A grammar of Bulu Puroik

by

Ismael Lieberherr

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and **Prof. Dr. Madhumita Barbora** (Tezpur University, India)
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About this PDF

- This PDF is a revised version of the PhD thesis defended on 29.09.2017 at the University of Bern.
- PDF created on 07.10.2020
- Photograph on title page: view on the village of Bulu.
- To facilitate the interaction with the lexicon in the appendix, every Puroik word is linked to the corresponding dictionary entry. Some PDF viewers can display a preview of the link target (as in figure 0.1).

Figure 0.1.: Dictionary look-up with Skim

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Abstract

Bulu Puroik is one among several non-mutually intelligible Puroik languages spoken in Arunachal Pradesh and belongs to the Kho-Bwa branch of the Trans-Himalayan language family. By the time of the research for this grammar, the language was already disappearing and was only spoken by a small number of speakers in the village of Bulu.

The goal of this grammar is to provide a first grammatical description of the most important traits of the Bulu Puroik language. The introductory chapter 1 gives background information about the speakers and the village of Bulu. In the following chapter 2, the phonology of the segments, syllables and words is discussed. Word classes are established in chapter 3 according to semantic, morphological and syntactic criteria.

The remaining chapters describe the most important aspects of Bulu Puroik morphosyntax, namely noun phrases (chapter 4), the structure of verbal predicates (chapter 5), predicate derivations in chapter which add adverbial or aspectual meaning to the predicate (chapter 6), Nonverbal predicates and copula constructions (chapter 7), the structure of the clause and the particular way of marking objects (chapter 8), multiclause constructions (chapter 9) and discourse particles and pragmatic constructions (chapter 10).

The last chapter is an outline of the vocabulary and syntax of other registers of the language, the hunting language, the ritual language and the story language (chapter 11).

The appendix contains a collection of 12 annotated texts (appendix A) and a Puroik-English dictionary (appendix B).

The primary data for this grammar, including the annotated audio and video recordings and the lexicon with audio and image files, are archived and freely accessible on https://zenodo.org/.

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Abbreviations

- prefix, suffix, compound boundary
= clitic boundary
word boundary
. syllable boundary
| end of intonation subunit
/.../ phonology: underlying form
[...] in phonetics: phonetic representation
[...] in translations: content added to literal translation
‹...› orthographic
<...> in transcriptions: false starts, speaker mistakes
<**A B**> elaborate expressions, A and B are one lexical word, but two phonological words
A → **B** underlying A is realised as B
A > **B** 1) A becomes B (historically) 2) B is borrowed from A
* reconstructed proto-form or segment
† hypothetical, not attested form or construction
∅ zero phoneme, or morpheme
μ mora
σ syllable
A most agent-like argument in a transitive or ditransitive clause
adj. adjective
adv. adverb
ADV adverbial constituent
ant. antonym
Bkp Brokpa (Central Bodish)
C consonant segment
ccltc. clausal clitic
$\mathbf{C}_f$ syllable final consonant
cf. compare, reference between semantically related entries in the lexicon
$\mathbf{C}_i$ syllable initial consonant
dem. demonstrative
cop. copula
Eng English
etym. etymology
ex. example
G most goal-like argument in a ditransitive clause
HL hunting language
IA Indo-Arian: Hindi, Nepali or Assamese
intj. interjection
INSTR instrumental
M Miji dialect of Bulu
n. noun
N placeless nasal
NP noun phrase
ncltc. clitic usually attached to the noun phrase
nmlz. nominalizer
nsfx. nominal suffix
num. numeral

O "object", i.e. not most agent like argument in a transitive clause
post. postposition
prn. pronoun
PRED predicate
PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman
quant. quantifier
R /r/, /l/
RL ritual language
S single argument
sci. scientific name
sp. species of plant or animal
syn. synonym
TAM Tense Aspect Modality
Tsh Tshangla
T most theme-like argument in a ditransitive clause
TB Tibeto-Burman
V vowel segment
v. verb
var. variant
vderiv. verbal derivative
vsfx. verbal suffix
vi. verb intransitive
VOT voice onset time
vt. verb transitive
va. verb ambitransitive
X moraic element at right syllable boundary (coda consonant or vowel length)

Glosses

1SG first person singular 'I'
2SG second person singular 'thou'
3SG third person singular 'he, she'
1DU first person dual: 'we two'
2DU second person dual: 'you two'
3DU third person dual: 'they two'
1PL first person plural 'we'
2PL second person pl: 'you'
3PL third person pl: 'they'
ABL ablative (*=lapu*)
ADD additive focus 'also, even'
AG agentive
ANA anaphoric
ANT anterior 'after'
ASRT assertive
AUT.BEN auto-benefactive
BEN benefactive
CAUS causative
CMPR comparative
COMPL completive
COND conditional
CONJ conjunction
COP copula
COP.FOC copula focus
COP.NEG negative equational copula
DEF definiteness marker
DESP desperative
DIM diminutive

DOWN down demonstrative (*bù*)
DU dual
DUR durative
EXHR exhortative
EXIST existential copula
EXIST.NEG negative existential copula (*wɛ̀*)
EXP experiential
FILL filler like "ehm, well..., look..."
FOC focus
FAR far deictic demonstrative (*tɛ́*)
HABIT habitual
HON honorific
HORT hortative
HYP hypothetical
IDEOPH ideophone
IMM immediate 'right now'
IMN imminent, 'about to take place'
IMP imperative
INTJ interjection
IPFV imperfective
LOC locative
LOC.PERS locative used with persons
NEG negation *ba-*
NEAR near deictic demonstrative (*hɛ̃̀*)
NMLZ nominalizer
NO.CONTROL no control ("randomly, carelessly")
NPST non-past
OBJ object *=ku*
OBLG obligation
PFV perfective
PL plural (*hɛ̃̀*)
POSS possessive
POST posterior 'before'
POT potential
PRF perfect
PRMN permansive
PROG progressive
PRS present
PSSR possessor
PST past
Q question particle
QUOT quotative (*=ri*)
RECP reciprocal
REL relative, attributive nominalizer
REM.BEN remote benefactive
REP repetitive
RSTR restrictive focus 'only'
SEQ sequential (*-la*)
SIM simultaneous
SIDE on the side of relator noun
TOP topic
UP up demonstrative *kṹ*

1. Introduction

Bulu Puroik is the ancestral language spoken in the village of Bulu in Nafra circle, West Kameng, Arunachal Pradesh. The language is the only extant Puroik variety spoken in West Kameng and the only Puroik variety which is clearly outside the more or less contiguous area stretching from East Kameng over Kurung Kumey up to Upper Subansiri (see map below in figure 1.4). Genealogically, the Puroik languages form a sub-group of the Kho-Bwa branch of the Trans-Himalayan language family.

As of 2017, Bulu Puroik is almost exclusively spoken by 6 male speakers of the grandfather generation and not learned by the younger generations anymore. A dialect of Miji has become the dominant language in the village, and there is no indication that the children growing up in the village these days would once speak the language of their grandparents.

This grammar is a first attempt to describe the most important traits of Bulu Puroik phonology and morphosyntax, and to provide primary data such as annotated texts and a lexicon as a basis for future research.

The introductory chapter provides non-linguistic background information about the language and the speakers: How the language is called by the speakers and by others (section 1.1), the geographic location of Bulu, the linguistic neighbourhood (section 1.2), the speakers, their families, their history and their beliefs (section 1.3, 1.5, 1.4), some remarks about the classification of the language and previous research on other Puroik dialects (section 1.6).

1.1. Autonyms and exonyms

The Puroiks in Bulu call themselves in their own language *prǐ́dà* 'human sons'[1] and their language *prǐ́dà sə́m* 'human language'. However, when speaking with outsiders who do

[1] priN 'human' + *adà* 'son'

not speak their language, they would use the name "Puroik" which is the official name of a tribe and a range of dialects further east. The name "Sulung" denotes the same tribe, but is derogatory and was, although still in use, replaced by the official name "Puroik" in 1976[2]. "Puroik" is closest to the autonym in the Chayangtajo area in East Kameng (*pu-rui?*). There are over 100 Puroik settlements in four other districts of western Arunachal Pradesh, East Kameng, Papum Pare, Kurung Kumey and Upper Subansiri. The language of Bulu is related but not mutually intelligible with either of the Puroik varieties spoken in the east.

The reason why "Puroik" instead of *pr̃ídə̀* was chosen as title for this grammar is that "Puroik" is an officially established ethnonym commonly used when speaking with outsiders, while the autonym *pr̃ídə̀* is only known and used by the speakers themselves. Unlike the other exonym "Sulung", "Puroik" is non-offending and used by the speakers themselves when speaking with outsiders. The language is historically related with other languages further east called "Puroik". Given that the language spoken in Bulu is exclusively spoken in Bulu, the name "Bulu Puroik" or the "Puroik variety of Bulu" are both geographically and genealogically correct, as well as accepted by the speakers as a non-offending term for outsiders to speak about their language.

The village with the surrounding land is called *pulɔ̀*, in Puroik, which is also the name of a river about an hour on foot further up in the valley, just below the place where the village had been until about ten years ago. In village internal use, the name *pulɔ̀* is used for that place. The place where the modern village is located is called *rɪtɪ́ŋ* in Puroik or *silimatúŋ* in Miji. The official name "Bulu" reflects the Miji pronunciation [*bluː*] of *pulɔ̀*. The Buddhist tribes living further west (aka "Monpa"), Tshangla and Brokpa speakers, call the village *bifum*, the language and the speakers *bifumpa*.

1.2. Geography and linguistic neighbourhood

The village of Bulu is located in the Bichom river basin about two hundred meters above the river, which is called "Dakhri Bru" on official maps[3], *təkɹéʔ kʰɔ̀* in Puroik and *dəkɹee* in Miji. Bulu is the last village in the valley. The next all-year road for motorised ve-

[2] According to Deuri 1983, p. 90 in a book which ironically still has the title "The Sulungs".

[3] e.g. Census of India 2011, District Census Handbook West Kameng, p. 3 http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB_A/12/1202_PART_A_DCHB_WEST%20KAMENG.pdf

Figure 1.1.: Ridge with the path leading to Mago and the Tibetan Border. This is the place where the Puroiks of Bulu until recently collected aconite for arrow poison (məlim).

hicles reaches up to the village Dibin which is a 4-hour walk away. In the dry season, motorbikes can reach up to Mathow[4] which is about 1 hour on foot from Bulu. There is no maintained path in the valley after the old village of Bulu, but only impenetrable jungle up to the pine forests and the high Himalayas. Trading or hunting expeditions to the Himalayas usually make a detour over Tungri, a place on the mountain ridge west of the village.

On the ridge, there is a good path which is an ancient trading route leading over the summer pastures of the Brokpas to the Chinese border and to Tibet (map and text about these trade relations in appendix A.10). The Brokpas migrate on this path to the pastures during summer. This path was also a major invasion route of the Red Army in the aggression of 1962 (text about this invasion in appendix A.1). The mountain ridge west of Bulu is traditionally considered the border between Buddhist tribes west of the ridge and non-Buddhist tribes east of the ridge. In this sense, Bulu is located right at one of the major cultural divides in the Himalayas, experiencing not only hostilities between the two sides, but benefiting also from a rich exchange of goods and cultural

[4]Puroik *məthyɛ́ʔ*, Miji *məto*ʔ or *bəto*ʔ

knowledge with the Buddhist tribes. The interest in farming, animal husbandry and trade in Bulu is more pronounced than in Puroik communities in the East.

Figure 1.2.: View on Bulu from Mathow. The houses of the village of Bulu are just right of the tall tree in the foreground. On the horizon the ridge with the path leading to Tibet.

There are several climatic and vegetation zones within the land of the village of Bulu: The village of Bulu itself is surrounded by lush forest, with canes, sago palms (*Arenga micrantha*). Most days of the year, the temperatures are above zero degrees Celsius. In some nights in December and January, temperatures may drop below zero. Snow has never been seen in the village as long as anyone can remember. However, only a few hours hike up, there are pine forests and pastures, which are covered with snow in winter. A day hike further up, the vegetation consists of nothing more than shrubs and pastures. These places in the Himalayas are regularly visited by the people of Bulu for hunting and collecting medicinal plants. In the past, until very recently, a variety of aconite was collected here which was used to make arrow poison.

In the greater region around the village, there is not only a great biodiversity, but also a great diversity of languages. Within a two days foot-march several villages are located, the inhabitants of which speaking at least 11 languages belonging to 7 subgroups of Trans-Himalayan. The Puroiks themselves speak a language which together with

Figure 1.3.: View at the village from above. In the background the houses and the shifting cultivation fields of the village Mathow.

other languages in West Kameng forms its own subgroup of Trans-Himalayan (so-called "Kho-Bwa" van Driem 2001). Linguistically, the closest relative of Bulu Puroik is Kojo Rojo Puroik, a two days hike from Bulu. Further nearby villages speaking a Kho-Bwa language are Khoina (Sartang), Bichom (Bugun), Lish (Khispi) and Chug (Dhumbi), all within 1-2 days on foot from Bulu. Down the valley, the next Miji village Mathow is hardly one hour away. Miji is a Trans-Himalayan language, related to Bangru in Kurung Kumey and distantly with Hruso Aka (Bodt and Lieberherr 2015). On the other side of the ridge, is the Brokpa village Lagam (Puroik *bìhám*). Brokpa is a Central Bodish language (Bodt 2014). A few hours further down on foot, Thembang is settled by speakers of a Tshangla dialect (unclassified within Trans-Himalayan in Bodt 2014). Further languages within a two days radius from the village are Sekang Nyishi (Tani) and Koro Aka (unclassified). Without doubt, the village lies in one of the linguistically most diverse regions in the Himalayas, if not in the world.

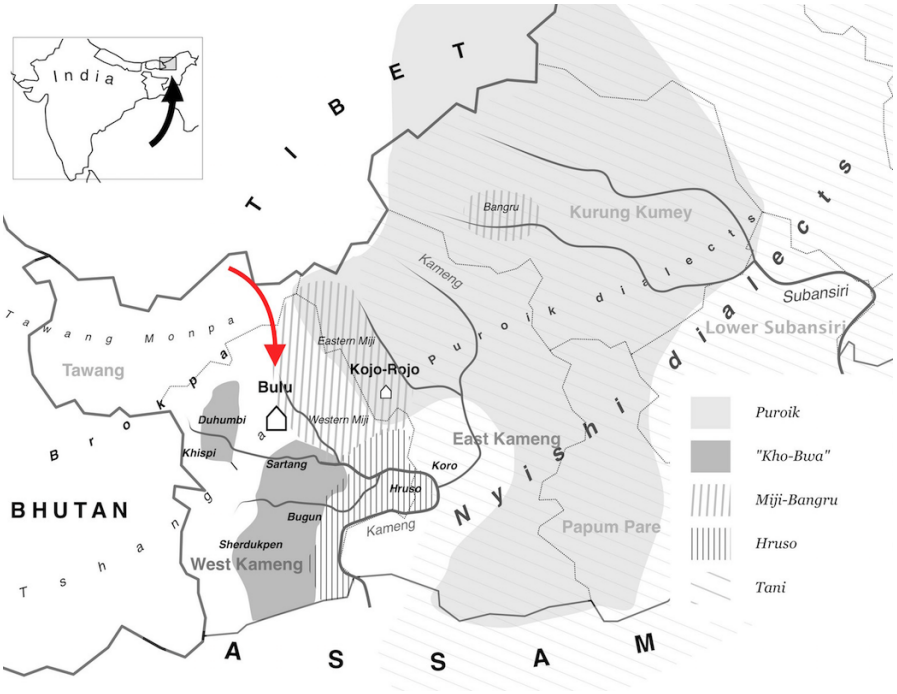


Figure 1.4.: Map of the Puroik language area

1.3. The speakers of Bulu Puroik

As of 2017, there were seven permanent households in the village of Bulu. The six most proficient speakers of Bulu Puroik are the heads of six of the seven households. These six speakers are brothers or cousins, i.e. they all have the same grandfather *masáŋ raìdà* and the same grandmother *ritʃɛ̃̀ baìdà*, who were the last survivor of the originally seven Puroik clans living once in the valley.

The question of assessing the number of speakers of the language is less difficult than elsewhere but still depends on what is counted as a "speaker".

1.4. The spiritual world

The forests, the rivers and the mountains are inhabited by spirits and demons. An entire world of spirits with kings and slaves exists parallel to the human world. Spirits and humans constantly cross each other's paths, mostly in a peaceful and respectful way but not entirely without conflicts. For example, a person might have hunted without paying

Figure 1.5.: The six cousins speaking Bulu Puroik

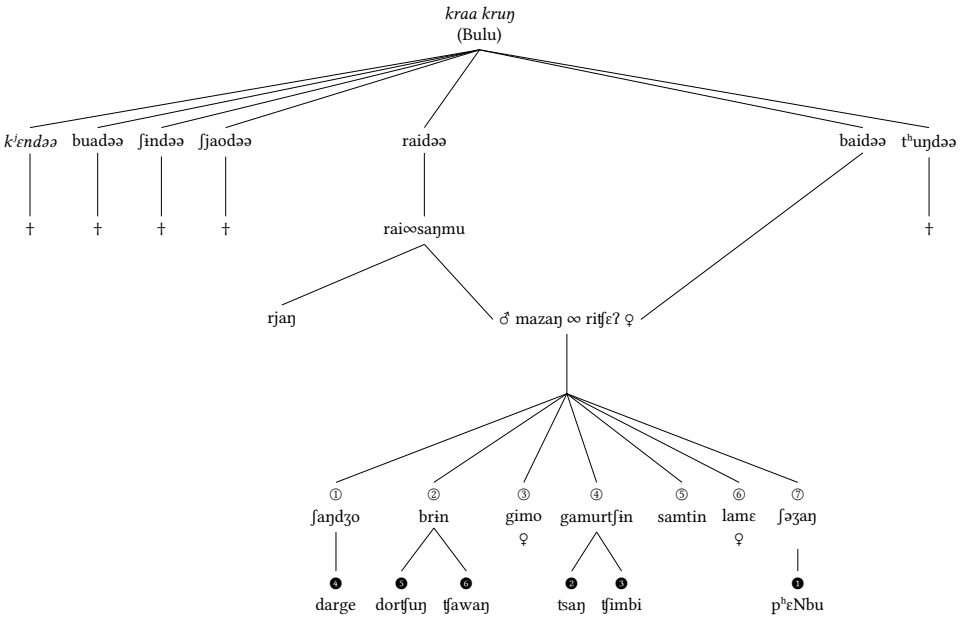


Figure 1.6.: Genealogical tree of the people of Bulu

adequate tribute to spirits, thus upsetting them. The anger of the spirits is manifested in a disease or another misfortune. In the case of such conflicts, the shaman has to mediate between the two worlds. He will try to find out why the spirit is upset and try to appease him with a sacrifice. In Bulu, Chang Raiju is in charge of this kind of tasks. He learned to make rituals partly from Rjaŋ (his grandfather's brother) and from other shamans in Miji villages. Some rituals and practices, he learned himself during his life. During rituals, the shaman must speak ritual language which is different from everyday language. This ritual language is similar to the ritual language used by Miji shamans (some further details about other language registers in chapter). Many rituals are, or have become, very similar to those done by the Miji shamans. For example, the Puroiks in Bulu have started to make a yearly sacrifice to the spirits in winter in recent years called "Chindang" following the Miji tradition (figure 1.7).

In the neighbouring village Mathow, there is a Christian Revival Church, and some of the young people have converted to Christianity. However, among the elder generation Christianity is not popular, or at most a complement to the traditional believes. For example in text appendix A.8, a Christian speaker acknowledges that the spirits of the forest cannot understand the Christian prayers. The spirits understand only Puroik and

Figure 1.7.: The six cousins making preparations for the Chindang ritual

the ritual language. In order to communicate with the spirits in the future, it would be important to preserve the language, the elders say.

1.5. Language contact and idiolects

Bulu Puroik has never had a large speech community in the past decades. Wives and mothers came from outside speaking different languages, which had a considerable influence on the language that is used to communicate in the family and the village. Besides influencing the language in general, the intense contact with other languages has also led to considerable variation between the individual speakers of Bulu Puroik ("idiolects"). For example, the village eldest Phembu and his father were both married with a wife from Kojo-Rojo. Kojo-Rojo Puroik is a Puroik variety which is not mutually intelligible with Bulu Puroik, at least not for everybody in the two communities. These women have passed away, but they must have influenced the speech variety spoken in the household, i.e. the language Phembu learned from his mother and spoke with his wife. One of the particularities of this idiolect is the diphthong pronunciation of the

phoneme /ɔ/ as [uɔ] or [ua], another one is the dual of pronouns *gəhenɨ́ʔ* '1DU' instead of *gəsenɨ́ʔ*, and there are some lexical differences which characterise his speech variety and are most probably due to the influence of the Kojo-Rojo dialect. However, another brother, who is also married to a wife from Kojo-Rojo, did not adopt these features of the Kojo-Rojo variety. Another speaker (Chimbi) lived much of his adult life in Dibin, the next village with a road connection and was married to a Miji wife. Only recently, he came back to the village. His variety is characterised by voicing of otherwise unvoiced prefixes (*bə-* as in Miji instead of Puroik *pə-*) and consistent pronunciation of a segmental nasal velar coda instead of nasalisation ([aŋ] instead of [ãː]). All other brothers are married to Miji women, speaking Miji, which has become the language most frequently spoken in the village. While one wife learned Puroik, others did not. Different biographies, different spouses led to different idiolects in Bulu.

1.5.1. Influence of Miji

As the *lingua franca* in the village and the language spoken exclusively in most households, the impact of Miji on Puroik can hardly be overestimated. The scenario that in the near future, Miji - the language of the wives and mothers - will replace the Bulu Puroik completely, is not unreasonably pessimistic but already to a great extent reality. Every speaker of Puroik is at least as proficient in Miji as in Puroik. Given the fact that there are no monolingual Puroik speakers, there is never a necessity of speaking "pure" Puroik in order to be understood. Everybody understands, even if half of the sentence is Miji, which is not uncommon. Distinguishing real borrowings from casual code switching is difficult and often speaker-dependent. Miji also has an immense influence on the grammar and lexicalisation patterns. Many of the verbal derivations (chapter 6) used to form semantically rich verb stems are borrowed. Very often Puroik and Miji have an identical construction with different morphemes. Furthermore, many lexicalisation patterns and idioms are identical. For example, the verb *muɛ̀̃* means 'can' and 'get' in Puroik which is the exactly same semantic as the Miji verb *waw*. Furthermore, there are idioms like *ʧakuí ì-batʃa* 'the rice died' for 'the rice is cooked' which also exists in Miji[5].

[5]The idiom 'died' might describe the silence after the water in the rice pot stops to bubble.

1.6. Previous research on Puroik and affiliation

While there has been no work on Bulu Puroik prior to this PhD project, some research has been done, on the not mutually intelligible varieties further east in East Kameng. Among the first researchers mentioning the Puroiks and their language was the anthropologist Stonor (Stonor 1948 and Stonor 1952). In 1983, the first Puroik language data from the dialect in Chayangtajo were published as an appendix to an anthropological work (Deuri 1983). A longer and more precise word list became available in 1991 from a dialect spoken by Puroiks in Tibet Sūn 1991[6]. Jackson Sun 1992 wrote an extensive review of this work, in which he discovered the characteristic sound law PTB **m* > Puroik *b*. A full grammar of that dialect appeared in Lǐ 2004. The dialect of Chayangtajo was further described by former deputy research officer Aduk Tayeng (Tayeng 1990), in a PhD dissertation about phonology (Remsangpuia 2008) and in a dictionary by Rai Soja, a member of the Bible translating team of the Puroik Baptist mission (Soja 2009).

The Puroik varieties - although proving to be considerably diverse - go back to a common ancestor (Lieberherr 2015). More distantly, Puroik belongs to the "Kho-Bwa" subgroup of the Trans-Himalayan language family along with Khispi, Duhumbi, Sartang, Sherdukpen and Bugun. The strongest argument for this group are two shared sound laws PTB **m* > *b*, which was found by Sun 1992 for Puroik and less secure *PTB *s* > ∅. A further argument for the validity of the "Kho-Bwa"-subgroup was presented in Lieberherr and Bodt 2017, comparing percentages of shared core vocabulary.

1.7. Data and methodology

This grammar relies to a great extent on data recorded on audio which were recordings were transcribed and annotated according to the recommendations of Lehmann 2004 and the "Leipzig glossing rules"[7]. In terms of the linguistic data, this grammar attempts to be self-contained in the sense that the context of all annotated text examples discussed in the grammar part can be found in appendix A. There is a reference (and a hyperlink) to the place in the appendix where they occur (and *vice versa* references back

[6] These Puroik speakers in Tibet are possibly visitors or recent migrants from Kurung Kumey

[7] https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php. Further details about the glossing conventions are given with the texts in appendix A.

to all places in the grammar where the text unit is discussed). Furthermore, the lexicon in appendix B contains all lexemes and grammatical morphemes occurring in the texts and the grammar with further details, idioms and cross-references. The primary data for this grammar, including the annotated video and audio files and the lexicon with audio and image files, is archived on https://zenodo.org/ and freely accessible under the terms of the non-commercial Creative Commons open access license. The detailed links to the archived texts and the lexicon are listed in the introduction to chapters A and B.

2. Phonology

The basic syllable structure in Bulu Puroik is (C_i)(R)V(X), consisting of a vocalic peak (V) and optional consonants preceding and following the peak (C_i,R,X). This syllable formula is pivotal for the description of the Bulu Puroik phonology as the distribution of segmental and suprasegmental features will be described with reference to the syllable. Contrasts between consonant phonemes which can precede the nucleus (all but *ŋ, ʔ*) are established in section 2.2. Evidence for the different vowels and rhymes is presented in section 2.3.

Distinctive suprasegmental features are vowel nasality and tone. Nasal vowels historically originate from nasal coda consonants which are still realised under certain conditions (section 2.4). Every major syllable in Bulu Puroik bears one of two tones which is neutralised before glottal stop (section 2.5). Short prefixes and short suffixes do not have an own tone. Stress and other properties of the phonological word will be presented in section 2.6.

2.1. Syllable structure

A syllable in Bulu Puroik minimally consists of a vocalic peak (nucleus), with optional consonantal elements preceding and/or following it. The segments to the left belonging to the same nucleus form the "onset", the segments right of the nucleus will form the "coda". The onset may be complex i.e. consist of more than one segment, the coda can maximally be one consonant (1).

(1) Syllable formula
$(C_i)(R)(j)V(X)$

C_i onset consonant (all but *ŋ, ʔ*)
C_f coda consonant (*/ŋ, n, m, ʔ, p/*)
R /r/ or /l/
j a glide
V a vowel or a diphthong
X coda consonant (*ŋ, n, m, ʔ, p*) or vowel length (ː).

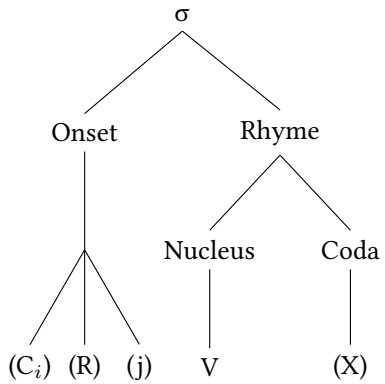


Figure 2.1.: Structure of Bulu Puroik syllables

Syllables containing a final element X are "heavy" bearing a tone, syllables without are "light". All heavy syllables bear a tone (2.5), light syllables are toneless (mostly prefixes and some suffixes). Nasalisation is also restricted to heavy syllables.

Most syllable structures permitted by the formula are attested (table 2.1). However, not all structures are equally frequent. As a general rule, the more complex a syllable structure is, the less frequent syllables with this structure occur in the lexicon and in discourse. Hence, the gap for the structure CRjṼC might be due to the rarity of such roots rather than a systematic restriction to the structure.

Table 2.1.: Possible onset-rhyme combinations.

	V	Vː	VC	Ṽː	ṼC
∅	+	+	+	+	+
C	+	+	+	+	+
Cj	+	+	+	+	+
CR	+	+	+	+	+
CRj	+	+	+	+	-

Examples for each possible syllable structure are given in table 2.2.

Table 2.2.: Possible syllable structures

syllable	example
V	*a*-prefix
CV	*mə-, kə-, sə-* prefixes, suffixes, particles
Vː	*ì* 'to die'
Ṽː	*ǜ* 'to go (to base)'
ṼC	*ɛ̃́ʔ* 'cloth'
VC	*úʔ* 'to hide'
CVː	*ʃì* 'meat'
CṼː	*ʃǜ* 'wood'
CVC	*ʃĩʔ* 'louse'
CjVː	*abjaò* 'crazy'
CjṼː	*akjɑ̃́* 'hole'
CjVC	*kjúʔ* 'sago hatchet'
CRVː	*klá* 'where'
CRṼː	*krɔ̃́* 'spear'
CRVC	*príʔ*[2] 'to get scalded'
CRjVː	*akrjaó* 'paralysed'
CRjṼː	*krjɑ̃́* 'to be clear'
CRjVC	*pljáŋ* 'to bulge out'

2.1.1. Exceptions to the proposed syllable structure

An exception to the general syllable pattern is the numeral 'three' *ḿm* which is pronounced as a syllabic [m̩], i.e. containing no overt vowel at all and hence not having any overt nucleus[1]. A possible explanation would be that this is the realisation for an underlying central vowel with nasal coda /ɨm/ or /əm/. However, lacking parallels, this hypothesis cannot be ascertained (there are no examples with other nasals).

Further apparent exceptions to the syllable formula can be explained as loans. For example, syllable initial velar nasals occur only in loans, e.g. *ŋuì* 'silver' (probably Tshangla). Onsets clusters with [ɹ] are Miji loans (e.g. *-bɹɛ̀* 'compete'). Syllables with coda *r, l* are loans from other languages such as Hindi *haʤar* '1000', or the result of fast speech phenomena or both. E.g. *bropɔ́* → [brpɔː] → [**bər**pɔː] 'herder', or *barəgì* → [**bar**giː] 'lion'.

2.1.2. Frequency of syllable structures

In principle, Bulu Puroik allows considerably complex syllables. However, syllables of higher complexity are rarer in the lexicon and in the discourse, i.e. most of the words containing a complex syllable are rarely used in discourse.

A summary of the frequency of particular syllable structures in the lexicon and in the texts is given in table 2.3[2]. By far the most frequent syllables in the lexicon and in the texts are those with a simple onset: CV, CVː and CVC. The syllables with simple onset make about 80 percent of all syllables both in the corpus and in the lexicon.

Many of the most frequent morphemes in Bulu Puroik discourse have the structure CV, e.g. *-la*, *ʤi*, *=ku*, *-na*, *ba-* (morpheme frequency statistics in section A.13). This explains why CV syllables are frequent in the corpus. Several frequent lexical prefixes have this structure which explains the frequency of CV in the lexicon, e.g. *mə-, ma-, nə-, pə-, pa-, sə-, kə-* (see noun prefixes 3.3.2).

[1] The pronunciation of the syllabic bilabial nasal is much longer than the usual simple bilabial nasal, hence the orthography mm.

[2] Loans and words of the hunting and ritual language were excluded from the counts

Table 2.3.: Frequency of syllable structures in lexicon and corpus

	Lexicon		Corpus	
	absolute	percentage	absolute	percentage
CVC	1158	35.18	2516	23.05
CV	963	29.25	4775	43.74
CVV	504	15.31	2121	19.43
V	290	8.81	402	3.68
CjVC	130	3.95	179	1.64
CjVV	59	1.79	150	1.37
CRVC	38	1.15	105	0.96
VC	31	0.94	246	2.25
CRVV	26	0.79	274	2.51
(CɹVC)	19	0.58	6	0.05
CjV	19	0.58	16	0.15
CVCC	18	0.55	1	0.01
VV	15	0.46	82	0.75
CRV	8	0.24	17	0.16
CRjVC	6	0.18	1	0.01
VCC	2	0.06	4	0.04
(CɹVV)	2	0.06	1	0.01
(CɹVCC)	2	0.06	1	0.01
CRjVV	1	0.03	-	-
CjVCC	1	0.03	3	0.03

2.2. Consonantal segments and onsets

All consonants - except the glottal stop *ʔ* and the velar nasal *ŋ*[3] - are valid onsets and most syllables in Bulu Puroik do indeed have a consonantal onset, i.e. are of the structure C(C)V(C) (table 2.3). Syllables without onset are possible and will be discussed in

[3]occurs in loans and as realisation of nasal vowels

section 2.2.7. Onsets of syllables may consist of maximally three consonants (section 2.2.8).

The consonant inventory of Bulu Puroik consists of plosives of three places of articulation with a three way voice onset distinction (2.2.1). Furthermore, Bulu Puroik distinguishes palatal from alveolar affricates and fricatives (section 2.2.4 and 2.2.3). The bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar nasal /n/ occur as onsets and as codas.

The consonants of Bulu Puroik are summarised in (table 2.4).

Table 2.4.: Bulu Puroik consonants. Phonemes in parenthesis do not occur as onsets.

labial	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosives	p pʰ b	t tʰ d		k kʰ g	(ʔ)
affricates		ʦ ʣ	ʧ ʤ		
nasal	m	n		(ŋ)	
fricatives	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		h
lateral fricative		ɬ			
approximants	w	r l	j		

2.2.1. Plosives

In onset position, there are 9 plosives of three places of articulation with a three ways distinction of voice onset time (table 2.5)[4]. The glottal stop does not occur as a distinctive initial, although onsetless syllables are sometimes pronounced with an initial glottal stop, e.g. *ì* 'to die' as [ʔiː].

Table 2.5.: Plosives

	VOT > 0 (aspirated)	VOT ≈ 0	VOT < 0 (voiced)
bilabial	pʰ	p	b
alveolar	tʰ	t	d
velar	kʰ	k	g

[4]voice onset time (VOT) is the time between the release of the stop and the onset of the voicing. For voiced stops the value is negative because the voicing starts before the stop is released.

Table 2.6 presents minimal pairs for a three-way contrast in voice onset time of plosives.

Table 2.6.: Bilabial plosives (acute = high pitch, grave = low pitch)

p	*pí*	píː	‘to hammer’
pʰ	*pʰì*	pʰi̤ː	‘to feel dizzy’
b	*bì*	bìː	‘sago flour’
p	*apín*	apín	‘sweet’
pʰ	*məpʰìn*	məpʰi̤n	‘maize’
b	*ləbín*	ləbìn	‘sleepy’
pj	*apjǎ́*	apjǎ́ː	‘long’
pʰj	*apʰjà̰*	apʰjà̰ː	‘trigger in trap’
bj	*səbjà̰*	səbjàŋ	‘tick’

Table 2.7.: Alveolar plosives

t	*tǎ́*	tǎ́	‘bind’
tʰ	*tʰà̰*	tʰà̰	‘give’
d	*dà̰*	dà̰	‘Allium hookeri’
t	*tə́m*	tə́m	‘to warm’
tʰ	*tʰə̀m*	tʰə̀m	‘trapping pit’
d	*-də́m*	də̀m	‘whole day’
t	*tí*	tíː	‘close the eyes’
tʰ	*tʰì*	tʰi̤ː	‘scoop water’
d	*bədì*	dìː	‘gossip’
t	*sətú*	túː	‘horse’
tʰ	*pətʰù*	tʰṳː	‘to fix’
d	*pədù*	dùː	‘bird’

Table 2.8.: Velar plosives

k	*akɔ́*	akɔ́ː	'tired'
kʰ	*akʰɔ̀*	akʰɔ̰̀ː	'soup'
g	*məgɔ̀*	məgɔ̀ː	'walnut'
k	*kúʔ*	kṵʔ	'peel'
kʰ	*kʰúʔ*	kʰṵʔ	'ascend'
g	*gúʔ*	gṵʔ	'moss'

2.2.2. VOT and pitch of nucleus

Remarkably often in pairs of plosives with contrasting voice onset time, not only voicing or aspiration of the plosive is contrasting, but also the pitch of the following vowel (see 2.5). Syllables with unvoiced, unaspirated onset tend to have a higher pitch than syllables with unvoiced, aspirated onset (e.g. *akɔ́* 'tired' vs. *akʰɔ̀* 'soup'). However, the aspirated vs. unaspirated contrast of plosives cannot fully be explained through the tones of the nucleus. For example, with glottal coda the tone is neutralised and only the voice onset of the onset is distinctive, e.g. *kúʔ* vs. *kʰúʔ*, which both bear a high tone.

2.2.3. Affricates

Affricates are plosives which are released with a homorganic fricative. Bulu Puroik distinguishes voiced and unvoiced affricates at two places of articulation: alveolar *ʦ, ʣ* and post-alveolar *ʧ, ʤ*. Fricatives do not occur in consonant clusters and hence, a phonological analysis of affricates as stop-fricative clusters is not viable. The affricates *ʧ, ʤ, ʦ, ʣ* not further segmentable into smaller phonological units.

Minimal pairs for different places of articulation of affricates

Minimal pairs for the two places of articulation are given in table 2.9 and 2.10.

Table 2.9.: Unvoiced palatal vs. alveolar affricate (/ʧ/ vs. /ʦ/)

/ʧ/		/ʦ/	
ʧáʔ	'chicken'	*ʦáʔ*	'to do'
ʧáp	'hold with toes'	*aʦáp*	'shallow'
ʧaò	'sago'	*ʦaò*	'to boil'
ʧɛ̀	'rat'	*ʦɛ̀*	'snot'
aʧɛ̀	'over-salted'	*aʦɛ̀*	'old'
aʧoì	'far'	*aʦoì*	'paternal uncle'
ʃəʧə́m	'takin'	*səʦə́m*	'mortar'

Table 2.10.: Voiced palatal vs. alveolar affricate (/ʤ/ vs. /ʣ/)

/ʤ/		/ʣ/	
ʤúmʤɑ̀	'lizard'	*kaʣɑ̀*	'wax'
ʤúʔ	'to spit'	*ʣúʔ*	'to pestle'
ʤɔ̀	'fishing net'	*ʣɔ̀*	'all'
aʤím	'soft'	*ʣɨ́m*	'submerge'

Minimal pairs for voicing difference in affricates

The pairs in 2.11 and 2.12 show the contrast in voicing of affricates.

Table 2.11.: Voicing contrast of palatal affricates (/ʧ/ vs. /ʤ/)

/ʧ/		/ʤ/	
ʧáp	'to hold with toes'	*ʤáp*	'make bundles'
ʧúʔ	'to dig'	*ʤúʔ*	'to spit'
ʧĭp	'make beer'	*ʤíp*	'milk (a cow)'
=ʧi	ADD	*=ʤi*	ANA

Table 2.12.: /ts/ vs. /ʣ/

/ts/		/ʣ/	
tsə̀	'to entertain guests'	*kaʣə̀*	'wax'
atsɛ̀	'old'	*aʣɛ̀*	'child'
atsé?	'hot'	*kaʣé?*	'cable car seat'
tsú	'to hit'	*ʣú?*	'to pestle something'
tsún	'jump'	*ʣún*	'make pointed'

2.2.4. Fricatives

Bulu Puroik distinguishes fricatives in four places of articulation with a voiced and an unvoiced counterpart, eight fricatives in total: unvoiced and voiced labiodental fricative (*f, v*), unvoiced and voiced alveolar fricative (*s, z*), unvoiced and voiced post-alveolar fricative (*ʃ, ʒ*), unvoiced glottal fricative *h*, unvoiced lateral fricative *ɬ*.

Minimal pairs for places of articulation of fricatives

The following minimal pairs establish the different places of articulation of voiceless fricative phonemes (table 2.13):

Table 2.13.: Unvoiced fricative phonemes

labiodental	alveolar	post-alveolar	glottal	lateral
fì	*asì*	*ʃì*	*ahì*	*məɬì*
'to carry'	'bear'	'meat'	'very black'	'lie'
afɛ̀	*sɛ̀*	*maʃɛ̀*	*hɛ̀*	*-ɬɛ̀*
'new'	'grass'	'split bamboo'	'people'	'on the side of'
	asə̀	*ʃə̀*	*hə̀*	*aɬə̀*
	'clear'	'Urtica fibres'	'today'	'bald'
	sámtʰì	*ʃám*	*hám*	*ɬám*
	'next year'	'to rot'	'house'	'change clothes'
			hɨ̀	*ɬíŋ*
			'this'	'to climb'

The glottal fricative /h/ and the lateral fricative /ɬ/ do not have voiced counterparts. The fricatives of the other three places of articulation have voiced counterparts which are in contrast with each other (see minimal sets in table 2.14).

Table 2.14.: Voiced fricative phonemes

labiodental	alveolar	post-alveolar
aváŋ	*kəzə̀̃*	*ʒə̃̀*
'uncle'	'hair'	'to put inside'
vɛ̀	*zɛ̀*	
3SG	'to laugh'	
	azɛ̃̀	*bəʒɛ̃̀*
	'bone'	'worm'
vɛ̃̀	*zɛ̃̀*	*ʒɛ̃̀*
'sharpen'	'twist'	'carry'
vù	*zù*	*azù*
'to go'	'to wear clothes'	'wife'
vì	*azì*	*kaʒì*
'four'	'small'	'bird of prey'
	zə́p	*ʒə́p*
	'quiver'	'make a fist'

Minimal pairs for voicing of fricatives

The following tables give minimal pairs for the voicing contrast of fricatives (table 2.15, 2.16, 2.17).

Table 2.15.: /f/ vs. /v/

/f/		/v/	
fɛ̃̀	'to throw'	*vɛ̃̀*	'sharpen'
fì	'to carry on back'	*vì*	'four'
fəù	'salt'	*vəù*	'axe'
fù	'to blow'	*vù*	'to go away from base'

Table 2.16.: /s/ vs. /z/

/s/		/z/	
sɛ̃̀	'grass'	*azɛ̃̀*	'bone'
sɛ̀	'to split wood'	*zɛ̀*	'to laugh'
asì	'bear'	*azì*	'small, narrow'
asù	'body'	*zù*	'to put on clothes'

Table 2.17.: /ʃ/ vs. /ʒ/

/ʃ/		/ʒ/	
ʃɑ̀	'Urtica fibres'	*ʒɑ̀*	'to put inside'
ʃám	'rot'	*ʒám*	'kick'
ʃì	'wood'	*ʒì*	'hang'
ʃɪ̌ʔ	'louse'	*kəʒíʔ*	'to sharpen'
ʃú	'sago place'	*aʒù*	'wife'

Lateral fricative

Puroik has a distinctive lateral fricative. Table 2.13 presented pairs contrasting the lateral fricative with all other fricatives. Table 2.18 lists minimal pairs between the lateral fricative and the lateral approximant.

Table 2.18.: /ɬ/ vs. /l/

/ɬ/		/l/	
aɬɑ̀	'bald'	*palɑ̀*	'bamboo mug'
-ɬɛ̀	'that side'	*-lɛ̀*	comparative
aɬím	'shade'	*alím*	'animal path'
ɬíŋ	'to climb'	*alíŋ*	'inside'
aɬyì	'stomach'	*nəlyì*	'high quality sago variety'
ɬjaù	'untie'	*məljaò*	'eight'

Phonetically, the lateral fricative is clearly a fricative with high frequency noise around 7000 Hz, and not a voiceless lateral as in other Trans-Himalayan languages[5].

Interdental fricative

The lateral fricative may have an allophone [θ] (interdental fricative). The root *aɬɑ̀̃* 'barren' is pronounced with a lateral fricative by some speakers [aɬãː] and with an interdental fricative as [aθãː] by other speakers. Other roots sometimes pronounced with an interdental fricative are *aɬíʔ* 'wife's younger brother', *aɬuɛ̀* 'below'. The allophonic variation might be due to Miji influence. For example *aɬɑ̀̃* 'barren' corresponds *ϑaŋ* in Miji.

2.2.5. Nasals

The phoneme inventory of Bulu Puroik contains nasals of three places of articulation: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/. The bilabial and the alveolar nasal occur both as onset and as coda. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is restricted to the coda in native Bulu Puroik words.

As for the phonetically common palatal nasal [ɲ], a phonological analysis as a cluster of /n/ and the glide /j/ is preferable. The interpretation as a cluster is more parsimonious (no extra phoneme needed) and makes the system more symmetric. Under the assumption that the palatal nasal is not an own phoneme, all nasals can occur in coda (the palatal nasal does not) and and all consonants can form a cluster with the palatal glide /j/ (no contrast of /ɲ/ vs. /ɲj/).

2.2.6. Sonorants

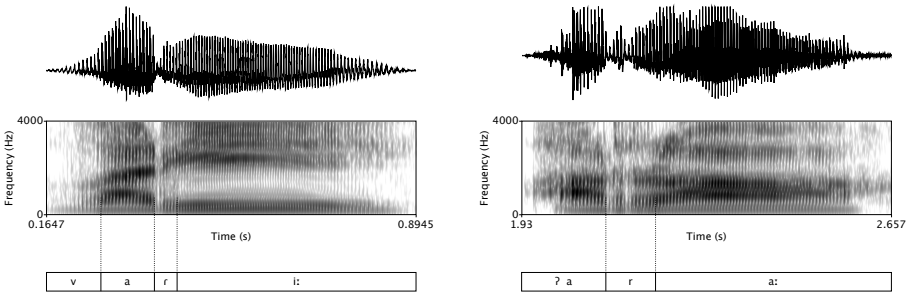
Table 2.19 presents minimal pairs between the trill /r/ and the lateral /l/:

[5] Ladefoged and Maddieson 1995, p. 198 remark that voiceless laterals are often by default considered to be fricatives, even if they are actually approximants: "In the case of a substantial number of other languages the available descriptions do not specify if the voiceless laterals occurring in them are approximant or fricative in nature. Perhaps this is because there is a widespread tradition of regarding all voiceless laterals as fricatives, with turbulence necessarily resulting from the air passing through the lateral aperture.".

Table 2.19.: /r/ vs. /l/

Trill		Lateral	
rì	'to speak'	*lì*	'to put'
alíʔ	'plain'	*líʔ*	'shoot'
rɔ́ʔ	'to weave'	*alɔ́ʔ*	'penis'
arà	'big'	*la*	CONJ
rə́m	'sleep'	*alə́m*	'warm'
rə́ʔ	'frog'	*sələ́ʔ*	'sheep'
mərù	'woman'	*kʰɔlù*	'bamboo section'

The trill /r/ is phonetically realised as one closure [ɾ] sometimes as two closures [r]. Under the influence of Miji, the trill is sometimes realised as an approximant [ɹ].



(a) Intervocalic trill with one closure

(b) Intervocalic trill with two closures

Figure 2.2.: Realisation of the trill

Labiovelar approximant

The labiovelar approximant is in contrast with the labiodental fricative /v/ (see table 2.20).

Table 2.20.: /w/ vs. /v/

approximant		fricative	
wɛ̀	'there is not'	*vɛ̀*	3SG
wù	'five'	*vù*	'to go'
awì	'husband'	*avì*	'sharp'
waíʔ	'fart'	*vaíʔ*	COP
awə̀̃	'ridge'	*aváŋ*	'uncle'

Phonetically, the labiovelar approximant with its high sonority is very vowel-like and one could argue that the approximant is just a realisation of the vowel /u/.

However, the minimal pairs in table 2.21 between syllable initial vowel /u/ and the approximant /w/, show that this analysis is not viable.

Table 2.21.: Syllable initial vowel /u/ vs. approximant

initial /u/		initial /w/	
úʔ	'hide'	*wúʔ*	'cave'
		wù	'five'
ə̀̃	'go to base'	*wə̀̃*	'lay an egg'

Furthermore, analysing the labiovelar approximant as a realisation of the vowel /u/ would imply the existence of triphthongs (sequence of three vowels within one syllable). For example *waíʔ* 'fart' as /uaiʔ/, *awaí* 'fruit' as /auai/, *tsəwoì* 'bee species' as /tsəuoi/. If the labiovelar is analysed as a separate phoneme, triphthongs do not exist in Bulu Puroik.

2.2.7. Zero onset

Onsetless syllables are not frequent in the lexicon of Bulu Puroik. However, some very frequent morphemes do not have an onset such as the most common noun and adjective prefix *a-* or the the overall most frequent verb and auxiliary *ə̀̃* 'go to base'. The central vowels /ɨ/ and /ə/ and the back vowel /o/ are not attested as absolute onsets.

(2) Onsetless syllables

a. **a** *a*-prefix (very common), *pa.ǎ* 'crow'

b. **ɛ** *ɛ́ʔ* 'cloth', *ɛ̀* 'same', *ɛ̀ru* 'after three days',

c. **e** *è* 'feces'

d. **i** *ì* 'to die', *íʔ* 'to cut without leaving the blade', *ín* 'to drink', *ím* 'sit with crossed legs'

e. **ɨ** no examples

f. **ə** no examples

g. **o** no examples

h. **ɔ** *ɔ́ʔ* 'pig', *ɔ̀* 'itch', *ɔ̋ʔ* 'wild banana', *ɔì* 'find', *kɔ.ɔ́* 'forehead'

i. **u** *ù* 'to go', *úʔ* 'to hide'

Vowel initial syllables can be pre-glottalised, e.g. *anì* 'day' as [ʔaniː]. However, pre-glottalisation is optional, and for the hypothesis that all syllables without onset might have an underlying glottal stop as onset, there is no further evidence.

In the idiolect of one speaker, the vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is pronounced as a diphthong [ua]. If no onset precedes the nucleus /ua/, the first part of the diphthong becomes consonantal, i.e. *ɔ́ʔ* 'pig' is pronounced as *wáʔ* (realisation of /uaʔ/), *ɔ̋ʔ* 'wild banana' as *wa̋ʔ*, *ɔ̀* 'itch' as *awuà*.

2.2.8. Consonant clusters

The maximal complexity of a onset cluster is a combination of three consonants: 1) consonant (C_i) 2) r, l, (ɪ) 3) a glide j. The first consonant segment C_i can in principle be filled by any consonant segment except those restricted to coda /ʔ, ŋ/ and segments of the second and third slot /r, l, j/. Every slot can be filled at most once with the maximally possible onset structure *Crj* or *Clj*, which are both attested (*krjǎ* 'to be clear' or *pljáŋ* 'bulge').

Restrictions on the initial consonant in clusters

Clusters with *r* and *l* occur only with unaspirated plosive onsets. There are no attested cases with aspirated plosives (i.e. no †p^hr or †p^hrj). Nasals (*m, n*), sonorants (*j, r, l, w*),

affricates (*ʧ, ʤ, ʦ, ʣ*), fricatives (*ɬ, h, ʃ, ʒ, s, z, f, v*) do not form clusters with *r* and *l* either. All consonants can form a cluster with the glide *j*. A plausible alternative analysis of clusters with glide would be palatalisation of the onset with a glide offset, i.e. the glide being an allophonic feature of phonological palatalisation.

Cɹ cluster in Miji loans

Clusters with the approximant /ɹ/ occur only in loans from Miji: *abɹáʔ* 'broken', *dəbɹáŋ* 'stretch', *səmɹáŋ* 'whiskers', *kabɹáŋ* 'target', *fɹáʔ* 'broken tooth', *kəvɹíʔ* 'bamboo sp.', *ʧàgɹáŋ* 'taro sp.'

2.2.9. Frequency of onset segments

Onsetless morphemes are rare. However, due to the frequency of the a-prefix in nouns and adjectives, the zero onset is the most frequent onset in the lexicon (2.3). Other prefix are less frequent and distort the onset counts in the lexicon less (*kə-, ka-, pə-, pa-, mə-, ma-, sə-*).

The most frequent onset in the corpus is the lateral approximant /l/. Its frequency in the texts is due to the clause connectors *la*, *lana* (*=la*, *=lana*) which are among the most frequent morphemes overall (2.4). The alveolar nasal onset is frequent because of the non-past marker *-na* which is the most frequent TAM marker in the corpus. Furthermore, there is a very frequent contrastive topic marker *=na*. The frequency of the velar stop k is due to the locative and object marker *=ku* (*=ku*[2]). What is also remarkable is the frequency of the affricate /ʤ/ which is due to the frequency of the anaphoric pronoun and definiteness marker *ʤi*.

2.3. Rhymes and vowel segments

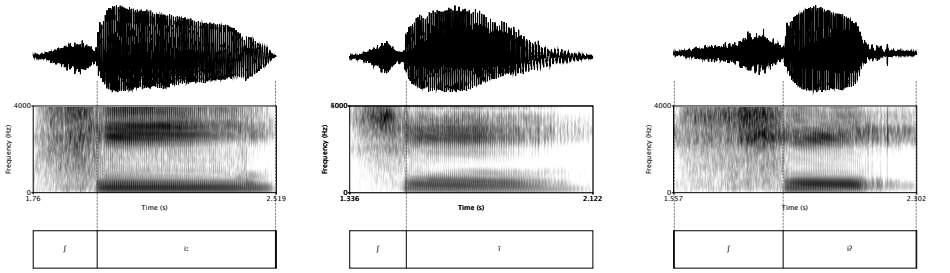
Bulu Puroik has 9 simple vowel phonemes (2.3.1) and 12 diphthongs (2.3.2). Vowels can form a rhyme by themselves or in combination with one of the following consonants /ʔ, p, ŋ, n, m/. The most common rhyme types are open rhymes with a long or short open vowel (nasal-non-nasal) and rhymes with glottal coda (2.5). Rhymes with bilabial stop or nasal are comparatively rare. More than 80 percent of all rhymes are open or glottal section.

	a	ə	u	i	j	ɨ	ɛ	o	ɔ	e	ɾ	y	ɪ	l	total
∅	291	1	10	15	0	0	11	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	336
k	70	71	36	7	17	6	1	9	6	1	16	0	1	2	243
r	36	19	27	54	26	17	5	12	8	7	0	0	0	0	211
ɬ	65	6	24	50	3	19	14	10	9	5	0	1	0	0	206
m	36	64	25	24	9	8	11	3	11	5	1	1	2	0	200
b	45	34	39	12	15	6	6	7	6	2	14	0	5	6	197
p	53	41	16	15	19	3	10	4	5	1	9	0	1	6	183
l	45	16	31	18	17	13	10	14	5	3	0	3	0	0	175
s	24	74	21	11	9	4	10	2	0	8	3	0	0	0	166
d	16	74	16	3	0	9	5	8	12	4	4	6	0	0	157
n	32	27	17	26	29	3	4	3	4	3	0	8	0	0	156
t	37	25	18	7	1	12	2	8	6	1	4	6	0	1	128
ʃ	25	12	17	25	11	5	7	4	4	3	0	1	0	0	114
g	20	22	16	6	13	1	4	9	3	1	6	0	6	6	113
h	39	1	10	12	17	5	4	6	4	3	1	0	4	0	106
ɑʁ	18	4	21	26	2	6	3	16	4	2	0	0	0	0	102
w	20	1	22	12	2	1	8	8	2	1	0	0	1	0	78
ʒ	7	2	25	17	3	3	1	6	7	3	0	0	0	0	74
ts	22	7	12	0	0	13	7	5	0	8	0	0	0	0	74
pʰ	3	2	17	12	0	1	8	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	51
z	5	3	8	3	6	4	6	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	40
v	2	3	6	3	8	7	3	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	36
ɬ	11	0	4	3	1	2	3	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	29
kʰ	1	0	8	2	0	3	1	3	7	1	0	0	0	0	26
d	3	1	7	0	0	5	1	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	26
f	2	2	5	5	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	22
tʰ	1	1	5	5	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	22
j	9	0	3	1	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
total	938	513	466	374	209	159	153	147	116	78	58	35	23	21	3290

Figure 2.3.: Frequency of onsets in lexicon (before nuclei and *r, l, j, ɹ*)

	a	i	u	ɛ	ə	ɨ	r	j	o	ɔ	e	y	l	ɹ	total
l	1204	44	65	10	18	54	0	14	17	24	64	0	0	0	1514
r	50	405	163	7	21	80	0	32	96	13	22	0	0	0	889
k	183	8	406	36	46	25	70	39	6	0	0	0	17	0	836
n	553	106	32	5	33	17	0	40	1	33	6	3	0	0	829
ʔ	404	67	194	49	2	0	0	0	5	5	8	0	0	0	734
b	257	22	213	11	53	3	3	75	35	10	9	0	3	5	699
ɗ	15	601	41	0	0	13	0	5	8	3	0	0	0	0	686
ʃ	179	269	49	16	2	32	0	0	7	14	4	0	0	0	572
h	86	100	10	145	7	125	0	30	0	1	30	0	0	1	535
g	20	18	125	8	24	1	217	26	15	0	0	0	1	1	456
m	76	32	64	35	125	28	1	21	10	30	3	3	0	1	429
d	22	7	19	43	124	18	0	0	15	81	15	55	0	0	399
p	69	15	81	15	30	3	75	30	0	22	0	0	9	0	349
v	64	0	85	165	4	14	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	341
s	110	22	43	7	58	4	1	1	0	0	28	0	0	0	274
t	67	11	69	53	12	17	0	0	6	7	0	3	0	0	245
ʒ	21	21	33	0	56	10	0	5	4	0	23	0	0	0	173
ɪ	19	55	11	4	34	0	0	16	24	0	0	0	0	0	163
ʦ	85	0	14	1	22	9	0	0	8	0	4	0	0	0	143
w	24	11	16	77	0	0	0	0	12	0	1	0	0	0	141
ɬ	53	1	48	17	0	13	0	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	140
pʰ	0	10	4	32	7	18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	72
tʰ	30	0	11	0	2	18	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	69
f	0	3	13	2	23	19	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	61
kʰ	1	10	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0	56
j	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	43
z	2	11	8	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	31
ʤ	3	0	1	6	2	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	21
total	3632	1849	1826	752	707	522	367	348	286	281	220	72	30	8	10900

Figure 2.4.: Frequency of onsets in corpus (before nuclei and *r, l, j, ɹ*)



(a) Open rhyme non-nasal: [ʃiː] ‘meat’

(b) Open rhyme nasal: [ʃĩː] ‘wood’

(c) Glottal rhyme: [ʃiʔ] ‘louse’

Figure 2.5.: Rhyme types

2.3.1. Simple vowel segments

The vowel system of Bulu Puroik is symmetric and comprises nine vowels, three front vowels /i, e, ɛ/, three mid vowels /ɨ, ə, a/ and three back vowels /u, o, ɔ/ (table 2.22).

Table 2.22.: Simple vowels

	front	mid	back
closed	i	ɨ	u
mid	e	ə	o
open	ɛ	a	ɔ [~ua]

The minimal pairs demonstrating these 9 contrasting vowel phonemes are given in table 2.23.

Table 2.23.: Near-minimal pairs for vowels before glottal coda

	front		mid		back	
closed	*rí?*	'shoot'	*rɨ́?*	'six'	*rú?*	'bark'
mid	*ré?*	'lie'	*rə́?*	'frog'	*aró?*	'friend'
open	*rɛ́?*	'shelf'	*ará?*	'wine'	*rɔ́?*	'weave'

The open back vowel ɔ is consistently pronounced as a diphthong [uɔ] or [ua] by one speaker (e.g. *rɔ́?* in table 2.23 as *rua?*). Since he is the oldest speaker in the village, one might wonder whether this is an archaism and he preserved an older stage of the language. However, he and the other speakers of Bulu Puroik agree that this is due to an influence from the Kojo-Rojo dialect in East Kameng, where his mother and his wife were from, and not the original pronunciation of the forefathers. Therefore, for the synchronic phonological system, I assume the monophthong pronunciation as underlying and diphthong pronunciation as a contact-induced innovation.

Combined with 6 codas, there could theoretically be 9 x 6 = 54 closed rhymes. Furthermore, there are long and short open rhymes, together 18 theoretically possible open rhymes. In total there are, hence, 72 possible rhymes for Bulu Puroik. However, only 46 of these are actually attested. All possible rhymes in Puroik are listed in tables 2.24-2.26:

Table 2.24.: Nasal rhymes

	f	m	b	f	m	b	f	m	b
closed	-	ɨŋ	-	in	ɨn	-	im	ɨm	um
mid	-	əŋ	-	-	ən	-	-	əm	-
open	-	aŋ	-	-	an	-	ɛm	am	-

Table 2.25.: Stopped rhymes

	f	m	b	f	m	b
closed	iʔ	ɨʔ	uʔ	ip	ɨp	-
mid	eʔ	əʔ	oʔ	-	əp	(op)
open	ɛʔ	aʔ	ɔʔ	-	ap	-

Table 2.26.: Open rhymes

	f	m	b	f	m	b	f	m	b
closed	i	ɨ	u	iː	ɨː	uː	ĩː	ɨ̃ː	ũː
mid	-	ə	-	eː	əː	oː	ẽː	-	õː
open	ɛ	a	ɔ	ɛː	aː	ɔː	ɛ̃ː	ãː	ɔ̃ː

Further minimal pairs for the central vowel

The contrast between most simple vowel phonemes in table 2.22 are relatively well attested. However, only a few good examples are available for the difference between the mid and closed central vowel (/ɨ/ vs. /ə/). Further (near-)minimal pairs are given in table 2.27.

Table 2.27.: Near minimal pairs for the central vowels

closed		mid	
ʒɨ̀	'descend'	*ʒə̀*	'make'

bapɨ́	'insect'	*pə́*	'fabricate'
bətʃɨ̋m	'extinct'	*ʃətʃə̋m*	'takin'
adʑɨ́m	'narrow'	*sətsə́m*	'mortar'

2.3.2. Diphthongs

With the exception of the rounded front vowel [y], which does not occur as simple vowel, diphthongs can be understood as combinations of two simple vowels. Combinations of more than two vowels do not occur. Moreover, the set of attested two-vowel combinations is restricted (10 out of 100 possible combination 2.28). There are three diphthongs which end on back vowel *au*, *ao* and *əu*. All other diphthongs end on front vowel *ɛ* or *i*. Diphthongs usually occur in open syllables, but diphthongs ending on front-vowel may occur in syllables closed with glottal stop. Syllables with other coda (*-p, -m, -n, -ŋ*) never occur with diphthong nucleus.

Table 2.28.: Diphthongs

	a	ɛ	e	i	y	ɨ	ə	ɔ	o	u
a				+					+	+
ɛ				(+)						
e				+						
y		+		+						
ə				+						+
ɔ				+						
o				+						
u		+		+						

What is missing in table 2.28 are falling diphthongs starting with the closed central vowel /ɨ/ and diphthongs starting with /i/. In sake of parsimony, the glide is analysed as part of the onset rather than an realisation of /i/. If the glide was part of the nucleus, the inventory of dipthongs would almost double and lead to the existence of triphthongs (combinations of three vowels). Diphthongs may be nasal and always bear a tone, i.e. diphthongs are never found in toneless prefix syllables.

Front vowel diphthongs

Rising front vowel diphthongs occur in open syllables (nasal or non-nasal) and in syllables closed with glottal stop *ʔ*, but not with other codas (*-p, -m, -n, -ŋ*). Example 3 shows the diphthong in open syllable, in open syllable with nasalisation and in a syllable closed with glottal stop.

(3) *ʧakuí* 'cooked rice' vs. *akuĩ́* 'ear' vs. *kʰuíʔ* 'enter'

The diphthong /ɛi/ is in complimentary distribution with the diphthong /ai/ and occurs only after *j, r, n* (4). An exception is the root *mɛì* 'to mate' which is a loan from Miji.

(4) *akjai* → *akjɛí* 'branch'

The diphthongs starting on rounded front vowel /yi/ and /yɛ/ might have arisen in a similar way. These diphthongs only occur after alveolars /t, tʰ, d, n/, the palatals /ʧ, ʤ, j/ and the trill /r/. There might have been a historical rule which fronted *ui* and *uɛ* after alveolars and palatals (**ui* → *yi*, **uɛ* → *yɛ*). However, the fronted and the un-fronted diphthongs are in contrast in the synchronic system (unlike the diphthongs [ai] and [ɛi] which are allophones). Tables table 2.29 and 2.29 show the minimal pairs between the fronted and un-fronted diphthong.

Table 2.29.: Minimal pair between /yɛ/ and /uɛ/

uɛ		yɛ	
katʃuɛ̃̀	'mud'	*atʃyɛ̃̀*	'sour'

Table 2.30.: Minimal pairs /yi/ vs. /ui/

ui		yi	
nuì	'boil sago'	*anyì*	'close'
dəduì	'person from Lada'	*mədyì*	'chicken'
bjáŋluì	'sago drink'	*alyì*	'tongue'

Back vowel diphthongs

Except in loans, diphthongs ending on back vowel do not occur in closed syllables (e.g. *akəbaú?* 'kidney' <Miji). The diphthong *ao* is frequent, the diphthongs *au* and *əu* are rather rare. Examples for the contrast /ao/ vs. /au/ are given in table 2.31.

Table 2.31.: Minimal pairs /au/ vs. /ao/

ao		au	
ʧaò	'sago'	*ʧaù*	'to comb'
		aʧaù	'slave'
akaó	'part of trap'	*pakaú*	'bag'
		nəgaù	'flower sp.'

The diphthong *ao* is monophthongised to [a] in composition and in allegro speech (*ʧaò* + *-bǎ̀* → *ʧabǎ̀*). The diphthong /ao/ and the long vowel /aa/ are, however, in contrast (table 2.32).

Table 2.32.: Minimal pairs /ao/ vs. /aː/

ao		aː	
paó	'to dry'	*apá*	'father'
anjaò	'fresh, new'	*kənjà*	'Khoina'
saò	'roast'	*sà*	'tea'

2.3.3. Stopped rhymes

Only two stops can occur in coda: the glottal stop *ʔ*, and the bilabial stop *p*. The glottal stop is restricted to the coda, the voiceless bilabial stop occurs as onset and in coda. The glottal coda is very frequent, the bilabial stop coda is restricted to a few cases. The alveolar stop t cannot occur in the coda.

Evidence from eastern Puroik dialects shows that Bulu Puroik is on the way of merging all syllable final stops (**-k, *-t, *-p*) into glottal stop. There are cases that go back to a bilabial stop *ʧɛ́ʔ* 'cry' as compared to Kojo-Rojo Puroik *ʧap*, and cases going back to

alveolar, as for example *agé?* 'hand' as compared to Rawa Puroik *gət*. While the syllable final alveolar completely merged into glottal stop, the difference between the glottal and the bilabial stop coda is synchronically still maintained, even if not always and by all speakers. Table 2.33 shows example of contrasting glottal and bilabial stop coda.

Table 2.33.: Minimal pairs coda /ʔ/ vs. /p/

/-p/		/-ʔ/	
ʧáp	'to hold'	*ʧáʔ*	'house fowl'
rəp	'to forge'	*rəʔ*	'frog'
aləp	'leaf'	*səláʔ*	'sheep'
záp	'quiver'	*təməzáʔ*	'fire tripod'
ríp	'to squeeze'	*ríʔ*	'to shoot'
ʤíp	'to milk (a cow)'	*aʤíʔ*	'beautiful'
aʃíp	'donation for priest'	*aʃíʔ*	'red'

The examples in table 2.33 are consistently pronounced with final labial or final glottal stop by all speakers. In other cases, the speakers do not agree. For example, the 'shelf over the fire place' is pronounced as *ráp* by some speakers and as *réʔ* by others (*ráp* is considered to be a loan from the Kojo-Rojo dialect). Another root where both a glottal and a bilabial coda seem to exist is *gatʃíp* ~ *gatʃíʔ* 'archery hand protection'.

The bilabial stop in coda is also in contrast to the bilabial nasal (table 2.34):

Table 2.34.: Minimal pairs coda /-m/ vs. /-p/

/-p/		/-m/	
ráp	'fireplace shelf'	*rám*	'to cut'
ʧáp	'to hold'	*atʃám*	'daughter-in-law'
rəp	'to forge'	*rəm*	'to sleep'
aləp	'leaf'	*aləm*	'warm'
záp	'quiver'	*səm*	'language'
ʤíp	'to milk'	*aʤím*	'soft'

Bilabial stops in coda are *-ɨp* are only attested with central vowels (*-ɨp, -əp, -ap*). Diph-

thongs and nasal vowels do not occur with bilabial stop coda. Since codas on bilabial plosive are very rare, finding true minimal pairs is difficult. Near-minimal sets are given in (5).

(5) a. *aʃĭp* 'ritual fee', məʃɪp 'knot', *ʒə́p* 'make a fist', *ʒáp* 'winnow'
b. *ríp* 'squeeze', *rə́p* 'forge', *ráp* 'shelf'

In contrast to the bilabial stop coda, all nine vowels occur before glottal stop coda (see again table 2.23).

The glottal coda is in contrast with the open syllable and the nasal coda (table 2.35):

Table 2.35.: Minimal pairs /-Vʔ/ vs. /-Vː/ vs. /-Vː/

/-Vʔ/		/-Vː/		/-Vː/	
ʃĭʔ	'louse'	*ʃɪ̀*	'wood'	*ʃì*	'meat'
wɛ́ʔ	'kill'	*wɛ̀̃*	'dry'	*wɛ̀*	EXIST
wúʔ	'cave'	*wʊ̀̃*	'lay an egg'	*wù*	'five'
rɔ́ʔ	'weave'	*rɔ̀̃*	'step'	*rɔ̀*	'stone trap'

2.3.4. Nasal rhymes

Bulu Puroik has nasal codas of velar, alveolar and bilabial place of articulation (-ŋ, -n, -m). Segmental coda consonants contrast with each other as well as with open nasal vowels. However, examples of a four-way contrast velar vs. alveolar vs. bilabial vs. nasal vowel are difficult to find due to the restricted distribution (near pairs in 2.36).

Table 2.36.: Three way contrast of final nasals

mɨ́ŋ	'mushroom'
amə́n	'body hair'
mə́m	'to hatch'
apʰɪ̀̃	'liver'
apín	'sweet'
lím	'path'

Alveolar nasal codas

Comparison with other Puroik varieties shows that final alveolar nasals in Proto-Puroik caused nasalisation and rising of the nucleus vowel in Bulu Puroik (e.g. **pan* > *pɛ̃́* 'cut' (KR *pan*), **akun* > *akuĩ́* 'ear' (KR *akun*)). However, after nucleus /i/, there are still some alveolar nasals which are in contrast with vowel nasality (table 2.37).

Table 2.37.: Contrasts between final nasal and vowel nasality

final nasal		nasalisation	
apín	'sweet'	*apʰĩ̀*	'liver'
məpʰìn	'maize'		
ʒín	'be scared'	*ʒĩ̀*	'to hang'
ʃín	'wind'	*ʃĩ̀*	'wood'

Mid front vowel ɛ and nasality

The open front vowel /ɛ/ tends to be pronounced nasal even in places where no nasalisation is justified. In careful speech, however, there are clear minimal pairs between nasal and non-nasal open front vowel /ɛ/ (table 2.38).

Table 2.38.: /ɛ̃ː/ vs. /ɛː/

/ɛ̃ː/		/ɛː/	
-hɛ̃̀	'people'	*hɛ̀*	'what'
bɛ̃̀	'to load'	*bɛ̀*	'fire'
azɛ̃̀	'bone'	*zɛ̀*	'to laugh'
amɛ̃̀	'old woman'	*mɛ̀*	'vegetable'

2.3.5. Frequency of rhymes

The most frequent rhyme in lexicon and texts is short open *a*. This is not surprising as the short vowel *a* is contained in the most common lexical prefixes (*ma-, ka-, pa-*) as well as in the most frequent grammatical morphemes (*ba-* NEG, *-na* NPST, *-la* SEQ, *-lana* ANT, *-ka* REL, *=na* TOP).

	short	long	N	ʔ	n	n	m	p	N?	total
a	562	16	145	58	109	26	38	8	2	964
ə	387	37	0	7	11	21	29	7	0	499
i	89	114	32	88	6	37	22	8	3	399
u	123	98	65	37	51	10	3	1	0	388
ɛ	19	59	73	54	0	19	2	0	1	227
ɨ	12	35	5	17	51	37	12	1	0	170
o	59	17	39	23	6	0	0	1	0	145
ɔ	16	43	32	24	0	0	0	0	2	117
e	13	4	36	23	2	1	0	0	1	80
ui	0	40	19	13	0	0	0	0	0	72
uɛ	0	4	16	15	0	1	0	0	0	36
ai	0	28	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	36
ao	0	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
yi	0	10	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	23
oi	0	21	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	22
au	0	17	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
yɛ	0	4	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	12
ei	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
ɛi	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
ɔi	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
əu	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
ɔi	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
total	1280	602	479	375	236	152	106	26	9	3265

Figure 2.6.: Summary of rhyme frequencies in the lexicon

	short	long	N	ʔ	n	n	m	p	N?	total
a	2835	177	243	152	126	24	46	7	0	3610
i	988	663	182	189	51	51	16	2	1	2143
u	560	511	423	54	62	5	2	0	0	1617
ɛ	109	330	266	128	0	34	9	0	4	880
ə	384	155	0	6	3	57	64	8	0	677
ɨ	37	100	120	27	177	63	8	0	0	532
o	193	12	71	23	1	0	1	0	0	301
ɔ	65	123	73	20	0	0	0	0	0	281
e	48	66	66	34	1	0	0	0	0	215
ui	0	191	5	14	0	0	0	0	0	210
ao	0	132	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132
ai	0	84	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	92
uɛ	0	2	25	48	0	1	0	0	0	76
yi	0	11	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	66
əu	0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
oi	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
au	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
ɔi	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
yɛ	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	6
ei	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
ɔi	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
ɛi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total	5219	2624	1532	706	421	235	146	17	5	10905

Figure 2.7.: Summary of rhyme frequencies in the corpus

2.3.6. Vowel allophonies and rhyme variations

Some rhymes are pronounced differently by different speakers, or by the same speaker in a different environment. Most of these variations are due to influence from Miji or Kojo-Rojo Puroik. Table 2.39 contains a list of systematic phonological allophonies (free variation) and table 2.40 contains a list of non-systematic allophonies (loans, true variants).

Table 2.39.: Allophonic rhyme alternations

variation	reason
ɔː ~ ua	is Kojo-Rojo Puroik
ɔ̃ ~ uã	is Kojo-Rojo Puroik
ɔʔ ~ uaʔ	is Kojo-Rojo Puroik
ɛ̃ ~ an	*an* is Kojo-Rojo Puroik
ɛ̃ ~ ɛn	*ɛn* is Miji
aN ~ aŋ	*aŋ* is Miji
ũ ~ uŋ	*uŋ* is Miji

Table 2.40.: Non-allophonic rhyme alternations

variation	root meaning	reason
anjə̀̃ ~ anjaò	'fresh, young'	free
atʃám ~ atʃɛ̀̃	'daughter-in-law'	
kjúʔ ~ kjóʔ	'sago pick'	Puroik vs. Miji
kjɛ́m ~ kjɛ́n	'trap type'	Bulu vs. Miji
rɛ́ʔ ~ ráp	'shelf over fireplace'	Bulu vs. KR
màm ~ mán	'close mouth'	idiolect
mám ~ mán	'to hatch eggs'	idiolect
gatʃíp ~ gatʃíʔ	'hand protection'	idiolect
tʰéʔ ~ tʰɛ́ʔ	'support'	
hə̀̃bu ~ hə̀̃bɔ	'moon'	

2.4. Nasality

Vowel nasality is distinctive in open syllables and syllables with glottal coda. In other closed syllables, the nasality of the nucleus is not distinctive.

The minimal pairs in table 2.41 prove the contrast between nasal and non-nasal vowels in open syllable. Minimal pairs for vowel nasalisation in closed syllables are given in table 2.42.

Table 2.41.: Minimal pairs nasal vs. non-nasal vowel in open syllable

nasal		non-nasal	
apə̃́	'half'	*apá*	'father'
ʃə̀̃	'wood'	*ʃi*	'meat'
akʉ̃́	'head'	*akú*	'elder brother'
wɛ̃̀	'be dry'	*wɛ̀*	'not exist'
kʰɔ̃̀	'share'	*kʰɔ̀*	'water'

Table 2.42.: Minimal pairs nasal vs. non-nasal vowel in closed syllable

nasal		non-nasal	
hĩ́ʔ	'break'	*híʔ*	'think'
wə̃́ʔ	'wild banana'	*wáʔ*	'pig'
ɛ̃́ʔ	'cloth'	*wɛ́ʔ*	'kill'
hɔ̃́ʔ	'shake'	*hɔ́ʔ*	'serve'

2.4.1. Assimilation rules

Comparison with eastern Puroik dialects suggests that the historical source of nasal vowels are velar nasals (e.g. **akuŋ* > *akʉ̃́* cf. Kojo-Rojo *akuŋ*) and alveolar nasals after vowels other than /i/ (e.g. **pan* > *pɛ̃́* [pɛ̃ː] cf. Kojo-Rojo *pan*). Further evidence for the development of syllable final nasal segments into vowel nasalisation are loans. Miji words with velar nasal are often pronounced with final segment *ŋ* when switching to Miji, but with nasal vowel when speaking Puroik (e.g. *bə̀̃³* 'money' [bə̃ː] <Miji *baŋ*).

The historical nasal which conditioned the nasality of the vowels emerge or - historically speaking - are retained under certain phonological conditions, a typologically well attested phenomenon in languages with nasal vowels.

In Bulu Puroik, the environment triggering an epenthesis of a nasal segment are plosives (e.g. *ũ̀-pʰɛ́ʔ* → [**um**pʰɛʔ]). Before non-plosive consonant, before vowel or at the end of a word, the pronunciation is an open syllable nasal vowel and no nasal segment is inserted, e.g. the root *ũ̀* 'go' in *ũ̀-la* is simply pronounced as nasal vowel and not as [† unla].

Further examples can be found in table 2.43.

Table 2.43.: Realisations of the root *ũ̀*

environment		pronunciation	
word end	*ũ̀*	ũː	'came'
labial	*ũ̀-pʰɛ́ʔ*	**um**pʰɛʔ	'reached'
	ũ̀-bjaò	**um**bjao	'really came'
alveolar	*ũ̀-ʤi*	**un**ʤi	'went away'
	ũ̀-dɔ̃̀	**un**dɔ̃	
velar	*ũ̀-ka*	**uŋ**ka	'the one coming'
fricatives	*ũ̀-vjɑ̃̀*	ũːvjɑ̃ː	'cross'
	ũ̀-sə̀	ũːsəː	'to come and meet'
sonorants	*ũ̀-la*	ũːla	'coming'
	ũ̀-ruìla	ũːruila	'after coming'
nasal	*ũ̀-mə*	ũːmə († ummə)	'came'
	ũ̀-na	ũːna († unna)	'will come'

An exception to these assimilation rules are syllables with nasal front vowel /ɛ̃/ which are always nasal without epenthetic nasal coda. Hence, *pɛ́̃-bjaò* 'really cut' is pronounced as [pɛ̃bjao] and not as [pɛmbjao]

2.4.2. Against an archiphoneme N

A legitimate interpretation of the assimilation rules in 2.4.1, would be that there is no nasal segment appearing before stops but an underlying nasal segment disappearing in

all other environments (e.g. an archiphoneme N). The appeal of this approach would be that the synchronic processes could be understood as a continuation of the diachronic processes (loss of nasal codas and rise of nasal vowels). I took this approach in earlier versions of this grammar and for the transcription of Bulu Puroik data in publications.

However, there is no further theoretical justification for a synchronic archiphoneme N and descriptively, this interpretation is clearly not adequate. In most environments, nasal vowels are long and low tone just like most open syllables and unlike closed syllables, i.e. these syllables are open and not closed by some invisible element. Secondly, nasal vowels occur (although rarely) in closed syllables (e.g. *wɑ̃́ʔ* 'jungle banana') which would imply that there are underlying consonant clusters in coda position (e.g. /waNʔ/). For the existence of consonant clusters in coda, whether on the surface or underlying, there is no evidence otherwise. Hence, for the purpose of the synchronic description, the nasal vowel interpretation is clearly preferable.

2.5. Tone

Bulu Puroik has a system of two tones - low and high - which are neutralised to high tone before glottal coda. Every heavy syllable - i.e. every long syllable or with coda - has a tone. Light syllables (in prefixes and suffixes) are toneless.
On first sight, this straightforward tone system is somewhat hidden behind different kinds of conditioned pitch differences. The most prominent and most frequent phonation-pitch contrast between high-creaky and low-modal (*ʃĩʔ* vs. *ʃi*) could be attributed to the glottal coda. Furthermore, there is a remarkable number of pairs where high and low pitch seems to be conditioned by the voice onset time, i.e. the aspiration or non-aspiration of the onset plosive (2.2.2). There is no doubt that such environments are crucial for the tonogenesis in Bulu Puroik. However, interpreting every pitch-phonation contrast as conditioned by an adjacent segment is not possible. A number of exact minimal-pairs in monosyllables prove that tones are an integral part of the Bulu Puroik synchronic phonology and not just a phenomenon of allophonic realisations (table 2.44).

Table 2.44.: Exact tone minimal pairs (grave low (V̀), acute high (V́))

bì	[bìː]	'sago'
bí	[bíː]	'ladle'
ʃì	[ʃìː]	'meat'
ʃí	[ʃíː]	'ask'
rì	[rìː]	'speak'
rí	[ríː]	'prevent evil'
ʃù	[ʃùː]	'shake by pulling rope'
ʃú	[ʃúː]	'sago place'
ʃə̀	[ʃàː]	'Urtica fibres'
ʃə́	[ʃə̌]	'win'

2.5.1. From pitch-phonation classes to tones

Phonetically, three major pitch-phonation classes can be distinguished. The three classes are presented in table 2.45: (I) low pitch, long vowel with modal phonation or slightly breathy phonation (e.g. *ʃì* 'meat') (II) high pitch, long vowel with modal phonation (e.g. *ʃí* 'ask') (III) high pitch, short vowel with strong creaky phonation (e.g. *ʃíʔ* 'louse').

Table 2.45.: Pitch-phonation classes (a - non-nasal, b - nasal, c - with non-glottal coda.)

class	nasality	structure	description	frequency	example
I	a	CV̀ː	low, modal/breathy	very frequent	*bì*
	b	CṼ̀ː		very frequent	*ʤə̃̀*
	c	CV̀C_f		rare	*mə̀m*
II	a	CV́ː	high, modal	rare	*bí*
	b	CṼ́ː		rare	*ʤə̃́*
	c	CV́C_f		common	*mə́m*
III	a	CV́ʔ	high(-falling), creaky	very frequent	*bíʔ*
	b	CṼ́ʔ		very rare	*ɛ̃́ʔ*

The first and most straightforward analysis of these classes, would be a system of three underlying tones: low, high, creaky. However, while there are many minimal pairs between class II and III, where only pitch and phonation is contrasting, the tone III would always be associated with a glottal coda. Either the tone or the glottal coda would be redundant for the contrasts to class three.

A radical tonal approach for reducing the redundancy would be to interpret glottal codas as a feature of the creaky tone. In other words: syllables of class III would be open syllables, and the supposed coda glottal stops are in fact part of the realisation of the creaky tone. However, the class three syllables have a short vowel like closed syllables and have nothing in common with open syllable.

More rewarding is a system with only two tones where the two tones are neutralised to high tone before glottal coda. Such a rule will lead to a system with a balanced number of open and closed syllables, a balanced distribution of tones, and no redundant contrasts (tone and coda).

The examples in table 2.46 illustrate the three pitch phonation classes and the two tones.

Table 2.46.: Tone minimal pairs, grave low (V̀), acute high (V́)

tone	class	root	phonetic	gloss
Low	Ia	*bì*	[bìː]	'sago'
High	IIa	*bí*	[bíː]	'ladle'
High	IIIa	*bíʔ*	[bi̯ʔ]	'broom'
Low	Ia	*ʃì*	[ʃìː]	'meat'
High	IIa	*ʃí*	[ʃíː]	'ask'
High	IIIa	*ʃíʔ*	[ʃi̯ʔ]	'louse'
Low	Ia	*rì*	[rìː]	'speak'
High	IIa	*rí*	[ríː]	'prevent evil'
High	IIIa	*ríʔ*	[ri̯ʔ]	'shoot'
Low	Ia	*ʃù*	[ʃùː]	'shake by pulling rope'
High	IIa	*ʃú*	[ʃúː]	'sago place'
High	IIIa	*ʃúʔ*	[ʃu̯ʔ]	'rinse mouth'

...continued

tone	class	root	phonetic	gloss
Low	Ia	*awù*	[awùː]	'below'
High	IIa	*awú*	[awúː]	'fast'
High	IIIa	*wúʔ*	[wu̯ʔ]	'cave'
Low	Ia	*nì*	[nìː]	'spread'
High	IIb	*nḯ*	[níː]	'fear'
High	IIIa	*níʔ*	[ni̯ʔ]	'two'
Low	Ib	*ʤ̀ṳ̀*	[ʤṳ́]	'squat'
High	IIb	*ʤṳ́*	[ʤṳ́]	'hold in arms'
High	IIIa	*ʤúʔ*	[ʤu̯ʔ]	'spit'
Low	Ib	*ʃà*	[ʃãː]	'Urtica fibres'
High	IIb	*ʃá*	[ʃáː]	'win'
High	IIIa	*tʰyìʃáʔ*	[tʰyiʃa̯ʔ]	'alone'

Table 2.47) presents tone minimal pairs for non-glottal closed syllables.

Table 2.47.: Tone minimal pairs in non-glottal closed syllables

tone	class	root	phonetic	gloss
Low	Ic	*màm*	[màm]	'close the mouth'
High	IIc	*mám*	[mám]	'hatch'
Low	Ic	*katìŋ*	[katɨ̀ŋ]	'bamboo cup'
High	IIc	*katíŋ*	[katɨ́ŋ]	'cap, heat'
Low	Ic	*arìn*	[arìn]	'rope like organs'
High	IIc	*arín*	[arín]	'lasting'

2.5.2. Tone and VOT of plosives

There are several pairs of syllables with high pitch and unaspirated plosive onset, contrasting with low tone syllables with aspirated onset (2.48):

Table 2.48.: Tone and aspiration

high pitch		low pitch			
akɔ́	[akɔ́ː]	'tired'	*akʰɔ̀*	[akʰɔ̀ː]	'soup'
apjɑ̃́	[apjɑ̃́ː]	'long'	*apʰjɑ̀̃*	[apʰjɑ̀̃ː]	'trigger'
pí	[píː]	'hammer'	*pʰì*	[pʰìː]	'feel dizzy'
kɨ́	[kɨ́ː]	'hit'	*kʰɨ̀*	[kʰɨ̀ː]	'smoke'
atṹ	[atṹː]	'short'	*atʰṳ̀*	[atʰṳ̀ː]	'master'
akɨ́	[akɨ́ː]	'old, original'	*akʰɨ̀*	[akʰɨ̀ː]	'thight'

These high tones on syllables with unaspirated plosive onset are, however, not automatic in every case (2.49):

Table 2.49.: Tone after voiceless stop

ʧapɨ́ŋ	[ʧapɨ́ŋ]	'sago fibres'	*ʧapɨ̀ŋ*	[ʧapɨ̀ŋ]	'tree trunk'
səpɨ́	[səpɨ́ː]	'rock in sago place'	*səpɨ̀*	[səpɨ̀ː]	'goat'
atʰyɨ́	[atʰɣ̋i]	'chicken basket'	*ratʰyɨ̀*	[ratʰɣ̀i]	'backside veranda'

2.6. Phonological word

Phonological processes which apply to the word are: assignment of stress (section 2.6.1) and several assimilation processes (section 2.6.2-2.6.3).

2.6.1. Stress

Phonetic features which are part of the word stress in other languages are part of the tones in Bulu Puroik, such as distinctive pitch, higher intensity, longer vowel length, clearer formants, distinctive phonation. Nevertheless, multi-syllable words always have a syllable with higher prominence, in terms of intensity, length and clarity. The rules for stress assignment are automatic, and there are no minimal pairs distinguishing words by stress pattern.

Both heavy (tone-bearing) and light syllables (tone-less) can bear the word stress. The general rule is that the first heavy syllable in the word is stressed, e.g. *ʧi-muɛ̀-la*

[ˈʧiːmuɛ̃la] and not † [ʧiːˈmuɛ̃la].

If a word has one or more short prefixes (which occurs very frequently), the stress moves to the right to the first heavy syllable, e.g. *akəʧeì a-kə-ʧei* 'chin' (V-V-ˈVː).

If there is no heavy syllable in the word, but at least two syllables in total, then the first syllable is stressed, e.g. *ʤi-la* [ˈʤila] CONJ.

If the word is a short monosyllable (like *ʤi*, nu, *la*), the word is either cliticised to another word and remains short and toneless, or in isolation the syllable is lengthened, stressed and receives a low tone (*ʤì*, *nù*, *la*).

The details of stress assignment and the interaction with tone requires further research.

2.6.2. Loss of *ˀ* in compounds

The glottal stop is not always realised as a full stop word internally, but just as a vowel becoming increasingly creaky. Typologically, this is not uncommon[6]. In the last syllable of a word, syllable final glottal stops are realised.

2.6.3. Pre-glottalised word initial vowel

Word initial vowels may be pre-glottalised, e.g. *ì-na* [ˈʔiːna] 'die-FUT'. Word internal syllables with zero onset are pronounced as an uncontracted hiatus but without glottal stop, e.g. *ba-ì-na* 'NEG-die-FUT' is pronounced as [ʾba.iːna] and not as †[ˈba.ʔiːna].

2.6.4. Assimilation of nasal vowels

The assimilation processes of the nasal vowels described in table 2.43 only apply word internally and not over the word boundary.

[6] "In the great majority of languages we have heard, glottal stops are apt to fall short of complete closure, especially in intervocalic positions. In place of a true stop, a very compressed form of creaky voice or some less extreme form of stiff phonation may be superimposed on the vocalic stream. True stops occur reliably only when it is a matter of gemination." (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1995, p. 75)

2.6.5. ao > aa

Syllables containing the diphthong *ao* are monophthongised to *aa* or *a* word internally, e.g. *bjaò-ʧa=ro* to [ˈbjaːʧaro].

2.6.6. Fricative assimilation

Fricatives of prefixes are assimilated to the place of articulation of root initial affricates or fricatives. A word either has the structure *səʦVX* or *ʃəʧVX*. Impossible are †*səʧVX* or †*ʃəʦVX*, see examples in (6):

(6) fricative assimilation

a. *ʃəʧə́m* 'takin', *ʃəʧi* 'barking deer'

b. səʦurjaŋ 'big deer', *səʦɛ̏̀* 'wild boar'

c. *səʦɛ̏̀* 'sweat', *səʦɛ̏̀*[2] 'hoarfrost', *səʦə́m* 'pestle', *səʦɨ̀* 'ginger', *səʦɨ̀*[2] 'big wasp'

2.7. Summary

The distribution of most phonemes in Bulu Puroik are best described with reference to the syllable. There are 27 consonantal segments which can form the onset of a syllable, but only 5 which can form the coda (*-ŋ, -n, -m, -ʔ, -p*). There are nine simple vowels and 10 diphthongs, of which only diphthongs ending in high vowel occur in closed syllables.

Vowel nasality is distinctive. Before stops, homorganic nasal segments emerge, reflecting the historical origin of nasal vowels in nasal codas.

There are two tones: high and low. Syllables with glottal coda always have high tone and a creaky phonation induced by the coda consonant. Open syllables and syllables with nasal coda may have high or low tone. The details of the word phonology will be a fruitful field for further research, e.g. further more detailed assimilation rules, interaction of tone and stress, realisation of several tones within one word, pitch of toneless syllables.

3. Word classes

Bulu Puroik distinguishes three major classes[1] - nouns, verbs and adjectives - and several minor word classes, such as pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, interjections. Section 3.1 presents explicit criteria to distinguish the major word classes in Bulu Puroik. In the following sections, properties of the major word classes will be investigated: verbs (3.2), nouns (3.3), adjectives (3.4). As usual, the criteria for establishing word classes are morphological, semantic and syntactical.

3.1. The major classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives

"Verbs" are distinguished from other word classes by a few straightforward distributional patterns: 1) Verb is the only word class that is negated with the prefix *ba-*. 2) Verbs do not have lexical prefixes, while nouns and adjectives do. 3) The productive nominaliser *-ka* occurs exclusively on verbs. 4) Verb is the only word class combining with the tense-aspect suffixes *-na* NPST and *-ʧa* PRF. 5) Underived verbs cannot be modifiers in the noun phrase, nouns and adjectives can. 6) Verbs are used a predicates without any further marking, while other word classes usually are not.

Nouns are characterised by a wealth of lexical prefixes which will be described in section 3.3.2. Non-borrowed Puroik verbs never have a transparent lexical prefix, adjectives always have the prefix *a-*. Noun prefixes are common, but not obligatory. Furthermore, countable nouns can bear the dual marker *-se*. Verbs and adjectives cannot.

While Verbs are clearly a separate word class, nouns and adjectives share many properties, and distinguishing them on formal grounds is not straightforward. Both can have the prefix *a-*, both usually require a copula as predicates, both occur as modifiers in the noun phrase, both can be combined with the plural word, and may be derived with

[1] Also called "grammatical categories" (Payne 1997, p. 32) or "parts-of-speech' (Schachter and Shopen 2007).

a diminutive suffix *-də̀*. However, adjectives have also properties which are not common to nouns such as the possibility to have an intensifier, to form comparative or bear TAM suffixes. Hence, adjectives will be treated as a separate word class rather than as a subclass of nouns or verbs (further discussion in 3.4).

Semantically, the three distributional classes contain the proto-typical concepts usually associated with these classes: Adjectives cover property concepts such as *atʃì* 'cold' and *ahjá?* 'hot', *amjɛ̀* 'good' and *alaò* 'bad'. Nouns cover all kind of objects in the real and the imagined world such as *hám* 'house', *məɬaò* 'ghost', *míŋpalɔ̀* 'story' . Verbs cover activities, experiences and events such as 'come' *ǜ* and 'go' *vù*, *rì* 'speak', *níŋ* 'hear' or *pʰì* 'rain'.

The formal criteria for distinguishing the major word classes are summarised in table (3.1). Further details about the criteria follow in the sections below.

Table 3.1.: Criteria distinguishing nouns, verbs and adjectives

	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs
Nouns and Adjectives			
negated with *ba-*	-	-	+
relative *-ka*	-	-	+
monosyllabic	-	-	+
prefix *a-*	+	+	-
lexical prefixes	+	+	-
copula required as predicate	(+)	(+)	-
as modifier in the noun phrase	+	+	-
diminutive *-də̀*	+	+	-
unmarked argument of *tsá?* 'make'	+	+	-
plural *hɛ̃̀*	+	+	-
Adjectives and Verbs			
with comparative *-lɛ̃̀*	-	+	+
with perfect *-tʃa*	-	+	+
dual *-se*	+	-	-
Nouns and Verbs			
prefix *mə-*	+	-	+

3.1.1. Details about the criteria defining word classes

Negation

No word class other than verbs can be negated with the prefix *ba-*. Nouns and adjectives are negated with negative copulas. The verbal negation *ba-* is further explained in section 5.1.1, the copulas are listed in table 3.2.4.

Predication

A verb can be the predicate of a clause without any further affixes or any copula. Noun and adjective predicates always require a copula when negated. Affirmative nominal and adjective predicates are usually constructed with a copula.

Unmarked argument of *tsá?*

Both adjectives and nouns can be arguments of *tsá?* 'do, make', whereas verbs cannot. For example, *mɔ́? tsá?* 'make a fight' in (7)

(7) *labù bìhám labù níŋ-lana bù bìhám la tʃaina-la*
down.there Lagam down.there look-ANT DOWN Lagam CONJ China(<Eng)-SEQ
assam raìpəl armi-hɛ̃̀-la [sipaí-hɛ̃̀-la dʒila mɔ́?]
Assam(<IA) Rifles(<Eng) army(<Eng)-PL-SEQ soldier(<IA)-PL-SEQ CONJ fight
tsá?-rikəpáŋ
do-PROG(<M)
'Down there in Lagam, they saw the Chinese, the Assam rifles and the army soldiers fighting.' (WAR03:49 [592])

A further example with an adjective as argument of *tsá?* is given in (8) *amjɛ̀ tsá?* 'make good', *asɛ̀̃ tsá?* 'make alive'.

(8) *vɛrì prɪ́̃=ku²=na dʒì=ku² dawo [amjɛ̀ tsá? -la] hadɛ̀̃-dɔ̀̃=ku*
3PL human=OBJ=TOP ANA=OBJ medicine(<IA) good do-SEQ later-IMM=LOC
[*asɛ̀̃ tsá? -la*] *ù̃-dɔ̀̃*
alive do-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Their own people, they healed with medicine, immediately, they made them alive and took them with them.' (WAR03:25 [586])

Noun phrase modification

Nouns can occur within another noun phrase without any suffix. Adjectives used as modifiers in the noun phrase do not require any suffix either. Like noun modifiers, adjectives can precede or follow the head of the noun phrase. Verbs cannot occur within a noun phrase without an overt marker, usually *-ka* REL (see chapter 4).

Prefix morphology

Most except a few verb roots are monosyllabic. All verbal morphology in addition to the root, except the negation *ba-*, follows the verb root, in particular all derivatives and all TAM morphology. In contrast, most nouns have a prefix. The prefix of a noun is predictable for some semantic fields (kinship terms, body parts, *a-*). However, in most cases, the rules for assigning these prefixes are not transparent anymore (details about the lexical prefixes of nouns in section 3.3.2). Adjectives always have the prefix *a-* (homonymous to the very frequent nominal prefix *a-*).

Unlike in Puroik, Miji verb roots are sometimes bisyllabic (or sesquisyllabic). In Bulu Puroik bisyllabic verbs are always loans from Miji, e.g. *bətʃĭm* 'become extinct (<M)', *dəfì* 'shake one's head (<M)',

TAM morphology

Nouns cannot have any of the tense-aspect suffixes *-na*, *-ʧa*. Adjectives can occur with these suffixes. See example (9):

(9) *amjè -ʧa =ro rì-lana vè=ku lûsé?-la wì-la*
good-PRF=ASRT say-ANT 3SG=LOC happy(<M)-SEQ slap-SEQ
'It became all good, they said. They were happy and slapped him [friendly on the back].' (WAR08:19 [658])

Intensification, comparison

The intensifier *anáŋ* 'very, much' can occur with adjectives and verbs but not with nouns: e.g. *anáŋ amjè* 'very good', *anáŋ ʧì* 'eat a lot'. The comparative also occurs with verbs and adjectives but not with nouns: *amjè-lɛ̃̀* 'even better', *ʧì-lɛ̃̀* 'eat even more'.

Diminutive

Nouns denoting small sized objects are derived with the diminutive suffix *-də̀*[2], e.g. *tʃídə̀* 'small kitchen knife'. The same suffix can be used with adjectives (e.g. *azìdə̀*), but not for verbs. The analogue suffix used for verbs would be the derivation *-bə̀̃* 'do something little bit/for some time' (cf. section 6.4.3).

3.1.2. Roots in more than one word class

There are words which have an underived nominal and verbal counterpart. For instance verbs and nouns for body functions (10):

(10) a. *bə̀̃* 'dream', 'to dream'
b. *zù* 'breath', 'to breathe'
c. *huì* 'blood', 'to bleed'

3.2. Verbs

Puroik verbs form a well defined class by distributional morphological properties as shown above in section 3.1. The details of the inflectional and derivational morphology of verbs will be described in separate chapters (5 'Structure of the predicate' and 6 'Predicate derivations'). For the remainder of the current chapter, selected concepts of verbal semantics will be investigated such as 'transitivity' 3.2.1, 'motion' (3.2.2), lexicalisation of 'wash', 'cut', 'carry', 'sit' (3.2.3).

3.2.1. Transitivity

Establishing syntactic transitivity in Bulu Puroik is not straightforward mainly because of two reasons: First, there is no constraint that certain arguments are required in every sentence, such as a subject in English or German. Even core arguments are frequently omitted when clear from the context. Hence, any verb is potentially syntactically intransitive. Second, arguments which do not have the semantic role of typical core arguments (like location, goal, instrument, recipient) may be unmarked, i.e. many

semantically intransitive verbs may be syntactically transitive[2].

The following example will illustrate the second point. "Phembu killing an animal" is a proto-typical transitive situation (11). There is a deliberate, active agent (*pʰɛ̀mbu* 'Phembu'), a concrete, affected patient (*ʃì* 'the animal'). The event is bounded, terminated and fast-changing. Syntactically, there are two unmarked arguments in different function. Since direct objects in Puroik are unmarked and basic word order is SOV, this is a syntactically transitive clause. The subject maps on the 'agent' and the objects maps on the 'patient', which is a proto-typical mapping between syntactic and semantic transitivity.

(11) [*pʰɛ̀mbu*]$_S$ [*ʃì*]$_O$ [*wɛ́ʔ*]$_{PRED}$
Phembu(<Tib) animal kill
'Phembu killed the animal.' (elicited GR00:00)

In contrast, "an animal dying in a trap" is not a prototypical transitive event (see 12). Although there is a "concrete, affected patient", there is no "deliberate, active agent" (provided that a trap is something inanimate, without any own will or intelligence projected in it). However, the construction is exactly the same as in (11). If (11) was a transitive construction, then this would also be a transitive construction. However, the patient is in the place where the agent was in example (11), and a location is in the position where the patient was in example (11).

(12) [*ʃì*]$_S$ [*məʒə̀*]$_O$ [*ì*]$_{PRED}$
animal trap die
'The animal died in the trap.' (elicited GR00:01)

In some situations, the same verb can have quite different meanings depending on the object argument. For example the object of a verb *ʧaù* 'to comb' (13) is interpreted as an instrument if the meaning of the object is something which is more likely to be "combing instrument" rather than something to be combed. Similarly, objects of the

[2]Syntactic transitivity: "Clauses and verbs that have a direct object are syntactically transitive. All others are syntactically intransitive." (Givón 2001a, p. 109). A verb is semantically transitive prototypically if (1) the verb has a "deliberate, active agent" (2) the verb has a "concrete, affected patient" (3) the event is "bounded, terminated, fast-changing in real time". Mapping principle: "Prototypical mapping between semantic and syntactic transitivity: If the simple clause codes a semantically transitive event, the event's agent will be the clause's subject, and the event's patient the clause's direct object." (Givón 2001a, p. 110)

verb *ljáʔ* 'lick' (14) are interpreted as something that is licked. A tongue, however, is usually not licked but used for licking. Hence, the object is interpreted as the instrument.

(13) a. *akű́ ʧaù* 'to comb the head'
b. *pʰjéʔ ʧaù* 'to comb with a comb'

(14) a. *agéʔ ljáʔ* 'to lick the hand'
b. *alyì ljáʔ* 'to lick with the tongue'

Empty arguments

While objects are often omitted even in typical transitive situations, in other, rather intransitive situations an object argument is strictly required, even if the verb already carries the entire meaning. This is typically the case for weather verbs, body functions, generic activities without a specific affected object (root repeated or dummy argument *mɨ́ŋ*).

(15) **Weather verbs:** *hə̀ʃín ʃín* 'the wind blows', *hamì tsɛ̀̃* 'the sun shines', *bakʰɨ̀ kʰɨ̀* 'to smoke', *hə̀pʰì pʰì* 'to rain', *hə̀pʰì tsɨ́ŋ* 'it is snow-raining', *hə̀ʤə̀ ɬúʔ* 'snow falls', *hə̀bɔ dɨ́ŋ* 'the moon is full', *hám krjə́̃* 'the sky is clear', *hám² naì* 'it storms', *bakʰɨ̀ kʰɨ̀* 'it smokes', *asə̀pé sə̀* 'it becomes light (in the morning)'

(16) **Body functions:** *kʰɔ̀ sjɛ̀* 'to urinate', *ɛ̀ waíʔ* 'to fart', *akə́m pʰì* 'to feel dizzy' (make the eyes dizzy), *asə́m dáʔ* 'to stammer' (stammer the mouth), *kəʧɛ̀̃ ʤúʔ* 'to spit', *bə̀ bə̀* 'to dream a dream', *huì huì* 'to bleed', *asù drì* 'to shiver (the body)', *səʦɛ̀̃ fɛ̀̃* 'to sweat'

(17) **Dummy argument *mɨ́ŋ*** *mɨ́ŋ ríʔ* 'shoot a bow', *mɨ́ŋ tsún* 'to jump', *mɨ́ŋ ʃʃɛ̀̃* 'to make rituals', *mɨ́ŋ zjáʔ* 'to shout around', *mɨ́ŋ goì* 'to winnow', *mɨ́ŋ hɨ̃̀* 'to talk', *mɨ́ŋ ɬaò* 'to cheat',

(18) **Dummy argument repeated root** *məʧɨ́ŋ ʧɨ̃ŋ* 'to work (lit. work some work)', məʒəp *ʒə́p* 'to make knots', *məʒə̀ ʒə̀* 'to make traps'

Verbs with incorporated object

A further grammaticalised version of empty objects are verbs with incorporated objects. The expressions in (19) consist of a verbal part (second) and a nominal part (first) which were contracted to one phonological word.

(19) **Verbs with incorporated object:**

a. ***lɨ̀***: *lɨ̀sé?* 'be happy', *lɨ̀buɛ̀* 'be jolly', *lɨ̀wɛ̀* 'be thirsty', *lɨ̀zí?* 'be angry'

b. ***bì***: *bìwɛ̀* 'be shy'

c. ***hɨ̀³***: *hɨ̀tʃɛ́?* 'be hungry'

These verbal and nominal parts are not attested independently, but only together. However, the verbal character of the second part is apparent when negated *ba-*, e.g. *hɨ̀ ba-tʃɛ́?* 'not hungry'.

Transitive/intransitive verb pairs

Morphological means for making an intransitive verb transitive or vice-versa do exist in Bulu Puroik. However, in general, transitive-intransitive pairs are not derived by productive morphology but are lexicalised as suppletive verb pairs, one being transitive the other being intransitive (examples in table 3.2).

Table 3.2.: Suppletive pairs

intransitive		transitive	
ì	'to die'	*wɛ́?*	'to kill'
ʒaù	'to wake up'	*zɛ̀̃*	'to wake someone up'
ɬú?	'to fall from a height'	*pjɨ̃́*	'to make something fall down'

There is a small set of verbs which can have more than one transitivity value, such as *ú?* intransitive "to be hidden", transitive "to hide someone or something", *nám* intransitive "something smells", transitive "to smell something", *ʒì* intransitive "to be hanging", transitive "to hang something", *pjú* intransitive "to burst", transitive "to shoot something".

3.2.2. Motion verbs

In Bulu Puroik, there are motion verbs which lexicalise the manner of the motion, and verbs which lexicalise the path.

(20) **MANNER:** *rín* 'move fast (run, swim, by car)', *ʃʃáŋ* 'swim', *ʃyɪ̃̀* 'creep like a snake', *kő* 'crawl like a baby', *kré* 'roll', *kʰì* 'fly', *ɬú?* 'fall (through the air)', *huɪ̃̀* 'fall (by slipping)', *ɬíŋ* 'climb', *tsún* 'jump', *rɔ̃̀* 'make steps'

(21) **PATH:** *ũ̀* 'generic motion verb, move towards the subject's home base' *vù* 'move away from home' *pʰé?* 'reach to a place' *kʰuí?* 'go inside'

Motion with respect to the topography is expressed with an adverb (22).

(22) **Ascend/descend:**

a. *kű*(-*ʃõ̀*) *ũ̀*/*vù* 'ascend (move to a point further up)' vs. *bù*(-*ʃõ̀*) *ũ̀*/*vù* 'descend (move to point further down)'

b. *azõ̀ ũ̀*/*vù* 'ascend' (walk upwards) vs. *akəʒɨ̀ ũ̀*/*vù* 'descend (walk downwards not to a particular point)'

c. *azõ̀ kʰú?* 'to ascend' vs. *akəʒɨ̀ ʒɨ̀* 'to descend'

d. *alí? ũ̀*/*vù* 'go in the plane' *awí? ũ̀*/*vù* 'go on the same level in a slope' avjɛN *ũ̀*/*vù* 'go on the same level'

e. *abɛ̃̀ ũ̀*/*vù* 'go ahead' vs. *rakíŋ ũ̀*/*vù* 'go behind'

f. *kanyɛ̀*(-*ʃõ̀*) *ũ̀*/*vù* 'go downstream' vs. *katíŋ*(-*ʃõ̀*) *ũ̀*/*vù* 'go upstream'

The basic motion verbs *ũ̀* and *vù*

The motion verbs *ũ̀* and *vù* are the most frequent motion verbs in discourse (see A.13) and lexicalise a motion in an opposite direction. The verb *ũ̀* is even the most frequent verb overall.

Basic motion verbs, or equivalents to the verbs "come" and "go" in English, very often lexicalise in some way how a subject moves with respect to the deictic centre, i.e. the place where speaker is or where he projects himself for the purpose of the discourse. In Puroik, there is a deixis of a different kind. Not the speech act location is the point of reference but rather the place where the subject lives, belongs to and where one expects him to return at the end of the day or after a journey.

In (23) a subject from a Brokpa village in the west comes to Bulu to buy maize. "Come" to the village is *vù* "move away from his home base", and "go back" is *ǜ* "go to home base".

(23) *grì-tű̀ vù -la mapʰìn nɔ́ʔ-la lè-ruì ʒɛ̌-ruìla ǜ*
1PL-LOC.PERS go.from.base-SEQ maize buy-SEQ take-ANT carry-ANT go.to.base
'He came to us, bought maize, and went carrying it back home.' (WAR00:37 [549])

However, if a subject from the village of Bulu moved into the same direction as in (24), the verb would be *vù* "move away from base", because he is moving away from home.

(24) *grì kű̀ ba- vù -muɛ̌ gormán-hɛ̌ bán tsáʔ-la*
1PL UP NEG-go.from.base-can government(<Eng)-PL closed(<IA) do-SEQ
'We cannot go up. The government closed [the boundary].' (TRADE06:48 [1192])

The paths in (23) and (24) are the same, the speaker is in Bulu and belongs to Bulu in both cases. The difference is that in (23), the person moving is from another village and in example (24), the person moving (or not being able to move) has his home base in Bulu. In the first example, the subject is moving home when going the path, in the second case the subject would move away from home[3].

The question *nà klá ǜ* (intended "Where did you go?") is impossible (25b) because the meaning of the verb already contains the notion of 'going home', i.e. one cannot ask "Where did you go home?".

(25) a. *nà klá vù -la ǜ*
2SG where go.from.base-SEQ go.to.base
'Where did you go and come back?' (elicited U1:11)

b. † *nà klá ǜ -la vù*
† 2SG where go.to.base-CONJ go.from.base
'Impossible: Where did you come back, and go?' (elicited U1:12)

[3]The text in appendix A.1 contains many verbs illustrating the direction of motion events with respect to the reference point 'home'. Half of the story, the protagonist moves towards his 'home', the other half he moves away from home.

The verb *ù̀* may be used for the motion towards a place which is not the current home base of the subject. However, the meaning will be that the destination will become the new home, at least for some time (26b).

(26) a. *pʰèmbu gù-tṹ vù -ʤù̀*
Phembu(<Tib) 1SG-LOC.PERS go.from.base-ALL
'Phembu came to my place for a visit (i.e. will go back).' (elicited U1:14)

b. *pʰèmbu gù-tṹ ù̀ -ʤù̀*
Phembu(<Tib) 1SG-LOC.PERS go.to.base-ALL
'Phembu came to my place to stay permanently.' (elicited U1:13)

Notion of "home"

The notion of "home" depends on the perspective. "Home" can be one's "home country", "home state", "home village" or one's own house. The example (525) "come and ask us old men" is directed to people from the village, who would not move away from their home village to ask the old men, but just move away from their own house to the old man's house.

(27) *tʰɨ́ʔ prɨ́ hɨ̀̃ anɔ̀ narì=ʧi adàfu atsɨ̀-hɛ̃̀*
village human NEAR younger.brother 2PL=ADD son grandchild-PL
ba-dɛ̃̀-mərɔna awíʔ grì=ku ʃi -vù
NEG-know-COND old 1PL=LOC ask-go.from.base
'You people of the village, you younger brothers, sons and grandsons, if you don't know something, come and ask us old men.' (LANG35:06 [1106])

For the motion from Bulu to the circle capital Nafra, a villager from Bulu would use the verb *vù* 'go away from' (as opposed to an outsider who would use *ù̀*). However, when villagers come from outside to the circle headquarter, for example from Assam, they would use *ù̀* 'go home' when going to Nafra.

3.2.3. Semantics of verbs for WASH, CARRY, CUT, PEEL, SIT

The verb roots in Bulu Puroik are often very specific. For example the verbs for washing (28), carrying (29), cutting (30), peeling (31), sitting (32).

(28) **WASH:** *ʧuɨ̀* 'wash (generic)', *hí?* 'wash face', *ʧɬ* 'wash clothes', *rjù* 'wash hair', *mɔ́?* 'wash sago fibres'

(29) **CARRY:** *ʒɛ̀* 'carry on strap on head', *fì* 'carry on any other strap', *bəù* 'carry a baby', *boì* 'carry on back (backpack)', *ʧaì* 'carry in the hand (like a shopping bag)'

(30) **CUT:** *tí?* 'cut a tree by hitting with *daò* or axe', *pɛ́̃* 'cut by hitting with dao', *ʦɛ̀̃* 'cut a tree trunk into 0.5m pieces', *gəm* 'cut into pieces', *rám* 'cut into pieces', *í?* 'cut or saw without leaving the blade', *rɛì* 'cut off the branches from a tree', *ʃɔì* 'cut grass', *tə́* 'chip sago trunk into saw dust' *ʤún* 'split cane', *sɛ̀* 'split wood with an axe',

(31) **PEEL:** *huɨ̀* 'to peel with fingers (like an orange)', *ɬuɛ́?* 'peel a soft skin with blade pointing towards body (like a cucumber)', *ljɛ́?* 'peel a hard skin by cutting with kitchen knife (like a pumpkin)', *ruɨ̀* 'peel by hitting with *daò* (like a trunk of a sago palm)', *kúʔù* 'peel the loose bark of the sago palm', *kʰuɛ́?* 'scrape with vertical knife (like a roasted potato)', *fí?* 'to smooth (cane ropes)', *hɔ̀* 'remove the skin of an animal'

(32) **SIT:** *rɬ* generic 'to stay' or 'to sit' for animals without legs, e.g. snake *ʤɨ̃̀* 'to squat (with feet on the ground)', *ʧɔ̀* 'sit on a horse, on a bike, in a car' *ím* 'sit with crossed legs' *dɬŋ* 'to sit on buttocks' (like a frog), *ʤɬí?* 'to sit on a branch (like a bird)'

3.2.4. Copulas

Copulas in Bulu Puroik form predicates along with a member of a non-verbal word-class (noun or adjective). In this function, copulas have properties of verbs, such as the position in the clause and the ability to be inflected for TAM. Copulas are, however, untypical verbs as they are not negated with the prefix *ba-*, but have a negated counterpart. The copulas with their negative counterparts are given in table 3.3.

Table 3.3.: Copulas in Puroik

Copula	function
ʒù	equation, proper inclusion
bɔ̀/*babɔ̀*	negative equation
bá?	existential, adjective predicate
wɛ̀ [4]	negative existential
(*vaí?*)	locational

There are other verbs which can have the function of a copula, such as *ɲ̀ũ̀* 'become' or *bjaò* 'really is'. However, these verbs are negated with the prefix *ba-* like proper verbs and do not have a negative counterpart (*ba-ɲ̀ũ̀* and *ba-bjaò*). Constructions involving copulas will be discussed in chapter (7) "Non-verbal predicates".

3.3. Nouns

Bulu Puroik has neither gender agreement or classifiers. Therefore, the nominal lexicon cannot be subclassified into gender classes or according to classifier type (shape etc.). Bulu Puroik does, however, have a number of lexical prefixes which originally probably classified the nominal lexicon into semantic groups. However, the origin and the exact semantics of most prefixes are no longer transparent.

3.3.1. Productive noun formation: Compounding/suffixation

Unlike prefixation, nominal suffixation is to some extent productive and transparent.

[4] Etymologically, probably related to the existential copulas in to Daai Chin (So-Hartmann 2008, p. 213) and Karbi *avē* (Konnerth 2014, p. 184), and to copula like forms elsewhere (e.g. in Loloish). In Karbi as in Bulu Puroik and other Puroik dialects west of the Kameng river, the copula is negative existential 'there is not' (Kojo-Rojo *wai* 'there is not'). In Daai Chin and in Puroik dialects east of the Kameng river the copula is existential 'there is' (Chayangtajo *wɛɛ* 'there is'). While in Karbi the negative meaning of the copula can be explained (negative prefix *a-* [Konnerth 2014, p. 184]), there is no such explanation for Bulu Puroik at the moment.

Noun + adjective compound

The adjective prefix is deleted in "noun+adjective-compounds".

(33) a. *kʰɔ̀* 'water' + *alám* 'warm' → *kʰɔ̀lám* 'warm water'
b. *kʰɔ̀* 'water' + *arà* 'big' → *kʰɔ̀rà* 'big river'
c. *pəsjɛ̀* 'snake' + *arjɛ̀* 'green' → *pəsjɛ̀rjɛ̀* 'green snake'
d. *mɛ̀* 'vegetable' + *arjɛ̀* 'green' → *mɛ̀rjɛ̀* 'green vegetable'
e. *akű* 'head' + *ałǎ* 'barren' → *akűtłáŋ* 'bald'

A noun+adjective-compound is different from noun phrases containing a head noun and an attributive adjective. In this case, the adjective retains the prefix and has its own stress, e.g. *mɛ̀ arjɛ̀* [ˈmɛː aˈrjɛː] 'green vegetable'.

Noun + noun compound

In compounds consisting of two nouns, the second noun is the head and the first noun the modifier.

Nouns having an *a*-prefix will drop the prefix when used as head nouns in compounds (34).

(34) *akə́m* + *amə́n* → *akə́mmə́n* 'eye lash'

The compound in (34) can also be expressed with two uncontracted nouns with prefixes (35).

(35) *akə́m* + *amə́n* → *akə́m amə́n* 'eye lash'

The prefix *a-* is the only prefix which gets lost in composition. Other prefixes are preserved.

Male, female, child

Female animal names have the suffix *-mɔ̀*, male animal names *-pʰɔ̀*, and young animals *-də̀* (=diminutive suffix). However, this could also be analysed as compounding with the adjectives *amɔ̀* 'female', *apʰɔ̀* 'male', *adə̀* 'child'.

(36) *ʧá* 'house fowl'

a. *ʧáp^{h}ɔ̀* ‘rooster’

b. *ʧámɔ̀* ‘hen’

c. *ʧádə̀* ‘chicken’

(37) *səfəù* ‘bovine’

a. *səfəùp^{h}ɔ̀* ‘bull’

b. *səfəùmɔ̀* ‘cow’

c. *səfəùdə̀* ‘calf’

(38) *wáʔ* ‘pig’

a. *wáʔp^{h}ɔ̀* ‘boar’

b. *wáʔmɔ̀* ‘sow’

c. *wáʔdə̀* ‘piglet’

Besides the productive use illustrated in examples (36)-(38), all three suffixes also occur lexicalised. For example, the ‘male suffix’ *-p^{h}ɔ̀* in the names of the mythological forefathers (39), the ‘child suffix’ *-də̀* in tribes and clan names (40), the ‘female suffix’ *-mɔ̀* in various nouns, examples (41)-(42).

(39) *kráp^{h}ɔ̀ krúŋp^{h}ɔ̀* ‘mythological forefathers of the Puroiks in Bulu’

(40) a. *prə̋́də̀* ‘Puroik’

b. *súndə̀* ‘former clan of Bulu’

c. *k^{h}jɛ̀ndə̀* ‘clan of Bulu’

d. *ʃaòdə̀* ‘former clan of Bulu’

e. *baìdə̀* ‘former clan of Bulu’

f. *t^{h}ùŋdə̀* ‘former clan of Bulu’

g. *bù.adə̀* ‘former clan of Bulu’

h. *raìdə̀* ‘only extant clan of Bulu’

i. *k^{h}èdə̀* ‘people of Chug’

(41) **Stressed (low tone):**

a. *aləmɔ̀* ‘breast’,

b. *mərɔ̀mɔ̀* ‘jungle (generic)’,

c. *arúŋmɔ̀* 'forest of tall trees',

d. *abúŋmɔ̀* 'thicket',

e. *ʧamɔ̀* 'sago plantation' (≠ *ʧaòmɔ* 'sago palm')

(42) **Unstressed (toneless):**

a. *ʃ̀ɨ̀mɔ* 'tree',

b. *ʧaòmɔ* 'sago palm',

c. *ʧ̀ɨ̀ʧumɔ* 'housefly',

d. *kalúŋmɔ* 'rock',

e. *alèmɔ* 'big toe'

f. *géʔmɔ* 'thumb'

-*ʤi* name of tribes

(43) a. *kənjàʤi* 'people of Khoina' (Sartang),

b. *təpínʤi* 'people of Jerigaon' (Sartang),

c. *dəwòʤi* 'Sherdukpen',

d. *rəpúŋʤi* 'people of Rahung' (Sartang),

e. *sətándʒi* 'people of Khoitam' (Sartang),

f. *rarìʤi* 'people of Mago'

3.3.2. Non-productive noun formation: nominal prefixes

Most prefix morphology is not productive in Bulu Puroik. The various prefixes are lexically assigned to a certain root, and there are no clear cut semantic domains.

In total, there are about a dozen of non-productive prefixes in Bulu Puroik. The function of these prefixes is obscured in most cases. The only very frequent prefix is a-. Many Puroik nouns have a prefix, but prefix-less nouns are in no way exceptional e.g. *kʰɔ̀* 'water', *bɛ̀* 'fire', *ʧuì* 'fish' etc. (section 3.3.2). An overview of the lexical noun prefixes in Bulu Puroik is given in table 3.4. Examples for the individual prefixes will be given below.

Table 3.4.: Lexical noun prefixes in Bulu Puroik

Prefix	Semantic field

a-	kinship, body parts
mə-	verbal nouns, various
ma-	vegetables, various
nə-	sago palm species
kə-	parts of head and body, various
ka-	water
hã-	celestial objects and phenomena
sə-	higher animals
pə-	lower animals and birds

a- kinship, body parts and others

Nouns denoting relations between humans have the prefix *a-* (44)

(44) **Human relations:** *aró?* 'friend', *atʰṹ* 'master', *adʑɛ̃̀* 'child, servant', *atʃaù* 'slave'

In particular, this is the case for all kinship terms (45)[5].

(45) **Kinship relation:** *apá* 'father', *amà* 'mother', *abɔ́?* 'son-in-law', *atʃám* 'daughter-in-law', *awuì* 'husband', *aʒù* 'wife', *akú* 'first brother', *abù* 'elder brother', *anɔ̀* 'younger brother', *aguì* 'mother's younger brother', *atsoì* 'paternal uncle', *atɨ́ŋ* 'grandfather', *adə̀* 'own child', *atsɨ̀* 'grandchild', *adəmé?* 'daughter', *abùmɛ̃̀* 'elder sister', *anɔ̀muì* 'younger sister' etc.

Noun-denoting humans which are not primarily defined over a relation to other members in the society do not have the prefix *a-*.

(46) **Human without particular relation (no *a-*):** *pawì* 'priest', *pəsù* 'a member of the king's cast', *prɨ́* 'person', *mərù* 'woman' (but *afù* 'man')

Nouns denoting humans which are not in the first place defined over a relation and have an *a*-prefix are often adjectives:

(47) *amɛ̃̀* 'old woman (old)', *awí?* 'old person (old)', *apʰɔ̀* 'male', *amɔ̀* 'female'

[5]The prefix *a-* for kinship terms is well attested in many other Trans-Himalayan languages (Matisoff 2003, p. 105)

Almost all parts of the body have the prefix *a-*:

(48) *akə́m* 'eye', *akú?* 'skin', *alɛ̀* 'leg', *azɛ̃̀* 'bone', *aʒuĩ̀* 'wing', *ahuì* 'blood' etc.

An exception for a body part without the suffix *a-* is *məjaò* 'throat', which can be understood as a verbal noun with the prefix *mə-* and the root *jaò* 'swallow'.

Parts of plants also frequently have the prefix *a-* (49)

(49) **Parts of plants:** *akɨ́ŋ* 'root', *abuɛ̃̀* 'flower', *akjɛí* 'branch', *alə̀* 'seed', *aláp* 'leaf'

There are many nouns from other semantic fields with the prefix *a-* such as animals (50) or time (51).

(50) **Animals:** *akamjɛ́?* 'pheasant', *anám* 'musk deer', *anɨ́ŋ* 'house rat', *aljù* 'house cat', *awũ̀* 'spider', *asì* 'bear', *aʃĩ?* 'white bellied rat', etc.

(51) **Time:** *atʃɛ̃̀* 'night', *anì* 'day', *adəzuì* 'year', *arjɛ̀* 'evening'

(52) **Others:** *atã́* 'strap', *atʰyĩ́* 'chicken basket', *akədó?* 'poison', *akʰɔ̀* 'soup', *akjã́* 'hole', *agũ̀* 'half', *abjɛ̃̀* 'name' *arù* 'price'

In a few cases, there is a contrast between a noun with and without the prefix *a-* (table 3.5).

Table 3.5.: Contrast between prefixed and un-prefixed roots

un-prefixed	gloss	prefixed	gloss
hám	'(human's) house'	*ahám*	'nest, animal house'
njɛ̀	'milk'	*anjɛ̀*	'nipple'
kʰɔ̀	'water'	*akʰɔ̀*	'soup, liquid'
sə́m	'language'	*asə́m*	'mouth'

mə- verbal nouns

The prefix *mə-* was a productive suffix for building verbal nouns (53).

(53) **Verbal nouns:** *məpə́* 'handicraft' from *pə́* 'manufacture', *məjaò* 'throat' from *jaò* 'swallow', *mərí?* 'archery' from *rí?* 'shoot an arrow', *mətʃɨ̃ŋ* 'work' from *tʃɨ̃ŋ* 'work', *məʒɛ̃̀* 'strap' from *ʒɛ̃̀* 'carry', *məʃə̃p* 'knot' from *ʃə̃p* 'make a knot'

Furthermore, the prefix *mə-* occurs in nouns of different semantic fields which are not deverbal or where the verbal source is not attested (54)-(57).

(54) **Plants:** *məkíŋ* 'stinging nettle', *məpʰìn* 'maize', *məpʰuí?* 'fig', *məbṵ̃* 'cucumber', *məljɑ̀* 'raspberry', *məzɔ̀* 'thorn', *məlím* 'aconite', *mətá?* 'poison'

(55) **Animals:** *mədyì* 'chicken', *mərɑ̃̀* 'macaque', *məpʰɔ̃̀* 'tiger'

(56) **Humans:** *mərù* 'woman', *məbán* 'Miji',

(57) **Others:** *məkaó* 'trigger in trap', *mətʰyé?* 'Mathow village', *mənyè* 'lunch', *mənè* 'luggage', *məré?* 'bead', *məluɛ̃̀* 'food', *məɬaò* 'bad spirit', *məʃì* 'fletching of arrow', *məzɑ̃̀* 'arrow head', *məɬì* 'lie' (no corresponding verb), *məhjɛ̃̀* 'earth', *məhjú?* 'name of sago place on opposite side of the river'

ma- vegetables

The prefix *ma-* occurs in names of edible plants and vegetables:

(58) **Vegetables:** *matsú?* 'bamboo sp., *madù* 'big bamboo sp., *manì* 'fermented bamboo', *mabɨlíŋ* 'pumpkin', *mabjaò* 'bamboo sp., *mamiʤɨ̀* 'potato', *maráŋ* 'type of fermented bamboo', *maljù* 'chilli'

The lexical source for *ma-* in some of the nouns might be *mè* 'side dish, vegetable'. However, there are cases of nouns with *ma-*prefixes which have no connection to vegetables (59)

(59) **Others:** *maʤuɛ̃̀* 'part of a trap', *matʃû* 'gun', *màdà* 'mother and son', *mamuĩ̀* 'bird sp., *mamú?* 'red panda'

nə- sago and plants

The names for the sago palm varieties contain a prefix *nə-* (60). There is no likely lexical source for this prefix within Puroik. Cognate roots exist in Western Kho-Bwa languages which can be reconstructed to PWK **nuk* 'sago' (Tim Bodt p.c.).

(60) **Sago varieties:** *nətʃá?* 'best sago variety', *nəlyì* 'second best sago variety', *nəhṵ̃* 'high quality sago variety', *nəʤù* 'sago variety with hard wood', *nəʃím* 'sago variety with massive stem', *nəmú?* 'lower quality sago variety'

Two sago varieties do not have the *nə*-prefix: *apắtű̀* 'lower quality sago variety', *ʃərín* 'sago species'.

The prefix is also found in the names of other plants (62) as well as in the names of some tribes 62

(61) **Other plants:** *nəgaù* 'plant with edible nut', *nətʃáʔ* 'foxtail millet', *nəʒuì* 'oak', *nənáŋ* 'vegetable plant', *nədʒɔ̀̃* 'tree with very hard wood, used to make sago club', *nəsɛ̃̀* 'tree with hard wood'

(62) **Names of persons and tribes:** *nəgə́n* 'Bugun', nətsən *nərɛ̀* 'Kojo-Rojo people', *nəlùdʒi* 'Puroiks of Kazolang', *nəmɔ̀ nəhù* 'mythological tribe in China', *nəduì* 'person from Lada'

(63) **Artifacts:** *nəkróʔ* 'arrow type (<M)', *nətáŋ* 'place in the house for making rituals'

kə- head and body parts

The prefix *kə-* occurs remarkably often with nouns denoting parts of the **head** (64).

(64) **Related to the head:**

a. *kətɔ̃́* 'tooth', *kətrú* 'goitre', *kətʃɛ̃̀* 'spittle', *kəzɛ̃̀* 'hair (on head), *kəwì* 'tear', *kəlím* 'soft spot on baby's head', *kətűrín* 'neck', *kətúʔ* 'basket (carried with belt on head)

b. With additional prefix *a-* (*a-kə*-ROOT): *akəníʔ* 'brain', *akətʃeì* 'chin', *akəsín* 'temple', *akəzjɛ̀* 'flexure in hair'

The most straightforward candidate for the lexical source, would be a reduced form of the root for 'head' *akű́*. However, this might be a coincidence as the prefix *kə-* is found in other body parts as well (65).

(65) **body parts:** *akəmíʔ* 'joint', *akəbaúʔ* 'kidney (=M)', *alɛ̀ kətóʔ* 'hoof (horse)', *alɛ̀ kətʃɯ̃̀* 'knee hollow', *alɛ̀ kədʒíʔ* 'fibula', *alɛ̀ kəpeíʔ* 'knee'

A prefix *kə-* occurs also in nouns of other semantic fields (exe:prefix-k-names) - (68).

(66) **Names:** *kənɔ̀* 'Hruso Aka', *kənjà* 'Koro Aka'

(67) **Artifacts:** *kəlì* 'trap type', *kətúʔ* 'carry basket'

(68) **Others:** *kədáŋ* 'song', *akədó?* 'poison', *kənuí?* 'fine sago fibres', *kərím* 'celery plant'

Furthermore, a prefix *kə-* is attested in other word classes such as question words (e.g. *kəsá* 'how'), adverbs (*kəlì* 'upside down'), adjectives (*kəʒɔ́?* 'different'), intensifier of Colour adjectives (*kəlɛ̀̃* 'very black').

ka- water

A prefix *ka-* occurs on a set of nouns which are in some way related to water (69).

(69) **Related to water:** *katʃɨ* 'spring, water place', *kapʰí?* 'stream', *kałaì* 'pond', *kahɔ̀̃* 'river' *kaʃuɛ̀̃* 'hanging bridge', *katyɛ́̃* 'bridge (not hanging bridge)', *katʃuɛ̀̃* 'mud', *katíŋ* 'bamboo cup', *katʃĩ?* 'filter bag to prepare alcohol'

A possible etymon for this prefix would be a reduced form of *kʰɔ̀* 'water'.

However, a prefix *ka-* also occurs on nouns which have no connection to water (70):

(70) *katíŋ* 'cap', *katʃĩp* 'winnowing basket', *kabjɛ̀̃* 'veranda', *kalíŋ* 'stone', *katsɛ̀̃* 'finger millet', *kadʒɛ̀̃* 'wax', *kaʒì* 'bird of prey sp.', *kajɛ̀̃* 'big cooking pot for preparing pig food', *kabɹáŋ* 'target', *kabuì* 'ginger sp.', *kafaì* 'moss'

hã- sky and house

Nouns denoting celestial objects and phenomena, such as 'sun', 'moon', 'rain', 'snow' have a prefix *hã-* or *ha-* (71). The non-nasal variant *ha-* occurs before the nasal consonants /m/ (*hamì*) and /n/ (*hanì*).

(71) **Celestial objects:** *hɛ̃̀ʃín* 'wind', *hɛ̃̀bɔ* 'moon', *hɛ̃̀waí?* 'star', *hɛ̃̀dʒà* 'snow', *hɛ̃̀pʰì* 'rain', *hɛ̃̀bljá?* 'lightning', *hɛ̃̀sɛ̀̃* 'dawn', *hamíŋ* 'sky' (non-nasal), *hamì* 'sun' (non-nasal)

The prefix *hã-/ha-* is unlike other prefixes always stressed, even in its non-nasal and metrically light form *ha-*. There is a free form *hɛ̃̀* 'today' as in *hɛ̃̀ arjɛ̀* 'today evening' and some time nouns (*hɛ̃̀pɛ̃́* 'full day', *hɛ̃̀tʃɔ̃̀* 'nowadays', *hanì* '(the day of) today'). This noun might be related to the sky prefix.

Not related to the sky prefix are nouns related to the house which are more likely to derive from the word for house (72).

(72) **House** *hə̀̃wuì* 'door', *hə̀̃pɛí* 'wall of house', *hə̀̃tʰɛ̀̃* 'settlement', *hə̀̃rjɛ̀̃* 'family', *hə̀̃lɔ̀̃* 'the inside of the house', *hə̀̃pɔ́* 'shelter',

Phonologically, the same development from *hám* to *hə̃* can be seen in the adverbs *hə̀̃wù* 'below the house' < *hám* + *awù* and *hə̀̃ʧə̀̃* 'on the house' < *hám* + *atʃə̀̃*

sə- higher animals

The prefix *sə-* occurs in nouns for higher animals, i.e. mammals (73).

(73) **Higher animals (mammals):** *səgì* 'civet cat', *səguì* 'wild dog', *səgə̀̃* 'marten', *sətú* 'horse', *sətsɛ̀̃* 'wild boar', *sətʃǐn* 'medium size black bear', *sətsùrjáŋ* 'big deer (=M)', *sənɨ́m* 'palm civet', *səpì* 'goat', *səbəní?* 'small porcupine', *səboì* 'big porcupine', *səbutʃò* 'pangolin', *sərì* 'serow', *səlá?* 'sheep', *səfəù* 'cow'

However, not every mammal has the prefix *sə-* (74), and there is at least one case where the prefix *sə-* occurs on the word for an insect (*səwí?* 'flea').

(74) **Higher animals with other prefixes:** *mərə̀̃* 'macaque', *məpʰɔ̀̃* 'tiger', *anám* 'musk deer', *asì* 'bear', *aljù* 'cat', *bù²* 'dog' (no prefix), *wá?* 'pig' (no prefix)

The prefix *ʃə-* is an allophonic variant in the environment of root initial palatal affricate *ʧ* (e.g. *ʃətʃə́m* 'takin', *ʃətʃì* 'barking deer'). However, the palatal variant also occurs in other words, particularly in words which are borrowed or are identical in Miji. This suggests that the palatal variant of this prefix might just be a Miji way of pronunciation. Even in the cases described above, for which the *sə*-prefix is more common, the pronunciation of *ʃə-* can occasionally be heard.

(75) *ʃəkjáŋ* 'deity (lord of the wild animals) (=M)', *ʃəkú?* 'skin' besides Puroik *akú?* 'skin', *ʃəbugé?* 'black giant squirrel (=M)', *ʃəhjáŋ* 'snow leopard (=M)', *ʃəkə̃́* 'tree with sour berries'

One of the biggest mammals is the mithun *susù*. Unlike in other environments, the prefix seems to have undergone some sort of vowel harmony (sə → su). The reason for this is unclear.

Furthermore, we find nouns with the prefix *sə-* which do not seem to have any semantic connection with higher animals or meat (76) - (78).

(76) **Man-made things:** *sətā́* 'twisted rope', *sətá* 'ladder', *sətyɛ́* 'fence' *sətsám* 'mortar (for rice)', *sədɔ̀* 'store room', *səkṹ* 'pot'

(77) **Plants:** *səré?* 'bush species', *sərà²* 'tree species', *səmjɛ́?* 'Amaranth?' *sərì* 'resin', *sərɪ̀* 'type of cane'

(78) **Others:** *sətándʒi* 'Khoitam people', *sətí* 'cloud', *sətsɛ̀* 'hoarfrost', *sətsɛ̀* 'sweat', *sərà* 'hip', *asəjúŋ* 'mane (of horse)'

pə- birds

Several bird names have have a bilabial prefix *pə-* (79).

(79) **Birds:** *pədù* 'bird', pətsəm 'bird of prey', *pətsíŋ* 'bird of prey', *pətʃaù* 'Barbet sp.' *pətʃuí?* 'Niltava sp.' *pədù pətʃú?* 'Drongo sp.' *pəráŋ* 'Blood pheasant', *pəlì* 'hornbill (without pattern on peck)', *pətɔ́* 'hornbill (with pattern on peck)', *pəzín* 'Grandala sp.' *pəʒɔ̀* 'Common myna', *pəsò* 'sparrow'

The prefix *pə-* is also found in the generic word for 'bird' *pədù*. However, many, if not the greater part of the bird's names, do not contain the prefix *pə-*. In particular are these, the word for the 'house fowl' *mədyì*, and names which are presumably onomatopoetic (*kobaré?*, *búmboí?*) as well as others (*nanì²*, *katʃím*, *tʃoʃaì*).

The prefix *pə-* is also found in nouns without connection to birds.

(80) **Others:** pəhɪeN 'cat fish', *pəsù* 'Miji king's cast', *pəʃā* 'old man', *pəmuì* 'snake sp.', *pədzɛ̀* 'orange', *pəlṳ̀* 'skirt'

pa-

(81) **Birds:** *parɔ̀* 'magpie', *parù* 'dove', *pa.ā́* 'crow'

(82) **Lower animals:** *pap^{h}ɛ́?* 'moth', *pawé?* 'leech', *pap^{h}é?* 'snake species', *paʃidrù* 'spider',

(83) **Others:** *pakaú* 'bag' patsu 'tax' *palā* 'bamboo container for beer' *pawì* 'shaman, priest' *palɨ* 'year after next year'

(84) **Shoulder:** *pafí?* 'left side' *pasù* 'right side' *patɨ́ŋ* 'shoulder'

bə- lower animals

(85) **Lower animals:** *bəʃʃéʔ* 'caterpillar', *bəʒɛ̀̃* 'maggot', *bədʑɛ̀̃* 'worm in sago'

(86) **Body parts:** *abədʒì* 'cyst', *asám bənjím* 'mouth of an angry person', *abədʒù* 'bird's stomach'

(87) **Humans:** *bətʃã̀* 'Monpa', *bətʃɨ* 'non-tribal', *bəwɨ̀̃* 'guest',

(88) **Others:** *bəzumuì* 'needle', *bədɛ̀̃* 'time', *bətʰì* 'last year'

ʧa-

Several cases of nouns which seem to have a prefix *ʧa-* can be interpreted as compounds *ʧaò* 'sago' (89).

(89) **SAGO:** *ʧamán* 'sago fibres' (*amán* 'hair'), *ʧaláp* 'sago leaf' (*aláp* 'leaf'), *ʧamɔ̀* 'sago plantation', *ʧakɨ́ŋ* 'sago root' (*akɨ́ŋ* 'root'), *ʧamóʔ* 'very fine sago fibres' (*móʔ* 'fine particles'), *ʧabã̀* 'sago trunk', *ʧadə̀* 'sago sucker' (*adə̀* 'child'), *ʧarjũ̀* 'white sago variety' (*arjũ* 'white'), *ʧarɛ̀̃* 'boiled sago'

There are other nouns which seem to have a prefix *ʧa-*, but are not related to sago (90).

(90) a. **Animal:** *ʧarjɛ̀̃* 'flying squirrel', *ʧarɨ̀* 'bamboo rat', *ʧatʃím* 'sparrow', *ʧarɨ̀̃* 'night active rat species',

b. **Body:** *ʧabrika* 'pincers'

c. **Others:** *ʧakuí* 'cooked rice (or other grains)', *ʧarò* 'cheese', *ʧazɔ̀* 'leafs for thatching the roof', *ʧarɨ́ʔ* 'broom', *ʧakám* 'wood bowl'

Prefixless nouns

Most nouns in the lexicon do have more than one syllable and have a prefix. However, there are many prefixless (monosyllabic) nouns as well. Examples of fairly basic monosyllabic nouns from various semantic fields are given in (91)-(96):

(91) **Nature:** *kʰɔ̀* 'water', *bɛ̀* 'fire', *ʧaò* 'sago', *njɛ̀* 'milk', *pʰəù* 'alcohol', *pʰɨ̀ŋ* 'mountain', *mɛ̀* 'side dish', *mɔ̃̀* 'tree fern', *móʔ* 'war', *rì* 'cane', *lím* 'path', *wúʔ* 'cave', *fəù* 'salt'

(92) **Plants:** *ʧʃáʔ* 'taro', *dǎ̀* 'garlic', *bì* 'sago flour', məŋ 'mushroom', *ʃǐ̀* 'firewood', *ə́ʔ* 'jungle banana', *sǎ̀* 'sago fibres', *ʃǎ̀* 'Urtica fibres', *sɛ̌̀* 'grass'

(93) **Animals:** *ʃì* 'meat, animal', *ʧuì* 'fish', *ʧɛ̌̀* 'jungle rat', *ʤù* 'yak', *pǎ́* 'crow', *bù²* 'dog', *rəʔ* 'frog', *wáʔ* 'pig', *ʃíʔ* 'louse'

(94) **Body parts and functions:**

(95) *bǎ̀* 'dream', *ɛ̀* 'excrement', *tsɛ̌̀* 'snot', *ʒù* 'breath', *krɔ̌́* 'back'

(96) **Man made:** *ráp* 'shelf over fireplace', *ɛ́ʔ* 'cloth', *kjúʔ* 'sago tool', *wǎ̀* 'sago club', *krɔ̌́* 'spear', *tʰɨ́ʔ* 'village', *ʧì²* 'dao', *pʰjɛ́ʔ* 'comb', *vəù* 'axe', *ʤɔ̀* 'fishing net', *míʔ* 'arrow', *lɨ̀* 'bow', *zə́p* 'quiver', *hám* 'house'

3.3.3. Relator nouns and post-positions

Relator nouns are a sub-type of nouns, which have similar functions as prepositions and postpositions in other languages. Their place in the noun phrase is after the head noun and quantifier, but before case markers and pragmatic particles (see 4.2).

Some relator nouns are separate phonological words, while others are phonologically bound. Some relator nouns have a bound and a free variant.

Table 3.6.: Free and bound relator nouns

free	bound	meaning
nukuíʔ	-	this side of the river
lǎ̀kuíʔ	-	that side of the river
nadɛ̀̌	-	that side
rakɨ́ŋ	-	behind
abɛ̀̌	-	ahead

Table 3.7.: Bound relator nouns

free	bound	meaning
apiʔ	-piʔ	along the river
alɨ́ŋ	*-lɨ́ŋ*	inside
atʃǎ̀	*-tʃǎ̀*	above

awù	*-wù*	below
-	*-tʃʉ̃̀*	between
-	*-ɬɛ̃̀*	side of (mountain)
-	*-kɬŋ*	on the way
-	*-gá?*	on the side of

Bound relator nouns have to be thought of as compounds, where, as in other noun + noun or noun + adjective compounds, the a-prefix of the second member of the compound is deleted (tab 3.7).

(97) *məpʰìn=ku²=ʧi* [*bù* *lím -wù*]$_{NP}$ *ʧai* *fɬntʃuɛ́?-ré?*
maize=OBJ=ADD DOWN path-below hold.in.one.hand dispose-BEN
'That maize, they also threw down below the road.' (WAR02:05 [570])

Some relator nouns are used as independent adverbials with the locative marker *=ku*.

(98) *ʤila bù² vɛhení?=na* [*awù =ku*]$_{ADV}$ *la* *rɬ*
CONJ dog 3DU=TOP below=LOC CONJ stay
'Then, the dog [and the human] both were sitting there.' (FROG04:27 [776])

Several relator nouns may be combined to one complex adverbial as in (129).

(99) [*bù* *awù* *alɬŋ =ku*]$_{ADV}$ *njá?-ba=ro* *rì-la*
DOWN below inside=LOC make.noise-PRS=ASRT say-SEQ
'Down below, inside, they make noise, he said.' (FROG05:32 [787])

3.3.4. Time nouns

Bulu Puroik has dedicated nouns not only for 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday' but also for two or three days in the future or in the past (table 3.8), and similarly for years (see 3.9).

Table 3.8.: Days: Today, tomorrow, yesterday

"-3"	"-2"	"-1"	"0"	"+1"	"+2"	"+3"
prúnì	*prú anì*	*ʤirjɛnì*	*hanì*	*lapɛ́*	*dərù*	*ɛ̃̀ru*
...	...	yesterday	today	tomorrow	...	...

Table 3.9.: Years: this year, last year, next year

"-3"	"-2"	"-1"	"0"	"+1"	"+2"	"+3"
buùlɨ̀	*buùdɨ̀*	*bətʰì*	*hə̃̀dɨ̀*	*sámtʰì*	*sámdɨ̀*	*palɨ̀*
...	...	last year	this year	next year	...	...

Most time nouns are at least partially transparent as nominal compounds. Syntactically, time nouns may be used adverbially without any marker. However, if the speech act situation is not the primary reference point, an adverbial locative marker *-ʃa* is added (e.g. 100 'the next day (in the story)').

(100) *ʤilana vɛrì=na prɨ́ gɛ́ʔ-batʃa=rila lapɛ́-ʃa nɔ̀*
CONJ 3PL=TOP human disappear-PRF=QUOT tomorrow-LOC search
'They said, one person is lost, and went to search him on the next day.' (TRAP00:56 [680])

3.4. Adjectives

The adjective word class contains words with a prefix *a-* and property meanings. Unlike nouns (but like verbs), adjectives can have the comparative suffix *-lɛ̀* and combine with the intensifier *anáŋ*. Unlike verbs (but like nouns), adjectives cannot be negated with the prefix *ba-* but require a negative copula.

The adjectives are subclassified into two major groups, depending on whether or not they have a verbal counterpart. A further interesting group of adjectives are colour adjectives which have distinct intensifiers. Finally, there is a less prototypical group of words which have an adjective meaning, but are formally different.

3.4.1. Adjectives without verbal counterpart (type 1)

Adjectives which "only" occur with the prefix *a-*. There is no verbal counterpart without the prefix.

(101) **DIMENSION:** *atɨ́* 'short', *apə́n* 'thick (of book)', *atʃoì* 'far', *atsáp* 'thin (of book)', *adʑɨ́m* 'narrow', *aním* 'low', *anyɨ̀* 'near', *arà* 'big', *ajím* 'deep', *azì* 'small', *aʃʃɛ̀* 'spacious',

(102) **AGE:** *amɛ̀* 'old, original', *awí?* 'old (of humans)', *atsɛ̀* 'old (of things)', *anjaò* 'fresh', *afɛ̀* 'new',

(103) **VALUE:** *amjè* 'good', *alaò* 'bad', *asú* 'correct'

(104) **COLOUR:** *adʒoì* 'yellow', *apí* 'blue', *arjè* 'green', *ahjɛ̀* 'black'

(105) **PHYSICAL PROPERTY:** *akʰɨ̀* 'tight', *aglɔ̀* 'bent', *atalə́m* 'dull', *atɔ́* 'light', *atlí* 'flat', *adəʒù* 'loose', *apín* 'sweet', *abrɨ* 'round', *atʃá?* 'bitter', *atʃɛ̀* 'straight', *atʃɛ̀* 'over-salted', *atʃì* 'cold', atʃi? 'beautiful', *atʃĩn* 'dark', *atʃyɛ̀* 'sour', *atsaù* 'crunchy', *atsé?* 'hot', adʒɨm 'soft', *amí?* 'pounded', *amjó?* 'gelatinous', *anyɛ̀* 'tough', *arɨ̀* 'slippery', *alí?* 'plane', *alɨ* 'heavy', *alə́m* 'warm', *alɔ̀* 'sharp', *awì* 'horizontal', *awú* 'fast', *afɔ̀* 'hard', *afyɛ̀* 'watery', *azɛ́?* 'dirty', *avì* 'sharp', *apɛ́* 'ready'

(106) **HUMAN PROPENSITY:** *atʰù* 'short tempered'

(107) **SIMILARITY:** *akʰɛ̀* 'other', *akɨ* 'original'

3.4.2. Deverbal adjectives (type 2)

A second set of adjectives is deverbal or at least has a verbal counterpart (108).

(108) *a.ɛ̃̀* 'fitting' from *ɛ̃̀* 'be fitting', *akɑ̃́* 'cold' from *akɑ̃́* 'be cold', *akɔ́* 'tired' from *kɔ́* 'be tired', *akrjaó* 'cramped' from *krjaó* 'be cramped', *adʒún* 'pointed' from *dʒún* 'make pointed', *abɹá?* 'broken' from *bɹá?* 'break (<M)', *abjaò* 'mad' from *bjaò* 'be mad', *apʰjɑ̃̀* 'long' from *pʰjɑ̃̀* 'be long', *amín* 'ripe' from *mín* 'be ripe', *amɔ̃̀* 'spicy' from *mɔ̃̀* 'be spicy', *arjũ̀* 'white' from *rjũ̀* 'be white', *awɛ̃̀* 'dry' from *wɛ̃̀* 'be dry' *asɛ̃̀* 'alive' from *sɛ̃̀* 'sprout, grow', *aʃɛ́?* 'strong' from *ʃɛ́?* 'be strong', *aʃám* 'rotten' from *ʃám* 'to rot', *ahjá?* 'hot' from *hjá?* 'be hot'

Not all adjectives do have a verbal counterpart (3.4.1) and not all intransitive verbs with "property concept" meaning do have an adjective counterpart. Some of them are given in (109).

(109) **Other property verbs (without adjective counterpart):** *krjɑ̃́* 'be clear (of sky)' *dɨ́ŋ* 'be full (of moon)', *tɨ́?* 'be physically tired', *tʃjɛ̃̀* 'be late', *dʒuɛ̃̀* 'be slow', *ljè* 'be full', *náŋ* 'be sick', *vjɛ̀* 'be good, in order', *lɨ̀* 'pain (of head)', *mɨ́ŋ* 'be full satiated', *bũ̀* 'swell', *daò* 'be cooked',

a-VERB-*mjɛ̀*, *a*-VERB-*laò* compounds

Adjectives compounds consisting of a prefix *a-*, a verb root X, and the adjective root of *amjɛ̀* 'good' or *alaò* 'bad', describe whether or not an object is good (i.e. well suited, convenient, pleasant), for a certain verbal action X.

In (110), an verb - *alaò* - compound is used to describe how the Puroik language *sounds* to others ('bad to hear'):

(110) *anɨŋlaò* *ba-hɨ̀-bo*
bad.to.hear NEG-speak-IMP
'[The language] doesn't sound good, don't speak it!' (LANG33:38 [1083])

a-VERB-*mjɛ̀*/a-VERB-*laò* compound adjective 'good/bad to VERB' can be derived to any verb root.

Further examples for this derivation are given in table 3.10.

Table 3.10.: *amjɛ̀* and *alaò* - compounds

meaning	*amjɛ̀*	*alaò*	verb root	verb meaning
'good/bad to hear'	*anɨŋmjɛ̀*	*anɨŋlaò*	*nɨŋ*	'listen'
'good/bad to eat'	*atʃìmjɛ̀*	*atʃìlaò*	*tʃì*	'eat'
'good/bad to go'	*avùmjɛ̀*	*avùlaò*	*vù*	'go from base'
'good bad to drink'	*a.ínmjɛ̀*	*a.ínlaò*	*ín*	'drink'
'good/bad to work'	*atʃɨ̋ŋmjɛ̀*	*atʃɨ̋ŋlaò*	*tʃɨ̋ŋ*	'work'
'good/bad to sleep'	*arə́mmjɛ̀*	*arə́mlaò*	*rə́m*	'sleep'

3.4.3. Syntax of adjectives

Adjectives can be used as attributes (112) as well as predicates (111).

(111) *hɨ̀* *mərù* [*atʃi?* *bá?*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
DEIC.NEAR woman beautiful EXIST
'This woman is beautiful.' (elicited A38:1)

(112) *hɨ̀* [*adʒí?* *mərù*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *bá?*
NEAR beautiful woman EXIST

'There is a beautiful woman.' (elicited A38:4)

Negation

Adjectives are negated with a negative copula (113b), and not with the verbal negation *ba-*. For adjectives of type 2, the verbal counterpart is often preferred when negating a proposition (114c). On the surface, this might look as if the adjective is negated with the verbal negation. However, in cases where adjectives seem to be negated with *ba-*, not the adjective is negated but the verbal counterpart.

(113) Type 1 adjectives

a. *amjɛ̀ bá?* 'it is good'

b. *amjɛ̀ babɔ̀* 'it is not good'

c. not: *ba-mjɛ̀* intended: 'it is not good'

(114) Type 2 adjectives (deverbal)

a. *amín bá?* 'it is ripe'

b. *amín babɔ̀* 'it is not ripe'

c. or: *ba-mín* 'it is not ripe'

Comparison

The suffix *-lɛ̃̀* is used to form comparatives and superlatives. The standard of comparison takes the marker *=ku* for comparatives, and *-ʃɔ̃̀* for superlatives.

(115) a. *gù hám =ku narì hám arà -lɛ̃̀*
1SG house=LOC 2PL house big-CMPR
'Your house is bigger than our house.' (elicited U1:2)

b. *pulɔ̀ =ʃɔ̃̀ hám arà -lɛ̃̀ gù-ũ̀*
Bulu=LOC house big-CMPR 1SG-POSS
'My house is the biggest house in Bulu.' (elicited U1:3)

The same suffix is used in verb derivation to express that something is done again with greater intensity (see "Verbal derivations" 6.7.1). For example (116):

(116) *ʤjù -lɛ̃̀ pɛ́ -lɛ̃̀ pjú -lɛ̃̀ tsá?-la wɛ́?*
stab-CMPR cut-CMPR burst-CMPR do-SEQ kill
'They stabbed them even more, they hit them even more and they shot at them even more. Doing like this they killed them.' (WAR03:38 [589])

The suffix *-lɛ̃̀* is a very explicit way to express a greater degree of a quality. However, a high degree of a quality is often already inherent to the meaning of the adjective and an explicit marker is not required (117).

(117) *mərù =ku =na gù məʒɛ̀ adʒí? bá?*
woman=LOC=TOP 1SG strap beautiful EXIST
'The carry strap is more beautiful than a woman.' (elicited U1:1)

Predicative adjectives can also be intensified with the adverbial intensifier *anáŋ* (118).

(118) *ʧímbi hɛ̃̀-la bù kahɔ̃̀ kʰɔ̀ anáŋ atʃi bá?=ri*
Chimbi(<Tib) speak-SEQ DOWN big.river water much cold EXIST=QUOT
'Chimbi said that the water in the river is very cold.' (elicited TAMVI40:47)

Adjectives as adverbials

Adjectives can be used as adverbials without any additional marker (119).
or (119):

(119) *məʒɛ̀ amjɛ̀ pá alaò ba-pá*
strap good fabricate bad NEG-fabricate
'Make the carry strap well. Do not make it badly!' (elicited D22:7)

Sometimes, the ablative marker *=lapu* is used for adjectives in adverbial position (120)

(120) *gù* [*amjɛ̀ =lapu*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ *rám*
1SG good=ABL sleep
'I slept well.' (elicited U1:8)

3.5. Minor word classes

Besides the three major word classes verbs, nouns and adjectives, there are several minor word classes, such as pronouns, adverbs, quantifiers, intensifiers, numerals, interjections. These classes are "minor" in the sense that they are much smaller in size and rarely get new members through new derivations or borrowing. However, in terms of text frequency, members of the minor word classes such as pronouns and demonstratives belong to the most frequently used elements overall (see statistics A.13).

3.5.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Bulu Puroik are free forms. Unlike in many Trans-Himalayan languages, there are no distinct forms in the first person dual and the first person plural to distinguish between "we" including the hearer vs. "we" excluding the hearer. The forms for singular, dual and plural are given in table 3.11.

Table 3.11.: Personal pronouns

1SG	*gù*
2SG	*nà*
3SG	*vè*
1DU	*gəsenɪ́ʔ* / *gəhenɪ́ʔ*
2DU	*nasenɪ́ʔ* / *nahenɪ́ʔ*
3DU	*vɛsenɪ́ʔ* / *vɛhenɪ́ʔ*
1PL	*grì*
2PL	*narì*
3PL	*varì*

The forms of the dual can be understood as a reduced form of the pronouns of the singular, plus the dual marker *-se* which is also used for nouns, plus the numeral *nɪ́ʔ* 'two'. The alternative dual forms with glottal fricative *h* is probably due to dialect influence from Kojo-Rojo[6].

The plural forms also contain the base forms of the singular. However, the plural (-ri')

[6]The *h*-forms are used by the speaker who also pronounces /ɔ/ as a diphthong [ua ~uɔ] as in Kojo-Rojo

is exclusively used for personal pronouns, neither with nouns nor with any other word class.

3.5.2. Interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns

The question words *mì* 'who', *hɛ̀* 'what', *klá* 'where', *kədʒɨ̀* 'when', *kəsá* 'how', are syntactically used like pronouns in the place of the noun phrase that they replace. Question words do not move to the front of the sentence. In (511a), the question word *hɛ̀* 'what' is syntactically in the same place as the answer "cane" in the subsequent clause (511b).

(121) a. [*grì=ʧí*]$_{A}$ [*hɛ̀*]$_{T}$ [*tʰɑ̀̃-na*]$_{PRED}$ [*nù=lapu*]$_{ADV}$
1PL=ADD what give-NPST here=ABL
'What would we give from here?' (TRADE05:45 [1176])

b. [*grì*]$_{A}$ [*rì*^{3}]$_{T}$ [*tʰɑ̀̃-na=ro*]$_{PRED}$
1PL cane give-NPST=ASRT
'We would give cane [products].' (TRADE05:47 [1177])

Interrogative pronouns in combination with a negated predicate have the meaning of 'nobody' *mì*, 'nothing' *hɛ̀*, 'nowhere' *klá*, 'never' *kədʒɨ̀* (see (122).

(122) [*nà hám=ku*]$_{ADV}$ *mì* *wɛ̀*
2SG house=LOC who EXIST.NEG
'Nobody is in your house.' (elicited A69:23)

(123) *míŋ* *mì* *ba-* *huì*^{2}*-ré?*
thing who NEG-recite-BEN
'Nobody made the last rituals for him.' (TRAP01:29 [690])

(124) *la* *aʃíp* *awó?* *mì* *ba-* *tʰɑ̀̃*
CONJ ritual.fee ritual who NEG-give
'Nobody gave the fee for the ritual.' (TRAP01:33 [692])

The negated question word *hɛ̀* 'what' can have a temporal meaning 'never' (125).

(125) *ʤì* *hɛ̀* *ba-* *gɛ́?-ʧa*
ANA what NEG-disappear-PRF
'They [the forest spirits] never disappear.' (LANG31:29 [1043])

With the particle *=matʃi*, the question words become indefinite non-referential *mì=matʃi* 'anybody', *hɛ̀=matʃi* 'anything", *klá=matʃi* 'anywhere', *kədʒɨ́=matʃi* 'any time', *kəsá* 'anyhow'. A summary of the meanings of interrogative pronouns is given in table 3.12.

Table 3.12.: Question words and indefinite pronouns

	question	indefinite referential	indefinite non-referential		negative
mì	who?	someone	*mì=matʃi*	anyone	nobody
hɛ̀	what?	something	*hɛ̀=matʃi*	anything	nothing
klá	where?	somewhere	*klá=matʃi*	anywhere	nowhere
kədʒɨ́	when?	some time	*kədʒɨ́=matʃi*	any time	never
kəsá	how?	somehow	*kəsá=matʃi*	anyhow	in no way

3.5.3. Anaphoric pronoun *dʒì*

The anaphoric pronoun *dʒì* resumes a noun phrase from which the speaker assumes that the hearer is able to identify it.

Example (126) shows the anaphoric pronoun as a free form replacing a full noun phrase ('the spirits').

(126) *dʒì hɛ̀ ba-gɛ́ʔ-tʃa*
ANA what NEG-disappear-PRF
'They [the forest spirits] never disappear.' (LANG31:29 [1043])

The anaphoric pronoun is the source for the definiteness particle *dʒi* which marks full noun phrases as definite and may precede or follow the noun phrase. In (127), the noun phrase marked as definite *dʒì=bədɛ̀* 'that time' refers back to the time of the war between India and China described in the previous two sentences.

(127) [*dʒi =bədɛ̀=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ *grì-tɯ́=ku* *məpʰìn lè-vù*
DEF=time=LOC 1PL-LOC.PERS=LOC maize take-go.from.base
sikstitú=ku
sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'That time, in 1962, he came to us to get maize.' (WAR00:26 [546])

The syntax of the anaphoric pronoun *dʒì* and the definiteness particle *dʒi* will be discussed in chapter 10.4.

3.5.4. Demonstratives

There are four demonstratives (3.13).

Table 3.13.: Demonstratives

Puroik	function	English
kű	topographic up	'up'
bù	topographic down	'down'
hɨ̀	proximate	'this, here'
tɛ́	distant (visible and invisible)	'that, there'

The anaphoric pronoun *ʤi* can also have demonstrative function.

Demonstratives in noun phrases

Demonstratives occur as modifier within noun phrases with nouns denoting a locations (176).

(128) [*bù* *sɛ̀ʧi?* *kʰɔ̀=lapu*]$_{NP}$ *ʒaù-ruìla* *rín-dyɨ̀-ka=ri²* *ʤì*
DOWN SɛNʧi? water=ABL get.up-ANT move.fast-again-REL=TOP ANA
katɨ́ŋ=ku *lakű* *rín-ù̀*
upstream=LOC up.there move.fast-POSS
'From down near the sɛntʃi river, he stood up, and run upstream.' (WAR07:01 [637])

Demonstratives may occur in noun phrases with one or more relator nouns (129).

(129) [*bù* *awù* *alɨ́ŋ=ku*]$_{ADV}$ *njá?-ba=ro* *rì-la*
DOWN below inside=LOC make.noise-PRS=ASRT say-SEQ
'Down below, inside, they make noise, he said.' (FROG05:32 [787])

Adverbial use of demonstratives

Demonstratives combine with case markers, relator nouns and postpositions to form adverbials (3.14).

Table 3.14.: Adverbial use of demonstratives

	hɨ̀	*nù*	*té*	*kű*	*bù*	
-∅						
-ʃɔ̀	*hɨ̀-ʃɔ̀*	*nù-ʃɔ̀*	*té-ʃɔ̀*	*kű-ʃɔ̀*	*bù-ʃɔ̀*	LOC
-ʃa		*nù-ʃa*				
-la	*hɨ̀la*	*nùla*	*téla*	?	?	adverbial LOC
la-				*lakű*	*labù*	adverbial LOC
-gáʔ	*hɨ̀gáʔ*	*nù-gáʔ*	*tégáʔ*	*kűgáʔ*	*bùgáʔ*	'side of'
-ɬɛ̀			*té-ɬɛ̀*	*kű-ɬɛ̀*	*bù-ɬɛ̀*	'side of'
-lɨ́ŋ	*hɨ̀-lɨ́ŋ*		*té-lɨ́ŋ*	*kű-lɨ́ŋ*	*bù-lɨ́ŋ*	'inside'
-tʃà	-		-	*kűtʃà*	-	-
nadɛ̀		*nù nadɛ̀*	*té nadɛ̀*			

Demonstratives can be used as adverbials without any marker (130).

(130) *kű ǔ-dɔ̃̀-ʤi* *kű kű kű ǔ*
UP go.to.base-IMM-away UP UP UP go.to.base
'He went up. Up, up, up he went.' (WAR07:32 [646])

3.5.5. Adverbs

Adverbs are words which modify the meaning of the predicate. They precede the predicate as separate phonological words. Adverbs in Bulu Puroik are less numerous and less frequent than in other languages because many "adverbial" modifications of the predicate can be expressed within the predicate itself with suffixes and combinations of verb roots. These constructions will be described in detail in a separate chapter (chapter 6 'Predicate derivations').

Time

Table 3.15.: Time points

pʰɔ̀	'little bit before'

prú	'some time ago'
buì	'many years ago'
nadɛ̃̀	'later'

Table 3.16.: Repetitions

hjə̀tʃi	once
níʔ tɪ́	twice
hjə̀hjə̀tʃi	sometimes
anáŋ	a lot
dáŋlíŋ	always

Degree

The intensifier *anáŋ* 'very, excessively, too much' is used with adjectives (*anáŋ atʃì* 'very cold'), verbs (*anáŋ tʃi* 'eat a lot') and occasionally with nouns (*anáŋ prɪ̃́* 'too many people'). Some quantifiers can also be used adverbial to express a degree, *njɛ̀* 'little bit'.

3.5.6. Intensifiers of colour adjectives

Colour adjectives have special intensifiers 3.17. These identifiers follow the adjective unlike the generic intensifier *anáŋ* which precedes the adjectives. While other languages have special intensifiers for colour adjectives as well (German *feuerrot* 'fire-red', *rabenschwarz* 'black like a raven', *himmelblau* 'sky-blue'), the Puroik intensifiers are not derived from a noun denoting an object with this colour. For example, in *ahjɛ̃̀ kələ̃̀* 'very black' the intensifier *kələ̃̀* does not mean 'charcoal', 'night' or anything else related to the colour black.

Table 3.17.: Colour adjectives and their intensifiers

Adjective	intensifier	meaning
ahjɛ̃̀	*kələ̃̀*	'very black' (like charcoal)
arjʊ̃̀	*kəlʊ̃̀*	'very white' (like paper)
apí	*sərín*	'very blue' (like the sky)

aʃĩʔ	*ahù*	‘very red’
adʒoì	*dʒáʔ*	‘very yellow’
arjɛ̀	*bədʒíʔ*	‘very green’ (like leaves)

Otherwise, colour adjectives are not a homogeneous group. The adjectives *arjṳ̀* ‘white’ and *aʃĩʔ* ‘red’ have a verbal counterpart. The others do not.

3.5.7. Quantifiers

Quantifiers follow the head noun in a noun phrase (131).

(131) *gù* [*ʃì̀* *njɛ́*]$_{NP}$ *ʒɛ̀* *vù-pándɛ̀-na*
1SG wood little carry go.from.base-OBLG-NPST
‘I have to carry a little bit of wood now.’ (WOOD39:45 [945])

Table 3.18.: Quantifiers

njɛ́	‘few’
njɛ́tʃi	‘little bit’
tatíʔ	‘alone’
tatíʔtʃi	‘alone’
dzɔ̀	‘all’
hjɑ̀	‘all’
atʃù	‘a crowd of’
abù^{2}	‘more’
ahjɔ̀	‘entire’

Some can be used adverbial, as in (132) ‘feel little bit sad and cry’.

(132) *njɛ́* *vɛ̀* *dəhù* *híʔ-la* *tʃɛ́ʔ*
little 3SG sadness think-SEQ cry
‘Feeling sad, he cried silently.’ (WAR03:10 [582])

3.5.8. Numerals

Bulu Puroik has a decimal numeral system. The basic numerals from one to ten are given in table (3.19)[7].

Table 3.19.: Numerals 1-10

1	*tʰyì*
2	*níʔ*
3	*ḿm*
4	*vì*
5	*wù*
6	*rə́ʔ*
7	*məljɛ̀*
8	*məljaò*
9	*dõ̀gì*
10	*suán*

Tens, hundreds and thousands are compounds of the words for 'ten' *suán*, 'hundred' *pŭ́pʰù* 'hundred (< Monpa)' and *hadʒar* 'thousand (< IA)' plus the numeral (TEN + NUMERAL, HUNDRED + NUMERAL, THOUSAND + NUMERAL). In Puroik, the numeral follows the thing that is counted (see noun-phrase section 4.2.2). Hence, the numeral twenty is *suán níʔ* 'two of tens' (and not *níʔ suán*).

(133) Counting tens, hundreds, thousands

a. *suán*, *suánníʔ* '20', *suán ḿm* '30', *suánvì* '40', *suánwù* '50', *suánrə́ʔ* '60', *suánməljɛ̀* '70', *suánməljaò* '80', *suándõ̀gì* '90'

b. *pŭ́pʰùʧi* '100', *pŭ́pʰù níʔ* '200', *pŭ́pʰù ḿm* '300', *pŭ́pʰù vì* '400', ...

c. *hadʒarʧi* '1000', *hadʒar níʔ* '2000', ...

Exceptions are the first '100', '1000', '100'000', 'ten million', which are counted with *-ʧi* and not with *tʰyì* . For counting over the ten, the hundred or the thousand the ablative marker *=lapu* is used, e.g. *suán=lapu níʔ* 'twelve' (lit. 'two from ten').

[7] The numerals 1-10 are suspiciously similar to Bugun. In Bugun as well as in Bulu Puroik, the numerals for 'seven' and 'eight' have an *m*-prefix (Bugun *mulījá* '7', *mīljá* '8' see Barbora, Acharya, and Wangno 2015). In the Puroik dialects in the east, the numerals for 'seven' and 'eight' do not have an *m*-prefix.

(134) Counting over ten, hundred, thousand

a. *suán=lapu tʰyì*
ten=ABL one
'11' (lit. 'one from ten')

b. *suán=lapu nî?* '12', *suán=lapu ḿm* '13', *suán=lapu vì* '14', *suán=lapu wù* '15', *suán=lapu rî?* '16', *suán=lapu məljɛ̀* '17', *suán=lapu məljaò* '18', *suán=lapu dõ̀gì* '19'

c. *suánnî?=lapu tʰyì*
twenty=ABL one
'21' (lit. 'one from twenty')

d. *pṹpʰùtʃi=lapu suán*
hundred=ABL ten
'110' (lit. 'ten from hundred')

e. *pṹpʰùtʃi=lapu suán=lapu tʰyì*
hundred=ABL ten=ABL one
'111' (lit. 'one from ten from hundred')

For higher numerals, is more common to use the Hindi or English numerals. Hindi is used for '1000' *hadʒar* (< Hindi हज़ार *hazār*), 100'000 *lak* (<Hindi लाख *lākh*), or for '10'000'000' *krol* (<Hindi करोड़ *karoṛ*). Furthermore, loans are commonly used for years and dates of the Roman calendar as well as for the clock ("sixty-two" for the year of the war A.1).

3.5.9. Conjunctions

Clauses are very frequently joined with clause final particles, and not with clause initial conjunctions (3.20). However, there are some conjunctions for joining independent clauses. Most of them contain the particles *la* and *lana* that are also used clause-finally in subordinated clauses.

Table 3.20.: Conjunctions introducing non-subordinate clauses

clause initial	clause final	function
la	*=la*	generic
lana	*=lana*	generic
dʒila	-	'then, there'

ʤilana	-	'after this'
ʤilapu	-	'after this'
ʤilapəna	-	'furthermore'

3.5.10. Interjections

Interjections are a heterogeneous class of words. They all have in common that they stand outside the usual clause and sentence structure. Furthermore, interjections are less conventionalised and sometimes even so spontaneous that one might question whether these utterances really form part of the lexicon.

Hortative

A very common interjection is the hortative particle *kəí* which occurs with the same function in other languages of Arunachal Pradesh as well (very similar forms in Galo, cf. Post 2007, p. 626). Examples for the use of the hortative particle are given in (527) and (528).

(135) *la ʤi=kű́ʤɨ́n ʧaina-hɛ̃̀=na kəí ũ̀-ʤi-batʃa=ro=ri*
CONJ DEF=China China(<Eng)-PL=TOP HORT go.to.base-away-PRF=ASRT=QUOT
'Then, the Chinese people said: Come on, let's go!' (WAR05:02 [607])

(136) *kəí tɛ́ məluɛ̃̀ ʧì-ba=ro=ri vè rì-ka ba-ʧì-na=ro*
HORT FAR food eat-PRS=ASRT=QUOT 3SG say-REL NEG-eat-NPST=ASRT
'[The soldiers] said let's go over there and eat food. But he said: "I won't eat."' (WAR06:46 [633])

Yes and No

The word for "no" is identical to the negative copula *bɔ̀*.

(137) *bɔ̀ vè rì-ka rì ba-ũ̀-na*
COP.NEG 3SG say-REL say NEG-go.to.base-NPST
'No, he said, I won't go.' (WAR05:06 [608])

Approval is expressed with something nasal (*õː*, *hãː*, *hm*) see (138) and (139).

(138) *hɜ̀³ dan2 grì ʤila mə-kan-la ʧì*
yes know(KR) 1PL CONJ NMLZ-work.with.tool(KR)-SEQ eat
'Yes, I know, we used to make and eat it.' (SAGO00:15 [948])

(139) *ɔ̀ vɛ̀ rì vɛrì bəʧɜ̀ aró? ù̀-sə̀-baʧa*
INTJ 3SG say 3PL Monpa friend go.to.base-meet-PRF
'Yes, he thought, these are my Monpa friends, let's go and meet them.' (WAR01:10 [556])

3.6. Summary

The lexicon of Bulu Puroik was classified into three major word classes and several minor classes based on semantic, syntactical and morphological criteria. The major classes are verbs, nouns and adjectives classes. Among the minor word classes are pronouns (personal pronouns, interrogative/indefinite pronouns, the anaphoric pronoun), demonstratives, adverbs, quantifiers, intensifiers of colour adjectives, numerals, conjunctions and interjections. While the major word classes are open for new members through productive word formation or borrowing, minor word classes have a rather small, restricted set of members.

4. Noun phrases

Noun phrases in Bulu Puroik are constituents headed by a noun, a compound of nouns or a pronoun. Further elements occurring within or attached to the noun phrase are demonstratives, numerals, relator nouns and postpositions, quantifier nouns, case clitics, discourse particles, relative clauses. Relative clauses and adjectives can precede and follow the head noun. Numerals, quantifiers, relator nouns and postpositions follow the head noun. Case clitics and most discourse particles (*=na*, *=ri*, *=ri²*, *=ʧi*, *=ʤi*) are cliticised to the last element of the noun phrase. The only discourse particle which may be precede noun phrase is the definiteness marker *ʤi*.

The general structure of noun phrases in Bulu Puroik is given in table 4.1.

Table 4.1.: Structure of the noun phrase

pre-head elements
definiteness (*ʤi*)
demonstratives
possessor
relative clause, name
head
noun, compound, elaborate expression, pronoun
post-head elements
relative clause, adjective
number, numeral, quantifier
relator noun, post-position
case clitic
discourse particles (topic, focus, definiteness, honorific)

The noun phrase structure given in table 4.1 is an abstraction and most noun phrases

in natural discourse are not complex at all, but consist of a plain noun. The elements occurring before and after the head noun, as well as evidence for the relative order of the elements in the noun phrase, will be presented below.

4.1. Pre-head elements in the noun phrase

Elements which always precede the head noun are demonstratives, possessor noun phrase and other modifier nouns. Definiteness particle, relative clause and adjective may occur before the head noun, but can also follow.

4.1.1. Demonstratives

The demonstratives determine whether a noun phrase is above (*kṹ*), below (*bù*), far (*té*) or near (*hɛ̀̃*) the speaker or the place where the speaker projects himself. In example 140, the speaker point up to the [gods] 'up there'.

ANA=DEM HEAD (pronominal)

(140) *patna* *tsáʔ-la* *pʰɨŋ-hɛ̃̀=jo* *kʰɔ̀-hɛ̃̀=jo*
christian.prayer(<IA) do-SEQ mountain-PL=HON water-PL=HON
patna *tsáʔ-lana* [*ʤi* *=kṹ* [*vɛrì*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
christian.prayer(<IA) do-ANT DEF=UP 3PL
ba-nɨ́ŋ-rjaò-dyɛ̀̃-ʧa
NEG-listen-be.able-again-PRF
'If we make Christian prayers, the respected mountain ghosts and the water spirits - the ones up there - cannot understand.' (LANG30:42 [1029])

In example 140, the presence of the preclitic definiteness marker *ʤi* demonstrates that the demonstrative belongs to the noun phrase. However, determining whether or not a demonstrative is part of the noun phrase or used as an independent adverb, can be difficult. For example, in 141, the demonstrative might as well be used as an independent adverb.

(141) [*kṹ* *hamɨ́ŋ=lapu*]$_{\text{NP}}$ [*hamɨ́ŋ-lɨ́ŋ=lapu*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *məhjɛ̃̀ ɬúʔ-mə* *katʃuɛ̃̀=ku ɬúʔ*
UP sky=ABL sky-inside=ABL earth fall-PST mud=LOC fall
'From up in the sky, they fell down to the earth, into the swamp.' (FROG04:43 [778])

4.1.2. Possessor

A possessor noun phrase precedes the head noun without any overt marking. The possessor noun phrase can be a plain noun (142), a pronoun (143) or a complex noun phrase (144).

(142) [[*hə̀̃bu*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*akú=ku²*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ [[*hamì*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*akú=ku²*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*
moon first.brother=OBJ sun first.brother=OBJ kill-ANT
ù̃-la *grì=ʧi* *rɨ-ka* *ù̃*
go.to.base-SEQ 1PL=ADD stay-REL go.to.base
'After killing the elder brother of the moon and the elder brother of the sun, we came and we stayed.' (SAGO01:28 [962])

(143) *è* *gù=ʧi* *è* *gù* *pulɔ̀* [[*gù*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ *tʰɨ́ʔ*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *pulɔ̀* *è* *pulɔ̀*
FILL 1SG=ADD FILL 1SG Bulu 1SG village Bulu FILL Bulu
'Hm, me, I [am from] Bulu. My village is Bulu.' (ORIGIN00:03 [805])

(144) [[*atsɨ* *sə̀̃ʤo*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*apʰɔ̀*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ba-hɨ̀̃-rjaò-ʧa* *amɔ̀*
grandchild Sandʒo male NEG-speak-be.able-PRF female
ba-hɨ̀̃-rjaò-ʧa *ʤi=hɛ̃̀=ku*
NEG-speak-be.able-PRF DEF=people=LOC
'Grandsons Sandʒo's father doesn't know to speak [Puroik], the mother doesn't know to speak [Puroik].' (LANG34:25 [1096])

A possessor noun phrase may consist of more than one possessor such as in 145.

(145) [[[*hɨ̀̃ ŋawaŋ*]$_{\text{NP}}$ [*pʰimoo*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *vɛhenɨ́ʔ*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*aʒù=ri*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *kisaŋ laŋaa=rila*
NEAR Ngawaŋ Phimo(<Bkp) 3DU wife=QUOT Kisaŋ Langa=QUOT
'Ngawang's and his elder brother *Phimo*'s wife was Kisang Langa.' (WAR00:18 [545])

Possessor in headless NPs *-ù̃*

In headless possessive constructions, the possessor is marked with *-ù̃* (146). In (146) 'it is his [frog]', the possessum would be the 'frog'.

(146) [*prú* [*vɛ̀ -ù̃*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ʒù=rila* [*vɛ̀ aróʔ* *tsáʔ-na-ka* [*vɛ̀ -ù̃*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ʒù*
before 3SG-POSS COP=QUOT 3SG friend do-NPST-REL 3SG-POSS COP
'This is exactly his frog from before, the one who came to make friends. It is surely his.' (FROG06:41 [800])

Although not common, the possessor marker *-ù̃* may also occur possessor constructions where the possessum is explicitly mentioned : *pʰɛ̀mbu-ù̃ wá?* 'Phembu's pig' *vɛ̀-ù̃ wá?* 'his pig'.

Contrastive possessor *=ta* / *=tazu*

The marker *=ta* or *=tazu* is used to mark contrastive possessors in situations where the speaker wants to emphasise the possessor in contrast to a possible alternative possessor.

Example (147) is from a conversation about the fact that young people speak other languages, and not Puroik. The speaker uses the marker *=ta* for contrasting 'our own language' with languages of others.

(147) [[*grì =ta*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*sə́m*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *hɪ̀̃-dʒ̀̃-ʧɪ̃-na*
1PL=own language speak-IMM-OBLG-NPST
'They really have to speak our own language.' (LANG33:47 [1087])

The possessor markers *=ta* and *=tazu* are used for alienable nouns, inalienable and abstract nouns (148).

(148) 'own' (as opposed to someone else's)
a. *vɛ̀=tazu* / *=ta hám* 'his own house' (as opposed to someone else's house),
b. *vɛ̀=tazu* / *=ta adə̀* 'his own child'(as opposed to someone else's child),
c. *vɛ̀=tazu* / *=ta akṹ* 'his own head' (as opposed to someone else's head),
d. *vɛ̀=tazu* / *=ta bə̃̀* 'his own money' (as opposed to someone else's money),
e. *vɛ̀=tazu* / *=ta mətʃɪ̃ŋ* 'his own work' (as opposed to someone else's work)

The marker *=ta* is certainly cognate with the suffix *-ta*, common in all eastern Puroik varieties for marking possessors, ablative and instrumental (see table 4.4).

4.2. Post-head elements in the noun phrase

Elements always following the head noun are attributive adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, number markers, quantifiers, relator nouns, post-positions, case clitics and most discourse clitics (topic, focus, definiteness, honorific).

4.2.1. Adjectives

Attributive adjectives follow the head noun, see (150) and (149).

(149) [[*hə̃̀bu*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *atʃáʔ* *=ku²*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *wéʔ-ruìla* [[*hamì*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *atʃáʔ=ku²*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *wéʔ-ruìla*
moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT
<*sə̃̀dʒáŋ* *sə̃̀njúŋ*> *dʒila* *sɛ̃̀-dɔ̃̀*
<all.plants(RL) all.plants(RL)> CONJ prosper-IMM
'After [Kraa Krung] killed the bad moon and the bad sun, all plants immediately sprouted.' (ORIGIN01:47 [829])

(150) [[*asì*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *arà*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *hɛ̃̀* *hɛ̃̀* *məʒə* *akʰɛ̀=ku* *ba-ì-na* *asì-hɛ̃̀*
bear big NEAR people trap other=LOC NEG-die-NPST bear-PL
hɛ̃̀=ku *kʰuíʔ-la* *ì*
NEAR=LOC enter-SEQ die
'Also big bears. In other traps they will not die. Here, into this big deadfall trap, the bears go and die.' (TRAP02:11 [704])

4.2.2. Numerals

The numerals follows immediately after the head noun. For example in, the numeral *níʔ* in 'two soldiers' (example 151) or 'two cups' (example 152).

(151) [[*sipaí*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *níʔ* *=dʒi*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *nɔ̀-vù*
soldier(<IA) two=DEF search-go.from.base
'The two soldiers went to search.' (TRAP00:37 [674])

(152) *pʰəù* *nɔ̀-la* *ín-la* [[*tələ̃̀*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *níʔ*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ín-dʒə̃̆-ʧa*
alcohol search-SEQ drink-SEQ mug two drink-ALL-PRF
'He searched beer, drunk, and finished two mugs completely.' (WAR04:58 [606])

Unlike the Puroik varieties further east, Bulu Puroik does not have numeral classifiers.

4.2.3. Quantifiers

Quantifiers like *njé* 'little' follow the head noun (153).

(153) *gù* [[*ʃì̀*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ [*njé*]$_{\text{QUANT}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ʒɛ̀* *vù-pándɛ̀-na*
1SG wood little carry go.from.base-OBLG-NPST
'I have to carry a little bit of wood now.' (WOOD39:45 [945])

Quantifiers follow the numeral (154).

(154) [[*hə̃pű*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ [*suán* *njalu*]$_{\text{QUANT}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *nɔ̀-ri-batʃa*
full.day ten more.than(<M) search-IPFV-PRF
'For more than ten days, they searched [him].' (TRAP01:04 [683])

4.2.4. Number

The marking of number on nouns is weakly grammaticalised in Puroik. Morphemes for marking duality or plurality exist, but they are fairly optional, and there is no number agreement either in the noun phrase or the clause. A way common to mark plurality explicitly are compounds with the generic noun *hɛ̀̃* meaning 'people'. For dual, there is a dedicated morpheme *-se*, which also occurs in the dual forms of the personal pronouns (e.g. *gəsenír?* 1DU).

hɛ̀̃ PL

The morpheme *hɛ̀̃* occurs as a stand-alone noun meaning 'people' and as a plural marker on nouns. Some of these plurals still allow an interpretation as 'people'. This is the case for the very frequent use as an associative plural, which can always be understood as the 'people of X' where X might be a person (people of *Dʒumi Dʒudʒa* 155), an institution (people of the army 156) or a place (people of the mountains and the waters e.g. 157) etc.

For example, the people of *Dʒumi Dʒudʒa* (155) :

(155) *vɛ̀* *prɨ́* *bló?* *nɨ́?=ku²=dʒi* [<*dʒuumi dʒuudʒa*> *-hɛ̀̃*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *la* *wɛ́?-la* *lì*
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Dʒumi Dʒudʒa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Dʒumi Dʒudʒa*'s people.' (WAR04:29 [598])

(156) *ʧaina armi -hɛ̀̃ =la wɛ́ʔ-ri²*
China(<Eng) army(<Eng)-PL=CONJ kill-RECP
'Chinese and Indian soldiers were fighting each other.' (WAR00:31 [547])

(157) [*pʰɨŋ -hɛ̀̃*]$_{NP}$ [*kʰɔ̀ -hɛ̀̃*]$_{NP}$ *kɨ-la náŋ-na aruɛ́ʔ vù=ku*
mountain-PL water-PL hit-SEQ be.sick-NPST mountains go.from.base=LOC
'The mountan spirits and water spirits will hit you, and you will be sick when you go for hunting.' (HL01:00 [1141])

However, the plural word *hɛ̀̃* can also be used for real plurals which are not associative, e.g. *məbán-hɛ̀̃* 'the Miji's' (and not 'the people of the Miji's'). The plural word *hɛ̀̃* is even used for plurals of animals such as *səfəù-hɛ̀̃* 'cows' or inanimate items such as *maʧû-hɛ̀̃* 'guns' neither of which must be interpreted as 'people of the cow' or 'people of the guns'.

The associative use is also possible for non-human nouns. For example in (158), *akű̃-hɛ̀̃* 'head-PL' is from a story about a dead soldier whose head and neck are broken and rotten. The plural of *akű̃* 'head' in this case stands for the head and everything belonging to the head (and not for several heads).

(158) *akű̃ -hɛ̀̃ dáŋrá? ʃám-baʧa*
head-PL be.rotten(<M) rot-PRF
'The neck and all was brocken and rotten.' (TRAP01:23 [688])

-se Dual

The morpheme *-se*, which is also found in dual forms of pronouns, is used on nouns to mark duality. The dual marker can be attached to both nouns (159) or only to the second noun of the pair (160):

(159) *ʤilana* [*ʤi=bù² -se*]$_{NP}$ [*prɨ́ -se*]$_{NP}$ *ʤila ʧɛ́ʔ-la dəhù tsáʔ-la nɔ̀ nɔ̀*
CONJ DEF=dog-DU human-DU CONJ cry-SEQ sadness do-SEQ search search
nɔ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀ ba-ɔì
search search search search NEG-find
'The dog and the human, both cried and were sad, they searched and searched but didn't find him (the frog).' (FROG00:51 [734])

(160) *agǔ=ri²* *vè* *lím-kɨ́ŋ* *ín* *agǔ=ri²* [*vè* *azù*]$_{NP}$ [*vè* *abù* *-se*]$_{NP}$
half=TOP 3SG path-LOC drink half=TOP 3SG wife 3SG elder.brother-DU
lè-rɔ̀-na=rila
take-REM.BEN-NPST=QUOT
'One half he drunk on the way, the other half, he would bring to his wife and his brother, he thought.' (WAR00:48 [553])

However, the more frequent strategy of coding duality in the noun phrase is using a dual pronoun or a numeral. For dual pronouns, the associative use is most common, i.e. not both nouns are explicitly mentioned, but only one while the other noun can be inferred from the context. For example in (161) *bù² vɛhenî?* does not have to mean "the two dogs", but more commonly means "the dog and someone else (who can be inferred from the context)".

(161) *ʤila* [*bù²* *vɛhenî?* *=na*]$_{NP}$ *awù=ku* *la* *rɨ*
CONJ dog 3DU=TOP below=LOC CONJ stay
'Then, the dog [and the human] both were sitting there.' (FROG04:27 [776])

If there is an explicit numeral such as in example (162), the associative interpretation is not possible: *blóʔ níʔ* only means "the two fools" and could not mean "the fool and someone else (who could be inferred from the context)":

(162) *vè* *prɨ́* [*blóʔ* *níʔ* *=ku²=ʤi*]$_{O}$ <*ʤuumi ʤuuʤa*>*-hɛ̃̀* *la* *wɛ́ʔ-la* *lì*
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Dʒumi Dʒudʒa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Dʒumi Dʒudʒa*'s people.' (WAR04:29 [598])

4.2.5. Relator nouns and post-positions

Relator nouns indicate the relative position to a head noun X, for example X *awù* 'below X', X *atʃɑ̃̀* 'above X'. Some of these relator nouns are free nouns, others occur as free noun and suffix, for others the free form does not exist (or does not exist anymore). Relator nouns which have no free form will be called 'post-positions'. A summary of the most important relator nouns is given in table 4.2.

Table 4.2.: Relator nouns

free	bound	meaning
nukuí?	-	this side of the river
lə̀kuí?	-	that side of the river
rakɬ́ŋ	-	behind
abɛ̀	-	ahead
alɬ́ŋ	*-lɬ́ŋ*	inside
atʃə̀	*-tʃə̀*	above
awù	*-wù*	below
-	*-tatʃʉ̀*	between
-	*-ɬɛ̀*	side of (mountain)
-	*-kɬ́ŋ*	on the way

Example 163 shows the relator noun *rakɬ́ŋ*, which only occurs as a free form.

(163) *níŋ-lana* [*vɛ̀ rakɬ́ŋ =ku*]$_{NP}$ *ba-vù-pɔ́* *ba-vù-gì*
look-ANT 3SG behind=LOC NEG-go.from.base-appear NEG-go.from.base-follow
'When he looked [back], nobody came behind him, nobody followed him.' (WAR07:35 [647])

The relator noun *awù* / *-wù* occurs both bound and free. The bound version can be seen in example 164.

(164) *məpʰìn=ku²=tʃi* [*bù lím -wù*]$_{NP}$ *tʃai* *fíntʃué?-ré?*
maize=OBJ=ADD DOWN path-below hold.in.one.hand dispose-BEN
'That maize, they also threw down below the road.' (WAR02:05 [570])

Relative order of relator nouns and case markers

Although to some extent, the functions of the relator nouns intersect with the functions of the case markers (e.g. locative), they occupy a different slot in the noun phrase structure, preceding the case markers. Example (165) illustrates the relative order of relator nouns and case markers.

(165) *vɛ̀ akjə́ -lɬ́ŋ =lapu kʰɔ̀ -lɬ́ŋ =ku* *ʉ̀-pʰí?*
3SG hole-inside=ABL water-inside=LOC go.to.base-away

'Through the hole [of the bottle], he went away, into the water.' (FROG00:46 [733])

Postpositions and postposed verbs

The verb *pʰɛ́ʔ* 'reach a location' can be a full predicate or a verbal derivative (*vù-pʰɛ́ʔ*). In addition to this, the verb can have a post-position-like function in the sense of 'until'. The post-posed verb occupies the same slot in the noun phrase as the relator nouns.

In example 166, 'until the age of five years'.

(166) *gù gjǎ=matʃi gù [adəzuì wù pʰɛ́ʔ]*$_{NP}$ *tʃì-ruì-bádɛ̀=ro*
1SG live=ADD 1SG year five reach eat-ANT-PRMN=ASRT
'Even when I was already born, until reaching the age of five, we had eaten [the salt of Tibet].' (TRADE05:09 [1167])

In example (167), the post-posed verb *pʰɛ́ʔ* is used for 'falling **until** reaching the river':

(167) *vɛ̀ ʤila la bù huɪ̀²-dɔ̀-ka [ʤi=bù sɛ̀ʧíʔ kʰɔ̀ pʰɛ́ʔ]*$_{NP}$ *huɪ̀²-dɔ̀*
3SG CONJ CONJ DOWN fall-IMM-REL DEF=DOWN SɛNʧiʔ water reach fall-IMM
'Immediately, he [ŋawaŋ] rolled down the slope. He rolled down, all the way down to the sɛNʧiʔ river.' (WAR06:56 [636])

4.2.6. "Case" markers

The "case" markers are all mutually exclusive and occupy the second last slot in the noun phrase after relator-nouns and post-position and before pragmatic particles. Table 8.1 contains the Puroik "case"-markers and the roles they mark.

Table 4.3.: "Case" markers

Semantic role	Marker	Can be unmarked
S (intransitive argument)	-	always
A (transitive agent)	-	always
O (mono-transitive non-agent)	*=ku²*	yes
G (ditransitive goal)	*=ku²*	yes
T (ditransitive theme)	- (*=ku²*?)	yes
time	*=ku*	yes
locative	*=ku*	yes
locative	*=ʃõ̀*	yes
ablative	*=lapu*	no
instrument	*=lapu*	yes

Although the case markers are part of the noun phrase, the function of these markers is to assign a function within the clause and will be discussed later on in chapter 8.2.1 when analysing the argument structure. The discussion here will be restricted to examples proving the position in the noun-phrase.

In example (168a), the case markers *=ku* and *=lapu* follow the compounds with the relator noun *alíŋ* 'inside'. In (168b), the additive focus particle *=ʧi* follows the case marker *=ku*. In (168c), the case marker *=ku* precedes the topic marker *=na*.

(168) a. *vè akjɑ̃́-líŋ =lapu kʰɔ̀-líŋ =ku ũ̀-pʰí?*
3SG hole-inside=ABL water-inside=LOC go.to.base-away
'Through the hole [of the bottle], he went away, into the water.' (FROG00:46 [733])

b. *ʤilana vè =ku =ʧi la lè-la ũ̀-dõ̀*
CONJ 3SG=LOC=ADD CONJ take-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Then they dragged him along too.' (WAR04:15 [596])

c. *la vè =ku =na kṹ rakíŋ rakíŋ rì-dà*
CONJ 3SG=LOC=TOP UP behind behind stay-CAUS
'But him, they made him sit far behind.' (WAR03:57 [593])

The case markers were analysed as clitics because they are attached to the last ele-

ment of the noun phrase, even if that element is not a noun, as can be seen in (400), where the case clitic is attached to a numeral.

(169) [*blóʔ níʔ =ku²=na*]$_{NP}$ *wéʔ fɨntʃuéʔ*
mute two=OBJ=TOP kill dispose
'The two village fools, they had killed and thrown away.' (WAR04:48 [602])

Argument markers must be distinguished from discourse particles occurring on noun phrases. The four O-arguments in example (170) bear the topic marker *=na* but are unmarked for their role in the clause.

(170) [*susù =na*]$_O$ [*ba-tyɛ́*]$_{PRED}$ [*wáʔ =na*]$_O$ [*ba-rɨ̀²*]$_{PRED}$ [*mədyì =na*]$_O$ [*ba-rɨ̀²*]$_{PRED}$
mithun=TOP NEG-decoy pig=TOP NEG-feed chicken=TOP NEG-feed
[*ríʔ² =na*]$_O$ [*ba-tʃɨŋ*]$_{PRED}$
field=TOP NEG-work
'We didn't breed mithuns, we didn't raise pigs, we didn't breed chicken, we didn't work in the fields.' (SAGO00:26 [951])

Side note: dialect comparison of case markers

The case markers demonstrate the special status of Bulu Puroik dialect among the Puroik varieties. While the case markers are similar or identical in most dialects in the east, Bulu Puroik has clearly different forms (4.4).

Table 4.4.: Comparison of "case" markers in Puroik varieties

Role	Bulu	Kojo-Rojo	Sanchu	Lasumpatte	Tibet[1]
S	-	-	-	-	-
A	-	-	-	-	-
O	*=ku²*	*=to*	*=ro*	*=raŋ*	*o³³*
G	*=ku²*	*=to*	*=ro*	*=raŋ*	*o³³*
T	-	-	-	-	-
location/time	*=ku*	*=la*	*=la*	*=la*	*la³³*
ablative	*=lapu*	*=ta*	*=ta*	*=ta*	*da³¹*
possessive	-	*=ta*	*=ta*	*=ta*	*da³¹*

Another point of interest are the object markers (G/O) where also the eastern dialects show a considerable diversity. The relatively closely related Puroik varieties distributed in an area of at most half of Switzerland, have not less than five object markers. This is in remarkable contrast to other language families such as Indo-European where morphemes with these functions appear to be fairly stable historically[2]. However, in contrast to Puroik, Indo-European case marking was well grammaticalised already in the proto-language, forming inflectional paradigms with the markers tightly bound (or fused) to the stem. In Puroik, the case markers are not attached to the stem of nouns but occur on the right periphery of noun phrases. In this position, the markers are less stable and maybe even at risk of being replaced by borrowings.

4.3. Elements occurring on both sides of the head

Elements occurring on both sides of the head noun are attribute clauses, names and other modifier nouns, pronouns.

4.3.1. Attribute clauses

The relative clause headed by a verb form with *-ka* may precede or follow the head noun. See example (171a) and (171b).

(171) a. [[*ba-ʧi-hí?-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*adə̀=ku*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *pə́ʧʃí?* *pə́do* *ʧi-də̀*
NEG-eat-think-REL child=LOC forcefully forcefully eat-CAUS
'Force the child who does not want to eat to eat.' (elicited A50:22)

b. [[*adə̀*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ [*ba-ʧi-hí?-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *pə́ʧʃí?* *pə́do* *ʧi-də̀*
child NEG-eat-think-REL forcefully forcefully eat-CAUS
'Force the child who does not want to eat to eat.' (elicited A51:1)

Further examples for post-head relative clauses are given in (313) and (173):

(172) [*prḯ* [*ba-pətaí-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *hjə̀̃*
human NEG-know(<M)-REL all
'[They were] all people he didn't know.' (WAR01:27 [559])

[1] data from Lǐ 2004

[2] The ancient Indo-European languages, which are scattered across half of Eurasia, essentially have one inherited object marker going back to Proto-Indo-European **-m*

(173) *ʤilana armi-hɛ̀̃=ku bù wɛ́ʔ-na=rila [[bù <assam*
CONJ army(<Eng)-PL=LOC DOWN kill-NPST=QUOT DOWN <Assam(<IA)
raìpəl>-hɛ̀̃]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *[túŋri=ku rì-ka]*$_{\text{REL}}$*]*$_{\text{NP}}$ *wɛ́ʔ-na*
Rifles(<Eng)>-PL Tungri=LOC stay-REL kill-NPST
'They would kill the soldiers down there, the Assam Rifle soldiers staying in Tungri, they said.' (WAR02:20 [573])

Pre-head relative clause 174:

(174) *dɔ̃̀*^{2} *[abɛ̀̃=ʃɔ̃ vɛrì]*$_{\text{NP}}$ *[[abɛ̀̃ ù̀-ka]*$_{\text{REL}}$ *[vɛrì]*$_{\text{HEAD}}$*]*$_{\text{NP}}$ *wɛ́ʔ-ʤù̀*
moment ahead=LOC 3PL ahead go.to.base-REL 3PL kill-ALL
gì̀-ʃíntʃuɛ́ʔ-ʤù̀
follow-dispose-ALL
'Those going ahead killed them all [the Indian soldiers], they drove them all away.' (WAR02:28 [574])

Further properties of relative clauses the role of the head noun within the relative clause will be examined in the chapter about multiclause constructions 9.3.

4.3.2. Names and other modifier nouns

Names precede the nominal head if they restrict the set of possible referents of the head noun such as in example 175 'the village Santʃi Ramu' and 176 'the Sɛntʃiʔ river'. There are many villages and many rivers. The name of the village and the river restrict the set of possible referents to one specific referent.

DEF=DEM NAME HEAD=CASE

(175) *gù=ʧi [ʤi=bù [<sàtʃi pā́ku>]*$_{\text{NAME}}$ *[tʰɛ́ʔ=ku]*$_{\text{HEAD}}$*]*$_{\text{NP}}$ *gù=ʧi ʧaò*
1SG=ADD DEF=DOWN <Santʃi(RL) Panku(RL)> village=LOC 1SG=ADD sago
ɬaì-ruì rì^{3} *ɬaì-ruìla*
plant-ANT cane plant-ANT
'Also down there in Bichom village, we planted sago and cane.' (ORIGIN03:25 [855])

DEM NAME HEAD=CASE

(176) *[bù [sɛ̃̀ʧĩ́ʔ]*$_{\text{NAME}}$ *[kʰɔ̀=lapu]*$_{\text{HEAD}}$*]*$_{\text{NP}}$ *ʒaù-ruìla rín-dyɛ̀̃-ka=ri*^{2}
DOWN SɛNtʃiʔ water=ABL get.up-ANT move.fast-again-REL=TOP
ʤì katɬŋ=ku lakū́ rín-ù̀
ANA upstream=LOC up.there move.fast-POSS

'From down near the sɛntʃi river, he stood up, and run upstream.' (WAR07:01 [637])

In (177), the noun modifying the head noun is the name of a tribe *məbḭ̀* 'Brokpa'.

(177) *ʤisá* [[*grì*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*məbḭ̀*]$_{\text{NAME}}$ [*hakə́m-hɛ̃̀=ku*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *sá* *tsáʔ=ri=hɨ̃̀ro*
like.this 1PL Brokpa friend-PL=LOC like.this do=QUOT=ASRT
məbḭ̀
Brokpa
'Like this it happened to our friends the Brokpas, they say.' (WAR08:32 [661])

However, if the head noun is a kinship term, the name follows the head noun, e.g. *grì atɨ́ŋ masáŋ* 'our grandfather Masang' as in 188. The reason is that kinship terms often already sufficiently restrict the set of possible referents.

(178) [*grì* [*atɨ́ŋ*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ [*masáŋ*]$_{\text{NAME}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *grì ʃəʒə̀mɔ-dɔ̀* *ʤi=vɛ̀* *rì*
1PL grandfather Masang 1PL god-like.this DEF=3SG say
'Our forefather Masaŋ (lit. grandfather), who is like a god to us, said:' (MASANG00:27 [1350])

4.3.3. Pronouns

A plural or a dual pronoun following the head noun is a way to make an associative plural or dual. In example (179), lit. "the dog the two" does not refer to two dogs but to one dog and a human.

(179) *ʤila* [*bù²* *vɛhenɨ́ʔ=na*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *awù=ku* *la* *rɨ̀*
CONJ dog 3DU=TOP below=LOC CONJ stay
'Then, the dog [and the human] both were sitting there.' (FROG04:27 [776])

Pronouns preceding the head noun may also indicate the number (180).

(180) *lana la* *rə́ʔ* *màdə̀-hɛ̃̀* [*vɛrì* *màdə̀* *ḿm*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *la*
CONJ CONJ frog mother.and.child-PL 3PL mother.and.child three CONJ
dɨ́ŋ-la *rɨ̀-bari*
sit.on.buttocks-SEQ stay-PROG
'The frog mother and frog babies, the three were sitting there.' (FROG05:47 [790])

4.4. Other noun phrase clitics

Noun phrase clitics are attached to the right edge of the noun phrase. Only one clitic can precede the noun phrase: the definiteness marker *ʤi*, which occurs both as enclitic and as preclitic.

Noun phrase clitics mark pragmatic statuses like contrastive topic, contrastive focus and definiteness. Their use will be discussed in a separate chapter (chapter 10). The quotative particle *=ri* is a cliticised form of the verb root *rì* 'say' and will be topic of chapter 9.5 and chapter 10.1.5.

A summary of noun phrase clitics is given in table 4.5.

Table 4.5.: Noun phrase clitics

particle	function
Contrastive topic and focus	
=na	contrastive topic
=ri^2	contrastive topic, new topic
=ʧi	additive focus
=ʧi	restrictive focus
=maʧi	scalar additive
=ʧiráŋ	negative scalar additive
Definiteness	
=ʤi	
ʤi=	
ʤi= ... *=ʤi*	
Honorific	
=jo	'dear, respected'
Quotative	
=ri	'so-called'

4.4.1. Honorific *=jo*

The honorific clitic *=jo* is attached to names of people or gods when addressing or talking about a respected person as a manner of showing respect to them. For example, in

(181) the speakers uses the particle when talking about the “respected forest and water spirits”.

(181) *patna* *tsáʔ-la* *pʰɨŋ-hɛ̃̀ =jo* *kʰɔ̀-hɛ̃̀ =jo*
christian.prayer(<IA) do-SEQ mountain-PL=HON water-PL=HON
patna *tsáʔ-lana ʤi=kű* *vɛrì ba-níŋ-rjaò-dyɪ̃̀-ʧa*
christian.prayer(<IA) do-ANT DEF=UP 3PL NEG-listen-be.able-again-PRF
‘If we make Christian prayers, the respected mountain ghosts and the water spirits - the ones up there - cannot understand.’ (LANG30:42 [1029])

The honorific noun phrase clitic may also be used in profane contexts when talking to or about a beloved person, e.g. (182).

For example (182).

(182) Honorific

a. *pʰɛ̀mbu=jo* ‘my dear Phembu’
b. *aʒù=jo* ‘my dear wife’
c. *aróʔ=jo* ‘my dear friend’

The honorific clitic *=jo* is identical in Miji.

4.5. Complex noun phrase head

Generally, the head of a noun phrase is either a noun, a nominal compound or a pronoun. However, the head might consist of more than one phonological word. In particular this is the case, if the head noun is a name with multiple parts (example 183), an elaborate expression or pair of coordinate nouns.

(183) [*bù* <*səbù* *kɛtúŋ*>*=ku*]$_{NP}$ [*bù =ʃõ̀*]$_{ADV}$ *krín-la*
DOWN <underground(RL) underground(RL)>=LOC DOWN=LOC join-SEQ
‘Down there in the underground, everything is connected [with a ropes].’ (QUAKE00:30 [917])

4.5.1. Elaborate expressions

Elaborate are lexemes which always occur in pairs, most commonly used as a poetic device used when telling origin myths or performing rituals. The components are dis-

tinct phonological words but do not have a separate meaning by itself. Nevertheless, the components can be syntactically separated as a poetic device. For example, the sulphur spring *túŋʤáŋ túŋru* refer to the sulphur springs where wild animals gather for drinking mineral water. In (184) the elaborate expression is interrupted by a first repetition of the predicate.

(184) <*túŋʤáŋ* [*ɬaì-ruìla*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *túŋru*> [*ɬaì-ruìla*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *gù=ʧi*
<spring(<RL) plant-ANT spring(RL)> plant-ANT 1SG=ADD
ů̀-la
go.to.base-SEQ
'Planting the sulfuric springs, we came.' (ORIGIN02:39 [844])

Constructions of this kind are very common in the ritual and story language (see origin myth appendix A.4). Further examples are given in 11.

4.5.2. Coordinated pairs

Noun pairs denoting things or persons naturally occurring in pairs may form a multi-part head of a noun phrase.

In example 185, the coordinate noun pair *apá amà* 'fathers and mothers' form the head of the noun phrase.

(185) [*grì* [*apá amà-hɛ̀̃=na*]$_{\text{NP}}$]$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *hɛ̀ arén ba-tsáʔ-réʔ*
1PL father mother-PL=TOP what comfort(<M) NEG-do-BEN
'Our parents didn't give us much comfort.' (SAGO00:52 [955])

Example 186 "master and slave system", shows that only the second of the two coordinated nouns receives a case marker.

(186) *labù at^{h}ů̀* [*aʧaù=ku patsù*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ʒɛ̀-ruìla*
down.there master servant=LOC tax(<M) carry-ANT
'Down here in the master-slave system, we had to carry taxes.' (TRADE04:52 [1164])

Further examples are given in table (4.6).

Table 4.6.: Coordinate compounds (dvandvas)

pair	meaning
apá amà	'father and mother'
apʰɔ̀ amɔ̀	'male and female'
atʰɯ̀̃ atʃaù	'master and slave'
atɨ́ŋ amì	'grandfather and grandmother'
krá krúŋ	'Kraa and Kruŋ'
hamì hə̀̃bɔ	'sun and moon'

Unlike coordinate compounds such as *màdə̀* 'mother and children' (*amà* + *adə̀*) these pairs are still separate phonological and morphological words.

4.6. Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrases are coordinated (188) by mere iuxtaposition such as in (187) where five noun phrases are coordinated.

(187) [*vɛrì=ku²* *patsù* *ʒɛ̀=ku*]$_{ADV}$ [*maljù*]$_{NP_1}$ [*rì³*]$_{NP_2}$ [*pʰjɛ̀*]$_{NP_3}$ [*ʃəkú?*]$_{NP_4}$
3PL=OBJ tax(<M) carry=LOC chilli cane Rubia.cordifolia skin
[*kadʑə̀̃*]$_{NP_5}$ *ʤì* *tʰə̀̃-la*
wax ANA give-SEQ
'When we carried the payment for them, [we gave] chili, cane, creeper, skins, wax, this [all] we gave.' (TRADE05:58 [1181])

In (188), the coordinated noun phrases consist of more than one noun.

(188) [*atɨ́ŋ* *masáŋ*]$_{NP_1}$ [*atɨ́ŋ* *vəneì*]$_{NP_2}$ *grì=ku²* *məʒə̀*
grandfather Masang grandfather Vənei(<M) 1PL=OBJ trap
hɨ̀̃-tán-la *tʃɨ́ŋ-la*
speak-teach(<M)-SEQ work-SEQ
'Grandfather Masaŋ and grandfather Vənei taught us how to make traps.' (TRAP02:49 [712])

Argument markers and discourse particles are attached to the second (or last) noun phrase, the possessor precedes the two coordinated noun phrases as if they were one noun-phrase head 189

(189) [*ʤila gjǎ-ka ǔ-bjaò*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [[*grì*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*apá bədɛ̀*]$_{\text{NP1}}$ [*amà bədɛ̀=ku*]$_{\text{NP2}}$]$_{\text{ADV}}$
CONJ live-REL go.to.base-COP.FOC 1PL father time mother time=LOC
'That time, we lived like this, in the time of our father and mother.' (SAGO00:22 [950])

4.7. Summary

Noun phrases are constituents headed by a noun, pronoun or by a nominal expression such as a coordinated pair of nouns or an elaborate expression. Elements preceding the head are demonstratives, adjectives, relative clauses, possessor noun phrases. Elements following the head noun are relative clauses, adjectives, numerals numbers, relator nouns, case clitics, discourse particles.

5. Structure of the verbal predicate

The predicate is the last constituent in the Bulu Puroik clause. In most cases, the predicate is a verb or contains at least one verb root. The morphological complexity of the predicate may range from a bare uninflected monosyllabic root to constructions containing multiple words and grammatical affixes.

The description of the predicate will be divided into three parts. The current chapter will give an overview of the general structure of the predicate, the different constructions and the categories expressed. Chapter 6 "Predicate derivations" is dedicated to constructions extending the simple verb stem to a stem containing multiple roots and derivatives, so-called predicate derivations. Predicates with a copula or without any verb root at all will be discussed in chapter 7 "Non-verbal predicates and copula constructions".

5.1. Structure of the predicate

A verbal predicate consists of at least one verb root, which may be extended with verbal derivations, tense-aspect-modality markers, and particles (in this order), such as summarised in table 5.1. The negation is the only morpheme of the predicate which precedes the verb root.

Table 5.1.: Structure of simple verbal predicates

NEG	root	(derivation)	(tense-aspect)	(particles)
ba-		valency	tense	emphasis
		direction	perfect	evidentiality
		deontic modality	epistemic modality	question

Unlike other languages in Arunachal Pradesh which always require a suffix in finite clauses (e.g. Galo Post 2007, p. 568), Bulu Puroik does not. A bare verb root, without any affixes, can be a full predicate of a clause (example 190).

(190) [*bù²* *adətsù=lapu* *níŋ-lana*]$_{ADV}$ [*bù²=na*]$_{S}$ [*labù*]$_{ADV}$ [*ɬú?*]$_{PRED}$
dog edge(<M)=ABL look-ANT dog=TOP down.there fall
'When the dog looked [down] from the [window's] edge, he fell down.' (FROG01:16 [737])

For some predicates, the general template in table (5.1) has to be extended: constructions involving more than one word such as several frequent analytic constructions with auxiliary expressing different tense-aspect-modality categories. Not fitting into this template either, are non-verbal predicates which often consist of more than one word, do not have derivations, rarely TAM marking and are not negated with *ba-* but with negative copulas such as negative equational *bɔ̀* or *babɔ̀* and negative existential *wɛ̀*.

Tense-aspect-modality categories are expressed by derivation, inflection and analytic constructions. The answer to the question "Did you (already) get married" (191a) can involve constructions of three different morphological types. A uninflected verb stem with a derivative ("No, I did not get married yet" [191b]), an inflected verb ("Yes, I got married." [191c]) and an analytic construction ("I am about to get married" [191d]).

(191) a. *nà* *azù* [*lè-ʧa=hi*]$_{PRED}$
2SG wife take-PRF=Q
'Question: 'Did you already get married?'' (elicited A14:01)

b. *bɔ̀* *gù* *azù* [*ba-lè-bádɛ̀*]$_{PRED}$
COP.NEG 1SG wife NEG-take-PRMN
'Negative answer: 'No, I didn't get married yet.'' (elicited A14:02)

c. *hɜ̃̀* *gù* *azù* [*lè-ʧa*]$_{PRED}$
today 1SG wife take-PRF
'Positive answer: 'Yes, I got married.'' (elicited A14:03)

d. *gù* *azù* [*lè-na²* *ʦá?*]$_{PRED}$
1SG wife take-NMLZ do
'Answer immediate future: 'I am about to get married.'' (elicited A14:04)

5.1.1. Negation

The negation of clauses with verbal predicates is a prefix *ba-* which is always attached to the first verb of the predicate, even if the predicate contains several verb roots. In example (192) the predicate consists of two full verb roots *vù* 'go from base' and *muɛ̀̃* 'can'. This type of construction is always negated as *ba-vù-muɛ̀̃* and never † *vù ba-muɛ̀̃*.

(192) *grì kű ba-vù-muɛ̀̃ gormán-hɛ̀̃ bán tsáʔ-la*
1PL UP NEG-go.from.base-can government(<Eng)-PL closed(<IA) do-SEQ
'We cannot go up. The government closed [the boundary].' (TRADE06:48 [1192])

Morphologically the negation *ba-* is a verbal prefix and not a preclitic to the predicate complex. The close bounding to the verb rather than to the predicate can be seen in predicates with incorporated object where the negation is attached to the verb root as in (193c) rather than to whole predicated as in (193b).

(193) a. *gù hɪ̀̃ʧɛ́ʔ*
1SG be.hungry
'I am hungry.' (C15:22)

b. † *gù ba-hɪ̀̃ʧɛ́ʔ*
1SG be.hungry
Intended: 'I am not hungry.' (C15:22)

c. *gù hɪ̀̃³ ba-ʧɛ́ʔ³*
1SG DUMMY.NOUN NEG-be.hungry
'I am not hungry.' (C15:22)

Non-verbal predicates are negated with negative equational copulas *bɔ̀*/*babɔ̀* 'negative equational' or the negative existential copula *wɛ̀*, and not with the verbal negation *ba-* (see chapter 7).

5.2. Markers of the tense-aspect slot

The main contrast in the Bulu Puroik predicate is one of tense, past vs. non-past. A verb without any suffix refers to an event in the past, a verb with the suffix *-na* to an event which is not in the past, i.e. in the near or far future. This is the most important

opposition in Bulu Puroik predicates, and the suffix *-na* is overall the most frequent verbal suffix in the language (see section A.13). Other suffixes in the tense-aspect slot are summarised in table 5.2.

Table 5.2.: Suffixes of the tense-aspect slot

suffix	function
Tense-aspect	
-	'past'
-na	'non-past'
-mə	'past (<KR)'
-ba	'present, general truths'
-ʧa	'perfect'
-ri	'imperfective, progressive'

Deontic modality ('can', 'must') is expressed with verbal derivations preceding the tense-aspect marker (chapter 6.8), epistemic modality is marked with clitics on the predicate (5.3).

The suffixes of the tense aspect slot are restricted to verbal predicates and attach to the verb stem. In contrast, the markers of the clitic slot attach to the clause rather than to a verb and occur of predicates of other word classes as well.

5.2.1. *-na* non-past NPST

The suffix *-na* is the most frequent verbal suffix and used to talk about things and events that did not happen yet at the time of speaking or at the time the speaker projects himself. The term "non-past" rather than "future" was chosen in order to take account for the fact that the main opposition in the language is between past and non-past rather than between past-present-future. A typical use for the non-past is given in example (194), where the speaker speaks about the future of the language. The language will only survive if the parents speak Puroik to their children.

(194) a. *awuì la hì̀-ri-ʧĭ -na*
husband CONJ speak-IPFV-OBLG-NPST

'[Her] husband will have to speak Puroik [to the children].' (LANG34:49 [1102])

b. *ʤila adə̀-hɛ̃̀ la dɛ̃̀-bjaò -na*
CONJ child-PL CONJ know-COP.FOC-NPST
'Only then the children will know [the language].' (LANG34:51 [1103])

A function of the non-past which is not related to the future is to state common places - things that everybody knows or should know - such as the fact that Puroik are only in Bulu and nowhere else (example 195).

(195) *prɨ̃́də̀=ri hɨ̀ pulɔ̀=ku báʔ-bjaò -na =ro ʤilapəna*
Puroik=QUOT NEAR Bulu=LOC EXIST-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT after.this
wɛ̀ -na =ro
EXIST.NEG-NPST=ASRT
'As for the Puroiks, the [Puroiks] are only in Bulu, elsewhere they are not.' (TRADE04:27 [1159])

In the function of generally known facts and situations, the non-past suffix may be used in the past. In example (196a), the speaker tells what the Puroiks gave in Lhasa in exchange for salt. This is definitely a past situation because since more than one generation, nobody has gone to Tibet for trading.

(196) a. *grì=ʧi hɛ̀ tʰɑ̀̃ -na nù=lapu*
1PL=ADD what give-NPST here=ABL
'What would we give from here?' (TRADE05:45 [1176])

b. *grì rì³ tʰɑ̀̃ -na =ro*
1PL cane give-NPST=ASRT
'We would give cane [products].' (TRADE05:47 [1177])

c. *mabjaò tʰɑ̀̃ -na =ro ɬasa=ku*
bamboo.sp give-NPST=ASRT Lhasa(<Tib)=LOC
'We would give bamboo shoots, in Lhasa.' (TRADE05:49 [1178])

The non-past suffix *-na* is homonymous with the nominaliser *-na²* forming verbal nouns. Another homonym is the topic marker *=na* which occurs on noun phrases and never on verbs.

5.2.2. *-ba* present PRS

The suffix occurs mostly in combination with other suffixes such as in *-batʃa*, *-bamɛ*, *-bana*, *-banatʃa*. In isolation, the suffix marks a present such as in (197).

(197) *bù awù alíŋ=ku njá? -ba =ro rì-la*
DOWN below inside=LOC make.noise-PRS=ASRT say-SEQ
'Down below, inside, they make noise, he said.' (FROG05:32 [787])

The most like source for this morpheme is the existential copula *bá?*. However, *-ba* never has a coda or a tone.

5.2.3. *-mə* past PST

The suffix *-mə* is most probably a borrowing from Kojo-Rojo Puroik. Verbs with and without this suffix have the same meaning. Compare the two subsequent clauses (198a) and (198b) with almost same meaning, and same rhyme, but once with and once without *-mə*.

(198) a. *ʤilana vɛrì=tʃi tʃi² sáŋari-hɛ̃̀ la ʤjù*
CONJ 3PL=ADD machete bayonet(<IA)-PL CONJ stab
'Then, they stabbed him with the bayonets.' (WAR02:52 [578])

b. *matʃù-hɛ̃̀ la pjú-mə=tsá?*
gun-PL CONJ burst-PST=do
'With the gun they shot him dead.' (WAR02:57 [579])

5.2.4. *-tʃa/-batʃa* perfect PRF

Predicates expressing events in the past which are still immediately relevant for the present situation are marked with *-tʃa*. Frequently, these predicates describe a change of state or, more generally, a permanent situation which has changed into another permanent situation. For example in (199) 'now all clans are extinct (before there were many clans in Bulu)', or in (200) 'there is no wood anymore (there was wood before)', or in (201) 'but now we do not get salt from Tibet anymore (before we used to get salt from Tibet)'.

(199) *nù pulɔ̀ tʰùŋdə̀ baìdə̀ kʰjɛ̀ndə̀ bù.adə̀ bətʃím-ʤǔ -tʃa*
here Bulu Thungdə Baidə Khjɛndə Buadə become.extinct(<M)-ALL-PRF
'Now in Bulu, the Thungdə, Baidə, Kjɛndə, Buadə are all extinct.' (ORIGIN06:58 [905])

(200) *kǔ=la níŋ-ruì ʃì̀ wɛ̀ -tʃa*
UP=CONJ look-ANT wood EXIST.NEG-PRF
'I saw before that there is no wood anymore.' (WOOD39:20 [939])

(201) *tarə́m fəù ba-muɛ̃̀²* *-tʃa*
Tibet salt NEG-get-PRF
'Salt from Tibet is not available anymore.' (TRADE07:02 [1196])

With adjectives, property verbs or intransitive verbs *-tʃa* expresses that a new state is reached, as in (202) *amjɛ̀-tʃa=ro* good-PRF=ASRT (it was not good before, but it is good now).

(202) *amjɛ̀ -tʃa =ro rì-lana vɛ̀=ku lũ̀sé?-la wì-la*
good-PRF=ASRT say-ANT 3SG=LOC happy(<M)-SEQ slap-SEQ
'It became all good, they said. They were happy and slapped him [friendly on the back].' (WAR08:19 [658])

The function of *-batʃa* is identical, as in (203) '[someone was here before but] has disappeared now'.

(203) *ʤilana vɛrì=na prɨ́ gɛ́? -batʃa =rila lapɛ́-ʃa nɔ̀*
CONJ 3PL=TOP human disappear-PRF=QUOT tomorrow-LOC search
'They said, one person is lost, and went to search him on the next day.' (TRAP00:56 [680])

An important connotation of the perfect is the affectedness of a speech act participant. In many cases, the event reported in perfect has a direct consequence for a speech act participant. (200) 'there is no wood anymore' => consequence: the speaker has to bring wood, (199) 'all Puroik other clans in Bulu are finished' => consequence: the speaker had to get married to a woman of an other tribe. (201) 'there is no salt from Tibet anymore' => consequence: the speaker has to eat salt from India. The immediate relevance of events for speech act participants explains another function of the perfect

morphemes: the hortative *-batʃa*. Hortatives *ù̀-batʃa* 'let's go home' or *tʃì-batʃa* are not past events with relevance for the present, but future events with immediate relevance for the speech act participants.

The perfect appears further with future reference (*-na-tʃa*) and as a hypothetical (*-ba-*na*-tʃa*).

5.2.5. *-ri* 'imperfective', 'reciprocal', 'intensive'

There are two verbal suffixes with the phonological shape *-ri*, one 'reciprocal' and one 'imperfective'. An example for reciprocal (204), where the "Chinese and Indians fight each other".

(204) *tʃaina armi-hɛ̀̃=la wɛ́ʔ -ri²*
China(<Eng) army(<Eng)-PL=CONJ kill-RECP
'Chinese and Indian soldiers were fighting each other.' (WAR00:31 [547])

An example of the imperfective suffix *-ri* is given in (205). The example describes a war scene where many guns were shooting and many bombs burst.

(205) *la tʰə̀mbáŋ tɛ́=ʃɔ̀̃ matʃù bóm-la pjú -ri*
CONJ Thembang FAR=LOC gun bomb(<Eng)-SEQ burst-IPFV
'There in Thembang, the guns were shooting and bombs exploded.' (WAR06:14 [623])

Both examples, (204) and (205), could be interpreted as events of greater intensity which could lead to the hypothesis that these suffixes belong to the same abstract category of "higher intensity", an idea for further research.

The suffix *-ri* is also contained in the progressives *-riba* and *-rikəpáŋ*.

5.2.6. *-bo* imperative

Imperative suffix *-bo* is attached directly to the stem, like the tense-aspect suffixes. Imperatives without any marker are also possible. Plain stem imperatives are considered to be rough whereas the form with the suffix *-bo* is less direct and more polite (see chapter 10.5.3). Historically, the imperative marker *-bo* is one of the very few morphemes which is identical across all Puroik varieties and can be traced back to Proto-Puroik.

Being different from the imperatives in surrounding languages, the *-bo* imperative is a characteristic morpheme for language belonging to the Puroik group.

5.2.7. Complex TAM suffixes

Besides the simple TAM suffixes presented above, there are several multi-syllable TAM suffixes. The function of some complex suffixes can be inferred from the function of the parts such -natʃa which is a combination of the non-past suffix *-na* and the perfect suffix *-tʃa*. For other complex suffixes, the function can not easily be inferred or the parts rarely even occur in isolation (such as *=mɛ*). An overview of complex suffixes or suffix combinations is given in table 5.3.

Table 5.3.: Complex TAM suffixes

suffix	function	components
Aspect		
-riba	'progressive'	*-ri* + *-ba*
-rikəpáŋ	'progressive'	*-ri* + *-kəpáŋ* (Miji)
-na-tʃa	'future state'	*-na* + *-tʃa*
Epistemic modality		
-bamɛ	'potential'	*-ba* + *=mɛ*
-damɛ	'potential'	*-da* (<?) + *=mɛ*
-baro	'assertive'	*-ba* + *=ro*
-bana	'hypothetical present/future'	*-ba* + *-na*
-banatʃa	'hypothetical past'	*-ba* + *-na* + *-tʃa*

5.2.8. *-riba/-rikəpáŋ* progressive

The suffixes *-riba* and *-rikəpáŋ* mark progressives, as for example in (206a) and (206b).

(206) a. *gù anɔ̀ rì³ fĩʔ -riba*
1SG younger.brother cane scrape-PROG
'He is peeling cane.' (elicited TAMI19:55)

b. *gù anɔ̀ rì³ fĩʔ -rikəpáŋ*
1SG younger.brother cane scrape-PROG(<M)

'[He] is peeling cane.' (elicited TAMI19:23)

The Puroik suffix *-riba* is less common than the borrowed *-rikəpáŋ* (Miji *-kəpáŋ*). The progressive is frequently expressed with an analytical construction (section 5.4.2).

5.2.9. *-na-ʧa* future state

The suffix combination *-na-ʧa* consisting of the non-past suffix *-na* and the perfect suffix *-ʧa* can literally be understood as a state that will follow a future event such as in example (207).

(207) *gù=ʧi gù ɬuɛ́ʔ-dɜ̃̀ ba-dɛ̃̀-dyì -na -ʧa*
1SG=ADD 1SG seem-IMM NEG-know-again-NPST-PRF
'Myself also: no one like me will be seen again.' (LANG32:31 [1062])

5.2.10. *-bamɛ* potential POT

The potential suffix *-bamɛ* is used when talking about alternative facts (208). Very often the potential is used in questions when deliberating different possibilities.

(208) *vɛrì tʰíʔ prɨ́-hɛ̃̀=ku klá wɛ́ʔ-lì -bamɛ =rila*
3PL village human-PL=LOC where kill-put-POT=QUOT
'Where might they have killed the people of my village, he thought.' (WAR05:44 [617])

(209) *grì <tűtʃi tűrɨ́n> klá=lapu lè -bamɛ*
1PL <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> where=ABL take-POT
'[They won't know] from where we might have brought the Tuntʃi Tunru water.' (LANG30:22 [1023])

There is also a standalone potential copula *bamɛ̀* (210).

(210) *akɨ́ŋ klá bamɛ̀*
origin where COP.POT
'[They won't know] where might have been the origin.' (LANG30:25 [1024])

5.2.11. *-damɛ* potential POT

The suffix *-damɛ* has a similar function as the suffix *-bamɛ*.

(211) *vɛ̀ rakíŋ=ku kəʤɨ̀ vù-pɔ́ -damɛ*
3SG behind=LOC when go.from.base-appear-POT
'When might they come behind him [he thought]?' (WAR07:47 [650])

Unlike *-bamɛ* which is transparent as a combination of independent morphemes *-ba* + -mɛ, the element *-da* does not exist as independent morpheme.

5.2.12. *-bana* / *-banatʃa* hypothetical HYP

The marker *-bana* is used for talking about speculations, assumptions and guesses, see examples (212)-(214).

(212) *rí?² vù ǜ-bjaò -bana*
field go.from.base go.to.base-COP.FOC-HYP
'He must have gone to the field only.' (elicited TAMI36:53)

(213) *gaonbura kabjǎ=ku rì³ fɪ̀?-la rɨ̀ -bana*
gaonbura(<IA) veranda=LOC cane scrape-SEQ stay-HYP
'[Speaker is in a different house, and does not see the gaonbura] gaonbura must now be sitting on the varanda and making ropes.' (elicited TAMII07:19)

(214) *gaonbura məluɛ̃̀ tʃì -ri -bana*
gaonbura(<IA) food eat-IPFV-HYP
'[Speaker assumes] He must be eating food.' (elicited TAMII07:57)

The function of *-banatʃa* is similar which can be seen in example (215).

(215) *ʃì ì -banatʃa =rila lʊ̃sé?-prina vù-la*
animal die-HYP=QUOT happy(<M)-ANT go.from.base-SEQ
'An animal must have died [inside the trap], they said, and went [to see] happily.' (TRAP01:15 [686])

5.3. Clitics on the predicate

With clitics on the predicate the speakers informs the hearer in the broadest sense about the status of the proposition. For example: Does he find the proposition likely or not (=bamɛ)? Is he making a strong claim (=*ro*)? Is he giving background information to another proposition (=*la*)? Is he reporting information from someone else (5.4)?

Table 5.4.: Clitics on the predicate

Assertion	
=*ro*	'asserted'
(=*la*)	'background'
=*mɛ*	'potential'
Evidential	
=*ri*	'hear-say'
Emphasis	
=*wɛ́ʔ*	'exhortative'

5.3.1. Assertive =*ro* vs. =*la*

The assertive particle =*ro* is very frequent in conversations, and rather rare in narratives. The particle occurs in assertions, where the speaker marks a proposition as his own but very strong point of view. Like other particles on the predicate, the particle =*ro* follows the TAM markers -*na*=*ro*, -*ʧa*=*ro*, -*baro*. The hearer is expected to agree or disagree to a proposition marked with =*ro* (216).

(216) *gù hənù gù hám bjaò gù hənù rɨ-bjaò-na =ro*
1SG here 1SG house COP.FOC 1SG here stay-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT
'This here is my home. I am definitely going to stay here.' (WAR05:08 [609])

Clauses marked with =*ro* are always independent intonation units, i.e. there is a caesura after =*ro*.

The exact contrary are propositions marked with =*la* when they occur as independent clauses (9.2.2). Such clauses contain mostly background information to another proposition, which is taken for granted. The hearer is not expected to disagree with

it. For example in (217), the name of a protagonist is given as a side information and marked with *=la*. For the overall story the name of the bear baby is not relevant.

(217) *vɛ̀ adəfu nətsɔ̀ bjɛ̀̃ -la*
3SG son NətsoN to.name-SEQ
'His son's name was NətsoN.' (MASANG01:52 [1367])

5.3.2. Assertive *=hɪ̀̃=ro*

The function of the strong assertive *=hɪ̀̃* or *=hɪ̀̃ro* is similar to *=ro*. Its likely origin is the near deictic demonstrative *hɪ̀̃*.

5.3.3. Potential *=mɛ*

The potential clitic *=mɛ* occurs most commonly bound in the potential suffixes *-bamɛ* and *-damɛ* although attaching the clitic *=mɛ* directly to the verb stem is possible (519).

(218) *klá vù=mɛ*
where go=POT
Where might he have gone?

The potential clitic may be occur on non-verbal word classes as well, such as to a question word (219).

(219) *klá=mɛ*
where=POT
'Where might he be?'

5.3.4. *=ri* quotative

The marker *=ri*[2] is a cliticised form of the verb *rì* 'say'. The main function is reported speech i.e. to mark a certain utterance as being said or thought by someone else. Syntactically the quotative marker *=ri* is simply cliticised to the last constituent of a reported speech which is usually after all suffixes and clitics of a verbal predicate.

Reported speech in (220):

(220) *la dʒi=kű́dʒín ʧaina-hɛ̀=na* [*kəí ù̀-dʒi-batʃa=ro =ri*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
CONJ DEF=China China(<Eng)-PL=TOP HORT go.to.base-away-PRF=ASRT=QUOT
'Then, the Chinese people said: Come on, let's go!' (WAR05:02 [607])

The same clitic is used for reported thoughts (221):

(221) [*ɔ̀ hɨ̀ vɛ̀=ku² nəm-la wɛ́ʔ-ʒù-na-ʧa =rila*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
INTJ NEAR 3SG=OBJ wrest-SEQ kill-COP-NPST-PRF=QUOT
'Alas, they will surely catch and kill him, he thought.' (WAR07:20 [642])

5.3.5. Exhortative =*wɛ́ʔ*

(222) *ɛ̀² apá apá hɨ̀ ʃi-na ɛ̀ waíʔ-ba =wɛ́ʔ*
INTJ father father NEAR animal-NPST excrement fart-PRS=EXHR
'Hey father father, this meat is farting.' (MASANG03:55 [1386])

5.4. Multi-word predicates

Bulu Puroik has several analytic tense-aspect constructions involving a non-finite form (*-na*, *-la*, *-ka*) and an auxiliary (*rɨ̀* 'stay', *lì* 'put', *báʔ* 'exist', *ù̀* 'go to base', *tsáʔ* 'do'). Table 5.5 gives an overview of common analytic constructions.

Table 5.5.: Analytic predicate constructions in Bulu Puroik

construction	function
VERB-*ka ù̀*	habitual
VERB-*la rɨ̀*	progressive
VERB-*la lì*	factitive-resultative
VERB-*la tsáʔ*	causative
VERB-*na tsáʔ*	imminent
VERB-*na báʔ*	obligation
VERB-*ʧɨ́-na báʔ*	obligation

The constructions in table 5.5, although involving more than one full verb root, are not "serial verb constructions" as commonly understood because the first form is mor-

phologically marked as dependent[1]. Real sequences of verbs do also occur in Puroik and will be discussed in the next chapter 6 "predicate derivations".

5.4.1. Constructions based on *-ka*

-ka ù̀ **'habitual'**

The construction *-ka ù̀* is used for actions which so regularly take place that the subject could be characterised by that action or property.

For example dogs have the characteristic property that they bark (223a) and cats have the property that they do not bark (223b).

(223) a. *bù²* [*rú? -ka ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
dog bark-REL go.to.base
'Dogs bark.' (elicited TAMIV53:15)

b. *aljù* [*ba-rú? -ka ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
house.cat NEG-bark-REL go.to.base
'Cats don't bark.' (elicited TAMIV53:14)

The construction is also used for habitual actions in the past. For example in (224) where the speaker describes what the Puroiks used to give when doing barter trade with the Monpas in the past.

(224) *la nù rɨ-la grì bətʃə̀-ɬɛ̀=ku grì maljù tʰə̀-ruìla la ʃəkú?*
CONJ here stay-SEQ 1PL Monpa-side.of=LOC 1PL chilli give-ANT CONJ skin
kadʑə̀ [*tʰə̀ -ka ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
wax give-REL go.to.base
'After starting to stay here, on the Monpa side we used to give chili, skins and wax.' (TRADE04:41 [1162])

In example *exe:like-this-we-used-to-live*, the habitual is used to describe how the Puroiks lived in the past.

[1] "A serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort." Aikhenvald 2006, p. 1

(225) *grì ʧaò kɛ̋-la ʧì-la prɨ́də̀ gù ʤila* [*gjɑ̀ -ka ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
1PL sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ Puroik 1SG CONJ live-REL go.to.base
'We made and ate sago, that time, we were living like this.' (SAGO00:32 [952])

***rì-ka* (*rì*) 'reply'**

(226) a. *la ʤi=kŭʤín ʧaina-hɛ̀=na kəí*
CONJ DEF=China China(<Eng)-PL=TOP HORT
ù̀-ʤi-batʃa=ro=ri
go.to.base-away-PRF=ASRT=QUOT
'Then, the Chinese people said: Come on, let's go!' (WAR05:02 [607])

b. *bɔ̀ vɛ̀* [*rì -ka rì*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *ba-ù̀-na*
COP.NEG 3SG say-REL say NEG-go.to.base-NPST
'No, he said, I won't go.' (WAR05:06 [608])

5.4.2. Tautoclausal "VERB1-*la* VERB2"

The usual function of the morpheme *=la* is coordinating or subordinating clauses. However, quite frequently, constructions with *=la* are not two clauses with two predicates, but as will be argued below, one predicate of a single clause. Common constructions of this type are VERB-*la rɨ̀* 'progressive', VERB-*la lì* 'factitive', VERB-*la tsá?* 'factitive'.

***-la rɨ̀* 'progressive'**

The verb *rɨ̀* is the generic verb for 'sit'[2] and more generally for 'stay, remain'.

These two meanings, and different levels of abstractness, extend also to constructions involving the verb *rɨ̀*. Some cases of the "VERB=*la rɨ̀* construction" can be literally understood as 'sit and do something', in other cases this interpretation is not possible and the function is progressive.

In (227), "make cane ropes smooth" is an activity which is done, while sitting. Hence, the interpretation of a progressive and the literal interpretation of 'sit and make cane ropes' are both possible.

(227) *ʤirjɛ̀ rì*^{3} [*fɨ́? -la rɨ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
yesterday cane scrape-SEQ stay

[2] More specific verbs for 'sitting', like 'sit on a horse', 'squat' are described in chapter 3.2.3

'Yesterday he was making cane ropes.' (elicited A00:59)

On the other hand, there are cases where the interpretation of 'sit and do X' is not possible. In example (228), the speaker describes a picture of a dog who is standing (not sitting) and barking.

(228) *bù²=na dʒì=ku²* [*níŋ-la rúʔ -la rɨ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
dog=TOP ANA=OBJ look-SEQ bark-SEQ stay
'The dog saw them and was barking at them.' (FROG02:28 [751])

This construction is also used when asking what a person is doing. Even if that person is out of sight and if the speaker does not know or presuppose that the person he is enquiring about is sitting or not (229).

(229) *nà anɔ̀ hɛ̀* [*tsáʔ -la rɨ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
2SG younger.brother what do-SEQ stay
'[Person asking does not see him] What is your brother doing?' (elicited TAMI18:55)

The same construction can be used for habitual actions or actions extended over a extended time period (230).

(230) *pʰɔ̰̀ aʃi=ʃɔ̰̀ hɛ̀* [*tsáʔ -la rɨ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
shortly.before heat=LOC what do-SEQ stay
'What was he doing in the hot season?' (elicited TAMII19:12)

In fast speech the connector *-la* may be omitted (231).

(231) *nà anɔ̀ hɛ̀* [*tsáʔ -rɨ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
2SG younger.brother what do-stay
'[Person asking does not see him] What is your brother doing?' (elicited TAMI18:56)

-la lì 'factitive'

The meaning of the *-la lì*-factitive is 'to bring something into a certain state caused by the main verb', such as in example (232) 'make a trap' or example (233) 'kill someone'.

(232) *kjén* [*ʒə̀ -la* *lì*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
big.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ put
'They made big deadfall traps.' (TRAP00:24 [669])

(233) *vè prɨ́ bló? ní?=ku²=ʤi* <*ʤuumi ʤuuʤa*>*-hɛ̀ la* [*wɛ́? -la lì*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Dʒumi Dʒuʤa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Dʒumi Dʒuʤa*'s people.' (WAR04:29 [598])

Like the *rɨ̀*-progressive the *lì*-construction is possible without joining *=la* as verb-verb compound (234).

(234) *vɛrì tʰɨ́?* *prɨ́-hɛ̀=ku* *klá* [*wɛ́? -lì -bamɛ=rila*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
3PL village human-PL=LOC where kill-put-POT=QUOT
'Where might they have killed the people of my village, he thought.' (WAR05:44 [617])

POSTURE.VERB-*la rɨ̀* / *lì*

Both constructions, the one with *=la rɨ̀* and the one with *=la lì* are very common with posture verbs: POSTURE*=la rɨ̀* 'to be in a certain position', POSTURE*=la lì* 'to put in a certain position'

For example in *pɑ̃́=la rɨ̀* "be hanging" in (235).

(235) *bù ɯ̀-la* *bù tsəwoì=na* *kɯ́* [*pɑ̃́ -la* *rɨ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *tsəpɯ́=na*
DOWN go.to.base-SEQ DOWN rock.bee=TOP UP hang-SEQ stay wasp=TOP
'Going down, the rock bees were hanging up there. [I mean,] the wasps.' (FROG02:22 [750])

Other examples are (5.6):

Table 5.6.: POSTURE-la *rɨ̀* vs. POSTURE*-la lì*

-la rɨ̀		***-la lì***	
ú?=la rɨ̀	'to be hidden'	*ú?=la lì*	'to hide'
jɑ̀̃=la rɨ̀	'to be leaning'	*jɑ̀̃=la lì*	'to lean
ré?=la rɨ̀	'to be lying'	*ré?=la lì*	'to lie someone down'
ʧɨ̀=la rɨ̀	'to be standing'	*ʧɨ̀=la lì*	'to put someone in standing position'

***-la tsáʔ* 'make someone do/feel something'**

(236) *vɛ̀ talu avâŋ=ku vɛ̀ [nî -la tsáʔ]*$_{\text{PRED}}$
3SG so.much(<M) uncle=LOC 3SG fear-SEQ do
'[Doing] like this, they made him feel scared.' (WAR03:42 [590])

Negation of the constructions with -la

The verbs of constructions with *=la* can all be negated individually. The negation in example (237) negates only the first verb and not the entire construction.

(237) *vɛ̀=na ba- ʒì² -la díŋ -la rɨ̀ -bjaò-na=ro*
3SG=TOP NEG-move-SEQ sit.on.buttocks-SEQ stay-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT
'He did not move, but was sitting right there.' (WAR06:50 [634])

5.4.3. Constructions based on *-na²*

***-na² tsáʔ* 'imminent'**

The construction nominaliser *-na²* and auxiliary *tsáʔ* 'do' expresses an event that is immediately going to happen.

(238) *grì hɨ̀ gjǎ=ku grì ba-hɨ̂-ruì-mərɔlana adà-hɛ̂=na vɛrì=na bətʃɨdə̀*
1PL NEAR live=LOC 1PL NEG-speak-ANT-COND child-PL=TOP 3PL=TOP non.tribal
hǎtʃɔ̃̀ bətʃɨ sə́m [hì -na² tsáʔ]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *ǔ-bjaò*
nowadays non.tribal language speak-NMLZ do go.to.base-COP.FOC
'If we don't speak in this life like this, our sons will speak the language of the non-tribals.' (LANG33:19 [1078])

When negated, the negation precedes the first element of the predicate rather than the auxiliary verb.

(239) *ba-tʃɨ́ŋ -na² tsáʔ -báʔ*
NEG-work-NMLZ do-EXIST
'She is not about to make food.' (elicited TAMVI59:58)

***-na² bá?* 'imminent'**

Instead of the auxiliary *tsá?* 'do' the existential copula *bá?* can be used as an auxiliary for the imminent.

(240) *pʰèmbu nà hè ʧʰŋ -na² bá?*
Phembu(<Tib) 2SG what work-NMLZ EXIST
'What are you about to do?' (elicited TAMII23:39)

***-ʧí -na² bá?* 'have to'**

(241) *gù rì³ ʃí? -ʧí -na² bá?*
1SG cane scrape-OBLG-NMLZ EXIST
'I have to make cane ropes.' (elicited TAMII23:30)

5.5. Summary

The verbal predicate consist of minimally one verb root. The negation *ba-* precedes, the verb root all other elements follow the verb root. Elements following the verb roots are verbal derivations (topic of chapter 6), TAM markers and clitics. Puroik has several analytic constructions to form predicates. There is no evidence that predicates would cross-reference person, number or case of the arguments (agreement).

6. Predicate derivations

Verb roots in Bulu Puroik are often extended with a class of morphemes which contribute an adverbial meaning in the broadest sense to the predicate. These morphemes follow the root and precede TAM suffixes, are either suffixes or verb roots. A rather complex but not uncommon example is given in (242) where three morphemes stand between the main root *hì̀* and the TAM suffixes *-na-ʧa*.

(242) *hì̀ -ré?-dyì̀-bjaò -na-ʧa*
speak-BEN-again-COP.FOC-NPST-PRF
'will have told you that only again' (LANG35:40[1115])

Such extensions of the predicate are very common in the languages of the region and in Trans-Himalayan languages in general, and the phenomenon is known under various names. Following Post 2010, non-inflectional morphemes forming new 'single event' predicate stems either by a process of suffixation or composition will be called 'predicate derivations'.

In this chapter, we will first delimit predicate derivations from three related constructions, namely multi-predicate constructions (6.1.2), noun incorporation (6.1.3) and root reduplication (6.1.4). Furthermore, parameters for the morphosyntactic descriptions of predicate derivations (6.2) will be introduced.

The remainder of the chapter will introduce the most important predicate derivations grouped by their meanings such as motion and direction (section 6.3.2), lexical aspect *Aktionsart* (section 6.4), result (section 6.5), change of the valence (section 6.6), manner (section 6.7), deontic modality (section 6.8) and a rest group of less frequent derivations which do not belong to any of the other groups (6.9).

6.1. Delimiting predicate derivations

Predicate derivations must not be confused with multi-predicate constructions 6.1.2, noun incorporation 6.1.3 and iconic verb reduplication 6.1.4. Serial verb constructions are a subset of predicate derivations 6.1.2.

6.1.1. Multi-predicate constructions

Predicates with predicate derivations describe one event. Constructions with several verb roots in a row describing a sequence of events such as in example (243) are not predicate derivations but a series of different predicates.

(243) *la* [*rám*]$_{\text{PRED}_1}$ [*saò*]$_{\text{PRED}_2}$ [*ʤuéʔ*]$_{\text{PRED}_3}$ [*lì-jɑ̃̀*]$_{\text{PRED}_4}$
CONJ chop roast gather put-PRMN
'He cut him into pieces, roasted him and put [the pieces] on a hip.' (MASANG05:31 [1412])

Multi-predicate constructions are distinguished from single predicate constructions on the basis of the semantics (multiple events vs. single events) and on the basis of phonology (one phonological word vs. multiple phonological words). In practice, distinguishing between one predicate and multiple predicates is not always straightforward.

6.1.2. Serial verb constructions

"Serial verb constructions" in the sense of Aikhenvald 2006 where multiple verb roots form a single predicate are treated as a sub-class of predicate derivations here. Many predicate derivations, can indeed be as series of verb roots forming together a new predicate. However, not all morphemes involved in predicate derivations are verb roots which could form a predicate by themselves. Some morphemes in derived predicates occur exclusively as derivational suffixes and can not be used independently.

In this grammar, predicate derivations which are verbs and derivations which are suffixes are not distinguished in the description. This distinction would be artificial as the range of meanings and the level of abstractness is similar, and also to some extent arbitrary as the distinction between free and bound is rather gradual than clear cut.

Some verbs occur more frequently as predicate head, other verbs occur more frequently as predicate derivations.

6.1.3. Noun incorporation

Not to be confused with predicate derivations are verbs with an incorporated argument, such as *hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ* 'to be hungry' or *lɨ̀ʉ̃wɛ̀̃* 'be thirsty'. These verbs are multi-syllabic like predicates with predicate derivations, but unlike derived predicates the predicate head is not the first component but the second which becomes apparent when negated. The negation is prefixed to the second element: *hɨ̀³ ba-ʧɛ́ʔ³* 'not to be hungry' and *lɨ̀ ba-wɛ̀̃* 'not to be thirsty', † *ba-hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ* or † *ba-lɨ̀ʉ̃wɛ̀̃* are not possible. In contrast to this, predicate derivations are never negated. The negation is always prefixed to the main verb in the predicate and precedes the predicate, e.g. *ba-pə́-rjaò* NEG-fabricate-be.able 'he is not able to make (e.g. a basket)', and not † *vɛ̀ pə́ ba-rjaò* '3SG fabricate NEG-be.able'[1].

6.1.4. Reduplication

Bulu Puroik uses root reduplication for events taking place repeatedly, several times or over an extended time period, for example drinking more and more (244).

(244) *pʰəù ín -ín -la pʰəù tə́ʔ*
alcohol drink-drink-SEQ alcohol be.poisoned
'Drinking more and more beer, he got drunk.' (elicited CSULPHCSULPH1)

One could argue that reduplicated verbs are also in a way a derived predicate. However, in this case, the repetition gives the predicate a new meaning and not the morpheme following the verb root as in other predicate derivations. Furthermore, predicate derivations are grammaticalised and there are rules, how to use them, whereas many reduplicated verb stems could be spontaneous, iconic creations (repeated verb for repeated action).

In example (245), the reduplicated verb *ɬúʔ-ɬúʔ* depicts a sequence of events 'one after another fell inside'.

[1] An exception are resultative verbal derivations such as *nɔ̀-ɔ̀ì* 'find (search and find)' which are negated as *nɔ̀ ba-ɔ̀ì* 'don't find (search and don't find)'

(245) *sá* *tsáʔ* *ʤisá* *kʰɔ̀-ɬíŋ* *ɬúʔ* *-ɬúʔ* *-la* *ì-ʤɯ̀̃*
like.this do like.this water-climb fall-fall-SEQ die-ALL
'Like this, [the mithuns] they all fell one after another into the water, and all died.' (SULPH25:01 [1299])

In example (246), the reduplicated verb *vù-vù* is used for a cockroach going 'everywhere' telling a lie to 'everybody'.

(246) *lana* *vɛ̀* *hɯ̀̃-la* <*tára* *táma*>*=ri²* *wɛ̀=ro* *ʤɔ̀̃*
CONJ 3SG speak-SEQ <human(RL) human(RL)>=TOP EXIST.NEG=ASRT all
ì-ʤɯ̀̃ *wɛ̀=ro=rila* *hì* *-vù* *-vù* *-la*
die-ALL EXIST.NEG=ASRT=QUOT speak-go.from.base-go.from.base-SEQ
'[The cockroach] said: There are no humans. There are really no humans [up there], they have all died. This is what he went around telling.' (QUAKE01:05 [924])

6.2. Morphosyntax of predicate derivations

Interesting parameters for the morphosyntactic description of predicate derivations are the applicability (with which predicate heads do they combine?), the boundedness (Are they more free or more bound?) and in the case of multiple derivations, the relative order to each other (6.2.2).

6.2.1. Applicability and boundedness

Predicate derivations are not a uniform morphological class. Some derivations are more suffix-like, other derivations are more root-like. Some derivations can be combined with almost any verb root others not. Some are bounded others can stand alone. Categorisation according to the extent that a derivation can be combined with different verb roots is the "applicability". Whether or not a derivation has an independent counterpart will be called "boundedness". Neither of the two parameters is binary. Some roots occur more frequently or almost exclusively as derivations even if in principle they could be independent predicates (e.g. *-pʰɛ́ʔ*). A simplified (binary) summary of the types is given in table 6.1.

Table 6.1.: Morphological categorisation of derivations

bounded	applicable	Example
+	-	*-dəhə̀̃*
-	+	modal verbs
+	+	benefactive
-	-	motion verb derivations

6.2.2. Order of the predicate derivations

If a predicate has more than one derivation, morphemes contributing more to the lexical meaning of the predicate stand closer to the root. Derivations with a more abstract meaning follow further to right.

ROOT-VALENCE-AKTIONSART-MODALITY

(247) *hənù nà məbán-hɛ̃̀ ʃí-vù=matʃi hə̀̃ vɛrì=na banà-la*
here 2SG Miji-PL ask-go.from.base=ADD today 3PL=TOP make(<IA)-SEQ
[*hɨ̀-ré?-dyɨ̀-bjaò-na-tʃa*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
speak-BEN-again-COP.FOC-NPST-PRF
'Even if you go and ask the Mijis, they will make something up and tell that.'
(LANG35:40 [1115])

ROOT-AKTIONSART-MODALITY, ROOT-MOTION-AKTIONSART

(248) *ì-ʤṵ̀-la* [*ì-ʤṵ̀-bjaò-tʃa*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *hí?-lana ba-ì*
die-ALL-SEQ die-ALL-COP.FOC-PRF think-ANT NEG-die
[*ṵ̀-pʰɛ́?-dyɨ̀-batʃa*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
go.to.base-reach-again-PRF
'[We] thought, that everybody [left behind] died. And you came back alive!'
(WAR08:14 [657])

Occasionally, different orders of the morphemes are possible with the exactly same meaning. For example in 249, *ba-lè-muɛ̃̀-vù* 'cannot go and take' is equivalent to *ba-lè-vù-muɛ̃̀* according to the narrator.

(249) *ʤila-lapəna* <*tṵ́tʃi tṵ́rɨ́n*>
CONJ-furthermore <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)>

ba-lè-muɛ̃̀-vù
NEG-take-can-go.from.base
'After this, we couldn't go and take the Tuntʃi Tuŋrɨn water anymore.' (SULPH20:32 [1212])

6.3. Direction/motion

The two basic motion verbs *ǔ̀* 'go home' and *vù* 'go away from home' have an rich set of derivations which are almost exclusively used with motion verbs (section 6.3.2). On the other hand, the motion verbs themselves are used as predicate derivations (section 6.3.1).

6.3.1. *ǔ̀* and *vù* 'go' in derivations

The motion verb *ǔ̀* is the most frequent verb in Puroik and among the most frequent morphemes in discourse overall (statistics of morphemes appendix A.13). The meaning as a full verb is "motion to the place where the subject usually stays" such as own residential house, home village, state, country, planet (see chapter 3.2.2). In contrast to this *vù* is the "motion away from the place where the subject usually stays". The verb *vù* is much less frequent and does not serve as an auxiliary.

There are two different constructions directly with the motion verbs *ǔ̀* and *vù*. One is to "go to a place in order to do something". For example, 'go to take' (250), 'come to catch' (251), 'come to ask' (252).

(250) *ʤi=bədɛ̀=ku grì-tɯ́=ku məpʰìn* [*lè -vù*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
DEF=time=LOC 1PL-LOC.PERS=LOC maize take-go.from.base
sikstitú=ku
sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'That time, in 1962, he came to us to get maize.' (WAR00:26 [546])

(251) *kəʤɨ̀ vù-la* [*nám -vù -gɪ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
when go.from.base-SEQ wrest-go.from.base-follow
'When would they come behind him to catch him?' (WAR07:49 [651])

(252) *tʰíʔ prḯ hɨ̀ anɔ̀ narì=ʧi adàfu atsɨ-hɛ̃̀*
village human NEAR younger.brother 2PL=ADD son grandchild-PL
ba-dɛ̃̀-mərɔna awíʔ grì=ku [*ʃɨ̀ -vù*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
NEG-know-COND old 1PL=LOC ask-go.from.base
'You people of the village, you younger brothers, sons and grandsons, if you don't know something, come and ask us old men.' (LANG35:06 [1106])

In another derivation with motion verbs the first verb describes the way how someone is moving (flying, running, swimming, jumping). Strictly speaking, the preceding verb describes the motion verb (253).

(253) *bù sɛ̃̀ʧíʔ kʰɔ̀=lapu ʒaù-ruìla rín-dyɨ̀-ka=ri²* *ʤì*
DOWN SɛNʧiʔ water=ABL get.up-ANT move.fast-again-REL=TOP ANA
katɨ́ŋ=ku lakṹ [*rín -ɨ̃̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
upstream=LOC up.there move.fast-POSS
'From down near the sɛntʃi river, he stood up, and run upstream.' (WAR07:01 [637])

The manner of the motion verb is more commonly specified with an adverbial clause with the morphemes *-la* or *-ruìla*. The function of these constructions is identical to VERB-*ɨ̃̀* or VERB-*vù*. For "to go carrying something" both are acceptable *ʒɛ̃̀-ɨ̃̀* and *ʒɛ̃̀-ruìla ɨ̃̀* (as in 254).

(254) *pʰəù palɑ̃̀* [*ʒɛ̃̀-ruìla ɨ̃̀*]
alcohol bamboo.mug(<Tsh) carry-ANT go.to.base
'Carrying the bamboo container with the beer, he went [towards home].' (WAR00:45 [552])

A final type of predicate derivations with *ɨ̃̀* are property verbs (of type II adjectives). The meaning here is "to become", example (255).

(255) a. *kʰɔ̀=ʧi* [*wɛ̃̀ ɨ̃̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *ʃɨ̀=ʧi* [*wɛ̃̀ ɨ̃̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
water=ADD be.dry go.to.base wood=ADD be.dry go.to.base
'The water also dried up. The trees also dried up.' (ORIGIN02:03 [832])

b. *sɛ̃̀bɛ̃̀=ʧi* [*wɛ̃̀ ɨ̃̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
gras(RL)=ADD be.dry go.to.base
'The gras also dried up.' (ORIGIN02:07 [833])

6.3.2. Derivatives to the basic motion verbs

Several derivations almost exclusively modify the basic motion verbs *ǔ̀* and *vù*, i.e. constructions of the type *ǔ̀*-DERIVATION or *vù*-DERIVATION. Syntactically this is the opposite of the constructions in 6.3.1 which were of the type VERB-*ǔ̀* or VERB-*vù*. In cases where the derivation is a full verb, there are pairs of the type *krɛ́-ǔ̀* 'go rolling' and *ǔ̀-krɛ́* 'go around'.

Table 6.2.: Derivations to the basic motion verbs

derivation	meaning	example	example translation
gɪ̀̃	'follow'	*ǔ̀-gɪ̀̃*	'come behind'
pʰɛ́ʔ	'reach'	*ǔ̀-pʰɛ́ʔ*	'reach home'
vjɑ̀̃	'cross'	*pʰɨ̀ŋ ǔ̀-vjɑ̀̃*	'cross a mountain'
sə̀	'meet'	*ǔ̀-sə̀*	'go to meet'
krɛ́	'roll'	*ǔ̀-krɛ́*	'go around'
pɔ̃́	'appear'	*ǔ̀-pɔ̃́*	'to exit'
-pənéʔ	'little bit across'	*ǔ̀-pənéʔ*	'go little bit to a side'
-sɛ̃̀	'all sides'	*ǔ̀-sɛ̃̀*	'go everywhere'
-ʃáŋ	'everywhere'	*ǔ̀-ʃáŋ*	'go everywhere'
-rɛ̃̀	'ahead'	*ǔ̀-rɛ̃̀*	'go ahead'
-ʤi	'away'	*ǔ̀-ʤi*	'go away'
-pʰíʔ	'away ahead'	*ǔ̀-pʰíʔ*	'go away ahead'

gɪ̀̃ 'follow'

The verb *gɪ̀̃* means 'follow' in the sense of 'physically come behind someone' (256).

(256) *níŋ-lana vɛ̀ rakíŋ=ku* [*ba-vù-pɔ̃́*]$_{\text{PRED}_1}$ [*ba-vù -gɪ̀̃*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
look-ANT 3SG behind=LOC NEG-go.from.base-appear NEG-go.from.base-follow
'When he looked [back], nobody came behind him, nobody followed him.' (WAR07:35 [647])

In a more general sense, *gɪ̀̃* can mean 'do the same thing as someone', without necessarily involving a motion (257):

(257) *hɨ̀* <*rùʃə̀tso* *gəmə́ŋdúŋlo*>=*ri* *gù* *rakíŋ*=*ku*
NEAR <Ruʃantso(RL) Gəməŋduŋlo(RL)>=QUOT 1SG behind=LOC
<*lù* *-gɨ̀* *-la* *ʒjù²*> *-gɨ̀* *-la*
<expell.bad.spirits-follow-SEQ expell.bad.spirits>-follow-SEQ
'Ruʃantso and Gəməŋduŋlo did the same rituals after us.' (ORIGIN03:52 [860])

The verb *gɨ̀* can form an independent predicate in the sense of "follow, going after, chasing":

(258) *lana* *tsəwoì*=*ʤi*=*ʧi* *lə̀̃zí?-prina* *bù²*=*ku²* *gɨ̀* *-mə*
CONJ rock.bee=DEF=ADD angry-ANT dog=OBJ follow-PST
'The bees also got angry and chased the dog away.' (FROG03:32 [764])

pʰɛ́? 'reach'

The verb *pʰɛ́?* 'reach' can form an independent predicate, but occurs most frequently with the motion verbs *ù̀* and *vù* as in (259).

(259) *ʒɛ̀-la* *ù̀* *paísjá?* *lím* *pulɔ̀* *wə̀²* *lím*=*ku* *ù̀* *túŋri* *tɛ́*
carry-SEQ go.to.base Paisja? path Bulu ridge path=LOC go.to.base Tungri FAR
límʧɔ́?=*ku* [*ù̀* *-pʰɛ́?*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
crossroad=LOC go.to.base-reach
'He went carrying [the maize], taking the path to Paisja?. Over the ridge of [Old] Bulu, he reached to the crossroad in Tungri.' (WAR00:54 [554])

vjə̀̃ 'cross'

(260) **As independent predicate:**

a. *aríŋ* *vjə̀̃* 'cross a forest'

b. *kʰɔ̀* *vjə̀̃* 'cross a river'

c. *pʰìŋ* *vjə̀̃* 'cross a mountain'

(261) **In derivations:**

a. *tsúnvjə̀̃* 'jump across'

b. *ə̀̃vjə̀̃* 'come across'

c. *vùvjə̀̃* 'go across'

d. *kʰìvjə̀̃* 'fly across'

***sə̀* 'meet'**

(262) *kŭ́ʤɨ́n hjà ù̀ -sə̀ -jà̀*
China all go.to.base-meet-PRMN
'He kept on meeting only Chinese.' (WAR01:32 [561])

***kré* 'around'**

The meaning of the verb *kré* is to move in a circular way, for example "go around the house" (263).

(263) *bù² bù-ɬɛ̀̃=lapu vù -kré -dyì̃-la ʤi=bù²=ku² ʤŭ́-ruìla*
dog DOWN-side.of=ABL go.from.base-roll-again-SEQ DEF=dog=OBJ lift.up-ANT
'He went around [the house] and picked up the dog.' (FROG01:32 [740])

The verb *kré* can from an independent predicate.

***pɔ̃́* 'appear'**

The verb *pɔ̃́* means appear, with a motion verb to move in a way that subject becomes visible to an observer (264)-(266).

(264) *ʃaNpuN ù̀ -pɔ̃́ -ruìla ʤilapəna té támdáŋkán*
ʃampung go.to.base-appear-ANT after.this FAR Təmdaŋ.spring(<M)
ʤitatapa té ù̀
Dʒitatapa(<Bkp) FAR go.to.base
'After coming out in *ʃampung*, he came there to Təmdaŋkan, [also called] Dʒi-tatapa.' (WAR08:01 [654])

(265) *vɛ̀ rakɨ́ŋ=ku kəʤɨ̀ vù -pɔ̃́ -damɛ*
3SG behind=LOC when go.from.base-appear-POT
'When might they come behind him [he thought]?' (WAR07:47 [650])

(266) *adə̀-hɛ̃̀=ʤi grì ɬuɛ́?-dɔ̀ ba-ʧɔ̃́? -pɔ̃́ -dyì̃-na*
child-PL=DEF 1PL seem-IMM NEG-happen-appear-again-NPST
'Our sons look similar [to us], but they are not the same.' (LANG32:09 [1054])

-*pəné?* 'little bit across'

The bound derivative *-pəné?* with a motion verb expresses that something moves or is moved a short distance into one direction (example (267) and (268)).

(267) *vɛhení? ʤi=aváŋ=ʤi tɛ́-ɬɛ̀ vù -pəné? -dɔ̀ ʤila*
3DU DEF=uncle=DEF FAR-side.of go.from.base-little.bit.to.a.side-IMM CONJ
'The two brothers went little bit that side across a small hill.' (WAR06:53 [635])

(268) *dɔ̀ məʒɛ̀ ʧí?²=ku ʧí?² -pəné? -la*
just.now strap fasten.with.strap=LOC fasten.with.strap-little.bit.to.a.side-SEQ
hí?-ka bjaò=ro
think-REL COP.FOC=ASRT
'It is the carry strap pulling little bit that side, I think.' (MASANG04:33 [1395])

-*sɛ̀* 'to all sides'

The bound derivative *-sɛ̀* is used for motion events which are not directed along one straight line, for example 'to go around and search everywhere' in example (269) and (270).

(269) *ba-ɔì ʤila nɔ̀ -sɛ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀-la ba-ɔì*
NEG-find CONJ search-undirected.motion search search-SEQ NEG-find
'They searched, searched and searched but didn't find him.' (FROG01:02 [735])

(270) *ʤila vɛrì ʃi wɛ́? ʧi-na=rila vɛrì ʃi nɔ̀ -sɛ̀*
CONJ 3PL animal kill eat-NPST=QUOT 3PL animal search-undirected.motion
'[One day] they said that they will go and kill an animal to eat. They went to search a prey.' (TRAP00:34 [673])

verb		example	translation
vù	'go away from base'	*vù-sɛ̀*	'roam around'
nɔ̀	'search'	*nɔ̀-sɛ̀*	'search everywhere'
níŋ	'see'	*níŋ-sɛ̀*	'see everywhere'
níŋ	'hear'	*níŋ-sɛ̀*	'listen everywhere'

-*pʰíʔ* 'away ahead'

(271) *vɛ̀ akjɑ̃́-líŋ=lapu kʰɔ̀-líŋ=ku [ũ̀ -pʰíʔ]*$_{\text{PRED}}$
3SG hole-inside=ABL water-inside=LOC go.to.base-away
'Through the hole [of the bottle], he went away, into the water.' (FROG00:46 [733])

-*ʤi* 'away'

(272) *lakṹ lakṹ abíŋmɔ̀=lapu ù̀ -ʤi*
up.there up.there jungle=ABL go.to.base-away
'Up, up, he went away through the jungle.' (WAR07:30 [645])

(273) *nə́m-ruùla lè-ruùla ù̀ -ʤi*
wrest-ANT take-ANT go.to.base-away
'Holding it, he took it and went back.' (FROG06:44 [801])

-*ʃáŋ* 'go everywhere'

(274) *la níŋ -ʃáŋ -la ù̀ vɛ̀ tʰíʔ prɪ́́=ku ba-wɛ́ʔ*
CONJ look-go.everywhere-SEQ go.to.base 3SG village human=LOC NEG-kill
'He looked around everywhere. But they had not killed the people of his village.' (WAR05:47 [618])

VERB-*pɹo* ... VERB-*mɹo* 'scatter'

The rhyming derivation VERB-*pɹo* ... VERB-*mɹo* means "scatter/drive in all different directions" (275).

(275) *ə́m nù=ʃɔ̃̀ gɪ̀-mə vɛheníʔ=ku lana <gì -pɹo*
FILL here=LOC follow-PST 3DU=LOC CONJ <follow-scatter(<M)
gì -mɹo>
follow-scatter(<M)>
'[The bees] chased the two into different directions.' (FROG03:36 [765])

***-njám* 'carrying luggage'**

Often with motion verbs 'go carrying something' for example in (276).

(276) *susù=ʤi lè-vù -njám -ré?-bo=rila*
mithun=DEF take-go.from.base-with.luggage-BEN-IMP=QUOT
'Bring me also one of these mithuns, he said.' (SULPH24:40 [1295])

6.4. Aktionsart

One important class of derivations changes the temporal structure of the predicate meaning without having the general applicability of a tense-aspect category. In European languages, these kind of meanings are usually expressed with adverbs such as: "already" (*-rɛ̂̀*), "again" (*-dyì̀*), "repeatedly" (*-dəgaì*), "still" (*-bádɛ̀̂*), "not yet" (*ba- … -bádɛ̀̂*), "for a while" (*-bɛ̀̂*), "the whole day" (*-dám*), "finally" (*-kán*).

6.4.1. *rɨ̀* 'stay' and *lì* 'put'

***rɨ̀* 'stay' progressive**

Bulu Puroik makes use of an analytic progressive using the verb *rɨ̀* 'sit, stay' as an auxiliary. The construction is usually a multi-word predicate with *=la* (277a and discussed in chapter 5.4.2). In fast speech, the morpheme *-la* is omitted (277b) and the construction looks identical to other predicate derivations.

(277) a. *gù anɔ̀ rì³ [fĭ? -la rɨ̀]*$_{\text{PRED}}$
1SG younger.brother cane scrape-SEQ stay
'He is sitting and making ropes.' (elicited TAMI19:02)

b. *gù anɔ̀ rì³ [fĭ? -rɨ̀]*$_{\text{PRED}}$
1SG younger.brother cane scrape-stay
'(5) [Person answering sees him] My brother is making ropes.' (elicited TAMI18:59)

***lì* 'put' factitive**

Parallel to the progressive construction with *rɨ̀*, is a factitive-resultative construction with *lì* 'put', which usually follows a verb with *=la* as in (278). This construction is also

possible without *=la* and has in these cases the structure of a predicate derivation as in example (279).

(278) *vɛ̀ prɨ́ blóʔ níʔ=ku²=ʤi <ʤuumi ʤuuʤa>-hɛ̃̀ la* [*wɛ́ʔ-la lì*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Dʒumi Dʒudʒa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Dʒumi Dʒudʒa*'s people.' (WAR04:29 [598])

(279) *vɛrì tʰɨ́ʔ prɨ́-hɛ̃̀=ku klá* [*wɛ́ʔ -lì -bamɛ=rila*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
3PL village human-PL=LOC where kill-put-POT=QUOT
'Where might they have killed the people of my village, he thought.' (WAR05:44 [617])

6.4.2. Completion of predicate action

***-ʧɰ̃̀* 'completive'**

The derivative *-ʧɰ̃̀* is used to express that the predicate is carried out to completion. For example, in the frog story the frog "came to stay" permanently with the human.

(280) *ʤìlɨ́ŋ=ku ʤila vɛhenɨ́ʔ tatɨ́ʔʧi rɨ̀ ʤilana rəʔ tatɨ́ʔ ʤila*
that.time=LOC CONJ 3DU alone stay CONJ frog one CONJ
ù̀ -ʧɰ̃̀
go.to.base-COMPL
'That time, they were staying alone, and one frog came to stay [with them].' (FROG00:20 [729])

The derivative *-ʧɰ̃̀* emphasises the irreversible completion of the verbal action making another event or situation possible, such as the rivers in the story which 'completely dried up' (281) such that live on earth was not possible anymore.

(281) *lana ʤɔ̀ wɛ̀ -ʧɰ̃̀ kjáŋ-ruìla wɛ̀ -ʧɰ̃̀*
CONJ all be.dry-COMPL to.dry(<M)-ANT be.dry-COMPL
'Everything dried up completely.' (ORIGIN01:58 [831])

The irreversibility of verbs marked with *-ʧɰ̃̀* is also apparent in the following example (282) where the protagonist wrestles down the bear after being freed, i.e. he is 'so much untied that he cannot be tied again'.

(282) *ɬjaù -ʧṳ̀ -la hɨ̀=ri² la vɛ̀=ku la ʧíʔ-dyɨ̀-la*
untie-COMPL-SEQ NEAR=TOP CONJ 3SG=LOC CONJ wrestle-again-SEQ
'After having untied everything, he (Masaŋ) directly wrestled him (the bear) down.' (MASANG05:24 [1410])

-ʤṳ̀ 'all, every'

The suffix *-ʤṳ̀* expresses that the verbal action affects all possible participant such as in example (283) where the speakers lists all former clans of Bulu and he says that 'each and every' of them got extinct.

(283) *nù pulɔ̀ tʰùŋdə̀ baìdə̀ kʰjɛ̀ndə̀ bù.adə̀ bəʧím -ʤṳ̀ -ʧa*
here Bulu Thungdə Baidə Khjɛndə Buadə become.extinct(<M)-ALL-PRF
'Now in Bulu, the Thungdə, Baidə, Kjɛndə, Buadə are all extinct.' (ORIGIN06:58 [905])

(284b).

Depending on the context, the verbal action is carried out by all potential agents (284a) or on all possible patients (284c).

(284) a. *ʤɔ̀̃ ʧuì wɛ́ʔ -ʤṳ̀*
all fish kill-ALL
'Everybody killed fishes.' (elicited CWAR08:013)

b. *kʰɔ̀ ʧuì ʤɔ̀̃ ì -ʤṳ̀*
water fish all die-ALL
'The fishes all died.' (elicited CWAR08:011)

c. *kʰɔ̀ ʧuì=ku gù ʤɔ̀̃ wɛ́ʔ -ʤṳ̀*
water fish=LOC 1SG all kill-ALL
'I killed all the fishes.' (elicited CWAR08:012)

Example (285) is from a context where the verbal action affects all patients ('they all run away').

(285) *lana vɛrì bù ʧaina-hɛ̃́ bù índià-hɛ̃́ rín -ʤṳ̀*
CONJ 3PL DOWN China(<Eng)-PL DOWN India(<Eng)-PL move.fast-ALL
ṳ̀
go.to.base

'Down there, the Chinese the Indians, they all run away.' (WAR04:07 [595])

Semantically, derivations with *-ʤṳ̃̀* 'all, every' overlap to a considerable extent with the completive derivative *-ʧṳ̃̀*. If an action is carried out by every agent or on each and every possible patient, then the action is carried out to completion. In addition to this semantic overlap, the two derivatives are also phonologically similar. However, on a closer look, the two derivatives are clearly distinct. This is illustrated in the minimal pairs (286) and (287). The completive *-ʧṳ̃̀* puts emphasis on the final and irreversible completion of the verbal action, the focus of the derivative *-ʤṳ̀* is that all participants are affected.

(286) a. *ṳ̃̀-ʧṳ̃̀* 'they came to stay' (they are not going back any time soon again)
b. *ṳ̃̀-ʤṳ̀* 'they all went/came' (everybody came)

(287) a. *rə́m-ʧṳ̃̀* 'they fell into deep sleep' (they are not going to wake up for the rest of the night)
b. *rə́m-ʤṳ̀* 'they all sleep' (there is nobody who is not sleeping)

Historically, the derivative might originate from the quantifier *ʣõ̀* 'all'. However, the phonological difference of the onset and nucleus is not explainable by synchronic phonological rules (*ʣõ̀* ≠ *ʤṳ̀*).

-*kán* 'finally'

(288) <*diʃi dɨlu*> *tʰɨ́ʔ hɨ̃̀ rɨ̀ -kán -ka ṳ̀*
<Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)> village NEAR stay-finally-REL go.to.base
'Finally, we stayed here in Bulu.' (ORIGIN05:21 [883])

6.4.3. Internal structure

-*rɛ̃̀* 'already'

(289) *nà ba-ṳ̃̀-pʰɛ́ʔ-bádɛ̃̀=ku ṳ̃̀-ʤi -rɛ̃̀ -ʧa*
2SG NEG-go.to.base-reach-PRMN=LOC go.to.base-away-already-PRF
'He [your brother] already went away before you came.' (elicited TAMVI09:33)

(290) *vɛrì=na=ʤi hɬ̀ dáŋlíŋ dáŋlíŋ bá? -rɛ̃̀*
3PL=TOP=DEF NEAR always always EXIST-already
'They were always, always already there.' (LANG31:14 [1038])

-dɛ̃̀ / *-bádɛ̃̀* 'still' PRMN

The function is similar to what Jacques 2015, p. 284 describes as "permansive": "It expresses the continuity of an action or a state, despite the occurrence of another action which could have been expected to stop it (...), or despite the fact that a long time has passed (...) like the adverb 'still' in English."

(291) *gù gjɑ̃̀=matʃi gù adəzuì wù pʰɛ́? tʃì-ruì -bádɛ̃̀ =ro*
1SG live=ADD 1SG year five reach eat-ANT-PRMN=ASRT
'Even when I was already born, until reaching the age of five, we had eaten [the salt of Tibet].' (TRADE05:09 [1167])

(292) *bù nadɛ̃̀ ɯ̃̀ -dɛ̃̀*
DOWN that.side go.to.base-PRMN
'They continued walking.' (MASANG04:12 [1389])

-jɑ̃̀ permansive imperative

The function of the morpheme *-jɑ̃̀* is similar to the permansive morphemes *-dɛ̃̀* and *-bádɛ̃̀* in the previous section 6.4.3. This derivative is predominantly used in imperatives when ordering someone 'to continue' or 'not stop' some activity.

(293) a. *tʃì-jɑ̃̀* 'keep eating'
b. *rɨ-jɑ̃̀* 'keep sitting'
c. *vù-jɑ̃̀* 'keep going'

(294) a. *tʃì-rjáŋ-bo* 'keep eating!'
b. *ɯ̃̀-rjáŋ-bo* 'keep going!'

-dɔ̃̀ 'immediately'

The derivation *-dɔ̃̀* is used for events which occur in immediate proximity of temporal or spatial reference point. The reference point can be within the discourse, within the

speech act situation or the speaker himself (immediate experience). For a reference within a story see (295), where the plants "immediately" sprouted after the evil moon and the evil sun were killed.

(295) [*hə̀̀bu atʃáʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ-ruùla hamì atʃáʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ-ruùla*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ <*sə̀̀ʤáŋ*
moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT <all.plants(RL)
sə̀̀njúŋ> *ʤila sɛ̀̀ -dɔ̀̀*
all.plants(RL)> CONJ prosper-IMM
'After [Kraa Krung] killed the bad moon and the bad sun, all plants immediately sprouted.' (ORIGIN01:47 [829])

In example (296), the reference point is the speech act situation "right now".

(296) *gù hɨ̀̀dɔ̀̀ rì³ fíʔ -dɔ̀̀ -tʃí -na báʔ*
1SG now cane scrape-IMM-OBLG-NPST EXIST
'Right now, I have to make ropes.' (elicited TAMII24:56)

Similar in example (297), where the 'immediate' derivative is used for an urging order.

(297) *nà pʰəù ín-dɔ̀̀*
2SG alcohol drink-IMM
'You drink this beer right now!' (BlA31)

Finally "immediate" can be used for events or facts of which the speaker has or had "immediate" evidence in contrast to events or state of affairs which are reported. For example, of a proposition "the house is big", where the speaker has seen the house himself. The speaker might have made the experience in the present or in the past (298).

(298) *hám amjɛ̀ báʔ -dɔ̀̀ =ro asú báʔ -dɔ̀̀ =ro*
house good EXIST-IMM=ASRT correct EXIST-IMM=ASRT
'The house is really good [I saw it myself]. It is really true.' (elicited TAMI12:40)

dyɨ̀̀ 'again'

(299) *patna tsáʔ-la pʰɨ̀ŋ-hɛ̃̀̀=jo kʰɔ̀-hɛ̃̀̀=jo*
christian.prayer(<IA) do-SEQ mountain-PL=HON water-PL=HON
patna tsáʔ-lana ʤi=kɯ́̃ vɛrì ba-níŋ-rjaò -dyɨ̀̀ -tʃa
christian.prayer(<IA) do-ANT DEF=UP 3PL NEG-listen-be.able-again-PRF

'If we make Christian prayers, the respected mountain ghosts and the water spirits - the ones up there - cannot understand.' (LANG30:42 [1029])

(300) *la narì ʃĭ-pə̃́ -dyì̀ -na*
CONJ 2PL ask-appear-again-NPST
'You should ask everything again.' (LANG36:24 [1127])

(301) *rì-na=ro ʤila hám² dù-ka pjŭ́ -dyì̀ -na=ro*
say-NPST=ASRT CONJ sky shake-REL release-again-NPST=ASRT
'We have to say this, then the one shaking the earth will stop again.' (QUAKE02:05 [935])

In the eastern Puroik dialect,s the etymologically related *uu-dui?* means 'to go back', in Bulu Puroik *ů̀-dyì̀* or *vù-dyì̀* means 'to go again'.

(302) *ʧì-rùla vù -dyì̀ -na*
eat-ANT go.from.base-back-FUT
'After eating, we keep going ahead.' (elicited A70:16)

(303) *ʧì-rùla ů̀ -dyì̀ -na*
eat-ANT go.to.base-back-FUT
'After eating, we keep going back home.' (elicited A70:19)

Almost exclusively in derivations, but sometimes as auxiliary (304).

(304) *ʤila né?-ri-la dyì̀ ʤì vù-dyì̀ ů̀-ʤi*
CONJ discuss-IPFV-SEQ do.again ANA go.from.base-again go.to.base-away
'Then, they discussed again, and went on again.' (SULPH22:44 [1254])

-*lə̀* **'habitual'**

(305) *vɛrì=ku=ʤi <gulù gələ́n>-la vɛrì buì awí?-hɛ̃̀=ʤi*
3PL=LOC=DEF <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-SEQ 3PL before old-PL=DEF
hì̀-lana ʤila vɛrì=na=ʤi nɨ́ŋ -lə̀ -ka
speak-ANT CONJ 3PL=TOP=DEF listen-HABIT-REL
'The forefathers made rituals. Since long time, they spoke [in this way], and the spirits got used to hear them.' (LANG30:55 [1033])

-*də́m* 'the whole day long'

(306) *vɛ̀ rì³ fĭʔ-ri -də́m -bjaò-na*
3SG cane scrape-IPFV-whole.day-COP.FOC-NPST
'He will only peel cane the whole day.' (elicited TAMII12:44)

Also on the noun *anì* 'day' (see (307))

(307) *sá tsáʔ-la anì -də́m dʒi=pura*
like.this do-SEQ day-whole.day DEF=all(<IA)
'We will do like this one full day.' (LANG36:28 [1129])

-*bɛ̀̃* 'for a while'

(308) **for a while:**
a. *ʧîbɛ̀̃* 'borrow for a while' (*ʧî³* 'borrow'),
b. *rɨ̀bɛ̀̃* 'sit for some time' (*rɨ̀* 'sit'),
c. *dʒɔ́ʔbɛ̃̀* 'wait for some time' (*dʒɔ́ʔ* 'wait'),
d. *tʰɑ̀̃bɛ̀̃* 'give for some time' (*tʰɑ̃̀* 'give')

-*dəgaì* 'again and again'

(309) *gjɑ̃̀=ʧî ì-ʧĭ-bjaò gjɑ̃̀=ʧî hì -dəgaì hì -dəgaì -ʧĭ*
live=ADD die-OBLG-COP.FOC live=ADD speak-REP(<M) speak-REP(<M)-OBLG
'After only one life we die. We have to tell it on and on (the stories and rituals).'
(LANG31:19 [1040])

6.5. Result

A common type of derivation are those which modify the meaning of a verb root by specifying what the result of the event will be. For example, for *-máŋ* 'to death' the result of the event will be the death of one of the participants, either the agent or a patient (*kɨ́máŋ* 'beat to death', *rínmáŋ* 'run to death').

Table 6.4.: Result derivations

derivation	result of the event
-kə́m	something is collected
pətaí	something is understood (<M)
gɛ́ʔ	something/someone disappeared
ɔì	something/someone is found
-pjɛ́ʔ	something is smashed
-ɬɛ́ʔ	something is separated from a whole
-plá?/*-bɹáʔ*	something is not in one piece anymore
-bù³	some quantities are in equal shares
-máŋ	someone is dead
gə̀̃	something is closed, enclosed, blocked

6.5.1. *-kə́m* 'collect'

The result of verb roots with the derivative *-kə́m* is that something is collected or gathered. There is no independent counterpart to this derivation.

(310) **Agents gather themselves:**

a. *vùkə́m* 'come together' (*vù* 'go')

b. *ʧìkə́m* 'gather to eat from one place' (*ʧì* 'eat')

c. *məʧɨ̃ŋ ʧɨ̃ŋkə́m* 'gather to work together'

(311) **Agent(s) gather(s) things:**

a. *ʤuɛ́ʔkə́m* 'put something together on a hip (e.g. potatoes)'

b. *lèkə́m* 'put on a hip' (*lè* 'take')

c. *bíʔkə́m* 'broom together' (*bíʔ* 'broom')

d. *ruìkə́m* 'pull together on a hip (e.g. bamboo)' (*ruì* 'pull')

6.5.2. *pətai*/*dɛ̀̃* 'understand'

The result of *pətaí* is that something is known or understood (312).

(312) a. *níŋpətaí* 'read, see and understand'
b. *néŋpətaí* 'hear and understand'

Example (313) illustrates the use of *pətaí* as an independent verb.

(313) *prɨ́* *ba-pətaí-ka* *hjə̀̃*
human NEG-know(<M)-REL all
'[They were] all people he didn't know.' (WAR01:27 [559])

The derivative *pətaí* is borrowed from Miji. The corresponding Puroik morpheme *dɛ̀̃* 'know' occurs in the same construction (see example 314) but is less common than *pətaí* as derivative.

(314) *nám-lè-na-ʧa=rila* [*níŋ-dɛ̀̃-ʧa*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
wrest-take-NPST-PRF=QUOT look-PRMN-PRF
'Let's take him, I recognised him.' (FROG06:06 [793])

6.5.3. *gɛ́ʔ* 'disappeared'

Verbs derived with *gɛ́ʔ* describe events with the result that something or someone disappears.

(315) a. *ɬɨ́ʔgɛ́ʔ* 'extinguish a fire by pouring water' (*liʔ* 'pour')
b. *ʦáʔgɛ́ʔ* 'extinguish' (*ʦáʔ* 'do')
c. *ɬúʔgɛ́ʔ* 'fall down and disappear' (*ɬúʔ* 'fall')
d. *kʰìgɛ́ʔ* 'fly out of sight' (e.g. birds) (*kʰì* 'fly')

The derivative *gɛ́ʔ* is an independent verb root, e.g. (316).

(316) *ʤilana vɛrì=na* *prɨ́* *gɛ́ʔ-batʃa=rila* *lapɛ́-ʃa* *nɔ̀*
CONJ 3PL=TOP human disappear-PRF=QUOT tomorrow-LOC search
'They said, one person is lost, and went to search him on the next day.' (TRAP00:56 [680])

6.5.4. *ɔì* 'find'

The verb *ɔì* 'find' is typically the result of the verb *nɔ̀* 'search': *nɔ̀-ɔì* 'find (search and find)'. This expression is negated as *nɔ̀ ba-ɔì* 'not find (search and not find)'. See example (317)

(317) *ʤilana ʤi=bù²-se prɨ́-se ʤila ʧɛ́ʔ-la dəhù tsáʔ-la nɔ̀ nɔ̀*
CONJ DEF=dog-DU human-DU CONJ cry-SEQ sadness do-SEQ search search
nɔ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀ ba-ɔì
search search search search NEG-find
'The dog and the human, both cried and were sad, they searched and searched but didn't find him (the frog).' (FROG00:51 [734])

Where this is one event or two is questionable. Note that this predicate is also common with *=la*.

(318) *nɔ̀-la ba-ɔì*
search-SEQ NEG-find
'They searched and did not find him.' (TRAP01:01 [681])

6.5.5. *-pjɛ́ʔ* 'smashed'

The result of the derivation *-pjɛ́ʔ* is that something is smashed, e.g. *ípjɛ́ʔ* 'smash something with the foot' (*í* 'step on something').

6.5.6. *bɻáʔ* 'be broken' (<M)

The derivation *bɻáʔ* means 'to be broken' for material which can break into multiple hard pieces like glass or stone. The result of the event will be that something is not in one piece anymore, e.g. *tsúbɻáʔ* 'to break a stone'.

6.5.7. *pláʔ* 'be apart' (<M)

The result of verbs derived with *pláʔ* is that something is cut or torn in two parts (e.g. fabric, plastic, bamboo, cane).

(319) a. *ʤúnpláʔ* 'split cane or bamboo'

b. *ʤíʔplá?* 'tear a cloth'

c. *sɛ̀plá?* 'split with an axe'

d. *íʔplá?* 'saw in two pieces'

6.5.8. *-ɬɛ́?* 'separated from a whole'

The result of events with the derivation *-ɬɛ́?* is that a piece is separated from a whole (320).

(320) a. *pɛ́ɬɛ́?* 'cut from a whole',

b. *íʔɬɛ́?* 'cut/saw from a whole without leaving the blade' (*í?* 'cut without leaving the blade'),

c. *tíʔɬɛ́?* 'cut and make fall' (*tí?* fell a tree),

d. *tsɑ̀ɬɛ́?* 'tear a rope',

e. *hɪ́ʔɬɛ́?* 'break off'

6.5.9. *bù* 'making equal shares'

(321) a. *ɬɪ́ʔbù* 'pour little bit more in order to make all glasses equally full'

b. *tʰɑ̀bù* 'give little bit more in order to make the shares equal'

c. *hɔ́ʔbù* 'serve a bit more to make shares equal'

d. *ínbù* 'drink a bit more in order to have drunk the same quantity as the others'

6.5.10. *-máŋ* 'to death'

The derivation *-máŋ* (borrowing from Miji) is used for events (usually activities) of which the result is the death of a core participant, either the patient (322) or the agent in (323).

(322) **Result is death of patient:**

a. *ɬúʔmáŋ* 'fall to death' (*ɬúʔ* 'fall')

b. *fɛ̀máŋ* 'kill by throwing' (*fɛ̀* 'throw)

(323) **Result is dead of agent:**

a. *vùmáŋ* 'go to death' (*vù* 'go from base')

b. *rínmáŋ* 'run to death' (*rín* 'run')

c. *tsúnmáŋ* 'jump to death' (*tsún* 'jump')

(324) *kalíŋ tʃíŋ²-la dadʒí?=ku fɛ̃̀-máŋ-na*
stone pick.up-SEQ snake=LOC throw-dead(<M)-NPST
'I will pick up a stone and kill the snake.' (elicited TAMVIII07:49)

(325) *susù=na tsún kʰɔ̀-líŋ=ku tsún-máŋ-la ì*
mithun=TOP jump water-inside=LOC jump-dead(<M)-SEQ die
'The mithuns jumped into the water and died.' (SULPH24:24 [1290])

6.5.11. *gɑ̀* 'closed, enclosed, blocked'

The derivative *gɑ̀* expresses that something is done with the result that something is closed, covered, enclosed or blocked.

(326) a. *kɛ́̃gɑ̀* 'hold enclosed in the hand'

b. *tɔ́?gɑ̀* 'hold enclosed in the mouth'

c. *plɛ́̃gɑ̀* 'cover with leaves or soil'

d. *pʰùgɑ̀* 'put bandage'

(327) *ʃ̀ímɔ=ku² kɛ̃́-gɑ̀-la níŋ-lana*
tree=OBJ hold-enclosed-SEQ look-ANT
'He held himself on a tree and watched.' (FROG04:07 [771])

The morpheme has a wide applicability, also with verbs which do not typically result in something closing or something being blocked. In (328), a boiling hot water lake blocks the way of the protagonist. This situation is expressed with *tsɑò-gɑ̀* 'block by boiling'.

(328) *kʰɔ̀tsé?* *rì-ka* *kʰɔ̀* *tsɑò-gɑ̀-la* *ba-vù-muɛ̀*
hot.water say-REL water boil-enclosed-SEQ NEG-go.from.base-can
'The hot water blocked the way, as it was boiling. He could not go.' (SULPH24:00 [1284])

6.6. "Valence" changing

A class of derivative changes increases or decreases the number of arguments the predicate might have. The most common ones of these derivatives are given in table 6.5.

Table 6.5.: Valence changing

derivation	meaning	argument change
-ré?	benefactive	+beneficiary
-rɔ̃̀	remote benefactive	+beneficiary (remote)
-ruì	auto-benefactive	+beneficiary (=agent)
-də̀	causative	+agent
-dɔ̃̀	take along	+agent
-ri	reciprocal	-patient

The valence changing changes the meaning of a predicate in a way, that the number and the type of the expected arguments is different. For example an additional beneficiary (benefactive), or one patient less (reflexive).

However, the additional arguments are not necessarily overt (zero anaphora) and even an intransitive verb may have an additional unmarked argument (e.g. location), or transitive verb may have a third unmarked argument (e.g. an instrument).

6.6.1. Benefactives

Bulu Puroik has three distinct benefactive derivations: *-ré?* an action or a state to the benefit or damage of someone, *-rɔ̃̀* an action or a state which is to the benefit or damage of someone who is no in the place the action happens and *-ruì* 'auto-benefactive'[2] for actions which are to the benefit of the actor himself. Contrastive examples for the three benefactives are given in example (329a) -(329c).

(329) a. *vɛ̀ ɬí? -ruì*[2] *-na*
3SG pour-AUTO.BEN-NPST
'He pours for himself.' (elicited CWAR00:48a)

[2]be a grammaticalisation from the verb *ruì* 'pull'

b. *vè ɬɨ́ʔ -réʔ -na*
3SG pour-BEN-NPST
'He pours for someone.' (elicited CWAR00:48b)

c. *vè ɬɨ́ʔ -rɔ̃̀ -na*
3SG pour-REM.BEN-NPST
'He pours for someone and goes to give it to him.' (elicited CWAR00:48c)

-*réʔ* benefactive BEN

The suffix *-réʔ* marks the verb as having an additional strongly affected participant who benefits from the verbal action or suffers a damage. The beneficiary can be mentioned explicitly but is very often omitted.

In example (330), *ɬɨ́ʔ-réʔ*, 'pour for someone' both the agent as well as the beneficiary are not explicitly mentioned, but from the context the hearer knows that the mother poured the beer in a cup for a guest.

(330) *pʰəù palɑ̀̃ ɬɨ́ʔ -réʔ*
alcohol bamboo.mug(<Tsh) pour-BEN
'She had poured him the alcohol in a bamboo container.' (WAR00:43 [551])

The benefactive *-réʔ* occurs in orders when the speaker asks for a favour 'do it for me' (331).

(331) *ʧɯ̃̀gəʒíʔ=ku kəí nà=na té kátɯ̃́ʧáŋ=ʤi*
crab=LOC HORT 2SG=TOP FAR sulphur.spring(RL)=DEF
lè-vù -réʔ -bo
take-go.from.base-BEN-IMP
'He [said] to the crab: you go and bring this Katuntʃaŋ water for me.' (SULPH24:35 [1294])

The beneficiary *-réʔ* can be used in situations where a verbal action affects someone negatively. For example in (332) *fɨ́nʤuéʔ-réʔ* 'throw away to someone's damage':

(332) *bù lím-wù=ʃɔ̃̀ fɨ́ntʃuéʔ -réʔ*
DOWN path-below=LOC dispose-BEN
'That [rice also] they threw down below the road.' (WAR01:59 [568])

The context is that the Chinese soldiers searched his carry bag for weapons, and when they did not find any, they threw his bag away. In this situation, nobody benefits from the action, neither the villager nor the soldier. On the contrary, the villager experiences the damage of losing his bag.

(333) *ʤì ba-bɔ̀-lana ba-ljáŋ²-ré?-na*
ANA NEG-COP.NEG-ANT NEG-give(HL)-BEN-NPST
'If not [if all this is not done], they [the spirits] won't be well-disposed.' (HL01:27 [1146])

Speak to someone in order to teach him the language:

(334) *agɯ̃-hɛ̃̀ hɛ̀-rjaɔ̀-ʒù=matʃi adə̀-hɛ̃̀ grì ba-hɛ̀-ré?-dyɛ̀*
half-PL speak-be.able-COP=ADD child-PL 1PL NEG-speak-BEN-again
'However, half of us, even if they know to speak, they don't speak [our language] to their children.' (LANG34:34 [1098])

***-rɔ̃̀* 'remote benefactive'**

In contrast to the benefactive *-ré?*, the remote benefactive implies that the subject moves somewhere to do something for the beneficiary (335).

(335) *agɯ̃̀=ri² vɛ̀ lím-kɨ́ŋ ín agɯ̃̀=ri² vɛ̀ aʒù vɛ̀ abù-se*
half=TOP 3SG path-LOC drink half=TOP 3SG wife 3SG elder.brother-DU
lɛ̀-rɔ̃̀-na=rila
take-REM.BEN-NPST=QUOT
'One half he drunk on the way, the other half, he would bring to his wife and his brother, he thought.' (WAR00:48 [553])

Historically, this suffix might have developed from a combination of *-ré?* and *ù̀*, i.e. *V-*ré?-ɯ̃̀* to 'V-BEN-*go*.to.base' 'go somewhere to do something for someone'. However, the exact phonological condition under which this might have happened are unclear.

6.6.2. Causatives

Like benefactives, causatives extend the valence of the verb by an additional argument. The additional participant of causatives is forced or permitted to do the verbal action.

-*də̀* 'let, make X'

In example (336), the protagonist is forced to sit.

(336) *la vɛ̀=ku=na kṹ rakɬŋ rakɬŋ rɨ̀ -də̀*
CONJ 3SG=LOC=TOP UP behind behind stay-CAUS
'But him, they made him sit far behind.' (WAR03:57 [593])

Example (337) is about the Puroiks who were not *permitted* to do agricultural activities in the past.

(337) [*məbə́n-hɛ̃̀ grì=ku wáʔ ba-rɨ̀ -də̀*]$_1$ [*susù ba-tyɛ́ -də̀*]$_2$ [*ʧʰồhám ba-ʦáʔ -də̀*]$_3$
Miji-PL 1PL=LOC pig NEG-stay-CAUS mithun NEG-decoy-CAUS store.house NEG-do-CAUS
'The Miji people did not let us breed pigs, they did not let us breed mithuns, they did not let us make nice houses.' (SAGO01:12 [959])

-*dồ* 'take along'

The derivative *-dồ* is used with motion verbs for expressing that someone is taken along (338).

(338) *la vɛ̀=ku²=na la nə́m-ruɨ̀la túŋri la bù lè-la*
CONJ 3SG=OBJ=TOP CONJ wrest-ANT Tungri CONJ DOWN take-SEQ
ṵ̀-dồ dʒi=kṹdʒɬə́n-hɛ̃̀ ʧaina-hɛ̃̀
go.to.base-take.along DEF=China-PL China(<Eng)-PL
'The Chinese, captured him, and took him down to Tungri.' (WAR02:11 [572])

Historically, this derivative might contain the causative suffix *-də̀* and the motion verb *ṵ̀* which were contracted under unclear conditions.

6.6.3. Reciprocal

(339) *ʧaina armi-hɛ̃̀=la wɛ́ʔ -ri²*
China(<Eng) army(<Eng)-PL=CONJ kill-RECP
'Chinese and Indian soldiers were fighting each other.' (WAR00:31 [547])

6.7. Manner

6.7.1. *-lɛ̀̃* 'even more' CMPR

The comparative suffix which is used for the comparing adjectives can also be attached to verb roots for expressing a high intensity or frequency of the verbal action or a verbal action contrary to the expectation. Both intransitive verbs (item 340) and transitive verbs (341b) may be intensified with the suffix *-lɛ̀̃*

(340) *ʤilana vè=na la nî -lɛ̀̃ à̀ gù=ku²=ʧi ʤidɔ*
CONJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear-CMPR INTJ 1SG=OBJ=ADD like.this
wɛ́ʔ-ʒù-bjaò-na
kill-COP-COP.FOC-NPST
'[Seeing this], he was even more scared: Oh no, they will certainly also kill me like this.' (WAR03:00 [580])

(341) a. *grì nù índià prɪ̂=ku²=na abùlɛ̀̃ wɛ́ʔ wɛ́ʔ-la fɪ̂n*
1PL here India(<Eng) human=OBJ=TOP even.more kill kill-SEQ discard
'Us Indians, however, they killed even more. They kill them and threw them away.' (WAR03:34 [588])

b. *ʤjù -lɛ̀̃ pɛ̃́ -lɛ̀̃ pjú -lɛ̀̃ ʦáʔ-la wɛ́ʔ*
stab-CMPR cut-CMPR burst-CMPR do-SEQ kill
'They stabbed them even more, they hit them even more and they shot at them even more. Doing like this they killed them.' (WAR03:38 [589])

The derivative is also used for events taking place contrary to the expectation or the wish of the speaker (or participant), such as in example (342) where the addressed person gets up *even if* he was told not to get up.

(342) *ba-ʒaù-bo=ri ʒaù -lɛ̀̃*
NEG-get.up-IMP=QUOT get.up-CMPR
'Even after telling him not to get up, he got up anyway.' (elicited LEX1:00)

6.7.2. *úʔ* 'do something secretly'

By adding the derivative *úʔ* 'hide' to a verb, the speaker expresses that the verbal action is carried out secretly.

(343) a. *níŋú?* 'listen secretly' (*níŋ* 'listen')
b. *níŋú?* 'peep' (*níŋ* 'watch')
c. *lè.ú?* 'steal' (*lè* 'take')
d. *ʧi.ú?* 'steal' (*ʧi*[3] 'borrow')

(344) *ʤilana vɛ̀=na=ʤi* *níŋ -ú? -la* *rɨ̀*
CONJ 3SG=TOP=DEF listen-hide-SEQ stay
'He was sitting and listening secretly.' (SULPH22:17 [1246])

6.8. Modality/Control

Table 6.6.: deontic modality markers

Marker	category	description
muɛ̃̀		can (by external circumstances)
rjaò		can, know, be able (ability of the subject)
hí?		wish
-ʧĩ	OBL	have to (because of inner or outer need)
-ʧĩ-na bá?	OBL	have to

6.8.1. *muɛ̃̀* 'can'

The derivative *muɛ̃̀* is used to express that the subject can (or cannot) carry out an action because of external circumstances rather than because of his ability, knowledge or training. In example (345), the speaker describes the situation that the Puroiks cannot go up to Tibet because the Indian army closed the border.

(345) *grì kű ba-vù -muɛ̃̀* *gormán-hɛ̃̀* *bán* *tsá?-la*
1PL UP NEG-go.from.base-can government(<Eng)-PL closed(<IA) do-SEQ
'We cannot go up. The government closed [the boundary].' (TRADE06:48 [1192])

In example (346), the external circumstance which prevents the woman to carry wood is a baby.

(346) *adə̀=la.ɛ̃̀ku ba-bəù ba-ʒɛ̀-muɛ̃̀-la gù ʃɪ̀ ʒɛ̃̀-ʧɪ́-na bá? kṹ hám=ku*
child=SOC NEG-carry NEG-carry-can-SEQ 1SG wood carry-OBLG-NPST EXIST UP house=LOC
'Because with the baby she cannot carry, I have to carry wood in the house.' (WOOD39:28 [941])

The verb *muɛ̀* used as full predicate means 'receive', exactly like the corresponding verb root in Miji (*waw*).

An example which illustrates both meanings - 'receive' and 'can' - of the root *muɛ̀* is given in (347).

(347) *pətí=ʃṍ vɛ̀ bɑ̃̀ muɛ̃̀-la ʤila vɛ̀ biskut nɔ́? -muɛ̃̀*
last.year=LOC 3SG dream can-SEQ CONJ 3SG bisquit(<Eng) buy-can
'Last year, when he got money, he could buy bisquits.' (elicited TAMVI27:48)

6.8.2. *rjaò* 'be able'

The derivative *rjaò* is used to express that the subject *can* (or cannot) carry out an action because he has the ability, training or knowledge to do so, for example being able to speak Puroik (348).

(348) *atsɨ sɑ̃̀ʤo apʰɔ̀ ba-hɪ̀ -rjaò -ʧa amɔ̀*
grandchild Sandʒo male NEG-speak-be.able-PRF female
ba-hɪ̀ -rjaò -ʧa ʤi=hɛ̃̀=ku
NEG-speak-be.able-PRF DEF=people=LOC
'Grandsons Sandʒo's father doesn't know to speak [Puroik], the mother doesn't know to speak [Puroik].' (LANG34:25 [1096])

The difference between the derivatives *rjaò* and *muɛ̃̀*, i.e. the ability by external circumstances or an ability of the subject, is illustrated in example (349).

(349) a. *ʧarɛ̃̀ ʧɪ-muɛ̃̀* 'be able to eat sago' (given the availability, sago is not available always and everywhere.)

b. *ʧarɛ̃̀ ʧɪ-rjaò* 'be able to eat sago' (given the personal history and skills of the subject, not everyone can fill his stomach with sago)

Further examples are given in 350:

(350) a. *ʒə̀-rjaò* 'be able to make a trap' (having knowledge)
b. *nɨ́ŋ-rjaò* 'be able to listen to' (e.g. a Puroik conversation, not everyone understands Puroik)
c. *ʧî-rjaò* 'be able to eat something' (e.g. sago because not everyone can eat sago)

6.8.3. *-lɔ* 'possible to'

(351) *tarə́m fəù ɬasa fəù tarə́m fəù grì ba-ʧî-lɔ*
Tibet salt Lhasa(<Tib) salt Tibet salt 1PL NEG-eat-possible.to
'We don't get to eat Tibet salt and Lhasa salt anymore.' (TRADE07:03 [1197])

6.8.4. *hɨ́ʔ* 'wish'

The derivation *hɨ́ʔ* occurs as a free verb root with a range of meanings to be translated as 'think', 'wish', 'miss'. In composition, the verb *hɨ́ʔ* is used for events that a person wants to do or feels like doing. Table 6.7 lists some examples the derivation *hɨ́ʔ*.

example	translation
vù-hɨ́ʔ	'want to go'
ʧî-hɨ́ʔ	'want to eat'
rə́m-hɨ́ʔ	'want to sleep, feel sleepy'
waíʔ-hɨ́ʔ	'feel like farting'
zɛ̀-hɨ́ʔ	'feel like laughing'

Examples for the last two combinations are given in 352 and 353.

(352) *ʤi=vɛ̀ ʤi=atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ri ɛ̃̀ waíʔ -hɨ́ʔ -ba=ri*
DEF=3SG DEF=grandfather Masang=QUOT excrement fart-think-PRS=QUOT
'Our forefather Masaŋ felt like farting.' (MASANG03:49 [1384])

(353) *la vɛ̀=ʤi atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ri njé zɛ̀ -hɨ́ʔ*
CONJ 3SG=DEF grandfather Masang=QUOT little laugh-think
'Our forefather Masaŋ felt little bit like laughing.' (MASANG04:15 [1390])

6.8.5. *-ʧĩ́* 'must'

Derivations with *-ʧĩ́* express that the verbal action is enforced on someone either by an agent (example 354) or by a moral imperative (example 355).

(354) *ba-níŋ ù̃-dɔ̀ -ʧĩ́ -na*
NEG-listen go.to.base-IMM-OBLG-NPST
'They didn't listen, he has to go right now.' (WAR05:12 [610])

(355) *apna sə́m ba-fín -ʧĩ́ -na apna grì=ta sə́m bá? -ʧĩ́ -na*
own(<IA) language NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST own(<IA) 1PL=own language EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'We must not give up our language! Our language has to be there.' (LANG29:25 [1007])

6.8.6. *-pə́ndɛ̃̀* OBL

The derivative *-pə́ndɛ̃̀* is equivalent to *-ʧĩ́* and is probably a loan.

(356) *gəhenĩ́?-ũ̀ sá ʤì lì -pə́ndɛ̃̀*
1DU-POSS like.this ANA put-OBLG
'Our [part], we have to leave it like this.' (WOOD39:09 [936])

(357) *gù ʃĩ̀ njé* [*ʒɛ̀ vù -pə́ndɛ̃̀ -na*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
1SG wood little carry go.from.base-OBLG-NPST
'I have to carry a little bit of wood now.' (WOOD39:45 [945])

6.8.7. *-ʃjám* / *-ha* 'do X without having control over X'

The derivatives *-ʃjám* and *-ha* indicate that the agent has less control over the outcome of the verbal action than he would be expected to have. For example 'blank fire', when just shooting in the air without hitting any specific target (358). The subject has control over the trigger but does not wish to control where the bullet goes.

(358) *la vɛrì=na=ʤi badogá? bù bìtʰɛ́? bù níŋ-prina badogá? tatata*
CONJ 3PL=TOP=DEF in.vain DOWN Lagam DOWN look-ANT in.vain IDEOPH
tatata pjú -ʃjám
IDEOPH burst-NO.CONTROL
'When the Chinese saw Lagam down there, they started to blank fire: tatata tatata.' (WAR04:00 [594])

Later in the same story of the 1962 war, there is a scene where the protagonist was so tired and hungry that he just falls asleep (359). The protagonist did not want to sleep, but just could stay awake anymore.

(359) *<hiNtʃɛ?> ʤì hɛ̀tʃɛ́? ba-muɛ̀̃-la rəm -ʃjám*
<be.hungry> ANA be.hungry NEG-can-SEQ sleep-NO.CONTROL
'He was hungry, exhausted and just fell asleep [as he was].' (WAR07:44 [649])

The derivative is used for situations where control is given up on purpose and for situations where the loss of control was not intended by the subject. In example (360), the soldier could, in principle, have put the guns in proper order, but they put them down carelessly, in contrast to example (359) where the protagonist falls asleep without intending it.

(360) *matʃù ʤila lì -ha -ruì*
gun CONJ put-NO.CONTROL-ANT
'The guns, they just put down [carelessly].' (WAR06:39 [631])

The derivative can be used to tell someone to feel comfortable and not restrain himself. For example *tʃíʃjám* 'eat as much as you want, or whatever you want (do not control yourself)', *lèʃjám* 'just take it (do restrain yourself from taking it)'.

6.9. Derivations with restricted applicability

Some predicate derivations are rare, very specific and might be restricted to a very few verb roots.

One example are the derivations with *-dəhɛ̀̃* which express that the subject is unwilling to do an action because the subject feels insulted by not being served/considered earlier (361).

(361) a. *ʧì-dəhǎ̀* 'unwilling to eat because of not being served earlier'
b. *ín-dəhǎ̀* 'unwilling to drink because of not being served earlier'
c. *vù-dəhǎ̀* 'unwilling to go because of not being considered for the trip in the beginning'

The derivative *-bɻɛ̀* which is borrowed from Miji expresses that the subjects are competing and occurs mainly with activity verbs (362).

(362) a. *rín-bɻɛ̀* 'compete in running, make a race'
b. *tsún-bɻɛ̀* 'compete in jumping'

The derivative *-tán* borrowed from Miji meaning 'teach' occurs mainly with the verbs *hì̀* 'speak' and *gí?* 'read, calculate'.

(363) a. *hì̀tán* 'teach verbally (e.g. some activity)' (364)
b. *gí?tán* 'teach in school by reading'

(364) *ʤi atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ʤi atɨ́ŋ vəneì=ri*
DEF grandfather Masang=DEF grandfather Vənei(<M)=QUOT
mə-hì -tán -la grì=ku² ʤi=ʒà-ka=ʤi
NMLZ-speak-teach(<M)-SEQ 1PL=OBJ DEF=make.traps-REL=DEF
'This is what grandfather Masaŋ and grandfather Vənei taught us, to make traps.'
(TRAP03:05 [716])

The derivative *-mulɔ* is a derivative expressing the speaker's desperation and occurs almost exclusively in the idiom *hɛ̀ ba-tsá?-mulɔ* 'be desperate, doesn't know what to do'

(365) *ʤila vɛ̀=na hɛ̀ ba-tsá? -mulɔ -la*
CONJ 3SG=TOP what NEG-do-DESP-SEQ
'He didn't know what to do.' (WAR02:09 [571])

(366) *la vɛ̀=na klá rín ba-rín -mulɔ*
CONJ 3SG=TOP where move.fast NA-move.fast-DESP
'He didn't know where to run away.' (WAR01:37 [563])

The derivative *-kí?* means to be 'be triggered' only in *krɔ́kí?* 'sprung and empty'.

6.10. Summary

Predicate derivations are productive morphemes for extending the predicate and play a very important role in the grammar of Bulu Puroik. This chapter covered the most important and most frequent predicate derivations roughly arranged by their meaning which range from very specific lexical to quite general. Some of the morphemes are verb roots which can stand alone, others occur only (or most frequently) as suffix. Occupying a place between lexicon and grammar, predicate derivations are crucial for the understanding of the synchronic grammar as well as of the historical (and present) evolution of Bulu Puroik grammar.

7. Non-verbal predicates and copula constructions

Non-verbal predicates are predicates for which a member of a non-verbal word class contributes most of the semantics of the predicate. Examples of word classes which typically do not form predicates but do occur as predicates are nouns, adjectives or demonstratives. Often - but not always - a copula is used for making a member of a non-verbal word class predicate. The functions expressed by non-verbal predicates are proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence and possession[1].

7.1. Copulas

Copulas are elements with the function of combining "with nonverbal predicates to form what is syntactically a verbal predicate" (Dryer 2007). The nonverbal part contributes most of the semantic of the predicate rather than the copula.

In Bulu Puroik, the word-class of copulas has four members: the existential-locational pair *bá?* vs. *wɛ̀*, and the equational pair *ʒù* vs. *bɔ̀* (with the hypercharacterised variant *babɔ̀*). These copulas have clearly verbal properties occurring only clause finally and never as arguments of other verbs. Furthermore, copulas can bear TAM suffixes like other verbs. The main difference to other verbs is the negation. Copulas are not negated with the negative morpheme *ba-* like all other verbs but have a negative counterpart[2].

[1] terminology from Payne 1997, p. 111

[2] The negative prefix equational copula variant *babɔ̀* does not negate *bɔ̀* which is already negative, but emphasises the negative meaning.

Table 7.1.: Summary of copula functions

	copulas					copula-like verbs	
	∅	*bá?*	*wɛ̀*	*ʒù*	*bɔ̀* (*babɔ̀*)	*bjaò*	*ǜ*
inclusion	+			+	+	+	-
equation	+			+	+	+	-
attribution	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
location	+	+	+			-	-
existence		+	+			-	-
possession		+	+			-	-
becoming						-	+

7.1.1. Copula-like verbs

In addition to these copulas, there are verbs which can have copula-like functions such as the motion verb *ǜ* 'go to base' in the function of 'become, happen', the verb *bjaò* 'really is, only is', or the verb *ʧʔ̃ʔ* 'happen to be'. All these verbs are morphologically normal verbs and are negated with the prefixed negation *ba-*. While in some situations they may function as a copula and build a predicate together with a member of a non-verbal word class, this is not their primary function. For example, *ǜ* is more commonly used as motion verb.

7.2. Equation and proper inclusion

Bulu Puroik does not have different constructions for equation clauses and proper inclusion clauses The same construction is used for 'A is equal to B' (equation) and for 'A is a member B' (proper inclusion). For both functions, the copula *ʒù* is used, and *bɔ̀* (*babɔ̀*) if negated. This is illustrated in example 367.

(367) a. [*gù*]$_S$ [*pʰɛ̀mbu* *ʒù=ro*]$_{PRED}$
1SG Phembu(<Tib) COP=ASRT
'I am Phembu. (1SG is identical to the person called Phembu)' (elicited A10:05)

b. [*gù*]$_S$ [*gaonbura* *ʒù=ro*]$_{PRED}$
1SG gaonbura(<IA) COP=ASRT
'I am gaonbura. (1SG has the function of a village headman)' (elicited A10:06)

Example (368) shows an equation clause with *ʒù*.

(368) [*grì*]$_S$ *akú=na* [*akú* *ʒù*]$_{PRED}$ [*grì*]$_S$ [*prǐ́də̀-lɨ́ŋ=ku*]$_{ADV}$
1PL first.brother=TOP first.brother COP 1PL Puroik-inside=LOC
[*akú* *ʒù=ro*]$_{PRED}$ *hɨ́ŋɛ*
first.brother COP=ASRT Q
'We are the eldest brothers. Within the Puroiks we are the eldest brothers. Isn't it?' (SAGO01:02 [957])

The nominal part in the predicate of an equation clause can be complex noun phrase (369).

(369) [[*prú* *vè-ũ̀*]$_{NP}$ *ʒù=rila*]$_{PRED}$ [[*vè aró?* *ʦá?-na-ka* *vè-ũ̀*]$_{NP}$ *ʒù*]$_{PRED}$
before 3SG-POSS COP=QUOT 3SG friend do-NPST-REL 3SG-POSS COP
'This is exactly his frog from before, the one who came to make friends. It is surely his.' (FROG06:41 [800])

Equation and proper inclusion clauses are negated with the negative copula *bɔ̀* or *babɔ̀*. The examples in 370, show the negation of the propositions in (367).

(370) a. *gù pʰèmbu bɔ̀*
1SG Phembu COP.NEG
'I am not Phembu.'

b. *gù pʰèmbu babɔ̀*
1SG Phembu COP.NEG
'I am not Phembu.'

c. *gù gaonbura bɔ̀*
1SG gaonbura COP.NEG
'I am not a gaonbura.'

d. *gù gaonbura babɔ̀*
1SG gaonbura COP.NEG
'I am not a gaonbura.'

An example for the negative copula *babɔ̀* is given in (371).

(371) *ʤì babɔ̀ -lana náŋ-na*
ANA COP.NEG-ANT be.sick-NPST
'If you do not like this, you will be sick.' (HL00:56 [1140])

In questions, the equation and proper inclusion clauses do not require a copula but only a question particle (372).

(372) a. *nà pʰèmbu=hi*
2SG Phembu=Q
'Are you Phembu?'

b. *nà gaonbura=hi*
2SG gaonbura=Q
'Are you a gaonbura?'

7.2.1. *bjaò* 'really is'

The copula-like verb may also be used for equation clauses. The semantic difference to the neutral copula is that *bjaò* makes a strong assertion that the proposition is true (495). In questions, *bjaò* expresses doubts about the truth of a proposition, see 373b 'Is this really your house?' in contrast to the unprejudiced question in 373c 'Is this your house?'.

(373) a. *hɛ̃̀ gù hám bjaò*
NEAR 1SG house COP.FOC
'This is really my house.' (elicited A67:2)

b. *hɛ̃̀ nà hám bjaò =hi*
NEAR 2SG house COP.FOC=Q
'Is this really your house?' (elicited A67:1)

c. *hɛ̃̀ nà hám=hi*
NEAR 2SG house=Q
'Is this your house?' (elicited A67:3)

7.2.2. Copula-less equational clauses

Neutral (no focus), non-negated equational clauses lack the copula 374.

(374) [*buì grì adzɛ̀̃ bá?-dɛ̃̀=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*grì apá*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*ʃəʒáŋ*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ [*grì amà*]$_{\text{S}}$
before 1PL child EXIST-PRMN=LOC 1PL father ʃəʒaŋ 1PL mother
[*tʃɛ́ʔ²*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
Tʃɛʔ
'Many years ago, in the time when we were kids, our father['s name] was *ʃəʒaŋ* and our mother['s name] was *Tʃɛʔ*.' (WAR00:04 [543])

7.3. Attributive clauses

Adjectives can form a predicate without any copula (375a), or simply with the particle *=ro* (exe:copulaless-adjective-clause-ro). The existential copula *bá?* and *bjaò* can both used to form an adjective predicate (example 375c and 375d).

(375) a. [*hɪ̃̀ hám*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*amjɛ̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
NEAR house good
'This house is good.' (elicited A69:0)

b. [*hɪ̃̀ hám*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*amjɛ̀=ro*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
NEAR house good=ASRT
'This house is good.' (elicited A69:1)

c. [*hɪ̃̀ hám*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*amjɛ̀ bá?*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
NEAR house good EXIST
'This house is good.' (elicited A69:2)

d. [*hɪ̃̀ hám*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*amjɛ̀ bjaò=ro*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
NEAR house good COP.FOC=ASRT
'This house is really good.' (elicited A69:3)

When negating an adjective predicate, only the copula *bɔ̀* can be used (376a). The verbal negation *ba-* and the negative existential copula are both ungrammatical (376b and 376c).

(376) a. [*hɪ̃̀ hám*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*amjɛ̀ bɔ̀ =ro*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
NEAR house good COP.NEG=ASRT
'This house is not good.' (elicited A69:5)

b. † *hɨ̀* *hám* *ba-mjɛɛ*
† NEAR house NEG-good
'Intended: This house is not good.' (elicited A69:7)

c. † *hɨ̀* *hám* *amjɛ̀ wɛ̀*
† NEAR house good EXIST.NEG
'This house is not good.' (elicited A69:6)

Another strategy to form predicates from adjectives, is using the verbal counterpart of the adjective. Example (377) contains the verbal counterpart *ɛ̀̃* 'be same' of *a.ɛ̀̃* 'same' as predicate.

(377) [*ʤila prɨ́*]$_{\text{TOP}}$ [*ɛ̀̃*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
CONJ human be.together
'Humans are all same.' (LANG27:58 [978])

7.4. Possessive, locational, existential clauses

The copula *bá?* expresses the existence of a referent in the universe, in a specific place (locational) or with a person (possession). For example, *bɑ̃̀*^{3} *bá?* money can mean 'there is money in a place', 'someone has money' or 'money generally exists'.

Example (378) illustrates the existential use of the copula. The speaker says that the Puroik language must not disappear, the Puroik language must continue to 'exist'.

(378) *apna* *sə́m* *ba-fɨ́n-ʧɨ́-na* *apna* *grì=ta* *sə́m*
own(<IA) language NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST own(<IA) 1PL=own language
bá?-ʧɨ́-na
EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'We must not give up our language! Our language has to be there.' (LANG29:25 [1007])

The negative counterpart of *bá?* is *wɛ̀*. This is illustrated in example (379), a location clause.

(379) *prɨ́də̀=ri* *hɨ̀* *pulɔ̀=ku* *bá?-bjaò-na=ro* *ʤilapəna*
Puroik=QUOT NEAR Bulu=LOC EXIST-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT after.this
wɛ̀-na=ro
EXIST.NEG-NPST=ASRT

'As for the Puroiks, the [Puroiks] are only in Bulu, elsewhere they are not.' (TRADE04:27 [1159])

The possessor is sometimes marked with *-tű́* (380), a suffix which is likely to be related to the noun *at^{h}ǜ̀* 'master'.

(380) a. *gù-tű́ bǎ̀^{3} bá?*
1SG-PSSR money EXIST
'I have money.'

b. *gù-tű́ bǎ̀^{3} wɛ̀*
1SG-PSSR money EXIST
'I don't have money.'

However, more often than not the possessor is not marked, specially when negated (381).

(381) a. *gù bǎ̀^{3} bá?*
1SG money EXIST
'I have money.'

b. *gù bǎ̀^{3} wɛ̀*
1SG-PSSR money EXIST
'I don't have money.'

The verb *bjaò* can be used to emphasise the existential copula, such as in example (379), and can even replace the copula *bá?* altogether (382).

(382) [*prɨ́ grì=na*]$_{\text{PSSR}}$ [*gjǎ^{2}-ʧi*]$_{\text{S}}$ [*bjaò*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
human 1PL=TOP life-RSTR COP.FOC
'We humans have only one life.' (LANG31:17 [1039])

7.4.1. *vaí?*

The very rare existential copula *vaí?* is used in questions in a situation when an object is not in the expected place. The question *klá vaí?* 'where is it?' sounds accusing while *klá bá?* is neutral.

(383) a. *rə̀? klá vaí?*
frog where EXIST
'Frog, where are you? [Why are you not here?]' (FROG02:07 [745])

b. *è rì-la kukuku rì-la ɬɔ̀-la nɔ̀*
INTJ say-SEQ INTJ say-SEQ call-SEQ search
'Kukuku, he said, he called and searched.' (FROG02:09 [746])

c. *la wɛ̀*
CONJ EXIST.NEG
'But he [the frog] is not there.' (FROG02:12 [747])

7.5. Copula-less non-verbal predicates

Although most predicates do contain a verb or a copula, there is no strict requirement for a predicate to contain any verb or verb-like element. In particular, predicates expressing inclusion, equation, attribution and location may lack a copula. Member of different non-verbal word classes may be in predicate position such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives.

Example (384) contains two adjectives as attributive predicates without copula ('Your cast is high, my cast is low'), and two nouns as inclusional predicates without copula ('You are from the king's cast, me I am a Puroik').

(384) [*nà zɛ̃̀²*]$_S$ [*arà*]$_{PRED}$ [*gù zɛ̃̀²*]$_S$ [*azì*]$_{PRED}$ [*nà*]$_S$ [*pəsù*]$_{PRED}$ [*gù*]$_S$
2SG tribe big 1SG tribe small 2SG Miji.upper.cast 1SG
[*prɨ̃́də̀=ri*]$_{PRED}$ *ʤì=ri ba-rì-muɛ̃̀-ri-na*
Puroik=QUOT ANA=QUOT NEG-say-can-IPFV-NPST
'"Your cast is high, my cast is low. You are a king (from the Miji king's cast), and me I am Puroik." Like this we should not say anymore.' (LANG27:52 [977])

In (385), an adverb forms a copula-less verbal predicate.

(385) *hɨ̀* [*ʤidɔ*]$_{PRED}$
NEAR like.this
'It is like this.' (MASANG07:42 [1453])

Demonstratives such as *bù* 'down' and *kɨ̃́* 'up' may form locational predicates without copula (386).

(386) *ɑ̀ aró? wɛ̀ [hamɨ́ŋ=ʤi]*$_S$ [*kɨ̃́*]$_{PRED}$ [*məhjɛ̃̀=ʤi*]$_S$ [*bù*]$_{PRED}$
INTJ friend EXIST.NEG sky=DEF UP earth=DEF DOWN

'They had no friends. The sky was up and the earth was down.' (FROG00:16 [728])

(387) *bìtű̀ru=na* *tɛ́-ɬɛ̃̀=ʃõ̀*
sulphur.spring(RL)=TOP FAR-side.of=LOC
'The Bituŋru water was that side.' (SULPH20:56 [1218])

Sentence final particles may be attached to members of non-verbal word-classes forming a predicate. Although similar on the surface, such particles have to be distinguished from copulas. Their primary function is not to form predicates from a non-verbal word-class, but the usual functions which they have in verbal clauses as well.

In (388), the particle *=ro* is the usual assertive particle, which occurs also in verbal clauses.

(388) *tsáʔ-bo ʤì* *ʤidɔ=ro=na* *hɛmɛ* [*grì namù*]$_{S}$ [*ʤidɔ =ro*]$_{PRED}$
do-IMP ANA like.this=ASRT=TOP FILL 1PL tradition like.this=ASRT
kjén *məʒà*
big.deadfall.trap trap
'Do it like this. Our tradition is like this.' (TRAP03:37 [726])

7.6. Summary

While most predicates contain at least one full verb, members of other word classes also occur in predicate position, very often in combination with a copula, but occasionally also without. There are four copulas the pair *ʒù* - *bɔ̀* for equation and proper inclusion clauses and the pair *báʔ* - *wɛ̀* for existential, location and possession clauses. Other verbs like *bjaò* may have copula-like functions.

8. Structure of the clause

Simple clauses consist of one predicate and all required and optional arguments of this predicate. The topic of this chapter is the marking and the order of arguments in simple clauses. Bulu Puroik has a verb-final - or more precisely predicate-final word order. All other arguments precede the predicate. Potential counter-examples to this rule can be understood as extra-clausal afterthoughts as will be seen below 8.1. Bulu Puroik has only one marker for core arguments: the object marker *=ku*[2], which is used under certain conditions to mark non-agent arguments. The reasons for marking and non-marking is unlike in other Trans-Himalayan languages not to disambiguate between agent and patient but to distinguish between referential and non-referential objects which will be investigated below (8.3). In Bulu Puroik, there is no agreement for case, gender or number on the verb or on elements of the noun-phrase.

In the following, I use the common terminology[1]: **S** sole (or **s**ingle) argument of an intransitive verb, **A** most **a**ctor-like argument in a transitive verb, **O** the **o**ther argument of a transitive verb verb (or **o**bject), the not most actor-like argument in a transitive clauses, **G** the most **g**oal like argument in ditransitive verbs (e.g. a recipient, experiencer), **T** (**t**heme) most patient-like argument in ditransitive verbs.

8.1. Basic constituent order

The predicate is the last constituents in a Puroik clause. All arguments and modifiers precede the predicate. The topic is generally the first constituent. This is exemplified in (389) where the topic 'nowadays children' stands in the first place and what the children do, follows in the end, namely 'eat salt from Assam'.

[1]Going back to Comrie 1978 and Dixon 1979

(389) [*hǎ adʑɛ̌-hɛ̌=na*]$_{A}$ [*bù=lapu ljagù fəù*]$_{O}$
today child-PL=TOP DOWN=ABL Assam.plains(<M) salt
[*ʧi-bjaò-ǔ=ro*]$_{PRED}$
eat-COP.FOC-POSS=ASRT
'Nowadays children eat only salt from the Assam plains.' (TRADE05:22 [1170])

Given that in most cases the predicate contains a verb (as for example in 389), one could describe Bulu Puroik as a verb final language (OV).

In transitive clauses with explicit A-argument and O-argument, the A-argument is more commonly topic and hence frequently precedes the O-argument, such as in the (389).

However, there is no constraint that the A-argument must precede O (SOV word order). The O-argument can be topic as well and will in this case precede the A-argument, such as in (390) where the victims are topic (O) and precede the murderers (A).

(390) [*vè prɨ́ bló? ní?=ku²=ʤi*]$_{O}$ [<*ʤuumi ʤuuʤa*>*-hɛ̌*]$_{A}$ *la* [*wɛ́?-la lì*]$_{PRED}$
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Dʒumi Dʒuʤa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Dʒumi Dʒuʤa*'s people.' (WAR04:29 [598])

8.1.1. Constituents after the predicate

The core arguments S, A and O precede the predicate. However, topical arguments are quite commonly repeated after the predicate or even occur for the first time after the predicate. Such post-posed topics are not exceptions to the basic word order but have to be understood rather as extra-clausal clarifications of arguments which were supposed to be inferable from the context.

For example, in (391), the subject precedes the verb as a pronoun and is repeated a full noun phrase ("we Puroiks") after the verb:

(391) *grì ʤisá ʧaò kɛ́-la ʧi-la fəù wè maljù wè-la* [*grì*]$_{S}$
1PL like.this sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ salt EXIST.NEG chilli EXIST.NEG-SEQ 1PL
[*gjǎ-ka ǔ*]$_{PRED}$ [*prɨ́də grì*]$_{S}$
live-REL go.to.base Puroik 1PL
'Like this we Puroik lived, by making and eating sago, there was not salt and not chili.' (SAGO00:56 [956])

Similarly, in (392), the A-argument ("Chinese soldiers") is not only repeated, but occurs for the first time after the predicate. There is no explicit pronoun before the verb.

(392) *la* [*vɛ̀=ku²=na*]$_{O}$ *la* [*nə́m-ruìla*]$_{PRED}$ [*túŋri la bù*]$_{LOC}$ [*lè-la*
CONJ 3SG=OBJ=TOP CONJ wrest-ANT Tungri CONJ DOWN take-SEQ
ɯ̀-dɔ̃̀]$_{PRED}$ [*ʤi=kɯ́ʤín-hɛ̀ ʧaina-hɛ̀*]$_{A}$
go.to.base-take.along DEF=China-PL China(<Eng)-PL
'The Chinese, captured him, and took him down to Tungri.' (WAR02:11 [572])

The text of example (391) is about the Puroiks, and the text of example (392) is about the Chinese invasion. Hence, the hearer could easily understand what are the missing arguments, even if the speaker would not mention them.

In the same way, topical O-arguments are also sometimes repeated after the verb. For example, *ɬasa fəù* "Lhasa salt", in a text which is about the salt from Lhasa (393).

(393) [*səlén fəù=rila*]$_{O}$ [*kɯ́=lapu*]$_{ABL}$ [*lè-la*]$_{V}$ [*ɬasa fəù*]$_{O}$
Lhasa salt=QUOT UP=ABL take-SEQ Lhasa(<Tib) salt
'The so called Lhasa salt, we brought from up there.' (TRADE07:37 [1205])

8.1.2. Adverbial constituents

Adverbial constituents expressing a location, a time, manner, a reason etc. precede the predicate, either preceding the predicate immediately or being preposed to the entire clause.

In 394, a long adverbial constituent immediately precedes the predicate.

(394) [*kátɯ́ʧáŋ=na*]$_{S}$ [<*vɨʒù vɨlù*> *kʰɔ̀*
sulphur.spring(RL)=TOP <hot.lake(M) hot.water.lake(M)> water
tɛ́-ɬɛ̀=ʃɔ̃̀]$_{ADV}$ [*ɬúʔ*]$_{PRED}$
FAR-side.of=LOC fall
'The Katuŋʧaŋ water fell down that side of the Vɨʒu Vɨlu water.' (SULPH20:15 [1210])

In (395), the adverbial 'for five years' is preposed to the entire clause.

(395) [*adəzuì wù*]$_{ADV}$ [*gù*]$_{A}$ [*ɬasa fəù*]$_{O}$ [*ʧɨ-la*]$_{PRED}$
year five 1SG Lhasa(<Tib) salt eat-SEQ
'For five years we ate the salt from Lhasa.' (TRADE05:37 [1173])

Adverbial constituents can follow the predicate when the speaker wants to clarify or specify details about the scene. In (396), the specification of the time follows the predicate ('to the time of our father and mother').

(396) *ʤila* [*gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀-bjaò*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ [*grì apá bədɛ̃̀ amà bədɛ̃̀=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
CONJ live-REL go.to.base-COP.FOC 1PL father time mother time=LOC
'That time, we lived like this, in the time of our father and mother.' (SAGO00:22 [950])

Example (397) contains three adverbial constituents. The one following the predicate 'in 1962' is a specification of the first adverbial 'that time'.

(397) [*ʤi=bədɛ̃̀=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*grì-tɯ̃́=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*məpʰìn*]$_{\text{O}}$ [*lè-vù*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
DEF=time=LOC 1PL-LOC.PERS=LOC maize take-go.from.base
[*sikstitú=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'That time, in 1962, he came to us to get maize.' (WAR00:26 [546])

As with post-posed core arguments, post-post adverbial constituents have to be considered as extra-clausal rather than as exception to the clause structure.

8.1.3. Preposed topics

Topics are often preposed to the clause in different ways. For example in (398), the topic "their own people" is preposed to the clause, marked for topic with *=na*, and resumed with the anaphoric pronoun in the clause itself.

(398) [*vɛrì prɪ̃́=ku²=na*]$_{\text{TOP}}$ *ʤì=ku²* *dawo* *amjɛ̀ ʦá?-la* *hadɛ̃̀-dɔ̃̀=ku*
3PL human=OBJ=TOP ANA=OBJ medicine(<IA) good do-SEQ later-IMM=LOC
asɛ̃̀ *ʦá?-la* *ũ̀-dɔ̃̀*
alive do-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Their own people, they healed with medicine, immediately, they made them alive and took them with them.' (WAR03:25 [586])

Such preposed arguments, often separate from the clause by a caesura are understood as topics and may in this position even be morphologically unmarked, as example (399) shows: "[As for his] family .... they killed the two fools."

(399) [*vɛ̀ prɨ́*]$_{\text{TOP}}$ [*blóʔ nɨ́ʔ=ku²=ʤi*]$_{\text{O}}$ [<*ʤuumi ʤuuʤa*>*-hɛ̀*]$_{\text{A}}$ *la* [*wɛ́ʔ-la lì*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Dʒumi Dʒuʤa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Dʒumi Dʒuʤa*'s people.' (WAR04:29 [598])

8.2. Case marking / not-marking

Of the core arguments, only "objects" are marked and only under certain circumstances. Object marking depends on the specific place in a specific discourse in a specific speech act situation. Knowing the valence of verbs and the semantics of the participants is not enough to predict the presence and absence of the marker (see 8.3).

While S and A-arguments are not compatible with any case marker and are always unmarked for case (not for topic, focus, definiteness, however), vice versa non-marking is not a property reserved to the S and A-argument. Almost any argument can be unmarked, even oblique arguments like instruments and locations. In this sense, non-marking is not a property that distinguishes the S and A argument in contrast to other arguments and would justify to speak of a "zero subject case".

8.2.1. "Case" markers

Case markers are all mutually exclusive and occupy the second last slot in the noun phrase after relator-nouns and post-position and before pragmatic particles (details about their position and etymologies in chapter 4.2.6).

Table 8.1.: "Case" markers

Semantic role	Marker	Can be unmarked
S (intransitive argument)	-	always
A (transitive agent)	-	always
O (mono-transitive non-agent)	*=ku²*	yes
G (ditransitive goal)	*=ku²*	yes
T (ditransitive theme)	- (*=ku²*?)	yes
time	*=ku*	yes
locative	*=ku*	yes

locative	*=ʃõ̀*	yes
instrument	*=lapu*	yes
ablative	*=lapu*	no

As discussed in the chapter about noun phrases 4.2.6, case markers are clitics and are attached to the last element of the noun phrase and even if that element is not a noun such as in 400 to a numeral.

(400) [*bló? ní? =ku²=na*]$_{O}$ [*wé? fíntʃué?*]$_{PRED}$
mute two=OBJ=TOP kill dispose
'The two village fools, they had killed and thrown away.' (WAR04:48 [602])

There is no agreement for case on other elements of the noun phrase or the predicate.

8.2.2. Unmarked arguments

Arguments with all semantic roles can be unmarked if the role is clear from the context, even peripheral arguments such as instruments or locations.

As a rule, the A of transitive clauses and the single argument of intransitive clauses are always unmarked. Example (401) shows an unmarked agent acting on a unspecific patient, which is also unmarked.

(401) [*amà*]$_{A}$ [*pʰəù*]$_{O}$ [*tʃĩ̀p-la* *tʰɑ̃̀*]$_{PRED}$
mother alcohol make.beer-SEQ give
'[Our] mother made some rice beer and gave him [for on the way].' (WAR00:41 [550])

Instruments may be unmarked if the semantics of the verb imply the involvement of an instrument. For example, the act of stabbing someone is not possible without a knife or an instrument which has properties of a knife. Hence, if a clause with predicate "stab" contains an argument meaning "knife-like object" such as the bayonets in example (402), the argument is implicitly understood as instrument.

(402) *ʤilana* [*vɛrì=tʃì*]$_{A}$ [*tʃì²* *sáŋari-hɛ̃̀*]$_{INSTR}$ *la* [*ʤjù*]$_{PRED}$
CONJ 3PL=ADD machete bayonet(<IA)-PL CONJ stab
'Then, they stabbed him with the bayonets.' (WAR02:52 [578])

Targets of a motion event are commonly unmarked, such as in example (403) 'when going to the forest'.

(403) [*aruéʔ*]$_{G}$ [*vù=ku*]$_{PRED}$ *míŋ* *ba-ʃəbɹín-lana* *ʧíʔ* *ʒə̀=ku*
mountains go.from.base=LOC thing NEG-speak.HL-ANT sling make.traps=LOC
ba-ì-na
NEG-die-NPST
'If you don't speak hunting language when going to the jungle, the animals won't die in the trap.' (HL00:00 [1131])

In example (404), the location 'die in the trap' is unmarked. Since the trap is the first argument in the clause one could argue that the trap is a preposed topic ('As for the trap, they won't die'). However, in this case, a topic marker *=na* would generally be expected.

(404) [*məʒə̀*]$_{LOC}$ [*ba-ì-réʔ-na*]$_{PRED}$
trap NEG-die-BEN-NPST
'They [the animals] don't die in the trap [if one does not speak hunting language].' (HL00:12 [1132])

8.3. Presence and absence of OBJ *=ku²*

The marker *=ku²* marks O, T and G arguments (not S and not A), if the noun phrase refers to a specific identifiable subset or instance of the set of all possible referents of the noun (referential). If a noun phrase is marked with *=ku²*, someone or something is acting on a specific instance of the noun. If the marker is absent, the noun is not referential and the function of the object is rather to give additional information about the activity described in the verb.

In example (405), there are six consecutive transitive clauses with unmarked O-noun phrases, animate and inanimate. The speaker describes activities which the Puroiks usually do like making different types of traps and hunting wild animals[2]. The speaker is talking about the general activities of hunting and trapping, and does *not* describe a particular trap being made or a particular animal being hunted (which would be marked with *=ku*).

[2] According to the Puroik narratives, the creator god ʃəʒaŋmɔ distributed the tools and ways of subsistence among the tribes. That time, he Puroiks were given the traps to hunt animals in the jungle.

(405) a. *ʤila* [*ʧĩʔ*]$_{O}$ [*ʒə̀-la*]$_{PRED}$ [*ʃì*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-la*]$_{PRED}$
CONJ sling make.traps-SEQ animal kill-SEQ
'To make sling traps and to kill animals.' (LANG29:04 [1001])

b. [*goì*]$_{O}$ [*ʒə̀-la*]$_{PRED}$ [*pədù*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-la*]$_{PRED}$
sling make.traps-SEQ bird kill-SEQ
'To make sling traps and kill birds.' (LANG29:07 [1002])

c. [*rɔ̀*]$_{O}$ [*ʒə̀-la*]$_{PRED}$ [*ʧɛ̃̀*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-la*]$_{PRED}$ *ʧì*
stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ rat kill-SEQ eat
'To make stone traps, kill and eat rats.' (LANG29:08 [1003])

d. *grì ʤì buì grì=ku ʤì tʰɑ̃̀-la pjű-ka=ʤi=ri²* *grì ʤidɔ*
1PL ANA before 1PL=LOC ANA give-SEQ release-REL=DEF=TOP 1PL like.this
báʔ-ʧĩ-na
EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'This is what was given to us long time ago. It has to be like this.' (LANG29:10 [1004])

The verb in (405a) to (405c) is every time the same verb *ʒə̀* which is the generic verb for 'making traps'. The objects are names of different traps and specify what kind of trap making activity: *ʧĩʔ ʒə̀* 'make sling traps for big game', *goì ʒə̀* 'make small sling traps for birds', *rɔ̀ ʒə̀* 'make stone deadfall traps (for rats)'. Although these arguments describe very specific types of traps, the specific instance of the trap is irrelevant. The speaker talks about the generic activity of making deadfall traps and is not telling the story about a particular deadfall trap, which would be marked with *=ku²*.

In contrast, in example (406) where someone had murdered the two village fools of Lagam, the patients are marked with *=ku²*. What is described here, is not the general activity of killing village fools, but a specific murder on two specific persons.

(406) [*blóʔ níʔ =ku² =na*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ fĩntʃuɛ́ʔ*]$_{PRED}$
mute two=OBJ=TOP kill dispose
'The two village fools, they had killed and thrown away.' (WAR04:48 [602])

Example 405 and 406 might suggest that the presence and absence of the marker *=ku²* is in some way conditioned by the animacy of the arguments. However, I could find no evidence that the animacy of the arguments plays a role. Even human objects can be unmarked if unspecific, as in (407) which describes the scene of a battle field.

(407) *ʤila* [*vɛrì kűʤɨ́n prî́*]$_{A}$ *ʤila* [*armi-hɛ̀̃*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-la*]$_{PRED}$
CONJ 3PL China human CONJ army(<Eng)-PL kill-SEQ
'The Chinese killed the Indian soldiers.' (WAR03:13 [583])

The speaker wants to depict the killing, dying in a war scene, and will not describe the fate of individual soldiers.

8.3.1. Similar systems: Galo, European languages

This or a similar kind of marking is found for example in Galo Post 2007, p. 724: "Alternation between Accusative/Non-agentive marking and zero is *pragmatically*-controlled, and is based on the *contrastiveness* or *individuation* which is inherent to or construed of O. (...) Noun phrases headed by *inanimate common nouns* are Accusative-marked only when *contrastively referential*. (emphasis in original)"

Galo has, in addition to the Accusative-marker, an non-agent marker which marks potential (or likely) agents as non-agents. In Puroik, this information is partly contained in the function of *=ku*^{2}. However, disambiguating agents from non-agents is not the primary function of *=ku*^{2}. If this was the case, one would expect animate objects to be marked consistently and inanimate objects to be unmarked, neither of which is the case in Puroik.

Systems distinguishing referential and non-referential objects in some way are common cross-linguistically even in European languages. The distinction is made, for example, in Spanish where the object marker *a* is used to mark objects, with a referential human object, i.e. a specific person (Payne 1997, p. 265). In German, although not always possible, the distinction may be made by the presence and absence of an article e.g. *Dieses Wochenende will ich ∅ Zug fahren.* 'This weekend, I want to travel by train. (as passenger or conductor)' *Zug fahren* is the activity of travelling in a train, as opposed to sitting at home, watching TV or travelling by car. The instance of the train is not relevant and the object *Zug* has no article. This is opposed to the referential-indefinite *Dieses Wochenende will ich **einen** Zug fahren* 'This weekend I want to **conduct** a train (any instance of a train)', or to the referential-definite *Dieses Wochenende will ich **den** Zug fahren.* 'This weekend I want to **conduct** the train (a specific instance of a train)'.

8.3.2. Different systems: anti-ergative (anti-agentive)

The Puroik system is different from the numerous languages where the presence and absence of object marking depends on the animacy of the object, systems known as "anti-ergative" (after LaPolla 1992) or "differential object marking" (after Bossong 1983). The object marking in the system LaPolla describes serves the disambiguation of roles. Arguments that potentially could - but should not - be interpreted as agents are marked as objects: "... the crucial function of this type of marking is to mark an animate argument that might otherwise be interpreted as an actor as being something other than an actor." (LaPolla 2004, p. 52). LaPolla found this kind of marking in more than half of the languages in his sample of Tibeto-Burman (Trans-Himalayan) languages.

In Bulu Puroik animacy is not deciding factor. Animate and inanimate noun phrases can both be marked or unmarked according to the same principle.

For example in (408), the main character of the story comes to Bulu to buy maize (*məpʰìn*). The specific instance of 'maize' is irrelevant here. The important information in this context is that the person came to Bulu and the maize is just introduced as an additional fact.

(408) [*ʤi=bədɛ̀=ku*]$_{\text{LOC}}$ [*grì-tɯ́=ku*]$_{\text{LOC}}$ [*məpʰìn*]$_{\text{O}}$ [*lè-vù*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
DEF=time=LOC 1PL-LOC.PERS=LOC maize take-go.from.base
[*sikstitú=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'That time, in 1962, he came to us to get maize.' (WAR00:26 [546])

A few clauses later, the main character buys an amount of maize and goes back home. On the way, he meets Chinese soldiers who want to open his bag where he kept the maize. In this situation, the speaker describes a particular set of maize, namely the one the protagonist had brought from Bulu. The soldiers want to open this particular maize bag and are, of course, not engaged in some general activity of "opening maize bags". Hence, the maize in this situation is marked with *=ku*^{2} (409a) and (409b).

(409) a. [*məpʰìn ʒɛ̀-la ɯ̃-ka məpʰìn =ku =ʧi*]$_{\text{O}}$ [*ɬjaù-la*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *nɯ́ŋ*
maize carry-SEQ go.to.base-REL maize=LOC=ADD untie-SEQ look
'The maize, he came carrying, they also opened to see.' (WAR02:02 [569])

b. [*məpʰìn =ku*^{2} *=ʧi*]$_{\text{O}}$ [*bù lím-wù*]$_{\text{LOC}}$ [*ʧaì fɨ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ-réʔ*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
maize=OBJ=ADD DOWN path-below hold.in.one.hand dispose-BEN

'That maize, they also threw down below the road.' (WAR02:05 [570])

Another example of an inanimate object is given in (410), from the story explaining origin of earth quakes. A particular rope is holding the underworld together. This rope is marked with *=ku²* when the goddess of the underworld pulls and makes the earth shake.

(410) *ʤilana* [*ʤi=atɑ́ =ku²*]$_{O}$ [*kɛ́-la*]$_{PRED}$ *ʃù-mə-lana*
CONJ DEF=strap=OBJ hold-SEQ shake-PST-ANT
'Then, she took that rope and pulled.' (QUAKE01:22 [927])

A final contrasting example for the use of the marker *=ku²* is given in example (411) and (411b), describing the killing of the sun and the moon, a recurring theme in Puroik mythology. According to narrations, there were two suns and two moons in the beginning, a good one and a bad one. The ancestors of the Puroiks killed the bad sun and the bad moon and made life possible on earth. In the first example (411), the narrator introduces the Puroik as the tribe who killed sun and moon on their migrations and the sun and moon are unmarked. In the second example, when the narrator specifies which sun and which moon were killed (there were two!), the sun and the moon are marked with *=ku²*.

(411) a. *gù* <*krá krúŋ*> *gù ů̀-gì̀=ku* [*gù*]$_{A}$ [*hamì*]$_{O}$
1SG <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG go.to.base-follow=LOC 1SG sun
[*wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*]$_{PRED}$ [*hɑ̀̌bu*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*]$_{PRED}$ [*gù*]$_{A}$
kill-ANT moon kill-ANT 1SG
'We Kraa and Krung came after them. We came killing the sun and the moon.' (ORIGIN01:34 [826])

b. [*hɑ̀̌bu atʃáʔ =ku²*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*]$_{PRED}$ [*hamì atʃáʔ =ku²*]$_{O}$ [*wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*]$_{PRED}$
moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT
<*sɑ̀̌ʤáŋ sɑ̀̌njúŋ*> *ʤila sɛ̀̌-dɔ̀̌*
<all.plants(RL) all.plants(RL)> CONJ prosper-IMM
'After [Kraa Krung] killed the bad moon and the bad sun, all plants immediately sprouted.' (ORIGIN01:47 [829])

8.3.3. Pronouns

Personal pronouns and the anaphoric pronoun *ʤi* always have a specific referent and are hence always marked with *=ku²* when used as O-arguments e.g. *gù* 1SG in (412) or *ʤi* ANA in (419).

(412) *ʤilana vɛ̀=na la nɨ́-lɛ̀ ǎ* [*gù =ku² =ʧi*]$_{O}$ [*ʤidɔ*]$_{ADV}$
CONJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear-CMPR INTJ 1SG=OBJ=ADD like.this
[*wɛ́ʔ-ʒù-bjaò-na*]$_{PRED}$
kill-COP-COP.FOC-NPST
'[Seeing this], he was even more scared: Oh no, they will certainly also kill me like this.' (WAR03:00 [580])

8.3.4. Unmarked objects in idiomatic constructions

On the opposite side of the scale are verbal nouns and generic nouns which do not have a specific referent, and are always unmarked when used as objects. Puroik has a set of idiomatic pairs of (verbal) nouns plus verb such as 413 'to do work'.

(413) *məʧɨ̃ŋ ʧɨ̃ŋ*
work work
'to work' (lit. to work work)

In such constructions, the verbal noun is never marked with *=ku²* because abstract nouns do not have a specific referent. Neither do these verbal nouns contribute additional meaning to the clause (*ʧɨ̃ŋ* already means 'work').

Further examples for constructions consisting of verb and *mə*-verbal noun to the same root are given in (8.3.4).

(414) ***mə*-VERB VERB:**

a. *məʧɨ̃ŋ ʧɨ̃ŋ* 'to work'
b. *məʒə̀ ʒə̀* 'to make traps'
c. *məʃə̃p ʃə̃p* 'to make some knots'
d. *məréʔ réʔ* 'to wear beads'
e. *məɬaì ɬaì* 'to plant seeds'

A similar class of unmarked dummy objects are those which are not directly derived from the verb but contain the same root as the predicate (8.3.4).

(415) **X-VERB VERB:**

a. *abjɛ̀̃ bjɛ̀̃* 'to put a name'

b. *bapʰù pʰù* 'to put on an archery protection'

c. *kʰɔ̀pɑ̃́ pɑ̃́* 'to make fish traps'

d. *mikɔ́ʔ kɔ́ʔ* 'make an arrow nock'

e. *adə̀ də̀* 'give birth'

Finally, there is a class of transitive verb which can take the object *mɨ́ŋ* which is semantically bleached and means nothing but that the transitive activity is performed without involving or affecting a specific object (8.3.4).

(416) *mɨ́ŋ* **VERB:**

a. *mɨ́ŋ hɪ̀̃* 'to talk'

b. *mɨ́ŋ ʤù* 'to sing'

c. *mɨ́ŋ ʧɪ̃́ŋ* 'to work'

d. *mɨ́ŋ rɪ́ʔ* 'to shoot a bow'

e. *mɨ́ŋ sù* 'to dance'

f. *mɨ́ŋ ʦún* 'to jump'

g. *mɨ́ŋ ʃʃɛ̀̃* 'to make rituals'

h. *mɨ́ŋ huì* 'to make the funeral ritual'

8.3.5. Locative *=ku* and object marker *=ku²*

The object marker *=ku²* and the equally frequent locative marker *=ku* were described as homophonous but distinct morphemes: one as marking non-agent core arguments required by the semantics of the verb (object marker *=ku²*), the other marking optional locations and times . Given the fact that the two markers are homophonous, one must consider the possibility that the two markers mark the same underlying category despite the wide range of possible semantics. A similar versatility of a case marker is found in the Lepcha locative marker *ká* (Plaisier 2007, p. 81) which also marks "dative" (p. 83),

"adhortative" or purposive clauses ('in order to') when attached to the verb, functions which can be seen as instances of an underlying 'local, directional' category. However, in Bulu Puroik, the locative *=ku* marks in the first place the location and not the direction. Clauses marked with *=ku* are temporal 'when' rather than purposive or adhortative. The exact relationship between object marking and locative must be worked out in future research.

8.3.6. Summary of *=ku²*

While referentiality is in general not an inherent property of nouns, certain nouns have a higher likelihood to be referential in the discourse. On one side of the scale pronouns which are always referential and always marked as objects, on the other side of the scale abstract nouns and dummy argument which are not referential and never marked, in between all other nouns which can be marked or not depending on the context 8.2.

Table 8.2.: Summary of object marking

referential	
pronouns	*=ku²*
referential NPs	*=ku²*
non-referential	
non-referential NPs	-
abstract nouns	-
dummy nouns	-

8.4. Arguments of ditransitive clauses

In ditransitive clauses, most commonly, the G-argument (recipient, experiencer) is marked with *=ku²*, as in 417 or 418.

(417) [*bətʃə̀* *vɛ̀* *=ku²*]$_{G}$ [*ʤi* *<=dàmo* *dàʃi*]$_{T}$ [*kʉ́̃*]$_{ADV}$ [*tʰə̀̃-la* *pjʉ́̃*]$_{PRED}$
Monpa 3SG=OBJ DEF <=cattle(RL) cattle(RL) UP give-SEQ release
'To the Monpas, he gave the cattles.' (LANG28:46 [996])

(418) [*atíŋ masáŋ atíŋ vəneì*]$_{A}$ [*grì =ku²*]$_{G}$ [*məʒə̀*]$_{T}$
grandfather Masang grandfather Vənei(<M) 1PL=OBJ trap
[*hì̀-tán-la*]$_{PRED}$ *tʃíŋ-la*
speak-teach(<M)-SEQ work-SEQ
'Grandfather Masaŋ and grandfather Vənei taught us how to make traps.' (TRAP02:49 [712])

LaPolla 2004 observes that such kind of marking in ditransitive clauses is very common in Tibeto-Burman (Trans-Himalayan) languages (92 out 170 in the sample). LaPolla's explanation for this is that the function of the object marker is "to mark an animate argument that might otherwise be interpreted as an actor as being something other than an actor". The recipient or experiencer in a ditransitive clause is usually animate, the theme or the thing given often not, and hence G-argument is marked.

For Puroik however, I could not find any evidence that the animacy plays a role for object marking neither for mono-transitive nor for ditransitive clauses. Important is rather whether the object is referential or not. In ditransitive clauses, the G-argument is more likely to be referential for pragmatic reasons and hence more commonly marked.

However, the T-argument i.e. the most patient-like argument of the clause may be marked as well, in particular if the T-argument is represented by a pronoun such as in (419).

(419) *à̀* [*ʤì =ku² =tʃi*]$_{T}$ [<*abù²* *bùlu*>]$_{G}$ [*banà-na=rila*]$_{PRED}$
INTJ ANA=OBJ=ADD <human(RL) human(RL)> make(<IA)-NPST=QUOT
[*vɛhení?*]$_{A}$
3DU
'Yes, they thought, they would also make him [the frog] a human.' (FROG00:26 [730])

While the exact mechanism requires further research, elicited examples confirm that the T-argument and the G-argument may both be marked with *=ku²* if both of them are referential.

8.5. Summary

The basic constituent order of Bulu Puroik can be described as predicate-final. All arguments precede the predicate. Apparent exceptions to this rule are explainable as extra-

clausal, implicitly clear constituents, which the speakers explicitly mentions or repeats after the verb. The marker *=ku*[2] marking referential objects of transitive clauses is the only case marker for core arguments. The same marker is used for the goal (recipient, target) in ditransitive clauses. Non-referential objects, single arguments of intransitive clauses (S) and agents of transitive clauses (A) are always unmarked (no ergative/agentive case).

9. Multi-clause constructions

Bulu Puroik has multiple constructions for connecting clauses, notably constructions of an independent clause with clauses which are dependent. The distinction between dependent and independent clauses is not trivial, and rather a continuum than clear-cut. Clauses headed by verb forms marked with *-la*, for example, can be tightly integrated into another clause or be independent, stand-alone clauses.

This chapter starts with a survey of the clause connecting morphemes (9.1) and the parameters used to describe multi-clause constructions 9.2. Thereafter, the most important multi-clause constructions will be described. First, the tightly integrated clause nominalisation which serve as core argument within a matrix clause or the relative clauses which have the function of an attribute within a noun-phrase (9.3), then, the less integrated and more diverse adverbial clauses (9.4). Finally, there will be a discussion of reported speech (9.5).

9.1. Clause connecting morphemes

The morphemes used for connecting clauses are not a uniform class. Morphologically, some are free, others are bound (suffixes) and some are clitics which are sometimes attached to a host and sometimes not. For some morphemes connecting clauses is the primary function (*-la*, *-lana*, *-ruìla*), for other morphemes the use as clause connector is rather rare compared to another primary function (e.g. locative *=ku* LOC, scalar additive marker on noun phrases *=matʃi*).

An overview of the morphemes serving for connecting clauses is given in table 9.1.

Table 9.1.: Clause connecting morphemes

Clause initial		
la		CONJ
lana		CONJ
ʤila		CONJ
ʤilana		CONJ
Clause final		
-la	sequential	SEQ
-lana	anterior, conditional	ANT
-ruìla	anterior	ANT
-mərɔna	conditional	COND
Scalar focus		
=matʃi	concessive conditional 'even if'	COND
Nominalisers		
-ka	attributive	REL
-na²	nominaliser	
Case		
=ku	simultaneous	LOC

The element *la* is extremely frequent (see section A.13) and occurs in different shapes. Namely as the clause initial conjunction *la*, as clausal clitic *=la*, as verbal suffix *-la*, as part of other verbal suffixes (*-la*, *-lana*, *-ruìla*) and clause initial conjunctions (*lana*, *ʤila*, *ʤilana*). The possible historical connection between these forms will be sketched in 9.2.5.

9.2. Syntax of clause connection

As in every language, the distinction between dependent and independent clauses is gradual. Every clause is to some extent dependent of some other clause, whether or not an explicitly dependent construction is used[1]. Even within the clauses, with the same

[1] "an absolute binary distinction between subordinate ('dependent') and coordinate ('independent') clauses is woefully untenable" (Givón 2001b, p. 327)

morpheme *-la* not all clauses are to the same extent dependent. Some are integrated to the extent that one would argue that they are actually not separate clauses but form a predicate together with the matrix verb. On the other end of the scale, there are clauses with *-la* which have a separate intonation contour and different arguments. An abstract overview of *-la* clauses and their degree of independence is given in table 9.2.

The parameters for the degree of dependence are the intonation (same intonation unit without pause), relational government (must share arguments), finiteness (having or lacking mandatory inflection).

Table 9.2.: *-la* clauses from most dependent to least dependent

morphosyntax	intonation	relational	finiteness
$CLAUSE - TAM$ (*la* CLAUSE-TAM)	-	-	-
(CLAUSE-*la*) (CLAUSE-TAM)	-	-	+
(CLAUSE-*la* CLAUSE-TAM)	+	+	+
(VERB-*la* VERB)-TAM	+	+	+

9.2.1. Finiteness

In Bulu Puroik, there is no person inflection on the predicate, neither is there any obligatory TAM inflectional in independent clauses[2]. Bare roots can, for example, form a predicate with past reference, as seen in chapter 5. Hence, if dependent clauses lack these markers, this does not distinguish them from independent clauses, because independent clauses can lack them as well. Furthermore, clauses with *-la* and *-lana*, sometimes have different intonation contours or are even separated by a pause.

However, the verbal suffixes *-la*, *-lana*, *-ruìla* cannot be attached to verb forms having one of the TAM markers *-tʃa* or *-na* († *-tʃa=la* or † *-na=la*). In this sense, sense clauses with these verb forms do lack the possibility for tense marking and can be said to be non-finite.

[2]Galo for example requires an inflection in independent clauses Post 2007, p. 568

9.2.2. Insubordination

Insubordination is the use of dependent clauses as independent clauses which is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon. In Puroik, very frequently clauses with subordinate verb forms (*-la*, *-lana*, *-ruìla*) are uttered as separated intonations units. Often these clauses do stand in a sequence or dependence in the greater context.

In other situations, insubordination is used for reporting presupposed information which is not to be challenged by the hearer such as in mythological texts. Example (420) is from a text about the migrations of the Puroiks. The intonation units are marked with square brackets. There is no apparent matrix clause.

(420) a. [<*lù-gì̀* *ʒjù²*>-*gì* *-ruìla*]$_1$ [*ù̀* *-la*]$_2$
<expell.bad.spirits-follow expell.bad.spirits>-follow-ANT go.to.base-SEQ
'They came behind us making rituals.' (ORIGIN03:59 [861])

b. [*ʤila gù=ʧi* *hɨ̀* *hɨ̀dʒ̀=ku* *gù* *ʤì* <*lù*
CONJ 1SG=ADD NEAR now=LOC 1SG ANA <expell.bad.spirits
[*ʒjù²*>-*ʤù̀* *-ruìla*]$_1$ *ʤì* <*ʒɨláŋ*
expell.bad.spirits>-ALL-ANT ANA <ritual.against.evil(RL)
ʒɨʒín> *gù* *ʤò̀* <*lù*
ritual.against.evil(RL)> 1SG all <expell.bad.spirits
ʒjù²>-*ʤù̀* *-ruìla*]$_2$
expell.bad.spirits>-ALL-ANT
'We also made the whole place ready to be settled, this whole place, we made the whole place ready for settlements.' (ORIGIN04:02 [862])

9.2.3. Arguments of clauses joined with *-la* and *-lana*

The arguments of clauses joined with *-la* and *-lana* may be the same or different. In (421), the subject of the first two clauses with *-la* and *-lana* are the villagers who open the trap hoping to find a prey inside. The subject of the subsequent clause is the soldier who is dead inside the trap. The three clauses are uttered as one intonation contour.

(421) [*hɛna puɨ́-la*]$_1$ [*níŋ-lana*]$_2$ [*ʤi=armi* *ʧù̀bà̀* *ʤila* *ì-la*
now push.up-SEQ look-ANT DEF=army(<Eng) big.fat.item CONJ die-SEQ
rɨ *tɛ́-líŋ=ku*]
stay FAR-inside=LOC

'Ehm, when they pushed it up [the trap], and looked, there was a big fat piece of a dead soldier inside.' (TRAP01:19 [687])

9.2.4. Order of matrix and dependent clause

Adverbial clauses within the same intonation unit generally precede the matrix clause, but may follow, such as in (422). Such post-posed clauses are comparable to post-posed core arguments or adverbials, a phenomenon discussed in the chapter about the constituent order (8.1).

(422) [*gù=ʧi* <*krá* *rì-la* *krúŋ*> *rì-la* *ù̀*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [*hamì*
1SG=ADD <Kraa(RL) say-SEQ Kruŋ(RL)> say-SEQ go.to.base sun
níŋ -ruìla]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*hə̀̀bu níŋ -ruìla*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
look-ANT moon look-ANT
'We so-called Kraa Krungs came watching the sun and the moon.' (SAGO01:23 [961])

9.2.5. Diachronic origin of clauses connected with *-la* / *la*

The most likely diachronic origin of the verbal suffix *-la* is a locative marker which is not attested in Bulu Puroik, but can be reconstructed for Proto-Puroik on the basis of evidence from the Eastern Puroik dialects (see table in chapter 4.2.6). Further back, this Proto-Puroik case marker might be related to similar morphemes in other Trans-Himalayan languages, for example in Bodic (Genetti 1986).

Locatives as subordination markers are typologically common and occur even within Puroik. In example (423), the locative marker *=ku* is used for a post-temporal clause.

(423) [*nà ba-ù̀-pʰɛ́ʔ-bádɛ̀̀ =ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ *ù̀-ʤi-rɛ̀̀-ʧa*
2SG NEG-go.to.base-reach-PRMN=LOC go.to.base-away-already-PRF
'He [your brother] already went away before you came.' (elicited TAMVI09:33)

Another possible hypothesis for the diachronic origin of the verbal suffix *-la* would be a reanalysis from the clause initial conjunction *la*. That this conjunction is completely independent from the verbal suffix *-la* is unlikely. The question is whether a free conjunction became a subordinating verbal suffix or whether a suffix became a free conjunction.

As unlikely the second hypothesis sounds, there are several factors which could have jointly caused such kind of development.

First, the clause initial conjunction *la* could directly be understood as reduction or fast-speech form of the conjunction *ʤila* which itself can be analysed as anaphoric pronoun *ʤì* and historic locative *-la* (*ʤi* + *-la* 'this all being the case').

Example (424) shows *la* and *ʤila* in the same slot in the clause.

(424) a. [*la* *vɛ̀=na* *klá* *rín* *ba-rín-mulɔ*]
CONJ 3SG=TOP where move.fast NA-move.fast-DESP
'He didn't know where to run away.' (WAR01:37 [563])

b. [*ʤila* *vɛ̀=na* *hɛ̀* *ba-ʦáʔ-mulɔ-la*]
CONJ 3SG=TOP what NEG-do-DESP-SEQ
'He didn't know what to do.' (WAR02:09 [571])

In this scenario, the clause initial conjunction would not be directly derived from the verbal suffix, although going back to the same historic locative *-la*. A analogical pattern for the shortening *ʤila* > *la* might have be the adverbs *ʤisá* 'like this' and *sá* 'like this'. Then, *ʤisá* : *sá* = *ʤila* : X, where X = *la*.

Secondly, in a language without mandatory verb morphology the underlying clause boundaries might be more susceptible to shifts. Puroik does not require any marker on the verb and neither are there constraints for clauses to start with a conjunction or clause initial particle. Whatever stands between the verb root of the previous clause and the arguments of the next clause can in principle be reanalysed as belonging to either clauses. The verb does not become ungrammatical if the suffix is reanalysed as conjunction starting the next clause according to clauses with other conjunctions.

Example (425) shows an abstract representation of how the verb suffix could have been reanalysed on the basis of a pattern from clause connected with clause initial conjunction.

(425) (CLAUSE-*la*) (CLAUSE) x (CLAUSE) (CONJ CLAUSE) = (CLAUSE) (*la* CLAUSE)

The abstract reanalysis is illustrated by example (426) and (427) which are both grammatical clause connection. In the first instance, a clause headed by a verb form with *-la*, in the second instance, the first verb a unmarked verb followed by a clause introduced by *la*.

(426) [*sá tsáʔ ʤisá kʰɔ̀-ɬíŋ ɬúʔ-ɬúʔ -la*]$_1$ [*ì-ʤǔ̀*]$_2$
like.this do like.this water-climb fall-fall-SEQ die-ALL
'Like this, [the mithuns] they all fell one after another into the water, and all died.' (SULPH25:01 [1299])

(427) a. [<*kátŭ̋tʃáŋ bìtŭ̋ru*>*=na məhjɛ̀̃ atsɔ̀̃ ɬúʔ*]$_1$
<sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)>=TOP earth center fall
'The sulphur springs had fallen down in the center of the earth.' (SULPH23:24 [1271])

b. [*la vɛrì ba-dɛ̀̃-dyì̃ ba-nɔ̀-ɔ̀ì-dyì̃*]$_2$
CONJ 3PL NEG-know-again NEG-search-find-again
'They [the krakruŋs] they didn't know, searched but didn't find it again.' (SULPH23:27 [1272])

9.3. Argument and attribute clauses

Clauses which serve as argument of another clause are headed by a verb form marked with *-na*^{2}. Clauses having the function of an attribute within a noun phrase are headed by a verb form marked with *-ka*.

-na^2 nominaliser

Clauses headed by verbs nominalised with *-na*^{2} serve as arguments within a matrix clause, such as in (428) where the nominalised clause 'to drink hot tea' stands for the single argument

(428) [*sà ahjáʔ ín -na*^{2}]$_S$ [*amjɛ̀ báʔ*]$_{PRED}$
tea(<IA) hot drink-NMLZ good EXIST
'To drink hot tea is good.' (elicited A10:04)

Similarly in (429), where the 'the place to stay for the us humans' is argument of *wɛ̀*.

(429) [<*táni bùlu*> *gù klá rì -na*^{2}]$_S$ [*wɛ̀-la*]$_{PRED}$
<humans(RL) human(RL)> 1SG where stay-NMLZ EXIST.NEG-SEQ
'For us humans there was no place to stay.' (ORIGIN01:53 [830])

In example (430b), 'something where one would die' is argument of *ɬuɛ́ʔ* 'look like'.

(430) a. *níŋ-lana hám ɬuéʔ*
look-ANT house seem
'When you see it, it is like a house.' (TRAP02:16 [705])

b. [*hè ì-na²*]$_{S}$ [*ba-ɬuéʔ*]$_{PRED}$ *ʤilana ʤisá*
what die-NMLZ NEG-seem CONJ like.this
'It does not look like a place where one will die.' (TRAP02:18 [706])

In (431), the clauses nominalised with *-na²* stand for objects of the matrix verb *rì* 'say'.

(431) *ʤila hɨ̀ [wéʔ-ri² -na²]*$_{O}$ *[kǎ-ri² -na²]*$_{O}$ *[nám-ri² -na²]*$_{O}$
CONJ NEAR kill-RECP-NMLZ extort-RECP-NMLZ wrest-RECP-NMLZ
[pɛ́-ri² -na²]$_{O}$ *[ʤì=ri²]*$_{O}$ *[ba-rì-muɛ̀-ri-na]*$_{PRED}$
cut-RECP-NMLZ ANA=TOP NEG-say-can-IPFV-NPST
'Killing each other, extorting from each other, capturing each other, cutting eachother, this we should not do anymore [unlike the other traditions].' (LANG27:47 [975])

9.3.1. Attribute clauses -ka

Attribute clauses can precede or follow the head-noun of the noun-phrase. There is almost no restriction as to what role the head noun has within the attribute clause (relativisation). A selection of cases which were confirmed as grammatical is given in (432). For disambiguation, a resumptive pronoun may be used within the relative clause such as the possessor in (432f) and the origin in (432j).

(432) a. [[*vù-ka*]$_{REL}$ [*prɪ́*]$_{HEAD}$]$_{NP}$
go.from.base-REL human
'the person who is going (single argument)' (elicited A29:11)

b. [[*məluɛ̀ ʧì-ka*]$_{REL}$ [*prɪ́*]$_{HEAD}$]$_{NP}$
food eat-REL human
'the person who is eating (agent)' (elicited A29:10)

c. [[*gù níŋ-ka*]$_{REL}$ [*prɪ́*]$_{HEAD}$]$_{NP}$
1SG look-REL human
'the person whom I see (object)' (elicited A29:13)

d. [[*gù prɪ́=ku²* *tʰɑ̀-ka*]$_{REL}$ [*bɑ̀³*]$_{HEAD}$]$_{NP}$
1SG human=OBJ give-NA money(<M)

'the money I give to the person (theme)' (elicited A29:15)

e. [[*gù bɑ̀̃ tʰɑ̀̃-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*prɪ́̃*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG dream give-REL human
'the person I gave the money to (goal)' (elicited A29:16)

f. [[*gù vɛ̀ hám rɨ̀-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*prɪ́̃*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG 3SG house stay-REL human
'the person in whose house I stay (locative)' (elicited A29:21)

g. [[*gù rɨ̀-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*hám*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG stay-REL house
'the house where I stay (locative)' (elicited A29:25)

h. [[*gù rɨ̀-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*tʰɪ́ʔ*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG stay-REL village
'the village where I stay (locative)' (elicited A30:1)

i. [[*gù vù-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*tʰɪ́ʔ*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG go.from.base-REL village
'the village where I go to (target)' (elicited A30:3)

j. [[*gù tɛ́=lapu vù-ka*]$_{\text{REL}}$ [*tʰɪ́ʔ*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG FAR=ABL go.from.base-REL village
'the village where I come from (ablative)' (elicited A30:7)

Clauses headed by a verb form marked with *-ka* can be arguments of a matrix clause, such as an agent in (433) or an object in (434).

(433) [*mərɑ̀̃ ʧì -ka =ʤi*]$_{\text{A}}$ [*ʧì-ʧɪ̃-na*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ [*sənɪ́m ʧì -ka =ʤi*]$_{\text{A}}$ [*ʧì-ʧɪ̃-na*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
macaque eat-REL=DEF eat-OBLG-NPST civet eat-REL=DEF eat-OBLG-NPST
'Those eating monkeys have to eat them, those eating civet cats have to eat them.' (LANG29:42 [1011])

(434) *hɛmɛ hɛ̀* [*ɛ́ʔ ʒɑ̀̃-la fì -ka =ʤi*]$_{\text{O}}$ *ʤila* [*ʤù̃*^{2}]$_{\text{PRED}}$
FILL what cloth put.inside-SEQ carry.on.strap-REL=DEF CONJ put.vertically
'Ehm, they also put down the thing where they put inside the clothes and carry on the back (backpack).' (WAR06:42 [632])

If *-ka* clauses are used as arguments they are usually marked with *=ʤi* as both examples above show (433 and 434). However, *-ka* clauses can be used as arguments also without *=ʤi* (435):

(435) [*hɛ̀ sánʒi=ku níŋ-la gíʔ-la hì -ka*]$_{S}$ [*babɔ̀-ʧa*]$_{PRED}$
what write=LOC look-SEQ count-SEQ speak-REL COP.NEG-PRF
'There is nobody who can read and tell what is written on the paper.' (LANG33:01 [1073])

Example (435) shows also that clauses marked with *-ka* can contain other clauses.

9.3.2. TAM marking in attribute clauses

Unlike the adverbial clauses with *-la*, *-lana*, *-ruìla*, the marker *-ka* can be combined with the tense marker *-na* (436) for expressing future tense.

(436) a. [*bomdila vù -na -ka*]$_{REL}$ [*prɪ́̃*]$_{HEAD}$
Bomdila go.from.base-NPST-REL human
'the person who is going to Bomdila' (elicited A30:8)

b. [*gù prɪ́̃=ku tʰɑ̀̃ -na -ka*]$_{REL}$ [*bɑ̀̃*^{3}]$_{HEAD}$
1SG human=LOC give-NPST-REL money(<M)
'the money, that I will give to the person' (elicited A30:9)

However, the perfect marker *-ʧa* cannot occur in relative clauses (437). No marker is required for clauses with past reference (437b).

(437) a. [*bomdila vù-ʧa -ka*]$_{REL}$ [*prɪ́̃*]$_{HEAD}$
Bomdila go.from.base-PRF-REL human
'intended: the person who went to Bodila' (elicited A30:11)

b. [*bomdila vù -ka*]$_{REL}$ [*prɪ́̃*]$_{HEAD}$
Bomdila go.from.base-REL human
'the person who went to Bomdila' (elicited A30:12)

Argument clauses marked with *=maʧi*

The additive focus particle -maʧi can be used clause nominalisation, such as in (438) 'whatever we eat'. The preposed argument is resumed with the anaphoric pronoun *ʤì* in the matrix clause.

(438) [*grì hɛ̀ ʧi-ba =maʧi*]$_{O}$ [*ʤì* [*ʧi-ʧɪ̃-na*]$_{PRED}$]$_{MATRIX}$
1PL what eat-PRS=ADD ANA eat-OBLG-NPST
'Whatever we might eat, we must eat it.' (LANG29:35 [1009])

A similar example is given in (439) 'whatever our forefathers used to do', where four consecutive clauses are used as object of the *dɛ̃̀-ʧĩ́* 'have to know'. The additive focus particle is attached to the last clause in the sequence. In the matrix clause, the object clauses are represented by *ahjɔ̃̀* 'all'.

(439) [[*grì ʧì*]$_1$ [*grì ín*]$_2$ [*grì namù*]$_3$ [*grì buì awí? sá tsá? =maʧi*]$_3$]$_O$
1PL eat 1PL drink 1PL tradition 1PL before old like.this do=ADD
[*ahjɔ̃̀* [*dɛ̃̀-ʧĩ́-na*]$_{PRED}$]$_{MATRIX}$
entire know-OBLG-NPST
'What we drink, what we eat, whatever we old men used to do, all this, they have to know.' (LANG34:54 [1105])

9.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses headed by a verb forms marked with *-la*, *-lana*, *-ruùla*, *-mərɔna* can be within the same intonation contour of the matrix class or stand separate. While adverbial specification of the matrix predicate (time, reason, condition) is one of the possible functions, quite commonly these clauses are rather events in sequence which in another language would be expressed with a separate sentence introduced by a conjunction ('Then...', 'After this...').

9.4.1. *-la* sequential SEQ

The default clause connecting morpheme in Bulu Puroik with the highest text frequency is the verbal suffix *-la*. Clauses headed by verb forms with marked with *-la* have a wide range of functions. The term "sequential" was chosen because one of the most frequent uses is to connect clauses describing events in a sequence, such as in example (440) where the speaker tells that 1. 'he went far away' 2. 'stayed there' and then 3. 'came back home'.

(440) [*gù=na aʧoì vù -la*]$_1$ [*rɨ̀ -la*]$_2$ [*gù hám ũ̀ -la*]$_3$ [*gù mərù*
1SG=TOP far go.from.base-SEQ stay-SEQ 1SG house go.to.base-SEQ 1SG woman
hɛ̀ ʃɨ̀ ba-ʒɛ̀̀]$_{MATRIX}$ *hɛ̀ ba-ʒɛ̀̀*
what wood NEG-carry what NEG-carry

'I went very far, I stayed there. But in my house, my wife didn't carry any wood, didn't carry anything.' (WOOD39:22 [940])

Such list of clauses can be long and are not necessarily in strict temporal order such as in (441) where the speaker tells about the common activities of the Puroik that god assigned them to do such as 'make traps and then kill an animal' (441a), 'make bird traps and then kill birds' (441b), 'make stone traps, kill rats and eat' (441c).

(441) a. [*ʤila ʧĩʔ ʒə̀ -la*]$_1$ [*ʃi wɛ́ʔ -la*]$_2$
CONJ sling make.traps-SEQ animal kill-SEQ
'To make sling traps and to kill animals.' (LANG29:04 [1001])

b. [*goì ʒə̀ -la*]$_3$ [*pədù wɛ́ʔ -la*]$_4$
sling make.traps-SEQ bird kill-SEQ
'To make sling traps and kill birds.' (LANG29:07 [1002])

c. [*rɔ̀ ʒə̀ -la*]$_5$ [*ʧɛ̃̀ wɛ́ʔ -la*]$_6$ *ʧi*
stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ rat kill-SEQ eat
'To make stone traps, kill and eat rats.' (LANG29:08 [1003])

Similarly in (442), a description of activities involved in making sago which are simultaneous and repeated rather than single confined events in a sequence.

(442) [*grì kitʃɔ̃̀ kɛ̃́ -la*]$_1$ [*wɑ̀ kɛ̃́ -la*]$_2$ [*waù rjɛ̃̀ ʤì*
1PL sago.hatchet hold-SEQ club hold-SEQ sago.filter.mat sago.filter.bag ANA
lè -la]$_3$ [*grì ʧaò kɛ̃́ -la*]$_4$ [*ʧì -la*]$_5$ *gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀*
take-SEQ 1PL sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ live-REL go.to.base
'We were working with the sago hatchet and the sago club. We used to take the sedimentation mat and the sago filter. We were making sago and eating, living like this.' (SAGO00:37 [953])

The clauses connected in example 441 and 442 share the same subject. However, the subject may change between clauses with *-la* even within the same intonation unit. In the first two clauses of (443), the first person plural *grì* is subject, in the third clause the subject is 'salt and chilli':

(443) [*grì ʤisá ʧaò kɛ̃́ -la*]$_1$ [*ʧì -la*]$_2$ [[*ʃəù wɛ̀*]$_{3a}$ [*maljù wɛ̀ -la*]$_{3b}$]$_3$ [*grì*
1PL like.this sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ salt EXIST.NEG chilli EXIST.NEG-SEQ 1PL
gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ *prĩ́dɔ̀ grì*
live-REL go.to.base Puroik 1PL

'Like this we Puroik lived, by making and eating sago, there was not salt and not chili.' (SAGO00:56 [956])

While the sequential use is pervasive, there are also examples which must be interpreted adverbial, i.e. where the clause with the *-la* verb is not in a sequence with the matrix clause but for example co-temporal such as in the common farewell formula 'watch out well when you go home' (444). The meaning of these farewell wish is that the addressee 'be careful on the whole way home', and not 'be careful and after that go home'.

(444) [*amjɛ̀ níŋ -la*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*hám ů̀-bo*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
good look-SEQ house go.to.base-IMP
'Go back carefully. (lit. watching well)' (elicited A10:01)

In other cases, the clause with the *-la* verb gives a reason to the matrix clause, such as in (445) where the speaker gives a reason why he has to carry wood (because his wife is not able to carry with the baby').

(445) [*adə̀=la.ɛ̀ku ba-bəù ba-ʒɛ̀-muɛ̀ -la*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*gù ʃḭ̀ ʒɛ̀-ʧḭ́-na*
child=SOC NEG-carry NEG-carry-can-SEQ 1SG wood carry-OBLG-NPST
bá?]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [*kű́ hám=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
EXIST UP house=LOC
'Because with the baby she cannot carry, I have to carry wood in the house.' (WOOD39:28 [941])

9.4.2. *-lana* anterior 'after' (ANT)

Clauses headed by verbs marked with *-lana* can have a similar range of functions like clauses with *-la*, and the question is indeed whether this suffix could be further segmented into *-la* and *=na* (topic?). The meaning can be temporal or conditional.

The temporal use is illustrated in example (446)

(446) [*ů̀-pʰɛ́? -lana*]$_{\text{ADV}_1}$ [*níŋ -lana*]$_{\text{ADV}_2}$ [*prɨ́ anáŋ njá?-ba-ri*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
go.to.base-reach-ANT listen-ANT human much make.noise-PRS-IPFV
'When he reached there, he heard [some] people making a lot of noise.' (WAR01:03 [555])

There are examples where the meaning is clearly conditional, such as in (447) 'if you don't do the rituals well'.

(447) [*amjɛ̀ ba-rí -lana*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*amjɛ̀ ba-rí -lana*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*adə̀=ʤi*
good NEG-prevent.evil-ANT good NEG-prevent.evil-ANT child=DEF
ba-gjɑ̃̀-na ʤìdɔ̃̀]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
NEG-live-NPST now
'If we don't take good precautions against the bad spirits, the child will not live.'
(HL02:01 [1153])

Similarly, in example (448), 'if they don't give money' .

(448) [*bɑ̃̀³ ba-tʰɑ̃̀ =lana*]$_{\text{COND}}$ [*gù ba-tʰɑ̃̀-na*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
money(<M) NEG-give=CONJ 1SG NEG-give-NPST
"If they don't give money, I won't give it (a cane carry strap)." (elicited A10:02)

There is a clause initial conjunction *lana* which is sometimes used in combination with the verb suffix *-lana* such as in example (449).

(449) [*hám dù -lana*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*lana grì kűtʃɑ̃̀ grì* <*tára táma*> *grì*
house shake-ANT CONJ 1PL above 1PL <human(RL) human(RL)> 1PL
rì-jɑ̃̀-ka grì rì]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ <*tára táma*> *bɑ́ʔ=ro*
stay-PRMN-REL 1PL say <human(RL) human(RL)> EXIST=ASRT
bɑ́ʔ=ro=rila
EXIST=ASRT=QUOT
'When the earth was shaking, we humans on the surface of the earth shouted:
Humans are there, we are there!' (QUAKE01:31 [929])

9.4.3. *-ruìla* anterior 'after'

Clauses headed by verbs marked with *-ruìla* are anterior to the matrix clause. In example (450), from a mythological narrative the speaker tells that first the Puroiks "killed the bad sun and the bad moon" which had burned the earth (clauses marked with *-ruìla*), then "the plants sprouted" (matrix clause).

(450) [*hɑ̀̀bu atʃɑ́ʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ -ruìla*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*hamì atʃɑ́ʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ -ruìla*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT
[<*sɑ̃̀ʤɑ́ŋ sɑ̃̀njúŋ*> *ʤila sɛ̃̀-dɔ̃̀*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
<all.plants(RL) all.plants(RL)> CONJ prosper-IMM

'After [Kraa Krung] killed the bad moon and the bad sun, all plants immediately sprouted.' (ORIGIN01:47 [829])

The anterior suffix *-ruìla* consist of the suffix *-la* and the anterior suffix *-ruì* which in Bulu Puroik is very rare in isolation without *-la*.

9.4.4. *-mərɔ(la)na* conditional 'if' COND

Conditional clauses are headed by verbs with the suffixes *-mərɔna* / *-mərɔlana*. The condition in the adverbial clauses can be real condition (not hypothetical, happened or is happening) such as in (451) or counter-factual (hypothetical, did not happen) (452).

(451) [*grì hɨ̀ gjɑ̀=ku grì ba-hɨ̀-ruì -mərɔlana*]$_{\text{COND}}$ *adà-hɛ̀=na vɛrì=na*
1PL NEAR live=LOC 1PL NEG-speak-ANT-COND child-PL=TOP 3PL=TOP
bətʃɪdà hɑ̀tʃɔ̀ bətʃɪ sám hɨ̀-na² *tsá? ù̀-bjaò*
non.tribal nowadays non.tribal language speak-NMLZ do go.to.base-COP.FOC
'If we don't speak in this life like this, our sons will speak the language of the non-tribals.' (LANG33:19 [1078])

(452) [*gù-tɯ́ bɑ̀³ bá? -mərɔna*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ *gù dili=matʃi*
1SG-LOC.PERS money(<M) EXIST-COND 1SG Delhi=ADD
ù̀-pʰɛ́?-na
go.to.base-reach-NPST
'If I had money, I would go to Delhi.' (elicited TAMVI36:10)

9.4.5. *=matʃi* concessive conditional "even if"

The additive focus particle *=matʃi* occurs also on clauses and forms concessive conditional clauses ('even if'), such as in example (453).

(453) [*adà dà =matʃi*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*prɨ́dà grì adà dà =matʃi*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*amjɛ̀*
child give.birth=ADD Puroik 1PL child give.birth=ADD good
rí-tʃɨ́-na]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
prevent.evil-OBLG-NPST
'Even if babies are born - we Puroiks - we have to take good precautions against bad spirits.' (HL01:51 [1151])

9.4.6. =*ku* co-temporal 'when'

The locative suffix =*ku* is used for simultaneous adverbial clauses, either by itself or in combination with another clause connecting morpheme.

For example the beginning of the frog story (454): 'When the sky was young and the earth was young,...'

(454) [*buì haḿŋ=ʧi anjaò məhjɛ̀̃=ʧi anjaò =ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*à̰ ʤila prɪ́̃=ʤi*
before sky=ADD fresh earth=ADD fresh=LOC INTJ CONJ human=DEF
tatíʔʧi bù²=ʤi]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ *tatíʔʧi*
alone dog=DEF alone
'Long time ago, when the sky was new and the earth was new, there was a lonely human and a lonely dog.' (FROG00:07 [727])

The =*ku* may be used in addition to another clause connecting morpheme such as *-la=ku* in (455).

(455) [*hɪ̀̃ʧɛ́ʔ ba-muɛ̀̃-la =ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*pʰəù nɔ̀-la ín*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
be.hungry NEG-can-SEQ=LOC alcohol search-SEQ drink
'When he couldn't bear his hunger anymore, he searched rice beer to drink.' (WAR04:55 [605])

Co-temporal clauses marked with =*ku* may follow the matrix clause.

(456) [*pʰɨŋ-hɛ̃̀ kʰɔ̀-hɛ̃̀ kɨ́-la náŋ-na*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [*aruɛ́ʔ vù=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
mountain-PL water-PL hit-SEQ be.sick-NPST mountains go.from.base=LOC
'The mountan spirits and water spirits will hit you, and you will be sick when you go for hunting.' (HL01:00 [1141])

9.4.7. Unmarked adverbial clauses

While the connection between clauses of any kind usually involves a clause connecting morpheme, a conjunction or a nominalised verb form are not strictly required. Even clauses which are subordinated in terms of intonation and meaning, can be morphologically unmarked, such as in (457).

(457) [*grì ʃɛ́ʔ*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*grì wɛ́ʔ-la ʧì*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [*vɛrì ʃɛ́ʔ*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*vɛrì wɛ́ʔ-la ʧì ʦáʔ*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
1PL be.strong 1PL kill-SEQ eat 3PL be.strong 3PL kill-SEQ eat do

'If we were stronger we killed and ate [them], if they were stronger they killed and ate [us].' (MASANG00:21 [1348])

9.4.8. *ba-* ... *-bádɛ̃̀* post-temporal 'before'

Post-temporal clauses ('before X happens') are formed with the negated permansive verbal derivation *-bádɛ̃̀* (described in section 6.4.3), often - but not always - marked with the locative marker *=ku*.

(458) a. [*sər* *ba-ù̀ -bádɛ̃̀* *mɛdén* *ba-ù̀ -bádɛ̃̀ =ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
Sir(<Eng) NEG-go.to.base-PRMN Madam(<Eng) NEG-go.to.base-PRMN=LOC
'Before you Sir and Madam go back...' (LANG35:59 [1119])

b. [*apaí?-hɛ̃̀* *dargi* *ʧawáŋ* *ů̀-pʰɛ́?-ʧĩ́-la*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
Chimbi-PL Darge Chawang go.to.base-reach-OBLG-SEQ
'Chimbi, Darge, Chawang have come.' (LANG36:05 [1120])

Further elicited examples, are given in 459.

(459) a. [*gù məluɛ̃̀* *ba-ʧĩ -bádɛ̃̀*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*baʤar vù-na*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
1SG food NEG-eat-PRMN NA go.from.base-NPST
'I went to the bazar before eating food.' (elicited A24:3)

b. [*nà* *ba-ů̀-pʰɛ́?* *-bádɛ̃̀*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*gù rí?* *fí?-ʤů̀-jå̀-na*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
2SG NEG-go.to.base-reach-PRMN 1SG shoot scrape-ALL-PRMN-NPST
'I will finish before you come back.' (elicited TAMVI38:14)

c. [*gù* *ba-ů̀-pʰɛ́?* *-bádɛ̃̀ =ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*nà məluɛ̃̀*
1SG NEG-go.to.base-reach-PRMN=LOC 2SG food
ʧĩ́ŋ-ʤů̀-jå̀-ʧĩ́-na]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
work-ALL-PRMN-OBLG-NPST
'Before I come back, the food has to be ready.' (elicited TAMVI39:37)

9.5. Reported speech *rì* / *=rila*

The verb *rì* 'say' and the particles derived *=ri* / *=rila* (derived from *rì*) are used to mark reported speech. In its simplest form, the reported speech is unmarked and just introduced by a short clause such as *vè rì* 'he said', before, after or within the reported speech, such as in (460).

(460) [*ồ*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$ [*vè rì*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [*vɛrì bətʃà̰ aró? ṵ̀-sə̀-batʃa*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
INTJ 3SG say 3PL Monpa friend go.to.base-meet-PRF
'Yes, he thought, these are my Monpa friends, let's go and meet them.' (WAR01:10 [556])

Also common is the to focus the reported speech by nominalising the say-verb in the introduction with *-ka*, i.e. "What he said, was:...", example (461)

(461) [*kəí té məluɛ̀ tʃì-ba=ro=ri*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$ [*vè rì -ka*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [*ba-tʃì-na=ro*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
HORT FAR food eat-PRS=ASRT=QUOT 3SG say-REL NEG-eat-NPST=ASRT
'[The soldiers] said let's go over there and eat food. But he said: "I won't eat."' (WAR06:46 [633])

The reported speech is often marked with *=ri*/*=rila*, a clitic which is derived from *rì* (*rì* + *-la*)

In (462), the reported speech is introduced with the verb *hɨ̀* 'speak', the reported speech is marked with *=rila*.

(462) [*lana vè hɨ̀-la*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [<*tára táma*>*=ri*^{2} *wè=ro dʒò̰*
CONJ 3SG speak-SEQ <human(RL) human(RL)>=TOP EXIST.NEG=ASRT all
ì-dʒṵ̀ wè=ro=rila]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$ [*hɨ̀-vù-vù-la*]
die-ALL EXIST.NEG=ASRT=QUOT speak-go.from.base-go.from.base-SEQ
'[The cockroach] said: There are no humans. There are really no humans [up there], they have all died. This is what he went around telling.' (QUAKE01:05 [924])

In (463), the reported speech is introduced by a noun phrase without verb 'The chinese: ...'

(463) [*la dʒi=kʉ́dʒín tʃaina-hɛ̀=na*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [*kəí ṵ̀-dʒi-batʃa=ro =ri*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
CONJ DEF=China China(<Eng)-PL=TOP HORT go.to.base-away-PRF=ASRT=QUOT
'Then, the Chinese people said: Come on, let's go!' (WAR05:02 [607])

In (464), the reported speech is introduced with a plain pronoun 'They: ...' and the reported speech is also marked with *=rila*.

(464) [*dʒilana vɛrì=na*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [*prɨ́ gɛ́?-batʃa=rila*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$ [*lapɛ́-ʃa nɔ̀*]
CONJ 3PL=TOP human disappear-PRF=QUOT tomorrow-LOC search

'They said, one person is lost, and went to search him on the next day.' (TRAP00:56 [680])

The particle *=rila* is also used for reported thoughts which are not spoken out (465). This example shows also that reported speech does not necessarily have to be introduced by a verb of saying.

(465) a. [*ʤilana vɛ̀=na la nɪ́-lɛ̀*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [*à gù=ku²=ʧi ʤidɔ*
CONJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear-CMPR INTJ 1SG=OBJ=ADD like.this
wɛ́ʔ-ʒù-bjaò-na]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
kill-COP-COP.FOC-NPST
'[Seeing this], he was even more scared: Oh no, they will certainly also kill me like this.' (WAR03:00 [580])

b. [*kəsá ʒù-tamɛ =rila*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
how COP-POT=QUOT
'How is it going to be [to be killed], he thought.' (WAR03:08 [581])

A common way of introducing a reported speech is by just mentioning the addressee without any verb (466).

(466) [*ʤi=bù²=ku²*]$_{\text{INTRO}}$ [*ba-njáʔ-bo*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
DEF=dog=OBJ NEG-make.noise-IMP
'To the dog [he said]: Don't make noise!' (FROG05:30 [786])

The same morphemes *=ri* and *=rila* are also attached to noun phrase for introducing new names and terms ('the so-called X') as well as ideophones ('making wufwuf'). This function has similarities with topic marking and will be discussed in chapter 10.1.5 about pragmatic constructions.

9.5.1. *ɬuéʔ* 'it seems, looks like'

The syntax of the verb *ɬuéʔ* 'it seems, looks like' is similar to the verb *rì* speak. The verb just follows or is cliticised to the clause, even after the inflections.

(467) [*hɑ̃̀ rɨ-na*]$_1$ [*məluɛ̃̀ ba-ʧɪ̃ŋ-na =ɬuéʔ*]$_2$
today stay-NPST food NEG-work-NPST=seem
'Today she might stay [there] and not cook food [here], it seems.' (elicited TAMVI59:51)

The verb *ɬuɛ́ʔ* is is not a particle, but a full verb which could form a predicate.

(468) *ʃɨ̀ʧapɨ̀ŋ ɬuɛ́ʔ-bjaò=rila ɲ̃ù*
wood tree.trunk seem-COP.FOC=QUOT go.to.base
'It looks exactly like wood trunks, they think and come.' (TRAP02:20 [707])

9.6. Summary

This chapter gave an overview over the different constructions involving more than one clause. Most tightly integrated within a matrix clause are clauses headed by *-na²* and *-ka* which are arguments or attributes of arguments of the matrix clause. Most frequent and most versatile are the clauses headed by a verb form with *-la*. These clauses can add adverbial meaning to a matrix verb or chain clauses in a temporal sequence. Reported speech constructions involve in most cases the verb *rì* or the clitic *=rila*, derived from this verb.

10. Discourse particles and pragmatic constructions

The previous chapters gave an overview of how words are organised into noun phrases and clauses, and how clauses are connected into multiclause constructions. The last grammatical chapter will investigate morphemes and constructions whose main function is ensuring the coherence in the discourse and the speech act situation. Among these constructions are topic constructions (10.1), focus constructions (10.2) and (10.3), anaphora and definiteness (10.4) and non-declarative speech acts (10.5).

The morphemes used for marking pragmatic "pragmatic statuses"[1] are listed in table 10.1. The particles in table 10.1 are attached to non-predicate constituents (core arguments and adverbials) and are mutually exclusive (i.e. combinations like † *=na=tʃi* are not possible). Although most particles are not attached to the clause but to constituents preceding the predicate, the meaning can be clausal as will be discussed below. The scalar additive particle *=matʃi* does occur on clauses to form concessive clauses, and similarly the quotative particle *=ri* for marking reported speech.

Table 10.1.: Discourse particles

Marker	function	translation	section
X=*na*	contrastive topic	'as for X', 'but X'	10.1.1
X=*ri*^{2}	contrastive topic, new topic	'as for X'	10.1.4
X=*ri*	quotative, ideophone	'so called X'	10.1.5
X=*tʃi*	additive	'X also'	10.2.1
X=*tʃi*	restrictive	'only X'	10.2.1

[1] "pragmatic statuses have to do with choices speakers make about how to efficiently adapt their utterances to the context, including the addressee's presumed "mental state"" (Payne 1997, p. 261)

X=*matʃi*	scalar additive	'even X', 'even if X'	10.2.2
X=*tʃiráŋ*	negative scalar additive	'not even X'	10.2.4

10.1. Topic constructions

Bulu Puroik has three principal markers involved in topic constructions. The most common marker is *=na*, less frequent but with a similar range of functions the marker *=ri*[2]. Furthermore, the homonym quotative marker *=ri* is used in topic constructions, the same marker which used for marking reported speech (section 9.5).

10.1.1. Contrasting topic

The particle *=na* is used for marking constituents which are in contrast, in the sense that the presupposition that for the constituents the same predicate holds is not true. In (469c), the speaker contrasts the Chinese soldiers ("their own people") with the Indian soldiers ("our Indian people"). The presupposition would be that all injured soldiers would get the same treatment. However, this is not the case. The Chinese healed their own soldiers and killed the Indian soldiers.

(469) a. [*vɛrì prɨ́=ku*[2] *=na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ *ʤì=ku*[2] *dawo* *amjè tsáʔ-la*
3PL human=OBJ=TOP ANA=OBJ medicine(<IA) good do-SEQ
hadɛ̀-dɔ̃̀=ku *asɛ̀* *tsáʔ-la* *ù̃-dɔ̀*
later-IMM=LOC alive do-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Their own people, they healed with medicine, immediately, they made them alive and took them with them.' (WAR03:25 [586])

b. *lè-ruìla* *ù̃*
take-ANT go.to.base
'They took [them] and went.' (WAR03:32 [587])

c. [*grì nù* *índià* *prɨ́=ku*[2] *=na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ *abùlɛ̀* *wéʔ wéʔ-la* *fɨ́n*
1PL here India(<Eng) human=OBJ=TOP even.more kill kill-SEQ discard

[1]The homonymous non-past suffix *-na* is unlikely to be related to the topic marker *=na*. However, there might be a connection between the topic marker *=na* and the element *na* in the clause joining particles *lana* (=*lana*) and the conditional =mərɔna/=mərɔlana, and in the conjunction *ʤilana* (<ʤi + lana).

'Us Indians, however, they killed even more. They kill them and threw them away.' (WAR03:34 [588])

Although in (469c) the objects marked as topics, what the speaker actually contrasts are not the two objects, but the treatment which was given to the Chinese in contrast to the treatment which was given to the Indians. In this sense, the scope of contrasting topics is clausal.

The constituents contrasted with the topic marker *=na* can also be non-core arguments, such as in example (470), where both contrasted constituents refer to a time ('yesterday' vs. 'today').

(470) [*ʤirjɛ̀ =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ *alə́m ahjá?-ba-rɛN* [*hə̀pé*^{2} *=na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ *aʧi-ʧa*
yesterday=TOP warm hot-PRS-already today.morning=TOP cold-PRF
ù̀-ba
go.to.base-PRS
'Yesterday it was warm, very hot, but this morning it is cold.' (elicited TAMII55:35)

10.1.2. Change of topic

The topic marker *=na* is used for marking a change of topic or introducing a new topic. This use is similar to the contrastive use with the only difference that the arguments or proposition are not in explicit contrast, i.e. there is no unfulfilled presupposition of same predicate for the topic arguments. In (471c), there are three consecutive clauses with noun phrases marked with *=na*. Three different participants of the story: 1) the main character 2) his family 3) the two fools, and three different statements made about them: The main character was hungry, his family was not there, the two fools were dead.

(471) a. *la* [*vɛ̀ =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ *hɨ̀ʧɛ́?* *ba-muɛ̃̀*
CONJ 3SG=TOP be.hungry NEG-can
'He (*ŋawaŋ*) couldn't anymore of [feeling] hunger.' (WAR04:41 [600])

b. [*vɛ̀ hə̃̀rjɛ̃̀ prɨ́* *vɛ̀ aʒù-hɛ̃̀ vɛ̀ abù-hɛ̃̀ =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ *tatí?=ʧiráŋ*
3SG family human 3SG wife-PL 3SG elder.brother-PL=TOP one=ADD
wɛ̀
EXIST.NEG

'Of his family, his wife and his elder brother, not even one was there.' (WAR04:44 [601])

c. [*bló? ní?=ku²* =*na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_3}$ *wɛ́? fɨntʃuɛ́?*
mute two=OBJ=TOP kill dispose
'The two village fools, they had killed and thrown away.' (WAR04:48 [602])

Such situations are common in spoken language. The speaker describes a scene from different angles, starts with different topics and touches secondary narrative threads which he maybe does not continue in the end ('As for X, ... As for Y, ... As for Z, ...'). A final example for changing topics is given in (472b), where the speaker talks about different activities that were not common in the past, such as animal husbandry and agriculture. There is no contrast between the topical arguments in the sense of the examples in the previous section 10.1.1 and the first three constituents marked with =*na* do share the same predicate.

(472) a. [*ʤila gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀-bjaò*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$ [*grì apá bədɛ̃̀ amà bədɛ̃̀=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$
CONJ live-REL go.to.base-COP.FOC 1PL father time mother time=LOC
'That time, we lived like this, in the time of our father and mother.' (SAGO00:22 [950])

b. [*susù* =*na* *ba-tyɛ̃́*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ [*wá?* =*na* *ba-rɨ̀²*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ [*mədyì* =*na*
mithun=TOP NEG-decoy pig=TOP NEG-feed chicken=TOP
ba-rɨ̀²]$_{\text{TOPIC}_3}$ [*rí?²* =*na* *ba-tʃɨ̃ŋ*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_4}$
NEG-feed field=TOP NEG-work
'We didn't breed mithuns, we didn't raise pigs, we didn't breed chicken, we didn't work in the fields.' (SAGO00:26 [951])

10.1.3. Resuming topic

Constituents marked with =*na* often resumes a principal character of a narrative if the main narrative thread has been interrupted for a side story or some background information.

For example in example (473a), in the sentence where the soldiers dispose the maize, the main character of the story is only as owner of the maize part of the scene. When the narrative returns to the principal character, the Brokpa from Lagam (473b), the constituent referring to the him is marked with the topic marker =*na*. In the subsequent

sentence the pronoun referring to the main character is again marked with the marker *=na*, to indicate that the referent of the noun phrase is again the main character even if the role changed from unmarked S to object marked O.

(473) a. *məpʰìn=ku²=ʧi bù lím-wù ʧaì fɨ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ-réʔ*
maize=OBJ=ADD DOWN path-below hold.in.one.hand dispose-BEN
'That maize, they also threw down below the road.' (WAR02:05 [570])

b. *ʤila* [*vɛ̀ =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}}$ *hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ-la*
CONJ 3SG=TOP what NEG-do-DESP-SEQ
'He didn't know what to do.' (WAR02:09 [571])

c. *la* [*vɛ̀=ku² =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}}$ *la nám-ruìla túŋri la bù lè-la*
CONJ 3SG=OBJ=TOP CONJ wrest-ANT Tungri CONJ DOWN take-SEQ
ù̀-dɔ̀ ʤi=kʉ́ʤɨ́n-hɛ̀ ʧaina-hɛ̀
go.to.base-take.along DEF=China-PL China(<Eng)-PL
'The Chinese, captured him, and took him down to Tungri.' (WAR02:11 [572])

Similarly in (474b), where the story line comes back to the main character after few clauses long episode about the Chinese soldiers murdering an enemy soldier (474b).

(474) a. *matʃù-hɛ̀ la pjú-mə=tsáʔ*
gun-PL CONJ burst-PST=do
'With the gun they shot him dead.' (WAR02:57 [579])

b. *ʤilana* [*vɛ̀ =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}}$ *la nɨ́-lɛ̀ ɑ̀ gù=ku²=ʧi ʤidɔ*
CONJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear-CMPR INTJ 1SG=OBJ=ADD like.this
wɛ́ʔ-ʒù-bjaò-na
kill-COP-COP.FOC-NPST
'[Seeing this], he was even more scared: Oh no, they will certainly also kill me like this.' (WAR03:00 [580])

10.1.4. Contrasting topic *=ri²*

The marker *=ri²* has similar functions as the topic marker *=na* (10.1.1). The particle is attached to contrasting noun phrases, such as the for example in (475). The same noun phrase *agʉ̀* 'half' (half bottle of beer), has two different referents, and the predicate for each of them is different in contrary to the presupposition that the predicate is the same.

(475) [[*agɨ̀ =ri²*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ *vɛ̀ lím-kɨ́ŋ ín*]$_1$ [[*agɨ̀ =ri²*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ *vɛ̀ aʒù vɛ̀ abù-se lè-rɔ̂-na=rila*]$_2$
half=TOP 3SG path-LOC drink half=TOP 3SG wife 3SG elder.brother-DU take-REM.BEN-NPST=QUOT
'One half he drunk on the way, the other half, he would bring to his wife and his brother, he thought.' (WAR00:48 [553])

As in the similar example with contrasting topic *=na* (469c), the scope of topics marked with *=ri²* must be understood as clausal. In (475), the interesting contrast is not between the two halves (which are both exactly the same), but between what is going to be done with the two halves.

A similar example is (476a), where *=ri* contrasts identical NPs with different referents *tʰyì=ri²* ... *tʰyì=ri²* "one of them ..., the other ...".

(476) a. [*nɔ̀-vù-lana*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [[*tʰyì =ri²*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ *tʰyì awɛ̀=ʤi=ku ɨ̀-ʤi*]$_1$ [[*tʰyì =ri²*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ *tʰyì awɛ̀ apʰí?=ʤi=ku ɨ̀-ʤi*]$_2$
search-go.from.base-ANT one=TOP one ridge=DEF=LOC go.to.base-away one=TOP one ridge small.river=DEF=LOC go.to.base-away
'When they were searching [a prey], one went up along the ridge, one went along the river.' (TRAP00:40 [675])

b. [*vɛsení?-tatʃɨ̀=ʤi ɛ̀ ba-ɨ̀*]$_3$
3DU-between=DEF be.together NEG-go.to.base
'The two didn't go together.' (TRAP00:45 [676])

The function of topics marked with *=ri* and *=na* are very similar. In the same story, next sentence after (476b), the same contrast between the same two referents is expressed with the topic marker *=na* ('one of them ..., the other...). See example (477a) and (477b).

(477) a. *ʤilana* [*tʰyì =na =ʤi*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_1}$ *vɛrì kjém=ku lapúʤi-hɛ̀ kjém=ku kʰuí?-la*
CONJ one=TOP=DEF 3PL big.deadfall.trap=LOC Lapusa.person-PL big.deadfall.trap=LOC enter-SEQ
'Then, one of them went inside the trap of the Lapusa people.' (TRAP00:47 [677])

b. *la* [*tʰyìʃáʔ =na*]$_{\text{TOPIC}_2}$ *bù* *hám* *ǜ-pʰéʔ* *bù*
CONJ alone=TOP DOWN house go.to.base-reach DOWN
kjɛ́mp=ʃɔ̀ *ǜ-pʰéʔ*
camp(<Eng)=LOC go.to.base-reach
'The other one reached alone home, down to the camp.' (TRAP00:53 [679])

10.1.5. Quotative *=ri* / *=rila* on noun phrases

The quotative particle *=ri*/*=rila* which derives from the verb *rì* 'say' and is used for marking reported speech can also be attached to noun phrases like the homonymous topic marker *=ri*^{2}. The function of this particle is slightly different. The question whether the topic marker *=ri*^{2} could have been derived historically from the quotative particle and ultimately from the verb *rì* 'say', is suggestive but out of scope here.

In the use of the quotative particle on noun phrases the origin from the verb *rì* 'say' is still transparent. The clitic *=ri* introduces new referents by name, which were not previously mentioned in the current discourse by name and also when the speaker assumes the hearer has no knowledge about the place or thing called by the name or term he uses ("the so called X", "a person/place/animal/thing with the name X"). In (478), the speaker uses the quotative marker for the tribe called *prɨ́dà* which are only in Bulu.

(478) [*hɨ̀* <*wes* *kameŋ*>*=ku*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*prɨ́dà =ri*]$_{\text{NEW}}$ *gù* *pulɔ̀* *grì*
NEAR <West Kameng(<Eng)>=LOC Puroik=QUOT 1SG Bulu 1PL
bjaò-ʧa=ro
COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'Here in West Kameng, Puroiks are only in our [village] Bulu.' (TRADE04:31 [1160])

In example (479), the speaker introduces the name for the rock salt from Tibet with the quotative particle.

(479) [*səlén fəù =rila*]$_{\text{NEW}}$ *kɨ́=lapu* *lè-la* *ɬasa* *fəù*
Lhasa salt=QUOT UP=ABL take-SEQ Lhasa(<Tib) salt
'The so called Lhasa salt, we brought from up there.' (TRADE07:37 [1205])

In a more abstract but related sense, the quotative particle *=ri* is used for somewhat surprising new referents which are maybe unknown to the hearer. In the frog story,

wherever new surprising participants appear they are marked with *=ri*. This is for example the case when from the hole in the ground suddenly a rat appears, such as in (480).

(480) [[*kukuku =rila*]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$ *ɬɔ̀ vè=na*]$_1$ *bù=lapu* [[*ʧɛ̀ɛ̀ =ri*]$_{\text{NEW}}$ *vè ap^{h}ɯ̀=ku*
INTJ=QUOT call 3SG=TOP DOWN=ABL rat=QUOT 3SG nose=LOC
la tɔ́ʔ]$_2$
CONJ bite
'When he called "kukuku", from below a rat bit his nose.' (FROG02:39 [754])

Similarly, later in the story where surprisingly the owl appears (759), and in (772) where surprisingly the tree appears to be the antler of a deer.

Example (480) shows also further use of *=rila* which is marking a sound or noise that someone or something is making (ideophones).

10.2. Additive focus

The function of additive focus particles is to mark an expression as one among other alternatives for which this or a similar predicate holds (Konnerth 2012, p. 209). The additive focus particles in Bulu Puroik are: *=ʧi* 'also' (real alternative), scalar additive *=maʧi* 'even' (real but unlikely alternative) and *=ʧiráŋ* 'not even' (likely but unreal alternative). As for the topic particles discussed in the previous sections, the scope of the focus particles can be clausal.

10.2.1. Additive focus *=ʧi* 'also'

The particle *=ʧi* has two functions which seem contradictory on first sight. One is additive, i.e. marking the expression as one among other alternatives, and the other one is restrictive 'only', i.e. marking an expression as the only possible alternative. The second meaning occurs mainly in combination with negated predicates and the verb *bjaò*.

If the noun phrases are close to each other, and the alternatives are explicitly mentioned then all alternatives can be marked with *=ʧi* such as in (481) 'the water' (alternative 1) and 'the trees' (alternative 2) and 'the grass' all 'dried out'. The predicate which holds for alternatives is repeated here.

(481) a. [*kʰɔ̀* =*ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE1}}$ [*wɛ̀ ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ [*ʃì* =*ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE2}}$ [*wɛ̀ ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
water=ADD be.dry go.to.base wood=ADD be.dry go.to.base
'The water also dried up. The trees also dried up.' (ORIGIN02:03 [832])

b. [*sɛ̀bɛ̀* =*ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE3}}$ [*wɛ̀ ù̀*]$_{\text{PRED}}$
gras(RL)=ADD be.dry go.to.base
'The gras also dried up.' (ORIGIN02:07 [833])

In a similar example with adjective predicate (482), both alternatives - the sky and the earth - are marked with the additive focus particle =*ʧi*.

(482) *buì* [*hamíŋ* =*ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE1}}$ [*anjaò*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ [*məhjɛ̀* =*ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE2}}$
before sky=ADD fresh earth=ADD
[*anjaò=ku*]$_{\text{PRED}}$ *à̀ ʤila prɨ́=ʤi tatíʔʧi bù²=ʤi tatíʔʧi*
fresh=LOC INTJ CONJ human=DEF alone dog=DEF alone
'Long time ago, when the sky was new and the earth was new, there was a lonely human and a lonely dog.' (FROG00:07 [727])

However, if the alternatives are not explicitly contrasted as in example (481) and (482), then only the second instance is marked with =*ʧi*.

In (483a) the Chinese soldiers take the main characters bag, open to see, throw the bag away (483b). The "bag" is the first alternative. Then, the Chinese soldiers do the same with the maize (483c) and (483d), which is marked with =*ʧi*. The two alternatives share the same predicates in the second occurrence 'threw away' (PRED2), and very similar predicates in the first occurrence (PRED1a, PRED1b).

(483) a. *vɛ̀* [*ʧakuí*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE1}}$ *vɛ̀ pakaú=ku* [*ʧakuí*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE1}}$ *ʒɑ̀̃-ka*
3SG cooked.grains 3SG bag=LOC cooked.grains put.inside-REL
pakaú-la ɛ̃̀ [*lè-la níŋ*]$_{\text{PRED1a}}$
bag-SEQ be.together take-SEQ look
'His rice, the one he had put inside the bag, they took together with the bag to see.' (WAR01:54 [567])

b. *bù lím-wù=ʃɔ̃̀* [*fɨ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ-réʔ*]$_{\text{PRED2}}$
DOWN path-below=LOC dispose-BEN
'That [rice also] they threw down below the road.' (WAR01:59 [568])

c. *məpʰìn ʒɛ̀-la ù̀-ka* [*məpʰìn=ku =ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE2}}$ [*ɬjaù-la*
maize carry-SEQ go.to.base-REL maize=LOC=ADD untie-SEQ
níŋ]$_{\text{PRED1b}}$
look
'The maize, he came carrying, they also opened to see.' (WAR02:02 [569])

d. [*məpʰìn=ku²* *=ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE2}}$ *bù lím-wù ʧaì*
maize=OBJ=ADD DOWN path-below hold.in.one.hand
[*fɨ́ntʃué?-ré?*]$_{\text{PRED2}}$
dispose-BEN
'That maize, they also threw down below the road.' (WAR02:05 [570])

In example (484), the protagonist observes the murder of a Indian soldier by the Chinese army and fears that he will face the same fate. In the reported speech where the protagonist utters his fear the first person is marked with *=ʧi*. The predicates of the first alternative were similar (more specific).

(484) [*ʤilana vè=na la nɨ́-lɛ̀*]$_1$ [*à* [*gù =ku²* *=ʧi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE2}}$ *ʤidɔ*
CONJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear-CMPR INTJ 1SG=OBJ=ADD like.this
wɛ́?-ʒù-bjaò-na]$_{\text{REPORTED}}$
kill-COP-COP.FOC-NPST
'[Seeing this], he was even more scared: Oh no, they will certainly also kill me like this.' (WAR03:00 [580])

As observed for the topic particles, the additive focus particle *=ʧi* on the noun phrase may have clausal scope. For example in (485c) "we Puroiks also planted sago", there are no other people who also planted sago. In this origin myth, the Puroiks were the only ones who planted sago palms. However, they did other things on their migration besides planting sago palms, namely killing the bad sun and moon, killing evil spirits, planting cane and the sulphuric springs. The alternatives here are the things they did in earlier clauses, rather other arguments sharing the same predicate.

(485) a. *ʤila <krá gù krúŋ> gù <krábu <ʤánwáŋ la*
CONJ <Kraa(RL) 1SG Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG <Kraabu <Dzənwaŋ(RL) CONJ
krúŋbu> ʤánwo> [*ʤila hamì atʃáʔ=ku²*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE1a}}$ [*wɛ́?-ruìla*
Kruŋbu> Dzənwo(RL)> CONJ sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT
hà̀bu atʃáʔ=ku²]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE1b}}$ *wɛ́?-ruìla*
moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT

'Then, we Kraa and Krungs, Kraabu Dzənwaŋ and Kruŋbu Dzəmvo, we killed the bad sun and the bad moon.' (ORIGIN02:15 [836])

b. [*gù ǜ-la*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE2}}$
1SG go.to.base-SEQ
'We came.' (ORIGIN02:26 [837])

c. [*gù =ʧi ʧaò ɬaì-ruìla*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE3}}$
1SG=ADD sago plant-ANT
'We also planted sago [besides killing the sun and moon].' (ORIGIN02:28 [838])

In certain situations, additive focus constructions with clausal scope can have a restrictive meaning, i.e. among other possible activities the subject is only engaged in the one described by the predicate and nothing else (486).

(486) *rì*^{3} *=ʧi fĭʔ-la rɨ̀-bjaò-ba=ri=ro*
cane=ADD scrape-SEQ stay-COP.FOC-PRS=QUOT=ASRT
'[He says]: He only sits and makes cane ropes [and nothing else].' (elicited TAMI30:37)

The additive focus particle *=ʧi* in negated clauses also has a restrictive meaning, such as in (487b) 'nobody at all'.

(487) a. *hə̃̀wuǐ ʃʃɛ̀-la lì-ka báʔ*
door open-SEQ put-REL EXIST
'The door was open.' (elicited TAMIV36:39)

b. *mì =ʧi ba-ʃʃɛ̀=ro*
who=ADD NEG-open=ASRT
'But nobody had opened it.' (elicited TAMIV36:46)

10.2.2. Scalar additive particle *=matʃi* 'even'

The "scalar additive particle" *=matʃi* marks a noun phrase as a real, but little likely alternative among all presupposed alternatives[2].

[2]Terminology adopted from Konnerth 2012, p. 211

In (488), the speaker tells that nowadays there are no marriage restrictions anymore and that Puroiks can even get married to someone from Nepal or Bihar. A priori more likely alternatives would be a marriage partner from the Puroik tribe or a neighbouring tribe. Nepali and Bihari are less likely presupposed alternatives.

(488) [*nepal* =*matʃi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE}}$ [*bihari* =*matʃi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE}}$ [*prɨ́*
Nepal(<IA)=ADD Bihari(<IA)=ADD human
bjà-lapəna]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE}}$ *grì=na* *hɜ̀̀tʃɔ̀=na* *grì* *ʤɔ̀ʃáŋ* *ʦáʔ* *rɨ̀*
other-furthermore 1PL=TOP nowadays=TOP 1PL marriage do stay
ɯ̀-tʃa=ro <*krá* *krúŋ*> *grì=tʃi*
go.to.base-PRF=ASRT <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1PL=ADD
'Even to Nepali, even to Biharis, to anyone, we Kra Krung can also get married nowadays.' (elicited A10:03)

In (489), the speaker tells that the Tibetan knives were even supplied to the Nafra area. The a priori more likely alternatives in this case would be places less far away from Tibet.

(489) *la* [*nù* *hənù* *bù* <*tʃáŋru* *bətʃúŋ*> =*matʃi*]$_{\text{ALTERNATIVE}}$ *kɯ́* *hɜ̀̀* *səlén*
CONJ here here DOWN <Nafra.area Nafra.area>=ADD UP NEAR Lhasa
tʃi²=ri-la *kɯ́=lapu* *lè*
machete=QUOT-SEQ UP=ABL take
'Even down here in the Nafra area, from Lhasa, they brought the Lhasa knives from up there.' (TRADE07:31 [1204])

10.2.3. Scalar additive particle =*matʃi* with clausal scope

The scalar additive particle =*matʃi* occurs more frequently on clauses than on noun phrases. The function is similar but with clausal scope. The particle =*matʃi* marks a clause as real but rare, unlikely or irrelevant alternative among all presupposed alternatives.

For example in (490), the speaker reasons about the fact that humans have only one life and do not come back after the life is over. Even if someone would be named after him, it would not be the same person. "Naming someone after him" is both unlikely as also irrelevant as for the question whether the speaker would come back.

(490) [*gù abjɛ̃̀ bjɛ̃̀-ʒù =matʃi*]$_{\text{ADD}}$ [*gù ɬué?-dɔ̃̀ ba-tʃɔ́?-pɔ́-dyɛ̀-na*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
1SG name to.name-COP=ADD 1SG seem-IMM NEG-happen-appear-again-NPST
'Even if they put my name, someone like me will never come again [after I die].'
(LANG32:32 [1063])

A typologically common process is that scalar additive particles develop into concessive conjunctions (Konnerth 2012, p. 212). In Bulu Puroik, clauses marked with the scalar additive particle *=matʃi* have the meaning of a concessive conditional "even if" or additive conditional "also if" rather than concessive "although".

10.2.4. Negative additive particle *=tʃiráŋ* 'not even'

The negative additive particle *=tʃiráŋ* has the opposite meaning of *=matʃi*. The particle marks an expression as the very likely, but unreal alternative among all presupposed alternatives (*=matʃi* was "unlikely, but real").

Example (491) describes the fact that "not even one person" was in the village. Under normal circumstances, one could assume that at least one person would be in the village. However, as a matter of fact, not even one person was there.

(491) *vɛ̀ hə̃̀rjɛ̃̀ prɨ́ vɛ̀ aʒù-hɛ̃̀ vɛ̀ abù-hɛ̃̀=na tatí? =tʃiráŋ*
3SG family human 3SG wife-PL 3SG elder.brother-PL=TOP one=ADD
wɛ̀
EXIST.NEG
'Of his family, his wife and his elder brother, not even one was there.' (WAR04:44 [601])

In example (492) 'When he was asked, he said nothing', the likely presupposition would be that a person says something if he is asked something. However, in contradiction to what is likely and would normally assumed, the addressed person does not say anything.

(492) *ʤì ʃí=ku nà hɛ̀ =tʃiráŋ ba-hɨ̃̀*
ANA ask=LOC 2SG what=ADD NEG-speak
'When I ask something, you don't say anything at all.' (elicited TAMIV53:55)

Similarly in example (493), where one would expect that an open door was opened by somebody. However, in contradiction to the expectation, 'nobody at all' had opened it (unlikely but real).

(493) *mì =ʧíráŋ ba-ʃjɛ̀-dɔ̀=ro*
who=ADD NEG-open-IMM=ASRT
'Nobody had opened it.' (elicited TAMIV37:00)

10.3. Other focus constructions

Besides the focus construction involving a particle on a non-predicate constituent, there are a few other focus constructions, notably constructions involving the verb *bjaò* (10.3.1), as well as nominalisations with *mə-* and *-ka*.

10.3.1. Focus verb *bjaò* 'really, only'

The function of the verb and verbal derivation *bjaò* is to mark clausal focus of different types: counter-presuppositional focus, in combination with *=ʧi* exhaustive listing focus ('only') and assertive focus ('really').

Counter-presuppositional focus

There are only Puroiks in Bulu (494). One would assume that there are also Puroiks elsewhere, but they are only in Bulu.

(494) *prǐ̋də=ri hɨ̀ pulɔ̀=ku bá? -bjaò -na=ro ʤilapəna*
Puroik=QUOT NEAR Bulu=LOC EXIST-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT after.this
wɛ̀-na=ro
EXIST.NEG-NPST=ASRT
'As for the Puroiks, the [Puroiks] are only in Bulu, elsewhere they are not.' (TRADE04:27 [1159])

The counter-presuppositional focus is used to make strong assertions ('this and nothing else'). In (495), the soldiers of the Red Army tell the speaker of the reported speech to come with them. He protests insisting that this is his house (and nowhere else) and that he wants to stay here (and nowhere else).

(495) [*gù hənù gù hám bjaò*]$_1$ [*gù hənù rì -bjaò -na=ro*]$_2$
1SG here 1SG house COP.FOC 1SG here stay-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT
'This here is my home. I am definitely going to stay here.' (WAR05:08 [609])

The counter-presuppositional of focus is also very similar to and partly overlapping with the exhaustive listing focus below.

Exhaustive listing focus *=ʧi ... bjaò*

In combination with *=ʧi*, the verb *bjaò* marks exhaustive listing, i.e. among all possible alternatives the predicate holds only for the expression marked with *=ʧi* (restrictive use of *=ʧi*). In 496, the speaker explains that, among all other things which could possibly change, the gods change *only* the skin when they go from one life to another life.

(496) *vè=na akú? -ʧi ɬám -bjaò*
3SG=TOP skin-RSTR change-COP.FOC
'They change only the skin [when they die].' (LANG31:43 [1048])

In (497), the speaker explains that humans have only one life in contrast to the gods who have more than one life.

(497) *prɨ̃́ grì=na gjɑ̀̃^{2} -ʧi bjaò*
human 1PL=TOP life-RSTR COP.FOC
'We humans have only one life.' (LANG31:17 [1039])

10.3.2. Subject focus *mə*-VERB

The prefix *mə-* is the only productive nominalising morpheme which is prefixal. A construction with such nominalised verbs is used for focusing core arguments.

In example (498), the topic is a trap (or a basket), and the speaker ask for the person who made the trap.

(498) a. *nà mə- ʒə-jɑ̃̀̃*
2SG NMLZ-make-Q
'[Pointing at a trap:] Did you make [it]? (Are you the one who made it?)' (elicited F15:2)

b. *nà mə- pə́-jə̀̃*
2SG NMLZ-make-Q
'[Pointing at a basket:] Did you make [it]? (Are you the one who made it?)'
(elicited F15:4)

In (499b), the same construction is used to focus an object.

(499) a. *la dadʒí? ì-dʒi=ro=rila*
CONJ snake die-away=ASRT=QUOT
'The snake died he said.' (elicited TAMVIII06:03)

b. [*dʒì*]$_{O}$ [*ʧĩmbi*]$_{A}$ [*mə- hĩ̀*]$_{PRED}$
ANA Chimbi(<Tib) NMLZ-speak
'This is what Chimbi told [me].' (elicited TAMVIII06:05)

10.4. Anaphora and definiteness

The anaphoric pronoun *dʒì* is in form and function closely related to the definiteness marker *dʒi* which occurs as clitic on the noun phrase, preceding or following the head of the noun phrase (or even both preceding and following). The anaphoric pronouns stand as substitute for arguments which are supposed to be known from earlier in the discourse. The particle *dʒi* is used to mark full noun phrases of which the speaker assumes that the hearer can uniquely identify the referent, either because the referent was introduced earlier in the discourse, because the referent is apparent from the speech act situation or because the hearer is assumed to have knowledge of the referent because of his background and knowledge of the world.

Unsurprisingly, given the pivotal functions in discourse, both the anaphoric pronoun and the definiteness marker are among the morphemes with the highest text frequency, just after the clause joining morphemes (A.13).

10.4.1. Anaphoric *dʒì*

The anaphoric pronoun may resume a single noun which was mentioned earlier in the discourse. In (500b), the anaphoric pronoun resumes the NP 'one frog' from the previous sentence.

(500) a. *ʤìlíŋ=ku ʤila vɛhenî? tatî?ʧi rì ʤilana* [*rə̀? tatî?*]$_{NP}$ *ʤila*
that.time=LOC CONJ 3DU alone stay CONJ frog one CONJ
ù̀-ʧù̀
go.to.base-COMPL
'That time, they were staying alone, and one frog came to stay [with them].'
(FROG00:20 [729])

b. *à̀* *ʤì=ku²=ʧi* <*abù²* *bùlu*> *banà-na=rila*
INTJ ANA=OBJ=ADD <human(RL) human(RL)> make(<IA)-NPST=QUOT
vɛhenî?
3DU
'Yes, they thought, they would also make him [the frog] a human.' (FROG00:26
[730])

Without particular marking the anaphoric pronoun can resume a list of noun phrases such as in (501).

(501) *vɛrì=ku² patsù ʒɛ̂=ku* [*maljù*]$_{NP_1}$ [*rì³*]$_{NP_2}$ [*pʰjɛ̀*]$_{NP_3}$ [*ʃəkú?*]$_{NP_4}$
3PL=OBJ tax(<M) carry=LOC chilli cane Rubia.cordifolia skin
[*kaʤà̀*]$_{NP_5}$ [*ʤì* *tʰà̀-la*]$_{MATRIX}$
wax ANA give-SEQ
'When we carried the payment for them, [we gave] chili, cane, creeper, skins, wax, this [all] we gave.' (TRADE05:58 [1181])

The anaphoric pronoun *ʤì* can also refer back to entire clause, such as in (502) where the anaphoric pronoun refers back to a reported speech ('what he said').

(502) a. *la daʤí? ì-ʤi=ro=rila*
CONJ snake die-away=ASRT=QUOT
'The snake died he said.' (elicited TAMVIII06:03)

b. *ʤì* *ʧîmbi* *mə-hì̀*
ANA Chimbi(<Tib) NMLZ-speak
'This is what Chimbi told [me].' (elicited TAMVIII06:05)

In (503c), the anaphoric pronoun refers back to the sentence (503a) where the speaker explains that one must pay tribute to the mountain spirits and the water spirits.

(503) a. [*pʰì̀ŋ=ku* *kʰɔ̀=ku* *tʰà̀-la* *amjɛ̀=ku* *tʰà̀-rùla tsá?-ʧî-na*]$_1$
mountain=LOC water=LOC give-SEQ good=LOC give-ANT do-OBLG-NPST

'One has to pay a good tribute to the mountains and the water.' (HL01:14 [1144])

b. *ʤilana pʰɨ̀ŋ at^{h}ɯ̀̃-hɛ̀̃ kʰɔ̀ at^{h}ɯ̀̃-hɛ̀̃ grì=ku^{2} amjɛ̀ ljáŋ^{2}-na*
CONJ mountain master-PL water master-PL 1PL=OBJ good give(HL)-NPST
'Then, the masters of the mountains and the masters of the waters will be well-disposed towards us.' (HL01:19 [1145])

c. [*ʤì ba-bɔ̀-lana*]$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*ba-ljáŋ^{2}-ré?-na*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
ANA NEG-COP.NEG-ANT NEG-give(HL)-BEN-NPST
'If not [if all this is not done], they [the spirits] won't be well-disposed.' (HL01:27 [1146])

A common use is of the anaphoric pronoun is to resume a preposed topic. In (504) the topic is *varì prɨ̃́* 'their own people' which is marked with the contrastive topic marker *=na* as well as preposed to the clause. In the clause itself, the topic is resumed with *ʤì*.

(504) [*vɛrì prɨ̃́=ku^{2}=na*]$_{\text{TOP}}$ *ʤì=ku^{2} dawo amjɛ̀ ʦá?-la hadɛ̀̃-dɔ̀̃=ku*
3PL human=OBJ=TOP ANA=OBJ medicine(<IA) good do-SEQ later-IMM=LOC
asɛ̀ ʦá?-la ɯ̀̃-dɔ̀̃
alive do-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Their own people, they healed with medicine, immediately, they made them alive and took them with them.' (WAR03:25 [586])

10.4.2. Zero anaphora

In Puroik there is no constraint that every core argument has to be filled by full noun phrase or at least a placeholder (such as e.g. in German). The arguments can be omitted if the arguments remain the same or if the speaker can assume that the hearer will be able to identify the missing arguments and their roles for other reasons. In the three consecutive clauses in (505) 'the Miji did not let us do X, Y and Z', the agents 'Miji's' and the people not allowed to do something ('us') are only explicitly mentioned in the first occurrence. For the following two sentences, one can assume that the arguments and their roles remain the same.

(505) [[*məbə́n-hɛ̃̀*]$_{A}$ [*grì=ku*]$_{G}$ [*wá?*]$_{T}$ *ba-rì-də̀*]$_{1}$ [*susù ba-tyɛ́-də̀*]$_{2}$
Miji-PL 1PL=LOC pig NEG-stay-CAUS mithun NEG-decoy-CAUS
[*ʧə̀hám ba-tsá?-də̀*]$_{3}$
store.house NEG-do-CAUS
'The Miji people did not let us breed pigs, they did not let us breed mithuns, they did not let us make nice houses.' (SAGO01:12 [959])

10.4.3. Definiteness *ʤi*= ... =*ʤi*

The particle *ʤi* marks a noun phrase as identifiable for the hearer (definite), given the preceding conversation, the speech act situation (pointing at someone or someone) or the assumed general knowledge of the world.

In (506), 'your brother' is marked with *ʤi*. The 'brother' noun phrase might be identifiable for example because the hearer has asked before where his (a particular) brother is in the speakers house (conversation context). Or the situation might be that a particular brother usually stays in the house of the speaker and hence he is identifiable for the hearer.

(506) *nà ba-vù-pʰɛ́?-bádɛ̀̃=ku* [*nà anə̀ =ʤi*]$_{DEF}$ *dɔ̃̀*
2SG NEG-go.from.base-reach-PRMN=LOC 2SG younger.brother=DEF just.now
ũ̀-ʤi-rɛ̃̀-ʧa
go.to.base-away-already-PRF
'Just before you came, your brother went away.' (elicited TAMVI09:53)

The definiteness particle *ʤi* can stand before the noun phrase, after the noun phrase or on both sides of the noun phrase.

In (507) the definiteness particle is preposed to the noun phrase, phonologically bound to the first word of the NP.

(507) *ʤilana* [*ʤi =bù²-se prɪ́-se ʤila*]$_{NP}$ *ʧɛ́?-la dəhù tsá?-la nə̀ nə̀*
CONJ DEF=dog-DU human-DU CONJ cry-SEQ sadness do-SEQ search search
nə̀ nə̀ nə̀ nə̀ ba-ɔ̀ì
search search search search NEG-find
'The dog and the human, both cried and were sad, they searched and searched but didn't find him (the frog).' (FROG00:51 [734])

The definiteness particle can be post-posed to the noun phrase such as in (508)

(508) *łúʔ-ruìla ʤilana atʰù̀ =ʤi rín-dyì̀-la*
fall-ANT CONJ master=DEF move.fast-again-SEQ
'After he fell down, the master came running.' (FROG01:27 [739])

Occasionally, the definiteness particle occurs on both sides of the noun phrase such as in (509) and (510):

(509) [*adà=ʤi adà=ʤi=ri²* *azì-dà²=ʤi=ri²* *vè* *nə́m*]$_{\text{MATRIX}}$
child=DEF child=DEF=TOP small-DIM=DEF=TOP 3SG wrest
[*ʤi =prî =ʤi*]$_{\text{A}}$ *vè* *nə́m-ruìla*
DEF=human=DEF 3SG wrest-ANT
'The human took the young and small [frog].' (FROG06:31 [799])

(510) *ʤi =míŋpalɔ̀ =ʤi hì̀=hȉ̀ro* *sikstitú=ku*
DEF=story=DEF speak=ASRT sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'This story, I told about the sixty-two war.' (WAR08:38 [663])

10.5. Non-declarative speech acts

Non-declarative speech acts are questions, orders or hortatives, i.e. speech acts for which the speaker expects a reaction or a response from the hearer.

10.5.1. Content question

The question words *mì* 'who', *hɛ̀* 'what', *klá* 'where', *kəʤɨ̀* 'when', *kəsá* 'how', are used syntactically in the place where the full noun phrase constituent would be and do not move to the front of the clause. In the (rhetorical) question "What would we give from here?" (511a) the question word is in the same place as the noun in the answer "cane" (511b) in the subsequent clause (the answer is given by the speaker himself).

(511) a. [*grì=ʧí*]$_{\text{A}}$ [*hɛ̀*]$_{\text{T}}$ *tʰə̀̃-na* *nù=lapu*
1PL=ADD what give-NPST here=ABL
'What would we give from here?' (TRADE05:45 [1176])

b. [*grì*]$_{\text{A}}$ [*rì³*]$_{\text{T}}$ *tʰə̀̃-na=ro*
1PL cane give-NPST=ASRT
'We would give cane [products].' (TRADE05:47 [1177])

Similarly if asking for an O-argument in (512), or a time in (513).

(512) *hɨ̀dɔ̀ nà azù* [*hɛ̀*]$_{O}$ *ʧɨ̋ŋ-ri-bá?*
now 2SG wife what work-IPFV-EXIST
'What is your wife doing now?' (elicited TAMV01:28)

(513) *vɛ̀ rakɨ́ŋ=ku* [*kəʤɨ̀*]$_{ADV}$ *vù-pɔ́-damɛ*
3SG behind=LOC when go.from.base-appear-POT
'When might they come behind him [he thought]?' (WAR07:47 [650])

Although the question word may stand in the first place in the sentence, the reason is not that a process moved them to the front, but often just (514) and (515) that all other arguments are left out (zero anaphora).

(514) *kəʤɨ̀ vù-la nám-vù-gɨ̀*
when go.from.base-SEQ wrest-go.from.base-follow
'When would they come behind him to catch him?' (WAR07:49 [651])

(515) *klá ɯ̀-ʤi=hijɑ̀=rila*
where go.to.base-away=Q=QUOT
'Where might he have gone, they said.' (TRAP01:02 [682])

Content question *mì* + *mə*-VERB

If asking for the causer of an accomplished event then the nominalised verb form with *mə-* is used.

(516) a. [*hɨ̀ hám*]$_{TOPIC}$ *mì mə- tsá?*
NEAR house who NMLZ-do
'Who made this house?' (elicited TAMVII00:26)

b. [*hɨ̀ təlɑ̀*]$_{TOPIC}$ *mì mə- bɻá?*
NEAR mug who NMLZ-break(<M)
'Who broke this cup?' (elicited TAMVI01:43)

c. [*məluɛ̀ mì*]$_{TOPIC}$ *mə- ʧɨ̋ŋ*
food who NMLZ-work
'Who made this food?' (elicited TAMVII02:14)

d. [*hɨ̀* *rɔŋ* *ahjɛ̀*]$_{\text{TOPIC}}$ *mì* *mə-ʃuí?=hija*
NEAR colour(<IA) black who NMLZ-oint=Q
'Who might have painted it [the school] black?' (elicited TAMVII03:10)

The question word in this cases is next to the nominalised verb form in the place a possessor would be, immediately preceding the noun. This is likely to be the origin of this construction, and the construction can still be understood in this way. For example (516a), "Who built this work" as "Who's work is this house?"

Cautious content question =*sɑ̀̃* / =hija

Asking questions can be very impolite, rough or even accusing, depending on how much knowledge the speaker assumes the hearer has about the answer. With an unmarked question a Bulu Puroik speaker assumes that the hearer knows or has access to the answer. If he does not want to presume this one of the particles =*sɑ̃̀* or =*hijɑ̀̃* is attached to the clause containing the question.

Consider for example (517), where one person reports that someone had died. The other person enquires "What happened?". If asked with a plain verb stem this presumes that the speaker knows the answer (517b), and eventually be involved in a crime, with the particle =*sɑ̀̃* this is not presumed (517c).

(517) a. *pəsù* *ì-ʤi-ʧa*
Miji.upper.cast die-away-PRF
'Speaker A: The high cast Miji man died.' (elicited TAMIV15:50)

b. *hɛ̀* *ʧʊ̃ʔ-ɯ̃̀*
what happen-POSS
'Speaker B: What happened? (You must know it)' (elicited TAMIV16:08)

c. *hɛ̀* *ʧʊ̃ʔ-ɯ̃̀* *=sɑ̀̃*
what happen-go.to.base=Q
'Speaker B: What might have happened? (You might know or not)' (elicited TAMIV16:07)

Further examples are given in (518a) and (518b)

(518) a. *vɛ̀* *kətúʔ* *klá* *lì*
3SG carry.basket where put

'Where did he put the basket? (Speaker presumes that hearer knows.)' (elicited F37:2)

b. *vè kətú? klá lì =sə̀̃*
3SG carry.basket where put=Q
'Where might he have put the basket? (Hearer might not know.)' (elicited F37:1)

Similarly the particle *=hija* (519).

(519) *klá ə̀̃-ʤi =hijə̀̃ =rila*
where go.to.base-away=Q=QUOT
'Where might he have gone, they said.' (TRAP01:02 [682])

(520) *vè kátə́̃ʧáŋ klá=ku ɬú?=hija*
3SG sulphur.spring(RL) where=LOC fall=Q
'He thought: Where might the Kaatuŋʧaŋ water have fallen down?' (SULPH21:08 [1222])

The potential *-bamɛ* can have a similar function (521). However, *-bamɛ* is not restricted to questions.

(521) *vɛrì tʰɬí? prə́̃-hɛ̃̀=ku klá wɛ́?-lì -bamɛ =rila*
3PL village human-PL=LOC where kill-put-POT=QUOT
'Where might they have killed the people of my village, he thought.' (WAR05:44 [617])

10.5.2. Yes/no question *=jə̀̃* / *=hi*

Adding the particles *=jə̀̃*/*=hi* at the end of the clause turns a clause into a polar question[3] The particle is cliticised to the last morpheme to the last morpheme of the predicate, on both unnegated (522a) and negated predicates (522b). The negated yes/no-question is biased, as in English, and the speaker expects the answer to be "yes".

(522) a. *gù anɔ̀ nà-tə́̃ vù-pɔ́̃-ba =jə̀̃*
1SG younger.brother 2SG-LOC.PERS go.from.base-appear-PRS=Q

[3]The question particle *=jə̀̃* is probably related to the Miji question particle *=ja* or might even be a borrowing.

'Did my younger brother come to your place?' (elicited TAMVI08:23)

b. *gù anɔ̀ nà-tɨ́ ba-vù-pɔ̋ -ba =jɑ̀*
1SG younger.brother 2SG-LOC.PERS NEG-go.from.base-appear-PRS=Q
'Did my younger brother not come to your place?' (elicited TAMVI08:22)

Affirmative yes/no question =ʤáŋ

The particle =ʤáŋ marks a yes/no question with a bias towards the affirmative, i.e. the speaker expects that the hearer will say "yes". For example in (523a), where the recorder is ready and the speakers sees me waiting for him to start telling he says *hɨ̀-na-ʧa*-ʤaŋ "let's start telling, shouldn't we". He is knows that he is supposed to start telling, and he immediately starts.

(523) a. *hɨ̀-na-ʧa =ʤáŋ*
speak-NPST-PRF=Q
'Let us start telling, shouldn't we?' (ORIGIN00:01 [804])

b. *ɛ̀ gù=ʧi ɛ̀ gù pulɔ̀ gù tʰɬ̀ʔ pulɔ̀ ɛ̀ pulɔ̀*
FILL 1SG=ADD FILL 1SG Bulu 1SG village Bulu FILL Bulu
'Hm, me, I [am from] Bulu. My village is Bulu.' (ORIGIN00:03 [805])

10.5.3. Imperative

Imperatives in Bulu Puroik may be unmarked or be marked with the imperative suffix *-bo*.

The imperative suffix is attached directly to the verb stem. No TAM suffixes can precede the imperative suffix. Derivations are, however, allowed to precede the imperative suffix, such as in (524).

(524) <*lɨ̀sɛ́ʔ-ruìla lɨ̀buɛ̃̀*>*-ruìla narì amjɛ̀ rɨ-jɑ̀ -bo rì-ruìla*
<happy(<M)-ANT happy(<M)>-ANT 2PL good stay-PRMN-IMP say-ANT
ɨ̀-ʤi
go.to.base-away
'Being happy and in good mood, he said: "You all stay well!" and went away.'
(FROG06:46 [802])

An imperative may be formed with a plain verb stem without any affixes

Plain stem "come and ask" (525):

(525) *tʰíʔ prɨ́ hɨ̀ anɔ̀ narì=ʧì adàʃu atsɨ-hɛ̃̀*
village human NEAR younger.brother 2PL=ADD son grandchild-PL
ba-dɛ̃̀-mərɔna awíʔ grì=ku ʃí-vù
NEG-know-COND old 1PL=LOC ask-go.from.base
'You people of the village, you younger brothers, sons and grandsons, if you don't know something, come and ask us old men.' (LANG35:06 [1106])

The difference between presence and absence of the imperative suffix is a difference in politeness. An imperative marked with the suffix *-bo* sounds less pressing than a bare verb stem.

Negative imperative

Unlike Miji, Bangru and other Trans-Himalayan languages, Bulu Puroik has no particular form for the negative imperative. Negative imperatives are formed with the ordinary clausal negation and the imperative suffix, i.e. *ba-*VERB*-bo* as in (526).

(526) *ʤi=bù²=ku²* *ba- njáʔ -bo*
DEF=dog=OBJ NEG-make.noise-IMP
'To the dog [he said]: Don't make noise!' (FROG05:30 [786])

Hortative

Hortatives, requests to the first person are introduced with the hortative particle *kəí*. The verb form is a perfect *-batʃa* as in (527) 'Let's go.', but can be an assertive focus particle as *=ro* or =baro as well (528).

(527) *la ʤi=kɨ̃́ʤɨ́n ʧaina-hɛ̃̀=na kəí ù̃ -ʤi -batʃa=ro=ri*
CONJ DEF=China China(<Eng)-PL=TOP HORT go.to.base-away-PRF=ASRT=QUOT
'Then, the Chinese people said: Come on, let's go!' (WAR05:02 [607])

(528) *kəí té məluɛ̃̀ ʧì -ba =ro=ri vè rì-ka ba-ʧì-na=ro*
HORT FAR food eat-PRS=ASRT=QUOT 3SG say-REL NEG-eat-NPST=ASRT
'[The soldiers] said let's go over there and eat food. But he said: "I won't eat."' (WAR06:46 [633])

10.6. Summary

Pragmatic statuses are marked with clitics on non-predicate constituents. Topics are marked with *=na*, *=ri²* and the quotative *=ri*. Focus particles include *=ʧi*, *=matʃi*, *=ʧiráŋ*. Although not on the predicate, the scope of the topic and focus markers can be clausal. The anaphoric pronoun resumes constituents from earlier in the discourse and the definiteness marker *ʤi* derived from this pronoun marks noun phrases as definite (identifiable for the hearer). Questions are formed with question words and particles on the predicate. While plain verb stems can be used as imperative, adding the imperative suffix *-bo* is considered to be more polite.

11. Special registers

Bulu is a multi-lingual village. Puroik is spoken among the elder generation men, Miji is spoken by women and the younger generation, Tshangla or Brokpa is spoken with visitors from the villages across the ridge, Kojo-Rojo Puroik is spoken with visitors from the east, Hindi is spoken with visitors from other tribes and non-tribals. As if this was not enough in a village with 7 households, there are special registers for special occasions. Hunting language, spoken during hunting, ritual language, spoken by shamans during rituals, story language, used to talk about mythology and tell the origin stories. Each register has an own independent lexicon. However, the grammatical morphemes and most constructions are identical, to everyday Puroik. Examples of how different the lexemes these three registers can be are given in table 11.1

Table 11.1.: Comparison of the three registers

Gloss	Puroik	Hunting Language	Ritual language
'eat'	*ʧi*	*mɛ́ʔ*	*bɔ̀*
'drink'	*ín*	*vù²*	*núŋ*
'dog'	*bù²*	*ʃĩn²*	*ʧagɹáŋ akú*

11.1. Hunting language

Common to many communities in the region is the belief that hunters and trappers have to speak a different language in order to make a good prey (see also text in appendix A.9). If during hunting and trapping everyday language is spoken, then the hunt will not be successful and some calamity will come over the hunter and his family. There used to be a complete hunting language lexicon. Hunters would stay several days in the forest only communicating in hunting language with each other during this time.

Other communities having a hunting language are the Puroik communities in East Kameng and Kurung Kumey, Miji in West and East Kameng, Bangru in Kurung Kumey. Having recorded items from other Puroik hunting languages further east, I was not able to find any similarities, neither with the Bulu Puroik hunting language nor among them. There is, however, a great degree of similarity between the Bulu hunting language and the Miji hunting language of the next village Mathow, as men from these villages used to hunt together in the past. Common to these hunting languages is that they are lexically very different from the everyday language but grammatically identical to the everyday language (529):

(529) *məgɨ́ʔ fɛ̂-la rɨ́ʔ-mərɔna amjɛ̀ ʃóʔ-la bɛ̀²-bo*
trap(HL) see(HL)-SEQ shoot-COND good bring(HL)-SEQ go(HL)-IMP
'[Hunting language] See the traps. If you caught something, carry it back well!'
(HL26:27 [1155])

Humans

	HL	Puroik			
'person'	*sətáʔ*	*prɨ́*	'woman'	*ʒə̀tɛ́ʔ*	*mərù*
'man'	*kŭʤɨ́n*	*afù*			

Animals

'animal'	*akɹeí*	*ʃi*	'fish'	*mjə̀pɛ̋*	*ʧiù*
'barking deer'	*alɛʤɨ́n*	*ʃətʃi*	'fish'[1]	*alyìwè ʧiù*	
'musk deer'	*mənám*	*anám*	'snake'	*tɛʒù*	*daʤɨʔ*
'takin'	*ʃagaláŋ*	*ʃətʃə̀m*	'pig'	*məsunúŋ*	*ɔ́ʔ*
'chicken'	*kəbáŋ*	*mədyì*	'wild boar'	*nadəráʔ*	*sətsɛ̀*
'patridge'	*gəwán dərù*	*mŭ̀brɨ*	'horse'	*taípán*	*sətú*
'sərow'	*ʃadəwjáŋ*	*sərɨ̀*	'mithun'	*kŭ́bu*	*susù*
'macaque'	*uvaù*	*mərə̀*	'sheep'	*ʃabrín*	*səláʔ*
'tiger'	*məzíʔ*	*atíŋ məzɨ́ʔ*	'goat'	*məsənjo ʃabrín*	*səpɨ̀*
'bear'	*ʃəʧə̃n*	*asì*	'meat'	*ʒjə̀*	*ʃi*
'dog'	*ʃín²*	*bù²*	'male'	*akŭ́ʤɨ́n*	*apʰɔ̀*
'cat'	*maʃɛ̀²*	*aljù*	'female'	*aʒáŋtɛ́ʔ*	*amɔ̀*
'bird'	*gəwɛ́ʔ*	*pədù*	'child/small'	*amjè²*	*adə̀*
'rat'	*asíndzɨ́n*	*ʧɛ̀*			
'squirrel'	*tɛʃín*	*ʧɛ̀*			

Body parts

‘head’	*awakṹ*	*akṹ*	‘leg’	*məgɻín*	*alɛ̀*
‘hair’	*awamán*	*kəzə̀*	‘hand’	*səkó*	*agé?*
‘skin’	*ʃakjó?*	*akú?*	‘stomach’	*awadú?*	*aɬyì*
‘ear’	*kə̃dṵ̀*	*akuĩ́*	‘tooth’	*asám ʧabù*	*kətɔ̃́*
‘eye’	*ʃəmɻò*	*akə́m*			
‘blood’	*sələ́m*	*ahuì*			

Nature

‘bamboo’	*bɛ̃̀bì*	*mabjaò*	‘it rains’	*dzə̀̃dzín dzí?*[2]	
‘wood’	*uʒɔ̃̀*	*ʃṵ̀*		*hə̀̃pʰì pʰì*	
‘fire’	*tatám*	*bɛ̀*	‘snow’	*tesalén*	*hə̀̃dzə̀*
‘water’	*məʧím*	*kʰɔ̀*	‘wind’	*ʃì*[2]	*hə̀̃ʃín*
‘sun’	*plə́m*	*hamì*	‘blow (wind)’	*lì*[2]	*ʃín*
‘moon’	*plə́mmɻò*	*hə̀̃bɔ*	‘mountain’	*makúŋ*	*pʰɨ̀ŋ*
‘star’	*plə́mmjɛ̀*	*hə̀̃waí?*		*adì*	*pʰɨ̀ŋ*
‘moss’	*uʒɔ̃̀ gú?*	*gú?*	‘chilli’	*tɛ́lo*	*maljù*
‘stone’	*ʧabù*	*kalɨ́ŋ*	‘boiled sago’	*səlaù*	*ʧarɛ̃̀*
‘soil’	*dərá?*	*məhjɛ̃̀*	‘polenta’	*gəwéntʃín* *məpʰìn ʧakuí*	
‘path’	*sə̃̀kə̃́*	*lím*	‘food’	*maméʔ*	*məluɛ̃̀*
‘salt’	*tɛlín*	*fəù*	‘alcohol’	*məvù*	*pʰəù*
‘rain’	*dzə̀̃dzín*	*hə̀̃pʰì*			

Tools

‘bow’	*gədúŋ*	*lɨ̀*	‘quiver’	*gəvúŋ*	*záp*
	leì	*lɨ̀*	‘arrow’	*nitséŋ*	*míʔ*
‘trap (which?)’	*məgɨ́?*	*məzə̀*	‘arrow poison’	*nətʃín*	*məlím*
‘stone trap’	*məvə́m*	*rɔ̀*	‘house’	*zɨ́n*	*hám*
	ʧabibrán	*rɔ̀*	‘dao’	*bjṵ̀*	*ʧì*
‘sling trap’	*məʃuɨ̃̀*	*ʧɨ̃́?*			

[1]lit. ‘not having tongue’

Verbs

‘be hungry’	*vòvín*	*hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ*
‘be thirsty’	*vòsə̰̀*	*lɨ̰̀wɛ̰̀*
‘be there’	*ʒù*	*báʔ*
‘not be there’	*ljáŋ*	*wɛ̀*
‘bring, take’	*ʃóʔ*	*lè*
‘carry on back’	*fĩʔ³*	*ʒɛ̀*
‘die’	*tsə̀*	*ì*
‘drink’	*vù²*	*ín*
‘eat’	*méʔ*	*ʧì*
‘go from base’	*bɛ̀² vù*	*vù*
‘go to base’	*bɛ̀² ṵ̀̀*	*ṵ̀̀*
‘hear/listen’	*vaù*	*níŋ*
‘hold’	*ʃəʒán*	*kɛ́*
‘hunt’	*ʃəwjáŋ vù*	*ʃì gɨ̀*
‘kill’	*maù*	*wéʔ*
‘make noise’	*faì*	*njáʔ*
‘make stone trap’	*núʔ*	*rɔ̀ ʒə̀*
‘make traps’	*bəʒə̰̀*	*ʒə̀*
‘see’	*fɛ̀*	*níŋ*
‘shoot (bow/gun)’	*ʒɛ́ʔ*	*ríʔ*
‘sleep’	*plám²*	*rə́m*
‘slip’	*lə́n*	*ɬúʔ*
‘speak’	*faì*	*njáʔ*
‘trap something’	*ríʔ³*	*pə́*
‘work, make’	*mə̰̀*	*ʧɬ̃ŋ*

Adjectives

‘fast’	*adəhù*	*ajə̰̀*
‘big’	*asəkə̃́*	*arà*
‘heavy’	*asɨ́n*	*alɨ̀*
‘hot’	*gəlúŋ*	*ahjáʔ*
‘cold’	*gəzíʔ*	*aʧì*

Idioms

tatám bizɑ̀̃	‘to make fire’	*bè rì²*
mɨ́ŋ faì	‘to talk’	*mɨ́ŋ rì*
mɨ́ŋ ʃəbɻɨ́n	‘to speak hunting language’	
mamɛ́ʔ mɛ́ʔ-ka	‘mouth’ (lit. the one eating)	*məluɛ̃̀ ʧî-ka*
məʃuɨ̃̀ bəzɔ̃̀	‘to make traps’	*məzə̀ zə̀*
məvə́m núʔ	‘to make a stone trap’	*rə̀ zə̀*
ʃadəwjáŋ=ku² zɛ́ʔ	‘to shoot the serow’	*sərɨ̃̀=ku² rɨ́ʔ*
mamɛ́ʔ mɑ̀̃	‘to make food’	*məluɛ̃̀ ʧɨ̃ŋ*
səlaù mɑ̀̃	‘to prepare boiled sago’	*ʧarɛ̃̀ nuì*
gəwɛ́ntʃɨ̃n mɑ̀̃	‘to prepare polenta’	*gəwɛ́ntʃɨ̃n ʧɨ̃ŋ*
uzɔ̃̀ ʃɔ́ʔ	‘to bring wood’	*ʃì lè*
ba-faì-bo	‘Don’t make noise!’	*ba-njáʔ-bo*
nà bɛ̃̀²-jɑ̀̃-bo	‘Keep going!’	*nà vù-jɑ̀̃-bo*
zɨ́n=ʃɔ̃̀ bɛ̃̀	‘to go home’	*hám ũ̀*
zjɔ̃̀ amjɛ̀²	‘animal child’	*ʃì adə̀*
zjɔ̃̀ fɪ̃́²-la bɛ̃̀	‘to go carrying meat’	*ʃì zɛ̃̀-la ũ̀*
plə́m² híʔ	‘to feel sleepy’	*ləbín ʤúʔ*
plúm vòvə̀	‘to feel sad’	*dəhù tsáʔ*

11.2. Trading language

Trading language is not a register of Puroik, but rather a lingua franca used to communicate with people on the trade route to Tibet, who spoke other languages. This language was used by the forefathers who went to go to Tibet to buy salt (see text in appendix A.10). Only a few words of this language are remembered (11.2).

Table 11.2.: Trading language

Trading language	Puroik	English
saŋsəiʔ	*ʃi*	'meat'
roŋsəiʔ	*fəù*	'salt'
ʤuŋ	*tʰɑ̀̃*	'give

11.3. Ritual language and story language

The activities of performing rituals and telling stories are closely connected, as the shaman always tells a version of the origin story when he performs a ritual. He introduces himself to the spirits by telling where he and his people came from. Given that stories and rituals overlap, the story language and the ritual language are largely identical. Story language and ritual language are also to some extent identical to the ritual language of the Mijis.

11.3.1. Ritual language lexicon

Unlike the hunting language, the ritual language does not provide a corresponding term for each and every lexeme. Some lexemes will be replaced by a term in ritual language, other lexemes are ordinary Puroik. Most lexical nouns consist of two parts and denote gods, spirits, places, tribes and animals. Interweaving such multi-part lexemes is one of the most salient feature of the ritual and story language 11.3.2.

Gods

'human'	*tára táma*	*prɨ́*
'human'	*abù bùlu*	*prɨ́*
'dog'	*ʧagɹáŋ akú*	*bù²*
'takin'	*kəbùʃu kəmùʃi*	*ʃətʃə̀m*
'serow'	*raʤáŋʃu rariʃu*	*sərɨ̀*
'ask'	*bejò*	*ʃɨ̃*

11.3.2. Elaborate expressions

Elaborate are lexemes which always occur in the same fixed pairs. In Bulu Puroik, elaborate expressions are fixed elements of the lexicon and are not spontaneous. The two parts of the expression may have the same referent or different referents when the referents occur in pairs, such as the names of the mythical forefathers who came in pairs of brothers. Most elaborate expression share some rhyming component, which is usually the prefix or the onset, but sometimes also the rhyme or the coda.

For example, the mythical forefathers of all human tribes are pairs of brothers for each tribe, the elder first, the younger second:

(530) a. *nəmò nəhù* 'forefathers of a mythical tribe in Tibet' (rhyming prefix *nə-*)
b. *krá krúŋ* 'forefather of Bulu Puroiks' (rhyming onset *kr-*)
c. *nətsə́n nərɛ̀* 'forefathers of the Kojo-Rojo Puroiks' (prefix *nə-*)
d. *kə́̃lo kə́̃wi* 'forefathers of the non-tribals' (prefix *kə̃-*)
e. *kajə̏ʤu kadonaì* 'forefather of the Puroiks in Kurung Kumey'(prefix *ka-*)
f. *ʃitṹ tsə̏tṹ* 'forefathers of the Monpas in Tawang' (identical *-tṹ*)
g. *ʃə̀to mjə̀li* 'forefathers of the Mijis' (not rhyming)

Similar expressions exist also in other languages of North East India such as in Pnar (Ring 2015, p. 196) or Karbi (Konnerth 2014, p. 579), as well as in other Trans-Himalayan and South-East-Asian languages.

11.3.3. Discontinuity of elaborate expressions

The two parts of elaborate expressions are often not immediately next to each other in discourse but are interrupted by another word or phrase. For example, the brother pair Kraa and Krung are the mythical forefathers of the Puroiks in Bulu. In (531b) the elaborate expression *krá krúŋ* is interrupted by an appositional noun *akú* 'elder brother'.

(531) a. *gù prɪ̃́də̀ gù* <*krá* *krúŋ*> *ù̏-ka* *ù̏*
1SG Puroik 1SG <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> go.to.base-REL go.to.base
'We are Puroiks, we are the ones who descend from Kraa Krung.' (ORIGIN00:12 [806])

b. <*krábu akú* *krúŋbu*> *akú*
<Kraabu first.brother Kruŋbu> first.brother
'The eldest brother Kraabu and the eldest brother Krungbu.' (ORIGIN00:14 [807])

Elaborate expressions are very interrupted by the predicate which as a poetic device is repeated twice. Some examples are *nəmò nəhù* 'the forefathers of a mythical tribe in Tibet' in (532), *nətsán nərè* 'the forefathers of the Kojo-Rojo Puroiks' (534), *túŋʤáŋ túŋru* 'sulphur springs' in (533), *məpiláŋ mərjúŋʒín* 'the mythical origin of all Puroiks' (535) or *buʒɔ̀̃ maʒɔ̀̃* 'sago' in (536).

(532) *è abɛ̀̃ ũ̀-ʤi-ka* <*nəmò vè ũ̀-ʤi-ka=ro*
FILL ahead go.to.base-away-REL <Nəmoo 3SG go.to.base-away-REL=ASRT
nəhù> *vè ũ̀-ʤi*
Nəhuu> 3SG go.to.base-away
'They were the ones to go ahead, Nəmoo and Nəhuu went ahead.' (ORIGIN01:24 [824])

(533) <*túŋʤáŋ ɬaì-ruìla túŋru*> *ɬaì-ruìla gù=ʧi ũ̀-la*
<spring(<RL) plant-ANT spring(RL)> plant-ANT 1SG=ADD go.to.base-SEQ
'Planting the sulfuric springs, we came.' (ORIGIN02:39 [844])

(534) *tɛ́* <*nətsán ũ̀-ruì nərè*> *ũ̀-ruìla tɛ́*
FAR <Nətsən go.to.base-ANT Nərɛɛ> go.to.base-ANT FAR
'We reached the Nətsən Nərɛɛ place over there.' (ORIGIN02:55 [848])

(535) *tɛ́* <*məpiláŋ =ku ũ̀-ruì mərjúŋʒɨ́n*> *=ku ũ̀-ruìla*
FAR <Məpilaŋ(RL)=LOC go.to.base-ANT Mərjuŋʒɨn(RL)>=LOC go.to.base-ANT
'We came to Məpʰilaŋ Mərjuŋʒɨn.' (ORIGIN02:59 [849])

(536) *gù* <*buʒɔ̀̃ lè-ruìla maʒɔ̀̃*> *ʧaò lè-ruìla*
1SG <sago(RL) take-ANT sago(RL)> sago take-ANT
'We brought sago.' (ORIGIN00:54 [817])

Elaborate expressions can be combined as in (537), where *krábu krúŋbu* is combined with the alternative name *ʤánwáŋ* ʤənwoo.

(537) *ʤila <krá gù krúŋ> gù <krábu <ʤánwáŋ la krúŋbu>*
CONJ <Kraa(RL) 1SG Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG <Kraabu <Dənwaŋ(RL) CONJ Kruŋbu>
ʤánwo> ʤila hamì atʃá?=ku² wé?-ruìla hə̀̂bu atʃá?=ku² wé?-ruìla
Dənwo(RL)> CONJ sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT
'Then, we Kraa and Krungs, Kraabu Dənwaŋ and Kruŋbu Dəmvo, we killed the bad sun and the bad moon.' (ORIGIN02:15 [836])

11.3.4. Verbal elaborate expressions

Elaborate expressions can be verbs as for example *lù ʒjù* 'make a place inhabitable by expelling the bad spirits' in (538).

(538) *hɨ̀ <rùʃə̀tso gəmáŋdúŋlo>=ri gù rakíŋ=ku*
NEAR <Ruʃantso(RL) Gəməŋduŋlo(RL)>=QUOT 1SG behind=LOC
<lù -gɨ̀-la ʒjù²> -gɨ̀-la
<expell.bad.spirits-follow-SEQ expell.bad.spirits>-follow-SEQ
'Ruʃantso and Gəməŋduŋlo did the same rituals after us.' (ORIGIN03:52 [860])

Similar to nominal elaborate expressions, verbal elaborate expressions are discontinuous. In (538) the two parts of the expression are separated by the verbal derivation *gɨ̀* and the marker *=la*, both of which are repeated after the second part of the verbal elaborate expression.

Verbal elaborate expressions also occur in profane contexts such as *ljá? ljó?* 'to flash around with a light beam' in (539), which is a personal narrative.

(539) *bù-líŋ=ku tos tʃə̀̃-la tʃə̀̃-la <ljá?³ -la*
DOWN-inside=LOC torch(<Eng) illuminate-SEQ illuminate-SEQ <flash-SEQ
ljó?> -la tʃə̀̃-la tʃə̀̃-la nɔ̀-rikəpáŋ
flash>-SEQ illuminate-SEQ illuminate-SEQ search-PROG(<M)
'Down there, flashing with the torch here and there, they were searching him.' (WAR07:14 [640])

Similarly, there are rhyming predicate derivations such as in *gɨ̀*-pro *gɨ̀*-mro 'chase into different directions' in (540), from the picture story "Frog, where are you?".

(540) *ám nù=ʃɔ̀ gɨ̀-mə vɛhenɨ́ʔ=ku lana* <*gɨ̀-pɻo*
FILL here=LOC follow-PST 3DU=LOC CONJ <follow-scatter(<M)
gɨ̀-mɻo>
follow-scatter(<M)>
'[The bees] chased the two into different directions.' (FROG03:36 [765])

In (541) both the predicate and the O-argument are elaborate expressions. The predicate is *lù ʒjù* 'make a place inhabitable by expelling the bad spirits', the O-argument is *ʒɨláŋ ʒɨʒɨ́n* the name of the ritual.

(541) *ʤì=ku* <*dəkró dántsáŋ*> *ù̀-ruìla gù*
ANA=LOC <Dəkroo(RL) Dəntsaŋ(RL)> go.to.base-ANT 1SG
<*ʒɨláŋ* <*lù -ruìla* *ʒɨʒɨ́n*>
<ritual.against.evil(RL) <expell.bad.spirits-ANT ritual.against.evil(RL)>
ʒjù²> *-ruì*
expell.bad.spirits>-ANT
'There, we reached Salari, we made the ʒɨlaŋ ritual, and the ʒɨʒɨn ritual.' (ORIGIN03:31 [856])

11.4. Summary

Bulu Puroik has separate lexical inventories for hunting, for rituals and stories. While the hunting language replaces Puroik entirely during hunting, the ritual language is rather a collection of sacred terms and expression which are combined with Puroik or other languages during rituals. Grammatical morphemes and constructions of the hunting language and the ritual language registers are identical to everyday Puroik.

A. Texts

This appendix contains all text examples discussed in the grammar in their natural discourse context (except elicited data). Section A.0.1 gives metadata about the included texts. Section A.0.2 explains the format of the annotated texts. Section A.13 contains a list of all morphemes occurring in the texts sorted according to frequency.

A.0.1. Speakers and text metadata

Table A.1.: Text metadata

	text	genre	speaker A	speaker B	place	year	video
A.1	WAR	personal narrative	Phembu	-	Tezpur	2014	no
A.2	TRAP	personal narrative	Dorchung	Phembu	Bulu (forest)	2015	yes
A.3	FROG	picture story	Phembu	-	Bulu	2014	no
A.4	ORIGIN	creation myth	Chang	Phembu	Bulu	2013	no
A.5	QUAKE	folk tale	Chang	-	Tezpur	2017	yes
A.6	WOOD	conversation	Phembu	Dorchung	Bulu	2015	yes
A.7	SAGO	cultural description	Chang	Kisae	Bulu (river)	2015	yes
A.8	LANG	cultural description	Phembu	Dorchung	Bulu	2015	yes
A.9	HL	cultural description	Chimbi	Chang	Bulu	2016	no
A.10	TRADE	cultural description	Chang	Phembu	Bulu	2013	no
A.11	SULPH	folk tale	Phembu	Dorchung	Bulu	2015	yes
A.12	MASANG	folk tale	Phembu	-	Bulu	2016	no

All recording and annotation files are archived on Zenodo and available for downloading. The link to the URL is provided in the table below A.2. Note that one recording may contain more than one "text".

Table A.2.: URL to archived recordings and annotation files

recording	text	doi[1]
WAR	WAR	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011571
TRAP	TRAP	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011596
FROG	FROG	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3973349
ORIGIN	ORIGIN	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3966734
QUAKE	QUAKE	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011617
VISITKR	WOOD	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011644
VISITKR	SULPH	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011644
VISITKR	LANG	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011644
SAGO	SAGO	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011656
HL	HL	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011676
OLDTIMES	TRADE	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011706
MASANG	MASANG	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4011725

All speakers live in Bulu village. The official surname of all speakers is “Raiju” with the Miji name suffix *-ju* [ʤu] in Puroik *raìdə̀*. Of the persons recorded only Chimbi had three years formal education. All speakers know Miji fluently and Hindi.

[1] **D**igital **O**bject **I**dentifier ISO 26324

Table A.3.: Speakers

name		age	mother's language	wife's language	remark
Phembu	M	~70	KR Puroik	1) KR Puroik 2) Miji[2]	village eldest
Chang	M	~65	Sartang	Mathow Miji	gaonbura
Chimbi	M	~60	Sartang	Mathow Miji	Chang's brother
Dorchung	M	~40	Sartang	KR Puroik	married to Kisae
Kisae	F	~40	Bulu Puroik	-	native speaker of KR Puroik[3]

Table A.4.: Length of texts

Text	units	words[4]		morphemes[5]		time (mm:ss)
WAR	122	752	(417)	1208	(292)	08:37
TRAP	62	379	(234)	586	(183)	03:39
FROG	77	450	(232)	704	(175)	06:48
ORIGIN	109	653	(259)	942	(216)	07:19
QUAKE	23	160	(93)	260	(81)	02:02
WOOD	10	67	(45)	112	(51)	00:37
SAGO	27	239	(125)	384	(109)	02:32
LANG	158	850	(407)	1419	(250)	08:50
HL	25	134	(89)	234	(81)	02:10
TRADE	50	328	(171)	489	(137)	03:21
SULPH	139	654	(349)	1044	(241)	07:41
MASANG	109	578	(306)	902	(210)	07:43
Total:	911	5244	(1905)	8284	(890)	1:01:25

[2]Married more than once.
[3]Was born and raised up in Kojo-Rojo. Her mother is Phembu's younger sister from Bulu.
[4]As word is counted what is between white spaces. In parenthesis the number of *different* words in the text.
[5]In parenthesis the number of *different* morphemes in the text.

A.0.2. Format of annotated texts

The annotation follows the "Leipzig glossing rules"[6]. Each unit has the maximal format of the following fictional example (542).

(542) 1) **A:** <ɛː> <tɛɛ> (1s) <hɛmɛ> guː badɛ̃ː
2) *gù ba-dɛ̀̃*
3) 1SG NEG-know
4) 'Ehm ... I don't know [where he is]'.
5) 01:02.0-01:05.5
6) **See:** (456), (567)
7) **Comment:** Speaker continues cutting meat.

1) transcription line, including fillers, laughs, coughs, false starts, speaker mistakes (in <>-brackets), pronunciation variants, incomplete pronunciation, allegro forms. Content left away in the morpheme line is in <>-brackets Further information contained in this line are places where the speaker makes a pause "(1s)" and the end of an intonation sub-units "|". If a text has more than one speaker, the speakers are distinguished at the beginning of the transcription line as speaker "A", "B" etc.
2) morpheme line
3) annotation line
4) free translation. Content added to the literal translation is in square brackets [].
5) Time interval shows, how fast the speaker speaks, whether two speakers speak at the same time. The reference keys in the grammar are also derived from the starting time[7].
7) If the text segment is discussed somewhere in the grammar, all places are listed after "**See:**" with the example number used in the text.
8) **Comment:** further information necessary for understanding the text segment.

[6] https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php
[7] For example, if the fictional example (542) was from a text "KNOW", then the reference key would be "KNOW01:02"

A.1. Story from the 1962 war (WAR)

Summary: The story is about a man from Lagam, who came to buy maize to Bulu during the Indo-Chinese war in 1962. On the way back home, he ended up in the middle of a major battle field. He was captured by the Chinese, but managed to escape in the evening of the same day and reunite with his family, who was hiding in the forest. The protagonist of the story *ŋawaŋ* was a personal friend of the speaker's family, and the speaker had heard the story from him directly.

(543) *bui | griː adʑɛ̃ bádɛ̃ku | griː apa ʃəʒaŋ | griː ama tʃɛʔ*
buì grì adʑɛ̀ báʔ-dɛ̀=ku grì apá ʃəʒáŋ grì amà tʃɛ́ʔ[2]
before 1PL child EXIST-PRMN=LOC 1PL father ʃəʒaŋ 1PL mother Tʃɛʔ
'Many years ago, in the time when we were kids, our father['s name] was *ʃəʒaŋ* and our mother['s name] was *Tʃɛʔ*.'
00:04.4-00:14.0

See: (374)

(544) *dʒi hakəm tsaʔrila məbĩː*
dʒì hakə́m tsáʔ-ri-la məbì̃
ANA friend do-IPFV-SEQ Brokpa
'They were friends with a Brokpa.'
00:14.2-00:17.6

(545) *hĩ̀ avaŋ | pʰimoː | vɛhəní azuːri kisaŋ laŋaːrila*
hì̃ ŋawaŋ pʰimoo vɛheníʔ azù=ri kisaŋ laŋaa=rila
NEAR Ngawaŋ Phimo(<Bkp) 3DU wife=QUOT Kisaŋ Langa=QUOT
'Ngawang's and his elder brother *Phimo*'s wife was Kisang Langa.'
00:18.6-00:25.7

See: (145)

Comment: The two brothers *pʰimo* and *ŋawaŋ* are married to the same wife a practice which was not uncommon in the Brokpa community.

(546) *dʒibədɛ̃ːku | griːtũku məpʰin leːvuː | sikstituːku*
dʒi=bədɛ̀=ku grì-tű=ku məpʰìn lè-vù
DEF=time=LOC 1PL-LOC.PERS=LOC maize take-go.from.base
sikstitú=ku
sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'That time, in 1962, he came to us to get maize.'

00:26.1-00:30.3

See: (397), (408), (250), (127)

(547) *ɛ ʧaina armihɛ̃ːla wɛʔri*

ʧaina *armi-hɛ̃̀=la* *wɛ́ʔ-ri²*
China(<Eng) army(<Eng)-PL=CONJ kill-RECP
'Chinese and Indian soldiers were fighting each other.'

00:31.1-00:35.4

See: (204), (339), (156)

(548) *vɛːna badɛ̃*

vɛ̀=na *ba-dɛ̀̃*
3SG=TOP NEG-know
'But he didn't know.'

00:35.9-00:37.0

(549) *griːtũ vuːla məpʰin nuɔʔla leːryi | ʒɛ̃ryila ũ*

grì-tṹ *vù-la* *məpʰìn nɔ́ʔ-la* *lè-ruì* *ʒɛ̀̃-ruìla*
1PL-LOC.PERS go.from.base-SEQ maize buy-SEQ take-ANT carry-ANT
ù̀
go.to.base
'He came to us, bought maize, and went carrying it back home.'

00:37.0-00:39.3

See: (23)

(550) *amaː pʰəu ʧiʔla tã*

amà *pʰəù* *ʧíp-la* *tʰà̃*
mother alcohol make.beer-SEQ give
'[Our] mother made some rice beer and gave him [for on the way].'

00:41.9-00:43.6

See: (401)

(551) *pʰəu palã ɬiʔreʔ*

pʰəù *palà̃* *ɬíʔ-réʔ*
alcohol bamboo.mug(<Tsh) pour-BEN
'She had poured him the alcohol in a bamboo container.'

00:43.7-00:45.0

See: (330)

(552) *pʰəu palã ʒɛ̃ryila ũ*

pʰəù palɜ̀̃ ʒɛ̀̃-ruìla ù̃
alcohol bamboo.mug(<Tsh) carry-ANT go.to.base
'Carrying the bamboo container with the beer, he went [towards home].'
00:45.7-00:47.6

See: (254)

(553) *agũri vɛː limkɨŋ ũː | agũŋri vɛː aʒuː vɛː abuːse lerõːnarila*
agɜ̀̃=ri² vè lím-kɨ́ŋ ín agɜ̀̃=ri² vè aʒù vè abù-se
half=TOP 3SG path-LOC drink half=TOP 3SG wife 3SG elder.brother-DU
lè-rɔ̀̃-na=rila
take-REM.BEN-NPST=QUOT
'One half he drunk on the way, the other half, he would bring to his wife and his brother, he thought.'
00:48.2-00:53.7

See: (475), (335), (160)

(554) *ʒẽnla ũ | paisjaʔ lim | puluo waŋ limku ũ | tuŋri | limʧuaʔku umpɛʔ*
ʒɛ̀̃-la ù̃ paísjáʔ lím pulɔ̀ wɜ̀̃² lím=ku ù̃ túŋri té
carry-SEQ go.to.base Paisjaʔ path Bulu ridge path=LOC go.to.base Tungri FAR
límʧɔ̃́ʔ=ku ù̃-pʰɛ́ʔ
crossroad=LOC go.to.base-reach
'He went carrying [the maize], taking the path to Paisjaʔ. Over the ridge of [Old] Bulu, he reached to the crossroad in Tungri.'
00:54.4-01:02.4

See: (259)

(555) *ũmpʰɛʔlana | nɨŋlana | prĩː anã̀ ŋaːbari*
ù̃-pʰɛ́ʔ-lana nɨ́ŋ-lana prɨ̃́ anáŋ njáʔ-ba-ri
go.to.base-reach-ANT listen-ANT human much make.noise-PRS-IPFV
'When he reached there, he heard [some] people making a lot of noise.'
01:03.3-01:10.4

See: (446)

(556) *õ vɛː riː | variː bəʧaŋ aroʔ | ũsɨːbaʧa*
ɔ̀̃ vè rì vɛrì bəʧɜ̀̃ aróʔ ù̃-sə̀-baʧa
INTJ 3SG say 3PL Monpa friend go.to.base-meet-PRF
'Yes, he thought, these are my Monpa friends, let's go and meet them.'
01:10.6-01:13.6

See: (139), (460)

(557) *vɛː lũsiʔprina vɛː pʰəuʤi kuãla ĩnaʧa riːla*

Figure A.1.: Path to *paísjá?* over *pulɔ̀ wǎ²*

Figure A.2.: View on Tungri from *ʤùmu lagà*. The arrow shows *paísjá?* the place where the path reaches Tungri.

vè lɯ̃sé?-prina vè pʰəù=ʤi kʰɔ̃̀-la ín-na-ʧa=rila
3SG happy(<M)-ANT 3SG alcohol=DEF share-SEQ drink-NPST-PRF=QUOT
'Happily, he thought that he would also share the beer [with the Monpa friends].'

01:16.1-01:20.5

(558) *bu limku ũsɨ:mlana | rinlana ũla niŋlana | bəʧã babua*
bù lím=ku ɯ̃̀-sə-mə-lana rín-lana ɯ̃̀-la
DOWN path=LOC go.to.base-meet-PST-ANT move.fast-ANT go.to.base-SEQ
níŋ-lana bəʧɑ̃̀ babɔ̀
look-ANT Monpa COP.NEG
'Down on the path he encountered them, he run to see. But they were not Monpas.'

01:20.9-01:27.1

(559) *prin bapətaika hjaŋ*
prɪ́ ba-pətaí-ka hjɑ̀
human NEG-know(<M)-REL all
'[They were] all people he didn't know.'

01:27.4-01:29.9

See: (313), (172)

(560) *ʧaina prɪ̃ hjaŋ*
ʧaina prɪ́ hjɑ̀
China(<Eng) human all
'[They were] all Chinese.'

01:30.8-01:32.4

(561) *kunʤɨn hjaŋ ũsɪ̃jã*
kɯ́ʤɨ́n hjɑ̀ ɯ̃̀-sə-jɑ̀
China all go.to.base-meet-PRMN
'He kept on meeting only Chinese.'

01:32.9-01:34.9

See: (262)

(562) *kunʤɨnla sɪ̃jaŋ*
kɯ́ʤɨ́n la sə-jɑ̀
China CONJ meet-PRMN
'He kept on meeting Chinese.'

01:35.3-01:36.8

(563) *la vɛːna | klaː rin barinmulo*

la vè=na klá rín ba-rín-mulɔ
CONJ 3SG=TOP where move.fast NA-move.fast-DESP
'He didn't know where to run away.'

01:37.0-01:38.0

See: (366), (424a)

(564) *ʤila la bjaŋla*

ʤilana la bjáŋ-la
CONJ CONJ be.nervous(<M)-SEQ
'He became nervous.'

01:38.1-01:41.0

(565) *ʤi muɔʔ tsaʔriku ʤila*

ʤi=mɔ́ʔ tsáʔ-ri²=ku ʤila
DEF=fight do-RECP=LOC CONJ
'It was the time when [India and China] were at war.'

01:42.4-01:44.2

(566) *ʤilana vɛː | vɛː pʰəu palaŋ | kẽprinla namla buː limwuː ʃintʃuɛreʔ*

ʤilana vè vè pʰəù palǎ̀ kɛ́-pri-la nám-la bù
CONJ 3SG 3SG alcohol bamboo.mug(<Tsh) hold-ANT-SEQ smell-SEQ DOWN
lím-wù ʃíntʃuéʔ-réʔ
path-below dispose-BEN
'[The soldiers] grabbed his beer container, smelled and poured it away.'

01:44.7-01:52.8

(567) *vɛː ʧakui | vɛː pakauku ʧakui ʒãka | pakaulaẽ leːla niŋ*

vè ʧakuí vè pakaú=ku ʧakuí ʒǎ̃-ka pakaú-la
3SG cooked.grains 3SG bag=LOC cooked.grains put.inside-REL bag-SEQ
ɛ̀̃ lè-la níŋ
be.together take-SEQ look
'His rice, the one he had put inside the bag, they took together with the bag to see.'

01:54.6-01:59.3

See: (483a)

(568) *buː limwuːʃõ ʃintʃuɛreʔ*

bù lím-wù=ʃõ̀ ʃíntʃuéʔ-réʔ
DOWN path-below=LOC dispose-BEN

'That [rice also] they threw down below the road.'

01:59.5-02:00.8

See: (483b), (332)

(569) *məpʰin ʒẽnla ũka məpʰinkutʃi ɬjaula niŋ*

məpʰìn ʒɛ̀-la ů̀-ka məpʰìn=ku=tʃi ɬjaù-la níŋ

maize carry-SEQ go.to.base-REL maize=LOC=ADD untie-SEQ look

'The maize, he came carrying, they also opened to see.'

02:02.6-02:05.5

See: (409a), (483c)

(570) *məpʰinkutʃi bu: limwu: tʃai ɦntʃuɛre?*

məpʰìn=ku²=tʃi bù lím-wù tʃaì ɦntʃuɛ́?-ré?

maize=OBJ=ADD DOWN path-below hold.in.one.hand dispose-BEN

'That maize, they also threw down below the road.'

02:05.9-02:08.3

See: (409b), (473a), (483d), (97), (164)

(571) *ʤila vɛ:na hɛ: batsaʔmuluola*

ʤila vɛ̀=na hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ-la

CONJ 3SG=TOP what NEG-do-DESP-SEQ

'He didn't know what to do.'

02:09.3-02:11.1

See: (473b), (365), (424b)

(572) *la vɛ:kuna la nəmruila | tuŋri la bu le:la unduã | ʤi kunʤɨnhɛ̃ tʃainahɛ̃*

la vɛ̀=ku²=na la nám-ruìla túŋri la bù lɛ̀-la

CONJ 3SG=OBJ=TOP CONJ wrest-ANT Tungri CONJ DOWN take-SEQ

ů̀-dɔ̀ ʤi=kű́ʤɨ́n-hɛ̀̃ tʃaina-hɛ̀̃

go.to.base-take.along DEF=China-PL China(<Eng)-PL

'The Chinese, captured him, and took him down to Tungri.'

02:11.5-02:19.4

See: (392), (473c), (338)

(573) *ʤilana | armihɛ̃ku | bu wɛʔnarila bu asam raipəlhɛ̃ tuŋriku rɨ:ka wɛʔna*

ʤilana armi-hɛ̀̃=ku bù wɛ́ʔ-na=rila bù <assam

CONJ army(<Eng)-PL=LOC DOWN kill-NPST=QUOT DOWN <Assam(<IA)

raìpəl>-hɛ̀̃ túŋri=ku rɨ̀-ka wɛ́ʔ-na

Rifles(<Eng)>-PL Tungri=LOC stay-REL kill-NPST

'They would kill the soldiers down there, the Assam Rifle soldiers staying in Tungri, they said.'

02:20.0-02:27.7

See: (173)

(574) *duã abẽʃõ vari: | abən ũka vari: wɛʔʤũ | gĩ:fɨntʃuɛʤuŋ*
dɔ̃² abɛ̃=ʃõ vɛrì abɛ̃ ũ-ka vɛrì wɛʔ-ʤù
moment ahead=LOC 3PL ahead go.to.base-REL 3PL kill-ALL
gɨ̀-fɨntʃuéʔ-ʤù
follow-dispose-ALL
'Those going ahead killed them all [the Indian soldiers], they drove them all away.'

02:28.0-02:33.0

See: (174)

(575) *rakɨn vu:kana wɛ:*
rakɨ́ŋ vù-ka=na wɛ̀
behind go.from.base-REL=TOP EXIST.NEG
'There was no one left behind (They all run away or died).'

02:33.2-02:34.6

(576) *ʤilana kũ | tuŋri atʃã kũla ʤumulaga:rikaku kũɬɛ̃ umpɛʔ*
ʤilana kű́ túŋri atʃã̀ kű́-la <ʤùmu lagà>=ri-ka=ku kű́-ɬɛ̀
CONJ UP Tungri above UP-SEQ <Dʒumu Laga>=QUOT-REL=LOC UP-side.of
ũ̀-pʰéʔ
go.to.base-reach
'Up there in Tungri they reached to a place called *Dʒumu Laga*.'

02:36.4-02:40.6

Comment: *=ri=ka=ku* or *=ri=ka* are both possible (haplology)

(577) *ʤilana | pandʒabiʤi (s) matʃu pjúprina | bai:muɛ̃ | ʃõla | ajã jã jã ʃõla rɨ:*
ʤilana pándʒabi ʤjù matʃù pjú-prina ba-ì-muɛ̀ ʃɔ̃̀-la ajɛ̃̀² jɛ̃̀²
CONJ Punjabi(<IA) stab gun burst-ANT NEG-die-can move-SEQ INTJ INTJ
jɛ̃̀² ʃɔ̃̀-la rɨ̀
INTJ move-SEQ stay
'A Punjabi has been shot with the gun. He could not die. He was moving, and said: Ajaa, ja, ja. Like this he sat and moved.'

02:41.2-02:52.1

(578) *ʤilana | vari:ʧi ʧi: saŋarihɛ̃ la ʤju:*
ʤilana vɛrì=ʧi ʧi² sáŋari-hɛ̀ la ʤjù
CONJ 3PL=ADD machete bayonet(<IA)-PL CONJ stab

'Then, they stabbed him with the bayonets.'

02:52.8-02:56.8

See: (402), (198a)

(579) *matʃjuhɛ̃ la pjumə tsaʔ*

matʃù-hɛ̀ la pjú-mə=tsáʔ
gun-PL CONJ burst-PST=do

'With the gun they shot him dead.'

02:57.7-02:59.3

See: (198b), (474a)

(580) *ʤilana | vɛːna la nɔ̃nlɛ̃ | ã guːkutʃi ʤiduã wɛʔzubjana*

ʤilana vè=na la nɔ̃́-lɛ̀ ã̀ gù=ku²=tʃi ʤidɔ
CONJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear-CMPR INTJ 1SG=OBJ=ADD like.this
wɛ́ʔ-zù-bjaò-na
kill-COP-COP.FOC-NPST

'[Seeing this], he was even more scared: Oh no, they will certainly also kill me like this.'

03:00.5-03:07.5

See: (412), (474b), (484), (340), (465a)

(581) *kəsá zutamɛrila*

kəsá zù-tamɛ=rila
how COP-POT=QUOT

'How is it going to be [to be killed], he thought.'

03:08.3-03:09.7

See: (465b)

(582) *njɛ vɛː dəhu hiʔla tʃɛʔ*

njé vè dəhù híʔ-la tʃɛ́ʔ
little 3SG sadness think-SEQ cry

'Feeling sad, he cried silently.'

03:10.1-03:12.4

See: (132)

(583) *ʤila | variː kunʤɨn prin | ʤila | <iː bu ʤi> armihɛ̃ wɛʔla*

ʤila vɛrì kʊ̃́ʤɨ́n prɨ́ ʤila armi-hɛ̀ wɛ́ʔ-la
CONJ 3PL China human CONJ army(<Eng)-PL kill-SEQ

'The Chinese killed the Indian soldiers.'

03:13.2-03:20.6

See: (407)

(584) *pjúla wɛʔla baiː*
pjú-la *wɛ́ʔ-la* *ba-ì*
burst-SEQ kill-SEQ NEG-die
'They hit one [Chinese] and [but] he didn't die.'
03:21.7-03:23.6

(585) *tsaʔla rɨːka hɛ̃kuna*
tsáʔ-la *rɨ̀-ka* *hɛ̃̀=ku²=na*
do-SEQ stay-REL people=OBJ=TOP
'They [the Chinese] were doing like this to them.'
03:23.9-03:25.3

(586) *variː prinkuna ʤiku davo amjɛː tsaʔla | hadẽduãːku | asẽ tsaʔla | ũdõ*
vɛrì prɨ́=ku²=na *ʤì=ku²* *dawo* *amjɛ̀* *tsáʔ-la* *hadɛ̀̃-dɔ̀̃=ku*
3PL human=OBJ=TOP ANA=OBJ medicine(<IA) good do-SEQ later-IMM=LOC
asɛ̀̃ *tsáʔ-la* *ù̃-dɔ̀̃*
alive do-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Their own people, they healed with medicine, immediately, they made them alive and took them with them.'
03:25.7-03:31.7

See: (398), (469a), (504), (8)

(587) *leːryila ũ*
lè-ruìla *ù̃*
take-ANT go.to.base
'They took [them] and went.'
03:32.7-03:34.0

See: (469b)

(588) *griː nuː <ʧaina> india prinkəna abuːlɛ wɛʔ | wɛʔla fɨn*
grì nù *índià* *prɨ́=ku²=na* *abùlɛ̀̃* *wɛ́ʔ wɛ́ʔ-la* *fɨ̃n*
1PL here India(<Eng) human=OBJ=TOP even.more kill kill-SEQ discard
'Us Indians, however, they killed even more. They kill them and threw them away.'
03:34.5-03:38.6

See: (469c), (341a)

(589) *ʤjulɛ̃ pɛ̃lɛ̃ pjulɛ̃ tsaʔla wɛʔ*
ʤjù-lɛ̀̃ *pɛ́̃-lɛ̀̃* *pjú-lɛ̀̃* *tsáʔ-la* *wɛ́ʔ*
stab-CMPR cut-CMPR burst-CMPR do-SEQ kill

Figure A.3.: Remains of the war in *ʤumu laga*, view on *tuŋri*

'They stabbed them even more, they hit them even more and they shot at them even more. Doing like this they killed them.'

03:38.8-03:42.3

See: (341b), (116)

(590) *vɛː talu awãku vɛː nĩla tsaʔ*
vè talu avâŋ=ku vè nɨ́-la tsáʔ
3SG so.much(<M) uncle=LOC 3SG fear-SEQ do
'[Doing] like this, they made him feel scared.'

03:42.8-03:45.7

See: (236)

(591) *lana kũ ʤumu lagaːku umpɛʔ*
lana kɨ̃́ <*ʤùmu lagà*>*=ku ɨ̀-pʰɛ́ʔ*
CONJ UP <Dʒumu Laga>=LOC go.to.base-reach
'Then, they reached up to Dʒumu Lagaa.'

03:45.8-03:48.7

(592) *la bu biːham la buː niŋlana | bu biːham la ʧainala asam raifəl armihɛ̃ la sipaihɛ̃ la ʤila muaʔ tsaʔrikəpaŋ*
labù bìhám labù níŋ-lana bù bìhám la
down.there Lagam down.there look-ANT DOWN Lagam CONJ

ʧaina-la assam raìpəl armi-hɛ̃̀-la
China(<Eng)-SEQ Assam(<IA) Rifles(<Eng) army(<Eng)-PL-SEQ
sipaí-hɛ̃̀-la ʤila mɔ́ʔ tsáʔ-rikəpáŋ
soldier(<IA)-PL-SEQ CONJ fight do-PROG(<M)
'Down there in Lagam, they saw the Chinese, the Assam rifles and the army soldiers fighting.'

03:49.1-03:56.9

See: (7)

(593) *la vɛːkuna kũː rakɨn rakɨn rɨːdəː*
la vɛ̀=ku=na kṹ rakɨ́ŋ rakɨ́ŋ rɨ̀-dɔ̀
CONJ 3SG=LOC=TOP UP behind behind stay-CAUS
'But him, they made him sit far behind.'

03:57.7-04:00.0

See: (336), (168c)

(594) *la variːnaʤi badɔgaʔ bu biːtək buː niŋprina | badɔgaʔ tatata tatata pjuʔʃam*
la vɛrì=na=ʤi badogáʔ bù bìtʰɨ́ʔ bù níŋ-prina badogáʔ tatata
CONJ 3PL=TOP=DEF in.vain DOWN Lagam DOWN look-ANT in.vain IDEOPH
tatata pjú-ʃjám
IDEOPH burst-NO.CONTROL
'When the Chinese saw Lagam down there, they started to blank fire: tatata tatata.'

04:00.5-04:06.5

See: (358)

(595) *lana | variː buː | ʧainahɛ̃ bu indiahɛ̃ rinʤũũ*
lana vɛrì bù ʧaina-hɛ̃̀ bù índià-hɛ̃̀ rín-ʤṹ
CONJ 3PL DOWN China(<Eng)-PL DOWN India(<Eng)-PL move.fast-ALL
ṹ
go.to.base
'Down there, the Chinese the Indians, they all run away.'

04:07.3-04:14.3

See: (285)

(596) *ʤilana vɛːkutʃi la leːla undõː*
ʤilana vɛ̀=ku=ʧi la lè-la ṹ-dɔ̃̀
CONJ 3SG=LOC=ADD CONJ take-SEQ go.to.base-take.along
'Then they dragged him along too.'

Figure A.4.: View on Lagam (*bìtʰɪ́ʔ*).

04:15.3-04:17.7

See: (168b)

(597) *undõlana | bu hamku niŋlana | hamʤi | tuntʃi hamʤi | vari: hamkuʤi armiʤi kunʤɨn wɛʔla ʤuɛʔla li:*
ǔ̃-dõ̃-lana bù hám=ku níŋ-lana hám=ʤi
go.to.base-take.along-ANT DOWN house=LOC look-ANT house=DEF
tűtʃi² *hám* *vɛrì hám=ku=ʤi* *armi* *kűʤɨ́n wɛ́ʔ-la*
stone.house house 3PL house=LOC=DEF army(<Eng) China kill-SEQ
ʤuɛ́ʔ-la *lì*
gather-SEQ put
'When they brought him, and he saw the house down there, this stone house. In their [the Brokpa's] houses, Indian soldiers and Chinese had been killed and been put on a hip.'

04:18.9-04:29.1

(598) *vɛ prĩ | bəloʔ niʔkuʤi ʤumi ʤuʤahɛ̃ la wɛʔla li:*
vè *prɨ́* *blóʔ* *níʔ=ku²=ʤi* <*ʤuumi ʤuuʤa*>*-hɛ̃̀* *la* *wɛ́ʔ-la* *lì*
3SG human mute two=OBJ=DEF <Ʒumi Ʒuʤa>-PL CONJ kill-SEQ put
'As for his people, [only] the two village fools were killed by *Ʒumi Ʒuʤa*'s people.'

Figure A.5.: *tűtʃi hám* 'stone house' in Lagam (*ŋawaŋ*'s house)

04:29.2-04:34.6

See: (390), (399), (233), (278), (155), (162)
Comment: *ʤùmi ʤuùʤa*-name of the caretaker of the monastery.

(599) *ʧainahɛ̃ wɛʔla liːka ʤiduɔ hĩsap tsaʔla liː*
ʧaina-hɛ̀̃ wɛ́ʔ-la lì-ka ʤidɔ hisáp tsáʔ-la lì
China(<Eng)-PL kill-SEQ put-REL like.this account(<IA) do-SEQ put
'They put them there as if the Chinese had killed them.'

04:36.6-04:39.7

Comment: The caretaker of the monastery had personal motifs for killing the two village fools. He thought that nobody would suspect him of the murder on the day of the Chinese invasion. He was caught later, however.

(600) *la vɛːna hĩʧɛʔ bamuɛ̃*
la vè=na hĩ̀ʧɛ́ʔ ba-muɛ̀̃
CONJ 3SG=TOP be.hungry NEG-can
'He (*ŋawaŋ*) couldn't anymore of [feeling] hunger.'

04:41.5-04:43.2

See: (471a)

(601) *vɛː hãrjɛ̃ prĩ | vɛː azuhɛ̃ vɛː abuːhɛ̃na tatiʔʧiraŋ wɛː*

vɛ̀ hə̀̃rjɛ̀̃ prɪ́̃ vɛ̀ azù-hɛ̀̃ vɛ̀ abù-hɛ̀̃=na tatíʔ=ʧiráŋ
3SG family human 3SG wife-PL 3SG elder.brother-PL=TOP one=ADD
wɛ̀
EXIST.NEG

'Of his family, his wife and his elder brother, not even one was there.'

04:44.1-04:47.9

See: (471b), (491)

(602) *bloʔ niʔkuna wɛʔ ɟintʃuɛʔ*

blóʔ níʔ=ku²=na wɛ́ʔ ɟíntʃuɛ́ʔ
mute two=OBJ=TOP kill dispose

'The two village fools, they had killed and thrown away.'

04:48.9-04:50.7

See: (400), (406), (471c), (169)

(603) *ʤila hɛː batsaʔmulɔ*

ʤila hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ
CONJ what NEG-do-DESP

'He didn't know what to do.'

04:51.1-04:52.3

(604) *hɛː la rɨːlana*

la rɨ̀-lana
CONJ stay-ANT

'He sat down.'

04:53.0-04:54.1

(605) *hĩʧɛʔ bamuɛ̃laku pʰəu nuala in*

hɪ̀̃ʧɛ́ʔ ba-muɛ̀̃-la=ku pʰəù nɔ̀-la ín
be.hungry NEG-can-SEQ=LOC alcohol search-SEQ drink

'When he couldn't bear his hunger anymore, he searched rice beer to drink.'

04:55.0-04:57.4

See: (455)

(606) *pʰəu nuala inla təlã niʔ inʤõʧa*

pʰəù nɔ̀-la ín-la tələ̀̃ níʔ ín-ʤʊ̀̃-ʧa
alcohol search-SEQ drink-SEQ mug two drink-ALL-PRF

'He searched beer, drunk, and finished two mugs completely.'

04:58.6-05:01.5

See: (152)

(607) *la ʤi kunʤɨn ʧainahɛ̃na kəi unʤibaʧarori*
la ʤi=kŭʤɨ́n ʧaina-hɛ̃̀=na kəí
CONJ DEF=China China(<Eng)-PL=TOP HORT
ù̃-ʤi-baʧa=ro=ri
go.to.base-away-PRF=ASRT=QUOT
'Then, the Chinese people said: Come on, let's go!'
05:02.5-05:05.9

See: (220), (226a), (527), (135), (463)

(608) *bua vɛː riːka riː baũna*
bɔ̀ vɛ̀ rì-ka rì ba-ù̃-na
COP.NEG 3SG say-REL say NEG-go.to.base-NPST
'No, he said, I won't go.'
05:06.4-05:08.2

See: (226b), (137)

(609) *guː hunuː guː ham bjao guː hunuː rɨːbjaonaro*
gù hənù gù hám bjaò gù hənù rɨ̀-bjaò-na=ro
1SG here 1SG house COP.FOC 1SG here stay-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT
'This here is my home. I am definitely going to stay here.'
05:08.8-05:11.2

See: (216), (495)

(610) *baniŋ ũnduãʧina*
ba-níŋ ù̃-dɔ̃̀-ʧĩ-na
NEG-listen go.to.base-IMM-OBLG-NPST
'They didn't listen, he has to go right now.'
05:12.0-05:14.1

See: (354)

(611) *pãʧiʔ ʧaidõryila ũndõ*
pã́ʧíʔ ʧaì-dɔ̃̀-ruìla ù̃-dɔ̃̀
forcefully hold.in.one.hand-take.along-ANT go.to.base-take.along
'Holding his hand forcefully, they took him along.'
05:14.7-05:17.1

(612) *ũnduaŋ la buː | ʧũkũ la buː | nasəlin lim la buː ũ*
ù̃-dɔ̃̀ labù ʧuNkuN labù nasəlín lím
go.to.base-take.along down.there TʃuNkuN down.there Nasəlin path
labù ù̃
down.there go.to.base

'They went down there to *TʃuNkuN*, taking the path to *Nasəlin*.'

05:17.5-05:22.0

Comment: *nasəlin* village name (Monpa *səmnak*)

(613) *eː ʤi məbihɛ̃ ham ʧuntʃi ham | klaː niŋla ʤi armi ʤiliŋku ʒãla iː*

è ʤi=məbì-hɛ̃́ hám tʉ́tʃi² hám klá níŋ-la
INTJ DEF=Brokpa-PL house stone.house house where look-SEQ
ʤi=armi ʤi-líŋ=ku ʒɑ̀̃-la ì
DEF=army(<Eng) DEF-inside=LOC put.inside-SEQ die

'Alas, these Brokpa houses, these stone houses, whereever you look there were dead soldiers inside.'

05:22.7-05:29.6

Comment: *ʒɑ̀̃* means 'to put inside'. In a later consultation, the speaker says that more correct would be *kuí?-la ì* 'they went inside and died'

(614) *kla vuːla ʤiri | armihɛ̃ ʧainahɛ̃ ʤi hãloŋku hjaŋ ũ ũla rinla wɛʔrila rɨː*

klá vù-la ʤiri armi-hɛ̀̃ ʧaina-hɛ̀̃=ʤi
where go.from.base-SEQ CONJ army(<Eng)-PL China(<Eng)-PL=DEF
hɑ̀̃lɔ̀̃=ku hjɑ̀̃ ʉ̀̃ ʉ̀̃-la rín-la
inside.of.house=LOC all go.to.base go.to.base-SEQ move.fast-SEQ
wɛ́ʔ-ri²-la rɨ̀
kill-RECP-SEQ stay

'Wherever they went, inside the house they all went running, were killing each other.'

05:29.9-05:36.5

(615) *la iːla səkãːdʒ̃ brãdʒ̃ iːla*

la ì-la <səkɑ́̃dʒ̀̃ brɑ̀̃dʒ̀̃> ì-la
CONJ die-SEQ <so.many(<M) so.many(<M)> die-SEQ

'They died, so many of them died [everything was full of dead bodies].'

05:36.9-05:39.9

(616) *aːja dəm | vɛːna ʤila nɪ́ | vɛː batsaʔməlɔ*

aajadə́m vɛ̀=na ʤila nɪ́ vɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ
INTJ 3SG=TOP CONJ fear 3SG NEG-do-DESP

'Oh, he was scared. He was desperate.'

05:40.2-05:44.3

(617) *vari tʰək prĩhɛ̃ku klaː wɛʔliːbamɛrila*

vɛrì tʰɛ́ʔ prɛ̌́-hɛ̀̌=ku klá wɛ́ʔ-lì-bamɛ=rila
3PL village human-PL=LOC where kill-put-POT=QUOT
'Where might they have killed the people of my village, he thought.'

05:44.4-05:47.0

See: (208), (234), (521), (279)

(618) *la niŋʃaŋla ũ | tʰək prinku bawɛʔ*
la níŋ-ʃáŋ-la ù̀ vè tʰɛ́ʔ prɛ̌́=ku ba-wɛ́ʔ
CONJ look-go.everywhere-SEQ go.to.base 3SG village human=LOC NEG-kill
'He looked around everywhere. But they had not killed the people of his village.'

05:47.2-05:50.3

See: (274)

(619) *kŭ vɛ hãrjɛ̃ ʤi bloʔ niʔ wɛʔ ʤi babjaro*
kŭ̋ vè hə̀̃rjɛ̀̌=ʤi bló? níʔ wɛ́ʔ ʤì báʔ-bjaò=ro
UP 3SG family=DEF mute two kill ANA EXIST-COP.FOC=ASRT
'From his family, they had only killed the two village fools.'

05:50.5-05:53.2

(620) *la buː la buː sipai iːme ʧaina iːme | anã iː bu ʧũkuŋ umpɛʔ*
labù labù sipaí ì-mə ʧaina ì-mə anáŋ ì bù ʧuNkuN ù̀̃-pʰɛ́ʔ
down.there down.there soldier(<IA) die-PST China(<Eng) die-PST much die DOWN TʃuNkuN go.to.base-reach
'Down Indian and Chinese soldiers were dying. Too many [people] died, as they reached down to *ʧuNkuN*.'

05:53.7-05:58.9

(621) *ʧũːkũː buː (.s) hɛmɛ (s) ʧəmnaraŋ ʧəmnaraŋ məbən limʧuɔʔ məbiː limʧuɔʔ*
ʧuNkuN bù hɛmɛ ʧə̃mnaráŋ ʧə̃mnaráŋ məbán límʧɔ̃ʔ məbḭ̀ límʧɔ̃ʔ
TʃuNkuN DOWN FILL Tʃəmnaraŋ Tʃəmnaraŋ Miji crossroad Brokpa crossroad
'[They went further] down to *ʧəmnaraŋ*, *ʧəmnaraŋ* the crossroad of the Miji road and Brokpa road.'

05:59.6-06:00.8

Comment: *ʧəmnaraŋ* is Monpa, Puroik just *məbán límʧɔ̃ʔ məbḭ̀ límʧɔ̃ʔ* 'Miji-Brokpa crossroad'

(622) *ʤila tɛː tʰəmbaŋ lata ham* [niŋ] | *hampʰũ ʤailai untʃa rəpa rəpi*

ʤila tɛ́ tʰə̀mbáŋ lata hə̃̀pṹ ʤaìlaì ṹ-tʃa <*rəpá rəpí*>
CONJ FAR Thembang CONJ full.day dusk(<M) go.to.base-PRF <dim dim>

'Down there was Thembang. As it became evening, it became dark.'

06:09.0-06:14.6

(623) *la tʰəmbaŋ tɛːʃõ matʃu bomb la pjúri*

la tʰə̀mbáŋ tɛ́=ʃõ̀ matʃù bóm-la pjú-ri
CONJ Thembang FAR=LOC gun bomb(<Eng)-SEQ burst-IPFV

'There in Thembang, the guns were shooting and bombs exploded.'

06:14.9-06:17.7

See: (205)

(624) *tɛːʃõː wɛʔri njaːdyĩ*

tɛ́=ʃõ̀ wɛ́ʔ-ri² *njáʔ-dyĩ̀*
FAR=LOC kill-RECP make.noise-again

'Overthere, they were killing each other and making noise again.'

06:18.2-06:19.9

(625) *la ʤitʃainahẽna baŋaːʔla ʤuŋla riːʤuŋ*

la ʤi=tʃaina-hẽ̀=na ba-njáʔ-la ʤṹ-la rì-ʤṹ
CONJ DEF=China(<Eng)-PL=TOP NEG-make.noise-SEQ squat-SEQ stay-ALL

'But these Chinese were all sitting without making any noise at all.'

06:20.3-06:23.2

Comment: Emphatically lengthened *ba-njáʔ* [baŋaːʔla] "without making *any noise at all*"

(626) *kəʒõ plõla riːʤuŋ*

kəʒõ̀ plṍ³-la rì-ʤṹ
face.down bend.down-SEQ stay-ALL

'They were all sitting with the face down on their knees.'

06:23.5-06:25.1

(627) *variːtʃi məluẽ tʃɪŋla tɛː nadẽ məluẽ tʃɪŋ ũ*

vɛrì=tʃi məluẽ̀ tʃĩ̀ŋ-la tɛ́ nadẽ̀ məluẽ̀ tʃĩ̀ŋ ṹ
3PL=ADD food work-SEQ FAR that.side food work go.to.base

'Then, they also went little bit that side for making food.'

06:25.5-06:28.1

(628) *ããla səkãla səkũla tʃɪŋ*

hǎ³ la <*səkǎ-la* *səkǔ*>*-la* *ʧíŋ-la*
yes CONJ <all.pots-SEQ pot>-SEQ work-SEQ
'They took the cooking utensils to make food.'

06:28.7-06:30.8

Comment: *səkǎ səkǔ* 'cooking utensils' (Miji)

(629) *ʤi vɛːlaɛ̃ku kũŋ tarəm səm hĩka niʔ*
ʤi=vɛ̀-la *ɛ̀̃=ku* *kǔ tarə́m sə́m* *hɨ̀-ka* *níʔ*
DEF=3SG-SEQ be.together=LOC UP Tibet language speak-REL two
'With him, there were two Tibetan speaking [soldiers].'

06:31.7-06:35.4

Comment: Brokpa, the language spoken by the main character, is to some extent mutually intelligible with Lhasa Tibetan and he could communicate with the soldiers.

(630) *vɛːku dibti ʤuaʔla vɛːku ʤuaʔla rɨː*
vɛ̀=ku² *dibti* *ʤóʔ-la* *vɛ̀=ku²* *ʤóʔ-la* *rɨ̀*
3SG=OBJ duty(<Eng) guard-SEQ 3SG=OBJ guard-SEQ stay
'They put them as guards to watch him.'

06:36.1-06:38.4

(631) *matʃu ʤila liːharui*
matʃù ʤila lì-ha-ruì
gun CONJ put-NO.CONTROL-ANT
'The guns, they just put down [carelessly].'

06:39.4-06:41.5

See: (360)

(632) *hɛmɛ | hɛ ɛ̃ʔ ʒãla fika ʤi ʤila ʤũ*
hɛmɛ hɛ̀ *ɛ́ʔ* *ʒɑ̀̃-la* *fɪ-ka=ʤi* *ʤila* *ʤṳ̀²*
FILL what cloth put.inside-SEQ carry.on.strap-REL=DEF CONJ put.vertically
'Ehm, they also put down the thing where they put inside the clothes and carry on the back (backpack).'

06:42.3-06:46.1

See: (434)

(633) *kəi | tɛː məluɛ̃ ʧiːbarori | vɛː riːka batʃiːnaro*
kəí *té* *məluɛ̀̃* *ʧi-ba=ro=ri* *vɛ̀* *rì-ka* *ba-ʧi-na=ro*
HORT FAR food eat-PRS=ASRT=QUOT 3SG say-REL NEG-eat-NPST=ASRT
'[The soldiers] said let's go over there and eat food. But he said: "I won't eat."'

06:46.9-06:49.7

See: (528), (136), (461)

(634) *vɛːna bazinla tɨŋla rɨːbjanaro*

vè=na ba-zǐ²-la dɨ́ŋ-la rɨ̀-bjaò-na=ro
3SG=TOP NEG-move-SEQ sit.on.buttocks-SEQ stay-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT

'He did not move, but was sitting right there.'

06:50.5-06:52.7

See: (237)

(635) *vɛhəni ʤi awã ʤi tɛɬɛ̃ vupəneʔduaŋ ʤila*

vɛhenǐʔ ʤi=avǎŋ=ʤi té-ɬɛ̌ vù-pəné?-dɔ̌ ʤila
3DU DEF=uncle=DEF FAR-side.of go.from.base-little.bit.to.a.side-IMM CONJ

'The two brothers went little bit that side across a small hill.'

06:53.5-06:56.6

See: (267)

(636) *vɛː ʤila la huĩduãka | ʤi bu sɛntʃi kʰɔːpɛʔ huiduãŋ*

vè ʤila la bù huǐ²-dɔ̌-ka ʤi=bù sɛ̌̀tʃíʔ kʰɔ̀ pʰɛ́ʔ huǐ²-dɔ̌
3SG CONJ CONJ DOWN fall-IMM-REL DEF=DOWN SɛNtʃiʔ water reach fall-IMM

'Immediately, he [ŋawaŋ] rolled down the slope. He rolled down, all the way down to the sɛNtʃiʔ river.'

06:56.7-07:00.5

See: (167)

(637) *bu sɛntʃi kualapu zaoryila rindyikari | ʤi katɨnku la kũ rĩuŋ*

bù sɛ̌̀tʃíʔ kʰɔ̀=lapu zaù-ruìla rín-dyǐ-ka=ri² *ʤì*
DOWN SɛNtʃiʔ water=ABL get.up-ANT move.fast-again-REL=TOP ANA
katɨ́ŋ=ku lakű̃ rín-ũ̀
upstream=LOC up.there move.fast-POSS

'From down near the sɛntʃi river, he stood up, and run upstream.'

07:01.1-07:05.2

See: (253), (128), (176)

(638) *kũ rĩũla kũ nadɛ̃lapu lankui rĩnla*

kű̃ rín ũ̀-la kű̃ nadɛ̀̌=lapu lɑ̀kuíʔ rín-la
UP move.fast go.to.base-SEQ UP that.side=ABL that.side move.fast-SEQ

'After running up there, he run from this side of the river to the other side of the river.'

07:06.1-07:08.5

(639) *niŋlana buː ʤi ʧaina kunʤɨnhɛ̃ buː | vɛː krɛːka buː kahɔ̃ umpɛduaŋ*
níŋ-lana bù ʤi=ʧaina kűʤɨ́n-hɛ̃̀ bù vè kré-ka bù
look-ANT DOWN DEF=China(<Eng) China-PL DOWN 3SG roll-REL DOWN
kahɔ̃̀ ũ̀-pʰɛ́ʔ-dɔ̃̀
big.river go.to.base-reach-IMM
'When he looked down to the Chinese, they have reached to the river where he had fallen down.'
07:08.9-07:14.5

(640) *buliŋku tõs ʤuaŋla ljaʔla ljoʔla ʤuãla ʤuãla nuarikəpaŋ*
bù-lɨ́ŋ=ku tos ʧɔ̃̀-la ʧɔ̃̀-la <ljáʔ³-la
DOWN-inside=LOC torch(<Eng) illuminate-SEQ illuminate-SEQ <flash-SEQ
ljóʔ>-la ʧɔ̃̀-la ʧɔ̃̀-la nɔ̀-rikəpáŋ
flash>-SEQ illuminate-SEQ illuminate-SEQ search-PROG(<M)
'Down there, flashing with the torch here and there, they were searching him.'
07:14.8-07:18.2

See: (539)

(641) *vɛːna la nű́la ʧɛʔ*
vè=na la nɨ́-la ʧɛ́ʔ
3SG=TOP CONJ fear-SEQ cry
'He was scared and cried.'
07:18.7-07:20.2

(642) *ɔ̃ həŋ vɛku nəmla wɛʔʒunatʃarila*
ɔ̀̃ hɨ̀ vè=ku² nə́m-la wɛ́ʔ-ʒù-na-ʧa=rila
INTJ NEAR 3SG=OBJ wrest-SEQ kill-COP-NPST-PRF=QUOT
'Alas, they will surely catch and kill him, he thought.'
07:20.9-07:22.6

See: (221)

(643) *ʤila vɛ | upai bua*
ʤila vè upaí bɔ̀
CONJ 3SG remedy(<IA) COP.NEG
'What a desperate situation!'
07:23.2-07:25.8

Comment: *upai bɔ̀*sd < Hindi उपाय नही in Puroik *hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ*

(644) *pantʃiʔ pjɛːryila atʃĩnlɨŋ talu pãtʃi pjɛryila*

pǎʧĩʔ pʰjɛ̀²-ruìla atʃɛ̃̀-líŋ talu pǎʧĩʔ
forcefully go.through.forest-ANT night-inside so.much(<M) forcefully
pʰjɛ̀²-ruìla
go.through.forest-ANT
'Forcefully, he went [through the jungle], in the dark, he went like this forcefully through the jungle.'

07:26.1-07:28.8

(645) *lakũ lakũ abumualapu ũnʤi*
lakṹ lakṹ abɨŋmɔ̀=lapu ṳ̃-ʤi
up.there up.there jungle=ABL go.to.base-away
'Up, up, he went away through the jungle.'

07:30.4-07:32.4

See: (272)

(646) *kũ unduaŋ ʤi kũŋ | kũŋ kũŋ ũn*
kṹ ṳ̀-dɔ̃̀-ʤi kṹ kṹ kṹ ṳ̀
UP go.to.base-IMM-away UP UP UP go.to.base
'He went up. Up, up, up he went.'

07:32.8-07:35.1

See: (130)

(647) *niŋlana vɛː rakɨnku bavupɔ̃ bavugĩ*
níŋ-lana vɛ̀ rakɨ́ŋ=ku ba-vù-pɔ̃́
look-ANT 3SG behind=LOC NEG-go.from.base-appear
ba-vù-gɪ̀̃
NEG-go.from.base-follow
'When he looked [back], nobody came behind him, nobody followed him.'

07:35.2-07:38.2

See: (256), (163)

(648) *lana vɛː ʤika:ku awuɛ̃ʤiku la banjaʔla ʤũŋ rəmʃam*
lana vɛ̀=ʤi ʤi=ká=ku awɛ̃̀ ʤi=ku la ba-njáʔ-la ʤṳ̀
CONJ 3SG=DEF DEF=NA=LOC dry DEF=LOC CONJ NEG-make.noise-SEQ squat
rə́m-ʃjám
sleep-NO.CONTROL
'In a dry place he sat down without making noise to sleep.'

07:39.2-07:42.7

(649) *hĩntʃɛʔ ʤi hintʃɛʔ bamuɛ̃la rəmʃam*

<hiNtʃɛʔ> dʒì hɨ̀tʃɛ́ʔ ba-muɛ̀̃-la rə́m-ʃjám
<be.hungry> ANA be.hungry NEG-can-SEQ sleep-NO.CONTROL
'He was hungry, exhausted and just fell asleep [as he was].'
07:44.1-07:46.7

See: (359)

(650) *vɛː rakɨnku kədʒiː vupɔ̃damɛ*
vɛ̀ rakɨ́ŋ=ku kədʒɨ̀ vù-pɔ̃́-damɛ
3SG behind=LOC when go.from.base-appear-POT
'When might they come behind him [he thought]?'
07:47.3-07:49.2

See: (211), (513), (265)

(651) *kədʒiː vuːla nəm vugĩ*
kədʒɨ̀ vù-la nə́m-vù-gɨ̀̃
when go.from.base-SEQ wrest-go.from.base-follow
'When would they come behind him to catch him?'
07:49.4-07:51.0

See: (514), (251)

(652) *variː nula niŋ niŋlana bavuːpɔ̃*
vɛrì nùla níŋ níŋ-lana ba-vù-pɔ̃́
3PL here look look-ANT NEG-go.from.base-appear
'They saw him here [he thought], but when he looked they didn't come.'
07:51.3-07:53.9

(653) *la dʒiːru tʃenduaŋ | dʒi aʃampɛ̃ njɛ sãtʃa | la kũŋ ũduaŋryilata ʃampuŋ ũryi*
la dʒiru tʃɛ̀̃-dɔ̀̃² *dʒi=asɛ̀̃pɛ́ njɛ́ sɛ̀̃²-tʃa lakɔ̃́*
CONJ that.time night-moment DEF=dawn little clear.up-PRF up.there
ɔ̀̃-dɔ̀̃-ruìla ʃaNpuN ɔ̀̃-ruì
go.to.base-IMM-ANT ʃampung go.to.base-ANT
'In that night, in the morning, when it was little bit light, he went up and came out in *ʃampung* (mountain name).'
07:54.5-08:00.1

(654) *ʃampũ umpɔ̃ryila dʒilapəna | tɛ təmdaŋkan dʒitatapa tɛː ũ*
ʃaNpuN ɔ̀̃-pɔ̃́-ruìla dʒilapəna té tə́mdáŋkán
ʃampung go.to.base-appear-ANT after.this FAR Təmdaŋ.spring(<M)
dʒitatapa té ɔ̀̃
Dʒitatapa(<Bkp) FAR go.to.base

'After coming out in *ʃampung*, he came there to Təmdaŋkan, [also called] Dʒitatapa.'

08:01.1-08:05.1

See: (264)

Comment: Miji *təmdaŋkan* = Monpa *ʤitatapa* = Puroik *támdáŋtíŋ* Relatively plane place with a spring in the forest where the Brokpas often keep their cattle in winter.

(655) *ʤi vari: məbihɛ̃ hatʃu | ʤila ũla ʤuɛʔla ri:*
ʤì vɛrì məbȉ-hɛ̃̀ atʃù ʤila ũ̀-la ʤuéʔ-la rì
ANA 3PL Brokpa-PL crowd CONJ go.to.base-SEQ gather-SEQ stay
'There all the people from Lagam were gathered there in a crowd.'

08:06.0-08:09.9

(656) *la vɛ: la ũmpɔ̃ vɛ:ku kɛ̃la | ajo: na:na i:*
la vè la ũ̀-pɔ́ vɛ̀=ku kɛ́̃-la ajò nà=na ì
CONJ 3SG CONJ go.to.base-appear 3SG=LOC hold-SEQ INTJ 2SG=TOP die
'He reached there, and they came to hold him (with the hand): incredible, [we thought] you died!'

08:10.4-08:14.4

(657) *i:ʤuŋla i:ʤuŋbjatʃa hiʔlana | bai: ũmpɛʔdyibatʃa*
ì-ʤũ̀-la ì-ʤũ̀-bjaò-tʃa híʔ-lana ba-ì
die-ALL-SEQ die-ALL-COP.FOC-PRF think-ANT NEG-die
ũ̀-pʰéʔ-dyȉ-batʃa
go.to.base-reach-again-PRF
'[We] thought, that everybody [left behind] died. And you came back alive!'

08:14.9-08:19.5

See: (248)

(658) *amjɛtʃaro ri:lana vɛ:ku lũsiʔla vi:la*
amjɛ̀-tʃa=ro rì-lana vɛ̀=ku lũ̀séʔ-la wì-la
good-PRF=ASRT say-ANT 3SG=LOC happy(<M)-SEQ slap-SEQ
'It became all good, they said. They were happy and slapped him [friendly on the back].'

08:19.8-08:23.0

See: (202), (9)

(659) *la ri:di:la məluɛ̃ tʃi:di:la | tsaʔla | ri:həro*
la rì-dà-la məluɛ̃̀ tʃì-dà-la tsáʔ-la rì=hɛ̃̌ro
CONJ stay-CAUS-SEQ food eat-CAUS-SEQ do-SEQ stay=ASRT

'They made him sit and eat food. And he sat down [and ate].'
08:23.6-08:27.6

(660) *ʤi bui ʧaina sikstituːku moŋpaluo*
ʤì buì ʧaina sikstitú=ku mɨ́ŋpalɔ̀
ANA before China(<Eng) sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC story
'This is a story about China and [the war] in 1962.'
08:28.3-08:31.9

(661) *ʤisa griː məbiː hakəmhɛ̃ku sa ʦaʔrihəŋro məbiː*
ʤisá grì məbɨ̀ hakə́m-hɛ̃̀=ku sá ʦáʔ=ri=hɨ̃́ro məbɨ̀
like.this 1PL Brokpa friend-PL=LOC like.this do=QUOT=ASRT Brokpa
'Like this it happened to our friends the Brokpas, they say.'
08:32.4-08:36.0

See: (177)

(662) *ʧaina kunʤɨn sa ʦaʔhɨŋro*
ʧaina kṹʤɨ́n sá ʦáʔ=hɨ̃́ro
China(<Eng) China like.this do=ASRT
'With the Chinese it happened like this.'
08:36.0-08:37.8

(663) *ʤi moŋpaluo ʤi hĩ həŋro sikstituːku*
ʤi=mɨ́ŋpalɔ̀=ʤi hɨ̀=hɨ̃́ro sikstitú=ku
DEF=story=DEF speak=ASRT sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC
'This story, I told about the sixty-two war.'
08:38.0-08:40.5

See: (510)

(664) *ʤi bjatʃaro*
ʤì bjaò-ʧa=ro
ANA COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'This is all.'
08:40.6-08:42.0

A.2. Trap story (TRAP)

Summary: The story is about a soldier who died inside a bear trap (dead fall trap). The video recording was made in the forest below Bulu next to such a trap. Besides the narrator there is another speaker of Bulu Puroik listening, and their brothers granddaughter who understands what the story is about.

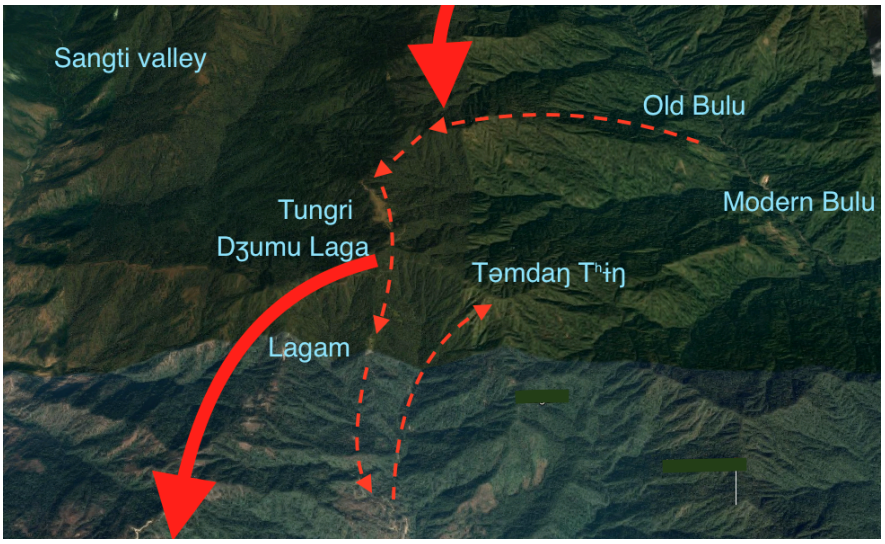


Figure A.6.: Places in the story of the 1962 war (Map Data © 2017 Google).

Figure A.7.: Phembu telling the story about the the soldier in the trap.

(665) **A:** *hiŋgri kəsa ʦaʔbari bui*

hɛ̀=ri² *kəsá ʦáʔ-ba=ri* *buì*
NEAR=TOP how do-PRS=QUOT before
'How was that [story] again before [many years ago]?'

00:02.5-00:07.1

(666) **B:** *hɛmɛ kjɛn | kjɛn ʤi birudə hɛ̃ kjɛn ʒəːla*

hɛmɛ kjén *kjém* *ʤi=birudà-hɛ̀*
FILL big.deadfall.trap big.deadfall.trap DEF=Kazolang.person-PL
kjén *ʒà-la*
big.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ
'Hm, the kjɛn trap, the people of Kajolang, they made a kjɛn trap.'

00:06.0-00:10.6

(667) **B:** *birudəː buːlapuʤi hɛ̃ro | samituŋ koʤolaŋ riːka hɛ̃ | taraːʤi | variː dəduì prɨn*

birudà *bù* *lapúʤi* *hɛ̀=ro* *samituŋ*
Kazolang.person DOWN Lapusa.person people=ASRT Samituŋ(<M)
koʤoláŋ *rì-ka* *hɛ̀* *taràʤi* *vɛrì dəduì*
Koʤolaŋ(<M) say-REL people Chachung.person 3PL person.from.Lada
prɨ́
human
'The people from Kajolang those from Lapu [made the trap], the two called Samitung and Koʤolang, men from Chachung in Lada.'

00:10.8-00:18.5

Comment: Chachung is a village in Lada circle East Kameng.

(668) **B:** *ʤiri vari kũʔ | <hɛmɛ variː> | kabraŋ pʰũ kũʃõ | <ʧiʔ hɛmɛ> | variː ʒəːla kjɛn ʒəːla liː*

ʤi=ri² *vɛrì kɨ́* *kabráŋ* *pʰɨ̀ŋ* *kɨ́=ʃõ* *vɛrì kjén*
DEF=TOP 3PL UP Kabraŋ mountain UP=LOC 3PL big.deadfall.trap
ʒà-la *lì*
make.traps-SEQ put
'They made sling traps and falling traps, up there on the Kabrang mountain.'

00:18.5-00:24.7

(669) **A:** *kjɛ̃ː ʒəːla liː*

kjén *ʒà-la* *lì*
big.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ put

'They made big deadfall traps.'

00:24.9-00:26.2

See: (232)

(670) **B:** *kjɛn ʒəːlana liːla*

kjɛ́n ʒə̀-lana lì-la
big.deadfall.trap make.traps-ANT put-SEQ

'They made big deadfall traps.'

00:25.0-00:26.2

(671) **B:** *ʤila <tɨŋ> sipai | sikstituːku | sipaihɛ̃ ũla asam raiplhɛ̃*

ʤila sipaí sikstitú=ku sipaí-hɛ̀̃ ù̃-la
CONJ soldier(<IA) sixty.two(<Eng)=LOC soldier(<IA)-PL go.to.base-SEQ
assam raìpəl-hɛ̀̃
Assam(<IA) Rifles(<Eng)-PL

'That time, the Army and the Assam Rifles came to [Arunachal].'

00:26.6-00:31.0

(672) **B:** *ʤibu məjaonuŋ kjɛmpkula ũla rɨːla*

ʤi=bù məjaònúŋ kjɛ́mp=ku la ù̃-la rɨ̀-la
DEF=DOWN Məjaonuŋ camp(<Eng)=LOC CONJ go.to.base-SEQ stay-SEQ

'They came to the Mejaonung camp down there.'

00:31.0-00:34.2

(673) **B:** *ʤilana vari ʃiː <nuaʤi> wɛʔ ʧiːnarila vari ʃiː nuasɛ̃*

ʤila vɛrì ʃi wɛ́ʔ ʧi-na=rila vɛrì ʃi nɔ̀-sɛ̀̃
CONJ 3PL animal kill eat-NPST=QUOT 3PL animal search-undirected.motion

'[One day] they said that they will go and kill an animal to eat. They went to search a prey.'

00:34.3-00:37.9

See: (270)

(674) **B:** *ɕipai niʔʤi nuavuː*

sipaí níʔ=ʤi nɔ̀-vù
soldier(<IA) two=DEF search-go.from.base

'The two soldiers went to search.'

00:37.9-00:39.4

See: (151)

(675) **B:** *nuavulana tyriː tyiri | tyi awãʤiku ũntʃi | tyi awã apiʤiku ũnʤi*

nɔ̀-vù-lana *tʰyì=ri²* *tʰyì awə̀=ʤi=ku* *ù̀-ʤi*
search-go.from.base-ANT one=TOP one ridge=DEF=LOC go.to.base-away
tʰyì=ri² *tʰyì awə̀* *apʰíʔ=ʤi=ku* *ù̀-ʤi*
one=TOP one ridge small.river=DEF=LOC go.to.base-away
'When they were searching [a prey], one went up along the ridge, one went along the river.'

00:40.3-00:45.8

See: (476a)

(676) **B:** *vahənitaʧuŋʤi ɛ̃ baũ*
vɛseníʔ-taʧù=ʤi *ɛ̀̃* *ba-ù̀*
3DU-between=DEF be.together NEG-go.to.base
'The two didn't go together.'

00:45.9-00:47.2

See: (476b)

(677) **B:** *ʤilana tyinaʤi | vari kjɛmku kuiʔla*
ʤilana tʰyì=na=ʤi *vɛrì kjém=ku* *lapúʤi-hɛ̀̃*
CONJ one=TOP=DEF 3PL big.deadfall.trap=LOC Lapusa.person-PL
kjém=ku *kʰuíʔ-la*
big.deadfall.trap=LOC enter-SEQ
'Then, one of them went inside the trap of the Lapusa people.'

00:47.7-00:52.1

See: (477a)

(678) **A:** *la iː*
la *ì*
CONJ die
'There [he] died.'

00:52.0-00:53.0

(679) **B:** *la tyiʃaʔna bu ham umpʰɛʔ | bu kjɛmpʃõ umpʰɛʔ*
la *tʰyìʃáʔ=na bù* *hám* *ù̀-pʰɛ́ʔ* *bù* *kjɛ́mp=ʃõ̀*
CONJ alone=TOP DOWN house go.to.base-reach DOWN camp(<Eng)=LOC
ù̀-pʰɛ́ʔ
go.to.base-reach
'The other one reached alone home, down to the camp.'

00:53.2-00:56.7

See: (477b)

(680) **B:** *ʤilana variːna prin gɛʔbaʔʧarila lapɛːʃa nuɔ*

Figure A.8.: Small size dead fall trap (*kjém*).

ʤilana vɛrì=na prɨ́ gé?-batʃa=rila lapé-ʃa nɔ̀
CONJ 3PL=TOP human disappear-PRF=QUOT tomorrow-LOC search
'They said, one person is lost, and went to search him on the next day.'
00:56.8-01:01.0

See: (203), (316), (100), (464)

(681) **B:** *nuɔla bawuoi*
nɔ̀-la ba-ɔ̀ì
search-SEQ NEG-find
'They searched and did not find him.'
01:01.1-01:02.8

See: (318)

(682) **B:** *klaː unʤihijã riːla*
klá ɰ̃̀-ʤi=hijɑ̃̀=rila
where go.to.base-away=Q=QUOT
'Where might he have gone, they said.'
01:02.9-01:04.3

See: (515), (519)

(683) **B:** *hapũː suan ɲalo nɔːribatʃa*
hɑ̃̀pɰ́ suán njalu nɔ̀-ri-batʃa
full.day ten more.than(<M) search-IPFV-PRF

‘For more than ten days, they searched [him].’

01:04.7-01:06.9

See: (154)

(684) **B:** *ʤila ʤi lapuʤi ʤi koʤolaŋhɛ̃ tɛː dədui prɨnhɛ̃ ʤila la kjɛ̃ niŋvunarila vuːla*

ʤila ʤi=lapúʤi ʤi=koʤoláŋ-hɛ̀̃ tɛ́ dəduì
CONJ DEF=Lapusa.person DEF=KoʤolaŋN-PL FAR person.from.Lada
prɨ́-hɛ̀̃ ʤila vɛrì kjɛ́m níŋ vù-na=rila
human-PL CONJ 3PL big.deadfall.trap look go.from.base-NPST=QUOT
vù-la
go.from.base-SEQ

‘[One day] the KoʤolangN people together with the Lada people, said that they would go to see the traps.’

01:06.9-01:14.1

(685) **B:** *la kjɛn krɔkiʔla baʔ*

la kjɛ́n krɔ́kíʔ-la báʔ
CONJ big.deadfall.trap sprung.and.empty-SEQ EXIST
‘One deadfall trap was closed.’

01:14.3-01:15.7

(686) **B:** *ʃiː iːbanatʃa riːla luŋseʔprina vuːla*

ʃi ì-banatʃa=rila lɨ̃̀séʔ-prina vù-la
animal die-HYP=QUOT happy(<M)-ANT go.from.base-SEQ
‘An animal must have died [inside the trap], they said, and went [to see] happily.’

01:15.8-01:18.8

See: (215)

(687) **B:** *hɛna puĩla niŋlana | ʤi.armi ʧuŋbaŋ ʤila iːla rɨː | tɛːlɨŋku*

hɛna puɨ́-la níŋ-lana ʤi=armi ʧɨ̀ùbɑ̀̃ ʤila ì-la rɨ̀
now push.up-SEQ look-ANT DEF=army(<Eng) big.fat.item CONJ die-SEQ stay
tɛ́-lɨ́ŋ=ku
FAR-inside=LOC
‘Ehm, when they pushed it up [the trap], and looked, there was a big fat piece of a dead soldier inside.’

01:19.3-01:23.5

See: (421)

(688) **B:** *akũhɛ̃ dəŋraŋ ʃambatʃa*

akű-hɛ̃̀ dáŋrá? ʃám-batʃa
head-PL be.rotten(<M) rot-PRF
'The neck and all was brocken and rotten.'
01:23.8-01:25.9

See: (158)

(689) **B:** *ʤila vari: la ruila fɛ̃la*
ʤila vɛrì la ruì-la fɛ̃̀-la
CONJ 3PL CONJ pull-SEQ throw-SEQ
'They pulled him out and threw him aside.'
01:26.8-01:28.9

(690) **B:** *muŋ mi: bahuire?*
míŋ mì ba-huì²-ré?
thing who NEG-recite-BEN
'Nobody made the last rituals for him.'
01:29.1-01:30.7

See: (123)

Comment: Special rituals are required for people dying an unnatural death.

(691) **B:** *ʤibuʤi vɛritaʒu njɛ hui*
ʤi=bù=ʤi vɛrì=taʒu njɛ́ huì²
DEF=DOWN=DEF 3PL=self little recite
'They made little bit of a ritual themselves. (because there was no priest)'
01:31.1-01:32.7

(692) **B:** *la aʃip awo? mi: batã*
la aʃíp awó? mì ba-tʰɑ̀̃
CONJ ritual.fee ritual who NEG-give
'Nobody gave the fee for the ritual.'
01:33.3-01:35.5

See: (124)

(693) **B:** *mi: <hɛmɛ> batsarə?*
mì ba-ʦá?-ré?
who NEG-do-BEN
'Nobody did the ritual for him.'
01:35.5-01:38.6

(694) **B:** *ʤonuŋ bali: mi: batsaʔrə?*

<dʒonúŋ balì> mì ba-tsáʔ-réʔ
<unnatural.dead.ritual unnatural.dead.ritual> who NEG-do-BEN
'Nobody did the unnatural death ritual for him.'

01:38.8-01:40.7

(695) **A:** batsaʔrəʔ
ba-tsáʔ-réʔ
NEG-do-BEN
'Nobody made it for him.'

01:40.0-01:41.0

(696) **B:** dʒikjɛnhɛtʃi fɨntʃuɛʔ
dʒi=kjén-hɛ̃̀=tʃi fɨntʃuéʔ
DEF=big.deadfall.trap-PL=ADD dispose
'Those traps they also gave up.'

01:40.7-01:42.1

(697) **B:** baʒtɛ̃ː fɨntʃuɛʔdɔʔ tsaʔla
ba-ʒà fɨntʃuéʔ-dɔ̀ tsáʔ-la
NEG-make.traps dispose-IMM do-SEQ
'They didn't make them again and directly destroyed them.'

01:42.3-01:44.6

(698) **B:** sa tsaʔhɨ̀ dʒi
sá tsáʔ=hɨ̀ dʒi
like.this do=ASRT DEF
'Like this they did.'

01:44.7-01:45.8

(699) **B:** həŋ kjɛmri | məʒəː araːrila | kjɛm akuŋ araːrila vari
hɨ̀ kjém=ri² məʒà arà=ri²-la kjém akű
NEAR big.deadfall.trap=TOP trap big=TOP-SEQ big.deadfall.trap head
arà=ri²-la vɛrì
big=TOP-SEQ 3PL
'In this deadfall trap, this big trap, the deadfall trap with the big head.'

01:46.0-01:51.5

(700) **B:** həŋku prɨ̃ apna atuŋ gritʃi kəmyila kuiʔdyin
hɨ̀=ku prɨ́ apna atʰů̀ grì=tʃi kəmyì-la
NEAR=LOC human own(<IA) master 1PL=ADD inattentive-SEQ
kʰuíʔ-dyì-la
enter-again-SEQ

‘There we humans go inside ourselves, if we are inattentive.’

01:51.6-01:54.7

Comment: *apna atʰuN* = Puroik *gritazu atʰuN* ‘by our own wish’

(701) **B:** *həŋ bu vudʑu ara:*
hɨ̀̃ bù vɨ̀dʑɨ̀ arà
NEAR DOWN fish.trap(<M) big
‘Down there, there is a big fish trap.’

01:54.3-01:55.7

Comment: Miji *vudʑu* = Puroik *kʰɔ̀pɑ́̃* ‘fishtrap’

(702) **B:** *kopi ara: vi:səmən ara: vari dʒi bu ɬuʔla i:la*
kʰɔ̀pí arà vɨ̀səmán arà dʒi=vɛrì dʒi=bù ɬúʔ-la ì
crocodile big crocodile(<M) big DEF=3PL DEF=DOWN fall-SEQ die
‘There [even] crocodiles (a water spirit with crocodile shape) get trapped.’

01:58.5-02:04.0

(703) **B:** *həŋ kjɛm hĩdʒi kũ: pʰɨŋ | vɨtomjɛʔ ara: | dʒihɛ̃ kuŋ badʒo balɛ:hɛ̃ kjɛnku kuiʔla i:na*
hɨ̀̃ kjén hɨ̀̃=dʒi kű́ pʰɨ̀ŋ vɨtomjéʔ arà dʒi-hɛ̀̃ kű́
NEAR big.deadfall.trap NEAR=DEF UP mountain Vɨtomjɛʔ big DEF-PL UP
<badʒóʔ balɛ́ʔ>-hɛ̀̃ kjén=ku kʰuíʔ-la ì-na
<Badʒoʔ Balɛʔ>-PL big.deadfall.trap=LOC enter-SEQ die-NPST
‘In this deadfall trap in the mountains also the big Vɨtomjɛʔ dies. The Badʒoʔ Balɛʔ ghosts up there also go inside and die.’

02:04.0-02:11.6

(704) **B:** *asi: ara: həŋhɛ̃ | məzə: akɛ̃ku bai:na aʃi:hɛ̃ həŋ kuiʔla i:*
asì arà hɨ̀̃ hɛ̀̃ məzə̀ akʰɛ̀=ku ba-ì-na asì-hɛ̀̃ hɨ̀̃=ku
bear big NEAR people trap other=LOC NEG-die-NPST bear-PL NEAR=LOC
kʰuíʔ-la ì
enter-SEQ die
‘Also big bears. In other traps they will not die. Here, into this big deadfall trap, the bears go and die.’

02:11.7-02:16.1

See: (150)

(705) **B:** *niŋlana ham ɬuɛʔ*
níŋ-lana hám ɬuɛ́ʔ
look-ANT house seem

'When you see it, it is like a house.'

02:16.1-02:17.8

See: (430a)

(706) **B:** *hɛː iːna baɬuɛʔ | ʤilana ʤisa*

hɛ̀ ì-na² ba-ɬuéʔ ʤilana ʤisá

what die-NMLZ NEG-seem CONJ like.this

'It does not look like a place where one will die.'

02:18.1-02:20.6

See: (430b)

(707) **A:** *ʃĩ ʧapɨŋ ɬuɛʔbjaorila ũ*

ʃĩ̀ ʧapɨ̀ŋ ɬuéʔ-bjaò=rila ũ̀

wood tree.trunk seem-COP.FOC=QUOT go.to.base

'It looks exactly like wood trunks, they think and come.'

02:20.7-02:22.3

See: (468)

(708) **B:** *ʤisa ʤõ hɛː ɬuɛʔ baɬuɛʔ hɨŋku ũla iː*

ʤisá ʤõ̀ hɛ̀ ɬuéʔ ba-ɬuéʔ hɨ̃̀=ku ũ̀-la ì

like.this all what seem NEG-seem NEAR=LOC go.to.base-SEQ die

'Likethis every [animal] goes inside and dies.'

02:22.4-02:25.3

Comment: ɬuɛʔ baɬuɛʔ 'everything from ghost, over small animals, to big animals'

(709) **B:** *griː hɛmɛ ʤi hũ məʒɨː araːrika hũ | la maŋ ʒəːka hũ | atuŋ griːta griːkumaʧi kəmyila ʤjudyina*

grì hɛmɛ ʤi=hɨ̃̀ məʒə̀ arà=ri-ka hɨ̃̀ la máŋ

1PL FILL DEF=ASRT trap big=QUOT-REL NEAR CONJ stabbing.trap

ʒə̀-ka hɨ̃̀ atʰũ̀ grì=taʒu=maʧi kəmyì-la ʤjù-dyɨ̃̀-na

make.traps-REL NEAR master 1PL=self=ADD inattentive-SEQ stab-again-NPST

'We ourselves in this big trap, or in the stabbing trap, can be stabbed if we are not careful.'

02:25.3-02:33.2

(710) **B:** *prɨ̃kuʧi kəmyila ʤjudyi | ʦaʔka məʒɨː*

prɨ́=ku²=ʧi kəmyì-la ʤjù-dyɨ̃̀ ʦáʔ-ka məʒə̀

human=OBJ=ADD inattentive-SEQ stab-again do-REL trap

'[Humans also] get stabbed when they are inattentive, by such traps.'

02:33.5-02:36.7

(711) **B:** *bui kra: kruŋ bui gri məʒi: ũ:dɔ̃la bu: ʃəʒaŋmo gri:k abo ʃaŋto kəpan gri:ku məʒi: kuãla taŋkan | ʃəʒaŋmua gri:ku*

buì <*krá* *krúŋ*> *buì* *grì* *məʒà* *ǔ-dɔ̃̀-la*
before <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> before 1PL trap go.to.base-take.along-SEQ
bù *ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ* *grì=ku²* *abo* *ʃə̃̀to* *kəpán* *grì=ku²* *məʒà* *kʰɔ̃̀-la*
DOWN god 1PL=OBJ father(<M) ʃaNto(RL) Kəpan 1PL=OBJ trap share-SEQ
tʰə̀̃ *ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ* *grì=ku²*
give god 1PL=OBJ

'Many years we Kraa Krung took along the traps, ʃəʒaŋmɔ had given them to us.'

02:36.7-02:47.0

(712) **B:** *atɨŋ masaŋ <alo> atɨŋ vənei gri:ku məʒi: hĩtanla ʧɨŋla*

atɨ́ŋ *masáŋ* *atɨ́ŋ* *vəneì* *grì=ku²* *məʒà*
grandfather Masang grandfather Vənei(<M) 1PL=OBJ trap
hɨ̀-tán-la *ʧɨ́ŋ-la*
speak-teach(<M)-SEQ work-SEQ

'Grandfather Masaŋ and grandfather Vənei taught us how to make traps.'

02:49.5-02:55.7

See: (418), (188)

Comment: Miji *aloo* = Puroik *atɨŋ*

(713) **A:** *həŋ bjatʃaro həŋ bjatʃaro*

hɨ̀ *bjaò-ʧa=ro* *hɨ̀* *bjaò-ʧa=ro*
NEAR COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT NEAR COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT

'It is like this, it is exactly like this.'

02:56.0-02:58.0

(714) **B:** *zaŋ zaŋ goi goi ʤilapəna ruɔ zə:*

zə̀̃ *zə̀̃²* *goì* *goì²* *ʤilapəna rɔ̀*
fish.trap make.fish.trap sling make.sling after.this stone.deadfall.trap
zə̀
make.traps

'To make fish traps, the bird traps and the stone trap.'

02:58.2-03:01.6

(715) **B:** *kjɛmpəi zə: ʧɨʔ zə: | maŋ zə: kjɛm zə:*

kjémpaí zə̀ tʃí? zə̀ máŋ
stone.deadfall.trap(<M) make.traps sling make.traps stabbing.trap
zə̀ kjén zə̀
make.traps big.deadfall.trap make.traps
'Make all these different types of traps.'

03:01.7-03:05.2

(716) **B:** *atɨŋ masaŋ atɨŋ vɨnei hĩtanna gri:ku la gri: ʤi zə:kaʤi*
ʤi atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ʤi atɨ́ŋ vənèi=ri
DEF grandfather Masang=DEF grandfather Vənei(<M)=QUOT
mə-hɨ̀-tán-la grì=ku² ʤi=zə̀-ka=ʤi
NMLZ-speak-teach(<M)-SEQ 1PL=OBJ DEF=make.traps-REL=DEF
'This is what grandfather Masaŋ and grandfather Vənei taught us, to make traps.'

03:05.4-03:11.0

See: (364)

(717) **B:** *gri:ku wɛʔla tʃi:kaʤi hənsa zə:la gri: wɛʔla tʃi:ka*
grì=ku² wɛ́ʔ-la tʃi-ka=ʤi hɨ̀sá zə̀-la grì wɛ́ʔ-la tʃi-ka
1PL=OBJ kill-SEQ eat-REL=DEF like.this make.traps-SEQ 1PL kill-SEQ eat-REL
'Us they taught to kill and eat, to make traps like this, to kill and eat like this.'

03:12.5-03:17.0

(718) **A:** *vari: tɛ:ku la wɛʔdyĩ:*
vɛrì té=ku la wè-dyɨ̀
3PL FAR=LOC CONJ EXIST.NEG-again
'For them up there, it is not there.'

03:12.5-03:17.0

(719) **B:** *gri:ku abẽ vari: məʒə: gri:ku le:la tã:*
grì=ku² abɛ̀ vɛrì məʒə̀ grì=ku² lè-la tʰɑ̀
1PL=OBJ ahead 3PL trap 1PL=OBJ take-SEQ give
'In the beginning, they gave us the traps.'

03:17.3-03:20.3

(720) **B:** *gri: la zə: variku wɛʔdyina ʦaʔ*
grì la zə̀ vɛrì=ku² wɛ́ʔ-dyɨ̀-na ʦáʔ
1PL CONJ make.traps 3PL=OBJ kill-again-NPST do
'We made them [them] and made them kill them [the animals].'

03:20.6-03:22.9

(721) **B:** *sa tsaʔla ʤimuŋ alao məʒəː riːkari*
sá tsáʔ-la mɨ́ŋ alaò məʒə̀ rì-ka=ri
like.this do-SEQ thing bad trap say-REL=QUOT
'Doing like this, the trap for bad spirits is called like this.'
03:23.0-03:24.8

(722) **B:** *həŋ bjatʃaro*
hɨ̀ bjaò-tʃa=ro
NEAR COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'It is really like this.'
03:24.7-03:25.5

(723) **B:** *muŋ alao məʒəːro*
mɨ́ŋ[5] alaò məʒə̀=ro
ghost bad trap=ASRT
'This is the trap for bad spirits.'
03:26.0-03:27.2

(724) **B:** *aku anua nari hĩna hã̃ hitanhɨŋro*
akú anɔ̀ narì hɨ̀-na awíʔ grì hɨ̀
first.brother younger.brother 2PL speak-NPST old 1PL NEAR
hɨ̀-tán=hɨ̀ro
speak-teach(<M)=ASRT
'You brothers, we old men told you like this.'
03:27.2-03:31.6

(725) **B:** *ʤiku nariː niŋla lapɛː hɨ̃ nari adəː nari atsəːʤi hĩːdəgai hĩdəgaidyĩna*
ʤi=ku[2] narì nɨ́ŋ-la lapɛ́ hɨ̀ narì adə̀ narì atsɨ̀=ʤi
DEF=OBJ 2PL listen-SEQ tomorrow NEAR 2PL child 2PL grandchild=DEF
hɨ̀-dəgaì hɨ̀-dəgaì-dyɨ̀-na
speak-REP(<M) speak-REP(<M)-again-NPST
'Now that you have heard this, tomorrow tell it to your sons and grandsons again and again.'
03:31.7-03:37.5

(726) **B:** *tsabo ʤi ʤiduarona hɛmɛ gri namu ʤiduaro kjɛn məʒəː*
tsáʔ-bo ʤì ʤidɔ=ro=na hɛmɛ grì namù ʤidɔ=ro
do-IMP ANA like.this=ASRT=TOP FILL 1PL tradition like.this=ASRT
kjɛ́n məʒə̀
big.deadfall.trap trap
'Do it like this. Our tradition is like this.'
03:37.6-03:42.2

See: (388)

A.3. Frog story (FROG)

Summary: The speaker retells the picture story “Frog, where are you?” after the pictures in (Mayer 1969).

(727) *bui hamɨ̃tʃi anjao məhjɛ̃tʃi anjaoku ã ʤila | prĩːʤi tatiʔtʃi buːʤi tatiʔtʃi*

buì haḿɨŋ=tʃi anjaò məhjɛ̂=tʃi anjaò=ku ã̀ ʤila prĩ́=ʤi tatíʔtʃi
before sky=ADD fresh earth=ADD fresh=LOC INTJ CONJ human=DEF alone
bù²=ʤi tatíʔtʃi
dog=DEF alone

‘Long time ago, when the sky was new and the earth was new, there was a lonely human and a lonely dog.’

00:07.1-00:15.4

See: (482), (454)

(728) *<rɨː> ã aroʔ wɛː | hamɨ̃ʤi kũ məhjɛ̃ʤi buː*

ã̀ aróʔ wɛ̀ haḿɨŋ=ʤi kṹ məhjɛ̂=ʤi bù
INTJ friend EXIST.NEG sky=DEF UP earth=DEF DOWN

‘They had no friends. The sky was up and the earth was down.’

00:16.6-00:20.1

See: (386)

(729) *ʤilɨŋku ʤila | vahəniʔ tatiʔtʃi rɨː ʤilana rɨʔ tatiʔ ʤila ũtʃũː*

ʤilɨ́ŋ=ku ʤila vɛhenîʔ tatíʔtʃi rɨ̀ ʤilana rə́ʔ tatíʔ ʤila
that.time=LOC CONJ 3DU alone stay CONJ frog one CONJ
ũ̀-tʃũ̂
go.to.base-COMPL

‘That time, they were staying alone, and one frog came to stay [with them].’

00:20.3-00:24.9

See: (500a), (280)

(730) *õ ʤikutʃi abu bulu banaːna riːla vɛhəniʔ*

ã̀ ʤì=ku²=tʃi <abù² bùlu> banà-na=rila
INTJ ANA=OBJ=ADD <human(RL) human(RL)> make(<IA)-NPST=QUOT
vɛhenîʔ
3DU

‘Yes, they thought, they would also make him [the frog] a human.’

00:26.0-00:28.9

See: (419), (500b)

Comment: *banaana* < Hindi बनाना *banānā* ‘make’, ~ Puroik *tsáʔ*

(731) *ʤagraŋ aku: vɛhəni:la | nəmla botəluku plõla li:*

<*ʧagɹáŋ akú*> *vɛhení? la nám=la botəlu=ku*
<forefather.dog first.brother> 3DU CONJ wrest=CONJ bottle(<Eng)=LOC
plṍ=la lì
close=CONJ put

'The forefather dog and the human took the frog and put him in a bottle.'

00:29.7-00:33.9

(732) *hɛna (.s) botəluku plõla li:lana | vɛhəni? atʃẽ rəmtʃuŋkəna | botəlu:lapu | nigala:ry-ila umpʰiʤi*

lana botəlu=ku plṍ-la lì-lana vɛsení? atʃ̀ẽ
CONJ bottle(<Eng)=LOC close-SEQ put-ANT 3DU night
rám-tʃ̀ũ̀=ku=na botəlu=lapu nigalaa-ruìla
sleep-COMPL=LOC=TOP bottle(<Eng)=ABL exit(<IA)-ANT
ũ̀-pʰí?-ʤi
go.to.base-away-away

'After they had closed the bottle, when the two were sleeping deeply, the frog came out of the bottle and went away.'

00:34.8-00:46.5

nigalaa < Hindi निकालना *nikālnā*, Puroik *botəlulɨŋlapu uNpi?*

(733) *vɛ: | akjãlɨŋlapu kʰualɨŋku ũmpʰi?*

vɛ̀ akjã́-lɨ́ŋ=lapu kʰɔ̀-lɨ́ŋ=ku ũ̀-pʰí?
3SG hole-inside=ABL water-inside=LOC go.to.base-away

'Through the hole [of the bottle], he went away, into the water.'

00:46.9-00:51.4

See: (271), (165), (168a)

(734) *ʤilana ʤibu:se | prinse ʤila ʧɛ?la dəhu ʦaʔla nuɔ nuɔ nuɔ nuɔ nuɔ nuɔ ba.ɔi*

ʤilana ʤi=bù²-se prɨ̃́-se ʤila ʧɛ́?-la dəhù ʦáʔ-la nɔ̀ nɔ̀
CONJ DEF=dog-DU human-DU CONJ cry-SEQ sadness do-SEQ search search
nɔ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀ nɔ̀ ba-ɔì
search search search search NEG-find

'The dog and the human, both cried and were sad, they searched and searched but didn't find him (the frog).'

00:51.9-01:01.2

See: (507), (317), (159)

(735) *ba.ɔi ʤila (.s) nuɔsẽ nuɔ nuɔ nuɔla ba.ɔi*

ba-ɔì *ʤila* *nɔ̀-sɛ̀̃* *nɔ̀* *nɔ̀-la* *ba-ɔì*
NEG-find CONJ search-undirected.motion search search-SEQ NEG-find
'They searched, searched and searched but didn't find him.'
01:02.2-01:08.1

See: (269)

(736) *ʤilana ham* (*.s*) *hamku vuːla nuʒ̃*
ʤilana hám *hám=ku* *vù-la* *nɔ̀*
CONJ house house=LOC go.from.base-SEQ search
'They searched in the house.'
01:09.0-01:14.6

(737) *buː adətsulapu niŋlana | buːna la bu ɬuʔ*
bù² adətsù=lapu *níŋ-lana* *bù²=na* *labù* *ɬúʔ*
dog edge(<M)=ABL look-ANT dog=TOP down.there fall
'When the dog looked [down] from the [window's] edge, he fell down.'
01:16.2-01:22.7

See: (190)

(738) *botəlu <botəlu> akuŋko plõruila buː la bu ɬuʔ*
botəlu *akṹ=ku* *plṍ-ruìla* *bù²* *labù* *ɬúʔ*
bottle(<Eng) head=LOC close-ANT dog down.there fall
'With the glass container over his head, the dog fell down.'
01:22.8-01:26.7

(739) *ɬuʔruila | ʤilana atũːʤi rindyila*
ɬúʔ-ruìla *ʤilana* *atʰṵ̀=ʤi* *rín-dyɛ̀̃-la*
fall-ANT CONJ master=DEF move.fast-again-SEQ
'After he fell down, the master came running.'
01:27.1-01:31.5

See: (508)

(740) *buː buɬɛ̃lapu vukrɛːdyila ʤi buːko ʤũŋruila*
bù² bù-ɬɛ̀̃=lapu *vù-krɛ́-dyɛ̀̃-la* *ʤi=bù²=ku²* *ʤṹ-ruìla*
dog DOWN-side.of=ABL go.from.base-roll-again-SEQ DEF=dog=OBJ lift.up-ANT
'He went around [the house] and picked up the dog.'
01:32.1-01:36.1

See: (263)

(741) *ʤila* (*.s*) *ʤila niŋlana* (*.s*) *la vjuʔla niŋla*

ʤila níŋ-lana la vjúʔ-la níŋ-la
CONJ listen-ANT CONJ hug-SEQ listen-SEQ
'Then, he heard something. Hugging [the dog], he was listening.'
01:36.5-01:45.3

(742) *ʤi buːku vɛhəniʔ aroʔ ʦaʔ*
ʤi=bù²=ku vɛhenîʔ aróʔ ʦáʔ
DEF=dog=LOC 3DU friend do
'He and the dog, the two were friends.'
01:45.7-01:47.9

(743) *hĩʔrila hĩʔjaŋrila aroʔ ʦaʔla vjuʔ | la nuɔsẽ*
híʔ-ri²-la híʔ-jã̀-ri²-la aróʔ ʦáʔ-la vjúʔ la
think-RECP-SEQ think-PRMN-RECP-SEQ friend do-SEQ hug CONJ
nɔ̀-sɛ̃̀
search-undirected.motion
'They understand each other, they were friends, they hugged each other and went to search everywhere.'
01:48.4-01:52.7

(744) *ʤilapəna (.s) kuŋ ʤila la nɨŋlana | klaː vaiʔ*
ʤilapəna kṹ ʤila níŋ-lana klá vaíʔ
after.this UP CONJ listen-ANT where EXIST
'Then, he listened [and said]: "Where are you?"'
01:55.9-02:05.9

(745) *rəʔ klaː vaiʔ*
ráʔ klá vaíʔ
frog where EXIST
'Frog, where are you? [Why are you not here?]'
02:07.9-02:08.9

See: (383a)

(746) *ẽ riːla kuːkuku riːla ɬucla nuɔ*
è rì-la kukuku rì-la ɬɔ̀-la nɔ̀
INTJ say-SEQ INTJ say-SEQ call-SEQ search
'Kukuku, he said, he called and searched.'
02:09.1-02:11.6

See: (383b)

(747) *la wɛː*

la wɛ̀
CONJ EXIST.NEG
'But he [the frog] is not there.'
02:12.5-02:13.1

See: (383c)

(748) *la tɛ: niŋlana abɬ̃mua tsəmui tsəwoi*
la tɛ́ níŋ-lana abɬ́ŋmɔ̀ tsəmuí tsəwoì
CONJ FAR look-ANT jungle tree.bee rock.bee
'Then, he saw there in the jungle some bees.'
02:14.1-02:16.8

(749) *ʤilana wɛ: ʤilana bu ũ:*
ʤilana wɛ̀ ʤilana bù ṳ̀
CONJ EXIST.NEG CONJ DOWN go.to.base
'But he was not there, and they went down again.'
02:19.5-02:21.5

(750) *bu ũla bu | tsəwoi la kuŋ pãla rɨ: | tsəpũna*
bù ṳ̃-la bù tsəwoì=na kṹ pɑ̃́-la rɨ̀ tsəpṹ=na
DOWN go.to.base-SEQ DOWN rock.bee=TOP UP hang-SEQ stay wasp=TOP
'Going down, the rock bees were hanging up there. [I mean,] the wasps.'
02:22.9-02:27.2

See: (235)

(751) *bu:na ʤiku niŋla ruʔla rɨ:*
bù²=na ʤì=ku² níŋ-la rúʔ-la rɨ̀
dog=TOP ANA=OBJ look-SEQ bark-SEQ stay
'The dog saw them and was barking at them.'
02:28.4-02:30.4

See: (228)

(752) *kũ ɬɨŋla*
kṹ ɬɨ́ŋ-la
UP climb-SEQ
'He climbed up.'
02:31.1-02:32.0

(753) *ʤila prin ʤi bu: kəʒõ plõla bu: məhjɛ̃lɨŋ la bu:*
ʤila prɨ̃́=ʤi bù kəʒṍ plṍ-la bù məhjɛ̃̀-lɨ́ŋ labù
CONJ human=DEF DOWN face.down close-SEQ DOWN earth-inside down.there

‘The human bowed down to the earth.’

02:33.1-02:38.0

(754) *kuːkuku riːla ɬuɔ vɛːna bula[pu] | ʧɛ̃ri vɛː apuŋku la tuɔ*

kukuku=rila ɬɔ̀ vɛ̀=na bù=lapu ʧɛ̃̀=ri vɛ̀ apʰû̀=ku la tɔ́ʔ

INTJ=QUOT call 3SG=TOP DOWN=ABL rat=QUOT 3SG nose=LOC CONJ bite

‘When he called ”kukuku”, from below a rat bit his nose.’

02:39.4-02:44.0

See: (480)

(755) *lana la ʧɛʔla rɨː*

lana la ʧɛ́ʔ-la rɨ̀

CONJ CONJ cry-SEQ stay

‘He cried.’

02:45.6-02:48.7

(756) *laː buːna laː lõziʔ (s) buːna lõziʔ*

la bù²=na la lû̃zíʔ bù²=na lû̃zíʔ

CONJ dog=TOP CONJ angry dog=TOP angry

‘The dog was angry.’

02:50.0-02:54.7

(757) *ʤilana (s) ɬiŋprina ʤi buːna | ɬiŋla*

ʤilana ɬíŋ-prina ʤi=bù²=na ɬíŋ-la

CONJ climb-ANT DEF=dog=TOP climb-SEQ

‘The dog climbed up [to the bees].’

02:55.4-03:02.3

(758) *tsəwoi ɬiŋla laː tɔ́go la pjũlɛn (.s) pjũmə*

tsəwoì kṹ la tɔ́ʔgo-la pjṹ-lɛ̃̀ pjṹ-mə

rock.bee UP CONJ bite-SEQ release-CMPR release-PST

‘He bit the bees to make them fall, and made them fall.’

03:03.6-03:07.8

(759) *ʤilaː ʤi | prɨ̃ː ʤiri vuːla ʃĩmuaku ɬiŋla niŋlana (s) kʰuː (s) kʰuːri ʤila rɨːjaŋ*

ʤila ʤi=prɨ́̃ ʤiri vù-la ʃĩ̀mɔ=ku ɬíŋ-la níŋ-lana kʰù

CONJ DEF=human CONJ go.from.base-SEQ tree=LOC climb-SEQ look-ANT owl

kʰù=ri ʤila rɨ̀-jɑ̀̃

owl=QUOT CONJ stay-PRMN

'Then, the human went there. He climbed on the tree to see. An owl was sitting there.'

03:07.8-03:16.8

(760) *ʤila ʒĩnla ʤila la buː ɬuʔ ũː*
ʤila ʒín-la ʤila labù ɬúʔ ù̃
CONJ get.shocked-SEQ CONJ down.there fall go.to.base
'He got shocked and fell down.'

03:17.8-03:20.4

(761) *aiʒinla ɬuʔme*
aiʒín-la ɬúʔ-mə
get.shocked-SEQ fall-PST
'He got suddendly shocked and fell down.'

03:22.0-03:23.2

(762) *vɛː akəmku niŋla ʒinla*
vɛ̀ akə́m=ku² níŋ-la ʒín-la
3SG eye=OBJ look-SEQ get.shocked-SEQ
'Seeing his [the owls] eyes, he got shocked.'

03:24.0-03:25.7

(763) *ʤilana (.s) buːna kũ tsəwoi la tɔgola pjũː*
ʤilana bù=na kű̀ tsəwoì la tɔ́ʔgo-la pjű́
CONJ DOWN=TOP UP rock.bee CONJ bite-SEQ release
'After this, the dog up there made the bees fall down by biting.'

03:26.7-03:31.2

tɔgo 'bite' is a mixture of Puroik *tɔʔ* 'bite' and Miji *tʰago* 'bite'

(764) *lana tsəwoi ʤitʃi lũziʔprĩna buːku gĩmə*
lana tsəwoì=ʤi=tʃi lũ̀zíʔ-prina bù²=ku² gĩ̀-mə
CONJ rock.bee=DEF=ADD angry-ANT dog=OBJ follow-PST
'The bees also got angry and chased the dog away.'

03:32.6-03:35.4

See: (258)

(765) *ɛm (.s) nuʃõ gim vɛhəniku lana gĩpro gĩmrola*
ám nù=ʃõ̀ gĩ̀-mə vɛheníʔ=ku lana <gĩ̀-pɻo
FILL here=LOC follow-PST 3DU=LOC CONJ <follow-scatter(<M)
gĩ̀-mɻo>
follow-scatter(<M)>

‘[The bees] chased the two into different directions.’

03:36.8-03:41.4

See: (540), (275)

(766) *ʤilana (s) prinʤi la ɬuʔla rɨː*

ʤilana prɨ́=ʤi la ɬúʔ-la rɨ̀
CONJ human=DEF CONJ fall-SEQ stay

‘The human had fallen down.’

03:41.9-03:46.6

(767) *ɬuʔme ɬuʔla (s) ʤilana vɛhəni la rĩ ũ*

ɬúʔ-mə ɬúʔ-la ʤilana vɛhenɨ́ʔ la rín-ũ̀
fall-PST fall-SEQ CONJ 3DU CONJ move.fast-POSS

‘After falling, the two run away.’

03:48.4-03:52.2

(768) *rĩnlana | ʤi kalɪ̃ŋmɔ ʤiku rĩnla niŋ*

rín-lana kalɪ́ŋmɔ ʤì=ku rín-la níŋ
move.fast-ANT rock ANA=LOC move.fast-SEQ look

‘When they run, they saw a rock and run to the rock.’

03:54.2-03:57.6

(769) *buː vɛhəniʔ laː nuɔ*

bù² vɛhenɨ́ʔ la nɔ̀
dog 3DU CONJ search

‘He [the human] and the dog searched.’

03:58.3-03:59.6

(770) *laː nuːla vuːla (.s) buː awuːku (s) prin atʃaŋku vuːla ɬiŋla*

la nùla vù-la bù² awù=ku prɨ́ atʃɑ̀=ku
CONJ here go.from.base-SEQ dog below=LOC human above=LOC
vù-la ɬíŋ-la
go.from.base-SEQ climb-SEQ

‘After coming there, the dog was down, the human climbed up, holding the tree, he was looking.’

04:01.0-04:07.4

(771) *ʃĩmɔku kɛ̃gaŋla niŋlana*

ʃɪ̀mɔ=ku² kɛ́-gɑ̀-la níŋ-lana
tree=OBJ hold-enclosed-SEQ look-ANT

'He held himself on a tree and watched.'

04:07.9-04:10.0

See: (327)

(772) *sətsurjã akjẽ̃ri ʤila baʔjãŋ la kẽ̃gã:*

sətsùrjáŋ akjɛ́̃=ri ʤila báʔ-jà̰ la kɛ́̃-gà̰
deer horn=QUOT CONJ EXIST-PRMN CONJ hold-enclosed

'But it was actually the antlers of a deer [not a tree], where he was holding himself.'

04:10.8-04:14.9

(773) *la sətsurjã la: dəfi:la rĩnmə*

la sətsùrjáŋ la dəfi̋-la rín-mə
CONJ deer CONJ shake.ones.head(<M)-SEQ move.fast-PST

'The deer run away shaking the head.'

04:16.0-04:18.5

(774) *akuŋku la pãla ʒĩ:*

akű=ku la pɑ́̃-la ʒɪ̀̃
head=LOC CONJ hang-SEQ hang

'The human was hanging on the head.'

04:19.1-04:21.1

(775) *<bu:na la> (.s) sətsurjãna rimpiʔ harui*

sətsùrjáŋ=na rín-pʰíʔ-haruì
deer=TOP move.fast-away-ANT

'The deer run away.'

04:22.2-04:25.8

(776) *ʤila (.s) bu: vɛhənina awuku la rɨ:*

ʤila bù² vɛhenîʔ=na awù=ku la rɨ
CONJ dog 3DU=TOP below=LOC CONJ stay

'Then, the dog [and the human] both were sitting there.'

04:27.3-04:32.1

See: (98), (161), (179)

Comment: Speaker switched to picture 19, where the boy and the dog are already sitting in the water.

(777) *<rɨ:ryila> (.s) ʤilana prinkuna la dəfi:gola bu: məhjɛ̃ kʰɔ:liŋku ɬuʔ katʃuɛ̃liŋku*

ʤilana prɨ́=ku=na la dəfigo-la bù məhjɛ̀̃
CONJ human=LOC=TOP CONJ shake.ones.head(<M)-SEQ DOWN earth
kʰɔ̀-líŋ=ku katʃuɛ̃̀-líŋ
water-inside=LOC mud-inside
'Then, he shook him down, on the ground in the water, inside the swamp.'

04:32.5-04:42.0

(778) *kũ hamɨŋlapu hamɨŋlɨŋlapu məhjɛ̃ ɬuʔmə (.s) katʃuɛ̃ku ɬuʔ*
kɨ́̃ hamíŋ=lapu hamíŋ-líŋ=lapu məhjɛ̀̃ ɬúʔ-mə katʃuɛ̃̀=ku ɬúʔ
UP sky=ABL sky-inside=ABL earth fall-PST mud=LOC fall
'From up in the sky, they fell down to the earth, into the swamp.'

04:43.3-04:49.1

See: (141)

(779) *lana vɛhəniʔ (s) ʤi bu: vɛhəniʔ la ʃuʃɛ̃ri:la | ʤila ʤɨ́̃la*
lana vɛhenɨ́ʔ ʤi=bù² vɛhenɨ́ʔ la ʃuʃɛ̀̃-ri²-la ʤila ʤɨ́̃²-la
CONJ 3DU DEF=dog 3DU CONJ caress-RECP-SEQ CONJ hold-SEQ
'After this, the dog and the human were carressing each other and he was holding the dog.'

04:49.8-04:57.0

(780) *akuŋku | bu:ku akuŋku la ʤũ:la le:*
akɨ́̃=ku bù²=ku² akɨ́̃=ku la ʤɨ́̃²-la lè
head=LOC dog=OBJ head=LOC CONJ hold-SEQ take
'The dog he picked up and kept on the head.'

04:57.5-05:01.7

(781) *ã̀ ʤila (s) nɨŋlana (.s) rəʔ nja:ba*
ã̀ ʤila níŋ-lana rə́ʔ njáʔ-ba
INTJ CONJ listen-ANT frog make.noise-PRS
'Then, they heard [something]. The frog made noise.'

05:02.8-05:06.6

(782) *vɛhəniʔ aroʔtsaʔna rəʔ njabaro ri:la*
vɛhenɨ́ʔ aróʔ tsáʔ-na² rə́ʔ njáʔ-ba=ro=rila
3DU friend do-NMLZ frog make.noise-PRS=ASRT=QUOT
'The frogs make noise to make friends with the two, they said.'

05:07.9-05:09.7

(783) *ʤila (.s) ʤila vu:lana (.s) ʤila vu:la nua vu:*

ʤila ʤila vù-lana ʤila vù-la nɔ̀ vù
CONJ CONJ go.from.base-ANT CONJ go.from.base-SEQ search go.from.base
'Then, they went there to search.'

05:11.2-05:19.6

(784) *nua vuːlana kuŋ*
nɔ̀ vù-lana kṹ
search go.from.base-ANT UP
'They went to search up.'

05:22.2-05:23.4

(785) *kuŋ ʧaʔpiŋ ʤi kuŋ | kalɪ̃mua kũʧaŋku niŋlana | banjaːbo riːla*
kṹ ʧapɨ̀ŋ ʤi=kṹ kalíŋmɔ kṹʧã̀=ku níŋ-lana
UP tree.trunk DEF=UP rock above=LOC listen-ANT
ba-njáʔ-bo=rila
NEG-make.noise-IMP=QUOT
'Up there on the tree trunk, on the big rock they listened. He said: don't make noise!'

05:25.5-05:29.5

(786) *ʤibuːku banjaːbo*
ʤi=bù²=ku² ba-njáʔ-bo
DEF=dog=OBJ NEG-make.noise-IMP
'To the dog [he said]: Don't make noise!'

05:30.2-05:31.8

See: (526), (466)

(787) *buː awuː alɪŋku njaːbaro* (*s*) *riːla*
bù awù alíŋ=ku njáʔ-ba=ro rì-la
DOWN below inside=LOC make.noise-PRS=ASRT say-SEQ
'Down below, inside, they make noise, he said.'

05:32.4-05:35.6

See: (197), (99), (129)

(788) *la buː vɛhəniʔ banjaː*
la bù² vɛhenɪ́ʔ ba-njáʔ
CONJ dog 3DU NEG-make.noise
'The dog and the human didn't make any noise.'

05:36.2-05:37.9

(789) *vuːprina | ʤila ʤi ʧaʔpiŋ ɬuɛku la bu bu alɪŋku vuːlana niŋ vuː*

vù-prina dʒila dʒì tʃapìŋ ɬué?=ku labù ɬíŋ bù
go.from.base-ANT CONJ ANA tree.trunk seem=LOC down.there climb DOWN
alíŋ=ku vù-la la níŋ vù
inside=LOC go.from.base-SEQ CONJ look go.from.base
'After going there, they climbed down to something that looks like a tree trunk and went to see behind.'

05:38.2-05:46.7

(790) *lana la (s) rə? madəːhɛ̃ (s) variː madəː mm la tiŋla riːbari*
lana la rá? màdà-hɛ̃̀ vɛrì màdà ńm la
CONJ CONJ frog mother.and.child-PL 3PL mother.and.child three CONJ
díŋ-la rì-bari
sit.on.buttocks-SEQ stay-PROG
'The frog mother and frog babies, the three were sitting there.'

05:47.0-05:53.4

See: (180)

(791) *ã̀ dʒi (s) dʒi həŋ bjatʃɛ?buna riːla*
ã̀ dʒì dʒi=hɪ̀ bjaò-tʃɛ́?bəna=rila
INTJ ANA DEF=ASRT COP.FOC-exactly=QUOT
'It is exactly this one, he said.'

05:54.8-05:57.8

(792) *vɛhəni? dʒila nəmla leːryi (s) nəmla leː*
vɛhení? dʒila nám-la lè-ruì nám-la lè
3DU CONJ wrest-SEQ take-ANT wrest-SEQ take
'The two took one away with the hand.'

05:58.2-06:03.1

(793) *nəmleːnatʃa riːla nindɛ̃tʃa*
nám-lè-na-tʃa=rila níŋ-dɛ̃̀-tʃa
wrest-take-NPST-PRF=QUOT look-PRMN-PRF
'Let's take him, I recognised him.'

06:06.9-06:10.1

See: (314)

(794) *<dʒila hənuː (.s) dʒila nəmla>*
dʒila hənù dʒila nám-la
CONJ here CONJ wrest-SEQ

‘Then, he took him.’

06:10.5-06:13.6

(795) *nəmla leːna riː*

nə́m-la lè-na rì

wrest-SEQ take-NPST say

‘He will catch and take one, he said.’

06:18.1-06:19.7

(796) *ʤi kuŋ la ʤi nəmnatʃa riːla*

ʤi=kṹ la ʤì nə́m-na-ʧa rì

DEF=UP CONJ ANA wrest-NPST-PRF say

‘Then, he said: “Let’s catch one!”.’

06:20.0-06:22.1

(797) *la niŋ* (.) *niŋlana dɛ̃ʧa*

la níŋ níŋ-lana dɛ̀̃-ʧa

CONJ look look-ANT know-PRF

‘After seeing, he recognised.’

06:22.5-06:24.4

(798) *ʤilana* (.s) *rəʔ madəː hatʃuː ʤila variː mm*

ʤilana rə́ʔ màdə̀ aʧù ʤila vɛrì ḿm

CONJ frog mother.and.child crowd CONJ 3PL three

‘After that, the frog family they are so many, they are three.’

06:25.3-06:31.0

(799) *adəːʤi* (.s) *adəːʤiri azidəːʤiri vɛː nəm ʤiprinʤi vɛː nəmryila*

adə̀=ʤi adə̀=ʤi=ri² azì-də̀²=ʤi=ri² vɛ̀ nə́m ʤi=prḭ́=ʤi

child=DEF child=DEF=TOP small-DIM=DEF=TOP 3SG wrest DEF=human=DEF

vɛ̀ nə́m-ruìla

3SG wrest-ANT

‘The human took the young and small [frog].’

06:31.5-06:41.5

See: (509)

(800) *pru wɛ.ũ ʒu riːla | wɛ aroʔ tsaʔna wɛ.uŋ ʒu*

prú vɛ̀-ṵ̀ ʒù=rila vɛ̀ aróʔ tsáʔ-na-ka vɛ̀-ṵ̀ ʒù

before 3SG-POSS COP=QUOT 3SG friend do-NPST-REL 3SG-POSS COP

‘This is exactly his frog from before, the one who came to make friends. It is surely his.’

06:41.8-06:44.6

See: (369), (146)

(801) *nəmruila leːruila ũʤi*
nə́m-ruìla lè-ruìla ũ̀-ʤi
wrest-ANT take-ANT go.to.base-away
'Holding it, he took it and went back.'

06:44.9-06:46.6

See: (273)

(802) *luŋseʔryila lumbuɛ̃ruila nariː amjɛː rɨːjaŋbo riːruila unʤi*
<*lũ̀séʔ-ruìla lũ̀buɛ̃̀*>*-ruìla narì amjè rɨ̀-jã̀-bo rì-ruìla*
<happy(<M)-ANT happy(<M)>-ANT 2PL good stay-PRMN-IMP say-ANT
ũ̀-ʤi
go.to.base-away
'Being happy and in good mood, he said: "You all stay well!" and went away.'

06:46.7-06:53.3

See: (524)

(803) *sa tsaʔ həŋro | ʤi mɨŋpaluo ʤiduaro*
sá tsáʔ=hɨ̀ro ʤi=mɨ́ŋpalɔ̀ ʤidɔ=ro
like.this do=ASRT DEF=story like.this=ASRT
'It was like this, this story is like this.'

06:54.0-06:55.3

A.4. Origin story (ORIGIN)

Summary: The topic of this text are the origins and the migration history of the people of Bulu narrated by the village eldest Phembu Raiju and the Gaonbura Chang, who is a practicing shaman. The events are not in a linear order but are often explained by one speaker, and then more precisely explained by the other speaker. Vocabulary and constructions of the ritual and story language are pervasive in this text. The story was told in June 2013 in Bulu in the house of the Gaonbura among listeners who understood Puroik.

(804) **A:** *hĩnatʃaʤeŋ*
hɨ̃̀-na-ʧa=ʤáŋ
speak-NPST-PRF=Q

‘Let us start telling, shouldn’t we?’

00:01.6-00:02.7

See: (523a)

(805) **A:** *ɛ̃ː gutʃi ɛː gu pulɔː | gu tʰɨʔ pulɔː ɛː pulɔː*

è gù=ʧi è gù pulɔ̀ gù tʰɨ́ʔ pulɔ̀ è pulɔ̀

FILL 1SG=ADD FILL 1SG Bulu 1SG village Bulu FILL Bulu

‘Hm, me, I [am from] Bulu. My village is Bulu.’

00:03.2-00:09.5

See: (523b), (143)

(806) **A:** *guː prindəː guː kraː kruŋ ũka ũ*

gù prɨ̋də̀ gù <krá krúŋ> ů̀-ka ů̀

1SG Puroik 1SG <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> go.to.base-REL go.to.base

‘We are Puroiks, we are the ones who descend from Kraa Krung.’

00:12.0-00:14.7

See: (531a)

(807) **B:** *kraːbu aku krũmbu aku*

<krábu akú krúŋbu> akú

<Kraabu first.brother Kruŋbu> first.brother

‘The eldest brother Kraabu and the eldest brother Krungbu.’

00:14.7-00:16.1

See: (531b)

(808) **A:** *kraːbu aku krũmbu aku*

<krábu akú krúŋbu> akú

<Kraabu first.brother Kruŋbu> first.brother

‘The eldest brothers Kraabu and Krungbu.’

00:15.8-00:17.9

(809) **A:** *gutʃi ɬisɨːliŋlapu ũːla guː*

gù=ʧi lisɨ̀-líŋ=lapu ů̀-la gù

1SG=ADD Ɬisɨɨ(RL)-inside=ABL go.to.base-SEQ 1SG

‘We came from Ɬisɨɨ.’

00:18.4-00:22.0

Comment: *Ɬisɨɨ* is a place in the sky where the forefathers of all human tribes were born.

(810) **A:** *ɬisɨːliŋlapu gutʃi kũlapu ɬuʔla*

lisɨ̀-líŋ=lapu gù=ʧi kṹ=lapu ɬú?-la
Lisɨ̀ɨ(RL)-inside=ABL 1SG=ADD UP=ABL fall-SEQ
'From up inside Lisɨ̀ɨ, we fell down.'

00:22.4-00:25.1

Comment: The first humans fell down from the sky (!)

(811) **A:** *lisɨluŋlapu ɬu?la gu: tarã̀ pʰidigjaŋ*
lisɨ̀-líŋ=lapu ɬú?-la gù <tarà̃ pʰidigjáŋ>
Lisɨ̀ɨ(RL)-inside=ABL fall-SEQ 1SG <morning.star(RL) morning.star(RL)>
'From inside Lisɨ̀ɨ, we fell down [in the place where the] morningstar is.'

00:25.2-00:27.6

(812) **A:** *ɛ: ʤi hãtẽku | ɛ̃ gaʤo gəlɛ gjoŋ ɛ: vɛ: məhjɛ̃ku*
è ʤi=hã̀tʰɛ̀̃=ku è <gaʤo galɛgjóŋ> è vè
FILL DEF=settlement=LOC FILL <evening.star evening.star> FILL 3SG
məhjɛ̀̃=ku
earth=LOC
'In that settlement place, near the evening star, in his place.'

00:28.4-00:35.0

(813) **A:** *ʤi gatʃɨku gu:ʧi inryila uŋka ũ*
ʤi=katʃɨ̀=ku gù=ʧi ín-ruìla ṹ-ka ũ̀
DEF=spring=LOC 1SG=ADD drink-ANT go.to.base-REL go.to.base
'After drinking from that spring, we came.'

00:35.4-00:39.5

(814) **A:** *ɛ: gu: hami ɛ̃: hami ni:ku ɛ: hami atʃaku gu hami wɛ?ruila*
è gù hamì è hamì ní?=ku² è hamì atʃá?=ku² gù hamì wɛ́?-ruìla
FILL 1SG sun FILL sun two=OBJ FILL sun bitter=OBJ 1SG sun kill-ANT
'Of the two suns, we killed the bad sun.'

00:40.5-00:48.2

(815) **A:** *ɛ: hambu atʃaku gu: hambu wɛ?ruila*
è hã̀bu atʃá?=ku² gù hã̀bu wɛ́?-ruìla
FILL moon bitter=OBJ 1SG moon kill-ANT
'We also came to kill the bad moon, we, Kraa and Krung.'

00:48.6-00:50.9

Comment: In the beginning, there were two suns and two moons: a good sun and a bad sun - a good moon and a bad moon. The bad sun and the bad moon were drying

up everything on earth. In order to make life on earth possible, Kraa killed the bad sun with an arrow, and Krung killed the bad moon. The rubbles of the bad moon and the bad sun fell down near modern day Tenga, in a place with a lot of red rocks. Puroiks would get sick when seeing these rocks because their ancestors killed the bad sun and the bad moon.

(816) **A:** *ũka ũ gutʃi kra: kruŋ*
ù̃-ka ù̃ gù=tʃi <krá krúŋ>
go.to.base-REL go.to.base 1SG=ADD <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)>
'Like this, we came, we Kraa Krung.'
00:51.6-00:53.2

(817) **A:** *<ɛ: gu: ɛ:> gu: <ɛ:> buʒõ le:ryila maʒõ tʃao le:ryila*
gù <buʒõ̀ lè-ruìla maʒõ̀> tʃaò lè-ruìla
1SG <sago(RL) take-ANT sago(RL)> sago take-ANT
'We brought sago.'
00:54.1-01:00.9

See: (536)

(818) **A:** *<ɛ:> tʃao le:ruila mabjao le:ryila*
tʃaò lè-ruìla mabjaò lè-ruìla
sago take-ANT bamboo.sp take-ANT
'We brought sago and we brought bamboo.'
01:01.5-01:03.7

(819) **A:** *<ɛ:> ri: le:ruila*
rì[3] lè-ruìla
cane take-ANT
'We brought cane.'
01:04.7-01:06.4

(820) **A:** *<ɛ:> tuntʃi le:la tũrɨn le:ruila | gutʃi uŋka uŋ | gu kra:bu aku kruŋbu aku*
<tṹtʃi lè-la tṹrɨ́n> lè-ruìla gù=tʃi
<sulphur.spring(RL) take-SEQ sulphur.spring(RL)> take-ANT 1SG=ADD
ù̃-ka ù̃ gù <krábu akú krúŋbu> akú
go.to.base-REL go.to.base 1SG <Kraabu first.brother Kruŋbu> first.brother
'We Kraa Krung brought the sulfuric springs.'

Figure A.9.: Planting a sago sucker

01:07.2-01:13.8

Comment: Wild animals gather in sulphuric springs for licking the minerals which explains the practical importance of these springs. The sulphuric springs are good places too hunt and symbolically stand for the availability of meat, which is the reason why they are mentioned together with the staple food sago and building materials bamboo and cane.

(821) **A:** *<ɛː> guː <ʧao> ʧao ɬairyila mabjau ɬairuila guːʧi ũ*
gù ʧaò ɬai-ruìla mabjaò ɬai-ruìla gù=ʧi ǜ
1SG sago plant-ANT bamboo.sp plant-ANT 1SG=ADD go.to.base
'Planting sago [palms], we migrated.'

01:14.4-01:19.0

(822) **A:** *ʤilalapu ũla guː*
ʤila=lapu ǜ-la gù
CONJ=ABL go.to.base-SEQ 1SG
'From there we came.'

01:19.2-01:20.7

(823) **B:** *abən unʤika nəmoː vɛː unʤikaro*

abə̀̃ *ů̀-ʤi-ka* <*nəmò* *vè* *ů̀-ʤi-ka=ro* *nəhù*>
ahead go.to.base-away-REL <Nəmoo 3SG go.to.base-away-REL=ASRT Nəhuu>
vè *ů̀-ʤi*
3SG go.to.base-away
'Nəmoo and Nəhuu were the ones going ahead.'

01:22.0-01:25.5

(824) **A:** *ɛː abən unʤika nəmoː vɛː unʤikaro nəhu vɛː unʤi*
è *abə̀̃* *ů̀-ʤi-ka* <*nəmò* *vè* *ů̀-ʤi-ka=ro*
FILL ahead go.to.base-away-REL <Nəmoo 3SG go.to.base-away-REL=ASRT
nəhù> *vè* *ů̀-ʤi*
Nəhuu> 3SG go.to.base-away
'They were the ones to go ahead, Nəmoo and Nəhuu went ahead.'

01:24.0-01:27.7

See: (532)
Comment: Interrupting other speaker.

(825) **A:** *nəmoː nəhuː unʤika vɛː kuŋ ɬasa ɬasa unʤika*
nəmò *nəhù* *ů̀-ʤi-ka* *vè* *kŭ́* *ɬasa* *ɬasa*
Nəmoo Nəhuu go.to.base-away-REL 3SG UP Lhasa(<Tib) Lhasa(<Tib)
ů̀-ʤi-ka
go.to.base-away-REL
'Nəmoo and Nəhuu were the ones to go ahead, they were the ones who went up to Lhasa.'

01:28.3-01:33.3

(826) **A:** *guː kraː kruŋ guː uŋgiŋku guː hami wɛʔruila hambu wɛʔruila gu*
gù <*krá* *krúŋ*> *gù* *ů̀-gì̃=ku* *gù* *hamì* *wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*
1SG <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG go.to.base-follow=LOC 1SG sun kill-ANT
hə̃̀bu *wɛ́ʔ-ruìla* *gù*
moon kill-ANT 1SG
'We Kraa and Krung came after them. We came killing the sun and the moon.'

01:34.2-01:40.0

See: (411a)

(827) **A:** *ɛː ʧao ɬɛːryila mabiu ɬɛːryila riː ɬɛːryila uŋka ũ*

è tʃaò ɬaì-ruìla mabjaò ɬaì-ruìla rì ɬaì-ruìla ù̀-ka
FILL sago plant-ANT bamboo.sp plant-ANT say plant-ANT go.to.base-REL
ù̀
go.to.base
'Planting sago, planting bamboo and planting cane, we came.'
01:40.5-01:44.4

(828) **B:** *abu bulu hɛ̃ku bavjɛː*
<abù² bùlu> hè=ku ba-vjè
<human(RL) human(RL)> what=LOC NEG-be.good
'There was no place for humans to prosper.'
01:44.1-01:45.6

(829) **B:** *hambu atʃaku wɛʔryila hami atʃaku wɛʔryila sandʑaŋ sanjuŋ dʑila hɛmɛ dʑila sẽduã*
hə̀̃bu atʃáʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ-ruìla hamì atʃáʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ-ruìla <sə̀̃dʑáŋ
moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT <all.plants(RL)
sə̀̃njúŋ> dʑila sɛ̀̃-dɔ̀̃
all.plants(RL)> CONJ prosper-IMM
'After [Kraa Krung] killed the bad moon and the bad sun, all plants immediately sprouted.'
01:47.0-01:53.8

See: (411b), (295), (149), (450)

(830) **A:** *<ɛː> tʃani bulu guː klaː riːna wɛːla*
<táni bùlu> gù klá rì-na² wè-la
<humans(RL) human(RL)> 1SG where stay-NMLZ EXIST.NEG-SEQ
'For us humans there was no place to stay.'
01:53.5-01:57.6

See: (429)

(831) **A:** *lana dʑuŋ wɛ̃dʑuŋ | kjaŋruila wɛ̃dʑuŋ*
lana dʑɔ̀̃ wɛ̀̃-tʃù̃ kjáŋ-ruìla wɛ̀̃-tʃù̃
CONJ all be.dry-COMPL to.dry(<M)-ANT be.dry-COMPL
'Everything dried up completely.'
01:58.2-02:02.6

See: (281)

(832) **A:** *<ɛː> kʰɔːtʃi wɛ̃ uŋ ʃiːtʃi wɛ̃ ũŋ*
kʰɔ̀=tʃi wɛ̀̃ ù̃ ʃì̃=tʃi wɛ̀̃ ù̃
water=ADD be.dry go.to.base wood=ADD be.dry go.to.base

‘The water also dried up. The trees also dried up.’

02:03.1-02:05.7

See: (481a), (255a)

(833) **A:** *sɛ̃mbɛ̃ʧi wɛ̃ ũ*

sɛ̀̃bɛ̀̃=ʧi wɛ̀̃ ù̃

gras(RL)=ADD be.dry go.to.base

‘The gras also dried up.’

02:07.2-02:08.5

See: (481b), (255b)

(834) **A:** *prin guː hɛːku barɨː*

prɨ́̃ gù hɛ̀=ku ba-rɨ̀

human 1SG what=LOC NEG-stay

‘We humans had no place to stay.’

02:08.5-02:10.3

(835) **A:** *lamuʃi dirɨntʃi ɛ kʰɔː ʧɨ pʰiŋ ʃiː klaː barɨː*

<*lamoʃi dirɨ́n*>=*ʧi kʰɔ̀ ʧuì pʰìŋ ʃi klá*

<animals(RL) animals(RL)>=ADD water fish mountain animal where

ba-rɨ̀

NEG-stay

‘Even the animals [had no place], the fishes in the water, the animals in the mountains had no place to stay.’

02:10.4-02:15.3

(836) **A:** *ʤila kraː guː kruŋ guː ..[s].. ɛː kraːbu ʤənwaŋla kruŋbu ʤəmvoː ɛː ʤila hami atʃaʔko wɛʔryila hãbu atʃaʔku wɛʔryila*

ʤila <*krá gù krúŋ*> *gù* <*krábu* <*ʤánwáŋ la krúŋbu*>

CONJ <Kraa(RL) 1SG Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG <Kraabu <Dzənwaŋ(RL) CONJ Kruŋbu>

ʤánwo> *ʤila hamì atʃáʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ-ruìla hã̀̃bu atʃáʔ=ku² wɛ́ʔ-ruìla*

Dzənwo(RL)> CONJ sun bitter=OBJ kill-ANT moon bitter=OBJ kill-ANT

‘Then, we Kraa and Krungs, Kraabu Dzənwaŋ and Kruŋbu Dzəmvo, we killed the bad sun and the bad moon.’

02:15.8-02:26.2

See: (537), (485a)

(837) **A:** *ɛː guː ũla*

gù ù̃-la

1SG go.to.base-SEQ

‘We came.’

02:26.8-02:28.5

See: (485b)

(838) **A:** *guːʧi ʧao ɬɛːryila*

gù=ʧi *ʧaò* *ɬaì-ruìla*

1SG=ADD sago plant-ANT

‘We also planted sago [besides killing the sun and moon].’

02:28.7-02:30.6

See: (485c)

(839) **A:** <ɛ> *ʧao ɬɛːriː*

ʧaò *ɬaì-ruì*

sago plant-ANT

‘We planted sago.’

02:31.6-02:32.9

(840) **A:** <ɛː> *ʧao ɬɛːryila*

ʧaò *ɬaì-ruìla*

sago plant-ANT

‘We planted sago.’

02:33.5-02:35.0

(841) **B:** *riː ɬairyila*

rì^{3} *ɬaì-ruìla*

cane plant-ANT

‘We planted cane.’

02:35.2-02:37.4

(842) **A:** *riː ɬairyila*

rì^{3} *ɬaì-ruìla*

cane plant-ANT

‘We planted cane.’

02:37.0-02:38.1

(843) **B:** *ʧiː ɬɛːryila*

ʧi^{4} *ɬaì-ruìla*

sulphur.spring plant-ANT

‘We planted the sulfuric springs.’

02:38.2-02:39.1

(844) **A:** *<ʧiː> tuŋʤaŋ ɬɛːryila tuŋru ɬɛːryila gutʃi unla*
<túŋʤáŋ ɬaì-ruìla túŋru> ɬaì-ruìla gù=ʧi ů̀-la
<spring(<RL) plant-ANT spring(RL)> plant-ANT 1SG=ADD go.to.base-SEQ
'Planting the sulfuric springs, we came.'
02:39.8-02:44.3

See: (533), (184)

(845) **A:** *guː ʤilalapu uŋka guː*
gù ʤila=lapu ů̀-ka gù
1SG CONJ=ABL go.to.base-REL 1SG
'This is how we came that time.'
02:44.6-02:46.6

(846) **A:** *ʦampu vuː səpjuŋ guː ũla riluna parei ʤila umpʰɛʔryila*
<ʦå̀pu² vìsəpjű́>=ku ů̀-la <rilu=na
<Tsampu(RL) confluence(<M)>=LOC go.to.base-SEQ <Rilu(RL)=TOP
pareì>=ku gù ʤila ů̀-pʰéʔ-ruìla
Parei(RL)>=LOC 1SG CONJ go.to.base-reach-ANT
'We reached the Tsampu confluence, and then we reached the Rilu plain.'
02:48.5-02:52.8

(847) **A:** *ʤilalapu ũŋka guː*
ʤila=lapu ů̀-ka gù
CONJ=ABL go.to.base-REL 1SG
'Like this we came.'
02:53.6-02:54.9

(848) **A:** *tɛː nətsən ũŋryila nərɛː uŋryila tɛː*
té <nətsán ů̀-ruì nərè> ů̀-ruìla té
FAR <Nətsən go.to.base-ANT Nərɛɛ> go.to.base-ANT FAR
'We reached the Nətsən Nərɛɛ place over there.'
02:55.4-02:58.2

See: (534)

(849) **A:** *tɛː məpʰilaŋku ũryi mərjuŋʒɨnku ũryila*
té <məpiláŋ=ku ů̀-ruì mərjúŋʒɨ́n>=ku ů̀-ruìla
FAR <Məpilaŋ(RL)=LOC go.to.base-ANT Mərjuŋʒɨn(RL)>=LOC go.to.base-ANT
'We came to Məpʰilaŋ Mərjuŋʒɨn.'
02:59.1-03:02.3

See: (535)

(850) **A:** *ɛ məpʰilaŋ mərjuŋʒiŋku ũryi ʤilalapəna ɛː nətsən ũ nərɛː ũŋryila uŋryila*
è *<məpiláŋ* *mərjúŋʒín>=ku* *ũ̀-ruì* *ʤila=lapu=na* *è*
FILL <Məpilaŋ(RL) Mərjuŋʒin(RL)>=LOC go.to.base-ANT CONJ=ABL=TOP FILL
<nətsán *ũ̀* *nərè>* *ũ̀-ruìla* *è* *ũ̀-ruìla*
<Nətsən go.to.base Nərɛɛ> go.to.base-ANT FILL go.to.base-ANT
'After reaching Məpilaŋ Mərjuŋʒin, we reached the Nətsən Nərɛɛ place.'
03:03.1-03:10.0

(851) **B:** *ʧao ɬairyila*
ʧaò *ɬaì-ruìla*
sago plant-ANT
'Planting sago...'
03:10.4-03:12.1

(852) **A:** *ʧao ɬairyila mabjao ɬɛːryila riː ɬairyila hũ ʤi ũŋryila*
ʧaò *ɬaì-ruìla* *mabjaò* *ɬaì-ruì* *rì* *ɬaì-ruìla* *hɨ̃̀=ʤi* *ũ̀-ruìla*
sago plant-ANT bamboo.sp plant-ANT say plant-ANT NEAR=DEF go.to.base-ANT
'Planting sago, planting bamboo and planting cane, we reached here.'
03:12.4-03:18.1

(853) **A:** *<ɛː guː> guː ʤilalapu ũla bu santʃi paŋku*
gù *bù* *ʤila=lapu* *ũ̀-la* *bù* *<sə̀ʧi* *pə́ku>*
1SG DOWN CONJ=ABL go.to.base-SEQ DOWN <Santʃi(RL) Panku(RL)>
'We came from down from Santʃi Panku (Bichom).'
03:18.7-03:23.2

(854) **A:** *ʤiku ũryila*
ʤì=ku *ũ̀-ruìla*
ANA=LOC go.to.base-ANT
'[We] reached there.'
03:23.4-03:25.3

(855) **A:** *gutʃi ʤibu saŋʧi paŋko tʰɨʔku ʧao ɬɛːryila riː ɬɛːryila*
gù=ʧi *ʤi=bù* *<sə̀ʧi* *pə́ku>* *tʰɨ́ʔ=ku* *gù=ʧi* *ʧaò*
1SG=ADD DEF=DOWN <Santʃi(RL) Panku(RL)> village=LOC 1SG=ADD sago
ɬaì-ruì *rì³* *ɬaì-ruìla*
plant-ANT cane plant-ANT
'Also down there in Bichom village, we planted sago and cane.'
03:25.7-03:30.6

See: (175)
Comment: saNʧi paNku = Bichom (nowadays Bugun village)

(856) **A:** *<ɛː> ʤiku ɛː dəkroː dəntsaŋ uŋryila guː ʒilaŋ luːryila ʒiʒin ʒiːryila*
ʤì=ku <dəkró dántsáŋ> ǔ-ruìla gù
ANA=LOC <Dəkroo(RL) Dəntsaŋ(RL)> go.to.base-ANT 1SG
<ʒiláŋ <lù-ruìla ʒiʒín>
<ritual.against.evil(RL) <expell.bad.spirits-ANT ritual.against.evil(RL)>
ʒjù²>-ruì
expell.bad.spirits>-ANT
'There, we reached Salari, we made the ʒilaŋ ritual, and the ʒiʒin ritual.'
03:31.4-03:37.2

See: (541)

(857) **A:** *tʰɨʔ atuŋ tʰɨʔ atuŋ rɛʧibi rɛnaŋbi*
tʰɨ́ʔ atʰǔ̀ tʰɨ́ʔ atʰǔ̀ <rèʧibíʔ rènáŋbíʔ>
village master village master <Rɛɛʧibiʔ(RL) Rɛɛnaŋbiʔ(RL)>
'The headman of the village was the master of the cane.'
03:38.6-03:42.7

(858) **A:** *tʰɨʔ alao məhjɛ̃ː alaoku | bərjaŋ bəguːku alaoku gutʃi pɛ̃tʃiːryila wɛʔtʃiːryila*
tʰɨ́ʔ alaò məhjɛ̃̀ alaò=ku² <bərjáŋ bəkú>=ku²
village bad earth bad=OBJ <Banyan.tree(RL) Banyan.tree(RL)>=OBJ
alaò=ku² gù=ʧi pɛ̃́ ʧì-ruìla wéʔ ʧì-ruìla
bad=OBJ 1SG=ADD cut eat-ANT kill eat-ANT
'We cleaned that bad village and bad soil, by cutting the evil spirit of the Banyan tree. We killed and ate it.'
03:43.0-03:50.4

(859) **A:** *ʤilana hũ ɛː*
ʤilana hɛ̀̃ è
CONJ NEAR FILL
'After that here ... ehm'
03:50.8-03:52.1

(860) **A:** *hũ ruʃaŋtso gəmənduŋlori guː rakɨnkuˈluːginlaˈʒjuginla*
hɛ̀̃ <rùʃǎtso gəmáŋdúŋlo>=ri gù rakíŋ=ku
NEAR <Ruʃantso(RL) Gəməŋduŋlo(RL)>=QUOT 1SG behind=LOC
<lù-gɛ̀̃-la ʒjù²>-gɛ̀̃-la
<expell.bad.spirits-follow-SEQ expell.bad.spirits>-follow-SEQ
'Ruʃantso and Gəməŋduŋlo did the same rituals after us.'

03:52.8-03:58.9

See: (538), (257)

Comment: Ruʃantso and Gəməŋduŋlo are the forefathers of the Miji's.

(861) **A:** *lugĩ ʒĩgĩruila ũla*
<lù-gḭ̀ ʒjù²>-gḭ̀-ruìla ṵ̀-la
<expell.bad.spirits-follow expell.bad.spirits>-follow-ANT go.to.base-SEQ
'They came behind us making rituals.'

03:59.6-04:01.8

See: (420a)

(862) **A:** *ʤila gutʃi ɛ: hũ hũdɔ̃ku gu: ʤi luʒĩryila ʤi ʃɬlaŋ ʃɬʒɬn gu ʤõ luʒĩʤoŋryila*
ʤila gù=ʧi hḭ̀ hḭ̀dɔ̰̀=ku gù ʤì <lù
CONJ 1SG=ADD NEAR now=LOC 1SG ANA <expell.bad.spirits
ʒjù²>-ʤṵ̀-ruìla ʤì <ʒɬláŋ
expell.bad.spirits>-ALL-ANT ANA <ritual.against.evil(RL)
ʒɬʒɬ́n> gù ʤò̰ <lù
ritual.against.evil(RL)> 1SG all <expell.bad.spirits
ʒjù²>-ʤṵ̀-ruìla
expell.bad.spirits>-ALL-ANT
'We also made the whole place ready to be settled, this whole place, we made the whole place ready for settlements.'

04:02.1-04:09.5

See: (420b)

(863) **A:** *gu: ʤila kra:bu gu: kruŋbu gu: gu:ʧi ũla*
gù ʤila <krábu gù krúŋbu> gù gù=ʧi ṵ̀-la
1SG CONJ <Kraabu 1SG Kruŋbu> 1SG 1SG=ADD go.to.base-SEQ
'We Kraa Krung people, we also came.'

04:10.0-04:14.2

(864) **A:** *hũnu la gu: ʧao ɬaika*
hənù la gù ʧaò ɬaì-ka
here CONJ 1SG sago plant-REL
'We were the ones to plant sago here.'

04:14.5-04:17.0

(865) **A:** *ʧao ɬɛ:ka ri: ɬɛ:ka | prində: gu: gu: hũla umpʰɛʔ gu:*

ʧaò ɬaì-ka rì³ ɬaì-ka prɨ́-dà gù gù hɨ̀ la
sago plant-REL cane plant-REL human-CAUS 1SG 1SG NEAR CONJ
ù̀-pʰɛ́ʔ gù
go.to.base-reach 1SG
'We were the ones to plant sago and cane, we Puroiks, we reached here.'

04:17.8-04:23.7

(866) **A:** *dɨʃi dəluː tʰɨʔ hũ umpʰɛʔryila ʤilalapu guː ʧao ɬairyila kŭ*
<dɨʃi dɨlu> tʰɨʔ hɨ̀ ù̀-pʰɛ́ʔ-ruìla ʤila=lapu gù ʧaò
<Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)> village NEAR go.to.base-reach-ANT CONJ=ABL 1SG sago
ɬaì-ruìla kŭ́
plant-ANT UP
'After reaching here to the Bulu village, after that we also planted sago up there.'

04:24.1-04:29.7

(867) **B:** *sãʧi graŋmu*
<sə̀ʧi gráŋmu>
<Santʃi(RL) Sangti(RL)>
'[In the] Sangti valley.'

04:29.6-04:30.5

(868) **A:** *sãʧi graŋmu*
<sə̀ʧi gráŋmu>
<Santʃi(RL) Sangti(RL)>
'[In the] Sangti valley.'

04:30.6-04:32.0

(869) **A:** *ʤi ɬairyila ʤi guː buː saŋʧi paŋko ʦaʔdyila*
ʤì ɬaì-ruìla ʤì gù bù ʦáʔ-la bù <sə̀ʧi pə́ku>
ANA plant-ANT ANA 1SG DOWN do-SEQ DOWN <Santʃi(RL) Panku(RL)>
ʦáʔ-dyɨ̀-la
do-again-SEQ
'After planting there, down there in Bichom, we did it again [planting sago].'

04:32.1-04:35.6

(870) **A:** *ʤilalapu undyina la guː*
ʤila=lapu ù̀-dyɨ̀-lana gù
CONJ=ABL go.to.base-again-ANT 1SG
'From there, we left again.'

04:35.7-04:37.6

(871) **A:** *kalakɛn ʤi ũryila ʤilalapu gu: napaŋ ʃətuŋ*

kalakɛ́n=ʤi ṳ̃-ruìla ʤila=lapu bù <*napáŋ*
Betali(RL)=DEF go.to.base-ANT CONJ=ABL DOWN <Bhalukpung(RL)
ʃətúŋ>
Bhalukpung(RL)>

'After reaching to Kalakɛn (Betali), we went further to Napaŋ ʃətuŋ (Bhalukpung).'

04:40.4-04:43.3

(872) **A:** *bu: aʧi ĩka rəno ĩka*

bù aʧi² *ín-ka* *rənó?* *ín-ka*
DOWN elephant(<IA) drink-REL rhinoceros drink-REL

'Down where the elephants and the rhinoceros drink [from the sulfur spring].'

04:44.2-04:46.1

(873) **A:** *bu: ʧaŋʃo ʃuʃu inrika*

bù <*ʧáŋʃo susù*> *ín-ri-ka*
DOWN <rhinoceros(RL) mithun> drink-IPFV-REL

'Where the rhinoceros drink [from the sulfur spring].'

04:48.0-04:50.3

(874) **A:** *ʤila gutʃi la ɬɛ:kandyĩla*

ʤila gù=ʧi la ɬaì-kán-ruìla
CONJ 1SG=ADD CONJ plant-finally-ANT

'Finally, we planted it [the sulfur water] also there.'

04:51.2-04:53.8

(875) **A:** *ʤila gu: ũdyikari ʤi bu:*

ʤila gù ṳ̃-dyɪ̀-ka=ri² *ʤi=bù*
CONJ 1SG go.to.base-again-REL=TOP DEF=DOWN

'From there, we left again.'

04:54.0-04:56.2

(876) **A:** *ʃaʃu mɛmu: ʤi ũryila gu:*

<*ʃàʃu mèmu*>=*ʤi ṳ̃-ruìla gù*
<ʃaʃu(RL) Mɛmu(RL)>=DEF go.to.base-ANT 1SG

'We went to the zero point mountain.'

04:57.1-04:59.1

(877) **A:** *kuŋ dəkro dəntsaŋ dɛ̃ryila*
kṹ <*dəkró* *dántsáŋ*> *dɛ̃̀-ruìla*
UP <Dəkroo(RL) Dəntsaŋ(RL)> know-ANT
'Up there, [we] could recognise Salari.'

04:59.7-05:01.3

(878) **A:** *dəkro dəntsaŋ dɛ̃ryila gu:*
<*dəkró* *dántsáŋ*> *dɛ̃̀-ruìla* *gù*
<Dəkroo(RL) Dəntsaŋ(RL)> know-ANT 1SG
'After seeing Salari.'

05:01.9-05:04.2

(879) **A:** *dəkro dəntsaŋ ʤi ũryidyila gu:*
<*dəkró* *dántsáŋ*>=*ʤi* *ù̀-ruì-dyì̀-la* *gù*
<Dəkroo(RL) Dəntsaŋ(RL)>=DEF go.to.base-ANT-again-SEQ 1SG
'We came again to Salari.'

05:05.4-05:08.9

(880) **A:** *hɛmɛ rarɛ duŋlo: ʤiri ʤisan ʤi ũryila gu:*
è *hɛmɛ* <*rarɛ* *dúŋlo*> <*ʤiri*[2] *ʤisán*>=*ʤi*
FILL FILL <Khoina(RL) Khoina(RL)> <Jerigaon(RL) Jerigaon(RL)>=DEF
ù̀-ruìla *gù*
go.to.base-ANT 1SG
'We reached Khoina and Jerigaon.'

05:09.3-05:13.9

(881) **A:** *ʃəmbu ruraŋ ʤi uŋryila tuŋnei raro ʤi uŋryila*
<*ʃə́mbu* *ruráŋ*> *ʤì* *ù̀-ruìla* *gù* <*túŋneì*
<Rurang(RL) Rurang(RL)> ANA go.to.base-ANT 1SG <Ditchik(RL)
raro> *ʤì* *ù̀-ruìla*
Ditchik(RL)> ANA go.to.base-ANT
'We reached Rurang and Ditchik.'

05:14.3-05:18.4

(882) **A:** *ʤilalapu ũla rɨ: ũdyĩka*
ʤila=lapu ù̀-la *rɨ̀* *ù̀-dyì̀-ka*
CONJ=ABL go.to.base-SEQ stay go.to.base-again-REL
'We stayed, and we left again.'

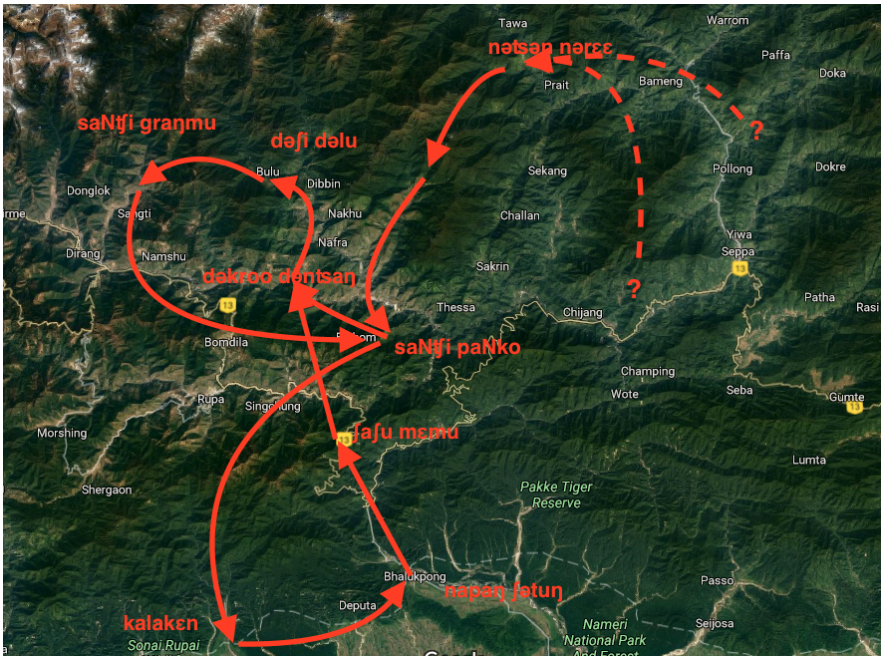


Figure A.10.: Migrations described in the origin story (Map Data © 2017 Google).

05:18.5-05:20.9

(883) **A:** *diʃi dəlu tʰiʔ riːkanka hũ*
<*diʃi dɨlu*> *tʰɨ́ʔ hɨ̀ rɨ-kán-ka ù̀*
<Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)> village NEAR stay-finally-REL go.to.base
'Finally, we stayed here in Bulu.'

05:21.0-05:23.6

See: (288)

(884) **A:** *prindəː | prindəːri diʃi dəluːku baʔbjana*
prɨ́dà prɨ́dà=ri <diʃi dɨlu>=ku báʔ-bjaò-na
Puroik Puroik=QUOT <Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)>=LOC EXIST-COP.FOC-NPST
'Only in Bulu, there are Puroiks.'

05:23.6-05:28.6

(885) **A:** *hɨŋ <ɬasa> ɬasaɬɛ̃ku | ʧaina ɬasaɬɛŋko prindəː riːkanri*
hɨ̀ ɬasa-ɬɛ̀=ku ʧaina ɬasa-ɬɛ̀=ku prɨ́dà
NEAR Lhasa(<Tib)-side.of=LOC China(<Eng) Lhasa(<Tib)-side.of=LOC Puroik
rɨ-kán-ri
stay-finally-IPFV

‘There, on the Lhasa side, on the China Lhasa side, finally the Puroiks stayed there.’

05:29.4-05:37.6

(886) **A:** *pulɔ: gu: kra: kruŋ gu: tatiʔʧi bjaro*

pulɔ̀ gù <krá krúŋ> gù tatíʔʧi bjaò=ro
Bulu 1SG <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG alone COP.FOC=ASRT

‘We in Bulu, we are the only Kraa Krung [Puroiks].’

05:38.3-05:40.9

(887) **A:** *ʤi bja:ʧaro*

ʤì bjaò-ʧa=ro
ANA COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT

‘Only this many are there (Kraa Krung Puroiks).’

05:41.4-05:42.6

(888) **B:** *ʧaŋru bəʧuŋ hiŋ ʤilapəna gu:*

<ʧáŋru bəʧúŋ> hɨ̀ ʤilapəna gù
<Nafra.area Nafra.area> NEAR after.this 1SG

‘... here in the Nafra area. Furthermore..’

05:42.4-05:44.8

Comment: Interrupting

(889) **B:** *gu:ʧi kuŋ pʰɨŋku gulu:la kʰɔ:ku gələnla vɨ:tuŋku gulu:la gu:ʧi kuŋ*

gù=ʧi kṹ pʰɨ̀ŋ=ku <gulù-la kʰɔ̀=ku
1SG=ADD UP mountain=LOC <perform.a.ritual-SEQ water=LOC
gəlán>-la vɨtúŋ=ku gulù-la rɨ-ruì
perform.a.ritual>-SEQ spring(<M)=LOC perform.a.ritual-SEQ stay-ANT
gù=ʧi kṹ
1SG=ADD UP

‘We also make rituals in the mountains, we make rituals for the water.’

05:46.0-05:54.3

(890) **B:** *ibo.ɛ ĩhɛ.ɛ̃ gorjo ʧantʃuŋdɛʔ gorjo kɛnkamɛʔ*

<ibo.ɛ ihɛ.ɛ> <gòrjo ʧə̃ʧʊ̃dɛ́ʔ> <gòrjo
<Ibo.ɛ(RL) Ihɛ.ɛ(RL)> <Gorjo(RL) TʃaNtʃuNdɛʔ(RL)> <Gorjo(RL)
kɛ̃́kamɛ́ʔ>
KɛNkamɛʔ(RL)>

‘For the mountain kings.’

05:54.8-05:59.3

Figure A.11.: Ritual place and prayer flags.

(891) **B:** *kuŋ guːʧi dəŋkraŋ kɛ̃la dɛnju kɛ̃la*
kṹ gù=ʧi <*dáŋkráŋ* *kɛ́-la* *dɛnju*> *kɛ́-la*
UP 1SG=ADD <prayer.flag(RL) hold-SEQ prayer.flags(RL)> hold-SEQ
'Up there we put prayer flags.'
05:59.7-06:03.7

(892) **A:** *ʃəʧi kɛ̃la raməi kɛ̃la*
<*ʃəʧi* *kɛ́-la* *rameì*> *kɛ́-la*
<rice.seeds(RL) hold-SEQ incense(RL)> hold-SEQ
'We burn incenses.'
06:03.5-06:04.9

(893) **B:** *ʤila gulu gələnla guːʧi*
ʤila <*gulù* *gəlán*>*-la* *gù=ʧi*
CONJ <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-SEQ 1SG=ADD
'We make rituals.'
06:06.0-06:08.1

(894) **B:** *hɛmɛ bejola hɛmɛ*

hɛmɛ bejò-la hɛmɛ
FILL ask(RL)-SEQ FILL

'What was it, what do they ask for (the mountain gods).'

06:08.3-06:11.2

(895) **B:** *kəbuːʃu kəmuːʃo radʒaŋʃu rariʃo bəjola*

<*kəbùʃu kəmuʃu*> <*radʒáŋʃu rariʃu*>*-la bejò-la*
<takin(RL) takin(RL)> <serow(RL) serow(RL)>-SEQ ask(RL)-SEQ

'They ask for takin and for deers.'

06:12.3-06:16.3

(896) **B:** *guːʧi gulu: gələnla*

gù=ʧi <*gulù gəlán*>*-la*
1SG=ADD <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-SEQ

'We made rituals.'

06:16.6-06:18.1

(897) **B:** *griːʧi saʔ gulu: gələnla rɨːka ũ kraː kruŋ guːʧi*

grì=ʧi sá <*gulù gəlán*>*-la rɨ-ka ṳ̀*
1PL=ADD like.this <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-SEQ stay-REL go.to.base
<*krá krúŋ*> *gù=ʧi*
<Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG=ADD

'We stayed like this performing rituals, we Kraa Krungs.'

06:18.2-06:21.7

(898) **B:** *griː tʰɨʔ dəʃi tʰɨʔ dəluː tʰɨʔ adəːfu baʔ adəːmɨi baʔ aku baʔ anɔ baʔ*

grì tʰɨ́ʔ <*dɨʃi tʰɨ́ʔ dɨlu*> *tʰɨ́ʔ adə̀fu báʔ adəméʔ báʔ*
1PL village <Bulu(RL) village Bulu(RL)> village son EXIST daughter EXIST
akú báʔ anɔ̀ báʔ
first.brother EXIST younger.brother EXIST

'In our village Bulu, there are sons and daughters, elder brothers and younger brothers.'

06:24.9-06:30.1

Comment: All villagers are blood relatives. Marriages within the village are not possible.

(899) **B:** *bui ..(s).. hɛmɛ abən tʰuŋdəː baidəː | kjɛndəː buadəː | sundəː ʃaodəː*

buì hɛmɛ abɛ̂ tʰùŋdə̀ baìdə̀ kʰjɛ̀ndə̀ bù.adə̀ súndə̀ ʃaòdə̀
before FILL ahead Thungdə Baidə Khjɛndə Buadə Sundə ʃaodə

‘Before, there were the Tʰungdə and Baidə, Kjɛndə and Buadə, Sundə and ʃaodə (clan names).’

06:30.6-06:38.5

(900) **B:** *ʤinedʒi bətʃɪmʤuŋla la gri: raidə: tatiʔtʃi bja:tʃaro*
ʤinedʒi ʤì bətʃɪ́m-ʤṳ̂-la grì raìdà tatíʔtʃi
all.of.them ANA become.extinct(<M)-ALL-SEQ 1PL Raidə alone
bjaò-tʃa=ro
COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
‘All of them are extinct, now only we Raidə are there.’

06:39.9-06:43.8

(901) **B:** *bui gri: tʰiʔ sumuɛ məljɛ: baʔna*
buì grì tʰíʔ zumuè məljè báʔ-na²
before 1PL village clan seven EXIST-NMLZ
‘Before, there were seven clans in our village.’

06:44.8-06:47.3

(902) **B:** *məljɛ:ku ʤoŋ bətʃɪmla sumuɛ rɛidə: tatiʔtʃi bja:tʃaro kra: kruŋ*
məljè=ku² ʤṍ bətʃɪ́m-la zumuè raìdà tatíʔ
seven=OBJ all become.extinct(<M)-SEQ clan Raidə one
bjaò-tʃa=ro <krá krúŋ>
COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)>
‘Seven [clans] are all finished, the Raidə’s are the only Kraa Krung people left.’

06:47.9-06:52.4

(903) **B:** *bui tɛ: rəbɛ̃ ũ*
buì té rəbɛ̀̃ ṳ̀
before FAR RəbɛN go.to.base
‘Before, they went there to Bishum.’

06:53.0-06:54.5

(904) **B:** *<hɛmɛ> tʰuŋdə: baidə: bətʃɪmʤuŋtʃa*
tʰùŋdà baìdà bətʃɪ́m-ʤṳ̂-tʃa
Thungdə Baidə become.extinct(<M)-ALL-PRF
‘The Thungdə and Baidə are all finished.’

06:55.7-06:57.8

(905) **B:** *nu pulɔ: tʰuŋdə: baidə: kjɛndə: buadə: bətʃɪmʤoŋtʃa*

nù pulɔ̀ tʰùŋdə baìdə kʰjɛ̀ndə bù.adə bətʃím-ʤṳ̀-tʃa
here Bulu Thungdə Baidə Khjɛndə Buadə become.extinct(<M)-ALL-PRF
'Now in Bulu, the Thungdə, Baidə, Kjɛndə, Buadə are all extinct.'
06:58.7-07:02.3

See: (199), (283)

(906) **B:** *gri hɪŋ raidə: kra: kruŋ ʤi bja:tʃaro ri:la*
grì hɪ̀ raìdə <krá krúŋ> ʤì bjaò-tʃa=ro rì-la
1PL NEAR Raidə <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> ANA COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT say-SEQ
'We Raidəə remain as the only descendants of Kraa Krung.'
07:03.8-07:06.7

(907) **B:** *ʤila ʤilapəna gri:na njaʃaŋ məbənlaɛ̃ku məbənsəm hĩ*
ʤila ʤilapəna grì=na njɛʃə̀ məbán-la ɛ̀=ku rɪ̀
CONJ after.this 1PL=TOP little.too.much Miji-SEQ be.together=LOC stay
məbán sə́m hɪ̀
Miji language speak
'But we [have stayed] too much with the Mijis and speak Miji language.'
07:06.9-07:12.7

(908) **B:** *gulu gələn ʤi hɛ̃na ʤi məbən səm dõbjao*
<gulù gəlán> ʤi=hɛ̀=na=ʤi məbán sə́m
<perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual> DEF=people=TOP=DEF Miji language
dɔ̀-bjaò-tʃa=ro
just.now-COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'Those who make rituals, they also speak Miji language.'
07:12.9-07:16.0

(909) **B:** *gri: ʤiduã hĩlarɪka uŋ gri:*
grì ʤìdɔ̀ hɪ̀-la rɪ̀-ka ṳ̀ grì
1PL now speak-SEQ stay-REL go.to.base 1PL
'We are are used to speak like this.'
07:16.2-07:18.6

(910) **B:** *la gri: səmna hɪŋ*
la grì sə́m=na hɪ̀
CONJ 1PL language=TOP NEAR
'Our language is this.'
07:19.0-07:20.1

(911) **A:** *cgri: səmna bapʰɔ?*

grì sə́m=na ba-pʰɔ́ʔ
1PL language=TOP NEG-forget
'We didn't forget our language.'

07:21.0-07:22.1

Comment: Interrupting

(912) **B:** *gri: ũkana ʤidɔ̃ bjao*
grì ũ̀-ka=na ʤidɔ bjaò
1PL go.to.base-REL=TOP like.this COP.FOC
'Our origin story is like this.'

07:20.1-07:21.1

A.5. The reason for earthquakes (QUAKE)

Date: October 2016

Summary: Story about the origin of earthquakes. The inside of the earth is wired and all wires are connected in one place, where the goddess of the underworld lives. Once upon a time, a cockroach came to tell her that all humans had died. To test whether it is true or not, the goddess pulls the rope which connects the whole world causing an earthquake. The humans shout that they are still there, and the goddess, realising that the cockroach was lying, stops pulling the rope. Hence, whenever there is an earthquake, we have to shout: The humans are still there!

(913) *hɨŋ ham du:ka hɨŋri | hɨŋ ham du:ka akɨŋri*
hɨ̃̀ hám² dù-ka hɨ̃̀=ri² hɨ̃̀ hám² dù-ka akɨ́ŋ=ri²
NEAR sky shake-REL NEAR=TOP NEAR sky shake-REL origin=TOP
'This is about earthquakes, the origin of earthquakes.'

00:05.9-00:07.4

(914) *<gri:> | gri:na | sá ham du:bjaobarila hĩ́ʔ*
grì=na sá hám² dù-bjaò-ba=rila hí́ʔ
1PL=TOP like.this sky shake-COP.FOC-PRS=QUOT think
'This is about, how we think that earthquakes occur.'

00:11.0-00:16.9

(915) *hɨ̃: sáa du: babɔ: | hɨ̃: ham du:ka hɨŋri*
hɨ̃̀ sá dù babɔ̀ hɨ̃̀ hám² dù-ka hɨ̃̀=ri²
NEAR like.this shake COP.NEG NEAR sky shake-REL NEAR=TOP

Figure A.12.: Chang telling about earthquakes.

'It does not just shake like this.'

00:18.2-00:20.5

(916) *hɨŋ məhjɛ̃ri kũtʃã nəʤi:i: <..> kũ:ʤã bəliŋ ʤi məhjɛ̃:ri | bu:fõ:na akɨŋ tatʃi?*
hɨ̀ məhjɛ̀̃=ri² kű́tʃà̃ <nəʤì prɨ́> <kű́ʤà̃ bəlíŋ>
NEAR earth=TOP above <all.humans(RL) human> <world(RL) world(RL)>
ʤi=məhjɛ̀̃=ri bù=fõ̀=na akíŋ tatʃí?
DEF=earth=QUOT DOWN=LOC=TOP origin one
'Whatever is on the earth, all humans the whole world, have one single origin deep inside the earth.'

00:21.3-00:29.4

(917) *bu: səbu: kɛtũku bu:fõ: krɨnla*
bù <səbù kɛtúŋ>=ku bù=fõ̀ krɨ́n-la
DOWN <underground(RL) underground(RL)>=LOC DOWN=LOC join-SEQ
'Down there in the underground, everything is connected [with a ropes].'

00:30.3-00:33.0

See: (183)

(918) *bu: krɨnla rɨ:*
bù krɨ́n-la rɨ̀
DOWN join-SEQ stay
'Down there, everything is connected.'

00:33.6-00:34.9

(919) *bu: krɨnla*

Figure A.13.: The *ʃə̃ʒíʔ* cockroach.

bù *krɨ́n-la*
DOWN join-SEQ
'It is [all] connected down there.'

00:35.8-00:38.1

(920) *ʤilana bu: səbu: kɛtuŋ bu: səmu: kɛtuŋ vɛ:.ɛ:*
ʤilana bù <*səbù* *kɛtúŋ*> *bù*
CONJ DOWN <underground(RL) underground(RL)> DOWN
<*səmù* *kɛtúŋ*> *vɛ̀=ɛ̀*
<underground(RL) underground(RL)> 3SG=AG
'Down there in the underground, the goddess of the underground.'

00:38.5-00:41.6

(921) *vɛ:.ɛ: <kɛ̃: la> rɨ:gã:la vɛ:tũ: krɨnla vɛ:.ɛ: rɨ:gã:*
vɛ̀=ɛ̀ *rɨ-gə̃́-la* *vɛ̀-tə̃́* *krɨ́n-la* *vɛ̀=ɛ̀* *rɨ-gə̃́*
3SG=AG stay-enclosed-SEQ 3SG-LOC.PERS join-SEQ 3SG=AG stay-enclosed
'Down there, she kept it (the rope) tightly enclosed. In her place, it was connected, she kept it tightly enclosed.'

00:42.2-00:47.2

(922) *ʤilana (s)ʃintsoku ʧi:ka daʤiʔ məluɛndɛn*
ʤilana ʃɪ̀tsóʔ=ku² *ʧì-ka* *dazíʔ* *məluɛ́ndɛ́n*
CONJ rotten.wood=OBJ eat-REL lower.animal cockroach.sp(<M)
'One day, the insect eating rotten wood, the cockroach...'

00:48.7-00:56.2

(923) *ʤi vɛː alao <alao> namka ʤidaʤiʔri lana buː rinla ʤi ʤɛnməljɛʔ la buː rinla*
ʤi=vɛ̀ alaò nám-ka ʤi=dazíʔ=ri² *lana bù rín-la*
DEF=3SG bad smell-REL DEF=lower.animal=TOP CONJ DOWN move.fast-SEQ
ʤi=ʤánməljéʔ la bù rín-la
DEF=cockroach.sp CONJ DOWN move.fast-SEQ
'The one with the bad smell, that cockroach run down there [where the whole world is connected].'
00:57.2-01:04.5

(924) *lana <ha> vɛː hɰ̃ːla tara tamari | <wɛː> wɛːro ʤõː iːʤuŋ wɛːroriːla hɰ̃ː vuː vuːla*
lana vɛ̀ hɰ̀̃-la <tára táma>=ri² *wɛ̀=ro ʤõ̀*
CONJ 3SG speak-SEQ <human(RL) human(RL)>=TOP EXIST.NEG=ASRT all
ì-ʤɰ̃̀ *wɛ̀=ro=rila hɰ̀̃-vù-vù-la*
die-ALL EXIST.NEG=ASRT=QUOT speak-go.from.base-go.from.base-SEQ
'[The cockroach] said: There are no humans. There are really no humans [up there], they have all died. This is what he went around telling.'
01:05.1-01:13.4

See: (246), (462)

(925) *ʤiʒãːʒiʔ riːvuːla hɰ̃ːvuːlana*
ʤi=ʃɰ̃̀ʒíʔ rì-vù-vù-la
DEF=cockroach.sp say-go.from.base-go.from.base-SEQ
hɰ̀̃-vù-lana
speak-go.from.base-ANT
'The cockroach went around saying like this.'
01:14.2-01:16.4

(926) *<lana> (s) ʤilana baʔna wɛːna riːla buː səbuː kɛtɰ̃ː amaː riː*
ʤilana báʔ-na wɛ̀-na=rila bù <səbù
CONJ EXIST-NPST EXIST.NEG-NPST=QUOT DOWN <underground(RL)
kɛtúŋ> amà rì
underground(RL)> mother say
'The mother earth asked: are they there or are they [really] not there [anymore]?'
01:16.8-01:22.4

(927) *ʤilana ʤi atɰ̃ːku kʰɛ̃ːla ʃuːmələna*
ʤilana ʤi=atɰ́̃=ku² *kɛ́̃-la ʃù-mə-lana*
CONJ DEF=strap=OBJ hold-SEQ shake-PST-ANT

‘Then, she took that rope and pulled.’

01:22.8-01:25.3

See: (410)

(928) *ʤi.atã:ku kʰɛ̃:la ʃu:məlana lana ham du:*
ʤi=atɐ̃́=ku² *kɛ̃́-la* *ʃù-mə-lana* *lana* *hám²* *dù*
DEF=strap=OBJ hold-SEQ shake-PST-ANT CONJ sky shake
‘Pulling the rope caused an earthquake.’

01:26.0-01:30.8

(929) *ham du:lana | lana gri: <kũ: gri:> kũ:ʧaŋ tara tama gri: ri:jaŋka gri: ri: | tara tama baʔro baʔro ri:la*
hám *dù-lana* *lana* *grì* *kṹʧɐ̃̀* *grì* *<tára* *táma>* *grì*
house shake-ANT CONJ 1PL above 1PL <human(RL) human(RL)> 1PL
rì-jɐ̀-ka *grì* *rì* *<tára* *táma>* *báʔ=ro*
stay-PRMN-REL 1PL say <human(RL) human(RL)> EXIST=ASRT
báʔ=ro=rila
EXIST=ASRT=QUOT
‘When the earth was shaking, we humans on the surface of the earth shouted: Humans are there, we are there!’

01:31.4-01:38.9

See: (449)

(930) *hĩ:jã:lana ʤila pjũ:dyĩ:la la ham du:karila pjũ:*
hĩ̀-jɐ̀-lana *ʤila* *pjṹ-dyĩ̀-la* *la* *hám²* *dù-ka=ri²-la*
speak-PRMN-ANT CONJ release-again-SEQ CONJ sky shake-REL=TOP-SEQ
la *pjṹ*
CONJ release
‘Saying this again and again, the one shaking the earth [the deity of the inner earthy] stopped again. The earthquake stopped.’

01:39.0-01:43.3

(931) *gri: prĩ:də:na tara tama baʔro baʔro ri:jã:ʧĩna*
grì *prĩ́də=na* *<tára* *táma>* *báʔ=ro* *báʔ=ro*
1PL Puroik=TOP <human(RL) human(RL)> EXIST=ASRT EXIST=ASRT
rì-jɐ̀-ʧĩ-na
say-PRMN-OBLG-NPST
‘We Puroiks, we have to say: *tara tama baʔro baʔro* (There are humans here!).’

01:43.7-01:48.3

(932) *ʤila məbən vɛːna | məbənna ʧani bulu dudo dudo riː*

ʤila məbán vè=na məbán=na <ʧani bùlu> dudo
CONJ Miji 3SG=TOP Miji=TOP <humans(RL) human(RL)> EXIST(<M)
dudo rì
EXIST(<M) say

'The Mijis would say: *ʧani bulu dudo dudo*" (There are humans here!).'

01:48.7-01:55.8

(933) *bəʧãna lando lando riːna*

bəʧã̀=na lando lando rì-na
Monpa=TOP EXIST(<Tsh) EXIST(<Tsh) say-NPST

'The Monpas would say: *lando lando* (There are [humans] here!).'

01:56.0-01:58.3

(934) *prĩː griːna prindəː guːnaʤi tara tama baʔro baʔrorila*

prḯ grì=na prḯdə̀ gù=na=ʤi <tára táma> báʔ=ro
human 1PL=TOP Puroik 1SG=TOP=DEF <human(RL) human(RL)> EXIST=ASRT
báʔ=ro=rila
EXIST=ASRT=QUOT

'We Puroiks would say: *tara tama baʔro baʔro*.'

02:00.0-02:04.8

(935) *riːnaro ʤila ham duːka pjũːdyĩːnaro*

rì-na=ro ʤila hám² dù-ka pjṹ-dyḭ̀-na=ro
say-NPST=ASRT CONJ sky shake-REL release-again-NPST=ASRT

'We have to say this, then the one shaking the earth will stop again.'

02:05.2-02:08.3

See: (301)

A.6. Bring wood (WOOD)

(936) **A:** *gəhəniːũː saː ʤi liːbəndɛ̃*

gəhenḭ́ʔ-ṵ̀ sá ʤì lì-pándɛ̀̃
1DU-POSS like.this ANA put-OBLG

'Our [part], we have to leave it like this.'

39:09.7-39:12.8

See: (356)

(937) **B:** *sa ʤi liːbəndɛ̃ sa ʤi hĩbəndɛ guːʧi rəmʧi rəmhiʔba*

sá *ʤì* *lì-pándɛ̀* *sá* *ʤì* *hɨ̀-pándɛ̀* *gù=ʧi* *rám-ʧí*
like.this ANA put-OBLG like.this ANA speak-OBLG 1SG=ADD sleep-OBLG
rám-hí?-ba
sleep-think-PRS
'We have to leave it like this. Me, I have to sleep, I feel sleepy.'

39:12.6-39:16.4

(938) **B:** *gu: ʃĩʧi ʤuɛre? ʃĩ ʒẽʧinaba?*
gù *ʃɨ̀=ʧi* *wɛ̀=ro* *ʃɨ̀* *ʒɛ̀-ʧí-na* *bá?*
1SG wood=ADD EXIST.NEG=ASRT wood carry-OBLG-NPST EXIST
'I will collect some wood. I have to carry wood.'

39:16.6-39:20.2

(939) **B:** *kũ:la niŋrui ʃĩ wɛ:ʧa*
kű=la *níŋ-ruì* *ʃɨ̀* *wɛ̀-ʧa*
UP=CONJ look-ANT wood EXIST.NEG-PRF
'I saw before that there is no wood anymore.'

39:20.4-39:22.3

See: (200)

(940) **B:** *gu: atʃoi vu:la ri:la gu: ham ũ:la | gu: məru: hɛ: ʃĩ baʒẽ | hɛ: baʒẽ*
gù=na *atʃoì vù-la* *rì-la* *gù* *hám* *ũ̂-la* *gù* *mərù*
1SG=TOP far go.from.base-SEQ stay-SEQ 1SG house go.to.base-SEQ 1SG woman
hɛ̀ *ʃɨ̀* *ba-ʒɛ̀* *hɛ̀* *ba-ʒɛ̀*
what wood NEG-carry what NEG-carry
'I went very far, I stayed there. But in my house, my wife didn't carry any wood, didn't carry anything.'

39:22.4-39:28.3

See: (440)

(941) **B:** *adə:laɛ̃ku babə: baʒẽ:muɛ̃la gu: ʃĩ ʒẽʧinaba? kũ hamku*
adə̀=la.ɛ̃̀ku *ba-bəù* *ba-ʒɛ̀-muɛ̃̀-la* *gù* *ʃɨ̀* *ʒɛ̀-ʧí-na* *bá?* *kű*
child=SOC NEG-carry NEG-carry-can-SEQ 1SG wood carry-OBLG-NPST EXIST UP
hám=ku
house=LOC
'Because with the baby she cannot carry, I have to carry wood in the house.'

39:28.6-39:32.8

See: (445)

(942) **B:** *sa ʤi higəhəni abudə: sa ʤi hĩmjɛ:bjatʃaro*

sá *ʤì* *gəsenír abudà* *sá* *ʤì* *hɨ̀-bjaò-ʧa=ro*
like.this ANA 1DU brothers like.this ANA speak-COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'We two brothers have told like this now.'
39:32.9-39:36.6

(943) **B:** *ʤi lapɛːla dəruːla la hĩdyĩbjaonaʧaro*
lapé-la² *dərù-la²* *la*
tomorrow-LOC day.after.tomorrow-LOC CONJ
hɨ̀-dyɨ̀-bjaò-na-ʧa=ro
speak-again-COP.FOC-NPST-PRF=ASRT
'Tomorrow and day-after-tomorrow we will tell again.'
39:37.0-39:41.7

(944) **B:** *hadenlapu guː hã riːvudyinaro*
hadɛ̀=lapu gù hɑ̀ *rì* *vù-dyɨ̀-na=ro*
later=ABL 1SG today say go.from.base-again-NPST=ASRT
'Later today I will come to tell again.'
39:42.1-39:44.8

(945) **B:** *guː ʃĩ njɛː ʒɛ̃vupɛdɛːna*
gù *ʃɨ̀* *njé* *ʒɛ̀* *vù-pándɛ̀-na*
1SG wood little carry go.from.base-OBLG-NPST
'I have to carry a little bit of wood now.'
39:45.1-39:47.0

See: (153)

A.7. Sago (SAGO)

Summary: Text about the significance of sago for the Puroiks. The text was recorded in the sago place near the river below Bulu. The second speaker (or listener) is a native speaker of Kojo-Rojo Puroik.

(946) **A:** *vjɛːbaʧajã*
vjè-baʧa=jɑ̀
be.good-PRF=Q
'Are you ready [with the camera]?'
00:01.7-00:04.6

Comment: Speaking to the person making the video recording.

Figure A.14.: Sago place near the river. The lady is hammering the sago fibres with the sago club (*wə̀*).

(947) **A:** *gri: | prində gri: | bui apa gjaŋku ama gjaŋku həŋdɔ ʧao kɛ̃la ʧika | nari dɛ̃ʒujã*

grì prɪ́də grì buì apá gjə̀=ku amà gjə̀=ku hɪ̀dɔ̀ ʧaò kɛ́-la
1PL Puroik 1PL before father live=LOC mother live=LOC like.this sago hold-SEQ
ʧi-ka=na=ri dɛ̀-ʒu=jə̀
eat-REL=TOP=QUOT know-surely=Q

'Did you know that in the time of our parents we Puroiks made sago like this.'

00:06.0-00:15.7

(948) **B:** *hã dan gri: ʤila məkanla ʧi:*

hə̀³ dan2 grì ʤila mə-kan-la ʧì
yes know(KR) 1PL CONJ NMLZ-work.with.tool(KR)-SEQ eat

'Yes, I know, we used to make and eat it.'

00:15.7-00:17.6

See: (138)

Comment: Speaker from Kojo. KR *dan* = Bulu *dɛ̀* [dɛ̃ː], KR *kan* = Bulu *kɛ́* [kɛ̃ː]

(949) **A:** *gri: ʤila ʤi kɛ̃la gri: ʤila*

grì ʤila ʤì kɛ́-la grì ʤila
1PL CONJ ANA hold-SEQ 1PL CONJ

'We went to make sago flour.'

00:17.5-00:21.5

(950) **A:** *ʤila gjaŋka ũbjao | griː apaː bədɛ̃ amaː bədɛ̃ku*
ʤila gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀-bjaò grì apá bədɛ̀̃ amà bədɛ̀̃=ku
CONJ live-REL go.to.base-COP.FOC 1PL father time mother time=LOC
'That time, we lived like this, in the time of our father and mother.'
00:22.5-00:26.0

See: (396), (472a), (189)

(951) **A:** *susuna batyɛ̃ wɔʔna barɨː mədyina barɨː riʔna batʃɪŋ*
susù=na ba-tyɛ́̃ wáʔ=na ba-rɨ̀² mədyì=na ba-rɨ̀² ríʔ²=na
mithun=TOP NEG-decoy pig=TOP NEG-feed chicken=TOP NEG-feed field=TOP
ba-tʃɪ̃ŋ
NEG-work
'We didn't breed mithuns, we didn't raise pigs, we didn't breed chicken, we didn't work in the fields.'
00:26.1-00:31.9

See: (472b), (170)

(952) **A:** *griː tʃao kɛ̃la tʃiːla prindəː guː ʤila gjaŋka ũ*
grì tʃaò kɛ́̃-la tʃì-la prɪ́̃dà gù ʤila gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀
1PL sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ Puroik 1SG CONJ live-REL go.to.base
'We made and ate sago, that time, we were living like this.'
00:32.1-00:36.9

See: (225)

(953) **A:** *griː kitʃuŋ kɛ̃la wã kɛ̃la | waw rjɛː | ʤi leːla griː tʃao kɛ̃la tʃiːla gjaŋka ũ*
grì kitʃɔ̀̃ kɛ́̃-la wɑ̀̃ kɛ́̃-la waù rjɛ̀̃ ʤì
1PL sago.hatchet hold-SEQ club hold-SEQ sago.filter.mat sago.filter.bag ANA
lè-la grì tʃaò kɛ́̃-la tʃì-la gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀
take-SEQ 1PL sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ live-REL go.to.base
'We were working with the sago hatchet and the sago club. We used to take the sedimentation mat and the sago filter. We were making sago and eating, living like this.'
00:37.4-00:46.6

See: (442)

(954) **A:** *tʃabɛ̃ tiːla ʒɛ̃nla kɛ̃la griː adʒɛ̃ku tʃɛʔla*
tʃabɑ̀̃ tíʔ-la ʒɛ̀̃-la kɛ́̃-la grì adʒɛ̀̃=ku tʃɛ́ʔ-la
piece.of.sago.trunk fell-SEQ carry-SEQ hold-SEQ 1PL child=LOC cry-SEQ
'When we had to fell the sago trunks, carry them and make sago, when we were kids, we cried.'

Figure A.15.: Chipping sago logs with the sago hatchet (*kitʃɔ̀*)

00:47.1-00:52.5

(955) **A:** *gri: apa: ama hɛ̃na hɛ arɛ̃ batsaʔreʔ*
grì apá amà-hɛ̃̀=na hɛ̀ arɛ́n ba-tsáʔ-réʔ
1PL father mother-PL=TOP what comfort(<M) NEG-do-BEN
'Our parents didn't give us much comfort.'

00:53.0-00:56.0

See: (185)

(956) **A:** *gri ʤisa ʧao kɛ̃:la ʧi:la | ʃəu wɛ: malju wɛ:la gri: gjaŋka ũ | prində: gri:*
grì ʤisá ʧaò kɛ̃́-la ʧì-la ʃəù wɛ̀ maljù wɛ̀-la grì
1PL like.this sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ salt EXIST.NEG chilli EXIST.NEG-SEQ 1PL
gjɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀ prɪ̃́də grì
live-REL go.to.base Puroik 1PL
'Like this we Puroik lived, by making and eating sago, there was not salt and not chili.'

00:56.3-00:58.9

See: (391), (443)

(957) **A:** *gri: aku:na aku: ʒu: | gri: prində:lɨŋku gri: aku: ʒu:ro | hɨŋɛ*
grì akú=na akú ʒù grì prɪ̃́də-lɨ́ŋ=ku akú
1PL first.brother=TOP first.brother COP 1PL Puroik-inside=LOC first.brother
ʒù=ro hɨ́ŋɛ
COP=ASRT Q

'We are the eldest brothers. Within the Puroiks we are the eldest brothers. Isn't it?'

01:02.4-01:08.5

See: (368)

(958) **A:** *griː akuː gri akuː ʒuro*

grì akú grì akú ʒù=ro
1PL first.brother 1PL first.brother COP=ASRT

'We are indeed the eldest brothers.'

01:08.7-01:12.5

(959) **A:** *məbənhɛ̃ griːku wɔʔ bariːdə | susu batyɛndə | ʧõham batsaʔdə*

məbán-hɛ̀ grì=ku wáʔ ba-rɨ-dà susù ba-tyɛ́-dà ʧõ̀hám
Miji-PL 1PL=LOC pig NEG-stay-CAUS mithun NEG-decoy-CAUS store.house
ba-tsáʔ-dà
NEG-do-CAUS

'The Miji people did not let us breed pigs, they did not let us breed mithuns, they did not let us make nice houses.'

01:12.5-01:20.3

See: (505), (337)

Comment: Problem with the microphone.

(960) **A:** *griː abuːdə ʧao kɛ̃la ʧiːla rɨː*

grì abudà ʧaò kɛ́-la ʧi-la rɨ
1PL brothers sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ stay

'Our elder brothers made sago flour and ate it.'

01:20.6-01:23.1

Comment: Problem with the microphone.

(961) **A:** *guːʧi kraː riːla kruŋ riːla ũ | hami niŋryila hambu niŋryila*

gù=ʧi <krá rì-la krúŋ> rì-la ũ̀ hamì níŋ-ruìla
1SG=ADD <Kraa(RL) say-SEQ Kruŋ(RL)> say-SEQ go.to.base sun look-ANT
hã̀bu níŋ-ruìla
moon look-ANT

'We so-called Kraa Krungs came watching the sun and the moon.'

01:23.4-01:28.5

See: (422)

(962) **A:** *hambu akuːku hami akuːku wɛʔryila ũla griːʧi rɨːka ũ*

hə̀̃bu akú=ku² *hamì akú=ku²* *wɛ́ʔ-ruìla ũ̀-la*
moon first.brother=OBJ sun first.brother=OBJ kill-ANT go.to.base-SEQ
grì=ʧi rɨ-ka ũ̀
1PL=ADD stay-REL go.to.base
'After killing the elder brother of the moon and the elder brother of the sun, we came and we stayed.'

01:28.9-01:35.5

See: (142)

(963) **A:** *ʧi: ɬɛiryila | ri: ɬɛiryila ũŋla gri: | ʤi hiŋdɔ abiŋmua ʧao kɛ̃la ʧi:ka ũ*
ʧì⁴ ɬaì-ruìla rì³ ɬaì-ruìla ũ̀-la grì ʤi=hɨ̀̃dɔ̀
sulphur.spring plant-ANT cane plant-ANT go.to.base-SEQ 1PL DEF=like.this
abíŋmɔ̀ ʧaò kɛ́-la ʧì-ka ũ̀
jungle sago hold-SEQ eat-REL go.to.base
'We planted the sulfur springs, we came planting the cane. We used to be in the jungle making and eating sago.'

01:35.6-01:42.0

(964) **A:** *pəsu: təku:hɛ̃ gri:ku akəm alao niŋla bəseʔ doraʔ tsaʔla gri: | bagjaŋdə: basendə:*
<pəsù tək^{h}ù>-hɛ̀̃ grì=ku akə́m alaò níŋ-la <bəséʔ
<Miji.upper.cast village.elder>-PL 1PL=LOC eye bad look-SEQ <jealous
doráʔ> tsáʔ-la grì ba-gjə̀̃-də̀ ba-sɛ̀̃-də̀
jealous(<M)> do-SEQ 1PL NEG-live-CAUS NEG-prosper-CAUS
'The high cast Mijis were jealous. They didnt let us develop.'

01:42.0-01:51.2

(965) **A:** *bəsu:hɛ̃ [s] məbən bəsu:hɛ̃ gri:ku bagjaŋ basendə:la*
pəsù-hɛ̀̃ məbán pəsù-hɛ̀̃ grì=ku ba-gjə̀̃
Miji.upper.cast-PL Miji Miji.upper.cast-PL 1PL=LOC NEG-live
ba-sɛ̀̃-də̀-la
NEG-prosper-CAUS-SEQ
'The high cast Mijis didn't let us develop.'

01:51.4-01:56.7

(966) **A:** *gri: hɨ̃duɔ ũsɛ̃la gri: kjuʔ ʒɛ̃ryila wə̃ ʒɛ̃ryila | waw rjɛ: le:ryila gri ʧao kɛ̃la | ʧi:la ri:ka umbjao*
grì hɨ̃̀dɔ̀ ũ̀-sɛ̀̃-la grì kjúʔ
1PL like.this go.to.base-undirected.motion-SEQ 1PL sago.hatchet.front
ʒɛ̀̃-ruìla wə̀̃ ʒɛ̀̃-ruìla waù kɛ́-ruì rjɛ̀̃ lè-ruìla grì
carry-ANT club carry-ANT sago.filter.mat hold-ANT sago.filter.bag take-ANT 1PL

ʧaò kɛ̃́-la ʧi-la ri-ka ů̀-bjaò
sago hold-SEQ eat-SEQ stay-REL go.to.base-COP.FOC
'We went around like this. We carried the sago hatchet, the sago club, the filter mat, the filter bag. We used eat and stay [like this].'

01:56.7-02:05.9

(967) **A:** *hãtʃõ atʃɛ̃ nari:ʧi ʤidɔ hĩʔla ʧao kɛ̃la ʧi:ʧĩ́naro*
hã̀tʃõ̀ atʃɛ̃̀[2] *narì=ʧi ʤidɔ híʔ-la ʧaò kɛ̃́-la*
nowadays daughter.in.law 2PL=ADD like.this think-SEQ sago hold-SEQ
ʧi-ʧĩ́-na=ro
eat-OBLG-NPST=ASRT
'Nowadays, you daughter-in-laws, you also have to think like this. You have to make sago and eat.'

02:06.0-02:10.5

(968) **B:** *hã atuŋ ami: nari:ʧi sa hĩ:la gri:ʧi ʧao kɛ̃la ʧi:bəʤaŋzuhɨŋro*
hã̀[3] *atɨ́ŋ amì narì=ʧi sá hɨ̀̃-la grì=ʧi ʧaò*
yes grandfather grandmother 2PL=ADD like.this speak-SEQ 1PL=ADD sago
kɛ̃́-la ʧĩŋ-la ʧi-bəʤáŋ-ʒu=hɨ̃̀ro
hold-SEQ work-SEQ eat-EXP-surely=ASRT
'Yes, we will work and eat as you grandfathers and grandmothers did.'

02:11.0-02:15.4

(969) **A:** *ʤiduɔ tsaʔla ʧi:la ʤila*
ʤidɔ tsáʔ-la ʧi-la ʤila
like.this do-SEQ eat-SEQ CONJ
'Doing like this, we eat.'

02:15.4-02:17.2

(970) **A:** *gri:ʧi gri: apa: bədɛ̃ ama bədɛ̃ku gri:ʧi hɨŋdua tsaʔla ʧi:la la gjaŋka gjãla rɨ:bjaohɨ̃ro*
grì=ʧi grì apá bədɛ̀̃ amà bədɛ̀̃=ku grì=ʧi hɨ̀̃dɔ̀ tsáʔ-la ʧi-la
1PL=ADD 1PL father time mother time=LOC 1PL=ADD like.this do-SEQ eat-SEQ
gjɑ̀̃-ka gjɑ̀̃-la rɨ-bjaò=hɨ̃̀ro
live-REL live-SEQ stay-COP.FOC=ASRT
'In the time of our parents, we also did like this, ate and grew up.'

02:17.3-02:23.9

(971) **A:** *la hɨŋduɔ atʃɛ̃ nari:ʧi | ʤiduɔ tsaʔla kɛ̃la ʧi:la gjãla senla hiʔʧĩ́naro*

la hɨ̀dʒ̀ atʃám narì=tʃi ʤidɔ tsáʔ-la kɛ́-la tʃi-la
CONJ now daughter.in.law 2PL=ADD like.this do-SEQ hold-SEQ eat-SEQ
gjɑ̀-la sɛ̀-la híʔ-tʃɪ́-na=ro
live-SEQ prosper-SEQ think-OBLG-NPST=ASRT
'You too, daugther-in-laws: you also have to do like this, work, eat, live, prosper and think like this.'

02:24.2-02:30.0

(972) **A:** *griːna tʃɪŋla tʃiːbəʤaŋʒuro inbətʃaŋʒuro*
grì=na tʃɪ̃ŋ-la tʃi-bəʤáŋ-ʒu=hɨ̀ro ín-bəʤáŋ-ʒu=hɨ̀ro
1PL=TOP work-SEQ eat-EXP-surely=ASRT drink-EXP-surely=ASRT
'We will also work, eat and drink like this.'

02:31.1-02:34.0

A.8. About the importance of our language (LANG)

Summary: Two speakers explain, why it is important to preserve the culture and language. The original intention of the video recording was to stage a conversation about a visit in Kojo-Rojo. However, the topic became more and more philosophical and less and less conversational. Except from the two speakers no other speakers of Bulu Puroik were in the room.

(973) **A:** *griː namuʤi baʔtʃina*
grì namù=ʤi báʔ-tʃɪ́-na
1PL tradition=DEF EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'Our traditions have to be there.'

27:44.7-27:46.4

(974) **A:** *məŋ ʃʃɛntʃina*
mɨ́ŋ ʃʃɛ̃̀-tʃɪ́-na
thing perform.rituals-OBLG-NPST
'We have to make [our] rituals.'

27:46.4-27:47.7

(975) **A:** *ʤila həŋ wɛʔrina kãrina nəmrina pɛ̃rina o ʤiri bariːritʃiʔnantʃiʔ*
ʤila hɨ̀ wɛ́ʔ-ri²-na² kɑ́-ri²-na² nám-ri²-na²
CONJ NEAR kill-RECP-NMLZ extort-RECP-NMLZ wrest-RECP-NMLZ
pɛ́-ri²-na² ʤì=ri² ba-rì-muɛ̃̀-ri-na
cut-RECP-NMLZ ANA=TOP NEG-say-can-IPFV-NPST

'Killing each other, extorting from each other, capturing each other, cutting eachother, this we should not do anymore [unlike the other traditions].'

27:47.9-27:51.6

See: (431)

(976) **B:** *ʤi bariːmuɛ̃ːri*
ʤì ba-rì-muɛ̃̀-ri
ANA NEG-say-can-IPFV
'This we cannot say anymore.'

27:51.7-27:52.4

(977) **A:** *na azɛː araː guː azɛː aziː | naː pəsuː guː prindəːri | ʤiri bariːmuɛ̃riːna*
nà zɛ̀² *arà gù* *zɛ̀²* *azì* *nà* *pəsù* *gù* *prɨ́də=ri* *ʤì=ri*
2SG tribe big 1SG tribe small 2SG Miji.upper.cast 1SG Puroik=QUOT ANA=QUOT
ba-rì-muɛ̃̀-ri-na
NEG-say-can-IPFV-NPST
'"Your cast is high, my cast is low. You are a king (from the Miji king's cast), and me I am Puroik." Like this we should not say anymore.'

27:52.3-27:54.4

See: (384)

(978) **A:** *ʤila prin ɛ̃*
ʤila prɨ́ *ɛ̀̃*
CONJ human be.together
'Humans are all same.'

27:58.7-28:00.0

See: (377)

(979) **A:** *ʤila namu bui namuri baʔʧiʔʒuna*
ʤila namù *buì* *namù=ri²* *báʔ-ʧɨ́-na*
CONJ tradition before tradition=TOP EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'The old traditions have to be there.'

28:00.1-28:02.4

(980) **A:** *məŋ sjɛ̃ʧina apna griːta hɛː dərəm (IA) ʦaʔ hɛː namu ʦaʔ sjɛmbamɛ*
míŋ *ʃʃɛ̀̃-ʧɨ́-na* *apna* *grì=ta* *hɛ̀* *dərə́m*
thing perform.rituals-OBLG-NPST own(<IA) 1PL=own what law(<IA)
ʦáʔ=maʧi hɛ̀ *namù* *ʦáʔ ʃʃɛ̀̃-bamɛ*
do=ADD what tradition do perform.rituals-POT
'We have to make rituals. Whatever is our own tradition, we have to do it.'

28:03.1-28:09.2

(981) **A:** *ʤi namuna baʔʧɪna*
ʤi=namù=na *báʔ-ʧĩ-na*
DEF=tradition=TOP EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'[Our] tradition has to be there.'

28:09.3-28:11.2

(982) **A:** *la gri: ʧao kɛ̃ kɛ̃ʧiʔna*
la *grì* *ʧaò* *kɛ́-ka=ri²* *kɛ́-ʧĩ-na*
CONJ 1PL sago hold-REL=TOP hold-OBLG-NPST
'Being the ones to make sago, we have to make it.'

28:11.2-28:13.9

(983) **A:** *la ʧao ɬaikœri ɬaitʃɪna*
la *ʧaò* *ɬaì-ka=ri²* *ɬaì-ʧĩ-na*
CONJ sago plant-REL=TOP plant-OBLG-NPST
'Being the ones to plant sago palms, we have to plant them.'

28:14.0-28:15.5

(984) **A:** *ʤila gri: ʃi: wɛʔkœri wɛʔʧiʔna*
la *grì* *ʃì* *wɛ́ʔ-ka=ri²* *wɛ́ʔ-ʧĩ-na*
CONJ 1PL animal kill-REL=TOP kill-OBLG-NPST
'Being the ones to kill animals, we have to kill them.'

28:16.1-28:18.5

(985) **A:** *la gri: ʃi: gɪ̃kari gintʃiʔna*
la *grì* *ʃì* *gɪ̀̃-ka=ri²* *gɪ̀̃-ʧĩ-na*
CONJ 1PL animal follow-REL=TOP follow-OBLG-NPST
'Being the ones to hunt, we have to hunt.'

28:18.5-28:21.0

(986) **A:** *gri: zəp həŋʤi gri: bafɪntʃiʔna*
grì *záp* *hɪ̀̃-ʤi* *grì* *ba-fɪ́n-ʧĩ-na*
1PL quiver NEAR-away 1PL NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST
'We must not give up the quiver.'

28:21.3-28:24.4

(987) **A:** *miʔ ləuʤi bafɪntʃiʔ*
míʔ *lɨ-ʤi* *ba-fɪ́n-ʧĩ-na*
arrow bow-away NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST

'We must not give up bow and arrow.'

28:24.5-28:26.6

(988) **A:** *griː məljimʤi baɬɨntʃiʔna*
grì məlím=ʤi ba-ɬín-tʃĩ-na
1PL arrow.poison=DEF NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST
'We must not give up the arrow poison.'

28:26.7-28:30.0

(989) **A:** *ʤiː griː bui griː ʤi kobolapu taŋka*
ʤì grì buì grì kobo=lapu tʰɑ̀̃-ka
ANA 1PL before 1PL Kobo(RL)=ABL give-REL
'This is what was given to us from Kobo long time ago.'

28:30.2-28:33.0

(990) **A:** *taŋ ʃəʒaŋmua grita apaː*
tʰɑ̀̃ ʃəʒɑ̃̀mɔ grì=ta apá
give god 1PL=own father
'Our father ʃəʒaNmɔ gave it us (the hunting tools).'

28:33.3-28:35.7

(991) **A:** *ʃaŋtokəpæn griːku taŋla ʃaŋmjuŋla pjuŋ*
ʃɑ̃̀to kəpán grì=ku² tʰɑ̀̃-la ʃaŋmjuŋ-la pjŭ
ʃaNto(RL) Kəpan 1PL=OBJ give-SEQ create(RL)-SEQ release
'ʃaNto Kəpan sent and gave it to us.'

28:35.7-28:38.3

(992) **A:** *ʃəʒaŋmua griku taŋka*
ʃəʒɑ̃̀mɔ grì=ku² tʰɑ̀̃-ka
god 1PL=OBJ give-REL
'This is what ʃəʒaŋmɔ gave us.'

28:38.3-28:39.7

(993) **A:** *bəʧəː vɛːku matʃju taŋpjuŋka*
bəʧɨ vɛ̀=ku² matʃù tʰɑ̀̃-pjŭ-ka
non.tribal 3SG=OBJ gun give-release-REL
'To the non-tribals he gave the gun.'

28:40.0-28:42.4

(994) **A:** *vœriku ʃẽnʒi woʤo taŋpjumətʃa*

vɛrì=ku² sánʒi wodʒo tʰǎ-pjű-ka
3PL=OBJ write read give-release-REL
'To them he gave education.'

28:42.6-28:45.0

(995) **B:** *griːri griː zəp*
grì=ri² *grì záp*
1PL=TOP 1PL quiver
'To us the quiver.'

28:44.6-28:46.7

(996) **A:** *bətʃaŋ vɛːku damo daʃi taŋlapjuŋ*
bətʃǎ *vè=ku²* *dʒi* <=*dàmo* *dàʃi* *kű tʰǎ-la* *pjű*
Monpa 3SG=OBJ DEF <=cattle(RL) cattle(RL) UP give-SEQ release
'To the Monpas, he gave the cattles.'

28:46.9-28:49.8

See: (417)

(997) **A:** *vɛːku tʃakam gambu kũ taŋla pjuŋ*
vè=ku² *tʃakám* *kʰàmbu kű tʰǎ-la* *pjű*
3SG=OBJ wood.bowl plate UP give-SEQ release
'He gave them the wood bowls and plates.'

28:50.1-28:52.5

(998) **A:** *dʒila griː, griːri prindəː griː kjõʔ waŋ*
dʒila *grì* *grì=ri²* *prǐ́də* *grì* *kjúʔ* *wǎ*
CONJ 1PL 1PL=TOP Puroik 1PL sago.hatchet.front club
'But to us he [gave] the sago hatchet and the sago club.'

28:52.9-28:57.8

(999) **A:** *la griːku tʃao ɬɛːla*
la *grì=ku²* *tʃaò* *ɬaì-la*
CONJ 1PL=OBJ sago plant-SEQ
'He made us plant sago.'

28:58.2-29:00.5

(1000) **A:** *griː tuntʃi tuŋru ɬaila griː*
grì <*tű́tʃi* *tű́rín*> *ɬaì-la* *grì*
1PL <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> plant-SEQ 1PL
'We were planting the sulfur springs.'

29:00.8-29:02.9

(1001) **A:** *ʤila ʧɪʔ ʒəːla ʃiː wɛʔla*

ʤila ʧɪ̃ʔ ʒà-la ʃi wɛ́ʔ-la
CONJ sling make.traps-SEQ animal kill-SEQ

'To make sling traps and to kill animals.'

29:04.3-29:06.8

See: (441a)

(1002) **A:** *goi ʒəːla bəduː wɛʔla*

goì ʒà-la pədù wɛ́ʔ-la
sling make.traps-SEQ bird kill-SEQ

'To make sling traps and kill birds.'

29:07.0-29:08.7

See: (441b)

(1003) **A:** *ruɔ ʒəːla ʧɛ̃ wɛʔlaʧiː*

rɔ̀ ʒà-la ʧɛ̀̃ wɛ́ʔ-la ʧi
stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ rat kill-SEQ eat

'To make stone traps, kill and eat rats.'

29:08.8-29:10.5

See: (441c)

(1004) **A:** *griːʧi ʤi taŋla pjuŋkæ griː ʤidua baʔʧiʔna*

grì ʤì buì grì=ku ʤì tʰɑ̀̃-la pjʉ́̃-ka=ʤi=ri² *grì ʤidɔ*
1PL ANA before 1PL=LOC ANA give-SEQ release-REL=DEF=TOP 1PL like.this
báʔ-ʧɪ̃-na
EXIST-OBLG-NPST

'This is what was given to us long time ago. It has to be like this.'

29:10.9-29:16.0

See: (405d)

(1005) **A:** *bui gu gu səm həŋri | bahĩnarika ʤiri bariːʧiʔna*

grì gù gù sə́m hɪ̀̃=ri² *ba-hɪ̀̃-na* *rì-ka=ʤi=ri²*
1PL 1SG 1SG language NEAR=TOP NEG-speak-NPST say-REL=DEF=TOP
ba-rì-ʧɪ̃-na
NEG-say-OBLG-NPST

'Those saying that we should't speak our language, they should not say that.'

29:19.1-29:20.8

(1006) **A:** *hĩʧiʔna*

Figure A.16.: Phembu and Dorchung discussing about language and culture.

hɨ̀-ʧí-na
speak-OBLG-NPST
'We have to speak it!'

29:20.9-29:23.7

(1007) **A:** *apna səm bafɪntʃiʔna apna grita səm baʔtʃiʔna*
apna sə́m ba-fɪ́n-ʧí-na apna grì=ta sə́m
own(<IA) language NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST own(<IA) 1PL=own language
báʔ-ʧí-na
EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'We must not give up our language! Our language has to be there.'

29:25.1-29:30.4

See: (355)

(1008) **A:** *la bjatuʔ səm griː səm riːla bahɨ̃tʃiʔna*
la bjatú sə́m grì sə́m rì-la ba-hɨ̀-ʧí-na
CONJ other language 1PL language say-SEQ NEG-speak-OBLG-NPST
'We must not say that we should be speaking another language.'

29:31.7-29:35.8

(1009) **A:** *griː hɛː ʧiːbamatʃi ʤi ʧiːtʃiʔna*
grì hɛ̀ ʧi-ba=matʃi ʤì ʧi-ʧí-na
1PL what eat-PRS=ADD ANA eat-OBLG-NPST
'Whatever we might eat, we must eat it.'

29:35.9-29:38.6

See: (438)

(1010) **A:** *la griː məruːhɛ̃ ʤi ʧɛ̃ ʧiːkari | ʤi ʧiːʧiʔna*
la grì mərù-hɛ̃̀ ʤi=ʧɛ̃̀ ʧi-ka=ri ʤì ʧi-ʧí-na
CONJ 1PL woman-PL DEF=rat eat-REL=QUOT ANA eat-OBLG-NPST
'Whatever rats our women eat, they must eat it.'
29:38.7-29:42.2

Comment: Miji women are not allowed to eat rats. But in the Puroik culture there is no such rule.

(1011) **A:** *məraŋ ʧiːka ʤi ʧiʧiʔna sənɨm ʧiːka ʤi ʧiːʧiʔna*
mərɑ̀ ʧi-ka=ʤi ʧi-ʧí-na sənɨ́m ʧi-ka=ʤi ʧi-ʧí-na
macaque eat-REL=DEF eat-OBLG-NPST civet eat-REL=DEF eat-OBLG-NPST
'Those eating monkeys have to eat them, those eating civet cats have to eat them.'
29:42.3-29:45.9

See: (433)
Comment: Miji women are not allowed to eat monkeys (macaques) and civets.

(1012) **A:** *la bui gri ʃəʒaŋmua griːku taŋpjuŋka*
la grì buì ʃəʒɑ̃̀mɔ grì=ku² tʰɑ̀-pjŭ-ka
CONJ 1PL before god 1PL=OBJ give-release-REL
'This is what ʃəʒaNmɔ gave us long time ago.'
29:46.4-29:49.0

(1013) **A:** *batʃiːka prin məbən varina batʃiːribo riːla taŋkæ*
ba-ʧi-ka prɨ́ məbán vɛrì=na ba-ʧi=ri-bo=rila tʰɑ̀-ka
NEG-eat-REL human Miji 3PL=TOP NEG-eat=QUOT-IMP=QUOT give-REL
'To those not eating, the Mijis, he gave them [the rule] to say: Don't eat!'
29:49.1-29:52.8

(1014) **A:** *ʤi vari riːna*
ʤì vɛrì rì-na²
ANA 3PL say-NMLZ
'This is their tradition (lit. what they say).'
29:52.8-29:53.8

(1015) **A:** *bəʧaŋ vɛː | ʧaroː sumuɛ məruː afuː ʧiːnarila bɛʔkæ*
bəʧɑ̀ vè ʧarò səmɯ̀ mərù afù ʧi-na=rila vɛrì bɛ́ʔ-ka
Monpa 3SG cheese butter(<M) woman man eat-NPST=QUOT 3PL assign-REL

'As for the Monpas, they were given the tradition that men and women are allowed to eat cheese.'

29:54.0-30:00.1

Comment: Miji woman were not allowed to eat cheese in the past. There is no such rule in Puroik.

(1016) **A:** *bətʃɨ̃ vɛː | ʃəpĩː ʃəruː vari tʃiː məruː afuː tʃiːnariːla bɛʔ taŋpjuŋkæ*

bətʃɨ̃ vɛ̀ səpɨ̃̀ sərù tʃì vɛrì mərù afù tʃi-na rì-la bɛ́ʔ tʰɑ̃̀
non.tribal 3SG goat NA eat 3PL woman man eat-NPST say-SEQ assign give
pjɑ̃́-ka
release-REL

'The non-tribals were given the rule that men and women eat goat and sheep meat.'

30:01.0-30:08.9

Comment: Miji women are not allowed to eat sheep and goat meat. There is no such rule in Puroik.

(1017) **A:** *ʤiri vari namuː*

ʤi=ri² *vɛrì namù*
DEF=TOP 3PL tradition
'This is their tradition.'

30:09.1-30:10.3

(1018) **A:** *griː namu batʃiːna*

grì=tʃì *grì namù* *báʔ-tʃɨ̃-na*
1PL=ADD 1PL tradition EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'Our tradition also has to be there.'

30:10.5-30:12.4

(1019) **A:** *ʤidua ʤiri*

ʤidɔ *ʤi=ri²*
like.this DEF=TOP
'This all is like this.'

30:12.4-30:14.5

(1020) **A:** *awiː griː ʤi hĩla batsaʔmərɔlana adʒɛ̃hɛ̃ ʤi bu akɨŋ badɛ̃na*

awíʔ grì=ʤi hɨ̀-la *ʤì* *ba-tsáʔ-mərɔlana adʒɛ̀-hɛ̃̀=ʤi* *bù* *akɨ́ŋ*
old 1PL=DEF speak-SEQ ANA NEG-do-COND child-PL=DEF DOWN origin
ba-dɛ̃̀-na
NEG-know-NPST

'If we old men don't tell them, the kids wont know about our origins.'

30:14.7-30:19.2

(1021) **B:** *badɛ̃ːʧa*

ba-dɛ̃̀-ʧa
NEG-know-PRF

'They won't get to know.'

30:19.2-30:20.2

(1022) **A:** *hã̀ grìː klaːku ɬuʔbamɛ*

hã̀³ grì klá=ku ɬúʔ-bamɛ
yes 1PL where=LOC fall-POT

'Yes, [they won't know] where we might have fallen down.'

30:20.5-30:22.1

Comment: The first humans fell down from the sky according to the Puroik mythology.

(1023) **A:** *grìː tuntʃi tuŋru klaːlapu leːbamɛ*

grì <tűtʃi tűrín> klá=lapu lè-bamɛ
1PL <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> where=ABL take-POT

'[They won't know] from where we might have brought the Tuntʃi Tunru water.'

30:22.3-30:24.8

See: (209)

(1024) **A:** *akɨŋ klaːbamɛ*

akɨ́ŋ klá bamɛ̀
origin where COP.POT

'[They won't know] where might have been the origin.'

30:25.1-30:26.4

See: (210)

(1025) **A:** *grìː hɛːku gulu gələnbamɛ*

grì hɛ̀=ku <gulù gələ́n>-bamɛ
1PL what=LOC <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-POT

'They won't know to what [gods] we make rituals.'

30:27.1-30:29.4

(1026) **A:** *kũ̀ iboɛ ihɛ.ɛ rìːla*

kű̀ <ibo.ɛ ihɛ.ɛ> rì-la
UP <Ibo.ɛ(RL) Ihɛ.ɛ(RL)> say-SEQ

'The [mountain gods] up there are called Ibo.ɛ and Ihɛ.ɛ.'

30:29.6-30:31.6

(1027) **A:** *gorjo kɛŋkamɛʔ gorjo ʧaŋʧuŋdɛʔ riːla*

<gòrjo kɛ̋kaméʔ> <gòrjo ʧə̀ʧʉ̃déʔ> rì-la

<Gorjo(RL) KɛNkamɛʔ(RL)> <Gorjo(RL) TʃaNʧuNdɛʔ(RL)> say-SEQ

'There are the mountain gods called <Gorjo KɛNkamɛʔ> and <Gorjo TʃaNʧuNdɛʔ>.'

30:32.5-30:34.8

(1028) **A:** *ʤi abjɛ̃ hɛː griː bahĩmərualana ʤi akɪŋ bahĩmərualana | hɛːku hĩnla hɛːku gulu gələnna*

ʤi=abjɛ̀ grì hè ba-hɪ̀-mərɔlana ʤi=akíŋ ba-hɪ̀-mərɔlana

DEF=name 1PL what NEG-speak-COND DEF=origin NEG-speak-COND

hè=ku hɪ̀-la hè=ku <gulù gəlán>-na

what=LOC speak-SEQ what=LOC <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-NPST

'If we don't tell [our children] the names (of the deities), if we don't tell them about the origins, how will they tell, how will they make rituals?'

30:34.9-30:40.7

(1029) **A:** *patna ʦaʔla pʰuŋhɛ̃ jo kuahɛ̃ jo patna ʦaʔlana ʤi kuŋ vɛːri banɨŋrjaodyĩʧa*

patna ʦáʔ-la pʰɨ̀ŋ-hɛ̀̃=jo kʰɔ̀-hɛ̀̃=jo

christian.prayer(<IA) do-SEQ mountain-PL=HON water-PL=HON

patna ʦáʔ-lana ʤi=kʉ̋ vɛrì ba-níŋ-rjaò-dyɪ̀̃-ʧa

christian.prayer(<IA) do-ANT DEF=UP 3PL NEG-listen-be.able-again-PRF

'If we make Christian prayers, the respected mountain ghosts and the water spirits - the ones up there - cannot understand.'

30:42.0-30:47.9

See: (181)

(1030) **A:** *kuŋ varina byi bɛʔna*

kʉ̋ vɛrì=na buì bɛ́ʔ-la

UP 3PL=TOP before assign-SEQ

'The ones up there have assigned us this tradition before.'

30:48.0-30:49.5

(1031) **A:** *gorjo kɛŋkamɛ gorjo ʧaŋʧuŋdɛ*

<gòrjo kɛ̋kaméʔ>=jo <gòrjo ʧə̀ʧʉ̃dɛ́ʔ>=jo

<Gorjo(RL) KɛNkamɛʔ(RL)>=HON <Gorjo(RL) TʃaNʧuNdɛʔ(RL)>=HON

‘<Gorjo KɛNkamɛʔ> and <Gorjo TʃaNtʃuNdɛʔ>’

30:50.6-30:53.1

(1032) **A:** *iboɛ jo ihɛ.ɛ̃ jo riːla*

<ibo.ɛ ihɛ.ɛ> rì-la
<Ibo.ɛ(RL) Ihɛ.ɛ(RL)> say-SEQ

‘The ones called <Ibo.ɛ and Ihɛ.ɛ>.’

30:53.2-30:55.6

(1033) **A:** *variːku ʤi gulu gələnla bui awiːhɛ̃ ʤi hĩlãla ʤila variːna ʤi nuŋlãka*

vɛrì=ku=ʤi <gulù gəlán>-la vɛrì buì
3PL=LOC=DEF <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-SEQ 3PL before
awíʔ-hɛ̃̀=ʤi hĩ̀-lana ʤila vɛrì=na=ʤi níŋ-lã̀-ka
old-PL=DEF speak-ANT CONJ 3PL=TOP=DEF listen-HABIT-REL

‘The forefathers made rituals. Since long time, they spoke [in this way], and the spirits got used to hear them.’

30:55.8-31:01.1

See: (305)

(1034) **A:** *ʃəʒaŋmua sa banariɾɛʔ ʤi sa ʤila bɛʔla liːla*

ʃəʒə̀mɔ sá banà-ri-réʔ ʤisá ʤila béʔ-la lì
god like.this make(<IA)-IPFV-BEN like.this CONJ assign-SEQ put

‘ʃəʒaNmɔ made it like this and assigned us this tradition.’

31:02.0-31:06.1

(1035) **A:** *ʤiri variː ʤi kuŋ pʰuŋ vɛː daŋliŋ ʤi hiʔriːbjana*

ʤi=ri² vɛrì ʤì kű́ pʰìŋ vɛ̀ dáŋlíŋ ʤì híʔ-ri-bjaò-na
DEF=TOP 3PL ANA UP mountain 3SG always ANA think-IPFV-COP.FOC-NPST

‘The deities up in the mountains, will always think like this.’

31:06.5-31:07.6

(1036) **A:** *kua vɛː ʤi hiʔriːbjana*

kʰɔ̀ vɛ̀=ʤi ʤì híʔ-ri-bjaò-na
water 3SG=DEF ANA think-IPFV-COP.FOC-NPST

‘The deities in the water will always think like this.’

31:10.0-31:12.3

(1037) **A:** *məhjɛ̃ vɛː ʤi hiʔriːbjana*

məhjɛ̃̀ vɛ̀=ʤi ʤì híʔ-ri-bjaò-na
earth 3SG=DEF ANA think-IPFV-COP.FOC-NPST

‘The deities of the earth will always think like this.’

31:12.4-31:14.4

(1038) **A:** *variːna ʤi daŋlɨŋ baʔrɛː*

vɛrì=na=ʤi hɨ̀ dáŋlɨ́ŋ dáŋlɨ́ŋ báʔ-rɛ̀

3PL=TOP=DEF NEAR always always EXIST-already

‘They were always, always already there.’

31:14.4-31:16.9

See: (290)

(1039) **A:** *prin griːna gjaŋʧi bjao*

prɨ́ grì=na gjɑ̀²-ʧi bjaò

human 1PL=TOP life-RSTR COP.FOC

‘We humans have only one life.’

31:17.1-31:18.8

See: (382)

(1040) **A:** *gjaŋʧiːna iːʧibjao gjaŋʧi hĩdəkai hĩdəkaiʧiʔ*

gjɑ̀=ʧi ì-ʧɨ́-bjaò gjɑ̀=ʧi hɨ̀-dəgaì hɨ̀-dəgaì-ʧɨ́

live=ADD die-OBLG-COP.FOC live=ADD speak-REP(<M) speak-REP(<M)-OBLG

‘After only one life we die. We have to tell it on and on (the stories and rituals).’

31:19.0-31:21.9

See: (309)

(1041) **A:** *varina həŋ məhjɛ̃lɨŋ həŋ daŋlɨŋ bui ʃəʒaŋmuahɛ̃ kalɨŋ daŋlɨŋ bjao pʰɨŋ hɨŋ daŋlɨŋ*

vɛrì=na hɨ̀ məhjɛ̀-lɨ́ŋ hɨ̀ dáŋlɨ́ŋ buì ʃəʒɑ̃̀mɔ-hɛ̀ kalɨ́ŋ dáŋlɨ́ŋ

3PL=TOP NEAR earth-inside NEAR always before god-PL stone always

bjaò pʰɨ̀ŋ hɨ̀ dáŋlɨ́ŋ

COP.FOC mountain NEAR always

‘The deities inside the earth, ʃəʒaNmɔ, the stones and the mountains will always be there.’

31:22.1-31:27.8

(1042) **A:** *kua həŋ daŋlɨŋ duã*

kʰɔ̀ hɨ̀ dáŋlɨ́ŋ dɔ̃̀

water NEAR always just.now

‘The water will also always be there.’

31:28.1-31:29.7

(1043) **A:** *ʤi hɛː bagɛʧa*
ʤì hɛ̀ ba-gɛ́ʔ-ʧa
ANA what NEG-disappear-PRF
'They [the forest spirits] never disappear.'
31:29.7-31:30.4

See: (126)

(1044) **B:** *bagɛʧa*
ba-gɛ́ʔ-ʧa
NEG-disappear-PRF
'They [the forest spirits] never disappear.'
31:30.1-31:30.6

(1045) **A:** *ʤi daŋlɨŋ variːna ʤi ʒuiʤi*
ʤì dáŋlɨ́ŋ vɛrì=na=ʤi ʒuìʤi
ANA always 3PL=TOP=DEF exactly.same
'They will always stay here exactly same.'
31:31.3-31:33.1

(1046) **A:** *hɪ̃ʃəʒaŋmɔ*
hɪ̀̃ ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ
NEAR god
'this ʃəʒaNmɔ'
31:33.3-31:34.6

(1047) **A:** *bu həŋ ʃəʒaŋmuaku kuŋ bəʧaŋ həŋ aʧeŋru deli lama*
bù hɪ̀̃ ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ=ku kʉ́ bəʧə̀̃ hɪ̀̃ aʧángrù deli
DOWN NEAR god=LOC UP Monpa NEAR Rimpoche(<M) Dalai(<Monpa)
lama
Lama(<Monpa)
'Down here it is ʃəʒaNmɔ and up in the Monpas it is the Rimpoches and Dalai Lama.'
31:36.1-31:42.6

(1048) **A:** *vɛːna akʰuːʧi ɬambjao*
vɛ̀=na akúʔ-ʧi ɬám-bjaò
3SG=TOP skin-RSTR change-COP.FOC
'They change only the skin [when they die].'
31:43.2-31:45.4

See: (496)

(1049) **A:** *asuːna ʤi ʒuiʤi baʔ*

asù=na ʒuìʤi báʔ
body=TOP exactly.same EXIST
'The body remains exactly the same.'

31:45.8-31:47.8

(1050) **A:** *kʰɔː məhjɛ̃ pʰɨŋ kalɨŋ hɨŋhɛ̃na ʤidua variː ɛ̃ribjaotʃa*

kʰɔ̀ məhjɛ̃̀ pʰɨ̀ŋ kalɨ́ŋ hɛ̀ hɛ̃̀=na ʤidɔ vɛrì
water earth mountain stone NEAR people=TOP like.this 3PL
ɛ̀-ri-bjaò-tʃa
be.together-IPFV-COP.FOC-PRF
'The water, the soil, the mountains, the stones they remain the same.'

31:47.9-31:54.4

(1051) **A:** *hɨŋ prin griː gjaŋtʃi* [*bjaori*]

hɛ̀ prɛ́ grì gjɑ̀=tʃi
NEAR human 1PL live=ADD
'We humans have only one life.'

31:57.2-31:59.4

(1052) **A:** *hɨŋ griː kəsatʃi adəzui suãuː ʤi pumpʰuː bapɛːʔʤi rɨːbjao*

hɛ̀ grì kəsátʃi adəzuì suánwù-tʃi pṹpʰù ba-pʰɛ́ʔ-tʃi rɨ̀-bjaò
NEAR 1PL how.many year fifty-RSTR hundred NEG-reach-RSTR stay-COP.FOC
'We ourselves, stay how many? Fifty years? Not even hundred years we stay [in this world].'

31:59.5-32:03.9

(1053) **A:** *lana iːʤi*

lana ì-ʤi
CONJ die-away
'Then, we die.'

32:07.4-32:09.8

(1054) **A:** *adəːhɛ̃ʤi griː ɬuɛʔduã batʃɔʔpuãdyina*

adə̀-hɛ̃̀=ʤi grì ɬuɛ́ʔ-dɔ̃̀ ba-tʃɔ̃ʔ-pɔ̃́-dyɛ̀-na
child-PL=DEF 1PL seem-IMM NEG-happen-appear-again-NPST
'Our sons look similar [to us], but they are not the same.'

32:09.9-32:12.0

See: (266)

(1055) **A:** *məhjɛ̃ məhjɛ̃ːʤi ɬuɛʔduaŋ daŋliŋ baʔ*
məhjɛ̀̃=na məhjɛ̀̃=ʤi ɬuéʔ-dɔ̀̃ dáŋlíŋ báʔ
earth=TOP earth=DEF seem-IMM always EXIST
'The earth will be same, it will always be there.'
32:12.2-32:14.9

(1056) **A:** *pʰɨŋna pʰɨŋ daŋliŋ ʤi ɬuɛduaŋ baʔ*
pʰɨ̀ŋ=na pʰɨ̀ŋ dáŋlíŋ=ʤi ɬuéʔ-dɔ̀̃ báʔ
mountain=TOP mountain always=DEF seem-IMM EXIST
'The mountains will always look like mountains.'
32:15.0-32:16.7

(1057) **A:** *kua na kua daŋliŋ ʤivɛː ɬuɛʔduaŋ*
kʰɔ̀=na kʰɔ̀ dáŋlíŋ ʤi=vɛ̀ ɬuéʔ-dɔ̀̃
water=TOP water always DEF=3SG seem-IMM
'The water will always look exactly like water.'
32:16.7-32:19.6

(1058) **A:** *prin griːna gjã hɪ̃ː griː gjã rɨːbjao*
prɪ́ grì=na gjɑ̀̃² hɪ̀ gjɑ̀̃² rɨ-bjaò
human 1PL=TOP life NEAR life stay-COP.FOC
'We humans, however, stay only one life.'
32:19.7-32:22.5

(1059) **A:** *gəhəni ʒumatʃi*
gəsenɪ́ʔ ʒù=matʃi
1DU COP=ADD
'Even the two of us are like this.'
32:22.9-32:24.3

(1060) **A:** *na gjaŋ hɪ̃ hɪ̃ baiːbadɛː aʃuɪ̃ːʤina ɬuɛʔ*
nà gjɑ̀ hɪ̀ hɪ̀ nà ba-ì-bádɛ̀̃=ʤi nà aʃuɪ̀̃=ʤi=na ɬuéʔ
2SG live NEAR NEAR 2SG NEG-die-PRMN=DEF 2SG face=DEF=TOP seem
'As long as you didn't die, your face is the same.'
32:24.4-32:27.7

(1061) **A:** *naː iːʤilapəna na ɬuɛʔduã badɛ̃dyĩnatʃa*
nà ì-ʤi=lapu=na nà ɬuéʔ-dɔ̀̃ ba-dɛ̀̃-dyɪ̀̃-na-ʧa
2SG die-away=ABL=TOP 2SG seem-IMM NEG-know-again-NPST-PRF
'After you die, a person like you will not be seen anymore.'

32:27.8-32:31.2

(1062) **A:** *guːʧi gu ɬuɛduaŋ badɛ̃dyinaʧa*
gù=ʧi gù ɬué?-dɔ̀ ba-dɛ̃́-dyɛ̀-na-ʧa
1SG=ADD 1SG seem-IMM NEG-know-again-NPST-PRF
'Myself also: no one like me will be seen again.'

32:31.2-32:32.5

See: (207)

(1063) **A:** *gu abjɛn bjɛnʒumaʧi guː ɬuɛduãː batʃuaʔpuãdyina*
gù abjɛ̃́ bjɛ̃́-ʒù=maʧi gù ɬué?-dɔ̀ ba-ʧɔ́?-pɔ́-dyɛ̀-na
1SG name to.name-COP=ADD 1SG seem-IMM NEG-happen-appear-again-NPST
'Even if they put my name, someone like me will never come again [after I die].'

32:32.5-32:36.1

See: (490)

(1064) **A:** *ʤidua | məŋhĩmaʧi guːduãna batʃuaʔʧa*
ʤidɔ mɨ́ŋ hɛ̀=maʧi gù-dɔ̀ ba-ʧɔ́?-ʧa
like.this thing speak=ADD 1SG-IMM NEG-happen-PRF
'Thus, even if they speak, it will not be like me.'

32:36.2-32:39.6

(1065) **A:** *ʤidua ʧɔʔ ũ prin griː*
ʤidɔ ʧɔ́? ũ̀ prɨ́ grì
like.this happen go.to.base human 1PL
'Like this it is with us humans.'

32:39.8-32:40.9

(1066) **A:** *bui ʃəʒaŋmuari griːri hĩrila*
buì ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ=ʤi ʤiri grì=ri² hɛ̀-ri²-la
before god=DEF CONJ 1PL=TOP speak-RECP-SEQ
'This is what ʃəʒaNmɔ taught us long before.'

32:41.2-32:44.2

(1067) **A:** *ʤila la dɛ̃riːla*
ʤila la dɛ̀-ri-la
CONJ CONJ know-IPFV-SEQ
'Then... they know.'

32:44.3-32:47.0

(1068) **A:** *ʤilalapu adəː gjaŋ atsəː gjaŋ ʤila ʤidua sa hĩri*
ʤila=lapu hɛmɛ adə̀ gjə̀̃ atsɨ́ gjə̀̃ ʤila ʤidɔ sá hə̀̃-ri
CONJ=ABL FILL child live grandchild live CONJ like.this like.this speak-IPFV
'After this. [Later] in the life of our sons and grandsons.'
32:47.3-32:53.2

(1069) **A:** *sa hĩryi ryi ʤi*
sá hə̀̃-ri²-ruì ʤì
like.this speak-RECP-ANT ANA
'They have to tell each other like this.'
32:53.2-32:54.5

(1070) **A:** *ʤi səmri leːla nɨŋla*
ʤi=sə́m=ri² lè-la nɨ́ŋ-la
DEF=language=TOP take-SEQ listen-SEQ
'Take these words and listen to them.'
32:54.6-32:56.7

(1071) **A:** *alɨŋ hiʔla ʤila ʤi hĩna*
alɨ́ŋ híʔ-la ʤila ʤì hə̀̃-na
inside think-SEQ CONJ ANA speak-NPST
'They have to think insinde and speak.'
32:56.7-32:59.1

(1072) **A:** *ʤila məŋ ʃʃɛ̃kamatʃi ʤidua*
ʤila mɨ́ŋ ʃʃɛ̀̃=ku=matʃi ʤidɔ
CONJ thing perform.rituals=LOC=ADD like.this
'Even if they make rituals [they have to do] like this.'
32:59.2-33:00.7

(1073) **A:** *hɛː ʃʃɛ̃ʒiku niŋla giʔla hĩkœ babuatʃa*
hɛ̀ sánʒi=ku nɨ́ŋ-la gíʔ-la hə̀̃-ka babɔ̀-ʧa
what write=LOC look-SEQ count-SEQ speak-REL COP.NEG-PRF
'There is nobody who can read and tell what is written on the paper.'
33:01.8-33:05.1

See: (435)

(1074) **A:** *ʃʃɛ̃ʒi kiʔniŋla ʃʃɛ̃ka babuatʃa hĩka babuatʃa*

sánʒi=ku níŋ-la ʃʃɛ̃̀-ka babɔ̀-ʧa hɪ̀̃-ka
write=LOC look-SEQ perform.rituals-REL COP.NEG-PRF speak-REL
babɔ̀-ʧa
COP.NEG-PRF
'There is nobody who [can] read from the paper and make the rituals. There will be nobody.'

33:05.2-33:09.0

(1075) **A:** *ʤi alɪŋ hiʔprina ʤi bui awiːhɛ̃ sa ʃʃɛ̃bjao sa hũribjao*
ʤì alɪ́ŋ híʔ-prina ʤi=buì awíʔ-hɛ̃̀ sá ʃʃɛ̃̀ sá
ANA inside think-ANT DEF=before old-PL like.this perform.rituals like.this
hɪ̀̃-ri-bjaò
speak-IPFV-COP.FOC
'They have to remember inside how the forefathers used to make rituals and speak.'

33:09.1-33:14.1

(1076) **A:** *sa hiʔprina hĩrikæʤibjaoʧa*
sá híʔ-prina hɪ̀̃-ri-ka ʤì bjaò-ʧa
like.this think-ANT speak-IPFV-REL ANA COP.FOC-PRF
'Only if they remember and speak [it will work].'

33:14.1-33:17.0

(1077) **A:** *ʤiri griː ʤidua*
ʤi=ri² *grì ʤidɔ*
DEF=TOP 1PL like.this
'We are like this.'

33:17.1-33:19.3

(1078) **A:** *griː hɪŋ gjaŋku | griː bahĩryiməruana | adəːhɛ̃na vœrina hãtʃõ bətʃəːdəkəna bətʃəː səm hĩna ʦaʔumbjaona*
grì hɪ̀̃ gjɑ̀̃=ku grì ba-hɪ̀̃-ruì-mərɔlana adə̀-hɛ̃̀=na vɛrì=na
1PL NEAR live=LOC 1PL NEG-speak-ANT-COND child-PL=TOP 3PL=TOP
bətʃɪdə hɑ̃̀tʃõ̀ bətʃɪ́ sə́m hɪ̀̃-na² ʦáʔ ũ̀-bjaò
non.tribal nowadays non.tribal language speak-NMLZ do go.to.base-COP.FOC
'If we don't speak in this life like this, our sons will speak the language of the non-tribals.'

33:19.7-33:28.7

See: (451)

(1079) **A:** *bətʃaŋ səm hĩna*

bətʃə̀ sə́m hḭ̀-na
Monpa language speak-NPST
'They will speak Monpa language (if we don't teach them our language).'
33:29.3-33:31.3

(1080) **B:** *məbən səm*

məbə́n sə́m
Miji language
'... or [they will speak] Miji.'
33:29.3-33:30.1

(1081) **A:** *gri: səmna hɛ: alao bjao ri:la*

grì sə́m=na hɛ̀ alaò bjaò rì-la
1PL language=TOP what bad COP.FOC say-SEQ
'They will say our language is something bad.'
33:31.4-33:34.0

(1082) **A:** *la bjatuʔhẽna məbənhẽna bubuhẽ nari: səm nu fɪntʃuɛʔbo*

la bjatú-hɛ̀̃=na məbə́n-hɛ̀̃=na bù-bù-hɛ̀̃=na narì sə́m nù
CONJ other-PL=TOP Miji-PL=TOP DOWN-DOWN-PL=TOP 2PL language here
fɪ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ-bo
dispose-IMP
'Other people, the Mijis, the people from down [will say]: give up your language!'
33:34.1-33:38.6

(1083) **A:** *anɪŋlao bahĩbo*

anɪ́ŋlaò ba-hḭ̀-bo
bad.to.hear NEG-speak-IMP
'[The language] doesn't sound good, don't speak it!'
33:38.8-33:40.1

See: (110)

(1084) **A:** *aguŋ adzẽhẽna la nɪŋla bahĩna*

agṵ̀ adzɛ̀̃-hɛ̀̃=na la nɪ́ŋ-la ba-hḭ̀-na
half child-PL=TOP CONJ listen-SEQ NEG-speak-NPST
'Half of the children, they wont speak [our language], if they hear this.'
33:40.2-33:42.6

(1085) **A:** *sa tsaʔumbaʔ*

sá *tsáʔ ů-báʔ*
like.this do go.to.base-EXIST
'It became like this.'

33:42.6-33:44.8

(1086) **A:** *ʤiri apna səm hĩtʃina*
ʤi=ri² *apna* *sə́m* *ʤi=ri²* *hȉ̃-ʧĩ́-na*
DEF=TOP own(<IA) language DEF=TOP speak-OBLG-NPST
'They have to speak their own language.'

33:45.0-33:47.2

(1087) **B:** *griːta səm hĩduãtʃiʔna*
grì=ta *sə́m* *hȉ̃-dɔ̃̀-ʧĩ́-na*
1PL=own language speak-IMM-OBLG-NPST
'They really have to speak our own language.'

33:47.9-33:49.8

See: (147)

(1088) **A:** *nula vɛːna kũ adəː baʔkœ nariː vɛːna*
nùla tɛ́ *vɛ̀=na* *kȗ̃* *adə̀* *báʔ-ka* *narì vɛ̀=na*
here FAR 3SG=TOP UP child EXIST-REL 2PL 3SG=TOP
'From today on the ones having children you [all]...'

33:49.9-33:52.4

(1089) **A:** *apɛː arjɛː apua amua nariː apɛː arjɛː nariː griː səm hĩduãtʃina*
apɛ́ *arjɛ́* *apʰɔ̀* *amɔ̀* *narì apɛ́* *arjɛ́* *narì grì sə́m*
morning evening male female 2PL morning evening 2PL 1PL language
hȉ̃-dɔ̃̀-ʧĩ́-na
speak-IMM-OBLG-NPST
'... from morning to evening, father and mother, you have to speak our language.'

33:52.4-33:57.3

(1090) **A:** *adəːhɛ̃ ʤi griː səmlapu wuiduã griː səmlapu hĩduã hĩduãtsaʔbo*
adə̀-hɛ̃̀=ku²=ʤi *grì sə́m=lapu* *wuì-dɔ̃̀* *grì sə́m=lapu* *hȉ̃-dɔ̃̀*
child-PL=OBJ=DEF 1PL language=ABL fight-IMM 1PL language=ABL speak-IMM
tsáʔ-bo
do-IMP
'You have to scold your kids in our language, you have to really speak our language.'

33:57.4-34:01.4

(1091) **A:** *guːna ʤi hũ araː hjaŋ bja njɛː njɛː dɛ̃ʧuazubaʔ*
gù=na ʤi=hɪ̀ arà hjầ bjaò njɛ́ njɛ́ dɛ̀̃-ʧʃʔ-ʒù-báʔ
1SG=TOP DEF=ASRT big all COP.FOC little little know-happen-COP-EXIST
'Myself, they [my sons] are all grown up. They know little bit.'

34:01.4-34:06.4

(1092) **B:** *dɛ̃nakæna dɛ̃ʧuazubaʔ*
dɛ̀̃-na-ka=na dɛ̀̃-ʧʃʔ-ʒù-báʔ
know-NPST-REL=TOP know-happen-COP-EXIST
'[The children of those] who will know [Puroik], they know [Puroik].'

34:06.2-34:07.9

(1093) **A:** *la həŋ adʑɛ̃hɛ̃ku amjɛː sikaʤi*
la hɪ̀ adʑɛ̀̃-hɛ̀̃=ku amjɛ̀ hɪ̀̃-ʧĩ-na
CONJ NEAR child-PL=LOC good speak-OBLG-NPST
'These children we have to teach well [how to speak our language].'

34:08.1-34:11.2

(1094) **B:** *aʒiː aʒiːhɛ̃ | hãtʃõ ʤi aʒiːdəː ʤi baʔ hĩtʃiʔna*
azì azì hɛ̀̃ hɐ̃̀ʧõ̀ ʤi=azì-də̀²=ʤi báʔ hɪ̀̃-ʧĩ-na
small small people nowadays DEF=small-DIM=DEF EXIST speak-OBLG-NPST
'To the small ones, those who have small kids, they have to speak.'

34:10.6-34:15.6

(1095) **A:** *atʃam riʃɟɛʔ adəː ʤiku apua bahĩrjaotʃa amua bahĩrjaotʃa*
atʃám riʃɟɛ́ʔ adə̀ ʤi=ku apʰɔ̀ ba-hɪ̀̃-rjaò-ʧa amɔ̀
daughter.in.law Riʃɟɛʔ child DEF=LOC male NEG-speak-be.able-PRF female
ba-hɪ̀̃-rjaò-ʧa
NEG-speak-be.able-PRF
'As for daughter-in-law Riʃɟɛʔ's kids, the father doesn't know how to speak and the mother doesn't know how to speak.'

34:17.2-34:24.3

(1096) **A:** *atsəː ʃaŋʤo apua ba hĩrjaotʃa amua ba hĩrjaotʃa ʤihɛ̃ku*
atsɨ̀ sɐ̃̀ʤo apʰɔ̀ ba-hɪ̀̃-rjaò-ʧa amɔ̀
grandchild Sandʒo male NEG-speak-be.able-PRF female
ba-hɪ̀̃-rjaò-ʧa ʤi=hɛ̀̃=ku
NEG-speak-be.able-PRF DEF=people=LOC

'Grandsons Sandʒo's father doesn't know to speak [Puroik], the mother doesn't know to speak [Puroik].'

34:25.5-34:30.2

See: (144)

(1097) **A:** *ʤilana hĩrjaokæna vjɛːnabaʔ*

ʤilana hɨ̀ hɨ̀-rjaò-ka=na vjè-na² báʔ
CONJ NEAR speak-be.able-REL=TOP be.good-NMLZ EXIST

'As for those who know to speak [our language], it is good.'

34:30.9-34:33.9

(1098) **A:** *aguŋhɛ̃ri hĩrjaoʒumatʃi adəːhɛ̃ griː bahĩredyĩ*

agɨ̃-hɛ̀ hɨ̀-rjaò-ʒù=matʃi adà-hɛ̀ grì ba-hɨ̀-réʔ-dyɨ̀
half-PL speak-be.able-COP=ADD child-PL 1PL NEG-speak-BEN-again

'However, half of us, even if they know to speak, they don't speak [our language] to their children.'

34:34.7-34:38.8

See: (334)

(1099) **A:** *sa apna gritaʒu hĩla sa rjaobjaoriːla*

sá apna grì=taʒu hɨ̀-la sá rjaò-bjaò=rila
like.this own(<IA) 1PL=self speak-SEQ like.this be.able-COP.FOC=QUOT

'They think that they will learn [the language], while we [old men] speak among ourselves.'

34:39.0-34:42.7

(1100) **A:** *həŋ griːgaʔ njɛːʧi hĩrɨːbjaobaʔ tatiʔ tatiʔʧi*

hɨ̀ grì-gáʔ njé-ʧi hɨ̀ rɨ-bjaò tatíʔ tatíʔʧi
NEAR 1PL-SIDE little-RSTR speak stay-COP.FOC one alone

'We sit and speak little bit among ourselves, one-two things.'

34:42.9-34:46.4

(1101) **A:** *atʃam dɛmohɛ̃ vɛːna adəːhɛ̃ku hĩtʃiʔna*

atʃám dɛmo hɛ̀ vè=na adà-hɛ̀=ku² hɨ̀-ʧɪ̃-na
daughter.in.law Dɛmo people 3SG=TOP child-PL=OBJ speak-OBLG-NPST

'Daughter-in-law Dɛmo's people have to speak to their children.'

34:46.4-34:49.6

(1102) **A:** *awui la hiʔritʃiʔna*

awuì la hɨ̀-ri-ʧɪ̃-na
husband CONJ speak-IPFV-OBLG-NPST

‘[Her] husband will have to speak Puroik [to the children].’

34:49.6-34:51.4

See: (194a)

(1103) **A:** *ʤila adəːhɛ̃ la dɛ̃bjaona*

ʤila adə̀-hɛ̀ la dɛ̀-bjaò-na
CONJ child-PL CONJ know-COP.FOC-NPST

‘Only then the children will know [the language].’

34:51.4-34:53.4

See: (194b)

(1104) **A:** *ʤidua griː səm riː bafɨntʃiʔnaro*

ʤidɔ grì sə́m rì ba-fɨ́n-ʧí-na=ro
like.this 1PL language say NEG-discard-OBLG-NPST=ASRT

‘Like this we have to speak our language, we should not give it up.’

34:53.5-34:55.8

(1105) **A:** *griː ʧiː griː in griː namu griː byi awiː sa ʦaʔmən njɛː dɛ̃ʧiʔna*

grì ʧì grì ín grì namù grì buì awíʔ sá ʦáʔ=maʧi ahjɔ̃̀
1PL eat 1PL drink 1PL tradition 1PL before old like.this do=ADD entire
dɛ̀̃-ʧí-na
know-OBLG-NPST

‘What we drink, what we eat, whatever we old men used to do, all this, they have to know.’

34:56.1-35:04.5

See: (439)

(1106) **A:** *təʔ prin anua nariːʧi adəːfu atsəːhɛ̃ badɛ̃məruana awiː griːku ʃiːvu*

tʰɛ́ʔ prɨ́̃ hɛ̀̃ anɔ̀ narì=ʧi adə̀fu atsɨ̀-hɛ̀̃
village human NEAR younger.brother 2PL=ADD son grandchild-PL
ba-dɛ̀̃-mərɔna awíʔ grì=ku ʃí-vù
NEG-know-COND old 1PL=LOC ask-go.from.base

‘You people of the village, you younger brothers, sons and grandsons, if you don’t know something, come and ask us old men.’

35:06.4-35:12.0

See: (27)

(1107) **A:** *bui akɨŋ | bui hãmɨŋ anjao məhjɛ̃ anjao*

buì akɨ́ŋ buì hamɨ́ŋ anjaò məhjɛ̀̃ anjaò
before origin before sky fresh earth fresh

‘In the beginning, the sky was new, and the earth was new.’

35:12.2-35:15.5

(1108) **A:** *gri: kla: umpɔ̃: ko kʰobo sa akɨŋku kəsa wəi?*

grì klá=ku ů̀-pɔ́̃ sá akɨ́ŋ kəsá vaí?
1PL where=LOC go.to.base-appear like.this origin how EXIST

‘Where did we come out. How was the origin?’

35:15.7-35:18.8

(1109) **A:** *pura badɛ̃rimatʃi njɛ:ni dɛ̃matʃi hĩrezunaro*

pura ba-dɛ̀̃-ʒu=matʃi njé njé dɛ̀̃-ka=na grì
all(<IA) NEG-know-surely=ADD little little know-REL=TOP 1PL
hɛ̀̃-ré?-na
speak-BEN-NPST

‘Even if you don’t know everything, even if you know little bit only, you have to tell it to them for their benefit (about our language and tradition).’

35:19.0-35:22.3

(1110) **A:** *ʤila*

ʤila
CONJ

‘Then...’

35:24.5-35:25.2

(1111) **A:** *gri:ku baʃi:lana nari: mi:ku ʃi:matʃi nari: bahĩrena*

grì=ku² ba-ʃí-lana narì mì=ku² ʃí=matʃi narì ba-hɛ̀̃-ré?-na
1PL=OBJ NEG-ask-ANT 2PL who=OBJ ask=ADD 2PL NEG-speak-BEN-NPST

‘If you don’t ask us, if you ask someone else, they won’t tell it to you.’

35:27.6-35:33.0

(1112) **B:** *bahĩrena*

ba-hɛ̀̃-ré?-na
NEG-speak-BEN-NPST

‘They won’t tell it for you.’

35:32.9-35:33.7

(1113) **A:** *namu gri kəsa kəsa umbamætʃi badɛ̃*

namù grì buì kəsá kəsá ů̀-ba=matʃi ba-dɛ̀̃
tradition 1PL before how how go.to.base-PRS=ADD NEG-know

‘They don’t know our tradition, and certainly not how exactly we migrated here.’

35:35.1-35:37.9

(1114) **A:** *bahĩrjaotʃa*
ba-hɪ̃̀-rjaò-tʃa
NEG-speak-be.able-PRF
'They cannot tell (because they don't know).'

35:37.9-35:38.9

(1115) **A:** *hanu na məbənhɛ̃̀ ʃɪvumatʃi | hã variːna banaːla hĩridyibjanatʃa*
hənù nà məbə́n-hɛ̃̀ ʃɪ̃-vù=matʃi hɑ̀ vɛrì=na banà-la
here 2SG Miji-PL ask-go.from.base=ADD today 3PL=TOP make(<IA)-SEQ
hɪ̃̀-ré?-dyɪ̃̀-bjaò-na-tʃa
speak-BEN-again-COP.FOC-NPST-PRF
'Even if you go and ask the Mijis, they will make something up and tell that.'

35:40.2-35:45.4

See: (247)

(1116) **A:** *prindəː nariːtʃi ʤi gaʔ umbjao ʤi gaʔ ɬuʔbjao sa tsaʔbjao ririːbjaona*
prɪ́dà narì=tʃi ʤi-gáʔ ɑ̃̀-bjaò ʤi-gáʔ ɬúʔ-bjaò sá
Puroik 2PL=ADD DEF-SIDE go.to.base-COP.FOC DEF-SIDE fall-COP.FOC like.this
tsáʔ-bjaò rì rì-bjaò-na
do-COP.FOC say say-COP.FOC-NPST
'You Puroiks, you came from this side, you fell down that side, you used to do like this, they will surely say.'

35:45.4-35:50.8

(1117) **A:** *griː nuːlapu griː griː unduã həŋri bahĩrjaotʃa*
grì nù=lapu grì grì ɑ̃̀-dɔ̃̀ akɪ́ŋ hɪ̀ ba-hɪ̀-rjaò-tʃa
1PL here=ABL 1PL 1PL go.to.base-IMM origin NEAR NEG-speak-be.able-PRF
'Where we people here really came from, that they can not tell.'

35:50.8-35:56.2

(1118) **A:** *hãhjaŋ ʤiku*
ʤidɔ hjɑ̃̀ ʤi=ku²
like.this all DEF=OBJ
'This all [they can not tell].'

35:56.3-35:58.3

(1119) **A:** *sər baumbadɛː mədəm baumbadɛːku*

sər *ba-ù̃-bádɛ̃̀* *mɛdén* *ba-ù̃-bádɛ̃̀=ku*
Sir(<Eng) NEG-go.to.base-PRMN Madam(<Eng) NEG-go.to.base-PRMN=LOC
'Before you Sir and Madam go back...'
35:59.4-36:04.8

See: (458a)

(1120) **A:** *apaiʔhɛ̃, dargi, ʦawaŋ umpʰɛʔʧila*
apaíʔ-hɛ̃̀ *dargi* *ʧawáŋ* *ù̃-pʰéʔ-ʧĩ-la*
Chimbi-PL Darge Chawang go.to.base-reach-OBLG-SEQ
'Chimbi, Darge, Chawang have come.'
36:05.2-36:07.8

See: (458b)

(1121) **A:** *griː aniːʤi riːla bui griː unkœ*
grì anì=ʤi *rì-la* *buì* *grì ù̃-ka*
1PL day=DEF stay-SEQ before 1PL go.to.base-REL
'Sitting one day [discussing], where we came from long time ago.'
36:07.8-36:11.9

(1122) **A:** *griː sa namuː*
grì sá *namù*
1PL like.this tradition
'How our tradition is like.'
36:11.9-36:13.1

(1123) **A:** *griː kəsa sa namu ʤi*
grì kəsá sá *namù* *ʤi*
1PL how like.this tradition DEF
'How our tradition is like.'
36:13.3-36:15.3

(1124) **A:** *hĩriduãna*
hɪ̃̀-ri-dɜ̃̀-na
speak-IPFV-IMM-NPST
'This we will tell.'
36:16.0-36:16.9

(1125) **A:** *a tumlo gəhəni ʤi hĩ ʤila nariːla nɨŋjaŋ*
hɜ̃̀³ túmlóʔ *gəsenɪ́ʔ hɪ̀* *narì ʤila* *nɨ́ŋ-jɜ̃̀*
yes Tumloʔ 1DU speak 2PL CONJ listen-PRMN

'The Gaonbura and me, the two of us will tell and all of you will listen.'

36:17.0-36:21.8

(1126) **A:** *ʤilapəna nari: ʃiinaba?*

ʤilapəna narì=ri² ʃĩ-na bá?
after.this 2PL=TOP ask-NPST EXIST

'After this you [can] ask.'

36:22.2-36:24.0

(1127) **A:** *la nari:la ʃĩpõdyi*

la narì ʃĩ-pɔ̃̀-dyɛ̃̀-na
CONJ 2PL ask-appear-again-NPST

'You should ask everything again.'

36:24.0-36:25.4

See: (300)

(1128) **A:** *la gri: gəhəni puãkari gəhəni la hĩpuãdyi*

la grì gəsení? pɔ̃́-ka=ri gəsení? la hɛ̃̀-pɔ̃́-dyɛ̃̀-na
CONJ 1PL 1DU appear-REL=QUOT 1DU CONJ speak-appear-again-NPST

'What you forgot, the two of us will tell again.'

36:25.5-36:28.6

(1129) **A:** *sa ʦa?la ani: dəm ʤi ʤila pura*

sá ʦá?-la anì-dám ʤi=pura
like.this do-SEQ day-whole.day DEF=all(<IA)

'We will do like this one full day.'

36:28.6-36:32.1

See: (307)

(1130) **A:** *sər mədəm daŋlɨŋ baũnatʃaro*

sər mɛdén dáŋlɨ́ŋ ba-ũ̀-na-ʧa=ro
Sir(<Eng) Madam(<Eng) always NEG-go.to.base-NPST-PRF=ASRT

'Sir and Madam will not always come.'

36:32.2-36:35.3

A.9. Hunting language (HL)

The speaker explains the significance of the hunting language. In the middle, he sees his brother outside the window and starts to talk to him.

(1131) *<mɨŋ> | aruе vuːku mɨŋ baʃəbɻɨnlana ʧiː ʒɨːku baiːna*

aruέʔ vù=ku mɨ́ŋ ba-ʃəbɻɨ́n-lana ʧíʔ ʒà=ku
mountains go.from.base=LOC thing NEG-speak.HL-ANT sling make.traps=LOC
ba-ì-na
NEG-die-NPST

'If you don't speak hunting language when going to the jungle, the animals won't die in the trap.'

00:00.0-00:05.5

See: (403)

(1132) *məʒəː baiːrena*

məʒə̀ ba-ì-réʔ-na
trap NEG-die-BEN-NPST

'They [the animals] don't die in the trap [if one does not speak hunting language].'

00:12.5-00:13.7

See: (404)

(1133) *aruɛʔ vuːla məʒəː <hɛmɛ məʒəː> ʒəːku amjɛː riːla ʒəːʧiʔna*

aruέʔ vù-la məʒə̀ ʒà=ku amjὲ rí-la
mountains go.from.base-SEQ trap make.traps=LOC good prevent.evil-SEQ
ʒà-ʧí-na
make.traps-OBLG-NPST

'When you go to the jungle and make traps, then you have to make them taking good precautions.'

00:14.3-00:22.7

(1134) *fəː baʔna tumloː*

fəù báʔ-na túmlóʔ
salt EXIST-NPST Tumloʔ

'[Shouting outside] Is there salt [for the cattle], Tumloʔ?'

00:25.6-00:26.4

Comment: The speaker sees his brother through the window and is speaking to him. The brother is going to see after the goats and cows.

(1135) *naː kũ̃ vuːnajã̀*

nà kṹ vù-na=jà̃
2SG UP go.from.base-NPST=Q

'Are you going up?'

00:27.7-00:28.6

(1136) *hɛmɛ pʰəu hamlɨŋku baʔnaro*

hɛmɛ fəù hám-lɨ́ŋ=ku báʔ-na=ro
FILL salt house-inside=LOC EXIST-NPST=ASRT

'Salt is up there in the house.'

00:29.1-00:31.9

Comment: There is a small hut in the place where the cattle are.

(1137) *njɛ: nyɛla niŋruirebo*

njé nyéʔ-la níŋ-ruì-réʔ-bo
little lure-SEQ look-ANT-BEN-IMP

'Go and see after them by luring them little bit.'

00:32.3-00:33.9

(1138) *gu nuʃõ: ricodiŋ tsaʔkəpãla na:ku bahĩ:*

gù nuʃõ̀ rikodin tsáʔ-kəpáŋ-la nà=ku² ba-hĩ̀
1SG here recording(<Eng) do-PROG(<M)-SEQ 2SG=OBJ NEG-speak

'I am making recording here and can not talk to you.'

00:34.4-00:37.3

Comment: Speaker stops talking to the person outside.

(1139) *aruɛʔ vu:lana mɨŋ amjɛ: ʃəbɻɨnla vu:ʧĩna*

aruéʔ vù-lana mɨ́ŋ amjɛ̀ ʃəbɻɨ́n-la
mountains go.from.base-ANT thing good speak.HL-SEQ
vù-ʧĩ-na
go.from.base-OBLG-NPST

'Going for hunting one has to speak the hunting language well.'

00:52.9-00:56.1

(1140) *ʤi babɔlana naŋna*

ʤì babɔ̀-lana náŋ-na
ANA COP.NEG-ANT be.sick-NPST

'If you do not like this, you will be sick.'

00:56.4-00:59.6

See: (371)

(1141) *pʰɨŋhɛ̃ kʰɔ:hɛ̃ kɨ:la naŋna | aruɛ vu:ku*

pʰɨ̀ŋ-hɛ̃̀ kʰɔ̀-hɛ̃̀ kɨ-la náŋ-na aruéʔ vù=ku
mountain-PL water-PL hit-SEQ be.sick-NPST mountains go.from.base=LOC

'The mountan spirits and water spirits will hit you, and you will be sick when you go for hunting.'

01:00.9-01:04.4

See: (157), (456)

(1142) *amjɛː ʃəbɻɨnlana məʒəː ʒəːʧiʔna*
amjɛ̀ ʃəbɻín-lana məʒə̀ ʒə̀-ʧî-na
good speak.HL-ANT trap make.traps-OBLG-NPST
'You have to speak the hunting language well and make traps.'

01:05.3-01:07.8

(1143) *lana muŋ riːʧi wɛʔmuɛ̃na | ʃəbɻɨnla vuːlana*
lana míŋ ríʔ=ʧi wɛ́ʔ-muɛ̃̀-na ʃəbɻín-la vù-lana
CONJ thing shoot=ADD kill-can-NPST speak.HL-SEQ go.from.base-ANT
'Also when you shoot the bow, you will be able to kill, if you speak hunting language.'

01:08.3-01:13.7

(1144) *pɨŋku kʰɔːku taŋla amjɛːku tãryila ʤisa tsaʔʧina*
pʰɨ̀ŋ=ku kʰɔ̀=ku tʰɑ̃̀-la amjɛ̀=ku tʰɑ̃̀-ruìla tsáʔ-ʧî-na
mountain=LOC water=LOC give-SEQ good=LOC give-ANT do-OBLG-NPST
'One has to pay a good tribute to the mountains and the water.'

01:14.2-01:17.8

See: (503a)

(1145) *ʤilana pʰɨŋ atũhɛ̃ kʰɔː atũhɛ̃ griːku <griku> amjɛː ljaŋna*
ʤilana pʰɨ̀ŋ atʰɯ̀̃-hɛ̀̃ kʰɔ̀ atʰɯ̀̃-hɛ̀̃ grì=ku² amjɛ̀ ljáŋ²-na
CONJ mountain master-PL water master-PL 1PL=OBJ good give(HL)-NPST
'Then, the masters of the mountains and the masters of the waters will be well-disposed towards us.'

01:19.3-01:25.6

See: (503b)

(1146) *ʤi babɔːlana baljaŋreʔna*
ʤì ba-bɔ̀-lana ba-ljáŋ²-réʔ-na
ANA NEG-COP.NEG-ANT NEG-give(HL)-BEN-NPST
'If not [if all this is not done], they [the spirits] won't be well-disposed.'

01:27.8-01:30.5

See: (503c), (333)
Comment: ʤi babɔna? or babɔlana?

(1147) *pʰɨŋ kʰɔ:ku njɛ̃ʃiʔ sərĩ tãlana | pʰɨŋhɛ̃ kʰɔ:hɛ̃ vari: tʰyɛka ri:ka gri:ku tãna*

pʰɨ̀ŋ kʰɔ̀=ku njénʃíʔ sərì tʰɑ̀̃-lana pʰɨ̀ŋ-hɛ̃̀ kʰɔ̀-hɛ̃̀ vɛrì
mountain water=LOC rice.seeds resin give-ANT mountain-PL water-PL 3PL
tyɛ̃́-ka rɨ-ka grì=ku tʰɑ̀̃-na
decoy-REL stay-REL 1PL=LOC give-NPST
'If we give rice seeds and incense to the mountain and the water, then the mountan and water spirits will decoy the animals and give them to us.'

01:31.1-01:39.2

(1148) *gri:ʧi njɛ̃ʃiʔ sərĩ amjɛ: tãʧina*

grì=ʧi njénʃíʔ sərì amjɛ̀ tʰɑ̀̃-ʧí-na
1PL=ADD rice.seeds resin good give-OBLG-NPST
'We also have to give rice seeds and incense.'

01:40.5-01:43.2

(1149) *mɨŋ amjɛ: ʃəbɹɨnla məʒə: ʒə:ʧina*

mɨ́ŋ amjɛ̀ ʃəbɹɨ́n-la məʒə̀ ʒə̀-ʧí-na
thing good speak.HL-SEQ trap make.traps-OBLG-NPST
'We have to speak hunting language well and make traps.'

01:43.7-01:46.3

(1150) *lana gri: məʒə:ku pãna*

lana grì məʒə̀=ku pɑ̃́-na
CONJ 1PL trap=LOC hang-NPST
'Then, we will catch something in the traps.'

01:49.5-01:51.7

(1151) *adə: də:maʧi gri: prində: gri: adə: də:maʧi amjɛ: ri:ʧina*

adə̀ də̀=maʧi prɨ̃́də̀ grì adə̀ də̀=maʧi amjɛ̀
child give.birth=ADD Puroik 1PL child give.birth=ADD good
rí-ʧí-na
prevent.evil-OBLG-NPST
'Even if babies are born - we Puroiks - we have to take good precautions against bad spirits.'

01:51.7-01:56.7

See: (453)

Comment: When a baby is born, the family has to stay inside the house for 5 days. Strangers are not allowed to see the baby, as they might bring bad spirits with them.

(1152) *adəː akũ rjoːna | adəː gjãna*
adə̀ akṹ rjṳ̃̀-na adə̀ gjã̀-na
child head become.white-NPST child live-NPST
'Then, the child will become old and live.'
01:57.1-02:00.9

(1153) *amjɛː bariːlana | amjɛː bariːlana | adəːʤi bagjãna*
amjɛ̀ ba-rí-lana amjɛ̀ ba-rí-lana adə̀=ʤi
good NEG-prevent.evil-ANT good NEG-prevent.evil-ANT child=DEF
ba-gjã̀-na ʤìdʒ̃̀
NEG-live-NPST now
'If we don't take good precautions against the bad spirits, the child will not live.'
02:01.2-02:05.4

See: (447)

(1154) *la riʔməruana amjɛː ʃoʔla umbo*
la ríʔ-mərɔna amjɛ̀ ʃóʔ-la ṳ̃̀-bo
CONJ shoot-COND good bring(HL)-SEQ go.to.base-IMP
'[Hunting language] If you shoot something carry it back well.'
26:19.3-26:23.1

Comment: Giving an example sentence in the hunting language.

(1155) *məgɨʔ fɛːla riʔməruana amjɛː ʃoʔla bɛ̃ːbo*
məgɨ́ʔ fɛ̀-la ríʔ-mərɔna amjɛ̀ ʃóʔ-la bɛ̃̀²-bo
trap(HL) see(HL)-SEQ shoot-COND good bring(HL)-SEQ go(HL)-IMP
'[Hunting language] See the traps. If you caught something, carry it back well!'
26:27.5-02:10.3

See: (529)

A.10. Ancient trade relations to Tibet (TRADE)

Summary: Bulu lies on an important trading route connecting the non-buddhist part of west Arunachal Pradesh with Tibet. The trading place was the village Mago just south of the modern line of control. From Bulu it is a several day journey though high altitude landscapes to reach Mago. In Mago the villagers of Bulu used to meet not only

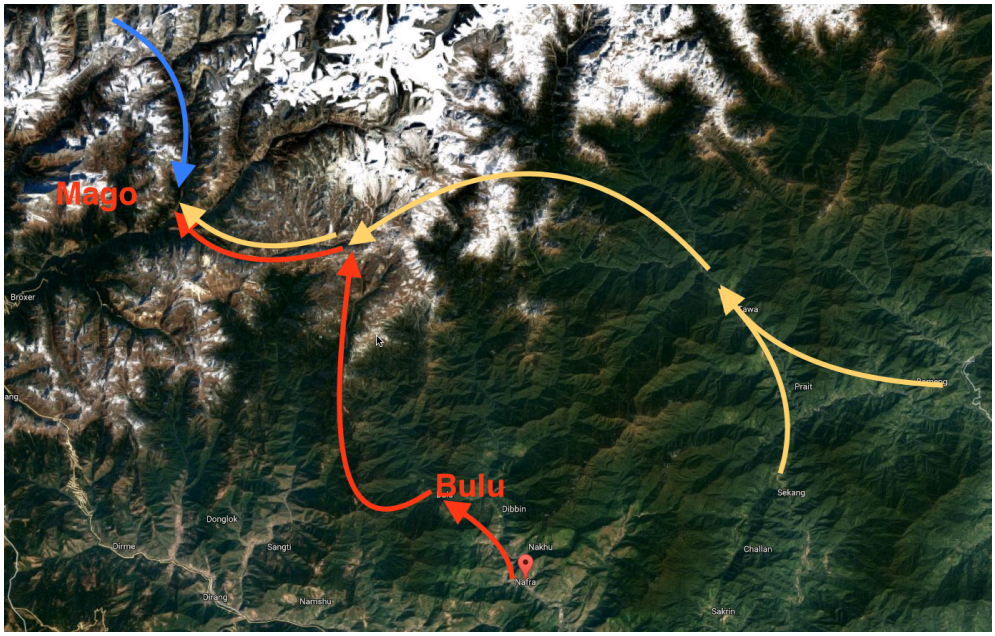


Figure A.17.: Red: trade route through Bulu. Yellow: trade route from East Kameng Blue: trade route from Tibet (Map Data © 2017 Google).

Figure A.18.: The village of Mago.

Figure A.19.: The way to Mago leads through high altitude landscape.

traders from Tibet, but also traders from East Kameng who came from the east (figure A.17).

(1156) **A:** *hãmi wɛʔ hambu wɛʔryila griː kraːkruŋ griː buluotəʔ umpɛʔunro*
è hamì wɛ́ʔ hə̃̀bu wɛ́ʔ-ruìla grì <*krá krúŋ*> *grì hɨ̀ pulɔ̀*
FILL sun kill moon kill-ANT 1PL <Kraa(RL) Krunɟ(RL)> 1PL NEAR Bulu
tʰɨ́ʔ ù̃-pʰɛ́ʔ=hɨ̀ro
village go.to.base-reach=ASRT
'We killed the sun, the moon, after that we Kraa Krung reached the village Bulu.'
04:19.2-04:23.2

(1157) **A:** *dɨʃi dəlutʰɨʔku umpʰɛʔla*
<*dɨʃi dɨlu*> *tʰɨ́ʔ=ku ù̃-pʰɛ́ʔ-la*
<Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)> village=LOC go.to.base-reach-SEQ
'W reached in the village Bulu.'
04:23.5-04:25.0

(1158) **A:** *hɨndɔ̃ku prinri*

hɨ̀dɔ̀ prɨ́=ri²
now human=TOP
'Now as for the people,..'

04:25.5-04:26.6

(1159) **A:** *prindəːriː hɨŋ puluoku baʔbjanaro ʤilapəna wɛːnaro*
prɨ́dà=ri hɨ̀ pulɔ̀=ku báʔ-bjaò-na=ro ʤilapəna
Puroik=QUOT NEAR Bulu=LOC EXIST-COP.FOC-NPST=ASRT after.this
wɛ̀-na=ro
EXIST.NEG-NPST=ASRT
'As for the Puroiks, the [Puroiks] are only in Bulu, elsewhere they are not.'

04:27.1-04:31.0

See: (379)

(1160) **A:** *hɨŋ wes kameŋku prindəː guː bloː griː bjaːʧaro*
hɨ̀ <wes kameŋ>=ku prɨ́dà=ri gù pulɔ̀ grì
NEAR <West Kameng(<Eng)>=LOC Puroik=QUOT 1SG Bulu 1PL
bjaò-ʧa=ro
COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'Here in West Kameng, Puroiks are only in our [village] Bulu.'

04:31.5-04:34.7

See: (478)

(1161) **B:** *plɔː griː rɨːryila ʤoʃaŋ lim ʤisa*
pulɔ̀ grì nù rɨ-ruìla ʤòʃáŋ lím ʤisá
Bulu 1PL here stay-ANT marriage path like.this
'When we stayed in Bulu, the marriage path was like this.'

04:37.1-04:41.2

(1162) **B:** *la nu rɨːla | griː bətʃaŋɬɛŋku gri maljuː tãːryila la ʃəkuː kadzaŋ taŋka ũː*
la nù rɨ-la grì bəʧɑ̃̀-ɬɛ̃̀=ku grì maljù tʰɑ̃̀-ruìla la ʃəkúʔ
CONJ here stay-SEQ 1PL Monpa-side.of=LOC 1PL chilli give-ANT CONJ skin
kadzɑ̃̀ tʰɑ̃̀-ka ũ̀
wax give-REL go.to.base
'After starting to stay here, on the Monpa side we used to give chili, skins and wax.'

04:41.4-04:46.5

See: (224)

(1163) **B:** *kũlapu naloʔ leːla kũlapu səpiː səʃəu leːla*

kű=lapu naló? *lè-la* *kű=lapu səpì̀ lè-la* *səʃəù lè-la*
UP=ABL wool.blanket take-SEQ UP=ABL goat take-SEQ cow take-SEQ
'From up we brought blankets, cows and goat.'

04:46.8-04:51.3

(1164) **B:** *la bu: atʰuŋ atʃaku batsu ʒẽruila*
labù *atʰů* *atʃaù=ku* *patsù* *ʒɛ̀-ruìla*
down.there master servant=LOC tax(<M) carry-ANT
'Down here in the master-slave system, we had to carry taxes.'

04:52.2-04:54.5

See: (186)

(1165) **A:** *gri: ɛ: gri: kra:kruŋ gu: hũ dəʃi: dəlu:təʔ umpɛʔla*
grì <*krá* *krúŋ*> *gù* *hɨ̀* <*dɨʃi* *dɨlu*> *tʰɨ́ʔ*
1PL <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1SG NEAR <Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)> village
ů-pʰɛ́ʔ-la
go.to.base-reach-SEQ
'We kraa kruŋ we reached to Bulu.'

04:55.2-05:00.2

(1166) **A:** *dəʃi: dəlu:lapu gri: kũ ɬasa fəu ɬasa fəu gri ʧi:la ri:kanro*
<*dɨʃi* *dɨlu*>=*lapu* *grì* *kű* *ɬasa* *fəù* *ɬasa* *fəù* *grì*
<Bulu(RL) Bulu(RL)>=ABL 1PL UP Lhasa(<Tib) salt Lhasa(<Tib) salt 1PL
ʧi-la *rɨ-ka* *ů̀=ro*
eat-SEQ stay-REL go.to.base=ASRT
'From Bulu we went up to bring Lhasa salt to eat.'

05:01.6-05:08.9

(1167) **A:** *gu: gjaŋmatʃi adɨ:zui u: pɛʔʧi:ruibadɛnro*
gù *gjå̀=matʃi* *gù* *adəzuì* *wù* *pʰɛ́ʔ* *ʧi-ruì-bádɛ̃̀=ro*
1SG live=ADD 1SG year five reach eat-ANT-PRMN=ASRT
'Even when I was already born, until reaching the age of five, we had eaten [the salt of Tibet].'

05:09.2-05:12.9

See: (166)

(1168) **A:** *adɨ:zui u: pɛʔ ʧi:rui õ: ʤilapəna bu:lapu gormən ũla*
adəzuì *wù* *pʰɛ́ʔ* *ʧi-ruì* *ɔ̃̀* *ʤilapəna* *bù=lapu* *gormán*
year five reach eat-ANT INTJ after.this DOWN=ABL government(<Eng)
ů̀-la
go.to.base-SEQ

‘For five years I ate, then the Indian government came from down.’

05:13.9-05:18.2

(1169) **A:** *ʤila vari: fəu ʧi:bjao hɨnduãna gri:*
ʤila vɛrì fəù ʧì-bjaò hɨ̃dɔ̃̀=na grì fəù ʧì
CONJ 3PL salt eat-COP.FOC now=TOP 1PL salt eat
‘[After the Indian government came] we ate their salt only, now also we eat their salt.’

05:18.6-05:21.5

(1170) **A:** *hã atsɛ̃na bulapu ljagu fəu ʧi:bjaŋro*
hɑ̃̀ adʑɛ̃̀-hɛ̃̀=na bù=lapu ljagù fəù
today child-PL=TOP DOWN=ABL Assam.plains(<M) salt
ʧì-bjaò-ʉ̃̀=ro
eat-COP.FOC-POSS=ASRT
‘Nowadays children eat only salt from the Assam plains.’

05:22.3-05:26.6

See: (389)

(1171) **A:** *la bui gri:na hũla abu: pɛmbu:la gula hɨŋ hi:kəpaŋ*
la buì grì=na hɨ̃̀la abù pʰèmbu la gù-la hɨ̃̀
CONJ before 1PL=TOP here elder.brother Phembu(<Tib) CONJ 1SG-SEQ NEAR
hɨ̃̀-kəpáŋ
speak-PROG(<M)
‘Long time ago, elder brother Phembu and I, the two of us telling...’

05:27.0-05:33.5

(1172) **A:** *gri: ɬasa fəu gri: adɨ:zui u: ʧi:ruika unro*
grì ɬasa fəù grì adəzuì wù ʧì-ruì-ka ʉ̃̀=ro
1PL Lhasa(<Tib) salt 1PL year five eat-ANT-REL go.to.base=ASRT
‘... for five years we ate Lhasa salt.’

05:33.7-05:37.0

(1173) **A:** *adɨ:zui u: ɬasa fəu ʧi:la*
adəzuì wù gù ɬasa fəù ʧì-la
year five 1SG Lhasa(<Tib) salt eat-SEQ
‘For five years we ate the salt from Lhasa.’

05:37.8-05:39.8

See: (395)

(1174) **A:** *gri:ʧi ʤi fəu le:vu:ko*

grì=ʧi dʒi=fəù lè vù=ku
1PL=ADD DEF=salt take go.from.base=LOC
'When we went to bring salt,..'
05:40.2-05:41.9

(1175) **A:** *vari:ku fəu le:vu:kari*
vɛrì=ku fəù lè vù-ka=ri²
3PL=LOC salt take go.from.base-REL=TOP
'... going to them to take salt...'
05:42.6-05:44.7

(1176) **A:** *gri:ʧi hɛ: taŋna nu:lapu*
grì=ʧi hɛ̀ tʰɑ̃̀-na nù=lapu
1PL=ADD what give-NPST here=ABL
'What would we give from here?'
05:45.0-05:46.7

See: (121a)

(1177) **A:** *gri: ri: tãnaro*
grì rì³ tʰɑ̃̀-na=ro
1PL cane give-NPST=ASRT
'We would give cane [products].'
05:47.1-05:49.2

See: (121b)

(1178) **A:** *mabjao tãnaro ɬasaku*
mabjaò tʰɑ̃̀-na=ro ɬasa=ku
bamboo.sp give-NPST=ASRT Lhasa(<Tib)=LOC
'We would give bamboo shoots, in Lhasa.'
05:49.5-05:51.6

See: (196c)

(1179) **A:** *gri:ʧi patsu kũ ʒenla*
grì=ʧi patsù kṹ ʒɛ̃̀-la
1PL=ADD tax(<M) UP carry-SEQ
'We also carried the payment up there.'
05:52.1-05:53.6

(1180) **A:** *fəu le:nako gri:ʧi ɬasa kuŋ taŋko*
fəù lè-na=ku grì=ʧi ɬasa kṹ tʰɑ̃̀=ku
salt take-NPST=LOC 1PL=ADD Lhasa(<Tib) UP give=LOC

Figure A.20.: *pʰjɛ̀* Indian madder (*Rubia cordifolia*) was one of the jungle products that was traded from West Kameng to Tibet.

'When we took salt and we also gave [something] in Lhasa.'

05:54.2-05:57.7

(1181) **A:** *vari:ku patsu ʒẽ:la malju ri: pʰjɛ: ʃəkuʔ kadʑaŋ ʤi: tãla*
vɛrì=ku² *patsù* *ʒɛ̃̀=ku* *maljù* *rì³* *pʰjɛ̀* *ʃəkúʔ* *kadʑɑ̃̀* *ʤì*
3PL=OBJ tax(<M) carry=LOC chilli cane Rubia.cordifolia skin wax ANA
tʰɑ̃̀-la
give-SEQ
'When we carried the payment for them, [we gave] chili, cane, creeper, skins, wax, this [all] we gave.'

05:58.4-06:09.9

See: (187)

(1182) **A:** *gri:ʧi kũlapu ʃəu le:la kũlapu ʃəu le:naro*
grì=ʧi *kṹ=lapu* *ʃəù* *lè-la* *kṹ=lapu* *ʃəù* *lè-na=ro*
1PL=ADD UP=ABL salt take-SEQ UP=ABL salt take-NPST=ASRT
'After taking salt from up there we would bring the salt from up there.'

06:10.0-06:13.4

(1183) **A:** *tarmu le:na pʰu:tuʔ le:na ʧimapaŋlo le:la*

tarmu *lè-na* *pʰutú?* *lè-na* *ʧima*
wool.blanket take-NPST blanket(<Monpa) take-NPST jacket(<Monpa)
páŋlo *lè-la*
jacket(<M) take-SEQ
'We brought blankets and jackets.'

06:14.5-06:19.0

(1184) **A:** *gri:ʧi la bu: gri:ʧi*
grì=ʧi *la* *bù* *grì=ʧi*
1PL=ADD CONJ DOWN 1PL=ADD
'...we also [brought the goods] down [there]...'

06:19.5-06:21.3

(1185) **B:** *nalo? le:la*
naló? *lè-la*
wool.blanket take-SEQ
'We brought wool blankets.'

06:20.5-06:21.4

(1186) **A:** *nalo? ri:la le:dyĩla gri: bu: patsu tsaŋka ũ*
naló?=rila *lè-dyì̃-la* *grì bù* *patsù* *tsáŋ-ka*
wool.blanket=QUOT take-again-SEQ 1PL DOWN tax(<M) pay.tax(<M)-REL
ù̃
go.to.base
'Those wool blankets we took again and brought them down [to the Mijis] as tax.'

06:21.8-06:25.2

(1187) **A:** *dəku: bəsu:ku bəsu:hɛ̃ko gri:ʧi la bu: patsu tsaŋdyila*
<*təkʰù* *pəsù*>*=ku²* *pəsù-hɛ̀̃=ku* *grì=ʧi* *la*
<village.elder Miji.upper.cast>=OBJ Miji.upper.cast-PL=LOC 1PL=ADD CONJ
bù *batsù* *tsáŋ-dyì̃-la*
DOWN tax(<M) pay.tax(<M)-again-SEQ
'For the high cast Mijis we brought back taxes.'

06:25.7-06:30.4

(1188) **A:** *tɛ tɛ tɛ ɛ tɛ hɛmɛ tɛ nəduì pɛ tɛ tɛ*
té *té* *té* *è* *té* *hɛmɛ té* *nəduì pʰé?* *té* *té*
FAR FAR FAR FILL FAR FILL FAR Lada reach FAR FAR
'There also to Lada it reached.'

06:30.7-06:33.0

(1189) **A:** *griːʧi fəu hũlapu ʧiːka ũ*
grì=ʧi fəù hɨ̃=lapu ʧi-ka ũ̀
1PL=ADD salt NEAR=ABL eat-REL go.to.base
'They also used to eat our salt from here.'

06:36.5-06:38.6

(1190) **A:** *hunu griːʧi ʤi ʤiːdua griː saplai ʤiːdua ʦaʔla*
hənù grì=ʧi ʤì ʤidɔ grì saplai ʤidɔ ʦáʔ-la
here 1PL=ADD ANA like.this 1PL supply(<Eng) like.this do-SEQ
'We here supplied [salt] in this way.'

06:38.8-06:42.4

(1191) **A:** *hɛna (s) ɛː indiala indiala ʧainala wuiriːla*
hɛna índià-la índià-la ʧaina-la wuì-ri²-la
now India(<Eng)-SEQ India(<Eng)-SEQ China(<Eng)-SEQ fight-RECP-SEQ
'Now ..[1s].. India and China are at war.'

06:42.7-06:48.3

(1192) **A:** *griː kuŋ bavuːmuɛ̃ gormənhɛ̃ bantsaʔla*
grì kṹ ba-vù-muɛ̀ gormán-hɛ̀ bán ʦáʔ-la
1PL UP NEG-go.from.base-can government(<Eng)-PL closed(<IA) do-SEQ
'We cannot go up. The government closed [the boundary].'

06:48.5-06:53.2

See: (24)

(1193) **B:** *buina kuntʃɪn riːbjaro*
buì=na kṹʤɪ́n rì-bjaò=ro hɛna ʧaina rì
before=TOP China say-COP.FOC=ASRT now China(<Eng) say
'Long time ago [it was called] China.'

06:53.3-06:54.6

(1194) **A:** *buina kuntʃɪnro hɛna ʧaina riːla*
buì=na kṹʤɪ́n=ro hɛna ʧaina rì-la
before=TOP China=ASRT now China(<Eng) say-SEQ
'Long time ago the Chinese ...'

06:54.7-06:58.7

(1195) **A:** *griːtaʧuŋʤi banduri gormənhɛ̃ banduri ʦaʔla*

grì-tatʃʉ̃=ʤi *bánduri* *gormán-hɛ̃̀* *bánduri*
1PL-between=DEF boundary(<Eng) government(<Eng)-PL boundary(<Eng)
tsáʔ-la
do-SEQ
'Between us there is a boundary. The government made a boundary.'

06:58.9-07:02.6

(1196) **B:** *taram fəu bamuɛ̃ːʧa*
tarə́m fəù *ba-muɛ̀²-ʧa*
Tibet salt NEG-get-PRF
'Salt from Tibet is not available anymore.'

07:02.1-07:04.5

See: (201)

(1197) **A:** *taram fəu ɬasa fəu taram fəu batʃiːlua*
tarə́m fəù ɬasa *fəù tarə́m fəù grì ba-ʧi-lɔ*
Tibet salt Lhasa(<Tib) salt Tibet salt 1PL NEG-eat-possible.to
'We don't get to eat Tibet salt and Lhasa salt anymore.'

07:03.7-07:07.5

See: (351)

(1198) **A:** *ʧima paŋlo* [*ɛː hɛmɛ*] *ʧima paŋlo putuk gri ba leː muɛ̃ʧaro*
ʧima *páŋlo* *è* *hɛmɛ ʧima* *páŋlo*
jacket(<Monpa) jacket(<M) FILL FILL jacket(<Monpa) jacket(<M)
pʰutúʔ *grì ba-lè-muɛ̃̀-ʧa=ro*
blanket(<Monpa) 1PL NEG-take-can-PRF=ASRT
'Monpa jackets, and blankets we cannot bring anymore.'

07:07.9-07:13.9

(1199) **A:** *hɛːna bəʧiː ɛ̃ zuːla*
hɛna bəʧi *ɛ́ʔ* *zù-la*
now non.tribal cloth wear-SEQ
'Now we wear the clothes of the non-tribals.'

07:14.0-07:15.5

(1200) **A:** *bəʧiː ɛ̃ zuː*
bəʧi *ɛ́ʔ* *zù*
non.tribal cloth wear
'We wear the clothes of the non-tribals.'

07:16.0-07:17.9

(1201) **B:** *ʧiːʧi kuŋ ɬasalapu leːbjao ʃã.ɛ̃ ɬasalapu leːbjao*

ʧi²=ʧi kṹ ɬasa=lapu lè-bjaò ʃɑ̃̀ɛ̃́ʔ=ʧi
machete=ADD UP Lhasa(<Tib)=ABL take-COP.FOC fibre.cloth=ADD
ɬasa=lapu lè-bjaò=hɨ̀ro
Lhasa(<Tib)=ABL take-COP.FOC=ASRT
'Daos and and fibre clothes we also brought from up there from Lhasa.'

07:17.9-07:21.5

(1202) **B:** *buːlapu baleː kuŋlapu hjaŋ leːbjao*

bù=lapu ba-lè kṹ=lapu hjɑ̀ lè-bjaò=ro
DOWN=ABL NEG-take UP=ABL all take-COP.FOC=ASRT
'From down we didn't bring we brought [daos and fibre clothes], from up we brought them.'

07:22.0-07:26.5

(1203) **B:** *ʤi byina sa awiʔhɛ̃ sa leːla zuduã*

ʤi=buì=na sá awíʔ-hɛ̃̀ sá lè-la zù-dɔ̃̀
DEF=before=TOP like.this old-PL like.this take-SEQ wear-IMM
'The ancestors used to bring and wear [clothes] like this.'

07:26.7-07:29.7

(1204) **B:** *la nu ..[.s].. hunu buː la buː ʧaŋru bəʧuŋmaʧi kuŋ ɬasalapu həŋ səlɛnʧiː riːla kuŋlapu leː*

la nù hənù bù <ʧáŋru bəʧúŋ>=maʧi kṹ hɨ̀ səlén
CONJ here here DOWN <Nafra.area Nafra.area>=ADD UP NEAR Lhasa
ʧi²=ri-la kṹ=lapu lè
machete=QUOT-SEQ UP=ABL take
'Even down here in the Nafra area, from Lhasa, they brought the Lhasa knives from up there.'

07:31.2-07:37.5

See: (489)

(1205) **B:** *səlɛnfəurila kuŋlapu leːla ɬasa fəu*

səlén fəù=rila kṹ=lapu lè-la ɬasa fəù
Lhasa salt=QUOT UP=ABL take-SEQ Lhasa(<Tib) salt
'The so called Lhasa salt, we brought from up there.'

07:37.9-07:41.1

See: (479)

A.11. Sulphuric spring (SULPH)

Summary: When the earth was created, all things fell down from the sky. The humans fell down on one side of a hot water lake, the sulphur springs and the mithuns fell down on the other side of that lake. With the help of a bird and a bee, Suluŋlo Pinu - a mythological hero of the Kra Kruŋ clan - finds the sulphur springs and manages to get some of the water. He then plants sulphur springs all over the world.

(1206) **A:** *hamɨŋ akɨŋlapu məhjɛ̃ akɨŋlapu gri: hamɨŋlapu ɬu?*
hamɨ́ŋ akɨ́ŋ=lapu məhjɛ̀ akɨ́ŋ=lapu grì hamɨ́ŋ=lapu ɬú?
sky origin=ABL earth origin=ABL 1PL sky=ABL fall
'From the base of the sky and earth, we fell down from the sky.'
20:03.1-20:06.3

(1207) **A:** *bu: məpilaŋ mərjõʒən*
bù <məpiláŋ mərjúŋʒɨ́n>
DOWN <Məpilaŋ(RL) Mərjuŋʒɨn(RL)>
'Down to <Məpilaŋ(RL) Mərjuŋʒɨn(RL)>'
20:06.5-20:08.3

(1208) **A:** *ʤilalapu gri: ʤi ɬu?mə bu: gri:*
ʤila=lapu grì ʤì ɬú?-mə bù grì
CONJ=ABL 1PL ANA fall-PST DOWN 1PL
'From there, we fell down.'
20:08.5-20:10.9

(1209) **A:** *ka:tuŋʧaŋ bi:tuŋru ɬu?kɛfɨntʃuɛryi*
<kátŭ̋ʧáŋ bìtŭ̋ru> ɬú?-gɛ́? fɨntʃuɛ́?-ruì
<sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> fall-disappear dispose-ANT
'The Katuŋʧaŋ water and the Bituŋru water fell down in a different place and got lost.'
20:11.1-20:14.3

(1210) **A:** *ka:tuŋʧaŋna ..(s).. hɛmɛ ..(s).. vɨ:ʒu kʰɔ: tɛ:ɬɛ̃ ɬu?*
kátŭ̋ʧáŋ=na <vɨʒù vɨlù> kʰɔ̀
sulphur.spring(RL)=TOP <hot.lake(M) hot.water.lake(M)> water
tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃=ʃõ̀ ɬú?
FAR-side.of=LOC fall
'The Katuŋʧaŋ water fell down that side of the Vɨʒu Vɨlu water.'

20:15.8-20:26.1

See: (394)

(1211) **A:** *kra:bu gu:na vɨ:zu vɨ:lu kua nuɬɛ̃ ɬuʔ*

krábu gù=na <vɨzù vɨlù> kʰɔ̀ nù-ɬɛ̀ ɬúʔ
Kraabu 1SG=TOP <hot.lake(M) hot.water.lake(M)> water here-side.of fall
'We Kraabus fell down this side of the vɨzu vɨlu water.'

20:27.3-20:31.6

(1212) **A:** *ʤilalapəna tuntʃi tuŋrɨn balə:muɛ̃vu:*

ʤila-lapəna <tűtʃi tűrɨ́n>
CONJ-furthermore <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)>
ba-lè-muɛ̀-vù
NEG-take-can-go.from.base
'After this, we couldn't go and take the Tuntʃi Tuŋrɨn water anymore.'

20:32.6-20:36.2

See: (249)

(1213) **A:** *susu kũlapu ɬuʔdɔ̃*

susù kű=lapu ɬúʔ-dɔ̀
mithun UP=ABL fall-IMM
'The mithuns also fell down from up.'

20:36.4-20:38.5

(1214) **A:** *ʤi tɛ: ka:tũtʃaŋlaɛ̃ku tɛ: ɬuʔ ũ:*

ʤi=té kátűtʃáŋ=la ɛ̀=ku té ɬúʔ ů
DEF=FAR sulphur.spring(RL)=CONJ be.together=LOC FAR fall go.to.base
'They fell down together with the sulphur springs.'

20:38.7-20:41.8

(1215) **A:** *ɛ nu:na prin tɛ: prin gri: krakruŋ grri:tʃi ɬuʔlarɨ:*

nù=na prɨ́ té prɨ́ grì <krá krúŋ> grì-tʃi ɬúʔ-la rɨ̀
here=TOP human FAR human 1PL <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1PL-RSTR fall-SEQ stay
'We humans, we Kra Kruŋ people fell down alone here and stayed.'

20:42.0-20:46.8

(1216) **A:** *lana ʤi*

lana ʤi
CONJ DEF
'Then...'

20:46.9-20:47.7

(1217) **A:** *ɬupɛʔla niŋlana lana kaːtuntʃaŋna tɛːɬɛ̃ tɛː ɛ viːʒu viːlu tɛːɬɛ̃ʃõ*

ɬúʔ-pʰéʔ-la níŋ-lana lana kátűtʃáŋ=na tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃ tɛ́
fall-reach-SEQ look-ANT CONJ sulphur.spring(RL)=TOP FAR-side.of FAR
<viʒù vilù> tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃=ʃõ̀
<hot.lake(M) hot.water.lake(M)> FAR-side.of=LOC
'When we fell and saw the kaatuntʃaŋ is that side That side of the hot water lake.'

20:48.9-20:56.3

(1218) **A:** *biːtuŋruna tɛːɬɛ̃ʃõ*

bìtűru=na tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃=ʃõ̀
sulphur.spring(RL)=TOP FAR-side.of=LOC
'The Bituŋru water was that side.'

20:56.9-20:58.2

See: (387)

(1219) **A:** *ʤilana kraːbu kruŋbu nu guːna nu məpilaŋ mərjõʃən nuʃõ la ɬuʔla*

ʤilana <krábu gù krúŋbu> nù gù=na nù <məpiláŋ
CONJ <Kraabu 1SG Kruŋbu> here 1SG=TOP here <Məpilaŋ(RL)
mərjúŋʒín> nuʃõ̀ la ɬúʔ-la
Mərjuŋʒin(RL)> here CONJ fall-SEQ
'Then, we Kra Kruŋ [fell down] here, here the Məpilaŋ Mərjuŋʒən, here we fell down.'

20:58.6-21:05.3

(1220) **A:** *suluŋlo pinu*

sulúŋlo pinu
Suluŋlo(RL) Pinu(RL)
'Suluŋlo Pinu'

21:05.5-21:06.6

(1221) **A:** *a ʤilana*

ʤilana
CONJ
'Then..'

21:07.1-21:07.9

(1222) **A:** *vɛː kaːtuŋtʃaŋ klaː ɬuʔhija*

vɛ̀ kátűtʃáŋ klá=ku ɬúʔ=hija
3SG sulphur.spring(RL) where=LOC fall=Q

‘He thought: Where might the Kaatuŋʧaŋ water have fallen down?’

21:08.4-21:10.7

See: (520)

(1223) **A:** *biːtuŋrɨn klaːhija*

bìtű́ru *klá=hija*
sulphur.spring(RL) where=Q

‘Where might be the Bituŋru water?’

21:10.9-21:12.1

(1224) **A:** *ʤila nuasẽla ũsẽla*

ʤila *nɔ̀-sɛ̀̃-la* *ũ̀-sɛ̀̃-la*
CONJ search-undirected.motion-SEQ go.to.base-undirected.motion-SEQ

‘He went to search around everywhere.’

21:12.4-21:14.5

(1225) **A:** *lana ʤi | aː hɨŋ*

lana *ʤì* *aa* *hɨ̀̃*
CONJ ANA INTJ NEAR

‘Then ...’

21:14.8-21:17.3

(1226) **A:** *həŋ səraukɨŋku rua ʒəːla*

hɨ̀̃ *səraù-kɨ́ŋ=ku* *rɔ̀* *ʒə̀-la*
NEAR tree.sp-LOC=LOC stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ

‘He made a stone trap under the sərau tree.’

21:18.1-21:19.7

(1227) **A:** *rua ʒəːla ruɔ ʒəːla rɨː*

rɔ̀ *ʒə̀-la* *rɔ̀* *ʒə̀-la* *rɨ̀*
stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ stay

‘He was making traps.’

21:19.7-21:21.3

(1228) **A:** *hɛmɛ suluŋlo pinu rua ʒəː rɨːlana*

hɛmɛ <*sulúŋlo* *pinu*> *rɔ̀* *ʒə̀-la* *rɨ̀-lana*
FILL <Suluŋlo(RL) Pinu(RL)> stone.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ stay-ANT

‘Suluŋlo Pinu made stone traps.’

21:22.4-21:25.0

(1229) **A:** *<hɛmɛ asɛn vuːprin ʦəmuiʔ>*

asén *vù-prina* *ʦəmuí*
bird.sp go.from.base-ANT tree.bee
'False start: The Asɛn bird came and [said] to the bee:'

21:25.4-21:29.1

(1230) **A:** *ʦəmuiʔ vuːprina asɛ̃ŋku*

ʦəmuí *vù-prina* *asén=ku*
tree.bee go.from.base-ANT bird.sp=LOC
'The bee came and [said] to the bird:'

21:31.9-21:34.2

(1231) **A:** *kəi aroʔjo*

kəí *aróʔ=jo*
HORT friend=HON
'Let's go dear friend.'

21:34.8-21:37.6

(1232) **A:** *hɛmɛ vɨʒu vɨlu tɛːɬɛ̃ʃõna*

hɛmɛ <*vɨʒù* *vɨlù*> *tɛ́-ɬɛ̃̀=ʃõ̀=na*
FILL <hot.lake(M) hot.water.lake(M)> FAR-side.of=LOC=TOP
'That side of the hot water.'

21:39.1-21:41.6

(1233) **A:** *pinla ʤaŋla jimla*

pín-la *ʤaŋ-la* *ím²-la*
be.sweet-SEQ be.sweet(<M)-SEQ be.tasty-SEQ
'sweet, sweet, salty'

21:41.9-21:44.2

(1234) **A:** *tɛː talu*

tɛ́ *talu*
FAR so.much(<M)
'There'

21:44.4-21:45.1

(1235) **A:** *talu bɛkɨːla*

talu *bɛ̀* *kʰɨ̀-la*
so.much(<M) fire smoke-SEQ
'There smoke is coming out like this:'

21:46.0-21:47.7

(1236) **A:** *talu hɨn hɨn dɨn dɨn*

talu hɨ́n hɨ́n hɨ́n hɨ́n
so.much(<M) bubble bubble bubble bubble
'Like this: bubble bubble'

21:47.9-21:49.4

(1237) **A:** *talu pinla jimla baʔro*

talu pín-la ím²-la báʔ=ro
so.much(<M) be.sweet-SEQ be.tasty-SEQ EXIST=ASRT
'So sweet and tasty things are there.'

21:49.7-21:51.6

(1238) **A:** *tɛːʤi in ʤi vuːparorila*

tɛ́=ʤi ín ʤì vù-paro=rila
FAR=DEF drink ANA go.from.base-HORT=QUOT
'Let's go there and drink that water.'

21:51.9-21:54.5

(1239) **A:** *nɛːri*

néʔ-ri
discuss-IPFV
'They were discussing.'

21:54.5-21:55.3

(1240) **A:** *sulunlo pinu vɛː akɨŋku nɨŋla*

ʤi <=sulúŋlo pinu vɛ̀ akɨ́ŋ=ku nɨ́ŋ-la>
DEF <=Sulunlo(RL) Pinu(RL) 3SG origin=LOC listen-SEQ>
'Sulunglo Pinu was listening from below.'

21:55.3-21:58.3

(1241) **A:** *kəʤɨi vuːna sa riːla azɛnri sa riː*

kəʤɨ̀ vù-na sá rì-la asɛ́n=ri² sá rì
when go.from.base-NPST like.this say-SEQ bird.sp=TOP like.this say
'When are we going, asked the bird.'

21:59.1-22:01.9

(1242) **A:** *lapɛː hami tsuː ʤila vuːparo | riːla*

lapɛ́ hamì tsú² ʤila vù-paro rì-la
tomorrow sun rise CONJ go.from.base-HORT say-SEQ
'Tomorrow when the sun rises let's go! he said'

22:02.0-22:05.5

(1243) **A:** *vɛː ʤiru la ʧẽ rəm lapɛːʃõ la vuːpɛdyila la nɛːridyila*
vè ʤiru atʃɛ̃̀ la rə́m lapé-ʃa la
3SG that.time night CONJ sleep tomorrow-LOC CONJ
vù-pʰéʔ-dyì̀-la vɛrì-tatʃṹ la néʔ-ri
go.from.base-reach-again-SEQ 3PL-between CONJ discuss-IPFV
'That night he slept there and next morning they came again, and discussed among themselves again.'

22:05.7-22:10.0

(1244) **A:** *nɛːrila ʤila*
néʔ-ri-la ʤila
discuss-IPFV-SEQ CONJ
'Discussing again.'

22:10.1-22:11.8

(1245) **A:** *hɛna riːkaʤi kəi vuːbatʃaro kaːtuŋʧaŋ invuːbatʃaro*
hɛna rì-ka=ʤi kəí vù-batʃaro kátṹʧáŋ ín
now say-REL=DEF HORT go.from.base-HORT sulphur.spring(RL) drink
vù-batʃaro
go.from.base-HORT
'[Let's do] what you said. Let's go. Let's go and drink the sulphuric water.'

22:12.9-22:16.0

(1246) **A:** *ʤilana vɛːna ʤi niŋuʔlarɨː*
ʤilana vɛ̀=na=ʤi níŋ-úʔ-la rɨ̀
CONJ 3SG=TOP=DEF listen-hide-SEQ stay
'He was sitting and listening secretly.'

22:17.0-22:19.5

See: (344)

(1247) **A:** *ʤila kiː.ũ ʤi vɛːhənila kiː.ũ*
ʤila kʰì ũ̀ ʤi=vɛhenʔ́-la kʰì ũ̀
CONJ fly go.to.base DEF=3DU-SEQ fly go.to.base
'Then, the two flew away.'

22:19.9-22:23.2

(1248) **A:** *awaŋ ʤi kʰiːla niŋla rɨː*
awɛ̃̀=ʤi kʰì-vjɛ̃̀-la níŋ-la rɨ̀
ridge=DEF fly-cross-SEQ look-SEQ stay

'He saw them fly across to the next mountain ridge and sit.'

22:23.6-22:25.1

(1249) **A:** *la rɨː la vɛː ʤila vuːginduaŋ*

la rɨ̀ la vɛ̀ ʤila vù-gɪ̀-dɔ̀̃
CONJ stay CONJ 3SG CONJ go.from.base-follow-IMM

'They sat down. He (Suluŋlo Pinu) went immediately behind them.'

22:28.5-22:31.0

(1250) **A:** *ʤila rɨː*

ʤila rɨ̀
CONJ stay

'Then, he stayed.'

22:31.3-22:33.5

(1251) **A:** *ʤi vɛhəniʔ kiːgɛʔduãkaʔ ʤi awaŋ la pɛʔduaŋ*

ʤi=vɛhenɪ́ʔ kʰɪ̀-gɛ́ʔ-dɔ̀̃-ka ʤi=awɑ̀̃ la pʰɛ́ʔ-dɔ̀̃
DEF=3DU fly-disappear-IMM-REL DEF=ridge CONJ reach-IMM

'The two of them flew away out of sight and immediately reached to the mountain.'

22:34.8-22:37.8

(1252) **A:** *la vuːla vahəniʔ bətsənla rɨːjandyi*

la vù-la vɛhenɪ́ʔ bətsɪ́n-la rɨ̀-jɑ̃̀-dyɪ̀̃
CONJ go.from.base-SEQ 3DU silently(<M)-SEQ stay-PRMN-again

'when he reached to the mountain, again he sat and listened'

22:38.1-22:41.2

Comment: Miji *bətsɪ́n* = Puroik *ba-njáʔ-la*

(1253) **A:** *lapɛː sa ʤila*

lapɛ́ sá ʤila
tomorrow like.this CONJ

'The next day again like this.'

22:42.1-22:43.5

(1254) **A:** *ʤila nɛːrɨːladyi ʤi vuːdyiũʤi*

ʤila nɛ́ʔ-ri-la dyɪ̀̃ ʤì vù-dyɪ̀̃ ũ̀̃-ʤi
CONJ discuss-IPFV-SEQ do.again ANA go.from.base-again go.to.base-away

'Then, they discussed again, and went on again.'

22:44.4-22:46.5

See: (304)

(1255) **A:** *õ ʤila kiːdyĩkaʤi*
ỏ̀ ʤila kʰì-dyì̃-ka=ʤi
INTJ CONJ fly-again-REL=DEF
'Yes, again they flew.'

22:46.6-22:48.6

(1256) **B:** *ʤi awaŋ kʰiːdyĩːla*
ʤi=awə̀̃ kʰì-dyì̃-la
DEF=ridge fly-again-SEQ
'Again they flew.'

22:48.0-22:49.6

(1257) **A:** *ʤi awaŋ ʤi kiːvjaŋla awaŋ ʤi tɛːɬɛ̃*
ʤi=awə̀̃=ʤi kʰì-vjə̀̃ tɛ́ ʤi=awə̀̃=ʤi tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃
DEF=ridge=DEF fly-cross FAR DEF=ridge=DEF FAR-side.of
'Flying over one ridge to the next ridge that side far away.'

22:49.0-22:52.1

(1258) **A:** *kiːdyĩũ*
kʰì-dyì̃ ũ̀
fly-again go.to.base
'They went flying again.'

22:52.1-22:53.1

(1259) **A:** *ʤi.awãʤi kiːgɛʔduaŋkɛ ʤila vuːpɛʔla niŋ*
ʤi=awə̀̃=ʤi kʰì-gɛ́ʔ-dɔ̃̀-ka ʤila vù-pʰɛ́ʔ-la níŋ
DEF=ridge=DEF fly-disappear-IMM-REL CONJ go.from.base-reach-SEQ look
'They flew away to the next mountain, reached and he saw them.'

22:53.9-22:57.9

(1260) **A:** *la vɛːna rɨːjaŋdyi*
la vɛ̀=na rɨ̀-jə̀̃-dyì̃
CONJ 3SG=TOP stay-PRMN-again
'[Suluŋlo Pinu] stayed again [over night].'

22:58.0-22:59.4

(1261) **A:** *asampɛːla nɛːriryila la kiːpuə̃̀dyiba?*

asə̀pé-la² né?-ri-rùla la kʰì-pɔ́-dyì̀-ba
dawn-LOC discuss-IPFV-ANT CONJ fly-appear-again-PRS
'Early next morning again they spoke to each other and again they came back flying.'

23:00.4-23:03.6

(1262) **A:** *la sa tsəpryila vu:la ʤila*
la sá tsə́p-rùla vù-la ʤila
CONJ like.this follow.a.trace-ANT go.from.base-SEQ CONJ
'Like this going after them he went.'

23:04.9-23:06.5

(1263) **A:** *lana ʤi vɛ: ka:tuŋʧaŋ bi:tuŋru kuŋ ɬisɨ:lapu ɬu?duãkɛ̃*
lana ʤi=vè <kátűʧáŋ bìtűru> kű̀ lisɨ̀=lapu
CONJ DEF=3SG <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> UP Ɬisɨɨ(RL)=ABL
ɬú?-dɔ̀̃-ka
fall-IMM-REL
'Then there in the sulphuric spring, which had fallen down from Ɬisɨɨ together [with the humans].'

23:06.7-23:10.2

(1264) **A:** *ʤika:tuŋʧaŋri*
ʤi=kátűʧáŋ=ri
DEF=sulphur.spring(RL)=QUOT
'The sulphuric spring.'

23:10.6-23:11.8

(1265) **A:** *ɬu?gɛ?ʃintʃuɛ?*
ɬú?-gé? ʃintʃué?
fall-disappear dispose
'The sulphuric spring had fallen down and disappeared.'

23:11.9-23:13.1

(1266) **A:** *ʤi sulunlo hɛmɛ*
ʤi=sulúŋlo hɛmɛ
DEF=Sulunlo(RL) FILL
'False start: That Sulunglo'

23:13.7-23:15.0

(1267) **A:** *kra:bu kruŋbu*

<krábu krúŋbu>
<Kraabu Kruŋbu>
'The Kraabu Kruŋbu.'

23:15.9-23:17.0

(1268) **A:** *ʤila ɬuʔgɛʔ ɟntʃuɛʔla*
ʤila ɬúʔ-géʔ ɟ́ntʃuéʔ-la
CONJ fall-disappear dispose-SEQ
'They fell and got lost.'

23:17.3-23:18.7

(1269) **A:** *ʤi badɛndyĩ vɛːna məhjɛ̃ ʤiʃõ*
ʤì ba-dɛ̃̀-dyì̃ vɛ̀=na məhjɛ̀̃ ʤi=ʃõ̀
ANA NEG-know-again 3SG=TOP earth DEF=LOC
'He did not know the the place.'

23:19.0-23:22.5

(1270) **A:** *məhjɛ̃ ʤiʃõ ɬuʔũ*
məhjɛ̀̃ ʤi=ʃõ̀ ɬúʔ ù̃
earth DEF=LOC fall go.to.base
'In that place on earth it had fallen down.'

23:22.6-23:24.0

(1271) **A:** *kaːtuŋʧaŋ biːtuŋruna məhjɛ̃ atsõː ɬuʔ*
<*kátṹʧáŋ bìtṹru*>*=na məhjɛ̀̃ atsõ̀ ɬúʔ*
<sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)>=TOP earth center fall
'The sulphur springs had fallen down in the center of the earth.'

23:24.6-23:27.1

See: (427a)

(1272) **A:** *la variː badɛndyĩ banɔː.ɔidyi*
la vɛrì ba-dɛ̃̀-dyì̃ ba-nɔ̀-ɔì-dyì̃
CONJ 3PL NEG-know-again NEG-search-find-again
'They [the krakruŋs] they didn't know, searched but didn't find it again.'

23:27.3-23:29.8

See: (427b)

(1273) **A:** *ʤi vɛhəniʤi asɛnseʤi tsəmuiseʤi*
ʤi=vɛhenîʔ=ʤi asén-se=ʤi tsəmuí-se=ʤi
DEF=3DU=DEF bird.sp-DU=DEF tree.bee-DU=DEF

'The two of them, the bird and the bee.'

23:30.0-23:33.8

(1274) **B:** *tsəmuiʔ ʤi*

tsəmuí=ʤi
tree.bee=DEF
'the bee'

23:32.1-23:33.2

(1275) **A:** *tsəmuiʔseʤi tɛːla vɛːhənila vuːduaŋla vɛhəni vuːla*

tsəmuí-se=ʤi tɛ́-la² vɛhenîʔ=la vù-dɔ̀̃-la vɛhenîʔ vù-la
tree.bee-DU=DEF FAR-LOC 3DU=CONJ go.from.base-IMM-SEQ 3DU go.from.base-SEQ
'They bee [and the bird] went together.'

23:33.0-23:36.6

(1276) **A:** *ʤi vɛː la tsəpla vuːdɔ̃na*

ʤi=vɛ̀ la tsə́p-la vù-dɔ̀̃-na
DEF=3SG CONJ follow.a.trace-SEQ go.from.base-IMM-NPST
'He followed them behind.'

23:36.8-23:38.6

(1277) **A:** *ʤilapəna tɛː kaːtuŋʧaŋ*

ʤilapəna tɛ́ kátŭ́ʧáŋ
after.this FAR sulphur.spring(RL)
'Then, there, near the sulphur spring.'

23:38.7-23:41.4

(1278) **A:** *la vuːpɛlana vɨːʒu vɨːlu tɛːɬɛ̃kəna tɛː la vuː*

la vù-pʰɛ́ʔ-lana <vɨʒù vɨlù>
CONJ go.from.base-reach-ANT <hot.lake(M) hot.water.lake(M)>
tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃=ku=na tɛ́-la² vù
FAR-side.of=LOC=TOP FAR-LOC go.from.base
'He reached to the other side of the hot water lake.'

23:41.4-23:44.4

(1279) **A:** *hɛ talu susula tsəmuiʔ tsəwoila dəmin dəmin ʤiri kaːtuŋʧaŋ tɛːɬɛ̃*

hɛ̀ talu susù-la tsəmuí tsəwoì-la dəmín
what so.much(<M) mithun-SEQ tree.bee rock.bee-SEQ abundant(<M)
dəmín ʤiri kátŭ́ʧáŋ tɛ́-ɬɛ̀̃
abundant(<M) CONJ sulphur.spring(RL) FAR-side.of

‘Thus a lot of mithuns, rock bees and tree bees were there near that sulphur spring.’

23:45.0-23:51.9

(1280) **A:** *ʤilana bavuːmuẽla teː*

ʤilana ba-vù-muɛ̃̀-la tɛ́
CONJ NEG-go.from.base-can-SEQ FAR

‘But he could not go there [to the sulphur spring].’

23:52.8-23:54.8

Comment: Because the hot water is in between.

(1281) **A:** *teː bavuːmuẽʧa*

tɛ́ ba-vù-muɛ̃̀-ʧa
FAR NEG-go.from.base-can-PRF

‘He couldn’t go there.’

23:55.7-23:57.0

(1282) **B:** *kʰɔːtseʔ hĩːri tsaogãː*

kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ hɪ̃̀=ri tsaò-gɑ̃̀
hot.water NEAR=QUOT boil-enclosed

‘The hot water closed the way.’

23:56.7-23:57.0

(1283) **A:** *kuɔ tsiʔ kuɔri*

kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀=ri
hot.water water=QUOT

‘The water was hot, this water.’

23:57.1-23:58.8

(1284) **A:** *kua tsiʔ kua tsaogaŋla bavuːmuẽː*

kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ rì-ka kʰɔ̀ tsaò-gɑ̃̀-la ba-vù-muɛ̃̀
hot.water say-REL water boil-enclosed-SEQ NEG-go.from.base-can

‘The hot water blocked the way, as it was boiling. He could not go.’

24:00.0-24:02.3

See: (328)

(1285) **A:** *ʤilana vɛː (s) susuhɛ̃ʤi ɛː jaja riːlana tsənməʒubaʔ ʤiri kualiŋku tsənla priʔlaiːʤuŋ*

ʤilana vè susù-hɛ̃̀=ʤi jaajaa rì-lana tsún-mə-ʒù-ba ʤiri
CONJ 3SG mithun-PL=DEF INTJ say-ANT jump-PST-COP-PRS CONJ
kʰɔ̀-líŋ=ku tsún-la príʔ²-la ì-ʤṳ̃̀
water-inside=LOC jump-SEQ scald-SEQ die-ALL
'Then, after making jaajaa, the mithuns jumped. They jumped into the water and they burned themselves and all died.'

24:02.9-24:14.5

Comment: Sulunlo called the mithuns which were on the other side of the hot water.

(1286) **B:** *la priʔla iːʤuŋ*
la príʔ²-la ì-ʤṳ̃̀
CONJ scald-SEQ die-ALL
'[All the mithuns] got burned and died.'

24:14.1-24:15.5

(1287) **A:** *ʤila hiŋ konjo kətsɨn alәp*
ʤila hɛ̃̀ konjò kətsɨ́n alə́p
CONJ NEAR plant.sp(RL) plant.sp leaf
'Then, [he took] a kətsɨn leaf.'

24:15.6-24:17.6

(1288) **B:** *ʤi nyɛʔpətʃa apã apã iːʤidyi*
ʤì nyɛ́ʔ-tʃa apɑ̃́ apɑ̃́ ì-ʤi-dyɛ̀
ANA lure-PRF half half die-away-again
'He lured the mithuns and half of them [came and] died.'

24:17.7-24:20.9

(1289) **A:** *ʤiku tʃiːnariːla ũlanaʤi*
ʤi=ku tʃì-na=rila ṳ̃̀-lana=ʤi
DEF=LOC eat-NPST=QUOT go.to.base-CONJ=DEF
'They came for eating it (the kətsɨn leafs).'

24:22.3-24:24.1

(1290) **A:** *susuna tsən kualɨŋku tsɨnmaŋla iː*
susù=na tsún kʰɔ̀-líŋ=ku tsún-máŋ-la ì
mithun=TOP jump water-inside=LOC jump-dead(<M)-SEQ die
'The mithuns jumped into the water and died.'

24:24.7-24:27.2

See: (325)

(1291) **A:** *kua tsiʔ*
kʰɔ̀tséʔ
hot.water
'[They died in the] hot water.'
24:27.3-24:28.1

(1292) **A:** *lana hɛː batsaʔməluɔ hɨŋ*
lana hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ hɨ̀
CONJ what NEG-do-DESP NEAR
'He didn't know what to do.'
24:30.4-24:32.0

(1293) **A:** *ʧuŋgəʒiʔku aroʔ tsaʔdyĩ*
ʧũ̀gəʒíʔ=ku ʤila aróʔ tsáʔ-dyì
crab=LOC CONJ friend do-again
'Then, he made friend with a crab.'
24:32.3-24:34.7

(1294) **A:** *ʧuŋgəʒiku kəi naːna ʤi kua kaːtuŋʧaŋ leːvureʔbo*
ʧũ̀gəʒíʔ=ku kəí nà=na té kátŭ́ʧáŋ=ʤi
crab=LOC HORT 2SG=TOP FAR sulphur.spring(RL)=DEF
lè-vù-réʔ-bo
take-go.from.base-BEN-IMP
'He [said] to the crab: you go and bring this Katuntʃaŋ water for me.'
24:35.0-24:40.1

See: (331)

(1295) **A:** *susuʤi leːvuːnjamreːborila*
susù=ʤi lè-vù-njám-réʔ-bo=rila
mithun=DEF take-go.from.base-with.luggage-BEN-IMP=QUOT
'Bring me also one of these mithuns, he said.'
24:40.4-24:43.0

See: (276)

(1296) **A:** *hũ (s) hɨ̃ː susuku kətsɨn aləp hɨ̃ː ʤaru tsaʔkaʤi aləp ʤi*
hɨ̀ susù=ku kətsɨ́n aláp hɨ̀ ʤaru tsáʔ-ka=ʤi aláp=ʤi
NEAR mithun=LOC plant.sp leaf NEAR broom(<IA) do-REL=DEF leaf=DEF
'He lured the mithuns with the kətsɨn leaf, the one which are used to make brooms.'

24:43.7-24:52.4

Comment: The narrator jumps back in the story.

(1297) **A:** *ʤi hĩ (s) susu kətuã baʔkaʤi tɛː tsaʔ tuɔkaʤi*
ʤi=hĩ̀ susù kətɔ̃́ báʔ-ka=ʤi tɛ́ njɛ́ tɔ́ʔ-ka=ʤi tɛ́ tsáʔ
DEF=ASRT mithun tooth EXIST-REL=DEF FAR little bite-REL=DEF FAR do
tɔ́ʔ-ka=ʤi
bite-REL=DEF
'The leaf which has [the impression of] a mithun tooth, the leaf which [looks like it] is bitten little bit.'

24:52.7-24:58.4

Comment: The kətsɨn leaf has a pattern which looks as if a mithun had bitten it.

(1298) **B:** *kətɔ̃ː alim baʔdamɛ*
kətɔ̃́ alím báʔ-damɛ
tooth animal.path EXIST-POT
'It might indeed the impression of a tooth.'

24:58.4-25:00.8

(1299) **A:** *sa tsaʔ ʤisa kuaɬɨŋ ɬuʔka ʤi*
sá tsáʔ ʤisá kʰɔ̀-ɬɨ́ŋ ɬúʔ-ɬúʔ-la ì-ʤù̀
like.this do like.this water-climb fall-fall-SEQ die-ALL
'Like this, [the mithuns] they all fell one after another into the water, and all died.'

25:01.3-25:03.0

See: (426)

(1300) **A:** *akɨŋ susu akɨŋ ʃʃɛ̃katʃi hĩː kətsɨnku leːla*
ʤi=akɨ́ŋ susù akɨ́ŋ ʃʃɛ̀̃-ka=ʤi hĩ̀ kətsɨ́n=ku²
DEF=origin mithun origin perform.rituals-REL=DEF NEAR plant.sp=OBJ
lè-la
take-SEQ
'Those who make rituals about the origin of the mithuns, they also use this leaf.'

25:03.1-25:07.1

(1301) **A:** *ʤi tɛː kaːtutʃaŋ biːtuŋru lapuʤi ʤi nyɛʔla leːla variːʤi*
ʤi=tɛ́ <kátṹtʃáŋ bìtṹru>=lapu=ʤi ʤì nyɛ́ʔ-la
DEF=FAR <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)>=ABL=DEF ANA lure-SEQ
lè-la vɛrì=ʤi
take-SEQ 3PL=DEF

'[They use the leaf] for luring and bringing them (the mithuns) from the sulphur springs.'

25:07.4-25:13.1

(1302) **A:** *hɛmɛ həŋ muŋ ʃʃɛːna susulan riːnariba*

hɛmɛ míŋ ʃʃɛ̃̀-na susulán rì-na rì-ba
FILL thing perform.rituals-NPST mithun.path say-NPST say-PRS
'Like this the have to make ritual, like this they have to tell the path for the soul of the mithun to heaven, they say.'

25:13.6-25:18.4

Comment: *susulán* Path on which the soul of the mithun goes to the heaven. The shaman tells the soul where to go. If the ritual is not performed well the soul remains on earth and cannot go to heaven.

(1303) **A:** *kətsɨn aləp leːryila kaːtuŋʧaŋ ʤila akɨŋ ʤi*

ʤi=kətsín aláp lè-ruìla kátűʧáŋ ʤila akíŋ=ʤi
DEF=plant.sp leaf take-ANT sulphur.spring(RL) CONJ origin=DEF
'Taking the broom grass [they make rituals]. The sulphur spring is the origin of this.'

25:18.5-25:23.5

(1304) **A:** *kũŋ ʤila ʧũːgəzi? ʤila liːʧui la taŋpjuŋla*

kű́ ʤila ʧű̃gəzí? ʤila lìʧuì la tʰå̀-la pjű́-la
UP CONJ crab CONJ bow.tip.protector CONJ give-SEQ release-SEQ
'That crab gave it (the sulphur water) in the bow tip protection.'

25:23.7-25:30.3

(1305) **A:** *kəi həŋku ʧəːla leːboriːla*

kəí hɨ̀=ku ʧɨ-la lè-bo=rila
HORT NEAR=LOC wash-SEQ take-IMP=QUOT
'Go, scoop and bring it to me.'

25:29.1-25:30.2

(1306) **A:** *vɛː asəm plõryila la ʧuŋgəzi? la plõryila ʧuʔryila vuːduaŋ*

vè asám plő́-ruìla la ʧű̃gəzí? la plő́-ruìla ʧúʔ-ruìla
3SG mouth close-ANT CONJ crab CONJ close-ANT dig-ANT
vù-dɔ̃̀-la
go.from.base-IMM-SEQ

‘Putting that bow tip protection over his pincers, the crab started digging and immediately left.’

25:30.4-25:35.2

(1307) **A:** *ʤila ʧuʔ liːʧuiku njɛːʧi ʧəːla leːla*
ʤila lìʧuì=ku njɛ́ʧi ʧi²-la lè-la
CONJ bow.tip.protector=LOC little scoop-SEQ take-SEQ
‘With the bow tip protector [the crab] scooped out little bit [of the sulphuric water].’

25:36.5-25:38.5

(1308) **A:** *susuʤi buːlɨŋku ʤila adəː azidəː*
susù=ʤi bù-lɨ́ŋ=ku ʤila adə̀ azì-də̀²
mithun=DEF DOWN-inside=LOC CONJ child small-DIM
‘One mithun also [he took] inside [the ground], a small one [mithun].’

25:39.8-25:42.8

(1309) **B:** *anaopã aziː*
anaòpɑ̃́ azì
embryo small
‘A small embryo.’

25:43.3-25:44.3

(1310) **A:** *anaopã aziːdəː ʤi ʧaila ryila leːpɔ̃ːla*
anaòpɑ̃́ azì-də̀² ʤila ʧaì-la ruì-la lè-pɔ̃́-la
embryo small-DIM CONJ hold.in.one.hand-SEQ pull-SEQ take-appear-SEQ
‘A small embryo [of a mithun] the crab brought holding it on a rope and pulling it.’

25:44.1-25:47.7

(1311) **A:** *ʧuŋ gəʒiʔ leːpɔ̃ːreʔ*
ʧʉ̃̀gəʒíʔ lè-pɔ́-réʔ
crab take-appear-BEN
‘The crab brought it for him (for Suluŋlo Pinu).’

25:47.8-25:49.3

(1312) **A:** *ʤilalapu kaːtuŋʧaŋ ʤilalapu leːla ɬai ʤiduã*
ʤila=lapu kátʉ́ʧáŋ ʤila=lapu lè-la ɬaì ʤidɔ
CONJ=ABL sulphur.spring(RL) CONJ=ABL take-SEQ plant like.this
‘From there, from the Kaatuŋʧaŋ spring he brought it and planted it.’

25:49.4-25:53.5

(1313) **A:** *ʦaʔla ʤi*
ʦáʔ-la ʤi
do-SEQ DEF
'Like this he did.'

25:53.8-25:54.6

(1314) **A:** *ʤibu hɛmɛ griː*
ʤi=bù hɛmɛ grì
DEF=DOWN FILL 1PL
'Down here, we ...'

25:55.3-25:57.5

(1315) **B:** *sulunlo pinu*
sulúŋlo pinu
Sulunlo(RL) Pinu(RL)
'Sulunlo Pinu'

25:57.5-25:58.4

(1316) **A:** *la griː kraːbu krunbu griː ʤila leːryila*
la grì krábu krúŋbu grì ʤila lè-ruìla
CONJ 1PL Kraabu Krunbu 1PL CONJ take-ANT
'We Kraabu Krunbu we took it [the sulphur water].'

25:58.5-26:01.7

(1317) **A:** *ʤila ũla ʤi ɬaiɬaila ũla*
ʤila ṳ̃-la ʤì ɬaì-hjɑ̃̀-la ṳ̃-la
CONJ go.to.base-SEQ ANA plant-all-SEQ go.to.base-SEQ
'Planting them (mithuns and sulphuric springs) again and again we came.'

26:02.3-26:04.8

(1318) **A:** *ʤi griː kaːtunʧaŋ biːtuŋru kraːbu krunbu gumə ɬaiʃaŋ untʃa*
ʤi=grì hɨ̀ <kátṹʧáŋ bìtṹru> <krábu krúŋbu>
DEF=1PL NEAR <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> <Kraabu Krunbu>
gù-mə ɬaì-ʃʃáŋ ṳ̃-ʧa
1SG-PST plant-self go.to.base-PRF
'The sulphur springs were planted by us here.'

26:05.1-26:11.0

(1319) **A:** *lamoʃi dərəntʃuŋ hɨ̃ːʤiːʤi baʔka lamu kəbuʃu kəmuʃu kəsatʃi baʔkari*

<lamoʃi dirɨntʃúŋ> hɨ̃ʤì=ʤi bá?-ka hɨ̃ <kəbùʃu
<animals(RL) animals(RL)> all.of.them=DEF EXIST-REL NEAR <takin(RL)
kəmuʃu> kəsátʃi bá?-ka=ri
takin(RL)> how.many EXIST-REL=QUOT
'All the animals of the jungle, all the takins.'

26:11.6-26:19.4

(1320) **A:** ʤi gri: ka:tuŋʧaŋ bi:tuŋruŋru ʤiku təwaŋla ʤiku təwuŋla
ʤi=grì <kátű́ʧáŋ bìtű́ru> ʤì=ku <təwáŋ-la
DEF=1PL <sulphur.spring(RL) sulphur.spring(RL)> ANA=LOC <gather(RL)-SEQ
ʤi=ku təwúŋ-la>
DEF=LOC gather(RL)-SEQ>
'They all gather near our sulphur springs.'

26:21.8-26:24.9

(1321) **A:** ʤiku sətu:la ʤiku inborila
sətú²-la ʤi=ku² ín-bo=rila
jolly-SEQ DEF=OBJ drink-IMP=QUOT
'We said: drink joyfully!'

26:26.0-26:28.1

(1322) **A:** ʤi ʃəʒaŋmua abo saŋtokəpan | ʃəʒaŋmua ʤi taŋla pjuŋla
ʤi=buì ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ <abo ʃə̀̃to kəpán> ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ=ʤi tʰə̀̃-la
DEF=before god <father(<M) ʃaNto(RL) Kəpan> god=DEF give-SEQ
pjű́-la
release-SEQ
'This is what the creator god gave and sent you.'

26:28.2-26:33.7

(1323) **A:** ʤila hã̃ gri: ʤila ʃəlaŋ niŋryila ʃəʒəŋ niŋryila
ʤila hə̀̃ grì ʤila <ʃəláŋ níŋ-ruìla ʃəʒə́n²> níŋ-ruìla
CONJ today 1PL CONJ <entire.world(RL) look-ANT entire.world(RL)> look-ANT
'After this we went to see entire world.'

26:33.7-26:37.4

(1324) **A:** gri: ri: ɬairyila ʧao ɬairyila
grì rì³ ɬaì-ruìla ʧaò ɬaì-ruìla
1PL cane plant-ANT sago plant-ANT
'Planting cane and sago.'

26:37.4-26:40.4

(1325) **A:** *ʤila griː*
ʤila grì
CONJ 1PL
'Then, we...'
26:40.7-26:41.8

(1326) **B:** *mabjao ɬairuila*
mabjaò ɬaì-ruìla
bamboo.sp plant-ANT
'Planting bamboo.'
26:41.0-26:41.8

(1327) **A:** *ʧiː ɬairyila ũŋla griː*
ʧî⁴ ɬaì-ruìla ũ̀-la grì
sulphur.spring plant-ANT go.to.base-SEQ 1PL
'We came planting the sulphur springs.'
26:43.0-26:45.0

(1328) **A:** *ʃəlaŋ niŋryila ʃəʒən niŋryila ũla*
<ʃəláŋ níŋ-ruìla ʃəʒə́n²> níŋ-ruìla ũ̀-la
<entire.world(RL) look-ANT entire.world(RL)> look-ANT go.to.base-SEQ
'We came and saw the entire world of the land spirits.'
26:45.0-26:47.4

(1329) **A:** *ʤilana həŋ griː (s) ha griː kraːbu kruŋbu griː*
ʤilana hɨ̀ grì hɐ̀ grì <krábu krúŋbu> grì
CONJ NEAR 1PL today 1PL <Kraabu Kruŋbu> 1PL
'We Kraa Kruŋ people nowadays.'
26:47.5-26:52.1

(1330) **A:** *ʃəlaŋ ʃəʒən griː pʰuŋkoakumatʃi griː abjɛ̃lapu*
<ʃəláŋ ʃəʒə́n²> grì pʰɨ̀ŋ kʰɔ̀=ku=matʃi grì
<entire.world(RL) entire.world(RL)> 1PL mountain water=LOC=ADD 1PL
abjɛ̃̀=lapu
name=ABL
'The whole world [makes rituals] to the mountains and water in our name.'
26:52.7-26:56.3

(1331) **A:** *kraːbu kruŋbu riːla nəmo nəhu riːla*

<krábu krúŋbu> rì-la <nəmò nəhù> rì-la
<Kraabu Kruŋbu> say-SEQ <Nəmoo Nəhuu> say-SEQ
'[They make rituals] saying Kraabu Kruŋbu and Nəmoo Nəhuu (Puroik forefathers).'

26:57.2-26:59.8

(1332) **A:** *ʤiku ʃəʒi: pæntʃænmatʃi gri: krakruŋ abjɛn le:la ʃjɛnla*
ʤì=ku ʃəʒì pɛ́ntʃɛ́n=matʃi grì <krá krúŋ> abjɛ̀̃
ANA=LOC incense prayer.flag(<M)=ADD 1PL <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> name
lè-la ʃjɛ̀̃-la
take-SEQ perform.rituals-SEQ
'Even when they do rituals with incense and prayer flags they do it in our name.'

26:59.8-27:03.9

(1333) **A:** *məbənhɛ̃matʃi ʃjɛ:nla*
məbán-hɛ̀̃=matʃi ʃjɛ̀̃-la
Miji-PL=ADD perform.rituals-SEQ
'Even the Mijis when they make rituals.'

27:04.1-27:05.5

(1334) **A:** *ʤi gulu gələnla kɛ̃*
ʤì <gulù gəlán>-la kɛ́̃
ANA <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>-SEQ hold
'Those making rituals.'

27:05.8-27:07.3

(1335) **A:** *ʤidua tʃi: <hɛmɛ tʃi:> gulu gələnmatʃi*
ʤidɔ tʃi⁴ <gulù gəlán>=matʃi
like.this sulphur.spring <perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual>=ADD
'Even if they make rituals for the sulphur springs,..'

27:07.4-27:12.7

(1336) **A:** *gri: pʰɨŋkua gələnmatʃi*
grì pʰɨ̀ŋ kʰɔ̀ gəlán=matʃi
1PL mountain water perform.a.ritual=ADD
'Even if they make rituals to our mountains and waters.'

27:12.9-27:15.6

(1337) **A:** *hɛ̃: prində: gri: kra:kruŋ gri:ku hɛmɛ fəiʔla ʃaŋla ʤiku gulu gələnla*

hɨ̀ prɨ́də grì <krá krúŋ> grì fé?-la
NEAR Puroik 1PL <Kraa(RL) Kruŋ(RL)> 1PL remember.names(RL)-SEQ
ʃáŋ²-la ʤi=ku gulù gəlán-la
remember.names(RL)-SEQ DEF=LOC perform.a.ritual perform.a.ritual-SEQ
'When they make rituals they remember the names of our forefathers doing like this we make the ritual'

27:15.6-27:21.6

(1338) **A:** *ʤisa namu ʤidua*
ʤisá namù ʤidɔ
like.this tradition like.this
'Our traditions are like this.'

27:22.3-27:24.6

(1339) **A:** *hã pawiːʤi | pawiːʤi baʔʧina*
hɜ̀ pawì=ʤi pawì=ʤi báʔ-ʧĩ-na
today priest=DEF priest=DEF EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'Even a shaman has to be there.'

27:25.8-27:29.4

(1340) **A:** *muŋ ʃʃɛ̃ muŋ hɨ̃rjaokaʤi baʔʧina*
míŋ ʃʃɛ̀ míŋ hɨ̀-rjaò-ka=ʤi báʔ-ʧĩ-na
thing perform.rituals thing speak-be.able-REL=DEF EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'One who knows to make rituals and to tell stories has to be there'

27:29.4-27:31.6

(1341) **A:** *griː namuːri baʔʧiʔna*
grì namù=ri² báʔ-ʧĩ-na
1PL tradition=TOP EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'our tradition has to be there'

27:31.9-27:33.6

(1342) **A:** *hãtʃõri bui namuː batsaʔbo riːkari*
hɜ̃̀ʧɔ̃̀=ri buì namù ba-tsáʔ-bo rì-ka=ri
nowadays=QUOT before tradition NEG-do-IMP say-REL=QUOT
'nowadays these people saying dont do the old traditions'

27:34.2-27:37.2

(1343) **A:** *griː bui koboku ʤiri baʔʧiʔna*

grì buì kobo-ka ʤiri báʔ-ʧĩ-na
1PL before Kobo(RL)-REL CONJ EXIST-OBLG-NPST
'Our [traditions] given to us in Kobo have to be there.'

27:37.4-27:40.2

(1344) **A:** *ʤila | hãtʃoŋ kristian tsaʔmatʃi tsaʔtʃiʒuna*
ʤila hãtʃõ̀ kristian tsáʔ=matʃi tsáʔ-ʧĩ-ʒu-na
CONJ nowadays christian(<Eng) do=ADD do-OBLG-surely-NPST
'Even if we are Christians nowadays, we really have to do [the old rituals also].'

27:40.8-27:44.4

(1345) **A:** *ʤila | hãtʃoŋ kristian tsaʔmatʃi tsaʔtʃiʒuna*
ʤila hãtʃõ̀ kristian tsáʔ=matʃi tsáʔ-ʧĩ-ʒu-na
CONJ nowadays christian(<Eng) do=ADD do-OBLG-surely-NPST
'Even if we are Christians nowadays, we really have to do [the old rituals also].'

27:40.8-27:44.4

A.12. Grandfather Masang and the bear (MASANG)

Summary: Long time ago, animals and humans used to hunt each other. The bow and arrow was the weapon of the monkeys. The deadfall trap was the weapon of the bears. The humans were threatened to get extinct and the hero Masaŋ decided to stop the animals from hunting humans. By means of a ruse, he made a bear father eat his own son instead of what he believed to be human meat. After the bear father realised that he had eaten his own son, he and all bears stopped hunting humans. This story is also told by the Mijis.

(1346) *bui hamɨŋ anjao məhjɛ̃ː anjao ʤila*
buì hamɨ́ŋ anjaò məhjɛ̃̀ anjaò ʤila
before sky fresh earth fresh CONJ
'When the sky was new and the earth was new.'

00:00.6-00:03.4

(1347) *griːku lamuʃi dərɨn hɛmɛ pʰɨŋ ʃiː kʰɔː ʧui | <griː> bui <griːla> griːku wuirila wɛʔrila*

grì=ku <*lamoʃi* *dɨrín*> *pʰìŋ* *ʃì* *kʰɔ̀* *ʧiù* *buì*
1PL=LOC <animals(RL) animals(RL)> mountain animal water fish before
grì=ku *wuì-ri-la* *wɛ́ʔ-ri-la*
1PL=LOC fight-IPFV-SEQ kill-IPFV-SEQ
'Long time ago, we humans and the mountain animals and the water animals used to fight each other and kill us.'

00:05.9-00:21.1

Comment: The speaker hesitates several times, starts with something and continues with something else.

(1348) *griː ʃɛʔ griː wɛʔla ʧiː variː ʃɛʔ variː wɛʔla ʧiː ʦaʔ*
grì ʃɛ́ʔ *grì wɛ́ʔ-la* *ʧì* *vɛrì ʃɛ́ʔ* *vɛrì wɛ́ʔ-la* *ʧì* *ʦáʔ*
1PL be.strong 1PL kill-SEQ eat 3PL be.strong 3PL kill-SEQ eat do
'If we were stronger we killed and ate [them], if they were stronger they killed and ate [us].'

00:21.2-00:24.6

See: (457)

(1349) *sáa ʦaʔrila rɨː*
sá *ʦáʔ-ri-la* *rɨ̀*
like.this do-IPFV-SEQ stay
'The situation was like this'

00:25.8-00:26.8

(1350) <*vɛː*> *griː atɨŋ masaŋ | griː ʃəʒaŋmɔdɔ ʤi vɛːri*
grì atɨ́ŋ *masáŋ* *grì ʃəʒə̃̀mɔ-dɔ̀* *ʤi=vɛ̀* *rì*
1PL grandfather Masang 1PL god-like.this DEF=3SG say
'Our forefather Masaŋ (lit. grandfather), who is like a god to us, said:'

00:27.1-00:34.7

See: (178)

(1351) *prɨ̃ː bəʧəmribaʧa*
prɨ́̃ *bəʧɨ́̃m-ri-baʧa*
human become.extinct(<M)-IPFV-PRF
'The humans are getting extinct.'

00:35.6-00:37.4

(1352) *riːla hɨ̃ː asɨːhɛ̃ː səʦəmhɛ̃ː mərɑ̃ː ahjõː wɛʔ ʧɨːʤɨ̃ːriba məʒəː ʒəːla*

rì-la hɨ̀ asì-hɛ̀ sətsɛ̀-hɛ̀ mərɑ̀ ahjɔ̀ wɛ́ʔ ʧì-ʤɨ̀-ri-ba
say-SEQ NEAR bear-PL wild.boar-PL macaque entire kill eat-ALL-IPFV-PRS
məʒə̀ ʒə̀-la
trap make.traps-SEQ
'That's what he said. The bears, the wild boars, the monkeys, they were all completely killing and eating up [the humans] by making traps.'

00:38.3-00:44.5

(1353) *miʔ riʔla ʤõː wɛʔ ʧiːʤõːriba riːla*
míʔ ríʔ-la ʤɔ̀ wɛ́ʔ ʧì-ʤɨ̀-ri-ba=rila
arrow shoot-SEQ all kill eat-ALL-IPFV-PRS=QUOT
'[Making traps] and shooting arrows they were completely killing and eating up [all the humans].'

00:45.1-00:48.1

(1354) *atɨŋ maʒaŋ ʃəʒãːmɔri griːku | ɛː abuː bulu babəʧɨmdəːnaʧarila*
atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ʤi ʃəʒə̃̀mɔ=ri grì=ku abù bùlu
grandfather Masang=DEF god=QUOT 1PL=LOC elder.brother human(RL)
ba-bəʧɨ́m-də̀-na-ʧa=rila
NEG-become.extinct(<M)-CAUS-NPST-PRF=QUOT
'Our forefather Masaŋ, who is like a god to us, said: Let the humans not get extinct.'

00:49.8-00:55.9

(1355) *ʤila vɛːɛː ʤila ʦaʔdyĩːkari*
ʤila vɛ̀=ɛ̀ ʤila ʦáʔ-dyɨ̀-ka=ri
CONJ 3SG=AG CONJ do-again-REL=QUOT
'He was the one who did something [against it].'

00:56.9-00:58.8

(1356) *asiː kjɛn ʒəː rɨːkari*
asì hɨ̀ kjén ʒə̀ rɨ-ka=ri²
bear NEAR big.deadfall.trap make.traps stay-REL=TOP
'The bears who make traps.'

00:59.5-01:03.0

(1357) *kjɛn hɨ̃ːri asiː məʒəːʧa*
kjén hɨ̀=ri asì mə-ʒə̀-ʧa
big.deadfall.trap NEAR=QUOT bear NMLZ-make.traps-PRF

'The bears where the ones who made deadfall traps.'

01:03.7-01:05.5

(1358) *asi: vɛ: ʒə:la*
asì vè ʒà-la
bear 3SG make.traps-SEQ
'The bear made it.'

01:06.4-01:08.1

(1359) *prĩ:ku wɛʔla*
prḯ=ku wɛ́ʔ-la
human=LOC kill-SEQ
'To kill the humans.'

01:08.2-01:10.4

(1360) *ʤila vu:də:la la kiʔla i:*
ʤila vù-dà-la la kíʔ-la ì
CONJ go.from.base-CAUS-SEQ CONJ get.caught.in.trap-SEQ die
'He made them [the humans] come and trapped them so that they died inside the trap.'

01:10.5-01:12.6

(1361) *vari: ʒẽ:la tiʔla ʧi: ʦaʔ*
vɛrì ʒà-la túʔ-la ʧì ʦáʔ
3PL make.traps-SEQ tear-SEQ eat do
'He carried, slaughtered and ate them. That's what he did.'

01:13.0-01:14.8

(1362) *ʤilana | ʤi ʃəʒã:muɔ | hɛmɛ ɛ̃:ʤi atɨŋ masaŋri*
ʤilana ʤi=ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ ɛ̀̃=ʤi atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ri
CONJ DEF=god be.together=DEF grandfather Masang=QUOT
'Then, our forefather Masaŋ, who is like a god.'

01:15.6-01:22.9

(1363) *vɛ: hĩ: prĩ: tara tama ʤõ: wɛʔla ʧi: bəʧɨmribaʧari:la*
vè hɪ̀̃ prḯ <tára táma> ʤɔ̀̃ wɛ́ʔ-la ʧì
3SG NEAR human <human(RL) human(RL)> all kill-SEQ eat
bəʧɨ́m-ri-baʧa=rila
become.extinct(<M)-IPFV-PRF=QUOT
'He said the humans are all being killed, eaten and getting extinct.'

01:23.5-01:29.5

(1364) *vɛ: ʤila hiʔla la hɪ̃: asi: kjɛnri ʤi: gri:ku ʒə:də:dyĩ:la tsaʔ*

vɛ̀ ʤila híʔ-la la hɪ̃̀ asì kjén=ri ʤì grì=ku
3SG CONJ think-SEQ CONJ NEAR bear big.deadfall.trap=QUOT ANA 1PL=LOC
ʒà-də-dyɪ̀-la tsáʔ
make.traps-CAUS-again-SEQ do

'He thought about it and he taught us how to make the deadfall trap of the bears. That's what he did.'

01:30.2-01:40.3

(1365) *ʤiri abɛ̃:ri vari: ʒə:la*

ʤiri abɛ̀̃=ri vɛrì ʒà-la
CONJ ahead=QUOT 3PL make.traps-SEQ

'In the beginning, they [the bears] were the ones to make traps (not us).'

01:40.8-01:42.9

(1366) *ʒə:la li: asi:ri <madə:> (s) apadə:*

ʒà-la lì asì=ri màdə̀
make.traps-SEQ put bear=QUOT mother.and.child

'After making the trap the bear father and child ...'

01:45.6-01:51.8

(1367) *vɛ: adəfu nətsõ: bjɛ̃:la*

vɛ̀ adə̀fu nətsɔ̃̀ bjɛ̃̀-la
3SG son NətsoN to.name-SEQ

'His son's name was NətsoN.'

01:52.8-01:55.0

See: (217)

(1368) *vɛ: apɔ:ri vɛ: apɔ:*

ʤì vɛ̀ apʰɔ̀=ri ʤì vɛ̀ apʰɔ̀
ANA 3SG male=QUOT ANA 3SG male

'His father was just his father (no particular name).'

01:56.0-01:59.1

(1369) *vɛhəniʔ kjɛn ʒə:la li: ʤi niŋ vu:la*

vɛheníʔ kjén ʒà-la lì ʤì níŋ vù-lana
3DU big.deadfall.trap make.traps-SEQ put ANA look go.from.base-ANT

'The two were trapping, and they went to see [the traps].'

01:59.5-02:01.9

(1370) *atɨŋ masaŋ riː kjɛnri kroakiʔ*

atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ri² kjɛ́n=ri² krɔ́kíʔ
grandfather Masang=TOP big.deadfall.trap=TOP sprung.and.empty
'Our forefather Masang had made the trap spring empty.'

02:04.0-02:06.6

(1371) *kroakiʔ liːbəna kjɛn apjãː ʤiri leːdyĩːla vɛː limkɨŋkula ʒiʔ tõːla ʒiʔla liː*

krɔ́kíʔ lì-prina kjɛ́n apʰjà̰ ʤiri lè-dyḭ̀-la vɛ̀
sprung.and.empty put-ANT big.deadfall.trap trigger CONJ take-again-SEQ 3SG
líŋkúʔ=ku la ʒíʔ tő-la ʒíʔ-la lì
chest=LOC CONJ put.tight make.flat-SEQ put.tight-SEQ put
'After he had made the trap spring empty, he took the trigger, put it tightly on his chest.'

02:07.1-02:16.6

(1372) *ʤilapəna simjɛʔ ʧakui asəmkula wiːla liː*

ʤilapəna səmjɛ́ʔ ʧakuí asə́m=ku la wì-la lì
after.this amaranth cooked.grains mouth=LOC CONJ slap-SEQ put
'Furthermore they put some boiled amaranth inside his mouth.'

02:17.3-02:21.8

(1373) *vɛː ẽː ʧuɛʔka la vjɛːla liː*

vɛ̀ ɛ̀̃ ʧuɛ́ʔ-ka=ku la vjɛ̀²-la lì
3SG excrement dispose-REL=LOC CONJ throw.particles-SEQ put
'He also threw some cooked amaranth on his anus.'

02:22.7-02:26.3

(1374) *ɛ ʤila iːkəljula rɨː*

ʤila ì-kəljù-la rɨ̀
CONJ die-pretend-SEQ stay
'Like this he pretended to be dead.'

02:28.0-02:28.9

(1375) *vɛheniʔ vuːka vuːna bədẽː vɛːna dẽː vɛːna ʃəʒãːmɔri dẽːjãː*

vɛhenɨ́ʔ vù-ka vù-na bədɛ̀̃ vɛ̀=na dɛ̀̃ vɛ̀=na
3DU go.from.base-REL go.from.base-NPST time 3SG=TOP know 3SG=TOP
ʃəʒə̃̀mɔ=ri dɛ̀̃-jà̰
god=QUOT know-PRMN

'He knew the time when the two would come to check the traps. Being like a god he knew it.'

02:29.0-02:35.5

(1376) *lana vɛheniʔ vuːrika ʤi tɛː ʤisá tsaʔ vuːla riː*

lana vɛhenɪ́ʔ vù-ri-ka ʤì dɛ̀̃ vɛ̀=na ʤisá tsáʔ
CONJ 3DU go.from.base-IPFV-REL ANA know 3SG=TOP like.this do
vù-la rɨ̀
go.from.base-SEQ stay
'He knew when they would come and lie down there pretending [to be dead].'

02:36.0-02:39.8

(1377) *vɛheniʔ kjɛmku vɛheniː ljaʔla iːbatʃa ʤi amjɛːʧaro*

bù=ʃõ̀ kjɛ́n krɔ́kɪ́ʔ-mə-la vɛ̀ ʒín-la
DOWN=LOC big.deadfall.trap sprung.and.empty-PST-SEQ 3SG get.shocked-SEQ
ʤila bù=ʃõ̀ ljáʔ-la ì-batʃa
CONJ DOWN=LOC lick-SEQ die-PRF
'When the trap sprung empty, he [the prey] got shocked, got hit down there, and died.'

03:17.0-03:22.8

(1378) *ʤi amjɛːʧaro ʤi vɛː apɔː riː*

ʤì amjɛ̀-ʧa=ro vɛ̀ apʰɔ̀ rì
ANA good-PRF=ASRT 3SG male say
'This is good, his father said.'

03:23.6-03:26.3

(1379) *kjɛn puiʔla ʒəːdyũː ʒəː*

kjɛ́n puɪ́-la ʒə̀-dyɪ̀ ʒə̀
big.deadfall.trap push.up-SEQ make.traps-again make.traps
'They pushed up the trap and made it again.'

03:27.3-03:30.8

(1380) *ʤi atɨŋ masaŋri tɛː nadɛ̃ː ʤũːla liː*

ʤi=atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ri² tɛ́ nadɛ̀̃ ʤṵ́-la lì
DEF=grandfather Masang=TOP FAR that.side lift.up-SEQ put
'Our forefather Masaŋ, they had lifted up and put little bit that side.'

03:31.2-03:34.6

(1381) *vɛː tuʔ ʤjɛːʧa iːbaʧa ri*
vɛ̀ túʔ ʧi-na-ʧa hɪ̀̃ ì-baʧa=ri
3SG tear eat-NPST-PRF NEAR die-PRF=QUOT
'We will slaughter and eat him. He is dead, they said.'
03:34.9-03:37.0

(1382) *ʤilana | vɛheniʔ | ʒẽːruila ũː*
ʤilana vɛhenîʔ ʒɛ̀-ruìla ù̃
CONJ 3DU carry-ANT go.to.base
'Then, the two went carrying him home.'
03:38.1-03:44.5

(1383) *ʒẽːla ũː | vɛː adəːfu rakɪn rakɪnku niŋgĩː ũːgĩː*
ʒɛ̀-la ù̃ vɛ̀ adə̀fu rakíŋ rakíŋ=ku níŋ-gì̀
carry-SEQ go.to.base 3SG son behind behind=LOC look-follow
ù̃-gì̀
go.to.base-follow
'The bear father went ahead carrying him [Masaŋ], and the son came behind.'
03:45.4-03:49.0

(1384) *ʤi vɛː ʤi atɪŋ masaŋri iːwɛhibari*
ʤi=vɛ̀ ʤi=atíŋ masáŋ=ri ɛ̀ waíʔ-híʔ-ba=ri
DEF=3SG DEF=grandfather Masang=QUOT excrement fart-think-PRS=QUOT
'Our forefather Masaŋ felt like farting.'
03:49.8-03:53.0

See: (352)

(1385) *ʤi ĩːna waiʔ pjũː*
ʤi=ɛ̀ njɛ́ waíʔ pjṹ
DEF=excrement little fart release
'He farted little bit.'
03:53.7-03:55.2

(1386) *ɛː apaː apaː hɪŋ ʃiːna ẽː waiʔbawɛ*
ɛ̀² apá apá hɪ̀̃ ʃi-na ɛ̀ waíʔ-ba=wɛ́ʔ
INTJ father father NEAR animal-NPST excrement fart-PRS=EXHR
'Hey father father, this meat is farting.'
03:55.9-04:00.8

See: (222)

(1387) *abuː ẽː waiʔkadʒi buːliŋ məʒẽː ʧiʔ buːku*

abù è waíʔ-ka=dʒi bù-líŋ məʒɛ̀ ʧĩʔ²
elder.brother excrement fart-REL=DEF DOWN-inside strap fasten.with.strap
bù=ku
DOWN=LOC
'[The father said:] what is farting, is rather the carry strap fastened down there.'

04:01.9-04:04.7

(1388) *buliŋ hɛmɛ pliangnadʒi hãːʃin ũːkadʒi dʒi mənjaʔbjaororiˈ*

bù-líŋ hɛmɛ pljáŋ=dʒi hɜ̃̀ʃĩn ũ̀-ka=dʒi dʒì
DOWN-inside FILL bulge.out=DEF wind go.to.base-REL=DEF ANA
mə-njáʔ-bjaò=ro=ri
NMLZ-make.noise-COP.FOC=ASRT=QUOT
'[The body] is bloated down there, and some air comes out. This is what makes noise, he said.'

04:05.0-04:09.9

(1389) *buː nadẽː ũːdẽː*

bù nadɛ̀ ũ̀-dɛ̃̀
DOWN that.side go.to.base-PRMN
'They continued walking.'

04:12.6-04:14.4

See: (292)

(1390) *la vɛːdʒi atɨŋ masaŋri njɛ́ zɛː hiʔ*

la vɛ̀=dʒi atíŋ masáŋ=ri njɛ́ zɛ̀-híʔ
CONJ 3SG=DEF grandfather Masang=QUOT little laugh-think
'Our forefather Masaŋ felt little bit like laughing.'

04:15.2-04:17.7

See: (353)

(1391) *njɛ́ʧi zɛːmilari*

njɛ́ʧi zɛ̀-mila=ri
little laugh-little=QUOT
'He laughed little bit.'

04:18.1-04:19.5

(1392) *vɛːdʒi adəːfuː nətsõːri*

vɛ̀=dʒi vɛ̀ adə̀fu nətsɔ̃̀ rì
3SG=DEF 3SG son NətsoN say

'The son [of the bear] said:'

04:20.4-04:22.1

(1393) *ɛː apaː apaː ʤi hĩː ʃiːna zɛːbawɛ*
è apá apá=ʤi hĩ̀ ʃi=na zè-ba=wɛ́ʔ
FILL father father=DEF NEAR animal=TOP laugh-PRS=EXHR
'Hey father, this meat is laughing.'

04:23.2-04:26.7

(1394) *zɛːka bɔːna iːʤika hɛː zɛːnatʃa*
zè-ka bɔ̀-na ì-ʤi-ka hɛ̀ zè-na-ʧa
laugh-REL COP.NEG-NPST die-away-REL what laugh-NPST-PRF
'He is not laughing. He died how will he laugh.'

04:29.3-04:31.5

(1395) *dɔ̃ː məʒɛ̃ː ʧiʔku ʧiʔpəneʔla hiʔka bjaoro*
dɔ̃̀ məʒɛ̀ ʧiʔ²=ku ʧĩʔ²-pənéʔ-la
just.now strap fasten.with.strap=LOC fasten.with.strap-little.bit.to.a.side-SEQ
híʔ-ka bjaò=ro
think-REL COP.FOC=ASRT
'It is the carry strap pulling little bit that side, I think.'

04:33.4-04:39.2

See: (268)

(1396) *buː ʤi riːʤiku vɛheniʔ brãːku ũːla*
bù ʤirì=ʤi=ku vɛheníʔ brə̃̂=ku ũ̂-la
DOWN camp=DEF=LOC 3DU sleeping.place=LOC go.to.base-SEQ
'They went down to their camp, to their sleeping.place.'

04:39.7-04:42.5

(1397) *kəi nana hɨnu ʃiː nɔːla nu ʦõː nana*
kəí nà=na nà=na ʃĩ̀ nɔ̀-la nətsɔ̃̀ nà=na
HORT 2SG=TOP 2SG=TOP wood search-SEQ NətsoN 2SG=TOP
'Common, go and search wood, NətsoN.'

04:43.9-04:46.8

(1398) *vɛː adəːfuku ʃiː nɔːla*
vɛ̀ adə̀fu=ku ʃĩ̀ nɔ̀-la
3SG son=LOC wood search-SEQ
'He told his son to search wood.'

04:47.2-04:49.3

(1399) *la ʃiː tuʔla saojãːbo*

la ʃì túʔ-la saò-jɜ̃̀-bo
CONJ animal tear-SEQ roast-PRMN-IMP
'Slaughter the prey and roast it!'

04:50.0-04:51.6

(1400) *natadʒi tʃiːbo dʒi liːjambo*

nà-ta=tʃi tʃì-bo dʒì lì-jɜ̃̀-bo
2SG-self=ADD eat-IMP ANA put-PRMN-IMP
'You also eat yourself, [the rest] you keep here.'

04:51.8-04:53.7

(1401) *õː riː*

ɔ̃̀ rì
INTJ say
'Yes, he said.'

04:54.6-04:55.2

(1402) *dʒi atɨŋ masaŋna dʒi buːlɨŋku niŋrɨːdɔ̃ː*

dʒi=atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=na=dʒi bù-lɨ́ŋ=ku níŋ-úʔ-la
DEF=grandfather Masang=TOP=DEF DOWN-inside=LOC look-hide-SEQ
rɨ̀-dɔ̃̀
stay-IMM
'That forefather Masaŋ watched secretly through the half closed eyes.'

04:56.1-04:59.8

(1403) *dʒi adəːfu ʃiː nɔːla dʒuɛʔla liːdɔ̃ː*

dʒi=vɛ̀ adə̀fu ʃɨ̀ nɔ̀-la dʒuɛ́ʔ-la lì-dɔ̃̀
DEF=3SG son wood search-SEQ gather-SEQ put-IMM
'The son [of the bear] went to search wood and put it on a hip.'

05:00.2-05:02.4

(1404) *la ʃiː leːpɛ̃ːka hɛ̃ː dzõː niŋdʒũː*

la ʃɨ̀ lɛ̀ pɛ́̃-ka hɛ̃̀ dzɔ̃̀ níŋ-dʒɨ̃́
CONJ wood take cut-REL people all look-ALL
'[Masaŋ] was watching [secretly] all the wood cutting and bringing.'

05:02.8-05:04.9

(1405) *dʒilana (s) hɛmɛ bɛː riː*

ʤilana hɛmɛ bè rì²
CONJ FILL fire burn
'Then, [the bear son] lit a fire.'

05:05.6-05:10.3

(1406) *bɛ: ri:la hɻĩ:ʔ*
bè rì²-la hɻíʔ
fire burn-SEQ burn.with.high.flame
'The fire burned with a high flame.'

05:10.9-05:11.9

(1407) *ara: hambaʧa ʤi hɛ̃: ʣõ: niŋ*
arà hám³-baʧa ʤi-hɛ̀ ʣṍ níŋ
big burn-PRF DEF-PL all look
'It was burning very high. This all he saw.'

05:12.5-05:14.7

(1408) *lana vɛ:ku ʤi məʒɛ̃:ri ɬjaubari*
lana vè=ku ʤi=məʒɛ̀=rì² ɬjaù-ba
CONJ 3SG=LOC DEF=strap=TOP untie-PRS
'[The bear] opened the carry strap [with which Masaŋ was tied up].'

05:15.3-05:17.8

(1409) *ɬjau ʤi nímaniʔ məʒɛ̃: ʧɪʔkari ɬjauʤũ:lapəna*
ɬjaù ʤì níʔmaníʔ məʒɛ̀ ʧɪ́ʔ-ka=rì² ɬjaù-ʤũ̀-lapəna
untie ANA both strap sling-REL=TOP untie-ALL-furthermore
'He opened both the straps which were tightened [one around the waist, one around the chest].'

05:18.6-05:22.8

(1410) *ɬjauʤũ:la la vɛ:ku la ʦiʔdyĩ:la*
ɬjaù-ʧũ̀-la hɪ̀=rì² la vè=ku la ʧɪ́ʔ-dyɪ̀-la
untie-COMPL-SEQ NEAR=TOP CONJ 3SG=LOC CONJ wrestle-again-SEQ
'After having untied everything, he (Masaŋ) directly wrestled him (the bear) down.'

05:24.0-05:26.3

See: (282)

(1411) *ʤi asi:kula ʧiʔdyĩ:la wɛʔ*

ʤì asì=ku² la ʧíʔ-dyì̀-la wéʔ
ANA bear=OBJ CONJ wrestle-again-SEQ kill
'He strangled and killed the bear.'
05:27.6-05:30.4

(1412) *la ram sao ʤuɛʔ liːjãː*
la rám saò ʤuéʔ lì-jɑ̀̃
CONJ chop roast gather put-PRMN
'He cut him into pieces, roasted him and put [the pieces] on a hip.'
05:31.3-05:33.7

See: (243)

(1413) *vɛː apaː riː tsəmui tsəwoi vuːnaro*
vè apá tsəmuí tsəwoì vù-na=ro
3SG father tree.bee rock.bee go.from.base-NPST=ASRT
'[The bear] father was gone for searching bees.'
05:34.6-05:36.9

(1414) *vəutələmʤi leːruila lana ʃiː saola*
vəùtələ́m=ʤi lè-ruìla lana ʃi saò-la
small.axe=DEF take-ANT CONJ animal roast-SEQ
'The bear came to bring a small axe.'
05:37.3-05:41.0

(1415) *guːkuʧi liːjãːbo naː tɛː ʧiːba*
gù=ku=ʧi lì-jɑ̃́-bo nà-ta=ʧi ʧì-bo
1SG=LOC=ADD put-PRMN-IMP 2SG-self=ADD eat-IMP
'Put some for me, and eat yourself also [he said to his son].'
05:41.7-05:43.7

(1416) *tuʔla saojãːborila*
túʔ-la saò-jɑ̃́-bo=rila
tear-SEQ roast-PRMN-IMP=QUOT
'Slaughter [the prey] and roast [the meat], he said.'
05:44.7-05:46.3

(1417) *vɛː vɨːtələmʤi ʒẽːruila vuː ũː*
vè vəùtələ́m=ʤi ʒɛ̃̀-ruìla vù ũ̀
3SG small.axe=DEF carry-ANT go.from.base go.to.base
'He went away carrying this small axe.'

05:47.3-05:49.2

(1418) *ɛː tɛː vuː*

è tɛ́ vù
FILL FAR go.from.base
'He went there.'

05:49.8-05:50.6

(1419) *ʦəmui ʦəwoi leːvuːla vuː ũː*

ʦəmuí ʦəwoì lè vù ṳ̀̃
tree.bee rock.bee take go.from.base go.to.base
'He went to bring honey (bees).'

05:50.9-05:52.1

(1420) *vɛː adəːfu ʤisá saola*

vè adə̀fu ʤisá saò-la
3SG son like.this roast-SEQ
'His son was roasting.'

05:52.7-05:54.1

(1421) *ʦaʔjãːborila*

ʦáʔ-jã̀-bo=rila
do-PRMN-IMP=QUOT
'Roast it he said.'

05:55.0-05:55.9

(1422) *ʤisá ʤilana*

ʤisá ʤilana
like.this CONJ
'Then, in this way ...'

05:56.4-05:57.7

(1423) *bɛː riːʤɔ̃ː*

bè rì²-ʤṳ̀̃
fire burn-ALL
'He lit the fire.'

05:59.7-06:01.5

(1424) *ʤilana ʤi veːku (s) veːku tuʔna saona veːku tɛː ʧiːdyĩːna la veːku weʔna*

vɛ̀=ku tú?-na saò-na vɛ̀=ku té ʧî-dyḭ̀-na la vɛ̀=ku
3SG=LOC tear-NPST roast-NPST 3SG=LOC FAR eat-again-NPST CONJ 3SG=LOC
wɛ́?-na
kill-NPST
'He would slaughter and roast him, kill him in order to eat him.'
06:02.9-06:08.1

(1425) *lana tu?prina saola ʤuɛ? li:jã:*
lana tú?-prina saò-la ʤué? lì-jà̰
CONJ tear-ANT roast-SEQ gather put-PRMN
'After slaughtering and roasting, he put everything on a hip.'
06:08.9-06:11.1

(1426) *vɛ:na kũ: ʃĩ:mɔ ɬiŋla ri:*
vɛ̀=na kű ʃĩ̀mɔ ɬíŋ-la rɨ̀
3SG=TOP UP tree climb-SEQ stay
'He (Masaŋ) had climbed up to the tree and stayed there.'
06:11.8-06:13.2

(1427) *<ʤi asi: ɛ> atiŋ masaŋna kũ: ʃĩ:mɔ ɬiŋla ri:*
ʤi=atíŋ masáŋ=na kű ʃĩ̀mɔ ɬíŋ-la rɨ̀
DEF=grandfather Masang=TOP UP tree climb-SEQ stay
'Our forefather Masaŋ was sitting on the tree.'
06:14.1-06:18.2

(1428) *lana vɛ: apɔ:ri umpɛ?*
lana vɛ̀ apʰɔ̀=ri² ũ̀-pʰɛ́?
CONJ 3SG male=TOP go.to.base-reach
'Then, the [bear] father came back.'
06:19.3-06:21.8

(1429) *ũ:pɛ?la*
ũ̀-pʰɛ́?-la
go.to.base-reach-SEQ
'He reached back.'
06:22.7-06:23.4

(1430) *la ʃi: sao li:ba hɛ̃: na: kla: ũ:ʤi nətsõ*
la ʃi saò lì-ba hɛ̀̃ nətsõ̀ rì klá ũ̀-ʤi nətsõ̀
CONJ animal roast put-PRS NEAR NətsoN say where go.to.base-away NətsoN

‘The meat is roasted and kept here. Where did you go NətsoN?’

06:24.2-06:27.2

(1431) *ajã: ũ:la ʃi: ʧiʃɛ̃:ʧana*

ajɑ̀̃ ù̃-la ʃi ʧi-ʃɛ́ʔ-ʧa-na

fast go.to.base-SEQ animal eat-be.strong-PRF-NPST

‘He went fast to eat a lot.’

06:27.8-06:29.5

(1432) *kla: ũ:ʤi | ri:la*

klá ù̃-ʤi rì-la

where go.to.base-away say-SEQ

‘Where did he go, he said.’

06:30.2-06:31.6

(1433) *vɛ:ʤi miŋ riʔmaʧi | ʃi: ʧi:ku asi: ʧi:ka asi: məluɛ̃: ʧi: bədɛ̃: ʤiri ʧiɪndɔ ʧiɪndɔ ʧi:riba*

vɛ̀=ʧi míŋ rì=maʧi ʃi ʧi=ku asì ʧi=ku asì məluɛ̀̃ ʧi bədɛ̀̃

3SG=ADD thing say=ADD animal eat=LOC bear eat=LOC bear food eat time

ʤiri ʧĩndɔ ʧĩndɔ ʧi-ri-ba

CONJ big.pieces big.pieces eat-IPFV-PRS

‘Even in our stories - when the bears eat food - they eat a lot in big pieces.’

06:31.9-06:42.3

(1434) *la: anã: ʧi:ʧa ɬuɛʔ*

la anáŋ ʧi-ʧa=ɬuɛ́ʔ

CONJ much eat-PRF=seem

‘He seems to have eaten lot.’

06:43.3-06:45.1

(1435) *ʤi kũ: vɛ: niŋ kũ: atɨŋ masaŋ ʤi niŋla ri:*

ʤi=kṹ vɛ̀ níŋ atɨ́ŋ masáŋ=ri níŋ-la rì-jɑ̀̃

DEF=UP 3SG look grandfather Masang=QUOT look-SEQ stay-PRMN

‘Up there [on the tree] he watched, forefather Masang was siting and watching.’

06:45.3-06:47.7

(1436) *anaŋ ʧi:*

anáŋ ʧi

much eat

‘[The bear] ate a lot.’

06:48.4-06:49.5

(1437) *hɛː kũːlapu (s) naː adəːfu ʃiː ʧiːdyĩːka pʰɛː riːmə*

è kű̃=lapu pʰè nà adə̀fu ʃì ʧì-dyĩ̀-ka pʰè rì-mə

FILL UP=ABL INTJ 2SG son animal eat-again-REL INTJ say-PST

‘He (Masaŋ) said: Yuck, you are someone who eats the meat of his own son. Yuck, he said.’

06:50.6-06:59.1

(1438) *vɛː tɛːɬɛ̃ː kuiʔla muɛʔmə*

vè té-ɬɛ̀̃ kuí-la muéʔ-mə

3SG FAR-side.of turn.body-SEQ vomit-PST

‘Turning to the other side he threw up.’

06:59.6-07:01.3

(1439) *nuɬɛ̃ː kuiʔla tyiʔ muɛʔmə*

nù-ɬɛ̀̃ kuí-la tʰyì muéʔ-mə

here-side.of turn.body-SEQ one vomit-PST

‘Turning to this side he threw up once.’

07:01.6-07:02.9

(1440) *ʤila kũː vɛːku ʦamdyĩː*

ʤila kű̃ vè=ku² ʦám-dyĩ̀ ʦáʔ

CONJ UP 3SG=OBJ attack-again do

‘Then, he launched an attack on him up there [on the tree].’

07:03.5-07:05.5

(1441) *ʦammələna batsampɛmuɛ̃ːna adʒɔː*

ʦám-mə-lana ba-ʦám-pʰéʔ-muɛ̃̀-na adʒɔ̀

attack-PST-ANT NEG-attack-reach-can-NPST high

‘Trying to attack him, he could not reach him because [Masaŋ] was too high up [on the tree].’

07:06.2-07:11.0

(1442) *ʃĩːna glɨnrija*

ʃĩ̀=na glɨ́n-ri-na

wood=TOP slippery-IPFV-NPST

‘The tree was [too] slippery.’

07:11.4-07:13.0

(1443) *abəɬiː tasriː riːna baɬiŋmuɛ̃ːna*

abəɬì tasrì rɨ̀̃-na ba-ɬíŋ-muɛ̀̃-na
slippery long.and.thin be.slippery-NPST NEG-climb-can-NPST
'[The tree] was long and thin and slippery, he could not climb up.'

07:13.6-07:16.6

(1444) *ʤi kũː ɬiŋ buː ɬiŋ kũː ɬiŋ buː ɬyĩː*

ʤì kű́ ɬíŋ bù ɬyɨ̀̃-dyɨ̀̃ kű́ ɬíŋ bù ɬyɨ̀̃
ANA UP climb DOWN slip.down-again UP climb DOWN slip.down
'[The bear] climbed up, slipped down, climbed up, slipped down.'

07:16.9-07:19.0

(1445) *ʤilana vɛːla riʔ*

ʤilana vɛ̀-la ríʔ
CONJ 3SG-SEQ shoot
'Then, [Masaŋ] shot.'

07:19.3-07:20.4

(1446) *wɛʔ ɨntʃuɛʔ riʔ*

wɛ́ʔ ɨ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ ríʔ
kill dispose shoot
'He shot him dead.'

07:20.6-07:21.4

(1447) *ʤi apɔːku ʤila wɛʔ ɨntʃuɛʔ*

ʤi=apʰɔ̀=ku² *ʤila wɛ́ʔ ɨ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ*
DEF=male=OBJ CONJ kill dispose
'That [bear] father he shot dead.'

07:21.6-07:22.9

(1448) *ʤila hãː hɨ̃ː asiː ʤila muɛʔ muɛʔka hiŋri ʤi hɨ̃ːlɔ ʤi hɨ̃ːlɔ hɨ̃ːlɔ muɛʔna riːla*

ʤila hɛ̀̃ hɨ̀̃ asì muɛ́ʔ muɛ́ʔ-ka ʤì híʔlɔ ʤì híʔlɔ
CONJ today NEAR bear vomit vomit-REL ANA remember ANA remember
híʔlɔ muɛ́ʔ-na rì-la
remember vomit-NPST say-SEQ
'Nowadays, the bears keep vomiting. Remembering having eaten his own son, the bears vomit, it is said.'

07:23.8-07:31.6

(1449) *ʤi buː ɛ̃ːna anaŋ batʃuɛ̃ː asəmku anaŋ muɛʔ muɛʔba*

ʤi bù ɛ̃̀=na anáŋ ba-ʧué? asə́m=ku anáŋ mué?
DEF DOWN excrement=TOP much NEG-dispose mouth=LOC much vomit
mué?-ba
vomit-PRS
'[The bear] does not shit much from below, but vomits most [of the digested food] through the mouth.'

07:32.1-07:34.4

(1450) *ʤi kahani ʤi mɨŋpalɔri*

ʤi kahani ʤi mɨ́ŋpalɔ̀=ri
DEF story(<IA) DEF story=QUOT
'This is the story.'

07:34.8-07:37.2

(1451) *ʤi muɛʔka mɨŋpalɔri ʤiro ʤi*

ʤi muɛ́?-ka mɨ́ŋpalɔ̀=ri ʤì=ro
DEF vomit-REL story=QUOT ANA=ASRT
'This is the story about the vomiting [of bears].'

07:37.7-07:40.2

(1452) *hɪ̃ː asiː muɛʔkari*

ʤi hɪ̃̀ asì muéʔ-ka=ri
DEF NEAR bear vomit-REL=QUOT
'This is [the story] about the bear throwing up.'

07:40.5-07:41.8

(1453) *hɪ̃ː ʤidɔ*

hɪ̃̀ ʤidɔ
NEAR like.this
'It is like this.'

07:42.0-07:42.8

See: (385)

(1454) *ʤi bjaːʧaro*

ʤì bjaò-ʧa=ro
ANA COP.FOC-PRF=ASRT
'That's all.'

07:43.4-07:44.4

A.13. Frequency of morphemes in the texts

rank	morph	gloss	#
1	*-la*	SEQ	492
2	*ʤi*	DEF	242
3	*grì*	1PL	216
4	*=ku*	LOC	194
5	*ù̀*	‘go.to.base’	185
6	*-na*	NPST	158
7	*la*	CONJ	143
8	*-ka*	REL	136
9	*ba-*	NEG	134
10	*vɛ̀*	3SG	130
11	*ʤila*	CONJ	128
12	*=na*	TOP	125
13	*-ruìla*	ANT	108
14	*gù*	1SG	108
15	*hɨ̀*	NEAR	95
16	*bù*	DOWN	87
17	*ʤì*	ANA	83
18	*vù*	‘go.from.base’	83
19	*-hɛ̀*	PL	80
20	*=ʧi*	ADD	74
21	*tsá?*	‘do’	73
22	*hɨ̀*	‘speak’	72
23	*rɨ̀*	‘stay’	70
24	*=ku²*	OBJ	69
25	*kṹ*	UP	69
26	*=ro*	ASRT	68
27	*ʧì*	‘eat’	67
28	*rì*	‘say’	65
29	*lè*	‘take’	63
30	*-ʧa*	PRF	60
31	*bjaò*	COP.FOC	60
32	*vɛrì*	3PL	59
33	*=lapu*	ABL	57
34	*-dyɨ̀*	‘again’	54
35	*-ʧɨ́*	OBLG	54
36	*wɛ́?*	‘kill’	54
37	*tɛ́*	FAR	53
38	*-lana*	ANT	52
39	*=ri²*	TOP	52
40	*=ri*	QUOT	49
41	*bá?*	EXIST	48
42	*níŋ*	‘look’	47
43	*ʤilana*	CONJ	41
44	*=rila*	QUOT	40
45	*prɨ́*	‘human’	40
46	*ì*	‘die’	38
47	*ɬaì*	‘plant’	38
48	*sá*	‘like.this’	37
49	*ʒə̀*	‘make.traps’	37
50	*-dɔ̃̀*	IMM	36
51	*-ri*	IPFV	34
52	*buì*	‘before’	33
53	*ɬú?*	‘fall’	33
54	*lana*	CONJ	31
55	*tʰɑ̃̀*	‘give’	30
56	*nɔ̀*	‘search’	29
57	*kɛ̃́*	‘hold’	28
58	*kʰɔ̀*	‘water’	28
59	*lì*	‘put’	27

60	*-ʤi*	‘away’	26	93	*gḭ̀*	‘follow’	17
61	*ʧaò*	‘sago’	26	94	*tʰɨ́ʔ*	‘village’	17
62	*vɛhenɨ́ʔ*	3DU	26	95	*ʧaina*	‘China(<Eng)’	17
63	*ʤidɔ*	‘like.this’	25	96	*pjṹ*	‘release’	17
64	*=matʃi*	ADD	24	97	*prĩ́də̀*	‘Puroik’	17
65	*dɛ̃̀*	‘know’	24	98	*məʒə̀*	‘trap’	17
66	*hɛ̀*	‘what’	24	99	*muɛ̃̀*	‘can’	17
67	*-pʰɛ́ʔ*	‘reach’	23	100	*rín*	‘move.fast’	17
68	*-bo*	IMP	23	101	*akú*	‘first.brother’	16
69	*ɛ̀*	FILL	23	102	*ʃi*	‘animal’	16
70	*-ʤṵ̀*	‘ALL’	22	103	*ʃəʒə̃̀mɔ*	‘god’	16
71	*-ruì*	ANT	22	104	*-mə*	PST	15
72	*-lɨ́ŋ*	‘inside’	22	105	*=ʃõ̀*	LOC	15
73	*fəù*	‘salt’	22	106	*atɨ́ŋ*	‘grandfather’	15
74	*sə́m*	‘language’	22	107	*krá*	‘Kraa(RL)’	15
75	*-ba*	PRS	21	108	*krúŋ*	‘Kruŋ(RL)’	15
76	*-jə̃̀*	PRMN	21	109	*namù*	‘tradition’	15
77	*-réʔ*	BEN	21	110	*nɨ́ŋ*	‘listen’	15
78	*gjə̃̀*	‘live’	21	111	*wɛ̀*	EXIST.NEG	15
79	*bù²*	‘dog’	20	112	*ɬuɛ́ʔ*	‘seem’	15
80	*məhjɛ̃̀*	‘earth’	20	113	*hám*	‘house’	15
81	*hɛmɛ*	FILL	20	114	*-ri²*	RECP	14
82	*adə̀*	‘child’	19	115	*akɨ́ŋ*	‘origin’	14
83	*kjén*	‘big.deadfall.trap’	19	116	*ín*	‘drink’	14
84	*narì*	2PL	19	117	*pṍ*	‘appear’	14
85	*ʒɛ̃̀*	‘carry’	19	118	*mɨ́ŋ*	‘thing’	14
86	*pʰɨ̀ŋ*	‘mountain’	18	119	*nə́m*	‘wrest’	14
87	*nà*	2SG	18	120	*nù*	‘here’	14
88	*hɨ́ʔ*	‘think’	18	121	*ʒù*	COP	14
89	*-ɬɛ̃̀*	‘side.of’	17	122	*ɬasa*	‘Lhasa(<Tib)’	14
90	*amjɛ̀*	‘good’	17	123	*-də̀*	CAUS	13
91	*kátṹʧáŋ*	‘sulphur.spring(RL)’	17	124	*-prina*	ANT	13
92	*klá*	‘where’	17	125	*asì*	‘bear’	13

126	*məbə́n*	‘Miji’	13
127	*njɛ́*	‘little’	13
128	*labù*	‘down.there’	13
129	*fɨ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ*	‘dispose’	13
130	*ʃɨ̀*	‘wood’	13
131	*-batʃa*	PRF	12
132	*=hɨ̀ro*	ASRT	12
133	*krábu*	‘Kraabu’	12
134	*gələ́n*	‘perform.a.ritual’	12
135	*gulù*	‘perform.a.ritual’	12
136	*dáŋlɨ́ŋ*	‘always’	12
137	*masáŋ*	‘Masang’	12
138	*susù*	‘mithun’	12
139	*ɬɨ́ŋ*	‘climb’	12
140	*-na²*	NMLZ	11
141	*apá*	‘father’	11
142	*arà*	‘big’	11
143	*krúŋbu*	‘Kruŋbu’	11
144	*ʤisá*	‘like.this’	11
145	*njáʔ*	‘make.noise’	11
146	*rjaò*	‘be.able’	11
147	*ʃʃɛ̀̃*	‘perform.rituals’	11
148	*hamì*	‘sun’	11
149	*kŭ́ʤɨ́n*	‘China’	10
150	*kʰì*	‘fly’	10
151	*ʤilapəna*	‘after.this’	10
152	*pulɔ̀*	‘Bulu’	10
153	*mə-*	NMLZ	10
154	*hɛ̃̀*	‘people’	10
155	*adàʃu*	‘son’	9
156	*dù*	‘shake’	9
157	*ʤiri*	CONJ	9
158	*tsəmuí*	‘tree.bee’	9
159	*ʤɔ̃̀*	‘all’	9
160	*muɛ́ʔ*	‘vomit’	9
161	*rì³*	‘cane’	9
162	*lím*	‘path’	9
163	*-dɔ̃̀*	‘take.along’	8
164	*atʰɨ̃̀*	‘master’	8
165	*apʰɔ̀*	‘male’	8
166	*aróʔ*	‘friend’	8
167	*armi*	‘army(<Eng)’	8
168	*alaò*	‘bad’	8
169	*awɛ̃̀*	‘ridge’	8
170	*azì*	‘small’	8
171	*ɛ̃̀*	‘be.together’	8
172	*gɛ́ʔ*	‘disappear’	8
173	*tsəwoì*	‘rock.bee’	8
174	*bìtŭ́ru*	‘sulphur.spring(RL)’	8
175	*bətʃɛ̃̀*	‘Monpa’	8
176	*rakɨ́ŋ*	‘behind’	8
177	*saò*	‘roast’	8
178	*hamɨ́ŋ*	‘sky’	8
179	*hɛ̃̀bu*	‘moon’	8
180	*hjɛ̃̀*	‘all’	8
181	*akŭ́*	‘head’	7
182	*abɛ̃̀*	‘ahead’	7
183	*amà*	‘mother’	7
184	*awíʔ*	‘old’	7
185	*kəí*	HORT	7
186	*talu*	‘so.much(<M)’	7
187	*dɨlu*	‘Bulu(RL)’	7
188	*dɨʃi*	‘Bulu(RL)’	7
189	*tʃɨ̃́ŋ*	‘work’	7
190	*pʰəù*	‘alcohol’	7
191	*bədɛ̃̀*	‘time’	7

192	*bətʃə̃m*	‘become.extinct(<M)’	7
193	*níʔ*	‘two’	7
194	*hám²*	‘sky’	7
195	*hə̀̃*	‘today’	7
196	*hənù*	‘here’	7
197	*-ũ̀*	POSS	6
198	*-gə̀̃*	‘enclosed’	6
199	*-ʧi*	RSTR	6
200	*-se*	DU	6
201	*-sɛ̀̃*	‘undirected.motion’	6
202	*-ʒu*	‘surely’	6
203	*atʃáʔ*	‘bitter’	6
204	*adʑɛ̀̃*	‘child’	6
205	*apna*	‘own(<IA)’	6
206	*anáŋ*	‘much’	6
207	*anjaò*	‘fresh’	6
208	*à̃*	INTJ	6
209	*ɛ̀̃*	‘excrement’	6
210	*kəsá*	‘how’	6
211	*kjém*	‘big.deadfall.trap’	6
212	*gòrjo*	‘Gorjo(RL)’	6
213	*táma*	‘human(RL)’	6
214	*tára*	‘human(RL)’	6
215	*tatíʔʧi*	‘alone’	6
216	*túʔ*	‘tear’	6
217	*tʰyì*	‘one’	6
218	*ʧɔ̃ʔ*	‘happen’	6
219	*pəsù*	‘Miji.upper.cast’	6
220	*pʰéʔ*	‘reach’	6
221	*pjú*	‘burst’	6
222	*plɔ̃́*	‘close’	6
223	*babɔ̀*	COP.NEG	6
224	*mabjaò*	‘bamboo.sp’	6
225	*məbɛ̀̃*	‘Brokpa’	6
226	*ríʔ*	‘shoot’	6
227	*rə́ʔ*	‘frog’	6
228	*rə́m*	‘sleep’	6
229	*rɔ̀*	‘stone.deadfall.trap’	6
230	*lapɛ́*	‘tomorrow’	6
231	*fɨ̃n*	‘discard’	6
232	*ʃĩ*	‘ask’	6
233	*hɛna*	‘now’	6
234	*-ʧʊ̃̀*	COMPL	5
235	*-bamɛ*	POT	5
236	*-mulɔ*	DESP	5
237	*-la²*	LOC	5
238	*-lɛ̃̀*	CMPR	5
239	*=jo*	HON	5
240	*adəzuì*	‘year’	5
241	*abù*	‘elder.brother’	5
242	*ɔì*	‘find’	5
243	*ɔ̃̀*	INTJ	5
244	*gəsenís*	1DU	5
245	*ʧɛ̃ʔ*	‘cry’	5
246	*ʧʊ̃̀gəzíʔ*	‘crab’	5
247	*ʤuɛ́ʔ*	‘gather’	5
248	*ʤjù*	‘stab’	5
249	*bətʃɨ*	‘non.tribal’	5
250	*bùlu*	‘human(RL)’	5
251	*matʃù*	‘gun’	5
252	*mì*	‘who’	5
253	*míŋpalɔ̀*	‘story’	5
254	*məpʰìn*	‘maize’	5
255	*məluɛ̃̀*	‘food’	5
256	*néʔ*	‘discuss’	5
257	*nətsɔ̃̀*	‘NətsoN’	5

258	*lù*	‘expell.bad.spirits’	5
259	*wɛ̃̀*	‘be.dry’	5
260	*vɨ̀lù*	‘hot.water.lake(M)’	5
261	*vɨ̀ʒù*	‘hot.lake(M)’	5
262	*sə̃̀ʧi*	‘Santʃi(RL)’	5
263	*sipaí*	‘soldier(<IA)’	5
264	*sulúŋlo*	‘Suluŋlo(RL)’	5
265	*zɛ̀*	‘laugh’	5
266	*ʃəbɻ́n*	‘speak.HL’	5
267	*ʒjù²*	‘expell.bad.spirits’	5
268	*ɬjaù*	‘untie’	5
269	*hə̃̀³*	‘yes’	5
270	*hə̃̀ʧə̀*	‘nowadays’	5
271	*-də̀²*	DIM	4
272	*-dəgaì*	REP(<M)	4
273	*-pə́ndɛ̃̀*	OBLG	4
274	*-mərɔlana*	COND	4
275	*=ɛ̀*	AG	4
276	*=ta*	‘own’	4
277	*agə̀̃*	‘half’	4
278	*atsɨ̀*	‘grandchild’	4
279	*abjɛ̃̀*	‘name’	4
280	*aruɛ́ʔ*	‘mountains’	4
281	*alɬŋ*	‘inside’	4
282	*alə́p*	‘leaf’	4
283	*asɛ́n*	‘bird.sp’	4
284	*índià*	‘India(<Eng)’	4
285	*kɛtúŋ*	‘underground(RL)’	4
286	*kətsɻ́n*	‘plant.sp’	4
287	*kʰɔ̀tséʔ*	‘hot.water’	4
288	*kʰuíʔ*	‘enter’	4
289	*krɻ́n*	‘join’	4
290	*krɔ́kíʔ*	‘sprung.and.empty’	4
291	*tatíʔ*	‘one’	4
292	*tarə́m*	‘Tibet’	4
293	*tə̃́ʧi*	‘sulphur.spring(RL)’	4
294	*tə̃́rɻ́n*	‘sulphur.spring(RL)’	4
295	*túŋri*	‘Tungri’	4
296	*dəkró*	‘Dəkroo(RL)’	4
297	*dántsáŋ*	‘Dəntsaŋ(RL)’	4
298	*ʧi⁴*	‘sulphur.spring’	4
299	*ʧɬ́ʔ*	‘sling’	4
300	*ʧə̃̀*	‘illuminate’	4
301	*tsún*	‘jump’	4
302	*patsù*	‘tax(<M)’	4
303	*pɛ́̃*	‘cut’	4
304	*pinu*	‘Pinu(RL)’	4
305	*bádɛ̃̀*	PRMN	4
306	*bɛ̀*	‘fire’	4
307	*bɛ́ʔ*	‘assign’	4
308	*bɔ̀*	COP.NEG	4
309	*botəlu*	‘bottle(<Eng)’	4
310	*màdə̀*	‘mother.and.child’	4
311	*məpiláŋ*	‘Məpilaŋ(RL)’	4
312	*mərù*	‘woman’	4
313	*mərjúŋʒɻ́n*	‘Mərjuŋʒɨn(RL)’	4
314	*məʒɛ̃̀*	‘strap’	4
315	*nadɛ̃̀*	‘that.side’	4
316	*nɪ́̃*	‘fear’	4
317	*nəmò*	‘Nəmoo’	4
318	*nəhù*	‘Nəhuu’	4
319	*rí*	‘prevent.evil’	4
320	*lakə́̃*	‘up.there’	4
321	*lɨsɨ̀*	‘Lɨsɨɨ(RL)’	4
322	*lə̃̀séʔ*	‘happy(<M)’	4
323	*waíʔ*	‘fart’	4

324	*wù*	‘five’	4
325	*sə̀̃*	‘prosper’	4
326	*sikstitú*	‘sixty.two(<Eng)’	4
327	*sə̀*	‘meet’	4
328	*ʃə̃̀mɔ*	‘tree’	4
329	*ʃə̃̀*	‘move’	4
330	*hɨ̀tʃɛ́ʔ*	‘be.hungry’	4
331	*hɨ́n*	‘bubble’	4
332	*hɨ̃̀dɔ̀*	‘like.this’	4
333	*hɨ̃̀dɔ̃̀*	‘now’	4
334	*-kán*	‘finally’	3
335	*-gáʔ*	SIDE	3
336	*-tatʃə̃̀*	‘between’	3
337	*-tán*	‘teach(<M)’	3
338	*-tə̃́*	LOC.PERS	3
339	*-dɛ̃̀*	PRMN	3
340	*-pʰíʔ*	‘away’	3
341	*-bədʒáŋ*	EXP	3
342	*-mərɔna*	COND	3
343	*-wù*	‘below’	3
344	*-ʃʃám*	NO.CONTROL	3
345	*=tazu*	‘self’	3
346	*=jə̃̀*	Q	3
347	*atʃám*	‘daughter.in.law’	3
348	*atʃɛ̃̀*	‘night’	3
349	*abɨ́ŋmɔ̀*	‘jungle’	3
350	*amɔ̀*	‘female’	3
351	*anɔ̀*	‘younger.brother’	3
352	*awù*	‘below’	3
353	*asə́m*	‘mouth’	3
354	*assam*	‘Assam(<IA)’	3
355	*azù*	‘wife’	3
356	*ɛ́ʔ*	‘cloth’	3
357	*ibo.ɛ*	‘Ibo.ɛ(RL)’	3
358	*ihɛ.ɛ*	‘Ihɛ.ɛ(RL)’	3
359	*kɛ̃́kamɛ́ʔ*	‘KɛNkamɛʔ(RL)’	3
360	*kədʒɨ̀*	‘when’	3
361	*kəpán*	‘Kəpan’	3
362	*kəmyì*	‘inattentive’	3
363	*kʉ̃́tʃə̃̀*	‘above’	3
364	*gormán*	‘government(<Eng)’	3
365	*gjə̃̀²*	‘life’	3
366	*tɔ́ʔ*	‘bite’	3
367	*tyɛ̃́*	‘decoy’	3
368	*tʰùŋdə̀*	‘Thungdə’	3
369	*dɔ̃̀*	‘just.now’	3
370	*ʧai̋*	‘hold.in.one.hand’	3
371	*ʧakuí*	‘cooked.grains’	3
372	*ʧapɨ̀ŋ*	‘tree.trunk’	3
373	*ʧə̀tʃʉ̃́dɛ́ʔ*	‘TʃaNtʃuNdɛʔ(RL)’	3
374	*ʧɛ̃̀*	‘rat’	3
375	*ʧɨ²*	‘machete’	3
376	*ʧima*	‘jacket(<Monpa)’	3
377	*ʧɨ̃́ʔ²*	‘fasten.with.strap’	3
378	*ʧuNkuN*	‘TʃuNkuN’	3
379	*tsám*	‘attack’	3
380	*palə̀*	‘bamboo.mug(<Tsh)’	3
381	*pə́*	‘hang’	3
382	*pə́ku*	‘Panku(RL)’	3
383	*pə́tʃɨ̃́ʔ*	‘forcefully’	3
384	*páŋlo*	‘jacket(<M)’	3
385	*baìdə̀*	‘Baidə’	3
386	*banà*	‘make(<IA)’	3
387	*bló̋ʔ*	‘mute’	3
388	*maljù*	‘chilli’	3
389	*naló̋ʔ*	‘wool.blanket’	3

390	*nùla*	‘here’	3
391	*nyɛ́ʔ*	‘lure’	3
392	*raìdə*	‘Raidə’	3
393	*raìpəl*	‘Rifles(<Eng)’	3
394	*rì²*	‘burn’	3
395	*lapúʤi*	‘Lapusa.person’	3
396	*lamoʃi*	‘animals(RL)’	3
397	*límtʃɔ̃ʔ*	‘crossroad’	3
398	*lɛ̃̀zíʔ*	‘angry’	3
399	*wɑ̀̃*	‘club’	3
400	*wuì*	‘fight’	3
401	*vaíʔ*	EXIST	3
402	*vjɛ̀*	‘be.good’	3
403	*sánʒi*	‘write’	3
404	*səʦùrjáŋ*	‘deer’	3
405	*səbù*	‘underground(RL)’	3
406	*zù*	‘wear’	3
407	*ʃɑ̃̌to*	‘ʃaNto(RL)’	3
408	*ʃɛ́ʔ*	‘be.strong’	3
409	*ʃəláŋ*	‘entire.world(RL)’	3
410	*ʃəʒə́n²*	‘entire.world(RL)’	3
411	*ʒɑ̀̃*	‘put.inside’	3
412	*ʒín*	‘get.shocked’	3
413	*híʔlɔ*	‘remember’	3
414		NA	2
415	*-kɬŋ*	LOC	2
416	*-kəpáŋ*	PROG(<M)	2
417	*-ta*	‘self’	2
418	*-damɛ*	POT	2
419	*-paro*	HORT	2
420	*-pənéʔ*	‘little.bit.to.a.side’	2
421	*-batʃaro*	HORT	2
422	*-rikəpáŋ*	PROG(<M)	2
423	*-lapəna*	‘furthermore’	2
424	*-ʃa*	LOC	2
425	*=wɛ́ʔ*	EXHR	2
426	*=hija*	Q	2
427	*=hɪ̃̀*	ASRT	2
428	*akɑ́m*	‘eye’	2
429	*atɑ̃́*	‘strap’	2
430	*atʃɑ̃̀*	‘above’	2
431	*atʃù*	‘crowd’	2
432	*apɑ̃́*	‘half’	2
433	*apɛ́*	‘morning’	2
434	*abo*	‘father(<M)’	2
435	*abù²*	‘human(RL)’	2
436	*abudə*	‘brothers’	2
437	*anaòpɑ̃́*	‘embryo’	2
438	*anì*	‘day’	2
439	*arjɛ́*	‘evening’	2
440	*afù*	‘man’	2
441	*aváŋ*	‘uncle’	2
442	*asɑ̃̀pɛ́*	‘dawn’	2
443	*ahjɔ̃̀*	‘entire’	2
444	*è*	INTJ	2
445	*ím²*	‘be.tasty’	2
446	*úiʔ*	‘hide’	2
447	*katʃuɛ̃̀*	‘mud’	2
448	*kadʒɑ̃̀*	‘wax’	2
449	*kalɬŋ*	‘stone’	2
450	*kalɬŋmɔ*	‘rock’	2
451	*kətɔ̃́*	‘tooth’	2
452	*kəbùʃu*	‘takin(RL)’	2
453	*kəmuʃu*	‘takin(RL)’	2
454	*kəsátʃi*	‘how.many’	2
455	*kəʒɔ̃̀*	‘face.down’	2

456	*kodʒoláŋ*	‘Kodʒolaŋ(<M)’	2
457	*kobo*	‘Kobo(RL)’	2
458	*kuí*	‘turn.body’	2
459	*kukuku*	INTJ	2
460	*kʰɔ̀*	‘share’	2
461	*kʰù*	‘owl’	2
462	*kʰjɛ̀ndə̀*	‘Khjɛndə’	2
463	*kjɛ́mp*	‘camp(<Eng)’	2
464	*kjú?*	‘sago.hatchet.front’	2
465	*krɛ́*	‘roll’	2
466	*goì*	‘sling’	2
467	*gráŋmu*	‘Sangti(RL)’	2
468	*tatata*	IDEOPH	2
469	*təkʰù*	‘village.elder’	2
470	*tɔ́?go*	‘bite’	2
471	*túmló?*	‘Tumlo?’	2
472	*tűtʃi²*	‘stone.house’	2
473	*tʰə̀mbáŋ*	‘Thembang’	2
474	*dazí?*	‘lower.animal’	2
475	*dɪrín*	‘animals(RL)’	2
476	*dɪ́ŋ*	‘sit.on.buttocks’	2
477	*də̀*	‘give.birth’	2
478	*dəduì*	‘person.from.Lada’	2
479	*dəmín*	‘abundant(<M)’	2
480	*dəhù*	‘sadness’	2
481	*dɔ̀̃²*	‘moment’	2
482	*dudo*	EXIST(<M)	2
483	*tʃáŋru*	‘Nafra.area’	2
484	*tʃí?*	‘wrestle’	2
485	*tʃɪ́ndɔ*	‘big.pieces’	2
486	*tʃə́mnaráŋ*	‘Tʃəmnaraŋ’	2
487	*tʃuɛ́?*	‘dispose’	2
488	*tʃuì*	‘fish’	2
489	*dʒìdɔ̀̃*	‘now’	2
490	*dʒiru*	‘that.time’	2
491	*dʒɔ́?*	‘guard’	2
492	*dʒùmu*	‘Dʒumu’	2
493	*dʒɔ̀̃*	‘squat’	2
494	*dʒɔ́̃*	‘lift.up’	2
495	*dʒɔ́̃²*	‘hold’	2
496	*tsaò*	‘boil’	2
497	*tsáŋ*	‘pay.tax(<M)’	2
498	*tsáp*	‘follow.a.trace’	2
499	*pakaú*	‘bag’	2
500	*patna*	‘christian.prayer(<IA)’	2
501	*pawì*	‘priest’	2
502	*pín*	‘be.sweet’	2
503	*puɪ́*	‘push.up’	2
504	*pura*	‘all(<IA)’	2
505	*pʰɛ̀*	INTJ	2
506	*pʰutú?*	‘blanket(<Monpa)’	2
507	*pʰjɛ̀²*	‘go.through.forest’	2
508	*prí?²*	‘scald’	2
509	*badogá?*	‘in.vain’	2
510	*bánduri*	‘boundary(<Eng)’	2
511	*bejò*	‘ask(RL)’	2
512	*bìhám*	‘Lagam’	2
513	*birudə̀*	‘Kazolang.person’	2
514	*bətʃúŋ*	‘Nafra.area’	2
515	*bù.adə̀*	‘Buadə’	2
516	*bjatú*	‘other’	2
517	*bjɛ̃̀*	‘to.name’	2
518	*máŋ*	‘stabbing.trap’	2
519	*mɛdɛ́n*	‘Madam(<Eng)’	2
520	*mí?*	‘arrow’	2
521	*mərɑ̃̀*	‘macaque’	2

522	*məljɛ̀*	‘seven’	2
523	*mɔ́ʔ*	‘fight’	2
524	*ḿm*	‘three’	2
525	*nám*	‘smell’	2
526	*náŋ*	‘be.sick’	2
527	*nətsán*	‘Nətsən’	2
528	*nərɛ̀*	‘Nərɛɛ’	2
529	*nuʃɔ̃̀*	‘here’	2
530	*njɛ́nʃĩʔ*	‘rice.seeds’	2
531	*njɛ́tʃi*	‘little’	2
532	*jɑ̃̀²*	INTJ	2
533	*rɨ̀²*	‘feed’	2
534	*ruì*	‘pull’	2
535	*rjɛ̃̀*	‘sago.filter.bag’	2
536	*lagà*	‘Laga’	2
537	*lando*	EXIST(<Tsh)	2
538	*lɨ̀tʃuì*	‘bow.tip.protector’	2
539	*ljáŋ²*	‘give(HL)’	2
540	*waù*	‘sago.filter.mat’	2
541	*wáʔ*	‘pig’	2
542	*wì*	‘slap’	2
543	*vɛsenítʔ*	3DU	2
544	*vəùtələ́m*	‘small.axe’	2
545	*vəneì*	‘Vənei(<M)’	2
546	*vjɑ̃̀*	‘cross’	2
547	*vjúʔ*	‘hug’	2
548	*sɛ̃̀tʃĩʔ*	‘SɛNtʃiʔ’	2
549	*səpɨ̀*	‘goat’	2
550	*sər*	‘Sir(<Eng)’	2
551	*sərì*	‘resin’	2
552	*səlɛ́n*	‘Lhasa’	2
553	*zɛ̃̀²*	‘tribe’	2
554	*záp*	‘quiver’	2
555	*zumuɛ̀*	‘clan’	2
556	*ʃaNpuN*	‘ʃampung’	2
557	*ʃəkúʔ*	‘skin’	2
558	*ʃɔ́ʔ*	‘bring(HL)’	2
559	*ʃù*	‘shake’	2
560	*ʒíʔ*	‘put.tight’	2
561	*ʒɨláŋ*	‘ritual.against.evil(RL)’	2
562	*ʒɨʒɨ́n*	‘ritual.against.evil(RL)’	2
563	*ʒuìʤi*	‘exactly.same’	2
564	*ɬɔ̀*	‘call’	2
565	*ɬyɨ̃̀*	‘slip.down’	2
566	*hakə́m*	‘friend’	2
567	*hadɛ̃̀*	‘later’	2
568	*hɑ̃̀pɑ̃́*	‘full.day’	2
569	*hɑ̀rjɛ̃̀*	‘family’	2
570	*huì²*	‘recite’	2
571	*huɨ̃̀²*	‘fall’	2
572	*-tamɛ*	POT	1
573	*-də́m*	‘whole.day’	1
574	*-tʃɛ́ʔbəna*	‘exactly’	1
575	*-pri*	ANT	1
576	*-pɻo*	‘scatter(<M)’	1
577	*-banatʃa*	HYP	1
578	*-bari*	PROG	1
579	*-máŋ*	‘dead(<M)’	1
580	*-mila*	‘little’	1
581	*-mɻo*	‘scatter(<M)’	1
582	*-njám*	‘with.luggage’	1
583	*-rɛ̃̀*	‘already’	1
584	*-rɔ̃̀*	REM.BEN	1
585	*-lɑ̃̀*	HABIT	1
586	*-lɔ*	‘possible.to’	1
587	*-ʃáŋ*	‘go.everywhere’	1

588	*-ʃjáŋ*	‘self’	1
589	*-ha*	NO.CONTROL	1
590	*-haruì*	ANT	1
591	*=tʃiráŋ*	ADD	1
592	*=ʤáŋ*	Q	1
593	*=la.ɛ̀ku*	‘SOC’	1
594	*=hijɛ̀*	Q	1
595	*aa*	INTJ	1
596	*aajadə́m*	INTJ	1
597	*aizín*	‘get.shocked’	1
598	*akú?*	‘skin’	1
599	*akʰɛ̀*	‘other’	1
600	*akjɑ́*	‘hole’	1
601	*akjɛ́*	‘horn’	1
602	*adətsù*	‘edge(<M)’	1
603	*adəmé?*	‘daughter’	1
604	*atʃaù*	‘servant’	1
605	*atʃángrù*	‘Rimpoche(<M)’	1
606	*atʃɛ̀²*	‘daughter.in.law’	1
607	*atʃɨ²*	‘elephant(<IA)’	1
608	*atʃoì*	‘far’	1
609	*aʤɔ̀*	‘high’	1
610	*atsɔ̀*	‘center’	1
611	*apaí?*	‘Chimbi’	1
612	*apʰí?*	‘small.river’	1
613	*apʰɯ̀*	‘nose’	1
614	*apʰjɑ̀*	‘trigger’	1
615	*abəɬì*	‘slippery’	1
616	*abùlɛ̃*	‘even.more’	1
617	*amì*	‘grandmother’	1
618	*anɨ́ŋlaò*	‘bad.to.hear’	1
619	*ajɑ̀*	‘fast’	1
620	*ajɑ̀²*	INTJ	1
621	*ajò*	INTJ	1
622	*arɛ́n*	‘comfort(<M)’	1
623	*alím*	‘animal.path’	1
624	*awɛ̃̀*	‘dry’	1
625	*awó?*	‘ritual’	1
626	*awuì*	‘husband’	1
627	*asɛ̃̀*	‘alive’	1
628	*asù*	‘body’	1
629	*aʃíp*	‘ritual.fee’	1
630	*aʃuɨ̃̀*	‘face’	1
631	*ɛ̀²*	INTJ	1
632	*ə́m*	FILL	1
633	*upaí*	‘remedy(<IA)’	1
634	*ká*	‘place’	1
635	*katɨ́ŋ*	‘upstream’	1
636	*katʃɨ*	‘spring’	1
637	*kabráŋ*	‘Kabraŋ’	1
638	*kameŋ*	‘Kameng(<Eng)’	1
639	*kan*	‘work.with.tool(KR)’	1
640	*kalakén*	‘Betali(RL)’	1
641	*kahani*	‘story(<IA)’	1
642	*kahɔ̃̀*	‘big.river’	1
643	*kɑ́*	‘extort’	1
644	*kí?*	‘get.caught.in.trap’	1
645	*kitʃɔ̃̀*	‘sago.hatchet’	1
646	*kisaŋ*	‘Kisaŋ’	1
647	*kɨ́*	‘hit’	1
648	*kəljù*	‘pretend’	1
649	*konjò*	‘plant.sp(RL)’	1
650	*kɯ́ʤɑ̀*	‘world(RL)’	1
651	*kʰàmbu*	‘plate’	1
652	*kʰɨ*	‘smoke’	1
653	*kʰɔ̀pí*	‘crocodile’	1

654	*kjáŋ*	‘to.dry(<M)’	1
655	*kjɛ́mpaí*	‘stone.deadfall.trap(<M)’	1
656	*kristian*	‘christian(<Eng)’	1
657	*gaʤo*	‘evening.star’	1
658	*galɛgjóŋ*	‘evening.star’	1
659	*gíʔ*	‘count’	1
660	*gəmáŋdúŋlo*	‘Gəməŋduŋlo(RL)’	1
661	*gəhenítʔ*	1DU	1
662	*goì²*	‘make.sling’	1
663	*glɨ́n*	‘slippery’	1
664	*táni*	‘humans(RL)’	1
665	*taʧíʔ*	‘one’	1
666	*taràʤi*	‘Chachung.person’	1
667	*tarə̀̃*	‘morning.star(RL)’	1
668	*tarmu*	‘wool.blanket’	1
669	*tasrì*	‘long.and.thin’	1
670	*tíʔ*	‘fell’	1
671	*támdáŋkán*	‘Təmdaŋ.spring(<M)’	1
672	*tələ̀̃*	‘mug’	1
673	*təwáŋ*	‘gather(RL)’	1
674	*təwúŋ*	‘gather(RL)’	1
675	*tos*	‘torch(<Eng)’	1
676	*tố*	‘make.flat’	1
677	*túŋʤáŋ*	‘spring(<RL)’	1
678	*túŋneì*	‘Ditchik(RL)’	1
679	*túŋru*	‘spring(RL)’	1
680	*tʰyìʃáʔ*	‘alone’	1
681	*dàmo*	‘cattle(RL)’	1
682	*dàʃi*	‘cattle(RL)’	1
683	*dan2*	‘know(KR)’	1
684	*dargi*	‘Darge’	1
685	*dɑwo*	‘medicine(<IA)’	1
686	*dɛmo*	‘Dɛmo’	1
687	*dɛnju*	‘prayer.flags(RL)’	1
688	*deli*	‘Dalai(<Monpa)’	1
689	*dibti*	‘duty(<Eng)’	1
690	*dɨrɨ́ntʃúŋ*	‘animals(RL)’	1
691	*dərə́m*	‘law(<IA)’	1
692	*dərù*	‘day.after.tomorrow’	1
693	*dəfì*	‘shake.ones.head(<M)’	1
694	*dəfigo*	‘shake.ones.head(<M)’	1
695	*dáŋkráŋ*	‘prayer.flag(RL)’	1
696	*dáŋráʔ*	‘be.rotten(<M)’	1
697	*dò*	‘like.this’	1
698	*doráʔ*	‘jealous(<M)’	1
699	*dúŋlo*	‘Khoina(RL)’	1
700	*dyì̀*	‘do.again’	1
701	*ʧakám*	‘wood.bowl’	1
702	*ʧagɹáŋ*	‘forefather.dog’	1
703	*ʧabə̀̃*	‘piece.of.sago.trunk’	1
704	*ʧani*	‘humans(RL)’	1
705	*ʧánʃo*	‘rhinoceros(RL)’	1
706	*ʧarò*	‘cheese’	1
707	*ʧawáŋ*	‘Chawang’	1
708	*ʧɛ́ʔ²*	‘Tʃɛʔ’	1
709	*ʧə̀̃*	‘night’	1
710	*ʧíp*	‘make.beer’	1
711	*ʧɨ*	‘wash’	1
712	*ʧɨ²*	‘scoop’	1
713	*ʧə̀̃hám*	‘store.house’	1
714	*ʧúʔ*	‘dig’	1
715	*ʧə̀̃bə̀̃*	‘big.fat.item’	1
716	*ʤaìlaì*	‘dusk(<M)’	1
717	*ʤaru*	‘broom(<IA)’	1

718	*ʤaŋ*	‘be.sweet(<M)’	1
719	*ʤìlíŋ*	‘that.time’	1
720	*ʤitatapa*	‘Dʒitatapa(<Bkp)’	1
721	*ʤinedʒi*	‘all.of.them’	1
722	*ʤiri²*	‘Jerigaon(RL)’	1
723	*ʤirì*	‘camp’	1
724	*ʤisán*	‘Jerigaon(RL)’	1
725	*ʤòʃáŋ*	‘marriage’	1
726	*ʤonúŋ*	‘unnatural.dead.ritual’	1
727	*ʤuuʤa*	‘Dʒudʒa’	1
728	*ʤuumi*	‘Dʒumi’	1
729	*ʤǔ²*	‘put.vertically’	1
730	*tsǎpu²*	‘Tsampu(RL)’	1
731	*tsəpǘ*	‘wasp’	1
732	*tsú²*	‘rise’	1
733	*ʣánməljé?*	‘cockroach.sp’	1
734	*ʣánwáŋ*	‘Dzənwaŋ(RL)’	1
735	*ʣánwo*	‘Dzənwo(RL)’	1
736	*paísjá?*	‘Paisja?’	1
737	*pándʒabi*	‘Punjabi(<IA)’	1
738	*pareì*	‘Parei(RL)’	1
739	*péntʃén*	‘prayer.flag(<M)’	1
740	*pətaí*	‘know(<M)’	1
741	*pədù*	‘bird’	1
742	*pǔpʰù*	‘hundred’	1
743	*pʰèmbu*	‘Phembu(<Tib)’	1
744	*pʰidigjáŋ*	‘morning.star(RL)’	1
745	*pʰimoo*	‘Phimo(<Bkp)’	1
746	*pʰɔ́?*	‘forget’	1
747	*pʰjè*	‘Rubia.cordifolia’	1
748	*prú*	‘before’	1
749	*plǒ³*	‘bend.down’	1
750	*pljáŋ*	‘bulge.out’	1
751	*baʤó?*	‘Baʤo?’	1
752	*batsù*	‘tax(<M)’	1
753	*bamè*	‘COP.POT’	1
754	*bán*	‘closed(<IA)’	1
755	*balɛ́?*	‘Balɛ?’	1
756	*balì*	‘unnatural.dead.ritual’	1
757	*bɛ̀²*	‘go(HL)’	1
758	*bìtʰɨ́?*	‘Lagam’	1
759	*bəù*	‘carry’	1
760	*bəkú*	‘Banyan.tree(RL)’	1
761	*bəʧɬdə*	‘non.tribal’	1
762	*bətsɨ́n*	‘silently(<M)’	1
763	*bərjáŋ*	‘Banyan.tree(RL)’	1
764	*bəlíŋ*	‘world(RL)’	1
765	*bəsé?*	‘jealous’	1
766	*bóm*	‘bomb(<Eng)’	1
767	*buʒǒ*	‘sago(RL)’	1
768	*bjáŋ*	‘be.nervous(<M)’	1
769	*brǎ*	‘sleeping.place’	1
770	*brǎdǒ*	‘so.many(<M)’	1
771	*maʒǒ*	‘sago(RL)’	1
772	*mèmu*	‘Mɛmu(RL)’	1
773	*míŋ⁵*	‘ghost’	1
774	*məgɨ́?*	‘trap(HL)’	1
775	*mədyì*	‘chicken’	1
776	*məjaònúŋ*	‘Məjaonuŋ’	1
777	*məlím*	‘arrow.poison’	1
778	*məluéndén*	‘cockroach.sp(<M)’	1
779	*muɛ̀²*	‘get’	1
780	*napáŋ*	‘Bhalukpung(RL)’	1
781	*nasəlín*	‘Nasəlin’	1
782	*níʔmaníʔ*	‘both’	1
783	*nigalaa*	‘exit(<IA)’	1

784	*nəduì*	'Lada'	1
785	*nəʤì*	'all.humans(RL)'	1
786	*nɔ́ʔ*	'buy'	1
787	*njalu*	'more.than(<M)'	1
788	*njɛʃə̃̀*	'little.too.much'	1
789	*jaajaa*	INTJ	1
790	*raʤáŋʃu*	'serow(RL)'	1
791	*rám*	'chop'	1
792	*rameì*	'incense(RL)'	1
793	*rarɛ*	'Khoina(RL)'	1
794	*rariʃu*	'serow(RL)'	1
795	*raro*	'Ditchik(RL)'	1
796	*rɛ̀ʧibíʔ*	'Rɛɛʧibiʔ(RL)'	1
797	*rɛ̀náŋbíʔ*	'Rɛɛnaŋbiʔ(RL)'	1
798	*ri*	NA	1
799	*ríʔ²*	'field'	1
800	*rikodin*	'recording(<Eng)'	1
801	*rilu*	'Rilu(RL)'	1
802	*riʃʃɛ́ʔ*	'Riʃʃɛʔ'	1
803	*rɪ̀̃*	'be.slippery'	1
804	*rəpá*	'dim'	1
805	*rəpí*	'dim'	1
806	*rəbɛ̃̀*	'RəbɛN'	1
807	*rənóʔ*	'rhinoceros'	1
808	*rùʃə̃̀ʦo*	'Ruʃantso(RL)'	1
809	*rúʔ*	'bark'	1
810	*ruráŋ*	'Rurang(RL)'	1
811	*rjʉ̃̌*	'become.white'	1
812	*lata*	CONJ	1
813	*lama*	'Lama(<Monpa)'	1
814	*lə̀̃kuíʔ*	'that.side'	1
815	*laŋaa*	'Langa'	1
816	*lɨ*	'bow'	1
817	*líŋkúʔ*	'chest'	1
818	*lʉ̃̀buɛ̃̀*	'happy(<M)'	1
819	*ljáʔ*	'lick'	1
820	*ljáʔ³*	'flash'	1
821	*ljagù*	'Assam.plains(<M)'	1
822	*ljóʔ*	'flash'	1
823	*wə̃̀²*	'ridge'	1
824	*wes*	'West'	1
825	*woʤo*	'read'	1
826	*fɛ̀*	'see(HL)'	1
827	*fɛ̃̀*	'throw'	1
828	*féʔ*	'remember.names(RL)'	1
829	*fì*	'carry.on.strap'	1
830	*vɨʤɨ̀*	'fish.trap(<M)'	1
831	*vɨsəpjʉ́̃*	'confluence(<M)'	1
832	*vɨsəmán*	'crocodile(<M)'	1
833	*vɨtomjɛ́ʔ*	'Vɨtomjɛʔ'	1
834	*vɨtúŋ*	'spring(<M)'	1
835	*vjɛ̀²*	'throw.particles'	1
836	*saplai*	'supply(<Eng)'	1
837	*samituŋ*	'Samituŋ(<M)'	1
838	*sə̀̃²*	'clear.up'	1
839	*sə̀̃ʤáŋ*	'all.plants(RL)'	1
840	*sə̀̃ʤo*	'Sandʒo'	1
841	*sə̃̀njúŋ*	'all.plants(RL)'	1
842	*sáŋari*	'bayonet(<IA)'	1
843	*sɛ̃̀bɛ̃̀*	'gras(RL)'	1
844	*səkə́̃*	'all.pots'	1
845	*səkə́̃dɔ̃̀*	'so.many(<M)'	1
846	*səkʉ́̃*	'pot'	1
847	*sətú²*	'jolly'	1
848	*səʦɛ̃̀*	'wild.boar'	1
849	*səmù*	'underground(RL)'	1

850	*səmjɛ́ʔ*	‘amaranth’	1
851	*səmɹɛ̀*	‘butter(<M)’	1
852	*sənɪ́m*	‘civet’	1
853	*səraù*	‘tree.sp’	1
854	*sərù*	‘mountain.goat’	1
855	*səfəù*	‘cow’	1
856	*suán*	‘ten’	1
857	*suánwù*	‘fifty’	1
858	*súndə̀*	‘Sundə’	1
859	*susulán*	‘mithun.path’	1
860	*zə̃̀*	‘fish.trap’	1
861	*zə̃̀²*	‘make.fish.trap’	1
862	*ʃàʃu*	‘ʃaʃu(RL)’	1
863	*ʃaòdə̀*	‘ʃaodə’	1
864	*ʃám*	‘rot’	1
865	*ʃə̃̀ɛ́ʔ*	‘fibre.cloth’	1
866	*ʃə̃̀zíʔ*	‘cockroach.sp’	1
867	*ʃáŋ²*	‘remember.names(RL)’	1
868	*ʃaŋmjuŋ*	‘create(RL)’	1
869	*ʃɪ̀tsóʔ*	‘rotten.wood’	1
870	*ʃətúŋ*	‘Bhalukpung(RL)’	1
871	*ʃətʃi*	‘rice.seeds(RL)’	1
872	*ʃə̃mbu*	‘Rurang(RL)’	1
873	*ʃəzáŋ*	‘ʃəzaŋ’	1
874	*ʃəzì*	‘incense’	1
875	*ʃuʃɛ̀̃*	‘caress’	1
876	*zaù*	‘get.up’	1
877	*zɪ̀*	‘hang’	1
878	*zɪ̀²*	‘move’	1
879	*ɬám*	‘change’	1
880	*ɬɪ́ʔ*	‘pour’	1
881	*hám³*	‘burn’	1
882	*hə̃̀tʰɛ̀̃*	‘settlement’	1
883	*hə̀lə̀̃*	‘inside.of.house’	1
884	*hə̃̀ʃɪ́n*	‘wind’	1
885	*hisáp*	‘account(<IA)’	1
886	*hɪ̀̃ʤì*	‘all.of.them’	1
887	*hɪ̀̃la*	‘here’	1
888	*hɪ̀̃sá*	‘like.this’	1
889	*hɪ́ŋɛ*	Q	1
890	*hɹɪ́ʔ*	‘burn.with.high.flame’	1
891	*ŋawaŋ*	‘Ngawaŋ’	1

B. Lexicon

All lexicon entries, including sub-entries[1], have the following maximal structure:

lexeme[1] [REGISTER][2] (*var.* *variants*)[3] (≠*minimal pairs*)[4] word class[5] ① meaning ② meaning ③ meaning[6] [*sci.* scientific][7] grammar:[8] [etymology[9] M[10]] ▸[11] ▸*cf.*[12] ▸*syn.*[13] ▸*ant.*[14] ▸*ex.*[15] [B12345][16] picture[17]

1) phonological representation: homonyms sorted according to frequency 2) register: hunting language (HL), ritual language (RL) 3) cross-reference to variants 4) cross-reference to confirmed phonological minimal pairs 5) word class 6) meanings numbered ①, ②, ③ 7) scientific name for plants and animals 8) grammatical information 9) etymology 10) Miji (Bulu dialect) 11) cross-reference to other parent entries 12) cross-reference to semantically related entries 13) cross-reference to synonyms 14) cross-reference to antonyms 15) cross-reference to the corpus 16) unique identifier (file name in dictionary) 17) picture

Sort order of lexicon entries:

vowels, plosives and affricates, nasals, sonorants, fricatives

-= *a ɛ e i ɨ ə ɔ o u y ʔ k kʰ g tʰ d ʧ ʤ ʦ ʣ p pʰ b N ŋ n m j r l w f v s z ʃ ʒ ɬ h*

The primary data of the lexicon is archived on Zenodo (https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4064738) and includes 5081 text files with lexical entries, 5879 audio files and 306 image files.

[1] Technically, in the underlying database all entries are of the same type with a cross-reference to the parent entry. There are no "subentries".

-ǜ *nsfx.* possessive (POSS) [B55110]
gù vèǜ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will steal his knife. ▸*gù*, *ʧi²*, *rjaò²* ▸*syn. gù vè-tǘ ʧì rjaòna* [B59031]
-ka *nmlz.* ① general nominaliser for attribute clauses ② agent nominaliser (REL) ▸*syn. -bu* [B35020]
akə́m badɛ̀ka *n.* a blind person ▸*dɛ̀*, *akə́m*, *ba-* [B39458]
akuǐ baʒuɛ̀ka *ex.* a deaf person ▸*akuǐ* [B39463]
ʧuǐ̀ka prǐ́ *ex.* the person who is washing (himself/something) ▸*ʧuǐ̀*, *prǐ́* [B42196]
prǐ́ wɛ́ʔka prǐ́ *ex.* murder ▸*prǐ́*, *wɛ́ʔ* [B58986]
bjaòka *n.* the crazy one ▸*bjaò²* [B55701]
mərù dùkadʒi *ex.* the thing for making love to a woman (penis) ▸*dù²* [B53740]
náŋka *n.* the sick one ▸*náŋ* [B55706]
rə́mkadʒi *ex.* someone sleeping ▸*rə́m* ▸*syn. rə́mbudʒi* [B58628]
agéʔtám wɛ̀ka *ex.* someone without hand ▸*agéʔtám*, *wɛ̀* [B58763]
batʰə̀̀muɛ̀ka apʰáʔ *ex.* Someone who cannot give, is stingy. ▸*muɛ̀̀*, *apʰáʔ* [B59039]
-kán *vderiv.* to do something in the end as last (finally) [=M *kan*] ▸*ex.* (874), (883) [B57856]
rìkán *ex.* to finally stay or settle [M *ʤuŋkan*] ▸*rì* [B57860]
-kíŋ *post.* on (a journey) (LOC) [B55954]
límkíŋ *n.* in the middle of the road ▸*lím* [B55958]
-kəpáŋ *vsfx.* continuous [=M *-kəpaŋ*] ▸*ex.* (1138), (1171) [B35068]
-rikəpáŋ *vsfx.* continuous ▸*-ri* ▸*syn. -riba* [B51721]
gùtaʒu aʃuǐ̀ níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*=taʒu*, *aʃuǐ̀*, *níŋ* [B58782]
gùtaʒu níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*=taʒu*, *níŋ* [B58781]
gəhenǐʔtaʧǜ níŋrikəpáŋ *ex.* We see each other. ▸*gəhenǐʔ*, *-taʧǜ* [B58783]
-kə́m *vderiv.* to do something with the result that some things (or persons) are in one place [=M *kɨn*] ▸*cf. lèkə́m* [B50323]
ʧìkə́m *v.* to gather for eating together ▸*ʧì* [B59227]
ʧíŋkə́m *v.* to gather to work together ▸*ʧǐ́ŋ* [B59228]
ʤuɛ́ʔkə́m *ex.* to put together on a hip (e.g. potatoes) ▸*ʤuɛ́ʔ* [B50332]
bíʔkə́m *ex.* to broom together ▸*bíʔ* [B53954]
mətʰyɛ́ʔ ɛ̀̀ vùkə́m *ex.* to go everybody together to Mathow ▸*mətʰyɛ́ʔ*, *ɛ̀̀* [B58639]
mətʃíŋ ɛ̀̀ ʧíŋkə́m *ex.* to work everybody together ▸*ʧǐ́ŋ*, *ɛ̀̀* [B58640]
məluɛ̀̀ ɛ̀̀ ʧìkə́m *ex.* to eat everybody together from one plate ▸*məluɛ̀̀*, *ɛ̀̀* ▸*cf. pʰəù lyìla ín* [B58638]
ruìkə́m *ex.* to pull together on a hip (branches, small trees, bamboo) [≠M *ʃa:kɨn*] ▸*ruì* [B54562]
lèkə́m *ex.* to put together (e.g. potatoes) [=M *li:kɨn*] ▸*lè* ▸*cf. -kə́m* [B50337]
mamidʒɨ̀ lèkə́m *ex.* to collect potatoes ▸*mamidʒì* [B54557]
vùkə́m *ex.* to come together (for people) ▸*vù* [B50327]

-gáʔ *nsfx.* side (SIDE) ▸*cf. -ɬɛ̀* [B40670]
kǔgáʔ *ex.* somewhere up there ▸*kǔ* [B40684]
tɛ́gáʔ *ex.* overthere ▸*tɛ́* [B42974]
bùgáʔ *ex.* somewhere down there ▸*bù* [B40679]
hl̀gáʔ *ex.* this side, here ▸*hl̀* [B40674]
-gɑ̀ *vderiv.* to do something with the result that something is enclosed ▸*cf. gɑ̀* [B43184]
kɛ́gɑ̀ *ex.* to hold ▸*kɛ́* [B22362]
tɔ́ʔgɑ̀ *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*tɔ́ʔ* [B50436]
tjɛ́gɑ̀ *v.* to cover something (with soil or leaves) ▸*tjɛ́* [B43188]
dənògɑ̀ *ex.* to pick up [<M *dənoːgaŋ*] ▸*syn. rúngɑ̀* [B37712]
ʧándɔku ɛ́ʔ pʰùgɑ̀ *ex.* to put a bandage around a wound ▸*ʧɑ̌dɔ̀*, *ɛ́ʔ*, *pʰù* [B59025]
pʰùgɑ̀ *ex.* ▸*pʰù* [B59026]
plɛ́gɑ̀ *ex.* to cover something with soil, leaves or paper ▸*plɛ́* [B59042]
məhjɛ̀ ʧúʔla plɛ́gɑ̀ *ex.* ▸*məhjɛ̀*, *ʧúʔ*, *plɛ́* [B59043]
rìgɑ̀ *v.* to stay tight ▸*rì* [B58537]
ríngɑ̀ *vt.* ① to push up ② to push inside (bags, luggage) ▸*rín* [B51181]
rúngɑ̀ *ex.* to hold ▸*rún* ▸*syn. dənògɑ̀* [B58991]
səwìgɑ̀ *ex.* to wrap thightly (a cloth or bandage) ▸*səwì* [B44359]
-go *vderiv.* derivative borrowed from Miji (verbs with involvement of the head?) [<M *-go*] [B57789]
kɛ́go *ex.* to drop soemthing [=M *kɛgo*] ▸*kɛ́* ▸*cf. ɬúʔ* ▸*syn. kʰèpənéʔ* [B33570]
kʰoìgo *ex.* to shake the head ▸*kʰoì* [B57794]
tɔ́ʔgo *vt.* to bite [loan morphology from Miji<M *tʰaʔgo*] ▸*tɔ́ʔ* [B57771]
dəfìgo *vt.* shake the head ▸*dəfì* [B56252]
-ta inflection self, own [B58571]
gùta kídyì̀ *ex.* I beat myself. ▸*kí*, *-dyì̀* [B58777]
-tamɛ *vsfx.* (POT) ▸*cf. -bamɛ* ▸*syn. -damɛ* [B55768]
-tán *vderiv.* to teach [<M *-tan*] [B51474]
gíʔtán *ex.* to teach in the school ▸*gíʔ* ▸*cf. hl̀tán* [B51469]
hl̀tán (≠*tʰɑ̀*) *ex.* to teach, to show (orally) [≠M *pjutan*] ▸*hl̀* ▸*cf. gíʔtán* [B33480]
-damɛ *ccltc.* potential (POT) ▸*cf. =mɛ* ▸*syn. -tamɛ*, *-bamɛ* [B56176]
-dɛ̀ *vsfx.* permansive, often with -ba or baʔ (PRMN) [B49684]
ínbùdɛ̀ *ex.* to drink even more in order to have drunk same share (with others or of a beverage) ▸*ín*, *bù³* ▸*syn. ínbùlɛ̀* [B58679]
gùku njétʃi báʔ gùku njé tʰɑ̀budɛ̀ *ex.* I have only little bit, give me more! ▸*njé*, *=ku*, *tʰɑ̀*, *bù³* [B58676]
tʰɑ̀bùdɛ̀ *ex.* give little bit more in order to make equal shares ▸*tʰɑ̀*, *bù³* [B58675]
bádɛ̀ *ex.* permansive, "still, continue to" (PRMN) ▸*-ba* [B49674]
atʃɔ̃ bádɛ̀ *ex.* It is still light (not dark yet). ▸*atʃɔ̃* [B53672]
gù bakɔ́bádɛ̀ *ex.* I am not tired yet. ▸*ba-*, *kɔ́* [B49747]
buɬɛ̀ dáʔbádɛ̀ *ex.* Down there it is still blocking. (When fitting wood planks to the house.)

▸*dáʔ*[2] [B49742]

rɨ̀bádɛ̃̀ *ex.* to stay (some days) more ▸*rɨ̀* [B51629]

-dà *vsfx.* causative, permissive (CAUS) [≠M *-go*] [B35072]

kʰɔ̀ nyɛ̀dà *ex.* let the water flow out (of sago) ▸*nyɛ̀* [B53197]

gù nàku zɛ̀dà *ex.* I will make you laugh. ▸*zɛ̀* [B51454]

ʧɪ̃̀dà *ex.* to make someone stand up ▸*ʧɪ̃̀* [B43482]

tsaòdà *ex.* let it boil ▸*tsaò* [B51537]

bagjɑ̃̀dà basɛ̃̀dà *ex.* do not let them live and prosper, don't let them become rich ▸*sɛ̃̀*, *gjɑ̃̀* [B40783]

rɨ̀dà *ex.* to make someone sit ▸*rɨ̀* [B51459]

zɛ̀dà *ex.* to make someone laugh ▸*zɛ̀* [B39104]

ɬúʔdà *ex.* to make something fall [≠M *dəʧɪngo*] ▸*ɬúʔ* [B51552]

hɑ̃̀ʃɪ̃n ũ̀dàna *ex.* Let the wind come! ▸*ũ̀* [B49599]

nɪ́hɪ́ʔlaòdà *ex.* to make someone feel scared ▸*nɪ́hɪ́ʔlaò* [B51532]

lũ̀síʔdà *ex.* to make someone happy ▸*lũ̀séʔ* [B51512]

lũ̀zíʔdà *ex.* to make someone angry ▸*lũ̀zíʔ* [B51497]

vèku lũ̀zíʔdà *ex.* to make him angry ▸*vè*, *lũ̀zíʔ* [B51502]

-dà[2] *nsfx.* ① diminutive ② child, offspring ③ second element of clan names (DIM) ▸*cf. adà* [B36464]

agéʔdà *n.* ring finger ▸*agéʔ* [B53298]

adzɨ́mdà *ex.* small, narrow ▸*adzɨ́m* [B56656]

afùdà *n.* young man, boy ▸*afù* ▸*ant. mərùdà* [B52580]

avɑ́ŋdà *n.* brothers ▸*avɑ́ŋ* [B39916]

azìdà *ex.* small ▸*azì* [B37336]

kənjàdà *n.* a person from Khoina ▸*kənjà* ▸*syn. kənjàʤi* [B58846]

kʰàmbudà *n.* bowl ▸*kʰàmbu* [B43214]

təpíndà *n.* a person from Jerigaon ▸*təpín* [B58847]

ʧádà *n.* chicken baby ▸*ʧá* [B44082]

ʧadà *n.* sago sucker ▸*ʧaò* ▸*syn. masù* [B39744]

ʧɪdà *n.* small kitchen knife ▸*ʧɪ*[2] [B28593]

pəsjɛ̀dà *n.* small snake ▸*pəsjɛ̀* [B36496]

prɨ́dà *n.* Puroik [≠M *suluŋ*] ▸*prɨ́* ▸*syn. puruíʔ* [B33128]

prɨ́dà tʰɨ́ʔ *n.* village of the Puroiks (Bulu) ▸*tʰɨ́ʔ* [B58849]

prɨ́dà zɛ̃̀ *n.* Puroik tribe ▸*zɛ̃̀*[2] [B53945]

prɨ́dàsə́m *n.* Puroik language [≠M *suluŋlao*] ▸*sə́m* [B39089]

bətʃɪdà *n.* non-tribal ▸*bətʃɪ̀* [B56554]

mərùdà *n.* young woman, girl ▸*mərù* ▸*ant. afùdà* [B52575]

nəlùdà *n.* Kazolang Puroik ▸*nəlù* [B58848]

wáʔdà *n.* piglet ▸*wáʔ* [B59232]

səfəùdà *n.* calf ▸*səfəù* [B59235]

-dəgaì *vderiv.* to do something again and again [=M *-dəgai*] [B58018]

hɪ̀dəgaì *ex.* to tell again and again [M *ʧodəgai*] ▸*hɪ̀* [B58022]

-də́m *vderiv.* do something the whole day [B40318]

anìdə́m *ex.* the whole day ▸*anì* [B43641]

ʤɔ́ʔdə́m *ex.* to wait the whole day ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B51771]

nà hanì hɛ̀ tsáʔdə́m *ex.* What did

you do today the whole day? ▸*tsáʔ*, *hanì* [B51848]

-dəhǎ̀ *vderiv.* to be huffy, to be miffed (mainly because of not getting food and drinks) [B43434]

índəhǎ̀ *ex.* don't want to drink (because someone else was served first) [=M *tuŋdəhaN*] ▸*ín* ▸*cf.* *ʧîdəhǎ̃* [B43442]

ʧìdəhǎ̀ *ex.* don't want to eat because anymore ("You gave him first, now I don't want to eat anymore.") [=M *tsɨdəhaN*] ▸*ʧì* ▸*cf.* *índəhǎ̃* [B43438]

vùdəhǎ̀ *ex.* huffy because of not letting him go before, now reluctant to go [=M *daidəhaN*] ▸*vù* [B43453]

-dɔ̀ (≠*-dɔ̀*) *vsfx.* ① right now (under the speakers eyes) ② speaker has own visual evidence (IMM) ▸*cf.* *dɔ̀²* [B34632]

asú báʔdɔ̀ro *ex.* It is true [I saw it myself]. ▸*=ro*, *báʔ*, *asú* [B51712]

badɛ̀dɔ̀ úʔla rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit without being seen ▸*dɛ̀*, *úʔ* [B50401]

nà pʰəù índɔ̀ *ex.* Drink this rice beer right now! (order) ▸*pʰəù*, *ín* [B49589]

ljèdɔ̀ *ex.* full ▸*ljè* [B28850]

hadɛ̀dɔ̀ku *adv.* immediately ▸*hadɛ̀* [B57616]

vùdɔ̀ʧína *ex.* have to go immediately ▸*vù*, *-ʧí* [B58935]

-dɔ̀ (≠*-dɔ̀*) *vderiv.* to take someone along [B57621]

ǔdɔ̀ *ex.* to go and take someone along ▸*ǔ* [B57630]

lèdɔ̀ *vt.* to take someone along ▸*lè* [B57625]

-dyɨ̀ *vderiv.* to do something again [B34334]

amjè tsáʔdyɨ̀na *ex.* to fix something, to make something good again ▸*amjè*, *tsáʔ* [B49926]

gùta kɨ́dyɨ̀ *ex.* I beat myself. ▸*-ta*, *kɨ́* [B58777]

gùtaʒu kɨ́dyɨ̀ *ex.* I beat myself. ▸*=taʒu*, *kɨ́* [B58778]

bɛ̀dyɨ̀ [HL] *ex.* to go back ▸*bɛ̀²* [B52357]

məluɛ̀ ʧìla muɛ́ʔdyɨ̀ *ex.* to eat food and throw up ▸*muɛ́ʔ* [B59011]

rǎ̀dyɨ̀ *ex.* to give back ▸*rǎ̀* [B44150]

vùhrɛ̃̀dyì *ex.* to go around again ▸*-hrɛ̃̀*, *vù* [B45056]

hɨ̀lɔdyɨ̀ *ex.* ▸*hɨ̀lɔ* [B58997]

-ʧa *vsfx.* perfect (PRF) [B34952]

-banaʧa *vsfx.* hypothetical (HYP) ▸*-ba*, *-na* [B54751]

nà hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ-banaʧa *ex.* You must be hungry. ▸*hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ* [B54746]

ʃì ìbanaʧa *ex.* The animal must have died. [B54979]

gù dɛ̀ʧa *ex.* I learned it. ▸*dɛ̀* [B53865]

dɛ̀ʧa *ex.* to have understood something ▸*dɛ̀* [B42272]

ʤóŋʧa *ex.* it is finished ▸*ʤɔ̀* [B39654]

pʰɔ́ʔʧa *ex.* forgot ▸*pʰɔ́ʔ* [B44006]

rjaòʧa *ex.* to have learned/understood something (lit. to have snatched it) ▸*rjaò* [B34265]

rɨ̀ǔʧa *vi.* run away ▸*rɨ̀ǔ* [B43362]

vùʤɨʧa *ex.* went away ▸*vùʤɨ*, *-ʤɨ* [B43357]

-ʧɛ́ʔbəna *vderiv.* exactly [B57804]

bjàʧɛ́ʔbəna *ex.* it is exactly this [B57808]

-ʧɨ *ncltc.* one, only, restrictive focus (RSTR) [B57055]

adəzyìtʃi *n.* one year ▸*adəzuì* [B43646]

krolʧi *num.* one crore (ten million) [<IA Hindi करोड़ karoṛ] ▸*krol* [B41649]

gántatʃi *n.* one hour ▸*gánta* [B57060]

pŭpʰùʧi *num.* one hundred [≠M *bəloŋ*] ▸*pŭpʰù* [B16409]

njétʃi *quant.* few, little ▸*njé* ▸*syn. njé* [B22559]

laktʃi *num.* one lakh, 100'000 [<IA] ▸*lak* [B41645]

hằpŭtʃi *ex.* one day ▸*hằpŭ* [B42050]

hjằtʃi *adv.* once ▸*hjằ* [B51928]

hjằhjằtʃi *adv.* ▸*hjằhjằ* [B57069]

guéʔpjắtʃi *n.* one hand span ▸*guéʔpjắ* [B58453]

-ʧǜ (≠*-ʤǜ*) *vderiv.* do something permanently to completion (COMPL) [B57750]

-ʧǜ² *nsfx.* among, between [B56718]

-tatʃǜ *post.* nominal reciprocal, between, among (persons), mainly on pronouns ▸*=ta* [B35455]

-ʤi *vsfx.* change of state [B49282]

ìʤi *ex.* to die (process of dying?) ▸*ì* [B15635]

ǜʤi *ex.* went away ▸*ǜ* [B49286]

ǜʤirɛ̀ʧa *ex.* already went away ▸*ǜ*, *-rɛ̀* [B51923]

rə́mʤi *ex.* fell asleep ▸*rə́m* [B49277]

laíʔ ǜʤiʧa *ex.* the electricity went off (lit. went away) ▸*ǜ*, *laíʔ* [B49716]

vùʤi *ex.* went away ▸*vù* [B39306]

vùʤiʧa *ex.* went away ▸*vùʤi*, *-ʧa* [B43357]

-ʤi² *nsfx.* suffix for names of tribes [B54176]

kənjàʤi *n.* Khoina village (Sartang) ▸*kənjà* ▸*syn. kənjàdə* [B33095]

taràʤi *n.* Miji person from upper Lada circle (East Kameng) ▸*tarà* [B57930]

təpíndʒi *n.* Jerigaon village (Sartang) ▸*təpín* [B33092]

dəduìʤi *n.* a person from lower Lada ▸*dəduì* [B58853]

dəwòʤi *n.* Sherdukpen ▸*dəwò* [B33108]

páŋmiʤi *n.* Brokpa/Tawangpa ▸*páŋmi* [B33116]

nəlùʤi *n.* Puroik clan of Kazolang (extinct) ▸*nəlù* [B33377]

rarìʤi *n.* Magopa ▸*rarì* [B33120]

rəpúŋʤi *n.* Rahung (Sartang) ▸*rəpúŋ* [B33104]

lapúʤi *n.* person from Lapusa ▸*lapú* [B57916]

sətándʒi *n.* Khoita, Salari (Sartang) ▸*sətán* [B33100]

-ʤǜ (≠*-ʧǜ*) *vderiv.* completive, 'all, everybody, completely', one or more participants are completely affected by action expressed in the verb ▸*cf. ʤǜ³* [B33145]

kʰìʤǜ *ex.* the birds all flew away ▸*kʰì* [B50472]

gù íʔʤǜʧa *ex.* I finished cutting. ▸*íʔ* [B49775]

ʧíŋʧǜpʰéʔ níŋjằbo *ex.* Keep watching until the work is finished! ▸*ʧíŋ*, *-pʰéʔ*, *-jằ* [B58836]

pə́ʤǜpʰéʔ níŋjằbo *ex.* Watch until it is finished! ▸*-pʰéʔ*, *pə́* [B49262]

vùʤǜ *ex.* everybody went ▸*vù* [B50467]

-paro inflection hortative (HORT) ▸*syn. -batʃaro* [B58592]

ʧìparo *ex.* Let's eat! [B58594]
rə́mparo *ex.* [B58595]
vùparo *ex.* Let's go! ▸*syn. vùbatʃaro* [B58593]
-pənéʔ *vderiv.* little bit to a side [B56148]
kʰèpənéʔ *ex.* to drop something (intentionally?) [≠M *kaipəɬoʔ*] ▸*kə̋* ▸*syn. kə̋go* [B42803]
kʰèpənéʔ ɬúʔ *ex.* something falls down ▸*ɬúʔ* [B42807]
vùpənéʔ *ex.* to go little bit to a side ▸*vù* [B56152]
-pə́ndɛ̀ *vsfx.* (OBLG) [B40506]
gùku bɑ̀ njé ʧìpə́ndɛ̀ *ex.* Borrow me some money! ▸*ʧì*[3] [B59065]
-pʰéʔ *vderiv.* to reach ▸*cf. pʰéʔ* [B33888]
-ɯ̃pʰéʔ *vderiv.* TERM, "until it is finished" ▸*ɯ̃* [B49258]
ɯ̃pʰéʔ *ex.* to reach (home, to a base) ▸*ɯ̃* [B36452]
kʰìpʰéʔ *ex.* to reach flying ▸*kʰì* [B39646]
gù vùpʰéʔla kʰɔ̀ ləmbatʃa *ex.* When I came the water was hot ▸*ləm* [B58663]
ʧĩŋʧɯ̃pʰéʔ níŋjɑ̀bo *ex.* Keep watching until the work is finished! ▸*ʧĩŋ*, *-ʤɯ̃*, *-jɑ̃̀* [B58836]
pədʒɯ̃pʰéʔ níŋjɑ̀bo *ex.* Watch until it is finished! ▸*pə́*, *-ʤɯ̃* [B49262]
rɯ̀pʰéʔ *ex.* to reach running ▸*rín* [B39636]
lèpʰéʔ *ex.* brought ▸*lè* [B59037]
vùpʰéʔ *ex.* to reach to a place ▸*vù* [B39641]
-pʰíʔ *vderiv.* away ahead [B39710]
kʰìpʰíʔ *ex.* to fly away (of a bird when followed by hunters) ▸*kʰì* [B43383]
rɯ̀pʰíʔ *ex.* to run ahead alone, run away ▸*rín* [B43378]
vùpʰíʔ *ex.* went away ahead (not waiting for people coming behind) ▸*vù* [B43367]
-pʰɔ̀ *nsfx.* male [B43124]
krápʰɔ̀ [RL] *n.* ▸*krá* [B56771]
krúŋpʰɔ̀ [RL] *n.* ▸*krúŋ* [B56775]
təkʰùpʰɔ̀ *n.* the married men of the village ▸*təkʰù* ▸*ant. təkʰùmɔ* [B43119]
ʧápʰɔ̀ *n.* rooster [≠M *doʔpu*] ▸*ʧá* [B44092]
wáʔpʰɔ̀ *n.* boar ▸*wáʔ* [B59231]
səfəùpʰɔ̀ *n.* bull ▸*səfəù* [B59233]
-pjéʔ *vderiv.* to do something with the result that something is smashed [B58256]
ípjéʔ *ex.* to smash with the foot, to make flat ▸*í* [B41901]
alɛ̀ ípjéʔ *ex.* to smash with the foot ▸*alɛ̀* [B41897]
-pri *vsfx.* anterior (ANT) [B55106]
-prina *nmlz.* anterior (ANT) ▸*-na*[2] [B57598]
-pɹo *vderiv.* in different directions (together with -mro) [B57776]
gɯ̀pɹo gɯ̀mɹo *ex.* to chase in different directions [M *sepro semro*] ▸*gɯ̀*, *-mɹo* [B57784]
-ba *vsfx.* ① present tense; events taking place or being relevant to the time of the speech act situation ② general truths (PRS) [B55001]
-bamɛ *vsfx.* (POT) ▸*=mɛ* ▸*cf. bamɛ̀*, *-tamɛ* ▸*syn. -damɛ* [B55765]
gù aróʔ klá vùbamɛ *ex.* Where might my friend have gone? ▸*klá* [B58826]
-bana *vsfx.* potential, hypothetical (HYP) ▸*-na* [B56699]

-banatʃa *vsfx.* hypothetical (HYP) ▸*-tʃa*, *-na* [B54751]

-bajǎ *vsfx.* polar question (Q) ▸*=jǎ* [B49155]

-baro *vsfx.* assertive (ASRT) (ASRT) ▸*=ro* [B56140]

-bahi *vsfx.* polar question (Q) ▸*=hi* [B43256]

gù tʃì tʃíbaro *ex.* I need a dao. ▸*tʃi²*, *tʃĭ* [B58835]

gù mamidʒì tʃíba *ex.* I need potatoes. ▸*mamidʒì*, *tʃĭ* [B58834]

gù muéʔba *ex.* I throw up. (No default object like other body functions.) ▸*muéʔ* [B59008]

bádɛ̌ *ex.* permansive, "still, continue to" (PRMN) ▸*-dɛ̌* [B49674]

-batʃa *vsfx.* perfect (PRF) [B42727]

-batʃaro inflection (HORT) ▸*=ro* ▸*syn. -paro* [B58596]

avì vjɛ̀batʃa *ex.* (the knife) is well sharp now ▸*avì*, *vjɛ̀* [B49316]

ɛ̀batʃa *ex.* It is fitting now. ▸*ɛ̀* [B49809]

ìbatʃa *ex.* it is cooked (lit. died) ▸*ì* ▸*cf. míŋbatʃa* [B22350]

kʰɔ̀ tsaòbatʃa *ex.* the water is boiling ▸*tsaò* [B43565]

gù dɛ̀batʃa *ex.* I understood. I realised. ▸*dɛ̀* [B43938]

tʃɛ̀batʃa *ex.* It is/was enough. ▸*tʃɛ̀²* [B58957]

mɛ̀ tsaòbatʃa *ex.* the vegetables are boiling ▸*tsaò* [B43560]

míŋbatʃa *ex.* it is cooked ▸*amín* ▸*cf. ìbatʃa* [B42737]

vjɛ̀batʃa *ex.* The work is finished/ready. ▸*vjɛ̀* [B54716]

hǎpű ím ǔbatʃa *ex.* three days ago ▸*ǔ*, *hǎpű* [B51600]

-bari *vsfx.* continuous (PROG) [B55963]

-bǎ *n.* stick, piece of (only in compounds) [B58428]

alɔ́ʔbǎ *n.* penis ▸*alɔ́ʔ* ▸*syn. alɔ́ʔfǎ* [B53735]

tʃabǎ *n.* piece of the trunk of a sago palm ▸*tʃaò* [B37869]

tʃǔbǎ *n.* something big and fat of the shape of a mithun which has been dead for several days [B57960]

ʃìbǎ *n.* wood trunk, a piece of wood ▸*ʃì* ▸*cf. kjɛ́*, *ʃìbǎ fín* [B40460]

-bɛ̀ *vderiv.* do something for a while [B53351]

tʰǎbɛ̀ *ex.* to give for some time ▸*tʰǎ* [B58470]

tʃìbɛ̀ *ex.* to borrow for a while ▸*tʃì³* [B54585]

tʃì njɛ́ tʰǎbɛ̀ *ex.* Give the knife little bit! ▸*njɛ́*, *tʰǎ*, *tʃì²* [B54580]

dʒɔ́ʔbɛ̀ *ex.* to wait little bit ▸*dʒɔ́ʔ* [B53346]

dʒɔ́ʔjǎbɛ̀ *ex.* Wait little bit! ▸*dʒɔ́ʔ*, *-jǎ* [B58878]

rɨbɛ̀ *ex.* to sit little bit, to wait ▸*rɨ* ▸*cf. tʰɔ̃̀bɛ̀* [B49955]

hanì gùku lyìbɛ̀ *ex.* Borrow it to me for today! ▸*lyì* [B54590]

tʰɔ̀bɛ̀ *ex.* to rest ▸*tʰɔ̀* ▸*cf. rɨbɛ̀* ▸*syn. arén tsáʔ* [B20665]

njɛ́ tʰɔ̀bɛ̀ *ex.* to rest little bit ▸*njɛ́*

[B42444]

-bədʒáŋ *vsfx.* experiential (EXP) [=M *-bədʒaŋ*] [B56882]

gù tezpur bavùbədʒáŋ *ex.* I have never gone to Tezpur. [B58823]

gù ʧarɛ̀ batʃìbədʒáŋ *ex.* I have never eaten sago. ▸*ʧarɛ̀* [B58824]

nà tezpur vùbədʒáŋhi *ex.* Did you ever go to Tezpur? ▸*=hi* [B58820]

nà ʧarɛ̀ ʧìbədʒə̀hi *ex.* Did you ever eat sago? [B58821]

ríʔɬáŋ rəmbədʒáŋhi *ex.* Did you ever sleep in the field? ▸*ríʔɬà* [B58822]

-bo *vsfx.* imperative (IMP) [B35266]

-jə̀bo *vsfx.* an order to make something ready for use ▸*-jà* [B43408]

ʧúʔgɨ̀bo *ex.* Help digging! ▸*gɨ̀*, *ʧúʔ* [B53022]

ʤɔ́ʔbo *ex.* wait! ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B43738]

ʤɔ́ʔjə̀bo *ex.* wait! ▸*-jà*, *ʤɔ́ʔ* [B43733]

bafaìbo [HL] *ex.* Don't make noise! ▸*ba-*, *faì* [B52215]

bavùbori vùlɛ̀ *ex.* Even after telling him not to go, he goes anyway. ▸*=ri*, *vù*, *-lɛ̀* [B58682]

bałúʔbo *ex.* Don't fall! ▸*łúʔ* [B53244]

mənɛ̀ lèvùnjámréʔbo *ex.* Bring me the luggage! ▸*mənɛ̀*, *lè*, *-njám*, *-réʔ* [B58604]

nɔ́ʔnjámréʔbo *ex.* Buy for me and bring it! ▸*nɔ́ʔ*, *-njám*, *-réʔ* [B58603]

hɨ̀lɔbo *ex.* remember! ▸*hɨ̀lɔ* [B44440]

-bu inflection not very frequent nominaliser, maybe a borrowing from KR (REL) ▸*syn. -ka* [B58626]

ìbuʤi *ex.* someone who died ▸*ì* [B58630]

məʧíŋ ʧíŋbuʤi *ex.* someone doing work ▸*ʧíŋ* [B58629]

rəmbuʤi *n.* someone sleeping ▸*rəm* ▸*syn. rəmkaʤi* [B58627]

-bu² *nsfx.* noun suffix [B49079]

aràbu *ex.* big, fat ▸*arà* [B20938]

krábu *n.* one of the clans of West Kameng, extinct ▸*krá* [B11070]

krábu ʤənwáŋ [RL] *n.* ▸*ʤənwáŋ* [B57828]

krúŋbu *n.* one of the clans of West Kameng, extinct ▸*krúŋ* [B11074]

krúŋbu ʤənwo [RL] *n.* ▸*ʤənwo* [B57832]

-bɹɛ̀ *vderiv.* to compete, to make competition [=M *-bɹɛɛ*] [B54530]

nà ʃáŋ gù ʃáŋ rínbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* Let's make a race and see whether I win or you win. ▸*ʃə̃́* [B59135]

ríʔbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a shooting competition ▸*ríʔ* [B54535]

kabɹáŋ ríʔbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a shooting competition ▸*kabɹáŋ* [B59136]

rínbrɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a race/running competition [≠M *ʒuNbɹɛri*] ▸*rín* [B43317]

múŋ tsúnbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a jumping competition ▸*míŋ tsún* [B54540]

-máŋ *vderiv.* to do something with the result that one of the participants dies (agent or patient) [<M *-maŋ*] [B50482]

kɨ́máŋ *ex.* to beat someone to death ▸*kɨ́* [B58431]

tsúnmáŋ *ex.* to jump to death ▸*tsún* [B40129]

rínmáŋ *ex.* to run to death ▸*rín* [B50491]

fɛ̃̀máŋ *ex.* to throw something at

someone so that he dies ▸*fɛ̀* [B58430]

vùmáŋ *ex.* to go/walk to death ▸*vù* [B50486]

ɬúʔmáŋ *ex.* to fall to death [M *dətsəmmaŋ*] ▸*ɬúʔ* [B36857]

-mila derivation to do something little bit [B58569]

-mə *vsfx.* past tense (PST) [M *-ku*] [B35040]

-məlana suffix anterior (ANT) ▸*-lana* [B59079]

-mərɔ *nmlz.* ① COND ② but never without -na or -lana (COND) [B55810]

-mərɔna *nmlz.* (COND) ▸*-na* [B57115]

-mərɔlana *nmlz.* (COND) ▸*-lana* [B57119]

-məlàməlò *vsfx.* hard to see [B59238]

ba-níŋ-məlàməlò *ex.* hard to see ▸*níŋ* [B54500]

-mɔ̀ (≠*-mɔ̀*[2]) *nsfx.* nominal suffix ▸*cf. aləmɔ̀* [B42461]

agéʔmɔ *n.* thumb ▸*agéʔ* [B41522]

amɔ̀ *n.* ① female (i.e. an animal or a human who can be a mother of someone) ② mother ▸*cf. amà, aʒáŋtéʔ* [B41707]

amɔ̀ apʰɔ̀ mɛìri *ex.* the male and the female are mating ▸*mɛì*, *-ri*[2], *apʰɔ̀* [B50543]

bù amɔ̀ *n.* female dog ▸*bù*[2] [B41711]

mədyì amɔ̀ *n.* chicken mother ▸*mədyì* ▸*cf. ʧámɔ̀* [B53462]

alèmɔ *n.* big toe ▸*alè* [B37031]

kalíŋmɔ *n.* big stone, rock ▸*kalíŋ* [B35940]

géʔmɔ *n.* thumb ▸*agéʔ* [B37528]

təkʰùmɔ *n.* the married women of the village ▸*təkʰù* ▸*ant. təkʰùpʰɔ̀* [B40815]

ʧámɔ̀ *n.* hen (not common) [≠M *doʔnei*] ▸*ʧá* ▸*cf. mədyì amɔ̀* [B44087]

ʧaòmɔ (≠*ʧáʔmɔ̀*, *ʧamɔ̀*) *n.* sago palm ▸*ʧaò* ▸*cf. səlaùmɔ* [B11347]

ʧáʔmɔ̀ (≠*ʧaòmɔ*, *ʧamɔ̀*) *n.* big taro root from which small taro roots sprout ▸*ʧjáʔ* [B53126]

məhjɛ̃̀mɔ *n.* dust ▸*məhjɛ̃̀* ▸*cf. məhjɛ̃̀ kɨ́* [B44119]

wáʔmɔ̀ *n.* sow ▸*wáʔ* [B59230]

səlaùmɔ [HL] *n.* sago palm ▸*səlaù* ▸*cf. ʧaòmɔ* [B54464]

səfəùmɔ̀ *n.* cow ▸*səfəù* [B59234]

ʃ̃ĩmɔ hɛ̃̀ *n.* trees ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *ʃ̃ĩ* [B45073]

ʃəʒɛ̃̀mɔ [RL] *n.* ① god, deity ② name of creator god [M *ʃə'ʒaŋnei*] ▸*cf. ʃəmjúŋmɔ* [B40178]

buì ʃəʒáŋmɔ bɛ́ʔ *n.* it is given by god (traditions, customary law, food restrictions) ▸*buì*, *bɛ́ʔ* [B51424]

ʃəʒáŋmɔ bɛ́ʔla la ì *ex.* god made his fate and he died (i.e. god decided that it is time for him to die) ▸*ì*, *bɛ́ʔ* [B51429]

hɛ̃̀sɛ̃̀mɔ *n.* morning star ▸*hɛ̃̀sɛ̃̀* ▸*cf. ʧəgɻúŋ rəgúŋ* ▸*syn. tarɛ̃̀ pʰidigjáŋ* [B55412]

-mɔ̀[2] (≠*-mɔ̀*) *nsfx.* forest? [B58424]

abíŋmɔ̀ *n.* dense forest of bushes, thicket ▸*abíŋ* ▸*cf. aríŋ*, *mərɔ̀mɔ̀* [B35187]

aríŋmɔ̀ *n.* forest of tall trees ▸*aríŋ* ▸*cf. mərɔ̀mɔ̀* [B42456]

ʧamɔ̀ (≠*ʧáʔmɔ̀*, *ʧaòmɔ*) *n.* sago plantation ▸*ʧaò* [B57397]

mərɔ̀mɔ̀ *n.* jungle (generic) ▸*mərɔ̀* ▸*cf. abíŋmɔ̀*, *aríŋmɔ̀* [B42450]

-muì *vderiv.* female humans ▸*ant.* *-fù* [B39374]

atsìmyì *n.* ① granddaughter (son's or daughter's daughter) ② niece (younger brother's or younger sister's daughter) ▸*atsì* [B35725]

anɔ̀muì *n.* younger sister ▸*anɔ̀* ▸*ant.* *abùmɨ̃̀* [B12826]

-mulɔ *vsfx.* (DESP) [B35017]

hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ̀ *ex.* Don't know what to do. ▸*tsáʔ* [B55118]

-mɨ̃̀ *n.* tree species with (only as compound) [B58467]

ʃɨ̀mɨ̃̀ *n.* tree with star anise like fruit, is sold as spice, medicine or incense, tree is about 10-15 meters high, the more precious species grows in the mountains (*sci.* *Illicium*) ▸*ʃì* [B57277]

-mjɛ̀ (*var.* of *amjɛ̀*) *adj.* [B59221]

-mɪɔ *vderiv.* in different directions (together with -pro) [B57780]

gɨ̀pɪɔ gɨ̀mɪɔ *ex.* to chase in different directions [M *sepro semro*] ▸*-pɪɔ*, *gɨ̀* [B57784]

-na *vsfx.* non-past, future (NPST) [B34969]

-bana *vsfx.* potential, hypothetical (HYP) ▸*-ba* [B56699]

-banatʃa *vsfx.* hypothetical (HYP) ▸*tʃa*, *-ba* [B54751]

-mərɔna *nmlz.* (COND) ▸*-mərɔ* [B57115]

-na² *vsfx.* nominaliser (NMLZ) [B57594]

-prina *nmlz.* anterior (ANT) ▸*-pri* [B57598]

-njám derivation to do something or move somewhere with luggage [B58602]

mənɛ̀ lèvùnjámréʔbo *ex.* Bring me the luggage! ▸*mənɛ̀*, *lè*, *-réʔ*, *-bo* [B58604]

nɔ́ʔnjámréʔbo *ex.* Buy for me and bring it! ▸*nɔ́ʔ*, *-réʔ*, *-bo* [B58603]

-jǎ̀ *vderiv.* continuative, keep doing something (PRMN) [B43627]

-jǎ̀bo *vsfx.* an order to make something ready for use ▸*-bo* [B43408]

pʰəù tíjǎ̀bo *ex.* scoop out the beer! ▸*pʰəù tí* [B43422]

pʰəù ʧɪpjǎ̀bo *ex.* make beer ready and keep it there! ▸*pʰəù ʧɨ̌p* [B43403]

məluɛ̃̀ ʧɨ̌ŋjámbo *ex.* make food ready! ▸*məluɛ̃̀ ʧɨ̌ŋ* [B43412]

nà bɛ̃̀jǎ̀bo [HL] *ex.* Keep going! ▸*bɛ̃̀²* [B52239]

níŋjǎ̀bo *ex.* Keep watching! ▸*níŋ* [B58837]

ǔsəjǎ̀ *v.* to keep on meeting ▸*sə̀* [B58624]

ʧìjǎ̀ *v.* to continue eating ▸*ʧì* [B58623]

ʧɨ́ŋʧǔpʰɛ́ʔ níŋjǎ̀bo *ex.* Keep watching until the work is finished! ▸*ʧɨ́ŋ*, *-ʤǔ*, *-pʰɛ́ʔ* [B58836]

ʤɔ́ʔjǎ̀ *ex.* to wait for people coming behind ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B38108]

ʤɔ́ʔjǎ̀² *ex.* Wait! ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B51776]

ʤɔ́ʔjǎ̀bɛ̃̀ *ex.* Wait little bit! ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ*, *-bɛ̃̀* [B58878]

ʤɔ́ʔjà̀bo *ex.* wait! ▸*-bo*, *ʤɔ́ʔ* [B43733]
mənɛ̀ dyìjà̀ *ex.* to take someone's luggage and bring it to the destiny ▸*dyì̀*, *mənɛ̀* [B43715]
nataʒu pájà̀ *ex.* Did you make it yourself? ▸*pá*, *=taʒu* [B53883]
rìjà̀ *ex.* to stay back, to wait ▸*rì* [B36685]
rə́mjà̀ *ex.* to continue sleeping ▸*rə́m* [B58622]
ʒamjà̀ *ex.* to keep the leg stretched ▸*ʒám* [B43631]
-rɛ *vderiv.* continuation of an action or a state (PRMN) [B58066]
báʔrɛ *ex.* continue being there [B58070]
-rɛ̀̃ *vderiv.* away ahead [B51919]
ǔ̀ʤirɛ̀̃ʧa *ex.* already went away ▸*ǔ̀*, *-ʤi* [B51923]
kʰɔ̀ aləm báʔrɛ̀̃ʧa *ex.* [B58662]
-réʔ *vderiv.* to do something for the benefit or for the damage of someone (BEN) ▸*cf. -rɔ̃̀* [B52895]
arɛ́n tsáʔréʔ *ex.* to make it comfortable for someone ▸*tsáʔ*, *arɛ́n* [B54895]
gù nàku bà̀ ʧìréʔna *ex.* I will give you money. ▸*ʧi*^{3} [B59068]
mənɛ̀ lèvùnjámréʔbo *ex.* Bring me the luggage! ▸*mənɛ̀*, *lè*, *-njám*, *-bo* [B58604]
nɛ́ʔréʔ (≠*nɛ́ʔri*) *ex.* to concilate ▸*nɛ́ʔ* [B43794]
nɔ́ʔnjámréʔbo *ex.* Buy for me and bring it! ▸*nɔ́ʔ*, *-njám*, *-bo* [B58603]
ljáŋréʔ *ex.* to be well-disposed to someone ▸*ljáŋ*^{2} [B54930]
ɬíʔréʔ *ex.* pour something for someone ▸*ɬíʔ* [B52899]
hɔ́ʔréʔ *ex.* to serve someone rice or sago ▸*hɔ́ʔ* [B52908]
-ri *vsfx.* imperfective (IPFV) [B56668]
-rikəpáŋ *vsfx.* continuous ▸*-kəpáŋ* ▸*syn. -riba* [B51721]
hì̀tánkəpáŋ *ex.* to learn ▸*hì̀tán* [B33485]
-ri^{2} *vsfx.* reciprocal (RECP) [B28647]
amjèri *ex.* to love eachother ▸*amjè* [B36314]
kə́̃ri *ex.* to extort from eachother ▸*kə́̃* [B44500]
kʰɔ̀̃ri *ex.* to share (with someone) ▸*kʰɔ̀̃* [B39177]
gəheníʔ kʰɔ̀̃ri *ex.* We two share. ▸*kʰɔ̀̃*, *gəseníʔ* [B53314]
tyǐ̃ri *v.* to tie two ropes together ▸*tyǐ̃* [B59103]
dɛ̀̃ri *v.* to know each other ▸*dɛ̀̃* [B39599]
dùri *ex.* to make love [≠M *ljuʔriʔ*] ▸*dù*^{2} [B39874]
dyì̀ri *v.* imitate each other ▸*dyì̀* [B59094]
ʧíʔri *ex.* to wrestle ▸*ʧíʔ* [B58546]
mɛìri *ex.* to mate ▸*mɛì* [B50538]
múŋ rìri *ex.* to speak with each other ▸*rì* [B42828]
nɛ́ʔri (≠*nɛ́ʔréʔ*) *v.* to quarrel, to fight verbally, to discuss ▸*nɛ́ʔ* [B40057]
rə̀̃ri *ex.* to give back ▸*rə̀̃* [B44136]
wuìri *ex.* to physically fight with each other ▸*wuì* [B38871]
sàri *ex.* to meet eachother ▸*sà* [B36778]
ʃéʔri *ex.* to beat each other up ▸*ʃéʔ* [B43863]
ʃuʃɛ̀̃ri *ex.* to cuddle each other ▸*ʃuʃɛ̀̃* [B56256]
amɔ̀ apʰɔ̀ mɛìri *ex.* the male and the

female are mating ▸*mɛì*, *apʰɔ̀*, *amɔ̀* [B50543]

gəhenír̀tatʃṳ̃ kɨ́ri *ex.* We beat each other. ▸*gəhenír̀*, *-tatʃṳ̃*, *kɨ́* [B58779]

gəhenír̀tatʃṳ̃ ʃér̀ri *ex.* We two beat eachother. ▸*gəhenír̀*, *-tatʃṳ̃*, *ʃér̀* [B58780]

-rika *nmlz.* REL [B43230]

kámbu plő́rika *n.* lid, cover of a pot ▸*plő́*, *kʰàmbu* [B43219]

ʧabrika *n.* pincers of a crab [B37703]

agə́r̀ ʧabrika *n.* pincers of crab ▸*agér̀* [B37707]

məluɛ̃̀ jaòrika məjaò *n.* esophagus ▸*cf. jaò* [B37291]

ʃúr̀ ʒùrika məjaò *n.* wind pipe (*sci. Trachea*) ▸*məjaò*, *ʃúr̀ ʒù* [B37286]

-riba *vsfx.* progressive (PROG) ▸*syn. -rikəpáŋ* [B44345]

ʧár̀wṳ̃ wũribár̀ *ex.* the chicken is laying an egg (right now) ▸*wṳ̃* [B44340]

hɛ̃̀pʰì pʰìribaro *ex.* It is raining. ▸*hɛ̃̀pʰì*, *pʰì*[2] [B54731]

-ribaʧa *vsfx.* continuos [B54975]

-rɔ̃̀ *vderiv.* remote benefactive (REM.BEN) ▸*cf. -ré?* [B57523]

-ruì (*var. -haruì*) *vsfx.* PST (ANT) ▸*cf. -haruì*, *ruì* [B34922]

-ruìla *nmlz.* NMLZ.ANT (ANT) [≠M *-kulei*] ▸*-la* [B39706]

-ruì[2] *vderiv.* auto-benefactive ▸*cf. -haruì* [B57528]

-rupɛ́ *n.* days in the future [B51621]

amrupɛ́ *n.* after three days [≠M *namu*] ▸*ḿm* [B51605]

rír̀rupɛ́ *n.* after six days ▸*rír̀* [B51617]

wurupɛ́ *n.* after five days [≠M *nagli'vo*] ▸*wù* [B51613]

vìrupɛ́ *n.* after four days [≠M *nazu*] ▸*vì* [B51609]

-la *nmlz.* verb suffix for sequential verb forms (SEQ) [=M *de*] ▸*cf. la* [B34996]

-ruìla *nmlz.* NMLZ.ANT (ANT) [≠M *-kulei*] ▸*-ruì* [B39706]

-lana *nmlz.* adverbial subordinator, clause linker (ANT) ▸*=na* ▸*cf. lana* [B39727]

-mərɔlana *nmlz.* (COND) ▸*-mərɔ* [B57119]

-mələna suffix anterior (ANT) ▸*-mə* [B59079]

=rila clitic clitic marking a clause as quoted (QUOT) ▸*rì* [B59078]

=la.ɛ̃̀ *post.* ① SOC ② INSTR ▸*ɛ̃̀* [B39166]

=la.ɛ̀ku *post.* with [B22536]

kjɛ́la ɛ̃̀ dyɛ́r̀ *ex.* to scratch the ground with a stick ▸*kjɛ́*, *dyɛ́r̀* [B49938]

kɛ́̃la rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit and hold ▸*rɨ̀*, *kɛ́̃* [B54655]

ʧìla rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit and eat [≠M *tsuude ʤuŋ*] ▸*ʧì*, *rɨ̀* [B58789]

ʧìla lè *ex.* to borrow ▸*ʧì*[3], *lè* [B44145]

príʔla ì *ex.* to die by getting burned by hot water ▸*príʔ*[2], *ì* [B44553]

plő́la lì *ex.* to keep something closed inside (a box or bottle) ▸*lì*, *plő́* [B45047]

banjáʔla *ex.* without making noise ▸*njáʔ* ▸*syn. bətsín* [B58600]

bjáŋla rɨ̀ *ex.* to be nervous [=M *bjaŋdə ʤuŋ*] ▸*rɨ̀*, *bjáŋ* [B44048]

ɬaòla lè *ex.* to take without paying ▸*ɬaò*, *lè* [B44241]

hjáŋla rɨ̀ *ex.* to show something ▸*hjáŋ*, *rɨ̀* [B54650]

zɛ̀la ʒaù *ex.* to wake up and get up ▸*zɛ̀*, *ʒaù* [B50408]

-la² *nsfx.* adverbial locative (LOC) ▸*cf. la* ▸*syn. =ʃə̀* [B50028]

tɛ́la *ex.* there ▸*tɛ́* [B50032]

ʤila conjunction ① conjunction (clause initial): then, thus ② adverb: then, there (CONJ) ▸*ʤì* ▸*cf. la* [B34567]

nùla *ex.* here ▸*nù* [B50037]

nùla dʒ̀ *adv.* now ▸*dʒ̀²* [B53362]

nùla ljâ [HL] *ex.* it is not here ▸*ljâ* [B52342]

nùla ʒù [HL] *ex.* ① it is here ② stay here ▸*ʒù* [B52309]

hɨ̀la *ex.* here ▸*hɨ̀* [B57208]

-laò (*var.* of *alaò*) *adj.* [B59220]

-lapəna *nsfx.* ▸*cf. =lapu* [B58442]

ʤilapəna conjunction ① after.this ② elsewhere ▸*ʤì* [B35191]

bjàlapəna *adv.* ▸*bjà* [B58443]

-lǎ *vderiv.* to be used to do something (HABIT) [B38084]

nɨŋlǎ *ex.* to be used to hear ▸*nɨŋ* [B38076]

hɨ̀lǎ *ex.* to be used to say ▸*hɨ̀* [B38080]

-lɛ̀ *vsfx.* ① comparative, even more ② anyway (for events occurring contrary to someone's expectation or order) (CMPR) [B34324]

abù ʧɨŋlɛ̀ *ex.* to work even more ▸*abù³*, *ʧɨŋ* [B58672]

abùlɛ̀ *quant.* even more ▸*abù³* [B57635]

araa-lɛ̀ *ex.* even bigger ▸*arà* [B57611]

ínbùlɛ̀ *ex.* to drink more (in order to get the same share like the others or in order to have drunk the same share of each beverage) ▸*ín*, *bù³* ▸*cf. ínlɛ̀* ▸*syn. ínbùdɛ̀* [B58678]

ínlɛ̀ *ex.* to drink even more ▸*ín* ▸*cf. ínbùlɛ̀* [B58677]

ʧìlɛ̀ *ex.* to eat even more ▸*ʧì* [B57640]

ʤɔ́ʔlɛ̀ *ex.* to wait anyway (even if someone said not to wait) ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B58684]

tsáʔlɛ̀ *ex.* to do even more ▸*tsáʔ* [B57645]

bavùbori vùlɛ̀ *ex.* Even after telling him not to go, he goes anyway. ▸*-bo*, *=ri*, *vù* [B58682]

mətʃɨ́ŋ ʧɨ́ŋlɛ̀ *ex.* to work even more ▸*ʧɨ́ŋ* [B58673]

rɨlɛ̀ *ex.* ① to stay longer ② to stay anyway (even if someone says not to stay) ▸*rɨ* [B58683]

rə́mlɛ̀ *ex.* to sleep more ▸*rə́m* [B58680]

vùlɛ̀ *ex.* to go even more ▸*vù* [B58681]

ʒaùlɛ̀ *ex.* to get up anyway (even if someone says not to get up) ▸*ʒaù* [B58685]

rìsú amjɛ̀lɛ̀ *ex.* the rìsú canespecies is better ▸*rìsú* [B49212]

-lɨ́ŋ *post.* ① inside ② for ▸*cf. alɨ́ŋ* [B33632]

kʰɔ̀lɨ́ŋ ʤɨ́m *ex.* to submerge in the water ▸*ʤɨ́m*, *kʰɔ̀* [B54021]

ʤìlɨ́ŋ ① there, at that place ② then , that time ▸*ʤì* [B39683]

ʤilɨ́ŋku *adv.* ① there, that place ② then, that time ▸*=ku*, *ʤì* [B43724]

portónlɨ́ŋ kʰɔ̀ tʰì *ex.* to scoop water from the bucket ▸*portón*, *tʰì* [B59107]

-lɔ *vderiv.* able to do something because of external circumstances [B58221]

ʧìlɔ *ex.* to get (something) to eat ▸*ʧì*

[B58998]

bahl̀lɔ *ex.* not remember ▸*hí?* [B15258]

níŋlɔ *ex.* to get to see (e.g. a place someone never saw before) ▸*níŋ* [B59001]

rə́mlɔ *ex.* to get to sleep, be able to sleep ▸*rə́m* [B58999]

ʒuɛ́ʔlɔ *v.* to be able to hear ▸*ʒuɛ́?* [B22733]

hám ůlɔ *ex.* to get to go home ▸*ů* [B59000]

híʔlɔ *v.* to remember ▸*hí?* [B58588]

hl̀lɔ *vt.* ① to remember ② to miss ▸*hí?* [B33166]

pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔka hl̀lɔ *ex.* to remember something forgotten ▸*pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́?* [B58996]

bahl̀lɔ pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* I don't remember, I forgot. ▸*pʰɔ́ʔ* [B54146]

hl̀lɔdyì *ex.* ▸*-dyì* [B58997]

hl̀lɔbáʔ *ex.* I remembered. ▸*báʔ* [B44435]

hl̀lɔbajə̀ *ex.* Do you remember his name? ▸*-bajə̀* [B54162]

hl̀lɔbo *ex.* remember! ▸*-bo* [B44440]

gù hɛ̀ja námlɔba *ex.* I smell something. ▸*hɛ̀ja*, *nám* [B59017]

-wù *post.* below ▸*syn. awù* [B55971]

límwù *ex.* below the road ▸*lím* [B39331]

-fù *nsfx.* male humans ▸*ant. -muì* [B39379]

adəfu *ex.* son ▸*adə* ▸*ant. adəmé?* [B35342]

adəfu gjə̀ *ex.* for the lifetime of your sons ▸*gjə̀* [B49406]

atsɨfu *n.* ① grandson ② nephew ▸*atsɨ* [B35721]

-se *nsfx.* DU (DU) [B39714]

-sɛ̀ *vderiv.* to roam, to go around without a specific goal ▸*cf. -ʃáŋ* [B57532]

námsɛ̀ *ex.* to smell everywhere (of a dog) ▸*nám* [B59018]

níŋsɛ̀ *ex.* to look everywhere ▸*níŋ* [B52940]

níŋsɛ̀ *ex.* to listen everywhere ▸*níŋ* [B52945]

nɔ̀sɛ̀ *ex.* to search in all directions ▸*nɔ̀* [B52935]

vùsɛ̀ (≠*vùsə̀*) *ex.* to roam around (stopping in every house, drink tea and talk) ▸*vù* [B39172]

-ʃa *nsfx.* locative (only adverbial) (LOC) ▸*cf. =ʃɔ̰̀* [B55890]

nuʃa *ex.* here ▸*nù* [B52234]

-ʃáŋ *vderiv.* to go everywhere with a specific purpose ▸*cf. -sɛ̀* [B53030]

níŋʃáŋ *ex.* to go an see everywhere ▸*níŋ* [B57693]

rɨ̀ʃáŋ *vi.* keep sitting! ▸*rɨ̀* [B53034]

-ʃjám *vderiv.* to do something without controlling the outcome of the action, without restricting oneself (NO.CONTROL) [=M *-sjɛn*] ▸*syn. -ha* [B44236]

alaòmatʃi sà ʧìʃjám *ex.* Even if it is not good, eat whatever you like! ▸*=matʃi* [B54675]

ʧìʃjám *ex.* Eat whatever you like! ▸*ʧi* [B54670]

pjúʃjám *ex.* to shoot randomly (without hope or intention to hit a target) ▸*pjú* [B58461]

níŋʃjám *ex.* to look carelessly at something or someone ▸*níŋ* [B58830]

rə́mʃjám *n.* just fall asleep, without having a proper bed ▸*rə́m*

[B57653]

lèʃjám *ex.* to borrow, to freely take and use something, to take without paying [Adi *lasam*=M *lusjɛn*] ▸*lè* [B38851]

lìʃjám *ex.* to put something carelessly in a place ▸*lì* [B58462]

mətʃíŋ tʃíŋʃjám *ex.* to whatever work you want ▸*mətʃíŋ*, *tʃíŋ* [B54665]

-ʃjáŋ derivation self [B58609]

-ʒu *cop.* to be sure [B35048]

-ɬɛ́ʔ *vderiv.* to do something with the result that a piece is divided from a whole [B38631]

íʔɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut/saw away without leaving the blade ▸*íʔ* [B41185]

gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to break something long (a wood stick, but not a glass) [B22307]

kəlí gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* the trap is broken ▸*kəlí* [B51081]

kjé gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* the stick broke ▸*kjé* [B58270]

ʃì gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to break a piece of wood ▸*ʃì* [B43059]

gjaɬɛ́ʔla kʰɔ̀ *ex.* to break and share ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B39531]

tíʔgjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut and make fall ▸*tíʔ* ▸*syn. tíʔgò* [B43157]

tíʔɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut away and make fall ▸*tíʔ* [B43168]

tsə̀ɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to tear (a rope) ▸*tsə̀* [B43225]

pɛ́ɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut away with one stroke ▸*pɛ́* [B33182]

rámɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut into small pieces ▸*rám* [B39047]

híʔɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* be broken (a stick) ▸*híʔ* [B38247]

hì̀gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to break (a stick) ▸*híʔ* [B39124]

-ɬɛ̀ *post.* on the side of [=M *ɬan*] ▸*cf. -gáʔ* [B33394]

-ɬɛ̀ku *post.* about ▸*=ku* [B33061]

kəlìɬɛ̀ *ex.* the wrong way round ▸*kəlì* [B53771]

gámbə̀ɬɛ̀ *ex.* ahead ▸*gámbə̀* ▸*ant. krɔ́dzeɬɛ̀* [B42985]

téɬɛ̀ *adv.* that side ▸*té* ▸*ant. nùɬɛ̀* [B33867]

pafíʔɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the left side ▸*pafíʔ* [B42968]

pafìɬɛ̀ adzéʔ *ex.* on someone's left side ▸*adzéʔ* ▸*ant. pasuɬɛ̀ adzéʔ* [B58929]

pasuɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the right side ▸*pasù* [B42963]

krɔ́dzeɬɛ̀ *ex.* behind ▸*krɔ́dzéʔ* ▸*ant. gámbə̀ɬɛ̀* [B42980]

hə̀tʃə̀ɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the mountain side of the house ▸*hə̀tʃə̀* [B58749]

hə̀wùɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the valley side of the house ▸*hə̀wù* [B58748]

-ha derivation no control (NO.CONTROL) ▸*syn. -ʃjám* [B58645]

-háʔ *vderiv.* tear away [B59059]

pjáʔháʔ *ex.* ▸*pjáʔ* [B59060]

ʃì̀kjɛí pjáʔháʔ *ex.* to tear away a branch (which is hanging down) ▸*ʃì̀kjɛí* [B59061]

rjáʔháʔ *ex.* ① to bulge out (of intestines from a stomach cut open) ② to tear down ▸*rjáʔ*[2] [B53577]

-haruì (*var.* of *-ruì*) *vsfx.* unclear (ANT) ▸*cf. -ruì*[2], *-ruì* [B57799]

-hɛ̀ *nsfx.* plural marker, mainly used with persons in the sense of 'people' (PL) ▸*cf. hɛ̀* [B33150]

akűhɛ̀ *n.* the head, neck and all, everything belonging to the head ▸*akű* [B57965]

alɛ̀hɛ̀ *n.* the leg and all, everything belonging to the legs ▸*alɛ̀* [B57970]

kűkűhɛ̀ *n.* people from up ▸*kű* ▸*ant. bùbùhɛ̃̀* [B58852]

kʰɔ̀ atʰǔ̀ hɛ̀ *n.* water spirits ▸*atʰǔ̀*, *kʰɔ̀* ▸*cf. pʰìŋ atʰǔ̀ hɛ̃̀* [B54916]

pəsùhɛ̀ *n.* the people from the king cast ▸*pəsù* [B39071]

pʰìŋ atʰǔ̀ hɛ̀ *n.* mountain spirits ▸*pʰìŋ*, *atʰǔ̀* ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀ atʰǔ̀ hɛ̃̀* [B54911]

bùbùhɛ̀ *n.* people from down ▸*bù* ▸*ant. kűkűhɛ̃̀* [B58851]

màdəhɛ̀ *n.* mother, kids and all ▸*amà*, *adə̀* [B45068]

susùhɛ̀ *n.* mithuns ▸*susù* [B45078]

ʃĩ̀mɔ hɛ̀ *n.* trees ▸*-mɔ̀*, *ʃĩ̀* [B45073]

-hrɛ̃̀ *vderiv.* undirected movement [B45052]

vùhrɛ̃̀dyì *ex.* to go around again ▸*vù*, *-dyĩ̀* [B45056]

=è *ncltc.* agentive (AG) [B58544]

=ku *ncltc.* ① location, time ② sentence nominaliser, simulataneous (LOC) [B14914]

-ɬɛ̀ku *post.* about ▸*-ɬɛ̃̀* [B33061]

alɛ̀ku ɔ̀ *ex.* the leg is itching (lit. there is an itch on the leg) ▸*ɔ̀*, *alɛ̀* [B42569]

asə́mku tɔ́ʔ *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*asə́m*, *tɔ́ʔ* ▸*syn. asə́m tɔ́ʔ* [B37503]

asə́mku màm *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*asə́m*, *màm* [B50455]

aʃuĩ̀ku *ex.* in the face ▸*aʃuĩ̀* [B42662]

ɛ̀̃ku dzoì *ex.* to tie together ▸*dzoì*, *ɛ̃̀* [B54013]

ɛ̀̃ku pʰù *ex.* to tie together (to sticks) ▸*pʰù*, *ɛ̃̀* [B54008]

gùku njétʃi báʔ gùku njé tʰǎ̀budɛ̀ *ex.* I have only little bit, give me more! ▸*njé*, *tʰǎ̀*, *bù*³, *-dɛ̃̀* [B58676]

təláŋku kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* ▸*təlǎ̀*, *tʰì*, *lè* [B59108]

dʒikáku *ex.* in that place ▸*ká* [B58648]

dʒilíŋku *adv.* ① there, that place ② then, that time ▸*-líŋ*, *dʒì* [B43724]

prĩ́ku ɬɔ̀ *ex.* to call someone ▸*ɬɔ̀* [B53417]

nà adzéʔku báʔ *ex.* ▸*adzéʔ*, *báʔ* [B58933]

vèku gĩ̀na *ex.* to follow someone ▸*gĩ̀* [B54570]

pədù ʃĩ̀mɔku dzíʔ *ex.* The bird sits on the tree. ▸*dzíʔ*, *pədù*, *ʃĩ̀mɔ* [B59055]

sətú kűtʃǎ̀ tʃɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on a particular horse ▸*sətú*, *kűtʃǎ̀*, *tʃɔ̀* ▸*cf. sətú kűtʃǎ̀ tʃɔ̀*² [B59199]

=ku² *ncltc.* object marker (direct objects and indirect objects) (OBJ) [B54903]

gù vèku amjè bahíʔ *ex.* I don't think well about him. ▸*híʔ* [B58831]

gù vèku tʃĩ́ *ex.* I need him. ▸*tʃĩ́* [B58833]

gù vèku sàna *ex.* I will meet him. ▸*sà* [B59040]

té vɛrìku ɬɔ̀ *ex.* to call the people overthere ▸*té*, *vɛrì*, *ɬɔ̀* [B59051]

=ta *nsfx.* own [B55761]

-tatʃǔ̀ *post.* nominal reciprocal, between, among (persons), mainly on pronouns ▸*-tʃǔ̀*² [B35455]

gəheníʔtatʃǔ̀ kíri *ex.* We beat each other. ▸*gəheníʔ*, *kí*, *-ri*² [B58779]

gəhenís̀tatʃṵ̀ níŋrikəpáŋ *ex.* We see each other. ▸*gəhenís̀*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58783]

gəhenís̀tatʃṵ̀ ʃéʔri *ex.* We two beat eachother. ▸*gəhenís̀*, *ʃéʔ*, *-ri²* [B58780]

gəhenitʃúŋ *prn.* between the two of us ▸*gəsenís̀* [B36242]

grìtatʃúŋ *prn.* between us ▸*grì* [B36237]

=**tazu** *nsfx.* self, own [B51480]

gùtazu atʰṵ̀ *ex.* by my own will ▸*atʰṵ̀* [B54940]

gùtazu asù tʃuḭ̀ *ex.* I wash myself. ▸*asù*, *tʃuḭ̀* [B58784]

gùtazu aʃuḭ̀ níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*aʃuḭ̀*, *níŋ*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58782]

gùtazu kídyḭ̀ *ex.* I beat myself. ▸*kí*, *-dyḭ̀* [B58778]

gùtazu níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*níŋ*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58781]

gutazu *prn.* me myself ▸*gù* [B51484]

gutazu dɛ̰̀tʃa *ex.* ① I learned myself. ② I know myself. ▸*dɛ̰̀* [B51489]

gutazu tsáʔ *ex.* I did it myself. ▸*tsáʔ* [B53878]

gutazu pə́ *ex.* I made it myself. ▸*pə́* [B53873]

natazu pə́jà̰ *ex.* Did you make it yourself? ▸*pə́*, *-jà̰* [B53883]

varitazu pə́ka ṵ̀ *ex.* They made it themself. ▸*pə́* [B53893]

vɛtazu akű *ex.* own head ▸*akű* [B55721]

vɛtazu adə̀ *ex.* own child [B55716]

vɛtazu pə́ka ṵ̀ *ex.* He made it himself. ▸*pə́* [B53888]

vɛtazu bà̰ *ex.* his own money ▸*bà̰³* [B55726]

vɛtazu hám *ex.* his own house [B55711]

vɛtazu mətʃíŋ *ex.* his own work ▸*mətʃíŋ* [B55731]

=**tʃi** *ncltc.* additive focus (ADD) ▸*cf.* *=matʃi* [B15122]

tatíʔtʃi *quant.* only one ▸*tatíʔ* ▸*syn.* *tʰyìʃáʔ* [B56685]

hètʃi *prn.* anything ▸*hè* [B43266]

=**tʃiráŋ** *ncltc.* not even, additive focus (ADD) [≠M *-məɛŋgo*] [B56055]

tatíʔtʃiráŋ *ex.* not even one [≠M *akruŋməɛŋgo*] ▸*tatíʔ* [B56062]

=**ʤáŋ** *ccltc.* should I? (Q) [B55127]

=**matʃi** *ccltc.* FOC.ADD, even (ADD) ▸*cf.* *=tʃi* [B35363]

alaòmatʃi sà tʃìʃʃám *ex.* Even if it is not good, eat whatever you like! ▸*-ʃʃám* [B54675]

kəʤìmatʃi *prn.* ▸*kəʤɨ́* [B58447]

kəsámatʃi *adv.* somehow, at any cost ▸*kəsá* [B57095]

ʤìmatʃi conjunction even like this ▸*ʤì* [B39891]

mìmatʃi *prn.* whoever, anybody ▸*mì* [B58448]

hə̰̀pʰì pʰìmatʃi nafra vùna *ex.* Even if it rains, I will go to Nafra. ▸*hə̰̀pʰì*, *vù* [B58934]

hèmatʃi *prn.* something ▸*hè* [B38793]

hèmatʃi tʃíŋ *ex.* to do something ▸*hè*, *tʃíŋ* [B38866]

kəʤìmatʃi sə̀ribaro *ex.* We will meet some time, ok? ▸*kəʤɨ́*, *sə̀*, *-baro* [B59041]

=**mɛ** clitic potential (POT) ▸*cf.* *-damɛ* [B58828]

-bamɛ *vsfx.* (POT) ▸*-ba* ▸*cf.* *bamè*, *-tamɛ* ▸*syn.* *-damɛ* [B55765]

klámɛ *ex.* Where might he be? ▸*klá*

[B58827]

klá vùmɛ *ex.* Where might he have gone? [B58829]

=**na** *ncltc.* contrastive topic (TOP) [B39723]

-lana *nmlz.* adverbial subordinator, clause linker (ANT) ▸*-la* ▸*cf. lana* [B39727]

hènа *adv.* now ▸*hɛ̀* ▸*syn. ʤìdɔ̀*, *hɨ̀dɔ̀* [B39806]

=**jǎ** *ccltc.* question (Q) [=M *-ja*] ▸*syn. =hi* [B54907]

-bajǎ *vsfx.* polar question (Q) ▸*-ba* [B49155]

dɛ̀bajǎ *ex.* Do you know? ▸*dɛ̀* [B54157]

hɨ̀lɔbajǎ *ex.* Do you remember his name? ▸*hɨ̀lɔ* [B54162]

=**hija** *ccltc.* cautious question (like -saN?) (Q) ▸*=hi* ▸*cf. =sǎ* [B57104]

=**hijǎ** *ccltc.* polar questions (Q) ▸*=hi* [B57946]

=**jo** *ncltc.* respectfull address (HON) [=M *<jo*] [B58047]

aróʔjo *ex.* my dear friend (when speaking to him, or refering to him) ▸*aróʔ* [B58051]

aʒùjo *ex.* my dear wife (when speaking to her, or refering to her) ▸*aʒù* [B58056]

pʰèmbujo *ex.* my dear Phembu (when speaking to him or referring to him) ▸*pʰèmbu* [B58061]

=**ri** *ccltc.* quotative, hear-say evidential (QUOT) ▸*cf. rì* [B51706]

bavùbori vùlɛ̀ *ex.* Even after telling him not to go, he goes anyway. ▸*-bo*, *vù*, *-lɛ̀* [B58682]

hám arà báʔriro *ex.* the house is big (someone told me) ▸*=ro*, *báʔ* [B51702]

=**ri²** *ncltc.* topic particle (TOP) [B55123]

=**ro** *ccltc.* assertive (ASRT) [B35113]

-batʃaro inflection (HORT) ▸*-batʃa* ▸*syn. -paro* [B58596]

-baro *vsfx.* assertive (ASRT) (ASRT) ▸*-ba* [B56140]

kədʒìmatʃi sàribaro *ex.* We will meet some time, ok? ▸*kədʒì*, *=matʃi*, *sà* [B59041]

=**hɨ̀ro** *ccltc.* assertive (ASRT) (ASRT) ▸*=hɨ̌* [B57746]

asú báʔdɔ̀ro *ex.* It is true [I saw it myself]. ▸*báʔ*, *asú*, *-dɔ̀* [B51712]

hám arà báʔriro *ex.* the house is big (someone told me) ▸*=ri*, *báʔ* [B51702]

=**lapu** *ncltc.* ablative (ABL) ▸*cf. -lapəna* [B15816]

klálapu *prn.* from where? ▸*klá* [B39311]

ʤilapu conjunction after this (CONJ) ▸*ʤì* [B56779]

suánlapu tʰyì *num.* eleven [≠M *linuŋ*] ▸*suán*, *tʰyì* [B41541]

suánlapu dɔ̃gì *num.* nineteen ▸*suán*, *dɔ̃gì* [B41565]

suánlapu məljaò *num.* ▸*suán*, *məljaò* [B41562]

suánlapu məljɛ̀ *num.* seventeen ▸*suán*, *məljaò* [B41558]

suánlapu ríʔ *num.* sixteen ▸*suán*, *ríʔ* [B41554]

suánlapu wù *num.* fifteen ▸*suán*, *wù* [B41550]

suánlapu vì *num.* fourteen ▸*suán*, *vì* [B41546]

=**wéʔ** particle sentence final particle expressing surprise or disbelieve, exhorting the hearer to believe

it (EXHR) [B58567]

=sə̀ *ccltc.* particle in content questions, for cautious question (Q) ▸*cf. =hija* [B53141]

vɛ̀ príndə̀ ʒùsə̀ *ex.* Is he really a Puroik? ▸*ʒù* [B58785]

=ʃə̀ (*var.* *=hə̀*) *nsfx.* ① locative ② at (time) (LOC) ▸*cf. -ʃa* ▸*syn. -la²* [B22531]

awíʔʃə̀ *ex.* in the old times, in the time of the elders ▸*awíʔ* [B39985]

kə̋ʃə̀ *ex.* up there ▸*kə̋* [B35657]

kə̋ʃə̀ vù *ex.* to ascend ▸*vù* [B38205]

kláʃə̀ *prn.* where ▸*klá* [B22393]

gù ríʔ tɛ́ʃə̀ *ex.* My field is there. ▸*tɛ́* [B49911]

tɛ́ʃə̀ báʔ *ex.* It is there. ▸*tɛ́*, *báʔ* [B50018]

pətíʃə̀ *ex.* last year ▸*pətí* [B51955]

pʰə̀pʰə̀ʃə̀ *adv.* long time ago ▸*pʰə̀* [B58709]

pʰə̀ aʃìʃə̀ *ex.* last summer ▸*aʃì*, *pʰə̀* [B51756]

pʰə̀ʃə̀ *adv.* little bit earlier ▸*pʰə̀* [B57235]

prú prúʃə̀ *ex.* some days ago ▸*prú* [B58710]

prúʃə̀ *adv.* some days ago ▸*prú* [B44028]

buì buì buìʃə̀ *ex.* long, long time ago ▸*buì* ▸*syn. njalu* [B58947]

buìʃə̀ *adv.* some time ago (one year or more) ▸*buì* [B54089]

bùʃə̀ *ex.* below ▸*bù* [B21750]

bùʃə̀ vù *ex.* to descend to a point further down (the act of moving not of descending) ▸*vù*, *bù* ▸*cf. akəʒɨ́ vù* [B41432]

nà ríʔ kláʃə̀ *ex.* Where is your field? [B49907]

nafraʃə̀ *ex.* in Nafra [B38922]

nuʃə̀ *ex.* here ▸*nù* [B46039]

zɨ́nʃə̀ bèdyĩnatʃa [HL] *ex.* to go back home ▸*zɨ́n* [B52366]

=hi *ccltc.* particle for polar questions (Q) ▸*syn. =jə̀* [B39218]

-bahi *vsfx.* polar question (Q) ▸*-ba* [B43256]

ʧíbahi *ex.* Do you need ...? ▸*ʧí* [B38090]

=hija *ccltc.* cautious question (like -saN?) (Q) ▸*=jə̀* ▸*cf. =sə̀* [B57104]

=hijə̀ *ccltc.* polar questions (Q) ▸*=jə̀* [B57946]

nà tezpur vùbədʒáŋhi *ex.* Did you ever go to Tezpur? ▸*-bədʒáŋ* [B58820]

=hɨ̀ *ccltc.* (ASRT) [B56865]

=hɨ̀ro *ccltc.* assertive (ASRT) (ASRT) ▸*=ro* [B57746]

=hə̀ (*var.* of *=ʃə̀*) inflection locative (LOC) [B58475]

a- prefix productive adjective prefix [B58156]

akɔ́ (≠*akʰɔ̀*) *adj.* tired ▸*kɔ́* [B20595]

akrjaó *adj.* cramped, paralysed ▸*krjaó* [B43029]

atʃìmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to eat ▸*amjɛ̀*, *ʧì* ▸*ant. atʃìlaò* [B58145]

atʃìlaò *ex.* bad to eat ▸*ʧì*, *alaò* ▸*ant. atʃìmjɛ̀* [B58150]

atʃɨ́ŋlaò *ex.* bad to work ▸*alaò*, *ʧɨ́ŋ* ▸*ant. atʃɨ́ŋmjɛ̀* [B58139]

atséʔ (≠*adʒíʔ*) *adj.* hot (of water) [≠M *məʒuu*] ▸*tséʔ* ▸*cf. alə́m* [B28546]

adzún *adj.* sharp (pointed) ▸*dzún²* ▸*ant. atalə́m* [B20879]

adzún dzún *ex.* to sharpen ▸*dzún²* [B43769]

alɔ̀ *adj.* sharp-edged (for cutting with hitting movement) ▸*cf. avì* [B28927]

ʧì alɔ̀ *n.* a sharp knife ▸*ʧì*[2] [B42486]

apʰáʔ *adj.* stingy ▸*pʰáʔ* [B59038]

batʰə̀̃muɛ̃̀ka apʰáʔ *ex.* Someone who cannot give, is stingy. ▸*muɛ̃̀*, *-ka* [B59039]

apjɑ́̃ (≠*apʰjə̀̃*) *adj.* long [≠M *məpjaŋ*] ▸*pjɑ́̃* ▸*cf. tasrì* ▸*ant. atɯ́̃* [B28036]

hamì pjɑ́̃ báʔ *ex.* The days are long. ▸*hamì* [B52672]

hám apjɑ́̃ *ex.* a long house [=M *nam pjaŋ*] ▸*hám* [B51687]

abɻáʔ *adj.* broken ▸*bɻáʔ* [B39938]

amə̀̃ *adj.* hot, spicy ▸*mə̀̃* [B38721]

maljù amə̀̃ *ex.* Chillies are hot. ▸*maljù* ▸*cf. maljù mə̀̃* [B42437]

anɨ́ŋmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to hear ▸*amjɛ̀*, *nɨ́ŋ* ▸*ant. anɨ́ŋlaò* [B58104]

anɨ́ŋlaò *ex.* bad to hear ▸*alaò*, *nɨ́ŋ* ▸*ant. anɨ́ŋmjɛ̀* [B58088]

arɨ̀̃ (≠*arɨ̀n*) *adj.* slippery (path or vegetables) ▸*rɨ̀̃* ▸*cf. abəɬì*, *glɨ́n* [B33877]

arín (≠*arɨ̀n*) *adj.* lasting, tight ▸*rín* ▸*ant. adəzù*, *azuɨ̀̃*[2] [B40607]

arín ʣoì *ex.* to tie something tight ▸*ʣoì* [B50203]

arəmmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to sleep (of a place) ▸*amjɛ̀*, *rəm* ▸*ant. arəmlaò* [B58115]

arəmlaò *ex.* bad to sleep (of a place) ▸*alaò*, *rəm* ▸*ant. arəmmjɛ̀* [B58110]

alə́m (≠*alə́p*) *adj.* warm (not cold and not hot), of weather, water, food etc. [≠M *məluu*] ▸*lə́m* ▸*cf. atsɛ́ʔ* ▸*ant. akɑ́̃* [B33904]

kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀lə́m *n.* mythological river, hot water [M *vɨʒu vɨlu*] ▸*atsɛ́ʔ*, *kʰɔ̀* ▸*cf. vɨʒù vɨlù* [B40024]

kʰɔ̀lə́m *n.* warm water ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B58465]

awɛ̃̀ (≠*awán*) *adj.* dry [≠M *məkjaŋ*] ▸*wɛ̃̀* ▸*cf. lɯ̃wɛ̃̀*, *paó* [B20985]

asə̀̃ *adj.* clean, clear, dawn ▸*sə̀̃*[2] ▸*cf. sə̀̃*[2], *krjɑ́̃*, *aʃə̀̃də̀̃* [B11370]

asə̀̃pɛ́ (*var. aʃə̀̃pɛ́*) *n.* ① dawn, early morning ② tomorrow early morning ▸*apɛ́* ▸*syn. hə̀̃sə̀̃* [B56185]

asə̀̃pɛ́ pɛ́ *ex.* ▸*pɛ́* [B58959]

asə̀̃pɛ́ sə̀̃ *ex.* to become light in the morning ▸*sə̀̃*[2], *apɛ́* [B57731]

asə̀̃ ʧuɨ̀̃ *ex.* to make something clean ▸*ʧuɨ̀̃* [B42188]

asjɛ̀ *adj.* wide, open ▸*sjɛ̀*[2] ▸*ant. adzím* [B59158]

aʃám *adj.* ① wet ② rotten ▸*ʃám* [B15439]

məhjɛ̃̀ aʃám báʔ *ex.* The soil is wet. ▸*báʔ* [B49359]

ahjáʔ (*var. asjáʔ*) *adj.* ① hot, burning (tea, food) ② paining of too much work ▸*hjáʔ* ▸*cf. gəlúŋ* ▸*ant. atʃì* [B44294]

agéʔ hjáʔ *ex.* the hand is hurting because of working too much ▸*agéʔ* [B44298]

mətʃɨ́ŋ ʧɨ́ŋ agéʔ hjáʔ *ex.* the skin of the hand is peeling of after doing too muchwork ▸*mətʃɨ́ŋ ʧɨ́ŋ* [B44303]

tsaɛ̃̀ anə̀̃ hjáʔ *ex.* The sun is too hot. ▸*tsaɛ̃̀* [B53959]

a.ɛ̃̀ *adj.* ① fitting, in order, in a line ② smooth ▸*ɛ̃̀* [B20934]

a.ì *n.* ① half dead, dying ② decrescent half moon ▸*ì* [B41720]

a.ì asɛ̀ *ex.* half dead ▸*asɛ̀* [B58703]
a.ì asɛ̀ kɔ́batʃa *ex.* to be extremely tired (half dead) ▸*asɛ̀*, *kɔ́* [B58706]
a.ì asɛ̀ mətʃɨ̃ŋ tʃɨ̃ŋ *ex.* ▸*asɛ̀*, *tʃɨ̃ŋ* [B58704]
a.ì asɛ̀ vùdɔ̃̀ *ex.* He/she went until half dead. ▸*asɛ̀*, *vù* [B58705]
a.ì a.ì kɨ́ *ex.* ▸*kɨ́* ▸*syn.* *kədʒìdəmó?* *kɨ́* [B58702]
hɑ̃̀bɔ ai *n.* decrescent half moon (after full moon) ▸*hɑ̃̀bɔ* ▸*syn.* *hɑ̃̀bɔ gəlaí?* ▸*ant.* *hɑ̃̀bɔ sɛ̀* [B41716]
a.ím (≠*ajím*) *adj.* tasty ▸*ím*[2] [B40046]
tʃakuí ajím *ex.* tasty food ▸*tʃakuí* [B41931]
ba.ím *ex.* not tasty [B54065]
mamidʒì ba.ím *ex.* The potatoes are not tasty. ▸*mamidʒì* [B54070]
mɛ̀ ajím *ex.* tasty vegetable ▸*mɛ̀* [B41926]
mɛ̀ njɛpɛ́? ba.ím *ex.* ▸*mɛ̀*, *njɛpɛ́?* [B58812]
məluɛ̃̀ ba.ím *ex.* The food is not tasty. ▸*məluɛ̃̀* [B54060]
njɛpɛ́? ba.ím *ex.* It is very tasty. ▸*njɛpɛ́?* [B50193]
ʃì ajím *ex.* tasty meat ▸*ʃì* [B41921]
a.ínmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to drink ▸*amjɛ̀*, *ín* ▸*ant.* *a.ínlaò* [B58121]
a.ínlaò *ex.* bad to drink ▸*alaò*, *ín* ▸*ant.* *a.ínmjɛ̀* [B58126]
aajadə́m *intj.* (INTJ) [B56098]
aizín *vi.* to be shocked, to be scared ▸*cf.* *hɨ̃bjáŋ* [B34353]
akaó *n.* trig ▸*syn.* *məkaó* [B40519]
tʃɨ̃? akaó *ex.* place where prey steps in the sling ▸*tʃɨ̃?* [B53264]
akaó píka ʃɨ̀bɑ̃̀ *ex.* vertical stick in tʃɨ? trap ▸*pí*, *ʃɨ̀bɑ̃̀* [B57262]

akamjɛ́? *n.* Kalij Pheasant (*sci.* *Lophura leucomelanos*) [B33937]
akɑ́ *adj.* cold ▸*cf.* *atʃi*, *kɑ́*[3] ▸*ant.* *alám* [B28980]
akɨ́ŋ *n.* ① origin ② base of a tree (not the root, but the trunk near the ground) [B40007]
ù̃ka akɨ́ŋ *ex.* the origin from where we came (ultimate origin of the Puroiks, lit. the root from where we came) ▸*ù̃* [B41774]
tʃakɨ́ŋ *n.* root of sago palm ▸*tʃaò* [B57406]
madù akɨ́ŋ *n.* bamboo root (which is transplanted) ▸*madù* [B49533]
mabjaò akɨ́ŋ *n.* root of bamboo ▸*mabjaò* [B41764]
rì akɨ́ŋ *n.* root of cane ▸*rì*[3] [B41769]
ʃɨ̀ akɨ́ŋ *n.* base of a tree (tree trunk near the ground) ▸*ʃɨ̀* ▸*cf.* *ʃɨ̀ arín* [B41759]
hamìtsù akɨ́ŋ *n.* east ▸*hamì*, *tsú*[2] [B56892]
akɨ́ (≠*akʰɨ̀*) *adj.* old, original (for things) [B36108]
mənè akɨ́ *ex.* old stuff ▸*mənè* [B50768]
akədó? *n.* poison of animals etc. ▸*cf.* *mətá?* ▸*syn.* *mətá?* [B36519]
dadʒí? akədó? *n.* insect poison ▸*dadʒí?* [B36523]
pəsjɛ̀ akədó? *n.* snake poison [B36527]

akətʃeì *n.* chin [B35793]
kətʃeì amán *n.* beard ▸*amán* [B37451]
kətʃeì azɛ̀̃ *n.* cheek bone ▸*azɛ̀̃* [B37173]
akəbaú? *n.* kidney [=M *akəbau?*] ▸*syn. asámbrɨ̀* [B20587]
akə́m *n.* ① eye ② seed ▸*cf. ʃəmɹò* [B14524]
akə́mpáŋ *n.* eyebrow [B37340]
akə́mbɨ̀ *n.* eyeball ▸*bɨ̀* ▸*cf. akə́mlíŋ, akə́m alíŋ* [B58765]
akə́mmən *n.* eyelash ▸*amán* [B37344]
akə́m akú? *n.* eye lid ▸*akú?* [B37350]
akə́m alaò *ex.* a bad eye (sick or paining) ▸*alaò* [B39453]
akə́m alaò níŋ *ex.* to look down on someone, to disrespect ▸*níŋ* [B57906]
akə́m alíŋ *n.* iris (eye) ▸*alíŋ* ▸*cf. akə́mbɨ̀* [B58767]
akə́m ahjɛ̀̃ *n.* pupil ▸*ahjɛ̀̃* [B37319]
akə́m tí *ex.* to close the eyes ▸*tí* [B37053]
akə́m ʧɨ́? *ex.* to bat the eyelids ▸*ʧɨ?³* [B52595]
akə́m pʰì (*var. kə́m pʰì*) *ex.* to feel dizzy ▸*pʰì* ▸*syn. kə́m pʰì* [B50865]
akə́m badɛ̀̃ *ex.* blind ▸*dɛ̀̃* ▸*cf. akuǘ bazué?* [B35837]
akə́m badɛ̀̃ka *n.* a blind person ▸*-ka, dɛ̀̃, ba-* [B39458]
akə́m blí? *ex.* to blink the eyes ▸*blí?* [B37044]
akə́m bljé? *ex.* to blink the eyes ▸*bljé?* [B53929]
akə́m hí? *ex.* to wash the face ▸*hí?²* [B39232]
akə́mlíŋ *n.* iris (eye) ▸*alíŋ* ▸*cf. akə́mbɨ̀* [B37309]
kə́m pʰì kű lɨ̀ *n.* fever ▸*akű, pʰì, lɨ̀²* ▸*cf. hakǎ bɛʃɨ́n* [B44418]
ʧakə́m *n.* innermost part of sago trunk which remains after rasping with kitʃɔN ▸*ʧaò* [B42649]
rìkə́m *n.* inner part of cane, has no use and is thrown away ▸*rì³* ▸*syn. rìɬyì* [B50960]
rì akə́m *n.* cane seed ▸*rì³* [B44275]
ɔ̀̃wai akə́m *n.* jungle banana seed ▸*ɔ̃̀waí* [B41276]
akəmí? *n.* ① joint of bones ② joint of bamboo or cane [B35797]
akəmí? tʰɛ́? *ex.* to cut off the joints of a bamboo or cane ▸*tʰɛ́?* [B49198]
alètám akəmí? *n.* ankle ▸*alɛ̀* ▸*syn. alɛ̀ kəmí?* [B35809]
alɛ̀ kəmí? *n.* inside bone of ankle (*sci. Talus?*) ▸*alɛ̀* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ kəʤí?* ▸*syn. alètám akəmí?* [B35813]
agətsún akəmí? *n.* knuckle ▸*agətsún* [B37606]
akə́mmjɛ́? *n.* rheum (crust in the corners of the eyes in the morning) [B37300]
akəmjɛ́? nyɛ̀ *ex.* rheum flows out ▸*nyɛ̀* [B37304]
akə́mmjɛ́?² *n.* other name for the pheasant pri?3, "eye dirt" because he is red around the eyes ▸*cf. akə́mlaò* ▸*syn. prí?³* [B49559]
akə́mlaò *n.* pheasant species (smaller than akəmjɛ?) ▸*cf. akə́mmjɛ́?², prí?³* [B53290]
akə́mhjaò *n.* Himalayan Wedge-billed Babbler (*sci. Sphenocichla humei*) [B34102]
akəní? *n.* brain [B15547]
akəlɔ̀̃ *adj.* crooked ▸*ant. atʃɛ̀* [B59119]
rì akəlɔ̀̃ atʃɛ̀ rɔ̃̀ *ex.* to make a

crooked cane straight ▸*rì*[3], *atʃɛ̀*, *rɔ̀*[2] [B59120]

akəsín *n.* temple (flat part between the forehead and the ear) [B37760]

akəzjɛ̀ *n.* cowlick, flexure in hair (it is said, that men with 2 flexures will marry 2 women) [B37235]

akű akəzjɛ̀ *n.* cowlick, flexure ▸*akű* [B55746]

akəʒɨ *adv.* downwards ▸*ant. azɔ̀* [B34311]

akəʒɨ ǔ *ex.* to descend ▸*ǔ* ▸*syn. akəʒɨ ʒɨ̀* [B38968]

akəʒɨ vù *ex.* to descend, to go downwards ▸*vù* ▸*cf. bùʃɔ̀ vù* [B41750]

akəʒɨ ʒɨ *ex.* to descend ▸*ʒɨ̀* ▸*syn. akəʒɨ̀ ǔ* [B38060]

akəʒɨ ʒɨ vù *ex.* to descend ▸*ʒɨ̀*, *vù* [B58755]

akuígɪáʔ *n.* centipede [≠M *ʒogɹuŋ*] [B58538]

akuĭ *n.* ear ▸*cf. kǎdǔ* [B14608]

akuĭ akjǎ *n.* ear canal ▸*akjǎ* [B37273]

akuĭ abóʔ *n.* earlobe [B37268]

akuĭ dərǔ *n.* eardrum [B37263]

akuĭ baʒuéʔ *ex.* deaf ▸*ʒuéʔ* ▸*cf. akám badɛ̃̀* [B35828]

akuĭ baʒuèka *ex.* a deaf person ▸*-ka* [B39463]

akuĭ ʃám *n.* ear wax [B37278]

akú (≠*akúʔ*) *n.* eldest brother in a family or in a village ▸*cf. abù* [B12800]

ʧagráŋ akú rɔ̃̀ʤi akú [RL] *n.* ritual language for dog ▸*ʧagɹáŋ*, *rɔ̃̀ʤi* [B54796]

ʧagɪáŋ akú [RL] *n.* ritual language for dog [<M *ʧagɹaŋ məkuʔ*] ▸*ʧagɹáŋ* ▸*cf. bù*[2] [B52872]

akúʔ (≠*akú*) *n.* ① skin (of human and animal) ② fish scale ③ bark of a tree ④ lip [Galo akuk] ▸*cf. ʃəkúʔ*, *ʃakjóʔ* ▸*syn. ʃəkúʔ* [B15576]

akə́m akúʔ *n.* eye lid ▸*akə́m* [B37350]

akúʔ kuéʔ *ex.* to peel the skin of cane ▸*kʰuéʔ* [B44288]

akúʔ hɔ̀ *ex.* to peel the skin ▸*hɔ̀* [B44072]

asì akúʔ *n.* bear skin ▸*asì* [B38471]

asə́m akúʔ *n.* lip ▸*asə́m* [B53694]

ʧáwǔ akúʔ *n.* shell of egg ▸*ʧá* [B35681]

ʧuì akúʔ *n.* fish scale ▸*ʧuì* [B36002]

pədzɛ̃̀ akúʔ *n.* skin of an orange ▸*pədzɛ̃̀* [B51296]

məpʰɔ̃̀ akúʔ *n.* tiger skin (front part of the shaman hat is made from this material) ▸*məpʰɔ̃̀* [B49665]

səguì akúʔ *n.* fur of wild dog (hat of shaman is made from this material) ▸*səguì* [B49660]

ʃakjóʔ [HL] *n.* skin ▸*cf. akúʔ* [B54293]

ʃì akúʔ *n.* animal skin ▸*ʃì* ▸*cf. ʃəkúʔ* [B36737]

ʃì akúʔ hɔ̀ *ex.* to skin, flay (remove the skin of an animal) ▸*hɔ̀* [B44077]

ʃɨ̀ akúʔ *n.* bark of tree ▸*ʃɨ̀* [B36748]

ʃɨ̀ akúʔ hɔ̀ *ex.* to peel the bark of a tree ▸*hɔ̀* [B42202]

ʃətʃì akúʔ *n.* deer skin ▸*ʃətʃì* [B58805]

ʃətʃə́m akúʔ *n.* takin skin ▸*ʃətʃə́m* [B58804]

ʃərɨ̀ akúʔ *n.* serow skin ▸*sərɨ̀* [B58806]

akúʔ kúʔù *ex.* to peel the skin ▸*kúʔù* [B58953]

akúʔ rjáʔháʔ *ex.* to tear away the bark from a tree ▸*rjáʔháʔ* [B59063]

ʧaò akúʔ kúʔù *ex.* to remove the bark of the sago palm ▸*ʧaò*, *kúʔù* [B58954]

ʃəʒuǐ akúʔ atʃáʔ *ex.* The bark of the bitter tree is bitter. ▸*ʃəʒuǐ*, *atʃáʔ* [B58906]

akuwa *n.* forehead (Phembu) ▸*syn. kɔ.ɔ́* [B36020]

akű kuwa *n.* forehead ▸*akű* [B36024]

akű (≠*səgů*, *agů*) *n.* head ▸*cf. akűɬáŋ*, *awakű* [B14593]

akű akəzjɛ̀ *n.* cowlick, flexure ▸*akəzjɛ̀* [B55746]

akű kəmjáŋ *ex.* to support the head on a pillow ▸*kəmjáŋ* [B59139]

akű kuwa *n.* forehead ▸*akuwa* [B36024]

akű kʰoì *ex.* ① to shake the head as for saying "no!" ② to turn the head to one side ▸*kʰoì* ▸*cf. akű ríp* [B43665]

akű dəfì *ex.* to shake the head ▸*dəfì* [B36329]

akű ʧaù *ex.* to comb ▸*ʧaù* [B39432]

akű ʧɨ *ex.* to wash the hair ▸*ʧɨ* [B54552]

akű ríp *ex.* to turn the "head" of a torch (to switch it on or off) ▸*ríp* ▸*cf. akű kʰoì* [B52693]

akű rjù *ex.* to wash the hairs ▸*rjù* [B38989]

akű lɨ *ex.* headache ▸*lɨ²* [B14966]

akű ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry on the head ▸*ʒɛ̀* [B39203]

akűɬáŋ *ex.* bald [=M *moϑaŋ*] ▸*aɬǎ* ▸*cf. akű* [B35857]

akűhɛ̀ *n.* the head, neck and all, everything belonging to the head ▸*-hɛ̀* [B57965]

kə́m pʰì kű lɨ *n.* fever ▸*akə́m*, *pʰì*, *lɨ²* ▸*cf. hakǎ́ bɛfɨ́n* [B44418]

vɛtaʒu akű *ex.* own head ▸*=taʒu* [B55721]

akű rjǔ *ex.* to become old (lit. to become white on the head [hair]) ▸*rjǔ* [B57887]

akűdʒɨ́n [HL] *n.* man, male ▸*cf. apʰɔ̀* [B52284]

akʰɛ̀ *adj.* other ▸*cf. kəʒɔ́ʔ* [B40401]

akʰɛ̀ prɨ́ *ex.* another person ▸*prɨ́* ▸*cf. bjatú prɨ́*, *kəʒɔ́ʔ prɨ́* [B41745]

akʰɨ̀ (≠*akɨ́*) *adj.* hard, tight (like sago prepared with not enough water) ▸*ant. amjóʔ* [B57313]

akʰɔ̀ (≠*akɔ́*) *n.* soup, water ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀* [B36042]

pʰəù akʰɔ̀ *n.* first and strongest beer, undiluted sap of the fermented grains ▸*pʰəù* [B49836]

akjǎ (≠*agjǎ̀*) *n.* hole (in tree, earth, cloth, body) [B35227]

akuǐ akjǎ *n.* ear canal ▸*akuǐ* [B37273]

akjǎ kʰuíʔ *ex.* to go inside a hole (of a rat) ▸*kʰuíʔ* [B53506]

akjǎlapu ǔpɔ̀ *ex.* to come/go out from a hole ▸*pɔ́* ▸*cf. akjǎlapu pɔ́* [B55575]

akjǎlapu pɔ́ *ex.* to come out from a hole ▸*pɔ́* ▸*cf. akjǎlapu ǔpɔ̀* [B55580]

akjǎhɔ̀ *n.* full of holes, it is possible to see inside or through it [B41804]

apʰǔ akjáŋ *n.* ① nose hole ② nostril ▸*apʰǔ* [B37687]

ɛ́ʔ kjahɔ̀ *n.* holes in the clothes ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B36052]

ɛ̀ ʧuéʔka akjǎ *n.* anus ▸*ɛ̀*, *ʧuéʔ* ▸*syn. ɛ̀ ʧuè akjǎ*, *ǐkjǎ* [B36972]

ɛ̀ ʧuè akjǎ *n.* asshole ▸*ɛ̀*, *ʧuéʔ* ▸*syn. ɛ̀ ʧuéʔka akjǎ*, *ǐkjǎ* [B50743]

ǐkjǎ *n.* asshole ▸*ǐ* ▸*syn. ɛ̀ ʧuè akjǎ*, *ɛ̀ ʧuéʔka akjǎ* [B53724]

ʧɛ̃ akjɑ́ *n.* mouse hole ▸*ʧɛ̃* [B41794]
məhjɛ̀ akjɑ́ *n.* ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B41798]
məhjɛ̀ akjɑ́hɔ̀ *n.* a hole in the ground ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B39512]
wúʔ akʰjɑ̀ *n.* entrance of a cave ▸*wúʔ* [B55565]
ʃì akjɑ́ *n.* hole in tree ▸*ʃì* [B36048]
akjɛí (≠*kjɛ́*, *akjɛ̃́*) *n.* branch [B14854]
ʧjáʔ akjɛí *n.* places where the taro root branches ▸*ʧjáʔ* [B53131]
ʃìkjɛí *n.* branch ▸*ʃì* [B59056]
ʃì akjɛí *n.* branch of a tree ▸*ʃì* [B41808]
akjɛ̃́ (≠*akjɛí*) *n.* horn [B14838]
akraí *n.* baby whose teeth are about to come out ▸*cf.* *adə̀*, *adə̀ anjaò* [B58795]
wɑ̀ akraí *n.* baby ▸*wɑ̀*[3] [B58796]
akrɪ́n *n.* molar (tooth) [B52868]
kətɔ̃́ akrɪ́n *n.* molar ▸*kətɔ̃́* [B37359]
akrɔ̃́ *n.* upper part of back ▸*cf.* *amíʔ*[2] [B37476]
krɔ̃́dzéʔ *n.* back ▸*ant.* *gámbə̀* [B20639]
krɔ̃́dzeɬɛ̀ *ex.* behind ▸*-ɬɛ̀* ▸*ant.* *gámbə̀ɬɛ̀* [B42980]
krɔ̃́náŋ *n.* back pain ▸*náŋ* [B37481]
krɔ̃́ʃì *n.* filet piece of the meat ▸*ʃì* [B51634]
dzɔ̀ akrɔ̃́ʃì amjɛ̀ *ex.* The filet is the best meat. ▸*dzɔ̀*, *amjɛ̀* [B51639]
akɪeí [HL] *n.* animal ▸*cf.* *ʃì* ▸*syn.* *ʃì* [B54448]
akɪeí ʒéʔ [HL] *ex.* to shoot an animal ▸*ʒéʔ* [B54452]
agéʔ *n.* hand ▸*cf.* *səkó* [B14529]
agéʔku ʧìhɛ̀ ljáʔ *ex.* to accidentely cut the hand with the dao ▸*ʧì*[2], *ljáʔ*[2] [B58977]
agéʔtám *n.* whole hand including fingers ▸*tám* ▸*cf.* *agéʔ tələ́m*, *agéʔ dəlúŋ* [B15401]
agéʔdə̀ *n.* ring finger ▸*-də̀*[2] [B53298]
agéʔtsóʔ *n.* index finger [B53303]
agéʔpʰì *n.* hand (not palm) [B14539]
agéʔmɔ *n.* thumb ▸*-mɔ̀* [B41522]
agéʔ atʃì *ex.* the hands are cold ▸*atʃì* [B52844]
agéʔ apʰɔ̀ *n.* middle finger ▸*apʰɔ̀* [B41526]
agéʔ arɪ̀ *n.* arm veins ▸*arìn* [B42163]
agéʔ kɛ̃́ *ex.* to hold in the hand ▸*kɛ̃́* [B41422]
agéʔ kʰoì *ex.* to shake the hand for saying "no!" ▸*kʰoì* [B43674]
agéʔ krjaó *ex.* paralysed arm ▸*krjaó* ▸*cf.* *alɛ̀ krjaó* [B37006]
agéʔ gəsɪ́n *n.* ① fingernail ② claw of an animal ▸*gəsɪ́n* [B16324]
agéʔ tɪ́ʔ *ex.* hands are tired ▸*tɪ́ʔ* [B42334]
agéʔ tələ́m *n.* arm stump ▸*tələ́m* ▸*cf.* *agéʔtám*, *alɛ̀ tələ́m* ▸*syn.* *agéʔ dəlúŋ* [B15405]
agéʔ dáʔ *ex.* to put the hand inside ▸*dáʔ* [B43679]
agéʔ dəlúŋ *n.* palm without fingers ▸*dəlúŋ* ▸*cf.* *agéʔtám* ▸*syn.* *agéʔ tələ́m* [B41530]
agéʔ ʧaì *ex.* to carry in the hand ▸*ʧaì* [B39247]
agéʔ príʔ *ex.* ① to scald the hand (with something hot) ② to get blisters on the hand because of hard work ▸*príʔ*[2] [B58800]
agéʔ batʃuɛ̃̀ *n.* pinky finger ▸*batʃuɛ̃̀* [B37533]
agéʔ bíʔ *v.* to clean the ground with the hands ▸*bíʔ* [B49934]
agéʔ rɪ́n *ex.* ① to punch ② to smash something with the hand

(not with foot) ▸*rən* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ í* [B41842]

agéʔ ljáʔ *ex.* to lick the hand ▸*ljáʔ* ▸*cf. agéʔ ljáʔ²* [B51229]

agéʔ ljáʔ² *ex.* to cut the hand accidentely ▸*ljáʔ²* ▸*cf. agéʔ ljáʔ* [B51344]

agéʔ wì *ex.* to slap ▸*wì* [B41857]

agéʔ vì tɪ́ kɨ́ *ex.* He beat him four times. ▸*tɪ́*, *kɨ́* [B51894]

agéʔ səkjúʔ *ex.* to rub in the hand ▸*səkjúʔ* [B41882]

agéʔ zɛ̀ *ex.* to make a rope by twisting fibres in the hand ▸*zɛ̀²* [B39384]

agéʔ ʃíʔ *ex.* The hand is red. ▸*aʃíʔ* [B59166]

agéʔ ʃɔ̀ *ex.* to rub between the hands ▸*ʃɔ̀* [B42115]

agéʔ ʃɔ̀² *ex.* to take someone by the hand ▸*ʃɔ̀²* [B59099]

agéʔ ʒíʔ *v.* to put the arm tight on something ▸*ʒíʔ* [B58556]

agéʔ ʒəp *ex.* to make a fist ▸*ʒəp* ▸*ant. agéʔ ɬjaù* [B37378]

agéʔ ɬjaù *ex.* to open the hand ▸*ɬjaù* ▸*ant. agéʔ ʒəp* [B54686]

agéʔ hóʔ *ex.* to move the hand ▸*hóʔ* [B53492]

agə́ʔtsɛ̀ *n.* biceps [B36977]

agə́ʔ ʧuì *ex.* to wash the hands ▸*ʧuì* [B39227]

agə́ʔ ʧʉ̀káŋ *n.* elbow ▸*ʧúŋkáŋ* [B35801]

agə́ʔ pabɪ́m *n.* forearm [B36981]

agətsún *n.* finger [B14534]

agətsún akəmíʔ *n.* knuckle ▸*akəmíʔ* [B37606]

géʔmɔ *n.* thumb ▸*-mɔ̀* [B37528]

pafíʔ agéʔ *ex.* left hand ▸*pafíʔ* [B54765]

pasù agéʔ *ex.* right hand ▸*pasù* [B54760]

agéʔ hjáʔ *ex.* the hand is hurting because of working too much ▸*ahjáʔ* [B44298]

agə́ʔ ʧabrika *n.* pincers of crab ▸*ʧabrika* [B37707]

aguì *n.* maternal uncle, mother's younger brother ▸*cf. awaì*, *atsoì*, *avə́ŋ* ▸*ant. atɪ́ŋ* [B33278]

agʉ̀ (≠*akʉ́*) *n.* ① half (of something which is in one piece) ② some ▸*cf. apʉ́* [B34706]

agʉ̀ kʰɔ̃̀ri *ex.* to share half ▸*kʰɔ̀̃* [B39182]

agjɜ̀ (≠*akjɜ́*) *n.* life ▸*cf. gjɜ̀* ▸*syn. gjɜ̀²* [B43040]

gù agjáŋ *ex.* my life ▸*gù* [B43045]

agjúŋ *n.* necklace [B57019]

asjáŋ agjúŋ *n.* necklace ▸*asjáŋ* [B57023]

agrɪ́n *n.* cartilage [B37122]

apʰʉ̀krɪ́n *n.* nose bridge ▸*apʰʉ̀* [B37674]

aljɜ̀grɪ́n *n.* cartilage ▸*syn. azɛ̃̀grɪ́n* [B37126]

azɛ̃̀grɪ́n *n.* cartilage ▸*azɛ̃̀* ▸*syn. aljɜ̃̀-grɪ́n* [B37132]

agláŋ *n.* tumour [=M *agəlaŋ*] [B55333]

agəláŋ vaíʔba *ex.* there is a tumour (unexpected for the speaker) ▸*vaíʔ* [B59151]

agláŋ ʧɔ́ʔba *ex.* a tumour appears [=M *agəlaŋ tairu*] ▸*ʧɔ́ʔ* [B55341]

asùku agəláŋ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* a tumour appears on the body ▸*asù*, *ʧɔ́ʔ* [B59150]

aglɔ̀ *adj.* ① bent, crooked ② dishonest [B43026]

prḯ aglɔ̀̌ *n.* a dishonest person ▸*prḯ* [B58983]

ata *n.* flour (wheat) [<IA आटा *āṭā*] [B57496]

ata tɔ́̌ *ex.* to make flatbread ▸*tɔ́̌* [B57500]

atalɔ́m *adj.* dull [M *mədəluu*] ▸*ant. adʑún* [B20974]

ʧə̀̌ku atalɔ́m *ex.* a dull hatchet ▸*ʧə̀̌kú* [B59164]

atǎ́ *n.* ① rope (any kind, also cane rope) ② any carrying strap ③ the string of the kəlii trap [=M *mətaŋ*] ▸*cf. sətǎ́* [B38395]

atǎ́ tǎ́ *ex.* to tie on a carry strap ▸*tǎ́* [B42100]

atǎ́ lèla krín *ex.* to connect with a rope [M *mətaŋ dəkɯ́n*] ▸*krín* ▸*syn. atǎ́ lèla tyḯ* [B59185]

atǎ́ lèla tyḯ *ex.* to tie together with a rope ▸*lè*, *tyḯ* ▸*syn. atǎ́ lèla krín* [B59186]

atǎ́ ʃə́p *ex.* to knot a strap ▸*ʃə́p* [B59112]

kətú? atǎ́ *n.* basket carry belt ▸*kətú?* [B38399]

kɔ́mbɛ̀ɬɛ̀ atǎ́ *n.* some rope or belt on horse back [B41071]

kəlí atǎ́ *n.* trap string ▸*kəlí* [B58543]

ʧìtǎ́ *n.* strap of the dao ▸*ʧì*[2] [B15143]

ʧì atǎ́ *n.* carry belt for dao ▸*ʧì*[2] [B41910]

laìt atǎ́ *n.* elecricity wire ▸*laìt* [B58534]

laìt atǎ́ krín *ex.* to connect electric wires ▸*laìt*, *krín* [B58535]

ʃɪʒə̀̌ atǎ́ *n.* straps of backpack ▸*ʃɪʒə̀̌* [B41915]

atǎ́ tyĩri *ex.* tie two ropes together ▸*tyḯri* [B59104]

atǎ́ tsə̀̌ɬɛ́? *ex.* the rope teared apart ▸*tsə̀̌ɬɛ́?* [B43236]

atɪŋ (≠*at^{h}ŭ̌*) *n.* ① male of the grandfather generation (paternal or maternal grandfather, their brothers, their sister's husbands) ② father-in-law (wife or husband's father) ③ mother's elder brother ④ mother's sister's husband (elder and younger sister) ⑤ forefather, male ancestor ▸*cf. alò*, *awaì*, *atɪŋ məzɪ́?*, *amì* ▸*ant. aguì* [B15302]

atɪŋ amì *ex.* ① father and mother of father (and mother?) ② father and mother of spouse ▸*amì* [B41942]

atɪŋ masáŋ *ex.* forefather Masaŋ, mythological hero ▸*masáŋ* ▸*syn. alò vəneì* [B57999]

atɪŋ məzɪ́? *n.* tiger (lit. father-in-law tiger) (*sci.* *Panthera tigris*)

▸*məzíʔ* ▸*cf.* *atíŋ*, *məzíʔ* ▸*syn.* *məpʰɔ̀̃* [B28706]

atíŋ² (≠*díŋ*) *n.* spring, origin of a river [≠M *kan*] [B58876]

kʰɔ̀tíŋ *n.* ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B58874]

kʰɔ̀ atíŋ *n.* spring ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B58875]

tə́mdáŋtíŋ *n.* Təmdaŋ spring ▸*tə́mdáŋ* [B56198]

ʃazutíŋ *n.* upper village in Bulu, where gaonbura's house is ▸*ʃazu* ▸*cf.* *ritíŋ*, *ʃazukʰɔ̀* [B53323]

atíŋ³ *n.* bunch, plants growing in a group [B58898]

tʃaò atíŋ *n.* a group of sago palms ▸*tʃaò* [B58901]

madù atíŋ *n.* group of bamboo ▸*madù* [B58902]

mabjaò atíŋ *n.* a group of bamboo plants ▸*mabjaò* [B58900]

məkíŋ atíŋ *n.* a bunch stinging nettle ▸*məkíŋ* [B58897]

məpʰìn atíŋ *n.* group of maize plants ▸*məpʰìn* [B58899]

njén atíŋ *n.* group/bunch of rice plants ▸*njén* [B58903]

atɔ́ *adj.* light (not heavy) ▸*ant.* *alɨ̀* [B28828]

atő *n.* small bird species [B58727]

atű (≠*atʰṵ̀*) *adj.* short [Adi antuŋ] ▸*ant.* *apjá̰* [B28897]

atű atű gə́m *ex.* to cut into short pieces ▸*gə́m* [B51017]

atű gə́m *ex.* to cut into pieces ▸*gə́m* [B39051]

hamì atű báʔ *ex.* The days are short. ▸*hamì* [B52677]

atʰù (≠*kətúʔ*) *adj.* short tempered [B57340]

atʰù anù *ex.* short tempered ▸*anù* [B59123]

alíŋ atʰù *ex.* short tempered, someone who gets angry fast ▸*alíŋ* ▸*ant.* *alíŋ arà* [B57344]

atʰṵ̀ (≠*atíŋ*, *atű*) *n.* lord, master, boss [B35307]

-tű *nsfx.* locative used with persons and pronouns, 'in someone's place' (LOC.PERS) [B34991]

gù vètű tʃì rjaòna *ex.* I will the knife steal from him. ▸*gù*, *tʃì²*, *rjaò²* ▸*syn.* *gù vèṵ̀ tʃì rjaòna* [B59030]

gutű *ex.* with me ▸*gù* [B38788]

kʰɔ̀ atʰṵ̀ hɛ̀̃ *n.* water spirits ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *kʰɔ̀* ▸*cf.* *pʰɨ̀ŋ atʰṵ̀ hɛ̃̀* [B54916]

gùtazu atʰṵ̀ *ex.* by my own will ▸*=tazu* [B54940]

tsəwoì atʰṵ̀ *n.* bee eater (*sci. Merops*) ▸*tsəwoì* [B34013]

pədù ató *n.* small bird species with long tail feather ▸*pədù* ▸*syn.* *sədzùrjáŋ* [B58726]

pʰɛ̃̀pʰjà atʰṵ̀ *n.* Black panther, lit. 'lord of the langurs' ▸*pɛ́pʰjà* ▸*cf.* *mərà atʰṵ̀*, *pʰàŋtsén* [B55553]

pʰɨ̀ŋ atʰṵ̀ hɛ̀̃ *n.* mountain spirits ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *pʰɨ̀ŋ* ▸*cf.* *kʰɔ̀ atʰṵ̀ hɛ̃̀* [B54911]

mərà atʰṵ̀ *n.* leopard, lit. 'lord of the monkeys', is said to eat macaques ▸*mərà* ▸*cf.* *pʰàŋtsén*, *pʰɛ̃̀pʰjà atʰṵ̀* [B55547]

məhjɛ̃̀ atʰṵ̀ *n.* ① land owner ② female deity of the earth ▸*məhjɛ̃̀* ▸*syn.* *amà məhjɛ̃̀ məzà̰* [B52685]

ríʔtű *n.* toad species (lit master of the field) ▸*ríʔ²* [B50043]

hamíŋ atʰṵ̀ *n.* lord of the sky, male deity grandfather of all animals and humans ▸*hamíŋ* [B55425]

hə̀̃waíʔ atʰṵ̀ *n.* master of the

stars, way to refer to the morning star and the evening star. ▸*hə̃̀waí?* ▸*cf.* *tarə̀ pʰidigjáŋ*, *gadʒo galɛgjóŋ* [B55403]

atʰyí? *n.* vagina [≠M *ʧu?,*] ▸*syn.* *ʧapíŋ* [B36084]

mərù atʰyí? *n.* a woman's vagina ▸*mərù* [B44542]

atʰyḯ (≠*ratʰyì*) *n.* basket, where chicken are kept overnight [B38532]

mədyì atʰyì̃ *n.* chicken basket ▸*mədyì* [B38536]

atlí *adj.* ① flat ② flattened ▸*syn.* *məbjén* [B35745]

atlí tsá? *ex.* to make something flat (roti) ▸*tsá?* [B39393]

adì [HL] *n.* mountain ▸*cf.* *pʰɨŋ* [B52506]

adì bɛ̃̀ [HL] *ex.* to go hunting ▸*bɛ̃̀*[2] ▸*cf.* *aruɛ́? vù* [B54348]

adì kṹʃə̀ [HL] *ex.* on the mountain ▸*kṹʃõ̀* [B54343]

adə̀ *n.* own child ▸*cf.* *-də̀*[2], *amjɛ̀*[2], *adʒɛ̃̀*, *akraí* [B12775]

adə̀tsə̀ *n.* nephew (elder sister's son) [M *sətsaŋ*] ▸*cf.* *adə̀rɛ̀* [B42004]

adə̀tsɛ́? *n.* niece (elder sister's daughter) [=M *sətsɛ?*] [B42008]

adə̀njə̀ *n.* placenta ▸*anjaù* [B42015]

adə̀ anjaò *ex.* newborn baby ▸*anjaò* ▸*cf.* *akraí* [B39761]

adə̀ aruì *n.* amniotic sac ▸*aruì* [B36948]

adə̀ kəlím *n.* fontanel (soft spot on baby scull) ▸*kəlím* [B37383]

adə̀ də̀ *ex.* to give birth (for humans and mammals) ▸*də̀* [B36367]

adə̀ dʒṹ *ex.* ① to hold a child in the arms ② to lift up a child ▸*dʒṹ*[2] [B42211]

adə̀ bə̀ *ex.* to carry a child (on the back) ▸*bəù* [B39242]

adə̀ mám *ex.* ▸*mám* [B50451]

adə̀ rì *ex.* to be pregnant ▸*rì*[4] [B37017]

adə̀ zəzò *ex.* to take care of the childs ▸*zəzò* [B39632]

adə̀rɛ̀ *n.* elder sister's son (original non-Miji word) ▸*cf.* *adə̀tsə̀̃* [B35729]

adə̀fu *ex.* son ▸*-fù* ▸*ant.* *adəmé?* [B35342]

adəmé? *n.* daughter ▸*ant.* *adə̀fu* [B12786]

apádə̀ (*var.* *padə̀*) *n.* father and child ▸*apá* ▸*cf.* *màdə̀* [B58524]

abə̀də̀ *n.* ① son-in-law ② brother-in-law (younger sister's husband) ▸*abə́?* ▸*syn.* *abə́?* [B20537]

màdə̀ *n.* mother and child ▸*amà* ▸*cf.* *apádə̀* [B35274]

màdə̀hɛ̃̀ *n.* mother, kids and all ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *amà* [B45068]

ʃətʃì adə̀ *n.* baby barking deer ▸*ʃətʃì* [B41256]

adə̀líŋ *n.* a fixing rope in a sling trap [≠M *asənjaŋ*] ▸*syn.* *asənjáŋ* [B58733]

adə̀líŋ pə̃́ *ex.* to fix a fixing rope on a sling trap ▸*pə̃́* [B58734]

adətsáŋ *n.* elder sister's son ▸*ant.* *atsì*, *adətsɛ́?* [B58653]

adətsɛ́? *n.* elder sister's daughter ▸*ant.* *adətsáŋ* [B58654]

adətsù *n.* edge (of a mountain, window) [=M *adətsuu*] ▸*syn.* *adʒɔ̀* [B56234]

adəbù *n.* black bead [<M *adəboo*] [B41240]

adənjɛ́ʔ *n.* first layer of sago ball roasted in the fire [=M *madənjɛʔ*] [B57290]

adəzuì *n.* year [B20875]

adəzyìtʃi *n.* one year ▸*-tʃi* [B43646]

dʒiru adəzuì *ex.* ▸*dʒiru* [B58646]

buìdɨ *n.* two years ago ▸*buì* ▸*cf. sámdɨ* [B54199]

hằdɨ *n.* this year ▸*cf. bətʰì* [B50147]

adəʒù *adj.* loose, not lasting [=M *mədəʒuu*] ▸*syn. azuì²* ▸*ant. arín* [B50208]

adəʒù dzoì *ex.* to bind something lose (not tight) ▸*dzoì* [B50213]

adəhù [HL] *adj.* fast ▸*cf. ajằ* [B52406]

aduì̃ *n.* circle [B58477]

aduì̃ rín *n.* ▸*rín* [B58478]

adùráŋ *n.* large intestine [=M *adoraŋ*] ▸*cf. mabù̃, ałyìnjáŋ, ałyìpʉ́* ▸*syn. aməgìrằ* [B52631]

atʃaù *n.* servant [B34686]

atʃám (*var. atʃɛ̀²*) *n.* ① younger female relative from outside the village (in-law): daughter-in-law (son's wife) ② granddaughter-in-law (grandson's wife) ③ sister-in-law (younger brother's wife) ▸*cf. azɨ̀* [B20542]

atʃángrù *n.* Rimpoche [=M] [B58079]

atʃằ *n.* above ▸*syn. kʉ́tʃằ* ▸*ant. awù, ałuè* [B35646]

-tʃằ *nsfx.* [B57173]

kʉ́tʃằ *ex.* above, upper ▸*kʉ́* ▸*syn. atʃằ* ▸*ant. alíŋ, ráp ałuè* [B35664]

kʉ́tʃằ dədʒén *ex.* to float on the surface ▸*dədʒén* [B59188]

kʉ́tʃằ haù *ex.* to float ▸*haù* [B42362]

kʰɔ̀ kʉ́tʃằ haùla rɨ *ex.* ▸*kʰɔ̀, haù* [B59189]

grì azù kʉ́tʃáŋ kəmjáŋ *ex.* to lie with the head supported on the wife (on lap, stomach, leg) ▸*kəmjáŋ* [B59140]

baíʔ kʉ́tʃằ tʃɔ̀ *ex.* ▸*baíʔ, tʃɔ̀* [B59198]

ráp kʉ́tʃằ *n.* upper fireplace shelf ▸*ráp* ▸*ant. ráp ałuè* [B58925]

sətú kʉ́tʃằ tʃɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on a particular horse ▸*sətú, tʃɔ̀, =ku* ▸*cf. sətú kʉ́tʃằ tʃɔ̀²* [B59199]

sətú kʉ́tʃằ tʃɔ̀² *ex.* to sit on a horse ▸*sətú, tʃɔ̀* ▸*cf. sətú kʉ́tʃằ tʃɔ̀* [B59197]

kʉ́ atʃằ *ex.* up there ▸*kʉ́* ▸*ant. bù awù* [B39735]

límtʃáŋ *ex.* above the path ▸*lím* [B39326]

hằtʃằ (*var. hámtʃáŋ*) *n.* ① mountain side of the house (all houses in Bulu have the mountain on the left side when looking from the entrance) ② on top of the house ▸*hám* ▸*cf. hằgʉ̃, hámdzéʔ* ▸*ant. hằwù* [B33662]

atʃɛ̀ (*≠atsɛ̃̀, adzɛ̃̀*) *adj.* straight ▸*ant. akəlɔ̃̀* [B20851]

atʃɛ̀ dʒʉ̀ *ex.* to put something straight in vertical position ▸*dʒʉ̀²* [B53404]

atʃɛ̀ tsáʔ *ex.* to make straight ▸*tsáʔ* [B51542]

atʃɛ̀ pí *ex.* to hammer straight ▸*pí*

[B49464]

atʃɛ̀ rì *ex.* to sit upright ▸*rì* [B53969]

atʃɛ̀ rɔ̀ *ex.* to make straight (bamboo stick, arrow) ▸*rɔ̀*² [B51547]

atʃɛ̀ vjɛ̀ *ex.* to stretch the leg ▸*vjɛ̀* [B49551]

rì akəlɔ̀ atʃɛ̀ rɔ̀ *ex.* to make a crooked cane straight ▸*rì*³, *akəlɔ̀*, *rɔ̀*² [B59120]

lím atʃɛ̀ *ex.* a straight path ▸*lím* [B38743]

atʃɛ̃̀ (≠*atsɛ̃̀*) *adj.* oversalted, taste of too much salt [B41955]

fəù atʃɛ̃̀ *ex.* oversalted ▸*fəù* [B50773]

atʃɛ̀² (*var.* of *atʃám*) *n.* daughter.in.law [B57911]

atʃɛ̃̀ (≠*atʃɪ́n*) *n.* night ▸*syn.* *tʃɛ̃̀* ▸*ant.* *atʃɔ̃̀* [B15448]

atʃɛ̃̀ vùka papʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* the night-active moth ▸*vù*, *papʰɛ́ʔ* [B58717]

dʒiru tʃɛ̃̀ *ex.* that night ▸*tʃɛ̃̀*, *dʒiru* [B57705]

dʒirjɛ̀ atʃɛ̃̀ *n.* yesterday night ▸*dʒirjɛ̀* [B58695]

hɛ̃̀tʃɛ̃̀ *n.* tonight ▸*hɛ̃̀* [B38387]

hɛ̃̀ atʃɛ̃̀ *n.* tonight ▸*hɛ̃̀* [B58696]

atʃì (≠*adʒíʔ*) *adj.* cold (for leg and hands, tea, food, water) ▸*cf.* *akɛ̃́*, *gəʒíʔ* ▸*ant.* *ahjáʔ* [B28551]

agéʔ atʃì *ex.* the hands are cold ▸*agéʔ* [B52844]

atʃì ɬuéʔ *ex.* it looks cold (of a cup of tea) ▸*ɬuéʔ* [B57515]

atʃì² *n.* elephant (*sci.* *Elephas maximus*) [<IA Hindi हाथी *hāthī*=M *atʃí*] [B20855]

atʃì kətɔ́ *n.* tusk of elephant ▸*kətɔ́* [B37787]

atʃínwíʔ *n.* gland near stomach, together with arinpuN ▸*cf.* *arínpṹ* [B54511]

atʃi kṹkúʔ *n.* inedible solanum species [≠M *babla kəʒjuʔ*] ▸*syn.* *babla kəʒúʔ* [B58892]

atʃɪ́n (≠*atʃɛ̃̀*) *adj.* dark [B41975]

atʃɔ̃̀ (≠*atsɔ̃̀*) *n.* ① light (not dark) ② day light, day (as opposed to night) ▸*ant.* *atʃɛ̃̀* [B41965]

atʃɔ̃̀ bádɛ̃̀ *ex.* It is still light (not dark yet). ▸*bádɛ̃̀* [B53672]

atʃoì (≠*atsoì*, *adʒoì*) *adj.* far [B20859]

atʃò *n.* silk cloth [B58735]

atʃò ráŋʃi [RL] *n.* silk cloth ▸*ráŋʃi* [B54816]

ɛ́ʔ atʃò *n.* silk cloth ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B58736]

ɛ́ʔsu atʃò *n.* silk cloth ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B58738]

tʃò vɪ́m *ex.* to put silk on a ball ▸*vɪ́m* [B59022]

atʃù *n.* many, a crowd of (only for humans and higher animals) ▸*cf.* *bráʔ*, *pəʃéʔ*, *anáŋ* [B56212]

dzù atʃú *ex.* many yaks ▸*dzù* [B43758]

prɪ́ atʃú *ex.* a crowd of people ▸*prɪ́* [B43753]

səláʔ atʃú *ex.* a crowd of sheeps ▸*səláʔ* [B43763]

səfəù atʃù báʔ *ex.* There are many cows. ▸*səfəù*, *báʔ* [B58944]

səfəù atʃú *ex.* a lot of cows ▸*səfəù* [B57736]

susù atʃú *ex.* a lot of mithuns ▸*susù* [B58943]

atʃyɛ̃̀ *adj.* sour [≠M *mətʃjun*] [B16333]

atʃyén tʃìla asù bəʒjáʔ *ex.* to shudder because of eating something very sour ▸*bəʒjáʔ* [B59148]

atʃyén zumuè *ex.* something sour, all the sour things ▸*zumuè* [B41990]

pʰəù atʃuán *ex.* a sour beer ▸*pʰəù* [B39536]

marɪ́ŋ atʃyɛ̃̀ *n.* Fermented bamboo.

▸*maráŋ* [B49243]

adʒá? *adj.* smart ▸*cf. adʒí?²* [B58564]

adʒí? (≠*atsé?*, *atʃì*) *adj.* beautiful [B33026]

mərù adʒí? bá? *ex.* The woman is beautiful. ▸*mərù* [B59181]

adʒí?² *adj.* ▸*cf. adʒá?* [B58565]

adʒí?³ intensifier intensifier for bitter [B59170]

atʃá? adʒí? *ex.* very bitter ▸*atʃá?* [B59169]

adʒím *adj.* soft, tender [B34464]

ɛ̋? dʒím *ex.* soft silk cloth ▸*ɛ̋?* [B59167]

ʃì adʒím *n.* tender meat ▸*ʃì* [B49993]

adʒə́n intensifier very heavy ▸*cf. nədʒə́ŋ* [B59182]

alɨ adʒə́n *ex.* very heavy ▸*alɨ* ▸*syn. nəlí? nədʒə́ŋ* [B59183]

adʒɔ̀ *n.* high place (of mountain cliff, tree etc.) ▸*syn. adətsù* ▸*ant. aním* [B53763]

kű adʒɔ̀ *ex.* up there in the higher place ▸*kű* ▸*ant. bù aním* [B59155]

adʒoì (≠*atʃoì*) *adj.* yellow [B20871]

adʒoì dʒá? *ex.* very yellow ▸*dʒá?²* [B51062]

məljə̀̀dʒoì *n.* yellow rasberry ▸*məljə̀̀* [B36659]

adʒorjo *n.* turtle [=M] [B20899]

atsaù *adj.* hard, crunchy to eat (e.g. dried peas) ▸*cf. anyɛ̀̀* [B50222]

atsáp *adj.* ① thin and flat (of a book) ② shallow ▸*cf. tasrì* ▸*ant. apán* [B16380]

atsɛ̀̀ (≠*atʃɛ̀̀*, *adʒɛ̀̀*, *atʃɛ̀*) *adj.* old (of things) ▸*ant. afɛ̀̀* [B16344]

atsɛ̀̀ mənè *ex.* old things ▸*mənè* [B41960]

hám atsɛ̀̀ *ex.* an old house ▸*hám* [B58686]

hám atsɛ̀̀ ɬué? *ex.* It looks like an old house. ▸*hám*, *ɬué?* [B49594]

atsì *n.* ① grandchild (son or daughter's child) ② nephew/niece (younger brother's or younger sister's child) ▸*ant. adətsáŋ* [B35717]

atsìmyì *n.* ① granddaughter (son's or daughter's daughter) ② niece (younger brother's or younger sister's daughter) ▸*-muì* [B35725]

atsìfu *n.* ① grandson ② nephew ▸*-fù* [B35721]

atsoì (≠*atʃoì*) *n.* paternal uncle (father's elder brother) ▸*cf. awaì*, *aváŋ*, *aguì*, *amətsɛ̀̀* [B33273]

atsɔ̀̀ (≠*atʃɔ̀̀*) *n.* center, middle [B40831]

anìtsɔ̀̀ *n.* noon ▸*anì* [B28988]

hám atsɔ̀̀ *ex.* in the center of the house ▸*hám* [B41985]

'kʰɔ̀ tsɔ̀̀ *ex.* in the middle of the river ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B41981]

adzɛ̀̀ (≠*atsɛ̀̀*, *atʃɛ̀*, *tʃɛ̀̀*) *n.* ① child ② servant ▸*cf. adə̀* [B28623]

adzɛ̀̀ lɛ̀bá? *ex.* The kids are playing. ▸*lɛ̀* [B55379]

adzɛ̀̀hɛ̀̀ abùhɛ̀̀ *ex.* children of all age, lit. 'children and elder brothers' ▸*abù* [B55619]

hə̀̀tʃɔ̀̀ adzɛ̀̀ *ex.* nowaday's kids ▸*hə̀̀* [B54726]

hə̀̀tʃɔ̀̀ adzɛ̀̀² *ex.* nowadays children ▸*hə̀̀tʃɔ̀̀* [B58687]

adzé? (≠*dzɛ̀̀*) *n.* ① entrance side of the house ② side of a person ▸*cf. rakíŋ* [B58913]

katíŋɬɛ̀̀ adzé? *ex.* to the side where the water comes from, upstream ▸*katíŋ* ▸*ant. kanyɛ̀ɬɛ̀̀ awù* [B58931]

nà adzé? *ex.* on your side ▸*nà* [B58928]

nà adzé?ku bá? *ex.* ▸*=ku*, *bá?* [B58933]

hámdzé? (*var.* *hǎdzé?*) *n.* ▸*hám* ▸*cf.* *hǎwù*, *hǎtʃǎ* ▸*ant.* *hǎgǔ*, *hám alíŋ* [B58914]

pafɨɬɛ̀ adzé? *ex.* on someone's left side ▸*pafɨ́?ɬɛ̀* ▸*ant.* *pasuɬɛ̀ adzé?* [B58929]

pasuɬɛ̀ adzé? *ex.* ▸*pasuɬɛ̀* ▸*ant.* *pafɨɬɛ̀ adzé?* [B58930]

adzɨ́m *adj.* small, narrow ▸*ant.* *asjè* [B56652]

adzɨ́mdə̀ *ex.* small, narrow ▸*-də̀*[2] [B56656]

lím adzɨ́m *ex.* a narrow path ▸*lím* ▸*ant.* *lím asjè* [B59157]

hám adzɨ́m *ex.* a small house (narrow inside) ▸*hám* ▸*ant.* *hám aʃjè* [B59160]

apá *n.* father (own biological father) ▸*cf.* *ap^{h}ɔ̀* ▸*ant.* *amà* [B28629]

apádə̀ (*var.* *padə̀*) *n.* father and child ▸*adə̀* ▸*cf.* *màdə̀* [B58524]

apá amà *n.* father and mother ▸*amà* [B42554]

apá amà bədɛ̀ *n.* time of our parents ▸*bədɛ̀* [B42559]

apá hamíŋ məʒɛ̀ [RL] *n.* father sky, the very first god, and forefather of everything ▸*hamíŋ* ▸*cf.* *amà məhjɛ̀ məʒɛ̀*, *hamíŋ tʃitʃumɔ* [B55346]

apá ʃáŋto kəpɛ́n *n.* mythological forefather of all human beings, he devided the humans in tribes, gave them a place and a language [<M] ▸*ʃàto kəpán* ▸*cf.* *amà mɛdəgè ʃəzán* [B40182]

apaí? *n.* Puroik name for tʃimbi ▸*cf.* *tʃímbi raìdə̀* [B39976]

apɑ́ *quant.* half (of a set of items) ▸*cf.* *agǔ* [B58601]

apɑ́tǘ *n.* sago species with relatively low starch yield, becomes very tall (6-10m), stem has about the same diameter everywhere [≠M *madəvruŋ*] ▸*syn.* *tʃarɔ̀* [B49513]

apɑ́sjɛ *n.* unedible fern species [B41039]

apɛ́ *n.* morning ▸*syn.* *bapǘ* [B40298]

apɛ́ arjè *ex.* from morning to evening ▸*arjé* [B40302]

apɛ́ tʃɔ̃batʃa *ex.* it became light ▸*tʃɔ̃* [B53677]

ɛ̃rupɛ́ *n.* the day after the day after tomorrow ▸*ɛ̃ru* [B42469]

dɔ̃pɛ́ *adv.* this morning ▸*dɔ̃* [B58689]

dʒirjɛpɛ́ (*var.* *dʒjèpɛ́*) *n.* yesterday morning ▸*dʒirjè* [B58692]

dʒjèpɛ́ (*var.* of *dʒirjɛpɛ́*) *n.* yesterday morning ▸*dʒjè* [B58691]

pɛ́mapè *n.* every morning [B56945]

hǎpɛ́ *n.* this morning ▸*hǎ* [B54721]

hə̀pɛ́² *adv.* today morning [B38391]

asə̀pɛ́ (*var.* *aʃə̀pɛ́*) *n.* ① dawn, early morning ② tomorrow early morning ▸*asə̀* ▸*syn.* *hə̀sə̀* [B56185]

asə̀pɛ́ sə̀ *ex.* to become light in the morning ▸*asə̀*, *sə̀²* [B57731]

dʒ̀pɛ́ hə̀sə̀ basə̀ *ex.* this morning before dawn ▸*dʒ̀*, *hə̀sə̀*, *sə̀²* [B58961]

apí *adj.* blue (colour of the sky) [B28976]

apí sərín *ex.* very blue ▸*sərín* [B51044]

mərɛ́ʔ apí *n.* blue bead ▸*mərɛ́ʔ* [B41248]

məljə̀pí *n.* blackberry ▸*məljə̀* ▸*syn.* *məljə̀ apí* [B36649]

məljə̀ apí *n.* blackberry ▸*məljə̀* ▸*syn.* *məljə̀pí* [B58632]

apín (≠*məpʰìn*, *pʰìn*, *apʰî*) *adj.* sweet [≠M *məʤaŋ*] [B33400]

tsəmuíʔpín *n.* honey from the bee species living in trees ▸*tsəmuí* [B57766]

tsəwoìpín *n.* honey from the rock bee ▸*tsəwoì* [B57267]

apɔ́n *adj.* thick (book) ▸*ant.* *atsáp* [B27972]

apəlɛ́ʔ *n.* lid to cover a pot (just to put on top) [≠M *bəluŋ*] ▸*cf.* *plɛ̋*, *aplɔ̋* [B50685]

kajə̀ pəlɛ́ʔ *n.* lid of big cooking pot [≠M *kajaŋ bəluŋ*] ▸*kajə̀* [B50695]

ketəli apəlɛ́ʔ *n.* lid of kettle ▸*ketəli* [B58731]

səkṹ pəlɛ́ʔ *n.* lid of pot ▸*səkṹ* [B50690]

apɔ́ʔ *n.* sago fibre rain cover for backpack [B58450]

ʃɪʒə̀pɔ́ʔ *n.* raincoat made from sago fibres to cover backpack ▸*ʃɪʒə̀* ▸*cf.* *sə̀pɔ́ʔ* [B36722]

ʃɪʒə̀ apɔ́ʔ *n.* ▸*ʃɪʒə̀* [B52951]

apʰɛ́ʔ *adj.* ready, full, prepared (of luggage) [B55514]

apʰɛ́ʔ ʒə̀ *ex.* to arrange some things, make some things ready ▸*ʒə̀* [B55518]

mənɛ̀ apɛ́ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make luggage ready, to fill the bags ▸*mənɛ̀*, *ʒə̀* [B55529]

apʰíʔ *n.* small dry riverbed without water ▸*cf.* *kʰɔpʰíʔ* ▸*ant.* *kahə̀* [B55886]

apʰì (≠*apín*) *n.* liver [B33404]

apʰɔ̀ (≠*apʰɔ́ʔ*) *n.* ① male (i.e. an animal or human who can be the father of someone) ② father ▸*cf. apá*, *akűʤɨ́n*, *kűʤɨ́n*[2] [B36092]

agéʔ apʰɔ̀ *n.* middle finger ▸*agéʔ* [B41526]

bù apʰɔ̀ *n.* male dog ▸*bù*[2] [B41702]

məɬì apʰɔ̀ *n.* liar ▸*məɬì* [B59012]

amɔ̀ apʰɔ̀ mɛìri *ex.* the male and the female are mating ▸*mɛì*, *-ri*[2], *amɔ̀* [B50543]

bù.úʔ apʰɔ̀ *n.* thief ▸*bù.úʔ* [B58979]

apʰɔ́ʔ (≠*apʰɔ̀*) *n.* shoulder, upper arm [B15214]

apʰɔ́ʔ tɨ́ʔ *ex.* physically tired ▸*tɨ́ʔ* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ tɨ́ʔ* [B38579]

kjɛ́mpɔ́ʔ *n.* part of kjɛm trap ▸*kjɛ́m* [B40479]

pʰɔ́ʔtɨ́ʔ *ex.* shoulders are tired ▸*tɨ́ʔ* [B36768]

apʰɔ̰̀ *n.* a piece of wood ▸*cf. pʰɔ̰̀* [B53534]

apʰúʔ *adj.* taste of raw banana [B58769]

aʰúʔlaò *adj.* bad taste like raw banana ▸*alaò* [B58770]

asɔ́mpʰúʔ (≠*asɔ́mpʰù*) *n.* phlegm, mucus in mouth ▸*asɔ́m* [B52998]

apʰɰ̀ *n.* nose [B14643]

apɰ́ pljáŋ *ex.* the nose bulges out, the nose is swollen ▸*pljáŋ* [B37683]

apʰɰ̀krɨ́n *n.* nose bridge ▸*agrɨ́n* [B37674]

apʰɰ̀ akjáŋ *n.* ① nose hole ② nostril ▸*akjɑ́́* [B37687]

apʰɰ̀ hjaò *ex.* to dig the soil with the nose (of pigs) ▸*hjaò* [B43705]

apʰjɑ̀ (≠*apjɑ́́*) *n.* trigger stick in trap [B38066]

apʰjɑ̀ wɔ́ʔrika kawɔ́ʔ *ex.* ▸*wɔ́ʔ*, *kawɔ́ʔ* [B58752]

apjɑ́́ apjɑ́́ gɜ́m *ex.* to cut a tree into long pieces ▸*gɜ́m* [B51012]

kəlí apʰjɑ̀ *n.* trigger of kəlí trap ▸*kəlí* [B53280]

njɛ́ʧi apjɑ́́ báʔ *ex.* It is little bit too long. ▸*njɛ́* [B49445]

hám apjɑ́́ arà *ex.* a long and big house ▸*hám*, *arà* [B51692]

abɑ̀ *n.* half (full) ▸*ant. ljè* [B42028]

təlɑ̀ abɑ̀ *ex.* a half full mug ▸*təlɑ̀* [B42038]

abɛ̀ *n.* in front, ahead ▸*ant. rakɨ́ŋ* [B33016]

abɛ̀ bɛ̀ [HL] *ex.* go ahead ▸*bɛ̀*[2] [B52314]

abɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go ahead ▸*vù* ▸*ant. rakɨ́ŋ vù* [B36342]

buì abɛ̀ mənɛ̀ *ex.* old stuff ▸*mənɛ̀*, *buì* [B50763]

abɨ́ŋ *n.* dense forest of bushes, thicket ▸*cf. arɨ́ŋ* [B15102]

abɨ́ŋmɔ̀ *n.* dense forest of bushes, thicket ▸*-mɔ̀*[2] ▸*cf. arɨ́ŋ*, *mərɔ̀mɔ̀* [B35187]

abɨ̃mɔ̀ ʤɔ̀ *n.* wild yam ▸*ʤɔ̀* [B52538]

abɨŋmɔ̀ pʰjèruìla vù *ex.* to go through the thicket by opening the way with the hands ▸*pʰjè*[2] [B59131]

abɨŋmɔ̀ sətsɨ *n.* jungle wasp ▸*sətsɨ*[2] [B58904]

sɛ̀ sɛ̀ka abɨŋmɔ̀ *ex.* the jungle where the thicket grows ▸*sɛ̀ sɛ̀* [B58862]

abɨŋ ʃɔ̀ì *ex.* to clear the forest ▸*ʃɔ̀ì* [B36827]

abədʒáʔ *adj.* fast [=M *abəʤaʔ*] ▸*syn. ajã̀, awú* [B38257]

abədʒáʔ ǜ *ex.* to come fast ▸*ǜ* [B42386]

abədʒáʔ mətʃíŋ tʃíŋ *ex.* to work fast ▸*tʃíŋ* [B42391]

abədʒáʔ vù *ex.* to walk fast ▸*vù* [B38261]

abədʒáʔ hɨ̀ *ex.* to speak fast ▸*hɨ̀* [B42406]

abədʒì *n.* cyst ▸*syn. kósjɛ̀hám* [B37248]

abədʒù *n.* bird's stomach, gizzard [B37447]

abəɬì *adj.* ▸*cf. arɨ̀, glín* [B58584]

abɔ́ʔ *n.* ① younger male in-law ② son-in-law (daughter's husband) ③ grandson-in-law (granddaughter's husband) ④ brother-in-law (younger sister's husband) ▸*cf. aɬíʔ* ▸*syn. abɔ̀dà* ▸*ant. awaì* [B36144]

abɔ̀dà *n.* ① son-in-law ② brother-in-law (younger sister's husband) ▸*adà* ▸*syn. abɔ́ʔ* [B20537]

abuɛ̀ *n.* flower ▸*cf. buɛ̀* ▸*syn. ímbuɛ̀* [B20845]

abuɛ̀ buɛ̀ *ex.* the flower is blooming ▸*buɛ̀* [B42132]

dəvì abuɛ̀ *n.* flower of a tree, causes rashes when touched ▸*dəvɨ* [B57373]

tʃámtʃoì abuɛ̀ *n.* edible flower ▸*tʃámtʃuì* [B41218]

tʃánʒu ʒupjáʔ abuɛ̀ *n.* orchid flower ▸*tʃánʒu ʒupjáʔ* [B57364]

ʃìbuɛ̀ (*var. hɨ̀buɛ̀*) *n.* flower of a tree ▸*ʃì* ▸*cf. ímbuɛ̀* [B38700]

abuɛ̀[2] *n.* first [B37209]

pʰəù abuɛ̀ *ex.* first sip of beer that is offered to the gods ▸*pʰəù* [B37213]

məluɛ̀ abuɛ̀ *ex.* first bit of food that is offered to the gods ▸*məluɛ̀* [B37217]

njɛ̀ abuɛ̀ *n.* colostrum, mother's first milk (It is said that when a baby drinks it, it stays in the stomach for the whole life. At the time of dying it moves to the arms and to the legs and makes them swell.) ▸*anjɛ̀* [B37204]

abù *n.* ① elder brother ② elder cousin brother (father's side) ▸*cf. akú* ▸*syn. aváŋ* ▸*ant. anɔ̀* [B12795]

adʒɛ̀hɛ̀ abùhɛ̀ *ex.* children of all age,

lit. ‘children and elder brothers’ ▸*adzɛ̀̃* [B55619]

abù pʰèmbù *ex.* elder brother Phembu ▸*pʰèmbu raìdà* [B42071]

abù² *n.* [B56220]

abù bùlu [RL] *n.* human being [<M] ▸*bùlu* ▸*syn. tára táma* [B39687]

abù³ *quant.* more, only with the comparative suffix, not as simplex [B56000]

abù ʧì *ex.* to eat a lot ▸*ʧì* [B58665]

abù ʧǐŋlɛ̃̀ *ex.* to work even more ▸*ʧǐŋ*, *-lɛ̃̀* [B58672]

abùlɛ̃̀ *quant.* even more ▸*-lɛ̃̀* [B57635]

abùmɨ̀ *n.* ① elder sister ② father’s younger sister ▸*ant. anɔ̀muì* [B12790]

abudə̀ *n.* uncles [B56582]

abjaò *adj.* crazy, mad [B33900]

abjɛ̃̀ *n.* name [B12771]

abjɛ̃̀ pʰɔ́ʔ *ex.* forget the name ▸*pʰɔ́ʔ* [B53449]

abjɛ̃̀ pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to forget a name ▸*pʰɔ́ʔ* [B54141]

abjɛ̃̀ bjɛ̃̀ *ex.* to give someone a name ▸*bjɛ̃̀* [B40285]

vɛ̀ abjɛ̃̀ *ex.* his name ▸*vɛ̀* [B54150]

abrì (≠*abrɨ̀*) *n.* gall bladder, bile [=M *abrii*] [B15592]

abrɨ (≠*abrì*) *adj.* round [B16354]

abrɨ̀də̀ *ex.* round [B38748]

amà *n.* mother (own biological mother) ▸*cf. amɔ̀* ▸*ant. apá* [B28633]

apá amà *n.* father and mother ▸*apá* [B42554]

amarà *n.* ① elder female blood relative outside the village ② father’s sister (younger or elder) ③ maternal aunt (mother’s elder sister) ▸*arà* ▸*ant. amazì* [B33297]

màdə̀ *n.* mother and child ▸*adə̀* ▸*cf. apádə̀* [B35274]

màdəhɛ̃̀ *n.* mother, kids and all ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *adə̀* [B45068]

amà mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəʒán *n.* first female human, who gave birth to the forefathers of all tribes on earth. ▸*mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəʒán* ▸*cf. apá ʃáŋto kəpɛ́n* [B55435]

amazì *n.* mother’s younger sister ▸*ant. amarà* [B58652]

amɛ̃̀ *n.* old woman ▸*ant. pəʃɑ̃̀* [B36100]

amɛ̃̀² *adj.* original, old [B34620]

amì *n.* ① female of the grandfather generation (paternal or maternal grandmother, their sisters, sisters of grandfather) ② father’s elder sister ③ mother-in-law (wife’s mother) ▸*cf. atíŋ* [B35467]

atíŋ amì *ex.* ① father and mother of father (and mother?) ② father and mother of spouse ▸*atíŋ* [B41942]

amíʔ *adj.* in small particles, pounded, pestled [B35767]

amíʔ tá *ex.* to cut the sago trunks in very fine pieces ▸*tá* [B57481]

amíʔ ʤúʔ *ex.* to pestle into small pieces ▸*ʤúʔ* [B39402]

amíʔ pí *ex.* to hammer sago fibres very well ▸*pí* [B57476]

amíʔ² *n.* small of the back (lower part of back) [≠agətsɨʔ] ▸*cf. akrɔ̃́* [B53658]

amín *adj.* ① ripe ② well-cooked ▸*cf. mín* [B28923]

míŋbaʧa *ex.* it is cooked ▸*-baʧa* ▸*cf. ìbaʧa* [B42737]

amə̀gìrə̀̃ *n.* large intestines (last part of digestive tract with feces), has to be cleaned in the water before eating ▸*syn.* *aɬyìráŋ*, *adùráŋ* [B53649]

amətsə̀̃ (*var.* *mətsə̃̀*) *n.* ① elder female relative from outside the village: father's brother's wife (younger or elder brother) ② mother's elder or younger sister (younger or elder sister) ③ mother's brother's wife (younger or elder brother) ④ elder brother's wife? ▸*cf.* *atsoì*, *aváŋ* [B33293]

amə́n *n.* ① body hair ② animal fur ③ feather [B15516]

akə́mmə́n *n.* eyelash ▸*akə́m* [B37344]

asə́m mə́n *n.* ① whisker ② moustache ▸*asə́m* ▸*syn.* *asə́m səmɹáŋ* [B50506]

asəjúŋ amə́n *n.* mane of a horse ▸*asəjúŋ* [B37647]

kaʒì amə́n *n.* feather of a bird of prey (worn by priests on the hat) ▸*kaʒì* [B49646]

kətʃeì amə́n *n.* beard ▸*akətʃeì* [B37451]

tʃamə́n *n.* sago fibres for roof ▸*tʃaò* ▸*syn.* *sə̃̀kənuí?* [B37858]

pətɔ́ amə́n *n.* barbet feather (worn by shamans on the hat) ▸*pətɔ́* [B49651]

pəlì amə́n *n.* hornbill feather (worn by shamans on the hat) ▸*pəlì* [B49634]

mín *n.* [B57153]

səʤurjáŋ amə́n *n.* tail feather of a bird sp. with long tail ▸*səʤùrjáŋ* [B49656]

ʃì amə́n *n.* animal fur ▸*ʃì* [B37471]

amjè (*var.* *-mjè*) *adj.* good [B20922]

atʃìmjè *ex.* good to eat ▸*a-*, *tʃì* ▸*ant.* *atʃìlaò* [B58145]

atʃíŋmjè *ex.* good to work ▸*tʃíŋ* ▸*ant.* *atʃíŋlaò* [B58134]

amjènám *ex.* smelling good ▸*nám* [B49141]

amjè amjè *ex.* thank you [≠M *ʔɔ ʔɔ*] [B49383]

amjè tsáʔdyĩ̀na *ex.* to fix something, to make something good again ▸*tsáʔ*, *-dyĩ̀* [B49926]

amjè pətʰù *ex.* to fix something ▸*pətʰù* [B53469]

amjè néʔri *ex.* to discuss something well ▸*néʔ* [B59019]

amjè níŋla ù̃ *ex.* Take care! Go back safely! ▸*ù̃*, *níŋ* [B51104]

amjèri *ex.* to love eachother ▸*-ri²* [B36314]

anínŋmjè *ex.* good to hear ▸*níŋ*, *a-* ▸*ant.* *anínŋlaò* [B58104]

arə́mmjè *ex.* good to sleep (of a place) ▸*a-*, *rə́m* ▸*ant.* *arə́mlaò* [B58115]

avùmjè *ex.* good, convenient to go ▸*vù* ▸*ant.* *avùlaò* [B58098]

a.ínmjè *ex.* good to drink ▸*a-*, *ín* ▸*ant.* *a.ínlaò* [B58121]

ʤɔ̃̀ akrɔ̃́ʃì amjè *ex.* The filet is the

best meat. ▸*akrə̋*, *dʑɔ̀* [B51639]

bà̰ amjè bà̰ *ex.* to have a good dream ▸*bà̰* [B49695]

hám amjè *ex.* a good house ▸*hám* [B51697]

hám amjè ʦsáʔ *ex.* to make the house good ▸*hám*, *ʦsáʔ* [B49401]

amjè² [HL] *n.* child, small ▸*cf.* *adə̀* [B52294]

ʒjɔ̀ amjè [HL] *n.* animal child ▸*ʒjɔ̀* [B54268]

amjóʔ *adj.* gelatinous, but half liquid and slimy (bad quality sago, or sago stored too long, sago prepared with too much water) ▸*ant.* *akʰɨ̀* [B57309]

ʧarɛ̃̀ amjóʔ *ex.* slimy sago ▸*ʧarɛ̃̀* [B57505]

anaòpə̋ (*var.* of *anjaòpə̋*) *n.* embryo [B58608]

anám (≠*sənɨ́m*) *n.* Himalayan musk deer (*sci.* *Moschus leucogaster*) [≠M *ʃənɨm*] ▸*cf.* *mənám*, *ʃəʧì* [B28725]

anáŋ intensifier ① many, much ② excessively, too much ▸*cf.* *bráʔ*, *pəʃéʔ*, *atʃù* ▸*ant.* *njé* [B20930]

anáŋ ʧɛ̃̀batʃa (≠*anáŋ ʧʃɛ̀batʃa*) *ex.* It is very enough. ▸*ʧɛ̃̀²* [B58956]

anáŋ ʧʃɛ̀batʃa (≠*anáŋ ʧɛ̃̀batʃa*) *ex.* it became too late, very late ▸*ʧʃɛ̃̀* [B43534]

anáŋ náŋ *ex.* to be very sick ▸*náŋ* [B42023]

anáŋ náŋbáʔ *ex.* to be very sick ▸*náŋ* [B54050]

ʧaò anáŋ báʔ *ex.* there are many sago palms ▸*ʧaò* [B39491]

njé anáŋ *ex.* some, little bit more ▸*njé* [B38783]

anì (*var.* *nì²*) *n.* day [B28984]

anìdə́m *ex.* the whole day ▸*-də́m* [B43641]

anìtsɔ̰̀ *n.* noon ▸*atsɔ̰̀* [B28988]

anì ḿm *ex.* three days ▸*ḿm* [B42061]

anì níʔ ḿm *ex.* a few days ▸*ḿm*, *níʔ* [B49123]

anì vùka mamitələ́ʔ *ex.* The day active [butterfly is called] mamitəlaʔ. ▸*vù*, *mamitələ́ʔ* [B58718]

ʤiru nì *ex.* that day ▸*nì²*, *ʤiru* [B57715]

ʤirjɛnì *n.* yesterday ▸*ʤirjɛ̀* ▸*syn.* *gjɛnì* [B20624]

ʤjɛnì (*var.* of *gjɛnì*) *n.* yesterday ▸*ʤjɛ̀* [B51584]

prúnì *n.* the day before the day-before-yesterday ▸*prú* ▸*syn.* *prú anì* [B38120]

prú anì *n.* day before yesterday ▸*prú* ▸*syn.* *prúnì* [B51589]

lapɛ́ni *n.* tomorrow ▸*lapɛ́* [B44231]

aním *adj.* low, the lower one ▸*ant.* *aʤɔ̀* [B40468]

bù aním *ex.* down there in the lower place ▸*bù* ▸*ant.* *kʉ̋ aʤɔ̀* [B59156]

anɨ́ŋ *n.* mountain rat, edible, lives in the soil (*sci.* *Rattus rattus*) [B28769]

anɔ̀ *n.* ① younger brother ② elder brother's son ③ younger cousin brother (father's side) [≠M *anu*] ▸*ant.* *abù* [B14490]

anɔ̀muì *n.* younger sister ▸*-muì* ▸*ant.* *abùmɛ̰̀* [B12826]

anù *adj.* short tempered [B59122]

atʰù anù *ex.* short tempered ▸*atʰù* [B59123]

anurì *n.* squirrel [B41050]

anyɛ̀ *adj.* tough, chewy (of meat) ▸*cf. atsaù* [B49999]

ʃì anyɛ̀ *n.* hard, chewy meat ▸*ʃì* [B50003]

anyì (≠*anyɪ̀*) *n.* tail [B14843]

anyɪ̀ (≠*anyì*) *adj.* near [B15826]

andə̀ *n.* jacket for women and men [B41289]

andə̀ də̀ *ex.* to put on a jacket ▸*də̀*[2] [B41322]

gunán ándə̀ *n.* red gaonbura jacket ▸*gunán* [B41327]

sasari ándə̀ *n.* ornamental jacket [B41293]

ʃaʃuri ándə̀ *n.* traditional woman coat ▸*ʃaʃuri* [B52806]

anjaò (*var. anjɑ̃̀*) *adj.* tender, fresh, new ▸*ant. awɪ́?* [B35211]

adə̀ anjaò *ex.* newborn baby ▸*adə̀* ▸*cf. akraí* [B39761]

anjaòpɑ̃́ (*var. anaòpɑ̃́*) *n.* ① embryo ② fresh born baby or animal [B40162]

pʰəù anjaò *n.* a fresh beer (only fermented for three days or less) ▸*pʰəù* ▸*syn. pʰəù anjɑ̃̀* ▸*ant. pʰəù awɪ́?* [B39541]

pʰəù anjɑ̃̀ *n.* young beer ▸*pʰəù* ▸*syn. pʰəù anjaò* [B50584]

matsú? anjaò *ex.* the bamboo is fresh (i.e. green) ▸*matsú?* [B49980]

anjaù *n.* placenta (skin bag where the baby is inside) [B20611]

adənjɑ̃̀ *n.* placenta ▸*adə̀* [B42015]

anjɑ̃̀ (*var.* of *anjaò*) *adj.* [B58232]

anjɛ̀ *n.* female breast ▸*cf. aləmɔ̀, njɛ̀* ▸*syn. nəmán* [B36123]

njɛ̀ abuɛ̃̀ *n.* colostrum, mother's first milk (It is said that when a baby drinks it, it stays in the stomach for the whole life. At the time of dying it moves to the arms and to the legs and makes them swell.) ▸*abuɛ̃̀*[2] [B37204]

njɛ̀ awaí *n.* nipple (of male and

female breast) ▸*awaí* ▸*cf. njɛ̀* [B39549]

anlaò *n.* monthly period [B37669]

anlaò ǔ *ex.* to menstruate [B37664]

ajám *n.* nest [B21713]

pədù ajám *n.* nest ▸*pədù* [B14692]

ajǎ *adj.* fast [≠M *akətu?*] ▸*cf. adəhù* ▸*syn. awú*, *abədʒá?* [B38266]

ajǎ vù *ex.* ① to walk fast ② Come fast! ▸*vù* [B38271]

ajǎ hǐ *ex.* to speak fast ▸*hǐ* [B42396]

ajǎ² *intj.* (INTJ) [B55990]

ajím (≠*a.ím*) *adj.* deep (of pond or river) [B42770]

kaɬɛ̀ ajím *ex.* the pond is deep ▸*kaɬaì* [B42774]

ajò *intj.* interjection expressing surprise (INTJ) [B56216]

ajǔ *n.* ear of a crop [B50904]

katsɛ̌ ajǔ *n.* ear of the millet ▸*katsɛ̌* ▸*syn. katsɛ̀jǔ* [B50908]

njén ajǔ *n.* ear of the rice plant ▸*njén* [B50915]

arà (≠*aráʔ*) *adj.* big, fat, wide ▸*cf. asəkấ* [B28824]

amarà *n.* ① elder female blood relative outside the village ② father's sister (younger or elder) ③ maternal aunt (mother's elder sister) ▸*amà* ▸*ant. amazì* [B33297]

araa-lɛ̌ *ex.* even bigger ▸*-lɛ̌* [B57611]

aràbu *ex.* big, fat ▸*-bu²* [B20938]

alíŋ arà *ex.* someone who has a big heart (i.e. does not get angry fast) ▸*alíŋ* ▸*ant. alíŋ atʰù* [B57336]

kʰàmbu arà *ex.* a big bowl ▸*kʰàmbu* [B53202]

kʰɔ̀ arà *n.* big river ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B42756]

kʰɔ̀ aràbaro *ex.* There is a flood. ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B58866]

kʰɔ̀rà *n.* flood ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B38670]

kʰɔ̀rà² *n.* big river ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B58466]

ríʔ arà (báʔ) *ex.* the field is big ▸*ríʔ²* [B49896]

lím arà *ex.* a wide road ▸*lím* [B38739]

hám apjǎ arà *ex.* a long and big house ▸*hám*, *apʰjǎ* [B51692]

hám arà *n.* a big house (outside) ▸*hám* ▸*cf. hám afjɛ̀* ▸*ant. hám azì* [B51658]

arà vupláʔ *ex.* to cut into two big pieces ▸*vɹuìpláʔ* [B51278]

kalíŋmɔ arà *n.* big rock ▸*kalíŋmɔ* [B58864]

njaù ʒǎrika batsoì aràdʒi *ex.* a big bag to put rice inside ▸*njɛnù*, *ʒǎ*, *batsoì* [B58744]

aráʔ (≠*arà*) *n.* destilled alcohol [<Tshangla] [B33596]

aráʔ daò *ex.* to distil alcohol ▸*daò* [B58811]

arɛ́n *n.* comfort, comodity [<M *arɛn*] [B40766]

arɛ́n tsáʔ *ex.* to rest [<IA] ▸*tsáʔ* ▸*syn. tʰɔ̌bɛ̀* [B40770]

arɛ́n tsáʔréʔ *ex.* to make it comfortable for someone ▸*tsáʔ*, *-réʔ* [B54895]

arì *n.* saw [<IA आरा *ārā*] [B49450]

aríp *adj.* ① empty (of glas or container) ② empty (without carrying anything) [B20943]

aríp vù *ex.* to go without luggage ▸*vù* [B38229]

təlǎ aríp *ex.* The glas is empty. ▸*təlǎ* [B53192]

arìn (≠*arǐ*, *arín*) *n.* ① any rope-like inner organ in the body ② stom-

ach (organ) ③ sinew ④ veins ⑤ root ▸*cf. alè tʃúŋku arì̀* [B20610]

agéʔ arì̀ *n.* arm veins ▸*agéʔ* [B42163]

arínpű *n.* stomach (where the food is stored) ▸*cf. atʃ̌ínwíʔ, məluɛ̀ jaòla lìrika, aɬyìpű* [B42158]

arì̀ tʃuì̀ *ex.* to wash intestines with water before cooking or roasting them ▸*tʃuì̀* [B42523]

alè arì̀ *n.* leg vein ▸*alè* [B42183]

aɬyì arì̀ *n.* stomach ▸*aɬyì* [B42153]

ahuì arì̀ *n.* vein ▸*ahuì* [B35958]

tʃaò arín *n.* sago fibres after hammering them ▸*tʃaò* [B42266]

ʃì arín *n.* root ▸*ʃì* ▸*cf. ʃì akíŋ* ▸*syn. ʃì̀rín* [B42147]

aríʔ *adj.* deep (for water) [B42766]

kʰɔ̀ aríʔ *ex.* deep water ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B53758]

aríŋ *n.* forest of trees ▸*cf. abíŋmɔ̀, abíŋ* [B20952]

aríŋmɔ̀ *n.* forest of tall trees ▸*-mɔ̀*[2] ▸*cf. mərɔ̀mɔ̀* [B42456]

aríŋ vjà̀ *ex.* to cross a forest ▸*vjà̀* [B50295]

arən *n.* border, boundary ▸*syn. bánduri* [B44491]

məhjɛ̀ arən *n.* border, boundary ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B50670]

məhjɛ̀rən *n.* border, boundary ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B50675]

aróʔ *n.* friend ▸*cf. hakám* [B15015]

aróʔjo *ex.* my dear friend (when speaking to him, or refering to him) ▸*=jo* [B58051]

aróʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to be friends ▸*tsáʔ* [B38947]

aruéʔ *n.* snow mountains, Himalayas [B52096]

aruéʔ mətʰíʔ *n.* wild apple growing in the mountains, is sweet unlike the variety growing in the village ▸*mətʰíʔ* [B53040]

aruéʔ vù *ex.* to go for hunting ▸*vù* ▸*cf. adì bɛ̀* [B53045]

aruì *n.* ① amniotic sac ② umbilical cord [B36944]

adə̀ aruì *n.* amniotic sac ▸*adə̀* [B36948]

aruì kʰɔ̀ *n.* amniotic fluid ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B36953]

arù *n.* price ▸*syn. gǔ* [B35499]

arù batʰɑ̀̃ lèʃjám *ex.* take away withou paying the price ▸*tʰɑ̃̀, lèʃjám* [B51210]

nɑ̀̃ arù kəsáʔtʃi tsáʔna *ex.* How much ist the price? ▸*kəsátʃi* [B53903]

armi *ex.* ① army ② soldier [<Eng army] [B54987]

arjè (≠*arjé*) *adj.* green [B34487]

arjè bədʒíʔ *ex.* very green ▸*bədʒíʔ* [B51071]

pəsjèrjè *n.* big green snake ▸*pəsjè* [B43916]

mèrjè *n.* raw vegetable ▸*mè* [B36631]

njén amín *ex.* ripe rice ▸*njén* [B50932]

njén arjè *ex.* unripe rice ▸*njén* [B50926]

ʃì̀lɑ́p arjè *n.* a grean leaf ▸*alɑ́p*

[B50790]

arjé (≠*arjè*) *n.* evening [B20612]

apé arjè *ex.* from morning to evening ▸*apé* [B40302]

arjè tʃɔ̃ʔbatʃa *ex.* it became evening, it got late ▸*tʃɔ̃ʔ* [B50780]

arjè məluɛ̀ *n.* dinner ▸*məluɛ̀* [B33826]

lapé arjé *n.* tomorrow evening ▸*lapé* ▸*ant. ʤjɛnì arjé* [B58693]

hǎ arjè *ex.* today evening ▸*hǎ* [B42236]

ʤjɛnì arjé *n.* yesterday evening ▸*ʤjɛnì* ▸*ant. lapé arjé* [B58694]

arjǔ *adj.* white (colour of the snow) [≠M *məgɻaŋ*] [B28832]

arjǔ kəlǔ *ex.* very white (like paper) ▸*kəlǔ* [B51035]

tʃáwǔ arjǔ *n.* white of chicken egg ▸*tʃá* [B35685]

tʃarjǔ *n.* sago variety from which a whitish sago flour is obtained, grows in Mathow but not in Bulu because it was never planted. The boiled sago from this variety remains liquid and is not considered to be very tasty. [≠M *magɻaŋ*] ▸*tʃaò* [B57402]

ʤə̀ rjúŋ *n.* white yam ▸*ʤə̀* ▸*cf. ʤə̀ ʃĩʔ* [B40951]

pətsə́mrjǔ *n.* white bird of prey? ▸*pətsíŋ* [B33953]

rjǔ *vi.* to be white [B56901]

akű rjǔ *ex.* to become old (lit. to become white on the head [hair]) ▸*akű* [B57887]

səmjéʔ arjúŋ *n.* white amaranth ▸*səmjéʔ* [B35907]

alaò (*var. -laò*) *adj.* bad [B34302]

akə́m alaò *ex.* a bad eye (sick or paining) ▸*akə́m* [B39453]

atʃìlaò *ex.* bad to eat ▸*tʃì*, *a-* ▸*ant. atʃímjè* [B58150]

atʃíŋlaò *ex.* bad to work ▸*a-*, *tʃíŋ* ▸*ant. atʃíŋmjè* [B58139]

aʰúʔlaò *adj.* bad taste like raw banana ▸*apʰúʔ* [B58770]

anínlaò *ex.* bad to hear ▸*níŋ*, *a-* ▸*ant. anínmjè* [B58088]

arə́mlaò *ex.* bad to sleep (of a place) ▸*a-*, *rə́m* ▸*ant. arə́mmjè* [B58110]

alaònám *ex.* smelling bad ▸*nám* [B49146]

avùlaò *ex.* bad, inconvenient to go (of a path) ▸*vù* ▸*ant. avùmjè* [B58093]

a.ínlaò *ex.* bad to drink ▸*a-*, *ín* ▸*ant. a.ínmjè* [B58126]

tʃǎkʰù alaò ǔ *ex.* The hatchet became bad/got spoiled. ▸*ǔ*, *tʃǎkú* [B49921]

bǎ alaò bǎ *ex.* to have a bad dream ▸*bǎ*, *bǎ*[2] [B49690]

míŋ alaò *n.* bad spirit (of trees stones etc.) ▸*míŋ*[5] ▸*syn. məɬaò* [B37239]

səm alaò *ex.* bad words ▸*səm* [B42626]

hám alaò *ex.* bad weather ▸*hám* ▸*ant. hám sǎ* [B50118]

alǎ *adj.* ① having plant starch ② plant starch ▸*cf. asù* [B58790]

alǎ báʔro *ex.* (The sago) has starch. [B58793]

ʧaò alǎ *ex.* The sago has starch. ▸*ʧaò* [B58792]
ʧaò balǎ *ex.* the sago has no starch ▸*ʧaò* [B58791]
alè (≠*łaì*) *n.* leg ▸*cf. məgɻín* [B15564]
alèkíŋ *n.* thigh [B20599]
alèku ɔ̀ *ex.* the leg is itching (lit. there is an itch on the leg) ▸*ɔ̀*, *=ku* [B42569]
alètám *n.* whole foot including toes ▸*tám* [B20603]
alètám akəmíʔ *n.* ankle ▸*akəmíʔ* ▸*syn. alè kəmíʔ* [B35809]
alètsún *n.* second, third and fourth toe [B37639]
alèdzɛ̌ *n.* thigh [B20604]
alèpríʔ *n.* blister on foot ▸*príʔ* [B37579]
alèbúʔ *n.* calf [B37117]
alèmɔ *n.* big toe ▸*-mɔ̀* [B37031]
alè arì̀ *n.* leg vein ▸*arìn* [B42183]
alè í *v.* to smash something with the foot (not with hand) ▸*í* ▸*cf. agéʔ rɨ́n* [B58554]
alè ím *ex.* to sit with crossed legs ▸*ím* ▸*cf. alè vjè*, *alè ʒíʔ* [B54700]
alè ímla rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit with crossed legs ▸*ím*, *rɨ̀* [B54705]
alè kətóʔ *n.* hoof of horse or mithun ▸*kətóʔ* [B37518]
alè kəʧǔ *n.* knee hollow ▸*kəʧǔ* [B37602]
alè kədʒíʔ *n.* ① outside bone of ankle ② talon of a bird (*sci. Talus?*) ▸*cf. alè kəmíʔ* [B36962]
alè kəpeíʔ *n.* knee ▸*kəpeíʔ* [B15572]
alè kəpʰù *n.* knee ▸*kəpʰù* [B59219]
alè kəmíʔ *n.* inside bone of ankle (*sci. Talus?*) ▸*akəmíʔ* ▸*cf. alè kədʒíʔ* ▸*syn. alètám akəmíʔ* [B35813]
alè krjaó *n.* paralysed leg ▸*krjaó* ▸*cf. agéʔ krjaó* [B36998]
alè gə́m *ex.* to pull out legs ▸*gə́m* [B52993]
alè gəsín *n.* nail of foot ▸*gəsín* [B41513]
alè tɨ́ʔ *ex.* tired legs ▸*tɨ́ʔ* ▸*cf. apʰɔ́ʔ tɨ́ʔ* [B38587]
alè tələ́m *n.* leg stump ▸*cf. agéʔ tələ́m* [B36059]
alè təlò *ex.* limping ▸*təlò* [B37622]
alè dəbɻáŋ *ex.* to stretch the leg ▸*dəbɻáŋ* ▸*syn. alè vjè* [B43616]
alè ʧúŋku arì̀ *n.* achilles tendon ▸*cf. arìn* [B36921]
alè tsoùnáŋ *n.* hoof disease of animal ▸*náŋ* [B37523]
alè vjè *ex.* to stretch the leg, to put the leg into confortable position ▸*vjɛ̀̌* ▸*cf. alè ím* ▸*syn. alè dəbɻáŋ* [B43636]
alè vjèla rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit with stretched legs ▸*rɨ̀* [B58879]
alè ʒám *ex.* to kick ▸*ʒám* [B36319]
alè ʒíʔ *v.* to put the legs crossed ▸*ʒíʔ* ▸*cf. alè ím* [B58553]
alèrɔ̀̌ *n.* step ▸*rɔ̀̌* [B37079]
alèrɔ̀̌ vù *ex.* to go step by step ▸*vù* [B42475]
alèhɛ̀̌ *n.* the leg and all, everything belonging to the legs ▸*-hɛ̀̌* [B57970]
gù alè náŋ *ex.* My leg is paining. ▸*gù*, *náŋ* [B54035]
tǔ̃go alè *ex.* bowl with stand ▸*tǔ̃go* [B53212]
ʧǔ̀gəʒíʔ alè *n.* leg of crab ▸*ʧǔ̀gəʒíʔ* [B53702]
lètɨ́ʔ *ex.* legs are tired ▸*tɨ́ʔ* [B36773]

lè í *n.* foot print ▸*í* ▸*cf. kətɔ́ alím* [B37373]

alè ípjɛ́ʔ *ex.* to smash with the foot ▸*ípjɛ́ʔ* [B41897]

alɛdzɨn [HL] *n.* barking deer [≠M *səkodzɛn*] ▸*cf. ʃətʃì* [B52018]

alɛʃíʔ *n.* Quail species in the plains, King Quail? (*sci. Coturnix chinensis*) [B33913]

alíʔ *adj.* plane (not hilly) [B28569]

alíʔ ǔ *ex.* to go in the plain ▸*ǔ* [B38957]

tűgo alíʔ *n.* bowl without stand ▸*tűgo* [B53217]

rɨtɨŋlíʔ *n.* the plain place near the school in Bulu ▸*rɨtɨ́ŋ* [B53333]

alím *n.* path of animals ▸*cf. lím* [B40633]

alím dyɛ́ʔ *ex.* to scratch a path (for example when making a trap) ▸*dyɛ́ʔ* [B58990]

kətɔ́ alím *n.* the impression of a tooth ▸*kətɔ́* ▸*cf. lè í* [B58605]

ʃì alím *n.* path of animals ▸*ʃì* ▸*syn. ʃílím* [B42480]

alɨ (≠*alə̀*, *lɨ̀*) *adj.* heavy ▸*cf. asɨ́n* ▸*syn. nəlíʔ* ▸*ant. atɔ́* [B27955]

alɨ adʒə́n *ex.* very heavy ▸*adʒə́n* ▸*syn. nəlíʔ nədʒə́ŋ* [B59183]

gù mənɛ̀ alɨbáʔ *ex.* My luggage is heavy. ▸*mənɛ̀*, *alə̀* [B49721]

alíŋ *n.* inside ▸*cf. -líŋ* ▸*ant. kabjə̀*, *kűtʃə̀* [B33684]

akə́m alíŋ *n.* iris (eye) ▸*akə́m* ▸*cf. akə́mbɨ̀* [B58767]

akə́mlíŋ *n.* iris (eye) ▸*akə́m* ▸*cf. akə́mbɨ̀* [B37309]

alíŋ atʰù *ex.* short tempered, someone who gets angry fast ▸*atʰù* ▸*ant. alíŋ arà* [B57344]

alíŋ amjɛ̀ híʔ *ex.* to be in a good mood ▸*híʔ* [B39664]

alíŋ arà *ex.* someone who has a big heart (i.e. does not get angry fast) ▸*arà* ▸*ant. alíŋ atʰù* [B57336]

alíŋ ʒún *ex.* to put inside ▸*ʒún* [B44378]

alíŋ híʔ *ex.* to think inside ▸*híʔ* [B39237]

ʧawǔ alíŋ *n.* yolk of chicken egg ▸*ʧá* [B35673]

botəlu alíŋ *ex.* inside the bottle ▸*botəlu* [B39187]

botəlu alíŋ kʰɔ̀ báʔ *ex.* Inside the bottle there is water. ▸*báʔ* [B58918]

botəlulíŋ *n.* inside the bottle ▸*botəlu* [B58919]

məhjɛ̀̀líŋ *n.* inside the soil ▸*məhjɛ̀̀* ▸*ant. məhjɛ̀̀ kűtʃə̀̀* [B58921]

məhjɛ̀̀líŋ víŋ *ex.* to bury something in the ground ▸*víŋ* [B39486]

vè alíŋ aʃaʃɔ̀ *ex.* He is very lazy, self content. ▸*aʃaʃɔ̀* [B51786]

hamíŋlíŋ *ex.* in the sky ▸*hamíŋ* [B50272]

hám alíŋ *n.* inside the house ▸*hám* ▸*cf. hə̀̀lɔ̀̀* ▸*ant. hámdzéʔ* [B58911]

hə̀̀líŋ *n.* inside the house ▸*hám* [B58912]

hə̀̀lɔ̀̀ alíŋ *ex.* inside the house ▸*hə̀̀lɔ̀̀* [B50799]

alíŋdzúʔ *n.* sternum (place where the ribs join) [B53319]

alə̀ (≠*alɨ*, *lɨ̀*) *n.* seed ▸*syn. məłaì* [B20914]

gù mənɛ̀ alɨbáʔ *ex.* My luggage is heavy. ▸*mənɛ̀*, *alɨ̀* [B49721]

aləp (≠*aləm*) *n.* leaf [B14864]

kətsɨn aləp *n.* plant species used to make brooms ▸*kətsɨ́n* [B58519]

konjò alə́p *n.* leaf used to make brooms ▸*konjò* [B58896]
ʧalə́p *n.* sago leaf ▸*ʧaò* [B34260]
ʧjɛ̀ alə́p *n.* leaf for packing food ▸*ʧjɛ̀* [B50938]
ʤà alə́p *n.* yam leaf ▸*ʤà* [B52788]

pə́pṹ alə́p *n.* medicinal leaf ▸*pə́pṹ* [B40934]
bə̀bṳ̀ alə́p *n.* vegetable plant ▸*bə̀bṳ̀* [B54112]
mabɨlíŋ lə́p *n.* pumpkin leaf eaten as vegetable ▸*mabɨlíŋ* [B57299]
wə̀lə́p *n.* banana leaf ▸*ʔɔ́ʔ* [B40998]
ʃaʒilə́p *n.* monstera (*sci.* *Monstera sp.*) ▸*ʃaʒi* [B40903]
ʃɪ̀lə́p *n.* leaf ▸*ʃɪ̀* [B50785]
ʃɪ̀lə́p arjɛ̀ *n.* a grean leaf ▸*arjɛ̀* [B50790]
aləmɔ̀ *n.* chest (man and woman's) ▸*cf.* *-mɔ̀*, *líŋkúʔ*, *anjɛ̀* [B20609]
aləmɔ̀ azɛ̀̃ *n.* breastbone ▸*azɛ̀̃* [B37099]
aləmɔ̀ təkúŋ *n.* collar bone, clavicle ▸*təkúŋ* [B37194]
alɔ́ʔ *n.* penis including testicles [B37143]
alɔ́ʔkʰì *n.* testicles [B37768]
alɔ́ʔbə̀̃ *n.* penis ▸*-bə̀̃* ▸*syn.* *alɔ́ʔfə̀̃* [B53735]
alɔ́ʔ íʔ *ex.* to castrate ▸*íʔ* [B37138]
alɔ́ʔ íʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to castrate ▸*ʧuɛ́ʔ* [B37155]
alɔ́ʔfə̀̃ *n.* penis ▸*syn.* *alɔ́ʔbə̀̃* [B20605]
afù alɔ́ʔ *n.* penis ▸*afù* [B42491]
alò *n.* grandfather [=M *aloo*] ▸*cf.* *atíŋ* [B58004]
alò vəneì *ex.* grandfather Vənei [=M *aloo vənei*] ▸*vəneì* ▸*syn.* *atíŋ masáŋ* [B58008]
alṹbà *n.* heart ▸*cf.* *lṹwɛ̃̀* [B15604]
alṹbà tsúʔ *ex.* the heart beats ▸*tsú* [B37463]
alṹbuè *ex.* happy, in a good mood ▸*buè* [B36607]
bjatútṓ lṹsíʔ lṹbuɛ̃̀ *ex.* to make someone happy. ▸*lṹséʔ*, *bjatú* [B51507]
lṹsíʔ lṹbuɛ̃̀ *ex.* jolly, cheerful [=M *lũʃiʔ lũbõ*] ▸*lṹséʔ* ▸*syn.* *sətú kəjù* [B36614]
lṹséʔ (≠*lṹzíʔ*) *vi.* happy [=M *luŋʃiʔ*] ▸*cf.* *lṹ* [B33459]
bjatútṓ lṹsíʔ lṹbuɛ̃̀ *ex.* to make someone happy. ▸*bjatú*, *alṹbuè* [B51507]
lṹsíʔdə̀ *ex.* to make someone happy ▸*-də̀* [B51512]
lṹsíʔ lṹbuɛ̃̀ *ex.* jolly, cheerful [=M *lũʃiʔ lũbõ*] ▸*alṹbuè* ▸*syn.* *sətú kəjù* [B36614]
lṹsíʔ híʔ *ex.* to feel happy ▸*híʔ* [B41442]
lṹzíʔ (≠*lṹséʔ*, *ɬúʔ*) *vi.* angry ▸*cf.* *lṹ* [B15228]
lṹzíʔdə̀ *ex.* to make someone angry ▸*-də̀* [B51497]
vɛ̀ku lṹzíʔdə̀ *ex.* to make him angry ▸*vɛ̀*, *-də̀* [B51502]
alṹ səríʔ *n.* lungs [B37643]
alṹro *n.* separating skin between heart and stomach, tasty if roasted [B50244]
alyì (≠*aɬyɪ̀*, *aɬyì*) *n.* tongue [B15560]

alyì ljáʔ *ex.* to lick with the tongue ▸*ljáʔ* [B51234]

alyìwɛ̀ [HL] *n.* fish, lit. 'not having tongue' (Puroik HL) ▸*wɛ̀* ▸*syn.* *mjɐ̃̀pɛ̃́* [B54252]

ałyì rjáʔ *ex.* the stomach is squeezed out ▸*rjáʔ*[2] [B44194]

aljù *n.* house cat [=M *Miji*] ▸*cf.* *maʃɛ̃̀*[2] [B20918]

aljù njáʔ *ex.* the cat meows ▸*njáʔ* [B51861]

aljù lɛ̀báʔ *ex.* The cat is playing. ▸*lɛ̀* [B55384]

aljù səmɹáŋ *n.* whisker of cat ▸*səmɹáŋ* [B50496]

awaì (≠*awaí*) *n.* ① elder male relative by marriage (uncle by marriage, brother-in-law) ② father's sister's husband (younger or elder sister) ③ brother-in-law (elder sister's husband) ④ wife's elder brother ▸*cf.* *atíŋ*, *aguì*, *atsoì*, *aváŋ* ▸*ant.* *abɔ́ʔ*, *ałíʔ* [B15310]

awaí (*var.* *awɛ́*) (≠*awaì*) *n.* ① fruit ② nipple [B42529]

awaí wawɨ̃̀ *n.* bunch of fruits ▸*wawɨ̃̀* [B55592]

ɔ̀waí *n.* jungle banana fruit ▸*ɔ̃́ʔ* [B41268]

kɨ̃́kú awaì *n.* fruit of fake eggplant, used as medicine for tooth pain ▸*kɨ̃́kú* [B49823]

ʧawaí *n.* fruit of sago palm ▸*ʧaò* [B42534]

ʤə̀ awaí *n.* seed/fruit of yam ▸*ʤə̀* [B52774]

madù awaí *n.* bamboo seed ▸*madù* [B42539]

mabjaò awaí *n.* bamboo seed ▸*mabjaò* [B42544]

nəʒuì awaí *n.* oak seeds, inside part edible ▸*nəʒuì* [B57446]

njɛ̀ awaí *n.* nipple (of male and female breast) ▸*anjɛ̀* ▸*cf.* *njɛ̀* [B39549]

səkɐ́̃ awaí *n.* fruit of the səkaN bush ▸*ʃəkɐ́̃* [B55597]

sərɐ̀̃ awaí *n.* fruit eaten by anɨŋ rat ▸*sərɐ̀̃*[2] [B49172]

ʃɐ̀̃kəmì awaí *n.* berry of plant with fibrous bark ▸*ʃɐ̀̃kəmì* [B58905]

ʃɨ̃́ʔwɛ́ *n.* knit, louse egg ▸*ʃɨ̃́ʔ* [B52586]

ʃɨ̀ awaí *n.* fruit ▸*ʃɨ̀* [B53609]

ʃ̀ìwaí *n.* fruit ▸*ʃ̀ì* ▸*cf. ʃ̀ì* [B22729]
hjʉ̀waí *n.* buckwheat ▸*hjúŋ* [B52667]
ʃ̀ìmʉ̀ awaí *n.* star anise like seed ▸*ʃ̀ì-mʉ̀* [B57433]

awakʉ́ [HL] *n.* head ▸*cf. akʉ́* [B15717]
awadú? [HL] *n.* stomach ▸*cf. aɬyì* [B54274]
awamə́n [HL] *n.* hair on head [≠M *awamu?*] ▸*cf. kəzə̀* [B54289]
awán (≠*awɛ̀*) *n.* ① soft palate ② gills of fish [=M *awan*] ▸*syn. ʧuì akuʹ* [B37691]
asə́m awán *n.* palate ▸*asə́m* [B37695]
awə̀ *n.* ridge between two rivers ▸*cf. wə̀²* [B54958]
pulɔ̀ wə̀ *n.* mountain above Old Bulu ▸*pulɔ̀* [B52913]

awɛ́ (*var.* of *awaí*) *n.* fruit [B58413]
awì *adj.* horizontal [B51151]
awì ré? *ex.* to lie on the side ▸*ré?* [B42849]
awì ré?la lì *ex.* to put something in a lying position ▸*lì*, *ré?* [B51147]
awí? *adj.* ① old (things, humans) ② withered, dry (of wood or bamboo) ▸*ant. anjaò* [B11287]
awí?ʃɔ̀ *ex.* in the old times, in the time of the elders ▸*=ʃɔ̀* [B39985]
pʰəù awí? *n.* old beer ▸*pʰəù* ▸*ant. pʰəù anjaò* [B50590]
matsú? awí? *n.* dried, withered bamboo ▸*matsú?* [B49988]
mənɛ̀ awí? *ex.* old stuff ▸*mənɛ̀* [B50758]
awó? *n.* ritual [B54997]
aʃíp awó? *n.* donnation for the priest/shaman performing rituals (eggs, chicken, meat, alcohol) ▸*syn. aʃíp* [B40377]
awuà (*var.* of *ɔ̀²*) *n.* itch ▸*cf. wuà* [B28836]
awuà bjú? (*var.* of *ɔ̀ku bjú?*) *ex.* to scratch an itch ▸*bjú?* [B39388]
awuà wuà *ex.* it is itching ▸*wuà* [B50748]
awuì *n.* husband ▸*cf. azù*, *avì* [B20549]
azù awuì *ex.* husband and wife ▸*azù* [B38094]
awù (≠*awú*) *n.* below ▸*syn. -wù* ▸*ant. atʃə̀* [B34357]
awùʃɔ̀ *ex.* below [B50821]
kanyɛ̀ɬɛ̀ awù *ex.* to the side where the water flows, downstream ▸*kanyɛ̀* ▸*ant. katíŋɬɛ̀ adzé?* [B58932]
bù awù *ex.* down there (e.g. under the house) ▸*bù* ▸*ant. kʉ́ atʃə̀* [B39336]
hə̀wù *n.* ① valley side of the house (all houses in Bulu have the mountain on the right side when looking from the entrance) ② under the house ▸*hám* ▸*cf. dɔ̀.ʉ̀*, *hámdzé?*, *hə̀gʉ̀* ▸*ant. hə̀tʃə̀* [B33657]
awulɛ̀ *adv.* wrongly [B40646]
awulɛ̀ tsá?ʧí? *ex.* to make a mistake

▸*tsáʔ* ▸*cf. awulè hìtʃíʔ* [B42605]

awulè vù *ex.* to go the wrong way ▸*vù* [B42600]

awulè hì *ex.* to say wrongly, incorrectly ▸*hì* [B42595]

awulè hìtʃíʔ *ex.* to say wrongly ▸*hì* ▸*cf. awulè tsáʔtʃíʔ* [B42610]

awǔ *n.* ① spider ② soul [≠M *nərjaʔ*] ▸*syn. paʃidrù* [B35980]

awǔhám *n.* spider web ▸*ahám* [B35976]

prǐ awǔ *n.* human soul ▸*prǐ* [B44218]

awǔ² (≠*avíŋ*) *n.* egg [B36898]

awǔ wǔ *ex.* to lay an egg ▸*wǔ* [B44335]

ʧáwǔ *n.* egg of chicken [≠M *dorin*] ▸*ʧá* ▸*syn. mədyì awǔ* [B35677]

ʧuì awǔ *n.* fish egg ▸*ʧuì* [B35669]

mədyì awǔ *n.* chicken egg ▸*mədyì* ▸*syn. ʧáwǔ* [B53600]

mədyì awǔ wũribáʔ *ex.* The chicken lays an egg. ▸*mədyì*, *wǔ* [B54645]

awúŋ *n.* hills [B41461]

məhjɛ̌ awúŋ *n.* hills, hilly landscape ▸*məhjɛ̌* [B41465]

awú (≠*awù*) *adj.* fast [≠M *abəʤaʔ*] ▸*syn. ajǎ*, *abəʤáʔ* [B20981]

awuú vù *ex.* to walk fast ▸*vù* [B50816]

awú awú *ex.* fast fast [B50826]

awú tʰǎ *ex.* to give fast ▸*tʰǎ* [B50831]

afɛ̌ *adj.* new ▸*ant. atsɛ̌* [B20895]

sədɔ̀ afɛ̌ nì *ex.* to make a new ceiling ▸*sədɔ̀*, *nì* [B54600]

afù *n.* man (male) [B28902]

afùdə *n.* young man, boy ▸*-də²* ▸*ant. mərùdə* [B52580]

afù alɔ́ʔ *n.* penis ▸*alɔ́ʔ* [B42491]

afù aʃɛ́ʔ *n.* a strong man ▸*aʃɛ́ʔ* [B50113]

mənɛ̀ lè úʔka afù *ex.* a man who steals ▸*mənɛ̀* ▸*syn. bù.úʔ ʃáŋkán* [B58981]

aváŋ *n.* fathers's younger brother [=M *Miji awaŋ*] ▸*cf. awaì*, *atsoì*, *aguì*, *amətsɛ̌* ▸*syn. abù* [B36159]

aváŋdə *n.* brothers ▸*-də²* [B39916]

avì *adj.* sharp (of blade or kjuʔ, not pointed), [M *aʒɨn*] ▸*cf. awuì*, *alɔ̀*, *ʤún²* [B28931]

avì báʔ *ex.* it is sharp ▸*báʔ* [B49330]

avì wɛ̀ *ex.* it is not sharp ▸*wɛ̀* [B49325]

avì vjɛ̀batʃa *ex.* (the knife) is well sharp now ▸*vjɛ̀*, *-batʃa* [B49316]

kjúʔ avì *ex.* a sharp kjuʔ ▸*kjúʔ* [B40736]

ʧì avì *ex.* a sharp knife ▸*ʧì²* [B59115]

ʧì avì vɛ̀ *ex.* to sharpen a dao ▸*vɛ̀*, *ʧì²* [B49311]

avì *adv.* on the same level [B28574]

avjɛ̀ ǔ *ex.* to walk on the same level ▸*ǔ* [B38963]

lím avì *ex.* plain path, on same level ▸*lím* [B59153]

avíŋ (≠*awǔ²*) *n.* grave ▸*cf. víŋ* [B42581]

prǐ avíŋ *n.* grave ▸*prǐ* [B42587]

avjà (≠*avjáʔ*) *n.* rat, quite big (like a cat), very long tail, edible, pika? (*sci. Ochotona*) [B28787]

avjáʔ (≠*avjà*) *n.* cliff, steep slope [B42717]

avjáʔku kǒla vù *ex.* to crawl up a cliff ▸*kǒ* [B53835]

asámbrì *n.* kidney [≠M *akəbauʔ*] ▸*syn. akəbaúʔ* [B37589]

asán *n.* bird species an important role in the origin story [B38103]

asɛ́n *n.* bird species [B58508]

asɛ̀ *adj.* ① alive ② raw, uncooked ③ unripe ▸*cf. sɛ̀* [B15617]
asɛ̀ rɨ *ex.* to be alive ▸*rɨ* [B50977]
a.ì asɛ̀ *ex.* half dead ▸*a.ì* [B58703]
a.ì asɛ̀ kɔ́batʃa *ex.* to be extremely tired (half dead) ▸*a.ì*, *kɔ́* [B58706]
a.ì asɛ̀ mətʃíŋ tʃíŋ *ex.* ▸*a.ì*, *tʃíŋ* [B58704]
a.ì asɛ̀ vùdɔ̀ *ex.* He/she went until half dead. ▸*a.ì*, *vù* [B58705]
asì (≠*ʃì*) *n.* bear (*sci. Ursus thibetanus*) ▸*cf. pətʃàzju*, *sətʃín*, *ʃətʃə́n* [B14658]
asì akú? *n.* bear skin ▸*akú?* [B38471]
asì dərù *n.* big black bear [=M] [B38284]
asì ʤjù *ex.* to stab a bear (of a trap) ▸*ʤjù* [B58757]
asì huí? *ex.* The bear scratches (with the claws). ▸*huí?* [B59082]
gù asìku nɪ́ *ex.* I am afraid of the bear. ▸*nɪ́* [B59125]
ʃətʃə́n [HL] *n.* bear ▸*cf. asì* [B54240]
gù asìku nɪ́hí? *ex.* ▸*nɪ́hí?* [B59127]
gù asìku nɪ́hí?laò *ex.* I am afraid of the bear. ▸*nɪ́hí?laò* [B59126]
asɪ́mʤɪ́n (*var.* of *asɪ́ndʒɪ́n*) *n.* rat [B58388]
asɪ́n [HL] *adj.* heavy ▸*cf. alì* [B52376]
asɪ́n bá? [HL] *ex.* It is heavy. ▸*bá?* ▸*cf. asəkɑ̌́* [B52371]
asɪ́ndʒɪ́n [HL] (*var. asɪ́mʤɪ́n*) *n.* rat (comon) ▸*cf. tʃɛ̃̀* ▸*syn. tɛʃín* [B52033]
asəkɑ̌́ [HL] *adj.* big ▸*cf. asɪ́n bá?*, *arà* [B52299]
asəgjáŋʒɛ̀ *n.* comb of rooster [B37231]
asə́m *n.* ① mouth ② lip ③ language ④ pincers of a crab [≠M *njulii*] ▸*cf. sə́m*, *mamɛ́? mɛ́?ka* [B14648]
asə́mku tɔ́? *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*=ku*, *tɔ́?* ▸*syn. asə́m tɔ́?* [B37503]
asə́mku màm *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*màm*, *=ku* [B50455]
asə́mpʰù (≠*asə́mpʰú?*) *n.* big, ugly mouth [=M *mənjuŋ pʰoo*] [B37437]
asə́mpʰú? (≠*asə́mpʰù*) *n.* phlegm, mucus in mouth ▸*apʰú?* [B52998]
asə́mpʰú? ʃuí? *ex.* to clean the mouth ▸*ʃuí?*[2] [B58768]
asə́mpʰú? ʃú? *ex.* to rinse out (one's mouth) ▸*ʃú?* [B51834]
asə́m akú? *n.* lip ▸*akú?* [B53694]
asə́m awán *n.* palate ▸*awán* [B37695]
asə́m tɔ́? *ex.* to hold in mouth ▸*tɔ́?* ▸*syn. asə́mku tɔ́?* [B37497]
asə́m dá? *ex.* to stutter, to stammer ▸*dá?* [B37752]
asə́m ʧə̀dɔ̀ *n.* wound on mouth. ▸*ʧə̀dɔ̀* [B37584]
asə́m ʧuì *ex.* to wash the mouth ▸*ʧuì* [B51829]
asə́m bənjím *ex.* to make an angry mouth [=M *?*] ▸*bənjím* [B37427]
asə́m màm *ex.* to close the mouth ▸*màm* ▸*syn. asə́m mán*[2] [B37411]
asə́m mán *n.* ① whisker ② moustache ▸*amán* ▸*syn. asə́m səmɹáŋ* [B50506]
asə́m mán² *ex.* to close the mouth ▸*mán* ▸*syn. asə́m màm* [B53620]
asə́m fɪ́? *ex.* to whistle? ▸*fɪ́?*[2] [B37432]
asə́m səmɹáŋ *n.* whisker (of rat, cat or dog) ▸*səmɹáŋ* ▸*syn. asə́m*

mán [B37806]

asə́m hə̀ *ex.* to open the mouth ▸*hə̀*[2] [B37398]

məbə́n sə́m *n.* Miji language [≠M *dəmailao*] ▸*məbə́n* [B58786]

asə́m ʧabù [HL] *n.* tooth ▸*ʧabù* ▸*cf. kətʃ̋* [B54285]

asənjáŋ *n.* fixing rope in sling trap (e.g. ʧɨʔ), makes sure that the sling tightens [=M *asənjaŋ*] ▸*syn. adə̀líŋ* [B40591]

ʧɨ̃ʔ asənjáŋ *n.* fixing rope in sling trap ▸*ʧɨ̃ʔ* [B58732]

asəjúŋ *n.* nape of animal with mane (horse, goral) ▸*cf. brjə̀gán* [B37651]

asəjúŋ amə́n *n.* mane of a horse ▸*amə́n* [B37647]

asəleì *n.* spleen (organ used for divination) [B52802]

asəleì ʧɔ́ʔ níŋ *ex.* to divinate with the spleen ▸*ʧɔ̃ʔ*[2] [B53160]

asə́ŋ *n.* cold (of day or season) ▸*ant. aʃì* [B51741]

aʃì asə́ŋ *ex.* on cold hot days and on cold days ▸*aʃì* [B51746]

asuɛ́ʔ *n.* very small lumps in the sago flour, too fine to be filtered with the rough filter [B40741]

asù (≠*asú*) *n.* ① body ② substance, flesh, meat ③ sago starch [≠M *məzaʔ məzaiʔ*] ▸*cf. alə̀* [B20618]

asùku agəláŋ ʧɔ̃ *ex.* a tumour appears on the body ▸*agəláŋ*, *ʧɔ̃ʔ* [B59150]

asù tɔ́ʔka batsɛ̀ *ex.* ▸*tɔ́ʔ*, *batsɛ̀* [B58713]

asù dù *ex.* to tremble ▸*dù* ▸*cf. asù drì*, *asù bəʒjáʔ* [B53718]

asù drì *ex.* to shiver ▸*drì* ▸*cf. asù dù* [B37721]

asù ʧuɛ̀ *ex.* to bathe, wash the body ▸*ʧuɛ̀* [B38900]

asù bəʒjáʔ *ex.* to shiver, shudder (because of a shock or something very sour) [=M *saʔ bəʒjaʔ*] ▸*bəʒjáʔ* ▸*cf. asù dù* [B52600]

asù hóʔ *ex.* to move the body [B53482]

kətʃ̋ asù *ex.* gum ▸*kətʃ̋* [B41474]

gùtaʒu asù ʧuɛ̀ *ex.* I wash myself. ▸*=taʒu*, *ʧuɛ̀* [B58784]

ʧaò asù báʔ *ex.* the sago has starch [M *má məzaʔ duu*] ▸*ʧaò*, *báʔ* ▸*ant. ʧaò asù wɛ̀* [B57471]

ʧaò asù wɛ̀ *ex.* the sago palm does not have starch (old sago palms which already bloomed once don't contain much starch) [M *má məzaʔ ŋoo*] ▸*ʧaò*, *wɛ̀* ▸*ant. ʧaò asù báʔ* [B51086]

gù asù kədʒɨ̀dəmóʔ náŋba *ex.* ① I am extremely sick. ② My body pains extremely. ▸*kədʒɨ̀dəmóʔ*, *náŋ* [B58707]

asú (≠*asù*) *adj.* correct, real, true [B20970]

asú báʔdɔ̃̀ro *ex.* It is true [I saw it myself]. ▸*=ro*, *báʔ*, *-dɔ̃̀* [B51712]

asú hɨ̀ *ex.* to say the truth ▸*hɨ̀* [B38038]

ɛ́ʔsu *n.* ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B58739]
gù asú banɨŋ *ex.* I don't believe it. ▸*nɨŋ* [B51960]
dadʒíʔsu *n.* poisonous snake species ▸*dadʒíʔ* ▸*syn. pəsjɛ̀* [B58720]
dʒə̀súʔ *n.* "real" yam (cultivated) ▸*dʒə̀* [B52533]
pəsjɛ̀súʔ *n.* the "real" big snake ▸*pəsjɛ̀* [B43911]
mənɛ̀su *ex.* real, original goods (not fake) ▸*mənɛ̀* [B43839]
rìsú *n.* cane species (lit. 'real cane'), the best one for making ropes and baskets, the most lasting variety ▸*rì*^{3} [B49203]
asjáʔ (*var.* of *ahjáʔ*) *adj.* hot [B20966]
asjáŋ *n.* necklace [=M *asjaŋ*] [B57016]
asjáŋ agjúŋ *n.* necklace ▸*agjúŋ* [B57023]
azɛ́ʔ *adj.* dirty [B21718]
azɛ́ʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to feel dirty ▸*tsáʔ* [B53017]
azɛ́ʔ sə́m *ex.* vulgar language ▸*sə́m* [B42616]
azɛ̀̃ *n.* bone [B15536]
aləmɔ̀ azɛ̀̃ *n.* breastbone ▸*aləmɔ̀* [B37099]
azɛ̀̃grín *n.* cartilage ▸*agrín* ▸*syn. aljə̀̃grín* [B37132]
azɛ̀̃huì *n.* skeleton [B37734]
aʃoì azɛ̀̃ *n.* rib bone ▸*aʃoì* [B37104]
kətʃeì azɛ̀̃ *n.* cheek bone ▸*akətʃeì* [B37173]
azì *adj.* small, narrow [B28992]
azìdə̀ *ex.* small ▸*-də̀*^{2} [B37336]
kʰàmbu azì *ex.* a small bowl ▸*kʰàmbu* [B53207]
lím azìdə̀ *ex.* narrow path ▸*lím* [B38734]
hám azì *ex.* a small house ▸*hám* ▸*ant. hám arà* [B51676]
azɨ̀ *n.* sister-in-law (elder brother's wife) ▸*cf. atʃám* [B36152]
azə̀̃ *n.* ascending slope, ascending path ▸*ant. akəʒɨ̀* [B38999]
azə̀̃ kʰúʔ *ex.* to climb up a slope ▸*kʰúʔ* [B38210]
azə̀̃ vù *ex.* to ascend a slope, to climb upwards ▸*vù* [B21722]
lím azə̀̃ *ex.* path leading upwards ▸*lím* [B59154]
aʃaʃɔ̀ *adj.* confident, self content, lazy [B51782]
vè alɨŋ aʃaʃɔ̀ *ex.* He is very lazy, self content. ▸*alɨŋ* [B51786]
aʃə̃́pɛ́ (*var.* of *asə̃́pɛ́*) *n.* dawn [B58962]
aʃɛ́ʔ *adj.* strong (physically) ▸*cf. ʃɛ̃́ʔ* [B50104]
afù aʃɛ́ʔ *n.* a strong man ▸*afù* [B50113]
aʃɛ́ʔ babɔ̀ *ex.* not strong ▸*babɔ̀* [B50108]
aʃɛ́ʔ rín *ex.* to run a lot ▸*rín* [B55509]
aʃɛ́ʔ vù *ex.* go fast, strong ▸*vù* [B59180]
mənɛ̀ aʃɛ́ʔ ʒɛ̀̃ *ex.* to carry much luggage ▸*mənɛ̀*, *ʒɛ̀̃* [B58708]
aʃɛ̀̃ *n.* rope in kjɛm trap [B40456]
aʃì *n.* hot of day or season ▸*ant. asáŋ* [B51737]
aʃì asáŋ *ex.* on cold hot days and on cold days ▸*asáŋ* [B51746]
pʰɔ̀̃ aʃìʃɔ̀̃ *ex.* last summer ▸*pʰɔ̀̃*, *=ʃɔ̀̃* [B51756]
aʃĩ́ʔ *adj.* red (colour of blood) [B16349]
agéʔ ʃĩ́ʔ *ex.* The hand is red. ▸*agéʔ* [B59166]
aʃĩ́ʔ ahù *ex.* very red ▸*ahù* [B51053]
aʃuì̃ dzín ʃĩ́ʔ *ex.* the face is red ▸*aʃuì̃*, *dzɛ̀̃* [B50738]
tʃɛ̀̃ʃĩ́ʔ *n.* White bellied rat (the fur on the back is red) (*sci. Niviven-*

ter nivìventer) ▸*tʃɛ̀* ▸*syn.* *aʃĭʔ²* [B42077]

dʒə̀ ʃĭʔ *n.* tuber with purple colour inside ▸*dʒə̀* ▸*cf.* *dʒə̀ rjúŋ* [B40946]

pədù aʃĭʔ *n.* minivet, lit. "red bird" (*sci.* *Pericrocotus ethologus/flammeus*) ▸*pədù* [B34041]

məljə̀ʃĭʔ *n.* red rasberry ▸*məljə̀* [B36654]

səmjɛ́ʔ aʃĭʔ *n.* red amaranth ▸*səmjɛ́ʔ* [B35911]

aʃĭʔ² *n.* white-bellied rat, edible, lives in the soil (*sci.* *Nivìventer nivìventer*) ▸*syn.* *tʃɛ̀ʃĭʔ* [B28773]

aʃĭp *n.* donation for the priest performing rituals ▸*syn.* *aʃĭp awóʔ* [B42636]

pawì aʃĭp *n.* donation for the priest, the fee for a ritual ▸*pawì* [B42640]

aʃɔ̀ *adj.* hard [B20957]

aʃoì *n.* side of torso [B37485]

aʃoìnáŋ *n.* back pain ▸*náŋ* [B37489]

aʃoì azɛ̀̃ *n.* rib bone ▸*azɛ̀̃* [B37104]

aʃuì̃ (≠*azuì̃*) *n.* ① face ② cheek [≠M *kəmjaʔ*] [B20575]

aʃuì̃ku *ex.* in the face ▸*=ku* [B42662]

aʃuì̃ ìdán *n.* pimples ▸*ìdán* [B37388]

aʃuì̃ dzéʔ *ex.* ① the cheeks are red (because of heat or anger) ② be angry ▸*dzéʔ* [B37168]

aʃuì̃ dzɨ́n *n.* cheek [=M *kəmjaʔ dzɨn*] ▸*dzɛ̀̃* [B37764]

aʃuì̃ dzɨ́n ʃĭʔ *ex.* the face is red ▸*aʃĭʔ*, *dzɛ̀̃* [B50738]

aʃuì̃ ʒuì̃ *n.* wrinkle [≠M *kəmjaʔ azii*] ▸*ʒuì̃²* [B53709]

gùtazu aʃuì̃ níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*=tazu*, *níŋ*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58782]

aʃyɛ̀̃ *adj.* tasteless, watery (of beer, or food) [B50218]

aʃjɛ̀ *adj.* big, spacious, with a lot of space to sit [≠M *mədəlo:*] [B51644]

hám aʃjɛ̀ *n.* a spacious house, with a lot of space to sit ▸*hám* ▸*cf.* *hám arà* ▸*ant.* *hám adzɨ́m* [B51653]

hám aʃjɛ̀ báʔ *ex.* the house is very spacious ▸*hám*, *báʔ* [B51648]

aʒáŋtɛ́ʔ [HL] *n.* woman, female ▸*cf.* *mərù*, *amɔ̀* [B52289]

aʒɔ̀ (≠*aʒɔ́ʔ*) *n.* fat ▸*cf.* *məʒɔ̀* [B28003]

ałyì aʒɔ̀ *n.* fat around intestines ▸*ałyì* [B37364]

sətsɛ̀ aʒɔ̀ *n.* fat of wild boar, used e.g. for deep frying puri ▸*sətsɛ̀* [B49163]

aʒɔ́ʔ (≠*aʒɔ̀*) *n.* ① small sling in trap ② sling in kəlii trap which catches the bird [B38351]

aʒuḭ̀ (≠*aʃuḭ̀*) *n.* ① wing ② fin [B14848]
ʧuì aʒún *n.* fin of fish ▸*ʧuì* [B36012]
aʒuḭ̀² *adj.* loose not lasting ▸*syn. adəzù* ▸*ant. arín* [B59162]
aʒù *n.* wife ▸*cf. awuì* [B14899]
aʒù awuì *ex.* husband and wife ▸*awuì* [B38094]
aʒùjo *ex.* my dear wife (when speaking to her, or refering to her) ▸*=jo* [B58056]
gù aʒùku wuìna *ex.* I will scold my wife. ▸*wuì* [B52560]
aʒúnrjɛì *n.* Chestnut-crowned Laughingthrush (*sci. Garrulax erythrocephalus*) [B34126]
ałɜ̀ *adj.* ① barren, plain ② bald [=M *ʊaŋ*] [B41779]
akʉ́ɬáŋ *ex.* bald [=M *moʊaŋ*] ▸*akʉ́* ▸*cf. akʉ́* [B35857]
məhjɛ̀ ałɜ̀ *ex.* barren land ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B41789]
rí? ałɜ̀ *ex.* barren field ▸*rí?²* [B41784]
ałí? *n.* wife's younger brother ▸*cf. abɔ́?* ▸*ant. awaì* [B41947]
ałím *n.* shade [≠M *ʧokə'pan*] [B20616]
ałím rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit in the shade ▸*rɨ̀* [B42501]
ałuɛ̀ *n.* lower of two items (for example the lower of two shelves) ▸*ant. atʃɜ̀* [B35270]
kalíŋ ałuɛ̀ *ex.* inside a heap of stones ▸*kalíŋ* [B42511]
ráp ałuɛ̀ *ex.* the lower shelf over the fireplace ▸*ráp* ▸*ant. ráp kʉ́tʃɜ̀, kʉ́tʃɜ̀* [B50808]
ʃḭ̀mɔ ałuɛ̀ *ex.* inside a pile of wood ▸*ʃḭ̀mɔ* [B42506]
ałyì (≠*alyì*) *n.* stomach, belly (interior) ▸*cf. pawɛ́?luì, awadú?* [B20689]
ałyìpʉ́ *n.* part of stomach where food is stored ▸*cf. adùráŋ, arín-pʉ́* [B52619]

ałyìbúŋ *n.* ① belly (exterior) ② part of large intestines ▸*cf. mabʉ̀* [B37022]
ałyìnjáŋ *n.* small intestines (just after stomach), without feces inside, whitish, can be eaten without much cleaning, very tasty if roasted in the fire. Small intestines of wild animals are eaten without cleaning, little bit bitter. ▸*cf. ałyìráŋ, adùráŋ* [B37027]

ałyì arḭ̀ *n.* stomach ▸*arìn* [B42153]
ałyì aʒɔ̀ *n.* fat around intestines ▸*aʒɔ̀* [B37364]
ałyìráŋ *n.* large intestines (last part

of digestive tract with feces), has to be cleaned in the water before eating, same tube as ałyinjaŋ ▸*cf. ałyìnjáŋ* ▸*syn. aməgìrə̀* [B42516]

mabə̀ *n.* part of the digestive tract, just next to ałyiraŋ ▸*cf. ałyìbúŋ, adùráŋ* [B52624]

rì ałyì *n.* inner part of cane ▸*rì³* [B50966]

rìłyì *n.* inner part of cane, has no use and is thrown away ▸*rì³* ▸*syn. rìkə́m* [B44270]

ałyì búmbáʔ *ex.* the stomach swells up ▸*bə̀* [B41417]

ałyə̀ (≠*alyì*) *n.* marrow [B15541]

ahám *n.* nest, animals house ▸*cf. hám* [B35640]

awə̀hám *n.* spider web ▸*awə̀* [B35976]

kɔ́sjɛ̀hám *n.* cyst ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*syn. abədʒì* [B37252]

ʧiru ahám *n.* beehive ▸*ʧirɔ̀* [B35916]

ʧugluín ahám *n.* house of snail ▸*ʧugluín* [B36016]

dʒámdʒúʔ ahám *n.* ant hill ▸*dʒámdʒúʔ* [B39321]

tsəwoì ahám *n.* beehive ▸*tsəwoì* [B35920]

ahì intensifier intensifier for black ▸*syn. kələ̀* [B54774]

ahjɛ̀ ahì *ex.* very black ▸*ahjɛ̀* ▸*syn. ahjɛ̀ kələ̀* [B54770]

ahuì *n.* blood ▸*cf. səlám, huì* [B15531]

ahuì arə̀ *n.* vein ▸*arìn* [B35958]

huì ʧuéʔ *ex.* to suffer of dysentery, have diarrhea mixed with blood ▸*ʧuéʔ* [B15006]

huì ʧuéʔ ì *ex.* to die of dysentery ▸*ì* [B58803]

huì nyɛ̀ *ex.* blood flows out ▸*nyɛ̀* ▸*syn. huì huì* [B38817]

huì huì *ex.* it is bleeding ▸*huì* ▸*syn. huì nyɛ̀* [B36380]

ahù intensifier:folor intensifier for red [B51049]

aʃíʔ ahù *ex.* very red ▸*aʃíʔ* [B51053]

ahjɛ̀ *adj.* black (colour of charcoal) [B34413]

akə́m ahjɛ̀ *n.* pupil ▸*akə́m* [B37319]

ahjɛ̀ ahì *ex.* very black ▸*ahì* ▸*syn. ahjɛ̀ kələ̀* [B54770]

ahjɛ̀ kələ̀ *ex.* very black ▸*kələ̀* ▸*syn. ahjɛ̀ ahì* [B51026]

ahjɛ̀ dzɛ̀ *ex.* to put something black (in the face) ▸*dzɛ̀* [B42667]

ʒiʒi ahjɛ̀ *n.* mole ▸*ʒiʒi* [B36929]

ahjɔ̀ *quant.* all [M *məhjuŋ*] ▸*syn. dzɔ̀* [B36192]

ə̀ *intj.* (INTJ) [B55996]

ə̀dəzu *n.* clothes [B51318]

ə̀dəzu łám *ex.* to change clothes ▸*łám* [B51313]

ɛ̀ *intj.* filler 'ehm' (FILL) [FILL] ▸*cf. hɛmɛ* [B55086]

ɛ̀² INTJ interjection to get someone's attention; hey! (INTJ) [B58566]

ɛ̀ *vi.* ① to be fitting ② to be together ③ to be same [B49802]

=la.ɛ̀ *post.* ① SOC ② INSTR ▸*-la* [B39166]

a.ɛ̀ *adj.* ① fitting, in order, in a line ② smooth ▸*a-* [B20934]

ɛ̀ku dzoì *ex.* to tie together ▸*dzoì, =ku* [B54013]

ɛ̀ku pʰù *ex.* to tie together (to sticks) ▸*pʰù, =ku* [B54008]

ɛ̀batʃa *ex.* It is fitting now. ▸*-batʃa* [B49809]

ɛ̀ ù *ex.* to go, walk together ▸*ù*

[B57935]

ɛ̀ ʧì *ex.* to eat together ▸*ʧì* [B53383]

ɛ̀ ba.ù̀ *v.* not go together ▸*ba-*, *ù̀* [B58433]

mətʰyɛ́ʔ ɛ̀ vùkə́m *ex.* to go everybody together to Mathow ▸*mətʰyɛ́ʔ*, *-kə́m* [B58639]

mətʃíŋ ɛ̀ ʧíŋkə́m *ex.* to work everybody together ▸*ʧíŋ*, *-kə́m* [B58640]

məluɛ̃̀ ɛ̀ ʧìkə́m *ex.* to eat everybody together from one plate ▸*məluɛ̃̀*, *-kə́m* ▸*cf. pʰəù lyìla ín* [B58638]

níʔ ɛ̀ku tyɛ́ *ex.* to tie two (ropes) together ▸*níʔ*, *tyɛ́* [B59105]

níʔ ɛ̀ku pʰù *ex.* to bind two (pieces of wood) together ▸*pʰù* [B54680]

ɛ́ʔ (≠*ɛ̀*) *n.* cloth [B16277]

ɛ́ʔku dzɛ̀ *ex.* to stick on the clothes ▸*dzɛ̀* [B53080]

ɛ́ʔ atʃò *n.* silk cloth ▸*atʃò* [B58736]

ɛ́ʔ kjahɔ̀ *n.* holes in the clothes ▸*akjɑ̃́* [B36052]

ɛ́ʔ ʧì *ex.* Borrow me a cloth. ▸*ʧì*[3] [B59066]

ɛ́ʔ ʧɨ *ex.* to wash clothes ▸*ʧɨ́* [B38909]

ɛ́ʔ ʤíʔ *ex.* to tear a cloth ▸*ʤíʔ* [B59092]

ɛ́ʔ ʤím *ex.* soft silk cloth ▸*aʤím* [B59167]

ɛ́ʔ paó *ex.* to dry clothes ▸*paó* [B39152]

ɛ́ʔ pəlɔ̀̃ *n.* skirt, gale [=M *gebəluŋ*] ▸*pəlɔ̃̀* [B53156]

ɛ́ʔ pʰìn *ex.* to sew a cloth ▸*pʰìn* [B54079]

ɛ́ʔ nì *ex.* to spread clothes ▸*nì* [B43829]

ɛ́ʔ ríp *ex.* to squeeze a cloth ▸*ríp* [B38895]

ɛ́ʔ rɔ́ʔ *ex.* to weave ▸*rɔ́ʔ* [B38728]

ɛ́ʔ wɛ̀ *ex.* the clothes dry ▸*wɛ̀* [B39161]

ɛ́ʔ səwì *ex.* ▸*səwì* [B59086]

ɛ́ʔ zù *ex.* to wear clothes ▸*zù* ▸*syn. ɛ́ʔ ʒɔ̀* [B36792]

ɛ́ʔ zùłám *ex.* to change the clothes ▸*łám*, *zù* [B54595]

ɛ́ʔ ʒɔ̀ *ex.* to put on a dress ▸*ʒɔ̀* ▸*syn. ɛ́ʔ zù* [B36797]

ɛ́ʔ huɔ̀̃ *ex.* to take off a dress ▸*huɔ̀̃* [B53375]

ɛ́ʔsu *n.* ▸*asú* [B58739]

ɛ́ʔsu atʃò *n.* silk cloth ▸*atʃò* [B58738]

ʧándɔku ɛ́ʔ pʰùgɑ̀̃ *ex.* to put a bandage around a wound ▸*ʧɑ̃̀dɔ̀*, *pʰù*, *-gɑ̀̃* [B59025]

ʃɑ̀̃ɛ́ʔ *n.* cloth made from urtica fibres ▸*ʃɑ̃̀* [B36708]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplá? *ex.* tear a cloth ▸*ʧuplá?* ▸*syn. ʤíʔplá?*, *ʤíʔ* [B59093]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplá?ka pín *ex.* ▸*ʧuplá?*, *pʰìn* [B59020]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplá? pʰìn *ex.* to sew torn clothes ▸*ʧuplá?*, *pʰìn* [B59021]

ɛ́ʔ ʤíʔplá? *ex.* to tear a cloth ▸*ʤíʔplá?* [B51995]

ɛ̀ri *ex.* same [B20883]

ɛ̀ru *n.* the-day-after-the-day-after-tomorrow [≠M *namu*] ▸*cf. ʤiru*, *dərù* [B40329]

ɛ̀rupɛ́ *n.* the day after the day after tomorrow ▸*apɛ́* [B42469]

ɛ̀zu *n.* clothes [B51322]

ɛ̀zu łám *ex.* to change clothes [B51326]

ɛ̀ʃúŋkɔ́ *n.* woman dress around waist [B41298]

ɛ̀ʃúŋkɔbaì *n.* woman dress around waist [B41302]

è *intj.* interjection lamenting (INTJ) [B56083]

è (≠*é?*) *n.* excrement, feces ▸*cf. ʧué?* [B28934]
è ʧué? *ex.* to defecate ▸*ʧué?* [B37258]
è ʧué?ka akjá *n.* anus ▸*akjá*, *ʧué?* ▸*syn. è ʧuè akjá*, *ǐkjá* [B36972]
è ʧuè akjá *n.* asshole ▸*akjá*, *ʧué?* ▸*syn. è ʧué?ka akjá*, *ǐkjá* [B50743]
è waí? *ex.* to fart ▸*waí?* [B39499]
ì (≠*í*, *í?*) *vi.* ① to die ② to get cooked (of rice and vegetables) [≠M *ʧiː*] ▸*cf. tsɔ̀* [B27996]
a.ì *n.* ① half dead, dying ② decrescent half moon ▸*a-* [B41720]
ìkəljù *ex.* to pretend to be dead ▸*kəljù* [B58563]
ìʤi *ex.* to die (process of dying?) ▸*-ʤi* [B15635]
gù aró? ìʤiʧa *ex.* [B58825]
ìbaʧa *ex.* it is cooked (lit. died) ▸*-baʧa* ▸*cf. míŋbaʧa* [B22350]
ìbuʤi *ex.* someone who died ▸*-bu* [B58630]
ʧakuí ìbaʧa *ex.* the rice is cooked (lit. died, since the boiling water is not making sound anymore) [=M *'tsavo 'ʧirɨm*] ▸*ʧakuí* [B42731]
pấpəhjá?la ì *ex.* to suicide by hanging ▸*pấ* [B33587]
príʔla ì *ex.* to die by getting burned by hot water ▸*príʔ²*, *-la* [B44553]
mè ìbaʧa *ex.* the vegetables are cooked (lit. died) ▸*mè* [B50998]
ʃəʒáŋmɔ bé?la la ì *ex.* god made his fate and he died (i.e. god decided that it is time for him to die) ▸*bé?*, *ʃəʒə̀̃mɔ* [B51429]
huì ʧué? ì *ex.* to die of dysentery ▸*huì ʧué?* [B58803]
ìdán *n.* freckle ▸*cf. meradíŋ* [B37392]
aʃuǐ ìdán *n.* pimples ▸*aʃuì* [B37388]
í (≠*í?*, *ì*) *vt.* to step on something [B57128]
alè í *v.* to smash something with the foot (not with hand) ▸*alè* ▸*cf. agé? rɨ́n* [B58554]
ípjé? *ex.* to smash with the foot, to make flat ▸*-pjé?* [B41901]
lè í *n.* foot print ▸*alè* ▸*cf. kətɔ́ alím* [B37373]
í? (≠*í*, *ì*) *vt.* ① to cut st. without leaving the blade ② to saw [B28605]
alɔ́? í? *ex.* to castrate ▸*alɔ́?* [B37138]
í?plá? *ex.* to saw apart ▸*plá?* [B59046]
í?ɬé? *ex.* to cut/saw away without leaving the blade ▸*-ɬé?* [B41185]
gù í?ʤǔʧa *ex.* I finished cutting. ▸*-ʤǔ* [B49775]
mè í? *ex.* to cut vegetables ▸*mè* [B38984]
sikí? í? *ex.* to cut wood planks ▸*sikí?* [B51761]
ʃì í? *ex.* to cut meat without leaving the blade (also by putting the dao tip on the ground and cutting the meat from the top) ▸*ʃi* [B50617]
í?² *vt.* to smash something with the foot (not hand) [B58555]
ibo.ɛ [RL] *n.* name of deity ▸*cf. ihɛ.ɛ* [B40239]
ibo.ɛ ihɛ.ɛ [RL] *n.* name of two deities ▸*ihɛ.ɛ* [B44495]
ím *vt.* to sit with crossed legs ▸*cf. ʤó?*, *ʤǔ*, *díŋ*, *ʧɔ̀*, *ʤí?* ▸*ant. vjɛ̀* [B54696]
alè ím *ex.* to sit with crossed legs ▸*alè* ▸*cf. alè vjè*, *alè ʒí?* [B54700]
alè ímla rì *ex.* to sit with crossed legs ▸*alè*, *rì* [B54705]
ím² *vi.* to be tasty [B58394]

a.ím (≠*ajím*) *adj.* tasty ▸*a-* [B40046]

ímbuɛ̀̃ *n.* flower [historically maybe identical with ʃiNbuɛN, but with s-loss] ▸*cf. ʃ̀ìbuɛ̀̃* ▸*syn. abuɛ̀̃* [B42126]

ín *vt.* to drink ▸*cf. vù²*, *núŋ* [B28938]

a.ínmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to drink ▸*a-*, *amjɛ̀* ▸*ant. a.ínlaò* [B58121]

a.ínlaò *ex.* bad to drink ▸*a-*, *alaò* ▸*ant. a.ínmjɛ̀* [B58126]

índəhɛ̀̃ *ex.* don't want to drink (because someone else was served first) [=M *tuŋdəhaN*] ▸*-dəhɛ̀̃* ▸*cf. ʧìdəhɛ̀̃* [B43442]

ʧìdəhɛ̀̃ índəhɛ̀̃ *ex.* don't want to eat and drink because of being huffy ▸*ʧìdəhɛ̀̃* [B43447]

ínbù *v.* drink equal shares ▸*bù³* [B59229]

ínbùdɛ̀̃ *ex.* to drink even more in order to have drunk same share (with others or of a beverage) ▸*bù³*, *-dɛ̀̃* ▸*syn. ínbùlɛ̀̃* [B58679]

ínbùlɛ̀̃ *ex.* to drink more (in order to get the same share like the others or in order to have drunk the same share of each beverage) ▸*bù³*, *-lɛ̀̃* ▸*cf. ínlɛ̀̃* ▸*syn. ínbùdɛ̀̃* [B58678]

ínlɛ̀̃ *ex.* to drink even more ▸*-lɛ̀̃* ▸*cf. ínbùlɛ̀̃* [B58677]

nà pʰəù índɔ̀̃ *ex.* Drink this rice beer right now! (order) ▸*pʰəù*, *-dɔ̀̃* [B49589]

índià *n.* India [B56004]

iskuul *n.* [B56727]

ihɛ.ɛ [RL] *n.* name of deity ▸*cf. ibo.ɛ* [B40243]

ibo.ɛ ihɛ.ɛ [RL] *n.* name of two deities ▸*ibo.ɛ* [B44495]

ì̀ *n.* ass [B53728]

ì̀kjɑ́̃ *n.* asshole ▸*akjɑ́̃* ▸*syn. ɛ̀ ʧuɛ̀ akjɑ́̃*, *ɛ̀ ʧuɛ́ʔka akjɑ́̃* [B53724]

ì̀wì pahaò *n.* buttocks [≠M *ʃəmɛɛ pao*] [B36968]

ə́m *intj.* filler (FILL) [B56248]

ɔì (*var. woì²*) *vt.* to find [B33644]

mənɛ̀ nuàwoì *ex.* to search and find luggage ▸*mənɛ̀*, *nɔ̀* [B51353]

nɔ̀ ɔì *ex.* to find ▸*nɔ̀* [B44316]

nɔ̀ bawoì *ex.* he searched and didn't find ▸*nɔ̀*, *ba-* [B44321]

nuàla bawoì *ex.* ▸*nɔ̀* [B40357]

ɔ̀ *vi.* to itch [B58276]

alɛ̀ku ɔ̀ *ex.* the leg is itching (lit. there is an itch on the leg) ▸*=ku*, *alɛ̀* [B42569]

ɔ̀ ɔ̀ *ex.* it is itching ▸*ɔ̀²* [B58281]

ɔ̀² (*var. awuà*, *wuà*) *n.* itch [B42564]

ɔ̀ku bjúʔ (*var. awuà bjúʔ*) *ex.* to scratch an itch ▸*bjúʔ* [B42574]

ɔ̀ ɔ̀ *ex.* it is itching ▸*ɔ̀* [B58281]

ɔ̀ sənetʃi [RL] *n.* hair on head ▸*syn. kəzɑ̀̃* [B55667]

ɔ́ʔ (*var.* of *wáʔ*) *n.* pig [B59204]

ɔ́ʔ (*var. wɑ́ʔ*) (≠*wáʔ*) *n.* wild banana (with seeds) [≠M *liʔ*] [B22573]

ɔ̀̃waí *n.* jungle banana fruit ▸*awaí* [B41268]

ɔ̀̃wai akɔ́m *n.* jungle banana seed ▸*akɔ́m* [B41276]

wɑ́ʔ ʤadʒoì *n.* bunch of banana (whole infructescence of the banana plant) ▸*ʤadʒoì* [B41264]

wə̀lə́p *n.* banana leaf ▸*alə́p* [B40998]
ò̰ *intj.* yes, all right (INTJ) [B55967]
ù *n.* seed, grain [B58971]
məpʰinù *n.* maize grain ▸*məpʰìn* [B58970]
njɛnù *n.* rice seeds, paddy, unhusked rice ▸*njén* [B22567]
úʔ *vt.* to hide [B22609]
úʔla rɨ̀ *ex.* to hide oneself ▸*rɨ̀* [B50396]
ʧi.úʔ *vt.* to steal ▸*ʧi*[3] [B16226]
badɛ̀dɔ̀ úʔla rɨ̀ *ex.* to sit without being seen ▸*dɛ̀*, *-dɔ̀* [B50401]
bù.úʔ *vt.* to steal ▸*bù* ▸*syn.* *lè.úʔ* [B58978]
mənɛ̀ úʔ *ex.* to hide goods ▸*mənɛ̀* [B39114]
níŋúʔ *v.* to peep, to watch secretly with half closed eyes ▸*níŋ* [B58572]
nɨ́ŋúʔ *v.* to listen secretly ▸*nɨ́ŋ* [B58598]
lè.úʔ *ex.* to take and hide ▸*lè* ▸*syn.* *bù.úʔ*, *bù.úʔ ʦáʔ* [B51205]
upaí *n.* remedy [<HIAi उपाय 'remedy'] [B34292]
uvaù [HL] *n.* monkey ▸*cf.* *mərə̀* [B15738]
usipáʔ *n.* leaf which can be eaten raw [B57412]

uʒɔ̀ [HL] *n.* wood ▸*cf.* *ʃì* [B52072]
uʒɔ̀ gúʔ [HL] *n.* moss ▸*gúʔ* [B54322]
uʒɔ̀ ʃóʔ [HL] *ex.* to carry wood ▸*ʃóʔ* [B52082]
ṵ̀ *vt.* to go towards home (i.e. the place where one stays) [≠M *kaʔ*] ▸*cf.* *vù*, *bɛ̀*[2], *zɨ́nʃɔ̀ bɛ̀* ▸*ant.* *vù* [B15840]
-ṵ̀pʰéʔ *vderiv.* TERM, "until it is finished" ▸*-pʰéʔ* [B49258]
akəʒɨ̀ ṵ̀ *ex.* to descend ▸*akəʒɨ̀* ▸*syn.* *akəʒɨ̀ ʒɨ̀* [B38968]
abədʑáʔ ṵ̀ *ex.* to come fast ▸*abədʑáʔ* [B42386]
amjè níŋla ṵ̀ *ex.* Take care! Go back safely! ▸*amjè*, *níŋ* [B51104]
alíʔ ṵ̀ *ex.* to go in the plain ▸*alíʔ* [B38957]
avjɛ̀ ṵ̀ *ex.* to walk on the same level ▸*avɨ̀* [B38963]
asə́m ʧə̀dɔ̀ ṵ̀ *ex.* a wound appeared on the mouth ▸*ʧə̀dɔ̀* [B42631]
ɛ̀ ṵ̀ *ex.* to go, walk together ▸*ɛ̀* [B57935]
ɛ̀ ba.ṵ̀ *v.* not go together ▸*ɛ̀*, *ba-* [B58433]
ṵ̀ka akɨ́ŋ *ex.* the origin from where we came (ultimate origin of the Puroiks, lit. the root from where we came) ▸*akɨ́ŋ* [B41774]
ṵ̀dɔ̀ *ex.* to go and take someone along ▸*-dɔ̀* [B57630]
ṵ̀dʒi *ex.* went away ▸*-dʒi* [B49286]
dʒidɔ ṵ̀dʒinaro *ex.* It will become like this. ▸*dʒidɔ* [B58589]
lè úʔla úndʒi *ex.* to steal and go away [B51200]
ṵ̀dʒirɛ̀ʧa *ex.* already went away ▸*-dʒi*, *-rɛ̀* [B51923]
ṵ̀dʒúŋ *ex.* to come to stay permanently [B39701]
ṵ̀pɔ́ *ex.* something appeared, came out, reached ▸*pɔ́* [B42090]
ṵ̀pʰéʔ *ex.* to reach (home, to a base) ▸*-pʰéʔ* [B36452]
ṵ̀vjə̀ *ex.* to cross (a mountain, forest,

river) ▸*vjǎ̀* [B38195]

kəsá ǔ̀ *ex.* How did it happen? ▸*kəsá* [B50841]

kʰì ǔ̀ *ex.* to go flying ▸*kʰì* [B38694]

krɛ́ ǔ̀ *ex.* to roll down ▸*krɛ́* [B44175]

gɛ́ʔǔ̀ *ex.* to get lost, to disappear ▸*gɛ́ʔ* [B42997]

ʧǎ̀kʰù alaò ǔ̀ *ex.* The hatchet became bad/got spoiled. ▸*alaò*, *ʧǎ̀kú* [B49921]

ʧǐn ǔ̀tʃa [HL] *ex.* It became night. [B52176]

ʤaìlaì ǔ̀ *ex.* to become dark in the evening ▸*ʤaìlaì* [B57182]

pətsə́m dyǐ̀ǔ̀ *ex.* the bird of prey carries away (a chicken) ▸*dyǐ̀*, *pətsɨ́ŋ* [B43710]

pʰɔ́ʔ ǔ̀ *ex.* to forget ▸*pʰɔ́ʔ* [B54128]

bɛ̀ ǔ̀ [HL] *ex.* to go ▸*bɛ̀*[2] [B52200]

mamɛ́ʔ ǔ̀na *ex.* It will be a loss. ▸*mamɛ́ʔ* [B49831]

mənɛ̀ gɛ́ʔǔ̀ *ex.* the things get lost ▸*gɛ́ʔ* [B43007]

nù ǔ̀ *ex.* Come here! ▸*nù* [B50008]

rǐ̀ǔ̀ *vi.* to flee (to run towards his base) ▸*rín* [B15391]

laíʔ ǔ̀ʤiʧa *ex.* the electricity went off (lit. went away) ▸*-ʤi*, *laíʔ* [B49716]

vùla ǔ̀ *ex.* to go and come back ▸*vù* [B38952]

ʃì ʒɛ̀la ǔ̀ *ex.* to carry meat and go ▸*ʃi*, *ʒɛ̌* [B52278]

ʒjɔ̀ fǐʔla bɛ̌ [HL] *ex.* to carry meat and go ▸*ʒjɔ̀*, *fǐʔ*[3] [B52273]

hám ǔ̀lɔ *ex.* to get to go home ▸*-lɔ* [B59000]

hǎ̀pǘ ɨ́m ǔ̀batʃa *ex.* three days ago ▸*-batʃa*, *hǎ̀pǘ* [B51600]

hǎ̀ʃǐn ǔ̀dàna *ex.* Let the wind come! ▸*-dà* [B49599]

hè ǔ̀ *ex.* What happened? ▸*hè* [B53398]

hè ʧuáʔǔ̀ *ex.* What happened? ▸*hè*, *ʧʊ́ʔ* [B50855]

bjatú tʰíʔ ǔ̀ *ex.* to go permanently to another village, to get married in another village (of a girl) ▸*bjatú*, *tʰíʔ* ▸*ant.* *bjatú tʰíʔ vù* [B58637]

ká *n.* place [B58647]

ʤikáku *ex.* in that place ▸*=ku* [B58648]

kátǘʧáŋ *n.* sulphur springs, where the wild animals lick salt [<M] ▸*cf.* *bìtǘru* [B40015]

kátúŋʤáŋ bìtúŋru [RL] *n.* sulphur springs, where the wild animals lick salt [Puroik word is ʧii<M] ▸*bìtǘru* ▸*cf.* *ʧì*[4], *túŋʤáŋ túŋru* ▸*syn.* *ʧì*[4] [B42748]

kakə́m *n.* pillow [B22366]

kakú *n.* Eurasian Cuckoo (*sci.* *Cuculus canorus*) [B33993]

katɨ́ŋ (*var.* *kʰɔtɨ́ŋ*) *adv.* upstream ▸*ant.* *kanyè* [B50342]

katɨ́ŋ vù *ex.* to go upstream ▸*vù* [B58926]

katɨ́ŋʃǒ vù *ex.* to go upstream ▸*vù* [B50346]

katɨ́ŋɬɛ̌ adzɛ́ʔ *ex.* to the side where the water comes from, upstream ▸*adzɛ́ʔ* ▸*ant.* *kanyèɬɛ̌ awù* [B58931]

katɨ̀ŋ (≠*katɨ́ŋ*) *n.* bamboo cup (often an entire section of a bamboo) [B36266]

madù katɨ́ŋ *n.* bamboo cup ▸*madù* [B36270]

katɨ́ŋ (≠*katɨ̀ŋ*) *n.* ① cap, hat ② hat worn

by the shaman [B41306]

katíŋ tíŋ *ex.* to wear a hat ▸*díŋ* [B41313]

pawì katíŋ *n.* shaman headdress ▸*pawì* ▸*cf. tʃará?* [B49841]

páŋlo katíŋ *n.* hat type ▸*páŋlo* [B41332]

katán *n.* Goldenback (*sci.* *Dinopium*) [B34033]

katər *n.* pale headed woodpecker (*sci.* *Gecinulus grantia*) [B34029]

katyí *n.* wood bridge (big hanging bridge on the road, but not simple hanging bridges) ▸*cf. kaʃuɛ̀* [B15798]

kadonaì *n.* Kadonai, forefather of the Puroiks in Kurung Kumey, and East Kameng? [B58399]

kajǎdʒu kadonaì *n.* two forefather of the Puroiks in Kurung Kumey, and East Kameng? ▸*kajǎdʒu* [B39956]

kadúndún *n.* Himalayan Cuckoo (*sci.* *Cuculus saturatus*) [B33985]

katʃǐ? *n.* stick in the maŋ trap [B40595]

katʃǐ?² (≠*katʃíp*) *n.* filter bag used to prepare alcohol [B52890]

katʃíp (≠*katʃǐ?²*, *katʃím*, *gatʃíp*) *n.* winnowing basket [B38404]

katʃíp míŋ goì *ex.* to winnow with left-right movement ▸*goì³* [B59100]

katʃíp ʒáp *ex.* to winnow with up-down movement ▸*ʒáp* [B58995]

katʃím (≠*katʃíp*) *n.* sparrow [B41160]

katʃím *n.* Treecreeper (*sci.* *Certhia*) [B34146]

katʃɔ́? *n.* landslide [B58867]

katʃɔ́? tʃɔ́? *ex.* ▸*tʃɔ́?³* [B58869]

katʃoì *n.* snot ▸*syn.* *tsɛ̀* [B35966]

katʃuɛ̀ *n.* mud [B20634]

katʃuɛ̀ pədù *n.* bird with long beak,

Eurasian Woodcock or one of the Snipes?, searches worms in the swamp (*sci. Scolopax rusticola*) ▸*pədù* [B33957]

kadʒéʔ *n.* fire tongs (made from madu bamboo) [B15134]

kadʒéʔ dʒáp *ex.* to hold fire tongs ▸*dʒáp* [B59102]

katsɛ̀̃ *n.* finger millet (*sci. Eleusine coracana*) ▸*cf. nətʃáʔ* [B35895]

katsɛ̀̃ ajɯ̀̃ *n.* ear of the millet ▸*ajɯ̀̃* ▸*syn. katsɛ̀̃jɯ̀̃* [B50908]

katsɛ̀̃jɯ̀̃ *n.* finger millet ▸*syn. katsɛ̀̃ ajɯ̀̃* [B41232]

katsɛ̀̃ vɛ̀̃ *ex.* ▸*vɛ̀̃*[2] [B59111]

kadzɑ̀̃ *n.* wax [B34648]

tʃəkuí kadzɑ̀̃ *n.* bee wax ▸*tʃəkuí* [B36206]

tsəwoì kadzɑ̀̃ *n.* bee wax ▸*tsəwoì* [B36201]

kadzéʔ *n.* rings to sit and cross a river on a rope [B41509]

káptʃoì *n.* Spotted Forktail (*sci. Enicurus maculatus*) [B34174]

kapʰíʔ (*var.* of *kʰɔpʰíʔ*) *n.* stream (allegro form) [B58924]

kabuì *n.* type of ginger used for rituals [B50732]

kabjɑ̀̃ *n.* ① frontside veranda of the house (where the entrance is) ② the outside of the house ▸*ant. hɑ̀lɔ̀̃, alíŋ* [B33653]

kabráŋ *n.* name of mountain near Kazolang [B55866]

kabɹáŋ *n.* target for shooting practice (wood, stone, bottle etc.) [=M *kabɹaŋ*] [B51215]

kabɹáŋ ríʔ *ex.* to shoot on a target [M *kabɹaŋ ban*] ▸*ríʔ* [B51219]

kabɹáŋ ljáʔ *ex.* to hit a target ▸*ljáʔ*[2] [B51224]

kabɹáŋ ríʔbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a shooting competition ▸*ríʔbɹɛ̀ri* [B59136]

kámpeí *n.* thread (for beads) [B22375]

kámpeí vím *ex.* to put a tread on a ball ▸*vím* [B59023]

kámsò *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*cf. míŋ kámsò* [B41413]

kanyɛ̀ *adv.* downstream ▸*ant. katíŋ* [B50351]

kanyɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go downstream ▸*vù* [B50357]

kanyɛ̀ɬɛ̀̃ awù *ex.* to the side where the water flows, downstream ▸*awù* ▸*ant. katíŋɬɛ̀̃ adzéʔ* [B58932]

kʰɔ̀ bù nyɛ̀kadʒi kanyɛ̀ *ex.* [The direction] where the water flows is called kanyɛ. ▸*nyɛ̀* [B58927]

kajɑ̀̃ *n.* big cooking pot for making pig's food or rice for beer [=M *kajaŋ*] [B50699]

kajɑ̀̃ pəléʔ *n.* lid of big cooking pot [≠M *kajaŋ bəluŋ*] ▸*apəléʔ* [B50695]

kajɑ̀̃dʒu *n.* KajaNdʒu, forefather of the Puroiks in Kurung Kumey, and East Kameng? [B58398]

kajɑ̀̃dʒu kadonaì *n.* two forefather of the Puroiks in Kurung Kumey, and East Kameng? ▸*kadonaì* [B39956]

karuǐ *n.* swift [B58406]
hǎpʰì karuǐ *n.* swift, flies around before rain ▸*hǎpʰì* [B34005]
kalakɛ́n [RL] *n.* Betali (place in Balemu circle) [B55299]
kalǎ̀ kalì *n.* edible mushroom species [B58886]
míŋ kalǎ̀ kalì *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*míŋ*[4] [B58887]
kali bukaljáŋ *n.* Black Stork? (*sci.* *Ciconia nigra*) [=M] [B33945]
kalíŋ *n.* stone [=M *gəluŋ*] ▸*cf.* *ʧabù* [B15429]
kalíŋmɔ *n.* big stone, rock ▸*-mɔ̀* [B35940]
kalíŋmɔ arà *n.* big rock ▸*arà* [B58864]
kalíŋmɔ ʃawɛ́ʔ dzɛ̀ *ex.* The rock is overgrown with moss. ▸*ʃawɛ́ʔ dzɛ̀* [B58910]
kalíŋ ałuè *ex.* inside a heap of stones ▸*ałuè* [B42511]
kalíŋ kʰìm pile.stones to pile stones in an ordered way ▸*kʰìm* [B59141]
kalíŋ krɛ́ *ex.* a stone rolls down ▸*krɛ́* [B39584]
kalíŋ təməsə́ʔ *n.* stone tripod for cooking ▸*təməzə́ʔ* [B43134]
kalíŋ tsúʔ *ex.* ① to hammer on a stone ② to hammer with a stone ▸*tsú* [B43970]
kalíŋ fɛ̃̀ *n.* to throw a stone [≠M *gəluŋ ʃan*] ▸*fɛ̃̀* [B22371]
kalíŋ sərǎ̀ *n.* hip of stones ▸*sərǎ̀* [B49853]
kalíŋzáŋ *n.* firestone (white stone) ▸*záŋ* [B37832]
kalíŋ arì *n.* slippery stones ▸*arì* [B53239]
kalíŋ rínpaó *ex.* to push a stone ▸*rínpaó* [B44170]
kalu *n.* Common Myna [B58411]
kalu pədù *n.* Common Myna (*sci.* *Acridotheres ginginianus*) ▸*pədù* [B34150]
kawɔ́ʔ *n.* small cane ropes which holds the two triggers of a big deadfall trap together [B40452]

apʰjǎ̀ wɔ́ʔrika kawɔ́ʔ *ex.* ▸*apʰjǎ̀*, *wɔ́ʔ* [B58752]
kjɛ́m kawɔ́ʔ *n.* small rope in deadfall trap ▸*kjɛ́m* [B58750]
kafaì *n.* moss, lichen ▸*cf.* *bapə́m*, *ʃawɛ́ʔ*, *gúʔ* [B53250]
kafaì dʒáʔ *ex.* moss or lichen grows over something ▸*dʒáʔ* ▸*cf.* *ʃawɛ́ʔ dzɛ̃̀* [B53254]
kasín *n.* sago place on Bulu side of the river [B50892]
kasuɛ́ʔ *n.* waterfall [B38808]
kʰɔ̀ kasuɛ́ʔ *n.* waterfall ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B42761]
kaʃuɛ̀ *n.* hanging bridge ▸*cf.* *katyɪ́* [B33440]
kazì *n.* bird of prey [B49642]
kazì amə́n *n.* feather of a bird of prey (worn by priests on the hat) ▸*amə́n* [B49646]
kałaì *n.* lake, pond [B20636]
kałɛ̀ ajím *ex.* the pond is deep ▸*ajím* [B42774]
kahɔ̃̀ *n.* big river ▸*cf.* *kʰɔpʰíʔ*, *mətʃĩmhɔ̃̀* ▸*ant.* *apʰíʔ* [B20635]
kahɔ̃̀ sə́mpʰjɛ̀ *n.* river sand ▸*sə́mpjɛ́* [B44349]

kahjɛ̀ *n.* edible mushroom species [B58888]
míŋ kahjɛ̀ *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*míŋ*[4] [B58889]
kǎ *vt.* to extort (I will kill you, if you don't give me) [B40210]
kǎri *ex.* to extort from eachother ▸*-ri*[2] [B44500]
kǎla rjaò *ex.* to extort and steal ▸*rjaò*[2] [B59029]
kǎla lè *ex.* to take by extorting ▸*lè* [B42743]
kǎ[2] *v.* to be jealous ▸*syn. lín* [B43470]
kǎ[3] *vi.* to feel cold ▸*cf. akǎ* [B57085]
hàkǎ *adj.* cold (of weather) [B58396]
hakǎ bɛʃɨ́n *n.* flu, fever ▸*bɛʃɨ́n* ▸*cf. kám pʰì kǔ lɨ̀* [B15010]
kǎdǔ [HL] *n.* ear ▸*cf. akuǐ* [B15722]
kǎdǔ vaù [HL] *ex.* to hear ▸*vaù* [B54413]
kǎrɨkǎ *n.* Scop owl, makes a "kankang" sound (*sci. Otus*) [B34001]
kǎlo [RL] *n.* [B56783]
kǎlo kǎwi [RL] *n.* mythological forefather of the Assamese and Non-Tribal ▸*kǎwi* ▸*syn. bətʃɨ* [B55626]
kǎwi [RL] *n.* [B56786]
kǎlo kǎwi [RL] *n.* mythological forefather of the Assamese and Non-Tribal ▸*kǎlo* ▸*syn. bətʃɨ* [B55626]
kǎwò *n.* slave of puNtumjɛʔ ▸*cf. mjǎro, pǔtumjéʔ* [B54840]
kǎwò mjáŋrò *ex.* to spirits, slaves of puNtumjɛʔ, they can go up to the sky and make thunderstorms ▸*mjǎro* [B54851]
kɛtúŋ [RL] *n.* [B55831]
kɛtúŋ kʰɔ̀ *n.* mythological water reservoir deep inside the earth ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B55835]
səbù kɛtúŋ [RL] *n.* underground, earth under the surface ▸*səbù* [B55824]
səmù kɛtúŋ [RL] *n.* underground ▸*səmù* [B58184]
kɛ́ *vt.* ① to hold something ② to do a work by holding a tool [KR kan] ▸*cf. ʃəʒán, nám* [B33231]
agéʔ kɛ́ *ex.* to hold in the hand ▸*agéʔ* [B41422]
kɛ́gǎ *ex.* to hold ▸*-gǎ* [B22362]
kʰɛ̀gǎla lì *ex.* to push back, hold (e.g. a stone which is about to fall down) ▸*lì* [B51190]
kɛ́go *ex.* to drop soemthing [=M *kɛgo*] ▸*-go* ▸*cf. łúʔ* ▸*syn. kʰɛ̀panéʔ* [B33570]
kɛ́la rɨ *ex.* to sit and hold ▸*-la, rɨ* [B54655]
kʰɛ̀panéʔ *ex.* to drop something (intentionally?) [≠M *kaipəłoʔ*] ▸*-panéʔ* ▸*syn. kɛ́go* [B42803]
ʧaò kɛ́ *ex.* to make sago [KR ʧoo kan] ▸*ʧaò* [B39027]
bakɛ́ *ex.* Don't hold (me)! ▸*ba-* [B59006]
məŋʒáp kɛ́ *ex.* to winnow (with up-down movement) [≠M *məpʰuu pʰuu*] [B38408]
ʃərín kɛ́la ʃù *ex.* ▸*ʃərín*[2], *ʃù* [B59052]
míŋ alaò kɛ́ *ex.* a bad spirit possessed him/her ▸*míŋ alaò* [B58859]
míŋ goì kɛ́ *ex.* to winnow (with left-right movement) [≠M] ▸*míŋ goì* [B38413]
kɛ́kaméʔ *n.* [B55784]
gòrjo kɛ́kaméʔ [RL] *n.* name of deity ▸*gòrjo* [B40248]
ketəli *n.* tea kettle ▸*syn. hóp* [B58730]

ketəli apəlɛ́ʔ *n.* lid of kettle ▸*apəlɛ́ʔ* [B58731]

kíʔ (≠*gíʔ*) *v.* to trap, to get stuck [B40491]

kjɛ́m kíʔ *ex.* to catch with a kjɛm trap ▸*kjɛ́m* [B42918]

krɔ́kíʔ *v.* sprung and empty, for a trap which was triggered without trapping the prey ▸*krɔ́* [B40444]

badogáʔ kroákíʔ *ex.* to be released in vain, without catching the prey (of a trap) ▸*badogáʔ* [B50248]

rjɛ̀ krɔ́kíʔ *ex.* the rjeN trap trigger sprung empty ▸*rjɛ̀* [B42908]

ʧɛ̃̀ kíʔ *ex.* to catch a rat with a trap (stone trap etc.) ▸*ʧɛ̃̀* [B42943]

rɔ̀ kíʔ *ex.* to catch in a stone trap ▸*rɔ̀* [B42913]

kíʔ² *vt.* write? written? or caught on paper? [B56550]

kitab *n.* book [< Hindi किताब *kitāb*] [B57217]

kitʃi *v.* to make a photo, or a film [<IA Hindi khīchnā] [B58397]

kitʃɔ̃̀ *n.* wood hatchet with bamboo front part for chipping the sago trunk into fibres [≠M *kjolaŋ*] ▸*cf. kjúʔ* [B37906]

kɨ́ (≠*kʰɨ̀*) *vt.* ① to hit someone/something from up down (with fist) ② to play a drum [=M *təkɨ́ɨ́*] ▸*cf. ʃɛ́ʔ* [B21734]

agéʔ vì tɨ́ kɨ́ *ex.* He beat him four times. ▸*tɨ́*, *agéʔ* [B51894]

kɨ́máŋ *ex.* to beat someone to death ▸*-máŋ* [B58431]

kɨ́njáʔ *ex.* to make noise with kitchen utensils ▸*njáʔ* [B36817]

gùta kɨ́dyɛ̀̃ *ex.* I beat myself. ▸*-ta*, *-dyɛ̀̃* [B58777]

gùtaʒu kɨ́dyɛ̀̃ *ex.* I beat myself. ▸*=taʒu*, *-dyɛ̀̃* [B58778]

ʧɨ́ndúŋ kɨ́ *ex.* to hit a drum ▸*ʧɨ́ndúŋ* [B41147]

njín kɨ́ *ex.* to play cymbals ▸*nín* [B41142]

wuìrila kɨ́ *ex.* to fight ▸*wuì* [B22342]

hɛ̀la hãla kɨ́ *ex.* to beat someone many times, to beat again and again ▸*hɛ̀la* ▸*cf. kədʒìdəmóʔ ʃɛ́ʔ* [B58699]

a.ì a.ì kɨ́ *ex.* ▸*a.ì* ▸*syn. kədʒìdəmóʔ kɨ́* [B58702]

kədʒìdəmóʔ kɨ́ *ex.* to beat half dead (with the hand) ▸*kədʒìdəmóʔ* ▸*syn. a.ì a.ì kɨ́* [B58701]

gəhenɨ́ʔtatʃɨ̃ kɨ́ri *ex.* We beat each other. ▸*gəhenɨ́ʔ*, *-tatʃɨ̃*, *-ri²* [B58779]

ʃìbɛ̀ lèla kɨ́ *ex.* to beat with a stick ▸*lè*, *ʃìbɛ̀* [B51885]

kəí *intj.* let's go (HORT) [B35109]

kətán lanjo *n.* Common Hoopoe (*sci. Upupa epops*) [B34009]

kətɔ̃́ *n.* tooth [≠M *mətʰuu*] ▸*cf. asám ʧabù*, *kətɔ̃́ ʃúáʔ* [B28858]

atʃi kətɔ̃́ *n.* tusk of elephant ▸*atʃi²* [B37787]

kətɔ̃́ akrɨ́n *n.* molar ▸*akrɨ́n* [B37359]

kətɔ̃́ ataú *n.* protruding teeth ▸*syn. kətɔ̃́ aráŋ* [B37421]

kətɔ̃́ aráŋ *n.* protruding teeth ▸*syn.*

kətɔ̋ ataú [B37416]

kətɔ̋ alím *n.* the impression of a tooth ▸*alím* ▸*cf. lɛ̀ í* [B58605]

kətɔ̋ asù *ex.* gum ▸*asù* [B41474]

kətɔ̋ ʧuì *ex.* to brush the teeth ▸*ʧuì̀* [B51811]

kətɔ̋ bəzén *n.* baby tooth ▸*bəzén* [B36993]

kətɔ̋ bəzén pɔ̋ *ex.* the baby teeth appear ▸*pɔ̋* [B58798]

kətɔ̋ wuì *ex.* to chew with the teeth ▸*wuì*[2] [B42368]

kətɔ̋ ɾúʔ *n.* broken tooth [=M *mətʰuu ɾuaʔ*] ▸*ɾúʔ* ▸*cf. kətɔ̋* [B37442]

kətɔ̋ səkjúʔ *ex.* to brush the teeth ▸*səkjúʔ* [B53513]

ʧabù [HL] *n.* ① stone ② tooth ▸*cf. kalíŋ* [B52440]

asə́m ʧabù [HL] *n.* tooth ▸*asə́m* ▸*cf. kətɔ̋* [B54285]

pədù kətɔ̋ *n.* bird's peck ▸*pədù* [B41669]

nà kətɔ̋ku rə́nnaro *ex.* I will box you in the teeth. ▸*rə́n* [B59036]

wáʔ kətɔ̋ *n.* tusk of boar ▸*wáʔ* [B37777]

sətsɛ̀ kətɔ̋ *n.* tusk of wild boar ▸*sətsɛ̀* [B37782]

kətɔ̋zjáŋ *n.* fang of a carnivore [B37355]

kətóʔ *n.* hoof (of horse of mithun) [B59214]

alè kətóʔ *n.* hoof of horse or mithun ▸*alè* [B37518]

kətúʔ (≠*atʰù*) *n.* carry basket [≠M *boʔ*] ▸*cf. nagjà̋* [B37968]

kətúʔ atɑ́ *n.* basket carry belt ▸*atɑ́* [B38399]

kətúʔ jɔ̀ *ex.* to make the upper border of a basket ▸*jɔ̀* [B50600]

məʒɛ̀túʔ *n.* carry belt for baskets, mainly used by women (has a twisted rope on one end and a sling on the other end) ▸*məʒɛ̀* ▸*cf. məʒɛ̀ʧíŋ* [B44103]

kətűrín *n.* neck [B15551]

kətűrì agán *n.* prominent bone in the nape (*sci. Vertebra prominens*) [B37199]

kətrú *n.* goitre [B36912]

kədáŋ *n.* song [B38887]

kədáŋ ʤù *ex.* to sing ▸*ʤù* [B22295]

kədɛ́n *n.* burp [B37113]

kətʃán *n.* Jarkam village (Lada circle, West Kameng) ▸*cf. ruùdà*, *kəzuɛ̃̀* [B42884]

kətʃɛ̀ *n.* spittle ▸*cf. ʤúʔ* [B20637]

kətʃɛ̀ ʤúʔ *ex.* to spit ▸*ʤúʔ* [B38603]

kətʃɛ̀² *n.* edible mushroom species [B41404]

míŋ kətʃɛ̀ *n.* white edible mushroom growing on trees ▸*míŋ⁴* [B41389]

kətʃɨ̃̀ *n.* knee hollow [B59216]

alɛ̀ kətʃɨ̃̀ *n.* knee hollow ▸*alɛ̀* [B37602]

kədʒì *n.* hornbill [=M] ▸*cf. pəʃáŋ*, *pəlì* ▸*syn. ʃɨ̃mgɹáŋ* [B20794]

kədʒì ʃɨmɹáŋ *n.* hornbill [=M *gədʒii ʃɨmɹaŋ*] ▸*ʃɨ̃mgɹáŋ* [B58722]

kədʒíʔ (≠*kəʒíʔ*) *v.* to tickle [≠M *kəlii*] [B37772]

nàku kədʒíʔmənaro *ex.* I will tickle you. [B59005]

kədʒì *prn.* when? [B22383]

kədʒìdəmóʔ *adv.* intensely, half dead [≠M *kədʒɨgəro*] ▸*cf. hɐ̀la hãla* [B57048]

kədʒìdəmóʔ kɨ́ *ex.* to beat half dead (with the hand) ▸*kɨ́* ▸*syn. a.ì a.ì kɨ́* [B58701]

kədʒìdəmóʔ ʃéʔ *ex.* to beat someone half dead with a stick ▸*ʃéʔ* ▸*cf. hɐ̀la hãla kɨ́* [B58700]

gù asù kədzìdəmóʔ náŋba *ex.* ① I am extremely sick. ② My body pains extremely. ▸*asù*, *náŋ* [B58707]

kədʒìmatʃi *prn.* ▸*=matʃi* [B58447]

kədʒìmatʃi sàribaro *ex.* We will meet some time, ok? ▸*=matʃi*, *sà*, *-baro* [B59041]

kətsín *n.* leaf used for broom ▸*syn. konjò* [B40112]

kətsín alɐ́p *n.* plant species used to make brooms ▸*alɐ́p* [B58519]

kəpán *n.* [B55923]

ʃɐ̃̀to kəpán [RL] *n.* mythological forefather of all human beings, he devided the humans in tribes, gave them a place and a language ▸*ʃɐ̃̀to* ▸*cf. mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəzán* [B55441]

apá ʃáŋto kəpɛ́n *n.* mythological forefather of all human beings, he devided the humans in tribes, gave them a place and a language [<M] ▸*apá* ▸*cf. amà mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəzán* [B40182]

kəpeíʔ *n.* knee ▸*syn. kəpʰù* [B59217]

alɛ̀ kəpeíʔ *n.* knee ▸*alɛ̀* [B15572]

kəpʰù *n.* knee ▸*syn. kəpeíʔ* [B59218]

alɛ̀ kəpʰù *n.* knee ▸*alɛ̀* [B59219]

kəbáŋ [HL] *n.* chicken ▸*cf. mədyì* [B53105]

kəbùʃu [RL] *n.* [B56514]

kəbùʃu kəmùʃi *n.* takin ▸*kəmùʃi* [B57144]

kəbuʃu kəmuʃu [RL] *n.* takin ▸*kəmuʃu* ▸*cf. ʃətʃə̃m* [B40170]

kəmáŋ *n.* mushroom species [B58880]

míŋ kəmáŋ *n.* yellowish edible mushroom growing on trees ▸*míŋ⁴* [B58881]

kəmə́ŋ *n.* edible mushroom species [B41409]

kəmùʃi [RL] *n.* takin [B57140]

kəbùʃu kəmùʃi *n.* takin ▸*kəbùʃu* [B57144]

kəmuʃu [RL] *n.* takin [B56517]

kəbuʃu kəmuʃu [RL] *n.* takin ▸*kəbùʃu* ▸*cf. ʃətʃə̃m* [B40170]

kəmyì *v.* nervous [=M *kəmei*] [B40410]

kəmjáŋ *n.* pillow [B56995]

akű̃ kəmjáŋ *ex.* to support the head on a pillow ▸*akű̃* [B59139]

kəmjáŋ ré? *ex.* to lie with head supported on pillow ▸*ré?* ▸*cf. ré?* [B35439]

grì azù kű̃tʃáŋ kəmjáŋ *ex.* to lie with the head supported on the wife (on lap, stomach, leg) ▸*kű̃tʃə̀̃* [B59140]

kənò *n.* Hruso Aka [B33084]

kənuí? *n.* very fine sago fibres (only as compound with saN) [B46842]

sə̀̃kənuí? *n.* fine sago fibre (used to make fire in the past) [KR] ▸*sə̀̃* ▸*syn. tʃamán* [B37828]

kənjà *n.* Khoina [B54856]

kənjàdà *n.* a person from Khoina ▸*-dà²* ▸*syn. kənjàdʒi* [B58846]

kənjàdʒi *n.* Khoina village (Sartang) ▸*-dʒi²* ▸*syn. kənjàdà* [B33095]

kənjà tʰí? *n.* Khoina village ▸*tʰɬ́?* [B58838]

kərím *n.* root with celery taste [B57231]

də̀̃kərím *n.* edible root with celery taste [≠M *pɛ̃fy*] ▸*də̀̃* [B52663]

kərù batʃɛ́? *n.* Yellow-bellied Fantail (*sci. Chelidorhynx hypoxantha*) [B34062]

kələ̀̃ *adj.* intensifier for black ▸*syn. ahì* [B51022]

ahjɛ̃̀ kələ̀̃ *ex.* very black ▸*ahjɛ̃̀* ▸*syn. ahjɛ̃̀ ahì* [B51026]

kələ̀̃tʃə̀̃ *adv.* upside down [B36219]

kələ̀̃tʃə̀̃ ré? *ex.* to lie with face up, to turn around (stone, page) ▸*ré?* ▸*ant. kəzɔ̀̃ mín* [B22389]

kələ̀̃tʃáŋ kəláŋ ɬú? *ex.* to fall upside down ▸*ɬú?* [B42863]

kələ̀̃dʒə̀̃ *n.* sugarcane [=M *kəlaŋdʒaŋ*] [B28996]

kəlì (≠*kəlí*) *adj.* ① the wrong way round ② upside down [≠M *səleiɬan*] [B50227]

kəlì tsá? *ex.* to turn around ▸*tsá?* [B51557]

kəlìɬɛ̀̃ *ex.* the wrong way round ▸*-ɬɛ̀̃* [B53771]

tələ̀̃ kəlì *ex.* upside down mug/cup ▸*tələ̀̃* [B59172]

dʒi=tələ̀̃ kəlìɬɛ̀̃ *ex.* The plate is upside down. ▸*tələ̀̃*, *dʒi* [B53781]

aplɔ́̃ kəlì *ex.* the cover is upside down ▸*aplɔ́̃* [B51562]

kəlì tsá? tű́ *ex.* to put the cover upside down ▸*tsá?*, *tʰɔ̀̃* [B51567]

tɛ́dʒi kʰàmbu kəlìɬɛ̀̃ *ex.* The plate is upside down. ▸*tɛ́dʒi*, *kʰàmbu* [B53776]

kəlím *n.* fontanel [B58390]

adə̀ kəlím *n.* fontanel (soft spot on baby scull) ▸*adə̀* [B37383]

kəlí (≠*kəlì*) *n.* ① streched, tense, bow ② trap used to catch birds [B50066]

kəlí atə́̃ *n.* trap string ▸*atə́̃* [B58543]

kəlí apʰjǎ̀ *n.* trigger of kəlí trap ▸*apʰjǎ̀* [B53280]

kəlí gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* the trap is broken ▸*gjaɬɛ́ʔ* [B51081]

kəlǜ intensifier:color intensifier for white [B51031]

arjǜ kəlǜ *ex.* very white (like paper) ▸*arjǜ* [B51035]

kəlúŋ pəlúŋ *adj.* upside down [B33559]

kəljù derivation to pretend [B58562]

ìkəljù *ex.* to pretend to be dead ▸*ì* [B58563]

kəwì *n.* tear (in the eyes) [B37324]

kəwì nyɛ̀ *ex.* tears are rolling ▸*nyɛ̀* [B37328]

kəwəʃì *n.* dried bamboo shoots [B38712]

kəvɹíʔ *n.* bamboo species, grows in Bhalukpong and Sessa (is cultivated) ▸*cf. maráŋ* [B44059]

kəsá *prn.* how ▸*cf. sá* [B22397]

kəsámatʃi *adv.* somehow, at any cost ▸*=matʃi* [B57095]

kəsá ǜ *ex.* How did it happen? ▸*ǜ* [B50841]

kəsá tʃɔ̃ʔ *ex.* What happened? ▸*tʃɔ̃ʔ* [B50846]

kəsá báʔ *ex.* How is it? ▸*báʔ* [B50836]

kəsátʃi *prn.* ① how many ② how much [B22401]

nà gǜ kəsáʔtʃi tsáʔna *ex.* How much is the price. ▸*tsáʔ*, *gǜ* [B53898]

nǎ̀ arù kəsáʔtʃi tsáʔna *ex.* How much ist the price? ▸*arù* [B53903]

hǎ̀pű̀ kəsatʃi *ex.* how many days? ▸*hǎ̀pű̀* [B42056]

kəsì *n.* edible mushroom species [B58885]

míŋ kəsì *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*míŋ*⁴ [B58884]

kəsíŋ *n.* Prinia, maybe Black-throated Prinia (*sci.* *Prinia atrogularis*) [B34086]

kəsù kəbì *n.* beads ▸*cf. məréʔ* [B54824]

kəzǎ̀ *n.* hair on head ▸*cf. awamán* ▸*syn. ɔ̀ sənetʃi* [B20570]

kəzǎ̀ adʒím *ex.* soft hair [B59168]

kəzuɛ̌̀ *n.* Kojo village (Lada circle, West Kameng) ▸*cf. ruìdà*, *kətʃán* [B39844]

kəʒíʔ (≠*kədʒíʔ*) *vt.* to sharpen the sago cutting hatchet [=M *kəʒeʔ*] [B37911]

kjúʔ kəʒíʔ *ex.* to sharpen the sago chipping hatchet [=M *kjoʔ kəʒeʔ*] ▸*kjúʔ* [B37915]

kəʒɔ́ʔ *adj.* different ▸*cf. akʰɛ̀* [B22406]
kəʒɔ́ʔ prɨ́ *ex.* different (type of) person ▸*prɨ́* ▸*cf. bjatú prɨ́*, *akʰɛ̀ prɨ́* [B59173]
kəʒóʔ *n.* first stick with flag, used in the ritual [B40795]
kəʒɔ̀ *adv.* with face down, upside down [B42854]
kəʒɔ̀ plɔ́ *ex.* to fall asleep while sitting, bending the head down ▸*plɔ́*[3] [B42858]
kəʒɔ̀ mɨ́n *ex.* to lie with face down ▸*ant. kəlàtʃà̰ réʔ* [B38832]
kɔ́ʔ *vt.* to make nock of arrow [B53582]
míʔkɔ́ʔ kɔ́ʔ *ex.* to make the nock of an arrow ▸*mikɔ́ʔ* [B53586]
kɔdəgɛ́ʔ *n.* wrinkle [B37819]
kɔ.ɔ́ *n.* forehead ▸*syn. akuwa* [B55756]
kɔ́ (≠*kʰɔ̀*) *vi.* to be physically tired [B53474]
akɔ́ (≠*akʰɔ̀*) *adj.* tired ▸*a-* [B20595]
gù bamuɛ̀tʃa gù kɔ́batʃa *ex.* I cannot (work, walk) anymore being tired. ▸*muɛ̀* [B59200]
a.ì asɛ̀ kɔ́batʃa *ex.* to be extremely tired (half dead) ▸*a.ì*, *asɛ̀* [B58706]
gù bakɔ́bádɛ̀ *ex.* I am not tired yet. ▸*ba-*, *bádɛ̀* [B49747]
kóbu *n.* mythological place in the sky where all the humans came from [B58415]
kotéŋ *n.* variety of rəŋku [B15174]
kodʒoláŋ *n.* Miji proper name [B55857]
kobaréʔ *n.* Scimitar Babbler (*sci. Pomatorhinus*) [B34110]
kobɛ̀ *n.* small stick in koi trtap? [B40696]
kobo [RL] *n.* mythological place where heaven and earth meet [<M] [B39989]
konjò *n.* leaf used to make brooms [≠M *kətsɨn*] ▸*syn. kətsín* [B58520]
konjò alɔ́p *n.* leaf used to make brooms ▸*alɔ́p* [B58896]
kɔ́ (≠*kɨ́*) *vt.* to crawl, go on four legs [B50365]
avjáʔku kɔ́la vù *ex.* to crawl up a cliff ▸*avjáʔ* [B53835]
kɔ́la vù *ex.* to crawl ▸*vù* [B53830]
lím alaò kɔ́la vù *ex.* to crawl up a bad path ▸*lím* [B53840]
kɔ́kɔ́bubu *ex.* upside down, not in proper order (the way something is told or explained) [B42868]
kuí (≠*kʰuíʔ*) *vt.* to turn the body to a side [B58578]
tɛ́ɬɛ̀ kuí *ex.* to turn to the other side ▸*tɛ́ɬɛ̀* [B58579]
kuíʔ (≠*kʰuíʔ*) *vt.* to prepare sago by boiling on fire ▸*cf. bí*, *nuì* [B37985]
tʃakuí kuíʔ *ex.* to stir rice ▸*tʃakuí* [B58948]
tʃarɛ̀ kuíʔ *ex.* to prepare sago by boiling on fire ▸*tʃarɛ̀* ▸*cf. tʃarɛ̀ nuì* [B37989]

kuḯ *vi.* to roam around [B58476]

kúʔ (≠*gúʔ*, *kʰúʔ*) *vt.* to peel ▸*cf.* *kúʔù* [B51095]

kúʔù *vt.* to remove the crownshaft of a sago palm ▸*cf.* *ruə̀*, *kúʔ* [B57225]

akúʔ kúʔù *ex.* to peel the skin ▸*akúʔ* [B58953]

ʧaò akúʔ kúʔù *ex.* to remove the bark of the sago palm ▸*ʧaò*, *akúʔ* [B58954]

ʧaò kúʔù² *ex.* to remove the crownshaft of a sago palm ▸*ʧaò* [B58952]

ʧaò kúʔù *ex.* to peel the upper bark of the sago palm ▸*ʧaò* [B51091]

kukuku *intj.* INTJ (INTJ) [B56239]

kṹ (≠*kṓ*) *dem.* demonstrative pointing up (UP) ▸*ant.* *bù* [B36302]

kṹkṹhɛ̃̀ *n.* people from up ▸*-hɛ̃̀* ▸*ant.* *bùbùhɛ̃̀* [B58852]

kṹgáʔ *ex.* somewhere up there ▸*-gáʔ* [B40684]

kṹʧə̀ *ex.* above, upper ▸*aʧə̀* ▸*syn.* *aʧə̀* ▸*ant.* *alíŋ*, *ráp aɬuè* [B35664]

kṹʧə̀ vù *ex.* to go up ▸*vù* [B49301]

kṹʤi *ex.* ① up there ② the upper one ▸*ʤi* ▸*ant.* *bùʤi* [B36887]

kṹ aʧə̀ *ex.* up there ▸*aʧə̀* ▸*ant.* *bù awù* [B39735]

kṹ aʤɔ̀ *ex.* up there in the higher place ▸*aʤɔ̀* ▸*ant.* *bù aním* [B59155]

kṹ dəʤɛ́n *ex.* to float, to come out of the water [<M] ▸*dəʤɛ́n* ▸*cf.* *kʰɔ̀ lè* [B42347]

kṹ ʧì *ex.* stand up ▸*ʧì* [B43388]

kṹ ʤṹ *ex.* to lift something up with both hands ▸*ʤṹ* [B58964]

kṹ vù *ex.* to ascend ▸*vù* [B38200]

kṹʃɔ̀ *ex.* up there ▸*=ʃɔ̀* [B35657]

adì kṹʃə̀ [HL] *ex.* on the mountain ▸*adì* [B54343]

lakṹ *adv.* up there ▸*ant.* *labù* [B59236]

kṹ² *v.* crawl (of insects) [B58942]

ʤámʤúʔ pəʃéʔ pəʃéʔ kṹba *ex.* A lot of ants crawl around. ▸*ʤámʤúʔ*, *pəʃéʔ* [B58941]

kű́kú *n.* 'fake' eggplant [B49819]
kű́kú awaì *n.* fruit of fake eggplant, used as medicine for tooth pain ▸*awaí* [B49823]
kű́dʒə̀ [RL] *n.* world [B58160]
kű́dʒə̀ bəlíŋ [RL] *n.* the whole world ▸*bəlíŋ* [B58168]
kű́dʒín *n.* China [B34965]
kű́dʒín² [HL] *n.* man ▸*cf. apʰɔ̀* [B54235]
kű́bu [HL] *n.* mithun ▸*cf. susù* [B53100]
kʰàmbu *n.* bowl, plate [≠M *gaʔ*] ▸*syn. gáʔ³* [B33566]

kámbu plő́rika *n.* lid, cover of a pot ▸*-rika*, *plő́* [B43219]
kʰàmbudə̀ *n.* bowl ▸*-də̀²* [B43214]
kʰàmbu arà *ex.* a big bowl ▸*arà* [B53202]
kʰàmbu azì *ex.* a small bowl ▸*azì* [B53207]
ʧakám gámbu *n.* wood bowl used by the Monpas [not Monpa=M] ▸*ʧakám* [B40230]
tédʒi kʰàmbu kəlìɬɛ̀ *ex.* The plate is upside down. ▸*tédʒi*, *kəlì* [B53776]
kʰèdə̀ *n.* Chug people [B34227]
kʰì *vi.* to fly [B22411]
kʰìgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to fly and disappear (e.g. birds) ▸*gɛ́ʔ* [B43016]
kʰìdʒṵ̀ *ex.* the birds all flew away ▸*dʒṵ̀* [B50472]
kʰìpʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* to reach flying ▸*-pʰɛ́ʔ* [B39646]
kʰìpʰíʔ *ex.* to fly away (of a bird when followed by hunters) ▸*-pʰíʔ* [B43383]
kʰì ṵ̀ *ex.* to go flying ▸*ṵ̀* [B38694]
kʰìvjə̀ *ex.* to fly over (a mountain) ▸*vjə̀* [B40074]
tsəmuì tsəwoì bráʔ bráʔ kʰìbaro *ex.* A lot of bees are flying. ▸*tsəmuí*, *tsəwoì*, *bráʔ* [B58940]
kʰìm *vt.* to pile in an ordered way (e.g. wood) ▸*cf. dʒuéʔ* [B51367]
kalíŋ kʰìm pile.stones to pile stones in an ordered way ▸*kalíŋ* [B59141]
ʃì̀ kʰìm *ex.* to pile wood in an ordered way ▸*ʃì̀* [B59142]
ʃì̀ kʰìmla lì *ex.* to make an ordered pile of wood ▸*ʃì̀* [B51371]
kʰɨ̀ (≠*kɬ́*) *vi.* ① to whirl, to swirl, to fly (of smoke or dust) ② to pour something solid from a bottle (e.g. flour, rice) ▸*cf. ɬíʔ* [B38626]
kʰɨ̀bəhjáʔ *ex.* smoke pungently ▸*bəhjáʔ* [B59177]
bɛ̀kʰɨ̀ (≠*bakʰɬ́*) *n.* smoke ▸*bɛ̀* [B15457]
bakʰɨ̀ bəhjáʔba *ex.* The smoke is pungent. ▸*bəhjáʔ* [B59178]
bɛkʰɨ̀ kʰɨ̀ *ex.* it smokes ▸*bɛ̀* [B36597]
məhjɛ̀móʔ kʰɨ̀ *ex.* dust ist swirling around ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B20647]
məhjɛ̀ kɨ́ *ex.* dust is swirling around ▸*məhjɛ̀* ▸*cf. məhjɛ̀mɔ* [B44124]
kʰɔ̀ (≠*kʰɔ̀*, *kɔ́*) *n.* ① water ② river ▸*cf. akʰɔ̀*, *mətʃím* [B28878]
aruì kʰɔ̀ *n.* amniotic fluid ▸*aruì* [B36953]
kɛtúŋ kʰɔ̀ *n.* mythological water reservoir deep inside the earth

▸*kɛtúŋ* [B55835]

kɔ́ láŋkuí? *ex.* that side of the river ▸*làkuí?* [B39283]

kɔ́sjɛ̀hám *n.* cyst ▸*ahám* ▸*syn. abədʑì* [B37252]

kʰɔ̀tíŋ *n.* ▸*atíŋ*[2] [B58874]

kʰɔ̀ atíŋ *n.* spring ▸*atíŋ*[2] [B58875]

kʰɔ̀ atʰṳ̀ hɛ̃̀ *n.* water spirits ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *atʰṳ̀* ▸*cf. pʰìŋ atʰṳ̀ hɛ̃̀* [B54916]

kʰɔ̀ arà *n.* big river ▸*arà* [B42756]

kʰɔ̀ aràbaro *ex.* There is a flood. ▸*arà* [B58866]

kʰɔ̀ arɪ́? *ex.* deep water ▸*arɪ́?* [B53758]

kʰɔ̀ kasuɛ́? *n.* waterfall ▸*kasuɛ́?* [B42761]

kʰɔ̀ tí *ex.* to scoop water (from a bucket) ▸*tʰì* [B43297]

kʰɔ̀ təm *ex.* to warm water ▸*təm* [B50988]

kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* to scoop out water ▸*tʰì*, *lè* [B59109]

kʰɔ̀ dədʒɛ́n *ex.* to float on the water [=M *vɪɪ dədʒɛn*] ▸*dədʒɛ́n* [B53845]

kʰɔ̀ ʧì *ex.* to scoop water ▸*ʧì*[5] [B53939]

kʰɔ̀ ʧɪ̀ *ex.* to take water from the pipe ▸*ʧɪ̀*[2] [B43287]

kʰɔ̀ ʧɪ̀la lè *ex.* to take water ▸*ʧɪ̀*[2], *lè* [B59064]

kʰɔ̀ ʧuì *n.* water animals ▸*ʧuì* ▸*ant. pʰìŋ ʃì* [B58496]

kʰɔ̀ tsaò *ex.* the water boils [≠M *vuu ʧɪn*] ▸*tsaò* [B43544]

kʰɔ̀ dzaù *ex.* the water flows ▸*dzaù* [B39119]

kʰɔ̀ dzɛ̀ *ex.* to walk through the water (to cross a river) ▸*dzɛ̀*[3] [B53825]

kʰɔ̀ pʰuì *ex.* ▸*pʰuì* ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀ suì* [B58616]

kʰɔ̀ nukuí? *ex.* this side of the river ▸*nukuí?* [B39278]

kʰɔ̀ nyɛ̀ *ex.* the water flows ▸*nyɛ̀* [B38812]

kʰɔ̀ rɔ̃̀ *ex.* to step over the water (small river) ▸*rɔ̃̀* [B50280]

kʰɔ̀ lè *ex.* the river carries something away ▸*cf. kṹ dədʒén* [B22440]

kʰɔ̀ wá? *n.* Hippopotamos, lit. 'water pig' (neologism) ▸*wá?* [B55538]

kʰɔ̀ vùvjáŋ *ex.* To go across a river. ▸*vù*, *vjà̃* [B55389]

kʰɔ̀ səmán *n.* (mythological man eating) crocodile ▸*səmán* ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀pí* [B40389]

kʰɔ̀ suì *ex.* to make a ritual for the water spirits ▸*suì* ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀ pʰuì* [B59027]

kʰɔ̀ sjɛ̀ *ex.* to urinate ▸*sjɛ̀* [B20640]

kʰɔ̀ ʃjáŋ *ex.* to swim ▸*ʃjáŋ* [B38798]

kʰɔ̀ ɬɪ́? *ex.* to pour water ▸*ɬɪ́?* [B39369]

kʰɔ̀ haò *ex.* the water flushes [≠M *vɪɪ ʤao*] ▸*haù* [B53850]

kʰɔ̀rà *n.* flood ▸*arà* [B38670]

kʰɔ̀rà[2] *n.* big river ▸*arà* [B58466]

kʰɔ̀lɪ́ŋ dzɪ́m *ex.* to submerge in the water ▸*dzɪ́m*, *-lɪ́ŋ* [B54021]

kʰɔ̀sɪ̀ *n.* confluence of two rivers ▸*sə̀* [B56766]

kʰɔlù *n.* bamboo section for boiling water [B57486]

kʰɔlù tsaòbatʃa *ex.* the bamboo is boiling ▸*tsaò* [B57491]

gəmán kʰɔ̀ *n.* Kameng river ▸*gəmán* [B41099]

təkɹé? kʰɔ̀ *n.* name of river in the main valley [M *təkɹevu*] ▸*təkɹé?* [B41109]

dámdáŋkʰɔ̀ *n.* river between

Mathow and Bulu ▸*dámdáŋ* [B41114]

pulɔ̀ kʰɔ̀ *n.* river between old Bulu and modern Bulu ▸*pulɔ̀* [B41122]

pʰɨ̀ŋ pʰuì kʰɔ̀ suì *ex.* to make rituals to the water and the mountain spirits ▸*pʰɨ̀ŋ*, *pʰuì*, *suì* [B59028]

ˈkʰɔ̀ tsɔ̀̃ *ex.* in the middle of the river ▸*atsɔ̀̃* [B41981]

atsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀ *ex.* hot water ▸*atsɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn.* *kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ* [B58590]

kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ *n.* hot water ▸*atsɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn.* *atsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀* [B58591]

kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀lə́m *n.* mythological river, hot water [M *vɨ́zu vɨ́lu*] ▸*alə́m*, *atsɛ́ʔ* ▸*cf.* *vɨ́zù vɨ́lù* [B40024]

kʰɔ̀ kŭtʃǎ haùla rɨ *ex.* ▸*kŭtʃǎ*, *haù* [B59189]

kʰɔ̀lə́m *n.* warm water ▸*alə́m* [B58465]

kʰɔ̀pǎ́ *n.* fish trap (made from bamboo) [=M *vupaŋ*] ▸*syn.* *vìdzɨ̀*, *vupáŋ* [B44410]

kʰɔpǎ́ pǎ́ *ex.* to make fish traps ▸*páŋ* [B57990]

kʰɔ̀pí *n.* (mythological, man eating) crocodile ▸*cf.* *vínsjɛ́ʔ*, *pŭ́tumjɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn.* *wɹ́mbututu*, *kʰɔ̀ səmán* [B22428]

kʰɔtɨ́ŋ (*var.* of *katɨ́ŋ*) *adv.* upstream [B58312]

kʰɔpʰíʔ (*var.* *kapʰíʔ*) *n.* small stream with water ▸*cf.* *apʰíʔ*, *kahɔ̀̃* [B15482]

kʰɔ̀̃ (≠*kʰɔ̀*) *vt.* to share [B33756]

agù̃ kʰɔ̃̀ri *ex.* to share half ▸*agù̃* [B39182]

kʰɔ̀̃ri *ex.* to share (with someone) ▸*-ri²* [B39177]

gəhenɨ́ʔ kʰɔ̀̃ri *ex.* We two share. ▸*-ri²*, *gəsenɨ́ʔ* [B53314]

gjaɬɛ́ʔla kʰɔ̀̃ *ex.* to break and share ▸*-ɬɛ́ʔ* [B39531]

kʰoì (≠*goì*) *vt.* to shake the head as for saying "no!" [B43669]

akŭ́ kʰoì *ex.* ① to shake the head as for saying "no!" ② to turn the head to one side ▸*akŭ́* ▸*cf.* *akŭ́ rɨ́p* [B43665]

agɛ́ʔ kʰoì *ex.* to shake the hand for saying "no!" ▸*agɛ́ʔ* [B43674]

kʰoìgo *ex.* to shake the head ▸*-go* [B57794]

kʰotʃɨ *n.* fish [B35302]

kʰuɛ́ʔ *vt.* to scrape, to peel (the skin of a tuber or cane) ▸*cf.* *ɬuɛ́ʔ²* [B41209]

akúʔ kuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to peel the skin of cane ▸*akúʔ* [B44288]

tʃjáʔ kuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to peel taro by scraping with the knife (after roasting in the fire) ▸*tʃjáʔ* [B51245]

dʒə̀ kʰuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to peel yam by scraping (after roasting in the fire) ▸*dʒə̀* [B41213]

simín kʰuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to scrape the cement (from wood planks) ▸*simín* [B49711]

kʰuíʔ (≠*kuíʔ*, *kuí*) *vt.* to enter [≠M *kɹiʔ*] ▸*cf.* *zə̀̃* ▸*ant.* *pɔ̃́* [B34491]

akjǎ́ kʰuíʔ *ex.* to go inside a hole (of a rat) ▸*akjǎ́* [B53506]

wúʔ kʰuíʔ *ex.* to go inside a cave ▸*wúʔ* [B55570]

hám kuíʔ *ex.* to move in (a new constructed house) ▸*hám* [B53501]

kʰù *n.* owl [B35247]

kʰúʔ (≠*kúʔ*) *v.* to climb up a steep terrain [B38214]

azɔ̀̃ kʰúʔ *ex.* to climb up a slope ▸*azɔ̀̃*

[B38210]

kʰǔ̀kʰu *n.* pigeon (*sci. Columba*) [B33965]

kʰjèndə̀ *n.* one of the clans in West Kameng, extinct ▸*cf. ʤíntʃó?*, *bù.adə̀* [B11046]

kjáŋ *vi.* to dry [B56294]

kjé (≠*akjɛí*) *n.* stick, walking stick ▸*cf. ʃìbə̀̃* [B22415]

kjé ʤuì *ex.* to walk supported on a walking stick ▸*ʤuì* [B58894]

kjé ʤuìla vù *ex.* to go supported on stick ▸*vù* [B58895]

kjé gjałé? *ex.* the stick broke ▸*gjałé?* [B58270]

kjéla ɛ̀̃ dyɛ́? *ex.* to scratch the ground with a stick ▸*dyɛ́?*, *=la.ɛ̀̃* [B49938]

kjɛí *vt.* to dig, scratch the soil ▸*syn. dyɛ́?* [B58987]

mədyì məhjɛ̀̃ kjɛí *ex.* The chicken dig the soil (with the foot). ▸*mədyì*, *məhjɛ̀̃* [B58989]

kjém (*var. kjén*) *n.* big deadfall trap, where tree stems fall down on the prey [≠M *ʧɛ?*] [B40337]

kʰjèm ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a kjɛm trap ▸*ʒə̀* [B40341]

kjémpɔ́? *n.* part of kjɛm trap ▸*apʰɔ́?* [B40479]

kjém kawɔ́? *n.* small rope in deadfall trap ▸*kawɔ́?* [B58750]

kjém kí? *ex.* to catch with a kjɛm trap ▸*kí?* [B42918]

kjém pʰuɨ̀̃ *ex.* to open a kjɛm trap ▸*puɨ́̃* [B43997]

kjɛ́mp *n.* camp [B55882]

kjémpaí *n.* small deadfall trap made from stone to catch rats [<M] ▸*syn. rɔ̀rín* [B40432]

kjémpaí ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a kjɛmpai trap ▸*ʒə̀* [B40436]

kjén (*var.* of *kjém*) *n.* big deadfall trap [B50704]

kjó? (*var.* of *kjú?*) *n.* sago hatchet [M *kjo?*] [B53518]

kjomúŋ *n.* spring onion [<M *Miji*] ▸*syn. mə̀̃²* [B22420]

kjú? (*var. kjó?*) *n.* bamboo tube for chipping the sago trunk into fibres. Is made from matsu? bamboo since this is the hardest variety. [=M *kjo?*] ▸*cf. kiʧə̀̃* [B14588]

kjú? avì *ex.* a sharp kju? ▸*avì* [B40736]

kjú? kəʒí? *ex.* to sharpen the sago chipping hatchet [=M *kjo? kəʒe?*] ▸*kəʒí?* [B37915]

krá *n.* mythological elder brother of the forefathers of the Puroiks, he killed the bad sun which used to burn the soil ▸*cf. krúŋ* ▸*syn. dzánwáŋ* [B49075]

krápʰɔ̀ [RL] *n.* ▸*-pʰɔ̀* [B56771]

krábu *n.* one of the clans of West Kameng, extinct ▸*-bu²* [B11070]

krá krúŋ *n.* brother pair who are said to be the forefathers of the Puroiks in Bulu. *krá* is elder and *krúŋ* is younger ▸*krúŋ* ▸*cf. tsabríŋ grabrín*, *nəmò nəhù* [B43813]

səlu katún ʃəʒən damó? *n.* mythological forefather [B43823]

krá? *vi.* to snore [B37744]

kráŋlíŋ *n.* low cast [=M] ▸*cf. pəsù* [B29064]

kráŋlíŋ ljáŋ *n.* low cast [=M *kraŋlíŋ ljaŋ*] ▸*ljáŋ* [B42707]

kré *vi.* ① to move in a circle or in circles ② to turn (a stone) ③ to roll down ④ to turn rounds in the sky (for birds) ⑤ to go around ▸*syn. huɨ̀²* [B35160]

kalíŋ kré *ex.* a stone rolls down ▸*kalíŋ* [B39584]

kré ǔ *ex.* to roll down ▸*ǔ* [B44175]

hamì kré *ex.* the sun is going down (between noon and sunset) ▸*hamì* [B50300]

haníŋlíŋ kré *ex.* to circle in the sky (of birds) ▸*haníŋ* [B58479]

krí *n.* cable car bridge over river [B41280]

krí ʧì *ex.* to go by cable car [B41384]

krí pǎ *ex.* to stretch a cable car bridge (over a river) ▸*pǎ* [B58536]

kríźáŋ *n.* cable car with iron rope ▸*záŋ* ▸*syn. záŋkrí* [B41493]

rìkrí *n.* cablecar made from cane ▸*rì³* [B41498]

záŋkrí *n.* iron cablecar ▸*záŋ* ▸*syn. kríźáŋ* [B41503]

krín *v.* ① to join, to connect ② to be joined, to be connected [=M *dəkɯ́n*] [B55820]

atǎ lèla krín *ex.* to connect with a rope [M *mətaŋ dəkɯ́n*] ▸*atǎ* ▸*syn. atǎ lèla tyǐ* [B59185]

laìt atǎ krín *ex.* to connect electric wires ▸*laìt*, *atǎ* [B58535]

krɔ́ *vi.* to be empty (for trap) [B58381]

krɔ́kí? *v.* sprung and empty, for a trap which was triggered without trapping the prey ▸*kí?* [B40444]

krɔ́̌ *n.* spear [≠M *dzo?*] [B35972]

krol *num.* crore (ten million) [<IA Hindi करोड़ *karoṛ*] [B57607]

krolʧì *num.* one crore (ten million) [<IA Hindi करोड़ karoṛ] ▸*-ʧí* [B41649]

kruí? *vt.* to stir something [B58949]

mè kruí? *ex.* to stir vegetables ▸*mè* [B58950]

krúŋ *n.* mythical forefather of the Bulu Puroiks ▸*cf. krá* [B49084]

krá krúŋ *n.* brother pair who are

said to be the forefathers of the Puroiks in Bulu. *krá* is elder and *krúŋ* is younger ▸*krá* ▸*cf. tsabŕíŋ grabŕín*, *nəmò nəhù* [B43813]

krúŋpʰɔ̀ [RL] *n.* ▸*-pʰɔ̀* [B56775]

krúŋbu *n.* one of the clans of West Kameng, extinct ▸*-bu²* [B11074]

krjaó *vi.* paralysed, cramped (unable to open hand or foot) [B37002]

akrjaó *adj.* cramped, paralysed ▸*a-* [B43029]

agéʔ krjaó *ex.* paralysed arm ▸*agéʔ* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ krjaó* [B37006]

alɛ̀ krjaó *n.* paralysed leg ▸*alɛ̀* ▸*cf. agéʔ krjaó* [B36998]

krjǎ́ *vi.* to be clear (of the sky in the night) ▸*cf. asã̀* [B52981]

hám krjǎ́ *ex.* the sky is clear (in the night) ▸*hám²* [B52988]

klá *prn.* where [B14598]

kláme *ex.* Where might he be? ▸*=mɛ* [B58827]

klálapu *prn.* from where? ▸*=lapu* [B39311]

kláʃɔ̃̀ *prn.* where ▸*=ʃɔ̃̀* [B22393]

gù aróʔ klá vùbamɛ *ex.* Where might my friend have gone? ▸*-bamɛ* [B58826]

gáʔ (≠*gɛ́ʔ*) *vt.* to ask for a woman's hand, discuss bride price, make marriage arrangements [B28518]

mərù gáʔ *ex.* to ask for a woman's hand ▸*mərù* [B38942]

mərù gáʔvù *n.* to go and ask for a woman's hand ▸*mərù* [B42781]

gáʔ² *n.* road block (police, army, enemy) [B58204]

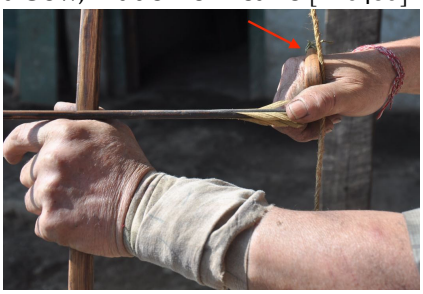
gáʔ gã̀ *ex.* to block a road (in order to prevent people to pass e.g. police or army check post) ▸*gã̀* ▸*syn. bán tsáʔ* [B58208]

lím gáʔ gã̀ *ex.* to block a road (in order to prevent people to pass e.g. police or army check post) ▸*lím*, *gã̀* [B59075]

gáʔ³ *n.* bowl, plate [=M] ▸*syn. kʰàmbu* [B49412]

gatʃíʔ (*var.* of *gatʃíp*) *n.* hand protection for archery [B58318]

gatʃíp (*var. gatʃíʔ*) (≠*katʃíp*) *n.* hand protection for pulling the string of a bow, made from cane [B20480]



gadʒéŋ *n.* millet [B20503]

gadʒo *n.* [B56276]

gadʒo galɛgjóŋ [RL] *n.* evening star, appears just after sunset. It is believed to be a female deity being the queen of other stars ▸*galɛgjóŋ* ▸*cf. hə̃̀waíʔ atʰũ̀*, *tarə̀ pʰidigjáŋ* [B55358]

gámbɔ̀ *n.* front side ▸*ant. krɔ̃́dzéʔ* [B42991]

gámbɔ̀ɬɛ̀ *ex.* ahead ▸*-ɬɛ̃̀* ▸*ant. krɔ̃́dzeɬɛ̃̀* [B42985]

gánta *n.* hour [< IA Hindi] [B57051]

gántatʃi *n.* one hour ▸*-tʃi* [B57060]

gari *n.* car [<IA Hindi गाड़ी *gāḍī*] [B50318]

gari tʃɔ̀ *ex.* to sit in the car ▸*tʃɔ̀* [B50314]

galɛgjóŋ *n.* [B56279]

gadʒo galɛgjóŋ [RL] *n.* evening star, appears just after sunset. It is believed to be a female deity

being the queen of other stars ▸*gadʒo* ▸*cf. hə̀waiʔ atʰû*, *tarə̀ pʰidigjáŋ* [B55358]

gə̀ *v.* to close, to block ▸*cf. -gə̀* ▸*syn. dəgə̀* [B44364]

gáʔ gə̀ *ex.* to block a road (in order to prevent people to pass e.g. police or army check post) ▸*gáʔ*[2] ▸*syn. bán tsáʔ* [B58208]

lím gáʔ gə̀ *ex.* to block a road (in order to prevent people to pass e.g. police or army check post) ▸*lím*, *gáʔ*[2] [B59075]

sàgə̀ *ex.* to close the river for fishing [B51577]

hóʔgə̀ *ex.* to be stuck with the clothes on a branch or thorns ▸*hóʔ*[2] [B51363]

gə̀[2] *vt.* to lift with a stick (e.g. a stone) [B53855]

gə̀wɔ̀ *ex.* to lift (a heavy stone) with a wood log [B53859]

gə̀gəì *n.* vegetable plant [≠M *uzi'pa*] [B49355]

gɛ́ʔ (≠*gáʔ*) *vi.* ① to disappear, get lost ② to be extinguished [B40268]

kʰìgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to fly and disappear (e.g. birds) ▸*kʰì* [B43016]

gɛ́ʔù *ex.* to get lost, to disappear ▸*ù* [B42997]

tsáʔgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to extinguish the fire (not completely, but just take out the wood pieces to burn it again later) ▸*tsáʔ* ▸*cf. wɛ́ʔ* [B35707]

bè tsáʔgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to extinguish a fire ▸*tsáʔ*, *bè* ▸*cf. bè wɛ́ʔ* [B38656]

mənè gɛ́ʔù *ex.* the things get lost ▸*ù* [B43007]

ɬíʔgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to extinguish by pouring water ▸*ɬíʔ* [B35712]

ɬúʔgɛ́ʔ *vi.* it fell down and disappeared ▸*ɬúʔ* [B43002]

gíʔ (≠*səgì*, *gì*, *kíʔ*) *vt.* ① to count ② to read ▸*cf. séʔ* [B16390]

gíʔtán *ex.* to teach in the school ▸*-tán* ▸*cf. hìtán* [B51469]

níŋla gíʔ *ex.* to see and read ▸*níŋ* [B54755]

sánʒi gíʔ *ex.* to read, to study ▸*sánʒi* [B51806]

séʔna gíʔna *ex.* ▸*séʔ* [B58659]

gíndíŋ *n.* kitchen mortar [B22303]

maljù gíndíŋ *n.* kitchen mortar ▸*maljù* [B36232]

gilán *n.* ring on finger [=M] [B34495]

gì (≠*gíʔ*) *vt.* ① to follow ② to hunt ③ to help ④ to run behind ⑤ to drive away [B22713]

gìpɹo gìmɹo *ex.* to chase in different directions [M *sepro semro*] ▸*-pɹo*, *-mɹo* [B57784]

gìrín *ex.* to run behind someone ▸*rín* [B57584]

gìfíntʃuéʔ *ex.* to chase away ▸*fín* [B57589]

tʃúʔgìbo *ex.* Help digging! ▸*-bo*, *tʃúʔ* [B53022]

rakíŋ gì *ex.* to run behind ▸*rakíŋ* ▸*cf. rakíŋ vù* [B53796]

vèku gìna *ex.* to follow someone ▸*=ku* [B54570]

susù gì *ex.* to drive away mithuns ▸*susù* [B38994]

ʃì gìvù *ex.* ① to hunt ② to drive

away ▸*ʃì* [B36031]

gədì *n.* Nyishi [B33075]

gədì zɛ̀̀ *n.* the Nyishi tribe ▸*zɛ̀̀*[2] [B42698]

gədúŋ [HL] *n.* bow ▸*cf. lɨ̀* [B15106]

gətʃín *n.* edible mushroom species [B58882]

míŋ gətʃín *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*míŋ*[4] [B58883]

gə́m *vt.* to cut into pieces ▸*cf. tsɛ̀̀* ▸*syn. rám* [B33187]

atű atű gə́m *ex.* to cut into short pieces ▸*atű* [B51017]

atű gə́m *ex.* to cut into pieces ▸*atű* [B39051]

apjǎ apjǎ gə́m *ex.* to cut a tree into long pieces ▸*apʰjǎ* [B51012]

alɛ̀ gə́m *ex.* to pull out legs ▸*alɛ̀* [B52993]

ʃì gə́m *ex.* to cut a tree trunk into short pieces ▸*ʃì̀* [B39526]

gəməì *n.* flirty things [B42837]

gəməì rì *ex.* to flirt, to tease ▸*rì* [B42833]

gəmə́n *n.* Kameng river (the one coming from Seppa, going down to Bhalukpong) [B41095]

gəmə́n kʰɔ̀ *n.* Kameng river ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B41099]

nɛ́ʔ gəmə́n *n.* tari, stinky bugs, species living near the Kameng river ▸*nɛ́ʔ*[2] ▸*cf. nɛ́ʔ*[2] [B41086]

gəmə́ŋdúŋlo [RL] *n.* [B56436]

rùʃǎtso gəmə́ŋ dúŋlo [RL] *n.* forefathers of the king's cast of the Mijis ▸*rùʃǎtso* [B55639]

gəjù *adj.* happy, jolly [=M *gəjuu*] [B41447]

sətú kəjù *ex.* happy and jolly ▸*sətú*[2] ▸*syn. lũsíʔ lũbuɛ̃̀* [B41451]

gəlaíʔ *vi.* to wane, to be half (of moon phase), [=M *gəlaiʔ*] [B46852]

hǎ̀bɔ gəlaíʔ *ex.* the moon phase is waning [≠M *luu gəlaiʔ*] ▸*hǎ̀bɔ* ▸*syn. hǎ̀bɔ aì* [B41740]

hǎ̀bu gəlaíʔ *ex.* the moon phase is waning [=M *luu gəlaiʔ*] ▸*hǎ̀bɔ* [B57331]

gələ́n *vi.* ▸*cf. gulù* [B55775]

gulù gələ́n [RL] *ex.* pray, make rituals (general also for Hindu rituals) [M *gulu gələn*] ▸*gulù* ▸*syn. míŋ ʃʃɛ̃̀, míŋ* [B35338]

gəlúŋ [HL] *adj.* hot ▸*cf. ahjáʔ* [B54474]

mətʃím gəlúŋ [HL] *ex.* hot water ▸*mətʃím* [B54469]

gəwán [HL] *n.* patridge [B59209]

gəwán dərù [HL] *n.* patridge ▸*dərù*[2] ▸*cf. mù̀brɨ̀* [B54245]

gəwɛ́ʔ [HL] *n.* bird [=M *gəwɛʔ*] ▸*cf. pədù* [B52038]

gəwɛ́nku ʒɛ́ʔ [HL] *ex.* to shoot a bird ▸*ʒɛ́ʔ* [B54456]

gəwɛ́ntʃín [HL] *n.* polenta, cooked maize ▸*cf. məpʰìn tʃakuí* [B52492]

gəwɛ́ntʃín mǎ̀ [HL] *ex.* to make polenta ▸*mǎ̀* [B52487]

gəwɛ́nʃɔ̃̀ ríʔ [HL] *n.* field ▸*cf. ríʔ*[2] [B53110]

gəvúŋ [HL] *n.* quiver ▸*cf. záp* [B52162]

gəseníʔ (*var. gəheníʔ*) *prn.* 1DU, we two (1DU) ▸*cf. níʔ* [B20553]

gəheníʔ kʰɔ̃̀ri *ex.* We two share. ▸*-ri*[2], *kʰɔ̃̀* [B53314]

gəheníʔ tatíʔ *ex.* we two alone, we two only ▸*tatíʔ* [B53752]

gəhenitʃúŋ *prn.* between the two of us ▸*-tatʃũ̀* [B36242]

gəsɨ́n *n.* nail of hand or foot [B41517]

agéʔ gəsɨ́n *n.* ① fingernail ② claw of an animal ▸*agéʔ* [B16324]

alɛ̀ gəsɨ́n *n.* nail of foot ▸*alɛ̀* [B41513]

gəʒíʔ [HL] *adj.* cold ▸*cf. atʃì* [B54478]
səkó gəʒíʔ [HL] *ex.* the hands are cold ▸*səkó* [B54482]
gəheníʔ (*var.* of *gəseníʔ*) *prn.* 1DU (1DU) [B58403]
gəheníʔtatʃǔ kíri *ex.* We beat each other. ▸*-tatʃǔ*, *kí*, *-ri²* [B58779]
gəheníʔtatʃǔ níŋrikəpáŋ *ex.* We see each other. ▸*-tatʃǔ*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58783]
gəheníʔtatʃǔ ʃéʔri *ex.* We two beat eachother. ▸*-tatʃǔ*, *ʃéʔ*, *-ri²* [B58780]
gɔ̀ì (≠*goì*) *n.* Tree with pink flowers blooming in October/November. This is around the time when the snakes disappear for hibernating. It is said that the snakes snake are affraid of the pink flowers. [≠M *ʃɪʤaŋ*] [B49339]

goì (≠*gɔì*, *kʰoì*) *n.* ① sling ② small sling trap to catch birds [B38044]
goì goì *ex.* to make a sling ▸*syn. goì gjáʔ* [B40428]
goì goìla lì *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*lì* [B58993]
goì gjáʔ *ex.* to make a sling ▸*gjáʔ* ▸*syn. goì goì* [B43083]
goì gjáʔla ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*gjáʔ*, *ʒə̀* [B58992]
goì pə̃́ *ex.* to get trapped in the sling trap ▸*pə̃́* [B51358]
goì zə̀̃ *ex.* to make a rope ▸*zə̀̃²* [B41867]
goì ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a koi trap ▸*ʒə̀* [B38052]
goì ɬjaù *ex.* to open the koi trap ▸*ɬjaù* [B43988]
mə̀̃brɨ̀ goì *n.* sling trap to catch patridges ▸*mə̀̃brɨ̀* [B54378]
goì² *v.* to make a sling (trap) [B55935]
goì³ *v.* to winnow with left-right movement [B38422]
katʃíp míŋ goì *ex.* to winnow with left-right movement ▸*katʃíp* [B59100]
míŋ goì *ex.* to winnow ▸*míŋ* [B58994]
gòrjo [RL] *n.* [B55779]
gòrjo kɛ́̃kamɛ́ʔ [RL] *n.* name of deity ▸*kɛ́̃kamɛ́ʔ* [B40248]
gòrjo ʧə̀̃tʃə̃́dɛ́ʔ [RL] *n.* name of deity ▸*ʧə̀̃tʃə̃́dɛ́ʔ* [B40252]
gopi *n.* Cuckoo (*sci.* *Hierococcyx*) [B33977]
gormə́n *n.* government [<Eng] [B35383]
hə̀̃tʃə̀̃ gormə́n *ex.* nowadays government ▸*hə̀̃tʃə̀̃* [B58688]
gorjə̀̃ *n.* taro species [M *gorjõ*] [B49577]
gə̀̃də̀ mərò *n.* tumour [B36908]
guɛ́ʔ *n.* handspan (thumb tip to index tip) [B37066]
guɛ́ʔpjə̃́ *n.* distance from tip of thumb to tip of middle finger ▸*pjə̃́* [B38239]
guɛ́ʔpjə̃́tʃi *n.* one hand span ▸*-tʃi* [B58453]
guɛ́ʔ tyí *ex.* one handspan ▸*tʰyì* [B41819]
guɛ́ʔ prɛí *ex.* to measure handspans ▸*prɛí* [B37074]
guɛ́ʔ ɱm *ex.* three handspans ▸*ɱm* [B41829]
guɛ́ʔ níʔ *ex.* two handspans ▸*níʔ*

[B41824]

guɛ́ʔtúŋ *n.* distance from tip of index to tip of thumb [B38234]

gù *prn.* 1SG (1SG) [B15322]

gù agjáŋ *ex.* my life ▸*agjǎ* [B43045]

gù alè náŋ *ex.* My leg is paining. ▸*náŋ*, *alè* [B54035]

gù tatíʔʧi *ex.* me alone ▸*tatíʔ* [B41970]

gù vèǔ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will steal his knife. ▸*-ǔ*, *ʧi²*, *rjaò²* ▸*syn. gù vètű̀ ʧi rjaòna* [B59031]

gutaʒu *prn.* me myself ▸*=taʒu* [B51484]

gù vètű̀ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will the knife steal from him. ▸*-tű̀*, *ʧi²*, *rjaò²* ▸*syn. gù vèǔ ʧi rjaòna* [B59030]

gutű̀ *ex.* with me ▸*-tű̀* [B38788]

gúʔ (≠*kúʔ*) *n.* moss [=M *guʔ*] ▸*cf. kafaì* [B15750]

uʒò̰ gúʔ [HL] *n.* moss ▸*uʒò̰* [B54322]

gunán *n.* name of the gaonbura dress [B41318]

gunán ándə̀ *n.* red gaonbura jacket ▸*andə̀* [B41327]

gulu [RL] *n.* [B56925]

tani gulu [RL] *n.* very long snake species ▸*tani* ▸*syn. bumu rjə̀tsáʔ* [B55687]

gulù *v.* ▸*cf. gəlán* [B55771]

gulù gəlán [RL] *ex.* pray, make rituals (general also for Hindu rituals) [M *gulu gələn*] ▸*gəlán* ▸*syn. míŋ ʃʃɛ̃̀*, *míŋ* [B35338]

gǔ̀ *n.* price [=M *guN*] ▸*syn. arù* [B50133]

nà gǔ̀ kəsáʔʧi tsáʔna *ex.* How much is the price. ▸*tsáʔ*, *kəsátʃi* [B53898]

gǔ² *n.* backside of house, opposite entrance (only as compound) [B58916]

hə̀gǔ̀ *n.* backside of house (opposite entrance) ▸*hám* ▸*cf. hə̀wù*, *hə̀ʧə̀* ▸*ant. hámdzéʔ* [B38516]

gjáʔ *vt.* to make a sling trap [B40554]

goì gjáʔ *ex.* to make a sling ▸*goì* ▸*syn. goì goì* [B43083]

goì gjáʔla ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*goì*, *ʒə̀* [B58992]

ʧíʔ gjáʔ *ex.* to make a sling ▸*ʧíʔ* [B43079]

gjahə̰̀ *vi.* alive [B35702]

tsú gahjə̰̀ *ex.* to come out of the egg ▸*tsú* [B35698]

gjə̀ *vi.* to live, to grow up, to thrive ▸*cf. agjə̀* [B40264]

gjə̀la rɨ̀ *ex.* to grow up ▸*rɨ̀* [B50983]

gjə̀sɛ̀ *ex.* to prosper ▸*sɛ̀* [B51376]

bagjə̀də̀ basɛ̀də̀ *ex.* do not let them live and prosper, don't let them become rich ▸*-də̀*, *sɛ̀* [B40783]

adə̀fu gjə̀ *ex.* for the lifetime of your sons ▸*adə̀fu* [B49406]

gjə̀² *n.* life ▸*syn. agjə̀* [B55800]

gjɛ́ʔ *v.* to be broken, to fall down (of bamboo) [B39129]

tíʔgjɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut (a tree), so that breaks and falls down ▸*tíʔ* [B33177]

matsúʔ gjɛ́ʔʧa *ex.* the bamboo fell down ▸*matsúʔ* [B49378]

ʃì̀ gjɛ́ʔ *ex.* the wood is broken ▸*ʃì̀* [B39133]

gjɛnì (*var.* *ʤjɛnì*) *n.* yesterday ▸*syn.* *ʤirjɛnì* [B58471]

gráŋmu [RL] *n.* [B56440]

dələ̀ gráŋmu *n.* Sangti valley ▸*dələ̀*[2] [B58858]

sə̀tʃi grãmu [RL] *n.* Sangti valley [<M] ▸*sə̀tʃi* [B55295]

grì *prn.* we (1PL) [B14544]

grì tʰíʔ *ex.* our village ▸*tʰíʔ* [B42326]

grì bədɛ̀ *ex.* our time (lifetime) ▸*bədɛ̀* [B44033]

grì sə́m *ex.* our language [≠M *ani lao*] ▸*sə́m* [B43694]

grìtatʃúŋ *prn.* between us ▸*-tatʃû* [B36237]

grìtatʃúŋ dyì̀ri *ex.* We imitate each other. ▸*dyì̀ri* [B59095]

grì̀ *vi.* to growl, snarl (of dog) [B51876]

bù grì̀ *ex.* The dog growls. ▸*bù*[2] [B51880]

glín *vi.* to be slippery, to be slippy () ▸*cf.* *abəɬì*, *arì̀* [B58583]

táma [RL] *n.* human [B55848]

tára táma [RL] *n.* human being ▸*tára* ▸*syn.* *abù bùlu* [B42420]

táni [RL] (*var.* *ʧani*) *n.* [B56368]

táni bùlu [RL] *n.* human being ▸*bùlu* ▸*syn.* *prǐ* [B55453]

tára [RL] *n.* human [B55844]

tára táma [RL] *n.* human being ▸*táma* ▸*syn.* *abù bùlu* [B42420]

taípán [HL] *n.* horse ▸*cf.* *sətú* [B53095]

takrú *n.* ① enrolled fern frond (looks like a snail) ② edible fern species ▸*cf.* *mə̀*[3], *níŋgrò* ▸*syn.* *mə̀*[3] [B38717]

tatám [HL] *n.* fire ▸*cf.* *bɛ̀* [B15686]

tatám biʒə̀ [HL] *ex.* to light a fire ▸*biʒə̀* ▸*cf.* *bɛ̀ rì* [B52119]

tatíʔ (*var.* *tatʃíʔ*) *num.* one [≠M *uŋ*] ▸*cf.* *tʰyì* ▸*syn.* *tʰyì* ▸*ant.* *ʤə̌də̃* [B22765]

gəheníʔ tatíʔ *ex.* we two alone, we two only ▸*gəseníʔ* [B53752]

gù tatíʔʧi *ex.* me alone ▸*gù* [B41970]

tatíʔʧi *quant.* only one ▸*=ʧi* ▸*syn.* *tʰyìʃáʔ* [B56685]

tatíʔʧiráŋ *ex.* not even one [≠M *akruŋməɛŋgo*] ▸*=ʧiráŋ* [B56062]

tatʃíʔ (*var.* of *tatíʔ*) *quant.* one [B55814]

tám *n.* something in it's entirety e.g. whole hand with fingers, foot with toes, entire fireplace [B46796]

agéʔtám *n.* whole hand including fingers ▸*agéʔ* ▸*cf.* *agéʔ tələ́m*, *agéʔ dəlúŋ* [B15401]

agéʔtám wɛ̀ka *ex.* someone without hand ▸*wɛ̀*, *-ka* [B58763]

alɛ̀tám *n.* whole foot including toes ▸*alɛ̀* [B20603]

pʰarə́ptám (*var.* *paritám*) *n.* ▸*pʰarə́p* [B58762]

tamimɹo *n.* small, some are black, some are red, Accentor? (*sci.* *Prunella*) [<M *tamimɹo*] [B34206]

támtʰì *n.* earth worm (used for fishing) ▸*cf.* *bəʃʃéʔ*, *bəʒɛ̃̀*, *bəʤɛ̃̀* [B54185]

tani [RL] *n.* [B56922]

tani gulu [RL] *n.* very long snake species ▸*gulu* ▸*syn.* *bumu rjə̃tsáʔ* [B55687]

tarà *n.* Chachung village, upper Lada circle (East Kameng) ▸*cf.* *dəduì* [B57921]

taràdʒi *n.* Miji person from upper Lada circle (East Kameng) ▸*-dʒi²* [B57930]

tarà tʰíʔ *n.* Chachung village (upper Lada circle) ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58855]

taratʰíʔ *n.* Chachung village (upper Lada circle, East Kameng) ▸*tʰíʔ* [B57925]

tarə̀ [RL] *n.* ▸*cf. pʰidigjáŋ* [B56269]

tarə̀ pʰidigjáŋ [RL] *n.* morning star, appears early in the morning at dawn. It is believed to be a male deity being the king of other stars. His location is believed to be the place where the first humans fell down from the sky. ▸*pʰidigjáŋ* ▸*cf. hə̀waíʔ atʰù̀*, *tʃəgɻúŋ rəgúŋ*, *gadʒo galɛgjóŋ* ▸*syn. hə̀sãmɔ*, *hə̃sə̀pù̀* [B39740]

taríʔ *n.* date [<IA Hindi तारीख *tārīkh*] [B58498]

tarəm *n.* Tibet [not Monpa] [B35144]

tarmu *n.* sheep wool blanket from Tibet (expensive) [<Monpa=M] ▸*cf. naló?* [B35395]

taláŋ [RL] *n.* village? [B58421]

taláŋ ribáŋ [RL] *n.* Dibin (ritual language) ▸*ribáŋ* ▸*cf. dəbán* [B36543]

taláŋ sə̀sáŋ [RL] *n.* Mathow (ritual language) ▸*sə̀sáŋ* ▸*cf. mətʰyɛ́ʔ* [B36547]

talu *adv.* like this [=M *talu*] [B56008]

tasrì *adj.* long and thin (like the stem of a tamul palm) ▸*cf. apjə̃́*, *atsáp* [B58585]

tahì *n.* rashes [B54491]

tə̃́tra *n.* bird species [≠M *tsatsɨn*] [B52798]

táŋnì lion lion? (cat-like animal said to live in the Assam plains, unicolor, with short fur and longer hair around the neck.) ▸*cf. barəgì* [B58714]

tə̃́ (≠*tʰə̀*) *vt.* to bind, to make a sling to hang something (e.g. dao) [B38316]

atə̃́ tə̃́ *ex.* to tie on a carry strap ▸*atə̃́* [B42100]

té *dem.* demonstrative far from speaker (FAR) [B35128]

gù ríʔ téʃə̀ *ex.* My field is there. ▸*=ʃə̀* [B49911]

téku njé bù *ex.* ▸*njé*, *bù³* [B58667]

tégáʔ *ex.* overthere ▸*-gáʔ* [B42974]

tédʒi *prn.* ① that, there ② that one ▸*dʒi* ▸*ant. hɨ̀dʒi* [B28870]

tɛdʒi kʰàmbu kəlìɬɛ̀ *ex.* The plate is upside down. ▸*kəlì*, *kʰàmbu* [B53776]

té nadɛ̀ *ex.* little bit that side ▸*nadɛ̀* ▸*ant. nu nadɛ̀*, *hə̀ nadɛ̀* [B33804]

té rún *ex.* to push that side ▸*rún*

▸*ant. nù ruì* [B39262]

tɛ́ vù *ex.* Go there! ▸*vù* [B50013]

tɛ́la *ex.* there ▸*-la²* [B50032]

kalíŋ tɛ́la fíndʒuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to put stones together on a hip ▸*fíndʒuɛ́ʔ* [B59138]

tɛ́la báʔ *ex.* it is there (e.g. a house) ▸*báʔ* [B50023]

tɛ́ʃɔ̀ báʔ *ex.* It is there. ▸*báʔ*, *=ʃɔ̀* [B50018]

tɛ́ɬɛ̀ *adv.* that side ▸*-ɬɛ̃̀* ▸*ant. nùɬɛ̃̀* [B33867]

tɛ́ɬɛ̀ kuí *ex.* to turn to the other side ▸*kuí* [B58579]

pʰìŋ tɛ́ɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the other side of the mountain ▸*pʰìŋ* [B39273]

tɛ́ vɛrìku ɬɔ̀ *ex.* to call the people overthere ▸*vɛrì*, *=ku²*, *ɬɔ̀* [B59051]

tɛ́lo [HL] *n.* chilli ▸*cf. maljù* [B52501]

tɛtsù *n.* round bead with orange colour [B41244]

tɛlín [HL] *n.* salt ▸*cf. fəù* [B52496]

tɛʃín [HL] *n.* squirrel, rat ▸*cf. tʃɛ̃̀* ▸*syn. asíndzín* [B52109]

tɛʒù [HL] *n.* snake (common) ▸*cf. dadʒíʔ* [B52445]

tesalɛ́n [HL] *n.* snow ▸*cf. hɐ̃̀dzə̀* [B15029]

tí (*≠tíʔ*, *tʰì*) *vt.* to close the eyes [B37049]

akə́m tí *ex.* to close the eyes ▸*akə́m* [B37053]

tíʔ (*≠tí*, *tʃì*) *vt.* to fell a tree [B33171]

tíʔgò *ex.* to make (a tree) fall ▸*syn. tíʔgjaɬɛ́ʔ* [B43162]

tíʔgjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut and make fall ▸*-ɬɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn. tíʔgò* [B43157]

tíʔgjɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut (a tree), so that breaks and falls down ▸*gjɛ́ʔ* [B33177]

tíʔɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut away and make fall ▸*-ɬɛ́ʔ* [B43168]

tʃaò tíʔ *ex.* to cut a sago palm ▸*tʃaò* [B43147]

tʃaò tíʔla huɨ̀ *ex.* to cut a sago palm and make it fall ▸*huɨ̀²* [B53909]

madù tíʔ *ex.* to make bamboo fall ▸*madù* [B43152]

ʃɨ̀ tíʔ *ex.* to make a tree fall ▸*ʃɨ̀* [B39037]

ʃɨ̀ tíʔgjɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut down a tree ▸*ʃɨ̀* [B51006]

tʃamɔ tíʔ *ex.* to cut a sago palm ▸*tʃaòmɔ* [B51388]

tis *num.* [B58500]

tɪ́ *adv.* times [B51890]

agéʔ vì tɪ́ kɨ́ *ex.* He beat him four times. ▸*kɨ́*, *agéʔ* [B51894]

ńm tɪ́ tʃì *ex.* to eat three times ▸*ńm* [B51899]

níʔ tɪ́ vù *ex.* to go two times (to the field etc.) ▸*níʔ* [B51905]

tɪ́ʔ (*≠tʰɪ́ʔ*) *vi.* to be physically tired [B38583]

agéʔ tɪ́ʔ *ex.* hands are tired ▸*agéʔ* [B42334]

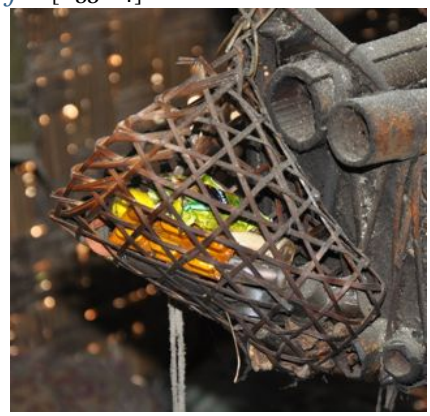
apʰɔ́ʔ tɪ́ʔ *ex.* physically tired ▸*apʰɔ́ʔ* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ tɪ́ʔ* [B38579]

alè tíʔ *ex.* tired legs ▸*alè* ▸*cf. apʰɔ́ʔ tíʔ* [B38587]

pʰɔ́ʔtíʔ *ex.* shoulders are tired ▸*apʰɔ́ʔ* [B36768]

lètíʔ *ex.* legs are tired ▸*alè* [B36773]

tɪ́ntʰù *n.* small basket at the fireplace (Miji equivalent is more commonly used) [≠M *dəfai*] ▸*cf. dəfaì* [B53184]



tə́ *vt.* to chip the trunk of the sago palm into fine fibres [=M *tʰuː*] [B37897]

amíʔ tə́ *ex.* to cut the sago trunks in very fine pieces ▸*amíʔ* [B57481]

ʧaò tə́ *ex.* to chip the trunk of the sago palm into fine fibres [M *ma tʰuː*] ▸*ʧaò* [B37901]

ʧabə̀̃ tə́ *ex.* to cut the fibres from the sago trunk ▸*ʧabə̀̃* [B51393]

tə́ʔ *vi.* to be poisoned ▸*cf. mətə́ʔ* [B58464]

pʰəù tə́ʔ *ex.* be drunk ▸*pʰəù* [B33259]

mətə́ʔ tə́ʔ *ex.* ▸*mətə́ʔ* [B59201]

ʃì tə́ʔ *ex.* to be poisoned by bad meat ▸*ʃì* [B59203]

təkúŋ *n.* collar bone, clavicle [B58243]

aləmɔ̀ təkúŋ *n.* collar bone, clavicle ▸*aləmɔ̀* [B37194]

təkʰù *n.* village elders, gaonburas, those who know stories [B34559]

təkʰùpʰɔ̀ *n.* the married men of the village ▸*-pʰɔ̀* ▸*ant. təkʰùmɔ* [B43119]

təkʰùmɔ *n.* the married women of the village ▸*-mɔ̀* ▸*ant. təkʰùpʰɔ̀* [B40815]

pəsù təkʰù *n.* king's cast ▸*pəsù* [B56343]

təkɹéʔ *n.* name of river in the main valley of Bulu [<M *təkɹeʔ*] [B41105]

təkɹéʔ kʰɔ̀ *n.* name of river in the main valley [M *təkɹevu*] ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B41109]

tətsúŋ *n.* wild cat, looking like a leopard but bigger (*sci.* *Panthera* (*pardus*)) [=M] ▸*cf. pʰàŋtsén* [B28702]

təpín *n.* Jerigaon (village) [B54861]

təpíndə̀ *n.* a person from Jerigaon ▸*-də̀*[2] [B58847]

təpíndʒi *n.* Jerigaon village (Sartang) ▸*-ʤi*[2] [B33092]

təpín tʰíʔ *n.* Jerigaon village ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58839]

təm (≠*tʰə̀m*) *vt.* to warm up ▸*cf. tsaò* [B33512]

kʰɔ̀ təm *ex.* to warm water ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B50988]

mè təm *ex.* to warm up vegetables ▸*mè* [B58754]

məluə̃ təm *ex.* to warm food ▸*məluə̃* [B50993]

təməzəʔ *n.* tripod for placing a pot in the fire [B11333]

kalíŋ təməsə́ʔ *n.* stone tripod for cooking ▸*kalíŋ* [B43134]

zə̀ təməzə́ʔ *n.* tripod for cooking made from iron ▸*záŋ* [B43129]

təmdáŋ *n.* Təmdaŋ, place near Tungri [B56194]

təmdáŋtíŋ *n.* Təmdaŋ spring ▸*atíŋ*² [B56198]

təmdáŋkán *n.* [B56191]

tələ̀ *n.* mug, cup (common) [<M *dəlaŋ*] [B35105]

tələ̀ abə̀ *ex.* a half full mug ▸*abə̀* [B42038]

tələ̀ arípˀ *ex.* The glas is empty. ▸*arípˀ* [B53192]

tələ̀ kəlì *ex.* upside down mug/cup ▸*kəlì* [B59172]

tələ̀ ljɛ̀batʃa *ex.* The mug is full. ▸*ljɛ̀* [B59175]

təláŋku kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* ▸*=ku*, *tʰì*, *lè* [B59108]

dʒi=tələ̀ kəlìɬɛ̌ *ex.* The plate is upside down. ▸*kəlì*, *dʒi* [B53781]

tələ̀ tõla lì *ex.* to put a cup somewhere ▸*tʰɔ̃̀*, *lì* [B51132]

təláŋ tʃiplá? *ex.* the cup is broken ▸*tʃuplá?* [B43074]

tələ́m *n.* stump (missing limb) [B46792]

agé? tələ́m *n.* arm stump ▸*agé?* ▸*cf. agé?tám*, *alɛ̀ tələ́m* ▸*syn. agé? dəlúŋ* [B15405]

vəùtələ́m *n.* ▸*vəù* [B58575]

təlò *vi.* to limp [B58410]

alɛ̀ təlò *ex.* limping ▸*alɛ̀* [B37622]

təwáŋ *v.* [B58504]

təwáŋ təwúŋ *v.* ▸*təwúŋ* [B58506]

təwúŋ *v.* [B58505]

təwáŋ təwúŋ *v.* ▸*təwáŋ* [B58506]

təwjaò *vi.* ① broken ② is [B56933]

susu sətyɛ́ təwjaò *ex.* ▸*sətyɛ́* [B59187]

təwjáŋ *n.* container made from bamboo from a section of a big bamboo; in the past used to prepare the sago flour; water was cooked in bamboo tubes directly in the fire; made from madu [=M *dəwjaŋ*] ▸*cf. madù* [B51100]

təwjáŋku tʃarɛ̀̌ nuì *ex.* to prepare sago in a bamboo tube by pouring hot water ▸*tʃarɛ̀̌ nuì* [B58955]

tɔ́ʔ *vt.* ① bite ② to hold in mouth (for humans) ▸*cf. tʃáp* [B28874]

asə́mku tɔ́ʔ *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*asə́m*, *=ku* ▸*syn. asə́m tɔ́ʔ* [B37503]

asə́m tɔ́ʔ *ex.* to hold in mouth ▸*asə́m* ▸*syn. asə́mku tɔ́ʔ* [B37497]

asù tɔ́ʔka batsɛ̀ *ex.* ▸*asù*, *batsɛ̀* [B58713]

tɔ́ʔgə̀ *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*-gə̀* [B50436]

tɔ́ʔgo *vt.* to bite [loan morphology from Miji<M *tʰaʔgo*] ▸*-go* [B57771]

ʃìbə̀ tɔ́ʔ *ex.* to hold a wood stick in the mouth ▸*ʃìbə̀* [B54000]

tos *n.* torch (<Eng) [B35164]

tos tʃɔ̃̀ *ex.* to make light with a torch ▸*tʃɔ̃̀* [B43748]

tɔ́ (≠*tʰɔ̃̀*) *vt.* ① to make flat ② to make sago pancake [B53526]

ata tɔ́ *ex.* to make flatbread ▸*ata* [B57500]

tőbù *ex.* to put more in order to make equal shares ▸*bù*³ [B58669]

bì tő *ex.* to prepare sago as a pancake (lit. in lying position) [M *ma toN*] ▸*bì* [B41164]

tő² *v.* to support (one piece of wood supports another one) [B40487]

ʃì tő *ex.* to support a piece of wood with a piece of wood ▸*ʃì* [B59190]

túʔ *vt.* ① to tear off pieces of meat ② to eat meat voraciously [B58523]

túʔla ʧì *ex.* to eat meat by tearing off big pieces ▸*ʧì* [B59088]

túmlóʔ *n.* Puroik name for Tshang ▸*cf. ʧáŋ raìdə̀* [B39971]

tű́ko *n.* [B56636]

tű́ko pulù *n.* Nassamjang village in Lada ▸*pulù* ▸*cf. naʃén* [B56642]

tű́go *n.* brass bowl with stand, like a goblet [B52794]

tű́go alè *ex.* bowl with stand ▸*alè* [B53212]

tű́go alíʔ *n.* bowl without stand ▸*alíʔ* [B53217]

tű́tʃi [RL] *n.* sulphur spring ▸*cf. tű́rín* [B55192]

tű́tʃi tű́rin [RL] *n.* sulphur spring, animals gather to drink it ▸*tű́rín* [B35084]

tű́tʃi² *n.* stone house [B56028]

tű́tʃi hám *n.* stone house of the Monpas ▸*hám* [B56035]

tű́rín [RL] *n.* sulphur spring ▸*cf. tű́tʃi* [B55196]

tű́tʃi tű́rin [RL] *n.* sulphur spring, animals gather to drink it ▸*tű́tʃi* [B35084]

túŋglúŋ *n.* golden-throated barbet (*sci. Psilopogon franklinii*) [≠M *pəsuluŋ*] ▸*cf. pətʃaù* ▸*syn. pətó* [B34025]

túŋdʒáŋ [RL] *n.* sulphur spring [B55152]

túŋdʒáŋ túŋru [RL] *n.* sulphur spring ▸*túŋru* ▸*cf. kátúŋdʒáŋ bìtúŋru* [B55160]

túŋneì [RL] *n.* [B56483]

túŋneì raro [RL] *n.* Ditchik (ritual language) ▸*raro* ▸*syn. dətséʔ* [B35330]

túŋri *n.* place between Bulu and Lagam, where the Brokpas keep yaks [B55114]

túŋru [RL] *n.* sulphur spring [B55156]

túŋdʒáŋ túŋru [RL] *n.* sulphur spring ▸*túŋdʒáŋ* ▸*cf. kátúŋdʒáŋ bìtúŋru* [B55160]

tyé *vt.* ① to decoy ② to breed mithuns [B40745]

wáʔ tyé *ex.* to breed pigs (possible but better waʔ ~~rii~~ is better) ▸*wáʔ* ▸*cf. wáʔ rì* [B43202]

səfəù tyé *ex.* to breed cows ▸*səfəù*

[B43207]

susù tyɛ̋ *ex.* to breed mithuns ▸*susù* [B43195]

tyí *vt.* to put beads on a tread [B54520]

məréʔ tyí *ex.* to put beads on a thread ▸*məréʔ* [B41252]

tyíri *vt.* to imitate [<M] ▸*syn.* *nyìri* [B43327]

tyɨ́ *vt.* to join, to tie together with a rope ▸*cf.* *dzoì* [B43277]

atɑ̋ lèla tyɨ́ *ex.* to tie together with a rope ▸*atɑ̋*, *lè* ▸*syn.* *atɑ̋ lèla krɨ́n* [B59186]

tyɨ́ri *v.* to tie two ropes together ▸*-ri²* [B59103]

atɑ̋ tyĩri *ex.* tie two ropes together ▸*atɑ̋* [B59104]

níʔ ɛ̀ku tyɨ́ *ex.* to tie two (ropes) together ▸*níʔ*, *ɛ̀* [B59105]

tʰɑ̀ɑ̀ (≠*hɨ̀tán*, *tɑ̋*) *vt.* to give ▸*cf.* *ljáŋ²*, *mɔ̀ tɑ̋* [B28866]

awú tʰɑ̀ɑ̀ *ex.* to give fast ▸*awú* [B50831]

gùku njɛ́tʃɨ báʔ gùku njɛ́ tʰɑ̀ɑ̀budɛ̀ *ex.* I have only little bit, give me more! ▸*njɛ́*, *=ku*, *bù³*, *-dɛ̀* [B58676]

tʰɑ̀ɑ̀bɛ̀ *ex.* to give for some time ▸*-bɛ̀* [B58470]

tʰɑ̀ɑ̀bù *ex.* to give more in order to make equal shares ▸*bù³* [B58674]

tʰɑ̀ɑ̀bùdɛ̀ *ex.* give little bit more in order to make equal shares ▸*bù³*, *-dɛ̀* [B58675]

tʰɑ̀ɑ̀la pjű *ex.* to send someone something ▸*pjű* [B36404]

tʃɨ njɛ́ tʰɑ̀ɑ̀bɛ̀ *ex.* Give the knife little bit! ▸*njɛ́*, *tʃɨ²*, *-bɛ̀* [B54580]

patsu tʰɑ̀ɑ̀ *ex.* to pay taxes ▸*patsù* [B36398]

pʰuɛ́ʔ tʰɑ̀ɑ̀ *ex.* to give gifts when visiting the house of the wife's family ▸*puɛ́ʔ* [B38173]

bɑ̀ɑ̀ tʰɑ̀ɑ̀ *ex.* to give money ▸*bɑ̀³* [B42105]

arù batʰɑ̀ɑ̀ lèʃjám *ex.* take away withou paying the price ▸*arù*, *lèʃjám* [B51210]

tʰɛ̀bɨn *n.* smallpox? disease causing big painful blisters on the skin; often fatal; disease does not occur anymore [B53008]

tʰɛ́ʔ *vt.* to cut off the joints of a bamboo or cane [B49194]

akəmíʔ tʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut off the joints of a bamboo or cane ▸*akəmíʔ* [B49198]

tʰɛ́ʔ² (*var.* *tʰɛ́ʔ*) *vt.* to support a house, which is about to fall, with poles ▸*cf.* *jɑ̀la lì* [B51165]

tʰɛ́ʔla lì *ex.* to support (a house) with poles ▸*lì* [B51169]

hám tʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* to support, stabilise a house (so that it won't shake) ▸*hám* [B53985]

tʰɛ́ʔ (*var.* of *tʰɛ́ʔ²*) *vt.* support a house with poles [B57240]

tʰì (≠*tí*) *vt.* to scoop water from a bucket ▸*cf.* *tʃĩp*, *tʃɨ²* ▸*syn.* *tʃɨ⁵* [B43292]

kʰɔ̀ tí *ex.* to scoop water (from a bucket) ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B43297]

kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* to scoop out water ▸*kʰɔ̀*, *lè* [B59109]

təlɑ́ŋku kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* ▸*təlɑ̀ɑ̀*, *=ku*, *lè* [B59108]

tʃíntʃɔ́ʔ tʰì *ex.* to scoop with bamboo jug ▸*tʃĩntʃɔ́ʔ* [B53165]

portónlɨ́ŋ kʰɔ̀ tʰì *ex.* to scoop water from the bucket ▸*portón*, *-lɨ́ŋ* [B59107]

pʰəù tí *ex.* to scoop out the beer ▸*pʰəù* [B43417]

tʰíʔ (≠*dáʔ*, *tíʔ*) *n.* village [B16328]
kənjà tʰíʔ *n.* Khoina village ▸*kənjà* [B58838]
grì tʰíʔ *ex.* our village ▸*grì* [B42326]
tarà tʰíʔ *n.* Chachung village (upper Lada circle) ▸*tarà* [B58855]
taratʰíʔ *n.* Chachung village (upper Lada circle, East Kameng) ▸*tarà* [B57925]
təpín tʰíʔ *n.* Jerigaon village ▸*təpín* [B58839]
tʰíʔ tsám *ex.* to attack a village ▸*tsám* [B58582]
dəduì tʰíʔ *n.* name of a village in lower Lada circle ▸*dəduì* [B58854]
dəwò tʰíʔ *n.* Rupa village (or Shergaon?) ▸*dəwò* [B58840]
páŋmi tʰíʔ *n.* Tawang ▸*páŋmi* [B58842]
pulɔ̀ tʰíʔ *n.* the village Bulu ▸*pulɔ̀* [B39775]
bìtʰíʔ *n.* Lagam [B56019]
məbɨ̀ tʰíʔ *n.* Lagam (Brokpa village) ▸*məbɨ̀* ▸*syn. bìhám* [B58850]
məhjúʔ tʰíʔ *n.* former Puroik village opposite old Bulu ▸*məhjúʔ* [B57392]
nəlù tʰíʔ *n.* former village of Kazolang Puroiks (above modern village Kazolang) ▸*nəlù* [B58841]
rarì tʰíʔ *n.* Mago village ▸*rarì* [B58843]
rəpúŋ tʰíʔ *n.* Rahung village ▸*rəpúŋ* [B58844]
sətán tʰíʔ *n.* Khoitam.village ▸*sətán* [B58845]
prɨ́də tʰíʔ *n.* village of the Puroiks (Bulu) ▸*prɨ́də* [B58849]
bjatú tʰíʔ *n.* other people's village ▸*bjatú* [B39659]
bjatú tʰíʔ ǔ *ex.* to go permanently to another village, to get married in another village (of a girl) ▸*bjatú*, *ǔ* ▸*ant. bjatú tʰíʔ vù* [B58637]
bjatú tʰíʔ vù *ex.* to visit another village (for some time) ▸*bjatú*, *vù* ▸*ant. bjatú tʰíʔ ǔ* [B58636]
tʰɔ̀m (≠*tám*) *n.* trapping pit [=M *tʰɨ̀n*] [B57980]
tʰɔ̀m ʧúʔ *ex.* to dig a trapping pit ▸*ʧúʔ* [B57985]
tʰɔ̀mbáŋ *n.* Thembang [B56116]
tʰùŋdə *n.* one of the clans of Bulu (from other side of the river), extinct 100 years ago ▸*cf. baìdə*, *məhjúʔ*, *bù.adə* [B11062]
tʰyì *num.* one ▸*cf. tatíʔ* ▸*syn. tatíʔ* [B41535]
guéʔ tyí *ex.* one handspan ▸*guéʔ* [B41819]
tʰyìʃáʔ *quant.* one alone ▸*syn. tatíʔʧi* [B57940]
suánlapu tʰyì *num.* eleven [≠M *lɨnuŋ*] ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41541]
suánníʔlapu tʰyì *num.* twenty-one [≠M *grin lɨn uŋ*] ▸*suánníʔ* [B41569]
tjé *v.* to cover something (with soil or leaves) ▸*syn. plɛ̃́* [B40650]
tjégɜ̀ *v.* to cover something (with soil or leaves) ▸*-gɜ̀* [B43188]
ʧjè pɛ̃́ tjé *ex.* to cut and cover with leaves ▸*ʧjè* [B43173]
məhjɛ̀ ʧúʔ tjé *ex.* to dig and coveer with soil ▸*ʧúʔ* [B43179]
trɜ́ *vt.* ① to make an ordered pile (of wood, maize) ② to fasten something inside a frame [B57272]
məpʰìn trɜ́ *n.* pile of maize cobs

▸*məpʰìn* [B41223]

məpʰìn trǻla ʒì *ex.* ▸*məpʰìn*, *ʒì* [B58873]

ʃì trǻ *n.* ordered pile of wood ▸*ʃì* ▸*ant. ʃì ʤué?* [B58870]

ʃəkú? trǻ *n.* to stretch skins for drying ▸*ʃəkú?* [B58872]

dàmo [RL] *n.* [B58031]

dàmo dàʃi [RL] *n.* cattle [<M] ▸*dàʃi* [B40226]

dàʃi [RL] *n.* [B58034]

dàmo dàʃi [RL] *n.* cattle [<M] ▸*dàmo* [B40226]

daò *vi.* ① to cook ② to be cooked ▸*cf. tsaò* [B38220]

ará? daò *ex.* to distil alcohol ▸*ará?* [B58811]

mè daò *ex.* to cook vegetables ▸*mè* [B38224]

məluɛ̀ daò *ex.* the food is cooked ▸*məluɛ̀* [B43555]

sà daò *ex.* the tea is cooked ▸*sà* [B39852]

dá? *vt.* ① to stutter, to stammer ② to be blocked (of throat) [B37748]

asə́m dá? *ex.* to stutter, to stammer ▸*asə́m* [B37752]

məjaò dá? *ex.* there is something in the throat, the throat is blocked ▸*məjaò* [B58807]

dá?² *vt.* ① to stop (someone from doing something) ② to block, to obstruct (a way) [B40654]

límku dá? *ex.* to block the path ▸*lím* [B43573]

buɬɛ̀ dá?bádɛ̀ *ex.* Down there it is still blocking. (When fitting wood planks to the house.) ▸*bádɛ̀* [B49742]

dadén [RL] *n.* [B56971]

ʃɨlu dadén [RL] *n.* ▸*ʃɨlu* [B56974]

dadʒí? (≠*dazí?*) *n.* ① common term for snake ② common term for lower animals as insects, spiders, snakes [≠M *buu*] ▸*cf. pəsjè, tɛzù* [B43888]

dadʒí? akədó? *n.* insect poison ▸*akədó?* [B36523]

dadʒí? ǔpŐ *v.* a snake came out, appeared ▸*pə̃́* [B53539]

dadʒí? dawò *n.* snake medicine ▸*dawo* [B36501]

dadʒí? papʰɛ́? *n.* small poisonous snake species ▸*papʰɛ́?* [B43892]

dadʒí? papjén *n.* snake species ▸*papjén* [B43901]

dadʒí? pəʒoì *n.* poisonous snake species ▸*pəʒoì* [B58719]

dadʒí? pə̃́bá? *v.* a snake appears, comes out ▸*pə̃́* [B53544]

dadʒí? bapɨ́ *n.* insect ▸*bapɨ́* [B22283]

dadʒí? mətɨ́? *n.* snake poison ▸*mətá?* [B50513]

dadʒí? rjáŋtsáŋ *n.* snake species ▸*rjǎtsá?* [B50519]

dadʒí? ʃyì *ex.* The snake creeps. ▸*ʃyì* [B50379]

dadʒí?su *n.* poisonous snake species ▸*asú* ▸*syn. pəsjè* [B58720]

dán *n.* white flag for ritual [=M *dan*] ▸*cf. péntʃɛ́n, pɛ́pʰjǔ* [B40871]

dán pjŭ́ *ex.* to put a white prayer flag [≠M *dan kʰao*] ▸*pjŭ́* [B53980]

dawa *n.* medicine [IA] [B34498]
dawo *n.* ① medicine ② poison [<IA दवा *dawā*] [B35053]
dadʒíʔ dawò *n.* snake medicine ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B36501]
pəsjɛ̀ dawò *n.* snake medicine (it means medicine against snake bites?) ▸*pəsjɛ̀* [B36508]
daʒíʔ (≠*dadʒíʔ*) *n.* lower animals (like worms and insects) [B58429]
dɑ̀ *n.* garlic (*sci. Allium hookeri*) [B37563]

aʃɑ̃̀dɑ̀ *n.* jungle garlic ▸*cf. asɑ̃̀* [B20953]
dɑ̀kərɨ́m *n.* edible root with celery taste [≠M *pɛ̃fy*] ▸*kərɨ́m* [B52663]
dɑ̀li [RL] *n.* [B56849]
dɑ̀li buli [RL] *n.* fish species ▸*buli* [B56855]
dáŋlíŋ *adv.* always, forever [B39960]
dɛmo *n.* proper name [B56567]
dɛnju [RL] *n.* [B56494]
dáŋkráŋ dɛnju [RL] *n.* prayer flags ▸*dáŋkráŋ* ▸*cf. péntʃɛ́n* [B55321]
dɛ̀ *vt.* ① to know ② to see [≠M *niː*] [B15247]
akɔ́m badɛ̀ *ex.* blind ▸*akɔ́m* ▸*cf. akuʹ bazuɛ́ʔ* [B35837]
akɔ́m badɛ̀ka *n.* a blind person ▸*-ka*, *akɔ́m*, *ba-* [B39458]
gù dɛ̀tʃa *ex.* I learned it. ▸*-tʃa* [B53865]
gù dɛ̀batʃa *ex.* I understood. I realised. ▸*-batʃa* [B43938]
gutaʒu dɛ̀tʃa *ex.* ① I learned myself. ② I know myself. ▸*=taʒu* [B51489]
dɛ̀tʃa *ex.* to have understood something ▸*-tʃa* [B42272]
dɛ̀ri *v.* to know each other ▸*-ri²* [B39599]
badɛ̀dɔ̀ úʔla rì *ex.* to sit without being seen ▸*-dɔ̀*, *úʔ* [B50401]
míŋ badɛ̀ *ex.* not to obey ▸*míŋ* [B49569]
dɛ̀bajɑ̀ *ex.* Do you know? ▸*-bajɑ̀* [B54157]
deli *n.* Dalai [B56542]
ditʃíʔ (*var.* of *dətsɛ́ʔ*) *n.* Ditchik [B36555]
dili *n.* Delhi [B56861]
dɨdzín *v.* to slowly immerge in the water [=M *dɨdʑɨn*] ▸*syn. dzím* [B50305]
dín *v.* make the sound of bubbles [B58515]
hín hín dín dín *v.* bubble bubble ▸*hín* [B58516]
dirín [RL] (*var.* *dirɨ́ntʃúŋ*, *dirɨ́ntʃi*) *n.* [B56375]
lamoʃi dirín [RL] *n.* animals ▸*lamoʃi* [B56378]
dirɨ́ntʃi [RL] (*var.* of *dirín*) *n.* animals [B58611]
dirɨ́ntʃúŋ [RL] (*var.* of *dirín*) *n.* animals [B58610]
dilu [RL] *n.* [B56323]
dəʃi dəlù *n.* village Bulu [ritual language (in songs and stories)] ▸*diʃi* ▸*syn. ritíŋ* [B35311]
diʃi [RL] *n.* [B56320]
dəʃi dəlù *n.* village Bulu [ritual language (in songs and stories)] ▸*dilu* ▸*syn. ritíŋ* [B35311]
díŋ (≠*atíŋ²*, *díŋ²*) *vi.* ① to sit on buttocks ② to sit (for frogs) ③ to wear a hat [≠M *graa*] ▸*cf. dʒóʔ*, *dʒɑ̃̀*, *ím*, *dzɨ́ʔ*, *tʃɔ̀* [B33730]

katíŋ tíŋ *ex.* to wear a hat ▸*katíŋ* [B41313]

díŋ² (≠*díŋ*) *vi.* to be full (of moon) [B41735]

hằbɔ díŋ *ex.* ① full moon ② the moon is full ▸*hằbɔ* [B41730]

dà *vt.* ① to give birth, to procreate ② to be born ▸*syn. mjǜ* [B36363]

adà dà *ex.* to give birth (for humans and mammals) ▸*adà* [B36367]

dà² *vt.* to put on a jacket (not over the head) ▸*cf. plő²* [B36811]

andà dà *ex.* to put on a jacket ▸*andà* [B41322]

dà.ǜ *n.* place under the house ▸*cf. hằwù* [B33640]

də́ʔ (≠*tʰɨ́ʔ*) *vt.* to put the hand inside (a backpack, bag) [B39839]

agéʔ də́ʔ *ex.* to put the hand inside ▸*agéʔ* [B43679]

dəkró [RL] *n.* place name [B55274]

dəkró dántsáŋ [RL] *n.* village and cultivation fields below Jerigaon opposite Salari (Dentsang pam) ▸*dántsáŋ* [B55316]

dəgằ *v.* to close, block [=M *dəgaŋ*] ▸*syn. gằ* [B59074]

lím dəgằ *ex.* to block a path [M *laban dəgaŋ*] ▸*lím* [B59073]

dəgə́n dəlúŋ *n.* small forest people without clothes, with tail [B42121]

dətán dəmíʔ *n.* fog in March and April, in the morning with good weather [<M] [B38666]

dəduì (*var. nəduì*) *n.* person from lower Lada circle (East Kameng) ▸*cf. tarà* [B55861]

dəduìʤi *n.* a person from lower Lada ▸*-ʤi²* [B58853]

dəduì tʰɨ́ʔ *n.* name of a village in lower Lada circle ▸*tʰɨ́ʔ* [B58854]

dəduì prɨ́ *n.* person from lower Lada cictle [≠M *vəruː*] ▸*prɨ́* [B40345]

dədù *n.* hiccup [=M *dəduu*] [B37109]

dəʤén *vt.* to float [=M *dəʤɛn*] ▸*syn. haù* [B42353]

kű dəʤén *ex.* to float, to come out of the water [<M] ▸*kű* ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀ lè* [B42347]

kʰɔ̀ dəʤén *ex.* to float on the water [=M *vɨɨ dəʤɛn*] ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B53845]

kűtʃằ dəʤén *ex.* to float on the surface ▸*kűtʃằ* [B59188]

dətsáʔ *n.* Zoothera Thrush (*sci. Zoothera*) [B34154]

dətsáʔlo *n.* Black-throated Thrush (*sci. Turdus atrogularis*) [B34166]

dətsén *vi.* to flower and have seeds for plants which flower irregularly after many years like bamboo [<M *dətsɛn*] ▸*syn. ɬám²* [B39902]

matsu dətsén *n.* bamboo flowering [=M] ▸*matsúʔ* [B43578]

dətséʔ (*var. ditʃíʔ*) *n.* Dichik village [=M *dətseʔ*] ▸*syn. túŋneì raro* [B54781]

dətso gənju *n.* Chinlang (ritual language) [B36551]

dəbə́n *n.* Dibin [=M *dəbən*] ▸*cf. talán ribáŋ* [B54785]

dəbɹáŋ *vt.* to support something against something [=M *lai dəbɹaŋ*] [B35443]

alè dəbɪáŋ *ex.* to stretch the leg ▸*alè* ▸*syn. alè vjè* [B43616]

hám dəbɪáŋ *ex.* support the house with posts ▸*hám* [B59121]

dəbɪáŋ² *n.* supporting posts [B38554]

hám dəbɪáŋ² *n.* supporting post ▸*hám* [B38558]

dəbɪáŋ³ *v.* to get contours [B56906]

dəmán [RL] *vt.* to come [B55643]

dəmɛ́n *n.* silver ▸*syn. ŋuì, muìsu* [B22287]

ʃjɛ́n dəmɛ́n [RL] *n.* gold and silver ▸*ʃjɛ́n* ▸*syn. ʃjɛ́nŋuì* [B54820]

dəmì *n.* shadow [=M *dəməi*] [B20625]

dəmitsí? [RL] *vi.* to get married [B56757]

dəmín *quant.* a lot, abundant [<M *dəmin*] ▸*cf. brá?, pəʃé?* [B58517]

dámdáŋ *n.* river between Mathow and Bulu [B40712]

dámdáŋkʰɔ̀ *n.* river between Mathow and Bulu ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B41114]

dántsáŋ [RL] *n.* place name [B55278]

dəkró dántsáŋ [RL] *n.* village and cultivation fields below Jerigaon opposite Salari (Dentsang pam) ▸*dəkró* [B55316]

dəráʔ [HL] *n.* soil ▸*cf. məhjɛ̃̀* [B52511]

dərəm *n.* tradition, law [<IA Hindi dharm] [B58027]

dərù *n.* day-after-tomorrow [≠M *na'pjo*] ▸*cf. ʤiru, ɛ̃̀ru* [B40325]

dərù² [HL] *n.* patridge [B59208]

gəwán dərù [HL] *n.* patridge ▸*gəwán* ▸*cf. mɯ̃̀brɨ* [B54245]

dərɯ̃̀ *n.* eardrum [B55751]

dəlà *n.* former Puroik village in Sangti valley, now inhabited by Dirang Monpa ▸*cf. rəbɛ̃̀, pʰudúŋ* [B57843]

dəlà² *n.* Sangti [B58857]

dəlà gráŋmu *n.* Sangti valley ▸*gráŋmu* [B58858]

dəlúŋ *n.* palm without finger (only as compound with age?) [B46800]

agéʔ dəlúŋ *n.* palm without fingers ▸*agéʔ* ▸*cf. agéʔtám* ▸*syn. agéʔ təlám* [B41530]

dəwáŋ dəwúŋ [RL] *vi.* to be around without doing anything useful [B40174]

ʧín dəwáŋ dəwúŋ *ex.* to stand around uselessly (for example curious kids when guests visit) ▸*ʧì* [B43139]

dəwò *n.* Sherdukpen [B54881]

dəwòʤi *n.* Sherdukpen ▸*-ʤi²* [B33108]

dəwò tʰíʔ *n.* Rupa village (or Shergaon?) ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58840]

dəwɯ̃̀ *n.* supporting posts under the house [B38541]

dəfaì *n.* small basket at the shelf over fireplace [=M] ▸*cf. tíntʰù* [B38499]

dəfì *vt.* to shake the head for saying "No!" [<M *dəfii*] [B35251]

akű dəfì *ex.* to shake the head ▸*akű* [B36329]

dəfigo *vt.* shake the head ▸*-go* [B56252]

dəvì *n.* tree species which provides good wood for construction, stinks [B57416]

dəvɨ *n.* tall tree species with wood which is relatively soft and not good as construction wood [B57369]

dəvì abuɛ̀ *n.* flower of a tree, causes rashes when touched ▸*abuɛ̀* [B57373]

dəsù *n.* ① pus ② boil [B37538]

dəsùnáŋ *n.* pus ▸*náŋ* [B37542]

dəʃù ʧamɔ *n.* sago place on Bulu side of the river [B50900]

dəhù *n.* sadness ▸*cf. plúm* ▸*ant. buè* [B33581]

dəhù tsáʔ *ex.* to be sad ▸*tsáʔ* ▸*cf. plúm vòvə̀* [B44523]

dəhù híʔ *ex.* m to feel sad ▸*híʔ* [B58631]

dəŋ *n.* center post of house [≠M *tsoruŋ*] [B38503]

hámdə̀ŋ *n.* center post of house ▸*hám* [B38507]

də̀ŋú? *vi.* possessed by a bad spirit [B58860]

də̀ŋkráŋ [RL] *n.* [B56490]

də̀ŋkráŋ dɛnju [RL] *n.* prayer flags ▸*dɛnju* ▸*cf. péntʃɛ́n* [B55321]

də̀ŋdáŋ sí? *n.* sago place near big river little bit down stream [B50884]

də̀ŋrá? *vi.* completely rotten, putrid (of a dead animal) [=M *dəŋɻa?*] [B40369]

dɔ̀ *adv.* like this [B58548]

ʤidɔ (≠*ʤìdɔ̀*) *adv.* like this ▸*ʤi* ▸*syn. hɨ̀dɔ̀* [B39799]

hɨ̀dɔ̀ (≠*hɨ̀dɔ̀*) *adv.* like this ▸*hɨ̀* ▸*syn. ʤidɔ* [B38356]

dɔ̀gá? *adv.* just before [B35076]

dɔ̀ʤila *adv.* little bit ahead [B38112]

dɔ̀ *adv.* just now [B55794]

dɔ̀pɛ́ *adv.* this morning ▸*apɛ́* [B58689]

ʤɔ̀dɔ̀ *adv.* everybody together ▸*ʤɔ̀* ▸*ant. tatí?* [B33243]

pʰɛ́?dɔ̀ *post.* until (temporal, spatial) ▸*pʰɛ́?* [B59133]

dɔ̀pɛ́ hɛ̀sɛ̀ basɛ̀ *ex.* this morning before dawn ▸*apɛ́*, *hɛ̀sɛ̀*, *sɛ̀*[2] [B58961]

dɔ̀[2] *n.* moment ▸*cf. -dɔ̀* [B53366]

ʤìdɔ̀ (≠*ʤidɔ*) *adv.* now, this much? ▸*ʤì* ▸*syn. hɨ̀dɔ̀*, *hèna* [B33790]

hɨ̀dɔ̀ (≠*hɨ̀dɔ̀*) *adv.* now ▸*hɨ̀* ▸*syn. ʤìdɔ̀*, *hèna* [B33785]

hɨ̀dɔ̀ hɨ̀dɔ̀ *ex.* right now [B58644]

nùla dɔ̀ *adv.* now ▸*nùla* [B53362]

dodò *n.* peacock (*sci. Pavo cristatus*) [<M *dogdo*] [B55534]

pədù dodò *n.* peacock (*sci. Pavo cristatus*) ▸*pədù* [B58716]

doráʔ *adj.* jealous [=M] [B40779]

doráʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to humilate ▸*tsáʔ* [B43684]

bəséʔ doráʔ tsáʔ *n.* to be jealous ▸*bəséʔ* [B57901]

vè gùku bəséʔ doráʔ tsáʔ *ex.* He is jealous on me. ▸*bəséʔ* [B59124]

dɔ̀gì *num.* nine [≠M *sətɨn*] [B14510]

suándɔ̀gì *num.* ninety ▸*suán* [B41621]

suánlapu dɔ̀gì *num.* nineteen ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41565]

suánníʔlapu dɔ̀gì *num.* 29 ▸*suánníʔ* [B41591]

dɔ̀rjɛ́? *n.* jungle fowl, extinct in Bulu (*sci. Gallus gallus*) [B33933]

dù *vi.* to tremble, shake [≠M *suu*] ▸*cf. hɔ́ʔ* [B53714]

asù dù *ex.* to tremble ▸*asù* ▸*cf. asù drì*, *asù bəʒjáʔ* [B53718]

hám dù *ex.* the earth shakes, there is an earthquake ▸*hám*[2] [B53050]

dù[2] *vt.* to fuck (only for humans) ▸*cf. mɛì* [B39870]

dùri *ex.* to make love [≠M *ljuʔriʔ*] ▸*-ri*[2] [B39874]

mərù dù *ex.* to fuck a woman ▸*mərù* [B53745]

mərù dùkaʤi *ex.* the thing for making love to a woman (penis) ▸*-ka* [B53740]

dukán *n.* shop [B57073]

dúmpán *n.* bamboo headdress worn during rituals with a square bamboo grin on front [=M *dumpan*] ▸*cf. ʧará?* [B53964]

dǔ̀tso [RL] *n.* [B56842]

ʃǎ̀tso dǔ̀tso [RL] *n.* ▸*ʃǎ̀tso* [B56845]

dúŋlo [RL] *n.* [B56465]

rarɛ dúŋlo *n.* Khoina ▸*rarɛ* [B35318]

dyɛ́? *vt.* to scratch, to score the soil (with a stick or hand) ▸*syn. kjɛí* [B40642]

alím dyɛ́? *ex.* to scratch a path (for example when making a trap) ▸*alím* [B58990]

mədyì məhjɛ̀̌ dyɛ́? *ex.* The chicken scratch the soil (with the foot). ▸*mədyì*, *məhjɛ̀̌* [B58988]

kjɛ́la ɛ̀̌ dyɛ́? *ex.* to scratch the ground with a stick ▸*kjɛ́*, *=la.ɛ̀̌* [B49938]

dyɛ̀̌ *vt.* to cut the big trees when preparing a jhum field, first step in the preparation of the field [B50084]

rí? dyɛ̀̌ *ex.* to cut the big trees in a jhum field ▸*rí?*[2] [B50089]

dyì̀ *vt.* ① to do again ② to take away [B40716]

dyì̀ri *v.* imitate each other ▸*-ri*[2] [B59094]

grìtatʃúŋ dyì̀ri *ex.* We imitate each other. ▸*grìtatʃúŋ* [B59095]

pətsə́m dyì̀ǔ̀ *ex.* the bird of prey carries away (a chicken) ▸*ǔ̀*, *pətsɨ́ŋ* [B43710]

mənɛ̀ dyìjǎ̀ *ex.* to take someone's lugage and bring it to the destiny ▸*mənɛ̀*, *-jǎ̀* [B43715]

dyì̀[2] *vi.* ① to joke ② to tease [B51445]

gù nàku dyì̀la zɛ̀na *ex.* I will tease and laugh about you. ▸*zɛ̀* [B51449]

bùku dyì̀la njá?bá? *ex.* If you tease a dog, he will make sound. ▸*bù*[2], *njá?* [B51871]

drì *vt.* to shiver [B39675]

asù drì *ex.* to shiver ▸*asù* ▸*cf. asù dù* [B37721]

drù *vt.* to twist [B49291]

drùla zɛ̀̌ *ex.* ① to ② to make a rope by twisting ▸*zɛ̀̌*[2] [B49295]

ʧàgɪáŋ *n.* taro species [<M *ʧa:gɹaŋ*] [B49581]

ʧá (≠*ʧjá?*, *ʦá?*) *n.* house fowl (less common than mədyi) ▸*syn. mədyì* [B14653]

ʧákulì *n.* dawn (the time when the first chicken start to make noise) [B55741]

ʧádə̀ *n.* chicken baby ▸*-də̀*[2] [B44082]

ʧá?də̀ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on chicks to warm them (of a hen) ▸*ʧɔ̀* [B53634]

ʧáp^{h}ɔ̀ *n.* rooster [≠M *do?pu*] ▸*-p^{h}ɔ̀* [B44092]

ʧámɔ̀ *n.* hen (not common) [≠M *do?nei*] ▸*-mɔ̀* ▸*cf. mədyì amɔ̀* [B44087]

ʧá mə́m *ex.* ▸*mə́m* [B59087]

ʧáwǔ̀ *n.* egg of chicken [≠M *dorin*] ▸*awǔ̀*[2] ▸*syn. mədyì awǔ̀* [B35677]

ʧáwǔ̀ akú? *n.* shell of egg ▸*akú?* [B35681]

ʧáwǔ̀ arjǔ̀ *n.* white of chicken egg ▸*arjǔ̀* [B35685]

ʧáwǔ̀ mə́m *ex.* to hatch an egg ▸*mə́m* [B39352]

ʧáwǔ̀ wǔ̀ *ex.* lay a chicken egg [≠M *dorin rin*] ▸*wǔ̀* [B44330]

ʧáwǔ̀ wũ̀ri *ex.* to lay an egg ▸*wǔ̀ri* [B39347]

ʧáʃĭʔ *n.* chicken louse ▸*fĭʔ* [B53136]

ʧákuli *n.* the time when the roosters shout [B51853]

ʧawṳ̃ alíŋ *n.* yolk of chicken egg ▸*alíŋ* [B35673]

ʧaì (≠*ʤaì*) *vt.* ① to hold something in one hand, to carry something by holding it in one hand, to pull, to lead an animal on a rope ② to lift something up with one hand ▸*ant. ʤṹ* [B33842]

agéʔ ʧaì *ex.* to carry in the hand ▸*agéʔ* [B39247]

ʧaì fíntʃuéʔ *ex.* to take sometning with the hand and throw away [B58625]

ʧaìla lè *ex.* to carry in the hand ▸*lè* [B42248]

susù ʧaì *ex.* to pull a living mithun with a rope ▸*susù* ▸*ant. susù ruì* [B57678]

susù pa̋la ʧaì *ex.* to lead a mithun by holding a rope which is tied around the mithuns head [B57683]

ʧaò (≠*ʦaò*, *ʧaù*) *n.* sago [≠M *má*] ▸*cf. bì* [B33507]

ʧaòmɔ (≠*ʧáʔmɔ̀*, *ʧamɔ̀*) *n.* sago palm ▸*-mɔ̀* ▸*cf. səlaùmɔ* [B11347]

ʧamɔ tíʔ *ex.* to cut a sago palm ▸*tíʔ* [B51388]

ʧaò atíŋ *n.* a group of sago palms ▸*atíŋ*[3] [B58901]

ʧaò anáŋ báʔ *ex.* there are many sago palms ▸*anáŋ* [B39491]

ʧaò arín *n.* sago fibres after hammering them ▸*arìn* [B42266]

ʧaò alə̀̃ *ex.* The sago has starch. ▸*alə̀̃* [B58792]

ʧaò asù báʔ *ex.* the sago has starch [M *má məzaʔ duu*] ▸*asù*, *báʔ* ▸*ant. ʧaò asù wè* [B57471]

ʧaò asù wè *ex.* the sago palm does not have starch (old sago palms which already bloomed once don't contain much starch) [M *má məzaʔ ŋoo*] ▸*asù*, *wè* ▸*ant. ʧaò asù báʔ* [B51086]

ʧaò kə́̃ *ex.* to make sago [KR ʧoo kan] ▸*kə́̃* [B39027]

ʧaò kúʔù *ex.* to peel the upper bark of the sago palm ▸*kúʔ* [B51091]

ʧaò tíʔ *ex.* to cut a sago palm ▸*tíʔ* [B43147]

ʧaò tə́ *ex.* to chip the trunk of the sago palm into fine fibres [M *ma tʰɯ*] ▸*tə́* [B37901]

ʧaò tsə̀̃ *ex.* to cut the trunk of the

sago palm into small trunks ▸*tsɛ̀̃* [B37887]

ʧaò pí *ex.* to beat the sago fibres [≠M *ma naŋ*] ▸*pí* [B37933]

ʧaò balɜ̀̃ *ex.* the sago has no starch ▸*alɜ̀̃* [B58791]

ʧaò mɔ́ʔ *ex.* to wash the sago fibres [≠M *má zuu*] ▸*mɔ́ʔ²* [B37938]

ʧaò ruɪ̀̃ *ex.* to peel the sago trunk by cutting with the dao ▸*ruɪ̀̃* [B37878]

ʧakɨ́ŋ *n.* root of sago palm ▸*akɨ́ŋ* [B57406]

ʧakə́m *n.* innermost part of sago trunk which remains after rasping with kiʧɔN ▸*akə́m* [B42649]

ʧadə̀ *n.* sago sucker ▸*-də̀²* ▸*syn. masù* [B39744]

ʧabɜ̀̃ *n.* piece of the trunk of a sago palm ▸*-bɜ̀̃* [B37869]

ʧabɜ̀̃ tə́ *ex.* to cut the fibres from the sago trunk ▸*tə́* [B51393]

ʧabɜ̀̃ prɛ́ *ex.* to measure the length of sago logs ▸*prɛ́* [B59080]

ʧabɜ̀̃ ruɪ̀̃ *ex.* to peel a sago trunk ▸*ruɪ̀̃* [B50569]

ʧabɜ̀̃ tsɛ̀̃ *ex.* to cut trunk of sago palm into small trunks ▸*tsɛ̀̃* [B37892]

ʧamə́n *n.* sago fibres for roof ▸*amə́n* ▸*syn. sɜ̃̀kənuíʔ* [B37858]

ʧamɔ̀ (≠*ʧáʔmɔ̀*, *ʧaòmɔ*) *n.* sago plantation ▸*-mɔ̀²* [B57397]

ʧarɔ̀ *n.* common term for sago palms growing in the wild, different varieties but the same that are also cultivated ▸*syn. apɜ̃́tɜ̃́* [B53664]

ʧarjɜ̀̃ *n.* sago variety from which a whitish sago flour is obtained, grows in Mathow but not in Bulu because it was never planted. The boiled sago from this variety remains liquid and is not considered to be very tasty. [≠M *magɹaŋ*] ▸*arjɜ̃́* [B57402]

ʧaləp *n.* sago leaf ▸*aláp* [B34260]

ʧawaí *n.* fruit of sago palm ▸*awaí* [B42534]

ʧaʒuɪ̀̃ *n.* fibres cut from the sago trunk before hammering with the *waN* [≠M *mamoʔ*] [B50574]

ʧaò akúʔ kúʔù *ex.* to remove the bark of the sago palm ▸*akúʔ*, *kúʔù* [B58954]

ʧaò kúʔù² *ex.* to remove the crown-shaft of a sago palm ▸*kúʔù* [B58952]

ʧamó? *n.* very fine sago fibres (used to light a fire with a fire-stone), under the ʧamən fibres ▸*məhjɛ̃́mó?* ▸*cf. ʧamín* [B37824]

ʧaù (≠*ʧaò*) *vt.* to comb [B35784]

akű́ ʧaù *ex.* to comb ▸*akű́* [B39432]

pʰjɛ́? ʧaù *ex.* to comb ▸*pʰjɛ́?* [B50653]

ʧá? *vi.* to be bitter [B59171]

atʃá? *adj.* ① bitter ② bad [B16338]

atʃá? adʒí? *ex.* very bitter ▸*adʒí?*[3] [B59169]

ʃəʒuɛ̀ akú? atʃá? *ex.* The bark of the bitter tree is bitter. ▸*ʃəʒuɛ̀, akú?* [B58906]

ʧakám *n.* wood bowls of the Monpas [B58038]

ʧakám gámbu *n.* wood bowl used by the Monpas [not Monpa=M] ▸*kʰàmbu* [B40230]

ʧakənúŋ *n.* inflorescence with yellow flowers growing on trees, children collect it to suck the nectar from the flowers [B58549]

ʧakuí *n.* cooked rice (or other grains) [B15507]

ʧakuíbí *n.* stiring spoon ▸*bí* [B38004]

ʧakuí ìbatʃa *ex.* the rice is cooked (lit. died, since the boiling water is not making sound anymore) [=M *'tsavo 'ʧirim*] ▸*ì* [B42731]

ʧakuí kuí? *ex.* to stir rice ▸*kuí?* [B58948]

pín ʧakuí *n.* cooked maize ▸*məpʰìn* ▸*cf. njén ʧakuí* [B20489]

məpʰìn ʧakuí *n.* polenta, cooked maize powder ▸*məpʰìn* ▸*cf. gəwéntʃĩn* [B52742]

njén ʧakuí *n.* cooked rice ▸*njén* ▸*cf. pín ʧakuí* [B20494]

səmjɛ́? ʧakuí *n.* cooked amaranth ▸*səmjɛ́?* [B58561]

ʧakuí ajím *ex.* tasty food ▸*a.ím* [B41931]

ʧagɹáŋ [RL] *n.* dog in ritual language [<M *ʧagɹaŋ*] [B39692]

ʧagráŋ akú rɔ̀dʒi akú [RL] *n.* ritual language for dog ▸*akú*, *rɔ̀dʒi* [B54796]

ʧagɹáŋ akú [RL] *n.* ritual language for dog [<M *ʧagɹaŋ məku?*] ▸*akú* ▸*cf. bù*[2] [B52872]

ʧatʃím *n.* sparrow [B40967]

ʧáp *vt.* ① to hold something with the toes ② to hold something in the mouth for animals (not for humans) ▸*cf. tɔ́ʔ* [B37509]

ʧapɛ́ *n.* shelf for putting things, upper most shelf over fire place [≠M *dəɬɛʔ*] [B38458]

ʧapíŋ [RL] *n.* vagina ▸*syn.* *atʰyíʔ* [B55662]

ʧapìŋ (≠*ʧapíŋ*) *n.* ① tree trunk ② ridge of roof [B39589]

ʃì ʧapíŋ *n.* tree trunk ▸*ʃì* [B42380]

hámʧapíŋ *n.* ridge of roof ▸*hám* [B42376]

ʧapíŋ (≠*ʧapìŋ*) *n.* sago fibres left over from the sago making process [B41284]

ʧapíŋ pʰəù *n.* alcohol made from maize mixed with sago fibres ▸*pʰəù* [B57304]

ʧápnoì *n.* Turdoides Babbler (*sci.* *Turdoides caudata?*) [≠M] [B34114]

ʧapjúŋ *n.* edible plant with sour taste [B40922]

ʧápsja *n.* Common Iora (*sci.* *Aegithina tiphia*) [B34037]

ʧabibrán [HL] *n.* stone trap ▸*cf.* *rɔ̀* [B54373]

ʧamín *n.* sago fibres ▸*cf.* *ʧamɔ́ʔ* [B42656]

ʧámʧuì *n.* plant with edible flower and fruit that look like small pomegranates, wild cardamon? [B40895]

ʧámʧoì abuɛ̃̀ *n.* edible flower ▸*abuɛ̃̀* [B41218]

ʧámpʰíʔ *n.* ① wall of house ② (from solid wood or bamboo) ▸*cf.* *hawuɛ̃̀*, *hɛ̃̀pɛí* [B38491]

ʧámbuì *n.* house mouse (*sci.* *Mus musculus*) [B28761]

ʧani [RL] (*var.* of *táni*) *n.* humans [B58542]

ʧándríʔ *n.* Oriental Magpie Robin (*sci.* *Copsychus saularis*) [B34170]

ʧánʃo [RL] *n.* rhinoceros [B55307]

ʧánʃo ʒuʒu [RL] *n.* rhinoceros (in Assam) (*sci. Rhinoceros unicornis*) ▸*ʒuʒù* [B55303]

ʧánʒu ʒupjáʔ *n.* orchid [B57360]

ʧánʒu ʒupjáʔ abuɛ̀ *n.* orchid flower ▸*abuɛ̀* [B57364]

ʧaráʔ *n.* bamboo headdress worn during rituals and parties by common people (not by priest) [=M *ʧaraʔ*] ▸*cf. dúmpán*, *pawì katíŋ* [B49862]

ʧarɛ̀ *n.* sago dough prepared with water. Pieces of the dough are dipped in a meat or vegetable broth and swallowed without chewing. [≠M *apjaŋ*] ▸*cf. səlaù* [B11337]

gù ʧarɛ̀ batʃìbədʒáŋ *ex.* I have never eaten sago. ▸*-bədʒáŋ* [B58824]

ʧarɛ̀ amjóʔ *ex.* slimy sago ▸*amjóʔ* [B57505]

ʧarɛ̀ kuíʔ *ex.* to prepare sago by boiling on fire ▸*kuíʔ* ▸*cf. ʧarɛ̀ nuì* [B37989]

ʧarɛ̀ nuì *ex.* to prepare sago by pouring hot water (not by boiling on the fire) ▸*nuì* ▸*cf. ʧarɛ̀ kuíʔ* [B37998]

təwjáŋku ʧarɛ̀ nuì *ex.* to prepare sago in a bamboo tube by pouring hot water ▸*təwjáŋ* [B58955]

ʧarɛ̀ hɔ́ʔ *ex.* to serve sago dough ▸*hɔ́ʔ* [B59081]

ʧarɛ̀ akʰɨ̀ *ex.* tight sago dough [B59163]

ʧarɨ̀ (*var.* of *ʧarjɛ̀*) *n.* small grey flying squirrel [B49176]

ʧarɨ̀ (≠*ʧarjɛ̀*, *ʧarɨ́ʔ*) *n.* bamboo rat [B28765]

ʧarɨ́ʔ (≠*ʧarɨ̀*) *n.* broom [from IA?] ▸*syn. nɑ̃̀seì* [B43774]

ʧaro *n.* wild growing sago palm. It is said that these wild varieties were dispersed in the jungle by the dung of the civet cat (B sə-nam) wo ate the seeds in the plantations of the Puroiks. [M *ʼmalo*] [B49529]

ʧarò *n.* cheese [≠M *ʃəmɯɛɛ*] [B49137]

ʧarjɛ̀ (*var. ʧarɨ̀*) (≠*ʧarɨ̀*) *n.* night-active small grey flying squirrel, sleeps in tree holes during the day ▸*cf. ʃɨ́ndʒaù* [B28757]

ʧɛ̀ ʧarɨ̀ *n.* ▸*ʧɛ̀* [B58729]

ʧawáŋ *n.* Chawang (proper name) [B56694]

ʧawáŋ raìdə̀ *n.* one of the Raiju Brothers ▸*raìdə̀* [B20460]

ʧaʒɔ̀ *n.* leafs for tatching the roof [B38545]

hámʧaʒɔ̀ *n.* leafs for tatching ▸*hám* [B38549]

ʧaʒɔ̃̀ *n.* small firewood basket ▸*cf. nagjɑ̀* [B53179]

ʧaʒú *n.* sweet fruit growing on trees (or rather inflorescence) [≠M *ʃaʒi* [*ˈʃaʒi*]] [B58634]

ʧɑ̀kú *n.* hatchet [=M *ʧaŋku*] [B38484]

ʧɑ̀kú rəp *ex.* to forge a hatchet ▸*rəp* [B59033]

ʧɑ̀ku ataləm *ex.* a dull hatchet ▸*ataləm* [B59164]

ʧɑ̀kʰù alaò ù̃ *ex.* The hatchet became bad/got spoiled. ▸*ù̃*, *alaò* [B49921]

ʧɑ̀dɔ̀ *n.* ① open wound ② scar ▸*cf. ʧɨ́ndɔ̀* [B36904]

asəm ʧɑ̀dɔ̀ *n.* wound on mouth. ▸*asəm* [B37584]

asəm ʧɑ̀dɔ̀ ù̃ *ex.* a wound appeared on the mouth ▸*ù̃* [B42631]

ʧándɔku ɛ́ʔ pʰùgɑ̀ *ex.* to put a bandage around a wound ▸*ɛ́ʔ*, *pʰù*, *-gɑ̃* [B59025]

ʧándɔ pʰù *ex.* to put bandage

around a wound ▸*pʰù* [B59024]

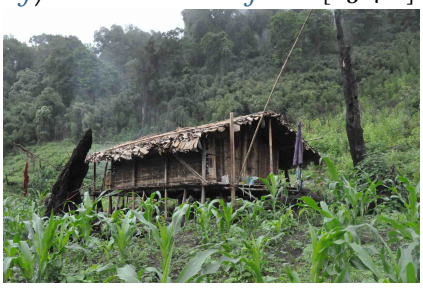
ʧǎdɔ̀ ljáʔ *ex.* to hit so hard that it becomes wound ▸*ljáʔ²* [B42842]

ʧǎtʃumɔ *n.* housefly [B21754]

ʧǎtʃŭdɛ́ʔ *n.* [B55787]

gòrjo ʧǎtʃŭdɛ́ʔ [RL] *n.* name of deity ▸*gòrjo* [B40252]

ʧáŋ (≠*tsáŋ*) *n.* fieldhouse ▸*cf. brǎ* [B36701]



ʧáŋ² *n.* alcoholic beverage [B57136]

ʧáŋru *n.* [B56361]

ʧáŋru bəʧúŋ *n.* Nafra area ▸*bəʧúŋ* ▸*cf. məljáŋ ljɛkó* [B39907]

ʧɛ̀ *n.* fruit eaten by civet cat [B40938]

ʧɛ́ʔ *vi.* to cry [B21762]

ʧuɛ̀ʧuɛ̀ ʧɛ́ʔ *ex.* to weep [B22256]

ʧɛ́ʔ² *n.* proper name, mother of Phembu [B55221]

ʧɛ́ʔ³ *v.* to be hungry, in isolation only when negated ▸*cf. hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ* [B59224]

ʧɛ́ʔka *n.* Temminck's Tragopan, lives in the mountains, fat is used as ointment on damdum bites (*sci. Tragopan temminckii*) [B33921]

ʧɛ̀ (≠*sətsɛ̀*, *adzɛ̀*, *tsɛ̀*) *n.* rat (common) ▸*cf. asíndzín*, *tɛʃín* [B28791]

ʧɛ̀ akjǎ *n.* mouse hole ▸*akjǎ* [B41794]

ʧɛ̀ kíʔ *ex.* to catch a rat with a trap (stone trap etc.) ▸*kíʔ* [B42943]

ʧɛ̀ ʧarɨ̀ *n.* ▸*ʧarjɛ̀* [B58729]

ʧɛ̀ʃíʔ *n.* White bellied rat (the fur on the back is red) (*sci. Niviventer niviventer*) ▸*aʃíʔ* ▸*syn. aʃíʔ²* [B42077]

ʧɛ̀² (≠*ʧʃɛ̀*) *v.* to be enough [B43247]

anáŋ ʧɛ̀batʃa (≠*anáŋ ʧʃɛ̀batʃa*) *ex.* It is very enough. ▸*anáŋ* [B58956]

ʧɛ̀batʃa *ex.* It is/was enough. ▸*-batʃa* [B58957]

ʧɛ̀bjaò *ex.* to be enough ▸*bjaò* [B40835]

məluɛ̀ ʧɛ̀ *ex.* there is enough food ▸*məluɛ̀* [B43251]

ʧɛ̀ *n.* night ▸*syn. atʃɛ̀* [B57725]

ʤiru ʧɛ̀ *ex.* that night ▸*atʃɛ̀*, *ʤiru* [B57705]

ʧì (≠*ʧí²*, *tíʔ*) *vt.* to eat [≠M *tsuu*] ▸*cf. bɔ̀²*, *méʔ* [B28599]

atʃìmjè *ex.* good to eat ▸*a-*, *amjè* ▸*ant. atʃìlaò* [B58145]

atʃìlaò *ex.* bad to eat ▸*alaò*, *a-* ▸*ant. atʃìmjè* [B58150]

abù ʧì *ex.* to eat a lot ▸*abù³* [B58665]

è ʧì *ex.* to eat together ▸*è* [B53383]

túʔla ʧì *ex.* to eat meat by tearing off big pieces ▸*túʔ* [B59088]

ʧìkám *v.* to gather for eating together ▸*-kám* [B59227]

ʧìdəhǎ *ex.* don't want to eat because anymore ("You gave him first, now I don't want to eat anymore.") [=M *tsɨdəhaN*] ▸*-dəhǎ* ▸*cf. índəhǎ* [B43438]

ʧìdəhǎ índəhǎ *ex.* don't want to eat and drink because of being huffy ▸*índəhǎ* [B43447]

ʧìjǎ *v.* to continue eating ▸*-jǎ* [B58623]

ʧìla rɨ *ex.* to sit and eat [≠M *tsuude ʤuŋ*] ▸*-la*, *rɨ* [B58789]

ʧìlɛ̀ *ex.* to eat even more ▸*-lɛ̀* [B57640]

ʧìlɔ *ex.* to get (something) to eat ▸*-lɔ* [B58998]

ʧìʃjám *ex.* Eat whatever you like! ▸*-*

ʃjám [B54670]

ʧĭndɔ ʧĭndɔ ʧì *ex.* to eat greedily putting big pieces inside the mouth ▸*ʧĭndɔ* [B58577]

njɛ̀ʧì ʧì *ex.* to eat little bit ▸*njɛ́ʧì* [B39621]

ʧì² (≠*ʧì*) *n.* dao ▸*cf. bjû* [B14505]

agéʔku ʧìhɛ̌ ljáʔ *ex.* to accidentely cut the hand with the dao ▸*agéʔ*, *ljáʔ²* [B58977]

gù ʧì ʧíbaro *ex.* I need a dao. ▸*ʧĭ*, *-ba* [B58835]

gù vèǔ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will steal his knife. ▸*gù*, *-ǔ*, *rjaò²* ▸*syn. gù vètű̌ ʧì rjaòna* [B59031]

ʧìtǎ́ *n.* strap of the dao ▸*atǎ́* [B15143]

ʧìdə̀ *n.* small kitchen knife ▸*-də̀²* [B28593]

ʧì atǎ́ *n.* carry belt for dao ▸*atǎ́* [B41910]

ʧì avì *ex.* a sharp knife ▸*avì* [B59115]

ʧì avì vɛ̀ *ex.* to sharpen a dao ▸*avì*, *vɛ̀* [B49311]

ʧì njɛ́ tʰɛ̀bɛ̀ *ex.* Give the knife little bit! ▸*njɛ́*, *tʰɛ̀*, *-bɛ̀* [B54580]

ʧì rə́p *ex.* to forge a dao ▸*rə́p* [B38155]

ʧì fì *ex.* to carry a dao ▸*fì* [B38311]

ʧì vɛ̀ *ex.* to sharpen a dao ▸*vɛ̀* [B37924]

ʧìhám *n.* sheath ▸*hám* [B38475]

gù vètű̌ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will the knife steal from him. ▸*gù*, *-tű́*, *rjaò²* ▸*syn. gù vèǔ ʧì rjaòna* [B59030]

ʧì alɔ̀ *n.* a sharp knife ▸*alɔ̀* [B42486]

ʧì³ *vt.* to borrow [B44141]

ɛ́ʔ ʧì *ex.* Borrow me a cloth. ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B59066]

gùku bɛ̀ njɛ́ ʧìpə́ndɛ̀ *ex.* Borrow me some money! ▸*-pə́ndɛ̀* [B59065]

gù nàku bɛ̀ ʧìnaro *ex.* [B59067]

gù nàku bɛ̀ ʧìréʔna *ex.* I will give you money. ▸*-réʔ* [B59068]

ʧìbɛ̀ *ex.* to borrow for a while ▸*-bɛ̀* [B54585]

ʧìla lè *ex.* to borrow ▸*-la*, *lè* [B44145]

ʧìlyì *ex.* to borrow (something from someone) ▸*lyì* [B16209]

ʧì.úʔ *vt.* to steal ▸*úʔ* [B16226]

gù vè bɛ̀ ʧì úʔna *ex.* [B59070]

bɛ̀ ʧì *ex.* to borrow money ▸*bɛ̀³* [B44165]

bɛ̀ ʧìla lè *ex.* to borrow money ▸*bɛ̀³* [B44160]

bɛ̀ njɛ́ ʧì *ex.* to borrow little money ▸*njɛ́*, *bɛ̀³* [B54575]

ʧì⁴ *n.* sulphur spring ▸*cf. kátúŋʤáŋ bìtúŋru* ▸*syn. kátúŋʤáŋ bìtúŋru* [B40190]

məvù [HL] *n.* ① a drink, rice beer ② sulphur spring [M vɨ̀ ‘water’] ▸*cf. pʰəù* [B52467]

ʧì⁵ (*var.* of *ʧɨ̀²*) *vt.* to scoop (water) ▸*syn. ʧɨ̀², tʰì* [B53935]

kʰɔ̀ ʧì *ex.* to scoop water ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B53939]

ʧìréʔ *n.* handle of dao [B50709]

ʧìrím *n.* sheath of dao [B15139]

ʧíʔ *vi.* to fight physically, to wrestle [B58545]

ʧíʔri *ex.* to wrestle ▸*-ri²* [B58546]

ʧíʔ² *v.* to need, be necessary [B58832]

batʃíʔ *vt.* not need ▸*ba-* [B20626]

ʧíp *vt.* to make ricebeer by pouring warm water over the fermented grains (like in Adi) ▸*cf. tʰì* [B40819]

pʰəù ʧíp *ex.* to make beer by pouring warm water over the fermented grain (like in Adi) ▸*pʰəù* [B43398]

ʧipű (*var.* *tsəpű*) *n.* yellow bee or wasp, night active, doesn't produce honey, very similar to ʧirɔɔ ▸*cf.* *ʧirɔ̀*, *tsəwoì*, *tsəmuí* [B33694]

ʧima *n.* jacket [B56334]

ʧima páŋlo *n.* Monpa jacket ▸*páŋlo* [B35404]

ʧímbi *n.* proper name [B57077]

ʧímbi raìdə̀ *n.* Tshangs real younger brother. ▸*raìdə̀* ▸*cf.* *apaí?*, *ʧáŋ raìdə̀* [B20451]

ʧinarjaò *n.* Chestnut-bellied Rock Thrush (*sci.* *Monticola rufiventris*) [B34182]

ʧinəwi *n.* Rufous-vented Yuhina (*sci.* *Yuhina occipitalis*) [B34134]

ʧíntʃɔ́? *n.* jug to scoop water and wash the sago fibres [≠M *pjuŋ*] [B37947]

ʧíntʃɔ́? tʰì *ex.* to scoop with bamboo jug ▸*tʰì* [B53165]

ʧiranjáŋ *n.* small bird species [B50622]

ʧirím *n.* Himalayan Bulbul [B58449]

ʧirím pədù *n.* Himalayan Bulbul (*sci.* *Pycnonotus leucogenys*) ▸*pədù* [B34078]

ʧirɔ̀ *n.* yellow bee or wasp species, day active, hives hanging on trees ▸*cf.* *tsəwoì*, *ʧipű* [B33698]

ʧiru ahám *n.* beehive ▸*ahám* [B35916]

ʧí *vt.* to need [B40615]

-ʧí *vderiv.* need to, must (OBLG) [Bugun *-tsik*] [B35117]

bá?ʧí *vi.* something has to be there ▸*bá?* [B40205]

vùdɔ̃̀ʧína *ex.* have to go immediately ▸*vù*, *-dɔ̃̀* [B58935]

vùʧí *ex.* have to go ▸*vù* [B39301]

gù ʧì ʧíbaro *ex.* I need a dao. ▸*ʧì²*, *-ba* [B58835]

gù mamidʒì ʧíba *ex.* I need potatoes. ▸*mamidʒì*, *-ba* [B58834]

gù vèku ʧí *ex.* I need him. ▸*=ku²* [B58833]

hè baʧí *ex.* don't need anything ▸*hè* [B43261]

ʧíbahi *ex.* Do you need ...? ▸*-bahi* [B38090]

ʧì̀ *vi.* to stand up [B22252]

kű ʧì̀ *ex.* stand up ▸*kű* [B43388]

ʧín dəwáŋ dəwúŋ *ex.* to stand around uselessly (for example curious kids when guests visit) ▸*dəwáŋ dəwúŋ* [B43139]

ʧì̀də̀ *ex.* to make someone stand up ▸*-də̀* [B43482]

ʧì̀la rì *ex.* to be standing ▸*rì* [B43393]

ʧɨ *vt.* ① to wash (clothes) ② to wash the hair ▸*cf.* *ʧɨ²*, *hí?²* [B20887]

akű ʧɨ *ex.* to wash the hair ▸*akű* [B54552]

ɛ̋? ʧɨ *ex.* to wash clothes ▸*ɛ̋?* [B38909]

ʧɨ² (*var.* *ʧì⁵*) *vt.* to fetch wather, to scoop

▸*cf. ʧi*, *tʰì* ▸*syn. ʧi⁵* [B40152]

katʃì *n.* a place to fetch water, spring, pipe, stream etc. ▸*syn. vitúŋ* [B42953]

kʰɔ̀ ʧì *ex.* to take water from the pipe ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B43287]

kʰɔ̀ ʧìla lè *ex.* to take water ▸*kʰɔ̀*, *lè* [B59064]

ʧíʔ *n.* ① sling ② type of sling trap [≠M *laito?*] ▸*syn. məʃuǐ̀* [B38324]

ʧíʔ akaó *ex.* place where prey steps in the sling ▸*akaó* [B53264]

ʧíʔ asənjáŋ *n.* fixing rope in sling trap ▸*asənjáŋ* [B58732]

ʧíʔ gjáʔ *ex.* to make a sling ▸*gjáʔ* [B43079]

ʧíʔ pấ *ex.* to catch in a sling trap ▸*pấ* [B42889]

ʧíʔ bɛ̃̀ *ex.* to load a trap ▸*bɛ̃̀* [B38329]

ʧíʔ məkaó *n.* place where prey steps in the sling ▸*məkaó* [B53274]

ʧíʔ ləwɛ́ʔ *n.* a pulled back stick which tightens the sling of a sling trap when triggered ▸*ləwɛ́ʔ* [B58753]

ʧíʔ zɛ̃̀ *ex.* to twist a sling trap (twisted from sago fibres) ▸*zɛ̃̀²* [B57510]

ʧíʔ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*ʒə̀* [B40234]

ʧíʔ² *vt.* [B58568]

ʧíʔ³ *vt.* to bat an eyelid [B52591]

akə́m ʧíʔ *ex.* to bat the eyelids ▸*akə́m* [B52595]

ʧíndɔ *n.* in big pieces, greedily [B58576]

ʧíndɔ ʧíndɔ ʧì *ex.* to eat greedily putting big pieces inside the mouth ▸*ʧì* [B58577]

ʧíndɔ̀ *n.* scar ▸*cf. ʧə̃̀dɔ̀* [B37716]

ʧíndúŋ *n.* drum [B41134]

ʧíndúŋ kɨ́ *ex.* to hit a drum ▸*kɨ́* [B41147]

ʧínmɔ́ʔ *n.* news [B34698]

ʧínmɔ́ʔ ʒuéʔ *ex.* to hear the news ▸*ʒuéʔ* [B39593]

ʧíŋ *vt.* to do, to work ▸*cf. mətʃíŋ*, *mə̀* [B22476]

atʃíŋmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to work ▸*amjɛ̀* ▸*ant. atʃíŋlaò* [B58134]

atʃíŋlaò *ex.* bad to work ▸*a-*, *alaò* ▸*ant. atʃíŋmjɛ̀* [B58139]

abədʒáʔ mətʃíŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* to work fast ▸*abədʒáʔ* [B42391]

abù ʧíŋlɛ̃̀ *ex.* to work even more ▸*abù³*, *-lɛ̃̀* [B58672]

ʧíŋkə́m *v.* to gather to work together ▸*-kə́m* [B59228]

ʧíŋʧʉ̃pʰéʔ níŋjə̀̀bo *ex.* Keep watching until the work is finished! ▸*-dʒʉ̃̀*, *-pʰéʔ*, *-jə̀̀* [B58836]

pʰɔ̃̀ mətʃíŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* Little bit before I worked. ▸*pʰɔ̃̀* [B54084]

míŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* to do work ▸*míŋ* [B51727]

míŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* to work ▸*míŋ* [B58972]

mətʃíŋ *n.* work ▸*mə-* ▸*cf. ʧíŋ* [B22470]

mətʃíŋ ɛ̃̀ ʧíŋkə́m *ex.* to work everybody together ▸*ɛ̃̀*, *-kə́m* [B58640]

mətʃíŋ ʧíŋbudʒi *ex.* someone doing work ▸*-bu* [B58629]

mətʃíŋ ʧíŋlɛ̃̀ *ex.* to work even more ▸*-lɛ̃̀* [B58673]

məluɛ̃̀ ʧíŋ *ex.* to make food ▸*məluɛ̃̀* ▸*cf. maméʔ mə̀* [B39573]

rí? ʧíŋ *ex.* to do work on the field ▸*rí?*[2] [B51732]

hèmatʃi ʧíŋ *ex.* to do something ▸*hè*, *=matʃi* [B38866]

a.ì asɛ̀ mətʃíŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* ▸*a.ì*, *asɛ̀* [B58704]

mətʃíŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* to do some work ▸*mətʃíŋ* [B38861]

mətʃíŋ ʧíŋʃjám *ex.* to whatever work you want ▸*mətʃíŋ*, *-ʃjám* [B54665]

mətʃíŋ ba-ʧíŋ-lana bɑ̀ ba-muɛ̀ *ex.* If you don't work, you won't get money. ▸*mətʃíŋ*, *muɛ̀* [B55364]

nà hanì hɛ̀ mətʃíŋ ʧíŋna *ex.* What work will you do today? ▸*mətʃíŋ* [B49390]

ʧíŋ[2] *vt.* to pick up a small thing with two fingers ▸*cf. pʰɛ̀* ▸*ant. ʤɯ́* [B36337]

badogá? ʧíŋ *ex.* to randomly collect ▸*badogá?* [B43102]

məpʰìn ʧíŋ *ex.* to pick up maize grains from the ground ▸*məpʰìn* [B58973]

məré? ʧíŋ *ex.* to pick up a bead (from the ground) with two fingers ▸*məré?* [B58968]

məpʰinù ʧíŋ *ex.* to pick up a maize grain ▸*məpʰinù* [B58969]

məpʰinù məhjɛ̀lapu ʧíŋla lè *ex.* to pick up a maize grain from the ground ▸*məpʰinù*, *lè* [B58976]

ʧíŋkí *n.* pestle (for rice or for kitchen mortar) [≠M *bəlau*] [B16319]

maljù ʧínkí *n.* pestle for kitchen mortar ▸*maljù* [B36288]

sətsɔ́m ʧíŋkí *n.* rice pestle ▸*sətsɔ́m* [B36283]

ʧəkuí *n.* small honey bee with hives on trees, produces good quality wax ▸*cf. tsəwoì*, *tsəmuí* [B28796]

ʧəkuí kadzɑ̀ *n.* bee wax ▸*kadzɑ̀* [B36206]

ʧəgɪúŋ rəgúŋ *n.* Pleiades (cluster of seven stars) [=M] ▸*cf. hɑ̀sɑ̃mɔ*, *tarɑ̀ pʰidigjáŋ* [B58863]

ʧətʃabín *n.* yam [B21766]

ʧɔ́mnaráŋ *n.* place name [B56101]

ʧɔ̀ *vt.* ① to sit (on a bike, horse or car) ② to sit on chicks (of a hen) ③ to rest ▸*cf. ʤɔ́?*, *ʤɯ̀*, *díŋ*, *ʤí?*, *ím* [B50392]

gari ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit in the car ▸*gari* [B50314]

baí? ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on the bike ▸*baí?* [B53441]

sətú ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on the horse ▸*sətú* [B50309]

ʧá?dɔ̀ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on chicks to warm them (of a hen) ▸*ʧádɔ̀* [B53634]

baí? kɯ́ʧɑ̀ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* ▸*baí?*, *kɯ́ʧɑ̀* [B59198]

sətú kɯ́ʧɑ̀ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on a particular horse ▸*sətú*, *kɯ́ʧɑ̀*, *=ku* ▸*cf. sətú kɯ́ʧɑ̀ ʧɔ̀*[2] [B59199]

sətú kɯ́ʧɑ̀ ʧɔ̀[2] *ex.* to sit on a horse ▸*sətú*, *kɯ́ʧɑ̀* ▸*cf. sətú kɯ́ʧɑ̀ ʧɔ̀* [B59197]

ʧɔ́? *vi.* happen ▸*cf. ʤɔ̀* [B50851]

agláŋ ʧɔ́?ba *ex.* a tumour appears [=M *agəlaŋ tairu*] ▸*agláŋ* [B55341]

arjè ʧɔ́?batʃa *ex.* it became evening, it got late ▸*arjé* [B50780]

asùku agəláŋ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* a tumour appears on the body ▸*asù*, *agláŋ* [B59150]

kəsá ʧɔ́? *ex.* What happened? ▸*kəsá* [B50846]

hè ʧuá?ɯ̀ *ex.* What happened? ▸*hè*, *ɯ̀* [B50855]

ʧɔ̀ʔ² (≠*ʤɔ́ʔ*) *n.* divination [B43502]
asəleì ʧɔ̀ʔ níŋ *ex.* to divinate with the spleen ▸*asəleì* [B53160]
ʧɔ̀ʔ níŋ *ex.* to read the fortune (with intestines), divinate ▸*níŋ* [B43506]
ʧɔ̀ʔ³ *v.* to slide (of a landslide) [B58868]
katʃɔ́ʔ ʧɔ̀ʔ *ex.* ▸*katʃɔ́ʔ* [B58869]
ʧɔ̃̀ (≠*ʤɔ̃́²*) *vt.* to make light (with torch or fire) [B35168]
apɛ́ ʧɔ̃̀batʃa *ex.* it became light ▸*apɛ́* [B53677]
tos ʧɔ̃̀ *ex.* to make light with a torch ▸*tos* [B43748]
bè ʧɔ̃̀ *n.* to light a fire (in order to see something in the darkness), to make light with fire ▸*bè* [B21726]
ʧoʃaì *n.* Drongo species? (*sci. Dicrurus macrocercus*) [B34049]
ʧɔ̃̀ *n.* monetary fine [B43487]
ʧɔ̃̀ pjɑ̃́ *ex.* to put a fine on someone, to make someone pay a fine ▸*pjɑ̃́* ▸*cf. ʧɔ̃̀ ʒɛ̃̀* [B38133]
ʧɔ̃̀ nɔ́ʔ *ex.* to ask for a fine ▸*nɔ́ʔ* [B43497]
ʧɔ̃̀ ʒɛ̃̀ *ex.* to pay a fine (lit. to carry) ▸*ʒɛ̃̀* ▸*cf. ʧɔ̃̀ pjɑ̃́* [B43492]
ʧuɛ́ʔ (≠*ʤuɛ́ʔ*) *vt.* ① to dispose, to remove ② to defecate ▸*cf. ɛ̃̀* [B33770]
alɔ́ʔ íʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to castrate ▸*alɔ́ʔ* [B37155]
ɛ̃̀ ʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to defecate ▸*ɛ̃̀* [B37258]
ɛ̃̀ ʧuɛ́ʔka akjɑ̃́ *n.* anus ▸*akjɑ̃́*, *ɛ̃̀* ▸*syn. ɛ̃̀ ʧuɛ̀ akjɑ̃́*, *ɪ̀kjɑ̃́* [B36972]
ɛ̀ ʧuɛ̀ akjɑ̃́ *n.* asshole ▸*akjɑ̃́*, *ɛ̀* ▸*syn. ɛ̀ ʧuɛ́ʔka akjɑ̃́*, *ɪ̀kjɑ̃́* [B50743]
pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to forget some item somewhere, to lose something ▸*pʰɔ́ʔ* [B22608]
pjɑ̃̀ʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to release ▸*pjɑ̃́* [B35934]
fɪ́ntʃuɛ́ʔ (≠*fɪ́nʤuɛ́ʔ*) *ex.* ① to throw away ② to leave away, to give up ▸*fɪ́n* [B35008]
huì ʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to suffer of dysentery, have diarrhea mixed with blood ▸*ahuì* [B15006]
ʧuì *n.* fish ▸*cf. mjɑ̃̀pɛ̃́* [B28941]
kʰɔ̀ ʧuì *n.* water animals ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*ant. pʰɨ̀ŋ ʃì* [B58496]
ʧuì akú? *n.* fish scale ▸*akú?* [B36002]
ʧuì awɑ̃̀ *n.* fish egg ▸*awɑ̃̀²* [B35669]
ʧuì aʒún *n.* fin of fish ▸*aʒuɪ̀* [B36012]
ʧuì pəhɯ́ʔ *n.* catfish (caught in August), bitter taste ▸*pəhɯ́ʔ* [B58721]
ʧuì lèbáʔ *ex.* The fishes are playing. ▸*lè* [B55374]
ʧuì akuɪ́ *n.* gills ▸*syn. awán* [B58771]
ʧuɪ̀ *vt.* to wash [B16297]
agɔ́ʔ ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* to wash the hands ▸*agɛ́ʔ* [B39227]
arɪ̀ ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* to wash intestines with water before cooking or roasting them ▸*arɪ̀n* [B42523]
asɔ́m ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* to wash the mouth ▸*asɔ́m* [B51829]
asù ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* to bathe, wash the body ▸*asù* [B38900]
kətɔ̃́ ʧuì *ex.* to brush the teeth ▸*kətɔ̃́* [B51811]
gùtaʒu asù ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* I wash myself. ▸*=taʒu*, *asù* [B58784]
ʧuɪ̀ka prɪ̃́ *ex.* the person who is washing (himself/something) ▸*-ka*, *prɪ̃́* [B42196]
mɛ̀ ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* to wash vegetables ▸*mɛ̀* [B39222]
mənɛ̀ ʧuɪ̀ *ex.* to clean (dishes etc.) ▸*mənɛ̀* [B38914]

asǎ̀ ʧuǐ *ex.* to make something clean ▸*asǎ̀* [B42188]

ʧú? *vt.* to dig [B29004]

tʰə̀m ʧú? *ex.* to dig a trapping pit ▸*tʰə̀m* [B57985]

ʧú?gǐ̀bo *ex.* Help digging! ▸*gǐ̀*, *-bo* [B53022]

ʤə̀ ʧú? *ex.* to dig out yam ▸*ʤə̀* [B52528]

məkaó ʧú? *ex.* to dig the hole for the ʧi? trap ▸*məkaó* [B40527]

məhjɛ̀ ʧú? *ex.* to dig the earth ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B38841]

məhjɛ̀ ʧú? tjé *ex.* to dig and coveer with soil ▸*tjé* [B43179]

məhjɛ̀ ʧú?la plɛ́gǎ̀ *ex.* ▸*məhjɛ̀*, *plɛ́*, *-gǎ̀* [B59043]

ʧuklɔ́ *n.* big toad, appears only in a short period of the year, edible but has to be peeled before eating [B14773]

ʧugluín *n.* snail (with and without house) [B22243]

ʧugluín ahám *n.* house of snail ▸*ahám* [B36016]

ʧǔ̀gəʒí? *n.* crab (they are found in may-june and are about hand size) [≠M *batʃi*] [B35998]

ʧǔ̀gəʒí? alɛ̀ *n.* leg of crab ▸*alɛ̀* [B53702]

ʧúŋkáŋ *n.* elbow [B35805]

agə́? ʧǔ̀káŋ *n.* elbow ▸*agé?* [B35801]

ʧjá? (≠*ʧá*) *n.* taro [ʧaa] ▸*cf. tsá?* [B29007]

ʧá?mɔ̀ (≠*ʧaòmɔ*, *ʧamɔ̀*) *n.* big taro root from which small taro roots sprout ▸*-mɔ̀* [B53126]

ʧjá? akjɛí *n.* places where the taro root branches ▸*akjɛí* [B53131]

ʧjá? kuɛ́? *ex.* to peel taro by scraping with the knife (after roasting in the fire) ▸*kʰuɛ́?* [B51245]

ʧjɛ̀ *n.* leaf for packing food and putting into the sago basket [≠M *lofei*] [B37972]

ʧjɛ̀ alɔ́p *n.* leaf for packing food ▸*alɔ́p* [B50938]

ʧjɛ̀ pɛ́ tjé *ex.* to cut and cover with leaves ▸*tjé* [B43173]

ʧjɛ̀ rjaò *ex.* to put leaves inside a basket so that content doesn't fall out ▸*rjaò*[3] ▸*cf. plɛ́* [B37980]

ʧjɛ̀ (≠*ʧɛ̀*[2]) *vi.* to be late [B40855]

anáŋ ʧjɛ̀batʃa (≠*anáŋ ʧɛ̀batʃa*) *ex.* it became too late, very late ▸*anáŋ* [B43534]

ʧjɛ̀bá? *ex.* it became late (we have to go) ▸*bá?* [B43529]

ʤaal *n.* nail [<IA] [B49542]

ʤaal ʤúŋribatʃa *ex.* The nails are going to finish. ▸*ʤǔ̀*[3] [B49770]

ʤaal ryì *ex.* to pull out a nail ▸*ruì* [B49546]

ʤaì (≠*ʧaì*) *vt.* to help [B33591]

ʤaì vù *ex.* to go to help ▸*vù* [B42243]

ʤaìlaì *n.* dusk [=M *ʤailai*] ▸*cf. rəpá rəpí* [B52927]

ʤaìlaì ǔ̀ *ex.* to become dark in the evening ▸*ǔ̀* [B57182]

ʤá? *v.* to grow over, to cover (of moss or lichen) [B53259]

kafaì ʤá? *ex.* moss or lichen grows over something ▸*kafaì* ▸*cf. ʃawɛ́? ʤɛ̀* [B53254]

ʤá?[2] *adj.* intensifier for yellow [B51058]

adʒoì ʤá? *ex.* very yellow ▸*adʒoì* [B51062]

ʤakǎ́kjǔ *n.* lizard [B53064]

ʤadʒɛ́? *n.* weevil?, big cricket-like animal, is eaten after roasting in the fire [B58633]

ʤadʒoì *n.* bunch [B50920]

wấʔ ʤadʒoì *n.* bunch of banana (whole infructescence of the banana plant) ▸*ʃ́ʔ* [B41264]

ʤáp *vt.* ① to hold something as a bundle ② to bundle something [B41021]

kadʒéʔ ʤáp *ex.* to hold fire tongs ▸*kadʒéʔ* [B59102]

sằ ʤáp *ex.* to bundle sago fibres in order to make a roof ▸*sằ* [B41025]

ʤamíʔ *n.* chutney (pestled), containing chilli, sichuan pepper, cheese [B57318]

ʤamíʔ ʣúʔ *ex.* to pestle a chutney in the mortar ▸*ʣúʔ* [B57322]

ʤámʤúʔ *n.* ant [B14676]

ʤámʤúʔ ahám *n.* ant hill ▸*ahám* [B39321]

ʤámʤúʔ pəʃéʔ pəʃéʔ kű̃ba *ex.* A lot of ants crawl around. ▸*pəʃéʔ*, *kű̃*^{2} [B58941]

ʤámʤúʔhám *n.* ant hill ▸*hám* [B39316]

ʤằbu [RL] *n.* [B56804]

ʤằbu ʤiwi [RL] *n.* the whole sky ▸*ʤiwi* [B56810]

ʤi *prn.* definiteness marker (DEF) ▸*cf. ʤì*, *ʤiru* [B35379]

kű̃ʤi *ex.* ① up there ② the upper one ▸*kű̃* ▸*ant. bùʤi* [B36887]

tɛ́ʤi *prn.* ① that, there ② that one ▸*tɛ́* ▸*ant. hɨ̀ʤi* [B28870]

ʤi=tələ̀ kəlɨ̀ɬɛ̀ *ex.* The plate is upside down. ▸*kəlì*, *tələ̀* [B53781]

ʤidɔ (≠*ʤìdɔ̀*) *adv.* like this ▸*dɔ* ▸*syn. hɨ̀dɔ* [B39799]

ʤidɔ ǜʤinaro *ex.* It will become like this. ▸*ǜʤi* [B58589]

ʤidɔ rìnajà *ex.* You have to say like this. [B53357]

ʤisá *adv.* like this ▸*sá* [B35207]

ʤisaá bjaò *ex.* it is like this ▸*bjaò* [B58712]

bùʤi *dem.* ① down there ② the down one ▸*bù* ▸*ant. kű̃ʤi* [B36879]

hɨ̀ʤi *adv.* ① here ② this one ▸*hɨ̀* ▸*ant. tɛ́ʤi* [B36867]

ʤì *prn.* (ANA) ▸*cf. ʤi* [B55096]

ʤìdɔ̀ (≠*ʤidɔ*) *adv.* now, this much? ▸*dɔ̀*^{2} ▸*syn. hɨ̀dɔ̀*, *hèna* [B33790]

ʤìmatʃi conjunction even like this ▸*=matʃi* [B39891]

ʤìlíŋ ① there, at that place ② then , that time ▸*-líŋ* [B39683]

ʤila conjunction ① conjunction (clause initial): then, thus ② adverb: then, there (CONJ) ▸*-la*^{2} ▸*cf. la* [B34567]

ʤilapəna conjunction ① after.this ② elsewhere ▸*-lapəna* [B35191]

ʤilapu conjunction after this (CONJ) ▸*=lapu* [B56779]

ʤilana conjunction then (CONJ)

▸*lana* [B39719]

ʤilíŋku *adv.* ① there, that place ② then, that time ▸*-líŋ*, *=ku* [B43724]

ʤí? *vt.* to tear (a cloth) ▸*syn. ɛ́? ʧuplá?* [B59091]

ɛ́? ʤí? *ex.* to tear a cloth ▸*ɛ́?* [B59092]

ʤí?plá? (*var.* of *ʧuplá?*) *v.* to tear apart ▸*plá?* ▸*syn. ɛ́? ʧuplá?* [B59090]

ɛ́? ʤí?plá? *ex.* to tear a cloth ▸*ɛ́?* [B51995]

ʤitatapa *n.* ① Dʒitatapa ② place near Tungri [B56207]

ʤíp *vt.* to milk (a cow) [B37791]

njè ʤíp *ex.* to milk (a cow) ▸*njè* [B37795]

səfəù njè ʤíp *ex.* to milk a cow ▸*səfəù*, *njè* [B59098]

ʤinedʒi *quant.* how many there are, all of them [B57868]

ʤíntʃó? *n.* Rjaŋ's mother from the Kjɛndəə clan, married to ʧaŋro. ▸*cf. kʰjèndà*, *rjáŋ*, *ʧáŋro* [B55487]

ʤíndʒó? *n.* green beans (*sci. Phaseolus vulgaris*) [=M *ʤindʒo?*] [B35879]

ʤiri conjunction conjunction, that's why? (CONJ) [B56648]

ʤiri² [RL] *n.* [B56469]

ʤiri ʤisán *n.* Jerigaon ▸*ʤisán* [B35322]

ʤirì *n.* camp in the forest or mountains [B58570]

ʤiru *adv.* then, that time ▸*cf. ʤi*, *dərù*, *ɛ̀ru* [B57701]

ʤiru adəzuì *ex.* ▸*adəzuì* [B58646]

ʤiru ʧɛ̀ *ex.* that night ▸*atʃɛ̀*, *ʧɛ̀* [B57705]

ʤiru bədɛ̀ *ex.* that time ▸*bədɛ̀* [B57710]

ʤiru nì *ex.* that day ▸*nì²*, *anì* [B57715]

ʤirjè (*var. ʤjè*) *n.* yesterday [B43539]

ʤirjè atʃɛ̀ *n.* yesterday night ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B58695]

ʤirjɛpɛ́ (*var. ʤjèpɛ́*) *n.* yesterday morning ▸*apɛ́* [B58692]

ʤirjɛnì *n.* yesterday ▸*anì* ▸*syn. gjɛnì* [B20624]

ʤiwi [RL] *n.* [B56807]

ʤàbu ʤiwi [RL] *n.* the whole sky ▸*ʤàbu* [B56810]

ʤisán [RL] *n.* [B56472]

ʤiri ʤisán *n.* Jerigaon ▸*ʤiri²* [B35322]

ʤɨdzì [RL] *n.* mythological place where all humans were born ▸*syn. lɨsì* [B56761]

ʤín *vt.* to poke the ground with a stick [B56897]

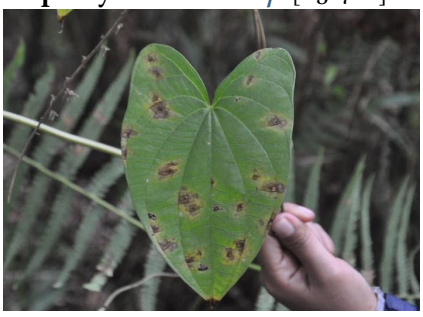
ʤɨ̀gè *n.* ① bell ② bell used for rituals, similar to the bells used by Buddhists. The handle has two sides one with a good god (ʃəʒaŋmɔɔ), the other side with a demon (məłao) [B49433]

sətú ʤɨ̀gè *n.* horse bell ▸*sətú* [B41058]

ʤə̀ *n.* yam, climber, fruits and roots are edible, fruits can be roasted in

fire and have a bitter taste, grows also wild. There are two domesticated species: red and white yam. [B40942]

ʤə̀ alə́p *n.* yam leaf ▸*alə́p* [B52788]



ʤə̀ awaí *n.* seed/fruit of yam ▸*awaí* [B52774]

ʤə̀ kʰuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to peel yam by scraping (after roasting in the fire) ▸*kʰuɛ́ʔ* [B41213]

ʤə̀ ʧúʔ *ex.* to dig out yam ▸*ʧúʔ* [B52528]

ʤə̀ rjúŋ *n.* white yam ▸*arjù* ▸*cf. ʤə̀ ʃĩʔ* [B40951]

ʤə̀ ʃĩʔ *n.* tuber with purple colour inside ▸*aʃĩʔ* ▸*cf. ʤə̀ rjúŋ* [B40946]

ʤə̀ ʒaò *ex.* to roast yam in the fire ▸*saò* [B52614]

ʤə̀súʔ *n.* "real" yam (cultivated) ▸*asú* [B52533]

abɨ̃mɔ̀ ʤə̀ *n.* wild yam ▸*abíŋmɔ̀* [B52538]

ʤəʤə́ŋ gəzjɛ̃̀ *n.* bad spirit [B49612]

ʤɔ̀ (≠*ʤò*) *vi.* to swell, to bulge out (tumor) ▸*cf. ʧɔ́ʔ* [B55337]

ʤɔ́ʔ (≠*ʧɔ́ʔ²*, *ʤó?*) *v.* to guard, to wait [B35148]

ʤɔ́ʔdə́m *ex.* to wait the whole day ▸*-də́m* [B51771]

ʤɔ́ʔbɛ̃̀ *ex.* to wait little bit ▸*-bɛ̃̀* [B53346]

ʤɔ́ʔbo *ex.* wait! ▸*-bo* [B43738]

ʤɔ́ʔjɑ̃̀ *ex.* to wait for people coming behind ▸*-jɑ̃̀* [B38108]

ʤɔ́ʔjɑ̃̀² *ex.* Wait! ▸*-jɑ̃̀* [B51776]

ʤɔ́ʔjɑ̃̀bɛ̃̀ *ex.* Wait little bit! ▸*-jɑ̃̀*, *-bɛ̃̀* [B58878]

ʤɔ́ʔjɑ̃̀bo *ex.* wait! ▸*-jɑ̃̀*, *-bo* [B43733]

ʤɔ́ʔla rɨ̀ (≠*ʤɔ́ʔla rɨ̀*) *ex.* to be waiting ▸*rɨ̀* [B51766]

ʤɔ́ʔlɛ̃̀ *ex.* to wait anyway (even if

someone said not to wait) ▸*-lɛ̀̃* [B58684]

badʒɔ́ʔrɨ̀ vùpíʔ *ex.* without waiting he went ahead ▸*vùpʰíʔ* [B43372]

dʒò (≠*dʒɔ̀*) *v.* to take on the lap ▸*cf. dʒɯ̃́²* [B37615]

dʒò² [RL] *vi.* to marry [B56606]

dʒòpáŋ *vi.* to establish a marriage relation with another family, to discuss the details about a marriage, what goods are going to be exchanged etc. [B56621]

dʒòʃáŋ *n.* ① to establish a marriage relation with another family ② to marry a woman ▸*ʃáŋ* ▸*cf. láŋpáŋ* [B34543]

dʒoʃáŋ tsáʔ *n.* to marry someone [B58444]

dʒoʃáŋ láŋpáŋ *ex.* to get married ▸*ʃáŋpáŋ*, *láŋpáŋ* [B34555]

mərù dʒòʃjáŋ *ex.* to marry a woman ▸*mərù* [B39610]

dʒòʃáŋpáŋ [RL] *vi.* to establish a marriage relation with another family ▸*ʃáŋ*, *páŋ²* [B56979]

dʒóʔ (≠*dʒɔ́ʔ*) *v.* to squat [≠M *gədʒuŋ*] ▸*cf. dʒɯ̃̀*, *dáŋ*, *dzɨ́ʔ*, *ʧɔ̀*, *ím* [B58877]

dʒóʔla rɨ̀ (≠*dʒɔ́ʔla rɨ̀*) *ex.* to squat [≠M *gədʒuŋde dʒuŋ*] ▸*rɨ̀* [B54711]

dʒóʔdʒóʔ *v.* to suckle, to suck audibly ▸*cf. njúʔ* [B37597]

dʒóʔdʒóʔ njúʔ *ex.* to drink suckling ▸*njúʔ* [B59053]

dʒóʔdʒóʔrila njúʔ *ex.* to suckle ▸*rì*, *njúʔ* [B59054]

dʒodʒine ʧáŋpjáŋ *n.* bad spirit [B49624]

dʒopáŋ [RL] *v.* to establish a marriage relation with another family [B56598]

dʒopáŋ ʃáŋpáŋ [RL] *ex.* to establish a marriage relation with another family ▸*ʃáŋpáŋ* [B56602]

dʒonúŋ *n.* [B55895]

dʒonúŋ balì *n.* ritual for a person who died an unnatural dead (murder, accident) [=M *dʒonuŋ balii*] ▸*balì* [B40381]

dʒɔ̀̃ (≠*dzɔ̀̃*) *n.* fishing net (before made from ʃaŋ) [B38435]

dʒɔ̀̃ pə *ex.* to make a fishing net ▸*pə́* [B38453]

dʒɔ̀̃ fɛ̃̀ *ex.* to fish with the net, to throw the net [B38440]

dʒuéʔ (≠*dʒuɛ̀̃*, *ʧuéʔ*) *vt.* ① to gather, to make a pile or heap ② to assemble people, gather ▸*cf. kʰìm* [B35088]

dʒuéʔkə́m *ex.* to put together on a hip (e.g. potatoes) ▸*-kə́m* [B50332]

dʒuéʔla rə́m *ex.* to sleep gathered together [B57562]

mabjaò dʒuéʔ *ex.* to make an unordered hip of bamboo ▸*mabjaò* [B58871]

fíndʒuéʔ (≠*fíntʃuéʔ*) *ex.* to throw together on a heap ▸*fín* [B53812]

kalíŋ téla fíndʒuéʔ *ex.* to put stones together on a hip ▸*téla* [B59138]

ʃì dʒuéʔ *ex.* to make an unordered pile of wood ▸*ʃì* ▸*ant.* *ʃì trā́* [B41227]

dʒuɛ̀ (≠*dʒuéʔ*) *vi.* slow [≠M *kəʒuʔ*] [B22651]

dʒuɛ̀dʒuɛ̀ *ex.* slowly slowly [B42411]

dʒuɛ̀ dʒuɛ̀ vù *ex.* to walk slowly ▸*vù* [B59179]

dʒuɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go slowly ▸*vù* [B42416]

dʒuɛ̀ hì̀ *ex.* to speak slowly ▸*hì̀* [B42401]

dʒuì *v.* to walk supported on a stick [B58893]

kjé dʒuì *ex.* to walk supported on a walking stick ▸*kjé* [B58894]

dʒù (≠*dʒjù*, *tsú*[2]) *vt.* to sing [B38883]

kədáŋ dʒù *ex.* to sing ▸*kədáŋ* [B22295]

míŋ dʒù *ex.* to sing ▸*míŋ* [B42813]

dʒùmu *n.* [B55977]

dʒùmu lagà *n.* ▸*lagà* [B55983]

dʒúʔ *vt.* to spit ▸*cf. kətʃɛ̀* [B20638]

kətʃɛ̀ dʒúʔ *ex.* to spit ▸*kətʃɛ̀* [B38603]

dʒúʔ[2] *v.* feel sleepy [B59149]

ləbín dʒúʔ *ex.* to start feeling sleepy [≠M *dʒiroʔ dəmɛʔ*] ▸*ləbín* [B50143]

dʒúmdʒà *n.* lizard [≠M *tʃɨŋkɛkjuŋ*] [B22354]

dʒṵ̀ (≠*dʒú́*[2]) *vi.* to squat (with feet on the ground) ▸*cf. dʒóʔ*, *dʑɨʔ*, *díŋ*, *tʃɔ́*, *ím* [B33726]

dʒṵ̀la rɨ *ex.* ▸*rɨ* [B58966]

dʒṵ̀[2] (≠*tʃɔ̰̀*, *dʒú́*[2], *dʒú́*) *vt.* to be/put in a vertical position ▸*ant.* *tʰɔ̰̀* [B33213]

atʃɛ̀ dʒṵ̀ *ex.* to put something straight in vertical position ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B53404]

dʒṵ̀la lì *ex.* to put something in a vertical position ▸*lì* [B51142]

botəlu dʒṵ̀ *ex.* to put a bottle somewhere ▸*botəlu* [B58967]

dʒṵ̀[3] *vt.* to finish something ▸*cf. -dʒṵ̀* [B49765]

dʒaal dʒúŋribatʃa *ex.* The nails are going to finish. ▸*dʒaal* [B49770]

dʒúŋgəʒíʔ *n.* crab [B37699]

dʒú́ (≠*dʒṵ̀*[2]) *vt.* ① to lift up something with both hands ② to shrug shoulders ▸*ant. tʃĩ́ŋ*[2], *tʃaì* [B37725]

kú́ dʒú́ *ex.* to lift something up with both hands ▸*kú́* [B58964]

patíŋ dʒú́ *ex.* to shrug shoulders ▸*patíŋ* [B37729]

bùlapu mənɛ̀ kú́ dʒú́ *ex.* to lift up luggage with both hands ▸*bù*, *mənɛ̀* [B58965]

dʒú́[2] (≠*dʒṵ̀*, *dʒṵ̀*[2]) *vt.* to hold something in the arms (like a baby) ▸*cf. dʒò*, *bəù* [B22358]

adə̀ dʒú́ *ex.* ① to hold a child in the arms ② to lift up a child ▸*adə̀* [B42211]

dʒjɛ̀ (*var.* of *dʒirjɛ̀*) *n.* yesterday [B58690]

dʒjɛ̀pɛ́ (*var.* of *dʒirjɛpɛ́*) *n.* yesterday morning ▸*apɛ́* [B58691]

dʒjɛnì (*var.* of *gjɛnì*) *n.* yesterday ▸*anì* [B51584]

dʒjɛnì arjɛ́ *n.* yesterday evening ▸*arjɛ́* ▸*ant. lapɛ́ arjɛ́* [B58694]

dʒjù (≠*dʒù*) *vt.* ① to stab ② to poke ③ to prick ▸*cf. híŋ* [B22279]

asì dʒjù *ex.* to stab a bear (of a trap) ▸*asì* [B58757]

máŋ dʒjù *ex.* to stab with a stabbing trap ▸*máŋ* [B42894]

məʒɔ̰̀ dʒjù *ex.* the thorns prick ▸*məʒɔ̰̀* [B49946]

məhjɛ̰̀ku dʒjù *ex.* to poke the ground (with a stick) ▸*məhjɛ̰̀* [B59089]

sətsɛ̀hɛ̃̀ ʤjù *ex.* to stab wild boars (of a trap) ▸*sətsɛ̀̃* [B58758]

tsaɛ̃̀ *n.* sun [B50231]

tsaɛ̃̀ pʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* the sun burns down ▸*pʰɛ́ʔ*[2] [B50235]

tsaɛ̃̀ anɑ̃̀ hjáʔ *ex.* The sun is too hot. ▸*ahjáʔ* [B53959]

tsaò (≠*ʧaò*, *ʤaù*) *vi.* to boil ▸*cf. daò*, *tám* [B22776]

kʰɔ̀ tsaò *ex.* the water boils [≠M *vuu ʧɬn*] ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B43544]

kʰɔ̀ tsaòbaʧa *ex.* the water is boiling ▸*-baʧa* [B43565]

tsaòdò *ex.* let it boil ▸*-dò* [B51537]

mɛ̀ tsaòbaʧa *ex.* the vegetables are boiling ▸*-baʧa* [B43560]

kʰɔlù tsaòbaʧa *ex.* the bamboo is boiling ▸*kʰɔlù* [B57491]

tsáʔ (≠*ʧá*) *vt.* to do, to make ▸*cf. tsʉ̀tsáʔ*, *ʧjáʔ* [B15348]

atlí tsáʔ *ex.* to make something flat (roti) ▸*atlí* [B39393]

aʧɛ̀ tsáʔ *ex.* to make straight ▸*aʧɛ̀* [B51542]

amjè tsáʔdyɨ̀na *ex.* to fix something, to make something good again ▸*amjè*, *-dyɨ̀* [B49926]

arɛ́n tsáʔ *ex.* to rest [<IA] ▸*arɛ́n* ▸*syn. tʰɔ̃̀bɛ̃̀* [B40770]

arɛ́n tsáʔréʔ *ex.* to make it comfortable for someone ▸*-réʔ*, *arɛ́n* [B54895]

aróʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to be friends ▸*aróʔ* [B38947]

awulè tsáʔʧɪ̃́ʔ *ex.* to make a mistake ▸*awulè* ▸*cf. awulè hɨ̃̀ʧɪ̃́ʔ* [B42605]

azɛ́ʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to feel dirty ▸*azɛ́ʔ* [B53017]

kəlì tsáʔ *ex.* to turn around ▸*kəlì* [B51557]

gutaʒu tsáʔ *ex.* I did it myself. ▸*=taʒu* [B53878]

dəhù tsáʔ *ex.* to be sad ▸*dəhù* ▸*cf. plúm vòvə̀* [B44523]

doráʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to humilate ▸*doráʔ* [B43684]

tsáʔgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to extinguish the fire (not completely, but just take out the wood pieces to burn it again later) ▸*gɛ́ʔ* ▸*cf. wɛ́ʔ* [B35707]

tsáʔlɛ̃̀ *ex.* to do even more ▸*-lɛ̃̀* [B57645]

badogáʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to do unknowingly ▸*badogáʔ* [B43689]

bán tsáʔ *ex.* to close to block [<M *Hindi* बंद करना *band karnā*] ▸*bán* ▸*syn. gáʔ gɑ̃̀* [B58214]

bɛ̀ tsáʔgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to extinguish a fire ▸*bɛ̀*, *gɛ́ʔ* ▸*cf. bɛ̀ wɛ́ʔ* [B38656]

bədì tsáʔ *ex.* to gossip, to backbite ▸*bədì* [B54194]

mɔ́ʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to fight ▸*mɔ́ʔ* [B41692]

mɔ́ʔ tsáʔ vù *ex.* to go to fight ▸*vù*, *mɔ́ʔ* [B41697]

muáʔ tsáʔri *ex.* to be in war, to fight ▸*mɔ́ʔ* [B39669]

nà hanì hɛ̀ tsáʔdə́m *ex.* What did you do today the whole day? ▸*-də́m*, *hanì* [B51848]

sá tsáʔ *ex.* to do like this ▸*sá* [B53591]

sətyɛ̃́ tsáʔ *ex.* to make a fence ▸*sətyɛ̃́* [B50680]

hakə́m tsáʔ *ex.* to be friends ▸*hakə́m* [B52822]

hám amjè tsáʔ *ex.* to make the house good ▸*amjè*, *hám* [B49401]

hám tsáʔ *ex.* to build a house ▸*hám* [B49396]

hɛ̀ tsáʔ *ex.* why ▸*hɛ̀* [B39834]

hɛ̀ tsáʔbáʔ *ex.* What happened? ▸*hɛ̀*

[B53393]

hɛ̀ ba-tsáʔ-mulɔ̀ *ex.* Don't know what to do. ▸*-mulɔ* [B55118]

kəlì tsáʔ tű́ *ex.* to put the cover upside down ▸*kəlì*, *tʰɔ̰̀* [B51567]

ʤonúŋ balì tsáʔ *ex.* to make the ʤonuŋ balii ritual ▸*ʤonúŋ balì* ▸*ant. lím hɨ̀* [B53950]

bù.úʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to steal secretly (from the field, or if nobody is at home) ▸*bù.úʔ* ▸*syn. lè.úʔ* [B49564]

bù.úʔ tsáʔ lè *ex.* to steal ▸*bù.úʔ*, *lè* [B54660]

nà gɨ̰̀ kəsáʔʧi tsáʔna *ex.* How much is the price. ▸*kəsáʧi*, *gɨ̰̀* [B53898]

tsatsu *n.* cow-mithun hybrid [Monpa 'tsatsa=M *'tsatsɛ*] [B52524]

tsapoʧáʔ *n.* ice [B20666]

tsabríŋ grabrín *n.* mythological forefather (went ahead of the Puroiks to China) ▸*cf. nəʃì nəlúŋ*, *krá krúŋ* [B43818]

tsám *vt.* to launch an attack, to jump on someone [B58580]

tʰíʔ tsám *ex.* to attack a village ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58582]

mɔ́ʔ tsám *ex.* to launch an attack ▸*mɔ́ʔ* [B58581]

tsámpíʔ *n.* bamboo wall ▸*cf. hɛ̃̀pɛí* [B58746]

hɛ̀̃wuì tsámpíʔ *n.* bamboo wall ▸*hɛ̀̃wuɨ̀* [B58745]

tsántsíʔ palɔ̰̀ *n.* Wren Babbler (*sci. Pnoepyga pusilla?*) [B34098]

tsɛ̃̀ *vi.* to tear (a rope where something is hanging) [B40476]

tsɛ̃̀ɬéʔ *ex.* to tear (a rope) ▸*-ɬéʔ* [B43225]

atɛ́ tsɛ̃̀ɬéʔ *ex.* the rope teared apart ▸*atɛ́̃* [B43236]

tsɛ̃̀tű́ [RL] *n.* [B56797]

ʃitű́ tsɛ̃̀tű́ [RL] *n.* the forefathers of the Monpas in Tawang ▸*ʃitű́* [B56800]

tsɛ̃̀píʔ *n.* small basket for meat etc. [B52785]

tsɛ̃̀pu *n.* big wild boar with big tusks [≠M *ʃəwuu*] [B50525]

sətsɛ̰̀ tsãpu *n.* big wild boar, with big tusks [≠M *ʃələn ʃəwuu*] ▸*sətsɛ̰̀* [B40658]

tsɛ̃̀pu² [HL] *n.* mythological river name [B55236]

tsámpu vìsəpjúŋ [RL] *n.* confluence of the Tsampu river ▸*vìsəpjű́* [B56391]

tsáŋ (≠*ʧáŋ*) *vt.* ① to give a treat to guests ② to pay tax [=M *tsaŋ*] [B36394]

patsu tsáŋ *ex.* pay taxes ▸*patsù* [B34652]

tsɛ̰̀ (≠*tsɛ̰̀*, *ʧɛ̰̀*) *n.* ① snot (dry and liquid) ② cough ▸*cf. tsə* ▸*syn. katʃoì* [B35778]

tsɛ̰̀ tsə *ex.* to cough ▸*tsə* [B39427]

tsɛ̰̀ nyè *ex.* snot flows out ▸*nyè* [B39422]

tsɛ̰̀ hɨ̰̀ *ex.* to blow the nose ▸*hɨ̰̀²* [B37061]

tsé? *vi.* hot (of water) [B58518]
atsé? (≠*adʒí?*) *adj.* hot (of water) [≠M *məʒuu*] ▸*a-* ▸*cf. alám* [B28546]
atsé? kʰɔ̀ *ex.* hot water ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀tsé?* [B58590]
kʰɔ̀tsé? *n.* hot water ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*syn. atsé? kʰɔ̀* [B58591]
kʰɔ̀tsé? kʰɔ̀lám *n.* mythological river, hot water [M *vɨʒu vɨlu*] ▸*alám*, *kʰɔ̀* ▸*cf. vɨʒù vɨlù* [B40024]
tsɛ̀ (≠*tsɛ̃̀*) *vt.* to cut a tree trunk into pieces of about 0.5m length ▸*cf. gám* [B37883]
ʧaò tsɛ̀ *ex.* to cut the trunk of the sago palm into small trunks ▸*ʧaò* [B37887]
ʧabɑ̀ tsɛ̀ *ex.* to cut trunk of sago palm into small trunks ▸*ʧaò* [B37892]
tsímpaú *n.* mole (*sci. Talpa micrura/Talpa leucura*) [=M] [B28675]
tsíndáŋ *n.* Chindang [<M] [B35424]
tsíŋ *vi.* rain mixed with snow is falling [B44430]
hɑ̀pʰì tsíŋ *ex.* rain mixed with snow is falling ▸*hɑ̀pʰì* [B44425]
tsà *vt.* ① to cough ② to clear throat ▸*cf. tsɛ̃̀* [B35773]
tsɛ̀ tsà *ex.* to cough ▸*tsɛ̃̀* [B39427]
tsà bəsáŋ *v.* to clear one's throat [M *kjuu bəsaŋ*] ▸*bəsáŋ* [B37189]
məjaò tsà bəsáŋ *ex.* to clear the phlegm from the throat ▸*məjaò*, *bəsáŋ* [B58810]
hjɑ̀ʧi tsà *ex.* to cough once ▸*hjɑ̀ʧi* [B51932]
tsáp *vt.* to follow an animal trace [B40079]
lɛ̀jí? tsáp *ex.* to folllow an animal trace [B43352]
tsəpɑ́̃ (*var.* of *ʧipɑ́̃*) *n.* wasp [B58530]
tsəmuí *n.* bee with hive in tree ▸*cf. ʧipɑ́̃*, *ʧəkuí* [B22780]
tsəmuí?pín *n.* honey from the bee species living in trees ▸*apín* [B57766]
tsəmuì tsəwoì brá? brá? kʰìbaro *ex.* A lot of bees are flying. ▸*tsəwoì*, *brá?*, *kʰì* [B58940]
tsəmuì tsəwoì brá? brá? bá? *ex.* There are lots and lots of bees. ▸*tsəwoì*, *brá?* [B58938]
tsəmuì híŋ *ex.* The tree bee stings. ▸*híŋ* [B59083]
tsántsá? *n.* White-collared Blackbird (*sci. Turdus albocinctus*) [B34158]
tsəwoì *n.* bee with hives in the rocks (e.g. in Nagmandir) ▸*cf. ʧirɔ̀*, *ʧipɑ́̃*, *ʧəkuí* [B22785]
tsəmuì tsəwoì brá? brá? kʰìbaro *ex.* A lot of bees are flying. ▸*tsəmuí*, *brá?*, *kʰì* [B58940]
tsəmuì tsəwoì brá? brá? bá? *ex.* There are lots and lots of bees. ▸*tsəmuí*, *brá?* [B58938]
tsəwoìpín *n.* honey from the rock bee ▸*apín* [B57267]

tsəwoì atʰɑ̃̀ *n.* bee eater (*sci. Merops*) ▸*atʰɑ̃̀* [B34013]
tsəwoì ahám *n.* beehive ▸*ahám* [B35920]
tsəwoì kadʒɑ̀ *n.* bee wax ▸*kadʒɑ̀*

[B36201]

tsəwoì híŋ *ex.* ▸*híŋ* [B59084]

tsɔ̀ [HL] *vi.* to die [M *tsuN* (*Miji HL*)] ▸*cf. ì* [B52450]

tsún *vt.* to jump:transitive [B33717]

tsúnmáŋ *ex.* to jump to death ▸*-máŋ* [B40129]

tsúnla vù *ex.* to go jumping ▸*vù* [B43312]

tsúnvjǎ *ex.* to jump across ▸*vjǎ* [B50285]

míŋ tsún *ex.* to jump, to make long jump competition ▸*míŋ* [B43304]

rə́ʔ tsɨ́n *ex.* the frog jumps ▸*rə́ʔ* [B50370]

tsǔtsáʔ *vt.* to sell ▸*cf. tsáʔ* [B22794]

tsún batsáʔna *ex.* I won't sell it. [B49459]

mè tsǔtsáʔ *ex.* to sell vegetables ▸*mè* [B39076]

tsú (≠*dzù*, *dzúʔ*) *vt.* ① to hit a firestone ② to hammer ③ to beat (of heart) ▸*cf. pí* [B37842]

alǔ̀bà tsúʔ *ex.* the heart beats ▸*alǔ̀bà* [B37463]

kalíŋ tsúʔ *ex.* ① to hammer on a stone ② to hammer with a stone ▸*kalíŋ* [B43970]

tsúbɪáʔ *ex.* to break (a stone) ▸*bɪáʔ* [B51979]

tsú gahjɔ̀ *ex.* to come out of the egg ▸*gjahɔ̀* [B35698]

batsu tsu *ex.* to hit the firestone ▸*bè* [B37848]

batsú (≠*patsù*) *n.* ① lighter (iron to hit the firestone) ② matches ▸*bè* [B37837]

mabjaò tsú *ex.* to hit the bamboo ▸*mabjaò* [B53565]

martul tsù *ex.* to hit with the hammer ▸*martul* [B43979]

tsú² (≠*dʒù*) *vi.* to rise (of sun) ▸*ant. ʒuǐ̀* [B40061]

hamìtsù *v.* sun rise, east ▸*hamì* [B56887]

hamìtsù akíŋ *n.* east ▸*akíŋ*, *hamì* [B56892]

hamì tsú *ex.* the sun rises ▸*hamì* [B40065]

dzaù (≠*tsaò*) *vi.* to flow [B34339]

kʰɔ̀ dzaù *ex.* the water flows ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B39119]

dzánməljɛ́ʔ *n.* cockroach species ▸*syn. məluéndén*, *ʃǎzíʔ* [B58541]

dzǎ̀dzɨ́n [HL] *n.* rain ▸*cf. hǎ̀pʰì* [B52386]

dzǎ̀dzɨ́n dzɨ́ʔ [HL] *ex.* The rain falls. ▸*dzɨ́ʔ²* ▸*cf. hǎ̀pʰì pʰì* [B52396]

dzéʔ *v.* to be hot (of face) [B59165]

aʃuǐ̀ dzéʔ *ex.* ① the cheeks are red (because of heat or anger) ② be angry ▸*aʃuǐ̀* [B37168]

dzɛ̀ (≠*adzéʔ*) *vt.* ① to apply something on something ② to overgrow ③ to stick on the clothes [B42672]

aʃuǐ̀ dzín *n.* cheek [=M *kəmjaʔ dzɨn*] ▸*aʃuǐ̀* [B37764]

aʃuǐ̀ dzín ʃíʔ *ex.* the face is red ▸*aʃíʔ*, *aʃuǐ̀* [B50738]

ahjɛ̃̀ dzɛ̀ *ex.* to put something black (in the face) ▸*ahjɛ̃̀* [B42667]

ɛ́ʔku dzɛ̀ *ex.* to stick on the clothes ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B53080]

simjɛ́ʔ ɛ́ʔku dzɛ̀ *ex.* ▸*simjɛ́ʔ* [B59145]

ʃawɛ́ʔ dzɛ̀ *ex.* moss overgrows something ▸*ʃawɛ́ʔ* ▸*cf. kafaì dʒáʔ* [B58909]

dzɛ̀² *vi.* to stick on the clothes [B53076]

dzɛ̀³ *vt.* to walk through/in the water, to wade [B53821]

kʰɔ̀ dzɛ̀ *ex.* to walk through the water (to cross a river) ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B53825]
kʰɔ̀ dzɛ̀ruìla vù *ex.* to wade through the water [B59129]
dzɨ *vt.* make fish traps [B56826]
vɨdzɨ dzɨ *ex.* make fish traps ▸*vɨdzɨ* [B56834]
dzíʔ *vi.* to sit on branch (for birds) ▸*cf. dʒóʔ, dʒǔ, díŋ, tʃɔ̂, ím* [B33735]
hámku dzíʔ *ex.* to sit on a house (of a bird) ▸*hám* [B59058]
pədù ʃ̀ímɔku dzíʔ *ex.* The bird sits on the tree. ▸*pədù, ʃ̀ímɔ, =ku* [B59055]
ʃ̀ìkjɛíku dzíʔ *ex.* to sit on a branch (of a bird) ▸*ʃ̀ìkjɛí* [B59057]
dzíʔ² [HL] *vi.* to fall ▸*cf. ɬúʔ* [B52391]
dzǎ̀dzɨ́n dzíʔ [HL] *ex.* The rain falls. ▸*dzǎ̀dzɨ́n* ▸*cf. hǎ̀pʰì pʰì* [B52396]
dzɨ́m *vi.* to submerge [≠M *dɨdzɨn*] ▸*syn. dɨdzɨ́n* [B54018]
kʰɔ̀líŋ dzɨ́m *ex.* to submerge in the water ▸*-líŋ, kʰɔ̀* [B54021]
dzənwáŋ [RL] *n.* name for Kraa ▸*syn. krá* [B55209]
krábu dzənwáŋ [RL] *n.* ▸*krábu* [B57828]
dzənwo [RL] *n.* name for Kruŋ [B55212]
krúŋbu dzənwo [RL] *n.* ▸*krúŋbu* [B57832]
dzoì *vt.* to tie ▸*cf. tyɨ́, pʰù* [B22790]
adəʒù dzoì *ex.* to bind something lose (not tight) ▸*adəʒù* [B50213]
ɛ̀ku dzoì *ex.* to tie together ▸*ɛ̀, =ku* [B54013]
rì dzoì *ex.* to tie with cane ▸*rì³* [B50198]
arín dzoì *ex.* to tie something tight ▸*arín* [B50203]
dzɔ̀ (≠*dʒɔ̀*) *quant.* all ▸*syn. ahjɔ̀, hjǎ* [B36186]
dzɔ̀dɔ̀ *adv.* everybody together ▸*dɔ̀* ▸*ant. tatíʔ* [B33243]
dzɔ̀ akrɔ́ʃì amjɛ̀ *ex.* The filet is the best meat. ▸*akrɔ́, amjɛ̀* [B51639]
dzóŋtʃa *ex.* it is finished ▸*-tʃa* [B39654]
dzóŋ *vi.* to be finished, complete [B39579]
dzù (≠*tsú*) *n.* yak [B36435]
dzù atʃú *ex.* many yaks ▸*atʃù* [B43758]
dzù bropuá *n.* yak herder ▸*bropɔ́* [B36439]
dzúʔ (≠*tsú*) *vt.* to pestle something in the mortar (rice, ginger, garlic) [B35760]
amíʔ dzúʔ *ex.* to pestle into small pieces ▸*amíʔ* [B39402]
dʒamíʔ dzúʔ *ex.* to pestle a chutney in the mortar ▸*dʒamíʔ* [B57322]
maljù dzúʔ *ex.* to pestle chilli ▸*maljù* [B39412]
njén dzúʔ *ex.* to thresh rice ▸*njén* [B39407]
dzún *vt.* to split ▸*cf. sè* [B34236]
dzúnpláʔ *ex.* to split (cane or bamboo) ▸*pláʔ* [B39061]
rì dzún *ex.* to split cane ▸*rì³* [B39056]
rì dzúnpláʔ *ex.* to roughly split cane branch(?) ▸*rì³* [B39066]
dzún² *vt.* to make a sharp point ▸*cf. avì* [B40586]
adzún *adj.* sharp (pointed) ▸*a-* ▸*ant. atalám* [B20879]
matʃín dzún *ex.* ▸*matʃín* [B59117]
mabjaò dzún *ex.* to make a pointed bamboo stick ▸*mabjaò* [B59116]
adzún dzún *ex.* to sharpen ▸*adzún* [B43769]
paísjáʔ *n.* place between Old Bulu and Tungri [B52809]
paísjáʔ lím *ex.* path leading from

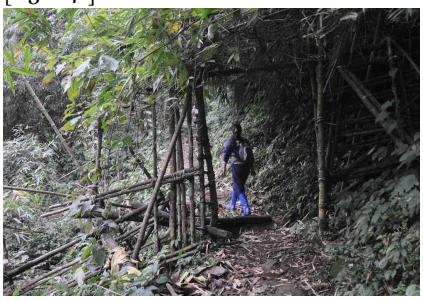
Old Bulu to Tungri ▸*lím* [B52813]

paó *vt.* to dry (on the fire/in the sun) ▸*cf. awɛ̃̀* [B33543]

ɛ̃́ʔ paó *ex.* to dry clothes ▸*ɛ̃́ʔ* [B39152]

pakaú *n.* bag [B35004]

pagɔ̀ *n.* gate to prevent mithuns comming to the village or to the field [B52641]



patɨŋ *n.* shoulder [B20654]

patɨŋ ʤʉ̃́ *ex.* to shrug shoulders ▸*ʤʉ̃́* [B37729]

patɨŋ ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to shrug shoulders ▸*ʒɛ̀* [B42224]

patɨŋ ɬà *ex.* to carry on the shoulder ▸*ɬà* [B39252]

patna *n.* christian prayer [<IA] [B40256]

padə̀ (*var.* of *apádə̀*) *n.* father and child [B58550]

patsù (*var. batsù*) (≠*batsú*) *n.* tax [=M *batsu*] [B36390]

patsu tʰà *ex.* to pay taxes ▸*tʰà* [B36398]

patsu tsáŋ *ex.* pay taxes ▸*tsáŋ* [B34652]

batsu ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry taxes (taxes were paid in goods) ▸*ʒɛ̀* [B42230]

papʰɛ́ʔ (≠*papʰɛ̃́ʔ*) *n.* snake species, black, about 1m, big head, poisonous but not deadly [B14984]

dadʒíʔ papʰɛ́ʔ *n.* small poisonous snake species ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B43892]

papʰɛ̃́ʔ (≠*papʰɛ́ʔ*) *n.* moth (night-active butterfly) ▸*cf. mamitəláʔ* [B22591]

atʃɛ̀ vùka papʰɛńʔ *ex.* the night-active moth ▸*atʃɛ̀*, *vù* [B58717]

papjɛ́n *n.* snake species which makes herself flat when threatened [B43897]

dadʒíʔ papjɛ́n *n.* snake species ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B43901]

pántó *n.* jungle eggplant [=M] [B22587]

pándʒabi *n.* [B55987]

pareì [RL] *n.* [B56396]

rilu pareì [RL] *n.* name of a plain place ▸*rilu* [B56399]

paritám (*var.* of *pʰaráptám*) *n.* fireplace in the house ▸*cf. pʰaráp* [B36571]

parɔ̃̀ *n.* ① Yellow-billed Blue Magpie, steals maize ② flying squirrel, jumps from tree to tree (*sci. Urocissa flavirostris*) ▸*cf. pəráŋ* [B34057]

parù *n.* dove [B22596]

palà *n.* bamboo container for drinking and carrying rice beer [<Tshangla palaŋ] [B34936]

pʰəù paláŋ *n.* container for transporting rice beer ▸*pʰəù* [B36413]

palɨ *n.* year after next year ▸*cf. buìlì* [B54224]

pawà *n.* bat [B38383]

pawɛ́ʔ *n.* leech [B14793]

pawɛ́ʔluì *n.* big leech variety in the mountains (red colour), danger-

ous for cattle ▸*cf. aɬyì* [B14798]

pədù pawɛ́ʔ *n.* small greenish leech variety which bites birds ▸*pədù* [B14802]

pawì *n.* priest, shaman. Makes rituals for villages who are ill, and performs the annual Chindang sacrifice. He is not allowed to eat meat of domestic pigs, goat meat and mushrooms growing on trees. [B14879]

pawì aʃíp *n.* donation for the priest, the fee for a ritual ▸*aʃíp* [B42640]

pawì katíŋ *n.* shaman headdress ▸*katíŋ* ▸*cf. ʧará?* [B49841]

pafíʔ *n.* left side ▸*ant. pasù* [B16414]

pafíʔ agéʔ *ex.* left hand ▸*agéʔ* [B54765]

pafíʔɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the left side ▸*-ɬɛ̃̀* [B42968]

pasùɬɛ̀ prɨ́ pafíʔɬɛ̀ məɬaò *ex.* right side human, left side ghosts, said of ləloo ləʤiʤɛʔ mother of all animals and ghosts ▸*məɬaò*, *pasù*, *prɨ́* ▸*cf. ləlò riʤiʤéʔ* [B55503]

pafjén *n.* Himalayan Cutia [B58468]

pafjén pədù *n.* Himalayan Cutia (*sci. Cutia nipalensis*) ▸*pədù* [B34130]

pasəgjám *n.* Fire-breasted Flowerpecker (*sci. Dicaeum ignipectus*) [=M *pasgjam*] [B34190]

pasù *n.* right side ▸*ant. pafíʔ* [B16419]

pasù agéʔ *ex.* right hand ▸*agéʔ* [B54760]

pasùɬɛ̀ prɨ́ pafíʔɬɛ̀ məɬaò *ex.* right side human, left side ghosts, said of ləloo ləʤiʤɛʔ mother of all animals and ghosts ▸*məɬaò*, *pafíʔ*, *prɨ́* ▸*cf. ləlò riʤiʤéʔ* [B55503]

pasuɬɛ̀ *ex.* on the right side ▸*-ɬɛ̃̀* [B42963]

pasuɬɛ̀ adzéʔ *ex.* ▸*adzéʔ* ▸*ant. pafiɬɛ̀ adzéʔ* [B58930]

paʃidrù *n.* big spider [≠M *nərjaʔ, pasidruu*] ▸*syn. awǔ* [B22600]

pahjɛ̀ *n.* distance between streched arms ▸*cf. mitǎʤi* [B37082]

pahjɛ̀ prɛí *ex.* to measure armspans ▸*prɛí* [B37092]

pa.ǎ *n.* crow (*sci. Corvus*) [B34066]

pǎ *vt.* ① to bind up, hang up, stretch ② to catch with a sling ▸*cf. ríʔ*[3] [B35239]

adàlíŋ pǎ *ex.* to fix a fixing rope on a sling trap ▸*adàlíŋ* [B58734]

krɨ́ pǎ *ex.* to stretch a cable car

bridge (over a river) ▸*krí* [B58536]

goì pấ *ex.* to get trapped in the sling trap ▸*goì* [B51358]

goì ʒə̀la pấ *ex.* to catch in a sling trap [B49118]

ʧĭʔ pấ *ex.* to catch in a sling trap ▸*ʧĭʔ* [B42889]

pấpəhjáʔla ì *ex.* to suicide by hanging ▸*ì* [B33587]

pấla ʒì̀ *ex.* to bind and hang something ▸*ʒì̀* [B39627]

rjȅ pấ *ex.* to catch in a rjɛN trap ▸*rjȅ* [B42903]

pấku [RL] *n.* Bichom [B56408]

pấdo *adv.* forcefully [B56071]

pấʧĭʔ pấdo *adv.* forcefully ▸*pấʧĭʔ* [B33492]

pấʧĭʔ *adv.* forcefully [B56067]

pấʧĭʔ pấdo *adv.* forcefully ▸*pấdo* [B33492]

pấʧóʔ *n.* spoon [B22582]

pấpű *n.* medicinal leaf, is heated in the fire and then put on a body part that is in pain [B41130]

pấpű aləp *n.* medicinal leaf ▸*aláp* [B40934]

pấlì *n.* taro species [M *ʼpʰãlii*] [B49482]

páŋ *vt.* make fish traps [B56822]

kʰɔpấ pấ *ex.* to make fish traps ▸*kʰɔ̀-pấ* [B57990]

vupáŋ páŋ *ex.* ▸*vupáŋ* [B56830]

páŋ² [RL] *vderiv.* only in ʤooʃaŋpaŋ [B56984]

ʤòʃáŋpáŋ [RL] *vi.* to establish a marriage relation with another family ▸*ʤò²*, *ʃáŋ* [B56979]

páŋmi *n.* Tawang [B54871]

páŋmiʤi *n.* Brokpa/Tawangpa ▸*-ʤi²* [B33116]

páŋmi tʰíʔ *n.* Tawang ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58842]

páŋlo *n.* jacket [B56338]

ʧima páŋlo *n.* Monpa jacket ▸*ʧima* [B35404]

páŋlo katíŋ *n.* hat type ▸*katíŋ* [B41332]

pé *vi.* to become morning [B58958]

asə̀pé pé *ex.* ▸*asə̀pé* [B58959]

péntʃén *n.* prayer flag ▸*cf. dán*, *dáŋkráŋ dɛnju* [B58614]

pḗ (≠*pʰȅ*) *vt.* to cut by hitting ▸*cf. pʰɔ̀* [B16290]

pḗɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut away with one stroke ▸*-ɬɛ́ʔ* [B33182]

ríʔ pḗ *ex.* to cut the smaller trees, bushes, banana, and bamboo with the dao when preparing a jhum field ▸*ríʔ²* [B50095]

ʃì pḗ *ex.* to cut wood ▸*ʃì̀* [B38974]

ʃì pḗɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut a (small) tree with one stroke ▸*ʃì̀* [B39041]

pḗpʰjà *n.* langur [B22577]

pʰȅpʰjà atʰù̀ *n.* Black panther, lit. 'lord of the langurs' ▸*atʰù̀* ▸*cf. mərà̀ atʰù̀*, *pʰàŋtsén* [B55553]

pḗpʰjù *n.* white prayer flag ▸*cf. dán* [B43113]

pema buzúŋ *n.* taro species [M *pʰema buzuŋ*] [B49478]

pḗpajo *n.* Lesser Cuckoo? (*sci. Cuculus poliocephalus*) [B33981]

pitʃáŋ *n.* Koro Aka [B33112]

pinu *n.* [B58510]

sulúŋlo pinu² *n.* ▸*sulúŋlo* [B58511]

pismi *n.* Green-backed Tit (*sci.* *Parus monticolus*) [=M] [B34070]

pí (≠*bì*, *pʰì*, *bí*) *vt.* ① to hammer ② to pound sago fibres ▸*cf.* *tsú* [B37929]

atʃɛ̀ pí *ex.* to hammer straight ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B49464]

amíʔ pí *ex.* to hammer sago fibres very well ▸*amíʔ* [B57476]

ʧaò pí *ex.* to beat the sago fibres [≠M *ma naŋ*] ▸*ʧaò* [B37933]

məkaó pí *ex.* to hammer two sticks in the ground for the trigger of ʧɨʔ trap ▸*məkaó* [B53285]

zímbù pí *ex.* to hammer (with a hammer) ▸*zímbù* [B49454]

akaó píka ʃìbǎ *ex.* vertical stick in ʧɨʔ trap ▸*akaó*, *ʃìbǎ* [B57262]

pín *vi.* [B58512]

pɔ́ *vt.* to make, to fabricate [B38449]

gutazu pɔ́ *ex.* I made it myself. ▸*=tazu* [B53873]

ʤɔ̀ pɔ́ *ex.* to make a fishing net ▸*ʤɔ̀* [B38453]

pɔ́ʤŭpʰɛ́ʔ níŋjǎbo *ex.* Watch until it is finished! ▸*-pʰɛ́ʔ*, *-ʤŭ* [B49262]

məpɔ́ pɔ́ *ex.* to make/produce/fabricate something (e.g. basket) ▸*məpɔ́* [B41362]

nagjǎ pɔ́ *ex.* to make a basket ▸*nagjǎ* [B52636]

natazu pɔ́jǎ *ex.* Did you make it yourself? ▸*-jǎ*, *=tazu* [B53883]

varitazu pɔ́ka ŭ *ex.* They made it themself. ▸*=tazu* [B53893]

vɛtazu pɔ́ka ŭ *ex.* He made it himself. ▸*=tazu* [B53888]

zǎ pɔ́ *ex.* to make a fishtrap? ▸*zǎ* [B38374]

hawuì pɔ́ka matʃín *ex.* the bamboo to make the wall of the house ▸*matʃín*, *hawuì* [B49252]

hɪ́ʔla pɔ́ *ex.* to braid ▸*hɪ́ʔ²* [B49267]

məʒɛ̀ pɔ́ *ex.* to plait a carry belt ▸*məʒɛ̀* [B41367]

pətaí *vt.* to know, understand [<M] [B39924]

níŋpətaí *ex.* to see and understand, recognise [=M *waŋpətai*] ▸*níŋ* [B43933]

níŋpətaí *ex.* to understand, to hear and realise [M *riipətai*] ▸*níŋ* [B51399]

pətí *n.* last year [B51951]

pətíʃə̏ *ex.* last year ▸*=ʃə̏* [B51955]

pətɔ́ *n.* barbet [<KR] ▸*syn. túŋglúŋ* [B49424]

pətɔ́ amə́n *n.* barbet feather (worn by shamans on the hat) ▸*amə́n* [B49651]

pətʰù (≠*pədù*) *vt.* to fix something (path, fence, tool) [B40638]

amjɛ̀ pətʰù *ex.* to fix something ▸*amjɛ̀* [B53469]

mənɛ̀ pətʰù *ex.* to fix the luggage ▸*mənɛ̀* [B43948]

lím pətʰù *ex.* to fix the road ▸*lím* [B43943]

hám pətʰù *ex.* to fix the house ▸*hám* [B43956]

pədù (≠*pətʰù*) *n.* bird ▸*cf. gəwɛ́ʔ* [B27950]

katʃuɛ̏ pədù *n.* bird with long beak, Eurasian Woodcock or one of the Snipes?, searches worms in the swamp (*sci. Scolopax rusticola*) ▸*katʃuɛ̏* [B33957]

kalu pədù *n.* Common Myna (*sci. Acridotheres ginginianus*) ▸*kalu* [B34150]

ʧirím pədù *n.* Himalayan Bulbul (*sci. Pycnonotus leucogenys*) ▸*ʧirím* [B34078]

pafjén pədù *n.* Himalayan Cutia (*sci. Cutia nipalensis*) ▸*pafjén* [B34130]

pədù atə́ *n.* small bird species with long tail feather ▸*atʰṵ̏* ▸*syn. sədʑùrjáŋ* [B58726]

pədù ajám *n.* nest ▸*ajám* [B14692]

pədù aʃíʔ *n.* minivet, lit. "red bird" (*sci. Pericrocotus ethologus/flammeus*) ▸*aʃíʔ* [B34041]

pədù kətə́ *n.* bird's peck ▸*kətə́* [B41669]

pədù dodò *n.* peacock (*sci. Pavo cristatus*) ▸*dodò* [B58716]

pədù pawɛ́ʔ *n.* small greenish leech variety which bites birds ▸*pawɛ́ʔ* [B14802]

pədù pəʧúʔ *n.* Greater Racket-tailed Drongo (*sci. Dicrurus paradiseus*) ▸*pəʧúʔ* [B34053]

wə́ʔ pədu *n.* bird which eats wild banana (elicited for the picture of the Streaked Spiderhunter) (*sci. Arachnothera magna*) ▸*wə́ʔ* [B34194]

sənám pədù *n.* Wagtail (*sci. Motacilla*) ▸*sənám* [B34210]

pədù ʃə̀mɔku dʑíʔ *ex.* The bird sits on the tree. ▸*dʑíʔ*, *ʃə̀mɔ*, *=ku* [B59055]

pəʧàʒju *n.* small black bear ▸*cf. asì* [B38294]

pəʧaù *n.* Great barbet (*sci. Megalaima virens*) ▸*cf. túŋglúŋ* [B34021]

pəʧuíʔ *n.* Rufous-bellied Niltava (*sci. Niltava sundara*) [≠M] [B34186]

pəʧúʔ *n.* Drongo species [B58469]

pədù pəʧúʔ *n.* Greater Racket-tailed Drongo (*sci. Dicrurus paradiseus*) ▸*pədù* [B34053]

pətsíŋ (*var. pətsə́m*) *n.* bird of prey (eagle etc.) [≠M *kəljaŋ*] [B33949]

pətsə́m dyə̀ṳ̀ *ex.* the bird of prey carries away (a chicken) ▸*dyə̀*, *ṳ̀* [B43710]

pətsə́mrjṵ̀ *n.* white bird of prey? ▸*arjṵ̀* [B33953]

pətsə́m (*var.* of *pətsíŋ*) *n.* bird of prey [B59226]

pədzɛ̏ *n.* orange [=M *pədʑɨn*] [B51292]

pədzɛ̏ akúʔ *n.* skin of an orange ▸*akúʔ* [B51296]

pədzɛ̏ akúʔ huə̀ *ex.* to peel an orange

▸*huǐ̀* [B51301]

pədzɛ̀ huǐ̀ *ex.* to peel an orange [≠M *pədzɨn li?*] ▸*huǐ̀* [B51308]

pəmuì *n.* snake species, fully black colour [B43921]

pán *vt.* to swell [B29019]

bǔ̀ *vi.* to swell ▸*cf. prí?* [B37570]

ałyì búmbá? *ex.* the stomach swells up ▸*ałyì* [B41417]

ləbíŋ bíŋ *ex.* to have gas (lit. the stomach swells) ▸*ləbíŋ* [B50420]

pəráŋ *n.* blood pheasant, lives in the mountains (*sci. Ithaginis cruentus*) ▸*cf. parə̀̌* [B33929]

pəlì *n.* small hornbill without pattern on peck [<KR] ▸*cf. pəhɻáŋ*, *kədʒì*, *ʃímgɻáŋ* [B49420]

pəlì amán *n.* hornbill feather (worn by shamans on the hat) ▸*amán* [B49634]

pəlǔ̀ *n.* skirt, gale (Adi type) [=M *gebəluŋ*] [B58375]

ɛ́? pəlǔ̀ *n.* skirt, gale [=M *gebəluŋ*] ▸*ɛ́?* [B53156]

pəsə̀ *n.* whetstone (stone for sharpening the dao) [B41173]

pəsə̀ku vɛ̀ *ex.* to sharpen on a whetstone ▸*vɛ̀* [B59118]

pəsò *n.* sparrow (*sci. Passer*) [B34198]

pəsù *n.* king's cast [≠M *nəbù*] ▸*cf. kráŋlíŋ* [B29060]

pəsù təkʰù *n.* king's cast ▸*təkʰù* [B56343]

pəsù ljáŋ *n.* king's cast ▸*ljáŋ* ▸*syn. pəsù zumuè* [B42712]

pəsù zumuè *n.* king's cast [≠M *nəbu? ljaŋ*] ▸*zumuè* ▸*syn. pəsù ljáŋ* [B50725]

pəsùhɛ̀̌ *n.* the people from the king cast ▸*-hɛ̀̌* [B39071]

pəsjè *n.* snake species, up to 2m, very big head, greenish with pattern of army clothes, very poisonous, snake bite is usually immediately letal (*sci. Python molurus*) ▸*cf. dadʒí?* ▸*syn. dadʒí?su* [B43907]

pəsjèdə *n.* small snake ▸*-də̀*[2] [B36496]

pəsjè dawò *n.* snake medicine (it means medicine against snake bites?) ▸*dawo* [B36508]

pəsjè ʃyǐ̀ *ex.* The snake creeps. ▸*ʃyǐ̀* [B50384]

pəsjèrjè *n.* big green snake ▸*arjè* [B43916]

pəsjèsú? *n.* the "real" big snake ▸*asú* [B43911]

pəzín *n.* Grandala (*sci. Grandala coelicolor*) [≠M] [B34178]

pəʃə̌̀ *n.* old man ▸*ant. amɛ̀̌* [B36104]

pəʃáŋ *n.* hornbill [<KR] ▸*cf. kədʒì*, *ʃímgɻáŋ* [B43035]

pəʃé? *quant.* many, abundant for a moving crowd on the ground (like ants) [≠M *dəmin*] ▸*cf. brá?*, *anáŋ*, *dəmín*, *atʃù* [B40095]

dʒámdʒú? pəʃé? pəʃé? kǔ̌ba *ex.* A lot of ants crawl around. ▸*dʒámdʒú?*, *kǔ̌*[2] [B58941]

pəʃé? pəʃé? bá? *ex.* There is a lot (of something). ▸*bá?* [B58937]

pəʃuì *n.* red snake species [B43925]

pəʃúm [HL] *vt.* to make sling traps [B54384]

məʃuǐ̀ pəʃúm [HL] *n.* to make sling traps ▸*məʃuǐ̀* [B15762]

pəʃjé? pərjé? *n.* dirt, leaves etc. (that has to be cleaned from a house) [B40573]

pəʒoì *n.* poisonous snake species

[B14979]

dadʒíʔ pəʒòì *n.* poisonous snake species ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B58719]

pəʒɔ̀̃ *n.* Common myna (*sci. Acridotheres tristis*) [≠M] [B34122]

pəhɪáŋ *n.* big hornbill (*sci. Buceros bicornis*) [<KR] ▸*cf. pəlì* [B58723]

pəhɪ́ɛ́ʔ *n.* fish species [B14769]

ʧuì pəhɪ́ɛ́ʔ *n.* catfish (caught in August), bitter taste ▸*ʧuì* [B58721]

pə́ŋgju *n.* Red-vented Bulbul (*sci. Pycnonotus cafer*) [B34082]

pɔ́ *vt.* to make the roof of a house or a shelter [B41030]

hám pɔ́ *ex.* to cover the roof ▸*hám* [B41034]

hámpɔ́ pɔ́ *ex.* to make the roof of a shelter ▸*hə̃́pɔ́* [B53432]

pɔ̃́ *vi.* to appear, to come out from inside something (hole, house) ▸*ant. kʰuíʔ* [B33894]

akjə̃́lapu ŭ̀pɔ̀̃ *ex.* to come/go out from a hole ▸*akjə̃́* ▸*cf. akjə̃́lapu pɔ̃́* [B55575]

akjə̃́lapu pɔ̃́ *ex.* to come out from a hole ▸*akjə̃́* ▸*cf. akjə̃́lapu ŭ̀pɔ̀̃* [B55580]

ŭ̀pɔ̃́ *ex.* something appeared, came out, reached ▸*ŭ̀* [B42090]

dadʒíʔ ŭ̀pɔ̃́ *v.* a snake came out, appeared ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B53539]

dadʒíʔ pɔ̃́báʔ *v.* a snake appears, comes out ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B53544]

məpɔ̃́ pɔ̃́ *ex.* the tiger came out ▸*məpʰɔ̀̃* [B53549]

vùpɔ̃́ *ex.* something came out appeared ▸*vù* [B42095]

kətɔ̃́ bəzɛ́n pɔ̃́ *ex.* the baby teeth appear ▸*kətɔ̃́ bəzén* [B58798]

poto *n.* photo [<Eng] [B44470]

poto hjáŋ *ex.* to show a photo ▸*hjáŋ* [B44474]

potóʔ *n.* place name [B56749]

popʰu *n.* owl [B33997]

portón *n.* bucket [B59106]

portónlíŋ kʰɔ̀ tʰì *ex.* to scoop water from the bucket ▸*-líŋ*, *tʰì* [B59107]

puɛ́ʔ *n.* gift for in-laws (given to the family of the wife) [B38169]

pʰuɛ́ʔ tʰə̀̃ *ex.* to give gifts when visiting the house of the wife's family ▸*tʰə̀̃* [B38173]

puɪ́̃ *vt.* ① to push up, to lift ② to open a kjɛm trap [B43993]

kjɛ́m pʰuɪ̃̀ *ex.* to open a kjɛm trap ▸*kjém* [B43997]

púʔ *n.* phlegm [B58418]

pura *quant.* all [< Hindi पूरा *pūrā* 'complete'] [B56571]

puruíʔ *n.* [<IA<East Puroik] ▸*syn. prɪ̃́dɔ̀* [B42681]

puruíʔ zɛ̀̃ *n.* Puroik tribe ▸*zɛ̀̃²* [B42685]

pulɔ̀ *n.* ① Puroik name for Bulu. The original village was further up in the valley. Even then the modern village is called like this. The precise location name of the modern village is rɪtɪŋ or BMj silimatuŋ. ② name of river between the modern village Bulu and the old village [B34906]

pulɔ̀ kʰɔ̀ *n.* river between old Bulu and modern Bulu ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B41122]

pulɔ̀ tʰɪ́ʔ *n.* the village Bulu ▸*tʰɪ́ʔ* [B39775]

pulɔ̀ wə̀̃ *n.* mountain above Old Bulu ▸*awə̀̃* [B52913]

pulɔ̀líʔ *n.* small sago place near old Bulu [B50896]

pulǔ *n.* [B56639]

tǘko pulǔ *n.* Nassamjang village in Lada ▸*tǘko* ▸*cf. nafɛ́n* [B56642]

pǘtumjɛ́ʔ [RL] *n.* water spirit, lives in the mountains near the springs of the rivers, male ▸*cf. vínsjɛ́ʔ*, *mjə̀ro*, *kə̌wò*, *kʰɔ̀pí* [B54830]

pǘpʰù *num.* hundred [B45094]

pǘpʰùtʃi *num.* one hundred [≠M *bəloŋ*] ▸*-tʃi* [B16409]

pǘpʰùtʃilapu suán *num.* 110 ▸*suán* [B41625]

pǘpʰùtʃilapu suánlapu níʔ *num.* 112 [B41629]

pǘpʰù ɨm *num.* 300 [B41637]

pǘpʰù níʔ *num.* 200 ▸*níʔ* [B41633]

pǘpʰù vì *num.* 400 [B41641]

pʰáʔ *vt.* to guard, to take care [B57005]

apʰáʔ *adj.* stingy ▸*a-* [B59038]

pʰáʔla lì *ex.* to keep something for oneself ▸*lì* [B59128]

pʰarəp *n.* ① ashes ② fireplace in the house [≠M *loʔ*] ▸*cf. paritám* [B11326]

pʰarəptám (*var. paritám*) *n.* ▸*tám* [B58762]

pʰàŋtsɛ́n *n.* leopard, or black panther ▸*cf. mərà atʰǔ*, *tətsúŋ*, *pʰɛ̀pʰjà atʰǔ*, *barəgì* [B55543]

pʰɛ̀ INTJ yuck, interjection expressing disgust (INTJ) [B58525]

pʰɛ́ʔ *vt.* to reach ▸*cf. -pʰɛ́ʔ* [B49791]

kʰɔ̀ ʃjáŋla láŋkuíʔ vùpʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* To reach the other side of the river by swimming. ▸*ʃjáŋ*, *lə̀kuíʔ* [B55399]

pʰɛ́ʔdɔ̀ *post.* until (temporal, spatial) ▸*dɔ̀* [B59133]

disémbər hə̀bɔ pʰɛ́ʔdɔ̀ rìna *ex.* to stay until December ▸*hə̀bɔ* [B59134]

hámpʰɛ́ʔdɔ̀ vùna *ex.* to go until reaching the house ▸*hám* [B59132]

pʰɛ́ʔtʃa *ex.* (the wood plank) reaches here [B49798]

pʰɛ́ʔ² *vi.* to shine, burn (of sun) [B57090]

tsaɛ̀ pʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* the sun burns down ▸*tsaɛ̀* [B50235]

pʰèmbu *n.* Phembu [<Monpa] [B56330]

pʰèmbujo *ex.* my dear Phembu (when speaking to him or referring to him) ▸*=jo* [B58061]

pʰɛ̀ (≠*pɛ̌*) *vt.* to pluck fruits or berrys ▸*cf. tʃíŋ²* [B58974]

ʃì̀wai pʰɛ̀ *ex.* to pluck fruits ▸*ʃì̀wai* [B58975]

pʰì (≠*pí*) *vt.* to feel dizzy [B50861]

akəm pʰì (*var. kəm pʰì*) *ex.* to feel dizzy ▸*akəm* ▸*syn. kəm pʰì* [B50865]

kəm pʰì (*var.* of *akəm pʰì*) *ex.* to feel dizzy ▸*syn. akəm pʰì* [B33255]

kəm pʰì kǘ lì *n.* fever ▸*akǘ*, *akəm*, *lì²* ▸*cf. hakə̌ bɛʃín* [B44418]

pʰì² *vi.* to rain [B38636]

hə̀pʰì pʰì *ex.* it rains ▸*hə̀pʰì* ▸*cf. dzə̌dzɨ́n dzɨ́ʔ* [B38640]

hə̀pʰì pʰìribaro *ex.* It is raining. ▸*hə̀pʰì*, *-riba* [B54731]

pʰidigjáŋ [RL] *n.* ▸*cf. tarə̀* [B56272]

tarǎ̀ pʰidigjáŋ [RL] *n.* morning star, appears early in the morning at dawn. It is believed to be a male deity being the king of other stars. His location is believed to be the place where the first humans fell down from the sky. ▸*tarǎ̀* ▸*cf.* *hə̃waí? atʰṳ̃*, *ʧəgɹúŋ rəgúŋ*, *gaʤo galɛgjóŋ* ▸*syn.* *hə̃sə̃mɔ*, *hə̃sə̃ǎpṳ̃* [B39740]

pʰipʰíp *n.* Koklass Pheasant (*sci. Pucrasia macrolopha*) [B33925]

pʰìn (≠*apín*) *vt.* to sew [B29023]

ɛ́ʔ pʰìn *ex.* to sew a cloth ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B54079]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplá?ka pín *ex.* ▸*ɛ́ʔ*, *ʧuplá?* [B59020]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplá? pʰìn *ex.* to sew torn clothes ▸*ɛ́ʔ*, *ʧuplá?* [B59021]

pʰìnpʰìn *n.* nuthatch (*sci. Sitta*) [B34142]

pʰilò *n.* parrot, they come to Bulu in the warm season (*sci. Psittacula himalayana*) [=M] [B33973]

pʰìŋ *n.* mountain [=M] ▸*cf.* *makúŋ*, *adì* [B15092]

pʰìŋ atʰṳ̃ hɛ̃̀ *n.* mountain spirits ▸*-hɛ̃̀*, *atʰṳ̃* ▸*cf.* *kʰɔ̀ atʰṳ̃ hɛ̃̀* [B54911]

pʰìŋ téɬɛ̃̀ *ex.* on the other side of the mountain ▸*té* [B39273]

pʰìŋ pʰuì *ex.* to make rituals for the mountain spirits ▸*pʰuì* [B58617]

pʰìŋ pʰuì kʰɔ̀ suì *ex.* to make rituals to the water and the mountain spirits ▸*pʰuì*, *kʰɔ̀*, *suì* [B59028]

pʰìŋ vjǎ̀ *ex.* to cross a mountain ▸*vjǎ̀* [B50290]

pʰìŋ ʃì *n.* mountain animal ▸*ʃì* ▸*ant.* *kʰɔ̀ ʧuì* [B58495]

pʰùŋ nùɬɛ̃̀ *ex.* this side of the mountain ▸*nùɬɛ̃̀* [B39288]

pʰəíʔ *vt.* to breed chicken ▸*cf.* *rɨ²* [B35821]

mədyì pəíʔ *ex.* to breed chicken ▸*mədyì* [B39447]

pʰəù *n.* rice beer, destilled liquor or any other alcoholic beverage ▸*cf.* *məvù*, *vugɹáŋ* [B28018]

ʧapíŋ pʰəù *n.* alcohol made from maize mixed with sago fibres ▸*ʧapíŋ* [B57304]

pʰəù akʰɔ̀ *n.* first and strongest beer, undiluted sap of the fermented grains ▸*akʰɔ̀* [B49836]

pʰəù atʃuán *ex.* a sour beer ▸*atʃyɛ̃̀* [B39536]

pʰəù abuɛ̃̀ *ex.* first sip of beer that is offered to the gods ▸*abuɛ̃̀²* [B37213]

pʰəù anjaò *n.* a fresh beer (only fermented for three days or less) ▸*anjaò* ▸*syn.* *pʰəù anjǎ̀* ▸*ant.* *pʰəù awíʔ* [B39541]

pʰəù anjǎ̀ *n.* young beer ▸*anjaò* ▸*syn.* *pʰəù anjaò* [B50584]

pʰəù awíʔ *n.* old beer ▸*awíʔ* ▸*ant.* *pʰəù anjaò* [B50590]

pʰəù tí *ex.* to scoop out the beer ▸*tʰì* [B43417]

pʰəù tíjǎ̀bo *ex.* scoop out the beer! ▸*-jǎ̀bo* [B43422]

pʰəù təʔ *ex.* be drunk ▸*təʔ* [B33259]

rə́m təʔbatʃa *ex.* to be drunk of drinking rum [B59202]

pʰəù ʧíp *ex.* to make beer by pouring warm water over the fermented grain (like in Adi) ▸*ʧíp* [B43398]

pʰəù ʧipjǎ́bo *ex.* make beer ready and keep it there! ▸*-jǎ̀bo* [B43403]

pʰəù palǎŋ *n.* container for transporting rice beer ▸*palǎ̀* [B36413]

pʰəù lyìla ín *ex.* to drink alcohol to-

gether ▸*lyì* ▸*cf. məluɛ̃̀ ɛ̀ ʧíkə́m* [B58641]

pʰəùʃín *n.* a snack eaten together with alcoholic drinks (roasted meat, chutneys etc.) ▸*ʃín* [B58651]

nà pʰəù índɔ̀ *ex.* Drink this rice beer right now! (order) ▸*ín*, *-dɔ̀* [B49589]

pʰəù námla ʃíntʃuɛ́ʔ *ex.* He smelled on the beer and threw it away. ▸*nám*, *ʃíntʃuɛ́ʔ* [B59014]

pʰɔ́ʔ *vt.* to forget [B44002]

abjɛ̃̀ pʰɔ́ʔ *ex.* forget the name ▸*abjɛ̃̀* [B53449]

abjɛ̃̀ pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to forget a name ▸*abjɛ̃̀* [B54141]

gù mənè pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* I forgot my luggage. ▸*mənè* [B54133]

pʰɔ́ʔʧa *ex.* forgot ▸*-ʧa* [B44006]

pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to forget some item somewhere, to lose something ▸*ʧuɛ́ʔ* [B22608]

pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔka hɨ̃lɔ *ex.* to remember something forgotten ▸*hɨ̃lɔ* [B58996]

pʰɔ́ʔ ù̃ *ex.* to forget ▸*ù̃* [B54128]

bahɨ̃lɔ pʰɔ́ʔʧuɛ́ʔ *ex.* I don't remember, I forgot. ▸*hɨ̃lɔ* [B54146]

pʰɔ̀̃ *vt.* to cut into small pieces (with dao) ▸*cf. pɛ́̃*, *apʰɔ̀̃* [B28579]

ʃì pʰɔ̀̃ *ex.* to cut wood into pieces ▸*ʃì̀* [B38979]

pʰɔ̀̃ *adv.* shortly before (e.g earlier today, last summer, last winter) ▸*cf. prú*, *buì* [B51751]

pʰɔ̀̃pʰɔ̀̃ʃɔ̀̃ *adv.* long time ago ▸*=ʃɔ̀̃* [B58709]

pʰɔ̀̃ aʃìʃɔ̀̃ *ex.* last summer ▸*aʃì*, *=ʃɔ̀̃* [B51756]

pʰɔ̀̃ məʧíŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* Little bit before I worked. ▸*ʧíŋ* [B54084]

pʰɔ̀̃ʃɔ̀̃ *adv.* little bit earlier ▸*=ʃɔ̀̃* [B57235]

pʰuɛ́ʔ *n.* yeast (fermation starter for maize and rice beer) [≠M *tɛpəʒɛn*] [B43428]

pʰuì *vt.* to make rituals [B58615]

kʰɔ̀ pʰuì *ex.* ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀ suì* [B58616]

pʰɨ̀ŋ pʰuì *ex.* to make rituals for the mountain spirits ▸*pʰɨ̀ŋ* [B58617]

pʰɨ̀ŋ pʰuì kʰɔ̀ suì *ex.* to make rituals to the water and the mountain spirits ▸*pʰɨ̀ŋ*, *kʰɔ̀*, *suì* [B59028]

pʰù *vt.* to put a bandage or cloth around the arm or leg ▸*cf. ʤoì* [B43272]

ɛ̀ku pʰù *ex.* to tie together (to sticks) ▸*ɛ̀̃*, *=ku* [B54008]

ʧándɔku ɛ́ʔ pʰùgɛ̃̀ *ex.* to put a bandage around a wound ▸*ʧɛ̃̀dɔ̀*, *ɛ́ʔ*, *-gɛ̃̀* [B59025]

ʧándɔ pʰù *ex.* to put bandage around a wound ▸*ʧɛ̃̀dɔ̀* [B59024]

pʰùgɛ̃̀ *ex.* ▸*-gɛ̃̀* [B59026]

bapʰù pʰù *ex.* to put an archery protection on the hand ▸*bapʰù* [B54123]

níʔ ɛ̀ku pʰù *ex.* to bind two (pieces of wood) together ▸*ɛ̀̃* [B54680]

pʰutúʔ *n.* type of blanket (expensive) [<Monpa=M *pʰutuʔ*] ▸*syn. nalóʔ* [B39791]

pʰudúŋ *n.* former Puroik village in Sangti valley, modern name Phudung. Last there came to Bulu to die (to Tshang Grandfathers time). Now inhabited by Dirang Monpa, but controversy about the land is still ongoing in

court. ▸*cf. rəbɛ̀̃*, *dələ* [B20499]

pʰumu lántsáŋ *n.* cobra [≠M *bəloŋ*] [B33040]

pʰuri *n.* wheat [B22604]

pʰu.u *n.* White-crested Laughingthrush (*sci. Garrulax leucolophus*) [B34118]

pʰŭ̀pʰú? *n.* bird species [≠M *bɹaŋbu*] [B50166]

pʰyì̀ *vt.* to worship [B57132]

pʰjà̀ *n.* box [=M *pʰjaŋ*] [B33610]

pjáŋ plő *ex.* to close the box ▸*plő* [B39213]

pʰjè *n.* Indian madder, creeper plant species, red colour is extracted for colouring clothes, traded to the Monpas (*sci. Rubia cordifolia*) [B35387]

pʰjè² *vi.* go through thick forest by moving away the branches with the both hands [B56172]

abíŋmɔ̀ pʰjèruìla vù *ex.* to go through the thicket by opening the way with the hands ▸*abíŋmɔ̀* [B59131]

pʰjɛ́? *n.* comb [B35789]

pʰjɛ́? ʧaù *ex.* to comb ▸*ʧaù* [B50653]

pjá? *v.* to tear [B59062]

pjá?há? *ex.* ▸*-há?* [B59060]

pjá́ *vi.* to be long [B58393]

apjá́ (≠*apʰjà̀*) *adj.* long [≠M *məpjaŋ*] ▸*a-* ▸*cf. tasrì* ▸*ant. atű́* [B28036]

guɛ́?pjá́ *n.* distance from tip of thumb to tip of middle finger ▸*guɛ́?* [B38239]

pjuhù̀ *n.* Barred Cuckoo Dove (*sci. Macropygia unchall*) [B33969]

pjű́ *vt.* ① to release, to stop ② to send [B36409]

tʰà̀la pjű́ *ex.* to send someone something ▸*tʰà̀* [B36404]

dán pjű́ *ex.* to put a white prayer flag [≠M *dan kʰao*] ▸*dán* [B53980]

ʧò̀ pjű́ *ex.* to put a fine on someone, to make someone pay a fine ▸*ʧò̀* ▸*cf. ʧò̀ zɛ̀* [B38133]

pjű́ʧuɛ́? *ex.* to release ▸*ʧuɛ́?* [B35934]

mənì pjű́ *ex.* to scare someone ▸*mənɨ́* [B51522]

lím hɨ̀la pjű́ *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*hɨ̀* [B44226]

bjatúku mənì pjű́ *ex.* to scare someone ▸*bjatú*, *mənɨ́* [B51527]

pjú *vt.* ① to burst (wood or bamboo in the fire) ② explode (bomb) ③ to shoot (a gun) ④ to come out from the soil (mushroom) [=M *bu?*] [B35032]

pjúʃjám *ex.* to shoot randomly (without hope or intention to hit a target) ▸*-ʃjám* [B58461]

bɛ̀ pjú *ex.* to burst in the fire ▸*bɛ̀* [B53560]

bóm pjú *ex.* a bomb explodes [B53222]

matʃù pjú *ex.* to shoot a gun ▸*matʃù*

[B36559]

matsúʔ pjúʔ *ex.* the bamboo bursts in the fire ▸*matsúʔ* [B49969]

mɨŋ pjú *ex.* the mushrooms sprout ▸*mɨŋ*[4] ▸*cf. mabjaò ɬéʔ* [B50425]

ʒiʒi ahjɛ̀ pjú *ex.* a mole appears ▸*ʒiʒi* [B36939]

prɛí *vt.* to measure [B37070]

guéʔ prɛí *ex.* to measure handspans ▸*guéʔ* [B37074]

pahjɛ̀ prɛí *ex.* to measure armspans ▸*pahjɛ̃̀* [B37092]

míʔ prɛí *ex.* to measure the length of an arrow so that it fits into the quiver ▸*míʔ* [B52715]

ʧabǎ̀ prɛí *ex.* to measure the length of sago logs ▸*ʧabǎ̀* [B59080]

príʔ *n.* blister (caused by friction or heat) ▸*cf. bǔ* [B37574]

alèpríʔ *n.* blister on foot ▸*alè* [B37579]

príʔ[2] *vi.* to get injured with very hot liquid, to get scalded [B40108]

agéʔ príʔ *ex.* ① to scald the hand (with something hot) ② to get blisters on the hand because of hard work ▸*agéʔ* [B58800]

kɔtsíʔ ɬíʔ príʔ *ex.* to get burned by pouring hot water ▸*ɬíʔ* [B44023]

príʔla ì *ex.* to die by getting burned by hot water ▸*-la*, *ì* [B44553]

bè príʔ *ex.* the fire burned (the skin) ▸*bè* [B58799]

príʔ[3] *n.* pheasant species, male is black in colour, female greenish, red around the eyes (hence also called "eyedirt"), bigger than mumbrɨɨ and akəmlao, makes gruʔ-gruʔ-gruʔ sound ▸*cf. akámlaò* ▸*syn. akámmjéʔ*[2] [B58764]

prɨ́ *n.* person, human being [≠M *njuʔ*] ▸*cf. sətáʔ* ▸*syn. táni bùlu* [B12831]

akʰè prɨ́ *ex.* another person ▸*akʰè* ▸*cf. bjatú prɨ́*, *kəʒóʔ prɨ́* [B41745]

kəʒóʔ prɨ́ *ex.* different (type of) person ▸*kəʒóʔ* ▸*cf. bjatú prɨ́*, *akʰè prɨ́* [B59173]

dəduì prɨ́ *n.* person from lower Lada cictle [≠M *vəruː*] ▸*dəduì* [B40345]

ʧuǐ̀ka prɨ́ *ex.* the person who is washing (himself/something) ▸*-ka*, *ʧuǐ̀* [B42196]

pasùɬɛ̀ prɨ́ pafíʔɬɛ̀ məłaò *ex.* right side human, left side ghosts, said of ləloo ləʤiʤɛʔ mother of all animals and ghosts ▸*məłaò*, *pasù*, *pafíʔ* ▸*cf. ləlò riʤiʤéʔ* [B55503]

prɨ́də̀ *n.* Puroik [≠M *suluŋ*] ▸*-dà*[2] ▸*syn. puruíʔ* [B33128]

prɨ́ aglɔ̃̀ *n.* a dishonest person ▸*aglɔ̃̀* [B58983]

prɨ́ atʃú *ex.* a crowd of people ▸*atʃù* [B43753]

prɨ́ awǔ̀ *n.* human soul ▸*awǔ̀* [B44218]

prɨ́ avɨ́ŋ *n.* grave ▸*avɨ́ŋ* [B42587]

prɨ́ nigədóʔ *n.* ▸*nigədóʔ* [B58985]

prɨ́ wɛ́ʔka prɨ́ *ex.* murder ▸*wɛ́ʔ*, *-ka* [B58986]

prɨ́ łuɛ́ʔbáʔ *ex.* It looks like a human.

▸*ɬuɛ́ʔ* [B51339]

prɨ́ɬuɛ́ʔ *ex.* (to be) like a human ▸*ɬuɛ́ʔ* [B43514]

nugóʔ prɨ́ *n.* outsider ▸*nugóʔ* [B43834]

rarì prɨ́ *n.* Magopa ▸*rarì* [B54171]

bjatú prɨ́ *ex.* another person ▸*bjatú* ▸*cf. kəʒóʔ prɨ́*, *akʰɛ̀ prɨ́* [B59174]

prú *adv.* some time ago (some days) ▸*cf. buì*, *pʰɔ̀* [B38116]

prúnì *n.* the day before the day-before-yesterday ▸*anì* ▸*syn. prú anì* [B38120]

prú anì *n.* day before yesterday ▸*anì* ▸*syn. prúnì* [B51589]

prú prúʃɔ̀ *ex.* some days ago ▸*=ʃɔ̀* [B58710]

prúʃɔ̀ *adv.* some days ago ▸*=ʃɔ̀* [B44028]

hɛ̀pɨ́ məljɛ̀ prúʃɔ̀ *ex.* seven days ago ▸*məljɛ̀*, *hɛ̀pɨ́* [B51595]

plaʔ *vt.* ① to break something ② to be broken [≠M *bəlei*] ▸*cf. bɹáʔ* [B51989]

ɨʔplaʔ *ex.* to saw apart ▸*ɨʔ* [B59046]

ʧuplaʔ (*var. ʤɨʔplaʔ*) *ex.* something tears, is torn (cloth, bamboo, plastic) [≠M *bɹaʔ*] ▸*cf. bɹáʔ* [B43064]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplaʔ *ex.* tear a cloth ▸*ɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn. ʤɨʔplaʔ*, *ʤɨʔ* [B59093]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplaʔka pín *ex.* ▸*ɛ́ʔ*, *pʰɨ̀n* [B59020]

ɛ́ʔ ʧuplaʔ pʰɨ̀n *ex.* to sew torn clothes ▸*ɛ́ʔ*, *pʰɨ̀n* [B59021]

təláŋ ʧɨplaʔ *ex.* the cup is broken ▸*təlɛ̃* [B43074]

botəlu ʧɨplaʔ *ex.* The (plastic) bottle is torn. ▸*botəlu* [B43068]

məréʔ ʧuplaʔ *ex.* the bead broke ▸*məréʔ* [B51974]

ʤɨʔplaʔ (*var.* of *ʧuplaʔ*) *v.* to tear apart ▸*ʤɨʔ* ▸*syn. ɛ́ʔ ʧuplaʔ* [B59090]

dzúnplaʔ *ex.* to split (cane or bamboo) ▸*dzún* [B39061]

ruɨ̀plaʔ *ex.* to cut away by hitting ▸*ruɨ̀* [B51283]

vɹuìplaʔ *ex.* to split into two pieces [M *vobəlei*] ▸*vɹuì* ▸*cf. sɛ̀* [B22803]

arà vuplaʔ *ex.* to cut into two big pieces ▸*arà* [B51278]

mabɨlíŋ vuplaʔ *ex.* to cut a pumpkin into pieces ▸*mabɨlíŋ* [B51273]

sɛ̀plaʔ (*var. saplaʔ*) *ex.* to split (with an axe) [M *sábəlei*] ▸*sɛ̀* [B59044]

plɛ́ *vt.* to cover something with soil, leaves or paper (eg. put leaves on top of a full basket) ▸*cf. ʧjɛ̀ rjaò*, *apəlɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn. tjɛ́* [B40561]

plɛ́gɛ̃ *ex.* to cover something with soil, leaves or paper ▸*-gɛ̃* [B59042]

məhjɛ̀ ʧúʔla plɛ́gɛ̃ *ex.* ▸*məhjɛ̀*, *ʧúʔ*, *-gɛ̃* [B59043]

plɔ́m [HL] *n.* sun ▸*cf. hamì* [B15038]

plɔ́m bɛ̀batʃa [HL] *ex.* The sun came. ▸*bɛ̀*[2] [B52381]

plɔ́m waù [HL] *ex.* The sun shines. ▸*waù*[2] [B54302]

nahɨ̃ʧɨ́m plɔ́m [HL] *n.* moon [B54307]

plɔ́m[2] [HL] *vi.* to sleep ▸*cf. rám* [B52401]

plə́m hí? [HL] *ex.* to feel sleepy ▸*hí?* [B54495]

plə́mmjɛ̀ [HL] *n.* ① star ② frost ▸*cf. hə̃waí?* [B15052]

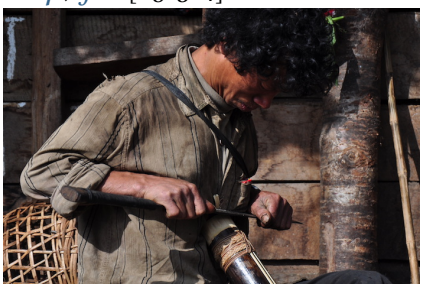
plɔ́ *vt.* ① to put a cap on a bottle or a box (anything that closes not only from above but also from the sides) ② to hold in mouth [B33620]

aplɔ́ *n.* a cap of a quiver, box or bottle (which closes not only from above but also from the sides) ▸*cf. apəlɛ́?* [B41199]

aplɔ́ kəlì *ex.* the cover is upside down ▸*kəlì* [B51562]

zə́p aplɔ́ *n.* cap of the quiver ▸*zə́p* [B41195]

zə́p aplɔ́ ljɛ́? *ex.* to peel the place on the quiver to put fit the cap ▸*zə́p*, *ljɛ́?* [B58384]



kámbu plɔ́rika *n.* lid, cover of a pot ▸*-rika*, *kʰàmbu* [B43219]

pjáŋ plɔ́ *ex.* to close the box ▸*pʰjə̀* [B39213]

plɔ́gə̀ *ex.* to close a vessel (pot) [B51572]

plɔ́la lì *ex.* to keep something closed inside (a box or bottle) ▸*lì*, *-la* [B45047]

plɔ́² *vt.* to put over some clothes (e.g. sweater, trouser, not jacket) ▸*cf. də̀²* [B36803]

saìtar plɔ́ *ex.* to put on a sweater ▸*saìtar* [B58298]

plɔ́³ *vi.* to bend down, lean forward with the upper part of the body [B45064]

kəʒɔ̀ plɔ́ *ex.* to fall asleep while sitting, bending the head down ▸*kəʒɔ̀* [B42858]

plúm [HL] *n.* sadness ▸*cf. dəhù* [B59211]

plúm vòvə̀ [HL] *ex.* feel sad ▸*vòvə̀* ▸*cf. dəhù tsá?* [B15043]

pljáŋ *vt.* to bulge out, to swell up [B37679]

apű pljáŋ *ex.* the nose bulges out, the nose is swollen ▸*apʰù* [B37683]

pɹáŋʧɛ́? *n.* Indian cuckoo (*sci. Cuculus micropterus*) [B33989]

ba- negation NEG (NEG) [B34987]

akə́m badɛ̀̃ka *n.* a blind person ▸*-ka*, *dɛ̀̃*, *akə́m* [B39458]

ɛ̀̃ ba.ù̃ *v.* not go together ▸*ɛ̀̃*, *ù̃* [B58433]

bakɛ́̃ *ex.* Don't hold (me)! ▸*kɛ́̃* [B59006]

batʃĩ? *vt.* not need ▸*tʃĩ?²* [B20626]

bamuɛ̀̃ *ex.* I cannot, I am physically not able ▸*muɛ̀̃* [B51941]

bafaìbo [HL] *ex.* Don't make noise! ▸*-bo*, *faì* [B52215]

nɔ̀ bawoì *ex.* he searched and didn't find ▸*nɔ̀*, *ɔì* [B44321]

gù bakɔ́bádɛ̀̃ *ex.* I am not tired yet. ▸*kɔ́*, *bádɛ̀̃* [B49747]

baí? *n.* bike [<Eng] [B53437]
baí? ʧɔ̀ *ex.* to sit on the bike ▸*ʧɔ̀* [B53441]
baí? kűʧà̰ ʧɔ̀ *ex.* ▸*kűʧà̰*, *ʧɔ̀* [B59198]
baìdə̀ *n.* one of the clans of Bulu from other side of the river, extinct about 100 years ago, ▸*cf. tʰùŋdə̀*, *bù.adə̀* [B11066]
ritʃɛ̰̀ baìdə̀ *n.* ▸*ritʃɛ̰̀* [B59207]
bá? *cop.* ① existential copula, to be there, to exist ② copula with adjective predicates (EXIST) [≠M *duu* (*Ni baba dujaŋ? 'Is your father there'*)] ▸*cf. ʒù* ▸*ant. babɔ̀*, *wɛ̀* [B15337]
avì bá? *ex.* it is sharp ▸*avì* [B49330]
asín bá? [HL] *ex.* It is heavy. ▸*asín* ▸*cf. asəkā́* [B52371]
asú bá?dɔ̰̀ro *ex.* It is true [I saw it myself]. ▸*=ro*, *asú*, *-dɔ̰̀* [B51712]
kəsá bá? *ex.* How is it? ▸*kəsá* [B50836]
gù klámatʃi námbá? *ex.* I smell [something] from somewhere. ▸*nám* [B49151]
gù náŋbá? *ex.* I am sick. ▸*náŋ* [B54045]
téla bá? *ex.* it is there (e.g. a house) ▸*té* [B50023]
téʃɔ̰̀ bá? *ex.* It is there. ▸*té*, *=ʃɔ̰̀* [B50018]
ʧaò asù bá? *ex.* the sago has starch [M *má məza? duu*] ▸*ʧaò*, *asù* ▸*ant. ʧaò asù wɛ̀* [B57471]
ʧjɛ̰̀bá? *ex.* it became late (we have to go) ▸*ʧjɛ̰̀* [B43529]
pəʃé? pəʃé? bá? *ex.* There is a lot (of something). ▸*pəʃé?* [B58937]
nà adzé?ku bá? *ex.* ▸*adzé?*, *=ku* [B58933]
rì zumuè ḿm bá? *ex.* There are three species of cane. ▸*rì*[3], *ḿm*, *zumuè* [B49222]
səfəù atʃù bá? *ex.* There are many cows. ▸*səfəù*, *atʃù* [B58944]
hám arà bá?riro *ex.* the house is big (someone told me) ▸*=ro*, *=ri* [B51702]
hám aʃjè bá? *ex.* the house is very spacious ▸*hám*, *aʃjè* [B51648]
bá?ʧí *vi.* something has to be there ▸*-ʧí* [B40205]
botəlu alíŋ kʰɔ̀ bá? *ex.* Inside the bottle there is water. ▸*botəlu alíŋ* [B58918]
məhjɛ̰̀ aʃám bá? *ex.* The soil is wet. ▸*aʃám* [B49359]
hamíŋlíŋ sətə́ bá? *ex.* There are clouds in the sky. ▸*haḿíŋlíŋ*, *sətí* [B58922]
hamíŋlíŋ hə̰̀waí? bá? *ex.* In the sky there are stars. ▸*haḿíŋlíŋ*, *hə̰̀waí?* [B58923]
hámdù bá?ro *ex.* There is an earthquake! ▸*hám dù* [B53054]
hɨ̀lɔbá? *ex.* I remembered. ▸*hɨ̀lɔ* [B44435]
bakʰɨ̀ (≠*bɛ̀kʰɨ̀*) *n.* tobacco [B41887]

bakí màm *ex.* to have tobacco in the mouth ▸*màm* [B50441]
bakí səkjú? *ex.* to rub tobacco in the hand ▸*səkjú?* [B41891]
batáŋ balàŋ *n.* non-sense, useless [=M]

[B40599]

badogáʔ *adv.* in vain [≠M *adəbo*] [B43098]

badogáʔ ʧɟɨŋ *ex.* to randomly collect ▸*ʧɟ̃ɨŋ*[2] [B43102]

badogáʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to do unknowingly ▸*tsáʔ* [B43689]

badogáʔ ríʔ *ex.* to fail by shooting with bow and arrow ▸*ríʔ* [B54101]

badogáʔ vù *ex.* to go in vain ▸*vù* [B54107]

badogáʔ kroákíʔ *ex.* to be released in vain, without catching the prey (of a trap) ▸*krɔ́kíʔ* [B50248]

batʃɪ̃ʔ[2] *n.* firefly [B54487]

batʃiljek *n.* edible mushroom, Monpa Lamas believe that it has a purifying effect [B58434]

batʃiljek mɨ́ŋ *n.* edible mushroom, Monpa Lamas believe that it has a purifying effect ▸*mɨ́ŋ*[4] [B15205]

batʃuɛ̀̃ *n.* pinky, small toe [B39767]

agéʔ batʃuɛ̀̃ *n.* pinky finger ▸*agéʔ* [B37533]

alè batʃuɛ̀̃ *n.* little toe, pinky toe [B37635]

badʒi *n.* [< IA Hindi बजे *baje*] [B56938]

badʒóʔ *n.* [B55913]

badʒóʔ balɛ́ʔ *n.* ghost (appears as a very bright light, Darge's mother had met a badʒoʔ balɛʔ, the second time she got crazy, could not speak properly anymore and died) ▸*balɛ́ʔ* [B40397]

batsɛ̀̃ *n.* black fly (*sci.* *Simulium sp.*) [B14961]

asù tɔ́ʔka batsɛ̀̃ *ex.* ▸*asù*, *tɔ́ʔ* [B58713]

batsɛ̀̃ sanjɛdúŋ *n.* mosquito ▸*sanjedúŋ* [B58725]

batsoì *n.* bag (for cement, rice etc.) [B57567]

batsoì ɬjaù *ex.* to open a bag (untie) ▸*ɬjaù* [B57576]

məpʰìn batsoì *n.* maize bag ▸*məpʰìn* [B57571]

simén batsoì *n.* cement bag ▸*simén* [B58741]

njaù ʒɜ̃rika batsoì aràdʒi *ex.* a big bag to put rice inside ▸*njɛnù*, *ʒɜ̃*, *arà* [B58744]

batsù (*var.* of *patsù*) *n.* tax [B58446]

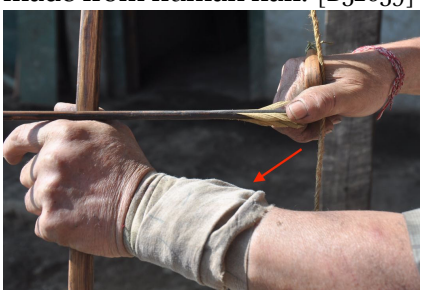
bapí *n.* insect (only as compound with dadʒiʔ) [B58358]

dadʒíʔ bapí *n.* insect ▸*dadʒíʔ* [B22283]

bapə́m *n.* moss [≠M *guʔ*] ▸*cf.* *kafaì* [B54317]

bapɯ́̃ *n.* early morning before the roosters shout ▸*syn.* *apé* [B20622]

bapʰù *n.* hand protection, in the place where the released bow string strikes the hand. Before it was made from human hair. [B52659]



bapʰù pʰù *ex.* to put an archery protection on the hand ▸*pʰù* [B54123]

babɔ̀ *cop.* COP.NEG (COP.NEG) ▸*ant. bá?* [B34319]

aʃɛ́? babɔ̀ *ex.* not strong ▸*aʃɛ́?* [B50108]

njalu babɔ̀ *ex.* ① There is a lot. ② It was long time ago. ▸*njalu* [B58946]

njɛpɛ́? babɔ̀ *ex.* there is a lot ▸*njɛpɛ́?* [B58814]

babla *n.* inedible solanum species with thorns, small round green-white patterned fruits (*sci. Solanum sp.*) [<M] ▸*syn. babla kəʒú?* [B40915]

babla kəʒú? *n.* inedible solanum species [<M] ▸*syn. atʃi kűkú?*, *babla*, *babla məzɔ̃̀* [B50943]

babla məzɔ̃̀ *n.* inedible solanum [=M *babla kəʒu?*] ▸*məzɔ̃̀* ▸*syn. babla kəʒú?* [B50949]

bamɛ̀ *cop.* potential copula ▸*cf. -bamɛ* [B56538]

bán *n.* closed [< Hindi बन्द *band*] [B56348]

bán tsá? *ex.* to close to block [<M *Hindi* बंद करना *band karnā*] ▸*tsá?* ▸*syn. gá? gə̀* [B58214]

banà *vt.* to make [<IA] [B45044]

bánduri *n.* boundary [<Eng] ▸*syn. arən* [B35408]

barəgì *n.* ① tiger ② lion? In Guwahati Zoo, a speaker identifies a *Panthera leo persica*, which does not occur in Arunachal, as bargii. (*sci. Panthera leo persica?*) ▸*cf. pʰàŋtsén*, *táŋnì* [B55560]

məpʰɔ̃̀ baragì *n.* tiger ▸*məpʰɔ̃̀* [B58715]

barəp *n.* white ashes in the fireplace ▸*cf. bamuì̀* [B20623]

balɛ́? *n.* [B55916]

badʒó? balɛ́? *n.* ghost (appears as a very bright light, Darge's mother had met a badʒo? balɛ?, the second time she got crazy, could not speak properly anymore and died) ▸*badʒó?* [B40397]

balì *n.* [B55898]

dʒonúŋ balì *n.* ritual for a person who died an unnatural dead (murder, accident) [=M *ʤonuŋ balii*] ▸*dʒonúŋ* [B40381]

dʒonúŋ balì tsá? *ex.* to make the dʒonuŋ balii ritual ▸*tsá?* ▸*ant. lím hɨ̀* [B53950]

baluráŋ *n.* Grey-backed Shrike (*sci. Lanius tephronotus*) [B34045]

bazar *n.* bazar [B58391]

baʒɨtʃəm *n.* armpit [B37802]

bə̀ *vt.* dream [B15237]

bə̀ amjè bə̀ *ex.* to have a good dream ▸*amjè* [B49695]

bə̀ alaò bə̀ *ex.* to have a bad dream ▸*alaò*, *bə̀²* [B49690]

bə̀ bə̀ *ex.* to dream ▸*bə̀²* [B38593]

bə̀ bãla rəm *ex.* to sleep having dreams ▸*bə̀²*, *rəm* [B42110]

bə̀² *n.* dream [B58250]

bə̀ alaò bə̀ *ex.* to have a bad dream ▸*bə̀*, *alaò* [B49690]

bə̀ bə̀ *ex.* to dream ▸*bə̀* [B38593]

bə̀ bãla rəm *ex.* to sleep having dreams ▸*bə̀*, *rəm* [B42110]

bə̀³ *n.* money [=M *baŋ*] [B28616]

bə̀ tʰə̀ *ex.* to give money ▸*tʰə̀* [B42105]

bə̀ ʧì *ex.* to borrow money ▸*ʧì³* [B44165]

bə̀ ʧìla lè *ex.* to borrow money ▸*ʧì³* [B44160]

bǎ̀ njé ʧì *ex.* to borrow little money ▸*njé*, *ʧì*[3] [B54575]
bǎ̀ rǎ̀dyì *ex.* to give the money back ▸*rǎ̀* [B44155]
vɛtaʒu bǎ̀ *ex.* his own money ▸*=taʒu* [B55726]
bǎ̀bǔ̀ *n.* vegetable plant [Adi bapuk≠M *nəkjuŋ tsan, baŋbuŋ*] [B40971]
bǎ̀bǔ̀ alə́p *n.* vegetable plant ▸*alə́p* [B54112]
báŋbúŋ *adj.* lazy [B56871]
báŋmi *n.* Tawangpa [B34216]
bè *n.* ① fire ② flame (there is no particular word for flame) ▸*cf. tatám* [B28890]
batsu tsu *ex.* to hit the firestone ▸*tsú* [B37848]
batsú (≠*patsù*) *n.* ① lighter (iron to hit the firestone) ② matches ▸*tsú* [B37837]
bamuǐ *n.* fine ashes (floating in the air) ▸*cf. baráp* [B36565]
bèkʰì (≠*bakʰì*) *n.* smoke ▸*kʰì* [B15457]
bè ʧɔ̀ *n.* to light a fire (in order to see something in the darkness), to make light with fire ▸*ʧɔ̀* [B21726]
bè tsáʔgéʔ *ex.* to extinguish a fire ▸*tsáʔ*, *géʔ* ▸*cf. bè wéʔ* [B38656]
bè pjú *ex.* to burst in the fire ▸*pjú* [B53560]
bè príʔ *ex.* the fire burned (the skin) ▸*príʔ*[2] [B58799]
bè rì *ex.* to make a fire ▸*rì*[2] ▸*cf. tatám biʒǎ̀* [B39007]
bè wéʔ *ex.* to completely extinguish a fire ▸*wéʔ* ▸*cf. bè tsáʔgéʔ* [B38661]
bè fù *ex.* to blow the fire ▸*fù* [B39100]
bè ʒaò *ex.* what is the exact meaning? ▸*saò* [B39022]
bè ʒím *ex.* to put the fire together (in order to light it again) ▸*ʒím* [B50052]
bè hám *ex.* the fire is burning ▸*hám*[3] [B36587]
bèwúʔ *n.* black charcoal [B36576]
bèhì *n.* glowing charcoal [B36581]
bɛkʰì kʰì *ex.* it smokes ▸*kʰì* [B36597]
béʔ *vt.* to assign a fate, to give a tradition, to make a law [=M *bɛʔ*] [B40260]
buì ʃəʒáŋmɔ béʔ *n.* it is given by god (traditions, customary law, food restrictions) ▸*buì*, *ʃəʒǎ̀mɔ* [B51424]
ʃəʒáŋmɔ béʔla la ì *ex.* god made his fate and he died (i.e. god decided that it is time for him to die) ▸*ì*, *ʃəʒǎ̀mɔ* [B51429]
bɛʃín *n.* fever, flu [B58794]
hakǎ́ bɛʃín *n.* flu, fever ▸*hǎ̀kǎ́* ▸*cf. kám pʰì kǔ̀ lì* [B15010]
bɛ̀̌ *vt.* to load (gun, trap), to set a trigger [B38320]
ʧíʔ bɛ̀̌ *ex.* to load a trap ▸*ʧíʔ* [B38329]
bɛ̀̌ vù [HL] *ex.* to go away ▸*vù* [B52205]
matʃù bɛ̀̌ *ex.* to load a gun ▸*matʃù* [B38343]
máŋ bɛ̀̌ *ex.* to load the maŋ trap ▸*máŋ* [B38338]
bɛ̀̌[2] [HL] *vt.* to go ▸*cf. ǔ̀* [B52196]
adì bɛ̀̌ [HL] *ex.* to go hunting ▸*adì* ▸*cf. aruéʔ vù* [B54348]
abɛ̀̌ bɛ̀̌ [HL] *ex.* go ahead ▸*abɛ̀̌* [B52314]
pləm bɛ̀̌batʃa [HL] *ex.* The sun came. ▸*pləm* [B52381]
bɛ̀̌dyì̌ [HL] *ex.* to go back ▸*-dyì̌* [B52357]
bɛ̀̌ ǔ̀ [HL] *ex.* to go ▸*ǔ̀* [B52200]

rakín bɛ̀̌ [HL] *ex.* to come behind ▸*rakíŋ* [B52319]

wàfím bɛ̀ [HL] *ex.* to go hunting [B54428]

zínʃɔ̀̌ bɛ̀̌ [HL] *ex.* to go home ▸*zín* ▸*cf. ù̀* [B54403]

ʃóʔla bɛ̀̌bo [HL] *ex.* Go and bring! ▸*ʃóʔ* [B52420]

nà bɛ̀̌jàbo [HL] *ex.* Keep going! ▸*-jàbo* [B52239]

nuʃa bɛ̀̌ [HL] *ex.* Come here! ▸*nuʃa* [B52230]

bɛ̀̌bì [HL] *n.* bamboo ▸*cf. madù*, *mabjaò* [B54363]

bɛ̀̌bì məʃuɛ̀̌ [HL] *n.* bird trap made from bamboo ▸*məʃuɛ̀̌* [B54367]

bejò [RL] *v.* ask ▸*cf. ʃí* [B56509]

bì (≠*bíʔ*, *pí*, *bí*) *n.* sago flour [≠M *má*] ▸*cf. ʧaò*, *bí* [B34506]

bìkə́m *n.* last small ball in the center of a roasted sago ball ▸*syn. bì akə́m* [B38014]

bìnagjáŋ *n.* basket for carrying sago flour ▸*nagjɛ̀̃* [B37963]

bì akə́m *n.* sago roasted in the fire ▸*syn. bìkə́m* [B38018]

bì tɔ́̌ *ex.* to prepare sago as a pancake (lit. in lying position) [M *ma toN*] ▸*tɔ́̌* [B41164]

bì barə́m *ex.* the sago does stay in the filter (but is flushed away with the water) ▸*rə́m²* [B51076]

bì bjáŋluì *n.* non-alcoholic drink made from sago [M *masaŋbuŋ*] ▸*bjáŋluì* [B38029]

bì rə́m *ex.* to become solid (of sago), get stuck in the filter (of sago) ▸*rə́m²* [B40993]

bì woì *ex.* to bake sago packed in a leaf ▸*woì* [B58643]

bì vím *ex.* to make a sago ball [≠M *ma:ˑ loŋ*] ▸*vím* [B57285]

bì saò *ex.* to roast sago in the ashes ▸*saò* [B57428]

mabjaò bì *n.* powder which is scraped with the knife from the bamboo, it can be cooked inside a bamboo tube. ▸*mabjaò* [B53012]

bìtű̀ru *n.* sulphur springs, where the wild animals lick salt [<M] ▸*cf. kátű̀tʃáŋ* [B40019]

kátúŋdʒáŋ bìtúŋru [RL] *n.* sulphur springs, where the wild animals lick salt [Puroik word is tʃii<M] ▸*kátű̀tʃáŋ* ▸*cf. tʃì*[4], *túŋdʒáŋ túŋru* ▸*syn. tʃì*[4] [B42748]

bìwè *vi.* to be shy [B15272]

gù vèku níŋla bìwè hí? *ex.* Seeing him I feel shy. [B59152]

bì bawè *ex.* Don't be shy! [B49306]

bìwè hí? *ex.* to feel shy ▸*hí?* [B44038]

bìhám *n.* Lagam village [≠M *gəvə'na?*] ▸*cf. məbì̀* ▸*syn. məbì̀ tʰí?* [B51126]

bí? (≠*bì*, *bí*) *vt.* ① to broom (the house) ② to remove small branches from the jhum cultivation field [B43779]

agé? bí? *v.* to clean the ground with the hands ▸*agé?* [B49934]

bí?kəm *ex.* to broom together ▸*-kəm* [B53954]

rí? bí? *ex.* to clear the field (broom small branches together on a hip) ▸*rí?*[2] [B49870]

sə̀̃ bí? *n.* to broom to grass and twigs (in the field) ▸*sə̀̃* [B49886]

ʃì̀ bí? *ex.* to broom together wood (in the field) ▸*ʃì̀* [B49881]

hám bí? *ex.* to broom the house ▸*hám* [B43783]

hám bí?rika nə̀̃seì *ex.* the broom is for cleaning the house [=M *naNsei*] ▸*nə̀̃seì* [B58759]

birudə̀ *n.* Kazolang people [M *biruzu?*] [B39912]

biskut *n.* [B57037]

biʒə̀̃ [HL] *vt.* to light, to burn ▸*cf. rì*[2] [B15690]

tatám biʒə̀̃ [HL] *ex.* to light a fire ▸*tatám* ▸*cf. bè rì* [B52119]

bí (≠*bí?*, *bì*, *pí*) *n.* stiring spoon (to stir sago) [≠M *njuŋ*] ▸*cf. bì*, *kuí?*, *nuì* [B38008]

ʧakuíbí *n.* stiring spoon ▸*ʧakuí* [B38004]

bì *n.* ball, round object [B58766]

akəmbì *n.* eyeball ▸*akəm* ▸*cf. akəm-líŋ*, *akəm alíŋ* [B58765]

məjaò bámbì *n.* adam's apple ▸*məjaò* [B36916]

bitomjé? *n.* mountain king (bad spirit) [B40393]

bəí? *vt.* to add (salt) [B33601]

fə̀ bəí? *ex.* to put salt ▸*fəù* [B39208]

bəù *vt.* to carry a baby on the back (in a cloth) ▸*cf. zə̀*, *boì*, *fì*, *dʒű*[2] [B33837]

adə̀ bə̀ *ex.* to carry a child (on the back) ▸*adə̀* [B39242]

kɨ́belɛ̀̃ bə̀ *ex.* to carry a baby in front ▸*kɨ́bɛ̀̃* [B58963]

bəkú [RL] *n.* [B56425]

bərjáŋ bəkú [RL] *n.* Banyan tree (*sci. Ficus benghalensis?*) ▸*bərjáŋ* [B56428]

bətʰì *n.* last year ▸*cf. hə̃̀dì*, *sámtʰì* [B50152]

bətʰì buìdì buìlì *ex.* 1, 2, 3 years ago ▸*buìlì*, *buìdì* [B54209]

bədɛ̀ *n.* time, [=M *bədɨn*] [B39964]

apá amà bədɛ̀ *n.* time of our parents ▸*apá* [B42559]

grì bədɛ̀ *ex.* our time (lifetime) ▸*grì* [B44033]

ʤiru bədɛ̀ *ex.* that time ▸*ʤiru* [B57710]

bədì *n.* gossip, backbite [B54190]

bədì tsáʔ *ex.* to gossip, to backbite ▸*tsáʔ* [B54194]

bətʃɜ̀ *n.* Monpa (Thembang, Namshu), speaking a variety of Dirang Tshangla [≠M *nətsaŋ*] [B33080]

bətʃɜ̀ naló? *n.* Monpa blanket ▸*naló?* [B44012]

bətʃɜ̀ zɛ̀ *n.* the Monpa tribe ▸*zɛ̀*[2] [B42693]

bətʃɨ *n.* non-tribal [≠M *nəkjuŋ*] ▸*syn. kɜ́lo kɜ́wi* [B35471]

bətʃɨdə *n.* non-tribal ▸*-də*[2] [B56554]

bətʃɨ zɛ̀ *n.* Monpa tribe ▸*zɛ̀*[2] [B42689]

bətʃɨ ʃɪʒɜ̀ *n.* non-tribal backpack ▸*ʃɪʒɜ̀* [B52565]

bətʃɪm *vi.* extinct [=M] [B35350]

bətʃúŋ *n.* [B56364]

ʧáŋru bətʃúŋ *n.* Nafra area ▸*ʧáŋru* ▸*cf. məljáŋ ljɛkó* [B39907]

bədʒíʔ intensifier:color intensifier for 'green' [B51067]

arjè bədʒíʔ *ex.* very green ▸*arjè* [B51071]

bətsɨn *adj.* silently, without making noise [=M *bətsɨn*] ▸*syn. banjáʔla* [B58599]

bədzɛ̀ *n.* worm in sago ▸*cf. támtʰì*, *bəʒɛ̀* [B50079]

bənjím *vt.* to make an angry mouth [B58409]

asə́m bənjím *ex.* to make an angry mouth [=M *?*] ▸*asə́m* [B37427]

bərjáŋ [RL] *n.* [B56422]

bərjáŋ bəkú [RL] *n.* Banyan tree (*sci. Ficus benghalensis?*) ▸*bəkú* [B56428]

bəlíŋ [RL] *n.* world [B58164]

kʉ́ʤɜ̀ bəlíŋ [RL] *n.* the whole world ▸*kʉ́ʤɜ̀* [B58168]

bəwɨ̀ *n.* guest [B50605]

bəsáŋ *vt.* to clear the throat [<M *bəsaŋ*] [B58408]

tsə̀ bəsáŋ *v.* to clear one's throat [M *kjuu bəsaŋ*] ▸*tsə̀* [B37189]

məjaò tsə̀ bəsáŋ *ex.* to clear the phlegm from the throat ▸*məjaò*, *tsə̀* [B58810]

məjaò bəsáŋ *ex.* to clear the throat ▸*məjaò* [B58809]

bəséʔ *n.* jealous [B40775]

bəséʔ dóráʔ tsáʔ *n.* to be jealous ▸*dóráʔ* [B57901]

vɛ̀ gùku bəséʔ dóráʔ tsáʔ *ex.* He is jealous on me. ▸*dóráʔ* [B59124]

bəzén *n.* coming out little bit [B36988]

kətʉ́ bəzén *n.* baby tooth ▸*kətʉ́* [B36993]

bəzéʔ *n.* obstruction, harassment [B57897]

bəzumuì *n.* needle [B21730]

bəʃjéʔ *n.* caterpillar ▸*cf. támtʰì*, *bəʒɛ̀* [B21742]

bəʒɛ̀ *n.* worm or maggot (in meat or vegetable) ▸*cf. támtʰì*, *bəʃjéʔ*, *bədzɛ̀* [B38689]

bəʒɔ̀ [HL] *vt.* to make traps ▸*cf. ʒə̀* [B52129]

míŋ bəʒɔ̀ [HL] *ex.* to make traps ▸*míŋ* [B54443]

məgíʔ bəʒɔ̀ [HL] *ex.* to make a trap

▸*məgíʔ* ▸*cf. məʒə̀ ʒə̀* [B52134]

bəʒjáʔ *vt.* to shiver, shudder (because of a shock or something very sour) [=M *bəʒjaʔ*] [B52604]

atʃyɛ́n tʃìla asù bəʒjáʔ *ex.* to shudder because of eating something very sour ▸*atʃyɛ̃̀* [B59148]

asù bəʒjáʔ *ex.* to shiver, shudder (because of a shock or something very sour) [=M *saʔ bəʒjaʔ*] ▸*asù* ▸*cf. asù dù* [B52600]

bəhjáʔ *adj.* pungent in the throat (like smoke) [=M *bəhɹaʔ*] [B50240]

kʰìbəhjáʔ *ex.* smoke pungently ▸*kʰɨ̀* [B59177]

bakʰɨ̀ bəhjáʔba *ex.* The smoke is pungent. ▸*bɛ̀kʰɨ̀* [B59178]

məjaò bəhjáʔ *ex.* pungent in throat ▸*məjaò* [B59176]

bɔ̀ *cop.* ① negative equational copula ② no (COP.NEG) ▸*ant. hɑ̃̀*[3] [B34956]

bɔ̀[2] *vt.* to eat ▸*cf. tʃì, méʔ* [B58540]

bɔl *n.* ball [<Eng] [B41851]

bɔl ʒám *ex.* to kick a ball ▸*ʒám* [B41848]

boì *vt.* to carry on the back (backpack but not a baby) ▸*cf. bəù* [B49181]

ʃɪʒɑ̀ boì *ex.* to carry a backpack (on the back) ▸*ʃɪʒɑ̃̀* [B49185]

bokɯ́ *n.* small basket used for seeds [≠M *himai*] ▸*cf. fù*[2] [B52723]

botəlu *n.* bottle (<Eng) [B35223]

botəlu alɨ́ŋ *ex.* inside the bottle ▸*alɨ́ŋ* [B39187]

botəlu ʤɯ̀ *ex.* to put a bottle somewhere ▸*ʤɯ̀*[2] [B58967]

botəlu bɹá? *ex.* The bottle broke. [=M *ʃəbɹaʔ*] ▸*bɹáʔ* [B43054]

botəlulɨ́ŋ *n.* inside the bottle ▸*alɨ́ŋ* [B58919]

botəlu tʃiplá? *ex.* The (plastic) bottle is torn. ▸*tʃuplá?* [B43068]

bóm *n.* bomb [B56120]

buɛ̀ *vi.* to be happy ▸*ant. dəhù* [B33575]

alɯ̃̀buɛ̀ *ex.* happy, in a good mood ▸*alɯ̃̀bə̀* [B36607]

buɛ̃̀ *vi.* to bloom ▸*cf. abuɛ̃̀* [B37226]

abuɛ̃̀ buɛ̃̀ *ex.* the flower is blooming ▸*abuɛ̃̀* [B42132]

buì *adv.* some time ago (one year or more), long time ago ▸*cf. prú, pʰɔ̃̀* [B34674]

buìdɨ *n.* two years ago ▸*adəzuì* ▸*cf. sámdɨ* [B54199]

bətʰì buìdɨ buìlɨ *ex.* 1, 2, 3 years ago ▸*bətʰì, buìlɨ* [B54209]

buì abɛ̃̀ mənɛ̀ *ex.* old stuff ▸*mənɛ̀, abɛ̃̀* [B50763]

buì buì buìʃɔ̃̀ *ex.* long, long time ago ▸*=ʃɔ̃̀* ▸*syn. njalu* [B58947]

buìlɨ *n.* three years ago ▸*cf. palɨ* [B54204]

bətʰì buìdɨ buìlɨ *ex.* 1, 2, 3 years ago ▸*bətʰì, buìdɨ* [B54209]

buìʃɔ̃̀ *adv.* some time ago (one year or more) ▸*=ʃɔ̃̀* [B54089]

njalu buìʃɔ̃̀ *ex.* long time ago ▸*njalu* [B58945]

buì ʃəʒáŋmɔ bɛ́? *n.* it is given by god (traditions, customary law, food restrictions) ▸*ʃəʒɑ̃́mɔ, bɛ́?* [B51424]

bù *dem.* demonstrative pointing down (DOWN) ▸*ant. kŭ́* [B35000]

bùgáʔ *ex.* somewhere down there ▸*-gáʔ* [B40679]

bùʤi *dem.* ① down there ② the down one ▸*ʤi* ▸*ant. kŭ́ʤi* [B36879]

bùbùhɛ̀ *n.* people from down ▸*-hɛ̀* ▸*ant. kŭ́kŭ́hɛ̀* [B58851]

bù aním *ex.* down there in the lower place ▸*aním* ▸*ant. kŭ́ aʤɔ̀* [B59156]

bù awù *ex.* down there (e.g. under the house) ▸*awù* ▸*ant. kŭ́ atʃɑ̀* [B39336]

bù vù *ex.* to go down ▸*vù* [B41437]

bùlapu mənè kŭ́ ʤŭ́ *ex.* to lift up luggage with both hands ▸*mənè*, *ʤŭ́* [B58965]

bùʃɔ̀ *ex.* below ▸*=ʃɔ̀* [B21750]

bùʃɔ̀ vù *ex.* to descend to a point further down (the act of moving not of descending) ▸*vù*, *=ʃɔ̀* ▸*cf. akəzɨ̀ vù* [B41432]

bù.úʔ *vt.* to steal ▸*úʔ* ▸*syn. lè.úʔ* [B58978]

bù.úʔ apʰɔ̀ *n.* thief ▸*apʰɔ̀* [B58979]

bù.úʔ tsáʔ *ex.* to steal secretly (from the field, or if nobody is at home) ▸*tsáʔ* ▸*syn. lè.úʔ* [B49564]

bù.úʔ tsáʔ lè *ex.* to steal ▸*tsáʔ*, *lè* [B54660]

bù.úʔ ʃáŋkán *n.* thief ▸*syn. mənè lè úʔka afù* [B21738]

mənè bù.úʔ *ex.* to steal things ▸*mənè* [B58980]

labù *adv.* down there ▸*ant. lakŭ́* [B59237]

bù² *n.* dog ▸*cf. ʧagɻáŋ akú*, *ʃĭn²* [B29027]

bùku dyĭ̀la njáʔbáʔ *ex.* If you tease a dog, he will make sound. ▸*dyĭ̀²*, *njáʔ* [B51871]

bù apʰɔ̀ *n.* male dog ▸*apʰɔ̀* [B41702]

bù grì̀ *ex.* The dog growls. ▸*grì̀* [B51880]

bù rúʔ *ex.* the dog bark ▸*rúʔ* [B44189]

bù səmɻáŋ *n.* whisker of dog ▸*səmɻáŋ* [B50501]

bù amɔ̀ *n.* female dog ▸*amɔ̀* [B41711]

bù³ *vt.* add little bit more in order to make equal shares [B58666]

ínbù *v.* drink equal shares ▸*ín* [B59229]

ínbùdɛ̀ *ex.* to drink even more in order to have drunk same share (with others or of a beverage) ▸*ín*, *-dɛ̀* ▸*syn. ínbùlɛ̀* [B58679]

ínbùlɛ̀ *ex.* to drink more (in order to get the same share like the others or in order to have drunk the same share of each beverage) ▸*ín*, *-lɛ̀* ▸*cf. ínlɛ̀* ▸*syn. ínbùdɛ̀* [B58678]

gùku njétʃi báʔ gùku njé tʰɑ̀̀budɛ̀ *ex.* I have only little bit, give me more! ▸*njé*, *=ku*, *tʰɑ̀̀*, *-dɛ̀* [B58676]

téku njé bù *ex.* ▸*té*, *njé* [B58667]

tɔ́bù *ex.* to put more in order to make equal shares ▸*tɔ́* [B58669]

tʰɑ̀̀bù *ex.* to give more in order to make equal shares ▸*tʰɑ̀̀* [B58674]

tʰɑ̀̀bùdɛ̀ *ex.* give little bit more in order to make equal shares ▸*tʰɑ̀̀*, *-dɛ̀* [B58675]

njé bù *ex.* to put little bit more on the smaller share in order to make the shares equal ▸*njé* [B58670]

ɬíʔbù *ex.* to pour little bit more in order to make all glasses equally

full ▸*ɬíʔ* [B58668]

hɔ́ʔbù *ex.* to serve little bit more in order to make the shares equal ▸*hɔ́ʔ* [B58671]

bùlu [RL] *n.* [B56223]

abù bùlu [RL] *n.* human being [<M] ▸*abù*[2] ▸*syn. tára táma* [B39687]

táni bùlu [RL] *n.* human being ▸*táni* ▸*syn. prɨ́* [B55453]

bù.adə̀ *n.* one of the clans of Bulu, extinct ▸*cf. kʰjèndə̀, baìdə̀, raìdə̀, ʃaòdə̀, súndə̀, tʰùŋdə̀* [B34278]

bumu *n.* very big snake species, black, doesn't bite [B43929]

bumu rjə̏tsáʔ *n.* very long snake ▸*rjə̏tsáʔ* ▸*syn. tani gulu* [B55682]

bumudʒu *n.* one of the clans in West Kameng, extinct [B11050]

búmboíʔ *n.* (Hill?) Patridge (*sci. Arborophila*) [B33917]

bu səbu dəsu ʧáŋpjáŋ *n.* bad spirit [B49620]

buli [RL] *n.* [B56852]

də̀li buli [RL] *n.* fish species ▸*də̀li* [B56855]

buʒə̀ [RL] *n.* [B57820]

buʒə̀ maʒə̀ [RL] *n.* sago ▸*maʒə̀* [B57816]

bjà *adj.* other [B58441]

bjàlapəna *adv.* ▸*-lapəna* [B58443]

bjatú *prn.* someone else [B34901]

bjatúku mənì pjɨ̋ *ex.* to scare someone ▸*pjɨ̋, mənɨ́* [B51527]

bjatúku rɨ̀də *ex.* to make someone sit ▸*rɨ̀* [B51464]

bjatúku zɛ̀ *ex.* to laugh about someone qq ▸*zɛ̀* [B51435]

bjatúku híʔprím *ex.* ▸*híʔprím* [B58383]

bjatútə́ lɨ̃síʔ lɨ̃buɛ̃̀ *ex.* to make someone happy. ▸*lɨ̃séʔ, alɨ̃̀buɛ̀* [B51507]

bjatú tʰɨ́ʔ *n.* other people's village ▸*tʰɨ́ʔ* [B39659]

bjatú tʰɨ́ʔ ɨ̃̀ *ex.* to go permanently to another village, to get married in another village (of a girl) ▸*tʰɨ́ʔ, ɨ̃̀* ▸*ant. bjatú tʰɨ́ʔ vù* [B58637]

bjatú tʰɨ́ʔ vù *ex.* to visit another village (for some time) ▸*tʰɨ́ʔ, vù* ▸*ant. bjatú tʰɨ́ʔ ɨ̃̀* [B58636]

bjatú prɨ́ *ex.* another person ▸*prɨ́* ▸*cf. kəʒɔ́ʔ prɨ́, akʰɛ̀ prɨ́* [B59174]

bjaò *cop.* copula focus (COP.FOC) [=M *bjy*] [B35044]

ʧɛ̃̀bjaò *ex.* to be enough ▸*ʧɛ̃̀*[2] [B40835]

sá bjaò *ex.* it is like this ▸*sá* [B58711]

ʤisaá bjaò *ex.* it is like this ▸*ʤisá* [B58712]

bjaò[2] *vi.* to be crazy [B54229]

bjaòka *n.* the crazy one ▸*-ka* [B55701]

bjáŋ *vi.* nervous [=M *bjaŋ*] [B34980]

bjáŋla rɨ̀ *ex.* to be nervous [=M *bjaŋdə ʤuŋ*] ▸*-la, rɨ̀* [B44048]

hɨ̃̀bjáŋ *ex.* nervous ▸*híʔ* ▸*cf. aizín* [B36620]

bjáŋluì *n.* non-alcoholic sago drink (diluted sago with some salt) [M *saŋbuŋ*] [B38034]

bì bjáŋluì *n.* non-alcoholic drink made from sago [M *masaŋbuŋ*] ▸*bì* [B38029]

bjɛ̃̀ *vt.* to give someone a name [B40281]

abjɛ̃̀ bjɛ̃̀ *ex.* to give someone a name ▸*abjɛ̃̀* [B40285]

bjúʔ *vt.* to scratch ▸*cf. huíʔ* [B16262]

awuà bjúʔ (*var.* of *ɔ̀ku bjúʔ*) *ex.* to scratch an itch ▸*awuà* [B39388]

ɔ̀ku bjúʔ (*var.* *awuà bjúʔ*) *ex.* to scratch an itch ▸*ɔ̀*[2] [B42574]

bjǜ [HL] *n.* knife, dao ▸*cf.* *tʃi*[2] [B52157]

bráʔ *quant.* a lot, many (of a moving crowd like bees) ▸*cf.* *anáŋ*, *pəʃéʔ*, *atʃù*, *dəmín* [B58939]

tsəmuì tsəwoì bráʔ bráʔ kʰìbaro *ex.* A lot of bees are flying. ▸*tsəmuí*, *tsəwoì*, *kʰì* [B58940]

tsəmuì tsəwoì bráʔ bráʔ báʔ *ex.* There are lots and lots of bees. ▸*tsəmuí*, *tsəwoì* [B58938]

braʃ *n.* tooth brush [<Eng] [B51816]

braʃ kjúʔ *ex.* to brush the teeth ▸*səkjúʔ* [B51824]

brɑ̂ *n.* ① elevated place to sleep in a jungle camp ② bed ▸*cf.* *hɑ̂pɔ́*, *tʃáŋ* [B33800]

brɑ̂dɔ̀ *n.* [<M <*brɑ̃dɑ̃*(*M*)] [B56090]

səkɑ́dɔ̀ brɑ̂dɔ̀ *n.* a lot, so many, hard to count but in principle possible to count (cows, luggage etc.) [<M *səkɑ̃ brɑ̃dɑ̃*] ▸*səkɑ́dɔ̀* [B56094]

brìbrì *vi.* brittle, rough [B40623]

brím *n.* small cane container for arrow poison [B46518]

məlím brím *n.* cane container for arrow poison ▸*məlím* [B50659]

bropɔ́ *n.* herder [=M *bropoo*] [B36426]

ʤù bropuá *n.* yak herder ▸*ʤù* [B36439]

səlɔ́ʔ bropuá *n.* sheep herder ▸*səlɔ́ʔ* [B36447]

səfəù bropuá *n.* cow herder ▸*səfəù* [B36430]

brjɑ̀gɔ́n *n.* nape of human or animals without mane ▸*cf.* *asəjúŋ* [B37655]

blíʔ *vt.* to blink the eyes ▸*syn.* *bljéʔ* [B37039]

akɔ́m blíʔ *ex.* to blink the eyes ▸*akɔ́m* [B37044]

blóʔ *n.* ① mute ② dumb, stupid [B35092]

bljéʔ *vt.* to blink the eyes ▸*syn.* *blíʔ* [B53925]

akɔ́m bljéʔ *ex.* to blink the eyes ▸*akɔ́m* [B53929]

bɹáʔ *vt.* ① to break something (of glass, stone) ② to be broken [=M *ʃəbɹaʔ*] ▸*cf.* *pláʔ*, *tʃupláʔ* [B43050]

abɹáʔ *adj.* broken ▸*a-* [B39938]

tsúbɹáʔ *ex.* to break (a stone) ▸*tsú* [B51979]

botəlu bɹáʔ *ex.* The bottle broke. [=M *ʃəbɹaʔ*] ▸*botəlu* [B43054]

məréʔ bɹáʔ *ex.* the bead broke ▸*məréʔ* [B51965]

maìdúŋ *n.* container for transporting charcoal [Miji loan, because PTB **mey* > Bulu *bɛ̀* not *mai*<M] [B33428]

maù [HL] *vt.* to kill ▸*cf. wɛ́ʔ* [B52244]

makɛ́ *n.* big bamboo species with rough skin ▸*cf. matʃĩn* [B49964]

makiwáŋ *n.* one of the sago places in Old Bulu ▸*cf. sərúŋ* [B57382]

makənaíʔ *n.* bamboo species, grows in the mountains [B49960]

makúŋ [HL] *n.* mountain ▸*cf. pʰɨ̀ŋ* [B15088]

makjóŋ *n.* sago place in old Bulu [B50876]

magopám *n.* place name [B56734]

madù *n.* big bamboo, most important species. Used for making bows, quivers, arrows, floors of the house, fire tongs, water containers. The shoots are fermented and used to flavour boiled dishes. ▸*cf. təwjáŋ*, *bɛ̃̀bì*, *maʃɛ̃̀* [B14927]

madù akɨ́ŋ *n.* bamboo root (which is transplanted) ▸*akɨ́ŋ* [B49533]

madù atɨ́ŋ *n.* group of bamboo ▸*atɨ́ŋ*[3] [B58902]

madù awaí *n.* bamboo seed ▸*awaí* [B42539]

madù katɨ́ŋ *n.* bamboo cup ▸*katɨ̀ŋ* [B36270]

madù tíʔ *ex.* to make bamboo fall ▸*tíʔ* [B43152]

madù łéʔ *ex.* bamboo sprouts ▸*łéʔ* [B59147]

matʃáŋʃúʔ marjáŋʒóʔ [RL] *n.* mithun ▸*cf. susù* [B54791]

matʃì *n.* bamboo species sprouting in winter (December), sprouts are edible [B57438]

matʃín *n.* bamboo species with rough skin. Used to make small houses, fences, the walls of houses. Sprouts in winter (December), sprouts are edible. ▸*cf. makɛ́* [B43597]

matʃín dzún *ex.* ▸*dzún*[2] [B59117]

matʃín łám *ex.* the bamboo dried up ▸*łám*[2] [B43601]

hawuɛ̃̀ póka matʃín *ex.* the bamboo to make the wall of the house ▸*pá*, *hawuɛ̃̀* [B49252]

matʃù (≠*matsúʔ*) *n.* gun [B35027]

matʃù pjú *ex.* to shoot a gun ▸*pjú* [B36559]

matʃù bɛ̃̀ *ex.* to load a gun ▸*bɛ̃̀* [B38343]

madʒéʔ *n.* evil forest spirit, small with long hair and human appearance, eats niŋru and frogs, used to live in the field above the school. If he is seen he disappears. After seeing a matsɛʔ one has to eat tobacco or smoke the pipe. ▸*cf. níŋgrò* [B50644]

madʒuɛ̃̀ *n.* small sticks in ʧɨʔ trap, which will break when the prey steps on it [B40542]

matsúʔ (≠*matʃù*) *n.* bamboo with thorns, species used for making mani. Hardest bamboo variety used for the front part of the sago pick. ▸*cf. manì* [B22492]

matsúʔ anjaò *ex.* the bamboo is fresh (i.e. green) ▸*anjaò* [B49980]

matsúʔ awíʔ *n.* dried, withered bamboo ▸*awíʔ* [B49988]

matsúʔ gjɛ́ʔtʃa *ex.* the bamboo fell down ▸*gjɛ́ʔ* [B49378]

matsúʔ pjúʔ *ex.* the bamboo bursts in the fire ▸*pjú* [B49969]

matsúʔ ɬéʔ *ex.* ▸*ɬéʔ* [B59146]

matsu dətsén *n.* bamboo flowering [=M] ▸*dətsén* [B43578]

matsu ɬám *n.* the bamboo flowered ▸*ɬám*^{2} [B43593]

mabiɬíŋ *n.* pumpkin (grows well in wet soil) (*sci. Cucurbita sp.*) [≠M *ʤuʔ*] [B35883]

mabiɬíŋ lə́p *n.* pumpkin leaf eaten as vegetable ▸*alə́p* [B57299]

mabiɬíŋ ljɛ́ʔ *ex.* to peel a pumpkin by cutting the skin (not scraping) ▸*ljɛ́ʔ* [B51255]

mabiɬíŋ vuplá̰ʔ *ex.* to cut a pumpkin into pieces ▸*vɹuùplá̰ʔ* [B51273]

mabjaò *n.* edible bamboo (boiled or roasted), used to make baskets, ropes etc. ▸*cf. bɛ̃̀bì* [B28893]

mabjaòpʰṵ̀ *n.* piece of *mabjao* bamboo [B41045]

mabjaò akíŋ *n.* root of bamboo ▸*akíŋ* [B41764]

mabjaò atíŋ *n.* a group of bamboo plants ▸*atíŋ*^{3} [B58900]

mabjaò awaí *n.* bamboo seed ▸*awaí* [B42544]

mabjaò ʤuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to make an unordered hip of bamboo ▸*ʤuɛ́ʔ* [B58871]

mabjaò tsú *ex.* to hit the bamboo ▸*tsú* [B53565]

mabjaò ʤún *ex.* to make a pointed bamboo stick ▸*ʤún*^{2} [B59116]

mabjaò bì *n.* powder which is scraped with the knife from the bamboo, it can be cooked inside a bamboo tube. ▸*bì* [B53012]

mabjaò ruì *ex.* to pull bamboo ▸*ruì* [B57663]

mabjaò vɹuì *ex.* to split bamboo ▸*vɹuì* [B59048]

mabjaò ɬéʔ *ex.* the bamboo sprouts ▸*ɬéʔ* ▸*cf. míŋ pjú* [B52709]

maméʔ [HL] *n.* food ▸*cf. məluɛ̃̀* [B52043]

maméʔ mɜ̀ [HL] *ex.* to make food ▸*mɜ̀* ▸*cf. məluɛ̃̀ tʃíŋ* [B52053]

maméʔ méʔka [HL] *n.* mouth, lit. 'the one eating food' ▸*méʔ* ▸*cf. asə́m* [B15700]

maméʔ *n.* loss [B49827]

maméʔ ṵ̀na *ex.* It will be a loss. ▸*ṵ̀* [B49831]

mamitələ́ʔ *n.* butterfly (day-active) ▸*cf. papʰɛ́ʔ* [B58635]

anì vùka mamitələ́ʔ *ex.* The day active [butterfly is called] mamitəlaʔ. ▸*anì*, *vù* [B58718]

mamiʤɨ́ *n.* potato [≠M *lasnjo*] [B14947]

gù mamiʤɨ́ tʃíba *ex.* I need potatoes. ▸*tʃí*, *-ba* [B58834]

mamiʤɨ́ ɬaì *ex.* to plant potatoes

[≠M *lasənjo ʒuo*] ▸*ɬaì* [B49875]

mamidʒì ɬué? *ex.* to peel (uncooked) potatoes ▸*ɬué?*[2] [B51268]

mamidʒì ba.ím *ex.* The potatoes are not tasty. ▸*a.ím* [B54070]

mamidʒì lèkə́m *ex.* to collect potatoes ▸*lèkə́m* [B54557]

mamuì̃ *n.* Grassbird?, but these are birds of the plains. [B34094]

mamú? *n.* red panda (photo taken in Darjeeling Zoo) (*sci. Ailurus fulgens*) [=M] [B28685]

manì *n.* fermented bamboo for flavoring food, made from matsu ▸*cf. matsú?* ▸*syn. marəŋ* [B22486]

marəŋ *n.* ① bamboo species, does not grow in Bulu, in KR used to make məruŋ (type of feremented bamboo), is cultivated in the east ② fermented bamboo made from madu, used to flavour boiled dishes ▸*cf. kəvɹí?* ▸*syn. manì* [B38708]

marɨ́ŋ atʃyɛ̃̀ *n.* Fermented bamboo. ▸*atʃyɛ̃* [B49243]

marəŋ dʒuén *ex.* collect bamboo [B44054]

martul *n.* hammer [B43975]

martul tsù *ex.* to hit with the hammer ▸*tsú* [B43979]

martul rə́p *ex.* to forge a hammer ▸*rə́p* [B59035]

maláŋ gɹeì *n.* Missamari [=M] [B33372]

malu wosín *n.* own place in the forest, where one puts his traps, hunts, collects vegetables [B44064]

maljù *n.* chilli (needs dry soil) ▸*cf. tɛ́lo* [B22482]

maljù gíndɨ́ŋ *n.* kitchen mortar ▸*gíndɨ́ŋ* [B36232]

maljù tʃínkí *n.* pestle for kitchen mortar ▸*tʃɨ́ŋkí* [B36288]

maljù dzú? *ex.* to pestle chilli ▸*dzú?* [B39412]

maljù mɜ̀̃ *ex.* Chillies are hot. ▸*mɜ̀̃* ▸*cf. maljù amɜ̀̃* [B42431]

maljù səkjú? *ex.* to grind chilli with a stone (not with the pestle in the mortar) ▸*səkjú?* [B39417]

maljù amɜ̀̃ *ex.* Chillies are hot. ▸*amɜ̀̃* ▸*cf. maljù mɜ̀̃* [B42437]

masáŋ *n.* ① mythological hero (not Puroik) ② name of the grandfather of all speakers of Bulu Puroik ▸*cf. nətsɔ̀̃* ▸*syn. vəneì* [B57193]

atɨ́ŋ masáŋ *ex.* forefather Masaŋ, mythological hero ▸*atɨ́ŋ* ▸*syn. alò vəneì* [B57999]

masáŋ raìdə̀ *n.* Masaŋ Raidə, grandfather of all speakers of Bulu Puroik ▸*raìdə̀* [B59205]

masù *n.* sago sucker [=M] ▸*syn. tʃadə̀* [B55135]

mazáŋ *n.* grandfather of the current speakers of Bulu Puroik. [B55478]

maʃɛ̃̀ *n.* bamboo split and peeled (used to make baskets), made from madu ▸*cf. madù* [B44279]

maʃɛ̃̀ ɬué? *ex.* to peel/split bamboo ▸*ɬué?*[2] [B44283]

maʃɛ̃̀[2] [HL] *n.* cat ▸*cf. aljù* [B15730]

maʒɔ̀̃ [RL] *n.* [B57823]

buʒɔ̀ maʒɔ̀ [RL] *n.* sago ▸*buʒɔ̀* [B57816]

mǎ [HL] *n.* to make, to work ▸*cf. tʃíŋ* [B52048]

gəwéntʃĭn mǎ [HL] *ex.* to make polenta ▸*gəwéntʃĭn* [B52487]

mamɛ́ʔ mǎ [HL] *ex.* to make food ▸*mamɛ́ʔ* ▸*cf. məluɛ̀ tʃíŋ* [B52053]

səlaù mǎ [HL] *ex.* to cook sago ▸*səlaù* [B52482]

máŋ *n.* type of trap, which stabs the prey with a spear [B38334]

máŋ dʒjù *ex.* to stab with a stabbing trap ▸*dʒjù* [B42894]

máŋ bɛ̀ *ex.* to load the maŋ trap ▸*bɛ̀* [B38338]

máŋ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a stabbing trap ▸*ʒə̀* [B58756]

mɛ̀ *n.* ① vegetable (plant, raw) ② side dish (vegetable or meat which is eaten along with rice or sago) [=M *pɛn*] [B33606]

mɛ̀ ìbatʃa *ex.* the vegetables are cooked (lit. died) ▸*ì* [B50998]

mɛ̀ íʔ *ex.* to cut vegetables ▸*íʔ* [B38984]

mɛ̀ kruíʔ *ex.* to stir vegetables ▸*kruíʔ* [B58950]

mɛ̀ tə́m *ex.* to warm up vegetables ▸*tə́m* [B58754]

mɛ̀ daò *ex.* to cook vegetables ▸*daò* [B38224]

mɛ̀ tʃuĭ *ex.* to wash vegetables ▸*tʃuĭ* [B39222]

mɛ̀ tsŭ̀tsáʔ *ex.* to sell vegetables ▸*tsŭ̀tsáʔ* [B39076]

mɛ̀ nuáʔ *ex.* to buy vegetables ▸*nɔ́ʔ* [B39081]

mɛ̀ hɔ́ʔ *ex.* to serve vegetables ▸*hɔ́ʔ* [B58951]

mɛ̀rjɛ̀ *n.* raw vegetable ▸*arjɛ̀* [B36631]

mɛ̀ ajím *ex.* tasty vegetable ▸*a.ím* [B41926]

mɛ̀ arĭ̀ *ex.* slippery vegetables ▸*arĭ̀* [B53234]

mɛ̀ njɛpɛ́ʔ ba.ím *ex.* ▸*njɛpɛ́ʔ*, *a.ím* [B58812]

mɛ̀mu [RL] *n.* [B56455]

ʃaʃu mɛmu [RL] *n.* place near modern Zero point ▸*ʃàʃu* [B55312]

mɛì *vt.* to mate [=M *mɛi*] ▸*cf. dù²* [B50534]

mɛìri *ex.* to mate ▸*-ri²* [B50538]

wáʔ mɛìri *ex.* the pigs are mating ▸*wáʔ* [B50560]

səfəù mɛìri *ex.* the cows are mating ▸*səfəù* [B50550]

susù mɛìri *ex.* the mithuns are mating ▸*susù* [B50555]

amɔ̀ apʰɔ̀ mɛìri *ex.* the male and the female are mating ▸*-ri²*, *apʰɔ̀*, *amɔ̀* [B50543]

mɛ́ʔ [HL] *vt.* to eat ▸*cf. bɔ̀²*, *tʃì* [B52462]

mamɛ́ʔ mɛ́ʔka [HL] *n.* mouth, lit. 'the one eating food' ▸*mamɛ́ʔ* ▸*cf. asə́m* [B15700]

ʒjɔ̀ mɛ́ʔ *ex.* to eat meat ▸*ʒjɔ̀* [B54263]

mɛdɛ́n *n.* [B56664]

mɛdəgɛ̀ *n.* [B56711]

mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəʒán [RL] *n.* first female human, who gave birth to the forefathers of all tribes on earth. ▸*ʃəʒán* ▸*cf. ʃə̃to kəpán* [B55446]

mɛʧagún *n.* sweet potato [≠M *njaudʒaŋ*] [B35891]

mɛ́ntʃín *n.* rainbow [B20642]

meradɨ́ŋ *n.* freckles on the face [≠M *ʧɛndəʃʃɛn*] ▸*cf. ìdán* [B42722]

mì (≠*mí?*) *prn.* ① who ② nobody [B22508]

mìmatʃi *prn.* whoever, anybody ▸*=matʃi* [B58448]

mìme tsá? *ex.* Who did it? [B58774]

hɨ́ŋ hám mì mətsá? *ex.* Who made this house? ▸*mə-* [B52004]

mí? (≠*mì*) *n.* arrow ▸*cf. nitséŋ* [B22517]

mí?tám *n.* arrow for killing birds (without proper arrow head) [B43804]

mí? prɛí *ex.* to measure the length of an arrow so that it fits into the quiver ▸*prɛí* [B52715]

mí? rí? *ex.* to shoot an arrow ▸*rí?* [B39094]

mí? ljá? *ex.* to hit target with arrow ▸*ljá?*[2] [B42283]

mí? fí? *ex.* to make arrows smooth ▸*fí?* [B51250]

mí?rɔ̀̃ *n.* arrow for killing monkeys and medium sized animals, made from bamboo [≠M *nəkro?*] ▸*syn. nəkró?* [B43800]

mí?ʒuá? *n.* part of arrow [B41683]

mikɔ́? *n.* nock of arrow [B41687]

mí?kɔ́? kɔ́? *ex.* to make the nock of an arrow ▸*kɔ́?* [B53586]

məzə̀̃ *n.* ① arrow head made from metal ② arrow for killing big animals with poison (bear, deer) ▸*záŋ* [B15353]

mitə́́dʒi *n.* half armspan ▸*cf. pahjɛ̃̀* [B37086]

mín *vi.* to ripen, to be ripe ▸*cf. amín* [B55696]

míŋ (≠*míŋ*[2]) *n.* ① something (default object for many activity verbs) ② speech ③ rule ④ ritual ▸*cf. míŋ bahɨ̀̃rjaò* ▸*syn. gulù gəlán* [B35851]

míŋ ʧɨ́ŋ *ex.* to do work ▸*ʧɨ́ŋ* [B51727]

míŋ badɛ̀̃ *ex.* not to obey ▸*dɛ̀̃* [B49569]

míŋ bahɨ̀̃rjaò *ex.* he is not able to speak ▸*hɨ̀̃, rjaò* ▸*cf. míŋ* [B39468]

míŋ nyìri *ex.* to imitate somebody's

speech ▸*nyìri* [B43342]

míŋ huì *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*huì*[2] [B44445]

míŋpalɔ̀ *n.* story [B33132]

míŋpalɔ hǐ̀ *ex.* to tell a story ▸*hǐ̀* [B44131]

míŋ goì *ex.* to winnow ▸*goì*[3] [B58994]

míŋ goì kɛ́̌ *ex.* to winnow (with left-right movement) [≠M] ▸*kɛ́̌* [B38413]

míŋ ʧíŋ *ex.* to work ▸*ʧíŋ* [B58972]

míŋ ʤù *ex.* to sing ▸*ʤù* [B42813]

míŋ tsún *ex.* to jump, to make long jump competition ▸*tsún* [B43304]

múŋ tsúnbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a jumping competition ▸*-bɹɛ̀* [B54540]

míŋ bəʒɔ̀̃ [HL] *ex.* to make traps ▸*bəʒɔ̀̃* [B54443]

míŋ núʔ [HL] *ex.* to do, to make something ▸*núʔ* [B54438]

míŋ ríʔ *ex.* to play archery, shooting with the bow ▸*ríʔ* [B54118]

míŋ rù *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*rù* [B44454]

míŋ sù *ex.* to dance ▸*sù* [B42818]

míŋ zjáʔ *ex.* to shout around, make noise ▸*zjáʔ* [B59050]

míŋ ʃəbɹín *n.* hunting language [M *tai ʃəbɹɨn*] ▸*ʃəbɹín* [B36459]

míŋ ʃjɛ̀̃ *ex.* to make rituals ▸*ʃjɛ̀̃* ▸*syn. gulù gəlán* [B36784]

míŋ ɬaì *ex.* to plant things ▸*ɬaì* [B59034]

míŋ ɬaò *ex.* to cheat ▸*ɬaò* [B44246]

míŋ hǐ̀ *ex.* to talk ▸*hǐ̀* [B38878]

míŋ[2] (≠*míŋ*) *vi.* to be full, satiated [B33264]

ləbíŋ míŋ *ex.* the stomach is full ▸*ləbíŋ* [B42261]

míŋ[3] *vi.* to thunder [B36848]

hamíŋ míŋ *ex.* it is thundering ▸*hamíŋ* [B36843]

míŋ[4] *n.* mushroom [B15118]

batʃiljek míŋ *n.* edible mushroom, Monpa Lamas believe that it has a purifying effect ▸*batʃiljek* [B15205]

míŋ kámsò *n.* redish edible mushroom growing on trees ▸*cf. kámsò* [B41399]

míŋ kalɜ̀̃ kalì *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*kalɜ̀̃ kalì* [B58887]

míŋ kahjɛ̀ *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*kahjɛ̀* [B58889]

míŋ kətʃɛ̀̃ *n.* white edible mushroom growing on trees ▸*kətʃɛ̀̃*[2] [B41389]

míŋ kəmáŋ *n.* yellowish edible mushroom growing on trees ▸*kəmáŋ* [B58881]

míŋ kəsì *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*kəsì* [B58884]

míŋ gətʃín *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*gətʃín* [B58883]

míŋ pjú *ex.* the mushrooms sprout ▸*pjú* ▸*cf. mabjaò ɬéʔ* [B50425]

míŋ muprɨ́̃ *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*muprɨ́̃* [B58891]

míŋ sɛ̀̃ *ex.* the mushroom sprout ▸*sɛ̀̃*

[B41678]

míŋ ɬéʔ *ex.* mushrooms sprout ▸*ɬéʔ* [B53555]

hǎ̀dzì míŋ *n.* edible mushroom ▸*hǎ̀dzì* [B20512]

míŋ[5] *n.* ghost, spirit [B58420]

míŋ alaò *n.* bad spirit (of trees stones etc.) ▸*alaò* ▸*syn. məɬaò* [B37239]

míŋ alaò kɛ́̃ *ex.* a bad spirit possessed him/her ▸*kɛ́̃* [B58859]

mə- *nmlz.* NMLZ (NMLZ) [B52000]

mətʃíŋ *n.* work ▸*tʃíŋ* ▸*cf. tʃíŋ* [B22470]

mətʃíŋ tʃíŋ *ex.* to do some work ▸*tʃíŋ* [B38861]

mətʃíŋ tʃíŋ agéʔ hjáʔ *ex.* the skin of the hand is peeling of after doing too muchwork ▸*agéʔ hjáʔ* [B44303]

mətʃíŋ tʃíŋʃjám *ex.* to whatever work you want ▸*tʃíŋ*, *-ʃjám* [B54665]

mətʃíŋ ba-tʃíŋ-lana bǎ̀ ba-muɛ̃̀ *ex.* If you don't work, you won't get money. ▸*tʃíŋ*, *muɛ̃̀* [B55364]

nà hanì hɛ̀ mətʃíŋ tʃíŋna *ex.* What work will you do today? ▸*tʃíŋ* [B49390]

vɛtazu mətʃíŋ *ex.* his own work ▸*=tazu* [B55731]

məjaò *n.* ① throat ② esophagus and trachea ▸*jaò* [B11281]

məjaò dáʔ *ex.* there is something in the throat, the throat is blocked ▸*dáʔ* [B58807]

məjaò tsə̀ bəsáŋ *ex.* to clear the phlegm from the throat ▸*tsə̀*, *bəsáŋ* [B58810]

məjaò bámbì *n.* adam's apple ▸*bì* [B36916]

məjaò bəsáŋ *ex.* to clear the throat ▸*bəsáŋ* [B58809]

məjaò bəhjáʔ *ex.* pungent in throat ▸*bəhjáʔ* [B59176]

ʃúʔ zùrika məjaò *n.* wind pipe (*sci.* *Trachea*) ▸*-rika*, *ʃúʔ zù* [B37286]

məríʔ *n.* archery ▸*ríʔ* [B57245]

məríʔ ríʔ *ex.* to shoot with bow and arrow ▸*ríʔ* ▸*cf. zéʔ* [B52087]

məʃə́p *n.* knot ▸*ʃə́p* [B41479]

məʃə́p ʃə́p *ex.* to make a knot ▸*ʃə́p* [B41487]

məzɛ̀̃ *n.* strap, carry belt [≠M *pʰii*] ▸*zɛ̀̃* [B36694]

məzɛ̀̃túʔ *n.* carry belt for baskets, mainly used by women (has a twisted rope on one end and a sling on the other end) ▸*kətúʔ* ▸*cf. məzɛ̀̃tʃín* [B44103]

məzɛ̀̃ pə́ *ex.* to plait a carry belt ▸*pə́* [B41367]

məzɛ̀̃ ɬjaù *ex.* to open a rope ▸*ɬjaù* [B54625]

məzə̀ *n.* trap (common) ▸*zə̀* ▸*cf.*

məgɨ́ʔ, *ʒə̀* [B40414]

məʒə̀ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a trap ▸*ʒə̀* ▸*cf. məgɨ́ʔ bəʒə̃̀* [B44108]

hɨ́ŋ hám mì mətsáʔ *ex.* Who made this house? ▸*mì* [B52004]

məkaó *n.* place in a trap where the prey will step and trigger the trap prey. It is covered with earth and leaves. ▸*syn. akaó* [B40523]

ʧɨ̃ʔ məkaó *n.* place where prey steps in the sling ▸*ʧɨ̃ʔ* [B53274]

məkaó ʧúʔ *ex.* to dig the hole for the ʧɨʔ trap ▸*ʧúʔ* [B40527]

məkaó pí *ex.* to hammer two sticks in the ground for the trigger of ʧɨʔ trap ▸*pí* [B53285]

məkaó nì *ex.* to spread the sticks over the məkao ▸*nì* [B57257]

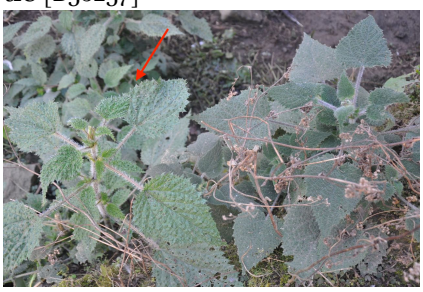
məkíŋ *n.* stinging nettle sp (*sci. Urtica sp.*) [B36713]

məkíŋ atɨ́ŋ *n.* a bunch stinging nettle ▸*atɨ́ŋ*[3] [B58897]

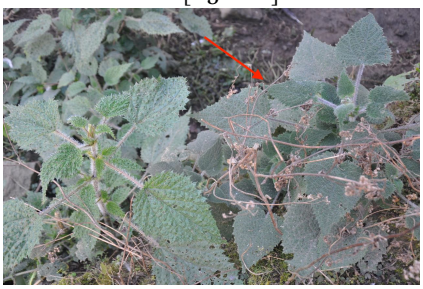
məkíŋ ʃə̃̀ *n.* stinging nettle fibres ▸*ʃə̃̀* [B36717]

məkíŋ híŋ *ex.* the stinging nettle stings ▸*híŋ* [B50174]

nabjə̀ məkíŋ *n.* edible stinging nettle [B50257]



hə̀tʰə̀ məkíŋ *n.* stinging nettle species, grows near houses, not edible ▸*hə̀tʰə̀* [B50262]



məgɨ́ʔ [HL] *n.* trap ▸*cf. məʒə̀* [B52124]

məgɨ́ʔ bəʒə̃̀ [HL] *ex.* to make a trap ▸*bəʒə̃̀* ▸*cf. məʒə̀ ʒə̀* [B52134]

mə̃̀ məgɨ́ʔ núʔũ̀ba *ex.* Let's go and make traps! ▸*núʔ* [B52425]

məgə̀ *n.* wild walnut (very hard shell) [B50057]

ɬasa məguà *n.* domesticated walnut, is easier to crack than the wild one ▸*ɬasa* [B50061]

məgɹɨ́n [HL] *n.* leg ▸*cf. alɛ̀* [B15713]

mətə́ʔ *n.* poison in food, poison of animals ▸*cf. məlím*, *akədóʔ*, *tə́ʔ* ▸*syn. akədóʔ* [B29031]

dadʒɨ́ʔ mətɨ́ʔ *n.* snake poison ▸*dadʒɨ́ʔ* [B50513]

mətə́ʔ tə́ʔ *ex.* ▸*tə́ʔ* [B59201]

mətʰíʔ *n.* wild apple, very sour, eaten raw or roasted [≠M *apualɛɛ*] [B49335]

aruéʔ mətʰíʔ *n.* wild apple growing in the mountains, is sweet unlike the variety growing in the village ▸*aruéʔ* [B53040]

mətʰyéʔ *n.* Mathow, Miji village one hour from Bulu. Used to be Puroik, Sago plantation is still there. [≠M *bətoʔ*] ▸*cf. talàŋ sə̀̃sáŋ* [B20532]

mətʰyéʔ ə̃̀ vùkə́m *ex.* to go everybody together to Mathow ▸*ə̃̀*, *-kə́m* [B58639]

mədyì *n.* chicken [≠M *doʔ*] ▸*cf. kəbáŋ* ▸*syn. ʧá* [B28556]

mədyì atʰyì̃ *n.* chicken basket ▸*atʰyí̃* [B38536]

mədyì awù̃ *n.* chicken egg ▸*awù̃²* ▸*syn. ʧáwù̃* [B53600]

mədyì awù̃ wũ̃ribáʔ *ex.* The chicken lays an egg. ▸*awù̃²*, *wù̃* [B54645]

mədyì pəíʔ *ex.* to breed chicken ▸*pʰəíʔ* [B39447]

mədyì mə́n *ex.* The chicken is hatching. ▸*mə́n* [B53644]

mədyì məhjə̀̃ kjɛ́í *ex.* The chicken dig the soil (with the foot). ▸*məhjə̀̃*, *kjɛ́í* [B58989]

mədyì məhjə̀̃ dyéʔ *ex.* The chicken scratch the soil (with the foot). ▸*məhjə̀̃*, *dyéʔ* [B58988]

mədyì ʃì *n.* chicken meat ▸*ʃì* [B42304]

mədyì amɔ̀ *n.* chicken mother ▸*amɔ̀* ▸*cf. ʧámɔ̀* [B53462]

mətʃím [HL] *n.* water [≠M *mjaŋ* (*Miji HL*)] ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀* [B52058]

mətʃím gəlúŋ [HL] *ex.* hot water ▸*gəlúŋ* [B54469]

mətʃím ʃóʔ [HL] *ex.* to bring water ▸*ʃóʔ* [B52152]

mətʃímhɔ̀̃ [HL] *n.* river ▸*cf. kahɔ̀̃* [B52516]

mətʃím *n.* sour fruit used to make juice, looks like a big strawberry but has big seed inside [B41372]

mətsə̀̃ (*var.* of *amətsə̀̃*) *n.* [B58655]

məpi [RL] *n.* [B56957]

məpi mərjù̃ [RL] *n.* ▸*mərjù̃* [B56963]

məpiláŋ [RL] *n.* place name [B55175]

məpʰiláŋ mərjúŋʒín [RL] *n.* place name ▸*mərjúŋʒín* [B55183]

məpə́ *n.* any kind of production work [B41358]

məpə́ pə́ *ex.* to make/produce/fabricate something (e.g. basket) ▸*pə́* [B41362]

məpʰìn (≠*apín*) *n.* corn, maize (grows well in wet soil) [≠M *suban*] [B28953]

pín ʧakuí *n.* cooked maize ▸*ʧakuí* ▸*cf. njén ʧakuí* [B20489]

məpʰinù *n.* maize grain ▸*ù* [B58970]

məpʰinù ʧíŋ *ex.* to pick up a maize grain ▸*ʧíŋ²* [B58969]

məpʰinù məhjə̀̃lapu ʧíŋla lè *ex.* to pick up a maize grain from the ground ▸*ʧíŋ²*, *lè* [B58976]

məpʰìn atíŋ *n.* group of maize

plants ▸*atíŋ*³ [B58899]

məpʰìn trấ *n.* pile of maize cobs ▸*trấ* [B41223]

məpʰìn trấla ʒì *ex.* ▸*trấ*, *ʒì* [B58873]

məpʰìn ʧakuí *n.* polenta, cooked maize powder ▸*ʧakuí* ▸*cf. gəwɛ́ntʃɨn* [B52742]

məpʰìn ʧɨ̋ŋ *ex.* to pick up maize grains from the ground ▸*ʧɨ̋ŋ*² [B58973]

məpʰìn batsoì *n.* maize bag ▸*batsoì* [B57571]

məpʰìn vɛ̀ *ex.* to grind maize ▸*vɛ̀*² [B59110]

məpʰìn ɬé? *ex.* The maize sprouts. ▸*ɬé?* [B54608]

məpʰɔ̀̃ *n.* tiger (*sci. Panthera tigris*) [<KR] ▸*syn. atíŋ məzí?* [B14820]

məpʰɔ́̃ pɔ́̃ *ex.* the tiger came out ▸*pɔ́̃* [B53549]

məpʰɔ̀̃ akú? *n.* tiger skin (front part of the shaman hat is made from this material) ▸*akú?* [B49665]

məpʰɔ̀̃ baragì *n.* tiger ▸*barəgì* [B58715]

məpʰuí? *n.* fig [B41376]

məbì̀ *n.* person from Lagam (Brokpa), speaking a Brokpa (a dialect of Tibetan) ▸*cf. bìhám* [B49761]

məbì̀ tʰɨ́? *n.* Lagam (Brokpa village) ▸*tʰɨ́?* ▸*syn. bìhám* [B58850]

məbán *n.* Miji [≠M *dəmai*] [B33070]

məbán sə́m *n.* Miji language [≠M *dəmailao*] ▸*asə́m* [B58786]

məbánsə́m hì̀ *ex.* to speak Miji language [≠M *dəmailao ʧo?*] ▸*hì̀* [B58788]

məbɯ̀̃ *n.* cucumber (*sci. Cucumis sativus*) [≠M *belei?*] [B35887]

məbɯ̀̃ ɬué? *ex.* to peel a cucumber (by cutting toward body) ▸*ɬué?*² [B51260]

məbjén *adj.* flat [<M *məbjɛn*] ▸*syn. atlí* [B39398]

màm (*var. mán*) (≠*mám*) *vt.* ① to close the mouth ② to hold in the mouth [B37407]

asə́mku màm *ex.* to hold in the mouth ▸*asə́m*, *=ku* [B50455]

asə́m màm *ex.* to close the mouth ▸*asə́m* ▸*syn. asə́m mán*² [B37411]

bakɨ́ màm *ex.* to have tobacco in the mouth ▸*bakʰɨ̀* [B50441]

mán (*var.* of *màm*) *vt.* to close the mouth [B53625]

asə́m mán² *ex.* to close the mouth ▸*asə́m* ▸*syn. asə́m màm* [B53620]

mənám [HL] *n.* Himalayan musk deer ▸*cf. anám* [B52028]

mənè *n.* things, goods, luggage [B33497]

atsɛ̀̃ mənè *ex.* old things ▸*atsɛ̀̃* [B41960]

gù mənè alɨ̀bá? *ex.* My luggage is heavy. ▸*alɨ̀*, *alə̀* [B49721]

gù mənè pʰɔ́?ʧué? *ex.* I forgot my luggage. ▸*pʰɔ́?* [B54133]

buì abɛ̃̀ mənè *ex.* old stuff ▸*buì*, *abɛ̀̃* [B50763]

bùlapu mənè kɯ́̃ ʤɯ́̃ *ex.* to lift up luggage with both hands ▸*bù*, *ʤɯ́̃* [B58965]

mənè akɨ́ *ex.* old stuff ▸*akɨ́* [B50768]

mənè apé ʒɜ̃̀ *ex.* to make luggage

ready, to fill the bags ▸*apʰéʔ*, *ʒə̀* [B55529]

mənè awíʔ *ex.* old stuff ▸*awíʔ* [B50758]

mənè aʃéʔ ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry much luggage ▸*aʃéʔ*, *ʒɛ̀* [B58708]

mənè úʔ *ex.* to hide goods ▸*úʔ* [B39114]

mənè dyìjə̀ *ex.* to take someone's luggage and bring it to the destiny ▸*dyì*, *-jə̀* [B43715]

mənè ʧuì *ex.* to clean (dishes etc.) ▸*ʧuì* [B38914]

mənè pətʰù *ex.* to fix the luggage ▸*pətʰù* [B43948]

mənè nuàwoì *ex.* to search and find luggage ▸*ɔì*, *nɔ̀* [B51353]

mənè lè úʔka afù *ex.* a man who steals ▸*afù* ▸*syn.* *bù.úʔ ʃáŋkán* [B58981]

mənè lèvùnjámréʔbo *ex.* Bring me the luggage! ▸*lè*, *-njám*, *-réʔ*, *-bo* [B58604]

mənè ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry luggage (in baskets with a carry strap) ▸*ʒɛ̀* [B39198]

mənèsu *ex.* real, original goods (not fake) ▸*asú* [B43839]

mənè bù.úʔ *ex.* to steal things ▸*bù.úʔ* [B58980]

mənè fíntʃuéʔ *ex.* to throw away things ▸*fíntʃuéʔ* [B59003]

mənḯ *n.* fear ▸*cf. nḭ̃* [B51517]

mənì pjṹ *ex.* to scare someone ▸*pjṹ* [B51522]

bjatúku mənì pjṹ *ex.* to scare someone ▸*pjṹ*, *bjatú* [B51527]

mənyɛ̀ *n.* lunch, food on the way or in the field ▸*cf. məluɛ̃̀* [B33822]

məjaònúŋ *n.* place between Kazolang and Lapusa, there is an IB (inspection bungalow) [B55878]

mərə̀̃ *n.* monkey (*sci. Macaca (assamensis)*) ▸*cf. uvaù* [B22500]

mərə̀̃ atʰṳ̀ *n.* leopard, lit. 'lord of the monkeys', is said to eat macaques ▸*atʰṳ̀* ▸*cf. pʰàŋtsén*, *pʰɛ̀pʰjə̀ atʰṳ̀* [B55547]

mərə̀̃ kuíʔ *n.* edible creeper plant growing near the water [B40925]

məréʔ *n.* beads [≠M *vəloʔ*] ▸*cf. kəsù kəbì* [B14904]

məréʔ apí *n.* blue bead ▸*apí* [B41248]

məréʔ tyí *ex.* to put beads on a thread ▸*tyí* [B41252]

məréʔ ʧíŋ *ex.* to pick up a bead (from the ground) with two fingers ▸*ʧíŋ*[2] [B58968]

məréʔ bɹáʔ *ex.* the bead broke ▸*bɹáʔ* [B51965]

məréʔ réʔna *ex.* to wear beads ▸*réʔ*[2] [B38165]

məréʔ ʧuplàʔ *ex.* the bead broke ▸*ʧuplàʔ* [B51974]

mərɔ̀ *n.* jungle [B58425]

mərɔ̀mɔ̀ *n.* jungle (generic) ▸*-mɔ̀*[2] ▸*cf. abɨ́ŋmɔ̀*, *arɨ́ŋmɔ̀* [B42450]

mərɔ̀mɔ ʃì *n.* jungle animal ▸*ʃì* [B58865]

mərù *n.* woman [≠M *nəmɛʔ*] ▸*cf. ʒə̀tɛ́ʔ*, *aʒáŋtɛ́ʔ* [B20557]

mərùdə̀ *n.* young woman, girl ▸*-də̀*[2] ▸*ant. afùdə̀* [B52575]

mərù atʰyíʔ *n.* a woman's vagina ▸*atʰyíʔ* [B44542]
mərù adʒíʔ báʔ *ex.* The woman is beautiful. ▸*adʒíʔ* [B59181]
mərù gáʔ *ex.* to ask for a woman's hand ▸*gáʔ* [B38942]
mərù gáʔvù *n.* to go and ask for a woman's hand ▸*gáʔ* [B42781]
mərù dù *ex.* to fuck a woman ▸*dù²* [B53745]
mərù lè *ex.* to marry a woman ▸*lè* [B38937]
mərù dʒòʃáŋ *ex.* to marry a woman ▸*dʒòʃáŋ* [B39610]
mərjǔ [RL] *n.* [B56960]
məpi mərjǔ [RL] *n.* ▸*məpi* [B56963]
mərjúŋʒín [RL] *n.* place name [B55179]
məpʰiláŋ mərjúŋʒín [RL] *n.* place name ▸*məpiláŋ* [B55183]
məlím *n.* aconite, arrow poison ▸*cf. mətáʔ*, *nətʃín* [B22496]

məlím brím *n.* cane container for arrow poison ▸*brím* [B50659]
məluɛ́ndén *n.* centipede ▸*syn. ʃə̀ʒíʔ*, *dzánməljéʔ* [B58189]
məluɛ̀ *n.* food at home (breakfast or dinner) ▸*cf. maméʔ*, *mənyè* [B14628]
arjè məluɛ̀ *n.* dinner ▸*arjé* [B33826]
gù məluɛ̀ batʃìhíʔ *ex.* I don't feel like eating. ▸*híʔ* [B59015]
məluɛ̀ abuɛ̀ *ex.* first bit of food that is offered to the gods ▸*abuɛ̀²* [B37217]
məluɛ̀ amjè námba *ex.* The food smells good. ▸*nám* [B59013]
məluɛ̀ ɛ̃ tʃìkám *ex.* to eat everybody together from one plate ▸*ɛ̃*, *-kám* ▸*cf. pʰəù lyìla ín* [B58638]
məluɛ̀ tám *ex.* to warm food ▸*tám* [B50993]
məluɛ̀ daò *ex.* the food is cooked ▸*daò* [B43555]
məluɛ̀ tʃɛ̃̀ *ex.* there is enough food ▸*tʃɛ̃̀²* [B43251]
məluɛ̀ tʃĩŋ *ex.* to make food ▸*tʃĩŋ* ▸*cf. maméʔ mə̀* [B39573]
məluɛ̀ tʃĩŋjámbo *ex.* make food ready! ▸*-jə̀bo* [B43412]
məluɛ̀ muéʔla lì *ex.* to throw up food ▸*muéʔ*, *lì* [B59010]
məluɛ̀ jaò *ex.* to swallow food ▸*jaò* [B43088]
məluɛ̀ jaòla lìrika *ex.* stomach ▸*jaò*, *lì* ▸*cf. arínpǔ* [B58772]
məluɛ̀ rì *ex.* to feed, to give food (for small kids, who cannot eat by themselves yet) ▸*rì²* [B39109]
məluɛ̀ ba.ím *ex.* The food is not tasty. ▸*a.ím* [B54060]
məluɛ̀ njètʃi *ex.* little bit food ▸*njétʃi* [B39616]
məljaò *num.* eight [≠M *səgiʔ*] [B14613]
suánməljaò *num.* eighty ▸*suán* [B41617]
suánlapu məljaò *num.* ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41562]
suánlapu məljè *num.* seventeen ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41558]
suánníʔlapu məljaò *num.* 28 ▸*suán-níʔ* [B41588]
məljə̀ *n.* rasberry [B14893]

dəsidə̀ məljə̀̀ *n.* rasberry species [B36663]

məljə̀̀dʒoì *n.* yellow rasberry ▸*adʒoì* [B36659]

məljə̀̀pí *n.* blackberry ▸*apí* ▸*syn. məljə̀̀ apí* [B36649]

məljə̀̀ apí *n.* blackberry ▸*apí* ▸*syn. məljə̀̀pí* [B58632]

məljə̀̀ kətʃúŋ *n.* red rasberry [B15179]

məljə̀̀ʃĭʔ *n.* red rasberry ▸*aʃĭʔ* [B36654]

məljə̀̀[2] [RL] *n.* Nafra area [B56987]

məljáŋ ljɛkó *n.* Nafra area ▸*ljɛkó* ▸*cf. tʃáŋru bətʃúŋ* [B43241]

məljɛ̀ *num.* seven [≠M *mjaʔ*] [B14623]

suánməljɛ̀ *num.* seventy ▸*suán* [B41613]

hə̀̀pű̀ meljɛ̀ *n.* seven days, one week ▸*hə̀̀pű̀* ▸*syn. hápta* [B20633]

suánníʔlapu məljɛ̀ *num.* 27 ▸*suánníʔ* [B41585]

hə̀̀pű̀ məljɛ̀ prúʃə̀̃ *ex.* seven days ago ▸*prúʃə̀̃*, *hə̀̀pű̀* [B51595]

məvə́m [HL] *n.* stone trap ▸*cf. rɔ̀* [B52139]

məvə́n núʔ [HL] *ex.* to make a stone trap ▸*núʔ* ▸*cf. rɔ̀ ʒə̀* [B52147]

məsɛ̀̃ *n.* any carnivore (stealing meat from the traps) [B51122]

məsənjo [HL] *n.* goat [B59210]

məsənjo ʃabrín [HL] *n.* goat ▸*ʃabrín* ▸*cf. səpɛ̀̃* [B53119]

məsunúŋ [HL] *n.* pig ▸*cf. wáʔ* [B53090]

məzíʔ [HL] *n.* tiger ▸*cf. atíŋ məzíʔ* [B52100]

məzíʔ *n.* tiger [B53454]

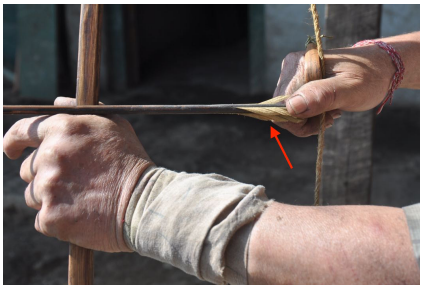
atíŋ məzíʔ *n.* tiger (lit. father-in-law tiger) (*sci. Panthera tigris*) ▸*atíŋ* ▸*cf. atíŋ*, *məzíʔ* ▸*syn. məpʰɔ̃̀* [B28706]

məzɔ̀̃ *n.* ① thorn ② plant with thorns [≠M *kəʒuʔ*] [B34479]

babla məzɔ̀̃ *n.* inedible solanum [=M *babla kəʒuʔ*] ▸*babla* ▸*syn. babla kəʒúʔ* [B50949]

məʒɔ̀̃ dʒjù *ex.* the thorns prick ▸*dʒjù* [B49946]

məʃì *n.* fletching (of arrow), made from the leaf of a cane plant which does not grow in Bulu but only in warmer places like Bhalukpong and Seppa. The leaf does not tear and does not get deformed when in the quiver. [B36677]



məʃuǐ [HL] *n.* sling trap ▸*syn. ʧĭ?* [B54359]

bɛ̏bì məʃuǐ [HL] *n.* bird trap made from bamboo ▸*bɛ̏bì* [B54367]

məʃuǐ pəʃúm [HL] *n.* to make sling traps ▸*pəʃúm* [B15762]

məʒɛ̏ʧín *n.* long carry strap for tying and carrying wood, mainly used by men (has a rope on both ends unlike məʒeNtu? which has only on one side a rope) ▸*cf. məʒɛ̏tú?* [B38480]

məʒɔ̀ *adj.* lazy ▸*cf. aʒɔ̀* [B44113]

məʒɔ̀ ɬjá? *v.* lazy [B39943]

məɬaì *n.* seed ▸*syn. alə̀* [B49727]

məɬaì ɬaì *ex.* to plant seeds ▸*ɬaì* [B49731]

məɬaò *n.* demon, bad spirit [≠M *'nəʧu*] ▸*syn. míŋ alaò* [B34454]

pasùɬɛ̏ prĭ́ pafĭ́?ɬɛ̏ məɬaò *ex.* right side human, left side ghosts, said of ləloo lədʒidʒɛ? mother of all animals and ghosts ▸*pasù, pafĭ́?, prĭ́* ▸*cf. ləlò ridʒidʒɛ́?* [B55503]

məɬì *n.* lie [B22504]

məɬì apʰɔ̀ *n.* liar ▸*apʰɔ̀* [B59012]

məɬì hɛ̌ *ex.* to lie [≠M *lawo? ʧo?*] ▸*hɛ̌* [B44098]

məhjɛ̏ *n.* earth ▸*cf. dərá?* [B20643]

mədyì məhjɛ̏ kjɛí *ex.* The chicken dig the soil (with the foot). ▸*mədyì, kjɛí* [B58989]

mədyì məhjɛ̏ dyɛ́? *ex.* The chicken scratch the soil (with the foot). ▸*mədyì, dyɛ́?* [B58988]

məhjɛ̏ku ʤjù *ex.* to poke the ground (with a stick) ▸*ʤjù* [B59089]

məhjɛ̏mɔ *n.* dust ▸*-mɔ̀* ▸*cf. məhjɛ̏ kɪ́* [B44119]

məhjɛ̏mó? *n.* dust ▸*mó?* [B58426]

ʧamó? *n.* very fine sago fibres (used to light a fire with a fire-stone), under the ʧamən fibres ▸*ʧaò* ▸*cf. ʧamɪ́n* [B37824]

məhjɛ̏mó? kʰɪ̀ *ex.* dust ist swirling around ▸*kʰɪ̀* [B20647]

məhjɛ̏ akjɑ́ *n.* ▸*akjɑ́* [B41798]

məhjɛ̏ akjɑ́hɔ̃̀ *n.* a hole in the ground ▸*akjɑ́* [B39512]

məhjɛ̏ atʰɯ̃̀ *n.* ① land owner ② female deity of the earth ▸*atʰɯ̃̀* ▸*syn. amà məhjɛ̏ məʒɑ̀* [B52685]

məhjɛ̏ arán *n.* border, boundary ▸*arán* [B50670]

məhjɛ̏ awúŋ *n.* hills, hilly landscape ▸*awúŋ* [B41465]

məhjɛ̏ ałɑ̀ *ex.* barren land ▸*ałɑ̀* [B41789]

məhjɛ̏ kɪ́ *ex.* dust is swirling around ▸*kʰɪ̀* ▸*cf. məhjɛ̏mɔ* [B44124]

məhjɛ̏ ʧú? *ex.* to dig the earth ▸*ʧú?* [B38841]

məhjɛ̏ ʧú?la plɛ́̃gɑ̀ *ex.* ▸*ʧú?, plɛ́̃, -gɑ̀*

[B59043]

məhjɛ̀ nenumɔ *n.* mother earth ▸*nənumɔ̀* ▸*syn.* *amà məhjɛ̀ məʒɑ̃̀* [B55497]

məhjɛ̀ vjɛ̀ *ex.* to throw soil ▸*vjɛ̀*[2] [B58560]

məhjɛ̀ ʃuí? *ex.* to wipe the floor ▸*ʃuí?*[2] [B36763]

məhjɛ̀rən *n.* border, boundary ▸*arən* [B50675]

məhjɛ̀líŋ *n.* inside the soil ▸*alíŋ* ▸*ant.* *məhjɛ̀ kʉ̃tʃɑ̃̀* [B58921]

məhjɛ̀ kʉ̃tʃɑ̃̀ *n.* on the soil (not inside) ▸*ant.* *məhjɛ̀líŋ* [B58920]

məhjɛ̀ kjɑ̃́hóŋ *n.* hole in the ground [B36055]

məhjú? *n.* sago place and former village opposite old Bulu, village where people from the tʰuŋdəə clan used to live ▸*cf.* *tʰùŋdà* [B50880]

məhjú? tʰí? *n.* former Puroik village opposite old Bulu ▸*tʰí?* [B57392]

məm (*var.* *mán*) (≠*màm*) *vt.* to hatch [B35693]

adə məm *ex.* ▸*adə* [B50451]

ʧá məm *ex.* ▸*ʧá* [B59087]

ʧáwʉ̃ məm *ex.* to hatch an egg ▸*ʧá* [B39352]

mən (*var.* of *mám*) *vt.* to hatch eggs [B53639]

mədyì mən *ex.* The chicken is hatching. ▸*mədyì* [B53644]

mɔ́? (≠*mó?*) *n.* war, attack [B35061]

mɔ́? tsá? *ex.* to fight ▸*tsá?* [B41692]

mɔ́? tsá? vù *ex.* to go to fight ▸*tsá?*, *vù* [B41697]

mɔ́? tsám *ex.* to launch an attack ▸*tsám* [B58581]

muá? tsá?ri *ex.* to be in war, to fight ▸*tsá?* [B39669]

mɔ́?[2] *vt.* to wash the sago fibres [≠M *zuu*] [B37942]

ʧaò mɔ́? *ex.* to wash the sago fibres [≠M *má zuu*] ▸*ʧaò* [B37938]

mɜ̀ (≠*mɜ̀*[2]) *vi.* to be spicy, hot [B22522]

amɜ̀ *adj.* hot, spicy ▸*a-* [B38721]

maljù mɜ̀ *ex.* Chillies are hot. ▸*maljù* ▸*cf.* *maljù amɜ̀* [B42431]

mɜ̀[2] (≠*mɜ̀*) *n.* spring onion ▸*syn.* *kjomúŋ* [B15147]

mɜ̀[3] *n.* edible tree fern (black sago) [M *buu*] ▸*cf.* *núŋgrò*, *takrú* ▸*syn.* *takrú* [B28914]

mó? (≠*mɔ́?*) *n.* fine particles [B58427]

məhjɛ̃́mó? *n.* dust ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B58426]

mómbati *n.* candle [<IA] [B59191]

mómbati ʒjù *ex.* The candle melts. ▸*ʒjù* [B59192]

mɔ̀ *n.* fine in case of the cancelation of an arranged marriage, pre-marriage gifts have to be paid back ▸*cf.* *mɔ̀ tɑ́* [B38141]

mɔ̀̃ nuáʔ *ex.* to ask for a fine (when a woman who is engaged gets married to someone else) ▸*nɔ́ʔ* [B38137]

mɔ̀̃ tɐ́̃ *ex.* to pay the fine in case of marriage cancellation ▸*cf.* *tʰɐ̀̃*, *mɔ̀̃* [B38145]

muéʔ *v.* to vomit [B15492]

gù muéʔba *ex.* I throw up. (No default object like other body functions.) ▸*-ba* [B59008]

məluɛ̀ ʧìla muéʔdyì̀ *ex.* to eat food and throw up ▸*-dyì̀* [B59011]

məluɛ̀ muéʔla lì *ex.* to throw up food ▸*məluɛ̀*, *lì* [B59010]

muéʔhíʔ *ex.* to feel pukish ▸*híʔ* [B59007]

muɛ̀ *vi.* to be able, can [=M *waw also means 'can' and 'receive'*] [B34973]

gù bamuɛ̀ʧa gù kɔ́baʧa *ex.* I cannot (work, walk) anymore being tired. ▸*kɔ́* [B59200]

bamuɛ̀ *ex.* I cannot, I am physically not able ▸*ba-* [B51941]

batʰɐ̀̃muɛ̀ka apʰáʔ *ex.* Someone who cannot give, is stingy. ▸*-ka*, *apʰáʔ* [B59039]

məʧɨ́ŋ ba-ʧɨ́ŋ-lana bɐ̀̃ ba-muɛ̀ *ex.* If you don't work, you won't get money. ▸*məʧɨ́ŋ*, *ʧɨ́ŋ* [B55364]

muɛ̀² *vt.* to get, to receive [B57213]

muìsu *n.* silver (original Puroik word) ▸*syn. dəmén* [B43651]

mukúŋ *n.* basket type [B15201]

muprɨ́̃ *n.* edible mushroom species [B58890]

míŋ muprɨ́̃ *n.* edible mushroom species ▸*míŋ*[4] [B58891]

mɯ̃̀brì *n.* Tibetan Patridge? (*sci. Perdix hodgsoniae*) ▸*cf.* *gəwán dərù* [B33909]

mɯ̃̀brì goì *n.* sling trap to catch patridges ▸*goì* [B54378]

ḿm *num.* three [≠M *kətɨm*] [B14568]

amrupé *n.* after three days [≠M *namu*] ▸*-rupé* [B51605]

anì ḿm *ex.* three days ▸*anì* [B42061]

anì níʔ ḿm *ex.* a few days ▸*níʔ*, *anì* [B49123]

guéʔ ḿm *ex.* three handspans ▸*guéʔ* [B41829]

ḿm tɨ́ ʧì *ex.* to eat three times ▸*tɨ́* [B51899]

rì zumuè ḿm báʔ *ex.* There are three species of cane. ▸*rì*[3], *báʔ*, *zumuè* [B49222]

suán ḿm *num.* thirty ▸*suán* [B38767]

suánlapu ḿm *num.* thirteen ▸*suán* [B22753]

hadʒar ḿm *num.* three thousand [<IA] ▸*hadʒar* [B41661]

hằpű ḿm *ex.* three nights ▸*hằpű* [B42066]

suánníʔlapu ḿm *num.* 23 ▸*suánníʔ* [B41576]

mjằpɛ́ [HL] *n.* fish (Miji HL) ▸*cf. ʧuì* ▸*syn. alyìwɛ̀* [B15746]

mjằro [RL] *n.* slave of puNtumjɛʔ ▸*cf. pűtumjɛ́ʔ*, *kấwò* [B54845]

kấwò mjáŋrò *ex.* to spirits, slaves of puNtumjɛʔ, they can go up to the sky and make thunderstorms ▸*kấwò* [B54851]

mjằlɨ [RL] *n.* [B56790]

ʃằto mjãlɨ [RL] *n.* forefathers of the Mijis ▸*ʃằto* [B55631]

mjǔ [RL] *vi.* to procreate, to have offspring ▸*syn. dà*, *ʒằ*[2] [B55614]

nà *prn.* 2SG (2SG) ▸*cf. naseníʔ* [B28882]

nà adzéʔ *ex.* on your side ▸*adzéʔ* [B58928]

nà lakɨ́ŋ *ex.* behind you ▸*lakɨ́ŋ* [B54028]

nà kɨ́bɛ̀ *ex.* in front of you ▸*kɨ́bɛ̀* [B51914]

naì *vi.* it storms [B58288]

hám naì *ex.* it is storming, a thunderstorm is going on ▸*hám*[2] [B40859]

nagjằ *n.* basket for carrying sago or firewood [≠M *waŋ*] ▸*cf. kətúʔ*, *ʧaʒɔ̃̀* [B37959]

bìnagjáŋ *n.* basket for carrying sago flour ▸*bì* [B37963]

nagjằ pɔ́ *ex.* to make a basket ▸*pɔ́* [B52636]

nadɛ̀ *n.* ① that side ② later [B49091]

tɛ́ nadɛ̀ *ex.* little bit that side ▸*tɛ́* ▸*ant. nu nadɛ̀*, *hằ nadɛ̀* [B33804]

nù nadɛ̀ *ex.* little bit this side ▸*nù* [B54055]

hằ nadɛ̀ *adv.* ① little bit in the back ② little bit later ▸*hằ* ▸*ant. tɛ́ nadɛ̀* [B33808]

nadəráʔ [HL] *n.* wild boar ▸*cf. sətsɛ̃̀* [B54258]

napáŋ [RL] *n.* Bhalukpung [B56444]

napáŋ ʃətúŋ *n.* Bhalukpung (border town to Assam) [=M] ▸*ʃətúŋ* [B33368]

nám (≠*nə́m*) *vt.* ① to smell something ② something smells [B29011]
amjɛ̀nám *ex.* smelling good ▸*amjɛ̀* [B49141]
alaònám *ex.* smelling bad ▸*alaò* [B49146]
gù klámatʃi námbáʔ *ex.* I smell [something] from somewhere. ▸*báʔ* [B49151]
məluɛ̃ amjè námba *ex.* The food smells good. ▸*məluɛ̃* [B59013]
námsɛ̃ *ex.* to smell everywhere (of a dog) ▸*-sɛ̃* [B59018]
gù hèja námlɔba *ex.* I smell something. ▸*hèja*, *-lɔ* [B59017]
pʰəù námla fíntʃuéʔ *ex.* He smelled on the beer and threw it away. ▸*pʰəù*, *fíntʃuéʔ* [B59014]
namù *n.* tradition [<IA?=M] [B35412]
nanì *n.* green seeds with lemon tast, helps against stomach problems [Nepali *timru*M *pɨnjuu*] [B40930]
nanì² *n.* bird species with red peck [B41156]
narì *prn.* 2PL (2PL) [B14634]
naló? *n.* plain wool blanket from Tibet (not very expensive) [≠M *kəpoʔ*] ▸*cf. tarmu* ▸*syn. pʰutúʔ* [B34927]
bətʃə̃ naló? *n.* Monpa blanket ▸*bətʃə̃* [B44012]
nafra *n.* Nafra, circle headquarter [B57040]
nasenítʔ (*var.* *nahenítʔ*) *prn.* 2DU, you two (2DU) ▸*cf. nà*, *nítʔ* [B20561]
nasəlín *n.* [B56080]
naʃén *n.* Nassamjang, village in Lada ▸*cf. tű́ko pulɛ̃̀* [B56632]
nahenítʔ (*var.* of *nasenítʔ*) *prn.* 2DU (2DU) [B58404]
nahɛ̃̀ *n.* dawn [B58435]
nahɛ̃̀ sə̃̀ [HL] *ex.* to become light ▸*sə̃̀²* [B52182]
nə̃̀seì *n.* broom [<M *nansei*] ▸*syn. tʃarɨ́ʔ*, *ʃə̃̀ʃeì* [B22540]
hám bíʔrika nə̃̀seì *ex.* the broom is for cleaning the house [=M *naN-sei*] ▸*hám bíʔ* [B58759]
náŋ *vi.* ① to be ill ② to be sick ③ to pain ▸*cf. lɨ̀²* [B15219]
anáŋ náŋ *ex.* to be very sick ▸*anáŋ* [B42023]
anáŋ náŋbáʔ *ex.* to be very sick ▸*anáŋ* [B54050]
alɛ̀ tsoùnáŋ *n.* hoof disease of animal ▸*alɛ̀* [B37523]
aʃoìnáŋ *n.* back pain ▸*aʃoì* [B37489]
krɔ̃́náŋ *n.* back pain ▸*akrɔ̃́* [B37481]
gù alɛ̀ náŋ *ex.* My leg is paining. ▸*gù*, *alɛ̀* [B54035]
gù náŋbáʔ *ex.* I am sick. ▸*báʔ* [B54045]
dəsùnáŋ *n.* pus ▸*dəsù* [B37542]
tsoùnáŋ *n.* hoof disease [B59215]
náŋka *n.* the sick one ▸*-ka* [B55706]
ləbɨ́ŋ náŋ *ex.* The stomach is paining. ▸*ləbɨ́ŋ* [B54040]
gù asù kədʑìdəmóʔ náŋba *ex.* ① I am extremely sick. ② My body pains extremely. ▸*asù*, *kədʑìdəmóʔ* [B58707]
nɛ́ʔ *vi.* ① to discuss ② to argue, to quarrel [B43789]
amjè nɛ́ʔri *ex.* to discuss something well ▸*amjè* [B59019]
nɛ́ʔréʔ (≠*nɛ́ʔri*) *ex.* to concilate ▸*-réʔ* [B43794]
nɛ́ʔri (≠*nɛ́ʔréʔ*) *v.* to quarrel, to fight verbally, to discuss ▸*-ri²* [B40057]
nɛ́ʔ² *n.* stinky bug [M *nam*] ▸*cf. nɛ́ʔ gəmán* [B41090]

né? gəmán *n.* tari, stinky bugs, species living near the Kameng river ▸*gəmán* ▸*cf. né?*[2] [B41086]

nì (≠*ní?*) *v.* to spread (leaves, clothes or sticks) [B40535]

ɛ́? nì *ex.* to spread clothes ▸*ɛ́?* [B43829]

məkaó nì *ex.* to spread the sticks over the məkao ▸*məkaó* [B57257]

waù nì *ex.* to spread the sago filter mat ▸*waù* [B57454]

sədɔ̀ afɛ̀ nì *ex.* to make a new ceiling ▸*afɛ̀*, *sədɔ̀* [B54600]

nì[2] (*var.* of *anì*) *n.* day [B57720]

ʤiru nì *ex.* that day ▸*ʤiru*, *anì* [B57715]

ní? (≠*nì*) *num.* two [≠M *grin*] ▸*cf. vɛsení?*, *nasení?*, *gəsení?* [B28541]

anì ní? ḿm *ex.* a few days ▸*ḿm*, *anì* [B49123]

gué? ní? *ex.* two handspans ▸*gué?* [B41824]

pŭpʰù ní? *num.* 200 ▸*pŭpʰù* [B41633]

ní?maní? *quant.* both, two out of two [B58574]

ní? ɛ̀ku tyɨ́ *ex.* to tie two (ropes) together ▸*tyɨ́*, *ɛ̀* [B59105]

ní? tɨ́ vù *ex.* to go two times (to the field etc.) ▸*tɨ́* [B51905]

lakní? *num.* two lakhs, 200'000 [<IA] ▸*lak* [B41653]

suánní? *num.* twenty [≠M *grin lɨn*] ▸*suán* [B34468]

suánlapu ní? *num.* twelve ▸*suán* [B38763]

hadʒar ní? *num.* two thousand [<IA] ▸*hadʒar* [B41657]

suánní?lapu ní? *num.* 22 ▸*suánní?* [B41573]

nigədó? *n.* dishonest [B58984]

prɨ́ nigədó? *n.* ▸*prɨ́* [B58985]

nitséŋ [HL] *n.* arrow ▸*cf. mí?* [B15110]

nín (≠*níŋ*) *n.* cymbal used for dances, same as the ones used in Assam for Bihu dance [B41138]

njín kɨ́ *ex.* to play cymbals ▸*kɨ́* [B41142]

níŋ (≠*nín*, *níŋ*) *vt.* to look ▸*cf. fɛ̀* ▸*syn. ʃə̃gɹáŋ* [B29015]

akə́m alaò níŋ *ex.* to look down on someone, to disrespect ▸*akə́m* [B57906]

amjè níŋla ù̀ *ex.* Take care! Go back safely! ▸*amjè*, *ù̀* [B51104]

gùtaʒu aʃuɨ̀ níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*=taʒu*, *aʃuɨ̀*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58782]

gùtaʒu níŋkəpáŋ *ex.* I see myself (in the mirror). ▸*=taʒu*, *-kəpáŋ* [B58781]

ʧɔ́? níŋ *ex.* to read the fortune (with intestines), divinate ▸*ʧɔ́?*[2] [B43506]

ba-níŋ-məlàməlò *ex.* hard to see ▸*-məlàməlò* [B54500]

níŋú? *v.* to peep, to watch secretly with half closed eyes ▸*ú?* [B58572]

níŋpətaí *ex.* to see and understand, recognise [=M *waŋpətai*] ▸*pətaí* [B43933]

níŋla gí? *ex.* to see and read ▸*gí?* [B54755]

níŋlɔ *ex.* to get to see (e.g. a place someone never saw before) ▸*-lɔ* [B59001]

níŋsɛ̀ *ex.* to look everywhere ▸*-sɛ̀* [B52940]

níŋʃáŋ *ex.* to go an see everywhere ▸*-ʃáŋ* [B57693]

níŋʃjám *ex.* to look carelessly at something or someone ▸*-ʃjám* [B58830]

ʃjèla níŋ *ex.* open to see ▸*ʃjè* [B54630]

níŋjə̀bo *ex.* Keep watching! ▸*-jə̀bo* [B58837]

níŋgrò *n.* edible fern ▸*cf. madʒé?*, *mə̀*[3], *takrú* [B41814]

nḯ *v.* to be afraid, scared ▸*cf. mənḯ* [B38617]

gù asìku nḯ *ex.* I am afraid of the bear. ▸*asì* [B59125]

nḯhí? *vt.* to fear ▸*hí?* [B53571]

gù asìku nḯhí? *ex.* ▸*asì* [B59127]

nḯhí?laò *vi.* to fear, be afraid ▸*hí?* ▸*ant. hí?prím* [B20648]

gù asìku nḯhí?laò *ex.* I am afraid of the bear. ▸*asì* [B59126]

nḯhí?laòdə̀ *ex.* to make someone feel scared ▸*-də̀* [B51532]

níŋ (≠*níŋ*) *vt.* to listen ▸*cf. vaù*, *ʒué?* [B28949]

aníŋmjè *ex.* good to hear ▸*amjè*, *a-* ▸*ant. aníŋlaò* [B58104]

aníŋlaò *ex.* bad to hear ▸*alaò*, *a-* ▸*ant. aníŋmjè* [B58088]

gù asú baníŋ *ex.* I don't believe it. ▸*asú* [B51960]

níŋú? *v.* to listen secretly ▸*ú?* [B58598]

níŋpətaí *ex.* to understand, to hear and realise [M *riipətai*] ▸*pətaí* [B51399]

níŋlə̀ *ex.* to be used to hear ▸*-lə̀* [B38076]

níŋsɛ̀ *ex.* to listen everywhere ▸*-sɛ̀* [B52945]

nəkró? *n.* arrow type [<M] ▸*syn. mí?rə̀* [B36673]

nəgaù *n.* plant which flowers irregularly every 2-4 years, fruit is like a nut, edible without cooking [B43607]

nəgaù ɬám *ex.* the Nega plant flowers ▸*ɬám*[2] [B43611]

nəgə́n *n.* Bugun [B33088]

nətáŋ *n.* place in the house for making rituals [=M *nətaŋ*] [B55653]

nətáŋ hám *n.* place in the house for rituals ▸*hám* [B58761]

nəduì (*var.* of *dəduì*) *n.* Lada [B58200]

nətʃá? (≠*nətʃá?*[2]) *n.* grain fermented with other grains for making alcohol; foxtail millet? [M *ʒoo*] ▸*cf. katsɛ̀* [B35899]

nətʃá?[2] (≠*nətʃá?*) *n.* best quality sago species (one of the three high quality species), trunk diameter is larger near the ground and becomes smaller further up, relatively short [=M *matʃa?*] [B49493]

nətʃḯn [HL] *n.* arrow poison ▸*cf. məlím* [B54388]

nədʒì [RL] *n.* all humans [B58177]

nədʒì prḯ [RL] *n.* all humans [B58173]

nədʒə́ŋ *adj.* very heavy ▸*cf. adʒə́n* [B58488]

nəlí? nədʒə́ŋ *adj.* very heavy ▸*nəlí?* ▸*syn. alì adʒə́n* [B58489]

nədʒə̀ *n.* tree with very hard wood, used to make waN ▸*cf. wə̀* [B50626]

nədʒɔ̃̀ ʃì̀ *n.* hard wood ▸*ʃì̀* [B53388]

nədʒù *n.* sago species, big stem diameter near the ground, very hard wood and difficult to process [B49505]

nətsán [RL] *n.* people from Kojo-Rojo [B55166]

nətsán nərɛ̀ [RL] *n.* Kojo-Rojo people ▸*nərɛ̀* [B35435]

nətsɔ̀̃ *n.* NətsoN, name of mythological bear child who was killed by Masaŋ and then eaten by his own father ▸*cf. masáŋ* [B58551]

nám (≠*nám*) *vt.* ① to wrest something from someone, to take away forcefully ② to catch someone ▸*cf. kɛ́̃* [B33761]

námruùla lè *ex.* to snatch away ▸*lè* [B59130]

námla lè *ex.* to abduct, to hijack ▸*lè* [B43477]

námʒɛ̀̃ *vt.* to snatch and carry away ▸*ʒɛ̀̃* [B43962]

nəmí? *n.* corpse, dead body [=M *nəmi?*] [B28945]

nəmán [RL] *n.* female breast ▸*syn. anjɛ̀* [B55657]

nəmò [RL] *n.* elder of two mythological brothers, he became a tiger, his brother went away to China ▸*cf. nəhù* [B55140]

nəmò nəhù *n.* mythological pair of brothers, the very first humans on earth ▸*nəhù* ▸*cf. krá krúŋ* [B39997]

nəmú? *n.* lower quality sago species [B49521]

nənáŋ *n.* vegetable plant [B50565]

nənumɔ̀ [RL] *n.* mother earth [B58380]

məhjɛ̀̃ nenumɔ *n.* mother earth ▸*məhjɛ̀̃* ▸*syn. amà məhjɛ̀̃ məʒɑ̀̃* [B55497]

nəráŋ nərúŋ *n.* forest spirit [B50636]

nərɛ̀ [RL] *n.* people from Kojo-Rojo [B55170]

nətsán nərɛ̀ [RL] *n.* Kojo-Rojo people ▸*nətsán* [B35435]

nəlíʔ *adj.* very heavy ▸*syn. alɨ̀* [B58487]

nəlíʔ nədʒə́ŋ *adj.* very heavy ▸*nədʒə́ŋ* ▸*syn. alɨ̀ adʒə́n* [B58489]

nəlù *n.* Puroik clan of Kazolang [B54876]

nəlùdə *n.* Kazolang Puroik ▸*-də̀*^{2} [B58848]

nəlùʤi *n.* Puroik clan of Kazolang (extinct) ▸*-ʤi*^{2} [B33377]

nəlù tʰíʔ *n.* former village of Kazolang Puroiks (above modern village Kazolang) ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58841]

nəlyɨ̀ *n.* high quality sago species, the stem has about the same diameter everywhere, relatively tall, sago flour is whitish in colour [M *maluʔ*] [B49497]

nəsɛ̀ *n.* tree with hard wood, good as construction material (Hindi ʧap) [B57420]

nəʃì nəlúŋ *n.* mythological ancestors (went ahead of the Kraa Krungs to China) ▸*cf. tsabríŋ grabrín* [B40011]

nəʃím *n.* sago species, massive stem, with shell like bark which sometimes burst. Does not grow very tall but has comparatively much starch. Not very good sago, whitish and slimy. [Miji irregularly has the same prefix *nə-* like Puroik (not *ma-*!)≠M *nətsai*] [B49509]

nəʒuì *n.* oak [M *tətuk*] [B40907]

nəʒuì awaí *n.* oak seeds, inside part edible ▸*awaí* [B57446]

nəhù [RL] *n.* the younger of two mythological brothers, he went away to China and is believed to be the forefather of the Chinese ▸*cf. nəmò* [B55143]

nəmò nəhù *n.* mythological pair of brothers, the very first humans on earth ▸*nəmò* ▸*cf. krá krúŋ* [B39997]

nəhǔ̀ *n.* high quality sago species, up to 5-6m, stem diameter is smaller at the ground and increases further up [≠M *maʃjoʔ*] [B49501]

nɔ̀ (≠*nɔ́ʔ*) *vt.* to search [B34231]

mənè nuàwoì *ex.* to search and find luggage ▸*mənè*, *ɔì* [B51353]

nɔ̀ ɔì *ex.* to find ▸*ɔì* [B44316]

nɔ̀ bawoì *ex.* he searched and didn't find ▸*ba-*, *ɔì* [B44321]

nɔ̀sɛ̀̌ *ex.* to search in all directions ▸*-sɛ̀̌* [B52935]

nuàla bawoì *ex.* ▸*ɔì* [B40357]

nɔ́ʔ (≠*nɔ̀*, *nóʔ*) *vt.* ① to buy ② to demand ▸*cf. ʃí* [B22544]

ʧɔ̀̌ nɔ́ʔ *ex.* to ask for a fine ▸*ʧɔ̀̌* [B43497]

mɛ̀ nuáʔ *ex.* to buy vegetables ▸*mɛ̀* [B39081]

mɔ̀̌ nuáʔ *ex.* to ask for a fine (when a woman who is engaged gets married to someone else) ▸*mɔ̀̌* [B38137]

nɔ́ʔnjámréʔbo *ex.* Buy for me and bring it! ▸*-njám*, *-réʔ*, *-bo* [B58603]

nɔ́ʔlè *vt.* to buy ▸*lè* [B38846]

nóʔ (≠*nɔ́ʔ*, *núʔ*) *vt.* to push little bit

[B33450]

nuì *vt.* to prepare sago by pouring hot water (not by boiling on the fire) ▸*cf. bí*, *kuí?* [B37994]

ʧarɛ̃̀ nuì *ex.* to prepare sago by pouring hot water (not by boiling on the fire) ▸*ʧarɛ̃̀* ▸*cf. ʧarɛ̃̀ kuí?* [B37998]

nù *ex.* here [B15830]

nù ǔ *ex.* Come here! ▸*ǔ* [B50008]

nù nadɛ̃̀ *ex.* little bit this side ▸*nadɛ̃̀* [B54055]

nù ruì *ex.* to pull here ▸*ruì* ▸*ant. tɛ́ rún* [B39267]

nùla *ex.* here ▸*-la²* [B50037]

nuʃa *ex.* here ▸*-ʃa* [B52234]

nuʃa bɛ̃̀ [HL] *ex.* Come here! ▸*bɛ̃̀²* [B52230]

nuʃa ʃó? [HL] *ex.* Bring here! ▸*ʃó?* [B54393]

nuʃɔ̃̀ *ex.* here ▸*=ʃɔ̃̀* [B46039]

nùɬɛ̃̀ *adv.* this side ▸*ant. tɛ́ɬɛ̃̀* [B33862]

pʰùŋ nùɬɛ̃̀ *ex.* this side of the mountain ▸*pʰùŋ* [B39288]

nú? [HL] (≠*nó?*) *vt.* to make a stone trap [B52143]

míŋ nú? [HL] *ex.* to do, to make something ▸*míŋ* [B54438]

məvə́n nú? [HL] *ex.* to make a stone trap ▸*məvə́m* ▸*cf. rɔ̀ ʒə̀* [B52147]

mɔ̃̀ məgí? nú?ǔba *ex.* Let's go and make traps! ▸*məgí?* [B52425]

nukuí? *post.* this side of the river ▸*ant. lɛ̃̀kuí?* [B33855]

kʰɔ̀ nukuí? *ex.* this side of the river ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B39278]

nugó? *n.* outsider [B40000]

nugó? prɨ́ *n.* outsider ▸*prɨ́* [B43834]

nu nadɛ̃̀ *ex.* little bit this side ▸*ant. tɛ́ nadɛ̃̀* [B49756]

nusaku conjunction therefore [B22549]

núŋ *vt.* to drink ▸*cf. vù²*, *ín* [B58539]

nyè (≠*nyé?*) *vi.* to flow ▸*syn. vjá?* [B22444]

akəmjé? nyè *ex.* rheum flows out ▸*akə́mmjé?* [B37304]

kəwì nyè *ex.* tears are rolling ▸*kəwì* [B37328]

kʰɔ̀ bù nyèkaʤi kanyè *ex.* [The direction] where the water flows is called kanyɛ. ▸*kanyè* [B58927]

kʰɔ̀ nyè *ex.* the water flows ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B38812]

kʰɔ̀ nyèdà *ex.* let the water flow out (of sago) ▸*-dà* [B53197]

tsɛ̃̀ nyè *ex.* snot flows out ▸*tsɛ̃̀* [B39422]

huì nyè *ex.* blood flows out ▸*ahuì* ▸*syn. huì huì* [B38817]

nyé? (≠*nyè*) *vt.* ① to lure (cows, or mithuns) ② to go and ask someone to come ▸*cf. ɬɔ̀* [B40117]

fəù nyé? *ex.* to bait/decoy with salt ▸*fəù* [B43873]

susù nyé? *ex.* to bait the mithuns ▸*susù* [B43878]

nyìri *ex.* to imitate ▸*syn. tyíri* [B43332]

míŋ nyìri *ex.* to imitate somebody's speech ▸*míŋ* [B43342]

sə́m nyìri *ex.* to imitate somebody's speech ▸*sə́m* [B43337]

njá? *vi.* ① to make noise (with voice or tools) ② animal makes a sound (e.g. meow) ▸*cf. njafɛ́?*, *faì* [B34948]

aljù njá? *ex.* the cat meows ▸*aljù* [B51861]

kɨ́njá? *ex.* to make noise with kitchen utensils ▸*kɨ́* [B36817]

banjá?la *ex.* without making noise ▸*-la* ▸*syn. bətsɨ́n* [B58600]

bùku dyǐla njáʔbáʔ *ex.* If you tease a dog, he will make sound. ▸*dyǐ²*, *bù²* [B51871]

njalu *quant.* ① a lot, more than it is possible to count ② long time (ago) [<M *njalo*] ▸*syn. buì buì buìʃɔ̃* [B57951]

njalu babɔ̀ *ex.* ① There is a lot. ② It was long time ago. ▸*babɔ̀* [B58946]

njalu buìʃɔ̃ *ex.* long time ago ▸*buì* [B58945]

hằpű suán njalo *ex.* more than ten days [B57955]

njaʃéʔ *adv.* loud ▸*cf. njáʔ* [B39932]

njaʃéʔ rì *ex.* to speak loudly ▸*rì* [B43868]

njè (≠*njé*) *n.* milk ▸*cf. njè awaí*, *anjè* [B38573]

njè ʤíp *ex.* to milk (a cow) ▸*ʤíp* [B37795]

njè njétʃi *ex.* little bit milk ▸*njé* [B42316]

njè njúʔ *ex.* to suck milk ▸*njúʔ* [B42321]

njèsà *n.* milk tea ▸*sà* [B36140]

səfəùnjè *n.* cow milk ▸*səfəù* [B36131]

səfəù njè ʤíp *ex.* to milk a cow ▸*səfəù*, *ʤíp* [B59098]

njɛpéʔ *n.* very much (not) [B58813]

njɛpéʔ babɔ̀ *ex.* there is a lot ▸*babɔ̀* [B58814]

mè njɛpéʔ ba.ím *ex.* ▸*mè*, *a.ím* [B58812]

njɛpéʔ ba.ím *ex.* It is very tasty. ▸*a.ím* [B50193]

njén *n.* raw rice, rice plant [B15502]

njɛnù *n.* rice seeds, paddy, unhusked rice ▸*ù* [B22567]

njaù ʒằrika batsoì aràʤi *ex.* a big bag to put rice inside ▸*ʒằ*, *batsoì*, *arà* [B58744]

njén atíŋ *n.* group/bunch of rice plants ▸*atíŋ³* [B58903]

njén amín *ex.* ripe rice ▸*arjè* [B50932]

njén ajǔ *n.* ear of the rice plant ▸*ajǔ* [B50915]

njén arjè *ex.* unripe rice ▸*arjè* [B50926]

njén ʧakuí *n.* cooked rice ▸*ʧakuí* ▸*cf. pín ʧakuí* [B20494]

njén ʤúʔ *ex.* to thresh rice ▸*ʤúʔ* [B39407]

njén ʒáp *ex.* ▸*ʒáp* [B59114]

njénʃằ (≠*njɛʃằ*) *n.* cooked rice [B43847]

njénʃĭʔ *n.* unhusked rice, rice seeds ▸*syn. ʃətʃi* [B22563]

njɛ̀ʃĭʔ sərì *ex.* rice seeds and resin used in rituals, or as sacrifice to the forest spirits ▸*syn. ʃətʃi rameì* [B57878]

njé (≠*njè*) *quant.* ① little, few ② for short time ▸*syn. njétʃi* ▸*ant. anáŋ* [B36356]

gùku njétʃi báʔ gùku njé tʰằbudɛ̀ *ex.* I have only little bit, give me more! ▸*=ku*, *tʰằ*, *bù³*, *-dɛ̃̀* [B58676]

téku njé bù *ex.* ▸*té*, *bù³* [B58667]

ʧì njé tʰằbɛ̀ *ex.* Give the knife little bit! ▸*tʰằ*, *ʧì²*, *-bɛ̀* [B54580]

bằ njé ʧì *ex.* to borrow little money ▸*bằ³*, *ʧì³* [B54575]

nula njé rìna *ex.* To sit here little bit. ▸*rì* [B49783]

njè njétʃi *ex.* little bit milk ▸*njè* [B42316]

njɛʃằ (≠*njénʃằ*) *quant.* little bit too much [B43852]

njétʃi *quant.* few, little ▸*-ʧi* ▸*syn. njé*

[B22559]

məluɛ̃̀ njètʃi *ex.* little bit food ▸*məluɛ̃̀* [B39616]

njètʃi tʃì *ex.* to eat little bit ▸*tʃì* [B39621]

njètʃi sə̀batʃa *ex.* It became little bit light (in the morning). ▸*sə̀*[2] [B58960]

njétʃi apjə́ bá? *ex.* It is little bit too long. ▸*apʰjə̀* [B49445]

njénjɛ *ex.* little little [B42309]

njé anáŋ *ex.* some, little bit more ▸*anáŋ* [B38783]

njé bù *ex.* to put little bit more on the smaller share in order to make the shares equal ▸*bù*[3] [B58670]

njé ʃé? *adj.* little bit strong ▸*ʃé?* [B43858]

rí? njétʃi bá? *ex.* There are some fields. ▸*rí?*[2] [B49901]

njé tʰə̀bɛ̀ *ex.* to rest little bit ▸*tʰə̀bɛ̀* [B42444]

njím *vt.* to press with a finger [B58802]

tetʃi njím (*var.* *tʃetʃi njím*) *ex.* to make fingerprints [B37369]

tʃetʃi njím (*var.* of *tetʃi njím*) *ex.* to make fingerprints [B58801]

njú? *vt.* ① to suck ② to kiss ▸*cf.* *ʤó?ʤó?* [B15472]

ʤó?ʤó? njú? *ex.* to drink suckling ▸*ʤó?ʤó?* [B59053]

ʤó?ʤó?rila njú? *ex.* to suckle ▸*ʤó?ʤó?*, *rì* [B59054]

njɛ̀ njú? *ex.* to suck milk ▸*njɛ̀* [B42321]

njúŋraì *n.* plant used in rituals [B40867]

jaò *vt.* to swallow ▸*cf.* *məluɛ̃̀ jaòrika məjaò* [B37296]

məjaò *n.* ① throat ② esophagus and trachea ▸*mə-* [B11281]

məluɛ̃̀ jaò *ex.* to swallow food ▸*məluɛ̃̀* [B43088]

məluɛ̃̀ jaòla lìrika *ex.* stomach ▸*məluɛ̃̀*, *lì* ▸*cf.* *arínpʉ́* [B58772]

jə̀ *vi.* to lean with back against something (wall, rock, tree) [B51156]

tʰə̀ (≠*tə́*) *vt.* ① to put something in a horizontal position ② to lie ▸*cf.* *ré?* ▸*ant.* *ʤʉ̀*[2] [B34253]

kəlì tsá? tʉ́ *ex.* to put the cover upside down ▸*tsá?*, *kəlì* [B51567]

tələ̀ tõla lì *ex.* to put a cup somewhere ▸*lì*, *tələ̀* [B51132]

tə́la lì *ex.* to put in a horizontal position ▸*lì* [B51137]

tʰə̀bɛ̀ *ex.* to rest ▸*-bɛ̀* ▸*cf.* *rìbɛ̀* ▸*syn.* *arén tsá?* [B20665]

tʰə̀la lì *ex.* to put something horizontally [B59143]

tʰə̀lì *ex.* to put in a lying position ▸*lì* [B42216]

jə̀la rì *ex.* to sit leaning with the back against something (wall, rock, tree) ▸*rì* [B51160]

jə̀la lì *ex.* to put something/someone in a leaning position (for example a stick) ▸*lì* ▸*cf.* *tʰé?*[2] [B51174]

jə̀[2] *intj.* (INTJ) [B55993]

jə̀ *vt.* to lash the rim of a basket [B50596]

kətúʔ jɔ̀ *ex.* to make the upper border of a basket ▸*kətúʔ* [B50600]

raìdə̀ *n.* last extant Puroik clan in Bulu. Today the Miji name raidʒu is commonly used. ▸*cf. bù.adə̀* ▸*syn. raìdʒu* [B11078]

dərʧúŋ raìdə̀ *n.* one of the Raiju brothers [<Monpa Dorchung] [B20464]

ʧawáŋ raìdə̀ *n.* one of the Raiju Brothers ▸*ʧawáŋ* [B20460]

ʧáŋ raìdə̀ *n.* Gaonbura of Bulu. Local priest. Wife Miji from Matow. Mother Sartang from Jerigaon. ▸*cf. túmlóʔ*, *ʧímbi raìdə̀* [B20447]

ʧímbi raìdə̀ *n.* Tshangs real younger brother. ▸*ʧímbi* ▸*cf. apaíʔ*, *ʧáŋ raìdə̀* [B20451]

pʰèmbu raìdə̀ *n.* one of the Raiju brothers, wife from Sikang. Mother from ʧaʧuŋ (Puroik village in Lada) [B20445]

abù pʰèmbù *ex.* elder brother Phembu ▸*abù* [B42071]

masáŋ raìdə̀ *n.* Masaŋ Raidə, grandfather of all speakers of Bulu Puroik ▸*masáŋ* [B59205]

raìdə̀ zumuè *ex.* the raidəə clan ▸*zumuè* [B41999]

raìdʒu *n.* last extant Puroik clan in Bulu [<M] ▸*syn. raìdə̀* [B46811]

raìpəl *n.* [B56015]

rakíŋ *n.* ① behind ② in the back ▸*cf. adzéʔ* ▸*syn. lakíŋ* ▸*ant. abɛ̀*, *kǐbɛ̀* [B33021]

rakín bɛ̃̀ [HL] *ex.* to come behind ▸*bɛ̃̀²* [B52319]

rakín ʒù *ex.* to stay behind ▸*ʒù* [B52324]

rakíŋ gɨ̀ *ex.* to run behind ▸*gɨ̀* ▸*cf. rakíŋ vù* [B53796]

rakíŋ vù *ex.* to go behind ▸*vù* ▸*cf. rakíŋ gɨ̀* ▸*ant. abɛ̀ vù* [B36347]

rakʰóʔ *n.* belt (cloth around waist) [B41906]

ʃaʃuri rakʰóʔ *n.* belt around waist ▸*ʃaʃuri* [B53151]

ratuán *n.* big stone trap [B38366]

ratʰyɨ̀ (≠*atʰyɨ́*) *n.* backside veranda of the house (place for toilet and keeping the chicken) [B33649]

radʒáŋʃu [RL] *n.* [B56527]

radʒáŋʃu rariʃu [RL] *n.* Himalayan serow ▸*rariʃu* ▸*cf. sərɨ̀* [B56522]

ráp (*var.* of *rɛ́ʔ*) *n.* shelf over fireplace [≠M *səgan*] [B12836]

ráp ałuè *ex.* the lower shelf over the fireplace ▸*ałuè* ▸*ant. ráp kŭʧə̃̀*, *kŭʧə̃̀* [B50808]

ráp kŭʧə̃̀ *n.* upper fireplace shelf ▸*kŭʧə̃̀* ▸*ant. ráp ałuè* [B58925]

rám *vt.* to chop into pieces (vegetables, a tree, meat) ▸*syn. gám* [B29035]

rámłɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut into small pieces ▸*-łɛ́ʔ* [B39047]

ʃì rám *ex.* to cut meat by hitting with dao ▸*ʃì* [B50612]

rameì [RL] *n.* incense [B56504]

ʃətʃi rameì [RL] *n.* unhusked rice seeds and resin of a tree used as incense, given as a sacrifice

to the forest spirits when going for hunting ▸*ʃətʃi* ▸*syn. njɛ̀ʃíʔ sərì* [B56498]

raməsjè *n.* goral? (*sci. Naemorhedus goral*) [B28735]

rámbjè *n.* dry bamboo, ready to burn in the fire [B53068]

rarɛ [RL] *n.* [B56462]

rarɛ dúŋlo *n.* Khoina ▸*dúŋlo* [B35318]

rarì *n.* Magopa [B54167]

rarìʤi *n.* Magopa ▸*-ʤi²* [B33120]

rarì tʰɨ́ʔ *n.* Mago village ▸*tʰɨ́ʔ* [B58843]

rarì prɨ́ *n.* Magopa ▸*prɨ́* [B54171]

rariʃu [RL] *n.* [B56530]

radʒáŋʃu rariʃu [RL] *n.* Himalayan serow ▸*radʒáŋʃu* ▸*cf. sərɨ̀* [B56522]

raro [RL] *n.* [B56486]

túŋneì raro [RL] *n.* Ditchik (ritual language) ▸*túŋneì* ▸*syn. dətsɛ́ʔ* [B35330]

ralúŋ *n.* Bhutanese, Tibetan [B54181]

rɜ̀ *vt.* to give back [B39896]

bɜ̀ rɜ̀dyì *ex.* to give the money back ▸*bɜ̀³* [B44155]

rɜ̀dyɨ̀ *ex.* to give back ▸*-dyɨ̀* [B44150]

rɜ̀ri *ex.* to give back ▸*-ri²* [B44136]

ráŋrì *n.* aromatic vegetable plant [Adi *rorɨ*=M *raŋrii*] [B40919]

ráŋʃi *n.* silk cloth [B58737]

atʃò ráŋʃi [RL] *n.* silk cloth ▸*atʃò* [B54816]

rètʃibíʔ [RL] *n.* [B56575]

rètʃibíʔ rènáŋbíʔ [RL] *n.* cane deity ▸*rènáŋbíʔ* [B55282]

rènáŋbíʔ [RL] *n.* [B56578]

rètʃibíʔ rènáŋbíʔ [RL] *n.* cane deity ▸*rètʃibíʔ* [B55282]

rɛì *vt.* to cut off all the branches of a tree but leave the trunk [≠M *ʤoʔ*] [B40565]

ʃɨ̀ rɛì *ex.* to cut off all the branches [≠M *ou ʤoʔ*] ▸*ʃɨ̀* [B42339]

ʃɨ̀ akjɛí rɛì *ex.* to cut the branches of a tree ▸*ʃɨ̀ akjɛí* [B59101]

réʔ (*var. ráp*) *n.* shelf over fire place [≠M *səgan*] [B52969]

réʔ (≠*rɨ́ʔ*) *vi.* to lie (on the floor) ▸*cf. kəmjáŋ réʔ*, *tʰɔ̀* [B22626]

awì réʔ *ex.* to lie on the side ▸*awì* [B42849]

awì réʔla lì *ex.* to put something in a lying position ▸*awì*, *lì* [B51147]

kəmjáŋ réʔ *ex.* to lie with head supported on pillow ▸*kəmjáŋ* ▸*cf. réʔ* [B35439]

kəlɜ̀tʃɜ̀ réʔ *ex.* to lie with face up, to turn around (stone, page) ▸*kəlɜ̀tʃɜ̀* ▸*ant. kəʒɔ̀ mɨ́n* [B22389]

réʔ² *vt.* to wear beads [B40882]

məréʔ réʔna *ex.* to wear beads ▸*məréʔ* [B38165]

rì (≠*lì*, *rí*) *vt.* to say, to speak ▸*cf. =ri* [B14668]

=rila clitic clitic marking a clause as quoted (QUOT) ▸*-la* [B59078]

gəməì rì *ex.* to flirt, to tease ▸*gəməì* [B42833]

ʤóʔʤóʔrila njúʔ *ex.* to suckle ▸*ʤóʔʤóʔ*, *njúʔ* [B59054]

múŋ rìri *ex.* to speak with each other ▸*-ri²* [B42828]

njaʃɛ́ʔ rì *ex.* to speak loudly ▸*njaʃɛ́ʔ* [B43868]

híŋsáʔ barì *ex.* [We] don't say like this. ▸*hɨ̀sá* [B51117]

rì² (≠*rín*) *vt.* to burn ▸*cf. biʒǎ*, *hám³* [B28919]

bɛ̀ rì *ex.* to make a fire ▸*bɛ̀* ▸*cf. tatám biʒǎ* [B39007]

rì³ *n.* cane (3 varieties are distinguished). Although it is claimed that the Puroiks brought the cane plant on their migrations it is also said that canecannot be planted. [≠M *ʃuː*] [B22631]

rìkə́m *n.* inner part of cane, has no use and is thrown away ▸*akə́m* ▸*syn. rìɬyì* [B50960]

rìkrɨ́ *n.* cablecar made from cane ▸*krɨ́* [B41498]

rìdyì *n.* cane species with very hard skin, sticks of the police are made from this species, furnitures, very hard to peel [B49217]

rì akɨ́ŋ *n.* root of cane ▸*akɨ́ŋ* [B41769]

rì akə́m *n.* cane seed ▸*akə́m* [B44275]

rì akəlɔ̃̀ atʃɛ̀ rɔ̃̀ *ex.* to make a crooked cane straight ▸*akəlɔ̃̀*, *atʃɛ̀*, *rɔ̃̀²* [B59120]

rì aɬyì *n.* inner part of cane ▸*aɬyì* [B50966]

rì dzoì *ex.* to tie with cane ▸*dzoì* [B50198]

rì dzún *ex.* to split cane ▸*dzún* [B39056]

rì dzúnplá? *ex.* to roughly split cane branch(?) ▸*dzún* [B39066]

rì ruì *ex.* to pull the cane (the 3-4m cande tendrils are pulled on the shoulder) ▸*ruì* [B39257]

rì fɨ́ʔ *ex.* to make fine cane ropes, make them smooth with knife [≠M *ʃuu mai*] ▸*fɨ́ʔ* [B41340]

rì zumuè ḿm bá? *ex.* There are three species of cane. ▸*ḿm*, *bá?*, *zumuè* [B49222]

rì zumuè kəsáʔʧi bá? *ex.* How many cane species are there? [B49227]

rì ɬué? *ex.* to split cane into thin ropes [≠M *ʃuu hjoʔ*] ▸*ɬué?²* [B41349]

rìljúŋ *n.* tender core of cane plant, bitter in taste, believed to be medicine against stomach pain [B52645]

rìsú *n.* cane species (lit. 'real cane'), the best one for making ropes and baskets, the most lasting variety ▸*asú* [B49203]

rìsú amjɛ̀lɛ̃̀ *ex.* the rìsú cane-species is better ▸*-lɛ̃̀* [B49212]

rìʒuĩ̀ *n.* cane species, can be used for all kind of cane works, but not very lasting [B49208]

rìɬyì *n.* inner part of cane, has no use and is thrown away ▸*aɬyì* ▸*syn. rìkə́m* [B44270]

rì⁴ *vt.* to be pregnant [B37013]

adə̀ rì *ex.* to be pregnant ▸*adə̀* [B37017]

rìʤì *n.* taro species [M *riiʤii*] [B49486]

rí? (≠*rí?²*, *rín*, *rí*) *vt.* ① to shoot an arrow ② to fall (of a star) [≠M *ban*] [B22646]

kabɪáŋ rí? *ex.* to shoot on a target [M *kabɪaŋ ban*] ▸*kabɪáŋ* [B51219]

badogá? rí? *ex.* to fail by shooting with bow and arrow ▸*badogá?* [B54101]

mí? rí? *ex.* to shoot an arrow ▸*mí?*

[B39094]

míŋ ríʔ *ex.* to play archery, shooting with the bow ▸*míŋ* [B54118]

məríʔ *n.* archery ▸*mə-* [B57245]

ríʔbɹɛ̀ri *ex.* to make a shooting competition ▸*-bɹɛ̀* [B54535]

lɨ̀ ríʔ *ex.* To shoot with a bow. ▸*lɨ̀* [B54525]

lɨ̀ rjáʔla ríʔ *ex.* to draw and shoot ▸*lɨ̀*, *rjáʔ* [B59085]

hə̃̀waíʔ ríʔ *ex.* a shooting star falls, litterally 'a star is shooting'. It is said that animals hit by a shooting star get a lump in the stomach filled with insects. Humans will also get very sick. ▸*hə̃̀waíʔ* [B55417]

məríʔ ríʔ *ex.* to shoot with bow and arrow ▸*məríʔ* ▸*cf. ʒéʔ* [B52087]

ríʔ² (≠*rə́ʔ*, *ríʔ*) *n.* field ▸*cf. gəwénʃə̃̀ ríʔ*, *ríʔɬə̀̃* [B16285]

ríʔtə́ *n.* toad species (lit master of the field) ▸*atʰə̀̃* [B50043]

ríʔ arà (báʔ) *ex.* the field is big ▸*arà* [B49896]

ríʔ aɬə̀̃ *ex.* barren field ▸*aɬə̀̃* [B41784]

ríʔ dyɛ̃̀ *ex.* to cut the big trees in a jhum field ▸*dyɛ̃̀* [B50089]

ríʔ ʧɨ́ŋ *ex.* to do work on the field ▸*ʧɨ́ŋ* [B51732]

ríʔ pɛ́̃ *ex.* to cut the smaller trees, bushes, banana, and bamboo with the dao when preparing a jhum field ▸*pɛ́̃* [B50095]

ríʔ bíʔ *ex.* to clear the field (broom small branches together on a hip) ▸*bíʔ* [B49870]

ríʔ njétʃi báʔ *ex.* There are some fields. ▸*njé* [B49901]

ríʔ ʒaò *ex.* to burn down a jhum field ▸*saò* [B39017]

ríʔ³ [HL] *vt.* to catch, to trap something ▸*cf. pə̃́* [B52430]

ríʔɬə̀̃ *n.* jhum field ▸*cf. ríʔ²* [B41011]

ríʔɬáŋ rəmbədʒáŋhi *ex.* Did you ever sleep in the field? ▸*-bədʒáŋ* [B58822]

ritʃɛ̃̀ *n.* female proper name [B59206]

ritʃɛ̃̀ baìdə̀ *n.* ▸*baìdə̀* [B59207]

ritʃɪdʒéʔ [RL] *n.* [B56918]

ləlò ridʒidʒéʔ [RL] *n.* mythological creature, female, only one breast and one eye, half human and half ghost, ʃaNto kəpɛn's second wife, mother of all animals and ghosts. ▸*ləlò* ▸*cf. pasùɬɛ̃̀ prɨ̃́ pafíʔɬɛ̃̀ məɬaò* [B55470]

ríp *vt.* ① to twist, to wind something with both hands ② to squeeze (clothes) ③ to switch on/off a torch (by turning the torch head) [B20891]

akṹ ríp *ex.* to turn the "head" of a torch (to switch it on or off) ▸*akṹ* ▸*cf. akṹ kʰoì* [B52693]

ɛ̃́ʔ ríp *ex.* to squeeze a cloth ▸*ɛ̃́ʔ* [B38895]

ribáŋ [RL] *n.* Dibin [B58422]

taláŋ ribáŋ [RL] *n.* Dibin (ritual language) ▸*taláŋ* ▸*cf. dəbán* [B36543]

rímpotʃe *n.* [B56868]

rín (≠*rì²*, *ríʔ*, *rí*) *vi.* ① to move fast (also for fishes, for cars) ② to

run [B22640]

aduì̀ rín *n.* ▸*aduì̀* [B58478]

arín (≠*arìn*) *adj.* lasting, tight ▸*a-* ▸*ant. adəʒù*, *aʒuì̀²* [B40607]

aʃɛ́ʔ rín *ex.* to run a lot ▸*aʃɛ́ʔ* [B55509]

gì̗rín *ex.* to run behind someone ▸*gì̗* [B57584]

rínbrèri *ex.* to make a race/running competition [≠M *ʒuNbɹeri*] ▸*-bɹè* [B43317]

rínmáŋ *ex.* to run to death ▸*-máŋ* [B50491]

rì̗ù̗ *vi.* to flee (to run towards his base) ▸*ù̗* [B15391]

rì̗ù̗tʃa *vi.* run away ▸*-tʃa* [B43362]

rì̗pʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* to reach running ▸*-pʰɛ́ʔ* [B39636]

rì̗pʰíʔ *ex.* to run ahead alone, run away ▸*-pʰíʔ* [B43378]

rilu [RL] *n.* name of a plain place [B55240]

rilu pareì [RL] *n.* name of a plain place ▸*pareì* [B56399]

riʃʃɛ́ʔ *n.* proper name (Darge's wife) [B56559]

rì̗ *vi.* to be slippery [B58586]

arì̗ (≠*arìn*) *adj.* slippery (path or vegetables) ▸*a-* ▸*cf. abəɬì*, *glín* [B33877]

kalíŋ arì̗ *n.* slippery stones ▸*kalíŋ* [B53239]

mè arì̗ *ex.* slippery vegetables ▸*mè* [B53234]

lím arì̗ *ex.* a slippery path ▸*lím* [B39293]

rí (≠*rín*, *rì*, *rí?*) *vi.* to take precautions against evil spirits, like making rituals, speaking ritual language, closing the mouth [B57872]

rì *vi.* ① to sit (generic verb for sitting) ② to stay, remain [≠M *ʤuŋ*] [B15332]

atʃɛ̀ rì *ex.* to sit upright ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B53969]

alè ímla rì *ex.* to sit with crossed legs ▸*alè*, *ím* [B54705]

asɛ̀ rì *ex.* to be alive ▸*asɛ̀* [B50977]

aɬím rì *ex.* to sit in the shade ▸*aɬím* [B42501]

úʔla rì *ex.* to hide oneself ▸*úʔ* [B50396]

kɛ́la rì *ex.* to sit and hold ▸*-la*, *kɛ́* [B54655]

gjà̗la rì *ex.* to grow up ▸*gjà̗* [B50983]

tʃìla rì *ex.* to sit and eat [≠M *tsuude ʤuŋ*] ▸*tʃì*, *-la* [B58789]

tʃì̗la rì *ex.* to be standing ▸*tʃì̗* [B43393]

ʤɔ́ʔla rì (≠*ʤɔ́ʔla rì*) *ex.* to be waiting ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B51766]

ʤɔ́ʔla rì (≠*ʤɔ́ʔla rì*) *ex.* to squat [≠M *gəʤuŋde ʤuŋ*] ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B54711]

ʤù̗la rì *ex.* ▸*ʤù̗* [B58966]

bjáŋla rì *ex.* to be nervous [=M *bjaŋdə ʤuŋ*] ▸*-la*, *bjáŋ* [B44048]

nula njɛ́ rìna *ex.* To sit here little bit. ▸*njɛ́* [B49783]

jà̗la rì *ex.* to sit leaning with the back against something (wall, rock, tree) ▸*jà̗* [B51160]

rìkán *ex.* to finally stay or settle [M *ʤuŋkan*] ▸*-kán* [B57860]

rìgà̗ *v.* to stay tight ▸*-gà̗* [B58537]

rìdə̀ *ex.* to make someone sit ▸*-də̀* [B51459]

rìbɛ̀ *ex.* to sit little bit, to wait ▸*-bɛ̀* ▸*cf. tʰɔ̀bɛ̀* [B49955]

rìjà̗ *ex.* to stay back, to wait ▸*-jà̗* [B36685]

rìlɛ̀ *ex.* ① to stay longer ② to stay anyway (even if someone says

not to stay) ▸*-lɛ̀̃* [B58683]

rìʃáŋ *vi.* keep sitting! ▸*-ʃáŋ* [B53034]

línla rì *ex.* to be jealous ▸*lín* [B43465]

hjáŋla rì *ex.* to show something ▸*-la*, *hjáŋ* [B54650]

alè vjɛ̀la rì *ex.* to sit with stretched legs ▸*alè vjè* [B58879]

bjatúku rìdə̀ *ex.* to make someone sit ▸*bjatú* [B51464]

rìbádɛ̀̃ *ex.* to stay (some days) more ▸*bádɛ̀̃* [B51629]

rì[2] *vt.* ① to feed ② to breed ▸*cf. pʰəí?* [B33474]

məluɛ̀̃ rì *ex.* to feed, to give food (for small kids, who cannot eat by themselves yet) ▸*məluɛ̃̀* [B39109]

wá? rì *ex.* to breed pigs ▸*wá?* ▸*cf. wá? tyɛ́̃* [B39442]

susù rì *ex.* to breed mithuns ▸*susù* [B39437]

rí? (≠*ré?*, *rə́?*) *num.* six [≠M *rɛ?*] [B27986]

rí?rupɛ́ *n.* after six days ▸*-rupɛ́* [B51617]

suánrí? *num.* sixty ▸*suán* [B41609]

suánlapu rí? *num.* sixteen ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41554]

suánní?lapu rí? *num.* 26 ▸*suánní?* [B41582]

rí?fúŋ *n.* frog species [B54545]

rí?sɛ̀̃ *n.* frog species with green patches [B14777]

rɨtɨ́ŋ *n.* place of the modern lower village Bulu. There was no village here before because there is no sago and no bamboo. [≠M *silimatuŋ*] ▸*cf. ʃazutɨ́ŋ* ▸*syn. dəʃi dəlù*, *silimatúŋ* [B36533]

rɨtɨ́ŋlí? *n.* the plain place near the school in Bulu ▸*alí?* [B53333]

rɨ́n (≠*rə́n*) *vt.* ① to push ② to support (a house), to prevent a structure from from falling down [B53990]

rɨ́ngɛ̀̃ *vt.* ① to push up ② to push inside (bags, luggage) ▸*-gɛ̀̃* [B51181]

rɨ́ŋgɛ̀̃la lì *ex.* to hold, push up (e.g. a stone which is about to fall down) ▸*lì* [B51185]

hám rɨ́n *ex.* to support a house ▸*hám* [B53994]

riʃám *n.* fermented soybean [≠M *dəbo'rən*] [B35875]

ʒú? riʃám *n.* fermented soybean ▸*ʒú?* [B44184]

rə́? (≠*rí?*[2], *rɨ́?*) *n.* frog [B29039]

rə́? tsɨ́n *ex.* the frog jumps ▸*tsún* [B50370]

rə́?li *n.* frog species appearing in march. Male very small and female big and full of eggs. [B14785]

rə́?kráŋ *n.* frog species with big head, wide mouth, redish-yellow [B14781]

rə́p *vt.* to forge [B38151]

ʧɛ̀̃kú rə́p *ex.* to forge a hatchet ▸*ʧɛ̃̀kú* [B59033]

ʧì rə́p *ex.* to forge a dao ▸*ʧì*[2] [B38155]

martul rə́p *ex.* to forge a hammer ▸*martul* [B59035]

vəù rə́p *ex.* to forge an axe ▸*vəù* [B59032]

rəpá *adj.* [B56105]

rəpá rəpí *adj.* dim, half dark [≠M *gaʤo galo*] ▸*rəpí* ▸*cf. ʤaìlaì*

[B35124]

rəpí *adj.* [B56108]

rəpá rəpí *adj.* dim, half dark [≠M *gaʤo galo*] ▸*rəpá* ▸*cf. ʤaìlaì* [B35124]

rəpúŋ *n.* Rahung [B54886]

rəpúŋʤi *n.* Rahung (Sartang) ▸*-ʤi²* [B33104]

rəpúŋ tʰíʔ *n.* Rahung village ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58844]

rəbɛ̃̀ *n.* former Puroik village in the upper Sangti valley, now inhabited by Dirang Monpa, modern name Bishum ▸*cf. pʰudúŋ*, *dələ* [B55329]

rəm *vi.* to sleep ▸*cf. plám²* [B28854]

arəmmjɛ̀ *ex.* good to sleep (of a place) ▸*a-*, *amjɛ̀* ▸*ant. arəmlaò* [B58115]

arəmlaò *ex.* bad to sleep (of a place) ▸*a-*, *alaò* ▸*ant. arəmmjɛ̀* [B58110]

bə̀ bãla rəm *ex.* to sleep having dreams ▸*bə̀*, *bə̀²* [B42110]

rəmkaʤi *ex.* someone sleeping ▸*-ka* ▸*syn. rəmbuʤi* [B58628]

rəmdʒi *ex.* fell asleep ▸*-ʤi* [B49277]

rəmbín *ex.* tired, sleepy [<KR] ▸*cf. rəmhíʔ* [B15233]

rəmbuʤi *n.* someone sleeping ▸*-bu* ▸*syn. rəmkaʤi* [B58627]

rəmjə̀ *ex.* to continue sleeping ▸*-jə̀* [B58622]

rəmlɛ̃̀ *ex.* to sleep more ▸*-lɛ̃̀* [B58680]

rəmlɔ *ex.* to get to sleep, be able to sleep ▸*-lɔ* [B58999]

rəmʃjám *n.* just fall asleep, without having a proper bed ▸*-ʃjám* [B57653]

rəmhíʔ *vi.* to feel sleepy ▸*híʔ* ▸*cf. rəmbín* [B50137]

rəm² *vi.* to settle, to sediment (of sago starch in the water). In the last step of the sago processing procedure the starchy water is left for sedimentation. After some hours the sago starch can be collected and put into baskets. [B40989]

bì barəm *ex.* the sago does stay in the filter (but is flushed away with the water) ▸*bì* [B51076]

bì rəm *ex.* to become solid (of sago), get stuck in the filter (of sago) ▸*bì* [B40993]

rəmbjɛ *n.* dry bamboo stick [B49951]

rən (≠*rín*) *vt.* to box [B41838]

agéʔ rín *ex.* ① to punch ② to smash something with the hand (not with foot) ▸*agéʔ* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ í* [B41842]

nà kətɔ̃́ku rənnaro *ex.* I will box you in the teeth. ▸*kətɔ̃́* [B59036]

rənóʔ *n.* Indian rhinoceros (*sci. Rhinoceros unicornis*) [≠M *ʃəkaŋʃu*] [B28716]

rəláŋ *n.* banana [B15410]

rəŋku *n.* bitter stomach medicine (Mishmi tita), Adi rɨŋko [B15164]

rɔ̀ (≠*rɔ́ʔ*) *n.* stone deadfall trap ▸*cf. məvə́m*, *ʧabibrán* [B38361]

rɔ̀ kíʔ *ex.* to catch in a stone trap ▸*kíʔ* [B42913]

rɔ̀ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a stone trap ▸*ʒə̀*

▸*cf. məvə́n nú?* [B40032]

rɔ̀rín *n.* a series of stone traps (many stone deadfall traps in a row) [≠M *kjɛmpai*] ▸*syn. kjémpaí* [B42937]

rɔ́ʔ (≠*rɔ̀*) *vt.* to weave [B34445]

ɛ́ʔ rɔ́ʔ *ex.* to weave ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B38728]

rɔ̀̃ *vt.* to step [B49101]

alèrɔ̀̃ *n.* step ▸*alè* [B37079]

kʰɔ̀ rɔ̀̃ *ex.* to step over the water (small river) ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B50280]

rɔ̀̃la vù *ex.* to make steps ▸*vù* [B50753]

lím rɔ̀̃ *ex.* to cross a road ▸*lím* [B53412]

rɔ̀̃² *vt.* to straighten [B53310]

atʃɛ̀ rɔ̀̃ *ex.* to make straight (bamboo stick, arrow) ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B51547]

rì akəlɔ̀̃ atʃɛ̀ rɔ̀̃ *ex.* to make a crooked cane straight ▸*rì³*, *akəlɔ̀̃*, *atʃɛ̀* [B59120]

roì *n.* creeper plant with nuts in a hard shell (Adi tatarbati) [B49370]

roùdʒu *n.* one of the clans in West Kameng, extinct [B110058]

roʒi *n.* proper name [B56744]

rɔ̀dʒi [RL] *n.* ritual language for dog [B54800]

tʃagráŋ akú rɔ̀dʒi akú [RL] *n.* ritual language for dog ▸*akú*, *tʃagɹáŋ* [B54796]

rɔ́ŋməluò *ex.* (don't) understand anything [B42872]

ruì *vt.* to pull something which is inanimate or dead (not walking) [≠M *ʃaː*] ▸*cf. rún*, *-ruì* [B29043]

dʒaal ryì *ex.* to pull out a nail ▸*dʒaal* [B49546]

mabjaò ruì *ex.* to pull bamboo ▸*mabjaò* [B57663]

nù ruì *ex.* to pull here ▸*nù* ▸*ant. té rún* [B39267]

rì ruì *ex.* to pull the cane (the 3-4m cande tendrils are pulled on the shoulder) ▸*rì³* [B39257]

ruìkə́m *ex.* to pull together on a hip (branches, small trees, bamboo) [≠M *ʃaːkɨn*] ▸*-kə́m* [B54562]

susù ruì *ex.* to pull a dead mithun with a rope ▸*susù* ▸*ant. susù tʃaì* [B57673]

ʃɨ̀ ruì *ex.* to pull wood [B57668]

ruìdə̀ *n.* Rojo village (Lada circle, West Kameng) ▸*cf. kəzuɛ̀*, *kətʃán* [B42879]

ruɨ̀ *vt.* to peel a the sago trunk by cutting off the bark ▸*cf. kúʔù* [B37874]

ʧaò ruǐ *ex.* to peel the sago trunk by cutting with the dao ▸*ʧaò* [B37878]

ruǐplá? *ex.* to cut away by hitting ▸*plá?* [B51283]

ʧabǎ̀ ruǐ *ex.* to peel a sago trunk ▸*ʧabǎ̀* [B50569]

rù [RL] *vt.* to make the last ritual [B44450]

míŋ rù *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*míŋ* [B44454]

míŋ huì míŋ rù *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*huì²* [B44459]

rùʃǎ̀tso [RL] *n.* [B56433]

rùʃǎ̀tso gəmə́ŋ dúŋlo [RL] *n.* forefathers of the king's cast of the Mijis ▸*gəmə́ŋdúŋlo* [B55639]

rú? *vi.* to bark [B33690]

bù rú? *ex.* the dog bark ▸*bù²* [B44189]

rún *vt.* to push ▸*cf. ruì* [B34284]

té rún *ex.* to push that side ▸*té* ▸*ant. nù ruì* [B39262]

rínpaó *ex.* to push [B22622]

kalíŋ rínpaó *ex.* to push a stone ▸*kalíŋ* [B44170]

rúngǎ̀ *ex.* to hold ▸*-gǎ̀* ▸*syn. dənògǎ̀* [B58991]

ruráŋ [RL] *n.* [B56479]

ʃəmbu ruráŋ [RL] *n.* Rurang ▸*ʃə́mbu* [B35326]

rjaò *vt.* can, be able to (having learned it) [B55790]

míŋ bahǐ̀rjaò *ex.* he is not able to speak ▸*míŋ*, *hǐ̀* ▸*cf. míŋ* [B39468]

rjaòʧa *ex.* to have learned/understood something (lit. to have snatched it) ▸*-ʧa* [B34265]

prǐ́dò sə́m rjaòʧa *ex.* ▸*sə́m* [B58382]

rjaò² *vt.* to snatch away, to steal [B34894]

kǎ́la rjaò *ex.* to extort and steal ▸*kǎ́* [B59029]

gù vèǔ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will steal his knife. ▸*gù*, *-ǔ*, *ʧì²* ▸*syn. gù vètǘ ʧì rjaòna* [B59031]

lèrjaò *ex.* to steal ▸*lè* [B42277]

gù vètǘ ʧì rjaòna *ex.* I will the knife steal from him. ▸*gù*, *-tǘ*, *ʧì²* ▸*syn. gù vèǔ ʧì rjaòna* [B59030]

rjaò³ *vt.* to put leaves inside a basket to prevent the content from falling out [B37976]

ʧjè rjaò *ex.* to put leaves inside a basket so that content doesn't fall out ▸*ʧjè* ▸*cf. plɛ́́* [B37980]

rjá? *vt.* to draw a bow (before shooting) [B52650]

lɨ̀ rjá? *ex.* to draw a bow before shooting ▸*lɨ̀* [B52654]

lɨ̀ rjá?la rí? *ex.* to draw and shoot ▸*lɨ̀*, *rí?* [B59085]

rjá?² *vi.* to come out, squeeze out [B40448]

ałyì rjá? *ex.* the stomach is squeezed out ▸*alyì* [B44194]

rjá?há? *ex.* ① to bulge out (of intestines from a stomach cut open) ② to tear down ▸*-há?* [B53577]

akú? rjá?há? *ex.* to tear away the bark from a tree ▸*akú?* [B59063]

rjə̀tá? *n.* handmill made from stone [B22636]

rjáŋtá? vɛ̀ *ex.* to grind with the mill ▸*vɛ̀*[2] [B38430]

rjə̀tsá? *n.* snake species that doesn't bite, whitish colour below [B14971]

dadʒí? rjáŋtsáŋ *n.* snake species ▸*dadʒí?* [B50519]

bumu rjə̀tsá? *n.* very long snake ▸*bumu* ▸*syn. tani gulu* [B55682]

rjáŋ *n.* he was the only Puroik from the Kraa Krung clan who survived the bottleneck. He was never married and has no direct descendents. But he was Tshangs spiritual teacher. The oral history of the Kraa Krung clan came through him to Tshang. He died around 1992 in Tshangs house in Bulu. ▸*cf. dʒíntʃó?* [B55474]

tʃáŋro *n.* Rjaŋ's father ▸*cf. dʒíntʃó?* [B55482]

rjɛ̀ *n.* bag for rough filtering the water containing the sago starch. Originally made from finely woven cane. Nowadays shopping bags are used. [≠M *ruu*] [B40787]

rjɛ̀líŋ ɬí? *ex.* to pour the starchy water inside the sago filter ▸*ɬí?* [B40980]

rjɛ̀ *n.* trap used to catch rats and birds, looks like a bow [B42899]

rjɛ̀ pɑ́ *ex.* to catch in a rjɛN trap ▸*pɑ́* [B42903]

rjɛ̀ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a rjɛN trap ▸*ʒə̀* [B44199]

rjɛ̀ krɔ́kí? *ex.* the rjeN trap trigger sprung empty ▸*krɔ́kí?* [B42908]

rjù *vt.* to wash (the head) [B33226]

akű rjù *ex.* to wash the hairs ▸*akű* [B38989]

la (≠*lá?*) conjunction ① clause joining conjunction ② then, there (CONJ) ▸*cf. -la*[2], *dʒila*, *-la* [B15810]

pʰèmbu dargi=la wuìri *ex.* Phembu

and Darge are fighting. ▸*wuì* [B58621]

laí? *n.* electricity [<Eng light] [B49703]

laí? ǔdʒitʃa *ex.* the electricity went off (lit. went away) ▸*ǔ*, *-dʒi* [B49716]

laìt *n.* electricity [B58533]

laìt atấ *n.* elecricity wire ▸*atấ* [B58534]

laìt atấ krɨ́n *ex.* to connect electric wires ▸*atấ*, *krɨ́n* [B58535]

laò *n.* tradition [B57169]

lá? (≠*la*) *n.* edible tuber, bitter (type of yam?) [B33446]

lá?kó *n.* edible tuber (bitter) [B35948]

lak *num.* 100'000 [<IA लाख *lākh*] [B57603]

laktʃi *num.* one lakh, 100'000 [<IA] ▸*-tʃi* [B41645]

laknɨ́? *num.* two lakhs, 200'000 [<IA] ▸*nɨ́?* [B41653]

lakɨ́ŋ *n.* behind ▸*syn. rakɨ́ŋ* ▸*ant. kɨ́bɛ̀* [B53801]

kɨ́bɛ̀ *post.* in front of ▸*ant. lakɨ́ŋ*, *rakɨ́ŋ* [B51910]

kɨ́belɛ̀ bà *ex.* to carry a baby in front ▸*bàu* [B58963]

nà kɨ́bɛ̀ *ex.* in front of you ▸*nà* [B51914]

nà lakɨ́ŋ *ex.* behind you ▸*nà* [B54028]

lagà *n.* [B55980]

dʒùmu lagà *n.* ▸*dʒùmu* [B55983]

lata conjunction then (CONJ) [B56112]

lada *n.* [B56626]

lapɛ́ *n.* ① tomorrow ② next morning ③ later, in the future [≠M *na'vo*] [B20641]

lapɛ́ni *n.* tomorrow ▸*anì* [B44231]

lapɛ́ arjɛ́ *n.* tomorrow evening ▸*arjɛ́* ▸*ant. dʒjɛnì arjɛ́* [B58693]

lapú *n.* Lapusa (village near Kazolang), settled by Mijis from Lada (East Kameng) [B54963]

lapúdʒi *n.* person from Lapusa ▸*-dʒi*[2] [B57916]

lama *n.* [B56546]

lamoʃi [RL] *n.* [B56372]

lamoʃi dɨrɨ́n [RL] *n.* animals ▸*dɨrɨ́n* [B56378]

lamoʃi dərə́ntʃúŋ [RL] *n.* all the wild animals [B40166]

lán [RL] *n.* path on which the souls of humans and animals go to heaven. if the priest does't do the rituals well the souls get stuck on the half way [=M *lan*] [B40143]

səfəùlán [RL] *n.* cow path ▸*səfəù* [B51414]

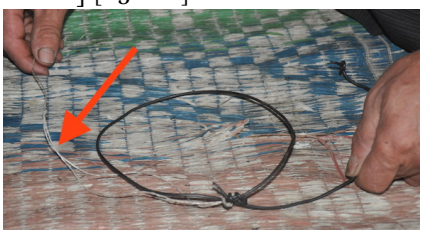
susulán [RL] *n.* Path on which the soul of the mithun goes to the heaven. When sacrificing a mithun, the shaman explains the soul the way. ▸*susù* [B51409]

ʃulán [RL] *n.* mithun path ▸*susù* [B51404]

lana conjunction conjunction 'then' (CONJ) ▸*cf. -lana* [B39731]

dʒilana conjunction then (CONJ) ▸*dʒì* [B39719]

lahǎ *n.* wok, frying pan [<IA?≠M *santekuu*] [B36262]



lǎkuí? *post.* that side (of the river) ▸*ant. nukuí?* [B33851]

kɔ́ láŋkuí? *ex.* that side of the river

▸*kʰɔ̀* [B39283]

kʰɔ̀ ʃjáŋla láŋkuí? vùpʰé? *ex.* To reach the other side of the river by swimming. ▸*ʃjáŋ*, *pʰé?* [B55399]

láŋdəmí? *n.* love marriage [B56953]

láŋpáŋ *vi.* to make a marriage relation ▸*cf. ʤòʃáŋ* ▸*syn. ʃáŋpáŋ* [B34547]

ʤoʃáŋ láŋpáŋ *ex.* to get married ▸*ʤòʃáŋ*, *ʃáŋpáŋ* [B34555]

láŋlɛ́?mɛ *n.* White-throated Dipper (*sci. Cinclus cinclus*) [B34138]

lè *vi.* to play [B34511]

adzɛ̀ lèbá? *ex.* The kids are playing. ▸*adzɛ̀* [B55379]

aljù lèbá? *ex.* The cat is playing. ▸*aljù* [B55384]

ʧuì lèbá? *ex.* The fishes are playing. ▸*ʧuì* [B55374]

lè *vt.* ① to take, to bring (for things and humans) ② to marry a woman ▸*cf. ʃó?* [B16233]

atɑ́ lèla tyɨ́ *ex.* to tie together with a rope ▸*atɑ́*, *tyɨ́* ▸*syn. atɑ́ lèla krɨ́n* [B59186]

kɑ́la lè *ex.* to take by extorting ▸*kɑ́* [B42743]

kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* to scoop out water ▸*kʰɔ̀*, *tʰì* [B59109]

kʰɔ̀ ʧìla lè *ex.* to take water ▸*kʰɔ̀*, *ʧi²* [B59064]

təláŋku kʰɔ̀ tʰìla lè *ex.* ▸*təlɑ̀*, *=ku*, *tʰì* [B59108]

ʧaìla lè *ex.* to carry in the hand ▸*ʧaì* [B42248]

ʧìla lè *ex.* to borrow ▸*-la*, *ʧi³* [B44145]

mənɛ̀ lèvùnjámré?bo *ex.* Bring me the luggage! ▸*mənɛ̀*, *-njám*, *-ré?*, *-bo* [B58604]

mərù lè *ex.* to marry a woman ▸*mərù* [B38937]

nɑ́mruùla lè *ex.* to snatch away ▸*nɑ́m* [B59130]

nɑ́mla lè *ex.* to abduct, to hijack ▸*nɑ́m* [B43477]

nɔ́?lè *vt.* to buy ▸*nɔ́?* [B38846]

lèkɑ́m *ex.* to put together (e.g. potatoes) [=M *li:kɨn*] ▸*-kɑ́m* ▸*cf. -kɑ́m* [B50337]

lèdɔ̀ *vt.* to take someone along ▸*-dɔ̀* [B57625]

lèpʰɛ́? *ex.* brought ▸*-pʰɛ́?* [B59037]

lèrjaò *ex.* to steal ▸*rjaò²* [B42277]

lèʃjám *ex.* to borrow, to freely take and use something, to take without paying [Adi *lasam*=M *lusjɛn*] ▸*-ʃjám* [B38851]

arù batʰɑ̀ lèʃjám *ex.* take away withou paying the price ▸*arù*, *tʰɑ̀* [B51210]

lè.ú? *ex.* to take and hide ▸*ú?* ▸*syn. bù.ú?*, *bù.ú? tsá?* [B51205]

gù bɑ̀ vè lee.ú? *ex.* He stole my money. [B59072]

gù vè bɑ̀ leeú?na *ex.* [B59071]

ɬaòla lè *ex.* to take without paying ▸*ɬaò*, *-la* [B44241]

bù.ú? tsá? lè *ex.* to steal ▸*bù.ú?*, *tsá?* [B54660]

məpʰinù məhjɛ̀lapu ʧíŋla lè *ex.* to pick up a maize grain from the ground ▸*məpʰinù*, *ʧíŋ²* [B58976]

ʃìbɑ̀ lèla ki *ex.* to beat with a stick ▸*ki*, *ʃìbɑ̀* [B51885]

leì [HL] *n.* bow ▸*cf. lɨ* [B52167]

lì (≠*rì*) *vt.* to put [B15852]

awì ré?la lì *ex.* to put something in a lying position ▸*awì*, *ré?* [B51147]

goì goìla lì *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*goì* [B58993]

tʰéʔla lì *ex.* to support (a house) with poles ▸*tʰéʔ²* [B51169]
dʒǔla lì *ex.* to put something in a vertical position ▸*dʒǔ²* [B51142]
pʰáʔla lì *ex.* to keep something for oneself ▸*pʰáʔ* [B59128]
plőla lì *ex.* to keep something closed inside (a box or bottle) ▸*plő*, *-la* [B45047]
məluɛ̃ muɛ́ʔla lì *ex.* to throw up food ▸*məluɛ̃*, *muɛ́ʔ* [B59010]
məluɛ̃ jaòla lìrika *ex.* stomach ▸*məluɛ̃*, *jaò* ▸*cf. arínpű* [B58772]
jə̀la lì *ex.* to put something/someone in a leaning position (for example a stick) ▸*jə̀* ▸*cf. tʰéʔ²* [B51174]
lìʃjám *ex.* to put something carelessly in a place ▸*-ʃjám* [B58462]
kʰègə̀la lì *ex.* to push back, hold (e.g. a stone which is about to fall down) ▸*kégə̀* [B51190]
tələ̀ tõla lì *ex.* to put a cup somewhere ▸*tʰõ̀*, *tələ̀* [B51132]
tőla lì *ex.* to put in a horizontal position ▸*tʰõ̀* [B51137]
tʰõ̀lì *ex.* to put in a lying position ▸*tʰõ̀* [B42216]
ríŋgə̀la lì *ex.* to hold, push up (e.g. a stone which is about to fall down) ▸*ríngə̀* [B51185]
lì² [HL] *v.* to blow (wind) [B58389]
fì lì [HL] *n.* wind ▸*fì²* ▸*cf. hə̀fín ʃín* [B54327]
lím *n.* path [≠M *laban, lan*] ▸*cf. sə̀kə́*, *alím* [B28957]
paísjáʔ lím *ex.* path leading from Old Bulu to Tungri ▸*paísjáʔ* [B52813]
límkíŋ *n.* in the middle of the road ▸*-kíŋ* [B55958]
límku dáʔ *ex.* to block the path ▸*dáʔ²* [B43573]
límtʃáŋ *ex.* above the path ▸*atʃə̀* [B39326]
límtʃóʔ *n.* crossroad [B34944]
lím atʃɛ̀ *ex.* a straight path ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B38743]
lím adzím *ex.* a narrow path ▸*adzím* ▸*ant. lím asjè* [B59157]
lím arà *ex.* a wide road ▸*arà* [B38739]
lím alaò kőla vù *ex.* to crawl up a bad path ▸*kő* [B53840]
lím avì *ex.* plain path, on same level ▸*avì* [B59153]
lím azìdə̀ *ex.* narrow path ▸*azì* [B38734]
lím azɔ̀ *ex.* path leading upwards ▸*azɔ̃̀* [B59154]
lím gáʔ gə̀ *ex.* to block a road (in order to prevent people to pass e.g. police or army check post) ▸*gə̀*, *gáʔ²* [B59075]
lím dəgə̀ *ex.* to block a path [M *laban dəgaŋ*] ▸*dəgə̀* [B59073]
lím pətʰù *ex.* to fix the road ▸*pətʰù* [B43943]
lím rɔ̀ *ex.* to cross a road ▸*rɔ̃̀* [B53412]
lím hì *ex.* ① to tell the way ② to make the last ritual for a person who died a natural dead (sickness), tell the soul which way to go to heaven (Tungri, Thembang, Dirang, Sela Pass, from there the souls go to heaven alone) ▸*hì* ▸*ant. dʒonúŋ balì tsáʔ* [B44215]
límwù *ex.* below the road ▸*-wù* [B39331]
ʃìlím *n.* hunting path ▸*ʃì* ▸*syn. ʃì alím*

[B36175]

lím arȉ̀ *ex.* a slippery path ▸*ar-ȉ̀* [B39293]

lím asjè *ex.* ▸*asjè* ▸*ant.* *lím adʑím* [B59159]

lín *vi.* to be jealous [<M] ▸*syn.* *kȁ́*[2] [B43460]

línla rì *ex.* to be jealous ▸*rì* [B43465]

líŋkúʔ (≠*líŋkúʔ*) *n.* lap [B37611]

lì (≠*alì*, *alə̀*) *n.* bow ▸*cf.* *gədúŋ*, *leì* [B22449]

lìtʃuì *n.* conic piece of iron to protect the tip of the bow when used e.g. as walking stick [B40147]

lì ríʔ *ex.* To shoot with a bow. ▸*ríʔ* [B54525]

lì rjáʔ *ex.* to draw a bow before shooting ▸*rjáʔ* [B52654]

lì rjáʔla ríʔ *ex.* to draw and shoot ▸*rjáʔ*, *ríʔ* [B59085]

lɨtʃuì *n.* iron protection for bow, protects the tip of the from stones etc., sometimes used to kill animals [B50717]

lɨʃì *n.* bow string [B50267]

lì[2] *vi.* to pain (of head) ▸*cf.* *náŋ* [B52861]

akȕ lì *ex.* headache ▸*akȕ* [B14966]

kə́m pʰì kȕ lì *n.* fever ▸*akȕ*, *akə́m*, *pʰì* ▸*cf.* *hakȁ́ bɛʃín* [B44418]

lisì [RL] *n.* mythological place where all humans where born ▸*syn.* *dʑidʑì* [B55131]

líŋkúʔ (≠*líŋkúʔ*) *n.* chest ▸*cf.* *aləmɔ̀* [B58557]

ləbín *n.* sleepiness [B58331]

ləbín dʑúʔ *ex.* to start feeling sleepy [≠M *dʑiroʔ dəmɛʔ*] ▸*dʑúʔ*[2] [B50143]

ləbíŋ *n.* stomach [B42257]

ləbíŋ míŋ *ex.* the stomach is full ▸*míŋ*[2] [B42261]

ləbíŋ náŋ *ex.* The stomach is paining. ▸*náŋ* [B54040]

ləbíŋ ʃuíʔ *ex.* to have diarrhea ▸*ʃuíʔ*[3] [B44466]

ləbíŋ bíŋ *ex.* to have gas (lit. the stomach swells) ▸*bȕ* [B50420]

ləm *vi.* to be warm [B58664]

aləm (≠*aláp*) *adj.* warm (not cold and not hot), of weather, water, food etc. [≠M *məluu*] ▸*a-* ▸*cf.* *atséʔ* ▸*ant.* *akȁ́* [B33904]

gù vùpʰéʔla kʰɔ̀ ləmbatʃa *ex.* When I came the water was hot ▸*-pʰéʔ* [B58663]

lən [HL] *vi.* to slip ▸*cf.* *ɬúʔ* [B52411]

ləlò [RL] *n.* [B56915]

ləlò ridʑidʑéʔ [RL] *n.* mythological creature, female, only one breast and one eye, half human and half ghost, ʃaNto kəpɛn's second wife, mother of all animals and ghosts. ▸*ritʃidʑéʔ* ▸*cf.* *pasùɬɛ̀ prɨ́ pafíʔɬɛ̀ məɬaò* [B55470]

ləlo gəzjɛ̀ *n.* bad spirit [B49608]

ləwɛ́ʔ *n.* stick in sling trap which [B40495]

tʃíʔ ləwɛ́ʔ *n.* a pulled back stick which tightens the sling of a sling trap when triggered ▸*tʃíʔ* [B58753]

ləwíʔ *n.* big toad species, up to 0.5 kg [B14789]

logutsín *n.* Himalayan striped squirrel,

according to GB there are lots in Delhi (*sci. Tamiops macclellandi*) [≠M *pasu*] [B28747]

lù [RL] *vt.* to make a ritual to expell the bad spirits from a place [B55248]

ʒɨláŋ lù [RL] *ex.* a bad spirit, demon ▸*ʒɨláŋ* [B55256]

ʒjù² [RL] *vt.* to make a ritual to expell the bad spirits from a place [B55265]

lù ʒjù [RL] *ex.* to make the rituals for making a place inhabitable; purify the place from bad spirits and diseases ▸*lù* [B57836]

ʒɨʒín ʒjù [RL] *ex.* to make a ritual to expell the bad spirits ▸*ʒɨʒín* [B55269]

lù ʒjù [RL] *ex.* to make the rituals for making a place inhabitable; purify the place from bad spirits and diseases ▸*ʒjù²* [B57836]

lunɛ̀ ʧúŋʧáŋpjáŋ *n.* bad spirit [B49616]

lusu *n.* mythological place name [B40083]

lǔ *n.* semantically bleached noun (inside?) always incorporated in verbs ▸*cf. lǔwɛ̀*, *lǔbuɛ̀*, *lǔsé?*, *lǔzí?* [B59225]

lǔbuɛ̀ *vi.* happy [=M *lũbõ*] ▸*cf. lǔ* [B56261]

lǔwɛ̀ *vi.* thirsty [≠M *luŋkjaŋ*] ▸*cf. awɛ̀*, *alǔbà*, *vòsǎ*, *lǔ* [B22466]

lúŋgjáŋ *n.* breakfast [=M] [B33818]

lyì *vt.* ① to share something with someone ② to borrow something from someone [B38856]

ʧìlyì *ex.* to borrow (something from someone) ▸*ʧí³* [B16209]

pʰəù lyìla ín *ex.* to drink alcohol together ▸*pʰəù* ▸*cf. məluɛ̀ ɛ̃ ʧíkám* [B58641]

hanì gùku lyìbɛ̀ *ex.* Borrow it to me for today! ▸*-bɛ̀* [B54590]

ljá? (≠*ljɛ́?*) *vt.* to lick [B15467]

agé? ljá? *ex.* to lick the hand ▸*agé?* ▸*cf. agé? ljá?²* [B51229]

alyì ljá? *ex.* to lick with the tongue ▸*alyì* [B51234]

fəù ljá? *ex.* to lick salt ▸*fəù* [B42288]

ljá?² *vt.* ① to hit a target (with bow, gun or trap) ② to hit, cut accidentely ③ to receive [B38276]

agé?ku ʧìhɛ̀ ljá? *ex.* to accidentely cut the hand with the dao ▸*agé?*, *ʧí²* [B58977]

agé? ljá?² *ex.* to cut the hand accidentely ▸*agé?* ▸*cf. agé? ljá?* [B51344]

kabɹáŋ ljá? *ex.* to hit a target ▸*kabɹáŋ* [B51224]

ʧǎdɔ̀ ljá? *ex.* to hit so hard that it becomes wound ▸*ʧǎdɔ̀* [B42842]

mí? ljá? *ex.* to hit target with arrow ▸*mí?* [B42283]

ljá?³ *vi.* [B56161]

ljá? ljó? *vi.* to move around a light beam, to illuminate ▸*ljó?* [B56167]

ljagù *n.* Assam plains (south of Bhalukpong) [=M *məljaŋ ljaguː*] [B53817]

ljǎ [HL] *cop.* it is not there ▸*cf. wè* [B52337]

nùla ljǎ [HL] *ex.* it is not here ▸*nùla* [B52342]

ljáŋ *n.* cast [=M *ljaŋ*] [B42703]

kráŋlíŋ ljáŋ *n.* low cast [=M *kraŋlíŋ ljaŋ*] ▸*kráŋlíŋ* [B42707]

pəsù ljáŋ *n.* king's cast ▸*pəsù* ▸*syn. pəsù zumuè* [B42712]

ljáŋ² [RL] *vt.* to give ▸*cf. tʰǎ* [B54926]

ljáŋré? *ex.* to be well-disposed to someone ▸*-ré?* [B54930]

ljáŋ³ [HL] *cop.* not be there ▸*cf. wɛ̀* [B59222]

ljɛ̀ *vi.* full ▸*ant. abɑ̀* [B42033]

təlɑ̀ ljɛ̀batʃa *ex.* The mug is full. ▸*təlɑ̀* [B59175]

ljɛ̀dɔ̃̀ *ex.* full ▸*-dɔ̃̀* [B28850]

ljɛ́? (≠*ljá?*) *vt.* to peel by cutting of chips, not scraping [B41204]

mabɨlíŋ ljɛ́? *ex.* to peel a pumpkin by cutting the skin (not scraping) ▸*mabɨlíŋ* [B51255]

ʃì ljɛ́? *ex.* to peel the wood by cutting ▸*ʃì* [B51239]

zɔ́p aplɔ́ ljɛ́? *ex.* to peel the place on the quiver to put fit the cap ▸*zɔ́p*, *aplɔ́* [B58384]

ljɛkó [RL] *n.* [B56991]

məljáŋ ljɛkó *n.* Nafra area ▸*məljɑ̃́²* ▸*cf. tʃáŋru bətʃúŋ* [B43241]

ljó? *vi.* [B56164]

ljá? ljó? *vi.* to move around a light beam, to illuminate ▸*ljá?³* [B56167]

wa particle isn't it [B58493]

waí? *vt.* to fart [B35985]

ɛ̀ waí? *ex.* to fart ▸*ɛ̀* [B39499]

waù *n.* cane mat or cloth for filtering sago water [≠M *ʒiʒa?*] ▸*cf. səgaùlí?* [B37955]

waù nì *ex.* to spread the sago filter mat ▸*nì* [B57454]

waù² [HL] *vi.* to shine, to come out [B54298]

plɔ́m waù [HL] *ex.* The sun shines. ▸*plɔ́m* [B54302]

hámsɨm waù [HL] *ex.* to smell, something smells [B54505]

wá? (*var. ɔ́?*) (≠*wɑ̃́*, *ɔ̃́?*) *n.* pig ▸*cf. məsunúŋ* [B11293]

kʰɔ̀ wá? *n.* Hippopotamos, lit. 'water pig' (neologism) ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B55538]

wá?də̀ *n.* piglet ▸*-də̀²* [B59232]

wá?pʰɔ̀ *n.* boar ▸*-pʰɔ̀* [B59231]

wá?mɔ̀ *n.* sow ▸*-mɔ̀* [B59230]

wá? kətɔ̃́ *n.* tusk of boar ▸*kətɔ̃́* [B37777]

wá? tyɛ̃́ *ex.* to breed pigs (possible but better wa? rɨɨ is better) ▸*tyɛ̃́* ▸*cf. wá? rɨ̀* [B43202]

wá? mɛ̀ri *ex.* the pigs are mating ▸*mɛ̀ì* [B50560]

wá? rɨ *ex.* to breed pigs ▸*rɨ̀²* ▸*cf. wá? tyɛ̃́* [B39442]

ʃəbù ʒomò [RL] *n.* pig [B54811]

wawṹ *n.* bunch of fruits [B55588]

awaí wawṹ *n.* bunch of fruits ▸*awaí* [B55592]

wɑ̃̀ (≠*wá?*) *n.* club to hamer sago fibres [≠M *pɹaŋ*] ▸*cf. nədʒɔ̃̀* [B29052]

wɑ̀² *n.* ridge between two rivers ▸*cf. awɑ̀* [B57553]

ʒaʒɔ̀ wɑ̀ *n.* place near Bulu where Chindang is celebrated [B57549]

wɑ̀³ *n.* baby [B58797]

wɑ̀ám *n.* meconium, baby shit [B37660]

wɑ̀ akraí *n.* baby ▸*akraí* [B58796]

wɑ́ʔ (*var.* of *ɔ́ʔ*) *n.* [B58227]

wɑ́ʔ pədu *n.* bird which eats wild banana (elicited for the picture of the Streaked Spiderhunter) (*sci. Arachnothera magna*) ▸*pədù* [B34194]

wɑ́ʔ mənáŋ *n.* bad spirit [B49604]

wɛ̀ (≠*vɛ̀*) *cop.* negative existential copula (EXIST.NEG) [≠M *ŋoo*] ▸*cf. ljɑ̀, ljáŋ³* ▸*ant. báʔ* [B28586]

alyìwɛ̀ [HL] *n.* fish, lit. 'not having tongue' (Puroik HL) ▸*alyì* ▸*syn. mjɑ̃pɛ́* [B54252]

avì wɛ̀ *ex.* it is not sharp ▸*avì* [B49325]

ʧaò asù wɛ̀ *ex.* the sago palm does not have starch (old sago palms which already bloomed once don't contain much starch) [M *má məzaʔ ŋoo*] ▸*ʧaò, asù* ▸*ant. ʧaò asù báʔ* [B51086]

agéʔtám wɛ̀ka *ex.* someone without hand ▸*agéʔtám, -ka* [B58763]

wɛ́ʔ *vt.* ① to kill ② to extinguish the fire (completely with water) [M *wai*] ▸*cf. tsáʔgɛ́ʔ, maù* [B20621]

prɨ́ wɛ́ʔka prɨ́ *ex.* murder ▸*prɨ́, -ka* [B58986]

bɛ̀ wɛ́ʔ *ex.* to completely extinguish a fire ▸*bɛ̀* ▸*cf. bɛ̀ tsáʔgɛ́ʔ* [B38661]

ʃì wɛ́ʔvù *ex.* to go hunting (lit. killing meat) ▸*ʃì* [B36038]

wɛ̃̀ *vi.* to dry [B39157]

awɛ̃̀ (≠*awán*) *adj.* dry [≠M *məkjaŋ*] ▸*a-* ▸*cf. lɯ̃̀wɛ̃̀, paó* [B20985]

ɛ̃́ʔ wɛ̃̀ *ex.* the clothes dry ▸*ɛ̃́ʔ* [B39161]

wì *vt.* to slap with flat hand (in the face, on shoulder, on back), in order to hurt someone or in a friendly way ▸*cf. vì* [B37163]

agéʔ wì *ex.* to slap ▸*agéʔ* [B41857]

wì² *vt.* to apply something with the flat hand [B58558]

wíʔ *vt.* [B58657]

séʔna wíʔna *ex.* to write ▸*séʔ* ▸*syn. sánʒi wodʒo* [B58658]

wɔ́ʔ *vt.* to make the trigger of a deadfall trap [B58751]

apʰjɑ̀ wɔ́ʔrika kawɔ́ʔ *ex.* ▸*apʰjɑ̀, kawɔ́ʔ* [B58752]

woì *vt.* to bake sago packed in a leaf [B58642]

bì woì *ex.* to bake sago packed in a leaf ▸*bì* [B58643]

woì² (*var.* of *ɔì*) *vt.* to find [B58260]

wotʃɨ́ʔ *n.* cricket (making noise during the day) [B52960]

wodʒo *v.* [B58456]

sánʒi wodʒo *v.* to write and read

▸*sánʒi* ▸*syn.* *séʔna* *wíʔna* [B58661]

wuà (*var.* of *ɔ̀²*) *vi.* to itch ▸*cf.* *awuà* [B38612]

awuà wuà *ex.* it is itching ▸*awuà* [B50748]

wuì (≠*wuì̀*) *vt.* ① to fight (physically) ② to scold [B34666]

gù aʒùku wuìna *ex.* I will scold my wife. ▸*aʒù* [B52560]

pʰèmbu dargi=la wuìri *ex.* Phembu and Darge are fighting. ▸*la* [B58621]

wuìri *ex.* to physically fight with each other ▸*-ri²* [B38871]

wuìrila kɨ́ *ex.* to fight ▸*kɨ́* [B22342]

vɛ̀ gùku wuìbáʔ *ex.* He is scolding me. [B54640]

vɛheníʔ wuìri *ex.* The two of them fight. ▸*vɛseníʔ* [B54635]

wuì² *vt.* to chew [B37178]

kətɔ́ wuì *ex.* to chew with the teeth ▸*kətɔ́* [B42368]

wuĩ̀ (≠*wuì*) *vt.* ① to close the door ② to make the wall of a house ▸*ant.* *sjɛ̀²* [B34222]

sikíʔwuĩ̀ *n.* wood wall ▸*sikíʔ* [B58747]

hám wuĩ̀ *ex.* ① to close the door ② to close the wall of a house ▸*hám* [B39032]

wù (≠*vù*) *num.* five [≠M *bəŋuː*] [B28840]

wurupɛ́ *n.* after five days [≠M *nagli'vo*] ▸*-rupɛ́* [B51613]

suánlapu wù *num.* fifteen ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41550]

suánwù *num.* fifty ▸*suán* [B41605]

suánníʔlapu wù *num.* 25 ▸*suánníʔ* [B41579]

wúʔ *n.* cave [B33337]

wúʔ akʰjǎ *n.* entrance of a cave ▸*ak-jǎ* [B55565]

wúʔ kʰuíʔ *ex.* to go inside a cave ▸*kʰuíʔ* [B55570]

wũ̀ *vt.* to lay an egg [≠M *rin*] [B44326]

awũ̀ wũ̀ *ex.* to lay an egg ▸*awũ̀²* [B44335]

ʧáwũ̀ wũ̀ *ex.* lay a chicken egg [≠M *dorin rin*] ▸*ʧá* [B44330]

ʧáʔwũ̀ wũribáʔ *ex.* the chicken is laying an egg (right now) ▸*-riba* [B44340]

mədyì awũ̀ wũribáʔ *ex.* The chicken lays an egg. ▸*mədyì*, *awũ̀²* [B54645]

wũ̀ri *vt.* to lay an egg [B35689]

ʧáwũ̀ wũri *ex.* to lay an egg ▸*ʧá* [B39347]

wɪ́mbututu [RL] *n.* crocodile, lord of the water ▸*syn.* *kʰɔ̀pí* [B55677]

wɪ́n *vt.* to marry? [=M *wɪ́n*] [B49416]

faì [HL] *vt.* to make noise ▸*cf.* *njáʔ* [B52210]

bafaìbo [HL] *ex.* Don't make noise! ▸*-bo*, *ba-* [B52215]

ʃəmɪ̀ò faì [HL] *ex.* to see with the eyes ▸*ʃəmɪ̀ò* [B54433]

hɛ̀ hɛ̀ bafaìbo [HL] *ex.* Don't make non-sense noise! ▸*hɛ̀* [B52225]

fɛ̀ [HL] *vt.* to see ▸*cf.* *níŋ* [B52435]

fɛ̃̀ (*var.* *fɛ̃̀²*) *vt.* to throw [≠M *ʃan*] ▸*cf.* *fɨ́n* [B38823]

kalíŋ fɛ̃̀ *n.* to throw a stone [≠M *gəluŋ ʃan*] ▸*kalíŋ* [B22371]

fə̏máŋ *ex.* to throw something at someone so that he dies ▸*-máŋ* [B58430]

fé? *vt.* to remember the names of all the gods and spirits in a ritual [B58521]

fé?la ʃáŋla *ex.* to remember the names of all the gods and spirits in a ritual ▸*ʃáŋ²* [B58619]

fə̏ *vt.* to sweat [B38608]

sətsə̀ fə̏ *ex.* to sweat ▸*sətsə̀* [B20658]

fə̀² (*var.* of *fə̏*) *vt.* [B59002]

fì (≠*fí?²*, *fí?*) *vt.* to carry something on a strap hanging over the shoulder (e.g. backpack, dao, quiver, but typically not a basket which is carried on the head) ▸*cf. bəù* [B33833]

ʧì fì *ex.* to carry a dao ▸*ʧí²* [B38311]

záp fì *ex.* to carry a quiver ▸*záp* [B52552]

ʃɪʒə̀ fì *ex.* to carry a backpack ▸*ʃɪʒə̀* [B52544]

fì² [HL] *n.* wind ▸*cf. hə̀ʃín* [B54332]

fì lì [HL] *n.* wind ▸*lì²* ▸*cf. hə̀ʃín ʃín* [B54327]

fí? (≠*ʃí?*, *fi*) *vt.* to make a cane rope smooth by scaping with the blade of the knife [≠M *mai*] [B41336]

mí? fí? *ex.* to make arrows smooth ▸*mí?* [B51250]

rì fí? *ex.* to make fine cane ropes, make them smooth with knife [≠M *ʃuu mai*] ▸*rì³* [B41340]

fí?² (≠*fi*) *vt.* to whistle [B37810]

asə́m fí? *ex.* to whistle? ▸*asə́m* [B37432]

fí?³ [HL] *vt.* to carry ▸*cf. ʒə̏* [B52264]

ʒjə̀ fí? [HL] *ex.* to carry meat ▸*ʒjə̀* [B52268]

ʒjə̀ fí?la bə̏ [HL] *ex.* to carry meat and go ▸*ù*, *ʒjə̀* [B52273]

fín *vt.* to throw away ▸*cf. fə̏* [B40218]

gə̀fíntʃué? *ex.* to chase away ▸*gə̀* [B57589]

fíntʃué? (≠*fíndʒué?*) *ex.* ① to throw away ② to leave away, to give up ▸*ʧué?* [B35008]

pʰəù námla fíntʃué? *ex.* He smelled on the beer and threw it away. ▸*pʰəù*, *nám* [B59014]

mənè fíntʃué? *ex.* to throw away things ▸*mənè* [B59003]

ɬjaòfíntʃué? *ex.* to open (a knot) and throw away [B44311]

fíndʒué? (≠*fíntʃué?*) *ex.* to throw together on a heap ▸*ʤué?* [B53812]

ʃə̀bə̀ fín *ex.* to throw away a trunk ▸*cf. ʃə̀bə̀* [B44400]

fəù (≠*fù*) *n.* salt ▸*cf. tɛlín* [B28965]

fə̀ bəí? *ex.* to put salt ▸*bəí?* [B39208]

fəù atʃə̏ *ex.* oversalted ▸*atʃə̏* [B50773]

fəù nyé? *ex.* to bait/decoy with salt ▸*nyé?* [B43873]

fəù ljá? *ex.* to lick salt ▸*ljá?* [B42288]

ɬasa fəù *n.* stone salt from Tibet ▸*ɬasa* [B14997]

fù (≠*fəù*) *vt.* to blow [B28969]

bɛ̀ fù *ex.* to blow the fire ▸*bɛ̀* [B39100]

fù² *n.* cover for the seed basket (bokuN) ▸*cf. bokű* [B52727]

fɪá? *vi.* have a broken tooth [=M *fɪa?*]

[B58364]

kətɔ́ fɪá? *n.* broken tooth [=M *mətʰuu ʃɑa?*] ▸*kətɔ́* ▸*cf. kətɔ́* [B37442]

vaí? *cop.* COP.EX, mirative i.e. the speaker finds something unexpectedly there or not there (EXIST) [B35235]

agəláŋ vaí?ba *ex.* there is a tumour (unexpected for the speaker) ▸*agláŋ* [B59151]

vaù [HL] *vt.* to hear, listen ▸*cf. náŋ* [B54409]

kắdǔ̀ vaù [HL] *ex.* to hear ▸*kắdǔ̀* [B54413]

varì (*var.* of *vɛrì*) *prn.* 3PL (3PL) [B58936]

vɛ̀ (≠*wɛ̀*) *prn.* he, she, it (3SG) ▸*cf. vɛsení?* [B28611]

vɛ̀ abjɛ̃̀ *ex.* his name ▸*abjɛ̃̀* [B54150]

vɛ̀ zumuè *ex.* his clan ▸*zumuè* [B58817]

vɛrì (*var. varì*) *prn.* 3PL (3PL) [B20565]

té vɛrìku ɬɔ̀ *ex.* to call the people overthere ▸*té*, *=ku²*, *ɬɔ̀* [B59051]

hɨ̃̀vɛ̀ *prn.* this one here ▸*hɨ̀* [B38563]

gù rí? hɨ̃̀vɛ̀ *ex.* My field is this one here. [B49916]

vɛ̀ku lǔ̃zí?dɔ̀ *ex.* to make him angry ▸*lǔ̃zí?*, *-dɔ̀* [B51502]

vɛsení? (*var. vɛhení?*) *prn.* 3DU, the two of them (3DU) [the variant with *-h* is probably borrowed from Kojo-Rojo] ▸*cf. vɛ̀*, *ní?* [B35152]

vɛhení? wuìri *ex.* The two of them fight. ▸*wuì* [B54635]

vɛhení? (*var.* of *vɛsení?*) *prn.* 3DU, the two of them (3DU) [B56753]

vɛ̃̀ (≠*vɛ̃̀²*) *vt.* to sharpen (a dao) [B37920]

ʧì avì vɛ̃̀ *ex.* to sharpen a dao ▸*avì*, *ʧì²* [B49311]

ʧì vɛ̃̀ *ex.* to sharpen a dao ▸*ʧì²* [B37924]

pəsɔ̀ku vɛ̃̀ *ex.* to sharpen on a whetstone ▸*pəsɔ̀* [B59118]

vɛ̃̀² (≠*vɛ̃̀*) *vt.* to grind [B38426]

katsɛ̃̀ vɛ̃̀ *ex.* ▸*katsɛ̃̀* [B59111]

məpʰìn vɛ̃̀ *ex.* to grind maize ▸*məpʰìn* [B59110]

rjáŋtá? vɛ̃̀ *ex.* to grind with the mill ▸*rjɑ̃̀tá?* [B38430]

vì *num.* four [≠M *bəliː*] ▸*cf. wì* [B12864]

vìrupé *n.* after four days [≠M *nazu*] ▸*-rupé* [B51609]

suánlapu vì *num.* fourteen ▸*suán*, *=lapu* [B41546]

suánvì *num.* fourty ▸*suán* [B38771]

hadʒar vì *num.* four thousand [<IA] ▸*hadʒar* [B41665]

suánní?lapu vì *num.* 24 ▸*suánní?* [B41596]

vìdzì *n.* fish trap [<M] ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀pɑ́* [B40385]

vìdzì dzì *ex.* make fish traps ▸*dzì* [B56834]

vìsəpjǔ [RL] *n.* confluence of two rivers [B56387]

tsámpu vìsəpjúŋ [RL] *n.* confluence of the Tsampu river ▸*tsɑ̃̀pu²* [B56391]

vìsəmán *n.* crocodile [B55905]

vɨtomjɛ́? *n.* ghost living in the mountains [B55909]

vɨtúŋ *n.* spring ▸*syn. katʃɨ* [B57000]

vɨ́m *vt.* to make something round (ball shape) [≠M *loŋ*] [B57281]

kámpeí vɨ́m *ex.* to put a tread on a ball ▸*kámpeí* [B59023]

ʧɔ̀ vɨ́m *ex.* to put silk on a ball ▸*atʃɔ̀* [B59022]

bì vím *ex.* to make a sago ball [≠M *ma: loŋ*] ▸*bì* [B57285]

vínsjɛ́ʔ [RL] *n.* biggest water spirit, looks like a crocodile, lives inside the water, female ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀pí*, *pŭ-tumjɛ́ʔ*, *vínsjɛ́ʔ* [B54834]

vɨlù *n.* mythological hot water lake ▸*cf. vɨʒù* [B58502]

vɨʒù vɨlù *n.* mythological hot water place ▸*vɨʒù* ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀lám* [B58503]

vɨʒù *n.* mythological hot water lake ▸*cf. vɨlù* [B58501]

vɨʒù vɨlù *n.* mythological hot water place ▸*vɨlù* ▸*cf. kʰɔ̀tsɛ́ʔ kʰɔ̀lám* [B58503]

vɨŋ *vt.* to bury ▸*cf. avɨŋ* [B35924]

məhjɛ̀lɨ́ŋ vɨŋ *ex.* to bury something in the ground ▸*alɨŋ* [B39486]

vəù *n.* axe [B22798]

vəùtələ́m *n.* ▸*tələ́m* [B58575]

vəù rə́p *ex.* to forge an axe ▸*rə́p* [B59032]

vəneì *n.* mythological hero ▸*syn. masáŋ* [B57197]

alò vəneì *ex.* grandfather Vənei [=M *aloo vənei*] ▸*alò* ▸*syn. atɨŋ masáŋ* [B58008]

vəlù təvjaò *n.* amniotic fluid [≠M *vɨluu bɨluu*] [B36958]

vòvín [HL] *vi.* to feel hungry ▸*cf. hɨ̀tʃɛ́ʔ* ▸*ant. vòsə̂* [B52347]

vòvə̀ *v.* feel (sad?) [B59213]

plúm vòvə̀ [HL] *ex.* feel sad ▸*plúm* ▸*cf. dəhù tsáʔ* [B15043]

vòsə̂ [HL] *vi.* to feel thirsty ▸*cf. lɨ̃wɛ̃̀* ▸*ant. vòvín* [B52352]

vù (≠*wù*) *vt.* to go away from base [≠M *daiʔ, de*] ▸*cf. ŭ* ▸*ant. ŭ* [B34347]

akəʒɨ́ vù *ex.* to descend, to go downwards ▸*akəʒɨ́* ▸*cf. bùʃə̃̀ vù* [B41750]

akəʒɨ́ ʒɨ́ vù *ex.* to descend ▸*akəʒɨ́*, *ʒɨ́* [B58755]

atʃɛ̀ vùka papʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* the night-active moth ▸*atʃɛ̀*, *papʰɛ́ʔ* [B58717]

abɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go ahead ▸*abɛ̀* ▸*ant. rakɨ́ŋ vù* [B36342]

abədʒáʔ vù *ex.* to walk fast ▸*abədʒáʔ* [B38261]

anì vùka mamitəláʔ *ex.* The day active [butterfly is called] mamitəlaʔ. ▸*anì*, *mamitəláʔ* [B58718]

ajə̂ vù *ex.* ① to walk fast ② Come fast! ▸*ajə̂* [B38271]

arɨ́p vù *ex.* to go without luggage ▸*arɨ́p* [B38229]

aruéʔ vù *ex.* to go for hunting ▸*aruéʔ* ▸*cf. adì bɛ̃̀* [B53045]

alɛ̀rə̃̀ vù *ex.* to go step by step ▸*alɛ̀* [B42475]

awulɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go the wrong way ▸*awulɛ̀* [B42600]

awuú vù *ex.* to walk fast ▸*awú* [B50816]

avùmjɛ̀ *ex.* good, convenient to go ▸*amjɛ̀* ▸*ant. avùlaò* [B58098]

avùlaò *ex.* bad, inconvenient to go (of a path) ▸*alaò* ▸*ant. avùmjɛ̀* [B58093]

azə̃̀ vù *ex.* to ascend a slope, to climb upwards ▸*azə̃̀* [B21722]

aʃɛ́ʔ vù *ex.* go fast, strong ▸*aʃɛ́ʔ* [B59180]
katɨ́ŋ vù *ex.* to go upstream ▸*katɨ́ŋ* [B58926]
katɨ́ŋʃə̀ vù *ex.* to go upstream ▸*katɨ́ŋ* [B50346]
kanyɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go downstream ▸*kanyɛ̀* [B50357]
kə́la vù *ex.* to crawl ▸*kə́* [B53830]
kʉ́tʃà vù *ex.* to go up ▸*kʉ́* [B49301]
kʉ́ vù *ex.* to ascend ▸*kʉ́* [B38200]
kʉ́ʃə̀ vù *ex.* to ascend ▸*=ʃə̀* [B38205]
kʰɔ̀ vùvjáŋ *ex.* To go across a river. ▸*kʰɔ̀*, *vjà* [B55389]
tɛ́ vù *ex.* Go there! ▸*tɛ́* [B50013]
ʤaì vù *ex.* to go to help ▸*ʤaì* [B42243]
ʤuɛ̀ ʤuɛ̀ vù *ex.* to walk slowly ▸*ʤuɛ̀* [B59179]
ʤuɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go slowly ▸*ʤuɛ̀* [B42416]
tsúnla vù *ex.* to go jumping ▸*tsún* [B43312]
badogáʔ vù *ex.* to go in vain ▸*badogáʔ* [B54107]
bavùbori vùlɛ̀ *ex.* Even after telling him not to go, he goes anyway. ▸*-bo*, *=ri*, *-lɛ̀* [B58682]
bɛ̀ vù [HL] *ex.* to go away ▸*bɛ̀* [B52205]
bù vù *ex.* to go down ▸*bù* [B41437]
bùʃə̀ vù *ex.* to descend to a point further down (the act of moving not of descending) ▸*=ʃə̀*, *bù* ▸*cf. akəʒɨ́ vù* [B41432]
mɔ́ʔ tsáʔ vù *ex.* to go to fight ▸*tsáʔ*, *mɔ́ʔ* [B41697]
rakɨ́ŋ vù *ex.* to go behind ▸*rakɨ́ŋ* ▸*cf. rakɨ́ŋ gì* ▸*ant. abɛ̀ vù* [B36347]
rə̀la vù *ex.* to make steps ▸*rə̀* [B50753]
vùkə́m *ex.* to come together (for people) ▸*-kə́m* [B50327]
vùdəhà̀ *ex.* huffy because of not letting him go before, now reluctant to go [=M *daidəhaN*] ▸*-dəhà̀* [B43453]
vùʤi *ex.* went away ▸*-ʤi* [B39306]
vùʤitʃa *ex.* went away ▸*-ʤi*, *-tʃa* [B43357]
vùʤù̀ *ex.* everybody went ▸*-ʤù̀* [B50467]
vùpəné? *ex.* to go little bit to a side ▸*-pəné?* [B56152]
vùpɔ́ *ex.* something came out appeared ▸*pɔ́* [B42095]
vùpʰɛ́ʔ *ex.* to reach to a place ▸*-pʰɛ́ʔ* [B39641]
vùpʰíʔ *ex.* went away ahead (not waiting for people coming behind) ▸*-pʰíʔ* [B43367]
badʒɔ́ʔrɨ̀ vùpíʔ *ex.* without waiting he went ahead ▸*ʤɔ́ʔ* [B43372]
vùmáŋ *ex.* to go/walk to death ▸*-máŋ* [B50486]
vùla ù̀ *ex.* to go and come back ▸*ù̀* [B38952]
vùlɛ̀ *ex.* to go even more ▸*-lɛ̀* [B58681]
vùvjà̀ *ex.* to go across ▸*vjà̀* [B58463]
vùsɛ̀ (≠*vùsə̀*) *ex.* to roam around (stopping in every house, drink tea and talk) ▸*-sɛ̀* [B39172]
vùsə̀ (≠*vùsɛ̀*) *vt.* to go and meet ▸*sə̀* [B57536]
vùhrɛ̃̀dyì *ex.* to go around again ▸*-hrɛ̃̀*, *-dyì* [B45056]
ʃəwjáŋ vù [HL] *ex.* to go hunting ▸*ʃəwjáŋ* [B54423]
hə̀pʰì pʰìmatʃi nafra vùna *ex.* Even if it rains, I will go to Nafra. ▸*hə̀pʰì*, *=matʃi* [B58934]

hằlɔ̀ vù *ex.* to go inside the house ▸*hằlɔ̀* [B53496]
a.ì asɛ̀ vùdɔ̀ *ex.* He/she went until half dead. ▸*a.ì*, *asɛ̀* [B58705]
kjɛ́ ʤuìla vù *ex.* to go supported on stick ▸*kjɛ́ ʤuì* [B58895]
bjatú tʰíʔ vù *ex.* to visit another village (for some time) ▸*bjatú*, *tʰíʔ* ▸*ant. bjatú tʰíʔ ǔ* [B58636]
vùdɔ̀ʧĩna *ex.* have to go immediately ▸*-dɔ̀*, *-ʧĩ* [B58935]
vùʧĩ *ex.* have to go ▸*-ʧĩ* [B39301]
zɛ̀ vù *ex.* to go to wake up someone ▸*zɛ̀* [B42142]
vù² [HL] *vt.* drink ▸*cf. ín*, *núŋ* [B52472]
vùgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to get lost (in the jungle), to go astray [B43012]
vùbaʧaro *ex.* Let's go! ▸*syn. vùparo* [B58597]
vugɪáŋ *n.* alcohol ▸*cf. pʰəù* [B54354]
vupáŋ *n.* fish trap [<M] ▸*syn. kʰɔ̀pã́* [B44406]
vupáŋ páŋ *ex.* ▸*páŋ* [B56830]
vjáʔ [RL] *vi.* to flow ▸*syn. nyɛ̀* [B55602]
vjằ *vt.* to cross [=M *vjaŋ*] [B38191]
arɨ́ŋ vjằ *ex.* to cross a forest ▸*arɨ́ŋ* [B50295]
ǔvjằ *ex.* to cross (a mountain, forest, river) ▸*ǔ* [B38195]
kʰìvjằ *ex.* to fly over (a mountain) ▸*kʰì* [B40074]
kʰɔ̀ vùvjáŋ *ex.* To go across a river. ▸*vù*, *kʰɔ̀* [B55389]
kʰɔ̀ ʃjáŋvjáŋ *ex.* To cross a river by swimming. ▸*ʃjáŋ* [B55394]
tsúnvjằ *ex.* to jump across ▸*tsún* [B50285]
pʰɨ̀ŋ vjằ *ex.* to cross a mountain ▸*pʰɨ̀ŋ* [B50290]
vùvjằ *ex.* to go across ▸*vù* [B58463]
vjɛ̀ (≠*vjɛ̃̀*) *vi.* ① to heal, to prosper ② to be ready, ok ③ to be comfortable [B33795]
aʧɛ̀ vjɛ̀ *ex.* to stretch the leg ▸*aʧɛ̀* [B49551]
avì vjɛ̀baʧa *ex.* (the knife) is well sharp now ▸*avì*, *-baʧa* [B49316]
vjɛ̀baʧa *ex.* The work is finished/ready. ▸*-baʧa* [B54716]
vjɛ̀² *vt.* to throw a powder or something consisting of small particles (sand, dust etc.) [B58559]
məhjɛ̃̀ vjɛ̀ *ex.* to throw soil ▸*məhjɛ̃̀* [B58560]
vjɛ̃̀ (≠*vjɛ̀*) *vt.* to stretch ▸*cf. ʒám* ▸*ant. ím* [B36324]
alɛ̀ vjɛ̀ *ex.* to stretch the leg, to put the leg into confortable position ▸*alɛ̀* ▸*cf. alɛ̀ ím* ▸*syn. alɛ̀ dəbɻáŋ* [B43636]
vjúʔ *vt.* to hug [B33675]
vɻɨ́n *n.* wedding [=M] [B38187]
vɻuì *v.* to separate [B59047]
mabjaò vɻuì *ex.* to split bamboo ▸*mabjaò* [B59048]
vɻuìpláʔ *ex.* to split into two pieces [M *vobəlei*] ▸*pláʔ* ▸*cf. sɛ̀* [B22803]

sà *n.* tea [<IA] [B36136]
njɛ̀sà *n.* milk tea ▸*njɛ̀* [B36140]
sà daò *ex.* the tea is cooked ▸*daò* [B39852]
sàʃɨ́n *n.* a snack eaten together with tea (e.g. roasted pota-

toes, roasted sago, biscuits) ▸*ʃín* [B58650]

saìtar *n.* sweater [<Eng sweater] [B58302]

saìtar plő *ex.* to put on a sweater ▸*plő*[2] [B58298]

saò (≠*ʒaù*) *vt.* to burn, roast [B33249]

ʤə̀ ʒaò *ex.* to roast yam in the fire ▸*ʤə̀* [B52614]

plastíʔ saòʒjù *ex.* ▸*ʒjù* [B59194]

bɛ̀ ʒaò *ex.* what is the exact meaning? ▸*bɛ̀* [B39022]

bì saò *ex.* to roast sago in the ashes ▸*bì* [B57428]

ríʔ ʒaò *ex.* to burn down a jhum field ▸*ríʔ*[2] [B39017]

ʃì ʒaò *ex.* to roast meat ▸*ʃì* [B39012]

saki *n.* oil or kerosin lamp [<IA hind. ʧirak, Adi səraki] [B50162]

satán *n.* blanket on horse [B41063]

sətútán *n.* horse blanket ▸*sətú* [B41076]

sapláʔ (*var.* of *sɛ̏pláʔ*) *ex.* to split (with an axe) [B59049]

sámtʰì *n.* next year ▸*cf. bətʰì* [B54214]

sámdɨ̀ *n.* after two years ▸*cf. buìdɨ̀* [B54219]

sanjedúŋ *n.* mosquito [≠M *sərjuŋdaŋ*] ▸*syn. sərjúŋdáŋ* [B58724]

batsɛ̀ sanjɛdúŋ *n.* mosquito ▸*batsɛ̀* [B58725]

sánʒi *v.* letters, characters [=M *ʃanʒi*] ▸*syn. sɛ́ʔ* [B51802]

sánʒi gíʔ *ex.* to read, to study ▸*gíʔ* [B51806]

sánʒi wodʒo *v.* to write and read ▸*wodʒo* ▸*syn. sɛ́ʔna wíʔna* [B58661]

sánʒi sɛ́ʔ *ex.* to write ▸*sɛ́ʔ* [B59004]

sari *n.* former Puroik village half an hour above Dichik. Nowadays only fieldhuts, but sago plantation is still there. [B20528]

sə̀ (≠*ʃə̀*, *zə̀*) *n.* rough sago fibres (for making raincover of bag or roofs), have to beat the bark of the palm to extract them [B37853]

sə̀kənuíʔ *n.* fine sago fibre (used to make fire in the past) [KR] ▸*kənuíʔ* ▸*syn. ʧamán* [B37828]

sə̀ ʤáp *ex.* to bundle sago fibres in order to make a roof ▸*ʤáp* [B41025]

sə̀hám *n.* sago fibre roof ▸*hám* [B41016]

ʃɪʒə̀pɔ́ʔsáŋ *n.* fibres for backpack ▸*ʃɪʒə̀pɔ́ʔ* [B37864]

sə̀[2] *vi.* to become clear (in the morning) ▸*cf. asə̀* [B39862]

asə̀ *adj.* clean, clear, dawn ▸*a-* ▸*cf. sə̀*[2], *krjə̀*, *aʃə̀də̀* [B11370]

nahə̀ sə̀ [HL] *ex.* to become light ▸*nahə̀* [B52182]

hám sə̀ *ex.* ① the sky clears up (i.e. clouds and fog disappear) ② it gets light (in the morning) ▸*hám* ▸*ant. hám alaò* [B50127]

hə̀sə̀ *n.* dawn (in the morning) ▸*hə̀⁴* ▸*syn. asə̀pɛ́* [B39565]
asə̀pɛ́ sə̀ *ex.* to become light in the morning ▸*asə̀*, *apɛ́* [B57731]
dɔ̃pɛ́ hə̀sə̀ basə̀ *ex.* this morning before dawn ▸*dɔ̃*, *apɛ́*, *hə̀sə̀* [B58961]
njètʃi sə̀batʃa *ex.* It became little bit light (in the morning). ▸*njétʃi* [B58960]
sə̀ti (*var.* of *sə̀tʃi*) *n.* Sangti [B58856]
sə̀tʃi [RL] (*var.* *sə̀ti*) *n.* part of place name [B56404]
sə̀tʃi grãmu [RL] *n.* Sangti valley [<M] ▸*gráŋmu* [B55295]
sə̀dʒáŋ *n.* [B56284]
sə̀dʒáŋ sə̀njúŋ *n.* all plants ▸*sə̀njúŋ* [B55201]
sə̀dʒo *n.* proper name [B56563]
sə̀pɔ́ʔ *n.* raincoat made from sago fibres for backpack [<KR=M *səmapaʔ*] ▸*cf. ʃizə̀pɔ́ʔ* [B33432]
sə̀njúŋ *n.* [B56290]
sə̀dʒáŋ sə̀njúŋ *n.* all plants ▸*sə̀dʒáŋ* [B55201]
sə̀rù *n.* bride price [B38178]
sáŋari *n.* bayonet [< Hindi संगीन *saŋgīn*] [B57177]
sá *adv.* like this ▸*cf. kəsá* [B39812]
dʒisá *adv.* like this ▸*dʒi* [B35207]
sá tsáʔ *ex.* to do like this ▸*tsáʔ* [B53591]
sá bjaò *ex.* it is like this ▸*bjaò* [B58711]
hɨ̀sá *adv.* like this ▸*hɨ̀* [B51112]
hɨ̀sáku conjunction therefore ▸*hɨ̀* [B38927]
sè (≠*sɛ̀*) *vt.* to split wood with an axe ▸*cf. dzún*, *ɬuéʔ²*, *vɹuìpláʔ* [B33193]
sɛ̀pláʔ (*var.* *sapláʔ*) *ex.* to split (with an axe) [M *sábəlei*] ▸*pláʔ* [B59044]
ʃì sè *ex.* to split wood (with an axe) ▸*ʃì* [B36732]
séʔ *vt.* ▸*cf. gíʔ* ▸*syn. sánzi* [B58656]
sánzi séʔ *ex.* to write ▸*sánzi* [B59004]
séʔna gíʔna *ex.* ▸*gíʔ* [B58659]
séʔna wíʔna *ex.* to write ▸*wíʔ* ▸*syn. sánzi wodʒo* [B58658]
sɛ̀ (≠*zɛ̀*, *sè*) *n.* grass, bushes, thicket [B22655]
sɛ̀ bíʔ *n.* to broom to grass and twigs (in the field) ▸*bíʔ* [B49886]
sɛ̃ sɛ̀ *ex.* the thicket grows ▸*sɛ̀* [B58861]
sɛ̀ sɛ̀ka abɨŋmɔ̀ *ex.* the jungle where the thicket grows ▸*abɨŋmɔ̀* [B58862]
sɛ̃ ʃɔ̀ *ex.* to cut the grass ▸*ʃɔ̀* [B55369]
sɛ̀gəwúŋ *n.* thunderbolt [Monpa dordʒi] [B49437]
sɛ̀tʃíʔ *n.* SɛNtʃíʔ river [B56157]
sɛ̀bɛ̀ [RL] *n.* gras and shrubs ▸*syn. zándʒáŋ zanjúŋ* [B55205]
sɛ̀sáŋ [RL] *n.* [B58423]
taláŋ sɛ̀sáŋ [RL] *n.* Mathow (ritual language) ▸*taláŋ* ▸*cf. mətʰyéʔ* [B36547]
sɛ̀ (≠*zɛ̀²*) *vi.* ① to sprout (e.g. seeds in the water) ② to prosper ③ to wax (moon phase) [≠M *ʃɪn*] ▸*cf. asɛ̀* [B41674]
gjə̀sɛ̀ *ex.* to prosper ▸*gjə̀* [B51376]
bagjə̀də basɛ̀də *ex.* do not let them live and prosper, don't let them become rich ▸*-də*, *gjə̀* [B40783]
míŋ sɛ̀ *ex.* the mushroom sprout ▸*míŋ⁴* [B41678]
məkíŋ amjè bapɛ́na sẽna *ex.* If you don't cut the stinging nettle properly, it will sprout. [B49891]
sɛ̀ sɛ̀ *ex.* the thicket grows ▸*sɛ̀*

[B58861]

hằbɔ sề *ex.* the moon phase is waxing ▸*hằbɔ* ▸*ant. hằbɔ aì* [B41725]

sikí? *n.* wood plank [B49538]

sikí? í? *ex.* to cut wood planks ▸*í?* [B51761]

sikí?wuì̃ *n.* wood wall ▸*wuì̃* [B58747]

sikstitú *n.* sixty-two [B55870]

sipaí *n.* soldier, army person [<IA Hindi सपिाही *sipāhī* 'soldier'] [B40349]

simén *n.* cement [B58740]

simén batsoì *n.* cement bag ▸*batsoì* [B58741]

simín *n.* cement [<Eng] [B49707]

simín kʰué? *ex.* to scrape the cement (from wood planks) ▸*kʰué?* [B49711]

símbəluì *n.* navel [B20659]

simjé? *n.* seeds sticking on clothes [B59144]

simjé? é?ku dzề *ex.* ▸*dzề* [B59145]

sinjè *n.* catfish [B35994]

sirjám *n.* otter (*sci. Lutra lutra*) [B14815]

silimatúŋ *n.* place of the modern village Bulu [=M] ▸*syn. rɨtíŋ* [B36538]

sɨwò [RL] *v.* to meet [B55648]

sà *vt.* to meet [B33751]

ǔsàjằ *v.* to keep on meeting ▸*-jằ* [B58624]

kʰɔ̀sì *n.* confluence of two rivers ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B56766]

gù vèku sàna *ex.* I will meet him. ▸*=ku²* [B59040]

vùsà (≠*vùsề*) *vt.* to go and meet ▸*vù* [B57536]

sàri *ex.* to meet eachother ▸*-ri²* [B36778]

kədʒìmatʃi sàribaro *ex.* We will meet some time, ok? ▸*kədʒì*, *=matʃi*, *-baro* [B59041]

səkấ *n.* [B56124]

səkấ səkű *n.* all cooking pots ▸*səkű* [B56127]

səkấdɔ̀ *n.* [<M *səkã*] [B56087]

səkấdɔ̀ brằdɔ̀ *n.* a lot, so many, hard to count but in principle possible to count (cows, luggage etc.) [<M *səkã brãdã*] ▸*brằdɔ̀* [B56094]

səkó [HL] *n.* hand ▸*cf. agé?* [B15709]

səkó gəʒí? [HL] *ex.* the hands are cold ▸*gəʒí?* [B54482]

səkó ʃəʒín [HL] *ex.* to hold with the hand ▸*ʃəʒán* [B54418]

səkű *n.* cooking pot [≠M *ritse?*] [B36258]

səkấ səkű *n.* all cooking pots ▸*səkấ* [B56127]

səkű pəlé? *n.* lid of pot ▸*apəlé?* [B50690]

səkjú? *vt.* ① to rub/grind in the hand (e.g. tobacco) or with the stone mill ② to rub something to make it clean ③ to brush the teeth [=M *səkju?*] ▸*syn. ʃɔ̀* [B35733]

agé? səkjú? *ex.* to rub in the hand ▸*agé?* [B41882]

kətɔ́ səkjú? *ex.* to brush the teeth ▸*kətɔ́* [B53513]

bakí səkjú? *ex.* to rub tobacco in the hand ▸*bakʰì* [B41891]

braʃ kjú? *ex.* to brush the teeth ▸*braʃ* [B51824]

maljù səkjú? *ex.* to grind chilli with a stone (not with the pestle in the mortar) ▸*maljù* [B39417]

səkjú? fíntʃué? *ex.* to clean [B41457]

səgaù *n.* bamboo construction in which wau is put for drying the sago [≠M *ʒiʒaʔtʃaŋ*] [B53170]

ʧaò mɔ́ʔrika səgaù *ex.* the filter construction to wash sago [B57459]

ʧaò rə́mrika səgaù *ex.* construction to let the sago flour set [B57464]

səgaùlíʔ *n.* bamboo construction where the filter bag is put for rough filtering ▸*cf. waù* [B40985]

səgì (≠*gíʔ*) *n.* Jungle cat (*sci. fam. Viverrinae*) [≠M *ʃtgɹɛn*] [B28693]

səguì *n.* Asiatic wild dog, lives in groups, kills cattle even cows, looks like a dog but is bigger (*sci. Cuon alpinus*) [≠M *səmsu*] [B28680]

səguì akúʔ *n.* fur of wild dog (hat of shaman is made from this material) ▸*akúʔ* [B49660]

səgǜ (≠*akǘ*) *n.* Yellow-throated marten, dirty smell, face like a rat, bushy tail (*sci. Martes f. flavigula*) [B28689]

səglíʔ *n.* sago place opposite side of river [B50888]

sətáʔ [HL] *n.* person ▸*cf. prǐ́* [B15778]

sətán *n.* Khoitam [B54866]

sətándʒi *n.* Khoita, Salari (Sartang) ▸*-dʒi*^{2} [B33100]

sətán tʰíʔ *n.* Khoitam.village ▸*tʰíʔ* [B58845]

sətǻ *n.* twisted rope for tying the horse etc. ▸*cf. atǻ* [B41877]

sətǻ zɛ̀ *ex.* to make a rope ▸*zɛ̀*^{2} [B41873]

sətɨ́ (≠*sətə́*) *n.* cloud [B11356]

ʧumù *n.* cloud [B54338]

hamɨ́ŋlɨ́ŋ sətə́ báʔ *ex.* There are clouds in the sky. ▸*hamɨ́ŋlɨ́ŋ*, *báʔ* [B58922]

sətə́ (≠*sətɨ́*) *n.* ladder [≠M *bəlaŋ*] [B38462]

sədɔ̀ sətá *n.* ladder to the place under the roof [≠M *səʤjaŋ bəlaŋ*] ▸*sədɔ̀* [B38466]

sətú *n.* horse [≠M *ʃəgɻoo*] ▸*cf. taípán* [B22683]

sətútán *n.* horse blanket ▸*satán* [B41076]

sətú ʧɔ *ex.* to sit on the horse ▸*ʧɔ* [B50309]

sətú ʤɨ̀gè *n.* horse bell ▸*ʤɨ̀gè* [B41058]

sətú kű̀ʧà̰ ʧɔ *ex.* to sit on a particular horse ▸*kű̀ʧà̰*, *ʧɔ*, *=ku* ▸*cf. sətú kű̀ʧà̰ ʧɔ²* [B59199]

sətú kű̀ʧà̰ ʧɔ² *ex.* to sit on a horse ▸*kű̀ʧà̰*, *ʧɔ* ▸*cf. sətú kű̀ʧà̰ ʧɔ* [B59197]

sətú² *adj.* happy, jolly [M *sətuu*] [B38072]

sətú kəjù *ex.* happy and jolly ▸*gəjù* ▸*syn. lùsí? lùbuɛ̀* [B41451]

səturulo kʰɔ̀ *n.* Brahmaputra [=M *səturulo vɨɨ*] [B33044]

sətyɛ́ *n.* fencing [=M *ʃə'to:*] [B49858]

sətyɛ́ tsá? *ex.* to make a fence ▸*tsá?* [B50680]

susu sətyɛ́ təwjaò *ex.* ▸*təwjaò* [B59187]

sədɔ̀ *n.* storing place between ceiling and roof [≠M *səʤaŋ*] [B36834]

sədɔ̀páŋ *n.* side posts on roof [B38520]

sədɔ̀ afɛ̀ nì *ex.* to make a new ceiling ▸*afɛ̀*, *nì* [B54600]

sədɔ̀ sətá *n.* ladder to the place under the roof [≠M *səʤjaŋ bəlaŋ*] ▸*sətá* [B38466]

sətʃín *n.* medium size black bear ▸*cf. asì* [B38289]

sətsɛ̀ (≠*ʧɛ̀*, *sətsɛ̀*) *n.* wild boar, weight is up to four man's load to carry (*sci. Sus scrofa*) [≠M *ʃələn*] ▸*cf. nadərá?* [B28720]

sətsɛ̀ aʒɔ̀ *n.* fat of wild boar, used e.g. for deep frying puri ▸*aʒɔ̀* [B49163]

sətsɛ̀ kətɔ́ *n.* tusk of wild boar ▸*kətɔ́* [B37782]

sətsɛ̀ tsãpu *n.* big wild boar, with big tusks [≠M *ʃələn ʃəwuu*] ▸*tsã̀pu* [B40658]

sətsɛ̀hɛ̀ ʤjù *ex.* to stab wild boars (of a trap) ▸*ʤjù* [B58758]

sətsɛ̀ (≠*sətsɛ̀*) *n.* sweat [B36753]

sətsɛ̀ fɛ̀ *ex.* to sweat ▸*fɛ̀* [B20658]

sətsɛ̀² *n.* hoarfrost [B20656]

sətsɛ̀ ʒjù *ex.* hoarfrost melts [≠M *dələn lii*] ▸*ʒjù* [B59196]

sətsɛ̀ ɬú? *ex.* hoarfrost falls ▸*ɬú?* [B36727]

sətsì *n.* ginger [B41470]

sətsì² *n.* big wasp species with red head [B53342]

abɨŋmɔ̀ sətsì *n.* jungle wasp ▸*abɨŋmɔ̀* [B58904]

sətsə́m (≠*ʃətʃə́m*) *n.* mortar (for rice) [B16314]

sətsə́m ʧíŋkí *n.* rice pestle ▸*ʧíŋkí* [B36283]

sətsùrjáŋ (≠*səʤùrjáŋ*) *n.* big deer with

big big antlers (*sci.* *Cervus* (*elaphus/unicolor*)) [=M *sətsu'rjaŋ*] [B22679]

sədzùrjáŋ (≠*sətsùrjáŋ*) *n.* small bird with long tail feathers ▸*syn.* *pədù atő* [B49429]

sədzurjáŋ amən *n.* tail feather of a bird sp. with long tail ▸*amən* [B49656]

səpì̃ (≠*səpḭ́*) *n.* goat ▸*cf.* *məsənjo ʃabrín* [B22696]

dʒə̃so dʒurjɛ [RL] *n.* goat [B54805]

səpḭ́ sumuè *n.* goat milk butter ▸*sumuè* [B58816]

sərù *n.* Tibetan mountain goat with long beard [B58042]

səpḭ́ (≠*səpì̃*) *n.* big flat rock in the sago processing place [≠M *gluŋbɹɛn*] [B42789]

ʃú səpḭ́ *n.* flat rock at the sago processing place [M *maso gluŋbɹɛn*] ▸*ʃú* [B42793]

səpjá? *n.* fork of a tree [B44368]

ʃì̃ səpjá? *n.* tree fork ▸*ʃì̃* [B40483]

səbì *n.* pea (vegetable) [B52923]

səbəní? *n.* small porcupine ▸*cf.* *səboì* [B28782]

səboì *n.* ① big porcupine ② crestless Himalayan porcupine (*sci.* *Hystrix brachyura*) ▸*cf.* *səbəní?* [B28777]

səbù [RL] *n.* [B55828]

səbù kɛtúŋ [RL] *n.* underground, earth under the surface ▸*kɛtúŋ* [B55824]

səbutʃò *n.* pangolin (*sci.* *Manis pentadactyla*) [=M *səbutʃoo*] [B28671]

səbjə̃ *n.* tick [B41261]

səm *n.* language ▸*cf.* *asəm* [B15295]

azé? səm *ex.* vulgar language ▸*azé?* [B42616]

azé? səm hì̃ *ex.* to say dirty words ▸*hì̃* [B42621]

grì səm *ex.* our language [≠M *ani lao*] ▸*grì* [B43694]

səm alaò *ex.* bad words ▸*alaò* [B42626]

səm nyìri *ex.* to imitate somebody's speech ▸*nyìri* [B43337]

prḯdə səm rjaòtʃa *ex.* ▸*rjaòtʃa* [B58382]

prḯdəsəm *n.* Puroik language [≠M *suluŋlao*] ▸*prḯdə* [B39089]

prḯdəsəm hì̃ *ex.* to speak Puroik ▸*hì̃* [B58787]

səmən *n.* crocodile [B58407]

kʰɔ̀ səmən *n.* (mythological man eating) crocodile ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*syn.* *kʰɔ̀pí* [B40389]

səmù [RL] *n.* [B58181]

səmù kɛtúŋ [RL] *n.* underground ▸*kɛtúŋ* [B58184]

sə́mpjɛ́ *n.* sand [B20657]

kahə̀ sə́mpʰjɛ̀ *n.* river sand ▸*kahə̀* [B44349]

səmjɛ́? *n.* ① Chenopodium album, cultivated leaves and seeds edible ② amaranth [B35903]

səmjɛ́ʔ arjúŋ *n.* white amaranth ▸*arjǔ* [B35907]

səmjɛ́ʔ aʃĭʔ *n.* red amaranth ▸*aʃĭʔ* [B35911]

səmjɛ́ʔ ʧakuí *n.* cooked amaranth ▸*ʧakuí* [B58561]

səmjɛ́ʔ² *n.* cocklebur (weed with seeds sticking on clothes) (*sci. Xanthium sp.*) [B40911]

səmɪáŋ *n.* whisker (only as compound?) [M *səmɪaŋ*] [B46859]

aljù səmɪáŋ *n.* whisker of cat ▸*aljù* [B50496]

asə́m səmɪáŋ *n.* whisker (of rat, cat or dog) ▸*asə́m* ▸*syn. asə́m mə́n* [B37806]

bù səmɪáŋ *n.* whisker of dog ▸*bù²* [B50501]

səmɪè *n.* butter [=M *səmɪɛɛ*] [B56534]

sə́n *n.* white bead [B41236]

sənám *n.* Perilla (*sci. Perilla frutescens?*) [< IA? Hindi सलिाम *silām*] [B40891]

sənám pədù *n.* Wagtail (*sci. Motacilla*) ▸*pədù* [B34210]

sənə́m (≠*anám*) *n.* ① Masked palm civet ② Himalayan palm civet (*sci. Paguma larvata*) [B28697]

sər *n.* [B56661]

səraù *n.* tree species with a sweet sap, birds and rats come to drink it [B40037]

səraùʃǐ *n.* tree with sweet sap ▸*ʃǐ* [B44354]

sərə̀ *n.* unordered hip [B49849]

kalíŋ sərə̀ *n.* hip of stones ▸*kalíŋ* [B49853]

sərə̀² *n.* plant species [B52884]

sərə̀ awaí *n.* fruit eaten by aniŋ rat ▸*awaí* [B49172]

səréʔ *n.* bush that looks like cardamon [B50158]

sərì *n.* resin [B35483]

səritʃaì *n.* Babbler species? (*sci. Stachyris nigriceps?*) [B34106]

sərín intensifier:color intensifier for blue [B51040]

apí sərín *ex.* very blue ▸*apí* [B51044]

sərǐ (≠*ʃərín*) *n.* Himalayan serow (*sci. Capricornis thar*) [≠M *raʃbɹi*] ▸*cf. radʒáŋʃu rariʃu*, *ʃadəwjáŋ* [B28739]

ʃərǐ akúʔ *n.* serow skin ▸*akúʔ* [B58806]

sərúŋ *n.* one of the sago places in Old Bulu ▸*cf. makiwáŋ* [B57386]

sərjúŋdáŋ *n.* mosquito [=M *sərjuŋdaŋ*] ▸*syn. sanjedúŋ* [B22674]

səlaù [HL] *n.* boiled sago ▸*cf. ʧarɛ̀* [B52477]

səlaùmɔ [HL] *n.* sago palm ▸*-mɔ̀* ▸*cf. ʧaòmɔ* [B54464]

səlaù mə̀ [HL] *ex.* to cook sago ▸*mə̀* [B52482]

səlán *n.* Tibet [<KR?] [B34918]

səlén *n.* Lhasa [B56357]

sələ́ʔ *n.* sheep. The climate of Bulu is to humid for breeding sheep. The sheep sacrificed during Chindang is purchased from Lagam. ▸*cf. ʃabrín* [B36443]

sələ́ʔ atʃú *ex.* a crowd of sheeps ▸*atʃû* [B43763]

sələ́ʔ bropuá *n.* sheep herder ▸*bropɔ́* [B36447]

sələ́m [HL] *n.* blood ▸*cf. ahuì* [B52186]

səwì *vt.* to wrap, bandage (a cloth) [B40708]

ɛ̋ʔ səwì *ex.* ▸*ɛ̋ʔ* [B59086]

səwìgɛ̀̃ *ex.* to wrap thightly (a cloth or bandage) ▸*-gɛ̃̀* [B44359]

səwíʔ *n.* flea, jumping master ▸*cf. ʃíʔ* [B52570]

səfəù *n.* cow [B28961]

səfəùdə̀ *n.* calf ▸*-də̀*[2] [B59235]

səfəùpʰɔ̀ *n.* bull ▸*-pʰɔ̀* [B59233]

səfəùmɔ̀ *n.* cow ▸*-mɔ̀* [B59234]

səfəùnjɛ̀ *n.* cow milk ▸*njɛ̀* [B36131]

səfəù atʃû báʔ *ex.* There are many cows. ▸*atʃû*, *báʔ* [B58944]

səfəù atʃú *ex.* a lot of cows ▸*atʃû* [B57736]

səfəù tyɛ̋ *ex.* to breed cows ▸*tyɛ̋* [B43207]

səfəù bropuá *n.* cow herder ▸*bropɔ́* [B36430]

səfəù mɛìri *ex.* the cows are mating ▸*mɛì* [B50550]

səfəù njɛ̀ ʤíp *ex.* to milk a cow ▸*njɛ̀*, *ʤíp* [B59098]

səfəù sumuɛ̀ *n.* cow milk butter ▸*sumuɛ̀* [B58815]

səfəù ʃì *n.* beef ▸*ʃì* [B42299]

səfəùlán [RL] *n.* cow path ▸*lán* [B51414]

sə̀kɛ́ [HL] *n.* hunting path ▸*cf. lím* [B15064]

suán *num.* ten [≠M *lɨn*] [B35598]

suándə̀gì *num.* ninety ▸*də̀gì* [B41621]

suánməljaò *num.* eighty ▸*məljaò* [B41617]

suánməljɛ̀ *num.* seventy ▸*məljɛ̀* [B41613]

suánníʔ *num.* twenty [≠M *grin lɨn*] ▸*níʔ* [B34468]

suánníʔlapu tʰyì *num.* twenty-one [≠M *grin lɨn uŋ*] ▸*tʰyì* [B41569]

suánníʔlapu də̀gì *num.* 29 ▸*də̀gì* [B41591]

suánníʔlapu məljaò *num.* 28 ▸*məljaò* [B41588]

suánníʔlapu məljɛ̀ *num.* 27 ▸*məljɛ̀* [B41585]

suánníʔlapu ḿm *num.* 23 ▸*ḿm* [B41576]

suánníʔlapu níʔ *num.* 22 ▸*níʔ* [B41573]

suánníʔlapu ríʔ *num.* 26 ▸*ríʔ* [B41582]

suánníʔlapu wù *num.* 25 ▸*wù* [B41579]

suánníʔlapu vì *num.* 24 ▸*vì* [B41596]

suán ḿm *num.* thirty ▸*ḿm* [B38767]

suánríʔ *num.* sixty ▸*ríʔ* [B41609]

suánlapu tʰyì *num.* eleven [≠M *lɨn-uŋ*] ▸*tʰyì*, *=lapu* [B41541]

suánlapu dɔ̃̀gì *num.* nineteen ▸*=lapu*, *dɔ̃̀gì* [B41565]
suánlapu məljaò *num.* ▸*=lapu*, *məljaò* [B41562]
suánlapu məljɛ̀ *num.* seventeen ▸*=lapu*, *məljaò* [B41558]
suánlapu ḿm *num.* thirteen ▸*ḿm* [B22753]
suánlapu níʔ *num.* twelve ▸*níʔ* [B38763]
suánlapu ríʔ *num.* sixteen ▸*=lapu*, *ríʔ* [B41554]
suánlapu wù *num.* fifteen ▸*=lapu*, *wù* [B41550]
suánlapu vì *num.* fourteen ▸*=lapu*, *vì* [B41546]
suánwù *num.* fifty ▸*wù* [B41605]
suánvì *num.* fourty ▸*vì* [B38771]
pʉ̃pʰùʧilapu suán *num.* 110 ▸*pʉ̃pʰùʧi* [B41625]
suì [RL] *vt.* to make rituals for the water spirits [B57032]
kʰɔ̀ suì *ex.* to make a ritual for the water spirits ▸*kʰɔ̀* ▸*syn.* *kʰɔ̀ pʰuì* [B59027]
pʰɨ̀ŋ pʰuì kʰɔ̀ suì *ex.* to make rituals to the water and the mountain spirits ▸*pʰɨ̀ŋ*, *pʰuì*, *kʰɔ̀* [B59028]
sù *vt.* to dance [M *zeiʔ, piŋgəreʔ*] [B22757]
míŋ sù *ex.* to dance ▸*míŋ* [B42818]
sumuè (≠*zumuè*) *n.* butter [Monpa *mɔ̃*≠M *ʃəˈmɛɛzaʔ, ʃəmansaʔ*] [B49133]
səpʲ́ sumuè *n.* goat milk butter ▸*səpʲ̀* [B58816]
səfəù sumuè *n.* cow milk butter ▸*səfəù* [B58815]
sumuè ʒjù *ex.* The butter melts. ▸*ʒjù* [B59193]
sunuán (*var.* of *sunuɛ̃̀*) *n.* Sichuan pepper (*sci.* *Zanthoxylum sp.*) [B58819]
sunuɛ̃̀ (*var.* *sunuán*) *n.* Sichuan pepper (*sci.* *Zanthoxylum sp.*) [=M *suˈnoː*] [B50179]
súndə̀ *n.* one of the clans of Bulu, extinct ▸*cf.* *bù.adə̀* [B11054]
sulúŋlo *n.* mythological person [B58509]
sulúŋlo pinu² *n.* ▸*pinu* [B58511]
sulúŋlo pinu *n.* mythological forefather of the Puroiks [B40028]
susù *n.* mithun (*sci.* *Bos frontalis*) [≠M *ʃuʔ*] ▸*cf.* *matʃáŋʃúʔ marjáŋʒóʔ*, *kʉ̃́bu* [B12849]

susù atʃú *ex.* a lot of mithuns ▸*atʃù* [B58943]
susù gɨ̀ *ex.* to drive away mithuns ▸*gɨ̀* [B38994]
susù tyɛ́ *ex.* to breed mithuns ▸*tyɛ́* [B43195]
susù ʧai *ex.* to pull a living mithun with a rope ▸*ʧaì* ▸*ant.* *susù ruì* [B57678]
susù mɛìri *ex.* the mithuns are mating ▸*mɛì* [B50555]
susù nyɛ́ʔ *ex.* to bait the mithuns ▸*nyɛ́ʔ* [B43878]
susù rɨ *ex.* to breed mithuns ▸*rɨ²* [B39437]
susù ruì *ex.* to pull a dead mithun with a rope ▸*ruì* ▸*ant.* *susù ʧaì* [B57673]
susù ʃì *n.* mithun meat ▸*ʃì* [B42294]

susù ɬuɛ́ʔbáʔ *ex.* It looks like a mithun. ▸*ɬuɛ́ʔ* [B51330]
susùhɛ̀̃ *n.* mithuns ▸*-hɛ̃̀* [B45078]
susulán [RL] *n.* Path on which the soul of the mithun goes to the heaven. When sacrificing a mithun, the shaman explains the soul the way. ▸*lán* [B51409]
ʃulán [RL] *n.* mithun path ▸*lán* [B51404]
sjè *vt.* to urinate [B38598]
kʰɔ̀ sjè *ex.* to urinate ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B20640]
sjè² *vt.* to open ▸*ant. wuì̀* [B39138]
asjè *adj.* wide, open ▸*a-* ▸*ant. adzɨ́m* [B59158]
lím asjè *ex.* ▸*lím* ▸*ant. lím adzɨ́m* [B59159]
hám asjè *ex.* a spacious house ▸*hám* [B59161]
hám sjè *ex.* to open the door ▸*hám* [B39147]
hə̃wuì̀ sjè *ex.* to open the door ▸*hám* [B39142]
srisrúʔ *n.* Weaver? but is bird of the plains.. (*sci. Ploceus*) [B34202]
zə̀ (≠*sə̀*) *n.* fish trap [B40419]

sə̀ sə̀ *ex.* to put a fishtrap [B38379]
zə̀ pə́ *ex.* to make a fishtrap? ▸*pə́* [B38374]
zə̀ zə̀ *ex.* to make fish traps ▸*zə̀²* [B40423]
zə̀² *vt.* make fish trap [B55931]
zə̀ zə̀ *ex.* to make fish traps ▸*zə̀* [B40423]
záŋ *n.* iron [M *san*] [B16303]
kalíŋzáŋ *n.* firestone (white stone) ▸*kalíŋ* [B37832]
krɨ́záŋ *n.* cable car with iron rope ▸*krɨ́* ▸*syn. záŋkrɨ́* [B41493]
məzə̀ *n.* ① arrow head made from metal ② arrow for killing big animals with poison (bear, deer) ▸*míʔ* [B15353]

zə̀ təməzə́ʔ *n.* tripod for cooking made from iron ▸*təməzə́ʔ* [B43129]
záŋkrɨ́ *n.* iron cablecar ▸*krɨ́* ▸*syn. krɨ́záŋ* [B41503]
zɛ̀ (≠*sɛ̃̀*) *vi.* ① to laugh ② to smile [B15263]
gù nàku dyì̀la zɛ̀na *ex.* I will tease and laugh about you. ▸*dyì̀²* [B51449]
gù nàku zɛ̀də̀ *ex.* I will make you laugh. ▸*-də̀* [B51454]
gù nàku zɛ̀na *ex.* I will laugh about you. [B51440]
vɛ̀ku zɛ̀na *ex.* to laugh about him, make fun of him [B59097]
zɛ̀də̀ *ex.* to make someone laugh ▸*-də̀* [B39104]
zɛ̀hɨ̀rì *ex.* to tell something funny ▸*hɨ̀* [B43093]
bjatúku zɛ̀ *ex.* to laugh about someone qq ▸*bjatú* [B51435]
zɛ̃̀ *n.* bamboo floor [B38524]
zɛ̃̀² *n.* tribe [B40214]

gədì zɛ̀̀ *n.* the Nyishi tribe ▸*gədì* [B42698]

puruí? zɛ̀̀ *n.* Puroik tribe ▸*puruí?* [B42685]

bətʃɐ̀̀ zɛ̀̀ *n.* the Monpa tribe ▸*bətʃɐ̀̀* [B42693]

bətʃɨ zɛ̀̀ *n.* Monpa tribe ▸*bətʃɨ* [B42689]

pɾ́ídə̀ zɛ̀̀ *n.* Puroik tribe ▸*pɾ́ídə̀* [B53945]

zɛ̀̀² (≠*sɛ̀̀*) *vt.* to twist (make a rope) [B35737]

agé? zɛ̀̀ *ex.* to make a rope by twisting fibres in the hand ▸*agé?* [B39384]

goì zɛ̀̀ *ex.* to make a rope ▸*goì* [B41867]

drùla zɛ̀̀ *ex.* ① to ② to make a rope by twisting ▸*drù* [B49295]

ʧɪ́?̀ zɛ̀̀ *ex.* to twist a sling trap (twisted from sago fibres) ▸*ʧɪ́?̀* [B57510]

sətɐ́́ zɛ̀̀ *ex.* to make a rope ▸*sətɐ́́* [B41873]

zɪ́? *vt.* to stick something in the ground [B40499]

ʃìbɐ̀̀ zɪ́? *ex.* to stick a stick in the ground ▸*ʃì* [B44373]

zɪ́mbù *n.* hammer [M *tsɨmpó*] [B49441]

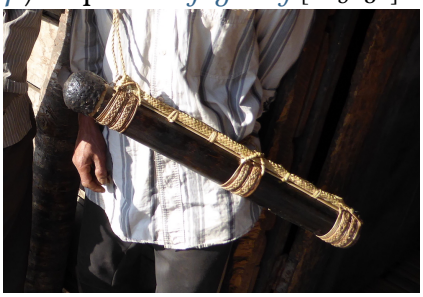
zɪ́mbù pí *ex.* to hammer (with a hammer) ▸*pí* [B49454]

zɪ́n [HL] *n.* house ▸*cf. hám* [B52362]

zɪ́nʃɔ̀̀ bɛ̀dyĩnatʃa [HL] *ex.* to go back home ▸*=ʃɔ̀̀* [B52366]

zɪ́nʃɔ̀̀ bɛ̀̀ [HL] *ex.* to go home ▸*bɛ̀̀²* ▸*cf. ù̀* [B54403]

zə́p (≠*ʒə́p*) *n.* quiver ▸*cf. gəvúŋ* [B29056]

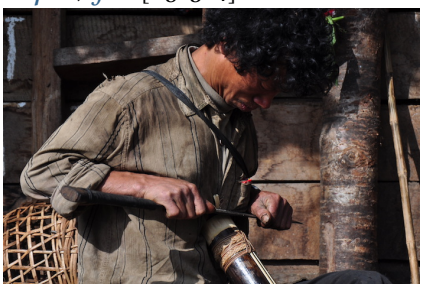


zə́ppúŋ *n.* cover of quiver [B41190]

zə́p fì *ex.* to carry a quiver ▸*fì* [B52552]

zə́p aplɔ́́ *n.* cap of the quiver ▸*aplɔ́́* [B41195]

zə́p aplɔ́́ ljé? *ex.* to peel the place on the quiver to put fit the cap ▸*aplɔ́́*, *ljé?* [B58384]



zəzɔ̀ *vt.* to take care of, to babysit [B36419]

adə̀ zəzɔ̀ *ex.* to take care of the childs ▸*adə̀* [B39632]

zù *vt.* to put on clothes ▸*syn. ʒɔ̀̀* [B34670]

ɛ́? zù *ex.* to wear clothes ▸*ɛ́?* ▸*syn. ɛ́? ʒɔ̀̀* [B36792]

ɛ́? zùɬám *ex.* to change the clothes ▸*ɛ́?*, *ɬám* [B54595]

zumuè (≠*sumuè*) *n.* ① clan ② cast ③ category [=M *zəmoo*] [B35354]

atʃyén zumuè *ex.* something sour, all the sour things ▸*atʃyɛ̀̀* [B41990]

pəsù zumuè *n.* king's cast [≠M

nəbuʔ ljaŋ] ▸*pəsù* ▸*syn. pəsù ljáŋ* [B50725]

raìdə̀ zumuè *ex.* the raidəə clan ▸*raìdə̀* [B41999]

rì zumuè ḿm báʔ *ex.* There are three species of cane. ▸*rì*[3], *ḿm*, *báʔ* [B49222]

vè zumuè *ex.* his clan ▸*vè* [B58817]

vè zumuè hè *ex.* From which clan is he? ▸*hè* [B58818]

zjáʔ *vi.* to shout, to call [B15290]

míŋ zjáʔ *ex.* to shout around, make noise ▸*míŋ* [B59050]

zjù *n.* to know well [B35527]

ʃàʃu [RL] *n.* [B56452]

ʃaʃu mɛmu [RL] *n.* place near modern Zero point ▸*mèmu* [B55312]

ʃaòdə̀ *n.* one of the clans of Bulu, extinct ▸*cf. bù.adə̀* [B34274]

ʃagaláŋ [HL] *n.* takin ▸*cf. ʃətʃə̆m* [B52023]

ʃagalə̀̀ku ʒéʔ [HL] *ex.* to shoot a takin ▸*ʒéʔ* [B52254]

ʃatán *n.* arrow type [B36669]

ʃadəwjáŋ [HL] *n.* Himalayan Serow [=M *sadəwjaŋ* (*Miji HL*)] ▸*cf. sərɨ̀* [B52013]

sadəwjə̀̀ku ʒéʔ [HL] *ex.* to shoot a serow ▸*ʒéʔ* [B52249]

ʃabrín [HL] *n.* sheep ▸*cf. səláʔ* [B53115]

məsənjo ʃabrín [HL] *n.* goat ▸*məsənjo* ▸*cf. səpɨ̀* [B53119]

ʃám *vi.* to rot [B22687]

aʃám *adj.* ① wet ② rotten ▸*a-* [B15439]

ʃɨ̀wè ʃám *ex.* the fruit got rotten ▸*ʃɨ̀waí* [B43588]

ʃámdəŋɹáʔ *ex.* completely rotten, putrid [B59184]

ʃawéʔ *n.* moss ▸*cf. kafaì* [B58908]

ʃawéʔ dzɛ̀ *ex.* moss overgrows something ▸*dzɛ̀* ▸*cf. kafaì dʒáʔ* [B58909]

kalíŋmɔ ʃawéʔ dzɛ̀ *ex.* The rock is overgrown with moss. ▸*kalíŋmɔ* [B58910]

ʃaʃuri *n.* traditional woman coat [=M *ʃaʃuri*] [B53146]

ʃaʃuri ándə̀ *n.* traditional woman coat ▸*andə̀* [B52806]

ʃaʃuri rakʰóʔ *n.* belt around waist ▸*rakʰóʔ* [B53151]

ʃaʒi *n.* Monstera sp. [B58437]

ʃaʒiláp *n.* monstera (*sci. Monstera sp.*) ▸*aláp* [B40903]

ʃaʒóŋ *n.* mountain between Bulu and the Bulu river where rituals are performed. [B49343]

ʃaʒu *n.* name of place behind upper village [B58438]

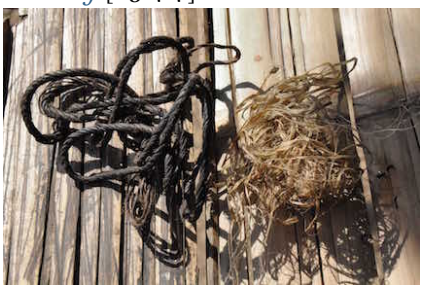
ʃaʒukʰɔ̀ *n.* name of small stream just behind the upper village ▸*cf.*

ʃazutíŋ [B53328]

ʃazutíŋ *n.* upper village in Bulu, where gaonbura's house is ▸*atíŋ*² ▸*cf. ritíŋ*, *ʃazukʰɔ̀* [B53323]

ʃə̀ (≠*sə̀*, *ʃə̌*) *n.* fibers of stinging nettle, or other plant (*sci. Urtica*) [B33203]

məkíŋ ʃə̀ *n.* stinging nettle fibres ▸*məkíŋ* [B36717]



ʃə̀ɛ́ʔ *n.* cloth made from urtica fibres ▸*ɛ́ʔ* [B36708]

ʃə̀kəmì ʃə̀ *n.* fibres extracted from the ʃakəmiʔ bush ▸*ʃə̀kəmì* [B57355]

ʃə̀kəmì *n.* bush with small berries, bark can be used to make fibres [B57351]

ʃə̀kəmì awaí *n.* berry of plant with fibrous bark ▸*awaí* [B58905]

ʃə̀kəmì ʃə̀ *n.* fibres extracted from the ʃakəmiʔ bush ▸*ʃə̀* [B57355]

ʃə̀to [RL] *n.* [B55920]

ʃə̀to kəpán [RL] *n.* mythological forefather of all human beings, he devided the humans in tribes, gave them a place and a language ▸*kəpán* ▸*cf. mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəzán* [B55441]

ʃə̀to mjə̃li [RL] *n.* forefathers of the Mijis ▸*mjə̀li* [B55631]

ʃə̀dʒo *n.* Chimbi's son [B58474]

ʃə̀tso [RL] *n.* [B56839]

ʃə̀tso dʉ̀tso [RL] *n.* ▸*dʉ̀tso* [B56845]

ʃə̀ʃeì *n.* broom [≠M *ʃaNʃei*] ▸*syn. nə̀seì* [B58760]

ʃə̀ʒíʔ *n.* cockroach species which eats rotten wood and stinks ▸*syn. məluéndén*, *dzánməljéʔ* [B38685]

ʃáŋ [RL] *v.* to marry [B56610]

dʒòʃáŋ *n.* ① to establish a marriage relation with another family ② to marry a woman ▸*dʒò*² ▸*cf. láŋpáŋ* [B34543]

dʒòʃáŋpáŋ [RL] *vi.* to establish a marriage relation with another

family ▸*ʤò²*, *páŋ²* [B56979]

ʃáŋ² *v.* to remember the names of all the gods and spirits in a ritual [B58618]

féʔla ʃáŋla *ex.* to remember the names of all the gods and spirits in a ritual ▸*féʔ* [B58619]

ʃáŋkəpʰu *n.* a good smelling leaf used in rituals [B50631]

ʃáŋpáŋ [RL] *v.* marry ▸*syn. láŋpáŋ* [B56593]

ʤopáŋ ʃáŋpáŋ [RL] *ex.* to establish a marriage relation with another family ▸*ʤopáŋ* [B56602]

ʤoʃáŋ láŋpáŋ *ex.* to get married ▸*ʤòʃáŋ*, *láŋpáŋ* [B34555]

ʃáŋmjáŋ *n.* evil forest spirit, appears in a cloud [B50640]

ʃáŋláŋ *n.* part of the ritual setup (stick in the middle) [B40851]

ʃǎ (≠*ʃǎ*) *vi.* to win [=M *ʒaŋ*] [B43322]

nà ʃáŋ gù ʃáŋ rínbɪɛ̀ri *ex.* Let's make a race and see whether I win or you win. ▸*-bɪè* [B59135]

ʃɛ́ʔ *vi.* to be strong ▸*cf. aʃɛ́ʔ* [B58392]

njɛ́ ʃɛ́ʔ *adj.* little bit strong ▸*njɛ́* [B43858]

ʃéʔ *vt.* to hit someone (with a stick) [=M *ʃeʔ*] ▸*cf. kɬ́* [B38837]

ʃéʔri *ex.* to beat each other up ▸*-ri²* [B43863]

kədʒɨ̀dəmóʔ ʃéʔ *ex.* to beat someone half dead with a stick ▸*kədʒɨ̀dəmóʔ* ▸*cf. hǎla hãla kɬ́* [B58700]

gəheníʔtatʃǔ̃ ʃéʔri *ex.* We two beat eachother. ▸*gəheníʔ*, *-tatʃǔ̃*, *-ri²* [B58780]

ʃì (≠*ʃǐ*, *ʃíʔ*, *ʃɪ́*, *asì*) *n.* ① animal ② meat [≠M *ʃətʃuŋ*] ▸*cf. ʒjǒ*, *akɹeí* ▸*syn. akɹeí* [B11289]

krɔ́ʃì *n.* filet piece of the meat ▸*akrɔ́* [B51634]

pʰɨ̀ŋ ʃì *n.* mountain animal ▸*pʰɨ̀ŋ* ▸*ant. kʰɔ̀ ʧuì* [B58495]

mədyì ʃì *n.* chicken meat ▸*mədyì* [B42304]

səfəù ʃì *n.* beef ▸*səfəù* [B42299]

susù ʃì *n.* mithun meat ▸*susù* [B42294]

ʃì akúʔ *n.* animal skin ▸*akúʔ* ▸*cf. ʃəkúʔ* [B36737]

ʃì adʒím *n.* tender meat ▸*adʒím* [B49993]

ʃì amán *n.* animal fur ▸*amán* [B37471]

ʃì anyɛ̃̀ *n.* hard, chewy meat ▸*anyɛ̃̀* [B50003]

ʃì alím *n.* path of animals ▸*alím* ▸*syn. ʃilím* [B42480]

ʃì íʔ *ex.* to cut meat without leaving the blade (also by putting the dao tip on the ground and cutting the meat from the top) ▸*íʔ* [B50617]

ʃì gɨ̃̀vù *ex.* ① to hunt ② to drive away ▸*gɨ̃̀* [B36031]

ʃì táʔ *ex.* to be poisoned by bad meat ▸*táʔ* [B59203]

ʃì rám *ex.* to cut meat by hitting with

dao ▸*rám* [B50612]

ʃì wɛ́ʔvù *ex.* to go hunting (lit. killing meat) ▸*wɛ́ʔ* [B36038]

ʃì ʒaò *ex.* to roast meat ▸*saò* [B39012]

ʃì ʒɛ̀la ù̀ *ex.* to carry meat and go ▸*ʒɛ̀*, *ù̀* [B52278]

ʃìlím *n.* hunting path ▸*lím* ▸*syn.* *ʃì alím* [B36175]

mərɔ̀mɔ ʃì *n.* jungle animal ▸*mərɔ̀mɔ̀* [B58865]

ʃì ajím *ex.* tasty meat ▸*a.ím* [B41921]

ʃĭʔ (≠*ʃt̀*, *ʃì*, *fĭʔ*, *ʒíʔ*) *n.* louse ▸*cf.* *səwíʔ* [B14688]

ʧáʃĭʔ *n.* chicken louse ▸*ʧá* [B53136]

ʃíʔwɛ́ *n.* knit, louse egg ▸*awaí* [B52586]

ʃiki *n.* [B56738]

ʃitű [RL] *n.* [B56794]

ʃitű tsə̀tű [RL] *n.* the forefathers of the Monpas in Tawang ▸*tsə̀tű* [B56800]

ʃiblì *n.* ① white beans (simi) ② type of soy bean (grows well in wet soil) [≠M *batsiʔ*] [B35865]

ʃimíʔ *n.* cocklebur (plant with seeds sticking on the clothes) (*sci.* *Xanthium sp.*) [≠M *ʃuˈgɹɛn ˈdə-boo*] [B53072]

ʃín (≠*ʃt̀*, *ʒín*) *vi.* blow (wind) [B28652]

hə̀ʃín ʃín *ex.* the wind blows ▸*hə̀ʃín* ▸*cf.* *ʃì lì* [B38645]

ʃɪʒə̀ *n.* backpack made from finely woven cane [=M] [B14578]

bəʧɨ ʃɪʒə̀ *n.* non-tribal backpack ▸*bəʧɨ* [B52565]

ʃɪʒə̀pɔ́ʔ *n.* raincoat made from sago fibres to cover backpack ▸*apɔ́ʔ* ▸*cf.* *sə̀pɔ́ʔ* [B36722]

ʃɪʒə̀pɔ́ʔsáŋ *n.* fibres for backpack ▸*sə̀* [B37864]

ʃɪʒə̀ atá *n.* straps of backpack ▸*atá* [B41915]

ʃɪʒə̀ apɔ́ʔ *n.* ▸*apɔ́ʔ* [B52951]

ʃɪʒə̀ boì *ex.* to carry a backpack (on the back) ▸*boì* [B49185]

ʃɪʒə̀ fì *ex.* to carry a backpack ▸*fì* [B52544]

ʃì (≠*ʃì*, *ʃĭʔ*, *ʃín*) *n.* ① firewood ② tree ③ construction wood [≠M *ou*] ▸*cf.* *uʒɔ̀*, *ʃt̀waí* [B14563]

nədʒɔ̀ ʃì *n.* hard wood ▸*nədʒɔ̀* [B53388]

səraùʃì *n.* tree with sweet sap ▸*səraù* [B44354]

ʃ̀ìkɨ́ŋ *n.* ① tree trunk ② b [B36276]
ʃ̀ìkjɛ́í *n.* branch ▸*akjɛí* [B59056]
ʃ̀ìkjɛ́íku dzɨ́ʔ *ex.* to sit on a branch (of a bird) ▸*dzɨ́ʔ* [B59057]
ʃ̀ìkjɛ́í pjáʔháʔ *ex.* to tear away a branch (which is hanging down) ▸*pjáʔháʔ* [B59061]
ʃ̀ìtsóʔ *n.* rotten wood [B58454]
ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ *n.* wood trunk, a piece of wood ▸*-bɑ̀̃* ▸*cf. kjɛ́, ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ fɨ́n* [B40460]
akaó píka ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ *ex.* vertical stick in ʧɨʔ trap ▸*akaó*, *pí* [B57262]

ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ tɔ́ʔ *ex.* to hold a wood stick in the mouth ▸*tɔ́ʔ* [B54000]
ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ lèla kɨ́ *ex.* to beat with a stick ▸*lè*, *kɨ́* [B51885]
ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ ʃ̀yì̀ *ex.* a tree trunk slides down a steep slope (not rolling) ▸*ʃ̀yì̀* [B59137]
ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ ʒún *ex.* to put a stick inside another stick? ▸*ʒún* [B44383]
ʃ̀ìbɑ̀̃ zɨ́ʔ *ex.* to stick a stick in the ground ▸*zɨ́ʔ* [B44373]
ʃ̀ìbuɛ̀̃ (*var. hì̀buɛ̀̃*) *n.* flower of a tree ▸*abuɛ̀̃* ▸*cf. ímbuɛ̀̃* [B38700]
ʃ̀ìmɔ *n.* tree (whole tree standing) [B22721]
pədù ʃ̀ìmɔku dzɨ́ʔ *ex.* The bird sits on the tree. ▸*dzɨ́ʔ*, *pədù*, *=ku* [B59055]
ʃ̀ìmɔ ałuè *ex.* inside a pile of wood ▸*ałuè* [B42506]
ʃ̀ìmɔ ɬɨ́ŋ *ex.* to climb a tree ▸*ɬɨ́ŋ* [B39192]
ʃ̀ìmɔ hɛ̀̃ *n.* trees ▸*-hɛ̀̃*, *-mɔ̀* [B45073]
ʃ̀ìmɯ̀̃ *n.* tree with star anise like fruit, is sold as spice, medicine or incense, tree is about 10-15 meters high, the more precious species grows in the mountains (*sci. Illicium*) ▸*-mɯ̀̃* [B57277]

ʃ̀ìmɯ̀̃ awaí *n.* star anise like seed ▸*awaí* [B57433]

ʃ̀ì akɨ́ŋ *n.* base of a tree (tree trunk near the ground) ▸*akɨ́ŋ* ▸*cf. ʃ̀ì arín* [B41759]
ʃ̀ì akúʔ *n.* bark of tree ▸*akúʔ* [B36748]
ʃ̀ì akjɑ́̃ *n.* hole in tree ▸*akjɑ́̃* [B36048]
ʃ̀ì akjɛ́í *n.* branch of a tree ▸*akjɛí* [B41808]
ʃ̀ì akjɛ́í rɛì *ex.* to cut the branches of a tree ▸*rɛì* [B59101]
ʃ̀ì arín *n.* root ▸*arìn* ▸*cf. ʃ̀ì akɨ́ŋ* ▸*syn. ʃ̀ìrín* [B42147]
ʃ̀ì awaí *n.* fruit ▸*awaí* [B53609]
ʃ̀ì kʰìm *ex.* to pile wood in an or-

dered way ▸*kʰìm* [B59142]

ʃì kʰìmla lì *ex.* to make an ordered pile of wood ▸*kʰìm* [B51371]

ʃì gə́m *ex.* to cut a tree trunk into short pieces ▸*gə́m* [B39526]

ʃì gjɛ́ʔ *ex.* the wood is broken ▸*gjɛ́ʔ* [B39133]

ʃì tíʔ *ex.* to make a tree fall ▸*tíʔ* [B39037]

ʃì tíʔgjɛ́ʔ *ex.* to cut down a tree ▸*tíʔ* [B51006]

ʃì tə́ *ex.* to support a piece of wood with a piece of wood ▸*tə́²* [B59190]

ʃì trə́ *n.* ordered pile of wood ▸*trə́* ▸*ant. ʃì ʤuéʔ* [B58870]

ʃì ʧapíŋ *n.* tree trunk ▸*ʧapìŋ* [B42380]

ʃì ʤuéʔ *ex.* to make an unordered pile of wood ▸*ʤuéʔ* ▸*ant. ʃì trə́* [B41227]

ʃì pɛ́ *ex.* to cut wood ▸*pɛ́* [B38974]

ʃì pɛ́ɬéʔ *ex.* to cut a (small) tree with one stroke ▸*pɛ́* [B39041]

ʃì pʰɔ̀ *ex.* to cut wood into pieces ▸*pʰɔ̀* [B38979]

ʃì bíʔ *ex.* to broom together wood (in the field) ▸*bíʔ* [B49881]

ʃì rɛì *ex.* to cut off all the branches [≠M *ou ʊoʔ*] ▸*rɛì* [B42339]

ʃì ljɛ́ʔ *ex.* to peel the wood by cutting ▸*ljɛ́ʔ* [B51239]

ʃì sɛ̀ *ex.* to split wood (with an axe) ▸*sɛ̀* [B36732]

ʃì səpjáʔ *n.* tree fork ▸*səpjáʔ* [B40483]

ʃìrín *n.* root ▸*syn. ʃì arín* [B22725]

ʃìláp *n.* leaf ▸*aláp* [B50785]

ʃìwaí *n.* fruit ▸*awaí* ▸*cf. ʃì* [B22729]

ʃìwà pʰɛ̀ *ex.* to pluck fruits ▸*pʰɛ̀* [B58975]

ʃìwɛ̀ ʃám *ex.* the fruit got rotten ▸*ʃám* [B43588]

ʃəruán ʃì *n.* plant used as fish poison ▸*ʃəruán* [B58907]

ʃì gjaɬɛ́ʔ *ex.* to break a piece of wood ▸*gjaɬɛ́ʔ* [B43059]

ʃì híʔɬéʔ *ex.* to break a ▸*híʔɬéʔ* [B58385]

ʃìgə́m *n.* broken stick, big piece of wood [B36063]

ʃìpípjáʔ *n.* hook to hang things [B38495]

ʃìrín² *n.* rope [B38280]

ʃìlə̀ *n.* shrub with red berries, not edible [B57442]

ʃí (≠*ʃì*) *vt.* to ask ▸*cf. bejò, nɔ́ʔ* [B34248]

ʃímgɪáŋ *n.* hornbill (*sci. Buceros bicornis*) [=M] ▸*cf. pəʃáŋ, pəlì* ▸*syn. kəʤì* [B34017]

kəʤì ʃɪmɪáŋ *n.* hornbill [=M *gəʤii ʃɪmɪaŋ*] ▸*kəʤì* [B58722]

ʃín *n.* snack with tea or drinks (not main meal) [B58649]

pʰəùʃín *n.* a snack eaten together with alcoholic drinks (roasted meat, chutneys etc.) ▸*pʰəù* [B58651]

sàʃín *n.* a snack eaten together with tea (e.g. roasted potatoes, roasted sago, biscuits) ▸*sà* [B58650]

ʃín² [HL] *n.* dog ▸*cf. bù²* [B15726]

ʃíndʒaù *n.* Common giant flying squirrel (*sci. Petaurista petaurista*) [≠M *ʃupjaŋ*] ▸*cf. tʃarjɛ̀* [B28751]

ʃɪlu [RL] *n.* mythological place [B56968]

ʃɪlu dadɛ́n [RL] *n.* ▸*dadɛ́n* [B56974]

ʃəkɑ́ *n.* tree with very sour berrys used to make achar, the wood was used to light a fire making it hot with a cane rope [B49347]

səkɑ́ awaí *n.* fruit of the səkaN bush ▸*awaí* [B55597]

ʃəkú? *n.* ① skin (of animal) ② bark of tree [≠M *ʃəprin*] ▸*cf. akú?, ʃì akú?* ▸*syn. akú?* [B35391]

səkú? hɔ̀ *ex.* to skin an animal ▸*hɔ̀* [B53920]

ʃəkú? trɑ́ *n.* to stretch skins for drying ▸*trɑ́* [B58872]

ʃəkjáŋ [RL] *n.* deity, ruler of the world of the animals. Before hunting he has to be given tribute otherwise bad luck will come over the hunter. [B35507]

ʃəgù *n.* paper [B58660]

ʃətúŋ [RL] *n.* [B56448]

napáŋ ʃətúŋ *n.* Bhalukpung (border town to Assam) [=M] ▸*napáŋ* [B33368]

ʃətʃeì rameì [RL] *n.* incense [B55325]

ʃətʃi [RL] *n.* rice seeds ▸*syn. njɛ́nʃí?* [B56501]

ʃətʃi rameì [RL] *n.* unhusked rice seeds and resin of a tree used as incense, given as a sacrifice to the forest spirits when going for hunting ▸*rameì* ▸*syn. njɛ̀ʃí? sərì* [B56498]

ʃətʃì *n.* Barking deer, Indian muntjak (*sci. Muntiacus muntjak*) [≠M *sətsu*] ▸*cf. alɛʤɨ́n, anám* [B22709]

ʃətʃì akú? *n.* deer skin ▸*akú?* [B58805]

ʃətʃì adɔ̀ *n.* baby barking deer ▸*adɔ̀* [B41256]

ʃətʃə́m (≠*sətsə́m*) *n.* takin (*sci. Budorcas taxicolor*) ▸*cf. kəbuʃu kəmuʃu, ʃagaláŋ* [B28730]

ʃətʃə́m akú? *n.* takin skin ▸*akú?* [B58804]

ʃə́p *vt.* to make a knot [B41483]

atə́́ ʃə́p *ex.* to knot a strap ▸*atə́́* [B59112]

məʃə́p *n.* knot ▸*mə-* [B41479]

ʃərín ʃə́p *ex.* to knot a rope ▸*ʃərín²* [B59113]

məʃə́p ʃə́p *ex.* to make a knot ▸*məʃə́p* [B41487]

ʃəbugɛ́? *n.* black giant squirrel (*sci. Ratufa bicolor*) [<M *ʃəbugɛ?*] [B28743]

ʃəbɹɨ́n [HL] *vt.* to speak hunting language [=M *ʃəbɹɨn*] [B52458]

míŋ ʃəbɹɨ́n *n.* hunting language [M *tai ʃəbɹɨn*] ▸*míŋ* [B36459]

ʃə́mbu [RL] *n.* [B56476]

ʃə́mbu ruráŋ [RL] *n.* Rurang ▸*ruráŋ* [B35326]

ʃəmjíŋmɔ *n.* deity [≠M *ʃəmjiŋnei?*] ▸*cf. ʃəʒə̃́mɔ* [B51419]

ʃəmɹò [HL] *n.* eye ▸*cf. akə́m* [B15695]

ʃəmɹò faì [HL] *ex.* to see with the eyes ▸*faì* [B54433]

ʃərín (≠*sərɨ̀*) *n.* sago variety, stem is small at the ground and becomes wider further up [≠M *mafufaŋ*] [B57378]

ʃərín² *n.* ① type of cane or creeper ② rope [B36758]

ʃərín kɛ́́la ʃù *ex.* ▸*kɛ́́*, *ʃù* [B59052]

ʃərín ʃə́p *ex.* to knot a rope ▸*ʃə́p* [B59113]

ʃəruán *n.* plant used as fish poison with small seeds [B40963]

ʃəruán ʃɨ̀ *n.* plant used as fish poison ▸*ʃɨ̀* [B58907]

ʃəláŋ [RL] *n.* [B57158]

ʃəláŋ ʃəʒə́n [RL] *n.* the entire dry land in the world, world of the land spirits (not the water spirits) ▸*ʃəʒə́n²* [B40186]

ʃəwjáŋ [HL] *n.* hunting expedition [B59212]

ʃəwjáŋ vù [HL] *ex.* to go hunting ▸*vù* [B54423]

ʃəʒə́n *n.* [B56714]

mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəʒə́n [RL] *n.* first female human, who gave birth to the forefathers of all tribes on earth. ▸*mɛdəgɛ̀* ▸*cf. ʃə̀to kəpə́n* [B55446]

amà mɛdəgɛ̀ ʃəʒə́n *n.* first female human, who gave birth to the forefathers of all tribes on earth. ▸*amà* ▸*cf. apá ʃáŋto kəpɛ́n* [B55435]

ʃəʒə́ŋ *n.* proper name, father of Phembu

[B55217]

ʃəʒì *n.* incense [B58613]

ʃəʒə́n [HL] *vt.* ① to hold ② to catch in trap ▸*cf. kɛ́* [B52415]

səkó ʃəʒín [HL] *ex.* to hold with the hand ▸*səkó* [B54418]

ʃəʒə́n² [RL] *n.* [B57161]

ʃəláŋ ʃəʒə́n [RL] *n.* the entire dry land in the world, world of the land spirits (not the water spirits) ▸*ʃəláŋ* [B40186]

ʃəʒuə̀ *n.* tree with bitter taste (used as stomach medicine) [B49321]

ʃəʒuə̀ akú? atʃá? *ex.* The bark of the bitter tree is bitter. ▸*akú?*, *atʃá?* [B58906]

ʃəhjáŋ *n.* snow leopard (*sci.* *Uncia uncia*) [=M *ʃəhjaŋ*] [B28712]

ʃə̀gɪáŋ [RL] *vt.* to see ▸*syn. níŋ* [B55672]

ʃɔì *vt.* to clear the forest, to cut grass [B35523]

abíŋ ʃɔì *ex.* to clear the forest ▸*abíŋ* [B36827]

sɛ̀ ʃɔì *ex.* to cut the grass ▸*sɛ̀* [B55369]

ʃə̀ *vt.* to rub to surfaces on eachother, to warm up by rubbing the hands [≠M *səkju?*] ▸*syn. səkjú?* [B35741]

agé? ʃə̀ *ex.* to rub between the hands ▸*agé?* [B42115]

ʃə̀² *vt.* to take someone by the hand, e.g. for helping to cross a river or up a mountain [B57688]

agé? ʃə̀² *ex.* to take someone by the hand ▸*agé?* [B59099]

ʃó? [HL] *vt.* to bring ▸*cf. lè* [B52077]

uʒə̀ ʃó? [HL] *ex.* to carry wood ▸*uʒə̀* [B52082]

mətʃím ʃó? [HL] *ex.* to bring water ▸*mətʃím* [B52152]

ʃó?la bɛ̀bo [HL] *ex.* Go and bring! ▸*bɛ̀²* [B52420]

nuʃa ʃó? [HL] *ex.* Bring here! ▸*nuʃa* [B54393]

ʃə̀ *vi.* to move [B35036]

ʃuí? *vt.* to oint, to massage [B33722]

tel ʃuí? *ex.* to oint oil [B44562]

ʃuí?² *vt.* to clean something with pressure, brush, wipe [B22512]

məhjɛ̀ ʃuí? *ex.* to wipe the floor ▸*məhjɛ̀* [B36763]

asə́mpʰú? ʃuí? *ex.* to clean the mouth ▸*asə́mpʰú?* [B58768]

ʃuí?³ *vt.* to have diarrhea [B50416]

ləbíŋ ʃuí? *ex.* to have diarrhea ▸*ləbíŋ* [B44466]

ʃù *vt.* to shake by pulling a rope (e.g. a cane rope hanging down from a tree) ▸*cf. hə́?* [B55840]

ʃərín kɛ́la ʃù *ex.* ▸*ʃərín²*, *kɛ́* [B59052]

ʃú? *vt.* to rinse out (one's mouth) [B51843]

asə́mpʰú? ʃú? *ex.* to rinse out (one's mouth) ▸*asə́mpʰú?* [B51834]

ʃú?² *n.* breath [B58387]

ʃú? ʒù *ex.* to breath ▸*ʒù²* [B15584]

ʃukɪɛ́n *n.* buffalo [<M] [B22692]

ʃuruán *n.* leguminous tree, bark can be

used as fish poison. The time it flower is the time to plant soy beans in the field. [B57424]

ʃuʃɛ̏̃ *vt.* to love, to cuddle [≠M *luŋʃaŋ*] [B20660]

ʃuʃɛ̏̃ri *ex.* to cuddle each other ▸*-ri²* [B56256]

ʃú (≠*ʒú?*) *n.* place for making sago flour [≠M *'maso*] [B33436]

ʃú səpɨ́ *n.* flat rock at the sago processing place [M *maso gluŋbɹɛn*] ▸*səpɨ́* [B42793]

ʃúhám *n.* hut at the sago place ▸*hám* [B42798]

ʃúhám *n.* way from modern Bulu to Tungri [B57545]

ʃyɨ̏ *vi.* to slide (of something long, without legs like a snake or a tree trunk), to creep [B50375]

dadʒí? ʃyɨ̏ *ex.* The snake creeps. ▸*dadʒí?* [B50379]

pəsjɛ̀ ʃyɨ̏ *ex.* The snake creeps. ▸*pəsjɛ̀* [B50384]

ʃɨ̀bɐ̀ ʃyɨ̏ *ex.* a tree trunk slides down a steep slope (not rolling) ▸*ʃɨ̀bɐ̀* [B59137]

ʃáŋ *vt.* to swim [B22741]

kʰɔ̀ ʃáŋ *ex.* to swim ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B38798]

kʰɔ̀ ʃáŋla láŋkuí? vùpʰé? *ex.* To reach the other side of the river by swimming. ▸*lɐ̃̀kuí?*, *pʰé?* [B55399]

kʰɔ̀ ʃáŋvjáŋ *ex.* To cross a river by swimming. ▸*vjɐ̃̀* [B55394]

ʃjɛ̀ *vt.* to open (the door) ▸*cf. ɬjaù* [B33538]

ʃjɛ̀la níŋ *ex.* open to see ▸*níŋ* [B54630]

ʃjɛ́? *vt.* to deconstruct (e.g. a house) [B54616]

hám ʃjɛ́? *ex.* to deconstruct a house ▸*hám* [B54620]

ʃjén *n.* gold [B22737]

ʃjén dəmɛ́n [RL] *n.* gold and silver ▸*dəmɛ́n* ▸*syn. ʃjénŋuì* [B54820]

ʃjénŋuì *n.* gold and silver ▸*ŋuì* ▸*syn. ʃjén dəmɛ́n* [B43656]

ʃjɛ̏̃ *vt.* to make rituals [B34693]

míŋ ʃjɛ̏̃ *ex.* to make rituals ▸*míŋ* ▸*syn. gulù gəlán* [B36784]

ʒaù (≠*saò*) *vi.* to get up ▸*cf. zɛ̏̃* [B20655]

zɛ̏̃ *vt.* to wake (someone) up ▸*cf. ʒaù* [B33703]

zɛ̏̃ vù *ex.* to go to wake up someone ▸*vù* [B42142]

zɛ̀la ʒaù *ex.* to wake up and get up ▸*ʒaù*, *-la* [B50408]

ʒaùlɛ̏̃ *ex.* to get up anyway (even if someone says not to get up) ▸*-lɛ̏̃* [B58685]

zɛ̀la ʒaù *ex.* to wake up and get up ▸*zɛ̏̃*, *-la* [B50408]

ʒáp *vt.* to winnow with up-down move-

ment [B38418]

katʃíp ʒáp *ex.* to winnow with up-down movement ▸*katʃíp* [B58995]

njén ʒáp *ex.* ▸*njén* [B59114]

ʒám *vt.* to kick [≠M *dəgɻin*] ▸*cf. vjɛ̀* [B20910]

alè ʒám *ex.* to kick ▸*alè* [B36319]

bɔl ʒám *ex.* to kick a ball ▸*bɔl* [B41848]

ʒamjà̀ *ex.* to keep the leg stretched ▸*-jà̀* [B43631]

ʒándʒáŋ ʒanjúŋ [RL] *n.* all trees and plants ▸*syn. sɛ̀bɛ̀* [B55462]

ʒà̀ *vt.* ① to put inside ② to be born ③ to arrange, prepare [≠M *moŋ*] ▸*cf. kʰuí?* ▸*ex.* (567), (632) [B33614]

apʰɛ́? ʒà̀ *ex.* to arrange some things, make some things ready ▸*apʰɛ́?* [B55518]

mənɛ̀ apɛ́ ʒà̀ *ex.* to make luggage ready, to fill the bags ▸*mənɛ̀*, *apʰɛ́?* [B55529]

njaù ʒà̀rika batsoì aràdʒi *ex.* a big bag to put rice inside ▸*njɛnù*, *batsoì*, *arà* [B58744]

ʒà̀² [RL] *vi.* to give birth, to heave offspring, to be born ▸*syn. mjù̀* [B55607]

ʒà̀tɛ́? [HL] *n.* woman ▸*cf. mərù* [B15770]

ʒɛ́? [HL] *vt.* to shoot (bow or gun) ▸*cf. mərí? rí?* [B52091]

akɪeí ʒɛ́? [HL] *ex.* to shoot an animal ▸*akɪeí* [B54452]

gəwɛ́nku ʒɛ́? [HL] *ex.* to shoot a bird ▸*gəwɛ́?* [B54456]

sadəwjà̀ku ʒɛ́? [HL] *ex.* to shoot a serow ▸*ʃadəwjáŋ* [B52249]

ʃagalà̀ku ʒɛ́? [HL] *ex.* to shoot a takin ▸*ʃagaláŋ* [B52254]

ʒɛ̀ *vt.* to carry ▸*cf. ʒì̀, fɪ̀?³, bəù* [B33554]

akɯ́ ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry on the head ▸*akɯ́* [B39203]

ʧɔ̀ ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to pay a fine (lit. to carry) ▸*ʧɔ̀* ▸*cf. ʧɔ̀ pjɯ̃́* [B43492]

patɨŋ ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to shrug shoulders ▸*patɨ́ŋ* [B42224]

batsu ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry taxes (taxes were paid in goods) ▸*patsù* [B42230]

mənɛ̀ aʃɛ́? ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry much luggage ▸*mənɛ̀*, *aʃɛ́?* [B58708]

mənɛ̀ ʒɛ̀ *ex.* to carry luggage (in baskets with a carry strap) ▸*mənɛ̀* [B39198]

məʒɛ̀ *n.* strap, carry belt [≠M *pʰii*] ▸*mə-* [B36694]

nɔ́mʒɛ̀ *vt.* to snatch and carry away ▸*nɔ́m* [B43962]

ʃì ʒɛ̀la ɯ̀ *ex.* to carry meat and go ▸*ʃì*, *ɯ̀* [B52278]

ʒí? (≠*ʃí?*) *vt.* to put something tightly together [B58552]

agɛ́? ʒí? *v.* to put the arm tight on something ▸*agɛ́?* [B58556]

alè ʒí? *v.* to put the legs crossed ▸*alè* ▸*cf. alè ím* [B58553]

ʒím *vt.* to put the fire together [B50048]

bɛ̀ ʒím *ex.* to put the fire together (in order to light it again) ▸*bɛ̀* [B50052]

ʒín (≠*ʃín*, *ʒì*) *vi.* to get shocked, to get scared [B33708]

ʒiʒi *n.* mole, wart? [B36926]

ʒiʒi ahjɛ̀ *n.* mole ▸*ahjɛ̀* [B36929]

ʒiʒi ahjɛ̀ pjú *ex.* a mole appears ▸*pjú* [B36939]

ʒì̃ (≠*ʒín*) *vt.* ① to hang s.t. ② to be hanging ▸*cf. ʒɛ̀* [B33551]

pâla ʒì̃ *ex.* to bind and hang something ▸*pâ* [B39627]

məpʰìn trâla ʒì̃ *ex.* ▸*məpʰìn*, *trâ* [B58873]

ʒì̃² *vi.* to move [B56144]

ʒɨ (≠*ʒə̀*) *vi.* to descend [B38057]

akəʒɨ ʒɨ *ex.* to descend ▸*akəʒɨ* ▸*syn. akəʒɨ ù̀* [B38060]

akəʒɨ ʒɨ vù *ex.* to descend ▸*akəʒɨ*, *vù* [B58755]

ʒiláŋ [RL] *n.* a ritual against evil ▸*cf. ʒɨʒín* [B55252]

ʒiláŋ lù [RL] *ex.* a bad spirit, demon ▸*lù* [B55256]

ʒiláŋ ʒiʒín *n.* a bad spririt ▸*ʒɨʒín* ▸*cf. ʒiláŋ ʒɨʒín* [B56417]

ʒɨʒín [RL] *n.* a ritual against evil ▸*cf. ʒiláŋ* [B55261]

ʒiláŋ ʒɨʒín *n.* a bad spririt ▸*ʒiláŋ* ▸*cf. ʒiláŋ ʒɨʒín* [B56417]

ʒɨʒín ʒjù [RL] *ex.* to make a ritual to expell the bad spirits ▸*ʒjù*² [B55269]

ʒə̀ (≠*ʒɨ*) *v.* to make a trap ▸*cf. bəʒɔ̃̀*, *məʒə̀* [B38048]

kʰjɛ̀m ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a kjɛm trap ▸*kjém* [B40341]

kjémpaí ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a kjɛmpai trap ▸*kjémpaí* [B40436]

goì gjáʔla ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*goì*, *gjáʔ* [B58992]

goì ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a koi trap ▸*goì* [B38052]

ʧɨ̃ʔ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a sling trap ▸*ʧɨ̃ʔ* [B40234]

máŋ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a stabbing trap ▸*máŋ* [B58756]

məʒə̀ *n.* trap (common) ▸*mə-* ▸*cf. məgɨ́ʔ*, *ʒə̀* [B40414]

rɔ̀ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a stone trap ▸*rɔ̀* ▸*cf. məvə́n núʔ* [B40032]

rjɛ̀ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a rjɛN trap ▸*rjɛ̀* [B44199]

məʒə̀ ʒə̀ *ex.* to make a trap ▸*məʒə̀* ▸*cf. məgɨ́ʔ bəʒɔ̃̀* [B44108]

ʒáp (≠*záp*, *ʒáp*) *n.* to make a fist [B41834]

agéʔ ʒáp *ex.* to make a fist ▸*agéʔ* ▸*ant. agéʔ ɬjaù* [B37378]

ʒɔ̃̀ *vt.* to dress up (beautifully with ornaments) ▸*syn. zù* [B35298]

ɛ́ʔ ʒɔ̃̀ *ex.* to put on a dress ▸*ɛ́ʔ* ▸*syn. ɛ́ʔ zù* [B36797]

ʒɔ̃̀ ʒɔ̃̀ *ex.* to dress up beautifully, to make style ▸*ʒɔ̃̀*² [B44388]

ʒɔ̃̀² *n.* dress [B55188]

ʒɔ̃̀ ʒɔ̃̀ *ex.* to dress up beautifully, to make style ▸*ʒɔ̃̀* [B44388]

ʒuɛ́ʔ *vt.* to hear ▸*cf. nɨ́ŋ* [B35832]

akuɨ́ baʒuɛ́ʔ *ex.* deaf ▸*akuɨ́* ▸*cf. akə́m badɛ̃̀* [B35828]

ʧɨ́nmɔ́ʔ ʒuɛ́ʔ *ex.* to hear the news ▸*ʧɨ́nmɔ́ʔ* [B39593]

ʒuɛ́ʔlɔ *v.* to be able to hear ▸*-lɔ* [B22733]

ʒuìʤi *adv.* exactly same [B58075]

ʒuǐ *vi.* to set (of sun) ▸*ant. tsú²* [B43523]
hamì ʒuǐ *ex.* the sun sets ▸*hamì* [B43519]
ʒuǐ² *vi.* become wrinkled [B56911]
aʃuǐ ʒuǐ *n.* wrinkle [≠M *kəmjaʔ azii*] ▸*aʃuǐ* [B53709]
ʒù [HL] *cop.* ① equational copula ② verbal derivative 'surely be' (COP) ▸*cf. báʔ* [B52304]
rakɨ́n ʒù *ex.* to stay behind ▸*rakɨ́ŋ* [B52324]
vɛ̀ príndə̀ ʒùsǎ *ex.* Is he really a Puroik? ▸*=sǎ* [B58785]
nùla ʒù [HL] *ex.* ① it is here ② stay here ▸*nùla* [B52309]
ʒù² (≠*ʒúʔ*) *v.* to breathe [B58386]
ʃúʔ ʒù *ex.* to breath ▸*ʃúʔ²* [B15584]
ʃúʔ ʒùrika məjaò *n.* wind pipe (*sci.* *Trachea*) ▸*-rika*, *məjaò* [B37286]
ʒúʔ (≠*ʒù²*, *ʃú*) *n.* soy bean (the species, which is fermented), needs dry soil (*sci.* *Glycine max*) [≠Monpa≠M *boo*] [B35870]
ʒúʔ rɨʃám *n.* fermented soybean ▸*rɨʃám* [B44184]
ʒún *vt.* to put inside [B40464]
alɨ́ŋ ʒún *ex.* to put inside ▸*alɨ́ŋ* [B44378]
ʃìbǎ ʒún *ex.* to put a stick inside another stick? ▸*ʃìbǎ* [B44383]
ʒuʒù [RL] *n.* rhinoceros [B58728]
ʧánʃo ʒuʒu [RL] *n.* rhinoceros (in Assam) (*sci.* *Rhinoceros unicornis*) ▸*ʧánʃo* [B55303]
ʒjɔ̀ [HL] *n.* meat ▸*cf. ʃi* [B52259]
ʒjɔ̀ amjɛ̀ [HL] *n.* animal child ▸*amjɛ̀²* [B54268]
ʒjɔ̀ mɛ́ʔ *ex.* to eat meat ▸*mɛ́ʔ* [B54263]
ʒjɔ̀ fíʔ [HL] *ex.* to carry meat ▸*fíʔ³* [B52268]
ʒjɔ̀ fíʔla bɛ̀ [HL] *ex.* to carry meat and go ▸*ǜ*, *fíʔ³* [B52273]
ʒjù *vi.* to melt [≠M *lii*] [B20661]
plastíʔ saòʒjù *ex.* ▸*saò* [B59194]
mómbati ʒjù *ex.* The candle melts. ▸*mómbati* [B59192]
sətsɛ̀ ʒjù *ex.* hoarfrost melts [≠M *dəlan lii*] ▸*sətsɛ̀²* [B59196]
sumuɛ̀ ʒjù *ex.* The butter melts. ▸*sumuɛ̀* [B59193]
hǎdzə̀ ʒjù *ex.* The snow melts. ▸*hǎdzə̀* [B59195]
ɬaì (≠*alɛ̀*) *vt.* to plant [≠M *ʒuo*] [B33350]
mamidʑɨ́ ɬaì *ex.* to plant potatoes [≠M *lasənjo ʒuo*] ▸*mamidʑɨ́* [B49875]
mɨ́ŋ ɬaì *ex.* to plant things ▸*mɨ́ŋ* [B59034]
məɬaì ɬaì *ex.* to plant seeds ▸*məɬaì* [B49731]
ɬaò *vt.* to cheat [B39866]
mɨ́ŋ ɬaò *ex.* to cheat ▸*mɨ́ŋ* [B44246]
ɬaòla lè *ex.* to take without paying ▸*-la*, *lè* [B44241]
ɬám *vt.* ① to change (clothes) ② to turn around a wood board [B44260]
ǎdəzu ɬám *ex.* to change clothes ▸*ǎdəzu* [B51313]
ɛ́ʔ zùɬám *ex.* to change the clothes ▸*ɛ́ʔ*, *zù* [B54595]
ɬám² *n.* to flower and have seeds for plants which flower irregularly after many years like bamboo ▸*syn. dətsén* [B43583]
matʃín ɬám *ex.* the bamboo dried up ▸*matʃín* [B43601]
matsu ɬám *n.* the bamboo flowered ▸*matsúʔ* [B43593]

nəgaù ɬám *ex.* the Nega plant flowers ▸*nəgaù* [B43611]

ɬasa *n.* Lhasa, Tibet [<] [B39784]

ɬasa məguà *n.* domesticated walnut, is easier to crack than the wild one ▸*məgò* [B50061]

ɬasa fəù *n.* stone salt from Tibet ▸*fəù* [B14997]

ɬǎ *vt.* to carry something on the shoulder [B33846]

patíŋ ɬǎ *ex.* to carry on the shoulder ▸*patíŋ* [B39252]

ɬéʔ *vi.* to sprout (of bamboo, mushrooms, maize) [B52705]

madù ɬéʔ *ex.* bamboo sprouts ▸*madù* [B59147]

matsúʔ ɬéʔ *ex.* ▸*matsúʔ* [B59146]

mabjaò ɬéʔ *ex.* the bamboo sprouts ▸*mabjaò* ▸*cf. míŋ pjú* [B52709]

míŋ ɬéʔ *ex.* mushrooms sprout ▸*míŋ*[4] [B53555]

məpʰìn ɬéʔ *ex.* The maize sprouts. ▸*məpʰìn* [B54608]

ɬíʔ (≠*ɬíŋ*) *vt.* to pour ▸*cf. kʰì* [B34940]

kɔtsíʔ ɬíʔ príʔ *ex.* to get burned by pouring hot water ▸*príʔ*[2] [B44023]

kʰɔ̀ ɬíʔ *ex.* to pour water ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B39369]

rjɛ̀líŋ ɬíʔ *ex.* to pour the starchy water inside the sago filter ▸*rjɛ̀* [B40980]

ɬíʔgɛ́ʔ *ex.* to extinguish by pouring water ▸*gɛ́ʔ* [B35712]

ɬíʔbù *ex.* to pour little bit more in order to make all glasses equally full ▸*bù*[3] [B58668]

ɬíʔréʔ *ex.* pour something for someone ▸*-réʔ* [B52899]

ɬíŋ (≠*ɬíʔ*) *vt.* to climb [B33713]

ʃ̀ìmɔ ɬíŋ *ex.* to climb a tree ▸*ʃ̀ì* [B39192]

ɬɔ̀ *vt.* to call ▸*cf. nyéʔ* [B35487]

príku ɬɔ̀ *ex.* to call someone ▸*=ku* [B53417]

tɛ́ vɛrìku ɬɔ̀ *ex.* to call the people overthere ▸*tɛ́*, *vɛrì*, *=ku*[2] [B59051]

ɬuéʔ *vi.* to look like, to seem [B40278]

atʃì ɬuéʔ *ex.* it looks cold (of a cup of tea) ▸*atʃì* [B57515]

prǐ́ ɬuéʔbáʔ *ex.* It looks like a human. ▸*prǐ́* [B51339]

prǐ́ɬuéʔ *ex.* (to be) like a human ▸*prǐ́* [B43514]

susù ɬuéʔbáʔ *ex.* It looks like a mithun. ▸*susù* [B51330]

hám atsɛ̀̃ ɬuéʔ *ex.* It looks like an old house. ▸*hám*, *atsɛ̀̃* [B49594]

hám ɬuéʔ *ex.* It looks like a house. ▸*hám* [B51334]

ɬuéʔ[2] *vt.* ① to split (cane, bamboo) with blade pointing toward the body ② to peel with blade pointing toward body [≠M *hjoʔ*] ▸*cf. sè*, *kʰuéʔ* [B41345]

mamidʒ̀ ɬuéʔ *ex.* to peel (uncooked) potatoes ▸*mamidʒ̀* [B51268]

maʃɛ̀̃ ɬuéʔ *ex.* to peel/split bamboo ▸*maʃɛ̀̃* [B44283]

məbǔ̀ ɬuéʔ *ex.* to peel a cucumber (by cutting toward body) ▸*məbǔ̀* [B51260]

rì ɬuéʔ *ex.* to split cane into thin

ropes [≠M *ʃuu hjoʔ*] ▸*rì*[3] [B41349]

ɬúʔ (≠*lǜzíʔ*) *vi.* ① to fall (from a height) ② to slip and fall [≠M *dətʃɨn*] ▸*cf. lán*, *dzɬʔ*[2], *kə́go* [B29047]

kələ̀tʃáŋ kəláŋ ɬúʔ *ex.* to fall upside down ▸*kələ̀tʃə̀* [B42863]

baɬúʔbo *ex.* Don't fall! ▸*-bo* [B53244]

sətsɛ̀ ɬúʔ *ex.* hoarfrost falls ▸*sətsɛ̀*[2] [B36727]

ɬúʔgɛ́ʔ *vi.* it fell down and disappeared ▸*gɛ́ʔ* [B43002]

ɬúʔdə̀ *ex.* to make something fall [≠M *dətʃɨngo*] ▸*-də̀* [B51552]

ɬúʔmáŋ *ex.* to fall to death [M *dətsəmmaŋ*] ▸*-máŋ* [B36857]

hamutrjɛ́ ɬúʔ *ex.* the thunder strikes ▸*hamutrjɛ́* [B36852]

hə̀dzə̀ ɬúʔ *ex.* snow falls ▸*hə̀dzə̀* [B49128]

kʰɛ̀pənéʔ ɬúʔ *ex.* something falls down ▸*kʰɛ̀pənéʔ* [B42807]

ɬyɨ̀ *vi.* to slip down [B58587]

ɬjaù *vt.* to open, to untie (bag, knot, slingtrap) ▸*cf. ʃjɛ̀* [B40569]

agéʔ ɬjaù *ex.* to open the hand ▸*agéʔ* ▸*ant. agéʔ zə́p* [B54686]

goì ɬjaù *ex.* to open the koi trap ▸*goì* [B43988]

batsoì ɬjaù *ex.* to open a bag (untie) ▸*batsoì* [B57576]

məʒɛ̀ ɬjaù *ex.* to open a rope ▸*məʒɛ̀* [B54625]

haù *vi.* to float on the water ▸*syn. dəʤén* [B42358]

kʰɔ̀ haò *ex.* the water flushes [≠M *vɨɨ ʤao*] ▸*kʰɔ̀* [B53850]

kǘtʃə̀ haù *ex.* to float ▸*kǘtʃə̀* [B42362]

kʰɔ̀ kǘtʃə̀ haùla rì *ex.* ▸*kʰɔ̀*, *kǘtʃə̀* [B59189]

hakə́m *n.* ① friend ② colleague ③ partner ▸*cf. aróʔ* [B28638]

hakə́m tsáʔ *ex.* to be friends ▸*tsáʔ* [B52822]

hadɛ̀ *adv.* later (today?) [B38125]

hadɛ̀dɔ̀ku *adv.* immediately ▸*-dɔ̀* [B57616]

hatʃɔ̀ *adv.* nowadays [B35367]

hadʒar *num.* thousand [<M *IA Hindi* हज़ार *hazār*] [B54950]

hadʒartʃi *num.* thousand [<IA=M *hazar*] [B34520]

hadʒar ḿm *num.* three thousand [<IA] ▸*ḿm* [B41661]

hadʒar níʔ *num.* two thousand [<IA] ▸*níʔ* [B41657]

hadʒar vì *num.* four thousand [<IA] ▸*vì* [B41665]

hápta *n.* week ▸*syn. hə̃́pǘ meljɛ̀* [B55736]

hám *n.* ① house ② roof [≠M *nam*] ▸*cf. hə̃́pɛí*, *ahám*, *zín* [B33518]

tǘtʃi hám *n.* stone house of the Monpas ▸*tǘtʃi*[2] [B56035]

tʃìhám *n.* sheath ▸*tʃi*[2] [B38475]

tʃɔ̀hám *n.* store house [B57892]

ʤámdʒúʔhám *n.* ant hill ▸*ʤámdʒúʔ* [B39316]

nətáŋ hám *n.* place in the house for rituals ▸*nətáŋ* [B58761]

sə̀hám *n.* sago fibre roof ▸*sə̀* [B41016]

ʃúhám *n.* hut at the sago place ▸*ʃú* [B42798]

hámku dzíʔ *ex.* to sit on a house (of a bird) ▸*dzɬʔ* [B59058]

hámdə̀ŋ *n.* center post of house ▸*də́ŋ* [B38507]

hámtʃapíŋ *n.* ridge of roof ▸*tʃapìŋ* [B42376]

hámtʃazɔ̀ *n.* leafs for tatching ▸*tʃazɔ̀* [B38549]

hámʤé? (*var. hə̀ʤé?*) *n.* ▸*aʤé?* ▸*cf. hə̀wù*, *hə̀tʃə̀* ▸*ant. hə̀gə̀*, *hám alíŋ* [B58914]

hám atsɛ̀̃ *ex.* an old house ▸*atsɛ̃̀* [B58686]

hám atsɛ̀̃ ɬué? *ex.* It looks like an old house. ▸*atsɛ̀̃*, *ɬué?* [B49594]

hám atsɔ̀̃ *ex.* in the center of the house ▸*atsɔ̃̀* [B41985]

hám aʤím *ex.* a small house (narrow inside) ▸*aʤím* ▸*ant. hám aʃjɛ̀* [B59160]

hám apjə́ arà *ex.* a long and big house ▸*arà*, *apʰjə̀* [B51692]

hám amjɛ̀ *ex.* a good house ▸*amjɛ̀* [B51697]

hám amjɛ̀ tsá? *ex.* to make the house good ▸*amjɛ̀*, *tsá?* [B49401]

hám arà *n.* a big house (outside) ▸*arà* ▸*cf. hám aʃjɛ̀* ▸*ant. hám azì* [B51658]

hám alaò *ex.* bad weather ▸*alaò* ▸*ant. hám sə̀* [B50118]

hám alíŋ *n.* inside the house ▸*alíŋ* ▸*cf. hə̀lɔ̃̀* ▸*ant. hámʤé?* [B58911]

hám azì *ex.* a small house ▸*azì* ▸*ant. hám arà* [B51676]

hám aʃjɛ̀ *n.* a spacious house, with a lot of space to sit ▸*aʃjɛ̀* ▸*cf. hám arà* ▸*ant. hám aʤím* [B51653]

hám aʃjɛ̀ bá? *ex.* the house is very spacious ▸*bá?*, *aʃjɛ̀* [B51648]

hám kuí? *ex.* to move in (a new constructed house) ▸*kʰuí?* [B53501]

hám tʰɛ́? *ex.* to support, stabilise a house (so that it won't shake) ▸*tʰɛ́?*[2] [B53985]

hám dəbɪáŋ *ex.* support the house with posts ▸*dəbɪáŋ* [B59121]

hám dəbɪáŋ[2] *n.* supporting post ▸*dəbɪáŋ*[2] [B38558]

hám tsá? *ex.* to build a house ▸*tsá?* [B49396]

hám pətʰù *ex.* to fix the house ▸*pətʰù* [B43956]

hám pɔ́ *ex.* to cover the roof ▸*pɔ́* [B41034]

hám bí? *ex.* to broom the house ▸*bí?* [B43783]

hám rín *ex.* to support a house ▸*rín* [B53994]

hám wuɛ̀̃ *ex.* ① to close the door ② to close the wall of a house ▸*wuɛ̃̀* [B39032]

hám sə̀̃ *ex.* ① the sky clears up (i.e. clouds and fog disappear) ② it gets light (in the morning) ▸*sə̃̀*[2] ▸*ant. hám alaò* [B50127]

hám sjɛ̀ *ex.* to open the door ▸*sjɛ̀*[2] [B39147]

hám ʃjé? *ex.* to deconstruct a house ▸*ʃjé?* [B54620]

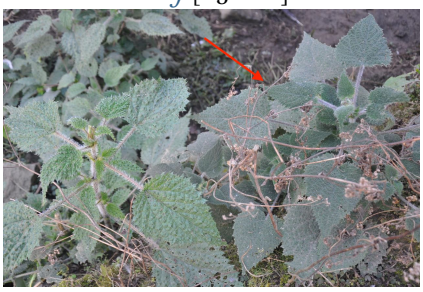
hám ɬué? *ex.* It looks like a house. ▸*ɬué?* [B51334]

hám hɔ̃́? *ex.* to make the house shake, vibrate ▸*hɔ̃́?* [B58532]

hằgǔ *n.* backside of house (opposite entrance) ▸*gǔ²* ▸*cf. hằwù*, *hằtʃằ* ▸*ant. hámdzé?* [B38516]

hằtʰề *n.* place for a house [B35290]

hằtʰề məkíŋ *n.* stinging nettle species, grows near houses, not edible ▸*məkíŋ* [B50262]



hằtʃằ (*var. hámtʃáŋ*) *n.* ① mountain side of the house (all houses in Bulu have the mountain on the left side when looking from the entrance) ② on top of the house ▸*atʃằ* ▸*cf. hằgǔ*, *hámdzé?* ▸*ant. hằwù* [B33662]

hằtʃằɬề *ex.* on the mountain side of the house ▸*-ɬề* [B58749]

hằpɔ́ (≠*hằbɔ*) *n.* ① not elevated shelter or fieldhut ② roof ▸*cf. brằ* [B22323]

riɬáŋ hámpɔ́ *n.* fieldhut [B41006]

hámpɔ́ pɔ́ *ex.* to make the roof of a shelter ▸*pɔ́* [B53432]

hằrjề *n.* familiy [B36625]

hằlíŋ *n.* inside the house ▸*alíŋ* [B58912]

hằwuì *n.* ① door ② bamboo wall of a house [B15366]

hằwuì tsámpí? *n.* bamboo wall ▸*tsámpí?* [B58745]

hằwuì sjè *ex.* to open the door ▸*sjè²* [B39142]

hằwù *n.* ① valley side of the house (all houses in Bulu have the mountain on the right side when looking from the entrance) ② under the house ▸*awù* ▸*cf. dà.ǔ*, *hámdzé?*, *hằgǔ* ▸*ant. hằtʃằ* [B33657]

hằwùɬề *ex.* on the valley side of the house ▸*-ɬề* [B58748]

hámpʰɛ́?dɔ̀ vùna *ex.* to go until reaching the house ▸*pʰɛ́?dɔ̀* [B59132]

hám apjấ *ex.* a long house [=M *nam pjaŋ*] ▸*apjấ* [B51687]

hám asjè *ex.* a spacious house ▸*asjè* [B59161]

hám² *n.* ① weather, earth ② dummy-subject for some weather verbs [B50123]

hám krjấ *ex.* the sky is clear (in the night) ▸*krjấ* [B52988]

hám dù *ex.* the earth shakes, there is an earthquake ▸*dù* [B53050]

hámdù bá?ro *ex.* There is an earthquake! ▸*bá?* [B53054]

hám naì *ex.* it is storming, a thunderstorm is going on ▸*naì* [B40859]

hám³ *vi.* to burn ▸*cf. rì²* [B33522]

bè hám *ex.* the fire is burning ▸*bè* [B36587]

hamì *n.* sun ▸*cf. plám* [B28972]

hamìtsù *v.* sun rise, east ▸*tsú²* [B56887]

hamìtsù akíŋ *n.* east ▸*akíŋ*, *tsú²* [B56892]

hamì atű bá? *ex.* The days are short. ▸*atű* [B52677]

hamì krɛ́ *ex.* the sun is going down (between noon and sunset) ▸*krɛ́* [B50300]

hamì tsú *ex.* the sun rises ▸*tsú²*

[B40065]

hamì ʒuǐ *ex.* the sun sets ▸*ʒuǐ* [B43519]

hamì pjǻ́ bá? *ex.* The days are long. ▸*apjǻ́* [B52672]

hamɨ́ŋ *n.* sky [B20630]

apá hamɨ́ŋ məʒǻ̀ [RL] *n.* father sky, the very first god, and forefather of everything ▸*apá* ▸*cf. amà məhjɛ̃̀ məʒǻ̀*, *hamɨ́ŋ ʧiʧumɔ* [B55346]

amà məhjɛ̃̀ məʒǻ̀ *n.* mother earth, the very first god ▸*cf. apá hamɨ́ŋ məʒǻ̀* ▸*syn. məhjɛ̃̀ atʰǔ̀*, *məhjɛ̃̀ nenumɔ* [B55350]

hamɨ́ŋ atʰǔ̀ *n.* lord of the sky, male deity grandfather of all animals and humans ▸*atʰǔ̀* [B55425]

hamɨ́ŋ ʧiʧumɔ [RL] *n.* other name for father sky ▸*cf. apá hamɨ́ŋ məʒǻ̀* [B55492]

hamɨ́ŋ mɨ́ŋ *ex.* it is thundering ▸*mɨ́ŋ*³ [B36843]

hamɨ́ŋlɨ́ŋ *ex.* in the sky ▸*alɨ́ŋ* [B50272]

hamɨ́ŋlɨ́ŋ sətə́ bá? *ex.* There are clouds in the sky. ▸*sətɨ́*, *bá?* [B58922]

hamɨ́ŋlɨ́ŋ hə̌waí? bá? *ex.* In the sky there are stars. ▸*hə̌waí?*, *bá?* [B58923]

hamɨ́ŋlɨ́ŋ krɛ́ *ex.* to circle in the sky (of birds) ▸*krɛ́* [B58479]

hamutrjɛ́́ *n.* thunder ▸*cf. hə̀bljá?* [B20629]

hamutrjɛ́́ ɬú? *ex.* the thunder strikes ▸*ɬú?* [B36852]

hámtʃáŋ (*var.* of *hə̀tʃə̀*) *n.* upper side of house [B58917]

hámtsɨ́ŋ *n.* rain mixed with snow [B40863]

hanì *n.* today [B20631]

nà hanì hè tsá?də́m *ex.* What did you do today the whole day? ▸*tsá?*, *-də́m* [B51848]

hawuǐ *n.* bamboo wall of house ▸*cf. ʧámpʰí?* [B49248]

hawuǐ pə́ka matʃǐn *ex.* the bamboo to make the wall of the house ▸*pá*, *matʃǐn* [B49252]

hə̀ *n.* today [B39788]

hə̀tʃɛ̀ *n.* tonight ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B38387]

hə̀tʃɔ̀ *n.* nowaday's [B55805]

hə̀tʃɔ̀ adzɛ̀² *ex.* nowadays children ▸*adzɛ̀* [B58687]

hə̀tʃɔ̀ gormə́n *ex.* nowadays government ▸*gormə́n* [B58688]

hə̀tʃɔ̀ adzɛ̃̀ *ex.* nowaday's kids ▸*adzɛ̃̀* [B54726]

hə̀pɛ́ *n.* this morning ▸*apɛ́* [B54721]

hə̀ atʃɛ̀ *n.* tonight ▸*atʃɛ̀* [B58696]

hə̀ arjɛ̀ *ex.* today evening ▸*arjɛ́* [B42236]

hə̀ nadɛ̀ *adv.* ① little bit in the back ② little bit later ▸*nadɛ̀* ▸*ant. tɛ́ nadɛ̀* [B33808]

hə̀² *vt.* to open the mouth [B37401]

asə́m hə̀ *ex.* to open the mouth ▸*asə́m* [B37398]

hə̀³ *intj.* yes ▸*ant. bɔ̀* [B51794]

hə̀⁴ *n.* sky (mostly in composition) [B58432]

hə̀sə̀ *n.* dawn (in the morning) ▸*sə̀²* ▸*syn. asə̃́pɛ́* [B39565]

dɔ̃̀pɛ́ hə̀sə̀ basə̀ *ex.* this morning before dawn ▸*dɔ̃̀*, *apɛ́*, *sə̀²* [B58961]

hə̀sə̀pǔ *n.* very early morning before dawn, when the chicken start to wake up, around 4AM [≠M *taraŋ*] ▸*syn. tarə̀ pʰidigjáŋ*

[B43107]

hằsɑ̃mɔ *n.* morning star ▸*-mɔ̀* ▸*cf. ʧəgɻúŋ rəgúŋ* ▸*syn. tarằ pʰidigjáŋ* [B55412]

hằsằ basằ *ex.* (early in the morning) before dawn [B39857]

hằdzé? (*var.* of *hámdzé?*) *n.* entrance side of the house [B58915]

hằdzɨ *n.* edible mushroom species [B58417]

hằdzɨ míŋ *n.* edible mushroom ▸*míŋ*[4] [B20512]

hằdzə̀ *n.* snow ▸*cf. tesalén* [B20632]

hằdzə̀ ʒjù *ex.* The snow melts. ▸*ʒjù* [B59195]

hằdzə̀ ɬú? *ex.* snow falls ▸*ɬú?* [B49128]

hằpɛ́ *n.* wall of house ▸*cf. hám, ʧám-pʰí?, tsámpí?* [B22319]

hằpṹ *n.* ① full day ② night, evening [B40721]

hằpũ-na-ro *ex.* It will be night soon. [B54970]

hằpṹʧi *ex.* one day ▸*-ʧi* [B42050]

hằpṹ ɨ́m ù̀batʃa *ex.* three days ago ▸*ù̀, -batʃa* [B51600]

hằpṹ meljè *n.* seven days, one week ▸*məljè* ▸*syn. hápta* [B20633]

hằpṹ ḿm *ex.* three nights ▸*ḿm* [B42066]

hằpṹ kəsatʃi *ex.* how many days? ▸*kəsátʃi* [B42056]

hằpṹ məljè prúʃɔ̃̀ *ex.* seven days ago ▸*məljè, prúʃɔ̃̀* [B51595]

hằpʰì *n.* rain ▸*cf. dzằdzɨ́n* [B20628]

hằpʰì karuì *n.* swift, flies around before rain ▸*karuì* [B34005]

hằpʰì tsɨ́ŋ *ex.* rain mixed with snow is falling ▸*tsɨ́ŋ* [B44425]

hằpʰì pʰì *ex.* it rains ▸*pʰì*[2] ▸*cf. dzằdzɨ́n dzí?* [B38640]

hằpʰì pʰìmatʃi nafra vùna *ex.* Even if it rains, I will go to Nafra. ▸*=matʃi, vù* [B58934]

hằpʰì pʰìribaro *ex.* It is raining. ▸*pʰì*[2], *-riba* [B54731]

hằbɔ (*var. hằbu*) (≠*hằpɔ́*) *n.* moon [≠M *luu*] ▸*cf. plámmɻò* [B15419]

hằbɔ gəlaí? *ex.* the moon phase is waning [≠M *luu gəlai?*] ▸*gəlaí?* ▸*syn. hằbɔ aì* [B41740]

hằbɔ díŋ *ex.* ① full moon ② the moon is full ▸*díŋ*[2] [B41730]

hằbɔ sɛ̀ *ex.* the moon phase is waxing ▸*sɛ̀* ▸*ant. hằbɔ aì* [B41725]

hằbu gəlaí? *ex.* the moon phase is waning [=M *luu gəlai?*] ▸*gəlaí?* [B57331]

disémbər hằbɔ pʰɛ́?dɔ̃̀ rɨ̀na *ex.* to stay until December ▸*pʰɛ́?dɔ̃̀* [B59134]

hằbɔ aì *n.* decrescent half moon (after full moon) ▸*a.ì* ▸*syn. hằbɔ gəlaí?* ▸*ant. hằbɔ sɛ̀* [B41716]

hằbu (*var.* of *hằbɔ*) *n.* moon [≠M *luu*] [B55101]

hằbljá? *n.* lightning ▸*cf. hamutrjɛ̃́* [B20627]

hằla *adv.* again, many times [B58697]

hằla hãla *adv.* again and again, many times ▸*cf. kəʤɨdəmó?* [B58698]

hằla hãla kɨ́ *ex.* to beat someone many times, to beat again and

again ▸*kí* ▸*cf. kəʤìdəmó? ʃé?* [B58699]

hə̀lə̀ *n.* the inside of the house ▸*cf. hám alíŋ* ▸*ant. kabjə̀* [B50795]

hə̀lə̀ alíŋ *ex.* inside the house ▸*alíŋ* [B50799]

hə̀lə̀ vù *ex.* to go inside the house ▸*vù* [B53496]

hə̀waí? *n.* star ▸*cf. plə́mmjɛ̀* [B15414]

plə́mmɹò [HL] *n.* star, (or moon?) ▸*cf. hə̀bɔ* [B15048]

hə̀waí? atʰṳ̀ *n.* master of the stars, way to refer to the morning star and the evening star. ▸*atʰṳ̀* ▸*cf. tarə̀ pʰidigjáŋ, gaʤo galɛgjóŋ* [B55403]

hə̀waí? rí? *ex.* a shooting star falls, litterally 'a star is shooting'. It is said that animals hit by a shooting star get a lump in the stomach filled with insects. Humans will also get very sick. ▸*rí?* [B55417]

hamíŋlíŋ hə̀waí? bá? *ex.* In the sky there are stars. ▸*hamíŋlíŋ, bá?* [B58923]

hə̀ʃín *n.* wind ▸*cf. fì*[2] [B20617]

hə̀ʃín ʃín *ex.* the wind blows ▸*ʃín* ▸*cf. fì lì* [B38645]

hɛ̀ *prn.* what [B14549]

vɛ̀ zumuɛ̀ hɛ̀ *ex.* From which clan is he? ▸*zumuɛ̀* [B58818]

hɛ̀tʃɪ *prn.* anything ▸*=tʃi* [B43266]

hɛ̀matʃɪ *prn.* something ▸*=matʃi* [B38793]

hɛ̀matʃɪ tʃíŋ *ex.* to do something ▸*=matʃi, tʃíŋ* [B38866]

hɛ̀na *adv.* now ▸*=na* ▸*syn. ʤìdə̀, hɛ̌də̀* [B39806]

hɛ̀ja *prn.* something [B59016]

gù hɛ̀ja námlɔba *ex.* I smell something. ▸*nám, -lɔ* [B59017]

hɛ̀ ṳ̀ *ex.* What happened? ▸*ṳ̀* [B53398]

hɛ̀ tʃuáʔṳ̀ *ex.* What happened? ▸*ṳ̀, tʃɔ́?* [B50855]

hɛ̀ tsáʔ *ex.* why ▸*tsáʔ* [B39834]

hɛ̀ tsáʔbáʔ *ex.* What happened? ▸*tsáʔ* [B53393]

hɛ̀ batʃí *ex.* don't need anything ▸*tʃí* [B43261]

hɛ̀ hɛ̀ *ex.* this and that, non-sense [B52220]

hɛ̀ hɛ̀ bafaìbo [HL] *ex.* Don't make non-sense noise! ▸*faì* [B52225]

hɛmɛ *intj.* filler like English "ehm, well..., look..." (FILL) ▸*cf. è* [B38932]

hɛna *adv.* now [B56352]

hɛ̃̀ *n.* people (used as plural word) ▸*cf. -hɛ̃̀* [B55080]

hí? (≠*hḭ́?, hḭ̀, hí?*[2]) *vt.* ① to think ② to wish ③ to feel [B15253]

alíŋ amjɛ̀ hí? *ex.* to be in a good mood ▸*alíŋ* [B39664]

alíŋ hí? *ex.* to think inside ▸*alíŋ* [B39237]

gù məluɛ̃̀ batʃìhí? *ex.* I don't feel like eating. ▸*məluɛ̃̀* [B59015]

gù vɛ̀ku amjɛ̀ bahí? *ex.* I don't think well about him. ▸*=ku*[2] [B58831]

dəhù hí? *ex.* m to feel sad ▸*dəhù* [B58631]

plə́m hí? [HL] *ex.* to feel sleepy ▸*plə́m*[2] [B54495]

bahḭ̀lɔ *ex.* not remember ▸*-lɔ* [B15258]

bìwɛ̀ hí? *ex.* to feel shy ▸*bìwɛ̀* [B44038]

muɛ́?hí? *ex.* to feel pukish ▸*muɛ́?*

[B59007]

nǐhíʔ *vt.* to fear ▸*nǐ́* [B53571]

nǐhíʔlaò *vi.* to fear, be afraid ▸*nǐ́* ▸*ant. híʔprím* [B20648]

rə́mhíʔ *vi.* to feel sleepy ▸*rə́m* ▸*cf. rə́mbín* [B50137]

híʔlɔ *v.* to remember ▸*-lɔ* [B58588]

hɨ̀bjáŋ *ex.* nervous ▸*bjáŋ* ▸*cf. aizín* [B36620]

hɨ̀lɔ *vt.* ① to remember ② to miss ▸*-lɔ* [B33166]

lɨ̰̀síʔ híʔ *ex.* to feel happy ▸*lɨ̰̀séʔ* [B41442]

híʔ[2] (≠*híʔ*) *vt.* to wash the face ▸*cf. ʧɨ* [B33219]

akə́m híʔ *ex.* to wash the face ▸*akə́m* [B39232]

híʔprím *vt.* to scare (someone), to frighten ▸*ant. nǐhíʔlaò* [B33501]

bjatúku híʔprím *ex.* ▸*bjatú* [B58383]

hisáp *n.* calculation [< Hindi हिसाब hisāb] [B56051]

ʤidɔ̃̀ hisáp ʦáʔ *ex.* to do pretend as if [B57658]

hɨ̀ (≠*hɨ̀*[2], *híŋ*, *híʔ*) *vt.* to tell, to speak [≠M *ʧoʔ*] [B22333]

abəʤáʔ hɨ̀ *ex.* to speak fast ▸*abəʤáʔ* [B42406]

ajɜ̀̃ hɨ̀ *ex.* to speak fast ▸*ajɜ̀̃* [B42396]

awulɛ̀ hɨ̀ *ex.* to say wrongly, incorrectly ▸*awulɛ̀* [B42595]

awulɛ̀ hɨ̀ʧíʔ *ex.* to say wrongly ▸*awulɛ̀* ▸*cf. awulɛ̀ ʦáʔʧíʔ* [B42610]

asú hɨ̀ *ex.* to say the truth ▸*asú* [B38038]

azɛ́ʔ sə́m hɨ̀ *ex.* to say dirty words ▸*sə́m* [B42621]

ʤuɛ̰̀ hɨ̀ *ex.* to speak slowly ▸*ʤuɛ̰̀* [B42401]

míŋ bahɨ̀rjaò *ex.* he is not able to speak ▸*míŋ*, *rjaò* ▸*cf. míŋ* [B39468]

míŋ hɨ̀ *ex.* to talk ▸*míŋ* [B38878]

məɬì hɨ̀ *ex.* to lie [≠M *lawoʔ ʧoʔ*] ▸*məɬì* [B44098]

lím hɨ̀ *ex.* ① to tell the way ② to make the last ritual for a person who died a natural dead (sickness), tell the soul which way to go to heaven (Tungri, Thembang, Dirang, Sela Pass, from there the souls go to heaven alone) ▸*lím* ▸*ant. ʤonúŋ balì ʦáʔ* [B44215]

lím hɨ̀la pjɯ̃́ *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*pjɯ̃́* [B44226]

zɛ̀hɨ̀rì *ex.* to tell something funny ▸*zɛ̀* [B43093]

hɨ̀tán (≠*tʰɜ̀̃*) *ex.* to teach, to show (orally) [≠M *pjutan*] ▸*-tán* ▸*cf. gíʔtán* [B33480]

hɨ̀tánkəpáŋ *ex.* to learn ▸*-rikəpáŋ* [B33485]

hɨ̀dəgaì *ex.* to tell again and again [M *ʧodəgai*] ▸*-dəgaì* [B58022]

hɨ̀lɜ̀̃ *ex.* to be used to say ▸*-lɜ̀̃* [B38080]

prɨ́̃dàsə́m hɨ̀ *ex.* to speak Puroik ▸*prɨ́̃dàsə́m* [B58787]

míŋpalɔ hɨ̀ *ex.* to tell a story ▸*míŋpalɔ̀* [B44131]

məbánsə́m hɨ̀ *ex.* to speak Miji language [≠M *dəmailao ʧoʔ*] ▸*məbán sə́m* [B58788]

hɨ̀[2] (≠*hɨ̀*) *vt.* to blow (the nose) [B37057]

ʦɛ̀ hɨ̀ *ex.* to blow the nose ▸*ʦɛ̀* [B37061]

hɨ̀[3] *n.* semantically bleached noun ▸*cf. hɨ̀ʧɛ́ʔ* [B59223]

hɨ́ʔ (≠*híʔ*) *vt.* to break (a stick) [B38251]

hí?ɬé? *ex.* be broken (a stick) ▸*-ɬé?* [B38247]
ʃì hí?ɬé? *ex.* to break a ▸*ʃì* [B58385]
hɨ̀gjaɬé? *ex.* to break (a stick) ▸*-ɬé?* [B39124]
hɨ́?² *vt.* to braid [B49271]
hɨ́?la pə́ *ex.* to braid ▸*pə́* [B49267]
hɨ̀tʃé? *vi.* to be hungry ▸*cf. vòvín*, *hɨ̀³*, *tʃé?³* [B52835]
nà hɨ̀tʃé?bahi *ex.* Are you hungry? [B54741]
nà hɨ̀ batʃé?jà̀ *ex.* Don't you feel hungry? [B54736]
hɨ̀ batʃé? *ex.* not to be hungry [B52839]
nà hɨ̀tʃé?-banatʃa *ex.* You must be hungry. ▸*-banatʃa* [B54746]
hɨ̀buɛ̀ (*var.* of *ʃìbuɛ̀*) *n.* flower [B37222]
híŋ (≠*hɨ̀*) *vt.* to sting (of stinging nettle or insect) ▸*cf. ʤjù* [B50170]
tsəmuì híŋ *ex.* The tree bee stings. ▸*tsəmuí* [B59083]
tsəwoì híŋ *ex.* ▸*tsəwoì* [B59084]
məkíŋ híŋ *ex.* the stinging nettle stings ▸*məkíŋ* [B50174]
hín *v.* make the sound of bubbles [B58514]
hín hín dín dín *v.* bubble bubble ▸*dín* [B58516]
hɨ̀ *prn.* demonstrative for things near the speaker (NEAR) [B28820]
hɨ̀gá? *ex.* this side, here ▸*-gá?* [B40674]
hɨ̀dɔ̀ (≠*hɨ̀dɔ̃̀*) *adv.* like this ▸*dɔ̀* ▸*syn. ʤidɔ* [B38356]
hɨ̀dɔ̃̀ (≠*hɨ̀dɔ̀*) *adv.* now ▸*dɔ̃̀²* ▸*syn. ʤìdɔ̃̀*, *hèna* [B33785]
hɨ̀ʤi *adv.* ① here ② this one ▸*ʤi* ▸*ant. téʤi* [B36867]
hɨ̀la *ex.* here ▸*-la²* [B57208]
hɨ̀vɛ̀ *prn.* this one here ▸*vɛ̀* [B38563]
hɨ̀sá *adv.* like this ▸*sá* [B51112]
híŋsá? barì *ex.* [We] don't say like this. ▸*rì* [B51117]
hɨ̀sáku conjunction therefore ▸*sá* [B38927]
hɨ̀ʤì *quant.* all of them [B58612]
híŋɛ *intj.* (Q) [B56301]
hənù *adv.* here [B22328]
hɔ̀ (≠*hɔ́?*, *hɔ́?*) *vt.* ① to peel (a tree) ② to skin, to flay an animal [B42205]
akú? hɔ̀ *ex.* to peel the skin ▸*akú?* [B44072]
səkú? hɔ̀ *ex.* to skin an animal ▸*ʃəkú?* [B53920]
ʃì akú? hɔ̀ *ex.* to skin, flay (remove the skin of an animal) ▸*akú?* [B44077]
ʃì akú? hɔ̀ *ex.* to peel the bark of a tree ▸*akú?* [B42202]
hɔ́? (≠*hɔ́?*, *hɔ̀*, *hó?²*) *vt.* to serve something on a plate with a serving spoon, to pour something which is not completetly liquid (like rice or boiled sago) [B52904]
ʧarɛ̀ hɔ́? *ex.* to serve sago dough ▸*ʧarɛ̀* [B59081]
mɛ̀ hɔ́? *ex.* to serve vegetables ▸*mɛ̀* [B58951]
hɔ́?bù *ex.* to serve little bit more in order to make the shares equal ▸*bù³* [B58671]
hɔ́?ré? *ex.* to serve someone rice or sago ▸*-ré?* [B52908]
hɔ́? (≠*hɔ̀*, *hɔ́?*) *vt.* to make something shake, vibrate ▸*cf. dù*, *ʃù* [B58531]
hám hɔ́? *ex.* to make the house shake, vibrate ▸*hám* [B58532]
hó? *vt.* to move [B53487]
agé? hó? *ex.* to move the hand ▸*agé?* [B53492]

hó² (≠*hɔ́?*) *v.* ① to make something stick ② to stick [B59076]
hó?gǎ *ex.* to be stuck with the clothes on a branch or thorns ▸*gǎ* [B51363]
hó?la lì *ex.* to hang a hatchet or peck by putting the blade over a branch [B59077]
hóp *n.* tea kettle ▸*syn. ketəli* [B41067]

hǒ *n.* hole? [B46786]
huì *vi.* to bleed ▸*cf. ahuì* [B36375]
huì huì *ex.* it is bleeding ▸*ahuì* ▸*syn. huì nyɛ̀* [B36380]
huì² *vt.* to make the last ritual [B40373]
míŋ huì *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*míŋ* [B44445]
míŋ huì míŋ rù *ex.* to make the last ritual ▸*rù* [B44459]
huí? *vt.* to scratch something out with claws or nails (tiger, cat, dog) ▸*cf. bjú?* ▸*ant. huǐ²* [B22338]
asì huí? *ex.* The bear scratches (with the claws). ▸*asì* [B59082]
huǐ *vt.* ① to peel an orange/potato by hand (not with the knife) ② to take off a dress [≠M *li?*] [B51288]
ɛ́? huǐ *ex.* to take off a dress ▸*ɛ́?* [B53375]
pədzɛ̌ akú? huǐ *ex.* to peel an orange ▸*pədzɛ̌* [B51301]
pədzɛ̌ huǐ *ex.* to peel an orange [≠M *pədzɨn li?*] ▸*pədzɛ̌* [B51308]
huǐ² *v.* to tumble and fall (not to fall from a height) ▸*syn. krɛ́* ▸*ant. huí?* [B35156]
ʧaò tí?la huǐ *ex.* to cut a sago palm and make it fall ▸*tí?* [B53909]
hm *intj.* yes [B57124]
hjaò *vt.* to dig the soil (of pigs) [B43701]
apʰǔ hjaò *ex.* to dig the soil with the nose (of pigs) ▸*apʰǔ* [B43705]
hjá? *vi.* to be hot [B58395]
ahjá? (*var. asjá?*) *adj.* ① hot, burning (tea, food) ② paining of too much work ▸*a-* ▸*cf. gəlúŋ* ▸*ant. atʃì* [B44294]
hjǎ *quant.* all ▸*syn. ʤɔ̀* [B52918]
hjǎtʃi *adv.* once ▸*-tʃi* [B51928]
hjǎtʃi tsə *ex.* to cough once ▸*tsə* [B51932]
hjǎhjǎ *adv.* sometimes [B57065]
hjǎhjǎtʃi *adv.* ▸*-tʃi* [B57069]
hjáŋ *vt.* to show [B39948]
poto hjáŋ *ex.* to show a photo ▸*poto* [B44474]
hjáŋla rɨ *ex.* to show something ▸*-la*, *rɨ* [B54650]
hjúŋ *n.* buckwheat [M *ri?*] [B40887]
hjǔwaí *n.* buckwheat ▸*awaí* [B52667]
hɹǐ (≠*hɹǘ?*) *n.* Oriental Skylark (*sci. Alauda gulgula*) [=M] [B34074]
hɹǘ? (≠*hɹǐ*) *vi.* to burn with a high flame [B58573]
ŋuì *n.* silver (exceptional velar nasal onset) [<Tshangla≠M *dəmɛn*] ▸*syn. dəmén* [B43660]
ʃʃénŋuì *n.* gold and silver ▸*ʃʃén* ▸*syn. ʃʃén dəmén* [B43656]

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