

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

Tshering Leki

Damian Funk

Pascal Gerber

Selin Grollmann

Corinne Mittaz

Sara Rüfenacht

Sereina Waldis

University of Bern

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 dzozdaŋ ní ni undagif- unda øre t^haŋgi kon lapna*

profesor dzoz = daŋ ní nî unda p^hre t^haŋ = 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 nî-ton-tcytuki duki gejon tytçen tsişun jasin tçinifala ŋa tçiti*

nam lo nî-ton-tcytuki = gi duk = gi gejon tytçen tsişun
 sky year two-thousand-sixteen = GEN Bhutan = GEN national holiday celebration
 jap-sin tçinifa = la ŋa tçi-pe
 do-CVB1 Geneva = DAT 1SG go.PST-NMLZ.PST

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

- (3) *on eφildi do:dã ní ni poŋβoŋ jam te*

one e^hi = la = di do: = daŋ ní nî poŋpoŋ jap-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 tonba kaŋ matsa jerga:*

one tonba kaŋjo matsa jer-ga:
 and.then guest all almost run-leave

‘Almost all the guests had left.’

- (5) *tçida k^hoŋ mi nî dok-soŋ ní nî tsam = la*

tçida k^hoŋ mi nî dok-soŋ ní nî tsam = la
 finally 3PL person two arrive-PST.SEN 1PL.EXCL two nearby = DAT

‘Finally, two people came over to us two.’

- (6) *on ní ni nam poγoŋ jane otçins jasin on profesor dzoz daŋ ŋa otçinse ŋoçeφi retina*

one ní nî nambu poŋpoŋ jap-ne otçins jap-sin one
 and.then 1PL.EXCL two together chat do-CVB2 thus do-CVB1 and.then
 profesor dzoz daŋ ŋa otçins ŋo-çe-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 dzozje c^ho duk kane jin lasɔŋ*

one profesor dzoz = je c^ho duk ka = ne jin
 and.then Professor George = AGT 2SG Bhutan where = ABL COP.EQ.EGO
 lap-sɔŋ
 say-PST.SEN

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

- (8) *on ŋa duk ɕertɕon jin laɸi*

one ŋa duk 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-sɔŋ
 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 profesorje a c^ho brokpa es las*

otɕins lap-sin profesor = je a c^ho 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 profesorje c^ho brokpa çe e las*

one lap-sin profesor = je c^ho brokpa kî çe 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 je brokpa ces laφi*

one = di je brokpa kî çe = 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 k^hoe k^hogi eso p^hrugba tçik jane k^hegi brokpagi kî lapmigi toa jedoŋ*

one lap-sin one k^hoe k^ho = gi eskur p^hrugba = ba tçik
 and.then say-CVB1 and.then 3SG.M.AGT 3SG.M = GEN school child = PL one
 jap-ne k^he = gi brokpa = gi kî lap-mi = gi toa
 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 otçins toa jøna k^hoŋje c^hol tewa jaina c^hol tikro es las*

one otçins toa jo-na k^hoŋ = je c^ho = la tewa
 and.then thus interest COP.EX.EGO-COND 3PL = AGT 2SG = DAT contact
 jap-cina c^ho = la tik-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 je ticinas laφi*

one je tik-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) *jønϕulane unla armiba mera sâteaŋ kʰoŋ treniŋ jøŋsin one desin tçik meral jøŋ desin tçik sâteaŋla jøŋϕenas*

jøn^hula = ne unla armi = ba merak sâteaŋ kʰoŋ treniŋ jøŋ-sin
jøn^hula = ABL previously soldier = PL Merak Sakteng 3PL training come-CVB1
one desin tçik merak = la jøŋ desin tçik sâteaŋ = la
and.then group one Merak = DAT come group one Sakteng = DAT
jøŋ-pe na = se
come-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM = REP

‘Some time ago, when soldiers came from *jønϕula* to Merak and Sakteng to exercise, one group came to Merak and one group came to Sakteng.’

- (2) *kʰoŋ otçinsdi teniŋ jaŋsin kʰoŋ teniŋ jaŋsin di tçinçik kʰoŋ mâl toçidi lukse kʰan jaŋ memsa taŋsin di memsa dju:di ŋonemani sumadi tçúŋ taŋena*

kʰoŋ otçins = di teniŋ jaŋ-sin kʰoŋ teniŋ jaŋ-sin di tçinçik kʰoŋ
3PL thus = DEF training do-CVB1 3PL training do-CVB1 TOP vis-à-vis 3PL
mâ = la to = gi = di lukse kʰan jaŋ-ne memsa taŋ-sin di memsa
war = DAT go = GEN = DEF tradition alike do-CVB2 rifle do-CVB1 TOP rifle
dju: = di ŋonemani suma = di tçúŋ-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 neraŋ tçin bamçugu dju: laŋin*

ta neraŋ tçin bamçugu dju: lap-cina
now 1PL.INCL how plastic bullet say-PRS.ALLO

‘We call these plastic bullets.’

- (4) *ne otçin çasin mâmbalal otçins dju: ηonedî tónmi tançen tine bamçugugi dju: na sam memsa tâtçinsin di dju: ηoneje p^hoxφenas*

one otçins çap-sin mâm = ba = lal otçins dju: ηone = di
 and.then thus do-CVB1 soldier = PL = PAUC1 thus bullet real = DEF
 tón-mi tan-çe-ne tine bamçugu = gi dju:
 take.out-NMLZ.ACT remember-know-CVB2 after.that plastic = GEN bullet
 na sam memsa tan-tçin-sin di dju: ηone = je p^hok-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 p^hatçogidi natpretinas*

one mâm p^hatço = 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) *onedî mâmba jal jɔŋ k^hɔŋ kemp çapne di on k^hɔŋ jer k^hɔŋ haptɔ nîs tena*

one = di mâm = ba ja = la jɔŋ k^hɔŋ kemp çap-ne di one
 and.then = DEF soldier = PL up = DAT come 3PL camp do-CVB2 TOP and.then
 k^hɔŋ jer k^hɔŋ haptɔ nî-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 k^hɔŋ jerga:ldaŋ tin nîba eso tçiti çol*

one k^hɔŋ jer-ga:-pe = daŋ tine nî = ba eskur
 and.then 3PL run-leave-NMLZ.PST = COM after.that 1PL.EXCL = PL school
 tçi-pe çor = la
 go.PST-NMLZ.PST along.the.way = DAT

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

- (3) *k^hoŋ josal tçi têsəŋ bamçugu tau tçik t^həŋenas*

k^hoŋ jo-sa=la tçi tê-sin oŋ bamçugu tau
 3PL COP.EX.EGO-NMLZ.LOC=DAT go.PST look.PST-CVB1 alike plastic alike
 tçik t^hoŋ-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 ne do: nîçe ot mel tçise şatanşin tin blujəŋfe k^hōrəŋ ni p^haφa tsutsu curtaŋenas*

one ne do: nî=k^he oti me=la tçi=se
 and.then 1SG.GEN friend two=FOC DEM.PROX fire=DAT what=REP
 şa-taŋ-sin tine bluk-joŋ-pe k^hoŋ=raŋ nî p^ha-p^ha
 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) *na:si preaŋla tça ot tça tçin çocina koŋa samigi ton*

na:si preaŋ=la tça oti tça tçin ço-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) *jasin na:sba preaŋ tsanine tos mat^hoŋesəŋ tçaba tçeri gunm tçin k^herçocina*

jaŋ-sin na:si=ba preaŋ tsanine to-sa
 do-CVB1 yak.herder=PL hut all.the.time stay-NMLZ.LOC
 ma-t^hoŋ-pe=soŋ tça=ba tçeri kunma tçin
 NEG-be.able-NMLZ.PST=CVB.CAUS bird=PL falcon thief often
 k^her-ço-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) *k^hutçik je açançi tçadoñçik tçeri gun jam seφina*

k^huç-tçik je açan = gi tçadoñ = çik tçeri kunma jap-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) *tçadoñdi bomsoñ tçeri témat^hoφe*

tçadoñ = di bombo = soñ tçeri té-ma-t^hop-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) *tç^hexa sen tç^hexa otçins lyφina*

tç^hexa se-ne tç^hexa otçins 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 k^hoe sañk^handil jé: tçoçan tçeri jé: na t^hopn tetina*

one k^hoe sañ k^han = di = la jé: tço-çak-ne
 and.then 3SG.M.AGT tomorrow alike = DEF = DAT snare.trap make-put.PST-CVB2
 tçeri jé: nañ t^hop-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 k^hoe preañ tçer tâçan di k^hoi do:çik k^hoe tsam doxsin dojë tçeril çu*

one k^hoe preañ tçeri tâ-çak-ne di k^ho = gi
 and.then 3SG.M.AGT hut falcon tie-put.PST-CVB2 TOP 3SG.M = GEN
 do: = çik k^hoe tsam dok-sin do: = je tçeri-la çu
 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 tçeri tçeri k^hoi kañbi lol tsapar tâtçin*

one tçeri tçeri k^ho = gi kañba = gi lo = la tsapar tañ-tçin
 and.then falcon falcon 3SG.M = GEN leg = GEN surface = DAT slap do-give

‘And then the falcon, the falcon attacked his leg.’

(9) *k^hoi kaŋm naɸo*

k^ho = gi kaŋba natpa tɕo
 3SG.M = GEN leg patient make

‘His leg was injured.’

(10) *do:d rub laŋ*

do: = 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 ne tɕise jutup naŋla korengi miɕik meral di turis jɔŋɸe t^hoŋsoŋ*

taŋcim ne 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 jɔŋ-pe t^hoŋ-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 k^ho lamga jal otçins ʈosin k^ho kaŋʝo otçins lam jal tçjâŋ ʈocinam oni jal mal gylin ʝasin tçjâŋ ʝacinam kãʝo k^hoe pɪru tçoçado*

one k^ho lamga ja=la otçins ʈo-sin k^ho kaŋʝo otçins lamga
 and.then 3SG.M path up=DAT thus go.PRS-CVB1 3SG.M all thus path
 ja=la tçjâŋ ʈo-cina-mi one ja=la ma=la
 up=DAT how go.PRS-PRS.ALLO-NMLZ.ACT and.then up=DAT down=DAT
 gylin ʝap-sin tçjâŋ ʝap-cina-mi kaŋʝo k^hoe pidju
 trade do-CVB1 how do-PRS.ALLO-NMLZ.ACT all 3SG.M.AGT video
 tço-çak 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 jɛgi mɛral miba tçjâŋ ʈocinam ɔne toptçɛ daŋ oʝo mi tos daŋ tçjâŋ jɛnam oha kãʝo k^hoe tçíse pɪru tçoçado*

one merak ja=gi merak=la mi=ba tçjâŋ to-cina-mi
 and.then Merak up=GEN Merak=DAT person=PL how stay-PRS.ALLO-NMLZ.ACT
 one toptçɛ daŋ oʝo mi to-sa daŋ tçjâŋ
 and.then food and thus people stay-NMLZ.LOC and how
 jɛna-mi oba kaŋʝo k^hoe tçí=se pidju
 COP.EX.ASM-NMLZ.ACT DEM.PROX.PL all 3SG.M.AGT what=REP video
 tço-çak 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 k^hoe tas jutup naŋ tçúŋ çado*

one oti di k^hoe tas jutup_{ENG} naŋ tçúk-ne
 and.then DEM.PROX TOP 3SG.M.AGT now YouTube_{ENG} inside put.inside-CVB2
 çak 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 nî-ton dan nî-ton-tcik̥s φal tsul jinun̥ ηa jaφ tain min*

unla nam lo nî-ton dan nî-ton-tcik̥-s p^ha = la
 previously sky year two-thousand and two-thousand-one-APPROX there = DAT
 tsu = la jinun̥ ηa jakpo t̥an-coʔ 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: t̥uk tor-çorena k^huçik̥*

ɖuk = ne eskur o: t̥uk tor-çor-pe na k^huç-tcik̥
 Bhutan = ABL school boy six throw-lose-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM times-one

‘Once, six schoolboys from Bhutan got lost.’

- (3) *oti t̥çin̥ torenasin k^hon̥ba*

oti t̥çin̥ tor-pe na-sin k^hon̥ = ba
 DEM.PROX how throw-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM-CVB1 3PL = PL

‘This is how they got lost.’

- (4) *sa jima tawa t̥ikla t̥çyty kapsol rigi tsila c^ham t̥çitil̥ k^hon̥ba l̥aso t̥çiki tsam te*

sa jima tawa t̥ik = la t̥çyti kapsol = la ri = gi
 weekday saturday sunday one = DAT holiday during = DAT mountain = GEN
 tsé = la c^ham t̥çi-pe = la k^hon̥ = ba l̥á ts^ho t̥çik = 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) *ts^hogi nan̥ do tom-tan̥ ot̥çin̥ jasin̥ ts^ho k^ho:*

ts^ho = gi nan̥ do tom-tan̥ ot̥çin̥ jap-sin ts^ho k^ho:
 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 k^hoŋba lam tor on otçins na: naŋ torçorena*

one nam pap bruk taŋ k^hoŋ = ba lamga tor one otçins
 and.then rain go.down thunder do 3PL = PL path throw and.then thus
 na: naŋ tor-çor-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 ðukne mi maŋ k^haŋjoŋe otçins tç^hin tsa:lana*

one ðuk = ne mi máŋ kaŋjo = je otçins tç^hi-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 tçida lasin ñim tçuçi tçeŋági tçitçⁱ k^hoŋ ðukne çidi lo t^hoŋenas*

one tçida lap-sin ñima tçuçi tçeŋá = gi tçitçⁱ k^hoŋ ðuk = ne
 and.then finally say-CVB1 day fourteen fifteen = GEN later 3PL six = ABL
 çⁱ = di lo t^hoŋ-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) *ñî lamgal otçins çína k^hoŋ p^hrugu ñîdi*

ñî lamga = la otçins çⁱ na k^hoŋ p^hrugu ñî = 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 *no:çe*. This leads a friend of his, a boy living in Sakteng whose parents come from Merak, to confuse it with *no:le*, which are maize dumplings filled with cheese.

- (1) *unl merakpi o:çik sâteaŋla jō*

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

‘Some time ago, a Merak boy came to Sakteng.’

- (2) *onedī sâteṅ mitṣeṣbaṣe kʰol ɲo:ṣ kʰe laḥenas*

one = di sâteṅ mi tṣe-ṣo = ba = kʰe kʰo = la ɲo:ṣe
 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 (ɲo:ṣe).’

- (3) *jine merakpe ɲo:ṣela paktsa mato ɲo:ṣ lak mena*

jine merakpa = je ɲo:ṣe = la paktsa mato ɲo:ṣe
 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 *ɲo:ṣe*.’

- (4) *one ta je brokpi kʰala ɲo:ṣi daṅ tine lo ɲo:le laḥeṣi jena*

one ta je brokpa = gi kʰa = la ɲo:ṣe daṅ tine
 and.then now 1SG.GEN Brokpa = GEN mouth = DAT animal.skin and after.that
 lo ɲo:le lap-pe = ṣik jena
 again maize.dish say-NMLZ.PST = INDF COP.EX.ASM

‘In the Brokpa language, there is something called *ɲo:ṣe* (animal skin), and something called *ɲo:le* (maize dish).’

- (5) *ot lasin ta merakpe ɲo:ṣe mato sâteṅpe paktsal ɲo:ṣe lacina*

oti lap-sin ta merakpa = je ɲo:ṣe mato
 DEM.PROX say-CVB1 now merak.person = AGT animal.skin only
 sâteṅpa = je paktsa = la ɲo:ṣe lap-cina
 sakteng.person = AGT animal.skin = DAT animal.skin say-PRS.ALLO

‘So people from Merak only say *ɲo:ṣe*- people from Sakteng call the animal skin *ɲo:ṣe*.’

- (6) *merakpe paktsal paktsa mato ɲo:ṣ lak mena*

merakpa = je paktsa = la paktsa mato ɲo:ṣe 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 *ɲo:ṣe*.’

- (7) *one o:dila tɕíse ɲo:ɕ k^he lasin ta k^hoe ɲo:l na sam*

one o:=di=la tɕí=se ɲo:ɕ k^he lap-sin ta
 and.then boy=DEF=DAT what=REP animal.skin bring.IMP say-CVB1 now
 k^hoe 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) *t^hap ɲontɕol tsartetina*

t^hap ɲontɕo=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) *ɲala ap me*

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

‘I don’t have a father.’

- (2) *ap tɕuɲkune ɕína*

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

‘He died when I was small.’

- (3) *am tas sâhean teti jena*

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

‘At the moment my mother lives in Sakteng.’

- (4) *one ap ap tçik am tçik je- jape puntsen lane p^hrugu ŋa tçikle mena*
 one apa apa tçik ama tçik jap-pe puntsen lap-ne p^hrugu
 and.then father father one mother one do-NMLZ.PST sibling say-CVB2 child
 ŋa tçik-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 je fi:ne p^hrugu k^hoŋ pun am tçik puntsen sum jena*
 one ta je fi:=ne p^hrugu k^hoŋ puntsen ama tçik puntsen
 and.then now 1SG.GEN below=ABL child 3PL sibling mother one sibling
 sum jena
 three COP.EX.ASM

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

- (6) *bom jî haŋ o: tçik*
 bomo jî daŋ o: tçik
 daughter two and son one

‘Two sisters and one brother.’

- (7) *one k^hõ sumjeraŋ tas eso to:cina*
 one k^hoŋ sum-jeraŋ tas eskur to: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 fon doxvena fon movail fon*
 tiriŋsaŋ=di sâteaŋ=la p^hon dok-pe na p^hon
 nowadays=DEF Sakteng=DAT phone arrive-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM phone
 mobail_{ENG} p^hon
 mobile_{ENG} phone

‘Nowadays mobile phones have arrived in Sakteng.’

- (2) *jinedi na:si preaŋ daŋ di ri roŋ ɕuŋ netok eɕen mena*

jine = di na:si preaŋ daŋ di ri roŋ 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 k^huɕ-tɕik je aɕaŋ k^hoe na:s do: ɕanbal tɕik lagoɸe tɕun p^hon tãsin netok eɕen meti*

one k^huɕ-tɕik je aɕaŋ k^hoe na:s do:
 and.then times-one 1SG.GEN maternal.uncle 3SG.GEN yak.herder friend
 ɕanma = ba = la tɕik lap-go-pe tɕuŋ-ne p^hon 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 p^hon tsam taŋmi ɟapne ɸon p^hal taŋmatoɸe lyn ondi k^ho p^hon ɕuɕan di k^hoe p^hal poɸenas*

one p^hon tsam taŋmi ɟapne p^hon p^ha = la
 and.then phone how.much do-NMLZ.ACT do-CVB2 phone there = DAT
 taŋ-ma-t^hop-pe ly-ne one = di k^ho
 do-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST leave.behind-CVB2 and.then = DEF 3SG.M
 p^hon cur-ɕak-ne di k^hoe p^ha = 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) *k^hoe po- po ondi k^hoe tɕíse di tiriŋsã p^hon ɟapned taŋbi p^honrã ɕaɕ tuks laɸenas*

k^hoe po one = di k^hoe tɕí = se di tiriŋsaŋ p^hon
 3SG.M.AGT call and.then = DEF 3SG.M.AGT what = REP TOP nowadays phone
 ɟap-ne = di taŋbo = gi p^hon = raŋ ɕa-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 t̥ɕuŋkula ŋa t̥ɕuŋkula s̥ateŋla eso ʈosin di ŋe ɕaŋsin d̥ã ŋa nenda na*

unla t̥ɕuŋku=la ŋa t̥ɕuŋku=la s̥ateŋ=la eskur ʈo-sin di
 previously small=DAT 1SG small=DAT Sakteng=DAT school go.PRS-CVB1 TOP
 ŋe 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 ŋe auɕ jena am t̥ɕeçi o:*

one ŋe au=ɕik jena ama
 and.then 1SG.AGT older.male.parallel.cousin=INDF COP.EX.ASM maternal.aunt
 t̥ɕe-ɕo=gi o:
 old-COMPR=GEN son

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

- (3) *audi k^ho t̥ɕeɕ na k^ho ŋí ʈapn klase t^hoɕ na*

au=di k^ho t̥ɕe-ɕo na k^ho ŋí
 older.male.parallel.cousin=DEF 3SG.M old-COMPR COP.EQ.ASM 3SG.M 1PL.EXCL
 ʈap-ne klase_{GER} t^ho-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 ŋí eso ʈosin di saradi eso teŋ t^hopcina*

one ŋí eskur ʈo-sin di sara=di eskur teŋ
 and.then 1PL.EXCL school go.PRS-CVB1 TOP lunch=DEF school plain
 t^hop-cina
 achieve-PRS.ALLO

‘When we go to school, we get lunch at school.’

- (5) *derm daŋ kopadi sraŋsos p^hâ nã tçúŋ k^hergohin ʃogohina*

derma daŋ kop = ba = di raŋraŋsoso p^hâ naŋ tçúk-ne
 plate and cup = PL = DEF individually gho.pocket inside put.inside-CVB2
 k^her-go-cina ʃo-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 t^hetãedan di ní lo jøŋsin telo derm daŋ oba p^hâ nã tçúŋ c^høŋjøŋsin lamgal*

one = di eskur t^her-taŋ-pe = daŋ di ní lo jøŋ-sin
 and.then = DEF school drop-do-NMLZ.PST = COM TOP 1PL.EXCL again come-CVB1
 telo derma daŋ oba p^hâ naŋ tçúk-ne
 again plate and DEM.PROX.PL gho.pocket inside put.inside-CVB2
 c^høŋ-jøŋ-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 tçin jøŋcina*

sô = di sisi tçin jøŋ-cina
 spring = DEF strawberry often come-PRS.ALLO

‘In spring there are often strawberries.’

- (8) *on níba sisi tøn di sisi otçins tõtçõtç tçine jal poxtor tsel doxsin derm c^haŋçin*

one ní = ba sisi tøn-ne di sisi otçins tõt-tõt
 and.then 1PL.EXCL = PL strawberry pluck-CVB2 TOP strawberry thus pluck-pluck
 tçi-ne ja = la poktor tsé = la dok-sin derma c^haŋ-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 parparçu níba tsem tse*

one parparçu ní = ba tsem tse
 and.then sometimes 1PL.EXCL = PL play.PST

‘And in between we played.’

- (10) *ondi au di je am çimgin o: au tçeçd k^hoe di kí japn tsemse p^hal tsul ço?n hauhaus lam çotgohi*

one = di au di je ama
and.then = DEF older.male.parallel.cousin TOP 1SG.GEN maternal.aunt
çim-gin o: au tçe-ço = di k^hoe
be.dead-NMLZ.AGT son older.male.parallel.cousin old-COMPR = DEF 3SG.M
di kí jap-ne tsemse p^ha = la tsu = la çot-ne hauhau = se
TOP dog do-CVB2 play.PST there = DAT here = DAT jump-CVB2 Expr = REP
lap-ne çot-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) *çotsin di jiba jí tçuñçbaço k^hoe k^hai nañ tçíse sisi torgoxinas*

çot-sin di jí = ba jí tçuñku-ço = ba = je k^ho = gi
jump-CVB1 TOP 1PL.EXCL = PL 1PL.EXCL small-COMPR = PL = AGT 3SG.M = GEN
k^ha = gi nañ tçí = 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 çal otçins curgoxinas*

sisi p^ha = la otçins cur-go-cina = se
strawberry there = DAT thus throw-must-PRS.ALLO = REP

‘We thus have to throw the strawberries there.’

- (13) *ondi k^ho sisi otçins sajin*

one = di k^ho sisi otçins sa-cina
and.then = DEF 3SG.M strawberry thus eat.PRS-PRS.ALLO

‘And thus he eats the strawberries.’

- (14) *on k^huçtçikdi je sisida jam tçíse luki tu curtāenas*

one k^huç-tçik = di je sisi = dañ jambu tçí = se
and.then times-one = DEF 1SG.AGT strawberry = COM together what = REP
luk = gi tukpa cur-tañ-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 k^hoe luki tu murtaŋsin sisi na sam murtaŋsin di k^ho naŋ tɕíse lutɕs-
ɖoadi sos t^hoŋ*

luk = gi tukpa cur-taŋ-sin di k^hoe 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 k^ho naŋ
chew-do-CVB1 strawberry COP.EQ.ASM think chew-do-CVB1 TOP 3SG.M inside
tɕí = se ɖoa = di soso t^hoŋ
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 k^ho luki tuxɕin man ɕen ondi k^ho ɕox ɕox ruβ laŋɕenas*

di k^ho luk = gi tukpa jin man ɕe-ne
TOP 3SG.M sheep = GEN excrement COP.EQ.EGO COP.EQ.NEG.EGO know-CVB2
one = di k^ho 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 (*p^hu*) 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) *k^ho k^huɕ-tɕik mal tɕytil tɕiti jinta*

k^ho k^huɕ-tɕik ma = la tɕytil = 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 kʰoŋ ni nam ʈitina*

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

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 kʰoŋ katekate tsaŋe kʰo ʈati tsa:matʰoŋe*

one kʰoŋ kate kate tsa:-ne kʰo ʈati
 and.then 3PL where where search-CVB2 3SG.M however.much
 tsa:-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 kʰerga:lenas laʈeŋa*

one mi = ba = kʰe kʰo pʰu = je kʰer-ga:-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 ʈitʈi mo ʈap*

one ʈitʈi mo ʈap
 and.then later astrologer do

‘Later, an astrologer was consulted.’

- (8) *lambal t^huta ɕy ʝasin lamaɕije k^heraŋ ʝoɕitsel tɕin k^ho po tuŋ ʝaliŋ taŋna semɕinɕik dokros*

lama = ba = la t^huta ɕy ʝap-sin lama = ɕik = ʝe
 lama = PL = DAT astrologer.HON advise.HON do-CVB1 lama = INDF = AGT
 k^he = raŋ ʝop^hitse = la tɕi-ne k^ho po tuŋ
 2SG.AGT = REFL ʝop^hitse = DAT go.PST-CVB2 3SG.M call Himalayan.horn
 ʝaliŋ 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 ʝop^hitse, call him, blow the horns, and an animal will arrive...’

- (9) *ot semɕindi sunt^hopna k^ho lo t^hoŋro*

oti semɕin = di sun-t^hop-na k^ho lo t^hoŋ-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 sunmat^hopna k^ho t^hoŋremin*

oti sun-ma-t^hop-na k^ho t^hoŋ-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) *k^heranin- k^heraŋgi naŋ miɕi ɕíros otɕins suŋɕena*

k^he = 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 k^ho po tuŋ ʝaliŋ taŋsin fioptɕuŋdoŋkarɕik doxɕena*

one k^ho po tuŋ ʝaliŋ taŋ-sin fioptɕuŋdoŋkar = 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) *fioptcuŋdoŋkardi sunmat^hoβe t^herçorn- t^herçorena*

fioptcuŋdoŋkar = di sun-ma-t^hop-pe t^her-çor-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 nim çi ŋá tçitçi lasin k^hoi açañdi çilina*

one nima çi ŋá tçitçi lap-sin k^ho = gi açañ = di
 and.then day four five later say-CVB1 3SG.M = GEN maternal.uncle = INDF
 çí-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 sâheañ tesm k^hutçi jal k^hus k^hen tçitina*

unla ŋa sâheañ te-sin k^huç-tçik ja = la k^hus k^her-ne
 previously 1SG Sakteng stay.PST-CVB1 times-one up = DAT load take-CVB2
 tçi-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 açañ ni sum k^hus k^hen tçi*

ani daŋ açañ ní sum k^hus k^her-ne tçi
 paternal.aunt and maternal.uncle 1PL.EXCL three load take-CVB2 go.PST

‘Aunt and uncle, we three were carrying loads.’

- (3) *ɔn k^hus jal c^him k^heɕan lo mal jɔŋsm lamgal mejal k^hus c^hɔŋinba ɲam p^hresɔŋ*
 one k^hus ja=la c^him k^her-ɕak-ne lo ma=la jɔŋ-sin
 and.then load up=DAT house take-put.PST-CVB2 again down=DAT come-CVB1
 lamga=la meja=la k^hus c^hɔŋ-gin=ba ɲambu p^hre-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 k^hus c^hɔŋinba daŋ jɛmal ɲi soba ɲam p^hrega:sin ɲi soɕikɕe tɕi nam musi soɕik
 mal duŋtaŋedel lam fio: ma ɕuga:ln*
 oti=la di meja=la k^hus c^hɔŋ-gin=ba daŋ
 DEM.PROX=DAT TOP upwards=DAT load bring-NMLZ.AGT=PL and
 jema=la ɲi so=ba ɲambu p^hre-ga:sin
 downwards=DAT 1PL.EXCL yak.hybrid=PL together meet-leave-CVB1
 ɲi so=ɕik=je tɕi 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 fio:
 yak.hybrid=INDF down=DAT beat-do-NMLZ.PST=DEF=DAT path below
 ma ɕuk-ga: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 ɔpɕɔ k^hoi k^husba mal p^hap*
 one ɔpɕ^ho k^ho=gi k^hus=ba ma=la p^hap
 and.then quickly 3SG.M=GEN load=PL down=DAT take.down
 ‘We quickly took down his load.’

- (6) *ɔn tsul tɔnmi ɟasm tɔnmat^hoɕe*
 one tsu=la tɔn-mi ɟap-sin tɔn-ma-t^hop-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 wekɔɾɕik plexlaŋasin di tsudi tʰejɔŋtʰoφena*

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-jɔŋ-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-sɔŋ 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 ʃuk dyns teti kax*

unla ŋa lo ʃuk 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) *i ɕimgindaŋ ni kʰuɕtɕik preaŋne jal cʰim tɕiti*

i ɕim-gin = daŋ ni 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 ni ni cʰim madɔxφe ŋontɕen saruga:l*

one ni ni cʰim ma-dok-pe ŋontɕen
 and.then 1PL.EXCL two house NEG-arrive-NMLZ.PST before
 saru-ga-pe
 become.dark-leave-NMLZ.PST

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

- (4) *t̤atastse lapsal d̤oxsin kígi ɲam t̤auçik tónsoŋ kʰuçɲî ɲam ma̤tauçi*
 t̤atastse lap-sa=la dok-sin kí=gi ɲam t̤au=çik
 t̤atastse say-NMLZ.LOC=DAT arrive-CVB1 dog=GEN sound alike=INDF
 tón-soŋ kʰuç-ɲî ɲam ma̤tau=çik
 take.out-PST.SEN times-two sound strange=INDF

‘Arriving at a place called *t̤atastse*, we heard a sound like that of a dog twice, a strange sound.’

- (5) *one ɲe i: çim-ginla t̤í ɲam na lam t̤isin i: çim-ginje kí ɲam na lasoŋ*
 one ɲe i: çim-gin=la t̤í ɲam
 and.then 1SG.GEN grandmother be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=DAT what sound
 na lap-ne t̤i-sin i: çim-gin=je kí
 COP.EQ.ASM say-CVB2 ask-CVB1 grandmother be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=AGT dog
 ɲam 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) *t̤it̤çi ɲí ɲî cʰim d̤oxsin i: çim-gin=je*
 t̤it̤çi ɲí ɲî cʰim dok-sin i: çim-gin=je
 later 1PL.EXCL two house arrive-CVB1 grandmother be.dead-NMLZ.AGT=AGT
 oti t̤e=gi ɲam jinta lap-ne i:
 DEM.PROX yeti=GEN sound COP.EQ.EPI.PST say-CVB2 grandmother
 çik-ɲap-ga: 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) *one kʰuç-t̤çik unla açəŋ ɲi ɲi preəŋ t̤osin gun kʰa: naŋla kaŋça b̤omboç tuŋ*
 one kʰuç-t̤çik unla açəŋ ɲí ɲî preəŋ t̤o-sin
 and.then times-one previously maternal.uncle 1PL.EXCL two hut go.PRS-CVB1
 gun kʰa: naŋ=la kaŋça bombo=çik 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 açanje te kañca na lasoŋ*

oti açan = je te kañca na lap-soŋ
DEM maternal.uncle = AGT yeti footprint COP.EQ.ASM say-PST.SEN

‘This my uncle said was a yeti footprint.’

(9) *on mi kañcadaŋ maŋei kañca bomboç tuŋ*

one mi kañca = daŋ maŋau kañca bombo = çik tuŋ
and.then person footprint = COM unlike footprint big = INDF COP.EX.PST

‘It was a big footprint, unlike a human footprint.’

(10) *t^haskor kaŋjo pú jetiçi tuŋ*

t^haskor kaŋjo pú je-pe = çik 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 çu lahaŋ naŋla teŋi ruspa jenas lacina*

sâteaŋ = gi ju çuk lák^haŋ naŋ = la te = 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 je miçe*

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

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

- (3) *one ot tamdi tʰi mi ʧanbaxe tʰo:*

one oti tam=di tʰi mi ʧanma=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 neçin tʰea desin tʰik tájɔŋʰenas tʰo:sɔŋ*

one neçin tʰeaba desin tʰik tá-jɔŋ-pe
and.then a.few.years.ago westerner group one look.PRS-come-NMLZ.PST
na=se tʰo:-sɔŋ
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 maçe*

one kʰɔŋ 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-çe
NEG-perceive-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM-NMLZ.ACT NEG-know

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

- (6) *pú tʰik tʰɔŋenas*

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

‘They saw one hair.’

- (7) *o púdi semçin çandaŋ maçiçik tʰɔŋenas*

oti pú=di semçin ʧanma=daŋ maçau=çik 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 *na:ɕuŋla* between Sakteng and Merak, the grassy plain *lónɖukɕon* at its base, and the village of *sâteaŋ* (Sakteng) itself (lines 24 to 31).

(1) *taŋbo lojuɣi t^hone ta mi tɕeɕbake tɕí lacinase na*

taŋbo loju = gi t^hô = ne ta mi tɕe-ɕo = ba = k^he 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) *mera sâteaŋgi midi taŋ pon mal jɔŋɕes lacina po ts^honane mal*

merak sâteaŋ = gi mi = di taŋbo po = ne ma = la
 Merak Sakteng = GEN person = DEF first Tibet = ABL down = DAT
 jɔŋ-pe = se lap-cina po ts^hona = 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 k^hɔŋ po ts^honal tesin ta k^hɔŋ k^hɔŋla jɛboɕ jɛnase*

taŋbo k^hɔŋ po ts^hona = la te-sin ta k^hɔŋ k^hɔŋ = la jɛbo = ɕik
 first 3PL Tibet Tshona = DAT stay.PST-CVB1 now 3PL 3PL = DAT king = INDF
 jɛna = se
 COP.EX.ASM = REP

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

(4) *jɛbodigi p^hoɕaŋgi ŋotɕɔl ta riɕik jɛnas*

jɛbo = di = gi p^hoɕaŋ = gi ŋontɕo = la ta ri = ɕik
 king = DEF = GEN palace = GEN front = DAT now mountain = INDF
 jɛna = se
 COP.EX.ASM = REP

‘In front of the king’s palace was a mountain.’

- (5) *di ri o riʒe kʰɔl kʰoi ʃoʦaŋla ɲima kapcinas*

di ri oti ri = ʒe kʰo = la kʰo = gi pʰoʦaŋ = 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 tʃik ta ʒebe kʰo mi maŋla ká naŋenas*

one ɲima tʃik ta ʒebo = ʒe 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 pʰoʦaŋla ɲim midoxʃa o ridi meti tʃogoʃas*

ta ɲe pʰoʦaŋ = la ɲima mi-dok-pʰa oti
 now 1SG.GEN palace = DAT sun NEG.FUT-arrive-?NMLZ DEM.PROX
 ri = di me-pe tʃo-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 tʃoʃenas*

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 tʃo-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 tʃomigi leak ko tsuk*

ri me-pe tʃo-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) *tsamçik japne ridi teti tçomat^hoφe*

tsam = çik jap-ne ri = di me-pe
 how.much = INDF do-CVB2 mountain = DEF not.exist-NMLZ.PST
 tço-ma-t^hop-pe
 make-NEG-achieve-NMLZ.PST

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

- (11) *one ta motçipçikje on na jal laŋ nekap tón*

one ta motçip^ha = çik = je 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) *one ta ɲeraŋba kã dynç jagos ri ko tçetile ta mi ko tçeti gau: laφenas*

one ta ɲeraŋ = ba kaŋjo dynça jap-go = se ri
 and.then now 1PL.INCL = PL all discussion do-must = REP mountain
 ko tçe-pe-le ta mi ko tçe-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) *on kaŋjo dynç jap tç^ham on go:m jebi tsam tçi dynçaŋ jap*

one kaŋjo dynça jap tçam one go:ma jebog = gi tsam
 and.then all discussion do agree and.then evening king = GEN nearby
 tçi dyntç^haŋ jap
 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) *jebol tç^haŋ tçin on o go:mdi jebog setaŋenas*

jebog = la tç^haŋ tçin one oti go:ma = di jebog 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 ʒeɸ setidā taŋ pɔl tʰim kau jeti jintsəŋ jetisō ɔndi mal ta o lumbal mateko mal pro:tɕos lam kʰoŋ projɔŋ di sâteaŋ dɔxɸenas unda*

ta ʒebo se-pe = daŋ taŋbo po = la tʰim kau je-pe
 now king kill-NMLZ.PST = COM first Tibet = DAT law strict exist-NMLZ.PST
 jintsəŋ_{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 pro:-tɔ = se
 DEM.PROX region = DAT NEG-stay.PST-ADH down = DAT move-go.PRS = REP
 lap-ne kʰoŋ pro:-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 merala ɔt kʰoŋ 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 jenas*

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

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

- (19) *ri- rigi miŋla ja:ɕuŋlas lacina*

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

‘The mountain’s name was *ja:ɕuŋla*.’

- (20) *ta ɔl o ja:ɕuŋla dɔxsin k^hoŋ miba nea tába nea mi kat kan daŋ p^hrugu tɕuŋpa nea oni tá nɔrba nea*

ta ola oti ja:ɕuŋla dok-sin k^hoŋ mi = ba jeak tá = ba
 now here DEM.PROX ja:ɕuŋla arrive-CVB1 3PL person = PL be.tired horse = PL
 jeak mi katpo kanmo daŋ p^hrugu tɕuŋku = ba jeak one tá
 be.tired person old.M old.F and child small = PL be.tired and.then horse
 nor = ba jeak
 cattle = PL be.tired

‘When they reached *ja:ɕuŋla*, 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 k^hoŋ p^hal dɔxt^hopmins meral*

ta k^hoŋ p^ha = la dok-t^hop min = se merak = la
 now 3PL there = DAT arrive-achieve COP.EX.NEG.ACQ = REP Merak = DAT

‘They couldn’t reach Merak.’

- (22) *ɔn k^hoŋ ɕû jogin dā tɕeloŋba p^hal meral ga:*

one k^hoŋ ɕû jo-gin daŋ tɕeloŋ = ba
 and.then 3PL strength COP.EX.EGO-NMLZ.AGT and young.person = PL
 p^ha = la merak = la ga:
 there = DAT Merak = DAT leave

‘The strong ones and the young people left for Merak.’

- (23) *ɔne kat kan daŋ p^hrugubadi tsul lo lokɕenas*

one katpo kanmo daŋ p^hrugu = 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 ɲa:ɕuŋ tá ɲaɸe ɲa:ɕuŋs ɲa:ɕuŋla lacina tiriŋsaŋ*

ta di la = gi miŋ = la mi ɲeak-pe ɲa:ɕuŋ
 now TOP mountain.pass = GEN name = DAT person be.tired-NMLZ.PST ɲa:ɕuŋ
 tá ɲeak-pe ɲa:ɕuŋ = se ɲa:ɕuŋla lap-cina tiriŋsaŋ
 horse be.tired-NMLZ.PST ɲa:ɕuŋ = REP ɲa:ɕuŋla say-PRS.ALLO nowadays

‘As the people got tired (*ɲeak*) and the horses got tired (*ɲeak*), the mountain pass is nowadays called *ɲa:ɕuŋla*.’

- (25) *one o rigi tsalraŋ páŋɕ jena*

one oti ri = gi tsa = la = raŋ páŋɕ = 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 lónɖukɕoŋ lacinas*

oti páŋɕ = 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) *ɲone tɕín lonɖuks nas tiriŋsaŋ miŋ ɟun lónɖukɕoŋ lacina*

ɲone 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 ən lo lokpi jintsəŋ lo lokpi mi daŋ tába ən lo jəŋɸesəŋ sági miŋla lon- lonɖukçəŋs lam otçins t^hoɸenas*

ta one lo lok-pe jintsəŋ_{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 jəŋ-pe = soŋ
 person and horse=PL and.then again come-NMLZ.PST = CVB.CAUS
 sá=gi miŋ=la lonɖukçəŋ = se lap-ne otçins t^hop-pe
 soil=GEN name=DAT lonɖukçəŋ=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 *lonɖukçəŋ*.’

- (29) *əni sâteaŋdi unl taŋbo lo miwa ts^hul jəŋ sâteaŋ tçə:sin sâteaŋdi páŋ bomboçi ɟap oti tsel kaŋjo sâ jenas*

one sâteaŋ = di unl taŋbo lo mi = ba tsu = la jəŋ
 and.then Sakteng = DEF previously first again person = PL here = DAT come
 sâteaŋ tçə:sin sâteaŋ = di páŋ bombo = çik ɟap oti
 Sakteng settle-CVB1 Sakteng = DEF grassy.plain big = INDF do DEM.PROX
 tsé = la kaŋjo 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 eçen jetije sâteaŋs lacinas*

teaŋ lap na páŋ bombo teaŋ eçen je-pe = je
 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) *on tçíse ta miw ts^hul lo jɔŋginba sâteañ tetinas çitça:n on p^hal ja:çuŋla jam p^hal tɛn ʈoŋinba meral çitça:n tetina*

one tçí = se ta mi = ba tsu = la lo joŋ-gin = ba
 and.then what = REP now person = PL here = DAT again come-NMLZ.AGT = PL
 sâteañ te-pe na = se çitça:-ne one
 Sakteng stay.PST-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM = REP settle-CVB2 and.then
 p^ha = la ja:çuŋla jap-ne p^ha = la te-ne ʈo-gin = ba
 there = DAT ja:çuŋla do-CVB2 there = DAT stay.PST-CVB2 go.PRS-NMLZ.AGT = PL
 merak = la çitça:-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 *ja:çuŋla* 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 koje mi sacinase*

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

‘The vulture used to eat people.’

- (2) *ta mi samitçúkmigi ton komçəɸagoje ko tumi jam nekap tóninase*

ta mi sa-mi-tçúk-mi = gi ton komçin^hango = je
 now person eat.PRS-NEG.FUT-put.inside-NMLZ.ACT = GEN reason bat = AGT
 ko t^hu:-mi jap-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 k^hoe mi kapiliŋ k^hen fio:l çuktesin koje kapiliŋdi meti tçotāenas*

nekap taŋbo = di k^hoe mi kapiliŋ k^her-ne fio: = la
 idea first = DEF 3SG.M.AGT person skull take-CVB2 below = DAT
 çuk-te-sin ko = je kapiliŋ = di me-pe
 enter-stay.PST-CVB1 vulture = AGT skull = DEF not.exist-NMLZ.PST
 tço-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 ŋîpadi k^hoe numagi çor tço so:tetinas*

nekap ŋîpa = di k^hoe numa = gi çor tço
 idea second = DEF 3SG.M.AGT type.of.bamboo = GEN sharpened.tip make
 so:-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 k^hoe k^horçŋ numa naŋ çuga:sin numa çorje ko suktā*

one ko dok-sin k^hoe k^ho = raŋ numa naŋ
 and.then vulture arrive-CVB1 3SG.M.AGT 3SG.M = REFL type.of.bamboo inside
 çuk-ga:-sin numa çor = je 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 t^hâ t^hâçi t^he*

ko t^hâ t^hâ = çik t^he
 vulture blood blood = INDF exit

‘A lot of blood came out of the vulture.’

- (7) *koje we: au ser ço au daŋ ço au kiŋku ços lam posin ser daŋ kiŋku doxɕenas*

ko = je we: au ser ço au
 vulture = AGT EXPR older.brother blood.pheasant come.IMP older.brother
 daŋ ço au kiŋku ço = 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 tirinŋsaŋ ser daŋ kiŋku mar jetidi kʰogi tʰâ nas lacina*

ta tirinŋsaŋ ser daŋ kiŋku marbo je-pe = di
 now nowadays blood.pheasant and red.billed.chough red exist-NMLZ.PST = DEF
 kʰo = gi tʰâ 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 (*tçuba*). The dye comes in powder form and is mixed with a type of sour berry.

- (1) *tʰa: tasmidã ɔne: tasmi tʰa: tasmidila nembo lacina*

tʰa: tâ-sin-pe = daŋ one tâ-sin-pe
 weaving.loom tie-finish-NMLZ.PST = COM and.then tie-finish-NMLZ.PST
 tʰa: 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) *nembodi taŋbo tǔgɔçna*

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

‘The woven fabric has to be washed first.’

(3) *tǔn kám*

tǔy-ne kám
wash-CVB2 dry

‘One washes it and dries it.’

(4) *onedi ts^hosa dǎ cyrba ñam tsô*

one = di ts^hosar daŋ curma = ba ñambu tsô
and.then = DEF dye and sour = PL together cook

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

(5) *telo kám telo tsaŋma ñapn tǔ on telo kám*

telo kám telo tsaŋma ñap-ne tǔ 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) *on k^huçik kámsnida ondi pran tçuba tsemgɔçna*

one k^huç-tçik kám-sin-pe = daŋ one = di pra-ne tçuba
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 tçuba.’

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) *brokpaḡi mar tɕ^hora tɕ^ho t^haŋgi korn tɕik lapna*
 brokpa = gi mar tɕ^hora tɕo t^haŋ = 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 fio:ma ɕô*
 taŋbo fio:ma ɕô
 first milk milk
 ‘First, one gets milk.’
- (3) *fio:ma ɕôsinidaŋ tɕesadi ɕo ja*
 fio:ma ɕô-sin-pe = daŋ tɕ^hesa = di ɕo ja
 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 ɕa?*
 one tɕ^hesa = di soso ɕak
 and.then half = DEF different put.PST
 ‘The other half one keeps separate.’
- (5) *ɕodi jal laŋβedaŋ n so: naŋ luk*
 ɕo = di ja = la laŋ-pe = daŋ one so: 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) *fio:m tɕesadi so: naŋ luk*
 fio:ma tɕ^hesa = di so: naŋ luk
 milk half = DEF butter.container inside pour
 ‘One pours the other half of the milk also in the butter container.’

- (7) *on t^hapgi ɲotɕol k^her*

one t^hap = gi ɲontɕo = la k^her
 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 tɕiɕi ɕo cōgoçina me tsaml*

one tɕyse tɕik tɕyse tɕik ɲî-s one mi tɕik = je ɕo
 and.then clock one clock one two-APPROX and.then person one = AGT yogurt
 cō-go-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 retidaɲ mardi sos tón*

one tɕitɕi mar re-pe = daɲ 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 ɭa:m lyɸidi tara lapcina*

one = di ɭa:m 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 ts^hip tɕo*

tara = di telo ts^hikpa tɕo
 buttermilk = DEF again hot make

‘One warms up the buttermilk again.’

- (12) *on ts^hip retida tɕ^hora daɲ tɕ^hugu sos pâjoɲina*

one ts^hikpa re-pe = daɲ tɕ^hora daɲ tɕ^hurgu soso
 and.then hot become-NMLZ.PST = COM cheese and whey different
 pak-joɲ-cina
 separate-come-PRS.ALLO

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

- (13) *o paxβedan tɕ^horadi sos ɕór*

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

‘After it has separated, one seaves the cheese part.’

- (14) *la:m lyϕidi tɕ^hurgu lapcina*

la:m ly-pe = di tɕ^hurgu = se lap-cina
 rest leave.behind-NMLZ.PST = DEF whey = REP say-PRS.ALLO

‘What remains is called *tɕ^hurgu* (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 t^haŋgi kɔrn lapna*

tɕa ŋarmo tɕo t^haŋ = 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 tɕ^hy tsu*

taŋbo tɕ^hu tsuk
 first water put.on

‘First, one puts water on.’

- (3) *one tɕ^hy naŋla tɕíse tɕa pati tap tɕin borom tap*

one tɕ^hu 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 k^ho:tɕúgoɕna*

tine saga luk one kaɖamom_{ENG} luk one
 after.that ginger pour and.then cardamom_{ENG} pour and.then
 k^ho:tɕúk-go-co na
 boil-put.inside-must-FUT COP.EQ.ASM

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

- (5) *tɕ^hu k^ho:smidã fio:ma luk ɔn lo fio:m k^ho:tɕúgoɕna*

tɕ^hu k^ho:-sin-pe = daŋ fio:ma luk one lo fio:ma
 water boil-finish-NMLZ.PST = COM milk pour and.then again milk
 k^ho: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 k^ho:smidan tɕa ɕikpina*

oti k^ho:-sin-pe = daŋ tɕa ɕik-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 laɕe jena*

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 ɕ^ha: k^hanɕ jena ɕ^ha: mire kɔŋre p^hôcina*

oti ɕ^ha: k^han = ɕik jena ɕ^ha: mi-re koŋba-re
 DEM.PROX duty alike = INDF COP.EX.ASM duty person-each household-each
 p^hok-cina
 hit-PRS.ALLO

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

- (3) *otçins çewa jem jam tocina*

otçins çeba jap-ne jap-ne to-cina
 thus alternation do-CVB2 do-CVB2 go.PRS-PRS.ALLO

‘Everyone goes on taking turns like this.’

- (4) *ta tçupungi jenkurdi tçi nasin miwa p^hal tsul deokor lentonçina*

ta tçupun = gi jenkur = di tçi na-sin mi = ba
 now village.head = GEN responsibility = DEF what COP.EQ.ASM-CVB1 person = PL
 p^ha = la tsu = la deokor len-tonçina
 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) *one parparçuñ jal lumbala mi tonba jetçit dıxsın tçadi dañ oço jagoçna*

one parparçuñ ja = la luñba = la mi tonba jetçitpo dok-sin
 and.then sometimes up = DAT region = DAT person guest important arrive-CVB1
 tçadik dañ oço jap-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 mâle ku:gin na*

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

‘They instruct people to do communal work.’

- (7) *tine p^hal tsul miwa tsom çó lasin dalin jaçogocna*

tine p^ha = la tsu = la mi = ba tsom çó lap-sin
 after.that there = DAT here = DAT person = PL gathering come.IMP say-CVB1
 dalin jap-to-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 t̄íse s̄ateɲla deokɔr lengin daŋ máŋlebal lat̄ɕa rup metisɔŋ ta kaŋjo lumbi mi t̄^ha: t̄au jaɔɕina*

oti ta unl t̄í = se s̄ateɲ = la deokor
 DEM.PROX now previously what = REP Sakteng = DAT transportation.duty
 len-gin daŋ máŋle = ba = la lat̄ɕa rup
 fetch-NMLZ.AGT and communal.work = PL = DAT payment money
 me-pe = sɔŋ ta kaŋjo lumba = gi mi t̄^ha:
 not.exist-NMLZ.PST = CVB.CAUS now all region = GEN person duty
 t̄au jaɔ-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 t̄íse t̄ɕupunbaxe t̄ɕín p^hal tsul t̄ɕi koŋin t^hapɔɕina*

oti = sɔŋ tine t̄í = se t̄ɕupun = ba = k^he t̄ɕín
 DEM.PROX = CVB.CAUS after.that what = REP village.head = PL = FOC how
 p^ha = la tsu = la t̄ɕi koŋin t^hap-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) *t̄ɕaŋgi lumba d̄ã jima jiçi korne*

t̄ɕaŋ = gi lumba daŋ jima jî = gi kor = ne
 north = GEN wind and sun two = GEN about = ABL

‘About the north wind and the sun.’

- (2) *unla tçaŋgi lumba dā jima jî sú çûxçiç jenamgi korn lapro taŋena*

unla tçaŋ = gi lumba daŋ jima jî sú çû tçe-ço
 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 k^hõ jî sú tçûxçiç jo me támigi ton*

ta k^hoŋ jî sú çû tçe-ço 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 p^hal tsul miba togin mibaxçe kot syí p^hitāt^hopne ot çuxtçiç tsimi jam t^hatçitina*

oti p^ha = la tsu = la mi = ba to-gin mi = ba = k^he
 DEM.PROX there = DAT here = DAT person = PL go.PRS-NMLZ.AGT person = PL = FOC
 kot sú = je p^hi-taŋ-t^hop-ne oti çû tçe-ço
 coat who = AGT remove-do-be.able-CVB2 DEM.PROX strength old-COMPR
 tsi-mi jap-ne t^ha-tçi-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- tçaŋgi lumbadi tsam çûxtçiç ðune mibaçe koti mǎç mǎç konina*

one tçaŋ = gi lumba = di tsam çû tçe-ço p^hu:-ne
 and.then north = GEN wind = DEF how.much strength old-COMPR blow-CVB2
 mi = ba = k^he kot = di maŋ-ço maŋ-ço 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 nimadi tçitçi nim tsibu jam çerc^hõsin mibaxçe koti lamsaŋ p^hita- p^hitaŋenas*

one nima = di tçitçi nima ts^hikpa jap-ne çer-c^hoŋ-sin
 and.then sun = DEF later sun hot do-CVB2 shine-bring-CVB1
 mi = ba = k^he kot = di lamsaŋ p^hi-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 nimadi tçaŋgi lumba japne çûxtçiç jeti tsiçina*

oti nima = di tçaŋ = gi lumba jap-ne çû tçe-ço
 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) *je par tónedi meragi jâ tç^ham jaginba na*

je par tón-pe = di merak = gi jâ tç^ham
 1SG.AGT photo take.out-NMLZ.PST = DEF Merak = GEN yak mask.dance
 jap-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 tçi tuksin na kukpaçik tuk*

oti par naŋ = la tçi tuk-sin na kukpa = çik
 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 øegi au tçeda tãuç tuk jakpo ŋomiçeøa tç^hampa jî tuk*

one p^hegi au tçe-da tãu = çik tuk jakpo
 and.then DEM.DIST older.brother old-SUP alike = INDF COP.EX.ACQ clearly
 ŋo-mi-çe-p^ha tç^hampa jî 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 tçuba mar konedi ŋá duŋgin na*

one jâ tuk cap = la nembo = gi tçuba 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 tç^hamgi jâ tç^ham jagin desindi na*

di merak jâ tç^ham = gi jâ tç^ham jap-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 jengi mento*

so guŋ sum guŋ=la ɕuk-pe guŋ-mo
 EXPR sky.HON amid sky.HON=DAT stay.HON-NMLZ.PST sky.HON-F
 jen=gi mento
 ornament=GEN flower

‘So... amid the sky lay the ornamental flowers of the sky.’

- (2) *tɕeba jerla ɕu:lo tʰi duŋ nimaɣi tɕeba*

tɕeba jer=la pʰu:-lo tʰi duŋ nima=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 jengi mento*

so gaŋ sum gaŋ=la ɕuk-pe
 EXPR mountain.range amid mountain.range=DAT stay.HON-NMLZ.PST
 gaŋ-mo jen=gi mento
 mountain.range-F ornament=GEN flower

‘So... amid the mountains lay the ornamental flowers of the mountains.’

- (4) *tɕeba jerla ɕu:lo seŋtɕenkarmi tɕeba*

tɕeba jer=la pʰu:-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 na: sum na:la ɕupi na:mo jengi mento*

so na: sum na:=la ɕuk-pe na:-mo jen=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 ɸu:lo ɕawa ru b tɕu:gi tɕeba*

tɕeba jɛr = la p^hu:-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 ts^ho sum ts^hola ɕupi ts^homo jɛngi mento*

so ts^ho sum ts^ho = la ɕuk-pe ts^ho-mo jɛn = 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 ɸu:lo sɛrmi ɲa-mo = gi tɕeba*

tɕeba jɛr = la p^hu:-lo sɛr-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 jɛngi mento*

so ju sum ju = la ɕuk-pe ju-mo jɛn = 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 ɸu:lo ʈin tɕɛn p^hami tɕeba*

tɕeba jɛr = la p^hu:-lo ʈin tɕɛn p^hama = 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 ɸu:lo tomtɕuɲniɲkargi tɕeba*

tɕeba jɛr = la p^hu:-lo tomtɕuɲniɲkar = 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 ɸu:lo men tɕuŋ bomogi tɕeba*

tɕeba jer = la p^hu: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 (འ)ཟ (b)za, or *pra* 'cliff' < WT བྱལ་ 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 Yutrong) Dungsam

¹In 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	k ^h	t
c ^h	l	t ^h
ç	l̥	tç
d	m	tç ^h
ɖ	n	ts
e	ɲ	ts ^h
g	ŋ	ʈ
h	o	ʈ ^h
fi	p	u
i	p ^h	w
j	r	

Table 2 Alphabetic order of glossary

Data sources

- Andvik, Erik. 2010. *A Grammar of Tshangla*. Leiden and Boston: Brill [Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region 10].
- Bodt, Tim. 2012. *The New Lamp Clarifying the History, Peoples, Languages and Traditions of Eastern Bhutan and Easter Mon*. Wageningen: Monpasang.
- Das Gupta, K. 1968. *An Introduction to Central Monpa*. Itanagar: Directorate of Research, Department of Cultural Affairs, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- Dzongkha Development Commission (ed.). 2010. *English-Dzongkha Pocket Dictionary*. Revised Edition. Thimphu: Dzongkha Development Commission.
- van Driem, George. 2007. 'Dzala and Dakpa form a coherent subgroup within East Bodish, and some related thoughts.' In: Bielmeier, Roland & Felix Haller (eds.), *Linguistics of the Himalayas and Beyond* 71–84. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter [Trends in Linguistics 196].
- van Driem, George. 2015. 'Synoptic grammar of the Bumthang language. A language of the central Bhutan highlands.' *Himalayan Linguistics Archive* 6.
- Egli-Roduner, Susanna. 1987. *Handbook of the Sharchhokpa-lo/Tsangla (language of the people of Eastern Bhutan)*. Thimphu: Helvetas. Swiss Association for Development and Cooperation.
- Grollmann, Selin. 2020. *A Grammar of Bjokapakha*. Leiden & Boston: Brill [Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region 24].
- Hoshi, Michiyo. 1987. *A Sharchok Vocabulary. A Language Spoken in Eastern Bhutan*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages/Cultures of Asia/Africa (ILCAA).

- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2017. *A Grammar of Kurtöp*. Leiden & Boston: Brill [Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region 18].
- Hyslop, Gwendolyn & Karma Tshering. 2010. 'Preliminary notes on Dakpa (Tawang Monpa).' In: Morey, Stephen & Mark W. Post (eds.) *North East Indian Linguistics 2* 3–22. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India.
- Jäschke, Heinrich August. 1881. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. London: Unger Brothers.
- Schmidt, Isaac Jacob. 1841. *Tibetisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, nebst deutschem Wortregister*. St. Petersburg: Gräffe.
- Tshering, Karma & George van Driem. 2019. *The Grammar of Dzongkha. Revised and Expanded, with a Guide to Roman Dzongkha and to Phonological Dzongkha*. Santa Barbara: Himalayan Linguistics.
- Wangchu, Lhama. 2002. *An Introduction to the Tawang Monpa Language*. Itanagar: Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- Wangdi, Pema. 2004. *Sharchokpa-lo Phonology and Morphosyntax*. Master's Sub-Thesis, Australian National University.
- Watters, Stephen A. 2018. *A grammar of Dzongkha: phonology, words, and simple clauses*. Ph.D. Thesis, Rice University.

a

- a** *part.* interjection (INJ)
- aɕaŋ** *n.* 1) maternal uncle
2) father-in-law (< WT ཨ་མ་ཚང་ *a zhang*)
- aɕi** *n.* 1) older sister 2) older female cousin (< East Bodish, cf. Bumthang 'ashe)
- aɕum** *n.* maize (cf. Dakpa *oshum* (W), Tshangla *asham*)
- aɕumsan** *n.* maize-based dish
→ cf. *aɕum* '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)
- amtɕomo** *n.* Ama Jomo; protective deity of the Brokpas
→ cf. *ama* 'mother'
- ani** *n.* 1) paternal aunt
2) mother-in-law (< WT ཨ་འེ་ *a ne*, vowel in Brokpa maybe influenced by Tshangla *ani*)
- animu** *n.* nun (cf. Dzongkha ཨ་འེ་མོ་ (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 *azim*)

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 ལ་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)
- bamɕugu** *n.* plastic
→ cf. *ɕugu* 'paper'
- baŋɕuŋ** *n.* bamboo dishware; used for food transportation (cf. Tshangla *baŋchuŋ*, Dzongkha རང་ཅང་ *bangcha* (TSH&D))
- bap** *n.* tragopan
= **baxɕik** *clt. n.* paucal (PAUC2)
→ syn. = *lal*, cf. = *ba* plural (PL) + = *ɕik* indefinite article (INDF)
- be** *v.* hide; transitive (< WT རེད་, རེས་, རེས་ *sbed, sbas, sba, sbos*)
→ see also *tɕar* 'hide'
- be:ɕiŋ** *n.* chestnut tree
→ cf. *ɕiŋ* '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 སྐྱམ་པོ་ *sbom po*)
→ see also *tçen*₁ ‘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)

bomtçuŋ *n.* size
→ cf. *bombo* ‘big’+ *tçuŋku* ‘small’, see also *p^hoŋga* ‘size’

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

boroŋ *adj.* afforested (< Tshangla *boran* ‘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 བླ་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’+ *taŋ*₂ ‘do’

bruk₂ (IMP: brux) *v.* dig (< WT འབྲུག་(ས), ཕུག་, འབྲུག་(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)
→ *bruk*₂ ‘dig’

bu *n.* insect (< WT འབྲུ་ *’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

bumtçe *n.* type of drum

bux *n.* breath (< WT དབྲུག་ས་ *dbugs*)

c

ca:bu *n.* type of water container

cambu *adj.* weak

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

ce *v.* give birth (< WT སུའུ་, སུའུ་ས་, སུའུ་, སུའུ་ *skye, skyes, skye, skye*)

cè: *n.* gift (cf. Dzongkha ཕུག་མངལ་ *chânje* ‘gift or offering’(TSH&D))

cemp^ho *n.* type of room

cera *n.* belt

ceruk *n.* radish

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

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

cet^haŋ *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))

cijim *adv.* day before yesterday
→ cf. *jima* ‘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

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

cuma *n.* intestines (< WT རྩུ་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, bskyur, skyur* ‘be sour’)

c^h

c^ham *n.* walk

c^haŋ *v.* fill (< ? WT འཕུང་, འཕུངས་, འཕུང་, འཕུང་ *'phyang, 'phyangs, 'phyang, 'phyang* ‘hang down’)

c^hegu *adj.* cheap

c^hepsaŋ *n.* 1) benefit 2) profit

c^him *n.* house (< WT རྩིམ་ *khyim*)

c^himam *n.* wife

→ cf. *c^him* ‘house’+ *ama* ‘mother’

c^himts^haŋ *n.* neighbour

→ cf. *c^him* ‘house’

c^ho *pro.* you; second person singular pronoun (2SG) (< WT རྩོད་ *khyod*)

c^hoŋ (IMP: k^he) *v.* bring; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འཕྱོང་, ཕྱོང་, འཕྱོང་, ཕྱོང་ *'khyong, khyong, 'khyong, khyong*)

c^hu *n.* group of animals; e.g. herd, flock, swarm (< WT རྩུ་ *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

→ ɕ₀₁ ‘put’

ɕakom *n.* dried meat

→ cf. *ɕà* ‘meat’

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

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

ɕamnakpo *n.* type of mushroom
→ cf. *ɕamu* ‘mushroom’+ *nakpo* ‘black’

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

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

ɕaŋ *n.* nose (HON) (< WT ཤངས་ *shangs*)
→ see also *nà* ‘nose’

ɕaŋbo *adj.* intelligent (< ? WT གཅང་པོ་ *gcang po* or WT སྤྱང་པོ་ *spyang po*)

ɕaŋsin *n.* 1) male cross cousin
2) brother-in-law

ɕap₁ *n.* 1) leg (HON) 2) foot (HON)
(< WT ཞབས་ *zhabs*)
→ see also *kaŋba* ‘leg, foot’

ɕap₂ *rn.* upstairs

ɕapa *n.* hunter
→ cf. *ɕà* ‘meat’+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

ɕar *n.* summer (< ? WT དབྱུར་ *dbyar*)

ɕarmaŋ *n.* porcupine

ɕawa *n.* swamp deer (cf. Dakpa *ɕou* ‘deer’(B))
→ syn. *ɕà*

ɕe *v.* know (< WT ཤེས་ *shes*)

ɕè *n.* penis (< ? WT མཇེ་ *mje*)

ɕe: *v.* be wet (< WT གཤེར་(བ་) *gsher (ba)* ‘wet, wetness’)

ɕé: *n.* glass (< WT ཤེལ་ *shel*)

ɕè: *n.* mouth (HON) (< WT ཞལ་ *zhal*)
→ cf. *ɕel* ‘face’(HON), see also *k^ha* ‘mouth’

ɕeaŋ *v.* rise (HON) (< WT བཞེང་, བཞེངས་, བཞེང་, བཞེངས་ *bzheng, bzhengs, bzheng, bzhengs*)
→ see also *laŋ* ‘rise’

ɕeba *n.* alternation (< ? WT བརྗེ་བ་ *brje ba* ‘barter, exchange’)
► **ɕeba jaŋ** *v.* change
→ *ɕeba* ‘alternation’+ *jaŋ* ‘do’

ɕel *n.* face (HON)
→ cf. *ɕè:* ‘mouth’(HON), see also *doŋba* ‘face’

ɕeniŋ *adv.* year before last year

ɕer₁ *n.* east (< WT ཤར་ *shar*)

ɕer₂ (IMP: *ɕor*) *v.* 1) shine 2) bloom
(< ? WT འཆར་, ཤར་, འཆར་, འཆར་ *'char, shar, 'char, 'char* ‘rise, appear, shine’)

ɕergo *n.* mirror

ɕerŋa *n.* feather crest

ɕertɕo *n.* eastern part
→ cf. *ɕer₁* ‘east’+ *tɕ^hô* ‘side’

ɕet^hoŋ *n.* ornamental phallic decoration on houses
→ cf. *ɕè* ‘penis’

ɕí *v.* die (< WT འཆི་, ཤི་, འཆི་, འཆི་ *'chi, shi, 'chi, 'chi*)

ɕì *num.* four (< WT བཞི་ *bzhi*)

ɕijaŋ *n.* weight
→ cf. *ɕinmo* ‘heavy’+ *jaŋmo* ‘light’

ɕik₁ *n.* leopard (< WT གཟིག་ *gzig*)

ɕik₂ *n.* louse (< WT ཤིག་ *shig*)

ɕik₃ (IMP: *ɕix*) *v.* be afraid (< WT འཇིགས་ *'jigs*)
= **ɕik** *clt. n.* indefinite article (INDF)

ɕikja *num.* 100
→ syn. *jaɕik*, cf. *ja₂* ‘hundred’

čiljaxçamu *n.* type of mushroom

→ cf. *çamu* ‘mushroom’

çim *v.* be dead; no PRS/PST/IMP stems, only occurs with the agent nominalizer *-gin*, i.e. *çimgin* ‘deceased, late’

→ cf. *çí* ‘die’

çimbo *adj.* tasty (< WT *ཞིམ་པོ་* *zhim po* ‘sweet’)

çimi *n.* cat (< WT *ཞི་མི་* *zhi mi*)

çimtuk *n.* forest coriander

çinmo *adj.* heavy

çinj *n.* 1) tree 2) wood (< WT *ཤིང་* *shing*)

çinjba *n.* neck (< WT *འཇིང་པ་* *’jing pa*)

çindo *n.* fruit (< WT *ཤིང་རྟོག་* *shing tog*)

çingga *n.* cultivated field (< WT *ཞིང་* *zhing* + ?)

çin^ha *n.* womendress

çinlodor *n.* empty space inside a hollow tree

→ cf. *çinj* ‘tree’

çinjné: *n.* neck trap

→ cf. *çinjba* ‘neck’ + *né:*₁ ‘snare trap’

çinjser *n.* wooden nail

→ cf. *çinj* ‘tree’ + *ser*₂ ‘nail’

çipja *num.* 400 (< WT *བཞི་བརྒྱ་* *bzhi brgya*)

→ syn. *jaçi*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

çitça: (IMP: *çitço:*) *v.* settle; also realized as [tça:]

çitço: *v.* settle (IMP); also realized as [tço:]

→ *çitça:* ‘settle’

çiwa *n.* mask for religious dances

çix *v.* be afraid (IMP)

→ *çik*₃ ‘be afraid’

ço (PST: *çak*) *v.* put (< WT *བཅོལ་*, *བཞག་*, *གཞག་*, *ཞོག་* *’jog, bzhag, gzhag, zhog*)

-ço *sfx. adj.* comparative (COMPR); also realized as [ç]

çó₁ *n.* dice (< WT *ཤོ་* *sho*)

çó₂ *v.* come (IMP) (< WT *ཤོག་* *shog*)
→ *jon* ‘come’

çò *n.* yoghurt (< WT *ཞོ་* *zho*)

çô *v.* milk (< WT *འཇོ་*, *བཞོས་*, *བཞོ་*, *འཇོས་* *’jo, bzhos, bzho, ’jos*)

çokçik *quan.* 1) many, much

2) often; also realized as [çok]

→ see also *maŋbo* ‘many, much’, *tçin*₂ ‘many, much’

çokpa *n.* 1) wing 2) fin (< WT *ཤོག་པ་* *shog pa*)

çoma *n.* sorrel

çomaçenambo *n.* type of sorrel; with red berries, sometimes used to fertilize fields

→ cf. *çoma* ‘sorrel’

çon *n.* valley; referring to a smaller valley without a river (< WT *ཤོང་* *shong*)

→ see also *ron* ‘valley’

çop^ha *n.* morning; also realized as [çop^hə ~ çoφ] (< WT *ཞོགས་པ་* *zhogs pa*)

çop^hedo *n.* breakfast

→ cf. *çop^ha* ‘morning’ + = *gi* genitive (GEN) + *tó* ‘food’

çor₁ *n.* sharpened tip

çor₂ *n.* fight

cor₃ *m.* along the way (< WT ལོར་ *zhor*)

cor₄ *v.* lose; only occurs as auxiliary verb marking decreased valency (< WT འཚོར་, ཤོར་, འཚོར་, འཚོར་ 'chor, shor, 'chor, 'chor 'escape, flow out, come out, flee')

cor₅ *v.* shine (IMP)
→ *cer₂* 'shine'

cor *v.* sieve

corse *n.* bag for cheese; made out of animal skin

cot *v.* jump

-cu *sfx. adj.* adjective nominalizer (NMLZ.ADJ)

cú *n.* bow (< WT གཞུ་ *gzhu*)

cú *n.* strength; also realized as [cuk] (< WT སུག་ས་ *shugs*)

cugu *n.* paper (< WT ཤོག་བུ་ *shog bu*)

cuk₁ *n.* end (< WT གཞུག་ *gzhug*)

cuk₂ (IMP: *cux*) *v.* stay (HON) (< WT བཞུགས་ *bzhugs*)
→ see also *to* 'stay'

cuk₃ (IMP: *cux*) *v.* enter (< WT འཇུག་, ཞུགས་, འཇུག་, ཞུགས་ 'jug, zhugs, 'jug, zhugs)

cukcen *adj.* strong (< WT སུག་ས་ *shugs* + ཅན་ *can*)

culinj *n.* red-billed magpie
→ cf. *cuma* 'tail'

cuma *n.* tail (< WT མཇུག་མ་ *mjug ma*)

cunj *m.* along

cux₁ *v.* enter (IMP)
→ *cuk₃* 'enter'

cux₂ *v.* stay (HON) (IMP)
→ *cuk₂* 'stay'(HON)

cy *v.* advise (HON)

cy *v.* peel (< WT སུ་, (བ)སུས་, བསུ་, (བ)སུ(ས)་ *shu, (b)shus, bshu, (b)shu(s)*)

d

da₁ *n.* arrow (< WT མད་ *mda*)

da₂ *n.* village deity; sacred place downhill of a settlement, such as a grove or boulder
→ see also *p^hu* 'village deity'

-da *sfx. adj.* superlative (SUP)

da:ma *n.* type of rhododendron (< ? WT ད་ལི་ *da li*)

dalin *n.* announcement

dan₁ *conj.* and (< WT དང་ *dang*)
→ cf. = *dan* comitative (COM)

dan₂ *n.* Himalayan monal
= **dan** *clt. n.* comitative (COM)
(< WT དང་ *dang*)
→ cf. *dan₁* '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 [derma ~ derm] (< WT སྡེར་མ་ *sder ma*)

desin *n.* group
→ see also *manj* '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)

didikpa *n.* type of fern

dju: *n.* bullet (< ? Dzongkha མདེའུ་ *diu*)

do *n.* stone (< WT རྫོ་ *rdo*)

do: *n.* friend (< ? WT རྫོགས་ *grogs*)

▶ **do: jap** *v.* help
→ *do:* ‘friend’ + *jap* ‘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. *liju* ‘flute’

dom *n.* arm span (< WT འདོམ་(ས་)(པ་) ‘*dom(s) (pa)*’ ‘one fathom (6 feet)’)

doŋba *n.* face (< WT གཏོང་(པ་) *gdong (pa)*)
→ see also *cel* ‘face’(HON)

doŋdoŋ *n.* type of big bell; worn by yaks

doŋt^hep *n.* low table

dop^huŋ *n.* boulder
→ cf. *do* ‘stone’

dox *v.* arrive (IMP)
→ *dok* ‘arrive’

dukpa *adj.* exhausting (< WT དུབ་པ་ *dub pa*)

dumro *n.* garden (< WT ལུམ་ར་~ ལུམ་ར་ *ldum ra ~ sdum ra*)

dumrocorma *n.* kitchen garden
→ cf. *dumro* ‘garden’ + *corma* ‘garden fence’

duŋ *v.* beat (< WT རུང་, བརུངས་, བརུང་, (བ)རུང(ས་) *rdung, brdungs, brdung, (b)rdung(s)*)

duŋsuk *n.* spine (< WT གཏུང་ *gdung* ‘bone’ + ?)

dyn *num.* seven (< WT བདུན་ *bdun*)

dynça *n.* discussion; also realized as [dynça ~ dynç] (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha *diincha*)

dynja *num.* 700 (< WT བདུན་བརྒྱ་ *bdun brgya*)
→ syn. *jady*n, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

dyntç^haŋ *n.* party; celebration where alcohol is drunken
→ cf. *tç^haŋ* ‘alcohol’

dynja *n.* week (< Dzongkha བདུན་ཕྱག་ *diintha* (TSH&D))
→ syn. *hapto*, cf. *dyn* ‘seven’

d

da *n.* enemy (< WT དག་ *dgra*)

ɖakpa *n.* postman (< ? + derivative affiliation marker *-pa*)

ɖampin *n.* traditional string instrument

ɖaŋbo *n.* harvested crop

ɖendu *n.* competition

ɖi *v.* write (< Dzongkha འབྲུག་ *dr* (TSH&D))

ɖoa *n.* taste (< WT རྫོག་ *bro ba*)

ɖom *n.* box (< WT རྫོགས་ *sgrom*)

ɖoŋgimtse *n.* takin (cf. Dzongkha འབྲོང་གྱི་མཚོ་ *drong g* (TSH&D))

ɖu *v.* tease

duk *n.* Bhutan (cf. Dzongkha འབྲུག་ *dru*)
 → cf. *bruk*₁ ‘dragon’

dukpa *n.* Bhutanese
 → cf. *duk* ‘Bhutan’+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

dum *v.* crack (< WT ལྷུམ་ ‘*grum* ‘pinch, nip off, clip, lop’)
 → see also *ge:* ‘crack’

dumu *n.* elbow (< WT ལྷུམོ་ *gru mo*)

e *part.* interrogative (Q)

ê *adj.* right (< WT གཡས་པ་ *g.yas pa*)

eçen *adj.* good
 → see also *takpo* ‘good’

ekpa *n.* crow (cf. Dakpa *akpu* (H&TSH))

en *adj.* left (< WT གྱོན་(པ་) *gyon (pa)*)

entço *n.* left side
 → cf. *en* ‘left’+ *tç^hô* ‘side’

ep^{hi} *pro.* that; distal demonstrative pronoun (DEM.DIST)
 → syn. *p^hegi*

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*)

êtço *n.* right side
 → cf. *ê* ‘right’+ *tç^hô* ‘side’

g

ga *n.* saddle (< WT སྐ་ *sga*)

ga: *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 དག་པ་ *dga ba*)
 ► **gau jap** *v.* be happy
 → *gau* ‘happy’+ *jap* ‘do’

gautsor *n.* happiness
 → cf. *gau* ‘happy’

ge: *v.* crack (< WT འགས་, གས་, འགས་, འགས་ ‘*gas, gas, ’gas, ’gas*)
 → see also *dum* ‘crack’

gediman *n.* vaseline
 → cf. *ge:* ‘crack’+ *mán* ‘medicine’

gejon *adj.* national (cf. Dzongkha གྱུལ་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 སྐོ་ *sgo*)

go₂ *v.* must; only occurs as auxiliary verb expressing necessity (< WT དགོས་ *dgos*)

go:ma *n.* evening; also realized as [go:mã ~ go:m] (< ? WT དགོངས་ *dgongs*)

gokpa *n.* green onion (< WT གློག་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 སྐྱལ་ *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. *ja*₂ ‘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. *dynta*

hú *n.* small teapot

fi

fi: *m.* below; downriver, downhill (< WT རོག་ ’og)

fi:ma *n.* milk (< WT རོ་མ་ ’o ma)

fiom *n.* fox (cf. Dzongkha རམ་ *âm* ‘jackal’(TSH&D))

fiopaŋ *n.* floor (< ? WT རོག་ ’og + Dakpa *paŋ(lip)* ‘plank’(W))

fioptcuŋdonkar *n.* red panda
→ cf. *tcuŋku* ‘small’+ *donba* ‘face’+ *karmo* ‘white’

fiukpa *n.* owl (< WT རུག་པ་ ’ug pa)

i

i: *n.* grandmother (< ? East Bodish, cf. Dakpa *ei* (W), Bumthang ’*aila*)

j

ja₁ *part.* presentative particle (PREST)

ja₂ *m.* up (< WT ཡ་ *ya*)
→ see also *takpa* ‘up’

jâ *n.* yak bull (< WT གཡལ་ག ག.yag)

jakpo *adj.* clearly (< WT ཡག་པོ་ *yag po*)

janjer *n.* young yak; yak in its third year

janmo *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 *m.* upwards
→ cf. *ja*₂ ‘up’ + *ma* ‘down’, see also *jer* ‘upwards’, *jen* ‘upwards’

jena *cop.* assimilated existential copula (COP.EX.ASM)
→ cf. *jò* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO)

jer₁ *m.* 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)

jitce *n.* trust

jò *cop.* egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.EGO); also realized as [jòʔ] (< WT ཡོད་ *yod*)

jokor *n.* yak fur; before being processed to thread

joma *n.* blanket

jomat^haŋa *n.* mattress; also realized as [jomat^haŋa ~ jomt^haŋa] (cf. Dakpa *thanga* ‘blanket’(W))
→ cf. *joma* ‘blanket’

joŋ (IMP: ཅོ) *v.* come; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT ཡོང་, ཡོངས་, ཡོང་, (ཤོག་) *yong, yongs, yong, (shog)*)

jønp^hula *n.* jønp^hula (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’

‡

ja₁ *n.* wild goat (cf. Dakpa *kja* ‘goral’(B))

ja₂ *num.* hundred (< WT འབྲུ་ *brgya*)

ja:bu *n.* container for liquids made of animal skin

jaçi *num.* 400
→ syn. *çipja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jaçik *num.* 100
→ syn. *çikja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jadyn *num.* 700
→ syn. *dynja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jagu *num.* 900
→ syn. *gupja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jaje *num.* 800
→ syn. *jeja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jakpa *adj.* fat (< WT རྒྱལ་པ་ *rgyags pa*)

jaliŋ *n.* type of flute; made out of bamboo
→ cf. *liju* ‘flute’

jamtso *n.* ocean (< WT རྒྱ་མཚོ་ *rgya mtsho*)

janða *n.* 1) beard 2) whiskers (cf. Dakpa *jändrā* (D))

japî *num.* 200
→ syn. *jîja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

janá *num.* 500
→ syn. *ŋápja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jap (IMP: *ɟop*) *v.* do; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT རྒྱབ་, བརྒྱབ་, བརྒྱབ་, རྒྱབ་ *rgyab, brgyab, brgyab, rgyob*)
→ see also *taŋ*₂ ‘do’

jasum *num.* 300
→ syn. *sumja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jaɽuk *num.* 600
→ syn. *ɽukja*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

je₁ *num.* eight; possibly features a rising tone (< WT བརྒྱད་ *brgyad*)

je₂ *v.* laugh (< ? WT དགོད་ *dgod*)
= **je** *clt. n.* agentive (AGT) (< WT གྱིས་ *gyis*)

jebo *n.* king (< WT རྒྱལ་པོ་ *rgyal po*)
→ see also *jemo* ‘queen’

jeja *num.* 800 (< WT བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ *brgyad brgya*)
→ syn. *jaje*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘hundred’

jekap *n.* country (cf. Dzongkha རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ *gākhap* (TSH&D))

jeloŋ *n.* monk (< WT དགེ་སློང་ *dge slong*)

jemo *n.* queen
→ cf. female formative *mo*₂, see also *jebo* ‘king’

jen₁ *adv.* upwards; steep incline (< WT རྒྱེན་ *gyen*)
→ see also *jema* ‘upwards’

jen₂ *n.* ornament (< WT རྒྱན་ *rgyan*)

jenkur *n.* responsibility (< WT འགན་ ~ འགན་ 'gang ~ ‘burden of an office’ + ?)
→ see also *k^hâ* ‘responsibility’

-jeraŋ *sfx. n.* all of

jetçitpo *adj.* important

jop *v.* do (IMP)
→ *jap* ‘do’

jop^ho *adv.* 1) quickly 2) soon (< ? WT མགྱོགས་པ་ *mgyogs pa* ‘quick’)

jop^hitse *n.* *jop^hitse* (place name); name of a mountain near Merak
→ cf. *tsé* ‘top’

ju *n.* wealth (< WT རྒྱ་ *rgyu* ‘matter, substance’)

jupaŋ *n.* stick

jur *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: k^ho) *v.* block (< WT འགོགས་, བཀག་, དགག་, རོག་ 'gegs, bkag, dgag, khog)

→ see also *sup* 'block'

kám (IMP: k^hom) *v.* dry (< WT སྐམ་, བསྐམས་, བསྐམ་, སྐྱམས་ *skem, bskams, bskam, skoms*)

kamku *n.* hill partridge

kango *n.* old person

→ cf. *katpo* 'old'(M), *kanmo* 'old'(F)

kanmo *adj.* old (F) (< WT བློ་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 རྩེ་པ་ *rkang pa*)

→ see also *cap₁* 'leg, foot'(HON)

kaŋca *n.* footprint

→ cf. *kaŋba* 'leg, foot'

kaŋgo *n.* short trousers

→ cf. *kaŋba* 'leg, foot'

kaŋjo *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 གཤམ་ *gab* 'conceal, hide, cover')

kapiliŋ *n.* skull

kapso *m.* during

kaptan *n.* mattress for animals; mattress put on animalbacks for transportation

kark^ho *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*)

kart^he *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 བློ་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 བྱི་ *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 བོ་(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 རྩོལ་, (བ)རྩོལ་, བརྩོལ་, རྩོལ་ *rko*, (b)*kros*, *brko*, *rkos*)

kò *n.* head (< WT མགོ་ *mgo*)
→ see also *u* ‘head’(HON)

koçur *n.* sparrow

koḍoṅtum *n.* squirrel

koktar *adj.* strong

koktçaŋ *n.* type of fruit

kolam *n.* clothes (< WT གོས་ *gos* ‘clothes’ + ?)
→ see also *namsa* ‘clothes’(HON)

komçinp^haŋgo *n.* bat (< ? + ?WT ཕ་ཕང་ *pha wang* ‘bat’)

kom^heŋ *n.* skin used for mattresses

komtçen *n.* religious person who performs rituals (< WT སྒོམ་ཆེན་ *sgom chen*)

→ see also *komtçensabur* ‘type of rodent’

komtçensabur *n.* type of rodent
→ see also *komtçen* ‘religious person’

kon *v.* wrap (< WT སྒོལ་, བསྒོལ་, བསྒོལ་, སྒོལ་ *skon*, *bskon*, *bskon*, *skon* ‘dress someone’)

koŋa *n.* egg (< WT སྒོང་ *sgo nga*)

koŋba *n.* household

koŋp^ha *n.* millet; also realized as [koŋp^hə ~ koŋp] (< Dirang Tshangla, cf. *kong-pu* ‘millet’)

koŋsan *n.* millet-based dish
→ cf. *koŋp^ha* ‘millet’+ *san* ‘polenta-like dish’

koŋtç^he *n.* millet powder
→ cf. *koŋp^ha* ‘millet’+ *tç^he* ‘powder’

kop₁ *n.* cup (< English *cup*)

kop₂ *v.* cover (IMP)
→ *kap* ‘cover’

kopi *n.* cabbage (< Nepali कोपी *kopī*)

kor *rn.* about (< ? WT རྩོར་ *kor* ‘round’)

koren *n.* Korean (< English *Korean*)

kot *n.* coat (< English *coat*)

koŋin *n.* organization (< Dzongkha འགོ་འདྲེན་ *godren* (TSH&D))

ku (IMP: *kui*) *v.* steal (< WT རྩུ་, (བ)རྩུས་, བརྩུ་, རྩུས་ *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 ལུགས་པ་ *lkugs pa*)

kunma *n.* thief (< WT རྩུན་མ་ *rkun ma*)

→ syn. *kuntur*

► **kunma jap** *v.* steal
→ *kunma* ‘thief’+ *jap* ‘do’

kuntur *n.* thief
→ syn. *kunma*

kupur *n.* corpse (HON) (< WT སྐུ *sku* ‘body (HON)’ + WT སྐུ་ལྗོངས་ *spur* ‘corpse (HON)’)

→ see also *rò* ‘corpse’

kuruj *n.* festivity

kusuk *n.* body (HON) (< WT སྐུ་གཟུགས་ *sku gzug*)

→ see also *kú* ‘body’(HON), *luspa* ‘body’

kutpa *n.* thread (< WT སྐུ་ལྗོངས་ *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’

k^h

k^ha *n.* 1) mouth 2) snout (< WT ཁ་ *kha*)

→ see also *çè:* ‘mouth’(HON)

k^hâ *n.* responsibility (< WT ཁ་གཏོག་ *khag*)

→ see also *jenkur* ‘responsibility’

k^ha:₁ *n.* snow (< WT ཁ་(བ་) *kha (ba)*)

k^ha:₂ *num.* score (20) (< WT ཁལ་ *khal*)

k^ha:ma *n.* kidney; also realized as [k^ha:mə ~ k^ha:m] (< WT མཁལ་མ་ *m Khal ma*)

k^haça *n.* musk deer; also realized as [k^haça ~ k^haç] (cf. Dakpa *kha sha* ‘deer’(W))

k^haçi *num.* 80; lit. ‘four scores’

k^haçi daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 90; lit. ‘four scores and ten’

k^haçik *num.* 20; lit. ‘one score’

k^haçik daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 30; lit. ‘one score and ten’

k^hado *n.* colour (< WT ཁ་དོག་ *kha dog*)

k^hadyn *num.* 140; lit. ‘seven scores’

k^hadyn daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 150; lit. ‘seven scores and ten’

k^hagu *num.* 180; lit. ‘nine scores’

k^hagu daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 190; lit. ‘nine scores and ten’

k^haje *num.* 160; lit. ‘eight scores’

k^haje daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 170; lit. ‘eight scores and ten’

k^han *adj.* alike; like, similar

→ see also *tau* ‘alike’

k^hañî *num.* 40; lit. ‘two scores’

k^hañî daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 50; lit. ‘two scores and ten’

k^haŋá daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 110; lit. ‘five scores and ten’

k^hapse *n.* fried biscuit (< Dzongkha ཁ་ཕུ་མ་ *khapze* (TSH&D))

k^hasum *num.* 60; lit. ‘three scores’

k^hasum daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 70; lit. ‘three scores and ten’

k^haŋtuk *num.* 120; lit. ‘six scores’

k^haŋtuk daŋ tçut^hamba *num.* 130; lit. ‘six scores and ten’

k^he₁ *n.* potato (cf. Dakpa *khe* (W))

k^he₂ *pro.* you; second person singular agentive/genitive pronoun (2SG.AGT / 2SG.GEN)

→ see also *c^ho* ‘you’

k^he₃ *v.* bring (IMP)

→ *c^hoŋ* ‘bring’

= **k^he** *clt. n.* focus (FOC)

k^hekpa *n.* 1) ice 2) glacier (< WT རྒྱལ་མ་པ་ *khyags pa*)

k^heŋba *adj.* full (< WT འབྲིངས་, བེངས་, འབྲིངས་, འབྲིངས་ *'khengs, khengs, 'khengs, 'khengs* ‘be full’)

k^her *v.* take; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འབྲེར་ *'khyer*)

k^heri *n.* 1) landslide 2) soil erosion (cf. Dakpa *kari-bagu* (W))

k^hersaŋ *n.* type of tree

k^hi *pro.* you (plural); second person plural pronoun (2PL) (< WT རྒྱེད་ *khyed*)

k^himbu *n.* spoon

k^ho₁ *pro.* he; masculine third person singular pronoun (3SG.M) (< WT ཁོ་ *kho*)

k^ho₂ *v.* block (IMP)

→ *kak* ‘block’

k^ho: *v.* boil (< WT འབྲོལ་, བྲོལ་, འབྲོལ་, འབྲོལ་ *'khol, khol, 'khol, 'khol*)

k^hoe *pro.* he, his; masculine third person singular agentive/genitive pronoun (3SG.M.AGT / 3SG.M.GEN)

k^holokpa *n.* knee (cf. Dakpa *kholokpa* (W))

k^hom *v.* dry (IMP)

→ *kám* ‘dry’

k^hombaŋ *n.* step

k^hoŋ *pro.* they; third person plural pronoun (3PL) (< WT ཁོང་ *khong*)

k^hopa *n.* 1) bark 2) shell 3) fruit peel (cf. Dakpa *sheng-khopa* ‘bark’(W))

k^hu *n.* sperm (< WT རྩུ་བ་ *khu ba*)

k^huꣳ- *px.num.* times; bound morpheme preceding numerals

k^hur *v.* carry (< WT འབྲུར་, བྲུར་~བཀྲུར་, བྲུར་~བཀྲུར་, འབྲུར་ *'khur, khur ~ bkur, khur ~ bkur, 'khor*)

k^hus *n.* load

→ cf. *k^hur* ‘carry’

1

= **la** *clt. n.* dative (DAT); also realized as [l] (< WT ལ་ *la*)

lá *n.* rhododendron leaf

là *n.* mountain pass (< WT ལ་ *la*)

► **là jap** *v.* cross a mountain pass
→ *là* ‘mountain pass’ + *jap* ‘do’

laꣳu *n.* garlic; also realized as [laꣳu ~ laꣳ] (< Nepali लसुन *lasun* or Hindi लहसुन *lahasun*)

lakpa *n.* 1) arm 2) hand (< WT ལག་པ་ *lag pa*)

→ see also *tꣳhâ* ‘arm, hand’(HON)

= **lal** *clt. n.* paucal (PAUC1)

→ syn. = *baxçik*

lam *n.* path; also realized as [lamga] (< WT ལམ་ *lam*)

lama *n.* lama (< WT བལ་མ་ *bla ma*)

lamdo *n.* luck

lamsaŋ *adv.* immediately

lan (IMP: loŋ) *v.* rise (< WT ལང་, ལངས་, ལང་, ལོང(ས)་ *lang, langs, lang, long(s)*)

→ see also *cean* ‘rise’(HON)

lanja *n.* kettle

lanptɕ^he *n.* elephant (< WT གལང་པོ་ཚེ་ *glang po che*)

lap (IMP: loϕ) *v.* say (< WT ལབ་ *lab*)

→ see also *suŋ* ‘say’(HON)

latpa *n.* brain (< WT ལྡན་པ་ *klad pa*)

latɕa *n.* payment (< WT གལ་ *gla* ‘pay’ + ?)

latɕi *n.* glue; also realized as [latɕi ~ latɕ] (< ? + ?WT སྤྱིན་ *spyin* ‘glue’)

→ see also *pin* ‘glue’

lau *adj.* easy (< WT ལྷོ་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་, བལོངས་, བལང་, ལོན་ *len, blongs, blang, lon*)

lenij *n.* calf (leg)

lesi *n.* banana (< Tshangla *lesi* ~ *laise*)

likpa *n.* testicle (< WT ལླིག་པ་ *rliŋ pa*)

linju *n.* flute (< WT གལིང་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 ལྲོག་, ལོག་, ལྲོག་, ལོག་ *ldog, log, ldog, log*)

→ cf. *lo₁* ‘again’

lò *n.* year (< WT ལོ་ *lo*)

lò₁ *n.* light; also realized as [loʔ] (< WT ལློག་ *glog*)

lò₂ *v.* read (< WT ལློག་, (བ)ལླགས་, (བ)ལླག་, ལློག་ *klog, (b)klags, (b)klog, klog*)

lò: *n.* lung (< WT ལློ་བ་ *glo ba*)

loju *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)

→ *lan* ‘rise’

lopon *n.* teacher (< WT ལློབ་དཔོན་ *slob dpon*)

loϕ *v.* say (IMP)

→ *lap* ‘say’

lú *n.* song (< WT གལུ་ *glu*)

► **lú jap** *v.* sing

→ *lú* ‘song’ + *jap* ‘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 ལུག་, བལུགས་, བལུག་, བལུག(ས)་ *ldug, blugs, blug, blug(s)*)

lukçi *n.* shepherd (< WT ལུག་རྗེ་ *lug rdzi*)

→ cf. *luk*₁ ‘sheep’

lukse *n.* tradition (< WT ལུགས་ *lugs* ‘way, manner, established manner’ + WT སློལ་ *srol* ‘custom, habit’, but phonology indicates an East Bodish or Tshangla borrowing; expected regular, but unattested Brokpa reflex: **lukṣo:*)

luktçur *n.* sheep fence

→ cf. *luk*₁ ‘sheep’ + *tçur* ‘animal fence’

lum *n.* alcoholic drink made out of fermented rice

lumba *n.* wind (< WT ལྷུང་ *rlung*)

luṅba *n.* region; also realized as [lumba] (< WT ལུང་པ་ *lung pa* ‘valley’)

luṅkor *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’)

l

lǎ *n.* god (< WT ལྷ་ *lha*)

la:m *n.* rest (< WT ལྷག་མ་ *lhag ma*)

la:p^ha *n.* frost; also realized as [la:p^hə ~ la:ɸ] (< WT ལྷག་(ས)་པ་ *lhag(s) pa* ‘cold wind’)

ládǐ *n.* religious mural; also realized as [labri] (< Dzongkha ལྷ་བྲིས་ *lhadri* ‘(religious) painting’ (TSH&D))

→ cf. *lǎ* ‘god’ + *ǐ* ‘write’

lák^haŋ *n.* monastery (< WT ལྷ་ཁང་ *lha khang*)

→ cf. *lǎ* ‘god’

lam *n.* shoe (< WT ལྷམ་ *lham*)

laŋp^ha *n.* vapour; also realized as [laŋp^hə ~ laŋɸ] (< WT ལྷངས་པ་ *rlangs pa*)

ló *n.* south (< WT ལྷོ་ *lho*)

m

ma *m.* down (< WT མ་ *ma*)

ma- *px* *v.* past, imperative and adhortative negation (NEG) (< WT མ་ *ma* ‘past/ imperative negation’)

-ma *sfx.* female marker (< WT མ་ *ma*)

→ see also female formative *mo*₂

mà *n.* wound (< WT མེ་ *rma*)

mâ *n.* war (< WT དམག་ *dmag*)

maçu *n.* scar (< WT མེ་ *rma* ‘wound’ + WT ལུམ་ *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 ལྷན་ *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. *man*₁ negative egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EGO)

manmo *n.* type of onion

mantuŋjur *n.* mantuŋjur (place name); village in Sakteng geok, located below boronmaj

manuŋ *cop.* negative modal equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EPI)

→ cf. *man*₁ negative egophoric equative copula (COP.EQ.NEG.EGO)

mánj *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’

mánjapa *n.* government intermediary; head of a geok who works as intermediary with the government

→ cf. *mánj* ‘group’ + *apa* ‘father’

maŋbo *adj.* 1) many, much 2) often (< WT མང་པོ་ *mang po*)

→ cf. *mánj* ‘group’, see also *çokçik* ‘many, much’, *tçin*₂ ‘many, much’

mánjkuruŋ *n.* type of festivity; religious festivity held in Sakteng every four years which involves naked dancing

→ cf. *mánj* ‘group’ + *kuruŋ* ‘festivity’

mánjle *n.* communal work; corresponds to Dzongkha འཇམ་གྱི་ལས་

→ cf. *mánj* ‘group’ + *leaka* ‘work’

mar *n.* butter (< WT མར་ *mar*)

marbo *adj.* red (< WT དམར་པོ་ *dmar po*)

martañ *n.* bag for butter; made out of animal skin

→ cf. *mar* ‘butter’

mato *adv.* only

matsa *adv.* almost

maŋau *adj.* 1) strange 2) unlike (following a noun marked with comitative = *daŋ*)

→ cf. *ma-* negation (NEG) + *tau* ‘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. *mè*₁ negative egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EGO)

megam *n.* chin (cf. Dirang Tshangla *gam-thi*)

meja *m.* downwards

→ cf. *ma* ‘down’ + *ja*₂ ‘up’, see also *t^hur* ‘downwards’

meme *n.* grandfather (< Tshangla or East Bodish *meme*)

memsa *n.* rifle

► **memsa taŋ** *v.* shoot

→ *memsa* ‘rifle’ + *taŋ*₂ ‘do’

mena *cop.* negative assimilated existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.ASM)
→ cf. *mè*₁ negative egophoric existential copula (COP.EX.NEG.EGO)

menba *n.* birthmark

mento *n.* flower (< WT མེན་རྟོག་ *men tog*)

merak *n.* merak (place name); name of a Brokpa village, Merak
→ cf. *mè*₂ ‘fire’+ *sa* ‘burn’

merakpa *n.* person from Merak
→ cf. *merak* ‘merak’+ derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

mi- *px.* *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 *tçen*₂ ‘eye’(HON)

mík *v.* swallow (< ? WT མིད་ *mid*)

mikçé: *n.* eyeglasses
→ cf. *mik* ‘eye’+ *çé:* ‘glass’

mikpa *n.* hoof (< WT མིག་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 *t^huta* ‘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*)

moçuk *n.* female juniper
→ cf. female formative *mo*₂, see also *p^hoçuk* ‘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 *mo*₂ + = *raŋ* reflexive (REFL), see also *p^horeŋ* ‘bachelor’

motçip^ha *n.* woman
→ cf. female formative *mo*₂

múk (IMP: múx) *v.* bite (< WT མུག་, མུགས་, མུག་, མུག་ *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 མུར་ *rmur* ‘gnarl and bite each other (of dogs)’)

murp^hi *n.* murp^hi (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 འ་ *na*)

-na *sfx. v.* conditional (COND) (< WT འ་ *na*)

na *n.* nose (< WT སྐ་ *sna*)
→ see also ཚམ་ *'nose'*(HON)

na: *n.* forest (< WT འགས་ *nags*)

na:si *n.* yak herder (< WT འགས་རྩི་ *gnag rdzi* 'cattle herder')

nagi *n.* 1) pain 2) sickness

nakpo *adj.* black (< WT འག་པོ་ *nag po*)

nam *n.* 1) sky 2) rain (< WT འགས་ *gnam* 'sky')
→ see also གུལ་ *'sky'*(HON)

nâm *n.* muscle

nama *n.* 1) sister-in-law
2) daughter-in-law (< WT མཉམ་མ་ *mna ma* 'daughter-in-law')

namçi *n.* weather
→ cf. *nam* 'sky'

namçø *n.* ear (< WT འམ་ཚོག་ *nam chog*)
→ see also *jnën* 'ear'(HON)

namsa *n.* clothes (HON)
→ see also *kolam* 'clothes'

naŋ₁ *m.* inside (< WT འང་ *nang*)

naŋ₂ *v.* give (HON); takes a honorific agent (< WT འགོང་, འགོང་(ས་), འགོང་, འགོང་ *gnang, gnang(s), gnang, gnong*)
→ see also *p^hu₂* 'give'(HON), *ter* 'give'

naŋça *n.* entrails
→ cf. *naŋ₁* 'inside'+ ཚམ་ 'meat'

naŋma *n.* type of conifer

natpa *n.* patient (< WT འདྲ་པ་ *nad pa* 'sick (person)')

-ne *sfx. v.* converb 2 (CVB2)
→ cf. =*ne* ablative (ABL)

=**ne** *clt. n.* ablative (ABL) (< WT འས་ *nas*)

ne: *v.* land

ne:₁ *n.* barley (< WT འས་ *nas*)

ne:₂ *n.* disease (< WT འད་ *nad*)

neçiŋ *adv.* a few years ago
→ cf. *neniŋ* 'last year'+ *çeŋiŋ* 'year before last year'

nekap *n.* idea (< ? Dzongkha འགས་སྐབས་ *näkap* (TSH&D))

nembo *n.* woven fabric

nemtodøŋ *n.* black jacket; traditional Brokpa garment worn by women

nenda *n.* peer; person of the same age

neniŋ *adv.* last year (< WT འ་འོང་ *na niŋ*)

neptaŋ *n.* flea (< Tshangla, cf. Dechenling Dungsam *neptang*, Bjokapakha *neptaŋpai*)

netok *n.* network (< English *network*)

niŋ *n.* heart (< WT སྐྱིང་ *snying*)

niŋtɕu *adj.* beautiful

nirku *n.* wrinkle (< ? WT གཉེར་མ་
gnyer ma)

nò: *n.* 1) younger brother 2) younger
male parallel cousin (< WT ལུ་བོ་ *nu bo*)

no:mo *n.* 1) younger sister
2) younger female cousin (< WT ལུ་མོ་
nu mo)

nor *n.* cattle (< WT འོར་ *nor*)

numa *n.* 1) breast 2) udder (< WT
ལུ་མ་ *nu ma*)

numu *n.* night; also realized as
[numu ~ num] (< WT ལུ་བོ་ *nub mo*
'evening' or WT འམ་ *nam* 'night')

nup *n.* west (< WT ལུ་བ་ *nub*)

ཉ

ja (IMP: jo) *v.* sleep (< WT ཉལ་, ཉལ་,
ཉལ་, ཉོལ་ *nyal, nyal, nyal, nyol*)

jà *n.* fish (< WT ཉ་ *nya*)

ja:ɕuŋla *n.* ja:ɕuŋla (place name);
name of a mountain pass between
Sakteng and Merak
→ cf. *jeak* 'be tired'+ *la* 'mountain
pass'

jambu *adv.* together; also realized
as [jam] (< WT ཉམ་བོ་ *nyam po*)

jamtɕuŋ *adj.* 1) simple-minded
2) calm
→ cf. *tɕuŋku* 'small'

japa *n.* fisher
→ cf. *jà* 'fish'+ derivative
affiliation marker *-pa*

je *pro.* I, my; first person singular
agentive/genitive pronoun (1SG.AGT /
1SG.GEN)

→ cf. *jà* 'I'

je:₁ *n.* snare trap (< WT ལྷི་~ ལྷི་ *snyi*
~ *rnyi*)

je:₂ *n.* thresher

je: *n.* thigh (< ? WT མཉེལ་ *mnyel*)

jeak (IMP: jeax) *v.* be tired (< ?)

jeax *v.* be tired (IMP)
→ *jeak* 'be tired'

jen *v.* listen (< WT ཉམ་, ཉམ་, ཉམ་, ཉོམ་
nyan, nyan, nyan, nyon)

jen *n.* ear (HON) (< WT ལྷན་ *snyan*)
→ see also *namɕo* 'ear'

jeran *pro.* we (and you); first person
plural inclusive pronoun (1PL.INCL)
→ cf. *ji* 'we (not you)'+ = *ran*
reflexive (REFL)

ji *pro.* we (not you); first person
plural exclusive pronoun (1PL.EXCL)
(< ? WT ཇོ་ *nged*)

ji *num.* two (< WT གཉིས་ *gnyis*)

ji:ja *num.* 200 (< WT གཉིས་བརྒྱ་ *gnyis*
brgya)
→ syn. *janí*, cf. *ja₂* 'hundred'

jik *n.* sleep (< ? WT གཉིད་ *gnyid*)
→ see also *ja* 'sleep'(v.)

jima *n.* 1) sun 2) day 3) saturday
(< WT ཉི་མ་ *nyi ma* 'sun')

nimido *n.* lunch
→ cf. *jima* 'day'+ = *gi* genitive
(GEN) + *tó* 'food', see also *sara* 'lunch'

nɪŋba *adj.* old; referring to inanimate objects (< WT རྩོད་པ་ *rnying pa*)

→ see also *tɕetpo* ‘old’

nɪpa *num.* second
→ cf. *nɪ* ‘two’ + derivative affiliation marker *-pa*

nɔ₁ *v.* buy (< WT རྩོད་, རྩོས་, རྩོ, རྩོས་ *nyo, nyos, nyo, nyos*)

nɔ₂ *v.* sleep (IMP)
→ *na* ‘sleep’

nɔ:ɕe *n.* animal skin; only used in Sakteng-Brokpa
→ syn. *paktsa*

nɔ:le *n.* maize dish; maize dumplings filled with cheese

nɔŋ *v.* taste (< WT མྱོང་, མྱངས་ ~ མྱོང་, མྱང་, མྱོང་ *myong, myangs ~ myong, myang, myong*)

nɔma *n.* type of bamboo (< WT མྱུག་མ་ *smyug ma*)

ŋ

ŋá₁ *n.* drum (< WT རྩོ་ *rnga*)

ŋá₂ *num.* five (< WT ལྷ་ *lŋga*)

ŋà *pro.* I; first person singular (1SG) (< WT ང་ *nga*)

ŋam *n.* sound (cf. Dakpa *ngau* (W))

ŋama *n.* yak tail hair (< WT རྩོ་མ་ *rnga ma* ‘(yak) tail’)

ŋápja *num.* 500 (< WT ལྷ་བརྒྱ་ *lŋga brgya*)

→ syn. *jaŋá*, cf. *ja₂* ‘hundred’

ŋardoŋ *n.* shin

ŋarmo *adj.* sweet (< WT མེད་པ་ ~ ངར་པོ་ *mngar pa ~ ngar mo*)

ŋasor *n.* sickle

ŋò *n.* shrubbery

ŋoɕe *v.* recognize (< WT རྩོ་ *ngo* ‘face, air, look’)

→ cf. *ɕe* ‘know’

ŋona *n.* sweat

ŋonbo *adj.* blue (< WT སངོན་པོ་ *sngon po*)

ŋone *adj.* real (< WT དངོས་ *dngos* ‘real(ity)’ + ? ablative *ne*)

ŋonemani *adj.* not real
→ cf. *ŋone* ‘real’

ŋontɕen *adv.* before (< WT སངོན་ *sngon* ‘before’)

→ cf. *ŋontɕo* ‘front’

ŋontɕo *n.* front (< WT སངོན་ *sngon* ‘before’)

→ cf. *tɕʰò* ‘side’

ŋu (IMP: *ŋui*) *v.* cry (< WT ལྷ་, ལྷས་, ལྷ, ལྷ་ *ngu, ngus, ngu, ngu*)

ŋú: *n.* silver (< WT དངུལ་ *dngul*)

ŋui *v.* cry (IMP)
→ *ŋu* ‘cry’

O

o- *px.* 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 ལྷ་ *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 ལྷོ་མ་སྟོ་ (DDC))
- one** *part.* and then
→ presumably proximal deictic
root *o-* + = *ne* ablative (ABL)
- oŋ** *adj.* alike; like, similar
→ see also *tau* ‘alike’, *k^han* ‘alike’
- ort^hoŋ** *n.* throat (inside)
(< Tshangla, cf. Dirang *or-tong*, Yutrong Dungsam ‘*ortong*, Bjokapakha *ötong* (cf. WT ལྷོ་ལྷོང་ *o ldong*))
→ see also *ba:* ‘throat (outside)’
- oti** *pro.* this; demonstrative proximal pronoun (DEM.PROX), frequently realized as [ot]
- otçins** *adv.* thus
→ possibly *otçin* + *se* reportative (REP), see also *oŋo* ‘thus’
- oŋo** *adv.* thus
→ see also *otçins* ‘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 ལ་ *pa*)

- pà** *n.* cow (< WT འ་ *ba*)
- pâ** *n.* curry (< WT སྤྲེགས་ *spags* ‘sauce, food’)
- pà:** *n.* wool (< WT འལ་ *bal*)
- pa:tu** *n.* parrot
- pajo** *n.* bowl; also realized as [paʝoʔ]
- pak** (IMP: pox) *v.* separate
- paktsa** *n.* animal skin (cf. Dakpa *paktsa* ‘animal leather jacket’(W))
→ syn. *no:çe*
- paku** *n.* purse (cf. Dirang Tshangla *pakou* ‘money bag’)
- palan** *n.* bottle; made out of bamboo, contains ca. 1 litre
- pán** *n.* grassy plain (< WT སྤང་ *spang*)
- pap** (IMP: poʃ) *v.* go down (< WT འབབ་, བབ(ས), འབབ་, འབྲོབ་ ‘*bab*, *bab(s)*, ‘*bab*, ‘*bob*)
→ see also *p^hap* ‘take down’
- pap^ha** *n.* skin; also realized as [pap^ha ~ paʃ] (< WT ལགས་ལ་ *pags pa* ‘skin, hide’)
- par₁** *n.* photo (cf. Dzongkha ལཱ་ *pâ*, Tshangla and East Bodish *par*)
- par₂** *rn.* middle (< WT འར་ *bar*)
- parparçun** *adv.* sometimes
→ syn. *tç^henle*, cf. *par₂* ‘middle’+ *çun* ‘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’

patan *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 *-p^he* ~ *-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

petca *n.* religious texts; also realized as [petca ~ petc] (< WT དཔེ་ཆ་ *dpe cha*)

petse *n.* sand (< Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha, Dungsam *betsa*)

piçu *n.* pants

pidju *n.* video (< English *video*)

pin *n.* glue; made from animal skin (< WT སྤྱིན་ *spyin*)
→ see also *latçi* ‘glue’

pju *n.* young yak; yak in its first year (< WT བེ་ལུ་ *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

pomtçikpa *n.* female only child
→ cf. *bomo* ‘daughter’+ *tçik* ‘one’, see also *putçikpa* ‘male only child’

ponpon *n.* chat (cf. Dakpa *pong-pong* (W))

► **ponpon jap** *v.* chat
→ *ponpon* ‘chat’+ *jap* ‘do’

poϕ *v.* go down (IMP)
→ *pap* ‘go down’

pox *v.* separate (IMP)
→ *pak* ‘separate’

pra₁ *n.* cliff; also realized as [pra?] (< WT བྱག་ *brag*)

pra₂ (IMP: pro) *v.* cut (< ? WT འབྲེག་, བྲེག་(ས་), འབྲེག་, བྲེག་(ས་) *'breg*, *breg(s)*, *'breg*, *brog(s)*)

pre₁ *n.* measure container (< WT རྩེ་ *bre* ‘unit of measure’)

pre₂ *v.* scratch (< WT འབྲོད་, བྲོད་, འབྲོད་, བྲོད་ *'brad*, *brad*, *'brad*, *brod*)

pre: *n.* uncooked rice (< WT འབྲས་ *'bras*)

preaŋ *n.* hut

preaŋga *n.* chest (< WT བྱང་ *brang* + ?)

premo *n.* 1) finger 2) toe (cf. Dakpa *'laprimo:* (B, Tawang dialect))

preŋba *adj.* poor; also realized as [preŋbo]

prep *n.* berry

primso *n.* yak crossbreed; male first generation crossbreed from *goleŋ* and *tçux*

→ cf. *sò* ‘male yak hybrid’

primsono *n.* yak crossbreed; female first generation crossbreed from *goleŋ* and *tçux*

→ cf. *somo* ‘female yak hybrid’

pro₁ *n.* weed

pro₂ *v.* cut (IMP)

→ *pra*₂ ‘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 བྱུག་ *brug* ‘flow, stream, gush’)

→ see also *ri* ‘fall over’

pú *n.* 1) body hair 2) fur (< WT སྤྱ་ *spu*)

pulu *n.* feather (< WT སྤྱ་ *spu* + ?)

puḷam *n.* traditional shoe

→ cf. *ḷam* ‘shoe’

punbo *n.* moss

puntsen *n.* 1) sibling 2) relative (< ? WT སྤྱ་མཚེད་ *spun mched*)

punḡba *n.* donkey (< ? WT བོང་བུ་ *bong bu*)

púnḡban *n.* shoulder (< WT དབྱུང་པ་ *dbung pa*)

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

puto *n.* buckwheat noodles

putçikpa *n.* male only child

→ see also *pomtçikpa* ‘female only child’

p^h

p^ha *rn.* there (< WT །་ *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 ཕ་མ་ *pha ma*)

→ cf. *apa* ‘father’ + *ama* ‘mother’

p^hap (IMP: p^hop) *v.* take down (< WT འབྲེབས་, ཕབ་, དབབ་, རོབ་ ’*bebs*, *phab*, *dbab*, *phob*)

→ see also *pap* ‘go down’

p^hara *n.* wolf (< WT ཕར་བ་ *phar ba* ‘wild dog’)

p^hargan *n.* 1) entrance 2) hallway

p^hatço *n.* other side

→ cf. *p^ha* ‘there’ + *tç^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 རོ་ *pho*)

p^ho: *n.* bird chest

p^hoçuk *n.* male juniper

→ cf. male formative *p^ho*₂, see also *moçuk* ‘female juniper’

p^hok (IMP: p^ho) *v.* hit (< WT ཕོག་, འཕོག་, རོག་, ཕོག་ *phog*, ’*phog*, *phog*, *phog*)

p^hon *n.* phone (< English *phone*)

p^hoŋga *n.* size; referring to people
→ see also *bomtɕuŋ* ‘size’

p^hop *v.* take down (IMP)
→ *p^hap* ‘take down’

p^horeŋ *n.* bachelor
→ cf. male formative *p^ho₂* + =*raŋ*
reflexive (REFL), see also *moreŋ*
‘bachelorette’

p^hoŋaŋ *n.* palace (< WT ཕོ་བླང་ *pho*
brang)

p^hre₁ *adv.* horizontal; on a hillside
(< WT ཕྱོད་ *phred*)

p^hre₂ *v.* meet

p^hreliŋu *n.* transverse flute (< WT
ཕྱོད་གལིང་ *phred gling* ‘flute’)
→ cf. *p^hre₁* ‘horizontal’ + *liŋu* ‘flute’

p^hrin *n.* oral message (< WT ཕྱིན་
phrin ‘message’)

p^hrokpa *n.* basket; made out of
woven bamboo and carried on the
back

p^hrugu *n.* child (< WT ཕྱུ་གུ་ *phru gu*)

p^hu *n.* village deity; sacred place
uphill of a settlement, such as a grove
or boulder
→ see also *da₂* ‘village deity’

p^hu₁ *n.* small container (< ? WT ཕུལ་
phul ‘a handful’)

p^hu₂ *v.* give (HON); takes a honorific
recipient (< WT འཕུལ་ *phul* ‘give’)
→ see also *naŋ₂* ‘give’(HON), *ter*
‘give’

p^hu₃ *v.* blow (< WT འབྲུད་, བྱམ་~
ཕུ(ས་), དབྲུ, ཕུ(ས་) *'bud, bus ~ phu(s),*
dbu, phu(s))

p^hukpa *n.* cave (< WT ཕུག་པ་ *phug pa*)

r

rà₁ *n.* goat (< WT ར་ *ra*)

rà₂ *n.* root (< WT རྩ་བ་~ རྩད་ *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

rè: *n.* thin cloth

renəŋ *n.* type of conifer

ri *v.* fall over (< WT འབྲིལ་, གྲིལ་,
འབྲིལ་, འབྲིལ་ *'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’)

riŋt^huŋ *n.* height; referring to people
→ cf. *riŋbo* ‘tall’ + *t^huŋ₁* ‘short’

rijtse *n.* height; referring to inanimate objects
→ cf. *rijbo* ‘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 *tâ*₂ ‘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 *ɕoŋ* ‘valley’

rù *n.* horn (< WT རུ་ རུ་ *ru ~ rwa*)

rù: *n.* snake (< WT རྩལ་ *sbrul*)

ruba *n.* anger (< ? WT རྩོལ་ *khro ba*)

rube *n.* vine; also realized as [rube?] (< ? Dzongkha རོལ་འབྲེལ་(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་ བྲངས་ *zag grangs* ‘date’)

sà₂ *n.* fruit seed (< WT ས་བོན་ *sa bon*)

sâ *n.* small bamboo; also realized as [sâ?]

sa₁ (IMP: so:) *v.* leak (< WT འཇག་, (ག)ཟགས་, གཟག་, འཇག་ ‘dzag, (g)zags, gzag, ‘dzag’)

sa₂ (IMP: so:) *v.* climb (< ? WT འཇོག་, འཇོགས་, འཇོག་, འཇོགས་ ‘dzeg, ‘dzegs, ‘dzeg, ‘dzogs ‘ascend’)

sarlum *n.* type of bee; builds hive underground

saga *n.* ginger (cf. Dzongkha ས་སྒ་ *saga* (WT), Khaling and Deothang Tshangla *saga*)

sakon *n.* seed

sakpiliŋ *n.* fish scale

sam (IMP: som) *v.* think (< WT སེམ་, སེམས་~ བསམས་, བསམ་, སེམ་ *sem, sems* ~ *bsams, bsam, som*)

san *n.* polenta-like dish

saŋ *adv.* tomorrow (< WT སང་ *sang*)

sange *n.* Buddha (< WT སངས་རྒྱུས་ *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

sâtean *n.* sâtean (place name); name of a Brokpa village, Sakteng

→ cf. *sâ* ‘small bamboo’+ *tean* ‘plain’

sâteanpa *n.* person from Sakteng

→ cf. *sâtean* ‘sâtean’+ 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 *t^hû* ‘mind’(HON)

semçin *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*)

seŋtçenkarmo *n.* Tibetan snow lion

→ cf. *seŋ* ‘lion’+ *tçen*₁ ‘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*)

serça *n.* hail (< WT སེར་བ་ *ser ba*)

serçunçamu *n.* type of mushroom

→ cf. *çamu* ‘mushroom’

sí *v.* cough

sì *n.* dzi bead (< WT གཟི་ *gzì*)

sigan *n.* toilet (cf. Dirang Tshangla *shis-kang*)

simā *n.* lash (< WT རྩེ་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 *siŋ-sur* (W))

sip^ha *n.* belly; also realized as [sip^ha ~ siϕ]

sir *v.* spin

sisī *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 མཚོ་ *mdzo*)

sô *n.* spring (< WT སོ་ག་~ སོ་ས་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 *mo*₂
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. *so*₁ ‘lie’
su *n.* pain (< WT ཟུག་ *zug*)
 ► **su jap** *v.* hurt
 → *su* ‘pain’+ *jap* ‘do’
sú *pro.* who (< WT ལུ་ *su*)
suk (IMP: *sux*) *v.* pierce (< WT འཇུགས་, བཇུགས་ ~ 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 རྩུབ་མ་ *rdzun ma*)
sumbe *adv.* from; all the way from X to Y

sumja *num.* 300
 → syn. *jasum*, cf. *ja*₂ ‘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 ལུབ་, (བ)ལུབས་, བལུབ་, ལུབ་ *sub, (b)subs, bsub, sub* ‘stop, cover, shut up, suppress, avoid, close’)
 → see also *kak* ‘block’
sux *v.* pierce (IMP)
 → *suk* ‘pierce’

ཤ

ṣa (IMP: *ṣo*) *v.* burn; transitive (< WT ལྷེག་, (བ)ལྷེགས་, བལྷེག་, (བ)ལྷེག(ས་) *sreg, (b)sregs, bsreg, (b)sreg(s)*)
 → see also *ts^hik* ‘burn’
ṣà *n.* 1) head hair 2) mane (< WT ལྷོ་ *skra*)
 → see also *uṭa* ‘head hair’(HON)
ṣa: (IMP: *ṣo:*) *v.* tear apart (< WT འདྲལ་ ~ ལྷལ་ ’dral ~ hral)
ṣamo *adj.* thin (< WT ལྷབ་མོ་ *srab mo*)
ṣanmu *n.* pea (< WT ལྷན་མ་ *sran ma*)
ṣaŋ *n.* weighing scale (< WT ལྷང་ *srang*)
ṣí *n.* first milk (colostrum); first milk produced by cattle after delivery of newborn (< WT ལྷི་མ་ *spri ma*)

sju *n.* monkey (< WT སྤྲེལ་ *spre*)
so *v.* burn (IMP)
 → *sa* ‘burn’
so: *v.* tear apart (IMP)
 → *sa:* ‘tear apart’
sokpu *n.* ant (cf. Dakpa *hrokpu* (B))
soktom *n.* type of small bear
 → *tom*₁ ‘bear’
suŋ *v.* guard (< WT སྤྲུང་, (བ)སྤྲུངས་, བསྤྲུང, (བ)སྤྲུང(ས) *srung*, (b)*srungs*, *bsrung*, (b)*srung(s)*)

t

tá₁ *n.* horse (< WT ཏྟ་ *rta*)
tá₂ (PST: *tê*, IMP: *t^ho*) *v.* look (< WT ལྟ་, བལྟས་, བལྟ་, ལྟོས་ ~ བལྟ་ *lta*, *bltas*, *blta*, *ltos* ~ *blta*)
tà *adv.* now (< WT དྲ་ *da*)
 → see also *tas* ‘now’
tâ₁ *n.* tiger (< WT ལྟག་ *stag*)
tâ₂ (IMP: *t^hô*) *v.* tie; referring to animals (< WT འདོགས་, བཏགས་, གདགས་(ས)་, ཐོགས་ *dogs*, *btags*, *gdag(s)*, *thogs*)
 → see also *rô* ‘tie’
tà: *n.* 1) moon 2) month (< WT ལྷ་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 *ja₂* ‘up’
tam₁ *n.* talk (< WT གཏམ་ *gtam*)
tam₂ *v.* knot

tamaçin *n.* rhododendron tree
tamba *n.* mud (< WT འདམ་ *dam* + ?)
tano *adv.* still
 → cf. *tà* ‘now’
tanor *n.* domestic animals; includes horses and cattle
 → cf. *tá₁* ‘horse’+ *nor* ‘cattle’
tansar *n.* bamboo mat (< WT ལྟག་ *stan* ‘mat’ + ?)
taŋ₁ *adv.* yesterday (< WT མདང་ *mdang*)
taŋ₂ (IMP: *ton*) *v.* do; also occurs as auxiliary verb marking intentional action (< WT གཏོང་, བཏང་, གཏང་, ཏོང་ *gtong*, *btang*, *gtang*, *tong* ‘let, make, cause’)
 → see also *ja*p ‘do’
taŋbo *adv.* first (< WT དང་པོ་ *dang po*)
 → see also *tanpa* ‘first’
taŋcim *adv.* a few days ago
 → cf. *taŋ₁* ‘yesterday’+ *cijim* ‘day before yesterday’
tanpa *num.* first
 → see also *taŋbo* ‘first’
tap (IMP: *t^hop*) *v.* sprinkle (< WT འདེབས་, བཏབ་, གཏབ་, ཐོབ་ *debs*, *btav*, *gtav*, *thob* ‘throw, strike’)
tapa *n.* wooden dishware; used for food transport
tara *n.* buttermilk (< WT དྲ་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)
→ *tá*₂ ‘look’

té: *n.* 1) navel 2) umbilical cord
(< WT ལྷེ་བ་ *lte ba*)

teṅ *n.* 1) plain 2) ground (< WT དང་ *dang* ‘meadow’)

teṅbaṅ *n.* roof

teṅmaṅ *n.* teṅmaṅ (place name);
village in Sakteng geok
→ cf. *teṅ* ‘plain’

telo *adv.* again
→ see also *lo*₁ ‘again’

ter (PST/IMP: *tçin*) *v.* give (< WT སྟེར་, བསྟེར་, བསྟེར་, སྟེར་ *ster, bster, bster, ster*)
→ see also *naṅ*₂ ‘give’(HON), *p^hu:*₂ ‘give’(HON)

terdo *n.* sharpening stone
→ cf. *do* ‘stone’

teri *n.* axe (< WT སྟེར་ རེ་ *sta re*)

terma *n.* type of water container;
made out of aluminium

tí (PST: *té*) *v.* pick up (< WT འདེག(ས), བཏེག(ས), གཏེག, ཐེག་ *'deg(s), bteg(s), gdeg, theg*)

tine *adv.* after that

tiṅbaṅ *n.* heel (< ? WT རྩིང་བ་ *rting ba*)

tiriṅ *adv.* today (< WT འདི་རིང་, དེ་རིང་ *'di ring, de ring*)

tiriṅsaṅ *adv.* nowadays
→ cf. *tiriṅ* ‘today’+ *saṅ* ‘tomorrow’

to (PST: *te*) *v.* stay; also occurs as
auxiliary verb (< WT ལྷོད་, བསདད་,

བསདད་, སདོད་ *sdod, bsdad, bsdad, sdod*)
→ see also *çuk*₂ ‘stay’(HON)

tó *n.* 1) cooked rice 2) food (< WT ལྷོ་ *lto*)

tô₁ *v.* pluck (< WT འཕྲོག་, བཏོགས་, བཏོག་, འཕྲོག་ *'thog, btogs, btog, 'thogs*)

tô₂ *v.* be hungry (< WT ལྷོགས་ *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 *taṅ*₂ ‘do’
→ see also *cur* ‘throw’, *tor* ‘throw’

tomtçuṅniṅkar *n.* white-chested
bear
→ cf. *tom*₁ ‘bear’+ *tçuṅku* ‘small’+
nij ‘heart’+ *karmo* ‘white’

ton₁ *n.* reason (< WT དོན་ *don* ‘sense,
meaning, intent’)
→ see also *tonda* ‘in order to’

ton₂ *n.* autumn (< WT ལྷོན་ *ston*)

tón (IMP: *t^hon*) *v.* 1) take out
2) show (< WT འདོན་, བཏོན་, གཏོན་, ཐོན་ *'don, bton, gdon, thon*)

tonda *m.* in order to
→ cf. *ton*₁ ‘reason’

toṅ₁ *num.* 1'000 (< WT ལྷོང་ *stong*)

toṅ₂ *v.* do (IMP)
→ *taṅ*₂ ‘do’

toptçe *n.* food (cf. Dakpa *topchay*
‘dish’(W))

tor *v.* throw (< WT གཏོར་ *gtor*)
→ see also *cur* ‘throw’, *tom*₂ ‘throw’

tox *v.* push (IMP)
→ *tok* ‘push’

tú *n.* vagina (< WT ལྷ་ *stu*)

tú: *n.* yak crossbreed; second generation crossbreed from *somo* and *jâ*

tú:so *n.* yak crossbreed; male third generation crossbreed from *tú:* and *goleŋ*
→ cf. *tú:* ‘yak crossbreed’ + *sò* ‘male yak hybrid’

tú:somo *n.* yak crossbreed; female third generation crossbreed from *tú:* and *goleŋ*
→ cf. *tú:* ‘yak crossbreed’ + *somo* ‘female yak hybrid’

tuk *cop.* acquired existential copula (COP.EX.ACQ) (< WT འདུག་ *’dug*)

tukpa *n.* excrement (< WT རྩལ་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: tuϕ) *v.* cut apart (< WT འཇུབ་, འཇུབས་, གཏུབ་, འཇུབ་ ~ གཏུབ་ *’thub, ’thubs, gtub, ’thub ~ btub* ‘cut into pieces’)

tuptoŋ *n.* anus
→ cf. *tukpa* ‘excrement’

tuϕ *v.* cut apart (IMP)
→ *tup* ‘cut apart’

turis *n.* tourist (< English *tourist*)

tytçen *n.* holiday (< WT དུས་ཚེན་ *dus chen* ‘festival’)
→ see also *tçyti* ‘holiday’

t^h

t^ha₁ *n.* endpoint (< WT མཐ་ *mtha* ‘end’)

t^ha₂ *v.* decide (< WT ཐག་བཅན་ *thag bcan*)

t^ha: *n.* weaving loom (< WT འཐག་ *’thag* ‘weave’)

t^hala *n.* ash (< ? WT ཐལ་བ་ *thal ba*)

t^haŋ *n.* way

t^hap *n.* fireplace (< WT ཐབ་ *thab*)

t^haskor *adv.* around (< WT མཐ་སྐར་ *mtha skor* ‘circumference, perimeter’)

t^he *v.* exit (< WT ཐལ་ *thal* ‘pass, go, step beyond’)

t^her *v.* drop (< WT ཐར་ *thar* ‘be released’)

t^hi *rn.* bottom (< WT མཐོལ་ *mthil*)

t^ho *v.* look (IMP)
→ *tá*₂ ‘look’

t^hô₁ *n.* storey (< WT ཐོག་ *thog* ‘story (floor)’)

t^hô₂ *n.* 1) meteorite 2) lightning (< WT ཐོག་ *thog*)

t^hô₃ *n.* point of view

t^hô₄ *v.* tie (IMP)
→ *tâ*₂ ‘tie’

t^ho:₁ *n.* hammer (< WT ཐོ་བ་ *tho ba* ‘large hammer’)

t^ho:₂ *v.* hear (< WT ཐོས་ *thos*)

t^holon *n.* t^holon (place name);
village in Sakteng geok

t^hon *v.* take out (IMP)
→ *tón* ‘take out’

t^honbo *adj.* high

t^hon₁ *v.* be able; only occurs as
auxiliary verb expressing ability
→ see also *t^hop₁* ‘achieve’

t^hon₂ *v.* perceive (< WT མཐོང་ *mt hong*
‘see’)

t^honjer *n.* young yak; yak in its
fourth year

t^hop₁ *v.* achieve; also occurs as
auxiliary verb expressing possibility
(‘can’) (< WT ཐུབ་ *thub*)
→ see also *t^hon₁* ‘be able’

t^hop₂ *v.* sprinkle (IMP)
→ *tap* ‘sprinkle’

t^hotpa *n.* forehead (< WT ཐོད་པ་ *thod pa*)

t^hû *n.* mind (HON) (< WT ཐུགས་ *thugs*)
→ see also *sem* ‘mind’

t^hu: *v.* subdue (< WT འདུལ་, འདུལ་~
ཐུལ་, གདུལ་, ཐུལ་ ‘*dul, btul ~ thul, gdul, thul*)

t^hun₁ *adj.* short (< WT ཐུང་བ་ *thung ba*)

t^hun₂ *v.* drink (< WT འཐུང་, འཐུངས་,
འཐུང་, འཐུང་ ‘*thung, ’thungs, ’thung, ’thung*)

t^hur *adv.* downwards; steep incline
(< WT ཐུར་ *thur*)
→ see also *meja* ‘downwards’

t^huta *n.* astrologer (HON)
→ see also *mo₁* ‘astrologer’

tɕ

tɕà₁ *n.* bird (< WT བྱ་ *bya*)

tɕà₂ *n.* tea (< WT ཇ་ *ja*)

tɕà₃ *n.* rainbow (< WT རང་ ‘*ja*)

tɕâ *n.* iron (< WT ལྷགས་ *lcags*)

tɕadik *n.* preparation (< WT འཚ་,
བཅས་, བཅ་, ཚོས་ ‘*cha, bcas, bca, chos*
‘prepare’ + ?)

tɕadon *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

tɕan *n.* north (< WT བྱང་ *byang*)

tɕangu *adj.* green (< ? WT ལྗང་ཁུ་
ljang khu)

tɕanlin *n.* braid

tɕan^han *n.* region above the tree
line

tɕar (IMP: *tɕor*) *v.* hide; intransitive
→ see also *be* ‘hide’

tɕár (IMP: *tɕór*) *v.* paste (< WT ཐྱོར་,
ཐྱུར་, ཐྱུར་, ཐྱོར་ *sbyor, sbyar, sbyar, sbyor*
‘attack, stick, fasten’)

tɕatastse *n.* tɕatastse (place name);
name of a site near Sakteng

tɕe *v.* break apart (< ? WT གཞོད་,
བཅད་, གཞོད་, ཚོད་ *gcod, bcad, gcad, chod*)

tɕé *n.* tongue (< WT ལེ་ *lce*)

tɕè: *n.* rat (< WT ཐྱི་བ་ *byi ba*)

tɕeaba *n.* westerner

tɕeba *n.* offering (< ? WT མཚོད་པ་ *mchod pa*)

tɕemba *n.* liver (< ? WT མཚིན་པ་ *mchin pa*)

tɕen₁ *adj.* big
→ see also *bombo* 'big'

tɕen₂ *n.* eye (HON) (< WT སྤྱན་ *spyän*)
→ see also *mik* 'eye'

tɕeŋá *num.* 15 (< WT བཅོལ་ *bco lnga*)

tɕeri *n.* falcon

tɕeru *n.* red coral stone (< WT བྱི་རུ་ *byi ru* 'coral')

tɕetpo *adj.* old; referring to people
→ see also *ninba* 'old'

tɕetɕe *n.* clitoris (< ? Tshangla, cf. Bjokapakha *chichari natonj*)

tɕexa *n.* bird feces
→ cf. *tɕä₁* 'bird'

tɕei *v.* go (PST)
→ *tɕo* 'go'

tɕí *pro.* what (< WT ཅི་ *ci*)

tɕida *adv.* finally

tɕik *num.* one (< WT གཅིག་ *gcig*)

tɕilip *n.* foreigner (< Dzongkha ཕི་ལྷིང་པ་ *pchilip*)

tɕin₁ *v.* give (PST/IMP); also occurs as auxiliary verb
→ *ter* 'give'

tɕin₂ *quan.* 1) many, much 2) often
→ see also *manbo* '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 *cini*)

tɕiŋtɕik *adv.* vis-à-vis
→ cf. *tɕik* 'one'+ = *ne* ablative (ABL) + *tɕik* 'one'

tɕitɕi *adv.* later (< ? WT ཕྱི་མ་ *phyi ma*)

tɕitɕ^{hi} *num.* 10'000 (cf. Dzongkha གཅིག་ཁྱི་ *cikthri* (TSH&D))

tɕjâŋ *adv.* how
→ see also *tɕín₁* 'how'

tɕju *n.* small bird

tɕo *v.* make (< WT འཚོས་, བཅོས་ ~ འཚོས་, བཅོ་, ཚོས་ '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་, བཟུག་, གཟུག་, རྟུག་ 'jug, bcug, gzug, chug)

tɕukɕik *num.* eleven (< WT བཟུ་གཟིག་ 'bcu gcig)

tɕuksum *num.* 13 (< WT བཟུ་གསུམ་ 'bcu gsum)

tɕuŋ *v.* happen (< WT འབྱུང་, བྱུང་, འབྱུང་, བྱུང་ 'byung, byung, 'byung, byung)

tɕuŋku *adj.* small (< WT རྩུང་པ་ 'chung pa)

tɕuŋŋi *num.* twelve (< WT བཟུ་གཉིས་ 'bcu gnyis)

tɕuŋŋi *num.* twelfth
→ cf. *tɕuŋŋi* 'twelve'+ derivative affiliation marker -pa

tɕupa *num.* tenth (< WT བཟུ་པ་ 'bcu pa)

→ cf. *tɕut^hamba* 'ten'+ derivative affiliation marker -pa

tɕupdyn *num.* 17 (< WT བཟུ་བདུན་ 'bcu bdun)

tɕupje *num.* 18 (< WT བཟུ་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 *máŋle*

tɕur *n.* animal fence

tɕurgu *num.* 19

tɕut^hamba *num.* ten

tɕux *n.* yak cow

tɕydr *n.* 1) lip 2) beak (< WT མཚུ་ 'mchu + ?)

tɕyse *n.* clock (< WT རྩུ་ཚོད་ 'chu tshod)

tɕyti *n.* holiday (< ? Hindi or Nepali छुट्टी *chutti*)
→ see also *tytɕen* 'holiday'

tɕyɕuk *num.* 16 (< WT བཟུ་དྲག་ 'bcu drug)

tɕ^h

tɕ^ha *n.* pair (< WT ཚ་ 'cha)

tɕ^hâ *n.* 1) arm (HON) 2) hand (HON); also realized as [tɕ^hâ?] (< WT ཕྱག་ 'phyag)

→ see also *lakpa* 'arm, hand'

tɕ^ham *n.* mask dance (< WT འཆམ་ 'cham 'dance')

► **tɕ^ham jap** *v.* dance (a mask dance)

→ *tɕ^ham* 'mask dance'+ *jap* 'do'

tɕ^hampa *n.* mask dancer (< WT འཆམ་པ་ 'cham pa 'dancer')

tɕ^haŋ *n.* alcohol (< WT ཚང་ 'chang)

tɕ^he *n.* 1) powder 2) flour (< WT ཕྱེ་ 'phye)

tɕ^he: *n.* fangs (< WT མཚེ་བ་, མཚེ་སོ་ 'mche ba, mche so)

tɕ^heme *n.* butterlamp (cf. WT མར་མེ་ 'mar me 'butterlamp')

tɕ^henle *adv.* sometimes; less frequent compared to *parparɕuŋ* 'sometimes'
→ syn. *parparɕuŋ*

tɕ^hesa *n.* half
→ syn. *tɕ^hesa*

tɕ^hesa *n.* half
→ syn. *tɕ^hesa*

tɕ^hi *rn.* outside (< WT ཕྱི་ 'phyi)

tɕʰô *n.* side (< WT ཕྱོགས་ *phyogs*)

tɕʰora *n.* cheese (< ? WT ལྷུ་བ་ *chur ba*)

tɕʰøluk *n.* religion; also realized as [tɕʰô] (< WT ཚོས་ *chos* ‘religion’ + WT ལུགས་ *lugs* ‘way, manner, established manner’)

→ cf. *lukse* ‘tradition’

tɕʰu *n.* 1) water 2) river (< WT ལྷུ་ *chu*)

tɕʰugom *n.* watering trough
→ cf. *tɕʰu* ‘water’ + *gom* ‘type of container’

tɕʰumani *n.* water prayerwheel
(< WT ལྷུ་ *chu* ‘water’ + WT བཞི་ *ma ni*)
→ cf. *tɕʰu* ‘water’

tɕʰumbap *n.* waterfall
→ cf. *tɕʰu* ‘water’ + *pap* ‘go down’

tɕʰurgu *n.* whey

ts

tsa *m.* under

tsá₁ *n.* grass (< WT ལྷུ་ *rtswa*)

tsá₂ *n.* nerves (< WT ཚོ་ *rtsa* ‘vein’)

tso: (IMP: tso:) *v.* search (< WT འཚོལ་, བཟོལ་, བཟོལ་, ཚོལ་ *tshol, btsol, btsol, tshol*)

tsam₁ *quan.* how many, how much
(< WT ཚམ་ *tsam*)

tsam₂ *quan.* 1) nearby 2) around; 1) referring to a place 2) referring to a number

tsamliŋ *n.* 1) world 2) earth
(< Dzongkha འཇམ་ལྷིང་ *dzamling* (TSH&D))

tsan *adv.* when

tsanine *adv.* all the time
→ cf. *tsan* ‘when’

tsañma *adj.* clean (< WT གཙང་མ་ *gtsang ma*)

tsap (IMP: tsoϕ) *v.* slice (< WT བཟབ་, བཟབ་, བཟབ་, བཟབ་ *btsab, btsab, btsab, btsob*)

tsapar *n.* slap

tsé *n.* 1) top 2) on (relator noun)
(< WT ཚེ་ *rtse*)

tsem *v.* chop

tsém *v.* sew (< WT འཚོམ་, ཚོམས་ ~ བཟོམས་, བཟོམ་, ཚོམས་ *tshem, tshems ~ btsems, btsem, tshems*)

tsemtsa (PST: tsemtse, IMP: tsemtso) *v.* play (< ? WT ཚེ་, ཚེས་, ཚེ་, ཚེ(ས)་ *rtse, rtse, rtse, rtse(s)*)

tsemtse *v.* play (PST)
→ *tsemtsa* ‘play’

tsemtso *v.* play (IMP)
→ *tsemtsa* ‘play’

tsi *v.* consider

tsikpa *n.* wall (< WT ཚེག་པ་ *rtsig pa*)

tsima *n.* rib; also realized as [tsimaŋ ~ tsim] (< WT ཚེབ(ས)་མ་ *rtsib(s) ma*)

tsisuŋ *n.* celebration

► **tsisuŋ jap** *v.* celebrate
→ *tsisuŋ* ‘celebration’ + *jap* ‘do’

tsitpa *n.* yak down hair (cf. Dirang Tshangla *tsitpa* ‘fur’)

tsô *v.* cook (< WT འཚོད་ ~ འཚོད་, བཟོས་, བཟོ་, ཚོས་ *tshod ~, btsos, btso, tshos*)

tso: *v.* search (IMP)
→ *tso:* ‘search’

tsokpa *adj.* dirty (< WT བཙོག་པ་ *btsog pa*)

tsom *n.* gathering (< ? WT འཇོམས་ *'dzom(s) 'meet'*)

tsoŋ₁ *n.* onion (< WT བཙོང་ *btsong*)

tsoŋ₂ *v.* sell (< WT འཚོང་, བཙོངས་, བཙོང, ཚོང་ *'tshong, btsongs, btsong, tshong*)

tsoϕ *v.* slice (IMP)
→ *tsap* 'slice'

tsu *rn.* here

tsuk (IMP: *tsux*) *v.* put on

tsux *v.* put on (IMP)
→ *tsuk* 'put on'

ts^h

ts^ha *n.* salt (< WT མུ་ *tshwa*)

ts^he *n.* life (< WT ཚེ་ *tshé*)

ts^hê *n.* date (< WT ཚེས་ *tshes*)

ts^hik *v.* burn; intransitive (< WT འཚོག་, ཚོག་, འཚོག་, འཚོག་ *'tshig, tshig, 'tshig, 'tshig*)
→ cf. *ts^hikpa* 'hot', see also *sa* 'burn'

ts^hikpa *adj.* hot
→ cf. *ts^hik* 'burn'

ts^hikp^ha *n.* joint; also realized as [ts^hikp^hḡ ~ ts^hikϕ] (< WT ཚོགས་(པ་) *tshigs (pa)*)

ts^ho₁ *n.* lake (< WT མཚོ་ *mtsho*)

ts^ho₂ *n.* traditional dye (< WT ཚོས་ *tshos*)

ts^ho: *n.* nephew (different-sex sibling's son) (< WT ཚ་བོ་ *tsha bo*)

ts^ho:mo *n.* niece (different-sex sibling's daughter) (< WT ཚ་མོ་ *tsha mo*)

ts^hona *n.* ts^hona (place name); name of a region in Tibet

ts^hosar *n.* dye
→ cf. *ts^ho₂* 'traditional dye'+ *sarba* 'new'

t

takpo *adj.* good
→ see also *eçen* 'good'

tamba *n.* cheek (< WT འགམ་པ་ *'gram pa*)

tan *v.* remember (< WT ཏྲན་ *dran*)

taŋ (IMP: [toŋ]) *v.* be cold (< WT གྲང་~ གྲངས་ *grang ~ grangs*)
→ see also *taŋmo* 'cold'

taŋmo *adj.* cold
→ see also *taŋ* 'be cold'

tati *adv.* however much

tau *adj.* alike; like, similar (< WT འདྲ་བ་ *'dra ba*)
→ see also *k^han* 'alike'

tè *n.* yeti (< WT ཏྲེད་ *dred* 'yellow bear')

tè: *n.* mule (< WT ཏྲེཔོ་ *dre po*)

teloŋ *n.* young person

teniŋ *n.* training (< English *training*)

teptema *n.* slipper; also realized as [teptemaḡ ~ teptem] (< Dzongkha གྲེབ་གྲེམ་ (DDC))

tewa *n.* contact

► **tewa jap** *v.* contact
→ *tewa* 'contact'+ *jap* 'do'

ti *v.* ask (< WT འདྲི་, འདྲིས་, འདྲི་, འདྲིས་ 'dri, 'dris, 'dri, 'dris)

tì *n.* knife (< WT གྲི་ gri)

tiba *n.* type of bell; worn by horses (< WT འདྲིལ་ dril)

tɕu *n.* knife sheath (< WT རྒྱབས་ shubs 'sheath for sword')
→ cf. *tì* 'knife'

tijum *n.* belt thread; thread of skin to hold a knife on the belt
→ cf. *tì* 'knife'

tik *v.* be ready (cf. Hindi ठीक *thik* 'okay')

tiktɕuŋ *n.* type of small knife
→ cf. *tì* 'knife'+ *tɕuŋku* 'small'

tin *n.* respect

to (PST: tɕi, IMP: soŋ) *v.* go; also occurs as auxiliary verb (< WT འགོ་ 'gro)

tò: *n.* suggestion (< WT གོས་ gros 'advice')

toa *n.* interest

tonba *n.* guest (cf. Dzongkha མགྲོན་པོ་ göm (TSH&D))

toŋ *v.* be cold (IMP)
→ *taŋ* 'be cold'

totpa *n.* stomach (< WT གོད་པ་ grod pa)

tuk₁ *num.* six (< WT ལྷག་ drug)

tuk₂ *v.* stir (< WT དལྱག་, དལྱགས་, དལྱག་, དལྱག་ dkrug, dkrugs, dkrug, dkrug)

tukja *num.* 600 (< WT ལྷག་ བརྒྱ་ drug brgya)
→ syn. *jaŋuk*, cf. *ja₂* 'hundred'

ty *v.* drag (< WT འབྲུད་, བྲུད་, འབྲུད་, བྲུད་ 'drud, drud, 'drud, dru)

ty *v.* wash (< WT འབྲུད་, བལྱས་, བལྱ་, འབྲུད་ 'khrud, bkrus, bkru, 'khrud)

t^h

t^hâ *n.* blood (< WT རྩག་ khrag)

t^ha: *n.* 1) duty 2) tax 3) burden (< WT རྩལ་ khral)

t^hakt^ho *n.* t^hakt^ho (place name); village in Sakteng geok

t^hi *n.* throne (< WT རྩི་ khri)

t^him *n.* law (< WT རྩིམས་ khrim)

t^ho *n.* angry divine expression (< WT རྩོབ་ 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

uŋa *n.* head hair (HON) (< WT དབུ་སྐྱ་ dbu skra)
→ see also *ŋà* '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 (*ɕor* ‘lose’, *go* ‘must’, *t^hoŋ* ‘be able’), as well as three verbs which only show a past stem (*ga:* ‘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	<i>be</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
give birth	<i>ce</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
borrow	<i>ci</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
churn	<i>cô</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
throw	<i>cur</i>	—
full	<i>c^haŋ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
know	<i>ɕe</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
be wet	<i>ɕe:</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
rise (HON)	<i>ɕeaŋ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
die	<i>ɕí</i>	<i>-le</i>
milk	<i>ɕô</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
sieve	<i>ɕór</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
jump	<i>ɕot</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
advise (HON)	<i>ɕy</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
peel	<i>ɕý</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
beat	<i>duŋ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
write	<i>dí</i>	<i>-le</i>
tease	<i>du</i>	<i>-le</i>
crack	<i>dum</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
borrow	<i>er</i>	<i>-e</i>

crack	<i>ge:</i>	-p ^h e
fell	<i>gi</i>	-le
turn	<i>gir</i>	-p ^h e
move	<i>gu:</i>	-le
run	<i>jer</i>	-p ^h e
laugh	<i>je</i>	-te
change	<i>jur</i>	-e
plow	<i>kó</i>	-p ^h e
wrap	<i>kon</i>	-e
instruct	<i>ku:</i>	-le
take	<i>k^her</i>	-e
boil	<i>k^ho:</i>	-le
carry	<i>k^hur</i>	-e
fetch	<i>len</i>	-e
read	<i>lô</i>	-p ^h e
pour	<i>luk</i>	-p ^h e
leave behind	<i>ly</i>	-p ^h e
swallow	<i>mík</i>	-p ^h e
chew	<i>mur</i>	-e
be sick	<i>na</i>	-le
give (HON)	<i>naŋ</i>	-e
land	<i>ne:</i>	-p ^h e
listen	<i>nen</i>	-e
buy	<i>no</i>	-p ^h e
taste	<i>noŋ</i>	-e
recognize	<i>noʦe</i>	-p ^h e
roll down	<i>ple</i>	-p ^h e
call	<i>po</i>	-p ^h e
scratch	<i>pre</i>	-te
move	<i>pro:</i>	—
fall off	<i>pru</i>	-le
fly	<i>p^her</i>	-p ^h e
remove	<i>p^hi</i>	-te
throw away	<i>p^hir</i>	-p ^h e
meet	<i>p^hre</i>	-te
blow	<i>p^hu:</i>	-le
give (HON)	<i>p^hu:</i>	-le
become	<i>re</i>	-te
fall over	<i>ri</i>	-le
tie	<i>rô</i>	-p ^h e
become dark	<i>saru</i>	-p ^h e
kill	<i>se</i>	-te
cough	<i>sí</i>	-te
finish	<i>sin</i>	-e
spin	<i>sir</i>	-p ^h e

brace oneself	so:	—
catch	sun	-e
say (HON)	suŋ	-p ^h e
block	sup	-p ^h e
guard	ʂuŋ	-p ^h e
knot	tam	-p ^h e
be hungry	tô	-p ^h e
pluck	tô	-p ^h e
throw	tom	—
throw	tor	-e
decide	t ^h a	-te
exit	t ^h e	-te
drop	t ^h er	-p ^h e
hear	t ^h o:	-p ^h e
perceive	t ^h oŋ	-e
achieve	t ^h op	-p ^h e
subdue	t ^h u:	-le
drink	t ^h uŋ	-p ^h e
break apart	tçe	-te
make	tço	-p ^h e
put inside	tçúk	-p ^h e
happen	tçuŋ	-e
chop	tsem	-p ^h e
sew	tsém	-p ^h e
consider	tsi	-p ^h e
cook	tsô	-p ^h e
sell	tsoŋ	-p ^h e
burn	ts ^h ik	-p ^h e
remember	ʈan	-e
ask	ʈi	-p ^h e
be ready	ʈik	-p ^h e
stir	ʈuk	-p ^h e
drag	ʈy	-te
wash	ʈý	-p ^h e

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 fricativization of final [p, k] to [ɸ, x]. In all of these cases, fricativization 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 [p^h] in onset position and intervocally (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	<i>bluk</i>	<i>blux</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
dig	<i>bruk</i>	<i>brux</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
bring	<i>c^hoŋ</i>	<i>k^he</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
shine	<i>ɕer</i>	<i>ɕor</i>	<i>-e</i>
be afraid	<i>ɕik</i>	<i>ɕix</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
settle	<i>ɕitɕa:</i>	<i>ɕitɕo:</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
enter	<i>ɕuk</i>	<i>ɕux</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
stay (HON)	<i>ɕuk</i>	<i>ɕux</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
arrive	<i>dok</i>	<i>dox</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
come	<i>joŋ</i>	<i>ɕó</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
do	<i>ɟap</i>	<i>ɟop</i>	<i>-e</i>
block	<i>kak</i>	<i>k^ho</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
dry	<i>kám</i>	<i>k^hom</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
cover	<i>kap</i>	<i>kop</i>	<i>-e</i>
steal	<i>ku</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
rise	<i>laŋ</i>	<i>loŋ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
say	<i>lap</i>	<i>loɸ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
smear	<i>leak</i>	<i>leax</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
bite	<i>múk</i>	<i>múx</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
sleep	<i>na</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-le</i>
be tired	<i>neak</i>	<i>neax</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
cry	<i>ŋu</i>	<i>ŋui</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
separate	<i>pak</i>	<i>pox</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
go down	<i>pap</i>	<i>poɸ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
cut	<i>pra</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
take down	<i>p^hap</i>	<i>p^hop</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
hit	<i>p^hok</i>	<i>p^ho</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
climb	<i>sa:</i>	<i>so:</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
leak	<i>sa:</i>	<i>so:</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
think	<i>sam</i>	<i>som</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
pierce	<i>suk</i>	<i>sux</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
burn	<i>ɕa</i>	<i>ɕo</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
tear apart	<i>ɕa:</i>	<i>ɕo:</i>	<i>-le</i>
tie	<i>tâ</i>	<i>t^hô</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
do	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>toŋ</i>	<i>-e</i>
sprinkle	<i>tap</i>	<i>t^hop</i>	<i>-e</i>

push	<i>tok</i>	<i>tox</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
take out	<i>tón</i>	<i>t^hon</i>	<i>-e</i>
cut apart	<i>tup</i>	<i>tuϕ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
agree	<i>tçam</i>	<i>tçom</i>	<i>-e</i>
hide	<i>tçar</i>	<i>tçor</i>	<i>-e</i>
paste	<i>tçár</i>	<i>tçór</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
search	<i>tɕa:</i>	<i>tɕo:</i>	<i>-le</i>
slice	<i>tsap</i>	<i>tsoϕ</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
put on	<i>tsuk</i>	<i>tsux</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
be cold	<i>ʈaŋ</i>	<i>ʈoŋ</i>	<i>-e</i>

Table 4 Verbs with a binary stem alternation PRS/PST vs. IMP

C.3 Verbs with a binary stem alternation: PRS/IMP vs. PST

The following four verbs show a binary stem alternation featuring a distinct past stem.

Translation	Verb stems		Past allomorph
	prs/imp	pst	
put	<i>ço</i>	<i>çak</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
return	<i>lo</i>	<i>lok</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
pick up	<i>tí</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>-te</i>
stay	<i>to</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>-te</i>

Table 5 Verbs with a binary stem alternation PRS/IMP vs. PST

C.4 Verbs with a binary stem alternation: PST/IMP vs. PRS

There is a single case of a verb with a distinct present stem, *ter* ‘give’.

Translation	Verb stems		Past allomorph
	prs	pst/imp	
give	<i>ter</i>	<i>tçin</i>	<i>-e</i>

Table 6 Verbs with a binary stem alternation PST/IMP vs. PRS

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	<i>sa</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
look	<i>tá</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>t^ho</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
play	<i>tsemtsa</i>	<i>tsemtse</i>	<i>tsemtso</i>	<i>-p^he</i>
go	<i>ʈo</i>	<i>tçi</i>	<i>soŋ</i>	<i>-te</i>

Table 7 Verbs with a three-way stem alternation PRS vs. PST vs. IMP