one   mi=ba   mɑ́ŋle   kuː-gin   na
and.then   people=PL   communal.work   instruct-NMLZ.AGT   COP.EQ.ASM

'They instruct people to do communal work.'

(7) *tine pʰal tsul miwa tsom ɕó lasin dalin ɟaʈogoɕna*

tine   pʰa=la   tsu=la   mi=ba   tsom   ɕó   lap-sin
after.that   there=DAT   here=DAT   person=PL   gathering   come.IMP   say-CVB1
  dalin   ɟap-ʈo-go-cina
  announcement   do-go.PRS-must-PRS.ALLO

'They have to do announcements, telling people everywhere to come to the gatherings.'

(8) *oti ta unl tɕíse sâteaŋla deokɔr lengin daŋ máŋlebal latɕa rup metisɔŋ ta kaŋɟo lumbi mi ʈʰaː ʈau ɟagoçina*

oti   ta   unla   tɕí＝se   sâteaŋ＝la   deokor
DEM.PROX   now   previously   what＝REP   Sakteng＝DAT   transportation.duty

   len-gin   daŋ   máŋle＝ba＝la   latɕa   rup
   fetch-NMLZ.AGT   and   communal.work＝PL＝DAT   payment   money

   me-pe＝soŋ   ta   kaŋɟo   lumba＝gi   mi   ʈʰaː
   not.exist-NMLZ.PST＝CVB.CAUS   now   all   region＝GEN   person   duty

   ʈau   ɟap-go-cina
   alike   do-must-PRS.ALLO

'Traditionally, um, since there was no money payment for transportation duties and communal work in Sakteng, these were duties everyone in the community had to do.'

(9) *ɔtisɔŋ tin tɕise tɕupunbaxe tɕín pʰal tsul tɕi koʈin tʰapgoçna*

oti＝soŋ   tine   tɕí＝se   tɕupun＝ba＝kʰe   tɕín
DEM.PROX＝CVB.CAUS   after.that   what＝REP   village.head＝PL＝FOC   how

   pʰa＝la   tsu＝la   tɕi   koʈin   tʰap-go-cina
   there＝DAT   here＝DAT   go.PST   organization   ?-must-PRS.ALLO

'This being the case, um, village heads have to go to all sorts of places to organize things.'

A.4   Texts based on prompts

A.4.1   The North Wind and the Sun [NS]

This is a rendering of Aesop's fable as used by the International Phonetic Association. The speaker first heard and then read the British English RP version, and was subsequently asked to retell it in Brokpa.

(1) *tɕaŋgi lumba dã ɲima ɲiçi korne*

tɕaŋ＝gi   lumba   daŋ   ɲima   ɲî＝gi   kor＝ne
north＝GEN   wind   and   sun   two＝GEN   about＝ABL

'About the north wind and the sun.'

(2) *unla tɕaŋgi lumba dã ɲima ɲî sú ɕûxɕiɕ jenamgi korn lapro taŋena*

unla	tɕaŋ=gi	lumba	daŋ	ɲima	ɲî	sú	ɕû	tɕe-ɕo
previously	north=GEN	wind	and	sun	two	who	strength	old-COMPR

jena-mi=gi	kor=ne	lap-ro	taŋ-pe	na
COP.EX.ASM-NMLZ.ACT=GEN	about=ABL	say-SBJ	do-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'Some time ago, the north wind and the sun were arguing about who of the two was the stronger.'

(3) *ta kʰõ ɲi sú tɕûxɕiɕ jo me támigi ton*

ta	kʰoŋ	ɲî	sú	ɕû	tɕe-ɕo	jo	me
now	3PL	two	who	strength	old-COMPR	COP.EX.EGO	COP.EX.NEG.EGO

tá-mi=gi	ton
look.PRS-NMLZ.ACT=GEN	reason

'To look who of the two was the stronger…'

(4) *o pʰal tsul miba ʈogin mibaxɕe kot sýi pʰitãtʰopne ot ɕuxtɕiɕ tsimi ɟam tʰatɕitina*

oti	pʰa=la	tsu=la	mi=ba	ʈo-gin	mi=ba=kʰe
DEM.PROX	there=DAT	here=DAT	person=PL	go.PRS-NMLZ.AGT	person=PL=FOC

kot	sú=ɟe	pʰi-taŋ-tʰop-ne	oti	ɕû	tɕe-ɕo
coat	who=AGT	remove-do-be.able-CVB2	DEM.PROX	strength	old-COMPR

tsi-mi	ɟap-ne	tʰa-tɕi-pe	na
consider-NMLZ.ACT	do-CVB2	decide-go.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'…they decided to consider the stronger one the one being able to remove the coats of the people, the people walking around.'

(5) *one lumb- tɕaŋgi lumbadi tsam ɕûxtɕiɕ ɸuːne mibaɕe koti mãɕ mãɕ konina*

one	tɕaŋ=gi	lumba=di	tsam	ɕû	tɕe-ɕo	pʰuː-ne
and.then	north=GEN	wind=DEF	how.much	strength	old-COMPR	blow-CVB2

mi=ba=kʰe	kot=di	maŋ-ɕo	maŋ-ɕo	kon-pe
person=PL=FOC	coat=DEF	much-COMPR	much-COMPR	wrap-NMLZ.PST

na
COP.EQ.ASM

'However strong the north wind blew, the travelers wrapped the coats around themselves more and more.'

(6) *one ɲimadi tɕitɕi ɲim tsibu ɟam ɕercʰõsin mibaxɕe koti lamsaŋ pʰita- pʰitaŋenas*

one	ɲima=di	tɕitɕi	ɲima	tsʰikpa	ɟap-ne	ɕer-cʰoŋ-sin
and.then	sun=DEF	later	sun	hot	do-CVB2	shine-bring-CVB1

mi=ba=kʰe	kot=di	lamsaŋ	pʰi-taŋ-pe
person=PL=FOC	coat=DEF	immediately	remove-do-NMLZ.PST

na=se
COP.EQ.ASM=REP

'And the sun, later, when the sun was shining hot, the travelers immediately removed their coats.'

(7) *ote ɲimadi tɕaŋgi lumba ɟapne ɕûxtɕiɕ jeti tsiɸina*

oti	ɲima=di	tɕaŋ=gi	lumba	ɟap-ne	ɕû	tɕe-ɕo
DEM.PROX	sun=DEF	north=GEN	wind	do-CVB2	strength	old-COMPR

je-pe	tsi-pe	na
exist-NMLZ.PST	consider-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'Thus they considered the sun to be stronger than the north wind.'

A.4.2 Yak Dance [YD]

The speaker briefly describes who can be seen on a photo of the Merak yak dance group taken in Sakteng: two mask dancers, and the drummer behind two other mask dancers in a yak costume. The dancer with the red mask plays the role of the *kukpa*, a mute or dumb character that acts as a clown out of step with the other dancers, while the other mask dancer plays the role of one of three brothers in the story of the yak dance.

The photo can be found online under the following link: `https://www.picuki.com/media/2083462015535669208` [09.07.2020].

(1) *ɲe par tónedi meragi jâ tɕʰam ɟaginba na*

ɲe	par	tón-pe=di	merak=gi	jâ	tɕʰam
1SG.AGT	photo	take.out-NMLZ.PST=DEF	Merak=GEN	yak	mask.dance

ɟap-gin=ba	na
do-NMLZ.AGT=PL	COP.EQ.ASM

'On the photo I showed are the yak dancers of Merak.'

(2) *ot par nala tɕí tuksin na kukpaɕik tuk*

oti	par	naŋ=la	tɕí	tuk-sin	na	kukpa=ɕik
DEM.PROX	photo	inside=DAT	what	COP.EX.ACQ-CVB1	COP.EQ.ASM	mute=INDF

tuk
COP.EX.ACQ

'What is there on this photo is a *kukpa*.'

(3) *one ɸegi au tɕeda ʈauɕ tuk jakpo ŋomiɕeɸa tɕʰampa ɲî tuk*

one pʰegi au tɕe-da ʈau=ɕik tuk jakpo
and.then DEM.DIST older.brother old-SUP alike=INDF COP.EX.ACQ clearly

ŋo-mi-ɕe-pʰa tɕʰampa ɲî tuk
recognize-NEG.FUT-know-?NMLZ mask.dancer two COP.EX.ACQ

'That one looks like the oldest brother, I cannot clearly recognize it... there are two mask dancers.'

(4) *one jâ tuk capla nebi tɕuba mar konedi ŋá duŋgin na*

one jâ tuk cap=la nembo=gi tɕuba marbo
and.then yak COP.EX.ACQ behind=DAT woven.fabric=GEN red.jacket red

kon-pe=di ŋá duŋ-gin na
wrap-NMLZ.PST=DEF drum beat-NMLZ.AGT COP.EQ.ASM

'There is a yak, the one behind it wearing a red jacket is the one who beats the drum.'

(5) *di mera jâ tɕʰamgi jâ tɕʰam ɉagin desindi na*

di merak jâ tɕʰam=gi jâ tɕʰam ɉap-gin desin=di
TOP Merak yak mask.dance=GEN yak mask.dance do-NMLZ.AGT group=DEF

na
COP.EQ.ASM

'These are the Merak yak dancers- this is the yak dancer group of Merak.'

A.5   Songs

A.5.1   Song of Offerings [SO]

This is a transcription of the lyrics of a traditional song. There is a recording of the speaker singing the first two verses, but the whole text was dictated verbally, reciting all verses and line variations the speaker could recall.

There are five verses with two lines each. Both of these follow the same structure in each verse, only switching out the verse's keywords. The first line always gives the place of the offering: sky, mountain range, forest, lake, village. The second line gives who the offering is for: the sun, the snow lion, the stag, the fish, the parents. Additionally, there are two alternative second lines, the bear replacing the stag in the third verse, and the girls replacing the parents in the fifth verse. The offering itself are the flowers mentioned in each first line, and referred to simply as 'offerings' in the second line.

(Note that no translations have been found for some forms, since the song uses a different register than everyday speech.)

First verse – Sky and Sun

(1) *so guŋ sum guŋla ɕupi guŋmo ɟengi mento*

so	guŋ	sum	guŋ = la	ɕuk-pe	guŋ-mo
EXPR	sky.HON	amid	sky.HON = DAT	stay.HON-NMLZ.PST	sky.HON-F

ɟen = gi	mento
ornament = GEN	flower

'*So...* amid the sky lay the ornamental flowers of the sky.'

(2) *tɕeba ɟerla ɸuːlo tʰi duŋ ɲimagi tɕeba*

tɕeba	ɟer = la	pʰuː-lo	tʰi	duŋ	ɲima = gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards = DAT	give.HON-?	throne	?	sun = GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the sun.'

Second verse – Mountain Range and Snow Lion

(3) *so gaŋ sum gaŋla ɕupi gaŋmo ɟengi mento*

so	gaŋ	sum	gaŋ = la	ɕuk-pe
EXPR	mountain.range	amid	mountain.range = DAT	stay.HON-NMLZ.PST

gaŋ-mo	ɟen = gi	mento
mountain.range-F	ornament = GEN	flower

'*So...* amid the mountains lay the ornamental flowers of the mountains.'

(4) *tɕeba ɟɛrla ɸuːlo seŋtɕenkarmi tɕeba*

tɕeba	ɟer = la	pʰuː-lo	seŋtɕenkarmo = gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards = DAT	give.HON-?	Tibetan.snow.lion = GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the snow lion.'

Third verse – Forest and Stag

(5) *so naː sum naːla ɕupi naːmo ɟengi mento*

so	naː	sum	naː = la	ɕuk-pe	naː-mo	ɟen = gi
EXPR	forest	amid	forest = DAT	stay.HON-NMLZ.PST	forest-F	ornament = GEN

mento
flower

'*So...* amid the forest lay the ornamental flowers of the forest.'

(6) *tɕeba jɛrla ɸuːlo ɕawa rub tɕui tɕeba*

tɕeba	jer=la	pʰuː-lo	ɕawa	ru=ba	tɕu=gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards=DAT	give.HON-?	swamp.deer	horn=PL	ten=GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the stag.'

Fourth verse – Lake and Fish

(7) *so tsʰo sum tsʰola ɕupi tsʰomo ɟengi mento*

so	tsʰo	sum	tsʰo=la	ɕuk-pe	tsʰo-mo	ɟen=gi	mento
EXPR	lake	amid	lake=DAT	stay.HON-NMLZ.PST	lake-F	ornament=GEN	flower

'*So...* amid the lake lay the ornamental flowers of the lake.'

(8) *tɕeba jɛrla ɸuːlo sermi ɲamui tɕeba*

tɕeba	jer=la	pʰuː-lo	sér-mi	ɲa-mo=gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards=DAT	give.HON-?	gold-NMLZ.ACT	fish-F=GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the golden fish.'

Fifth verse – Village and Parents

(9) *so ju sum jula ɕupi jumo ɟengi mento*

so	ju	sum	ju=la	ɕuk-pe	ju-mo	ɟen=gi	
EXPR	village	amid	village=DAT	stay.HON-NMLZ.PST	village-F	ornament=GEN	

mento
flower

'*So...* amid the village lay the ornamental flowers of the village.'

(10) *tɕeba jɛrla ɸuːlo ʈin tɕen pʰami tɕeba*

tɕeba	jer=la	pʰuː-lo	ʈin	tɕen	pʰama=gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards=DAT	give.HON-?	respect	big	parent=GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the much-respected parents.'

Alternative third verse – Forest and Bear

(11) *tɕeba jɛrla ɸuːlo tomtɕuŋniŋkargi tɕeba*

tɕeba	jer=la	pʰuː-lo	tomtɕuŋniŋkar=gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards=DAT	give.HON-?	white.chested.bear=GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the white-chested bear.'

Alternative fifth verse – Village and Girls

(12) *tɕeba jɛrla ɸuːlo men tɕuŋ bomogi tɕeba*

tɕeba	jer = la	pʰuː-lo	men	tɕuŋku	bomo = gi	tɕeba
offering	upwards = DAT	give.HON-?	?	small	girl = GEN	offering

'The flowers are given upwards, offerings to the girls.'

B Glossary

This Brokpa-English glossary contains approximately 1'230 entries, including grammatical morphemes. For each entry, the word class is given together with the gloss used in the text appendix and the papers of this issue, and additional semantic or morphosyntactic comments are given after a semicolon. Cross-references to other entries are introduced with <→>; including known synonyms (syn.), selected formally related lexemes, e.g. in the case of complex forms (cf.), and some semantically related lexemes, e.g. honorific and non-honorific counterparts (see also). Subentries of nouns show compound verbs formed with the given noun.

Etymologies, both from Written Tibetan (WT) as well as potential borrowings from neighbouring languages, if detectable, are also provided. Note that the scant state of documentation of the neighbouring East Bodish language Dakpa, which stands in close sociocultural contact with Brokpa, inhibited a more thorough account on lexical similarities between the two languages, which therefore must remain a desideratum for future research. When the source of a specific etymon is secure, it is indicated by an arrow <<<>. Secure derivation from Written Tibetan is to be read as inheritance, whereas secure derivation from other languages is meant to signal borrowing from said language. Somewhat insecure etymologies are introduced with a question mark <?>. When, in the case of potential borrowings, the direction of influence could not be ascertained conclusively, this is indicated by <cf.>, and these data therefore constitute agnostic comparative materials illustrating (tentatively) unspecified areal convergences rather than conclusive directions of influence. Data are given in accordance with the source.

For verbs, the present stem is taken as the basic stem and other stems (past and/or imperative) are given as derivations in brackets preceding the gloss. However, derived stems are also listed separately to facilitate the search.

For Written Tibetan verbs, all stems are given in the order *present – past – future – imperative*, unless there is a single, invariable stem, in which case the listing of all four stems is avoided to prevent redundancy.

Unlike in most of the papers of this issue (except for Rüfenacht & Waldis, this issue), where low tone is unmarked, it is explicitly marked alongside high and falling tone in this glossary when low tone has been analytically verified and is not predictable from the syllable initial, that is on syllables with voiceless unaspirated obstruents and sonorants as initial sound.[1] This is done in order to differentiate between lexemes for which the low tone value has been confirmed with phonetic measurements (cf. Funk, this issue [a]), which are accordingly marked explicitly, and lexemes for which a low tone value has not been verified analytically until now, which are therefore not marked for tone. An entry with voiceless unaspirated obstruent or sonorant initial without tone marking therefore expresses an agnostic stance about its tone value. However, for many lexemes where the tone value has not been empirically confirmed through phonetic analysis, it can nevertheless be inferred indirectly from the etymology, for example low tone for *sa* 'eat' (PRS) < WT (བ)ཟ *(b)za*, or *pra* 'cliff' < WT བྲག *brag*.

Data sources for languages other than Brokpa are Jäschke (1881) and, in one case, Schmidt (1841) [S] for Written Tibetan, Wangchu (2002) [W], van Driem (2007) [D], Hyslop & Tshering (2010) [H&TSH] and Bodt (2012) [B] for Dakpa, Hoshi (1987) for (Dechenling and Yutrung) Dungsam

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[1]In contrast, there is no tonal contrast for syllables with voiced or aspirated obstruent initials (cf. Funk, this issue [a]).

Tshangla, Wangdi (2004) [PW] and Andvik (2010) [A] for Gamri Lungpa Tshangla, Egli-Roduner (1987) for Khaling, Kanglung and Deothang (Upper Trashigang) Tshangla, Grollmann (2020) for Bjokapakha Tshangla and Das Gupta (1968) for Dirang Tshangla, Hyslop (2017) for Kurtöp, van Driem (2015) for Bumthang, and Tshering & van Driem (2019) [TSH&D], Watters (2018) [WT] or Dzongkha Development Commission (ed.) (2010) [DDC] for Dzongkha. The alphabetic order employed in this glossary is given in Table 2.

a	ɟ	s
b	k	ʂ
c	kʰ	t
cʰ	l	tʰ
ɕ	l̥	tɕ
d	m	tɕʰ
ɖ	n	ts
e	ɲ	tsʰ
g	ŋ	ʈ
h	o	ʈʰ
ɦ	p	u
i	pʰ	w
j	r	

Table 2 Alphabetic order of glossary

Data sources

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a

a *part.* interjection (INJ)

aȼaŋ *n.* 1) maternal uncle
2) father-in-law (< WT ཨ་ཞང་ *a zhang*)

aȼi *n.* 1) older sister 2) older female cousin (< East Bodish, cf. Bumthang *’ashe*)

aȼum *n.* maize (cf. Dakpa *oshum* (W), Tshangla *asham*)

aȼumsan *n.* maize-based dish
    → cf. *aȼum* ‘maize’+ *san* ‘polenta-like dish’

aku *n.* 1) step-father 2) paternal uncle (< WT ཨ་ཀུ་ *a ku*)

alax *n.* branch (cf. Dakpa *alah* ‘branch’(W))

ama *n.* 1) mother 2) maternal aunt (< WT ཨ་མ་ *a ma*)
    → see also *jum* ‘mother’(HON)

amȼomo *n.* Ama Jomo; protective deity of the Brokpas
    → cf. *ama* ‘mother’

ani *n.* 1) paternal aunt
2) mother-in-law (< WT ཨ་ནེ་ *a ne*, vowel in Brokpa maybe influenced by Tshangla *ani*)

animu *n.* nun (cf. Dzongkha ཨ་ཎིམོ་(DDC))

aŋko *n.* bladder

apa *n.* 1) father 2) paternal uncle (< WT ཨ་པ་ *a pa*)
    → see also *jap* ‘father’(HON)

armi *n.* soldier (< English *army*)
    → see also *mâm* ‘soldier’

asim *n.* 1) step-mother 2) maternal aunt (< Tshangla, cf. Gamri Lungpa *azim* (PW), Bjokapakha *azɨm*)

au *n.* 1) older brother 2) older male parallel cousin (< WT ཨ་བོ་ *a bo* ‘elder brother’(S))

b

ba *n.* tree burl; used to craft wooden cups

=**ba** *clt. n.* plural (PL); also realized as [bax] before the focus marker =k^he (< Tshangla *bak*)

ba: *n.* 1) goiter 2) throat (outside) 3) tree burl (< WT ལྦ་བ་ *lba ba*)
    → see also *ort^hoŋ* ‘throat (inside)’

badam *n.* type of nut (< Hindi बादाम *bādām* or Nepali बदाम *badām* ‘almond’)

balu *n.* cone (of trees)

bamȼugu *n.* plastic
    → cf. *ȼugu* ‘paper’

baŋȼuŋ *n.* bamboo dishware; used for food transportation (cf. Tshangla *baŋchuŋ*, Dzongkha སྦང་ཆང་ *bangcha* (TSH&D))

bap *n.* tragopan

=**baxȼik** *clt. n.* paucal (PAUC2)
    → syn. =*lal*, cf. =*ba* plural (PL) + =*ȼik* indefinite article (INDF)

be *v.* hide; transitive (< WT སྦེད་, སྦས་, སྦ་, སྦོས་ *sbed, sbas, sba, sbos*)
    → see also *tȼar* ‘hide’

be:ȼiŋ *n.* chestnut tree
    → cf. *ȼiŋ* ‘tree’

bedoŋ *n.* type of conifer

blas *n.* dust (cf. Dakpa *bla:* (B) ∼ *blă* (D) ‘ash, dust’)

bluk (IMP: blux) *v.* explode

blux *v.* explode (IMP)
→ *bluk* 'explode'

bo:ma *n.* chestnut

bombo *adj.* big (< WT སྦོམ་པོ་ *sbom po*)
→ see also *tɕen₁* 'big'

bomo *n.* 1) daughter 2) niece (same-sex sibling's daughter) 3) girl (< WT བོ་མོ་ *bo mo*)
→ see also *se:mo* 'daughter'(HON)

bomtɕuŋ *n.* size
→ cf. *bombo* 'big'+ *tɕuŋku* 'small', see also *pʰoŋga* 'size'

borom *n.* sweets (< WT བུ་རམ་ *bu ram* 'raw sugar')

boroŋ *adj.* afforested (< Tshangla *boraŋ* 'forest')

boroŋmaŋ *n.* boroŋmaŋ (place name); village in Sakteng geok, located below boroŋtsé
→ cf. *boroŋ* 'afforested'

boroŋtsé *n.* boroŋtsé (place name); village in Sakteng geok, located above boroŋmaŋ
→ cf. *boroŋ* 'afforested'+ *tsé* 'top'

bra *n.* type of thorny bamboo

bro *n.* pastureland; also realized as [broʔ] (< WT འབྲོག་ *'brog*)

bro: *n.* buckwheat (< WT བྲ་བོ་ *bra bo*)

brokpa *n.* 1) Brokpa 2) pastoralist, nomad (< WT འབྲོག་པ་ *'brog pa*)

bruk₁ *n.* 1) thunder 2) dragon (< WT འབྲུག་ *'brug*)

▶ **bruk taŋ** *v.* thunder
→ *bruk* 'thunder'+ *taŋ₂* 'do'

bruk₂ (IMP: brux) *v.* dig (< WT འབུག་(ས)་, ཕུག་, འབུག་(ས)་, ཕུག་ *'bug(s), phug, 'bug(s), phug* 'make a hole')

bruŋ *n.* rubber

bruŋca *n.* type of water container; made out of rubber
→ cf. *bruŋ* 'rubber'

brux *v.* dig (IMP)
→ *bruk₂* 'dig'

bu *n.* insect (< WT འབུ་ *'bu*)

bumam *n.* type of bee; has a deep red backside

bumamborom *n.* type of honey; made by the *bumam* bees
→ cf. *bumam* 'type of bee'+ *borom* 'sweets'

bumpilo *n.* bumpilo (place name); village in Sakteng geok

bumtɕe *n.* type of drum

bux *n.* breath (< WT དབུགས་ *dbugs*)

c

ca:bu *n.* type of water container

cambu *adj.* weak

cap *n.* 1) back 2) behind (relator noun) (< WT རྒྱབ་ *rgyab*)

ce *v.* give birth (< WT སྐྱེ་, སྐྱེས་, སྐྱེ་, སྐྱེ་ *skye, skyes, skye, skye*)

cè: *n.* gift (cf. Dzongkha ཕུག་མཛལ་ *chânje* 'gift or offering'(TSH&D))

cempʰo *n.* type of room

cera *n.* belt

ceruk *n.* radish

cespa *n.* man; also realized as [cespa̰ ~ cesp] (< WT སྐྱེས་པ་ *skyes pa*)

cetpa *n.* waist (< WT ཀེད་པ་ *rked pa*)

cetʰaŋ *n.* ladder

ci *v.* borrow; referring to goods that will be used up (e.g. food), where an equivalent object (e.g. the same amount of food) will be returned (< WT སྐྱི་, བསྐྱིས་, བསྐྱི་, སྐྱིས་ *skyi, bskyis, bskyi, skyis*)
    → see also *er* 'borrow'

-cina *sfx. v.* allophoric present tense (PRS.ALLO) (< *ki* non-finite marker (NFIN) + *jena* assimilated existential copula (COP.EX.ASM))

ciɲim *adv.* day before yesterday
    → cf. *ɲima* 'day'

-co *sfx. v.* future (FUT); also realized as [-ɕ, -e], followed by the appropriate copula

cô *v.* churn (< WT སྐྱོགས་ *skyogs* 'turn')

corma *n.* garden fence

-coʔ *sfx. v.* egophoric present tense (PRS.EGO) (< *ki* non-finite marker (NFIN) + *jò* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO))

cuma *n.* intestines (< WT རྒྱུ་མ་ *rgyu ma*)

cur *v.* throw; only occurs with auxiliary verb *taŋ₂* 'do' (< WT སྐྱུར་ *skyur*)
    → see also *tor* 'throw', *tom₂* 'throw'

curma *adj.* sour (< WT སྐྱུར་, བསྐྱུར་, བསྐྱུར་, སྐྱུར་ *skyur, bskyur, bsykur, skyur* 'be sour')

cʰ

cʰam *n.* walk

cʰaŋ *v.* fill (< ? WT འཕྱང་, འཕྱངས་, འཕྱང་, འཕྱང་ *'phyang, 'phyangs, 'phyang, 'phyang* 'hang down')

cʰegu *adj.* cheap

cʰepsaŋ *n.* 1) benefit 2) profit

cʰim *n.* house (< WT ཁྱིམ་ *khyim*)

cʰimam *n.* wife
    → cf. *cʰim* 'house' + *ama* 'mother'

cʰimtsʰaŋ *n.* neighbour
    → cf. *cʰim* 'house'

cʰo *pro.* you; second person singular pronoun (2SG) (< WT ཁྱོད་ *khyod*)

cʰoŋ (IMP: kʰe) *v.* bring; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འཁྱོང་, ཁྱོང་, འཁྱོང་, ཁྱོང་ *'khyong, khyong, 'khyong, khyong*)

cʰu *n.* group of animals; e.g. herd, flock, swarm (< WT ཁྱུ་ *khyu*)

ɕ

ɕa *n.* overnight stay; possibly features a rising tone

ɕà *n.* meat (< WT ཤ་ *sha*)

ɕà: *n.* swamp deer
    → syn. *ɕawa*

ɕak *v.* put (PST); also occurs as auxiliary verb
    → *ɕo₁* 'put'

ɕakom *n.* dried meat
    → cf. *ɕà* 'meat'

ɕam *n.* hat (cf. Dakpa *-zhom* (W, D), Dirang Tshangla *zhamu*)

çamba *n.* bridge (< WT ཟམ་པ་ *zam pa*)

çamnakpo *n.* type of mushroom
→ cf. *çamu* 'mushroom'+ *nakpo* 'black'

çamu *n.* mushroom (< WT ཤ་མོ་ *sha mo*)

çanma *adj.* other (< WT གཞན་མ་ *gzhan ma*)

çaŋ *n.* nose (HON) (< WT ཤངས་ *shangs*)
→ see also *nà* 'nose'

çaŋbo *adj.* intelligent (< ? WT གཙང་པོ་ *gcang po* or WT སྤྱང་པོ་ *spyang po*)

çaŋsin *n.* 1) male cross cousin 2) brother-in-law

çap₁ *n.* 1) leg (HON) 2) foot (HON) (< WT ཞབས་ *zhabs*)
→ see also *kaŋba* 'leg, foot'

çap₂ *rn.* upstairs

çapa *n.* hunter
→ cf. *çà* 'meat'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

çar *n.* summer (< ? WT དབྱར་ *dbyar*)

çarmaŋ *n.* porcupine

çawa *n.* swamp deer (cf. Dakpa *çou* 'deer'(B))
→ syn. *çàː*

çe *v.* know (< WT ཤེས་ *shes*)

çè *n.* penis (< ? WT མཇེ་ *mje*)

çeː *v.* be wet (< WT གཤེར་(བ་) *gsher (ba)* 'wet, wetness')

çéː *n.* glass (< WT ཤེལ་ *shel*)

çèː *n.* mouth (HON) (< WT ཞལ་ *zhal*)
→ cf. *çel* 'face'(HON), see also *kʰa* 'mouth'

çeaŋ *v.* rise (HON) (< WT བཞེང་, བཞེངས་, བཞེང་, བཞེངས་ *bzheng, bzhengs, bzheng, bzhengs*)
→ see also *laŋ* 'rise'

çeba *n.* alternation (< ? WT བརྗེ་བ *brje ba* 'barter, exchange')

▶ **çeba ʝap** *v.* change
→ *çeba* 'alternation'+ *ʝap* 'do'

çel *n.* face (HON)
→ cf. *çèː* 'mouth'(HON), see also *doŋba* 'face'

çeniŋ *adv.* year before last year

çer₁ *n.* east (< WT ཤར་ *shar*)

çer₂ (IMP: çor) *v.* 1) shine 2) bloom (< ? WT འཆར་, ཤར་, འཆར་, འཆར་ *'char, shar, 'char, 'char* 'rise, appear, shine')

çergo *n.* mirror

çerɲa *n.* feather crest

çertço *n.* eastern part
→ cf. *çer₁* 'east'+ *tçʰô* 'side'

çetʰoŋ *n.* ornamental phallic decoration on houses
→ cf. *çè* 'penis'

çí *v.* die (< WT འཆི་, ཤི་, འཆི་, འཆི་ *'chi, shi, 'chi, 'chi*)

çì *num.* four (< WT བཞི་ *bzhi*)

çijaŋ *n.* weight
→ cf. *çinmo* 'heavy'+ *ʝaŋmo* 'light'

çik₁ *n.* leopard (< WT གཟིག་ *gzig*)

çik₂ *n.* louse (< WT ཤིག་ *shig*)

çik₃ (IMP: çix) *v.* be afraid (< WT འཇིགས་ *'jigs*)

=**çik** *clt. n.* indefinite article (INDF)

çikʝa *num.* 100
→ syn. *ʝaçik*, cf. *ʝa₂* 'hundred'

ɕiljaxɕamu *n.* type of mushroom
   → cf. *ɕamu* 'mushroom'

ɕim *v.* be dead; no PRS/PST/IMP stems, only occurs with the agent nominalizer -*gin*, i.e. *ɕimgin* 'deceased, late'
   → cf. *ɕí* 'die'

ɕimbo *adj.* tasty (< WT ཞིམ་པོ་ *zhim po* 'sweet')

ɕimi *n.* cat (< WT ཞི་མི་ *zhi mi*)

ɕimtuk *n.* forest coriander

ɕinmo *adj.* heavy

ɕiŋ *n.* 1) tree 2) wood (< WT ཤིང་ *shing*)

ɕiŋba *n.* neck (< WT འཇིང་པ་ *'jing pa*)

ɕiŋdo *n.* fruit (< WT ཤིང་ཏོག་ *shing tog*)

ɕiŋga *n.* cultivated field (< WT ཞིང་ *zhing* + ?)

ɕiŋkʰa *n.* womendress

ɕiŋlodor *n.* empty space inside a hollow tree
   → cf. *ɕiŋ* 'tree'

ɕiŋɲéː *n.* neck trap
   → cf. *ɕiŋba* 'neck'+ *ɲéː₁* 'snare trap'

ɕiŋser *n.* wooden nail
   → cf. *ɕiŋ* 'tree'+ *ser₂* 'nail'

ɕipɟa *num.* 400 (< WT བཞི་བརྒྱ་ *bzhi brgya*)
   → syn. *ɟaɕi*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɕitɕaː (IMP: ɕitɕoː) *v.* settle; also realized as [tɕaː]

ɕitɕoː *v.* settle (IMP); also realized as [tɕoː]
   → *ɕitɕaː* 'settle'

ɕiwa *n.* mask for religious dances

ɕix *v.* be afraid (IMP)
   → *ɕik₃* 'be afraid'

ɕo (PST: ɕak) *v.* put (< WT འཇོག་, བཞག་, གཞག་, ཞོག་ *'jog, bzhag, gzhag, zhog*)

-ɕo *sfx. adj.* comparative (COMPR); also realized as [ɕ]

ɕó₁ *n.* dice (< WT ཤོ་ *sho*)

ɕó₂ *v.* come (IMP) (< WT ཤོག་ *shog*)
   → *joŋ* 'come'

ɕò *n.* yoghurt (< WT ཞོ་ *zho*)

ɕô *v.* milk (< WT འཇོ་, བཞོས་, བཞོ་, འཇོས་ *'jo, bzhos, bzho, 'jos*)

ɕokɕik *quan.* 1) many, much 2) often; also realized as [ɕok]
   → see also *maŋbo* 'many, much', *tɕin₂* 'many, much'

ɕokpa *n.* 1) wing 2) fin (< WT ཤོག་པ་ *shog pa*)

ɕoma *n.* sorrel

ɕomaɕenambo *n.* type of sorrel; with red berries, sometimes used to fertilize fields
   → cf. *ɕoma* 'sorrel'

ɕoŋ *n.* valley; referring to a smaller valley without a river (< WT ཤོང་ *shong*)
   → see also *roŋ* 'valley'

ɕopʰa *n.* morning; also realized as [ɕopʰə̣ ∼ ɕoɸ] (< WT ཞོགས་པ་ *zhogs pa*)

ɕopʰedo *n.* breakfast
   → cf. *ɕopʰa* 'morning'+ =*gi* genitive (GEN) + *tó* 'food'

ɕor₁ *n.* sharpened tip

ɕor₂ *n.* fight

çor₃ *rn.* along the way (< WT ཞོར་ *zhor*)

çor₄ *v.* lose; only occurs as auxiliary verb marking decreased valency (< WT འཆོར་, ཤོར་, འཆོར་, འཆོར་ *'chor, shor, 'chor, 'chor* 'escape, flow out, come out, flee')

çor₅ *v.* shine (IMP)
→ *çer₂* 'shine'

çór *v.* sieve

çorse *n.* bag for cheese; made out of animal skin

çot *v.* jump

-çu *sfx. adj.* adjective nominalizer (NMLZ.ADJ)

çú *n.* bow (< WT གཞུ་ *gzhu*)

çû *n.* strength; also realized as [çuk] (< WT ཤུགས་ *shugs*)

çugu *n.* paper (< WT ཤོག་བུ་ *shog bu*)

çuk₁ *n.* end (< WT གཞུག་ *gzhug*)

çuk₂ (IMP: çux) *v.* stay (HON) (< WT བཞུགས་ *bzhugs*)
→ see also *to* 'stay'

çuk₃ (IMP: çux) *v.* enter (< WT འཇུག་, ཞུགས་, འཇུག་, ཞུགས་ *'jug, zhugs, 'jug, zhugs*)

çukçen *adj.* strong (< WT ཤུགས་ *shugs* + ཅན་ *can*)

çuliŋ *n.* red-billed magpie
→ cf. *çuma* 'tail'

çuma *n.* tail (< WT མཇུག་མ་ *mjug ma*)

çuŋ *rn.* along

çux₁ *v.* enter (IMP)
→ *çuk₃* 'enter'

çux₂ *v.* stay (HON) (IMP)
→ *çuk₂* 'stay'(HON)

çy *v.* advise (HON)

çý *v.* peel (< WT ཤུ་, (བ)ཤུས་, བཤུ་, (བ)ཤུ(ས)་ *shu, (b)shus, bshu, (b)shu(s)*)

d

da₁ *n.* arrow (< WT མདའ་ *mda*)

da₂ *n.* village deity; sacred place downhill of a settlement, such as a grove or boulder
→ see also *pʰu* 'village deity'

-da *sfx. adj.* superlative (SUP)

da:ma *n.* type of rhododendron (< ? WT ད་ལི་ *da li*)

dalin *n.* announcement

daŋ₁ *conj.* and (< WT དང་ *dang*)
→ cf. *=daŋ* comitative (COM)

daŋ₂ *n.* Himalayan monal

=daŋ *clt. n.* comitative (COM) (< WT དང་ *dang*)
→ cf. *daŋ₁* 'and'

deokor *n.* transportation duty; a type of communal work consisting of transporting goods up and down to the village which every household is expected to contribute to (< ? WT དོས་ *dos* 'load' + ཀོར་ *kor* 'round')

derma *n.* plate; also realized as [derm̥ ~ derm] (< WT སྡེར་མ་ *sder ma*)

desin *n.* group
→ see also *máŋ* 'group'

di *part.* topic (TOP)
→ cf. *=di* definite article (DEF)

=di *clt. n.* definite article (DEF) (< WT འདི་ *'di* 'this, the present')
→ cf. *di* topic (TOP)

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diɖikpa   *n.* type of fern

dju: *n.* bullet (< ? Dzongkha མདེའུ *diu*)

do   *n.* stone (< WT རྡོ *rdo*)

do: *n.* friend (< ? WT གྲོགས *grogs*)

▶ **do: ɟap**   *v.* help
→ *do:* 'friend'+ *ɟap* 'do'

dodom   *n.* type of red jacket; worn by women

dogumprep   *n.* type of blue coloured berries
→ cf. *prep* 'berry'

dok   (IMP: dox) *v.* arrive (< ? WT གཏུག, གཏུགས, གཏུག, གཏུག *gtug, gtugs, gtug, gtug* 'reach')

doliŋu   *n.* type of flute
→ cf. *liŋu* 'flute'

dom   *n.* arm span (< WT འདོམ(ས)(པ) *'dom(s) (pa)* 'one fathom (6 feet)')

doŋba   *n.* face (< WT གདོང(པ) *gdong (pa)*)
→ see also *ɕel* 'face'(HON)

doŋdoŋ   *n.* type of big bell; worn by yaks

doŋtʰep   *n.* low table

dopʰuŋ   *n.* boulder
→ cf. *do* 'stone'

dox   *v.* arrive (IMP)
→ *dok* 'arrive'

dukpa   *adj.* exhausting (< WT དུབ་པ *dub pa*)

dumro   *n.* garden (< WT ལྡུམ་ར ~ སྡུམ་ར *ldum ra ~ sdum ra*)

dumrocorma   *n.* kitchen garden
→ cf. *dumro* 'garden'+ *corma* 'garden fence'

duŋ   *v.* beat (< WT རྡུང, བརྡུངས, བརྡུང, (བ)རྡུང(ས) *rdung, brdungs, brdung, (b)rdung(s)*)

duŋṣuk   *n.* spine (< WT གདུང *gdung* 'bone'+ ?)

dyn   *num.* seven (< WT བདུན *bdun*)

dynɕa   *n.* discussion; also realized as [dynɕa̠ ~ dynɕ] (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha *düncha*)

dynɟa   *num.* 700 (< WT བདུན་བརྒྱ *bdun brgya*)
→ syn. *ɟadyn*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

dyntɕʰaŋ   *n.* party; celebration where alcohol is drunken
→ cf. *tɕʰaŋ* 'alcohol'

dynʈa   *n.* week (< Dzongkha བདུན་ཕྲག *dünthra* (TSH&D))
→ syn. *hapto*, cf. *dyn* 'seven'

ɖ

ɖa   *n.* enemy (< WT དགྲ *dgra*)

ɖakpa   *n.* postman (< ? + derivative affiliation marker *-pa*)

ɖamɲin   *n.* traditional string instrument

ɖaŋbo   *n.* harvested crop

ɖendu   *n.* competition

ɖi   *v.* write (< Dzongkha འདྲི *dr* (TSH&D))

ɖoa   *n.* taste (< WT བྲོ་བ *bro ba*)

ɖom   *n.* box (< WT སྒྲོམ *sgrom*)

ɖoŋgimtse   *n.* takin (cf. Dzongkha འབྲོང་གི་མཚེ *drong g* (TSH&D))

ɖu   *v.* tease

ɖuk   *n.* Bhutan (cf. Dzongkha འབྲུག་ *dru*)
     → cf. *bruk*₁ 'dragon'

ɖukpa   *n.* Bhutanese
     → cf. *ɖuk* 'Bhutan'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

ɖum   *v.* crack (< WT གྲུམ་ *'grum* 'pinch, nip off, clip, lop')
     → see also *geː* 'crack'

ɖumu   *n.* elbow (< WT གྲུ་མོ་ *gru mo*)

e   *part.* interrogative (Q)

ê   *adj.* right (< WT གཡས་པ་ *g.yas pa*)

eɕen   *adj.* good
     → see also *ʈakpo* 'good'

ekpa   *n.* crow (cf. Dakpa *akpu̧* (H&TSH))

en   *adj.* left (< WT གྱོན་(པ་) *gyon (pa)*)

enʨo   *n.* left side
     → cf. *en* 'left'+ *tɕʰô* 'side'

epʰi   *pro.* that; distal demonstrative pronoun (DEM.DIST)
     → syn. *pʰegi*

er   *v.* borrow; referring to goods where the identical object will be returned (< WT གཡར་ *g.yar*)
     → see also *ci* 'borrow'

ergo   *n.* type of small bell

erma   *n.* pepper (< WT གཡེར་མ་ *g.yer ma* 'Guinea pepper')

eskur   *n.* school; also realized as [eso] (< English *school*)

êʨo   *n.* right side
     → cf. *ê* 'right'+ *tɕʰô* 'side'

g

ga   *n.* saddle (< WT སྒ་ *sga*)

gaː   *v.* leave (PST); no PRS/IMP stems, takes the past allomorph *-le*, also occurs as auxiliary verb marking uncontrollable motion (< ? East Bodish, cf. Dakpa *gai* (W))

gaŋ   *n.* mountain range (< WT སགང་ *sgang*)

gara   *n.* ram

gau   *adj.* happy (< WT དགའ་བ་ *dga ba*)

   ▶ **gau ɟap**   *v.* be happy
     → *gau* 'happy'+ *ɟap* 'do'

gautsor   *n.* happiness
     → cf. *gau* 'happy'

geː   *v.* crack (< WT འགས་, གས་, འགས་, འགས་ *'gas, gas, 'gas, 'gas*)
     → see also *ɖum* 'crack'

gediman   *n.* vaseline
     → cf. *geː* 'crack'+ *mán* 'medicine'

geɟoŋ   *adj.* national (cf. Dzongkha རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ *gäyong* (TSH&D))

gi   *v.* fell

=gi   *clt. n.* genitive (GEN) (< WT གི་ *gi*)

-gin   *sfx. v.* agentive nominalizer (NMLZ.AGT) (< ? WT གྱིན་ *kyin* 'progressive marker')

gir   *v.* turn (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha *girt-*, Gamri Lungpa *gir-* (A))

go₁   *n.* door (< WT སྒོ་ *sgo*)

go₂   *v.* must; only occurs as auxiliary verb expressing necessity (< WT དགོས་ *dgos*)

go:ma *n.* evening; also realized as [go:m̥ ~ go:m] (< ? WT དགོངས་ *dgongs*)

gokpa *n.* green onion (< WT སྐོག་པ་ *skog pa* 'onion')

goleŋ *n.* small type of bull

goleŋma *n.* small type of cow (cf. *goleŋ* 'small type of bull'+ female marker *-ma*)

goleŋmaso *n.* yak crossbreed; male first generation crossbreed from *goleŋma* and *jâ*
→ cf. *goleŋma* 'small type of cow'+ *sò* 'male yak hybrid'

goleŋmasomo *n.* yak crossbreed; female first generation crossbreed from *goleŋma* and *jâ*
→ cf. *goleŋma* 'small type of cow'+ *somo* 'female yak hybrid'

gom *n.* type of container; made out of hollow tree trunk

goŋba *n.* type of temple/monastery with yellow roof

gu *num.* nine (< WT དགུ་ *dgu*)

gu: *v.* move; transitive (< WT སྒུལ་ *sgul*)
→ see also *pro:* 'move'

gun *n.* winter (< WT དགུན་ *dgun*)

guŋ *n.* sky (HON) (< WT དགུང་ *dgung*)
→ see also *nam* 'sky'

gupja *num.* 900 (< WT དགུ་བརྒྱ་ *dgu brgya*)
→ syn. *jagu*, cf. *ja₂* 'hundred'

gylin *n.* trade

▶ **gylin jap** *v.* trade
→ *gylin* 'trade'+ *jap* 'do'

h

hajaŋ *n.* small teapot; made out of aluminium

hapto *n.* week (< Nepali हप्ता *haptā* 'week')
→ syn. *dynṭa*

hú *n.* small teapot

ɦ

ɦo: *rn.* below; downriver, downhill (< WT འོག་ *'og*)

ɦo:ma *n.* milk (< WT འོ་མ་ *'o ma*)

ɦom *n.* fox (cf. Dzongkha འམ་ *âm* 'jackal'(TSH&D))

ɦopaŋ *n.* floor (< ? WT འོག་ *'og* + Dakpa *paŋ(lip)* 'plank'(W))

ɦoptɕuŋdoŋkar *n.* red panda
→ cf. *tɕuŋku* 'small'+ *doŋba* 'face'+ *karmo* 'white'

ɦukpa *n.* owl (< WT འུག་པ་ *'ug pa*)

i

i: *n.* grandmother (< ? East Bodish, cf. Dakpa *ei* (W), Bumthang *'aila*)

j

ja₁ *part.* presentative particle (PREST)

ja₂ *rn.* up (< WT ཡ་ *ya*)
→ see also *takpa* 'up'

jâ *n.* yak bull (< WT གཡག་ *g.yag*)

jakpo *adj.* clearly (< WT ཡག་པོ་ *yag po*)

jaŋjer *n.* young yak; yak in its third year

jaŋmo *adj.* light (weight) (< WT ཡང་མོ་ *yang mo*)

jap *n.* father (HON) (< WT ཡབ་ *yab*)
→ see also *apa* 'father'

je *v.* exist (PST); no PRS/IMP stems, takes the past allomorph *-te*
→ cf. *jò* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO), *jena* assimilated existential copula (COP.EX.ASM)

jedoŋ *cop.* modal existential copula (COP.EX.EPI)
→ cf. *jò* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO)

jema *rn.* upwards
→ cf. *ja₂* 'up'+ *ma* 'down', see also *jer* 'upwards', *ɟen* 'upwards'

jena *cop.* assimilated existential copula (COP.EX.ASM)
→ cf. *jò* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO)

jer₁ *rn.* upwards; archaic (< WT ཡར་ *yar*)
→ see also *jema* 'upwards'

jer₂ *v.* run (< WT ཡར་ *yar* 'disperse, ramble, stray, spring, leap off')

jerma *n.* young yak; yak in its second year

jigu *n.* 1) letter 2) alphabet (< Dzongkha ཡི་གུ་ *yig* (TSH&D))

jin *cop.* egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.EGO) (< WT ཡིན་ *yin*)

jinda *cop.* acquired equative copula (COP.EQ.ACQ)
→ cf. *jin* egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.EGO)

jine *conj.* but

jinta *cop.* past modal equative copula (COP.EQ.EPI.PST)
→ cf. *jin* egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.EGO)

jinuŋ *cop.* modal equative copula (COP.EQ.EPI)
→ cf. *jin* egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.EGO)

jitɕe *n.* trust

jò *cop.* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO); also realized as [jò?] (< WT ཡོད་ *yod*)

jokor *n.* yak fur; before being processed to thread

joma *n.* blanket

jomatʰaŋa *n.* mattress; also realized as [jomat̥ʰaŋa ∼ jomtʰaŋa] (cf. Dakpa *thanga* 'blanket'(W))
→ cf. *joma* 'blanket'

joŋ (IMP: ɕó) *v.* come; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT ཡོང་, ཡོངས་, ཡོང་, (ཤོག་) *yong, yongs, yong, (shog)*)

jønpʰula *n.* jønpʰula (place name); name of a place near Trashigang

ju *n.* village; possibly features a rising tone (< WT ཡུལ་ *yul*)

jum *n.* mother (HON) (< WT ཡུམ་ *yum*)
→ see also *ama* 'mother'

ɟ

ɟa₁ *n.* wild goat (cf. Dakpa *kja* 'goral'(B))

ɟa₂ *num.* hundred (< WT བརྒྱ་ *brgya*)

ɟaːbu *n.* container for liquids made of animal skin

ɟaɕi *num.* 400
  → syn. *ɕipɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟaɕik *num.* 100
  → syn. *ɕikɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟadyn *num.* 700
  → syn. *dynɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟagu *num.* 900
  → syn. *gupɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟaɟe *num.* 800
  → syn. *ɟeɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟakpa *adj.* fat (< WT རྒྱགས་པ་ *rgyags pa*)

ɟaliŋ *n.* type of flute; made out of bamboo
  → cf. *liŋu* 'flute'

ɟamtso *n.* ocean (< WT རྒྱ་མཚོ་ *rgya mtsho*)

ɟanḍa *n.* 1) beard 2) whiskers (cf. Dakpa *ɟăndră* (D))

ɟaɲî *num.* 200
  → syn. *ɲîɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟaŋá *num.* 500
  → syn. *ŋápɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟap (IMP: ɟop) *v.* do; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT རྒྱབ་, བརྒྱབ་, བརྒྱབ་, རྒྱོབ་ *rgyab, brgyab, brgyab, rgyob*)
  → see also *taŋ₂* 'do'

ɟasum *num.* 300
  → syn. *sumɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟaʈuk *num.* 600
  → syn. *ʈukɟa*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟe₁ *num.* eight; possibly features a rising tone (< WT བརྒྱད་ *brgyad*)

ɟe₂ *v.* laugh (< ? WT དགོད་ *dgod*)

=ɟe *clt. n.* agentive (AGT) (< WT གྱིས་ *gyis*)

ɟebo *n.* king (< WT རྒྱལ་པོ་ *rgyal po*)
  → see also *ɟemo* 'queen'

ɟeɟa *num.* 800 (< WT བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ *brgyad brgya*)
  → syn. *ɟaɟe*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ɟekap *n.* country (cf. Dzongkha རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ *gäkhap* (TSH&D))

ɟeloŋ *n.* monk (< WT དགེ་སློང་ *dge slong*)

ɟemo *n.* queen
  → cf. female formative *mo₂*, see also *ɟebo* 'king'

ɟen₁ *adv.* upwards; steep incline (< WT གྱེན་ *gyen*)
  → see also *ɟema* 'upwards'

ɟen₂ *n.* ornament (< WT རྒྱན་ *rgyan*)

ɟenkur *n.* responsibility (< WT འགང་ ~ འགན་ *'gang* ~ 'burden of an office' + ?)
  → see also *kʰâ* 'responsibility'

-ɟeraŋ *sfx. n.* all of

ɟeɕitpo *adj.* important

ɟop *v.* do (IMP)
  → *ɟap* 'do'

ɟopcʰo *adv.* 1) quickly 2) soon (< ? WT མགྱོགས་པ་ *mgyogs pa* 'quick')

ɟopʰitse *n.* ɟopʰitse (place name); name of a mountain near Merak
  → cf. *tsé* 'top'

ɟu *n.* wealth (< WT རྒྱུ་ *rgyu* 'matter, substance')

ɟupaŋ *n.* stick

ɟur *v.* change (< WT སྒྱུར་, བསྒྱུར་, བསྒྱུར་, སྒྱུར་ *sgyur, bsgyur, bsgyur, sgyur*)

k

ka *n.* border between pasturelands; possibly features a rising tone

ká *n.* instruction (< WT བཀའ་ *bka'* 'word, speech, order')

kà: *n.* pillar (< WT ཀ་བ་ *ka ba*)

kak (IMP: kʰo) *v.* block (< WT འགེགས་, བཀག་, དགག་, ཁོག་ *'gegs, bkag, dgag, khog*)
   → see also *sup* 'block'

kám (IMP: kʰom) *v.* dry (< WT སྐེམ་, བསྐམས་, བསྐམ་, སྐོམས་ *skem, bskams, bskam, skoms*)

kamku *n.* hill partridge

kango *n.* old person
   → cf. *katpo* 'old'(M), *kanmo* 'old'(F)

kanmo *adj.* old (F) (< WT རྒད་མོ་ *rgad mo*)
   → see also *katpo* 'old'(M)

kanmu *adj.* bitter

kaŋ₁ *n.* hole

kaŋ₂ *pro.* which (< WT གང་ *gang*)

kaŋba *n.* 1) leg 2) foot 3) paw (< WT རྐང་པ་ *rkang pa*)
   → see also *ɕap₁* 'leg, foot'(HON)

kaŋɕa *n.* footprint
   → cf. *kaŋba* 'leg, foot'

kaŋgo *n.* short trousers
   → cf. *kaŋba* 'leg, foot'

kaŋɉo *quan.* all (< WT གང་ *gang* + ?)

kaŋliŋ *n.* type of flute; made out of tigh bone
   → cf. *kaŋba* 'leg, foot'+ *liŋu* 'flute'

kap (IMP: kop) *v.* cover (< WT གབ་ *gab* 'conceal, hide, cover')

kapiliŋ *n.* skull

kapso *rn.* during

kaptaŋ *n.* mattress for animals; mattress put on animalbacks for transportation

karkʰo *n.* window
   → cf. *karmo* 'bright'

karma₁ *n.* star (< WT སྐར་མ་ *skar ma*)

karma₂ *n.* minute (< Dzongkha སྐར་མ་ *karma* (TSH&D))

karmo *adj.* 1) white 2) bright (< WT དཀར་མོ་ *dkar mo*)

kartɕʰe *n.* tsampa; Tibetan dish based on roasted flour

kate *pro.* where; also realized as [ka] (< WT ག་ *ga*, cf. Dzongkha ག་ཏེ་ *g* 'where'(TSH&D))

katpo *adj.* old (M) (< WT རྒད་པོ་ *rgad po*)
   → see also *kanmo* 'old'(F)

kau *adj.* 1) difficult 2) strict (< WT དཀའ་བ་ *dka ba*)

kemp *n.* camp (< English *camp*)

-ki *sfx.* *v.* non-finite marker (NFIN) (< ? WT ཀྱིན་ *kyin* 'progressive marker')

kí *n.* dog (< ? WT ཁྱི་ *khyi*)

kî *n.* language (< WT སྐད་ *skad*)

kiŋku *n.* red billed chough

kitap *n.* book (< Nepali किताब *kitāb*, < Arabic *kitāb*)

kitpo *adj.* comfortable

ko *n.* vulture; possibly features a rising tone (< WT གོ་(བོ་) *go (bo)*)

-ko *sfx. v.* adhortative (ADH); realized as *-ku* after stems with vowel /u/, realized as *-o* ∼ *-u* after consonants

kó *v.* plow (< WT ཀོ་, (བ)ཀོས་, བཀོ་, ཀོས་ *rko, (b)kros, brko, rkos*)

kò *n.* head (< WT མགོ་ *mgo*)
→ see also *u* 'head'(HON)

koɕur *n.* sparrow

koɖoŋtum *n.* squirrel

koktar *adj.* strong

koktɕaŋ *n.* type of fruit

kolam *n.* clothes (< WT གོས་ *gos* 'clothes'+ ?)
→ see also *namsa* 'clothes'(HON)

komɕinpʰaŋo *n.* bat (< ? + ?WT ཕ་ཝང་ *pha wang* 'bat')

komtʰeŋ *n.* skin used for mattresses

komtɕen *n.* religious person who performs rituals (< WT སྒོམ་ཆེན་ *sgom chen*)
→ see also *komtɕensabur* 'type of rodent'

komtɕensabur *n.* type of rodent
→ see also *komtɕen* 'religious person'

kon *v.* wrap (< WT སྐོན་, བསྐོན་, བསྐོན་, སྐོན་ *skon, bskon, bskon, skon* 'dress someone')

koŋa *n.* egg (< WT སྒོ་ང་ *sgo nga*)

koŋba *n.* household

koŋpʰa *n.* millet; also realized as [koŋpʰa̠ ∼ koŋɸ] (< Dirang Tshangla, cf. *kong-pu* 'millet')

koŋsan *n.* millet-based dish
→ cf. *koŋpʰa* 'millet'+ *san* 'polenta-like dish'

koŋtɕʰe *n.* millet powder
→ cf. *koŋpʰa* 'millet'+ *tɕʰe* 'powder'

kop₁ *n.* cup (< English *cup*)

kop₂ *v.* cover (IMP)
→ *kap* 'cover'

kopi *n.* cabbage (< Nepali कोपी *kopī*)

kor *rn.* about (< ? WT ཀོར་ *kor* 'round')

koren *n.* Korean (< English *Korean*)

kot *n.* coat (< English *coat*)

koʈin *n.* organization (< Dzongkha འགོ་འཛིན་ *godren* (TSH&D))

ku (IMP: kui) *v.* steal (< WT རྐུ་, (བ)རྐུས་, བརྐུ་, རྐུས་ *rku, (b)rkus, brku, rkus*)

kú *n.* body (HON) (< WT སྐུ་ *sku*)
→ see also *kusuk* 'body'(HON), *luspa* 'body'

ku: *v.* instruct (< ? WT སྒོ་, བསྒོ་, སྒོ་, སྒོ་ *sgo, bsgo, sgo, sgo* 'say, bid, order')

kui *v.* steal (IMP)
→ *ku* 'steal'

kukpa *adj.* 1) mute 2) dumb (< WT ལྐུགས་པ་ *lkugs pa*)

kunma *n.* thief (< WT རྐུན་མ་ *rkun ma*)
→ syn. *kuntur*

▶ **kunma ɟap** *v.* steal
→ *kunma* 'thief'+ *ɟap* 'do'

kuntur *n.* thief
→ syn. *kunma*

kupur *n.* corpse (HON) (< WT སྐུ་ *sku* 'body (HON)' + WT སྤུར་ *spur* 'corpse (HON)')
→ see also *rò* 'corpse'

kuruŋ *n.* festivity

kusuk *n.* body (HON) (< WT སྐུ་གཟུག་ *sku gzug*)
→ see also *kú* 'body'(HON), *luspa* 'body'

kutpa *n.* thread (< WT སྐུད་པ་ *skud pa*)

kwe *n.* yak crossbreed; second generation crossbreed from *somo* and *goleŋ*

kweso *n.* yak crossbreed; male third generation crossbreed from *kwe* and *jâ*
→ cf. *kwe* 'yak crossbreed' + *sò* 'male yak hybrid'

kwesomo *n.* yak crossbreed; female third generation crossbreed from *kwe* and *jâ*
→ cf. *kwe* 'yak crossbreed' + *somo* 'female yak hybrid'

kʰ

kʰa *n.* 1) mouth 2) snout (< WT ཁ་ *kha*)
→ see also *ɕèː* 'mouth'(HON)

kʰâ *n.* responsibility (< WT ཁག་ *khag*)
→ see also *ɟenkur* 'responsibility'

kʰaː₁ *n.* snow (< WT ཁ་(བ་) *kha (ba)*)

kʰaː₂ *num.* score (20) (< WT ཁལ་ *khal*)

kʰaːma *n.* kidney; also realized as [kʰaːm̥a ∼ kʰaːm] (< WT མཁལ་མ་ *mkhal ma*)

kʰaɕa *n.* musk deer; also realized as [kʰaɕḁ ∼ kʰaɕ] (cf. Dakpa *kha sha* 'deer'(W))

kʰaɕi *num.* 80; lit. 'four scores'

kʰaɕi daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 90; lit. 'four scores and ten'

kʰaɕik *num.* 20; lit. 'one score'

kʰaɕik daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 30; lit. 'one score and ten'

kʰado *n.* colour (< WT ཁ་དོག་ *kha dog*)

kʰadyn *num.* 140; lit. 'seven scores'

kʰadyn daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 150; lit. 'seven scores and ten'

kʰagu *num.* 180; lit. 'nine scores'

kʰagu daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 190; lit. 'nine scores and ten'

kʰaɟe *num.* 160; lit. 'eight scores'

kʰaɟe daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 170; lit. 'eight scores and ten'

kʰan *adj.* alike; like, similar
→ see also *ʈau* 'alike'

kʰaɲî *num.* 40; lit. 'two scores'

kʰaɲî daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 50; lit. 'two scores and ten'

kʰaŋá daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 110; lit. 'five scores and ten'

kʰapse *n.* fried biscuit (< Dzongkha ཁ་ཟས་ *khapze* (TSH&D))

kʰasum *num.* 60; lit. 'three scores'

kʰasum daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 70; lit. 'three scores and ten'

kʰaʈuk *num.* 120; lit. 'six scores'

kʰaʈuk daŋ tɕutʰamba *num.* 130; lit. 'six scores and ten'

kʰe₁ *n.* potato (cf. Dakpa *khe* (W))

kʰe₂   *pro.* you; second person singular agentive/genitive pronoun (2SG.AGT / 2SG.GEN)
→ see also *cʰo* 'you'

kʰe₃   *v.* bring (IMP)
→ *cʰoŋ* 'bring'

=**kʰe**   *clt. n.* focus (FOC)

kʰekpa   *n.* 1) ice 2) glacier (< WT ཁྱགས་པ་ *khyags pa*)

kʰeŋba   *adj.* full (< WT འཁེངས་, ཁེངས་, འཁེངས་, འཁེངས་ *'khengs, khengs, 'khengs, 'khengs* 'be full')

kʰer   *v.* take; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འཁྱེར་ *'khyer*)

kʰeri   *n.* 1) landslide 2) soil erosion (cf. Dakpa *kari-bagu* (W))

kʰersaŋ   *n.* type of tree

kʰi   *pro.* you (plural); second person plural pronoun (2PL) (< WT ཁྱེད་ *khyed*)

kʰimbu   *n.* spoon

kʰo₁   *pro.* he; masculine third person singular pronoun (3SG.M) (< WT ཁོ་ *kho*)

kʰo₂   *v.* block (IMP)
→ *kak* 'block'

kʰo: *v.* boil (< WT འཁོལ་, ཁོལ་, འཁོལ་, འཁོལ་ *'khol, khol, 'khol, 'khol*)

kʰoe   *pro.* he, his; masculine third person singular agentive/genitive pronoun (3SG.M.AGT / 3SG.M.GEN)

kʰolokpa   *n.* knee (cf. Dakpa *kholokpa* (W))

kʰom   *v.* dry (IMP)
→ *kám* 'dry'

kʰombaŋ   *n.* step

kʰoŋ   *pro.* they; third person plural pronoun (3PL) (< WT ཁོང་ *khong*)

kʰopa   *n.* 1) bark 2) shell 3) fruit peel (cf. Dakpa *sheng-khopa* 'bark'(W))

kʰu   *n.* sperm (< WT ཁུ་བ་ *khu ba*)

kʰuɕ-   *pfx.num.* times; bound morpheme preceding numerals

kʰur   *v.* carry (< WT འཁུར་, ཁུར་~ བཀུར་, ཁུར་~ བཀུར་, འཁུར་ *'khur, khur ~ bkur, khur ~ bkur, 'khur*)

kʰus   *n.* load
→ cf. *kʰur* 'carry'

l

=**la**   *clt. n.* dative (DAT); also realized as [l] (< WT ལ་ *la*)

lá   *n.* rhododendron leaf

là   *n.* mountain pass (< WT ལ་ *la*)

▶ **là ɟap**   *v.* cross a mountain pass
→ *là* 'mountain pass'+ *ɟap* 'do'

laɕu   *n.* garlic; also realized as [laɕu̥ ~ laɕ] (< Nepali लसुन *lasun* or Hindi लहसुन *lahasun*)

lakpa   *n.* 1) arm 2) hand (< WT ལག་པ་ *lag pa*)
→ see also *tɕʰâ* 'arm, hand'(HON)

=**lal**   *clt. n.* paucal (PAUC1)
→ syn. =*baxɕik*

lam   *n.* path; also realized as [lamga] (< WT ལམ་ *lam*)

lama   *n.* lama (< WT བླ་མ་ *bla ma*)

lamɖo   *n.* luck

lamsaŋ   *adv.* immediately

laŋ (IMP: loŋ) *v.* rise (< WT ལང་, ལངས་, ལང་, ལོང(ས)་ *lang, langs, lang, long(s)*)
→ see also *ɕeaŋ* 'rise'(HON)

laŋa *n.* kettle

laŋpɕʰe *n.* elephant (< WT གླང་པོ་ཆེ་ *glang po che*)

lap (IMP: loɸ) *v.* say (< WT ལབ་ *lab*)
→ see also *suŋ* 'say'(HON)

latpa *n.* brain (< WT ཀླད་པ་ *klad pa*)

latɕa *n.* payment (< WT གླ་ *gla* 'pay'+ ?)

latɕi *n.* glue; also realized as [latɕi̥ ~ latɕ] (< ? + ?WT སྦྱིན་ *spyin* 'glue')
→ see also *pin* 'glue'

lau *adj.* easy (< WT སླ་བ་ *sla ba*)

le *n.* karma; possibly features a rising tone (< WT ལས་ *las*)

-le *sfx. n.* also

leak (IMP: leax) *v.* smear

leaka *n.* work (< WT ལས་ཀ་ *las ka*)

leax *v.* smear (IMP)
→ *leak* 'smear'

len *v.* fetch (< WT ལེན་, བློངས་, བླང་, ལོན་ *len, blongs, blang, lon*)

leniŋ *n.* calf (leg)

lesi *n.* banana (< Tshangla *lesi ~ laise*)

likpa *n.* testicle (< WT རླིག་པ་ *rlig pa*)

liŋu *n.* flute (< WT གླིང་བུ་ *gling bu* 'fife, flageolet')

litpa *n.* mucus (< WT ལུད་པ་ *lud pa*)

lo₁ *adv.* again; also realized as [loʔ], possibly features a rising tone
→ cf. *lo₃* 'return'

lo₂ *n.* surface (< WT ལོགས་ *logs*)

lo₃ (PST: lok) *v.* return (< WT ལྡོག་, ལོག་, ལྡོག་, ལོག་ *ldog, log, ldog, log*)
→ cf. *lo₁* 'again'

lò *n.* year (< WT ལོ་ *lo*)

lô₁ *n.* light; also realized as [loʔ] (< WT གློག་ *glog*)

lô₂ *v.* read (< WT ཀློག་, (བ)ཀླགས་, (བ)ཀླག་, ཀློག་ *klog, (b)klags, (b)klag, klog*)

ló: *n.* lung (< WT གློ་བ་ *glo ba*)

loɟu *n.* history (< WT ལོ་རྒྱུས་ *lo rgyus*)

lok *v.* return (PST)
→ *lo₃* 'return'

loma *n.* leaf (< WT ལོ་མ་ *lo ma*)

lónɖukɕoŋ *n.* lónɖukɕoŋ (place name); name of a grassy plain near Sakteng

loŋ *v.* rise (IMP)
→ *laŋ* 'rise'

lopon *n.* teacher (< WT སློབ་དཔོན་ *slob dpon*)

loɸ *v.* say (IMP)
→ *lap* 'say'

lú *n.* song (< WT གླུ་ *glu*)

▶ **lú ɟap** *v.* sing
→ *lú* 'song'+ *ɟap* 'do'

lugu *n.* lamb (< WT ལུ་གུ་~ ལུག་གུ་ *lu gu ~ lug gu*)
→ cf. *luk₁* 'sheep'

luk₁ *n.* sheep (< WT ལུག་ *lug*)

luk₂ *v.* pour (< WT ལྡུག་, བླུགས་, བླུག་, བླུག(ས)་ *ldug, blugs, blug, blug(s)*)

lukɕi *n.* shepherd (< WT ལུག་རྫི་ *lug rdzi*)
→ cf. *luk₁* 'sheep'

lukse *n.* tradition (< WT ལུགས་ *lugs* 'way, manner, established manner' + WT སྲོལ་ *srol* 'custom, habit', but phonology indicates an East Bodish or Tshangla borrowing; expected regular, but unattested Brokpa reflex: **lukṣoː*)

luktɕur *n.* sheep fence
→ cf. *luk₁* 'sheep' + *tɕur* 'animal fence'

lum *n.* alcoholic drink made out of fermented rice

lumba *n.* wind (< WT རླུང་ *rlung*)

luŋba *n.* region; also realized as [lumba] (< WT ལུང་པ་ *lung pa* 'valley')

luŋkor *n.* windmill plaything

luspa *n.* body (< WT ལུས་ *lus*)
→ see also *kú* 'body'(HON), *kusuk* 'body'(HON)

ly₁ *n.* fertilizer (< WT ལུད་པ་ *lud pa*)

ly₂ *v.* leave behind (< WT ལུས་ *lus* 'be left behind')

l̥

l̥á *n.* god (< WT ལྷ་ *lha*)

l̥aːm *n.* rest (< WT ལྷག་མ་ *lhag ma*)

l̥aːpʰa *n.* frost; also realized as [l̥aːpʰa̰ ∼ l̥aːɸ] (< WT ལྷག(ས་)་པ་ *lhag(s) pa* 'cold wind')

l̥áɖi *n.* religious mural; also realized as [l̥abri] (< Dzongkha ལྷ་བྲིས་ *lhadri* '(religious) painting' (TSH&D))
→ cf. *l̥á* 'god' + *ɖi* 'write'

l̥ákʰaŋ *n.* monastery (< WT ལྷ་ཁང་ *lha khang*)
→ cf. *l̥á* 'god'

l̥am *n.* shoe (< WT ལྷམ་ *lham*)

l̥aŋpʰa *n.* vapour; also realized as [l̥aŋpʰa̰ ∼ l̥aŋɸ] (< WT རླངས་པ་ *rlangs pa*)

l̥ó *n.* south (< WT ལྷོ་ *lho*)

m

ma *m.* down (< WT མ་ *ma*)

ma- *pfx v.* past, imperative and adhortative negation (NEG) (< WT མ་ *ma* 'past/ imperative negation')

-ma *sfx.* female marker (< WT མ་ *ma*)
→ see also female formative *mo₂*

mà *n.* wound (< WT རྨ་ *rma*)

mâ *n.* war (< WT དམག་ *dmag*)

maɕu *n.* scar (< WT རྨ་ *rma* 'wound' + WT ཤུལ་ *shul*)
→ cf. *mà* 'wound'

makpa *n.* 1) brother-in-law 2) son-in-law (< WT མག་པ་ *mag pa* 'son-in-law')

mâm *n.* soldier
→ cf. *mâ* 'war' + *mì* 'person', see also *armi* 'soldier'

man₁ *cop.* negative egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EGO) (< WT མན་ *man*)

man₂ *n.* mithun

mán *n.* medicine (< WT སྨན་ *sman*)

mánbabu   *n.* health worker; also
realized as [mánba] (< Hindi बबू *babu*
'clerk, clerical staff')
→ cf. *mán* 'medicine'

manda   *cop.* negative allophoric
equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.ALLO)
→ cf. *man₁* negative egophoric
equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EGO)

manmo   *n.* type of onion

mantuŋɟur   *n.* mantuŋɟur (place
name); village in Sakteng geok,
located below boroŋmaŋ

manuŋ   *cop.* negative modal equative
copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EPI)
→ cf. *man₁* negative egophoric
equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EGO)

máŋ   *n.* 1) group 2) whole; referring
to all the people of a given community
(e.g. all the inhabitants of a village)
(< WT དམངས་ *dmangs* 'common
people')
→ see also *desin* 'group'

máŋapa   *n.* government
intermediary; head of a geok who
works as intermediary with the
government
→ cf. *máŋ* 'group' + *apa* 'father'

maŋbo   *adj.* 1) many, much 2) often
(< WT མང་པོ་ *mang po*)
→ cf. *máŋ* 'group', see also *ɕokɕik*
'many, much', *tɕin₂* 'many, much'

máŋkuruŋ   *n.* type of festivity;
religious festivity held in Sakteng
every four years which involves naked
dancing
→ cf. *máŋ* 'group' + *kuruŋ*
'festivity'

máŋle   *n.* communal work;
corresponds to Dzongkha གུ་ལག་
→ cf. *máŋ* 'group' + *leaka* 'work'

mar   *n.* butter (< WT མར་ *mar*)

marbo   *adj.* red (< WT དམར་པོ་ *dmar
po*)

martaŋ   *n.* bag for butter; made out
of animal skin
→ cf. *mar* 'butter'

mato   *adv.* only

matsa   *adv.* almost

maʈau   *adj.* 1) strange 2) unlike
(following a noun marked with
comitative =*daŋ*)
→ cf. *ma-* negation (NEG) + *ʈau*
'alike'

me   *v.* not exist (PST); no PRS/IMP
stems, takes the past allomorph *-te*
→ cf. *mè* negative egophoric
existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EGO)

mè₁   *cop.* negative egophoric
existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EGO);
also realized as [mè?] (< WT མེད་ *med*)

mè₂   *n.* fire (< WT མེ་ *me*)

mê   *n.* buttocks

medoŋ   *cop.* negative modal
existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EPI)
→ cf. *mè₁* negative egophoric
existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EGO)

megam   *n.* chin (cf. Dirang Tshangla
gam-thi)

meja   *rn.* downwards
→ cf. *ma* 'down' + *ja₂* 'up', see also
tʰur 'downwards'

meme   *n.* grandfather (< Tshangla or
East Bodish *meme*)

memsa   *n.* rifle

▶ **memsa taŋ**   *v.* shoot
→ *memsa* 'rifle' + *taŋ₂* 'do'

mena *cop.* negative assimilated existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.ASM)
→ cf. *mè₁* negative egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EGO)

menba *n.* birthmark

mento *n.* flower (< WT མེན་ཏོག་ *men tog*)

merak *n.* merak (place name); name of a Brokpa village, Merak
→ cf. *mè₂* 'fire'+ *ṣa* 'burn'

merakpa *n.* person from Merak
→ cf. *merak* 'merak'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

mi- *pfx. v.* future negation (NEG.FUT) (< WT མི་ *mi* 'present/future negation')

-mi *sfx. v.* action nominalizer (NMLZ.ACT) (< WT མི་ *mi* 'person')

mì *n.* person (< WT མི་ *mi*)

mik *n.* eye (< WT མིག་ *mig*)
→ see also *tɕen₂* 'eye'(HON)

mík *v.* swallow (< ? WT མིད་ *mid*)

mikɕé: *n.* eyeglasses
→ cf. *mik* 'eye'+ *ɕé:* 'glass'

mikpa *n.* hoof (< WT རྨིག་པ་ *rmig pa*)

mikpur *n.* eyebrow
→ cf. *mik* 'eye'

miksima *n.* eyelash
→ cf. *mik* 'eye'+ *sima* 'lash'

min *cop.* negative acquired existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.ACQ) (< WT མིན་ *min*)

minuŋ *cop.* negative past existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.PST)
→ cf. *min* negative acquired existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.ACQ)

miŋ *n.* name (< WT མིང་ *ming*)

mo₁ *n.* astrologer
→ see also *tʰuta* 'astrologer'(HON)

mo₂ *part.* female formative; can be prefixed or suffixed to the lexeme (< WT མོ་ *mo*)
→ see also female marker *-ma*

mò *pro.* she; feminine third person singular pronoun (3SG.F) (< WT མོ་ *mo*)

moɕuk *n.* female juniper
→ cf. female formative *mo₂*, see also *pʰoɕuk* 'male juniper'

moe *pro.* she, her; feminine third person singular agentive/genitive pronoun (3SG.F.AGT / 3SG.F.GEN)

móŋ *n.* pubic hair (cf. Dakpa *'moŋ* (B))

moreŋ *n.* bachelorette; pejorative, also realized as [moreŋma]
→ cf. female formative *mo₂* + =*raŋ* reflexive (REFL), see also *pʰoreŋ* 'bachelor'

motɕipʰa *n.* woman
→ cf. female formative *mo₂*

múk (IMP: múx) *v.* bite (< WT རྨུག་, རྨུགས་, རྨུག་, རྨུག་ *rmug, rmugs, rmug, rmug*)

mukpa *n.* 1) cloud 2) fog (< Tshangla, cf. Gamri Lungpa (A), Khaling, Dungsam *mukpa*, Bjokapakha, Kanglung *mukpu*)

mur *v.* chew (< WT རྨུར་ *rmur* 'gnarl and bite each other (of dogs)')

murpʰi *n.* murpʰi (place name); village in Sakteng geok

musi *n.* somebody else

múx *v.* bite (IMP)
→ *múk* 'bite'

n

na₁ *cop.* assimilated equative copula
(COP.EQ.ASM) (< East Bodish, cf.
Bumthang *na,* Dakpa *nau* (H&TSH), or
Tshangla *na* (cf. Grollmann, in press))

na₂ *v.* be sick (< WT ན་ *na*)

-na *sfx. v.* conditional (COND)
(< WT ན་ *na*)

nà *n.* nose (< WT སྣ་ *sna*)
  → see also *ɕaŋ* 'nose'(HON)

nà: *n.* forest (< WT ནགས་ *nags*)

na:si *n.* yak herder (< WT གནག་རྫི་
gnag rdzi 'cattle herder')

nagi *n.* 1) pain 2) sickness

nakpo *adj.* black (< WT ནག་པོ་ *nag
po*)

nam *n.* 1) sky 2) rain (< WT གནམ་
gnam 'sky')
  → see also *guŋ* 'sky'(HON)

nâm *n.* muscle

nama *n.* 1) sister-in-law
2) daughter-in-law (< WT མནའ་མ་ *mna
ma* 'daughter-in-law')

namɕi *n.* weather
  → cf. *nam* 'sky'

namɕo *n.* ear (< WT ནམ་ཆོག་ *nam
chog*)
  → see also *ɲén* 'ear'(HON)

namsa *n.* clothes (HON)
  → see also *kolam* 'clothes'

naŋ₁ *rn.* inside (< WT ནང་ *nang*)

naŋ₂ *v.* give (HON); takes a honorific
agent (< WT གནང་, གནང(ས)་, གནང་,
གནོང་ *gnang, gnang(s), gnang, gnong*)
  → see also *pʰu:₂* 'give'(HON), *ter*
'give'

naŋɕa *n.* entrails
  → cf. *naŋ₁* 'inside'+ *ɕà* 'meat'

naŋma *n.* type of conifer

natpa *n.* patient (< WT ནད་པ་ *nad pa*
'sick (person)')

-ne *sfx. v.* converb 2 (CVB2)
  → cf. =*ne* ablative (ABL)

=**ne** *clt. n.* ablative (ABL) (< WT ནས་
nas)

ne: *v.* land

nè:₁ *n.* barley (< WT ནས་ *nas*)

nè:₂ *n.* disease (< WT ནད་ *nad*)

neɕiŋ *adv.* a few years ago
  → cf. *neniŋ* 'last year'+ *ɕeniŋ* 'year
before last year'

nekap *n.* idea (< ? Dzongkha
གནས་སྣབས *näkap* (TSH&D))

nembo *n.* woven fabric

nemtodoŋ *n.* black jacket;
traditional Brokpa garment worn by
women

nenda *n.* peer; person of the same
age

neniŋ *adv.* last year (< WT ན་ནིང་ *na
ning*)

neptaŋ *n.* flea (< Tshangla, cf.
Dechenling Dungsam *neptang,*
Bjokapakha *ɲeptaŋpai*)

netok *n.* network (< English
network)

niŋ *n.* heart (< WT སྙིང་ *snying*)

niŋtɕu *adj*. beautiful

nirku *n*. wrinkle (< ? WT གཉེར་མ་ *gnyer ma*)

nò: *n*. 1) younger brother 2) younger male parallel cousin (< WT ནུ་བོ་ *nu bo*)

no:mo *n*. 1) younger sister 2) younger female cousin (< WT ནུ་མོ་ *nu mo*)

nor *n*. cattle (< WT ནོར་ *nor*)

numa *n*. 1) breast 2) udder (< WT ནུ་མ་ *nu ma*)

numu *n*. night; also realized as [numų ~ num] (< WT ནུབ་མོ་ *nub mo* 'evening'or WT ནམ་ *nam* 'night')

nup *n*. west (< WT ནུབ་ *nub*)

ɲ

ɲa (IMP: ɲo) *v*. sleep (< WT ཉལ་, ཉལ་, ཉལ་, ཉོལ་ *nyal, nyal, nyal, nyol*)

ɲà *n*. fish (< WT ཉ་ *nya*)

ɲa:ɕuŋla *n*. ɲa:ɕuŋla (place name); name of a mountain pass between Sakteng and Merak
    → cf. *ɲeak* 'be tired'+ *la* 'mountain pass'

ɲambu *adv*. together; also realized as [ɲam] (< WT ཉམ་པོ་ *nyam po*)

ɲamtɕuŋ *adj*. 1) simple-minded 2) calm
    → cf. *tɕuŋku* 'small'

ɲapa *n*. fisher
    → cf. *ɲà* 'fish'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

ɲè *pro*. I, my; first person singular agentive/genitive pronoun (1SG.AGT / 1SG.GEN)
    → cf. *ŋà* 'I'

ɲé:₁ *n*. snare trap (< WT སྙི་~ རྙི་ *snyi ~ rnyi*)

ɲé:₂ *n*. thresher

ɲè: *n*. thigh (< ? WT མཉེལ་ *mnyel*)

ɲeak (IMP: ɲeax) *v*. be tired (< ?)

ɲeax *v*. be tired (IMP)
    → *ɲeak* 'be tired'

ɲen *v*. listen (< WT ཉན་, ཉན་, ཉན་, ཉོན་ *nyan, nyan, nyan, nyon*)

ɲén *n*. ear (HON) (< WT སྙན་ *snyan*)
    → see also *namɕo* 'ear'

ɲeraŋ *pro*. we (and you); first person plural inclusive pronoun (1PL.INCL)
    → cf. *ɲí* 'we (not you)'+ =*raŋ* reflexive (REFL)

ɲí *pro*. we (not you); first person plural exclusive pronoun (1PL.EXCL) (< ? WT ངེད་ *nged*)

ɲî *num*. two (< WT གཉིས་ *gnyis*)

ɲîɟa *num*. 200 (< WT གཉིས་བརྒྱ་ *gnyis brgya*)
    → syn. *ɟaɲî*, cf. *ɟa*₂ 'hundred'

ɲík *n*. sleep (< ? WT གཉིད་ *gnyid*)
    → see also *ɲa* 'sleep'(v.)

ɲima *n*. 1) sun 2) day 3) saturday (< WT ཉི་མ་ *nyi ma* 'sun')

ɲimido *n*. lunch
    → cf. *ɲima* 'day'+ =*gi* genitive (GEN) + *tó* 'food', see also *sara* 'lunch'

ɲiŋba *adj.* old; referring to inanimate objects (< WT རྙིང་པ་ *rnying pa*)
　　→ see also *tɕetpo* 'old'

ɲîpa *num.* second
　　→ cf. *ɲî* 'two'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

ɲo₁ *v.* buy (< WT ཉོ་, ཉོས་, ཉོ་, ཉོས་ *nyo, nyos, nyo, nyos*)

ɲo₂ *v.* sleep (IMP)
　　→ *ɲa* 'sleep'

ɲo:ɕe *n.* animal skin; only used in Sakteng-Brokpa
　　→ syn. *paktsa*

ɲo:le *n.* maize dish; maize dumplings filled with cheese

ɲoŋ *v.* taste (< WT མྱོང་, མྱངས་ ∼ མྱོང་, མྱང་, མྱོང་ *myong, myangs ∼ myong, myang, myong*)

ɲuma *n.* type of bamboo (< WT སྨྱུག་མ་ *smyug ma*)

ŋ

ŋá₁ *n.* drum (< WT རྔ་ *rnga*)

ŋá₂ *num.* five (< WT ལྔ་ *lnga*)

ŋà *pro.* I; first person singular (1SG) (< WT ང་ *nga*)

ŋam *n.* sound (cf. Dakpa *ngau* (W))

ŋama *n.* yak tail hair (< WT རྔ་མ་ *rnga ma* '(yak) tail')

ŋápɟa *num.* 500 (< WT ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ *lnga brgya*)
　　→ syn. *ɟaŋá*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ŋardoŋ *n.* shin

ŋarmo *adj.* sweet (< WT མངར་པ་∼ ངར་པོ་ *mngar pa ∼ ngar mo*)

ŋasor *n.* sickle

ŋò *n.* shrubbery

ŋoɕe *v.* recognize (< WT ངོ་ *ngo* 'face, air, look')
　　→ cf. *ɕe* 'know'

ŋona *n.* sweat

ŋonbo *adj.* blue (< WT སྔོན་པོ་ *sngon po*)

ŋone *adj.* real (< WT དངོས་ *dngos* 'real(ity)'+ ? ablative *ne*)

ŋonemani *adj.* not real
　　→ cf. *ŋone* 'real'

ŋontɕen *adv.* before (< WT སྔོན་ *sngon* 'before')
　　→ cf. *ŋontɕo* 'front'

ŋontɕo *n.* front (< WT སྔོན་ *sngon* 'before')
　　→ cf. *tɕʰô* 'side'

ŋu (IMP: ŋui) *v.* cry (< WT ངུ་, ངུས་, ངུ་, ངུ་ *ngu, ngus, ngu, ngu*)

ŋú: *n.* silver (< WT དངུལ་ *dngul*)

ŋui *v.* cry (IMP)
　　→ *ŋu* 'cry'

o

o- *pfx.* bound proximal deictic root; never attested independently, occurs in *oba, ola, one*
　　→ *oba* 'these', *ola* 'here', *one* 'and then'

o: *n.* 1) son 2) nephew (same-sex sibling's son) 3) boy (< ? WT བུ་ *bu*)
　　→ see also *sè:* 'son'(HON)

oba *pro.* these; plural proximal demonstrative pronoun (DEM.PROX.PL)
→ presumably proximal deictic root *o-* + =*ba* plural (PL)

ola *adv.* here
→ presumably proximal deictic root *o-* + =*la* dative (DAT), see also *tsu* 'here'

omso *n.* sock (< Dzongkha ཨོམ་སོ་(DDC))

one *part.* and then
→ presumably proximal deictic root *o-* + =*ne* ablative (ABL)

oŋ *adj.* alike; like, similar
→ see also *ʈau* 'alike', *kʰan* 'alike'

ortʰoŋ *n.* throat (inside) (< Tshangla, cf. Dirang *or-tong*, Yutrung Dungsam *'ortong*, Bjokapakha *ötong* (cf. WT ཨོ་ལྡོང་ *o ldong*))
→ see also *baː* 'throat (outside)'

oti *pro.* this; demonstrative proximal pronoun (DEM.PROX), frequently realized as [ot]

otɕins *adv.* thus
→ possibly *otɕin* + *se* reportative (REP), see also *oʈo* 'thus'

oʈo *adv.* thus
→ see also *otɕins* 'thus'

p

pa *n.* mask; possibly features a rising tone

-pa *sfx.* derivative affiliation marker; used to 1) mark affiliation or membership, 2) derive ordinal from cardinal numbers and 3) form some deverbal adjectives (< WT པ་ *pa*)

pà *n.* cow (< WT བ་ *ba*)

pâ *n.* curry (< WT སྤགས་ *spags* 'sauce, food')

pà: *n.* wool (< WT བལ་ *bal*)

paːʈu *n.* parrot

paɟo *n.* bowl; also realized as [paɟoʔ]

pak (IMP: pox) *v.* separate

paktsa *n.* animal skin (cf. Dakpa *paktsa* 'animal leather jacket'(W))
→ syn. *ɲoːɕe*

paku *n.* purse (cf. Dirang Tshangla *pakou* 'money bag')

palaŋ *n.* bottle; made out of bamboo, contains ca. 1 litre

páŋ *n.* grassy plain (< WT སྤང་ *spang*)

pap (IMP: poɸ) *v.* go down (< WT འབབ་, བབ(ས)་, འབབ་, འབོབ་ *'bab, bab(s), 'bab, 'bob*)
→ see also *pʰap* 'take down'

papʰa *n.* skin; also realized as [papʰa̤ ∼ paɸ] (< WT པགས་པ་ *pags pa* 'skin, hide')

par₁ *n.* photo (cf. Dzongkha པར་ *pâ*, Tshangla and East Bodish *par*)

par₂ *rn.* middle (< WT བར་ *bar*)

parparɕuŋ *adv.* sometimes
→ syn. *tɕʰenle*, cf. *par₂* 'middle'+ *ɕuŋ* 'along'

paso *n.* yak crossbreed; male first generation crossbreed from *pa* and *jâ*
→ cf. *pà* 'cow'+ *sò* 'male yak hybrid'

pasomo *n.* yak crossbreed; female first generation crossbreed from *pa* and *jâ*
→ cf. *pà* 'cow'+ *somo* 'female yak hybrid'

pataŋ *n.* sword (cf. Dzongkha དཔའ་རྟགས་ *pata* (TSH&D))

pati *n.* black tea (cf. Dirang Tshangla *za-pati* 'leaves (tea)')

-pe *sfx. v.* past nominalizer (NMLZ.PST); allomorphs *-pʰe* ∼ *-te* ∼ *-le* ∼ *-e* depending on historical stem-finals (see Appendix C for a list of all verbs and the appropriate past nominalizer and Mittaz (this issue [a]) for a discussion of the distribution of the allomorphs), the vowel is also realized as [i] (< WT པའི་ *pa'i* nominalizer + genitive)

peax *n.* slope

petɕa *n.* religious texts; also realized as [petɕa̧ ∼ petɕ] (< WT དཔེ་ཆ་ *dpe cha*)

petse *n.* sand (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha, Dungsam *betsa*)

piɕu *n.* pants

pidju *n.* video (< English *video*)

pin *n.* glue; made from animal skin (< WT སྦྱིན་ *spyin*)
→ see also *latɕi* 'glue'

pju *n.* young yak; yak in its first year (< WT བེའུ་ *be* 'calf')

ple *v.* roll down

po₁ *n.* Tibet; possibly features a rising tone (< WT བོད་ *bod*)

po₂ *v.* call (< WT འབོད་∼ བོད་, བོས་, འབོད་∼ བོད་, བོས་ *'bod* ∼ *bod, bos, 'bod* ∼ *bod, bos*)

poktor *n.* hill

pomtɕikpa *n.* female only child
→ cf. *bomo* 'daughter'+ *tɕik* 'one', see also *putɕikpa* 'male only child'

poŋpoŋ *n.* chat (cf. Dakpa *pong-pong* (W))

► **poŋpoŋ ɟap** *v.* chat
→ *poŋpoŋ* 'chat'+ *ɟap* 'do'

poɸ *v.* go down (IMP)
→ *pap* 'go down'

pox *v.* separate (IMP)
→ *pak* 'separate'

pra₁ *n.* cliff; also realized as [praʔ] (< WT བྲག་ *brag*)

pra₂ (IMP: pro) *v.* cut (< ? WT འབྲེག་, བྲེག(ས)་, འབྲེག་, བྲོག(ས)་ *'breg, breg(s), 'breg, brog(s)*)

pre₁ *n.* measure container (< WT བྲེ་ *bre* 'unit of measure')

pre₂ *v.* scratch (< WT འབྲད་, བྲད་, འབྲད་, བྲོད་ *'brad, brad, 'brad, brod*)

pre: *n.* uncooked rice (< WT འབྲས་ *'bras*)

preaŋ *n.* hut

preaŋga *n.* chest (< WT བྲང་ *brang* + ?)

premo *n.* 1) finger 2) toe (cf. Dakpa *'laːprimoː* (B, Tawang dialect))

preŋba *adj.* poor; also realized as [preŋbo]

prep *n.* berry

primso *n.* yak crossbreed; male first generation crossbreed from *goleŋ* and *tɕux*
→ cf. *sò* 'male yak hybrid'

primsomo *n.* yak crossbreed; female first generation crossbreed from *goleŋ* and *tɕux*
→ cf. *somo* 'female yak hybrid'

pro₁ *n.* weed

pro₂ *v.* cut (IMP)
  → *pra₂* 'cut'

pro: *v.* move; intransitive, only occurs with auxiliary verbs (< WT འབྲོས་, བྲོས་, འབྲོས་, བྲོས་ *'bros, bros, 'bros, bros* 'flee, run away')
  → see also *gu:* 'move'

pru₁ *n.* grain (< WT འབྲུ་ *'bru*)

pru₂ *v.* fall off (< WT བྲུག་ *brug* 'flow, stream, gush')
  → see also *ri* 'fall over'

pú *n.* 1) body hair 2) fur (< WT སྤུ་ *spu*)

pulu *n.* feather (< WT སྤུ་ *spu* + ?)

puḷam *n.* traditional shoe
  → cf. *ḷam* 'shoe'

punbo *n.* moss

puntsen *n.* 1) sibling 2) relative (< ? WT སྤུན་མཆེད་ *spun mched*)

puŋba *n.* donkey (< ? WT བོང་བུ་ *bong bu*)

púŋbaŋ *n.* shoulder (< WT དབུང་པ་ *dbung pa*)

pusa *n.* pusa (place name); village in Sakteng geok

puto *n.* buckwheat noodles

putɕikpa *n.* male only child
  → see also *pomtɕikpa* 'female only child'

p^h

p^ha *rn.* there (< WT པ་ *pha* 'beyond, farther on')

-p^ha *sfx. v.* nominalizer (?NMLZ)

p^hâ *n.* Gho pocket; big fold of the traditional Bhutanese garment

p^hakpa *n.* pig (< WT ཕག་པ་ *phagpa*)

p^hakpap^ho *n.* male pig

p^hama *n.* parent (< WT པ་མ་ *pha ma*)
  → cf. *apa* 'father'+ *ama* 'mother'

p^hap (IMP: p^hop) *v.* take down (< WT འབེབས་, ཕབ་, དབབ་, ཕོབ་ *'bebs, phab, dbab, phob*)
  → see also *pap* 'go down'

p^hara *n.* wolf (< WT ཕར་བ་ *phar ba* 'wild dog')

p^hargaŋ *n.* 1) entrance 2) hallway

p^hatɕo *n.* other side
  → cf. *p^ha* 'there'+ *tɕ^hô* 'side'

p^hegi *pro.* that; distal demonstrative pronoun (DEM.DIST)
  → syn. *ep^hi*, presumably *p^ha* 'there'+ *=gi* genitive (GEN)

p^her *v.* fly (< WT འཕར་ *'phar* 'fly up, rebound, splash up, leap')

p^hi *v.* remove

p^hir *v.* throw away (< WT ཕིར *phir* 'fall (down)')

p^ho₁ *v.* hit (IMP)
  → *p^hok* 'hit'

p^ho₂ *part.* male formative; can be prefixed or suffixed to the lexeme (< WT ཕོ་ *pho*)

p^ho: *n.* bird chest

p^hoɕuk *n.* male juniper
  → cf. male formative *p^ho₂*, see also *moɕuk* 'female juniper'

p^hok (IMP: p^ho) *v.* hit (< WT ཕོག་, འཕོག་, ཕོག་, ཕོག་ *phog, 'phog, phog, phog*)

p^hon *n.* phone (< English *phone*)

pʰoŋga *n.* size; referring to people
→ see also *bomtɕuŋ* 'size'

pʰop *v.* take down (IMP)
→ *pʰap* 'take down'

pʰoreŋ *n.* bachelor
→ cf. male formative *pʰo₂* + =*raŋ* reflexive (REFL), see also *moreŋ* 'bachelorette'

pʰoʈaŋ *n.* palace (< WT ཕོ་བྲང་ *pho brang*)

pʰre₁ *adv.* horizontal; on a hillside (< WT ཕྲེད་ *phred*)

pʰre₂ *v.* meet

pʰreliŋu *n.* transverse flute (< WT ཕྲེད་གླིང་ *phred gling* 'flute')
→ cf. *pʰre₁* 'horizontal'+ *liŋu* 'flute'

pʰrin *n.* oral message (< WT ཕྲིན་ *phrin* 'message')

pʰrokpa *n.* basket; made out of woven bamboo and carried on the back

pʰrugu *n.* child (< WT ཕྲུ་གུ་ *phru gu*)

pʰu *n.* village deity; sacred place uphill of a settlement, such as a grove or boulder
→ see also *da₂* 'village deity'

pʰuː₁ *n.* small container (< ? WT ཕུལ་ *phul* 'a handful')

pʰuː₂ *v.* give (HON); takes a honorific recipient (< WT འཕུལ་ *'phul* 'give')
→ see also *naŋ₂* 'give'(HON), *ter* 'give'

pʰuː₃ *v.* blow (< WT འབུད་, བུས་∼ ཕུ(ས)་, དབུ་, ཕུ(ས)་ *'bud, bus ∼ phu(s), dbu, phu(s)*)

pʰukpa *n.* cave (< WT ཕུག་པ་ *phug pa*)

r

rà₁ *n.* goat (< WT ར་ *ra*)

rà₂ *n.* root (< WT ཚ་བ་∼ ཚད་ *rtsa ba ∼ rtsad*)

ragon *n.* woven bamboo; used to make fences

=**raŋ** *clt. n.* reflexive (REFL); allomorph =*roŋ*

raŋda *n.* grinding stone (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha *raŋtaŋ* 'grinding stone')

raŋraŋsoso *adv.* individually
→ cf. =*raŋ* reflexive (REFL) + *soso* 'different'

raŋse *n.* type of bee; builds hive on cliffs, also realized as [raŋse?]

re *v.* become (< ? WT རེད་ *red*)

-re *sfx. n.* each

rèː *n.* thin cloth

renaŋ *n.* type of conifer

ri *v.* fall over (< WT འགྲིལ་, གྲིལ་, འགྲིལ་, འགྲིལ་ *'gril, gril, 'gril, 'gril*)
→ see also *pru₂* 'fall off'

rì *n.* mountain (< WT རི་ *ri*)

riboŋ *n.* rabbit (< WT རི་བོང་ *ri bong* 'hare')

rikpa *n.* intelligence (< WT རིག་པ་ *rig pa*)

rikse *quan.* every

rima *n.* shadow (< ? WT གྲིབ་མ་ *grib ma*)

riŋbo *adj.* tall (< WT རིང་པོ་ *ring po* 'long')

riŋtʰuŋ *n.* height; referring to people
→ cf. *riŋbo* 'tall'+ *tʰuŋ₁* 'short'

riŋtse   *n.* height; referring to inanimate objects
  → cf. *riŋbo* 'tall'+ *tsé* 'top'

-ro   *sfx. v.* subjunctive (SBJ)

rò   *n.* corpse (< WT རོ་ *ro*)
  → see also *kupur* 'corpse'(HON)

rô   *v.* tie; referring to inanimate objects
  → see also *tâ₂* 'tie'

rò: *n.* husband (< WT རོགས་ *rogs* 'friend, companion, associate')

rodoŋ   *n.* crevice

roŋ   *n.* valley; referring to a larger valley with a river (< WT རོང་ *rong* 'cliff, narrow passage, valley')
  → see also *çoŋ* 'valley'

rù   *n.* horn (< WT རུ་ ~ རྭ་ *ru* ~ *rwa*)

rù: *n.* snake (< WT སྦྲུལ་ *sbrul*)

ruba   *n.* anger (< ? WT ཁྲོ་བ་ *khro ba*)

rube   *n.* vine; also realized as [rube?] (< ? Dzongkha རོབ་འབྱེལ་(DDC))

-ruk   *sfx. n.* young animal

rup   *n.* money (< Hindi रुपया *rupayā* 'rupee')

rupne   *adv.* together

ruspa   *n.* 1) bone 2) skeleton (< WT རུས་པ་ *ruspa*)

s

-s   *sfx. num.* approximative (APPROX)

sa   (PST: se, IMP: so) *v.* eat (< WT (བ)ཟ་, བཟས་ ~ ཟོས་, བཟ་, ཟོ(ས)་ *(b)za, bzas* ~ *zos, bza, zo(s)*)

-sa   *sfx. v.* location nominalizer (NMLZ.LOC) (< WT ས་ *sa*)

sá   *n.* soil (< WT ས་ *sa*)

sà₁   *n.* week day (< WT ཟག་ གྲངས་ *zag grangs* 'date')

sà₂   *n.* fruit seed (< WT ས་བོན་ *sa bon*)

sâ   *n.* small bamboo; also realized as [sâ?]

sa:₁   (IMP: so:) *v.* leak (< WT འཛག་, (ག)ཟགས་, གཟག་, འཛག་ *'dzag, (g)zags, gzag, 'dzag*)

sa:₂   (IMP: so:) *v.* climb (< ? WT འཛེག་, འཛེགས་, འཛེག་, འཛོགས་ *'dzeg, 'dzegs, 'dzeg, 'dzogs* 'ascend')

sa:lum   *n.* type of bee; builds hive underground

saga   *n.* ginger (cf. Dzongkha ས་སྐ་ *saga* (WT), Khaling and Deothang Tshangla *saga*)

sakon   *n.* seed

sakpiliŋ   *n.* fish scale

sam   (IMP: som) *v.* think (< WT སེམ་, སེམས་ ~ བསམས་, བསམ་, སོམ་ *sem, sems* ~ *bsams, bsam, som*)

san   *n.* polenta-like dish

saŋ   *adv.* tomorrow (< WT སང་ *sang*)

saŋge   *n.* Buddha (< WT སངས་རྒྱས་ *sangs rgyas*)

sara   *n.* lunch

sarba   *adj.* new (< WT གསར་པ་ *gsar pa*)

sarbo   *adj.* steep (< WT གཟར་བ་ *gzar ba*)

saru   *v.* become dark; time period at dusk, when there is still light in the sky but it is dark down in the valley

sâteaŋ *n.* sâteaŋ (place name); name of a Brokpa village, Sakteng
→ cf. *sâ* 'small bamboo'+ *teaŋ* 'plain'

sâteaŋpa *n.* person from Sakteng
→ cf. *sâteaŋ* 'sâteaŋ'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

se₁ *v.* kill (< WT གསོད་, བསད་, བསད་∼ གསད་, སོད་ *gsod, bsad, bsad ∼ gsad, sod*)

se₂ *v.* eat (PST)
→ *sa* 'eat'

=se *clt.* reportative (REP)

sè: *n.* son (HON) (< WT སྲས་ *sras*)
→ see also *o:* 'son'

se:mo *n.* daughter (HON) (< WT སྲས་མོ་ *sras mo*)
→ see also *bomo* 'daughter'

sem *n.* mind (< WT སེམས་ *sems*)
→ see also *tʰû* 'mind'(HON)

semɕin *n.* animal (< WT སེམས་ཅན་ *sems can* 'being animated')

senmo *n.* 1) nail 2) claw (< WT སེན་མོ་ *senmo*)

seŋ *n.* lion (< WT སེང་གེ་ *seng ge*)

seŋtɕenkarmo *n.* Tibetan snow lion
→ cf. *seŋ* 'lion'+ *tɕen₁* 'big'+ *karmo* 'white'

ser₁ *n.* blood pheasant

ser₂ *n.* nail (< WT གཟེར་ *gzer*)

sér *adj.* gold (< WT གསེར་ *gser*)

serbo *n.* yellow (< WT སེར་པོ་ *ser po*)

serɕa *n.* hail (< WT སེར་བ་ *ser ba*)

serɕuŋɕamu *n.* type of mushroom
→ cf. *ɕamu* 'mushroom'

sí *v.* cough

sì *n.* dzi bead (< WT གཟི་ *gzi*)

sigaŋ *n.* toilet (cf. Dirang Tshangla *shis-kang*)

sima *n.* lash (< WT རྫི་མ་ *rdzi ma*)

sin *v.* finish; also occurs as auxiliary verb marking completive aspect (< WT ཟིན་ *zin*)

-sin *sfx. v.* converb 1 (CVB1) (cf. Kurtöp *-si*, Bumthang *-si ∼ -se*)

siŋsor *n.* type of bee; builds hive inside trees (cf. Dakpa *sing-sur* (W))

sipʰa *n.* belly; also realized as [sipʰa̰ ∼ siɸ]

sir *v.* spin

sisi *n.* strawberry

so₁ *n.* lie (< ? WT ཤོབ་ *shob*)

so₂ *v.* eat (IMP)
→ *sa* 'eat'

só₁ *n.* tooth (< WT སོ་ *so*)

só₂ *n.* big bamboo (cf. Tshangla *so* 'bamboo')

sò *n.* male yak hybrid (< WT མཛོ་ *mdzo*)

sô *n.* spring (< WT སོ་ག་∼ སོས་ཀ་ *so ga ∼ sos ka*)

so:₁ *v.* brace oneself; only occurs with auxiliary verb *to* 'stay'

so:₂ *v.* leak (IMP)
→ *sa:₁* 'leak'

so:₃ *v.* climb (IMP)
→ *sa:₂* 'climb'

só: *n.* brown rice

sò: *n.* butter container (cf. Dirang Tshangla *jo-pu* 'wooden container for making butter')

sola *n.* coal (< WT སོལ་བ་ *sol ba*)

sole *n.* saw (< WT སོག་ལེ་ *sog le*)

solo *n.* chili (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha, Gamri Lungpa (PW) *solo*)

som *v.* think (IMP)
→ *sam* 'think'

somo *n.* female yak hybrid
→ cf. *sò* 'male yak'+ female formative *mo₂*

soŋ *v.* go (IMP)
→ *ʈo* 'go'

-soŋ *sfx. v.* sensory past (PST.SEN)

=soŋ *clt. v.* causal converb (CVB.CAUS)

sopa *n.* carpenter (cf. Dirang Tshangla *jo-pa*)

sor *n.* religious statue; pyramid shaped with 3 or 4 sides

soso *adj.* 1) separate 2) different (< WT སོ་སོ་ *so so*)

sotur *n.* liar
→ cf. *so₁* 'lie'

su *n.* pain (< WT ཟུག་ *zug*)

▶ **su ɟap** *v.* hurt
→ *su* 'pain'+ *ɟap* 'do'

sú *pro.* who (< WT སུ་ *su*)

suk (IMP: sux) *v.* pierce (< WT འཛུགས་, བཙུགས་ ∼ ཟུགས་, གཟུགས་, ཟུག་(ས་)་ *'dzugs, btsugs ∼ zugs, gzugs, zug(s)*)

sukla *n.* insect limb

sum₁ *num.* three (< WT གསུམ་ *gsum*)

sum₂ *n.* amid

suma *adj.* false (< ? WT རྫུན་མ་ *rdzun ma*)

sumbe *adv.* from; all the way from X to Y

sumɟa *num.* 300
→ syn. ɟasum, cf. ɟa₂ 'hundred'

sumpa *num.* third
→ cf. *sum* 'three'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

sun *v.* catch (< ? WT འཛིན་, (བ)ཟུང་, གཟུང་, ཟུང་(ས་)་ *'dzin, (b)zung, gzung, zung(s)*)

suŋ *v.* say (HON) (< WT གསུང་, གསུངས་, གསུང་, གསུང་ *gsung, gsungs, gsung, gsung*)
→ *lap* 'say'

sup *v.* block (< ? WT སུབ་, (བ)སུབས་, བསུབ་, སུབ་ *sub, (b)subs, bsub, sub* 'stop, cover, shut up, suppress, avoid, close')
→ see also *kak* 'block'

sux *v.* pierce (IMP)
→ *suk* 'pierce'

ṣ

ṣa (IMP: ṣo) *v.* burn; transitive (< WT སྲེག་, (བ)སྲེགས་, བསྲེག་, (བ)སྲེག་(ས་)་ *sreg, (b)sregs, bsreg, (b)sreg(s)*)
→ see also *tsʰik* 'burn'

ṣà *n.* 1) head hair 2) mane (< WT སྐྲ་ *skra*)
→ see also *uʈa* 'head hair'(HON)

ṣa: (IMP: ṣo:) *v.* tear apart (< WT འདྲལ་ ∼ ཧྲལ་ *'dral ∼ hral*)

ṣamo *adj.* thin (< WT སྲབ་མོ་ *srab mo*)

ṣanmu *n.* pea (< WT སྲན་མ་ *sran ma*)

ṣaŋ *n.* weighing scale (< WT སྲང་ *srang*)

ṣí *n.* first milk (colostrum); first milk produced by cattle after delivery of newborn (< WT སྤྲི་མ་ *spri ma*)

ṣju　*n.* monkey (< WT སྤྲེའུ་ *spre*)

ṣo　*v.* burn (IMP)
　　→ *ṣa* 'burn'

ṣo:　*v.* tear apart (IMP)
　　→ *ṣa:* 'tear apart'

ṣokpu　*n.* ant (cf. Dakpa *hrokpu* (B))

ṣoktom　*n.* type of small bear
　　→ *tom*₁ 'bear'

ṣuŋ　*v.* guard (< WT སྲུང་, (བ)སྲུངས་, བསྲུང་, (བ)སྲུང(ས)་ *srung, (b)srungs, bsrung, (b)srung(s)*)

t

tá₁　*n.* horse (< WT རྟ་ *rta*)

tá₂　(PST: têː, IMP: tʰo) *v.* look (< WT ལྟ་, བལྟས་, བལྟ་, ལྟོས་ ~ བལྟ་ *lta, bltas, blta, ltos ~ blta*)

tà　*adv.* now (< WT ད་ *da*)
　　→ see also *tas* 'now'

tâ₁　*n.* tiger (< WT སྟག་ *stag*)

tâ₂　(IMP: tʰôː) *v.* tie; referring to animals (< WT འདོགས་, བཏགས་, གདག(ས)་, ཐོགས་ *'dogs, btags, gdag(s), thogs*)
　　→ see also *rô* 'tie'

tà:　*n.* 1) moon 2) month (< WT ཟླ་བ་ *zla ba*)
　　→ syn. *tawa*

ta:gor　*n.* type of rhododendron

ta:m　*adv.* always

takpa　*n.* 1) upper side 2) up, upriver, uphill (relator noun)
　　→ see also *ja*₂ 'up'

tam₁　*n.* talk (< WT གཏམ་ *gtam*)

tam₂　*v.* knot

tamaɕiŋ　*n.* rhododendron tree

tamba　*n.* mud (< WT འདམ་ *'dam* + ?)

tano　*adv.* still
　　→ cf. *tà* 'now'

tanor　*n.* domestic animals; includes horses and cattle
　　→ cf. *tá*₁ 'horse'+ *nor* 'cattle'

tansar　*n.* bamboo mat (< WT སྟན་ *stan* 'mat'+ ?)

taŋ₁　*adv.* yesterday (< WT མདང་ *mdang*)

taŋ₂　(IMP: toŋ) *v.* do; also occurs as auxiliary verb marking intentional action (< WT གཏོང་, བཏང་, གཏང་, ཏོང་ *gtong, btang, gtang, tong* 'let, make, cause')
　　→ see also *ɟap* 'do'

taŋbo　*adv.* first (< WT དང་པོ་ *dang po*)
　　→ see also *taŋpa* 'first'

taŋcim　*adv.* a few days ago
　　→ cf. *taŋ*₁ 'yesterday'+ *ciɲim* 'day before yesterday'

taŋpa　*num.* first
　　→ see also *taŋbo* 'first'

tap　(IMP: tʰop) *v.* sprinkle (< WT འདེབས་, བཏབ་, གཏབ་, ཐོབ་ *'debs, btab, gtab, thob* 'throw, strike')

tapa　*n.* wooden dishware; used for food transport

tara　*n.* buttermilk (< WT ད་ར་ *da ra*)

tas　*adv.* now
　　→ see also *tà* 'now'

tawa　*n.* 1) moon 2) sunday
　　→ syn. *tà:*

te　*v.* stay (PST)
　　→ *to* 'stay'

té *v.* pick up (PST)
→ *tí* 'pick up'

tê *v.* look (PST)
→ *tá₂* 'look'

té: *n.* 1) navel 2) umbilical cord
(< WT ལྟེ་བ་ *lte ba*)

teaŋ *n.* 1) plain 2) ground (< WT དང་
dang 'meadow')

teaŋbaŋ *n.* roof

teaŋmaŋ *n.* teaŋmaŋ (place name);
village in Sakteng geok
→ cf. *teaŋ* 'plain'

telo *adv.* again
→ see also *lo₁* 'again'

ter (PST/IMP: tɕin) *v.* give (< WT
སྟེར་, བསྟེར་, བསྟེར་, སྟེར་ *ster, bster, bster,
ster*)
→ see also *naŋ₂* 'give'(HON), *pʰuː₂*
'give'(HON)

terdo *n.* sharpening stone
→ cf. *do* 'stone'

teri *n.* axe (< WT སྟ་རེ་ *sta re*)

terma *n.* type of water container;
made out of aluminium

tí (PST: té) *v.* pick up (< WT
འདེག(ས)་, བཏེག(ས)་, གདེག་, ཐེག་ *'deg(s),
bteg(s), gdeg, theg*)

tine *adv.* after that

tiŋbaŋ *n.* heel (< ? WT རྟིང་བ་ *rting
ba*)

tiriŋ *adv.* today (< WT འདི་རིང་, དེ་རིང་
'di ring, de ring)

tiriŋsaŋ *adv.* nowadays
→ cf. *tiriŋ* 'today'+ *saŋ* 'tomorrow'

to (PST: te) *v.* stay; also occurs as
auxiliary verb (< WT སྡོད་, བསྡད་,

བསྡད་, སྡོད་ *sdod, bsdad, bsdad, sdod*)
→ see also *ɕuk₂* 'stay'(HON)

tó *n.* 1) cooked rice 2) food (< WT ལྟོ་
lto)

tô₁ *v.* pluck (< WT འཐོག་, བཏོགས་,
བཏོག་, འཐོག་ *'thog, btogs, btog, 'thogs*)

tô₂ *v.* be hungry (< WT ལྟོགས་ *ltogs*)

tó: *n.* water container

tò: *n.* luggage transport

tok (IMP: tox) *v.* push

toka *n.* bull (cf. Tshangla *toka* 'bull,
ox')

toktorma *n.* woodpecker

tom₁ *n.* bear (< WT དོམ་ *dom*)

tom₂ *v.* throw; only occurs with
auxiliary verb *taŋ₂* 'do'
→ see also *cur* 'throw', *tor* 'throw'

tomtɕuŋniŋkar *n.* white-chested
bear
→ cf. *tom₁* 'bear'+ *tɕuŋku* 'small'+
niŋ 'heart'+ *karmo* 'white'

ton₁ *n.* reason (< WT དོན་ *don* 'sense,
meaning, intent')
→ see also *tonda* 'in order to'

ton₂ *n.* autumn (< WT སྟོན་ *ston*)

tón (IMP: tʰon) *v.* 1) take out
2) show (< WT འདོན་, བཏོན་, གདོན་, ཐོན་
'don, bton, gdon, thon)

tonda *rn.* in order to
→ cf. *ton₁* 'reason'

toŋ₁ *num.* 1'000 (< WT སྟོང་ *stong*)

toŋ₂ *v.* do (IMP)
→ *taŋ₂* 'do'

toptɕe *n.* food (cf. Dakpa *topchay*
'dish'(W))

tor *v.* throw (< WT གཏོར་ *gtor*)
→ see also *cur* 'throw', *tom₂* 'throw'

tox *v.* push (IMP)
→ *tok* 'push'

tú *n.* vagina (< WT སྟུ་ *stu*)

túː *n.* yak crossbreed; second generation crossbreed from *somo* and *jâ*

túːso *n.* yak crossbreed; male third generartion crossbreed from *túː* and *goleŋ*
→ cf. *túː* 'yak crossbreed'+ *sò* 'male yak hybrid'

túːsomo *n.* yak crossbreed; female third generartion crossbreed from *túː* and *goleŋ*
→ cf. *túː* 'yak crossbreed'+ *somo* 'female yak hybrid'

tuk *cop.* acquired existential copula (COP.EX.ACQ) (< WT འདུག་ *'dug*)

tukpa *n.* excrement (< WT རྟུག་པ་ *rtug pa*)

tuŋ₁ *cop.* past existential copula (COP.EX.PST)
→ cf. *tuk* acquired existential copula (COP.EX.ACQ)

tuŋ₂ *n.* Himalayan horn (instrument)

tup (IMP: tuɸ) *v.* cut apart (< WT འཐུབ་, འཐུབས་, གཏུབ་, འཐུབ་ ∼ བཏུབ་ *'thub, 'thubs, gtub, 'thub ∼ btub* 'cut into pieces')

tuptoŋ *n.* anus
→ cf. *tukpa* 'excrement'

tuɸ *v.* cut apart (IMP)
→ *tup* 'cut apart'

turis *n.* tourist (< English *tourist*)

tytɕen *n.* holiday (< WT དུས་ཆེན་ *dus chen* 'festival')
→ see also *tɕyti* 'holiday'

tʰ

tʰa₁ *n.* endpoint (< WT མཐ་ *mtha* 'end')

tʰa₂ *v.* decide (< WT ཐག་བཅན་ *thag bcan*)

tʰaː *n.* weaving loom (< WT འཐག་ *'thag* 'weave')

tʰala *n.* ash (< ? WT ཐལ་བ་ *thal ba*)

tʰaŋ *n.* way

tʰap *n.* fireplace (< WT ཐབ་ *thab*)

tʰaskor *adv.* around (< WT མཐ་སྐོར་ *mtha skor* 'circumference, perimeter')

tʰe *v.* exit (< WT ཐལ་ *thal* 'pass, go, step beyond')

tʰer *v.* drop (< WT ཐར་ *thar* 'be released')

tʰî *rn.* bottom (< WT མཐིལ་ *mthil*)

tʰo *v.* look (IMP)
→ *tá₂* 'look'

tʰô₁ *n.* storey (< WT ཐོག་ *thog* 'story (floor)')

tʰô₂ *n.* 1) meteorite 2) lightning (< WT ཐོག་ *thog*)

tʰô₃ *n.* point of view

tʰô₄ *v.* tie (IMP)
→ *tâ₂* 'tie'

tʰoː₁ *n.* hammer (< WT ཐོ་བ་ *tho ba* 'large hammer')

tʰoː₂ *v.* hear (< WT ཐོས་ *thos*)

tʰoloŋ *n.* tʰoloŋ (place name); village in Sakteng geok

tʰon *v.* take out (IMP)
→ *tón* 'take out'

tʰonbo *adj.* high

tʰoŋ₁ *v.* be able; only occurs as auxiliary verb expressing ability
→ see also *tʰop₁* 'achieve'

tʰoŋ₂ *v.* perceive (< WT མཐོང་ *mthong* 'see')

tʰoŋjer *n.* young yak; yak in its fourth year

tʰop₁ *v.* achieve; also occurs as auxiliary verb expressing possibility ('can') (< WT ཐུབ་ *thub*)
→ see also *tʰoŋ₁* 'be able'

tʰop₂ *v.* sprinkle (IMP)
→ *tap* 'sprinkle'

tʰotpa *n.* forehead (< WT ཐོད་པ་ *thod pa*)

tʰû *n.* mind (HON) (< WT ཐུགས་ *thugs*)
→ see also *sem* 'mind'

tʰu: *v.* subdue (< WT འདུལ་, བཏུལ་~ ཐུལ་, གདུལ་, ཐུལ་ *'dul, btul ~ thul, gdul, thul*)

tʰuŋ₁ *adj.* short (< WT ཐུང་བ་ *thung ba*)

tʰuŋ₂ *v.* drink (< WT འཐུང་, འཐུངས་, འཐུང་, འཐུང་ *'thung, 'thungs, 'thung, 'thung*)

tʰur *adv.* downwards; steep incline (< WT ཐུར་ *thur*)
→ see also *meja* 'downwards'

tʰuta *n.* astrologer (HON)
→ see also *mo₁* 'astrologer'

tɕ

tɕà₁ *n.* bird (< WT བྱ་ *bya*)

tɕà₂ *n.* tea (< WT ཇ་ *ja*)

tɕà₃ *n.* rainbow (< WT འཇའ་ *'ja*)

tɕâ *n.* iron (< WT ལྕགས་ *lcags*)

tɕadik *n.* preparation (< WT འཆ་, བཅས་, བཅ་, ཆོས་ *'cha, bcas, bca, chos* 'prepare' + ?)

tɕadoŋ *n.* rooster
→ cf. *tɕà₁* 'bird'

tɕam (IMP: tɕom) *v.* agree (< WT འཆམ་, བཅམ་, འཆམ་, འཆམ་ *'cham, bcam, 'cham, 'cham*)

tɕamba *n.* big teapot

tɕamo *n.* chicken
→ cf. *tɕà₁* 'bird' + female formative *mo₂*

tɕaŋ *n.* north (< WT བྱང་ *byang*)

tɕaŋgu *adj.* green (< ? WT ལྗང་ཁུ *ljang khu*)

tɕaŋlin *n.* braid

tɕaŋtʰaŋ *n.* region above the tree line

tɕar (IMP: tɕor) *v.* hide; intransitive
→ see also *be* 'hide'

tɕár (IMP: tɕór) *v.* paste (< WT སྦྱོར་, སྦྱར་, སྦྱར་, སྦྱོར་ *sbyor, sbyar, sbyar, sbyor* 'attack, stick, fasten')

tɕatastse *n.* tɕatastse (place name); name of a site near Sakteng

tɕe *v.* break apart (< ? WT གཅོད་, བཅད་, གཅད་, ཆོད་ *gcod, bcad, gcad, chod*)

tɕé *n.* tongue (< WT ལྕེ་ *lce*)

tɕè: *n.* rat (< WT བྱི་བ་ *byi ba*)

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tɕeaba   *n.* westerner

tɕeba   *n.* offering (< ? WT མཆོད་པ་ *mchod pa*)

tɕemba   *n.* liver (< ? WT མཆིན་པ་ *mchin pa*)

tɕen₁   *adj.* big
→ see also *bombo* 'big'

tɕen₂   *n.* eye (HON) (< WT སྤྱན་ *spyan*)
→ see also *mik* 'eye'

tɕeŋá   *num.* 15 (< WT བཅོ་ལྔ་ *bco lnga*)

tɕeri   *n.* falcon

tɕeru   *n.* red coral stone (< WT བྱི་རུ་ *byi ru* 'coral')

tɕetpo   *adj.* old; referring to people
→ see also *ɲiŋba* 'old'

tɕetɕe   *n.* clitoris (< ? Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha *chichari natoŋ*)

tɕexa   *n.* bird feces
→ cf. *tɕà₁* 'bird'

tɕi   *v.* go (PST)
→ *ʈo* 'go'

tɕí   *pro.* what (< WT ཅི་ *ci*)

tɕida   *adv.* finally

tɕik   *num.* one (< WT གཅིག་ *gcig*)

tɕilip   *n.* foreigner (< Dzongkha ཕི་གླིང་པ་ *pchilip*)

tɕin₁   *v.* give (PST/IMP); also occurs as auxiliary verb
→ *ter* 'give'

tɕin₂   *quan.* 1) many, much 2) often
→ see also *maŋbo* 'many, much', *ɕokɕik* 'many, much'

tɕín₁   *adv.* how
→ see also *tɕjâŋ* 'how'

tɕín₂   *n.* urine (< WT གཅིན་ *gcin*)

▶ **tɕín taŋ**   *v.*   urinate
→ *tɕín* 'urine'+ *taŋ₂* 'do'

tɕinda   *n.* owner

tɕini   *n.* sugar (< Hindi चीनी *cīnī* or Nepali चिनी *cinī*)

tɕiŋtɕik   *adv.* vis-à-vis
→ cf. *tɕik* 'one'+ =*ne* ablative (ABL) + *tɕik* 'one'

tɕitɕi   *adv.* later (< ? WT ཕྱི་མ་ *phyi ma*)

tɕitɕʰi   *num.* 10'000 (cf. Dzongkha གཅིག་ཁྲི་ *cikthri* (TSH&D))

tɕjâŋ   *adv.* how
→ see also *tɕín₁* 'how'

tɕju   *n.* small bird

tɕo   *v.* make (< WT འཆོས་, བཙོས་∼ འཆོས་, བཅོ་, ཆོས་ *'chos, bros* ∼ *, bco, chos* 'make, construct, prepare')

tɕom   *v.* agree (IMP)
→ *tɕam* 'agree'

tɕoŋga   *n.* tɕoŋga (place name); village in Sakteng geok

tɕor   *v.* hide (IMP)
→ *tɕar* 'hide'

tɕór   *v.* paste (IMP)
→ *tɕár* 'paste'

tɕu   *num.* ten (< WT བཅུ་ *bcu*)

tɕuba   *n.* red jacket; traditional Brokpa garment worn by men (cf. Dakpa *chuba* (D), Dirang Tshangla *chupa* 'coat')

tɕuɕi   *num.* 14

tɕuɕipa   *num.* eleventh
→ cf. *tɕukɕik* 'eleven'+ derivative affiliation marker -*pa*

tɕúk   *v.* put inside; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འཇུག, བཅུག, གཟུག, ཆུག *'jug, bcug, gzug, chug*)

tɕukɕik   *num.* eleven (< WT བཅུ་གཅིག *bcu gcig*)

tɕuksum   *num.* 13 (< WT བཅུ་གསུམ *bcu gsum*)

tɕuŋ   *v.* happen (< WT འབྱུང, བྱུང, འབྱུང, བྱུང *'byung, byung, 'byung, byung*)

tɕuŋku   *adj.* small (< WT ཆུང་པ *chung pa*)

tɕuŋɲî   *num.* twelve (< WT བཅུ་གཉིས *bcu gnyis*)

tɕuŋɲîpa   *num.* twelfth
   → cf. *tɕuŋɲî* 'twelve'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

tɕupa   *num.* tenth (< WT བཅུ་པ *bcu pa*)
   → cf. *tɕutʰamba* 'ten'+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

tɕupdyn   *num.* 17 (< WT བཅུ་བདུན *bcu bdun*)

tɕupɟe   *num.* 18 (< WT བཅུ་བརྒྱད *bcu brgyad*)

tɕupun   *n.* village head; rotating office held for one year, compulsory for a chosen member of each household, where the duty is to coordinate the execution of community work such as *deokor* or *máɲle*

tɕur   *n.* animal fence

tɕurgu   *num.* 19

tɕutʰamba   *num.* ten

tɕux   *n.* yak cow

tɕydr   *n.* 1) lip 2) beak (< WT མཆུ *mchu* + ?)

tɕyse   *n.* clock (< WT ཆུ་ཚོད *chu tshod*)

tɕyti   *n.* holiday (< ? Hindi or Nepali छुट्टी *chuṭṭī*)
   → see also *tytɕen* 'holiday'

tɕyʈuk   *num.* 16 (< WT བཅུ་དྲུག *bcu drug*)

tɕʰ

tɕʰa   *n.* pair (< WT ཆ *cha*)

tɕʰâ   *n.* 1) arm (HON) 2) hand (HON); also realized as [tɕʰâʔ] (< WT ཕྱག *phyag*)
   → see also *lakpa* 'arm, hand'

tɕʰam   *n.* mask dance (< WT འཆམ *'cham* 'dance')

   ▶ **tɕʰam ɟap**   *v.*   dance (a mask dance)
      → *tɕʰam* 'mask dance'+ *ɟap* 'do'

tɕʰampa   *n.* mask dancer (< WT འཆམ་པ *'cham pa* 'dancer')

tɕʰaŋ   *n.* alcohol (< WT ཆང *chang*)

tɕʰe   *n.* 1) powder 2) flour (< WT ཕྱེ *phye*)

tɕʰeː   *n.* fangs (< WT མཆེ་བ, མཆེ་སོ *mche ba, mche so*)

tɕʰeme   *n.* butterlamp (cf. WT མར་མེ *mar me* 'butterlamp')

tɕʰenle   *adv.* sometimes; less frequent compared to *parparɕuŋ* 'sometimes'
   → syn. *parparɕuŋ*

tɕʰesa   *n.* half
   → syn. *tɕʰexa*

tɕʰexa   *n.* half
   → syn. *tɕʰesa*

tɕʰi   *rn.* outside (< WT ཕྱི *phyi*)

tɕʰô *n.* side (< WT ཕྱོགས་ *phyogs*)

tɕʰora *n.* cheese (< ? WT ཆུར་བ་ *chur ba*)

tɕʰøluk *n.* religion; also realized as [tɕʰô] (< WT ཆོས་ *chos* 'religion' + WT ལུགས་ *lugs* 'way, manner, established manner')
→ cf. *lukse* 'tradition'

tɕʰu *n.* 1) water 2) river (< WT ཆུ་ *chu*)

tɕʰugom *n.* watering trough
→ cf. *tɕʰu* 'water' + *gom* 'type of container'

tɕʰumani *n.* water prayerwheel (< WT ཆུ་ *chu* 'water' + WT བ་ཎི་ *ma ṇi*)
→ cf. *tɕʰu* 'water'

tɕʰumbap *n.* waterfall
→ cf. *tɕʰu* 'water' + *pap* 'go down'

tɕʰurgu *n.* whey

ts

tsa *rn.* under

tsá₁ *n.* grass (< WT རྩྭ་ *rtswa*)

tsá₂ *n.* nerves (< WT རྩ་ *rtsa* 'vein')

tsaː (IMP: tsoː) *v.* search (< WT འཚོལ་, བཙོལ་, བཙོལ་, ཚོལ་ *'tshol, btsol, btsol, tshol*)

tsam₁ *quan.* how many, how much (< WT ཙམ་ *tsam*)

tsam₂ *quan.* 1) nearby 2) around; 1) referring to a place 2) referring to a number

tsamliŋ *n.* 1) world 2) earth (< Dzongkha འཛམ་གླིང་ *dzamling* (TSH&D))

tsan *adv.* when

tsanine *adv.* all the time
→ cf. *tsan* 'when'

tsaŋma *adj.* clean (< WT གཙང་མ་ *gtsang ma*)

tsap (IMP: tsoɸ) *v.* slice (< WT བཙབ་, བཙབ་, བཙབ་, བཙོབ་ *btsab, btsab, btsab, btsob*)

tsapar *n.* slap

tsé *n.* 1) top 2) on (relator noun) (< WT རྩེ་ *rtse*)

tsem *v.* chop

tsém *v.* sew (< WT འཚེམ་, ཚེམས་ ~ བཙེམས་, བཙེམ་, ཚེམས་ *'tshem, tshems* ~ *btsems, btsem, tshems*)

tsemtsa (PST: tsemtse, IMP: tsemtso) *v.* play (< ? WT རྩེ་, རྩེས་, རྩེ་, རྩེ(ས)་ *rtse, rtses, rtse, rtse(s)*)

tsemtse *v.* play (PST)
→ *tsemtsa* 'play'

tsemtso *v.* play (IMP)
→ *tsemtsa* 'play'

tsi *v.* consider

tsikpa *n.* wall (< WT རྩིག་པ་ *rtsig pa*)

tsima *n.* rib; also realized as [tsimạ ~ tsim] (< WT རྩིབ(ས)་མ་ *rtsib(s) ma*)

tsisuŋ *n.* celebration
▶ **tsisuŋ ɟap** *v.* celebrate
→ *tsisuŋ* 'celebration' + *ɟap* 'do'

tsitpa *n.* yak down hair (cf. Dirang Tshangla *tsitpa* 'fur')

tsô *v.* cook (< WT འཚོད་ ~ འཚེད་, བཙོས་, བཙོ་, ཚོས་ *'tshod* ~ , *btsos, btso, tshos*)

tsoː *v.* search (IMP)
→ *tsaː* 'search'

tsokpa *adj.* dirty (< WT བཙོག་པ་ *btsog pa*)

tsom *n.* gathering (< ? WT འཛོམ(ས)་ *'dzom(s)* 'meet')

tsoŋ₁ *n.* onion (< WT བཙོང་ *btsong*)

tsoŋ₂ *v.* sell (< WT འཚོང་, བཙོངས་, བཙོང་, ཚོང་ *'tshong, btsongs, btsong, tshong*)

tsoɸ *v.* slice (IMP)
   → *tsap* 'slice'

tsu *rn.* here

tsuk (IMP: tsux) *v.* put on

tsux *v.* put on (IMP)
   → *tsuk* 'put on'

tsʰ

tsʰa *n.* salt (< WT ཚྭ་ *tshwa*)

tsʰe *n.* life (< WT ཚེ་ *tshe*)

tsʰê *n.* date (< WT ཚེས་ *tshes*)

tsʰik *v.* burn; intransitive (< WT འཚིག་, ཚིག་, འཚིག་, འཚིག་ *'tshig, tshig, 'tshig, 'tshig*)
   → cf. *tsʰikpa* 'hot', see also *ṣa* 'burn'

tsʰikpa *adj.* hot
   → cf. *tsʰik* 'burn'

tsʰikpʰa *n.* joint; also realized as [tsʰikpʰa̰ ~ tsʰikɸ] (< WT ཚིགས(པ་) *tshigs (pa)*)

tsʰo₁ *n.* lake (< WT མཚོ་ *mtsho*)

tsʰo₂ *n.* traditional dye (< WT ཚོས་ *tshos*)

tsʰo: *n.* nephew (different-sex sibling's son) (< WT ཚ་བོ་ *tsha bo*)

tsʰo:mo *n.* niece (different-sex sibling's daughter) (< WT ཚ་མོ་ *tsha mo*)

tsʰona *n.* tsʰona (place name); name of a region in Tibet

tsʰosar *n.* dye
   → cf. *tsʰo*₂ 'traditional dye'+ *sarba* 'new'

ṭ

ṭakpo *adj.* good
   → see also *eɕen* 'good'

ṭamba *n.* cheek (< WT འགྲམ་པ་ *'gram pa*)

ṭan *v.* remember (< WT དྲན་ *dran*)

ṭaŋ (IMP: ṭoŋ) *v.* be cold (< WT གྲང་~ གྲངས་ *grang ~ grangs*)
   → see also *ṭaŋmo* 'cold'

ṭaŋmo *adj.* cold
   → see also *ṭaŋ* 'be cold'

ṭati *adv.* however much

ṭau *adj.* alike; like, similar (< WT འདྲ་བ་ *'dra ba*)
   → see also *kʰan* 'alike'

ṭè *n.* yeti (< WT དྲེད་ *dred* 'yellow bear')

ṭè: *n.* mule (< WT དྲེ་པོ་ *dre po*)

ṭeloŋ *n.* young person

ṭeniŋ *n.* training (< English *training*)

ṭepṭema *n.* slipper; also realized as [ṭepṭema̰ ~ ṭepṭem] (< Dzongkha གྲེབ་གྲེམ་(DDC))

ṭewa *n.* contact

   ► **ṭewa ɟap** *v.* contact
   → *ṭewa* 'contact'+ *ɟap* 'do'

ʈi *v.* ask (< WT འདྲི་, འདྲིས་, འདྲི་, འདྲིས་ *'dri, 'dris, 'dri, 'dris*)

ʈì *n.* knife (< WT གྲི་ *gri*)

ʈiba *n.* type of bell; worn by horses (< WT དྲིལ་ *dril*)

ʈiçu *n.* knife sheath (< WT ཤུབས་ *shubs* 'sheath for sword')
    → cf. *ʈì* 'knife'

ʈiɟum *n.* belt thread; thread of skin to hold a knife on the belt
    → cf. *ʈì* 'knife'

ʈik *v.* be ready (cf. Hindi ठीक *ṭhik* 'okay')

ʈiktçuŋ *n.* type of small knife
    → cf. *ʈì* 'knife'+ *tçuŋku* 'small'

ʈin *n.* respect

ʈo (PST: tçi, IMP: soŋ) *v.* go; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འགྲོ་ *'gro*)

ʈò: *n.* suggestion (< WT གྲོས་ *gros* 'advice')

ʈoa *n.* interest

ʈonba *n.* guest (cf. Dzongkha མགྱོན་པོ་ *göm* (TSH&D))

ʈoŋ *v.* be cold (IMP)
    → *ʈaŋ* 'be cold'

ʈotpa *n.* stomach (< WT གྲོད་པ་ *grod pa*)

ʈuk₁ *num.* six (< WT དྲུག་ *drug*)

ʈuk₂ *v.* stir (< WT དཀྲུག་, དཀྲུགས་, དཀྲུག་, དཀྲུག་ *dkrug, dkrugs, dkrug, dkrug*)

ʈukɟa *num.* 600 (< WT དྲུག་ བརྒྱ་ *drug brgya*)
    → syn. *ɟaʈuk*, cf. *ɟa₂* 'hundred'

ʈy *v.* drag (< WT འདྲུད་, དྲུད་, འདྲུད་, དྲུད་ *'drud, drud, 'drud, dru*)

ʈý *v.* wash (< WT བཁྲུད་, བཀྲུས་, བཀྲུ་, འཁྲུད་ *'khrud, bkrus, bkru, 'khrud*)

ʈʰ

ʈʰâ *n.* blood (< WT ཁྲག་ *khrag*)

ʈʰa: *n.* 1) duty 2) tax 3) burden (< WT ཁྲལ་ *khral*)

ʈʰakʈʰo *n.* ʈʰakʈʰo (place name); village in Sakteng geok

ʈʰi *n.* throne (< WT ཁྲི་ *khri*)

ʈʰim *n.* law (< WT ཁྲིམས་ *khrims*)

ʈʰo *n.* angry divine expression (< WT ཁྲོ་བ་ *khro ba* 'anger')

u

u *n.* head (HON) (< WT དབུ་ *dbu*)
    → see also *kò* 'head'

unda *adv.* for the first time

unla *adv.* previously; some time ago, long ago

uʈa *n.* head hair (HON) (< WT དབུ་སྐྲ་ *dbu skra*)
    → see also *ʂà* 'head hair'

w

wè *n.* starlight

wekor *n.* rotation
    → cf. *kor* 'about'

C Verb stems

This appendix lists the stem forms of the 154 verbs featured in the glossary (see Appendix B), as well as the past allomorph each verb takes. The verb stems as well as the allomorphs of the past nominalizer *-pe* are discussed in Mittaz (this issue [b]). See also Appendix B for the Written Tibetan etymologies of Brokpa verbs, which in many cases provide diachronic explanations for synchronic alternations attested in Brokpa.

The majority of attested verbs show no stem alternation (section C.1), while the most common stem alternation is binary PRS/PST vs. IMP (section C.2). A number of cases of the other two possible binary stem alternations PRS/IMP vs. PST (section C.3) and PST/IMP vs. PRS (section C.4) are attested as well, as is the three-way alternation PRS vs. PST vs. IMP (section C.5).

Not featured are three verbs which only occur as auxiliaries (*çor* 'lose', *go* 'must', *tʰoŋ* 'be able'), as well as three verbs which only show a past stem (*gaː* 'leave', *je* 'exist', *me* 'not exist'), since these verbs lack morphosyntactically distinct stems.

Note that a number of verbs lack a past allomorph, since they are always followed by an auxiliary, in which case the past allomorph used is the one taken by the auxiliary.

C.1 Verbs with no stem alternation

The following 99 verbs show no distinct stem forms.

Translation	Verb stems prs/pst/imp	Past allomorph
hide	*be*	*-pʰe*
give birth	*ce*	*-pʰe*
borrow	*ci*	*-pʰe*
churn	*cô*	*-pʰe*
throw	*cur*	—
full	*cʰaŋ*	*-pʰe*
know	*çe*	*-pʰe*
be wet	*çeː*	*-pʰe*
rise (HON)	*çeaŋ*	*-pʰe*
die	*çí*	*-le*
milk	*çô*	*-pʰe*
sieve	*çór*	*-pʰe*
jump	*çot*	*-pʰe*
advise (HON)	*çy*	*-pʰe*
peel	*çý*	*-pʰe*
beat	*duŋ*	*-pʰe*
write	*ɖi*	*-le*
tease	*ɖu*	*-le*
crack	*ɖum*	*-pʰe*
borrow	*er*	*-e*

crack	*geː*	*-pʰe*
fell	*gi*	*-le*
turn	*gir*	*-pʰe*
move	*guː*	*-le*
run	*jer*	*-pʰe*
laugh	*ɟe*	*-te*
change	*ɟur*	*-e*
plow	*kó*	*-pʰe*
wrap	*kon*	*-e*
instruct	*kuː*	*-le*
take	*kʰer*	*-e*
boil	*kʰoː*	*-le*
carry	*kʰur*	*-e*
fetch	*len*	*-e*
read	*lô*	*-pʰe*
pour	*luk*	*-pʰe*
leave behind	*ly*	*-pʰe*
swallow	*mík*	*-pʰe*
chew	*mur*	*-e*
be sick	*na*	*-le*
give (HON)	*naŋ*	*-e*
land	*neː*	*-pʰe*
listen	*ɲen*	*-e*
buy	*ɲo*	*-pʰe*
taste	*ɲoŋ*	*-e*
recognize	*ŋoɕe*	*-pʰe*
roll down	*ple*	*-pʰe*
call	*po*	*-pʰe*
scratch	*pre*	*-te*
move	*proː*	—
fall off	*pru*	*-le*
fly	*pʰer*	*-pʰe*
remove	*pʰi*	*-te*
throw away	*pʰir*	*-pʰe*
meet	*pʰre*	*-te*
blow	*pʰuː*	*-le*
give (HON)	*pʰuː*	*-le*
become	*re*	*-te*
fall over	*ri*	*-le*
tie	*rô*	*-pʰe*
become dark	*saru*	*-pʰe*
kill	*se*	*-te*
cough	*sí*	*-te*
finish	*sin*	*-e*
spin	*sir*	*-pʰe*

brace oneself	*soː*	—
catch	*sun*	*-e*
say (HON)	*suŋ*	*-pʰe*
block	*sup*	*-pʰe*
guard	*ʂuŋ*	*-pʰe*
knot	*tam*	*-pʰe*
be hungry	*tô*	*-pʰe*
pluck	*tô*	*-pʰe*
throw	*tom*	—
throw	*tor*	*-e*
decide	*tʰa*	*-te*
exit	*tʰe*	*-te*
drop	*tʰer*	*-pʰe*
hear	*tʰoː*	*-pʰe*
perceive	*tʰoŋ*	*-e*
achieve	*tʰop*	*-pʰe*
subdue	*tʰuː*	*-le*
drink	*tʰuŋ*	*-pʰe*
break apart	*tɕe*	*-te*
make	*tɕo*	*-pʰe*
put inside	*tɕúk*	*-pʰe*
happen	*tɕuŋ*	*-e*
chop	*tsem*	*-pʰe*
sew	*tsém*	*-pʰe*
consider	*tsi*	*-pʰe*
cook	*tsô*	*-pʰe*
sell	*tsoŋ*	*-pʰe*
burn	*tsʰik*	*-pʰe*
remember	*ʈan*	*-e*
ask	*ʈi*	*-pʰe*
be ready	*ʈik*	*-pʰe*
stir	*ʈuk*	*-pʰe*
drag	*ʈy*	*-te*
wash	*ʈý*	*-pʰe*

Table 3 Verbs with no stem alternation

C.2 *Verbs with a binary stem alternation:* PRS/PST *vs.* IMP

The following 46 verbs show a distinct imperative stem, which is most commonly formed through *o*-ablaut; though in some cases, imperative stems only differ in obligatory fricatization of final [p, k] to [ɸ, x]. In all of these cases, fricatization is also a common allophonic realization of the present and past stems. Note that, outside the domain of verb stems, the velar fricative likewise occurs in

coda position both as an allophone of [k] as well as a marginal phoneme; while the bilabial fricative is otherwise only securely attested as an allophone of [pʰ] in onset position and intervocalically (see Funk, this issue [a]). This feature is suspected to show sociolinguistic variation of some kind, in which case the following list should be understood to reflect the BDDP speaker's variant in this regard.

Translation	Verb stems		Past allomorph
	prs/pst	**imp**	
explode	*bluk*	*blux*	*-pʰe*
dig	*bruk*	*brux*	*-pʰe*
bring	*cʰoŋ*	*kʰe*	*-pʰe*
shine	*çer*	*çor*	*-e*
be afraid	*çik*	*çix*	*-pʰe*
settle	*çitça:*	*çitço:*	*-pʰe*
enter	*çuk*	*çux*	*-pʰe*
stay (HON)	*çuk*	*çux*	*-pʰe*
arrive	*dok*	*dox*	*-pʰe*
come	*joŋ*	*çó*	*-pʰe*
do	*ɟap*	*ɟop*	*-e*
block	*kak*	*kʰo*	*-pʰe*
dry	*kám*	*kʰom*	*-pʰe*
cover	*kap*	*kop*	*-e*
steal	*ku*	*kui*	*-pʰe*
rise	*laŋ*	*loŋ*	*-pʰe*
say	*lap*	*loɸ*	*-pʰe*
smear	*leak*	*leax*	*-pʰe*
bite	*múk*	*múx*	*-pʰe*
sleep	*ɲa*	*ɲo*	*-le*
be tired	*ɲeak*	*ɲeax*	*-pʰe*
cry	*ŋu*	*ŋui*	*-pʰe*
separate	*pak*	*pox*	*-pʰe*
go down	*pap*	*poɸ*	*-pʰe*
cut	*pra*	*pro*	*-pʰe*
take down	*pʰap*	*pʰop*	*-pʰe*
hit	*pʰok*	*pʰo*	*-pʰe*
climb	*sa:*	*so:*	*-pʰe*
leak	*sa:*	*so:*	*-pʰe*
think	*sam*	*som*	*-pʰe*
pierce	*suk*	*sux*	*-pʰe*
burn	*ʂa*	*ʂo*	*-pʰe*
tear apart	*ʂa:*	*ʂo:*	*-le*
tie	*tâ*	*tʰô*	*-pʰe*
do	*taŋ*	*toŋ*	*-e*
sprinkle	*tap*	*tʰop*	*-e*

push	*tok*	*tox*	*-pʰe*
take out	*tón*	*tʰon*	*-e*
cut apart	*tup*	*tuɸ*	*-pʰe*
agree	*tɕam*	*tɕom*	*-e*
hide	*tɕar*	*tɕor*	*-e*
paste	*tɕár*	*tɕór*	*-pʰe*
search	*tsaː*	*tsoː*	*-le*
slice	*tsap*	*tsoɸ*	*-pʰe*
put on	*tsuk*	*tsux*	*-pʰe*
be cold	*ʈaŋ*	*ʈoŋ*	*-e*

Table 4 Verbs with a binary stem alternation ᴘʀs/ᴘsᴛ vs. ɪᴍᴘ

C.3 *Verbs with a binary stem alternation:* ᴘʀs/ɪᴍᴘ *vs.* ᴘsᴛ

The following four verbs show a binary stem alternation featuring a distinct past stem.

Translation	**Verb stems**		**Past allomorph**
	prs/imp	**pst**	
put	*ɕo*	*ɕak*	*-pʰe*
return	*lo*	*lok*	*-pʰe*
pick up	*tí*	*té*	*-te*
stay	*to*	*te*	*-te*

Table 5 Verbs with a binary stem alternation ᴘʀs/ɪᴍᴘ vs. ᴘsᴛ

C.4 *Verbs with a binary stem alternation:* ᴘsᴛ/ɪᴍᴘ *vs.* ᴘʀs

There is a single case of a verb with a distinct present stem, *ter* 'give'.

Translation	**Verb stems**		**Past allomorph**
	prs	**pst/imp**	
give	*ter*	*tɕin*	*-e*

Table 6 Verbs with a binary stem alternation ᴘsᴛ/ɪᴍᴘ vs. ᴘʀs

C.5   Verbs with a three-way stem alternation: PRS *vs.* PST *vs.* IMP

The following four verbs show a full three-way stem alternation. A recurring pattern is ablaut *a − e − o* for PRS − PST − IMP.

Translation	Verb stems			Past allomorph
	prs	**pst**	**imp**	
eat	*sa*	*se*	*so*	*-pʰe*
look	*tá*	*tê*	*tʰo*	*-pʰe*
play	*tsemtsa*	*tsemtse*	*tsemtso*	*-pʰe*
go	*ʈo*	*tɕi*	*soŋ*	*-te*

Table 7 Verbs with a three-way stem alternation PRS vs. PST vs. IMP