ON THE PLACE OF LEPCHA IN SINO-TIBETAN
A LEXICAL COMPARISON[1]

Nicholas C. Bodman
Cornell University

This is very much a data-oriented study. After a brief outline of Lepcha [Lep.] phonology and a discussion of influences from other languages, I place Lepcha firmly as a member of Tibeto-Burman, despite lexical resemblances from such a distantly related language as Chinese or by borrowing from Austroasiatic languages (like Khasi). Most of the Tibeto-Burman languages most similar in lexicon to Lepcha (like Adi) lie somewhat to the east. The exception is Tibetan itself which stretches east and west to the north. There are different levels of relationship here -- some cognates with Tibetan belong to a rather recent body of borrowings; many of course may be older borrowings, and a rather large number belong to the common Tibeto-Burman stage. Such relationships are often manifested as doublets. Examples are **nyi** and **nyăt** 'two': both forms are to be related to Written Tibetan **gnyis**, one as a relatively recent borrowing, and the other at the cognate level. The Lepcha forms cited here are in the orthography of the Mainwaring-Grünwedel Dictionary. (In the comparative tables following I cite first the 'dictionary' spellings and below these I give my phonological representation.)

Lepcha **nyăt** 'two' represents Tibetan (and Tibeto-Burman) **-s** as **-t**. The same correspondence can be seen in Tib. **bkres-pa** 'hunger, hungry' and Lep. **krit** id. and in Tib. **zas** 'food (for man or beast)' and Lep. **zót** 'food, fodder'. Lep **-t** in these examples (and others) is to be traced back to PTB ***-s**. (See Morphological Table 2 [below] where Lep. **-t** is a suffix alternating with vocalic finals in word families). There are less obvious cases where Lep. **-t** may go back to TB ***-t**. In the following we have to do with borrowings from Tibetan: Lep. **dút-muṅ** from Tib. **bdud** 'demon, evil spirit' and Lep. **dot** from Tib. **dod** 'equivalent, indemnity'.

Lepcha is especially rich in initial consonant clusters. Here (as elsewhere) I write **ng** rather than **n** when not using Dictionary spellings. I do not represent the weak glottal onset before vowels, but since **y** and **'y** are in contrast the onset must be represented here. Where the dictionary writes **ts** and **ts'**, I substitute **c** and **ch**, where **h** stands for aspiration as it does elsewhere: **kh, th, ph**. Where the dictionary has **ć, ć'** and **ɉ** (all palatals), I write **cy, chy** and **zy**. Similarly I write **sy** for **ś**. **ny** also occurs.

Table 1 Initials and Clusters

p	ph	b	m	f	v	k	kh	g	ng	'y	h	t	th	d	n	c	ch	z	s
py	phy	by	my	fy	vy	ky	khy	gy		y	hy	ty	thy	dy	ny	cy	chy	zy	sy
pr		br	mr	fr		kr		gr	ngr	r	hr								
pry		bry	mry	fry			kry	gry		ry	hry								
pl		bl	ml	fl		kl		gl		l	hl								
ply		bly	mly	fly		kly		gly		ly	hly								

The aspirated initials cluster only with **-y-**. **ng** clusters only with **-r-**. The dentals and affricates cluster only with **-y-**. **ph, phy, kh, khy-** are rather rare. They seem to occur predominantly in loanwords from the recent Tibetan stratum or in native Lepcha reduplications. I have indicated in some of the comparative tables, especially the Lepcha-Rawang and Lepcha-Jinghpaw tables, that Lepcha **h-** may come from earlier ***kh-** and Lepcha **f-** may come, at least in part, from earlier ***ph-**. Thus, Lepcha **kh-** and **ph-** may have been introduced in rather recent borrowings. Lepcha lacks **-s** and **-s** clusters which occur in Written Tibetan, but is otherwise equally as rich as Tibetan in final consonants, having **-p, -t, -k, -m, -n, -ng, -l** and **-r**.

Lepcha vowels have been organized as follows:

Table 2

Sprigg's Phonetic Symbols			Grünwedel Spelling in 'Dictionary'			Phonemic Orthography Adopted Here		
i	ɯ	u	i	u	ú	i	ụ	u
e	ɣ	o	e	á	o	e	ọ	o
	a	ɔ		a	ó		a	ɔ

We owe much to R. K. Sprigg for knowledge of Lepcha and its borrowings from Tibetan. His works of 1983 and 1986 deal largely with this matter and his analysis of Lepcha vowels. Phonetic [ɛ] occurs with dental codas: I analyze it as /ya/, thus /myal/ 'hair' which is phonetically [mɛl] or [myɛl]. The high back unrounded vowel before stops may be more central or even lowered to schwa: 'child' is [kɯp, kɨp, kəp]. For ease in transcription I write /ụ/ and for the lower vowel /ọ/. The vowel occurring unstressed in prefixes can be regarded as an allophone of /a/; in the examples it is written as schwa, a 'luxury' notation: thus **fəli** 'four' rather than /fa-'li/ where stress on the main syllable has to be marked.

Apart from unstressed prefixes, vowels in my present view may be either short (as **fo** in **a-fo** 'tooth') or long (as in **foː** 'bird'). Of the many words with two or three syllables, perhaps the majority have an unstressed prefix; equally stressed compounds are largely bisyllabic. 'Accent', which sometimes sounds like 'tone', comprises features of vowel length, pitch and stress. Sprigg's 1966 work posits two pitch levels such that a form if emphatic may be stressed differently than in the normal case. Sprigg likens this to a contrast possible in English, like 'Burmése' and 'Búrmese'. The second type is much less common. There are hardly any minimal pitch contrasts such as one might expect in a tonal language. The words for 'tongue' and 'seed' may be homophonous - both are **li**. One wonders

if a former tonal system has broken down. Perhaps more likely are emergent tonal features, but whatever the case, the widespread use of Nepali (even as a first language among many Lepchas) and Nepali intonational features has helped to bring about the present situation.

Forrest's 1962 work 'The Linguistic Position of Rong (Lepcha)' lists many good examples of Lepcha words cognate to Tibetan. He goes on to list over sixty Austroasiatic forms which are startlingly also obviously related to Lepcha. I give below some of the most convincing comparisons, using Forrest's transcriptions:

Table 3	Lepcha	Austroasiatic		
barn, granary	klyóṅ	Khasi	khlăṅ	[wrongly entered
dog	kâ-ju	Khasi	ksew	as Khmer]
hard	króṅ	Mon	krɔng	
knife	ban	Mon	ʔbun	
mouth	a-boṅ	Biat	m'bung	
needle	ryŭm	Sre	jurum	
stick, adhere	krap	Bahnar	krạp	
under	sa-gram	Khmer	krom	
year	nam	Khasi	snem	

Forrest also finds some correlation between prefixes in Lepcha and Austroasiatic. I find this much less convincing, since related prefixes and lexical roots hardly occur together; however, we do have a good example in the Lepcha and Khmer words for 'dog'. One would expect more similarities between Lepcha and Khasi since they are closer geographically. Khasi happens to be isolated from most of the other Austroasiatic languages, but it is most closely related to the northern subgroup including Khmuʔ and Palaung-Wa. Nevertheless I cannot see a closer relationship to Lepcha in this subgroup. Some of the Austroasiatic examples given by Forrest occur in various Tibeto-Burman languages; are these then to be regarded as genuine borrowings, and if so, in what direction has the borrowing gone? Examples from his 1962 article include:

Table 4	Lepcha	Austroasiatic		Tibeto-Burman	
bury	lap	Khmer	lap	Limbu	lup
		Bahnar	läp	Tib.	rlubs 'grave'
cover	kap	Biat	kôp	T bkab	OC keps 'cover, lid' 蓋
		Khmer	kăp	PTB	*klup (STC #479) 蓋
skin (covering)	a-kap	Stieng	kup		
dung, feces	ít	Khasi	eit	Kuki-	*e.k
		Khmer	ać	Naga	
		Bahnar	ik	Pwo, Sgo	e (STC p. 146, n. 399)
horn	róṅ	Wa	ruṅ	Konyak	əruŋ (STC #85 *ruŋ)
				Garo	groŋ

We can see that Lepcha and other Tibeto-Burman languages have borrowings from Austroasiatic, but whether the number of such items is significantly larger in Lepcha is unclear. It may be so, of course. However, for sheer numbers, the Tibeto-Burman element in Lepcha wins out. This is apparent in the various tables

that follow. Lepcha, like all languages, has unique items that are unrelatable to other languages. As a matter of fact, Lepcha is pretty much unlike other Tibeto-Burman languages whose subgroups show clear relationships such as Tamang, Bodo, Kuki and many others. The tables show that those most similar in lexicon to Lepcha are Adi, Rawang, Jinghpaw and Ao, but even these relationships are not very close. Mikir also appears in my general comparison. Bauman's work, scheduled for the 1976 Sino-Tibetan Conference (Copenhagen) but not presented, contains much valuable material.

The Lepcha personal pronouns **go** 'I', **hɔ** 'thou' and **hu̦** 'he, she' are untypical for Tibeto-Burman languages. The closest relatives may be Sunwar **go** 'I' and **ge.goy** 'thou'. Sunwar is spoken three hundred miles or so to the west in Nepal. The Khasi word for 'I' is **ŋa**, which could well be a borrowing from Tibeto-Burman, where a form **ŋa** is most widespread.

Lepcha is indeed valuable for an illustration of word family morphological relationships. A word family meaning 'old' can vary by having infix **-y-**, suffix -**m** and suffix -**t**. Note that ṅ is the velar nasal as in Tibetan, but the sequence ṅ and **y** does not occur--instead we find **ny**:

a-ṅo	'old'	tă-ṅot	'old, white-haired'
a-nyo	'old (of vegetables)'	pă-nyóm	'old man'

A related Tibetan word family is **rga-ba**, pft. **rgas** 'be old, aged,' **rgad-po** 'old man', **rgas-ka** 'old age'. Since Tibetan has the sequence **rṅ-**, the occurrence here of **rg-** instead is unexplained. (Tibetan does not have **ṅr-**). Chinese has a cognate here with the velar nasal initial: 艾 ***ngas** 'white-haired, old' (represented by the homophonous character for 'artemisia', Grammata Serica 347, Karlgren's ngâd/ngâi-). The correspondence here with Lepcha tă-ṅot 'old, white-haired' is remarkably close. One would not expect many such correspondences between two distant areas--it may be due to phonological conservatism in the recon-structed oldest stages of Chinese. At any rate, there is a fair number of such correspondences. Some interesting ones are listed here. In the next example, Chinese has a doublet, probably due to dialect differences.

Lepcha		Chinese	
tă-gryu	'cheek'	頬 ****gwryu**	'bones of
		*gwrju, gwrjə/ gwji3	the face'
		[GSR 988a]	
		頄 ****gwyu**	'cheekbones;
		*gwju / gjəu [GSR 992e]	face'

Lepcha		Tibetan		Chinese	
tă-lyoṅ	'young blades of corn, rice'	ljaṅ-pa	'green corn in first stage of growth'	秧 ***ʔlyang?**	'rice shoot,
		**d-lyaṅ >*ldyaṅ > ljaṅ		ʔjang/ʔjâng	sprout'
				(Not in GSR. Phonetic is GSR 718.)	

The above example shows that the Lepcha form is the most conservative. For the Tibetan, one must assume a similar sequence of dental plus **ly-** and then a metathesis; finally the sequence -**dy-** is palatalized. For the Chinese initial, a reconstruction of ***ʔly-** is reasonable, but this may not correspond exactly to the assumed prefix occurring in the Lepcha and Tibetan forms.

The next example assumes a semantic shift that is not unreasonable: from an original meaning of 'double' to the narrower meaning in Chinese of 'steamer', which is a double cooking vessel. Lepcha exhibits also a word family and Chinese has a doublet form:

Lepcha		Chinese	
ńrel	'have recourse to again'	*ngràls, ngrjans/ngjän3	'steamer' (double vessel)
a-ńel	'repetition'	also:	
nyel (*ńy-)	'to repeat'	*ngyals ngjans/ngjən- [GSR 252d]	" "

Lepcha	Tibetan		Chinese	
kil	'a screw'	ḫkhyil	'twist, wind'	*k(r)jiw:/ki̯ĕu: [GSR 1064b]	'strangle'
kil		ḫkhril	'wind, coil'		
kyǔl	'wind around'			*krjiw / ki̯ĕu	'twist'
myil	'to wind'			*mrjiw /mi̯ĕu [GSR 1069]	"

The Lepcha forms for 'screw' and 'wind around' may be recent borrowings from Tibetan. The Tibetan forms for 'twist' and 'wind' show a contrast in medial of -y- and -r-, two members of a word family. Chinese has two related words, one with k- and one with m-, written with the same character, and in parallel fashion, Lepcha also has two forms with the two initials. Sino-Tibetan -l corresponds frequently to OC -w, although OC -n is a more common reflex.

Finally, the following group of correspondences shows related words in both Lepcha and Chinese with either vowel finals or -m. In Lepcha, -m is a common suffix (see the Morphology Table preceding the Bibliography); -m may also have been a derivational suffix in early Chinese.

Lepcha		Chinese	
prya, pryo	'honorary title'	*p(r)ja:/piu: [GSR 102n, 102a]	'honorific second part of name'
prya, pryo	'celebrate in song, sing of'	*p(r)jas/ piu- [GSR 104g]	'ballad, to chant'
pryóm	'be in tune, in harmony'	*p(r)jɨm/ping [GSR 625h]	'(wind), air, tune'
a-pryóm	'time, tone of a song'	also compare: *p(r)jɨms/piung- [GSR 625o]	'to recite'
		*b(r)jɨm [GSR 625p]	'easy flowing (of sound)'
myǎ	'affirm, take an oath'	*mrjang/mjwɒng [GSR 760e]	'covenant'

For the very last item we unfortunately lack an attested Lepcha form with -m. In Chinese when labial initials occurred in conjunction with final -m, this final regularly dissimilated to -ng (Bodman 1980 pp.120-1). Compare also the negatives meaning 'not have' 無 mja/mju and 亡 *mjang/mjwang, where the alternation may be explained similarly.

The reconstructions of Old Chinese, (and Proto-Chinese) are in what we call the Bodman/Baxter system. Baxter is chiefly responsible for detailed work on Old Chinese, while I have largely worked from the comparative Sino-Tibetan aspect. The last seven groups of examples come from my own research, but the reconstructions have been checked with Baxter and we are in general agreement here.

Notes on the Tables

The first table consists of three pages of lexical comparisons, all of which involve common, high-frequency words. For most of these there is no doubt of their cognate relationship, though the differences in many items show how distant the relationship may be. Where there seems to be no plausible relationship I have left the space blank. An attempt is made to show the degree of relatedness by ordering the forms according to their apparent closeness; this refers to lexical similarity only and it cannot help but be somewhat arbitrary. Thus it seems that Adi (Abor-Miri), Rawang, Jinghpaw, Ao Naga, and Mikir may be the living languages most closely related to Lepcha, although they show considerable differences in morphology among themselves.

Some reconstructions of subgroups appear among the 'proto-languages'. Proto Bodo is taken from Burling 1959 (see Bibliography). *PLB (Proto-Lolo-Burmese) comes from Nishida 1969. Proto-Karen is according to Jones 1961. WTibetan refers to Written Tibetan. *STC stands for Benedict 1972 (*Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus*). (I have taken the liberty of representing his *iy/*-ay category as *iy which accords with Baxter's *-ij Old Chinese category) (see Baxter 1985). Near the bottom of the sheets appear Karlgren's reconstructions for Old and Middle Chinese, which he termed Archaic and Ancient Chinese. The last line refers to the so-called Bodman-Baxter reconstruction system for Chinese (see under Baxter and Bodman in the Bibliography).

A number of the entries are taken from my own field notes which included Lepcha, Adi, Rawang, Jinghpaw, Ao, Mikir, Kanauri, Magar, Chepang (and long ago even Tamang). However, I have substituted forms from Hale 1973 for Magar, Chepang, and Tamang, since it is a readily accessible source and more complete than my own work. For Jinghpaw I have used Burling 1965 and for Lushai Bright's works of 1957. For Written Tibetan, I use Jäschke 1881.

For Ao, I use ˊ to mark rising or high tone and ˋ to mark falling or low tone. High and mid central vowels are transcribed with i̵ and e̵ respectively. The same vowel notations are also used for Adi (which has no tones). For Rawang I use the superscripted ĕ for a mid back unrounded vowel. For the Nokmung dialect of Rawang the three tones are high, low and mid level; they are represented by ˊ, ˋ, and ˉ accents, respectively. Mikir also has high, low, and mid tones marked ˊ, ˋ, and ˉ. See also Grüssner 1978.

Following the lexical list, there are three comparative lists (arranged by initial consonants of Lepcha) with Adi, Rawang, and Jinghpaw respectively. Next is a section on Lepcha morphology derived from the 'Dictionary' and written in the dictionary spelling. The Bibliography appears at the end.

All the above materials were originally used in my Sino-Tibetan classes on handwritten mimeographed sheets from 1967 and later. The present typed version has been slightly augmented and revised.

	leaf (1)	leaf (2)	stone	sky	heavy	seed	tongue	four	fire	eye
Lepcha(Dict.) (NCB)	lóp		lĕn̆	tă-lyen̆	'a-lìm	'a-li		fă-lì	mí	'a-mik
"	lɔp		lɔng	talyang	'alim	'ali		falì	mi	amik
Adi			eling	taleng	ali	ali	(ayo)	appi	ĕmĕ	amik
Rawang	śəláp		lŭng				phelè	əpi;əpli	əpi;əpli	
Jinghpaw	làp		ŋlùng		lì	ŋlí	šinglèt məlì		(myì?)² myì?	
Ao (Chungli dialect)			lòng		(tĕrĕt)	tĕmĕli		pĕzĭ	mì	tĕnĕk
*PBodo			lo?ng			-li		brei		m(ə)k
Mikir		lò	arlòng		ardí	adé		phílì	mè	mèk
Lushai			lŭng		(rìt)			pă-líi	mèy	mit
Kanauri					li:g	le	le	pĕ	me	mig
Limbu			lung		li:pma	milet	lesopa	lisi	mi	mik
Magar			lhung		li:sce			buli	mhe	
Chepang			lo		lêi			play-jo?	hme?	mik
Burmese					léi		(hlya)	lê²	mì²	myak
*P-Karen	lâq		lóng			khlwìh	phrè'	lwíʔ	me	
*PLB			lung¹						*mĕy	*mik
Tamang	láq		ʼyungpā				¹le	¹plih		¹mi:
WTibetan	'dab-ma	lo-ma			lci-ba		lce	bži	me	mig
*STCBenedict	(s-)la		r-lung		s-liy¹		m-lay, s-lay	b-liy	mey	mik/myak
Karlgren	di̯ap/i̯ɛp			t'ien/t'ien			d'iɛt/dź'iät	siäd/si-	xwâr/xuâ:	mĭuk
*OC/MC							?jät	?s-	xuă:	mĭŏk
*OCBodman-Baxter	*lap			th-, hl-, hn-, in, or -eng			?ljet	?s(pl)yis	hmɨj:	mikw
	葉	菜		天			舌	四	火	目

2. The usual Jinghpaw word for 'fire' is ʔwàn. The morpheme mγì? occurs in the first syllable of mγì?-phrèn, 'lightning'

	bird	tooth	fish	five	blood	salt	bone	wood	snake	give
Lepcha (Dict) / " (NCB)	fo, fo:	a-fo, afo	ño	fá-no	vi, vi:	vóm, vɔ:m	a-hrat, ahrẹt	sáñ, syọng	bũ, bụ:	byi, bi:
Adi		sà	ngư:	pilngo	vi:			esing	tabwị	bi
Rawang		wà	ongo	phengà						
Jinghpaw	ù	wã	ngá	mẽngã	säy		ñrã			
Ao		tẹ̀pù	ángò	phùngngã	sì, śĕwi / śĕwi	cùm	tẹ̀rẹ̀t	sẹ̀ng	lẹ̀pɂù	bì
*PBodo		hwa	na?	blangja	tei?		arẹpì		pẹ̀r, -bau	pì
Mikir		sò		phòngò	avi		rù?	thĩng		pì, pêe
Lushai		hâa	sà-hngãa	pángãa	thĩ			thĩng		pî?
Kanauri		sà-vãa	nga	nga	świ			sĩng		
Limbu	pu	pya		ngasĺ	yu:	yum	yet	sĩng	pu-	pi:ma
Magar	gwã	hebo	nga	bã			mi-hrus		pimpa, pin	
Tamang		swa, sã	nga, tamnga	ngá			(nakhru)	séngq		
*PKaren		swa2	ngáт		swiq					
*PLB	pya	θwâ	(njâq)	ngâ	suy2		aruı2	θi?		pêi, piy2
Burmese [pyâ 'bee']	pya, (b)wa	swa2	ngâ	ngâ	θwêi		ayôu	sik		phéq
Chepang			ngà?	nga?	way?	?yum				
WTibetan	bya	so	nya	lnga	s-hwiy		rus	śing	bu	sbyin
*STC Benedict		s-wa		l-nga, b-nga	s-hwiy		hrus	sing	buw	biy
Karlgren										
*OC/MC			ngjo/ngiwo	ngo/nguo	xiwet/xiwet		kwat/kuat	sịĕn/sịĕn		b'jied/b'ji-
*OC Bodman-Baxter			ngya	nga:	hwi?		?k-rut	sing		byis

鳥　五　魚　血　鹽　骨　新　畀

	belly	body hair	pubic hair	mouth	name	stand	star	one	ice, snow	fall, drop	two	three
Lepcha (Dict.)	tä-băk	myal	mắt	abon	abryaṅ	diṅ	să-hór	kat	să-nón	glo, klo	nyăt	sam
" (NCB)		myal	mĕt	abon	abryaṅ, brĕng							
Rawang	tebɔk	myal	mat	abung	abryang	diṅ	seh:r	kat	senɔ:ng	glu, klu	nyat	sam
Adi		myil	amwįt	nappung			takar				annví	a-um
Jinghpaw			mŭn				šegăn					məsūm
Ao	tębük (Vk)	mVl		tępàng				ta?m			ni	asŭm
*PBodo					bĕng, brĕng							
Mikir	pók	angmi								klò	ni	kàthâm
Lushai	(bük)	hmŭl								tlàa<*kl-	pà-hnî?	pà-thûm
Kanauri	sapok					ding	skar		šaneng	klô	niš	sŭm
Limbu							?aár-sii	pà-khàt			nis	som
Magar							kār	kat	nang		nečî	su:msl
Chepang		mwêi							hnîn	čà	hni?	θôun
Burmese										kyà, khyà	hnač²	sum²
WBurmese										akrà	ani	asîm
*PKaren										kla, gla	(ni)	(sôm)
Tamang	1pho						1sẵr				1nyi:h	1som
WTibetan		-mul, -mil					skar-ma			kla, gla	gnyis	gsum
*STCBenedict				s-brang			s-kar				g-nis	g-sum
Karlgren *OC/MC	pị̆ôk/pị̆uk	mog/mâu				d'ieng/d'ieng-			?siang/siang	g'a/ɣa-	nị̀ər/ńʑi	sâm/ɕâm
*OC Bodman-Baxter	pùk	mal				dings			?snrang	glas	nyis	sɨm
	服	毛				定			霜	下	二	三

LEPCHA - ADI (1)

	Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi
	ŋ	**ŋ**		**ŋh**	**ŋ**		**b**	**b**
abdomen	pŭp pəp	kipop	crumb	p'yol	pimpil	carry on back	bŭ bụ	bụ
breast	nyenpŭm ninpəm	nyunpum				cockscomb	a-byen abyan	po-bin
leech	sŭm-păt səmpət	tapat				dappled	a-bók abɔk	abuk are
raft	să-pó səpɔː	suppụ				dig up	bɔl, byol byul	dubur(?)
railing	tŭk-pól təkpɔl	sopel, sopon				to double, fold	byil "	pil-, pir (pil-, pir)
to sow	pat paːt	pit				give	bi biː	bi
squeeze, come between	pít piːt	pet				idiot	bóṅ bɔng	monbang
throw down	pok "	pak				male (of animals)	bŭ bụ	-bụ
						side	a-byăṅ abyɔng	robeng
						snake	bŭ bụː	tabbụ

	ŋ	**b**		**b**	**ŋ**
spirit	a-pil	abụn ayo (shadow)	beetle	bŭt bət	yepụt
to break	pán bən	beṇ	blossom, flower	bor bur	appun
change	pat paːt	bat-	bottom, base	a-băṅ abɔng	tapong
enclose, wrap, cover	pyăl pyal	bil (encircle)	buttocks		apong
			increase	băr bər	par-
			inflate	buhak	pu
			insert	băt bət	pęt
(Lepcha f- and v- initials are given below.)			mouth	aboṅ "	neppang
			scatter	brán	pan
			swollen	bróm brɔm	pom-
			together	bóm bom	pum

LEPCHA - ADI (2)

	Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi
	t	**t**		**th**	**t**		**d**	**d**
flat	tam / taːm	atam	drink	t'ăṅ / thɔng	tɨng	dig	du / "	du
spotted	tak-kă / takkə					a length	adaṅ / adang	adong
						together	dom / "	dumsu

	Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi
	t	**d**		**th**	**d**		**d**	**t**
	(no examples)		elbow	ká-t'u / kẹthu	lagdu	steep	dóp	tap-

	c			**ch**			**zv**	**j**
	(no examples)			(no examples)		flat (T. ljab)	jóp / zyɔp	ajep
	r	**r**				kind of rat	sŭk-jăk	kejak
afraid	ro(-m) / "	lero				to split	jur / zyur	jer
cane	rŭ / ryː	taru						
god	rŭm / rəm	urom (ghost)					**z**	**d**
girdle	a-rek / areːk	mag-rek				assemble	zum / "	dum
horn	a-róṅ / aroːng	arẹng				be close to	zap / "	adap
odor	a-rí / ariː	arɨ				eat	zo / "	do
otter	să-ryóm / səryɔm	siram				bright	zár / zər	dor
pheasant	ta-ryok / "	fo: ; pẹrik, pẹrɨk				split	zat / zaːt	dat
sunshine	so-riṅ / "	do-reng (sunshiny, clear)						
stripe	a-rí / ariː	rɨ-						

(s- and l- initials given below)

LEPCHA - ADI (3)

	Lep.	Adi						Lep.	Adi
	k	**k**		**kh**			bent, crooked	**g**	**g**
to cover	kyóm kyɔm	kom		(no examples)				gar	gi̧r

				Lep.	Adi				
				h	**k**	to bow		gǎp gap	gi̧p
dry	kak"	sankak							
finger	aká akȩ	lakke	closed	hap"	kap	lift		gár go:r	gur, kur
a ring	a-kyǔp akyəp	lakkap	cry	hryóp hryɔp	kap (Dafla khrab)				
side, direction	kón kɔ:n	-kon	entangle	hyol hyul hil	ikul, ikin				
spiral	karkar"	kelker	sew	hrɐp hrɐp	omkap				
			star	sa-hór səhɔ:r	takar				
			crab	tă-hí təhi	take				

	k	**g**					**g**	**k**
adhere, stick	krɐp krɐp	gɐp			lift	gár go:r	kur, gur
circuit	a-kor akur	gurgong (circle)			bag	tă-gíp təgip təngkip	so-kiap
embrace	kom, gom"	gom					
to ladle	kuk"	eguk (a ladle)					
wooden stalk	kun̓ kung	a(n)gung, angong					

	ŋ	**ŋ**				**y**	**y**
divide, distribute	ór ɔr	or	decay	ya ye	ya, yang
to shoot	óp ɔp	ap	descend	yǔ(-t) yu̧(-t)	tayot
sweat (n)	so-'ól sə'ɔ:l	i̧l, i̧r	slide	yót yɔ:t	yut
			sword	pă-yuk pəyuk	yok-sa
			shade	so'yǔm so'yu̧m	mukyum

	Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi		Lep.	Adi
	m	**m**		**n**	**n**		**ng**	**ng**
blow	mŭt mut	mut-	ear	a-nyor anyur	nyorung	a stick	aṅal angal	shingol (club)
body	mŭ (?) mu̧	amu̧l, amu̧r	milk	nyen nin	anyun	fish	ṅo	engo, ongo ngu:
dream	món mɔːng	im-mang	to smell	nóm nɔːm	nam-	five	fă-ṅo fəngu	pilngo, ango
eye	amik "	amik	omen, taboo	nyo "	nyo-			
fire	mi "	ȩmȩ	two	nyăt nyat	a-nyi			
foggy	muk	muksup	poison (aconite)	a-nyiṅ aning	a-nying			
pubic hair	măt	amu̧t						
ripe	myăn myan	min-						
son-in-law	myók myɔːk	magbo						

	f	**sh ~ s**			**fl**	**l**		**l**	**l**
breeze	fár fər	ashar, eshar	graze, barely touch		flók flɔk	lok	a bow	să-li səli	iyi, iye (Dafla illyî)
deadly	fí fi:	shi (die)	slip from		flut "	lut	exchange	lyăk lyək	li̧k
splinter	flek flik	shek, shik	dry		són sɔːn	**s̱, š** san-	flash	lyóp lyɔːp	lip-lop
cut into lengths piece, log	faṅ " ta-faṅ, a-faṅ	ashong	wood		šaṅ syang	esing (eshing)	four	fălí fəli	appi (Dafla apl)
			stench		muṅ-siṅ	**ŋ** nămsing, nămshing	return, (give)back	lót lɔːt	-lat
							heaven, sky	tă-lyaṅ təlyang	taleng, tayeng

	f	**j**		**s**	**ŋ**			
chew	fóm fɔːm	jam	three	sam "	a-um	road	lóm lɔːm	lam-be
to scoop	fok fuk	juk				stone	lăṅ lɔng	ȩling
	v	**y ~ ŋ**				seed	ali "	ali
blood	ví vi:	iyi, ui						

	l	**y**						
tongue	ali "	ayo (Dafla ailyi)						

LEPCHA - RAWANG (1)

	Lep. (b̥)	RW (ɓ)		Lep. (b̥)	RW (ɓ)		Lep. (ɓ)	RW (ɓ)
fill	blyăn / blyan	bĕng (full) / dəbéng (fill)	bud, blossom	bŭ / bu	nampʉ (flower)	finish	pal	pal
incubate (eggs)	bom / bum	bīm (to lie)	pox	brít / brit	mapit	heap	a-pŭn / apəng	póng
name	a-bryăn / abryang	béng (<bl-)	bottom	a-băn / abɔng	langpang	knee	tŭk-păt / təkpat	pangpit
snake	bŭ / bu	bì				leech	sŭm-pat / syəmpat	təpàt
putrid	byep / byəp	bíp						

	Lep. (d)	RW (d)		Lep. (d)	RW (t)		Lep. (t)	RW (t)
burst	dek	dek		(no examples)		big	tí / ti:	tè
come	dí / di:	dɪ				run, flee	tor / tur	čəto:r
dig	du:	dù						
wasp's nest	pŭn-dəi / pəndəng	dèng (nest)						
above	tuk-dəm / təkdəm	mədàm						

	Lep. (z)	RW (dz)		Lep. (z)	RW (c)		Lep. (c)	RW (c)
to live	zu / zu:					to hold, seize	tsəm / cəm	cìm
raw	azu / azu:		urinate	jízmat / zi:		liquor	či	nìčɪ
alive	azum	adzïm (raw)	urine	jit / zit	cɪ	roof	ačap / acya:p	číp

	Lep. (ɡ)	RW (ɡ)		Lep. (ɡ)	RW (k)		Lep. (k)	RW (k)
to notch	góp / gɔp	gàp	collect	gom	dəkìm	armpit	păkíp / pəkip	kìp (Daru)
protect	gor / go:r	gā:r	a span	góm	kàm	pillow	tŭk-kam / təkkam	məkēm
stem, root	a-glí	gɪ:	chin	gá / gẹ	maká			
						a ring	(ky) a-kyŭp / akyəp	(c) ūrtəčàp

LEPCHA - RAWANG (2)

There are no examples of initial correspondences between Lepcha p and Rawang b, nor between Lep. ph and RW p, nor between Lep. c and RW dz, nor between Lep. ch and RW c. The following new stop correspondences do occur, but are sparse:

	Lep. t	RW d			Lep. th	RW t	
flat	tam	adām		sever	t'át	tót	
					thet		
				near	t'ól	tal	
					thɔːl		
	Lep. k	RW g	(*kh >)		Lep. h	RW k	
mosquito	mŭṅkóṅ	məgàng		bee	hŭ	ká	(both seem
	məngkɔːng				hu̯		rather doubtful)
				hollow	kǎ-hór	dungkir	
					kəhɔːr		

[If we assume that kh- in Lepcha occurs only in Tibetan loans, then the hypothesized development in native words from *kh- to h- may be valid.]

Correspondences with voiceless spirant initials

	f	š			s	s	
blue	afiṅ	mǎšing		kill	sót	sát	
	afing				sɔːt		
charcoal	tŭk-fyól	šir		disposition	sak	sak (breath)	
	təkfyɔːl				"		
mortal,	fí	šì		cork,	šŭ	məsí	
fatal	fiː			stopper	syu̯	angsī	
conduit,	tŭk-fŭl	šòr		become	šoṅ		
pipe	təfəl	(to bore)		dry	syɔːng		
ridicule	fá	dəšáwā		dry	asón	sóng	
	fa				asɔːn		
green	a-fóṅ	məšèng		be fat	šu	sū fat (adj.)	
	afɔːng				syu	sú " (noun)	
	s	š		rain	so	sì	
wood	šaṅ	séng			"		
	syang			three	sam	asìm	
					h	h	
stench	mŭṅ-šiṅ	pušēng		hollow	hoṅ	hǒːng	
	məngsing	angà			hong		
				to yawn	hŏm	ahǎːm	
					hɔːm		

Miscellaneous:

	v	w			ø	w			kr	r
blood	ví	səwī		to shoot	óp	wáp		to winnow	króp	rap
	viː				ɔp				krɔːp	
								(Compare Tib. k'rab, skrab)		

LEPCHA - RAWANG (3)

Nasal and resonant initials:

	Lep.	RW		Lep.	RW
	m	**m**		**l**	**l**
to blow	mŭt	mòt (Daru mìt)	bury	lap	lip
	mət			"	
eye	amik	mèk	to flash	lyóp	lèp
	"			lyɔːp	
ripe,	myăn	mìn	heavy	alím (ali-m)	alī
cooked	myan			alim	
dream	móṅ	ʔépmáːng	leaf	lóp	šalap
	mɔːng			lɔːp	
fire	mí	təmu	stone	lăṅ	lúng
	mi			lɔng	
hair	myal	myìl	to substitute	lám	dəlàm
	"			lẹm	
			to warm	lyam	līm
	n	**n**		"	
to knead	ne	anè	a bow	să-li	təlī
	"		(archery)	səli	
day	sŭk-nyí	ní	tongue	ali	pəlè
	səknyiː			"	
two	nyăt	aní			
	nyat			**hl**	**l**
elder	anăm	anàm	to dry	hlóm	lām
brother	anəm			hlɔːm	
	ng	**ng**		**r**	**r**
fish	ṅo	ngà	cane	rŭ	tərì
	nguː		(calamus)	ru	
five	fă-ṅo	pəngà	gather	rát	ràt
	fəngu			rẹːt	
			horn	róṅ	arèng
	y	**y**		rɔːng	
descend	yŭt	yit	otter	să-ryóm	səràm
	yət			səryɔːm	
flow	yŭ	yï			
				hr	**r**
			gather	hrăp	rïp
				hrəp	
			bone	ahrăt	šərē̄
				ahrẹt	

LEPCHA - JINGHPAW (1)

Lep.	JP	Lep.	JP	Lep.	JP
p	**ph**	**ph**	**ph**	**b**	**p [b]**

	Lep.	JP			Lep.	JP
bark (of tree)	a-pi "	phyìʔ	(no examples)	abundant, to swell	bá bɛː	pō
deaf	póṅ pɔːng	ləphāng		to bellow	bu buː	nəpò
fence	tŭk-pól təkpɔːl	məphān		blossom	bor "	nampān
knee	tŭk-pǎt təkpət	ləphùt		load	bŭ bṵ	lítpò
plump	pŭm-pram-bo pəmprambu	phūm		muddy	bop bup	khūmpúp
				repeat, again	bal baːl	pāy
				wear, carry	bŭ bṵ	pù

p	**pʔ [p]**	**ph**	**pʔ [p]**	**b**	**pʔ [p]**

	Lep.	JP			Lep.	JP
come out, appear	plǎ plo̜	pʔū	(no examples)	bud	bŭ bṵ	pʔù
interval	a-pról aprɔːl	ləpʼrān (between)		burst	bu "	kəpʔò
straight	plóṅ	pʔrēng, pʔyāng		snake	bŭ bṵː	ləpʔú
				to whistle	bi biː	sumpʔɩ (n.)

p	**w**			**b**	**ph**

	Lep.	JP			Lep.	JP
bamboo	po "	kʔáwá		bottom	a-bǎṅ abɔng	nəphāng
leech(1)	šŭm-pat səmpat	wòt		to fill	blyǎn blyan	cəphríng phríng (full)
leech(2)	fót fɔːt			erupt (of large pustules)	brut	a-phùt (measles)
				(id. but of smaller ones)	brít brit	

p	**p [b]**	**ph**	**p [b]**
(no examples)		(no examples)	

LEPCHA - JINGHPAW (2)

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	t	**th**		**th**	**th**		**d**	**t [d]**
above	ta	ləthà?		(no examples)		hearth	pun-dap*	tàp
	ta "					*(obsolete, superseded by		
						/thɔːp/ from Tib. t'ab)		
shrink (short)	tăn	thūn						
	tan							
	taːn					length	adaŋ	tìngtùng
							adaŋ	
						lose	dot	tàt
							dut	
						put	da	tá
							daː	

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	t	**t? [t]**		**th**	**t? [t]**		**d**	**t? [t]**
fist	ká-tap	lət?úp	to plant	t'yaṅ	t?īng		(no examples)	
	kẹ-tap			thyang				
			right,	at'áṅ	t?èng			
			correct	athẹng				

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	ty	**č? [č]**		**th**	**t [d]**			
dark	tyaṅ	č?āng	weave	t'ók	tà?			
	tyang			tɔːk				
	"			(Tib. t'ag)				

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	t	**t [d]**		**d**	**th**			
egg	ati	tì	to dig	du	thù			
box	pătek	sətèk						
	pətek							

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	c	**ch**		**ch**			**z**	**č [j]**
	(no examples)			(no examples of Lepcha ch-)		altogether	jam-lă	čòm
							zyamla	
	c	**th**				a pair	zam	čùm
mortar	tuk-tsam	thùm					"	
	təkcəm					thorn	ajŭ	čú
	c	**č? [č]**					azyụ	
	(no examples)					tickle(1)	jak	čúk
	c	**č [j]**					zyak	
hold,	tuk-tsam	čūm				tickle(2)	yak	
seize	cam						"	
	tsu	čú				urine	jit	čìt
to prick	cu						zyit	

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
				z	**č? [č]**		**z**	**s**
			arrange	jíp	səč?íp	eat	zo	šá
				zip			"	
			udder	jut	č?ú (breast)	fodder,	zót	šàt
				zyut		food	zɔːt	
				z	**ch**			
				(no examples)				

LEPCHA - JINGHPAW (3)

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	k	**kh**		**h**	**kh**		**g**	**k** [g]
astringent	a-krup	khùp		(*kh- > Lep. h)		to hide	grop	kòp
	"		yawn	hóm	kəkhàm		grup	hɔ:m
				hɔ:m				
bitter	krí-m	khrī (bile)	weep	hryóp	khràp			
	krim	məkhrī (bitter)		hryɔ:p				
pickle	să-krí-t			**hly**	**k?** [k]			
	səkrit			(*khy- > hly)			**g**	**k?** [k]
directly	kră-kră	khrê	pod	ahlyap	k?òp	branch	gryóṅ	
	krọ-krọ			ahlya:p			gryɔ:ng	lək?yîng
fall, drop	klo, glo			(*khy- > hly-) **č?** [č]		ladder	tă-gróṅ	
	klu, glu						tənggrɔ:ng	lək?āng
let fall	klet, glet	khràt	expel	hlyát	šəč?út			
	klyat, glyat	(fall)		hlyọt				
parrot	kriṅ-fo		hurry	hlyaṅ	č?àng			
	kring-fo:	ù khrīng		hlyang				
pillow	tŭk-kam							
	tək-kam	-khúm						
	k	**k?** [k]						
to stick, adhere	krap	k?áp						
	"							
bare	kŭn-krán-lă	ak?rīn						
	kən-krọn-la							
branch	a-kóṅ	lək?ûng						
	akɔ:ng							
join (1)	kóp	šək?áp						
	kɔ:p							
join (2)	klap							
	"							
	k(r)y	**č?** [č]						
a ring	a-kyŭp	lá?č?óp						
	akyụp							
suck dry	kryup	č?ùp						
	"							
	k	**k** [g]		**?*gh≥h**	**k** [g]		**g**	**kh**
theft	kŭt-mo	ləkùt	star	să-hór	šəkān	chin	tă-gá	ngəkhá
	'kɔtmu						təgọ	
cover over	kap	kàp	bazaar	hat	kát	a step	tŭṅ-gum	ləkhām (n)
	"			ha:t			təng-gum	ləkhám (vb)
drag, pull	krŭt	kəròt		(loans from Indic ha?)				
	krɔ:t			**ṇ**	**k** [g]			
hill, ridge	kŭṅ	kòng	to shoot	óp	kàp			
	kọng			ɔp				
			that	o-re	wo, wóra			
				"				

LEPCHA - JINGHPAW (4)

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	f	**w**		**v**	**w**
bird	fo	ù (*wù)	husband	avo	-wá
	fo:			avo:	
leech	fót	wòt		**v**	**š** (< *šw-)
	fɔ:t		before,	kŭr-voṅ	šõng
	(see sŭmpăt)		front	kərvɔ:ng	
tooth	afo	wā	enter	vón	šõn
	"			vɔ:n	
	f	**ph**		**v**	**p**
enemy	fyăn	phyēn	damp	vóm	pàm
	fyɐn			vɔ:m	
escape	flyaṅ	phrōng			
	flyang				
	f	**c?** [ts]		**s**	**c?** [ts]
husk,	fup	kəc?àp (vb)	nest	a-šap	c?íp
sheath	"			asya:p	
			slough	a-sop	c?òp
	y	**y**	(snakes)	asup	
chew	ye	məyá	louse	šák	c?ìq
	"			syo̧:k	
day	să-?yak	yá?			
	səkyɐk			**s**	**s**
descend	yŭ	yú?	brush	pŭr-šit	məsìt
	yy̧			pərsit	
female	tă-?yŭ	yí?	be fat	šu	sāw (vb), sáw (n)
	tə?yy̧			syu	
			kill	sót	sàt
				sɔ:t	
			three	sam	məsūm
				"	
			a track	a-sur	məsòn
				"	
			vein	a-so	ləsá
				"	

LEPCHA - JINGHPAW (5)

	Lep.	JP		Lep.	JP
	m	**m**		**ɾ**	**ɾ**
blow	mŭt mət	wùt (<*mw- ?)	cane	rŭ ru̧	rī
dream	móṅ məːng	māng	terraced field	ari "	šərí (overgrown field)
eye	a-mik "	myì?	fountainhead, spring	a-ram "	rūm
fire	mí mi	(myì?) (in compounds)	otter	sá-ryóm səryɔːm	sərām
hair	myal "	mūn (same word family)	horn	a-róṅ arɔːng	ṇrūŋ
ripe	a-myăn amyan	myīn	roll	rŭl/ru̧l/	tərìn
wound	mó mɔː (Tib. loan)	məmà		**l**	**l**
			bury	lap "	lùp (sink down; grave)
			heavy	alí-m alim	lī
	n	**n**	leaf	lóp lɔːp	làp
daughter- in-law	nyóm nyɔːm	nām	road	lóm lɔːm	lām
day	sŭk-nyi sək-nyi	səni	seed	alí- ali	nəlī
slow	nyól-bo 'nyɔːl-bu	la?nyèn	slice	líp lip	kəlèp
smell	nóm nɔːm	mənàm	eagle	kă-lyŭṅ kəling	kəlāng
	ṅ	**ng**	four	fă-lí fəli	məlī
fish	ṅo nguː	ngá			
five	faṅo fəngu	məngā			
reside	ṅan (?) ngaːn	ngà			

LEPCHA (RONG) MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES (1)
(Dictionary Spelling)
Reduplication

Type 1: Reduplication of Initial Consonant Only	
kă-kyăr-bo	uneven, oblique
kă-kyok-lă	winding
kă-klyal-lă	long and thin
kă-klyóp-lă	flat: a-klyóp flat piece
kŭn- " "	(and see type 2 below)
kŭp- " "	" " "
kă-grám-bo	quick (grám 'hasten')
tă-t'át-bo	pale (t'ăt 'be pale')
pă-plap-lă	blunt
pă-plyăk-lă	round
pă-flí-lă	separately (flí 'separate')
pă-byap-lă	rotten (byap 'rotten')
pă-bryu-lă	puffed out (bryu 'large')
yă-yŭr-bo	pale yellow (ŭr 'brown',
	a'yór, pă-'ayór 'yellow')
lă-lyóm-lă	bell-shaped
lă-lyól-lă	wide-mouthed
fă-vap-lă	shrunk (vap, fă-vap
	'shrunk, shrivelled')

Type 3: Near Identity with Vowel Change		
kyăr-ră kyer-ră	zigzag (kar, kyăr 'twist')	
krŭt-tă krót-ta	jagged	
klup-pă klop-pă	clumsy	
gar-ră gor-ră	shilly-shally (gor 'spend time')	
čh'al-lă čh'ol-lă	confusedly	
nyar-ră nyor-ră	flabby	
t'an-nă t'yen-nă	irregular	
dŭṅ-ṅă dóṅ-ṅă	spotted	
fŭk-kă fyŭk-kă	whizzing	
flyaṅ-ṅă flyuṅ-ṅă	staggering, reeling	
mlyŭk-kă mlyuk-kă	indistinctly (of vision)	
yep-pă yap-pă	gropingly, slowly	
yap-pă yop-pă	staggering	
ryíl-lă ryól-lă	lukewarm	
hyil-lă hyol-lă	cracking (from dryness)	
hlŭt-tă hlyót-tă	hodge-podge	

Type 2: C ŭ C	
kŭr-kar-ră	wriggling (kar 'twist')
kŭn-krán-lă	bare, scanty
kŭm-krom-lă	projecting (of teeth)
kŭm-gram-lă	broken (gram 'break')
kŭṅ-gryaṅ-lă	slender
nŭm-nyím	purple (nyím 'purple')
nŭk-nók	black, dirty (nók 'black')
pŭm-pam-lă	short and stout
pŭt-pryŭt-lă	squeezing out
pŭm-plóm-bo	long-faced
fŭṅ-fíṅ-bo	clear (fíṅ 'clear, blue')
pŭṅ-brán-lă	thinly spread (brán 'scatter')
kŭṅ-hóṅ-lă	open (hóṅ 'spacious')
rŭṅ-hryoṅ-lă	slack
fŭṅ-vaṅ-bo	wide

Type 4: Identical Reduplication	
kăl-lă kăl-lă	upside down
kar-kar	spiral (kar 'twist')
kyak-kă kyak-kă	sticky
kyeṅ-ṅa kyeṅ-ṅa	shrill
kyón-kyón	adhesive
krul-lă krul-lă	tall
krek-kă krek-kă	brittle
kryóm kryóm	together, concordantly
gór-ra gór-ră	up and down
gryát-tă gryát tă	trailing along
glat-glat	with breast thrust out
čin-čin	twinkling
nyot-tă nyot-tă	babbling
tyăr-ră tyăr-ră	trembling
t'íl-lă t'íl-lă	successive
a-pról a-pról	by degrees
să-bár să-bár	panting

Infix -y-

dop	burn (intr)	dyop	burn (tr)
kor	encircle	kyor	encompass
a-ňo	old	a-nyo	old
kom	embrace	kyom	wrestle
kóp	harmonize	kyóp	fix, join
gál	break (intr)	gyắl	break (tr)
t'ór	escape	t'yór	set free
băt	insert	byắt	load, pack
bəm	remain, dwell	byəm	locate, situate
bol	to sprout	byol	hoe, cultivate
brom	fall down	bryóm	cause to fall
róp	stick to	ryóp	attach, apply
lám	to fly	lyám	cause to fly
vón	enter	vyón	invite, have enter
ŭm	nice, agreeable	a'yŭm	soften
ăt	generate	a'yăt	create

Suffix -m

kí	sue, claim	kím-bo	claimant
t'əm-krí	bitter item	a-krím	bitter
(see -t să-krít 'pickle')			
krŭ	be firm	a-krŭm	strong, firm
k'ŭ	be able	a-k'ŭm	possible
		k'ŭm-bo	able (of people)
kă-gryo-bo	bent down, infirm		
		kŭm-gryom-bo	crouched
ču	flow out	tŭk-čum	channel
a-nyo	old (a-ňo 'old')	pă-nyóm	old man
tí	be great	a-tím	great
pryo, prya	celebrate in song	a-pryóm	in tune
plă	to issue	a-plám	source
pli	to deny	a-plim	denial
bŭ	to bud	a-bŭm	bud
mya	be versed in	myam-bo	a sage
zo	to eat	a-zóm	food
(see a-zót 'fodder', with -t)			
yá	to know	a-yám	knowledge
rŭ	be far	a-rŭm	far
ryu	be good	aryum	good, healthy
lí	be heavy	a-lím	heavy
hru	be hot	a-hrum	hot
(see a-hrun 'heat', with -n)			
vă	prolong a note	vám	song
sŭ	stop up	a-šŭm	stopper, plug

__-m marks object in personal pronouns, as in:__

kă-nyí	we two	kă-nyím	us two
hŭ	he, she, it	hŭm	him, her, it

but hó thou, hó mŭm thee. Compare mŭ 'body' and mŭm article 'a, the.' The fact that Adi marks nominal and pronominal objects by -m after vowels or -em after consonants may be fortuitous.

Suffix -t

ryu	be good	ryut	rejoice
(see a-ryum under -m)			
a-ňo	old	ta-ňot	old, white-
(see a-nyo and pă-nyóm)			haired
ňo	boil	ňot-bo	boiled
ňo	be thirsty	ňot	thirsty
nyo	be ominous	t'əm-nyót	omen
(also a-nyom portentous)			
blŭ	weak, worthless	tŭk-blŭt	sport, game
yú	descend	yŭt	let down
		a-yŭt	descent
(šŭ)		a-šŭt	fat, tallow
(also a-šŭm fat, greasy)			
zo	to eat	a-zót	fodder, pasture
(also a-zóm food)			

Suffix -n

flí	to separate	să-fín	separation
(pă-flí-la separately, flím separation)			
byi, bí	give	byin, bín	(ger) id.
bŭ	to carry	bŭn	load
tsŭ	to flow	a-tsŭn	confluence
u	to parch	a-un	parched
hru	be hot	a-hrun	heat (a-hrum hot)
pí	there	a-pín	other side

Alternation between -ň and -n

fliň	turn face aside (see să-flín separation),		
	shy (as a horse)		
t'yaň	set in, to plant	a-t'yan	transplanting
daň	to run	a-dán	running
t'aň	to drink	a-t'án	a drink, fluid
		a-t'yán	give to drink
nóň	go, proceed	nyón	to let go
		a-nón	departure
fróň	calculate	a-frón	number
váň	to put aside	a-ván	single
móň	a dream	móň myón	to dream

Prefixes: tă-, a-, să (all very common)

klak	be surrounded	tă-klak	periphery
klep	join (as bamboos)	tă-klep	binding
t'í	to come	a-tít	arrival
tí	be large	a-tím	great
zo	eat	a-zóm	food
ví	blood	a-ví	menses
vyeň	door	a-vyeň	mountain pass

să is prefixed to many items, especially names of animals and plants (cf. Tib. s-), e.g. să-t'ăň tiger, să-na bear, să-hŭ monkey. Other first syllables may merely be reduplicative elements, as in pă-byap-lă 'rotten'.

LEPCHA MORPHOLOGY (3)
INITIAL ALTERNATIONS

1. VOICELESS / VOICED

Voiceless		Voiced	
a-kok	old, tough	a-gok	old, worn out
kraṅ	noisy	groṅ-ṅǎ	noisily
klo	to fall	glo	to fall
klet	to drop	glet	let drop, fall
cǎk	join	jǎk	join
čin	twinkle	jin	twinkle
čir	glitter	jir	glitter
tyuk	to spit	dyuk	spittle
pok	to fall	bok	fall plump
a-pum	origin	bum	beginning
prol	across	brol	to bar
tsop	tread, knead	zop	tread, knead

2. VOICELESS / 'ASPIRATED'

< *kh- (?)

kuk	to rake	a-huk	a rake
pǎ-krót	notched	pǔn-hrót	a notch
kyop	to join	a-hyop	joining
kor	encircle	hor	enclose
kyol	to mix	hyol	mixed, entangled

< *ph- (?)

plut	let slip	flut	slip from
pǎn	forgetful, unaware	fǎn	unconscious of, heedless
pǎl	broken off	fál	break off
pyul	stir together	fyul	agitate
pǎn	break off	fǎn	disjoint
lyot	release	flyǎt	relax

f̣   ḅ

ta-fyek	a husk	hyek	to husk
a-fyók	crossed, transverse	fyók	to cross
fyop	alongside	hyop	along

(perhaps f ~ h are dialect alternations)

3. VOICED / ASPIRATED

góṅ-la	open	k'ǔṅ-hóṅ-la	open
glaṅ	harden	hlaṅ	hard
di	come	t'ɪ	arrive
a-dek	end	t'ek	to end
dek	break	t'ek	broken in two

Miscellaneous Vowel Alternations

prek, prók	wrap up
nǔk-nek, nǔk-nók	black
{ šeṅ / šóṅ }	weave, spider web
faṅ, foṅ	cut down
braṅ, broṅ	numerous
a-taṅ, a-toṅ	a bundle
{ ɲap / ɲop }	turn here and there
{ lyap / lyop }	turn over

oṅ-nǎ, aṅ-nǎ	all, complete
{ cǎn	clustered
a-cóm }	a cluster
flut, flit	to slip from
{ pǎ-brut	rash, eruption
brit }	erupt in a rash
pǎ-krót, pǎ-krit	notched
ról, rǐl	to roll
jǐp, jóp	to crush

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAUMAN, J. J. 1975. *Pronouns and Pronominal Morphology in Tibeto-Burman.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 319 pp.

--- 1976. "An issue in the subgrouping of the Tibeto-Burman languages: Lepcha and Mikir." Paper prepared for the 9th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Copenhagen [not presented].

BAXTER, W. H. III. 1980. Some proposals on Old Chinese phonology." In Frans van Coetsem and Linda R. Waugh, eds., *Contributions to Historical Linguistics, Issues and Materials,* pp. 1-33. E. J. Brill, Leiden.

---. 1985. "Tibeto-Burman cognates of Old Chinese *-ij and *-lj." In G. Thurgood, J.A. Matisoff, and D. Bradley, eds., *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: the State of the Art,* pp. 242-53. Pacific Linguistics C-87. The Australian National University, Canberra.

BENEDICT, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus.* Contributing editor, J.A. Matisoff. Cambridge University Press.

BODMAN, Nicholas C. 1980. "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan: data towards establishing the nature of the relationship." In Frans van Coetsem and Linda R. Waugh, eds., *Contributions to Historical Linguistics, Issues and Materials,* 34-199. E. J. Brill, Leiden.

BRIGHT, W. 1957a. "Singing in Lushai." Indian Linguistics 17:24-28. Poona.

---. 1957b. "Alternations in Lushai." Indian Linguistics 18:101-110. Poona.

BURLING, R. 1959. "Proto-Bodo." Language 35:435-53. Baltimore.

---. 1965. "Notes on Jinghpaw." (Unpublished manuscript.)

---. 1967. *Proto Lolo-Burmese* (Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Publication 43). International Journal of American Linguistics 33, Part II. Bloomington and The Hague.

FORREST, R. A. D. 1962. "The linguistic position of Rong (Lepcha)." Journal of the Burma Research Society 45.1:41-7. Also published in Journal of the American Oriental Society 82.3:331-5.

GORER, Geoffrey. 1967. *Himalayan Village: An Account of the Lepchas of Sikkim.* (Second edition). Basic Books, Inc., New York.

GRIERSON, Sir G. A. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India..* Vol. 3, Part 1. "Lepcha or Rong." pp. 233-71. Reprinted 1967 by Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.

GRUESSNER, K-H. 1978. *Arleng Alam -- die Sprache der Mikir: Grammatik und Texte.* Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.

HALE, A. 1973. *Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal.* Part IV, Word Lists. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kathmandu.

HANSON, O. 1906. *A Dictionary of the Kachin Language.* American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon. Reprinted 1954, Baptist Board of Publications, Rangoon.

HERMANNS, Fr. Matthias. 1954. *The Indo-Tibetans.* Fernandes, Bombay.

JAESCHKE, H. A. 1881. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary.* Reprinted 1934 by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

JONES, R. B. 1961. *Karen Linguistic Studies.* University of California Publications in Linguistics, No. 25. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

KARLGREN, B. 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa.* Reprinted from The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin 29. Stockholm.

LORRAIN, J. H. 1907. *A Dictionary of the Abor-Miri Language.* Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong.

MAINWARING, G. B. 1876. *A Grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) Language*. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

---. 1898. *Dictionary of the Lepcha-Language*, revised and completed by Albert Grünwedel. Unger Bros., Berlin.

MARRISON, G. E. 1967. *The classification of the Naga Languages of Northeast India*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. Vol. 1 292 pp., Vol. 2 460 pp

MATISOFF, J. A. 1974. "The tones of Jinghpaw and Lolo-Burmese: common origin vs. independent development." Acta Linguistica Hafniensia 15:153-212.

MORRIS, John. 1938. *Living with Lepchas*. William Heinemann, Ltd., Toronto.

NISHIDA, T. 1969. ["Some problems in Proto-Lolo-Burmese"]. In Japanese. Tonan Ajia Kenkyu (Southeast Asian Studies) 6.4:198-219, Kyoto.

NORMAN, J. 1985. "A note on the origin of the Chinese duodenary cycle." In G.Thurgood, J. A. Matisoff, D. Bradley eds., *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: the State of the Art*. Pacific Linguistics C-87, pp. 85-89. The Australian National University, Canberra.

NORMAN, J. and Tsu-lin MEI. 1976. "The Austroasiatics in ancient South China: some lexical evidence." Monumenta Serica 32:272-301.

STACK, E. and C. LYALL. 1908. *The Mikirs*. David Nutt, London.

SUN Hongkai et al. 1980. [*The Languages of the Monpa, Luoba, and Deng Peoples*]. In Chinese. Social Sciences Publishing Co., Beijing.

SHAFER, Robert. 1950a. "Classification of some languages of the Himalayas." Journal of the Bihar Research Society 34:192-214.

---. 1950b. "The Naga Branches of Kukish." Rocznik Orientalistyczny 16: 467-530.

---. 1952. "Etudes sur l'austroasien." Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris 48.1:111-58.

SIIGER, Halfdan and Jørgen RISCHEL. 1967. *The Lepchas: Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People*. Part II, *Lepcha Ritual Texts and Commentary* by Halfdan Siiger. *Phonetic Transcriptions of Lepcha Ritual Texts with Introduction* by Jørgen Rischel. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

SMITH, Kenneth D. 1972. *A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-North-Bahnaric*. (Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series, no. 2) Summer Institute of Linguistics, Santa Ana, California

SPRIGG, R. K. 1966. "Lepcha and Balti-Tibetan: tonal or non-tonal languages?" Asia Major 12.2:185-201.

---. 1983. "Hooker's expenses in Sikkim: an early Lepcha text." Bulletin of the School of Asian and African Studies 46.2:305-25.

---. 1986a. "The syllable finals of Tibetan loan words in Lepcha orthography." Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area 9.1:27-46.

---. 1986b. "The Lepcha language and three hundred years of Tibetan influence in Sikkim." Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta 28:16-31.

THURGOOD, G. 1984. "The 'Rung' languages: notes on their proto-morphosyntax and subgrouping." Paper presented at 17th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Eugene.

1985. "Pronouns, pronominalization, and the subgrouping of Tibeto-Burman." In G. Thurgood, J.A. Matisoff, and D. Bradley, eds., *Languages of the Sino-Tibetan Area: the State of the Art*, pp. 376-400. Pacific Linguistics C-87, The Australian National University, Canberra.

von NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, R. 1956. *Where the Gods are Mountains*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.